

An Annotated Late Eighteenth Century Map of Ethiopia

Christopher CLAPHAM and Wolbert G.C. SMIDT

The map with which this note is concerned, ‘Neue Karte von Habessinien und der Angraenzenden Laendern, Nach der grossen Karte des Ritters I. Bruce von Kinnaird, entworfen’,¹ was published by the well-known firm of cartographic publishers, Weigel and Schneider, in Nürnberg, Germany, in 1792. As the subtitle indicates, it is in large part taken from the map published two years earlier, in 1790, in Bruce’s *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, and reproduces such distinctive features of Bruce’s work as the passage of the Blue Nile or Abbay through Lake T’ana in an unbroken stream. However, the wording on Bruce’s map has throughout been translated into German, and many of the place names are spelled to reflect German pronunciation or custom, so that ‘Gooderoo’ in Bruce’s map becomes ‘Guderu’ in Weigel and Schneider, and ‘Galla’ is rendered as ‘Gallaer’, with a large number of other adaptations. Fairly often, too, place names are either less or more prominently marked by Weigel and Schneider than by Bruce: the famous monastery of Debre Libanos, for example, is capitalised by Bruce but appears in the smallest lower-case script in Weigel and Schneider, whereas Sire (the district of Shire in present-day Tigray; s. Nosnitsin 2010a: 669a–672a) appears more prominently in Weigel and Schneider than in Bruce. We have been unable to discover any information on the Weigel and Schneider map that does not also appear on Bruce, though quite a number of smaller place names are included in Bruce but omitted from Weigel and Schneider.

The great interest of this map, however, lies in the large number of original manuscript annotations, made on it in what appears to be early nineteenth century German handwriting. Not only are the left and right margins of the map covered in comments, but a large number of additional details are written on the map itself. In just a few cases, these

insert information that had appeared on Bruce’s original map, but were not copied onto the less detailed Weigel and Schneider edition. The great majority of the additional comments, however, add information, often of great interest, that does not appear on Bruce’s map. While we cannot exclude the possibility that these comments simply reproduce information that was provided in the main text of Bruce’s five volume work, and in a few instances (such as the insertion of the name Gorgora at the north end of Lake T’ana, which does not appear on Bruce’s map) this must indeed have been the case, the most plausible explanation must be that they provide supplementary details collected by an as yet unidentified German traveller in the country at the very end of the eighteenth or in the early nineteenth centuries. Some of the information on local political structures and dependencies are so precise, that this suggests an intimate knowledge about the local situation. A general remark noted on top of the map enhances this impression: The author of the handwritten notes writes ‘Gute Karte’ (‘good map’), as if he wishes to express his satisfaction with the fact that the map corresponds to his own observations and experiences.

At this stage of the research it cannot be said who exactly may have been the author of the handwritten remarks. Could it have been Carsten Niebuhr, the famous Danish-German traveller, who was one of the first good cartographers of the Red Sea and from whom we know that he worked in later years on Bruce’s publications (see the contribution of Ib Friis in this volume)? However, Niebuhr had only second hand information on northern Sudan and inner Ethiopia, having only collected extensively information from local merchants and other travellers and migrants while he was in the Yemen and other countries along the Red Sea

and Indian Ocean. It may therefore be more probable to assume that the notes are linked with the traveller Eduard Rüppell² from Frankfurt, who was one of the first German explorers in the Ethiopian region (1831–33). He had indeed travelled in northern Ethiopia, thus exactly the region with most handwritten remarks on this map, and he must have had intimate knowledge of the political situation, dependencies, suzerainties in the area. Or could it be one of the rather little known very early settlers, such as a south German craftsman, who had lived in ‘Addigrat in the 1820s and about whose fate we know almost nothing, except that he had built the church ‘Addigrat Ch’erqos? But perhaps we should just assume that the map had been in the hands of a well-informed German geographer who had collected latest information from other sources.

It is interesting to look into the details, which show that this map is an original product of geographical (and ethnographical) research in the region, thus a witness of its research history. The details give us a valid insight into the Ethiopian region in the period of decentralisation remembered as Zemene Mesafint (‘Period of the Princes’), and neighbouring smaller and bigger kingdoms, such as Muslim Sinnar (today in northern Sudan), Kefa (since atsé Minilik’s southern expansion part of Ethiopia), Kambaataa and Hadiyya (also part of the Christian Ethiopian state since the late 19th century). The author of the handwritten notes carefully distinguishes between ‘Abyssinian’ (i.e., Christian Ethiopian) provinces, even if they were virtually independent or autonomous, marking them with ‘P.’ (= ‘province’), and the neighbouring states, which shows his intimate knowledge of the political situation of the time.

The author explains this in detail:

NB. alle Namen die mit einem P. bezeichnet sind, sind abyss. Provinzen. unter ihren Statthaltern. alle übrigen ohne P. gehören den Gallaern, außer Schoa, das einen eigenen unabhängigen doch mit Abyss. verbündeten König hat, und Lasta, das auch seinen aber an Abyss. zinsbarn König hat. Enarea und Kaffa haben auch eigene christl. Könige. Enarea hat auch einen eigenen christl. König. Consch soll ein großes mächtiges \. besonderes \. Königreich seyn, von Heiden bewohnt. (‘Nota bene: All names which are marked by a P. are Abyssinian provinces with their own governors, while

