

Administrative, cultural, urban and economic conditions in the city of Harar.

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Abstract

The city of Harar occupies a prominent place among the countries of East Africa, whether in view of its important geographical location, or its position as an important center for research and exploration work. It is known that the city of Harar was introduced to Islam in the first centuries of the Hijra, and the city of Harar appeared in the seventh century AH / thirteenth century AD. As the most powerful Islamic center in Africa, and a center for jurisprudence and Islamic teachings in Somalia and outside it, its activity in advocacy extended beyond the borders of Somalia, and it was known as the Islamic beacon for Somalia and its East African neighbors. It also activated the trade movement, being the richest region in North Africa. It was also an important commercial center. It connects trade routes with the rest of Abyssinia, and Harar, despite the civil wars and the constant conflict with the Abyssinians, enjoyed a kind of stability that helped it flourish and achieve administrative, cultural, urban and economic progress.

Keywords: (Harar city, for an administrative period, for a cultural period, for an urban period, for an economic period).

Introduction:

Harar occupies a significant geographical location on the coast of the Red Sea, which has made it an important Islamic center on the African coast and a meeting point for Islamic migrations. Consequently, it has attracted many ethnicities from various Arab and Western countries. Harar is one of the oldest cities still existing today in East Africa and has played an important role in spreading the Islamic faith. From Harar, preachers and scholars embarked, and it became a hub of scientific and cultural activity. Hence, Harar has witnessed significant administrative, cultural, urban, and economic progress from its founding until 1887.

Harar has several nicknames mentioned in ancient texts: it is the city of the righteous and the city of saints. It contains ninety-nine mosques and more than a hundred shrines. Some historians have described it as the forgotten paradise due to its natural beauty and its status as a city of knowledge, civilization, culture, and commerce, and as a beacon of Islam in East Africa to this day.

Importance of the Study:

The importance of the study lies in the following:

1. The scarcity of research addressing the administrative, cultural, urban, and economic conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887.
2. Shedding light on the administrative, cultural, urban, and economic conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887.
3. Clarifying the emergence of Harar in East Africa and the role it played in spreading Islam.

Problem Statement:

The problem of this study is summarized in investigating the administrative, cultural, urban, and economic conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887. This problem branches into several questions:

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1. Where is Harar located?
2. How was this city founded?
3. What were the administrative and cultural conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887?
4. What were the urban and economic conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887?

Reasons for Choosing the Topic:

The reasons that led us to choose the topic of the administrative, cultural, urban, and economic conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887 are:

First - Personal Reasons:

My desire to dedicate an academic research to Harar from its founding until 1887, considering it a beacon of Islam in East Africa to this day.

Second - Objective Reasons:

1. To know the Islamic Kingdom of Harar.
2. To understand the administrative, cultural, urban, and economic conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887.

Study Methodology:

The study followed the descriptive historical method and relied on sources and references that dealt with the administrative, cultural, urban, and economic conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887.

Study Plan:

The research is divided into an introduction, several main sections, and a conclusion. The first section covers the geographical location of Harar. The second section discusses the emergence of Harar. The third section addresses the administrative conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887. The fourth section is dedicated to studying the cultural conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887. The fifth section discusses the urban conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887. The sixth section addresses the economic conditions in Harar from its founding until 1887.

Geographical Location of Harar

The city of Harar is located in the eastern part of Ethiopia, nestled between two towering mountains on a green mountain face approximately 275 meters above sea level. Harar is one of the richest and most fertile cities in Ethiopia. Taysir Al-Milan described it as follows: "The Harar region is one of the richest and most fertile regions in Ethiopia, where Harari coffee is grown, various types of fruits, vegetables, and grains thrive, and a wide range of wild and domesticated animals can be found. It is also rich in minerals" ⁽¹⁾. The city is the capital of the Harar region, which consists of the main city and many surrounding villages. Historically, Harar was situated among the Islamic kingdoms near the African coast, and Zeila ⁽²⁾ served as Harar's seaport for trade until Zeila took control of Harar, shifting the center of power to Harar and forming the Adal Sultanate together ⁽³⁾.

