

## የኦሮሞ ብሔርተኛው የጸጋዬ አራርሳ ነገር! -

አቻምየለህ ታምሩ

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ወያኔ ባወጀው የአዲስ አበባ የጠብ አጀንዳ ዙሪያ ምንም ነገር ላለማለት ወስኛለሁ። ምንም ነገር ላለማለት የወሰነሁበት ምክንያትም ወያኔ ያዘጋጀልንን ጦርነት ላለመዋጋት ስል ነው። ሆኖም ግን አዲስ አበባን አስመልክቶ የአውስትራሊያው የኦሮሞ ብሔርተኛ ጸጋዬ አራርሳ በአዲስ ስታንታድር መጽሔት ላይ “COMMENTARY: THE INTEREST THAT IS NOT SO SPECIAL: ADDIS ABEBA, OROMIA, AND ETHIOPIA (<http://addisstandard.com/the-interest-that-is-not-so-special-addis-abeba-oromia-and-ethiopia/>)” በሚል ርዕስ ባሳተመውና ትናንትና ዛሬ ብዙ ሰው እየተቀባበለ ሼር ሲያደርገው በዋለው አርቲክል ላይ ጸጋዬ ከኦሮሞ በስተቀር ያለውን የአዲስ አበባ ኗሪ መጤና እንግዳ ለማድረግ የሄደበት ርቀት ዝም ብዬ እንዳላልፍ አድርጎኛል።

ጸጋዬ አራርሳን ባወቅሁባቸው ያለፉት ሁለት አመታት ውስጥ በሚጽፈው አርቲክልም ሆነ በሚሰጠው ቃለ ምልልስ ውስጥ ከኦሮሞ ውጭ ያለውን የአዲስ አበባን ነዋሪ እንግዳ [guest] ወይም መጤ ሳያደርግ፤ ኦሮሞን ደግሞ ብቸኛ የአዲስ አበባ ባለቤት፤ አስተናጋጅ [host] እና ታሪካዊ የምድራቷ ራስ እንደሆነ ሳይናገር ንግግሩንና ጽሁፉን የቋጨበት ወቅትና ኩነት ትዝ አይለኝም። የጸጋዬንና የርዕዮታለም አጋሮቹን የመነቸክ የኢትዮጵያን አገረ መንግስት አመሰራረት ትርክት ላደመጠ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ሰው መኖር የጀመረው ንጉስ ምኒልክ የሸዋ ንጉስ ከሆኑ በኋላ ቢመስለው አይፈረድበትም።

ከታች የታተሙት ገጾች ጸጋዬ አራርሳ አዲስ ስታንዳርድ ላይ ባቀረበው ጽሁፉ ውስጥ ኦሮሞ የአዲስ አበባ ታሪካዊ ባለቤትና ምድሩ ላይ የበቀለ [indigenous] መሆኑን ለማሳየት ካቀረበው ጸሐፊ ከሻለቃ ዊሊያም ሀሪስ መጽሐፍ የተወሰዱ ናቸው። ሆኖም ግን የሀሪስ መጽሐፍ ውስጥ የሚገኘው ታሪክ ጸጋዬ በኩሸት የነገረን የኦሮሞ የአዲስ አበባ ታሪካዊ ባለቤትነትን የሚያሳይ ሳይሆን ተቃራኒውን ማለትም ኦሮሞ የአዲስ አበባ ታሪካዊ ባለቤት እንዳልሆነና እንዴውም የአዲስ አበባ መጤ እንደሆነ የሚያሳይ ነው። የኔ ጽሁፍ አላማ ማንም ፊደል የቆጠረ ሁሉ የሀሪስን መጽሐፍ አንብቦ ሊያረጋግጠው የሚችለውን እውነታ [በመጽሐፉ የሰፈረውን ማለቴ ነው] ለዘረኝነት ጥማቱ ማርኪያ ሲል ጸጋዬ አራርሳ ጠምዝዞ ያቀረበውን ድፍረት የተሞላበት ውሸት ማጋለጥ ነው። ከዚህ ውጭ ጽሁፌ የጸጋዬ አይነት አላማ እንደሌለው አንባቢዎቼ እንዲያውቁልኝ እሻለሁ።

ጸጋዬ አራርሳ ባሳተመው የአዲስ ስታንዳርድ ጽሁፉ የአዲስ አበባን ኗሪዎች ታሪክ ሲያስቀምጥ “A cursory glance at writings by William Harris, Alexander Bulatovich, and even Evelyn Waugh, indicates that the State operated in Addis Abeba as an occupying force of settler colonialists bent on pushing out and displacing the indigenous Oromo peoples” ብሏል። ይህ የጸጋዬ ትርክት እውነትነው አለውን? እስቲ የሚቀጥሉትን አንቀጾች እንመልከት። በመጀመሪያ የጸጋዬን ምንጭ ማንነት እንግለጥ።

