

THE RELEVANCY OF HARARI VALUES IN SELF REGULATION

AND AS A MECHANISM OF BEHAVIORAL CONTROL:

HISTORICAL ASPECTS

by

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Anthropology
in the Graduate School of
The University of Alabama

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

2016

ABSTRACT

The subject under consideration in this dissertation is various values of a particular society who refer to themselves as *gey usu* (people of the city). To expound how they utilize values to regulate their members' behaviors and the relations they have with other people four entities are identified: Family, educational, trade and social institutions.

Family as the basic institution is discussed to expound how birth and marriage ceremonies are perceived by Hararis. How these events are surrounded by various symbols with the values enshrined in them, which are expressed through rituals, actions, words and gestures, are as well expounded. The mechanisms how these symbols are used to regulate individual and social behaviors are also discussed.

Education as one of the vital instruments to develop the individuals and the society which should enjoy continuous sufficiency and prosperity is also discussed. How successful the society is in achieving these goals is dependent on the values the education system is promoting.

Trade, which is much related with Harar and Hararis history, how it is used as a means of securing and maintaining peace through concessions to other people is discussed. This dissertation suggests the underlying ideas of peaceful trade are values such as righteousness, honesty, sincerity, diligence, trust, non-discrimination and fairness in the relations among traders.

The Harari social institutions are used to control the behaviors of their members and the relations the community should have with other communities. They are used as a device to

exclude from or to include others to Harari. The underlying values they apply to that end are thoroughly discussed in this dissertation.

The qualitative research method presented here is based upon fieldwork conducted in Harar for more than two and half years. Empirical and conceptual literatures review, regarding Harar and the concept and theories of values (a concept that is common to different disciplines), are undertaken. Finally conclusions are made.

Key words: Harar, Hararis, values, family, education, trade, social institutions.

DEDICATION

To my late mother, Fatima Muhammad and Harari *ayach*, the custodian of Harari values.

LIST OF TERMS

List of Terms¹

Aada-custom

Abba-elder brother, form of address to the father or to an older brother, or to a male person that is older than the speaker, any young man acting as ‘brother’

Abbay-elder sister, form of address to the mother or to an older sister, or to a female person that is older than the speaker, any young woman acting as ‘sister’

Absum- circumcision

Adre-the reference given to Hararis by the Oromos or Amharas.

Afocha-association of neighbors participating in various social activities (such as wedding, funeral)

Aflaal-black jar serving to store small objects of women

Afar-clay, soil, earth

Agbari-herd, domestic animals, cattle

Agri-shield

Ahli-relative

Ai-mother

Aala-cane (of durra, sorghum) when it is still fresh, stem of sorghum when it has sweet taste

Alawada-kitchen

Alef-lower in scholastic degree in relation to *laqi*

¹ To avoid unnecessary controversies the Etymological Dictionary of Harari by Wolf Leslau (1963; 1983) is used. Latin Scripts are used to write Harari words, songs, idioms, etc.

Alfi-thousand

Alim-learned, erudite

Amashna-a makeup class or illiteracy campaign for *gey indochach*

Amir-sovereign, king

Amuta-mourning, lamentation

Amuta gar-the deceased home

Anna-paternal aunt

Anqar-stomach

Anqar mehtab-washing stomach

Ardawij-disciple

Arafa-religious feast

Aruz-bridegroom

Aruz gar-bridal house

Aruzit-bride

Ashiday-classmate

Ashir gar-higher religious education taken in the evening either at the house of the teacher or in the nearby mosque

Asri-time of prayer at four o'clock in the afternoon

Asri subat-afternoon snack

Atlas-a kind of black dress made of silk women wear over the ordinary dress on festivals

Aw-father

Awach-elderly people, saint, holy shrine

Ay-mother

Azab-hell

Azan-the call to prayer

Bab-grandfather

Baha- women's voluntary rotating credit association formed by young wives or it is a system for saving and for receiving money at the time of need.

Baqal-mule

Barasa-kind of white earth used to whitewash the *luh*

Bari (*Bariyach*, plural form)-entrance or door leading either to the compound or the house, gate of the city;

Bari goyta-a person who is in charge of the gate of the city

Bari makhada- pillow of a gate.

Belachu-wedding feast, wedding festivities, feast;

Challas-raw

Chat-a flowering plant native to East Africa and the Arabian Peninsula

Dad ahli-relatives by friendship

Damin-tribal chief

Darara-grain boiled in water (made especially for gatherings)

Delaw-nomadic life

Dera-storage room near the secluded women's room

Dera soman-eating in the *dera* during the Ramadan so that no one can see.

Derbi inchi-thin tree trunks stripped of their bark

Derga- the pastoralist life

Dildila taqet-another name for Amir *Nadaba*

Dumaal-the young male relatives and friends of the husband in relation to the wife

Duwa-blessing

Edil Adaha or Arafa-a holyday celebrated on the 70th day after *Edil Fitr*.

Edil Fitr-the holy day after *Ramadan*.

Eih-younger brother

Eihit-younger sister

Ekhesta-maternal aunt

Eqed taqet-front niches

Eraz mu-die-a traditionnel laquage

Ezair-paternal uncle

Fard-an obligation that one cannot do away, for example 5 times daily praying.

Ferengi-European

Firmach-the signatories who established an organization to resist Haile Selassie's oppression

Gab- cave

Gabti-door

Gabti eher nadaba-raised seat behind the door panel

Gambari-entrance or door of the house

Ganan-cooked dough

Gangora-leopard

Gar-house, room

Gara abaat-house and yard

Garad-tribal chief (lower than *damin*)

Gara ganbriyach-many families within many compounds

Gel-companion (girl), friend (girl)

Gelnat-friendship between girls

Gey- the city of Harar, city

Gey fagay- rural

Gey sinan- the language spoken by Hararis

Gey usu- the inhabitants of Harar, Hararis

Gey gar- house built in the Harari style

Gey lamad- a person assimilated to the way of life of the Harari

Gidir gar-the main house

Gufta-net for hair dress of married women

Guguba-a kind of yellow earth used for the roof to prevent water from seeping through

Hadar-stale

Halawa-a kind of sweet

Hamaachi-male relatives on the husband's or the wife's side

Hamat-mother-in-law

Hamburti-naval

Hamil-pillar

Haras-woman in childbed

Haras mowta ziara-visitation to *Ai* Abida or *Aw* Abadir on the 40th day after the birth of a child

Harfi menqal-master the alphabet

Hashi un-a kind of light, white stone used for building

Hatam-a bride up to the end of the first year, newly married until she gives birth to her first child

Hinna gel-bridesmaid

Hul-a kind of cabbage

Hulla-a kind of silk cloth

Ilma gosa-become adoptee through adopting ritual according to Oromo culture

Imam-prayer leader

Imamat-turban

Inay gabata-special food sent by the bride's mother to the bride on the third day of the wedding

In-eye

Indoch-woman

Ingir gey ahli-relatives on the mother's side

Isha-time of evening prayer between seven and eight

Jamaa-men or women coming together to help each other in weeding and mourning.

Jin-spirit

Jinam-mad

Jugal – the wall surrounding the old city of Harar

Juma Salat- Friday midday pray

Kabal-one type of wood to construct the ceiling of *gey gar*

Kabir-religious teacher

Kaka-maternal uncle

Kirtet-secluded room for women

Kuru-measurement that equals an elbow.

Kurumbay-elbow

Kusha chat-chat for engagement

Laqi-senior in scholastic degree in relation to *alif*

Lazim-caller to prayer

Lihdi-niche in the grave to lay the corpse

Luh-plank, board, wooden writing tablet

Maddi-ink

Madrassa-school

Mahalaq-coins, money

Mahri-real property or cash assigned by the bridegroom to the bride

Makhmakha-proverb

Makhrīb Salat-prayer at about six o'clock in the evening

Makhazu-pillar of a house

Malaq- official who is responsible for the welfare of each locality connected with one of the five gates of the city of Harar

Marign- a friend (boy)

Mawlid-festival related with the birth of Prophet Muhammad

Miri-taxes, dues, custom duties

Mistijab-time of evening when incense is put into the censer placed at the door for the saint, dead or Prophet

Moya- person hired for fieldwork for one day service

Murid-a person who is in charge of *awach*

Muazin-caller to prayer

Mugaad-association of young boys and girls of the same age

Marabraba- a kind of inward balcony made with wood to place luggage

Mutt nadaba-a seat for dying

Muz-banana

Nabi-prophet

Nadaba-raised seat

Nikah-marriage contract

Qabila-nationality

Qadi-judge dealing with civil law

Qachine nadaba-narrow nadaba

Qahat-female

Qama basar ahli-blood relatives

Qahwah-drink made either from the beans, leaves or husk of the coffee tree or from the tea leaves

Qala- upstairs, up story

Qara-cane of sorghum when cut and dried out

Qeh afar-a kind of red earth serving to paint the floor

Qulfi goyta-chief of a key

Qutti qala-small room in the upper story where goods are stored

Quran gey-traditional school where students learn the Quran

Saar gar-house made from grass

Sadaqah- alms

Sahaba-companion of the Prophet

Salat-prayer

Sati baqla-a kind of shawl given to the bridegroom by the bride's father

Shengi mesqaya-a piece of wood to hang seeds on to be planted next year.

Shot-the young female relatives of the husband in relation to the wife

Shur-porridge made of flour boiled in water

Subat-midday snack (expression used by children)

Subh Salat-dawn prayer

Sutri nadaba-a hidden nadaba

Taj mored- the inauguration of the Amirs of Harar

Taqet-niches

Tilli-hawk

Tit gar-small house adjacent to the main house

Tumtugar- house where farm implements, pots, tools and ornaments were produced and marketed

Tot-breast, bosom

Toya-neighbor

Toyach- plural form of toya

Ukhat-a kind of fine pancake

Uf-nose

Ulama-Islamic scholars

Umma-grandmother

Urus gey ahli-relatives on the father's side

Wadri-thigh

Waldi-son, child

Waqallim-sausage

Wantef murad-wood to place carpets

Waraba Nudul-hyena hole that was used by hyenas to come into and go out from the *jugal*.

Wantef-carpet

Waram moreja-place to keep spear.

Wazir- chief minister

Wej or tit nadaba-child nadaba

Wesamoy-toilet

Wirshato-a gourd-smashing ceremony commemorates the prohibition of alcohol indicated by the Prophet Muhammad

Zagan isaba-bring the bride price

Zikri-a devotional activity characterized by singing hymns with lyrics praising Allah, the Prophet Mohammed and the saints

Zugma-first born

Zuhr Salat-mid day prayer

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PhD work comes from the contribution and hard work of several people. This one is also the outcome of a number of people who contributed valuable ideas at different levels in different capacities. The first person whom I would like to thank is Professor Norman Singer not only for the valuable advice and help he rendered to me from the inception of the idea of selecting this title and while writing this paper but also for making me change the understanding I had relating to law and other institutions the society utilizes to regulate its members. This took place through the lectures he offered in the classes as well as on the discussions we always had whenever we happened to be together. He is my *gidir kabir*. *Alla Megan* Professor Singer! You deserve *iji wa urus*.

Such a work as this would not have come to fruition had it not been for the concerted efforts and continued support from Donna Morrow, University of Alabama, who continuously kept me connected with Alabama University and provided me with all the materials I needed to write this thesis. She deserves special thanks and gratitude. Similar thanks goes to Assistant Professor Glory Nirmala, Haramaya University, College of Law, who took the pains to edit the English language of this paper and provided me with articles I used to write the chapters on values and symbolism. I would like to say *Alla Megan* to both Donna and Glory.

Assistant Professor Ahmed Zekaria, Addis Ababa University Institute of Ethiopian Studies, who is one of the authorities in Harari studies, is the one who gave me his backing and follow up in my endeavor to write this thesis. He took the pains to edit both the language and the substance of this paper. He is my *gidir kabir* as well who deserves *Alla Megan*.

I was taught about Hararis by many Harari *Kabirach*. *Kabir* Abdulmuheimen Abdalnassir, without whose lecture and help this work would not have come out as it stands, deserves *Alla Megan*. The following *Abayach* (plural form of *abay*) who taught me as *tit kabir* deserve more than *Alla Megan*: Abay Remla Ahmed Yonis, Nabiha Muhammad Sucker, Atiq Hassen Bekri, Fatimah Ahmed Sharif, Ay Ayesha Ahmed Dadafi and Muluka Abdulhamid Ahmed are some. *Kabir* Abdullahi Muhammad, *kabir* Abdullahi Adus, *Ezair* Abdulwasi Abdurrahman Ali, *Ezair* Abdullahi Hassan Sheriff, Sheikh Ahmad Kebu, *Ezair* Yusuf Muhammad Idris, *Ezair* Kamil Sharif and Abubakari Saidi Yusuf (*Abo wa*) all gave me their time and hosted me at their home to teach me about Hararis. They are my *tit Kabirach* who deserve special *Alla Megan*.

I am always grateful to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian Government who funded my study and Haramaya University that granted me study leave with pay.

There are friends and relatives who shared with me their life experiences and property. Abdulqadir Shami who shared with me his experience in *afocha* comes first. I would not have known about *afocha* established by Harari diasporas had I not been enlightened by my *hamaachi* Abdul-Wadud Jami, Toronto, Canada, and Hanim Muhammad Abubaker who has still kept her membership to her *afocha* in Dallas, USA, though she is currently residing in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia. My nephew, Umar Muhammad, who lives in USA, provided me with a Flip video camera that I used to video-record all interviews I had with my *Kabirach*. Wassim Jami, my nephew who lives in Toronto paid to the editor who edited the language and the format of this dissertation deserves my heartfelt thanks. Behar Abdalla let me use his camera to photograph places of significant events. Ammar Muhammad, who lives in Toronto, Canada, supplied me with books on symbolism. Nabil and his sister Ahadnet Yusuf Succar provided me with books

and always shared their time to discuss Harari issues with me. All deserve special *Alla Megan* for their support and concern.

Institutions and their staffs contributed a lot to this work. University of Alabama made available the West law and Lexis Nixes databases and taught me the application. On top of this I was provided with the Alabama University School of law library database. These institutions and their staffs deserve special thanks. Institute of Ethiopian Studies and its staff who facilitated the acquisition of all materials written on Harar and Hararis, *Aada Gara* (Harari Cultural Center), especially Fethia Ahmed, the curator, Arthur Rimbaud House staff, especially Abdunassir Abdullahi and his wife Seada Ibrahim, Harari People Regional State Justice and Security Affairs Bureau staff, Sheik Ahmed *Quran Gey Kabirach* and *ardwijach*, especially Ayesha Semir Redwan and her cousins, Salihin KG and Sheikh Abubaker elementary school students and teachers, all deserve my special *Alla Megan* for their assistance.

Special gratitude goes to *malasay afocha*, Amir Nur *Jamaa*, *leqot jamaa* members and Hamdan Ibrahim friends who allowed me to attend their gatherings and have first-hand information on the modus operandi of the meetings. I am forever grateful to all I have mentioned hereinabove and to those whom I have not but who still contributed in one way or the other for this work to see the light of the day. Finally my great *Alla Megan* goes to my family, particularly my older sister Amatullah Abubaker, without whose constant support and prayer I would not have accomplished such a work.

Abdulmalik Abubaker

January 2016, Dire Dawa, Ethiopia

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Statement Of The Problem

Harar, the walled city, is known as the ancient capital of Islam in the Horn of Africa. It is also known as a trade center connecting Africa through the neighboring Christian empire of Ethiopia with the rest of the world. Merchants were coming to Harar, Zeila and Barbara from India, Pakistan, China, and even from America to sell their merchandise and buy items brought by Harari merchants from both Africa and Ethiopian highland areas.

Merchants were coming to Harar not only to do business, but they also preferred to live there. It is very hard to find a Harari family whose roots are not from outside. There are Harari families who are descendants from India, Syria, Pakistan, Japan, Egypt, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Oromiya, Shewa, Tigray, and also Israel.

The movement of people was not only inward but outward as well. Hararis went out from Harar not only to trade but also to teach Islam. Some scholars would leave Harar for good, settle and establish their family among the people they taught. Or otherwise Hararis went out to learn Islam to places such as Saudi Arabia and Wallo and return home. Hararis also granted scholarships to others who came to Harar and never returned back to their people.

Hararis were in continuous war with the Ethiopian Christian highlanders either to control the trade routes, or expand Islam or both; they, however, were in uninterrupted trade relations as well. They were working in close co-operation with the surrounding Oromos and Somalis to protect the trade routes from Harar to Zeila and Barbara. They were ruled by Egyptians for ten

years. Great Britain had governed Harar for a very brief period after it forced the Egyptian forces to leave Harar until her flag was lowered by Amir Abdullahi. Finally, Harar was annexed and occupied by Emperor Menelik and was made part of Ethiopia.

The Hararis created their values through the relations they had among themselves and with all these people from outside who were in turn influenced by the Harari values. Due to this reason, the Hararis can be said to be the subjects and objects of their values. In the former case they created the values while in the latter case they were regulated, shaped and reshaped by the values. As pointed out by Tenna (2009) “as subjects they make it, as objects they are made by it.” (p. 4). As a subject the Hararis would like to make the best out of these values.

The history of Hararis was not all roses. There was a time when they faced famine that drove them to practice cannibalism. In addition, they had several experiences of external aggressions and internal feuds. On the other hand, they also enjoyed times of peace and prosperity in their history. Throughout these ups and downs in their past it was their value systems that regulated their internal relations and the experience they had with the external forces and natural calamities they encountered. This study, therefore, endeavors to analyze and understand the role the Harari values played in the smoothening or hardening of the relations it had in the above mentioned contexts.

It would be interesting to know, as well, the roles of those interactions the Hararis had with various groups of people in developing Harari values. Moreover, it would be worth knowing the contributions made by those who came to Harar for various reasons in developing Harari values and whether they were influenced by those values in return. How Hararis used those values not only to regulate, channel, shape and guide its members’ behaviors and actions

but also to regulate and smooth its relations with non-Hararis, is also another interesting issue this thesis addresses.

Harari values are not just a history. It will be interesting to know the role they play in Ethiopia where federalism based on ethnicity is adopted. It will be interesting to know the role the Harari values play in smoothing the relations between different ethnic groups residing, and political parties functioning, in Harar. This thesis has attempted to establish how those values smooth down the relations among various ethnicities who are followers of various political parties residing and functioning in Harar.

Even though Harar shares the economic growth achieved by Ethiopia in the last two decades still much has to be done to fight poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and lack of health facilities. As well much has to be done in fighting corruption, nepotism, dishonesty, indolence, greed and lust which are the natural consequences of this growth. Therefore, the study further tried to find out the role Harari values played and should play in this fight against poverty and other evils, to see if there are any experiences to be drawn from those maneuvers. Values have much power in affecting the development of human kind positively or negatively. This made the study of values in general, and Harari values in particular, very essential.

Population wise Hararis, for various reasons, have not grown when compared with the surrounding people. And yet, they maintained themselves without being threatened by the population explosion of others for instance, the Oromos, and resettlement of the Amharas. That, however, made them minorities. Finally, an attempt is made to find out the role the Harari values have been playing to keep the equilibrium.

Background Of The Study

How trade was carried and teaching of Islam was undertaken and what institutions were involved in that maneuver by Hararis has been studied by many scholars. The values upon which the trade relations, religion and the various institutions were built have not yet been studied as an independent topic. This thesis as its first aim, therefore, has identified and analyzed these values. The study analyzed the background of the values and discovered events and relations which influenced them. While Harari culture (value) has its distinct features, trade contacts of centuries to Central Ethiopia and to the coast, the Egyptian occupation, the presence of Arab, Indian, Greek and Italian merchants around the turn of the century, the Amhara provincial and military administration, and eventually the Italian colonial period have all left their marks in the culture (value) of the city (Hecht, 1982a).

Furthermore, the thesis examined whether these values are discriminatory-specific or having universal character. It discussed as well whether both occupying forces-Egyptian and Ethiopian forces-had lasting comprehensive impact on Harari values or vice versa. How Hararis used their values to interact with and regulate the relations they had with their neighbors, (i.e. Oromos and Somalis) is another point of discussion of this study. In the meantime, the Harari values are examined to find out whether they are inclusive or exclusive.

Objectives Of The Research

The importance of identifying key objectives in research is not disputable, for it is an instrument to attain the intended goal, which the research seeks to address, and at the same time they serve as a search light for this study. Hence, the main objectives of the study are to:

1. Identify Harari values that guide, channel and regulate the behavior and actions of individuals as well as groups;
2. Find out how these values are created by the Hararis and in turn how the same values shaped and re-shaped the Hararis;

3. Find out how Hararis utilized their values to promote economic, social and other interests;
4. Find out how Hararis used their values to establish the smooth relations they had with other ethnic groups;
5. Inform policy makers and legislators on Harari values so that they could give due consideration of these values while formulating policies and issuing laws;
6. Categorize Harari values to predict the behavior of individuals and groups;
7. Serve as an initiation for further studies on values of Harari and other groups in Ethiopia.

Research Problems

1. What are the Harari values and how are they manipulated by Hararis to regulate, guide and channel individual and group (family, schools, social gatherings, ethnicities, etc.) behaviors and how they contribute to the stability of Harari community?
2. How have Hararis utilized their values to smooth relations they had with their surrounding communities?
3. Why are those values expressed that way and what are their implications?
4. What are the relations that exist between/among various values, and which value(s) is/are core values and why?
5. Do Hararis utilize their values for moderation, positive action, tranquility, and peace in social life or to promote enmity and revenge?
6. Have Harari values undergone change through time? How has globalization affected Harari values? What is at stake for Harari values in the future?
7. Would they resist change or undergo dramatic change?

These are some of the questions to which this research has come up with probable answers.

Feasibility And Facilities

Accurate and reliable data related with the Harari values is derived from the research already conducted. Further data is collected from field research and analyzed by using suitable research techniques. To that end, all authorities of the concerned institutions in the Regional State of Harari, the Harari elders, and historians, and numerous museums in Harar have extended the required cooperation in furnishing data and permitting access to records.

The Institute of Ethiopian study of Addis Ababa University has rich resources on previous research undertaken on the Hararis history. Ethiopian Civil Service College and Faculty of law of Addis Ababa University were additional resources for the required data for this research. West law and Lexis Nixes databases, which are made available to this program, satisfied the requirement of facilities such as a well-equipped library facility. On top of this, Alabama University School of law library database access has been provided. Thus, facilities relevant to the research were sufficiently available to complete the research within the time available.

Importance And Urgency

In the current political arrangements in Ethiopia Harari Regional State is administered by the Hararis and the Oromos. Most people, including those in the administration, believe such type of political arrangement between the Hararis and the Oromos is new in its kind. It will be clear from this study that this kind of political arrangement was to advance mutual interests and trust based on their shared values. Informing current administrators on these values will help them to look for common grounds which will indeed assist in advancing economic and social development of the Region.

The lessons and experiences will be shared with other Regional States at the federal level. In the conclusion efforts are made to sort out and categorize Harari values which may encourage further studies to identify common values in broader dimensions at the national level.

As it is stated, various aspects of Harari life have been studied by different scholars. The study of the Harari values, however, is new in its kind. Thus, this study will create awareness among the Hararis in understanding the values which are a manifestation of their identity. So far these values have been transferred from one generation to the next through oral literatures and

various social institutions. In the meantime, Harari values have to be systematically organized, transmitted, and learned by the younger generation. It is believed, therefore, this study will contribute to that goal. One of the ways of attaining this is to make Harari values part of the curriculum of elementary and high schools in the Harari Regional State. This study could serve as a starting point for that purpose. Furthermore, in the course of identifying Harari values, the discussion and recounting made, the finding arrived at, and the conclusion made from those discussions and narrations could provoke further research.

In addition, further research, studying the values of other ethnic groups could identify not only the unique values of the ethnic group under study but it could help to identify the common values of all ethnic groups of Ethiopia. This will create a suitable ground for mutual understanding, which is essential for development based on tolerance and respect for each other. The study, therefore, has in this respect far-reaching consequences.

Originality

Different aspects of the history of Harar and Hararis have been studied by many scholars. To mention few among many are: Burton (1894), R. Pankhurst (1968); Muhammad Hassan (1973); Wagner (1974); Stitz (1975); Caulk (1977); Waldron (1984); Abbas Ahmed (1992), and Ahmed, Zekaria (1997).

None of them, however, identified and studied the values of the Hararis. None of them studied the relevance of Harari values in light of regulating, guiding and channeling the behaviors and actions of its members at individual and group levels. Thus, the study has novelty and originality.

Usefulness And Social Relevancy

It is believed this study will make significant contribution to resolve the practical problem the policy makers and legislators have faced in formulating policies and issuing laws that could serve the common interests of the Hararis and the Oromos and other ethnic groups residing in the region. Furthermore, it will assist in predicting the behavior of individuals and groups and knowing the reasons why they act, behave or do not act or behave that way.

Research Method

Though anthropology is the study of humankind and anthropologists seek to explain human behavior, to reduce this behavior to a set of statistics is difficult as Fedorak (2007) postulates. For this reason, in this research qualitative research methods are used; these includes interviewing, observing and participating in the daily lives and activities of the Hararis that enabled the researcher to check the findings against reality. Hence, the participant observation research method was widely used. For instance, in the case of wedding ceremonies the researcher purposefully took an active part in ceremonial activities performed by men, such as *Mawlid*, and *Nikah*, (i.e. ceremony held to legalize the marriage). In ceremonies that required only the participation of women, the researcher conducted discussions with them and video recorded the same to be transcribed later.

Johnson (1990), while sharing his field research experiences, noted how the position he maintained at a fish camp (converted cannery) gave him an opportunity to actually participate in the system that gave him exceptional access to people and information. Similarly, the fact the researcher was born in Harar and grew up within a community that spoke the Harari language, therefore, participating in Hararis daily lives, enabled the researcher to develop a much deeper understanding of the range of Hararis behavior. The researcher listened to what the Hararis were

telling, closely observing various rites, ceremonies, holiday rituals, etc. and where necessary participated in the same. The first school the researcher attended was a traditional school, *Quran gey*, and then after joined *madrasah*. *Kabir gar* was the life experience. *Quran gey* graduation ceremonies were attended to observe the existing values and the changes they have undergone.

Before starting this research the researcher was not favorably placed in a better position than any ordinary Harari in studying Harari values. To write about the Harari values it was inescapable to study Harari values on purpose equipped with a tested research method. With that in mind sufficient time (more than two and a half years) was spent in Harar and other places where Hararis live. This gave the researcher an opportunity to have an in-depth understanding of Harari values in particular and values in general which could not have been achieved without participant observation.

The research benefited from the in-depth interviews recorded and transcribed. Some were recorded by means of extended notes. People from different walks of life, elders, both women and men, and boys and girls who live inside and outside of Harar were interviewed. Observational data were collected, as well as visual materials such as photographs and video recordings of weddings and other ceremonies were used. Events and rituals in shrines and other special places or sites were video recorded. Hence, what Johnson (1990) stated as both Participant Observer and complete participants were observed.

Both primary and secondary sources were used in writing this dissertation. Primary sources including Harari and Ethiopian chronicle and reports on oral research conducted in Harar, which are available at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University, were widely utilized. Further official correspondence containing reports, maps, and discussions of the city and its hinterlands were analyzed. Other primary archival sources including British, French

and Italian correspondence, as well as diaries and letters of agents, traders, and missionaries who visited the city were studied. Secondary sources including the vast literature on the history of Harar, the Somalis, the Oromos, and Ethiopia and other countries were well-read. Mothers, fathers and known historians of Harar were interviewed. Sites such as Shrines, *Awach* and cultural centers were visited. Marriage and burial ceremonies, various festivities and meetings of various social institutions were attended.

Literature Review And Limitations

Prior to and while writing this thesis, two types of literature reviews were made: empirical literature consisting of studies made earlier about Harar and Hararis; and conceptual literature, regarding the concept and theories of values. The following are the main, but by no means limited to, empirical literatures. For instance, Burton (1894) who visited Harar in 1850 indicating the location of Harar, wrote on what the city was built with, what its palace and houses looked like, the vegetation, what its people ate and looked like, who was ruling the city, and how the relations between the Hararis and the surrounding people were regulated.

Similar illustration was given by Paulitschke (1888; 1893) in Hecht (1982) and Blundell (1900), who visited Harar with an interval of 30 and 43 years after Burton (1894) respectively. Paulitschke's illustration was especially rich in detail. He gave extensive information, for instance, on the changes that took place in the way of life of Hararis after Burton's visit. He even collected Harari artifacts which today are kept in European museums.

Some travelers, such as Harmsworth (1935), and Gleichen (1898) while writing on Ethiopia raised and discussed some issues related with Harar. Other scholars, particularly contemporary ones, dealt with specific issues such as trade, religion, shrines, basket works, social institutions and the political economy relations Hararis had with their surrounding people.

Assistant Professor Ahmed Zekaria (1991) informed on how Harari coins were developed and the wider area in which they were in circulation. He further illustrated the economy of Harar in the 18th century focusing on one of the Amirs of Harar (Ahmed Zekaria, 1997). Similar study and analysis was made by Yusuf Ahmed (1965). Stitz (1975), on the other hand elaborated the popular economy of Harar in the 18th century discussing how business contracts were formulated between parties including the Amirs and their subjects. A similar subject is discussed by Wagner (1974) who elaborated on three Arabic documents on the history of Harar.

Waldron (1984) illustrated how Hararis and Oromos smoothed their relations making a division of labor in the economy and sharing the benefit that was derived from it. Ahmed Hassan Omer (2001), provided information on the interior trade route, specifically from Harar to Shewa, based on the diary of known merchants and the discussion he had with those merchants who were doing business in Shawa and Harar. Further information on Harar trade and other social issues is given by Ben-Dror (2008) when Harar was under Egyptian rule, while R. Pankhurst (1965 and 1968) wrote about how and why trade boomed after Harar was occupied by Menelik.

How Hararis handled the pre- and post- Menelik occupation era is discussed in detail by Caulk (1967; 1971; 1975; and 1977). He specifically noted on the role the religious leaders and elders played in shaping the policy of the Amirs. The mechanisms utilized by the Hararis to avert the threat they faced at the first arrival of the pastoralists and in keeping their city and the trade routes safe was also analyzed by Caulk (1977). He further elaborated on the role the Harari elders played in negotiating with Menelik after Hararis were defeated in the Chelenque battle.

Detailed studies and analyses were made on various social issues by notable scholars. Waldron (1975a) conducted detailed studies on Harari social organizations, such as *afocha*, *marign*, *gel* and *jamaa* and how they are used in social control applying various mechanisms. On

the other hand, while Hecht (1982b) dealt with only *afocha* and *baha* in relation to the social status of *gey indochach*, Huurne (2004) discussed how *afocha* and *baha* could be used in poverty reduction. Yusuf Ahmed (1965) is another author who wrote on *Afocha*.

Hecht's (1982b) research on *gey gar* made one travel through time and observe the changes those houses had undergone from Burton (1894) to Paulitschke (1884; 1893). VO Van (2007) gave detailed information on the naming of various parts of *gey gar* accompanied by beautiful pictures. What is accomplished inside these houses and *Jugal* is beautifully described by Gibb (1997; 1999; and 2002). She discussed how Hararis start family, how a woman who gives birth to first child is trained to look after her baby, the rituals, the songs in the marriage ceremony, the reverence the Hararis have for the *awach* and how those *awach* served as a melting pot for people with different back-grounds and beliefs.

Ayele Haile (1999), Assefa Abbebe (May 1988), and Abdurrahman Mohammed (1953) shared their knowledge on Harari marriage. The songs on marriage ceremonies and other festivities such as *Wirshato*-The gourd-smashing ceremony-are presented by *kabir* Abdulmuheimen Abdulnassir (1996 and 2010). Woube Kassaye (2010) also studied Harari music to show the significance of Harari pop songs to foster local knowledge of cultural tradition.

The religious life of Hararis is elaborated on by Waldron (1978), while a comparison analysis of Harar with Lamu and with Wallo from the religious point of view is undertaken by Hecht (1987) and the late Professor Hussein Ahmed (2010), respectively. On the other hand Muhammad Hassen (1999), explained the role of the Amirs and Hararis in the Islamization of the Oromo in Hararghe. Some Harari idioms are discussed by Abdurrahman Muhammad Koram (1992) and Abdi-Khalil (2007) those are utilized to elaborate Harari values in this research.

With the help of these and other literatures coupled with the field research, Harari values are identified and analyzed to understand how they are utilized to regulate individual, group and social behaviors. It was worthy to know what values are in general to attain that goal. Hence, reviews of literatures on values were undertaken. The concept of values is discussed by various social sciences. To avoid unnecessary controversies this research preferred discussing elements in the definition of values based on definitions given by Kluckhohn (1951) and Rokeach (1973). Philosophical (Moore and Bruder, 2005), anthropological (Fedorak, 2007 and Graeber, 2001), psychological and sociological (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz and Bilsky 1990; Schwartz, 1994) analyses of values were used to deepen the understanding of values.

Classifications of values and their importance were broadly discussed by Kluckhohn (1951), Rokeach (1973), Feather (1975), Schwartz and Bilsky (1990), and Moore and Bruder (2005), to mention few. Kluckhohn classified them based on what he called dimension, while Rokeach's classification was institutional. To identify and analyze Harari values this research applied Rokeach's approach. Schwartz (1994) classifies values based on what he calls universal requirements. His approach is used to find common elements that could be shared by Harari values with the universal human values.

What This Thesis Does Not discuss

Gey usu or Harari speaks *Gey sinan* (Harari language), observes *Gey aada*, (the Harari culture), and belongs to one of the social organizations (*Afocha*, *Jamaa*, etc.) depending on age and sex. As Muslims Hararis observe the obligatory duties (*fard*) such as performing daily prayers, fasting during the holy month of Ramadan, giving alms to the needy, etc. The performance of these duties is binding upon every Muslim.

This thesis does not discuss these duties and the values they are governed with. In some instances, however, where some of the values manifest in relation to some of these duties, an effort will be made to talk about the roles these duties play in actualizing various values. Traditionally, for instance, the *Kabir* of the *Quran Gey* used to pray in Friday congregation in the first row. His pupils also had the privilege to pray in the next row after their *Kabir* while children of their age would not have that opportunity. Hence, the row in which one prays the *fard* is an expression of the respect the community has towards Islamic knowledge and a mechanism to encourage people to learn it.

In the month of Ramadan *Quran Gey* or *madrasah* boys used to build their own tiny house in their families' compounds where they spent the Ramadan night with their friends. In a way they developed a skill required to be a mason. Hence, Hararis used Ramadan as an opportunity to teach their children various skills which would lead them to self-discipline and independence.

There are other types of duties which are not obligatory and the non- adherence of such duties as Musa Kazim Gulcur (2010) observed would only be shortcoming. Examples are giving money or goods which is called *sadaqah*, to those in need and being kind and polite to everyone. Those values that regulate corresponding behaviors would be discussed as contextualized by the Hararis. Nevertheless, the Harari values, which regulate behaviors and the Islamic values could converge or diverge at certain points. Since both regulate behaviors the probability of their convergence is very likely. Nevertheless, as it will be seen except in those *fard* Islamic values Hararis have contextualized most of the Islamic values while implementing them.

As the areas of interest could be different in scope neither the state laws which are general in scope and formulated in some written language and issued at federal or state level are discussed, though they regulate behaviors of citizens using state apparatuses to enforce them where they are violated.

Harari values cover phenomena ranging from how to build *gey gar* to what purposes each part of the *gey gar* serves; from who should sit where to the manner to be observed when entering *gey gar*; from how to bring up children to what and how to teach them; who should receive the bride wealth to the role women play from birth to death; from neighborhood to *Jugal* not only as a pile of stones but as the conveyors of Harari history; from the reverence Hararis have for the *Awach* to their devotion to their religion; from enculturation of other cultures, to assimilation of non-Hararis. The mechanisms they apply to make sure the values are observed range from a mother's facial expression to ostracizing. Nevertheless, the scope of behaviors Harari values regulate is limited but it is detailed and wide.

Chapter Arrangements

This study is organized into eight chapters. The first chapter consists of the general introduction and the major sub-titles that include the statement of the problem, background of the study, objectives, importance, urgency and originality, usefulness and social relevancy of the research. They are discussed very briefly. The method used for the study is also discussed. Finally, the literature review and limitation of the research are also briefly stated in this chapter.

The second chapter presents a long and unique history of Harar including its various political, religious and social institutions in brief. In this chapter the political and social structures of the Hararis are discussed. Mainly the Amir, mosques, shrines or *awach* and other institutions Hararis used to administer their affairs and smooth or worsen their relations with the

surrounding people are discussed. The *Jugal*, the *bariyach*, *toyach* (plural form of *toya*), the *gey garach* and their inside parts with their purpose and how they are arranged and in turn shaped Hararis are introduced in this chapter. The occupation of Harar by foreign forces and its implications are reflected in this chapter.

The third chapter deals with the generic concept of values with their classification and importance. How each human group possesses a common set of values and regulates its life accordingly, establishing norms, rules and standards are dealt with. An attempt is made in this chapter to depict how it is hard to find anything in society that is devoid of value. The assumption is to show that individuals, families, education, businesses and even politics are not value-free. On the other hand, values help us to understand diversity as in current civilizations and cultures diversity substantially exists in their norms, values and outlooks.

Assuming Hararis are not free from such presumption, the following chapters examine various backgrounds of Harari values and whether they are influenced by external factors. As the forefathers of the Hararis are from different historical, cultural and religious backgrounds the chapters tried to find out how much of the various values of the Hararis are influenced by those backgrounds.

The fourth chapter deals with some Harari family symbolism and values enshrined in them. How symbolic values are utilized to regulate and control individual, family, and social relations and behaviors are discussed in detail in this chapter. This chapter above all explains how birth and marriage ceremonies are perceived by Hararis. It expounds how these events are surrounded by various symbols which are expressed through rituals, actions, words and gestures. The values enshrined in these symbols are as well expounded. The mechanisms these symbols used to regulate and channel individual and social behaviors are also discussed

The fifth chapter describes traditional Harari education and values they promote and how they regulate various relations at various levels in the society and educational institutions. This chapter explores whether Harari values are influenced by Islamic teaching or Hararis indeed utilized their values to contextualize Islam. It notes the role the community and the government played in running the educational institutions. It explores how Hararis used education to pacify their relations with their neighbors and duly preserved their city. The *Quran Gey* and *Gey Madrasa* in old as well as present days have focused on illustrating how values regulate social relations and promote social progress.

The sixth chapter describes business ethics and values in Harari society. Trade history of Harar, how Hararis protected Harar and its trade routes and regulated relations among traders on the one hand and between Hararis and the Oromos and Somalis on the other hand are the subject of this chapter. This chapter demonstrates how Hararis used their trade and business values as a source of peace not conflict. It also examines whether these values were protecting private property rights individuals had and how they are distinct from communal ones.

The seventh chapter is devoted to various Harari social institutions and the values they applied to regulate their members' relations on the one hand and the relations between Harari community and non-Hararis on the other hand. It expounds how these institutions with their values were utilized by the Hararis to preserve and protect Hararis from being infiltrated by non-Hararis while on the other hand Hararis have been using these institutions as straining devices for those who would like to join Harari. *Afocha*, *baha*, *jamaa*, *marign* and *gel* are some of the social institutions created and utilized to regulate the relations of Harari community and the relations the members have with their community and non-Hararis.

The eighth chapter makes conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO: WHO ARE WE TALKING ABOUT?

As mentioned by Calliess, (2009) to understand the European values it is vital to know the Greek and Roman world, the Renaissance, Humanism and Enlightenment, Reformation and Counter-Reformation including the religious wars, the political liberation of the individual as a result of the French Revolution, and finally the Industrial Revolution including the Social Question. Likewise, to understand the Harari values it is essential to know the history of Harar and Hararis.

Many travelers discussed Harar and Hararis from different perspectives. Burton (1894), the first *ferengi* to visit Harar, described the location of the old city 220° S.W. of, and 175 statute miles from Zayla — 257° W. of, and 219 miles distant from Berbera. This would place Harar, said Burton(1894), in 9° 20" N. lat. and 42° 17" E. long. The altitude is, according to Burton (1894), about 5,500 feet above sea level. After observing its landscape and vegetation he stated its site to be the slope of a hill which falls gently from west to east. He observed that on the eastern side are cultivated fields; westwards a terraced ridge is laid out in orchards; northwards is a detached eminence covered with tombs; and to the south, the city declines into a low valley bisected by a mountain burn. This irregular position is well sheltered from high winds, especially on the northern side, by a range of which Kondura (*Qundudo* Mountain) is the lofty apex. Burton (1894) concluded his description with a Persian poet singing of a heaven-favored city, "its heat is not hot, nor it's cold, cold" (p.1)

Blundell (1900), who visited Harar 43 years after Burton (1894), described it as a beautiful, great city that stands 5,400 feet above the sea, endowed with every condition that makes for wealth and prosperity. He praised its people as an industrious agricultural population.

He categorized its extraordinarily healthy and invigorating climate as rare in the catalogue of advantages of an African town. These industrious agricultural people refer to this beautiful great city as *Ge*, 'the city'; to themselves as *Ge usu*, 'people of the city'; to their culture as *Ge 'aada*, "customs of the city"; to their distinct Semitic language as *Ge senan*, "the language of the city"; their house as *Ge Gar*, their school as *Quran Ge* or *Ge Madrasa* to distinguish themselves from the Cushitic people surrounding them.

Where is the origin of these Semitic people? How could they create their island and settle in the middle of the Cushitic ocean? These are some of the questions this part is trying to answer.

All archeological sites and ruins of stone-built, cemetery, store-pits, houses and mosques situated in the Harar plateau, a region that extends from the Churcher Mountains Southeast of the Awash plane to the area of Hargeisa, as noted by Braukamper (1998) are attributed to the Haralas, the oldest identifiable population in that area and who for the first time appeared in the chronicles of Amda Seyon². They were also mentioned as fighters in the *Fethu al-Habash*³.

Haralas, who were wealthy and mighty people are considered by most historians as the ancestors of the Hararis (Braukamper 1998). Related to this Braukamper has to say:

“There are some striking similarities in the technological standards and even in structural details between the ruins of ‘Harala sites and the architecture of Harar town. For instance, the Harari store-pits resemble in their form and mode of construction to the so-called *Bolla-Harda* which are frequently in Churcher and still used by the present- day Oromo.” (p.2)

The similarity is not limited to store pits. A new excavation undertaken by Ethiopian and French archeologists around Nora-an Ethiopian Pompeii- brought to light an architecture style of traditional Arab cities, more significantly the city of Harar. In that site a Mosque with a five

² King of Abyssinia (1314-1344)

³ The Arabic report about the war waged by Imam b. Ibrahim, commonly known as Gagn Ahmed by the Abyssinians.

meter high wall is discovered. Around the Mosque one can see the remains of houses, fallen walls, and graves. The houses were built of stones (Fauvelle-Aymar et al. 2006). This new discovery strengthens what Braukamper (1998) assumed about Haralas and the Hararis, though the new site is not in the Harar plateaus. Besides, it indicates the size of political territories administered by the Haralas.

Ashes from volcanic eruptions were observed beside these remains of houses, fallen walls and graves. If these areas were proven to be settlements of the Haralas, the folklore told by the Oromo of the Churcher and Harar region that natural catastrophe such as hunger sent by God as punishment for the Haralas' wasteful pride attributed to their disappearance would be well received. A tradition is also told of a hunger crisis that was managed by the legendary man Aw Abadir, which probably enabled some Haralas to survive and settle in Harar.

Braukamper (1998) also connected the Hararis and the Haralas through linguistic relations. The East Gurage whose ancestors belonged to the political federation of Hadiya, before being forced to leave and start living at the western escarpment of the Rift Valley, used to live in Churcher. They speak the same Semitic language as Hararis and both are referred to by the Oromo as *Adare*. From what has been said, two conclusions are made by Cohen (1931), and as Haberland (Braukamper, 1998, p. 3) notes the first one is the Semitic language zone once covered a compact area stretching from the Northern Valley to the eastern escarpment of the Harar plateau, and the second is existence of close ethnic connection between the Harari and the ancient Haralas.

Hararis As Semites

According to *Kabir* Abdulmuheimen Abdulnassir⁴, as any other social order Harar and its vicinities passed through various developments from *gab* (cave) to *delaw* (nomadic life), and then to *derga*, (pastoralist) and from *gey fagay* (rural) to *gey* (Urban life). Though it is not clear at which stage the Semites joined the indigenous people, the Semites were settled farmers when they arrived in the Cushitic land. Some (Encyclopedia Britannica) suggested those Semites were from Hadrmaut (South Arabia) who migrated in the seventh century AD. Emran (2006) mentioned other sources, though he has not revealed these sources, that suggested Arab immigrants, after the death of Negus As-Hama (Ahmed al-Nagashi), left Tigray, headed for the south, and settled at a place now called Harar.

This is not far away from what other historians wrote about the ancestral background of Hararis. Abir (1980), for instance, classifies the immigrants from Arabia into those who settled in the northern Ethiopia and those who crossed the Babb al-Man dab and settled among the Cushites of the Harar-Churcher plateau. While the first group after intermingling with the Cushitic societies resulted in producing the Tigray and Amharas, the second group intermarrying with local residents produced the Semitized culture of the *Adare* of Harar (Gibb, 1997).

On the other hand, the French trader Alfred Bardey as Gibb (1997a) notes suggested that the Hararis were an offspring of the union of immigrants of Arab and Persian descent and Oromo slaves. Though it is unclear where Bardey's information on the subject came from, he stated definitively that it was under a religious leader named Abd el Kader Jailan that forty priests and sheikhs from the exiled Ali sect of the *Fatimites* fled Baghdad with their families and came to Ethiopia. They were reported to have come across the present site of Harar where they found five well-situated villages on a hill. It was here that they settled and, proclaiming them-selves

⁴ An interview held with the local historian on January 27, 2013

"messengers of God and the Prophet" began their mission of propagating Islam amongst the local population (1998 p.55). When one observes some of the traditional practices of Hararis it seems Bardey's story has a grain of truth. Like the Shiets the Hararis have shrines; they observe the day of Ashura; they refer to Fatima and Ali on several occasions, especially on marriage ceremonies, etc.

Alaqa Taye says Hararis are from Hamasin (Eretria):

ከሐረርጌ ግምብ ውስጥ የሚኖሩት ሕህብ ከሐማሴን የመጡ ሕዝብ ናቸው። በሐማሴን አንድ ሀይለኛ ጀግና ሰው በዓፄ ዳዊት ዘመን ነበር። በሀለኛነቱ ሰው ጠልቶት ከሰው ተለይቶ ሚስቱንና ልጆቹን ይዞ ለብቻው በችፍግ ዱር ውስጥ ቤት ሠርቶ ተቀመጠ። ከዕለታት አንድ ቀን ሚስቱ ቅቤ አጠጣችው። እርሱም ደክሞ ለብቻው ከቤት ተኝቶ ቀረ። ሚስቱ ግን አዝመራ ለመስብስብ ልጆቿን ሁሉ ሰብሰባ ይዛ ወደ ሥራ ሄደች። ማታ ልጆቿን ይዛ ስትመለስ ባለዋን አንበሳ ጎትቶት ከወለሉ ላይ ተንዘራርቶ ሙቶ ቆያት፤ እርሱም ሆዱን ቀዳ የጠጣውን ቅቤ በዕቃ ቀድታ ለወንዶቹ ሁሉ አቀመስቻቸው። ይህንንም ማድረግ ጠንቋይ ባልሸ ሊሞት ጊዜው ደርሰዋል፤ በድንገት ሳይታሰብ አንበሳ ይገድለዋል፤ ቅቤ አጠቺው፤ አንበሳም ከገደለው በኋላ ሆዱን ቀደሽ ከሆዱ ያለውን ቅቤ በዕቃ ተቀብለሽ ለልጆቹ አጠጫቸው፤ እንደ አንበሳም ባለግርማ ይሆናሉ፤ ጠላትም ከፊታቸው አይቆምም፤ አሸናፊዎችና የሚያሰፈሩ ይሆናሉ። ብሎአት ነበርና ስለዚህ ነው ይላሉ። ይህ ታሪክ በገድል ማርቆስ ተፅፎአልና እዚያ ተመልከተው።

እዚያ በኋላ ጠላቶች የአባታቸውን ሞት ሰምተው እንግዲህ የዚያን የርጉም ልጆች ከምድር እናጥፍቸው ብለው ተነሱባቸው። በተዋጉም ጊዜ እነዚህ ልጆች ድል አድርገው ጠላቶቻቸውን ፈጁባቸው። ጦሩም ከፊታቸው የማይቆም ሆነ። አገር እያሴረ እንደገና ጦር እየሆነ ቢያሰቸግራቸው ጓዛቸውን አንስተው ከብታቸውን ነድተው እየተዋጉና እየተከላከሉ እስከ ሐረርጌ ተሰደዱ፤ እዚያም ተቀምጠው ከብዙ ዘመን በኋላ በዙሪያቸው ያለ ሌላው ሕዝብ የማይኖር ቢሆን ከወንድሞቻቸው አንዱን በላያቸው አለቃ ሹመው ጠላትን እየተዋጉ ድል እያደረጉ በዙሪያቸው ያለውን አሸንፈው ገዙት። ግምብም አጠሩ። አምስት በርም አደረጉለት። ከዘመን ብዛት ትግርኛ የነበረ ቋንቋቸው ተለውጦ ሌላ ሆነ፤ ነገር ግን ዛሬም ቢሆን ከትግርኛ ብዙ ይመሳሰላል።

My Translation

Those who live these days in the walled city (of Harar) came from Hamasin. A warrior lived in Hamasin during the reign of Asti Dawit. He was living in a forest with his wife and children for he was disliked by the people for his courage. Once upon a time his wife made him to drink raw butter that weakened him and made him fall asleep. Meanwhile, she left with the children to harvest crop. When she returned she found her husband had been killed by a lion. Immediately tearing his stomach and taking out the butter she made the children take a small sip. She had been advised by a sorcerer to make her children drink the butter she would pour from her husband's stomach as he would be killed by a lion. Her children would be courageous as like a lion and no enemy withstand their assault. They would always be winners and source of anxiety to their enemies. This is written in Gedle Marcos and anybody interested can look into it.