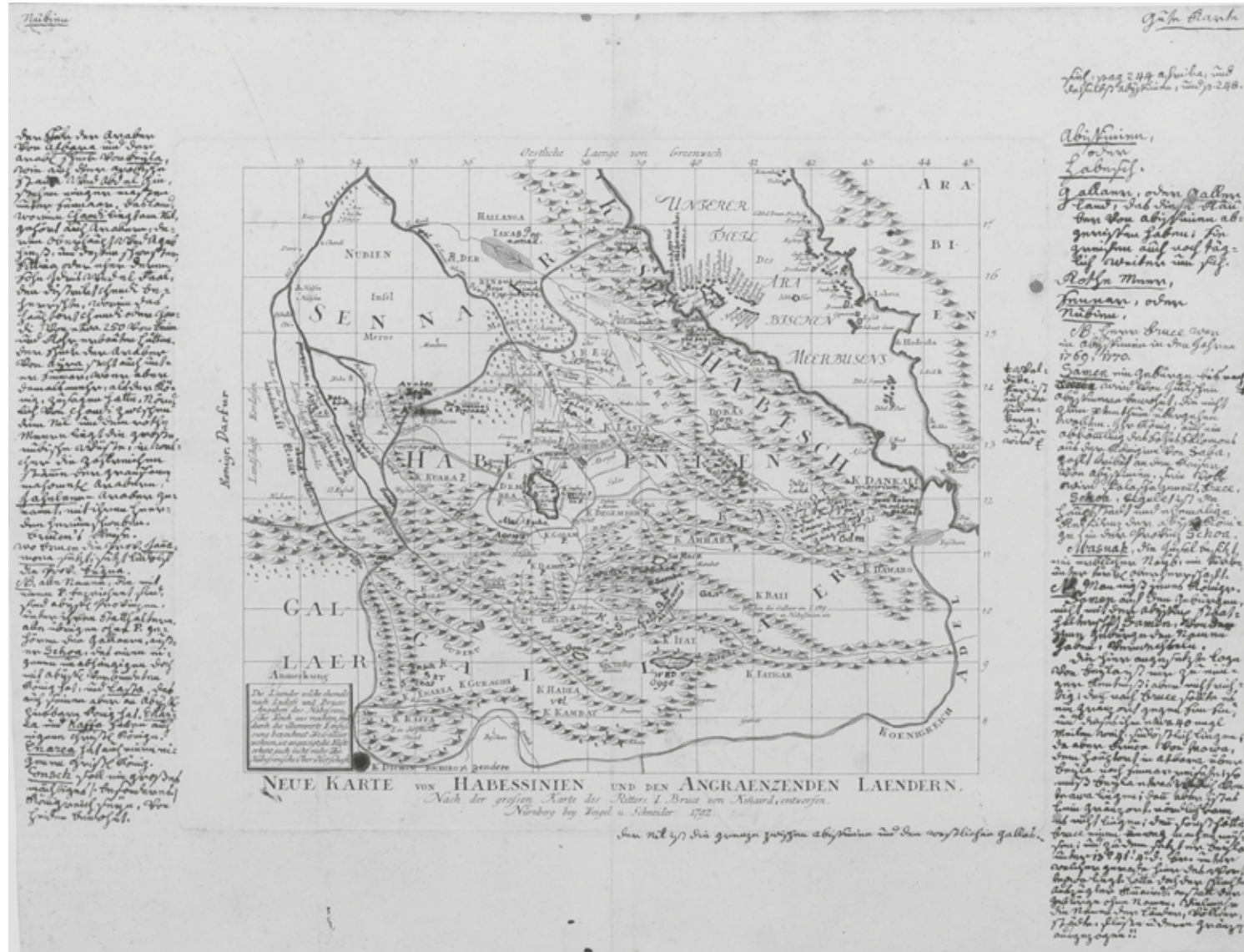
all others belong to the Galla, except Shewa, which has its own independent king, who is, however, allied with Abyssinia, and Lasta, which also has its own king, who is, however, tributary to Abyssinia. Innarea and Kefa also have their own Christian kings. Innarea also has its own Christian king (s. Abbink 2007:570a–571a). Consch is said to be a great, powerful and separate kingdom, inhabited by pagans.’) The same information on Shewa again appears in a handwritten remark on the map itself under ‘Amhara’: ‘K. Schoa sub pprio Rege indep. amico Abissinia’ (‘[Kingdom of] Shewa, under its own king, allied with the Abyssinians’).

This passage provides quite a number of interesting details: The author draws clear distinctions between several stages of independence, suzerainty and tributary relationships. The dominating kingdom is ‘Abyssinia’ (i.e. the Christian highland kingdom, which called itself Ityop’ya, which seems to be unknown to the author), which is differentiated from its neighbors.³ The author observes, that there are also other independent entities or states, whose rulers are called ‘kings’ by him, a term which was generally designating sovereigns, independent from other states, in that period. He states correctly, that Kefa and Limmuu-Innarea (as we call this kingdom now, with its historical double name) were separate kingdoms, and that Shewa had also acquired its independence, while still entertaining a special relation with the Christian Ethiopian state. Lasta again had a special status within the Christian state, as the author correctly stated, being a highly autonomous territory tributary to the Ethiopian ruler. Lasta was in fact ruled by the Wag Shum, who enjoyed a high position among the autonomous governors and princes of Christian Ethiopia due to his alleged descent from the Zagwe dynasty, the dynasty of medieval rulers of Ethiopia (this is reflected also by a Latin note on the map itself, under Lasta: ‘Sub pprie Principe depen.’, i.e. ‘Under their own Prince, [who is] dependent’). It may seem puzzling that the kings of Kefa and Innarea are said to have been Christians, while we know about the complex and ancient Ego and Waqaa religions of these areas, which were quite distinct from Christianity. It is, however, true that the kings were often viewed as Christians by their northern neighbors, as they also had a monotheistic religion and had integrated numerous Christian rituals (such as the cult

An Annotated Late Eighteenth Century Map of Ethiopia

of St. Mary and the Mesqel feast). Moreover, important clans of the region identified themselves as Christians, descending from Christian highlander migrants (such as the Kritiinoos, or 'Christian', the Amaarros, i.e. 'Amhara', a term often simply used for Christian highlanders, or Tagarros, 'Tigrayans' etc.).