ጸጋዬ የጠቀሰው ሻለቃ ዊሊያም ሀሪስ በንጉስ ሳህለ ሥላሴ ዘመን ኢትዮጵያን የጎበኘና ንጉስ ሳህለ ሥላሴ ወደ ጉራጌ ምድር ሲሄዱ አብሯቸው የተጓዘ የእንግሊዝ መንግሥት ልኡካን ቡድን መሪ ነው። ዊሊያም ሀሪስ ከጉብኝቱ በኋላ አገሩ ተመልሶ ባዘጋጀው “የኢትዮጵያ ደጋ አገር” ወይም በእንግሊዝኛው “The Highlands Of Ethiopia” መጽሐፉ ስለ ከንጉሱ ጋር ስለነበረው ጉዟቸው በስፋት ያወራል።

ሻለቃ ሀሪስ በጉዞ ማስታወሻው እንደነገረን ሳህለ ሥላሴ ወደ ጉራጌ ሲጓዙ በፍልውሀ በኩል ተሻግረው እንደሄዱ፤ ሲመለሱ ደግሞ በእንጦጦ ዞረው ወደ አንኮበር እንደገቡ፤ በየመንገዳቸው ኦሮሞዎችን እንዳገኙና ግብር ያስገቡላቸው እንደነበር ያትታል።

ጸጋዬ አራርሳ አዲስ አበባን ዋና ከተማ አድርጎ እንደገና የተመሰረተውን የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት “an occupying force of settler colonialists bent on pushing out and displacing the indigenous Oromo peoples” ሲል ሀሪስ ያልጻፈውን ቢጠቅስም፤ የጸጋዬ ዋና ምንጭ ዊሊያም ሀሪስ ግን “The Highlands Of Ethiopia” በሚል በጻፈው መጽሐፍ ገጽ 234 ላይ “Thus affairs continued until the sixteenth century, when the invasion of Mohammad Graan led to the total dismemberment of the Ethiopic empire ; and Shoa, among other of the richest provinces, was overrun and colonized by the Galla hordes. Libne Dengel, the emperor of Gondar, fell by the hand of the Moslem conqueror.” ሲል ጽፏል። ጸጋዬ አራርሳ ግን በአዲስ ስታንዳርድ የጻፈው ዊሊያም ሀሪስ ኦሮሞ ወራሪና ቅኝ ገዢ ነው ያለውን አበሻ ለሚላቸው ገልብጦ በመስጠት ነው። ከፍ ሲል ከቀረበው የሀሪስ ሀተታ የሚያስረዳው የሸዋና የተቀሩት ሀብታም

የኢትዮጵያ ክፍለ ሀገሮች ወራሪና ቅኝ ገዢ ኦሮሞ እንደሆነ እንጂ ጸጋዩ እንዳለው ከኦሮሞ ውጭ የሆነው አበሻ በተለይም አማራ አይደለም።

ምን ይሄ ብቻ! ደፋሩ ጸጋዩ ከኦሮሞ በስተቀር ያለውን የአዲስ አበባ ኗሪ “መጤ፣ ወራሪ፣ ሰፋሪና ቅኝ ገዢ” አድርጎ ለማሳየት የተጠቀመበት የዊሊያም ሀሪስ መጽሐፉ በገጽ 244 ላይ ስለ ኦሮሞ “But the glory had departed from the house of Ethiopia, her power had been prostrated before the mighty conqueror and his wild band; and the Galla hordes, pouring flagrante hello into the richest provinces, from southern Central Africa, reerected heathen shrines during the reign of anarchy, and rose and flourished on her ruins.” የተባለውን እሱ በአዲስ ስታንዳርድ ላይ ባወጣው ጽሁፍ ለኦሮሞ የተባለውን ገልብጦ የሌለ ተረክ ይነግረናል።

ባጭሩ ጸጋዩ አራርሳ ከኦሮሞ ውጭ ያለው የአዲስ አበባ ነዋሪ “an occupying force of settler colonialists bent on pushing out and displacing the indigenous Oromo peoples” ሲል ሀሪስን አጣቅሶ ያቀረበው ከስ መሰረት የሌለው የጸጋዩ የራሱ ፈጠራ ነው። እንዴውም በተቃራኒው ጸጋዩ ከኦሮሞ ውጭ የሆነውን የአዲስ አበባን ነዋሪ “an occupying force of settler colonialists bent on pushing out and displacing the indigenous Oromo peoples” ለማለት በማስረጃነት የተጠቀመበት የዊሊያም ሀሪስ መጽሐፉ ሸዋን ጨምሮ ለም የሆኑ የኢትዮጵያ ክፍለ አገሮችን ወራሪና ቅኝ ገዢ የሚለው ኦሮሞን ነው።

