Introduction

Having been in both cities, Harar as well as Lamu, it is fascinating to compare I the two communities and societies with each other. There are several phenomena both share with each other. To begin with, both are Muslim urban societies in East Africa - Harar in Eastern Ethiopia, Lamu on Lamu Island at the Northern Coast of Kenya. Both their economies had at one time and for long periods largely depended on international and intercontinental trade, and both are remnants of civilizations which at one time had spread over wider geographical areas than they do now. Both are however, even today, intact examples of preindustrial urban societies.

With regard to the civilizations both city states were embedded in, the Coastal Swahili Civilization of which Lamu is a part, still exists: in its traditional preindustrial form (comp. Pate Island opposite of Lamu) as well as in a modem, industrially developed form in the coastal harbours southwards down to Zanzibar, From the 'Coast' 'Swahilization' is spreading into the Interior. Swahili as a language has been a franca for at least 150 years if not longer; it is still so in Kenya, while in Tanzania it has become the official national language. There are of course differences, even quite substantial ones, between the local dialects of the Coastal Swahili among themselves as well as with the Swahili spoken in the Interior.

We are much less fortunate with the data regarding Harar. We know that Harar became a leading city state in Muslim Eastern Ethiopia after the wars of Ahmed Gragn and the downfall of the Adal Empire in the 16th century, and that it was Amir Nur, successor of Ahmed Gragn, who built the town wall, which had not existed before. Harar may be seen in connection with the Harla ruins, but these give little clue of whether these settlements did look like present Harar town. The Erer Argobba villages very probably were setup in the 18th century [1] and we may assume that the Argobba copied Harari houses, as they copied the traditional Harari women's gown, though in locally made and simpler material. [2]

Of both cities we know the claim that their earliest history very likely goes back beyond the age of their oldest buildings which in both cities date the 18th century.[3] According to the Lamu Chronicle, Lamu was founded in the 7th century, [4] while the first Arab writer mentioning Lamu by name is Abu al Mahasin, in 1402[5] and Lamu may very likely date back to around 1400/1450. Harari claim that Harar goes back to the 10th century. [7]

Of both cities we know that for the earlier centuries of their existence they had been rather in the shadow of more famous and prosperous sister cities (Lamu until 1813 of Pate, which at one time controlled the Coast southwards to Kilifi near Mombasa and even Pemba Island),[8] or larger dominating political entities. (Harar having been part of Adal).

Also we know of both cities that while a great part of their economy was based on agriculture,[9] their intercontinental trade contacts reached to South Arabia and India,[11] while the East African Coast had for centuries trade contacts perhaps indirect, with China as is proved by the rich findings of Chinese porcelain.[12] That occasionally Chinese porcelain made its way at quite an early date to Eastern Ethiopia is referred to by Wilding[l3] with regard to surface finds at Derbiga[14] near Jigjigga. According to Wilding it was a 14th century Celadon sherd from the export kilns of southern China[l5]. This is interesting insofar, since we have thus an indication that both civilization may have been, though perhaps not in direct, yet in indirect contact via what is now Somalia and East Ethiopia. Up to now I myself have no proof that Harar in the centuries of its greatest expansion as a commercial city state, i.e. the. 18th century, had been in contact with China.

However, I found in Summer 1975 in Harar late 19th century Chinese porcelain bowls in the household of one amir garach (descendents of amirs), family. They were to be placed into special basketry containers with a lid to carry

food presents to wedding ceremonies. The use of these bowls and of this special type of basketry was the exclusive privilege of the amir garach.

(I do not have to mention the flood of Chinese enamel ware that has come over this country ever since). Also, in this context, I want to mention, that in 1975 I was shown a Harari women's gown of the *'tay eraz'* type, the material of which came reportedly from 'Aden', was however Chinese damask silk. The dress was said to have been made in the 1920s.

Material Culture

I do not want to go too deep into the comparison of material culture. which I found totally different from each other, indicating that there had been rather limited contacts (if at all) between the two cities.[16]

We know that Indian material culture gained a strong influence in Lamu, perhaps more than we assume, and that Indian crafts replaced older domestic ones' (metal work, textiles) at least since the 19th century,[17] although the people of Lamu soon adjusted the new crafts and styles to their own needs and their own taste. Indian metal models for cotton prints can still be found in Lamu shops.[18] The wood carving, as is the plaster carving, in Lamu is centuries old, and wood carving passed through several styles, the latest one being strongly Indianized though less than in Mombasa or Zanzibar) having its roots very probably in Gujerat. [19]

Harar, too, shows a marked Indian influence at least since and around the turn of the century[20] though less in style and more in material. The exception are the carved doors of the late 19th and early 20th century which are contemporary Indian. Older doors are not decorated, although they were highly valued.[21] Informants told me in 1975 that an Indian wood carver named 'Mistri' made these doors and was the teacher of a younger generation of carvers of wooden doors, which until about the early 1970s were still made, when the last master carver died. Now, 'mistri' is the Gujerati title of a master wood carver,[22] while in Kenya this title often shows up as a family name of Indian shopkeeper.

Today, at least the '*fota*', i.e. the headscarf worn by Harari women, is of Indian cotton print: a more precious one would be of Indian sari silk.[23] We also know that Indian (Pakistani) traders had settled down in Harar around the turn of the century and left their marks, i.e. Mohammed Ali, with his house, the 'Mohammed Ali gar', which was so much admired among the Harari that a praise song was composed, and which then caused the women to develop a certain basketry pattern named 'Muhammad Ali Gar'.[24] For the city perhaps more important was the construction of the first water pipe by the Indian Abrahim Abd el Muslimano and his son Ahmed Bomba.[25]

To add here - the attitude of the people towards, certain aspects of their material culture (not only the aspects themselves) are totally different as well: Harari women stick to their traditional garments. The Paulitschke collection in Vienna, dating back to 1884, counts a number of indigo dyed cotton 'tay eraz' of the same make and style, including the type and technique of their elaborate embroideries, as the silk and cotton ones known of today.[26]

Lamu women, however, tend to follow the latest fashion, either in the cotton print *kangas* (rectangular pieces of material) or, preferably, in modern European dresses. The black cape like cover, '*buibui*', which is to veil the woman up to her eyes when she leaves her home, was introduced in the 1930s,[27] as a more convenient garment than the tent-like 'shiraa' of local cotton print, which was to be carried by servants or slaves with the help of two poles. Only under such cover a noble lady was permitted to leave her home in order to visit a friend in a neighbouring house. The present '*buibui*', however, though always black, must be of material latest in fashion, be it silk, rayon or nylon.[28] My own efforts to find under garments and fashions suffered highly from this attitude. These types of dresses may also serve as an indication to the difference in the position of the women in both societies.[29]

Also: while the Harari decorate their Quran book stands with delicate chip carving in geometric patterns,[30] the Lamu people - very skilled wood and plaster carvers, who love to decorate the wooden kitchen implements. for their womenfolk - abstain from decorating Quran book stands, very probably since puritanistic religious movement in the early 19th century.[31]

I found striking similarities between the Harari/Somali type jewelry of the Harar region and the one called 'local Lamu' in the Lamu Museum. There are the same big crescent shaped pendants, richly decorated with appliqué and (granulation work, the same cylindrical containers, worn in Harar by a bride. Also the same small crescent shaped pendants for earrings can be found, either in gold, more often, however, in silver and gold-plated, while the beautiful big earplugs of richly decorated gold and silver work, which had been fashionable at the Swahili Coast, are unknown in Harar.

