

harar: *harrar* (Som) grass mat; *xarar* (Som) 1. kind of large tree with wood suitable for construction; 2. pattern, decoration, carving; *xaraar* (Som) 1. limestone; 2. bitter taste

JDJ26 **Harar** (Harer, Harrar) 1856/1865 m 09/42 [WO Gu Gz Ro]

09°19'42°07' (1940s source: 09°42'/42°30')

Centre in 1964 also of Hundenie sub-district.

Within a radius of 10 km there are at km

2E Dekka (village with view of the city)

7E Nazaro (area)

2S Akim (Achim) (limestone quarry)

6S Akim (G. Achim, Gara Hakim) (mountain w mosque) top 1980/2161 m

5SW Borte (village)

9SW Jimeda (Gimeda) (village)

.SW Jinela Mender (area)

6NW Abucher (Abubecher, Abocher, Aboker) 1994 m
(mountain area, with former road block)

5NE Sigicha (Sighiccia) (area)

5.. Amaresa (vegetable farm)

7.. Sofi's tomb

Sofi lived nearly 1000 years ago, and his tomb is an important centre of pilgrimage.

geol Limestone, granite and gneiss have been used for buildings in Harar. Marble from the Basement Complex in this region has been used for ornamentation purposes. In the vicinity of Harar occur biotite gneiss and amphibole gneiss with mica schist, quartzite, and crystalline calcite, all complexly associated with migmatites. [Mohr, Geology 1961 p 40]
"The Adigrat Sandstone formation in the Harar region consists of white and ochre sandstones with conglomerate at the base. At Mt. Hakim, just south of Harar, the formation is about 50 m thick, and contains a thin limestone band with fish-remains determined as *Strophodus* (*Asteracanthus*) of the genus *Lepidotus*, indicating an Upper Triassic or Liassic age. The fossiliferous band, which includes teeth, scales and bones, occurs near the base of the formation. However, basal sandstones exposed on Mt. Condudo have yielded Plesiosaur remains, proving an age here not older than early Upper Jurassic."

"The features of the Adigrat Sandstone formation in the region of Harar are: its small thickness compared with that in northern and central Ethiopia -- its general thickening from north-east to south-west, and the contradictory ages given by the vertebrate fossils found within it. The truth of this last statement is confirmed by the fact that the overlying limestones into which the Adigrat Sandstone almost always grades imperceptibly, are themselves of differing ages at different localities. The explanation for this lies in the Harar region being one of irregular relief at the beginning of the Mesozoic -- with a resulting locally irregular transgression by the advancing sea, higher regions being flooded later than lower ones. The basal sandstone is thus -- formed at different times (as much as several million years) according to the height of the surface upon which it was deposited."

[P A Mohr, The Geology of Ethiopia, Asmara 1961 p 40, 60]

geol "Radioactivity is reported in some of the pegmatitic veins near Harar; it is not yet, however, clear whether this is due to thorium or uranium minerals."
A radiometric survey in 1955 along the road to Dire Dawa indicated radioactivity four times that of the background in an area of gneiss and granite extending for a distance of about 10 km immediately NW of Harar. [Mineral 1966]
Molybdenite has been found 13 km from Harar in the Bisidimo valley. - Beryl, in paragenesis with muscovite and feldspar of pink colour, has been found 1 km SE of Harar, on a terrace about 150 m east of the road to Jijiga. - Lenses of feldspar are located

in the eastern portion of the city of Harar and along the road to Dire Dawa. - Magnesium-rich carbonate, being metamorphosed limestone and dolomite, is found near the city of Harar. - Large quantities of silica with admixtures of feldspar occur between Harar and the Ado village before reaching Marda pass. "The sands could be used as raw materials for glass industry after classification only. The possibility exists to use only feldspar for various industrial uses if classification and flotation would be applied." [Mineral 1966] Near Harar city marbles are known to occur in many smaller lenses. - At several points along the Harar-Jijiga road small roadside granite quarries have been opened to supply structural material, such as crushed stone for road-building and masonry stone. In some places the granite is porphyritic, in others fine-grained. - Near Harar a poorly preserved molluscan fauna has been recovered from a thin limestone intercalation within the Adigrat series, and it has tentatively been identified as Lias. - On Achim mountain, about 2 km S of Harar, a limestone quarry was opened around 1962. - Carbonatite has been reported a short distance from the town of Harar, but the content of apatite /useful for agriculture/ and the size of the deposits are too small to be economically interesting. [Mineral 1966]

- meteor Average rainfall per year was recorded as 903 mm in 1914-18,22-34 and as 702 mm in 1951-52.
- 800s Founded probably on the site of a previously existing Christian locality by a colony from Hadramaut. [Guida 1938]
- 1200s Islam may have been brought to the Harar area in the early 1200s by an Arabic missionary Abadir.
According to local tradition, the al-Jami Mosque was built in 1216. (The present-day Jami Mosque dates back to the 17th century.)
Harar has been somewhere stated to be the fourth most holy town of Islam in the world.
- 1300s Little is known in this period of any settlement called Harär, but the name appears in passing in 'Amdä Seyon's /1312-1342/ chronicle. One of several contradictory traditions holds that the Guragés originally came from the Harär region. [Pankhurst 1997]
- 1430 An early missionary was Shaikh Ibrahim Abu Zaharbi who went to Harar in A.D. 1430, converted many to Islam and was buried at Zeyla. He was traditionally one of the forty-four saints of the Hadramawt who dispersed to preach Islam. In Harar Ibrahim is said to have become a *khat* addict.
[Trimingham p 250]
- 1400s "During the reign of Na'od, Muhammad ibn Azhar ad-Din, who reigned over Adal for thirty years (1488-1518) tried to remain at peace with the Christian kingdom; but, according to Alvarez, his efforts were nullified by the raids which Mahfuz, *amir* of Harar, constantly made into Christian territory during the strict Abyssinian Lent when the people were weak through fasting. Na'od -- reorganized the Abyssinian army, cleansed it of Muslim elements, led it against the *amir*, and defeated him decisively."
[Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia, 1952 p 82-83]
Important families Adich and Abonyi have descendants living in Harar still in modern time.
- 1500s One Sharif Abu Bakr ibn Abd Allah al-Aydurus, who died at Aden in 1503 A.D. is said to have introduced the Muslim order of *Qadiriyya* into Harar. No other orders were introduced until the 1800s.
The Qadiriyya is strongest in urban centres where definite schools of study have been founded. It has remained essentially a teaching order, without centralized organization.
[Trimingham, Islam .. 1952 p 234, 238]
- 1520s "Harar came into formal existence in 1520 when a local amir, Sultan Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad, moved his capital there from Dakar /Däkär, Deker/, site of an older nearby settlement. His rule, however, was soon cut short, for he was murdered five years later by Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al Ghazi, better known as Ahmed Gagn." [Trimingham + Camerapix 1995]
Ahmäd Ibrahim al-Ghazi (lived 1506-1543), today better known as Ahmäd Grañ, in

- Amharic the Left-Handed, lived in Harär during the rule of Sultan Abu Bäkr. His story is told in considerable detail in the *Futuh al-Habasha*, or Conquest of Abyssinia, by Shihab ed-Din Ahmäd. Ahmäd and Abu Bäkr fought each other and also made temporary alliances in an intricate pattern. The Sultan was finally killed and Ahmäd with the title of Imam controlled Harär but parted for a jihad against the Christians and Pagans of the interior. Sultan 'Umar Din stayed in Harär as its ruler. [Pankhurst 1997 p 165-170]
- 1530s Ahmed Grañ and his men "are said to have brought back so much booty to the city that in 1532 every customer was obliged to go to the market with a handful of gold". [Pankhurst 1961 p 260]
- 1550s Amir Nur ibn Mujahid became ruler of the city of Harär and its environs in 1551/2 until 1567/8.
- After Imam Ahmed had been killed in 1543, the kingdom of Harar got a son of Ahmed's sister as its new leader. His name was Nur ibn al-wazir Mujahid, and Ahmed's widow made him promise to devote himself to avenging Ahmed before she agreed to marry him. "Nur identified himself with the city of Harar in a new way, strengthening its defences by building the wall which still encircles the city, and became its national hero. His first ventures against the Abyssinians were unsuccessful and resulted in Harar territory being invaded and the city itself sacked in 1550. But the blow was not mortal and Harar soon recovered to take the offensive once more." [Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia, 1952 p 91]
- A new phase of the Oromo advance took place during the rule of the Michelle luba (1554-1562). Bahrey says that it was about this time that the Oromo began the custom of riding horses and mules.
- 1559 Nur revived the earlier struggle against the Christian empire. A chronicle has an unconfirmed statement that one of the Emperor's chiefs, Fanu'él, succeeded in entering the city by surprise but that he was repulsed. Outside Harär Emperor Gälawdéwos was hit by a bullet and then killed by spears of Harari cavalry, in 1559. Then a terrible famine followed, and the great famine of 1559 coincided with, and may have been intensified by, the first Oromo advance into the Harär area. [Pankhurst 1997]
- "In March 1559, the Muslims from Harar, under their leader, Amir Nur, routed the Christian force in Fatagar and destroyed its leadership, including Galawdewos the Amhara emperor. The death of Galawdewos marked a turning-point --" [Mohammed 1994 p 25]
- "Emperor Galawdéwos was determined to complete his triumph over Adal by occupying its then capital, Harar. His expedition was, however, badly planned. He reportedly advanced on the city hastily, and without awaiting for his army's support. His impetuosity had disastrous consequence, for he was killed, in 1559, by one of the defenders' bullets. Amir Nur, the then ruler of the city, was thus avenged for his kinsman Imam Ahmad's death sixteen years earlier." [Pankhurst, The Ethiopians, 1998 p 98]
- The head of Galawdewos (Claudius) was taken to Harar and presented to the widow of the *Imam*, after which it was exhibited for three/?/ years on top of a pillar outside her house, and is said to have been sold to an Armenian afterwards. [J Dorese, Ethiopia (1956)1959 p 148 + O Hemer p 58]
- Galawdewos "sent his cousin Hamalmal to invade Harar -- Sultan Barakat remained in Harar with a skeleton force, but the advance of the Abyssinian army forced him to abandon the city and he was shortly afterwards defeated and killed. -- Nur chose to fight against the superstitious Abyssinians on the ominous day of Good Friday and Galawdewos was killed." [Trimingham p 92-93]
- During Oromo migration "the battle of Hazalo in 1559 dealt a *coup de grâce* to the Muslim military power of Harar. Harar, the centre of Islamic learning and civilization, the political capital of the mighty Muslim empire for fifteen years, and the long-time entrepôt for the lucrative long-distance trade, now suddenly found itself reduced to a town exerting little influence beyond its walls, deprived of its historic functions, and thrown back on its

own resources."

[Mohammed 1994 p 27]

- 1567 In an attempt to check Oromo incursions the survivors of the famine are said to have dug ditches and built forts. It was at this time, according to tradition, that the city's famous walls were erected with the help of two chiefs, Ahu Abadir and Ahu 'Ali. Amir Nur himself succumbed. He died around 1567, three months after returning from a battle against the Oromos, who soon occupied much of the surrounding countryside. Nur was succeeded by Amir 'Uthman "the Abyssinian", who had been one of his slaves, but adopted a much laxer approach to religion. He reportedly permitted wine drinking.
[Pankhurst 1997]

After having halted in the Bali region, the Oromo in 1567 turned against the Muslim state of Harar which they laid waste in successive raids. The invasion of Harar was followed by a three years' famine and was accompanied by an epidemic which carried off a large number of persons, among them the Emir Nur bin Mujahid.

[Trimingham p 93-94 + Pankhurst 1961 p 79]

- 1568 A treaty was negotiated in 1568 between the eastern Oromo and the *amir* of Harar, whereby the former agreed to stop their hostilities and were induced to attend the markets in Harar territory. Eventually proximity to Harar city stimulated most of the Oromo in this region to convert to Islam.

[D N Levine, Greater Ethiopia, USA (1974)2000 p 81]

- 1569 Talha son of Wazir 'Abbas, defeated a military force sent from Harär in 1569, whereupon the city's religious leaders appointed him as their sultan. Talha displeased the militaristic party, for he "did not leave on a campaign or for a jihad." He was therefore deposed in 1571.

"The State of Harar, reduced to the last degree of weakness and decadence, was dying. Fratricidal strife had weakened its internal unity and its population -- was in no state to resist the devastating Galla incursions, which also imperilled its commercial link with Zaila --"

"Nur had been succeeded as *amir* by one of his slaves, an Abyssinian convert called 'Uthman, who had risen high in his service -- 'Uthman negotiated a treaty with the Galla and induced them to attend the markets on Hararian territory. -- whilst 'Uthman was in Aussa, /one revolt leader Talha/ conquered the militia left in Harar and was elected sultan (1569), being the first of these amirs to take that title."

[Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia, 1952 p 95-96]

- 1570s "In Harar an Ethiopian slave convert called Uthman, who had succeeded his master Amir Nur, negotiated a treaty with the invaders -- Uthman promised to return all refugees to them in exchange for which they agreed to attend markets in Harar territory. The treaty, however, was soon broken by the Hararis who were bitterly opposed to it, and when in 1577 Mohamed IV of Harar launched a disastrous campaign against the Ethiopians, the Gallas seized the opportunity to surround the region, destroying no fewer than a hundred villages. The seat of the Harari sultanate was thereupon moved to the oasis of Aussa in the scorching Dankali desert which was considered less accessible to Galla raids but these nonetheless continued. Harar itself became a city state dependent on the Imam of Aussa until it declared its independence under Ali bin Daud in 1647."

[Pankhurst 1961 p 80]

- 1571 "In 1571 Talha was deposed -- The militaristic party brought the family of 'Uthman back to power by electing his son Nasir as sultan --".

'Uthman's son Nasir was soon succeeded in turn by his son Muhammäd, who in 1572-3 embarked on an expedition against Emperor Särsä Dengel. The endeavour was a total disaster. While Amir Muhammäd was away on campaign the Oromos devastated the region and besieged Harär. The invaders were later repulsed.

- 1575 A new Haräri leader, Mänsur ibn Muhammäd, soon emerged. After establishing himself in the city in 1575 he waged a fierce war against the Oromos. He was succeeded in 1577 by Imam Muhammäd Gasa. The number of his followers increased, and before long he had six hundred horsemen, a thousand infantry, and seventy riflemen, with whom in

1579-80 he invaded the highlands, but was repulsed by Särsä Dengel.

[Pankhurst 1997 p 245-247, 372-375]

1577 Nasir's son was Muhammad IV. "Muhammad took considerable pains over the reorganization of his army and went out to meet the Abyssinians in 1577. After a hard-fought battle on the River Webi he was defeated, captured, and executed together with the flower of the Hararian nobility, and Harar as a military power was extinguished forever." Imam Muhammed Jasa, a member of Grañ's family, left his brother in charge of Harar with the title of *wazir*, and transferred the seat of the sultanate in 1577 to the oasis of Aussa.

Harar continued to exist as a city-state which became independent of the Imamate of Aussa in 1647. It no longer attempted to spread Islam by extending its political power, but through peaceful propaganda.

[Trmingham, Islam in Ethiopia, 1952 p 96-97]

In 1577, Imam Muhammäd ibn Ibrahim Gasa of Adäl, hoping to escape from the pressure of the Oromos, abandoned Harär and moved his government northward to Awssa. The town of Harär, though abandoned for far-off Awssa, survived as an independent city state. The only polity in the region to issue its own currency, it was destined to survive as a major religious centre and a place of learning. [Pankhurst 1997 p 376]

When the Muslim forces from Harar invaded Bali and Waj in 1576, the Borana deliberately withdrew from the storm centres, avoiding conflict with both the Muslims and the Christians.

[Mohammed 1994]

1647 One of the most important of the city's early rulers was Amir 'Ali ibn Da'ud (or Ali bin Daud), who came to power in 1647 and founded a new dynasty.

Harar had been a city state dependent on the Imam of Aussa until it declared its independence in 1647.

1670s Amir 'Ali was succeeded by Amir 'Abdullah (1671-1700) who had a number of wives, several from beyond the city walls. The honour to ascend the throne was apparently reserved for pure Haräris.

[Pankhurst 1997 p 377-378]

1700s "Amir Abd al-Shakur (1783-94), the famous ruler of Harar, is known to have built a mosque on the holy site of Shaykh Hussein and to have dedicated it to Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani."

[Mohammed 1994 p 156]

1790 Coins were minted in Harar in the 1700s and 1800s, but it is uncertain whether there was any earlier currency. There are dates by the Muslim calendar/?/ as far back as 124 (=742-3 A.D.) but it seems unlikely that this represents the time when the coins were struck. A much later date 1204 A.H. = 1790-1 A.D. may be genuine.

[Pankhurst 1961 p 267]

1850s Richard Burton stated in the 1850s that couriers could travel on foot from Zeyla to Harar in five days at the most. He arrived himself from Zeyla to Harar on 3 January 1855 and became the first European ever to enter the city. There were no regular shops in the town at that time.

Burton spent ten anxious days there, unsure whether he was a guest or a prisoner of the Emir. His description of Harar is cited in R Pankhurst, *Travellers in Ethiopia*, Oxford Univ. Press 1965 p 97-103.

Little is known of the slave trade of Harar, but Burton in 1855 calls it "the half-way house for slaves". The Amir himself took an active part in the slave trade and received some slaves in lieu of tribute and taxation.

A slave caravan from Harar to Berbera in the 1850s was said to contain about 500 slaves. However, slave trade was not the most decisive factor in Harar's economy.

[Abir 1968 p 66]

"A brokerage system of a special character existed in the town of Harar -- The *dallalin* (brokers) of this town came from among the richest and most respected merchants. In addition to their economic activities, the *dallalin* were employed in Harar as public

notaries, trustees, and some were even entrusted with high offices in the administration of the Amir. They served as the brokers of the foreign merchants who were lodged in their houses, as agent for the Amir in his transactions with the surrounding Galla population and as representatives of Harari merchants who were absent from the town for a long period. Such Harari merchants who traded in different parts of the Ethiopian highlands, or in the Red Sea ports, could be sure that their interests and the merchandise they have sent to Harar were well looked after by the broker. One may assume that in a highly organised and prosperous commercial community like that of Harar the institution of brokerage was of great benefit at least to the citizens of the town."

[Journal of Eth. Studies vol III 1965 no 1 p 4]

1866 "Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr, the Amir of Harar who was the one visited by Richard Burton, had died (1866) and the throne had been usurped by Muhammad ibn Ali who was in league with the Galla and persecuted his own people, with the result that they appealed to the Khedive Ismail."

[Trimingham p 120]

1875 From Zeyla, an Egyptian force in the guise of a scientific expedition, led by Muhammad Rauf Pasha, penetrated the south-east Ethiopian interior and occupied Harar on 11 October 1875.

[Bahru Zewde 1991 p 51 + Trimingham 1952 p 121]

Muhamma Ra'uf Pasha left Zeyla on 18 or 19 September 1875 with an army which was later reported to have totalled 1,200 men, and entered Harar on 11 October. Only the Oromo, between Jildesa and Harar, resisted the invasion. The Egyptian khedive wanted Ra'uf to occupy more districts, but this did not happen.

[Rubenson 1976 p 317]

Ra'uf Pasha was replaced in 1878 by Raduan Pasha, who in his turn was replaced in 1880 by Mhamed Nady.

Harar's autonomy ended when it was captured by Egypt, and its ex-ruler, Amir Muhammad 'Ali 'Abd al-Shakur, was killed by an Egyptian soldier.

"Le premier acte de Raouf Pacha, en tant que gouverneur, fut de faire étrangler le Sultan, et bien que le fils de celui-ci ait fait appel au Caire, personne ne bougea. En 1878, le Général Gordon, Gouverneur Général des Provinces du Soudan et du Harrar visita le Harrar, et, trouvant que Raouf Pacha s'était rendu coupable d'oppression, le démis sur le champ de ses fonctions."

[retold from contemporary report by Major Hunter]

In late 1878 Harar became a separate province, not connected with the places at the coast. Rauf Pasha became the first Governor. The Amir's old palace was torn down and a two-storey Governor's residence was erected in its place.

The number of Egyptian troops was gradually increased to over 3,400 due to threats from the hostile Oromo surrounding the city. In addition, there were over 5,000 non-native women and children and numerous government officials. The number of foreign merchants increased, mostly Yemenese and Turks but including a score of Europeans as well.

The Egyptians embarked on a building program in Harar and erected a number of fine stone buildings, including a mosque and the city's first hospital. The walls of the town were both heightened and strengthened and a new fort was erected a short distance to the northwest. The slave trade was officially abolished, and in practice at least greatly reduced.

[Dennis Gill, The coinage ..., New York 1991 p 28-29]

Muhammad Mukhtar, an officer in Harar during the Egyptian occupation, wrote about the position of Moslem women:

"Chose remarquable ... la femme est très respectée, au moins autant que chez les nations chrétiennes. Elle a beaucoup d'influence sur son mari qui est aux petits soins pour elle ... Elles sont les premières à aider leurs maris à gagner le pain journalier et dans ses travaux manuels."

He also says that the Hararis, with the exception of the *amir*, had only one wife, whilst

divorce was practically unknown.

[Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia, 1952 p 227]

Charles Gordon became governor general of the Sudan, the Red Sea coast and Harar in February 1877, and he visited Harar in April 1878.

[Acta aethiopica III p 308]

The Egyptian occupation met strong internal resistance, and it collapsed in 1884.

When an Austrian researcher /Paultischke?/ visited Harar at some time during 1875-1885 he estimated its population as follows: 24,000-25,000 Harari, 6,000 Oromo, 5,000 Somali, 3,000 "Ethiopians" (Amhara mostly), 100 Yemen Arabs, 50 Turks, 11 Greek traders, 3 Italians, 3 French missionaries, and single Syrians and Hindus.

[cited in B von Rosen, Berget och solen 1949 p 147 note]

Under the Egyptian occupation, Emir Mohammed was killed and the emirate officially abolished. A colonial administration was set up which employed, in descending order of importance, Egyptians, *ge usu* /Somali-Amhara-Argoba/ and Oromo. A campaign of conversion and conquest of the neighbouring Oromo was undertaken.

[Aubert 1999 p 152]

1880 The traveller G.M. Giulietti (b 1847) made a journey to Harar without companions. He started from Zeila on 23 October 1879 and returned to there on 23 January 1880. He was murdered in 1881 on a journey starting from Assab.

text G.M. Giulietti, Relazione di viaggio da Zeila ad Harar, Roma 1881.

Harar's prosperity attracted an increasing number of European, Arab, and Indian businessmen.

In 1880 the French merchant, Alfred Bardey, opened what was probably the first European store there.

[Marcus, Menelik II, (1975)1995 p 75]

A Greek by name Manjola Klabutaki obtained land near Harar in 1880 and cultivated coffee and fruits there. He was also at that time the only provincial watchmaker in Ethiopia.

The French poet and trader Arthur Rimbaud at the age of 27 arrived to Harar for the first time in December 1880 after a 20-day journey from the coast through the desert (Harar became open to foreign trade after 1875 when the Egyptians conquered the city).

Rimbaud was employed by Viannay, Bardey et Cie of Lyon/France. Alfred Bardey had rented a building at the main market place in Harar. In May 1881 Rimbaud left Harar for travels in the countryside. He returned in March 1883 as local manager of the firm, which was by then called Mazeran, Viannay & Bardey. Photography was a recreational activity of Rimbaud. In early 1884 the firm was closed in Harar and Rimbaud left for Aden.

"The Feres Magala was then an active market. Rimbaud established the new agency on its northern edge. He lived above the shop, in a sturdy two-storey building. A photograph he took of it shows small windows, and rubble walls reinforced with cedar beams. It was demolished after Menelik's invasion, and in its place a storehouse was built."