The news about the death of the father reached the enemy who arouse to completely wipe out the children. The children, however, won the battle defeating the enemy. No enemy could face them. When the whole population, however, plotted and stood against them they migrated to Harar gey simultaneously fighting to defend their property and family. Nevertheless, since the surrounding people would not let them live in peace, they fought back under the leadership of one of their brothers and subdued those people. They also built a wall with five gates. After so many years their language Tigrigna was changed into another language. Still, however, their language resembles Tigrigna in many aspects.

Hence, Hararis probably first settled at Harar or elsewhere bringing with them, as stated by Trimingham (1952), the civilization of the Sabiyan. Therefore, though their number was small, (450 is suggested by Emran, 2006) their impact on the culture, language and political structure of the Cushitic and Hamitic societies that absorbed them was deep and lasting. These peasant and

agriculturalist settlers introduced the use of metals, certain domestic animals, new plants, an advanced system of irrigation, new forms of communal organization, and the art of writing.

*Kabir Abdulmuheiman*⁵ mentioned three settlements, i.e. *essankhanti Gey*, *Tukhun Gey* and *Etante Gey* as localities for Semites settlements. *Essankhanti Gey* is located on the way to Jigjiga at a place called *Werke Ras* where currently the Argobas are living. First the Semites settled there probably for one or two generations. They found it unsuitable for living for it was infected with malaria.

Then they moved further north and settled at *Tukhun Gey*. Its location is between *Dakar* and a farm land known as *Mawir*. They stayed again there for one or two generations. Finally they moved and settled at *Etante Gey* (this is *Gey*). According to folklore collected and narrated by Amare and Krikorian (1973) a group of religious and civic leaders who met one day to determine a suitable site to establish a new city chose four sites. After a long argument, for its suitable elevation, the splendid landscape and the many rivers and streams in the area, Harar was selected.

Forefathers Of Hararis

Unlike Burton (1894) who met individuals from Maghreb (Morocco), Persia, Mecca (Arabia), Yemen, Damascus, Oman, Egypt, etc. but attributed the beauty of *gey induchach* (ladies) to the female slaves who came from Abyssinia it would be reasonable to say the beauty of Harari *indochach* could be the result of the fusion of foreign settlers with the indigenous people.

Martin (1975) noted that many such individuals from Yemen, Hijaz, and especially from Hadrmawt reached Zeila and traveled inland to Harar and the various Islamic emirates where their influence was most significant (Haggai 1994). Even recently, after Harar was occupied by

⁵ Interview on April 6th 2013 in Harar

Menelik Harar continued to be a town where every group of human and belief was coming together for as Harmsworth observed, “every race and creed seemed to be represented here- Somalis, Oromos, Arabs, Egyptians, Danakil, Indians, Greeks, and Armenians.” (1935, p. 178).

It is hard to find any Harari who does not claim ancestors from outside. In addition to those mentioned hereinabove, Hararis’ forefathers are also from Pakistan, India, Turkey, Israel, Oromiya, Somali, Tigray, Argoba, Wallo, Shawa, etc. One can even notice Greeks were settlers in Harar, for once Harari Greek, according to Haggai (1994) appealed to Ras Makonen against a demonstration held by Hararis in support of the victory over Greek by the Ottoman army. Hussein (2010) also mentions Faqih Hashim b. Abd al-Aziz (1765d) a cleric originally from Gondär settled in Harar and introduced Sufism. Illustrations are given below following interviews held with members of some families:

1. *Jan Garach* (Jan Family); their ascendants are from Afghan;
2. *Fazel Garach*; their ascendants are from India;
3. *Grille Garach*; they are from Greece;
4. *Sheik Ahmed Turk Garach*, they are from Turkey;
5. *Allamach*, they are from Egypt;
6. *Efate Garach*, they are from Shewa;
7. *Sheno Garach*, they are from Amhara;
8. *Qalu Garach*, they are from Afar;
9. *Warfa Garach*, they are from Somali;
10. *Jidawi Garach*, they are from Saudi Arabia;
11. *Baherun Garach*, they are from Yemen;
12. *Berkhedle Garach*, they are from Eretria;
13. *Shame Garach*, they are from Syria;
14. *Sucker Garach*, they are from Yemen;
15. *Ham dial Garach*, they are Jews;
16. *Fesih Garach*, they are from Wallo;
17. *Limay Garach*, they are from Oromo (Hussein, 2010, p. 113).

Thus, Hararis who claim descent from the Arabs and Persians have dark coffee skin and tightly curled hair with rounder face than the Amharas, whom they resemble more than they do

the Oromos. (Nicholl, 1997). Edward (1897) however, described the Hararis as a mixture of Oromo and R'hotta, though it is not clear who the latter ones are.

People would adopt Harari way of life and easily become Harari. According to the *Alam* family⁶, Aw Alam, the occupying Egyptian army member, escaped from being hunted and taken to Egypt by wrapping himself in a big carpet. It is surprising that Burton (1894) could escape that trap and did not long for Harar like Arthur Rimbaud who provided his legacy to his servant and feared one day he would disappear among the African people (Nicholl, 1997). It will be seen in the course of the discussions how Hararis utilize various institutions to turn individuals to Harari.

Boundaries Of Harar

While few Harari settlers became urban dwellers others continued as farmers. This is reflected in the verses of the popular Zikri, i.e. *Allahu jabarow* as described by *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*⁷. It is about how Hararis requested Allah to protect their beloved ones who stayed away from home. They used to say:

“Lam halegn agbari

Kaka halegn gabari

Tey Seri laybe ambirlgn ya Illahi”

“Oh God provide your protection to my cow and maternal uncle who is tending her in the black mountain.” The mountain turns out to be black when it is too far away from the place one watches it. *Kabir Abdulmuheiman* referred *Gara Mullata* to be that *Tey Seri*. Aw Kamil Abubaker Sheriff⁸, however, described *Tey Seri* as any place where there is no religion, dark,

⁶ Personal communication

⁷ Interview on April 6th 2013

⁸ He was a teacher and board member of *Abadir* School that was established by the Hararis who left Harar and settled in Addis Ababa. Interview on June 3rd 2013 in Addis Ababa. (he died in 2015)

without light and uncivilized. This goes along with another song devoted for homeland, i.e. *gey*.

It runs as follows:

Gey weldiyuw gey giba

Tey ser be waraba yegba

Translated by Emran (2009) as:

You Harari, come back to your *Gey*,

Shun black mountains; they are not for you,

They are for hyenas, to be there,

To scavenge and there to stay (p.131)

On the other hand, the territory of Harar was beyond *Gara Mullata* according to a *Zikri* composed by Sheikh Hashim “who was an object of veneration in 16th century” (Emran 2009, p. 27). He said:

Jinum Egna!

Jin Jinamum Egna!

Sheikhum Egna!

Sheikh Sherifum⁹ Egna!

Jahan Jarso Geri dines-nana!

Abadir Awzinana!

This is translated by Emran (2009) as follows:

Genies, we are,

Genies, lunatics, we are,

Sheikhs, Sheriffs, we are,

The sixth (clans of) Jarso

⁹ Early 16th century saint whose tom is located in the north of Harar

And Geri are ours, one, we are,
Aw Abadir, as well, is ours,
Father and children, we are. (p. 27).

The second to the last verse of the hymn, *Jahan Jarso Geri Bad zinana*, is understood by *Kabir Abdulmuheiman* as *Jahan Jarso* is our country. Hence, while *Kabir Abdulmuheiman* gives importance to the place, Emran (2009) gives emphasis to the clan who lived in that territory.

This *Zikri* deals with many points. Sheikh Hashim had control over the genies that were probably provided or did for him whatever he asked them to do. He referred to himself as a lunatic which could mean people having very strange ideas that are outside the usual range. While the sixth *Jarso* who live 120 kilometers away from Harar (Emran, 2009) are basically Oromo clans, the *Geri* are Somalis. When Sheikh Hashim stated they were ours, probably he was referring to the solidarity existed between the Hararis and the *Jarso* and *Geri* based on marriage and adoption entered between the Hararis and the Oromos on the hand, and Somalis on the other hand. Or it could indicate the land of the *Jarso* and the *Geri* were belonging to the Hararis. It will be observed how this solidarity was applied in regulating the trade routes. Aw Abadir was referred to as a father probably to the Hararis, Oromos and Somalis. Probably this *Zikri* is referring to the influence the Hararis had or the extent of territories they were administering.

Aba Atiq Hassen,¹⁰ on the other hand, had stated that unknown Harar Amir Families were joined by the genies while singing and dancing on a certain marriage ceremony held at *Jarso* country. According to her account the Amir's family, to appease the genies, add '*Jinum Egna!*' 'We were also genies' to the singing. They, however, realized that the genies would not let them go and they added at the end of the *Zikri*:

¹⁰ She is one of Harari elder women interviewed on June 8th 2013 in Harar

Bismila don zinawa

Yasin hutur zinawa

Nabi bayti in-nachle halzina;

My translation:

To recite the name of God is our anthem!

Yasin¹¹ is our defensive wall!

To say *Nabi*¹² is our custom!

The genies, hearing the name of God and *Nabi*, they just vanished, said *Aba* Atiq. Nevertheless, whoever has sung those songs for whatever purpose they indicate the extension of the territories of Harar and the influence Hararis had in the surrounding areas.

Furthermore, according to *Kabir* Abdulmuheiman when business men got bankrupt they would leave for Churcher three hundred kilometers west of Harar to join their maternal siblings. He expressed this by saying ‘*Aynew chew Churcher chew!*’ When you lost your main capital, i.e. *Aynew* and became bankrupt you leave for Churcher, join your maternal siblings in business, make money and regain your main capital. That was the message.

Kabir Abdulmuheiman strengthened his statement by citing how merchants who kept a lot of merchandise at their store refused to accept Amir Abubaker (III) bin Aftal Grad’s (1834-1852) change of currency. He collected an additional three hundred units for every one thousand units. The merchants left Harar and started business at Churcher or Dader.¹³

The new settlements discovered by the excavations, the oral traditions and telling of Hararis inform at most the administrative territories of Harar or at least the extent and depth of influence Harar had over its surroundings. Thus, as noted by Hecht (1987), Harari claim that

¹¹ Chapter 36 of the Quran

¹² This refers to Prophet Muhammad

¹³ About 200 km to the east of Harar

Harar, a remnant of civilization, which had spread over a wider geographical area than it does now, goes back to the 10th century. It is, therefore, worthy to note here that the territories these Semitic people used to administer was not limited to the wall once built around the city by Amir Nur (1549-1553) and (1559-1567)¹⁴ according to Abdi Khalil (2007).

In one of his presentations Mohammed Hassen (1999) described Harar-proper as the region that was bounded by the Kondodo Mountain in the north, the valley of Babile in the east, the valley of Gobelle and Mount *Gara Mullata* in the south and southwest, and the fertile high land region in the west. The boundaries of Harar, however, were far from what Mohammad (1999) mentioned. As noted by Cerulli, (1936) for instance, the extension of the boundary to the east was the present range of the Barteri and Geri Somali cultivations and in the west into the Churcher range of the rift projection, which connects Harar with the Ethiopian Highlands.

Hence, confining Harar that was found in 896 A.D (Abdul-Khalil, 2007, Hetch, 1992) or 7th century (Encyclopedia Britannica) only to the walled city using such terms as ‘the old walled city of Harar,’ etc., may narrow one’s understanding of the true history of Hararis. Indeed it was reduced to the prosperous centre of trade and religious teaching after it ceased to exist as a capital of an empire of Adal that stretched as far as Ifat in Shawa. Archeological discoveries and folklores of the Hararis confirm this version of their story.

Who Found Harar?

When Harar was weakened due to internal dissention and the raid by the pastoralist Oromo, as noted by Caulk (1977), the Semitic block disintegrated into small spots into Gurage-land, the islands of Lake Ziway, and the town of Harar that served as a safe haven to those who abandoned the Muslim towns west of Harar on the plateau with their terraced fields. While

¹⁴ Abdi-Khalil, 2007:32

others are submerged by the waves of incoming Oromo, the eastern parts of the Harar plateau were occupied by the Somali-speaking people (Braukamper, 1998). As if there is blessing in disguise Harar became an independent city-state under the dynasty founded by Amir Ali ibn Dawood (1647-1662).

Historians advanced different assumptions on who found Harar. Haggai (1994), described Harar as an urban Islamic center of the 13th century found by a pioneer of Sufism in the region, Sheikh Abadir of the Qadiriyya order. This goes along a short note made by UNESCO (April 2006) to recognize Harar *Jugal* as world heritage which reads “there is myth, according to which, in July 1256, there arrived from the Arab Peninsula 405 sheikhs who chose this site to found the city.” (p.28)¹⁵

Some historians suggested that:

“As early as the fourteenth century, some members of the ruling family of the Walasma dynasty of Ifat shifted their political centre from the eastern Shewa region to the highlands of Harar. Under the control of the rulers from Ifat, the town of Harar and its environs thus became the nucleus of the sultanate of Adal, which gradually extended its hegemony into large parts of the hinterland of Zeila, and challenged the Christian kingdom in the north” (Hussein, 2010, p. 112)

According to Burton (1894), Harar was found by Arab invaders who, in the 7th century, conquered and colonized the low tract between the Red Sea and the high lands. On the other hand, according to Abbas Ahmed (1992) those Arabs were migrants from Hadhramaut, not invaders. Nicholl (1997) also agrees with Abbas Ahmed on who found Harar, though the twelfth century is the period he prescribed for its establishment. Hecht (1992) without mentioning her source, has noted that Harar had probably existed since the 9th century.

¹⁵ Harar Jugal (Ethiopia), No 1189 rev. ICOMOS April 2006

Thus, while Abbas (1992) specified the Arabs as migrants from Yemen Hadhramaut, Burton (1894) identified them simply as Arab warriors. Since conquest presupposes the subjugation of the inhabitants of the area conquered one may say Burton (1894) assumed there were people who were conquered by the Arabs while migration may or may not presume inhabitants.

Unlike Burton (1894), Maftuh Zekaria (2000) agrees with Haggai (1994) and UNESCO¹⁶ for he noted that Harar was found by Aw Abadir, the legendary father of Hararis who settled *Haran, Aware, Gasa, Wergar, Gature, Addis* and *Abogn* clans establishing advanced administration in 940-950 A.D. in the present site of Harar. Before those clans were brought together and were settled at Harar they were living scattered all over villages referred to as *Gey, Harewe Gey, Ruqiya Gey, and Sammti Gey*. According to this version, before Harar was established by Aw Abadir there was no place known as Harar to be conquered by the Arabs unless the act of Aw Abadir, who was believed to come from Saudi Arabia (Haggai, 1994 and Maftuh, 2000), is described as such.

Similar folklore is told about who selected the present location of Harar:

A group of religious and civic leaders who met one day to determine a suitable site to establish a new city chose four sites. After long argument, a choice was made and Harar was built on the site of the present old walled city. The choice was made because of the suitable elevation, the splendid landscape and the many rivers and streams in the area (Amare & Krikorian, 1973, p. 354).

According to *Kabir* Abdulmuheimen, however, Aw Abadir, who completed learning Quran was sent by *kabir* sheikh Yusuf to rehabilitate or reorganize people (probably the Haralas) who were displaced by natural disaster, i.e. famine and volcanic eruption. *Kabir* Abdulmuheimen

¹⁶ *ibid*

maintains *Aw Abadir* was not the one who found Harar; neither did he name the site Harar for it existed prior to the coming of *Aw Abadir* under the rule of Amir Haboba (969-1000).

This goes along with what VO Van (2007) noted on how Harari tradition has witnessed a certain Haboba, the true founder of the city and it's Emir. Hence, according to *Kabir Abdulmuheimen* and Vo Van Harar was found not by *Aw Abadir*, but rather by Amir Haboba, though they agree on *Aw Abadir's* indispensable role in re-organizing and establishing new administration for Harar. Therefore, it is no wonder that he is considered as a savior by the Hararis.

Kabir Abdulmuheimen also disagrees with those who attribute the introduction of Islam to Harar to *Aw Abadir*. He mentions the historical incident when Amir Haboba led an expedition against his own deputy *Wazir* Tay Limay Ber-khat who legalized non-Islamic practices such as drinking alcohol, prostitution and other vices in *Dakar*, where he was assigned to administer. According to *Kabir Abdulmuheimen*, this confirms Islam was introduced to Harar before *Aw Abadir*. *Kabir Abdullah Adus*¹⁷ mentioned that Islam was introduced to Harar by merchants who were doing business with Mecca before it became the official religion of the Arabian Peninsula. He cites a frequently heard reflection on how Hararis accepted Islam. The saying is '*werbain semenew! Amenebiew!*' 'We heard the news and we believed in him (the messenger of God!)'.

Furthermore, another Harari historian, Abdullahi Muhammad,¹⁸ narrated an incident where *Aw Abadir* became curious and asked the *Muazine* (caller for prayer) of the grand Mosque why people did not show up for the *Mehkrib Salat* (prayer following sunset) while they came at daytime to perform *Zuhr Salat* (mid-day prayer) and *Asri Salat* (late afternoon prayer) in congregation, which he led. The two incidents, according to the three Kabirs, confirm that Islam was introduced to Harar prior to *Aw Abadir*. This goes along with the suggestion made by

¹⁷ Interview on July 9th 2013 in Dire Dawa

¹⁸ Local historian

historians like (Braukamper, 2002, Trimmingham, 1951, Wagner, 1974) who noted the presence of Islam two to three centuries before the coming of Aw Abadir. To that end, three Mosques of Harar (Aw Mansur and *Garad* Muhammad Abogn in *Jugal*, and Aw Mashhad Mosque outside) dated to the 10th century are cited as proof.

To summarize, the Hararis are the descendants of the Semitic people who migrated from South Arabia with their civilization and settled in the area that stretched from Churcher Mountain southeast of the Awash Plane to the area of Hargessa. The rulers of that vast area of land were the Haralas, the ancestors of the Hararis. They fused with the indigenous people who were not comparable with them in technological standards. In that process, which probably took centuries, they formed their state with a roaming capital depending on various factors. One of these capitals was Harar.

Whoever was the founder, Harar acquired its present shape by Amir Nur (1549-1567) who, according to Harari tradition, on one occasion sitting on *Gey Humburti*- the Navel of Harar- begged Khadir¹⁹ that some Sharif might be brought from Mecca to build a permanent city (Burton, 1894 and Maftuh, 2000). His request was accepted and Sharif Yonis, his son Fekr-el Din, and a descendant from the Ansar or Auxiliaries of the Prophet came to Harar and helped and build the wall. Historical records show that over seventy kings (Amirs) had governed the state of Harar from 967-1886 AD (Abdi-Khalil 2007).

Mosques And Religious Leaders

The presence of mosques in large number was usually taken as a proof for Harar as the center of Islamic education (Nicholl, 1997). This is half true, for as it will be seen, mosques in Harar were not only venues to teach Islam. They were also institutions where other social

¹⁹ The nearest equivalent figure in the literature of the People of the scripture, the Christians and the Jews, is Melchizedek or Melchisedek.

activities were undertaken and even sometimes they were, as it is pointed out by Abdel-Hady (2010), “a vital cornerstone in the building of any Muslim community, as well as the Islamic state” (p. 3).

As *Kabir* Abdulmuheiman narrated²⁰ each locality, at least, has one mosque. In the olden times each healthy male was expected to pray *Subh Salat* (the dawn prayer) at a mosque in his vicinity. This would help *aw lazim*, (the *Muazine*) to make certain everybody is around, healthy and well. If, for instance, an individual was absent for two or more days from *Subh Salat* the *Muazine* would try to find out the reason.

He either would report his observation to his local elders or find out the problem by visiting the absentee’s house. Or, the community elders sitting on the entrance of one of the gates on *bare makhada* (pillow of a gate) would observe the behavior of farmers while returning from farming. For instance, if an individual farmer was in a hurry to return to his home the assumption was that, that individual was in good terms with his family, neighbors, etc. On the other hand, if he was reluctant while returning to his home the elder would assume that, that man might have a problem and would instruct the *lazim* to identify it.

According to *Aba* Atiqa and *Kabir* Abdullahi Muhammad,²¹ *Harari induchach* used to go to *chat* or fruit gardens in the vicinity of Harar to collect the produce and sell the same in the market. They freely disposed of the produce they collected from their farm. If it is owned by someone else, however, she would share the proceeds with the owner.²² In Harari it is called *Moy*.

²⁰ Interview on 27th January 2013 in Harar

²¹ Interview on 6th February 2013 in Harar

²² The researcher remembers his mother doing such kind of business with her-in-laws

Harari *induchach* would leave for the garden, leaving their infants either in mosques or *awach* (shrine) if they did not have someone at home to look after their children. When the mothers came back to pick up their children they would bring *qahwah* (tea made from roasted coffee leaf and milk) and *ukhat*, Harari *injera* or local bread for the service rendered by the personnel in the mosques or *awach*. This was how *asri subat* (late snack) was resumed.

Besides the social services they rendered, the mosques also were involved in politics. Burton (1894) observed how Sheikh Jami, Somali by origin and *Alim* (religious scholar) had authority over the Amir. He was influential, due to his knowledge in religious science. His influence could also be due to his marriage ties with one of the descendants of Sharif Yonis mentioned above as the architect who came to Harar from Arabia to help in building the wall of Harar. It was also recorded how the *ulama* (plural form of *Alim*) of Harar influenced Amir Abdullahi (1885-1887) to fight Menelik despite his forces did not match that of Menelik's (Caulk, 1975).

Sometimes religious leaders might be the architects for the religious individuals to assume power. The vision experienced by Yonis al-Arabia before Imam Ahmed took power is an illustration for this:

As I was sleeping one night, I suddenly saw in my dream the Prophet, peace and prayer be upon him. Umar bin al-Khattab was standing to his right, Abu Bakr to his left, and Ali bin Talib in front of him. And in front of Ali there stood Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim. And I asked him (the Prophet): Oh Messenger of God, who is this man in front of Ali? And he, peace and prayer be upon him, said: This is the man by whom God will bring peace and Islam (yuslimu) to the land of the Habasha (Abdul-karim, 1995 p. 11).

Thus, the religious scholars either assumed power by themselves wherever that was attainable, or they were king makers, or they paved the way for military-religious leaders to assume power. Mosques were one of the institutions they used to achieve that goal. Mosques, therefore, had many purposes besides serving as place of prayer.

In ordinary life Muslims meet every week on Friday, not only for *Juma Salat* (Friday prayer). They use that platform to exchange information on any events that happened in between the two Fridays at the local level. They gather at the national level on *Edil Fitr* (the holy day after the Ramadan). They meet at international level at Mecca on *Edil Adaha* or *Arafa*.

The Jugal, Bariyach And Gey Gar

To discuss *Jugal* made of rough stones of granite and sandstone where clay was used as mortar is vital (Burton, 1894). As it has been mentioned, the *Jugal* was built by Amir Nur (1552-1567) to deter the pastoralist Oromos from destroying Harar. It encompasses *bariyach*, *gey garach*, mosques, *awach*, etc. The *awach* will be discussed separately. The mosques in relation to religious leaders and the social services they provided have already been discussed. The other details of the *Jugal* and the materials it is made from, the *bariyach* (the gates) and the *gey garach* (Harari Houses) are as follows.

The Jugal

Burton (1894) gave detailed narration of the Amirs' palace, the roads, and houses. *Kabir* Abdulmuheiman and *kabir* Abdullahi Adus assert that Hararis built the wall with their labor, material and money organized through a social organization referred to as *baha* which will be discussed in chapter seven. Whereas Burton (1894) described the wall as that which would crumble at the touch of six-pounder, Ahmed Zekaria (1997) noted how "it helped Harar to maintain the relative peace and security which allowed it to develop an urban culture, attracting

trade and religious learning.” (p. 18). For Klemm (2002) “it is rather a visual symbol of the boundaries between the urban, Harari merchant society and the predominantly Oromo pastoralists outside the wall” (p. 35). It can be added that it is the expression of splendid Harari architectural culture.

The materials are stones collected from *Aw Hakim Sere* (Mt. Hakim on the West side of Harar), or locally quarried untrimmed *Hashi* stone (Abdullahi Muhammad Ahmed, 1990), East Africa Cordia, or large leafed Cordia or Sudan teak and clay. This goes along with Gleichen (1898) who described the city “as a conglomeration of narrow and intricate streets leading between houses built of loose stone or rubble and thatched with horizontal cross pieces covered with matting or straw.” (p.56)

The wall encompasses 48 hectares with a circumference of 3,342 meters (Ahmed Zekaria 1997, p. 18) or, according to *kabir* Abdullahi Adus it is 6660 *kuru*.²³ This is equal to the distance Abdullahi Muhammad Ahmed (1990) described as *kuru* or cubit. He further informs that as people were constructing the wall they were reciting verses from the Quran. A similar ritual was followed in 1940’s when the crumbled *Asmadin Bari* was restored. While its height from the ground is 12 feet on average, Burton (1894) estimated the wall to be one mile long and half that breadth. As noted by Paulitschke (Hecht 1982) after it was rebuilt and fortified by the Egyptians its height turned out to be four to five meters.

²³ He said these numbers match the total numbers of verses in the Quran. July 8th 2013 interview

Bariyach (the Gates)

Following the five entrance gates²⁴ the *Jugal* is divided into five quarters, (Waldron, 1978; Hecht, 1982) bearing the following names:

1. Eastward, *Argoba Bari*
2. West, *Asmadin Bari*
3. North, *Assum Bari*
4. South, *Badro Bari*
5. South East, *Sukutat Bari* (Hecht, 1982, p. 1).

Two entrances were added by Menelik, *Duck Bari*²⁵ in the West and *Barabari Bari* in North West. While the former still exists the latter one was destroyed during Italian occupation (Hecht 1982). Each quarter is further subdivided into *toyach* (neighborhoods). Waldron (1978) identified 67 *toyach* (plural of *toya*).

There are holes referred to as *waraba nodule* (hyena hole, see figure 1) for the hyenas to come into and go out from the city after the gates were locked as darkness fell. Harmsworth (1935) observed, after dark, how “they creep through the holes in town walls to clean the garbage thrown by the inhabitants” (p. 180). The holes are also sewers to discharge flood waters and liquid waste materials from the city (personal observation). The passages for the people and domestic animals are *Bariyach*.

²⁴ Ancient units of length from elbow to the tip of the middle finger. Elders say they reflect five pillars of Islam or five times daily prayers

²⁵ Named as Duck Ber by Haile Sellassie



Figure1: Waraba Nudul (hyena hole)

Badro Bari (Bedri Bari) Its name is related to the first battle the Prophet Muhammad had in 624 AD against the Quraysh. Consequently this gate was a venue to offer military training to Harari youth and demonstrate their military skill in the presence of elders (Abdullahi Muhammad, 1990). According to Maftuh, (2002) this *Bari* was referred to as *Alim Bari* (Scholars' gate), *Babble Hakim* (entrepreneurs' gate), and *Jihad Bari*. It was renovated by the Italians during their five year occupation. Amharas call it *Buda*²⁶ *Ber* probably for the presence of houses referred to as *tom to gar* where farm implements, pots, tools and ornaments were produced and marketed (Nicholl, 1997).

²⁶ People who were suspected to be with evil eyes. Traditionally it is related to those who professionally produce farm implements, pots, tools, and ornaments.



Figure 2: Badro Bari (Bedri Bari)

Asmadin Bari This gate was used as an exit by Islamic scholars to teach Islam to surrounding people (Maftuh, 2000). Traditionally it is believed that Aw Abadir and his disciples were residing in the vicinity of this gate. While according to Hecht's (1982a) account this *Bari* was restored by the Italians, Maftuh, (2000) says Egyptians renovated this gate during their 10 year occupation and named it as *Babine Nesre*, victory gate or *Babb el Turk* (Felix Rosen in Hecht, 1982a). On the other hand, Nicholl (1997) writes the name of this gate as *Babb el Nasri* and translates it as the Gate of Christians. Moreover, he attributes the renovation to the Turkish and notes this gate as the entry-point for produce from the Abyssinians. While Burton (1894) named it as

Hameressa Bari after a river that flows just outside the gate, the Amharas call it *Shawa Bar* for it was a passage to Shawa (Maftuh, 2000).



Figure 3: Asmadin Bari

Assum Bari The name as Maftuh, (2000) stated, was probably, derived from either a river that was just outside the gate or a salt market in front of the gate. Abdullahi Mohammed Ahmed (1990) also pointed out the existence of a creed that was mentioned in one of the Harari songs as *garzina magbazina Argo Bari mescha mieyzina Assum Bari*, meaning our dwelling place is *Argo Bari*, whereas our drinking water is from *Assum Bari*. Other names are *qibla Bari* for it is towards *Kaaba* and *Masjid Bari*, for there is a great number of mosques including the grand

mosque²⁷. People name it as *Amir Nur Bari* for the presence of Amir Nur Mosque and Shrine. As noted by Nicholl (1997) it was referred to as *Zayla Bari* for it was a passage for merchants to Zayla. It was also referred to as (*Assum*) *Axum Bari* to indicate either the direction where Axum is or merchants from Axum were coming, both indicating the long relation Harar had had with Axum. Nicholl (1997) further tells us that this gate is once known as *Babb el F'touh*, the gate of conquest, for it is believed that Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim left Harar through this gate when he waged his massive military attack on the Christian highland of Abyssinia.



Figure 4: Assum Bari

²⁷ Personal observation

Argoba Bari This is the gate Burton (1894) passed through in 1885 to enter Harar. It is called *Argoba Bari* for the Argoba villages are not far away from the gate, or, as noted by Emran (2006) for the Argobas, fleeing the attack in 1415 by Negus Ishaq, took refuge in Harar and settled in the vicinity of this gate. Other names are *Eid Bari*, for the two Muslim festivals were celebrated on the plain called *Aw Abdal* just outside the gate²⁸. *Ud Bari* and *Sahel Bari* are other names given to this gate. While the former name is given as one would find just outside the gate a small field where crops were threshed, the latter name is given for, in the olden times, the gate led to *Berberah*.



Figure 5: Argoba Bari

²⁸ Personal experience

Sukutat Bari the researcher remembers that this gate used to lead to fields where there were crops, fruits, and vegetables farms. Burton (1894) named it *Besidimo gate* for it leads to Besidimo town few kilometers far away from Harar. The gate also leads to *Sofi Shrine*. Thus, while especially the Oromos name it *Kara Sofi*, (a road that leads to *Sofi*) (Maftuh, 2000, p. 48) the Amharas refer to it as *Senga Ber*, the gate of Bulls, for this gate leads up to the cattle-plains of the Ogaden (Nicholl, 1997).



Figure 6: Sukutat Bari

Each gate's name, as it has just been seen, was related to either some incident that happened in the history of Islam, or to scholars, entrepreneurs, the Harari trade partners or victories scored by the Hararis. Rivers that existed immediately outside each gate did not basically serve as sources of the gates' names. Thus, *Ginella* River was the river one would come across in front of

Asmadin Bari. While river *Khatibin* was flowing in front of *Badro Bari*, rivers *birmengui*, *toma zer* and *berbere zer* were flowing in front of *Sukutat Bari*, *Argoba Bari* and *Assum Bari* respectively. As it has just been seen while Hararis related the creek outside *Assume Bari* with its name, Burton (1894) related *Asmadin Bari* to the river in its vicinity, i.e. *Hameressa River*.

Burton (1894) observed that those gates were at all times carefully guarded. In the evening the keys were taken by *qulfi guita*²⁹ to the Amir so that no one could leave the city till dawn. This practice had continued during Menelik's (Gleichen, 1897) and Haile Selassie's periods (Harmsworth 1935). Anybody who was found outside their house once darkness fell would be put behind bars.

Gey Garach

The most impressive venue where Hararis teach and learn their values are *gey garach*, whose architectural form is typical, specific and original, different from the domestic layout usually known in Muslim countries, and their style is unique in Ethiopia and their interior design quite exceptional. That seems the reason whenever Hararis discuss their culture they mention the beauty of their houses, of which they are very proud. It is the first venue where parents as the first teachers educate their children by living examples of what is just and unjust, what is fine and what is shameful, and privacy and communal life.

It is, therefore, imperative to briefly discuss *gey gar* for they express the beliefs and culture as well as traditional architects of Hararis; they tell the history and way of life of the Hararis; they are the first schools where Hararis learn about symbolic values which regulate the relations members of families have with each other, with their *toya*, neighbors, *Bari* and then the city, i.e. *gey* (Harar). They are a symbolic identity of Hararis.

²⁹ Qulfi guita was master of the key who was in charge of the key of the gate and accountable directly to the Amir.

Each *Bari*, as it is mentioned above, is divided into neighbors (*toyach*) that contain *gey garach* (houses of the city) with either common or single compounds (*gara abaat*). *Toya* is formed from *gara ganbriyach* (many families within many compounds). Or, as narrated by *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*, the sequence is: *gar*, a family; *gara-abaat*, a number of families within one compound sharing one common main gate; *gara gambari*, families within one big compound but with different gates; *Toya*, neighborhoods from which *Bari* is formed.

Gey garach are discussed in detail by Hecht (1982a). She used detailed observations and reports made by travelers such as Burton (1894) and Paulitschke (1888) in Hecht (1982a) who visited Harar with an interval of 30 years. She also discussed observations of other travelers such as Bardey, Robecchi-Bricchetti, Vivian, Skinner, Rosen and Comyn-Platt, who visited Harar within a life span of forty to eighty years. Such an approach enables one to appreciate the changes *gey garach* went through. Moreover, as she mentioned in her foot note, she made personal studies and observations as well as held personal interviews with people, both Hararis and scholars, who are knowledgeable about Harari society while staying in Harar. Hence, she brought together the past and the present traveling through time and broadens the understanding one could have of the *gey gar*. Nevertheless, her discussion is more focused on the splendid art of *gey gar*. Hence, it is important to briefly discuss the social aspects of *gey gar*.

VO Van (2007), supporting his narration on *gey gar* with colorful pictures, depicts what contemporary *gey garach* look like. He also tried to attach meanings to some parts of *gey gar*. Hence, using their articles and descriptions, this part will highlight those and additional meanings Hararis attached to some parts of the *gey gar*.



Figure 7: *gey gar*

Kabir Abdulmuheiman stated,³⁰ *gey gar* as any other social phenomenon, had passed through various developmental stages before it acquired its present shape. The first type of dwellings were made of *wantef* (carpet) followed by houses totally built from grasses. Then those houses were improved when their walls were built from stones while their roofs were covered with thatch. Finally, rectangular houses built entirely with stones emerged as *gey gar*.

Six *challas* (rows) of granite rocks are buried as a basement or foundation to the walls. Above the foundation the rows are reduced to four, which continues till the wall attains a certain height. The rows are further reduced to two when the walls approach the upper limit. To hold the walls together and support the roofs two *makhazu* (pillars) are erected. The first one is erected

³⁰ June 12, 2013 interview in Harar

near *waram moreja* (place to keep spear) while the second one is erected near *tit nadaba* and *qachine nadaba*. These two pillars support the beam called *hamil* that in turn supports the roof.

After erecting the walls and keeping the *hamil* in place, the roof is first covered with wooden logs called *Derbi inchi*, “thin tree trunks stripped of their bark” (Hecht, 1982a, p. 5) which are kept apart leaving a small space between two trunks to resist a small earth quake.³¹ Another type of wood called *kabal* is put on top of *Derbi inchi*. Then the *kabal* is covered with thatch. The thatch is covered with mud and finally cemented with a type of soil called *guguba afer*, made from pounded stone.

The *waram moreja*³² *makhazu*, on top of supporting the roof, divides the *gidir gar* into two: the first partition contains *Amir Nadaba*, *gidir nadaba*, *sutri nadaba*, *tit or wej nadaba*, *gabti ehair nadaba*, *qachin nadaba* and *taqet*, the niches. *Kirtet*, *dera*, *qutti qala*, and *qala* are in the second partition. Or, it could be classified into stories. While the first story comprises *gidir gar*, *kirtet* and *dera*, the *qala* and *qutti qala* are the constituent parts of the second story.

Every part of each story has its own function. *Kirtet*, for instance is a place where a mother who gives birth spends 40 days with her new born baby. This time *Kirtet* is called *haras gar*. It is also a room for circumcision. It is a honeymoon room (*aroz gar*) for newly married couples. It is also a place where women stay when men are in the *gidir gar* engaging in various activities such as meeting, reading Quran, entertaining friends, etc. It is a sleeping place for the wife and accommodates her traditional dressing table. Hence *kirtet* is a venue where new life of a couple and a new born child starts. The custody of this room is the responsibility of Harari *induchach* who are honored with a privilege in the society as guardians of a place where life starts. Burton (1894) called it women’s room.

³¹ Information from Khalid Abdurrahman ,an engineer from Addis Ababa University

³² *Waram moreja* was a place to keep a spear. If the head was upward it was a symbol of peace and if it was kept downward it was indication of war situation.

This room in olden times was a manifestation of status, for houses with two *kirtets* were said to be traditionally Amir *Garach gar* (Houses of Amir families). In Recent times, wealthy individuals as well used to have houses with two *kirtets*. For instance, the late *Aw Ahmed Abogn*, who was the treasurer of Ras Makonen and then his son Ras Tafari, built and owned a house with two *kirtets*.³³

Adjacent to *kirtet* is a place, where the black long-necked pottery containers, *aflaal* with elongated basketry lids, *aflaal Offa*, up to four in number are kept. They are used for storage of the families' jewelry and valuables or gifts received by the bride either from the groom or her parents. They are also used to store the umbilical cords of children in the family if birth takes place at home. Thus, the *aflaal* and *Offa* symbolize, on top of acknowledging and sharing of happiness of the new couples, the attainment of personality by the newly born child. As Fethia Ahmed³⁴ mentioned, if the *aflaal Offa* are turned down they symbolize the death of a husband and the presence of a widow in that house. Hence, the relations individuals could have with the widow or her children are governed differently from those of the households where both parents are alive.

Immediately upon passing the entrance of the *kirtet* one finds a room called *dera* with a door. Whenever the *kirtet* serves as *haras gar* or *aroz gar*, the *dera* is used as rest room for the *harasit* (women who gives birth) or *arozit* (bride). For this reason the *dera* is built with *Hashiun* (sedimentary rock with pores) that allows ventilation. The rocks are not cemented to enable the wall to suck out any pleasant or unpleasant odor and release it outside. It also serves as a secluded room where the husband and the wife, avoiding their children, settle their differences.

³³ Personal observation

³⁴ The curator of Harari cultural museum; June 21st 2013 interview in Harar

Children are obliged to fast during Ramadan only when they attain seven. Nevertheless, they practice fasting starting from three years eating in *dera* to avoid eating and drinking publicly. This is called *dera soman* (*dera* fasting). After four years of *dera soman* practice they start fasting the whole day like adults. Hence, *dera* is a private venue both for the parents and children.

The interior of the *gidir gar* (large living room) also encompasses different parts. One part is *nadabach* with various elevations.³⁵ They are divided into five.³⁶ Their naming depends on the social services they provide, their location, and size. *Amir Nadaba* in the old days was a seat of the Amir. It was a seat for the *kabir* while teaching Islam. In aspiring this for its son a family buries beneath this *nadaba* the foreskin of the penis after circumcision.³⁷ In ordinary family life, it is a seat where the master of the house is seated. Subsequently, the Hararis say *kulu zum garzube Amirin ta*; meaning everyone is Amir at his home. *Amir Nadaba* is, therefore, a symbol of sovereignty, knowledge or mastership.

Amir Nadaba is placed at the right or left side of the *gidir gar* “in such a way that the master of the house sees who enters the compound and acts accordingly. Hence, this *nadaba* is at the vantage point to enable the head of the family to have control of the compound. For all these reasons, the location of *Amir Nadaba* in *gey gar* is at a commanding position. One who sits there has overall control of everybody in *gidir gar* and the compound.

Gidir nadaba, big *nadaba*, is situated by the main wall opposite to the entrance. It is referred to as *gidir* for it is the largest in size from the other four *nadabach*. It is also socially different from other *nadabach*, as will be seen in chapter five, as those who are senior in

³⁵ Personal observation

³⁶ There are six if *qachin nadaba* where *chat qulo*, calabash for water is kept is included. Interview held with Fethia Ahmed, June 21, 2013.

³⁷ This point is discussed in chapter four

knowledge are seated in that *nadaba* when people gather for various festivities and to say their sad farewell to the deceased, etc. It was the seat where dignitaries sat during the Amirs' time. It can be said *nadaba* is a symbol of seniority.

As any other *Nadabach*, *gidir nadaba* is built with impacted soil. Hence, when any family member dies a hole is dug in *gidir nadaba* to collect the water used to wash the corpse before it is wrapped and taken for burial. Then the hole is covered with the soil that is dug out. Therefore, *gidir nadaba* symbolizes the ending of personality as *aflaal* symbolizes the beginning of personality. Furthermore, keeping the corpse on *gidir nadaba*, where under normal circumstances elders and dignitaries sit, reflects the respect the Hararis have for a deceased person.

Attached to *gidir nadaba* is *sutri nadaba*, or as it was in olden times referred to as *malasay nadaba* as the guards of the Amir sat while the Amir adjudicated a criminal or civil case or led a meeting. Now it is a seat where the husband rests when he returns home. Sometimes Quran illiterate but wealthy individuals sit there to cover up their illiteracy. The protection is provided on account of their material contribution to the community.

The fourth *nadaba* is *tit nadaba* or *wej nadaba* below the *gidir nadaba*. It is smaller than *gidir nadaba* and also seated by juniors. Or as it is stated by VO Van (2007) "it is for the young ones" (p. 7). It is also a place where children sleep at night. Otherwise it is larger in size than the remaining three *nadabach* including *Amir Nadaba*. As narrated by *kabir Abdulmuheiman* in the Amirs' time a complainant or an accused sat on *tit nadaba* while complaining to the Amir or defending himself or someone else. Another very narrow *nadaba* opposite to *Amir Nadaba* is *chat qulu nadaba* where calabash is kept. It is also called *Qachin Nadaba*.

Gabti ehair nadaba is the fifth *nadaba*. Its name is derived from its location, i.e. behind the door, *gabti*. It was a seat for those who opposed the idea that was the subject of discussion in a meeting led by the Amir as told by *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*³⁸. These days it is a place for those who are seriously ill and it is referred to as *mutt nadaba* (a seat for dying). Above this and *sutri nadaba* is over hanged a kind of inward balcony made with wood to place luggage. It is called *marabraba*. In *aada gar* the traditional luggage, referred to as *eraz mu-die* is kept over *marabraba*.

While the visible parts of the *nadaba* are painted, the remaining parts, especially the upper parts, are “covered with mats either purchased from Somalia or brought from Mecca” (Hetch, 1982a, p. 5). The former one is inferior in quality compared to the latter one. Hence, the mats symbolize hierarchy in Harari community. Moreover, the mats from Mecca probably could be an indication that the master of the house either has made pilgrimage to Mecca or a near relative brought it from Mecca as a gift.

Nadabach, therefore, provide various services. They serve as meeting places for social institutions such as *afocha*, *muggad*, *jamaa*. They are places to observe festivities such as marriage, *mawlid* and graduation. *Afocha* and *jamaa* members gather on *nadaba* to express their commiseration. They are meeting places for family members and family councils. They are places where the family offers hospitality to its guest. They are also places where education is offered. They are places where a deceased is purified. Hence, by being venues of various services they regulate various relations among family and community members.

Another constituent part of *gey gar* is *taqet*, niches where family members keep their belongings. The biggest one is *nadaba dera*, a built-in closet located opposite to *sutri nadaba*. It has two partitions: the upper part where the master of the house keeps his clothes and the lower

³⁸June 12, 2013 interview in Harar

part where cash and other items such as “documents of importance are kept” (Hecht, 1982a, p. 5). On the wall that faces the entrance three or five *taqetach* (niches) are placed. While one or three *taqetach* are placed on the top part of the wall the other two are placed beneath those *taqetach*.

Whereas the upper *taqetach* are referred to as *tili taqet* (nook of the hawk) the lower two are called *eqed taqet*, (front niches) used to keep books. These days they are used to keep porcelains. Probably the former one is named after a hawk as its triangular shape resembles the front body part of the hawk seated on a tree. Or probably it is named after a hawk as noted by Leslau (1963), because it is so high that only the hawk can reach it. Items are kept away from children by placing them in the *tili taqet*. This last identification of the *taqet* with the hawk goes along with what mothers say to stop their children from continually requesting meat. They say ‘*tili talafta*’ alas the hawk has snatched it, there is no hope to recover it. These children, however, have their own *taqet* called *wej taqet* where they keep their belongings such as *Luh*,³⁹ and other educational aids.

According to Fethia Ahmed⁴⁰ the master of the house places items of his immediate need at *Amir Nadaba taqet* or *dildila taqet*. The key of the *gidir gar gambari*, the main door of the house, is also kept there. Perhaps, this practice is adopted from the old tradition where keys of the five gates of the *Jugal*, after being locked by *qulfi goyta*, were handed over to the Amir who might keep them in *Amir Nadaba taqet*.

³⁹ A flat wooden slate used as white board for a *kabir* who teaches Quran in *Quran gey* and for hand writing for students. This point is discussed in chapter 5.

⁴⁰ Interview held with Fethia Ahmed, June 21, 2013.

In old days Hararis placed lamps at *Mekhtut moreja taqet* (a niche for a lamp) to illuminate their rooms. Its elevation in the *gidir gar* enabled the lamp to illuminate all spaces. Nowadays that place is used to place TV so that everybody in the room can watch without any difficulty no matter where he sits.

The third part of *gey gar* is *qala* (upstairs). It is located above *kirtet* and *dera*. This *qala* is divided according to *kabir Abdulmuheiman*⁴¹ into *qala* proper and *qutti qala*. Both *qalach* (plural of *qala*) share a common ceiling with *gidir gar* with similar height. In many *gey garach* the *qala* and the *gidir gar* are separated by a screen of pierced wood work.⁴² In old days when Hararis were farmers the *qala* was used to store hay, food stuff and *qutti*, i.e. leaves of coffee used to prepare tea known as *qutti qahwah* usually taken to *awach*.

Moreover, it was used to store merchandise to be exported. It reflected the transition the Hararis made from farming to trade for it was from that store that merchandise was sold to the *abbans* who exported the items to Berberah and Zeila. The *qala* was, therefore, a place where Hararis were connected with the external world through international trade.⁴³ These days, since Hararis have abandoned farming, it is a sleeping room.

Some parts in *gey gar* have a religious message. For instance, the two *eqed taqetach* symbolize graves as the rectangular shape resembles Muslim graves. As it has been already mentioned *gidir nadaba* was a place where a hole was made to bury the water used to purify the body and the spirit of the deceased. Furthermore, the banisters of the staircase, says *kabir Abdulmuheiman*⁴⁴, look like *Bismila-Allah*, i.e. in the name of God.

⁴¹ June 12, 2013 interview in Harar

⁴² Personal observation

⁴³ This point is discussed in chapter six

⁴⁴ June 12, 2013 interview in Harar

Incense and incense burning play an important role in the life of Hararis.⁴⁵ Thus, there is a *taqet* where an incense burner is kept. It is beneath a *waram moreja*. Hararis take their shoes off when they step on the *nadaba*. They keep or place these shoes, especially at night, in a *taqet* called *ashen murad taqet* (niche to keep shoes). This *taqet* is most of the time built either under the stairs that lead to the *qala* or beneath *gabti ehair nadaba*.

It is already mentioned that *gey gar* is supported with a pillar called *maxazu*. Attached to this *maxazu* are found two rectangular-shaped facing each other from up to down with almost spear-size distance. These fittings were used to keep spears. These spear holders as part of *gey gar* demonstrate that Hararis were always ready to defend their family or city whenever a need arose. For this purpose, it was obligatory for every male student to attend military training administered in the *Quran gey*.⁴⁶

Entering the *gidir gar*, if one sits on *tit nadaba* facing the *gambari* (door to *gidir gar*), one observes moderate size tree trunks inserted into the wall above the entrance door. They are called *wantef murad* (wood to place carpets). The number of carpets placed on that shelf symbolizes the number of girls in that family ready for marriage. The carpet is the one that the bride covers her *gidir nadaba* with at her home. Moreover, the numbers of these pieces of woods are odd. Traditionally, Hararis made the numbers odd to remind themselves this world is always incomplete, for one dies before completing his wishes. Otherwise life would have been boring if it were complete. Horizontal to *wantef moreja* one piece of wood different in size and shape is inserted to the wall. It is called *shengi mesqaya* (a wood to hang seeds to be planted next year).

In the *abaaat*, a compound of *gey gar*, separate from the *gidir gar* there is always a *tit gar* (small room). It has its own window, entrance door and *nadaba*. It is supplement to *gidir gar*. A

⁴⁵ This point is discussed in chapter four

⁴⁶ This point is discussed in Chapter five

room is also built by young members of the family at the beginning of each Ramadan month and brought down at the end of the Ramadan till the room meets the standard of *tit gar*.⁴⁷ If the compound belongs to a *kabir* there is a place called *Saar gar* (a small veranda covered with grasses) where he teaches without affecting the privacy of his family. Another name for *Saar gar* is *gimbi gar*. There are separate places for a toilet and a kitchen called *wesamoy* and *alawada* respectively.

Most of *gidir gar gambari* (door) faces east or westward. *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*⁴⁸ pointed out that most of the *garach* facing eastward belonged to farmers and merchants so that they could arise in the early morning and go to their business. It is very rare to find doors facing south or north. If it faces south one cannot watch who is entering the compound while one is offering *Salat* facing north. On the other hand, if the door faces north those who would like to enter have to wait until one offering Slat finishes.

Gey gar compound is called *abaat*. It is surrounded by a wall made from stone and clay. Depending on the space available or other factors a single family or several families could live in a compound. If the compound is shared by many families it is most likely that they use a common kitchen and toilet. “Extremely codified, the use of these spaces reflects an important part of social life” (VO Van, 2007, p. 16). This relation is referred to as *Gara Abaat* by Hararis, as noted by *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*⁴⁹.

Sometimes a compound could encompass two separate households separated by a common wall. “In such cases the compounds within the block are again separated by walls. Then a visitor to the second compound, when entering from the lane has to pass through *uga*

⁴⁸ June 12, 2013 interview in Harar

⁴⁹ June 12, 2013 interview in Harar

katambari, the outer gate and cross the first compound before coming to the second one” (Hecht, 1982a, p. 4) Such type of compound is referred to by Hararis as *Gara Gambari* as postulated by Kabir Abdulmuheiman⁵⁰.