Now - jewelry is one of the most complicated objects to study its origin. The technical possibilities to work in silver, even more than in gold, are limited Jewelry, easy to transport and high in value, can be taken along for long journeys, and both city states had been in contact with the Somali Coast, Mogadishu being the northernmost place of Swahili cultural influence. (Per communication Allen). Jewelry, once in a new place of import, will often be copied by local gold and silversmiths. Even less precious local material has replace the imported precious one, and a new type of fashionable jewelry may turn up, which looks as if it has hardly any similarity with the original.[32]

A type of silver jewelry, which I had often seen in Harar, a pendant contains of rectangular shape, decorated with appliqué work and with conical bells on tiny chains at the bottom, I saw again - in a modern Hindi film, as a piece of jewelry worn by Indian mountain women.

Other types of Harari jewelry, the '*muriya*' necklace of hollow beads of beaten silvery (rarely gold) decorated with granulation work, and alternative with coral beads, I found as in Lamu: their origin was given to me as Muscat'.[33] And a Harari silversmith told me in 1975 that he had learnt his craft in the 1920s in Dire Dawa from a 'Jewish Silversmith (who very probably came from Yemen), who was the master teacher of many other silversmiths in the region.[34]

To my taste, the Lamu colourful plaited mats of palm fronds cannot compare with the refined colourful Harari basketry. It may, however, be a worthwhile study whether both local women's crafts have not profited from the colour designs of Oriental rugs, which found their way to both cities - Harar perhaps more than Lamu.[35]

The Intellectual Heritage

Phenomenologically we have other similarities: Both cities, although professing Muslim Faith, are primarily not in the political nor cultural center of the Muslim-Arab world,[36] they are rather at the margin. For both cities and societies, Arabic is not the indigenous language; Swahili, though having in its vocabulary about 30% terms of Arabic origin, is not even a Semitic language, yet belongs to the Bantu-African language group. Both societies have, however, produced documents of literature (chronicles Qf history, administrative reports, religious and secular poetry) written in Arabic script and in the local or in the Arabic language. In the latter case, the Arabic appears in a distorted version,[37] the same way the Latin used as a language of learning and culture in medieval European monasteries may compare with the classical Latin of Ancient Rome.

This should not prejudice us against the local literature, where we find beautiful poetry of deep insight (i.e. the 'Al-Inkishafi' composed in Swahili in the early 19th century in Pate, and the poem by Mwana Kupona, a 19th century lady in Lamu, on the duties of a wife - advice given to her daughter, and certainly a delight to the gentlemen all over the world).[38]
(I have to confess here that I myself depend solely on English translations).

Political and Social Structure

The most important question, however, is: how does the political and social structure of both city states compare with each other and - both being at the margin of the Muslim World - compare with the structures to be found in the center?

Do they share phenomena which are atypical of Muslim societies in the center; does their social structure reveal elements which may have evolved rather from the indigenous civilizations neighbouring the two societies?

Let us look first at descriptions and definitions of what a typical Muslim city or community, and beyond that, the/a Muslim state, was to look like.

Waldron,[39] who in this particular study on Harar contests the 'ideal type(s)' of Muslim communities set up by several authors (see below), quotes as examples a number of distinguished writers on this subject, to whose definitions we wish to refer here Max Weber[40] maintains that 'the social organization of Muslim cities is devoid of true civic institutions', von Gruenebaum [41] that 'the loyalty of the townsmen belongs first to their family group and after this to the ethnic or denominational unit which shares his quarter', Sjoberg[42] who gives a general model of the preindustrial city, including the Muslim one, that 'segregation by ethnic groups, which in turn are associated with specific occupations, occurs widely in preindustrial cities.. . . . Ethnic quarters tend to be self-sufficient entities .... Differentiation of land use according to occupation is usual', and Hourani[43] that 'the residential core is marked by at least two special characteristics: the combination' of local with ethnic or religious differentiation, and the relative separateness and autonomy of each quarter or group of quarters . . . . As a new city developed or an old one expanded, the immigrants - soldiers, peasants, nomads - tended to settle in compact groups'. Although these statements, according to Waldron and Eickelman,[44] present simplifications, since social interactions between family units, ethnic groups or denominational groups beyond the boundaries of their quarters or neighbourhoods were and are much more complex and have not been given due consideration by the authors referred to above, we may easily identify a number of Muslim cities (or even Medieval European ones), where such descriptions may be fairly correct.

The concept of an ideal Muslim state,[45] however, as one community (*umaa*, *gama'a*) of Muslim brothers, ruled by the one God through his religious law (*sari'a*), who is represented upon Earth by his Prophet and the Prophet's I successors, the Caliphs (*halifa*) or the Imams, has never become a reality.[46] Instead, within the course of history of Islamic states, secular rulers gained influence and nearly absolute power, and rulers' titles like *amir*, *amir alumara'*, *malik*, *sultan*, *sayyid*, etc., indicate their primary interest in gaining control over the revenues of the international trade of their various states.

Lamu - Political and Social Structure

Lamu[48] had until 1813 - when the city state was victorious at Shela (on Lamu Island) over neighbouring Pate (Pate Island) with its Nabahani dynasty [49] and their allies, the Arab Mazruis ruling Mombasa - a number of secular rulers as political heads of state, to whom Portuguese sources always referred to as 'kings'. The local title for the Lamu rulers, however, was the Bantu-Swahili 'Bwana', which may best be compared to the Arabic 'Sayyid'. In 1813, however, it was a 'council of elders' who decided upon the course to be taken against Pate, and Allen[50] refers to Lamu as 'republican'. After this victory, Lamu accepted the political supremacy of the Sultan of Muscat, who from then on appointed a 'Liwali', a governor,[51] while 'the fruits of political independence were shared for some decades between the rulers of Siyu and Faza',[52] small city states on Pate Island. Lamu, however, profited from the immigration of Arab traders with their capital and business know-how throughout the greater part of the 19th century.

Although the Portuguese sources describe the rulers of the Swahili Coastal city states like Mombasa, Malindi, Pate, etc., as 'kings', which implies that they compared their political power and authority to that of European rulers,[53] it appears, that most Swahili, and the Lamu people in particular, were rather suspicious of a one-man rule and preferred to depend on a council of elders (*wazee*, sing. *mzee*) consisting primarily of representatives of the old and respected families, rather than on an absolute ruler with appointed officials. The Swahili rulers rarely seem to have developed absolute power. Very often they even were outsiders and on immigration claimed to have come from 'Sharifian' families.[54]

Who were these noble families? I have in-exactly translated the term *'wa-ungwana'*, which is a Bantu-Swahili word, with 'noble family', and will explain this in more detail somewhat below. The concept of *'wa-ungwana'* is rather a claim than a reality, although the noble families of Lamu as elsewhere in Swahili city states took it of course as a reality. For our purpose here, of what the people of Lamu wanted their city and their community to be like, however, it is this, claim that is important.