[P Marsden-Smedley, A far country, London 1990 p 53]

1881 On 22 April 1881 Mgr Taurin and one/?/ more Catholic missionary arrived in Harar, having travelled with a caravan of two French traders. Taurin presented a letter of recommendation from the Khedive at an audience with the new Governor, Mohammed Nady Pasha. He was impressed with the personality of Mgr Taurin and later offered to sell to the Catholics the house of an Egyptian officer who was leaving Harar. The purchase was concluded in November.

When Antonio Cecchi returned to Italy in the second half of 1881 after about four years in Ethiopia, he passed Harar, and there he met Monsignor Taurin and Padre Gonzaga of the Catholic mission which had been recently established. Taurin went with him when Cecchi departed again in December.

1882 Around April 1882 the German Baron J. von Mueller travelled to Harar and had with him as interpreter Marqos Girmay (b 1862) from the Swedish Evangelical Mission at Massawa. [Arén 1978 p 261-262]

The Swedish missionary Anders Svensson also made a reconnaissance visit to Harar in

1882.

The brothers Pietro and Gaetano Sacconi and two of their nephews started a business in Harar in 1882. Pietro was killed in August 1883 when he tried to lead a large caravan through Ogaden to Harar.

[G Puglisi, *Chi è? ..*, Asmara 1952]

1883 The few photos produced by Rimbaud were all taken in 1883.

Two Greeks Janni and Lazzaro arrived in 1883. Other Greek traders were the brothers Mussaja.

1884 The British officers Hunter and Fullerton returned to Aden in April 1884 after having made a tour of Egyptian-occupied areas from which they reported in detail.

The first Egyptian post stamps were produced already in 1866. "Il y eut un Bureau des Postes Egyptiennes au Harrar. Le Contrôleur Général des Postes était aussi le Chef du Bureau pour la suppression du commerce des esclaves. -- jusqu'à ce jour, aucun timbre égyptien, oblitéré au Harrar, à Zeilah, ou à Berbéra, n'a été vu. Les philatelistes continuent à chercher dans l'espoir d'en découvrir un."

[7th Int Conf of Ethiopian Studies 1984 p 294]

In early 1884 the French warship *L'Infernet* was sent to Obok with Léonce Lagarde, the new Resident, and twelve soldiers. Although a small force, its presence was significant, for the imminent Egyptian evacuation of Harar would cause a power vacuum in the area.

[Marcus (1975)1995 p 75]

Despite the massive taxes imposed on the population, the Egyptian treasury could not support the troops in Harar and this, coupled with the occupation of Egypt by the British, led to the complete withdrawal from Ethiopia of Egyptian troops. The emirate was briefly re-established after this.

[Aubert 1999 p 152]

In September 1884 Radwan Pasha together with the British lieutenant Peyton arrived to Harar in order to announce the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrison and administration. The Egyptians were forced to evacuate Harar because of the Mahdist revolt. The British did not dare to occupy the city, and for a brief period it was a protectorate of London while British officials decided what to do. In order to keep it away from other European powers they handed Harar over to the son of the latest Emir.

"When the Egyptians evacuated Harar in 1884-5 one Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Ali Abd ash-Shakur was set on the throne by the Egyptian pasha and the British consul, but he did not long enjoy it. In 1886 he massacred an Italian expedition and the following year Menelik sent out a punitive expedition."

[Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952 p 129]

As soon as the Egyptian evacuation began in October 1884, Menilek started his preparations for the occupation of the city. On the eve of the final evacuation of the Egyptian forces, Menilek's army was already scouring the vicinity of Harar, harrassing the Ittu. One of Menilek's competent spies, Asme Giyorgis, entered the city disguised as a Moslem merchant, and collected all possible data on the city during three months.

[Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from autocracy ..*, London 1975 p 7]

Paulitschke states that during the ten years of Egyptian rule the population rose from 30,000 to 42,000 and masonry houses from 6,000 to 8,000 while the number of simpler huts fell from 2,000 to 1,500.

One Paleologos was the first /?/ European to settle in Harar, in the time of the Emir before 1887. He was imprisoned by the Emir when he refused to renounce his Christian faith, but was saved when Menilek entered Harar.

Paleologos had four children with an Oromo wife. His son Marcos Paleologos stayed with Henry de Monfreid in Dire Dawa in the early 1930s.

1885 A coin of 1885 seems to have been struck for the last Sultan of Harar, Adullahi Abd-El Shakor.

Umberto Romagnoli and Giulio Pestalozza arrived to Harar 25 March 1885 after a dangerous journey when they had to defend themselves against an ambush. A preceding caravan had been massacred by Issa people. The two Italians collected commercial

information and departed 12 May.

(Romagnoli was killed at Jeldesa in April 1886.) [Puglisi, Chi è?]

In a letter of 4 June 1885, Menilek informed King Umberto of Italy that 'without doubt' he would occupy Harar, and requested Umberto's protection against any interference.

Menilek's first step was the occupation of the Ittu Galla in June 1885.

"The emir accused the Christians living in Harar of co-operating with the Shoans, and for the Europeans conditions in the city began to deteriorate from the very outset of the new regime. By July the situation was worse: the population grew uncontrollable, European traders became virtual prisoners in their homes and shops, and the adjacent Galla raided the town. In response to such instability and to ensure his continued rule, the emir elected to follow a course of isolation, ridding the city of all foreigners and malignant influences."

[Marcus (1975)1995 p 90]

1886 By January 1886 the emir had restricted the commercial activities of the few remaining Europeans in Harar and introduced a new monetary system which impoverished the local population. In return for their talers, Egyptian *asrafis*, and *mahaleqs*, the emir offered relatively worthless, thin dinars, made from tin and silver, and brass. The local Oromo and Somali deserted the markets in the city in rebellion against the emir's authority. The economy collapsed completely.

[Marcus (1975)1995 p 90]

text P. Paulitschke, Relazione sulle condizioni dell'Harar nel Gennaio 1886, BSGI vol 23(1886) p 397-399.

1887 After the battle of Chelenko in January 1887, Emperor Menilek occupied Harar and chased away Emir Abdullai.

Menilek and his troops "appeared before the city's barred, if fragile, gates on 8 January. Once again Abdullahi refused an offer of benign submission and fled into the Somali desert, permitting his uncle, the local *qadi*, to arrange the surrender."

[Marcus 1994 p 84]

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

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

"The king stayed in the Harar area for about one month -- pacifying the region around the city, where order had broken down. He commissioned his first cousin -- Balambaras Makonnen -- to be military governor of Harar with the rank of *dajazmatch*. Makonnen was allowed a garrison of 3,000 men. -- Ali Abu Barka -- was appointed civil administrator."

[Marcus, Menelik II, (1975)1995 p 92-93]

"After the conquest of Harar there was considerable discussion as to who should be left in charge of the lengthy pacification of the Harar province. Ras Dargé had refused to journey there but many of the Shewan nobility and Menelik himself were in Harar. There was a meeting and it was decided to recommend to the Emperor the candidature of a Shewan noble who had previously been somewhat troublesome in the southern provinces.

However, Dejzmatch Girmamé heard of this and having great influence with Menelik visited him late that same night and persuaded him not to trust a potential rebel with a governorate which would give him access to supplies of firearms from Europe. Instead he proposed one of Menelik's many relatives, Balambaras Makonnen, for this important position. Menelik agreed and the surprised nobility only heard of the Emperor's change of

mind when the proclamation was made the next morning when Makonnen was also created *dejazmatch*."

[R Greenfield, Ethiopia, London 1965 p 100]

Around June 1887 Rimbaud revisited Harar and deplored the "ravages" of the Ethiopian occupation. Rimbaud also made a quick visit in February-March 1888, going by horse without caravan on his way from Entotto to the coast and staying only a week in Harar. He returned in May to settle there for a longer time.

1888 "Ras Makonnen cut a new gate in the walls and ran a boulevard down to Feres Magala. There he pulled down the mosque and erected a church in its place /in 1887/. For some years just the minarets remained, rising above the town's flat roofs like the mast of a sunken ship."

[Marsden-Smedley 1990 p 58]

Menelik made good use of Harar. The city became the centre of his arms trade and significantly enhanced the importance of the French colony at Obok. Already by September 1887, the arms traffic in Harar overshadowed all other commerce.

Menelik was drawing administrators and soldiers from the provinces to bolster his own Shewan forces, leaving, for example, only 1,000 soldiers to garrison Harar. He was prepared to gamble his hard-won empire in his struggle with the /emperor Yohannes/."

[Marcus, p 93, 107]

The firm of G.M. Muhamad Ali was founded in Harar in 1888 by a group from Bombay, and it was the first Indian trading enterprise that achieved importance in Ethiopia. (It became known with the spelling Mohammedally.)

Another important firm from Bombay was Taib Ali Akbali.

[Indo-Ethiopian relations .. 1961 p 50 + R Pankhurst]

Rimbaud returned for the third time to Harar in May 1888, with Tian and Savouré as companions, and he stayed until 1891. Ten/?/ foreigners lived in Harar at that time, of which only Jarousseau and Rimbaud were Frenchmen. Rimbaud wrote in August 1888 to his mother and sister that he felt great boredom living alone in Harar.

Jules Borelli, returning from exploration of the Omo valley, was housed in Harar by Rimbaud in September 1888. Some weeks later the trader Savoré stayed there.

Menilek, being in conflict with Emperor Yohannes, ordered retreat from advanced locations. Ras Mekonnen returned to Shewa in November 1888 and left a garrison of only 1000 men in Harar.

Cesare Nerazzini (b. 1849) was on diplomatic mission at Harar from October 1888 to March 1889. He was also on another mission to Ras Makonnen in May 1893-January 1894, with little result in improving the Italian relations with Emperor Menilek.

In late December 1888 Alfred Ilg entered Harar with a caravan transporting machinery for King Minilik. The Shewan administration did not succeed to provide camels for the continued transport, so Ilg had to stay for a month and a half with Rimbaud.

/Two more gates, adding to the five gates in the city walls, were erected in 1889./

Ras Mekonnen and his soldiers returned to Harar in early 1889, after the death of Emperor Yohannes.

From mid-December 1889 to mid-March 1890 the commerce of Harar was blocked because of a conflict of the British with the Issa and Gadabursi tribes.

[A. Rimbaud, Correspondance 1888-1891, published 1995/?/]

1890s Foreigners having business in Harar at unspecified periods in Menelik's time include (according to a survey of Richard Pankhurst):

- Ottorino Rosa or Roza representing Max Klein of Aden and also having a coffee plantation of 4 hectares near the town,
- Ferron representing Le Bon Marché,
- M. Louis representing Compagnie Commerciale Franco-Africaine,
- representative /name?/ of Comptoir de Djibouti,
- representative /name?/ of Comptoir Européen Baijeot, both "Comptoirs" were French traders,
- representative /name?/ of Kahn,

- John Paleologue (Greek from Aden) and Manoel, for A.B. Stein & Co. (USA),
- Guignony, French dealer in skins, coffee and vegetable fibres,
- Sahnias, Frenchman who died in 1894, - Garrigue
- Brun - brothers Deynau - Kevorkoff an Armenian,
- Caralambo - Demetris - Sotiro
- Pastacaldi was an Italian importer-exporter.

The Indians almost conquered the French in the competition.

Arabs were also successful and seem to have been financed by Arabic and Jewish banks and have obtained their goods via Aden.

One Terzian assisted Menilek in the occupation of Harar in 1887. He was made governor of Jeldesa. He had a son Avedis. Garebed Terzian, an elder brother of the Terzian mentioned before, arrived possibly after 1896. He constructed an aqueduct for Harar, with tubes of wood. Serkis Terzian was active a little everywhere in Menilek's time and stayed for some time also in Harar. His uncle Kevork Terzian was a baker there.

[R Pankhurst]

1890 The Italian Pietro Felter (b 1856) arrived to Harar in 1890 as representative of Bienenfeld & Co. of Aden. He had happened to already meet Ras Makonnen in Italy. In Harar he lived with his French wife Agostina and they had three children. After the political relations between Ethiopia and Italy had been broken, he served as official correspondent ("secret agent") of the government in Rome 1891-September 1895.

Captain Enrico Baudi di Vesme and journalist Giuseppe Candeo started from Berbera in 1890 and reached Harar three months later. They were first imprisoned there but then well received by Ras Makonnen, and also feasted by Pietro Felter who had helped to get them released.

Baudi and Candeo were sent back to the coast, but Felter obtained their scientific material which had been confiscated. In early 1896 before the battle of Adwa Ras Makonnen advised Felter to save himself by departing for Zeila. Later Felter was used by Menilek and Makonnen at Mekele for communication between the enemies.

The Italians later appointed Felter *commissario* of Assab where he stayed for 17 years and finally contracted leprosy.

[G Puglisi, Chi è? .., Asmara 1952]

1891 Around February 1891 the Italian diplomatic group of Traversi, Antonelli, Salimbeni, Pulini and Valli departed from Addis Abeba to the coast and saw much starvation and death along the road. They made a brief stop in Harar.

[Prouty 1986 p 96]

In 1891 Arthur Rimbaud during 7-18 April had to be carried from Harar to Zeyla because of a serious inflammation of his leg. Rimbaud's leg was amputated in Marseilles/France and he never returned to Ethiopia. [Correspondance ..]

Through Makonnen's visit to Italy in 1889, the wood craftsman Girolami Ricci arrived to Harar on 15 April 1891. He stayed until he was expelled together with other Italians in September 1895. [Puglisi, Chi è?]

Did Ricci have anything to do with the Medhane Alem church? It was constructed by Luigi Robecchi-Bricchetti.

Italian travellers in the Imi area in early 1891 found the once prosperous centre 'squalid' and miserable because of assaults from Harar. Ethiopian officials were disturbed that the effects of raiding had been observed by foreigners, and the Vice-Governor of Harar held the Italians in the city until Makonnen returned from campaign. Upon arrival, the *ras* threatened to kill the intruders, but instead confiscated all their luggage, notes, and sketches, broke their rifles, and ordered them to leave within twenty-four hours, a period later extended to eight days.

[Marcus, Menelik II, (1975)1995 p 137]

According to Wylde the Harar market, held every weekday, was regarded as large in the 1890s. Figures of export-import were always estimates only, as no records were kept at the city's customs house. The principal exports were coffee, skins (rather than hides),

ivory, wax, butter (boiled and salted so that it would keep), gold, civet, gum arabic.

After negotiations with the French, the Ethiopians could make use of Obok for trade. On 21 July 1891, an Ethiopian caravan left Harar with eight camel-loads of ivory and musk, and 3,000 ounces of gold, to be sold at the coast; the proceeds were destined to discharge part of an Italian loan.

[Marcus p 141]

The Russian Vasili Mashcov, together with his Swedish wife Anna and a Montenegrin batman, returned on a second visit to Ethiopia in October 1891. He brought a letter from Czar Alexander III. When the Mashkov party passed Harar on their outward journey, Ras Makonnen gave them a letter addressed to the Czar and dated 12 June 1892, in which he spelled out a request for arms and artillery instructors.

[Prouty p 105]

1892 Count Augusto Salimbeni was sent back from Italy to Harar in March 1892, as the man "most likely to soften up Ras Makonnen," and he spent a year there working on financial matters connected with Menilek's repayment of the Italian loan.

Salimbeni's Ethiopian daughter joined him; he had her baptized Augusta Pierini and left her with the French nuns at the Lazarist mission when he returned to Italy in 1893 (where he committed suicide in 1895).

[C Prouty, Empress Taytu ..., 1986 p 97-98]

Postes Spéciales Françaises under Mgr. Taurin of the Catholic Mission started in 1892 and was used by French residents and some foreigners. Mail abroad from the capital was conveyed by the French Legation at Entotto to the Catholic Mission, which arranged for couriers to Djibouti.

Father Césaire handed over the stock of Ethiopian stamps and other postal material to the government postal administration in August 1899.

[Sciaky 1999]

Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet, a correspondent for the French newspaper, *Le Temps*, arrived to Ethiopia together with Ilg and Chefneux. He wrote his first column /on Harar itself/ on 1 May 1892 and stayed there until November, writing features on the trade and people of Harar.

[Prouty p 106]

His articles are detailed in Journal of Eth. Studies 1969 no 2 p 194, and those from Harar were published in *Le Temps* at the following dates (4-6 months after written):

12-08-1892 *Une ville en deuil*

26-08-1892 *Aux environs de Harrar*

29-09-1892 *Description de la ville de Harrar*

02-11-1892 *Une visite au Ras Makonnen*

02-12-1892 *La fête nationale à Harrar*

06-12-1892 *Vainqueurs et vaincus*

22-12-1892 *Le commerce au Harrar*

29-12-1892 *La Maskal*

1894 Pietro Felter, who was resident in Harar also around 1894, was the source of some sensational but unconfirmed gossip passed on to foreigners.

[Prouty p 116]

1895 Mayor of Harar in Ras Makonnen's time was Gebru Desta. At the age of 12 around 1868 he had been taken care of by German missionaries, learnt languages in Jerusalem during four years, spent seven years in Switzerland, arrived to the Gondar region at the age of 23 to be missionary among the Falasha and later in Gojjam. At the age of about 30 he had to leave Ethiopia and spent time in Jerusalem and Zanzibar. On Ras Makonnen's request he then opened a shop for Bibles in Harar. He was sent abroad on behalf of the Ethiopian government. He married a Swiss woman but she died when staying in Harar during a cholera epidemic. Gebru Desta would have wished to withdraw into loneliness, but Ras Makonnen persuaded him to become Mayor. He asked to be allowed to stay in that post for at least three years so that he would be able to achieve things. After a time he said that there were "only sixty thieves or bad elements" left in Harar, and they were sent to the

army. Gebru later became bothered by intrigues, but after the battle of Adwa in 1896 he became mayor of Gondar.

[E Leijonhufvud, *Kejsaren och hans hövdingar*, Sthlm 1948 p 116-121]

At the beginning of 1895, Léon Chefneux accompanied a caravan carrying the sheets of the first set of Ethiopian postage stamps to Harar where he arrived on 26 January. Together with the stamps the caravan also carried material for postal operations. The stamps were used for the first time on some covers on 29 January 1895.

[Menelik's Journal, Oct-Dec 2001 p 5]

In early 1895 arrived the Swedish missionary Nils Hylander (b 1861), his wife Edla (b 1860) and a 14-year old boy Stefanos Bonaya from Lamu who spoke several languages. They were received well by Ras Mekonnen but were not permitted to preach or teach. The war with the Italians and battle of Adwa occurred in the meantime, so the Hylanders were ordered by Menilek in June 1896 to leave Harar and Ethiopia without delay. Their intention to work among the Oromo could not be fulfilled. They left Harar on 2 October 1896, in a difficult caravan journey through the desert to the coast and with a new-born baby. [Arén 1978 p 381-383]

Nils Hylander made a first reconnaissance visit alone in late 1894. Nils and Edla were well received by Ras Makonnen on their first arrival together. However, the custom officers had found among their belongings a Swedish flag, which at that time, because of the union with Norway, had one part with a diagonal composition somewhat resembling Union Jack. This made them suspected of being British spies. They were put in guarded custody in a poor room facing the market. Some teaching and clinic work was done there. Edla also gave birth to her first child there. Soon after came Menilek's expulsion order, but Ras Makonnen let them stay for a while more because the baby was so small (Makonnen's own son, the future emperor, was also still a small child). When Menilek repeated his order after two-three months, they had to leave. The father carried the baby and one Oromo who accompanied them told afterwards that "the father cried so that the baby became all wet from his tears". By the time they reached the coast, Nils was very severely ill from malaria and amoeba dysentery, and the ship to be boarded by them had just left (this was their luck - the ship perished at sea). On another small vessel they managed to reach Aden.

[Bortom bergen /vol I/ Sthlm 1953 p 334-346]

The Russian officer A.V. Eliseev led a new "scientific" expedition to Ethiopia in early 1895 and brought another batch of weapons. Ras Makonnen welcomed him in Harar and explained that Menelik desired rapid expansion of relations with Russia and wanted to send an Ethiopian mission there.

[P B Henze, *Layers of time*, London 2000 p 164]

The Russian mission which entered Ethiopia in early 1895 consisted of Professor Elisseiv, Dr Zviaghin, Nicolas Leontiev, servants, interpreters and Father Efrem of the Russian Orthodox Church. "In Harar, Ras Mekonnen provided salvos, feasts and gifts, and judiciously vetted their intentions before expediting their onward journey to Addis Ababa." Elisseiv had to return after a sunstroke, so Leontiev became the leader of the expedition.

[Prouty p 121-122]

"If Italian records can be trusted, Makonnen was uneasy about Menelik's decision /for war against the Italians/. On 26 August 1895 he is reported to have written to the emperor that 'before making war, we should see if it is possible to make peace' -- Makonnen's plea crossed Menelik's categorical orders to mobilize within eight days -- Although the *ras's* preparations were completed by 8 September, he made a last effort to delay events by asking for written confirmation of the orders. A letter from the emperor arrived on 15 September. 'I do not want to hear words of peace', Menelik declared, and commanded the deportation of all Italians from Harar because a state of war now existed between Italy and Ethiopia. Makonnen executed this directive on 16 September."

[Marcus, *Menelik II*, (1975)1995 p 161]

Malantzis and Kitsas established themselves in Harar in 1895.

- 1896 "When the Russian Red Cross, headed by Gen. N.K.- Svedov, arrived in Harar on 26 May 1896 it had such a military look that Ras Makonnen warned the emperor. Menilek told Makonnen to detain them in Harar." In reality it was civil medical uniforms that the Russian doctors and male nurses were wearing. They were a large number so housing for them in Harar was critical, though they were equipped with tents. The house of the French trader, Stévenin, was requisitioned. As compensation he was given land. "Stévenin was delighted when Menelik told him to go and choose any piece of land he wanted. Stévenin chose the estates of two prominent men who had died at Adwa, and with the help of a dozen Italian POWs built himself a comfortable habitation as well as fitting up a dormitory for his prisoners." Stévenin was satisfied with the Italians for the five months he used them. He arranged for them to invite women on Wednesday nights until midnight. Alfred Ilg persuaded Menilek to permit 2/3 of the Russians to continue to the capital, so two months after setting foot on Ethiopian soil 41 members of the medical mission arrived in Addis Abeba. [C Prouty, *Empress Taytu* .., 1986 p 181-182] "When Ilg arrived in Harar late in June /1896/, he found there not only the representatives of the Pope /led by the young, blond, bespectacled Bishop Macarios/, the Association of Roman Women and the Italian Red Cross, but also the Russian Red Cross. Ilg then unblocked Menilek's objection to the Russians and accompanied them to Addis Ababa." [Prouty p 184] Immediately after the peace treaty of 26 October 1896, a convention for the repatriation of prisoners was signed. They were to be assembled in the briefest possible time and sent to Harar. On 20 November the first group was released. The total number freed by mid-1897 was 49 officers and 1,656 soldiers. Survivors with less severe injuries were treated in Addis Abeba by a Russian Red Cross team, and in Harar by an Italian medical unit. [Marcus p 177] An Italian sergeant Giovanni Tedone was wounded in the battle of Adwa at the age of 24. He took part in the four-month walk of prisoners of war to Addis Abeba and then was kept in villages of Chercher for six months. An Ethiopian lady with important relatives befriended him. However, there came an order from Ras Makonnen to join a work party chosen to paint the Awash River bridge. The prisoners signed that they had finished this work in September 1896, but Tedone also wrote "Viva l'Italia" and in Italian language "Death to the Ethiopian empire". In October Cesare Nerazzini came to sign the peace treaty with the Emperor. On 20 November 1896 the Nerazzini party, accompanied by Ras Makonnen and Léon Chefneux, started making the return journey picking up prisoners along the way, among them Tedone. All the Italian ex-prisoners collected in this way were camped outside Harar when Giovanni Tedone was summoned to Ras Makonnen. When asked if he had written the insulting words on the Awash bridge, he admitted that he had. "I ought to suspend your departure," said Makonnen, "but because you were honest and because of my regard for Major Nerazzini, I give you leave to go." [Prouty p 171-178]
- 1897 The diplomatic mission of Sir Rennell Rodd, with members Wingate, Gleichen, Swayne and Speedy, arrived at Harar on 2 April 1897. Rodd had a brief meeting with Ras Makonnen and was impressed with "the dignity and courtesy of his manner". The Rodd mission left Harar on 8 April, to continue to the capital and meet Menilek. "On April 4 /1897/, at 7 o'clock in the morning, we arrived in Harar, having gone /from Addis Abeba/ -- in ten and a half days along the mountaineous Chercher road, despite the fact that during this time I went -- out of the way to meet the caravan of Ato Yosif, for my goods. On April 8, at 10 o'clock, I set out with eight servants and the same mules to Jeldesa, where I arrived that same day" on the way to Djibouti. [A Bulatovich 1897] Example of communications: On 12 May 1897 a letter was mailed from Harar to Entotto

addressed to a French explorer Bonvalot. The letter arrived to Entotto on 25 May and was re-addressed to Paris since Bonvalot had left from Entotto. When the letter arrived to Harar on 5 June it could be delivered to Bonvalot who had not yet left from there.