Awach

Here the discussion is about those *Awach* who are respected for saving the city and its people from natural and manmade catastrophe, protecting it from invasions, and playing a unifying role in the history of Hararis. Also, mention is made of responsibilities of some of the *Awach*.

Hararis utilize *Awach* (Plural form of *Aw*, father) to designate shrines. When they refer to the holy individual related to the shrine they use *Aw*. *Aw Abadir*,⁵¹ *Aw Kelka*, etc. are some examples. Sometimes they use *Sheik* as *Sheik Hussein*. Rarely do they use *Amir*, for instance *Amir Nur*. The *Awach*, however, are not only named after male *Aw*. They are also named after holy women with a title *Ai*, (mother). *Ai Abida* is one example. Sometimes they use *umma*, (grandmother) for instance *umma koda* believed to be the mother of *Aw Abdul Qadir*. The *Awach* are not only Hararis, they are from Somalis, Oromos, and Arabs as well. Besides, they are located in the *Jugal*, its vicinity and far away from Harar as far as Bale where sheik Hussein’s shrine is located.

The *Awach* have division of duties that one can observe from a ritual called *misti-jab*, observed immediately after the *Mehkrib azan* (call for *Salat* following the sunset). My late mother, Fatimah Mohammad, after the *azan* putting incense in incense’s burner used to say:

⁵⁰ June 12, 2013 interview in Harar

⁵¹ On the display on the wall behind the seat where the current *murid* sits and receives visitors the name of *Aw Abadir* is written in Arabic preceded by *Sheikh*. (Personal observation)

Bad zalu, Aw Abadir
;
Bari zalu Amir Abdul-Qadir;

Magala zalu Said Ali;

Sugud⁵² zalu Ali Hamdugn;

Mie zalu Garad Abogn;

Dachi zalu Aw Dim-Dim;

Sami zalu Aw Umar;

Aqara zalu Aw Hashim;

Hukmi zalu Aw Hakim;

She would complete her *Mistijab* by requesting Allah to protect all those dead and alive souls, living in the country and abroad, from evil spirits. The rough translation is:

Oh! Aw Abadir, the owner of the country;

Oh! Amir Abdul Qadir, the guardian of the gates;

Oh! Aw Said Ali, the administrator of the market;

Oh! Aw Ali Hamdugn, the owner of the cereal container;

Oh! Garad Abogn, the owner of the water or rivers;

Oh! Aw Dim-dim, the owner of the land;

Oh! Aw Umar, the owner of the sky;

Oh! Aw Hashim, the owner of Aqara;⁵³

Oh! Aw Hakim, the administrator of justice.

⁵² Sugud is a porringer shaped with hatchet and used by Hararis to measure sorghum they give to the needy. It holds 2.5 kg. It is also called *fitri gabata*.

⁵³ Aqara is chat wrapped leaf.

Fethia Ahmed⁵⁴ informed me there was a lady who used to recall over two hundred souls both alive and dead and request the *Awach* to protect them. *Mistijab* is also a ritual, *gey induchach* use for self-assessment of the daytime activities focusing their attention to Allah and praising the Prophet and the *awach*.

According to the folklore, this is a division of responsibilities among some of the *Awach*. Due to time and space constraints it would be difficult, if not impossible, to discuss only how this division of responsibility came about. However, something could be said about how *Aw Abdul Qadir* ended up as the guardian of the gates as it is told by *kabir Abdulmuheiman*.⁵⁵

Mohammed, the Prophet, in his "*Mi 'raj*," his nocturnal ascension to paradise, saw a very luminous spot shining from the earth. He then asked the angel Gabriel (*Jibril*) what this spot was. *Jibril* replied the light was coming from the "Mount of the Saints," "*Jebel all Awliya*" i.e. Harar. Upon his arrival on earth completing his journey, his companion *Abubaker* requested to be the guardian of that luminous spot the Prophet saw from the paradise. The Prophet replied: you would not be the guardian of that city; it belonged to your 17th descendant. *Aw Abadir* is the 17th descendant of *Abubaker* and that seems the reason he is designated as *Bad zalu Aw Abadir*.

The spirit of *Aw Abdul Qadir Jailan* who attended that conversation asked the Prophet "Oh! Grandfather since you used my shoulders as a launch pad when you ascended to the heaven as a reward you have to let me share some responsibility over that city." The Prophet then let *Abdul Qadir* be the guardian of the gates. *Aw Abdul Qadir* is, therefore, always referred to by the Hararis as *Bari zalu*, owner of the gates. That seems to be the reason why the shrine of *Aw Abadir* is inside the *Jugal* while the shrine of *Aw Abdu Qadir* is located outside the wall. Some say while *Aw Abadir* is localized *Aw Abdul Qadir* is not. No wonder, therefore, if Hararis believe

⁵⁴ Interview held June 21, 2013

⁵⁵ Interview on 6/5/2013 in Harar

their city is a chosen city by the Prophet Muhammad and protected by *Awliya* which they utilize to regulate the relations they had with the surrounding people.

Moreover, as noted by VO Van (2007), “Hararis regard themselves as the children of *Aw Abadir*” (p. 2). *Aw Abadir* was the one who offered leadership to organize and settle Hararis or their ancestors Haralas when they faced severe drought and famine at one time in their history. This is probably the reason why, when summer rains are delayed and signs of draught appear, the Oromos and Hararis march through the city holding green leaves uttering “*Maganey Megan Aw Abadrow Megan Abd el Kader raw Megan*” which means salvation in the name of *Aw Abadir* and *Aw Abdul Qadir*. Where affordable they slaughter sacrifices. Even the Christian Amharas in Harar count on *Aw Abadir* saying ‘*Abadir tom ayasadir*’ which means Abadir never let you fall hungry.

According to *Kabir Abdullahi Muhammad*⁵⁶ and as noted by Ahmed Zekaria (2003) the inauguration of the Amirs of Harar referred to as *taj mored* meaning ‘to crown the amir’ and tying turbans for higher officials referred to as *imamate metalel* were always held at *Aw Abadir*’s *awach*. While the first act is an indication of how *Aw Abadir* and *Abd el Kader* plucked Hararis (Haralas) from danger, the coronation at *Aw Abadir awach* could be acknowledging and exemplifying the endeavors made by *Aw Abadir* to reorganize the administration of Harar. *Aw Abadir* is, therefore, regarded as the structural designer of Harar administration.

Amir Nur is regarded as another leader who offered spiritual and administrative leadership. He was the one who built the wall that surrounded the city and saved it from external attack through the spiritual connection he had with the Khadir. *Ai Abida* is a holy woman

⁵⁶ Interview on February 6th, 2013 in Harar

regarded as the mother of all Hararis. Hence, a bride with her mother and friends visit with gifts while preparing for her marriage ceremonies and when she gives birth to her first child.⁵⁷



Figure 8: Amir Nur Shrine

To protect the city and its people from attacks that could come from different sources Hararis disseminated among people living in the surrounding areas the idea that they are descendants of the 43 holy men who came with Aw Abadir from Arabia. For instance, when the Mogadishu government invaded Ethiopia, they launched a massive attack on Dire Dawa by passing Harar. One of the leading officers who led the attack explains why they adopted that course. He gives two reasons. One was the strategic importance of Dire Dawa, i.e. presence of the airport, the rail

⁵⁷ This point is discussed in chapter four

road and industries. The second reason was they planned to enter Harar peacefully which would have averted the anger of the *Awach* who watched over Harar and its people. Otherwise, it would be suicidal to attack *madintul Awliya* that he still believes is protected by the *awach*.

On the other hand, *awach* are playing a unifying role among Hararis, Oromos, Somalis and even Amharas. Among 43 holy men who came from Arabia only *Aw Abadir* settled in the walled city while others resided among the Oromos or Somalis. Second, “saints are said to originate from all parts of the Muslim world” (Gibb, 1999, p. 96). Therefore it is the miracles they performed not their *qabila*, nationality that matters. Hence, Hararis use the *awach* as integrative factors to smooth the relations they have had with the surrounding people.

Before winding up this part it is worthy to note a few points how Hararis use *awach* to recruit members from non-Hararis. An important observation that could be mentioned is where the researcher accompanied, on 28th September 2013, two *gey induchach* on their visit to *Ai Abida* and observed the ritual held to bless the coming marriage ceremony. The lady *murid* is *Ai Amina Muhammad*. Except for the two visitors and the *murid* the others who attended the ritual conducted in Harari language and *gey aada* were Oromo ladies who were perfect in using the language and *gey aada* necessary for the ritual.

Another occasion worth mentioning is that a group of *induchach* on March 03, 2010 celebrating *Aw Hamid Awach* on the road that goes to *Asmadin Bari*. Harari language was the medium to conduct the ceremony, though Oromo ladies were present who were perfect in using the language of the ceremony. Similarly, the researcher accompanied the visit made on June 20, 2013 to *Aw Abadir* by *Salihin KG* students on their graduation ceremony; it was also conducted in Harari language though there were Oromo and Somali students, but who still understood the ceremony.

From what has been said it is plausible to conclude that *awach* are one of the institutions Hararis have been using to teach *gey aada* and Harari language to turn non-Hararis into Hararis. Thus, one may say *awach* are institutions where Hararis are replenishing themselves and perpetuate as a community. Hence, they are institutions where Hararis use to develop and transfer their values.



Figure 9: The Main Entrance to Aw Abadir Shrine

The Amirs Of Harar

As has already been discussed, the administration of Harar was not limited to the walled city and its vicinity. Nicholl (1997) broadens its rule to include a large and fertile province, Hararghe, and its peaceable agricultural inhabitants. The Amirs were 72 (Wagner 1974) or 76 (Abdi-Khalil, 2007) in number. According to *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*⁵⁸ in oral tradition their number, however, could be more than this. Volumes of books, therefore, would be required to tell about the chronicles of these Amirs which are beyond the scope of this paper. Hence, this part is limited to those Amirs who made a difference in the political, economic, social or legal life of Hararis. These Amirs are Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim, Amir Nur, Amir Uthman Al-Habash, Amir Abd-al Shakur and Amir Muhammad 'Abd ash-Shakur.

Imam Ahmed (1529-1543)

Allegations of burning and blundering churches and monasteries, slaying without mercy every male that fell in his way, and driving off the women and children, selling some to strange slavery has always been made by some historians against Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim. He was portrayed by Burton (1894) sometimes as Attila of Adal and other times as an African Hero who dashed to pieces the Abyssinian structure of 2500 years. But the other side of the coin reflects what was done to the lowlanders and their leader before Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim undertook offenses against the Abyssinians.

የሆነ ሆኖ ማህፋዝ ሞቶ ሱልጣን መሐመድም ሸሸቶ እሰላሞቹ ከተሸነፉ በኋላ የክርስትያኑ ጦር እስከ አዳሎቹ ከተማ እስከ ዘክር (ደከር) ደርሶ የማህፋዝን ከተማ አቃጥሎ ያገኘውን ዘርፎ ሠራዊቱ በደሰታ ንጉሰ ነገሥቱን አጂቦ ተመለሰ (ተክለ ዓድቅ መኮሪያ 1960, p.104).

⁵⁸ Interview on 22nd June, 2012 in Harar

My translation

After the defeat of the Muslims following the death of Mahfouz and the flight of Sultan Muhammad, the Christian army penetrated deep into the territories of Muslims and returned accompanying its king leaving behind the city of Mahfouz Dakar, and other Muslim cities which it had put into ashes after looting. (Tekle Tsaddik Makuria, 1968 GC)

Furthermore,

እንደ እውነቱ ከሆነ በነ ዐዪ ዓምድ ፅዮንና በነ ዓዪ ዘረያቆብ ጊዜ ክርስቲያኖች ወደ አዳልና ሶማሌ አገር ባለባቱ ሸፍቶ ለዘመቻ በሄዱ ጊዜ ይህንን የመሰለ ግፍ በተማረከው እስላም በቤተሰቡም ላይ መስራታቸው፤ መስጊዱንም መንደሩንም ማቃጠላቸው የታወቀ ነው፤ ሲዋጋ በሞተው ተይዞ በተማረከው የእስላም መሪ ላይ ግፈኛ አገዳደል እንደሚፈጸምበት አይካድም፤ ዐዪ ዘረያቆብ በመሐመድ በደላይ ላይ ያደረጉትንና ከሞተ በኋላ ከፊላው ላይ አካሉን መለያ ላይ እየቆራረጡ ለየአድባራቱ የላኩትን ማስታወሱ ይበቃል (አላይ የተጠቀሰው ገፅ 291)

Translation

It is public that similar atrocities were carried on against those Muslims who were caught while fighting and their families by Christians during the reign of *Atse* Amda Sion and *Atse* Zara Yakub who burnt the Mosques and villages when the Adal and Somali chiefs rebelled against them. The great atrocity they committed against those who were caught or killed while fighting was unbelievable. It suffices to recall the act of *Atse* Zara Yakub who distributed the limbs and other body parts of Muhammad Bedaly to monasteries after killing him in a brutal way.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Ibid , 291

The following is taken from a letter written by Amda Sion to his rivalry, Sultan Saber Adin:

ከአገሪ በተነሳሁ በሁለተኛው ቀን ከሰባት ፈረሰኞች ጋር ወደ ከተማ ገባሁኝ፡፡...ከዚያ በኋላ የተቀሩ ወታደሮች ደርሰው የይፋትን ምድር ፈፅመው አጠፉት፡፡ እኔም ከዚያ አገር እንደ አሸዋ የበዛ ወርቅ፣ ብርና ኑሐስ ከብዙ አልባሳት ጋር ወሰድኩኝ፡፡ ቀጥሎ ወታደሮቼን ኩልጉራ፣ ባደያ፣ ኩባት፣ ፈድሴ፣ ሃይጋይ ቡቁል ዘርና ሸዋ ወደ ሚባሉ የእስላም አገሮች በሙሉ ሰደድኩ፡፡ እነርሱም በእነዚህ አገሮች ሁሉ ጦርነት አካሄዱ፡፡ ሰዎችን በሰይፍ ገደሉ፡፡ ተላላቅና ፅኑ ከተሞቻቸውን አቃጠሉ፡፡ በተጨማሪም ቁጥር ሰፍር የሌለው የእንሰላትና የሰዎች ምርኮ ወሰዱ (ላጲሶ ደሌቦ 1982, pp. 107-108).

My translation

I entered a town with seven cavalries on the second day of my departure from my country. Then upon their arrival my reserve armies completely destroyed Ifat. I took abundant gold, silver and bronze with ample clothes from that country. Then I sent my soldiers to the remaining Muslim countries. They waged war in those countries. They killed people with swords. They burnt down big and glorious Muslim cities. Besides, they drove off uncountable domestic animals and humans. (Lapiso Delebo, 1990, pp. 107-108). And Burton (1894) described this, saying that “the Abyssinians were commanded to spare nothing that drew the breath of life: to fulfill a prophecy which foretold the fall of El Islam, they perpetrated every kind of enormity.” (p.5)

Killing, driving women and children into slavery, burning religious places without discrimination and looting properties of the loser by the winner have been ugly consequences of all wars in history. These were mechanisms the leaders used to stimulate their army to engage in fighting. Moreover, wars could be waged to control resources and trade routes or settle old scores. Del Wanbara, Amir Mahfouz’s daughter, used Imam Ahmad, her husband, to kill the monk Gabriel, who had killed her father as a soldier of tried valour. She also used Amir Nur

Mujahidin to Kill Galaudius, whom she thought was a main player actor in the killing of her husband Imam Ahmad with the help of Portuguese (Burton, 1894).

War could also be used to contain the enemy within its boundary or take the war into its territory. War could be waged to smash state institutions in this case, churches and mosques as one branch of government that propagated war and hatred. Hence, the cause for Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim's war against Abyssinians could be any combination of these experiences. It is probably wrong, therefore, to limit the cause for Imam Ahmad's war against the Abyssinians to *jihad*. What is equally important about that war as pointed out by Cerulli (1936) was the mass movement of people from both sides including mass conversions from one belief to another. The contact Harar had with the Muslim world and the contact the Abyssinia had with the Christian world had intensified. Consequently, there was probably exchange and development of new values. The values of Hararis were probably influenced by other values as their values were affecting other values.

Amir Nur Ibn Mujahid (1552-1567)

Galaudius, after defeating Imam Ahmad, could not conquer Harar. Neither Amir Nur completely occupied Abyssinia again as his predecessor. Rather, the exhaustion with the protracted wars of both sides made it easy for the Oromo pastoralists to penetrate and occupy territories that were a bone of contention for both parties (Hecht, 1992). Harar and its people were saved from that wave by a wall built by Amir Nur (Ahmed, 1997).

The effects of the occupation of those territories by the Oromo pastoralists were multi-dimensional. As mentioned by Ahmed the Oromos over-ran many cities which were probably satellites of Harar either eliminating the people or adopting them. While doing that the Oromos introduced and or received new values. Harar, isolated from its vassals, was preoccupied with

surviving that wave. It continued to be "the seat for an Amirate which, although small in size, was noted as a center of trade and Islamic learning in the horn of Africa" (Abir, 1968). Basically, Harar to continue as a city state preferred trade and religion to waging war. That change in approach was first introduced by Amir Uthman Al-Habash.

Amir Uthman Al-Habash (1567-1569)

As his name indicates he was from Habash (Abyssinia) and perhaps brought to Harar as a slave or captive of war and possibly freed himself from slavery through negotiation or exceptional talent he revealed. He, therefore, served as *Wazir* (chief minister) during the time of Amir Nur. How he became the Amir of Harar is obscure, for some say he was designated by Amir Nur (Cerulli, 1936) while some (Kabir Abdulmuheiman)⁶⁰ say he seized the throne through a coup d'état. In whatever way he came to power, he preferred trade to war and negotiated with the Oromos and saved Harar from being attacked. Amir Nur was, therefore, wise to appoint Uthman as *Wazir* as he saw in him the potential to negotiate that was indispensable to drag Harar out of the danger it faced.

As noted by Muhammad Hassan (1999) the agreement included allowing the Oromos to buy goods in Harar for fixed prices while they sold their products at market price. On the other hand, the Oromos allowed the caravans that came from and to Harar and sea and dry ports to move freely in the Oromo territories. And they allowed the Amir's soldiers to patrol the markets and the caravan routes within the Oromo territories. Then Harar as a market served as a melting pot of various values.

⁶⁰ Interview on 22nd June, 2012 in Harar

Amir Abd-Al Shakur (1783-1794)

Amir Abd al-Shakur while smoothing relations with the Oromos, he also undertook structural reforms in his administration. As noted by Cerulli (Ahmed Zekaria, 1997) Amir Abd al Shakur built a mosque at the holy place of Sheik Hussein of Bale which signifies the existence of good relation between the Amir and Sheik Hussein. He reconstructed the Sijil (register) and Diwan (chancery) (Wagner, 1974). Harar continued to prosper under Amir Abd- al-Shakur “due to a trade boom in the Red Sea as mentioned by Ahmed Zekaria” (1997, p. 23).

Caulk (1977) informs that *Amir* Abd al-Shakur went probably with his Oromo friends to the *Jarso* and other *Nole* clans, taking bales of sheeting for the first time to these Oromos in order to deal in peace with them and free the way for salt and other caravans which must have arrived through the *Nole* country. Cloth that was imported by the Hararis initially as a luxury, turned into a necessity for the Oromos who replaced leather wrap with it. Thus, Muhammad Hassen (1999) noted that through gift-giving Amir Abd al-Shakur ensured the safety of caravan routes and the continuous flow of much needed goods for Harar to consume and export.

Amir Muhammad Ali Mayu (1856-1875)

Mayu, the grandfather of Amir Muhammad was, as mentioned by Muhammad Hassan (1973) the richest Oromo chief. Since heads of his cattle were uncountable to express his richness, in Oromo tradition ‘Rich as Mayu’ was a popular saying. Likewise, a Harari mother who is bothered by her child’s unlimited material request would say to her child ‘*ruhkha Amir Abd al-Shakurin mesaltahk?*’ ‘Oh! You are now acting as if you are Amir Abd al-Shakur’

Probably to foster the business and political relations those two rich men had, Amir Abd al-Shakur took Ali, the son of Mayu to Harar where the latter went through the process of *Ge Lamad*, ‘learning the city or the very life of its people and became *gey usu* or Harari’ (Gibb,

1997). That was crowned by the Amir by appointing Ali Mayu as chief commander of his army and arranging marriage between him and Fatima, one of the relatives of the royal family (Muhammad Hassan, 1973). From that marriage Muhammad was born.

After receiving a good religious education and married to Khadijah, the daughter of Amir Abdal-Karim (1825-1834), he became a claimant of the throne (Muhammad Hassan, 1973). To attain that he became *ilma gosa* through adoption by the Oromos who helped him in the power struggle against other claimants. In return he allowed the Oromo chiefs to come to Harar and be hosted by the town people. Furthermore, he levied extra taxes called *mahalaqa Oromo* (Waldron, 1984) to pay his debts. He, thus, invited the Oromo dominance into the city which cost him his life at the hands of the Egyptians who were invited by the Hararis to get rid of their ruler.

As one can see, the relationship between Hararis and the Oromos was complex. Most of the time it was smooth and peaceful based on mutual interest. The Oromos left Harar from destroying it, because it was a place where they sold their farm products and purchased those either produced or imported by the Hararis. The Oromos were working as farmers on the lands of the Hararis or lands distributed by the Amirs to their chiefs in return for protection of the trade routes. Thus, each was dependent economically on the other.

That dependency was further strengthened through marriage. For instance, after the death of her son, Amir Ahmed (1852-1856), and the storming of Harar by the Oromos, *Geesti* Fatima, to keep alive her influence and live in peace with Amir Muhammad and the Oromos, entered into various marriage arrangements with the Amir. She allowed her daughter to marry the Amir's son and her grandson Yusuf to marry the Amir's daughter. Finally, that relationship was culminated when she concluded marriage with the Amir himself. On the other hand, he fostered his relationship with the Oromos through adoption according to Oromo culture to become *ilma gosa*,

son of the clan. One can assume how Harari values had benefited and developed through all those interactions and others as will be seen next.

Occupation Of Harar

Harar was occupied in its history by three forces. The first one was 10-year Egyptian occupation followed by British for very a brief period and finally by Menelik. The British occupation could be described as a transition from foreign occupation to freedom which was brought to an end once and for all by the occupation of Menelik. The impacts those occupations had on the political, social, and cultural life of Harar need further studies. This section simply is trying to lay ground for the main idea of this work.

Egyptian Occupation

What led Egypt to occupy Harar on 11th October, 1875 was discussed by many scholars such as E. S. Pankhurst (1958), Avishai Ben-Dorr (2008), and Caulk (1971; 1975). Here only some of the measures Egyptians took following their occupation are discussed.

To achieve their intention of building an empire that stretched over both the greater Nile basin and the African Red Sea coast, the Egyptians took various measures. As pointed out by Avishai Ben-Dorr (2008) they executed the Harari symbol of sovereignty, i.e. the Amir. They conducted massive expeditions against the neighboring tribes, i.e. Oromos and Somalis. (E.S. Pankhurst, 1958). As an incentive, the Egyptians were allowed by one Rauf Pasha to acquire lands, which were described by Avishai Ben-Dorr (2008) as long integrally connected to Harar, its system and history, either by purchasing or concessions. Perhaps the Egyptians had a plan, by concentrating all trade of the hinterlands in their hands, to weaken the Christian highlanders through trade embargos (Caulk, 1971).

To pursue their modernization plan, the Egyptians applied various methods, such as scientific research, mapping, and surveying and introduced new construction, taxation, education and legal systems (Avishai 2008). They organized the first bank in Eastern Africa, i.e. Egyptian Bank in Harar. European traders and contingents of Greeks and Armenians came with the Egyptian troops and ran their own small stores around the market places (Nicholl, 1997). Nevertheless, as noted by E. S. Pankhurst (1958) the Egyptians, due to internal and external factors, left Harar by handing over the administration to the British who took over not only Harar but Zayla and Barbara.

The British flew their flag at their consulate situated at the home where the former Egyptian Governor Raduan Pasha of Harar resided. They left after they trained local militias from Hararis and Somalis and handed over the government of Harar to Amir Abdullahi, the son of the deposed Amir Muhammad. He ruled Harar for only two years. He expelled foreign merchants who had access to the city trade during the Egyptian rule. He also forbade alcohol and even, as some reported, whole sale trade, referring to it as usury. He also sent an expedition against Italians who came with the intention to carry on business in Harar. (E.S. Pankhurst, 1958) All of these added together gave the excuse to Europeans to close their eyes while Menelik occupied Harar.

Menelik's Occupation

Menelik prepared to occupy Harar while he was only king of Shawa. He occupied Harar for the following reasons, but not by any means limited to: first, to acquire plenty of ammunition and stores left behind at Harar by the Egyptian army on its evacuation on May 1885; second Harar was one of the few areas in North East Africa which had developed commercial agriculture based on the export of coffee, which would enable Menelik to pay for firearms from

Assab and Bay of Tajura after 1884; third, Harar possessed a custom house where there was a regular cash supply (Caulk, 1971) Lastly, it could be added from what is noted by Dr. Teshale Tibebe (1995) that Harar provided Menelik with skilled manpower his modern administration badly required.

Before embarking to occupy Harar, after making various international diplomatic maneuvers, and preparations, and taking advantage of Emperor Yohannes' occupation in fighting the Mahdist, Menelik sent his army to the Southeast part of the country and subdued the Oromos which enabled him to amass resources. He installed spies in Harar to inform him what was going on after the Egyptians left. He even tried to extract information from the Catholic priest who was residing in the city (Caulk, 1971). He also made muscle flexing by sending an advanced force led by Dajazmac Walda Gebrel, who was routed out by an alliance of Hararis and Oromos (Gleichen, 1898).

After making all these and other preparations, Menelik sent a message to Amir Abdullahi requesting allegiance in return to put him as the governor of Harar. There are several versions related to the response of Amir Abdullahi. Some say he turned down the offer based on the advice given to him by the council of *Ulama* (scholars) who urged him to fight. There is a telling also that the Amir proposed temporary payment of tribute to Menelik and then rebelled when the time became ripe. As noted by Conti (Caulk, 1971) the people, however, rejected the proposal determined to fight and pay tribute only if they were defeated.

The third account was the advice given by most trusted counselors to hand over the spoil ammunitions to buy time. Nevertheless, according to kabir Abdullahi, an 81 year old Harari⁶¹ the Amir rejected their advice with the retort: "I did not ask you how much power Menelik possesses; I asked you a simple question, 'will the book allow us to give up arms to a kafir.'"

⁶¹ Interviewed by an art graduate , Abdullahi in 1968

Probably, this counselor was different from the council consisting of the *ulama*. And second, that meeting possibly took place after the Amir had his meeting with the town people and the *ulama*.

Yusuf Berkhedle, who used to travel to Shawa as a merchant and had opportunity to observe Menelik's army, was one of those who advised the Amir not to fight.⁶² As will be seen soon, he also served as a negotiator representing Hararis after the defeat of the Amir. Some say he was handpicked by Menelik himself for that negotiation.⁶³ This may leave us to speculate that Yusuf was probably a well-known merchant by Menelik or Menelik's close advisers while traveling to Shawa for business. That seems the reason why he was among those who advised the Amir to avoid confrontation for the time being with Menelik, which the Amir ignored and went in 1887 to Chelenko where Menelik defeated the thirty thousand Harari, Somali and Oromo troops.

Eleven thousand deaths (Gleichen, 1898) were counted on the Harari side, including 700 recently-married Harari youth and 300 *hafiz al Quran* (Those who memorize the whole Quran). The memory of the 700 newlywed martyrs is retained in Harari wedding customs, in the symbolism attached to white cotton with a thin red stripe *sattibaqla* cloth which is given to grooms by father-in-laws. The red stripe along its edge symbolizes the youths' member" (Carmichael, 1995).

Menelik entered Harar on January 8, 1887. Gebre Sellassie notes (Caulk, 1975) that the Amir fled to his kinsmen near Jigjiga, who fought alongside him at the battle of Chelenko and wanted to continue the holy war. Caulk (1975), further noted that on top of the conflict among the clans of the Oromos and the Somalis, psychologically people were not probably ready to support the Amir wholeheartedly as traditionally it was believed that the Amir was cursed by

⁶² Information obtained from the diary of the research's father Abubaker Ahmed Yusuf, grandchild of Yusuf Berkhedle

⁶³ Personal communication with Sheik Ahmed, who teaches at the grand Mosque in Harar

God, for he ordered the slaughtering of Italian travelers, which people believed was against Islam.

Along the settlement of new administrators and settlers with a different religion, language and manner of life, new values were introduced with the “amharization of Harar (Nicholl, 1997, p. 123). Financially, Menelik put his hand on Hararis and Harar’s cash revenue collecting, for instance, up to \$150,000 as ransom from Hararis (Caulk, 1975) which enabled him to re-arm his army. From this Caulk had concluded that, probably, without that cash revenue and the munitions left behind by the Egyptians Menelik’s success at Adwa battle would have been less likely. As any other victor, he confiscated all the houses of those who had died fighting him. He put payment of indemnity as a condition to leave the town without inflicting any damage (Caulk, 1975). That was accomplished through negotiations.

Different versions were given as to who were the negotiators from the side of the Hararis and how the negotiation carried on. According to Menelik’s chronicles, the Amir’s uncle, Ali Abubaker, Qadi Abdullahi and the richest trader in Harar, Yusuf Berkhedle, were delegates who went to the outskirts of the town and negotiated the condition of the surrender of the city (Gebre-Sellassie, 1930). Others, like Atsme Georges, the spy who was installed in the city, stated that it was not Menelik who sent to the town people to send delegates; rather they sent delegates who begged Menelik to spare their belongings at the expense of the property of the Amir. Menelik then agreed on that term and sent his treasurer to take inventory (Caulk, 1975).

The third version according to Cerulli (1936) is that one of the businessmen who survived the restriction imposed by the Amir on foreign merchants was begged by the people to go to Menelik to spare their lives and properties for their surrender in return. Menelik accepted that offer and assured them the army would not do any further harm and the people’s religion would

be respected (Caulk, 1975) Menelik's promise, however, had not stood the test of time. As Caulk (1975) noted, his visit to the richer households were piratical and he confiscated some of the houses. He destroyed a mosque built by the Egyptians and replaced it with a church to signify the success of the Christian Highlanders and humiliation to the defeated Muslim Hararis.

Sheik Ahmed Kebu,⁶⁴ from his undated note had narrated that he got an opportunity to read a paper when once he was summoned to Harar administration to translate an Arabic manuscript, which turned out to be the agreement reached between Menelik and the elders. He recalled at least the following as part of the agreement:

1. Amir Abdullahi was banned from involvement in politics and arming people;
2. All properties of those who died while fighting Menelik would be confiscated;
3. Amir Abdullahi would pay 40,000 Maria Theresa and 30,000 taaqa (bundle) of *Abudjedi* clothes to Menelik;

On the other hand, the following rights and privileges were reserved to the Hararis:

1. The way of life and religion of Hararis would be respected;
2. No one should boast and swagger as Harari killer;
3. No Harari should be slashed;
4. No Harari should be forced to do physical labour.

Some parts of the agreement regulated tax matters. Menelik demanded "whatever had been paid in taxes to the Egyptians was paid to him" (Caulk, 1975, p. 4) to which the elders agreed. As will be seen, merchants were complaining on the amount of taxes the Egyptians put up. One may wonder why Menelik continued with the taxes people complained against. Maybe he was desperate to have it to purchase arms; maybe he used taxes as another mechanism to punish Hararis.

⁶⁴ One of those who found gey Medresa (school) and served as teacher and principal for more than 25 years.

He also ordered the elders to inform him of “any outside dangers and oppose any injustice done to his new subjects appealing directly to him on their behalf if needed” (Caulk, 1995, p. 4). On the final day of his departure to Shewa he summoned the elders to Haramaya and made them to swear holding the Quran that they would hold to their agreement which they promised.

The approach Menelik adapted in relation to Harar was different from the classical way of treating Muslims who lost a war. The reason could be similar to an approach adapted by the Oromos, who found interest to preserve Harar rather than destroying it. Menelik preserved Harar and Hararis for they were sources of revenue, skill and knowledge he needed badly, i.e. the trade and the skill that the settlers and occupiers did not possess. The Hararis, on the other hand accepted the terms set by Menelik for the time being, for they believed that was the only way to preserve their city. So it was in the mutual benefit and interest of both parties to handle the new situation unlike their forerunners. Probably, the presence of foreign merchants who had interest in the preservation of Harar and Hararis for reasons that have been just stated could be another factor that forced Menelik to make a compromise.

CHAPTER THREE: VALUES, CLASSIFICATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE

Why Values?

Values in ordinary language have a variety of and changing connotations. They are used as technical terms in various social sciences such as philosophy, economics, and the arts, and more and more in sociology, psychology and anthropology (Kluckhohn, 1951). The problem is the absence of agreement in defining values not only among different disciplines but within disciplines as well.

As Fraser notes (Kluckhohn, 1951) while economics has three main definitions, each with sub-variants, in philosophy there are numerous competing definitions. In economics, value is the worth of a commodity or service measured against other commodities or services. Here the term refers generally to the total money revenue, or price an item is sold for. It crops up from exchange and, therefore, it is related with individual desire. That seems the reason why Graeber (2001), when defining value in terms of economics, he stated that value is “the degree, to which objects are desired, particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up getting them.” (p.1) In Marxist political economy Graeber (2001) notes that the value of a product is composed of, or created or determined by, all the labor involved in its production. Value for Marxism is, therefore, rooted in human labor.

For a sociologist, Graeber (2001) says value is a conception of what is ultimately good, proper or desirable in human life. In philosophy it is used by different philosophers in various ways. For instance, Baruch noted (Moore and Bruder, 2005) that value, when utilized with a

prefix 'absolute' to refer to God to mean unlimited. Thus, while value in economics refers to measurable quantities, in philosophy it has various definitions depending on the philosopher who defines it.

Feather (1975), after reminding us that studying value is one way of involving in interdisciplinary research, explains how value appears as a basic concept in theories that have emerged from sociology, political science, education, social psychology, and anthropology, and how it also has secured a place in historical analysis, philosophy and religion.

The fact that value is a concept studied by all social sciences puts one in an advantageous position to utilize various sources and theories to understand and analyze group or individual values from different angles and perspectives. Fedorak (2007) postulates how “anthropologists rely on the knowledge and expertise of scholars from many disciplines” (p. xx), for example history, religion, economics, sociology, psychology, medicine, gender studies, law and politics, and indigenous studies. This multidisciplinary approach, which is more or less utilized in this work, therefore, is to gain a broader understanding of questions related with values and groups and social relations they regulate.

Furthermore, Albert (1956) notes that studying values that are virtually coextensive with all cultures is then to study everything. Robbins and De Vita (1985) believe that the subject of values is really what the field of anthropology is all about. Hence, it is plausible to say values are embedded in every aspect of human life and studied by all social sciences to help humans to broaden their understanding of human society. The existence of values in every culture, therefore, enables one to use them as instrumentals to find common ground in social life.

Hence, Feather (1975) described the ever-present and important nature of value by indicating: "...many disciplines have found necessary to invent when coming to grips with the cognitive life of man, with a man as social actor, with the ways in which man is molded by his culture and its social institutions and, more widely, with the distinctive characteristics of social change that occurs within them" (p. 1).

Therefore, the social fabrics and social sciences that study those structures are not value free. In other words, our educations, politics, ideology, history, culture, philosophy, etc. are value loaded. There is no area of life where the value question is not pertinent. This gives value universal character. Hence, in one way or another, knowledge of value is a relevant vehicle to know any society and its ingredients.

Furthermore, as Kluckhohn (1951) stated, values are important to achieve group and individual goals; "for individuals to get what they want and need from other individuals in personal and emotional terms, to feel within themselves a requisite measure of order and unified purpose" (p. 400). In other words, values determine our place in and help us to identify ourselves with a group or community. As pointed out by Pan Wei (2009) values determine how government officials behave, how parents and children behave towards each other, how businessmen perform business, how professors do their teaching and research, etc. Hence, values add an element of predictability to social life.

As discussed by Pan Wei (2009) it is, therefore, plausible to say values are key ideas for human existence and development prescribing behavior of individuals in a society, which, if violated, result in strong disapproval or punishment, and in endorsement and award if observed. Values, therefore, could be considered to be part of the folkways of people—that is, the shared behavior common to all, violation of which could lead to the imposition of various sanctions,

such as ostracism or physical punishment. That seems the reason why all social and group cultures have their ‘must and must not,’ violations of which are attended by severe and various sanctions.

What Values Are

Collins English Oxford Dictionary citing a person with old-fashioned values as an example, lays down the meaning of value as “the moral principles and beliefs or accepted standards of a person or social group.” This is a definition of value from a moral perspective. As it will be found out, this definition may not be comprehensive. On the other hand, while defining value scholars (Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973; Feather, 1975, and Schwartz, 1994) give emphasis to what Albert (1959) referred to as subclasses of values (goals, standards, interests, or imperatives); instead she prefers a broad and inclusive definition that takes account of normative elements in the absence of scientific reasons to exclude any of these.

Scott, (Orr, 2001) defined⁶⁵ normative elements as norms that specify how things should be done (e.g. how an old man should behave). Normative elements, therefore, help us to determine whether actions are right or wrong or things are bad or good. For instance, it could be said ‘children should go to bed early’ or a sign that reads ‘smoking is prohibited’ could be put in public area. While the first act is encouraged by the community, the second one is discouraging smokers by limiting the act at a certain space and time. The violation of both is followed with sanctions of different degree and type. Values, therefore, contain desires, goals, standards, etc. and the norms dealing with how they could be achieved or abandoned and the implementation of sanctions or awards for the violation or observation or renunciation of the values.

⁶⁵ Paper presented on International Symposium of the CIB W107 on Globalization and Construction “Meeting the Challenge and Reaping the Benefit” 17-19 November, 2004, Bangkok, Thailand.

Kluckhohn, (1951) defines values as a “conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action” (p. 395). Emphasizing ‘affective’ (‘desirable’), ‘cognitive’ (‘conception’) and ‘conative’ (‘selection’) elements as essential to this notion he informed that “this definition has taken culture, group, the individual’s relation to culture and place in his group as primary points of departure” (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 395).

A very brief definition of value is given by Rokeach, (1973) as “an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence.” (p.5) According to Kluckhohn (1951) and Rokeach (1973) one of the characteristics of values is to select among the existing desirables (Kluckhohn, 1951) or mode of conduct or end-state of existence (Rokeach, 1973), using available modes, means and ends of action. Then values are about choices among alternatives. It is how to decide between or among different possible actions. Values enable the individual, the group, or the society to take the better or best one and leave the inferior or the worst one. The selections are influenced by the values referred to as ‘conceptions’ by Kluckhohn (1951) and ‘belief’ by Rokeach (1973).

Rokeach (1973) nevertheless explains the ‘conception of desirability’ as that which “represents a definable preference for something to something else. The ‘something’ is a specific mode of behavior or end-state of existence; the ‘something else’ is an opposite, converse, or contrary mode or end state” (p. 10). Two mutually exclusive modes of behavior or end-states are compared with one another-for example, responsible and irresponsible behavior; honest and dishonest; one of the two is distinctly preferable to the other. Therefore, as noted by Graeber

(2001), “they are the criteria by which people judge which desires they consider legitimate and worthwhile and which they do not” (p. 3).

The comparison is, however, made not only between two opposite modes of behavior or end-state of existence. It is made also between similar values that exist in one’s value systems. As explained by Rokeach (1973), a particular mode or end-state is preferred to other modes or end-states that are lower down in one’s value hierarchy.

Before proceeding, it is worthy to bring to light the link the relative stability of values and their changing character has with the hierarchy of values in the discourse of a value system. Rokeach (1973) says “the enduring (stability) quality of values arises mainly from the fact that they are learnt or taught in isolation from other values in an absolute, all-or-non manner” (p. 6) i.e., without any qualification or exceptions. For instance, during child hood a family teaches its children not to lie under any circumstances. Nevertheless, when they grow they learn that sometimes lying is important or useful, for instance, to reconcile spouses or save lives. Hence, at childhood children are not taught “that such modes or end-states are sometimes desirable and sometimes are not. “It is the isolated and thus the absolute learning of values that more or less guarantees their endurance or stability” (Rokeach, 1973, p. 6).

The child goes to school, makes friends, and learns from his teachers and peers, which exposes him to new social situations in which several values rather than one value may come into competition with one another, requiring a weighing of one value against another- a decision of which value is more important. In the case of either telling the truth or lying, people face two choices, either failing to reconcile the spouses by telling the truth or reconcile the spouses by lying, i.e. to seek success or remain honest. Nevertheless, “gradually, through experience and process of maturation, we all learn to integrate the isolated, absolute values we have been taught

in this or that context into a hierarchically organized system, wherein each value is ordered in priority or importance relative to other values” (Rokeach, 1973 p. 6).

Therefore, values are learned in many different ways. A person’s family plays the most important role, for that purpose as family is responsible to teach children what is right and wrong long before other influences. This seems to be the reason why sometimes it is said that a child is a reflection of his parents. As a child starts school, school helps to shape some of his or her values. Then there are social institutions, such as religion, that the family introduces to a child that play a role in teaching the right and wrong behaviors.

In the process of socialization the young person picks up relationship and social values, most of which will be used throughout the rest of his or her life. The values those are learned through both formal and informal means could be general social values or values relevant to specific social institutions. It could be said, therefore, that values are products of social institutions.

Values And Beliefs

Another important element Rokeach (1973), used in his definition is belief,⁶⁶ classifying it into three types. The first of these are descriptive or existential beliefs: those capable of being true or false, or correct or incorrect, such as ‘I believe that now it is raining.’ This goes along with what Kluckhohn (1951) has stated concerning beliefs. The second one is evaluative belief wherein the object of belief is judged to be good or bad, or right or wrong. For instance, when one believes that smoking is bad for the health. Kluckhohn has related this to value. The third one is prescriptive or proscriptive belief, wherein some means or end of action is judged to be desirable or undesirable, for instance, when one believes that it is desirable to behave honestly. According to Rokeach (1973) value is a belief of the third kind for value is a belief upon which a

⁶⁶ This word is also used by Schwartz and Bilsky (1990), Schwartz (1992; 1994) for similar purposes.

man acts by preference. Hence, while value for Kluckhohn is evaluative belief for Rokeach it is the prescriptive or prospective belief.

On the other hand, Feather (1975) mentions as a passing remark that the distinction between evaluative and prescriptive or proscriptive beliefs is not a sharp—one (for) one would expect a person's judgments about what is good or bad is highly correlated with his views about what is desirable or undesirable. Then Feather (1975) concludes “it may be very difficult to disentangle the two.” Values, then, are defined in terms of one's belief about desirable (Kluckhohn, 1951).

Values as beliefs have three components: cognitive, affective and behavioral (Rokeach, 1973). Illustrating each he states that to say a person has a value is to say that cognitively he knows the correct way to behave or the correct end-state to strive for. In other words, he has knowledge about the means or ends considered to be desirable (Feather, 1975). Second, a value is affective in the sense that the person who held the value can feel emotional about it, be emotionally for or against it, and approve of those who display positive instances and disapprove of those who display negatives of it. Third, value has a behavioral component in the sense that it is an intervening variable that leads to action when activated (Rokeach, 1973 and Feather, 1975). Hence, “values are ideas formulating action commitments and instigators of behavior ‘within’ the individual” (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 396).

Values And Valued Objects

As Rokeach notes (Bruce and Elizabeth, 1998) values are classified as ‘values inherent in an object’ and ‘values possessed by a person’ (p. 353). Bruce and Elizabeth (1998), however, after pointing out that objects and outcomes by themselves do not possess values apart from the values attached to them by a person, conclude that the place of both types of values is within the

individual. Feather (1995) noted that values held by a person will influence the value he or she places on certain objects or outcomes. Therefore, the deeper we understand the values held by individuals, the better our understanding of the values placed on objects or outcomes by that individual.

As it is understood from the following statement by Feather (1975), whose analysis is mainly based on the definition of values and value systems provided by Rokeach (1973), the relation between the object valued and the person who values is clearly stated:

Values involve both persons who engaged in valuing and the object that is being valued. Values do not exist independently of persons, nor do they exist independently of objects. They are influenced both by the properties of the person engaged in valuing-properties that relate especially to his background of the experience- and by the characteristic of the object being valued (p. 3).

Hence, while some authors, explaining how the value held by an individual influences the value he places on certain objects, give greatest importance to the value held by an individual, other scholars do not show favoritism between the value the individual holds and the valued object.

Merging facts (objects) and values against intellectual folklore that adheres to the utter separateness of fact and value, Thorndike notes (Kluckhohn, 1951) “values, positive or negative, reside in the satisfaction or annoyance felt by animals, persons or deities. If the occurrence of X can have no influence on satisfaction or discomfort of any one present or future, X has no value, is neither good nor bad, neither desirable nor undesirable” (p. 390). Thorndike’s approach seems to relate value with consequences.

These various definitions and explanations are essential to explore different facets of values, and different kinds of orders in them, in order to construct different versions of social world from various value perspectives. So the purpose should not be taken as fixing them together like children's building blocks in order to create a single structure.

Classification Of Values And Its Importance

Like their definitions, classifications of values are as many in number as there are discourses in various disciplines. Values could be classified into terminal goals and instrumental goals, or as intrinsic end and instrumental end (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990; Moore and Bruder, 2005) or "terminal or instrumental values" (Feather, 1975, p. 5). Values could be classified based on dimensions, institutions or interest. Schwartz (1994) classifies them based on what he calls universal requirements. They could be classified into core values and those that are not. First, values classification as terminal and instrumental would be discussed.

Terminal and Instrumental

Values as terminals or goals are self-sufficient end-states of existence that a person strives to achieve (e.g. equality, wisdom). "As the name implies they are pursued for their own sake" (Bruce & Elizabeth, 1998, p. 353; Moore & Bruder, 2005, p. 262). They are either good in themselves (wisdom) or good for they conform to a particular moral standard (e.g. to refrain from pre-marital sexual intercourse). They are referred to as "end state values" (Feather, 1975, p. 5). They are desirable in themselves not merely as a means to an end.

Values as instrumental are performed as a means to other end (Moore and Bruder, 2005) or they are, according to Feather (1975) "modes of behavior or conduct" (p. 5), for example Honesty, helpfulness, capability, and obedient. The relationship between the instrumental and terminal values may not be a one-to-one correspondence, for as explained by Rokeach (1973),

“one mode of behavior may be instrumental to the attainment of several terminal values; several modes may be instrumental to attainment of one terminal value” (p. 12).

Kluckhohn (1951) maintains that “the distinction between ends and means is somewhat transitory, depending upon time perspective. What at one point in the history of the individual or the group appears as an end is later seen as a means to a more distant goal” (p. 403). Moore and Bruder (2005) illustrate this point by giving a simple example. They say:

When we, Moore & Bruder, sat down to write this book (*Philosophy: the Power of Ideas*) our end was to finish it. But that end was merely instrumental to another end—providing our readers with a better understanding of philosophy. But notice that the last goal, the goal of providing our readers with a better understanding of philosophy, is instrumental to a further end, namely, an enlightened society (p. 262). (Bracket added).

Feather (1975), after classifying values into instrumental and terminal, he further classified instrumental values into those values having moral focus (moral values) and those values concerned with competence and self-actualization (competence values). While one has to behave honestly and responsibly towards others according to the moral values, in the latter case one is expected to act logically and intellectually. While the violation of the former ones may activate pangs of conscience or feeling of guilt, in the case of the latter one, however, the outcome is likely to be feelings of shame or disappointment about one’s personal inadequacy. In the former case while one may be subject to praise or blame in the public’s eyes, in the latter case one may experience pride or shame in one’s private feelings. Thus, while moral values regulate the relations we have with the community or its members, the competence values, by giving internal peace to the actor, smooth those relations.

Before discussing other forms of classification it is worthy to raise one point in relation to terminal values. As pointed out by Feather (1975), the crucial importance of values is seen when a change occurs in one or more values following changes, especially to those referred to as

terminal values. For example, if for this or other reasons equality became more important within a person's terminal value system, one would expect that many changes would occur in relation to his beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. The person may change his political allegiance, he might actively promote egalitarian structures within his work situations, and/or the attitudes or beliefs he has held for many years might alter.

On the other hand, the effect is limited when the change is in attitude or beliefs but not in the central values. Illustrating the two changes in his conclusions Feather (1975) writes, "while changing a person's central values is like interfering with the very foundation of the structure, other changes are like removing or altering an isolated brick in the building" (p. 7).

Classification Based on Dimension

Kluckhohn (1951) after enumerating various classifications provided by many authors, classifies values based on what he calls dimension. Dimension, as defined by Webster's Dictionary, (in Kluckhohn, p 413) is the degree of manifoldness of a magnitude or aggregate as fixed by the number of coordinates necessary and sufficient to distinguish any one of its elements from all others. Accordingly he identified eight dimensional classifications. Only classifications relevant for this work are briefly discussed below, however.

The first two are dimension of modality and dimension of content. Dimension of modality is briefly discussed here. According to dimension of modality, values are classified as positive and negative values depending on the sanctions applied to make certain of their observation. Whereas, when the sanction attracts one to act in a certain way the values are positive, and where it deters one from acting in that particular way the values are negative. Thus, while the society rewards for observation of positive values it punishes for promoting negative ones; while it applies a carrot for positive ones it applies a stick for negative ones.

Under dimension of intent, values are related with the aim or goal people have targeted to achieve and the means they utilize. This classification is similar with the classification of values into instrumental and goal values that has just been discussed. The former ones are “those which actors or groups conceive as a means to further ends” while goal values are “the aims and virtues which societies and individuals make for themselves” (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 413). The means-end relationship, however, is slippery and the relationship is not mere sequential, rather, complete interdependence as it has already been discussed.

The fourth is dimension of generality. Here values are classified as specific and thematic values. As noted by Kluckhohn (1951), while “some values are specific to certain situation or certain content areas” (p. 413) other values are applied to a wide variety of situations and a diverse area of cultural content. For instance, according to Harari tradition one should not cut or file his nail inside one’s home for it invites poverty. After filing, it should be buried in the ground. Children should stop playing after *Mehkrib* (sunset) *Azan* for that time is for aliens. One should not clean one’s room in the presence of a guest for that act is to tell the guest to leave for he or she is not welcome. One should take off one’s shoes outside *gidir gambari* when entering one’s in-laws’ house. Otherwise, it is disrespectful. While in the first instance the value of cleanliness guides the behavior, the value of reverence or modesty regulates the behavior of the actor in the latter two cases. All are specific to Hararis.