If we look at the areas close to the Red Sea coast, we find again traces of real actual knowledge about the political status of the respective areas and the local political interconnections. For example, the author notes on Massawa: 'Masuah, die Insel besitzt ein erblicher Nayb, ein Türcke, unter türk. Oberherrschaft'. ('Masuah, the island is owned by a governor with the inherited title of *nayb*, a Turk under Turkish domination'.) It shall be noted first, that the spelling 'Masuah' is slightly closer to the actual Arabic pronunciation than its later English corruption 'Massawa' (which was based on Ottoman Turkish). It is correct that until the mid-19th cen-



Map of 1792, in private possession of Christopher Clapham

50 tury, Massawa was under the undisputed, inherited rulership of a local Ottoman governor, whose Turkish title and office, *nayb*, was transferred to his heirs after his death. This information is repeated in Latin on a note directly on the map, near Masuah: ‘sub pprio Naibo mahometano’ (‘under its Muslim *nayb*’). The most interesting details, which in fact show a rather unusual knowledge of the local situation, are handwritten notes in the adjacent highland areas: The former capital of Hamasén, Dobarwa, is said to be ‘under Massawa’ (‘sub Masuah’), and ‘Dixsa’ (Dĩgsa) is part of Abyssinia on the one hand, but under Massawa on the other hand (‘ad Abyssiniam sed sub Masuah’). Especially the latter information is interesting, as we know that Dĩgsa was a Muslim-Christian border town in the early 19th century, with its Muslim population being under the rulership of the Ottomans, and its Christian population belonging to the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, respectively the local Christian governor, who was loosely tributary to the Ethiopian king of kings.⁴ While the Ottomans thus had some territories in the highlands, the Christian highlanders also controlled a territory nearby the coast: ‘P. Mid ra b - ar’ (= Midre Bahri, ‘Land of the Sea’) was a ‘P.’, i.e. a province of Abyssinia according to the systematics of these notes. However, this province’s name was rather an expression of a claim, not so much of a reality: It was the name used for the larger highland area (including Hamasén), which controlled caravan ways to the sea, but neither the sea itself nor even the coastal plains. These plains are called ‘Samhar’ on the map. Semhar was not under Abyssinia any more, as the printed legend of the map informs the reader: ‘die Küste erkennt auch nicht mehr die Habessinische Ober-Herrschaft’ (‘the coast does also not recognize any more the overrule of the Abyssinians’). This observation corresponds to what we know about the complex interrelations of Christian Ethiopian and Ottoman claims on border territories, which bound them together and were often results of pragmatic negotiations, which were carried out to assure peaceful caravan routes to the coast. This coastal area is called ‘Küste Habesch’ (‘Coast of Habesh’), following a pattern on older maps, which regularly call this area ‘Coast of Habesh’ or ‘Coast of Abex’, using an older spelling introduced by the 16th century Portuguese (Abex = Portuguese for ‘Habesh’). This term has its own history: In the Ottoman administra-

tion, the whole coastal area was in fact called Habesh Eyaleti (Ottoman: ‘Province of Habesh’),⁵ in contrast to the highlands, which had preserved its independence from Ottoman rule (later often called ‘Habeshistan’ in Ottoman sources, i.e. ‘Abyssinia’, the proper state of the Christian rulers, in contrast to the largely Ottoman-controlled coastal areas).

There is also some scattered information on the livelihood of local populations, with rough ethnographic details: the author notes around that area a ‘Pop. Agaazi Habab’, i.e. the names of a local population. In fact, the Habab (Smidt 2005b:945b–947a) are a well-known ethnic group speaking Tigré, living in areas north of Hamasén. But what means the term ‘Agaazi’? This is one of the most fascinating notes on the map, based on some real local knowledge. There are indeed very few travellers who mention that term (among them, in the mid-19th century, Werner Munzinger, who was among the first to seriously study the ethnography of the Tigré). Its correct spelling would be Ag’azi, which originally meant the ‘Gĩ’iz people’, a very ancient term referring to the first rulers of the early Aksumite kingdom, and which appears already in ancient inscriptions. The Aksumite rulers spoke the Gĩ’iz language, which is today preserved only as liturgical language. What is often not known is the fact that until very recently the leading groups of several Tigré nomads and semi-nomads in the northern extension of the highlands and adjacent lowlands near the Red Sea coast were calling themselves Ag’azi.⁶ This term seems to be a remnant of ancient times, forgotten in most other regions. In this context it is worthwhile to note that recent research suggests a close linguistic relation between Tigré and Gĩ’iz, with Tigré virtually being nothing else than a quite independent dialect of Gĩ’iz.⁷ The note on this map confirms the observation from different other sources that leading groups in that region still called themselves Ag’azi in that period, and were thus the carriers of a very ancient tradition. Still some highlanders between Aksum and Agame claim descent from Ag’azi, which shows an ancient link between highlands and lowlands. There may be another hint to a connection between the coastal areas and the highlands: Also ‘Hamazin’ is found on the map in the lowlands near the Sea – but probably misplaced: It seems to be a slight misspelling of Hamasén, the most power-

ful province of the northern highlands in the border area to Ottoman territory (Smidt 2005d:987a–990a). This note may, however, refer to ‘ Hamasénot’, groups originating from Hamasén, who were semi-nomadic and according to oral tradition having been active in border areas of the Tigré (in this case the placement may be quite correct).