[Philatelic source]

In Menelik's settlement with the British in May 1897 through Rennel Rodd, it was agreed that the Somali border would be determined by Rodd and Makonnen and that the rectifications would be annexed to the treaty.

Rodd left Addis Abeba on 15 May. Shortly after his arrival in Harar sixteen days later, 'most wearing and trying' negotiations commenced with Ras Makonnen. The difficulties arose from 'the very exorbitant nature of the Abyssinian pretensions and /their theory/ that the dependencies of Harar extended to the sea'.

A convention was concluded on 4 June. By this Somali border annex to the treaty of 14 May the British government ceded 13,500 square miles of Somali-inhabited territory, only one-third of what Menelik had claimed.

[Marcus p 184-185]

In early 1897: "The /French/ government mission of 11 men, including three doctors and an artist who wanted to paint Menilek's portrait, was escorted by a smart contingent of Senegalese troops. Lagarde, chief of mission, had spent a month in Harar making an agreement with Ras Mekonnen that Djibouti would be Ethiopia's official port of entry, in return for which France would be Ethiopia's official port of entry, in return for which France would guarantee that arms destined for the Ethiopian government could pass duty-free."

[C Prout, Empress Taytu ..., 1986 p 192]

In 1897 the emperor granted permission for the Franciscan Sisters of Calais to operate a school in Harar.

1898 A Greek by name Diamantopoulos arrived to Ethiopia about 1898. He acquired a plantation near Harar where he cultivated coffee, tobacco, and many kinds of fruit for which he imported the plants from Greece.

A Frenchman by name Bavelaire cultivated coffee and citrus fruits in the neighbourhood of Harar in Menilek's time.

Mark Dalentzas as Greek retailer and brothers Rhigas as Greek dealers in cotton and skins started in Zeyla and Harar in 1898.

H. Minassian founded an import-export firm in Harar and Addis Abeba (it still existed in the 1930s though by then more based in Dire Dawa).

1899 In 1899 a telephone connection between Harar and Addis Abeba was established by a Frenchman.

In August 1899 Chefneux and Ilg organized independent Ethiopian Posts between Entotto and Harar.

The earliest known use of a new date-stamp HARAR POSTES FRANCAISES is in October 1899. The last of these three words was removed when a cancelor HARRAR POSTES was introduced in 1908 and used e.g. on a letter sent on 1 December 1908 by one of three nuns working at the Catholic Mission's home for lepers.

[Philatelic source]

J. Gerolimato acted as British consular agent at Harar (-1899-). He represented Livierato Frères, had a cotton plantation at Errer /and was also French Vice-Consul for a period?/. The Livierato brothers were Greek importers-exporters, and Gerolimato was a Greek dealer in cotton, skins and coffee.

A 6,000 strong Ethiopian expedition to the Ogaden under Dejazmach Biratu left Harar on 27 November 1899. The British representative Harrington, who was then in Harar, warned Biratu that the Ethiopian army should not cross the British Somaliland border as accepted by the 1897 treaty and, to make sure that the Dejazmach would not make mistakes, gave him a map that showed the border line as clearly as possible.

[7th Int Conf of Ethiopian Studies 1984 p 303]

1900s Monseigneur André Jarousseau was Catholic bishop of Harar and also teacher of Ras Makonnen's son, the future Emperor Haile Selassie.

When the Djibouti railway line was built, the commercial role of Harar became secondary to that played by Dire Dawa. (The line was originally planned to pass through the city but would then have been more expensive to build.)

C. Michel, as published in 1900, said that the average number of animals brought to the Harar market every day was:

- 10 saddle mules
- 18 transport mules
- 6 riding horses
- 4 transport horses
- 12 donkeys
- 15 oxen
- 8 cows
- 60 sheep
- 20 goats

[Journal of Eth. Studies vol II 1964 no 2 p 74-90 has an article with many figures]

1900 Comment in 1900: "By a peculiar enactment, the *raison d'être* of which is not obvious, the 10 per cent *ad valorem* duty levied at Adis Ababa on all articles of import and export is reduced at Harrar to 8 per cent. Naturally, therefore, the majority of the merchants prefer to pay at the latter place, and thus the bulk of the Shoan trade necessarily passes through it."

[Powell-Cotton 1902 p 515-516]

French doctors worked in Harar from 1900 until the Italian occupation in 1936.

In 1900 Father Marie Bernard, a Franciscan missionary, began publishing *Le Semeur d'Éthiopie* in Harar, a weekly paper in French and Amharic. Initially using a kind of mimeograph machine, Father Bernard obtained a small printing press in 1905. Profits from this venture, which included commercial printing, were used to finance the leprosarium (originally the newspaper was known as *Bulletin de la Leproserie de Harar*). The priest visited Europe in 1909, bringing back with him several technological improvements. Thus it continued until 1914 when the French monks abroad were called to the colours and *Le Semeur d'Éthiopie* ceased publication.

[John Gartley in 7th Int Conf of Ethiopian Studies 1984 p 298]

1901 In October 1901 Jean Adolphe Michel, a Swissman, became Director of Posts and replaced H. Mühle. Michel is known by philatelists for producing many fakes to earn private money.

Transport of mail between Addis Abeba and Harar at that time required an average of 10 days. It has been calculated by Ulf Lindahl that the two post offices in Harar sold 5,810 postage stamps before July 1901.

[Menelik's Journal, Oct-Dec 2001]

A small French hotel was described in 1901 as having billiard and shower.

1902 The Ras Makonnen hospital was completed by the French in 1902. In the same year, French Capuchine missionaries who arrived in 1901 built a leprosy centre just outside the walls of the town. One missionary (Père Charles?) served there for over thirty years. For the hospital, Ras Makonnen recruited Dr Joseph Vitalien, a dark man from Guadeloupe who had worked at the railway project. At the end of 1904, Vitalien was asked to serve the emperor in the capital instead.

[Prouty 1986 p 283]

The British, the French and the Italians soon set up consulates in Harar.

When the railway reached Dire Dawa the traditional routes were deflected and this was clearly detrimental to the trade of Harar.

1903 The telegraph line from the coast reached Harar in 1903.

A diplomatic mission of the USA, led by the black American Robert P. Skinner, landed in Djibouti on 17 November 1903. Skinner's party travelled by rail to Dire Dawa and made a detour to Harar to call on Ras Makonnen, who put his new palace at their disposal and brought out jars of "the native champagne" (*tej*) with which they drank to the health of President Roosevelt and Emperor Menilek.

[P B Henze, *Layers of time*, London 2000 p 177]

Robert Skinner was American consul in Marseilles. Ras Makonnen gave them a male and a female zebra for the zoo in Washington D.C.

[Prouty p 268]

A small Italian hotel opened in 1903 was probably l'Hôtel d'Italia which around 1907 was administered by Pietro Bertolini from Torino.

1904 When Ras Makonnen travelled to Europe in 1904, he was accompanied by Abdullahi Tsadeq who later had some unusual dealings in Constantinople and India, and who was deported by the British to Zeila and released on Menelik's request.

Returning to his position in Harar, Abdullahi was imprisoned shortly afterwards on charges of embezzlement, to be freed to head a mission which sought an understanding between Menelik and Seyyid Muhammad, who was causing trouble in the Ogaden.

[Marcus, *Menelik II*, (1975)1995 p 266-267]

The first commercial tannery near Harar was opened in 1904 by an Armenian by name Yasai Garikian who was a political refugee from the Turks.

The Frenchman Gabriel Guigniony established a fibre factory to produce rope from local aloe.

1905 For Harar, as published by Richard Pankhurst, import and export tax revenue amounted to 639,465 M.T. thaler for 1899-1900, and about 1,246,829 M.T. thaler for 1905-1906.

[Tsegaye Tegenu, *The evolution of Ethiopian absolutism*, Uppsala 1996 p 155]

In 1905-1906 the post director Michel lived together with a Madam Derska/Durska (or Puschka as Michel himself wrote her name), in Jannasch's book called *Madame Mohacs* born Hungarian. She kept lions in Michel's courtyard and ran a "clip joint" with gambling. Once when hunting west of Dire Dawa, Madame said that she met a lion and called 'Abdallah' because she recognized it as one of her tame lions that had escaped.

[H Jannasch, *Im Schatten des Negus*, Berlin 1930]

A *German commercial delegation* to Emperor Menilek, led by Dr. Friedrich Rosen, made a brief stop at Harar on 14-15 January 1905. The other Germans of the delegation were Graf Viktor von Eulenburg, Edmund Schüler, Georg Becker, Dr. Hans Vollbrecht as medical officer, Kommerzienrat Karl Bosch, and Prof. Felix Rosen who wrote the book about the expedition.

The Germans came riding with their own bodyguard and there was a welcome parade at the caravan space outside the gate Bab-el-Turk. They were joined by local residents H. Holsten and M. Michel.

The one to officially receive them was the Vice-Governor of Harar, because Ras Makonnen himself happened to be away. The visitors could ride on mules all the way inside the town to Ras Makonnen's palace, and unboiken lines of soldiers stood all the way. The Ethiopian flag could be seen above the palace. The ground floor was gloomy and occupied by the guard, but upstairs was a high room with furniture supposed to be from Paris. The Germans were received with drinks and polite conversation. Friedrich Rosen could speak fluent Arabic.

Concerning views from the palace they could see that eucalyptus trees had already grown up. Food was brought from the Italian hotel. Michel helped them to plan their caravan journey to Addis Abeba.

The Germans found /on the 15th?/ that many of the shops were closed because it was the Greek New Year's Day. On the other hand there was an exciting episode that a lion escaped from Michel's courtyard and walked in the streets, but it was taken inside again by Michel's Madame before causing any damage.

The delegation stopped at Haramaya on their way back to Dire Dawa and next they camped at Kulubi where they could visit the young boy Lij Tafari and also use the telephone.

[F Rosen, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft ...*, Leipzig 1907 p 53-72 with summary of Harar's history cited from Paulitschke]

It was mentioned in 1905 that there were Arabs employed in the customs office. Viscount de la Guibourgère, popularly known as Arab Pasha, trained

Ras Makonnen's troops.

An Armenian couple, a certain Artin and his wife, were at some period weavers for Ras Makonnen. Artin also had a plantation with coffee and dates.

After the Bank of Abyssinia had been founded in the capital in 1905, a branch in Harar was managed by a Frenchman who arrived to Ethiopia in 1901 and who married first an Australian and then an Ethiopian woman.

[R Pankhurst]

1906 Ras Makonnen, who was taken ill in the beginning of a journey to Addis Abeba, died on 21 March 1906.

Dejazmach Yilma, elder half-brother of the future Haile Selassie, succeeded his father Ras Makonnen as governor general of Harar.

[Greenfield 1965 p 149]

Majid Aboud, born 1886 in Libanon, arrived in 1906 with gifts to Ras Makonnen from a sultan in Yemen, but it was a fortnight before the Ras died, so the gifts could not reach him in time. [Zervos 1936]

Boyes, writing in 1906, says that there were many shops of embryonic type. "Very curious were these stores, suggestive of England's little shops, some a few steps below the level of the street, where various trades were being carried on, such as sword-making, blacksmiths, silversmiths, and people selling different kinds of goods, all mixed up together."

[J Boyes, My Abyssinian journey, Nairobi p 8, cited in

Journal of Eth. Studies vol II 1964 no 1 p 51]

There were different estimates of the amount of coffee originating from Harar, but a British report for 1905-6 said that production in the Harar area was around 900 tons.

1907 In February 1907 the Germans Bosch and Herzbruch visited Harar, invited by Governor Dejazmach Yilma who payed for them at Hotel d'Italie.

Doctor Herzbruch was asked to examine Yilma's wife who did not feel well. The doctor recommended that they move to a healthier climate at Kombolcha /north of Harar/, but such a thing they could not do without permission beforehand by Emperor Menilik. The Germans had a camera with them and used the roof terrace of the Palace to get better light. It was regarded as something never done before when Yilma wanted a photo to be taken of his wife and the foreigner Herzbruch together. Yilma handled the camera himself.

The hospital established by Ras Makonnen had been closed after his death, so by this time there was no doctor at all in Harar.

[K Herzbruch, Abessinien, München 1925 p 40-49]

Governor Yilma fell ill and died already in 1907.

A water pipeline was opened in that year (picture in von Kulmer's book 1910).

1908 Two main bars were mentioned in 1908, one belonging to the Greek Jean Tselatis and the other named Bodega connected with the only café in town.

1909 A British official stated for 1909 that the much higher taxes introduced by the Governor Dejazmach Balcha had caused the trade of the Indian merchants to fall to 1/10 of its previous volume.

1910s Lij Iyasu gave the lucrative post of *negedras* of Harar and Dire Dawa to his Syrian favourite Ydlibi.

Negedras Gebre-Heywet Baykedagn (Gabra-Heywat Baykadagn) from Adwa had spent his teenage days in Germany and studied political economy. He was a leading intellectual of his time. To be *negedras* in Harar was the highest post he occupied, but he died before 1919 at the early age of 33 years.

[Bahru Zewde 1991 p 106-107, with photo]

Ottorino Rosa (1853-1928) was an Italian trader at Harar - during which time?

1911 Dejazmach Teferi Mekonnen succeeded Dejazmach Yilma as governor general of Harar in 1911. "He tried to apply the principles he had learnt in his semi-western education and again sought to register the land, set up an administrative service and in general to create a basis for economic development."

- [Greenfield 1965 p 150]
- 1912 In 1912 the head of the Harar post office was G. Sourin. A British consular report for 1912 noted the advent of iron sheet roofing and stated that "quite a number of houses" had by then roofs of this material.
- 1913 Coffee exported from Harar amounted to 4,000 tons in 1913. [Zervos]
- 1915 In 1915 a son Asfa Wossen, the future Crown Prince, was born to Woizero Menen, who had stayed in Harar while Dejazmach Teferi was in Addis Abeba. "In the Moslem province of Harar, proclamations preaching a *jihad* (holy war) and interspersed with insults to the British were exhibited and the Abyssinian authorities would not have them removed in spite of all protests. During 1915 and the early months of 1916, Lij Iyasu spent much time in Harar and the Danakil country further north, intriguing with the Moslem chiefs of those regions and of Somaliland. In his absence it was impossible to transact any official business whatever at Addis Ababa."
- [A W Hodson, Seven years ..., 1927 p 126]
- 1916 Lij Iyasu's desire to establish credibility as a leader of Muslims accounted for a letter in Arabic of 19 April 1916 from him to Somali Sheikhs Mahmud, Ali Kanadid, and Osman, in which he traced his ancestry back to Fatima, Muhammad's daughter. In early August Iyasu went to French Somaliland incognito. Accompanied by Ydlibi and a small entourage, he spent two days in Djibouti on some mysterious mission. On 13 August 1916 Tafari was removed from the governorship of Hararge which was made a crown province under Muslim administration, where Muslims were permitted to carry weapons. Instead of taking up his new post in the province of Kefa, Tafari Makonnen remained in Addis Abeba. He was not permitted to return to Harar even when his wife Menen gave birth to their first son, Asfa Wossen, the future crown prince of Ethiopia.
- [Marcus. Menelik II, (1975)1995 p 273-274]
- When the future Empress Menen had a baby in Harar, Lij Iyasu did not permit its father Teferi Mekonnen to visit Harar from Addis Abeba. When Lij Iyasu in 1916 arrived in Harar to rule it, he ordered Menen and her infant son to leave at once for Addis Abeba. Two days after the baby had been baptized, on 6 September 1916, Weyzero Menen, her children, Kenyazmach Imru, and a few followers left Harar on muleback for Dire Dawa to catch the train for the capital.
- [C Prouty, Empress Taytu ..., 1986 p 343-344]
- Lij Iyasu was deposed by a proclamation in Addis Abeba of 27 September 1916. In Harar, the *coup* in Addis Abeba was not immediately successful. "A warrant for Iyasu's arrest was wired to Tafari's lieutenant, Fitawrari Gabre; instead, Grazmatch Ballata, the official in charge of posts and communications in Harar, cut the line to Addis Ababa and delivered the message to the prince. After reading the telegram, Iyasu convened the leading priests and made them swear to excommunicate any officers who proved disloyal. -- That evening he promoted those officers who had remained faithful to him and jailed Grazmatch (later Ras) Imru, one of Tafari's closest associates." "Gabre was not arrested but rather elevated to *dajazmatch*, and ordered to command the 5,000-man army which was to stop the troops from Addis Ababa. When the force marched out of Harar, within a short time the Muslim population appeared to have evaporated; only northerners could be seen on the town's streets. The mood of depression and pessimism was strengthened by the late news that Dajatch Gabre had deserted with his small force and joined Dajatch Balcha's 16,000-man army. With no barrier between Harar and the approaching enemy, Lij Iyasu fled the town on 8 August. Early the next morning the Christian Ethiopians began to massacre whatever Muslims could be found. When Balcha entered the city in great pomp the rioting and killing began in earnest, lasting until the late afternoon and leaving four hundred Somalis dead. So began five years as a fugitive for Lij Yasu."
- [Marcus, Menelik II, (1975)1995 p 278]
- "Three days later, news reached Addis Ababa that the plot had miscarried at Harar, and

that Lij Yasu was in possession of the town. -- By 11th October the towns of Harar and Dire Dawa were reported to be in the hands of the Government, and Lij Yasu was escaping to the north with a small force."

"In Harar itself the situation had been extremely critical. Upon the outbreak of the rising the Moslems actually proposed a massacre of the Europeans, but Lij Yasu did not give a definite answer. On the night of his flight a small spark would have been enough to start a conflagration, The following morning Dajazmach Balcha occupied the town for the Government."

[Hodson p 127]

1918 In 1918 A. Bousson was transferred from Addis Abeba, and he served in the Harar post office during 1918-1923.

when? Governor of Harar for a while was Dejazmach Gebre Mariam, later known as military leader fighting the Italians. He was born in the Soddo area in 1874. In Addis Abeba he was attached to the court of Dejazmach Balcha Aba Nefso and later to that of Ras Teferi. He was mortally wounded at Gogetti on 18 February 1937.

[Pankhurst in AddisTribune 2003/03/28]

1919 Around 1919 there was "Service Medical à Harar (Abyssinie) Dr. J.K. Kosmas".

1920s A monk Wolde Mikael and his somewhat older companion Haile were educated by Twolde Berhan at the Swedish BV Mission in Harar in 1922-25, although not fully taking part in the classes as they already knew to read Amharic and Geez. They emigrated to Kenya where they found work as car drivers. Haile in the 1950s was interpreter for an Englishman in southern Ethiopia.

[BV julkalender 1957 (Sthlm) p 67-72]

1920 Biru Goshe /Berou Gaucho in the spelling of Zervos/ was born 16 November 1887 in Gelila near Ankober. He came to Harar in 1904 and learnt French at the Catholic Mission there. After twelve years 1908-1920 at the post office in Dire Dawa, he was appointed *premier receveur* at the post office in Harar. In 1924 he was transferred back to Dire Dawa to replace M.A. Bousson there.

[A Zervos 1936 p 280-281, with photo]

1922 The Swedish BV missionary Anton Jönsson arrived to Harar for the first time in 1922? He and his wife Edith née Korsholm moved there probably late in 1923.

1924 Anna Holmberg was an addition to the other two Swedes, and they remained three in number also in 1925.

The Swedish BV Mission school for boys in Harar started in early 1924, and the first staff had arrived the previous year. During its first four years the school used rented premises. There were 30-40 boys in the start.

Tedla Afley, born in Eritrea around 1885, studied at the school of the Swedish mission in Asmara from 1904. He joined the Swedish BV Mission and worked for them in northern Ethiopia until he was sent to Harar. He was the only BV missionary there during the first year and he stayed for many years until his death on 4 March 1934. His wife Tebletz also used to take part in the religious discussions at the mission.

[BV julkalender 1958 (Sthlm) p 56-63]

1925 New Swedish arrivals in 1925 were Dr Fride & Naemi Hylander and they stayed until the end of 1929.

The Hylanders received for dwelling outside the town walls a somewhat strange building. Inside a round thatched masonry house there was a square "box" as large as could be constructed inside, with doors in the middle of all four walls. Possibly the builder wanted a shape over which a ceiling of *abujedid* cotton cloth could easily be stretched. There were no windows. The dresser Mulugeta lived in a hut at a few steps away. His wife of an important family had a female slave, and when that slave wanted to be freed she was put in chains. Mulugeta beat his wife for this, but Dr Hylander interfered with the police so that Mulugeta was not punished.

[F Hylander, Crabatto, (EFS) 1980 p 18-19]

A hut of the interpreter Kana and a simple infirmary with sheet roof were also in the neighbourhood of Hylander's house. Hylander performed such operations as to amputate a

leg at the knee. The patient, against the advice of the Ethiopians, was allowed to go home without first having paid the fee, but he returned and actually paid it. Even Naemi made riding tours to visit patients, and once stayed overnight in the hut of a patient. One man with a very destroyed body crawled into some bushes and thought the hyenas would eat him at night, but he said afterwards that "they only came forward and sniffed at me" - he was no proper food for them. Hylander considered Ali, of Turkish descent, to be his best assistant during this period.

[Hylander p 19-23]

One frequent visitor to the mission was Haile Debene. He was an auditor who fought corruption so energetically that first his house was burnt down and later he himself was shot dead outside the town walls.

[Hylander p 24-25]

1927 Dr Gunnar Agge with wife Tenzen were a new addition to the BV and they stayed until January 1931.

1928 The BV mission school moved to the new mission station in 1928 and could then take about 70 boarders and a varying number of day students. In the boarding there had to be separate food for the Christians and for the lesser number of boys from Muslim families.

1929 The successful hotel owner Bekele Molla lived some of his teenage years in Harar, where his mother Atsele lived in a suburb with his stepfather. Bekele started already as a 12-year boy to sell eggs and chickens in the market. He was advised and encouraged in trade by one Abdullahi.

At the age of 16, Bekele had acquired almost one thousand M.T. talers. He then moved to Mojo (where he had some relatives) around 1929 and had a successful career there.

