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The Historical  
Geography  
of Ethiopia

From the First Century AD to 1704

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G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

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PUBLISHED FOR THE BRITISH ACADEMY  
BY THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

This first attempt at a comprehensive study of Ethiopia's historical geography is based on Greek, Roman, Arabic and later traveller's accounts, as well as on Ethiopian royal chronicles and other Ethiopian documents.

Arranged both chronologically and regionally, the volume contains concise surveys of the political, economic and cultural geography of Ethiopia, and a useful guide to the historico-geographical literature on the country.

The work also has important appendices on Ethiopia's most enduring trade routes, as well as an extensive bibliography and index. Twenty pages of maps drawn by the author are reproduced at the back of the volume.

**Dr Huntingford** (d. 1978) was a lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, from 1948 to 1966, having lived for many years before that in East Africa.

His text has been edited, with many corrections and additions, by **Dr Richard Pankhurst** (Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa), and the Ethiopic spellings have been revised and simplified by **Dr David Appleyard** (School of Oriental and African Studies, London).

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Edited by  
RICHARD PANKHURST  
Ethiopic spellings revised by  
DAVID APPELYARD

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## PREFACE

The title which the author chose for this book may be misleading. Though it is arranged chronologically it is not so much a continuous narrative as an index *raisonné* to the toponyms that occur in the inscriptions and other written sources of Ethiopian history. It cannot pretend to be definitive. The topography of some parts of Ethiopia is not known with sufficient precision. Some sources, especially hagiographies are still unpublished. Moreover, Dr Huntingford wrote the book after his retirement to Málaga where he was almost wholly dependent on his private library. However, even an imperfect index may be of considerable use. As Dr Pankhurst explains in his Editorial Introduction, when Dr Huntingford failed to interest a publisher, he deposited the typescript of the book in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, so that it should be accessible to anyone who might wish to consult it. A number of scholars have done so with profit.

The principal Ethiopian chronicles having been published and translated into European languages, the Fontes Historiae Africanae Committee of the British Academy decided that its usefulness as a supplement to these works would justify its inclusion in this series. There were two possible objections. Significant research had been conducted since the book was written, and Dr Huntingford had used an unnecessarily complicated system of transliteration which distinguished between letters which are in practice interchangeable. The Committee is greatly indebted to Dr Pankhurst and Dr Appleyard for their assistance in connection with these deficiencies. Dr Pankhurst has made a number of corrections and additions, and has greatly expanded the bibliography; Dr Appleyard has revised and simplified the spelling of Ethiopian names and words. The Committee hopes that the publication of the book as thus amended will further the studies to which Dr Huntingford devoted most of his energies in his later years.

C. F. BECKINGHAM

## ABBREVIATIONS

- AÉ* = *Annales d'Éthiopie*.
- AII.* = *Annales 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*. CSCO. vols. 61, 66, ed. I. Guidi.
- AJ* = *Africana Journal*.
- AJIB* = *Annales Iohannis I, 'Iyāsu I, et Bakāffā*. CSCO vols. 22–25. ed. I. Guidi.
- Ann. Af. Ital.* = *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana*.
- AS.* = *Abba Salama*.
- Atti ANL* = *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie*.
- Az.* = *Azania*.
- Beccari.* = *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti*, ed. C. Beccari.
- Beke.* = Map in *JRGS*. xiv. 1844, by C. T. Beke.
- BM. Or.* = British Museum [subsequently British Library] Oriental (MSS).
- BN. Éth.* = Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), MSS Éthiopiens.
- BRSOI* = *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana*.
- BSOAS.* = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
- Budge.* = *The Life of Takla Hāymānot of Dābra Libānos . . . and the Book of the Riches of Kings*. 1906.
- Cah. Ét. Af.* = *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*.
- Cat., Catalogo.* = *Catalogo dei nomi propri di luogo dell' Etiopia*, by C. Conti Rossini. Reprinted from *Atti del Primo Congresso Geografico Italiano*, Genova, 1892.
- CB.* = *Chronique de Ba'eda Māryām*, ed. Perruchon.
- CZ.* = *Chronique de Zar'a Yâ'eqob*, ed. Perruchon. This and the previous work are contained in *Les chroniques de Zar'a Yâeqob et de Ba'eda Māryām*. 1893.
- Cecchi.* = Map in *L'Abissinia Settentrionale*. 1888.
- CGA.* = *Le canzoni geez-amariña*, ed. I Guidi. *RRAL*. v. 1889.
- Charter(s)*. See under *Land Charters*.
- Cheesman.* = Map in *Geogr. J.*, April 1928, by R. E. Cheesman.
- Combes et Tamisier.* = *Voyage en Abyssinie*, by Combes et Tamisier. 1838.
- Conquête.* = *Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie*, tr. R. Basset. (Also referred to as *Futūḥ.*) 1897.

- CSCO. = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.  
 DAE. = *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*. 1913. (Numbers refer to the inscriptions in Vol. IV).  
 Dillmann. = Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*. 1865.  
 ESA. = Epigraphic South Arabian.  
 Eth. Obs. = *Ethiopia Observer*.  
 Ethiop. Itin. = *Ethiopian Itineraries*, ed. O. G. S. Crawford. 1958.  
 First Footsteps. = *First Footsteps in East Africa; or, an Exploration of Harar*, by R. F. Burton. 1856.  
 Futūh. = *Futūh al-Habaša*. See *Conquête*.  
 Géod. = *Géodesie d'une partie de la Haute Éthiopie*, by Antoine d'Abbadie. 1860–63.  
 Géogr. = *Géographie de l'Éthiopie*, by Antoine d'Abbadie. 1890.  
 Geogr. J. = *Geographical Journal*.  
 GSGS. = Geographical Section, General Staff (British War Office).  
 Guida. = *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*. 1938.  
 GV. = *The Glorious Victories of 'Āmda Šeyon*, tr. G. W. B. Huntingford, 1965.  
 Holland and Hozier. = *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*. 1870.  
 HSD = *Historia Regis Sarša Dengel*. CSCO. vols. 20, 21, ed. C. Conti Rossini.  
 JAf. = *Journal des Africanistes*.  
 JAH = *Journal of African History*.  
 JAL = *Journal of African Languages*.  
 J. Asiat. = *Journal Asiatique*.  
 JES = *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*.  
 JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.  
 JRGS = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.  
 Land Charters. = *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, ed. and tr. G. W. B. Huntingford. 1965.  
 Lefebvre. = *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839–43*, by T. Lefebvre, A. Petit, and Martin-Dillon. 1845–49.  
 Mem. RAL. = *Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*.  
 NAS = *NorthEast African Studies*.  
 NEA = N.E.A. *Journal of Research on North East Africa*.  
 OC = *Oriens Christianus*.  
 Paez. = *História da Etiópia*, by P. Paez. Oporto, 1945.  
 PC. = 'Paris Chronicle', i.e. *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie*, ed. R. Basset. 1881.

- Per. Sus. = *Chronica de Susenyos, Rei de Ethiopia*, ed. F. M. Esteves Pereira. 1892–1900.  
 PJ. = *The Prester John of the Indies*, [Alvares] ed. C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford.  
 Princ. di dirit. consuetud. = *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, by C. Conti Rossini, 1916.  
 Proc. Third Int. Conf. of Eth. Stud. = *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa, 1969–70.  
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 Proc. Eighth Int. Conf. of Eth. Stud. = *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa.  
 Ramusio. = *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, by G. B. Ramusio. 1550.  
 RANL = *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*.  
 REA = *Revue des Études Arméniens*.  
 RRAL. = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*.  
 RSE. = *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*.  
 RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*.  
 SRE. = *Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593–1646*. [Almeida and Bährey] ed. C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford.  
 UCAAESB = *University College of Addis Ababa Ethnological Society Bulletin*.  
 Wright. = *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*. 1877.  
 Zeits. Assy. = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.  
 Z., Zotenberg. = *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. 1877.  
 Centuries are indicated by *roman numerals*, e.g. 'written in XVIII' = 'written in the 18th century'; 'with specific XVIII references' = 'with specific 18th century references'.

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Dr. Huntingford completed his *Historical Geography of Ethiopia*, a labour of several years' painstaking research, in 1969. Finding no immediate possibility of having the work published in a period of financial stringency, and being anxious as always to further the advancement of knowledge, he had the typescript deposited in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London where it was consulted over the years by a number of students of Ethiopian history and culture who found it useful, particularly as a guide to sources, as well as an aide in the identification of place names of former times.

The importance of the *Historical Geography* was recognized in 1979 when the British Academy's Fontes Historiae Africanae Committee decided to recommend it to the Academy for publication – a full decade after its completion. Dr. Huntingford having died in 1978, I was asked to prepare the volume for publication.

In editing the original text I have as far as possible preserved it intact, and have made only such minor stylistic alterations as the author might have himself carried out while revising it for the press. A problem was, however, posed by the fact that in the decade and a half since the completion of the work considerable progress has been made in Ethiopian studies. There has been significant archaeological and epigraphic research by scholars attached to the Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology, among them F. Anfray and R. Schneider, valuable historical studies, notably by three Ethiopian historians, Dr. Sergew Hable Sellassie, Dr. Tadesse Tamrat and Dr. Merid Wolde Aregay, some useful field-work, among others by the geographer the late Dr. V. Stitz, as well as by several social anthropologists, and extensive microfilming of manuscripts in churches and monasteries by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library. A number of inscriptions, medieval churches, and stele have been discovered, the literature on Ethiopian history and geography has greatly increased, and there has *inter alia* been much re-thinking on the origins of the Ethiopian people.

To take account of these developments it seemed necessary to write several new sections, to make a number of footnote references to publications which have appeared since the completion of the manuscript, and to add substantially to the Bibliography.

Scrutiny of Huntingford's very detailed text, suggested moreover that it might be useful to supplement it by drawing on several additional already published sources, among them the narrative of the seventeenth century Yemeni ambassador El-Haimi, the reports of the eighteenth century Armenian trader Chodja Murad, and the memoirs of the French physician Charles Poncet.

My additions to the text are in square brackets, followed by the initials R.P., except in the case of the Bibliography, which, while preserving all the original entries, has been materially expanded.

Several sections on ethnography, based largely on secondary sources have on the other hand been omitted, but can be consulted in Huntingford's manuscript which is preserved in the SOAS Library.

One further point should perhaps be added by way of introduction. The identification of Ethiopian place-names presents innumerable difficulties, the more so as maps of the country both old and new are notoriously inaccurate. Many of the names mentioned in Ethiopian historical records, as Huntingford noted in another work, are virtually impossible to identify, without 'extensive search on the ground' which he was unable to undertake. Not a few of the identifications suggested in this *Historical Geography* must therefore be regarded as tentative, and subject to revision on the basis of field work. It is nevertheless hoped that the extensive body of historico-geographical data collected by Huntingford, much of it not otherwise easily accessible, may, if treated with caution, prove of value to Ethiopian studies, and contribute *inter alia* to more rigorous investigations on the ground.

Richard Pankhurst

## NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

Huntingford's system of transcription has been simplified and standardized by Dr. David L. Appleyard, except of course where quoted from other authors using various other systems. Several widely known place names have, however, been kept in their generally accepted English spellings, i.e. Addis Ababa, Asmara, Dessie, Gondar, Harar, Massawa, Shoa and Wollo.

In the transcription distinction is made between laryngals (e.g. h, ḥ or ḥ) and sibilants (e.g. s or ś) only where such differentiation is relevant to the language or period concerned; for instance, in Ge'ez items and names from the Aksumite era.

The maps, which were drawn by Huntingford, have on the other hand been left in his original system of transliteration.

## PRELIMINARY

ETHIOPIA is fortunate in possessing a considerable body of historical documents, especially royal chronicles, which cover the history of the country from the twelfth century to modern times, with important epigraphic records of the fourth century. Though the earlier chronicles tend to be brief, those of the fourteenth century are more extensive, and those from the reign of Zār'a Ya'qob onwards contain more and more detail, as well as a growing number of place-names. The chronicles of the reigns of Šāršä Dəngəl, Susnəyos, Yohannēs I, and Iyasu I, indeed, are furnished with great wealth of place-names, which in most of the printed editions have received little or no attention; Esteves Pereira's edition of the *Chronicle of Susnəyos* (1892–1900) is an exception. Like all the kings of Ethiopia, Susnəyos, Yohannēs, and Iyasu were continually on the move, and their journeys are recorded in great detail. Perruchon, who published the three longest of the earlier chronicles ('Amdä Šəyon, 1889, Zār'a Ya'qob and Bā'ədä Maryam, 1893), complained: 'J'aurais été heureux de pouvoir donner la situation géographique de toutes les localités qui sont mentionnées dans cette histoire; malheureusement la géographie de l'Abysinie et des pays voisins ne m'est pas très connue, et, d'un autre côté, la plupart de ces localités sont probablement aujourd'hui disparues'. (*Hist. des guerres d' Amda Šyon*, p. 277). Esteves Pereira, however, made good use of the map compiled by de Chaurand in 1895, but does not appear to have known the original surveys made by d'Abbadie which were published in 1860–63, nor yet his *Géographie de l'Éthiopie*, published in 1890. Perruchon clearly was not really interested in topography, even though it is true that d'Abbadie's maps are of no help for the reign of 'Amdä Šəyon. Esteves Pereira, more enlightened in this respect, seems to have thought de Chaurand's map was sufficient.

It was the need to elucidate the topography of these records that prompted me to attempt the writing of this book, for historical narratives interspersed with strings of unidentified place-names have not the same significance as they would if

their geography were explained. Although I have called this book 'Historical Geography', it is perhaps rather an attempt to explain Ethiopian topography in its historical setting, and to put on the map as many as possible of the hundreds of unidentified places which occur in the records.

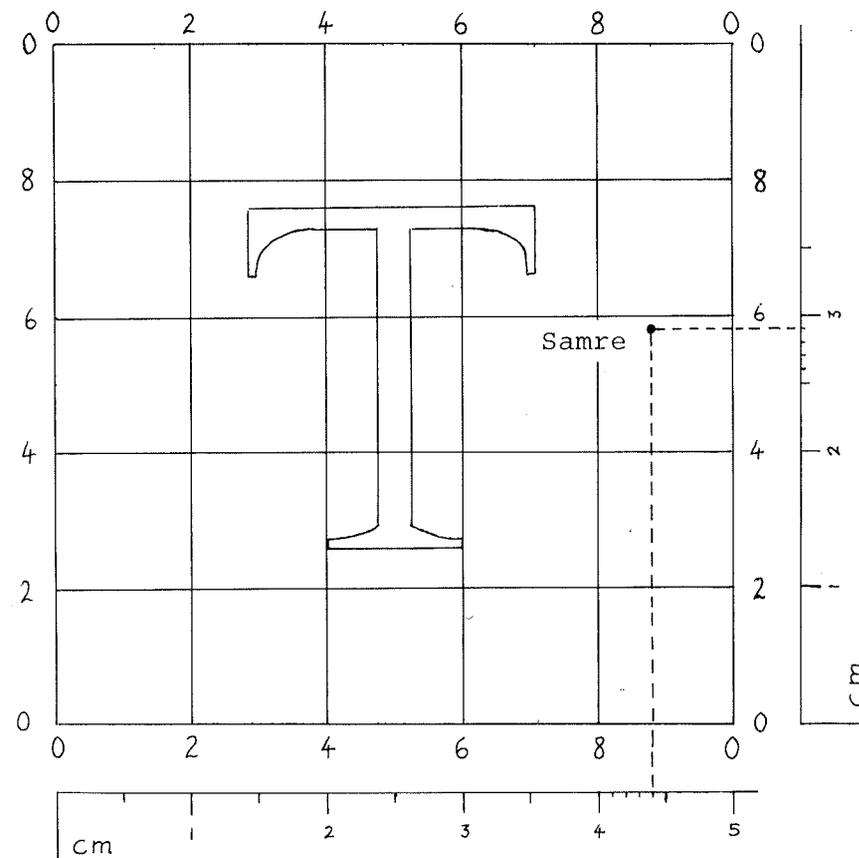
Identification is a difficult process. While it is true that a good many of the names are to be found on the maps available, one trouble is that all too often the original names have been so much distorted by the map-makers that it is extremely hard to identify them. A few such distortions, taken at random, are: Ciai for Ča, Cureva for Goräba, Icobi for Jäjäba, Iusc for Yäwš, Malo for Lämälmo, M. Däbre Chente for Däbrä Qäntä Iyäsus San Gavea for Sāño Gäbäya, Uoget for Wäjät, Ticira for Tēqur Wēha, Fufua for Firfira, Eghir Erive for Wägrä Ḥariba, Graruha for Gērar Wēha, Tincocia for Tämča, Haiafegg for Ahēyya Fäj, Caighedel for Qäy Gädäl, Sciola Ghevea for Sola Gäbäya. Though the identification of some of these names may look simple when pointed out, it is not always so easy till one gets accustomed to the transliteration used. Nor is it always easy to identify misprints or miswritings such as Renfatz for Kinfaz and Talca for Takla.

For names that do not occur on any of the maps, clues are often present in their contexts. This is particularly the case with the itineraries of Yohannēs and Iyasu, where it is often possible to work out from the context both the average rate of travel and the approximate positions of places which could not otherwise be put on the map. Even where precise location is impossible, names can sometimes be referred to grid squares, thus defining their position to within a few miles. Maps are an essential part of a topographical work. I have therefore provided a map in nineteen sheets covering the whole of Ethiopia. This is on the scale of 2,000,000, and has a grid showing Zone, Block, and Square letters. Although the squares are not divided into tenths, a division can easily be made with a ruler to find a four-figure grid reference, since each square measures approximately 5 centimetres each way; though perhaps not absolutely accurate, this will give a reference near enough for practical purposes. (See diagram, p. xxv.)

Topography rather than geography being thus a major preoccupation, I found that the material for the reigns of the seventeenth century kings did not lend itself so conveniently,

Square **HET** on ND 375

Zone: **H**. Block: **E**. Square: **T**.



The position of Samre is 8858

in a preliminary study, to the same kind of narrative treatment that was possible for the previous reigns. In chapters VII, IX, and X therefore, I have made topography the chief feature, and have relegated events to second place. Chapter VII is thus in effect a topographical commentary on the *Chronicle of Susneyos*. In the records of Yohannēs and Iyasu the chroniclers themselves have chosen the 'topographical approach', for to a great extent they arranged their material in terms of the kings' movements, and thus dealt with events in a topographical framework. These two chapters (IX, X) can therefore be suitably set out in the form of itineraries, since the texts lend themselves readily to this method of presentation. And from the topographical or geographical aspect this is, I think, inevitable, since the editions published by Guidi, excellent though they are in other respects, contain only a very few notes, and nothing at all on the identification of place-names.

It may be noticed that I have made no reference to the existence of a north-south highway in Eastern Ethiopia. This is because I have found no reference to such a route in the records to which I have had access. O. G. S. Crawford wrote that 'the main highway of Abyssinia . . . is a perfect example of a ridgeway, and it has been in use from the earliest recorded times. The Italians made it into a metalled road' (*Archaeology in the Field*, p. 61). The highway to which he is referring is the modern main road from Asmara by way of Sänafe, 'Adigrat, Qwiha, Alomata, Wäldiya, Dessie, and Däbrä Sina along the eastern side of the highlands, branching off to Addis Ababa at Däbrä Sina. It is more or less the line of the route taken by Alvares and the Portuguese Embassy in 1520, from a point a few miles south of 'Adigrat to a point somewhere near Dessie. It is also approximately the line followed by the Napier Expedition of 1867. But it is not a ridgeway – which avoids river-crossings – and I have found no specific references to it in the Ethiopian records to which I have had access. This does not mean that I deny the existence of a north-south route in Eastern Ethiopia; there must have been recognized roads in this area. But when Šärsä Dēngēl went to Aksum in 1578 from Wäynä Däg'a in Begämēdr he went by way of Tāmben, and again in 1588 by way of Lāmalmo and Sire. Iyasu I made two journeys to Aksum – in 1690 and 1692 – both by way of Däbarēq and Adärkay. Moreover, the route of the Great Ethi-

opian Caravan (even though it was first recorded in the nineteenth century) was from Massawa by 'Adwa, Adärkay, Gondar, and Baso. The conclusion that I am forced to draw is that the western highway was in fact the main trade route of the country. In the earlier reigns, that is, before the seventeenth century, Ethiopia had no fixed capital, and probably not much trade with the northern coast. Muslim traders came in from the south-east and worked their way across the Awaš valley and thence to other areas; and when the first permanent capital was founded at Gondar it was natural that trade should be concentrated on the western route which was doubtless already in existence before the establishment of the city.

The origin of this book lies in an index of place-names in the *CSCO* texts of the chronicles of Šärsä Dēngēl, Yohannēs I, and Iyasu I which I compiled in 1955; it is printed (with indices of personal names also) in the *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*. Armed with this, I spent a good deal of time in the years that followed working on Ethiopian topographical problems, and published some of the results in two books issued by the Hakluyt Society in 1954 and 1961 – *Some Records of Ethiopia 1593-1646*, and *The Prester John of the Indies*, in which I had the great pleasure of collaborating with Professor C. F. Beckingham. Later on I did further topographical work, some of which found its way into *The Glorious Victories of 'Amda Šeyon* (Oxford 1965) and *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa 1965). I was encouraged to continue work on Ethiopian 'historical geography' by my friend and colleague Professor Edward Ullendorff, who suggested that I should write a book on the subject. This I have now tried to do.

The sources, manuscript, printed, and cartographical which I have used are set out in chapter I.

## LIST OF OUTLINE GRID MAPS

- 1 Index map
- 2 ND 371 Kässälä: Zone H
- 3 ND 372 Asmara: Zone H
- 4 ND 373 Mërsä Fätmä: Zone H
- 5 ND 366 Dindër: Zones G, H
- 6 ND 374 Gondar: Zone H
- 7 ND 375 Mäqälle: Zone H
- 8 ND 376 Lake Giuletti: Zone H
- 9 ND 384 Assab: Zone J
- 10 NC 363 Asosa: Zones G H
- 11 NC 371 Dëbrä Marqos: Zone H
- 12 NC 372 Dessie: Zone H
- 13 NC 373 Abbe: Zone H
- 14 NC 381 Jibuti: Zone J
- 15 NC 374 Lëgëmti: Zone H
- 16 NC 375 Addis Abeba (Addis Ababa): Zone H
- 17 NC 376 Dire Dawa: Zone H
- 18 NC 384 Harar (Harrar): Zone J
- 19 NB 371 Soddu: Zone H
- 20 NB 372 Dalle; Zone H

These original reference maps drawn by Dr Huntingford to cover Ethiopia appear at the back of the book.

## MAP REFERENCES AND DISTANCES

The principal references are given to the following maps:

- Géod.* = the maps in d'Abbadje's *Géodésie d'une partie de la Haute Éthiopie*, 1860-3. (Scale about 1/410,000).
- GSGS = the ½ million sheets of the East African metre grid survey NB 371-376, NC 371-376, ND 371-376, by zone, block, and square letters; and certain sheets of the International 1 million map.
- Beke = the map by Beke in *JRGS. XIV* (1844).
- Cheesman = the map by Cheesman in *Geogr. J. LXXI* (1928); [*Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, 1936.]
- Guida* = the maps in *Guida dell' Africa Orientale Italiana*, 1938 (scale 1 million).
- Géographie, Géogr.* = d'Abbadie's *Géographie de l'Éthiopie*, 1890.

The distances given are horizontal, that is, the distance between one point and another as measured on the map. They are thus approximate, and probably underestimated in many cases, especially in mountainous areas.

When references to GSGS maps are given in square brackets [ ], it is to be understood that places indicated thus are not marked on the map, but that they occur somewhere in the square specified.

## LIST OF KINGS OF ETHIOPIA

From 1268 to 1706

	<i>Christian name:</i>	<i>Throne-names:</i>
1268–1283	Yĕkuno Amlak	Täsfa Iyäsus (?); Yohännēs
1283–1292	Yagbĕ'a Šeyon	Sälomon
1292	Šēnfä Ar'äd	
1293	Hēzbä Asgäd	
1294	Qēdmä Asgäd	
1295	Jin Asgäd	
1296	Säb'a Asgäd	
1297–1312	Wēdēm Ar'ad	
1312–1342	'Amdä Šeyon I	Gäbrä Mäsqäl (I)
1342–1370	Nēwayä Krēstos	Säyfa Ar'ad
1370–1380	Nēwayä Maryam	Wēdēm Asfare; Gërma Asfare
1380–1409	Dawit I	
1409–1412	Tewodros	Wäldä Anbäsa
1412–1427	Yēshaq	Gäbrä Mäsqäl (II)
1427–1428	Andrēyas	
1428–1432	Täklä Maryam	Hēzbä Nāñ
1432	Sērwe Iyäsus	Mēhrēkā Nāñ
1432–1433	'Amdä Iyäsus	Bädäl Nāñ
1433–1468	Zär'a Ya'qob	Qwästāntinos (I)
1468–1478	Bä'ädä Maryam	Qirqos; Dawit (I)
1478–1494	Ĕskēndēr	Qwästāntinos (II)
1494	'Amdä Šeyon II	
1494–1508	Na'od	Anbäsa Başär
1508–1540	Lēbnä Dēngäl	Wänag Sägäd; Ĕtanä Dēngäl; Dawit (II)
1540–1559	Gälawdewos	Aşnaf Sägäd (I)
1559–1563	Minas	Admas Sägäd (I)
1563–1597	Šärsä Dēngäl	Mäläk Sägäd (I)
1597–1604	Ya'qob	Mäläk Sägäd (II)
1604	Zä Dēngäl	Aşnaf Sägäd (II)
1604–1606	Ya'qob (again)	Mäläk Sägäd (II)

1606–1632	Susnēyos	Sēlṭan Sägäd (I); Mäläk Sägäd (III)
1632–1667	Fasilädäs	Aläm Sägäd; Sēlṭan Sägäd (II)
1667–1681	Yohännēs I	A'laf Sägäd
1681–1706	Iyasu I	Adyam Sägäd (I)

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# I INTRODUCTION

## I THE SOURCES: THEIR NATURE AND HISTORICITY

### A. EPIGRAPHIC

Most of the epigraphic sources, which date from the heyday of the kingdom of Aksum, belong to the fourth century A.D. and were set up, on stone, by 'Ezana, perhaps between 325 and 352.

The inscriptions of 'Ezana are all at Aksum. Seven are recorded in *DAE*. volume iv. Three of these, known collectively as the Trilingual Inscription (though they are on separate pieces of stone) are versions of the same text in Greek (*DAE*. 4), unvocalized Ge'ez (*DAE*. 7), and unvocalized pseudo-ESA (*DAE*. 6). One other inscription consists of a Ge'ez text written in unvocalized ESA characters (*DAE*. 8); the remainder are Ge'ez in vocalized Ge'ez characters (*DAE*. 9, 10, 11). In no. 11, the so-called 'Christian Inscription', 'Ezana changes his style from 'son of Maḥrēm unconquered by the enemy' to 'king by the power of the Lord of Heaven'.

[Besides the above inscriptions, which have been known since the early twentieth century, there are two others of 'Ezana which were discovered in 1969, namely:

- (1) A second, even more explicitly Christian inscription, written in Greek. It is discussed by Anfray, Caquot and Nautin, 'Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Ezana, roi d'Axoum.' *Le Journal des Savants*. 1970, pp. 260-74.
- (2) Another inscription, on the rear of the above, written in Ge'ez, but in South Arabian letters. It has been described by R. Schneider in two works: 'Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum', *Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, Roma, 1974, I, pp. 767-72, and 'L'inscription chrétienne d'Ezana en écriture sudarabe,' *AE*. X. 1976, pp. 109-17. R.P.]

In addition to the 'Ezana inscriptions mention may be made of some writing also attributed to IV, engraved on a narrow bronze bar about 60 cm. long found in excavations at Dra near

the Sänafe pass some 10 miles NNW of Aşbi (ND 375 HFF), containing the name of King Gadar, in unvocalized Ge'ez, as well as two place names, [ʾRG and LMQ which have not been located. R.P.]<sup>1</sup>

Two other inscriptions have been recorded – the so-called Monumentum Adulitanum, written in Greek and transcribed by Cosmas about 527. These have been lost since his day, and as we have only his transcription of them they must be regarded as coming under the head of documentary sources. (See below.)

[Two further inscriptions dating from this period were discovered in 1969: one put up by King Kaleb early in the sixth century, and the other by a son of his called W'ZB. Both are in Ge'ez written in South Arabian letters, and are discussed in Schneider, 'Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum' (see above), pp. 770–86. R.P.]

## B. DOCUMENTARY

### 1. GREEK

The two primary texts in Greek relating to Ethiopia are the anonymous *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes.

The *Periplus*, entitled Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης, was written perhaps about the end of I – whether a few years before or after 100 is really immaterial – by someone who had evidently been to the places he describes. It survives in two MSS, one at Heidelberg of X (Heidelbergensis Palatinus Graecus 398), the other at London (BL. Additional MS 19,391). The latest editor of this text, Frisk, regards the London MS as being no more than an inferior copy of the Heidelberg MS (*Le Périple de la Mer Erythrée*, Göteborg, 1927).<sup>2</sup>

Cosmas, the author of the *Christian Topography*, Τοπογραφία Χριστιανική, was, according to his own statement, at Adulis about the year 527, when he copied two Greek inscriptions; his book seems to have been written about 550. The chief MSS of Cosmas are Codex Vaticanus Graecus of VII or IX; Cod. Florentinus Laurent. Plut. of IX; and Cod. Sinaiticus Graecus

<sup>1</sup>[See A. Caquot et A. J. Drewes, 'Les monuments recueillis à Maqallé (Tigré)', *AE*, I, 1955, pp. 32–9. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>[A new annotated English translation of the *Periplus*, by G.W.B. Huntingford, was posthumously published by the Hakluyt Society in 1980. R.P.]

of IX. In the first two there are some explanatory *scholia* and glosses, and in the first there is a picture showing Adulis and the throne of Ptolemy. This may well be a copy of Cosmas's own drawing, and not an imaginary later reconstruction. (*The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, ed. E. O. Winstedt. Cambridge, 1909.)

Secondary sources are Agatharchides, Strabo, and Ptolemy, with one Latin writer, Pliny the Elder, who used sources written in Greek.

Agatharchides of Cnidus, a grammarian who flourished at Alexandria c. 130 B.C, wrote a book on the Erythraean Sea, now lost and surviving only in an epitome made by Photius Patriarch of Constantinople about A.D. 858, and included in his *Bibliotheca*. The original work of Agatharchides was evidently used by Strabo, who died c. A.D. 20, and wrote a descriptive work entitled *Geography*. This is the main source of our knowledge of the Ptolemaic elephant-hunting in NE Africa. Pliny, who died in 79, produced a vast *Naturalis Historia* in thirty-six books, of which Book VI contains some references to Ethiopia.

The texts which I have used for these secondary sources are: Agatharchides: in C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. I (1855); Strabo: H. L. Jones (Loeb Classical Library, 1917); Ptolemy: C. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* (1883–1901); C. Nobbe, *C. Ptolemaei Geographia* (1881); Pliny: Valpy's Delphin edition of 1826.

### 2. ETHIOPIĆ (GE'EZ)

#### GENERAL STATEMENT

Of the chronicles of the kings from 'Amdä Şeyon I to Iyasu I, – excluding those of whose reigns we have only brief records in abbreviated chronicles like *PC*, – four are contained in MSS of XVII, three in MSS of XVIII, and eight in MSS of XIX. All these kings came to the throne before 1700, and eleven of the records, as we have them, were written long after their lifetimes.

Of the Lives of the Saints which provide historical and geographical material, only one MS (Täklä Hawaryat of XV) belongs to the century in which the saint lived. The Life of Bäşälotä Mika'el may have been written as early as XV, but

all the rest are later. Thus, the longer version of the Life of Täklä Haymanot (XIII) is contained in a MS of XVIII, though the shorter or Wäldëbba version goes back to XV. The XIV saints Ewostatewos, Aron, and Filpos are all contained in MSS of XVIII. The lives of Anorewos, Märqorewos, and Gäbrä Mänfäs Qëddus are from MSS of XVIII, though that of Aron may be of early XVIII from a XVI original. Those of Abäkër-äzun and Fëre Mika'el belong to XIX.

[A more extensive discussion on the historical significance of the lives of saints is given by Huntingford in his posthumously published study 'The Saints of Medieval Ethiopia' *Abba Salama*. X. 1979, pp. 257–341, while a useful guide to this literature, and its translations, is to be found in Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, 'Bibliography of the Ethiopic Hagiographical Traditions', *JES*. XIII No. 2. 1975, pp. 57–102. R.P.]

### i. ETHIOPIC MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The question may be asked, how is it that this state of affairs has arisen – how is it that so much of Ethiopian literature, professing to go back several centuries, is to be found only in MSS of much later date? There are several reasons for this. First, the destruction of monasteries and churches by Grañ in XVI; second, the devastations of the Galla in XVI and XVII; and third, the burning of the archives when the Betä Mängëst (Treasury) at Gondar was destroyed by Ras Mika'el about the middle of XVIII.<sup>1</sup> A few years later, about 1780, one Däjazmač Haylu,<sup>2</sup> son of Däjazmač Ēšäte, who had taken refuge at

<sup>1</sup>[Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia throughout most of XVII, the entire XVIII and the first part of XIX, was ravaged in 1866 by Emperor Tewodros who carried off most of its manuscripts to Mäqdäla where members of the Napier expedition of 1867–8 found, and looted, about 900 of them. Some 350 of these manuscripts are preserved in the British Library, but most of the remainder, which were left behind in Tigre, have not been traced. See R. J. Pankhurst, 'The Library of Emperor Tewodros at Mäqdäla (Magdala).' *BSOAS*, XXXVI. 1973, pp. 13–42. Gondar subsequently suffered again, in 1887, when the Dervishes 'set fire to the churches and looted and destroyed the houses', as noted in E. A. Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia*. London, 1928, II. 404. Though such acts of war were the cause of considerable destruction it should be noted that many manuscripts must also have been lost as a result of accidental fires. Conflagrations were in fact surprisingly common, as churches, which in many cases stood on mountain or hill tops, often attracted lightning, and, because of their thatched roofs, easily caught alight. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>[On this notable Ethiopian scholar see Tekle Tsadik Mekurya, 'Courte histoire de Hailu Eshete', *Proc. Eighth Int. Conf. of Eth. Stud.* R.P.]

Mahdärä Maryam, collected from various places material for a new redaction of some of the lost documents, in his own words, 'just as Ezra (Esdras) renewed the books of the law which had been burnt' (2 Esdras xiv. 20). Statements to this effect occur in some of the MSS in the British Museum, e.g. BM. Or. 820 and 821, the latter being a copy made in 1851 from Haylu's redaction of 1784.

When it is said that any given work 'exists only in a MS of XVIII or XIX', one should perhaps qualify the statement by adding that such a MS is 'the only known or accessible copy', since it is not impossible that a number of works of which the only known or accessible copies are of XVIII and XIX may in fact survive, unknown to us, in earlier MSS in monastic libraries. Nobody seems to know what these libraries contain. [Since the above lines were written an Ethiopian manuscript microfilm project has been established as a joint Ethiopian–American venture. Microfilming of manuscripts in Ethiopian church, monastery and other libraries began in 1973, and by the end of 1985 some 9,000 had been filmed. Manuscripts microfilmed are listed in the *Bulletin of Ethiopian Manuscripts. Trimester Publication of Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library*. Addis Ababa, 1974– , and have been catalogued by W. F. Macomber and, more extensively, by Getachew Haile. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts*, Collegeville, Minn., 1975– R.P.] Undoubtedly there is a good deal of early material still awaiting discovery, like the mid-XV MSS at Gëšëna Maryam near Dessie and the XVI MS at Däbrä Wäyla near Soqoṭa photographed by Mrs Diana Spencer<sup>1</sup>. But whether there is still a great store of historical material is perhaps doubtful<sup>2</sup>. If the list of books given in 1739 by queen Bërhan Mogäsa to the newly founded church of Däbrä Šähay at Gondar be taken as typical, one might suppose that historical books were not common. The books consisted of the Old and New Testaments, a psalter, 'the Faith of the Fathers', Miracles of Christ and the Virgin Mary, service books, homilies, theological works, apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the *Fëṯha Nägäst*, and the *Kebrä Nägäst*. This of course is only a small library in a new foundation, and may

<sup>1</sup>[See bibliography Note, R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>It is noteworthy that as of 1984 no new Ethiopian chronicle had been discovered by the microfilming team. R.P.]

not be typical; but it may be a pointer.<sup>1</sup> The most frequently copied Ethiopian books were the Bible, theological works, service books, the *Sēnkēsar* (Synaxarium: lives of saints for every month of the year), and lives of certain saints. The British Library alone has some 60 biblical MSS, 50 commentaries and theological works, and 77 books of Lives of the Saints, including 20 of the *Sēnkēsar*, as against four historical MSS, out of a total of some 400 MSS. One must also bear in mind that the great majority of Ethiopian MSS were written on sheep-skin,<sup>2</sup> and that in many books each folio represents one sheep. Twenty volumes of the *Sēnkēsar* in the British Museum (nos. ccxxxii–ccli in Wright's *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS in the British Museum*) must have required at least 1,688 sheep, with an average of 84–85 sheep to a volume; as Wright says, these large books 'cost the lives of whole flocks' (*Catalogue*, p. ix). The source of the material from which books were made, and the preoccupation with ecclesiastical matters, could also be another explanation for the scarcity of historical MSS.

Fortunately it is possible in the case of a certain number of XVIII and XIX copies of older works now lost or inaccessible to check the texts by means of Portuguese versions made by the Jesuits in the early part of XVII. Foremost among these was the Spaniard Paez, who reached Ethiopia in 1603, was working on his *Historia da Etiopia* by 1607, and died in the country in 1622. Paez not only acquired a sound knowledge of Ethiopic but became a friend of king Susnēyos, who allowed him access to manuscripts. He quotes, e.g., king lists from a book 'kept in the church of Agcūm . . . which the emperor Saltān Çagued lent me', and he made translations from various Lives and chronicles. These translations, it is true, are only summaries, but they are long and detailed enough to compare

<sup>1</sup>[On the principal Ethiopian manuscripts known in the early nineteenth century in Gondar and Ankobär see E. Combes et M. Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris, 1847, III, pp. 347–51, and C. W. Isenberg and J. L. Krapf, *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf*, London, 1843, pp. 99–100. Inventories of MSS. in Ethiopian churches are included in several Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Library and elsewhere – see for example R. Pankhurst and Germa-Selassie Asfaw, *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tēwodros of Ethiopia (1855–1868)*, London, 1978, pp. 130–1, 134–5, 138–9, 142–3. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>[Many manuscripts were also made from cow-hide, and, according to tradition, also from the skin of horses. See Assefa Liban, 'Preparation of parchment manuscripts'. *UCAAESB*, 1958, VIII, pp. 5–21; Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Bookmaking in Ethiopia*, Leiden, 1981. R.P.]

with the existing Ge'ez MSS of later date copied from originals not accessible to us. They therefore go quite a long way towards establishing the validity of Ethiopic manuscript tradition.

## ii. THE ETHIOPIC SOURCES: CATEGORIZATION

The sources with which we are concerned here consist of the *Ethiopic* MS material and published editions; *Portuguese* and *Arabic* sources are listed on pp. 14–18.

### 1. THE ZAGWE.

*Gädlä Lalibäla*. The text printed by Perruchon, *Vie de Lalibala*, (Paris, 1892)<sup>1</sup> is taken from BM. Or. 718, written for the wife of king Ēgwalä Šeyon (1801–19), which gives the approximate date of the manuscript. There is, however, an earlier MS, BM. Or. 719, written in the first half of XV (Wright, *Catalogue*, no. ccxciv) which has not been published or collated. Wright's Plate I, however, contains the text of fol. 107a of BM. Or. 719, corresponding to part of fol. 86 of BM. Or. 718 (Perruchon's text pp. 35–6), which differs only in minor orthographic details.

*Gädlä Nä'akwēto Lā'ab*. The text published by Conti Rossini in *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. II, 1943, pp. 105–232, is based on d'Abbadie MS 29 (d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens*, p. 35) which is attributed by Conti Rossini to XVII; he collated it with a MS of uncertain date belonging to the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem.

*Bē'ēlä Nāgāstat*. This document, 'The Wealth of Kings', survives in at least four MSS, three of XVIII and one of XIX. BM Or. 722 has been published by myself with a translation and notes, and a photographic reproduction of the text (from fol. 127v–129v), in *BSOAS*. 1965, XXVIII, pp. 1–23; the text of BM. Or. 723 (which contains also the Life of Täklä Haymanot referred to above, p. 3) is included by Budge in his *Life of Takla Hāymānot*. The work appears from a statement on fol. 129v. col. 1 of Or. 722 to have been composed and written about 1767/8.

A document from Däbrä Libanos in Tēgre, published by

<sup>1</sup>[Perruchon did not in fact publish or translate the complete text of the manuscript. The missing part was later published and translated by S. Kur from a manuscript in the Vatican library. S. Kur, 'Edition d'un manuscrit éthiopien de la bibliothèque vaticane: Cerulli 178', *Atti NAL Memorie*, 1972, 8 ser. XVI, pp. 383–426. R.P.]

Conti Rossini in *RRAL*. 5 SER. XXXI, 1922, but undated, gives some information about the origins of the Zagwe.

On the *Life of Täklä Haymanot*, see above, p. 3. The shorter or Wäldëbba version of this *Life* was translated by Conti Rossini in *Mem. RRAL* 5 ser. 1894, pp. 97–143, Tom BN. Éth. 56 (Z. 136), fol. 1–95. It was written by Täklä Šeyon, a monk of the convent of Abba Samu'el of Wäldëbba, for the abbot, Täklä Iyäsus; the writing is of XV.

*Hëggä wäšer'atä mängëšt.* This document, 'The law and institutions of the kingdom', exists in several MSS, all but one of XVIII and XIX. The contents are very diverse; they vary from MS to MS, and include such subjects as the Masters of the Law, with a list of the Judiciary; lists of districts arranged under the headings of various officials; customs observed by the king, senior officials, and the royal household; proceedings at the investiture of certain officers of state; and the Order of Precedence. In two of the MSS (Bodl. Bruce 88 and 92) there are long lists of place-names, one (Bruce 92) headed 'The record according to their divisions' followed by official titles to each of which are appended names of districts and places; the second (Bruce 88) is headed 'names of districts', being a list of about 126 place-names arranged in some sort of topographical order. (These two lists are given below in Appendix A.) The MSS of this work are:

1. Bodl. Bruce 88, written in late XVI.
2. Bodl. Bruce 92, written for Bruce before 1773.
3. BM. Or. 817, written in the time of Sälomon II (1777–79), apparently from an earlier copy in which there were no plurals of Amharic type in *-oč* such as occur in the rest of the XVIII and XIX MSS, e.g. where Bruce 92 has *azažoč*, this MS has *azaz*; and *däj azmat* for the *däj azmačannät* of Bruce 92.
4. BM. Or. 821, written in 1851.
5. BN. Éth. 105, of XVIII.
6. BN. Éth. 147, of XIX.
7. Frankfurt no. 18, MS Ruppell I b, of XIX, published by Varenbergh in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1915/16, XXX. pp. 1–45.
8. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, Orient. 129. Date uncertain, but possibly XVIII/XIX.
9. Cambridge University Library, Oriental 1873, of XIX,

with only minor variations from Bruce 92. This formerly belonged to C. H. Armbruster.

Citations from this document in the following pages are from Bruce 88, Bruce 92, and Cambridge Or. 1873. The existence of a MS of XVI indicates a probability that, although there may be specific XVIII references and allusions in most of the MSS, much of the matter they contain really does go back to XVI and even earlier.

## 2. YĔKUNO AMLAK AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

'*Paris Chronicle*'. See below, p. 11.

*Gädlä Märqorewos.* The MS of this work was destroyed accidentally in 1902 and it now survives only in a summary and extracts made in that year by Conti Rossini (*CSCO*, vol. 33). It covers a long span, from Agbë'a Šeyon son of Yĕkuno Amlak to Dawit (1280–1409).

## 3. 'AMDÄ ŠĔYON

*The Chronicle of 'Amdä Šeyon.*<sup>1</sup> BM. Or. 821; see above, p. 8.

*Canzoni Geez-amarīna* [*CGA*]. These 'songs in honour of kings' are really, it would seem, soldiers' songs; they were published by Guidi in *RRAL*. V. 1889, pp. 53–66, and translated into German by Littmann, *Die Altamharischen Kaiserlieder* (Strasburg, 1914), who also published some explanatory matter in a paper entitled 'Altamharisches Glossar' (RSO. XX, pp. 473–505). The language of the songs is an early form of Amharic, and though some of them refer to kings of XIV, the existing texts are not older than about 1600. The Bodleian MS, Bruce 88, is of late XVI; BN. Éth. 147 is of XIX. The kings included in these MSS are Yĕshaq, Dawit, 'Amdä Šeyon, Zär'a Ya'qob, and Gälawdewos. Guidi's text is based on BN. Éth. 147. Bruce 88 was probably written soon after the reign of Gälawdewos, the last king to be commemorated. For the reign of Yĕshaq the songs are of special importance, for No. 2 gives a list of districts which paid tribute to the king and describes the nature of the tribute.

*The Land Charters.* These are records of land grants made by various kings from 'Ezana to Yohannës IV (1868–89), recorded

<sup>1</sup>[An English translation by Huntingford, with notes and index, was published in 1965 with the title *The Glorious Victories of 'Amdä Šeyon King of Ethiopia*. R.P.]

in a number of MSS of different dates. They were collected by Conti Rossini in a volume entitled *Liber Axumae* (CSCO. vols. 54, 58) with a French translation; I published an English translation, with notes and index, in 1965 (*The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa). Most of the charters are taken from collections which appear in several MSS mostly of XVIII and XIX, though one or two are of XVII. Of XVII we have MS d'Abbadie 97 (Chaîne's numbering) and Bodleian Bruce 89, written before 1632. Of XVIII are Bruce 90 and 93, both written for Bruce; and of XIX, MSS d'Abbadie 152, 167, 225 (Chaîne, *Catalogue des MSS de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie. Bibl. Nat.*, 1912).<sup>1</sup> These documents contain many place-names, and a great number of names of officials and of official titles, and thus are of great importance in topographical, historical, and legal studies.

*Gädlä Ewostatewos*. From BM. Or. 704 and 705, both of XVIII. Published by Turaiev, *Acta S. Eustathii*, CSCO. vol. 32.

*Gädlä Filpos*. Published from a MS of XVIII by Turaiev, *Acta SS. Aronis et Philippi*, CSCO. vols. 30, 31.

*Gädlä Aron*. Published from a MS of XVIII by Turaiev.

*Gädlä Bäšälötä Mika'el*. Published from a MS of XV by Conti Rossini, *Acta S. Bäšälötä Mika'el et S. Anorewos*, CSCO. vols. 28, 29.

*Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qëddus*. The shorter version of the very imaginative life of this saint, published by Wallis Budge in his *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, is from the *Sēnkēsar*, BM. Or. 661. written in 1654–55. The longer version is in the unpublished BM. Add. MS 16,198, probably of XVIII.

#### 4. ZÄR'A YA'QOB AND BÄ'ĒDÄ MARYAM

*The Chronicle of Zär'a Ya'qob*. Published by Perruchon with a French translation in *Les Chroniques de Zär'a Yä'eqob et de Ba'eda Märyâm* (Paris, 1893), based on BM. Or. 821 written in 1851, and collated with BN. Éth. 147, and, for the description of the enclosures at Däbrä Bërhan on pp. 23–45, with Bodl. Bruce 88.

<sup>1</sup>It is unfortunate that both Chaîne and Conti Rossini should have re-catalogued the d'Abbadie MSS with a different enumeration, the result being that we have now three catalogues each with its own numbering. Conti Rossini's re-arrangement of the d'Abbadie MSS was published in *J. Asiat.*, 10 sér. vols. 19, 20, and 11 sér. vols. 2, 6, between 1912 and 1915, with the title 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie.'

The part relating to Zär'a Ya'qob was composed, in Perruchon's opinion, in the time of Lëbnä Dëngël; the second part, relating to Bä'ēdä Maryam, he thinks was composed partly in the time of Ĕskëndër and partly in the time of Lëbnä Dëngël.

*Gädlä Abäkërazun*. From a MS of XIX, written for d'Abbadie on European paper (no. 174 in his *Catalogue*). Published by Conti Rossini, *Acta SS Abakerazun et Takla Hawäryät*, CSCO. vols. 56, 57.

*Gädlä Täklä Hawaryat*. From MS d'Abbadie 63 (his own numbering), possibly of XV according to Conti Rossini, who published it in CSCO.

*Gädlä Fëre Mika'el*. Copied for d'Abbadie (his *Catalogue* no. 161) from a MS of perhaps late XV; d'Abbadie's copy is on 'papier arabe'. Published by Turaiev, *Acta S. Ferē Mikā'el et S. Zär'a Abrēham*, CSCO. vols. 35, 36.

#### 5. ĔSKĔNDĔR AND NA'OD

The somewhat scanty records of these kings were published by Perruchon in *J. Asiat.* 9 sér. III. 1894, pp. 319–66, from BN. Éth. 147. There is also a list of Na'od's wet season camps in d'Abbadie 225 (Chaîne) of XIX.

#### 6. LĔBNÄ DĔNGĔL

'*Paris Chronicle*'. This is an abbreviated<sup>1</sup> chronicle published with a French translation and notes by Basset with the title *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie* (Paris, 1882). The text is taken from BN. Éth. 105, written in XVIII. It contains notices of the reigns of the kings from Yëkuno Amlak to Bäkaffa, those relating to the earlier kings being very brief, the longest (less than one printed page) being devoted to 'Amdä Šëyon I. From Lëbnä Dëngël onwards the accounts are much longer. There is a similar text in BM. Or. 821. The space allotted to each king in the printed text of PC and in BM. Or. 821 is:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>[Though chronicles of this kind were formerly referred to, as by Huntingford, as 'abbreviated' they are now perhaps more correctly known as 'shorter chronicles' as they often contain material not included in the fuller texts. On the relationship between the two types of chronicle see J. McCann, 'The Ethiopian chronicles: an African documentary tradition', *NAS*, 1979 I, pp. 47–61; M. Kropp, 'Zur "Kurzen Chronik" der äthiopischen Könige', *OC*, 1981, pp. 128–40. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>The size of Or 821 is 12 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  ins; and of the printed area of each page of PC, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  ins.

	<i>PC</i>	<i>Or. 821</i>
Lëbnä Dëngël	5 printed pages	3 folios
Gälawdewos	4½	21
Minas	½	10
*Säršä Dëngël	2	92
*Susnëyos	4	2
Fasilädäs	5	3
*Yohannës I	1¼	1
*Iyasu I	20½	15
Täklä Haymanot	4½	½
Tewoflos	3½	½
Yostos	2½	2
Dawit	6½	4
*Bäkaffa	18½	3

(Those marked \* have separate long chronicles taken from other sources.) It would appear that the short notices of Lëbnä Dëngël's predecessors were collected and written down in his reign; and that additions were made under each succeeding king up to the time of Bäkaffa when the chronicle ends. Bäkaffa died in 1730, and the complete record was perhaps composed in its present form from earlier sources soon after that date.

In BN. Éth. 105 there is a lacuna covering the latter part of Säršä Dëngël's reign and the short reigns of Ya'qob and Zä Dëngël. This gap can now be filled in from Cambridge Or. 1873, written in XIX, and containing a text nearly identical with that of BN. Éth. 105.

*The history of Lëbnä Dëngël.* This was published with an Italian translation by Conti Rossini in *RRAL*. 5 ser. III, 1894 from Bodl. Bruce 88, written about 1600 (see above under 'Amdä Šeyon).

*Liber Axumae.* On p. 69 of Conti Rossini's text (*CSCO*. vol. 54) is a list of Lëbnä Dëngël's wet season camps, from MS d'Abbadie 225 of XIX.

## 7. GÄLAWDEWOS

'*Paris Chronicle*'. See above, under Lëbnä Dëngël.

*Chronicle of Gälawdewos.* Published by Conzelman, *La chronique de Galawdewos* (Paris, 1895), from BN. Éth. 147, fol. 95–117.

## 8. MINAS

'*Paris Chronicle*'. see above, under Lëbnä Dëngël.

*Chronicle of Minas.* Published by Esteves Pereira, *Historia de Minás*, (Lisbon, 1888), from BN. Éth. 147, fol. 117–125.

## 9. SÄRŠÄ DĒNGĒL

'*Paris Chronicle*'. See above, under Lëbnä Dëngël.

*History of Säršä Dëngël.* Published by Conti Rossini, *Historia Regis Sarša Dengel, CSCO*. vols. 20, 21, from Bodl. Bruce 88 (c. 1600) and BN. Éth. 147. [An Index to personal and place names in this chronicle is provided by Huntingford in his 'Indices to five Ethiopian Chronicles' published in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum*, volumes 20–25'. *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*. xix, 1969, pp. 285–7, 300–1. R.P.]

*Bahrëy.* The short work known as 'The history of the Galla' (*zenahu lägalla*) by an Ethiopian ecclesiastic named Bahrëy<sup>1</sup> is contained in the first three folios of a MS containing a *mäzmurä krëstos*, 'psalter of Christ', dated 1582. The three folios of Bahrëy are written in a different hand; the work was probably composed and written about or soon after 1593. (See *SRE*. p. xxxv.) The Ethiopic text is printed at the end of the *Historia Regis Sarša Dengel*, pp. 223–231; the MS is BM. Or. 534. [For an index to this work see Huntingford's index noted above, pp. 288–9, 302. R.P.]

## 10. YA'QOB AND ZÄ DĒNGĒL

'*Paris Chronicle*'. See above, under Lëbnä Dëngël.

## 11. SUSNĒYOS

*Chronicle of Susnëyos.* Published by Esteves Pereira, *Chronica de Susenyos Rei de Ethiopia* (Lisbon, 1892, 1900 from Bodl. Bruce 89, fol. 1–75, composed and written probably in or soon after the reign of Susnëyos. (And see below, p. 151.)

## 12. FASILÄDÄS

'*Paris Chronicle*'. See above, under Lëbnä Dëngël.

<sup>1</sup>[The argument has been advanced that Bahrëy was none other than the chronicler of Säršä Dëngël. See S. B. Chernestov, 'Who authored the Chronicle of King Sarša-Dengel?', *Proc. Eighth Int. Conf. of Eth. Stud.* R.P.]

## 13. YOHANNĒS I

'Paris Chronicle'. See above, under Lēbnä Dēngēl.

*Annals of Yohannēs I*. Published by Guidi, *Annales Iohannis I, 'Iyāsu I et Bakāffā*, CSCO. vols. 22, 23, from Bodl. Bruce 90 of XVIII, and d'Abbadie MS 167 of XIX. The first of these was transcribed for Bruce. [The Guidi edition is indexed by Huntingford in his 'Indices to five Ethiopian Chronicles . . .', pp. 289–92, 303–16. R.P.]

## 14. IYASU I

'Paris Chronicle'. See above, under Lēbnä Dēngēl.

*Annals of Iyasu I*. Published by Guidi, *Annales Iohannis I, 'Iyāsu I et Bakāffā*, CSCO. vols. 24, 25, from Bodl. Bruce 90 of XVIII, and d'Abbadie MS 167 of XIX. [For index see Huntingford's 'Indices . . .' cited above, pp. 289–92, 303–16. J.P.]

## 3. EXTERNAL SOURCES

## (A) ARABIC

The Arabic sources which I have used are: (1) For the Shoan State, an Arabic document discovered at Harar in 1936 and published by Cerulli in *RSE*. 1941 I. pp. 5–42. (2) For the period 1300–1435, Al-'Umarī and Maqrīzī, the former in *Masālik al-abṣār fi Mamālik al-amṣār: l'Āfrique moins l'Égypte*, translated by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris, 1928), the latter in *Macrizi Historia Regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, a Latin version by F. T. Rinck of Maqrizi's Arabic text (Leiden, 1790). Al-'Umarī's *floruit*?, 1345, that of Maqrizi 1435. [The typescript of an unpublished English translation by Huntingford entitled *MAQRIZI: The Book of the True Knowledge of the History of the Moslem Kings of Abyssinia* is to be found in S.O.A.S. Library. R.P.] (3) For the invasion by Grañ, the *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle) par Chihab Ed-din Aḥmed ben 'Abd el Qāder surnommé Arab-Faqih*, which is the French version by R. Basset of the Arabic text called *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (Paris, 1897). (4) [Also of interest for the early seventeenth century is the report of a Yamani ambassador Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad Al-Ḥaimī who visited Gondar in 1648, little more than a decade after its establishment. A German translation, *Zur Geschichte Abessiniens im 17. Jahrhundert. Der Gesandtschaftsbericht des Ḥasan ben Aḥmed El-Haimī*, was published by F. E. Peiser (Berlin 1898), and an

English, *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia 1647–1649*, by E. J. Van Donzel (Stuttgart, 1986). R.P.]

## (B) PORTUGUESE

## (1) Alvares

Francisco Alvares, who may have been a Franciscan, was chaplain to the embassy sent to Ethiopia by Manoel I king of Portugal under Dom Rodrigo de Lima, which set out from India and reached Massawa in April 1520. He wrote a book about this journey – the first detailed account of Ethiopia ever produced – with the title *Ho Preste Joam das Indias – verdadeira informaçam das terras do Preste Joam* (The Prester John of the Indies – A true relation of the lands of the Prester John), published at Lisbon in 1540. A translation by Lord Stanley of Alderley was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1881, and re-issued in 1961 with notes and additional material by C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford.

## (2) Jesuit Writers

The Jesuits reached Ethiopia in 1557, during the reign of Gälawdewos; and through the influence of the Spanish Jesuit Pero Paez (who wrote in Portuguese) king Susnēyos (1606–32) was converted to the Roman faith. Paez died in 1622, and his place was taken by another Spaniard, Afonso Mendez, who received the king's submission to the Pope. In his attempt to bring about a general renunciation of monophysite Christianity throughout Ethiopia in favour of Catholicism, Mendez caused so much discontent that in 1632 the king was compelled to restore the national faith, and the Jesuits were soon afterwards expelled by his successor Fasilädäs. Both Paez and Mendez wrote books about Ethiopia, as did other Jesuit missionaries, among them the Portuguese Manoel de Almeida, Manoel Barradas, and Jerónimo Lobo. Of those who between the years 1620 and 1650 concerned themselves with the history and geography of Ethiopia, only two made extensive use of written Ethiopic sources. These were Paez, whose *História da Ethiópia* was produced about 1620, and Almeida, who wrote his *Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia* between 1628 and 1646. The others – Barradas (*Tractatus tres historico-geographici*, 1634), Mendez (*Expeditionis Aethiopicæ . . . libri*, cir. 1650), and Lobo made use of Portuguese material and oral information from Ethiopians.

The Portuguese text of Lobo has recently been rediscovered, hitherto it has been known to us only through Le Grand's French version called *Voyage historique d'Abissinie*, 1728, which was translated into English by Dr Johnson in 1735. [A new edition of *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo* translated by Donald M. Lockhart from a Portuguese text established and edited by M. G. da Costa, with an introduction and notes by C. F. Beckingham, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1984. R.P.]

The Jesuit writings are contained in Beccari's work *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti* (Rome 1905–17). Paez has been edited separately in three volumes (ed. Sanceau, Feio, and Teixeira, Porto 1945, from an MS at Braga, with the title *Pêro Pais: História da Etiópia*). Here follows a summary of what they wrote.

PERO PAEZ, *História de Etiópia*, in four books (Beccari vols. II and III):

- |          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
| Book I.  | Chap. 1–3.  | The position of Ethiopia; origin of its kings.                                  |
|          | Chap. 4.  | The officials of the kingdom.   |
|          | Chap. 5.  | Amba Gěšēn, where the princes were confined; king lists.                        |
|          | Chap. 6–11.   | The election of an emperor; the coronation ceremonial.                          |
|          | Chap. 12–15.  | Ethiopian administration.   |
|          | Chap. 16–18.  | The cities, government, and customs of Ethiopia; legal procedure and penalties. |
|          | Chap. 19–22.  | The natural resources, economics, and geography of Ethiopia.                    |
|          | Chap. 23–29.  | The revenue and tribute of Ethiopia.  |
|          | Chap. 30.   | The expedition of Cristovão da Gama.  |
|          | Chap. 31–35.  | The relations of Gälawdewos with Bermudes, etc.                                 |
| Book II. | An exposition of Ethiopian Christianity, including the lives of Kaleb, Täklä Haymanot, and Lalibäla, from Ethiopic sources. |   |

- |           |  |  |
|-----------|--|--|
| Book III. | History of Ethiopia, from Ethiopic sources, from 'Amdä Šeyon to Gälawdewos, with versions or summaries from Ethiopic sources of the histories of 'Amdä Šeyon I, Lěbnä Dēngēl, Gälawdewos, Minas, and Säršä Dēngēl. |  |
| Book IV.  | History of the reigns of Ya'qob, Zä Dēngēl, and Susnēyos. The acts and travels of the Jesuits, including the journey of Antonio Fernandez to Janjero.  |  |

MANOEL DE ALMEIDA, *Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia*, in ten books (Beccari vols. V–VII).

- |           |  |  |
|-----------|--|--|
| Book I.   | The geography and customs of Ethiopia (translated in <i>Some Records of Ethiopia 1593–1646</i> , edited by C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford, Hakluyt Society 1954). |  |
| Book II.  | History of Ethiopia:   |  |
|           | Chap. 1–7.   | The ancient king lists.  |
|           | Chap. 8–11.  | The legend of Candace. The arrival of Frumentius. The introduction of the monarchy under king Amiamid. |
|           | Chap. 12–13.   | History of king Kaleb according to the Alexandrian and Ethiopic versions.                              |
|           | Chap. 16–20.   | The life of Täklä Haymanot and of Lalibäla, from Ethiopic sources.                                     |
|           | Chap. 21–23.   | Amba Gěšēn, where the princes were confined. (Chap. 22 is translated in <i>SRE</i> , pp. 97–102)       |
|           | Chap. 24–25.   | The reigns of 'Amdä Šeyon I to Zär'a Ya'qob, from Ethiopic sources.                                    |
| Book III. | The relations between Portugal and king David (Lěbnä Dēngēl). Part of chap. 2 describing the church of Märṭulä Maryam is printed in <i>SRE</i> , pp. 103–05.                 |  |
| Book IV.  | The coming of the Jesuits to Ethiopia. History of the reigns of Gälawdewos, Minas, and Säršä   |  |

Dëngël – from Ethiopic sources. Chap. 25 on the Galla is given in *SRE*. pp. 133–39.

Books V–X. Acts and travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, history of the period, and the end of the Catholic Mission, all from Portuguese sources.

MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus tres historico-geographici*, in one book (Beccari vol. IV).

Part 1. Of the state of the holy Roman faith in Ethiopia when it was attacked and interdicted.

Part 2. Of the kingdom of Tygrê, its government, customs, natural resources, and churches.

Part 3. Of the city and fortress of Adem [Aden].

[Most of the sections on Tëgre are translated in Italian in C. Beccari, *Il Tigré descritto da un missionario gesuito del secolo XVII*. Roma, 1912. Note, R.P.]

AFONSO MENDEZ, *Expeditionis Aethiopiae Patriarchae Alphonsi Mendesii e Societate Iesu Lusitani Libri tres et Auctuarii liber quartus* (Beccari vols. VIII and IX). This work deals with contemporary Ethiopian history and with the acts of the Jesuits.

[One of Mendez's reports was also translated into French as *Relation du reverendissime Patriarche d'Ethiopie, Dom Alphonse Mendez*, Lille, 1633.

Another of the Jesuits, Balthazar Tellez, wrote a useful account of his colleagues' activities in Ethiopia which was translated into English as *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London, 1710.

Also of value are the annual reports of Jesuit missionaries from different parts of Ethiopia for the years 1615 to 1627 which were translated into both French and Italian. (see "Jesuits" in Bibliography.) R.P.]

### (C) MODERN LATIN

In 1681 Hiob Ludolf<sup>1</sup> ('alias Leut-Holf dicti') published in Latin at Frankfort his *Historia Aethiopia sive brevis et succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum quod vulgo male Presbyteri Iohannis vocatur*; and in 1691 he published (also at Frankfort) *Iobi Ludolfi*

<sup>1</sup>[On his life see E. Haberland, 'Hiob Ludolf, Father of Ethiopian Studies in Europe', *Proc. Third Int. Conf. of Eth. Stud.*, I, 131–36. R.P.]

*Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*. The *Historia* was translated into English with the title *A New History of Ethiopia . . . made English by J. P. Gent*, London 1684. The initials J.P. stand for John Phillips, Milton's nephew. Ludolf's *Historia* was the first book which attempted to deal with all aspects of Ethiopia – geography, administrative divisions, government, history, natural history, religion, and manners and customs. It is, in fact, still the only book which in any way covers all these aspects; and, as Professor Ullendorff has said, 'it can still be read with profit as well as enjoyment' (*The Ethiopians*, 1960, p. 11). Ludolf used manuscript sources, and, in particular, an informant, an Ethiopian called Abba Gorgoryos (Gregory) who lived in Rome in the Ethiopian house known as Santo Stefano dei Mori. Gregory came from Mäkanä Sëllase in Amhara, and was an informant of rare ability, truth, and accuracy. [His letters to the German scholar, which were written in Ge'ez and on occasion touch on geographical matters, are published, with a German translation, in J. Flemming, 'Hiob Ludolf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie.' *Beitrag zur Assyriologie*, I, 1890, pp. 537–82, II, 1891, pp. 63–110.]

[Ludolf also published an *Appendix ad Historiam Aethiopicam*, which appeared in Frankfurt in 1693. It contained the text (on pp. 25–32) of a series of questions about Ethiopia which he had drafted, and which were put in 1690 to Chodja Murad,<sup>1</sup> an Armenian merchant in the service of Emperor Iyasu, by the secretary of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia, Paulus de Roo, and the answers thereto. An Italian translation of these queries and responses appears in J. L. M. Franken and E. Cope di Valromita, 'L'Abissinia in alcune inchieste di funzionari olandesi del sec. XVII', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, I, 1936, pp. 63–74, and an English version in E. J. van Donzel, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642–1700. Documents relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murād*, Istanbul, 1980, pp. 71–81. R.P.]

<sup>1</sup>[On Murad see also R. K. P. Pankhurst, 'The History of Ethiopian–Armenian Relations', *REA*, 1977, XII, pp. 272–345, and more especially E. J. van Donzel, *The Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642–1700 Documents relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murad*, Istanbul, 1979. R.P.]

## (D) DUTCH AND FRENCH

[Murad returned to Batavia in 1697 when he was subjected to further questions drafted by Ludolf. These queries and the replies thereto, were published in Dutch in F. Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien*, Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724–6, IV, pp. 324–34. They appear in Italian in Franken and Cope di Valromita, op. cit., pp. 78–88, and in English in van Donzel, op. cit., pp. 89–104.

Charles Poncet, a French physician in Cairo who entered Ethiopia from Sennar two years later in 1699, was the first foreigner to provide a detailed description of Gondar in its heyday, and, albeit briefly, of the trade routes between it and the coast. His account of the journey, *Voyage d'Ethiopie* (Paris 1713), is also available in English translation in W. Foster, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, (published by the Hakluyt Society in 1949.) R.P.]

## C. CARTOGRAPHICAL

For the detailed study of Ethiopia, the maps available range from c. 1640 to the period of the Second World War. Those which have been used in this book are one from XVII (Almeida), four of XIX, and two of XX, together with the sheets of the GSGS maps issued from about 1940 onwards. The GSGS maps are of two scales, 1/1,000,000 and 1/500,000. The latter has a metre grid; and it is chiefly on these and the maps in d'Abbadie's *Géodésie* published in 1863 that I have relied. Beke's map of 1844 has also been extremely useful. In spite of their manifest shortcomings, these maps are indispensable.

## 1. Seventeenth century

The map illustrating Almeida's 'Historia de Ethiopia a alta' survives in three copies: BM. Add. MS 9861, BM. Add. MS 5027 A 48, and SOAS MS 11966. All three were drawn about 1640. The best of them, SOAS 11966 is reproduced in *SRE*, and BM. Add. MS 9861 in Beccari. This map shows 'the kingdoms and provinces of the Empire, the principal rivers and lakes, and a few mountain features, between lat. 16° and 7° (by Almeida's reckoning, that is, but lat. 16° and 8° by ours). Longitude is not shown . . . The parallels of latitude are too

close together, which has resulted in everything south of Massawa being placed too far north. . . . These maps, however, are the first tolerably correct surveys of the country, and superior on the whole to any maps made till the middle of the nineteenth century' (*SRE*, p. 220). The scale of SOAS 11966 is about 100 miles to 1 inch.

[A useful map of Ethiopia appears in Ludolf's *Historia Aethiopica* of 1681 and in its English translation, the *New History of Ethiopia* of 1684. R.P.]

## 2. Eighteenth century

[1. Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* contains two maps, of Eastern Africa, including Ethiopia and one of the Lake Tana area in vol. V, and two inset sketch-maps of Gondar in vol. IV, after pp. 138 and 164.

2. An apparently eighteenth century Ethiopian diagram of Aksum and twelve (or in one case fourteen) districts of Tigre is found in several Ge'ez manuscripts of the period, discussed in A. Pankhurst, 'An Early Ethiopian Manuscript Map of Tegré', *Proc. Eighth Int. Conf. Eth. Stud.*

3. A list of geographical names, with their locations, compiled by H. Weld Blundell from chronicles of 1769–1840 is included as an appendix to the latter's *Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 535–43. R.P.]

## 3. Nineteenth century

1. C. T. Beke illustrated his paper entitled 'Abyssinia – being a continuation of Routes in that country' in *JRGS*. XIV. 1844, with a map of Agäwmädär, Damot, Gojjam, Begämädär, Bugna, and the line of his route from Soqota to 'Adwa; the most detailed part is Agäwmädär, Damot, and Gojjam. The scale is 45 miles to 1 inch. Beke's survey is far in advance of any previous attempts, and in spite of errors it is of considerable value, especially in its wealth of place-names.

2. Major Holland and Captain Hozier provided in their official history of the Abyssinian Expedition of 1867–8 (*Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London, 1870)<sup>1</sup> a map of Ethiopia

<sup>1</sup>[Another by-product of the expedition was a handy compilation *Routes in Abyssinia* prepared by Lt. Col. A.C. Cooke for the British War Office's Topographical and Statistical Department, London, 1967. R.P.]

on the scale of approximately 25 miles to 1 inch compiled by E. G. Ravenstein. It shows the provincial divisions and contains many place-names. In its framework of degrees it is reasonably close to the modern GSGS 1/1,000,000 maps.

3. A. Cecchi, author of *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, produced, in a book called *L'Abissinia Settentrionale* (Milan, 1888), a map of northern Ethiopia which includes Hamasen, Särawe, Sire, Adyabo, Tigre, Agame, and the coast down to Aräfäli in the Bay of Zulla. This is on a scale of approximately 5 kilometres to 1 centimetre, and contains a fair number of place-names.

4. E. de Chaurand published in 1894 an official Italian map called *Carta dimostrativa dell'Etiochia* on a scale of 1.578 miles to 1 inch, together with a gazetteer (1895). This is a compilation from the maps existing at that date. I have not used it, except for a certain number of his locations cited in Esteves Pereira's *Susenyos*.

5. The most important set of maps of XIX is that which illustrates d'Abbadie's *Géodésie d'Éthiopie*. In the forties of the century d'Abbadie surveyed a strip of Ethiopia from Massawa to Kafa, i.e. western Ethiopia, including Sēmen, Lake Ṭana, Damot and Gojjam, and the Čomän swamp, but not Lake Zway. It consists of 10 sheets, on a scale of approximately 7 miles to 1 inch; and although it has errors, its accuracy is on the whole comparable with that of the GSGS maps, and its value both for topography and place-names cannot be overestimated.

SHEET 1. *Akala Guzay et Samhar*: from Asmara in the W to the Gulf of Adulis (Zulla) in the E, and from Muçawwa (Massawa) in the N to Qähayto and 'Addi Itqat in the S.

SHEET 2. *Tigray*: From Gwëndat in the W to 'Addi Grat and Mt. Sän'afe in the E, and from 'Addi Itqat in the N to Aläwgen in the S, including Aksum, 'Adwa, Ḥarämat, and Agame (the last two being unsurveyed). In an inset is the country from Mäzbēr NE of 'Adwa to Aksum, on a scale of approximately 4 miles to 1 inch.

SHEET 3. *Simen et Zimbila*: From 'Add Arkäy in the W to the Täkkäzi in the E (eastern Sēmen being unsurveyed), and from Aläwgen in the N to Sabra in the S.

SHEET 4. *Dambya et Lasta*: From Ṭaqwësa in the W to Lalibäla in the E, and from Cambilge (Maryam) in the N to

Zega Wänz and Däq Is. in the S, with an enlarged map of Gondar and its surroundings. The eastern part of the map includes the Täkkäzi and Bälägäz rivers, but except for a strip from Ébbēnat (Ébnit) to Lalibäla, most of this part is unsurveyed. This and the next sheet contain Lake Ṭana.

SHEET 5. *Awawa et Bagemidir*: Awawa, a name which I have not found elsewhere, is the area S of Lake Ṭana. This sheet covers the ground from Ačäfär in the W to Aringo and the Abbay in the E, and from Zega Wänz in the N to Qaränyo in the S.

SHEET 6. *Gojjam et Damot*: From Kwakwëra in the W to the Abbay in the E, and from Qolala (N of Qaränyo) in the N to Yawobbi (Yejudi) and the Abbay in the S.

SHEET 7. *Gambo et Darrabe*: From the Bir river in the W to Mt. Däbet in the E, and from Amwata in the N to Haratu in the S.

SHEET 8. *Caw et Rare*: From Čëbbe in the W to Ěnčënni in the E, and from Qobbo in the N to Mt. Mësingo in the S.

SHEET 9. *Inarya et Pays Limitrophes*: From the Didesa river in the W to Folla in the E, and from Mt. Mësingo in the N to Čokorsa in the S.

SHEET 10. *Frontière septentrionale du Kaffa*: The NW sector only is surveyed, showing the Gojāb or Godeb river, and some mountains, between d'Abbadie's long. 33° 50' and 34° 30'.

The surveyed area of each sheet is shown approximately on the Index map to the *Géodésie* (Map 17).

Later in his career d'Abbadie himself expressed dissatisfaction with his *Géodésie*, apparently because of his dependence on the compass, which he said was liable to too much distortion owing to the amount of iron and volcanic terrain in the areas which he surveyed. So he published a book to show how *not* to do a survey (*Géographie*, 1890, p. 2). Cheesman, however, gave d'Abbadie's work 'pride of place' among the surveys of Ethiopia. D'Abbadie's base being at Massawa in the north, 'his longitude, in spite of a careful latitude and azimuth traverse, may still need correction. Yet his positions have stood the test of time, and are accepted to-day [1928] as the most reliable' (*Geogr. J.*, 1928, LXXI, p. 358).

The survey, of which the maps form one volume, was published in three volumes in Paris with the title *Géodésie d'une partie de la Haute Éthiopie, revue et redigée par Rodolphe Radau*

(1860–63). Thirty years later, in 1890, d'Abbadie published another book called *Géographie de l'Éthiopie: ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*. Only one volume was published, though it is clear from the title-page that another was intended. As the title indicates, the *Géographie* is a record of information collected from a variety of informants about parts of Ethiopia, some of which the author had not (apparently) visited himself; it is in this book (p. 2) that he criticizes his own *Géodésie*. There is a good deal about SW Ethiopia, i.e. the Gibe, Gurage, and Sidama regions, and part of the SW borderland down to the lower reaches of the Omo. Much of the material here was derived entirely from informants, and some of it has proved erroneous in the light of more recent exploration and survey. But there is much of importance in the book, especially in the itineraries of caravans and travellers.

Though not containing maps, Conti Rossini's *Catalogo dei nomi propri di luogo dell' Etiopia*, reprinted from the *Atti del primo Congresso Geografico Italiano* (Genova, 1892, 52 pp.) is of great value.

#### 4. Twentieth century

1. Major R. E. Cheesman published in the *Geogr. J.* (LXXI. 1928, pp. 358–76) an account of the upper waters of the Blue Nile (Abbay), illustrated with a map of Agäwmëdr, Damot, and Gojjam from the Dura river in the W to the Abbay in the E. It contains a good many place-names, mostly along the Abbay and northwards to Mätäkäl and Dangëla. The scale is 15.78 miles to 1 inch. (Cheesman's book *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile* (1936) deals with roughly the same area and contains a map.)

2. The *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana* (published by the Consociazione Turistica Italiana, Milan, 1938) is an important contribution to the topography, and far superior to most guide-books, largely because among the 'principali collaboratori' were such authorities as Cerulli, Conti Rossini, Dainelli, de Agostino, Guidi, and Monneret de Villard. It contains 8 maps of parts of Ethiopia on the scale of 15.78 miles to 1 inch. The areas covered are:

- (1). p. 192: Massaua – Asmara – Adi Qualà – Senafè.
- (2). p. 272: Adi Qualà – Senafè – Aksum – Adigrat – May Timchet – Macallè.

- (3). p. 304: Macallè – Lake Ascianghi – Lalibela – Ualdia.
- (4). p. 368: Gondar – Lake Tana – Tacussa – Ebbenat – Danghila – Motà.
- (5). p. 448: Dire Daua – Harar – Giggiga.
- (6). p. 496: Addis Alem – Addis Abeba – Lake Zuai – Mingiar.
- (7). p. 528: Gimma – Bonga (Kaffa) – Giangero.
- (8). p. 552: Lake Zuai – Hosanna – Lake Margherita (Abbaia) – Hula (Agheresalam).

[The Consociazione Turistica Italiana also published, in 1938, a useful, but little known album entitled *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, containing six maps, to a scale of 1/1,000,000, or 15.78 miles to 1 inch. They cover:

- (1). Western Eritrea and north-western Amara (including Gondar).
- (2). Eastern Eritrea (including Asmara), and north-eastern Amara.
- (3). Galla and Sidama (including Jimma).
- (4). Harar and neighbouring areas (including Addis Ababa).
- (5). Northern Somaliland: British Somaliland (including Berbera) and the north of Italian Somalia.
- (6). Southern Somalia (including Mogadishu). R.P.]

3. My chief modern source has been the British War Office maps, produced by the Geographical Section, General Staff (GSGS), in two series, 1/1,000,000 or 15.78 miles to 1 inch, and 1/500,000 or 7.89 miles to 1 inch. These cover the whole of Ethiopia. The ½-million series, the more accurate as well as the more detailed of the two, has been reprinted from sheets produced during the Second World War by the Survey Directorate of the East Africa Command.

(1) *The 1 million series* is useful in that it shows altitudes by colour and thus presents a fairly good picture of the country as a whole, though it is not detailed enough to do justice to the incredible mountain conformation of Ethiopia. The sheets covering Ethiopia are:

Dongola and Berbera NE 36	Sobat NC 36
Port Sudan NE 37	Addis Ababa NC 37
Khartoum ND 36	Harar NC 38
Asmara ND 37	Mongalla NB 36
	Lake Margherita NB 37

(2) *The 1/2 million series* shows altitude by form-lines (which are sometimes omitted where they are most necessary: see *SRE* p. 224 for a general caution about the accuracy of GSGS maps of Ethiopia, as well as for a commendation of them). Most of the 1/2 million sheets, as well as the 1 million series, were compiled from Italian sources, and supplemented by air and ground information; hence most of the place-names are given in their Italian forms. The 1/2 million series has a metre grid and is within the East African Grid System. (The 1 million series has no grid.) It is therefore possible to give, when necessary, a four-figure grid reference to the nearest 1000 metres; but for most references I have given only the Zone, Block, and Square letters preceded by the sheet number, e.g. ND 372 HFE Aksum (for which the grid reference is ND 372 HFE 3162). There appear to be no larger scale surveys than the 1/2 million available (information from the Directorate of Military Survey, Feltham, 17 April 1968).

Ethiopia lies in Grid Zones G, H, J, and is covered by 22 sheets which include adjacent parts of the Sudan on the west. The sheets, listed from W to E and from S to N, are as follows:

ZONE G	ZONE H	ZONE J
NB 363 Magi.	NB 371 Soddu.	NB 372 Dalle.
NC 366 Gore.	NC 374 Lechemti.	NC 375 Addis Ababa.
NC 363 Asosa.	NC 371 Debra Marcos.	NC 372 Dessie.
ND 366 Dinder	ND 374 Gondar.	ND 375 Macalle.
ND 363 Gedaref.	ND 371 Kassala.	KD 372 Asmara.
		NB 373 Ghimir.
		NC 376 Dire Daua.
		NC 384 Harar.
		NC 373 Abbe.
		NC 381 Jibuti.
		ND 376 L. Giuletti
		ND 373 Mersa Fatma.

See the Index map.<sup>1</sup>

(3) There is a third GSGS series, on a scale of 1/2,000,000 (31.57 miles to 1 inch) to which I have made occasional reference, but it is full of errors as far as Ethiopia is concerned, and is best disregarded. (See *SRE*, p. 224.) The relevant sheets are *Abyssinia, Sudan, and Somaliland*.

(4) Gazetteers [An attempt at a gazetteer of Ethiopia is to be found in the British War Office's *Handbook of Abyssinia*, London, 1922. The War Office Directorate of Military Survey subsequently published an *Index Gazetteer for East Africa*, comprising "Abyssinia, Eritrea, British, French & Italian Somaliland & part of the Sudan" showing place-names on the 1/5000,000 map series (Cairo, 1946). The Divisions of Geography of the United States Department of the Interior later published a Gazetteer entitled *Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Somalilands* (Washington, D.C., 1950) to which a Supplement on *Africa and Southwest Asia* was issued in 1972.

(5) Bibliography. A useful bibliography to nineteenth and twentieth century geographical articles on Ethiopia, with a rough index to place-names, is available in H. Marcus, *The Modern History of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa: A Select and Annotated Biography*, Stanford, California, 1972. For a chronological bibliography of travel books, with an indication of areas visited, see also R. J. and R. K. P. Pankhurst, 'A Select Annotated Bibliography of Travel Books on Ethiopia', *AJ.*, 1978, IX, No. 2, pp. 113-32, No. 3, 1978, pp. 101-33. Note, R.P.]