Another rare set of information on borderlands are found in the western highlands and adjacent lowlands of Tigray: Sire (= Shiré) is ‘itzt mit Tigre vereinigt’, i.e. ‘now unified with Tigray’. This indicates, correctly, that Shiré was at times a province separate from Tigray, Tigray historically having been today’s central Tigray, with Adwa and Aksum at its centre. Under Shiré, at the Tekkeze river, a note refers to the ‘Schangal’, which is again most interesting, as it refers to ‘Shanqella’, a derogative term of black people, used by highlanders. This is one of the earliest references to a black population in the Shiré area and southwest of it. This population does still exist in that wider area, but has in fact almost never been studied due to their marginal position in a border area at the fringes of the highlands.⁸ Local oral tradition refers to black people precisely having lived along the Tekkeze river, which corresponds perfectly to the note on this map. These populations had been victims of slave raids and were bound in dependent relationships with ruling classes in the adjacent highlands. Further in the east are the ‘Samen Falascha R.’, i.e. the Judaizing ‘R.’ (Kingdom) of Simén – another marginalized group again, which stands for the great diversity of the western and southwestern border areas of Tigray. On this more further below. Further west, there is ‘Walduba’ (the ancient Christian region of Waldebba; s. Nosnitsin 2010b: 1112b–1114a), and ‘Tzaegede P.’ and ‘Walkaet’, which were the two nearby highland provinces Tsegede and Welqayt,⁹ separated from Waldebba by the Mezega lowlands. Politically, also this region is complex: Under ‘Walkaet Simsin’ there is a note which shows that this area is under the control of Arabs (‘Da reina Arabes’), which in fact refers to the lowland Muslim kingdom of Mezega, below the Welqayt highlands. Mezega itself is also marked on the map, beyond the traditional Ethiopian boundary on the Sudanese side (‘Mazaga’, with a population of ‘Schangallaer’, which is again referring to black populations who still live in these lowlands). The former,

larger Mezega was a once important lowland kingdom under control of a Muslim queen in the 16th century,¹⁰ afterwards strongly reduced in importance, but still controlling some lowland areas until the early 19th century expansion of the Egyptians into the Sudan, and subsequent Ethiopian penetration of the lowlands west of Tigray and north of Gonder between the 17th to mid-19th centuries. In the early 19th century the Nimrab Arabs (an Arabophone Ja’alin group; s. Smidt 2007: 1187b–1188b) had settled in these lowlands, having deserted Shendi after a conflict with the Egyptians, and protected by the Christian ruler of Tigray, *dejjazmach* Wubé, to whom they had become tributary.

We had already mentioned the Judaizing ‘Falascha’ (calling themselves Béte Isra’él), a population in the Simén, who had their own kingdom.¹¹ In a note the author clarifies: ‘NB Man muß jenes Königr. Samen auf den Gebürgen, nicht mit der abyss. Staat-halterschaft Samen, von der jene Gebürge den Namen haben, verwechseln’. (‘Nota bene: One shall not confuse this kingdom of Simén, located in the mountains, with the Abyssinian governorate of Simén, which gave its name to the mountains’). This is again a historically interesting note, as it refers to the then still semi-independent, remote kingdom of Jewish groups in the Simén mountains. It is correct, that this small autonomous territory was not identical with the larger Simén province, which was ruled by strong local Christian governors tributary to the Ethiopian state. One of its Christian rulers in the course of the 19th century was *dejjazmach* Wubé of Simén, already mentioned above, who added all of Tigray to his province or principedom in subsequent wars of expansion to the north. In another note, the author gives more precise information on the Jewish people of the Simén, in reference to James Bruce:

Samen ein Gebürge bis nach Walduba, hier ist auch der Judenberg, dieser wird von Jüdischen Abyssiniern bewohnt, die nicht zum Xtenthum übergehen wollten. Ihr König, auch ein Abkömmling des Sohns Salomons aus der Königin Von Saba, zahlt Tribut an den Kaiser Von Abyssinien. Sein Volk wird Falascha genannt. Bruce. (‘Simén, a mountain range up to Waldebba, here is located the Mountain of the Jews, inhabited by Jewish Abyssinians, who did not want to convert to Christianity. Their king, a descendant

of the son of Solomon from his relation with the Queen of Sheba, pays tribute to the Emperor of Abyssinia. His people are called Falasha. [According to] Bruce.’)