[AddisTribune 2002/02/15]

At the BV mission clinic "Sister Anna" /Holmberg/ and two local assistants worked, and they carried out about 1500 treatments per month. Missionary Anton Jönsson had some medical training. Doctor Fride Hylander was the one who had actually created the Tafari Makonnen Hospital, but he was now preparing for his reconnaissance caravan to Arussi. In the six-year old BV mission station there were now 17 buildings. [Mission source]

When Baron H.W. von Engel flew a Junkers aircraft from Dire Dawa to Addis Abeba on 5 September, he passed Harar and dropped a bag of mail on a market place there.

[Nordbø + EAL 35 years]

The first air mail on which the air commemorative Ethiopian postage stamps were used was flown to Harar on 26 December. Together with a second flight to Dire Dawa on the 29th, less than 500 covers were carried.

[Philatelic source]

A little before 1930/?/ a French newspaper sent out a little group of journalists to investigate and "write up" the slave traffic. They found a contact who promised them to give notice when a slave caravan was leaving for the coast. The three journalists flew down to Harar, but in landing there/?/ the plane crashed although no one was hurt.

Probably they were actively prevented from seeing anything, and they returned to France as disappointed men. One of them wrote a book - title? - dealing with the "sordid and unbeautiful side of life" in Addis Abeba. His book was banned in Ethiopia.

[F C Dunckley, Eight years ..., London /1936/ p 218-220]

There were internal conflicts between BV missionaries in Ethiopia, so a conference was held in Harar 21-27 December when their leader Axel B. Svensson from Sweden tried to mediate (Anton Jönsson of Harar was as always a peaceful man). Svensson got an attack of malaria so that they had to keep watch over him for two nights.

On 31 December Fride Hylander left Harar for his year-long caravan reconnaissance together with his wife Naemi and small twin children, 35 men and 40 animals, the interpreter Kana with his young wife and a Moslem servant Dawit.

[F Hylander, Ett år i tält + Crabatto 1980 p 41]

1930s Impressions of a casual visitor around 1930:

"-- a corrugated-iron gate bars the road, and not before the keeper has collected the toll and satisfied himself that nothing is being smuggled, is the car allowed to pass. Another

ten minutes and one enters the main gate with its armed guard."

The car drove by the narrow street, "six feet wide", which was the main thoroughfare to the market-place in the centre.

"Of all the towns to be seen in Abyssinia there is nothing quite so medieval as Harrar; no people more interesting. -- it matches so well the surrounding hills that it has the appearance of a dried-up lake. This is mainly due to the fact that the vast majority of the houses are flat-roofed -- And the streets add to the delusion as being so many cracks in the surface. Enclosed by a low wall -- It must have been considerably higher in the old days. -- The main gateway, too, with its flimsy wood door, posterns /small side doors/ and look-out turrets, is a travesty of what must have been."

"The market-place is the only well-defined and clear spot -- Here, apart from the conglomerate mass, stand the few real buildings in the town - a church, a prison and an hotel. The prison is the most popular! There are a few European houses tucked away in odd corners, but like six-pences in a plum-pudding, they are hard to find."

"What strikes one at first sight is the absence of windows everywhere. There are a few shutters to be seen, but otherwise -- a low door in a blank wall is the only evidence of a living-place at all. -- Now and again one stumbles over a water-pipe, a sure sign that a man of wealth lives nearby."

"And reminiscent of bygone days, there are studded doorways; casements iron-grilled; posterns with bridle hooks; worn stone plinths that tell of former and more substantial buildings."

"-- the town is crowded to overflowing, so that the many small shopkeepers flourish. There are workers, too, in copper, iron and brass, who, to judge by the unceasing din of their hammers, do a brisk trade."

"-- according to those best qualified to judge, the Harrar woman keeps her good looks much longer - climate and later marriage have probably much to do with this."

[T Comyn-Platt, *The Abyssinian storm*, London 1935 p 72-78]

Dr & Mrs Hylander with small children started around New Year 1930 on a long caravan trip to make reconnaissance for new mission fields.

Local teachers at the BV school in the early 1930s were Dessalegn, Wolde Selassie and Weyzero Teblet (who fell ill). The Swede Sigurd Stark was teacher there for some years. The Swedish missionaries insisted on some practical work to be done by the students. After four years in the school Wolde Amanuel, Denneqe, Tsegaye and Dessalegn still served at the BV mission by the time the Italian occupation started.

[BV julkalender 1938 (Sthlm) p 120-133]

A photo of the leprosarium from early 1930s with Father Jarosseau and eight French monks is reproduced in *Ethiopia Observer* 1960 no 2 page 62.

Postal hand stamp used spelling HARAR around 1895-1899 and HARRAR around 1908-1911 and around 1931-1932.

Ato Alemou Tsekol /=Alemu Chekol/ was *receveur* at the post office until late 1931 when he was transferred to Dire Dawa.

- 1931 Doctor Gunnar Agge ended his long work for the Swedish BV Mission in January 1931. In March he signed a 3-year contract to become a kind of provincial medical doctor for Ogaden. He left Harar with a caravan of mules and camels to go to Jijiga. He had with him Lemma, Tesemma and Mosa Farah, whom he all knew from his mission years. They departed through the Errer Ber. It took them about an hour to march through the *chat* plantations.

[G Agge, *I svart tjänst ...*, Sthlm 1935 p 9-12]

In the same month of January nurse Ruth Torstensson arrived to the BV.

When the Bank of Ethiopia was created in 1931 it got a branch office with one employee at Harar.

- 1932 Coffee exported from the Harar area in 1932 amounted to 10,000 tons. [Zervos]
The Italian consul in Harar succeeded to take a series of photos at the Harar prison on 30 September 1932. He sent them to the Italian government which also received a list of the same date detailing 237 slaves owned by 26 local notables in Harar.

Dejazmach Gebre Maryam had 25 slaves, Kenyazmach Bekele (judge) had 20, Ato Mengesha (judge) had 12, Asfaw (judge) had 27, Atsag Kibret (chief of government-owned slaves) had 5 for his personal account, Fitawrari Belachew (judge) had 15, and Grazmach Igzau (chief of the Harar police) had 10. The Ethiopian government had 486 slaves in the Harar region, of whom some fifty were allotted to churches.

[Memoria del Governo Italiano .., Milano Sep. 1935 p 154]

1933

The 54 km long road from Dire Dawa was opened for motor traffic, and it was the first such road construction in Ethiopia outside the neighbourhood of Addis Abeba. Its cost was about 300,000 M.T. taler.

[H Juell, Etiopia, Oslo 1935 p 34]

In January or February 1933/?/ the Emperor visited Harar, returning from Berbera, Aden and Djibouti. He laid the cornerstone for a monument to his father Ras Makonnen. Plans for various new buildings such as post, customs and prison were initiated. At an official dinner the Italian consul happened to be the one to make the welcome speech.

In April 1933 Dr Agge with his family left Jijiga and on a newly opened motorable road returned to Harar, where he rented a house outside the town walls in the Adari Tiqqo area.

[Agge 1935 p 107-109]

At the BV mission there were still the Jönssons, and probably Josef & Philippa Oredsson and Gerda Nerman and two or three more staff. The same seem to have stayed during 1934.

Electric power was introduced by the Frenchman Ancelin as a private undertaking with its station inside the town.

The governor general Ras Imru was transferred to Debre Markos in 1933.

1934

Some time before before the Wel Wel confrontation there was /in mid-1934?/ an Italian incident in Harar. The Italian consul Campini had in Harar found an Ethiopian man who earlier had been in Italian employment and had received an Italian passport. Now he worked for the Ethiopian government, which so much annoyed the Consul that he at the point of a revolver forced the man to enter his car. He was brought to the consulate and imprisoned there.

The Ethiopian man succeeded to complain immediately to the Mayor of Harar, Grazmach Gezau. The Mayor ordered that one of the employees of the Italian consulate, by name Fitawrari Jasin and supposed to have been an Ethiopian citizen earlier, also was imprisoned. The Mayor intended to obtain an exchange of prisoners.

Consul Campini with an Eritrean guard of fifteen soldiers tried to get Jasin out of the prison. The Mayor lined up some one hundred police in front of the prison and let them load their weapons in view of the Consul. Campini had to retire. He complained to his minister in Addis Abeba who made a big case of it with the Emperor. Lorenzo Tazaz, of Eritrean origin and speaking fluent Italian, was sent to Harar to negotiate.

In the beginning of May 1934 the Imperial family visited Harar. The Emperor entered quietly the small palace outside the walls, built by Lij Iyasu. He did not want to show himself immediately, because early in the previous morning there had been a ceremony with Prince Mekonnen, who as newly nominated Duke of Harar was to be received by the Governor and officials of Harar.

The Emperor stayed about a fortnight in Harar and inspected many things. Prince Mekonnen accompanied his parents back as far as Dire Dawa but returned for a couple of days during which many appointments were made. Fitawrari Mezleqiya was replaced by Fitawrari Shiferra, a relative of the Emperor.

[Agge 1935 p 184-185]

In August 1934 five Belgian officers led by Major Dotti arrived to train a body guard for Duke Mekonnen. About that time a powerful radio station was inaugurated, capable of communication with field radios of the army. The first telegram from down at Webi Shebele arrived in November.

[Agge 1935 p 206-207]

1935

The reporter Ladislav Farago visited Harar and Jijiga half a year before the war:

"The gates were wide open but the guard sprawled lazily under the arches and only the

customs officials represented authority, as the picturesque people streamed through. -- Donkey caravans passed in and out, but no camels, as they could not have managed the narrow streets."

"Four thousand Abyssinian recruits were exercising on a large square along one side of the town wall. They were still in civil clothes, but the native officers were in Japanese khaki uniform."

"We put up at the only hotel /not true/ in the town, the Imperatrice. -- The Somali girls are the prettiest, and the Gallas the most aristocratic looking, but the Hararis know how to dress themselves to the best advantage."

Farago believed that of foreigners there were 45 Greeks and Armenians and 5 others - doctors and Belgian officers. "The Italian Consulate is outside the town walls and is kept under a strong guard, for the life of the much-hated Consul is always in danger. He married shortly before the Wal-Wal incident and brought his wife, who was well known for her beauty, to Harar, but she could not stand this witches' cauldron."

Lorenzo Tazaz was in Harar at the time and officially occupied as a lawyer, but he was rather the head of information gathering. His young assistant Aberra kept close to the foreign journalists and was probably the one who rummaged through papers of Farago in his hotel room when Farago was not there. Aberra provided Farago with two soldiers as escort and protection.

Outside the town walls many caravans arrived. "They had all been ordered by the Government to bring their corn to Harar where it was being stored -- The granaries were under ground /Farago has a photo of one in his book/ and the primitive grandeur of the scene reminded me of the Old Testament."

"The soldiers lived in new, but hardly modern, barracks nearby. We were let in reluctantly -- A beautiful castle was being built near these frightful quarters. It was to be the new residence for the Emperor and his son, the Duke of Harar."

The Mayor of Harar, Lij Asfaw, announced that Governor Dejazmach Gebre Maryam would receive the journalistst at short notice. "We had to change, for the Governor insisted on formal clothes -- and it was agony to wear morning coats in the heat -- We drove, perspiring, up to the Governor's castle, and had to pass three courtyards -- In the first plenty of tshiki-tshik was going on before improvised courts. The arsenal was in the second yard. It was littered with guns and rifles, and smiths worked sabres on their anvils, while other men turned their sewing-machines, making bullet pouches.."

"In the innermost courtyard there was an awesome silence. Here was the audience hall of His Excellency the Governor. -- The Governor sat on a small throne in front of the Imperial throne, which the Emperor used when he visited Harar, but now it was hidden from the Evil Eye with curtains. Two rows of guilt chairs had been prepared for the visitors and the Governor rose as we came in and shook hands. He was an old, wily-looking man who smiled most amiably at us although he was known far and wide as one who hated Europeans. --A big lion lay in front of the Governor, but it was too old to be dangerous."

"The Governor -- was a bitter opponent of the Emperor, and was only kept in check by being given the governorship of Harar. But even here he conspired against him. -- I knew that Dedjazmach Gabre Mariam's days as Governor were numbered and that Nassibu had been recalled -- to take over his post."

"Servants then brought in - at two o'clock in the afternoon - champagne, and the corks were pulled with loud pops. The lion shivered in his sleep, but did not wake up."

The visitors took their leave and went to see Abu Hanan, the Bishop of Harar. "He is the great political priest of Abyssinia, and he is the virtual ruler of /the Ethiopian Orthodox Church/. He is an unconditional supporter of the Emperor." The bishop denied to the journalists that Lij Iyasu had escaped from his prison in Grawa. Possibly for not having prevented Lij Iyasu's escape, Governor Gebre Maryam was removed and replaced by Ras Nassibu. "This was the end of the desperate struggle that had gone on for years between the Bishop and Dedjazmach Gabre Mariam."

"Another reason for Ras Nassibu's appointment was that he had spent many years in

Italy's African colonies. He could speak Italian and, through careful study, knew the Italians' methods of colonising, so he seemed to be the right man to frustrate an Italian advance. The town had not calmed down when news came that the Emperor would arrive within a few days with Ras Nassibu. Elaborate preparations were made, and the half-finished palace was arranged with all speed."

[L Farago, Abyssinia on the eve, London 1935 (Sthlm 1935) p 241-248(201-209)]

The Emperor made a visit to Harar in May 1935. The about 300 men who had been trained by the Belgians were promoted to be leaders and instructors for further some 1,000 men recruited for training. By that time the Italian consul in Harar did not dare to show himself outside his compound.

[Agge 1935 p 216]

Geoffrey Harmsworth, correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, London, together with photographer Evans, was in Harar during the visit of the Emperor. He was very well received by Haile Selassie (in contrast to General Graziani a little earlier in Mogadisho who did not permit the British reporter anything at all of value).

"The Emperor usually leaves the royal train at Dire Dawa and continues his journey to Harar by air." On this occasion the Royal Family travelled in two imperial Fords and it took longer than expected by road, so the diplomatic corps was kept waiting for three hours on the steps of the Orthodox Cathedral.

Harmsworth and Evans took the bus /partly a lorry?/ which in the dry season used to make the trip Dire Dawa-Harar in three hours. There were six toll-bars on that road.

"At the market square in Harar we were handed over to the Customs officials -- Their inspection is so thorough that even the new first Secretary to the British Legation at Addis Ababa had his diplomatic bags searched at Harar -- The new English Vice-Consul, Chapman Andrews, and his wife and small son had recently arrived -- They live in a house which belongs to the Emperor two miles outside the town (all the Consulates -- lie outside Harar), and it was here that Ras Makonnen himself lived for many years. -- Chapman Andrews is the busiest of the 50 Europeans who live at Harar. Although he and his wife are the only English people between here and Addis Ababa there are several hundred British subjects, Indian merchants for the most part."

"The gates of the town are closed at eight -- By nine at night the whole town is asleep, and any native found abroad at that hour is promptly arrested. -- The only lights are those that twinkle on the round tower of the Palace and the undarkened windows show that the Emperor works while his subjects slumber peacefully below."

"At the back of the Hotel Imperatrice there is a prison. My bedroom balcony overlooked the prison yard where the prisoners assembled two or three times a day. They were manacled in pairs, at the wrist and ankle. -- Around the prison yard there were high fences of barbed wire."

[G Harmsworth, Abyssinian adventure, London 1935 p 174-184]

"There was great excitement at the Harar Wireless Station when I presented my telegram describing my interview with the Emperor. It ran to nearly two thousand words -- Harar had not heard of messages of more than a few hundred words. When I informed the chief operator that the message would be paid for on delivery in London, he eyed me with grave suspicion. Eventually I had to summon the aid of Ato Lorenzo Tazaz /Political Director of the Province of Harar having much contact with the foreigners/. -- My telegram arrived in London within three hours."

When there was to be a military parade just outside the town walls, Harmsworth took the one and only taxi in Harar to the parade ground. It was owned by one Versabedian who was troublesome afterwards in his request for money.

Prince Makonnen was made Duke of Harar on his 14th birthday, and he was being educated by a retired French naval officer, Commandant Henri Cigli.

"-- the Emperor invited me to accompany him to an inspection of the new military equipment buildings. These consisted of a few corrugated iron sheds which contained supplies of khaki tunics (still bearing the brass buttons of an American state), modern Swiss .303 rifles, pom-poms /anti-aircraft weapons/ and maxim guns."

There was also a cavalry review, at the aviation field about 8 km outside the town. While spectators were waiting for this, a line of oxen and cows passed. They were to be killed for the Royal feast. Some of the oxen were covered with cloth "so that the people shall not see the meat before they eat it."

[G Harmsworth, Abyssinian adventure, London 1935 p 174-184]

"Ras Nassibu's /grand *gibr* or feast/ was the biggest in history and no less than 17,000 guests were invited. Ten thousand of that number were warriors, 5,000 of the well-to-do members of the population in the district, and 2,000 were beggars. -- The Lenten fast was over too, so there was nothing to stand in the way of this gargantuan meal."

Tables and seats were placed outside the town gates. New arrivals from outside lived in tents and their camp-fires glowed in the night. One huge tent for guests was capable of holding 4,000 people. "-- when we took our seats the green curtain was pulled up, and we saw the Emperor and his escort squatting on the ground like all the 4,000 guests. At one end of the tent countless newly-slaughtered oxen were hung up. Brisk servants cut off large slices -- I and my companions had European food while our fellow guests swallowed their raw meat -- Each shift had only a few minutes at table, but they managed to eat enough to last for the next day or two -- lashes of hippopotamus whips hurried out the guests who had overstayed their welcome. No sooner was the tent empty than the second shift arrived. -- The fourth and last group had been specially selected, and was allowed to sit on longer -- The bones of two thousand oxen that had been slain that day were scattered round the eating tent. And while the town sang and rushed through the streets -- a secret meeting took place under the chairmanship of the Emperor. All the provincial chiefs -- were present. -- that same evening they all returned to their posts. They took with them the Emperor's order to prepare for war."

[Farago p 249-250 (Swedish ed. p 209-210)]

About a week after the feast, the Emperor visited Jijiga.

In a general *overview* by Adrien Zervos at the time before the Italian occupation, the following is listed:

Ras Makonnen School with 200-250 boys and girls. Amharic, French and Arabic were taught. Director Maurel (Frère Robert) was assisted by two other *frères* of St.Gabriel. Haile Sellassie School founded in 1933.

Catholic School of the French Capuchins, the oldest school of Harar. Teaching of French and Amharic.

Swedish Mission School with teaching of English and Amharic.

Ethiopian government hospital, under construction.

French Hospital, founded in 1902 and designed by architect Chatillon who died at Harar in 1907. Dr. Vitalien was its first director and at the time of this overview it was Dr. Joucla.

Taffari Makonnen Hospital of the Swedish mission, with a young Hungarian doctor Franz Padar. His reason for going to Ethiopia, after a course in the USA, was that he wanted to study about infectious diseases. Dr Padar was able to save 28 wounded men brought to Harar from the Wel Wel incident. He did not sell his photos of the wounds, which seemed to prove that airplanes or tanks had been used by the Italians, as he wanted to be politically neutral in his work.

[L Farago, Abyssinia on the eve, 1935 p 252-254 (Swed. ed. p 211-214)]

Zervos continued:

Ethiopian dispensary directed by Dr. Young, also pharmacies at the two hospitals.

Belgian Military Mission under Commandant André Listray.

Catholic Mission under André Jarousseau, *Supérieur général* of all French missions in Ethiopia.

Customs office in the centre of the town, with Nagadras Haile Mikael and director Lij Acheba.

Full or honorary consuls were Chapman-Andrews of Britain, Jardini of Italy,

Dr Joucla of France, and Bollolakos of Greece.

Hotel de l'Imperatrice owned by Carassallo.

Hotel Ras Makonnen owned by Kyriakos.

Hotel Plakiotis and Hotel Kalambactiasotis.

A branch of the Bank of Ethiopia.

Fruit gardens belonging to I. Haddad, living in Harar since 1905.

One general European Cemetery and one Catholique Cemetery, outside walls.

Commercial firms:

C.M. Mohamedally, branch with headquarters in Addis Abeba

H. Minassian et Fils, branch of Dire Dawa agency

Z. Stephanian, various imports

Lackmichand Bagvandas et Co, cotton goods

A. Pylarinos, export of coffee and hides

J. Tzelatis, colonial goods

C. Kotillian + C. Chronopoulos + C. Karikos, wines and spirits

C. Koutsogeorgis, soap and similar

S. Plakiotis, hotel, café, biljard

G. Scottis, spices, drinks, bread

P. Kontonyanadon + D. Mikalitsianos, export of coffee

C. Paleologos, spices

agency of Said Bazarah, export-import firm founded in 1887

[A. Zervos, *L'Empire d'Ethiopie*, Alexandrie 1936 p 353-359]

In 1935, the post office of Harar was newly erected at Feres Megala. Director of Posts was Ato Tedla Abeyaye with three assistants Avedis, Elyas Indiryas, and Indafrash.

[Wondimu Alemayehu 2003]

Leaving in this year from the BV mission were Josef & Philippa Oredsson and Gerda Nerman. Remaining five staff were Anton & Edith Jönsson, Sigurd & Anna Stark and Ruth Torstensson. Because of the war these left next year on 25 September 1936, the last Swedes in Ethiopia (save for a few Adventists) to do so.

[Mission source]

From Istanbul came three Turkish officers as advisers to Dejazmach Nasibu. They were named Wehib Pasha, Farouk Bey and Tarik Bey. They were sent down to Harar to replace Dothée, the Belgian officer (who was recalled to Addis Abeba). From Harar they studied the moves that had already been made in the Ogaden.

George Steer, *The Times* correspondent, found Dejaz Nasibu 'tall and well built with a hard handsome face'. As Steer returned to Harar from an excursion eastward, he passed reinforcements moving down to Gorrahei (Korahe): one of the two Guards Battalions at Harar, with its commander, Fitawrari Simu. In Harar itself a thousand men of the Dejaz Habte Mikael from a remote southern province were passing through to Jijiga.

[A Mockler, *Haile Selassie's war*, New York 1984 p 51, 53]

Ayelew Mandefro was born in Harar in 1935. As grown-up, he became employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1958-1964 and was ambassador to Somalia in 1970.

1936

Harar was bombed by 33 aircraft on 30 March 1936. Before the attack, the Italians broadcast a message by radio on wavelengths used by the Ethiopians, urging the inhabitants to evacuate the town for safety.

The airplanes started from Korahe and each pilot had an aerial photograph with red circles for targets to be destroyed. There was bomb felling for about an hour, and when the airplanes landed at Korahe again they had flown 900 km in five hours.

[Gentizon, Milano 1937 p 148-149]

By the time of this bombing, Dejaz Nasibu had moved his base forward to Jijiga. By the end of April, Dejaz Nasibu and the other leaders were back in Harar, their levies disintegrating, thinking only of returning to their own lands while the leaders debated. On 30 April Graziani's advanced column entered Degeh Bur. The route to Harar lay almost open.

[Mockler p 127, 129]

The Finnish Red Cross Ambulance used the BV mission hospital in Harar for their headquarters, but in mid-February they sent four motorcars southward to establish a field

hospital at Degeh Bur.

General Guglielmo Nasi (b. 1879) occupied Harar town on 8 May 1936, on the same day as Emperor Haile Selassie arrived to Jerusalem. Nasi was then governor of Harar June 1936-April 1939. The administration was called *Governo dell'Harar*.

Twelve days after the occupation, the Finnish ambulance handed over its patients to Italian ambulances before leaving Ethiopia.

"Nasi's Libyan division had come up from the south across a muletrack, and simultaneously Frusci's mechanized columns moved through the Marda pass and the Babile gap. The pincer movement was unnecessary. There was little resistance, and none organized, though Fitaurai Malion commanding the rearguard had been in Harar only the day before. Two hundred Amhara were killed by Frusci's *dubats* in the exhilaration of reoccupying the second city of the Empire, and then order was restored."