On the other, hand family members act in a certain way following the commandments in scriptural texts, the Quran or the Bible. Or they are obedient in fear of authority; for example children obey their parents who have some authority over them. Perhaps where reason rules peoples’ behavior could result from rational thought. In all these situations the recipient of the

instruction is guided by values of obedience which are applicable to a wide variety of situations and diverse areas of a cultural environment.

Dimension of intensity is the fifth category. Categories of values under this dimension deal with the strength of values depending on sanctions applied internally and externally and by measuring the degree of the strive we made to attain or maintain status, objects, or events (Kluckhohn, 1955). In other words, we measure the strength of values by the sanctions applied or the striving we made either to attain or maintain status, objects or events. The higher the sanctions the stronger the values are. The more persistence the message the stronger the values are. Families ground their children to contain them within the values set by the families. Or on top of that they may forbid them from watching their favorite show on TV or play with their toys or meet their friends. The higher the family values the children violate the more severe the punishments are. This classification helps to rank values.

Sanctions are, therefore, relevant to see that individuals or groups observe values for they constrain the impulses of individuals and see they conform to the standards set by a group or society. Thus values, by setting standards, hold down improper biological impulses; if let free would endanger the sanctuary of individuals and stability of society.

Hence, values expressed through standards and backed by sanctions are indispensable to social life. For social life and living in a social world both require standards 'within' the individual and standards roughly agreed upon by individuals who live and work together. There can be no personal security and stability of society under random carelessness, irresponsibility, and purely impulsive behaviors where these are not contained by observation of values backed by sanctions.

This, however, does not mean values are adhered to owing only to penalties imposed through sanction. Their observations are also attributed to their award of right deed or behaviors. Kluckhohn (1951), summarizing approved and disapproved behaviors and their corresponding sanctions, states “approval is shown by many kinds of expressive behavior, by deeds of support and assistance while acts regarded as a deviant, abnormal and psychotic invite disapproval which is manifested from avert and aggression, through persistent avoidance, to the subtle nuance of culturally standardized facial expression” (p. 404). A child, for instance, could tell from his mother’s tone or her facial expression whether his action is tolerable or intolerable. Hence, under the dimension of intensity values are found in every culture, expressed in their ‘must’ and ‘must not’ or ‘do’ ‘do not’ violations or observations which are attended by severe sanctions or awards.

There is a possibility for the influence of values to fade away as time passes, either by totally turning obsolete or becoming weak. Such kinds of values are referred to by Kluckhohn (1951) as hypothetical values. They are values for which some lip service is provided but whose influence upon action is relatively small. Examples for hypothetical values are traditionalistic values. These are values that have “historical associations in the culture but which have lost most of their operative force because of change in other aspects of the culture or institutions” (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 404). Illustration is given below.

Regulating some behaviors of family members varies from community to community, and from society to society depending on time. For instance, to deter what the community referred to as ‘improper sexual behavior’:

There was wide use of humiliating punishments such as being forced to stand naked in a white sheet before the whole congregation on a Sunday morning, while confessing to the sin of fornication or adultery. Inhibiting practices of this emotional intensity, backed up by both legal force and moral and religious proscription induced profound feelings of sexual guilt. Here the authoritarian family, the authoritarian church, and the authoritarian state were reciprocally reinforcing. (Stone, 1994, pp. 74-80)

Hence, the basic values used in old times for that purpose were piety, religious devotion, and obedience to one's superior expressed in overt acts of respect towards the father and husband. Various institutions were involved to enforce these values; the principals were the family, church and the state.

Nevertheless, the change from small town and rural-centered way of life to an urban industrial one has brought in its wake modifications in the relations and values within the family and between the family and other institutional arrangements within the community. For instance, the redefinition of sexual roles, increased discontinuities in age group relationship, and the greater emphasis upon peer group culture, brought about a diminishment in the influence of elders and those institutions.

Traditional values, however, could be instrumental to overcome some challenges that the community could face from time to time. These days, for instance, extremism is influencing the youth in Ethiopia as anywhere in the world. To curb this, the government has worked with elders and religious leaders. For the time being it seemed the government has overcome that.

As Kluckhohn noted (1951) values are grouped alongside dimension of intensity as dominant, variant and deviant. Dominant values, they said, are held by the majority of a group or the most powerful elite, and conformity to these values brings the highest approval and reward; for example, helping old people. On the contrary, adherence to variant values brings low-level approval, or at any rate tolerance rather than punishment, for instance, to be Quran illiterate in a Moslem community. Finally, deviant values, such as cheating, are disallowed by sanctions. One can say, therefore, whereas the dominant values have a kind of authoritative character, the variant ones have a permissive one. The last ones indeed have the prohibitive character. These

classifications correspond to the classification of values into prescription, permission and prohibition.

Values could be clear and understood from what is stated orally by actors, or they could be deduced from continuing tendency of the actors. This type of classification comes under what Kluckhohn (1951) calls classification under dimension of explicitness. According to this classification, values which are stated verbally by actors are referred to as explicit values, whereas values inferred by the observer from a recurrent trend in behavior, including verbal behavior are implicit values. While the first type of values may require no third party to establish their existence, the second ones may. Consequently, while explicit values are known directly from personal value judgments, the implicit ones are inferred from verbal and non-verbal behaviors that involve approval, disapproval, blame, praise, reward, punishment, support and suppression.

This classification invites one relevant question: is value in the act or in the person? Basically, some acts like stealing, killing or being dishonest are regarded as acts against the values of the society. There are, however, situations where acts regarded by the society as acts that go with the values of the society may result in consequences that go against the values of the society. Take an instance where an individual is courteous to someone. This act or behavior of courtesy may be to win favor from that someone, not due to the respect he has for that someone. Here the act is generosity, the result is selfishness. On the other hand, basically killing a human being is heinous act for it ends life, which is one of the most precious values of any society. We may, however, kill to defend ourselves, our beloved ones or our country. Here the utterly evil act results in preserving the best values of the society: life, security or honor. Hence, regard has to be

made to both the explicit and implicit values in measuring the importance of the individual's behavior.

Hence, while some gave emphasis to external factors for values to be observed, others held that values are observed because of their inherent factors. To substantiate the first case, values need outside support. In the second instance, since values are self-justifying they need no external support. It seems both have their virtues. Values to be observed need both internal and external factors. For example, one may believe that respect for the rights of every nation to administer itself is right away an apparent value which needs no justification beyond itself. Yet this belief can be strengthened by appealing to the social benefits of peace and collaboration that recognition brings about.

The last classification comes under dimension of extent where values are classified depending on the segment of society they cover. They could be held by an individual or group. Group could refer to assembly of individuals, such as a family, faction, union, ethnic group, inhabitants of certain community or civilization, or it could refer to (as pointed out by Feather, (1975) "special groups such as student activists, delinquent or immigrant groups" (p. 2).

Under this category, therefore, we have personal and group values (Kluckhohn) or personal and social values (Rokeach). Kluckhohn (1951) refers to personal values as distinctive values, for they are strong desires that make individuals take action to keep or get something and enhance that person as an individual. They are held by one person in the group under consideration related to his background and experience (Kluckhohn, 1951, Feather, 1975). Depending on the background and experience each member of a family or other group could have his or her own values.

On the other hand, group values as Kluckhohn, (1951) states are “values which define the common element” (p.417) and they are group-oriented as family values are, for instance. Family values are utilized to create in each family member strong desires to be identified publicly as a member of a certain family or a clan. To keep the rules and image of that family intact a parent may tell an adolescent “as long as you live in my house you will abide by my rules.” These rules most of the time, reflect common commitment among the members to get or keep house rules, religious traditions such as Christmas and Eid, family secrets or clan loyalty, etc. Therefore, while private or personal values are self-centered, group or social values are society-centered, interpersonal-focused.

Previously it has been indicated how values regulate our behaviors either by inducing us to act or refrain from acting. The reason, however, varies depending on whether the values are public or private. Thus, where they are public as Kluckhohn noted (Bruce and Elizabeth, 1998) “the threat of social sanctions (e.g., shame, punishment) will induce individuals to conform to dominant social values in their public action” (p.356). In other words, blame in the public’s eyes induces individuals to do the accepted thing. Of course, this does not require conformation between individual’s internalized personal values and the dominant social values; the latter one prevails.

There are situations where individuals observe values where there is no comparison between individual’s internalized values and socially dominant values. Under such circumstances “the mechanism that operates is a form of self-sanction (where) an individual’s internalized values (i.e., ideal self) function as personal standards of conduct” (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998, p. 356). Here what works is shame in one’s private feelings. Thus, unlike public values in the case of private values, individuals conform to those values not because of the

pressure that would come from the public, rather “to avoid internal negative feelings” (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998, p. 356). This is a circumstance where public and private values work ‘independently.’

There is, however, a situation where both public and private values work together to regulate an individual’s behavior. Take a soccer player who would like desperately to get drunk after his first big game. His whim pushes him to get drunk, but his values of personal achievement and loyalty to his teammates, coach and club, which are private values, inhibit him from drinking. On the other hand, he may not be effective in his performance on the football field in the next match, which may result in the disapproval of him by his teammates and his fans which is public value.

On the other hand, the relationship between these two types of values could be inversely proportional, for “an increase in one social value will lead to an increase in other social values and decrease in personal values; and, conversely, that an increase in a personal values will lead to increases in other personal values and to decreases in social values.” (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998, p. 356) For instance if, for this or that reason, equality became more important within a person’s value system, he might actively promote egalitarian structures within his work situation. Hence, this classification could enable one to know variations in personal attitude depending on the priorities individuals place on such social and personal values.

Classification based on Institutions

Rokeach, (1973) stating every human value as a “social product” (p.24) that has transmitted and preserved in successive generations through one or more of society’s institutions, he preferred institutions as bases for classifications. These institutions, which are custodian of values, are religious, family, educational, political, economic and legal institutions each

specialized in a certain subset of values. For instance, whereas “religious institutions are specialized in furthering a certain subset of values that we call religious values” (Rokeach, 1973, p. 25), others are specialized in other subsets.

These values may compete or reinforce each other. For instance, religious and family values may reinforce each other. One example could be the rights parents and legal guardians have to bring up their children ensuring their religious and moral education in conformity with their own convictions. Moreover, families reinforce other institutions as well, such as educational institutions for parental duties include teaching basic social, religious, and technical skills and values to the young. Hence, “the values that one institution specializes in are not necessarily completely different from those in which other institutions specialize” (Rokeach 1973.p.25). On the other hand, where values do not have common characteristics they may compete. For instance, religious and secular institutions within a society may compete where one insists the separation of religion from state while the other opposes that.

After classifying values and establishing their relationship Rokeach (1973) provided one very important conclusion which runs:

“If it is indeed the case that the maintenance, enhancement, and transmission of values within a culture typically become institutionalized, then an identification of the major institutions of a society should provide us with a reasonable point of departure for comprehensive compilation and classification of human values” (p. 25).

This work argues Harari values are institutionalized in family, religious and educational institutions, and other social and economic institutions, such as *baha*, *afocha*, *jamaa*, *marign*, *gel*, etc. They serve as conveyors of values through time and space. Such an approach will contribute in the comprehensive compilation and classification of Harari values that will lead to

further identification of institutions with their values and come up with complete compilation and classification of values in Ethiopia.

Classification Based on Universal Requirements

Schwartz, (1994), after noting Kluckhohn's (1951) and other scholars' classification of values as theory-based attempt classification, that has not enjoyed wide acceptance and criticizing Rokeach (1973) for no-elaboration of his classification of values according to the societal institutions that specialize in maintaining, enhancing and transmitting them, introduced three universal requirements to classify values. These are "needs of individual as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and requirements for the smooth functioning and survival of groups" (pp. 20-21). The value types, each defined in terms of its central goal as indicated in a bracket with their specific exemplary values, are as follows:

1. Self-Direction (independent thought and action; choosing, creating, exploring)-Its exemplary values are creativity, inquisitive and freedom;
2. Stimulation (excitement, novelty, and challenge in life)-Its exemplary values are daring, varied life, and exciting life;
3. Hedonism (pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself)-Its exemplary values are pleasure and enjoying life;
4. Achievement (personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards)-Its exemplary values are successful and capable;
5. Power (social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources)-Its exemplary values are social power, authority and wealth;
6. Security (safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self)-Its exemplary values are national security, social order and cleanness;
7. Conformity (restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms)- Its exemplary values are politeness, obedience, honoring parents and elders;

8. Tradition (respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self)-Its exemplary values are humble, devout and accepting my portion in life;
9. Benevolence (preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the 'in-group')-Its exemplary values are helpful, honesty and forgiving;
10. Universalism (understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature)-Its exemplary values are broad minded, social justice and equality.

Though Schwartz (1994) notes the possibility of classifying all items found in lists of specific values from different cultures into one of these ten types of values, he does not rule out the possibility of an increase in the number of types of values in the future. For instance, he informs that “values that represent the goal of finding meaning in life (e.g., meaning in life, a spiritual life, inner harmony) fulfill the definitional requirement to be classified as the eleventh type” (Schwartz , 1994 p. 23).

Then he proceeds to explain some interactions between or among these ten basic types of values. The following are some examples. Though tradition and conformity values are especially close motivationally as they share the goal of subordinating the self in favor of socially imposed expectations, they differ primarily in the objects to which one subordinates the self.

While conformity requires subordination to persons with whom one is in frequent interaction—parents, teachers or bosses, tradition entails subordination to more abstract objects like religious and cultural customs and ideas. As a result, conformity values urge responsiveness to current, possibly changing expectations. Traditional values demand responsiveness to absolute expectations set down in the past.

Benevolence and conformity values both promote cooperative and supportive social relations. However, benevolence values provide an internalized motivational base for such behavior. In contrast, conformity values promote cooperation in order to avoid negative outcomes for the self (Schwartz, 1994).

Adherence to one type of value may conflict or may be compatible with the pursuit of another value type. “For example, the pursuit of achievement values may conflict with the pursuit of benevolence values; as seeking personal success for oneself is likely to obstruct actions aimed at enhancing the welfare of others who need one’s help. In like manner, the pursuit of tradition values conflicts with the pursuit of stimulation values. Accepting cultural and religious customs and ideas handed down from the past is likely to inhibit seeking novelty, challenge, and excitement. On the other hand, the pursuit of benevolence and conformity values is compatible: as both require behaving in a manner approved by one’s close group” (Schwartz, 1994).

Thus, one could either move towards or away from the values. For instance, one could move towards achievement values as an expression of success and power values as maintaining a dominant position. On the other hand, tradition and conformity values expect submission from a member of the society. Hence, if one wants to avoid sanction and punishment one moves towards these values and if not one moves away from them and face the consequences. Depending on the society or the period one lives in one treats conformity and benevolence as towards or away value. If the society is in favor of supportive and cooperative social relations, as African societies, these values are towards values. If the society is challenging resistance one either moves towards or away from these values.

In the political environment that prevails in the West, especially Europe, the political parties differ on the values they give priority. For instance, political parties with right-wing orientation are likely to give priority to security, tradition and conformity (Schwartz, 1992). On the other hand, as the views of the left-wing orientated parties are grounded on universalism they are concerned for the welfare and interests of others. Hence, values which are towards values for the left-wing political viewers could be away from values for the right-wing political parties. Endorsing this, Schwartz (1992) noted that “voting for a party with a left orientation correlates most positively with universalism values and most negatively with security values” (p. 5).

Then one can say values are what you move towards and away from. It could be said they are like a compass that gives direction or as it is indicated in the “*United State Air Force Core Values*” (1997) they are road signs inviting one to consider key features. Values, therefore, motivate or de-motivate behaviors. Then values exert a powerful effect upon people’s lives. For example, they determine which store people prefer, how they handle their family and who they vote for, what they learn, what book they like to read, the movies they watch and their religious conviction and so on.

Values And Interests

As pointed out by Schwartz and Bilsky, (1990) “values may serve individualistic interests (e.g., pleasure, independent), collective interests (e.g., equality, responsibility) or both types of interests (e.g., wisdom)” (p.879). Societies may, therefore, vary substantially in the emphasis their members give to individualism versus collectivism. For instance, in one study that covered 40 countries, while USA ranks first, Hong Kong ranks 36 on emphasizing individualism (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990). It could be, therefore, said that USA society is probably more individualistic. This is so, probably, for the system that the USA in particular and the Western

society in general is built on philosophy that promotes individual freedom developed by classical philosophers like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau as a reaction to the medieval thought that was deep rooted in traditional authority based on divine wisdom, religion and the common law (Cobbah, 1987).

Hence, Hobbes (1996) came with a theory of “the state of nature,” (p. 83) a logical device upon which he built his political philosophy. It was an inference made from the passion, chiefly the fear of violent death, the motive which he thought to be the most ‘natural’ or fundamental of all. To avoid this and come out of the state of nature, therefore, man has to use, according to Hobbes (1996), his own power as he will himself, for the preservation of his own nature-that is to say, his own life. (Hobbes, 1996)

Even though it is possible to portrait human beings as selfish and wicked, from what Hobbes said, he informed as well that there is human reason and necessity which led the species into a community pact which forced humans to agree to surrender their rights to a divine rule (Hobbes, 1996).

Like Hobbes (1996), Locke (1953) as well rejected medieval authority. His theory, however, is based on the market economy which is the model for natural behavior, including the assertion of rights and the conclusion of agreements. Unlike Hobbes (1996), Locke (1953), therefore, sees two pacts: the first one which brought individuals together to form a community, and the second one a pact to appoint an individual among the group to become the ruler and governs as long as he remained acceptable to the community.

Similarly, Rousseau (1987), after expressing his worry that the human race would perish if it did not alter its mode of existence, i.e. state of nature, he noted that, to avert that, men invented what he called a sum of forces based on social contract that produced the state, the

people and the citizen. Here the individual again has a significant role. To start with, the sovereign is formed entirely from among the private individuals. Consequently, “it neither has nor could have interest contrary to theirs” (Rousseau, 1987 p. 150), i.e. individuals in which sovereignty continues to reside in the ordinary people. In effect the right of ruler did not compromise the fundamental rights of individual community rights.

Cobbah (1987), provides, from this theory of natural rights, three mainstreams of rights. The first one is the equality of all human beings; there is no hierarchy in nature. The second one is the inalienability of rights, which provides for the individual the right to stand against any intrusion from both individuals and state, and the right to own and keep property. The third one is individualism, which explains why the individual is consumed by a desire for self-preservation in state of nature, and it is this need for the individual survival that leads to the social contract.

Kluckhohn (1951), gives detail illustrations on how an infant in the West is individualized through teaching physical and emotional self-dependence. He noted that the family takes steps to pass and maintain individualism in the infant. As the mother is a breadwinner for the family she substitutes a bottle for her breast. Even she presents affection to the infant as a series of approvals for achievements and attributes. The mother creates the need to privacy which brings related needs such as time for oneself, a room for oneself, freedom of choice, and freedom to plan one’s own life. When maturity is attained and a job is secured, he spends his own wealth installing private bathrooms in his house, and buying a private car, if he can afford it a private yacht, private wood, and private beach. From this Kluckhohn (1951) remarked that the need for privacy is an imperative one in Western society, recognized by official bodies. And it is part of a system which stems from and expresses its basic values.

The assumption is, therefore, society is made up of individuals, and most conceptions of human rights are based on the idea that individuals own themselves. Hence, they have the right to prevent others from intruding on their bodies, their houses, or their minds. Stone (1994), in his Tanner Lecture on Human Values, admits this, saying “we in America above all encourage individualism and self-esteem, whereas in former times we inculcated the great principle of subordination” (p. 78). The “*former*” refers to early sixteenth century when obedience to the superior was the core family value (Stone, 1994 p. 75).

This Western philosophy based on individualism found its way to Africa when Africa was colonized, and most of the political and legal systems of the African countries reflect this (Cobbah, 1987). There is, however, African philosophy which preceded this philosophy and is deep-rooted in African Society. Basically, its base is not an individual, rather a community. Cobbah (1987) stated:

As people, Africans emphasize group-ness, sameness, and communality. Rather than the survival of the fittest and control over nature, the Africans world view is tempered with the general guiding principle of the survival of the entire community and a sense of co-operation, interdependence and collective responsibility” (p. 320).

In the words of Biko (1978) Africans regard their living together not as an unfortunate calamity warranting endless competition among themselves but as a deliberate act of God to make them a community of brothers and sisters jointly involved in the search for a multiple answers to the varied problems of life. Hence, in all what Africans do, they always place man first and, hence, all their actions are usually joint community-oriented actions rather than individualism.

The philosophy of communalism is not, however, limited to Africa as Kluckhohn (1951) explains:

The Arapesh, with their value of socialism, created a wide gap between ownership and possession, which they could then bridge with a multitude of human relations. They plant their trees in someone else's hamlet, they rear pigs owned by someone else, and they eat yams planted by someone else. The Ontong-Javanese, for whom also the good is social value the sharing of the details of everyday living. They have created a system, very confusing to an American student, whereby a man is a member of at least three ownership groups, determined along different principles, which are engaged cooperatively in productive activities; and of two large households, one determined along matrilineal lines, one along patrilineal lines. Thus, an Ontong-Javanese man spends part of the year with his wife's sisters and their families, sharing with them the intimate details of life, and the rest of the year on an outlying island, with his brothers and their families (p. 427).

This approach could help to understand the importance people attach to values depending on whose interests the values serve. Thus, one can note that people from the non-western world are maintaining distinct values. It is worthy if this part is concluded with the summary given by Stone (1994) on value related with individualism and communalism:

There is at stake a basic clash of styles of thoughts, the one liberal and individualist the other 'communitarian' and 'holist'. The one sees the individual, his freedom, his interest and his project at the center of the field, society and social relationship as marginal to the hard irreducible core of his individuality, the other starts with the social relationships themselves and sees the individual as a function of them, regards the individual not as an independent being related only externally to others, but as a being whose whole nature is constituted by the character of the social relations in which he stands. (p. 78).

Core Values

"Core" speaks of something essential, fundamental or central. Hence core values are, as noted by Pan (2009), those which govern the basic relationships of a society, and their collapse brings about the collapse of the society. Therefore, a society's core values should be an accurate reflection of what that society is about. If one extends this to an individual, as core values are the very foundation that the individual is built on, they exist at the heart of what the individual thinks, speaks and does. They are what drive the individual.

They are, therefore, the strongest desires of persons on which their other values rest. A child could tell the truth and bear the consequence rather than lying if his core value is telling the truth. For instance, he would say, "Father I cannot tell a lie, I took the money to buy books" (Pan Wei, 2009, p. 57). He kept to the truth regardless of what he would get as the consequences. Therefore, core values are things you feel strongly enough about to keep regardless of what you get.

For instance, the early religious martyrs kept their faith despite facing death and various hardship and tortures; another example is liberty, that is a core value for all human beings for it is a value on which all else in our life is depended. It is a common telling when people say 'they would prefer death if they could not keep their liberty.' Liberty is the core value on which all others in our life depended. Our core values are, therefore, those strong desires which we will not yield on or compromise. They are the bedrock of our life and our morality.

Organizations as well have core values, which differ from organization to organization. For instance, for a religious organization the core values could be truth, spiritual growth, evangelism, etc. For an army unit the core values could be integrity first, service before self and excellence in all we do (United States Air Force Core Values, 1997). It could be honor, courage and commitment for the USA Department of the Navy according to the Navy's Core Value Charter.

A nation also could have core values reflected in its constitution and other documents. For instance the core values of the United States are expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and other significant documents, speeches and writings of the nation. Some of the core values are:⁶⁷

1. Life: The individual's right to life should be considered inviolable except in certain highly restricted and extreme circumstances, such as the use of deadly force to protect one's own or others' lives.

⁶⁷ Social Studies Bulletin No. 86, 1991

2. Liberty: The right to liberty is considered an unalterable aspect of the human condition. Central to this idea of liberty is the understanding that the political or personal obligations of parents or ancestors cannot be legitimately forced on people. The right to liberty includes:
 - 2.1 Personal freedom: the private realm in which the individual is free to act, to think and to believe, and which the government cannot legitimately invade;
 - 2.2. Political freedom: the right to participate freely in the political process, choose and remove public officials, to be governed under a rule of law; the right to a free flow of information and ideas, open debate and right of assembly;
 - 2.3 Economic freedom: The rights to acquire, use, transfer and dispose of private property without unreasonable governmental interference; the right to seek employment wherever one pleases; to change employment at will; and to engage in any lawful economic activity.
3. The pursuit of happiness: It is the right of citizens in the American constitutional democracy to attempt to attain – “pursue” – happiness in their own way, so long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others
4. Common good: The public or common good requires that individual citizens have the commitment and motivation – that they accept their obligation – to promote the welfare of the community and to work together with other members for the greater benefit of all.
5. Justice: People should be treated fairly in the distribution of the benefits and burdens of society, the correction of wrongs and injuries, and in the gathering of information and making of decisions.
6. Equality: All citizens have:
 - 6.1. Political equality and are not denied these rights unless by due process of law;
 - 6.2. Legal equality and should be treated as equals before the law;
 - 6.3. Social equality so as there should be no class hierarchy sanctioned by law;
 - 6.4. Economic equality which tends to strengthen political and social equality for extreme economic inequality tends to undermine all other forms of equality and should therefore be avoided.
7. Diversity: Variety in culture and ethnic background, race, lifestyle, and belief is not only permissible but desirable and beneficial in pluralistic society.
8. Truth: Citizens can legitimately demand that truth-telling as refraining from lying and full disclosure by government is the rule, since trust in the veracity of government constitutes an essential element of the bond between governors and governed.
9. Popular sovereignty: The citizenry is collectively the sovereign of the state and hold ultimate authority over public officials and their policies.

10. Patriotism: Virtuous citizens display a devotion to their country, including devotion to the fundamental values upon which it depends.

The Importance Of Their Classification

As it has been discussed, values are about choice. They help individuals to decide between different possible courses of actions depending on their respective values. Hence, they are relevant to such matters as choice of friends, selection of occupation and manner of pursuing it. In doing so, they serve important social functions. It will not, therefore, be an overstatement if it is said that values dictate what people love, hate, are just indifferent to (Mojac & Jernej, 2009) as noted by Richard and Philip (1985) since the ultimate decisions one makes is determined by the values he/she holds. Values are, therefore, relevant for individuals to live as a free, rational human being.

While discussing the hierarchy of values it was suggested that a child learns values in an absolute manner. As it is noted by Robbins and De Vita (1985) when students join college they come with an idea that things are true or false, right or wrong. After they come across a variety of people with diverse values they realize there are alternative views to choose between. Hence values, by detaching people from narrow views they have about others, become sources for their satisfaction, harmony or empathy. All choices, however, may not be comfortable. Values, nevertheless, help one to confront difficult choices as well.

Classification informs people of the relevancy of values as well. For instance, the classification of values into terminal and instrumental is important for they are sources of information on what a person or community wants to achieve. Furthermore, it is in the same classification that moral values, which urge one to act honestly and responsibly, are found. It is

this classification as well that informs why people are making paradigm shifts in their political, social and sometimes religious lives.

Society applies various mechanisms to regulate the behavior of its members. It is in the classification of values that one finds reward is one positive form of sanction that regulates behaviors. Classification is also relevant to find out common values. Society arranges its values hierarchically to inform its members which values are most valued and held by a majority and powerful elite. While adherence to them brings rewards, their violation results in severe punishment. Hence, where there is conflict between values held by the individual and the community, the individual brings his values in line with the society's values.

Classification of values may help to find out the hidden motive or intention of individuals. This is the case when sometimes the actual values that regulate some ones decisions are not obvious. For instance, the apparent values to be a teacher could be nobility. The hidden or actual value that led to this profession could be authority. Under such circumstances the actual or hidden value overrides the apparent or exterior values. The society's concern, therefore, should be with the actual values not with the apparent one, and its objective should be to see that the behavior of the members conforms to a set of values that foster the development of personality and determined by what is good.

Since personality necessarily develops within social context, and institutions are forums where some associations with others are created for the self to develop, Rokeach's (1973) institutional approach of values is applied to identify Harari values. Among social institutions, basic and key ones to social integration are identified. The values embedded in them are discussed. Hence, family and educational institutions, such as *Quran gey* and *Madrassa*, mosques as educational institutions, *afocha*, *jamaa*, *ahli*, *marign* and *gel* as social and economic

institutions are identified as they nurture, preserve and transmit Harari values. As a custodian of various and distinct values, cooperation rather than competition is prevailing among these institutions. Designation of values is important, as observing and describing values are. Harari language is applied where values have designations in Harari expounded through Schwartz's (1994) approach.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN SELF-REGULATION OF HARARI FAMILIES

Introduction

E. W. Smith (1952), equated the African's livelihood with passing through a sequence of rooms, the doors of which open and close as one makes advancement. Each phase is marked by ceremonies which are flourished in vibrant symbolism. The ceremonies commence with birth and a naming, followed by introduction into maturity and membership of the tribe. Then there is a marriage ceremony, death and burial, and, to complete the cycle, what Zulus call *ukubuyisa*, the bringing of the spirit home.

Similarly, this chapter discusses the birth, circumcision, naming and marriage ceremonies of Hararis with their various symbols expressed through rituals, actions, words and gestures, along with the values preserved in them to regulate individual and group behaviors. It also discusses how Hararis use symbols as vehicles for the expression of values, which are significant for their social relations. Death and related ceremonies is discussed in chapter seven.

The indigenous people of the walled city of Harar call themselves *gey usu* or Harari. Others call them *adre* (Waldron, 1978). *Gey usu* means 'people of the city' as "gey" means "city." Their language is *gey senan*, i.e. the city language. *Gey usu* has its own culture and way of life called *gey aada*, i.e. the city culture manifested through symbols expressing various values. Waldron (1975b) writes that *gey usu* is the totality of all these and others such as Islam and membership in *ahli*, (kinship), *marign* or *gel* (friendship) and *afocha*, i.e. social institutions used by *gey usu* or Hararis to perpetuate as a community.

As it has already been observed the history of Hararis is discussed by (Caulk 1971, Burton, 1894, Cerulli, 1936, and Trimingham, 1951.), etc. This history includes Hararis' social organizations, shrines, *Quran Gey*. Little or nothing is said about the Harari symbols and values preserved in them though they are inherent in the very texture of human life (E.W. Smith, 1952) and every community or nation has its symbols.

Symbolism and the active use of symbols have been used as long as man can remember. For example “for many primitive cultures the sun was a symbol for God, as was the moon” (Kertzer 1988). Furthermore, as pointed out by Bayley (2006) the cat, in the Egyptian *Mau*, became the symbol of the sun-god, as among the Greeks the Butterfly was the symbol of the soul. The eagle, the stars and stripes, the Constitution, and even the Presidency are symbols for what the Americans hold sacred.

Similarly, depending on who administered the country, various symbols appear on the Ethiopian flag. These include: a lion holding a cross representing the Lion of Judah and Christianity; a blue star representing the aspiration of nations, nationalities and the people; and different religious communities of Ethiopia to live together (article 3(2) of the FDRE Constitution)⁶⁸ Following the federal political arrangement, member states put various symbols on their flags, including a camel of the Somali Regional State to a cross dagger for the Afar Regional State.

Hararis too designed their flag consisting of black, (in remembrance of the defeat they suffered at the battle of Chelenko), crimson (the blood shaded by the young Hararis in that war) and white (to signify the promise the future holds). Symbols are, therefore, another way of communicating the thoughts, meanings, and hopes of a particular cultural group. They can be

⁶⁸ Proclamation No. 1/1995. Proclamation of the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. 1st year No. 1. Addis Ababa, 21st August, 1995.

expressed through “pictures, words, art, architecture, and common household items” (Mullen 2005, p. 6).

Identifying sample Harari symbols related to birth and marriage reflected through rituals, actions, gestures and posters and the role they play in regulating individual and group behaviors is the objective of this chapter. How Hararis associate symbols with the values enshrined in them will be discussed as well. As noted by Raymond Firth in Smith (1952) “Symbolism serves as a vehicle for the expression of values which are significant for the social relations of the people” (p. 18).

For this purpose, few symbols and values that are pivotal in the individual and social life of Hararis were identified and analyzed. A conclusion was made from the observations and analysis. It is worthy, however, to say a few words on symbols and their features before discussing Harari symbols and values.

Symbols And Some Of Their Features

Summarizing definitions on symbols given by various professionals, E. W. Smith (1952) wrote that “symbol points to referent; pictures the referent’s meaning; is an instrument for comprehending a referent as part which represent the whole; serving to recall to mind an absent referent” (p. 13). Hence, there is always a referent directed at, represented or evoked by a symbol. Thus, a symbol is “definable in relation to something else that is called referent, object or designation” (E. W. Smith, 1952, p. 13). These referents, objects or designations could be “pictures, words, art, architecture or common house hold items” (Mullen, 2005, p. 6).

Thus, the origin of symbols could vary. Their origin could relate to words; for instance, as pointed out by Bayley (2006) a cat in Egyptian *Mau* became a symbol of a sun-god as the word *Mau* also means light. Or it could originate from the deed of a being; for example, fish

represented by a dolphin is symbolized as a friend of a man, for it is endowed with special talent of saving man from shipwrecks. On the one hand, a snake religiously symbolizes evil, as mankind attributes the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Heaven to the Serpent. On the other hand, it is observed that the snake symbolizes a place of healing as a trademark of drug stores where people find medicine.

One must be, therefore, careful in interpreting symbols, as one and the same referent could convey different messages to different groups or could have different meanings. As illustrated by E. W. Smith (1952):

An earthenware pot as it leaves the hands of an African woman is definable in terms of the use to which it is put; it may be a cooking pot or a water pot; when it is placed on the apex of a hut, however, it is a sign of the Mwila who resides beneath it has killed a man in battle or ferocious wild beast. (p. 18)

Or as pointed out by Stine, Cabak, and Groover (1996), a symbol could represent various things, as blue beads serve as “a symbol of wealth, spiritual power to insure success in all aspects of life including journey, hunting, farming, romance and to ward off evils, sickness, misfortunes and to gain material gains” (p. 54). Furthermore, symbols could convey opposite meanings to different groups. Thus, as pointed out by E. W. Smith (1952), for Romans the “cross was a symbol of the utmost degradation and an obscene object never to be mentioned in polite society while to the Christians it is a living symbol pointing to ... the love of God which possess all knowledge” (p. 19). Hence, the meaning we are rendering to a symbol is dependent on what Malinowski (1964) calls “the context of situation” (p. 307).

To further expound on this point it would be worthy to take two symbols prevailing in Harar. The *Medhaniale* church (Savior of the World), built by Menelik when he entered Harar as victorious from the Battle of Chelenko, is a place of worship and a symbol of victory for the conservative Christian Amharas. That was why “as a symbolic assertion of Ethiopian power, the

main mosque was immediately destroyed and the Church was built in its place at the center of the city. For the Hararis, however, it is a symbol of humiliation. Two cultures comprehend one referent quite oppositely” (Shetler & Dawit, 2010, p. 4).

Following the downfall of the military regime, “in recognition of their historic preeminence, the Hararis are granted the right to administer the city which they identify as their home land.” (Gibb, 1997, p. 1) Following that, in 2008 the Hararis erected, in front of the church, a memorial symbolizing the martyrs who sacrificed their lives at the Battle of Chelanko (see figure 10). The conservative Christian Amharas take the memorial as a symbol of humiliation while the Hararis take it as a sign of regaining the victory lost at the Battle of Chelanko.



Figure 10: Medhaniealem Church and the Memorial for the Martyrs of the Battle of Chelenko

Painting *nadabach*, *qeh afer* (red soil) and giving a shawl with red stripes to the groom are also symbols Hararis use to remember their Chelenko martyrs. Thus, “symbols are seen as instrumentalities of various forces-physical, moral, economic, political, and so on-operating in isolable, changing fields of social relationships” (Turner, 1975, p. 145). That is why symbols are believed to be “communicating the thoughts, meanings, and hopes of a particular cultural group... and are often seen in everyday life and appear during holidays and festivals” (Mullen, 2005, p. 6).

It would, therefore, be possible to argue that having an acquaintance with the symbols and the values attached to them is a requirement to understand Hararis. This chapter, therefore, identifies some of the symbols of Hararis, which are related to birth and marriage events and the role they play in the social life of the Hararis for as noted by Durkheim (Smith, 1952) “social life in all its aspect and in every period of its history is made possible only by symbolism” (p. 18). Then this chapter establishes how the Hararis have been using those symbols and values preserved in them to regulate individual and social behaviors. The symbols and related values identified by this chapter are not, however, exhaustive; rather, they are indicative of further inquiry and research.

Birth And Circumcision

Birth

Upon birth the Hararis do their level best “to strengthen the mother and her newly born baby for the first month of its life.” (Gibb, 1999, p. 232) The baby spends the first 40 days in a secluded room called *dera*⁶⁹ where a curtain is hung on the doorway as a symbol to inform the presence of a woman who has given birth to a baby who is less than 40 days old. Every visitor is, therefore, expected at least to lower her voice not to disturb the mother and the baby who are most of the time asleep. It is also believed that the curtain protects both, but especially the baby, from evil eyes⁷⁰. The curtain symbolizes a conformity value which restrains impulses from upsetting or harming others.

A woman gives birth to a child at her family’s home to symbolize that the child, who is referred to as *zugma waldi* for a boy and *zugma qahat* for a girl, is her first child. Meanwhile, her mother nourishes her; her near relatives instruct her on how to take care of her baby. As this

⁶⁹ Personal observation

⁷⁰ Interview held with Abay Atiqa on 3/6/13 in Harar. All interviews with her sited here are made on similar day.

occasion is very significant, many visitors come with gifts for the baby and the mother. While men leave after making an inquiry about the safe delivery of the baby, as well as the health of the mother, women visitors, who are served with porridge and a sweet for their *du'a* (supplication) and gifts they bring, stay for longer hour. Upon entering the house they say, "*Mehdina! Mehdina!*" (Nation! Nation!), symbolizing acquisition of Harari citizenship by birth.⁷¹

They express their wish for the baby to be courageous and fast-growing saying "*Wanag zikhadamu, Hubab zisheladu!*" meaning 'Let the baby be fed like a lion and rejuvenate like a snake that casts its hide.' For the mother to accomplish that they say "*qich zazsham qichim zazsham afet qam be yabulash*" meaning 'whatever good food you eat let it be nourishing.' Moreover, they say "*waldiw haraq mulu! Aayu ursi mulu!*" meaning "To embrace a healthy baby let the breast of the mother be full with milk!" Thus, while the child is symbolized as a lion and rejuvenate snake the mother is symbolized as a font of nourishment. Hararis consider breast feeding is important for the baby to grow fast and healthy.

Absum (Circumcision)

A professional who is liable if he damages a penis, circumcises the baby on the 8th day. The instruction is: "*Absum wa Nagu yidarabakhma kum kassa halbahkwa,*"! Meaning "be careful the thing you are circumcising is the one which the boy uses to saw and rip! If you damage it, you will be held liable for one thousand cash."

Traditionally, the foreskin is tied with a coin and buried by the boy's paternal aunt in a hole that is dug beneath *amir nadaba* symbolizing two things, according to *kabir* Abdulmuheiman. It is to protect the boy from the evil spirits, as it is believed that evil spirits dislike or are afraid of metals. The location where the items are buried reflects the family's wish for the boy to be a father or *kabir* for *amir nadaba* is a seat where the father sits whenever he is

⁷¹ Interview with Kabir Abdulmuheiman on 13/01/2013 in Harar

at home or a *kabir* sits while giving lesson or the Harari Amirs sat while giving justice. Moreover, as *amir nadaba* is the raised seat among other *nadabach* the act is a symbolic value reflecting social status, prestige, dominance and control (Schwartz, 1994). Since these days the circumcision is carried out in a hospital or health center, some of the rituals are not observed.

A relative or a friend, who is informed about the circumcision, will say ‘Aa! *Absum Axum!*’ Except for the b & x the sounds created by the two words seem similar. But if one looks at the top part of the obelisk at Axum, its shape resembles a penis that is faultlessly circumcised, which Hararis use as a symbol of perfection. Hararis came to know about Axum probably when they invaded the whole northern part of Ethiopia under the leadership of Imam Ahmad, or maybe through trade they had with Axum.

Female circumcision is either *Arab Absum* where only an insignificant part of prepuce is removed, or *gey Absum* where the clitoris is totally removed. The visitors, after inquiring if the girl has passed urine believing it heals her wound, bless the circumcision saying: “*a’alemwa a’akil yakfata!*” “Let scholar and intelligent open it,” meaning let an intelligent and scholar marry her symbolizing the place knowledge, wisdom and intellect occupy in the Harari community.

Female Genital Mutilation, (FGM) has been practiced among the Hararis, Somali and Harar Oromos for years against the teaching of Islam that allows leaving the clitoris as it is or removal of the prepuce as a *Sunna*. To find out why Moslem parents practice it, though it is against Islam, discussions were held with few families on this issue.

Families do not want their daughters to have premarital sex to avoid humiliation on her wedding day and devaluation of a bride-wealth which would be similar to the amount paid for a widow when she re-marries. Expounding this Waldron (1975a) indicated “*wahachi* (a virgin girl)

may be given \$500 and *gufta* (a widow marrying for the second time) may be given \$200.” (p. 243). Similar practice was observed by the Zulu, though in different context, for “Zulus would regard it as a reflection on the girl's chastity and a deadly insult if parents of a suitor offered seven cattle as bride-wealth; only for a divorced woman would that number be acceptable” (Smith, 1952, p. 24).

Thus, avoiding humiliation that can be caused by absence of virginity and economic loss could be factors that would push families to continue practicing FGM. Besides, as noted by Boddy (Gibb, 1996) Women's bodies are icons and repositories of community values and morality, conceived of in highly localized terms. From this Gibb (1996) concluded that morality is maintained through various metaphors of enclosure and fertility including infibulations, the physical restriction on women's mobility and the symbolic reduction of their visibility through wearing the veil.

Studying FGM, therefore, is like studying, for instance, religious myths or some symbolic acts such as sacrifice practices or witchcraft. If someone studies these acts out of their context they will look bizarre, irrational, childish or fantastical. So one way to resolve the problem related with FGM is enabling the community to get out of poverty and taking measures that would lead to the economic, social and political empowerment of women.

On the 40th day the baby is taken to *Aw Abdul Qadir Jailan*, or *Aw Abadir* or *Ai Aabida* for *haras mowta ziara*, symbolizing the end of *haras gar*. The *ziara* makers are the new mother with her baby, her mother and friends. “They take *sirri* and *bun* (roasted coffee beans), a kittle of *qutti qahwah* (milk tea made from stewed coffee leaves), *chat* and incense” (Gibb, 1997c, p. 235) as expression of symbolic values of achievement. When she returns from her visit or *ziara*

the curtain is removed to announce the end of *haras gar* and her return to her abode as a mature woman.

Marriage

Until the age of five the child spends much of his time with his mother. Then, to learn Quran, poems and mason and how to wave baskets (in the case of a girl) they join the *Quran Gey* or *Madrasa*. After graduation either they join higher education or the girls wave Harari baskets, which are very expensive, while the boys either join farming or commerce. Those who continue their Islamic education at *kabir gar* between *Maghreb* and *Isha* prayer serve, after completion, as *kabir*, *Qadi*, or *Diwan* (registrar) in the Shera Courts. Boys marry when they secure a job.

***Nikah*, Legalizing The Marriage**

Upon acquiring a job, the boy with the help of his family, looks for a family that has a mature girl. Such a family keeps a carpet on *wantef murad*; a place where carpets are kept symbolizing the presence of a daughter ready to marry. If two are kept it means there are two girls, etc. If there are none it means that family does not have a girl at a marriageable age. Thus, the behavior of a family looking for a mature girl for its son is regulated by *wantef murad* depending on whether a carpet is kept, through which the girl's family is declaring its intention. Depending on the information acquired, the boy's family undertakes inquiry about the *ahli*, the kinship of the girl's family. Most of the time the first inquiry is made about the girl's mother as it is assumed that 'a good mother brings up good girl'. Usually this inquiry is done by women; as Waldron (1975b, p. 21) stated, "to make one's knowledge about *ahli* (kinship) complete one has to resort to his/her mother or other close female relative informants, for women, particularly old women, are the reservoirs of kinship information."

When satisfied with their findings the boy's family asks the neighbors to request the girl's family to fix a date for them to appear in person. The nearest relatives of the boy go to the girl's home on the date fixed. After welcoming them the girl's family excuses the messengers to leave telling them they will respond after discussing the matter with other relatives. Then they will take up the matter with their *ahli*.

On the other hand, if the private talk is made between the two fathers, the girl's father, to know about the boy, would say, let me talk to my wife. The girl's mother, too, will give similar excuse to the boy's mother. If the boy and his family meet the requirement, a date is fixed for the boy's family to come with *kusha chat* (Fiancé *chat*) to fix a date for *Zagan* (date of engagement).

These days, though the participation of the parents and relatives are pertinent, some changes have taken place. In old days the arrangements were totally made by the families. These days, however, the future couples know each other and discuss their future even before engagement. While in the first case the love and respect wives had for their husbands was dominant, in the latter case mutual respect and love is prevalent. The introduction of modern education and attending of females to the schools, the exposure to other cultures, etc. probably brought about those changes.

Hence, while in old days value of obedience was regulating the relations between husband and wife, values of mutual respect and love are prevalent these days. Hence, if the girl and the boy have an earlier acquaintance each family arranges the date for the *zagan* in consultation with the girl and the boy. On that day the boy's family delivers gifts, bride's money, i.e. dowry and *kusha chat*. The *kusha chat* is distributed to all adult family members, relatives, neighbors and *afocha* members.⁷²

⁷² Personal experience

Nikah is a procedure to legalize marriage. In Harari community the process is referred to as *Nikah Muggad*. The researcher observed and video recorded four *Nikah Muggad*. In three cases he accompanied the future *Aroz*, the groom, while in one instant the future *Arozit*, the bride. The first *zagan* would be discussed briefly to inform overall process of legalizing marriage in Harari community.

The *Nikah* was tied on behalf of Muhammad Berkhedle, a civil servant living in Harar. The *Nikah* was tied on Maria Ahmed⁷³ who lived in Dire Dawa. On the group's arrival at Maria's home the *induchach* (ladies) from her mother's *Jamaa* or *afocha* members,⁷⁴ welcomed the group with ululate. Entering the room the group sat at the left side of the room on the *nadaba* while the hosts took the right side seat according to Harari tradition. The Qadi, who accompanied Muhammad instructed him to sit by him. Maria's father also was seated on the right side of the Qadi. The Qadi, as introduction started the ceremony in the name of Allah, and said "*dejna!*" meaning "We have arrived!" Repeating the same supplication made by the Qadi the elder one among the hosts said "*deju*" meaning "you are welcomed."

The Qadi continued saying "*qahetkhuw Maria Ahmedu lijizina Muhammad Berkhedle le Nikah tashnu nale dejna!*" meaning "We arrived to request your daughter Maria Ahmed's hand for our son, Muhammad Berkhedle!" The same elder responded saying "*rekhabu!*" meaning "your request is accepted!" Following that the Qadi made *duwaa*. Joined by everybody who attended he closed the *duwaa* with the first chapter of the Quran, i.e. *Suratul Alfatiha*.

After he requested the host to accept the gifts and allow him to make *Nikah*, for Br. 2,000.00 *Mahr* in cash turning to Maria's father and shaking his right hand with his two hands, the Qadi requested authorization from him to tie *Nikah* on his daughter Maria Ahmed on his

⁷³ It is sad to know that she died while giving birth on 2013 at Jugal Hospital in Harar.

⁷⁴ *Jamaa* and *afocha* are social institutions that assist each member when wedding takes place and death occurs to family member

behalf for Br 2,000.00 cash *Mahr*. The father authorized him. Reading certain verses from the Quran and quoting Hadith the Qadi took Muhammad's hand and said to Muhammad "*Ankahtuka aw zewejtuka bentu Ahmed, Maria Ahmed be-Maher* Br 2,000. "I hereby married you to Maria Ahmed for Br. 2,000 *Mahr* cash as per the authority her father conferred upon me". The Qadi advised Muhammad to say "*qabiltu*" "I accepted", which Muhammad repeated. Then the Qadi concluded the ritual with *duwaa* requesting Allah to make that marriage like the marriage of Fatima, the Prophet's daughter and Ali, his cousin.

While the *Mahr* was given to the father, other gifts were handed over to the women who were anxiously waiting in the backyard. Receiving the gifts, the women ululated. Immediately sweets, soft drinks and other foods were served to all who attended the ceremony. Part of *Kusha chat* was distributed among the guests who would chew part of it at their home and distribute the remaining part among relatives who could not attend the ceremony. The part that was sent to the *induchach* would be distributed among the relatives together with pieces of *Halawa* (sweet).

The distribution of the *kusha chat* symbolizes two things: both families sharing their happy moment with all whom they have sent the *chat* to. Second it serves as a deterrent to those who might have intention to ask for the girl's hand. In bygone days, once a girl was engaged, whenever she went out of her house, she put on a dress decorated with *kusha buruq*, i.e. a dress decorated with a design that would indicate that she was already engaged. That dress was a symbol of engagement. These days in addition to the delivery of *chat*, both fiancée and fiancé put on "a wedding ring, both through its shape and the value attached to its constituent metal, carries a suggestion and a promise of a precious never-ending affection ring" (Smith, 1952, p.14). The *chat*, *kusha buruq* or the ring as symbols encompass value of security to regulate the relation the future bride has with all third parties.

In all *Zagan* ceremonies the Qadi is paid for his service. He accompanies the future groom and goes to the future bride's home to *tie Nikah*. Entering the house the Qadi opens the ceremony with *duwaa* and then announces the presence of the group and requests the bride's father to allow him to tie *Nikah*, which the father permits. The *aroz* puts on a hat called *Aroz kelocta*, (groom's hat), that distinguishes him from his companions and drinks a cup of milk offered by the host. The gifts (sweets and perfume) and *Halawa* are packed in attractive containers while the *kusha chat* is wrapped in a shawl on which Br. 100, referred to as *Ay Mahaleq* (mother's money) is fastened at the edge of the shawl.