The notes on the non-Abyssinian populations, which the author calls ‘Galla’, are not very detailed. But also these deserve a short discussion. But who are these ‘Galla’? The author notes, that ‘The Nile is the border between Abyssinia and the western Galla’, which is an information corroborated also by other sources, referring to the Blue Nile, which in fact was the border between the provinces controlled by Christian Ethiopian rulers, and, beyond the river, territories of Oromo and, further west, Gumuz. All too easily one often concludes that this term would simply refer to the Oromo, as until the 20th century this term was used in a derogatory way to designate the Oromo. However, this map uses the term in a much more general way, which certainly reflects some local use of the term. For example, the author refers to Dankali ‘*proprium Regem habens. modo sub Gallais*’ (in Latin), i.e. the Afar (in Arabic ‘Danakil’), who ‘have their own king’ and belong to the ‘Galla’. This usage of the term is found in numerous old sources, in this case meaning the Afar, i.e. another Cushitic population. In fact, the term was used not in a very precise way, and seems to have generally referred to Cushitic populations, which were often not under the control of the Christian Ethiopian kings. A German note under Angot again refers to the ‘Galla’: ‘*ist fast ganz in den Händen der Gallaer, deren Oberhaupt Goangul heißt*’ (i.e., Angot is ‘almost totally controlled by the Galla, whose leader is called Gwangul’).¹² There are also Oromo in Gojjam, where we find ‘Basso Galla’ (‘Lower Galla’), with the correct remark ‘Sub Abissinia’ (i.e. under Christian Ethiopian rulership), which again shows a precise knowledge of the local territorial organisation. The map contains a printed remark, which underlines the importance of the Oromo for the political map of Ethiopia under ‘K. Bali’ (Bali kingdom): ‘*Hier brachen die Gallaer im I. 1559 in Habessinien ein*’ (‘At this place the Galla entered into Abyssinia’). This reflects the general Christian highlanders narrative of the Oromo expansion, taking large territories of the Christian highlands. The historical situation may have been slightly different, with different

stages and grades of interconnections and mingling already before and a long process of settlement and migration. The historical memory, however, focuses, understandably, on the history of mass migration linked with confrontation in the period of the power vacuum after the devastating wars between Christian Ethiopia and the Adal state under *imam* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghazi (‘Grañ’).

The ethnically and religiously diverse situation of the northern region is made clear also by the note added under the term ‘Dobas’ (in the border areas between ‘Tigre’ and ‘K. Dankali’): They were ‘Heiden’ (‘pagans’). This is an almost totally unknown ethnic group by now, which, however, appears prominently on older maps. Recent research shows, that these people (the ‘Dob^{ca}’) do still exist in the form of distinct lineages and have detailed historical memories, even if they have merged into the majority cultures of the Rayyaa-Oromo or, in some areas, of the Tigrayans.¹³

The Muslim territories north and northwest of ‘Abyssinia’ are also explained in some detail, as they were crossed by Bruce and also by other travellers, who avoided the Massawa – Red Sea route. As mentioned above, part of the border regions around Welqayt were under Muslim rulership and only later included into the power sphere of *dejjazmach* Wubé. If we have a closer look on the map, we see that the area of the ‘Arabes’ just below Welqayt was still lying within the traditional boundaries of Ethiopia,¹⁴ which reinforces the impression, that this really refers exactly to the early presence of Ja’alin Arabs, as mentioned above (just in the beginning of the migration of the rebellious Nimrab from Shendi?). This question cannot be answered with security as long as we do not know about the date of the handwritten notes. But if our assumption is correct, that they date from the early 19th century, it may very well be already a reference to the Nimrab. If we look just beyond the Ethiopian boundary, there is ‘Mazaga’, already discussed above and still further north the Taka province, with a nomadic population (‘Pop. nomad’). A handwritten note at the margin of the map discusses the problematic contradicting information on the Muslim-Christian borderlands north of Qwara (‘Kuara P.’). The author of these lines complains that the border town on the Sudanese (Sinnar) side, Beyla, must be misplaced on the map as there is a contradiction between the origi-

nal English map and Bruce's reports.¹⁵ Bruce had reported that Beyla was in the border areas of Atbara (a province named after one of the tributaries of the Nile) and Simsim, 40 miles away on the Ethiopian side nearby Welqayt, while the English map places it somewhere else. The depiction of these border-areas, and generally the depiction of the adjacent Muslim lands, is rather rough in comparison with the more detailed (even if still very inexact and unbalanced) Christian Ethiopian lands, which reflects a long trend in the 19th century cartography and research of European geographers: Also in the coming decades more and more was known about the Ethiopian lands, which welcomed researchers at a quite early age, while much of the Muslim lands stayed more empty. This map thus also stands for this trend, which was continued a long time in modern research history.

This map is an early example of a mixture of already well-informed details and mere guesses, mixing information from different sources, which needed interpretation, improvisation and guessing. Still, this is a precious example of the early first phase of an already flourishing geographical research, which was very interested in political and ethnographic information. The unknown author of the handwritten notes seems to have struggled with the lack of precision of his source, which illustrates his serious attempts to improve the map and come to a more precise knowledge of the region. He exclaims at the end of his notes: 'I wished this bad map-maker of Kinnaird [= Bruce of Kinnaird] would have put the names of countries, peoples, towns, rivers and their boundaries on the map, instead of [all these] mountains without names!!'¹⁶ Still, he recognizes the efforts, he notes on the top: 'Good map'.

This judgment also corresponds to the recent remark by Haubold (2011, p. 20) in his short overview article on maps of Ethiopia: He reproduced an un-annotated version of this map and called it 'clear and well-arranged?'. We shall add that this map of 1792 stands for the beginning of new patterns of mapping of the Ethiopian region: Since then, maps are marked by a rising quality and quantity of local information inserted into old cartographic models, subsequently replacing them. This inaugurated thus a new tradition of – 'good maps'.

References

ABBINK, Jon

2007 'Limmu-Ānnarya', in: Siegbert UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3: *He–N*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 570a–571a.