## II

### SKETCH OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF ETHIOPIA

#### i. Preliminary

Ethiopia has to-day a coast-line of some four to five hundred miles along the Red Sea, with access to the sea at the ports of Massawa, Assab, and, beyond its borders, at Jibuti. But in the Middle Ages and during the rest of the period covered by this book, it had only one port<sup>2</sup>, Massawa in the extreme NE. This was the successor to the ancient harbour of Adulis, which was

<sup>1</sup>The Gedaref, Gore, Magi, and Ghimir sheets are not included.

<sup>2</sup>[It should, however, be noted that Ethiopian pilgrims to Jerusalem in the sixteenth century made considerable use, according to Zorzi's itineraries (edited by Crawford, 1958), of the more northerly port of Suakin. R.P.]

in use up to VI, and probably abandoned about the end of VII, when its place was taken by Massawa (Měšəwa<sup>1</sup>) about 35 miles to the north. Till modern times, moreover, Ethiopia had virtually no accessible coast-line other than the short stretch northwards from the Gulf of Zulla to Massawa. On the E edge, the country between the foothills of the high plateau is mainly desert, impenetrable to all but the local 'Afar or Danakil – a vast area, much of it only a few hundred feet above sea-level, with a narrow central strip more than 100 miles long actually below sea-level. Entry into the ancient kingdom of Aksum, and into mediaeval Ethiopia, from the east was thus possible only through Adulis and later Massawa.

The heartland of Ethiopia consists of a high plateau, much of it 5000 to 7000 feet above the sea, exceedingly mountainous, rugged, and broken by innumerable deeply sunk rivers. On the W the plateau descends to a relatively low region with an average altitude of some 3000 feet, alternating with stretches of higher ground culminating in the mountains of Walqayt which are separated from the Sēmen mountain mass by lowland. All this western area is unhealthy; and though it could be reached from the Sudan and Egypt, the difficulties of terrain and the local inhabitants virtually ruled out this western approach as a regular route for entering Ethiopia. To the south, where from the Awaš southwards the extreme ruggedness of the highland plateau gives way to a lower and less mountainous region, there were stretches of semi-desert and difficult country before the fertile equatorial region could be reached. Here the way, if one had been found, led to nowhere; and the Ethiopians made no attempt at penetration.

The country occupied by the early colonizers from the Yemen<sup>1</sup> – the Ethiopians, who spoke a Semitic language (Ge'ez)

<sup>1</sup>[The importance of the coming of Yemeni 'colonizers', which was propounded in the past by Conti Rossini and others, has in recent years been increasingly challenged, notably by Roger Schneider in 'Les débuts de l'histoire éthiopienne,' *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne*, 1976, VII, pp. 47–54. Recognising the existence in northern Ethiopia of certain south-Arabian 'elements', among them the temple at Yeha and several inscriptions, he argues that their presence points merely to contact with South Arabia not to South Arabian colonisation and domination. Writing of the Sabaean immigrants he contends (on pp. 53–4) that on arriving in Ethiopia they probably found already in existence 'un état "éthiopien", un peuple, ou du moins le noyau d'un peuple "éthiopien", une langue "éthiopienne" divergente du sabéen, une royauté "éthiopienne". Ils n'arrivèrent donc pas dans un vide culturel. C'est sur ce substrat que va s'exercer la sabéisation, dont il est difficile d'apprécier correctement l'étendue et le profondeur; les documents nous font défaut.' R.P.]

and brought with them a South Arabian culture which blended with the previously dominant Hamitic cultures – was at first confined to the northern area, and centered on Aksum, which lay on a pre-Islamic trade route from Adulis to the far interior, and became the capital of the Aksumite kingdom. In the centuries which followed the break-up of the Aksumite kingdom in the Dark Ages, the ruling Ethiopian dynasty had a struggle to maintain its existence. When it regained power in XIII its sphere of influence gradually increased till the whole of the plateau was under greater or lesser control as far south as the Awaš river. This was virtually the southern limit of Ethiopia proper, for though there was a number of small states south of the Awaš which were tributary to Ethiopia in the Middle Ages, they fell away from their not very strong allegiance owing to two momentous events which changed the course of Ethiopian history.

The establishment of Islam in VII brought many followers of the new religion to North-east Africa. They not only managed to gain a foothold on the edge of the Ethiopian kingdom, but converted without much difficulty the large Hamitic population which lived on the east and south-east of Ethiopia – the 'Afar and Somali. Before long the peoples on the west and north of Ethiopia were also converted to Islam, with the result that the kingdom of the plateau, Christian since the middle of IV, became hemmed in on all sides by Muslims. From the first there was antagonism between Christian and Muslim. The Christian kingdom however was able to protect itself, except for minor and fluctuating infiltrations, till XVI, when the events referred to in the previous paragraph took place.

The first of these events was the invasion of Christian Ethiopia by the Muslim leader Ahmäd Grañ, who with a vast army of fanatics overran and well-nigh destroyed the country. And while this conquest was in progress, the second event occurred. This was the advance of the Galla<sup>1</sup> [or Oromo], a pagan Hamitic pastoral people, into much of what is now southern Ethiopia – the country north of Lake Rudolf and along the E side of the chain of Lakes from Čamo to Zway. This began about 1522; Grañ began his invasion in 1527. The Galla penetration was

<sup>1</sup>[Since Huntingford penned these lines the term Galla has increasingly been superseded by the term Oromo. R.P.]

insidious as far as the rulers of the empire were concerned, for its progress was at first hardly perceptible to the king far-away in central Ethiopia; when it was perceived, he and his followers were too busy fighting for their lives to spare the troops or the time to deal with it, even if at that stage they had realized the danger. The Galla continued to advance, and for years the kings of XVII were kept busy trying to check and control them, without much real success. By XVIII they had occupied a vast area of the country from the Lake Region in the south, Harar in the east, and the Didessa river in the west, extending as far north as Lake Ašänge. This occupation had far-reaching consequences, for the Galla could not be removed, and they took their place as a powerful section of the Ethiopian people.

When the invasion of Grañ began, several of the southern tributary states fell away from the kingdom and sided with him; and although in late XVI there were still one or two loyal rulers such as the king of Ēnarya, the whole of the area south of the Abbay and Awaš rivers was lost to the Ethiopian state. East of the lakes of the Rift Valley there was a great block of Galla, the Arusi; west of the lakes, as far north as the Abbay, there were also Galla, who mingled with the local Hamitic (Sidama) population, though some of these, like the people of Damot, retreated northwards across the Abbay into Gojjam, the great peninsula which is surrounded by the Abbay and was never overrun by the Galla. It was not till late in XIX that Emperor Tewodros II and subsequently Emperor Yohannes IV attempted the restoration of Ethiopian 'sovereignty' in the south; and under Mēnilēk king of Shoa (who succeeded Yohannēs IV) this area was conquered between 1886 and 1900, and incorporated into the kingdom of Ethiopia. One of the states overthrown, in 1897, was Kafa.

## ii. The land conformation of Ethiopia

The Ethiopian plateau, mountainous everywhere, is bounded on the east by a descent, abrupt in places, to the Danakil lowlands, which varies between 8500 feet in 15 miles east of Belessua, ND 372 HFF (to sea level), and 7100 feet in 55 miles east of Dessie, NC 372 HEF (to the Awaš at 600 feet above sea-level). On the west the high land shades off into the lowland, somewhat less abruptly on the whole. This lowland varies from

under 1600 feet to over 3000 feet, with the mountainous area of Walqayt in the north, where the land rises to 9000 feet and over. On the west of the plateau, where in the Sēmen highlands an altitude of 8000 to 10,000 is reached, the descent to the lowland is steep and difficult in many places between the Tākkāzi and Gondar. On the north and south the conformation is in general somewhat less rugged than elsewhere.

On the plateau there are eight main orographic areas divided by major river systems:

1. The North-western Highlands, north of a line formed by the Mārāb, Bālāsa, and Muna rivers; here there are steep descents to the Red Sea coast in the Gulf of Zulla.
2. The Tēgre area, between the Mārāb and Tākkāzi, more mountainous in the east than in the west.
3. The Sēmen highlands, bounded by the Tākkāzi on the north and east. This is one of the most mountainous areas in the country, and extends southward to Lake Ṭana and the Bāšēlo river.
4. The Central Highlands, also very mountainous, between the source of the Tākkāzi and the Awaš river in the south. Eastwards lie the Danakil lowlands.
5. The Gojjam peninsula, within the curve of the Abbay, land very mountainous in the east.
6. The South-eastern Highlands, south and east of the Awaš, which include the Harar uplands.
7. The country south of the Abbay towards the Omo and Lake Rudolf.
8. The South-eastern area, east of the chain of lakes in the Rift Valley.

## iii. River systems

Ethiopia is a land of rivers, ranging from great rivers such as the Tākkāzi and Abbay to small mountain torrents. There are five major river systems, those of the Mārāb, Tākkāzi, Abbay, and Awaš in the north, and the Gibe-Omo in the south. All the great rivers have vast tributary systems, and all their tributaries have lesser tributary systems. The rivers add to the difficulties of travel and communication. Those of the high plateau are not navigable; crossing-places are often few, and in the rainy season they usually cannot be crossed at all. (The wet

season lasts approximately from March to September, and the rain-fall on the plateau is possibly of the order of 50–60 inches a year.) Moreover, in many places the rivers are so deeply set in gorges or precipitous valleys that the act of crossing is a major operation. A river may be relatively narrow, yet run through a valley some thousands of feet deep, with a *qwälla* at the bottom – a hot unhealthy zone where the inhabitants of the high plateau can scarcely exist. The Abbay, for instance, at a point south of Däbrä Marqos, runs through a steep valley more than 4000 feet deep, very narrow at the bottom and about 30 miles between the crests of each slope at the top.

The classic description of a river-crossing is to be found in Alvares, who thus described the descent to the Wänçet known as Ahëyya Fäjji:

‘One enters at once as if into a deep valley, with slate on either side raised more than the height of a lance, as if it were the edge of a sword making this canyon and this valley. The height of the sides is the length of two quoits alleys, so narrow that a man cannot go on horseback, and the mules scrape the stirrups on both sides, and so steep that a man goes down using his hands and feet, and this seems to be made artificially. Coming out of this narrow pass one travels by a ridge which is about four spans wide, and from one end to the other these clefts are all slate; it is incredible, and I would not have believed it if I had not seen it: and if I had not seen our mules and people pass, I would affirm that goats could not pass that way safely. So we started off our mules like someone sending them to destruction, and we after them with hands and feet down the rock, without there being any other path. The very rugged part lasts for a crossbow shot,<sup>1</sup> and they call these Aquī afagi [Ahëyya Fäjji], which means death of the asses (here they pay dues). We passed these gates many times, and we never passed them without finding beasts and oxen dead, which had come from below upwards and had not been able to get up the ascent, and others which had slipped down from the top. Leaving this pass, there still remain quite two leagues of road sufficiently steep and rocky, and difficult to travel over. In the middle of this descent there is a rock hollowed out at the bottom, and water falls from

<sup>1</sup>About 400 yards.

the top of it making tall stalagmites of different shapes (there are always many beggars in this cave). Thus we descended fully two leagues to a great river named Anecheta, which contains many and very big fish.’ (*PJ.* p. 258–9.)

In the next century Almeida thus described the Abbay after it leaves Lake Ṭana:

‘In this stretch the Nile stream has many falls which the ancients called cataracts. In some places it hurls itself from rocks and ledges with an astounding roar. Seven or eight leagues [actually about 19 miles] after leaving the lake, near a place in Begameder called Alatâ it falls from so high that some of the water dissolves in the air into something like a fog or fine shower which rises very high and can be seen a long way off [This is the Ṭis Êsat falls]. The roar is so great that for a considerable distance around it numbs the hearing. . . . As it flows among mountains and rocks the river is often very constricted and narrow, so much so that near the same place Alatâ they used to cross it on thick poles placed on both banks of the river on the rocks that are there. The whole of the Emperor’s army often crossed by these poles as though by a bridge. Two years ago, in 1626, after stone for making lime had been found in this country, the Emperor ordered a bridge to be built near there by a craftsman who had come from India with the Patriarch. This has now been done so the whole river which runs very deep there and is confined between rocks, is crossed by a single, not very wide arch’ (*SRE.* pp. 26, 27). [This bridge is the one called Tisisat Dil Dil on NC 371 HED; the Patriarch was Afonso Mendez.]

The river systems of Ethiopia may be described briefly thus:

A. Northern systems: 1. The Mārāb rises N of Amba Tākāra (ND 372 HFL Tacara) N of ‘Addi Baro and flows south, then west. When it reaches the Sudan frontier area near Ducambia (ND 371 HFJ/HFK) it acquires the name of Gaš (Gash, Gasc), and finally loses itself N of Kassala. Its main tributary systems are: on the right bank, the Obël; on the left bank, the Šārānā, Bālāsa, and ‘Ēngwēya (‘Unguyā). 2. The ‘Aligide (ND 372 HFL/HFM Alughede) which rises near Asmara and enters the Red Sea in the Gulf of Zulla; its main tributary, on the right bank, is the Ḥaddās. 3. The Kumoyle (ND 372 HFM Comaile) which rises N of Sānāfe and enters the Gulf S of Zulla. 4. The Muna (ND 372 HFM) which rises S of Sānāfe and flows E,

losing itself in the Danakil desert. There are a number of other rivers in this area which run eastward, all disappearing in the desert E of the plateau.

B. Central systems: 1. The Täkkäzi rises near Mt Qäččēn N of Wäldēya and flows first westward, then north, then west again to Sittona near the Sudan frontier, where it becomes known as Sētīt, under which name it passes Umm Ager on its way to join the Atbara. The length of its course to Sittona is about 320 miles. Its main tributary systems in Ethiopia are, from north to south: right bank: Gumalo, Toco<sup>r</sup>o\*, Fira<sup>f</sup>ira, Wār'e, Gheoa\*, Arecua\*, Sullo\*, Šēlläre, Mēri\*, Tahali\*; left bank: Kwälēma, Zärēma, Atäba, Bembea\*, Šäḥa, Bälägäs, Bäläsa, Mēnna, Nili. (\* = spellings on the GSGS maps.) 2. The Mila'e (NC 373 JEA Mille) rises S of Wäldēya and flows E towards the desert, on the edge of which it joins the Awaš E of Dessie. 3. The Great Angäräb rises near Däqwa (N of Gondar, ND 374 HES Dacua) and eventually joins the Atbara after flowing through the district of Armačēho in western Ethiopia. 4. The Atbara, under the name of Gwang, rises NE of Gondar and flows S of Armačēho to join the Nile. 5. The Šēnfa, a tributary of the Atbara, rises W of Lake Ṭana. 6. The Dindēr, another tributary of the Blue Nile, rises W of Lake Ṭana.

C. Central-southern systems: 1. The affluents of Lake Ṭana, the chief of which, going from Gorgora on the northern shore clockwise, are: Mägäč, Gumära (northern), Rēb, Gumära (southern), Little Abbay (on the south shore), Kilti. 2. The Abbay, which leaves Lake Ṭana at its SE extremity, flows S and then W, and has the following main tributary systems on its left bank: Wanqa, Bašēlo, Wäläqa, Wänčēt, Jämma-Adäbay-Mofēr river system, Mugär, Gudär, Agwēl-Finjär, Nädi, and Didessa with the Angur tributary system. 3. Rivers in the Gojjam peninsula tributary to the Abbay on its right bank are, from the north: Handasa, Ṭul, Abäya, Säde, Tämme, Ča, Šita, Suha, Muga, Bäčät, Gä<sup>t</sup>la, Jiba, Čämoga, Wētēr (Watran), Godēb, Tämča, Bēr, Fäšäm, Kwätläna, Zingini, Suri, Dura, Bäläs. Some of these are among the most deeply-cut rivers in Ethiopia. 4. The Awaš rises S of Mt Wārqe (NC 375 HDK Uorche) W of Addis Ababa, and has the following main tributary systems, going from north to south: Gollēma, Mila'e (see above, B.2.), Bēr<sup>k</sup>änna, Käbēnna, Käsäm, Dukham.

D. Southern systems: In this area the main river systems E

of the Didessa and its major tributary the Angur are the Gibe and Omo systems, of which the main components are: 1. the Great Gibe, with its affluents the Amära, Alānga, Gibe Enarya, and Gibe Jimma, all having minor tributary systems. 2. The Omo, with its main affluent the complete Gibe system, and the Wäbi (not the Wäbi Šäbēlle, which flows eastward through Somalia), and the Gojēb.

The Great Rift Valley nears its northern end when it reaches southern Ethiopia, and runs E of the Ethiopian high plateau, its floor being the Danakil desert. Between its entry into Ethiopia at Lake Rudolf and the Awaš, it has a chain of lakes in its course: Čamo, Abäya, Awäsa, Šala, Abyata, Langano, and Zway, all of which are fed by minor river systems. The Awaš itself runs through the Rift Valley and in the desert region of the Valley are lakes Abbe (Abhebad) into which the Awaš discharges itself, Afrēra (Giulietti) at the south end of the Danakil depression, and the salt lake Asal near its north end.

## II

### THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE KINGDOM OF AKSUM TO THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

#### 1. ETHIOPIA AS DESCRIBED IN GREEK SOURCES

The knowledge of Ethiopia possessed, or at least passed on, by the Greeks and Romans, was very slight, and mainly confined to the coast of the Red Sea. The earliest notices which we have are from the epitomized work of Agatharchides of Knidos (fl. 130 B.C.) entitled 'On the Erythraean Sea', and the 'Geography' of Strabo (d. 20 A.D.). These relate to the coast and a rather vague hinterland known as Trōglodytikē. Most of their information is also somewhat vague, for much of it deals with the often surprising habits of local tribes whose identities are disguised by Greek names derived from their diet or occupation – Locust-eaters, Dog-milkers, Fish-eaters, Plant-eaters, and the like. One people stands out in this catalogue of unidentifiables, the Trōglodytes, who gave a name to this region. The name Τρωγλόδυται the Greeks later interpreted as 'dwellers in holes', though neither Agatharchides nor Strabo said they lived thus, and both these authors describe them as typical pastoralists with a number of Hamitic characteristics some of which still survive in certain modern peoples of East Africa and the Sudan. There is, however, evidence to show that the name was really Trōglodytai without the L.<sup>1</sup>

Strabo's description of the Troglodytes (Book XVI. iv. 17) is as follows:

'the Trōgodytes lead a pastoral life. They have many despotic chiefs; their women and children are common property, except those of the chief; and those who lie with the wife of a chief are fined a sheep. The women carefully paint their eyebrows with antimony, and they wear shells round their necks as charms against the evil eye. The men fight over the grazing grounds, first with fists, then with stones, and then wounds are inflicted with arrows and swords; but when their

<sup>1</sup>e.g. Greek inscriptions from Egypt of the Ptolemaic period set up by elephant-hunting officials (Dittenberger, *Oriental. Graeci Inscript. Select.*, nos. 70, 71 in vol. I); extracts from Strabo in a MS of X (Heidelberg. 398) in which it is said that Strabo writes Troglodytai without L (Müller, *Geog. Graeci Min.*, vol. II).

quarrels become really dangerous, the women intervene and by soothing the fighters restore peace. They live on meat and broken bone wrapped in skin and then cooked. They call the cooks Unclean. Thus they eat not only the meat and bone, but the skin also. They drink blood mixed with milk.<sup>1</sup> Ordinary people drink water in which the plant paliurus (*rhamnus* sp.) has been soaked; chiefs drink honey and water, the honey being pressed from some kind of flower. They have a winter, when the monsoon blows and rain falls; the rest of the year is summer. They go naked or clad in skins, and carry clubs. They mutilate their bodies, and some are circumcised like the Egyptians. The Megabari Aethiopians carry clubs armed with iron knobs, and use spears and shields made of rawhide. The rest of the Aethiopians use the bow and arrow. Some of the Trōgodytes bury their dead, binding the neck to the feet with cords of paliurus fibre; they cover the body with stones, laughing and joking,<sup>2</sup> until the face is hidden; then they put a goat's horn on the top of the cairn and depart.<sup>3</sup> They travel by night, and fasten bells to the necks of the male stock to scare wild beasts, against which they use bows and torches. At night they sit round fires guarding their stock and singing.'

More important from the historical aspect are the few facts that can be dug out of Strabo, supplemented by Greek inscriptions from Egypt, relating to the Ptolemaic elephant-hunting in Trōglodytikē. This, according to Agatharchides, was, if not started by Ptolemy II Philadelphos (282–245 B.C.), at least reorganized by him on a commercial basis. The officials who supervised the hunting of elephants in the eastern Sudan, eastern Ethiopia, and Somaliland were mostly Greeks; and the primary object of the enterprise was the collection of elephants for use in war. A Greek inscription found by Cosmas at Adulis contains a record of Ptolemy III Euergetēs I (247–221 B.C.) saying that this king made an expedition into Asia with eleph-

<sup>1</sup>Also a custom of modern pastoral Nilo-Hamites of East Africa.

<sup>2</sup>Also done by the Nilo-Hamitic Nandi of Kenya in the case of old men.

<sup>3</sup>Also done, with ox-horns or horn-shaped pieces of wood, by the Bongo and Moro of the southern Sudan; and, nearer, the Trogodyte country, by the Galla of Ethiopia.

ants from Trōglodytikē.<sup>1</sup> The chief collecting centre for the elephant hunters was the town of Ptolemais Thērōn or Epithērās, possibly Aqiq (Suakin in the Sudan, outside Ethiopia), which was built by a Ptolemaic officer named Eumēdes. He seems to have had trouble with the local inhabitants, who according to Agatharchides (Book V. 56 Müller) objected to the collection of elephants on which their subsistence depended, and he had to fortify the peninsula on which the town stood with a wall and ditch. We are given the names of some of the hunting areas: Saba, with a port of the same name; At the Water-hole or Tank (Πρὸς τῷ φρέατι), with a town called Darada or Daraba; the Hunt of Pythangelos; the Hunt of Likhas. The hunting areas are described by two terms in Strabo's text, *kynēgion* and *thēra*, though the distinction is not clear. Names of Ptolemaic officers who set up altars and pillars along the coast are Pytholaos, Likhas, Pythangelos, Leon, Kharimortos, Antiphilos, Sukhus, and Diodoros. It is just possible that the place-name Anfile south of Dahlak represents the name Antiphilos; while Kharimortos who dedicated a Greek inscription (now in the British Museum) to Ptolemy IV Philopator was perhaps the man referred to by Polybios (XVIII. 55. 2) as a 'drunken ruffian' who was a partner of Scopas in pillaging the palace during the invasion of Macedonia in 219 B.C.

#### Periplus of the Erythraean Sea

About the end of the 1st century A.D. the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* knew and had undoubtedly been to the customary port (Ἐμπόριον νόμιμον) of Aduli, as he writes it, lying on the shore of a deep bay which runs southwards, the ancient town being about two miles from the sea, and close to the modern Zulla.<sup>2</sup> In the sea in front of the mouth of the gulf of Zulla he names some 'small sandy islands called Alalaiu', which might be the Dahlak archipelago, and another island

<sup>1</sup>This inscription is one of the two found by Cosmas in or about A.D. 525 beside a throne at Adulis, and has no bearing on Ethiopian geography. The other inscription, apparently on the throne itself, is a record by an unnamed king of Aksum, and is dealt with below, p. 41 et seq. See also R. Pankhurst, 'The Golden Age of Graeco-Egyptian Discoveries on the Horn of Africa . . .', pp. 119-29.

<sup>2</sup>But see below, p. 44: Cosmas distinguished between the custom house of Gabaza on the shore and the town of Adulis inland.

called Oreinē, perhaps Dissē. From Aduli he knew of the route inland by way of Koloē (Qoḥayto near 'Addi Qäyēḥ and some forty miles from Aduli). Beyond here he knew also of the 'metropolis called the Axōmite',<sup>1</sup> which is Aksum, distant some 75 miles, 'to which (he says) is brought all the ivory from beyond the Nile through the country called Kyēnion [Sennar] and thence to Aduli' by way of Koloē. He tells us, too, that off the coast, at a distance of 800 stades (80 miles) – he does not say from where – is a great sandbank where the opsiān stone or obsidian was found, and here alone in this region; it is near the mouth of a bay, which might be either Hawakil Bay (ND 373 JFG) or Anfile Bay (ND 373 JFH), the latter being about 80 miles SE of Dahlak.

He tells us no more about Ethiopia, except the fact that the ruler of 'these parts' from the country of the Moskhophagoi (who lived north of Ptolemais Thērōn) 'to the other Barbaria' (whatever that means) was named Zōskalēs, 'mean but skilled in Greek letters'. The text does not say that he was king of Aksum, but uses the words βασιλεύει [τόπους], implying that he was a sort of forerunner of the Bahēr Nāgaš of later days, like Asbas the *arkhōn* of Adulis in the time of Cosmas. (Much effort was spent by former commentators in trying vainly<sup>2</sup> to identify him with a king of Aksum named Zā Ḥaqlē in one of the king lists (B.M. Or. 817 and 821).) But the *Periplus* is valuable since it gives the first documentary evidence of the existence of Aksum and its port Adulis.

#### Pliny

Pliny, in the second half of the 1st century, writing in Latin from Greek sources (his chief source for this area was Juba king of Mauretania, d. A.D. 19), knew of the *oppidum Aduliton* or town of the Adulitae, which he says was founded by runaway Egyptian slaves – a deduction from the name (δοῦλος, 'slave') – and was 'the greatest emporium of the Troglodytes and also of the Aethiopians . . . from which they export much ivory,

<sup>1</sup>την μητρόπολιν τὸν Ἀξωμίτην λεγόμενον. (Chap. 4).

<sup>2</sup>[This view is also expounded in Huntingford's edition of the *Periplus* (pp. 60, 147-8). For the opposing view see Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa, 1972, p. 72, and Y. M. Kobishchanov, *Axum*, University Park, 1979, pp. 54-5, which quotes several authorities identifying Zōskalēs with Zā Ḥaqlē. R.P.]

rhinoceros horn, hippopotamus hides, tortoiseshell, monkeys, and slaves'. Above it were the *Aethiopes Aroteres* or Ploughmen Aethiopians, by which is presumably meant the people of the kingdom of Aksum in the highlands. Here were also islands called Aliaeu (probably the Alalaiu of the *Periplus*), as well as others called Bacchias and Antibacchias. The region so briefly described by the *Periplus* and Pliny had, for the Greeks, the general name of Troglodytike.

### Ptolemy

After Pliny, the *Geographical Outline* of Ptolemy (fl. A.D. 139–161), based on a lost work by Marinus of Tyre, his predecessor at Alexandria, gives lists of names, mainly on the coast, from Suez to Zanzibar, only a few of which belong to Ethiopia. He mentions Oreinē (as a peninsula, though the author of the *Periplus*, who probably had seen it, calls it an island), Adulis or Adulē, and Dirē a city on a headland, perhaps the modern Raheyta (ND 384 JES). He then gives the positions of the different branches of the Nile – Nile, Astapos, and Astaboras, – and also Lake Koloē (which seems to be meant for Lake Tana), and he names Axumē as 'the king's capital'.

### Cosmas

There are no more Greek contributions of any value to the geography of Ethiopia till the 6th century, when we have the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, in which a little wheat is hidden in a mountain of chaff (Greek text edited by E. O. Winstedt, 1909). Cosmas, who wrote about A.D. 550, had been at least to Adulis. One of his most important contributions is his transcript of two Greek inscriptions which he found at Adulis, commonly known as the Monumentum Adulitanum, which has since disappeared. The first has already been mentioned (p. 37 above). The beginning of the second inscription is missing, but it could possibly have been set up by Aphilas a king of Aksum in the late 3rd century. Aphilas is called ΑΦΙΛΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΞΩΜΙΤΩΝ ΒΙΣΙ ΔΙΜΗΛΗ (that is Aphilas king of the Axōmites, a man of the Dimēlē), on his coins. The grounds for this attribution are perhaps slight, but he is one of the few kings before 'Ezana of whom we have any knowledge outside the king lists (in which his name does

not occur – at least not in this form), and he clearly preceded 'Ezana, since the conquest of the Yemen early in the 4th century by the Arab Imru-ul-qais made an Axumite invasion impossible after the end of the 3rd century. With this document we come, for the first time, to something like detailed topography of the kingdom of Aksum as a whole, not merely the coast, though its interpretation is full of difficulties.

Cosmas's account of his discovery of the inscriptions, and the wording of the second inscription translated from his Greek text, are as follows:

'In the town of the Ethiopians called Adulē, which lies on the coast two miles from the sea and forms the port of the tribe of the Axōmites, and to which come traders from Alexandria and Ela [Aelana, the modern Aqaba], there is a marble throne at the entrance to the town as you enter on the western side by the road to Axōme. . . . Behind the chair is a tablet of basanite stone, 3 cubits high, the face being square and the top shaped like the Greek letter *lambda* Λ, rising to a point and spreading at the bottom: the body of the tablet is quadrangular. This tablet has now fallen behind the chair, and the lower part of it is broken, but the whole of it, and the chair as well, are covered with Greek letters. Now it happened that when I was in this part of the country about 25 years ago, more or less, at the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Justinian [A.D. 527], Ellatzbaas, then king of the Axōmites, being about to make an expedition against the Homērites on the other side (of the Red Sea), wrote to the governor of Adulē (Τῷ ἄρχοντι Ἀδούλεως) to make copies of the inscriptions on the Ptolemaic throne and the tablet and send them to him. The governor (ἄρχων), by name Asbas, called me and another trader, a Greek named Mēnas who later became a monk at Rhaïthu and died not long ago, and instructed us to go and copy the inscriptions. This was written on the throne found at Adulē:

“. . . after which boldly having commanded the tribes nearest my kingdom to live in peace, I made war and conquered the tribes whose names are written hereafter: I attacked the Gazē [γάζη, v.l. Gazēs]<sup>a</sup> tribe, then Agame [ἀγάμε, v.l. Agamē, Agamai] and Sigyēnē [σιγυνηνῆ, v.l. Sigyēn, Sigiōiēn]<sup>b</sup> and conquered them, taking for myself half their possessions and leaving them half. I reduced

to submission the Aua and Zingabēñ and Angabē [ἄνα, ζιγγαβηνῆ, ἀγγαβῆ]<sup>c</sup> and Tiamaa [Τιάμαα, v.l. Tiama]<sup>d</sup> and Athagaūs and Kalaa [ἄθαγαοῦς, καλαὰ]; and having crossed the river Samēñ [σαμηνῆ, v.l. Saminē, Semēnai] a tribe across the Nile [νεῖλου] dwelling in inaccessible and snow-clad mountains where there are snow-storms and frosts and snow so deep that a man sinks to the knees in it; then the Lasinē [λασινῆ, v.l. Lasinai]<sup>e</sup> and Zaa and Gabala [ζαὰ, γαβαλαὰ] who dwell beside a steep mountain where hot springs bubble, and the Atalmo<sup>f</sup> and Bēga [ἄταλμῶ, βεγὰ] and all the tribes beside them. Having subdued the Tangaitai [ταγγαιτῶν] who dwell as far as the bounds of Egypt, I made a road to be travelled from the places of my kingdom as far as Egypt. Then I attacked the Anninē [ἀννίνε v.l. Annēñ]<sup>g</sup> and Metinē [μετίνε]<sup>g</sup> who dwell in precipitous mountains; and the Sesea tribe [σεσέα]<sup>h</sup> on a very great and inaccessible mountain I blockaded and brought down and chose for myself some of their youths and women and boys and girls and all the property belonging to them. The tribes of Rhausō [ῥαυσῶ v.l. Rhausōn] dwelling inland from the Berber incense-country in a great waterless plain I overcame, also the tribe of Sōlatē [σολάτε]<sup>k</sup> which I commanded to guard the coast. All these tribes in difficult mountains were blockaded, and I myself being present conquered them in the battles; and having subdued them I granted to them all the country under tribute. And across the Erythraean Sea I warred against the Arabitai and Kinaidokolpitai [ἀραβίτας καὶ κιναιδοκολπίτας] who dwell there. I sent a naval force and a land force and subdued their kings, commanding them to pay tribute for their lands, and to travel in peace by land and sea from Leukē Kōmē to the lands of the Sabaioi [σαβαίων]. And all these tribes I was the first and only king of my country to subdue, through the favour shown to me by the very great god Ares who begot me, through whom all the tribes bordering on my land from the east to the Incense-country, from the west to the places of Ethiopia and Sasu<sup>m</sup> I have made subject to myself, to some of which I went myself and conquered them, and to others I sent (my commanders). And having settled in peace every ruler under me, I went down to

Aduli to sacrifice to Zeus and to Ares and to Poseidon for all those who sail the seas. And having mustered my armies and having put them under one (commander), and having sat down in this place, I dedicated this throne as an offering to Ares in the twenty-seventh year of my reign.”

[In two MSS of Cosmas, Cod. Florentinus Laurentianus Plut. IX. 28 of the 10th century (F) and Cod. Vaticanus Graecus 699 of the 8th or 9th century (R) are appended some scholia and glosses on the above, which are as follows:

<sup>a</sup> He says that Gazēñ means the Axōmites, and to this day they call them Agazē [γάζην/ἀγάζη]. (F)

<sup>b</sup> They call the Sigyēñ the Suskinitai [σουσκινίτας] and the tribes near them. (F)

<sup>c</sup> He says that the tribes near Adulis are of the Tigrētes [τιγρητῶν]. (F)

<sup>d</sup> He says that the Tiama are those called Tziamō and the Gambēla [τιάμα/τζιαμῶ//γαμβελά/γαμβηλά] and the tribes near them across the Nile. (R)

<sup>e</sup> These tribes are called so till this day. (R)

<sup>f</sup> Thus the Aethiopians call the Blemmyes. He calls the Tangaitai Attabitē■ and Adra■s. [ἀτταβιτη ■ ἀδρα ■s] (F)

<sup>g</sup> These tribes are called so till now. (F)

<sup>h</sup> Here, clearly, tribes of Barbaria. (R)

<sup>k</sup> Sōlatē [vll. Sōlatē] is the name of those living by the sea in Barbaria. [Added in F: for he calls Sōlatē the Tigrētai of the coast in Barbaria.] (R)

<sup>m</sup> This land of Sasu is the furthest of the Ethiopians, where there is much gold called *tankharas*.<sup>1</sup> Beyond it lies the Ocean and likewise the Barbareōtes who also traffic in incense. (F)”

‘This is what was written on the throne. And till our day, in the place where the throne stands, in front of it, they execute those who have been condemned; but whether this custom has continued from the time of Ptolemy, I cannot say. I have

<sup>1</sup>This represents the Ge‘ez word *tānkāra* meaning ‘topaz’, ‘precious stone’ (Dillmann, coll. 564), in Greek ταγγάρας. [However, it is interesting to note that the British traveller Weld Blundell learnt in 1898 that the Śanqala referred to gold rings as ‘tsogaira’, a word which he thought might be derived from the Gujerat or Sanscrit ‘tankara’, a quarrier or miner. Weld Blundell, ‘Exploration of the Abai Basin, Abyssinia,’ *Geogr. J.*, 1906, XXVII, p. 545. R.P.]

set these things down, as I wish to show how he [the author of the inscription] correctly understood the boundary of Ethiopia to be Sasu and Barbaria, having subjected all these tribes, most of which we have seen; for the rest, we learnt about them when we were near the places. For most of the slaves which are now found in the hands of those who traffic there come from these tribes. But to Samēnē, where he says there are snow and frost, the king of the Axōmites banishes any one who is sentenced to exile.' (Cosmas, *Christian Topography*, pp. 72–76 Winstedt.)

In cod. Vat. Graec. 699 fol. 12v. is a picture of the throne of Ptolemy and the road to Aksum; it bears on it the words: 'The road leading from Adulis to Axōmē. / Ethiopians travelling. / The custom-house of Gabaza [τελώνιον γαβάζας]. / Aidūlis [ἄιδουλις] / The sea. / Samidi. / Axōmis.' This picture is important because it shows that the town and the port had apparently separate entities, and that the port was called Gabaza, which, while it means 'river-bank, shore', was also the name of one of the sub-kingdoms of Aksum under 'Ezana.

The other significant contribution of Cosmas is his account of the silent trade in gold; he says that each year the king of the Axōmites sends to Sasu, through the ruler of Agau (διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς ἀγαῦ) his own men to trade for gold, but does not give the route they took. (Cosmas, p. 70 Winstedt.)

The inscription attributed to Aphilas, as recorded above by Cosmas, presents many difficulties in the interpretation of the topography. It appears that the peoples conquered by the king are named in four groups.

The first group consists of the Gazē tribe, γάζη ἔθνος, Agamē, and Sigyēnē. The scholion defines γάζην as the Aksu-mites, τοὺς ἀζωμίτας, adding that 'to this day they call them Agazē'. This name, being in a hellenized form, may be equated with the Agwezat of *DAE* 8, 9 and with the word *gē'ēz* which denotes their language. Agamē is without doubt the province still so called to the east of Aksum. The Sigyēnē are unidentifiable, even with the help of the alternative name Suskinitas given in a scholion.

The second group contains twelve names, all in one sentence. But it is clear that they do not form a topographical group, and some re-arrangement of punctuation is needed. The wording of Winstedt's text with altered punctuation is:

Ἄνα καὶ Ζιγγαβηνὲ καὶ ἀγγαβὲ καὶ τιάμαα καὶ ἀθαγαοῦς καὶ καλαὰ, καὶ σαμηνὲ ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ νέιλου ἐν δυσβάτοις καὶ χιονώδεσι ὄρεσιν οἰκοῦντας (ἐν οἷς, διὰ, παντὸς νιφετοὶ καὶ κρῆ καὶ χιόνες βαθύαι, ὡς μέχρ' ἰγόντων καταδύειν ἄνδρα) τὸν/ποταμὸν διαβὰς ὑπέταξα, ἔπειτα λασινὲ καὶ ζαὰ καὶ γαβαλὰ οἰκοῦντας παρ' ὄρει θερμῶν ὑδάτων βλύοντι καταρρύντ , <καὶ> ἄταλμῶ καὶ βεγά, καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔθνη πάντα.

Setting aside the words ἐν οἷς, διὰ παντὸς . . . καταδύειν ἄνδρα, which are parenthetic, the first six names (ἄνα . . . καλαὰ) appear to form one group to the north of the Nile, i.e. Tākkāzi, followed by σαμηνὲ ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ νέιλου . . . τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς ὑπέταξα, in which οἰκοῦντας refers to σαμηνὲ ἔθνος.<sup>2</sup> The sense of the passage will therefore be: 'I reduced the Aua etc., and having crossed the river (I reduced) Samēnē a tribe across the Nile dwelling in inaccessible mountains', continuing, 'then (I reduced) Lasinē, Zaa, and Gabala . . ., (and) Atalmo and Bega'. This is a reasonable grouping, in so far as it is possible to identify the names. Angabē is described in a scholion as one of 'the tribes near Adulis which are of the Tigrētes', in other words, one of the peoples of Tēgre. If the Tigrētes extended into the highlands, Angabē might be represented by a place called Angāba in the chiefdom (*šumāt*) of Sedyā (*HSD*. 62/72) between 'Adwa and the river Bālāsa NW of Ēntāšew (Enticcio); Angabē may also be the same as the Angao of *DAE*. 9. Of Tiamaa it is noted in a gloss that 'he says that the Tiamaa are those called Tziamo, and 'the Gambēla and the tribes near them across the Nile'. This gives a clue to the position of Šeyamo which occurs in the protocol of all 'Ezana's inscriptions in the next century. Gambēla may be the place called Gāmbela or Gāmbāla at or near Māqālle in Ēndārta (*AJIB*. 25/26), and Šeyamo-Tziamo-Tiama the kingdom over which 'Ezana claimed sovereignty in this area. Aua and Zingabene cannot be satisfactorily identified. It has been suggested, e.g. by Bent, that Aua, the αῦη of Nonnosus (p. 475 Dindorf) represents Yeha, but this is doubtful.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that Zingabēnē may be scribe's error for Zingarene (i.e. Ζιγγαβηνὲ/Ζιγγαρηνὲ),

<sup>1</sup>This I cannot explain. G.W.B.H.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. similar usages elsewhere in Cosmas: σεσέα ἔθνος . . . οὓς . . ., and in *DAE*. 4: ἀτακτησάντων τοῦ ἔθνους.

<sup>3</sup>See below, p. 55.

and thus, as suggested in *DAE*. I, p. 43, it may be Zängären, a name occurring in Ḥamasen (see p. 98). Athagaūs and Kalaa are also unresolved, though the first is clearly the same as the Atagāw of *DAE*. 9, a people who lived somewhere near the Agwezat; Athagaūs has been identified with the Agaw, though the first syllable is left unexplained (unless it could be regarded as a rendering of 'Ad Agāw), and Cosmas himself writes ἄγαῦ for Agaw in his description of the silent trade. Then (ἔπειτα) comes a group comprising Lasinč, Zaa, and Gabala. To reach them, the Tākkāzi would have to be crossed again if, as I suggest with some hesitation, Lasinč is Lasta and Gabala is Gābāle near Ēntālo. (The resemblance of such names may be purely fortuitous, and the older names may not have survived.) From here we pass, through no more than a comma in the text (though I have added an explanatory καὶ), to the north-west, to the Atalmo and Bega, the latter being the ἔθνος τῶν βουγαειτῶν of *DAE*. 4, a gloss on Atalmo saying 'thus the Aethiopians call the Blemmyes'. Blemmyes was a collective name used by the Greeks and Romans for the 'beduin' Hamitic tribes between the Nile and the Red Sea. In Cosmas and *DAE*. 4 Bega means the Beja of the southern Sudan and northern Ethiopia (Eritrea), also called Bedawiye. There is a small affiliated tribe in Eritrea called Ad Elman (*Handbook of African Languages*, 1956, part III, p. 119). Could this name be a survival of Atalmo? (If this could be established it would strengthen the equation of Athagaūs with 'Ad Agāw.) This group is completed by the (ἔθνος) ταγγαιτῶν (the nominative form is not given), living towards the 'bounds of Egypt'. This may be a nasalized form of Takā, a place-name which occurs close to Kassala (*DAE*. 12 Kāsāla) in the Sudan, and occurs in the Chronicle of Susnēyos as Takā.

The account of the opening of a road to Egypt is followed, after a comma, by the mention of Anninč (v. 1. Annēnč)<sup>1</sup> and Metinč in precipitous mountains, perhaps in Ḥamasen (cf. *DAE*. 8 below). The last sentence takes the campaign to the south. Sēsčea, a tribe living 'on a very great and inaccessible mountain', is described in a scholion as 'clearly tribes of Barbaria'. There is no particular topographical feature that can be picked out for the home of the Sēsčea; were they in the Harar uplands? Next are named the Rhausō tribes, ῥαυσῶ ἔθνη, living inland from

<sup>1</sup>d'Abbadie shows 'Mt. Annane' (altitude 2311 metres) about 7 miles WNW of Dābrā Damo (*Géod.*, map 2), which would be in Agame, and E. of the Mārāb river.

the incense-country, μεσόγεια λιβανωτόφορων βαρβάρων, in a waterless plain, which suggests almost anywhere in northern Somalia. The king then subdued the Sōlatč tribe, which a gloss describes as living by the sea in Barbaria, that is, somewhere on the northern Somali coast. There are serious difficulties in the way of identifying these names with modern tribal names, because we do not know how old such names are. Thus, Rhausō has been equated with the Arusi Galla (who call themselves Arsi); but we have *no evidence* as to whether this name was in use as early as the third century. Finally, Sasu, 'the furthest land of the Aethiopians, where there is much gold called *tankh-aras*,' is possibly the Sidama country – Kafa, Ēnarya, etc. – in south-west Ethiopia, and the scholiast's statement that 'beyond it lies the Ocean' could be due to his ignorance of the geography of an area little known to the Aksumites.

## 2. THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE AKSUMITE INSCRIPTIONS

Most of the inscriptions found at Aksum, which contain important geographical information, were set up by 'Ezana during the middle years of the 4th century, seemingly both before and after he became a Christian. If A.D. 333 is a correct date for his conversion, and if the length of his reign (as given in the longest king-list, BM. Or. 817, 821, etc.) was 27 years, these inscriptions may have been written during the second and third quarters of the 4th century, perhaps between 325 and 352, though a more precise dating is impossible. Three of the inscriptions are versions in different languages – Ge'ez, pseudo-Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA), and Greek – of the same record, that of a campaign against the Beja. Three others describe campaigns within the kingdom against recalcitrant sub-kingdoms, and another (*DAE*. 11), which is known as the 'Christian Inscription' because the king speaks of 'the power of the Lord of Heaven' instead of calling himself 'son of Maḥrēm' (the god of war) as in all the others, records a campaign against the Noba which may in fact have been the final destruction of Meroe, though this city is not mentioned by name. These inscriptions are all on separate pieces of stone: the 'stone of 'Ezana' is shown on the *DAE* plan of Aksum about 1320 metres south of the Cathedral by the road to 'Adwa.

A1. The trilingual inscription: the Greek version, *DAE*. 4

‘AEIZANAS king of the Axōmites and Hōmērites and of Raeidan and (the) Ethiopians and Sabaeites and of Silēē and of Tiamō and the Bugaeitai and of Kasu, king of kings, son of the unconquered god Ares. The tribe of the Bugaeitai having on occasion rebelled, we sent our brothers Saiazana and (H)adēphan to make war upon them. And when they went against them, they submitted, and they brought them to us with their families and 3112 head of cattle and 6224 head of sheep, and beasts of burden, feeding them with an allowance of beef and corn and giving them wine and water to drink, everything for feeding as many as their number was. (There were) six kinglylets (BACIAICKOI) with their multitude (which was) in number 4400, receiving each day an allowance of wheaten bread 22000, and wine for <four> months, until they brought them to us. Having been given all their subsistence and clothed, we removed them and settled them in a place of our country called Matlia;<sup>1</sup> and again we ordered that they should be given an allowance of food, granting to the six kinglylets 25140 oxen. And in gratitude to my progenitor the unconquered Ares I set up to him one gold statue and 1 of silver and 3 of bronze, for his good.’

A2. The trilingual inscription: the Ge‘ez version, *DAE*. 7

‘EZANA king (nēgus) of Aksum and of Hēmer and Kasu and Sābā’ and Ḥabāsāt (ḤBŠT) and Rāydan and Sālḥe (SLḤ) and Šeyamo and Bēga, king of kings, son of Maḥrēm unconquered by the enemy. The people of Bēga rebelled. We sent our brothers Sa‘ēzana and Ḥadafah (S‘ZN WHDFH) to make war upon them. And they came to their country, and six kings (nāgāst) with their people submitted. And when they had submitted they removed them with their children and their women and their people and animals, to the number of men of the 6 kings 4400 and cattle 3112 and sheep 6224, and beasts of burden. And they fed them and removed them from their country, and provided each of them with wheaten

<sup>1</sup>Two of the letters in this word, the second and fourth, have peculiar forms, so that all that are certain are the third, fifth, and sixth: M·T·IA. The name has generally been read as MATAIA.

bread, 2200, and sufficient meat, and gave them *sewa*<sup>1</sup> to drink, and wine enough for four months. And they came to Aksum, and I clothed their men fully and I adorned the necks of their kings and I sent them with honour to a country called Dāwālā B//n, and I ordered them to be fed there, and I distributed food to each of the kings, 4190 head of cattle for <each of the> 6 kings, <in all> 25140 head of cattle. And I offered to Maḥrēm who begot me one, 1, image of gold; and one, 1, <image> of silver; and three, 3, <images> of bronze. I wrote this writing and set it up and offered <it> to ‘Astār and to Mēdr and to Maḥrēm who begot me. And if any one destroys or removes what I have offered, he shall die and his family and his children shall be destroyed and removed from the land; and let him be blessed who preserves <it> and arranges (?) <it> for me and my city for ever. And I have offered to Maḥrēm a sanctuary and a piece of land.’ [The last three lines of the inscription are very uncertain.]

A3. The trilingual inscription: ESA version, *DAE*. 6

[This is substantially the same as the Ge‘ez version, though the order of names in the protocol is different. The one place-name mentioned seems to be DWL BḤRN (Dāwālā BḤRN).]

This inscription records a campaign against the Beja, some distance to the north of Aksum. There is only one name in it, given as MATAIA Matlia<sup>2</sup> in the Greek, DAWĀLĀ B=N in the Ge‘ez, and DAWALA BḤRN in the ESA version. The Ge‘ez words are often taken to be DĀWĀLĀ BYRN, but though the first element is clear – Ge‘ez *dāwāl* means ‘boundary, territory’ – the only certain letters in the second are the first and last. The ESA text is a little clearer, and the word seems to be BḤRN. What Matlia is meant to be, is unknown; but BḤRN could represent the Ge‘ez *bēherēnā* ‘our country’, so that the expression would not be a place-name, but would mean simply ‘the boundary of my country’ – a not unlikely meaning, but still leaving identification impossible.

<sup>1</sup>Possibly a drink in which *sewa* (rhamnus sp.) was used as a fermenting agent. (See above, p. 37, on the TrogodYTE drink.) [The term is of course perpetuated in *sāwa*, the Tigrinya for ‘beer’. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>See note on p. 48.

B. A campaign by 'Ezana in his kingdom, in Ge'ez but written in ESA characters. *DAE*. 8

[‘EZANA] the son of Ēllä ‘Amida, a man of the <Ḥale> n, king of Aksum and of Ḥēmer and of Rāydan and of Sābā’ and of Sālḥen and of Šēyamo and of Bēga and of Kasu, king of kings, son of Maḥrēm never conquered by an enemy. He set out to restore and administer his land, and whoso obeyed, him he spared; and whoso disobeyed, him he killed. And he came to ‘LBH and to that place SWST king (*nēguś*) of the Agwezat with his people brought their tribute; and he received his submission (*sār’o*) and he was made subject (*tāsār’a*); and he dismissed him and let him return to his country. And he came to FNSḤT, and to that place SBL king of Gābāz with his people brought their tribute; and he received his submission, and he was made subject; and he dismissed him and let him return to his country. And he came to ḤMS and all the tribes of Mēṭin came there, and he received their submission and let them return to their country. And he cleared a road and administered the country. And he provided safe conduct on the road for the bringing of tribute together with provisions for men and women; and he gave food to his four companies (of troops) against the enemy (?). He came to their barracks and made much provision (on account of) the enemies of his country (?). And he fought them there, and counted (his army) in the field and brought it up to strength. And he came to /MW and he received his submission. And he came to MTT and there he fought him, and he reduced MTT with spilling of blood; and his people swore (allegiance) and gave him his tribute. And he (came to) Sāmen and established the bringing (of tribute?); and he received their submission and dismissed them to administer their country. And from there he crossed the river, and /L king of WYlQ came; and he said, ‘Our people have come and with our missiles (?) we will administer you . . .’ The last sentence is very uncertain, and the rest of the inscription is too fragmentary to translate.

This is the record of a campaign of consolidation by ‘Ezana throughout the region over which he claimed authority. He describes himself as king of Aksum and of seven other peoples. These occur in all his inscriptions in a fixed order: first, four in

Arabia, then three in Africa, except in the trilingual inscription where in the Ge’ez version (*DAE*. 7) two African names are placed among the Arabian. The trilingual inscription in all three versions has an eighth, Ḥabāsāt (Greek form αἰθιοπων) which does not occur in the others. The four recurring Arabian names are Ḥēmer (Greek ομηριται), Rāydan (Greek ραιδαν), Sābā’ (Greek σαβαιτων), and Sālḥen (Greek σιλην). These represent the ‘Himyarites’, the people of Rāydan round *Zafar*, the Sabaeans, and perhaps the people round Marib. In Africa, the Šēyamo may be somewhere in the region of Ēndārta (see above, p. 45), the Bēga are the people on the extreme northern frontier of Ethiopia, and Kasu is Kush, the Meroitic Sudan. By the time of ‘Ezana, however, the Arabian titles were anachronistic, and had no political significance, being kept as a reminder of Ethiopia’s former greatness. This inscription illustrates the nature of the kingdom of Aksum, and the practical meaning of the phrase ‘king of kings’. ‘Ezana was king of Aksum, *nēguśā ’aksum*, which was the centre of the kingdom, possibly little more than the later province of Tēgre proper, extending some twenty-five miles east and fifteen miles west of Aksum. The local kings, also called *nēguś* (though if the inscriptions had been written in Greek they might have been called βασιλίσκοι, as in *DAE*. 4), appear to have been semi-independent rulers tributary to the head king at Aksum.

‘Ezana set out to ‘restore and administer his land’. The first sub-kingdom to which he went was that of the Agwezat, whose king was SWST (the letters are unvocalized, and no similar name is recorded); he met the king at ‘LBH. Although this place is not identifiable, the Agwezat kingdom may have been about half-way between ‘Adwa and Ēntāšew, (a suggestion made possible by the next inscription which also deals with the Agwezat), and possibly extended to a line ‘Ēngwēya (Unguya) river-Ēntāšew-Awgēr.

Beyond this was the kingdom of Gābāz, under SBL, in whose territory was FNSḤT, a name which it is tempting to identify with the place called Fēnšate in the Chronicle of ‘Amdā Šeyon, fol. 40, though FNSḤT seems to have been too far north.<sup>1</sup> This kingdom stretched to the coast, if Gābāz can rightly be associated with the actual harbour of Adulis, called τελώνιον

<sup>1</sup>But see below, p. 90.

γαβάζας in the picture illustrating Cosmas in Codex Vaticanus Graecus 699 fol. 12v. On an undated coin from Adulis are the words ΕΛΛΑ ΓΑΒΑΖΗC (Conti Rossini in *J. Asiat.* 10 ser., XIV, 1909, p. 284), which seems not only to confirm the kingdom of Gābāz, but to suggest that, in this case at least, the king took his name from the kingdom.

From Gābāz, 'Ezana went to ḤMŠ, which may perhaps represent Ḥamasen, the northern province of Ethiopia. Here came all the tribes of Mēṭin, a name which recalls the Metinē of the Cosmas inscription. The next names, /MW, read as Damo by Littmann, and MTT, were presumably between Ḥamasen and Sämen, which follows. From Sämen 'Ezana 'crossed the river' and /L king of WYLQ came to him. This has generally been taken to represent Walqayt, the province west of Wāldēbba (e.g. Littmann in *DAE.* vol. IV, p. 23). On the other hand, the name of the old kingdom of Wālāqa east of Gojjam and the Abbay is written Wāylāqa in a XV MS of the *Gādla Tāklā Haymanot* (Paris B.N. Éth. 56, fol. 13r., Conti Rossini, *RRAL.* 5 ser. 1894). This form contains the letters present in WYLQ. Although Wālāqa is some two hundred miles or more south of Sämen, it was a kingdom, whereas Walqayt was no more than a province; and I think that when all the topographical considerations are examined, Wālāqa is as possible as Walqayt.<sup>1</sup>

C. A campaign by 'Ezana in his kingdom, written in Ge'ez.  
[Vocalized.] *DAE.* 9.

“EZANA son of Ēllä 'Amida, a man of Ḥalen, king of Aksum and of Ḥēmer and of Rāydan and of Sābā' and of Sālḥen and of Šēyamo and of Bēga and of Kasu, king of kings, son of Maḥrēm never conquered by the enemy. The Agwezat made war, and they came to Angābo<sup>2</sup>, where we encountered Abā'alkē'o king of the Agwezat with his people, and he brought tribute. And we came to 'Alya the dwelling-place (*maḥdār*) of the land of the Atagāw and we . . . camels and

<sup>1</sup>See below, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup>[Angābo, it is interesting to note, was the name of a legendary Axumite ruler said to have established a dynasty by killing a serpent of Tāmben to whom the people had been obliged to give their daughters in tribute. He is said, in some traditions, to have been an ancestor of the Queen of Sheba. E.A. Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia*, London, 1928, I, 143, 189, 191, 193, 221. R.P.]

beasts (of burden) and men and women and provisions for twenty, 20, days. And on the third day (after) our coming we understood his treachery. We plundered (?) the Agwezat who came with Abā'alkē'o king of the Agwezat, and every one whom we plundered we took and bound; Abā'alkē'o king of the Agwezat we did not leave, but we bound him (also) along with the bearer of his throne. And afterwards we ordered the Māḥaza company (*sārwe*) and the commanders (*nāgāšt*) of the army to go and stay . . . and they went and stayed for the night. And afterwards they sent the Māḥaza and Mēṭin companies. And they were ordered to go and fight the Agwezat. And they went to the place of assembly . . . and reached 'Asälā (?); and they came to Ērēg and . . . and went out by the slope of Ašäl and . . . river Nādu, and they killed whomsoever they met. Thence they came to the country of Agāda where they fought and took prisoners and took booty. And again, they sent the Daken company and ordered it to go by Sē'ēzot and from the east . . . and they turned by Tābēnya and descended where the <water> falls. And the three companies Daken and Ḥara and Mēṭin met together in Adbo [Ad<ya>bo, Littmann]. And after this they sent the Ḥara company and ordered it to go to Zāwā/t, and from there the third time they sent the Lāken company [sic] and ordered it to go to Ḥašābo, and it went by the slope of Tuṭēho and descended . . . the rivers and reached Lāwa and descended by 'Asyā . . . and together they departed from Ḥēzaba and camped at . . . and they went and passed the night and in the early morning they fought . . . place of assembly of (the district of) Māqāro; and the three companies . . . river with Fālḥa and Šēra' (companies) . . .'. The last three lines are too fragmentary to translate.

This is a tantalizing document, for it contains 17 place-names, more than any of the other inscriptions (excluding purely tribal names). The difficulty is that not one of them can be definitely identified. But if the first, Angābo, could (as suggested on p. 45) be the same as the Angabe of the Cosmas inscription, and identified with Angāba in Šedya, a district mentioned in HSD 62/72 between the Bālāsa river and 'Adwa NW of Enticcio (map reference "Mariam Tzadia" MD 372 HFE), we get at least a possible starting-point.

The third place from Angābo is called Ērēg. If Angābo is in

Sedya, no similar name occurs till we reach two names some distance northwards. The first is Urug on the slope of a mountain west of the Haddäs river in an area now inhabited by the Toroa or Tor'uwa Saho (ND 372 HFL, where the name Toroa is written Eroa). The second is shown as Mt. Arug on map no. 1 in d'Abbadie's *Géodesie d'Éthiopie* (it would fall in square HFL on sheet ND 372 but is not marked there;) d'Abbadie does not show Urug in Toroa, and since he writes Arug with a question mark after it, his Arug may be a misplacing of Urug. D'Abbadie puts his Mt. Arug about 6 miles east of Decamere which is some twenty miles SW of Urug. Either could be the position of Ērëg, which could also be one of the two places named in the unvocalized inscription on the 'sceptre' of Gadar king of Aksum, which says that the king 'gained control of the passes of 'RG and LMQ (*AE*, I, p. 37). (Gadar may be the Agdar or Agdur of certain of the king-lists, and a predecessor of 'Ezana.) After Ērëg no names are identifiable till the tenth, Adbo, and the twelfth, Ḥaṣäbo. For Adbo Littmann suggested Adyabo, the province west of Sire, and not too far away to fit the context as here interpreted. The twelfth, Ḥaṣäbo, is a name which occurs in a charter (no. 2, attributed to 'Ezana, *Land Charters*, pp. 29, 85) and is said to have been the original name of Aksum (Conti Rossini, *Gädlä Märqorewos*, *CSCO*, vol. 23, p. 24]. The sixteenth, Ḥëzäba, could be an error or misreading for Ḥaṣäbo – we are dealing with an inscription on stone, not with a manuscript. With these vague and uncertain clues we might visualize a campaign to the NE of Aksum going first to Urug-Arug, then going west and south to Adyabo, and thence back to Aksum. The mention of 'Alyä after Angäbo as the *mahdär* 'habitatō vel sedes', of the Atagäw, the Athagaūs of Cosmas, suggests that this people lived alongside the Agwezat.

D. A campaign by 'Ezana in his kingdom, written in Ge'ez.  
[Vocalized.] *DAE*. 10.

'EZANA son of Ēllä 'Amida, a man of Ḥalen, king of Aksum and of Ḥëmer and of Rāydan and of Säbä' and of Sälḥen and of Šëyamo and of Bëga and of Kasu, son of Maḥrëm never conquered by the enemy. The Šäräne made war, whose kingdom is (in) A/N. They attacked and annihilated one of our caravans, after which we took the field. And first we sent

troops, the Mähaza and Dakwen and Ḥara companies, and we ourselves followed and camped in the place of assembly of the army (at) 'Alaha and sent out our troops. And they killed (some of) them and captured (others) and took booty. And we attacked Sä 'ëne and Šawänte and Gema and Zähtän, four *angad* (tribes?); and we took Alitaha with his two children. And there were killed 503 men of A/N and 202 women, and they were (in all) 705. The prisoners, men and women belonging to the baggage-train (*gä'az*) were 40 men and 165 women and children, and they were (in all) 205. And there were captured 31957 (head of) cattle and 827 beasts of burden. And he returned safe with his people and set up a throne here at Sädö<sup>1</sup> and dedicated it to 'Astär and Bëḥer and Mëdr. And if anyone destroys or removes (this), his land and his family shall be uprooted and destroyed from his country. And he brought a thank-offering to Maḥrëm who begot him, 100 (head of) cattle and 50 prisoners.'

Another record of a local war carried on by 'Ezana, this time against the Šäräne, whose kingdom was A/N, because they had destroyed one of his caravans. This implies that there was a caravan route through Šäräne, and in fact there is a river called Šäränä on the route from Aksum to Adulis, about twenty-five miles north of Enticcio, which (if this identification is right) would place the Šäräne territory between the Agwezat and Gäbäz kingdoms. Of the four 'tribes' (*angad*) named, one, Sä 'ëne, recalls a name in a charter (no. 43, *Land Charters*, p. 51), where the *awfäri* of Së'en is mentioned, but without any clue to the locality.

The name of the kingdom cannot be satisfactorily determined, because on the stone only two letters are left, with a space where the middle letter has disappeared. Littmann read the name as AFAN. It is possible, however, that the missing letter may have been WA, giving AWAN, which could be equated with the  $\alpha\omega$  of Cosmas and the  $\alpha\omega\eta$  of Nonnosus, in a plain (Dindorf, *Hist. Gr. Min.*, I, p. 473). If Šäräne is north of the Bäläsa river, Aua cannot well be Yeḥa, as suggested by Bent, since it would be too far north, though Yeḥa was apparently written HW in ESA (*DAE*. 27).

<sup>1</sup>A place in Aksum called Sodo in *Liber Axumae* (*CSCO*. vol. 54, p. 3), where it is said to be in the quarter of Wäldä Akrosdäm.

E. The 'Christian Inscription' of 'Ezana describing his campaign against the Noba. Written in Ge'ez. [Vocalized.]  
DAE. 11.

'By the power of the Lord of Heaven who conquers (all) in heaven and earth, 'Ezana son of <Éllä> 'Amida, a man of Halen, king of Aksum and of Hēmer and of Rāydan and of Sābā' and of Sālhen and of Šēyamo and of Bēga and of Kasu, king of kings, son of Éllä 'Amida never conquered by the enemy. By the power of the Lord of Heaven ('ēgzi'a sāmay) who gave me lordship in perpetuity and in full, (I) rule (a people) unconquered by the enemy. Before me no enemy shall stand, and after me no enemy shall follow. By the power of the Lord of all I made war on the Noba when the Noba rebelled; when they boasted and the peoples of the Noba said, "They shall not venture from the Tākkāzi"; when they raided the people of Māngurto and the Ḥasa and the Barya, and the Black people (and the) Red (people) were at war; and he broke his oath to us twice and three times, and without respect (?) attacked his neighbours and took by force our emissaries and messengers whom I sent to him and plundered their possessions and deprived them of their spears. And when I sent again he did not listen to me and refused to give them up and uttered curses. Then I made war on him, and set out by power of the Lord of the earth ('ēgzi'a bēher) and fought at the Tākkāzi, by the ford of Kēmälke. And afterwards they fled and did not stand (against me), and I followed the fugitives (for) twenty-three days, 23, killing and taking prisoners and getting booty wherever I came; and the prisoners and booty were given over (to) my people who had come out (with me). I burnt their towns, those built (of stone) and those of straw, and (my troops) pillaged their corn and bronze and iron and copper; and they destroyed the effigies in their (gods') houses, and their stores of corn and cotton and threw them into the river Seda; and there were many who died in the water, the number of whom is not known. And their boats also were sunk, when they were full of people, men and women in them. And I captured two, 2, sub-chiefs who came to spy, riding camels, and their names were Yēsāka, 1, Butale, 1, and a senior man of Angāben [Angābenawi], 1; and (there

were these) sub-chiefs who died: Dānoko, 1, Dāgāle, 1, Anāko, 1, Ḥaware, 1, Kārkāra, 1; their priest (*marihomu*), 1 – the (troops) wounded him and deprived him of a silver ornament and a golden vessel; and the number of sub-chiefs who died was 5, and one priest. And I came to the Kasu whom I fought and made captive at the confluence of the rivers Sida and Tākkāzi. And the next day I sent my troops, the companies of Māḥaza and Ḥara Dāmāwā and Fālḥa and Šēra' up the Sida [south] to the towns built (of stone) and of straw; and the names of the built towns are Alwa, 1; Dāro, 1. And they killed and captured and threw into the water (the people). And they returned in safety, and made their enemies afraid; and they defeated them by the power of the Lord of the earth. And after this I sent the companies of Halen and Lāken and Sābārat and Fālḥa and Šēra' down the Sida [north] in the country of the Noba to four straw villages and one king [the reading here is uncertain]. The built towns of the Kasu which the Noba had taken were Tābito, 1; Fērtoti, 1; and (my troops) went as far as the country of the Red Noba. And my people returned in safety, having captured and killed and taken booty, by the power of the Lord of heaven. And I set up a throne at the confluence of the rivers Sida and Tākkāzi opposite the built town which is on the island. (It was) the Lord of heaven who gave me prisoners, 214 men, 415 women, being (in all) 629. And the killed were 602 men, 156 women and children, being (in all) 758. And there were taken prisoner and killed 1387; and the booty of cattle was 10,560 (head) and of sheep 51,050 (head). And I set up here at Sādo a throne, by the power of the Lord of heaven who helped me and gave me the kingdom. May the Lord of heaven strengthen my kingdom; and as at this time He has defeated my enemies for me, so may He defeat (them) for me wherever I go. (And) as at this time He has defeated for me and made subject to me my enemies, in justice and righteousness, so may I do the people no wrong. And I have dedicated this throne which I have set up to the Lord of heaven who made me king, and to the earth which bears it. And if any one shall remove or destroy or overthrow (it), may he and his family be removed and extirpated and removed from the earth. And I have set up this throne by the power of the Lord of the earth.'

In this inscription we have 'Ezana's own evidence of his conversion to Christianity: the abrupt change of preamble, and the references to the Lord of heaven and the Lord of the earth (the latter became the normal Christian Ethiopic word for 'God'), and the expression 'son of Ēllä 'Amida' repeated instead of the hitherto customary 'son of Maḥrēm'. The topography of this campaign, which reached beyond Meroe, though this name (nor any like it) is not mentioned, is fairly clear in its essentials. The name Tākkāzi was evidently applied by the Ethiopians to the river for its whole course from Ethiopia to its junction with the main Nile at Atbara town; the Sida was as clearly the Blue Nile. The aggressors at this time were the Noba, who began by raiding the Māngurto, Ḥasa, and Barya, who were somewhere near the Tākkāzi. Though the first two cannot now be identified, the Barya who now live east of Kassala on the north side of the Gash river are probably the same as the Barya of 'Ezana's day, for though the name means 'slave' in modern Amharic, it is 'the name by which they have been known from antiquity'.<sup>1</sup> Since the Barya country at least may have been considered part of the Aksumite sphere of influence, 'Ezana protested; but his protests were rudely ignored. So he set out and defeated the Noba at a ford on the Tākkāzi called 'the ford of Kēmälke',<sup>2</sup> perhaps somewhere between the junction of the Sētīt with the Atbara and Goz Regeb. From there he advanced to the river Sida (named five times in the inscription, once as Seda but otherwise as Sida) which is plainly the Blue Nile; then he went north down the Blue Nile and defeated the Kasu at the confluence of the Sida and Tākkāzi (Blue Nile and Atbara) close to where the modern town of Atbara stands, an important Meroitic site (Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, p. 19, n. 63). Here he set up a throne opposite a built town on an island, – a slightly puzzling expression, since Atbara town is on the

<sup>1</sup>A. N. Tucker and M. A. Bryan, *Handbook of African Languages*, Pt. III, p. 78, citing Grottanelli, *I Baria, i Cunama e i Beni Amer*, pp. 11–14. [The possibility of the word *barya*, i.e. slave, being derived from the ethnic group cannot be excluded. It is in fact common practice in Ethiopia to refer to slaves and persons in other economic categories by the name of the ethnic group from which most, or many, of their number were enrolled. The name *barya* was traditionally also applied to evil spirits. On this practice see D. Lifchitz, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris, 1940, pp. 151, 159, and, on the *Barya* in general C. Conti Rossini, 'Studi su popolazioni dell' Etiopia,' *RSO*, 1914, VI, pp. 392–9. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>A name which has nothing to do with the Amharic/Galla *mälka*, 'ford'.

north side of the river, and although it may mean no more than that here the nearness of the two rivers suggested an island, Atbara is still outside it. Thence he sent troops up and down the river Sida. One force went south to Alwa, the exact site of which is not known, and to Däro, which is probably the Daron of Pliny and Ptolemy and could be the site with ruins of stone buildings at Abu Haraz close to the confluence of the Rahad and Blue Nile river. The towns called Tābito and Fērtoti are difficult to identify; Crawford suggested the islands of Tibet and Birti not far above the Fourth Cataract. (*Fung Kingdom*, pp. 17, 19).

F. [A second 'Christian Inscription' of 'Ezana describing a campaign against the Noba. Written in Greek. Anfray, Caquot and Nautin. 'Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Ezana, roi d'Axoum.'

'In the faith of God and the power of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, to Him who preserved for me the kingdom by faith in His son Jesus Christ, to Him who succoured me and succours me always, I, 'Ezana, King of the Aksumites, of the Ḥimyarites, of Rāydan, of the Sabaeans, of S[äl]ḥen, of Kaṣu, of the Bega and of Šēyamo, a man of Ḥalen, son of Ēllä 'Amida and servant of Christ, I give thanks to the Lord my God, and I cannot speak fully of His favours, for my mouth and my spirit cannot (express) all the mercies He has done to me: He has given me power and strength; He has bestowed on me a great name by His Son in whom I believed, and He made me the guide of all my kingdom by reason of my faith in Christ, by His will and by the power of Christ; it is He who guided me, I believe in Him, and He has become my guide. I went forth to fight the Noba, because the Māngurto, the Ḥasa, the Atiadites and the Barya uttered cries against them, saying, "The Noba have overwhelmed us, come to our help because they have afflicted us by killings." I rose up in the power of the God Christ in whom I believed, and He guided me. I left Aksum, the eighth day of the Aksumite month of Mägābit, a Saturday, with faith in God. I advanced as far as Māmbärya and there I provided myself with supplies.'

[This Greek inscription, which was clearly erected by 'Ezana,

though his name is not actually mentioned, would seem to refer to the campaign described in the Ge'ez inscription, or at least one related thereto. The text is notable for its use of the more explicitly Christian formula, 'In the faith of God and the power of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,' and for its reference to Jesus Christ – this being the first time the latter actually is mentioned by name. The king's title is virtually the same as in the previous inscription. The list of people oppressed by the Noba corresponds to that in *DAE* 11: Μανγυρθω = Mängurto, Κάσα = Ḥasa, and βαρεωται = Barya. The only new group mentioned are the Ατιαδιται, or Atiadites, who have not thus far been identified, though because of the similarity of the two passages they may well be the same as the Šäli(m), or 'Black People' referred to in the Ge'ez inscription. The text would seem to be incomplete in that it ends, unusually, without explaining the conclusion of the campaign. R.P.]

G. [Another, largely illegible, inscription on 'Ezana's war with the Noba. Written in Ge'ez in South Arabian characters. Schneider, 'Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum.' pp. 767–70 and idem, 'L'inscription chrétienne d'Ezana en écriture sudarabe,' pp. 109–17.]

This inscription, incised on the back of the one described above, is written in the Ge'ez language, but in South Arabian characters. The stone has, however, been so weathered that the text is largely illegible. It nonetheless would appear to be Christian and to describe the war against the Noba which is thus referred to in three inscriptions: Ge'ez (*DAE* 11), Greek (Anfray, Caquot and Nautin) and now, lastly, Ge'ez in South Arabian writing. R.P.]

### 3. THE LAND CHARTERS OF 'EZANA

In the *Liber Axumae* there are two charters granting lands to the newly founded cathedral at Aksum which are attributed to Ēllä Abrēha and Ašbēḥa – that is, 'Ezana and his brother Sa'ēzana – 'he who made light' and 'he who brought the dawn', in allusion to their acceptance of the Christian faith.<sup>1</sup> These charters survive in manuscripts written out in XIX from earlier

<sup>1</sup>*Land Charters*, pp. 29, 85, 86.

sources. Though not all these estates are now identifiable, out of a total of 45 at least 20 can be either identified or their approximate positions established. They show that the sphere of 'Ezana's influence – territory in which it was practicable to grant land to a church – extended roughly from about Asmara in the north to Tāmben and Sāḥart in the south, and from Sire in the west to 'Adigrat, Mānbārta, and Ēndārta in the east. In other words, 'Ezana would appear to have had control over the country comprised in the provinces of Sire, Tēgre, Agāme, Tāmben, Gār'alta, Ḥawzen, Šera'e, Mānbārta, Ēndārta, and Sāḥart, that is, ten of the seventeen provinces that in the Middle Ages formed the territory of the Tēgre Mäkwännēn.<sup>1</sup>

The distribution of lands granted by later, pre-Zagwe, kings, shows a similar sphere of influence, though with a slightly further southern limit, approximately from Šēmbēla in Sire on the Tākkāzi through Tāmben, Sāḥart, Ēndārta and Mānbārta. Of these kings we have four charters<sup>2</sup> attributed to Gäbrä Mäsqäl (VI) and Anbäsa Wēdēm (XI) the father of the last pre-Zagwe king.

### 4. THE EARLY KINGDOM OF ETHIOPIA

The kingdom of Ethiopia began as a group of small states set up by Semitic immigrants<sup>3</sup> from the Yemen in the country between the Tākkāzi river and the Gulf of Zulla, where a 'metropolis called the Axōmite' was already in existence in I A.D. A dominant state soon emerged in and round the city of Aksum, and the rulers of the other states became tributary to its king (*nēgušä aksum*). These states seem, from the evidence of the inscriptions, to have been independent and autonomous so long as they paid tribute to the king of Aksum. When they failed to do so, they were punished; and if they interfered with the traffic on the trade route from Aksum to the coast, the king of Aksum 'took the field' against them.

The Aksumite kingdom, as recorded in the inscriptions of 'Ezana, seems to have consisted of (1) the city of Aksum and the territory round it; (2) three sub-kingdoms between Aksum

<sup>1</sup>The southern provinces of Tēgre do not seem to be represented in these two charters: Lasta, Sälāwa, Wag, Wajrat, Bora, Aräb, and Abärgäle.

<sup>2</sup>*Land Charters*, nos. 3–6.

<sup>3</sup>[See note 1 on p. 28. R.P.]

and the coast; (3) a number of tribes in different parts of Ethiopia.

The three sub-kingdoms, each ruled by a *nəguś* (which was also the title of the king of Aksum), were: (i) that of the Agwezat, close to Aksum, and the Gäze of the Cosmas inscription, with a 'capital' at a place called 'LBH (*DAE.* 8, 9); (ii) that of Šäräne, if the identification of the river-name Šäränä (d'Abbadie, *Géod.*, map 2) is correct, to the north-east (*DAE.* 10); and (iii) that of Gäbäz, between Šäräne and the coast, which included the port of Adulis with a custom-house on the shore (*DAE.* 8). An ancient trade-route led from Adulis to Aksum and the west (Kyēnion, Sennar) which ran through the kingdom of Šäräne. These three kingdoms were tributary to Aksum, and after IV are not heard of again; they were, however, the nucleus of what was to become the kingdom of Ethiopia.

The tribes mentioned in the inscriptions do not appear to have been kingdoms. Ḥamasen, for example, if it is the ḤMS of *DAE.* 8, is not stated to be a kingdom, but would seem to have been a collection of tribes from which the king of Aksum got tribute when he could. This applies also to Sämen (*DAE.* 8) and other tribes like /MW and MTT in *DAE.* 8. Similarly, in the Cosmas inscription there are twenty-one names referred to specifically or by implication as 'tribes' (ἔθνη), only one of which can be identified with a sub-kingdom. This is the tribe called γάζη ἔθνος, which is defined in a scholion as 'the Axōmites, and to this day they call them Agazē',<sup>1</sup> suggesting that they were the same as the Agwezat of 'Ezana. It is assumed (and I think we must assume) that the Cosmas inscription was set up by a predecessor of 'Ezana not later than the end of III. The geography of the inscription is very uncertain, but it does seem clear that some of the tribes conquered by the 'nameless king' were far to the south of Aksum, and the barbarians or Berbers of the Incense Country and the other peoples named towards the end of the inscription cannot have been nearer to Aksum than northern Somalia. The last name mentioned, Sasu, from which came gold, is called in a gloss the 'furthest of the Ethiopians'. The 'nameless king' claimed that he was the first to subdue all these distant peoples. Although 'Ezana does not

<sup>1</sup>This scholion is in MS F of Cosmas, written in X. If only one knew the extent to which the writers of such scholia and glosses were really qualified!

mention any of them, it does not follow that after IV all intercourse with the southern regions was cut off, for the king of Aksum in the time of Cosmas (cir. 527), Ellatzbaas or Kaleb, sent every year to Sasu for gold through the ruler of Agaw. The 'nameless king' also claimed to be the first Ethiopian to conquer the Tangaitai (ἔθνος ταγγαυτῶν) as far as the bounds of Egypt, as well as the Bega or Blemmyes; and it is certain that one of 'Ezana's predecessors reached Meroe and sacked it, setting up a Greek inscription in Meroe itself recording his exploit. In this case also the king's name is unfortunately missing, though he calls himself '(king of the Axō)mites and Homērites', and '(son) of Ares'. 'Ezana, on the evidence of such of his records as are known to us, would seem to have continued the subjugation of the northern peoples, but to have abandoned any attempt to control the southern regions.

The fact that the 'nameless king' could penetrate to the southern regions of Ethiopia far beyond Sämen shows that the identification of WYLQ in *DAE.* 8 with Wäläqa (suggested above, p. 52), is not impossible simply on the grounds of distance from Aksum.

5. [THE INSCRIPTION OF KALEB. Written in Ge'ez in South Arabian characters from right to left. Schneider, 'Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum', pp. 770-7.

'The Lord strong and valorous, the Lord valorous in battle. By the power of the Lord and by the grace of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Lord, the victorious, in whom I believe, who has given me a strong kingdom through which I overcome my enemies and I press underfoot the head of my enemies; who has guarded me since infancy and established me on the throne of my fathers . . . [illegible]. I entrust myself to Christ in order to succeed in all my enterprises and to be saved by He who pleases my soul [?], with the aid of the Trinity, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; I, Kaleb, Ellä Ašbēḥa, son of Tazena man of LZN, King of Aksum and of Ḥēmer and of Rāydan and of Sābā' and of Sālḥen and of the High Country and of Yāmanat and of the Coastal Plain and of Ḥaḍramaut and of all their Arabs, and of Bega and of Nuba and of Kasu and of Šeyamo and of DRBT . . . t of the country [?] 'ṬFY [?], Servant of Christ, who has not been

defeated by the enemy. With the help of the Lord I fought the Agwezat and the ḤST . . . [illegible] I fought them, having divided up my troops [illegible] my country, and with [illegible] . . . and I sent the Atagāw and the [illegible] they killed the ḤST, and I followed with [illegible] by the power of the Lord [illegible] there . . . their country with their offerings . . . [illegible] thousand . . . and the cows which they took [illegible] and . . . of the killed of the Agwezat and of the ḤST was of . . . [illegible] men: four hundred . . . women and children, hundred . . . [the total] was of . . . hundred . . .; captives; men, women and children: four hundred . . . [the total] of killed and captured was of . . . hundred . . . and the booty of cows of . . . hundreds, camels two hundred . . . [illegible] that the Lord gave me [illegible] the name of the Son of the Lord in whom I have placed my trust . . . [illegible] I built his *gäbāz* [possibly an epithet for the cathedral of Aksum] and I consecrated it by the power of the Lord, and the Lord has revealed to me his sanctity [?], and I lived on this throne . . . and I have placed myself under the protection of the Lord, Creator of heaven and earth, those who are against whom He will destroy, eradicate and break. And he who would eradicate and break that the Lord eradicates . . . [illegible].'

In this inscription, which testifies to his Christian faith, Kaleb reveals that he was also called Ēllä Aṣbēḥa (as is also evident from the narrative of Cosmas), and that he was the son of Tazena, as is apparent also from his currency. Eight of the places he describes as part of his realm, viz. Aksum, Ḥēmer, Rāydan, Sābā', Sālḥen, Bēga, Kasu and Šeyamo, are listed virtually in the same, possibly ritualistic order as in several of 'Ezana's inscriptions. (*DAE.* 8, 9 and 10 and Anfray, Caquot and Nautin). Kaleb claims in addition Nuba, against which his forebear had campaigned as recorded in three inscriptions (*DAE.* 11, Anfray, Caquot and Nautin, and Schneider 1). In the middle of the list of territories are five names referring to South Arabia; based on the formula employed by the rulers of that country, viz. 'the High Country,' Yāmanat, 'the Coastal Plain,' Haḍramaut, 'and all their Arabs.' Two other places, DRBT and 'ṬFY, cannot be identified, but, to judge from their position in the text, were almost certainly on the African side of the Red Sea. As for the expedition it seems to have been

directed mainly against two peoples: 1) the Agwezat who were earlier mentioned in two of 'Ezana's inscriptions (*DAE.* 8 and 9) and whose territory was thought by Huntingford to lie perhaps 'half-way between 'Adwa and Ēntāšēw,' and 2) the ḤST who are otherwise unknown and whose location cannot be established. Reference is also made to the Atagāw who were earlier referred to by 'Ezana (in *DAE.* 9), apparently as neighbours of the Agwezat. R.P.]

#### [6. THE INSCRIPTION OF KALEB'S SON W'ZB.

Written in Ge'ez in South Arabian characters, from right to left. Schneider. 'Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum,' pp. 777-86.