ከዊሊያም ሀሪስ በተጨማሪ በዘመኑ ሸዋን የጎበኙ ሌሎች የውጭ አገር ተጓዦችም ማስታወሻቸውን ትተው አልፈዋል። ለምሳሌ የኦሮሞ ብሔርተኛ ነን የሚሉ ግለሰቦች በብዛት የሚጠቅሱት የዋን ክራምፍ አንዱ ነው። JOURNALS OF THE REV. MESSRS. ISENBEERG AND KRAPF, MISSIONARIES OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, DETAILING THEIR PROCEEDINGS IN THE KINGDOM OF SHOA, AND JOURNEYS IN OTHER PARTS OF ABYSSINIA, IN THE YEARS 18-39, 1840, 1841, AND 1842. በሚል በቀረበ መጽሐፍ ላይ የሰፈረው የዋን ክራምፍ ማስታወሻ እንደሚያስረዳው ጸጋዩ አማራ እንደወረረው ሊነግረን ወደሚፈልገው ወደ አዲስ አበባ ወይም ወደ ሸዋ ምድር ብቻ ሳይሆን የአቢሲኒያ ምድር ወደ ሆነው ወደ ባሌም ኦሮሞዎች የገቡት ግራኝ አሕመድ አቢሲኒያን ወርሮ ሕዝቦቿን ከገደለና ኗሪዎችን ካፈናቀለ በኋላ እ.ኤ.አ በ 1559 ዓ.ም. እንደሆነ ይነግረናል።

ይህንን ከፍ ብሎ የቀረበውን ታሪክ የዋን ክራምፍ እንዲህ ሲል ያስቀምጠዋል፤ “Adjoining to and south-eastward of Efat is the district of Gan, and adjoining and eastward of it again is Bali, a small kingdom, through which the Gallas first rushed into Abyssinia in 1559, Bali is west south-west of Zeilah, and south-west of Mocawa. Fattigar, once a considerable province, lies to the southward and south-westward of Gan and Bali of the ancient Mahomedans.” ከዚህ የምንረዳው ጸጋዩ “an occupying force of settler colonialists bent on pushing out and displacing the indigenous people” ሲል ያቀረበው ተረክ [narrative] የሚገልጸውና ወራሪው ኦሮሞ እንጂ ጸጋዩ እንዳለው ከኦሮሞ ውጭ የሆነው የአዲስ አበባ ኗሪ አይደለም።

ከዚህ በተጨማሪ የዋን ክራምፍ ንጉሱ በሌላ ጊዜ ወደ ጉራጌና አካባቢው ሲጓዝ አብሯቸው ተጉዞ ኖሮ በጉዟቸው የሚያገኟቸው ኦሮሞዎች ንጉሱ ፊት እየቀረቡ ግብር ያስገቡ እንደነበር፤ ንጉሱም በኦሮምኛ እንደሚያነጋግሯቸው፤ ሹመትና ሽልማት እየሰጡ በአካባቢው በሰፈሩ ኦሮሞዎች መሀል አልፈው ጉራጌ እንደደረሱ ያወሳል። ከጉራጌ ጉዞ በኋላ በእንጦጦ ዞረው ወደ አንኮበር እንደተመሰሉ፤ እንጦጦ ላይ በግራኝ ወረራ የፈረሰ የቤተ ክርስቲያን ቅሪት እንዳለና በዚሁ የግራኝ ወረራ ወቅት የፈረሰችና የበርካታ አቢሲኒያ ነገስታት መናገሻ ሆና ታገለግል የነበረች ከተማ እንጦጦ ተራራ ላይ እንደነበረችና ከመፍረሷ በፊት ዓፄ ልብነ ድንግል ለመጨረሻ ጊዜ በዋና ከተማነት ይገለገልባት እንደነበር ይተርካል።

የጸጋዩን ተረክ [narrative] መሰረት አልባነት ለማስረገጥ እሱ ራሱ በጽሁፉ ካቀረባቸው የውጭ አገር ጎብኝዎች በተጨማሪ የግራኝ አሕመድ ወረራን የከበተውን የአረብ ፋቂህን መጽሐፍ Futuh Al-Habasha: The Conquest of Abyssinia [16 century]፤ የበርሙዴዝን “The Portuguese expedition to Abyssinia in 1541-1543”፤ ወዘተ ማቅረብም ይቻላል።

እንግዲህ! ይህ ሁሉ ማስረጃ ከፊታችን ተቀምጦ ነው የሕግ ባለሙያው ጸጋዩ አራርሳ የልብነ ድንግልን ልጆች ያያታቸው ዋና ከተማ ለነበረችው ለእንጦጦና አዲስ አበባ ዙሪያ መጤና የዋና ከተማችን እንግዳ አድርጎ ሊያቀርባቸው የፈልገው። ጸጋዩ በአዲስ ስታንዳርድ መጽሔት ያቀረበው ድፍረት የተሞላበት ጽሁፍ ዊሊያም ሀሪስ በሳህለ ሥላሴ ዘመን በፍል ውሀ በኩል አድርገው ወደ ጉራጌ ሲሄዱ ኦሮሞዎችን አገኘን ያለውን ትርክት አዛብቶ በማቅረብ ከሸዋ አልፈው ወደ አያቶቻቸው ርስት ወደ ዓፄ ዘርዓ ያዕቆብ የትውልድ ምድር ወደ ፈጠጋር [ሐረርጌ አዋሳኝ] ሳህለ ሥላሴ ያደረጉትን ጉዞ ጠምዝዞ ኦሮሞዎችን ብቸኛ የአዲስ አበባ ባለቤቶች፤ በግራኝ ወረራ ምክንያት የሞቱና ከርስታቸው የተፈናቀሉትን ደግሞ ለአዲስ አበባ እንግዳና መጤ አድርጎ አቃርኖ ማቅረቡ የምሁር ዋነኛ ባህሪ ማለትም integrity ን የሌለው መሆኑን ከማሳየቱ ባለፈ ታሪካዊ እውነታውን አይለውጠውም።