Let us refer again to Allen's study of the Swahili house architecture, and the way the planning of such a house reflects the social life of noble Swahilis.[55]

Swahili settlements, like Lamu, were sub-divided into wards, or neighbourhoods, '*mitaa*' (sing. *mtaa*), which today (and perhaps have for centuries) differ in status and rank. Originally they may have reflected the ethnic or kin affinities of their inhabitants. The noble families, who claimed to be the descendents of the founders of the settlement, are supposed to have lived and to continue to live in *mitaa* reserved for them, and they had the exclusive right to build permanent stone houses. Newcomers: refugees from other Swahili settlements (where they in their turn may have belonged to the wa-ungwana group), immigrants from the interior as well as from overseas, were assigned to *mitaa* set aside for them, where mud and thatch houses had to be built.[56] These new-*mitaa* then often were named after the places the immigrants came from, land these names give us a clue that very often the immigrants were urban Swahili in their own right as were the *'wa-ungwana'* of the settlement where they sought refuge.

Each *mtaa*, the noble ones as well as the newcomers' or low class ones, had a head or representative who was regarded responsible for the affairs of his people land who was to represent them - either temporarily or permanently - on the town council.

The idea (and ideal) was, that the *'wa-ungwana' mitaa* were originally of the lineage or kin group type; their *mitaa*, though being geographically smaller in size and less populous in number, being located in the political center of the settlement, were to have more representatives on the town council than the newcomers with their larger *mitaa*, or even better, that the representatives of the mud-and-thatch house quarters were only called to council when the *'wa-ungwana'* representatives felt it necessary or opportune. Thus the *'wa-ungwana'* tried to keep the authority and power over their community in their own hands.

This phenomenon could best be described as an oligarchic social and political structure. [57]

The *'wa-ungwana's'* claim to their privileged status was based - apart from their long residence as descendents of the founders of the settlement - on the claim that they had *'u-ungwana'* (Bantu) or '*utamadun*i' (from Arabic 'medina'), that is urbanity and cultured, behaviour, [58] demonstrated by a style of life of a well-to-do family served by many slaves, the use of luxury items of (and with) refined taste, mastership in poetry and in learning, a noble genealogy of many generations, and above all - what is most important in this context: credit-worthiness and financial integrity, this being demonstrated by a stone house, which had been the family's property for many generations. [59]

The opposite extreme of *'u-ungwana'* is '*u-shenzi*'', meaning - according to Allen - 'lack of culture, boorishness (which one would expect from someone coming from outside) and in particular unreliability in matters of money. [60]

Of course, political authority seldom followed this 'simple clannic pattern',[61] since, as Allen outlines, contradictions grew up between newcomers and the noble families. Mud-and-thatch dwellers may have resided long enough in a settlement and - more important - may have been commercially successful enough (in a trading community) to accumulate wealth sufficient to rise to the *'wa-ungwana'* group. Newcomers outnumbered the 'wa-ungwana', and supported by their successful commercial enterprise, claimed participation in the control and execution of political power. More awkward for the 'wa-ungwana': what to do with the wealthy Arab or Indian merchant, who wanted to settle down,- with his capital- whom the *'wa-ungwana'* would have like to assign to mud-and-thatch *mitaa*? Allen writes[62] that he may have been given the right to move to stone house quarters and to stone houses and even to intermarry with the noble families 'with grudging consent'.

However, there was another immigrant group, which must have highly embarrassed the 'wa-ungwana': nobles, who claimed to be '*sharifs*', that is, descendance from the Prophet, mostly coming from the Hadramawt.[63] Allen continues that it was then in many cases the non-*'wa-ungwana'* who supported the sharifs to establish themselves as ruling families in Swahili towns over local *'wa-ungwana'* heads.[64]

The *'wa-ungwana'* claimed permanence: permanence in the property of their stone houses, which were family property, never to be sold (even in today's time of impoverishment of the town of Lamu stone houses are rarely sold)[65] permanence through their long genealogies, permanence through their refined culture.[66]

However, even these claims may have proved to be fictitious: some disasters devastation in the many wars throughout the 'centuries, drying up of wells impoverishment of families and whole settlements, epidemics - may have forced the *'wa-ungwana'* to abandon their houses and their towns. Families and whole groups were reduced to the semi-subsistence economy of the poorest mud-and-thatch dwellers. This in turn had as an effect a radical change in the cultural outlook of such deprived people, 'since they could no longer think in terms of permanence, of something to pass onto their children'.[67] Then the claim to refined culture (which implied the employment of many slaves), the mastership of poetry, the list of long genealogies were given up, and this may have happened not only once but several times within one life's time.[68]

This probability of being forced to move from the *'wa-ungwana'* group to the mud-and-thatch dweller group may have caused Allen to describe present Swahili society as 'unhierarchical' or nearly 'anomic'.[70] However, while the reality of social life permitted and even forced the move from one group to another, the ideal - set up by a culturally leading group of its people - was a structure of high ranking and low ranking classes.

The reality of political authority was that, that the *'wa-ungwana'* were less important than they believed to be. There remains, however, the reality that the claim of the *'wa-ungwana'* to a refined life style has determined the culture of the Coastal Swahili. The difference in the style of life and the type of dwellings between the *'wa-ungwana'* and non-*'wa-ungwana'* appeared to European observers and to the British Colonial Administration so striking, that they ascribed the former to 'Arab' civilization, the latter to 'African', disregarding the fact that the people of both groups are (and were) of the same race and speak the same language, while the ups and downs of whole families moving from one group to the other apparently escaped their knowledge.

The Position of Women

The 18th century ground plan of a *'wa-ungwana'* stone house as can be seen in still existent Lamu houses, was made up to demonstrate the wealth and culture of the owner and paterfamilies as well as his family. Marriages were matrilocal,[71] that is the bridegroom moved to the house of the bride's parents .

I do not want to go into the detail of a house plan,[72] however I have to mention here that the lay-out was planned in such a way to offer a growing amount of privacy as one steps from one section to the next one. Visitors may be invited to enter an outer section, a sort of terrace or courtyard (where the youngsters of the family used to sleep), another section, more towards the interior, was reserved for the master of the house and his privileged guests or close family members; the innermost one, the '*ndani*' was extremely rich in decoration with carved plaster niches and friezes; this was very likely reserved to the womenfolk, when the
master entertained guests. It may also have served sometimes as a 'master bedroom', although the Swahili (like the Harari) have no rooms assigned as bedrooms proper. This '*ndani*',' was, however, also the room, where the daughter of the house was placed in all her finery on her wedding day to be admired by the wedding guests.[73]

The kitchen was within the stone house, however either set aside or even put up on top of the roof under a special shelter of a roof of palm fronds, and the staircases leading to such rooms were built with high walls to prevent the women from being seen when climbing upstairs. Recent repairs of 18th century houses have replaced the high stone walls of such staircases by delicate wooden banisters with decoration in traditional lacquer work, which - to my taste - look much nicer, do not however reflect the. intention of the original builders.