This inscription is so worn that only a very incomplete transcription of it has so far been made. The text includes several references to God and a number of quotations from the Bible, incorporated in an account of a military expedition against the King's enemies whose names are unfortunately lost.

'and my troops fought . . . [illegible] . . . I fought . . . [illegible] . . . with the army and soldiers . . . [illegible] I will kill your enemies and I will fight against your enemies . . . [illegible] my God [illegible] . . . the troops under my orders [illegible] . . . God will fight for you, and you shall keep you peaceful [Exodus 14, 14 . . .] [illegible] by the power of the Lord I entered their country [illegible] . . . I found them fleeing, refugees in their fortress the name of which is DGM [illegible] . . . I lived within the enclosure of the fortress [illegible] . . . they occupied the entire camp and fortress . . . [illegible] all nations compassed me about, in the name of the Lord I have vanquished them [Psalms 118, 10] . . . [illegible] having been killed then [?] and for that [?] I sent . . . [illegible] the troops ḤDQN and S.RT und ŠBH and DMW and 'GW . . . [illegible], O Lord, fight against them who make war against me, take hold of shield and spear and stand up to help me [Psalms, 34, 12]; let them go back and have shame, those who meditate evil against me; let them be like dust before the wind, that the angel of the Lord chase them [Psalms, 35, 4, 6], and it is said in the Psalms, I will pursue my enemies, and capture them [Psalms, 18, 37]. You gird me with strength in battle, and You make all those fall

who stand up against me and You make my enemies turn their backs on me [Psalms 18, 39, 40], and it is also said, the right hand of the Lord doth valiantly, the right hand of the Lord has exalted me [Psalms, 18, 15, 16] . . . [illegible]; and praise Your holy name . . . [illegible]; the troops which I had sent submitted and killed and prayed and took captives . . . [illegible]; safe and sound, by the power of the Lord, and I set up a throne in *methm* [?] . . . [illegible] WYT[L]; and I returned safe and sound with my troops, by the power of the Lord; and I lived at ZWGŠ and they found refuge there in a place uninhabited by the combatants . . . [illegible]; our country [?], and a battle [?] en route and for that I sent in expedition the troop Hara [illegible] . . . and they killed, and took captives and booty, by the power of the Lord, and returned safe . . . [illegible]; and that which the Lord gave me at the time of the first expedition and at the time of the last expedition . . . [illegible] Prisoners, men . . . women and children . . . prisoners . . .; killed, men . . . women and children . . .; the total [was] prisoners . . . and the booty in cows [illegible] . . . all the 'gd of the WYTL submitted in offering their presents . . .'

The fortress of DGM and the place-names WYT[L] and ZWGŠ have not been located. R.P.]

### III THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE 'DARK AGES'

#### 1. THE ZAGWE

OF events between the time of Ellatzbaas or Kaleb (fl. 527) and the beginning of the Zagwe period very little is known. To Kaleb's son Gäbrä Mäsqäl are attributed some land charters, and others are attributed to Anbäsa Wädēm father of Dēlna'od, the last king before the Zagwe. These show an apparent slight extension of the Aksumite sphere of influence as far south as Sāhart and Ēndārta.

The Zagwe, so far as can be made out from the rather confused and scanty records, came after a period of anarchy when the country had fallen into the hands of either one or two women known as Ēsato (fire,) and Gudit (Judith), who seized power in the kingdom of Aksum and in Amhara, and ruled for forty years. Gudit, who is said to have destroyed all the churches, is sometimes called an Agaw.<sup>1</sup>

Early in XII the Zagwe appear on the scene as a dynasty which was not 'Israelite', i.e. not connected with the Aksumite royal family which claimed descent from Solomon and Queen Makeda. They are said to have come from Bugna near Lake Ašänge, and to have made their headquarters at Roha in Lasta. The sources are again conflicting, both as regards the number of the Zagwe kings and the length of their dynasty, but the evidence suggests that there were in fact five kings from about 1117 to 1268.<sup>2</sup> Since they were intruders who usurped the throne [and later lost power, R.P.], any records they may have left were doubtless destroyed, and apart from the king-lists, a few other brief references, and the *Lives* of two Zagwe kings regarded as holy men, we know very little about them.

It is not till we reach the end of XII and the beginning of XIII that we get any real information, and this comes from the *Life* of St. Täklä Haymanot, whose name has been connected (quite unwarrantably) with the expulsion of the last Zagwe

<sup>1</sup>G. W. B. Huntingford, 'The Wealth of Kings' and the end of the Zagwe dynasty,' *BSOAS*, 1965, XXVIII, p. 6; Paez, Bk. I, chap. V; Almeida, Bk. II, chap. V Beccari.

<sup>2</sup>Huntingford, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8-10.

king. In this *Life* there is a considerable amount of material which helps to elucidate the geography of part of Ethiopia.

The five Zagwe kings of whom the dynasty consisted were:

Märari	1117–1132
Yëmrëhanä Krëstos	1132–1172
Lalibäla	1172–1212
Nä'akwëto Lä'ab	1212–1260
Yëtbaräk	1260–1268 <sup>1</sup>

The *Lives* of Zagwe kings that have survived are those of Lalibäla and Nä'akwëto Lä'ab, the first existing in a MS of early XV, the second in a MS of XVII taken from an earlier text. Neither of these documents tells us very much about the country. In the *Life* of Lalibäla it is said that he was born in a town called Roha (taken from a name of the town of Edessa in Osrhoene), later known as Lalibäla, some fifty miles SW of Lake Ašänge; here are the rock-hewn churches attributed to king Lalibäla. In the *Life* of Nä'akwëto Lä'ab, Roha is still the centre of the Zagwe kingdom, and the province of Gojjam by the river Gëyon (Abbay) was part of it. Nä'akwëto Lä'ab built a church at a place called Sëwa'a which is said to have been called Wägrä Sëḥin ('mountain of incense') 'among Celestials', and Ašëtän or Ašëtën 'among Terrestrials'. In the *Life* it is said that the church at Sëkwa'a was built near a cave; the name Ašëtän/Ašëtën suggests that it may be the existing rock-hewn church now called Ašëtän Maryam, a few kilometres E of Lalibäla and possibly the Mount Ašatan of the Chronicle of Susënyos (chap. 62).<sup>2</sup> In the land of Qoqḥëna (apparently near Roha) he built another church; here there seems to have been a desecrated church of Èstifanos, the *tabot* of which, reconsecrated, was put into the new church, which is said to have been built in a lake which the king filled in with rocks. This church is described as being in Dänsa (v.l. Dënsa), near Wägrä Sëḥin.

<sup>1</sup>Huntingford, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>This church is briefly described by Monti della Corte, *Lalibela*, p. 97. It appears on d'Abbadie, *Géod.*, map. 4 as Mt Ašattan, 5 miles E of Lalibäla. R. Sauter in his list of rock-churches gives two at Ašëtän Maryam, one higher up than the other (*AE*, V, 19 nos. 49, 50).

## 2. THE JOURNEYS OF TÄKLÄ HAYMANOT

Towards the end of XII Täklä Haymanot<sup>1</sup> was born in Zoräre, a district of Šëlalëš in Shoa.<sup>2</sup> His ancestors came to Zoräre from Tëgre by stages, through Qweta, Zäbagwëdr, Angot, Dawënt, Wäläqa, Märabete, Mänz, and Shoa. His homeland was in the country between the Jämma and Mugär rivers E of the Abbay. It included Gërarya and Šëlalëš; the first of these may be represented by the modern Gërrar shown on Beke's map (*JRGS*. XIV) a few miles W of Däbrä Libanos, the second by the district of Säläle, NC 375 HDL, between Däbrä Libanos and the Mugär river, which gave its name to another district. In this area were also a place called Kätata, a river Mëḣšot nearby, Èndëgen, Mt Bera, Dabot, noné of which can be identified precisely; there has been much Galla influence hereabouts, and many of the old place-names may have vanished. Also here was (Däbrä) Asbo, where towards the end of his life Täklä Haymanot founded the monastery of Däbrä Libanos.<sup>3</sup> After Täklä Haymanot had performed a miracle in Kätata, people came to him there from Wägda, Šëhga, Kël'at, Särmat, Mähagäl, Mëdhare, and Fätägar, to be baptized. Wägda is a district to the east of Däbrä Libanos; Šëhga was probably in Shoa; Kël'at may be the place called Kalata on NC 372 HDT north of the Wäläqa river and some fifteen miles NNW of Addis Dërra; Särmat was somewhere between Däbrä Bërhan and Šäno in eastern Shoa. Kël'at, Mähagäl (in the form Mahgäl), and a place called Mätyän in Fätägar appear in the *Life* of Filpos in the reign of 'Amdä Šëyon as 'parishes' in the diocese of Shoa. To the west of Mugär lay the province of Damot south of the Abbay. It was ruled by a governor, at that time named Motälame,<sup>4</sup> whose territory included Shoa as far as the 'great river Jämma'. He was a pagan, and it is not clear whether he was under the nominal jurisdiction of the Zagwe at Roha or

<sup>1</sup>[For a more detailed discussion on Täklä Haymanot's journeys see G. W. B. Huntingford 'Saints of Medieval Ethiopia', *AS*, 1979, X, pp. 257–341, and on the saint's life in general, Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270–1527*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 160–84 *et passim*, and Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, 'Bibliography of the Ethiopic Hagiographical Traditions,' *JES*, 1975, XIII, No. 2, pp. 92–3. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>Source: Gädlä Täklä Haymanot, BM. Or. 723; Budge; Paez, Bk. II, chap. XIX.

<sup>3</sup>On the equation of Asbo with D. Libanos, see *CZ*. 91.

<sup>4</sup>*Senkesar*, 24 Nähase; on Motälame, BM Or. 723. This is perhaps a title, since it occurs again in CGA VIII and X (referring to XIV and XV); for the meaning cf. Amharic *meta* 'guardian', and *lam* 'cattle'.

not. He is, however, described as *mäkwännēn* and *sēyum*, not as *nēguś*. His 'capital', (*betä māngēštēyā* 'house of my kingdom'), where he kept his idols, was at a place called Malbärēde or Malbärde, somewhere in Damot.

During the course of his long life (reckoned at 103 years in BM. Or. 723), Täklä Haymanot made a dozen journeys for the purpose of converting pagans and visiting monasteries and holy places. The narratives of these journeys contain many place-names and are in fact the first adequate notices we have of the topography of parts of Ethiopia.

The first journey was in the Gērarya region; here he visited Kätata, a pagan cult-centre, where he caused a tree inhabited by a devil to uproot itself, thereby giving the devil (the local god) a severe fright, and baptized many people in a river called Mē'ēšot. He also built with wood from the devil's tree a church at Yätebr in Ēndēgen nearby. [BM. Or. 723, chaps. 36–40.]

The second journey was from Kätata through Shoa by way of Mt Wifat to Mt Bilät. The place-names in the order in which they occur are: Kätata, Ēndēste or Ēnäsēdēste, a great mountain called Wifat where there were many devils, Ēnar'ēt where he destroyed 'the shrines of their idols', Wäyrage after crossing the river Wid, Sätal, and the land of Bilät which was 'the capital of the magicians where they sacrificed' and where there were many idols. Mt Wifat may refer, as a general term, to eastern Shoa (see below, sect. 4), and more specifically to Mt Zēqwala 35 miles SSE of Addis Ababa, which even now has both pagan and Christian religious associations. From here he went to Wäyrage, and one is tempted to suggest that by this is meant Gurage to the west of Lake Zway, which would be reached after crossing the Awaš and Mäki rivers, Bilät being then the region of the headwaters of a river called Billate in *Guida*, maps pp. 552, 496) and Uera on NC 375 HCS but Billate lower down on NB 372 HCS. This is a land full of 'idols' – phallic stones and stones carved with representations of swords and the human figure.<sup>1</sup> [BM. Or. 723, chaps. 43–45.]

The third journey was from Bilät to Zēba Fätän a mountain in Damot, where there were 'many idols of stone and wood',

<sup>1</sup>[On these stones see articles by F. Anfray, and also by Anfray and Godet cited in the Bibliography. R.P.]

in the territory of Motälame.<sup>1</sup> Here the Saint was thrown over a great precipice called Tomägerer (which may have been the provincial place of execution)<sup>2</sup> and miraculously saved. After staying here for several years he went to the land of the Barya and the land of Humäl somewhere near the Abbay (here called Gēyon) and possibly north of it. The Barya are not the people called by this name in NW Ethiopia (who occur in *DAE* 11), but another group mentioned three times in *HSD* (pp. 34, 35, 38 *versio*) as being pagans (*arämi*) of Damot, in whose country lived the rebel Fasilo. The name also occurs as that of a troop of 'Amdä Šeyon's army (*GV*. 82). [BM. Or. 723, chaps. 46–62.]

The fourth journey was from Zēba Fätän in Damot by way of Zoräre (chap. 66) to the convent of Abba Bäšälotä Mika'el at Gēš in Amhara, which may be the Gēše of certain chronicles (e.g. *CB*. 116; *Per. Sus.* 18), and possibly somewhere north of Mänz in the Wärrä Ilu area (NC 372 HDU). From here he made his fifth journey to the convent of Abba Iyäsus Mo'a in Lake Ḥayq, where he stayed for ten years. [BM. Or. 723, chaps. 63–77.]

The sixth journey was from Ḥayq through Tēgre, where he went to Däbrä Damo in Agäme NW of Adigrat, also known as Hale Luya, the convent founded by Abba Arägawi, one of the Nine Saints (to be distinguished from another Hale Luya or Halelo NW of Aksum). [BM. Or. 723 chaps. 74–77.] After living here for more than twelve years he set off on a visit to Jerusalem and Skete in the Egyptian desert (seventh journey), returning to Tēgre, from which he went twice more to Jerusalem (eighth and ninth journeys), finally returning to Däbrä Damo. During his seventh journey he visited Šä'ada Amba in Ḥarämat (chap. 84). [BM. Or. 723, chaps. 78–86.]

The tenth journey was from Däbrä Damo to the land of Zälan. The only clue to this comes from the Chronicle of Susnēyos (*Per. Sus.* 43) where the name is applied to nomads in Fogära and Begämdēr E of Lake Ṭana, where was a mountain called Qänṭorär in a desert region. (The Zälan who furnished troops to the Muslim army in 1329 from nine districts

<sup>1</sup>[See also Tsehai Brhane Selassie, 'The Question of Damot and Walamo,' *JES*, 1975, VIII No. 1, pp. 37–45. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>This was one of the Ethiopian methods of execution. (Cf. Paez, Bk. I, chap. XVI.)

under a governor, *GV*. 79–80, seem to have lived elsewhere.) [BM. Or. 723, chap. 87.]

The eleventh journey was from Zälan to Lake Ḥayq, of which no details are given. [BM. Or. 723, chap. 87.]

The twelfth and last journey was from Ḥayq back to Gërarya by way of Sayënt, where he came to a place called Aräbiha and a high mountain called Dada on which he killed a sacred snake, and where, in the river Zoha, he baptized the king of Sayënt and many other people. Sayënt (or Amhara Sayënt) is west of Lake Ḥayq in the area south of the Bäsšelo river and south of Dawënt (NC 372 HEE). From Sayënt he went south through Wäläqa to the land of Mugär, where he ascended a high mountain called Qoat, after which he went to the land of Zëma, and thence back to Gërarya. The centre of Sayënt is some fifty-five miles W of Lake Ḥayq. It is a mountainous and sparsely inhabited area; Aräbiha and Zoha cannot be located (but see below, p. 73). Wäläqa is the old kingdom along the river of the same name, and Mugär is along the river Mugär. It is tempting to identify Qoat with the Qwa'at near Šälalo of the Chronicle of Susneyos (Per. Sus. 5), if it were not that this appears to be in Gojjam west of the Abbay, and that from the wording of BM. Or. 723 Qoat seems to be in Mugär. From this place he went to Zëma, which Conti Rossini suggested might be Zuma in Märabete<sup>1</sup> (NC 372 HTT Zoma); if this is right, the difficulties in the way of identifying Qoat with a place in Gojjam are increased. [BM. Or. 723, chaps. 89–92.]

For the rest of his life, Täklä Haymanot stayed in the Gërarya region, and the places which occur during this period are: a district called Dabot where there were hills called Jäma and Ambusa (in Gërarya) on which were 'sacred places of devils'; a great rock called Asbo where lived the greatest magician in Gërarya; Wägda, the country adjoining Gërarya on the east; Bera, a mountain in Gërarya where lived a magician 'worshiped by the people'; and Aräb which, though not then visited by Täklä Haymanot in the flesh, occurs in a story of how a vision of Täklä Haymanot was seen by the dying *mäkwännēn* of Aräb who had been converted by the Saint and at that time was 'making war on an enemy of the king'. Asbo was the original name of the place where Täklä Haymanot founded his

<sup>1</sup>*Mem. RAL*. 5 ser. II, 1894: the Wäldēbba version of the *Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*.

monastery of Däbrä Libanos (*CZ*. 91). Aräb is possibly the same as the province which occurs in the Chronicle of 'Amdä Šeyon (*GV*. 54); there are two possible locations for it. (1) To the south of Gërarya, adjoining Wifat, if the order of names in the *Hëggä wäsēr'atä mängēšt* (Bodl. Bruce 92, f.7r) has any significance, the names being Wifat, Wäräb, Qäčamo, Zway. Crawford, from the evidence of 'Brother Thomas' in Zorzi, who named a province of Urab in which was 'the great city of Barara',<sup>1</sup> suggested that Wäräb was represented by a name Oraba on the 1/2 million GSGS map, forty miles SW of Addis Ababa and south of the Awaš. (*Ethiop. Itin.*, pp. 91, 163). This name does not appear on either the 1/1 million or 1/500,000 GSGS maps of the area, and the 1/2 million sheet is most unreliable. Nevertheless, this is a possible site for Aräb, and fits in with the division of Shoa into 'parishes' by *Abunä Ya'qob* in the reign of 'Amdä Šeyon, the order of the first four names being Damot, Wäräb, Wäj, Fätägar (*Gädlä Filpos*, p. 175 (*CSCO*. 30)). Further support comes from the Chronicle of Susneyos, which mentions Mēdrä Wäräb with a river Wäri between it and Gurage, perhaps the Uera of NC 375 HCS. (Per. Sus. 15).

(2) Between the Abbay and Gumära rivers in Begämdēr (Per. Sus. 22, 34, 58), is a region which does not seem to have been visited by Täklä Haymanot. In chap. 102 he did not actually go to Aräb, but the implication is that he probably had been there, since he had converted the governor. The only indications that he might have been in Begämdēr are to be found in his twelfth journey, where he 'went to the land of Amhara, and coming to Aräbiha he found there a high mountain called Dada' (chap. 89). A village called Aräbiya<sup>2</sup> is recorded in Paris BN. Éth. 138 as having been given to the convent of Däbrä Ṭēbäb at Gondar by king Täklä Haymanot II (c. 1770). But according to our text (BM. Or. 723) this place was in the country of the king of Sayënt, whose territory can hardly have extended as far as Gondar, unless the village in

<sup>1</sup>This Barara, in spite of the importance attributed to it in Zorzi, does not appear in any Ethiopic documents known to me – at least under this name. The only places called Barara that I have been able to find are (1) an unimportant *amba* in the Dessie region (*AJIB*. 78/78); (2) a place (? abbey) where a *happas* of Ethiopia named Yēšhaq was buried (Paris BN. Éth. 107, f. 90, Zotenberg no. 160).

<sup>2</sup>In the list of places in Bodl. Bruce 88 fol. 34v. Aräbiya comes between Sarbakwēsa and Dänqaz. (See Appendix A.)

question was 150 miles from the convent and in a wild country. Likewise, there is a Bëra near Däriša in Begämdër; but this again can hardly be the Bera in Gërarya.

Some people may be inclined to dismiss much of the *Life* of Täklä Haymanot as monkish invention, but there seems to be no valid reason why the geographical details should not be accepted. The Saint's travels are neither impossible nor improbable (making due allowance for such flights of fancy as the account of his departure from Däbrä Damo in chap. 79, when the rope by which he was descending from the monastery broke and he was immediately supported by six angelic wings), and they show how men could travel along the main routes of Ethiopia more or less without let or hindrance, as indeed is apparent from the travels of the saints and holy men who came after Täklä Haymanot.

### 3. THE END OF THE 'DARK AGES'

In 1268 the last Zagwe king, Yětbaräk,<sup>1</sup> was expelled by Yëkuno Amlak, who thus restored the Dëlna'od dynasty and himself became king. Täklä Haymanot is often credited with an important part in the overthrowing of the Zagwe, but there appears to be no foundation for this claim.

A better case can be made out for Iyäsus Mo'a the abbot of Ḥayq with whom Täklä Haymanot spent ten years. In the *Life* of Iyäsus Mo'a there is an account of the defeat of the last Zagwe king by Yëkuno Amlak in which Täklä Haymanot is not mentioned, while Iyäsus Mo'a is given a major part. What does emerge from the conflicting stories is that Yëkuno Amlak fought the last Zagwe king Yětbaräk and killed him in the church of St Qirqos at Ansäta in Gayënt where he had taken refuge. This place was somewhere west of Sayënt in the area between the Bäšëlo and Čäčäho rivers. Iyäsus Mo'a was born in 1213 at Dahna, some 15 miles east of the Täkkäzi (*Géod.* 4; ND 375 HEL Daama). He was first at Däbrä Damo in Tëgre, and was later made abbot of Ḥayq by one of the Zagwe kings. A certain Täsfa Iyäsus took refuge in his monastery, and having settled in Sägärat in the house of a noble, Täsfa Iyäsus begot Yëkuno Amlak of a servant girl of his patron. Yëkuno Amlak,

<sup>1</sup>[Other king lists suggest that the last Zagwe king was Harbäy. See Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, p. 240. R.P.]

having eaten the head of a cock which had foretold the end of the Zagwe, was imprisoned on mount Mäloṭ, from which he escaped and fled to Iyäsus Mo'a, who encouraged him to expel the Zagwe king, who was then Yětbaräk. (*Acta Iyasus Mo'a*, ed. S. Kur, *CSCO*. vol. 260.) An almost identical story is told in the *Bē'älä Nägästat*, written about 1768, which does not mention the place where Yětbaräk was killed, and makes the chief actor Täklä Haymanot instead of Iyäsus Mo'a. Taking everything into consideration, it is clear that if either of these saints had any part in the politics of the day, it was Iyäsus Mo'a rather than Täklä Haymanot.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Dark Ages may be said to have ended with the coming of Yëkuno Amlak, there is still a scarcity of documentary evidence for the history and geography of Ethiopia. Apart from the *Lives* of Lalibäla and Nä'akwëto Lä'ab, who were regarded as saintly men and founders of churches, any records that the Zagwe might have left do not seem to exist now; and this is not surprising, since their records would have been destroyed because they were usurpers who did not belong to the royal dynasty.

For the reign of Yëkuno Amlak there is next to nothing, but with his son Yagbë'a Šëyon we have the *Life* of Märqorewos, a saint who according to the *Life* lived till about 1419. Even here there is little about his period, but the king's capital is said to have been at Aksum; and a certain holy man named Gërmanä Ēgzi' was given the province in which stood his city called Sikär. If any reliance can be placed on this document, it shows that Aksum had regained something of its former political importance.

According to Paez, who said that king Susnëyos had told him,<sup>2</sup> one of the sons of Yagbë'a Šëyon about 1290 instituted the custom of confining the king's sons and other male relatives on Amba Gëšën NW of Amba Sël (NC 372 HEF at or near the place where occur on the map the words Amba Moka).

<sup>1</sup>See Huntingford, 'The wealth of kings' . . ., *BSOAS*, 1965, XVIII, pp. 1-23; and 'The Lives of Saint Takla Häymānot', *JES*. 1966, IV, p. 35 seq.

<sup>2</sup>Bk. I, chap. X.

#### 4. MUSLIM SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA

A Muslim state was founded in eastern Shoa about 896 and lost its independence around 1285. This state was centred on a place called Walalah, probably the modern Wäläle south of Šāno in the Ēnkwoy valley, about fifty miles ENE of Addis Ababa.<sup>1</sup> Names in this state which can be provisionally identified are Tugalāh, perhaps Tāgwēlāt; Hbt, perhaps Hubēte SW of Tāgwēlāt; and Kabad, which suggests Mēdrā Kābd, the country west of Mt Zēqwala across the Awaš river. The limits of this state may perhaps be described (provisionally) as the Adābay-Mofēr rivers on the north; on the west, the frontier of Damot running SW from a point on the Jamma river east of Dābrā Libanos as far as Mēdrā Kābd; on the south, along the Awaš and hence north-eastward. About 1285 the state of Shoa became merged with its eastern neighbour Ifat, described later by Al-'Umarī<sup>2</sup> and Maqrīzī<sup>3</sup> in typically exaggerated Arabic fashion; and it is apparently the area referred to in Ethiopian records as Wifat (e.g. *Hēggā wāsēr'atā māngēst*, Bodl. Bruce 92, f. 7r). There are several names of Muslim type in various parts of Shoa, especially in the east, suggesting the remains of old settlement rather than recent infiltration.<sup>4</sup>

South-eastern Shoa was not the only region into which the Muslims of the Lowlands penetrated. Whatever may have been the reasons for this penetration (trade was probably one of them), there was certainly further Muslim intrusion to the south of Shoa during the period of the ascendancy of the Shoan state. Eighteen inscribed Islamic gravestones have been found south of the Awaš between Harar and Lake Langano, two of which, from Bāte in the Harar uplands, can be dated to about A.D. 1000, and two others bear dates A.H. 662 = A.D. 1263 and A.H. 666 = A.D. 1267–8. Three of the inscriptions were found at Čälänqo, a station on Sat's caravan route to Zeyla and Berbera, while others came from Bāte, Läfto, and Hēyssa, all to the west and south of Čälänqo, and in the Harar uplands,

<sup>1</sup>Described in an Arabic document found at Harar in 1936 and published by Cerulli in *RSE*, 1941, I, pp. 5–42. The identification of Walalah is his.

<sup>2</sup>M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Masālik al-Abyār fi Mamālik al-Amṣār*, Paris, 1927, part I.

<sup>3</sup>F. T. Rinck, *Maqrizi Historia regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, Leyden, 1790.

<sup>4</sup>Cerulli, *loc. cit.*; *GV*, p. 15.

but away from the caravan route. Four more came from Munessa close to Lake Langano about 200 miles SW of the Čälänqo group.<sup>1</sup> There was much trade with the Sidama countries south of Lake Zway in Muslim hands long before the Ethiopians had penetrated this region, and the Munessa inscriptions show that it was being carried on at least as early as 1000 if not earlier. (See further, pp. 89–92 below.)

<sup>1</sup>The texts of the inscriptions are given by Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*, pp. 283–309; and were further studied by Littmann in *Z. f. Semit. u. verwandte Gebiete*, 1924, III, pp. 236–44. I have summarized the main facts in *Antiquity*, 1955, no. 116, pp. 230–2.

## IV THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

### I. THE PERIOD 1312–1427

BY the beginning of XIV the administrative centre of the kingdom had been transferred to Shoa, a process no doubt made easier by the absorption of the Muslim state of Shoa into Ifat about 1285. 'Amdä Šeyon had a capital at Tägwēlät, which the Muslims called Mār'ade. The evidence of Al-'Umarī and Maqrīzī makes this clear. Maqrīzī refers to the 'former metropolis of the kingdom of Saḥart, also called Aḥsum and Zaraqraṭa which was the seat of the *najāšī* [nəḡuš]'. He adds, 'then comes the district of Amhar, now the main part of the kingdom, also called Marada' (p. 2 Rinck). His use of geographical names is a little shaky, but Tägwēlät or Mār'ade is in the north of Shoa and close enough to Amhara to justify his statement. The impression that one gets is that the kings of XIII still had their capital at Aksum, and had Lasta, Wädla, and the Lake Ḥayq region under their jurisdiction, as well as the western part of Shoa. If this view is correct, there is thus an additional reason for substituting Iyāsus Mo'a of Ḥayq for Täklä Haymanot in the story of Yēkuno Amlak.<sup>1</sup> It is not known who established Tägwēlät as an administrative centre but it may have been Wēdēm Ar'ad the father of 'Amdä Šeyon. The chronicle of 'Amdä Šeyon referred to as 'The Glorious Victories' (*GV*),<sup>2</sup> however, gives some positive information. The provinces of Ethiopia are listed in the oblique manner which is characteristic of this chronicle, in a statement attributed to Sabradin king of Ifat, that he proposed to 'nominate governors over the provinces of Ethiopia just as the king of Šeyon (= Ethiopia) nominated them' (*GV*, p. 55). The list of these provinces contains 26 names, arranged in geographical order, which can be divided into five groups:

(1) In the south: Damot, in *CGA* VIII said to be under a

<sup>1</sup>See *BSOAS*, 1965, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Subsequently referred to by the pages of my version (*The Glorious Victories of 'Amdä Šeyon*, Oxford, 1965).

ruler called Motālemi and tributary to the king of Ethiopia; Arāb; Fätāgar, in *CGA* VIII said to be under a ruler called Zēlärde and tributary to the king; Wäge, in *CGA* VIII said to be under a ruler called Zebedär and tributary to the king; Alamale.

- (2) In Shoa: This group extends up to the Wäläqa river, a province later called Šēwa, a name at this time applied to the still predominantly Muslim area that had been the State of Shoa. There are 12 names in this group which are clearly those of districts, not provinces: Endägäbṭän, Šime, Mugär\*, Gērarya\*, Šälalēš\*, Kätata\*, Wägda\*, Särmat\*, Kēl'at\*, Šēgah\*, Tägwēlät, and Mēdrä Zega. Eight of these (marked \*) have already occurred in the *Life of Täklä Haymanot*. This group includes also the province of Mänz (in the form Mänzēhēl) to the north of Tägwēlät.
- (3) North of the Wäläqa river: Amhara.
- (4) North of Amhara: Central Angot, Qēda, Central Tāwazāt, Central Bahēr, Ēndārta.
- (5) West of the Bāšēlo and Abbay rivers: Begämdēr and Gwājjam, the latter in *CGA* VIII tributary to the king and under a ruler named Žan Kēmēr. To this list must be added Qänšälba or Qändälba, Wag, Dahna, and Sāḥart, whose chiefs were sent to attack an otherwise unknown rebel named Nēdhan (*GV*, p. 62). At this time Sämen, Wägära, Šälämt, and Šägäde were occupied by renegades who 'are like Jews' (the Fālaša or Kayla); these four provinces may or may not have been under the jurisdiction, nominal or partial, of the king; and this minor campaign, of which we hear no more, may have been a purely religious war.

#### A. The provinces to 1412

(1) The southern provinces: The first group has been dealt with previously (pp. 78–9), with the exception of Alamale and Wäge. (On Fätāgar see below, p. 88). Alamale is shown on Almeida's map immediately south of Mugär, and may be identified with the northern Gurage tribal division now called Aymälläl. Wäge is probably a form of Wäj, the province round Lake Zway.

(2) In Shoa: Places in the second group which do not occur

in the *Life of Täklä Haymanot* are: Ĕndägäbtän, Šime, Tägwēlät (above, p. 79), and Mēdrā Zega; Kēl'at, Šēgah, and Sārmāt also occur there, but have not yet been discussed. *Ĕndägäbtän* was the district along the Shoan side of the Abbay, between the Mugär and Jamma rivers. *Šime* I formerly identified with Simi, one of the 'mother cities of Ifat', mentioned by Al-'Umarī (*Masālik al Aḥṣār*), and placed in Andäbet (Begämdēr). It is clear, however, that it was somewhere in Shoa, though precise identification is impossible. *Tägwēlät* is about 15 miles north of Däbrä Bērhan, on a mountain at the foot of which runs a river called Solaca; there was a village here called Etake (Harris;<sup>1</sup> and Isenberg<sup>2</sup> & Krapf cited by Basset, *Futūh*, p. 279); it is not shown on NC 375 HDM. *Mēdrā Zega* is the area between Däbrä Libanos and Tägwēlät. *Kēl'at* (which I suggested in *GV*, p. 18 might be a form of Kēlänto where Atronsä Maryam was built) may perhaps be represented by Kalata, about 5 miles north of the Wäläqa river and opposite Dära (NC 372 HDT); alternatively it could be the Kal'ēt of *CZ* 69, which was in eastern Shoa separated from a place called Iba by a river Wārari, which is perhaps the Airara between Däbrä Bērhan and Ankobär (*Guida*, p. 407). But perhaps the context requires the first. *Šegah* I cannot identify. *Sārmāt* was between Däbrä Bērhan and Šano. In western Shoa the older place-names have in many cases given way to Galla names since XVI and been forgotten. *Mänz* is the small province north of Tägwēlät and separated from it by the Mofēr river; it occurs as Mänzēh and Mänzēhēl in *CB*<sup>3</sup>. It was not occupied by the Galla, being very high (about 10,000 ft.) and difficult of access.

(3) Amhara, the largest province, lay between the Wäläqa river on the south and the Bāšēlo river on the north. It included the region in the NW called Amhara or Amara Sayēnt, and Lake Ḥayq in the NE. It was known as Betä Amhara, 'house or seat of the Amhara' because it was the centre of the kingdom according to the *Futūh*, and was accessible by five guarded 'gates', 'one on the road to Walaqa, the second on that of Akhi

<sup>1</sup>W. Cornwallis Harris, *The Highlands of Aethiopia*, 1844.

<sup>2</sup>C. W. Isenberg and J. L. Krapf, *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society*, 1843.

<sup>3</sup>On Mänz, see D. N. Levine, 'On the History and Culture of Manzi', *J. Semit. Stud.*, 1964, IX, pp. 204–11 [and also V. Stitz, *Studien zur Kulturgeschichte Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn, 1974, pp. 98–107 which contains also several useful historical maps. R.P.]

Afajji, the third on that of Manzi, the fourth on that of Miāt in the land of Gedem, and the last beside the land of Wāsel'.<sup>1</sup> Except for Akhi Afajji, the exact positions of these are uncertain. The second is the Amharic name Ahēyya Fäjj, 'destroyer of donkeys', the narrow precipitous track down to the Wänçēt, crossed in XVI by Alvares several times (he says that tolls were paid here, *PJ*, I, p. 259) which appears as Haia fegg in NC 372 HDT/HDU. The first may have been across the Wäläqa on the road from Sēlēkula southwards, the third across the Wänçēt SW of Anšokya below its junction with the Qäççēne river (NC372 HDU Cascepi), the fourth near Wärrä Ilu, and the last the Asēllēl pass (NC 372 HDU near Mākānā Sēllase). In earlier times Amhara did not include Dämbiya and Begämdēr.

(4) Angot is the province east of Lasta, in *CGA* VIII said to be ruled by Žan Amora, and tributary to the king. *Qēda*, a lost province (*GV*, *CB*, 111, 145) is mentioned in the *Hēggä wāšēr atā mangēšt* in the record of the Eras Baldäräba in conjunction with Doba, Dänkäle, and Bēgwēna (Bodl. Bruce 92, fol. 7v, Qē'a; Frankfurt 18 Varenbergh, Qēdā). Statements in the *Futūh* that *Qēda* was in the country of Žubil (p. 405), which is Zobēl 15 miles SE of Alomätä, and that it was a frontier town of Tēgrē (p. 409), suggest that it may have been in fact the province later known as Doba, which was added to Tēgre in 1679 (*AJIB*, 31/31). *Ĕndārta* is the province east of Sāḥart. *Central Tāwazāt* is unplaceable. *Central Bahēr* may refer to Lake Ašänge; in both cases the significance of the word 'central' is uncertain. *CGA* VIII names another province, *Gēdēm*, to the east of Mänz, under a ruler called Yāwisay who was tributary to the king.

(5) Begämdēr and Gwājjam (Gwāžam, Gojjam) are separated from each other by the Abbay, and from Amhara by the Abbay and its tributary the Bāšēlo. Of the four other provinces or districts mentioned in *GV*, p. 62, *Wag* is north of Lasta, *Sāḥart* adjoins Ĕndārta, and *Dahna* (a river and *amba*) is represented by Daama on ND 375 HEL 15 miles east of the river Tākkāzi and close to Amba Wārq. *Qānšälba* (alternative form Qändälba) is unidentifiable, but must have been in the Wag-Abärgäle-Sāḥart region.

<sup>1</sup>*Futūh*, pp. 281–3.

In *GV* are given the names of districts and provinces which furnished troops to the army of 'Amdä Šeyon: Damot, Säqält, Gondar, Hadëyya (p. 61), Amhara, Šëwa [Shoa], Gwäjjam, Tëgrë (pp. 82, 99). The inclusion of Gondar and Säqält (ND 374 HEJ Saccalt, some 15 miles WSW of Gondar) shows that although these were Agaw districts, the king could draw men from them for his army; and *CGA V* mentions an Agaw woman named Wäbra who was the wife or girl-friend of one of his soldiers.

Recorded charters of this period are few. Three of Nëwayä Krëstos (nos. 7, 7a, 8) show grants of land in Tëgre and Särawe, and three of Dawit name lands in Walqayt, Särawe, Adyabo, Sire, the 'Addi Arkäy region, northern Sämen, Gär'alta, Mänbärta, and Karnëšëm, the last being a district north of Asmara.

#### B. The geography of the 'Lives of the Saints'

Saints who flourished in the reigns of 'Amdä Šeyon and Nëwayä Krëstos, and whose *Lives* exist, were Ewošatewos, Filpos who founded the convent of Bizän, Bäšälotä Mika'el of Däbrä Gol, Anorewos of Šëgaja, Aron of Däbrä Gol, and Märqorewos. Filpos, Bäšälotä Mika'el, and Anorewos all reprimanded 'Amdä Šeyon for marrying one of his father's wives and suffered much punishment for their trouble, and were exiled to various parts of Ethiopia.

Ewošatewos<sup>1</sup> was baptized with the name Ma'qäbä Ēgzi'; his chief disciple was Absadi founder of Däbrä Maryam in Kohayn; and he worked in the north, mainly in Särawe and Ḥamasen, where, at Šälma a district near Dëbarwa, he destroyed pagan cult-centres. He was once captured by men of the Bägwäs (Bogos) tribe, the most northerly Agaw-speakers, who however released him and worshipped him. Then he went into the Noba country and later to Jerusalem and thence to Skete, the desert in NW Egypt where there were many monks. Finally he went to Armenia, where he died. (*Acta S. Eustathii*, ed. B. Turaiev, *CSCO*. vol. 32.) The importance of Ewošatewos is that, although his rule admitted certain Jewish practices, his

<sup>1</sup>[On Ewošatewos see also Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1727*, pp. 206-31 *et passim*, and Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, 'Bibliography of Ethiopian Hagiographical Traditions,' p. 70. R.P.]

influence pervaded northern Ethiopia, while in the south, and especially in Shoa, the leading theologian was Täklä Haymanot.

Filpos<sup>1</sup> was born at Lat in Zëma near a lake. If this is the Lat 7 miles SW of Qoram (NC 375 HEM), the lake is Ašänge. Filpos became the third abbot of Däbrä Libanos in Shoa, and was made the first *ēčäge*<sup>2</sup> by the *abunä* Abba Ya'qob, under whose instructions he divided Shoa into twelve parts or 'parishes', each under a priest subject to the jurisdiction of the *ēčäge*. These parishes were: Damot, Wäräb, Wäj, Fäṭägar, Ēnar'ët, Dëmbi, Šëlalëš, Morat, Gëda, Mahgël, Kël'at, and Märha Bete (*Gädlä Filpos*, p. 198). In one of the versions of the *Life of Täklä Haymanot* (BN. Éth. 122, Z. 137) the list is somewhat different, with 18 parishes under 14 overseers: Wäräb and Šëgaja under one; Wäläqa, Šëhqa, Särmat, and Mähagël under one; Däwaro; Ēnsäro; Wägäg; Morat; Šëlalëš; Dëmbi; Ēnar'ët; Damot; Wäj; Kwälaš in Märha Bete; Fäṭägar; and Kël'at. Of names in this list which do not occur elsewhere, two are perhaps identifiable. Dëmbi is said by Conti Rossini to be a 'province of Shoa' north of the Awaš with its capital at Rogie (*Catalogo*, p. 23), which seems to be the district called Rogue on NC 375 HDE, 15 miles east of Addis Ababa. Gëda may be Gidda, 12 miles east of Däbrä Libanos (NC 375 HDL). Kwälaš in Märha Bete is called an *amba* in Per. Sus. 70.

The saints who visited 'Amdä Šeyon went to Šawän where he had his court. After his punishment here, Filpos was exiled to Qwärqwara, from which he went to the land of Zälän where the people were pagans. Thence he went to Tëgre, from which he was recalled by Nëwayä Krëstos, and came to Däbrä Libanos; while here, he taught in a place called Dämasqi, which seems to be the same as Gämasqe in Damot mentioned in the *Life of Anorewos* (p. 88). Later in his career he was in Kossoge, 'that is, Šëlalëš', Därabët. Wäläqa, Gergesa, and Däbrä Haqalit. (*Acta S. Aronis et S. Philippi*, ed. B. Turaiev, *CSCO*. vol. 30.)

<sup>1</sup>[On Filpos see Taddesse Tamrat, *loc. cit.*, pp. 214-16; Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, *op. cit.*, p. 71. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>The holder of this office, who was usually abbot of Däbrä Libanos, became the secular head of the Ethiopian Church, under the *abun*, but appointed by the king. See Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians*, p. 67

Anorewos<sup>1</sup> was sent to Šawän in Dära in Wäläqa, and from there to lake Zway; and being expelled from this area by the king, he went to Gämasqe in Damot. Eventually he founded churches at Yähedēnēn and Dēngēr in Zēgät of Damot, and at Enändabon in Endägäbtän. He was born at Mätge in Mugär, and joined Täklä Haymanot's band of disciples. Later he went to Šä'ada Amba in Tēgre, but returned to the south where he founded a monastery at Šägaga or Šējaja in Wäräb, and in this region he spent the rest of his life. After his exile by 'Amdä Šeyon, he was in a convent called Mäyn, from which he went to Bāzēngwäy in Adämät, where he destroyed a great serpent worshipped by the inhabitants. He died at Enähāntēy or Enähātēy, apparently near Enar'ēt, and was buried at Šägaga, the territorial boundary between Enar'ēt, and Wäräb then being the river Satal. (*Acta S. Bašalota Mikā'el et S. Anorewos*, ed. C. Conti Rossini, *CSCO*. vol. 28.)

Bäšälötä Mika'el<sup>2</sup> was at Däbrä Gwäl (Gol) in Amhara. His field was mainly Amhara, though he went to Tēgre, where he visited Däbrä Damo, Qēfērya, Qwa'at, Bā'altäbehat (perhaps Biḥat 7 miles SSW of Sānafa), and elsewhere. After quarrelling with the Patriarch, he was exiled to Särđ, and then to Qwārär in Šera', from which he set out to Šawän in Shoa to admonish the king. He was then exiled again, this time to Šawän in Dära, where there is 'only one place of egress and ingress, being surrounded by precipices'. From there he was sent to lake Zway, 'to which nobody goes except *wäbäl*'. Eventually he went to Gēlo Makada, where he died in the town of Säglä. (*Acta S. Bašalota Mikā'el et S. Anorewos*, ed. C. Conti Rossini, *CSCO*. vol. 28.)

Aron<sup>3</sup> the Thaumaturge (*mānkārawi*) came into Amhara, and went to Bäšälötä Mika'el at Däbrä Gol, where he was made steward of the convent. From there he went on a missionary journey to Angot, Tämben, Wag, and Lasta (Roha). From Roha he crossed the Täckäzi and came to Mt Qätin, leaving Mt Daret on his right. Here he made a rock-church, perhaps

<sup>1</sup>[On Anorewos see Tadesse Tamrat, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 176, 180-2 *et passim*; Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, *op. cit.*, p. 64. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>[On Bäšälötä Mika'el see Tadesse Tamrat, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-17, 177-8, 187-8; Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-7. R.P.]

<sup>3</sup>[On Aron see Tadesse Tamrat, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-9, 193-4 *et passim*; Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, *op. cit.*, p. 65. R.P.]

that near Däbrä Abunä Aron a few miles NW of Gorägorä on the Dessie-Gondar road, west of the Wädla plateau (R. Sauter in *AE*, V. 1963), NC 372 HEL/HEE, but not shown. His influence spread to Mäqet, Asasa, Wädla, Dawēnt, and Begämdēr from Amhara to Wägära. He founded a convent at Däbrä Daret, and after seven years there, he was in trouble with Nēwayä Krēstos on account of the king's daughter, who wished to become a nun against her father's will and took refuge in Aron's monastery. He was brought to the king by way of the source of the Bāšēlo, and was then exiled 'to the land of Zāngo on the boundary of Astērän near Dara and Bosato over against Lemkä; near them was Gwatēr and in the distance was seen Zway. The *gäräd* of Bali was the ruler.'

Some of these names are unidentifiable. Among the rest, Šawän seems to be a name for Tägwēlät, and may be simply the Ge'ez word *šawän*, 'fortified place', which would account for its occurrence again in Dära. Qwārqwara is perhaps 'Addi Qorqorä, about 20 miles SSE of Sämre (ND 375 HEU but not shown). Särđ is in Abärgäle, opposite Sämen, ND 375 HED but also not shown. Qwārär in Šera'e may be Qwārär SE of 'Abiy 'Addi, called E. Mariam Quarar in *Guida*, p. 281 and E. Mariam Quoram on ND 375 HFE; there is a convent here. Däbrä Gol was in Amhara, somewhere in the area between Sēmada and Ahyo (NC 372 HEE, but not shown).<sup>1</sup>

Among the saints of 'Amdä Šeyon's time may be included Gäbrä Mänfäs Qēddus,<sup>2</sup> of whom there is a biography in the *Sēnkēsar* under Mägabit (BM. Or. 661 fol. 26a-29b, written about 1650, translated by Wallis Budge in *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, vol. III, pp. 755-72), and a long *gädl* in BM. Additional MS 16, 198 fol. 2r-71v, of XVIII. These call him an Egyptian from Neḥisā, and attribute to him a life of 362 years - BM Add. 16,198 makes it 565 years. There seems, however, no reason for not accepting his existence or to reject the statements that he lived on Mt. Zēqwala and in the district of Käbd, and he may have made a journey to Märahbēti (Märha Bete; Märabete, BM. Add. 16,198). Zēqwala, the extinct volcano 35 miles SSE of Addis Ababa, makes its first historical appearance in this *gädl*, and Käbd, perhaps the

<sup>1</sup>Sources: *Gädlä Filpos*, *CSCO*. vol. 30; *Gädlä Anorewos*, *CSCO*. vol. 28; *Gädlä Bäšälötä Mika'el*, *CSCO*. vol. 28; *Gädlä Aron*, *CSCO*. vol. 30.

<sup>2</sup>[On Gäbrä Mänfäs Qēddus see Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-4. R.P.]

Kabad which occurs in the record of Muslim Shoa (p. 76 above), is the country W of Zēqwala on the other side of the river Awaš. The only clue to the date of Gäbrä Mānfäs Qēddus is in the statement that he was visited by three saints, Abba Samu'el of Wäldēbba, Abba Anbäsa or Ansäsa of Hazlo, and Abba Bēnyam of Lower Mägemdēr (*sic*, BM. Add. 16,198 fol. 24v). The last two are unplaceable, though Mägemdēr might be meant for Bāgemdēr. Abba Samu'el of Wäldēbba, however, was one of the 'seven stars' received as monks by Mādhaninä Ēgzi' of Bānkwāl in the reign of 'Amdä Šeyon (*PC*. fol. 3), and Gäbrä Mānfäs Qēddus may therefore be placed in XIV; Fr. Taurin de Cahagne, indeed, puts the date of his death at 120 years before the invasion of Grañ, i.e. about 1400. Later, Gäbrä Mānfäs Qēddus became popularly known as Abbo, and his connexion with Zēqwala is strengthened by the traditions about him which are attached to the place. There is here a church, apparently rebuilt at various times; Fr. Taurin de Cahagne (c. 1880, quoted in *Géogr.* sect. 433) said that 'L'église actuelle est récente', and *Guida* p. 426 says that it was built about 1912 by an Italian. In the crater is a tree near which Gäbrä Mānfäs Qēddus is said to have tamed the lions (*Sēnkēsar*, fol. 26b A). For more than a century 'Abbo' and his mountain have been revered by the pagan Galla even more than by the Christians.

### C. Tributary territories

In addition to the provinces directly under the jurisdiction of the king, a number of other areas were tributary to the king but under their own rulers. *CGA* VIII names thirteen such territories: Wāj, Gānz, Hadēyya, Bali, Dāwaro, Fätāgar, Ifat, Gēddēm, Angot, Agāw, Gožžam (Gojjam), Gafat, and Damot. These were under rulers whose appellations, at least in some cases, seem to be titles rather than personal names, for nine of them occur again a hundred years later under Zār'a Ya'qob:<sup>1</sup>

Wāj under Zebedār (*CGA* X, in the time of Zār'a Ya'qob: Zebedār)

Gānz under Ṭata (*ZY*: under Ṭata)

Hadēyya under Amāno (*ZY*: under Amāno)

Bali under Ali (*ZY*: under Ali)

<sup>1</sup>In *CZ*. 16, 18 two rulers (*gārād*) of Hadēyya are mentioned by name – Bamo and Māhiko.

Dāwaro under Hedēra or Haydāra (*ZY*: under Hedēra)

Fätāgar under Zēlārde (*ZY*: under Lezard)

Ifat under Ambāl'abokēr (*ZY*: under Hambäl Abokēr)

Gēddēm under Yāwisay (*ZY*: under Ibqalä Šeyon)

Angot under Žan Amora (*ZY*: under Läsär)

Agāw under Abēt'azär

Gožžam [Gojjam] under Žan Kēmēr (*ZY*: under Žan Kēmēr)

Gafat under Awälamo (*ZY*: under Awälamo)

Damot under Motälami (*ZY*: under Mētälami)<sup>1</sup>

In *CGA* X Amhara under Lāwisay and Qēda are added; Agāw is omitted; and Tēgre is said to be the land of Nāgädä Krēstos.

That some of these are titles not names is suggested not only by their reappearance after a long period (Motälami has already occurred in the time of Yēkuno Amlak), but by the meaning of some of them. Žan Kēmēr, for example, seems to mean 'Lord of the mound'; (H)ambāl'abokēr suggests 'cuirass of Abokēr' (= Abu Bakr); and Abēt'azär might mean 'Lord of the chick-peas' (Qemant Agaw *azär* = 'chick-peas').

Gānz, inhabited by 'a mixture of pagans and Christians' (*PJ*. p. 454), is shown on Almeida's map (c. 1641) between Damot and Shoa (i.e. between the Gudār and Mugār rivers) and adjoining Hadēyya; in the time of Bā'ēdä Maryam the ruler was called *gārād* (*CB*. 112).

Hadēyya lay between the Omo and Wēra rivers west of lake Zway, and was bounded on the north by Gānz and Arāb (Wārāb).

Bali was a large province south of Fätāgar, possibly bounded on the north by the Wābi (Šäbēlle) as far as Sheikh Hussein, but east of that extending north of the river and east of Fätāgar as far as the Čälänqo uplands.

Dāwaro seems to have been divided into two unequal areas separated by Ifat: (1) A southern division extending from a little north of Hobät (Hubeta, NC 376 JDJ) to the Wābi (Šäbēlle), a distance of about 260 miles, and from Hobät eastwards for about 60 miles, including the city of Harar and Čēnahasan or 'Jenasēnē', which may have been the hill on which stood Dākär, one of the temporary capitals of the Emirate of Harar (NC 384 JDK Ginasenei, 15 miles NW of Jigjiga and on the western edge of the Mārār plain); and (2) a northern division north of

<sup>1</sup>The rulers in the time of Zār'a Ya'qob are from *CGA*. X.

Ifat, bounded on the SE by the Awaš river and reaching from the Arsu or Borkenna rivers (western tributaries of the Awaš) to the neighbourhood of Lake Abbe where the Awaš turns east, and including little more than a narrow strip on the left or NW bank of the Awaš, perhaps 20 miles wide where it reaches near the lakes; here there is some forest and fertile land. [But see below, p. 92.]

Fätāgar seems to have extended from the Wābi Šābēlle northwards to a line in Shoa which perhaps coincided with the river Kässām, and its furthest northerly point may have been the river shown as Fetagher, a tributary of the Kässām, 20 miles NNE of Bollo Selassie (NC 375 HDF). The Shoan part of this province played a large part in the activities of Zār'a Ya'qob, who was born at an unidentifiable place called Ṭēlq in this province. The area had thus a length of some 120 miles.

Ifat consisted of (a) Muslim Ifat stretching from the eastern frontier of Ethiopia proper into the lower lands east of the Awaš for an undefinable distance; and (b) the part of Shoa previously occupied by the Muslim state of Shoa, apparently the region referred to in Ethiopian records as Wifat. This was the country of Sabradin the tributary king who rebelled against 'Amdä Šeyon.

By Agāw may be meant almost any of the areas inhabited by Agāw, the Cushitic-speaking substratum of the pre-Semitic population of Ethiopia. They are now somewhat restricted, but earlier (as in XIV) were much more widely spread, occupying most of what is now called Agāwmēdr, Qwara, Dāmbēya, Wägāra, and Sämen. In *GV*. p. 61 the group now known as Fālaša are said to have inhabited Sämen, Šälämt, Wägāra, and Šägāde, and 'Amdä Šeyon sent a general to make war on them. But since this group was specifically selected for destruction, it is probable that the southern peoples are meant here – the people of Agāwmēdr, Qwara, Qēmant to the SW., W., and NW of lake Ṭana.

Gafat<sup>1</sup> was between Damot and the Abbay river, to the east of the Gudär river. Like Damot, it was at this period south of the Abbay, and the inhabitants were driven across the Abbay by the Galla invasion in XVI. The Gafat country now lies

<sup>1</sup>[On the Gafat language see W. Leslau, *Gafat Documents*, New Haven, Conn, 1945, and idem. *Étude descriptive et comparative du gafat (Éthiopien méridional)*, Paris, 1956. R.P.]

approximately between the districts of Wāmbärma and Wāmēt (NC 371 HDR).

#### D. Districts inhabited by Muslims

The names of places in *GV*. pp. 56–7 show that the eastern side of Ethiopia, even if it was not at any time part of the Muslim State of Shoa or of Ifat, had by XIII become a predominantly Muslim region, though there was a substantial Christian Ethiopian element there as well. It is difficult, however, to identify these places with any degree of precision. In *GV*. p. 56 'Amdä Šeyon is reported to have said: 'I sent my army into all the lands of the Muslims, those which are called Kwēlgora, Gēdäya, Kubät, Fädse, Qädse, Hargaya, and Bēqulzar, and into all the land of Shoa', and (p. 57), 'The Muslim peoples and the men of Gäbäl who are herdsmen . . . came to make war on me from the boundary of Fēnšate to the boundary of Bēqul Zar; they were called Wārjēh, and they were very skilled in warfare and battle. And from the boundary of the river Hawaš to Zābēr there were Muslims, and the land of the Christians was laid waste. The people of Mēdrä Zega and Mänzēh, who were united to attack me, surrounded me.' The last two are clear enough: Mēdrä Zega was south of Mārabete, and Mänz a few miles to the NE, in a position to threaten the king's capital at Tägwēlä; the river Hawaš, too, is a clear landmark. But for the rest there are no certain indications, even with help from Al-'Umarī, Maqrīzī, and the *Futūh*. The most prominent of them is Bēqulzar; its position is indeed described in the *Futūh*, but the places named in relation to it are themselves unidentifiable. At the most, we can only approximate its position by what is largely guess-work. According to the *Futūh*, Bēqulzar was (1) two days' march from the river Awaš, (2) two days' march from Eddir or Dir after leaving Badēqe where there was a royal town and a church near the Sāmārma river, (3) a river full of water (*Futūh*, pp. 84, 104, 172, 174). In another route described in the *Futūh* (p. 172) the Muslims went from Harar (NC 384 JDJ) to Zifah, then to the great river Ših after one stage, then to Ra'būdah, then to Eddir a river on the frontier between the Christians and the Muslims, and thence to Bēqulzar. Much of the topography of the *Futūh* is obscure, but it does suggest that Bēqulzar might have been somewhere

on the north side of the river Kässäm, though I cannot accept Basset's suggestion (*Futūh*, p. 101) that in Bādeqē we may have a reference to Bulga, owing to the uncertainty of the Arabic spelling. (Bulga was a district of SE Shoa and its former extent may be indicated by the river-names Bulga (NC 375 HDL) a tributary of the Ghermama SE of Šāno, and Bulga, a tributary of the Kässäm near its junction with the Awaš (NC 376 JDG).) Badēqe was two days' march from the Awaš, and might have been near the place shown as 'Chidanemeret ♂' on NC 375 HDL, some 20 miles SSW of Šāno, but north of the Ghermama<sup>1</sup> river, in which one may be tempted to see the Samarmā of the *Futūh*, in spite of the difference in the initial letter. (The regularity with which 'two days' march' recurs suggests that perhaps the expression is not to be taken too literally.) It is true that Bēqulzar is called a river full of water, but this need not have been the actual name of the river, and since Bēqulzar was 'two days' from the Awaš and 'two days' from Badēqe, its position may be sought somewhere to the N or NE of Seddisto (NC 375 HDM) where there is a tributary of the Gābēna called Meinso on NC 375.<sup>2</sup>

Kwēlgora, however, can be identified, for there is a place so called below Ankobār and close to Aliyu Amba (NC 375 HDM: Stephen Wright quoted by Crawford, *Ethiop. Itin.*, p. 66, n. 1). Gēdāya, Kubāt, Fādse, Qādse, and Hargāya may have been between Kwēlgora and Bēqulzar.

Gābāl, whose inhabitants are called Wārjēh, is perhaps represented by Gabala, a water-hole shown on ND 372 HFE in the Saho country ESE of Adigrat, and Wārjēh seems to be a name for the pastoral and war-like peoples who lived along the eastern edge of Ethiopia. In the north these were the Saho, a Hamitic people akin to the 'Afar (Danakil); further south, in the region from Ēndārta to lake Ašānge were the Doba, who are described by Alvares as great warriors who had many cows (*PJ.* pp. 187, 193). The district called Fēnšate could be the place called FNŠHT in *DAE.* I (above, pp. 50–1), which seems to have been near the Gulf of Zulla, and thus in the Saho country. The affinities of the Doba are unknown; they are called simply 'Moors' by Alvares (*PJ.* p. 191), which means no more than that they were Muslims – as also are the Saho.

<sup>1</sup>Misprinted Ghermanaon NC 375 HDL.

<sup>2</sup>See further, p. 123 below.

The group called Gābāl, whose chiefs are listed in *GV.* p. 79 after Zālan, and whose country included Alula and Gārbā'ado, may have been 'Afar, if Gārbā'ado is rightly identified with Garbado, the fourth caravan station from Assab. (The Alula here can hardly be the Alula west of Cape Guardafui.) The name Gābāl suggests a comparison with Gābāla, a 'town' mentioned in *GV.* p. 67, which could be Kābāle (= Raheyta on the coast SE of Assab (ND 384 JES). In the territory of the Zālan (*GV.* p. 79), the only recognizable name is Ērgoba, which might be Argobba – either that south of Harar, where there is a small pocket of speakers of the Semitic Argobba language,<sup>1</sup> or that in Shoan Ifat, where there is a larger number of these people. These Zālan are to be distinguished from the Zālan nomads of the Begāmdēr region.

Apart from the Muslim population in eastern Ethiopia, it is clear that there was some infiltration into the north-central regions, if the identification of some of the Muslim districts which sent troops to the king of Ifat is correct. Among the 200 or so names occur Ēdērsēku and Bēlāsa (*GV.* pp. 76–7). The first may be Aderseg, 60 miles SE of Gondar (ND 375 HEK); the second, the river and province between Dāmbēya and Wag (Balasa river, ND 374 HES).

Muslim states outside, not tributary to the king of Ethiopia but allied to the king of Ifat, are given in *GV.* p. 74 as Adāl, Mora, Lābākāla, Hagāra, Fādse, Gēdad, Nāgāb, Zuba, Harla, Hobāt, Tārsa, Ēym or Ēdom, Ēlbēro, Zel'a, Ēste; Dāwaro also is included here. On p. 67 are named 'seven great towns' which attacked 'Amdā Šeyon by night: Adāl, Mora, Ṭiqo, Pağuma, Lābākāla, Wārgār, and Gābāla. All these places are in the lowlands, though the position of Fādse is very uncertain (see Kwēlgora above). Adāl, a rather vague term sometimes used to cover all the Muslim lowlands east of Ethiopia, may represent here the sultanate of Awssa centred on the lower course of the Awaš and north of lake Abbe, a Danakil state in a heavily forested region with permanent water and swamps.<sup>2</sup> Lake Abbe (Abhebad, in which *bad* = 'lake') is a soda lake

<sup>1</sup>[On this language see W. Leslau, 'An analysis of the Argobba vocabulary', *JAL*, 1966, V, pp. 102–12, and idem, 'A preliminary description of Argobba', *AE*, 1959, III, pp. 251–73. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>See Wilfred Thesiger, 'The Awash River and the Aussa Sultanate', *Geogr. J.* 1935, LXXXV, pp. 1 seq.

into which the Awaš discharges itself. Awssa is so completely protected by desert that the Ethiopians never seriously tried to control it, and the expedition of 'Amdä Šeyon in 1329 is about the only attempt they made to attack it. Mora and Hagära were perhaps in the neighbourhood of Awssa. Hobät may be Hubeta NW of Harar (NC 376 JDJ). Gėdad and Harla were probably in Somaliland; the second name suggests the Harla or Arla, a legendary race of giants who are said to have built the ruined structures found in the Jigjiga area (NC 384 JDK).

#### E. The reign of Yėšhaq

The extent of Ethiopia proper seems to have remained more or less unchanged under Yėšhaq, the only new name that occurs being Mėšėwa' (Massawa, the northern harbour on the Red Sea, ND 372 HFU), where the king's deputy appears to have revolted (*CGA*. II, lines 82–94). This probably refers to the Bahėrnėgaš, the governor of the sea province whose title first appears in documents of Zär'a Ya'qob. Yėšhaq also made war on Bet Ašur the Fėlaša of Mārėba in Wėgėra (*PC*. fol. 4), this being the Abėt'azär of *CGA* VIII in 'Amdä Šeyon's day; and during his reign churches were built in Dėmbėya and Wėgėra, including that called Yėšhaq Dėbėr in Kossoge (Isac Dever, ND 374 HES), some 20 miles NE of Gondar.

On the other hand, there was a great extension of tributary districts in the country south of the Abbay as far as Ĕnarya in the Gibe region. It is not certain whether Yėšhaq himself made them tributary, but they first occur as such in his reign. In *CGA*. II, lines 1–69 there is a list of 46 names with the tribute payable by each district. Some of them are states, some tribal areas, some merely 'districts', and it is not possible to identify all of them, but in the song they are named in groups which are clearly geographical. In many cases the nature of the tribute is stated – cotton cloth, goats, cattle, horses, gold. On the evidence of the identifiable names there is little doubt that this tribute-producing part of Yėšhaq's kingdom was largely the Sidama country south of the Abbay, a region now and for the last 400 years inhabited by Galla in the north, with Sidama in the south (and covering much of what was Damot till about 1550 when the Galla invaded it), the later Galla monarchies of

the Gibe region, and the Sidama states in the Rift Valley west and south-west of lake Šala.

These tributary areas are as follows:

#### Group I, lines 11–21

- Šanqėla, who paid goats.
- Bizamo, which paid in cotton-cloth.
- Guman, which paid in cotton-cloth.
- Sobi, which paid in cotton-cloth.
- Bāräd, which paid in cotton-cloth.
- Boṭ, which paid in cattle.

The Šanqėla (a term applied to 'negroes') in this region are probably the negro (or negroid) peoples of the linguistically isolated Koma group. Bizamo, according to Almeida, was once a kingdom, though his words 'among the kingdoms that Prester John used formerly to control' (*SRE*. p. 10) may mean no more than that it was merely a tributary 'district'. It lay in the angle formed by the Abbay and Didessa rivers and perhaps extended south to the Angur and east to the Little Angur river. Boṭ was in Bizamo (*Per. Sus.* 50). This seems to be the area of group I, though Guman occurs in *Per. Sus.* 33 as a district between the Zingini and Dura rivers *north* of the Abbay, unless this is another case of transference, the Bizamo region having been overrun by the Galla in XVI.

#### Group II, lines 23–33

- Mālagwe, which paid in cattle.
- Harbāwaš, which paid in cattle.
- Abādray, which paid in cattle.
- Gāmbo, (tribute not clear).
- Abšėlo, which paid in grain (?).
- Šat, which paid in cattle.

The clues here are: (1) Gāmbo, the region immediately north of Haratu (NC 374 HDJ) and west of the Čoman swamp (*Gėod.* map 8); (2) Abādray, a Gafat tribe (*Per. Sus.* 10); (3) Šat, an ethnic name which occurs in Damot south of the Abbay, possibly in the Angur region and along the Didessa (*SRE*. p. 146–7). In *Per. Sus.* 11 the name appears in Damot, but in XV it was clearly south of the Abbay. (On the topography of this area, see below p. 155). (4) Abšėlo, which may be the Bāsilo river S of Gāmbo, NC 374 HDC.

#### Group III, lines 35–41

- Dėga'ėt, which paid in gold.

Wama, which paid in gold.

Zet, which paid in gold.

Ēnarya, which paid in gold.

Boša, which paid in gold.

Ēnarya is the state which lay to the west of the Ēnarya branch of the Gibe river (NC 374 HDC). Boša was further south, in SE Jimma in the angle formed by the Omo and Gojjēb rivers (NB 371 HCR, indicated by 'Mt. Garo', this being another name for the Boša). Zet refers to the people called Zeites by Almeida (*SRE*. p. 56) who are probably the Az-zayt of the *Futūh*, mentioned in connexion with Damot, Ēnarya, and Jimma (p. 224).

Group IV, lines 42–58

Zēnjāro, which paid in horses.

Kāmbat, which paid in horses.

Ēnnāmor, which paid in horses.

Qārāqār, which paid in horses.

Ḥawzāña, which paid in horses.

Qwēča, which paid in horses.

Zērgo, which paid in horses.

Kwara, which paid in horses.

Zato, which paid in horses.

Wālamō, which paid in horses.

Bahēr Gāmo, which paid in horses.

Suf Gāmo, which paid in horses.

Zēnjāro is the ancient kingdom between the Omo and Gibe Jimma rivers, first visited by the Jesuit Antonio Fernandez in 1613 (and not seen again by any European till Cerulli visited it 34 years after its conquest by Menilek in 1894; NB 371 HCR/HCS). Kāmbat is Kambatta, west of lake Abyata, ND 371 HCS. Ēnnāmor is between Abālti and Ēndēbēr, NC 374 HCS. Wālamō is between lake Awāsa and the Omo river, NB 371 HCK. Bahēr Gāmo is perhaps the country of the Gāmo on the west of lake Abaya, NB 371 HCD. Suf Gāmo is unknown, but it may have been in the neighbourhood of lake Čamo. All these were Sidama countries.

Additional names, for which no tribute is stated, are given in lines 59–62: Qēben (Qābena in Gurage), Gādāb, Gwēdela (Hadēyya), Bali, Angārage (possibly meant for Gurage), Mana, Dašēla, and Zēbura.

From this document it would appear that in XV the cotton-

growing country was in the Bizamo region between the Abbay and Didessa, with cattle to the south and west – the region of the pastoral Galla of to-day. Gold came from the Sidama countries south of Damot, especially Ēnarya, though in spite of the statement by Paez (in Beccari, vol. II. p. 283) that more gold came from Ēnarya than any other part of Ethiopia, its output of gold seems to have been comparatively small, and from alluvial deposits. Horses came from the eastern Sidama region of the Rift Valley.

## II. THE REIGNS OF ZĀR'A YA'QOB AND BĀ'ĒDĀ MARYAM

### 1. Zār'a Ya'qob: the provinces

Early in his reign Zār'a Ya'qob appointed his daughters and one of his nieces to be governors of eight of the provinces of Ethiopia: Tēgre, Angot, Gēdēm, Ifat, Shoa, Damot, Begāmdēr, Gāñ; other provinces named in his Chronicle are Amhara, Gwājjam, Fātāgar, Dāwaro, and Wāj. Of names which occur in the records of 'Amdā Šeyon, nine do not appear in the Chronicle of Zār'a Ya'qob as provinces: Arāb, Alamale, Mānz (though it occurs in the Chronicle of Bā'ēdā Maryam), Tāwazāt, Ēndārta, Wag, Sāhart, Wāgāra, and Šāgāde. From the records of Zār'a Ya'qob, however, it is clear that the kingdom over which he had authority extended from Tēgre in the north to Shoa in the south, and that to it were attached, as in the days of his predecessors, several tributary Muslim states. While he seems to have spent most of his time in the south, it is clear that the northern part of the kingdom was open, accessible, and under his control, for he paid the ceremonial visit to Aksum to 'perform the laws and institutions of the kingdom', and made certain changes in the province of the Bahēr-nāgaš, whose title now appears for the first time. This official, the 'ruler of the sea provinces', was given charge of Sire, Sārawe, Ḥamasen, and Bur (*CZ*. 47).

The king also placed garrisons (*čāwa* or *šewa*) in certain provinces: Begāmdēr, Gwāžam, Gēdēm, Ifat, Gāñ, Angot, Qēda, Tēgre, Fātāgar, Dāwaro, Hadēyya, and Bali.

We have now reached a point at which the administrative divisions of Ethiopia can be reviewed. Documentary evidence establishes the existence of a number of provinces from XIII

onwards, with corroboration in some of the later ones from Portuguese sources and Ludolf.

It is not always easy to distinguish between a *province* and a *district*, for three terms are used in the documentary sources, all meaning basically 'land', *bēher*, *hagār*, and *mēdr*, and applied to both provinces and districts. In some cases both terms are used for the same province in different documents, e.g. Gär'alta is called *bēher* in XIII and *mēdr* in XVIII; Bur *hagār* and *mēdr* in XVIII, in the same document; Ḥamasen, *hagār* and *mēdr*, XVIII; Sāḥart, *bēher* in XIII and *mēdr* in XIV. The order of frequency appears to be *hagār*, *mēdr* (most), *bēher* (fewest). It may be noted, however, that in a passage in the *Gädlä Märqorewos* (p. 17) referring to XIII there is a cluster of provinces round Ēndārta all of which are called (with one exception) *bēher*: Ēndārta, Gär'alta, Ḥawzen, Mänbārta, Sāḥart, Šēra', Tämben, with Wajrat occurring as *bēher* in XIV. Agäme (Agamyä) may also be in this cluster, but it occurs in the epitome of the *Gädlä Märqorewos* without a designation; about 1765 it is called *mēdr* (AII. 219/229).

The thirty-four provinces which occur before the end of XV, not including those south of the Abbay and Awaš rivers nor Ifat, are:

Abärgäle	Ēndārta	Mänz	Šēra'
Adyabo	Gänz	Qēda	Tämben
Agäme	Gär'alta	Sāḥart*	Tēgre
Amhara	Gēdēm	Sämen	Wag
Angot	Gwäzzam (Gojjam)	Särawe*	Wägära
Aräb	Ḥamasen	Šire	Wajrat
Begämdēr	Ḥawzen*	Šēwa (Shoa)	Wäläqa
Bugna	Lasta	Šägäde	
Bur	Mänbārta	Šälämt	

(Those marked\* bear names which appear to have been transferred from the Yemen by the early settlers.)

Four provinces in this list have disappeared: Aräb, which survived as a district name; Qēda, which last occurs in XVI; Šēra', which survived, as a district name, till early XIX; and Wäläqa, which is last found in XVI, though Ludolf gives it in his list as still existing. Bäläsa, Bora, Dämbēya, Doba, Ēmfraz, Säläwa, Wädla, and Walqayt appear to have been recognized as provinces after the end of XV.

Almeida, writing about 1628, names 14 'kingdoms that Prester John used to command' and 9 'provinces or states that are less than kingdoms' (SRE. p. 10). The 'kingdoms' are:

Amacä	Dambeä	Gojam	Marrâbet	Tigrê
Angot	Dobâ	Gudem	Mauz	Xaoâ
			(Manz)	
Begamedr	Ganz	Olecâ	Motâ	

The 'provinces' are:

Abargalê	Çalamt	Holcâit
Borâ	Çalaoâ	Mazâgâ, Magazâ
Çagadê	Cemen	Ogarâ

'Sirê or Aldobâ' he calls a desert; Andertâ he mentions merely as a place; and Anfrâs he calls a district.

The kingdoms and provinces claimed by Lēbnä Dēngēl, according to his letter to the king of Portugal in 1526 recorded by Alvares (PJ. p. 495) were:

Amara	Barnagais	Goyame	Vague	(?)
			Wag)	
Angot	Baruu	Sabaim	Vangue	
	(? Bora)		(? Bugna)	
Bagamidri	Dambea	Tigrimahom		

Northern Ethiopia from the time of Zär'a Ya'qob till 1580 was divided between two viceroys called Bahērnägaš and Tēgre Mäkwännēn. The northern part, which included the coast, comprised Ḥamasen, Bur, Sārawe, and Sire, and was under the Bahērnägaš, whose capital was at Dēbarwa in Ḥamasen; this was the 'Barnagais province' of Alvares. The southern part, eventually extending to Wag and Wajrat, was under the Tēgre Mäkwännēn, 'governor of Tēgre', and was the 'Tigrimahom province' of Alvares. The dividing line between the two territories was the river Mārāb in XVI (Alvares, PJ. 139). The southern province of the Bahērnägaš was Sārawe, the governor of which was called *aqasän* (MS d'Abbadie 195 Bēlen Sägäd *aqasēn* of Sārawe, c. 1470), though in CZ. p. 47 in the reign of Zär'a Ya'qob he is referred to as *sēyum* of Sārawe. North of Sārawe is Ḥamasen, perhaps the ḤMS of DAE. 8 (see p. 52 above), under a governor called *kāntiba* (CZ. 47 the two Ḥamasen *kāntiba*; CZ. 96 the *sēyum kāntiba* of Ḥamasen). Between Sārawe and Ḥamasen, and bounded by the upper course of the Mārāb river on the west and by the sea on the east, are the regions

called Akälä Guzay and Bur. Bur was originally a *šumät* (*səyüm*'s district) under the Bahörnägaš (CZ. 47); it was divided into Upper and Lower Bur, equivalent to north and south Bur (Almeida's map, Bur desima and Bur debaixo; Barradas in Beccari IV. p. 85 (1634) Bur grande and Bur pequeno, 'great and small Bur'). While CZ. p. 48 and Alvares (PJ. p. 115) describe Bur as being under the Bahörnägaš, Almeida, Barradas, and Ludolf give it as a province of Tēgre, since after the defeat of the rebel Bahörnägaš Yēšhaq in 1580, the territory was absorbed in that of the Tēgre Mäkwännēn. The name Akälä Guzay, derived from the names of two brothers Akälä and Guzay who formed lineages, has ousted the old name Bur,<sup>1</sup> though when the district was first formed it lay between Upper Bur and the Märäb. In addition to Ḥamasen and Särawe, Ludolf names as 'praefecturae quae Bahrnagasso parent' five districts called Bäqla, Ēgäla, Maryan, Märäta, and Zängären. Bäqla occurs in the *Gädlä Märqorewos* (p. 32, referring to the period 1342–70); it was west of Massawa in the Samhar. Ēgäla is the name of more than one district east of the Märäb occurring from XVI onwards, one between Digsä and Dēbarwa (*Géod* map 1), another called Egalä daq azmay (*Géod*. map. 2) between the Engwēya and Šäränä rivers north of Enticcio, and a third called Ēgäla Ḥašin near Däbrä Bizän (AII. 228). The position of these three names suggests that they originally occupied a considerable part of Bur-Akälä Guzay. Maryan I cannot place; it may be printed incorrectly in Ludolf, and could possibly stand for a name like (Betä) Maryam. Märäta, again, is another possible miswriting or misprint for a name like Märäba; though there was an estate belonging to the convent of Halle Luya near Aksum called Märäta (*Land Charters*, no. 43), the position of which cannot be determined. Zängären was in Ḥamasen; it has already been suggested (p. 45) that the name Zingabēnē in the Cosmas inscription (DAE. I, p. 43) may have been meant for Zingarēnē, and hence can be equated with this Zängären; there is a place called Giangheren shown on ND 372 HFS, some 55 miles NW of Asmara which might be its modern representative.

The territory of Tēgre, which began with the country round Aksum, at its fullest extent contained sixteen provinces:

Abärgäle	Ēndärta	Mänbärta	Šēra'
Agäme	Gär'alta	Sähart	Tämben
Bora	Ḥawzen	Säläwa	Wag
Bur	Lasta	Sire	Wajrat

Three of these occur in pre-Zagwe documents:

Agäme: Cosmas inscription, VI, but referring to III; after this it occurs in a charter of XVI (Lebna Dengel, no. 43, the *səyüm* of Agäme). Sähart is found in the time of Gäbrä Mäsqäl, VI (*Land Charters*, no. 3), and the *səyüm* of Sähart is mentioned in the Chronicle of 'Amdä Šeyon. As Sart it appears on Almeida's map. Sire occurs in the time of Gäbrä Mäsqäl (*Land Charters*, no. 3), in the *Gädlä Märqorewos* referring to XIII (p. 25) in the form Sēre; *mēdrä Sire*, *GV.*, (XIV); *səyümä Sire*, CZ 47 (XV); *Sire šum*, *HSD.* 56/68 (1578); territories of the Bahörnägaš merged with those of the *Tēgre Mäkwännēn* between 1580 and 1588, *HSD*; Sire under the Tēgre Mäkwännēn in 1693, *AJIB.* 165/173; Ludolf, 1681.

Provinces which first occur in XIII are seven in number: Ēndärta: *bēherä Ēndärta*, *Gädlä Märqorewos*, p. 17 referring to XIII; *GV.* (XIII); *səyümä Ēndärta*, (1677) *AJIB.* 25/26; and throughout from XVII to XIX. Gär'alta: *bēherä Gär'alta*, *Gädlä Märqorewos*, p. 17, referring to XIII; occurs in *AJIB.* 25/26 (1677) and *AII.* 133/144 (1746). Ḥawzen: *bēherä Ḥawzen*, *Gädlä Märqorewos*, p. 17, referring to XIII; 'Tigre Mahon (i.e. *Tēgre Mäkwännēn*) is a little district of the kingdom of Tigrē which is also called by another name, Auzēn; it is customarily assigned for his maintenance to the governor whom the Emperor appoints to this kingdom (Tigre)', *SRE.* p. xcvi; 'the Catamā of the Viceroy Cabā Christos which was in Auzēn', Barradas in Beccari, IV. p. 22. Mänbärta: *səyümä Mänbärta*, *Gädlä Märqorewos*, p. 16, referring to XIII; *bēherä Mänbärta*, *ib.*, p. 17; occurs in *AJIB.* 23/28 (1678). As Wänbärta it occurs in Charter 82 (XIX). Šēra': *bēherä Šēra'*, *Gädlä Märqorewos*, p. 17, referring to XIII; *səyümä Šēra'*, *Gädlä Bäšälotä Mika'el*, referring to XIV; Agula in Šēra', *AJIB.* 195/196 (1698). This is one of the 'lost provinces'; clues to its position in addition to Agula are: Ḥawza in Šēra', Charter 68 (1794–5), Gēraḥoša, Qwärir Fäläg, and Mayat in Šēra', Charter 82 (XIX). After XIV it seems to have disappeared as a province, but to have continued up to XIX as a district. The clues suggest that it was a small province occupying the eastern end of Gär'alta south of the 'Senafe Pass'

<sup>1</sup>Conti Rossini, *Princ. di Dir. Consuetud.*, p. 77.

to about the Antafo Pass in the south, the southern part having been absorbed by Ēndārta, the northern by Gār'alta. Its position on the map is contained in ND 375 HFF. Tāmben: *bēherä Tāmben, sēyumä Tāmben, Gädlä Märqorewos*, pp. 16, 17, referring to XIII; *mēdrä Tāmben, Gädlä Aron* (XIV); *sēyumä Tāmben*, Charter 26 (1519); *HSD*. 59/69 (1578); *AJIB*. 195/206 (1698).

Six provinces first occur in XIV: Abärgäle: *Gädlä Märqorewos*, p. 21; *Abärgäle šum*, t. Lēbnä Dēngēl; *sēyumä Abärgäle*, Per. Sus. (1624); *AJIB*. s.a. 1677, 1698. Bur: *sēyumä Bur* under the Bahēnāgaš, *CZ*. p. 47; Buno Xuum, Xuum bono, Alvares (1520); *mēdrä Bur, hagärä Bur*, Per. Sus. 38; Bur de sima, Bur de baixo, Almeida. Lasta: *mēdrä Lasta, mäsfēnä Lasta, Gädlä Märqorewos*, p. 35, referring to XIV. Wag: *sēyumä Wag*, *GV*. (XIV); Per. Sus. 43 (1624); *Wagšum: Rētu'a Amlak wagšum*, *PC* (XVII). The *Wagšum* or *sēyum* of Wag was considered to rank higher than other governors because the son of Solomon's daughter is said to have been made *Wagšum*, and the office was therefore equal in rank to that of the king of Ethiopia<sup>1</sup> (Beke in *JRGS*. XIV). *Wajrat: bēherä Wajrat*, *GV*. (XIV); the 'four houses of *Wajrat*' added to Tēgre, *AJIB*. 31/31 (1679).

Fifteen provinces occur before the end of XV in other parts of Ethiopia. Adyabo: *mēdrä Adyabo*, Charter 9 (Dawit, XIV–XV); *hēdug* of Adyabo, *Liber Axum*. 74 (XVII); upper and lower Adyabo, *AJIB*. 158/165 (1692). Amhara: *hagärä Amhara*, *PC*. (XIV); *šāḥafālam* of Amhara, *GV*. (XIV); *CZ*. 16; *CB*. 111 (XV); *HSD*. 83/95 (1580); *AJIB*. 145/152 (1580). Angot: *šāḥafālam* of Angot, *GV*. (XIV); *baḥr nāgasi* of Angot, *CB*. 111 (XV); *Angot ēras*, Alvares (1520). Begämdēr: *hagärä Begämdēr*, *PC*. (XIV); (*dāj*)*azmač* of Begämdēr, *PC*. XVII); Ludolf. Bugna: in the form Bēgwēna, *GV*. (XIV); *mēdr zä Bēgwēna*, Per. Sus. (XVII); *Bugna ras*, Ludolf (1681). Gänz: *gärad* of Gänz, *CB*. 112, *HSD*. 83/95 (1580). Gwäzzam: *Gwäzzam nāgaš*, *GV*. (XIV); *mēdrä Gwäzzam*, *CB*. 158 (XV). Mänz: *mäsfēnä Mänzēhēl*, *GV*. (XIV); *mēdrä Mänzēhēl*, *CB*. 116; Mänzēh, *CB*. 126; Mänzēh,

<sup>1</sup>[An old and very different Ethiopian tradition, recorded by Bruce in the eighteenth century, holds that as part of the compact terminating the Zagwe 'usurpation' Nā'akwēto Lā'ab, the last important Zagwe ruler, and his descendants, i.e. the chief known by the title of *Wagšum*, were entitled to certain privileges, including the right to sit on a gold stool and own two silver drums. Bruce, *Travels*, Book II, Chap. 8. R.P.]