ከግራኝ ወረራ በኋላ በየዘመኑ የነገሱት የኢትዮጵያ ነገስታት ሁሉ በየዘመናቸው ፈርሳ የነበረችውን የአያቶቻቸውን አገር አንድ ለማድረግ ሲጥሩ የነበሩት በግራኝ አህመድ ወረራ የተበታተኑትን የኢትዮጵያ ክፍለ አገሮች እንደበፊቱ አንድ ለማድረግ እንጂ ጸጋዬ ሊነግረን እንደሚፈልገው ቅኝ ግዛት ፍለጋና ለወረራ አልነበረ። የእንግሊዙ ዊሊያም ሀሪስና የፈረንሳይ ቴዎፍሎስ ሌፌቭር የሚነግሩን ይህንን ሀቅ ነው። ኢትዮጵያ [በካርታም ላይ ቢሆን] እስካለች ድረስ አዲስ አበባ የመላው ኢትዮጵያዊያን፣ የአፍሪካዊያንና የዓለም ከተማ ነች፤ ከአሮሞ ጀምሮ የመላው ኢትዮጵያዊ ከተማ ሆና ትኖራለች።

mother of the Gallas had been a woizoro (lady) of the Abyssinian Kiugs when they resided on the mountain Entoto, in the neighbourhood of Gurague—that the lady was given in marriage to a slave from the south of Gurague, by whom she had seven sons, who were educated in their father's language and customs, as well as in his business, which was that of a herdsman—that the sons became great robbers, having gathered many people with them—that three of these sons were called Tulema, Karaiu, and Maitsha; and hence the Tribes of these names—that when they thought they were strong enough, they began to fight with the Abyssinians, and frequently vanquished them, particularly on one occasion near the river Gala, in Gurague; and hence they have been called Gallas to the present day. When Mahomed Gragne desolated Shoa and Gurague, the Gallas entered and took possession of many fine places. All this is written in a small treatise, of which I have procured a copy. This account of the origin of the Gallas I think is very probable.

*April 24, 1840*—To-day begins what is called by the Abyssinians Kenona, that is, for three days the people neither eat nor drink; and the Bala Dirgo, or those who receive their maintenance from the King, receive only dry bread, because these are days of prayer. However, I received my portion from the King's table as at other times. To-day I took another boy into my house, who was  
 From Johann Ludwig Krapf account 1 Dima in Godt-sha.....

### From William Cornwallis Harris book

has been rewarded with the hand of one of the Galla tribes bordering on both sides of the Háwash in the south of Shoa. Bunnie was, in consequence of some transgression, imprisoned in Aramba; and Bótora, another potent Galla chieftain, appointed in his stead. But this impolitic transfer of power creating inveterate hatred between the two families, each strove to destroy the other. Bunnie was in consequence liberated, and restored to his government; but resting incautiously under a tree on his return, not long afterward, from a successful expedition against the Aroosi, whom he had defeated, he was suddenly surrounded by the enemy, and slain, together with four chiefs, his confederates, and nearly the whole of his followers. His sons were then severally invested with governments; and Boku, the son of Bótora, was at his father's demise intrusted with the preservation of the avenues to the lake Zooai, long an object of the royal ambition.

Among the most powerful Galla chieftains who own allegiance to Shoa, is Jhara, the son of Chamme, *soi-disant* queen of Moolo Fálada, who, since the demise of her husband, has governed that and other provinces adjacent. Sáhela Selássie, who it will be seen relies more upon political marriages than upon the force of arms, sent matrimonial overtures to this lady, and received for answer the haughty message, "that if he would spread the entire road from Angóllala with rich carpets, she might perhaps listen to the proposal, but upon no other conditions!" The Christian lances poured over the land to avenge this insult offered to the monarch of Shoa, and the invaded tribe laid down their arms; but Gobánah, foster-brother to Jhara, and a mighty man of renown, finding that his majesty proposed burning their hamlets without reservation, rose to oppose the measure. At this critical moment an Amhára trumpeter raised his trombone to his lips. The Galla, believing the instrument to be none other than a musket, fled in consternation, and their doughty chieftain surrendered himself a prisoner at discretion.