Ladies ululate on the arrival, when the Qadi legalizes the marriage and on the departure of the groom's party. Hence, the ululations symbolize the joy ladies enjoy under different circumstances. The first one symbolizes the safe arrival of the future groom and his group. The second and the third signify the legalization of the marriage and the successful completion of the ceremony, respectively. By doing so the women always herald at which stage is the ceremony. All three stages are an expression of values of achievement reflected in the success scored at each stage.

Belachu, Wedding

The fiancé's family used to deliver firewood loaded on a donkey to the fiancée's family. This symbolized a request to fix a date for the *belachu*. If the fiancée's family delayed setting a date for lack of resources the fiancé's family delivered a bull and a sack of sorghum to symbolize how desperate they are for the *belachu* to take place. Once the date is arranged both families start preparations. Thus the bride's and groom's mothers, accompanied by their immediate relatives,

visit a week ahead of the date set for the *belachu*, i.e. Saturday⁷⁵ *Ai Abida*. They take with them *sirri*, *bun* (coffee), *qahwah*,⁷⁶ milk, honey, banana, *chat*, incense and cash.

This visit, referred to as *belachu ziara*, is made to receive *duwaa* from the *murid*⁷⁷ of the *Ai Abida* shrine who blesses the *belachu* saying “*Lechi Abida tashoqalesh!*” meaning let *Abida* work for you! Let her be busy and carry out everything on your behalf!” (Gibb, 1997c, p. 233) The *ziara* and blessing boost their moral and make them confident that their *belachu* would be successful. Thus, it could be said the *Ai Abdi* Shrine as a symbol “carries strong emotional charges: it has evocative, stimulative power for the participants in the ritual experience an exaltation of spirit, an increase of psychic energy, an enhanced confidence or sense of security” (Smith, 1952, p. 20).

On Thursday, following those visits the bride (*arozit*) with her close friends (*henna gelach*) invite people to her wedding by making door-to-door visit called *aruz mawalel* (bride visit. See figure 11). The visited homes provide their guests with sweets and soft drinks. They also serve *arozit* with a cup of milk. The guests either sip very small or large amounts from the soft drink depending on the number of houses they have visited and/or the means of traveling they have used, while they take the sweets to the *belachu gar* and share it among themselves. Some interpret the sweets and the soft drinks as an expression of happiness and sweet life the host wishes for the bride to enjoy.

⁷⁵ Saturday is a date set to visit *Ai Abida*. Personal experience

⁷⁶ *Qahwah* is tea made from milk and roasted coffee leaf.

⁷⁷ The *murid* is descendant and caretaker of the shrine. In this case the *murid* is a lady



Figure 11: Aruz Mawalel

Milk has a significant role in the social life of Hararis. As Muslims they share a belief that the Prophet Muhammad on “the miraculous night flight from Mecca to Jerusalem, *Isra*,’ and the ascent to Heaven, *mi’reg*” (Gori, 2010, p. 52) was hosted by Jibril (Gabriel) who held a cup of milk with his right hand and a cup of alcohol with the left hand. The Prophet preferred the milk. Following that example, milk for the Hararis is a symbol through which one expresses one’s respect for his guest. Moreover, it is a symbol for virtues, such as luck, prosperity, long life, happiness and wealth.

When one drinks milk, the *du’a* one performs differs from that one performs after eating any other food. When one finishes drinking milk one says ‘*Allahumma Zidna lebanan wala tenques aleyna Abadan.*’ ‘Oh God give us more milk and never reduce it from us’. For other

food the *du'a* is '*Allahumma bariklena fimma rezeqtana wanta kheyror-raziqin.*' 'Oh God bless what You provide us with for You are the most provider.'

Hence, whenever the Hararis make *ziara* to the shrines either they take milk or *qahwah*. Furthermore, during the holy month of Ramadan after people break their fast they pay visit to each other or they give calls. The visitor asks his host, "Have you drunk water?" The host replies, "No we have drunk milk not water." Actually, it is advisable to break fasting by eating palm dates. If that is not available or affordable, which is true most of the time, water is drunk to break fasting. In spite of that, the reply is "we have taken milk not water."

This conversation and other acts reveal the importance milk has in the life of Hararis. Milk is offered to the bride and groom at different occasions. Moreover, to neutralize the effect of *chat* husbands are offered milk at night. Harari *indochach* take milk along when they go to express their condolence to the mourners. Hararis believe children must drink milk before sleeping. All these actions signify the importance of milk in the social life of the Hararis. It is a symbol that connects the spiritual world with the secular one, the past with future and the old generation with the new one.

Marriage Ceremonies

The mother's *afocha* members start their activity early Saturday morning calling each other. As narrated by Abbay Atiqa and Gibb (1997c) while roaming, they sing and sniff the aromatic *rahan*, the Arabic perfume in the narrow streets of *Jugal* calling each member from their compound to join them. The singing and related ceremonies continue until they enter the *belachu gar* compound where they contribute money referred to as "*afocha mahaleq*" or "*mutabeq mahsha mahaleq*" meaning *Afocha* money or money contributed to compact the mixture of honey and sesame seed to produce sweet. These acts of the *afocha* members are based

on values of helpfulness. The three major events with their corresponding symbols, however, are *anqar mehtab*, *henna ukhat* and *henna maqaba* as discussed below.

Anqar Mehtab (Washing The Stomach Lining)

The *belachu* starts with the slaughtering of one or two oxen on Saturday. While the butcher slices manageable pieces of meat off the carcass, some *indochach afocha* or *jamaa* members carry it to the kitchen where (big metal) cauldrons are simmering over fires built in the open air either in *belachu gar* or a neighbor's compound, depending on the availability of space. While some of them chop tomatoes, and prepare onions, garlic and chili peppers, others attend to the fire and stir the contents of the large cauldrons. Meanwhile, some women *afocha* members occupying the *gidir gar* drum and sing.⁷⁸

The large kidneys are prepared and given to the *aruz*. The intestine is used to prepare *waqallim* (Harari sausage) to be consumed by the *aroz*, *arozit*, and their friends while they stay at *aruz gar*,⁷⁹ or served to the guests on Sunday lunch or *inay gabata*. To prepare the *waqallim*, in early times the stomach lining and intestine were washed at Aw Omer River by a group of women who sang and danced while marching to and from the river. These days, however, they do the washing while singing and dancing in the compound of the *belachu gar*. Meanwhile, the *arozit* with her *henna gelach*, *afocha* and *jamaa* members and young boys and girls dance and sing. The ceremony is called *anqar mehtab*.

Henna Ukhat (Red Beef Stew)

Henna ukhat is prepared carefully by the *arozit's* mother from red beef stew and sent to the *aroz's* mother accompanied with a ceremony called *ala, ala* which few words would be said about the folklore as narrated by *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*. *Henna ukhat* got its name from the

⁷⁸ Personal experience

⁷⁹ Honey moon room or bride suite

color of the Henna plant which is reddish brown. Before telling about *ala, ala* it is worthy to recount the folk tale about how sending *henna ukhat* to the groom's mother was resumed.

Once upon a time, a girl from a wealthy family fell in love with a boy from a poor family and refused to marry no one but the boy. Her family finally agreed. On Saturday night the girl's father, while passing incidentally by the door noticed that no ceremony was undergoing in the compound of the boy's family. He rushed back to his home and put an order for special stew with *ukhat* and instructed a group of people to take it with one gourd of milk to the boy's *belachu gar*, singing and dancing on their way. They spent the night dancing and singing at the boy's house. That ceremony continued till these days. The *aroz's* family sends words of appreciation if they can't afford delivering four donkeys' load of firewood, referred to as *mazangna inchi*, meaning morning firewood, to prepare Sunday breakfast and lunch. It symbolizes the appreciation of the boy's family. Hence, we can see the two families' relations would resume and foster with values of helpfulness and appreciations.

Henna Maqaba

On their way to take the *henna ukhat* they say "*Allah! Allah! Allahu ya Allah! Ajil Binesri WA bill Feraji!*" singing hymn with lyrics praising Allah" (Tarsitani & Tarsitani, 2010, p. 6). This ritual is based on a folklore narrated as follows: a long time ago the Hararis had bestowed a girl as homage to a python that lived at a locality called *Aw Kelka* where they fetched water for their daily use. Every family was obliged to bestow a girl, if it had one, so the python would leave the community in peace and abstain from harming the community.

Following the prior arrangement made by the community, elders came and informed a certain mother to make her only daughter ready so that they might come at dawn to hand the girl over to the python. The mother, who was actually preparing her daughter to hand her to a

husband, spent the whole night begging God saying “*Allah! Allah! Ya Allah! Allahu, Ajil Binesri Wabil Feraji*” God! I beg you to send an eagle and give me victory. God responded to her request, sending before dawn a giant eagle (*Binesri*) so big that when it flew over Harar it covered the whole city with its wings. The eagle snatched the python that was so big that when standing on a hill top and curving itself into the air it looked like a rainbow not only in color but in size, and freed the woman and the community for good.

While the eagle flew it to the north of Harar, the python, struggling for its life, scratched the big mountain with its tail and marked W or *Shadda WA Madda* atop that mountain (See figure 12). The mountain is, therefore, known as W mountain by the elite, *Shadda WA Madda Seri* by common Hararis and *Qundudo* by the Oromos. So the ceremony of sending *henna ukhat* accompanying it with *Alla*, *Alla* is requesting God to protect the *arozit* and *aroz* from any kind of evil, for a snake is regarded in this context as a symbol of evil.



Figure 12: W Mountain shaped by the Python

Immediately after the female families leave the *aroz*'s home, the female members of the groom go to the *arozit*'s home. The *aroz* attends, but remains outside the house while his female relatives proceed to the *gidir nadaba* where the *arozit* sits surrounded by her *henna gelach* and paint the Henna into the *arozit*'s hand, who at least engages in mock protest. As noted by Ayele (1999) it could be a seal of approval by the *aroz*'s relatives. Meanwhile, the *arozit*'s family offers a cup of milk to the *aroz* which is a symbol that "stands for purity, prosperity, and happiness" (Smith, 1952, p. 24).

Aroz Megba, Wedding Day Proper

Early Sunday morning, the women *afocha* or *jamaa* members prepare *haris*, a kind of porridge with red meat for breakfast for men *afocha* members who perform *mawlid*, the most diffused collection of sacred texts performed to celebrate the birth of the Prophet (*Nabi Mawlod*) as well as other Islamic feasts and weddings as noted by Tarsitani & Tarsitani (2010). When the *mawlod* is over, lunch is served to the *mawlid* performers and guests who either take a short rest or chew *chat* at their home or *belachu gar*.

After lunch the *arozit* either goes to the hair dresser's salon or calls a beautician to her home that makes her ready for *aruz megba*. The *aroz*, who is assisted by his best men, dresses in his best suit. When information is received that the *arozit* is ready the *aroz*, accompanied by his best men, friends, and his father and father's friends, goes to the *arozit*'s house. The elders from both families sit on chairs facing each other at the entrance of *gidir gar* leaving a narrow track where the *arozit*'s brother gives her away to the *aroz*. The *arozit* sits on *gidir nadaba* surrounded by her *henna gelach*, families, relatives and friends. House hold items, including the carpet the mother places on the *wantef murad*, are displaced, counted and registered in the presence of elders from both families.

When this ceremony is over the *arozit* and *aroz* (see figure 13) accompanied by friends and relatives, go to a hotel or any other place with landscape gardening to have photographs and then entertain their guests with a no-alcohol cocktail party if they arranged one. They cut a wedding cake and put a slice of it in one another's mouth wishing sweet life for one another before the pieces are distributed to the guests. Similarly, as noted by Gluckman (1964), "the Lozi bride and bridegroom eat the porridge off a stone and see therein a symbol of a hope that the marriage may endure as a stone endures" (p. 80).



Figure 13: Arozit Wa Aroz

Singing and dancing follows until the couple leave for their *aruz gar* where the *arozit* either might proceed to *kirtet*, curtained with bamboo that symbolizes togetherness and bestowing blessings for the newlywed couple (Abdi Khalil, 2007) take off the wedding dress and put on her gown. Or she may, with her wedding dress, join the *aroz* and others at *gidir nadaba* to recite *Yasin* and *Tabarak* from the Quran. Upon the conclusion the *aroz* gives *du'a* to those who have not yet married. Then the *arozit* retires to the *kirtet* where she is helped by her *henna gelach* to prepare for her honeymoon night.

According to Abbay Atiqa, two women still married from her husband's family enter the *kirtet* and ask the *arozit* to lick some honey from their fingers or small tea spoon, which she does after mock resistance. This action, which is referred to as *dus malhas* (licking the honey, see

figure 14) “symbolizes the blessing of her family life to become sweet and delicious as honey, fruitful and blessed with children” (Abdi-Khalil, 2007, p. 97).



Figure 14: dus malhas

Bakal Muz

Monday is a day for the bride to prove she has been a virgin till last night. Hence, in earlier days the *aroz*'s best man would, in the early morning, let a calf to bellow roaming in the *arozit*'s family compound to symbolize the *arozit*'s virginity and consummation of the marriage. That symbol was substituted by a white handkerchief stained with blood, which would be sent to the bride's mother. These days a red flower with a tray of *halawa* is sent to the bride's mother who anxiously awaits the outcome.

Receiving the symbol, the mother ululates and delightfully displays it. On the next day, Tuesday, *inay gabata*, Harari food composed of *waqallim* (Harari sausage) and *Tuftuf*, (a light *Ukhat* made from white wheat flour) is sent from the bride's mother to *aruz gar*. These days some families send boiled rice with sausage. *Aba Atiqa* said it is taken first to the *aroz's* family home to be admired and blessed before it is delivered to *Aroz Gar* by *Afocha* members of both families.

If she is not a virgin nothing is sent to the bride's mother and when the *inay gabata* arrives at *aruz gar* it is left either in the middle of the compound, or under a drain pipe, or, as *Assefa Abbebe* (1988) wrote, it is given to beggars and dogs. This symbolic value of conformity (Schwartz, 1994) regulates the pre-marital sexual life of *gey qahat*, as it restrains *gey qahat* from violating social expectation or norms opposing pre-marital sex, adultery and incest. Further, it also opposes the entire phenomena that may lead to or provoke pre-marital sex, such as pornography, safe sex, birth control, etc.

In the afternoon the bride's mother sends a bundle of gifts called *bakal muz* consisting of banana, incense burner, incense, a broom, *eraz moday*, chewing gum, a kettle, a pan, and water jug for ablution. By sending these items she is directing her daughter's post-marital life as it can be seen from the use of the incense burner.

While she is in her *aruz gar* the *arozit* burns incense when the *aroz's* friends perform *Zikri*. To attract her husband and arouse his sexual feelings she fumigates herself with incense. When the mother sends her daughter the incense and the *girgira*⁸⁰ it is a symbol to encourage her daughter to consummate the marriage, of which she would have disapproved before marriage. Hence, while the handkerchief with blood regulates pre-marital sexual behavior the *girgira* regulates post-marital sexual dealings and behaviors.

⁸⁰ Incense burner

Hetch (1980) attributed coffee ceremonies and incense burning to Amhara customs. However, the practice in *aroz gar* and other places, such as *awach*, demonstrate, otherwise. The incense burning following the *Mekhrrib Azan* that had been practiced by Harari *ayach* from time immemorial also confirms the contrary. The incense burner is either produced in Harar or brought to Harar by the Somali traders. Hence, it is very unlikely for the Hararis to borrow the practice of incense burning from the Amharas.

Aroz Mowta Wa Gufta Muggad, Ending Honey Moon And Entering Womanhood⁸¹

The *arozit* and *aroz* spend three days being looked after by their families and friends or until the marriage is consummated at their *aruz gar*. On Thursday the couple, with their friends, is invited to lunch by the *arozit*'s family where they take off their shoes outside the *gidir gar* to express their reverence for the in-laws. While they are enjoying their lunch the *henna gelach* and sisters of the *arozit* hide one single shoe from each guest to return them only after receiving a pay (see figure 15). The *aroz* pays the highest payment for his and the *arozit*'s pair of shoes. Then the total is shared among those who conceal the shoes.

⁸¹ The following is based on personal experience and observation



Figure 15: The ransom collected to solicit the pairs of shoes

When the lunch ceremony is over the father-in-law gives the *aroz* a shawl with a red stripe referred to as *sati baqla*. While some historians say the gift is in remembrance of the newly wed 700 martyred grooms of the Battle of Chelenko (Abdi-Khalil, 2007), *Kabir Abdulmuheiman* argues that the red stripe is in remembrance of the children who once were massacred at a *Quran Gey* by bandits.

Whichever is true, Hararis use that symbol to remember their martyr in the middle of happiness and by painting every day a *gidir gar* floor with *qeh afar*. As noted by Gibb (1997) it also “reminds the *Gey Usu*’s sons and daughters... to marry, to reproduce and perpetuate the *gey usu* as a group and also makes a lesson of the virtue of fighting when the integrity of the group is threatened” (p. 56). In this sense it could also be a symbol of commitment by the young to fulfill the aspiration of their forefathers.

Prior to the couple leaving for a dinner invitation to the family of the *aroz*, the female relatives from both families arrive at *aruz gar* to perform an act and ritual that transforms the *arozit* from girlhood to womanhood. The ceremony is called *Sheeney*, *Sheeney* (See figure 16). It is the ritual preparation of hairstyle and the dress a married woman wears for the first time in her life at the final day of the wedding ceremony. The following is taken from a video record of Abdulqadir Shami's nephew's ceremony.

The ritual starts with the preparation of the bride's hair. They sing one verse for each separate stage in the preparation of her hair and dress. First her hair is parted in the middle drawing the line between the half for which her-in-laws take responsibility and the remaining half upon which her female relatives lay claim. Each family sings and combs and ties a pony tail and then straightens the hair on one side. Black cloth is wrapped around the ends of the pony tails and fashioned into round black that are known as *gufta*. "This was achieved by dividing the hair into two balls at the nape of the neck and covering the entire head with a hairnet to keep it in place" (Ahmed Zekaria, 1999, p. 58).

Female relatives, from both families who stand on either side of the seated *arozit*, sing a formulaic song in which the bride's side boasts about the golden girl (*ziqueh qahat*) they gave to the groom's family. In turn the groom's family boasts about the golden boy (*ziqueh liji*) they gave to the bride's family. Gibb (1997) interprets the song as an indication that the bride is now part of both families and each claims the right to teach her how to dress like a married *gey indoch* (woman) by placing a huge black cotton dress over the bride's clothes, the traditional dress of the married woman known as *tey eraz*, i.e. black cloth. The *arozit* adds this garment to her wardrobe as a symbol of her new status. Here one could assume both families together teach the *arozit* values of humbleness and devoutness through conformity to the tradition.



Figure 16: *Sheeney, Sheeney: transferred to womanhood*

As soon as the ceremony is over, the couple, accompanied by their friends and the women *afocha* members, marches to the *aroz*'s house for dinner singing the *Ai Fatima*. Gibb (1997) says in singing the *Ai Fatima* the mothers celebrate the new status of their daughter as well as the proud mother of a successful wedded daughter.

Friday morning the couple leaving their *aruz gar* to start living in *hatam gar*,⁸² traditionally where the *aroz*'s mother provides special food which is referred to as *gabata khodon* for a year or more. At the same time the daughter-in-law weaves a basket called *hamat mot* to give it to her mother-in-law as a gift. The mother-in-law always takes *ukhat* in the *hamat mot* to a house where *afocha* member dies. That is the time and space to express her satisfaction

⁸² In old days the couples lived in a room provided in the compound of the family of the *aroz* for one year or more until his elder brother got married supplied with food and other necessities. This act was called *sabata wata*. It is related with the *aroz*.

with her daughter-in-law who proved to be an elite *gey qahat*, as basket work is a refined art and is a symbol of identity for Hararis. The mother-in-law and the *hatamit* regulate and foster their relations by exchanging gifts. After a year both families expect a child who after being nurtured and attaining certain age is made to join either the traditional or modern school as it can be seen next.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE RELEVANCY OF VALUES IN SELF-REGULATION OF HARARI EDUCATION

Introduction

Education is one of the vital instruments to develop the individuals and the society which, should enjoy continuous sufficiency and prosperity. How successful the society is in achieving these goals is dependent on the values the education system is promoting, which varies from time to time and place to place. This chapter will try to find out what have been the educational systems of Hararis and the values which they have been promoting, as well as those relations these values have been regulating.

Harar had gained a reputation as a Muslim learning center in East Ethiopia (Waldron, 1978, Hecht, 1992). The city functioned as an important center of Islam for at least 400 years. This role served to connect Harar with internal Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, and indirectly the world (Waldron, 1978). Hence, besides being a commercial center that linked central Ethiopia with the outside world, Harar served as a center for education with outward-looking character.

The institutions of learning have been *Quran Gey*, mosques, *awach*, *ashir gar* and *madrasah*⁸³ the “most prominent Muslim School” (Hecht, 1992, p. 6). *Amashna* was constituted for a makeup class or illiteracy campaign for *gey induchach* who could not attend regular schools for various reasons. The *amashna* was mainly run by high school students, senior *madrasah* teachers and university students who were on vacation.

⁸³ Personal observation

People who graduated from those institutions had a different title and were serving the community at different levels and spheres of life. Those who completed *Quran gey* and learned under strict supervision of known *kabir* or *Qadi* in *ashir gar*, mosques or *awach* would serve as *Qadi* or *Diwan* (registrar). This was also a requirement to serve as principal teacher or *kabir* in *Quran gey*. Completing some chapters of the Quran sufficed to be nominated as *tit kabir*. After the establishment of *Gey Madrasa* individuals either started to attend this institution in lieu of *Quran gey* or as basic to public schools.

Historical facts demonstrate the importance Hararis gave to education and the values promoted accordingly. The questions this chapter raises and answers are how was the system built and what values have been promoted by that system? Were those values discriminatory against women and non-Hararis? In other words, were they inclusive or exclusive? Would those values have had universal character? An attempt will be made to find out the importance of identifying these values in regulating individual and social behaviors.

This chapter has three major parts. The first part discusses Islamic education in the mosques, offices, and higher learning institutions in historical perspective. The second part discusses *Quran Gey* in old days and in contemporary Harar. The last part discusses *Gey Madrasa* in historical perspective and how new *madrasas* are developed. In the meantime, the values implemented to regulate the institutions are discussed.

Historical Background Of Islamic Education

To understand the stages the education of Harari has gone through, it is worthy to state very briefly the historical background of Islamic Education. Hence, the first Islamic education was offered at Prophet Muhammad's home to avoid Quraysh persecution. Then, mosques served as learning centers after migration to Medina followed by *kuttab* (in English means the office).

Finally, *madrasah* came. In short, the history of Islamic learning actually begins at home, before moving to mosques and then to the *kuttab*. And it culminated with *madrasah*.

Teaching In Houses

When Prophet Muhammad started teaching Islam, he and his followers were persecuted by his own tribes' men, the Quraysh. To avoid that, he used to meet and teach his companions at his companions' and his own house. One of the companions whose house was used for that purpose was al-Arqam ibn al-Arqa (Al Kandari, 2004). In that house he mainly taught his followers the rules of Islam, for instance how to pray and how to recite the Quran. As pointed out by Al Kandari (2004), since homes are a place of tranquility, education started to be offered in the mosque where the Prophet Mohammad would convene people to listen to his revelations and their interpretation.

Teaching In Mosques

Mosques have been playing various and significant roles in the lives of Muslims. They have been serving not only as learning centers but centers to organize the political, social, educational, and religious life of the Muslim Community, even though emphasis has been given mainly to religious matters, especially teaching of the Quran. Nevertheless, "the teaching process in mosques gradually expanded to include other subjects such as jurisprudence, theology, philosophy, grammar, literature, history, mathematics, astrology, and the natural sciences (Al Kandari, 2004, p. 9). Most of the teachers in mosques were considered to be Imams or 'ulama,' religious scholars.

As pointed out by Tamuri et al. (2012) and Abdel-Hady (2010) *Quba'* was the first mosque built in al-Madina, after the Prophet Muhammad migrated from Mecca in the year 12 A.H/ 633 A.D (Haykal, 2008). As noted by Al Kandari (2004) it was also the first mosque to

serve as a teaching center. She further informs that Amr ibn al-‘As, which was built in Cairo in 21 A.H/ 642 A.D and the Umayyad in Damascus, built in 86-96 A.H/ 705-714 A.D were the second and third mosques, respectively, for multipurpose services.

Katatib As Educational Centers

As pointed out by Akkari (2004) Quranic schools are referred to by different names in different regions. While in Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt they are *Kuttab*, in Kuwait, they are in their plural form, *Katatib*. Nevertheless, as the use of the term *Katatib* is clearly linked to the development of a culture of literacy, it is usually used to name a small learning unit (single classroom) for relatively young children or a type of beginners’ or primary school (Abdel-Hady, 2010). Hence, as it is the basic education institution in Islamic contexts it can be assumed that it was widespread in Islamic lands. It is normally attached to a mosque and located in any sort of room available, a tent or even in the open.

It can be assumed, therefore, it is a mosque’s imam who would teach Quran, Hadith, and basic literacy skills in *Katatib*. Children would also learn how to pronounce the words of the Arabic language, and how to understand the meaning of Islamic rules (Alkaaf et al., 2011). To teach in these institutions, therefore, one has to have knowledge in Quran, the foundations of Islam, and excellent capacity in reading, writing and grammar.

Madrasah

Islam started to expand outside Saudi Arabia. Probably, following that expansion and the emergence of new conditions, it was necessary to establish a more formalized system of schooling side by side with those very traditional types of educational institutions. According to January 23, 2007, Congressional Research Service (CRS) report the *Nizamiyya* was one of the first *madrasas* built in Baghdad in the eleven century AD. Al-Kandari (2004) reflects a similar

view. As pointed out by Ihsanoglu (2004) the primary objective of those *Nizamiyya* was to offer instruction in *fiqh*.

As the *madrasas* were established by the government one can assume the allocation of budgets and supervision by the government. Moreover, probably teachers could be offered the necessary training both on the subjects they teach and moral codes to govern their behavior. Assessment and evaluation methods to account for their work were also put in place. Probably they were paid salaries and certifications for their teaching services.

Dar Al-Hikmah As Educational Institutions

Another educational institution in Islamic history is the *Dar al-Hikma*, or the house of wisdom, comparable to the universities and community colleges which are today common. Some, however, say *Dar al-Hikma* was a research institution constructed during the Fatimid Caliphates in 297-561H/909-1171 CE. (Nizam, et al, 2009). As pointed out by Nizam, et al., (2009) one of the most popular *Dar al-Hikma* or *Dar al-ilm* (house of knowledge) was opened in Cairo in 395 A.H. / 1005 A.D, by the Fatimid Caliph Imam al-Hakim accommodated in the section of the Fatimid Palace

As a research institution, it was probably a venue where scholars met each other to discuss their opinions and knowledge. In addition, those places were where one could find both original authors and translators of scientific works in Greek, Sanskrit and Persian (Nizam, et al., 2009). Or it could also be considered as a very specialized educational institution that was not restricted to religious studies, but also taught philosophy as well as other sciences. It is plausible, therefore, to think as a variety of subjects, both original and translation, were available, and probably students with a wide variety of interests, such as religious, medical, or scientific, were gathered in it.

Next, how much of these have been practiced in Harar will be discussed very briefly. First, basic facts about Harari education, establishment of *Quran Gey*, the old and the new, and finally *Gey Madrasah* from its inception to coming of new *madrasas* in Harar will be discussed. Simultaneously, the values which have been promoted by these institutions will be expounded.

Basic Facts About Harari Education

Some say it is mysterious (Waldron, 1984) how Hararis have preserved themselves and survived this odd situation (small Semites surrounded by Cushites) for so long a time. Caulk (1977) in resolving that mystery has to say the survival of the Semitic-speaking Muslim townsmen of Harar, which were 30,000 in the midst of 2,000,000 Cushitic, could be attributed to economic interdependence, the awe the newcomers felt for the town's saints, and the greater cohesion of the towns people than mere self-defense.

Waldron (1984), and other scholars have discussed some of the methods Hararis used to maintain themselves. On top of those institutions discussed by those scholars it could be assumed education was another institution Hararis used for that purpose. While Ullendore (1960) described Hararis as agents who spread Islam into Southwestern Ethiopia, Hussein Ahmed (2010) portrayed “Harar as the centre from which Sufism in the form of the Qadiri order was introduced into Wallo” (p. 112). Nicholl (1997) depicted Harar as an outpost of the faith in Africa. Even after its 60 years of incorporation into Christian Ethiopia “it remains the principal exponent of Islamic civilization in Ethiopia” (Ullendore, 1960, p. 100). Hararis did that either by sending their *ulama* to the place where the students resided or bringing them to Harar.

Thus, the Harari Sheikhs used to travel with merchants, then settle in certain areas and teach Islam. Those who were not approached by the Sheikhs used to travel to Harar either to seek scholarship or request for a Sheikh who would then go back to the place where they came and

teach them. According to *kabir* Abdulmuheiman,⁸⁴ in 1577 people from Afar came to Harar and requested for someone who would teach them Islam. Sheikh Abdurrahman Selmanu volunteered and went to Afar, married an Afar woman and settled there to teach Islam. It is not, therefore, surprising to find in Afar a family named as *Selmanu Garach* (Selmanu Family).

As expounded by Caulk (1977) Hararis introduced Islam to the Oromo People surrounding Harar by sending teachers and Qadis who found mosques at different localities such as *Fadis*, *Falana*, north of town, *Gara Mullata* and beyond *Ramis* river. Moreover, those sheikhs following the practice of Amir Muhammad ibn Ali became *ilmangosa* that allowed them to establish themselves as a tolerated class of teachers and guaranteed the continuation of the spread of Islam through their descendants as fresh recruits. As asserted by Trimingham (1952), Hararis taught Islam to the *Ala*, *Nole*, *Jarso*, *Ittu* and *Enia* Oromo tribes.

That trend continued in recent Harari history. The researcher studied his *madrasah* in a town called *Beddesa*, about three hundred km west of Harar, where the *madrasah* and the mosque were established by the Hararis. Hence, anywhere they hold, Hararis established mosques and *madrasas*. They did the same in Dire Dawa, Eastern and Western Hararghe.⁸⁵ According to Kamil Sheriff⁸⁶ even the first 5 Qadis in Addis Ababa were Hararis.

Thus, the sheikhs who left Harar for good and instructed Islam to those who lived around and far away from Harar were also ambassadors of Hararis. Hence, those institutions were used by Hararis to extend their influence so that their presence could be felt beyond the walled city through education. Hararis exported, along with those institutions, “Arabic pious literature on faith, mysticism and Islamic law produced by Harari scholars” (Hussein, 2010, p. 115). Hussein

⁸⁴ Interview on 01/27/2013 in Harar

⁸⁵ Personal experience

⁸⁶ Interview on 06/03/2013 in Addis Ababa

(2010) further noted that Hararis also sent their children to study advanced Islamic religious science under the local *Shaikh* at centers of Islamic learning in South Wallo.

Kabir Abdulmuheiman⁸⁷ stated that groups of itinerant students, who were referred to as *masjid gale* (mosque hibernators), came from Somali to learn in Harar. They would stay at mosques arranged for teaching purposes till they completed their learning. It was a sort of scholarship. Those people, returning to their abode, would serve their community in various fields. Hence, Hararis used Islamic teaching as an instrument to pacify and smooth relations with the people adjoining them by upholding values of peace, harmony and tranquility among various groups. Moreover, as Hararis have tried to reach out to non-Hararis and make education available to others, it could be said that values such as altruism, equity, diversity, and social justice had been enhanced by Hararis through education. As noted by Akkari (2004) opening of the Koranic School to all social groups and cultures makes this an institution of ‘basic education’ intended for all, and thus by definition egalitarian.

While Burton (1894) was in Harar he came across *kabir* Yonis and *kabir* Khalil teaching the whole day at their house using Harari language as a medium to teach materials written in Arabic. It is worthy to note that teaching in one’s mother tongue is, as noted by Waithaka, (1992), “to provide a means by which the learner understands the value and concerns of his society” (p. 143). Hence, Hararis used education as an instrument to transfer societal values to learners through the *Quran Gey* and *Madrasa* as discussed next.

⁸⁷ Interview on 27/01/2013 in Harar

Establishment Of *Quran Gey*

This part discusses *Quran Gey* in old days when its establishment, as noted by Abdunnassir Idris (1999), could be traced back as far as the coming of Islam to Harar. It is believed that the first one was established at a place called *Aw Quran Ge* (the father *Quran Gey*). Besides, shrine and mosques in and around Harar were serving as *Quran Gey*, too. The *Quran Gey* is established in the compound of a *Kabir* who has both ample time and sufficient knowledge of Arabic and Quran (Dowd, 1970). Wooden pillars as columns and grasses or *Qara* (dry cane of sorghum) as roofs were used to build the *Quran Gey*⁸⁸.

The *Kabir* is assisted in his teaching by *tit kabir* and *gidir kabir*. The former teaches the *ardwijach* (junior students), who form a circle to learn through rote each Arabic letter till they master it.⁸⁹ The teaching is accomplished at two levels: *Harfi menqal*, i.e. learning the Arabic alphabet together with vowel indicators and *Quran meqra*, i.e. ability to read the Quran. The *gidir kabir*, who is most of the time the son of the principal *kabir*, teaches, under a minimum supervision of the *kabir*, the *laqiyach* (senior students). The *kabir* is also assisted in keeping discipline by a few chosen students. Hence students engage in the teaching and administration of the *Quran gey* at various levels governed by values of politeness, obedience, and honoring of elders.

One of the teaching aids utilized in the *Quran Gey* is *luh*, i.e. a flat wooden slate which serves both as a white board for the *kabir* and an exercise and handwriting book for the *ardwijach*. Each *ardwij* possess one *luh* that is painted with *barasa* (white earth material) to turn it white. The *kabir* writes on the *luh* using *dibet*: ink made from fine charcoal or soft soot from olive tree stem mixed with water and cotton. To it is added *kerabi*, i.e. myrrh which makes the

⁸⁸ Personal experience

⁸⁹ Personal experience as student

ink shiny when it is applied on the *luh* using a pen called *qalam* that is made from bamboo designed like a nib.

Classes And Academic Promotions

Those who learn together were referred to as *ashidey*, i.e. class-mates. While the juniors were known as *alef*, the senior ones were referred to as *laqi*. There was no separate room for each *ashidey* as lessons were given under one roof. The class was identified by a circle formed by each *ashidey*. Zaimeche (2002), refers to these circles as *Halaqat al-Ilm*, or *Halaqa* for short, indicating a gathering of people seated in a circle.

The lessons were offered three times a day. The first lesson was in early morning. It is called *soza Quran Gey*, i.e. morning lesson. It was not compulsory. The second lesson was *barcha Quran Gey*. It was between 9:00 a.m. and noon: the time when each *ardwij* was preparing for his lesson by painting his *luh* with *barasa* and drying it in the sun. If the day is cloudy the students would beg wood (*Quran inchi*) from neighbors to build a fire and dry their *luh*. Then the day's lesson would be either written by the *kabir* or by the student, if he was a *laqi* one. The third period was when each student recited what he learned in the second class session. This was called *mahakam*.⁹⁰

In all these periods the *ardwijach* could be in any of the following five levels in learning the Quran. The first level: learning the Arabic alphabet and practicing handwriting. The *ardwijach* at the second stage were expected to memorize the opening chapter of the Quran and the *Juz Amma*, i.e. the third chapter of the Quran. The third level is learning up to the 19th chapter and completing the 20th chapter, i.e. *Suratul Taha- Kafhaya*. At this level if the *ardwij* memorizes ten verses from *Suratul Taha* he celebrates what is called *kafhaya matabeq*.

⁹⁰ Personal experience

The *ardwij* who attained the fourth level would learn by himself with little supervision from the *gidir kabir* or the principal *kabir*. He can be nominated *tit kabir*. By the time he completes *Suratul Baqara* he is promoted to the fifth level, which is referred to as *qalam mesber*, i.e. breaking of a pen (see figure 17). It signifies graduation.⁹¹



Figure 17: *qalam mesber* by *arozit*, the bride

Co-curricular And Extra-Curricular Activities In *Quran Gey*

Certain days of the week were allotted for certain activities. For instance, revision is always done every morning from 6:00-7:00 a.m. The *alef* were not obliged to make the revision. Weekly revision was also made every Tuesday in the morning. On that day, after the revision, the *laqiyach* would go out and fetch for *barasa* and bamboo. This was referred to as *barasa* and

⁹¹ Personal experience

qalam gey. The *barasa* and the bamboo were to be delivered to the principal *kabir* who would supply every student whenever the student had to prepare for the next lesson.

On Thursday students from one *ashidey* would call each other and go around collecting either *kerabi* (myrrh) or money to buy the *kerabi*. They would roam around and beg shop owners to give them *kerabi*. If the shop owner had one he would give it to them. If he did not he would give them ten cents, which was referred to as *khamis mahaleq*, i.e. Thursday money to purchase *kerabi*. After finishing collecting or buying the *Kerabi* they would divide it among themselves equally. Hence, the community used to help students to enhance their welfare guided by the values of helpfulness.

That was one way of establishing *marignat* (friendship) that Waldron (1975a) mentioned as one of the institutions of Hararis. The students would also organize themselves into *marign* by putting *ukhat* on a handkerchief and eating it together at a break time. This ceremony was referred to as *asri subat di mosha*, i.e. putting snacks as one to eat together. After each student gave one third of it to the *kabir* the rest would be contributed by each student, put on a handkerchief which serves as a table and eaten by the *marignach* together. Harari children learned the value of benevolence, expressed in helping one another, at this stage. The handkerchief would serve in the military training of under aged children, which will be discussed in the following section as one of the co-curricular activities.

Where a student refused to join his *ashidey*, they would force him to join the group saying: *Muti! Muti! Akhira Way*. It means roughly, the one who eats alone in this world will not have friends after life. Or worldly, as noted by Davidson (1969) "Go the way that many people go; if you go alone, you will have reason to lament" (p. 31). It is a value that promotes a sense of community. Thus, the friendship that started at *Quran Gey* through collecting *kerabi* and

nurtured through sharing *asri Subat* is for life as Waldron (1975a) has stated. Thus, the *Quran Gey* is an institution where friendship starts that lasts up until death.

Agri-Agri: One Of The Conventional Military Training Offered In The Quran Gey

Hararis fought against external enemies to carry on as a community. Once in history they were able to unite the horn of Africa under the leadership of Imam Ahmed. One of the reasons that they win in battles could be the military training offered at the *Quran Gey* that deserves discussion. Students learned *Agri-Agri*- basic conventional military training at *Quran Gey* as a compulsory military education attended by all male students (Abdullahi Mohammed, 1994). The weapons utilized in this training were wand and shield. The training was accomplished as follows as discussed by Abdullahi Mohammad (1994).

Attendance was administered by the *gidir* or *tit kabir*. Students of all *Quran Geys* were divided into two groups. The first group is made up of students from the *Quran Geys* situated in the vicinity of *Asmadin Bari* (west) and *Argoba Bari* (east). The second group is formed by those students from the *Quran Geys* situated in the vicinities of *Badro Bari* (south), *Sukutat Bari* (south-east) and *Assum Bari* (north). The time for the training was from 3: 00-6:00 p.m. at a locality called *Aw Warrick*, a shrine named after one of the saints. It is located on the road outwardly adjacent to the northeastern part of the wall that stretches from the West to the East, i.e. from *Asmadin Bari* to *Argo Bari*.

The time range for the training was eight days from the 12th month of Hegira up to the eve of *Arafa* when students attend only morning classes getting armed with their wands and shields. When they finished morning classes they would gather at a certain place where they would be given advice and instructions by their respective commanders referred to as *faris* appointed on merit before they march to *Aw Warrick*.

Before the actual fighting breaks out each group is organized into two lines. The senior ones make up the advance line while the under aged who were supposed to keep spare wands and follow praiseworthy fighters to replace instantly their broken wands and rearm those who might face the chance of being disarmed as a consequence of a forceful strike from an opponent, make up the second line (Abdullahi Mohammad, 1994).

From the fight each participant would learn how to attack and force the enemy to surrender. On the other hand, the other group would learn how to retreat without being disorganized and render fierce resistance to the enemy by not allowing it to pass the *Bari* of their quarter, for a successful pass through the *Bari* signifies the end of the day's contest. At the end of the day while the losers would return to their homes, the winners would go to their *kabir* (who would bless them) and hand over the weapons they seized from their enemy after crossing through their opponents' domain (Abdullahi Mohammad, 1994).

Before the students engaged in *Agri-Agri* training they would undergo other mini trainings meant for the under aged ones. These trainings were *Dulla-Dulla*, *Qutti-Qutti* and *Qara-Qara*. The first one was a training undertaken by students by using a rolled handkerchief used as a table while eating their *subat*. They did that while the students were returning to their home by slashing each other. The second type of training was the one which was undertaken using a *qutti*, stem of a plant locally known as *Kimatri* (kabir Abdullahi⁹²). Finally they used *Qara* (sorghum cane) to undertake the third type of training. One can observe, compared with the wand, all three objects used in the training cause no harm. Children fostered their *marignat* while they were undergoing all those practices.

⁹² Interview on February 08, 2013 in Harar

The completion of memorizing and graduation from *Quran Gey* coincides with the acquiring of basic military skills. Upon graduation the youths would join any of the five hierarchical *mogads* which constitute the fighting force of the community as the continuation of basic military training offered at the *Quran Gey*.

Self-Regulation In The *Quran Gey*

The *Quran Gey* was regulated at a different level and time by the *kabir*, the students, the families, the community, the *awach*, the *ulama* and the administration including the Amir. So in this section, the role each stakeholder individually or jointly played and the methods each or in group was applied is discussed. But first the rationale why Hararis learn the Quran is discussed.

The Rationale

Parents sent their child to the *Quran Gey* for various reasons. Learning and reading the Quran is a requirement from a Muslim, though one may not be regarded as a non-Muslim if he could not read the Quran. The prestige one acquires in the Harari community, however, is dependent on one's Quran knowledge. Quran is read by *afocha* members and friends in a wedding ceremony, *moulode*, or till a grave is made ready for a burial. Depending on the depth of knowledge they have, those who read the Quran sit on the *gidir nadaba* or *tit nadaba*. The *kabir*, for instance, will be seated at *gidir nadaba*. Those who do not read sit at *dachi* (floor) where people step with their shoes. This is the opportunity for individuals to demonstrate personal success through competence according to social standards, i.e. being knowledgeable in the Quran.

If the *dachi* is occupied with those who read the Quran those who cannot read the Quran wait outside the living room arranging pairs of shoes left by the Quran readers. They consider this as losing honor and respect and start blaming their parents. Their parents as well start shifting blame by pointing a finger at one another for their boy's failure.

The community, however, would admonish and blame the parents as early as possible for not sending their child at proper age to the *Quran Ge*. The elders would ask, "Why did you not send the child to the *Quran Gey*? Would he be going to pour tea at weddings and other ceremonies to his friends and his younger brothers who sat at the *nadaba*?" As education in Harari community is communal, the community uses reward and castigation to see its members confirm to this.

When the readers completed reading the Quran, referred to as *makhtam*, they would be served with tea and sweets by those who are Quran-illiterate, who would drink tea last of all and eat sweets from those left over. Thus, it is not only for religious reasons that individuals learn how to read the Quran; knowing how to read the Quran brings privileges. Thus, by applying carrot and stick the community encourages children to join the *Quran Gey* that was self-regulated, as discussed next.

Late Comers, Truancy And Slothful Students

A child who joined the *Quran Gey* would be governed by those values operating in the *Quran Gey*. When a child was late he would be welcomed by all students who would say:

Abba Salat Déjà

Salat Sagada Déjà

Nifti Mahata Déjà

Karsi Qunach Déjà

Karsi Dubucho Déjà

This ‘hymn’ implies the student was late while he was filling his belly. Especially, the last two verses indicate that the late comer’s belly is too big because he eats too much and he is late while doing so. Thus, they implied that he preferred his belly to the Quran. Next time the late comer would come on time to avoid such kind of humiliation. Here the students reminded the late comer the violation of a value of conformity that governs the behavior of students by expressing their disappointments. Hence, it could be said the late comer has violated the expectation and norms of the *Quran gey*.

A student could totally be absent from class for various reasons. The *kabir* would send the boy’s *ashideys* who would find out the reason why the student was absent and report their findings. If they found out he was ill they would request God to send His mercy to their colleague saying the following:

Yenataw Afeta

Yitebqaw Ferajata

Ilahiyow Hurguf, Hurguf

Kabirum Aykutinta Bayuwi

Ala Afet Yushawi

Roughly it means:

Let the sick recover

Relieve is better than suffering

Let God send His mercy to him

The *Kabir* is worrying about the health of the student

He is begging God too to send his mercy up on him

The *kabir*, upon receiving the report, would visit the sick and make *duwaa*. If, however, they found out that the absentee was not sick the students immediately would ask him to come with them voluntarily. If he followed their order, he would be accompanied to the *Quran Gey* peacefully without anybody noticing what was going on.

If, however, he refused to go along with them they would use force to take him to the *Quran Gey*. Nobody would come to risk him, including his family. For instance, the mother would point to his hiding place by conduct or words if he hid knowing they were coming for him. They might drag him away from his home or carry him by holding his legs and arms chanting the following on their way to the *Quran Gey*:

Ya Quran Farwi

Ya Afdija Fajiwi

Ayzole Genan Hewsiwi

Rough Meaning:

You who is afraid of the Quran

You who is a friend of a house hold hearth

You who mix sorghum flour with water for his mother

The students were trying to convey at least two messages. One was the fact that the absentee did not have the courage to face the *kabir* for he had not studied. Two, the reason why he had not studied was his being busy in the household hearth traditionally supposed to be done by mothers. They would continue chanting till they reached the *Quran Gey* where he would receive a few lashes from his *kabir*. If the student is a habitual absentee, however, the *kabir* would put cuffs on his two legs and force him to stay behind after school when other students left for their home. He would stay till the sun set. He would be allowed to leave for his home when

his parents came and begged the *kabir* to release him pledging he would not be absent henceforth.

Class Management

When a student disturbed his *Ashidey* (class) behaving badly, an oral warring would be given to him by the *tit kabir*. If the student continued with his bad behavior and made it difficult for others to attend their daily lessons he would be placed in the middle of a circle formed by his *ashidey*, who would pinch him and force him to promise not to disturb any more. That was how students regulated each other's behavior, by forcing one another to refrain from acts that may harm others.

If a student repeatedly failed to recite the verses from the Quran he would be humiliated by his *Ashidey* who would say:

Dodit Dobengit

Shehatziew Afaqa

Hurdi Gafziw zelmashti

Ulakh Batima Abalakh Batima

Ishawe! Ishawe!

The rough meaning is:

Ignoramus! Ignoramus!

Who keeps pissing on his diaper!

Who could not clean his yellow stool!

The second and third lines give the message that the student is still a baby and lacks eligibility to be at the *Quran Gey*. Thus, this would put pressure on the student to prove his eligibility. Unlike the pinch, this one appeals to the student's conscience.

In all disciplinary matters the *kabir* would interfere only when a given student could not improve by the disciplinary measures administered by his *ashidey* or *tit kabir*. For instance, when a student could not recite the day's lesson in the presence of the *kabir* he would be ordered to study while the *kabir* was listening to others. If the student could not succeed in two or three trials, he would not leave for home while the others did. This was called *dish*. He would be allowed to go to his home either if he recited correctly or his parents came and promised that they would help him to improve.

It can be observed that this punishment is tougher compared to the previous two. It may be said the values the students violated in the latter case are higher than the first two. In other words, the values that govern the relationship a student has with his *kabir* is superior hierarchically to those that govern the relations among students. Hence, the higher the value violated by the student, the higher the sanction is.

In Harari tradition fathers spend most of their day outside their home working on their farm or in their shop. So mothers might bring their troublemaker child to the *kabir* to be disciplined. So unlike what is said by Waldron (1975a) mothers might not wait the coming of the father if they thought it was urgent to discipline the child. The *Kabir* was there to do so.

The students were not only regulated by disciplinary measures administered by the students and *kabir*. There were also certain privileges which were enjoyed by the students. For instance, on Friday morning students would present themselves at the *Quran Gey* and read together with the *kabir Suratul* (chapter) *Yasin* and *Tabarak*. After going back to their home and cleaning up they would attend Friday prayer accompanying their *Kabir* who was to sit among those who would take the first row during the reading of the Quran and praying of Friday prayer.

The students would be just on the next row to their *Kabir*. This was one occasion where public recognition and respect was given to the *kabir* and his students.

On Thursday, after students completed their weekly revisions, the *Kabir* would take them to Aw Abadir to read *Yasin* and *Tabarak* together with the *murid* who would welcome and serve them with sweets and finally bless them. Unlike ordinary visitors to the Shrine who always come with gifts like incenses, some foods, and chat⁹³ the *Kabir* and his students would be provided with part of the gifts brought by those visitors. Hence, unlike the sanctions applied by students and the *kabir* to deter the students from acting badly, those awards by the public, *murid*, and the *kabir* would make students try to be good students.

When one *Ashidey* completed the 15th chapter of the Quran the *Luh* would be decorated and some selected verses from the Quran would be written on it. Each student would read the verse in the presence of the *Kabir* at the *Quran Gey*. In old times they would go to the palace and do the reading in the presence of the Amir. They would repeat the same thing in the presence of the *ulama* and at each student's home. At the palace and each student's home they would be given a token of money which they would hand over to their *Kabir* who would divide it equally among them. That was an occasion where the society used to teach its children honesty and how to foster their friendship.

While the ceremony was called *kafhaya matabeq* the money is called *kafhaya mahaleq*. These were how public recognitions would be given to students who attained that level successfully. The *Kabir* would also be evaluated by his students' performance, for if the students' performance was not good while reading in the presence of the stack holders a message would be sent to the *Kabir* to make improvement. The evaluation was based on the collaboration between the *kabir*, students, the families and the community.