*CB*. 151 (XV); *qaš* of Mänzēh, *HSD*. 83/95 (1580); Mauz for Manz, Almeida (XVII). Qēda: first occurs in *GV*., *mākwännēnä Qēda* (XIV); last occurs in *CB*. 145 (XV), though it is listed in the *Hēggä wäsēr'atä mängešt* (XVIII but referring to earlier times?). Sämen: the Σαμηνέ of Cosmas; *sēyumä Sämen*, *CZ*. 96 (XV); *dājazmač* of Sämen, *PC*. (XVII); *Sämen aggafari*, *AJIB*. 8/7 (1667). Šägäde: *GV*. (XIV); *sēyumä Šägäde*, Per. Sus. 94 (XVII); provincia insignior, Ludolf (1681). Šälämt: *mēdrä Šälämt, Gädlä Märqorewos*, p. 47 referring to XIV; *GV*. (XIV); Charter 9 (Dawit XIV–XV); *sēyumä Šälämt*, *CZ*. 96 (XV). Šēwa: *bēherä Šēwa, Gädlä Märqorewos*, 20 referring to XIII; *šāḥafālam* of Šēwa, *CZ*. 101 (XV). Wägära: *GV*. (XIV); *mēdrä Wägära*. *PC*. (XV); *sēyumä Wägära*, Per. Sus. 38 (XVII). Wäläqa: Perhaps the WYLQ of *DAE*. 8(IV); *Wäyläqa, Gädlä Täklä Haymanot* (XIII); *nāgaš* of Wäläqa, *HSD*. 83/95 (1580); 'all the provinces under my control, that is, Amhara and Ambasäl and Wäläqa and Mänz', Per. Sus. 48 (XVII); 'The province of Olecä . . . has hitherto been subject to the empire', Almeida (1628); the *šäläqa* Turi of Wäläqa, *AI*. 77/82 (1732).

Garrison troops (*čäwa*) were stationed in Begämdēr, Gēddēm, Gañ, Angot, Qēda, and Tēgre, and in the frontier provinces of Däwaro, Bali, Hadēyya, Ifat, Gwäzzam, and Fäṭägar. (*CZ*. p. 47).

## 2. The topography of Zär'a Ya'qob's Ethiopia

Zär'a Ya'qob was a reformer, both of government and religion, and most of his reign was occupied with his work in these spheres. However, he fought one war, and dealt with one rebellion. The war was against Šihab ad-din Bädälāy, king of Adal, known as Arwe Bädlay, 'the beast Bädlay', who was killed at the battle of Ayfärs in 1445 by Zär'a Ya'qob himself. Bädlay's capital was at a place called Däkär, used by some of the later emirs of Harar as a capital; Bädlay spent his time raiding Däwaro and Bali, and, according to Maqrizī, he 'recovered Bali from the Christians' (Rinck, p. 40). Ayfärs was probably in Bali or even Fäṭägar, since the brother of Bädlay is said to have escaped from the slaughter across the Awaš (*CZ*. p. 63; see below, p. 126). To reach Ayfärs, Zär'a Ya'qob travelled from Dägo by way of Azor Gäbäya, Afaf, Yäläbaša in Fäṭägar, and Agäm. The site of Däkär is uncertain, but it may have been,

as already suggested, the fortified rocky hill called Čēnahasan or Jēnasene about 40 miles ENE of Harar (NC 384 JDK Gina-senei). This hill, one of the reputed birth-places of Ahmād Grañ, has been terraced and there are many traces of occupation, including, on one of the terraces, a cist-grave of South Indian type such as have been found at Brahmagiri in Mysore<sup>1</sup> and there dated between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD. If this identification is correct, it was situated on the edge of Dāwaro, and its nearness suggests that although Dāwaro had been regarded as a tributary state by Ethiopia since the time of 'Amdā Šeyon, it had in fact ceased to be so; and it is perhaps significant that it is not named in Yēšhaq's tribute-list (*CGA*. II). Zār'a Ya'qob, however, established garrisons in Dāwaro; but these were probably on the frontier and intended to prevent the king of Adal from encroaching into Bali.

Early in his reign Zār'a Ya'qob had to deal with a rebellion by one of his tributary rulers, Mähiko, the *gärad* of Hadēyya and brother of his wife Ēleni, the 'Queen of the Right'.<sup>2</sup> Mähiko was replaced by his uncle Bamo of Dāgen, and after a short campaign he fled to the *amba*, or mountain, of Sēga or Säga where he was caught and his head cut off. The allies of Mähiko were the rulers (*gärad*) of Gudola, Diho, Hadabo, Gänäzo, Säga, Gäb, Qäb'en, Gogala, and Haläb. These places were districts or tribal areas in Hadēyya and the surrounding countries. Gudola (vv. 11. Gudēla, Gwēdēla, Gwēdäla) is still the name used by the people of Hadēyya, and the actual district is south of Ēnnämor, NB 371 HCS, but not shown. Säga or Sēga was in Čaha and south of the river called Wäbi, a tributary of the Omo (not the Wäbi Šäbēlle) (Shack, *The Gurage*, 1966, p. 104). Qäb'en, which was set up in the second half of XIX as an independent slave-trading state by Omar Baksa, a Muslim from Čaha, was between Sēga and the Wäbi, NC 375 Cabena. Haläb is SE of lake Šala, NB 372 HCS Alaba.

Most of his time Zār'a Ya'qob spent in Shoa and Fäṭägar.

<sup>1</sup>For Jēnasene, see *Eastern Anthropologist*, III, pp. 128, 135; for Brahmagiri, *Ancient India*, no. IV, 1947-48.

<sup>2</sup>It was a practice of certain kings to marry the daughters of Muslim tributary rulers as a matter of policy. Lēbnä Dēngēl arranged to marry the sister of the wife of the *gärad* of Hadēyya, but rejected her because her front teeth were too long, and married her to the Bahērnägaš Ros Näbiyat (Alvares, *PJ*. p. 427).

He was born at a place called Ṭēlq in Fäṭägar, which is unplaceable, but was possibly somewhere in Square HDF on NC 375 between the Kässäm and Awaš rivers. He became particularly attached to Däbrä Bērhan (NC 375 HDM), some 15 miles south of Tägwēlät, where after the revolt of Mähiko he built a church which he called Däbrä Mēṭmaq in commemoration of the convent of this name in Egypt which was destroyed by the Muslims during his reign. This region was called Dägo, as seems clear from the statement that on hearing of the aggression of Bädlay 'he departed from Däbrä Mēṭmaq and left the land (*mēdr*) of Dägo' (*CZ*. p. 57). He also lived for a time at Ēguba in the district (*mēdr*) of Tägwēlät (*CZ*. p. 55). In this district he gave land to the newly founded church of Däbrä Mēṭmaq. At Ṭēlq he built two churches in honour of St Michael – Märṭulä Mika'el and 'Ašädä Mika'el. In this region, at or near Ṭēlq, his father Dawit had made 'many plantations called Yäläbaša (v.l. Yäläbäš)' (*CZ*. p. 67), which seems to be the place called Yäläbaša through which he passed on his way from Dägo to fight Bädlay. From Ṭēlq he went on to a place called Ēnzorda (Ēnzärda, Ēnzorja) which may be represented by the river-name Engiorarder (NC 375 HDM), where he built a church called Däbrä Sēhin. From there he went to Mēdrä Kal'ētä (v.l. Käl'ētä), which may be the name of a place, or simply 'another district'. Then he crossed the river Wārari and came to Iba. The river may be that called Airari in *Guida*, p. 407, between Däbrä Bērhan and Ankobär (*CZ*. pp. 67-69).

Zār'a Ya'qob is the first king of whom it is actually recorded that he performed the ceremony known as 'renewing or completing the laws and institutions of the kingdom' at Aksum, in which the king's head was tonsured and anointed. (*CZ*. p. 49). (According to *HSD*. 79/91 all kings of Ethiopia from Ēbnä Ḥakim to Zār'a Ya'qob performed this ceremony.) While at Aksum he founded a convent; and it was probably at this time that he made grants of land to the Cathedral of Aksum and to several convents, all in northern Ethiopia – Däbrä Bizän, Mahbärä Maryam, Mälägo (possibly in Sämen), and May Wäyn west of Aksum (*Land Charters*, nos. 13-21). Most of the lands granted by these charters were in Tēgre, including the districts of Na'ēder and Adet, and possibly northern Sämen.

Other places mentioned in Zār'a Ya'qob's Chronicle are Gwäš'aro (*CZ*. p. 12), Mälza (p. 86), and the places to which

he sent parts of Bädlay's body. Gwäs'aro, occurring also in Bā'ēdā Maryam's reign, appears to have been a place to which political criminals were exiled, but its location is unknown. His mother Ēgzi' Kēbra began to build a church at Mälza, which was not finished but transferred to Däbrä Nägwädgwad. Two places called Mälza are recorded: one in Begämdēr SE of Ēbnat, ND 375 HEK Melza, the other N. of Marabete, NC 372 HDT Amelsa (see p. 225 below). When Bädlay had been killed, his head was sent to a place called Amba, and other parts to Aksum, Mänhadbe, Wašēl, Jējēno, Lāwo, and Wiz; his equipment was divided between Däbrä Nägwädgwad, Däbrä Mēṭmaq, and other holy places (CZ. 65, 66). Mänhadbe is unknown, but it could be a miswriting for Mänhadle, in which case it might be identified with the Manadeley of Alvares (PJ. 184), which may be the Debub of ND 375 HEU, the Dēbab of Charter 82 (of early XIX); in XVI this town was mainly inhabited by Muslims who were tributary to the king of Ethiopia. Wašēl was probably near Dessie (see below, p. 106); its location is uncertain, but it is not the Acel of Alvares (see PJ. p. 572). Jējēno, from the context in CB. 124, was probably the place known later as Mākanā Sēllase near Wärrä Ilu. (See below, p. 105.) Lāwo may be the same as Lawo Gäbäya (CB. 151), somewhere in the region of Gēddēm. Wiz is unidentifiable.

### 3. The reign of Bā'ēdā Maryam

Zār'a Ya'qob's experiment of making his daughters administrators having failed, he took the whole of the administration into his own hands, and abolished the office of *bēhtwädäd* which he himself seems to have created. One of the first acts of Bā'ēdā Maryam was to re-appoint two *bēhtwädäds* and restore the provincial governors. The names of the provinces are the same as in Zār'a Ya'qob's record, with the addition of Gänz, which first appears in Bā'ēdā Maryam's reign, under a *gärad*. Another of his early actions was to transfer his wealth from the treasure-houses at Däbrä Bērhan, where Zār'a Ya'qob died, to a place called Gäsämbē in Shoa.

From Däbrä Bērhan, Bā'ēdā Maryam set out on a progress by way of Däbrä Mēṭmaq in Tägwēlät, Gēše north of Mänz, Ge'a, and Yärēḥ to Däbrä Nägwädgwad, the monastery on an island in lake Ḥayq which was founded in IX, and associated

with an Ethiopian Stephen (Ēṣṭifanos) after whom the island seems to have been called.<sup>1</sup> Ḥayq was also the convent of Iyäsus Mo'a, who figures in the stories concerning Täklä Haymanot and the end of the Zagwe dynasty, and died in 1282.<sup>2</sup> At this place Bā'ēdā Maryam had a habitation (*mahdär*) called Däbrä Zäyt. From here he went to a district called Kēlānto, where he built a church called Atronsä Maryam, 'the throne of Mary', and ordered that the district should thenceforth be Kēlānto no longer but Atronsä Maryam. It is recorded (CB. 121) that Nēwayä Krēstos had first conceived the idea of building a church here, but though he bought a piece of land, he was unable to proceed with the building; and that Zār'a Ya'qob actually sent a *tabot* to the place, which he named Däbrä Päraqlīṭos. The church was pillaged and burnt by Grañ in 1532. Although it was a famous place, its precise site is uncertain. Land extending from the Abbay to the Jämma was given to it, and it seems clear, from the evidence of Plowden, who visited it (*Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, 1868), that it was somewhere between the places marked as *Saint* and *Agibar* on NC 372 HDT. Holland and Hozier show on their map *Atronso Mar.* about 25 miles NE of the junction of the Wäläqa with the Abbay.

From here, the king went to Jējēno (v.l. Jägēno) for the ceremony of coronation. The position of this place is also very uncertain, but in view of Almeida's statement that the kings could be crowned only at Aksum and Mākanā Sēllase (*SRE*. p. 89), and from the fact that from Jējēno Bā'ēdā Maryam went to Mänz, Märabete, and back to Atronsä Maryam, one may equate Jējēno with Mākanā Sēllase, which is about 12 miles NNW of Wärrä Ilu (NC 372 HDU, but not marked).<sup>3</sup> Although at this time there was clearly a convent and church here, the name Mākanā Sēllase does not occur in the chronicles of Zār'a Ya'qob or Bā'ēdā Maryam; but it was called thus in the time of Lēbnä Dēngēl.

Returning to Dägo, the king then went northwards to lake

<sup>1</sup>[On the Stephanites see Tadesse Tamrat, 'Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite "heresy" in the Ethiopian Church', *RSE*, 1966, XXII, pp. 103-15. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>See 'The Lives of Saint Takla Häymānot', *JES*, IV, No. 2, 1966, pp. 35-40. On Stephen, an 'ancien chef de l'église d'Abyssinie', see Basset, *Conquête*, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup>Information from Mr Stephen Wright; see note in *PJ*. p. 582. Crawford, for different reasons (the evidence of Zorzi), also equates Jējēno with Mākanā Sēllase (*Ethiop. Itin.*, p. 198).

Ašänge, travelling by way of Dänka and Yězga towards Angot, Wänzäge, and Qwärqwara south of Zēbul, crossing the river Mera (possibly the Mai Fochissa of NC 375 HEM) to Zäbēl, which is Zēbul, NC 375 HEM. This place, d'Abbadie says, is a 'ville ancienne jadis habitée par les empereurs et dont les diverses parties ont conservé leurs noms en amariñña, comme Abun bet etc. à Gondar. Makare, pays musulman, Wofila, chrétien, et Lat, chrétien, continent au lac Haxangi qui n'a ni crocodiles ni hippotames. Selon Gadalu (mon serviteur Agaw), ce lac couvre le site d'une ville du temps jadis qui fut engloutie' (*Géogr.* I. p. 49). Thence he went on to Šawēta 'which is also called Mängäfo.' From there he sent troops to Mäbra in the Dob'a country, which is possibly the Mébera of Lefebvre, near Ašänge. The Dob'a, however, fled when they heard the king was coming, and carried their cattle to a district called Tākino somewhere to the east in the Danakil country. A little later they defeated some of Bā'ēdā Maryam's troops, whereupon he sent others to Gam to avenge them, but these also were defeated and their leader Jan Zēg the *gārad* of Bali was killed. After this the king withdrew from Dob'a and went to Ḥaya in Tēgre where he spent Lent (*CB.* 142). This place was in what later became the Azäbo Galla country, NE of lake Ašänge (*AIL.* 132, 207). The war against the Dob'a was then continued with the help of the Žan Amora regiment, who had been fighting the *šeyum* of Šälāmt, and of the Tēgre Mäkwännēn, the *šahafālam* of Qēda, and the *šahafālam* of Damot. The Dob'a finally retreated in defeat to Findän (v.l. Fändon, *CB.* 145), and the king received the submission of those who had remained, converting them to Christianity and planting vines and other trees in their country to rehabilitate it. From Dob'a he then went through Angot to Wasēl, which was possibly somewhere near the modern Dessie (NC 372 HEF) founded between 1872 and 1889. Wasēl occurs in Per. Sus. 66 in a journey from Šārāqat the source of the river Bāšēlo SW of Dessie to Amora Gädäl, the places named being Šārāqat, Gāñi opposite Hanazo, Wasäl, Dida Gärado (the 'Grado plain' of NC 372 HEF, 5 miles SW of Dessie), Awot, Qēddusge, Amora Gädäl. From Wasēl, Bā'ēdā Maryam went through Gēddēm to Qäččēno (v.l. Qäččēho) in Ifat. While in Ifat he asked for the names of all the towns there, and the answer recorded in the chronicle was: 'This is Mäkre, a place of transit [reading *gē'ēzat* for the *gwē'ēzat* of the MSS];

that is Gēnd Bēlo; where we are now is called Fälägä Agat [river of A.] in the district of Gadawi' (*CB.* 152). Gēnd Bēlo is the Ghinde-vel of de Chaurand and the Aia Guima of NC 375 HDM, a river which flows SE from Ankobär.<sup>1</sup> This region was clearly considered as part of Ifat at that time. From the Agat he went to Ṭobya of Ifat and thence via Dägo Mēččēg, described as the 'pass of Dägo', to another river, the Gasay 'which is the district (*mēdr*) of Däbrä Bērhan'. He then went to the southern provinces by way of Särmat between Däbrä Bērhan and Šäno, Zängo in Särmat, Yäläbašä in Fäjägar near Ṭēlq, Garma, Sädäqäbäba in Ēlamalali (which is perhaps meant for Ēlamale, the modern Aymälläl). After this, he was in Däwaro, and back again in Dägu Däguman, a district of Ēlamale, where he planted vines, citrons, *sokär* (probably sugar cane), and other things. From Abasi somewhere nearby, in Muslim territory, he sent troops which defeated a coalition of Muslim *šums* of Adal whose territories are named as Ēror, Gēday, Kwäššēm, Hargay, Gēday (possibly the Gēdad (v.l. Gēday) of *GV.* p. 74), and Färaš. Bā'ēdā Maryam died at Abasi Wera Gäbäya in Wäj, possibly the same as Abasi.

#### 4. The geography of the *Lives of Saints* from 1400 to 1470

Three saints whose *Lives* exist belong to this period: Abäkēr-āzun, Täklä Hawaryat, and Fēre Mika'el.<sup>2</sup>

Abäkērāzun, whose name was taken from that of Abkirjun, an Egyptian who was martyred under Maximian II (305–11), was born about 1390 in Na'ēder, and became a monk, first in Däbrä Ḥaygwēmze in Tāmben, and then in Däbrä Qwäyāša, 20 miles SW of Aksum, of which Abba Šamu'el was abbot. He became a follower of the heretical monk Ēštīfanos (who refused to worship the Virgin Mary and the Cross, *CZ.* p. 69), on account of which he spent much of his life fleeing from persecution. During the course of his travels he reached the Bahēr Saf (lake Ṭana), and returning thence came to the convent of Zeranaqwa on or near the Tākkāzi; later he went to Bārāka in Sire. From there he wandered through Tēgre, Agāme,

<sup>1</sup>For the reference to de Chaurand I am indebted to Crawford, *Ethiopian Itineraries Circa 1400–1524*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup>[For a further discussion by Huntingford on Ethiopian saints see G. W. B. Huntingford, 'Saints of Medieval Ethiopia', *AS*, 1979, X, pp. 257–341, and for bibliographies on these saints, Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 72, 92. R.P.]

Tämben, Wajrat, Shoa, Ifat, and back to Tēgre. In the north the places he went to are named as Mēlāzo near Aksum, a 'place of exile'; Hamlo (10 miles SW of Adigrat, ND 372 HFE); Mätāra in Šimēzanā (15 miles SW of Sānāfe); Däbrā Sāma't in Tämben; Betā Marya (10 miles SW of Dēbab, ND 375 HEU) which is described in the *Life* as the 'gate of the district', and is perhaps the 'church of Our Lady' mentioned by Alvares, who says that 'at the summit [of the valley] is an old wall in which are what appear to be gates, as though in former times they used to guard that pass' (*PJ.* p. 185). Further south he was in Ifat, Sārmāt, Arso and Däbrā Fāran near Sārmāt, and Sägābi where there 'are great gates'. Coming to the river Kässām, he reached a place called Gwēṣ where Abba Tāwāldä Mādḥēn lived, then Agbāra where Ēstifanos died, Gwatēr, Mēdrā Zega, and thence via Gäni and Lākma to Tēgre. Gäni could be the place called Gäni in Per. Sus. 66 near the source of the Bāšēlo (see above, p. 34). Here he was again persecuted and sent first to Qēfērya in Tēgre, then to Albeta a town in the lowlands (*q'wälla*), Dāwālwāla near the Tākkāzi, and finally the convent of Kokāwa in Tēgre, where, it seems, he died. (*Acta S. Abakerazun et S. Takla Hawaryat*, ed. C. Conti Rossini, *CSCO.* vol. 29.)

Täklä Hawaryat was born at Ēnare't in Shoa, and entered Däbrā Libanos as a monk. From here he travelled extensively through Šälāmt, Sämen, and Wägāra which, his biographer notes, were peaceful because king Yēšḥaq had subdued them. He was also in Mugār, in the towns of Agay and Zay. Other regions in which he preached were Ēnfraz, Wāldēbba, Šēmbēla, Aksum. In Wāldēbba he was at a convent called Däbrā Dārba, from which he went to the district of Sumā Arwa in Šälāmt, which appears in *Géod.* 3 as Šimarua and in ND 375 HFD/HES as Semarua. From there he went back to Shoa and came to Mount Gābārma near Adādā in Mugār, where the *māqawāzey* or *māqawzāy* were 'worshipped' by the inhabitants. These were *māsāryan*, 'magicians, communicators with the Devil', and here one of them having attacked a young monk was cursed by Täklä Hawaryat and then flogged, whereupon the *seyum* of Mugār ordered the Saint's arrest. (*Acta S. Abakerazun et S. Takla Hawaryat*, ed. C. Conti Rossini, *CSCO.* vol. 29.)

Fēre Mika'el was *nēburā'ēd* or head of the Church in the province of Wārāb (see above, p. 73), and passed most of his

life in this part of Ethiopia. At Zād in Mugār, perhaps the Zay of the *Life* of Täklä Hawaryat, he destroyed a wood which was a pagan cult-centre, where he found a clay figure of a donkey used as an idol. (*Acta S. Fērē Mikā'el et S. Zar'a Abreham*, ed. B. Turaiev, *CSCO.* vol. 23.)

In addition to the wanderings of the saints, there is some topographical information in the *Life* of Mārḳorewos (*CSCO.* vol. 22, pp. 44–6, ed. C. Conti Rossini) who appears to have lived from 1289 to 1419.<sup>1</sup> King Dawit (1380–1409) gave to his monastery of Däbrā Dēmaḥ or Däbrā Mārḳorewos (ND 372 HFL Debra Mercurios 20 miles WNW of Adi Ugri) extensive estates in Sārawe and Sire. Most of those which are identifiable occur on ND 372 HFK and HFL, and are west and north of the Mārāb river (which makes a right angle turn northwards SE of 'Addi Kwälä): 'Ad Abisa (HFL), 'Ad Atal, (HFK), 'Ad Kwala (HFL), 'Ad Mana (HFL), 'Ad Samra (HFL), Arqēzana (HFL), Bēḥnuna (HFL), Damba (east of the Mārāb HFL), Dānbālas (NW Sārawe), Ēdda Abba Ēndrēyas (HFL), Kwēdo Fālasī (HFL), May Lāham (HFL), Šā'ada 'Addi (HFL), Dubāni (HFK). Most of the grants appear to have been in Sārawe. (*Acta Marḳorēwos*, ed. C. Conti Rossini, *CSCO.*, Vol. 22).

### III. THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

There is little in the geographical record of the last three kings of the fifteenth century. Ēskēndēr was killed by the Maya of Arḥo, the lowland salt plain E of Ēndārta. These Maya, who were archers of uncertain ethnic affinities, appear for the first time in 1494. They seem to have lived between the higher region (6000 ft.) and the actual salt plain which is at sea level and in places below it. (*PC.* 12; *BN.* Éth. 147, f. 78v.) Other Maya occur in Bahrēy's *History of the Galla* (c. 1593; locality not specified); in Wāj (*HSD.* 52); and in the *q'wälla* beyond Sämen (*AJIB.* 53).

In the chronicle of Na'od we have for the first time a list of the king's wet season camps, which were automatically entered in the records of some of the later kings. (Perruchon, *Hist. d'Eskenfer, de 'Amda Šyon II et de Nā'od*, *J. Asiat.* 9 sér. III. 1894.) The places named are: 'Engwādīt, Qēs Wägāda, Zānkār,

<sup>1</sup>[On Mārḳorewos see Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*, pp. 208, 210 and Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, *op. cit.*, p. 83. R.P.]

and Ěnzāz in Wāj; Wäre Zēnam and Dēmbē in Dāwaro; Mälza, Wānzēh, Dēdya, and Jējēno in Amhara, at the last of which Na'od died. Most of these are not identifiable. Dēmbē may be the same as Dēmbi which Conti Rossini placed between the Awaš and Kässām rivers in the area of Rogie, perhaps the Roghe of NC 375 HDF, SSW of Bollo Selassie, though this can hardly be called Dāwaro; Mälza is SE of Ěbnat, ND 375 HEK Melza (but see above, p. 104); Wānzēh might be an error for Mānzēh; Jējēno was perhaps Mākanā Sēllase (p. 105 above). Nevertheless, the regional names indicate the areas over which he travelled.

Na'od's reign was the last for many years to be undisturbed, except for minor clashes with the Muslims (who began their raids in Ěskēndēr's days), for in the time of his son Lēbnā Dēngēl the whole course of Ethiopian history was altered by the invasion of Ahmād Grañ combined with a simultaneous infiltration of the Galla from the south. With these events began a new era in Ethiopian history.

## V THE REIGNS OF LĚBNĀ DĚNGĚL, GĀLAWDEWOS, AND MINAS

### I LĚBNĀ DĚNGĚL

THE reign of Lēbnā Dēngēl, who came to the throne at the age of twelve, may be divided into three parts: A. The period of his minority during which the kingdom was ruled by a council of regents, lasting till about 1516, when he fought his first action against Māḥammād king of Adal and defeated him. B. The period from 1516 to 1526, during which the kingdom was mainly at peace, and the Portuguese Embassy arrived. C. The period of the Muslim invasion from 1527 onwards (lasting into the reign of Gālawdewos). Also during this period the Galla began to enter Ethiopia from the extreme south-west about 1522, reaching Dāwaro about 1540.<sup>1</sup> This latter event seems to have gone more or less unnoticed during the violent and harassing experiences of the Muslim war, though there is a note in the list of Lēbnā Dēngēl's wet season camps in the *Liber Axumae* (CSCO. vol. 54, p. 69) that 'after the arrival of the pagans (*arāmi*) he stayed at Hayb Tāki'a'; the use of the word *arāmi* suggests the Galla rather than the Muslims. There is, however, no record of any action being taken against them, though the invasion of the Galla was to have a much deeper effect on the course of Ethiopian history.

#### A. 1508–1516

We may begin with the list of wet season camps already referred to. This is taken from a MS of XIX (MS d'Abbadie 225). It contains twenty-eight names, and since the reign of Lēbnā Dēngēl included thirty-three wet seasons, it would seem that the first five years of the reign (when he was 12 to 16 years old) have been omitted. Assuming that this is the case, the first camp can be dated 1513–14 (his sixth regnal year). Most of

<sup>1</sup>[This movement is also discussed in E. Haberland, *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens*, Stuttgart, 1963 and U. Braukämper, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens*, Wiesbaden, 1980. See also Stitz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 79–82 and map on p. 80. R.P.]

the places cannot be identified, but except for the last two they appear to have been in the southern half of Ethiopia. The names and dates are as follows:

1. Ęnzoz. 1513. Probably the Ęnzāz of Na'od (p. 110 above).
2. Dĕmbi. 1514. This is described by Conti Rossini as 'a province of Shoa N of the Ĥawāš, the chief place in which is Rogiê' (*Catalogo* p. 23; NC 375 HDF Rogie), though if it is the same as the Dĕmbe of Na'od, the text implies that it was in Dāwaro.
3. Čaga. 1515.
4. Dĕlguš. 1516.
5. Ęndehut. 1517.
6. Ęndotna (I). 1518. Probably Ęntoṭto N of Addis Ababa.
7. Māntora. 1519. NC 372 HEK 12 miles ESE of Dābrā Tabor.
8. Ęndotna (II). 1520.
9. Dānqoč. 1521.
10. Ęndotna (III). 1522.
11. Ęndotna (IV). 1523.
12. Ęndotna (V). 1524.
13. Ilābase. 1525. Perhaps the Yālābaša of Zār'a Ya'qob, and if so near Ṭēlq in Fātāgar.
14. Ęndotna (VI). 1526. 'Where Queen Ęleni died'.
15. Māqdāsā Dānagĕl. 1527. Invasion of Grañ began.
16. Dĕlqĕman (I). 1528.
17. Dĕlqĕman (II). 1529.
18. Dĕlqĕman (III). 1530.
19. Šĕmbĕra Kore. 1531. Near the Moju (Moggio) river, NC 375 HDE. (The battle of Šĕmbĕra Kore was fought in March 1529.)
20. Žājjĕr. 1532.
21. Hayb Tāki'a. 1533. If the date is correct, this may be in Dāmbĕya, since Lĕbnā Dĕngĕl passed the wet season of the 26th year of his reign in Dāmbĕya (*PC*. fol. 5).
22. Māhaš. 1534.
23. Dāmbĕya (I). 1535.
24. Dāmbĕya (II). 1536.
25. Dāmbĕya (III). 1537.
26. Dāmbĕya (IV). 1538.
27. Ĥaya in Tĕgre. 1539.

28. Afla in Tĕgre. 1540. This may have been in Agāme, for Lĕbnā Dĕngĕl died on 2 September 1540 and was buried at Dābrā Damo.

## B. 1516–1526

On 9 April 1520 a Portuguese Embassy under Dom Rodrigo de Lima, with Fr. Francisco Alvares as chaplain, reached Massawa; it arrived at the King's Court at Tāgwĕlāt in Shoa in October 1520, and left Ethiopia on 28 April 1526. This was the first effective contact of Europeans with Ethiopia, and the fact that Alvares wrote a detailed account published in 1540 makes it an event of some geographical importance.<sup>1</sup> This book was, in fact, the first accurate account of Ethiopia ever published.<sup>2</sup> Since the topography has been dealt with at length in the Hakluyt edition of 1961, it will be unnecessary to do more than summarize the description of the journey, the main line of which is clear, though there are many problems of identification.

The Embassy, having landed at Maçua (Mĕšĕwa', Massawa) on 9 April 1520, crossed the Samhar – the maritime plain – from Arquiquo (Arqiqo), and reached a place called Dise early in May. The site of Dise is uncertain. It was a convent (Alvares says 'of St Michael') situated 'on a very steep rock at the foot of another high rock which no one can ascend' (*PJ*. p. 75). Stasio placed it about 3 miles NW of Dābrā Bizān 'by a bad road' (*Boll. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, (Roma), 3 ser. II. 1889, pp. 803–36). From here the Portuguese went to the convent of Bisam (Dābrā Bizān), founded about 1355 by Filpos of Šĕra, and according to Alvares the 'head of six monasteries which are around it in these mountains'. Alvares also notes that among its large estates was Aadete (Adet, W of Na'ĕder, ND 375 HFE Adiet).<sup>3</sup> On 15 June they left Dise, reaching Čalote (Šālot, some 7 miles SSE of Asmara) the next day. From there they went to Barua

<sup>1</sup>*Ho Preste Joam das Indias*, Lisbon, 1540. Translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley, Hakluyt Soc., 1881; revised and annotated by C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford, Hakluyt Soc., 1961.

<sup>2</sup>It may be thought that I should have taken account of the Zorzi Itineraries published by O. G. S. Crawford in 1958 as *Ethiopian Itineraries circa 1400–1524*. These are Italian versions of routes obtained mostly from Ethiopian monks who visited Italy. The fact is that they present a mass of problems, and are therefore not of much service in elucidating Ethiopian topography.

<sup>3</sup>On this estate, see also *Land Charters*, p. 2.

(Dĕbarwa, 18 miles SSW of Asmara), which they reached on 17 June. This was the seat of the Barnagais (Bahĕrnägaš), and many women lived there, partly on account of its market and partly because there 'are always people from the Prester John's Court here, and those who come, having no women with them, make use of these' (PJ. p. 105). Leaving Dĕbarwa on 28 June they came to Barra (perhaps 'Addi Bāro, Stasio, *loc. cit.*, p. 809) and Temei or Temeisom. The latter was identified by Stasio with Tĕrāmni, about 12 miles S of 'Addi Baro, which agrees with Alvares's distance, though his statement that it belonged to the district of Maiçada raises a difficulty, since May Ša'ĕda is nearly 30 miles S of Ťime'i.<sup>1</sup> Alvares then interpolates accounts of later visits to Coiberia (Korbarya near Decamere), Aagao (Agāw, between Wag and Abārgāle), and Abrugima (Bugna) where he visited an unidentified town called Aquate or Acate; at these places he saw great swarms of locusts. From Temei the Portuguese went to the Marabo river (Mārāb) which, as Alvares notes correctly, separated the territory of the Barnagais from that of the Tigrimahom (Tĕgre Māk wännĕn). Having crossed the Mārāb, they reached Abafaçem (Yĕha by Mt. Abba Afše) about 10 miles NE of 'Adwa, from which they came to a 'town called Houses of St Michael' (almost certainly 'Adwa, which in early XIX had a church of St Michael, Charter 83). Here Alvares interpolates (chaps. 37–41) a long account of Aquaxumo (Aksum), which was not on the route of 1520, but which he visited later. His description of the cathedral, destroyed by Grañ in 1535 (not long after his visit) is the only one we possess. He also describes the town, the obelisks, and other antiquities, as well as the churches of Abbalicanos (Abba Liqanos) and Abbapantalian (Abba Pāntalewon) on the eastern outskirts of the city. He also mentions certain districts to the west of Aksum – Torate (Torat in Sire), 'the Alleluia monastery' (Dābrā Halle Luya or Hallelo, 20 miles NW of Aksum: and, east of Aksum the convents of Betā Yohannĕs and Abba Gārīma or Mādāra.

From 'Adwa the Portuguese went to a 'town named Angueba' (possibly meant for a place on the 'Unguya or 'Ĕngwĕya river, a tributary of the Mārāb which rises N of Enticcio, ND 372 HFE Unguia), thence to Abacinete (Amba Sānnayt near Gual

<sup>1</sup>But see Appendix C, p. 265.

Hatzei, ND 372 HFE) where they made a zariba, and on to Maluche (possibly the Alĕqwa Pass (ND 372 HFF), where they turned south to Agroo (Wĕqro) where there was 'a house of Our Lady, made in a rock, hewn and wrought with the pickaxe, with three aisles and their supports made of the rock itself' (PJ. p. 177). This is the church called Maryam Wĕqro (or Zāna Maryam, or Mariam Corou, or Čĕrços Wĕqro; ND 375 HFF Ugoro; R. Sauter in *AE*, V. 1963, no. 13) and R. Plant in *Eth. Obs.* XIII, 1970, pp. 264–5)<sup>1</sup>. Leaving Agroo they came to Anguguim (Agula), where there was a 'well-built church of Quiricos (Cyriacus)'. There is here a ruined church consisting of a rectangular podium and stepped walls of Aksumite type (*DAE*. II, fig. 213; PJ. p. 176). From here they went on to Belete (written Abefete in the chapter-heading), and perhaps Bĕlāt (*Guida*, map, p. 304, though this is doubtful). After Belete they came 'to some very vile places in a mountain named Benacel' (perhaps Amba Aradom, ND 375 HEU A. Aradam), and thence to Corcora (Addi Qorçora, *Guida*, map, p. 304 Adi Corcora). From here they seem to have made a digression, going eastward to Manadeley or Manadel (possibly Dĕbab, ND 375 HEU Debub) and Dofarso (also printed in the 1540 edition Tarso and Farso, and perhaps the Dofarfo of *Guida*, map, p. 304), returning to the main track where they camped by a river called Sabalote or Sabalete (the Hair Sabalette of ND 375 HEU-HEM), where 'the kingdom of Tigrimahom ends, and the kingdom of Angote begins', as well as the language of Angote 'which is named Angutinħa'. Here they found another Corcora, which Alvares distinguishes as Corcora of Angote (possibly the modern Čĕrčĕr, ND 375 HEM, though the names are not identical). The next place was Ancona, with 'a very noble church of St Mary' (possibly near Cobbo, on a tributary of the Gualina (ND 375 HEM Gollena), called Ancana by Stasio (*loc. cit.* p. 813). At this point Alvares interpolates a detailed account of the rock churches of Lasta, which he visited twice later on during his stay in Ethiopia. He includes Iconoamelaca (= Yĕkuno Amlak, now Jāmmādu Maryam, 10 miles SW of Alomata, in Bugna), Imbra Christus (Yĕmrĕħanā Krĕstos, 12 miles NNE of Lalibāla), and the churches of Lali-bāla. His account is of great interest because it is the first in any

<sup>1</sup>[See also R. Plant, *Architecture of Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester, 1985, p. 111. R.P.]

European language; and Ramusio's version of 1550 contains a set of plans of the eight churches described by Alvares (there are eleven in all at Lalibäla); the authorship of these plans is at present unknown.<sup>1</sup> Leaving Ancona, the Portuguese came to Ingabelu, somewhere in Angot, near which they met the *Ras* of Angot; they went on by Angua and Mastanho (unidentifiable) till they came to the boundary between Angot and Amhara. They saw Lake Ḥayq, and Alvares describes Amba Gēšēn, 'the mountain in which they put the sons of the Prester John', though he does not give the names of either place. Then they came to Ho Acel,<sup>2</sup> which was either near the site of the modern Dessie, or in the Amba Sēl district (NC 372 HEF). From here they went to Maçam Celacem (Mākanā Sēllase) near Wārrä Ilu [NC 372 HDU, but not marked], and after an unidentifiable village called Abra they reached 'some gates and deep passes difficult to travel' and went down the precipitous descent known as Ahēyya Fājī, 'destruction to donkeys', or in Alvares's spelling, Aqui Afagi, where they crossed the Anecheta river (Wānčēt), and going through more 'bad paths and dangerous passes' arrived at the Gemaa river (Jāmma). In this region were 'gates' which divided Amara and Xoa (Shoa), and were called Badabaxa. These gates (Amhar. bār) were toll-posts, and perhaps like those seen by Alvares near Corcora, where 'at the summit is an old wall, in which are what appears to be gates, as though in former times they used to guard that pass' (*PJ.* p. 185). The name is also written Badabaj by Alvares, and may be the Badabaj of Per. Sus. 9;70, which may be identified with Badaso on HC 372 HDT. They came next to the monastery of Brilibanos (Dābrā Libanos, one of the most famous in Ethiopia, founded by St Täklä Haymanot in XIII), after which they were taken by a somewhat circuitous route to Huagida (Wägda), Anda (perhaps Mendida, NC 375 HDM), and finally to Tahaguy (Tägwēlät), north of Dābrā Bērhan, where the king was at that time.

For parts of the journey the Portuguese seem to have followed more or less the line of recognized traditional routes: (1) From a point S of Tērāmni they followed the trade route given by d'Abbadie (*Géogr.* sect. 97) which passed through Kudufäläse (Godofelassi, ND 372 HFL), May Ša'ēda (Maiçada of Alvares),

<sup>1</sup>See *PJ.* pp. 203–27, 526–42.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. 'the Acel', *Ho* being the Portuguese article.

'Addi Ḥwāla, Gwindät, the Mārāb river, and Da'ro Tākle, with a diversion to Yeḥa, returning to 'Adwa, where they left the trade route, which turned westwards (avoiding Aksum) to Dāmbāgwina and thence to Gondar. This route was called by d'Abbadie 'la route de la grande caravane éthiopienne'.<sup>1</sup> (2) At a point SE of 'Addigrat and some 40–50 miles E of 'Adwa they joined the north–south route which ran along the edge of the highland zone (travelled by St. Täklä Haymanot in XIII) through the provinces of Šēra', Ēndārta, Wajrat, Doba, Angot, Amhara, continuing by Lake Ašānge, Wāldēya, Lake Ḥayq, Dessie (founded in late XIX) to Dābrā Bērhan. This, it should be noted, is not a 'ridgeway',<sup>2</sup> for it crosses many rivers. The Portuguese left this road somewhere near Dessie and were taken by way of Mākanā Sēllase, Ahēyya Fājī, and Dābrā Libanos.

Alvares also gives some information about the kingdom of Ethiopia (chaps. 130–138). He records that on the frontiers are 'Moorish Arabs who keep the herds of the great lords of the countries of the Barnagais, and they go about as if in encampments of thirty or forty, with their wives and children. All these Moors have a Christian Captain, and all are thieves, and they rob the poor on the highways by their power and the favour of the lords whose cows they keep' (chap. 130). These were the pastoral Saho, who now live in a narrow strip on the edge of the highlands between Zulla and Wajrat. By 'Christian Captain' Alvares may have meant that they were supposed to be under the jurisdiction of the local *šum* in each district.

Beyond, that is east of, the Saho were the Dangalli (Dankali, plur. Danākil, who call themselves 'Afar, a wild people of the desert lowlands; and south of them was the kingdom of Adel which 'borders upon the kingdom of Fatigar and Xoa'. In the middle of Adel, but further inland, begins the kingdom of Adea (Hadēyya), which is of Moors. . . . This kingdom of Adea borders upon the kingdom of Oyja (Wāj), which belongs to the Prester John'. Alvares is here using Adel in its most extended sense as including Dāwāro, Ifat, and Bali. Other 'lordships' which bordered upon Wāj and Shoa are named as Ganze (Gānz, between the Mugār and Gudār rivers); Gamu which 'runs mostly towards the west'; and 'still further west and

<sup>1</sup>Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup>See above, p. xxvi.

to the south is the kingdom called Gorage' (Gurage),<sup>1</sup> whose inhabitants 'say they have a king'.

Gamu presents a problem of its own. It has been identified with Gāmo, a tribal area along the western side of Lake Čamo, first mentioned at the end of XVI by Bahrĕy, whose home it was (*SRE*. p. 114). As far as the purely geographical situation is concerned, there is little difficulty, although Alvares is somewhat confused about the points of the compass here, for he describes Ganze as beginning 'to the middle of this kingdom of Adea, towards the west', with Gamu next running 'mostly towards the west', and '[still further west and] to the south' he places Gorage. (The words in [ ] occur in Ramusio's version of 1550 but not in the Portuguese edition of 1540.) Alvares concludes by saying that all three places 'border upon the kingdoms of Oyja (Wāj) and Xoa (Shoa)'. He did not go to this area himself, and his description from hearsay is no worse than those of many other travellers. However, it is clear, e.g. from Almeida's map, that Gānz was near Mugār and north of Hadĕyya, Gurage being between Hadĕyya and Wāj. But if Gamu/Gāmo is the tribal area beside Lake Čamo, it is many miles to the south of Hadĕyya and Gurage (being in fact some 160 miles SSW of Lake Zway), and between Gāmo and Gānz lay the petty states of Hadĕyya, Kambatta, Tambaro, and Wolamo. The question is complicated by the association of Gānz with Gāmo and Bali in certain texts: (1) *The Hĕggā wāsĕr 'atā māngĕšt* (Bodl. Bruce 92, fol. 7v.; Frankfort 18) in the section headed '*tarik* (Frankfurt 18, *kĕft*) of the Žan Tākāl' has the words 'Gānz and Gāmo completely associated'. (2) Ludolf (*Hist.*, I, 3, 20) gives as a region of Ethiopia Gānz, 'quod nomen cum Baliā, in ficto Regis titulo, malè in unum vocabulum Baleganz contrahitur' (cf. Lĕbnā Dĕngĕl's letter, p. 119 below), to which Ludolf was perhaps referring. Bali, wherever its exact western boundary was, must have been at least 100 miles from Gānz, and was separated from it by Gurage. On the other hand, at one period at least, it probably reached almost if not quite to Lake Čamo, though it is nowhere associated with Gāmo. This problem I cannot solve, but it is necessary to state it.

Alvares then describes Damute (Damot), which in his day

<sup>1</sup>[On the Gurage see W. A. Shack, *The Gurage. A People of the Ensete Culture*, London, 1966, and W. A. Shack and Habte Mariam Marcos, *Gods and Heroes. Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*. R.P.]

was some way south of the Abbay (as shown on Almeida's map), though as a result of pressure by the Galla later in XVI the inhabitants, together with the Gafat, were forced northwards across the Abbay into Gojjam. At the end of Damute and Gorage he says that he was told there was the kingdom of the Amazons, who 'when they are little dry up the left (*sic*) breast in order not to hinder drawing the arrow', since they were very warlike. Time need not be wasted in looking for these ladies, who never existed; the appearance from time to time of women rulers in SW Ethiopia (e.g. in Gĕra north of Kafa, though here it was in XIX) may have contributed to the origin of the story. West of Damute were the Cafates (Gafat). They were described to Alvares as being 'of the race of the Jews', who 'always carry on war with the Prester'. They are in fact not Jews, but speakers of a Semitic language of the Ethiopic group which Beke in 1845 reported as being on the eve of extinction [*Proc. Philol. Soc.* II. 1845, p. 92), and is now virtually if not wholly extinct, having been replaced by Amharic.

Another kingdom of the Prester is named Goyame (Gojjam), 'of which a great part belonged to Queen Elena, his [step-grand mother'. In this kingdom rises the Nile, 'which in this country they called Gion' (Gĕyon or Gĕwon, from the river Gihon 'that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia', *Genesis* ii, 13). At the end of Goyame is Bagamidri (Begāmdĕr) which extends 'along the Nile' and reaches to Amara, Angote, the kingdom of Tigray Tigrimahom, and the kingdom which belongs to the Barnagais; and between Angote and Tigray are 'other lordships which are named Aganos (Agāw) in which Christians and pagans are mingled.' Gold, he says, was found in Damute and Goyame (inferior in quality), and silver in Bagamidri. Beyond Bagamidri were Moors called Bellonos (Bālāw, the older inhabitants of northern Ethiopia) who were tributary to the king of Ethiopia for a great number of horses; and beyond them, the Nobiis, the 'Nubians' of Sennar in the Eastern Sudan.

Lĕbnā Dĕngĕl himself, in a letter to the King of Portugal carried back by the Embassy, described his kingdom, according to Alvares's transcript (Supplementary chap. 7) as consisting of Xoa, Cafate, Fatiguar, Angote, Baruu (? Bora), Baliganje (see above, p. 118), Adea, Vangué (? Bugna), Goyame, Amara, Bagamidri, Damba (Dāmbĕya), Vague (Wag), Tigrimahom (Tĕgre, i.e. the provinces from Tĕgre round Aksum to Wājrat),

Barnagais (the provinces north of Tēgre under the Bahērnāgaš), and Sabaim 'where was the Queen Saba' (possibly meant for Adyabo). This is, in fact, a fair statement.

### C. The Land Charters of Lēbnā Dēngēl

It was in the reign of Lēbnā Dēngēl that the custom of collecting earlier land records and recording new grants in charter form seems to have come into being. Certain it is, that out of the hundred or so charters recording grants of land or privileges in the *Liber Axumae*, twenty-three are charters granted by Lēbnā Dēngēl, with renewals of grants by Kaleb, Gābrā Māsqał, Zār'a Ya'qob, and Bā'ēdā Maryam. The charters of his reign comprise grants of land to the Cathedral of Aksum, in Tēgre, Sārawe, and Bur; to the convent of Abba Yonas near 'Addi Ugri, in Tēgre, Sārawe, Sire, and Bur; to the convent of Mādāra near 'Adwa, in Tēgre, Sārawe, and Mānbārta; and grants and renewals of privileges to the convents of Halle Luya (20 miles W of Aksum), Bānkwāl (near Halle Luya), Lāgaso (near Aksum), Maḥbārā Maryam (? near Halle Luya), Bākwēr (? near Dābrā Damo), Bārbāre (in Amba Sānnayt district), Dābrā Šeyon (in Wāldēbba), Mā'ara (? in Hawzen), and Dābrā Libanos (in Tēgre near Dābrā Damo). There are also several grants of land to individuals in Šera', Tāmben, Sire, Tēgre, Bur, Ḥamasen, Ēgāla, and Lasta. It is noteworthy that all the lands and convents are in the north of Ethiopia.<sup>1</sup>

### D. The Muslim Invasion

The invasion and conquest of Ethiopia by Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm of Harar, known to the Ethiopians as Grañ, 'the left-handed', is described in detail in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, or 'The Conquest of Ethiopia', written in Arabic by one of Grañ's followers, Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd-al-Qādir, surnamed 'Arab-Faqīh. The French version, with notes, by René Basset runs to 468 pages,<sup>2</sup> and takes the story up to 19 March 1537; the last paragraph contains the statement 'end of the first volume'. It has been doubted whether there ever was a second volume, though Burton said that the Emir of Harar had only one part of it, the

<sup>1</sup>On these charters, see *Land Charters*, pp. 7-9, 36-8, 40-54.

<sup>2</sup>*Histoire de la conquête de l'Abissinie (xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris 1897, which has been used in the summary which follows.

other being at Mocha or Hudaydah (*First Footsteps*, 1856, p. 305). The Ethiopian records of this war are very scanty; it ended with the death of Grañ on 11 February 1543, so that we have detailed knowledge of only the first ten years.

### The invasion as described in the *Futūḥ*

There is a wealth of topographical information in the *Futūḥ*, but it is not possible to identify all the names mentioned in it. Some indeed, like Bādeqē, do not occur in the Christian Ethiopian records; in other cases, the author, 'Arab-Faqīh, seems to have been confused about direction, particularly concerning the limits of the territories of Bali, Dāwaro, and Fātāgar, which in fact were probably somewhat fluid at all times. As an example of the difficulties in the way of identification, we may take Eddir, the point of departure for the earlier raids, and the last stage on the way back to Harar. Eddir is said to be on the Ifat frontier (p. 40); the Ethiopian *History of Lēbnā Dēngēl* says in Kēbot, two days from Bāqulzar; and it is also described as a river full of water in Muslim country (pp. 84, 172). Bāqulzar is said to be between the countries of the Muslims and the Christians (p. 172), and the Muslims after leaving Bāqulzar reached a large river called Kuba two stages distant from the Awaš and in a waterless desert; and after crossing the Awaš, Grañ went in the direction of the river Kāssām (pp. 94-96). Eddir and Bāqulzar are thus complementary clues, but there is certainly some confusion here, and the unfortunate interpreter of the chronicle can only do his best to make sense out of many difficult topographical situations. On the other hand, enough identification is possible to trace the different stages in the overrunning of the country.

#### 1. Preliminary skirmishes in the Harar region

The *Futūḥ* begins by describing a number of raids and skirmishes all of which seem to have taken place in the Harar region. Grañ first defeated an Ethiopian raiding party under Fānil which had pillaged Hubāt, perhaps Hubeta, NC 376 JDJ some 20 miles NW of Harar, at a river 'Aqm, which could be the Amarresa below Mt Akim just SW of Harar. He then returned to a place called Zifah. Other places mentioned in this

part of the *Futūḥ* have no bearing on the topography of the conquest of Ethiopia, and thus are not relevant here.

## 2. Preliminary raids into Ethiopia

The next section (pp. 46–170) deals with preliminary raids into Ethiopia which took place before the real invasion began. First, Grañ got as far as Wāduh Mečeg, 'which in their language means "narrow gate"', in Fätāgar. But the Muslims refused to fight any more, and Grañ had to return to Harar.

The second and third raids were to Qāy-ge and Wānbārya in Dāwaro, where the Muslims won a minor victory at Zāmit. The fourth raid, in 1527, reached as far as Anṭukyāh, 55 miles south of Lake Ḥayq (NC 372 HDU Antiochia near Wārrā Ilu, Ethiop. Anṭokya or Anṣokya). Passing through Dāwaro, Grañ burnt the church at Zahraq, where there was a quarrel among the Muslims about the presence with the army of Dēl Wānbāra, Grañ's wife, and she was taken to Ifat. Grañ came back to the Awaš, and grouped his army into three divisions, one under Addole to go by the right to Ifat, the second under Nur by the left to Ifat, and the third under himself by the centre. Addole then defeated the Ethiopian general Wānag Žan at an unnamed place; Grañ went to Anṭukyāh and destroyed the church, and finally all three divisions met at Anṭukyāh. They then raided Ifat. Grañ went towards Gēndbēlo a few miles SE of Ankobār, and after a hard day's march camped at Daq, where there was much *qāt* (*čat*, *catha edulis* Forsk.). Thence he went to Bazmeli in Ifat, and next day entered Gēndbēlo, where many Christian traders were killed. From here he returned to the Awaš, crossed it, and on the third day came to the large river Kub or Kuba, from which he went on to Eddir on the Muslim frontier, and thence back to Harar.

After recruiting a large army of Somali, Grañ reached Eddir, a river full of water, where his wife Dēl Wānbāra bore a son.<sup>1</sup> This place Eddir may possibly be Dir Dābo, the modern Dire Dawa, on a large river which, it is true, is dry for much of the year, but so situated that it can reasonably be described as on the Ifat frontier; it is some 25–30 miles from Harar (NC 376 JDJ Dire Dawa, on the Dačatu river). At this time Lēbnä

Dēngēl was at Bādeqē or Bādegē, where there was a royal town and church. Here he received news of the impending invasion and departed for Bet Amhara, leaving Awra'ī Uthman, a Moslem Bālāw converted to Christianity in charge. (Awra'ī subsequently went over to Grañ.) In Bet Amhara (p. 80 above) he collected a large army from Tēgre, Agāw, Gojjam, Begāmdēr, Angot, Qēda, Gāñ, and the 'sea coast' — an army so large that 'God alone could count it'. Awra'ī meanwhile, being still loyal, collected troops in Badēqe from Dāwaro, Bali, Wānag Jādab, Wānag Amba, the Maya of the south, Ar'an, Gānz, Fätāgar, and Damot. Grañ, having assembled his troops, left Eddir and came to Bāqulzar, a river full of water where he re-grouped his forces. He then left Bāqulzar and went to the large river Kuba, being then two stages from the Awaš, in a waterless country through which he had to march at night on account of the heat; then he reached the Awaš. It seems clear that Bāqulzar was somewhere in eastern Ethiopia, and the Kuba may be the river now called Kābēnna which rises SW of Ankobār and flows down into the Awaš, on the edge of the lowlands. Bāqulzar may have been somewhere near Seddisto (NC 375 HDM 25 miles SSW of Ankobār). Grañ then went by way of the Kāssām river to Amajah, a town in Ethiopia inhabited by Muslims, and from there to Žan Zālāq near a mountain called Kāssām, possibly near the Kāssām river, which joins the Awaš a few miles south of the confluence of the Kābēnna and Awaš. Žan Zālāq was captured, and here Grañ was told that Awra'ī was near the Dukham river, some 50 miles to the south-west, with a large army, that Lēbnä Dēngēl was in Bet Amhara, and that the Tēgre contingent of his army was at Dābrā Bērhan under the *azmač* Tāklā Iyāsus. The Muslims then left Žan Zālāq and camped at Mēsk in Shoa (Māsk, meadow), from which they went to the Māju river in Fätāgar (NC 375 HDE Moggio) and next day to Māsin, the 'town' of 'Omar Abun where there was a royal church which they burnt. Every Christian village they came to was also destroyed. On the third day they came near to Badēqe, where there was a church and the king's treasure-house. Told by the local inhabitants that there were no Ethiopian troops in Badēqe, they advanced without precaution and suddenly met a large Ethiopian force led by Sarṭē (Sārše, the *bēhtwādād* of the left) and Rübēl (Robel, the Tēgre Mākwännēn). Lēbnä Dēngēl had

<sup>1</sup>[For Somali oral traditions on Dēl Wānbāra see Faarax Maxamed Jaamac Cawl, *Garbadaukbii gumeysiga*, Mogadishu, 1978, p. 52. R.P.]

ordered them not to fight till the Muslims had burnt the houses, and since the leaders disagreed about obeying this order, there was some inaction, till Robel decided to attack. He left the town, between which and the Muslims was a large river called Samuma (*Sämärma*); and after a long and tough battle the Muslims gave way and retreated across the Dukham. Bādeqē may have been on the north side of the Ghermama river (= Sämärma, p. 89 above), and not too far from the Dukham to fit the context. From the Dukham the Muslims re-assembled at Ajmojay, a river in the district of Lal or Lalibāla, where they had a clash with Maya archers who at first took them for Christians but on discovering their error retired towards Mäsin followed by the Muslims. LĚbnä DĚngĚl then came to Bādeqē and congratulated his men on saving the place. He then went after the Muslims and came to the Moju (Māju) river, passing the night above Šĕmbĕra Kure, 'the swamp of the chick-peas'; on 7 March 1529 was fought the battle of Šĕmbĕra Kure, in which the Ethiopians were defeated with heavy losses. The Muslims also suffered so heavily that Grañ withdrew to his own country. The site of this battle may have been between the Māju (Moggio) and Awaš rivers, where NC 375 HDE marks Dembela on the edge of an area of swamp.

After a rest of about two and a half months, from April to mid-June 1529, Grañ crossed the Wābi [Šābĕlle?] into Dāwaro and raided Jawātir and Adal Mabraq, where he met Rās Banyāt (Ras Nābiyat, the *bĕhtwādād* of the right) who allowed him, at the request of Abĕl the *žan šĕrar*, then a prisoner in Muslim hands, to pass unmolested in return for not devastating the district. The Muslims went on to Mašhib in Waraqqalo and Māy Falaḥ in Žan Amba, which they laid waste. Grañ next camped at Zagbah where a certain Rajiḥ, a Muslim converted to Christianity, was governor. This man went over to Grañ, who had by then moved to Tarfar in Da'im, whence he raided the surrounding country. A force under Rajiḥ was sent to attack the Christians who, he heard from spies, were at Buro, a large river of running water below a mountain. The Muslims were now joined by Awra'i Uthman. Rajiḥ defeated the Christian force, pursued them to Bus, a large river below Awawaldah, and were themselves pursued by Ras Nābiyat, who however was put to flight. Grañ camped at a village called Ghafat Awaldah. By now, the Muslim army seems to have

become tired of fighting, so Grañ returned with his loot to Eddir and thence to Harar.

The last of the raids was into Bali, across the Wābi into 'Aqra and to another river Wanbat, as big as the Wābi. The raiders went to Qaqmah, where a Muslim Ethiopian named Tāklā Haymanot was captured, to Malwa or Malu in the centre of Bali, and to Zallah where the deputy governor of Bali, Šankur, was camped. Grañ returned by way of the Wābi and Nogob to Harar.

### 3. Invasion: the conquest of southern Ethiopia

Grañ had now decided to embark on the conquest of the whole of Ethiopia, and, probably in 1530, set out from Eddir for Bāqulzar with his army in three divisions, one under Addole, the second under three leaders, and the third under himself. Leaving Bāqulzar they went to the Awaš and sent foraging parties to the Duba'ah country. This suggests that they went east from Bāqulzar and raided the eastern edge of the highlands, if Duba'ah is meant for Dob'a, though the Dob'a country seems to have been rather more to the north than would suit this context. However, having done this, Grañ went towards Dāwaro and came to Argubba. This appears to mean that he went towards northern Dāwaro, the region which stretched north-eastwards from the Bĕrkānna river along the west side of the Awaš. In this region was Argobba, SE of Dessie and east of the Bĕrkānna river. When LĚbnä DĚngĚl heard of Grañ's arrival, he ordered a ditch to be dug at Dĕl Meda above, and put troops to guard it. Grañ, being now in the country below, was told by prisoners of war of another way to Dĕl Meda avoiding the ditch. LĚbnä DĚngĚl then left the ditch and went to 'the gate of Sari' in Dāwaro. The Muslims also left Dĕl Meda and went towards Šadqah, where there were neither trees nor rocks, and the district of Waṭmāt, where they learnt that the Ethiopian army was assembling at Anṭukyāh. From Waṭmāt Grañ went south, towards Ayfārs ('Ayn Fārās, 'the spring of the horse'). Between Waṭmāt and Ayfārs there was a large river called 'Arah which blocked the way. There were two roads to Ayfārs, one down-stream which everybody knew, and another up-stream known to few, for which reason the Christians had left it unguarded. Grañ took the down-stream route and found

it blocked by the Christian army. A Muslim then appeared who led him the other way and he crossed the 'Arah at night. When the Christians heard of this, they left for Anṭukyāh and Grañ entered Ayfārs. At this juncture Dĕgālhan – at his own request – was relieved of his command, and was replaced by Ĕslamo the *bĕhtwādād* of the right, who came to Anṭukyāh with a large force of Maya archers. While they were here, the Muslims entered the town below the church, but fell into an ambush and were routed. They re-grouped, however, and a fight developed in which the Christians were beaten. Ĕslamo managed to escape. The Muslims then burnt Anṭukyāh church, fell upon the Christians again, and defeated them a second time. Ĕslamo fled to Hadĕyya. This was in February–March 1531. Grañ then returned to Ayfārs, where his men suffered greatly from the cold. Detachments were sent out to attack the Ethiopians at Majlah below Ayfārs and Janbah below Šarkah, where there was another clash. Grañ meanwhile went to 'Andurah in Dāwaro where there was a church built by Wāsān Sägād, guarded by men from El-Duba'ah, who fled at his approach; the church was then looted and burnt. A party was sent to Gātur to look for a treasure-store belonging to Wāsān Sägād, but found only part of it, the rest having been removed by the Christians. Lĕbnä Dĕngĕl then sent Tāklä Iyāsus the Tĕgre Mākwännĕn to replace Ĕslamo, who was then at Ayfārs in Zari. Grañ thereupon set out from 'Andurah and attacked the Christians at Ayfārs on 31 March 1531, defeating them with great loss and killing Ĕslamo. This battle was called Zari by the Muslims, while the Ethiopians referred to it as Ayfars. Grañ then went to a place called Jamit, and from there to Qanburah above the market of Dāwaro, inhabited by Muslims who received him well. Lĕbnä Dĕngĕl was now in Gĕbĕrge in Wāj.

The topography of this early period of the invasion is extremely difficult. Assuming that Anṭukyāh is the place suggested, near Wārrä Ilu, the statement that between Waṭmāt and Ayfārs was a river called 'Arah suggests that several of the intervening stages have been left out by the chronicler. Ayfārs is clearly in a region known as 'Dāwaro', but not the northern Dāwaro near Argobba, for it occurs in the chronicle of Zār'a Ya'qob, where the context shows that it was south of Shoa. The use of the term 'Dawāro' in this part of the *Futūh* seems to

be really misapplication, though the name may have been current at that time (and possibly at other times) as a general name for the country south of Shoa. It would thus appear that the names 'Arah, Majlah below Ayfārs, Janbah below Šarkah, 'Andurah, and Qanburah are all to be sought many miles south of Anṭukyāh. The most likely suggestion that I can make is that Ayfārs was somewhere in the higher ground south of the Awaš in the area Sire – Guna – Minne, NC 375 HDE/HDF), and thus actually in Fāṭāgar or Bali. This is not a satisfactory solution, but I cannot think of a better one.

Grañ then went to the Maya country and came to El-Marzir at the foot of Mt Zeqālah (Zĕqwala, NC 375 HDE) where there was a large church which he looted. The existing church on Zĕqwala is not old, but Fr Taurin de Cahagne saw on the mountain ruins which he took to be those of the convent of St Gābrä Mānfās Qĕddus (Abbo) which Grañ destroyed (d'Abbadie, *Géogr.* sect. 433). At this time Lĕbnä Dĕngĕl was two days' march distant. Grañ left Zĕqwala and passing through Lalibāla district in Fāṭāgar camped by the Dukham river on his way to Bādeqĕ, going first to Andotnah the king's town, which he burnt. This place is evidently the same as Ĕndotna where Lĕbnä Dĕngĕl made his wet season headquarters, a little north of Addis Abba (NC 375 HDL Entotto), where there are 'ruins of an ancient Ethiopian capital town' (*Guida*, p. 494). The Ethiopian and Muslim armies were now separated by the Awaš, which was in flood, and Lĕbnä Dĕngĕl, unable to cross, went to the district of Waraba (Wārāb) south of the Awaš (p. 73 above). The Muslims, also unable to cross, went to Berārah, where they found a church built by Na'od and looted it. This may have been Borora about 35 miles SE of Addis Ababa (NC 375 HDE). Grañ was then stricken by illness, and while he was ill the Awaš subsided. Some of his men crossed, burnt a church belonging to the Abun and Lĕbnä Dĕngĕl's house at Gĕbĕrge in Wāj. Lĕbnä Dĕngĕl then withdrew to NZRJ beside Damot, a name which might be an attempt at Nazret.

By May 1531 Grañ had recovered. He set out for Waraba and came to a place called Zerārah, perhaps the Zorāre of Tāklä Haymanot's time, somewhere between the Mugār and Jamma rivers, where there were many Christian traders from Egypt and Syria. Lĕbnä Dĕngĕl then left for Damot and Wāsān

Sägäd for Wäj, 'above El-Māyā', Wäj being the area round Lake Zway. The Muslims also decided to go to Damot, and set out by way of Wiz, a big market town, Qob, Maşar Mečeg ('the gate of Maşar') a district of Damot, and Suq Wayzaro. Wiz is unknown, though it occurs in the chronicle of Zār'a Ya'qob (CZ. p. 65). Qob is perhaps Qobbo (NC 374 HDJ Cobbo, *Géod.* Qobbo, near the modern Combolcia, a Galla name) near the Čoman Swamp. Lěbnā Dēngěl established himself on an inaccessible mountain guarded by a gate called Jorāji; he camped on the slope at a place called Daḥondur, 'elephant's wood'. This might have been near Sire (NC 374 HDC) where d'Abbadie shows a river Dokonu (*Géod.*, map 8). The Muslims followed him and a battle ensued in which Lěbnā Dēngěl was defeated. He then withdrew to Wäj, where he went to Wiḥ Yaḥar and Gabargē, sending one of his generals, Eslām Dahar the governor of Wäj, to Wizjebya (Wiz Gābāya) in Wäj. The Muslims still pursued him and came to Tarāraqaṭ in Waraba, and from there to Andagabṭan 'where the Awaş rises', and burnt an ancient church. Another detachment went to Dāradbani in Shoa and burnt a church built by Lěbnā Dēngěl. Grañ was then at Abārat above the source of the Awaş (near the north edge of square HDD, NC 375). He returned to Berārah and sent a raiding party which, on 18 July 1531, burnt Dābrā Libanos in Gerārah (Gērarya) on a river Awrmah (Zega Wādāb, NC 375 HDT/HDL Zega Uodel). Lěbnā Dēngěl sent an army under Wāsān Sägäd accompanied by Awra'ī Uthman and forty Franks, which crossed the Awaş on rafts and entered Fātāgar at the gate of Qwarqwarah. A battle took place somewhere here in which Wāsān Sägäd was killed, on 29 July 1531. The Muslims then camped for three days at Awāş Ṭabbu, which might be the district of Tabbo (unless this represents the Galla word *tabba*, 'slope') NE of Sire, south of and close to the Awaş (NC 375 HDF). They then moved up towards Žan Zālāq; the inhabitants fled to Šojarah pursued by the Muslims to whom they surrendered.

Addole was then sent to Zēqwala and Lalibāla (in Fātāgar). Grañ left Anṭiṭ or Anṭiṭah where there was a church built by Ěskēndēr which he burnt. Returning to Žan Zālāq, he sent troops to ravage Qawat. Then he went by Šojarah and Sarmāt and Jarjah to Dābrā Bērhan. Sarmāt was between Šāno and Dābrā Bērhan (in square HDM, NC 375). Ifat was then

attacked. Awra'ī now wrote secretly to Grañ (apparently from Bahēr Amba in Šälāmt) offering to return to Islam. Some of his men discovered his treachery and went off to the king in Bet Amhara, while Awra'ī joined Grañ at Ṭobyā in Ifat. Muslim troops were then sent to occupy Tāgwēlāt, Wāgda, Mugār, and Gēddēm. After the death of Wāsān Sägäd, Lěbnā Dēngěl withdrew to Bet Amhara, which the *Futūḥ* describes as a vast territory surrounded by mountains, and the seat of royalty. From the Abbay to Angot and Ḥayq was a march of 20 days through the mountains. All the roads entering it were guarded, and there were five gates: the first, on the road to Wālāqa, in charge of Dāragot; the second, on the road to Akhi Afaji (Ahēyya Fājji), in charge of six men only, the pass being so difficult; the third, on the road to Manzi (Mānz), in charge of Ras Nābiyat, and defended by a ditch; the fourth, on the road to Miāt, in Gēddēm, also defended by a ditch, in charge of Dēgālhan; and the fifth, on the side facing Wasēl, in charge of Lěbnā Dēngěl himself. In Bet Amhara there was a church called Makāna at-talātī (Mākanā Sēllase).

Grañ sent troops to Kesāyah in Gēddēm, which was burnt; he went there himself, and ordered the people of Gāñ or Gān (NC 372 HDU Gann Dega; the Ganh of Almeida) to become Muslims. From there he sent messengers to recall his scattered forces, and left Kesāyah for Ganburah and thence to Miāt. An attack on the latter was beaten off by the guards, and Grañ went on to the Wasēl gate. After a fierce battle on 28 October 1531 he defeated the Ethiopian army and entered Bet Amhara. Lěbnā Dēngěl retreated to Mt Ḥaguā (somewhere in Bet Amhara). Grañ sent his men to another Lalibāla (not that in Lasta) and to the churches of Mākanā Sēllase, Atronsā Maryam, Dābrā Nāgwādgwad, Betā Sāmayat, and Gānnātā Giyorgis in Gēše, all of which were looted and burnt between 3 and 8 November 1531.

The Christians had by now taken refuge in Wālah above the Abbay, and south of the Bāšēlo. When the Muslims came there and looted four churches they retreated across the Bāšēlo into Begāmdēr. Grañ next attacked an *amba* two days from the Bāšēlo (? in the Amba Fārit area) which he besieged. The garrison managed to get word to Lěbnā Dēngěl, who sent Sārse the *bēhtwādād* with a force which fell upon the Muslims while they were attacking the gates and defeated them, on 25

November 1531. Grañ then decided to go to the church of Dabra Azhir (Däbrä Ēgzi'abēher) and on to Lake Ḥayq, where the convent was pillaged but not burnt, on 6 December 1531. This was called Däbrä Nägwädgwad, but is not the same as the one in Bet Amhara which was burnt at the beginning of the month. After this Grañ went to Wäsel, Gojmah, and Abšelo Zaraf, to destroy the churches of Mäkanä Maryam and Däbtära Maryam; the latter, founded by Bā'ēdä Maryam, was in Angot. From there he returned to Ganburah in Gēddēm and thence to Manzi; other troops were sent to Däbrä Bērhan and yet others to the Awaš, where they defeated an Ethiopian force which included Maya archers. This group of Muslims then went to Jinah, Ḥattarāh, and Ayfārs, where they had a skirmish with some Christians who withdrew to Zari and thence to Waṭmāt and 'Andurah. The Muslims having defeated them at 'Andurah went to Amora Gädäl, Šarkah, and Gabargē. A detachment was sent to the Maya country and ravaged Ar'an, returning via 'Aram (v.l. 'Azam). Addole then left for 'Dawāro', but returned to Fäṭāgar, crossed the Moju river and went to Wiz, Waraba, and Däbrä Bērhan, where a battle was fought. Another force of Muslims set out (from Fäṭāgar?) through Wāj to Däbrä Bērhan, Grañ himself being still in Manzi. They went to Tägwēlät, Qēddusge, and Ṭarimma where it was very cold (perhaps Tärmä Bär, a mountainous region about 9000 feet above sea level N of Däbrä Sina, NC 375 HDM Termaber; the *Futūh* gives the distance from Däbrä Bērhan as one *parasang*, but this could well be a miscalculation). Here Grañ reviewed his troops, and then went back to the Kässäm chasing the renegade Šimu; from there he returned to Däbrä Bērhan.

Lēbnä Dēngēl, meanwhile, having retreated to a sweet water lake called Bāḥr Dabbā in Ḥiffin (possibly Affane, d'Abbadie, *Géogr.* p. 324, between Kadambo and Ighem, NC 372 HDU), sent Ras Näbiyat to Kesāyah in Gēddēm in the same area, where he was defeated. Grañ then decided to return to Dāwāro and Ifat; some of his forces were sent to Ṭobya in Ifat, and he himself went to Gabargē across the Moju river. Others went to El-Māyā and defeated the inhabitants near the river 'Aram, Grañ then being at Suq Wizjiba (Wiz Gabāya). Gānz, Wāj, and Gābārgē were then occupied, and Grañ camped at Duj in Wāj. From there he went to Mt Jorāji (not the Joraji in Damot, but possibly the 'Mt Garagian' of NC 375 HDE to the NE of

Lake Zway); from here he sent a force to attack the Kambatta and Jitu beside Hadēyya (west of Lake Zway). Grañ himself moved into Gurage to finish Ramadhan (April–May 1532). The Muslims were next in Waṭmāt, 'Dawāro', Sari or Zari, Zamit, and Jorāji (Mt Garagian?). Here they came across the Ethiopian general Safu, who was attacked, but escaped by Zway of Zagbah near the Awaš to Angot, passing through Zan Zajora where there was a church built by Wäsän Säḡād, which the Muslims burnt. Grañ now left Jorāji (to which he had apparently returned after Ramadhan) and camped above Lake Zway, intending to invade the islands (to one of which Lēbnä Dēngēl is said (*PJ.* p. 436) to have sent many books for safe-keeping),<sup>1</sup> but was dissuaded by his men from so doing, and went instead to Hadēyya, where the *gārad* received him hospitably; and after five days he returned to Ayfārs. Subsequently he defeated the *gārad* of Bali and sent raiding parties as far afield as Wolamo, Suf Gamo, and Bāḥr Gamo, the people of which submitted to him, though they were only 'by convention' part of the Ethiopian kingdom. The two latter names possibly represent parts of the Gāmo country, and refer to Lakes Abāya and Čamo (NB 371 HCD, NB 374 HCD). Next, Damot was attacked, and Dāharāgot who was there fled into Gafat, where the people resisted him. The Muslims got as far as a place called Ṭēqur Wāha, the Tiqur river of d'Abbadie (*Géod.*, map 8) and the Tucur of NC 374 HDD west of Incinni. Lēbnä Dēngēl was at this time in Angot, where he was joined by Ras Näbiyat.

#### 4. The conquest of northern Ethiopia

The last stage of the conquest as described in the *Futūh* now begins. The whole of southern Ethiopia had been overrun, and Grañ assembled his troops at Däbrä Bērhan to make plans for the conquest of Tēgre, Begāmdēr, and Gojjam. This was about April 1533. A Muslim force was fighting in Gēddēmge (?Gēddēm), but with little success. Grañ left for Ḥayq 'above Wäsel', and went to Bašelu Azaf in Gojmah (p. 130 above).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>[On the manuscripts deposited on these islands see Isenberg and Krapf, *Journals*, p. 179, Harris, *Highlands*, III, 74, De Castro, *Nella Terra*, III, 319, and, on the lake area in general, Henze, *Ethiopian Journeys*, pp. 109–12. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>This place is called Abšelo Zaraf the first time it is mentioned (p. 130 above), the first element is probably the river-name Bāšēlo, which may thus give a clue to its position – somewhere near the Bāšēlo.

He then besieged Amba Gěšēn (described but not actually named) for two months; but being unable to take it he went north into Angot, where he prepared for the invasion of Tēgre, leaving his equipment in Qēda, the 'lost province' N of Lake Ašānge. He went to Lalibāla in Lasta (site of the rock-cut churches) and pillaged it, and on to a river Ḥarar where Lēbnā Dēngēl's niece was captured, with much baggage. He then returned to Qēda. Lēbnā Dēngēl, learning of this northward advance, sent Dagalhan to guard the road to Maḥqwah, which was presumably one of the passes on the route northwards, possibly the Mecam Pass of ND 375 HEU a little S of Corbetta. Grañ came to this place and reconnoitred the terrain. A battle was fought near 'the Church of Mary' (? the Betā Marya of *AJIB* 29 and the 'handsome Church of Our Lady' of Alvares, *PJ*, p. 183). Here a son was born to Dēl Wānbāra. Grañ then left for Qarqārā (Qorqora *AJIB*, 29, Addi Corcora *Guida*, map p. 304, the Corcora I of Alvares) a few miles N of Betā Marya, from where foraging parties were sent north-westwards into Šāhart and Abārgāle provinces. He then pressed on into Ēndārta and Tāmben, and, advancing to the north-east, defeated the *sēyum* of Agāme. His next camps were at Ar'adah and Amba Sānnayt (the Abacinete of Alvares, near Nabelei, ND 372 HFE), and he then came to Ḥasaru. While Grañ was ravaging Tēgre, Lēbnā Dēngēl came from Wagadā (i.e. Wāgāra N of Dāmbēya) to Aksum, took the great *tabot* from the Cathedral and carried it to Tabr in Sire. This was at the end of 1533. Grañ on learning of this, set out at once and came to Abba Gārīma (or Mādāra, a convent about 4 miles E of 'Adwa). Here he won another battle, and entered Aksum, about 18 miles to the west (ND 372 HFE) without further resistance. Here he heard that Lēbnā Dēngēl had gone to Makatter the ruler of Mazāga, the country west of Walqayt (ND 374 HFC/HER, ND 371 HAT/HAU). But almost immediately he received a letter from Makatter asking for help. He set off for Mazāga and camped at the convent of Abba Samu'el in Sire, which he burnt on 12 January 1534, continuing through Wālah (? meant for Walqayt), through the wilderness to Mazāga, where he met Makatter, at that time a very sick man. He stayed with him for six days, and married his daughter. He then went by way of Tahzi, a mountain in Mazāga, and camped at its foot. At this juncture Makatter died. Grañ then went south into

Dāmbēya and Ēnfraz (SE of Gondar) since he had heard that Lēbnā Dēngēl had retreated into Damot. He came to the Gumarā river (probably the southern Gumāra in Fogāra, NC 371 HEK) and crossed the Abbay into Gojjam, where he fought a battle in which the 'aqabe sā'at Nāgādā Iyāsus was killed. He spent a month in Gojjam and returned to Tēgre via Ḥayq and came back to Aksum. It was now 1535. Aksum was burnt and the Cathedral destroyed. Sārawe, the province N of Aksum, was then invaded, and the Muslims suffered some losses here; Addole was killed by Tāsfa Lē'ul in a skirmish. Grañ then returned to Abba Gārīma, Lēbnā Dēngēl being at this time in Wāfla, south of Lake Ašānge and many miles away. At this time, also, the Muslims in Wādla south of Lasta suffered a reverse. Grañ, angry at the death of Addole, set out in pursuit of Tāsfa Lē'ul and found him near Hallelo or Halle Luya, a convent about 20 miles NW of Aksum; in the ensuing battle Tāsfa Lē'ul was killed.

The Muslims stayed in Tēgre for a year – an unhappy period for them owing to plague, shortage of food, and lack of transport. Nevertheless they did a great deal of damage. Besides destroying Aksum, they burnt the convents of Hallelo, Bānkwal, Lāgaso, Dābrā Kārbe, and others, all in the Aksum region. Grañ eventually withdrew to Begāmdēr through Sire and Mazāga, after appointing three governors – of Sārawe, Bur, and Ḥamasen. On the way south he decided to invade Sāmen, the mountainous region between Wāgāra and the Tākkāzi, inhabited by the Fālaša,<sup>1</sup> who according to the *Futūh* were serfs of the people of Bahēr Amba in Šālāmt, near the confluence of the Atāba and Tākkāzi rivers, NC 375 HFE. These last he attacked and defeated. From here he went down to Wāgāra, leaving one of his men as governor. He also appointed governors to Darḥā (perhaps Dārḥa N of Afārāwānāt, NC 371 HED), Wāfla, and Kānfāt (Kinfaḥ, ND 375 HES Renfat S of Darasghie). He then came to Dāmbēya, built mosques, and divided the province between his companions, thinking that this was the country where he would like to live. Gālila Island in Lake Ṭana was invaded by means of rafts and the convent

<sup>1</sup>[On the history and culture of this people see R. L. Hess, 'An Outline of Falasha History,' *Proc. Third Conf. of Eth. Studies*, Addis Ababa, 1969–70, I, 99–112, and W. Leslau, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, Conn., 1951. I. 99–112. R.P.]

burnt on 19 March 1537. Here the 'first volume' of the *Futūh* ends.

The Ethiopian records of the last years of LĚbnä DĚngĚl's reign after the end of the *Futūh* are scanty. In 1537 the Muslims were in Dāwaro and Angot, and Grañ offered peace if LĚbnä DĚngĚl would give him his daughter in marriage. LĚbnä DĚngĚl refused, and Grañ intensified his attacks. On 7 April 1539 LĚbnä DĚngĚl's eldest son Fiqtor was killed at Zata in Wag by Emar, who then chased LĚbnä DĚngĚl to Säläwa and Šälämt, where he tried to take refuge on Mt ČĚlĚmfra but was driven out by the local *sĕyum* Iyorām. LĚbnä DĚngĚl then crossed the Tākkāzi and spent the wet season at Tābĕr (the list of *mĕkram*, p. 112 above says Ḥaya in Tĕgre). On 24 September 1539 LĚbnä DĚngĚl defeated a Muslim leader called Aḥmadin, but the Muslims overran Sire, burnt Mātbābila, and looted the church of Kĕbĕrto in Zana between the Fĕrfĕra and Tākkāzi rivers (NC 375 HFE). Mujāhid of Harar took Lāytigo in January 1540 and in February Amba Gĕšĕn was captured and looted, most of its inhabitants being massacred. LĚbnä DĚngĚl died on 2 September of the same year.