Harar gradually slopes towards the Somali and Ogaden plains, with the waters from this plateau branching out through the Juba and Shabelle rivers, which flow into the Indian Ocean ⁽⁴⁾. Figure 1 illustrates the location of the Ethiopian city of Harar ⁽⁵⁾.

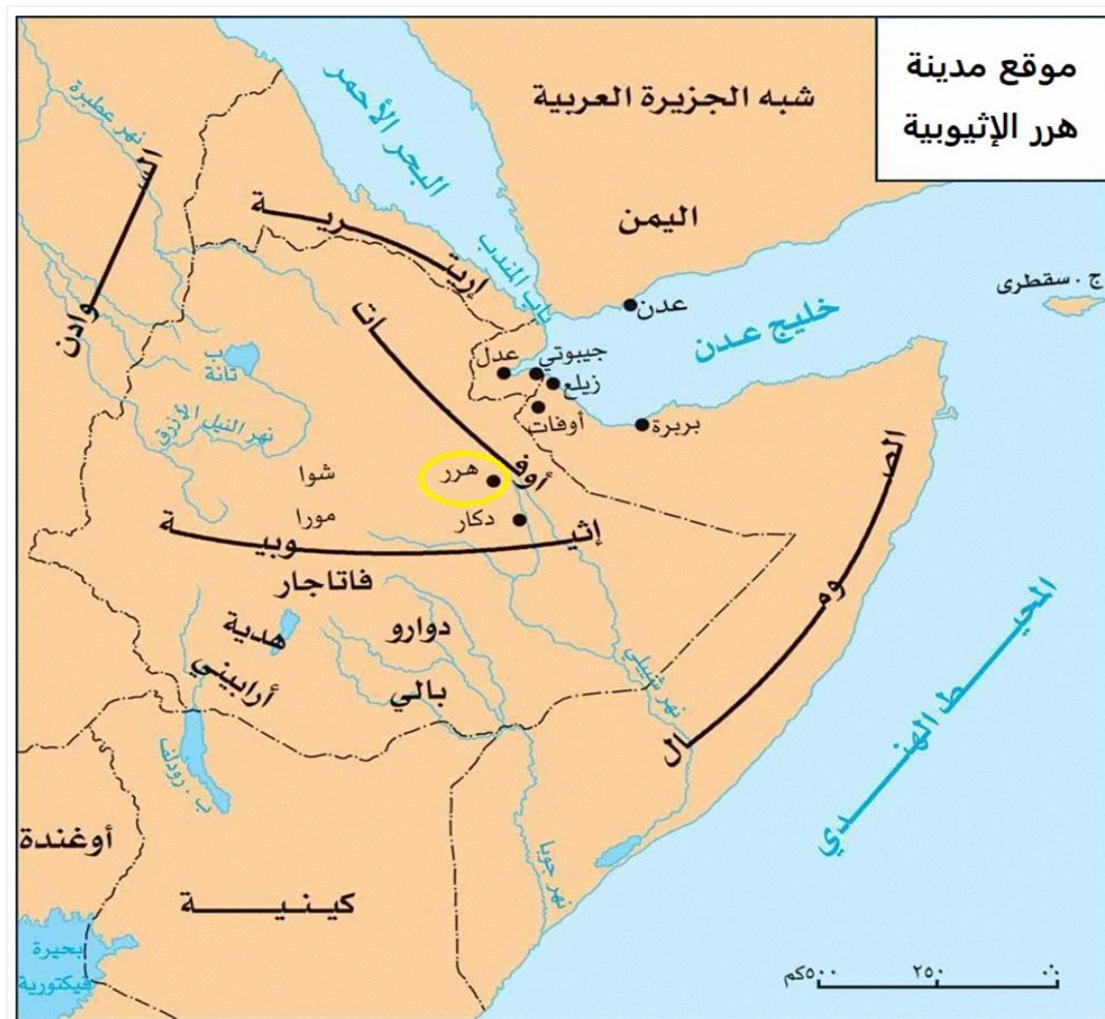


Figure No. (1)

(1) Kilani, Muhammad Taysir Zubyan, *My Observations in the Lands of Islam: Muslim Ethiopia*, Arfa Library, Damascus, 1937, pp. 58-59.