Women had to be excluded from mixing with male society. The noble lady had to live in the seclusion of her home. The traditional shiraa, to which I referred above, and the modern *buibui* serve to prevent non-family members to see them.[74]

The official position of women was a poor one. Their social and economic security depended on marriage only. Divorce was easy (from the men's side), often only on the grounds of the fading beauty of the wife; men had the sole right over the children; women were not entitled to learn or to practice a trade to make a living; the only way to gain economic and social, security was a second marriage, and of course to extract from their husband(s) as much jewelry as possible, since her personal jewelry was the only property a woman had claim to in case of divorce.[75]

Today, there is of course the question of how much women were above to engage in trade themselves and among themselves while being in the seclusion of their homes, and how and whether they could accumulate personal

property. Also there remains the question of the lower class woman, who sells fruit in the market, or who - though veiled when walking in the streets - works as a housemaid for foreigners, or the woman who is married to a cook.

There is today also the educated woman, who has studied in Nairobi and works in the Lamu Museum or in the City Administration, who -in Lamu - always 1 appears veiled in public, however spends her annual leave on the Seychelles where she runs around in a bikini along the beach.

Women - officially - are still considered inferior, morally, socially and intellectually, and they are supposed to have no part in the public affairs of the town; they are neither supposed to take part in elections nor in political demonstrations. However, here again, I was informed of one incident some 10 years ago, where the women forced their views upon the town authorities in a very sharp and witty way.[76]

During the British Colonial Administration as well as today, the Lamu people have successfully kept intact their cultural identity[77] and they are proud of their cultural heritage. However, their claim to be the true heirs of Swahili culture is contested by other former city states. I was told that the Pate people still feel above the Lamu people, whom they regard as some sort of newcomers or nouveau riches, while they are the true heirs.[78] Other former city states may bring up the same claim.

If we want to sum up what Lamu (and the Coastal Swahili) society and the political structure of their city states looked like, we find that political authority was supposed to be vested with the representatives of leading families who claimed long-standing local residence and financial integrity. Rulers of such city states were often of outside origin (claiming to be Sharifs) and were hardly ever able to develop absolute power, more often their rule was of the primus inter pares type.

Low class families in a settlement consisted of immigrants and their descendents, very often from other Swahili settlements of the same ethnic and cultural group; other immigrants were wealthy traders from Arabia or India, others came from the East African Interior. These immigrants, in the long run, were integrated into the Swahili society, and after generations of residence (or even earlier) became members of the leading groups themselves. The opposite - the downfall of noble families - was also possible. Class symbols (or in-group symbols) were means of property, in particular a stone house with all its finery, and absolute financial integrity. Once these symbols were lost, a family lost its status and influence and even gave up its claim to have part in the refined culture of the noble group. Although the settlements were conceived as Muslim cities, they do not correspond to the ideal type of Muslim preindustrial cities outlined by the authors referred to earlier. One may add that certainly townspeople, once they had become members of the 'wa-ungwana group and were eligible to the town council, had a true sense of civic responsibility towards their community. They may have felt as citizens rather than subjects of a ruler, and he attitude of the inhabitants of the preindustrial Swahili communities at the Northern Kenyan Coast of today causes us to presume that such attitude of responsible citizens has a very long tradition. Again going back to the historical data we have: high-ranking immigrants ('Sharifs') settled down in Swahili towns to become the overlords of such towns and their indigenous noble families (in their turn descendants of the lineage heads of legendary founders). The rulers then tried every means to gain more Personalonal power in which they were never fully successful.

Here we find an interesting phenomenological parallel to data we have from the African Interior. There (i.e: Bushong, Luba) we have oral traditions that an outsider of mysterious noble rank comes to what is to be his future 'kingdom', where he marries a local woman of high rank, often coming from one of the chief's lineages. The outsider then becomes the (legendary) first ruler. His historical successors then try to strengthen their Personalonal power by appointing outsiders (prisoners of war and consequently slaves) as high officials, or by even setting up a Personalonal bodyguard of such slaves, who were outside the control of the council of elders. The councils of elders, however, is the representative body, of the indigenous noble lineages and was supposed to control the ruler.[79]

Harar

I must say that the data with regard to the political and social structure of Harar puzzle me highly (which expression I will repeat further below), and that is why I put this s~ction at the end of my paper.

Contrary to Lamu, the town of Harar is surrounded by ethnic groups different in culture and language, even language groups, i.e. the Kottu-Oromo and the Oromo proper, Somali, Argobba, while after the conquest of Harar by Menilek, Amhara settled down inside and outside the town. These groups moved even into the old walled city, and although we find that some groups show a certain preference for one or the other of the traditional five quarters or even one or the other neighbourhood (toya), these quarters or neighbourhoods are not exclusively assigned to ethnic, denominational or artisan groups.[80] We have, however, also no data that the traditional neighbourhoods were enclaves of one and the same family group (*ahli*). As we see below, the Harari have always tried to keep non-Harari outside the city and outside their society. The Walled City was reserved to themselves.

Political Structure

The historical sources on Muslim rule in Eastern Ethiopia we have at present, be it observations by European travellers,[81] be it local written records[82] and even oral traditions,[83] report solely on the rule and achievements of amirs, although sometimes criticism with regard to their type of government is expressed in the local sources.[84] These sources reveal that, wherever a ruler was deposed, it was his family, in particular other competitors to the 'throne', who had a leading hand in it.[85] According to these sources, once on the throne, the amirs we nearly absolute in the exercise of their power over their subjects.[86] It appears the ruler surrounded himself with a number of appointed officials, sometimes of non-Harari origin.[87]

These officials had various titles. Burton refers to one 'wazir',[88] however also titles of local origin, like 'garad' and 'malaq'[89] were known, title-holders who were appointed in Harar by the amir to collect taxes in those neighbourhoods, to which they were assigned.[90] Other titles came from "the ranks of Muslim scholars.

According to Cerulli,[91] the Muslim scholars had great authority in the administrative hierarchy, holding titles like 'kabir'[92] (secretary'? 'scribe'?), still known for'Quran teachers today[93] and 'qadi' (judge), or as the first judge 'qadi al-qudah'[94] as well as 'seh' or 'mumie'.[95]

We may assume that the amirs had high respect for Muslim scholars.[96] We do not know, however, how much control they had over this group. The files, Stitz, was able to consult of 19th century town records of Harar referred only to civil court cases and gave no insight into the political affairs of the city. He refers, however, to one case where it was explicitly said that a qadi was appointed by the amir, although in succession of his deceased father.[97]

Only once I came across a reference to a 'town assembly', which made efforts to take a decisive step in the political affairs of the city: in 1856, after the death of Amir Ahmad Abu Bakr, his eldest son being still a minor, 'a town assembly at first appointed a certain Abdallahi Abd al-Mejid', who was then pushed off the throne three hours later by a cousin of the late Amir, one Khalifa Citra.[98] However, there is no mention in the literature available to me who were the members of this assembly.