⁹³ Personal observation

When a student completed the whole chapters of the Quran, i.e. 30 chapters, a festival would be prepared by the student's family and near relatives and people would be invited. After food and drink was served the student would write verses selected for this purpose from the last chapter of the Quran on a decorated *Luh*. While writing he would read each word with their vowels loudly to the audience to prove his knowledge of the Quran. Then he broke 6-12 *qalam* on the *Luh* as a sign of graduation. Families and relatives taking this opportunity would contribute money, which the student would use to start business. A similar ceremony, however, would be held for a girl student on her wedding day (see fig.17 above)

Benefits Enjoyed By The Kabir

The *Kabir* would command respect from the community and derive some benefits. In the ceremonies and occasions such as weddings and burials ceremonies the *Kabir* would start the reading. The *Kabir* would start reading *Yasin* and *Tabarak* when he took his students to *awach*. Everybody who came across the *Kabir* in the narrow streets of the walled city would give way to him.

When a child joined the *Quran Gey* his family would take *chat*, incense and one shilling as a gift to the *Kabir*. While in the *Quran Gey* the student would share his snack with the *kabir*. The *kabir* would either give his share to the *tit kabir* in recognition of the *tit kabir's* services or he might dry it, either to store and consume it in the future or sell it to the Hajji pilgrims.

Aala Gubadan

This was an event that took place in the harvest season. Each student would take five heads of sorghums, one *aqara* (bundle) of *chat*, and incense to the *Kabir* on Thursday. The *Kabir* and his students would take $\frac{2}{5}^{\text{th}}$ of the sorghums heads and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the incense to *Aw Abadir* on the annual ritual visit required from the students at the *Quran Gey* (Gibb, 1999). One fifth of the

incense would be delivered by the students to *Ai Abida* where the students were served with *shur*, porridge made from wheat flour. After returning from their visit, two heads of sorghums would be given to each student. Only one fifth would remain with the *Kabir*.

In this ceremony one observes mutual dependency. The *Kabir* would use the heads of the sorghums as seeds for the next year. On the other hand, by giving some portion to the *awach* he made sure that the harvest of the current year and the seeds of the next year were blessed by the spiritual leaders of the community, including the two heads of sorghums which were taken back by each student to their respective homes.

The *kabir* would sow the seeds the next year at his farm if he had one and was able to plough his land. As he was a full time teacher, however, those farmers who were around his farm would look after his farm by plowing and harvesting at the proper time. He taught their children, they took care of his farm. Here the broader relation that encompasses the *kabir*, students with their families, *awach* and the farmers is governed by broadmindedness of all those involved guided by protection for the welfare of the people and nature (Schwartz, 1994).

Quran Gey These Days

Currently children attend both modern schools and the *Quran Gey*. We may classify the *Quran Gey* into three types based on the time and place the Quran is taught. The first one is the *Quran Gey* that teaches the Quran before school from 6:00-7:00 a.m. in the morning. The second *Quran Gey* teaches after school from 4:30-5:30 p.m. The third one is *Aw Mujahidin Mosque*, where food, lodging and free education is provided to students.

The researcher attended, on October 8, 2013, the first *Quran Gey* and video recorded while male students were learning the Quran at Sheikh Ahmed Mosque. The girls' class is conducted at *Staz* (teacher) Mujib Arah-man's home. Both boys and girls⁹⁴ conform to the established norms and values by putting on Islamic dresses when they attend classes. At 7 a.m. they leave for their home where they take off their dress and put on their school uniform to go to modern schools after eating breakfast.

Like old *Quran Gey*, students at different levels study under one roof making circles that designate their class as beginners, intermediates and seniors. While boys who are at the letter identifying level refer to themselves as *ashideys*, Isha Smir, who is 11 years old, in grade 5 in modern schooling, and who can memorize up to chapter 7 of the Quran refers to her group as *jamaa*.⁹⁵

Two *Istauzach* (teachers), teach seniors. Immediately when the seniors finish their *mahakam*, memorizing verses from the Quran, they teach students in the intermediate classes. In their turn the intermediate ones teach those who are at the letter-identifying level. For instance, Khadijah Mujib A-Rahman who is 9 years old and in grade 3 in modern schooling stated⁹⁶ that her tutor is Isha Mujib A-Rahman, her elder sister, who has completed reading the Quran and now is studying to memorize it. Hence, they employ individual coaching and learning circles that are favorable teaching methods according to Abd-El-Khalick, et al., (2006).

Attendance is administered by a student to whom every student reports his arrival. If a student is absent for certain days he would be advised to bring his parents to explain his absence. The seniors and intermediate students help, like the old *Quran Gey*, in keeping class disciplines. In the two part-time *Quran Geyach*, where 85% of students are Hararis, the teaching aids are the

⁹⁴ According to the attendance sheet there are 136 students including girls

⁹⁵ Interview on 09/27/14 in Harar

⁹⁶ Interview on 09/27/13 in Harar

Quran and a book called *Quranul Qaida* to teach how to read and pronounce Arabic alphabets properly. There is no *luh* that could be used as handwriting exercise book. It is plausible to assume the students are only taught to read, not to write. Moreover, the involvement of the community is lesser compared to the old *Quran Gey*. So is the role of students in the administration of the *Quran Gey*.

In *Aw Mujahidin Mosque*, where the majorities are Gurage, learning was self-paced. As a student completed one verse or chapter of the Qur'an, the teacher assigns him a new verse. There are no formal tests, only the demonstration of mastery, which is characterized by correctly reciting and writing verses from the Qur'an. Talented students memorize the entire Qur'an and studies other subjects—interpretation, translation, or Arabic poetry—before perhaps moving on to higher Islamic institutions where they study *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), and *Tawhid* (Islamic Theology), that is taught as additional courses. No fee is paid by students. The teachers also teach for free.

A competition on how to correctly read the Quran is held every year among different *Quran Gey* students at *aada gar* (Harari Cultural Centre) and the winners are rewarded in the presence of elders and *ulama*, such as Sheikh Ahmed who lectures every day after *Mekhrib Salat* at the grand Mosque. Earlier *Quran Gey* students, before graduation, used to visit and read the Quran at *awach*. These days, the students do not visit *awach* except the Salihin KG students⁹⁷ who the researcher has accompanied while they have visited and received *duwaa* from the *murid* of *Aw Abadir*. Thus, the practice has continued by KG students who are not, however, required to read the Quran. Hence, the involvement of the community in evaluating the *kabir* is lesser when compared with the old *Quran Gey*. So is the feedback from the community to the *kabir*.

⁹⁷ Video recorded on 20/10/2013

From what has been said the following could be concluded. As it has been seen, though the *Quran Gey* is the place where the Quran is taught, it is governed by the indigenous values of the Hararis. It is autonomous. And the main actors are the students, the *tit kabir* and the *Kabir* not the state institutions. Thus, the state plays fewer roles in the observation of those values. The values were observed by students not only to avoid embarrassment and humiliation but also for the privileges and benefits they derived from them.

Moreover, the relation among *ashidey* is not only that of a coercive nature. It is friendly as well. It is established on the give and take principle. They call each other to collect teaching aids and they divide it equally among themselves. A student may not take part in the sharing if she or he has not taken part in the collection. Every one contributes snack and cannot share if one has not done so. On the other hand, he cannot refuse to join her/his classmates for the snack for if she/he refuses she/he will be ostracized.

The students derive benefits from the relations they have with their *Kabir*. Both the *kabir* and the students were greatly respected by the community. That was expressed on Friday prayers and *awach* visitation. The students, their families and the *kabir* derive benefits from the relation each had with one another

From that relation it can be observed that, without applying state law, an institution whose main objective is to teach the Quran manages itself by involving the students, the families, the *Kabir* and *Tit Kabir*. Hence, social relations are not regulated by state law alone. They are regulated by the indigenous values and institutions as well. To that end the involvement of the community ranges from putting pressure on the family to send its child to the *Quran Gey*, supplying teaching aids, to assessing and evaluating both the students and the *Kabir*. On the

other hand, what it is observed is, the higher the level the student is in the *Quran Gey* the lesser is his/her dependence on her/his *Kabir*.

Kabir Gar

Men and women who graduated from the *Quran Gey* attend a lecture offered by Sheikh Ahmed Abdullahi every evening at the grand Mosque in Harar. A similar lecture is offered by Aw Abdi Sharif at Jabarti Ismail Mosque after *Mekhrib Salat*. This practice is similar to the *ashir gar*, “higher religious education taken in the evening either at the house of the teacher or in the nearby Mosque” (Wolf, 1963) in former days.

Classes are conducted in Arabic and Harari. Individuals who could read Arabic read daily lessons in Arabic and Sheikh Ahmed expounds that to the audience in Harari. The subjects include *Feqhi*, *Tawhid*, *Tesfir* (exigency) of Quran and *Hadis* (Life History of Prophet Muhammad). Completing these courses would make individuals eligible to be employed as a Qadi, Diwan (registrar) or serve as kabir.

Gey Medresa



Figure 18: Gey Medresa

When modern education started at *Gey Madrasa* (see figure 18) students joined that institution either directly or after completing *Quran Gey*. It is worthwhile, therefore, to discuss briefly who initiated the idea of starting *Gey Madrasa*, what the economic and social backgrounds were behind the idea and how it was run. What were the values promoted and relations they were regulating could be points of discussion as well.

The following part is based on separate conversations⁹⁸ with: *Ezair Abdullahi Hassan Sheriff*, one of the first students in *Gey Madrasa*, and who witnessed the construction of that

⁹⁸ Interview on 12/12/2011 in Addis Ababa

school; Sheikh Ahmad Kebu,⁹⁹ once student, and vice and head teacher of *Gey Madrasa*, *Ezair* Yusuf Muhammad Idris,¹⁰⁰ who took part in the construction of *Gey Madrasa* and was among the first students; *Kabir* Abdulmuheiman Abdunassir¹⁰¹ once a teacher in the *Amashna* (evening) program; and Abbay Remla Haji Yonis,¹⁰² who was one of the first female students in the *Amashna* program. To make things simple Kebu's narration was basically used. Nevertheless, where there is a difference it will be mentioned.

Sheikh Ahmad Kebu gave detailed information on *Gey Madrasah* as he was student, a teacher and principal. According to Sheikh Kebu, following the defeat by Menelik, Harari elites worried about losing Harari identity due to the imposition of an alien culture. Their worry was not unfounded, as Ullendore (1960) wrote the fall of Harar to the Ethiopian authority brought the influence of Amharic to the extent it would displace Harari altogether. Nevertheless, the same author has cognition that the Hararis had retained their special character and had proven amazingly resilience in the face of both its massive Cushitic surroundings and the strong impact of the Arab (Ullendore, 1960). Thus, the Harari elite formed a civic organization to introduce modern education and protect Harari culture from being spoiled and finally wiped out from the earth by the alien one. For that purpose they leased a two storey house and enrolled students who completed *Quran Gey*.

According to *Ezair* Abdullahi, Hararis engagement in modern business was the reason for the introduction of modern education. Modern foreign businessmen came to Harar following the Egyptian occupation and engaged in the import and export business. They employed Hararis and

⁹⁹ Interview on 12/30/2011 in Addis Ababa

¹⁰⁰ Interview on 1/5/2012 in Harar

¹⁰¹ Interview on 12/1/2011 in Harar

¹⁰² Interview on 12/5/2011 in Harar

applied modern accounting systems to run their businesses. Hararis who learned how to do businesses started making ready-to-wear garments from the raw clothes they purchased from their former employers, employing the sewing machine they imported with their savings. They exported the garments to the Ethiopian Highlanders.

Realizing that learning computation was relevant to run modern business, the Hararis started attending evening mathematics classes at Sheikh Kamil's house, an Arab who came from Egypt. Another teacher was *Aw Matiba* who was a Turk man. *Kabir* Muhammad Abdal-Wahhab also taught them modern mathematics. After mastering computation they created an organization called *fir-match* or signatories as they signed an agreement to introduce modern education and fight against what they called harmful practices such as FGM. They leased a two storey house from *Aw Ahmad Abogn*. They had had two teachers who came from Al-Azhar University, Cairo from Arab communities living in Harar. Those teachers, who brought teaching materials too, were Sheikh Salih and Sheikh Juma.

According to Sheik Kebu, the values which were intended to promote in establishing *Gey Madrasa* were fostering a sense of nationhood and promoting national unity, while according to *Ezair Abdullahi*, the rationales were meeting the economic and social needs of national development, equipping the youth to play a productive role in the life of the Hararis, prepare children for those changes in attitude and relationships that were necessary for the smooth process of a rapidly developing modern economy. Both approaches have two values in common, i.e. success and capability (Schwartz, 1994). Nevertheless, while in the first case Harari elite were guided by the value of devoutness based on commitment and acceptance of custom, in the second case they were led by the value of creativity based on independent thought and action (Schwartz, 1994).

According to *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*, there were individuals who were not happy with the idea. Hence, the *Quran Gey Kabirach* referred to *Gey Madrasa* as *manjasa* (taint) as their students left them in great numbers and joined *Gey Madrasa*. Thus, unlike sheikh Kebu's assertion of national unity, *Gey Madrasa* seemed to divide Hararis. On the other hand, that urged the *fir-mach* to build a school with a larger compound. They resolved to build it with the help of Hararis. Hence, Haji Ibrahim Abdi, the chairperson of the *fir-match* and pioneer of *Gey Madrasa*, took the matter up with the people who came to mosque to pray *Juma Salat* (Friday prayer).

The ideas were favorably received and the people volunteered with enthusiasm to make contributions in cash, kind, labour and ideas or knowledge. They started demolishing the houses situated at the vicinity where the school was built, separating the stones from the mud. *Aw Faqi Mama*, the owner of the house, received some cash as compensation, as pointed out by *Ezair Abdullahi*. Respecting the right to private property by paying compensation wherever private property is utilized for public purpose was another value carefully adhered to by the Hararis.

Hence, Hararis are always guarded against using private property for public purposes, either without paying compensation to the owner or without having the owner's consent. For instance, stones used to build mosques were washed in a river to keep them pure. Harari farmers always cleared their feet (arches) or pair of shoes when they crossed their neighbor's farm land to theirs to make sure no single piece of soil is passed from the neighbor's farm to theirs. Hence, Hararis' beliefs were guided by a universal and basic value: "*justice is the constant will of giving to every man his own*" (Hobbes, 1996, p. 96).

As the stones collected from the demolished house were not sufficient, additional stones were collected and brought from far places by volunteers who lined up and transported the stones in relays. In doing so, people were promoting the value of cooperation, thrift, and effective use of resources under the leadership of an Engineer Ahmad Selah, a Yemeni who was paid 2,000 Maria Teresa for his service. He also built the duke house for the Harar duke simultaneously. According to Ezair Abdullahi, Haile Sellassie inaugurated both *Gey Madrasa* and the duke house on the same day of 1934.¹⁰³

For the inauguration day all who participated in realizing the school and people who resided in the surrounding countryside were invited. On that occasion, those students who had studied for the last five years in the leased building and demonstrated extraordinary performance and talent were recruited and blessed by the public to teach in the new school. Hence, what is experienced here are values of self-help and reliance as well as self-sufficiency and public assessment and evaluation.

Italian Invasion And *Gey Madrasa*

Italians entered Harar and took over the administration of *Gey Madrasa* in 1936. Then they recruited and taught those whom they thought would promote the fascist cause. They, however, did not prevent the teaching of Arabic and the Quran. They introduced Italian language in the curriculum. They also injected new ideas in the administration of the school.

Hence, appointing an expatriate Sheik Ali Muanna as a manager, they introduced hiring teachers for salary. Students were also obliged to wear school uniforms and sang in group anthems in the Italian language while they went to and came back from school. Students joined

¹⁰³ Muhammad Ibrahim (2005) indicated 1930 for the completion of *Gey Madrasa*

Gey Madrasa in mass and consequently some *Quran Geys* were closed. For instance, *Kabir Ali Bedri Quran Gey* was completely closed as everyone in that *Quran Gey* joined *Gey Madrasa*. *Kabir Ali Bedri* was not precluded, however. Rather, he was taken in as an elementary teacher. Sheikh Ahmad Kebu and his younger brother Hamza Kebu also left that *Quran Gey* to join *Gey Madrasa*.

Another incident worth mentioning is the full scholarship granted by the Italians to the children of the Oromo *Balabat Lijouch* (Children of Oromo Land Lords) from Arsi, Bale, etc., according to *Ezair Yusuf*. Various religious courses and the Arabic language were taught by the most popular teachers-Sheikh Ali, Ibrahim Abdi, Ali Hassan, and Muhammad Ali-during the Italian occupation. Thus, Hararis promoted values of flexibility and adaptation to new situations during the occupation.

Post Italian Occupation

As Italians left Harar, Hararis reorganized *Gey Madrasa*. A Board consisting of Hararis and individual advisers from the surrounding communities was established by the initiative of two individuals, Sheikh Haji Yusuf *alias Basha Birign* and Sheikh Haji Umar Adus. According to a note prepared by *Basha Birign*, which is currently in the possession of Sheik Kebu, the members with their corresponding responsibility were:

1. Haji Abubaker Abogn, President;
2. Haji Abubakar Adus, Vice-President;
3. Haji Bedri Ibrahim, Treasurer;
4. Haji Abdul Wahhab Muhammad, Secretary;
5. Abdosh Ali, Member;
6. Haji Abubakar Faqi, Member;

7. Haji Ali Zikaih (Izadin Ali, the late Ethiopian Mining and Energy Minister's father), Member;
8. Haji Umar Khalaf (the late Ethiopian Army General Abdullah's father), Member;
9. Haji Abdurrahman Sheikh, Member;
10. Yusuf Ali, Member;
11. Haji Shash Abba Haqo, Member;
12. Haji Ibrahim Sulyeman, Member.

According to *Kabir Abdulmuheiman* the majority of board members were educated either in Arab country or Wallo, Ethiopia. The following were advisers:

1. Haji Muhammad Warfa, from the Somali People;
2. Haji Hussein Umar Bare, from Somali Ishaq tribe (Father of the late Dr. Abdul Majid who was Ethiopian Ambassador to the UN);
3. Sheikh Ali Nur, from Somali Hawiyya tribe;
4. Sheikh Yusuf, from Somali Ogaden tribe;
5. Sheikh Ahmad Ali Qayrat, representing Arab community residing in Harar.

Thus, that school was probably the first school in Ethiopia to be administered by a Board of Directors consisting of individuals with different background. Non-discrimination and collective leadership were values promoted at that time. The following courses were offered.

1. Religious courses, Quran, *Feqhi*, and *Tawhid*.
2. Arabic Language, which included, but was not limited to, poems, composition, dictation, and Handwriting.
3. Mathematics and science subjects.

Every Monday morning teachers would inspect students for cleanliness. According to *Abbay Remla*, each student was obliged to have four handkerchiefs to clean different parts of his

body and seating chair. These activities were to teach students the value of cleanliness, good habits of personal hygiene, and grooming.

Haile Sellassie, regarding the Board as an alliance between Hararis and the Somalis, accused it of having a link with a movement known as *Hanulato* (a sort of political alliance between Hararis and the Somali). That movement was initiated by Hararis to seek freedom from Ethiopia concurrently with the Somalis' seeking freedom from the British colony through referendum. Those who believed *Hanulato* was far extreme, however, organized a moderate one referred to as *Aljumhuriatu Islamiyah Alwataniyatu Harar*. The majority of Hararis, however, preferred the former to the latter. According to Sheikh Kebu and Ezair Yusuf, to stop the movement before it went out of control the Haile Sellassie administration arrested *Hanulato* members including some of the Board members and closed *Gey Madrasa*.

That did not, however, last long. Veteran teachers, together with those who were released from prison, started the school. Haile Sellassie, however, alleging they would spoil students with politics, expelled those who joined teaching after being released. In lieu of those teachers Sheikh Muhammad Dewale, Sheikh Ismail Umar, Sheikh Zekaria Abdullahi, Sheikh Ahmad Yusuf, *Kabir Ahmad Yonis* (he served as teacher during Italian occupation) were employed. Though the administration was put under the Ministry of Education and the curriculum was adjusted to fit the new arrangement, *Gey Madrasa* was led up to 1984 by the Hararis (Muhammad Ibrahim 2005).

Gey Indochach And Gey Madrasa

Once upon a time there was a Yemeni religious scholar who came for *Dawa*, religious teaching, to the rural areas of Ethiopia. He reached the outer rim of Harar at dusk and decided to rest for the night before entering the town the next morning. Suddenly a woman approached him from Harar, bringing him some food and blankets for the night. Concerning the cooked meal, she said to him, 'eat the allowed and leave the prohibited', then left him and went back home. The Yemeni sheikh was surprised and took a look at

the dishes she had brought, but he couldn't work out what this strange woman was indicating. Finally, the Yemeni left the food, remained hungry and waited until the next morning. The woman from Harar approached him again and asked if he had enjoyed the meal. But the scholar answered that he hadn't touched it, since he did not know which of the food was prohibited and which was allowed. Then the woman answered that this couldn't be an obstacle, since he should have eaten the food but spat out the pieces that stuck in his teeth. Thereupon the Yemeni left the place, remarking that he was not capable of teaching religion in a community in which even the women had such a great knowledge of Islam (Desplat, 2005, p. 490).

The knowledgeable woman who hosted the scholar was “*Ai Abida*, the most popular female saint of Harar” (Desplat, 2005, p. 490). This legend about the scholar and *Ai Abida* is the expression of the zenith the Harari *induchach* attended in knowledge. When it comes to modern education, however, things were not as easy as spitting out the pieces that stuck in ones teeth. The majority of Hararis, in early days, did not support women to join *Gey Madrasa*, though they allowed women to learn Quran in *Quran Gey* or rarely attend *Ashir Gar*.

This resistance, however, did not last long as elders and youths campaigned and convinced at least some parents to send their daughters to *Gey Madrasa*. Moreover, women who joined *Gey Madrasa* proved learning modern education did not expose them to indecency. Rather, according to Sheik Kebu, girls in *Gey Madrasa* attracted scholars who looked for future wives. For instance, Professor Jamal Abdulqadir, who was among the first graduates of Haile Sellassie I University and currently a professor at Betel Private Medical School came and selected a wife among *Gey Madrasa* female students.

Similarly, after the integration, men from Eritrea came to Harar and concluded contracts of marriage with *Gey Madrasa* female students. That had encouraged families to send their daughters to *Gey Madrasa* and called for a makeup class for the late comers. For that purpose, students who completed at least eighth grade and university students who were on vacation

arranged a special program referred to as *Amashna* and enrolled the late comers. Here one can see the commitment of young Hararis to eradicate illiteracy, a very important value.

According to *Kabir Abdulmuheiman*, who was eighth grade student and taught in that program, those classes were mainly arranged for those women who could not, for this or that reason, attend regular classes. His information goes along with what is written in the book **የሀገሪቱ ስልጣን** (Harari rebellion). Some of those students were successful in joining Higher Education and attained a high career ladder. Bringing the women to the program, however, was not easy. Hence, various mechanisms were used to convince parents to let their daughters join the program. Poem was one; *Abbay Remla* recited the following:

*Bade qahatey niqahi!
Hujim da'imum eladkut fikahi!
Gaarbe madrasaw miyahi!
Lijimukh yelmad, qahat weldile melmed min yashlehel
Salat aqtigir min yetkhishal
Kofiya seftigir yoqhel
Awachwa Ayach kilayu qada
Qahat gadigalu khantinnara
Dinum bilay, dungam bilay qertinara
Yibeharle yi meqra helba
Lijiwa qahat kolegbe metra halbana
My translation:*

My fellow woman be awaken
Bloom like a blossom now and then
Prefer school to your house of origin
Though suffice say mother and father
If a girl knows Salat and embroider
Though father and mother send only boys to school
Saying what benefit brings learning to a girl
Father and mother though make such kind of statement
That makes her life unpleasant
As this ousts her both from this world and hereafter
Let this be abandon for ever
Let colleges be the venue for the boys and girls to come together

Encouraged by such kind of agitation families started to send their girls to *Amashna*. According to *Abbay Remla*, informed teachers also went from door to door where girls were learning embroidery and convinced them to join *Amashna*. Though some girls and women joined the program still the families were highly suspicious of what was going on in *Amashna*. To win their trust a get-together of families, elders and students was arranged where the students demonstrated that what they learned was within the boundaries of Islam. Parents were delighted, especially when the students expounded the five pillars of Islam in Harari. Those who ranked from first to third were awarded by *Ai Mumina Sitti*, an elderly woman. Consequently, the tension was eased and more families let their daughters join *Amashna*. The tone, as well, changed as it can be observed from the following poem recited by students:

Amashnama dejna
Eqotle tebana
Alale gelataw megel negabana
Yemaj nigizmana
Yemaj sitena
Sitaa bejihintakh gizman milelana
Awacha ayachleem sityu niemetkhaw
Shelmeyu shemqeyu atlaybyu dedkhaw
 My translation:

We are coming back from *Amashna* learning
 Our thirst for knowledge is quenching
 We thank God first
 Who wish us the best!
 God please provide provisions to our fathers and mothers
 And cherish them and protect them from evils.

One observes the transition from blaming to blessing parents. Women were also involved as teachers, as three women were among those who started and taught in *Amashna*. After attending two years in *Amashna* the girls could enroll as third graders either in *Gey Madrasa*,

Swedish Elementary School or some other schools in Harar. Thus, that background work at *Amashna* is a value promoted with the intention of preparing learners as members of the society.

Thus, Hararis were probably among those leading communities in Ethiopia to allow women to learn and teach traditional as well as modern education. Those who studied in traditional Islamic schools had served as judges after completing higher learning, according to the history of Amatullah Abd al-Rahman (1851-1893) who served as *Qadi* and *kabir*. Probably it was at that similar time (1870) that Esther Morris was appointed as the first woman judge in USA. In this respect Hararis were way ahead of other countries. Harari values of education were, therefore, promoting gender equality by favoring women and rendering them all the necessary support to join and continue schooling.

Students, on their part, were quick to respond to the urgent need of their school and community when those who were trained in embroidery and food preparation prepared an exhibition to sell their products in their various clubs. From the proceeds they bought a microphone for the school. Thus, students develop values which foster a sense of social responsibility and school pride while they are at school.

CHAPTER SIX: THE RELEVANCY OF VALUES IN REGULATING HARARI TRADE AND BUSINESS

Introduction

Harar and Hararis history is much related with trade. But little is said about the fact that they have been using trade as a means of securing and maintaining peace. To preserve Harar and extend trade beyond it, they made trade concessions to the Oromos and allowed the Somalis to derive income by protecting caravans that went out from and came into Harar. They allowed their currencies to circulate beyond the city-state while at the same time permitting foreign currencies to be used in the city state. Thus, trade for Hararis was not a source of conflict; rather, it was a means of achieving and maintaining peace. This chapter suggests that underlying the idea of peaceful trade were values such as righteousness, honesty, sincerity, diligence, trust, non-discrimination and fairness in the relations among traders. Legal rules, among which the sanctity of property rights and of contract were paramount, functioned to protect these values.

Many scholars and travelers (Abbas Ahmed, 1992; Ahmed Zekaria, 1997; Burton, 1894; Caulk, 1977; Muhammad Hassen, 1973; R. Pankhurst, 1968; Stitz, 1976; Waldron, 1984, etc.) wrote about Harar trade history. While some wrote about the coins of Harar others wrote about how the Hararis preserved Harar as a marketplace and secured the trade route by applying various methods to regulate the relations they had with the surrounding people. Nevertheless, they have not said much about how Hararis used trade as a means of avoiding conflict and maintaining peace. In this chapter some of those methods are identified and discussed, relying on

the literature and reports produced by scholars and travelers in order to examine their relevance to contemporary Ethiopian society. It is worthy, however, first to briefly discuss how Harar moved from being the capital city of the militant kingdom of Adal into a mercantile city-state.

March From Capital City To Mercantile City State

Burton (1894) visited the Islamic city of Harar in 1885 staying ten days disguised as Sheikh Abdullahi from Yemen (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961). Quoting Makrizi Burton (1894) described Harar as a capital of Hadiya, whereas for others (Hussein Ahmed, 2010; Maftuh Zekaria, 2000; and Waldron, 1984) Harar was the capital city of *Adal*. Before Harar became the capital city, *Dakar* was the capital city of Adal. In 1470 Harar replaced *Dakar* that started to decline.

As early as the 14th century, some members of the ruling family of the *Walasma* dynasty of *Ifat* shifted their political centre from the eastern Shewa region to the highlands of Harar. Under the control of the rulers from *Ifat*, the town of Harar and its environs thus became the nucleus of the sultanate of *Adal*, which gradually extended its hegemony into large parts of the hinterland of Zeila, and challenged the Christian kingdom in the north (Hussein Ahmed, 2010; Nicholl, 1997) to broaden the rule of Harar to include a large and fertile province, Hararghe, and its peaceable agricultural inhabitants.

As it has been noted earlier, the Amirs who ruled Harar were 72 in number according to Wagner (1974) or 76 as mentioned by Abdu-Khalil (2007). Among those Amirs, Amir Mahfouz was a religious-military leader who fought the Abyssinians for almost 30 years taking advantage of the 40 days of rigorous fasting days when the Abyssinians were less capable of carrying arms (Harris, 1844; Burton, 1894; Haggai, 1994). After his defeat and death he was succeeded by his son in law Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim, known as *Gragn* by the Abyssinians, who conquered and ruled Ethiopia for 15 years till he was defeated by the Portuguese army (Burton, 1894).

Imam Ahmed was succeeded by his nephew, Amir Nur, who after defeating and beheading Galaudius, returned to Harar. As a consequence, both Abyssinians and Harar were weakened. "Taking the advantage of the exhaustion of the two states, the migrating Oromos overran both damaging them irreparably for long time" (Muhammad Hassen, 1980, p. 228). As a consequence, the Adal kingdom shifted its capital to Awsa leaving Harar to its own fate. While Harar survived miraculously, Awsa disappeared.

The effects of the occupation of those territories by the Oromo people were multi-dimensional. The Oromos over-ran many cities such as *Sem, Shoa, Negeb, Dekker, and Haragaya* (Ahmed Zekaria, 1997) which were probably satellites of Harar either eliminating the people or adopting them. The internal revolt was also another factor to weaken Harar (Caulk, 1977). Harar then was isolated from its vassals and continued to be "the seat for an Amirate which, although small in size, was noted as a center of trade and Islamic learning in the horn of Africa" (Abir, 1968, p. 9). How did Harar manage to survive?

Before proceeding it is worthy to throw light on the socio-political system of the Oromos that enabled them to defeat and invade villages and hold a grip from time to time on Harar. The *Alla, Jarso, Nole, Obora, Anniya* and *Ittu* are the main Oromo clans living around Harar and Harar province (Muhammad Hassen, 1973). Each *Gosa* or clan, consisting the confederation, had its own government headed by a *Bokko* (Muhammad Hassen, 1973). They also had a common political institution called the *Raba-Dori* situated at Gara Mullata, "about three days to the South-West" of Harar (Neumann, 1902, p. 374).

They were organized in "a system of classes (*luba*) that succeed each other every eight years in assuming military, economic, political and ritual responsibilities" (Waldron, 1984, p. 1) where there was a especial age group assigned to defend and wage war against enemies and

sometimes one clan against another (Caulk, 1977). That made it hard to defeat the Oromos. Describing their skill in warfare Burton (1894) has the following to say: “These Oromos are tolerably brave; avoid matchlock balls by throwing themselves upon the ground when they see the flash, ride well, use the spear skillfully” (pp. 189-190).

Mukhtar, who mustered thousands of armed and mounted men (Caulk, 1977; Muhammad Hassen 1980) described the courage of the Oromos as follows:

The Oromos might well have been equal or superior of the Egyptians. In numbers they were overwhelmingly superior; in knowledge and skillful use of terrain, they certainly surpassed the Egyptians. But the possession of firearms and artillery gave the Egyptians a decisive victory wherever and whenever they fought with the Oromos (Muhammad Hassen, 1980, p. 232).

Using that skill and courage they defeated a British agent, Piten, who had ridden with his 500 militiamen trained by British officers to restore order (E. S. Pankhurst, 1958, p. 57). Hararis, however, resorted to various mechanisms to have peace with the Oromos.

Caulk (1977) stated that Amirs used various mechanisms to smooth their relations with the neighboring Oromos. They offered clothes either made in Harar by Hararis or imported. *Amir* Abd al-Shakur ibn Yusuf (1783-1794), went with a friend to the *Jarso* and other *Nole* clans, taking bales of sheeting for the first time to these Oromos in order to deal in peace with them. Caulk (1977) further noted that these gifts may have been a subsidy to free the way for salt and other caravans which must have arrived through the *Nole* country. Cloth, imported by the Hararis initially as luxury, turned into a necessity for the Oromos who replaced leather wrap with it.

As it can be seen when price setting is discussed, Hararis applied preferential treatment by allowing the Oromos to buy goods in Harar for fixed prices while the Oromos normally sold their products at market price. Hararis taught advanced methods of farming to those who were

settled and allowed them to sell their products to the town people. Moreover, they taught them and converted them to Islam (Caulk, 1997).

To win the Oromos' friendship the Amirs encouraged intermarriage and inter-adoption. Oromo chiefs and their lineages and commoners involved in such marriages and adoptions received special treatment and services when they came to Harar (Abbas Ahmed, 1992). The intermarriage went both ways, as Klemm (2002) mentioned "in the last hundred and fifty years, many Oromos have moved to the city, intermarried, and produced children who are recognized as urban *Ge usu*" (p. 68). It is plausible, therefore, to believe that with intermarriage that involved both sides, values were exchanged, blended and new ones were created.

By doing so the Hararis created a rift between the Oromos who turned into settled farmers and those who were semi nomadic pastoralists. Caulk (1977) maintains that the alliance between the Amirs and the Oromos who settled and turned into farmers with some dozens of matchlock men protected Harar from being invaded by semi nomadic pastoralists. "Yet the townsmen must have benefited as much from cooperation between farmers, traders and cattle breeders as from war. Otherwise, like the Adal Emirate at Awsa, Harar would have been engulfed" (Caulk, 1977, pp. 372-373).

Furthermore, Hararis empowered the Oromos in the administrative hierarchy under different titles. The titles were *Malaq*, *garad*, and *damin*. The *Malaq* was a chief of the smallest unit in administration. The *damin* was chief of a village and the *Malaq* was chief of a 'clan' with authority over several *Garads* (Muhammad Hassen, 1980).

Historically the Somalis were in alliance with Hararis till they were isolated by the expansion of the Oromos (Muhammad Hassen, 1980). Thus, the rapprochement with the Oromos allowed Hararis to renew their relationship. The two ports, Zeila 180 miles and Berberah 220

miles away from Harar, were in full control of the Somalis. The Somalis provided passages and supplied camels to transport import and export goods (Blundell, 1900; Caulk, 1977). They also served as *abban* for they were not having much trouble when passing those territories held by the Oromos with whom they intermingled (Caulk, 1977). Hence, the overall relations between Hararis and the Oromos and the Somalis were based on helping each other, guided by values of benevolence expressed in preserving and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent contact (Schwartz, 1994).

Harar As a Trade Center And Values Involved

To continue as a prosperous trade center, Hararis had to secure their city and the trade routes to and from the coast through various mechanisms including trade concessions. Scholars attribute additional factors, such as geographical location, climate and weather, etc. Of equal or greater significance were the legal structures of property rights and business as well as ethical values championed by all traders in Harar (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961, p. 393).

This chapter will identify those values and discuss how they regulated relations among the traders on the one hand and those between traders and the public and the government on the other hand. It will also consider the differently organized relations between the government and the people in the surrounding areas who derived benefits by securing the trade routes and supplying Harar with products that were either consumed locally or exported.

Key players in the Harar trade, therefore, were local and foreign merchants and their agents, ordinary citizens, people in surrounding areas, and government officials and institutions. The multi-faceted relationships were regulated through property rights, price settings, taxes, agency, etc. Apart from discussing these the chapter also discusses the mechanisms the Hararis applied to defuse tension with their neighbors, especially with the Oromo people.

Values constitute an underlying issue in Harari governance and trade relationship. Thus, according to Božović (2007), the most important personal values are “righteousness, courage, honesty, tolerance, goodness, sincerity, and fairness” (p. 173). These are supplemented by mutual trust, mutual benefit and interest, good intention, compromise and tolerance. These values assist any one to decide what is good and what is not, i.e., to differentiate between good actions and bad actions and regulate his or her behavior accordingly. When these values are applied to business they manifest as a “group of moral actions an individual or group of individuals adhere to during all forms of business activities” (Božović, 2007, p. 175). Their violation may bring failure in business.

Trust is a value that is essential in business. Constant disrespect for contractual obligations may erode the confidence and trust one could have in a merchant or business partner. Moreover, the effect may not be limited to an individual merchant who disrespects his obligation but extended to the whole group. For instance, if a merchant from Shawa repeatedly disrespects his promise the victim of the non-performance would attribute the quality of promise breaker not only to the individual merchant but to the Shawa merchants as a group. So, to avoid this, the Shawa merchants would apply sanctions such as reprimand, isolation or restriction, even withdrawal from doing business with the promise breaker.

Hence, in the absence of modern mechanisms of monitoring business transactions, respecting various business values by all parties involved in trade was essential for the smooth functioning of trade.

Harar City And Rural Addis Ababa

Fitawrari Tackle Hawariyat was a nine year old when he entered Harar with Menelik's army that defeated Amir Abdullah's small army at the battle of Chelenque. He had been living at Addis Ababa just before he left and came to Harar, which he described as follows:

የግንብ ከተማ በቤት ላይ ቤት የተሠራበት አይቺ አላውቅም። ሱቆች እና መደብሮች በውስጣቸው ሰንትና ሰንት ዐይነት የባሕር ዕቃዎች የተደረደሩባቸው እና የተሞሉባቸው ናቸው። ይህን ሁሉ ባንድ ጊዜ ማየት በባለገር ውስጥ ላደገ ልጅ ያሰደንቃል? ራስ ያዞራል፤ ልብ ያማልላል። (ፊታውራሪ ተክለ ሐዋርያት 1999)

In English script it reads as follows.

Yagenb ketma bebet lay bêt yetsrabet ayeche alawqem. Suqoch enna medaberuch bewestachew sentena sent aynet yebaher eqawuch yetderederubachew enna yetemolubachew nachew. Yehen hulu band gize mayet bebalger wust ladege leje yasdeneqal? Ras yazoral. Leb yamalelal” (Fitawrari Tackle Hawariyat, 2007/2008).

This may be translated as:

I have never seen earlier a town built with large stones blocks and houses with stories. The shops and stores are stuffed with various types of goods imported from abroad. A boy who has grown in the country side cannot help but stand in awe of observing all these events at a time. He suddenly feels very excited and happy (Fitawrari Tackle Hawariyat, Autobiography in Amharic, 2008-2009).

With the same tone he described the then Addis Ababa:

አዲስ አበባ የከተማነት መልክ ገና አላወጣም ነበር። ትልቅ ሰፈር መሰሎ ይታያል፤ ድንኳኖች በጎጆ ቤቶች ጣልቃ ገባ፤ እዝህና እዚያ ተበታትነውበታል።...ገበያ፣ መደብርና ቤተክርስቲያን አልነበሩትም።

In English script it reads as follows.

*Addis Ababa yekatamanet melk gena alawatam neber. Teleq sefer meslo yetayal.
Denkwanoch begojo betuch talaq geba ezihenna eziya tebetatnwebetal. Gebaya, medeber
enna betekirstian alnebrum.*

This may be translated as: Addis Ababa has not yet taken the shape of a town. It looks like a garrison. Soldiers' bivouac tents are scattered here and there among cottages. There are neither markets, nor shops nor Churches.

This fact was confirmed by Blundell (1900) who, after enumerating Debra Brehan, Liche, and Antotto as selected capitals, described each of these places as permanent camps rather than a city, a movable seat of government and headquarters of the army selected according to circumstances of position or surrounding advantages in the way of supplies of wood, etc.

It is not surprising that the heart of a boy who came from the countryside, i.e. Addis Ababa, leapt when he saw the event in Harar, i.e. a town built with stone engaged in export/import trade. The impression Harar created on that boy was confirmed by Burton (1894), and R. Pankhurst, (1968), who described Harar as essentially a commercial town or prosperous trade center at the time the Hararis were defeated and their city-state had fallen into the hands of Menelik II. The defeat of Harar, however, was not absolute as Dr. Teshale Tibebe (1995) beautifully stated:

When Menelik II entered the city-state in 1887 it was in his capacity as the highest representative of the 'idiocy of rural life' of agrarian Shewa. The army of the city-state was no match for Menelik II's. Menelik's superiority was, however, a superiority of arms not of civilization. Harar was the only place, other than Jimma, that Menelik II occupied that was by any standards more advanced than the social relations that were represented by Menelik II. ...The Gabbi Lebash Showans had to learn the rather sophisticated urban splendor of Harari civilization. It was a contest between agrarian-orthodox-Christian-parochialism against urban-Muslim-cosmopolitanism. The Showans won militarily, but not civilizationally; the Hararis lost militarily, but won civilizationally. Twentieth century Ethiopia followed the urban-civilizational path of the nineteenth-century Harar. To this

day, Harar implies urban, civilized culture. Compare Harar with say, Debre Markos (p. 43).

In ordinary language, when Harar was a walled city-state our contemporary capital city Addis Ababa was a collection of soldiers' bivouac tents and cottages. While Harar was using coins in the 19th century for transactions there were no permanent markets and shops in Addis Ababa. While Harar engaged in import/export business Addis Ababa and its environs were supplying items which Harar exported in order to import items, for instance a type of cloth referred to as *Abujadid* loaded with 300 horses, mules and donkeys (R. Pankhurst, 1968) to be sold to Addis Ababa. Harar was, therefore, a trade center linking Addis Ababa with the external world.

Harar Trade Routes

As the boy stated, the shops and stores were stuffed with goods and merchandise imported from abroad, i.e. Yemen, Arabia, India, China, etc. using two trade routes from Zayla or Barbara. Whereas the first route was the one which cuts through the Somali *Eesa* territory, the second one was through the mountains of the *Nole* tribe that belongs to the Oromo People (Burton, 1894). The imported goods and merchandise were not only used for local consumption in Harar. Some were taken either by Hararis or merchants from the highland to the interior part of Ethiopia, especially to the provinces of Shawa and Arsi, (Hetch, 1992 and R. Pankhurst, 1968) using the trade routes that converged at *Aleyu Amba* and finally connecting Shawa with Harar (Ahmed, Hassan, 2001). Thus, "Harar was essentially a commercial town and a point of contact between the rich interior Ethiopia and the countries of the Gulf of Aden and beyond" (Abbas Ahmed, 1992, p. 53).

Traders

Hararis were farmers before abandoning their land and turning principally into traders. Among the reasons for such a move was the loss of land to the Oromos in the 16th century or attraction by the lucrative trade (Abbas Ahmed, 1992). Then after, as Paulitschke notes (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961, p. 394) trade became the occupation of Hararis and consequently that made Hararis born traders.

Other people, including *Alla* clans of the Oromo in the west and south, the *Babile* to the east, the *Nole* in the north, the *Issa* in the lowlands northwards to the sea, the *Gari* and *Bartari* (who thrust the Oromo back from the Jigjiga plain and mingled with them), the Ogaden Somali (who with another branch of the Oromo, the *Anniya*, occupied the headwaters of the Wabi Shebelle to the south of the *Alla*), shared an interest in long-distance trade and were fellow Muslims (Caulk, 1977).

Harar, however, brought together not only fellow Muslims from the east and south of Ethiopia. It also served as a gathering ground for both Christians and Muslims from the Christian highland and other parts of Ethiopia. Merchants from Shawa used to come to Harar and do business with their Harari partners. Forefathers of Jalalle, Sheikh Muhammad Saleh, and Asma Georges, commonly known as *Alaqa Atsme*, were some of the merchants who participated for a long time in the Shawa-Harar trade (Ahmed Hassan, 2001).

The *ferengis* (foreigners) who were residing either in Harar or Eden were also engaged in the import and export business. These included: Alfred Bardey, a French merchant; Arthur Rimbaud, the former French poet became Alfred's agent in Harar; Mr. Piten a British agent; Gaetano Sacconi, an Italian who engaged in whole sale trade, etc. (R. Pankhurst, 1968). There were also Indians and Pakistanis like Muhammad Ali who was "doing a thriving business in

Japanese fabrics in which nearly all Harari women were dressed” (Geoffrey, 1935, p. 179) and “whose house is still admired and then caused the Harari women to develop a certain basketry pattern named 'Muhammad Ali *Gar*” (Hitch, 1987, p. 2).

Foreign merchants were also running local business. Armenian and Greek communities were involved in the trade of modern medicine commonly known as *Harar* (Ahmed Hassen, 2001). “Indians, Syrians, Greek and Italians and several Egyptians who engaged in selling cotton cloth, clothing, glassware, brass and copper, drinks and preserves” (R. Pankhurst, 1968, p. 410). Therefore, “Harar served as one of the main links between the Red Sea/Indian Ocean coast and the Ethiopian highlands” (Shelter & Dawit, 2010, p. 3).

Earlier when Harar was occupied by the Egyptians (1875-1885) there were “3,000 Amhara Christians, 5,000 Somali Muslims, a handful of Arab, Turkish, Greek, Indian, Syrian, Italian and Armenian traders, and French missionaries all living among 25,000 Harari Muslims” (Bender and Dawit, 2010, p. 4). This representation continued even during the reign of Haile Sellassie, for “every race and creed seemed to be represented here-Somalis, Oromos, Arabs, Egyptians, Danakil, Indians, Greeks and Armenians” as narrated by Harmsworth (1935, p. 178) who visited Harar in the early 19th century. Then the Harar market served as a point of cultural contact (Abbas Ahmed, 1992).

Harar had, therefore, most probably developed a mechanism to overcome the differences in cultural, language and legal systems to enable the merchants to communicate and do business. Harar and Hararis, therefore, have a reputation to bring together, through trade and business people with different backgrounds and beliefs to prosper together, as their prosperity depended on their cooperation. Hence the benefit based on non-discrimination was mutual.

Trade Environment

Harar was described by Blundell (1900) and Harris (1844) as a place of prosperity and wealth. Harris (1844) said:

It would be hard to imagine a more beautiful situation for a great city than that of Harar. It stands 5400 feet above the sea, with every condition that makes for wealth and prosperity-fertility of soil, industrious agricultural population, and central position, and what is so rare in the catalogue of advantages of an African town -with an extraordinarily healthy and invigorating climate. (p.221)

Abbas Ahmed (1992) added the prevailing security, the existence of investment opportunity, and the availability of local agents ready to work with foreign merchants as factors which attracted merchants from distant regions.

Fertility of soil, industrious agricultural population, healthy, invigorating climate, etc. were additional factors that attracted trade and contribute to Harar's wealth and prosperity. Its special geographical location and political importance were mentioned as additional factors by Yusuf Ahmed (1960). The legal framework, which included the right to private property described as a cornerstone of liberty by Sandefur, (2006) was also a key element in Harar's prosperity. In recognition of private ownership of land and house, the *Amir*, through a *Qadi*, would issue a title deed to the owners. (Yusuf Ahmed, 1960) The main elements included in the title deed were:

1. The name of the owner of the property, and how it came to him or her;
2. The nature of the property, whether house or land, with specifications of the type of house or land;
3. The location of the property;
4. The size of the property in *garib* (equivalent to 1296 sq. meters), or fraction such as *nus*, *rub*, *habbah* and *danik*;
5. The limits of the property on all sides, with reference to neighboring farms or houses, or rivers, or public streets;

6. If purchase or sale were involved, the question of whether the contract was formally and materially examined;
7. The witnesses to the contract are always mentioned at the end of the document;
8. Seal of the Qadi and signature of witnesses.

Once ownership right was granted nothing would stop the Hararis, who were not dependent exclusively on rain water to cultivate their farm from being industrious. “They were skilled also in irrigating their land using water that was collected from streams and springs into the reservoir called “*kuri*” which is a wide and shallow basin enclosed with easily available materials like mud, piece of wood and herbs to hold water from the stream” (Yusuf, 1960, p. 384).

Using springs or streams or rain water they cultivated fruit trees, coffee, *chat* and some plants producing condiments and certain commercial crops like *wersi* (safflower). Major Muhammad Mukhtar (Mukhtar Bey), an Egyptian officer (Yusuf Ahmed, 1960) listed lemons, a sour orange-like fruit (*safargen*) and fourteen types of grapes, opium poppy, pumpkins and cotton. Burton mentioned (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961) plantations of coffee, bananas, citrons, limes, cotton and sugar cane. He also mentioned pomegranates locally referred to as *rumman*. Figs, beans, *halibut* (which when powdered has a bitter taste and is used in soup), sunflower, *ufu* (red seeds often used for medical purposes), two kinds of pepper, henna and cabbage, together with other vegetables and condiments

Exports And Imports

In earlier times selling fruits from your farm was taboo. “Farmers who produced fruits from their farm land distributed the same to their relatives, friends, and neighbors, leaving a portion for one’s own consumption” (Yusuf Ahmed, 1960, p. 383). Hence, with the exception of fruits, some of the farm products were either consumed or taken to the local market where they were either exported or exchanged for money or other products. Other products, therefore, were either sold or exchanged at the local market.

After enumerating coffee and safflower as the principal commodities of the export trade Burton (1894) states “the coffee of Harar is too well-known in the market of Europe to require description” (pp. 192-193). The quantity was 200-300 tons per year. *Chat* with a market price of a quarter of Indian rupees per parcel was another commodity that was either consumed locally or exported to Aden. About 280 camel loads consisting of a number of parcels, each containing about forty slender twigs with the leaves attached, and carefully wrapped so as to prevent as much as possible exposure to the atmosphere were annually exported (Burton, 1894).

These trade items were brought to the Harar market by the Hararis and as Burton (1894) noticed, by Oromos. Locally woven clothes-which according to Burton (1894) surpassed the products of England’s manufacturers in beauty and durability-ear-rings, bracelets, wax, butter, honey, mules, sorghum, wheat *karanji* (a kind of bread used by travelers) *ghee* and all sorts of tallow were also brought to Harar and then exported to different parts of the world (Harris, 1844, Burton, 1894, R. Pankhurst, 1968).

The *Alla* west of Harar supplied part of the coffee, tobacco and safflower which the town's merchants sent to the coast. Others hunted elephant in the valleys south of Harar and brought the ivory to the amir, who monopolized this trade; in exchange, they received cloth

imported from India or perhaps the finer variety which was woven in the town from locally grown cotton. Besides ivory, ostrich feathers and musk were a monopoly of the royal family (Burton, 1894). In addition, skin and hides (including lion and leopard), goats and sheep, cows and oxen, donkeys, mules, horses, ostrich feathers, ivory civet and other agricultural products were brought to Harar market either for local consumption or to be sent abroad (R. Pankhurst, 1968).