(2) Zeila: With the first letter open, the second silent, the third letter open, and ending with an unpointed `ayn. They are a people from Sudan on the edge of Ethiopian land, and they are Muslims. Their land is known as Zeila. Al-Hamawi states: "Among the islands of Yemen is the island of Zeila, which has a market where goats from Ethiopia are brought, their skins are bought, and most of their residues are thrown into the sea." For more details, see: Hamawi, Shihab Al-Din Abu Abdullah Al-Rumi (d. 626 AH / 1229 AD), *Dictionary of Countries*, Dar Sader, Beirut, Lebanon, 1993, vol. 3, p. 164.

(3) Hamshari, Muhammad Ali et al., *The Spread of Islam in Africa*, Obaikan Library, Riyadh, 1997, p. 23.

(4) Ibn Kathir, Abu Al-Fida Ismail Ibn Umar (d. 774 AH / 1373 AD), *The Beginning and the End*, ed. Abdullah bin Abdul Mohsin Al-Turki, Dar Hijr, Beirut, 2003, vol. 4, p. 166.

(5) Anab, Muhammad Ahmed Abdul Rahman, *The Ethiopian City of Harar... The Fragrance of History and the Memory of Place*, Al-Rafid Magazine, published 02/03/2023, visited 02/08/2024, available at: <https://arrafid.ae/Article-Preview?l=oudWXUHKnyU%3D&m=5U3QQE93T%2F0%3D>.

The Emergence of Harar

In the year 83 AH / 702 AD, some Ethiopian pirates raided the city of Jeddah during the reign of Caliph Abdul Malik bin Marwan (d. 86 AH / 705 AD). They looted large amounts of wealth and burned the ships docked in the port. In response, the Caliph sent an

expedition that managed to capture the Dahlak Islands⁽⁶⁾, near Suakin. These islands became a beacon that helped spread Islam in eastern Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the first century AH, Arab traders from Yemen and Hadramout founded the city of Harar⁽⁷⁾. It was the capital of one of the provinces that formed the Empire of Zeila, known as the Adal Sultanate. After the fall of Zeila, Harar became an independent sultanate. The city of Harar was composed of various tribes with diverse ancestries, ethnicities, and religions. Most of its inhabitants were from the Harari, Amhara, Somali, and Afar tribes. The Harari tribe came from the Levant, Egypt, and the Arabian Peninsula, and the city is named after them. This led to a population mix of Semitic, Hamitic, and Cushitic peoples⁽⁸⁾.

At that time, there were ninety-two Christian principalities in Ethiopia, the largest being the Amhara principality, whose ruler was titled "Hati." All Islamic and Christian principalities, including Harar, were under his rule. The Islamic principalities were required to deliver annual tributes of linen, cloth, and silk⁽⁹⁾. The Islamic kingdoms in Ethiopia were not interconnected, only bound by spiritual ties due to intense competition among them. As a result, they fell prey to the Hati of the Amhara principality, who imposed his influence on them⁽¹⁰⁾. Al-Qalqashandi described the system of royal succession in these Islamic kingdoms. The inheritance system was the prevailing method, and no one could assume kingship without the endorsement of the Sultan of the Amhara principality. Upon the death of a king, his men would all approach the Sultan of Amhara, seeking his favor to choose one of them as the new king. Once chosen, the others would obey and support him⁽¹¹⁾.

In the fourth century AH / tenth century AD, the Kingdom of Axum split into a coastal part ruled by Muslims and an inland part ruled by Christians. During this century, Islam spread throughout the eastern and southern regions and the edges of the plateau, encompassing the Dahlak Islands, Harar, the Danakil, Somalia, and Sidamo. The Ifat Sultanate, which worked to spread Islam, was formed⁽¹²⁾ (12).