## II

### GÄLAWDEWOS AND MINAS

Soon after his accession on 2 September 1540 Gälawdewos son of LĚbnä DĚngĚl, in spite of his youth, went to Burkälo Mākāda and on 7 December 1540 made a surprise attack on a Muslim army and defeated it. He then went to Sämen, where he was received by the Agaw and by the people of Lāware (*HSD* 98 Lärwi), Ḥoša, and Šälämt. From Sämen he crossed the Tākkāzi into Sārd at Easter 1541 and defeated the Muslims again at Sālf on 24 April 1541. Thence he returned to Sämen. During this year Dom Cristovão da Gama arrived with a small Portuguese force in answer to an Ethiopian appeal for help. He and his men spent the wet season at Dĕbarwa. Grañ at this time was at Dārāsge in Sābra north of the Bälägāz river (ND 375 HES), from which he went to Tĕgre. On 25 March 1542 the Portuguese attacked him at Anāša in the territory of the Bahĕrnāgaš, but were unable to kill him. He then passed the wet season at Zābĕl (Zebul 15 miles SE of Alomata, ND 375 HEM), while the Portuguese were at Afla in Tĕgre (p. 77 above). In

October of the same year there was another battle, perhaps somewhere near Afla, in which the Portuguese leader Cristovão da Gama was captured. He was later put to death. Gälawdewos then returned to Sämen, and from there went to Šĕwada (between Ĕnĕĕtkāb and Wälqĕfit, *Gĕod.* map 3; ND 375 HES with village Sciuada), and on to Wägāra where he defeated the Muslims again. Next he raided Dārāsge, which Grañ had made his headquarters. Grañ himself went from Zābĕl to Dāmbĕya, and Gälawdewos to Wāyna Däg'a in western Begāmdĕr, SE of Gondar. Here, on the slope of Zantāra, a battle was fought on 11 February 1543 in which Grañ was killed. The Muslims fled, some to the Atbara, and those in Dāra were massacred. This was virtually the end of the war, and the Ethiopians occupied themselves in mopping-up operations of which there is no record. There was no further attempt at aggression by the Muslims for seventeen years. Nūr ibn Mujāhid of Harar, however, wanted to marry Dĕl Wānbāra, who agreed to accept him only if he killed Gälawdewos. He advanced into Christian Ethiopia in 1559, and killed Gälawdewos in battle on 23 March of that year, and cut off his head. Nūr appears to have then returned to Harar without further aggression. The body of Gälawdewos was buried at Tādbabā Maryam, about 70 miles W of Dessie, and his head, which was brought back by some traders three years later, was buried at Ĕnšāqya (Anšokiyā) in the tomb of St Gälawdewos.

Gälawdewos is said by his chronicle to have built a town in Wāj, and to have abandoned the custom of travelling from district to district as previous kings had done all through their reigns.

#### The ethnic composition of Grañ's armies

Aḥmad Grañ was, it has been said, a Somali,<sup>1</sup> and his headquarters were on the edge of the Somali country. There are several statements in the *Futūh* which make it clear that a large proportion of his troops were Somali, even if some of the names mentioned are not typically Somali. There may, indeed, have been (and no doubt were) members of southern 'Afar (Danakil)

<sup>1</sup>[There is, it should be emphasized, in fact no contemporary evidence as to Aḥmad Grañ's ethnic origins which are described, significantly, by I. M. Lewis in his *Modern History of Somaliland*, London, 1965, p. 26 as 'appropriately obscure.' R.P.]

tribes, but several Somali tribes are mentioned by name, and the country east of Ethiopia from Harar to the sea was Somali country.

On pp. 69–73 and 86 appear the names of some of the Somali tribes which Grañ summoned to join his army: Yibberri, Girri, Marehan, Habr Magadi, Zerba, Harti, Giran, Mazra. Some I cannot identify, but the Yibberri appear to be the people now called Yabarre; the Girri are perhaps the Baḥ Geri ('issue of Geri'), now divided into the Geri Jarso and Geri Babile since the arrival of the Galla. The Geri, Marehan, and Harti all belong to the Darod confederacy. The Giran perhaps represent the Jiron, of the Rahanwein group, who now live south of the Wäbi Šäbälle.

#### The reign of Minas

Gälawdewos, having no son, was succeeded by his brother Minas, who had been taken prisoner by Grañ's troops in 1538 and eventually ransomed. Minas was made king at Mängestä Sämayat (near Mängestu, SW of Däbrä Wärq, from which is derived the name of the mountainous region called Mängestä Sämayat, NC372 HDS Mangestu Mts), but he was persuaded to move to Šadda in Dämbëya (*Géod.* map 4 Tadda, S of Gondar, ND 374 HEK Tadda). According to his *Chronicle* (ed. Esteves Pereira) the *mēkram* of Minas were: first and second years, Šadda; third year, Ēnfraz; fourth year, Guba'e (on which see p. 142 below); fifth year, Wala Mäčät.

During his short reign Minas faced many difficulties. In 1559 he fought the Fälaša in Sämen, and in 1560 the disloyal Bahērnägaš Yēšhaq revolted. This man made 'emperor' Tāzkäro the illegitimate son of Minas's brother Ya'qob. Minas went to Wärwär in Lasta (the district in which Lalibäla is situated, ND 375 HEL) to investigate. Yēšhaq retreated to a place in Sire which Paez calls Adembo, possibly Dambaguinā (ND 375 HFD) where the route to Walqayt left the main route to Gondar. Here Minas defeated him, and returned south to fight the partisans of Tāzkäro whom he defeated at Guba'e on 2 July 1561 (Paez). Minas spent the wet season at Guba'e. Meanwhile Yēšhaq enlisted the help of Zemur the Turkish *baša* at Massawa, and made a second 'emperor', this time Marqos the infant brother of Tāzkäro. Minas went north, and was

defeated in Ēndārta by Yēšhaq. He then retired through Wag to Atronsä Maryam, where he made preparations for another attack on Yēšhaq. On his way northwards he was taken ill of fever and died at Kolo (perhaps the place of that name in the Amba Säl – Ḥayq area) on 1 February 1563.

#### The Galla infiltration

About 1522 the Galla<sup>1</sup> (Oromo) began to enter Ethiopia from the south-west. The history of their penetration of southern Ethiopia was written by an ecclesiastic named Bahrēy, who lived in Gämo, about 1593; it exists in two MSS, one at Vienna, the other in the British Museum (Oriental 534, bound up with a book entitled *Mäzmurä Krēstos or Psalterium Christi*, written at the end of XVI). The book, which occupies only three folios of about 8¾" × 5¾" in size, begins with the statement that 'Galla came from the west and crossed the river of his country, which is called Gäläna, to the frontier of Bali, in the time of the Ḥaše Wänag Sägäd [Lēbnä Dēngēl]'.<sup>2</sup> From Bahrēy's detailed account of the Galla age-sets (*luba*) it is possible to work out a chronology of this penetration, since the Galla political system was based on an organization in which each age-set formed the government for a period of eight years. From this information, the main stages of the Galla infiltration, checked by Ethiopian records, appear to have been as follows:

1522 They crossed the Gäläna river into Bali. This is one of the three rivers in the south called Gäläna: Gäläna Dule which flows into Lake Stefanie; or Gäläna Sägän a tributary of the Dule; or Gäläna which enters Lake Abäya. *Gäläna* is a Galla word for 'river' and appears to be used here in the same way that 'Wäbi', 'the river', is used for the Wäbi Šäbälle.

<sup>1</sup>[On the Galla, or Oromo, see also E. Haberland, *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens*, Stuttgart, 1963. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>Bahrēy treated Galla as a person, though he meant the whole people; consequently he put all the verbs referring to 'Galla' in the third person singular.

On the history and ethnology of the Galla see *SRE*, pp. 111–29, 205–12; and my *Galla of Ethiopia* (Ethnographical Survey of Africa), which summarizes information on the Galla existing up to 1955 (esp. pp. 41–53). [For later works see the Bibliography in the present volume, and especially the writings of E. Haberland, 1963, H. S. Lewis, 1966, E. R. Turton, 1975, L. Bartels, 1983, Mohammed Hassen, 1983, and bibliography of M.-C. Peltier-Charrier and M. Abeles, 1978.R.P.]

1559 They defeated Nūr ibn Mujāhid after he had killed Gālawdewos.

1573 They were defeated by Sārṣä Dĕngĕl near Lake Zway.

1588 They had by now entered Gojjam.

Once they had entered Gojjam, the Galla spread gradually over a large part of Ethiopia, not causing the same physical destruction as that wrought by the Muslims, but with a more permanent effect. It is due to the Galla that in many districts the older place-names have disappeared and been replaced by Galla names; from this comes part of the difficulty in identifying names in documents referring to events before the last quarter or end of XVI. The final extent of Galla settlement was the whole of Shoa, eastern Amhara to the Bāšĕlo, extending north-eastwards into Angot, Wāfla, and Doba, the northernmost being the Raya (Azābo) some 50 miles NE of Lake Ašānge. On the west they occupied the whole of Gafat and Damot, driving the inhabitants across the Abbay and causing the names of these two regions to be shifted across the river likewise; and also the whole of what is now called Wälläga. On the east, they settled in the Harar uplands as far as Ḥarar, going southwards to include the entire basin of the Wābi Šābĕlle east of the chain of Lakes Zway, Awāsa, Abāya, etc., as far as the Ganale Doria and the Somali frontier on the east. One of the problems of this expansion is the date when Damot and Gafat were moved across the Abbay. The records do not give much in the way of clues, yet the time of the change is important. (See p. 143 below.)

## VI THE REIGN OF SĀRṢÄ DĚNGĚL 1563–97

### I

SĀRṢÄ DĚNGĚL succeeded his father Minas at the age of thirteen and a half. His reign was much disturbed by rebellions and wars. He was faced with three revolts by his own subjects, that of his cousin Ḥamālmal in 1563, that of Fasil, another cousin, in 1565, and that of Bahĕrnāgaš Yĕšḥaq in 1575. Throughout the remainder of his reign he was engaged in wars with rebellious subject peoples and with the Galla. For the purposes of geographical study the reign may be divided into two periods: (A) from 1563 to 1578, to which belong a number of 'episodes' all of which took place in the south; and (B) from 1578 to 1597 during which he undertook nine expeditions in various parts of the kingdom. It also fell to Sārṣä Dĕngĕl to begin serious, but eventually unavailing, resistance to the encroachments of the Galla.

(A) 1563 to 1578

Episode 1. 1563. (*HSD*. pp. 12–17.)

This concerned the escape of the king's brothers from Ḥamālmal and Yĕšḥaq at the very beginning of the reign. They were taken secretly from their refuge in the home of the king's grandmother Säblä Wāngel at the foot of Māngĕstä Sāmayat, 'the kingdom of Heaven', a range in eastern Gojjam (NC 372 HDS Mangestu Mts), some fifty miles or more (according to the route taken) from the river Abāya, a tributary of the Abbay (at this period called Abbawi). The text says that they went to the Abbawi, where they were met by two monks from Dima near Māngĕstä Sāmayat, and that they crossed the Abbawi after some opposition and went on to Šĕlalo. This is clearly a mistake, and the chronicler must have meant Abāya for Abbawi – and this suggests that by now the main river was getting to be called Abbay – for otherwise they would have had to cross the Abbawi-Abbay twice, and only one crossing is mentioned. From Šĕlalo (NC 371 HED Zalala, 15 miles NW of Moṭa) they

went to Sēhla, probably somewhere west of Šēlalo, and thence to two rivers Roma and Mādärsēma, from which they came to Säbrad. All these places were within Gojjam, and possibly within a radius of twelve miles of Coreng,<sup>1</sup> NC 371 HED 0158; Säbrad seems to have been somewhere near Gwahgwahta (NC 371 HEC Guaguata, 7 miles SW of Bahër Dar).

Episode 2. end of 1566. (*HSD*. pp 39–43.)

This was during the rebellion of Fasilo. The king went to Qwärä'ab, perhaps the Quarib W of Moṭa shown on NC 371 HED and *Géod.* map. 5. Fasilo and Tāklo, the two leaders of the rebellion, met at Gwahgwahta, and Fasilo went on to Säbrad. After this there was a battle in Ēndägäbtän between Fasilo and the king. Fasilo then went through Gënd Bärät (between the Mugär and Gudär rivers S of the Abbay, NC 374 HDK Ghindeberat) and Gojjam to Wädla, where he was captured by some of the king's men.

Episode 3. 1567–9. (*HSD*. pp. 43–8)

The king went to Beräbabo in Gafat to fight the Gafat. He returned to Qwärä'ab and from there set out for Däbänawi in Damot, where he sent for Sēpēhi the *šum* of Ēnarya. He went further south on a punitive expedition against the Boša or Gäro, whose country is in SE Jimma, between the Gojjēb and Omo rivers (NB 371 HCR Mt. Garo). Ēnarya was an ancient state west of the branch of the Gibe known as Gibe Ēnarya. In the time of Yēšṣaq it was tributary to Ethiopia, paying its dues in gold (p. 94 above). It was ruled by a governor appointed by the king of Ethiopia. The *šum* of this episode, Sēpēhi, known to the Kafa as Šipenao, acquired legendary fame as a Christian wonder-worker, though he was in fact a pagan. (See *SRE*. p. lix.) After Šaršä Dēngēl's day the Galla overran Ēnarya, and it became one of the small Galla monarchies of the Gibe region.

Having settled the Boša, the king returned for the rains to Bädēl Nēb, somewhere in Damot, though the name is that of a regiment of the time of Zär'a Ya'qob (*CZ*. 45). From there he attacked and defeated Aze the treacherous governor of Hadēyya, and spent Easter in that country.

<sup>1</sup>Coreng is a place of no intrinsic importance, but is chosen as a convenient reference point.

Episode 4. 1574. (*HSD*. pp. 53–4)

Returning from his wet-season quarters in Bizamo, on his way to Shoa the king heard that the Galla were pillaging the *qwälla* of Zēma. The Qwērbān regiment was sent to attack them, and defeated them on the slope of Zāma. Zēma may be the place called Zemie on NC 374 HDK (*Géod.* map 7 Zame Giyorgis) 5 miles N of the Abbay and roughly equi-distant from the confluences with the Abbay of the Gudär and Mugär rivers; the topography here seems to fit the narrative. Whatever the true reading of the name, Zēma or Zāma, it is clear from the expression 'aqäbä žāma 'the slope of Zāma', that the reference is not to a river.

The king then went into Gojjam and thence to Dämbēya through Bäd and Qwēnzēla. Bäd is the area at the SW corner of Lake Ṭana west of the Little Abbay (shown on Holland and Hozier's map). Qwēnzēla is the Qanzila of PC 30, the Kuanzala of *Géod.* map 5, and the Cansela of NC 371 HEJ near the lake shore some 10 miles ESE of Alēfa in Wändge. Having reached this part, the king spent the wet season at Ṭaqwēsa, the Taquisa of *Géod.* map 4, and the Tacussa of *Guida* and ND 374 HEJ, a district on the west side of Lake Ṭana.

Episode 5. 1576–7. (*HSD*. pp. 57–60)

The king, being in Gojjam, went to Fēlhambo [v.l. Fēlhēmba] and Šērka in Wäj (somewhere N of Lake Zway) on his way to fight Mäḥammäd king of Adal, whom he found beyond the Wäbi. Having dealt with him, Šaršä Dēngēl spent the wet season at Abäžägay<sup>1</sup> in Damot, whence he returned to Säbrad in Gojjam. The Wäbi of this episode may have been that Wäbi which rises in Gurage (NC 375 HDD) and joins the Omo NE of Abälti, for 'wäbi' is a local word meaning 'river'. It is true that the word is applied to the Wäbi Šäbēlle as 'the river', but that river is too far away to fit the context. Abäžägay, the Abexgaj of Almeida, was near and NW of Abälti, and some 30 miles WNW of Ēndēbēr, in square HDC or HDD of NC 374.

<sup>1</sup>PC 24, however, says at Zāhon Dur, probably the Daḥondur of the *Futūh*, on which see above, p. 128.

Episode 6. 1577. (*HSD*. pp. 61–3)

The king, being at Säbrad, decided to attack the Galla in the land of the Maya in the valley of the Mäjo (Moggio) in Wäj. (These are the El-Mäyā of Waj who occur in the *Futūḥ*). He spent Easter at Azamēr, and having collected the *čäwa* of Bali, Šērka, Ar'ēñ, Wäj, Shoa, and Damot, he went to Sarka in Gojjam (Almeida Cerca, Sercâ, NW of Qwäläla and Šēlalo NC 371 HED), and thence to Dārha (Dära N of Afärāwänät E of the Abbay, NC 371 HED Aferewanat). Learning that the Galla were ravaging Dämbēya he went northwards and defeated them (the Abati Galla, according to *PC*) at Wäyna Däg'a. He then went to Guba'e for the wet season. This place was near Ĕmfraz, and probably the place later called Guzära<sup>1</sup> (ND 374 HEK Gazara, *Géod.* map 4 Guzara) where there are the ruins of a palace built by Säršä Dēngěl (plan and drawing in Monti della Corte, *Gondar*, pp. 107–8; *Guida*, p. 380).

Among other names which occur during the period 1563–78 are the following:

Alat (1564, *HSD*. pp. 26, 30): described as being in Mugär (p. 30) and Ĕndägäbṭän (p. 26); possibly the Alat of *CZ*. 90 which seems to have been somewhere in this region.

Angäräb (1571, *HSD*. p. 51): there are two rivers of this name, the main Angäräb, a tributary of the Atbara, which rises a long way north of Gondar, and the smaller Angäräb which rises a few miles N of Gondar and flows E of the town towards the south to join the Mägäč which enters Lake Ṭana E of Gorgora. It is the smaller Angäräb which occurs here. There is no connexion between the two rivers.

Däbrä Wärq (1563, *HSD*. p. 8): 15 miles WNW of Biccena (Bičāna, Bajāna), NC 372 HDS, in eastern Gojjam.

Ĕnäjäla and Ĕnäžan (1564, *HSD* pp. 18, 19): both in Gojjam; the first might be a miswriting for Ĕnägäla.

Ĕndägäbṭän (1563, *HSD*. p. 9): one of the 'provinces' of 'Amdä Šeyon's kingdom; a district not shown on the GSGS maps, though it seems to have been between the Mugär and Jämma rivers along the south side of the Abbay; the map in Doresse, *L'Empire du Prêtre-Jean*, shows it south of the Mugär. The *Futūḥ* notes that the Awaš rises in Andagabṭan.

<sup>1</sup>[On Guzära see G. Annequin, 'Chateau de Gouzara', *AE*, 1965, VI, pp. 22–5. R.P.]

Qäñi'e (1564, *HSD*. p. 18): appears to have been in Gojjam, and is not the same as Qäñē'e in Gämbo.

Šäm'a (1563, *HSD*. p. 7): another name for this was Dängors or Dängwärs (Per. Sus. 62). Beke shows Mt Dangwurs about 10 miles NW of Däbrä Tabor, which would place it somewhere between the river Rēb and the district of Wēdo (near Aringo), in square HEK of NC 371, though not shown there.

Zēbe (1566, *HSD*. p. 38): the great Gibe river. The Gibe river system is somewhat complex. The main or great Gibe rises near Harätu on the west of the Čomän Swamp. About 55 miles S of Harätu near Sogido it is joined by another river called the Gibe Ĕnarya, and some 30 miles SE from this junction it is reinforced by the Gibe Jimma, the last two taking their attributes from the states through which they flow, and both of them flow northwards to the main river. The three united rivers – the great Gibe – meet the Omo about 7 miles NE of Abälti, where the Omo is joined by yet another river, called Wabi on the maps, coming from Hadēyya (not the Gurage Wäbi).

At the end of chapter V reference was made to the shift of both the population and names of Damot and Gafat from the south to the north side of the Abbay. It is impossible to be precise about the date of this, because the records do not say, in so many words, that it took place. However, it was clearly spread over a number of years. Almeida, who wrote about 1630, says that Damot was south of the Abbay and shows it thus on his map, though he may have been giving the situation as it had been in the previous century. Such evidence as can be extracted from the *HSD* suggests that the name Damot was applied in Säršä Dēngěl's time to both the north and south sides of the Abbay; e.g. in 1574 the king went to Damot and chose a place in Bizamo for his *mēkram* (p. 52), and in 1586 he went from the Abbawi to Damot and came to Mawa where he met the *šum* of Ĕnarya (p. 136). It is clear therefore that 'Damot' was still used for the country south of the Abbay. And in 1564 the sending of a punitive force to the Gafat from Alat on the south side of the Abbay (p. 30) suggests that there were still Gafat south of the Abbay at that time. But by the beginning of XVII, when Susnēyos became king in 1606, the transfer seems to have been more or less complete. Almeida's account of Damot would therefore seem to be retrospective. He mentions, as an example of the mixture of races and languages,

that in Gojjam 'within a short distance, are found one village of Damotes, another of Gafates, another of Xaoâs, another of Xeites, another of Xates' (*SRE*. p. 56).

#### The name Abbawi/Abbay

Most of the manuscripts of the chronicles up to 1769, including the XVIII texts of the abbreviated Chronicles such as *PC*, use the form Abbawi<sup>1</sup>, though those of Iyasu II have Abbay = (*III*. pp. 86, 121 text, referring to the years 1738–9 and 1745–6). The Portuguese authors use the form Abaoi (Paez) and Abâuy (Almeida); Ludolf, too, gives consistently the form Abbawi as that used by his informant Gregory. The modern form is Abbay,<sup>2</sup> but the date of the general adoption of this form is uncertain. However, as suggested above (p. 139) the apparent mistake of Abbawi for Abäya made in *HSD*. (p. 71 text) could be taken as evidence that the change had begun by then, the writer having confused the tributary Abäya with the main river Abbay-Abbawi. It is possible, too, that the writers of the chronicles preferred to use an archaic or obsolescent form as being a more dignified name for 'the father of rivers'.

#### (B) 1578 to 1597

##### 1. The first Northern Expedition, 1578

The occasion for this was the revolt of the disloyal Bahörnägaš Yēšhaq. So far as I can work out the rather complicated cat-and-mouse movements of the campaign, it seems to have gone in the following manner. Šäršä Dēngĕl went from Wäyna Däg'a to Wag and thence to the Aksum region via 'Ad Hasäro in Täm̄ben. Yēšhaq was at Šäfšäf in Yaḥa (Yeḥa, the Mt Hica of *Géod*. map 4, 20 miles NE of Aksum, *Guida* Ieca, grid reference ND 372 HFE 6171). The king came up to Angäba in Šēdyä (Mariam Tzadia 15 miles NE of 'Adwa, ND 372 HFE, *Guida*, E. Mariam Tzadia), whereupon Yēšhaq moved to Mäzbĕr, 15 miles NE of 'Adwa (Cecchi, Mazbir; *Guida*, Mesaber, near Endaga Robo ND 372 HFE). The king went on to Da'räka, which must have been somewhere near Mäzbĕr, and Yēšhaq

<sup>1</sup>Guidi's translation in *CSCO*, however has the form Abay, though the MSS have Abbawi throughout.

<sup>2</sup>[This is in fact the form used by Gregory in a letter of 1650. See Flemming, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 65, 94. R.P.]

moved to the 'Ēngwĕya river (ND 372 HFL Unguia, and some 10–15 miles NE of Yeḥa), and soon after to the Bäläsa north of the 'Ēngwĕya, another tributary of the Mārāb. The king then advanced to the Bäläsa, and Yēšhaq left for the Mārāb, coming back when the king moved away to Yaḥa. Yēšhaq and his Turkish allies then camped at Mämän in Ēgäla (probably on the river Mämän, shown on *Géod*. map 4 as being N of Igala Daq Azmay, some 60 miles NE of 'Adwa). The king then left Yaḥa for Mugärya Šämĕr, a district NE of 'Adwa (*Géod*. map 4 Magala Zamri *Guida*, Meḡaria Zemri), and found Yēšhaq and the Turks camped at Ēntä Šew (Enticcio ND 372 HFE). He camped at May Kĕl Baḥra (*Guida*, p. 70 Chelbahra, a little S of Enticcio), and somewhere a battle was fought in which the Turks were routed and Yēšhaq and the Turkish *baša* killed. This was at the end of 1597.

Having thus suppressed the revolt of Yēšhaq, the king went to 'Addi Qoro and thence to Dĕbarwa 20 miles SW of Asmara (ND 372 HDS Debaroa), the headquarters of the Bahörnägaš, where there was a Turkish garrison which surrendered on his approach, and fired a salute with their canons,<sup>1</sup> after which the king ordered the destruction of the town's defences and the mosque. He then went by way of Rĕba Säwit in Bänkwäl (*Guida* Bonguel about 7 miles WNW of Aksum, where there was a monastery) and Dĕbura (*Géod*. map 2, Daḅara 3½ miles W of Aksum), and made a ceremonial entry into Aksum on 10 January 1580 to perform the ceremony of anointing (coronation). He then returned to Guba'e by Šĕmbĕla and Wäyna Däg'a.

##### 2. The first and second Fälaša Wars, 1580 and 1585

When the wet season was finished, Šäršä Dēngĕl left Guba'e for Sämen on 2 September 1580 by way of Kossoge (14 miles NE of Gondar, ND 374 HES) to make war on the Fälaša chief Kalef. He went to Käm̄bi, a place on the frontier of Wägära and Šĕwada, a district between Ēnčĕtkäb and Wälqĕfit (*Géod*. map 3; ND 375 HES Sciuada), and on to Lärwi and Šaroša. He then defeated Kalef in what the chronicle calls the cold

<sup>1</sup>[This fusillade established a custom which was to continue for several centuries. See R.K.P. Pankhurst, 'The Role of Firearms in Ethiopian Culture.', *JAS*, 1977, XLVII, Part 2, 1977, pp. 132–3. R.P.]

*däg'a*, possibly the Bwähit region (ND 375 HES) which rises to over 13,000 feet, and near Amba Šäkäna. He then went on to attack Rāda'i the brother of Kalef, by way of the Māšäka river near Sägänät Amba (HD 375 HES Segonet), and captured Wārḳ Amba in the same region. The *amba* of Rāda'i was then ritually cleansed. The king returned by way of Aqāta (ND 375 HES Acheta SE of Derasghie), the Māšäka river, and Kossoge to Guba'e.

The second Fālaša war, caused by the invasion of Wägära by Gušēn or Gwāšän the Fālaša chief took place in 1585 in the same area.

### 3. The first and second Agāwmēdr Expeditions, 1581 and 1585

The Agaw, a Cushitic people of whom the Fālaša (although they practise the Jewish religion) are a branch, were antagonistic to the Ethiopian state, and a target for attack because they were not Christians. There were also other peoples antagonistic to the Ethiopians living in the country W and SW of Lake Ṭana, loosely called Agāwmēdr, 'Agaw Land', namely the Gafat, and the Šanqēla (Shangalla or negroes) – who were often the objects of attack. In 1581 Šaršä Dēngēl made his expedition to Agāwmēdr, starting from Guba'e and travelling along the north side of the lake to ravage the country of the Bäläya (v.l. Bälēya) who had hitherto been left alone, though Grañ had made an unsuccessful raid on them. The route was through Ṭaqwēsa (ND 374 HEJ Tacussa), Ačäfär after crossing a *bäräha*, or wilderness (NC 371 HEB Acefer), Wämbärya (Gafat country W of the Dura river in NC 371 HEB/HDP), to Bäläya (NC 371 HEB Belaia, with Sciangalla [Šanqēla] marked immediately to the south). Then he went on to Hankaša near Banja and Ēnjäbära NC 371 HEC]. Thence he returned to Guba'e; the route is not given.

In 1585 he made a second expedition to Agāwmēdr, starting from Guba'e along the north side of the lake to a place called Bidī and thence to Bäläya, Ačäfär, and Wämbärya, then across the Dura river in Šanqēla country (in square HDP, NC 371) and on to Hankaša, returning to Guba'e.

Some of the names in this area are tribal designations which

have been applied to districts and become place-names, such as Bäläya and Hankaša.

### 4. The first Ēnarya Expedition, 1586

This expedition was primarily a peaceful one. The king's objective was the conversion of Bädänčo, the loyal chief of Ēnarya, whose father Lä'asonhi the successor to Šēpēnhi (Episode 3) had been a Christian. He set out from Guba'e by way of Wēdo near Aringo (*Géod.* map 4), Dārha (Dära N of Afärāwanat) and Nanina to Wäsän Amba. Nanina was four stages from the Abbawi, and is shown on Almeida's map as Nāninā, SW of Serca (Sarka between Qwäläla and Däbrä May, NC 371 HED Collela, HEC Debra Mai), and somewhere in the area E or SE of Dangēla (NC 371 HEC Danghila). Wäsän Amba, 'frontier fortress', was four days S of Nanina/Dangēla, and perhaps between Bure and the Zingini river on the Agaw frontier (NC 371 HDR). Here he was met by the queen mother who came from her own *amba* and returned to it after four days. The king went on to Wänča on or near the Abbawi (perhaps near the ford now callad Mälka Säyṭana (NC 371 HDR M<sup>ca</sup> Saitana) SSW of Dämbača), where he learnt that the Galla were devastating Gojjam. He went back to the queen's *amba* which he reached after a march of three days; this *amba* cannot therefore have been at Mängēstä Sämayat, which is too far away to reach in three days. He defeated the Galla, and set out again on his journey to Damot, reaching Mawa in two months. Mawa seems to be the Mt Mowa of *Géod.* map 7 just S of Harätu and W of the Čoman Swamp (NC 374 HDJ Cioman Swamp), and less than 70 miles from the Abbawi. The explanation for the length of his journey – two months – seems to be that before beginning the conversion of the people of Ēnarya, he made a diversion to the Šat country, where the inhabitants, who are described as Gafat (*HSD.* p. 136), resisted him, and were forced into submission, after which they were converted from fear of the king's further wrath. Šat was somewhere E of Bizamo. At Mawa the king met Bädänčo, and a spectacular large-scale baptism took place. Bädänčo, his mistress, a military commander and his men, and many others were baptized, and the worship of the vulture was suppressed.

Having completed his work here the king went to Abäzägay,

near to and NW of Abälti, and about 30 miles WNW of Ęndĕbĕr (in square HDC or HDD on NC 374). From here he went to Wäj to fight the Galla. He came to Sef Bär and defeated the Jawi or Dawe Galla. Thence he returned through Begämdĕr to Guba'e.

#### 5. The second Northern Expedition, 1588

This was a punitive expedition against the Turks who had made a surprise attack on Dāharāgot the Tĕgre Mākwännĕn and Bahĕrnāgaš at Dĕbarwa, routing Dāharāgot and killing the *aqāšān* of Sārawe and the *kāntiḃa* of Ḥamasen. They had also tried to raid as far south as Ędda Mākwännĕn (*Guida* map p. 304 Enda Meconni between Gutba Hairat and Fingalat ND 375 HEU), though they did not succeed in getting further than Māzbĕr, as the people of the country dispersed them, and they retired to Dākāno (Arqīqo). The king set out by way of Lāmalmo and Sire, going first to Aksum and then to Dākāno through Mugārya Šāmĕr, and from Dākāno to Dĕbarwa via Bizān. On the fifth day from Dākāno he reached Dĕrfo 17 miles E of Asmara (*Guida*, p. 195) whence he went to 'Ad Nā'ammĕn 20 miles NW of Asmara (ND 372 HFT) opposite the *amba* of a rebel named Wād Ęzum (Wāldā Ęzum), which might be the place called Macaber Ebni (ND 372 HFT, altitude 7508 feet). Here his men pillaged the countryside, and the king fought and killed Wād Ęzum. He then went to Dĕbarwa. The Turkish *baša* submitted, and the king went on to Hĕmbĕrt (14 miles NW of Dĕbarwa, ND 372 HFL Himberti), then back to Dĕbarwa, from which he set out on his return journey to Guba'e, reaching Sire in seven stages, and crossing the Tākkāzi at May Ṭĕmqāt (ND 375 HFD Mai Timchet) if, as is possible, he was following the route of the 'grande caravane' described by d'Abbadie (*Géogr.* sect. 97).

#### 6. The Gāmbo Expedition, 1590

Having transferred his headquarters from Guba'e to 'Ayba<sup>1</sup> (ND 374 HEK Aiva 7 miles E of Gondar; *Géod.* map. 4 Ayba), he set out for the Gāmbo country on a punitive expedition to avenge the Christian blood which had been shed there. Travel-

<sup>1</sup>[On 'Ayba see R. Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 100, R.P.]

ling through Guba'e and Dārha he came to Gāmbo, which is the country immediately W of the Čoman Swamp (*Géod.* maps 7, 8), along the whole of the western side. In it is Harātu (NC 374 HDJ). Thence he went to Qāñĕ'e on the Gāmbo frontier, which must have been at the south end of the swamp. From here he went to the Agwĕl (v.l. Hagwĕl) river which rises N of the Čoman Swamp and flows northwards into the Abbawi; it is the Agul of *Géod.* map 7, and seems to be the Fingiar of NC 374 HDJ; though west of the Fingiar, NC 374 marks a district Agulla. Over this river the king had a bridge built. The chronicler notes that in this area a Gāmbo was seen 'cutting *hĕnsāt* which is the food of the Gafat' (*HSD.* p. 160); this is *ensete edulis*. From the Agwĕl he went westwards to Bizamo; and at this point the chronicle ends.

#### 7. The last expedition: the second to Ęnarya, 1596

Though missing from HSD, a short summary of this expedition, without topographical details, is contained in some manuscripts of the Abbreviated Chronicle, not however in that edited by Basset, who used BN. Ęth. 105 as his text. What follows here is from Cambridge MS. Oriental 1873. The king went down to Ęnarya and introduced Christianity. And in the 34th year [of his reign, 1596] king Šaršä Dĕngĕl made an attempt to take Mĕdrā Damot 'Abiy, 'the land of Great Damot', which is the land of Gibe. And monks came to warn him not to go to the Māča [this is the group-name of the Galla of this area] because it would be bad for him. But he said that he would go, and was then warned that if he went, he should not eat fish from a certain river [not named]. Then he went on to fight the Boran [the name of the western Galla as a whole], and he came to that river, and forgot the words of those monks and ate fish; and he became ill with *fāšānt* (dysentery or food-poisoning), and was carried on a litter. And on the return journey he died in the land of Šat, in the 34th year [of his reign], in the 8th month, and on the 4th day [4 October 1597].

## II MĔKRAM OF ŠARŠÄ DĚNGĚL

1564 Alat (see above, p. 142).

1565 Ṭāzo in Wäj.

- 1566 Mawa, among the Barya of Damot.  
 1567 Qwärrä'ab.  
 1568 Bäděl Nēb in Damot.  
 1569 in Hadēyya.  
 1570 Sef Bär in Wäj.  
 1571 Gënd Bärät.  
 1572 Gënd Bärät.  
 1573 Gënd Bärät.  
 1574 Bizamo.  
 1575 Taqwēsa.  
 1576 Guba'e?  
 1577 Abäžägay.  
 1578 Guba'e.  
 1579 in Dämbēya?  
 1580 in Ačäfär.  
 1581–1585 no record.  
 1586 Guba'e.  
 1587 Guba'e.  
 1588 Guba'e.  
 1589 Guba'e.  
 1590 Ayba.  
 1591 Ayba.  
 1592 Ayba.  
 1593–1597 no record.

VII  
 THE REIGN OF SUSNĚYOS  
 1606–32

I

AFTER the death of Šärša Dēngěl in 1597, his son Ya'qob, aged seven years, was chosen king, although his mother was only one of the king's concubines, named Harägo. When he had been on the throne for six years under the care of Ras Atēnatewos, Ya'qob quarrelled with his minister and dismissed him. Atēnatewos was succeeded by Zä Sēllase who, with the help of the troops, deposed Ya'qob, banished him to Ēnarya, and replaced him by his cousin Zä Dēngěl, the son of Šärša Dēngěl's brother Lēsanä Krēstos. This was in 1604. Zä Dēngěl, also very young, was unpopular, and there was a party which favoured Susnēyos, another great grandson of Lēbnä Dēngěl. Zä Dēngěl reigned for less than a year, and towards the end of 1604 Ya'qob was brought back from exile and reinstated on the throne by Zä Sēllase. Susnēyos and his party, however, were waiting for their chance, and, after defeating Zä Sēllase, defeated and killed Ya'qob in a battle at Gol in 1606. Susnēyos then succeeded to the throne.

II

The Chronicle of Susnēyos is very rich in topographical matter, and it has seemed best to take it chapter by chapter. The narrative begins before the king's accession, and the first twenty-seven chapters refer to this period from 1597 to 1606. ([C] = identifications by de Chaurand, *Carta Dimostrativa dell'Etio-  
 tiopia* (1894–5), cited by Esteves Pereira.)

Chapter 1

Susnēyos was sent to Gojjam, where Admas Mogäsa the widow of Minas, had an estate at Dägen. Here he was instructed in

'the doctrine of the holy books' (Paez),<sup>1</sup> and later on, at an estate belonging to his father Fasilädäs, he learnt to hunt and bear arms. Dägen is in Yēnäč 20–25 miles NW of Däbrä Wärq (*Géod.* 6 Ynac). Fasilädäs's estate consisted of small parcels of land called Däbet, Şiq, Abara, and Gomamit. Däbet is about 15 miles W of Bičäna (NC 372 HDS Debet; *Géod.* 6 Dabet maḏhane 'alam), and some 25 miles from Dägen; the others were in the same area.

### Chapter 5

The Galla now invaded Wäläqa. They belonged to the group called Kono by Bahrëy (chap. 1; Paez has Dekono = 'of Kono'). When they reached a *hambo* (salt spring) called Şėja Zor near the confluence of the Sädäy and Abbay rivers (grid ref. NC 372 HED 4535) they found that the imperial forces waiting to deal with them were led by Susnëyos, who had previously been among them in exile. They showed him much respect, and he went with them, first to a monastery called Qwa'at (cf. p. 72 above) near Şälalo and the river Sädäy [C], and then to Şälalo. From there he went to Fëyäl Şaf, a district near Şälalo, and thence to Dabrä Libanos.

### Chapter 6

Susnëyos was now at Sarka in Gojjam, where there were two districts called Yäwädi and Gafit, and a small lake called Gädäma. In this area were the headquarters of Ras Atēnatewos and Ras Së'älä Krëstos the brother of Susnëyos. Sarka was a few miles NW of Şälalo; and at Angän, according to Tellez (*Hist. Geral de Ethiop. a alta*, 1660, Bk. IV, chap. 30) Së'älä Krëstos had built a stone church in 1625; this place may be the Angar of NC 371 HED, S of the river Tuol and about 15 miles NNW of Şälalo. Yäwädi is probably the same as the Awädi associated with Gänj in *III*. p. 144, Gänj, Gonj, or

<sup>1</sup>Paez (d. 1622) summarized a history of Susnëyos ending in 1619 from an Ethiopic book by Zä Sëllase, known as Tino; but this is not the same text as that edited and translated by Esteves Pereira from Bodl. Bruce 89, also written during the reign of Susnëyos. This summary ends at a point corresponding to Chap. 53 of Per. Sus. [The chronicle published by Esteves Pereira states, in Chap. 53, that it was written by one Täklä Sëllase who was nicknamed Tino by the Galla because of his small height. He is later referred to, in Chap. 76, as Şähafä Tāzaz, or royal historiographer, R.P.]

Gwänj, being the Gonj of Beke, the Ganj of Cheesman, and the Gheng of NC 371 HED, a district between Däbrä May and the Abbay above Tis Ēsat; it is called Gänž in Chap. 40. Gafit, then, must be the Gafat of NC 371 HEC some 5 miles N of Däbrä May. The position of Lake Gädäma, mentioned also in chapters 22, 23, and 39, is defined as being in Gonj, on the way from Läg to Şälalo via Sarka, the river Abya (= Abäya), and Buda. This lake cannot therefore be either Dën Bär or Quşër Bär which are further west and not in Gonj. From Sarka, Susnëyos went to Gomamit.

### Chapter 8 (1598)

Having burnt the *amba* of Däbrä Şēmuna, where there was a convent (Beke, Debra Timona E of Dima [NC 372 HDS], and N of a river which Beke calls Gadd, perhaps the Şita, NC 372 HDS Scita), Susnëyos went to the district of Dära in Wäläqa, the Derra of Beke and NC 372 HDT; the latter shows tracks from Biccena (Bičäna) 8 miles S of Dima which cross the Abbay at NC 372 HDT 0843 and 0623 respectively. After Easter he was at Yäsäba, where there was grazing for his horses. From here he crossed the Jamma going towards Mugär and came to a place called Şälalo (obviously not that in Gojjam), thence to Amba Tëta near the confluence of the Jamma with the Abbay [C], and back into Wäläqa. Being now the wet season, he went first to Däbrä Libanos and from there to a place called Ēnerma where there was a big cave in which he spent the wet season in great discomfort owing to a noisy waterfall.

### Chapter 9

From Ēnerma, Susnëyos went to Särmat in Upper Shoa, between Däbrä Bërhan and Säno, where the people, including the Galla, submitted to him. He made his headquarters at Ēnžar on the left bank of the river Kässäm, whence he set out to devastate the district (*hagär*) of Bädäbäj near Amba Somsa. The position of Bädäbäj can be fixed approximately by other references in this Chronicle. In chapter 70 it is associated with Märha Bete, the province between the Wänčët and Adäbay rivers, and some 70 miles NW of Särmat; and in chapter 73 with

Tamo,<sup>1</sup> Kwärira, and Tęqa Mäga. In chapter 70 the impostor Qębręyal is said to have gone from Qäräqär Lame to encircle the *amba* of Bädäbäj, and to have travelled from Bädäbäj to the Wänčęt. There is a place marked as Badaso on NC 372 HDT on the left bank of the Adäbay some 10 miles S of the Wänčęt (NC 372 HDT Uacit), and opposite Tamo on the right bank of the Adäbay. It is likely, from these indications, that Badaso is meant for Bädäbäj, and Amba Somsa could be the Cacim Amba of NC 372 HDT.

#### Chapters 10–11

After this, Susnęyos crossed the Kässäm from Ęnžar, fought an indecisive battle with Bę'ęlä Kręstos, aided by his Galla friends, and went to Hangätamo between the Kässäm and Sälala, which might be the district of Salale [C] E of Däbrä Libanos (NC 375 HDK) and the Šęlalęš of earlier times. Here he was met by two men, a Galla and a man from the village of Mäkęt. He then went to a district of Gęnd Bärät called Wate, to the Gafat areas of Abädray and Beräbabo (both in origin Gafat tribal names), and from there across the Abbay to Dägen in Gojjam, and afterwards to Yözämbäl in Shoa between the Jamma and Mugär rivers, a district inhabited by Gafat.

#### Chapters 11–12

While in Abädray, Susnęyos sent drums and trumpets to the *seyum* of Šat; then, leaving Abädray, he went to make war in Gämbo and Azär where he captured large quantities of livestock. Having laid waste Gämbo and Azär, 'which are towards Agwęł', he camped at Gwagwata between the Gudär and Agwęł rivers. From here he attacked the people of Harbawaš and Harb Akäl. Then, going through the territory of Subli (a Gafat tribe) he laid waste Bizamo and came to Amba Anqäręb in Abädray which he took by a stratagem. In the course of this episode he went to places called Fätägäm, Yęqumbal, Mälagwe, Mägdämu, Yäbadi, and Qwärab between Bizamo and Abädray. (The first five names are properly tribal names attached to districts.) The names Harbawaš and Harb Akäl present a small problem. The first is written both Harbawaš

<sup>1</sup>[On Tamo see also R. Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935*, Stuttgart, 1985, pp. 160, 162 and 350. R.P.]

and Harbä Waš; the consistent spelling of the second, Harb Akäl suggests that the first is really Harbä Waš. Both are said to be names of Gafat tribes, and Harb Akäl is also the name of a river.<sup>1</sup> (The name Harbawaš, written Arbauasc, occurs in NC 371 HDR 15 miles NE of Bure, indicating perhaps the extreme northward penetration of the Gafat into northern Damot.) Wänge and Ašmän in chapter 12 are also tribal names.

#### Chapter 13

The places here are Žängät in Shoa and Ašqa a district near Däbrä Libanos, and Dęn, a Gafat tribe and district in Gojjam (*Gęod.* 6 Din, 18 miles NW of Dämbača).

#### Chapter 14 (1600)

In this chapter we find the land of Wäsän Amba ('frontier fortress'), which was four days S of Nanina, and S of Dangęla.

#### Chapter 15

Susnęyos now went to Hadęyya to fight the Muslims, travelling through the district of Wäräb (between the Awaš river and Hadęyya) and across the rivers Hazo and Wäri, the latter probably the Uera in Gurage of NC 375 HCS, 45 miles W of Lake Zway. The Muslims were put to flight, and retired to Yäbšo. Susnęyos then went to Mägär where the Gurage asked for his help against the Muslims, so taking some cavalry with him he went to Ęnnämor (NC 374 HCS). The Muslim leader went to Čätam, possibly the Catama of NC 375 HCS immediately S of Butlagira (though this could be the Amh. word *kätäma*, i.e. camp, whereas the name in the text is written *čata'am*). The Muslims then attacked Susnęyos in Mugär where they were defeated, and Susnęyos went to Yäbšo, going thence to the river Käreb (NC 375 HDD Creb, a river which eventually finds its way into the Great Gibe).

#### Chapter 16 (1602)

Susnęyos then returned to Shoa by way of Yäbšo, the Hazo river, Däbrä Dęhuhan (where Tädewos a disciple of Täklä

<sup>1</sup>The form Arbäwäš occurs also in *AJIB* 252.

Haymanot was buried), Bēla'ēt, Mägāz, and Däbrä Libanos. (Paez says Azcâ, i.e. Aşqa.)

### Chapter 18

When Ras Atēnatewos refused to let him have his father's lands, Susnēyos attacked the Bärtuma Galla and laid waste many areas in Amhara and Wäläqa. Names in these episodes are: the district (*hagär*) of Gēše, bounded by the Wänčēt and Cascem rivers (NC 372 HDU); Amba Gēšana in Wäläqa; the district of Dägomäš in Wäläqa; and Därämänzo near Däbrä Libanos. While at the last place, Susnēyos appointed Yolyos, whose headquarters were at an *amba* called Gäfägäf, to be governor of Ifat in Shoa. Yolyos was then attacked by the local inhabitants aided by Muslims from Qäččēno in Ifat (cf. *CB*. 151), and Susnēyos came to his rescue.

### Chapter 20 (1604)

In this year Zä Dēngēl was made emperor in place of Ya'qob, who was exiled to Ēnarya; Zä Dēngēl was received with honour at Amonat in Wäläqa. This chapter deals mainly with Gojjam. Suhwa, Sēhwa, Suha is the river Suha (Beke, Suha; NC 372 HDS Suha *village*, Suca *river*) between Bičäna and the Abbay. Angwashēr is a ford. The river Ča is a tributary of the Abbay near Amba Somma (NC 372 HDS Ciai SE of Märtulä Maryam; Beke, Cheesman, Som(m)a E of Dima).

### Chapter 22

Susnēyos then crossed the Abbay from Ĕnžar and Gännätä Giyorgis in Gēše E of Mäkanä Sēllase, and with a force of Galla came to Ĕnnäb'ēse (NC 372 HED Ennebse) where he met Ras Atēnatewos, and was with him at Märtulä Maryam. Ĕnnēbse is a district in NE Gojjam between Märtulä Maryam (NC 372 HDS 8297) and the Yäqändäč range. Märtulä Maryam is the church built by Ĕleni and twice burnt, once by Grañ's troops and again by the Galla (according to Almeida); after each burning it was partially restored. Beke visited it in 1842 and published an account of it with a plan and illustrations in *Archaeologia* (XXXII, 1847, pp. 38–57, extracts from which, together with Almeida's description, may be found in *SRE*,

pp. 103–07). Susnēyos then went to Haräsma somewhere nearby.

Later on Susnēyos crossed the Abbay into Begämdēr, going to Wäräb, a district of Dārha near Afäräwänät (*Géod.* 5 Dara), Tēqur Wäha, a river which joins the Abbay just above Tis Ĕsat (*Géod.* 5 Tīqur Wīha), and Košēm a river between Edawre (v.l. Yädawre) and Gämbota, after which he crossed the Abbay again and came to Gämbota, the district of Färeta, Šäbäl, Mängēstä Sämayat, and Däbrä Wärq. These are all in Gojjam (NC 372 HDS/HDT, though not shown except the last two). The Šäbäl is a tributary of the Abbay N of the Suha (*Géod.* 6; Beke; Cheesman).

### Chapters 23–27 (1605–06)

Zä Dēngēl was now dead, and Ya'qob had been brought back from his exile in Ēnarya; these two chapters deal with the contendings of Ya'qob and Susnēyos. It was a time when there were in effect two kings, for both are referred to as *haše*. Susnēyos went to Wēdo in Begämdēr (the district NW and SE of Aringo, *Géod.* 4 Wīdo), thence to Dawēnt (NC 372 HEE Daunt) and Mäqdäla where he spent the wet season. Ya'qob meanwhile went to Sēmada north of the Yäqändäč range, but in Begämdēr (NC 372 HED/HEE Semada), and to Qoga<sup>1</sup> for the wet season. When this was finished, Susnēyos went to Amba Däyēr above the river Gascemi near Wärrä Ilu (*Géogr.* p. 323 Daer amba [NC 372 HDU]), and thence to Wēša Tērēs with a force of Galla whom he met on the way. Ya'qob also had a large force, and arriving near Susnēyos, the latter moved to Sägla. Hearing that Zä Sēllase was on his way, Susnēyos made an ambush near a *qwälla* in Wägda called Mänta Däfar and defeated him. After this, Ya'qob went to Sēmada again and Susnēyos to Qwärarēm the headquarters of Ras Wäldä Krēstos, and thence to the Čäčäho (ND 372 HEE Cecceco, *Guida* Ciocioho) a tributary of the Bäšēlo which rises in the country between Bet Hor and Däbrä Zēbit. Here he defeated Ya'qob, but without ending the struggle.

Other places which occur in these chapters are Färäs Bahēr in Amhara (26), Daḵana in Lasta (26), and Gol (27). On

<sup>1</sup>[On Qoga see R. Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, p. 101. R.P.]

Dakana see p. 170 below (chap. 52). Gol is the place where Susnĕyos finally defeated and killed Ya'qob on 10 March 1606. It was probably near Däbrä Gol in Gojjam between the rivers Muga and Yäbärt near Agämma and Nazret (the latter N of Däbrä Marqos, NC 371 HDC), since Ya'qob had camped on the Yäbärt (below), and was buried at Nazret.

#### Chapters 28 and 30 (1606)

[The intervening chapter 29 deals with Amba Gëšĕn.] These two chapters cover the period between the early part of 1605 and March 1606; Susnĕyos ascended the throne on 10 March 1606.

Ya'qob, being at Qoga, Susnĕyos went to Bahĕr Qaga in Dawĕnt; place-names associated with his movements here are Amba Säl, Kolo, Hayq, Šäm'a, and Qwĕlqwalko. Amba Säl is NW of Lake Hayq and some 20 miles NNW of Dessie (NC 372 HEF Amba Sel). Some 30 miles W of Dessie is Kolo (NC 372 HEE Collo), and Bahĕr Qaga is somewhere N of Collo. Šäm'a is near Aringo (p. 109) and possibly Qwĕlqwalko, where Ya'qob made a fort, was somewhere in this area. At Bahĕr Qaga Susnĕyos received a message from Ras Zä Sĕllase asking for friendship and accepting him as king. He therefore went to Gojjam and met Zä Sĕllase in Säde (Sädäy; NC 372 HED Sede). Ya'qob, hearing of this, crossed the Abbay and went to Sarka near Šĕlalo, whereupon Susnĕyos moved to Kwälisa N of the Abäya river (v.l. Abbay), and Ya'qob went to Šĕlalo and thence SW into Ēnzägĕdĕm where he burnt the villages of the Damot people; then after trying without success to cross the Abäya turned SW to the river Bĕr. Susnĕyos then came to Däbrä Zäyt, and Ya'qob camped along the river Yäbärt. Susnĕyos seems to have thought of Betä Abat in Čägal as a place to fight in, but Ya'qob forced his hand, and on 10 March the battle of Gol took place, in which Ya'qob was killed. Ras Atĕnatewoš, who was with him, escaped, but was caught at a precipice called Wafa and defeated, though he escaped again, this time to the monastery of Dima. Susnĕyos was now king *de facto*. The site of the battle of Gol may be indicated by the name Dĕl Meda, 'victory plain', shown on *Géod.* 6 just SE of d'Abbadie's point 'Nazrit III' and close to the Yäbärt river. Here also, on or near the upper reaches of the Muga river, was

Däbrä Zäyt. The rivers Muga and Yäbärt rise in the mountains above Nazret and flow SE into the Abbay (Nazret is shown on NC 371 HDS, but not the two rivers which appear on *Géod.* 6). The district of Žara mentioned in this context was somewhere near the upper course of the Suha river (i.e. in the Nazret area); it occurs in one of the itineraries of Yoħannĕs I in 1680 (*AJIB.* 48/49), which went from Wäb near Moṭa by Wäfit (*Géod.* 6, 10 miles SSE of Qaranyo) to Yäbqwĕla in Žara. Wafa was somewhere N of Dima (the latter NC 372 HDS).

#### Chapter 29

Amba Gëšĕn or Gwĕšĕn was the mountain on which the sons and other relatives of kings were kept to prevent usurpation of the throne. There is a detailed account of it in Almeida (*SRE.* pp. 97–102). It is not shown on modern maps, except those of Sir Clements Markham, who placed it 10 miles NE of Magdala, apparently the position where NC 372 HEF has A(mba) Moka (Markham, *Hist. of the Abyssinian Expedn.*, p. 288).

#### Chapter 31

After the battle of Gol, Susnĕyos set out for Qoga by way of Gwagwata (NC 371 HEC Guaguata S of Lake Denbar), Wänzo, Lahata, Gwanägwĕnma, Dulšĕt, Wägälša, Däsma, Wäramit, and Dĕšät to the Abbay. All these are in the Bahĕr Dar area, the last being the Discet of NC 371 HEC on the W bank of the Abbay. On the Begämdĕr side he went through Enkwa in Dära, Wĕdo (added in Paez), Doqma Wäha, and Qaroda, where at Däbrä Qaroda was a convent first mentioned in XIV (*PC* 4). Thence he went to Ĝuba'e (Guzarä, ND 374 HEK). Here he was in the district of Ēmfraz. From Guba'e he went to visit Maryam Sĕnna the widow of Säršä Dĕngĕl, who was ill at Täqära, a place for which I can find no clue. Having returned to Qoga, Maryam Sĕnna died, and he went back to bury her at Maħdärä Maryam 12 miles SSW of Aringo (NC 371 HED).

#### Chapter 32 (1607)

In this chapter occur Bäqla, a district (one of Ludolf's *praefecturae*) of the Mĕdrä Bähĕr immediately W of Massawa; and Šĕme, a tribe and village under a *qäš* in SW Gojjam.

## Chapter 33 (1608)

SusnĚyos now set out on a punitive expedition, directed first at the people of Halāfa who had refused to pay their tribute. He left Qoga (somewhere near Qaroda, W of Fĕrqa Bār [*Géod.* 4]; Almeida, Cogâ), and travelled north of Lake Ṭana by way of Šāda (ND 374 HEK Tadda S of Gondar), Sägāba, and Bād a district along the SW corner of the lake (p. 141 above; called Bed by Almeida and Baad in the newly recovered MS of Lobo) to Halāfa. This is the district N of Yĕsmala Giyorgis, shown as Alefa on NC 371 HEJ, and as Alāfa on *Géod.* 5. He laid waste Halāfa and the districts of Sägāba called Dankwĕra, Sankĕra, Šĕwawa, and Gājge. Sankĕra is shown on *Géod.* 5 as Sankra, 12 miles N of Yĕsmala Giyorgis. He then went to Sarka to spend Christmas, passing through Qisārya and Amba Gāma in Ačāfār to Wändĕge. The latter is the Wāndige of *Géod.* 5 and Uendighe of NC 371 HEJ and *Guida* map p. 368, though there is a discrepancy between *Géod.* and NC 371, the former placing it 15–20 miles NW of the mouth of the Little Abbay, the latter some 5 miles W of the river mouth. Thence he went to Lāg, and came to a small lake called Gādāma (chap. 6). Thence to Wändāsa, perhaps the river Andasa (*Géod.* 5, NC 371 HEC Andassam, a tributary of the Abbay a few miles S of Bahĕr Dar), and to Šaše and Bārānta a district between Šābāl and Dima (*Géod.* 6). Thence he went to Lāmĕčān and the district of Žan Bādĕl near the upper reaches of the river Bĕr, Sakāla in which the Little Abbay rises (*Géod.* 6; NC 371 HEC Ghisc Abbai), Gābārma which was three days S or SW of Qwālāla (NC 371 HEC Quollela near Engiabara), and to Wānča, perhaps somewhere near the ford over the Abbay called Mālka Sāyṭana (p. 147 above). Here he spent Easter 1608 (27 March). He then went to Bure (*Géod.* 6 Bure Abbo, NC 371 HDR Burie), and to Zobĕnt on the right bank of the Fāšām river (shown on Beke's map between the rivers Zingini and Fašam S of Banja), and stayed at Gwagwĕsa, possibly the Gugsā of NC 371 HDR 4 miles NNW of Bure and the Guaysa of *Géod.* 6. Here the Agaw stole his mules, and the Agaw of Bure, Gwagwĕsa, and Hankaša joined in attacking his rearguard, but were beaten off. Hankaša is near Banja and Ĕnjābāra (Engiabara) N of Bure (in square HEC of NC 371). Other names in this area are Zigām, an Agaw tribe and district shown by Beke SW of Askuna between

the Dura and Zingini rivers; Guman, a district of Šĕnaš or Šĕnas in the same area; and the Dura river which rises in Banja district and flows into the Abbay (NC 371 HEC/HDP). The king went on from Gwagwĕsa to Čara, an Agaw district (NC 371 HEC Chara, *Géod.* 5 Cara) 8 miles S of Tumhua Kidana Mihrat (*Géod.* 5; NC 371 HEC Tumha, Almeida, Tanqha), and to Kwakwĕra, another Agaw district between Danghila and Bangia (NC 371 HEC Quoquara, *Géod.* 5 Kuakuira). From there he went back to Qoga by way of Sarka.

## Chapters 35 and 36

An impostor who called himself King Ya'qob having arisen in Tĕgre, SusnĚyos's brother Ras Sĕ'ĕlā Krĕstos the Tĕgre Mākwānnĕn fought him at three places: Dĕbarwa, May Kĕl Baḥra, and 'Ad Ĕqe, the last two in the Enticcio area in Tĕgre (p. 145 above). Sĕ'ĕlā Krĕstos wrote and asked SusnĚyos to go to Tĕgre, so he set out from Qoga via Šādda and came to 'Ayba, where he received an appeal for help against the Marawa Galla, and concentrated on them instead. The places named in this episode are: Fĕrqa W of Qaroda (*Géod.* 4 Farqabar, ND 374 HEK Fercaber); the northern Gumāra river in Ĕmfraz, which enters Lake Ṭana between the mouth of the Māgāč and Sāño Gābāya (or 'Monday market') (*Géod.* 4; ND 374 HEK; *ib.*, San Gavea); Zāngāj, 15 miles S of Gondar (*Géod.* 4 Zangaj Maryam, ND 374 HEK Zagadi M.); Wāglo Sāramne between Zāngāj and 'Ayba (*Géod.* 4 Ayba, ND 374 HEK Aiva) 7 miles E of Gondar, where Sāršā Dĕngĕl built a church in 1590–1. From 'Ayba to Wĕqro the places are: Dariša (*Géod.* 4 Darita near and S of Wāhni, near Darita Maryam, and perhaps the 'Mariam' of NC 371 HEK NW of Aringo), in early XIX a trading town inhabited by Muslim Galla and Arabs (Combes et Tamisier, II. p. 144); the river Rĕb, which rises N of Aringo and enters Lake Ṭana in Fogāra (*Géod.* 4; NC 371 HEK); Zāng, Qĕtāma, and Šām'a (for the last see p. 143 above); and Wĕqro, which was somewhere between the upper course of the Rĕb and Aringo; and in this area the Ethiopians were defeated by the Galla. Hearing of this, SusnĚyos went to attack the Galla by way of Dabat (? near Amba Guna, NC 372 HED) to Qoga and Dānqāz<sup>1</sup> (ND 374 HEK Dancaz, 12 miles SE of Gondar). The

<sup>1</sup>On Dānqāz see Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, pp. 107–10. R.P.

Galla advanced to Qoga and Goräba (ND 374 HEJ Cureva) SE of Zängäj Maryam, but were checked at Hamus Wänz, a tributary of the Rëb near Ēbnat (NC 372 HEK Amus Uenz), and were defeated again at the Ṭeqën river, a tributary of the Täkkäzi (ND 375 HEK/HEL Tecchen) NE of Ēbnat. Other places in this context are Mt Dëbana between Dabat and Mahdärä Maryam; Hod Gäbäya one day from Mahdärä Maryam on the way to Qaroda; Amba Maryam S of Qaroda (ND 374 HEK); Mašlut between that and Dänqäz; Çëhra, mountains NE of Lake Ṭana; and Qalay, somewhere near the river Ṭeqën.

#### Chapter 37 (1609)

This records a journey to Aksum, by the route Ēmfraz – Wäyna Däg'a – Lämälmo – Waldëbba – Ēdda Maryam – Aksum. Lämälmo is the mountain range in western Šälämt, between Wälqëfit (ND 374 HES Uolchefit) and Ēnda Mädhane 'Aläm (ND 375 HFD; *Guida* map p. 272), shown on ND 375 HES as 'Malo Pass'. Waldëbba is the district W of Šälämt (ND 374 HFD Uoldebba) where there was a large monastery of the same name, in a district full of monks; this place was visited by Susnëyos. Thence he crossed the Täkkäzi (probably by the usual caravan crossing at May Ṭemqät) into Sire and thence to Ēdda Maryam, the district immediately S of Aksum (*Géod.* 2 *Ida* Maryam). He was then crowned at Aksum.

#### Chapter 38

At this time 'arose Mälkä Šëdëq [formerly an officer of Säršä Dëngël] who had heard that the king had died, and proclaimed as king Arzo grandson of Minas' (*PC*). Ras Yämanä Krëstos defeated Mälkä Šëdëq on 14 April 1609 at Dëbräso 15 miles ENE of Gondar (ND 374 HES Duvresso) and went on to Qoga; Mälkä Šëdëq being later captured at Šëgaba (10 miles W of Mahdärä Maryam, if it is, as I suspect, the Sagaba of *Géod.* 5), and executed. Susnëyos meanwhile went on a punitive expedition to Tëgre against the supporters of Ya'qob. The places on his itinerary were the following: (1) Täderär in Akälä Guzay, S of Decamere,<sup>1</sup> E of the Märäb, and N of Toquoile

<sup>1</sup>Addi Daz Amḥaray, *Géod.* 1.

(ND 372 HFL, *Géod.* 2 *Tahuila*). 'The inhabitants of this district appear to be Hamitic. According to tradition a certain Ahmad Saada, father of Derar, was the progenitor of this stock. Derar had three sons, Acoren, Mogono, and Hauenta, from whom are descended the three families of the stock called collectively by the name of Seleste-decchi-Derar, that is, the three families of Derar' (Perini, *La Zona di Asmara*, p. 57, cited by Esteves Pereira). *Géod.* 2 has the district of *Tadarar*. (2) Bur, the province E of Akälä Guzay. (3) Šoho, the Shoho or Saho country, where live one of the northern Cushitic peoples of that name between Massawa and about latitude 13° N. They comprise the tribal groups of Asawërta, Tor'a, Toro'a, or Tëro'a, Däsämo, Gä'aso Hazo, Däbri Mela, Herto, and Mini-fere. (4) Därbeta, a district on the coast. Esteves Pereira made the suggestion that the people who lived here moved inland and settled near Aksum at a place which became known after them as 'Ad Därbeta or Aderbati (ND 372 HFE Adi Arbate, 18 miles NNE of Aksum. (5) Säḥart, a district S of Šälot, associated with Ḥamasen in a revolt against Susnëyos by the impostor Ya'qob (chap. 35) (*Géod.* 1). The presence here of a district-name Säḥart suggests that the people who gave a name to the province of Säḥart far to the south settled first in this part of Ḥamasen; Säḥart is one of the place-names which appear to have been brought over from the Yemen by the early settlers;<sup>1</sup> two such others are Ḥawzen and Särawe. (6) Šëlma, the district of which Dëbarwa the headquarters of the Bahërnägaš, was the chief town. From Dëbarwa Susnëyos crossed the Märäb into Torat, the northern part of Sire W of Aksum (in square HFD of ND 372). Here he was told of people who ploughed with oxen, and of 'many bad people of two families (*castas*) called Ibarcoâ and Incarê' (Paez, Bk. IV, chap. 19). These were the Yëbarkwa and Iyankäre mentioned in *HSD.* 129/146 as being under the *nëburä 'ëd* of Aksum. Continuing his march, he found the impostor Arzo and executed him. Then he returned to Qoga.

During the wet season (? of 1610) there was a revolt led by Yolyos and Këflo. Yolyos was at Hadaša, and Këflo at Wänäba; they met in Žara (chap. 30). Hadaša is shown by Beke near and S of the confluence of the Sädäy and Abbay rivers; here a

<sup>1</sup>[The importance of these 'early settlers', as noted on page 28, has in recent years been questioned, by R. Schneider, among others *op. cit.*, pp. 47–54. R.P.]

piece of land was given to the Jesuits in 1627 by Sě'ělä Kręstos (Tellez, Bk. V, chap. 6). Wänäba is S of Däbrä May.

### Chapter 39

After the wet season, SusnĚyos left Qoga and established his headquarters at Dĕhana, where there was a church of St Găbrĕ'el (*Guida* map p. 368 Dahna, 3 miles NW of Gorgora harbour). From there he went to Ťaqwĕsa W of the lake to punish the Agaw, and thence to Sarka, Gumbĕli (transliterated Gumbuli by Paez), and Bure. A force was sent to deal with the Agaw of Zălăbasa, who lived near and W of Bure. Gumbĕli was SW of the Čoqe mountains on the upper reaches of the river Bĕr. Other places mentioned in this chapter are: Gwagwĕsa in or near Kwakwĕra (chap. 33); Wărq Amba in Guman, a district between the rivers Zingini and Dura near the Abbay; Šima near Yĕbaba; Dagwĕsma, Zĕbĕd, Săqălăt, and Wănžăta between the Abăya river and Băd; and Ačăfăr (NC 371 HEB).

### Chapter 40 (1611–12)

This chapter describes the king's movements from Dĕhana through Agăwmĕdr, Bizamo, and the country NW of Gondar towards Sennar. Kăkăza is between Dĕhana and Ťaqwĕsa. The district of Aybgaya, once the headquarters of Harbo, is in Wăgăra (Conti Rossini, *Catalogo*, p. 16). Bizamo was at this time occupied by Galla. Gumăr Sanqa was in Wămbărma, between the rivers Făšăm and Zingini [NC 371 HDR] [C]. Čăwsĕn or Čusĕn was inhabited by very black people (Shangalla) who stole the cattle of the people of Bambaho, the lowland of Tănkăl (ND 374 HEJ Tancal, 10 miles SW of Čĕlga) and fled when attacked to Sarki somewhere in the territory of Sennar (on the right bank of the river Humr, a tributary of the 'Ghinghil-Scinfa river' [C] and apparently the place called Serke by Poncet where there is 'a little brook which separates Aethiopia from the kingdom of Sennar' (*The Red Sea . . . at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Sir William Foster, Hakluyt Soc., 1949, p. 111), which was four days from Giesim, a place according to Bruce (cited by Foster, *loc. cit.*, p. 110) 110 miles from Sennar and 203 miles from Gondar; it may be represented by Humr el Qism on the Rahad river about 130 miles SE of Sennar (ND 366 HEN).

Next, there was trouble with the Wărănsa Galla, to whom SusnĚyos had given land in Wălăqa; and also with the Wărdăya or Wără Dĕ'aya Galla, who had land in Jămma and Amonat in Wălăqa.

Other names in this chapter are: Ĕmbisman in Amhara, between the river Băšĕlo and Kolo (NC 372 HEE Collo); Betă Maryam and Čărăn, in this part of Amhara; Dănqoro on the E bank of the Abbay NC 372 HDT Dankoro river N of Borena) and Ahyo, shown as Ahiyu by Beke about 3 miles from the Abbay and just S of the Dănqoro; Sĕmada, the district W of the Băšĕlo along the Abbay (NC 372 HED Semada): Qĕrĕna (Paez, Querenhă) on the way to Gorgora from Sĕmada (*Géod.* 4 Qariņa; ND 374 HEK Karanio Mariam, about 7 miles NW of Ifag, the ND form showing confusion with Qăranyo, 'Calvary', a name, written Qaranyo, which occurs in *Géod.* 4 and NC 371 HED Keranio, 10 miles SE of Močă); and Gwărgora, Gorgora, mentioned here for the first time, the large peninsula on the northern shore of Lake Ťana and some 30 miles SW of Gondar (ND 374 HEJ). At Gorgora<sup>1</sup>, SusnĚyos had a palace which is now in ruins;<sup>2</sup> the Jesuits lived at Gorgora for many years, and Almeida wrote his 'History' there.

The next group of names is in Agăwmĕdr, where the Agaw were giving trouble. The river Čăt was somewhere in the Dangĕla (Danghila) area; Paez's version adds here Čancară and Dancoră, i.e. Sănkĕra and Dănkwĕra, on which see chap. 33; on Wăndĕge, see also chap. 33. Mătăkăl is W of the Dura river and E of the Bălăs (NC 371 HEB Metehel, Dura, Balas); in the text of Per. Sus. there is a variant reading Mačakăl, which is the name of a district between Dămbača and Dăbră Marqos shown by Beke as Machakel; but it is clear from the context that Matakal is the name intended here. The river Gindăn may be that called Dindan by Beke, a part of the course of the Bălăs [C]; though this is doubtful, since NC 371 HEH shows a secondary stream of the Dindĕr near the Bălăs, and Beke may have meant Dindĕr. Lala and Abola, where lived

<sup>1</sup>On Gorgora see Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, pp. 102–7, R.P.

<sup>2</sup>[On this palace see R.E. Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, London, 1936; A.A. Monti della Corte, 'La chiesa portoghese di Gorgora sul Tana,' *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana*, 1938, I, pp. 631–9; and E.S. Pankhurst, *Ethiopia. A Cultural History*, Woodford Green, Essex, 1955, Plates LXXXI and LXXXII. R.P.]

Agaw, Gongga, and Žägät, are NW of Yěsmala Giyorgis (NC 371 HEC Abolai river, *Géod.* 5 Abolay or Farfari). In this area are also Čähwēdi 'which was the beginning of the inheritance of the Busāta, one of the twelve tribes of the Agaw' (Per. Sus. *in loc.*), Kwěrbaha, a district of the Maya, and Bādēl Wēr.

#### Chapter 42 (1614)

In 1614 there was trouble with the Agaw in Lākoma (*Géod.* 5 Lokama Banja N of Banja) and Dāmāka (*Géod.* 5 Dama<sub>ka</sub>, NC 371 HEC Demeca, 5 miles ENE of Bangia). After settling this, the king went to Fagētta (*Géod.* 5 and NC 371 HEC Fagutta) and Sēgla (*Géod.* 5 S<sub>ikla</sub>), both NE of Ēnjābāra. Here Paez's text adds Asāwa, which is confirmed by PC 28; this is shown on *Géod.* 6, 15 miles NE of Bure Abbo, NC 371 HEC Asoa. The next place, Kwēla Gwēdāra, is Gudāra (*Géod.* 6; NC 371 HEC Lake Gudera); somewhere nearby was a lake called Bahēr zā Gumari<sup>1</sup>. After returning to Gorgora the king went to fight the Galla in Gērarya. After Easter he went to Libo (*Géod.* 4 Libho, E of Darita; ND 374 HEK Libo Giyorgis or Libo Iyasus). Paez adds here Queçareâ = Qisārya, which was somewhere in Amhara (Conti Rossini, *Catalogo*, p. 42).

#### Chapter 43

This chapter records the devastation of the Fālaša districts of Dorāna, Barna, and Šēwada in Sēmen. The first is represented by the river Dorona (ND 375 HES) 10 miles E of Derasghie. The second is the Baarna Abbo of ND 375 HES. The third is the Šawada of *Géod.* 3 between Inca<sub>tkab</sub> (Ēncčētkāb) and Wulqiffit, and the Sciuada of ND 375 HES, 5 miles SW of Ēncčētkāb. Other places occupied or attacked in this area were Tēqur Wāha in Sēmen, Zutarya in Sēmen, and Žan Amora (ND 375 HES Genemora, 5 miles NE of Derasghie). At this time Yolyos was made by Susnēyos governor of Sēmen, Šālāmt, Wag, Abārgāle (ND 375 HET Avergalle E of the Tākkāzi), Bora, and Sālāwa. Bora is the province S of Abārgāle and E of Wag, and Sālāwa is E of Abārgāle (ND 375 HET Mt. Bora and Selo). And at the *amba* of Sāgānāt in Sēmen (ND 375 HES Segonet 18 miles NE of Derasghie) Yolyos said he would

<sup>1</sup>[i.e. lake, or water of hippopotami. R.P.]

plant leek (*sagwērd*) after killing Gedewon the Fālaša leader; this place was Gedewon's headquarters. The next places are Yākrar in Wāgāra, Šēmbēra Zāgān SW of Dāqwa (*Géod.* 3 Šimbira zagan; ND 374 HES Dacua), Dēbēl in Wāgāra, and Sabra in Sēmen (ND 375 HES Sabra between the rivers Dorona and Beleghes). Then Amba Zā Mēšraba, for which Esteves Pereira suggested 'Masaraya' NE of Ēncčētkāb (*Géod.* 3 Masaraya, ND 375 HES Mesaraia). When this campaign was finished, the king returned to Agāwmēdr and went to Bālya S of Ačāfār.

#### Chapter 44

This chapter deals with further operations against the Fālaša. Žan Fāqāra is the area round Kola 20 miles N of Gondar (ND 374 HES Cola), and Žan Arwa was either west or north of Žan Fāqāra, both being in Wāgāra. Kinfāz is 8 miles S of Derasghie (ND 375 HES Renfatz *sic*), and Bāgāla, Bāzoz, Ačēqan, and Zēwi were Fālaša districts, Bāzoz being perhaps the Zoz of ND 375 HEK N of Aderseg. (Conti Rossini writes the first two as Galā and Zoz, *Catalogo*, pp. 27, 55, as if the first syllable was the preposition *bā*, 'in, at', though Paez transliterated them as Baguelā and Bezaz.) Ačēqan is possibly the Achegn of ND 375 HES, ENE of Derasghie.

#### Chapter 45 (1616)

The area dealt with in this chapter is Bāgemdēr and the Abbay region where operations were carried out against the Galla. The king's camp was at Ēste in Bāgemdēr [NC 372 HED] 25 miles S of Dābrā Tabor; somewhere hereabouts were the mountains called Šamma Mašābya. Near the river Dobit was a stone palace called Guzāra, the Guba'e of Sāršā Dēngēl's time (see above, p. 105); Dobit is the Doved river of *Géod.* 4, a mile or so S of Guzāra. In the Abbay region, Čāgal was in the area of the Suhwa river, a tributary of the Abbay S of Bičāna (*Géod.* 6 Soha, NC 372 HDS Suca). Wāndasa appears from the context to be in the same area, but the only such place-name known to me is further north near Bahēr Dar (see chap. 33). Māqa Wāha was in Mugār (Paez), and Ēgēr Dābet in the high land between the Jamma and Mugār rivers. Zānzānma, from the context of Paez's chronicle, was N of Dāra, and possibly the same as the Zānzālma (v.l. Zānzamma) which occurs in a route

Gondar – Bula – Ęnnabāga – Zānzālma – Kēbran Island in the S end of Lake Ṭana (*AJIB*. 176/184).

#### Chapter 47 (1617)

This relates to events in Dāmbēya. Grañ Bār, where Grañ was killed, is in Wāyna Dāga (see p. 135 above). Gāṭēba in Dārha (Dāra) is perhaps the Gitgiba<sup>1</sup> of *Géod*. 5, about 12 miles E of Dābrā Maryam island in Lake Ṭana, where the *Abunā* Sēm'on was at this time. Lenga Sēfra was between Tānkāl (ND 374 HEJ Tancal, a district some 30 miles NW of Gorgora) and Sēmra which was E of Tānkāl. Žangwa was on the river Gābikora or Gālikora (*Géod*. 4 Gabikora; Lefebvre, Gabikoura; ND 374 HEJ Ghericur) between Tānkāl and Azāzo; E of it was Bula. At Azāzo, 5 miles SSW of Gondar (ND 374 HEJ) there was a residence of the Jesuits; and later it was the site of a palace built by Iyasu II (1730–55).<sup>2</sup> Mača and Šadda, the next two places, were also near Gondar: the first, *Géod*. 4 Maca, is 5 miles ESE of Azāzo; the second, *Géod*. 4; ND 374 HEK Tadda, is 5 miles SE of Azāzo.

Then follows a list of troops and governors of various provinces; the troops (*čāwa*) were from Mādābay in Torat and Šāgāde, and the governors were the Šāwa Šāhafā-Lam (Shoa), the Ifat Wālasma, the Mānzēh Qaš, and the Damot Šāhafā-Lam. It is then stated that the Tākkāzi is the boundary of Tēgre.

#### Chapter 48

This chapter deals with Amhara. The *amba* called Amora Gādāl seems to have been somewhere near Koreb Amba in the mountainous region of Amara Sayēnt. Koreb (NC 372 HEE) is between the Bāšēlo and Gunda rivers some 30 miles W of Māqdāla (Magdala). Tādbabā Maryam, well known as a convent, was an *amba* about 70 miles W of Dessie (Pankhurst, *Introd. to the Econ. Hist. of Ethiopia*, p. 78). For Atronsā Maryam see p. 105 above; Mālāk Amba was perhaps somewhere near it.

<sup>1</sup>But see below, p. 204 where another identification is suggested for Gitgiba.

<sup>2</sup>[On Azāzo see also Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, pp. 110–1, 160–1. R.P.]

#### Chapter 49

Sarbakwēsa is 10 miles SSE of Gondar (ND 374 HEK Serbugsa). Here three battles were fought in 1771 at which James Bruce was present; he wrote the name Serbraxos. Māgāč is a river which rises 10 miles NNE of Gondar and enters Lake Ṭana about 8 miles ENE of Gorgora Port (ND 374 HEJ Magacha and Meghec). Harāsma (v.l. Harasma) was somewhere in Gojjam, possibly near Sāntom, which was in the district of Wānāba between Dābrā May and Šēlalo [NC 371 HEC or HED].

#### Chapter 50

This chapter deals with fighting against the Galla, first in the country S of the Abbay ('Old Damot'), and later in Agāwmēdr, Damot, and Gojjam N of the Abbay. In the South: Bizamo was bounded approximately by the rivers Abbay, Didēssa, Angur, and Little Angur (NC 363 HDP, NC 366 HDP, NC 371 HDP/HDR, NC 374 HDP/HDR/HDH/HDJ); it was inhabited in 1617 by the Yāhabāta and Ilmāgwāzit sections of the Boran Galla. Boṭ was somewhere in Bizamo. Asāndabo is 12 miles SW of Mālka Yēkātēl (ford) on the Abbay, and 10 miles W of the Gudār river (NC 374 HDK). Jēran in Qāñē', Dērq, and Čālāmo were Galla districts. Čālāmo may be the Mt. Čillimo of *Géod*. 8, about 5 miles SE of Mt Amarā, approximately where NC 374 HDJ shows 'Chelia Point'. Dērq may be Dergh between Ghedo and Incinni, 15–20 miles SE of Chelia Point. Jēran in Qāñē' cannot be Jirēn near Jimma since the latter is 110 miles S of Mt Amarā and to all appearance outside the range of these operations; moreover, from the context, Qāñē' was near Gāmbō, and probably somewhere at the S end of the Čomān Swamp (p. 143 above). Abāžāgay is the next fixed point, NW of Abālti, and Mākanā Šeyon was perhaps near it.

North of the Abbay: first is Wan (NC 371 HDR Uan), 5 miles NNE of Bure; then Bagwēna (*Géod*. 6 Baguina) 10 miles NW of Bure; Mačakāl (Beke, Machakel) between Dāmbača and Dābrā Marqos; Fēše Bādiñ (Beke, Fitzabading; *Géod*. 6 Fitabade; NC 371 HDR Fitebedi), 15–20 miles W of Dāmbača; and lastly Arbuq and Yāmāhal in Gojjam.

## Chapter 51

This chapter deals with events in Agäwmědr and Damot. It gives the names of ten Agaw tribes, some of which have given their names to districts. Most of them are unidentifiable: Tatyā, Bosa, Žābat, Basa, Gwagwěshwa, and Ambāra.<sup>1</sup> But Bagwěna is a district near Bure (see above); Šāhwa is 3 miles NW of Bure (*Géod.* 6 Saḡua); Hankaša is NE of Ĕnjābāra; and Azāna is S and SW of Ĕnjābāra (*Géod.* 6; NC 371 HDR Azane).

At this time there came news to the king at Zālābasa (W of Bure) that there were many heretics in Wālāqa and Amhara belonging to a sect called 'the enemies of Christ' Ašrarā Krěstos which was started by a man named Zā Krěstos of the 'family' of Sem, who was born at Ĕnnambēlit (Paez, Ambelit), and called himself Christ in the time of Zā Dēngēl. [On Dābra Abrēham see below, p. 185.]

The king went from Zālābasa to Tānkāl by way of Kwēla Gwēdāra (chap. 42), and Dābola (which it is tempting to identify with a river Dabohla E of Bure shown by Cheesman, except that it is difficult to fit in with the order of names in the text: Kwēla Gwēdāra, Dābola, Žamma, the last being the river Giamma of NC 371 HEC, a tributary of the Little Abbay N of Lake Gudēra). From the Žamma he went to Sabān, and thence via Bād to Tānkāl N of Lake Ṭana.