[Mockler p 145]

The Capuchin padre Angelo da Malta (b. 1892) was a missionary in Harar for 22 years, and he left when the occupants arrived and Italian Capuchins took over.

Post office of the Italians was opened 1 June 1936 with material sent by air from Mogadishu on 29 May. This post office was closed on 20 March 1941, six days before the British troops entered. The Italian post used spelling partly HARRAR but mostly HARAR.

As the last Swedes to leave the occupied Ethiopian territory five BV missionaries left Harar on 23 or 25 September. They were the married couples Jönsson and Stark and Nurse Ruth Thorstensson.

[Mission source]

During their brief occupation of Harar a couple of generations earlier, the Egyptians introduced the Hanafite code, one of the recognised systems of Muslim law.

The Italians though it simplest to keep it on in what had earlier been the predominantly Shafi'ite Harar. Harar city had a Hanafite quarter. There were also two Hanafite mosques in Addis Abeba.

[Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia, 1952 p 232]

Wazir Ali Baig, an Indian British subject, was deported from Harar in November 1936 by the Italians. He was a long-time resident of Ethiopia and married to an Ethiopian woman. He gathered information which he gave to Reuters News Agency, and he was instrumental in saving the life of an Englishman named Bunner, whom the Italians had sentenced to death on accusations that he was a spy.

[Ethiopia Observer, Nov 1959 vol III no 10 p 305, 325-326]

1937 Italian labour organization was formalized on 22 January 1937 when *Uffici del lavoro* were established in three provincial towns, among them Harar. The Harar office had branches at Dire Dawa and Jijiga.

[L'industria in A.O.I., 1939]

A building for the market was erected in 1937. The Italians also built a mosque.

Enid Starkie worked for thirty years on the biography of Rimbaud which she published in Oxford in 1937, but she never visited Harar.

1938 Population about 43,000.

The roads Dire Dawa-Harar 50 km and Harar-Jijiga 105 km were gravelled in the 1930s but not asphalted.

The Italians had *Commissariato*, *Municipio*, pharmacy, two Italian banks, *Albergo C.I.A.A.O.* with 24 rooms, *Municipale* with 20 rooms but no restaurant, *Savóia* with 5 rooms and a modest restaurant.

Harar was the first provincial town to get a regulatory plan introduced by the Italians, though only for the main artery through the city.

Some of the Italian services were placed inside the city walls, but the master plan was to build a new city on the western side at the approach from Dire Dawa.

The Italian officials provisionally had their offices in the former residence of the Duke of Harar, just outside the city wall.

Outside the city wall on the eastern side there was a Moslem cemetery and the

leprosarium with about 50 patients. Outside the gate Bab el Salam on the southern side there was a small market. At some distance to the south-west there was the former British Consulate. North of the city there was a European cemetery.

In the new city to the west outside the wall there were such buildings as the *Casa del Fascio*, a cinema and Albergo C.I.A.A.O. The Italian armed forces used as headquarters that of the former Belgian military mission.

[Guida 1938, with maps p 446-447, 449]

Before the Italian arrival the leprosarium at a few hundred metres outside the South Gate had some 100 lepers living in a kind of village of round huts surrounding a building with sheet iron roof and a wooden bell tower. Some 250 more were treated in the out-patients clinic.

Père Charles had worked there for some 35 years. He built a special hut to use in case he would become infected himself, but this did not happen. Dr. Féron from Toulouse worked there for some years before 1936, without salary. He experimented with various healing substances, among them *chaulmoogra* oil from a tree of that name.

[Huyn & Kalmer, Abessinien 1935 p 202-204]

In February 1938 the SIMBA, a new farming company, made its appearance and leased substantial areas of land. In August on the plains of El Faddis, near Harar, "thirty-five tractors, each fitted with a set of four ploughshares, started an unusual agricultural race, followed by twenty modern sowing machines. At the end of the ceremony some bewildered native onlookers were overheard to ask whether they might not hire one of the machines that 'did the work of a hundred oxen'."

[F Quaranta, Ethiopia .., London 1939 p 55]

An undertaking registered for road transport was Spagliardi & Co. and one for wood industry was Mann & Rossi. A building contractor was Giovanni Cerrator.

On 22 December the Italian colonial government and the Swedish BV mission signed a sales agreement by which the Italians acquired the mission station against payment corresponding to construction cost of the buildings.

[Mission source]

- 1939 For electric power supply, the Italians had by 1939 upgraded an existing plant with motorcar engines and installed an oil engine and two gas engines with a combined capacity of 520 horsepower.

When Nasi was transferred from Harar he was replaced as Governor by Enrico Cerulli, who is said to have been very displeased to be placed in Harar.

- 1941 "After a last fight at the Bisidimo river ten miles outside Harar, the Nigerians entered the city. They netted an 'embarrassing amount of prisoners' - which brought the total number taken in six weeks' campaigning to nearly 50,000, or roughly three times the strength of the invading force."

From Debre Markos the boy Duke of Harar was flown by the British to Harar to take up official residence in the Governor's Palace.

[A Mockler, Haile Selassie's war, New York 1984 p 367, 377]

Ras Andargachew Mesay (b. circa 1902) became Deputy Governor General of Harar for a period 1941-1942.

- 1942 In a decree of 1942, Harar is listed as one of only six "Schedule A" municipalities in Ethiopia, to be compared with about a hundred in "Schedule B".

"Except to the west where the Italians laid out a new town, there is hardly a building outside the walls." [D Buxton]

The missionary Anton Jönsson of the Swedish Mission BV arrived to their former mission station in Harar already in 1942, having accompanied a group of more than 2000 Ethiopians repatriated from Kenya. He was commissioned to start and direct a school in Harar for refugees, and this was later named Haile Selassie I School. He was the only Swede in Harar until 1945, but with the aid of local assistants work at the mission was also resumed.

[Mission source]

- 1944 A Teachers' Training School was started (in Addis Abeba?) in 1944. It was situated a

little outside the walled town of Harar, on the road to Dire Dawa, in buildings taken over from the Italians. The School was staffed by the British Council during the initial period. The training course covered three years.

1946 Missionary Anton Jönsson could return to the former premises of BV in the beginning of 1946, first without his family. Sigurd and Anna Stark returned to Ethiopia during the year, having been there last in 1935. They met again Dessalegn, Denneqe, Wartanosh, and (female) Enkoye and others. The mission had a boarding school with about 100 children. Anna Stark worked as a midwife although BV did not have a hospital of its own. The Stark couple moved to Addis Abeba in the latter part of 1946, but in February 1948 they returned to Harar more permanently. However, Sigurd Stark was called by headquarters to work in Stockholm, so the family left Harar on one of the last days of 1950.

Enok & Magda Salomonsson with two daughters arrived. Miss Petrea Paulsson was another Swedish BV missionary there from early 1946 until the end of 1950. She died in Ethiopia soon after, in 1951.

Next to the mission lived two Italians, professor Moratti and one Fornazér.

[BV julkalender 1989 (Sthlm) p 32-46]

The Swedish artist Björn von Rosen spent some time in Harar around 1946 and wrote 56 pages about it (in Swedish language) in his book "Berget och solen". He found the surrounding landscape to be just as Richard Burton had described it in 1855.

Because of the pleasant climate, French employees in Djibouti liked to spend some time in Harar during June-September. The British in town were mostly officers in the late 1940s. The British consul said that "There is more colour in Damascus."

The Greek merchant Costa had a shop corner at the market, and there some of the old men of the city could be met and their stories listened to, such as Hadji Abdurrachman Izza, a "legend" believed by the local people to be 108 years old.

As far back as local tradition could know, the Harari language was written with Arabic script.

According to von Rosen, the Amharic Vice-Governor at the time, Blatta Ayele Gabriele, was respected as a good administrator. The public offices of the governor and the mayor were just at the border between the old and the new parts of the city.

It was difficult for visitors to take photos in 1946, but by 1949 tourists could do it fairly undisturbed.

Burton had mentioned a stone called *Gay Humburti* being the "navel of the city" and used by Emir Nur to stand on when making speeches. Old men knew about this stone, and von Rosen found that the Italians had erected a building so that an external wall covered at least half of the stone. Its location is in the very centre of old Harar (sketch map on page 377 in von Rosen's book, also on p 157 in Aubert 1999).

Emir Nur's tomb is north of the old minarets, in the centre of the eastern of the two Moslem parts of Harar. Its egg-shaped chamber has a low door, and to the left inside is Nur's coffin which almost fills the room. It is covered with large sheets of paper, with (probably) prayers written in Arabic. Three ostrich eggs hang from the roof. (Ostrich eggs are not a specifically Moslem symbol, they are used also by the Coptic Church in Egypt and the Orthodox Church in Ethiopia.)

[B von Rosen, Berget och solen, 1949 p 142-183]

1947 The Makonnen Haile Selassie I Hospital was opened within the period 1947-1950, and the first Medical Congress was held there on that occasion.

When Elsa Olofsson arrived new to BV, there were the Jönssons, the Salomonsson and Petrea Paulsson. The Salomonsson family moved to Kenya in 1948.

Axel B Svensson, head in Sweden of the BV Mission, arrived on a visit to Harar in the second half of November 1947.

The former mission hospital was then a government hospital with Italian doctors. The Swedish mission had a school with 140 children.

Svensson was invited by Prince Makonnen, Duke of Harar and officially the town's Governor, who told him that when their first child was born there had been a salute with cannon. This had not been an Ethiopian custom before, but the Swedish doctor Norup

who assisted at the delivery (in Addis Abeba) had told him that it was done in Europe. The BV mission school in Harar had originally been given a very spacious site. During the occupation the Italians built a church on the upper part of the site. When the school site was restored to the BV after the liberation, this church was also first given to the Swedish mission, but this caused protest from the Catholics in Harar. After a while the building was turned into a hospital for patients suffering from tuberculosis. In 1947 it was still uncertain to whom it would finally belong.

[A B Svensson, *Det återuppståndna Etiopien*, (Sthlm) 1948 p 100-105]

1948 In April 1948 there was considerable agitation in Harar for the regional independence of the whole province. [Trimingham 1952]

The bishop of Harar, Abuna Theophilos, was one of two Ethiopian delegates to an assembly held at Amsterdam in 1948. The Ethiopian Church in that year became a founding member of the World Council of Churches.

1949 In 1949 the capacity of the hospitals in the town was:

Makonnen Haile Selassie Hospital 2 doctors. 150 beds

Ras Makonnen Hospital 1 doctor, 100 beds

Tafari Makonnen (tuberculosis) Hospital 1 doctor, 100 beds

Leprosarium 1 doctor, 250 beds.

Missionaries Gunnar and Carla Nilsson arrived to the Swedish BV Mission in October 1949. Before them at the station were Elsa Olofsson (Bengtsson) and since 1946 Petrea Paulsson. The Nilssons stayed for a number of years and after a while became the only BV missionaries in Harar. Of their three children daughters were born in Harar in 1951 and 1954.

1950s Some artists from various times with connections to Harar:

Abebe Wolde Giorgis (1897-1967) was born in Harar. He studied art in France for 18 years. During 1940-1967 he contributed art works to public buildings in Addis Abeba - Parliament, Municipality, Menelik II Secondary School. [Eth. Artists p 16-17]

Gebre Kristos Desta (1932-1980) was born in Harar and started his schooling there.

He continued at the University College and at an art academy in Cologne (Köln, Germany). Some of his works in Ethiopia are found in hotels and banks.

[Eth. Artists p 46-47]

Taye Tadesse Gebre-Selassie was born in Selale in 1945, taught art for a while at the Harar Teacher Training Institute before going to the USA for studies in 1975. He wrote the book "Ethiopian Artists" used as the source here, and it was published part I in 1984 and part I+II in 1991. There are photos of the artists. [Eth. Artists p 180-181]

Teshome Bekele used Harar as his favourite subject. He was born in Shewa in 1950 and graduated from the Art School in 1973. [Eth. Artists p 186-187]

Tibebe Terffa Mamecha was born in Harar in 1949 and went to Harar Medhane Alem high school before graduating from the Art School in Addis Abeba in 1973. His native Harar is his favourite subject. [Eth. Artists p 188-189]

Taye Kebede Zeleke was born in Addis Abeba in 1951 but he completed his secondary education at the Medhane Alem School in Harar and then went to the Art School. He did research on graphic art in Thailand. Among his works are designs for postal stamps. [Eth. Artists p 212-213]

The famous artist *Afewerk Tekle* made at least 30 paintings in Harar from 1957 until the early 1970s. His equestrian statue of Ras Makonnen is the most important of Afewerk's few monumental sculptures. It was designed in 1967-68 and cast in bronze in Yugoslavia. In 1958 Afewerk also made a stained-glass composition "Four Great Warriors" for Harar. [Source: de luxe edition about Afewerk printed in Addis Abeba in 1987]

1950 An excursion to Harar circa 1950: "One of the American women bought a pair of Harari trousers. She wanted to try them on and found she could not get her foot through the leg. Ethiopians have slender legs and small feet. She finally decided that she could wear them if they had a zipper, so she bought them anyway."

[E Heffner, *Ethiopia . land beyond the Rift*, USA 1957 p 124]

1953 A series of seismic shocks in the Harar region in 1953 caused damage also in the town,

but no other earthquake has been reported from the area.

[P Gouin]

The BV Mission 8-grade school in 1953 had 170 male and 90 female students. 40 of the students were boarders. There were evening classes for adult students. Teachers were the Swedes Gunnar and Carla Nilsson and the Ethiopians Worqalemmahu Negerie (being also pastor), Dessalegn Deggefu, Abebe Gashawbeza, Teshome Zerrefu, Wubishet Lemma, Haile Mesqel Tesemma, and Asfaw Gedle Giyorgis.

Three children were baptized at the BV Mission in 1953, but one of them died soon afterwards.

Their book distributor Paulus Yosef sold about 1000 publications during the year. A large number of these were in Arabic.

[BV report for 1953, Sthlm 1954]

1954 In the telephone directory there were 57 numbers for Harar. The only ones with private firm or personal names were Ahmed Ali, Besse & Co., Dr Diggs, Fitawrari Feleke, Gelatis, D. Livierato, F. Livierato, Meteri, Tilota Santo, Haji Yusuf. There was still a British Consulate. Grand Hotel and Yohannes Hotel were the ones having telephone. The highest Christian authority was Bitsu Abuna Teofilos (with spelling Bitsue Abune Tewoflos in the 1967 directory).

The four-year Teachers' Training School in 1954 had 253 students.

In that year there were 24 foreigners employed by the Eth. government as teachers in secondary-level schools in Harar.

1955 "In January 1955 a conference was called at Harar between British Somaliland and Ethiopian officials to implement the British withdrawal by March 1 -- It was a tumultuous affair. By the end of January some 10,000 Somalis were protesting daily in Hargeisa -- against the London agreement. -- the British sought a six-week's delay. Ethiopia refused to modify the terms of the agreement -- The hand-over took place as agreed, on February 28."

[J H Spencer, Ethiopia at bay, 1984 p 282]

Dejazmach Kifle Irgetu (b. 1906) was Deputy Governor General of Hararge 1955-1961, and then he became Minister of State for Public Security which he had been also before (the Duke of Harar was officially the Governor, so Kifle Irgetu was his representative). Headmaster of the Teachers' Training School around 1955 was Mr Ramsbottam, whose origin was half English, half Indian.

Harar Oil and Soap Factories (Zecou Brothers) had an enterprise for vegetable oils and soap (-1955-).

"On three sides the walls of Harar are still inviolate. I know of no other medieval city except Avila which has kept its looks so well.

From outside the city the honey-coloured stucco betrays the grateful patina of age; the loose plaster flakes from swallow-tail battlements and stone gateways alike; and the solid walls still rise grandly from the empty hills -- Within the walls the crooked medieval streets still uncoil in lazy spirals from the bazaar quarter; there is the Street of the Singers, the Street of Compassion and the Street of Silversmiths; along these, Harari women still take their wares to market, their indigo robes decorated with scarlet lozenges at front and back --"

[T Pakenham, The mountains of Rasselas, London 1959 (1998) p 28]

1956 By the end of 1955 it had become apparent that something had to be done to quiet the uproar about Britain handing over Ogaden to Ethiopia. "Another conference was held in January 1956, again at Harar, under the chairmanship of Colonel Kifle Ergetou -- Soon it reached a critical stage and at that point /the Emperor's adviser John Spencer/ was called down from Addis Ababa. Once again, this conference at Harar, like its predecessor, failed to smooth away the frictions to which the 1954 London agreement had given rise. -- With the union of the two Somalilands on July 1, 1960 Britain's role in the Horn was at an end." [Spencer 1984 p 282, 287]

The Teachers' Training College in 1956-57 had
first year 92 boys, 10 girls

second year 76 boys, 2 girls

third year 64 boys, 6 girls

fourth year 61 boys, 1 girl

A teacher of psychology there around 1956-1957 was a Norwegian Carsten Johnsen who taught three parallel classes of 25 students each. They in turn could practice teaching at the Model School. Two-three teachers stayed all the time at the Grand Hotel where they were almost alone in the dry season, but from June the hotel became completely filled by tourists mostly from Djibouti.

"Harar is full of donkeys. The post office is an important institution. One can for example send letters from there, on days when they have stamps. Last week they had two, one of 20 cents and one of 50 cents. - Which one do you prefer?"

There were many gatherings in the town on 13 May 1957, when they learnt that the Duke of Harar was dead. People gathered especially at the Medhane Alem Church.

[C Johnsen, *Eventyrlige Etiopia*, Oslo 1958 (Sthlm 1960) p 156-167]

The BV mission family Nilsson were about to leave for Sweden after working seven years in Ethiopia, and there was a farewell service for them on 14 August 1956.

French families from Djibouti, with children, stayed at the main hotel even in this August. There was kept a young kudu at the hotel for guests to play with.

[B Lindahl from visit]

1957 There were about 275 motor vehicles registered in Harar in 1957.

The Medhane Alem School and the Teacher Training School were two out of only 9 provincial secondary schools in Ethiopia (when not counting Eritrea).

1958 After his visit to India in 1956, the Emperor arranged for Indian officers to organize and staff a military college in Ethiopia. The Haile Selassie I Military Academy was established in Harar in 1958. Courses started on 5 May 1958 with forty cadets.

Its first principal was Brigadier General N.C. Rawlley of the Indian Army, and Major Sen was his deputy. Of the staff nine officers were from India. The Academy provided a three-year degree course. It was officially opened by the Emperor on 7 October 1958. The first graduation ceremony was on 1 October 1960.

[Muthanna, *Indo-Ethiopian relations ...*, 1961 p 185-186]

Medhane Alem Secondary School in 1958 had 231 male and 3 female students, and in 1960 there were 423 male and 10 female students.

The Teacher Training School in 1958 had 327 male and 13 female students, and in 1960 there were 272 male and 5 female students. It was a 4-year course, and applicants should have completed grade 9.

In one of the schools there was a Swedish physical training teacher Stig Sjöde with wife Karin and no children.

At the Swedish BV Mission in the beginning of 1958 there were Helge Lundh (b 1934) with wife Paula (b 1931) and no children, and they stayed for most of the 1960s, but Paula Lundh was teacher at the Swedish school in Addis Abeba by early 1970.

1959 Provincial Director of Hararge Teklay Gizat was Ato Nigatu W. Giorgis, and Secretary General was Grazmach Kidane Haile.

Director of Security (Hararge being the only province having such post at this time?) was Ato Wolde Samayat Gabre Wolde.

Provincial chief of police was Lt.Col. Seyoum Gessesse and deputy chief was Lt.Col. Asress Gabre Selassie.

The Ras Makonnen Hospital was brought under central administration of the Haile Selassie I Foundation.

"The economic assistance /from USA in 1959/ was designed to supplement Ethiopia's ability to support a planned reorganization of the military into three divisions headquartered in Addis Ababa, Harar, and Asmera and to help build an infrastructure to support a modest but modern jet air force."

[Marcus 1994 p 162]

An analysis of the cadets at the Harar Military Academy in 1959-60 provided the following distribution:

- 11% upper class
- 53% middle class
- 21% lower class
- 3% peasant class
- 13% no reply

or from a somewhat different angle:

- 21% landowning upper class
- 55% other landowning
- 20% landless peasant
- 4% unknown

Thus well over 50 per cent of the Harar intake came from the landowning classes, and the figure was rising during the 1960s.

[Gilkes 1975 p 86]

BV Mission School had about 375 pupils in grades 1-8, with teacher/director Helge Lundh and his wife Paula as the only Swedish staff, while the mission had education work with local staff also at Dire Dawa and Alem Maya.

[Mission source]

1960 Among those who passed 8th-grade examination in 1960 were 24 students at the Teacher Training Model School.

The newly-built Police Officers' Club was visited by the Emperor and Empress in August 1960. During the same tour the Emperor named the Imperial Palace in Harar with the new name *Misrake Tsehay* (Sun of the East).

Kenyazmach Asfaw Habte Mariam was appointed Mayor of the city of Harar on 22 August 1960.

Ato Zeudie Awoke was appointed Chief Treasurer of Hararge in October 1960.

An agreement signed with the American company RCA on 10 September 1960 concerned construction of several 1 kW radio transmitters in the provinces, of which one in Harar. [News]

The equestrian statue of Ras Makonnen, sculptured by Afewerk Tekle, was unveiled on 1 October 1960, when the Emperor also commissioned the 35 first graduates of the Military Academy. Twelve nations were represented by military delegations at the ceremony. The young officers were posted in Army and Bodyguard units shortly before the attempted *coup* in December, and thus found themselves in opposing camps during that affair.

A female tourist visit about this time: "A wide avenue led towards Harar's walled city and we passed the Grand Hotel, the Military Academy, the Emperor's summer palace set in an incredibly colourful garden, the Vice-Governor's office and the House of the Duke which is now used as the Municipal Government Headquarters. Many of these large buildings were erected by the Italians, but unlike those in Gondar, were being used."

"Ahead of us was the Medhane Alem Church and we passed through the high arch into the enclosure where a priest was conducting a class of small boys under the trees. -- The octagonal church had two roofs, and the lower one extended over the surrounding verandah. The eaves of the roofs were highly decorated with filigree woodwork and at the apex there was an elaborate ten-pointed/?/ maskal and on each tip an ostrich egg."

"Margaret had known the manager of the Grand Hotel when he was a waiter at the Ras Hotel in Addis Ababa -- 'I shall send up some water in a bucket. There is not any left in the taps.' The hotel was preparing for the influx of French tourists who come from French Somaliland during the summer months. French used to be the second language in Harar, and it is still the most useful."

The French also established the leper colony that stands on the north side of the town; "it is a collection of gaily painted huts under trees, and cured lepers help in the running of it. Moslems and Christians live amicably together, and many married /leper/ couples have children, for, with the help of Avlo-sulphon, the parents are almost completely non-infectious when the children arrive."

"The winding Rimbaud Street led off the Faras Magala Square and we passed an ornate old archway, very Arab in character, with faded lettering announcing that it had been the

Ottoman Bank in the last century. Rubble lay beyond the arch -- We came to the Mosque of Jamai, with its twin minarets mentioned by so many travellers and where, as a reminder of olden days, there is a plaque warning the inhabitants to 'beware of the attacks of the Gallas'. Opposite the Mosque was a small house with a gable roof, and a jaunty little clock, painted on its eaves, was set at eleven forty-five, though no one could tell us why." "Above us a narrow track led to the ruins of the Castle Anbesa built by Ras Makonnen for Menelik II, though the king was never able to visit it. During the Italian war it was damaged and now a friendly Harari family live in a few rooms on the ground-floor. We risked the falling stairway to explore the pleasant, almost intimate, rooms above and to gaze at the beautiful city below. Carved lions, which give the castle its name, look down from the high parapet."