Upon learning to whom he had relinquished his liberty, Gobánah, broken-hearted, abandoned himself to despair, and refused all sustenance for many days. The hand of the fair daughter of the queen was eventually the price of his ransom; and on the celebration of the nuptials, the king,

who, with reference to his conquest of Moolo Fálada, might have exclaimed, with the Roman dictator, "*Veni, vidi, vici*," conferred upon Jhara the government of all the subjugated Galla as far as the sources of the Háwash, and to the Nile in the west. Warlike, daring, and ambitious, exercising his important functions almost beyond the ken of his sovereign, and possessing, from his proximity to Gojam and Dámot, the means of creating himself the leader of a vast horde, there can be little doubt, although he has hitherto evinced strong attachment to the crown, that, imitating the example of all Pagan chieftains who have gone before him, he will one day profit by his opportunities to take up arms against Shoa, and may thus be destined to enact a most conspicuous part in the history of the Galla nation.

## CHAPTER XCVII.

### THE GALLA NATION.

ABYSSINIA had long maintained her glory unsullied under an ancient line of emperors, when, in the sixteenth century of the Christian era, the ambitious and formidable Graan, at the head of a whole nation of Moslem barbarians, burst over the frontier, and dashed into atoms the structure of two thousand five hundred years. Defended by hireling swords, which in a series of sanguinary conflicts wrested the victorious wreath from the brow of the invader, and since, supported rather by the memory of departed greatness than by actual strength, small portions of the once vast empire have struggled on, the shadow only of imperial dignity. But the glory had departed from the house of Ethiop, her power had been prostrated before the mighty conqueror and his wild band; and the Galla hordes, pouring *flagrant bello* into the richest provinces, from southern Central Africa, redirected heathen shrines during the reign of anarchy, and rose and flourished on her ruins.

The history of these African Tartars is, however, veiled in the deepest obscurity. Under the title of Oroma, they trace their origin to three sisters, daughters of Jerusalem, to whom are applied traditions similar to the scriptural chronicle of the descendants of Lot. In their own language, the word "Galla" signifies *ingressi*; and of themselves they affirm that Wolláboo, their father, came from beyond Bargámo, "the great water;" and that his children

## From William Cornwallis Harris book

Christianity became the national religion of Abyssinia in the beginning of the fourth century. The Fálashas, descendants of the Jews, who are believed to have accompanied Menilek from Jerusalem, had meanwhile waxed extremely powerful, and refusing to abandon the faith of their forefathers, they now declared independence. Electing a sovereign of their own creed, they took possession of the almost impregnable mountain fastnesses of Simien, where their numbers were augmented by continual accessions from the Jews, who were expelled from Palestine and from Arabia. Under the constant titles of Gideon and Judith, a succession of kings and queens held a limited sway until, in the middle of the tenth century, the Princess Esther, styled, by the Amhára, Issat, which signifies "fire," a woman of extraordinary beauty and talent, conceived the design of subverting the religion, and with it the existing order of succession in the empire. A fatal epidemic had swept off the emperor, and spread desolation through court and capital. Del Naad, who had been nominated to the crown, was of tender years; and Esther, deeming no opportunity more favorable, surprised the rock Damo, on which, by virtue of the existing statute, the other scions of the royal house were confined, and having massacred the whole, five hundred in number, proclaimed herself the queen over Abyssinia.

The sole surviving prince of his race was hurried by the Amhára nobility into the distant and loyal province of Shoa; and the reins of government passed into the hands of a Christian family of Lasta, styled Ze-gue, with whom they remained until the thirteenth century. During the administration of Naakweto Laab, the last of this dynasty, Tekla Haimanot the monk, a native of Abyssinia, was created aboon.\* He had previously founded in Shoa the celebrated monastery of Debra Libanos, and was a man celebrated alike for the purity of his life, the soundness of his understanding, and his devotion to his country. Obtaining extraordinary influence over the mind of the king, he prevailed upon him, for conscience-sake, to resign a crown which could never be purified from the stain of usurpation. The banished line of Solomon, content with the dominion of Shoa, had made no effort toward the recovery of their ancient boundaries; but by a treaty now con-

cluded, Yekweno Amlak was restored to the throne of his ancestors; Naakweto Laab retaining only Lasta in perpetual independence, with the golden stool, the silver kettle-drums, and other insignia of royalty, while one third of the realm was permanently ceded to the primate for the maintenance of his ecclesiastical dignity, and for the support of the clergy, convents, and churches. This was styled the "Era of Partition;" and it formed a stipulation that the functions of archbishop should in future be vested in none save a Copt, ordained from Cairo by the chair of St. Mark.

## CHAPTER XCII.

### THE LINEAGE OF SHOJA.

THUS affairs continued until the sixteenth century, when the invasion of Mohammad Graan led to the total dismemberment of the Ethiopic empire; and Shoa, among other of the richest provinces, was overrun and colonized by the Galla hordes. Nebia Dengel, the emperor of Gondar, fell by the hand of the Moslem conqueror. Farris, the son of Dilbonach, by a daughter of the house of Solomon, held a ras-ship under the crown, in the strong hold of Dair, and from his son Sumbellele sprang Nagási, the first monarch of Efát, who was born at Amad Washa, the capital of Agamcha, and a century and a half ago held his capital in Mans. Prior to the conquest of that province, which was followed by the gradual subjugation of Shoa and its present dependencies, this prince occupied a lofty fortress in the Yedjow country, where some of his descendants still remain. From it are visible the high and impregnable mounts Ambásel and Geshama; the latter of which fastnesses, in the more remote periods of Ethiopic splendor, had served as a place of confinement for the younger brothers of the reigning emperor; while the former is in the hands of an independent ruler, whose ancestress becoming the mistress of the Christian governor, the father of the Delilah contrived, during the celebration of her nuptials, to surprise the garrison, and put every man to the sword.