## Chapter 52

From Gorgora the king proceeded to Dēhana in Lasta, where he met Kamēl the 'king' of Dānkāle (Danakil, 'Afar), gave him the status of king, and honoured him like the *dājzmač* of Tēgre with the *dēb anbāsa* and *nēsr qana*. (Kamēl later revolted, but was reinstated.) It is difficult to establish the position of Dēhana or Dahāna for both forms occur in the Chronicle of Susnēyos and refer to two different places, one in Dāmbēya near Gorgora (chap. 39), the other, in this chapter, in Lasta. The route given here is Gorgora – Dēhana – Dārāsge – Dawa – Ayba – Dānqāz. In *AII* 151, 252 occurs a place-name written in various ways: Dah(ě)na, Dēhana, Dana. The obvious identification is Dahna (*Géod.* 4; ND 375 HEL Daama) in Lasta, E of the Tākkāzi and N of the Mēri river; *Géod.* 4 shows Mt. Amda Warq with a

<sup>1</sup>This, however, could be the Lig Ambara near Amedamit of NC 371 HEC and the Mt. Liq of *Géod.* 5.

place Dahna on its NW slope. A difficulty arises, however, for in an itinerary in *AII*. 252 there is a route from Sarbakwěsa to the Šēllāre with places named in the following order: Sarbakwěsa, Qālay in Bālāsa, Dah(ě)na, Wāyba, Zuy, Tākkāzi river, Māsnowēha in Wag, Mēzrawēha, Čāwa Wānz, Šēllāre river. Possibly too much significance need not be attached to this, since to get from Bālāsa to Dahēna the Tākkāzi must be crossed, and there is no mention of any crossing, perhaps because the party did not camp at the Tākkāzi. But it is difficult to understand how the Tākkāzi can have been crossed after passing Dah(ě)na to reach the Šēllāre unless Dah(ě)na was W of the Tākkāzi. However, the Dahna of *Géod.* 4 is the only known site which in any way fits the context. From Dēhana the route back to Dānqāz was by Dārāsge (ND 375 HES Derasghie), Dawa, Ayba (ND 374 HEK Aiva, 7 miles E of Gondar), to Dānqāz, 12 miles SE of Gondar.

Chapter 53<sup>1</sup>

This deals with an expedition against the Muslims in the country NW of Ethiopia, in the kingdom of 'Dēqin'. The expedition started from Ayqolba in Wāgāra. Its objective was the area SW of Kassala, and the campaign is the subject of chapter XVI of O. G. S. Crawford's book *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*. Of several place-names mentioned, only a few are identifiable: Dābārki, on the Dindēr 70 miles E of Sennar; Atbara, meaning the Atbara region in general and the country round Gedaref in particular; Taha is Kassala; Dēlēb, according to Crawford, was 5 hours march SE of Giesim (Humr el Qism; see above, p. 164), at the junction of Khor Mugdu with the Rahad; and Abromla, which is Jebel Abu Ramla, 38 miles NE of Fāzqwēlo (Fazughli) which is 45 miles SE of Roseires. (The whole of this area is outside Ethiopia, and I have adopted Crawford's identifications of Dābārki, Atbara, and Dēlēb.)

## Chapter 55

By the king's order, Gābrā Maryam the Bahēr Nāgaš attacked Faṭēmā the queen of Arom. This is identified by Crawford (*Fung Kingdom*, p. 186) with Aroma, the name of a station on

<sup>1</sup>The summary by Paez ends with this chapter.

the railway 30 miles NW of Kassala. The Chronicle says that Arom was 8 days from Sire towards Kassala; Aroma is some 200 miles from Sire, which at even 15 miles a day would make 13 days. But Aroma is a promising identification, and the chronicler's estimate of distance could well be wrong.

### Chapter 58

This chapter covers western Begämdēr, Gojjam, and Damot; it begins with the king's march from Dänqāz to Gojjam. From Dänqāz he went by Wäyna Däga (chap. 33) and Yämāryam Däbēr to Däriša, the first stage being perhaps the Mt. Märyām of *Géod.* 4, 12 miles NNE of Däriša (chap. 36). Then by Bēra near Däriša, Doqma Wäha (chap. 31), Šamma Maḥšäbya (chap. 45), the Gumära river, Gälda a river just S of Qoraša (*Géod.* 5. Galda, NC 371 HED Gelda), to Wārāb in Dära on the edge of the Abbay, where he crossed the river, part of his force on foot and part in *tankwa* (rafts made of bundles of reed tied together with strips of bark), and went through Sarke in Gojjam (chap. 6) to the district of Yäwādi. Here were Galla tribes called Šälna and Qwēlča. Then to Mäsqāl Haš, part of the estate of *Ras Sē'älä Krēstos*, on which see chapter 76; the district of Anbäsit near Yēbaba (which is 3 miles NE of Däbrä May); Gumbēli (chap. 39) and the river Bēr; Qwarit S of Gumbēli adjoining Wänāba (chap. 38); Dēn between the Bēr and Dingärä Maryam (*Géod.* 6), to the confluence of the Bēr and Qäčäm 7 miles N of Dämbača (*Géod.* 6 Qacema). The next district was Šēhnan between Bure and Fēšēbädēñ (Beke, Tzehenan across the river Salala, NC 371 HDR Selela W of the Bēr). Then Wan (chap. 50) NNE of Bure to Min a ford over the Abbay, probably that now called Mäbil (NC 371 HDR Mabil [village]) in Wämbärma (*SRE.* pp. 213–15). From Min the course goes NE to Ēnnamora, where there was an *amba* immediately N of Dämbača (*Géod.* 6), to Dälma 5 miles SSE of Dämbača (*Géod.* 6, Beke), then east again to Bärānta SE of Dima (chap. 33), Nägašät, Mänqwärqwärya, Ēnqora, Ēnšet, and Yäšur. The last four are written as two names by Conti Rossini (*Catalogo*, pp. 38, 25) Manquarquaryā-Enqorā and Enšet-Yäšur, but it is clear that they are four separate names. The first occurs in *AJIB* 128/133 as Mänqorqorya, SE of Däbrä Wärq on a route to Dära in Wäläqa; and Yäšur occurs later

independently. Next come Zängēma, perhaps the Dangyame of NC 372 HDS 3 miles NE of Däbrä Wärq on the left bank of the river Azwäri; Yäkubät, the Yakabat of *Géod.* 6, 23 miles E of Dämbača between the rivers Bächät and Muga; Gudla, a tributary of the Tämča (*Géod.* 6 Gudala, NC 371 HDS Gudle); Yäčärāqan, the Yačaraqa of *Géod.* 6, 3 miles SW of Dämbača; the river Lah 14 miles E of Bure (NC 371 HDR Lah); Gumär Sanqa in Wämbärma (chap. 40); Askuna SW of Banja (NC 371 HEC) 'one of the districts of Banja' (text *in loc.*). Next, there is a group of names in Bägemdēr. Gugubēn is a mountain on the E shore of Lake Ṭana (NC 371 HEK Gugubi, *Guida* Gughebi) near the mouth of the river Gumära; Bahēr Šana is Lake Ṭana; the district of Zähanso is perhaps the same as the Hanso of chapter 79, somewhere near Ēste S of Däbrä Tabor (chap. 45); the district of Dabēr called Muy in the same area; Hagwat Wäha near Ēste; Amba Gunä 35 miles SE of Däbrä Tabor (NC 372 HED): Dängiya Kēmmer ('stone mound') near Šäm'a (chap. 28); Dabät near Guzära (chap. 36); Iqalo, perhaps near Gunä; Zugära, a district between Maḥdärä Maryam and Däbrä Qäntä Iyäsus (*Géod.* 5; NC 371 HED M. Debre Chente *sic*); Kwērēnkwēra in Zugära; the river Bäba near Wēdo; Fogära, a district between the rivers Rēb and Gumära (*Géod.* 5; *Guida* map p. 368); Bēda Gädäl; and Mēšle, an island in Lake Ṭana S of Sana Island (NC 371 HEK Ṭana, near Gugubi).

### Chapter 59 (1620)

This deals with Bägemdēr and Gojjam. It begins with Atkāna in Bägemdēr SE of Däbrä Maryam on the road to Aläta about 19 miles from Lake Ṭana (Cheesman; Beke), a river on the left bank of the Abbay close to Ṭis Ēsat; it goes on to Gonj, the district of Gojjam W of the Ṭis Ēsat falls (NC 371 HEK Gheng). From there to Abaraj and Handasa (*Géod.* 5 Andasa, NC 371 HEC Andassam) a river which enters the Abbay 6 miles from Bahēr Dar. Next is the river Ṭul, another tributary of the Abbay, 12 miles S of the Handasa (*Géod.* 5 Šina ou Tul, NC 371 HED Tuol); and from there after some 15 or 20 miles to the river Šälyä, a tributary of the Bēr (NC 371 HEC/HDR Talia).

the railway 30 miles NW of Kassala. The Chronicle says that Arom was 8 days from Sire towards Kassala; Aroma is some 200 miles from Sire, which at even 15 miles a day would make 13 days. But Aroma is a promising identification, and the chronicler's estimate of distance could well be wrong.

### Chapter 58

This chapter covers western Begämdēr, Gojjam, and Damot; it begins with the king's march from Dänqāz to Gojjam. From Dänqāz he went by Wāyna Dāga (chap. 33) and Yāmāryam Dābēr to Dāriša, the first stage being perhaps the Mt. Māryām of *Géod.* 4, 12 miles NNE of Dāriša (chap. 36). Then by Bēra near Dāriša, Doqma Wāha (chap. 31), Šamma Maḥšābya (chap. 45), the Gumāra river, Gālda a river just S of Qoraša (*Géod.* 5. Galda, NC 371 HED Gelda), to Wārāb in Dāra on the edge of the Abbay, where he crossed the river, part of his force on foot and part in *tankwa* (rafts made of bundles of reed tied together with strips of bark), and went through Sarke in Gojjam (chap. 6) to the district of Yāwādi. Here were Galla tribes called Šālna and Qwēlča. Then to Māsqaḥ Haṣ, part of the estate of *Ras Sē'ələ Kṛēstos*, on which see chapter 76; the district of Anbāsīt near Yēbaba (which is 3 miles NE of Dābrā May); Gumbēli (chap. 39) and the river Bēr; Qwarit S of Gumbēli adjoining Wānāba (chap. 38); Dēn between the Bēr and Dingārā Maryam (*Géod.* 6), to the confluence of the Bēr and Qāčām 7 miles N of Dāmbača (*Géod.* 6 Qacema). The next district was Šēhnan between Bure and Fēšēbādēñ (Beke, Tzehenan across the river Salala, NC 371 HDR Selela W of the Bēr). Then Wan (chap. 50) NNE of Bure to Min a ford over the Abbay, probably that now called Mābil (NC 371 HDR Mabil [village]) in Wāmbārma (*SRE.* pp. 213–15). From Min the course goes NE to Ēnnamora, where there was an *amba* immediately N of Dāmbača (*Géod.* 6), to Dālma 5 miles SSE of Dāmbača (*Géod.* 6, Beke), then east again to Bārānta SE of Dima (chap. 33), Nāgašāt, Mānqwārqwārya, Ēnqora, Ēnšet, and Yāšur. The last four are written as two names by Conti Rossini (*Catalogo*, pp. 38, 25) Manquarquaryā-Enqorā and Enšet-Yāšur, but it is clear that they are four separate names. The first occurs in *AJIB* 128/133 as Mānqorqorya, SE of Dābrā Wārḡ on a route to Dāra in Wālāqa; and Yāšur occurs later

independently. Next come Zāngēma, perhaps the Dangyame of NC 372 HDS 3 miles NE of Dābrā Wārḡ on the left bank of the river Azwāri; Yākubāt, the Yakabat of *Géod.* 6, 23 miles E of Dāmbača between the rivers Bāčāt and Muga; Gudla, a tributary of the Tāmča (*Géod.* 6 Gudala, NC 371 HDS Gudle); Yāčārāqan, the Yačaraqa of *Géod.* 6, 3 miles SW of Dāmbača; the river Lah 14 miles E of Bure (NC 371 HDR Lah); Gumār Sanqa in Wāmbārma (chap. 40); Askuna SW of Banja (NC 371 HEC) 'one of the districts of Banja' (text *in loc.*). Next, there is a group of names in Bāgemdēr. Gugubēn is a mountain on the E shore of Lake Ṭana (NC 371 HEK Gugubi, *Guida* Gughebi) near the mouth of the river Gumāra; Bahēr Šana is Lake Ṭana; the district of Zāhanso is perhaps the same as the Hanso of chapter 79, somewhere near Ēste S of Dābrā Tabor (chap. 45); the district of Dabēr called Muy in the same area; Hagwat Wāha near Ēste; Amba Gunā 35 miles SE of Dābrā Tabor (NC 372 HED): Dāngiya Kēmmer ('stone mound') near Šām'a (chap. 28); Dabāt near Guzāra (chap. 36); Iqalo, perhaps near Gunā; Zugāra, a district between Maḥdārā Maryam and Dābrā Qāntā Iyāsus (*Géod.* 5; NC 371 HED M. Debre Chente *sic*); Kwērēnkwēra in Zugāra; the river Bāba near Wēdo; Fogāra, a district between the rivers Rēb and Gumāra (*Géod.* 5; *Guida* map p. 368); Bēda Gādāl; and Mēšle, an island in Lake Ṭana S of Sana Island (NC 371 HEK Ṭana, near Gugubi).

### Chapter 59 (1620)

This deals with Bāgemdēr and Gojjam. It begins with Atkāna in Bāgemdēr SE of Dābrā Maryam on the road to Alāta about 19 miles from Lake Ṭana (Cheesman; Beke), a river on the left bank of the Abbay close to Ṭis Ēsat; it goes on to Gonj, the district of Gojjam W of the Ṭis Ēsat falls (NC 371 HEK Gheng). From there to Abaraj and Handasa (*Géod.* 5 Andasa, NC 371 HEC Andassam) a river which enters the Abbay 6 miles from Bahēr Dar. Next is the river Ṭul, another tributary of the Abbay, 12 miles S of the Handasa (*Géod.* 5 Šina ou Tul, NC 371 HED Tuol); and from there after some 15 or 20 miles to the river Šālyā, a tributary of the Bēr (NC 371 HEC/HDR Talia).

## Chapter 62 (1620)

This chapter deals with a campaign against Yona'el a rebellious *däjazmač* of Bägemdër; it begins in Angot and Bägemdër and ends in Damot. Amba Šengëla is described as the strongest *amba* in Angot, though its site is not known. Amba Gašäna seems to be the Mt Gixan of *Géogr.* p. 321 in Dälänta, some 60 miles NW of Dessie [NC 372 HEE]; here Yon'el took refuge. Zantëra is perhaps the Santara of NC 372 HEM 15 miles NW of Ualdia (Wäldëya) and not far from the source of the Tökkäzi; unless there has been a big jump from Dälänta to Gondar, when it might be near Sarbakwësa 10 miles SSE of Gondar; and Gëmälës was possibly between Däriša (chap. 36) and Yämaryam Däbër, the Mt Maryäm of *Géod.* 4. Then come Zäng between Ēbnat and the Rëb (chap. 36); Šäm'a 'which is called Dängors' (p. 143 above); Žan Meda, E of Däbrä Tabor; Farsa: the Faharta of NC 372 HEK immediately S of Däbrä Tabor; Iqalo (chap. 58); Mäšällämya, *Géogr.* p. 320 Maxallama Abbo, which is between the next place Nāfas Mäwča (NC 372 HEE Nefas Mucha) to the E and Dëddëm (NC 372 HEK Diddim Tion) to the W (Nāfas Mäwča is 30 miles ESE of Däbrä Tabor.); Čäčäho, one of the main tributaries of the Bäšëlo (chap. 27). The next place is Gärägära, the Garagara Giyorgis of *Géod.* 5, 20 miles SE of Däbrä Sina in Nägälä, the Gherghera of *Guida* p. 393, and the Guerguera of Lefebvre; it was near the source of the Čäčäho, and a few miles north of it on the Dessie-Gondar road is the rock church of Däbrä Abunä Aron (Sauter in *AE*, V. 1963). Then come Mäqet, NC 372 HEL Meket immediately NE of Däbrä Zëbit; Wädla, the small province which in early XIX was separated from Bägemdër by the river Gëta, and from Dälänta on the E by a branch of the Gëta, NC 372 HEE Gidda (*Géogr.*, p. 321); Atäro; Yänaja, NC 372 HEE Ianeggia, *Guida* p. 393 Ienegia Cudus Micael NW of Bëthor; Tëmät, Mëš'adot, Sändädo Meda, Hajjësge, all unidentifiable; Ašgwagwa with a small lake. In this area is the source of the Tökkäzi of which Almeida says that 'at the foot of a high mountain . . . three springs of water burst out with great force within a stone's throw of each other' (*SRE*. p. 30); this is E of Sántära and some 10 miles N of Wäldëya (NC 372 HEM Ualdia). Then Šahat. After this, there is a list of *ambas* captured by Susnëyos during this campaign, all said to be in

Angot: Šengëla (already mentioned), Ayba, Lač, Qwëlbīt, Wahat, Sālamat, Gāntälāt, Närt and Tuba. In the next group of places are: Šädäho in Bägemdër, Šeyat, and Šälgo in Angot on the way from which to Sahëla, the next place, Susnëyos found an abandoned rock church built by Yëkuno Amlak, with many pillars and very high. None of these can I identify, and I cannot equate this church with any of those in Sauter's list. After Sahëla is Qäččën Abba, which could be where the rock church of Däbrä Qätin is to be found; Sauter lists this as known from documentary evidence only. Mount Qätin occurs in the *Gädlä Aron* (p. 84 above; t. 'Amdä Šeyon). Aron is said to have crossed the Tökkäzi from Lalibäla (Roha) and come to Mount Qätin, leaving Däbrä Däret on his right; neighbouring districts were Mäqet near Däbrä Zëbit mentioned earlier in this chapter, Asasa, and the boundary of Wädla and Dawënt (*Gädlä Aron*, pp. 133, 136). This would place it somewhere in the Bëthor area.

After this are Lüzäb Šiha, perhaps somewhere near the place called Orkaie on NC 372 HEE SE of Däbrä Zëbit. Then Amba Tëta (not the same as that in chap. 8), possibly though doubtfully Tata Qirqos, where there is a rock church, Sauter's no. 72; this is followed by Tirara a district of Hasäsa, which looks rather like the Asasa mentioned above, in which case Lüzäb Šiha was S of the Tökkäzi. Then the river Toṭa Bahër and Wärwär, the district of which Lalibäla is the chief place. A few miles E of Lalibäla is Ašätan, *Géod.* 4 Ašätan, where is the rock church of Ašätan Maryam (Ašceten in Italian spelling) and possibly also the church mentioned in the Life of Nä'akwëto Lä'ab called Wägrä Šëhin or Ašëtën (v.l. Ašëtän; *Gädlä N. Lä'ab*, fol. 75 v. Conti Rossini). Next, on the route to Gašäna, is Qwëra Anbäsa, one day from Täč Talet (NC 372 HEE Rai (*sic*) Tallet) 20 miles NE of Bëthor. Then Čat Wäha, a district one day's march from the Čäčäho, to Gädäba, Hëtakët, Iqalo (chap. 58), Dëddëm (NC 372 HEK Diddim Tion 12 miles ESE of Däbrä Tabor), Qëtäma (chap. 36), Dängwärs (= Šäm'a), Zäng (chap. 36), and Bëra near Däriša (chap. 58).

The scene now shifts to Damot and Gojjam. First, from the ford of Min (Mäbil, chap. 58), to Mätäkäl in Agäwmëdr some 50 miles to the NW (chap. 40), then to the Gongga country which was W of Bizamo and on both sides of the Abbay in the area NC 363 HDN/HDP shown on the map in square HDP as

Scinascia (i.e. Šināša). Thence by Dägär to Hankaša in the Ēnjäbära region (chap. 33), Ćara SW of Dangĕla (chap. 33), Dangĕla itself 25 miles S of Yĕsmala Giyorgis (NC 371 HEC Danghila, *Géod.* 5 Dangila), Kwakwĕra S of Dangĕla (chap. 33), Lala S of Mätäkäl (chap. 40), Abola N of Yĕsmala Giyorgis (chap. 40), and lastly there is a mention of the *sĕkut* of Ćara and Banja Ēhuša, the latter possibly the Saha Banja of *Géod.* 5 miles S of Kwakwĕra. *Sĕkut* is an Agaw word meaning 'village defence system', thus described by Conti Rossini: 'I villaggi solevano esser recinti da una fitta, folta macchia di bambu . . . ad ogni passo, quindi, la inestricabile macchia, detta *sĕkut* o *sukut* dagli Agau' (*Giorn. Soc. Asiat. Ital.*, XIX, pp. 104–5).

#### Chapter 65 (1)

This continues with Gojjam and Damot. Boräz in Gojjam is shown on *Géod.* 5 as Mt. Boraz just SE of Amädamid in Haräfa district (*Géod.* 5 Arafä). Zaf is possibly in Ēnzägĕdĕm, which is NE of Amädamid between that and Šĕlalo (NC 371 HEC/HED Inzeghedim). After this comes Sänbät Gäbäya ('Sunday market') and Dĕkul Kāwana between Haräfa and Ēnamora (chap. 58); Dägämo between Haräfa and Ēnamora (see below, p. 226); Däbrä Giyorgis, perhaps Boṭ Giyorgis near Dĭn (*Géod.* 5; chap. 13) N of the river Bĕr; the Bĕr itself (chap. 28, 33) which rises N of Dämbaĉa and flowing SW enters the Abbay some 5 miles E of Mälka Lokäm (NC 371 HDR); and lastly the *ambo* (salt lick or spring) of Zĕndĕb.

#### Chapter 65 (2)

This part of chapter 65 contains the only mention of Paez that I have seen in an Ethiopic document. Writing of the building of the church at Azäzo the chronicler refers to 'a master builder, a Frank named Padri Pay'.

#### Chapter 66 (1622)

This chapter refers to places in Bägemdĕr and Amhara. Säne Maryam is the Zena Maryam shown on *Géod.* 4 some 4 miles NE of Däriša. Ćägwarit Zĕgba and Jäfjäfa were in Dära (see below, p. 204). Then three places in the Hayq region: Ma'ĕšo, Kwĕlla, and Ambasäl NW of Lake Hayq (chap. 28). Back in

Bägämdĕr are Qwawwĕr in Fogära; Gwĕmara, the southern Gumara river (NC 371 HEK); Sawn or Sawĕn between the Gumara and Sändäga; Mahdärä Maryam 12 miles SSW of Aringo (NC 371 HED); Rāĉa in Bägämdĕr; Zugära S of Mahdärä Maryam (*Géod.* 5); Ĕste (chap. 58) where the river was called Wänqa, NC 372 HED Uanca, a tributary of the Abbay, which fixes more or less the position of Ĕste; Mĕkre, somewhere in the Gwärrädit region (NC 372 HED); Afqära; Sĕmadu, unknown, unless it is a miswriting for Sĕmada in which case it is the district W of Gwärrädit; Sädat, the headquarters of a district chief; Bĕjäna; Gorade Wäha, a tributary on the right (north) bank of the Bäšĕlo. From the Bäšĕlo, the places are, to the S and SE, Ĕmbisman (chap. 40); Kolo, a mountain range 60 miles W of Dessie (chap. 28); Yäšma in Kolo; Adäla near which was a bridge; Šäräqat, the source of the Bäšĕlo, SW of Dessie (NC 372 HEF); Gäñi, a district opposite Hanazo, perhaps the same as the Gäñ of the *Futūh*, Hanazo being one of the rivers in the Dessie area running SE or E. Then Wasäl (or Wasĕl) which was somewhere near Dessie (p. 104 above); this was not the 'Ho Acel' of Alvares, for that means simply 'The Acel' (*Prester John*, p. 572), and since it is named in the *Futūh* is one of the 'gates' of Bet Amhara it must be sought in the Dessie region. I suggest as a site which appears to fit both the *Futūh* and the Chronicle of Susnĕyos the Asĕllĕl pass some 12 miles N of Wärrä Ilu and 25 miles SSW of Dessie. Then Dida Gärado, shown as 'Grado Plain' just SW of Dessie on NC 372 HEF. (This appears more likely than Crawford's identification with Gherado NC 372 HEM 45 miles NNW of Dessie (*Ethiop. Itin.*, p. 50.) Whether the element Dida is Galla or not is, I think, irrelevant in this context.) After this comes a string of unidentifiable names till there is a return to Kolo: Awot, Qĕddusge, Amora Gädäl, Qoqhamedä, Bäja, Bĕĉat, Yä'awsa Meda, Yäzäqwenat, Bägĕ' Mahsäbya, Däbrä Sina between Kolo and Koreb (the latter NC 372 HEE Koreb 25 miles NW of Collo = Kilo); then Kolo, Qästä Ambola, Koreb, Yäwäna, the river Bäšĕlo, Ṭär'a, Gorade Wäha, Bĕjäna. It is possible that Gorade Wäha is Guarradit, 40 miles SE of Däbrä Tabor.

## Chapter 69 (1624)

This chapter concerns the Fālaša country; all the places are in square HES of ND 375: Māšāha near Sāgānāt; Saganat (ND 375 Segonet, chap. 43), which was the *amba* of Gedewon the *liq* of the Fālaša; and Māna in Gēmālēs, where the Fālaša blocked the roads with two elephants; this could be the district of Menna of ND 375 between the Menna and Tākkāzi rivers.

## Chapter 70

This chapter deals with the campaign against the impostor Wāldā Qebrēyal who had been incited by the Turks to rise against Susnēyos. It begins at Mālza and ends in Wālāqa. Mālza is 15 miles SSE of Ebnat (ND 375 HEK Melza); then Tāgwēlat in Shoa; the district of Mēhuy which might be the Muhi of NC 372 HDU 15 miles WNW of Molale which is some 20 miles NNE of Tāgwēlat; Lājru, the *amba* of the Het Nora; Mārah Bete between the Adābay and Wānčēt rivers, entered from the S by way of Bādābāj (Badaso) and thence to the Wānčēt (see chap. 9); and from there back to Mālza. Wāldā Qebrēyal then went to Shoa and invested Bādābāj *amba*. The king was camped at Gor in Shoa. Other names are Sāngola; Kwāllaš; Aftānāt Amba 10 miles NW of Molale (NC 372 HDU Aftenet); Elma Amba; Gēše district near Wārrā Ilu; and Gēšāna, an *amba* and district in Wālāqa.

## Chapter 71

The places in this chapter are Wāčo in Amhara; Dāj Amba; Hayq (NC 372 HEF); Gwēzāt Amba; and Wādla.

## Chapter 73

This deals mainly with Amhara, Mārah Bete, and Mānz. Hamsa Bār ('fifty passes') was in Gēše (Wārrā Ilu); Kwārira and Tamo are in Mārah Bete or Marabete (NC 372 HDT; see chap. 9); in Tēqā Maga are two small *ambas*. Then Zāndo Gur in Tāgwēlat; Wāyn Amba in Mānzēh; Qāñē' Mānzēh, perhaps represented by Gann Dega in NC 372 HDU 51 miles SW of Molale; Hara Dēma in Mānzēh, NC 372 HDU Aradima 20 miles NNW of Molale.

## Chapter 74

This chapter deals with a war against the son of Gedewon the Fālaša. It contains two names, both in the Ras Dājān area: Amba Wati in Sēmen, and Ašāla Amba in Sēmen. The former is mentioned by Almeida and Paez in connexion with the war against Grañ, in the forms Oaty (Almeida) and Oatê (Paez).

## Chapter 75

This continues the events of chapter 74. Sābra, the king's headquarters is SE of Derasghie (chap. 43). Haye is the mountain height Hay of *Géod.* 3 and ND 375 HET, NE of Ras Dājān. The rest of the places in this chapter appear to be in Shoa: Mēgēl Waša Amba near Tāgwēlat, perhaps the Gib Uascia [C] of NC 375 HDM; Qwēndi Amba in Tāgwēlat, from which Wāldā Qebrēyal sallied forth to plunder Ifat; Haddisge; Zālo, the headquarters of Sē'ēlä Krēstos; the river Čālnāqo; the river Awodi, a tributary of the Awaš rising in mountains near Qwēndi Amba; Har Māgāb; and Amba Ēmmā Mēhrāt in Shoan Ifat.

## Chapter 76 (1627)

This chapter contains the record of a grant of land by Susnēyos to his brother *Ras* Sē'ēlä Krēstos in Gojjam and Bāgemdēr. The places named in Gojjam are all in the Amādāmit – Sarka – Dābrā May area, where Sē'ēlä Krēstos already had land. The places are Māsqał Haš, Lējj Ambāra, Kābāsa, Qulči, Šālēna, and Šimā Ras. The second, in spite of the spelling must be the place called Lig Ambera on NC 371 HEC, *Géod.* 5 Mt. Liq, between Amādāmit and Ēnzāgēdēm. Kābāsa could be the Giv Assra of NC 371 HEC 10 miles SW of Dābrā May. Šimā Ras was between Lējj Ambāra and Sarka. The other names I cannot identify. It is also stated that Sē'ēlä Krēstos was given the country from Ēmfraz to Qaroda (see *Land Charters*, no. 61).

## Chapter 77 (1627)

This refers to Damot and Agāwmēdr. The places are Baša perhaps near Dangēla; Dangēla; Tēmbēl and Gunčēq, tributaries of the river Dura (left bank), the first shown by Beke as Tembil in Čara N of Banja; Fagēta Sēgla, shown on *Géod.* 5 as

two places Fagutta and Šikla NW of Giš Abbay, and possibly the Fagutta Abbo of NC 371 HEC; Kwakwëra, *Géod.* 5 Kuakuira, NC 371 HEC Quoquara S of Dangëla (chap. 33).

#### Chapter 79

The names here are Fëše Bädëni W of Dämbača (chap. 50); the district of Zantëra near Sarbakwësa and Grañ Bär (SE of Gondar); Jäfjafa near Tämre somewhere near the Gëlda river of NC 371 HED in Dära (see below, p. 204) Hanso (chap. 58); and Gämbota where Së'ëlä Krëstos made a fort in Mëdrä Čäqwe (cf. chap. 22).

#### Chapter 80 (1628)

This deals with Agäwmëdr. The river Yämalägw is a tributary of the Bër, *Géod.* 6 Yamalog, a few miles E of Bure (chap. 33). The other names are Askuna (chap. 59), and Kwëlla Gwëdära (chap. 51) where Susnëyos made a fort.

#### Chapter 82 (1628)

Here the names are Šafašëf in Tëgre and Mäzba in Ęndärta, which I cannot locate.

#### Chapter 83

This chapter deals with a revolt in Lasta. It begins at Mänti in Bäläsa, not the province E of Dämbëya, but a district shown as Belesa SW of Dänqaz (ND 374 HEK). Then Däbäna Säg; Qwëy on the other side of the Täkkäzi near the road to Näfas Mäwča; Ayna in Lasta (*Géod.* 4) between the rivers Täkkäzi and Mëri, with the village of Ayna Iyäsus 15 miles NW of Lalibäla (*Géod.* 4 Ayna Iyasus, ND 375 HEK Aina Jesus).

#### Chapter 84 (1629)

Continuing in the same region we have Hamus Wänz, NC 372 HEK Amus Wenz 10 miles NE of Däbrä Tabor; Mäqätäwa (ND 375 HEL Mechetoa 30 miles ENE of Ębnat) with a district called Zägäl Moqa. Then Athana and Žäräbätën. The latter is where Susnëyos made a fort, and is written Žäräkätën, in *PC.* 28, 32. Then Sëhla, perhaps the Saguala of *Géod.* 4 and Giaguala

of ND 375 HEL, 30 miles ESE of Mechetoa across the Täkkäzi and 10 miles NW of Lalibäla; and Šërha Asfäre, an *amba* in Dälänta [NC 372 HEE].

#### Chapter 85

Continuing in the same region are Šenjäna, Safda, Sädaqot in Wädla, Gärägära, and Daret (chap. 62), and Gašäna in Wädla (chap. 62).

#### Chapter 86

Continuing in the same region are the river Žäta, a tributary of the Bäsëlo (possibly the Žëta of *AII.* 239); Tëqwërena, where peasants in revolt against Fasilädäs made a stronghold, NC 372 HEE Tucurena, 10 miles SE of Bëthor; Tänta; and Lëgot.

#### Chapter 89

Also in the same region are Mazäna, mountains in Ayna on the east side of the Täkkäzi.

#### Chapter 91

This refers to Gojjam, and we have first Gafit in Sarka N of Däbrä May (chap. 6), and Qwäläla 'now called Densa' (Esteves Pereira), a residence of the Jesuits from 1612, the Collela<sup>1</sup> of Almeida and NC 371 HED, 15 miles NW of Moča. *Géod.* 6 shows Densa 5 miles NW of Zalalo (Šëllalo) the position in which Almeida puts it, whereas NC 371 shows Collela *south* of Zelale (Šëllalo). Qwäläla however was a district, and the NC 371 position is therefore not necessarily incorrect.

#### Chapter 92

East of Gojjam are Sëmada (chap. 23), Gol and Ahyo, all in the same area S of Gwärrädit (NC 372 HED/HEE/HDT). Ahyo is shown by Beke as Ahiyu, close to the confluence of the Dänqoro with the Abbay (chap. 40).

<sup>1</sup>[On Collela see P. Caraman, *The Lost Empire. The Story of the Jesuits in Ethiopia 1555-1634*, London, 1985, pp. 82-3, 124, 148. R.P.]

## Chapter 93

This contains the place called Ambač Arwa near and S of Zantëra (chap. 62) and Grañ Bär (chap. 47).

## Chapter 94

Here are named Šëndena in Wädla, Yänäfasä, Yäsaw Däm, Gädäba, and Sëhla (chap. 84).

## Chapter 95

Here we have 'the gate of the narrow pass called Agäw Žër', between Šäšära (ND 375 HEM Tatare) 5 miles WSW of Alomata and Gwälima Eras, possibly the source of the river called Gollena on ND 375 HEM 25 miles S of Tatare. Then Gayënt, NE of Gwärrädit, NC 372 HED/HEE Gaint.

## Chapter 96

This contains the names Mäšqänt in Bägemdër, Mäqätäwa (Mechetia, chap. 84), and Qärarëm in Bägemdër.

## Chapter 97

The places here are in Bägemdër: Gërarya, where a fort was built by the *sëyum* of Gojjam; Qäyyëh Afär; and Wëlahä.

## Chapter 98

The places here are in Bägemdër and Dämbëya. First, Kämkä, a district NE of Yëfäg (Ifäg), *Géod.* 4. Then Awlida; Mäšlut near Qaroda; and Mika'el Däbër, *Géod.* 4, 10 miles N of Däriša.

## Chapter 99

The only name here is Ambus Qänta, which was somewhere near Däriša (chap. 36).

## VIII THE REIGN OF FASILÄDÄS 1632–67

## I

Much of the reign of Fasilädäs the son of Susnëyos was spent in fighting the Galla, Shangalla (Šanqëla), and other external enemies, as well as rebellious subject peoples within the kingdom. The expulsion of the Jesuits was completed. Mendez left Ethiopia in 1634; and in 1665 the 'books of the Franks' were burnt. Possibly the most significant act of Fasilädäs was his decision to make Gondar the permanent capital of Ethiopia, a decision which, in Ullendorff's words, 'heralded the steady growth of regionalism, the increasing independence of the great feudal lords, and the progressive reduction of the *nëgusä nägäst*, shorn of all real power, to serve merely as the symbol of the Solomonic connexion' (*The Ethiopians*, 1960, p. 79). One of the motives of Fasilädäs may have been a wish to withdraw as far as possible from the Muslim sphere and the threat of Muslim attacks; but the isolation of Gondar eventually proved a weakness in other respects. The anti-Muslim measures were continued by his son Yohannës.

## II

The source for this reign being an abbreviated chronicle, *PC*, fol. 28–9, 44, we have not the detailed topography of the Chronicle of Susnëyos. In 1632 Fasilädäs established his headquarters at Libo in Bägemdër (ND 374 HEK); his uncle Së'älä Krëstos he deported to Šëwada NW of Derasghie and finally hanged in the valley of Abäro Amba (? the Abäro Pass in Gär'alta, ND 375 HFE, NW of Macalle). During the next two or three years (1633–5) Fasilädäs was occupied in Libo fighting the rebel Mälkë'a Krëstos (not the *bëhtwädäd* of the same name who died in 1633), who was killed in that area in 1635. *PC* recording this campaign says that at the beginning, Fasilädäs fled with a few mounted troops, taking the crown with him, and leaving the rebel to occupy the palace and put a diadem on his head. All the people of the Qëre and Doräba [Däräba] Bet came to greet

him saying, 'He who was hidden has appeared'. (PC 29). In 1633 Fasilädäs was at Šamma Mašäbya in Bägemdër, and spent the wet season at Dokit, which is probably another form of Dobit (Per. Sus. chap 45 Dobit, PC. Dokit) on the frontier of Bägemdër. In 1635 he attacked the Agaw of Azäna (NC 371 HDR Azane) and Zigäm between Azäna and Mätäkäl (Beke); then, after fighting with the Galla he was at Qanzëla near the shore of Lake Ṭana 10 miles ESE of Aläfa (NC 371 HEJ Cansela). In 1637 he established his residence at Gondar, which thus became the first permanent capital of Ethiopia. Here Fasilädäs built his great palace or castle, another with a piscina (pool)<sup>1</sup>, a smaller castle, and seven churches. His successors added more buildings, and the city was later enclosed in a wall with twelve gates. The river Qaha (ND 374 HER/HEJ Caa) flanks the city on the west. Fasilädäs seems to have begun building here in or before 1634, some twelve years after the death of Paez. It has been said that the earlier structures at Gondar were built or designed by the Portuguese; but this is not true, though they certainly show Portuguese influence.<sup>2</sup>

In 1637 Fasilädäs was again fighting the Agaw in the districts of Dangëla, Hankaša, and Zigäm; and in the following year he made an expedition to Lasta. During the next ten years he was occupied with repelling Galla raids, fighting the Šanqëla, and travelling round Agäwmëdr, Damot, and Gojjam. Among the places named in this period are Zigäm, Mätäkäl, Ĕzagëdëm, Zära, Qwëy, Gwëman (Guman), Hankaša, and Wämbärya which was devastated by Bë'ëlä Krëstos. All these have already occurred in the chronicle of Susnëyos, except Wämbärya, which was possibly S of Azäna between the Suri and Dura rivers NC 371 HDP/HDR, but not Wänbëra (NC 362 HDF/HDP Uombera) which is much too far west (*SRE*. p. 241). He also raided the Akäbo Galla in the district of Säbe S of the Abbay. Places where he camped are named as Dërdëra, Däbet, and Zäge, the last being the peninsula in the bay at the SE corner

<sup>1</sup>[The dating of this 'bathing palace' would seem in fact far from certain. There is some evidence to suggest that it might have been built for Iyasu II rather than Fasilädäs: see Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, pp. 124, 157. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>On Gondar see Monti della Corte's 'picture book' *I Castelli di Gondar*, Rome, 1938; R. Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia*, London, 1961; chap. 7; *Guida*, pp. 353-8, [and Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 115-38, 142-79.]

of Lake Ṭana (NC 371 HEC Zeghie), where he kept Lent in 1646 and 1647. Däbet is near Zäwa W of Biccena (NC 372 HDS Debet); Dërdëra I cannot place.

In 1649-50 Fasilädäs fought the Galla in Gojjam, and invaded Mëdrä Haddis. Basset, in a note (no. 292) to this passage in *PC* says that the name 'Nouvelle Terre ou Nouveau Monde (Haddis Aläm) avait été donné à cette contrée par Räs Së'la Krëstos qui y avait pénétré pour la première fois en 1615, lors d'une expédition contre les Gälläs. (Cf. Lobo, *Relation*, p. 109.)' It is true that Lobo has this name, but the MS of *PC* fol. 29 has Mëdrä Haddis. Almeida's map shows Haddis Aläm, written Adisalen, S of Ĕnamora (*Géod.* 6). On his map d'Abbadie has Mädhane Aläm 5 miles to the S near Dälma, and it is perhaps here that we should place the Däbrä Abrëham otherwise called Haddis Aläm which occurs in chapter 51 of the chronicle of Susnëyos. This, it would seem, is therefore not the place to look for Mëdrä Haddis, from which (wherever it was) Fasilädäs returned to fight the Hankaša Agaw.

In 1650-1 he was in Ĕste and raided Lasta, after which he kept Lent in Dära, and attacked the Šanqëla of Dangëš, returning for the following Lent to Dägusma in Agäwmëdr. Dangëš was in the Dura river area on the W of Agäwmëdr; NC 371 HEB marks 'Sciangalla' 20 miles NW of the Dura river. Later he was at Žäräkätën in Bägemdër, and fought the Wäko Galla (1852-3); at Räča in Bägemdër (1653-4); held a synod at Aringo and made an expedition to Lasta (1654-5); and kept Lent at Aringo. In 1656 he went to Gwabrä and Räča, and in 1658 sent Lawis the *blattengeta* to Ariraba and Ĕkä'a, and Ras Wäldä Giyorgis to fight the Moz, 'that is, the Gongga', who lived W of Gumär in Wämbärma [NC 371 HDR], and occur again in the reign of Yohannës I. In 1658-9, while he was at Aringo, Fasilädäs sent Wäldä Giyorgis to fight the Galla in Zära (E. Gojjam) and the Agaw of Mätäkäl; Lawis went to fight the Galla at Mënyëččër, somewhere between Mäläk Šanqa and the Wäläqa river, and NE of Ahyo [NC 372 HEE]. In 1659-60 he made war in Lasta against Läke son of the rebel Mälkë'a Krëstos, after which he went to Hagärä Šalam and fought the Hankaša Agaw. In 1661-2 he was fighting the Galla in Gojjam and spent some time at Dägusma; the *däjazmač* Mahdärä Krëstos, being sent to defend Gojjam against the Galla, conquered the Wärrömenu, i.e. the Wärrä Himäno of

the Lake Hayq region. In 1662 the *azaž* Dēmyanos was killed at Šotäl Meda between the territories of the Lägä Ambo and Lägä Gurä Galla NW of Lake Hayq. Lent of 1663 was kept at Aringo<sup>1</sup>, and the following wet season at Žara Gäme (in E. Gojjam; see below, p. 200). In 1666 he was again at Aringo, and he sent his son the Abeto Dawit to Wähni because he rebelled against him in Bälya. Wähni is a mountain 7 miles N of Däriša (*Géod.* 4 Wihni, ND 374 HEK Uehni)<sup>2</sup>, which was established by Fasilādās as a prison for royal personages, the use of Amba Gēšēn for this purpose having been given up. In 1667 a synod was held at Aringo; and on 18 October 1667 Fasilādās died at Azāzo.

#### VISIT TO GONDAR OF ḤASAN IBN AḤMAD AL-ḤAIMĪ

[In 1648, twelve years after the founding of Gondar by Fasilādās, the city was visited by a Yemeni ambassador Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad Al-Ḥaimī. His report provides an itinerary from the 'Afar port of Beilul on the Red Sea coast through stony lowlands and elephant country to 'Ainamalī', possibly Aina-Mela, near Corbettà. This was the beginning of that part of the journey in which there was danger from the Galla, who, he says, were a 'powerful people' then advancing into Abyssinia on all sides. The envoy travelled thence to Anṭālo (17 miles SSW of Qiha) in the Tēgre province of Ēndārta, the provinces of Sāḥart and Abärgäle, the Tākkāzi river, the region of the Fālaša, the Sēmen mountains, the Amhara country, and on to Gondar. On leaving the capital, which he is the first to describe, he proceeded through Dēbarwa to the coast at Massawa. F. E. Peiser, *Zur Geschichte Abessiniens im 17. Jahrhundert. Der Gesandtschaftsbericht des Hasan ben Ahmed El-Haimi*, pp. 1–85, summarised on pp. ix–ixv and more recently E. J. Van Donzel, *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia*, pp. 54–231, with itinerary on pp. 73–4. R.P.]

<sup>1</sup>[On Aringo see Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, pp. 139–40. R.P.]

<sup>2</sup>[On Wähni see T. Pakenham, *The Mountains of Rasselas*, London, 1959. R.P.]

## IX YOHANNĒS I 1667–81

### I

YOHANNĒS the son of Fasilādās continued his father's attempt to segregate the Muslims, but his reign was more peaceful. He spent much of his time in Gojjam, Damot, and Agāwmēdr, with punitive expeditions to the Ašgwaḡwa region to deal with the troubles caused by the revolt of Fares and Zä Maryam in 1677 and 1679. The two inciters of the revolt finally fell out, and Zä Maryam, having been reconciled and made governor of Tēgre, defeated Fares. There was religious trouble in Lasta, and its clergy were accused of heresy; synods were held in an attempt to suppress it. One of the features of the reign is the number of councils held: they dealt with the issue of regulations concerning the segregation of Muslims, Fālaša, and Franks, with marriage legislation, and with theological matters. Another feature was the more lenient spirit displayed by the king at the beginning of his reign, for there was an amnesty for those who had been imprisoned since the beginning of his father's reign, and a remission of the cattle-tax (both in 1667). The defection of his son and successor Iyasu in 1680, magnified by Coulbeaux (*Histoire de l'Abysinie*, II, p. 272) into a revolt, was not a very serious affair. In this reign Yēbaba appears for the first time as a sort of subsidiary capital<sup>1</sup>; and it is now also that we have the first detailed accounts of the king's movements. In this book I have set them out in the form of Itineraries for greater clarity; in the Chronicle, however, they are written in narrative form, with many interpolations by the chronicler which are irrelevant to the topographical study of the period. (In this and the next chapter, references in [ ] at the end of each itinerary are to the French version (*CSCO*. vols. 23 and 25), and indicate the page on which each itinerary begins.)

<sup>1</sup>[On Yēbaba see Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, pp. 129, 139–41, 319. R. P.]

II  
ITINERARIES OF YOHANNĒS I

(NOTE. In the MSS of this Chronicle the Abbay is called Abbawi, reverting to the older form; here it is written Abbay.)

Itinerary I. 1668

This was a punitive expedition against the Agaw. The king left Aringo on 29 May, and returned to Gondar on 14 July.

Route:

Aringo, NC 371 HEK.

Hankaša, in the Ĕnjäbara region of Agäwmēdr between Ĕnjäbära and Sähäla.

Ahuša from which he attacked the people of Banja. This was probably the Banja Ĕhuša of Per. Sus. 62, and perhaps the Saha Banja of *Géod.* 5, some 10 miles N of Banja (NC 371 HEC Bangia). From here he attacked also the people of Askuna SW of Banja, NC 371 HEC Askunā.

Thence he returned to Gondar; the route is not given. [AJIB. 11.]

Itinerary II. 1669–70

Another punitive expedition against the Agaw, starting from Gondar, and thence to Askuna and returning to Yēbaba on 17 June 1670. The king left Gondar on 20 November 1669 and came to Qoläla by an unspecified route. This was either the place called Quollet on NC 371 HEC between Ghisc Abbai and the Guder river, or else Quollela 5 miles E of Ĕnjäbara, NC 371 HEK.

Thence to Banja.

Lakuma, where he camped at Christmas 1669. This is Lokama Banja, *Géod.* 5, 5 miles N of Banja. While here he devastated Šašēna and invaded Sēkut, then moved back to Šašēna, and again invaded Sēkut and Askuna Banja (i.e. the districts of A and B). Šašēna is shown on Cheesman's map between Fudi and Askuna; Fudi is 20 miles NW of Bure (NC 371 HEC). While camped in Sēkut he caused all the trees and bush to be cleared, and ordered the Agaw to leave open the routes from Sarka to nine places:

Bäd of Sähäla.

Qēž (unknown).

Čät, a river near Dangēla (Per. Sus. 40).

Dangēla, NC 371 HEC Danghila.

Čara, between Kwakwēra and Tēmhwa.

Tēmhwa, NC 371 HEC Tumha 5 miles NW of Danghila,

*Géod.* 5, Tumhua Kidana mihrat; Almeida, Tanqha.

Ačäfär, the district SW of Lake Ṭana.

Anbäsa Gama, possibly the Ammis Gamma of *Géod.* 5 about 5 miles SSW of Ysmala Giyorgis.

Having destroyed the trees, the Agaw of Gam in Sēkut sued for mercy, and the king was gracious. Gam is described in the Chronicle (p. 15) as being in the centre of Sēkut, and the 'womb and belly', of all the Agaw. If, as is possible, Gam is the place called Gum on NC 371 HDP between the rivers Dim and Azir S of Azane (Azäna), the position of Sēkut is fixed in this area.

From Sēkut the king returned to Yēbaba. This place now for the first time comes into the records. It is shown as the district of Ybaba on *Géod.* 5 immediately to the NW of Däbrä May, and to the NE of Däbrä May d'Abbadie marks 'Palais ruiné d'Ybaba'; Beke also has Ibaba here. Bruce describes Yēbaba as being nearly as big as Gondar; but neither NC 371 HEC nor *Guida* show it. With reference to Däbrä May, *Guida* (p. 387) has the following: 'Nel vicine paesetto di Ivava sono avanzi di un turrito Pal(azzo) di Susenios, che sembra anteriore alle costruzioni gondarine; poco a O di Debra Mai sono resti di un Pal. di Fasiladas'. [AJIB. p. 11.]<sup>1</sup>

Itinerary III. 1670–1

This was something in the nature of a tour of inspection. The king left Gondar on 21 October for Yēbaba and returned to Gondar on 5 July 1671. Route:

Šädda (Per. Sus. 33), ND 374 HEK Tadda, S of Gondar.

Goräba (Per. Sus. 36), *Géod.* 4, 16 miles SE of Gondar.

Ĕnfēraz (Per. Sus. 31).

Qaroda (Per. Sus. 31), S of Ĕnfēraz, *Géod.* 4.

<sup>1</sup>[A photograph of this castle with twin towers is reproduced in C. Annaratone, *In Abissinia*, Roma, 1914, plate 94. See also Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Middle Ages to the Early Nineteenth Century*, pp. 129, 139–41. R.P.]

Abba Gunda.

Šenjut.

Tamre.

It is clear from various itineraries of Iyasu I that several stopping places between Qaroda and the Abbay have been left out here. From Aringo to the Țis Ęsat bridge is some 60 miles, which gives an average of about 8 miles between each of the seven stages from Aringo to the bridge, of which the full list (completed from Itineraries IV, VI, X, XII, and XX of Iyasu I) is as follows:

Aringo.

Hod Gābāya.

Abba Gunda.

Wānzāge<sup>1</sup>, NC 371 HEK, 20 miles SW of Aringo.

Šenjut, somewhere near the Gēlda river, NC 371 HED.

Jāfjāfa, perhaps the Gitgiba of *Géod.* 5, 9 miles SW of Wanzage.

Tamre, somewhere in the Warka area of *Géod.* 5.

Dēldēy, the Țis Ęsat bridge, 17 miles NE of Dābrā May.

Wānāba between Dābrā May and Šēlalo.

Then towards Ęnamora N of Dāmbača (Per. Sus. 58), but with a diversion at some point to Qolāla (NC 371 HED Collela, NW of Moṭa).

Then to Ęnzāgēdēm, the district W of Qolāla.

Arāfa, a river and district W of Ęnzāgēdēm.

Then eastwards to the Sāde river S of Moṭa (*Géod.* 5 Sade, Beke Saddle, NC 372 HED Sede).

Yēbaba.

Asāšērar, possibly Ambascerar shown on NC 371 HEC 7 miles SS of Bahar Dar.

Thence to Gondar. [AJIB. p. 13.]

#### Itinerary IV. 1671–2

Another punitive expedition against the Agaw of Askuna and Sēkut. The king left Gondar on 15 December 1671 and returned there on 3 July 1672. The route was:

<sup>1</sup>[Site of an important thermal bath mentioned for example in A. J. Hayes, *The Source of the Blue Nile*, London, 1905, pp. 62–3 and Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, p. 238. R.P.]

Sarka near Qolāla NC 371 HED Collela 15 miles NW of Moṭa.

Butla.

Dēn (Per. Sus. 13) between the Bēr and Lake Gudēra.

Hasāwa *Géod.* 6 Asawa, NC 371 HDR Asoa, 10 miles NNW of Dēn and 15 miles from the Bēr.

Fafa.

Gam in Sēkut (Itin. II).

Thence to an unnamed place between Banja and Mātākāl.

Thence he crossed the Dura and camped in the centre of Mātākāl, where he devastated the Arsi or Arisi Agaw.

Thence back to the Dura, and on to the Dura of Askuna Banja, i.e. a tributary of the main Dura, perhaps that shown between Sigadi and Bangia on NC 371 HEC with no name.

Anjēbāra in Hankaša, NC 371 HEC Engiabara 20 miles NNW of Bure.

Thence back to Askuna by way of Bure; he kept Lent 1672 in Askuna.

Thence to Atāta, probably the Attata of *Géod.* 6, 10 miles NW of Giš Abbay.

Sarka.

Across the Abbay by the *anqāsā dēldēy* of Anšo (Per. Sus. 79), probably 'Sabera Dildi' ('Broken Bridge'), SE of the junction of the Abāya with the Abbay, though it could have been the bridge at Țis Ęsat 25 miles higher up, the Tisisat Dil Dil of NC 371 HEC; both are masonry bridges built in the first half of XVII.

Aringo.

Ęnfēraz.

Gondar. [AJIB. 14.]

#### Itinerary V. 1672–3

An expedition against the Galla, from Gondar to Dēhēñ and back. This is a difficult route to follow. The king left Gondar on 25 November 1672, and went by way of Aringo, Gayēnt, Anqāsā Koreb, and Kolo to Dēhēñ and Dāra, whence he returned to Gondar on 25 June 1673. The chief difficulty in this itinerary is that Dēhēñ, the end of the route, can be placed only approximately. From Gondar the route was by Ęnfēraz

and Aringo to Gayənt (written Gahint in *Géogr.* p. 321) the region between Zor Amba and Səmada (NC 372 HED/HEE Gaint), thence to Anqäšä Koreb, 'the gate of Koreb', which was presumably somewhere near Koreb in Amara Sayənt (NC 372 HEE) and Kolo 20 miles SE of the place marked Koreb (NC 372 HEE Collo), and from there to Dəhəñ and Dära. The latter must be Dära in Wäläqa S of the Wäläqa river, NC 372 HDT Derra; Dəhəñ was therefore between Kolo and Dära, and the text suggests that it was close to Dära. From Dəhəñ he returned to Aringo 'by another route'. Then follow two lists of the places where he camped: first the journey from Aringo to Dəhəñ, and second the return from Dəhəñ to Aringo.

The first list contains, according to the text, 17 stages; the places are:

[Aringo].

Jan Meda.

Mälatit.

Golägwe, v.l. Golägwa, *Géod.* 4 Gologe river, which enters the Täckäzi about 2 miles S of the junction of the Täckäzi and Täklä (ND 375 HEK Talca *sic*).

Yäqalu.

Gayənt, NC 372 HED/HEE Gaint.

Zägba.

Täšt.

Yäwona, perhaps the same as the Yäwäna of Per. Sus. 66, in the Bäšəlo basin.

Ĕmbisma, the Ĕmbisman of Per. Sus. 66, between the Bäšəlo and Kolo.

Dämbäša.

Yäsat Meda.

Qäga Wäha.

Šəbta.

Algwa.

Märäqo.

Dəhəñ.

There are actually 16 places, since the figure of 17 given by the writer of the text is due to his having counted Qäga Wäha, as two places. Qäga, however, is the name of a plant, and *wäha* means 'water, river'; and we have here what is clearly an aggregate name of a common type.

The second list contains, according to the text, 21 stages; the places are:

[Dəhəñ].

Wäramo.

Wiz.

Šäwa Gädäl.

Gorägor.

Gännätä Giyorgis, E of Mäkanä Səllase in Gəše.

Mäkanä Səllase, about 12 miles NNW of Wärrä Ilu, not marked on NC 372 HDU, but the grid reference appears to be 1995. This famous convent was burnt by Grañ in 1531.

Yänägaš.

Wärq Waša.

Qəddus Wäha.

Anbäsa.

Säy.

Ṭəlwa.

Däqus.

Məngaš.

Ahyo, on the Abbay, 25 miles SW of Mäläk Sänqa (Beke, Ahiyu).

Duräna.

Gərar Wäha, NC 371 HED Graruha, 4 miles NNE of 'Sabera Dildi', from which the route may have been along the '6000 Mule Track' of NC 371 HED to Mahdärä Maryam and thence to Aringo.

Zäbgemhəri.

Ĕbdəsti.

[Aringo.]

[Gondar.]

As in the first list, the writer has increased the number of places by taking two aggregate names to represent four places. The list contains 19 places. (Dəhəñ, Aringo, and Gondar are not included.) Of the six aggregate names, four were doubtless well enough known even to a not very learned scribe: Šäwa Gädäl, Gännätä Giyorgis, Mäkanä Səllase, and perhaps Qəddus Wäha. The two names which he mistook for four were probably Wärq Waša, and Gərar Wäha. [AJIB. 16.]

## Itinerary VI. 1673-4

The king having spent Christmas 1673 at Yĕbaba, set out on a tour of inspection, returning to Gondar on 2 July 1674. The route was:

Yĕbaba (Itin. II).

Qolāla near Moṭa (Itin. III).

Ĕnzāgĕdĕm (Itin. III).

Dĕkwĕlkana, the Dĕkul Kāwana of Per. Sus. 65 between Ĕnzāgĕdĕm and Wadan.

Wadan.

Abādāndār below Qulbiṭ Amba.

Māčakāl SE of Dāmbača (Per. Sus. 50).

Afar.

Aškuna (Itin. I).

Čara, Mātākāl (Itin. II), and Lalābola, 2 June 1674.

Gondar by an unspecified route, 2 July 1674.

While in Askuna, he learnt that the Agaw of Čara had risen, killed the monks in the area, laid hands on the altars, and given out that they were going to close the churches and open temples of idols (p. 17). [AJIB. 16.]

## Itinerary VII. 1677

The king left Gondar on 20 October for the Ašgwagwa region to quell a revolt by the peasants in this area and in Angot, which had been incited by Yon'el and Šāga. Although this itinerary covered a fair amount of ground, he was back at Aringo by 11 December 1677. The route was:

Gondar.

Šadda (Itin. III).

Wāynarāb, ND 374 HEK Uainabar 20 miles SE of Tadda, *Géod.* 4 Waynarab.

Ĕnfĕraz (Itin. III), 'which is encircled by fortified towers'.

Qaroda.

Hamād Bār between Dāriša (Per. Sus. 36) and Aringo.

Aringo.

Wahit.

Wādo Meda, NC 371 HEK Uduo Media between Aringo and Lake Ṭana.

Kĕmmĕr Dāngiya.

Māšällāmya, at the place called Galla Ašĕnt, 'bones of the Galla'; the Maxallama Abbo of *Géogr.* p. 320.

Qābāro Meda.

Anqāšā Čāčāho. Maxallama Abbo is N of Zor Amba (NC 372 HEE), in which case Čāčāho must refer, not to the well known tributary of the Bāšĕlo, but to another Čāčāho which is a tributary of the Rĕb, *Géod.* 4 and ND 374 HEK, some 10 miles E of Abba Foge.

Šĕnāt Wāha.

Qura Anbāsa (Per. Sus. 62) possibly in Wādla, one day from Tač Ṭalet (NC 372 HEE Rai (*sic*) Tallet 20 miles NE of Bĕthor.

Gašāna (Per. Sus. 62) in Wādla, 60 miles NW of Dessie.

Šĕndena between Dābrā Zĕbit and Bĕthor, in Wādla.

Zānjārač, 'which is near Šĕla Ašfāre', the latter being the Sellasterri (*sic*) of NC 372 HEL, N of Bĕthor.

The summit of Ašgwagwa, near Santara NC 372 HEM.

At Zānjārač the king held a council and addressed his audience on the need to fight 'the enemies of the faith', with reference to the heretical beliefs of the Lasta clergy.

Thence to the Tākkāzi.

Across the Tākkāzi to Māzāla, perhaps the Madscl of NC 372 HEM, 10 miles NW of Wāldĕya though it is on the wrong side of the Tākkāzi, unless some stages have been omitted here. (But see Itin. X.)

Šĕngĕla, described in Per. Sus. 62 as the strongest *amba* in Angot.

During this campaign, twenty-six towns, districts, and *ambas* were reduced; none of the names are identifiable, though two occur in Per. Sus. 62 as *ambas* in Angot:

Sālāmat and Lāč. The other names are:

Qwälla Zet	Betara Yasadari Amba
Abeto Amba	Ganot
Wihit	Wĕraf
La'ĕlay Wāqet	Čāraro Amba
Tahtay Wāqet	Lānqwĕso Amba
Rĕ'sātuba	Dārba
Sĕrā Gādāl	Kārkāt
Māskot	Baroč Amba
Bāqlo Mannāqya	Ṭābiboč Amba (two)
Šāmā Fāj	Addis Amba

Durge

Zēnjāro Gādāl

Ēmbāy Dāfār

From 'the neighbourhood of Šēla Asfāre' he went back to Māzāla by way of Inad, and thence to:

Mārora in Gēdan (near Ašgwagwa), from which he attacked Dārage, Gāšāta, Ēyāla (v.l. E'ola), Sāgārat, and Dāngālsa. Čābna.

Akrafač.

Qēddus Ēstifanos, called Yāhaše Hudad, 'king's land', from which he attacked Arānqwač, Šafalam, Ētwaqa (v.l. Iṭaṭa), and Bilot near Ašgwagwa.

Sēhla. (Per. Sus. 84) possibly in Ayna, the western part of Lasta.

Gännātā Maryam, where he forced an entry into a church of the heretics.

Baršēha, near the Tākkāzi.

Then the Tākkāzi was crossed; the route from the first crossing of the Tākkāzi near Ašgwagwa to this point was therefore in Angot and Lasta N of the river.

Adari Bār.

Lāzābšēha (Per. Sus. 62) near Gārāgāra or Orkaie; this place was clearly S of the Tākkāzi (see p. 175 above). Here a council was held about the Lasta heresy.

Šāhay Bula.

Gārāgāra (Per. Sus. 62), *Géod.* 5 Garagara Giyorgis 20 miles SE of Dābrā Sina and 6 miles E of Dābrā Zēbit.

Aringo, 11 December 1677, where he spent Christmas.

Yēbaba, 28 January 1678, where he kept Lent. [AJIB. 18.]

## Itinerary VIII. 1678

This was an abortive expedition against Lasta. Having left Gondar on 25 October 1678, the king went by way of Šādda and got as far as Gēddēm, where he received an appeal from Gojjam and Damot for help against the Galla, so he went to Gojjam instead. The place called Gēddēm was not the province of Gēddēm, which is more than 200 miles SE of Gondar. The travelling time makes it plain that it was somewhere between Šādda and Aringo: Šādda, 25 October; Gēddēm, 19 November; Yēbaba, 25 November. This means that since the stage Gēddēm-Yēbaba took six days, the distance must have been 60

miles more or less; Aringo being 50 miles in a straight line from Yēbaba, Gēddēm was therefore somewhere to the north of Aringo. [AJIB. 25.]

## Itinerary IX. 1678-9

Returning from Gēddēm (Itin. VIII), the king crossed the Abbay and reached Yēbaba by 25 November 1678. From there he started on 22 March 1679 and travelled through Gojjam, Damot, and Agāwmēdr, returning to Gondar on 23 June 1679. His route was:

Yēbaba.

Samsi.

Ankaša [Hankaša] (Itin. IV).

Crossed the Fāšām river, NC 371 HDR Fetham, *Géod.* 6 Fāzām, Beke, Fatzam, a tributary of the Abbay which rises NW of Bure.

Gomār, NC 371 HDR Gumar in Uambarma, from which he sent a detachment to Moz, that is, the Gonga country W of Wāmbārma (p. 185 above). While at Gomār he rebuilt the fort, which had been destroyed.

Crossed the Fāšām again.

Zālābas (Per. Sus. 39 Zālābasa) near and W of Bure.

Ēnamora (Per. Sus. 58) N of Dāmbača and some 30 miles E of Bure.

Qulbit Amba (Itin. VI).

Bād, along the SW side of Lake Ṭana.

Gondar. [AJIB. 37.]

## Itinerary X. 1679-80

This was a punitive expedition to suppress another peasants' revolt in the Ašgwagwa region, Lasta, and Angot. The king left Gondar on 8 November 1679 and returned to Aringo on 14 March 1680. Route:

Gondar.

Šādda.

Wāynarāb (Itin. VII).

Qaroda.

Hamād Bār (Itin. VII).

Aringo.

Wahit (Itin. VII).

Bär'ašēha near the Tākkāzi (Itin. VII).

Goš Bahēr, a tributary of the Tākkāzi which rises near Nāfas Māwča and enters the Tākkāzi NW of Dābrā Zēbit, NC 372 HEL Gosh Bahar.

Lāzābšēha (Itin. VII).

Gārāgāra (Itin. VII).

Aringo, on 14 March 1680.

Thence by Šotāl Meda to Yēbaba. [AJIB. 40.]

#### Itinerary XI. 1680–1

This was a tour of inspection, and the last of the journeys made by Yohannēs. He left Gondar on 30 October 1680 and returned on 29 June 1681. Route:

Šadda, where he stayed for a day measuring and laying the foundations of the wall surrounding a church which he had begun to build the year before.

Crossed the Abbay.

Wāb, NC 371 HED Uob just W of Moṭa.

Wāfit, *Géod.* 6 Wofit 20 miles SSE of Moṭa.

Yābqwēla in Žara (Pers. Sus. 30; and see below).

Crossed the Šigāz river.

Crossed the Čāmoga river, a tributary of the Abbay which rises near and S of Dābrā Marqos, NC 371 HDS Ciamoga. After crossing the Čāmoga, he must have started on his return journey to Yēbaba.

Dong.

Qāzqāz, also called Dēl Meda, somewhere near and probably S of Bibuñ (AJIB. p. 161) which is about 54 miles S of Qolāla (Collela, *Guida*, p. 387).

Yēzba, the district, apparently lowland, round Mälke.

Mälke, probably the Malghie of NC 371 HED some 20 miles S of Qolāla. Here he rebuilt a fort, and his people were so frightened of the great numbers of snakes here that he moved on to Gāme, where he spent Christmas 1680.

Mālaṭit (Itin. V).

Dāra, possibly Dāra in Wälāqa.

Qura Anbāsa, (Itin. VII), possibly in Wādla; but if so, all the intermediate stops have been omitted. Here he held a council on 13 December 1679 about the heresies of the Lasta clergy.

Mēšadit, perhaps the Mēšadot of Per. Sus. 62.

Waro.

Zānjārat, the Zānjārač of Itin. VII, near Šēla Asfāre.

On 19 December he left the route to Ašgwagwa and went to Alām Nāgāya; in this area the army encountered thick fog and intense cold for eight days (the altitude here is 10,000 feet and over). From here he sent detachments to attack fifteen places:

Sāluba	Qulf Amba	Kosāyabāto Amba
Qāččēn Amba	Zāhiton Waša	Baba
Mēšlāge	La'ēlāy Qonṭila	Agāwoč Amba
Wāqo La'ēlāy	Tahtāy Qonṭila	Werač
Wāqo Tahtāy	Qālāsa	Šahat

On 26 December he went to Dābot, Alām Nāgāya, and the summit of Ašgwagwa; he camped at Māzāla below the summit of Ašgwagwa, which may be the Madscel of NC 372 HEM (Itin. VII), the nearest spot-height to Madscel being 10,499 feet.

Ēyāla.

Ēnjāla, from which detachments were sent to attack Dēbsa, Qēmaha, Sāgārat (Itin. VII), Bēr Gännāt, and Qāmbat. Čēbna (Itin. VII).

Akrafač (Itin. VII), from which detachments were sent to attack Wāynēge, Bilot (Itin. VII), Yēṭāqwa (Itin. VII Ēṭwaqa), and Sēgabā 'which God created between two rivers called Mānta Wāha ("twin waters")'.

Qēddus Ēšṭifanos called Haše Hūdād (Itin. VII).

Šēhla in Ayna (Itin. VII).

Gännātā Maryam (Itin. VII).

Goš Māwgēya.

Gāme.

Yātāmb, after 6 January 1681.

Wera in Žara.

Yēbaba, which he left on 18 June 1681.

Tamre.

Gondar, which he reached on 29 June 1681. [AJIB. 49.]

The distance from Gondar is a little more than 100 miles; the journey took 12 days, which gives a travelling rate of 8–9 miles a day. From Mälke – assuming (as I think we may) that it is Malghie – the distance to Yēbaba is approximately 32 miles. Four stages are given between Mälke and Yēbaba: Mälke–

Gäme, Gäme-Yätämb, Yätämb-Wera, and Wera-Yëbaba. Each stage represents 8-9-10 miles. Wera was therefore not more than 10 miles from Yëbaba. Żara, the district of which Wera is said to be a part, appears from a statement earlier in this Itinerary to be beyond (south of) Wäfit, which is some 60 miles SE of Yëbaba, and after Wäfit the next stage is given as Yäbqwëla in Żara. In Per. Sus. 30 Żara seems to extend to the Nazret area (Nazret being 30 miles SSE of Mälke-Malghie). Hence Żara must have been a very large district, a supposition confirmed by the text of the chronicle (p. 53/52), where the king says to his son 'If your residence is in the district of Żara and you are governor of Gojjam . . .', implying that he would be too far from Gondar in an emergency, and that Żara was in fact a large part of Gojjam.

When the king was at Gäme, an unhappy incident took place. His son Iyasu (later Iyasu I) defected on religious grounds, having been told by some of the king's enemies that he was going to be put in chains. Although he and his father were otherwise in good accord, Iyasu fled across the Abbay to the house of his sister at a place called Betä Wäläto in Galla-occupied country. However, in January 1681 the king sent a deputation to persuade him to come back. The king having sworn not to harm him, and promising him the governorship of Gojjam, he returned. The king then asked him to accept Sëmen (his former governorship) instead of Gojjam, on the grounds that if the king died suddenly, his residence in remote Żara might make it possible for an undesirable to gain the throne while he was on his way to Gondar.

#### The topography of Ęndärta

On pp. 22/25 seq. of the Chronicle of Yohannës is given a list of places which are mentioned in connexion with the revolt of Fares and Zämaryam in 1677-8. In 1698 Iyasu held an enquiry into customs posts and tolls in the provinces of Tëgre, and since the area covered in this passage of the Chronicle of Yohannës is dealt with in the report on Iyasu's enquiry, it will be better to take the two passages together in the chapter on Iyasu I (p. 234 below).

## X IYASU I 1681-1706

### I

IYASU 'the great', regarded as a saint and martyr, was the last of the great kings who ruled according to the mediaeval tradition of Ethiopian royalty. He owed his reputation partly to the mildness of his character, exemplified in his treatment of the princes on Wähni in his first year, and his attention to religious matters, and partly to his abdication, retirement, and murder. Special features of his reign were: (1) the number of councils which were convened by his order to deal with theological and ecclesiastical matters, administration, legal affairs, and the proclamation of laws; (2) his attention to trade and his reforms of customs and taxation (1698); (3) his policies of segregation, especially of Muslims; (4) his continual travelling, for during his reign of 26 years, there were only four years in which he did not make a journey of some length. Though most of his 23 journeys (which it is convenient to set out in the form of itineraries, as in the previous chapter) were in Gojjam, Damot, and Agäwmëdr, he went once to Aksum, returning through Batkom on the NW frontier of Ethiopia, once to the Räs al-Fīl district S of Batkom, twice to Mäkanä Sëllase, and three times into the Tulu Amhara country S of the Abbay in the direction of Ęnarya. His capital was at Gondar, though Yëbaba in Gojjam was a place of residence from which five of his journeys began. The end of his reign was pathetic. Having perforce abdicated in favour of his son Täkla Haymanot, an attempt was made to drag him from his place of retirement during which he was killed by the men sent by his son to take him. This final act, coupled with his character and the events of his life, led to his 'canonization' in 1707 at the instigation of his brother Tewoflos, who was king from 1708 to 1711, having succeeded Iyasu's son Täklä Haymanot (1706-08).

II  
ITINERARIES OF IYASU I

(*Note.* In the MSS of this chronicle the Abbay is called 'Abbawi throughout, reverting to the older form; here it is written Abbay.)

Itinerary I. 1683

This journey started from Yëbaba on 8 May 1683 and ended at Gondar on 18 July of the same year.

Yëbaba.

Şima (Pers. Sus. 39).

Ĥamädamit, the mountain range 15 miles SSW of Däbrä May, NC 371 HEC.

Gumbële (Per. Sus. 39 Gumbeli), SW of Sarka.

Butla (Yoĥan. Itin. 4).

Yälemat.

Märarit near Dämbaça.

Däbal on the Abbay and back to

Märarit.

Dämbaça, NC 371 HDS Dembeccia 25 miles NW of Däbrä Marqos.

Qulbit Amba (Yohan. Itin. 6), close to Dämbaça.

Däho.

Arira.

Zäwa, NC 371 HDS Zaua, 30 miles E of Dämbaça.

Mälit, NC 371 HDS Melit Mariam, 15 miles SW of Zaua.

Sënça.

Tämëçça, river about 15 miles NW of Mälit, NC 371 HDS Timeccia and Tincocia.

Gudla, river about 5 miles E of the Tämëçça, NC 371 HDS Gudle, *Géod.* 6. Gudala.

Dimäla.

Bër, river 5–10 miles W of Gudla.

Yälemat.

Yämalägw (v.l. Yämalog), river, *Géod.* 6 Ya<sub>malog</sub> 12 miles NW of the Bër.

Gudära, NC 371 HEC Lake Gudera, 10 miles NW of Yämalägwe and 20 miles NW of the Bër, *Géod.* 6 Gudära. The journey from Dämbaça to Gudära was eastwards for 30 miles to Zäwa, then SW for 15 miles, then NW of Gudära.

Aşfa, *Géod.* 6 immediately N of Gudära.

Gwägusa (Per. Sus. 33), perhaps Gugsa, NC 371 HDR, 5 miles N of Bure.

Kwakwëra, NC 371 HEC Quoquara, *Géod.* 6 Kuakui<sub>ra</sub>, a district marked on these maps some 30 miles NNW of Bure.

Dagëla (miswriting of Dangëla) NC 371 HEC Danghila, 35 miles NNW of Gugsa.

Yäbodän.

Aşit.

Libän, NC 371 HEC Liban, 30 miles N of Danghila.

Bärkänta, not shown on the maps, but said to be 149 kilometres from Gondar (*Guida*, p. 367), which would place it somewhere near Gabgabit, NC 371 HEJ 10 miles SE of Alefa; though the distance of 149 km. does not fit the map. Conti Rossini notes that the name is a rare example of the element *bär*, 'frontier', preceding the other element (*Cat.* p. 55).

Aläfa, a district of N of Libän; the place called Alefa on NC 371 HEJ is 15 miles N of Libän.

Gwandëra.

Säbi.

Gera Dëba. All to the W of Lake Tana.

Säqält, ND 374 HEJ Saccalt, 15 miles from Gondar. From Aläfa to Säqält is about 50 miles; the stages from Aläfa thus average about 12 miles, unless one or two have been omitted.

Gondar. [*AJIB.* 63.]

Itinerary II. 1683–84

The king left Gondar on 14 December 1683 and returned to Yëbaba on 29 March 1684.

Gondar.

Şädda (Yohan. Itin. 3).

Wäynä Aräb (Yoĥan. Itin. 7), NC 374 HEK Uainabar.

Ëmfëraz (Yohan. Itin. 3).

Wähni (p. 186 above), NC 374 HEK Uehni, about 10 miles from Uainabar. This was a diversion. The king left Ëmfëraz with only a few followers, and brought down from Mount Wähni all the members of the royal family who

were in captivity there and gave them presents. He then rejoined the caravan at Ēmfēraz.

Däriša (Per. Sus. 36), about 10 miles S of Wähni.

Hamäd Bär (Yoh. Itin. 7).

Aringo.

Kintigumara, somewhere on the Gumara river S of Aringo, and near Mahdärä Maryam.

Dängora.

Lëça, NC 371 HED Liscia, 15 miles SSW of Aringo.

Muy.

Jäfjāfa, perhaps = *Géod.* 5 Gitgiba, 5 miles NW of Manta Dabir, NC 71 HED Menta Dabir. This is about 20 miles W of Liscia (if Liscia is Lëça) and thus some way off the direct route from Liscia to the crossing at Ṭis Ēsat; but the position suits Itinerary 6.

Tämre, somewhere in the Warka area, *Géod.* 5, and about 5–10 miles from the Abbay, which was probably crossed near Bahër Dar.

Yëbaba, 29 March 1684. [*AJIB.* 66.]

### Itinerary III. 1684

This journey started from Yëbaba; the Abbay was crossed into Gojjam and again into Amhara; returning through Ēste to Gondar.

Yëbaba: left on 30 March 1684.

Wänäba (Yohän. Itin. 3), S of Däbrä May.

Ezat, *Géod.* 5 Yazzat river 14 miles SE of Däbrä May (in *AJIB* 236 written Yäzat).

Şälalo (Per. Sus. 5), NC 371 HED Zalale.

Wäb (Yohän. Itin. 11) NC 371 HED Uob W of Moṭa.

Gult, NC 371 HED 14 miles SSE of Moṭa.

Tägdar, river, NC 372 HDS Tegdar, *Géod.* 6 Tigdar, about 8 miles E of Gult.

Zaçäna.

Däbrä Wärq, NC 372 HDS Debra Uorch 15 miles from the Tägdar.

Wera, between Däbrä Wärq and Dima, which is about 8 miles to the SE of Däbrä Wärq and on NC 372 HDS. This is not the same place as the Wera of Yohän. Itin. 11. The word may be a form of *wäyra*, 'olive' (*olea chrysophylla*) and

hence of no particular topographical significance. Here the king investigated reports about the movements of the Tuläma and Wuçäle Galla.

Dima, about 25 miles SE of the Tägdar. Here was a convent of the order of Täkla Haymanot, where the king celebrated the feast of St George. At some distance from the convent was a cave in which the monks deposited their most sacred possessions, including *tabots*; these were guarded day and night by a leopard (*AJIB* 70/69).

Returned to Däbrä Wärq.

Zaçäna.

Tora Meda.

Färäs Meda. At this point Märṭulä Maryam is described but not mentioned by name (NC 372 HDS Martula Maria).

From Färäs Meda the baggage caravan was sent across the Abbay by way of Dänqoro Dur and Ahyo.

Mäsqäl.

Crossed the Abbay.

Gwan.

Mär.

Soye. The last three were near Dänqoro Dur, NC 372 HDT Dänkoro river (near Ahyo) some 20 miles E of Märṭulä Maryam. Here he met the party which had crossed at Dänqoro Dur.

Walä.

Armon'em.

Wädäla Meda.

Mënyččër, somewhere between Mäläk Sänqa (NC 372 HEE Malek Sanca) and the Wäläqa river NE from Ahyo.

Mägo.

Mänta Wädäb, W of Dessie and presumably on a river, since the name means 'Twin wharves or banks'.

Ēlay.

Awot.

Dido Gärado. This is the twelfth stage from the Abbay on a difficult road; the distance is more than 75 miles, which gives an average of about 6½ miles a day. It is the place called Dida Gärado in Per. Sus. 66 (q.v.), a little SW of Dessie. From here the king went a short distance northwards to attack the Wëçäle (Wuçäle) Galla, whose name survives on the maps in the form Uccialli 10 miles N

of Lake Hayq; in the chronicle it is mentioned that the commander of the force was ordered to camp at the gate of the *hagär* (district or town) of the Wëčäle. The only camping place named in the text here is Agwa, which could be the *amba* called Eggua in *Guida* p. 320, and is in the area of the confluence of the Mille and Acioa (*Guida* Agioa) rivers, NC 372 HEF. From Agwa the troops returned to Dido Gärado and thence went on to

Dëldëy, which means 'bridge', the name of the river not being given, though it was clearly W of Dido Gärado.

Ayata. This seems to be the Aātā of *Géogr.* p. 322, which is given as the next stage S of 'vallée de Goradu za Kerada' (Dido Garādo) in a route from Gondar to Ankobär.

Bälkwa, where he camped under an *amba* called Bärara.

Kolg (Per. Sus. 28), some 30 miles W of Dessie. Most of this journey was made through very mountainous country which would restrict the speed of travelling.

Gäñoč. Not the same as Ganot in Yohan. Itin. 7.

Wäläqa Fäjj.

Bušqoläle (Itin. 7, 14).

Qëddus Wäha (Yohan. Itin. 5).

Asmēt.

Soye, possibly the Säy of Yohan. Itin. 5.

Dänqoro Dur.

Mëngas, on the E side of the Abbay.

Ahyo.

Crossed the Bäšëlo, still keeping on the E side of the Abbay which was in full flood.

Tänqot in Muja, some 20 miles NW of Ahyo and W of the Bäšëlo.

Yäšo.

Mëkre (Per. Sus. 66).

Sëmada (Per. Sus. 23), the area W and S of Guarradit, NC 372 HED.

Ĕste (Per. Sus. 66). This, being the fifth stage from the Bäšëlo (unless others have been omitted), gives about 45 miles from the Bäšëlo to the Wänqa river, NC 372 HED Uanca, which is called the river of Ĕste.

Aringo. From the Wänqa to Aringo in a straight line is about

30 miles, so some intermediate stages appear to have been omitted.

Hamäd Bär.

Qaroda (Yohan. Itin. 3), S of Ĕmfëraz.

Ĕmfëraz (Itin. 2).

Wäynaräb (Itin. 2).

Mënzëro, ND 374 HEK Menzero, *Géod.* 4. Mīnzirro T.

Haymanot, 5 miles SSE of Šädda.

Šädda.

Gondar. [*AJIB* 68.]

#### Itinerary IV. 1685

The king left Aringo on 23 March 1685 and returned to Gondar on 15 July 1685.

Aringo.

Abba Gunda.

Wänzäge.

Gëbsawit.

Quläla, *Guida* Quolala, just N of Uanchet (NC 371 HED Uanche).

Čëmbël, river, *Géod.* 5 Čimbil, which enters Lake Tana close to the debouchment of the Abbay.

Crossed the Abbay on rafts (*tankwa*).

Känfäro, the crossing place over the Abbay opposite Bahër Dar, shown on Cheesman's map as 'Kamforo ferry'.

Dëšät in an unhealthy valley, S of Bahër Dar, NC 371 Discet.

Wänd Asa (v.l. Aṭa), the river Andasa, *Géod.* 5; NC 371 HED Andassam.

Yëbaba.

Ezat river, 15 miles SW of Yëbaba (Itin. 3).

Šëlalo (Itin. 3).

Crossed the Abäya, NC 371 HED Abeye, *Géod.* 5 Abäa, about 8 miles from Šëlalo.

Wäb (Itin. 3).

Däbet, NC 372 HDS Debet, 45 miles from Wäb in a straight line, but in fact much further owing to the mountains.

Zäwa, 10 miles NW of Däbet.