The city of Harar emerged in the seventh century AH / thirteenth century AD as the strongest Islamic center in East Africa and a hub for Islamic jurisprudence and teachings within and outside Somalia. Its activities in spreading Islam extended beyond Somalia to cover approximately 65% of the entire Ethiopian territory⁽¹³⁾.

The Adal region was one of the provinces under the Kingdom of Ifat, and the Adal Sultanate included the land between the port of Zeila and Harar. The sultans of Adal continued their jihad against the Ethiopians during the reign of Sa'ad ad-Din II, who made

⁽⁶⁾ Dahlak: An island in the Red Sea, located on the travel route between Aidab and Yemen. It takes two days to traverse the island, which is surrounded by three hundred inhabited islands with Muslim populations. For more details, see: Al-Humairi, Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Abdul Mun'im (d. 900 AH / 1495 AD), *Al-Rawd Al-Mi'tar Fi Khabar Al-Aqtar*, edited by Ihsan Abbas, Nasser Foundation for Culture, Beirut, 1980, p. 244.

⁽⁷⁾ Abu Khalil, Shawqi, *Atlas of the Countries of the Islamic World: Geographical, Historical, Economic*, Dar Al-Fikr, Damascus, 2003, p. 121.

⁽⁸⁾ Shakir, Mahmoud, *Eritrea and Ethiopia*, Islamic Office, Beirut, 2nd ed., 1983, p. 9.

⁽⁹⁾ Al-Turki, Sawaash Kujbash, *Imam Fakhr Al-Din Al-Zayla'i and His Book Tabyin Al-Haqaiq*, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyya, Beirut, Lebanon, 2016, p. 39.

⁽¹⁰⁾ (10) Al-Maqrizi, Ahmad bin Ali bin Abdul Qadir (d. 845 AH / 1442 AD), *Al-Ilmam Bi Akhbar Man Bi Ard Al-Habasha Min Muluk Al-Islam*, printed at the Printing House of Authorship in Egypt, Cairo, 1895, p. 29.

⁽¹¹⁾ (11) Al-Qalqashandi, Ahmad bin Ali (d. 821 AH / 1419 AD), *Subh Al-Asha Fi Sina'at Al-Insha*, annotated by Muhammad Hussein Shams Al-Din, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyya, Beirut, Lebanon, 1st ed., 1987, vol. 5, p. 317.

⁽¹²⁾ Shakir, *Eritrea and Ethiopia*, previously cited, p. 23.

⁽¹³⁾ Gaith, Fathi, *Islam and Ethiopia through History*, Al-Nahda Library, Cairo, n.d., pp. 19-22.