Slaves who were brought in from *Kaffa* and adjacent regions and bought in Harar for a few meters of Indian textile or shell-beads called *gurdummo* (used by the Oromo women as necklace), were also export items (Burton, 1894). It is mentioned that grandfather of Jalâllé (one of the merchants from Showa mentioned earlier), and his business partners used to bring, each turn, to the market of *Abdul Rasul* about 90 to 100 slaves who were used to transport *amole chow* (blocks of salt) while they were steered to a market in search of the highest price (Ahmed Hassen, 2001). When Burton visited Harar, women slaves were sold for 100 to 400 *Ashraf* and the boys from 9 to 150 (Burton, 1894). After thirty years Paulitschke notes (Klemm, 2002) Gurage girls from the interior disguised in Oromo Clothing fetched the higher price in the slave market-80 Thalers. Boys between the ages of nine and ten were sold for 30-35 Thalers.

From the proceeds of the export, textiles consisting of European, American or Indian sheeting, were imported. One type of the '*tay eraz*' women's gown is called '*bombay*' after the striped, heavy silk with which the upper part of the dress is lined; this silk is said to have been imported from India, i.e. Bombay,(Hitch, 1987). Also copper, zinc and lead, beads and coral-colored silk thread, salt, dates, rice and sugar, paper, gunpowder, and rifles were all imported to Harar either for immediate consumption or export to Abyssinia (Harris, 1844, p. 222; Yusuf Ahmed, 1960, p. 395 and R. Pankhurst, 1968, p. 413). Corrugated iron and sewing machines

were also for the first time imported to Ethiopia by the Harari merchants (R. Pankhurst, 1968). There were two stories related with that:

The British consular in Harar quoted by R. Pankhurst (1968) reported that quite a number of houses had roofs from the corrugated material. There is story narrated by Harari elders that Menelik's palace was covered by such material delivered from Harar to stop the leaking drops of water during the summer rains. Covering roofs with corrugated iron thus became a manifestation of wealth and status. Second the importation of the sewing machines put Harar on an advantageous position to those who used manual labor to produce cloth as it enabled the Hararis to produce quality cloth in greater quantity and export it to other parts of Ethiopia.

Values were promoting either individualistic interests or collective interests or both (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990, p. 879). When a few Amirs of Harar monopolized the export of ivory, ostrich feathers and some other goods they promoted individualistic interests based on power and when the big merchants helped the small ones they promoted collective interests. Therefore, from the aforementioned discussion we can observe that not all Harar trade was based on good business values.

Taxes, Tax Payers And Collectors

This section discusses, how by being a venue for export and import trade and consequently clearing-house for both goods which were imported and exported, Harar attained the privilege of managing and collecting taxes from both exporting and importing business activities. A key question is whether the *Amirs*, Egyptians and other tax-collectors treated everybody fairly and equally, which is a very important value in business.

Characterizing the taxation system as simple, Burton (1894) stated that the cultivators were taxed 10% of their harvest while traders were charged 16 cubits of cotton clothes per

donkey load when passing through any of the five gates. Moreover, according to Yusuf Ahmed (1960) the Oromo farmers from some 30 miles northeast of the town seem to have been the Amir's tax-paying subjects. As mentioned by Abbas Ahmed (1992) during the reigns of Amir Abd-alkarim and Amir Abu Baker the neighboring Oromo farmers paid the annual tax in cattle.

This type of tax was different from the tax that was paid by those Oromos who were entrusted with the Amirs' herds and returned some of the calves they bred as a form of tax or rental (Caulk, 1977). There were also taxes which were levied by the Amir on every slave passing through his dominion from Shawa and taxes collected from storage services.

Nevertheless, as Salt notes (R. Pankhurst, 1968), early in the 19th century the Amirs were exempted from paying taxes on the ivory and coffee they exported and on items they imported.

Yusuf Ahmed (1961) and Muhammad Hassen (1973) mention the *garad* or the *damin*, who were in the administrative hierarchy of the Emirate of Harar, were responsible for collecting taxes and tithes. Tolls and other fees as well as other taxes from the peasants were also collected by the powerful Oromo chiefs in alliance with Hararis (Caulk, 1977, Shelter & Dewit). This lucrative role may have convinced the Oromos of the value of preserving Harar with its great market. For instance, while the *Jarso* and their neighbors were exacting payments clan by clan for passage through their territory Caulk (1977), and Klemm (2002) mention the distant pass along the commercial route from Zeila to Harar was controlled by the two Oromo clans who year by year in turn monopolize the profits.

Amir Muhammad (1856-1875) imposed an extra tax referred to as *Mahaleq Oromo* to pay tribute to Oromo chiefs, thus draining wealth from Harar (Waldron, 1984). The Hararis thus withdrew their support from Amir Muhammad and he was ousted and finally killed by the Egyptian forces. What led Egypt to occupy Harar had been discussed by many scholars

including: E. Sylvia Pankhurst (1958); Avishai Ben-Dror (2008); and Caulk (1971, 1975). The Egyptian intention to build an empire that encompassed the whole Nile basin and the Red Sea was mentioned as one of the reasons that led Egyptians to occupy Harar. From some political and economic reforms the Egyptian had taken after occupation, some say modernization of Harar could be another reason. Thus, when the Egyptians occupied Harar they took over the power of collecting taxes from both the Emirate of Harar and the Oromos. According to the Shawa merchant who kept diaries preserved for a generation the taxes levied by the Egyptians were heavier (Ahmed Hassen, 2001).

Menelik II was the king of Shawa when he started preparations to occupy Harar. Why, did, he give priority to the occupation? One of the reasons could be to put his hand on any property or cash that could enable him to pay for the arms he purchased from abroad. Thus, Harar served as an advance base for Menelik's army to penetrate to the east to Somali land and southeast of the Awash Valley which is rich in resources to supply export items necessary to pay for arms trade and logistics (Barnes, 2001). He derived revenue from commercial agriculture based on the export of Harar coffee to pay for fire arms from Assab and the Bay of Tajura. Furthermore, Harar possessed a custom house where there was a regular cash supply (Caulk, 1971).

As it was further mentioned by Caulk (1971) and other scholars, Harar was full of software and hardware required for modernization. Harar provided Menelik with European trade and ideas. He acquired plenty of ammunition and stores left behind at Harar by the Egyptian army. Other reasons could be strategic importance both from an international and domestic perspectives, such as to halt the potential expansion of Turks and Egyptians and the threat of

expansion of some European countries, such as France, whose reconnaissance visited the Bay of Tajura on April 1884.

From the domestic view point, it was strategic to have trade arms free from those Ethiopian princes who controlled the transit trade northwards of Shawa. There were about ten or so Europeans in Shoa who were engaged in arms traffic; Pierre Labatut was the most prominent (Nicholl, 1997). Another reason could be, to have a free hand in fighting the Italian aggression Menelik, probably, anticipated, i.e. not to be stabbed from behind according to Harari historian Sheik Ahmed Kebu¹⁰⁴. The final outcome of all was to expand and consolidate the Christian Empire (Gibb, 1999). After occupation he introduced a tax system that enabled the merchants to pay their taxes at Harar. That had put Harar in an advantageous positions for all the bulk of the Shoan trade passed through Harar, which gave confidence to Menelik to pledge the Harar customs revenue as a guarantee of interest and repayment for the 4,000,000 lire loan from Italy. When Menelik sent Ras Makonen to Rome to sign a Treaty the Italian Government agreed to lend Menelik 4,000,000 lire on the security of the customs of Harar (Starkie, 1938). That the trade of Harar should be used as collateral at this point to secure an international loan suggests the value of the regional centre to the overall economy of the country (R. Pankhurst, 1968). Harar, therefore, had experienced various types of taxation under different rulers, rich sources of information on different cultures both domestic and international.

The application of some principles of taxation may improve trade while others may retard it and bring impoverishment, riots or even revolution. Whenever the tax imposed by any tax collector is fair it enhances economic development. On the other hand, whenever taxes are discriminatory and unfair they become counterproductive. As it is already mentioned by R. Pankhurst (1968) one of the Amirs, who exported coffee and ivory, was exempted from paying

¹⁰⁴ Personal communication on June 30, 2011

taxes. As noted by Caulk (1977) notables of Oromos who were given the old Harari title *Garad* were also exempted from paying a tithe on their harvest and herds to Egyptians.

Furthermore, a diary recorded by Jalâllé's father (Shoan merchant) tells the story of heavy taxation imposed on the local merchants by the Egyptians during their occupation of Harar. The statements in this document, which discuss this period, contain the following:

አወይ የሰው ነገር በቃኝን አያውቅም፡፡አማያገባው አገር ሐረር መጥቶ ይክን ኩሉ ክፈሉ ብሎ በእኛ በባላገር ላይ መቁረጡ...በእነሱ ምክንያት ያዳም ዘር ሐረር ላይ መጨነቁን ግን አይሰቱትም (Ahmed Hassen, 2001, p. 143).

In English script

“away yesew neger beqagnin ayawqem. Emayagebaw ager Harar metito yeken kulu kefelu belo benegna bebalager lay meqretu ... benasu mekeniat yadam zer Harar lay machnaqun gen aysetutem”

My translation:

Human beings are greedy. It is unfair for a foreign power to invade another country and impose such heavy tax. Hope they will understand how much the descendants of Adam are suffering from the heavy tax they imposed.

According to Jalâllé's explanation the Egyptian forces imposed such heavy taxes because they, as the occupying force, did not care for the local merchants. It seems, therefore, there were groups, maybe Egyptian merchants, who received favorable treatment while the local ones did not. That discrimination, therefore, was, according to Jalâllé, contrary to one of the basic principles of taxation, i.e. fairness (Smith, 1978). The occupying forces might have determined the amount of taxes payable not on the basis of income of the individual merchant, but on nationality.

Yet Jalâllé used the term *yadam zer* meaning descendants of Adam to refer to those who suffered from the heavy tax imposed by the occupying forces. If that was the case, there was no discrimination based on nationality. The unfairness, therefore, might have related to its failure to consider the income of each merchant in determining taxes.

The tax collected by the Egyptians was not limited to traders. As Caulk (1977) noted, “in 1882, one-third of the taxes reported to Cairo were levied from payments of those submitting to obtain peace. Another third came from fees for new titles. Even Oromo women were selling their various products in exchange for cash to pay tax” (p. 382). It might be that the Egyptian power imposed those multiple heavy taxes to pay salaries to its soldiers who might have transferred that payment wholly or partly as a remittance to their country through the Egyptian Bank established in Harar. On top of the occupying forces tax system being discriminatory it was, therefore, probably used to drain Harar’s wealth in an unfair manner.

Agency

Some Amirs were engaged in trade. For instance, a manuscript analyzed by Yusuf Ahmed (1961) throws some light on the register of trade goods acquired by the Amirs as private traders. Burton (1894) also mentioned that ivory and ostrich feather trading was monopolized by Amir Ahmed (1852-1855). According to Burton (1894) and Yusuf Ahmed (1961) the Amirs did their import and export business through a *wakil* or agent. Abdullah Idris, Abdurrahman Ghazzali and Ali Sadik were mentioned as agents of Amir Muhammad (1856-1875). Those agents would entrust the goods to caravan protectors known as *abban*, who in return handed over the goods to other agents at the Berberah or Zayla ports.

The *abban* or caravan protector (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961) usually belonged to the *Issa* or the *Gadabursi* clans, and gave carrier services not only to the Amirs. They were entrusted with export or import goods by individuals who were financially capable of organizing a complete caravan consisting of 30 or more camel or donkey loads. Merchants unable to carry on export trade individually in such a scale came together and cooperated to share the cost among themselves. These cooperating merchants would also sell and buy goods, purchasing in the markets of Berberah and Zayla for traders who could not join the caravan (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961). In doing so, the cooperating merchants were enhancing the welfare of small merchants.

In modern business, the owner of a haulage truck or lorry, for instance, promises to maintain it in perfect working order and with full equipment including good tires, tools, jacks and everything necessary for the quick transport of goods. Similarly, in those days when *abban* (from Somali or Oromo chiefs) made an agreement with traders or their agents, it was their responsibility to provide healthy and strong camels, mules or donkeys for the quick and safe transport of goods. They were also responsible to protect the merchandise from theft, carelessness and waste (Yusuf Ahmed, 1961).

The *abban*, on top of providing protection to the caravan and making available transportation, he provided guides who would lead the caravan to its destination. That seems the reason they are mentioned as travelers guides by Ahmed Hassen (2001). “Whenever a merchant wanted to dispatch his goods he made his arrangement through the *abban*. Once the goods were loaded and passed to him, it was the *abban* who was responsible for their delivery at the place of destination which was usually Berberah, Zayla, or *Tajura*, along the coast, or else *Ifat*, *Awsa*, or *Bale* in the interior” (Ahmed Hassen, p. 143). Certainly, they would also give similar services from those places back to Harar as well. Thus, they were guided by two very important values,

i.e. national security and social order based on safety, harmony, and stability of society (Schwartz, 1994).

According to Waldron (1984) the *abban* were Somali agents who took care of the caravan when it crossed areas held by the Somalis. In areas resided by the Oromos the *abban* probably had to make new arrangements with the local chiefs to travel across those areas or make payments to the *Jarso* and their neighbors who were exacting payments, clan by clan, for passage. “The *Nole*, as well, despite their reputation for fierceness, were hospitable to merchants, during the Egyptian occupation at least, because they also hired the change of transport required when leaving the lowland, Issa territory for the climb towards Harar” (Caulk, 1977, p. 372) .

Though Yusuf Ahmed (1961) tells that some Somalis who held the transportation in monopoly exposed the merchants to abuse and extortion, the *abbans* who were acting on behalf of Amir or ordinary citizens were acting adhering to the values related with agency. From the side of the *abban* it could be assumed that acting with good faith, acting in the exclusive interest of the merchants, account all the profits accruing to the merchant, act as *bonus paterfamilias*, etc. were some of the values the *abban* were promoting. Remunerating the *abban* for what he accomplished, advancing or reimbursing expenses and costs incurred by the *abban* to carry out the agency, and releasing the *abban* from any liability he incurred while carrying out his duty in the interest of the merchants were some of the values adhered to by the merchants.

To illustrate this Stitz (1975) told a story of a Harari who traveled to *Ifat* and died while returning in 1863 taking cloth belonging to four other people and their donkeys. The Qadi distributed the profit among those whose goods he had sold but first deducted the expenses the deceased had incurred on his way. Stitz (1975) also tells how, when leaving for *Ifat* or to the

coast for trade. Harari merchants entrusted their town property to a friend or a Qadi who would receive and carefully administer it for the benefit of the merchants and their families. In one case the Qadi rented the garden of a man who left for trading for a sharecropper, regularly sold the crops paying the wife of the owner a yearly allowance. Moreover, the Qadi had the houses and walls of the absentee Harari repaired, covering the cost from the absentee man's rents.

Ordinary traders came together and cooperated to share the cost among themselves as well as to help small merchants in selling and purchasing at destinations of which they could not have access. In doing so they were promoting what Moore and Bruder (2005) refer to as utilitarian values according to which one ought to seek the greatest pleasure for the greatest number of people.

Contrary to that, a few Amirs monopolized ivory and Ostrich feather trade as well as exempted themselves from paying taxes. It could be said they were promoting a value referred to as egoistic ethical hedonism, according to which one ought to seek his or her own pleasure (Moore and Bruder, 2005). Hence, these values were governing the relations between small traders and big traders on the one hand, and between the ordinary Hararis and Amirs on the other hand.

As can be seen from the following incident, agency and noble values related with it were not confined to trade alone. Yusuf Ahmed (1961) described the novel responsibilities that were entrusted to Ali Sadik by the Amir as an agent. Yusuf Ahmed (1961) described how Ali Sadik, as the guardian of Muhammad Haji Bule, an insane, acted in the exclusive interest of Muhammad till death took the latter. Finally, after accounting to Muhammad's wife, Ali Sadik handed over the legacy to her. Yusuf Ahmed (1961) further described how the same Ali acted as the guardian and tutor of an old mother and a minor of a deceased. After the death of the old

mother and the minor attained majority Ali handed the legacy to the son in the presence of witnesses.

Coinage And The First Bank In Ethiopia

Latin *moneta*,”mint” or “money,” is derived from *Moneta*, a surname of the goddess Juno, whose temple at Rome was used for coining money. Therefore, Mint (coinage) is establishment for making coins, or pieces of metal designed to circulate as money (Encarta, 2009). Harar also had its own coinage where the old Harari currency called the *Mahaleq* was coined.

Barker (1842) and Ahmed Zekaria (1997) while discussing Harar coin, mentioned a small copper coin called *Mahaleq*; 22 units of which were equal to a nominal coin called *ashraf*, while 40 units of the latter are equal to one German Crown. The *Mahaleq*, which was derived from the Harari word *Maheleq* (to count), resembles the *diwani* of Jeddah, with one side inscribed in Arabic characters *La illaha illa-Allah* and the reverse the name of the reigning prince (Harris,1844). A similar description was given by Burton (1894) about the coins of Amir Ahmed.

The combination of the phrase *La illaha illa-Allah* and the name of the reigning prince on the coin could be a reflection of the close alliance between religious institutions and the administration of Harar. In history various symbols are used by different countries on their coins. For instance, the coins and paper money of the United States have the official Great Seal of the Bald Eagle. We find this seal also on the passport issued by the United States to its citizens. In similar fashion to the Bald Eagle, the *La illaha illa-Allah* might have constituted the symbol of Harar.

Payments by merchants were not, however, always made in those coins. Clothes, either locally made or imported, or salt could be accepted to secure passage, for instance. As noted by Ahmed Zekaria (1991) *amole chew*, salt bars, or blocks of salt, piece of clothes or iron, gun cartridges, and Maria Theresa dollars were some of the media of exchange used in the earlier periods of Harar. While there is no express reference to constant cash transactions in literature, it could be assumed the currencies used in Harar were most probably referred to as *ashraf* and *mahaleq* as mentioned by Barker, (1842) and Burton, (1894).

Harari currencies displayed at the Permanent Exhibition of the Sheriff Harar City Museum¹⁰⁵ take back the use of coins in Harar to 871 A.D. while Kahl (1969) extends the period of coinage from 742 A.D. through 1887. Though Ahmed Zekaria (1997) noted “the consistent use of currency had started with the reign of Abd al Shakur (1756-1783)” (p. 25) a document reveals Amir Talha, who ruled Harar from 1111-1134 bought real property for 300 *ashraf* (Wagner, 1974).

Cruttenden notes (Ahmed Zekaria, 1991) Harar coins were in the form of gold, copper or silver and were in use beyond the boundaries of Harar. Abbas Ahmed (1992) also mentioned their circulation in such areas as *Ifat*, *Churcher*, *Zayla* and *Barbra*, giving example how a widow living in *Ifat* and whose husband was Muhammad Yayaha al Dulal received 39 *Ashraf* as an inheritances.

As Burton (1894) noted some Amirs, for instance Amir Ahmed (1852-1855), had the intention to limit the use of the currency within the city of Harar. Dr. Freeman-Grenville recorded (R. Pankhurst, 1968) the discovery of two coins issued by Amir Abdullahi (1885-1887) on the Benadir coast of present day Somalia. Harar coins were in use “as far as *Ras Asseyr* on the Somali coast, Mogadishu, Chelenko” (Ahmed Zekaria, 1991, p. 26). The circulation of the Harar

¹⁰⁵ Opened on 24th December 2008

coins outside Harar could be taken as evidence of the strength and influence of the Harar economy beyond its boundary.

Other currencies were also in circulation in Harar. For instance, Barker (1842) tells that Maria Theresa dollars were used as currency in addition to the Harari coins. *Riyal Qarshi* and other types of currencies were once in circulation in Harar. During the Egyptian occupation Harar had two currencies, Harari and Egyptian side by side (Ahmed Zekaria, 1991). Furthermore, when the British ended Egyptian occupation and took over the administration of Harar they paid Indian rupees for those Hararis and Somalis they trained to protect Harar when the occupation ended (R. Pankhurst, 1965).

Even Menelik II minted his first local currency-referred to as *Mahaleq* made of silver, approximately 15mm in diameter, and bearing the date 1892-at Harar (Kahl, 1969 & Wood, 1936). The utilization of various currencies with different units of value presupposes free market (Rothbard, 2002) and money exchangers who did the exchange in open air usually at market places as depicted by Blundell (1900). As it will be seen in the next section, the determination of prices by various factors and not by the government also constitutes evidence of the free market in Harar.

It was noted earlier that there were many foreign merchants doing import/export business. The Egyptian army was probably paid in cash, unlike those who were either granted land or paid in kind for their service. It is, therefore, plausible to assume ordinary money exchangers could not satisfy the existing demand for the exchange and supply of money. Therefore, the Egyptians founded the Egyptian branch bank referred to as the Egyptian Bank in Harar to provide foreign exchange service to those foreigners and Harari merchants engaged in import/export business and pay salary to their army.

This raises the question, where did the merchants hoard their extra money or where did they borrow the money to run their business before the establishment of the Egyptian Bank? There were four possibilities. One could hoard the money in a secret place, for instance burying it in the ground within ones compound; or trust the money with a friend or a Qadi as merchants did when they left for the port or inland; or keep it with gilders, especially with gold smiths, who were accustomed to storing valuable and precious metals which could serve as guarantee. The last option could be the Amir's mint. All options bore risk, though, the risk of the last institution could be very high for there could be a possibility of being confiscated by the Amir, as once in British history Charles I who was in need of money in 1638, shortly before the outbreak of the civil war, confiscated the huge sum of £200,000 of gold, calling it a "loan" from the owners (Rothbard, 2002).

The individuals or gold smiths who were entrusted with the money probably lent it to those who needed money to do business transactions. Both keeping the money and lending it require confidence in the honesty, goodness, skill or safety of a person or institution. These were, therefore, probably basic business ethics or values which were adhered to by the merchants in Harar, and without which Harar would not have emerged as an intercontinental trade center.

The Egyptian Bank, as any other bank, probably did the following. Maybe it adjusted domestic credit, managed a reserve of species or foreign exchange which stabilized exchange rates, lent out the savings of others, and deposit money (Rothbard, 2002). To that end the Egyptian Bank most likely won the confidence of the public, which is based on a basic value in business, i.e. mutual trust.

That seems the reason why the establishment of that bank signified the flourishing of the already existing trade in quality and quantity. For instance, R. Pankhurst (1968) tells that whereas scarcely 70 caravans had reached Harar every year under the Amirs the number soon increased to about 400 under Egyptian rule. This enabled two currencies, i.e. Egyptian and Harari, to circulate in Harar. As a passing remark it is worth mentioning that the Egyptian Bank, preceded the Abyssinia Bank, which was established with the help of Egyptian Bank capital in 1903 in Addis Ababa (VO Van, 2007).

Even after the British expelled Egyptian army and Menelik occupied it, Harar continued as an intercontinental business and trade center for a while. Some merchants who kept in their logs persons they met with their seals and signatures, noted that there were eleven companies in Harar engaged in import/export business while there were only four in Dire Dawa in 1903 (See the annex). It is not surprising if the frequency of caravans coming to and going from Harar was increased.

Setting Prices

As the following lines reflect, the prices of commodities were at least set by the market: **ዘጠና አምስት በራ አምጥተናል...ዋጋውን እሱ ራሱ አላህ ያብጀው** (Ahmed Hassen, 2001). In English script: *Zetana amest baara amtetenal. Wagawun esu rasu Allah yabejew*. My translation: “We have brought ninety five slaves. Let Allah himself take care of the price.” Burton (1894) reported that the price of female slaves varied from 100 to 400 *asharafī*, and boys were sold from 9 to 150 *asharafī*. Similarly Burton (1894) also mentioned the market as a factor to determine the price of *chat*.

Stitz (1975) also discussed some of the factors which determined the value of land. The fact that it is irrigated or not irrigated was reason to bring variation in prices. According to an example cited by him, while irrigated land was priced for 100 *ashraf*, non-irrigated land was only 10 *ashraf*. Availability of water, exposition, the elevation, the steepness of the terrain, the distance from town and the security were other factors which determined the price of the land. Abbas Ahmed (1992) mentions additional factors, such as the presence of trees and the fertility of the soil.

The pricing also used to be adjusted with inflation as can be seen from a case in the Qadi register which was analyzed by Stitz (1975). An owner of a house leased his house taking into account the coming inflation. So in the lease contract, which was concluded in 1838, it was provided for a fixed increase of the rent to 50 *ashraf* in the second year, 60 in the third year and 70 in 1841. The type of the materials used to build the house, depreciation and other related factors as well determined the price of the house. For instance, in 1825-1830 an average wooden house was sold for 6 *ashraf* while a stone house was sold for 183 *ashraf* (Abbas Ahmed 1992).

Stitz praised the Hararis as people with the ability to think in economic terms and understand the functioning of a money economy. Money economy, however, may not exist without the basic principle or value which is described by Adam Smith (1987) as the invisible hand, by the *Ifat* merchant as Allah and as various factors by the manuscript analyzed by Stitz (1978). Hence, the non-interference policy of the Amirs in the market and determination of the prices by the market was the value that governed the relationship between sellers and buyers.

Nevertheless, there was a time when Amir Uthman al-Habashi (1567-1589), Amir Nur's successor, granted the Oromos the right to purchase imported cloth at a price fixed by the government for the Oromos in return to leave Harar to survive as a convenient market place

(Waldron, 1984). This was one of the prices paid by the Hararis to preserve their walled city from being attacked by the Oromos. The free flow of currencies and the determination of prices by the market were necessary for Harar to prosper. Property rights, which were essential for free market, as will be seen next, were upheld by the Hararis as a basic requirement for prosperity.

Property Rights

Even though the trading of ivory, ostrich feathers, and other items were monopolized by some Amirs and their families; the basic values related to property rights were respected i.e. economic freedom: the rights to acquire, use, transfer and dispose of private property. This was mainly manifested by the title deed issued by the Harari government after registering the immovable property once the claimant proved the ownership right he/she had over the property.

Property was either transferred for consideration or gratuitously. Both were the rights of the Hararis. They were also entitled to lease their house or land (Ahmed Zekaria.1997). From the Account-Book of Amir Abd Al-Shakur analyzed by Ahmed Zekaria (1997) it is also understood that immovable properties, land and houses were transferred either through inheritance, sales, gifts or *Mahr*, through a contract made in the presence of witnesses, sealed and registered by the Qadi. *Sijil* (register) and *Diwan* (chancery) were the two institutions where the registration of the immovable property was made and the copy of the title deed was kept (Wagner, 1974).

The registration, witnesses, and the Qadi would enable Hararis to implement one very important ethic or value of business, i.e. *pacta sunt servanda*, sanctity of a contract. (DiMatteo, 2000) “For it prevents injustice and dissension by keeping in memory for all times, how by it (i.e. the register and the chancery) the judicial decisions are made effective the Holy Law...what was settled of that which *nobody should be free from being strictly bound* to it may it be the dowry or

anything else, so that a demand should not be repeated and dissent should not exist” (Wagner, 1974, p. 218)¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, one of the manuscripts analyzed by Stitz (1975) describes the task of the Qadi as keeping records which deals with inheritance, dispute and transactions so that there should be no trouble and conflict later on. The value which respects the rights citizens have over their property is, therefore, basic to peace and economic development.

¹⁰⁶ Emphasis added

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE RELEVANCY OF VALUES IN SELF-REGULATION OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Introduction

When Cain, the elder son of Adam, killed his younger brother Abel and was confused about what to do with the corpse, the Bible and the Quran describe how God sent a raven to show him how to bury his brother's corpse. From that time on, probably, individuals have been coming together to help one another in various social activities such as interments and wedding ceremonies.

Hararis have established a variety of social institutions to achieve various social objectives. These institutions are *mugaad*, *afocha*, *jamaa or baha*, *ahli*, *marign*, and *gel*. Different scholars conducted studies on these social institutions. Duri Mohammad (1955) wrote short note on how boys' *mugaad* and girls' *mugaad* were organized by boys and girls at a similar age and from the same neighborhood to celebrate festivals, especially *Arafa*, in which they exchanged food as gifts while singing and dancing. Waldron (1975b) studied how Hararis use *Afocha*, *ahli*, *marign* and *gel* to control individual and social behaviors. Hecht (1980) studied *afocha* and *baha* visa-vis the social status of Harari women. Huurne (2004) elaborated on the role of *afocha* and *baha* in poverty reduction.

But little or none had been said about the values that underlie and regulate these institutions and their members. This chapter attempts to identify those values and discuss how they regulate the institutions and their members. As *ahli* is a basic social unit second to a family

in the Harari community, it would be worthy to start the discussion with it. Next *gel* and *marign* will be discussed as they are not as complex. *Afocha* as an old institution will be discussed, to be followed by *jamaa*.

Ahli

Waldron (1978) described *ahli* as the family network. Leslau (1963) on the other hand, defined it as relatives and classified it into *dad ahli*, *qama basar ahli*, *urus gey ahli*, and *ingir gey ahli*. Whereas *dad ahli* is a relative by friendship, *qama basar ahli* is a relative by blood and flesh, i.e. consanguinity, relationship that comes from the same descendants. As Abba Abubakar Yusuf noted¹⁰⁷, *ahli* could as well be classified into *metwaaled ahli* (relative by consanguinity) and *metnaasa ahli* (affinity relatives). Kabir Abdulmuheiman classified¹⁰⁸ *Ahli* into *dam ahli* (relative by blood), *dad ahli* (relative through friendship), *nasab ahli* (affinity) and *jar ahli* (relatives through neighbor-ship). Other than *jar ahli* there is no difference between Abba Abubakar and kabir Abdulmuheiman.

Hence, Hararis, besides having bonds of relationship derived from community of blood and bonds of affinity derived from marriage, they have bonds of relations that emanate from friendship and neighborhood. According to kabir Abdulmuheiman, the degree of relationship by consanguinity is calculated by counting seven generations on one's *aw gey* (paternal) and *I gey* (maternal side). *Hamaachi gey* is another name for *metnaasa* or *nasab ahli*. In this category we find *dumaal* (the husband's brothers and friends), *shoot* (sister-in-law) *hamaachi* (father-in-law) and *hamat* (mother-in-law). Friendship is important for Hararis as it has gained high prestige as brotherhood.

¹⁰⁷ Interview 21/11/2013 in Harar

¹⁰⁸ Interview 26/11/2013

Qama basar ahli includes paternal ascendants, descendants and collaterals that are referred to as *urus gey ahli* or simply *aw gey*, and maternal ascendants, descendants and collaterals who are *ingir gey ahli* or simply *I gey*. Your mother and father are *ayaa* and *awaa*, respectively. Your father's and mother's fathers are your *baabaa* while their mothers are *umma*. You address your elder brother and sister as *abba* and *abbay* respectively. *Anna* (father's sister) and *ezaira* (father's brother) including their descendants are *urus gey ahli* whereas *ekhesta* (mother's sister) and *kaka* (mother's brother) including their descendants are *ingir gey ahli*.

Elder brothers are like fathers as elder sisters are like mothers in the absence of fathers and mothers. As pointed out by Muhammad Abdurrahman (1984/1992) to indicate this Hararis say *zigadara abba awenta zigaderti abbay ayete* meaning the elder brother is a father as the elder sister is a mother. Elder brothers took the responsibility of leading the family where the father is not in a position to play his fatherly role for whatever reason. Likewise, elder sisters assist their mothers in bringing up their young sisters and brothers and substitute their mothers in running the household where the mother is absent for whatever reason¹⁰⁹. Hence, the elder brothers and sisters are respected by their younger ones while the elders love and care for the younger ones. Hence, values of love and respect regulate these relations.

It seems mothers are 'favored' in Harari community. To express this Hararis use different idioms. *I totsekut kotmelte* (Muhammad Abdurrahman, 1994) meaning a mother is not double like her breasts. She is, in her relation with her children, free from any kind of prejudice and discrimination that could arise from principles of double standard. She treats her children fairly and equally. Hence, values of fairness govern the relations mothers have with their children. That seems the reason why Hararis say *weldile alawa qaram ela* meaning children cannot be

¹⁰⁹ Personal experience

segregated as sorghum cane and sorghum Stover. Hence, it is proper to learn fairness from one's mother.

This, however, does not mean all children in a given family are treated similarly and have similar understanding and comprehension. There is variation that could be attributed by Hararis to a mother's womb, which is pictured as a tawny color like a tiger as it is described by a Harari idiom that runs *I karsiseze ganguracuta boraborenta*. Depending on the background and experience each member of a family could have his or her own values priority. Hence, they differ, for instance, on the profession they prefer, or ideology they promote or political party they support.

Your cousins are your sisters or brothers, for your uncles and your aunts are your fathers and mothers, respectively. There is no distinction between your father and your uncle. Neither is there a difference between your mother and your aunts. As noted by Cobbah (1987) like Akan of Ghana for Hararis all aunts are mothers, i.e. older mothers and younger mothers as cousins are brothers and sisters.

The relation between colleagues, or classmates, or neighbors, etc. could grow into *dad ahli*. A father introduces his friends to his children as *ezaira*, while a mother does her friends as *ekhesta* or *anna*. One is *ezaira* or *kaka* or *anna* or *ekhesta* to friends' children. These friends may introduce their parents to their friends' parents and probably that relation eventually may grow into *dad ahli*. Hence, from one *dad ahli* additional *dad ahli* could grow.

Similarly, one's elder sister's or brother's friends are elder brothers, as one's younger brothers' and sisters' friends are one's younger brothers and sisters, respectively. They are *dad ahli*. *Kabir* Abdulmuheiman was reminded by his father that he was the son of all *Afocha* members. It could, therefore, be stated one's father *afocha* members are *ezaira*, one's mother

afocha members would be designated as *ekhesta* or *anna*. And their children will have corresponding relations with you.

Hence, one could be a child, an older or younger brother or sister of any Harari. Or one could be, through *dad ahli*, *awaa*, *ayaa*, *ezaira*, *kaka*, *anna* or *ekhesta* of any Harari child. Harari community is, therefore, wholly interconnected. One Harari individual is in one way or another *ahli* to another Harari. Hence, Hararis warn not to backbite a fourth individual in a conversation of three individuals, for any of the two could be relative of against whom you make spiteful remarks. As noted by Muhammad Abdurrahman (1984/92) an individual with visual impairment tells his friend to pinch him if a third person joins them while they are gossiping. Hence, the application of gossip to control the behavior of members is limited by the close kinship relations that prevail in the Harari community.

Hence, the community looks after an individual whether young or old. That could be an apparent reason why Hararis, as a community, believe that they do not have beggars but poor people. Some of the idioms confirm this. Hararis believe that begging is like a hell as they say *usu fitbe maqaanen azabinta* meaning begging is like standing in front of a hell. Even while a Harari mother does not have anything to feed her family she would pretend by starting fire at her hearth to produce smoke to make people believe that she is preparing food.

Hence, she prefers kitchen fire to hell fire. Even if the benefactor arrives at her home he would not put the money in her hands. Rather, he secretly puts it under a *nadaba* carpet, which she collects after he leaves her house. This is to accept and respect what she believes to be her value, i.e. dignity that governs the relation between the benefactor and the beneficiary.

Sometimes wealthy *ahli* may not help his needy *ahli*. Eventually, when the latter dies, nevertheless, as noted by Abdulla Abdurrahman (1953a) specially, the women “tear their gowns, which are minutely decorated with colorful hand-knitting” (p. 16). Hararis respond to this paradox saying *hull ziqebatulole hullan qadadulo*, meaning they tear their gowns for a deceased to whom they failed to provide cabbage while he was alive. Through this idiom Hararis would like to govern the behavior of wealthy individuals by appealing to their sense of unselfish concern for the welfare of others, i.e. altruism, compassion and kindheartedness, which are core family values for Hararis.

During childhood immediate family and relatives look after the child. The community guides the child when he is young. They help the child to attend school by putting pressure on the child’s family if they fail to send him to school. If they find the child committing wrong they would admonish the child. Old individuals would not be thrown away in a retirement home but taken care of at their children’s home surrounded by their children, grandchildren and other relatives. Tenderness and love are some of the values that regulate some of the relations between and among *ahli*. Hence, to care for important social institutions such as marriage and family, the societal functions of child care and the care of the aged are the concern of *ahli*.

Hamaachi gey refers to affinity relatives. It includes ascendants and descendants as well as collaterals of both spouses, i.e. in-laws. *Hamaachi* alone means male relatives on the husband’s or the wife’s side. The mother-in-law is *hamat*. The Harari adage that expresses the high value this relation has in the community runs: “*kurunubayu hamaachim alfarakiewm*”, “even affinity relative would not stand a push from the elbow.” *Hamaachi* shares every problem but a push from elbow on thigh.

To begin with, Hararis assist their children to start family. The son with his wife, after marriage, stays for the whole one year in *tit gar* at his family compound provided with food and other provisions essential to daily life. This practice is called *sabata mowatta*. In one family four brothers spent one year each with their wives looked after by their mother in *tit gar* after concluding marriage.¹¹⁰ As pointed by Cobbah (1987) Harari family, as any African family, is “characterized by non-reciprocated, non-contractual dependence of children on parents” (P.318) Hararis would like these relations which are governed by values of care and affection to continue forever, saying *ahli wa lihdi, alagawa uga* (Muhammad Abdurrahman, 1992) meaning individuals say their farewells to their relatives at graveyards and at their door steps to their visitors for death alone separates *ahlach*.

Ahli could face various challenges that could endanger its foundation. Inheritance is one. Politics and sects in religion are also creating gaps within the *ahli*. Hence, where *ahlinat* is weak Hararis equate it with a salt immersed in water saying *tiri assunat ahli miy zinakeiwsa yumaahi* meaning relation that is not built on proper foundation dissolves like a salt immersed in water. Hence, to create, foster, and make strong *ahlinat* Hararis utilize values of love, trust, respect, integrity, recognition, happiness, peace, and truth.

The importance of *ahli* in Harari community is expressed through different sayings. Consider how *ahli* is, for instance, related with humanity. Hararis say ‘*ahli zalela usunatum ela*, meaning one who is without *ahli* does not have humanity. He is not, therefore, kind and compassionate. Likewise, no one is sympathetic about his problem as it could be understood from the following sayings. *Qamu qonatugir satelqaam yahachal*, meaning the whole body reacts if a limb is pinched. Or *ufu mahtogir in tibakat*, meaning the punch on a nose causes the

¹¹⁰ Personal experience

eyes to cry. Hence, you have to have *ahli* who would react to whatever happens to you. Otherwise you will be vulnerable to all kinds of attacks and problems.

Two conclusions could be made from this: in Harari community an individual is inseparable part of *ahli* like any limb is part of one's body, and he is dead if he does not have any *ahli* as any limb of one's body is dead once it is separated from the main body. In short, an individual without *ahli* is like a fish out of water. As Davidson (1969) put it, "Go the way that many people go; if you go alone, you will have reason to lament" (p.31). This is an African value referred to as sense of community.

All types of *ahli* may not be treated likewise. While *Ezair* is matched with *ezrail* (angle of death) saying *ezaire ezrail*, *kaka* is associated with *Kura kabir* (a raven designated as a blessed creature), saying *kake Kura Kabir*. *Kaka* is further referred to as *tut zalela I*, a mother without breast. Similarly, all *dad ahlach* are not equal. For instance, certain *marignach* are referred to as *asli marign*, i.e. best friend. He is the one who is chosen as the best man of the groom. Correspondingly, the best friend of the girl is chosen as *henna gel*. They are the ones who help in resolving disputes that could arise between the couple.

Gel And Marign

To demonstrate how *marignat* (friendship) is important God gave Aaron to Moses as he did the Disciples to Jesus and *Sahaba* (companion) to Prophet Muhammad. The Virgin Mary's visit to Elizabeth is an expression of *gelnat*. Even God's chosen ones, as human beings, need the companionship of friends. Every human being, therefore, has somebody to be with in his life time who is emotionally close, who stands by when one faces problem, and who one trusts. This relationship, therefore, emanates from the very nature of human being. Hararis are not unique to this. While the girls have a friend who they call *gel*, boys refer to their friends as *marign*.

Leslau (1963) defines *gel* as companion for girls or friend for girls. It is, therefore, friendship between two or more girls who accompany each other or share time with one another. The corresponding friendship for boys is *marign*. Waldron (1978) did not deal with *gel*. He, however, mentioned *marign* as friendship formed by five to ten close male friends of the same age and who live in one *toya*, neighborhood. Besides, it has been seen that *marignat* (friendship) could be formed and fostered among *Quran gey Ashidayach* (class-mates) or among relatives who probably are not neighbors.

How important *marignat* and *gelnat* are in Harari society is manifested from the weight given by mothers to these social institutions. A mother consults her son's *marign* or daughter's *gel* when she thinks it important to help her son or daughter come out of any problem. For instance, if any one of them or both of them are late for marriage she will have a consultation with her son's *marign* or daughter's *gel*. Even if she wants to identify whether the problem is physical or psychological she, before approaching a professional, first collects information from the *marign* or *gel*. The mother does this for she knows the important place *marignat* or *gelnat* has in her son's or her daughter's life.

As an illustration an individual who lives in Addis Ababa running his own business yet not married could be considered. Whenever any of her son's *marignach* visits her, his mother discusses her son's single life and how much she longed to hug her grandchild. Even she asked his friends to try to identify his problem so that she may either consult a witch or medical doctor. This informs how important *marignat* is in the social life of Hararis. Next is a discussion on how *marignat* and *gelnat* is formed and developed.

If two or more boys or girls are neighbors, they start playing together in one of their compounds or houses till they are mature enough to join the *Quran gey* or *madrasah*. At this

stage they refer to their *marign* or *gel* as *afar-afar marign* or *afar-afar gel*. As *afar* is the soil they use to play with, it indicates the ability of Harari children to convert the material around to satisfy their need and the early time the relationship has started. Soil here serves as a link among *marignach*. It also indicates at what level the economy of the community is.

Attaining a certain age they join *Quran gey* or *madrasah* or any other modern school. They accompany each other to and from the *Quran gey* or school where they promote their *marignat* or *gelnat* by collecting and sharing teaching aid materials, sharing *ukhat* and playing *qutti, qutti*. At this phase they are allowed to be together only at day time.

While they are attending the *Quran gey* or *madrasah* or school other boys and girls may join their circle and enlarge their number. As they mature, the boys could be allowed to stay together for longer hours. For instance, they build a small room called *soman derbi*, in a large compound that belongs to any of them, and spend the Ramadan night together. This room could serve as a study room when they join *madrasah* or modern school. These boys live together in one dormitory if they are successful in joining higher education. It is not unusual to find pockets of Harari boys and girls living in one dormitory in Addis Ababa University.¹¹¹

The girls also stay together in and outside the *Quran gey* or *madrasah*. When they complete the *Quran gey* they attend *ashir gar* together from *Maghreb* and *Isha Salat* if there is one. The girls, assembling at a house called *moy gar*, learn basketwork or train in embroidery if they do not join *madrasah* or other modern school. Similar to the boys, if they join higher education, they stay in one dormitory. When they graduate or start business, their *marignat* or *gelnat* continues and develops into *jamaa*, a social institution with formality. When they marry and give birth to the first child they join *afocha*.

¹¹¹ Personal experience

For instance, one group consisting of boys has been *marign* from childhood while some joined later.¹¹² All of them are married except three of them. Nevertheless, their *marignat* has not yet grown into *jamaa*. One of the reasons could be their preference to keep their relation a less formalistic one as possible. It seems *marignat* is less formalistic than *jamaa*.

And yet whenever one of their *marign* faces a problem they assist him financially or through other means to come out of that. For instance, they contribute Br. 100 to assist their *marign*, who is preparing for *zagan*. They also accompany him to his future bride's home to deliver presents and *kusha chat*. At his *belachu* they serve the guests with food and soft drinks. Most likely they are the best men on his *aroz megba*. Here, values of helpfulness and honesty play a major role in keeping the in-group relations.

They always stand by him whenever he is in trouble. For instance, if death takes away any of his beloved ones they share his grief, escorting him for three consecutive days. They respect each other's parents like their own and likewise receive love and duwaa (blessing) from their *marign* parents. For instance, they visit each other's parents at the first days of Ramadan. This visitation is called *aboradena hamdi*. In Ramadan, dividing the thirty chapters of the Quran among themselves, each *marign* reads at his home the chapter(s) allotted for him. When everybody finishes his part they come together and complete the Quran together in the ritual called *makhtam*. Mutual respect, understanding, love and tolerance among them are the fundamental values that govern the relations among them. The relations they have with the parents of their *marign* are governed by values of politeness, obedience, honoring parents and elders.

¹¹² Group discussion with Adham Ibrahim's friends on 20/12/2013

Before winding this part down it is worthy to mention one incident that narrates the importance of *marignat* in the social fabric of Harari society. While *marignach* are playing if one of them bleeds from his feet due to any type of accident, the injured one pleads to the rest of *marignach* to pee on the part of his body that bleeds, believing that would help to stop the bleeding and heal the wound. He does not contempt his friend's urine. From experience we know parents and families do not despise their children's urine. From this it is understood how deep the love each *marign* has for one another. It is similar to the love family members have to each other. It is based on true friendship and loving that starts as *afar-afar marign* or *gel*.

Afocha

Leslau (1963) defines *afocha* as neighbor, neighborhood, section of locality, association of neighbors participating in various social activities, such as wedding and funeral. According to this definition *afocha* is formed by individuals residing in one locality to achieve some social objectives. Ended individuals prefer to form *afocha* with other individuals living in the same *toya*: one of the criteria to accept or reject new applications for membership. Earlier the researcher's application for *afocha* membership, as he resides in the suburb, was rejected by those *afochach* (plural of *afocha*) whose vicinity is in downtown of Dire Dawa.

Nevertheless, he joined *toya afocha*¹¹³ formed by Harari individuals living in his *toya*. Their number does not exceed seven. Eventually, members of this *toya afocha* aspire to upgrade it into a full-fledged *afocha* in the future when membership attains thirty, the minimum number of individuals required to form *afocha*. The reason to have this minimum number goes along the 30 *Suras* (chapters) the Quran contains so that each member reads at least one *Sura* where

¹¹³ Harari use this term to describe the relationships and obligations they have with the people who live around them (Waldron, 1978:8)

necessary. Hence, besides *toyanat* (neighborhood), number matters to establish full-blown *afocha*.

The researcher was told by Mahdi Gadid, former Ethiopian Ambassador to mid-east, how he faced a similar problem in joining *afochach* in downtown Addis Ababa and how his application was accepted on the condition that the *afocha* would provide him only with burial services in case he or any member of his family dies. For instance, they may not read *Yasin* and *Tabarak* chapters from the Quran for three days after *Mekhrib Salat* which they perform under normal circumstances. They, however, perform the four main duties of *afocha*, i.e. washing, wrapping, praying on the corpus and burying.

It could, therefore, be said *afocha* members are two types: Those who enjoy the full services of the *afocha* and those who do not but fully assume the responsibilities. Moreover, from what is noted *afocha* could be classified into a mainstream one that gives assistance in time of sorrow and happiness, and *toya afocha* that engages in maintaining roads and houses, and collecting garbage (Hurne, 2004) Huurne (2004) also mentions *harshi afocha* that regulated the water supply for the farms as a third type. This type of *afocha* actually lost its importance as Hararis were expropriated their farmlands by the military government in 1974.

Hence, the assertion made by Hecht (1980) that a man or woman may choose the association (*afocha*) he or she wants to join is only half true as it is the *Afochach* that finally determine who should be accepted or rejected based on *toya* and other factors. Furthermore, as decisions, including matters related with membership applications, are made unanimously there is a possibility for the application to be rejected.

Whereas for Hecht (1980) *afocha* is only less than three generations old, Huurne (2004) made it four generations old relying on Harari folklore and history. Nevertheless, the assistance offered by the raven to Cane to bury his brother's corpse following the unpleasant incident shines lights on how human beings need the assistance of their fellow men at the time of sorrow and happiness. This would lead to an agreement that people put themselves in one form of groupings to cope with difficulties that they may not overcome individually. Hence, it could be concluded that Harari *afocha* might have existed in a different form from time immemorial or from at least the time Islam is introduced to Harar as the main obligations of *afocha* i.e. washing, wrapping, praying on the corpus and burying.

In Harar the number of registered Muslim *afochach* are about 71.¹¹⁴ While 10 are Harari *Ayach* (women's) *afochach*, 30 are Harari *awach afochach*. Harari *afochach* comprise more than fifty percent of similar institutions such as *Idir*. It could, therefore, be said the number of *afocha* is inversely proportional to the Harari population residing in Harar when compared to non-Harari Muslim population: an indication of the relevancy of *afocha* in the social life of Hararis. Nonetheless, according to *kabir* Abdullahi Adus there are about five *awach afochach* in Dire Dawa.¹¹⁵

In *malasay afocha* meeting in Addis Ababa it was observed that members are from all walks of life: university professors, traders, civil servants, jobless etc. old and young. It is, therefore, plausible to note that the relations in *afocha* are non-discriminatory and they are forums where Hararis train and recruit their leaders and transfer traditional values to the young generation. This starts with the name given to the *afocha* such as *malasay*¹¹⁶ and Amir *Nur*

¹¹⁴ Unpublished leaflet from Harari People Regional State Justice and Security Affairs Bureau

¹¹⁵ Interview 4/9/2013 in Dire Dawa

¹¹⁶ Special regiment in Imam Ahmed's army

afocha. Others take the name of *awach* such as *aw* Hashim, *aw* Abadir, *aw* Abdulqadir, etc. Hence, *afochach* may bear the name of famous Harari warriors or *awach*.

Afocha members have individual and group responsibilities. They have a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, accountant and treasurer who are elected on a regular basis by members. A store keeper, however, is a person who owns a large compound and volunteers to keep all properties, such as tents, carpets, shovel, kittle, tea cups and water jugs. One individual who announces the death and summons members to attend the interment is elected and assigned as *munabie* (announcer). Basically, he is privileged not to accompany the corpse to the graveyard once he summoned the members.

Some *afochach* assign this task to a committee consisting of one leader and others who assist him. All are provided with a mobile card worth Br. 15 to Br. 35 to call members to attend the funeral ceremony. Probably, those announcers who are provided with cell phone cards may not be exempted from attending the funeral ceremony as they do not go from place to place to carry out their responsibility. It can be said, therefore, while some *afochach* supply cell phone cards to their announcers others do not, either because their members could be reached easily as they are within a walking distance, or they cannot afford. The members of those *afochach* that supply the cards are, probably, spread over wide areas. This could probably make *toya* irrelevant to form *afocha*.