An unnamed place between Anädäd and Gozamën, the first being just S of Yäwš (Iusc), the second 20 miles NW of

Yäwš, NC 371 HDS Iusc 8 miles SSE of Däbra Marqos,<sup>1</sup> and thus at least 25 miles from Zäwa. The whole distance from Wäb to this point being probably a good deal more than 70 miles, a number of intermediate stages must have been omitted.

Ĕnnamora, N of Dämbača 35 miles NW of Yäwš.

Yämalägw (Itin. I), 20 miles NW of Ĕnnamora, some intermediate stages being omitted.

Ašfa, 10 miles NW of Yämalägw.

Hankaša, about 10 miles NW of Ašfa.

Kwakwëra, 15 miles NW of Hankaša.

Dangëla, 10 miles NW of Kwakwëra.

Ačäfar, 30 miles NW of Dangëla; intermediate stages omitted.

Bäd, 30 miles NE of Ačäfar; intermediate stages omitted.

Dämbëya, entered at the NW corner of Lake Ṭana; intermediate stages omitted.

Azäzo.

Gondar. [*AJIB*. 86.]

#### Itinerary V. 1686–87

The king left Gondar on 23 October 1686 and returned there on 10 July 1687.

Gondar.

Šadda.

Wäynaräb.

Qaroda.

Crossed the Rëb river (Per. Sus. 30), which enters Lake Ṭana NW of Aringo.

Crossed the Abbay, probably at Ṭis Ĕsat bridge.

Wänäba.

Ĕnzägëdëm (Yohan. Itin. 3), NC 371 Inzeghedim.

Haräfa (Yohan. Itin. 3 Aräfa).

Goš Gëmbar, 8 November.

Gozamën, at a place called Räbu Gäbäya, where he held a military review, with a display of artillery.

Haddis.

Anädäd, just S of Yäwš, NC 371 HDS Ameded *sic*.

<sup>1</sup>Cecchi (*Da Zeila*, 1885) called this place Moncorrer (= Manqwärir). [On the founding in the late nineteenth century of the church of Marqos, and the locality's resultant change of name, see Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935*, pp. 147–8. R.P.]

Čämoga river 'near Däräban and opposite Däbrä Zäyt' (p. 102). This means that the route was northwards from Anädäd and along the Čämoga to Däräban and Däbrä Zäyt (Per. Sus. 30). The area concerned is round Zaua, NC 371 HDS, some 20 miles NE of Däbrä Marqos.

Mëslä Awaš in Qäzqäz, one intermediate stage being omitted. Qäzqäz, also called Dël Meda (Yohan. Itin. 11) was in the neighbourhood of Nazret, where *Géod.* 6 shows Dil Meda immediately to the east (Yohan. Itin. 11). From Mëslä Awaš he made a tour through the lowland by the Abbay, where he hunted and also ordered the construction of forts. On his return to Mëslä Awaš he was met by the patriarch Abba Sinoda (clearly not at Gondar, as Guidi suggests in his translation, p. 105 line 30). The name Mëslä Awaš occurs three times in the text. On pp. 102, 103 it is written Mëslä Waš, and on p. 154 Mëslä Awaš. It recalls the Harbä Waš/Harbawaš of Per. Sus. 11, 12 and *AJIB* 270, said to be the name of a Gafat tribe. Leaving Mëslä Awaš he camped 'at a village'.

Qändač 'which is near Däbet and Duqe', where he spent the dry season. (Not Yäqändač, in spite of the reading in one manuscript, for that is too far to the north.)

Duqe. From Qändač he went by way of Duqe to the wilderness along the Abbay to hunt. Duqe is near the river Băčät (*AJIB*. 161).

Return to Qändač, from which he went alone to the convent of Däbrä Šëmuna somewhere E of Dima, shown on Beke's map as Debra Timona, from which he went back to Qändač, where he kept the Nativity of the Virgin and the Ascension, between 7 and 21 May.

Leaving Qändač he camped 'at a village'.

Gäme (Yohan. Itin. 11), which he left on 3 June.

Bure, 20 June; all the intermediate stages are omitted. He left Bure on the same day for Därom, which seems to be the Darim of NC 371 HDR some 35 miles W of Bure, to hunt. On his return to Bure he sent the army back to Dämbëya by way of Bäd, carrying the crown, with orders to meet him at Azäzo. He himself returned along the E side of the lake, the route, with intermediate stops omitted, being:

Kēbran Island in Lake Ṭana.

Azāzo.

Gondar. [*AJIB*. 102.]

Itinerary VI. 1688

The king left Gondar on 10 February 1688 and returned to Yēbaba on 10 July 1688. The area traversed was mainly western Agāwmēdr.

Gondar.

Ṣadda.

Wäynarāb.

Ēnfēraz.

Qaroda.

Aringo, 14 February.

Abba Gunda, (Yohan. Itin. 3).

Ṣenjūt (Yohan. Itin. 3).

Jāfjāfa (Itin. 2).

Tāmre (Yohan. Itin. 3).

Crossed the Abbay.

Qoranč (v.l. Yāqoranč).

Fēṣa Meda, 22 February, where he stayed eight days. This is perhaps Fita Gheorgis, NC 371 HEC, 7 miles NW of Dābrā May; this place is at least 15 miles from the Abbay crossing, and perhaps one stage has been omitted.

Samsi (Yohan. Itin. 9), 3 March, one day from Fēṣa Meda.

Dēm(ē)k of Qēlaj, perhaps the Dāmāka of Per. Sus. 42 and Demeca NC 371 HEK about 28 miles from Fita Gheorgis, in which case some stages have been omitted.

Kwakwēra, close to Demeca (Itin. 4).

Čara, (Per. Sus. 33), W. of Kwakwēra.

Ṣērgi, 8 March, the frontier between Banja and Čara, probably the place called Sirigi on Cheesman's map and Siringi on NC 371 HEC. Ṣērgi was three stages from Dēm(ē)k, and Siringi is about 22 miles from Demeca.

Mätākāl (Per. Sus. 40), a district S and SW of Siringi and Chara.

Crossed the river Dura without stopping there.

Bārbār, five days from Ṣērgi. The distance from Siringi to Bārbār (NC 371 HDP Berbera, Cheesman Barbara) is about 45 miles.

Gisa, 14 March.

Ēmbi, 15 March.

Then follow the names of 14 places to Dabuf on the river Sori: Dēkun, Sērwag, Duṣ, Tāj, Gē'riz (21 March), the *amba* of Wāmbārya, Heq (22 March), Wērgāni, Bērač, Gēmbēčča (possibly 1 April). Then Dāgwāni in the middle of the market of Ēnnāgwāra, from which the baggage caravan descended the slope of the declivity of Wāmbārya back to Gē'riz; then to Darguba on the river Kāli, and thence to Dabuf, the river Sori here being the Suri of NC 371 HDR, a tributary of the Zingini which it enters some 15 miles from the Abbay. These places were clearly in Wāmbārya, that somewhat vague district of Agāwmēdr on the right bank of the Abbay.

Thence to Tāj again.

Doč, 7 April. (After this no more dates are given till the arrival at Yēbaba.)

Kumd (Kumēd), a camping place, perhaps the Kumad of NC 371 HDP 45 miles SW of Siringi.

Crossed the Dura, which is 5 miles from Kumad.

Digni.

Zigām, 'which is part of Bogäč', between the rivers Dura and Zingini.

Zāwali, 'which is towards Hamus Gäbāya'.

Azāna on the river Sori, NC 371 HDR Azane between the Sori and Darim.

Hamus Gäbāya in Sērba in the district of Fafa.

Dākoma in Banja, *Géod.* 6 Lokama Banja NW of Bure; near the stones called Zārki.

Wāmbāri in Kwakwēra, NC 371 HEC Umbri 10 miles SW of Danghela.

Crossed the Abbay, i.e. the Little Abbay, Wāmbāri being on the left bank.

Crossed the river Wārāmāt.

May Meda.

Crossed the Žamma river, NC 371 HEC, Giamma, *Géod.* 6 Jama, 10 miles E of the Little Abbay from Umbri.

Samsi.

Fēṣa Meda.

Yēbaba, 10 July 1688. [*AJIB*. 117.]

## Itinerary VII. 1689

The king left Aringo on 30 April 1689 and returned to Gondar on 10 July 1689.

Aringo.

Šenjūt.

Tämre.

Yäqoranč (Itin. 6 Qoranč).

Šēna, *Géod.* 5 Šina ou Tul (NC 371 HED Tuol) which enters the Abbay S of 'Sabera Dildi'.

Ezat (Itin. 3), *Géod.* 5 *Yazza* t SE of Däbrä May.

Qoläla near Šälalo.

Crossed the Abäya river.

Wäb (Yohan. Itin. 11).

Zaçäna near Wäfit (Itin. 3).

Däbrä Wärq (Itin. 3). From here the caravan was sent across the Abbay by way of Ēnnäbse with orders to meet the king at Dämäsqo.

Mänqorqorya, at Wäqär near Amba Ēnsälal; SE of Däbrä Wärq. (Per. Sus. 58, q.v.)

Abara (Per. Sus. 1), in the Běčana area, SE of Běčana (?). Běčana is the Biccena of NC 372 HDS.

Crossed the Abbay, probably somewhere near the Macha river, NC 372 HDT.

Anzo, river; thence by forced march by night to

Dära, arriving at the sixth hour of the morning on 12 May.

Dära is S of Wäläqa.

Děhěň (Yohan. Itin. 5), between Kolo and Dära.

Yäbäla.

Yägäramo on the Sänkoray river, which may have been the name of a tributary of the Wäläqa, and what Beke calls 'Shonkura or Walaka'.

Děqän.

Dämbe.

Žira river, where he camped at Gorämayt.

Along the Žira to Amba Gusäma in Qolqol.

By the slope of Gėrgėryat.

Šäwa Gädäl, not far from Děhěň.

Amba Qutěr (v.l. Qwěrta) near Amba Biša.

Fas in Märabete.

Žira Wänz in Mälza of Märabete, NC 372 HDT Amelsa, near Šemměnt Ayn.

Gännätä Giyorgis, (Yohan. Itin. 5), E of Mäkanä Sėllase.

Mäkanä Sėllase (Yohan. Itin. 5), near Wärrä Ilu.

Anqwalit in Gol, the latter possibly the Gola Eto river of NC 372 HDU 7 miles W of Casta, which is about 10 miles W of Mäkanä Sėllase.

Wädäla Meda, 13 April.

Buš Qoläle in Mänhara, in Itin. 3 four stages from Kolo on the way to Ahyo; in Itin. 16 Mänhara is 3 stages from Mäkanä Sėllase on the route to Soye and the Abbay. (Also written Bušo Qoläte and Bušo Qoläta.)

Dämäsqo, at Qėddus Wäha, 27 May; stayed for four days.

Soy Meda, 31 May; perhaps the Säy of Yohan. Itin. 5 and Soye of Iyasu Itin. 3.

Gunägunit in Dägus, near Amba Šimäkär (Yohan. Itin. 5), where he stayed for two days.

Mėngaš (Yohan. Itin. 5).

Ahyo near the Abbay.

From Jära and Děhěň the route was roughly a circle, going east, north, west, south-west, and back to the Abbay. From Ahyo he went northwards for some 20 miles to the Bššelo, which was crossed.

Šäqot.

Šäšo.

Agwät Wäha in Šemada (Per. Sus. 23).

Mėkre (Itin. 3; Per. Sus. 23).

Ēste (Itin. 3).

Räča (Per. Sus. 66), 21 June.

Dängora near Lěča (Itin. 2), the caravan being sent on by way of Abba Gunda.

Hamäd Bär (Itin. 2).

Kämäm, at Děba, *Géod.* 4, a district the centre of which is Däriša.

Qaroda.

Däbsan near Qaroda and Wäynaräb, where the king rejoined the caravan.

Wäynaräb.

Mėnzėro (Itin. 3).

Šädä.

Gondar, 10 July 1689. [AJIB. 133.]

## Itinerary VIII. 1690

This is from Gondar to Aksum, and is substantially the route of the 'grande caravane éthiopienne' from 'Adwa to Gondar described by d'Abbadie (*Géogr.* sect. 97; and below, Appendix B). No dates are given except that of the arrival at Aksum.

Gondar.

Sälamge.

Däbarëq, ND 374 HES Debarech, *Géod.* 3 Da<sub>ba</sub>riq, 50 miles NNE of Gondar, some stages being omitted.

Lämalmo, the *anqäsä lämalmo* of Itin. 11, between Däbarëq and Dëbb Bahër.

Dëbb Bahër, ND 374 HES Debivar, *Géod.* 3 Dibba bahr, about 8 miles (horizontal distance) N of Däbarëq.

Mëdmar.

Ënzo, *Géod.* 3 Inzo, river, 15 miles or more N of Dëbb Bahër.

'Addarqay, ND 374 HES Adi Arcai, *Géod.* 3 Add Arkay, 20 miles N of Dëbb Bahër.

Mänta Säglä.

Şäbälaqwa, ND 375 HFD Tsabalaca, *Géod.* 3 Tabalaka, 25 miles NE of 'Addarqay, and about 2 miles from the Täckkäzi.

Ëdda Agäw.

Crossed the Täckkäzi.

'Ad Mänfito in Sire.

Käbanut, *Géod.* Kabanat, 5 miles W of Aksum, showing that several stages have been omitted.

Aksum, 12 February 1690, ND 372 HFE Axum.

The stages of the Grande Caravane were (in d'Abbadie's spelling):

Gondar	May Lahm
Kokoc	May Tabri
Argif	Takkaze river*
Anjiba meda	May Timqat
Çambilge	Dambaguina
Tira Wanz	May Taman
Dabariq*	Balas
Wulkiffit	Tambuk
Dibibahr*	Za'ida Qalay
Dagusit river	May Abaqat
Zarema river	May Dala'ita (by-passing Aksum)

Inzo river\*

'Adwa

Add Arqay\*

[\* = names in this itinerary.]

On this caravan route May Timqat was the halting place on the Täckkäzi; it is on the north side of the river and opposite Şäbälaqwa. From the Täckkäzi at May Timqat there were eight stages to 'Adwa which is 12 miles E of Aksum – Aksum being avoided because it was a sacred city. There may thus have been seven stages on the king's route to Aksum, possibly those of the Grande Caravane, giving an average day's march of about nine miles.

At Aksum the king was shown the Ark of Zion (*tabotä Şeyon*)<sup>1</sup> which was fastened by seven bolts; the priests were able to unfasten six of them, but the seventh refused to open till the ark was brought to the king, when it opened of its own accord. [*AJIB.* 158.]

## Itinerary IX. 1690

This was from Aksum into Wäldëbba, to visit monasteries, and to hunt. No dates are given, but it was the homeward journey from Aksum, which was reached in February 1690.

Aksum.

'Ad Mänfito (Itin. 8).

Däbrä Abbay, ND 374 HFD Debra Abai, some 60 miles W of Aksum, and 5 miles E of the Täckkäzi.

Crossed the Täckkäzi.

Alelo (Not the 'Alleluia Monastery' of Almeida, which was the Hallelo of the charters, some 20 miles from Aksum.)

Abärtanti, a name which puzzled the scribes, for the MSS have the variants Habärtanti, Habräntati, and Abräntanti.

Nätaqwe (v.l. Nätaqwa).

Şäşit.

Abärtanti. Evidently there was a diversion here.

Nätaqwe. All these were in Wäldëbba.

Doqma.

Zarima, somewhere on the river, *Géod.* 3 Zarema, ND 374 HES Zerima, N of Dëbb Bahër, one of the points on the route of the Grande Caravane.

Dëbb Bahër.

<sup>1</sup>[On the legendary story of this ark see E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek*, London, 1922. R.P.]

Däbarëq.  
Aymäšëba.  
Gondar. [*AJIB*. 160.]

Itinerary X. 1691–92

The king left Gondar on 30 October 1691 and returned there on 6 July 1692, after touring Gojjam, Damot, and Agäwmedr. Gondar, 30 October 1691.

Šadda.  
Wäynä Waräb.  
Ēnfëraz.  
Qaroda.  
Hod Gäböya.  
Abba Gunda.  
Šenjūt.  
Jäfjäfa.  
Tämre.

Crossed the Abbay.  
Näfaša near Qoläla.  
Wänäba (Itin. 3).  
Qoläla (Itin. 7).

Aräfa (Per. Sus. 65 Ḥaraḥā), S of Amädamid.  
Bibuñ in the middle of Čaḡe (v.l. Čoḡe), near Kiero, NC 371 HDS.

Then by forced march to Mëslä Awaš (Itin. 5).  
'A village'.

Qäzqäz (Yohan. Itin. 11), S of Bibuñ.

Yäqändač, the Qändač of Itin. 5 near Däbet.

Arira, *Géod.* 6 Arera Maryam, 5 miles W of Däbet.

Duqe (Itin. 5), near the river Čät, the Bačät of *Géod.* 6 near Däbet.

Däbet, *Géod.* 6, NC 372 HDS Debet, E of the Bačät river.

Däbrä Wärq (Itin. 3).

Zaçäna (Itin. 2, 3, 7).

Gult on the river Säde, perhaps the Gult S of Keranio, NC 371 HED.

Anšëraba.

Crossed the Abäya river.

Qoläla.  
Wänäba.

Yëbaba; left on 2 May 1692.

Dëldëy = the Ṭis Ēsat bridge.

Tämre.

Jäfjäfa.

Muy.

Lëča.

Ēste.

Then back to Tämre, with the stages omitted.

Crossed the Abbay.

Gäbro Meda in Sarka, N of Qoläla (Per. Sus. 6).

Hankaša of Kos, 16 May; in the Banja area. Two weeks were then spent in ravaging the territories of Zigäm, Azäna, and Ašfa.

Askuna, 18 June.

Ačäfar.

Aläfa.

Dängäl Bär, NC 371 HEJ Denghelbar on the lake shore, 10 miles ENE of Alefa. (See *SRE*, 16, 233, and Itin. 22.)

Ṭäqusa.

Zanda, *Géod.* 4 Janda, ND 374 HEJ Gianda, 20 miles SW of Azäzo.

Azäzo.

Gondar, 6 July 1692. [*AJIB*. 161.]

Itinerary XI. 1692–93

This is the route of an expedition to the Šanqëla country in Batkom and other districts in the Barentu-Agordat area W of Ethiopia, to the north and south of the Märäb river. The king left Gondar on 12 December 1692; the Šanqëla campaign took place between Christmas 1692 and February 1693, and he returned to Gondar on 7 March 1693, reaching Aringo on 25 March.

Gondar.

Dëbba, *Géod.* 4 Dibba, ND 374 HEK Deva, 5 miles NE of Gondar.

Kosoge, ND 374 HES, 14 miles NE of Gondar.

Ṭämame.

Šëmbëra Zägän, at Arba'ët Ēnsësa, *Géod.* 3, Šimbira zagan, 35 miles NE of Gondar.

Däbarëq (Itin. 8).

Anqäṣä Lämälmo = Lämälmo of Itin. 8.  
 Dëbb Bahër (Itin. 8).  
 Zarima (Itin. 9).  
 Enzo river (Itin. 8).  
 May Lomi (Itin. 8).  
 'Addarqay (Itin. 8).  
 Bërra, the district shown as Birra on *Géod.* 3 NE of 'Addarqay, and N of the Buya river.  
 Wasäya, the district shown as Wasaya on *Géod.* 3 S of Birra.  
 D'Abbadie seems to have placed them in the wrong order.  
 Säbälaqwa (Itin. 8).  
 Crossed the Täkkäzi.  
 Ēdda Agäw (Itin. 8).  
 Alägwen, *Géod.* 3 Alawgen, 15 miles N of the Täkkäzi, ND 375 HFD Alaughen.  
 Mäšäbni.  
 'Ad Mänfito in Sire (Itin. 8). Here the king kept Christmas.  
 Mäskabät in La'lay (upper) Adyabo, W of Sire between the Märäb and the Täkkäzi.  
 May Tämän.  
 May Qolqol, in Ḥayälo.  
 Aysäkkër  
 Boläbela on the Märäb.  
 Märäboti.  
 Sädüre. Here the king entered the Šanqëla country, which included the districts known as Šä'ada Amba which had no water but that of the Märäb, and Batkom. The places named in this area are:  
 Kwana, reached by going along the Märäb.  
 Ḥorät on the Märäb.  
 Šä'ada Amba, in which he captured four *ambas* held by the Šanqëla named Fode, Kobo, Kulku, and Sëḥule. Fode (miswritten Rode in the *version*) must be Fode, ND 371 HFK 15 miles NE of Ducambia on the Märäb.  
 Then back to Ḥorät (for Epiphany) and Kwana.  
 Batkom on the river Lâyda, ND 371 HFK Leida 5 miles N of Barentu (not the 'Leida village' further E towards Dubone). In Batkom several villages were sacked, their names being Dëbatara, Afilo, Tämada, Täbara, Tagada, Dëbintana, Ḥënditaga, and Šädërda. Only the last is identifiable; it is shown on ND 371 HFK as Sciderda N of the

Leida. Batkom is said to be 'on the road to Dubani', which appears to mean no more than there was a passable route to Dubani, a district the name of which survives in Dubone, 40 miles SE of Barentu and N of the Märäb. A list of Šanqëla tribes is given, but only two can be connected with place-names which survive on the map: Deda, ND 371 HFK Dedda 8 miles N of Barentu, and possibly Baygada, which might be Abigada near Ducambia in the same square.  
 Amba Šewa.  
 Adyabo, the province W of Sire.  
 'Ad Mänfito.  
 Aksum, 100 miles (horizontal distance) from Ducambia.  
 Abba Gärima, ND 372 HFE A. Gherima about 4 miles E of 'Adwa.  
 'Adwa, ND 372 HFE Adua, 12 miles E of Aksum.  
 Return to Aksum.  
 'Ad Mänfito.  
 Däbrä Abbay, 25 miles N of 'Addarqay and N of the Täkkäzi, ND 374 HFD Debra Abbai.  
 Crossed the Täkkäzi.  
 Habärtanti in Wäldëbba (Itin. 9).  
 Dëbb Bahër.  
 Arba'ët Ēnsësa (= Šëmbëra Zägän, Itin. 9).  
 Dara, *Géod.* 4 Dara (marché), ND 374 HES Dara 4 miles N of Cambildge Mariam.  
 Gondar, 7 March.  
 Aringo, 25 March 1693. [*AJIB.* 179.]

#### Itinerary XII. 1694–95

The king left Gondar on 24 December 1694 for a campaign against the Šanqëla, this time to the W of Agäwmëdër; he returned to Yëbaba on 20 February 1695.

Gondar, 24 December 1694.

Jäfjäfa.

Tämre.

Crossed the Abbay at Dëldëy ('the bridge'), i.e. the Ṭis Ēsat bridge, NC 371 HED Tisisat Dil Dil.

Qäbäro Meda = Yëbaba.

Fëša (Itin. 6).

Kwaja in Kudmi near the river Wägäla, 12 January 1695.  
 Crossed the Abbay (the Little Abbay).  
 Däbkwan in Ebodän near the river Ašär.  
 Dëkuli near the river Armuki.  
 Dankut in Embitäm.  
 The slope of Agur.  
 The slope of Dankut.  
 Šemälä Wäbo.  
 Bäläs river, NC 371 HEB Balas, about 40 miles W of the Little Abbay.  
 Zëgäm, probably the Zigäm of Itin. 6.  
 Zëlëw, 23 January; possibly the Zäwäli of Itin. 6. This was reached after a forced march.  
 Wasi Amba, where the campaign began.  
 Manza.  
 Qäyy Wäha.  
 Kačawi on the Kokäl river, where the Šanqëla lived in caves.  
 Yakah on the Gulbak river, 29 January; stayed here two days.  
 Bëtkäsiya on the Dëmahur river, 31 January.  
 Gägär.  
 Silala and Daš. From here the king went out with a small force and killed many Bäläw with his own hand.  
 Zur Amba on the Bujär river.  
 Gunanza, from which troops were sent to loot the districts of Matawi and Qwandí. The return journey began here.  
 Kokäl, 6 February.  
 Gulbak, 7 February.  
 Bäläs river.  
 Šemälä Wäbo.  
 Afaf Ačäfär, 'ascent to Ačäfär'.  
 Qurş Bahër, *Géod.* 5 Qurt Bahr, *Guida Curti*, about 15 miles WNW of Yëbaba.  
 Fëša Meda.  
 Yëbaba, 20 February 1695. [*AJIB.* 179.]

#### Itinerary XIII. 1696

From Gondar on 6 February 1696 to western Agäwmëdër and back to Aringo on 23 March.

Gondar, 6 February.  
 Šädda.  
 Aringo, 11 February.  
 Èste.  
 Mäkanä Säma'ët.  
 Yëbaba.  
 Qëljaj.  
 Dangwiya, *Géod.* 6 Mt. Danguiya, W of and close to the Giš Abbay.  
 Wäjät, NC 371 HDR Uoget S of Fitebedi and 20 miles SSW of Dämbača.  
 Fëšëbädëñ, NC 371 HDR Fitebedi, Beke Fitzabading, W and SW of Dämbača.  
 Šëhnan. Beke shows Tzehenan across the river Salale (NC 371 HDR Selela) and W of the Bër.  
 Askuna.  
 Hankaša.  
 Mätäkäl.  
 Bärbär, NC 371 HDP Berbera.  
 Wërki.  
 Gisa (Itin. 6), 5 March. Perhaps on or near the Abbay in square HDP of NC 371.  
 Dämbari, 6 March.  
 Sahi, 8 March. The return journey began here.  
 Bärbär.  
 Mätäkäl.  
 Samsi near Yëbaba.  
 Këbran Island<sup>1</sup> in Lake Ṭana.  
 Därha in Afäräwänät area, *Géod.* 5 Dara.  
 Aringo, 23 March. [*AJIB.* 185.]

#### Itinerary XIV. 1696

This was through Amhara. The king left Aringo on 18 May and returned there on 6 July.

Aringo.  
 Èste.  
 Èngudadar.  
 Ge'amba.

<sup>1</sup>[On Këbran see Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, pp. 151–2. R.P.]

Mäläk Sänqa, NC 372 HEE Malek Sanca about 50 miles SE of Ĕste. Some stages have been omitted.  
 Tädbabä Maryam (Per. Sus. 48), about 70 miles W of Dessie in Amara Sayënt, in square HEE of NC 372 but not shown.  
 Měnyččēr (Itin. 3).  
 Wělčo.  
 Betä Běrgana.  
 Bāčo river, ? the river shown as Boto on NC 372 HDT.  
 Ambage in Mälza, (Itin. 7), NC 372 HDT Amelsa.  
 Mārabete province.  
 An unnamed place between the Wänčēt and Šotāl Mašäbya.  
 Dayār Amba.  
 Yädur in Shoa.  
 Wäha Nāfas.  
 Atege Wäha in Maṭāt.  
 Mäl.  
 Zarat.  
 Qurš Amba, 6 June; from here the districts of Goze, Qundi, Awaš, and Azälo were visited.  
 Gäñ, NC 372 HDU Gann Dega between Molale and the Mofer river.  
 Aftänät, 10 June, NC 372 HDU Aftenet, 15 miles NE of the Mofer and 10 miles NNW of Molale. Thence by Agamča, Měš'alä Maryam, Gäbrē'el, Žamma in the *qwalla* of Sämboč, Däbēb, Morät, Kusäye, Asbat, Mäsobit (not Mossabit of ND 372 HEE), Ikäfäro, Rėgēb Yäkot, Gěl, and Däbrä Gěl to  
 Sěmměnt Ayn (Itin. 7).  
 Gännätä Giyorgis (Itin. 7).  
 Mäkanä Sėllase (Itin. 7).  
 Sārafit.  
 Wädäla Meda (Itin. 7).  
 Bušo Qoläle (Itin. 7).  
 Sägära.  
 Dämbēla.  
 Šēmada, N of the Bāšēlo and E of the Abbay.  
 Ĕngudadar.  
 Ĕste.  
 Aringo, 6 July. [*AJIB*. 188.]

## Itinerary XV. 1697

From Gondar on 24 January 1697 to the Tola country N of Walqayt, in the region of the present NW frontier of Ethiopia, returning to Gondar on 26 February.

Gondar.

Kosoge (Itin. 11).

Aymäšēba (Itin. 9).

Däqwa, ND 374 HES Dacua, about 8 miles SW of Dabāreq.

Däbarēq.

Dēbb Bahēr.

Zarēma = Zarima, Itin. 8.

Asi.

Dėquqo river, ND 374 HES Mai Dequiquo, 5–10 miles from the Zarēma, to the west.

May Yak.

May Anbari.

Bi'atonä.

Täwlämbi, ND 371 HFD Towlembi, a tributary of the Täckkäzi N of Walqayt, 40 miles N of May Dėquqo and 25 miles SE of Sittona.

May Säb'ay.

Täckkäzi river.

Tola country, 8 February. ND 371 HFJ Tola, 5–10 miles NW of Biagundi. Here the Tola were ravaged.

Bir.

Asmēka.

Täckkäzi river.

Rasēlfil.<sup>1</sup> On the maps, Rās al-fil is shown as being NW of Gallabat, i.e. some 120 miles from the Tola country, but it clearly was at this time considered to extend much further north. Here the expedition turned back.

May Säb'ay. Here the king went hunting and killed a rhinoceros.

Täwsěmbi, written thus in error for Täwlämbi, the modern map shows that the correct form was with l.

Däbarēq.

Kosoge.

Gondar, 26 February. [*AJIB*. 195.]

<sup>1</sup>[Bruce, who refers to this locality as Ras el Feel, claims, it will be recalled, that he was appointed its governor: Bruce, *Travels*, III, pp. 364. R.P.]

## Itinerary XVI. 1699

This was a journey from Yëbaba on 11 January 1699 through Gojjam into Amhara and Shoa as far as Däbrä Libanos, returning to Yëbaba on 28 March.

Yëbaba.

Šëna (Itin. 7).

Qoläla, 13 January.

Crossed the Žamma river, *Géod.* 5 Zama, a tributary of the Abäya.

Crossed the Abäya on the same day, about 10 miles from Qoläla.

Čaku.

Ënnägäla, 20 January.

Tora Meda.

Šëja Abaj. These four stages were SE of the Abäya.

Crossed the Abbay, probably somewhere near the junction of the Bäšëlo with the Abbay.

Wäzäm in Dägäs.

Wätot Meda.

Qëddus Wäha (Itin. 3).

Gännät.

Mënyëčë (Itin. 3).

Gol.

Šähwa on the river Bätö. NC 372 HDT shows 'Boto (Sotola)-as part of the Wäläqa river.

Getesemani.

Mätägäre.

Sëmmënt Ayn (Itin. 14).

Meda.

Wänčët river, 15 miles S of the Boto.

Amanu'el in Fiṭra in Märabete, NC 372 HDT Amaniel convent 5 miles SE of Fetra village, 8 miles SE of the Wänčët.

Gërän Čäfe on the Žamma (Jamma) river, perhaps on the track from Beressa to Cabi NC 372 HDL.

Zega Wädäb, NC 375 HDT/HDL Zega Uodel. From here the king visited the convent of Däbrä Libanos, 30 miles SSW of Fiṭra.

Returned to Gërän Čäfe.

Zega Wädäb (second time).

Gërän Čäfe (third time). Here the homeward journey began. Amanu'el.

Wänčët river.

Meda.

Ayfäruba in the plain of Mälza, the Amelsa district E of Addis Derra, NC 372 HDT. Here the map shows a place called Midda which could be Meda if Mälza stretched as far N of the Wänčët.

Gännätä Giyorgis (Itin. 7), 1 March.

Qärqäre.

Sotäl Mašäbya (Itin. 14).

Gändet, where it was very cold, with rain and hail.

Hagärä Maryam in Wällo country.

Gändet.

Qärqäre (v.l. Qärqära).

Mäkanä Sëllase (Itin. 7).

Gol, possibly the Gola Eto river W of Casta, NC 372 HDU.

Wärq Waša (Yohan. Itin. 5).

Man Hara.

Asmët (Itin. 3, 7).

Soye (Itin. 3).

Dabit (cf. Itin. 7).

Koräkonti (cf. Itin. 7).

Crossed the Abbay, 15 March.

Yädog Bär.

Šëja Abaj.

Tora Međa.

Sähor in Ënnägäla.

Gult, perhaps Gult NC 371 HED 15 miles SE of Moṭa.

Crossed the Abbay again by way of Zënjäro Färäd.

Dära, *Géod.* 5 Dära in Afäräwänät, S of Gumara.

Yëbaba (after crossing the Abbay again), 28 March. [AJIB. 208.]

## Itinerary XVII. 1699

This records a journey from Gondar to Yëbaba through Agäwmëdër, Damot, and Gojjam, from 10 November to Christmas 1699.

Gondar, 10 November 1699.

Qëmona, SW of Gondar.

Tāqusa (Itin. 10).  
 Wändēge in Alāfa (Per. Sus. 33).  
 Libän (Itin. 1).  
 Kwakwëra (Itin. 1).  
 Danguya (Itin. 13).  
 Wida.  
 Agza, possibly the Azga of Beke.  
 Asāwa, *Géod.* 6 Asawa, NC 371 HEC/HDR Asoa, Bake  
 Wassua, 5 miles SE of Lake Gudera.  
 Yāmalog (Itin. 1 Yāmalāgw).  
 Ēnamora (Yoħan. Itin. 3).  
 Dägāmo (Per. Sus. 65).  
 Mäčäkäl, SE of Dämbača (Per. Sus. 50). Here the king  
 ordered the trees to be cut down to prevent the Galla  
 hiding among them, and 'they reduced (or transformed)  
 Sänsānamo like the plains of Gänj, Fogära, Rëb, and  
 Dämbëya' (*AJIB.* 218/206).  
 Haddis in Gozamën (Itin. 5).  
 Returned to Mäčäkäl.  
 Yāmāta (v.l. Yāmāqa) in Gozamën, 10 December, NC 371  
 HDS Omata, 5 miles SW of Däbrä Marqos.  
 Returned to Haddis.  
 Mäčäkäl.  
 Dimāla (Itin. 1) between the Bër and Tämča rivers.  
 Säläl Mänj.  
 Wanzo Däm.  
 Butla (Itin. 1).  
 Gumli (Gumbële, Itin. 1).  
 Yëbaba, by Christmas 1699. [*AJIB.* 218.]

#### Itinerary XVIII. 1700

From Aringo on 19 April through Gojjam and Damot across the Abbay to the Čomän Swamp area, returning to Yëbaba on 19 May.

Aringo, 19 April 1700.  
 Šotäl Meda.  
 Jäjäfa.  
 Tämre.  
 Qäbäro Meda = Yëbaba.  
 Zalma in Samsi (Itin. 6).

Fagëtta in Hankaša (Per. Sus. 42), *Géod.* 6 Fagutta, NC 371  
 HEC Fagutta Abbo, NE of Ēnjäbära.  
 Danguya (Itin. 17).  
 Šëhnan (Itin. 13).  
 Yäčäräqa in Fëšebädëñ, *Géod.* 6 Yäcäraqa, NC 371 HDR  
 Cereca, 5 miles W of Dämbača.  
 Sänsānamo in Mačakäl (Itin. 17).  
 Mugälmore, 29 April.  
 Jäjäba, Beke Yejubbi, NC 371 HDS Icobi Mariam, NW of  
 Yäwš (Iusc/Baso).  
 Crossed the Abbay by Hora Säyṭana, NC 371 HDR Malca  
 Saitana, 30 miles SW of Jäjäba.  
 Bidäwa on the river Nädi, NC 374 HDJ Nadi, a tributary of  
 the Abbay which rises at the NW corner of the Čomän  
 Swamp.  
 Bälägä Jäwe, where there was a battle with the Galla.  
 Ēmuga in Wämbär, between the Nadi and Sciambo, NC 374  
 HDJ.  
 Hagwël, the district between the Nadi and Fingiar rivers N  
 of the Čomän Swamp, NC 374 HDJ Agulla. (See Per. Sus.  
 11.) The return journey began here.  
 Bidäwa.  
 Jäjäba.  
 Mägälmore (= Mugälmore).  
 Šëja.  
 Qošär.  
 Qädamën.  
 Dimāla (Itin. 17).  
 Yäšëdëb in Wänz Wädäb.  
 Buṭla (Itin. 1).  
 Gumbëli (Itin. 1).  
 Zägočge in Anbäsit near Yëbaba.  
 Yëbaba, 19 May. [*AJIB.* 221.]

#### Itinerary XIX. 1701

From Aringo on 20 May 1701 via Ēšte and Nazret to the Dura region in Agäwmëdr. The date of the return to Gondar is not given.

Aringo.  
 Ēšte.

Andäbet, a district N of the Abbay, Beke Andabiet, between Afärāwānāt and Bäqlo Fëllägä (NC 371 HED BACLO FELLAGA), said by Ludolf to be 'the district of the king's trumpeters' (*Historia*, I.3,13).

Däbrä Šot, after crossing the Abbay probably at the Ṭis Ĕsat bridge.

Tëkël Dängiya.

Goš Gëmbar (Itin. 5).

Nazret, *Géod.* 6, 8 miles NNW of Mt. Zäwa.

Zäwa, NC 371 HDS Zaua, 20 miles NE of Däbrä Marqos.

Čëqa Wänz.

Ašašamwe, perhaps the same as the Asasame of Itin. 23, which appears to have been about 5 miles NE of Yäwš.

Anädäd (Itin. 5).

Gozamën (Itin. 4).

Mäčäkäl (Itin. 17).

Ĕnnamora, N of Dämbača.

Askuna (Itin. 10).

Gäbärma.

Ambära.

Därom, NC 371 HDR Darim SW of Askuna.

Zägub in a *qwälla* of the Abbay.

Mätën.

Crossed the Dura river, some 20 miles W of Därom.

Kotan.

Murki on the Abbay, the point of return.

Kotan.

Zägub.

Därom.

Azäna (Itin. 6).

Fafa (Yohan. Itin. 4).

(Return to Gondar; route and date not given.) [*AJIB.* 230.]

#### Itinerary XX. 1702

This was from Gondar on 28 February 1702 by way of Qoläla and Anädäd across the Abbay to Tulu Amhara, and back to Yëbaba on 13 April.

Gondar.

Šädda.

Ĕnfëraz.

Qaroda.

Hod Gäbäya (Itin. 10).

Abba Gunda.

Šenjūt.

Tämre.

Wayrämit.

Qoläla.

Ĕnzägëdëm (Itin. 5).

Aräfa (Itin. 5).

Goš Gëmbar (Itin. 5).

Gäd mala.

Tämoš in Anädäd (Itin. 5).

Čëqma in Yägëfo; Beke Yegefo between the rivers Čämoga and Yada.

Sans.

Crossed the Abbay, perhaps at Mälka Yëkätël or Mälka Furi, NC 374 HDK M<sup>ca</sup> Iecatel, M<sup>ca</sup> Furi.

God Nägade.

Guba Simäla in Wämbär, the region round Asändabo, NC 374 HDK.

Hula. *Géod.* 7 shows a river 15 miles SW of Asändabo marked as (Hula); this seems to be a topographical term, since there are four rivers on *Géod.* 7 marked (Hula). In Itin. 23 occurs 'the rock of Hula' in Wämbär, which seems to be this place. Mälka Dänäba, *Géod.* 8 Dannaba river 1 mile SSW of Qobbo, NC 374 HDS Dannaba.

Muskäwimi.

Tulu Amhara at Čäläquläqut; *Géod.* 8 Mt. Amara, NC 374 HDJ Amara, 15 miles SE of Haratu.

Sämbotäkuča in Wäsorbi, perhaps Sciambo, 15 miles NNE of Haratu. If so, the point of return was Tulu Amhara.

Borisisa.

Ĕndode in Dilälo.

Bälägäbädesa (v.l. Sägäbädesa, NE of Sämbotäkuča.

Gutëč (v.l. Gutëj) in Gënd Bärät, E of the Gudär river, and some 40 miles E of Sciambo.

Crossed the Abbay at Mälka Oda, which may have been one of the fords in Gënd Bärät, M. Kuki (Cuchi) or M. Tate-scia (NC 374 HDK).

Yägëfo.

Yāwāš in Ambār = Yāwš, NC 371 HDS Iusc 12 miles SSE  
 of Dābrā Marqos.  
 Ĕntāqār in Šelatēg.  
 Angaša.  
 Ĕnnāmočāra, *Géod.* 6 Anna mucara, Sof Nazret.  
 Goš Gēmbar.  
 Bibuň (Itin. 10).  
 Arāfa.  
 Ĕnzāgēdēm.  
 Yāzat = Ezat, Itin. 3.  
 Yēbaba, 13 April. [*AJIB.* 233.]

Itinerary XXI. 1702

This journey began on 19 June, from Yēbaba through Gojjam, Damot, and Agāwmēdr to Gondar on 8 July.

Yēbaba.  
 Fēša (Itin. 12).  
 Samsi.  
 Kwakwēra.  
 Dangēla.  
 Ačāfār.  
 Yēsmala, NC 371 HEC Ismala Gheorgis.  
 Dankura.  
 Bahēr Kānta (v.l. Bar Kānta; Itin. 1).  
 Čēnti Bār in Sāgāba.  
 Alāfa.  
 Donzoge in Tāqusa.  
 Sābi (Itin. 1).  
 Sēmra.  
 Qēmōna (Itin. 17).  
 Gāmmāndēbba near Gondar.  
 Gondar, 8 July. [*AJIB.* 236.]

Itinerary XXII. 1703

From Gondar on 18 March to Agāwmēdr, returning to Gondar some time after 6 June.

Gondar.  
 Balāngāb.  
 Jēbjēba, NC 374 HEJ Gibgibba 12 miles NW of Gorgora.  
 Damige.

Ačāra.  
 Dāngāl Bār, *Géod.* 4 Dangal bar, NC 371 HEJ Denghelbar.  
 Of this place, Bruce (who writes it Dingleber) said that since there is here a tall rock which leaves only a narrow passage by the lake side, anyone who controlled this passage could cut the supply line from Agāwmēdr to Gondar (*Travels*, Bk. VI, chap. X).  
 Asin Arwa.  
 Dālākās, NC 371 HEC Delache on the Little Abbay, 10 miles E of Ismalā.  
 Čāt.  
 Qušēr Bahēr (Itin. 12).  
 May Meda.  
 Wēmberi.  
 Gundiri.  
 Čara, NC 371 HEC Chara SW of Danghela.  
 Mātākāl (Itin. 13).  
 Bārbār on the Dura rivar, 7 May (Itin. 13).  
 Gisa in Gēsi district (Itin. 13).  
 Jāmhis on the Mārdi river.  
 Jubāšēwa in Gisa.  
 Kumādi in Dēmara, NC 371 HDP Kumad village or river.  
 Gišan.  
 Dēgu.  
 Gorsī river in Dāra.  
 Fāsi. Point of return.  
 Dēgu.  
 Gišan.  
 Ambi.  
 Sahi.  
 Bārbār.  
 Sēgādi in Mātākāl.  
 Sumakani.  
 Bādāla in Čara.  
 Dangēla.  
 Adibi.  
 Yēsmala.  
 Dankura.  
 Šēbagwa in Sāgāba.  
 Bamba.

Anfärdëbba in Tāqusa, NC 374 HEJ Anferdebba river; *Géod.*  
4 Amfardubba.  
Fäntay, 6 June.  
Qëmona, (Itin. 17).  
Azäzo.  
Gondar. [*AJIB.* 238.]

Itinerary XXIII. 1704

This is the last itinerary of Iyasu I. It began at Qäbäro Meda (Yëbaba) on 20 February and went through Gojjam and Damot to the frontier of Ēnarya, and thence back to Gondar on 6 June.

Qäbäro Meda, 20 February 1704.

Sëna (Itin. 7).

Qoläla.

Ēnzägëdëm.

Aräfa.

Bibuñ.

Ēnnämwačära (Itin. 20).

Goš Gëmbar.

Ēnnägatra.

Sändäba.

Wänga.

Yägëfo (Itin. 20), left on 5 March.

Däna.

Čämoga, 5 March.

Crossed the Abbay on 8 March, probably at the place called Melca Miggui on NC 374 HDS, which is doubtless intended to represent the next place in the itinerary:

Aromiju.

Hagwël (Itin. 18), 10 March.

Wämbär mountain (Itin. 18).

Hula, the rock of, in Wämbär; see Itin. 20.

Dilälo.

Čara in Rare; *Géod.* 8 shows Rare N of Mt. Amara.

Dänäb (river), *Géod.* 8 Dänäba, 1 mile SW of Qobbo (NC 374 HDJ Cobbo).

Wäsorbi (Itin. 19).

Täläläqi near Tulu Amara: the Čäläquläqut of Itin. 20.

Dängägo (v.l. Dängäsa), *Géod.* 8 a river which rises on and flows E from Tulu Amara near Ganu (NC 374 HDJ Danu).

Tuqa, also called Seda, in Qäñ, the Qäñë' of *HSD* (p. 115 above), at the S end of the Čomän Swamp.

Čari in Čälleha, *Géod.* 8 Čalliha, SE of Mt. Amara, represented on NC 374 by 'Chelia Point' 10 miles NW of Ghedo. The name of a Galla tribe and district.

Kämbolša. Not the Combolcia of NC 374 HDJ in Cobbo. The word is a fairly common Galla place-name, meaning a thorny bush (*gymnosporia* sp.).

Mätarba in Libän, and the frontier of Tëqur near Jëbat and Mt. Tulu Quba Luba in the Täläta Libän country are named here as one camp site.

Yëntalo on the frontier of the Čälleha and Gibe: Chelia Point already mentioned is 25 miles NE of the Gibe river; 7 April.

Bësël, NC 374 HDC Basilo river, a tributary of the Gibe.

Alänga in Gibe. NC 374 HDC Alenga, a river joined by the Basilo about 15 miles SW of Chelia Point.

Tiṭa.

Yëbsa.

Crossed the Gibe at Mälka Čëra on the Ēnarya frontier.

Tulu Hare.

Kälba.

Lägabëko Tulu Lämi. Läga in Galla = 'stream'; this place may be the Buko of *Géod.* 8.

Läga Jarti.

Fëgug.

Čäqorš.

Sosla, *ambo* in; there is a sweet spring here.

Abko in Dëwiso, *Géod.* 8 Duwiso, just N of the confluence of the Great Gibe and the Gibe Ēnarya, called Arbo in *Géod.* 8. This was possibly the point of return.

Läga Amara, *Géod.* 8 Lagamara, N of the Halanga river.

Tulu Moṭe.

Sahel in Jëmma = Jimma of *Géod.* 8 between Gämbo and the Čomän Swamp.

Huladilu in Amuru.

Buru in Horo. NC 374 HDJ shows Horro W of Sciambo.

Arbawaš in Agwël district; see Per. Sus. 12.

Fënča, *Géod.* 7 Fincan dabsa, a tributary of the Agul, 18 miles N of Haratu.

Boya in Rari, NC 374 HDJ Boa, 20 miles NE of Sciambo.

Biyo (Galla = 'water').

Hula: see Itin. 20.

Korqa in Dilälo.

Tänkake in Dilälo

Wämbär, 21 May.

Ĕmbabo in Wämbär.

Sändäbo in Wämbär = Asändäbo, NC 374 HDK 10 miles SW of Mälka Yëkätël.

Yäfätan, 26 May.

Crossed the Gudär river.

Šänkori in Gënd Bärät; left 31 May.

Reached the Abbay and marched along it, 1 June.

Sënga Gädäl.

Burqa Čändäfo. Somewhere near here the Abbay was crossed.

Däjat in Ašašame, perhaps Dinjat, 5 miles NE of Yäwš near Anbär Qirqos, *Géod.* 7.

Yëwita.

Ĕbibälo.

Gondar, 6 June. [*AJIB.* 251.]

## THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ĔNDÄRTA, GÄR'ALTA, AND ADJACENT AREAS

### I

In 1677 Fares and Zämaryam revolted against King Yohannës; Zämaryam later turned against his partner and went over to the king. In the Chronicle of Yohannës I there is an account of this rebellion (*AJIB.* pp. 25–34) which contains a large amount of topography, beginning with the place where the revolt began on 8 May 1677. This was at Da'ro Më'law in Bäl'at; here the rebels induced a number of provinces and also many districts in Ĕndärta to support them. The provinces were Wažërat, Ĕdda Mäkwännën, Doba, Bora, Säläwa, Abärgäle, Waräb (v.l. Wa'räb), and Sart (Sähart), all to the W and S of Ĕndärta; Sähart, Säläwa, Waräb, Ĕdda Mäkwännën, and Wažërat are contiguous with it.

The list of districts/villages in Ĕndärta contains nearly thirty

names<sup>1</sup>, some of which are identifiable; many of them are given by Lefebvre in his list, and his forms are given here in [ ]. The identifiable names, all on sheet ND 375, are the following, those marked with an asterisk occurring in the list of toll posts in *AJIB* 195 seq. (section II below):

Bara, HET A. Bara, 10 miles W of Antalo.

May Qäya, HEU Mai Caiyeh, 10 miles S of Qwiḥa.

Awsäba [Aosseba], HEU Auseba, 7 miles SSE of Qwiḥa.

Monäs [Monos], HEU Monos, 10 miles SE of Qwiḥa.

Mi'šäfa [Mechafa], perhaps HEU Mezva, 15 miles SE of Monos.

Amäntila [Amentila], HEU Amentila, 10 miles NE of Monos.

May Šädfo [Maye Tchedefo], *Guida* map p. 304 Mai Celfo, 10 miles SW of Amäntila.

\*Šägwala [Chaguella], HEU Scinguala, 5–10 miles NE of Qwiḥa.

\*Wägrä Hariba [Ougra Ariba], HEU Eghir Erive, 3 miles SE of Qwiḥa.

Unidentifiable places are: Däbrä Hayla [Debra Aila], Haräqo, Wägrä Agäzen [Ouogera Agazene], Dur Anbäsa, 'Ad Wäd Gedär, Šëḥ, Säglä, Asgada Ara, 'Ad Aqet [Adda Aketi], \*Wäšafat [Chafate], Höhole [Ohole], Borye, Ĕlhama [Lehama], Akza [Akhaza], Hëšša [Ellecha], Ašäda, Egër Wämbär [Egre ombër], Qäta [? Katti], \*Gämbäla [Guembela].

Other places which occur in this passage are:

Ĕntälo, HEU Antalo, 17 miles SSW of Qwiḥa.

Mäläb 'Asa, HFF Meleb Asa, 10 miles NE of Qwiḥa.

\*Zamra (Sämre), HET Samre, 35 miles SW of Qwiḥa.

Betä Marya, *Guida* map p. 304 Bet Maira, S of Makmat Iwurr (Mëqmaṭ 'Ĕwwër), where Alvares saw 'a handsome church of Our Lady' (*PJ.* 183).

Qorqora, *Guida* map p. 304 Adi Corcora, a few miles WSW of Makmat Iwurr.

<sup>1</sup>[Nine of these names, i.e. Monäs, Wägrä Hariba, Qäta, Gämbäla, Egër Wämbär, Däbrä Hayla, Wägrä Agäzen, Dur Anbäsa and 'Ad Aqet, appear almost two centuries later in Emperor Tewodros's tax records for Ĕndärta, as published in Pankhurst and Germa-Selassie Asfaw, *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia (1855–1868)*, pp. 80–5, and sketch-map on p. 175. R.P.]

Godëb Hawaryat, HEU Gutba Hairat, 5 miles W of Makmat Iwurr.

Şëlläre [Tellare], river, HET Tsellari, 25 miles SW of Sämre.

Muja, HET Muggia, 7 miles SE of Sämre.

Şëra', the old province N of Ĕndärta.

Unidentifiable: Čëçat, Safet, Aybäto, Qäbaqëb, Dä'ërweta, Ĕdda Abona, Taħa, Walwaj, Nazret, Şëbärt, Şena, Čërfo, Čäqola, Fërqa, Dägoz (the last five being mountains in Säläwa), Dämbäl'a, \*Jämma (a district in Tämben), Mämye, Gäläwsa (mountain), Şäbta, Bähura, Čärq Amba.

## II

In 1698 Iyasu made an enquiry into the system of collection of tolls at the customs posts from Ĕndarta to Wägära. The account of this enquiry in *AJIB* p. 195 seq. is as follows:

'In the month of Hëdar (November–December) the king called to the house of Yëblañ Lä'Angäte all the officials and leading people of the people of Tëgre. He questioned them concerning the tolls paid at the customs posts from Ĕndärta to Wägära. All the people of the chiefs told the king of the extortions to which the traders were subjected, from whom the officials of Tëgre, each in his district, took and stole all the salt which was carried on the shoulder, and of that which was carried on donkeys they likewise took toll, but not in proper proportion. The king was very vexed when he heard of this extortion from the traders and questioned the leading officials in these words: "What was the state of the toll system in the time of king 'Aläm Sägäd [Fasilädäs] and king A'laf Sägäd [Yohannës I]?" They answered, "The tolls were regulated thus: from him who carried salt on his shoulder no toll was exacted, for that was allowed free. For salt carried on donkeys the toll was one *amole*<sup>1</sup> on each; for that carried on mules it was two *amole* on each. This was formerly the toll at all the larger and more distant posts; at the smaller and nearer posts no toll was charged". The king said, "Establish regulations for future

<sup>1</sup>A bar of rock-salt, often shaped like a whetstone and 10–12 ins. long by about 2 ins. thick, was used as currency from time immemorial. The value fluctuated according to distance from the source of supply in the Danakil country. In 1840 at Agula, one Maria Theresa dollar was worth 80–110 *amole*; but at Gondar, 28–32 *amole*. [See R. Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia*, London, 1961, pp. 261–5; idem, *Economic History of Ethiopia 1800–1935*, pp. 460–4. R.P.]

exaction of tolls, and henceforth let it be as you agree with the people of the chiefs of Tëgre, that is, the *şeyum* of Ĕndärta, the *şeyum* of Säläwa, the *şeyum* of Abärgäle, the *şeyum* of Mägäb, the *şeyum* of Tämben, the *şeyum* of Atäba and Aquna, and the *şeyum* of Lama, with Ras Fares and Mahdärä Krëstos of Tämben". They deliberated, and then said to the king, "Let there be one customs post in each district, from Ĕndärta to Lama, and the regulation of tolls thus: on five mules loaded with salt, one *amole*; on eight donkeys loaded with salt, one *amole*; and if any one shall take toll from those who carry it on their shoulder, his house shall be pillaged and his possessions confiscated and he himself shall be condemned to death, for this has been free since the time of king 'Aläm Sägäd and king A'laf Sägäd to the present day; no trader shall pass by the road to Lasta with salt or whatever it may be". The king approved this decision, and ordered it to be enforced for ever, and to be written in the book of the *ëqabet* (treasury) and in the Book of the Annals and to be proclaimed by the herald. These are the posts where tolls may be taken: In Gär'alta: the post of Mägäb and of Mäta'. In Tämben: the post of Sada Ĥamäd and that of Bäzbäz. In Säħart: the post of Maçure. In Abärgäle: the posts of Abba Gëbç, Bäzbäz, and Barlaqo. In Şälämt: the post of Zändo Bär. In Aquna: the post of Maygäsa (v.l. Maygäla). In Säbrana: the posts of Mänta Bär and Mëşlal. For the districts of the Muslims and Fälaşa, tolls shall be taken at the head of the pass of Sëlqi. The post of Sägänät shall be abolished, but tolls shall be taken at the post of Abara. In Atäba tolls shall be taken at the post of Fëyel Wäha, and the post at Afo shall be abolished. Tolls shall be taken at the post of Säbätana; in the district of Waräb, at the post of Sämre. The post of the district of Gëbana should be abolished, as well as that of the district of Bäränta. At the post of Tägula tolls were taken as at those of Şër'ado and Dënsit, and also at the posts of Mämbärta and Ĕnnägale. Posts abolished in various districts are these: In Mämbärta, at the post of Hayq Mäsal the tolls were abolished, as also in the district of Şära (v.l. Dära) at the post of Agula. In the province of Ĕndärta, the posts of Şařta and Wëşafat. Tolls were abolished at the post of Sugala, at the post of Gämbäla in the territory of Ras Fares, and at the post of Wägër Ĥaliba and the post of Gëbana. In the province of Gëralta the market tolls were abolished. Tolls were also abolished in the province of Tämben at

the post of Jamma on the road at the entrance of the province, and at the posts of Täget, Bäläs, Şäde, Güzäwa, May Haläqt, Dorho Qot, Erbaşesa (v.l. Arbasəşa), Erbabəça, and Çänqa. In the district of Abärgäle, at the posts of Aqwaşäre, Şendi, Bëro, Çəlqwa, Betä Mäsqäl, Dëgla (v.l. Dëgsa), Taqwana, Mu'al Hamus, Jëjçe. In the province of Şälämt tolls were abolished at the posts of Aquna, Sabra, Sägänät. In the district of Əslam Bär, at the posts of Aro, Gëbana, and Tägula on the road at the entrance to the district. In the district of Şär'a, at the posts of Agwëla' and Sëfeh (v.l. Lafeh). In the district of Mämbärta, at the post of Hayq Mäsäl.'

The following places in this list are identifiable, all references being to sheet ND 375, and *Géod.* 3:

In Gär'alta: Mägäb [Megabe Mt.] HFE Magab, 15 miles SW of Hawzen.

In Säbrana: Sëlqi, *Géod.* 3 Mt. Silqi and Col de Silqi, just NW of Mt. Abba Yared (HES Iared). Sägänät, HES Segonet, 20 miles NE of Derasghie. Abara, *Géod.* 3 Abara, 5 miles NNW of Abba Yared. Atäba, HES Ataba, 8 miles ENE of Mai Tsalo. These names give a clue to the position of Säbrana district.

In Waräb: Sämre, HET Samre, 20 miles SW of Anälo. Gëbana, probably near Anälo. Bäränta, HET Belenta, 20 miles SW of Sämre and 5 miles SE of Abärgäle.

In Mämbärta: Hayq Mäsäl [Aiaka messal], HFF Aica Messal, 25 miles NE of Qwiha.

In Endärta: Agula, Agula', in the district of Şära (Dära), HFF Agula, 15 miles NNE of Qwiha. Şäfta, HEU Scefta, 3 miles SW of Qwiha. Sugäla [Chaguëla], the Şägwala of the Chronicle of Yohannës I, HEU Scinguala, 5–10 miles NE of Qwiha. Wägër Haliba [Ougra Ariba], HEU Eghir Erive, 3 miles SE of Qwiha. Gëbana, probably on the Waräb–Endärta border near Anälo (see above).

In Tämbeñ: Bäläs,? near HFE Beles, a river N and NW of Abbi Addi. Çänqa, *Guida* map p. 272 Mai Cianqua, 10 miles NW of Macalle.

#### [IV

#### THE REPLIES OF MURAD

[Besides the chronicle, reference may be made, for the reign of Iyasu I, to the replies of Murad, an Armenian merchant in

that Emperor's service, to questions, drafted by Ludolf, which were put to him in Batavia on two occasions, in 1690 and 1697, and recorded by officials of the Dutch East India Company.

Murad's responses of 1690, given in answer to Paulus de Roo's queries, state that the Ethiopian empire had been restored by Emperor Fasilädäs more or less to its previous confines, that Emperor Iyasu had shortly earlier gone on an expedition against the Gongga people, that attacks by the Gallas were then much less frequent than in former times, and that the ruler of Hadëyya had submitted of his own free will to the rule of Abyssinia, and together with his entire people' had 'embraced the Christian religion.' (Franken and Cope di Valromita, loc. cit., pp. 63–4; van Donzel, op. cit., pp. 71–2). The ports of Arkiko and Massawa were, on the other hand, under the rule of the Turks, and the Emperor did 'not intend for a while yet to change this, because of his plans regarding the other side, and the more so since the entrance of foreigners, and mainly the Portuguese and others leaning towards Roman Catholicism is thus prevented and forestalled'. Iyasu was, however, in a position to obtain the obedience of the coast by the simple means of prohibiting the supply of provisions thereto. (Franken and Cope di Valromita, loc. cit., pp. 70–1; van Donzel, op. cit., p. 77). As for the Dankali port of Beilul, it still belonged to 'the King of the Abyssinians', but had been given as a fief to a Muslim chief who had placed his children in the hands of the Emperor as a guarantee of his good behaviour, and of his obligation to pay annual tribute (Franken and Cope di Valromita, loc. cit., p. 71; van Donzel, op. cit., p. 78.)

Murad's replies of 1697, in response to additional queries drawn up by Ludolf, correct several misunderstandings in Paulus de Roo's earlier report, and state that the Emperor had then recently been campaigning in Dzijata(?), Amara (Amhara) and Damoet (Damot). Details are also given of the annual revenue the Armenian believed that the Emperor was receiving, mainly in gold, from a number of provinces or districts. These comprised Audira (?), 'one of the greatest provinces' which paid salt tax and 4,000 ounces of gold; Momboerta (Mämbärta) also 500 ounces of gold as salt tax; Timbeñ (Tämbeñ) another 500 ounces as salt tax, and Zahet (Şahät?) 200 ounces; Maygoga (May Gogwa) and Adoewa ('Adwa) 1,000 ounces together, though the salt tax of the former place had been ceded

to certain ecclesiastics; Sarvarija (perhaps Särawe) 500 ounces; Doewarba (Děbarwa) 500 ounces, for cotton cloth and other articles transported from Massoewa (Massawa); Dziri (Šire) 700 ounces; the 'very cold' country of Zemin (Sämen), once the abode of the Jews, 2,000 ounces, and Lama (by the context possibly Lämalmö) 100 ounces, besides 5,000 pieces of cotton, or one in twenty taken by caravan; Dzjonga (Gonga?), 2,000 ounces, as against 4,000 before 'the ravages of the Gallas'; Agoino (thought by Franken and Cope di Valromita to be Agäme, or possibly Gojjam but equated by van Donzel with the country of the Agaw), 100,000 head of cattle, 2,000 pieces of cloth, 20,000 jars of honey, 1,000 gourds of (cream) cheese, and 1,000 jars of butter; and the Muslim province of 'Ifat or Ifer' (i.e. Ifat), 200 ounces of gold (Franken and Cope di Valromita, loc. cit., pp. 80-1; van Donzel, op. cit., pp. 93-4). R.P.]

## [V

## THE TRAVELS OF CHARLES PONCET

[The information in the chronicle of Iyasu I, and the report of Murad, can be supplemented by the travel account of Charles Poncet, who entered Ethiopia from Sennar<sup>1</sup> in June 1699. The journey took him to Giesim, midway between the town of Sennar and the confines of Aethiopia, a place where 'you are oblig'd to quit your camels, by reason of the mountains that are to be cross'd and the herbs which poison those animals'. (Foster, op. cit., p. 110). Camels were sold at Giesim (p. 164 above) on condition that they were used only as far as Girana, a village on top of a mountain 16 days journey to the east. The itinerary from Giesim to Gondar ran, in the orthography of Foster's translation, as follows: Serke (p. 164 above), 'a pretty town of above five or six hundred houses'; Tambisso, 'a large village which belongs to the Patriarch of Aethiopia'; Abiad, 'situate upon a high mountain cover'd with sycamores'; Girana, 'a village . . . on the top of a mountain'; Barangoa, also in the mountains; Chelga, 'a great and fair town . . . a place of great commerce'; Barko, 'a neat little town in the middle of a pleasant

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion on the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the trade routes between Gondar and Sennar and Gondar and Massawa, written in 1701 by Benoist de Maillet, the French Consul in Cairo, on the basis of information supplied by Poncet, see C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales*, Rome, 1903-12, XIV, pp. 176-83. R.P.]

plain' half a day's journey away from the Ethiopian capital; and, finally, Gondar itself. (pp. 111-15). Poncet also provides useful descriptions of Gondar, site of 'about a hundred churches' (p. 122); the town of Aringo, with a palace 'not less stately' than that of the capital (p. 29); Qoga, 'formally the residence of the Emperors of Aethiopia' (p. 144); and Ĕnfēraz, 'famous' for its traffic in slaves and civet, the abode of the merchant Murad, and a settlement where the houses of the Muslims were, unusually for Ethiopia, 'mix'd with those of the Christians' (pp. 137, 143).

On leaving Gondar the traveller made his way to 'Adwa (pp. 145-6), then in 1700 in its infancy, and thence to the emporium of Dēbarwa, which he terms 'the bureau or general magazine of the commodities of the Indies'. It was divided into two settlements, the higher inhabited by Christians and the lower by Muslims (pp. 146-7). Continuing his journey the author proceeded, like merchants and other travellers of his day, to Arqiqo on the mainland port of and thence to the 'little island' of Massawa (p. 154). R.P.]

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  
THE TOPOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS OF THE  
HĒGGĀ WĀŠĒR'ATĀ MĀNGĚŠT

THIS collection of documents, the textual aspect of which has been discussed in chapter I, contains two separate sections in which there are place-names. The first, in Bodl. Bruce 88 of late XVI, is a list of names arranged in some sort of topographical order; this list does not appear in the XVIII versions of the *Hĕggā wāšĕr'atā māngĕšt*. The second is a list of miscellaneous official titles divided into sections each of which begins with the words *tarik zā* (in Bruce 92) or *kĕfl zā* (in Frankfurt 18). This list is not easy to understand. There seem to be two possible interpretations: (1) it could be a list of the provinces and districts to which certain officials were attached or with which their offices were in some way connected; or (2) it could refer to the district or province in which land was assigned to an official. Slight confirmation for the second view comes from a statement by Almeida that the district of Auzen (Hawzen) was assigned by the emperor to the governor of Tĕgre (*SRE*. p. xcvi). It is possible however that the document is a register for which both interpretations may hold good. Varenbergh suggested (*Zeits. f. Assyriol*, XXX. p. 30) that it is simply a list of provinces and their governors; but this is not borne out, either by the arrangement of the document or by the character of many of the offices mentioned: the *qwami* for instance were not governors, but officials of the royal kitchen.<sup>1</sup> One might perhaps call it a *Consuetudinarium*.

First section: Bodl. Bruce 88, fol. 34v.

Names of the districts

(*ahgurat*)

Qwālāla in Sāgāba

(near Ĕnjābāra)

Bālyā. Abibāyā.

(SW of Ačāfār)

<sup>1</sup>[The *qwami* were described by Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, I, p. 374, as 'wood-carriers' in the service of a chief. R.P.]

Gwāy and Bāgĕ'	
Ambās and Žan	<i>Tahwa</i>
Lower Ṭaqwĕsa	(W. of Lake Ṭana)
Upper Ṭaqwĕsa	(W. of Lake Ṭana)
Tānkāl	(NW of Gorgora)
Šemagĕlle Šum	[? not a place-name]
Nara	(NE of Gondar)
Gabā	
Angwaj	
Qwālla Sāraqo	(? near the Great Angārāb river)
Čĕlga	(in Dāmbĕyā)
Žan Fāqāra	(N of Gondar)
Bajāna	( <i>amba</i> 15 miles NW of Gondar)
Kārkār	(N of Gondar)
Walwaj	(Ualag* NE of Gondar)
Sāqālt	(near Gondar)
Gwāndĕr	(Gondar)
Dārgaj	
Koza	
Ayba	(near Gondar)
Sārbakwĕsa	(near Gondar)
Dārās Ge	(Sāmen)
Wāyna	
Zāngaj	(S of Gondar)
Sārāqārñ	
Arābyā	(near Gondar)
Dĕr Māgāj	(? Māgāč S of Gondar)
Wĕglo Sāramne	(between Ayba and Zāngaj)
Kawa	
Čĕhra	(NE of Lake Ṭana)
Wāgāra Dābĕr	
Wāyna Dāg'a	(E and SE of Gondar)
Dānqāz	(SE of Gondar)
Gĕmālĕs	(Bāgĕmdĕr, near Dārīša)
Ĕbnat	(Bāgĕmdĕr)
Wa'rāb	(Bāgĕmdĕr)
Gwilana	
Dobari	

Bäläsa	(either Bäläsa near Ėmfëraz, or the river and province E of Dämbëya)
Fanša Bägäla and Qäntäfa	(near Däräs Ge) (the only places called Qäntäfa known to me are in Ačäfär and Dämbëya – the last NNW of Gorgora)
Kinfäz Ačëqan and Zëwäz Mälza, Mäqätäwa Märäwina, Qwalisa Mant, Kämäm	(near Däräs Ge) (near Däräs Ge) (SE and E of Ėbnat)
Gënaza	(the second near Ifag)
Wëdo	(near Aringo)
Sahëdäna Qëben Zäng	(between Ėbnat and the Rëb river)
Wätämb Därha Dabër Šäm'a Wëqro	(near Afäräwänät) (near Wëdo) (between the Rëb and Mahdärä Maryam) (Bägemdër)
Sënjäna Hašäma Gërarya Ėste	(near Däbrä Tabor)
Kwästät Šënafa Zugära Gayënt Guna	(near Mahdärä Maryam) (Bägemdër) (near Däbrä Tabor) (Bägemdër)
Aṇdä Bet Ėnšor Gämbëya Šaş	
Wagäš	(? Voghed ND 374* HES)
Qoma Mëkre	(near Ėste)

\* = GSGS spellings

Muja	(Bägemdër)
Saf	
Adoste Nägäla Dahäna	(Lasta)
Wäqärako Wäfge Gëra Goṭa	
Dëbana	(Bägemdër)
Harb Amba Sëmada	(Bägemdër)
Aj	
Hanso.	(? Anšo on the Abbay)
Ṭaqot Čaṭa Lëmon Gona Safda	
Mäqet	(near Däbrä Zëbit)
Gwasat Räča	(Bägemdër)
Land of the Bëstä Ėgre Of Wägära	
Wärq Amba	(Uorcamba*)
Däbarëq	(Debarech*)
Kino Čëna Abtära	(Avtara*)
Märäba	
Däqwa	(Dacua*)
Wëqën Bänkär Dara	(Dara*)
Čärbëta	(Ciarveta*)
Sawa	(? Saua*)
Därähwa	(Mai Deroqua*)
May Lëko Bëra Kämbi Sanqa Ṭëqëm	

Qwëra Zäg	
Jëhjëh	
Wäqär Dëbba	(Uocardebba Mariam*)
Dängor Dëbba	
Dëbräso	(Duvresso*)
Yëšhaq Däbër	(Isac Dever*)
Bambëlo	(Bambelo*)
Abahwër	
Sisq Mëdër	
Ënqaš	(Incasc*)
Čämbëlge	(Cambildge Mariam*)
Qäqämako	
Gwërtinako	
Buza	(? Bosa)
Sanq	
Daldima	
Ad Jëre	
Jan Arwa	

Most of these names are in Dämbëya, Begämdër, and Wägära – the last 35 all in Wägära; a few are in Agäwmëdr and the area W of Lake Ṭana, Lasta, and Sämen. Approximate positions or identification with names on ND 374 and ND 375 are given in brackets in the second column.

Second section: Bodl. Bruce 92, fol. 7r–8r.

- fol.7r.* ‘The record according to their divisions.  
[Of the] Šahafälam of Damot:
- 55 Ènarya; Qändën; Kontën;  
Hazët; Mänṭura; Gädätula;  
Bizamo; Konč: Gämbo; and all  
Gafat which is beyond (the) Gudär;  
Fätägar; Hasäga; Mäkanä
- 60 Sëllase; Däbrä Mëštir;  
Gunča; Krëstos Fätär.  
‘[Of the] Qän Bältäči: Hallelo;  
Bizän. [Of the] Žan Hašana: Wifat;  
Waräb; Qäčamo; Zway;
- 65 Däbrä Bërhan; Däbrä Mëswa’.  
‘[Of the] Princesses of the left, the Liqä  
Ma’mëran, the Šäraž Masäre,

- the Ba’ël Täkäl: Gännätä  
Giyorgis; Märabete; Bizamo;
- 70 Šat; Bädël Wäšat; Bädël Gume;  
Atronsä Maryam;  
Gëše. [Of the] Ṭäqaqënač:  
Mäkanä Šëyon; Begämdër;  
Wägära; Dämbëya. [Of the] Awfari:
- fol.7v.* Mäzäga. [Of the] Ligaba of the left, the Betä
- 76 Gëbër of the left, the Qwami of the left: Sänkwa;  
Šägäde; Walqayt. [Of the] Bäläw  
Mäkwännënt Bä’alä Haräfa:  
Sulala. [Of the] Ègër Zaqwëne:
- 80 Wägärt. [Of the] Bäšërwajoč:  
Bosa; Gumär; Bädël Nëhëb;  
Zënjäro; Zala; Wačära; Ašänkora;  
Mërgay; Hol’are;  
Jan Mëlat; Dëbb Mëlat;
- 85 Mäsqäl Aš; Bädël Wäšat;  
Abäžägay; Gwërage.  
‘RECORD of the Bä’alä Tägwäzagwäza Bägamač:  
Tëgre Mäkwännën;  
Agamyä; Wag; Tämben; Jan
- 90 Amora; Bäläw; Šälämt;  
Bora; Abärgäle; Mänz; Säna-  
fe; Betä Anbäsa; Domäy; the ten  
and two drums of Tëgre; Däbrä Mahëšo. Azaž Qäna  
Žan
- 95 ‘Of. [Of the] Bä’altä Šona: Wägëša;\*  
Dëmbi: Èndä Gäbtän.  
‘RECORD of the Dël Bäräkät: Hadëy-  
ya; Arëñ; Ayfärs; Gäräd;  
Šägän; Bëlc; Säri Mäqi.
- 100 ‘RECORD of the Qwërhat Säqäla:  
Wäläqa; Aqamba; Šärha; Ag-  
raro; Dëbb Anbäsa.  
‘RECORD of the Bä’alä Däbäna: Wäj;  
Gämo; Bäsär Amora; Gwëragwe;
- 105 Wäšlo; Däräba May.  
‘RECORD of the Bä’alä Mäšhaf:  
Tägwëlät; Aksum; Damo; Šäfoč;

- Däbrä Maryam; Wäfla;  
Dägwäš.
- 110 'RECORD of the Žan Tākäl: Bäděl  
Sähay; Gänz and Gämo  
completely associated.  
'RECORD of the Šaware Sämba: Sämen;  
Konč; Adäl; Hédari;
- 115 Yëfat.  
'RECORD of the Ęras Baldäräba,  
Bëhtwädäd of the left: Që'a,\*  
Doba; Dänkäle; Bëgwëna; Dähono  
Sëlšan; Bā'alä Diho
- 120 Bā'adäl 'Of. [Of the] Awfari  
Nägäd Ras.  
'RECORD of the Žan Däräba: Gete-  
semani; Arganon; Bäděl  
Ęsat. [Of the] Qwami of the left; of the Princesses
- 125 of the left.  
'RECORD of the Gëra Geta Baldäräba:  
Šärt; Zugära; Arbamba;  
Ęnfëraz.  
'RECORD of the Gëra Ędug Ras
- 130 Baldäräba: Gänz; Zëwi;  
Särawe; Anqäbda; Sähart.  
'RECORD of the Žan Bet Tābaqi  
Mëžëkër, Qän Tëqaqenäch:  
Bali; Yëfat; Gëddëm;
- 135 Gwäžam. [Of the] Gëra Bältač  
Žan Bäläw Ras: Šëlalëš;  
Mugär. [Of the] Qaläbas: Ta'ëka Maryam;  
Kosäyat; Däq; Gwäsa; Aro.  
[Of the] Qän Ligaba Žan Masäre:
- 140 Mäkanä Säma'ët; Däbrä Wärq;  
Ažägwana; Bäd; Aläfa. [Of the]  
Däräba Bet Lägwami, Žan  
Asrari, Qän Raq Masära,  
Bā'alä Haräfa.
- fol. 8r.* 'RECORD of the Ras Baldäräba Qän <Bëh>
- 146 twädäd, Bahër Nägaš, Bā'alä  
Damo; Degen; Zänsaba;  
Šëlma; Dëbarwa.

- 'RECORD of the Bā'alä Waš: Sire;  
150 Ęndärta; and all the mountains  
and the Bā'alä Tākël.  
'RECORD of the Žan Šërar Gëra  
Qän: Amasen Gëra and Qän;  
Bur. [Of the] Šahäfälam of Amhara,
- 155 Qän Betä Gëbër, Abun: Däbrä  
Ma'ëšo; Nä'em; Mahare  
The Aysänäfo Dëbb Anbäsa of  
the right: Ambasänet.  
'RECORD of the Bā'alä Gëmja Waša
- 160 Šähafälam: Däbrä Libanoš;  
Däbrä Bahrëy. [Of the] Žan Šäkamoč:  
Däbrä Nägwädgwad;  
Čamo; Mängëšt Bet; Bäräkät <Bet>;  
Mär'ëd Bet. [Of the] Žan
- 165 Šälami, Bëšt Ęgre, Attari:  
Qäbari; Gërarya; Qaş;  
Šëlalëš; Güdäm; Däq; Särgwa;  
Mänkëro Qana.  
'RECORD of the Dël Tägwäzagwäza,
- 170 Nëgus of Gäñ, Däj Qaläbas:  
Haräša; Šagwëra; Gëra Qat.  
'RECORD of the Qän Geta(?) Baldäräba:  
Angot; Bäděl Näsër.  
'RECORD of the Wëso Wäsän
- 175 Amba Maryam Märtulä Maryam;  
Atronsä Maryam; Gä-  
nnätä Giyorgis; Mëshalä  
Maryam; Däbrä Mëtmaq;  
Mëdrä Zega. Qän Qwami,
- 180 Liqä Däbtära, Aqabe Sä'at,  
Qes Hase, Princesses of the right,  
Wäsän Af, Zä Aqet Däbäna,  
Liqä Saf; Däwaro.  
'RECORD of the Bā'alä Säqäla: Bäděl
- 185 Amba; Säyf Amba; Žäqwala.  
[Of the] Tërañ Tābaqi: Bäděl
- 187 Af.  
'RECORD of the Žan Däräba:

- 188 Krəstos Hayle. The Žan Wäsat  
 189 enter into all.  
 190 'RECORD of the Žan Masäre <and> Žan  
 Hasäna: they are above all.'  
 The lines are numbered from the beginning of fol. 7r  
 in Bruce 92, the first fifty-four being a list of  
 'Masters of the Law'. Some of the names in this  
 section are unidentified; these are not mentioned in  
 the following notes. Others have occurred already  
 and need no further mention. For the rest, suggested  
 identifications follow:
- Line 55. Qändən: near Däbrä Bərhan.  
 Line 56. Mänčura: NC 372 HEK Mantora near  
 Däbrä Tabor. Gädätula: somewhere W of  
 Däbrä Bərhan.  
 Line 60. Däbrä Məstir: in Shoa, E of the Abbay.  
 Line 65. Däbrä Məswa': N of Lake Zway.  
 Line 72. Mäkanä Šeyon: in Begämděr.  
 Line 79. Sulala: between the Jamma and Mugär  
 rivers.  
 Line 82. Zənjäro, Zala: possibly the peoples of  
 these names in the Omo region.  
 Line 83. Mərgay: named by Almeida (*SRE*. p. 10)  
 as a 'province less than a kingdom', of  
 somewhere near the Awaš river.  
 Line 85. Mäsqäl Aš: in Gojjam.  
 Line 93: Däbrä Mahəšo: not the same as Däbrä  
 Ma'əšo in line 156.  
 Line 95. Wägša: this is clearly a miswriting for  
 Wägda, as shown by the corresponding passage  
 in F. 18.  
 Line 99. Mäqi: the river Mäqi, an affluent of Lake  
 Zway.  
 Line 101. Aqamba: a district of Amhara.  
 Line 108. Däbrä Maryam: perhaps in Gär'alta.  
 Wäfla: S and SE of Lake Ašänge.  
 Line 111. Gänz and Gämo 'completely associated':  
 the two are not contiguous, and this union  
 appears to be administrative and not territorial.  
 Gämo is near Lake Abäya.

- Line 117. Qə'a: clearly a miswriting for Qəda, as  
 shown by the corresponding passage in Bruce  
 88 and F. 18.  
 Line 118. Dähono Səlṭan: this appears to mean  
 'the man in authority at Arqiqo' (cf. PJ.  
 p. 420).  
 Line 127. Särt could be meant for Sähart, though  
 the latter occurs four lines later. Arbamba: near  
 Aringo.  
 Line 130. Zəwi: near Däräsge.  
 Line 137. Ta'əka Maryam: the name of a palace  
 at Aksum.  
 Line 140. Mäkanä Säma'ət: in Andäbet.  
 Line 155. There is some obscurity here: Abun  
 might be meant for 'Addi Abun, the district N  
 of Adwa; Däbrä Ma'əšo may be in the region of  
 Amba Sänet.  
 Line 168. Mänkəro Qana: F 18 has Mänkər Qana,  
 'the miracle of Cana'.  
 Line 174. There is some obscurity here. The words  
 of the text are rendered by Guidi as: 'of the  
 Wes (?): Wasan Ambā, Marṭula Māryām'.  
 'Wəso Wäsän' certainly looks like the title of  
 some frontier official; on the other hand, Wäsän  
 Amba occurs in Per. Sus. 14 as a place on the  
 Šanqəla frontier; and there is an Amba Maryam  
 in Gojjam.  
 Line 177. Məshalä Maryam: Məs'alä Maryam  
 occurs in AJIB. 190, near Afäräwänät.  
 Line 178. Däbra Məṭmaq: near Däbrä Bərhan.  
 Line 186. [The Ṭərañ Ṭäbaqi was perhaps an  
 official in charge of civet production or  
 distribution; Amh. *ṭərañ* (Baeteman *ṭərəñ*) means  
 'civet cat'.]

## APPENDIX B ROUTE OF THE GREAT ETHIOPIAN CARAVAN

The route which follows is translated from d'Abbadie's *Géographie*, section 97, 'la route de la grande caravane éthiopienne' from Muçaww'a (Massawa) to Saqa (Saka) in the Gibe region, by way of 'Adwa, Gondar, and Baso (Yawš, Iusc). There were two routes from the coast to 'Adwa, the longer by Kudafalase (Godofelassi), 'Addi Hwala and the Mārāb, the shorter by Ḥalāy and the Bālāsa river. The latter was probably the older, and may well represent the line of the ancient route from Adulis to Aksum, the newer route possibly joining the ancient route near Zarana, the sixth stage from 'Adura.<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that the caravan route by-passed Aksum, the sacred city. The route from 'Adwa to Gondar and beyond may also be a very old route, though it is possible that it did not come into regular use till after the establishment of Gondar as the capital in XVII. But in view of the antiquity of the trade with the southern regions, it may well have been in use much earlier. In the following translation d'Abbadie's mileages have been omitted, since they do not correspond in many cases with those of the GSGS maps; and it has been necessary to adapt some of his rather strange phonetic letters in order to conform as much as possible with the orthography used in this book.

d'Abbadie's x = š; ġ = Arabic 'r grasseyé'; Ⓢ = 'th dur'; δ = 'th doux'; j = j; z = z; c = č. The following letters have been adapted: his ž represented by z; his ḥ by h; his ħ by ḥ; his k by k; his Ī, ĩ by ĩ; his ġ by ģ; his T, t by t; and his D, d (cerebral) by ḍ.