The amirs also maintained contacts with influential non-Hararis outside the city, either by alliance,[99] or by forming kinship ties through marriage.[100] Judging from the reports given by Burton and Paulitschke,[101] the rule of the amirs must have been certainly grim, giving the impression of an absolutistic and often cruel monarch.

We have, however, a study now by E. Wagner,[102] where the uninterrupted exercise of secular power in a Muslim state or Muslim city state is questioned with regard to Harar.

Wagner maintains that religious leaders had a greater influence in Harar, being at the margin of the Muslim World rather than in the center. The Fath Madinat Harar[l03] claims that Harar was founded as a city of saints,[104] by Imam Abadir 'Umar ar-Rida, the most popular saint of Harar, who was then said to have ruled even over the Ala and Nole Oromo, the Somali and the Argobba, who in their turn had accepted Abadir's saints as chiefs under his religious supremacy. Abadir's successors, according to this legend, had also been saints, until at one time Harar became part, of a political domain ruled by the secular Walasma dynasty, whose rulers were known under the title 'sultan', Wagner continues that in Harar (as well as in Adal and later on in Awssa) this type of secular rulership was always contested by religious leaders who accepted the title 'imam' instead, the most famous ones being Ahmed Gragn and his descendent Mohammad Gasa, who moved the capital 1577 from Harar to Awssa,[105] while Ahmed Gragn's direct successor, Amir Nur b. Mugahid, received his legitimation to the throne not by his descendance from

a royal family, yet rather by the fact that he committed himself 'to enforce the religious law and to carry on the holy wars'.[106]

Wagner then follows,[107] that while in the central Sunnitic-Islamic states the theocratic ideals of a Muslim state had been given up, they Personalisted at the margin of the Muslim world; and he gives Harar as an example where every now and then efforts were made to restore religious leadership and to put the, theocratic ideals into reality. And - according to Wagner - it were the religious leaders, who according to public opinion were the only ones that were legitimate.[107]

Social Structure

Let us remember the historical data: a secular amir, who exercised absolute power and authority over his subjects, surrounded by a number of appointed officials, while having to fight against the strive for power and the throne of members of his own family, who might even have found support by his own appointed officials; he himself making efforts to strengthen his own power by alliance and kinship ties to outside ethnic groups.

We have thus gained the impression that the Harari people never had any say in the decisions with regard to the fate of their city. And the judgments by Burton and Paulitschke suggest that they never developed any sense of responsible citizenship.[108]

Harar had, however, always been a small town, and - like today - everyone knows everybody.[109] One may perhaps imagine that even in the 19th century, the amir, whose palace was not so much different from the local houses,[110] may have had some more friendly and direct contacts with his subjects than the sources suggest.

S.R. Waldron's works on the social structure and social interactions of the Harari, give, however, a totally different impression. The Harari of today, among whom he lived, in their small town of several ethnic groups, claim their " society to have a hierarchical structure, on the bottom of which are Kotto and Arogobba, while Somali and Amhara are outside the society. The Harari themselves form the bulk of the hierarchy, while at the top, are the descendents of former amirs, the *amir garac*.[111] The old walled city, however and consequently the culture and language of the city is Harari and Harari only in the opinion of the Harari. They consider themselves as an exclusive in-group, [112] although occasional intermarriages with outside groups took and take place,[113] either to gain control over landed property outside the city, or to integrate wealthy foreign merchants.[114] People marrying into the town, however, always had and have to prove to be true Harari in their manners and behavior ('their culture'), their way of dress, their knowledge of the Quran. Families with a foreign ancestor are still known as such, often by names referring to such origin like 'Arab', 'Syrian', etc.[115]

The amir garac of today do not differ much in their style of life from the ordinary Harari,[116] nor in their interactions with their fellow townsmen. There are certain provisions that the amir garac have to display the double amount of wealth and splendour during the big festivities, wedding festivals in particular,[117] and that they expect the double amount of presents and bride wealth in turn.[118]
These financial provisions were one means by which the Harari, and the amir garac in particular, prevented unwelcome outsiders to become members of their society. A wealthy outsider then had to pay an even higher bride wealth than an ordinary Harari citizen. Thus we find - as we did in Lamu - that material wealth, in addition to cultured behaviour and learned knowledge, and demonstration of wealth was a means of protecting the in-group against outsiders, an attitude we may expect from a community interested in the accumulation of wealth through trade. Even in the impoverished times of the greater part of the 19th century, Harari proved to have a good know-how in managing financial matters.[119]

Houses and urban land were highly valued; and houses could be let.[120] Apparently the property rights of houses were transferred by inheritance; however, in the files Stitz was able to consult,[l21] no mention is made of a house being sold. The Harari claim today that their houses have remained family property and are never to be sold, though they may be let and rooms (i.e. the tit gar) even sub-let.[122] These data are of a striking similarity to the data we have from Lamu.

Judging from the phenomena Waldron studied with regard to social groups and social interactions among the Harari proper, that is the interactions of kin groups (*ahli*), friendship groups and clubs of youngsters (*marin*, pl. *marinac*;

and *mugad*),[123] and in particular the *afoca,* that is the traditional associations of adult men and women,[l24] it appears that the Harari proper have interactions among themselves of a rather egalitarian nature. And although Waldron states that the amir garac are basically an endogamous group and that entry into that group was prohibitive even for pure' Harari,[125] I myself had difficulties to draw a borderline between amir garac families and ordinary Harari citizens.

Again, as in Lamu, we gain the impression that the social control exercised in the city among the Harari themselves is democratic, exercised by the Harari themselves, while the Hararis' control over the other ethnic groups is (ideally),and was supposed to be of an oligarchic nature.

Waldron maintains that the *afoca* institution 'provides Harar with a concept of civitas, supposedly absent from Muslim cities.[126] This impression is
strengthened when looking. at the recent developments in the activities of the men's *afoca*s in particular, who were originally concerned primarily with religious matters during the great festivities of the life cycle of their members. They have adopted today modern Western features of associations with a board, chairman and officers, statures and minutes of meetings, etc. Their determined objective, however, is to protect and preserve Harari traditions and Harari culture.[127] These activities confirm Waldron's statement' above[126] that the Harari have developed a true concept of civitas.

And this is a development which puzzles me in view of the historical data about the type of rule of amirs which suggest that the Harari lacked the sense of civic responsibilities.[128] In view of the interactions of Harari among themselves today and of the activities of their *afoca*s one would expect that this concept of civitas has a long tradition. We do not yet know how old the *afoca* institution is, although one of my female informants was able to name one and the same *afoca* as the same where she herself, her mother and her maternal grandmother had been a member. This would give us at most 90 years considering that in Harar a woman does not enter an *afoca* unless her children have reached the age of 8 to 10 years, that is once she has reached the age of about 25 to 30 years. I myself have no comparable data about men's *afoca*.

Afoca or any type of comparable associations, self-help societies, clubs etc. are, not mentioned in the travellers' reports of the 19th nor early 20th century. We may, however, assume that some neighbourhood self-help organization did always exist to help in the festivities of the life cycle.