"Hassan had been feeding the hyenas for ten years, and many of them slept with him in the compound. At times there were as many as fifty sleeping around the *tukul*, enough to kill many men if they became disturbed. Hyenas, the old man told us, always have two cubs at a time, Occasionally as he talked he would pause and call out: Ha! Ha! Abdul! Birolle! Zacheria!"

[B Toy, In search of Sheba, London 1961 p 200-207]

By 1960 Harar had one of the ten municipal slaughter houses in Ethiopia.

Tewoflos (Theofilos) was bishop of Harar in the 1960s and acting Patriarch during Abuna Basiliyos's senility.

1961 The BV missionaries Helge and Paula Lundh left Harar in September or October. By April 1965 (at least) they were back there again.

1962 Sidney R. Waldron in 1962 had a research project on social structure of the city of Harar, with recording and analysis of interpersonal relationship (his dissertation - see "texts" below at year 1974)

Kenyazmach Belayneh Wolde Yohannes was appointed administrator of the Development and Culture /Cultivation?/ Department on 8 October 1962.

The first large group of *US Volunteers* started in 1962 mainly as teachers at the Medhane Alem junior secondary school and the Teacher Training Institute.

1962-64: * Carolyn Allen * Hayward F. Allen * Beulah D. Bartlett

* Madeline A. Bastis * Carolyn Behr * John F. Bond * James H. Brannon

* Randolph Bullock * Carol Clouser * Richard Cowan

* Charlotte M. Crawford (until 1966) * Adrienne Damon * Irene Embrey

* ... E... * Michael Esselstrom * Peter G. Gesell * John R. Hagenbuch (to 1965)

* William P. Hart * Jon O. Heise * (Frances R.) Bob Horn

* Adrienne Damon Katter * Eldon Katter * Roberta Quarles Knowles

* Jasperdean Kobes * Danny G. Langdon * Patricia O'Hara Langdon

* Carolrhoda Locketz * Joanna London * Harold Malveau * Blythe Monroe

* Cora Moorhead * Ralph Newman * Janet L. Nickerson * William L. Nickerson

* Patricia O'Hara * Leonard S. Orzech * Roberta Quarles * Herbert A. Resnick

* Carol Clouser Richert * Kent Richert * Carolrhoda Locketz Rozell

* Herbert Sigman * Edgar C. Warren * Mary L. Wood-Glisson

1963-65: * Robert Albritton * Burr Angle * Patricia M. Egan /Bolles/ (to 1966)

* Rene Bayorek Tesfai

1964-66: * Roger W. Atwood (to 1967) * Barbara R. Buckingham

* C.J. Smith Castagnaro (to 1969) * Joseph M. Ciuffini * Emily Cotter

* Susan C. Czernicka * Marilla M. Featherstone /Davison/

* Margo R. Frye /Effland/ * Barry L. Frank * Rayna D. Green (to 1965)

* Dorothy M. Gustafson * Maura L. Hurley * Stephen L. Johnson

* Frieda J. Kellams * Roberta C. Kramer * Linda L. Lewin * Mary Macur

* Howard P. Matthews * May M. Matthews * Carol Mauritsen-McDonald

* Thomas D. McCracken * Stephen K. Moody * James G. Paradis

* Therman A. Ragar, Jr (to 1967) * Audrie A. Reicherter

* Charles (Chick) Reicherter * Herbert Mac Reynolds * Emily Cotter Richardson

* Eleanor L. Shumway (also 68-69) * Robert J. Slattery * Nelson K. Stahlman

- * Wilma Woods (to 1967)
- 1965-67: * Patrick D. Connors * Andreas J. Martin (to 1968)
 * Janet M. Worth Moen * Dinah E. Wolfe (only 1965]
- 1966-68: * Jeffrey Borak * Leah Bogush Carlisle * Catherine E. Kleinsmith
- 1967-69: * Ida Marie Biron * Joanne Millery Bittle
 * Richard E. Buhrendorf (to 1970) * Robert E. Dills (to 1968)
 * Charles Henry Eilers * Nany Carolyn Lightfoot * Thomas O. Lucas (to 1968)
 * Karen MacDonald Rosenthal (to 1968) * Rosalie Ann Rybicki
 * Sharon Ann Smart * Ray Lewis Sweany * Linda Weaver
- 1968-70: * Mavis Jean Baatz * Lorraine D. Beauchesne * Richard J. Behenna
 * Sandra L. Behenna * Bruce F. Elowitz * Mavis Jean Baatz Habte
 * Tom Hill * Timothy Sean Kelley * Robert C. Swaffar
 * Lily Kay Walker /Swaffer/
- 1969-71: * William R. Bennington (to 1970) * Robert M. Fenske (to 1972]
 * Eileen Morrison * Diane Rausch
- 1963 The average daily traffic on the Dire Dawa side in 1963 was 169 buses, 80 cars, and 55 trucks. Ditto on the Jijiga side was 24 buses, 14 cars, and 21 trucks. Swedish BV missionaries Paula and Helge Lundh returned to Harar in April.
- 1964 Mayor (-1964-) was Fitawrari Twahde.
 Stone crushing for road work started in April 1964 at a plant established at Harar. It belonged to the Swedish contractor Skanska, so for a while there were many Swedes in Harar, not only the BV mission family. Newspapers said that asphaltting of the 55 km road from Dire Dawa started on 2 April 1964.
- 1965 Deputy Governor-General from January 1965 was Lt.General Kebede Gabre.
 Assistant Deputy Governor-General around 1964-65 was Fitawrari Demissie Teferra.
 In 1965 Harar had five industrial establishments: 3 wood, 2 beverages. Harar in the 1960s also had two of the eight most important flour mills in Ethiopia (if two in Asmara in Eritrea are not counted).
 Asphaltting of the road Harar-Dire Dawa was ready by August 1965.
 Official statistics for 1965 say that there were 3,370 owned, 7,440 rented, and 1,190 unspecified dwellings.
 Of these 3,010 used piped water, 1,510 water from wells and 7,440 from streams.
 1.4% of the households had flush toilets, 54.0% had pit latrines, and 43.8% had none.
 28% of the males and 32% of the females living there were born in the town.
 (It is said that Hararis usually do not have more than one wife.)
 The Extension Program of the university in Addis Abeba had 15 students in Harar.
 Tourist guide points: Facing Ras Lul Makonnen Square is part of the Military Academy. East of the square is the *Academy chapel* with two cannons in front. Its two stained glass windows are a work by Afework Tekle.
 East of the Academy on the main street are the Municipality and the provincial headquarters. The older structure near the city walls is called the *House of the Duke* since it served as the offices of the Duke of Harar. The nearby gate in the city wall is called *Gate of the Duke* and was built in 1889 as an addition to the original five gates.
Medhane Alem Church on a site where the Egyptians built a mosque in 1875. When Menilek II conquered the city the Emir refused to recognize him unless he became a Moslem. Menelik's answer to the Emir was to construct a Christian church on the site of the former mosque. "The church is kept locked, and you may have some difficulty finding the person with the key."
 Next to the tomb of Ahu Said Ali is a street which goes north from the Moslem market to the *Mosque of Jami*. The mosque was probably built in the 1500s, but the slender minaret, called "Al Suhayle", was built in 1761-1762. Women are not allowed to enter the grounds of the mosque, and photography is not permitted.
 Of the two gates built in 1889, the Berbera Gate was closed by the Italians, but the Gate of the Duke has become the main entrance to the old city.
 "At present the only hotel in Harar suitable for visitors is the Ras. -- Three blocks east of

the Ras Hotel, just off the main street to the south, is the Asfa Wossen Hotel -- The rates are low and the rooms clean. In case no rooms are available in Harar, it is advisable to stay in Dire Dawa."

There is one cinema, just a few buildings from the main square.

[Welcome to Ethiopia, A.A. ca 1965, p 89-94]

On 11 October 1965 President Radhakrishna of India and the Emperor of Ethiopia attended the closing of courses at the Military Academy.

1966 In 1966 it was decided that a contractor would be engaged to design a master plan for Harar.

On 1 August 1966 the Emperor inaugurated a new school designated to serve 500 children of soldiers who had lost their lives in defence of Ogaden. On 20 August he visited a new church dedicated to Ras Makonnen. On 19 November he distributed grades to 53 who had finished courses at the Military Academy.

1967 Population counted as 42,771. Illiteracy 61.9%.

There was (-1967-) a 100 kW radio transmitting station.

By 1967 the telephone directory had 236 numbers for Harar. Of these about 80 were for imperial, public and military authorities, only about 15 for large firms, about 20 for schools, hospitals and missions (Ras Makonnen Theological School is not mentioned elsewhere here). Numbers on personal names were about 60 on Christian-type Ethiopian names, about 40 on Moslem-type names, 5 Italian and about 5 for other nationalities. The most outstanding personal telephone was probably for Major General Aman Andom. There was a French Consul (but no British any more) and a French military camp. The Americans closed the USIS Library in Harar in 1967.

In that year the Teacher Training Institute had 313 students in grade 3 and 222 in grade 4, but none in grades 1-2.

On 20 August 1967 the Emperor inaugurated a new infirmary for old people with a capacity of 80 individuals.

Closing ceremony for the 8th batch of students at the Military Academy, in the presence of the Emperor. So far 376 cadets had graduated from there, of which 28 from other African countries.

1968 Deputy Governor-General in early 1968 was Dejazmach Workineh Wold Ammanuel. According to the Central Statistical Office in 1968, population was 42,771. Mother tongue was stated to be 57% Amharic, 8% Oromo and 33% "other"(Harari). There were 35% Muslims. 60% of the inhabitants at that time were born in Harar.

Six primary schools with grades 1-6 had the following size according to a Ministry of Education census (1960 E.C.):

Haile Selassie I School had 536 boys and 402 girls,
with 19 male and 4 female teachers;

Prince Mekonnen School had 424 boys and 298 girls,
with 12 male and 2 female teachers;

Woizero Yeshimebet School had 479 girls, with 5 male and 6 female teachers
(very unusual in Ethiopia with a pure girls' school and a majority of female teachers,
name of the school is in memory of the Emperor's mother);

Model School I had 168 boys and 133 girls,
with 10 male teachers and one female;

Model School II had 232 boys and 151 girls,
with 6 male and 4 female teachers;

Islam School had 474 boys and 262 girls,
with 15 male and and 3 female teachers.

Three private primary schools in the awraja
were probably located in Harar city (?):

Kesate Berhan Samrawi School had 207 boys and 135 girls,
with 7 male teachers and one female;

Mulatu Gebre Meskel School had 126 boys and 116 girls in grades 1-3,
with 2 male teachers and one female;

Gebre Giyorgis Wolde School had 12 boys and 29 girls in grades 1-2, with one male teacher (majority of girls very unusual in a mixed school).

There were also mission primary schools:

Swedish Mission BV School had 136 boys and 192 girls, with 5 male and 3 female teachers;

Bethlehem School had 72 boys and 87 girls, with 4 male and 5 female teachers, four of these foreign (another example of more girls than boys and more female teachers);

Abune Inderis C. M. had 46 boys and 56 girls in grades 1-3, with one male and 2 female teachers (even there more girls).

At the junior secondary level there were six schools:

Haile Selassie I School had 233 male and 161 female students in grades 7-8, with 7 teachers of which one foreign;

Prince Mekonnen School had 229 male and 134 female students in grades 7-8, with 11 teachers of which 3 foreign;

Teacher Training Institute had 515 male and 53 female students, with 34 teachers of which 23 foreign;

Leul Ras Mekonnen Church School had 106 male and no female students in grades 7-8, with 3 teachers of which one foreign;

Swedish BV Mission School had 49 male and 25 female students in grades 7-8, with 4 teacher of which one foreign;

Bethlehem School had 12 male and 18 female students in grades 7-8, with one (Ethiopian) teacher.

BV missionaries Josef and Philippa Oredsson arrived around June 1968. They had worked in Ethiopia already in the 1930s and 1940s.

The Emperor distributed the grades to 35 cadets at the *Military Academy* on 9 November 1968.

Next day the Emperor laid the foundation stone of a public library, and it was announced that a recreation centre would be established in the former Ras Makonnen Palace.

1969

"The Harar Palace was built by Ras Makonnen. Bombed during the last war, the building is mainly in ruins, but the graceful stone facade with its complex arches and balconies can still be seen.

The house where the Emperor spent his childhood is also standing and is a good example of nineteenth-century Ethiopian architecture.

At the foot of Mount Ghirella, to the south of the city, is the Ras Makonnen Mausoleum, built by Emperor Haile Selassie I in memory of his father. This building, crowned by a silver dome, is in fact a memorial, for the remains of the Ras are buried in the church of St. Michael, at the foot of the hill."

[Ethiopia - the official handbook, 1969 p 172]

On 10 November 1968, in the presence of the Emperor, the remains of some men who had died when fighting in Ogaden were deposited in the Ras Makonnen Mausoleum as a sign of honour.

The Amaresa edible oil factory employed 105 people and Babile Mineral Water factory employed 50.

Municipal development plans included to build a mental hospital, a home for the physically disabled, and a school for children who had lost their fathers in border clashes with Somalia.

"The large Ras Hotel is the only hotel which can really be recommended. -- The Asfa Wossen Hotel is cheaper but offers only moderate amenities."

There was one cinema. For air travel there was Dire Dawa, one hour away by asphalted road.

[Ethiopia - the official handbook, 1969 p 227]

During a tour in August 1969, the Emperor opened a vocational school attached to the

Abraha Bahta home for the aged, both of them established by the Haile Selassie I Foundation.

22 cadets were commissioned at the Military Academy in November 1969.

At the Medhane Alem school one teacher was from the British Voluntary Service.

1970s Late-comers among the US Volunteers were Phillip B. Kneller (1970-72), Carol A. Randall (1973-74), Dennis Bethea (1974), Gabrielle Dolphin (1974-75), Paul F. Weissleder (1974-76).

1970 Per (b 1934) and Kristina (b 1931) Ingvert arrived to the BV mission around January 1970 as the only Swedes there, and they stayed until the beginning of 1972. Also in 1970-1972 worked volunteer Britta Antonsson (b 1944) as home economist teacher at the Teacher Training Institute. There was probably also a volunteer Sven Eriksson (b 1936) being a carpenter and working for the Haile Selassie I Foundation. [Swedish address lists]

On 28 February 1970 Mekonnen Hagos was shot outside Asfa Wossen Hotel and died shortly afterwards in the hospital. He was born at Harar, studied at the university in Addis Abeba and was doing his national service year at Harar. At his funeral on 1st March thousands of students and others gathered, and the school where he had been teaching went on strike. Mekonnen somehow belonged to the student movement. His friends were convinced that he had been shot by the police. The killing of Tilahun Gizaw in Addis Abeba on 28 December 1969 and of another student in Debre Birhan were seen as parallel cases.

[Agneta Pleijel et al, Etiopien Kenya Tanzania Zambia, Sthlm 1971 p 18-20]

Volunteer Sven Ericsson left around August 1970 after having worked for the Haile Selassie I Foundation.

1971 Hanna Karin Stark returned around December 1971 to work at the BV mission, and another new arrival about the same time was Lars Petersson to work at EPID as SIDA-employed area supervisor; his contract period was November 1971-October 1973..

1974 The Third Army Division was placed at Harar, and its main task was to protect the border towards Somalia. They made their own local revolt on 8 April 1974, took control of the city and its radio station and issued statements.

[Bondestam 1975 p 170]

Around March 1974 the Third Division in Harar and the Ogaden - commanded by Lt.General Nega Tegegne who was married to the Emperor's granddaughter, Princess Ruth - alone among the army divisions seemed to accept their senior officers for the present. But the Harar Military Academy was rebel-minded.

[C Legum, Ethiopia .., London 1975 p 42]

The future head of state Mengistu Haile Mariam was ordnance officer in the Third Division at Harar in 1974, when he and others were chosen to represent the Division in the Derg.

Troops of the 3rd Division occupied the radio station and other public installations in Harar from 7 April 1974. Lt.-Gen. Haile Baikedagn resigned. The troops returned to their barracks on the next day. The Commander of the 3rd Division, Major-General Nega Tegegn, seems to have been released from house arrest.

[News]

May 1974: "Parliament was the scene of considerable activity /in the beginning of the revolution/ -- the Deputies urged measure after measure on the Endalkatchew administration. All the while, the Ethiopian press criticized and heckled them to such an extent that the press coverage of Parliament became a subject for debate in itself."

"The chief instigator of all this government-baiting was the Harar MP, Major Admassie Zeleke -- Finally, on May 18 the Major announced that he was resigning as an MP in protest at 'the government's continued disregard for Parliament's decisions'. In fact he didn't resign - but the gesture brought him excellent publicity as a 'man of the people'. It wasn't the last time the Major was to hit the headlines."

[B Thomson, Ethiopia - the country .., London 1975 p 65-66]

On 26 June "Major Admassie Zeleke - the Harar MP hailed as a champion of the people

against the establishment - headed a delegation of eight MPs to the Fourth Division headquarters and addressed a mass rally of two thousand soldiers. Claiming to speak in the name of the Chamber of Deputies, he demanded that the military release twenty-five of the detained ministers, including Aklilu Habte Wold, the ex-Premier."

"The Chamber erupted at this news. Next day -- a stream of MPs hurled abuse at Major Admassie -- He was accused of bringing Parliament into disrepute with the people by his unilateral action. -- the following day -- the Deputies voted to suspend Major Admassie and his group for a week."

[Thomson p 70]

The Armed Forces Committee was taken over by radicals, and the Prime Minister demanded stronger action against Major Admassie and his group. Soon after he was arrested together with several important former office holders.

[Thomson p 71-72]

The Armed Forces Co-ordinating Committee (the Dergue) was presented in broadcasts for the first time on 2 July 1974 but its members were not mentioned.

"-- there is reason to believe that among the key men -- was a bright, foreign-trained young captain Tefera Teklehaimanot, from the Third Division at Harar, although the 'honours' were later to be claimed by another Third Division soldier - Major Mengistu Haile Mariam. But behind them was one of the most brilliant military strategists in the country, the former head of the Harar Military Academy, and one-time Commander of the Third Division, Major General Aman Andom."

Aman soon became Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, and on 3 August Minister of Defence in addition to that. In September it was announced that he was the chairman of the Dergue. After a short time as head of the military government, he was attacked and killed at his house near the Tsehay Hospital in Addis Abeba, on 23-24 November 1974 by Mengistu's forces.

[Thomson p 75-76, 107-122]

"Would the graduates of the military academy at Harar or of the Guenet Military School in Holeta dominate? The former, primarily from landowning families, were largely Amhara, and represented a liberal political view that was Western in approach. The Holeta graduates represented a far more radical approach, tended to be lower ranking junior officers and were not of the aristocracy."

[P Schwab, Ethiopia - politics ..., London 1985 p 21]

In October 1974 the Military Academy held its 15th graduation ceremony, when 35 officer-cadets received their insignia of commissioned rank. General Aman Andom was present. He stayed in the Harar area for a few days and probably discussed the serious drought situation. [News]

Dejazmach Workeneh Wolde Emanuel was Governor-General of the famine-stricken Harar province in 1974, but he was executed by the Derg in November 1974.

1975 Population 48,559.

Spelling used by the post office was HARRAR around 1975.

Some 50 people were said to have been arrested in Harar on 21-22 April.

[The Economist, 3 May 1975]

Nega Tegegne still remained active in the field on the side of the old regime by July 1975. [C Legum 1975 p 72]

1976 Alain Borer visited Harar in 1976 and may have been the first to do so among the many who have published about Arthur Rimbaud. Borer made a TV film *Le Voleur du Feu* and published his "essay feature" about Rimbaud in 1984.

1977 During the invasion of Ogaden by Somalia in 1977, Harar was besieged for two months before a counter-offensive by the Ethiopian army, equipped with arms from the USSR and Cuba, pushed the Somalian troops away from Dire Dawa and Harar.

1978 Population 55,401 as estimated in January 1978. Almost half of those living there in 1978 were born in Harar, which means less relative influx from outside of residents than in other large towns in Ethiopia.

"After weeks of being bogged down by bad weather, in January 1978 the Somali National

Army pressed a three-pronged attack on Harar, where nearly 50,000 Ethiopian troops had regrouped, backed by Soviet-supplied heavy artillery and reinforced by 10,000 Cuban troops from units hurriedly flown in from Angola. Early in February 1978, the Ethiopians launched a counterattack toward Jijiga."

[Area handbook 1993, USA]

1980s The army headquartered at Harar was the 3rd Division (Mechanized) of the Ethiopian Ground Force, with responsibility for Ogaden. In the mid-1980s Cuban soldiers had a base outside the walls of Harar.

There was a 4th project 1980-1983 for a brewery.

Around this time there used to be a number of Toyota pickups starting with heavy loads of *chat* every morning to drive to Jijiga.

1982 Main hotel around 1982 was still Harar Ras with 85 beds.

Its manager was Negash Mebea.

1985 In November 1985 tenders were invited for completion of an unfinished building (Italian-built structure) at Harar.

1987 Population 67,892.

1988 "The bus /from Dire Dawa/ cleared the edge of the scarp and there was the plateau again -
- We approached Harar from above and stopped outside the Duke's Gate."

"Harar is no more than a mile long, and about half that across. Yet it has a density which is both palpable and oppressive. Within the walls over eighty mosques jostle with camel-coloured houses. -- I don't remember anywhere a flat surface or a right angle. It was as though the outer walls had contracted, squashing the town."

"I crossed Feres Magala -- an untidy circus on the bald knoll of the city, and went down to the main mosque. Behind it, in a sandy compound overlooking waves of blue hills, I found the Catholic missionary putting away a motor cycle. --

'I have been here twenty-five years,' /Father Emile said/ -- 'or maybe thirty - I don't know.' -- stubble covered his chin and the gullies of his cheek."

[P Marsden-Smedley, A far country, London 1990 p 44]

"At one time the Emperor had made /Hirut's father, Ras Andargachew Mesay/ Governor of Harar, but he had resigned when he found the system too corrupt. Hirut's family lived in the house built by the Italian governor. 'After liberation in 1941, the Emperor said my father could choose any house as a reward for his resistance work with the Patriots. /Hirut was only on a visit to Harar and lived in Hampstead, England, by the time of this interview./"

Hirut pointed to a spot of high ground beyond the market. "Over there used to be a famous house. Korra Bellimay it was called. Always there were people there, coming and going. -- I used to hear the drums beating at night, and chanting - some kind of Sufi song. Each year they made a sorghum porridge in a petrol drum, and left it out for the hyenas. It was a superstition. Some years the leader of the hyenas would turn away, and none of them would eat. And that meant it would be a bad year."

"As a foreigner in Ethiopia, regulations demand that you stay in the government-owned hotels. -- In Harar I had gone straight to the Ras, the only state hotel in the town. It was -- opposite the crumbling, horseshoe palace of Lij Yasu."

"Foreigners are charged about 15 per cent more than Ethiopians. When I objected to the principle of this, I was told, 'No sir, we don't charge you more. It's just that we offer locals a discount.'"

"I found a small hotel near the Feres Magala. They said nothing about the restrictions and showed me a room without a window. The door opened on to a trellised balcony, and I could watch the main street below. Wooden steps - little more than a ladder - led to the ground floor, and the bar."

[Marsden-Smedley p 49-50, 53]

"I went with Ali down through the Felana Gate to see the hyenas. A lifeless patch of compacted mud stretched from the walls into the darkness. I could make out the scattered carcasses of cattle, and could smell the circus smell of animals and rotting meat."