Nagási repaired in due time to Gondar, to be formally invested by the emperor; but after receiving at the royal hands twelve "nugareets," he died suddenly. To one of his four sons he bequeathed on his deathbed a shield, to a second a spear, to a third a ring, and to Sabastiye, his favorite child, a war-steed which he had always ridden to

\* This is the title of the primate of Ethiopia.

name implies, the Christians of the Occident and Orient had at least given up the system among themselves; and by the former especially it was very little practiced until after the discovery of America, when it was revived and encouraged by the Spaniards; and the negro being considered better fitted for hard labor than the aborigines of the New World, Africa began to be regarded as the slave-mart for the whole universe. About the same period Ethiopia was first subjected to numberless hordes of Pagan Galla, migrating from the south; and not long afterward Graan, the fanatic Mohammedan enemy, commenced the overthrow of this then powerful empire, which was speedily dismembered, and has never since been able to regain its former limits.

The heathen invaders soon relaxing in their united efforts against the Christians, those Galla tribes which had settled on Abyssinian ground began to contest among themselves for the supremacy over the newly-acquired territory, and to enslave each other. The Mohammedans, who had meanwhile gained a footing in the disturbed country, being slave-dealers by profession as well as from religious motives, greedily availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by these intestine divisions to trade in pagan prisoners, females especially, who possess the recommendation of superior personal attractions to the generality of "Afric's dark daughters"—and thus the traffic spread rapidly around Abyssinia.

Partly from fear of their enemies, and partly from being less interested in slavery than the Moslems, the Christians no longer ventured beyond the frontiers of the country they retained—the avenues to the sea-coast, and those through the Galla tribes in the interior, which, prior to the barbarian inroad, must have been frequented, falling together with the whole commerce, into the hands of the bigoted disciples of the Prophet. Limited in the first instance to certain portions of Ethiopia, they devoted their lives to the purchase and sale of human flesh, wherewith they connected the propagation of their faith. During their devastating progress through the countries beyond Caffa and Susa, the Galla had in all probability dismembered many powerful empires, and sown the seeds of discord and dissension, of which the fruits are now witnessed in the outpouring of innumerable victims of manifold tribes and nations to Caffa, and doubtless also beyond that kingdom, to the coast of Zanzibar.

The origin of the slave-trade in these quarters may thus be referred to the commencement of hostilities therein, and to the

presence of Mohammedans, by whom it was fostered and encouraged. Grain and cattle excepted, the wild and greedy Galla possessed not a single commodity to barter for the alluring foreign wares exhibited by the rover, but his captured foe presented the ready means of supplying whatsoever he coveted. The empire of Abyssinia being dismembered and enfeebled by the tide of invasion, its rulers, far from seeking to crush the hostilities that prevailed among the Gentiles, naturally rejoiced to see intestine feuds raging throughout a nation, which, if united, could have swept away

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of opposing a barrier to the advance of slavery, they shortly adopted and encouraged the debasing traffic. Those provinces especially which were separated from the principal seat of government, not only afforded a market to numbers of pagan prisoners, but extended to the dealers in slaves a safe road by which thousands were annually exported to Arabia; and Shoa, Efat, Guraguè, and Cambat, the southernmost provinces of Abyssinia, having more especially suffered at the hands of the Galla hordes, it is not difficult to understand how, in a confused political and ecclesiastical state of things, the detestation entertained toward their heathen persecutors prompted the population to purchase as drudges those of their enemies who had been captured in war.

When the rulers of Shoa began to extend their dominions, and to subdue the nearer tribes of Galla invaders, Christianity was propagated by the sword; but the Mohammedan traders, far from being checked or arrested in their dealings, were only induced to extend their traffic to more remote regions of Northeastern Africa. Instead of purchasing slaves at Ankober, as had been their wont when that capital was still in Pagan hands, they were compelled, after its recapture, to seek their victims in Guraguè, and beyond. Those provinces of Abyssinia wherein the seat of government was established after the demolition of Ethiopic empire, preserved more or less of their ancient customs, which sanctioned the enslavement of a captured enemy for the term of seven years, according to the Mosaic law, which is followed in so many other respects; and the practice is to the present day retained in Gojam and Tigré—the inhabitants of these states neither buying nor selling slaves, but consigning to a few years of

bondage all prisoners from the wild tribes of Shankela taken in war.