That is, we may assume that some sort of social interaction among Harari proper (and only among them), which we may describe as egalitarian and even, democratic, has always existed.

I have now to ask - and I do not yet have data for an answer - how did these, people, proud of their culture, react towards the absolutistic and cruel. rulers, of whom Harar can list a number? Very likely there is still a mass of data within the local records and oral traditions, that have to be explored with regard to this point.

The Position of Women [129]

Despite the custom of infibulation and clitoridectomy of girls, the women had far more independent status within their society than their sisters in Lamu.

The Harari women were never veiled, although perhaps the *fota*, headscarf, indicates some sort of veil, as might the *gufta*, the hairnet, with which the married women were supposed to cover their hair. A Harari girl is supposed to get married at fairly an early age. - in the 1920s it was about at the age of 13 - and does so. Divorces [130] were and are rare,[131] average Harari having one wife only.

My own female informants, however, more often reported about divorces. The marriage contract provides the bride with a certain financial security to be I paid or given to her by her husband in case of divorce. She may take care of the children in case of a divorce and often does so. I met a number of very skilled basket makers - divorcees - who managed to financially and emotionally take care of their children, paying also for their school fees, who often refused to remarry while the children were still small. Mokhtar[l32] states that women were known to be good wives, taking also care of part of the economic burden of the household by selling the field produce of their husbands in the local market. Women today in Harar are often petty traders in antiquities while their husbands have

a larger business. As I was told, they manage on their own and perhaps are even able to decide on expenditures from their profits on their own.

In the traditional *afoca* activities of the women, they take over their full and equal share in the social and religious life of the city. All household activities with regard to preparation of weddings and funerals are taken care of by women's *afoca*s. In religious processions and prayers to the shrines within and outside the city, it is often also the women's *afoca*s, who provide the food, while taking part in prayers and singing. The women have also their own female saints (Ay Abida, Ay Aisha, Ay Fatima Mahmud),[133] of whom Ay Abida is the most popular one. The women have also statutes for their *afoca*s, though very often not in a written form, which provide a clause that certain shrines have to be visited once or twice' a year.

While there is sexual segregation and stricter division of labour than we are accustomed to in Western societies, the woman's position was by no means a suppressed one.

Let us refer again to the ideal type of Muslim states/cities within the center of the Muslim world. Neither the data of Wagner nor the data of Waldron confirm that Harar corresponds to this type. However, Harar shares with Lamu the following phenomena: a group of citizens, distinguished by their long residence, often with a long genealogy, property of a town house within the city for generations, refined manners and behaviour, certain types of garments, and above all knowledge of religious writings and secular poetry in Arabic as well as in the local language, have formed a fairly exclusive group within their community. Means of keeping outsiders from entering the in-group are in particular financial ones, demanding high financial contributions to the social activities of the in-group. This group determines what the culture of their community is to be like, and this group feels responsible for the upkeep and protection of the old traditions. Symbols of belonging to their group are means of property: not only the town house but also financial integrity. Outsiders permitted to become members of this group had to be wealthy enough and had to fully adjust to the culture and behaviour expected from the citizens.

Notes:

1. According to U. Braukamper: Mundliche Uberlieferungen als Quellenmaterial fur die Rekonstrukton der mittelalterlichen Volkerverhaltnisse in Sudost-Athiopien, PAIDEUMA, Vol. 22,1976, p. 93, the Argobba have traditions that they sent a group of settlers to the Harar area in the 13th century. Braukamper adds that in the light of other historical data such an early immigration appears highly unlikely.

Ph. Paulitschke, Harar, Leipzig 1888, p. 209, expresses the view that based on Harari traditions the time of immigration of the, Argobba would have been the late 18th century.

Accordmg to Alula Abate, Studien zur jugeren Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft im Hochland von Harar, PhD Thesis, Bonn, 1969, p. 30, who depends on M. Cohen, Etudes d'Ethiopie meridional, Paris 1931, p. 360, and E. Cerulli, 'La Lingua e la, storia di Harar,' Studi Etiopici I, Roma p. 39 - 4-9, the Argobba of the Harar area are said to be descendents of a Jabarti colony, which migrated before the 19th century from the former state of Ifat, east of Ankober, to the Amirate of Harar.

Paulitlchke, ibid:, maintains that they settled outside Harar because the overcrowded city was neither able nor willing to offer space within the town.

2. Harari women's garments were certainly much simpler and made of local cotton material, though of much the same style as today, at the time of Burton (see R. Burton, First Footsteps is' East Africa, London 1856, p. 326 -7, and plate).

3. For the history and geography of Harar comp.: Alula Abate, op. cit.; R. Burton, op. cit., E. Cerulli, op. cit., Ph. Paulitschke, op. dt.; E. Wagner, 'Die Chronologie der fruhen muslimischen Herrscher in Athiopien nach den Harariner Emirslisten', Festschrift E.L. Rapp, 1976; F. Wagner, 'Legende und Geschichte. Der Fath Madinat Harar von Yahya Nasrallah,' Wiesbaden 1978; R.A. Caulk, 'Harar Town and its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century', Journal of African History, XVIII, 3 (1977), p. 369 - 386; and the literature quoted in these works.
For the history and geography of Lamu comp.: U. Ghaidan, Lamu, Nairobi 1975. J.d.V. Allen, 'The Swahili House' and T.H. Wilson, 'Swahili Funerary Architecture of the North Kenya Coast, both in AARP, Art and Archtology Research PaPersonal, Dec. 1979, and the literature quoted therein. Compo also: R. Wilding, Swahili Culture, A Bibliography, Nairobi 1976.j.d.V. Allen, Lamu Town, A Guide, Mombasa, no date.

4. W. Hichens, 'A Chronicle of Lamu', Bantu Studies, Vol. XII, No.1, March 1938, p. 1-34, quoted in C. Mac C. Martin and E.B. Martin, 'Quest for the Past, An Historical Guide to the Lamu Archipelago', 1973,p. 17.

5. Martin and Martin, op. cit. p. 2.

6. J.d.V. Allen, Lamu. Nairobi, no date, p. 4.

7. E. Wagner, Chronologie ... op. cit. Tab. I, Column S. Informant: Ahmad as-Sami.

8. J.d.V. Allen, Al-Inkishafi. Nairobi 1977, p. 17 -18.

9. Yusuf Ahmed in Wolf Leslau: Ethiopians Speak. I. Harari, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1965, p. 50, 57; V. Stitz, Arabic town records and the economic and population history of Harar during the 19th century. Paper presented at the Harari Studies Conference, Addis Ababa 1975, p. 6, 8; P. Koehn and S.R. Waldron: *Afocha*: A Link Between Community and Administration in Harar, Ethiopia. Syracuse, N.Y. 1978, p. 2, 9 -10; S.R. Waldron: Social Organization and Social Control in the Walled City of Harar, Ethiopia (PhD Thesis), Ann Arbor, 1975, p. vi. J.d.V. Allen, Swahili House op. cit. p. 2.