BULAKH, Maria

2006 'Die Tigre', in: Steffen WENIG (ed. with Wolbert SMIDT, Kerstin VOLKER-SAAD and Burkhard VOGT), *In kaiserlichem Auftrag: Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, vol. 1: *Die Akteure und die wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen der DAE in Eritrea*, Aichwald: Verlag Lindenschot 2006 (FAAK, vol. 3.1), pp. 73–76.

CRUMMEY, Donald – RED.

2005 'G^wangul', in: Siegbert UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2: *D–Ha*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 938b–939a.

DANIEL TECLEMARIAM et al.

1997 *Eritrea Dialect Survey: December 1996–May 1997: Report*, Asmara.

ELLERO, Giovanni

1948 'Il Uolcait', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, vol. 6–7, pp. 108–109.

1995 *Antropologia e storia d'Etiopia. Note sullo Scirè, l'Endertà, i Tacruri e il Uolcait*, ed. by Gianfrancesco LUSINI, Udine: Campanotto.

FICQUET, Eloi

2013 'Yäggu', in: Alessandro BAUSI in cooperation with Siegbert UHLIG (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 5: *Y–Z, Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 12b–15a.

GORI, Alessandro – Wolbert SMIDT

2010 'Ottoman Empire, relations with the', in: Siegbert UHLIG in cooperation with Alessandro BAUSI (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4: *O–X*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 74b–81a.

HABTOM GHEBREMEDHIN – Wolbert SMIDT

2010 ‘Šällim Bet’, in: Siegbert UHLIG in cooperation with Alessandro BAUSI (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4: O–X, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 496b–498a.

HAMMERSCHMIDT, Ernst

1967 *Äthiopien, Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden.

HAUBOLD, Fritz

2011 ‘Äthiopien im Spiegel von historischen Karten’, in: Steffen Wenig (ed.), *In kaiserlichem Auftrag, Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, Vol. 2: *Altertumskundliche Untersuchungen der DAI in Tigray/Äthiopien*, Wiesbaden: Reichert 2011, pp. 13–28.

KAPLAN, Steven

1992 *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York, NY.

2003 ‘Betä ʾIsraʾel’, in: Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 1: A–C, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 552a–559a.

LUSINI, Gianfrancesco

2007 ‘Mäzäga’, in: Siegbert UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3: He–N, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 891b–892b.

MERTENS, Robert

1949 *Eduard Rüppell, Leben und Werk eines Forschungsreisenden*, Frankfurt am Main.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

n.d. *Eritrea, Standardization, Eritrean Languages and Their Dialects*, Asmara.

NOSNITSIN, Denis

2005 ‘Ga^cəwa’, in: Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2: D–Ha, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 646b–647a

2010a ‘Šire’, in: Siegbert UHLIG in cooperation with Alessandro BAUSI (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4: O–X, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 669a–672a.

2010b ‘Waldəbba’, in: Siegbert UHLIG in cooperation with Alessandro BAUSI (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4: O–X, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 1112b–1114a.

2010c ‘Wälqayt’, in: Siegbert Uhlig in cooperation with Alessandro BAUSI (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4: O–X, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2010, pp. 1122a–1123a.

QUIRIN, James

1992 *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA.

2010 ‘Səmen’, in: Siegbert UHLIG in cooperation with Alessandro BAUSI (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4: O–X, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2010, pp. 611a–613b.

RÜPPELL, Eduard

1834–40 *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main.

SMIDT, Wolbert

2005a ‘Dəgsa’, in: Siegbert UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2: D–Ha, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 125b–126b.

2005b ‘Ḥabab’, in: Siegbert UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2: D–Ha, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 945b–947a

2005c ‘Ḥabeš’, in: Siegbert UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2: D–Ha, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 950b–952a.

2005d ‘Ḥamasen’, in: Siegbert UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2: D–Ha, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2005, pp. 987a–990a.

2007 ‘Nimrāb’, in: Siegbert UHLIG (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3: He–N, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2007, pp. 1187b–1188b.

2010 ‘Təgre: Təgre ethnography’, in: Siegbert UHLIG in cooperation with Alessandro BAUSI (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4: O–X, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 897a–899b.

2011 ‘Preliminary Report on an Ethnohistorical Research Among the Chʾaré People, a Hidden Ethnic Splinter Group in West-

ern Tigray', *ITYOPIS, Northeast African Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. I, pp. 102–125.

Endnotes:

- 1 'New Map of Abyssinia and the Adjoining Countries, adapted from the great Map of J. Bruce of Kinnaird'. Original in the possession of Christopher Clapham.
- 2 See his major work Eduard Rüppell: *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40. On him see Ernst Hammerschmidt: *Äthiopien, Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 8, and Robert Mertens, *Eduard Rüppell, Leben und Werk eines Forschungsreisenden*, Frankfurt am Main 1949.
- 3 In another note on the map the author refers to a political-geographical concept, which defines the two most important regions: 'Abyssinien oder Habesch. Gallaer, oder Gallerland, das diese Räuber von Abyssinien abgerissen haben; sie greifen auch noch täglich weiter um sich.' (Abyssinia or Habesh. Galla or Gallaland, which was taken away by these robbers from Abyssinia; they still continue to expand on a daily basis').
- 4 See with references to contemporary sources on its complex status under a double sovereignty (or suzerainty): Smidt 2005a: 125b–126b.
- 5 On this province and its administrative structure see: Smidt 2005c: 950b–952a; Gori – Smidt 2010: 74b–81a.
- 6 See on on this: Smidt 2010: 897a–899b; see also Bulakh 2006: 73–76.
- 7 Research carried out by a team with the linguist Klaus Wedekind, see Daniel Teclmariam et al., *Eritrea Dialect Survey: December 1996–May 1997: Report*, Asmara 1997; see also Ministry of Education, Eritrea, *Standardization, Eritrean Languages and Their Dialects*, Asmara n.d., 65f.
- 8 See a recent field research on them: Wolbert Smidt: 'Preliminary Report on an Ethnohistorical Research Among the Ch'aré People, a Hidden Ethnic Splinter Group in Western Tigray', in: *ITYOPIS, Northeast African Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. I/2011, pp. 102–125, and Habtom Gebremedhin – Smidt 2010: 496b–498a. Almost the only earlier work referring to these populations was Giovanni Ellero: *Antropologia e storia d'Etiopia. Note sullo Scirè, l'Endertà, i Tacruri e il Uolcait*, ed. by Gianfrancesco Lusini, Udine: Campanotto 1995.
- 9 See on this: Giovanni Ellero: 'Il Uolcait', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 6-7, 1948, pp. 108–09. See also Nosnitsin 2010c: 1122a–1123a.
- 10 Lusini 2007: 891b–892b; see also, on the 16th century ruler of Mezega, Nosnitsin 2005: 646b–647a.
- 11 On the Bête Isra'él or 'Ayhud' see: Steven Kaplan: *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992; James Quirin: *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992; Kaplan 2003: 552a–559a; Quirin 2010: 611a–613b.
- 12 This refers to the Oromo leader of Yejju and founder of the Yejju dynasty, Gwangul (Oromo: Guwaanguul), who ruled in about the mid-1760s to 1784, see Crummey – Red. 2005: 938b–939a. As the handwritten notes are probably from a later date, they seem to refer to outdated information, for example from Bruce. The territory of Yejju roughly corresponded to the ancient province of Angot: Ficquet 2014: 12b–15a.
- 13 See on them and their role in older German researchers' accounts the article by Fesseha Berhe in this volume.
- 14 The printed map contains a remark on these boundaries: 'Die Laender welche ehemals nach Ludo[l]fs und Bruces Angaben das Habessinische Reich ausmachten sind durch die illuminirte Einfassung bezeichnet'. This note makes clear that the map shows the traditional boundary of 'the Habessinian Empire', comprising all its 'countries', based on the reports of Bruce, and, a century before, of Hiob Ludolf, the 17th century leading Ethiopianist.
- 15 The handwritten explanation reads: 'Die hier angesetzte Lage von Beyla ist nur zu einiger Kenntniß: aber nicht richtig; denn nach Bruce sollte es ein Gränzort gegen Simsin und dieses ihm etwa 40 engl. Meilen weit. südöstlich liegen; da aber Bruce von Mawa dem Hauptort in Atbara über Beyla nach Sennar reisete; so muß Beyla etwas weiter westlich von Mawa liegen; dann aber ist es kein Gränzort, nordlich kann es nicht liegen; denn sonst hätte Bruce einen Umweg machen müssen; und zudem setzt er Beyla unter 13°14'4" d. br. unter welcher gerade hier das Wort Mawa liegt.' ('The position of Beyla, which is shown here, is just for information: but it is not correct, because according to Bruce it was a border settlement towards Simsim, and Simsim was about 40 English miles away in southeastern direction; as Bruce travelled from Mawa, the main town of Atbara, via Beyla to Sinnar, Beyla must have been further West from Mawa; in that case it is, however, not a border settlement, and it cannot lie in northern direction; as in this case Bruce would have made a detour; in addition, he puts Beyla under 13°14'4" where we find exactly Mawa [on this map].')
- 16 'Hätte doch der schlechte Auszügler Kinnairds anstatt der Gebürge ohne Namen, vielmehr die Namen der Länder, Völker, Städte, Flüße u deren Gränzen ausgezogen!!'.

Annex

Manuscript notes on Weigel map of Abyssinia, 1792, transcribed by Wolbert Smidt and Christopher Clapham

56

NoBM = not on Map in Bruce's Travels

Nubien

Der Scheck der Araber von Atbara und der arab. Scheck von Beyla wie auch der arabische Stam Wad Abdel Gin, stehen einiger maßen unter Sennaar. Das Land worinn Chandi liegt am Nil gehört auch Arabern, deren Oberhaupt Wad Ageb hieß, und dessen Schwester, Sittina oder eher deren Sohn Idris Wad el Faal, den Distrikt Chendi beherrschte, worinn das Hauptort Chendi oder Chandi Von etwa 250 Von Bein und Rohr erbauten Hütten. Der Scheck der Araber Von Ayra steht auch unter Sennar, wo er aber damals mehr, als der König, zu sagen hatte. Nördlich von Chandi zwischen dem Nil und dem rothen Meere liegt die große nubische Wüste, in welcher die zahlreichen Stämme der grausamen

mahomet. Arabern, Jahaleen-Araber genannt, mit ihren Heerden herumschweben.