Identifications with names in *Géod.* and GSGS (ND 372, ND 375, ND 374, NC 371, NC 374), or confirmation of names, are shown in square brackets [    ].

### '1. From Muçaww'a to 'Adwa:

0. Mizwa, Muçaww'a.

<sup>1</sup>The ancient route probably ran further E after Zarana, through Tokonda and Qohayto (Koloē), where there are Aksumite ruins.

1. Imakullu [Moncullo,<sup>1</sup> ND 372 HFT.]
2. Waynigus [Waynigus, *Géod.*, 12 miles SSW of Moncullo.]
3. Ma-ašena, stream. [Ma'asena, *Géod.*]
4. Af Araza; called Midimar by the Christians. Here camels are left and oxen taken instead. [Ba'araza, *Géod.*]
5. Bamba [Bamba, *Géod.*]
6. Adaraso ['Addi Ra'aso, *Géod.*, Aidereso ND 372 HFL; near Decamere.]
7. Qayihkor. When descending, a *talaro* is given here for the church; when ascending, half a *talaro* worth of incense is given. [Qayihkor, *Géod.*]
8. Gur'a [Gura'i, *Géod.*, Gura ND 372 HFL.]
9. Zalamt Iman. Somewhere here the Marab was crossed.
10. Šaḥa.
11. Kudafalase [Godofelassi, ND 372 HFL.]
12. Addi 'Ahue.
13. 'Addi huala ['Addi Ḥuala, *Géod.*, Adi Quala, ND 372 HFL.]
14. Guindat [4 miles N of the Marab.]
15. Marab, river; second crossing.
16. Maḥzab allabo.
17. Da'iro Takle [Daro Tackle, ND 372 HFE.]
18. 'Adwa, after a long march.

### '2. Second route from Muçaww'a to 'Adwa (*sic*):

0. 'Adwa.
1. Rabbi ar-ayanni; toll-post. [Rabbi are-anni, *Géod.*]
2. Wahabit; toll-post. [Wahabit, *Géod.*]
3. May Maman; in Igala; toll-post. [*Géod.*]
4. Nugot; toll-post. [*Géod.*, on the Balasā river.]
5. Balasa; toll-post. [Balasa, *Géod.*; ND 372 HFL.]
6. Zarana; toll-post. [*Géod.*]
7. Igir Zabo; toll-post.
8. no name given; without toll-post.
9. Agamatin; toll-post.
10. Irret; toll-post.
11. Ma'arda.
12. Ḥalay; toll-post. [*Géod.*, ND 372 HFL.]

<sup>1</sup>The n in Moncullo is superfluous. According to d'Abbadie it is Emmakulle, 'mother of all' because it has the water which Massawa lacks.

13. Šumfayto, where oxen are left and camels taken on. [*Guida*, p. 289.]
14. La'īlay Tabo. [*Tabo, Géod.*]
15. Taḥtay Tabo.
16. Abarariga.
18. Af Ilile [? Illiliya, *Géod.*, Illalia, ND 372 HFM.] (*sic*)
19. Hamamo. The day is spent here, to depart at night with supplies of water.
20. Wi'a [*Géod.*, Ua-a, ND 372 HFM.] (*sic*)
21. Taratir; waterless plain. (*sic*)
22. Dikono, called Ḥarqiqaw by foreigners. (*sic*)
23. Muçaww'a. (*sic*)

'3. From 'Adwa to Gondar, by the lower route, since the great caravan does not go by the shortest route, by Simen, as it is much more difficult:

0. 'Adwa.
1. May Dala'ita: quite close. [*Géod.*]
2. May Abaqat: beside Axum. [*Géod.*]
3. Za'ida Qalay.
4. Tambuk. [*Géod.*]
5. Balas; toll-post. [*Géod.*]
6. May Taman; toll-post. [*Temen*, ND 372 HFD.]
7. Dambaguina; toll-post. [*Géod.*, ND 372 HFD.]
8. May Timqat; toll-post. [*May Timqat, Géod.*, Mai Timchet, HD 375 HFD.]
9. Takkaze; big river. [*Géod.*, ND 375.]
10. May 'Ayni; toll-post; steep ascent; the horizontal distance is short. [*Géod.*]
11. May Tabri; plain; descent to the stream Madača. [*May Zabri, Géod.*]
12. May Laḥm; climbing and descending. [*Géod.*]
13. Add Arqay; toll-post; steep climb and descent to the river Ansiya. [*Géod.*]
14. Inzo, river; climbing and descending to cross this ford. [*Géod.*]
15. Zarema, river; climbing and descending to cross the ford. [*Géod.*]
16. Dagusit; stream.

17. Dibibaḥr; steep ascent. [*Dibbabahr, Géod.*, Debivar, ND 374 HES.]
18. Wulkiffit; very steep climb; horizontal distance less than that from Adwa to Fremona (3¾ miles). [*Wulqiffit, Géod.*, Uolcheffit, ND 374 HES.]
19. Dabariq; toll-post; point of arrival on high ground (*dagā*). [*Dabariq; Géod.*, Debarech, ND 374 HES.]
20. Cira wanz; toll-post; plain.
21. Cambilge; climb and descent. [*Géod.*, ND 374 HES.]
22. Anjiba meda; plain with minor descents. [*Géod.*]
23. Argif.
24. Kokoč.
25. Gondar.

'4. From Gondar to Baso (Gojjam):

0. Gondar.
1. Tadda [*Tadda, Géod.*, Tadda, ND 374 HEK.]
2. Waynarab
3. Yfag; here the *nagadras* from Darita counts the traders. [*Géod.*, ND 374 HEK.]
4. Darita; toll-post. [*Darita, Géod.*]
5. Mantogora; place of re-assembly.
6. Wurata, after crossing the river Rib.
7. Gumara; river and toll-post. [*Gumara*, NC 371 HEK.]
8. Inqoqqo bar; ascent and toll-post.
9. Ṭiqur waha; river and descent. [*Géod.*] Abbay (bridge); small ascent and toll-post.
10. Ṭul [*Tul, Géod.*]
11. Agata; steep ascent; toll-post. [*Agitta Iyasus, Géod.*, Aghitta, NC 371 HED.]
12. Gošoge; toll-post.
13. Qolo gabya; ascent.
14. Amadamid; steep climb and descent. [*NC 371 HEC.*]
15. Arag.
16. Gomanzar; wooded plain.
17. Dambač; toll-post. [*NC 371 HDS.*]
18. Madaca.
19. Amuata [*Amuata, Géod.*, Omata NC 371 HDS.]
20. Camoga; climbing and descending. [*NC 371 HDS.*]
22. Baso; toll-post. [*Yawiš, Géod.*, Iusc, NC 371 HDS.]

## '5. From Baso to Saqa:

0. Baso. [This name occurs in HSD. 177; Beke has 'Baso market'.]
1. Yagorar; place of assembly for the traders near Baso. [Yagorar quisquam, *Géod.*]
2. Abbay; river (after a steep descent), [The crossing was possibly at Malkā Yekatel.]
3. Aradawro, ascent. [Aradawro, *Géod.*]
4. Asandabo (after a climb). [NC 374 HDK.]
5. Marowa (plain on the Gudru highland). [Marawa, *Géod.*]
6. Gudru (name of the district not given). [Gudru, Galla tribal group.]
7. Ṭubbe [Tibbe, NC 374 HDJ.]
8. Jimma (in an *erme*<sup>1</sup>) [Gimmi, NC 374 HDC.]
9. Tum-e [? Tumme, NC 374 HDC.]
10. Lagamara (still in Jimma).
11. Gibe: river flowing eastwards. The left bank is called Jawe<sup>2</sup> gamina; the right bank is called Jawe ayansa. [Great Ghibie, NC 374 HDC.]
12. Lofe.  
Guadab, river going towards the east.
13. Leqa (ascents and descents).
14. Gole.
15. Ṭadali.
16. (Name forgotten.)
17. Gababe; then comes an *erme*.
18. Mogada.
19. Kara Čabbi (in Inarya) [? Kura, *Géod.*, shown some 10 miles S of the northern boundary of Limmu.]
20. Masara Abba Jobar [Masara A. Jobar, *Géod.*, about 3 miles N of Saqa.]
21. Saqa (traders' settlement) [Saqa, *Géod.*, Saca, NC 374 HDC.]

d'Abbadie adds a note on distances, comparing the actual distance with an estimated distance:]

<sup>1</sup>*Erme, herm, or erme* is an old French word meaning 'land abandoned and without occupier'.

<sup>2</sup>Jawe is the name of a Galla tribe of the Māča group, and apparently the Caw shown on *Géod.* 8 between the Gibe (no. 11) and Leqa (no. 13).

	actual distance:	estimated distance:	difference:
'Adwa to Gondar	126.3 miles	185.4	5.19 ( <i>sic</i> )
Gondar to Dambača	122.3	123.1	0.8
Dambača to Baso	28.9	27.0	1.9
Baso to Saqa	125.7	149.5	23.8

The exact line of march being uncertain in places, it is possible to make only an approximate measurement of the journey; but the following are probably near the mark:

'Adwa to Gondar	140 statute miles
Gondar to Dambača	145
Dambača to Baso	30
Baso to Saqa	125
	440]

[He also adds the following:]

'The excess of distance covered by the road between 'Adwa and Gondar is explained by the fact that the route deviates from the 'straight line as far as 'Add Arqay in order to avoid the very difficult country which separates, in their upper reaches, the six rivers which are crossed on foot on the left side of the Takkaze.'

## APPENDIX C VARIOUS ROUTES IN NORTHERN ETHIOPIA

[Translated from d'Abbadie, *Géographie*, section 416.]

'Information given by Gabra Tadeos, a native of 'Adwa. I have known this intelligent man for some years, and he seems to be trustworthy.

'Assuming, as a base for comparison in all that follows, that from 'Adwa to Digsā is a journey of three days<sup>1</sup>, it is four days from 'Adwa to Buara defined a little earlier as a town as big as 'Adwa, between Lāstā and the Dob'a country: 1st. day, from 'Adwa to Sigli or to May Quantāl [Quanašel], a stream which waters citrons and fields of maize. Its waters enter the War'e [ND 375 HFE Ueri] which joins the 'Asam of 'Adwa, which is a tributary of the Qab'a, an affluent of the Takkaze. 2nd day, to 'Addi Tanben, or rather Tanben 'abiy 'addi, a town as big as Madhane 'alam of 'Adwa. [the name of a church in 'Adwa.] This district is full of Muslims. [ND 375 HFE Abbi Addi, about 40 miles from 'Adwa, and 15 miles from the War'e river.] Rubawoksa is the name of a very large monastery comparable with Waldibba, and contains 84 churches: it takes two days to traverse it – like the distance from Cairo to Suez.<sup>2</sup> Rubawoksa is on the left as one goes from 'Adwa to 'Addi Tanben; it must be crossed to go from the latter place into Indarta. [*Guida* map p. 272 Ruba Uoini. 10 miles NE of 'Addi Tanben.] The monastery is in the *qualla* watered by the Rubawoksa which is larger than the Farafira [*Guida* Firfira, ND 375 HFE Fufua], a tributary of the Takkaze W of the War'e which flows direct into the Takkaze. 3rd day, to 'Addi Agaw, the district of Dajac Ramhā, with a village. 4th day, to Buara.

'Midibay tabir is contiguous with 'Addi Golbo, and forms a district with one drum. The men there plough, that is, two men are yoked to a plough (for the fly called 'uzuro kills all the

<sup>1</sup>From 'Adwa to Digsā is approximately 70 miles, according to which route is taken. This would imply a daily rate of travel of at least 21–23 miles.

<sup>2</sup>From Cairo to Suez is about 80 miles. I think that we must realize that Gabra Tadeos was a little given to exaggeration, and also that he seems to have been a very 'good walker'.

draught-animals). A good walker can get there from 'Adwa in two and a half days. The 1st day he reached Barakua after passing Ribasowit. Barakua is a 'district' like Abba Garima and a large village like May Gogua (Fremona). 2nd day: From Barakua to Kulu ferh'a, – village and district. 3rd day: at midday Midibay tabir is reached, a mountain with a church and village [ND 372 HFD Medebai Taboi (*sic*), 40 miles NW of 'Adwa]. The whole of the way there is in the *qualla*. Ribasowit has a river of the same name which flows into the Marab. From Midibay to Quah'ayn is one day; this last is a district as big as Walqayt and has one drum.

'Adaro is a village as big as Madhane 'Alam ['Adwa] and is two days from 'Adwa. The 1st day one goes from 'Adwa to 'Aqab Sire. This route is on the plateau (*dagā*) as far as Samama, which is ½ a day beyond 'Aqab Sire: this last village has lost much of its importance. [ND 372 HFD Semama district some 35 miles W of 'Adwa.] It is on the frontier of Šire [Siré] which extends from there to the NNW and to the Takkaze. Adaro is the town of 'Add' Yabo [ND 371 HFD Adi Abo]. Quah'ayn [Cecchi, Kohein, between the Obel and the Marab] is a *qualla* with some mountains. From 'Aqab Sire to Girariš is a day and a half: from Girariš, it is said to be four days' travel to the negro country.

'Sow'ate hanse is a negro town, said to be as big as from 'Adwa to Aksum [12 miles.] Dajac Haylu set fire to it, and it took some weeks to burn.

'1st day: From 'Adwa to Gobedra, passing by Aksum in Tigray. It is an *erme*, and a stopping-place for salt-merchants. [About 4 miles from Aksum there is an ancient figure of a lioness incised on a rock here; *Géod.* 2 marks the place as Kabanat, 'lion sculpté sur le rocher'; it is known as the 'lion of Gobedra'.] 2nd day: from Gobedra to 'Aqab Sire. 3rd day to 'Addi Gidad, a toll-post as at Aksum and at 'Aqab Sire: this post has only about 15 *gojjo* (huts made of boughs). [It is 25 miles from Gobedra, *Guida*.] On the 4th day the toll-post of May Taman (*snake*) is reached, and you sleep at the little hamlet of May Šibinni [ND 372 HFD Temen.] 5th day: toll-post at Dambaguina [ND 375 HFD] where the traders separate, some going to Walqayt, and the rest to Gondar. The sleeping-place is at 'Addi 'Anday, a small hamlet. 6th day to the Takkaze [15 miles.] 7th day to Gin'a in the territory of the monastery

of Waldibba: Gin'a is in the hands of the negroes. It is a *qualla*, although the Takkaze flows between deep banks there as far as Čilačiqañe: Gin'a is the name of a river larger than the Firaflra which always flows like a torrent. 8th day to Masire (negro country), a river as big as the Gin'a and flowing like it. You sleep at May Si'e. 9th day to May Diraho where you eat. These last two rivers are as big and as swift-flowing as the previous ones except May Si'e. Between the two last is May Abba Naza. You sleep at the Zarema, which rises at Dibbabahr [ND 374 HES Debivar.] It is the biggest of these rivers, and receives the Ansyā, the stream of 'Addi 'Arkay, May Diraho, and Imba Abriham [the Ansyā was crossed N of 'Addi 'Arkay.] 10th day to Imba Abriham, a little river where a Thursday market is held. Sleep at Kualema, a large river which yields nothing to the Zarema in size or swiftness; it probably flows into the Takkaze [ND 374 HFD/HES Calima, rising on the E of the Wālqāyt upland and flowing into the Takkaze.] 11th day: cross the Dinderikua, a large tributary of the Kualema [ND 374 HFD Denderoqua, affluent of the Calima from the W.] The stopping place is at May Himur [ND 374 HFD Mai Cumer] where there is a Thursday market; sleep at Bartut, uninhabited, with a stream. 12th day: after climbing a steep ascent 'Addi Qabay is reached, a town as big as 'Adwa [ND 374 HFC/HFD Ad-deca-abbai.] It is situated on a very broken plateau *dagā*, and is the first place in Walqayt: it has a Saturday market. 13th day: Širila, district and Monday market [ND 374 HFC Scirella.] The same name is given to a river which probably flows into the Zarema: this river has 4 branches; the distance to 'Addi Qabay is half a day. [The Širila appears to flow into the Calima, though it is not named on ND 374; the Zarema is too far to the E and is also E of the Calima. The distance from Širila to 'Addi Qabay seems to be about right. One must remember, however, that the Calima-Zarema area is still very imperfectly surveyed.] 14th day: six hours to Idaga Silus on the plateau, with several villages; from there it is a day and a half to Qabča, a name to which is added the attribute of Idaga *hamus* because of the day of its market [Thursday]. All this is on the plateau. Kulita has a Saturday market, and is half a day's journey from Idaga Hamus [ND 374 HFC Culita, about 17 miles from Scirella]. To the right, and on the extreme edge of Walqayt, is Durkutta, a town smaller than 'Adwa. Beyond

is 'Aqat Warqi in Walqayt. Below Durkutta is negro country: the negroes who work for the people of the plateau come into this last town, because the plateau people cannot face the heat of the *qualla*. [It is possible that Durkutta is meant for Birkuttan, some 25 miles N of Culita, between it and the Takkazi, and more than 2000 feet lower.] All the day's marches mentioned in this journey to Walqayt are made by traders with loaded donkeys: on this assessment it would take 5 days from 'Adwa to Digsā [see footnote above; the journey from 'Adwa to Kulita seems to have been about 135 miles.]

'From 'Adwa to Hamasen: 1st day: from 'Adwa to Imba Kristos [Amba Cristos, Cecchi, 5 miles S of the Marab], a small village, but a place of refuge for the traveller. The streams of Šahagni, May 'Alikti are crossed, and first Gin'a, a stream beyond Mt Saloda. 2nd day: the Marab is crossed [25 miles from 'Adwa] and the stopping-place is at Gundat [about 7 miles N of the Marab, *Géod.* 2 Gundat] after marching nearly all the way through the *qualla*.

'Šeh Marhay is a collection of deep wells, as at Aden. Water can always be found there. White sand occurs above, where the torrent flows in winter (it is thus probably as at Imba Ra'indi [near 'Addi Qäyēh]). The village nearby is called 'Addi Kotayo and consists of separate houses (*maisons écartées*). Then to 'Addi Kuala, as big as Madhane 'alam at 'Adwa; sleep at Time'i [perhaps the Temei of Álvares], a village as big as the preceding.<sup>1</sup> After leaving 'Addi Kotayo you enter Sarawe. 3rd day: 'Addi 'Awhay is a small village where you eat. You pass through 'Addi Qismu, a village of moderate size [perhaps the Adi Osmu of Cecchi]. Sleep at Igir Makal, which is as big as 'Adwa, and on a stream bigger than the 'Asam. 4th day: 'Addi Manguinti [Cecchi, Adi Mongunti, 15 miles WNW of Godofelassi] a village like Madhane 'alam. 5th day: 'Addi Baro, where you arrive at midday. [ND 372 HFL Adi Baro]; there is here a stream like that of the previous day: this place is credited with 4000 horsemen; from here you travel all Friday night to reach Zadzega on Saturday, a town like 'Addi Baro but with more horsemen; it is bigger than 'Adwa [ND 372 HFL Zadzega, 10 miles NW of Asmara and 55 miles N of Addi Kuala, ND 372 HFL Adi Kuala.]

<sup>1</sup>PJ. p. 130. I suggested Teramni for this place, but Time'i represents the name, and avoids the difficulties which arise from identification with Teramni.

'To the right of this route: from Gundat to M'ado (one day), a small village. From there half a day to Kudafalese [ND 372 HFL Godofelassi]; from there through Dibarua [ND 372 HFL Debaroa], a big town which Gabra Tadeos compared with Cairo[!], but which has only a quarter of its houses, scattered to-day: they are as numerous as at 'Adwa. After this you cross the Marab, which at this point is bigger than the 'Asam at 'Adwa. Sleep at Šikat [ND 372 HFL Sciccheti], a town as big as 'Adwa. Christians and Muslims occupy separate quarters of the town: its church is dedicated to Takla Haymanot; that of Dibarua to St Michael. In Dibarua is a spring where you fill up (*une source ou l'on s'approvisionne*); from there to Gur'a is a day's march [about 20 miles NE of Godofelassi, Cecchi.]

'From 'Adwa to 'Addi Graht: 1st day to Mašal, a small village and stream which flows into the 'Unguia [about 20 miles NE of 'Adwa]. 2nd day: by Antičo [ND 372 HFE Enticcio, Ethiopic Ēntäšew], Mamen in the plain, 'Addi Robra, Ma'aya a big village and stream which is a tributary of the 'Unguia; sleep at Margahya, a village at the foot of the mountain. From there it is a little more than half a day to 'Addi Graht. From there to Hintalo it is three days by donkey – a gauge for these routes. 1st day: by mule, to sleep at May Qiniṭal, a small village and large stream which flows into the War'e which is connected with the 'Asam. 2nd day: you pass Ab'aro (ND 375 HFE Abaro Pass) an ascent on the route, sleeping at Qalqal gabā, a small village. 3rd day by mule: you pass Atikle rigum, a large plain on the plateau: then Dabri, a stream running through grassland and villages: then Čilokot, a large village [ND 375 HEU Celecot], larger than Madhane 'alam, and a stream larger than the 'Asam. [The choice of the 'Asam as a standard of comparison may seem rather curious in view of its absence from most *maps* including *Géod.*, GSGS., and *Guida*. It appears, however, in the form Hassam on Beke's map as rising N of 'Adwa and flowing W of the town; and *Guida* p. 278 says that on leaving 'Adwa for the south you cross the torrent Hasem which here takes the name of Gurungura' (though it is not shown on the *Guida* maps, p. 241 or 272). The Gurungura joins the War'e some 12 miles S of 'Adwa and their combined water flow into the Takkazi.] This stream bubbles round the church;

there are plenty of grapes, citrons, and pomegranates: finally you come to Hintalo [ND 375 HEU Antalo, 15 miles S of Macalle and about 75 miles from 'Addi Graht.]

'The name Haramat is applied to a high plateau: Īda Zeyon is the name of the mountain where Kaḥsay let himself be taken. Dimb'alul is also the name of a mountain which is joined on to the preceding. Magab is the name of a district [ND 375 HFF, 10 miles SW of Hausien.] Gadgada is a stream which flows into the Gaba [? Ghergheda, *Guida* map p. 272]; another of the same name joins the War'e; both flow through the country called Gadgada.

'It is close to Haramat that the two Gadgada unite their waters with others, and at about the same distance from their sources. The War'e and the Gaba come together first; then the 'Asam, increased by the May Taman [ND 372 HFD Temen], and the Firfira [*Guida* Firfira, ND 375 HFE Fufua] and all of them by the Zana [ND 375 HFE Zana, as a district name], joins the streams of War'e gaba near the Takkaze. Magab and Giralta are the same country. The May Taman mentioned here is that which on Ruppell's map is shown flowing between Bellas [ND 375 HFE Beles] and Debabgena: this river joins the 'Asam not far from the Takkaze. Belas is the name of a village and stream which joins the Gimalu, a stream which is called Firaḥira further on. [There seems to be some confusion here, according to the evidence of ND 375. The united War'e (Ueri) and Gurungura ('Asam) are joined by the Beles, and their combined waters enter the Takkazi. The Māy Taman is an affluent of the Gimalu (Gumalo), not the Firaḥira (Fufua), and the Gimalu does not appear to be connected with the Firaḥira. The Zana, shown as a district name, seems to be the river called Tocolo on ND 375; whether this is so or not, it does not seem to be an affluent of any river but the Takkazi.]

(May Čut is the name of a hamlet on the left going from Akuisum [Aksum] to the Takkaze [i.e. westwards]: May Barazyu is the name of a monastery and a village. Tambuk and 'Aqab Sire are one; Gund is a section of this last town on the Aksum side. Tambuk and Salaklika are the other two sections. *Géod.* 2 has for these names: May Cut, 6 miles from Aksum; May Barazyu, 12 miles; Aqab Sar'e, 10 miles (being E of May Barazyu, where there was a convent called May Barazyu in the charters); Tambuk, 13 miles (where there was



Source of the Rib river. [NC 372 HEK, E of Dabra Tabor.]  
 Ascent to Didim [NC 372 HEK Diddim Tion.]  
 Māy Dāmōt.  
 Dāmōt Māryām.  
 Lasta on the east; Simen on the NNW.  
 Zurāmbā, catchment area [NC 372 HFE Zor amba.]  
 Zālī, market.  
 Mašallamā Abbo.  
 Afaroannat to the east; Wādlā to the ESE; Masina Abbo to the ENE.  
 Gahint, to the right [NC 372 HED/HEE Gaint.)  
 Amba šati balālīš.  
 Onaro, church of Madḥane ‘alam.  
 Muwādul.  
 Kolala Giorgis.  
 Mādākus, market.  
 Descend the slope.  
 Descent above Sadakuāt.  
 Getā, after a descent [? Gidda NC 372 HEE.]  
 This river separates Wādlā from Bagemdir.  
 Climb to Zanga fariš [occurs in *AJIB* 43 as Zangā Farečē.]  
 Wādlā Māryām.  
 Mādagyo Giorgis.  
 Šina to the right [? Sina Mariam NC 372 HEE, half way between Dabra Zebit and Bethor.<sup>1</sup>]  
 Plain of Wādlā.  
 Māy Andāytāc.  
 Malāy Māryām.  
 Yanajā Mikā-el [*Guida* p. 393 Ienegia Cuddus Micael; NC 372 HEE Ianaggia.]  
 Māya Anšiki.  
 Konnā Abbo.  
 Šānā.  
 Mt Gišan to the SSE.  
 Descent by the bank of the Getā [NC 372 HEE Gidda; *Guida* p. 393 Gedda.]  
 End of Wādlā; beginning of Dalāntā.  
 Climb to Arāolā.

<sup>1</sup>Lefebvre gives Betāaḥar as an Ethiopic spelling of this.

Climb to Dalāntā [NC 372 HEE, between Tucurena and ‘Rai Tallet’.]  
 To Mansimo amba, plain.  
 Summit of the ascent.  
 Descent, turning.  
 Descent to Gaš mēdā.  
 Another descent.  
 Bašilo river to the W of Mt Gišan.  
 To cross the river.  
 Ascent.  
 Ascent to Badādi.  
 Descent again to the Bašilo.  
 Province of Kāskās.  
 Kāskās.  
 Kāmbuā.  
 Islāmā.  
 Bānā.  
 Kondi, to the left.  
 Zowa.  
 Leave the Bašilo, which we have followed since Kāskās.  
 Matālo.  
 Plain at the top.  
 In the plain of Matālo.  
 Taḥuiladare.  
 Šiwā [Shoa] is to the SW; Lake Ḥayq to the ENE, at a distance of 5 hours. [This would appear to put Taḥuiladare at a point some 16–17 miles NNW of Dessie.]  
 Sinde.  
 Tel Amba.  
 Agof to the SSE.  
 In Tuwādā, plain of Tuwādā Dāodo; May Arkānā, Asāryā Gul.  
 Gorākālo.  
 Valley of Gorādu za Kerādā [This appears to be the ‘Grado Plain’ near Dessie of NC 372 HEF; and this is the identification which I have used elsewhere in this book for Dido Gārado.]  
 Aātā, province.  
 Climb to Mt Aātā amba.  
 Descent to the Kerādā.  
 Here Aātā ends and Wallo begins.  
 Summit of the mountain.

Kāskās

Aātā

Wallo

Camp at Gudmaš.  
 Kereta and Askori.  
 From the summit, a view of Lagāambo, valley. [NC 372 HEE  
 Legambo.]  
 Descent to Zākone.  
 Māya ambo, and three saline wells.  
 Valley of Lagāambo.  
 Dorambā.  
 Across the Kācāmā mountains.  
 Descent to Kācāmā and Lagāborā, rivers.  
 Dongi Makāna Sillase.  
 Za sāmkā, river, to the south.  
 Māya Sillase.  
 Kabilo.  
 Anšurru.  
 Nadadi, and Nadadi river.  
 Gombāro Mateos.  
 Kātāri two hours to the left.  
 Toomoli.  
 Dikit.  
 Dikokobār.  
 Gumilo.  
 Descent to Ambo.  
 Descent of the mountains.  
 Descent towards Wāāt which separates Wallo from Shoa.  
 Ascent of Dāer amba [in Warra Ilu district.]  
 Summit of Mt. Dāer.  
 Shoe Descent, turning towards Wāāt.  
 Ascent, turning towards Annā Māryām, at a gun-shot distance,  
 and to the SE of Dāer.  
 Province of Annā to the east.  
 Šāy māya [NC 372 HDU Shai, 12 miles S of Antiochia.]  
 Amorā Gadāl.  
 Gādambo, and river; Manz to the right, behind. [NC 372 HDU  
 Kadambo district and river; at this point we are some 55  
 miles S of the 'Grado Plain' near Dessie.]  
 Affane [possibly the Hiffin of the *Futūh*; see above, p. 132.]  
 Kulla darā.  
 Igum wanz, river.  
 Igum [NC 372 HDU Ighem.]  
 Wakā Giorgis.

Wakā wanz, river.  
 Kurmin [NC 372 HDU Gurmui, NW of Molale.]  
 Asā amba.  
 Descent to Gāzat.  
 Descent to Morforo wihā, river [NC 372 HDU Mofer.]  
 Ascent to Quirā gadal.  
 Ascent to Tāllā dangyā [NC 375 HDU Sala Dingai.]  
 Donšu.  
 Tabāt wihā.  
 Sālāyš.  
 Amba Giorgis.  
 Tagulat to the SW; Dabra Birhān to the south.  
 Ambar gadām.  
 Tabāsi.  
 Tāmeš, Geongaro, gadal bāttā.  
 Adisgē.  
 Adisgē, river.  
 Umbaro, and river of the same name.  
 Tāako.  
 Mahāl amba is to the WSW.  
 Summit of Kondi to the left.  
 Muš.  
 Abbā Muti.  
 Lagaydā and river of the same name.  
 Gunāgunat and river of the same name.  
 Bollo warqe.  
 Kullo Barat.  
 Dabra Birhān.  
 Paris wihā.  
 Road to Ankobar.  
 Angolala [NC 375 Angolata (*sic*) river, SW of Dabra Berhān;  
 Angolala is indicated on this sheet only by the word Chidane-  
 meret (i.e. the church of Kidanā Mēhrät).]  
 Qiddus Giorgis.  
 Togi.  
 Milki.  
 Mt Mutar, summit.  
 Mutar, and river of the same name.  
 Dankuro wihā.  
 Tālānā.  
 Amānu-el; mineral springs.

Abbā Taklē, sanctuary.

Māya Medāk, torrent.

Summit of the mountain.

Māy Arrārā [*Guida* p. 407 Airarà.]

Ankobar [Ankobär, NC 375 HDM Ancober, is about 17 miles from Däbrä Bërhan in a straight line; *Guida* p. 406 gives about 8 hours as the time taken to reach it from Däbrä Bërhan. Both routes however are circuitous.]

## APPENDIX E GLOSSARY OF TOPOGRAPHICAL TERMS

[A. = Amharic; T. = Tigrīna; Ga. = Galla; Ag. = Agaw; all others, Ge'ez.]

'AD, T. Country, region; village, especially the latter; combined with topographical features, names of people, and adjectives.

'ADDI, T. Village; similar to Ad.

AFAF, A. Precipice, steep slope.

AMBA, A. Steep isolated mountain, usually with a flat top, often used as a fortress, being largely impregnable; hence the word occurs frequently as a synonym for fortress. (In the north the common form is Ēmba.)

AMBO, A. Mineral or saline spring, where livestock are watered.

AMORA, A. Vulture.

ANBĀSA, Lion.

ANQĀŞ, Gate, entry, approach. Construct form *anqāşä*.

'AQAB. Slope of a hill, ascent or descent of a slope.

ARWA, Ag. Plain; occurs in Dēbarwa = Dēb'arwa, 'plain bounded by a mountain'.

'AYN. Spring, source. (Lit. 'eye'.)

BAḤR. Lake, pool, sea.

BĀLĀS. Fig-tree.

BĀR, A. (1) Narrow pass, defile, passage. (2) Barrier, customs post, such being frequently placed in narrow passes.

BĒT. House; church. Construct form *betä*.

ÇEQA, A. Muddy.

DĀBR. (1) Mountain. (2) Convent, because convents were often on mountains. Construct form *däbrä*.

DĀG'A, DĀGA, A. Highland, high plateau, temperate region, often contrasted with *qwälla*, 'lowland', e.g. Tafa with its *qwälla* and its *däg'a*.

DAN, DĒN, A. Wilderness, 'bush'.

DĀNGĀL, Ag. Reed.

DĀNGIYA, A. Stone.

DĀRĀQ, A. Dry.

DA'RO, T. Sycomore tree.

- DÄSET, G., DÄSET, A. Island.  
 DĒBA, Ag. Hill, pointed hill; sloping plain.  
 DĒHUHAN. Hollow, excavated.  
 DĒLDEY, DĒLDEL, A. Bridge.  
 DUR, A. Thicket, wood.  
 'ĒDAGA, T. Market, place where a market is held, often qualified by the day on which it is held, e.g. *'ēdaga robo*, Wednesday market.  
 ĒDDA, T. House, village.  
 ĒGR. Foot.  
 ĒNDA, 'ĒNDA, T. House, family; in place-names refers mainly to churches.  
 FÄJJ, A. Destroying, as in Ahēyya fāj, 'that which destroys donkeys'.  
 FÄLÄG. River. (Not to be confused with A. *fēlläga*, 'track, footprint'.) Construct form *fälägä*.  
 GÄBAYA, A. Marez, market-place, often qualified by the day on which it is held, as in Hamus Gäbaya, Thursday market.  
 GÄDÄL, A. Cliff.  
 GÄDAM, G. and A. (1) Desert. (2) By extension, convent, because convents were often in desert places. It has also the specific meaning of 'sanctuary, place of refuge', where any person, even a murderer, was safe while inside it. Krapf (*Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours*, p. 448) gives a list of refuges which includes the cathedral of Aksum, a convent in Wäldēbba, and the convents of Gwēndēgwēnde, Däbrä Damo, and Däbrä Abbay; one of d'Abbadie's sources gives Abba Täkle near Ankobär as a sanctuary (*Géogr.* p. 325).  
 GÄLÄNA, Ga. River.  
 GÄNNÄT, Garden. Construct form *gännätä*.  
 GE. Land, country. Used almost exclusively in compound place-names.  
 GĒDEM, A. Side, breadth. In A., side of a mountain. Also extended to mean 'sanctuary'.  
 GĒRAT. Acacia tree.  
 GOL, A. Cave.  
 HAGÄR. Land, country; town, village; estate; place. Construct form *hagärä*.  
 HÄYQ. Shore, edge, littoral.  
 HĒMBERT. Navel, applied to a place considered to be central in a region.

- HORA, Ga. Mineral spring.  
 HULA. Perhaps a word for river, stream, in a Damot language.  
 KORE, KURE, A. Swamp, marsh.  
 LÄGA, Ga. River.  
 LA'LAY. Upper, denoting position with reference to two places of the same name.  
 MA'ĒKÄL, also in the construct form *Ma'ēkälä*, Centre, central.  
 MAḤBÄR. Community (monastic).  
 MAḤDÄR. Habitation, usually with an ecclesiastical connotation in place-names.  
 MÄKAN. Place. Construct form *mäkanä*.  
 MÄLKA, Ga., A. Ford.  
 MÄNTA, Ga., A. Twin, double, i.e. two.  
 MÄQDÄS. Sanctuary. Construct form *mäqdäsä*.  
 MÄRTUL. Tabernacle. Construct form *märtulä*.  
 MÄSQÄL. Cross.  
 MAY, G., T. Water; river, stream. Construct form *mayä*. Not used S of Tēgre in river-names, being generally replaced by *fäläg*, *wäha*, or *wänz*.  
 MĒCEG. Narrow place, narrow entrance.  
 MĒDA. Ga., A. Plain.  
 MĒDR. Land, region, province, district, territory, estate. Construct form *mēdrä*.  
 MĒNÇ, A. Source of a river.  
 MĒSHAL. Tabernacle, covering.  
 QÄGA. A. Eglantine.  
 QWÄLLA, KWÄLLA, Ga., A. Lowland, deep valley; contrasted with *däg'a* (q.v.). 'The Abyssinians distinguish between five types of country, to which they give these names: Choquê, Degâ, Oinadegâ, Collâ, Baraqhâ. Choquê means high and extremely cold country, Degâ high and perpetually cold country, Oinadegâ high but temperate country without an excess of cold or heat, Collâ very hot lowlands, Baraqhâ extremely hot desert, like the deserts of Seroaê in Tigrê near the Mareb river and that of Syrê near the Tacazê river and the greater part of the banks of the Nile wheresoever it flows, for its course is mostly between very high mountains' (Almeida, *SRE*. p. 20.) The term *bäräha* is applied not only to hot desert but to wilderness in general; the *däg'a* is generally land over 7000 feet; *wäynä däg'a*, 'the highland of the vine', is the temperate area at about 5000–7000 feet; the term

'choquê' used by Almeida may be due to a misunderstanding of the name Çoqe applied to the highest part of Gojjam, where the cold is intense.

QÄYYËḤ. Red.

ŞA'EDA. White.

ŞAGLA. Sycomore tree.

ŞEMBERA, A. Chick pea.

SUQ, A. Market.

TÄDBAB. Canopy. Construct form *tädbabä*.

TÄMÄN. Snake.

TAḤTAY. Lower; the opposite to La'lay.

TEQUR, A. Black.

TORA. Buffalo. (A. Goš.)

TOṬA, A. Cercopithecus monkey.

TULU, Ga. Hill, mountain.

WÄGR. Mountain. Construct form *wägrä*.

WÄHA, WEHA, WÄKA, A. Water, river.

WÄNZ, A. River, stream, mountain torrent.

WÄRQ. Gold.

WAŞA, A. Cave.

WÄYN. Vine. Construct form *wäynä*.

WEQRO. Cut stone; building made of cut stone.

ZÄGBA, A. Cedar tree.

ZÄNDO, A. Python.

ZENJÄRO, A. Baboon.

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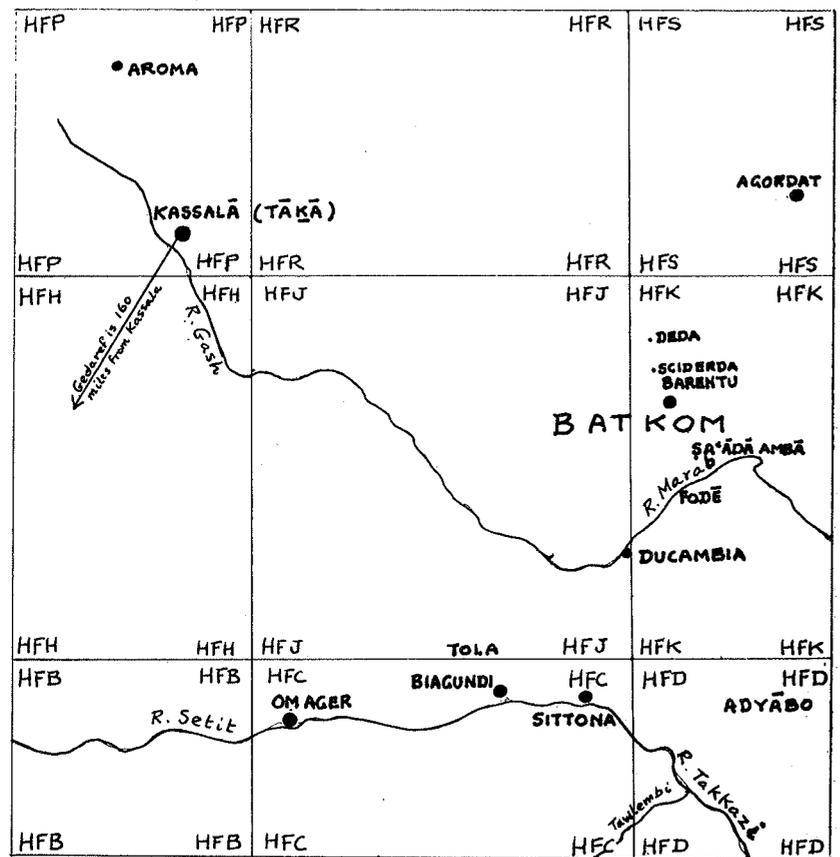
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NB 363 MAGI	NB 371 SODDU (19)	NB 372 DALLE (20)	NB 373 GHIMIR	NB 381 EL FUD

0 40 80 MILES

# KASSALA

ZONE H

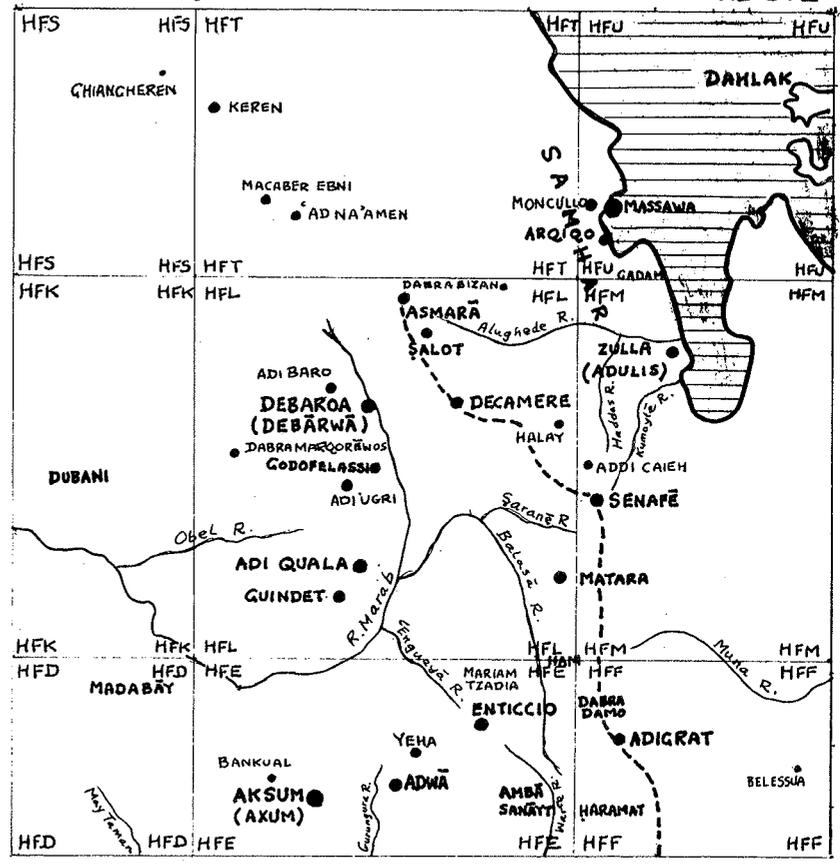
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# ASMARA

ZONE H

ND 372

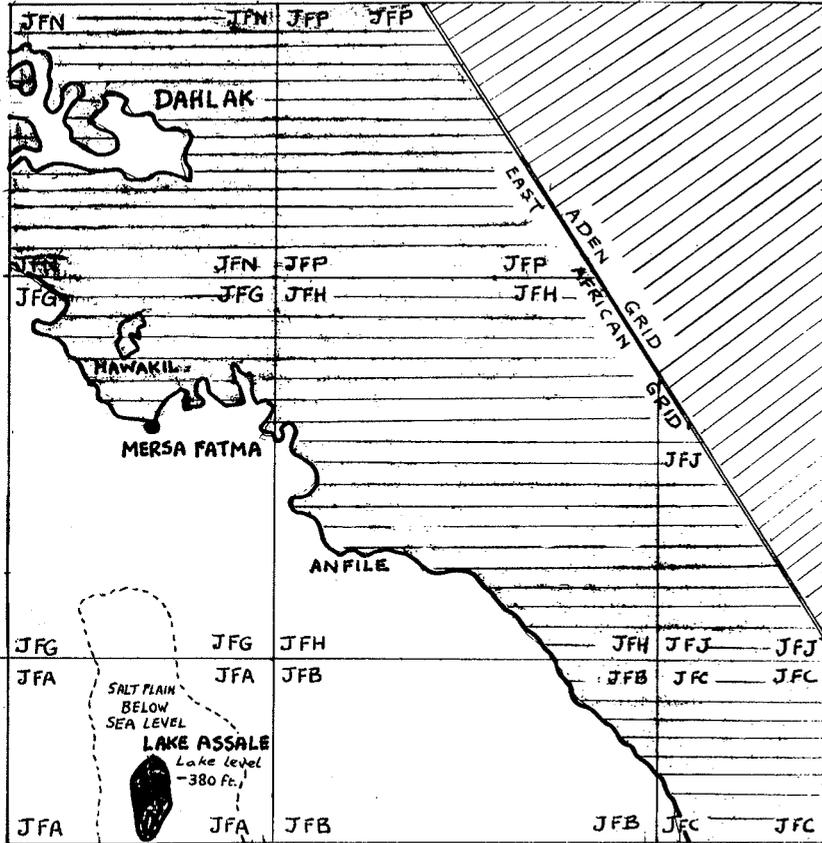


--- Modern north-south highway

MERSA FATMA

ZONE J

ND 373

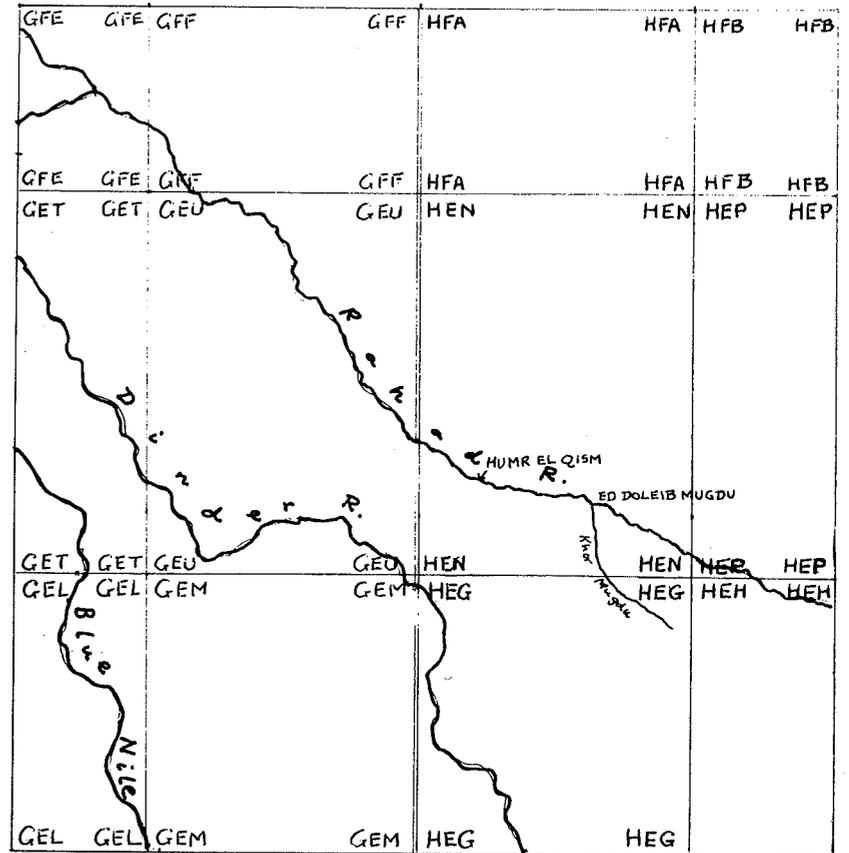


0 10 20 30 40 50 60 MILES

DINDER

ZONE G

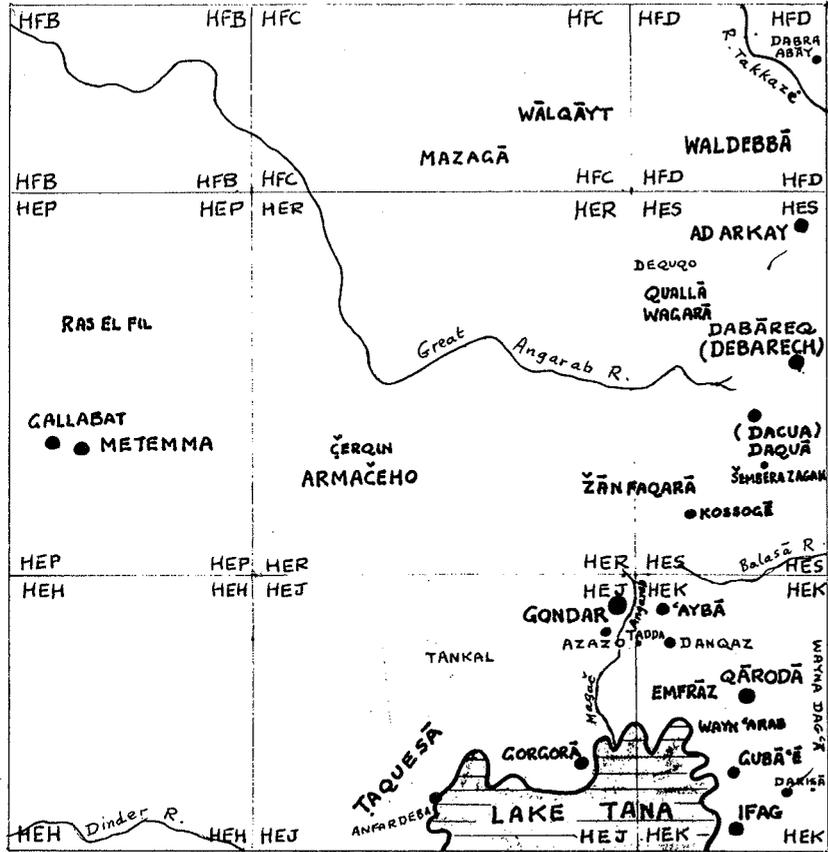
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0 10 20 30 40 50 60 MILES

# GONDAR ZONE H

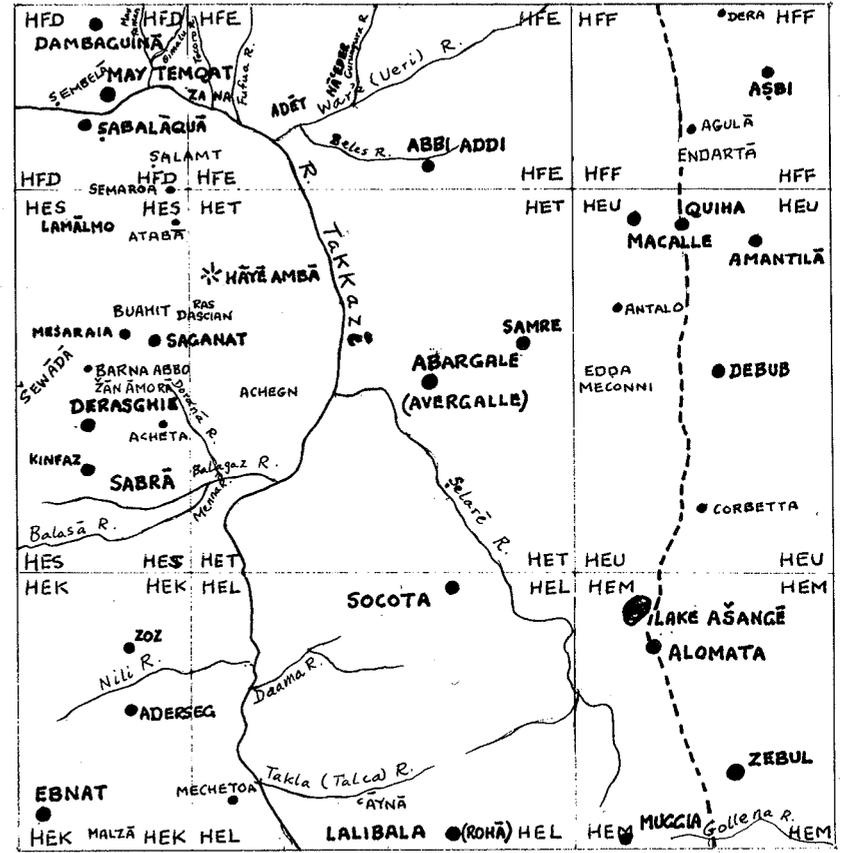
ND 374



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 MILES

# MACALLE ZONE H

ND 375



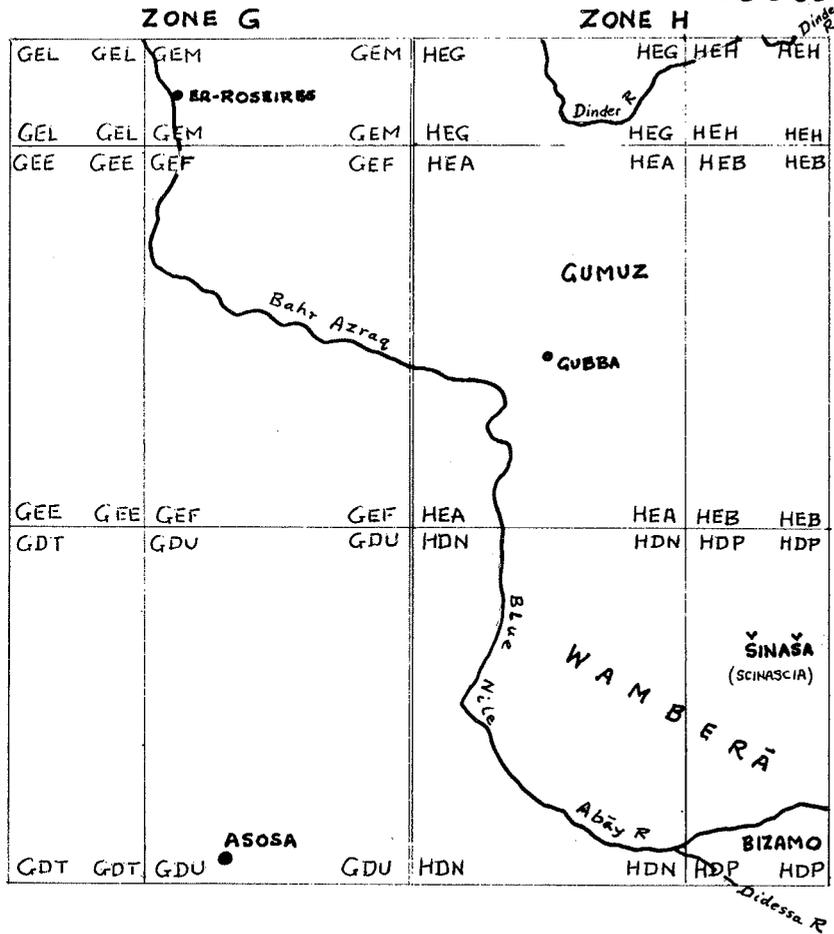
----- Modern north-south highway

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 MILES



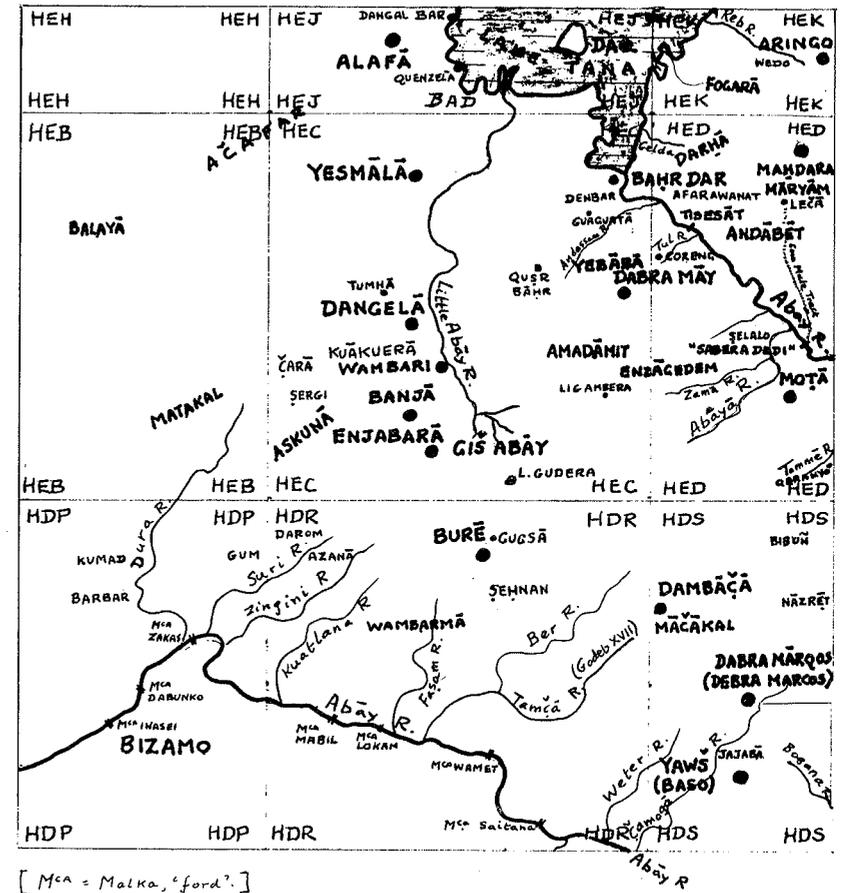
# ASOSA

NC 363



# DEBRA MARCOS

NC 371



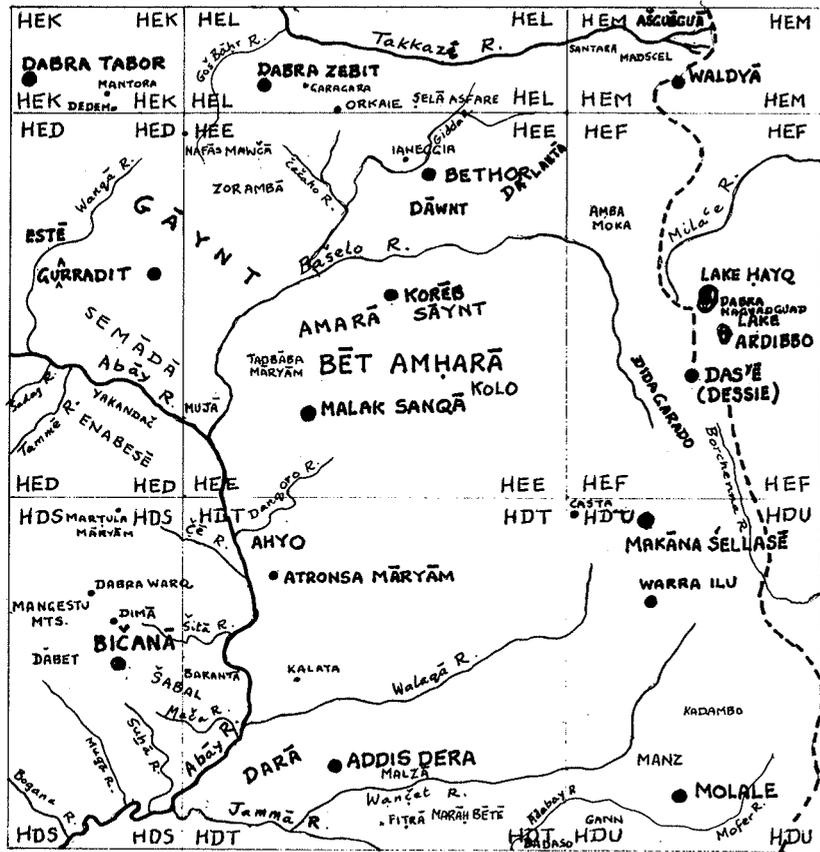
[ M<sup>ca</sup> = Malka, "ford". ]



# DESSIE

ZONE H

NC 372

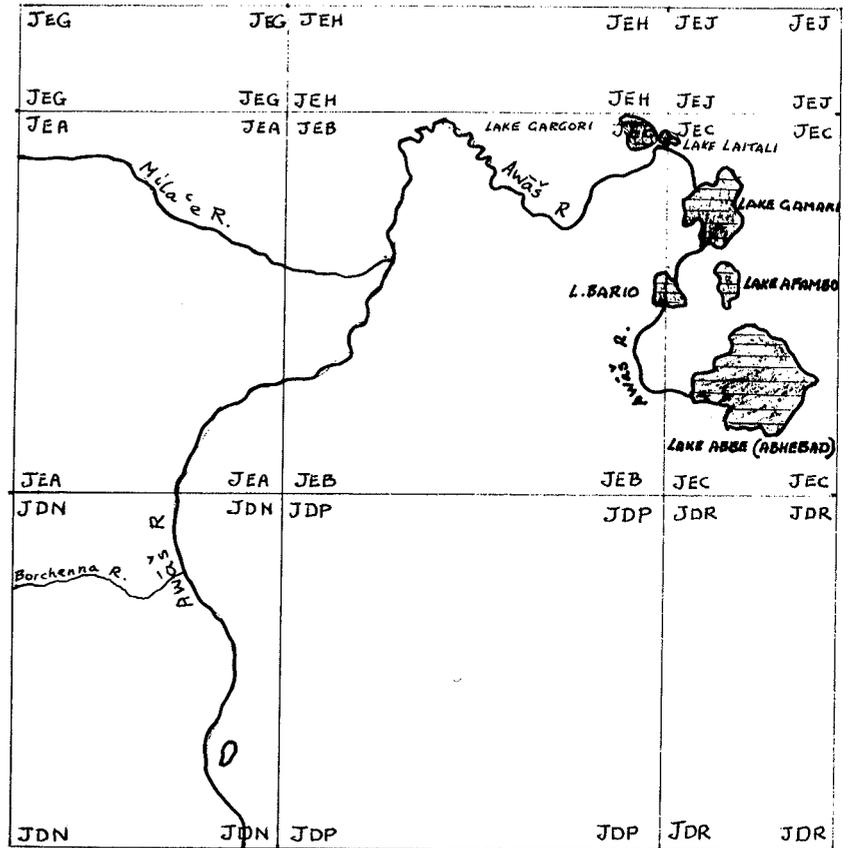


0 10 20 30 40 50 60 MILES

# ABBE

ZONE J

NC 373

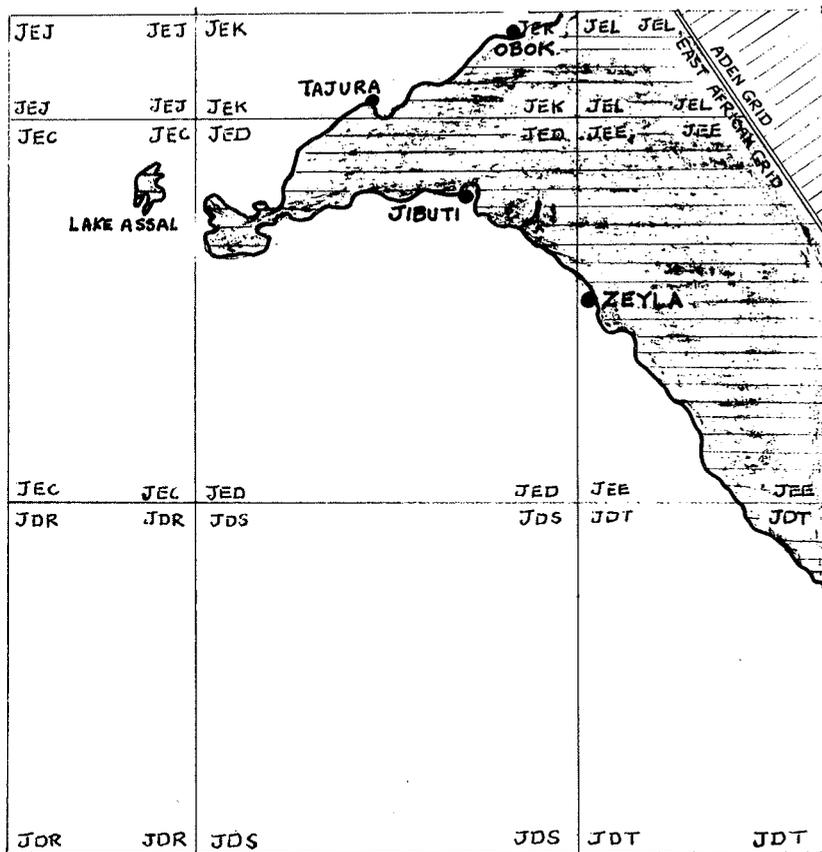


0 10 20 30 40 50 60 MILES

JIBUTI

ZONE J

NC 381

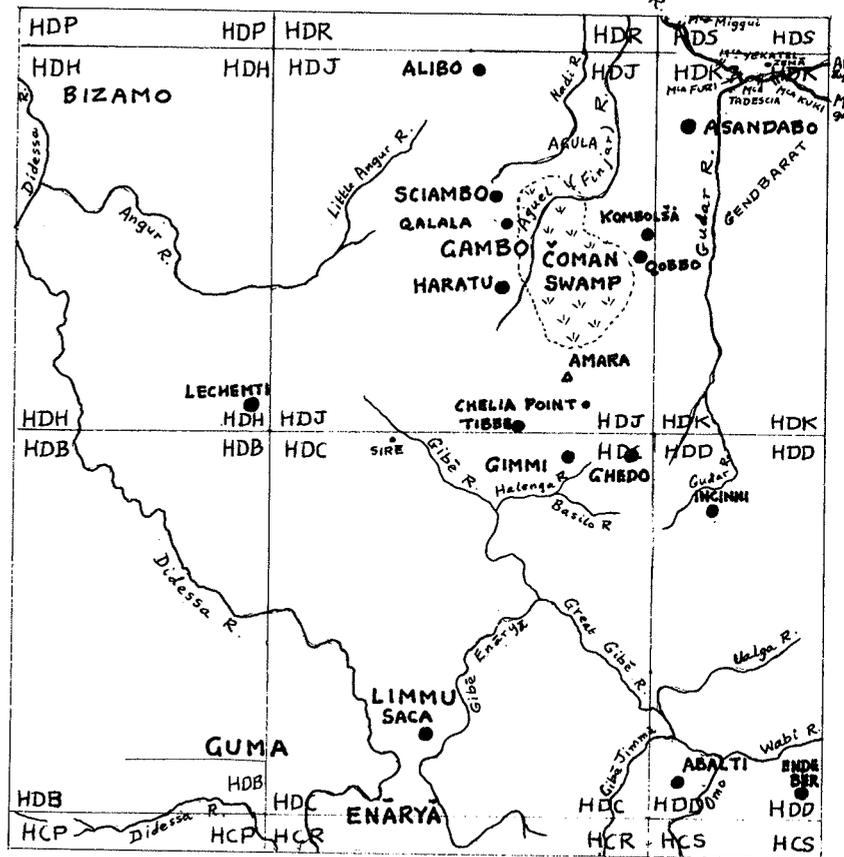


0 10 20 30 40 50 60 MILES

LECHEMTI

ZONE H

NC 374

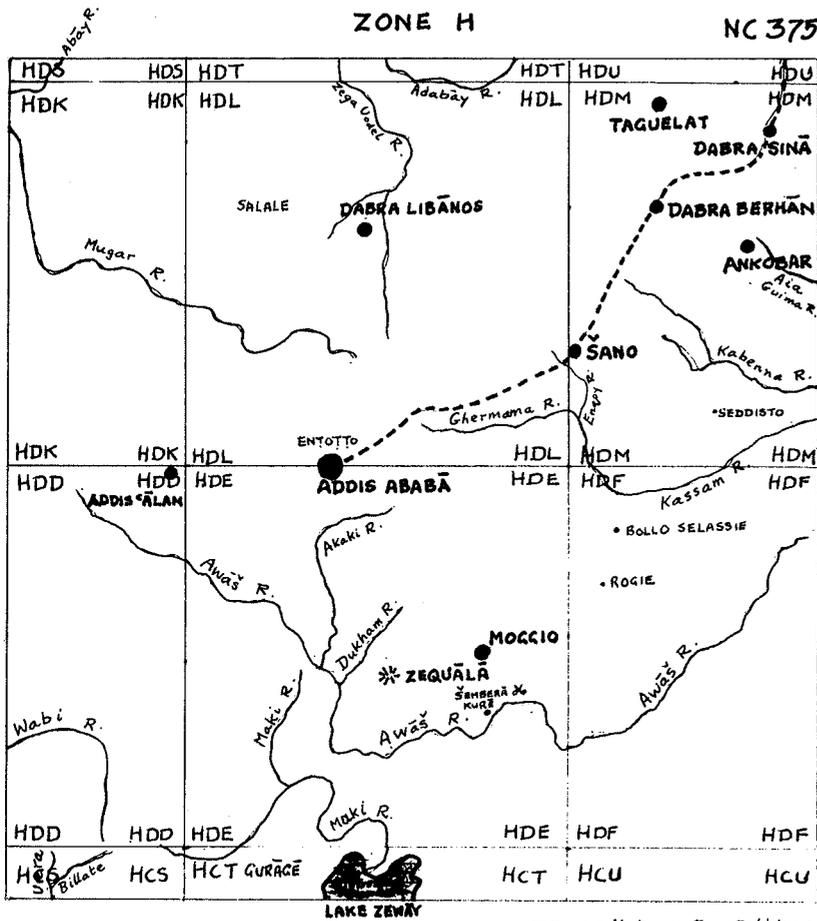


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ADDIS ABEBA (ADDIS ABABA)

ZONE H

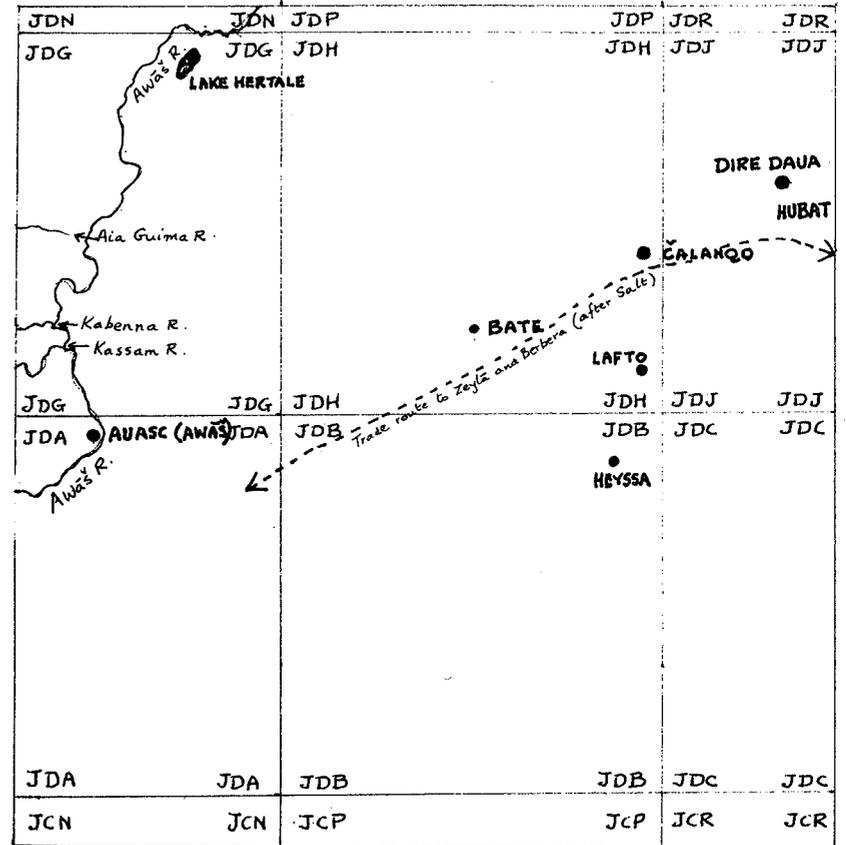
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DIRE DAUA

ZONE J

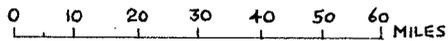
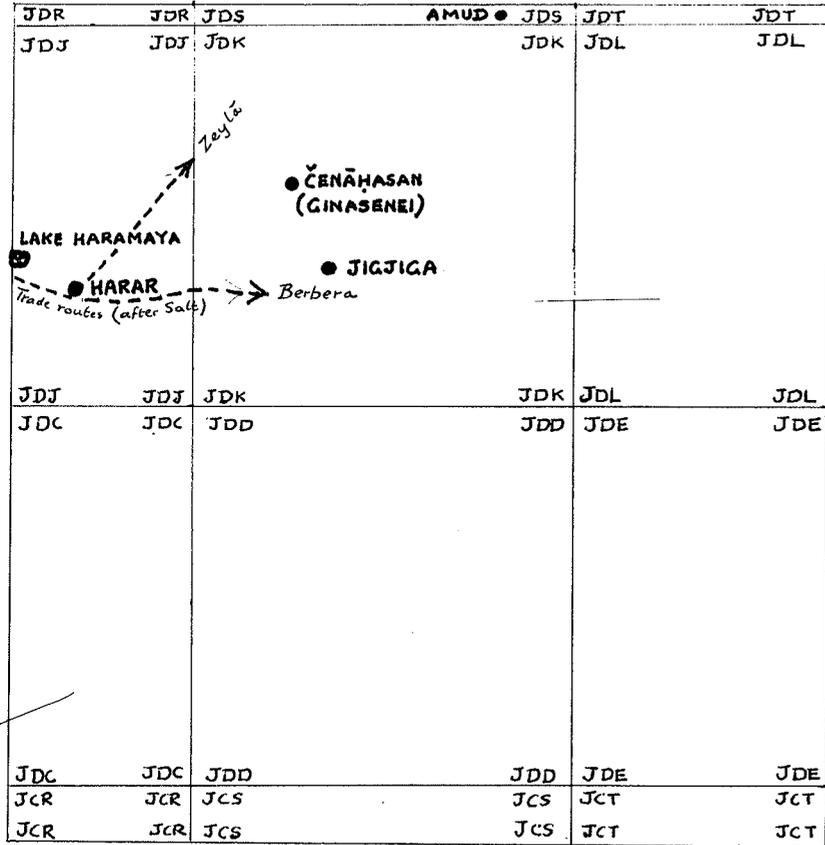
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# HARAR (HARRAR)

ZONE J

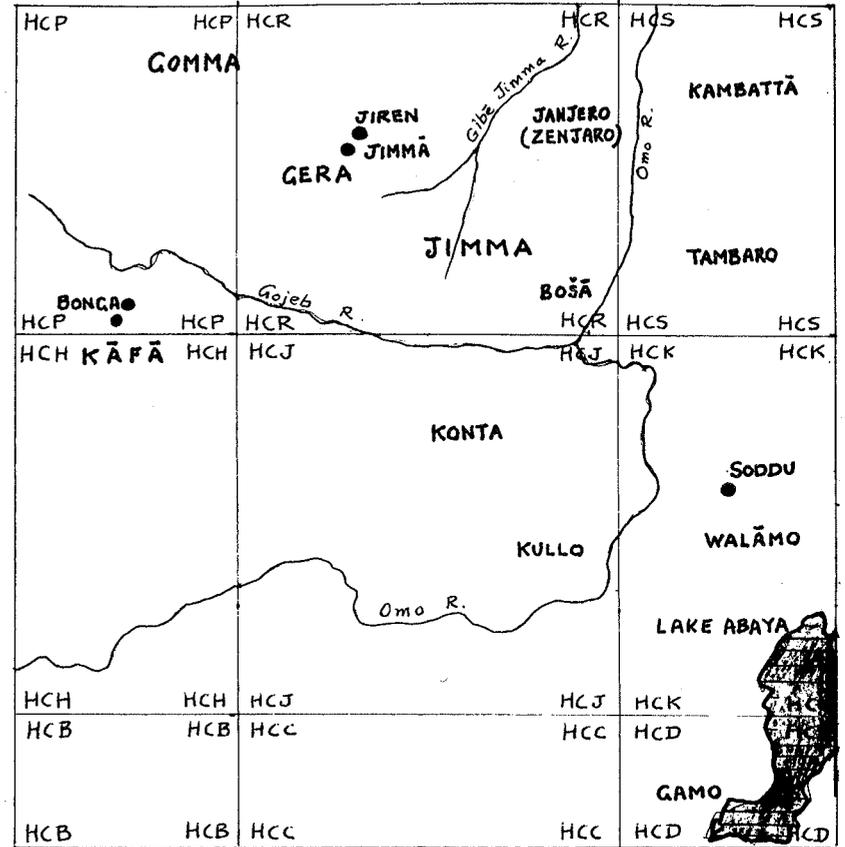
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# SODDU

ZONE H

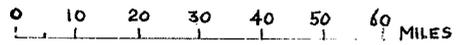
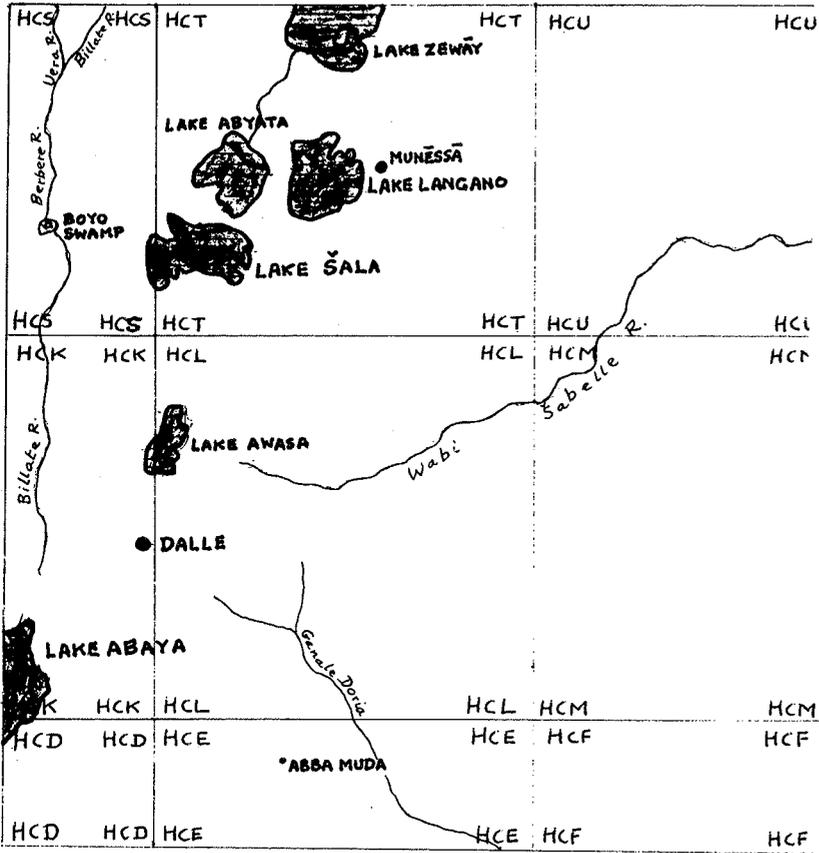
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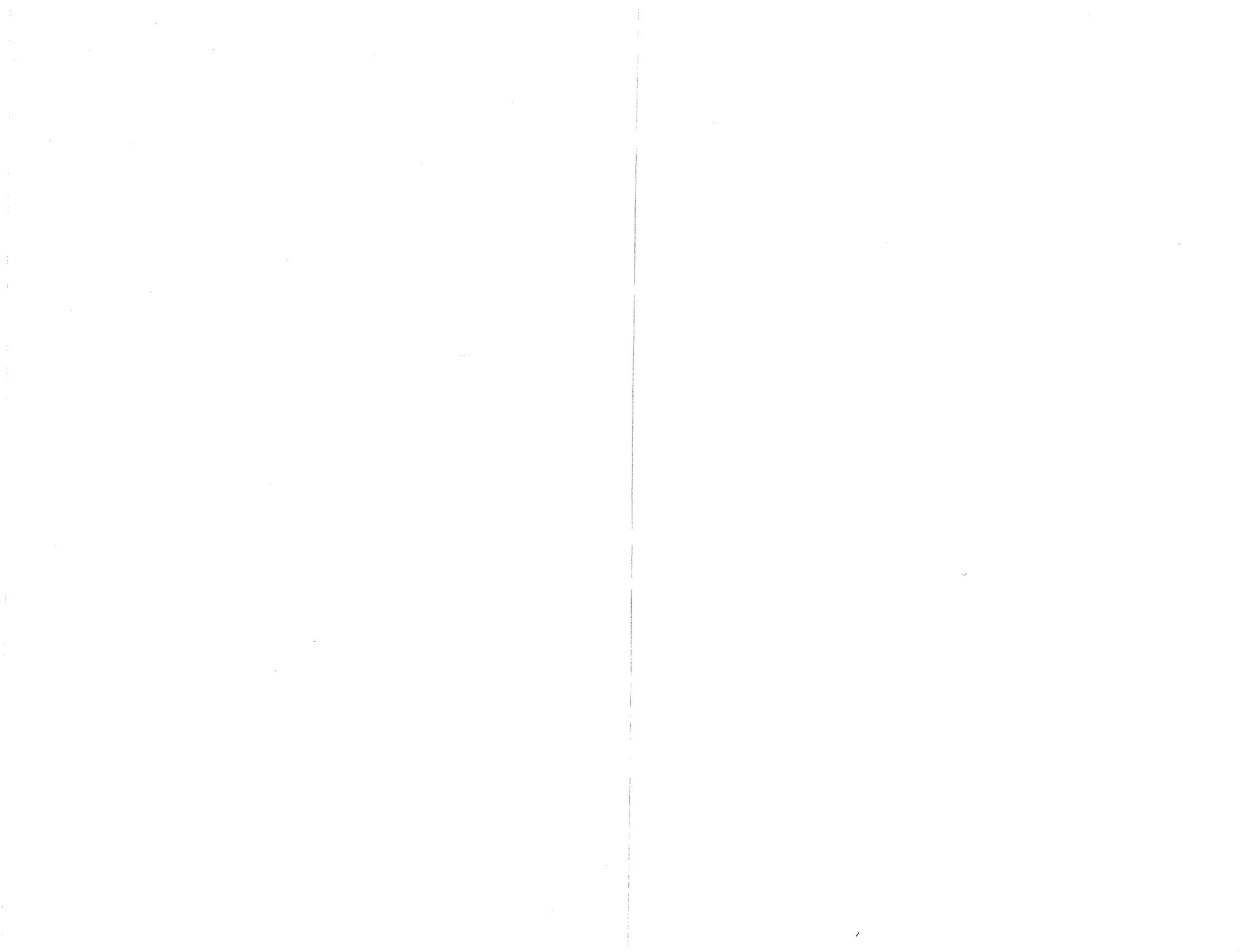


# DALLE

ZONE H

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