10. Allen, Al Inkishafi op. cit. p. 16; Burton, op. cit., pp. 339 - 40,342, Waldron (thesis) op. cit. p.290.

11. Burton, op. cit. pp. 298, 332 and plate with the Amir sitting on an Indian *kursi*; Allen, Lamu op. cit., Introduction and p. 17 - 18, 26.

12. Chinese stone ware found on Manda Island opposite Lamu dates as far back as the 9th - 10th century; compo N. Chittick; 'Manda and the Immigration of the 'Shirazi', University of Nairobi Institute of African Studies Seminar PaPersonal No. 119, 1979, p. 3.

13. R. Wilding, 'Prehistory in Harar'. Paper presented at the Harari Studies Conference, Addis Ababa, June 1975, p. 5. .

14. 'Darbi Gar' - 'Harari style stone building' according to W. Leslau: Etymological Dictionary of Harari, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1963, p. 58.

15. R. Wilding, op. cit.

16. With regard to house and town architecture compo. J.d.V. Allen, Swahili Houses .... op. cit.;
R. Wilding, 'Harari Domestic Architecture', AARP, No.9, 1976; E.D. Hecht, 'The City of Harar and the Traditional Harari House', Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. XV, Addis Ababa Aug. 1982.

17. Allen, Lamu ... op. cit. p. 17,18,26.

18. Personal observation 1981.

19. Allen, Lamu ... op. cit. p. 8;J.d.V. Allen, 'Swahili Ornament: A Study of the Decoration of the 18th Century Plasterwork and Carved Doors in the Lamu Region' (no date, no place given), p. 4,6.

20. 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. Personal. communication by informants, summer 1975.

21. Burton, op. cit. p. 297.

22. I am indebted to J. d. V. Allen for this information and for letting me have the literature pertaining to it. Compo R.K. Trivedi, Wood Carving of Gujerat, 1965, p. 33. in: Census of India 1961, Vol. V. Gujerat, Part VII - A(2). New Delhi.

23. Personal observation.

24. Personal observation.

25. I am indebted to S.R. Waldron for showing me this water pipe in summer 1975.

26. Personal observation. I am indebted to the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Vienna, for permitting me to see this collection in their stores and to take photographs.

27. Personal. communication J.d.V. Allen.

28. Personal. communication J.d.V. Allen.

29. See below, pp. 16ff, 28ff.

30. Personal. observation.

31. Allen, Personal. communication; also comp. Allen, Swahili Ornament, op. cit., p. 6, 10 with regard to wood and plaster carving.

32. As an example I wish to mention here the bracelet of coloured glass beads with a larger and more elaborate round plate in the middle popular in Kenya, where only the name 'sa'a'(Swah. time) indicates that its origin is a Western wrist-watch.

33. Personal. communication Antiquities Dealer Fakhruddin, Lamu, 1981.

34. Personal. communication Silversmith Aw Haj Saleh Ali, Harar, 1975.

35. Personal. observation.

36. For the discussion of the 'Arab'/vs. 'African' origin of Swahili Coastal culture see Allen, Lamu ... op. cit., Introduction; Allen, Swahili Ornament ... op. cit., p. 1;

j. d. V. Allen, 'The peopling of the Lamu-Southern Benaadir Hinterland in the 14th -17th Centuries', U. Nairobi Dept. of History Seminar Paper No. 12, 1980, p. 1-19, and literature quoted;

j. d. V. Allen, Swahili History Revisited, U. Nairobi Institute of African Studies Seminar Paper No. 76, Feb. 1977, and literature quoted; N. Chittick, op. til. p. 1 - 6, and literature quoted.

37. E. Wagner, Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Vol. 125, H. 1, 1975.

38. Allen, Al Inkishafi ... op. cit.; Allen, Lamu, op. cit., p. 26.

39. S.R. Waldron, Harar: The Muslim City in Ethiopia. Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Chicago, April 1978, p. 7 - 8.

40. Max Weber, Economy and Society New York 1968, p. 1226, quoted in Waldron, 1978, op. cit. p. 7.

41. Gruenebaum, G.E.v.: Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of Cultural Traditional, London, 1955, p. 149, quoted in Waldron, 1978, ibid.

42. G. Sjoberg, The preindustrial City: Past and Present. New York, 1960, 101, quoted in Waldron 1978, op. cit., ibid.

43. Hourani, A. H., Introduction: The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research, in: The Islamic City. A.H. Hourani, ed. Oxford 1970, p. 22, quoted in Waldron, 1978, op. cit., ibid.

45. E. Tyan, Institutions du droit public musulman. T. 2: Sultanat el Califat, Paris 1956, p. 296 - ,297, quoted in E. Wagner, Imamat und Sultanat in Harar, in: SAECULUM, XXVI, H. 3(1975), p. 283.

46. Wagner, ibid.

47. Wagner, ibid. Wagner, in this particular article, wishes to point out the rather special position Harar had as a society and city state at the margin of the Muslim World, and the 'anomalic' features, Harari political structure developed. See below p. 23 f.

48. For the following, compo Allen. 'Swahili History Revisited .. .' op. cit., p. 17ff; Allen, 'Swahili Houses ... ' op. cit. p. 4-6: for an overview see Martin and Martin, op. cit., p. 1 - 11 and literature quoted.

49. Allen, 'Swahili History Revisited ... ', op. cit. p. 19.

50. Allen, 'Lamu .. .' op. cit.; Introduction.

51. Martin and Martin, op. cit., p. 8, and literature quoted.

52. Allen, Lamu, op. cit., Introduction.

53. Martin and Martin. op. cit. p. 5. and literature quoted Allen, 'Swahili History Revisited ... ' op. cit. p. 19.

54. Allen, ibid.

55. Allen, ibid., p.18 - 19. 22 Allen. 'Swahili Houses .. .', op. cit. p. 4 ff.

56. Mud and thatch houses do have elements of Swahili stone architecture, i.e. the structure of the ceiling of mangrove poles alternating with plain white plaster work. Sometimes there is also a more elaborate plaster carving at the wall of a 'living room'. Personal observation in Lamu and Pate 1981.

57. Allen, 'Swahili Houses ... ', op. cit., p. 4; however, for reasons outlined below, Allen states that the Swahili (in Lamu and elsewhere) appeared to him nearly unhierarchical, where even the borderlines towards the descendents of former slaves are not easy to draw, compo Allen, "Swahili History Revisited", op. cit. p. 23.

58. Allen, 'Swahili Houses ... ,' op. cit. p. 4, 5.

59. Allen, ibid.

60. Allen, ibid.

61. J. S. Trimingham, Islam in East Africa, London 1964, p. 14 -15 quoted in Allen, 'Swahili Houses .', op. cit. p. 4, and Allen, 'Swahili History Revisited ... ', op. at. p. 18.

62. Allen, 'Swahili Houses ... ' op. cit. p. 4, 5.

63. ibid., p. 5.

64. ibid. p. 5, and A.I. Salim 'Kenya' in Encyclopall1.ia oj Islam, 1976, p. 885, quoted in Allen ibid.

65. Allen, 'Swahili Houses ... 'op. cit., p. 4.

66. ibid.