"At a price, there was a man who would perform various tricks with the hyenas when they

came to feed. He had names for them and would squat on the ground and let them eat from his hand."

"Shortly after dawn that day a Galla woman had been attacked as she walked back from the town to her village. The woman's face was badly mauled and the hyena's powerful jaws had broken her own jaw in two places. She had been carried straight to hospital, and the hyena had been shot -- The next morning I heard that -- the Galla woman had died from her wounds."

[Marsden Smedley p 60]

The Swedish author Oscar Hemer arrived to Harar in May 1988 and did not find it pleasant. He wrote in Swedish a book published more than a decade later, "Äventyraren vid världens ände", concentrated on Richard Burton, Arthur Rimbaud and Wilfred Thesiger. Children at that time shouted "cuba! cuba!" rather than "ferenj! ferenj!". Hemer says that Harar had only one real café, at Feres Magala, serving local Chinotton tonic with local Babile mineral water.

1991 Early in 1991 it was the First Revolutionary Army which had its headquarters in Harar. The town was taken by the EPRDF on 2 June 1991. Around this time two employees of the UN World Food Programme were killed in civil disturbances in the town.

[News]

1992 Ato Samora Yanus, Commander of the Eastern Command of the Army of the Transitional Government, stated that a joint offensive launched on Harar town by the OLF and the IFLO had been foiled.

[Official news 31 March 1992]

1990s "The walled city of Harer, the spiritual heart of Ethiopia's large Muslim community, is considered by Muslims to be the fourth-holiest city in the world. -- Harer was an important centre of Muslim trade and learning throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Only Muslims were allowed to enter its walls, and as a result its location was the source of more rumour than substance in the Christian world. -- The walled city remains strongly Muslim in character; its 90-odd mosques, many of them private, are said to form the largest concentration in the world." [Bradt 1995 p 179-181, with sketch of the town plan] "The only upmarket hotel is the government-owned Ras Hotel on the Dire Dawa road", in the middle range there seems to be only Tewodros Hotel, and in the lower range are such names as Tourist, Assab, and National Hotels.

"The prime attraction of Harer is the old walled city, which covers an area of about one square kilometre -- It is roughly oblong in shape, with five main roads radiating from the central square to the city gates -- Coming from Dire Dawa, you enter the old city through Harer Gate -- a main road lined with shops, bars and hotels to Feres Magala Square, the old horse market. -- To your left, assuming you entered the square from Harer Gate, is the road to Fallana Gate. The hotel on this corner has been converted from the warehouse that was used by Rimbaud during the first year of his stay in Harer. Following clockwise from here, the next road leads to Erer Gate, the gate through which Richard Burton entered Harer, and also the site of the *chat* market. Along this road is the 16th century domed tomb of Emir Nur; the al-Jami Mosque -- and the museum and tourist office. The road to your right (-- from Harer Gate) leads to the main market and Sanga Gate. Off this road lies Ras Mekonnen's house -- now occupied by a herbal practitioner -- Next door is -- a vaguely Oriental double-storey building built by an Indian merchant at the turn of the century. Rambo's house /Rambo being Rimbaud/ is worth a look for its unusual architecture, frescoed ceiling -- but it is questionable whether Rimbaud -- would have been in a position to rent anything at the time the house was built. -- there has been a hyena man in Harer at least since 1965 -- operates barely 100 m out of the Fallana Gate. -- "

[Bradt 1995 p 181-184]

"For the most part, the Harari live in two-storeyed, rectangular flat-roofed brown stone or whitewashed houses set in a labyrinth of narrow winding streets. This style of house - called a *gegar* - is unique in Ethiopia and is reminiscent of the coastal Arab architecture. The main room has raised platforms of various levels to determine the status of guests and

household members [picture of an interior p 143] -- On the central square, facing the main street, is the Ethiopian Orthodox Church of Medhane Alem -- erected -- towards the end of the nineteenth century. -- In the centre of Ras Makonnen Square is an equestrian bronze statue of the ras -- by artist Afewerk Tekle. Facing the square is part of the Military Academy -- with stained glass windows -- by the same artist.

There are two small markets in the walled town. The Muslim Market is quite photogenic - - On the north side of the market is a small, white mosque-like structure, which is the tomb of Abu Said Ali, an early Muslim religious leader of the town. Beneath his tomb is said to be a well -- The Christian Market is separated from the other market -- partly because some products are prepared in a manner that prohibits Muslims from using them." [Camerapix 1995 p 141-145]

A much-esteemed Harari specialty is the *kwalima*, a beef sausage. The sausages are smoked and dried. A popular Harar drink is the *hojja*, a sort of tea made from the dried leaves of the coffee tree, which is served with salt and milk.

Adarinya /Harari/ is a language current only within the walled city.

[Camerapix 1995]

The whitewashed traditional houses in the old city usually have two stories. Interior walls are painted with ochre and in the ideal case have eleven niches.

The main (Christian) market is directly in front of Shewa Gate. The Feres Magala, 'Horse Market', is in the middle of the old city.

The Medhane Alem church was built by Menilek II through the Italian Luigi Robecchi-Bricchetti, with an octagonal shape possibly derived from the Giyorgis church in Addis Abeba. There was earlier a mosque on that site.

The palace of Menilek II was severely damaged during the Italo-Ethiopian war. The Ras Makonnen Palace was renovated in 1930. In the 1990s it houses the city administration, a library, and a small museum. Nearby is the so-called Rimbaud's House which is being furnished to become a larger museum.

To the west, outside the city wall, is Ras Mekonnen Square with the equestrian statue of the Ras. The building of the Military Academy is at this square, also the town hall and the headquarters of the provincial administration.

The Mikael church, with Ras Makonnen's Mausoleum completed in 1931, are on the Ginella mountain south of Harar. However, the remains of the Ras were not transferred to the mausoleum and were kept in the Mikael church.

(From an earlier guide: When Ras Makonnen died, the tomb was not even begun, so he was buried in the compound of the Mikael church down the hill. When the mausoleum was finished the priests of the church refused to give up the body, so the mausoleum remained unused and is more appropriately called a memorial.

Near the memorial is the two-storey house where Ras Makonnen lived while he was Governor of Harar. It was in this house that his son, the future Haile Selassie I, spent his youth. In the 1960s the building was used as a retreat for the staff of the Haile Selassie I University in Addis Abeba.)

Tewodros Hotel is in the northern old city, and Belete Hotel south-west of the city wall. [Äthiopien 1999 p 402-412, simple town plan on p 403]

The Teacher Training Institute used Oromo and Amharic as teaching languages in the 1990s.

1994 Population about 76,400 according to one estimate, according to another for October 1994 it was 122,932 or 131,139 (does that refer to the awraja?). Among 59 political parties in Ethiopia listed in October 1994 (from source in July 1991?) there were also the Harar Democratic Unity Party and the Harari National League.

1995 Administratively the town was capital of *Harerge Kifle Hager*.

Population 165,000 according to one source.

"Menilek, considered the great unifier by the Amharas, is to this day greatly resented by many Hararis."

"With the new federal constitution of 1995, Harar won back a kind of independence, being recognised legally as a city-state among the 14 regions comprising the Federal

Republic of Ethiopia. It is a major landmark in the city's history."

[Lonely planet 2000 p 299]

Water shortages are a major problem in Harar and can affect the city for three days or more.

Harar's old town has its 362 alleyways squeezed into just one square kilometre. There are over 87 mosques in the old town alone, and these are said to form the largest concentration of any city in the world. Shrines devoted to local holy men or religious leaders are even more numerous.

"On the south-east corner of the /central/ square is the seedy Harar Academy Hotel. This was one of four places where -- Rimbaud is said to have lived.

"Close to the museum is Ras Tafari's House -- the future emperor spent some of his childhood here."

Just north of the central square is Magala Guddo, the so-called Muslim market. Monday is the day that many Oromo and some Somali come in from the surrounding areas.

The museum of the Harari National Cultural Centre is designed like a typical Adare house and contains examples of traditional arts and crafts.

Emir Nur's tomb is devoted to the ruler who built the city's walls. It resembles a spiky beehive. The Ay Abida shrine nearby is visited by those who are desirous of seeing their daughter or son soon married, as well as those praying for health.

"Places to stay -- all the places on the square in the old town are rough, ready and probably charge by the hour rather than by the day -- the Harar Academy Hotel is at least clean -- A much better bet in the budget category is the Tourist Hotel in the new town -- The Tewodros Hotel near Harar Gate -- you can watch the hyenas stealing about in the shadows from the balconies of /some of its rooms/ -- the peaceful Dessie Hotel is east of the new town -- Belayneh Hotel is near the bus station -- The Ras Hotel east of the new town is currently the only top-end hotel in Harar. With its long, bare, white corridors and smocked, dour staff, it rather resembles a loony asylum. Even by Ras Hotel standards it's depressing."

Buses for Dire Dawa and Jijiga leave daily.

In the late 1990s there are known to be dangerous mined areas east and south of Harar.

[Lonely planet 2000 p 297-305, with town plan]

From Makina Girgir a narrow street of taylor's leads to the "false Rimbaud's house" and in the same street is what once was the palace of Ras Tafari. Some figurines representing Hindu gods decorate the lintel of the main entrance. The building is occupied by a healer who claims to be able, with the help of God and concoctions of roots and leaves, to cure even the most helpless cases.

[Aubert 1999 p 159]

Harar has been designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site.

Charles Nicholl visited Harar in 1995 and two years later published the book "Somebody else" about Rimbaud.

The Government after 1995 converted the Harar Teacher Training Institute into a military training centre.

[T M Vestal, Ethiopia - A post-cold war ..., USA 1999 p 156]

1997 Terrorists bombed a hotel in Harar in February 1997.

(Same case?:) After a bomb explosion in a hotel, the British citizen Dr. Dumar Elmi Duhod and others at the hotel were arrested and kept for six weeks without trial. In December four men, suspected to be members of Al-Itihad, were charged for the attack.

[Amnesty International]

1999 "There is an undefinable atmosphere about the place. The women are carefully and colourfully garbed. The architecture, including many government buildings, uses the characteristic Harar style of medieval Moorish castles."

"My favourite guide is Abdu, a cheerful baseball cap wearing Harari. For 'whatever price you want', which means 50 birr per person, he will walk you through Harar on a customized tour."

"The 'house of Rimbaud' is being renovated with the help of UNESCO, making slow but

impressive progress until it was recently stopped by shortage of funds. -- Two-storey with plenty of Indian woodwork and art deco wallpaper. It has a wonderful indoor balcony at the top."

"There is an old Roman Catholic church, run by an amiable Maltese priest, which dates from the turn of the century."

"Hararis are justifiably proud of their houses -- They have loads of colourful baskets and Chinese platters on the walls. They are focused on marriage - there is a rack over the front door which holds a valuable rug or rugs which are the dowry for the eligible young lady in the house. They have a room near the entrance which is kept for newlyweds, who are expected to get acquainted through being kept there for a week after their marriage. A small opening is used to pass in food and other necessities. I always wondered how they went to the toilet."

"They say there is a very old tradition of feeding the hyenas to prevent them from coming into the city and eating the children -- This has been resurrected recently for the benefit of tourists. Depending on which story you hear or believe, there have been about 5 hyena men over the last 30 years or so. One was a leper, although local townsfolk attributed his disappearing digits to the hyenas. Another was injured by a grenade attack on him and the tourists when feeding hyenas. He quit. The current guy uses a short stick to feed the hyenas."

[John Graham in AddisTribune 1999/11/12]

In 1999 there were distinct rumours that the military police in their prison in Harar had a secret underground cell where over 150 prisoners were kept in terrible conditions.

[Amnesty International]

A Djibouti journalist Amir Adaweh was believed to have been arrested in Ethiopia while on holiday there in July 1999 and to have been shot in the legs by a guard while in prison in Harar.

[Reuters 2000-05-03]

2001 Population about 93,900 which made Harar the ninth largest town in Ethiopia.

President of the Harari regional government in 2001 was Fuad Ibrahim.

There is an Apostolic Vicariate of the Roman Catholic Church.

"Regarding the religious conflict in Harar during the epiphany (Timket) celebrations in January 2001 /the EHRCO/ report, quoting information obtained from a hospital in the town, put the number of dead to three while eight sustained serious injury and over fifty people were treated for minor injuries."

[AddisTribune 2002/03/01]

2002 Harar had serious shortage of water in the 1990s. An agreement was signed in December 2002 between the Harrari People National Regional State and the Republic of Iran, according to which Iran would pay 1.72 million /Birr?/ for an emergency project to supply trailer water to Harar.

[News]

map Municipal borders, *in* Gli annali ..., anno III vol I /Roma 1940/ p 904;

Eth. Geog. Journal 5(1967) no 1 at p 12: town and western neighbourhood.

texts Takiieddiin Ahmed bin Ali al Makrisi, *Historia rerum islamiticorum in Abyssinia ...*, Leyden 1790 (original 1300s);

Arab Fakih, *Futuh el Habasha* (1500s), French edition Paris 1897-1909;

R. Burton, *Narrative of a trip to Harar*, *in* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol 25, 1855;

F. Müller, *Ueber die Harari-Sprache im östlichen Afrika*, Wien 1864, 15 pages;

G.F.F. Praetorius, *Ueber die Sprache von Harar*, *in* Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft Zeitschrift (Leipzig) 1869 vol 23 p 453-472;

Alfred Bardey, *Notes sur le Harar* (1880), *in* Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive, 1877 p 130-180

/or 1897 no 1? reprinted in 1900/;

Giuseppe Maria Giulietti, *Relazione di viaggio*

- da Zeila ad Harrar, Roma 1881;
- Taurin de Cahagne, L'Harar negli ultimi secoli, *in* Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana, Ser.2, 8(1883);
- F. Arfelli, All'Harar nel 1885, Bologna 1938;
- Mohammed Moktar, Notes sur le pays the Harar, *in* Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, Cairo vol 1(1887) p 365--;
- P. Paulitschke, Die Geographische Erforschung der Adal Länder und Harar in Ost Afrika, Leipzig 1884;
- _____, Notizie dall'Harar, *in* Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana (Roma) 1885 7 pages & 1886 3 pages;
- _____, Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somal, Galla und Harari, Leipzig 1886;
- _____, Harar. Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost Afrikas, ausgef. von Dr. Kammel von Hardegger und .. Paulitschke, Leipzig 1888;
- _____, Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somâl, Galla und Harari, Leipzig 1888, 105 pages of which Harari p 65-96;
- V. Ragazzi, Relazione sul suo viaggio dallo Scioa ad Harar, *in* Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana 25(1888) p 66-80;
- C. Nerazzini, Missione all'Harar, 1889;
- E. Baudi di Vesme, Da Berbera attraverso l'Ogaden a Ime e nell'Harar, *in* Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana (Roma) 1891, 8 pages;
- C. Nerazzini, Rapporto sul sistema tributario di Harrar, 1891;
- P. Paulitschke, Ethnographie Nord-ost-Afrikas - Materielle Kultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl, Berlin 1893-1896;
- H.G.C. Swayne, A trip to Harrar and Ime, *in* Geographical Journal, vol 2, 1893;
- L. Robecchi-Bricchetti, Nell'Harar, Milano 3rd ed. 1896, 8+409 pages;
- Paterne Berrichon, Vie de Rimbaud, 1897;
- Lincoln de Castro, Da Zeila ad Harrar, Cairo 1899;
- F.M.C. Mondon-Vidailhet, Étude sur le harari, *in* Journal asiatique (Paris) 1901 vol 18 p 401-429 & 1902 vol 19 p 5-50;
- _____, La langue harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du gouraghê, Paris 1902, 119 pages;
- E.A. d'Albertis, Una gita all'Harar, Milano 1906, with 128 pages and 62 engravings;
- C. Conti Rossini, Testi in lingua harari; Cronaca di Harar, *in* Rivista Studi Orientali 9(1910);
- Report on the trade of the consular district of Harar, 1911, 1912, 1913 (Great Britain, Foreign Office) London 1912-1915;
- E. Littmann, Harar, *in* Encyklopedie des Islam, Leipzig 1913-1917;
- René Basset, Chronologie des rois de Harar 1637-1887 *in* Journal Asiatique, Paris 1914;
- Sunday in exile (in Harar), *in* Blackwoods' Magazine (anonymous by "L.A.") May 1920;
- Arthur Rimbaud, Voyage en Abyssinie et au Harar, Paris 1928;
- Guébré Sellassie, Chronique du règne de Menelik II, Paris 1930;
- J.P. Vaillant, Rimbaud tel qu'il fut, 1930;
- C. Conti Rossini, /Chronicle of Harar/ *in* Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei (Roma) ser.6 vol.4(1931) no.2 p 40--;
- Enrico Cerulli, La lingua e la storia di Harar, Roma, Istituto per l'Oriente, 1936;
- Enid Starkie, Arthur Rimbaud in Abyssinia, London/Oxford 1937 (French ed. Arthur Rimbaud en Abyssinie, Paris 1938, 214 pages);
- Fernando Santagata, Tre anni di politica indigena nel Harar, *in* Rivista delle colonie ("L'Oltramare"), Bologna 1939 p 1331-1351;

- F. Santagata, L'Harar, territorio di pace e di civiltà, Milano 1940;
- E. Cerulli, Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana, *in* Rassegna di studi etiopici, Roma 1942;
- B. von Rosen, Gamla män i Harrar, *in* Vecko-Journalen 38(1947) no 39 p 20,34;
- C. Hacka, Hundliv i Harrar, *in* Hundar och hundsport 57(1949) p 157-158;
- E. Olofsson, Bilder från Harar, *in* Bibeltrogna vänners julkalender 34(1949) p 100-104;
- S. Stark, Ur Harrars historia, *in* Bibeltrogna vänners julkalender 34(1949) p 146-157;
- W. Leslau, A wedding 'law suit' in Harrar (Ethiopia), *in* Journal of American Folklore, July-September 1950;
- Mohammed Abdurahman, Harrari wedding customs, *in* Ethnological Society Bulletin (A.A.) 1953 no 2 p 5-8 & no 3 p 22-26;
- Duri Mohammed, The Mugads of Harrar, *in* Ethnological Society Bulletin (A.A.) 1955 no 4 p 15-19;
- Abdulla Abdurahman, Harrari funeral customs, *in* Ethnological Society Bulletin (A.A.) 1957 no 7 p 23-26 & no 12 p 2-4;
- Andargatchew Tesfaye, The funeral customs of the Kottu of Harar, *in* Ethnological Society Bulletin (A.A.) 1957 no 7 p 35-40;
- Yusuf Ahmed, Harari sausage and Harari sweet, *in* Ethnological Society Bulletin (A.A.) 1957 no 7 p 85-90;
- Ethiopia Observer, March 1958 vol II no 2 special issue on Harar, e.g. Sylvia Pankhurst p 34-45, 56-58 & Rita Pankhurst about Rimbaud p 59-62;
- Ethiopia Observer, May 1958 vol II no 4 p 149 the Model School;
- W. Leslau, An analysis of the Harari vocabulary, *in* Annales d'Éthiopie vol 3 1959 p 275-298;
- Haile Sellasie I Military Academy (Harar), Blood and steel vol 1 no 1 November 1960, 96 pages & vol 1 no 2 June 1962, 124 pages;
- Yusuf Ahmed, An inquiry into some aspects of the economy of Harar, and the records of the household economy of the amirs of Harar (1825-1875), *in* Ethnological Society Bulletin (A.A.) 1960 no 11 p 7-62;
- Million Tesfaye, Mutual aid associations among the Kottu-Galla of Harar, *in* Ethnological Society Bulletin (A.A.) 1961 vol 2 no 12 p 71-79;
- Enid Starkie, Arthur Rimbaud, New York 1961, with bibliography; part III about Rimbaud in Harar;
- J. Blahos & B. Kubastova, The survey of 11,170 patients treated in the Ras Makonnen Hospital in Harar, *in* Ethiopian Medical Journal (A.A.) vol 1 1963 p 190-196;
- Ministry of Information, Harar's progress and development, A.A. May 1963, p 1-26 text, p 27-108 pictures;
- Yusuf Ahmed, Afocha /about a Moslem kind of funeral and wedding observance association in Harar/, *in* Journal of Ethiopian Studies vol III 1965 no 2 p 125-132;
- Report on a survey of Harer, (Central Statistical Office) A.A. 1967, about 25 pages, mimeographed;
- S. Waldron, Social organization and social control in the walled city of Harar, Ethiopia; Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ. 1974 (not published);
- Richard Caulk, The occupation of Harar: January 1887, *in* Journal of Ethiopian Studies vol X 1971 no 1;
- Aleme Eshete, The influence of the Capuchin Catholic Bishop of Harrar (1900-1940) Mgr. André Jarosseau on Tafari Makonnen, later Emperor Haile Selassie. A preliminary study /conf. paper/ A.A. 1973, 20 pages;
- R.A. Caulk, Harrar town in the 19th century and its neighbours /conf. paper/ A.A. 1973, 19 pages mimeographed;

- _____, Harär town and its neighbours in the nineteenth century,
in Journal of African History, XVIII, 3(1977);
 Muhammad Hasan, The relation between Harar and the surrounding Oromo
 between 1800-1887. BA thesis, HSI University 1973;
 Harar town and its neighbors in the nineteenth century,
in Journal of African History 18:3 1977;
 Duncan Forbes, Rimbaud in Ethiopia, London 1979;
 Alain Borer, Rimbaud en Abyssinie, Paris 1984;
 Charles Nicholl, Somebody else: Arthur Rimbaud in Africa 1880-91, London 1997;
 Claude JeanColas, Rimbaud, Paris 1999 /biography in French/;
 Graham Robb, Rimbaud, London 2000;
 Oscar Hemer, Äventyraren vid världens ände, Sthlm (Atlantis) 2003
 /about Burton, Rimbaud and Thesiger/.
- picts Richard Burton, First footsteps ..., reprint London 1966
 p 170 view from a distance in 1855;
 R Burton 1884 vol I frontispiece, reproduced
 also in *Ethiopia engraved* 1988 p 65;
 A. Cecchi, Da Zeila alle frontiere ..., vol II, Roma 1885
 p 615 view from the north, p 617 market, reproduced
 in *Ethiopia engraved* p 65, 67;
 P Paulitschke 1888 p 250 gate Bab al-Futuh, reproduced
 in *Ethiopia engraved* 65, p 188 panoramic view, reprod. 66,
 p 193 Emin Abdallahi, reprod 66, p 207, 207, 267 palace,
 mosque, tomb, reproduced 67;
 Count Gleichen, With the mission ..., London 1898 p 55 gate;
 Hugues Le Roux, Ménelik et nous, Paris 1901 p 120-121 general view,
 129 palace of Ras Makonnen, 131 gate, 139 customs stations,
 145 market, 159 Harari people;
 Felix Rosen, Eine Deutsche ..., Leipzig 1907
 p 57 Ras Makonnen's palace, 67 market;
 F. von Kulmer, Im Reiche ..., Leipzig 1910 p 40/pl V customs station,
 p 48/pl VI water pipeline, p 80/pl X marketplaces, p 96/pl XIII gate,
 p 128/pl XVIII ivory being weighed;
 Nils Hylander, Morgonljus, Sthlm 1917 p 199 city seen from
 outside towards gate Bab el futuh, 200 Harari man and woman,
 203 grave on Jebel Hakim, 209 market scene;
 K. Herzbruch, Abessinien, München 1925 p 41 general view;
 K Lubinski, Hochzeitsreise ..., Leipzig 1929 p 140 small street with
 stone walls, 144 governor Dejazmach Imru with lion cub,
 145 courtyard of the mosque;
 Axel B. Svensson, Genom Abessinien ..., Sthlm 1930 p 142 Tafari
 Makonnen Hospital, 169 dwelling house at the BV mission station;
 Fride Hylander, Crabatto, Sthlm 1980 p 41 drawing around year 1930
 of view towards old mosque;
 Ethiopia Observer 1960 no 2 p 62 leprosarium in the early 1930s
 with Father Jarosseau and eight French monks;
 National Geogr. Mag. LIX:6, June 1931
 p 735 coffee spread out at the customhouse;
 Fride Hylander, Ett år i tält, Sthlm 1934
 p 19 Teferi Mekonnen Hospital of the BV mission;
 Gunnar Agge, I svart tjänst ..., Sthlm 1935 p 16-17 four plates:
 view from distance, Medhane Alem church, BV mission exterior & interior,
 80-81 inner city, 96 tomb on Gara Hakim, 216 ceremony outside city walls;
 L. Farago, Abyssinia ..., London 1935 p 244 street, 245 poor quarter,