The enslavement of this heathen people, who are often barbarously hunted down for sport, is defended upon the grounds that so fierce, swarthy, and bestial a race, existing in the rudest possible form of savage state, must be the accursed of mankind, and entirely beyond the pale of natural rights—a view of the case supported by the fanatic priesthood, who, in the spirit of bigotry, deem it a highly meritorious work to force upon a Gentile the light of the Gospel. In Shoa this argument is employed in favor of slavery. But the Christians of Western and Northern Abyssinia condemn the practice of their brethren in the south and east; and Tekla Georgia, the late emperor of Gondar, having catechised a number of Shoaan ecclesiastics as to the reason of their countenancing slavery and slave polygamy, reprobated both proceedings in the severest terms.

The separation of Shoa from the imperial sway of Northern Abyssinia, and the fact that it, as well as other Christian territories, was especially involved in the misfortunes entailed upon the country by the Galla invasion, were, as may be supposed, far from improving the morals of the people. The first rulers of Shoa, aspiring to ascendancy over all the minor independent principalities, were fain to tolerate a variety of abuses which had crept into the Abyssinian church during the reign of anarchy, barbarism, and confusion; and, however well they might have felt inwardly disposed to work the reformation of their subjects, they durst not, in the infancy of their power, attempt the suppression of a custom to which the entire population of the subjugated districts were so strongly wedded. Moreover, they had begun to follow the example of the Gondar dynasty in respect to the hospitable entertainment by the crown of all foreigners and strangers; to which end a large establishment being indispensable for the preparation of the daily maintenance styled "dirgo," they considered that the manual labor could better be performed by slaves selected from among the thousands that annually passed through their dominions, than by their own free subjects.

The meanness and parsimony which form part and parcel of the national character also doubtless favored this introduction of slavery as a domestic institution. The sovereign was above all things desirous of acquiring a reputation for munificence without actually impairing the state revenues, and he felt anxious at the same

time to pave the road to popularity by relieving his subjects of that drudgery which would have led to an aversion toward visitors, highly inimical to the royal interests. All despotic rulers are prone to greater confidence in the slave than in the free-man; and Abyssinian sophistry probably led the first kings of Shoa to argue that, the end justifying the means, hospitality extended toward strangers and pilgrims in the land would vindicate in the sight of Heaven, the infliction of bitter bondage

### From William Cornwallis Harris book

jects of Shoa were personally engaged, affording brief intervals of leisure for agricultural pursuits, they were not slow in imitating the example set by their monarch, as well in household slavery as in slave polygamy. Both king and people believing that the wretch exported from Africa was destined to Christian countries beyond the seas, where the truth of the Gospel would be imparted to him; and hence arose the existing law, which permits the slaveholder in Shoa, although prohibited under the severest penalties from dealing in the flesh and blood of his fellow-creatures as a trade, to resell Mohammedan or Pagan purchases, who obstinately refuse to embrace the religion of Ethiopia.

Slavery among the Galla tribes is cradled and nursed in the unceasing intestine feuds of that savage and disorganized people; but the circumstances attending its existence in Gurágué, although resting upon the same basis, are somewhat different in character. Since the period that the heathen inroads first cut off that Christian country from the ancient Ethiopic empire, and foes begirt it on all sides like wild beasts prowling for their prey, it has been thrown into a position of peculiar misfortune, and would gladly seek repose by placing itself again under the protection of its legitimate sovereign. For this boon it has often applied to Sáhela Selássie; but from motives of prudence he has not chosen to extend either his visits or his authority beyond the frontier village of Aimélele.

Occupying about one and a half degree of longitude, by one degree of latitude, and swarming with population, Gurágué is at this moment in a state similar to Palestine of old, whereof the Scripture saith, "There was no king in Israel, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes." In the absence of a supreme head, each village or community elects its own

but in such a horrible manner that M. Rochet, who had his tent near the King's, was unable to sleep.

*February 1, 1840*—We set out from our camp about seven o'clock this morning; but about ten o'clock the King gave orders to encamp. Having arranged this, the King went out to hunt buffalos and elephants, which are seldom to be met with in the forests of Metta. M. Rochet and myself accompanied the King. About eleven o'clock we rested a little on a mountain, where we had a most beautiful prospect in all directions. In the south-west, we saw the majestic mountains in the territory of Maitsha, with their immense forests; and on the south-west we had before us the high mountain Entoto, where several of the Kings of Abyssinia had resided, till Gragne, the King of Adel, destroyed the city built there, the ruins of which, I was informed,

From Johann Ludwig Krapf account

still existed on the mountain. Nebla Denghel is said to have been the last King who resided there. He took flight to the neighbouring mountain Ferrer, and then to the mountain Bokan, till he was compelled to retire to Tigré; when the Gallas profiting by this opportunity entered this part of Shoa after the death of Gragne. Thus Gurague was separated from Shoa. They took the most beautiful provinces. The priests of the King

he came to the strong fortress of Dassi, where there was no water, except what was found by digging in the earth and sand.\* Now Yasso or Yass must be the river which is formed by the united streams of the Ala, the Ancona, and Sabalette, called also Hanazo; for except the Hawash, there is no other river in these quarters which deserves the name of *great*.† Salt says expressly, that the river Yass was to the north of Zeilah. Being in the rainy season, however, when the king entered this country, it may have been the river mentioned by M. Rochet as rising in Killalou. When joined by its tributaries to the north, it would at that season be a large stream. The inhabitants of Aussa and Adel are tawny, not black, and have long hair. They are sometimes called *Ghiberties*, which means, strong in the faith. The country around the Hawash, and in the valleys, is called *Kolla*, or *Khulla*, the low country, to distinguish it from the high mountainous districts of Abyssinia and Shoa. It is very fertile, but hot, and in the rainy season sickly. The name is applied generally throughout Africa, to designate the low from the mountainous districts. Beyond the *Kolla*, or low country mentioned, is the country named *Samhar*, which is a general word used to designate the sea-coast in a country dry and barren.