67. ibid., p. 5, and Allen, 'Town and Country in Swahili Culture,' Symposium Leo Frobenius, Cologne/Yaoundé, 1974.

68. Allen, 'Swahili Houses ... ', op. cit. p. 5.
   Allen, Al Inkishafi, op. cit., p. 20, 21; Allen, 'Swahili History Revisited,' op. cit. p. 22.

69. ibid, op. cit. p. 23.

70. ibid.

71. Allen, 'Swahili Houses .. .' op. cit. p. 6, 8.

72. ibid.

73. A man or woman may have one wedding festival in his/her life. For the woman, it is the first one, where she has to prove her virginity. Since divorce is fairly easy, remarriages often occur, however are no such big affairs. Personal. communication Allen.

74. They do master, however, the art of flirting with their eyes and hands.

75. Personal. communication Allen. I lack, however, data about the provisions of marriage contracts.

76. Personal. communication Allen.

77: Against the 'Freelanders' in the 1920s, as well as against the tourist wave of today. Personal. communication Allen, and per. observation.

78. Per. communication F. Denyer, spring 1981.

79. E.D. Hecht, 'Der Herrscher und seine Ratgeber im afrikanischen sakralen Konigtum,Tervuren 1969, and literature quoted therein.

80. Waldron, Harar, Muslim City ... op. cit. p. 4; map 3, p. 5.

81. Burton, op. cit. 1856, 320, 331f; Paulitschke, op. cit. 215 ff.

82. Cerulli, op. cit., and literature quoted therein.
E. Wagner 1978, op. cil.; E. Wagner: .'Neues Material zur 'Ausa-Chronik' in: Festschrift Hans Robert Roemer, Beirut 1979; E. Wagner, op. cit. 1976; S. Tedeschi, 'L'emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito', Accademia Nzionale dei Lincei. Quaderno N. 191, Roma 1974; R. Caulk, op. cit.

83. I am indebted to Ato Ahmad Zacharia for giving me this information on Hararis' opinion with regard in particular to the rule of Amir Muhammad b. Ali (1856 -1875); compo also Wagner, Imamat und Sultanat ... op. cit. p. 289 with regard to the rule of Sultan Abu Bakr compared to that of Imam Ahmed Gragn described in 'Arabfaqih', Histoire de la conquete de l'Abyssinie (XVle sie'cle). Texte arabe. Trad. et notes par Rene' Basset, Paris 1897, p. 6 - 7, trad. p. 15

84. Wagner, 1979, op. cit. p. 665 with regard to the rule of Muhammad Gasa II of Awssa, late 16th cent.

85. Compo Tedeschi, op. cit., p. 490 re. Halaf b. Abi Bakr(1732 - 1733) deposed by his brother;
Ahmad b. Abi Bakr (1755 - 82) deposed by his nephew. Comp. also Caulk, op. cit. p. 376 re. the reigns of Abd al-Rahman, Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad (ca. 1820 -.30) and on p. 377 re. Ahmad b. Abu Bakr.
86. Burton, op. cit. 331 - 332.

87. Burton, op. cit. p. 300 - 301. I

88. Burton, ibid.

89. Cerulli, op. cit. p. 41; Wagner 1979, op. cil. p. 663 - 4

90. I am again indebted to Ato Ahmad Zacharia for this information.

91. Cerulli, op. cit. p. 41.

92. Burton, op. cit. p. 323; The Awssa Chronicle several times refers to title holders 'kabir'. camp. Wagner 1979, op. cit., p. 662,667.

93. Personal   observation 1975.

94. Cerulli, op. cit. p. 41;   Compo also Stitz, op. cit., who refers to the qadi's court in the early 19the century while later on it was called '*diwan*' (p. 3).

95. Cerulli, ibid.

96. Burton, op. cit. p. 324 refers to one 'shaykh Jami', who was a Somali and took an active part in politics.

97. Stitz, op. cit., p. 3,4.

98. Caulk, op. cil. p. 377 - 78, referring to Charles Gordon: Memorandum sur les Amirs de Harrar, Abdine Archives, Sudan, Correspondence Gordon; and G.B. Hill (ed.): Colonel Gordon in Central Africa 1874 - 79, London 1885, p. 31.

99. Caulk, op. cit. p. 376; Amir Abd al·Rahman with the Babile (1821), while his family apparently hired Arab mercenaries. His brother Abdal-Karim appealed to the Oromo. See note 85;

S. Tedeschi op. cit. 481 ff; Burton, op. cit. p. 296.

100. Burton, First Footsteps in East Africa Reprint, London, 1966, p. 163, 189, quoted in Caulk op. cit. p. 377.

101. Burton, op. cit. 1856, 331,332: Paulitschke, op. cit. p. 213.

102. Wagner, Imamat und Sultanat ... op. &it. p. 286, and footnote 29. 104, ibid. p. 287.

105. ibid. p. 290.

106. ibid.

107. ibid. p. 291 - 292.

108. Burton, op. cit. p. 328, 331; Paulitschke, op, cit. p. 213.

109. Waldron (Thesis), op. cit.

110. Burton, op. cit. p. 297.

111. Waldron (Thesis) op. cit., diagram 4, p. 294.

112. Waldron (Thesis), op. cit. p. 303, 304; Waldron, Harar: Muslim City op. cit. p. 1, 4.
    Stitz, op. cit. p. 5, 7 with regard to intermarriages with Somali.

114. Personal. communication, Waldron.

115. Waldron (Thesis), op. cit. 303, 304.

116. Personal observation 1975.

117. Yusuf Ahmed in Leslau 1965, op. cit., 130,

118. Waldron (Thesis), op. cit. 304.

119. Stitz, op. cit. p. 9, 10.

120. Stitz, op. cit. p. 9 ..

121. Stitz, op. cit.

122. Personal. Communication Waldron.

123. Waldron, Harar: Muslim City ... op. cit. p. 9;
    Duri Mohammed, 'The Mugads of Harar,' University College of Addis Abaha, Ethnological Society Bulletin No.4, Dec. 1955, p. 15 ff.

124 Peter Koehn and Sidney R. Waldron, *Afocha*: a Link Between Community and Administration in Harar, Ethiopia, Syracuse, N.Y. 1978
    E.D. Hecht, 'Traditionelle Frauenverbande in Harar, Athiopion. Bremen (in print).

125. Waldron (Thesis), op. cit. 306.

126. Waldron, Harar: Muslim City ... op. cit. p. 10 quoting Hourani, 1970, op. cil., p. 24.

127. Koehn/Waldron 1978, op. cit.

128. Paulitschke, op. cil. 211.. .

129. Personal observation. Compare also Mohammed Mokhtar, 'Notes sur le Pays de Harrar', Bulletin de la Societe Khedivale de Geographie, 1: p. 365;   Waldron (Thesis), op. &il. p. 75.

130. Stitz, op. cit. p. 4.

131. Personal. communication Waldron.

132. Mokhtar, op. cil.

133. Wagner, 'Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar', Zeitsrhrift der Deutschen Morgmlandischen Gesellschaft, 123, 1973.