Whatever method they apply, the announcers have a responsibility to report who attended or is absent from the funeral. This does not necessarily mean a member does not attend the funeral ceremony unless he received the message from the announcer. Members usually attend the ceremony irrespective of how the message reached them as they are guided by one important value, i.e. trust.

Afocha members as a group also share responsibilities. Some members dug or had the grave dug while others read the Quran at the deceased's home until the grave is made ready. For instance, Ezair Abdulwasi, who is most likely 80, told the researcher that he is usually assigned to read the Quran as he is knowledgeable in reading the Quran. His being too old to accompany the corpse to the graveyard could be another reason for his exemption. Those who are relatively young and strong could be good in digging graves and burying.

There are individuals who take care of the corpse by washing, embalming and straightening the appendages using different ointments. They massage the corpse to extract from it all wastes and wrap it up with white sheet after washing it. It is then conveyed to the graveyard either using a wooden leather bed which they constantly exchange from shoulder to shoulder or hiring a vehicle from the municipality. All expenses and costs for a burial ceremony are covered by the *afocha*. Members of the discipline committee see that all members carry out their respective responsibilities.

Afocha members, therefore, have four main commitments towards the deceased: washing the corpse, wrapping it up, praying what is called *salatul janaza* and burying it. These commitments cannot be shunned as they are the pillars upon which the *afocha* is built. On the other hand, sharing the sorrowfulness with the bereaved, supplying them with money essential to cover some expenses, reading Tabarak and Yasin for three consecutive days after *Mekhrrib Salat*, and making *duwaa* to the deceased are members' commitments to the bereaved. Hence, following the interment they commiserate the bereft for three days. This ritual is called *te'eziya*.

In Harari community to be knowledgeable with Quran reading is an endowment with the dominant values, and someone with that knowledge belongs to the Harari elite. While the one who is Quran illiterate stays outside the room where Quran is read arranging the pairs of shoes

left outside by all those who read the Quran until the burial place is prepared the one reading the Quran sits on *gidir nadaba*. While the first one is the most approved, the latter one has low level of approval. Nevertheless, whether he is Quran literate or illiterate he cannot be absent from the burial ceremony, for this is deviant from the norms of the *Afocha*.

Praising the Prophet Muhammad and telling his life history accompanied with drumming by followers of Sufism as an additional function the *afocha* is accomplished where either the deceased is over 80 or he or she requested this in his or her will. The *afocha* sponsored this performance for three consecutive days as the researcher observed the ceremony for his uncle's wife who was 103 years old and died on 18/12/13. She requested in her oral will the *afocha* to accomplish that for her, following her death. One old man said this is to remind the mourner in melodious way that death is like a mission of mercy as it somehow eases the distress or pain of both the deceased and the mourner where the deceased is very old.

Second, the *afocha* is probably using the drumming as entertainment to lighten the mourners' grief. Another interesting observation on that *amuta* was preparation and serving of *darara*¹¹⁷ to the mourners. One old lady explained that when *afocha* member dies on Wednesday, unlike other interments, *indochach afocha* prepares and serves *darara* to mourners after the burial. This service continues for three consecutive Wednesdays. Ethiopian orthodox Christians practice this only when the mourners return from burial irrespective of the date of the death.

Some additional social issues could be addressed by *afocha*. They resolve disputes between husband and wife. According to *malasay afocha* regulation, the *afocha* donates 1000 Br when a member is admitted to a hospital, provided he is not capable to cover medical expenses and costs. From the additional cash contribution from each member the *afocha* addresses a

¹¹⁷ Grain boiled in water made especially for gatherings (Leslau, 1963:59)

request that is brought before it by a destitute member. Abdulqadir Shami¹¹⁸ recalled how his *afocha* purchased a sewing machine and rehabilitated one member who ran bankrupt. The same *afocha* members, to safeguard deceased children against dropouts, pay school fees. The *afochach* and their members are finally satisfied with what they do, as they are led by very important values: salvation and sense of accomplishment.

To discuss similar issues and make a monthly contribution every *afocha* holds an ordinary meeting as per their regulation. Members who are not able to make contributions may not be expelled from *afocha*. According to Ezair Abdulwasi Abdurrahman, either they pay half of what others pay or totally exempted from making contribution.¹¹⁹ In some cases the contribution could be made on their behalf by an anonymous benefactor(s).

Two members from different *afochach* in Addis Ababa stated that they have been paying for two or more individuals for a long time. Or according to Ezair Abdulwasi, to avoid inconveniency to those who may volunteer to pay, his *afocha* does not accept such kind of payment. Some *afochach* prefer suspensions of services to expulsion in order to force members to settle their debts. Indeed, since no one knows when death knocks at his door, *afocha* members prefer to settle their debts on time.

Various penalties are applied where a member violates the traditions, customs or written regulations of the *afocha*. According to *malasay afocha* regulation, for instance, if a member fails to accompany the corpse to the graveyard without good reason he is fined 50 Br. When he is absent from meeting he is fined 30 Br. No provision is provided on when and why a member could be expelled from *afocha* except on suspension where he failed to pay a contribution for 6

¹¹⁸ The researcher's friend

¹¹⁹ Interview on 21/11/2013

consecutive months without good cause. It seems values of tolerance dominate the relations between the *afocha* and its members on the one hand, and among members on the other hand.

According to Ezair Abdulwasi, *afocha* is similar to a garment that covers one's body. In other words *afocha* for Hararis is as close as a garment is to a body. Like the garment, *afocha* protects one from cold, heat, and gives you comfort and beauty. For Hararis, as *afocha* is their identity, a man without *afocha* is a man without identity, or as noted by Davidson (1969) he is like a grasshopper which has lost its wings.

As mentioned by Hetch (1980, p. 278) *afochach* assume the responsibility of looking after traditional Harari culture and language. Once they even tried to fix the amount of dowry a groom has to pay to the bride. Besides, after the establishment of the regional government they served as a link between the regional government and Harari people. Even the federal government uses the *pan-afocha* committee formed from all *afochach* representatives to reach Harari communities in Addis Ababa. Would these activities derail the *afochach* from their objectives is the question that this paper is not entertaining as it goes beyond its scope.

One of the characters of *afocha* is the succession observed in membership. Most men join their father's *afocha* following their father's death, provided they attained majority. Where the father had not left behind any male heir or the male heir is a minor the widow, without paying an entrance fee and further formality, joins her deceased husband's *afocha*, till the minor acquires majority. Abdulqadir Shami's mother, for example, joined her husband's *afocha* when her husband died. Abdulqadir, though not yet married, took over when the *afocha* said now he had to join his father's *afocha* as he is major. Hence, the argument that *afocha* is arranged based on sex is not absolute. Indeed it is true that the widows do not attend the meetings. Neither do they, as

any Moslem women, accompany the corpse to the graveyard. When they are destitute they may not be pressured to pay the regular fee.

Moreover, their sons may not be required to observe some formalities, such as writing admission letters to apply for *afocha* membership. The heir son, following his father's death, will be simply told that he is now a member of his deceased father's *afocha*. The heir certainly accepts the invitation most of the time. The reasons to admit a former *afocha* member's major son as a member could be three: the *afocha* may need the services of the robust young man, and second, the *afocha* assumes he is mentally ready to shoulder responsibilities once he attains major. Here one important value, i.e. hard work is taught to the young generation. Third, by continuing its service to the deceased family the *afocha* gives comfort to its living members and would let the spirit of the deceased rest in peace. These actions of the *afochach* ensure one important value, i.e. family security. Similarly, women may join their mother's or sometimes their mother-in-law's *afocha* where they acquire majority and give birth after marriage.

Ayach Afocha

Ayach afocha functions a bit differently. Their involvement in the burial and wedding ceremonies is wider and deeper than the *awach afocha*. When a member is informed of the death she immediately walks in a hurry to *amuta gar* (the deceased's home) with a small bundle of firewood called *kafara inchi* to build a fire. The purpose of the *kafara inchi* is, no sooner than the men take the corpse to the graveyard, to prepare "*kafara*, a kind of unleavened plain bread baked in small circular shapes (about three inches in diameter) from a ready-made, often sweetened dough" (Abdurrahman Abdulla, 1953b, p. 21).

Traditionally, as no match is put on firewood for three consecutive days in the deceased's home starting from the day he dies, *ayach afocha* members build a fire outside *amuta gar* in one of the neighbors' compounds, as noted by Abdulla Abdurrahman (1953b) to prepare the *kafara* and serve some to the female mourners, while another part is delivered to the graveyard to be distributed among the paupers and beggars in that vicinity. Abay Fatima Ahmed Sharif¹²⁰ limited the number of *kafara* delivered to the graveyard to seven and five pieces where the deceased is a male and female, respectively. These days the *kafara* is replaced by dates. That freed *indochach* from bringing *kafara inchi* to *amuta gar*.

When the *awach* (fathers') *afocha* return back from the burial *ayach afocha* members would lead the lady mourner into *gidir gar* where they make *duwaa* that ends with the first chapter of the Quran. This ritual is called *Fatah* that continues for three days. On the second day they contribute *qahwah mahaleq* (tea money). The third day is the Quran day followed by *ahli Fatah* (kinship *Fatah*).

According to Abay Fatima, *afocha* is both *gafa* (slave) and *Amir*. It is *gafa* because members toil like slaves giving priority to *afocha* interest from theirs whenever and wherever they are called for duty. There is folklore where a lady left alight the fire in her kitchen when she was informed to present herself at the deceased's home and when she returned to her home, she found her home completely destroyed by the fire she left alight. On the other hand, no one, for instance, sips from the tea prepared for *afocha* before the *afocha* blesses it with *duwaa*. *Afocha* is, therefore, respected and feared like Amir. Then it is plausible to say that under such circumstances the relation between the *afocha* and its members is governed by the value of obedience.

¹²⁰ Interview on 10/11/2013 in Harar

As *gafa*, *afocha* serves the guests with dinner for three days. Lunch is, as will be seen in the next part, served by *jamaa* where the mourner has one. If she does not, this service is provided by *ahli*. On the 30th day *afocha* members gather at the deceased's home and make *duwaa* for the deceased. It is called *bun maqunet* as *serri* and coffee is served to the members. On the same day, *awach afocha* members read and complete the whole 30 chapters of the Quran, after which they are served with lunch.

Like *awach afocha* they have leaders elected democratically. They have the chair and co-chairwomen, secretary, *munabie* and cashier. Unlike *awach afocha*, *ayach afocha* has the *afocha raga* (old lady of the *afocha*) besides the speaker, and the treasurer (Hecht, 1980). They also have store keeper who is entrusted with all *afocha* properties.

***Afocha* And Harari Diaspora**

The following narration on *Afocha* of Harari Diaspora is made by two Harari Diasporas, Abdul-wadud Jami who has been living since 1987 in Toronto, Canada, and Hanim Muhammad Abubaker who lived for 33 years in Dallas, USA. Now she is running her own four-star Hotel in Dire Dawa. Abdul-wadud narrated about *awach afocha* in Toronto while Hanim narrated about *indochach afocha* in Dallas. The first narration is about Toronto *afocha* and then the Dallas one. Abdul-wadud Jami came to Ethiopia to visit his *ahlach* and *marignach*. He was among those who took the initiative and found *awach afocha*¹²¹ in Toronto. The initial objectives of the Toronto *afocha* were similar to those in Ethiopia, i.e. to help mourners in their internment and share happiness with those who perform *belachu*. For instance, unlike Ethiopia where land for a graveyard is free, land for a similar purpose in Toronto, and for that matter in any western country, may be acquired only for high prices. To resolve this and similar problems, the first

¹²¹ 1/12/2013 in Dire Dawa

Harari immigrants established *afocha*. Other than these, Toronto *afocha* performs a variety of tasks.

From their experiences they learned the importance of *afocha* in providing information to individual immigrants upon their arrival in Toronto. Hence, *afocha* welcomed the new arrivals and provided them with necessary information, such as where to look and how to apply for jobs and residence permits, how to join schools if one had that intention. The first immigrants, who were assisted by the *afocha* to settle, have the responsibility to assist new arrivals. The Toronto *afocha* and its members accomplished that mission driven by one important value, i.e. sense of responsibility.

Hence, *afocha* of the Diaspora serves as a facilitator and liaison officer. Besides, it organizes individual Harari volunteers who could teach different subjects to Diaspora Harari children. If no Harari is available for a certain subject, it solicits a non-Harari tutor for that purpose. It is also a forum where Harari traditions and customs are transferred to new generations, especially to those who are born in Toronto. For that purpose, it organizes various festivals and events where old and new generations could meet and exchange ideas and information. It is also an occasion for the young to make new friends.

New generations who arrived in Toronto when they were kids, or those who are born in Toronto, have now started to lead the *afocha*. Applying IT (Information Technology) this generation has improved and simplified the responsibilities of the *afocha* and the contacts among the members on the one hand, and the municipality on the other hand. Led by the value of perseverance, currently the Toronto Harari Diaspora *afocha*, equipped with all essential facilities and equipment, has now transferred into Harari Community. It owns a community center where

festivals and events are held, including *belachu* or *te'eziya* when the host's or mourner's homes are too small for that occasion.

Adjusting to a new circumstance they face and to achieve societal objectives, Hararis create *afocha* wherever they go. As it has been discussed, *afocha* in Toronto is initially an institution to help the Diaspora in wedding and burial. It is a liaison officer to help Hararis in their communication with third parties, especially with schools and various administrative offices. It is school to the new generation and custodian of Harari culture and traditions. It is, therefore, a forward-looking social institution led by the value of imagination.

Hanim, who lived in Dallas, USA for 33 years, told similar story.¹²² Her *afocha* is *ayach afocha*. Its name is *Hayatach*. It celebrated its 21st establishment year on May 16, 2014. Like Harari *ayach afochach* in Ethiopia and Toronto, Dallas *Hayatach afocha* supports its members when they perform *belachu*, and shares their sorrow with a member who lost her beloved one.

Employing the utensils of the *afocha*, members prepare food and serve the guests who would come to celebrate the *belachu* or share the sorrow. This saves the host from leasing the utensils for a higher price. In doing so, led by the value of thrift, they economize and avoid wastage. Nevertheless, they prepare lavish parties on festivals and events such as *Eid*, *Arafa*, and while celebrating their establishment anniversary.

On the other hand, these occasions and events are opportunities for members and non-members to come together, share information, know each other and make new friends. Hence, the Diaspora children will use this opportunity to know each other and select their future spouse besides knowing Harari customs and traditions. This makes *Hayatach afocha* in Dallas like any Harari *afocha* a forum where Harari culture and traditions are preserved and transferred to the

¹²² Interview on 6/12/2013 in Dire Dawa

new generation. Nevertheless, besides those traditions and customs, the *afocha* is regulated by a written regulation.

Accordingly, they vote for a chairwoman and deputy chairwomen, secretary, accountant, and treasurer every year. The ordinary meeting takes place every month. To have a separate bank account where it keeps its money, the *afocha* has registered with the municipality and acquired legal personality. They contribute one hundred USD per year. If a member failed to bring food at the get together she is fined a similar amount, and if she is late for a meeting for half an hour she is fined 5 USD. If a member is not taking part in the activities of the *afocha* for one consecutive year without good cause she will be expelled from membership.

The *afocha* utilize the money collected as fines to buy what is considered necessary for festivals. They also help needy people residing in Harar with that money. For instance, during Ramadan they always send money to 10 poor families. They also contribute money to alleviate some social and economic problems that are prevailing in Harar. They cooperate with other Diaspora *afochach* to resolve similar and serious problems.

Baha And Jamaa

According to Ayub Abdullahi Faqi and Abdullahi Ali Sharif (2007) the first *jamaa* was men's *jamaa* that was grown from *mugaad*. *Baha* is defined by Hecht (1980) as women's voluntary rotating credit association formed by young wives. Huurne (2004) also defined it as a system for saving and for receiving money at the time of need. Hence, for Hecht (1980) and Huurne (2004) *baha* and *jamaa* are synonymous.

Hecht (1980) asserted that *baha* is formed by women of the same age who share a similar worry. She further stated that *baha* as an association was promoted by those women who opposed the subjugation to strict and traditional rules of the *afocha* dominated by old women.

She also confirmed that some of the functions of *afocha* are taken over by the *baha*. Nevertheless, from the interview with Harari *indochach* and observation, two things are learned: it is not the *baha*, rather it is the *jamaa* that has taken over some of the functions of *afocha*. And in the future probably it may replace *afocha* totally. And second, *Baha* and *jamaa* are not similar.

Though for both Hecht (1980) and Huurne (2004) the main objective of *baha* is to let members save money and allow them to collect the same at the time of need, Huurne (2004) unlike Hecht (2004) noted that *baha* is also a forum where members exchange information. As it can be seen, though *baha* may exist within *jamaa*, the two are basically different as they address different social issues. Moreover, unlike recent times, in the old times *baha* was a voluntary association established to address big societal issues.

According to *kabir* Abdulmuheiman¹²³ traditionally the first *baha* appeared in the history of Harar when Aw Abadir brought different ethnic groups together and organized the administration of Harar. Then after, Hararis continued to organize themselves in *baha* to resolve big social issues such as building mosques, schools, etc.

Hence, they participated in building the *Jugal* under the political leadership of Amir Nur. Each Harari organized in *baha* and built each section of the *Jugal* at his vicinity or *Bari*. The *baha* was used to build the *Juma* Masjid (grand mosque) in Harar. Similarly, the Hararis built *Gey Madrassa* each one contributing money, labor, time, ideas or knowledge, or property in kind. That was possible after Hararis organized in *baha*. *Aada Gar* came into existence by artifacts contributed from Hararis who were organized through *baha*, according to *kabir* Abdulmuheiman. Recently, money was contributed through *baha* and a Trade Center Complex is built at *Asmadin Bari* to generate income that would be utilized to run *Sheik Abubaker Madrasah*.

¹²³Interview on 12/01/2013 in Harar

Hence, *baha* is not simply an association organized to collect money from its members and allow them to retake it when they are in need. Rather, it is a voluntary association where members contribute not only money but labor, time, knowledge, consultation, property in kind, etc. to accomplish mega projects that would benefit the society. Accordingly, when Hararis built *Jugal*, *Juma Masjid*, *Gey Madrassa* and other mosques in Harar, even the wall surrounding the Muslim graveyard at *Aw Abdal*, each Harari organized in *baha* made contributions in money, property, time, and labor. Thus, *baha* was an association established by Hararis to build big constructions for social services.

Kabir Abdulmuheiman, to underlie his statement, he cited a *duwaa* that runs as follows: “*madanabe aymashana bahabe ayuchana!*” It means, “let God not make us lose citizenship nor purge us from *baha!*” *Madana* is citizenship. Hence, this *duwaa*, to express how *baha* is important for Hararis, equates purging from *baha* to losing citizenship. Through time, however, the importance of *baha* diminished and its scope and the purpose for which the *baha* was established for has been changed. Thus, it can be understood *baha* is not only different from *jamaa*, but the old *baha* is indeed different from the contemporary one, especially from the societal problems they were addressing. The *baha* was guided by enhancement of the welfare of all Hararis applying values of helpfulness (Schwartz, 1994). ,

The following is a summary from two *jamaa* meetings attended by the researcher. The first one was Amir Nur *jamaa* gathering held on May 24, 2013, in Harar. It is *toya jamaa* and only three years old. That meeting was first addressed to come to order by *Abay Sami-ya Umar*, probably the eldest lady among the members. Then she made *duwaa* while distributing a token amount of *chat* to the members. Before resuming the formal meeting in which Br. 15 is collected from each member and attendance taken, they exchanged information. Unless it is a good

remark, from what we said on *ahli*, they did not gossip about any individual or group who is the *ahli* of any member. Then the meeting came to an end with *duwaa*.

If a member is absent without good cause or fails to inform her absence ahead or on the meeting day the absentee would be penalized. The penalty could be admonishing and in case of a recidivist member a fine up to Br. 50 could be imposed. The final penalty is expulsion from membership. Such type of individual may apply to other *jamaa* that would try to find out the reason why she left her previous *jamaa*. There is a possibility of being rejected by other *jamaach* in Harar that are 18¹²⁴ in number if they found out the expulsion is acceptable.

The majority of members of this *toya jamaa* are also members of *Ti-saay jamaa*, the oldest *jamaa* established in Harar by 11 *gey indochach* by merging two *toya jamaach* (plural form of *jamaa*) in 1978 GC. According to Abay Muluka Abdul Hamid¹²⁵ who is the secretary, *Ti-saay jamaa* members are currently 55 in number. It has acquired legal personality registering with Harari People Regional State Justice and Security Affairs Bureau. It has regulations which are always read to a new applicant, who pays the total sum that has been contributed by the *jamaa* members.

The members vote for chairwoman, deputy chairwoman, secretary, auditor, treasurer and store-keeper every two years. *Jamaa* members are active in the wedding and burial ceremonies. In old days *ayach afocha* members used to provide breakfast and dinner for three consecutive days to the guests who presented themselves at the deceased's house. These days, however, they serve only dinner. Mourners and guests, therefore, have to skip lunch or manage this on their own. To resolve this, *jamaach* started to prepare and serve lunch. For breakfast they serve bread with tea. From 3:00pm to 5:00pm for three consecutive days, members read Quran and each

¹²⁴ This figure is obtained from the interview *gisti* (lady) Nejaha Umar had with Harari TV and transmitted on 12/02/2013.

¹²⁵ Interview on 30/11/2013 in Harar

morning they make *Zikri* and make *duwaa* for the deceased at his or her home. On the third day they wind up reading the whole chapters of the Quran.

On the wedding ceremony the *jamaa* helps in preparing and serving food using its own utensils. If the host employs individual laborers who do manual work, such as chopping onions, the *jamaa* covers the payment for the laborers. Members engage in *anqar mehtab* and *Zagan karabu*. When a member falls sick they visit the sick individual in group to make *duwaa* and contribution provided the sick one cannot afford to cover her medical expenses. They also help those members and non-members who are destitute.

From the activities the *jamaa* is accomplishing, it is plausible to conclude that it has taken over some of the functions of *afocha*. What is remarkable about the *Ti-saay jamaa* is the sacred tasks the *jamaa* is planning to accomplish according to *Abay Muluka*. They have a plan to acquire land and build a complex where they could start business to generate income, bring up orphans, and help poor women who have the intention but could not start business due to lack of capital. *Ti-saay jamaa* is helping not only its members, but also those who are not members but needy people, especially women. Hence, this makes it the protector of the welfare of all destitute individuals guided by values of broad mindedness, social justice and equality (Schwartz, 1994).

Muna further informs that there are two types of contributions: contribution as *jamaa* member and contribution made as *baha* member. The first one is Br. 200 and is made at the beginning of every year. It is a membership contribution and its purpose is to assist members mainly with wedding and funerals. They also use it to help needy members and non-members. Or they may, led by values of creativity and curiosity, do business with it. For instance, they invested Br. 10,000 Bond on the Renaissance Dam that has been built on the Nile River.

The latter type of contribution is Br. 1000 per 15 days. This contribution is made by *baha* members who are also *jamaa* members and who can afford to do so. It is an association within an association. Though only *Ti-saay jamaa* members can join the *baha*, members who cannot afford may not be forced to join the *baha*. Hence, while only *jamaa* members are eligible to *baha* membership, *jamaa* members are not obliged to join the *baha* within the *jamaa*. On the other hand, *Ti-saay jamaa* members are free to join other *afochach* of their own choice.

The first type of contribution could be made at one go or on two, three or four terms. There is even a possibility to exempt a member from paying where it is proven she could not come up with the money. In case of the *baha*, however, exemption is unthinkable. Two or more members, however, can contribute, say, Br. 500 or 200 each and join the *baha* and distribute the total amount they receive proportionately.

The researcher attended the *leqot jamaa* meeting on Nov. 10, 2013, in Harar. Like *Amir Nur jamaa* they first greeted each other and when the meeting came to order, the chairwoman stipulated the agendas of the day. First they requested explanation from a member who was absent from the last two meetings. The absentee explained she was absent as she was on a journey. Moreover, she informed the *jamaa* someone from her neighborhood was dead. They accepted her reason but admonished her for her failure to inform her reason for her absence ahead of that meeting.

They also exchanged ideas on the utensil they would like to purchase. After long deliberation they agreed to purchase a big metal cauldron. Accepting a new member who paid Br. 500 as arrears plus Br. 10 for current contribution they concluded their meeting, agreeing to read Yasin and Tabarak chapters from the Quran on their ordinary gathering they hold every 15

days. From the contribution the new member paid, it is plausible to assume the *jamaa* is two and a half years old.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND FINDINGS

Conclusions

Harar was once an independent emirate or city-state. Medieval Harar, which once stretched the African coast and trade-routes, however, was different from other Sultanates. Harar had its shrine, which formed a center of pilgrimage; a place of riches and security that easily became a splendid legend among the surrounding people. Even in 1935, after a generation of Abyssinian misrule and Indian and Levantine immigration, it retained something of the gracious aroma of old Islamic cities.

Except the replacement of wooden outer door gates with iron sheet, the covering of the narrow passages with cobblestones, and the introduction of pipe line water in each house hold, the heart of the city is unchanged, with its steep little alleys twisting between secretive courtyards and currently sturdy sheds. Previously, following the three occupations, some changes were introduced as well: two new gates; the scattering of ornate, Indian influenced villas; the Ras's palace; the Christian church erected by king Menelik; the sprawl of extramural tin-roof suburbs; the renovation of the *Asma Adin Bari* and *Badro Bari* by the Turkish and Italians, respectively.

Furthermore, during Egyptian rule a new mosque was built at *fares Magala* (horse market), a venue where currently the Chelenque monument is built. Even though at the end of the 19th century Indian merchants built new houses whose wooden verandas defined a different urban landscape and influenced the construction of *gey garach*, their architectural and

ornamental qualities are now part of the Harari cultural heritage. The Italians also, during their five year occupation, on top of renovating one of the gates of the *Jugal*, they introduced a new modern suburb called *Butege* on the outskirts of the wall by constructing new buildings to live in and run their administration. That was done at the expense of Harari fruit gardens. They also built butcher houses at the grand market known as *gidir Magala*. They introduced Italian language into the curriculum of the educational system, dropping Amharic.

Language-wise though, Hararis have their own language that belongs to the Semitic family it contains, as noted by Nicholl (1997), a strong mix of Oromo and Somali languages both in vocabulary and structure. Burton (1894) once said this language is only bound within the wall spoken only by 8,000 souls. These days, however, it is spoken in Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa at the domestic level and in Chicago, California, Dallas, Australia and Toronto at the international level. There is a possibility for Harari values to contain some values from the Far East, North Africa, European, and Ethiopia.

Even though Harari values lie deep within the Harari's consciousness, have their own distinct features emanated from *Jugal*, *awach*, *gey gar*, *marign*, *gel*, *jamaa*, *afocha*, *Quran gey*, *ashir gar*, family relations, etc., which are the sources for Harari identity, trade contacts with central Ethiopia and to the coast, the presence of foreign merchants in Harar around the turn of the century, and the occupation of Harar by different forces have left their marks on Harari values. Thus, as Harari identity, Harari values lubricate and smooth the social relations and bring social harmony. Hararis are the gauge of their values. Then, for Hararis to disregard these values could mean to overlook their identity, which may result in identity crises and social instability.

One of the institutions where Hararis develop and either teach or learn their values is the family that includes *aw wa I*, *ezair wa kaka*, *anna wa ekhesta*, *umma wa baabaa* and *waldach*. These and other *ahlach* teach Harari values to children and monitor their observation or violation. The values that teach children how to function in this world are mainly based on Harari spiritual, religious and traditional beliefs. By definition, Harari family is not a nuclear family; rather it is an extended family. It is a basic social unit that consists of persons closely related by blood.

A mother, assisted by her sisters if she has one or by her elder daughter who is capable of taking care of her younger brothers or sisters while her mother is preparing food or attending her husband, brings up the children. Once a week all grandchildren spend their weekends at their grandmothers' or aunts' or uncles' home playing with their cousins. Where they live either in Addis Ababa or Dire Dawa they spend much of their school vacation in Harar with their ascendants or collaterals. The Diasporas invite their mothers to live with them and teach their grandchildren Harari values. On the contrary, children take care of their aged parents, including grandparents. There is no especial home for retired people. This is how Hararis transfer their values to the next generation.

Harari mothers and dads go out to work to provide breads for the family. Back then mothers work only half a day selling what they collected from their farm. Following the establishment of Harari Regional State, however, mothers who are employed at offices work the whole day. When they return home they care for the children. They would make the children do their homework before they could go outside to play with their friends if there are no computers or video games to play with.

Most of the time family members eat food that is served on one plate believing that food eaten in such a manner has *Baraka*. Even if they use separate plates they always eat together. This is the time and place where family members exchange information, share their thoughts, perspectives, lives, and children learn Harari table manners. At weddings and other festivities the youths help the guests and elders to wash their hands and then serve them with food and drinks made from contributions made by each *ahli* or *afocha* or *jamaa* members. When they finish serving they eat together with their peers. From this they learn sharing responsibilities, hospitality and love.

In Harari life there are always family members or friends to talk with. It is very unlikely to find one Harari who would say ‘leave me alone! I want to be left alone!’ While chewing chat they watch TV together; the youth share information on their email downloaded either from their cell phone or computer where this is available. Thus these back grounds, culture and manner of living are the causes for the Harari family values.

Outside the family, Hararis are interconnected through *marign*, *gel*, *ahli*, *afocha* and *jamaa*. These institutions are the custodians of Harari values. They teach and monitor the observation of the values implementing various mechanisms. As pointed out by Cohen (1931) and Waldron (1978) gossip is one method that is used by these institutions to see that individuals confirm to the social values of Harari society. Hence, for Hararis to live without these institutions is for a fish to live without water or a grasshopper without grasses.

This does not mean Harari family has not been confronted with challenges. In old days, the roles of the parents were simple; while the father is the head of the household keeping order and setting discipline when needed, the mother provides stability and comfort to her family. This is now facing challenges as mothers are leaving children behind with house maids. In some cases

the traditional 40-or 50-year marriage has been reduced to 4 or 5 years. Divorce has become more frequent in Harari society while the number of marriages has increased. While some of traditional family values have become less important, new ones are emerging. Hence, as the family is fundamental for personality formation, Hararis have to design new mechanisms to resolve the problem that has come along with modernization. One way to deal with this is to preserve its originality while dealing with changes.

Harar has been portrayed by most scholars as trade and Islamic learning center. Even though one does not disagree with this idea, it would be said this would narrow the understanding of Harar and Hararis. Hararis have lives that may not be isolated and understood from their walled city and its vicinities. They may not be understood isolated from their *toyach*, *gara abaat* and *gar* that consists of different parts in which they are brought up, and finally their spirit and body is freed from contamination when death takes them. Hararis may not be understood isolated from their neighbors with whom they share the *awach*, the trade, the beliefs and the sweet and sour part of life. Harari values are, therefore, principles, ideas, or standards accumulated from Harari experience of deep social relations with other people over the ages.

When one studies Hararis, therefore, one has to look into their religious myths, some symbolic acts reflected through values to make the study comprehensive. This work has discussed some of the values it believes to be central in the lives of Hararis. Values that regulate family relations from birth to death, values governing Harari educational institutions, and those values that regulate social, trade and institutions are discussed as important ones in defining and understanding Hararis.

One of the relevant tasks of education is to enable society to produce good men who act nobly. Though one may debate on what type of education is good education, at least no one disagrees with schooling, surrounded with examples of rudeness and vices are not good schooling. To produce good men the education itself, therefore, has to be free from vices and rudeness to enable people to act rightly and fight for justice.

Even though further research is required to say the aim of the Harari education system has been to produce people who would act rightly and fight for justices, there were indications that efforts were made by the *Kabirach* to shape the students to be good and act rightly. They did that through teaching and by doing. This can be assumed from the simple life the *Kabirach* were leading. Normally, *gey garach* are decorative, while the house of a *kabir* is not. Their food is, most of the time, 1/4th of the *ukhat* collected from each student. They did not discriminate among their students but on character and merit. They always wished prosperity and development to the community that was expressed through the *duwaa* they performed in various occasions.

The characteristic of the *Quran gey* teaching had also contributed to that end. As it is pointed out by Woube Kassaye, (2014) some of those characteristics were functionalism as Hararis view the *Quran Gey* part of the bigger society that is made up of interrelated parts, all interacting on the basis of a common value system. The second characteristic, is an immediate induction into society and a preparation for adulthood through: participating in military training and constructing small houses; learning by doing, i.e. emphasizing participatory education; a continuous assessment by the family and the *kabir*; being non-rigidly compartmentalized whereby senior students are allowed to teach junior ones and flexible enough to accommodate any mature person at any stage.

Another discourse could be on who should provide education. Some argue to educate a child is an obligation that rests upon parents. For instance, as noted by Mill (West, 1965, p. 10) the proper education of children is the most sacred duty of the parents. He goes on further, describing a moral crime if one only provides food for its body but fails to provide instruction and training for its mind. Not performing that, however, is not only failing against the offspring but against the society. Harari has made education accessible not only to their children but to the children of other communities as well.

In that process, educational values could be created or come to existence in various ways. They could be created in the process of building the educational system or they could be included in the curriculum of a given school and taught in classes. In some schools run by Harari communities, on top of those values taught as part of courses an additional separate course, referred to as a behavioral course, is offered to teach students various values. Some of them are God fearing, social responsibilities, which include respect and care for parents, to relatives, neighbors and others, for instance, those who are in need such as travelers.

Values, which are probably common to all human beings, such as kindness, generosity, mercy, sympathy, peace, disinterested good will, fairness and truthfulness towards all creatures including animals in all situations, regulate various relations including but not limited to relations between family members (both limited and extended), relations between an individual and the community on the one hand and relations among community members and nature. As these are some of the values all Harari educational institutions are sharing, it seems they are universal. On the other hand, each may have values which it promotes depending on different economic, social, cultural or political atmospheres.

Some of Hararis' educational values, such as provision of equal educational access to women and helping them to cope with difficulties they faced through special programs designed, are worth acknowledgment when analyzed in respect of the time those measures were undertaken. Then one could say Hararis command a great deal of honor in this respect. By appointing women to higher posts-once they acquired the necessary education-that enable them to serve their community Hararis accomplished such a novel task in the 19th century that some did not yet practice in the 21st century.

Furthermore, Hararis do not adopt segregation principle while students are attending classes or at their free time in the school compound. All pursue their courses in one classroom taught either by a female or male teacher. Neither are faculties expected to be separate while in school or on their leisure time in the school compound. Both are, however, expected to observe Islamic way of dressing. It suffices for female staff to put a scarf on her head to cover her hair. Nevertheless, she is not necessarily expected to put on *Hijab*. Thus, Hararis regulated the relations the community members had with its female members in a wise manner by advancing values which promote gender equality.

Similarly, Hararis had regulated the relations they have with their surrounding community by promoting novel values through its educational system. Some of these values are altruism, equity, diversity and social justice. Thus, in order to ensure their perpetuity and peace, Hararis have to make education accessible by extending education beyond its border and reach out to others as they believe good education produces good people. This was like bringing the horse to the well. There were cases where children from the surrounding people came to Harar to study. Hence, students who came from various backgrounds contributed to foster Harari values while some of them absorbed Harari values and became Hararis for good.

The discourse on who should exercise final authority-the family, state or community-over education is going on. Locke (1953) for instance, concludes “that parents have the right and duty to ‘govern’ their children’s education” (First Treatise of Government, sec. 63). Hararis, however, involved each stakeholder, the students, the *kabir*, the family, the *ulama* and the Amir (state), limiting the role of the *ulama* and state to evaluation.

The follow-up and the evaluation mothers were undertaking is worth mentioning in the daily lesson of their children. Each day when the student returns from school the mother, probably who could be Quran illiterate, would ask her child to revise the verse of the Quran she or he studied at school. If she senses something is wrong in her child’s recitation of the verse she would refer the matter to her husband who would identify the real problem and send a message to the teacher. Thus, the teacher would continue to teach and keep his privileged position, as long as his performance is approved as satisfactory by the community. This relationship reflects the interdependence the teacher and the community are having based on values of cooperation and accountability.

Hence, values in Hararis educational system have been mainly regulating two measure relations, external and internal relations. Some values have been regulating those external relations Hararis have had with surrounding people and international community, which resulted in smoothing that relation. Hence, what can be understood from Harari educational system is that Islamic education in general, and Harari education in particular, are not fostering anti-West sentiment among the young generation. Rather, the West and the Islamic world have common values which are essential to peace and prosperity. The remaining values have been regulating relations among Hararis on the one hand, and relations between individuals and the community on the other hand.

Besides Islamic education, Harar was known for its trade that was used by Hararis as a means to achieve and sustain peace. Historically, as it has been seen, villages or small cities like Harar were overrun by the pastoralist Oromos, which resulted in the complete disappearance of those villages or little cities with their people who were either completely annihilated or adopted by the Oromos (Caulk, 1977). The Hararis, however, realizing negotiation with the Oromos would save their city from destruction, convinced the Oromos preserving the city would serve their interest better than destroying it.

Thus, by the beginning of the 19th century, the relations between Harar and the settled Oromos had developed into mutual economic interdependence. This economic interdependence and political necessity brought a closer alliance between the city's administration and the settled Oromos. Such alliances reflected an economic as well as political necessity (Muhammad Hassan 1973).

Also, in order to carry on trade to the port at Zeila, Hararis maintained alliances with Somali-caravan protectors under the unifying force of Islam. Records from the Emirs' households from the 17th century demonstrated numerous alliances with Oromo and other non-Hararis, principally through kinship, including intermarriage, adoptive brotherhood and Islam brotherhood. Thus, the basic patterns of interdependence were foundational to the city's development (Shetler & Dawit, 2010).

Aside from having peaceful relations with the surrounding people, Hararis, led by values of power, controlled some trade items to safeguard their interests. One of those items was salt. It was controlled by the Hararis as a key to the survival of the city (Waldron, 1984). Waldron further noted that controlling the salt market put Hararis in an advantageous position, for as

Bloch notes (Waldron, 1984) “he who controlled salt controlled the people.” (p. 3). This was also another mechanism Hararis used to preserve their city, trade and trade routes.

Once peace is secured, merchants belonging to different local communities such as Oromos, Somalis, Harari, Argoba, Shawa, and *ferengis* could converge on the Harar market to exchange their diverse trade goods. While the market served as a point of cultural contact, the diversity of trade goods also shows clearly the extent of commercial relations among many ethnic and class groups (Harris, 1844). This also rejects the allegation that Harar was an isolated, forbidden city.

Waldron (1984), however, asserts those relations were not always entirely in favor of the Hararis. For instance, Amir Muhammad Ali’s adoption by the Oromo chiefs by the *elm gosa* ceremony exposed Harar to the regular provision of hospitality to visiting Oromos, (Muhammad Hassen, 1973; Caulk, 1977). The Amir had to pay regular tribute to the Oromo chiefs, including: 10% tithes from the Hararis farms; and taxes collected on goods of merchants as they entered and left the city, income drawn from his own farm and maybe on export of ivory and other items. Since these incomes did not satisfy the lust of the Oromo chiefs, the amir imposed a special hospitality tax referred to as *Mahalaq Oromo* on the citizens. He further exacerbated the economic situation by debasing the existing coin by replacing the silver with copper (Waldron, 1984) and used the silver saved to settle his debts.

One may not disagree with Waldron’s (1984) assertion that the relation was unbalanced and unfair. It was a cost paid by the Hararis to protect the city from complete destruction in similar fashion to others who suffered from Oromo pastoralists’ expansion. The Hararis did not, however, allow that unfair and unbalanced relation to continue, for, sooner, or later, it would have slowly ruined their city too, simply prolonging its agony. Thus, they invited the Egyptian

forces to occupy Harar and did away with the Harari Amir and Oromo alliance (Abbas Ahmed, 1992; Muhammad Hassen, 1980).

Basically, therefore, negotiation and cooperation, rather than confrontation, were promoted by the Hararis, where necessary, to protect their city and enhance peace which is essential to economic development. Thus, the value of respect, mutual benefit and cooperation governed the relations between the Hararis and the Oromos. The sustenance of these values depended greatly on the principles of righteousness, honesty, sincerity, diligence, trust, non-discrimination and fairness in the relations among traders. Legal rules among which the sanctity of property rights and of contract were paramount functioned to protect these values.

Whenever these values are eroded people will resort to other means to restore them. That seems the reason why Hararis either invited the Egyptian force to occupy Harar or at least gave no resistance to that force. Again, when the Egyptian administration started to violate those values, the Hararis started silent resistance against that rule. As E. S. Pankhurst (1958) noted, when the British forced the Egyptians to leave Harar they (Hararis) were dancing, rejoicing that their tyrants had been removed.

The trade values and ethics govern not only relations between Hararis and other third parties; they regulated relations among Harari merchants. One of the values was trust each merchant has towards each other. Instances discussed by Stitz (1975) brings to light how Harari merchants entrusted their town property to a friend or a Qadi who received and carefully administered it for the benefit of the merchants and their families when leaving for *Ifat* or to the coast for trade. The question we could raise is why people were performing their duties faithfully? What does the future hold regarding this?

Concerning the first question it could be said, besides the teaching of Islam, as pointed out by Fourcade and Healy (2007), the market nourishes personal virtues of honesty and cooperation. The same authors argue, as illustrated by A. Smith (1978) that the introduction of commerce into any country is always accompanied by honesty and punctuality. Thus, of all the nations of Europe, the Dutch (the most commercial) are the most faithful to their word. According to this approach, the market creates people with honesty and integrity, and faithful to their words. As it has been discussed Harari merchants were such type of people in the 18th century.

Whether things have changed or not, further study is necessary. It is plausible, however, to say the following. The market could undermine social relations, corrupt political life and eat away character. This approach is what Fourcade and Healy (2007) have called the commodity nightmare. This could make people lack honesty, dignity and moral value.

This could be the prevailing phenomenon this day in Ethiopia as one can infer from the maneuvers the government is making to fight corruption scandals revealed in the Ethiopian Custom Authority, Ethiopian Electric Power Authority and Ethiopian Telecommunication Authority. The Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission has sued several merchants; including Harari merchants related with this scandal. The question is, would the government stop it or, as pointed out by Fourcade and Healy (2007) will each individuals hunger for the profit will be kept in check by a similar drive among other individuals? Or would the market be feeble compared to the culture and society to curb the individual hunger for the undue profit?

Hence, in the 18th century markets were civilizing and they created honest and prudent Harari merchants who lived up to their promise and adhered to civility and cooperation. These days, probably, either the markets are destructive and are creating businessmen with corrupted

values and that hinder progress, or the markets are feeble so that their effects on society are minimal. If the Harari merchants in particular, and the Ethiopian merchants in general, work towards what is called by the economists the *doux commerce*, they would curb the hunger for the unjustified profit. Otherwise, businessmen with corrupted values will prevail and development will be halted.

Other than the relations the Hararis had established with the Oromos to keep their city and the trade routes safe, it could be argued those relations the Hararis always had with the international market and becoming the pioneer in the technology transfer and economic development helped them to perpetuate as a community. As it has been discussed, after Harar was reduced from the capital city of militant to mercantile city state, Hararis utilized Islam, marriage and trade to maintain their city and the trade routes.

As mentioned by Cerulli (1931), to free the trade routes, the first trade-related treaty was made between Usman Al-Habash, the successor of Amir Nur, where-in the Oromos were given preferential treatments. And yet the Hararis held the two essential goods, i.e. salt and cloth in monopoly. As described by Waldron (1984) cloth, as a replacement for leather wraps, is still a highly desired commodity and a mainstay of the Harari long-distance trade (Stitz, 1975) that was initially, in the Harari-Oromo trade, almost certainly a sumptuary item, not a necessity. Hence, they made all those concessions to open trade routes to the sea that would keep them informed on the global business.

As mentioned by Waldron (1984) Hararis, who had the specialized mercantile knowledge and organization to bring the salt from the coastal sources, having control over it, made it the key to the city's survival. As it was extracted from the coastal evaporating pans, particularly at Zeila it could be said, the Hararis used that as a means of maintaining the contact they had with the

international community. They used the proceeds from the cloth and the salt to purchase merchandise to export; another mechanism they implemented to maintain that contact crucial to the survival of their city.

Some scholars attributed the link Harar had with the global commerce and transport that had rapidly developed in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to the Egyptian occupation. Though this is not a settled argument, no one doubts Hararis had learned how to do business from the Europeans, (mainly Greek, French, and Italian traders) who came along with the occupying force. As it has been already mentioned by *Ezair* Abdullahi Hassan Sheriff, those Europeans were applying modern computation to run their businesses.

Hararis, importing sewing machine, started to produce ready-made garments using raw clothes they purchased from the European importers, and then exported to the highland of Ethiopia. They were the first to introduce that machine and bring corresponding technology transformation to Ethiopia. According Aw Kamil Abubaker,¹²⁶ after the incorporation of Harar into the Ethiopian Empire some of them moved to Addis Ababa and made clothes for the Imperial Palace. Klemm¹²⁷ (2002) attributes the importation of a special sewing machine to stitch the first *atlas*, special cloth put on by the *gey indochach* on *belachu* by a Yemini tailor who came to Harar in 1870. It is plausible to infer that the one which was imported by the Yemini tailor was a special one, whereas those imported by the Hararis were ordinary types.

The introduction of the railroad from Djibouti to Addis Ababa resulted in the shifting of the trade center to Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa. The Hararis took that as a blessing in disguise and moved to those centers and engaged in the export/import business and maintained the commercial connection they have had with the international community. These days most Harari

¹²⁶ Interview 3/6/2013 in Addis Ababa

¹²⁷ From an interview she had with N.A. on April 5th 2000

traders are engaging in importing building materials and electronics to maintain that connection. Some are exporting coffee.

While keeping their relations with the international community, they were also building their social institutions wherever they went and settled. When they started living in Addis Ababa they organized their *afocha* and established the first Sharia court headed by *kabir* Ali Affaan who came from Harar. They established *Umar Smatter Madrasah* the first Islamic school in Addis Ababa. From all those acts we can say that Hararis have been guided by values of creativity, inquisitiveness and freedom; daring, varied life, and exciting life; successful and capable. If they maintain these values and continue to apply them, considering the changing situations, Hararis will survive the odds they may come across in the future. And anybody who would like to understand how Hararis believe, think, dream, act and react should know what Harari values are.

Findings

1. As values are the subject studied by all social sciences, this concept is used as a tool to understand family, trade, social and educational life of Hararis. Thus, understanding of this concept is important to understand generally different aspects (legal, economic, cultural, and political, etc.) of any society.
2. For various reasons (capacity for instance) state rules alone would not be sufficient to regulate all social relations in a given society. Then that gap is filled by values. The *Quran gey* is regulated not by the state laws. Neither it ruled by Shera. Rather through values developed in the *Quran gey*. Furthermore, the Betrothal once in Ethiopia, was regulated with the family laws. These days it is left to be regulated by the values of the society.
3. Moreover, society needs some spaces to regulate itself with standards, beliefs and principles which it creates, develops and implements throughout its history using its various institutions. One of those principles, standards and beliefs are values. For instance, the presence of trust, which is very important value for economic development, among traders is mainly regulated by the merchants themselves.
4. Values and state legal rules have their similarities and differences.

1. Categorizing acts or behaviors as right or wrong, both regulate social relations. Hence, both are instruments to regulate social relations. Hararis use both values and state legal norms to regulate behaviors. For instance, it was the Qadi, as the representative of the Amir, who would issue title deed for immovable property. The same property, to be administered, would be trusted to a Qadi or a friend by a merchant who would leave for inland or sea port to do business.
2. Both legal norms and values mold individuals and society using similar or different social institutions.
3. Values and legal norms are put in hierarchical order by a society to inform the members which values or legal norms are very important to the society. In both cases, therefore, the higher the hierarchy the values or the legal rules one violates, the severe the punishment is.
4. Legal norms under certain circumstances recognize and provide protection to some values, such as family, religious and traditional values. For example, recognition of traditional marriage.
5. Values have positive quality on the individual who promotes it. For instance, merchants would feel good about their integrity and being honest if they are so while doing business. This is also true for legal norms. For instance, when one promotes human rights provisions, as Hararis promoted equality of women when they allowed and even supported women to learn.
6. Though basically legal norms apply sanction for their observation by the society, both values and legal norms, to regulate societal relations, apply sanctions and awards. For instance once Usman Al-Habash used preferential taxes in order to smooth the relations between Hararis and the Oromos.
7. Values have public and private aspects. Public values are observed to avoid social sanction, while private/individual values are observed to avoid shame in one's own private feelings. The social sanction, as applied by the state as collective representative of the society, is true for the legal norms.
8. Values promotes economic growth. For example, where there is trust, economic growth is fast, for the cost of making a contract is low. Hand shake suffice to conclude contracts, while drawing sophisticated legal instruments, which requires longer time and costly, may hamper economic growth.

9. Values are chosen freely, while individuals do not have choices or alternatives except obeying the legal norms to avoid sanctions. For example, in democratic political life, one will not be sanctioned for one is right or left oriented political thinker.
10. In case of values, you stand by your values and even try to convince others to adopt those values. For instance, you try to convince others not to cheat. In case of legal norms, this is done, most of the time by the state institutions. Hence, the instruments applied here differ.
11. When values exist at individual level, for its implementation you may not need the collective action of the society.
12. Legal norms, generally regulates the relation we may have with each other and the state, while values regulate internal feelings of an individual, (example competent values).
13. Application of values may vary from individual to individual, from family to family, from community to community, etc. basically legal norms, however, surpass these.
14. Values are acquired both formally and informally, while legal norms are, generally, acquired formally.
15. The custodian institutions of values are mainly families, religious institutions, schools and other social institutions. While in case of legal norms, the state institutions are the main actors.
16. Values are not, in general written. Most of the time they are transferred, from generation to generation, orally. Basically, the legal norms are written.
17. Some times to enforce values we may use our own instruments without seeking help from the legal norms. For instance, if a merchant from Shawa repeatedly breaks contractual promises, as this affects not only the promise breaker, but the Shawan merchants, the Shawan merchants themselves take measures, such as reprimand, isolation or restriction, even withdrawal from doing business with the promise breaker.

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