Having thus, it is humbly conceived, rectified the geographical positions of these and more important provinces of Mahomedan dominion in Eastern Africa, the positions of other places deserve less notice, and only require to be enumerated to be seen and understood on the maps.

Adjoining to and south-eastward of Efat is the district of Gan, and adjoining and eastward of it again is Bali, a small kingdom, through which the Gallas first rushed into

\* Bruce, vol. iii. p. 48.

† Salt, p. 102.

Abyssinia in 1559. Bali is west south-west of Zeilah, and south-west of Mocawa. Fattigar, once a considerable province, lies to the southward and south-westward of Gan and Bali of the ancient Mahomedans. The capital is called Bulga, a name which is sometimes given to the whole province. To the eastward and southward of these last named provinces or districts, lies Hadea, called also Harrar, or in the Abyssinian mode of pronunciation, *Harraye*, after the capital, called also Harrar. This place was once the seat of a great Mahomedan state, and the centre of their power in this portion of Africa, after the kingdom of Adel was overthrown. In the days of Alvarez the territory of Hadea stretched to Magadoxa. To the west of Hadea, he states, was Gan, and south-west from it Gurague. In this kingdom was a great lake so broad, that one side could not be seen from the other.\* This must be the Souie or Zawaja, which is stated by late travellers to be very large and broad. The country around it is very fine, but sickly. Mahommed, surnamed Gagne, or *left handed*, ruled this country about the year 1525; and soon after Alvarez left Abyssinia, he invaded, and during the reign of that unfortunate prince, David, overran and almost ruined the whole of Abyssinia. He was at length conquered and killed by the aid of some Portuguese troops, Abyssinia delivered, and Hadea, like other states in this portion of Africa, overwhelmed by the Gallas.

According to Bruce,† Hadea was a large town with five gates, and then the capital of Adel, Aussa being then dependent upon it. Ninety-nine villages paid tribute to it, and its Chief was constantly engaged in war with the Abyssinians and the Galla. It is still a place of some impor-

\* Rochet, p. 106.

† Vol. vii. pp. 91, 92.

The road of Beshkatie led us to the district of Rodas, which received its name from one of the eight sons of Ali, a Mahomedan, who took possession of the country around at the time of Gragne, in whose interest it was to introduce people of his religion into the country. When Ali died, his eight sons, of whom Rodas, Sadekas, and Jonas, particularly distinguished themselves, possessed the district till they were all killed by the intruding Gallas, who availed themselves of the desolation which Gragne had caused in Abyssinia; a circumstance which reminds us of Joel i. 4. *That which the palmer worm hath left, hath the locust eaten, &c.*

Our road then led us to Maskalie Ghedam which means, "My cross is a convent." Though the monastery was close to the way side, yet I had no time to halt and take leave of Alaca Woldab, who has been a friend of mine for some time. However, I sent him a copy of the Æthiopic New Testament, for which he had expressed a desire whenever he had seen me at Aukobar. He is one of those Ecclesiastics who use the Amharic Bible in teaching their pupils. The reason why I could not halt was, because I had no time to lose, as I wished before evening to reach Zalla-Dengai, where the Queen-Dowager resides. A traveller in Abyssinia must always bear in mind, that he must arrive in due time at the Governors with whom he intends to pass the night, in order that the requisite preparations may be made before night fall. An

mother of the Gallas had been a woizoro (lady) of the Abyssinian Kings when they resided on the mountain Entoto, in the neighbourhood of Gurague—that the lady was given in marriage to a slave from the south of Gurague, by whom she had seven sons, who were educated in their father's language and customs, as well as in his business, which was that of a herdsman—that the sons became great robbers, having gathered many people with them—that three of these sons were called Tulema, Karain, and Maitsha; and hence the Tribes of these names—that when they thought they were strong enough, they began to fight with the Abyssinians, and frequently vanquished them, particularly on one occasion near the river Gala, in Gurague; and hence they have been called Gallas to the present day. When Mahomed Gragne desolated Shoa and Gurague, the Gallas entered and took possession of many fine places. All this is written in a small treatise, of which I have procured a copy. This account of the origin of the Gallas I think is very probable.

*April 24, 1840*—To-day begins what is called by the Abyssinians Kenona, that is, for three days the people neither eat nor drink; and the Bala Dirgo, or those who receive their maintenance from the King, receive only dry bread, because these are days of prayer. However, I received my portion from the King's table as at other times. To-day I took another boy into my house, who  
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