Brucen's Reise.
Wo Bruce die Prov. Jannamora setzt, setzt Ludolf die Prov. Bugna.
NB. alle Namen die mit einem P. bezeichnet sind, sind abyss. Provinzen. unter ihren Statthaltern. alle übrigen ohne P. gehören den Gallaern, außer Schoa, das einen eigenen unabhängigen doch mit Abyss. verbündeten König hat, und Lasta, das auch seinen aber an Abyss. zinsbarn König hat. Enar ea und Kaffa haben auch eigene christl. Könige. Enarea hat auch einen eigenen christl. König. Consch soll ein großes mächtiges \. besonderes \. Königreich seyn, von Heiden bewohnt.

sieh. pag 244 Africa, und daselbst Abyssinien, und p. 248 Abyssinien

oder Habesch.
Gallaer, oder Galler land, das diese Ränder von Abyssinien abgerissen haben; sie greifen auch noch täglich weiter um sich.
Rothe Meer, Sennar, oder Nubien
NB: Herr Bruce war in Abyssinien in den Jahren 1769. 1770.
Samen ein Gebürge bis nach Walduba, hier ist auch der Judenberg, dieser wird von Jüdischen Abyssiniern bewohnt, die nicht zum Xtentum übergehen wollten. Ihr König, auch ein Abkömmling des Sohns Salomons aus der Königin Von Saba, zahlt Tribut an den Kaiser Von Abyssinien. Sein Volk wird Falascha genannt. Bruce. Schoa. Tegulet ist die Hauptstadt und ehemalige Residenz der abyss. Könige in der Provinz Schoa Masuah, die Insel besitzt

ein erblicher Nayb, ein Türcke, unter türk. Oberherrschaft. NB Man muß jenes Königr. Samen auf den Gebürgen, nicht mit der abyss. Staatshalterschaft Samen, von der jene Gebürge den Namen haben, verwechseln. Die hier angesetzte Lage von Beyla ist nur zu einigermassen Kenntniß; aber nicht richtig; denn nach Bruce sollte es ein Gränztort gegen Sinsin und dieses ihm etwa 40 engl. Meilen weit. südöstlich liegen; da aber Bruce von Mawa dem Hauptort in Atbara über Beyla nach Sennar reisete; so muß Beyla etwas weiter westlich von Mawa liegen; dann aber ist es kein Gränztort, nordlich kann es nicht liegen; denn sonst hätte Bruce einen Umweg machen müssen; und zudem setzt er Beyla unter 13°14'4" d. br. unter welcher gerade hier das Wort Mawa liegt. Hätte doch der schlechte Auszügler Kinnairds anstatt der Gebürge ohne Namen, vielmehr die Namen der Länder, Völker, Städte, Flüsse u deren Gränzen ausgezogen!!

Handwritten notes on the map itself:

Under Angot:

ist fast ganz in den Händen der Gallaer, deren
Oberhaupt Goangul heißt.

NoBM

Under Dankali:

propriam Regem habens. modo sub Gallais
(on its left: Salzland, i.e. 'salt land')

NoBM

Under Lasta:

Sub pprie Principe depen.

NoBM

Under Sire:

itzt mit Tigre vereinigt

NoBM

Below:

Schangal.

(on its right: Samen Falascha R.)

NoBM

NoBM

Under Walkaet Simsini:

Da reina Arabes

NoBM

Under Walduba:

Tzaegede P. Bruce has Waldubba, followed by Tsegade, but no 'P.'

Under Dobarwa:

sub Masuah

NoBM

Below:

Astruspes itzt Mareb (= now [called] Mareb)

Under Dixam:

ad Abyssiniam sed sub Masuah

NoBM

Under Masuah:

sub pprio Naibo mahometano

NoBM

Under Taka:

Pop. nomad. (= nomadic population)

NoBM

Under Hamazin:

Pop. Agaazi Habab

NoBM

Under Küste Habesch:

Samhar

P. Mid- ra b - ar [= Midre Bahr] Bruce has Samhar, but no reference to Mid.

Under Ambara:

See Haik ('Lake Hayq') Bruce has Haik, with reference
to St. Stephen's (monastery) in the Lake

Walaka P. ad Schoa (= belonging to Schoa) NoBM,

but Bruce has reference to Edjou Galla

K. Samba Bruce has Samba R = River

K. Schoa on Bruce map

sub pprio Rege indep. amico Abissinia

NoBM

Below Ifat

Wed v. Ogge Bruce has Wedje at this point, below Lake Zawaja (= Zwai)

Along the Fl. Tacuzze (= Tekkeze River):

val olim Sirys

NoBM

Under R. Derkin:

sub pprio Rege independente

NoBM

Below:

Der Nil ist die Grenze zwischen Abissinien und der westlichen Gallas. ('The Nile is the border between Abyssinia and the western Galla.')

East of See Zawaja:

Matschi (name of river linking Zway to Awash)

Lake West of Zawaja:

Named as Gombo

NoBM

Under K. Hadea:

'vel' inserted between K.Hadea (= Hadiyya) and K.Kambat (= Kambataa),
indicating that these are different names for the same Kingdom, whereas
both Bruce and W&S indicate that they are separate

An Annotated Late Eighteenth Century Map of Ethiopia

Under Basso Galla (in Gojjam):

Sub Abissinia *NoBM*

Under Dobas:

Pop. Heiden ('Pagans') *NoBM*

North-West of Lake T'ana:

Guosgue P. *NoBM*

Around West of Lake T'ana:

Dinsleber *NoBM*

North of Lake T'ana:

Gorgora *NoBM*

South-West of Lake T'ana:

Maitsha (= Mech'a Oromo)

South-West of Lake Tana in 'Goiam P.':

Agows *on Bruce Map*

Under Debraaure:

Gafat (Bruce has Gafat north of Debra Oure)

Under Emfras (East of Lake Tana):

Aideida P. *NoBM*

Garuta P. *NoBM*

Above Kaffa:

Consch K. (= *kingdom*)

Under Kaffa:

Dschiro v[el]. Zendero (= *Jinjero, a southern population*)

Above, right:

Gute Karte ('*good map*')