248 bishop Abu Hanan, 249 governor Nassibu;
 G. Harmsworth, Abyssinian adventure, London 1935
 p 182 prisoners in chains, 215 the Emperor reviews troops;
 F. Wencker-Wildberg, Abessinien, Berlin 1935
 pl 23 overall view, pl 24 Ras Makonnen's palace;
 A. Zischka, Abessinien, Leipzig 1935 p 125 occasional gate of honour;
 H. Mörne, Afrikansk oro, Sthlm 1936 p 137 minarets, 144 old mosque,
 152 coffee cleaning, 168 Red Cross ambulance at the BV mission;
 Gli annali ..., anno I vol II /Roma Aug. 1938/
 p 446-447[19] visit by General Teruzzi;
 L'industria in A.O.I., Roma 1939 p 218 row of about twenty tractors
 near Harar, 237 eight photos of church, mosque and other buildings
 erected by the Italians, 279 new market, 282 buildings for new market;
 F. Quaranta, Ethiopia, London 1939 p 106 mosque built by the Italians;
 Axel B. Svensson, Abessinien under italienarna, Sthlm 1939
 at p 213 general view;
 Gli annali ..., anno III vol I /Roma 1940/ p 692-693[1] elementary school
 for Moslems, [2] sec. school for Italians, elementary school for Ethiopians,
 p 716-717[9] provisional Catholic cathedral, [10] new Eth. Orthodox church,
 new mosque, 820-821[7-8] six photos of exteriors and interiors of
 the civil hospital;
 Gli annali ..., anno IV vol 3, Roma 1941 p 854-855[5] General Agostini
 visiting a plant nursery in November 1938, building of a detachment
 of the Milizia Forestale;
 Gli annali ..., anno IV vol 4, Roma 1941 p 1164-1165[6] Albergo C.I.A.A.O.
 exterior and interiors;
 M. Rikli, Seltsames ..., Zürich 1946/?/ p 144/pl 41 occasional gate
 of honour, pl 43 interior of well-to-do home;
 Ivar Ambjörn, Etiopien lockade, Sthlm 1949 p 240 Moslem graveyard;
 Axel B. Svensson, Det återuppståndna ..., Sthlm 1948
 p 113 BV mission station and five Ethiopian teachers;
 David Buxton, Travels ..., London 1949(1957) p 128-129[1] market
 in front of mosque from 1930s, ditto [1,3,4] seven pictures of women
 at market; [2] south-western overall view with Kondudo behind;
 Björn von Rosen, Berget och solen, Sthlm 1949 p 142-195 altogether
 21 photos and 3 drawings of houses, persons and objects of which:
 p 149 distant view from the west, 153 Haji Abdurahman Izza,
 179 Emir Nur's mausoleum, 187 old mosque;
 Bortom bergen vol I, Sthlm (EFS) 1953
 p 333 Grand Mosque, 336 part of Tafari Makonnen Hospital;
 Elsa Olofsson, Upplevelser ..., Sthlm 1954 p 17 BV missionaries' dwelling;
 Economic progress ..., A. A. 1955 p 47 Makonnen Haile Selassie Hospital;
 Christine Sandford, The Lion of Judah ..., London 1955,
 at p 14 Ras Makonnen's palace and its carved doorway,
 at p 20 the town and Kondudo mountain;
 Paul Hartlmaier, Golden lion, London 1956 (Amba Ras, Frankfurt
 am Main 1953) pl 33 [pl 69 Amba Ras] market with recent mosque
 in background, pl 34 [pl 73 Amba Ras] Oromo girl, pl 70 street scene;
 Hans Jenny, Äthiopien, Stuttgart 1957, p 65 city gate;
 A.M. Rubin, I Etiopien, Sthlm 1957 p 148 street with shops;
 Ethiopia Observer 1958 no 2, special issue on Harar,
 with twenty photos and paintings;
 Äthiopien, München (Terra magica) 1958(1963)
 pl 50 one tower of the old mosque, pl 60 marketplace at new mosque;
 Bibeltrogn Vänners julkalender 1958 (Sthlm)

p 56 Tedla Afley with family, 60 BV mission first school;
 Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogn .. 1911-1961, Sthlm 1961 p 96
 buildings, staff and students of the BV mission station;
 Barbara Toy, In search of Sheba, London 1961 p 164 "Rimbaud's house";
 S.P. Pétridès, Le héros d'Adoua .., Paris 1963 p 50 drawing of
 Ras Makonnen's palace, 305 equestrian statue of the Ras: - Afewerk's
 sketch and Emperor unveiling the finished work
 National Geogr. Mag. vol 127 April 1965 p 582 hyena man;
 John Eriksson, Okänt Etiopien, Sthlm 1966 p 48-49[1] sugar cane
 at market, [2] stone walls with no windows;
 Merian Monatsheft: Äthiopien, Hamburg Okt. 1966
 p 64 market in front of mosque;
 Liberation Silver Jubilee, A.A. 1966 p 342
 passing out parade at the Military Academy;
 Eth. Geog. Journal 5(1967) no 1 p 14 view from Gara Hakim,
 15 street, 16 municiplaity building, 21 main market;
 M. Abir, Ethiopia: the era .., London 1968
 p 86 general view of the town;
 R. Sauter & R. Michaud, L'Ethiopie, Zurich 1968
 p 111-113, 115 town, market, basketwork, women;
 Arne Forsberg, I Etiopien, Sthlm 1969 p 108 overall view,
 109 market outside Shewa gate, 111 basketwork;
 Addis Reporter vol II December 1969 no 1 p 9
 Military Academy graduating ceremony for 22 cadets;
 Addis Reporter 1969 no 2 p 20-21 five photos of the hyena man;
 Tenaestelin (Sthlm) 1971 no 1 p 12-13 three photos of hyena man;
 Thelma Tonkin, Ethiopia with love, London 1972
 p 176-184 four sketches of town and buildings;
 Georg Gerster, Äthiopien, Zürich 1974 pl 98 detailed air view
 of the inner city, pl 101 shopping street, pl 97, 99-100 people;
 Tenaestelin 1974 no 2 p 5 children in a Quran school,
 p 6 minarets of the old mosque;
 The Ethiopian revolution, USA (World View Publishers) 1978
 p 12 women refugees from Ogaden;
 D. Griswold, Eyewitness Ethiopia (World View Publishers) 1978
 p 19 children refugees from Ogaden;
 G. Hancock et al, Under Ethiopian skies, London 1983(1987)
 p 21 part of the city, with a mosque, p 166-167 interior
 and exterior of the Grand Mosque, 168 city gate, 169 interior
 of "Rimbaud's house", 170 women;
 National Geogr. vol 163 May 1983 p 632-633
 women smoking water pipe and chewing *kat*;
 Richard Burton, First footsteps .. (1856, 1894) USA reprint 1987,
 frontispice: - engraving of the city seen from a distance;
 Tenaestelin 1990 no 2 p 29 spices offered at market;
 Dennis Gill, The coinage .., New York 1991 p 29 bronze coins
 from the 1840s, p 30 people walking through the north gate;
 Camerapix guide 1995 p 140 Shewa Gate in colour photo,
 142 Harari women, 143 interior of Harari home, 144 interior of
 "Rimbaud's house", 145 hyena man, 298 entrance of old mosque;
 Steven Gish, Ethiopia, New York 1996(1999)
 p 52 street scene with people;
 Richard Pankhurst, The Ethiopian borderlands (Red Sea Press) 1997
 p 245 engraving of gate etc (from Paulitschke in 1880s),
 246 al-Jami mosque (from ditto), 373 town from a distance

(from Burton in 1855), 377 Harari dress (from ditto);
 K. Nomachi, Bless Ethiopia, Tokyo 1998 (English ed. Hong Kong)
 p 88-89 house interior with women chewing *chat* leaves;
 M. Aubert, Ethiopia, Local Colour, Hong Kong 1999
 p 11 entrance of mosque, 150 walls of alleyway, 155 interior
 of "Rimbaud's house", 158 market of Magala Guddo, 159 street
 of tailors Makina Girgir, 161 children at a Koranic school;
 O. Hemer, Äventyraren vid världens ände, Sthlm 2003
 p 8 "Rimbaud's house" seen from market place, 50 entrance
 of ditto in 1988, 75 coffee seller on photo from 1883,
 105 Burton's distant view in 1855.

Harar : Abubeker

Around 1938 an Italian road block 3 km from Harar.

Harar : Akim (Achim)

About 2 km south of Harar operation of a limestone quarry started in the early 1960s.
 [Mineral 1966]

JDJ35

Harar : Amaresa

A vegetable farm 5 km from Harar. The Armenian Serkis Terzian, active a little everywhere in Ethiopia, had a farm there already in Menilek's time.

Mrs Rita Diggs had a *chat* farm there, with plantings also on a rocky hillside but that was less productive than her "orchards".

The Amaresa edible oil factory employed 105 people in 1969.

Harar : coffee

Coffee exported from the Harar area amounted to 4,000 tons in 1913 and 10,000 tons in 1932. It was only about 1925 that export of coffee from western and southern provinces began to surpass that of the Harar region. In recent times *Harar Longberry coffee* (called so already in the 1930s) is produced in small unshaded plantations in the Harar-Dire Dawa area, usually with irrigation.

Harar : coins

"While any coinage before the late eighteenth century is obscure, Harar did issue an almost continuous coinage from 1782 until 1887."

"Muhammed II came to power and decided upon a reevaluation of the currency.

Forbidding the use of the issues of the previous Amir, he struck his new coinage which he falsely claimed to be of a better metal content than the prior one. A hundred of his new coins were declared to be the equivalent of 2,200 of the withdrawn issue. The effect of this blatant currency debasement was to destroy financial transactions and increase barter, as merchants would not accept the new currency at its inflated rate." The Harari money was totally valueless outside of the city.

Mohammed Muktar, residing in Harar in 1875, describes how coins were produced:

"The Emir obtained good dollars and melted them down with a large proportion of tin; the alloy was then cast into a metal leaf so thin that it could be cut with pincers into small round discs scarcely more than a millimeter thick. The operation was completed by a blow of a hammer on a lead anvil, the impression being imparted by a steel stamp bearing the Emir's name."

An inspection of coins of this period confirms that some of them were probably made from the ends of gun cartridges.

After the Egyptian takeover in 1875, their first governor Rauf Pasha ordered that the mahallak coinage of the former Amir be immediately replaced by Egyptian currency.

However, Cairo initially forwarded only 100,000 piastres in silver and 300,000 in bronze. This forced the Governor to reinstate the use of the old mahallaks which then circulated along with the Egyptian coinage for some time.

After the British takeover of Egypt, Harar was a virtual protectorate of London for a brief period in 1885. Rupee coinage was introduced from India during the interim but it was reported to have been poorly received. The city was turned over to Abdallah, son of the

previous Amir. He issued his own coinage consisting of brass mahallaks. His rule was soon to end with the arrival of Menilek's forces.

Menelik struck one coin at Harar in 1893. It had the same denomination as the old currency, but with the new name Ethiopia and written in the Amharic script.

Maria Theresa thalers became utilized for major transactions, but it was a problem to find money for small payments, such as the little silver two anna pieces introduced by Indian traders. A mixture of various currencies therefore continued to be used in Harar until after the Italo-Ethiopian War in the 1930s.

[D. Gill, Coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somalia, New York 1991 p 27-31]

JDJ26

Harar : Gara Jabbe, cf Jaba.

09/42 [Mi]

Situated at 10 km east-south-east of the city of Harar.

Serpentine asbestos occurs there, associated with host rocks of magmatic concentration deposit. The Pre-Cambrian rocks have been intruded by a 30-40 m wide dike of peridotite, which has been altered to serpentinite. The dike can be followed for about 900 m. It was prospected and trenched by the Mica Company, before 1952.

Geologists of the Ministry of Mines sampled the deposits with seven trenches around 1962, to study the properties of the asbestos and vermiculites.

[Mineral 1966]

Harar : gates clockwise from the main entrance from the Dire Dawa road

Harar Gate was built during the 1970s at the place where forty years earlier the rampart had been demolished to widen the principal access to the town.

Fallana Gate was the entranceway for caravans coming from the port of Zeila.

It is here that visitors can watch the nocturnal spectacle of hyenas being fed.

Erer Gate is the one through which Richard Burton entered with a caravan in 1855.

The *khat* market is held at the foot of this gate.

Sanga Gate with the cattle market.

Buda Gate, so named because blacksmiths and potters lived nearby in former times.

Shewa Gate, named from the province; on the gate is an Amharic inscription which reads "Victory Gate".

(A. Zervos in 1936 uses the names Amaressa, Falana, Harrar, Sophi, Bouvada and says that the gates used to be closed at 7 o'clock in the evening.)

Of the two gates built in 1889, the Berbera Gate was closed by the Italians, but the Gate of the Duke became the main entrance to the old city.

In the 1800s the city's five gates more or less symbolised the trade routes in different directions and had other names than the ones listed above:

North Gate, *Bab el Futuh* = Gate of the /Egyptian?/ Conquest in Arabic,

Assum Bari = Aksum gate in Harari, led to Zeyla and Djibouti.

South Gate, *Bab el Hakim* = Gate of Mount Hakim in Arabic,

Badro Bari in Harari, was used by traders to the Ala Oromo and Arussi.

East Gate, *Bab el Rahima* = Gate of Mercy in Arabic,

Argob Bari = Gate of the Argobba in Harari, led to Berbera and northern Somaliland.

South-East Gate, *Bab es Salam* = Gate of Peace in Arabic,

Suqutat Bari in Harari, *Karra Sanga* = Gate of the Ox in Oromo,

was used by merchants for Arussi an Enarya rather in south-west direction.

West Gate, *Bab el Nasri* = Gate of the Christians or *Bab Habash* =

Gate of Abyssinia in Arabic, *Esmadin Bari* in Harari, *Karra Showa/Bab Showa* in Oromo referring to the road for Shewa.

[Journal of Eth Studies 1964 no 2 p 88-89]

Harar : saints

The most revered saints of Harar are the Imam Nur ibn al-Mujahid and Shaikh 'Umar Abadir.

The Amir Nur is venerated by the Hararis so much because of the way in which he identified himself and the fortunes of Islam with Harar city. His tomb is situated between the Fandala gate (Bab al-Futuh), the French hospital, and the house of Amir 'Abd Allah.

Nothing certain is known about Shaikh 'Umar Abadir al-Bakri, whose tomb is in the southern quarter of the city near the Bisidimo gate (Bab as-Salam). Tradition says that coming originally from Jidda he was one of the first propagators of Islam in the region. Another early missionary was Shaikh Ibrahim Aba Zaharbui who went to Harar in A.D. 1430, converted many to Islam and was buried at Zeyla.
[Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia, 1952 p 249-250]

Harar awraja, see Harar Zuriya awraja

Nur Ibn Mujahid, who died in 1567, kept up Muslim power around Harar after Ahmed Grañ.

HDE66	Harar Meda, name of the military airfield at Debre Zeyt		
JCF27	Harar Yo Endole (H. Io Endole) (area)	05/44	[+ WO]
	<i>Harar zuriya</i> (A) Harar environs		
JDC96	Harar Zuriya awraja (Harer ..) 09°00'/42°10'	09/42	[+ Gz]
	(centre in 1964-1980 = Harar)		

In the early 1930s the province of Harar was the largest in the Empire. With French spellings of the time it consisted of the following divisions, with their centres given in brackets, according to Zervos:

Garamoulata (Kourfatchallé)	Aniya (Aniya)
Didouale (Ghiri)	Boursoum (Boursoum)
Ogaden (Djidjiga)	Djarso (Djarso)
Oborrah (Goro Goutou)	Meta (Derou-Deder)
Tchertcher (Asba Taffari)	Abaraouel (Taffari Ber)
Yabeta (Karsa)	Issa, Abal (Diré-Daoua)
Gourgoura (Diré-Daoua)	

Sub-province Governor of Harar awraja in 1959 was Major Alula Bekele (he was also Mayor of Harar city?).

"The small coffee plantations round the city of Harar and in the Chercher Highlands -- give relatively high productions. The coffee shrubs, which usually number a few hundreds for each plantation, are planted on very small terraces, and these have a width only a little more than one metre. -- The plantings are unshaded; they are often irrigated, and they receive great care. As a rule the trees remain unpruned until they attain a great height after 15 to 20 years; they are then stumped, and a new cycle of growth begins. According to various publications, coffee was introduced to Harar from Yemen -- The production of coffee in Harar province /not the awraja only!/ ranges somewhere between 8,000 and 12,000 tons and is often of good quality; for it is the practice to collect, by selected picking, only the red berries. The drying heaps of red cherries are small, and they can be taken into the hut at night."

[Agriculture in Ethiopia, Rome(FAO) 1961 p 211]

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

[Agriculture .. 1961 p 216]

Harar Province is regarded as the most important centre of *chat* production in the world. In the plantations typically the distance between trees is 1.5 m in the same row and 2.5 m between rows. Irrigation is unusual. The product is sold as branches about 40 cm long.

"The origin of the cultivation and use of chat at Harar seems lost in legend. The Moslems of that city tell a story of its being revealed by an angel in answer to prayers by two saints who appealed to Allah for something to keep them awake during their long prayers."

Modern use: "The two or three hours after the morning meal are spent chewing *chat* during which time about 1/4 to 3/4 kilogram is consumed by one individual. After this the farmers work for two or three hours at hard labour without any sign of fatigue. Again in the afternoon following a rest period with food and drink, more *chat* is chewed in preparation for further work. The farmers say that if *chat* chewing is not followed by hard

labour it then serves as an irritant rather than as a stimulant."

Chat was cultivated chiefly for local consumption until the advent of modern transportation. Since the first consignment by air to Aden in 1942 exports have increased gradually.

[Journal of Eth. Studies vol III 1965 no 2 p 14-15]

- map 1:100,000 by Mapping & Geog. Institute in the 1960s.
 texts F. de Zeltner, Trois sculptures des environs de Harrar, *in* Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie, 1916;
 H. Breuil, Peintures rupestres préhistoriques du Harrar (Abyssinie) *in* Anthropologie 44(1934);
 S. Venzo, Cefalopodi giurassici degli Altipiani Harrarini, *in* Missione Geol. Dancalia Meridionale. R. Acc. Italia, Roma 1942;
 B. Brown, Palaeontology of Harrar Province, Ethiopia. Part 1: The Dudley expedition, *in* Bull. Am. Museum Natural History, vol 82 no 1 1943;
 J.W. Wells, Palaeontology of Harrar Province, Ethiopia. Part 3: Jurassic Authozoa and Hydrozoa, ditto vol 82 no 2 1943;
 G. Scott, Palaeontology of Harrar Province, Ethiopia. Part 4: Jurassic Cephalopoda and a Cretaceous Nautilus, ditto vol 82 no 3, 1943;
 H. Breuil, La paléolithic du Harrar, *in* Anthropologie 61(1951);
 Tesfaye Gebre Sellassie, Harer awraja, *in* Ethiopian Geographical Journal vol 5, 1967 no 1 p 37-56;
 T. Carmichael, Provincial governance in the early Hayla Sellase state; Harar, 1933, *in* 15th Int Conf of Ethiopian Studies 2003.

- JCU51 Harardiget (Harardighet) 07°44'/44°26' 948 m 07/44 [+ WO Gz]
 Around January 1936 the Ethiopians in a successful night raid with 150 men, the first of its kind carried out by them, captured the wells of Harradiguit.
 [Mockler 1984 p 90]
Harari, ethnic group numbering about 21,757 according to the 1994 census.
- JFA25 Hararo 13/40 [Ne]
 JEH41 Hararu 12°10'/40°49' 606 m 12/40 [Gz]
 KCN55 Harassan (area) 07/45 [WO]
harata (O) 1. broom /of twigs/; 2. abundant commodity;
 3. (harat'a) loan given at an interest
- HDJ35 Haratu (Harato), see Haretu
- haraua: *harawa* (O) 1. red /clothes, animals/; 2. new;
harawwa (O) spacious
- HCR95 Haraua (mountain), see Araua
 JDK86 Harawa (Haraua) 09/43 [MS It]
 ?? Harawa (Haraua) 10°01'/41°54' 791 m 10/41 [+ It]
 JDH17 Harawacha (Harewach'a, Biscian Arauacia) 09/41 [Gz Po WO]
 09°10'/41°20' 2542 m (with school to the north and church Giyorgis)
- HDG73 Harawe Dembi, see under Mendi 09/35 [x]
 HD... Harawii, near Mendi 09/35? [n]
- text Daniel Meshesha & Gidena Medhin, Mendi and Harawii, Regional Geological Report of sub-sheets (NC 36-12/C and J). EIGS report, Addis Ababa 1997, 15 pages.
- HDU95 Harba 10°50'/39°50' 10/39 [MS]
 HDF62 Harbona (Arribona) (mountain) 08°42'/39°35' 1260/1317 m, near the railway 08/39 [Gz WO]
 HDF62 Harbona (place) 08°44'/39°33' 1228 m 08/39 [Gz]
 JBG77 Harbor 04/40 [WO]

harbu (O) kinds of large fig tree, *Ficus* spp., *F. sycomorus*,
(Harar O) *F. capensis*, *F. sur*

HDK18	Harbu 09°13'/38°19' 2665 m	09/38	[AA Gz]
HDL63	Harbu 09°39'/38°44' 2614 m, south of Fiche	09/38	[AA Gz]
HEF05	Harbu 10°55'/39°47' 1508 m	10/39	[Gz x]
	With sub-post office (-1978-). 2,612 out of 7,200 people died /in the relief camp?/ between 29 October 1984 and the end of January 1985. By mid-1985 only a few were dying each day. [Jansson, Harris & Penrose 1987 p 157] Enrollment in the Environmental Education Project at Harbu Community Skill Training Centre (built with Swedish assistance, in Kalu awraja) was 170 individuals in 1985/86 and 60 in 1986/87.		
HDJ35	Harbu Aba Hola 09°24'/37°05' 2506 m, near Haretu	09/37	[Gz]
HDJ55	Harbu Bala 09°31'/37°07' 2374 m, near Shambu	09/37	[Gz]
HDJ85	Harbu Deko 09°49'/37°08' 2537 m	09/37	[Gz]
HDJ96	Harbu Didibe 09°55'/37°11' 2205 m, east of Alibo	09/37	[Gz]
HDJ50	Harbu Gumja 09°33'/36°57' 2212 m	09/36	[Gz]
HDJ11	Harbu Koruma 09°11'/36°44' 2151 m	09/36	[Gz]
HDH85	Harbu Sirba 09°47'/36°13' 2166 m	09/36	[Gz]
HE...	Harbu sub-district (centre in 1964 = Temoch)	11/39	[Ad]
J....	Hardaga	08/40	[18]
JDA75	Hardin 08°50'/40°18' 1599 m	08/40	[Gz]