the city of Dakar his capital and managed to seize several Ethiopian principalities⁽¹⁴⁾ (14). After his death in 825 AH / 1422 AD, his brother Mansur took over the jihad and formed a large army from Zeila and Harar, attacking the Ethiopian king and killing many of his soldiers. However, in 828 AH / 1425 AD, the Ethiopian king Isaac bin David assembled a large army and attacked the Adal Sultanate, capturing Sultan Mansur and his brother Prince Muhammad. Subsequently, Sultan Jamal ad-Din assumed the banner of jihad, defeating the Ethiopians in several battles, killing, capturing, and plundering extensively until his assassination in 836 AH / 1432 AD⁽¹⁵⁾. After him, Sultan Shihab ad-Din Ahmad Badlay took over, fighting the Ethiopians and reclaiming many principalities until his defeat in 848 AH / 1444 AD due to the betrayal of one of his princes. The Ethiopians then managed to seize the Kingdom of Adal. The descendants of Adal's sultans grew weary of the jihad against the Ethiopians and inclined towards peace, but the true Muslims did not abandon the jihad. The city of Harar continued the struggle with the emergence of a group of emir-imams whose hearts were imbued with the love of jihad for the sake of Allah. Thus, the Adal society split into two factions: the first led by the jihadist emir-imams and the second by the traditional Adal sultans who had made peace with the Ethiopians⁽¹⁶⁾. In the tenth century AH / sixteenth century AD, Ethiopian attacks on Muslims reached their peak after the ascension of King Lebna Dengel and later his son Claudius. During this period, Muslims suffered greatly, and their state, which had made Harar its capital in 926 AH / 1520 AD, weakened significantly⁽¹⁷⁾. Meanwhile, Harar had revived as an Islamic power against Ethiopia thanks to the emergence of one of its warrior princes, Ahmad ibn Ibrahim (912-950 AH / 1506-1543 AD). He launched numerous attacks on Ethiopian territories with the assistance of the Turks ruling Yemen and Jeddah, penetrating deep into the country until he reached the northern regions⁽¹⁸⁾. After the Muslim forces had overrun all Ethiopian territories, Ahmad the Conqueror returned to his capital Harar in 943 AH / 1536 AD, bringing all regions of Ethiopia, both Islamic and Christian, under his dominion⁽¹⁹⁾. Consequently, Emperor Claudius sought the help of the Portuguese in 1541 AD. The Portuguese intervention in Ethiopia increased Ottoman interest in the Red Sea region, Yemen, and the eastern seas in general, especially after their conquest of Egypt, to counter the Portuguese advance⁽²⁰⁾. The Ottomans captured Suakin, the most important African trade port, in 1520, followed by the seizure of Zeila, Massawa, and other centers. From the seventeenth century, Harar became an independent city⁽²¹⁾. In the late tenth century AH / sixteenth century AD and throughout the eleventh century AH / seventeenth century AD, Harar was governed by princes from the Sharifs of Mecca. The emirate's boundaries gradually shrank until they were confined within the city walls.

(14) Al-Masri, Abu Said, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islamic History*, Modern Comprehensive Library, n.d., vol. 9, p. 91.

(15) Al-Maqrizi, *Al-Ilmam*, previously cited, vol. 5, pp. 94-95.

(16) Al-Masri, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islamic History*, vol. 9, pp. 92-93.

(17) J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Geoffrey Cumberlege Oxford University Press, London New York, 1952, p. 209.

(18) Al-Naqera, Muhammad Abdullah, *The Spread of Islam in East Africa and Western Opposition to It*, College of Dar Al Uloom - Department of Islamic History and Civilization, 1974, p. 229.

(19) Ibid., p. 230.

(20) Masoud, Gamal Abdel Hadi Muhammad, Laban, Ali, *Contemporary Islamic Society*, Dar Al-Wafaa, 1st ed., 1995, p. 110.

(21) Bashir, Abdel Wahab Al-Tayeb, *The Status of the Arabic Language in the Horn of Africa: Intersections of Religion, Identity, and Ethnicity*, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2020, p. 55.

Once, the Emir of Harar controlled the Galla⁽²²⁾ and Somali⁽²³⁾ tribes scattered between the city and the coast; eventually, his throne came under their mercy⁽²⁴⁾.

In the year 1856, Prince Muhammad VII, son of Abdul Shakur, led a coup after the death of Sultan Ahmad V, son of Prince Abu Bakr Abdul Shakur. Following his assumption of power in the city of Harar, strife and tribal wars erupted between the inhabitants of Harar and the Arabans, and among the Somali clans such as the Isaaq, Idarwata, Sheikhash, and Ojadin. This turmoil lasted for 19 years. Eventually, some residents of Harar called upon the Egyptians to quell the civil wars. The Egyptians, led by Muhammad Raouf Pasha, entered Harar on Friday, 11th September 1875, establishing security and stability there. Historical documents recall that 73 princes and sultans successively ruled over Harar without interruption, with the last being Prince Abdullah bin Muhammad Jarad in 1887. This marks the date of Harar's fall to Menelik II in the Battle of Chelenqo⁽²⁵⁾.

Harar indeed witnessed administrative, cultural, urban, and economic changes from its foundation until 1887, which we will elaborate on below:

Administrative Conditions in Harar from Foundation until 1887:

The rule in Harar was absolute monarchy despite the authorities granted by the emperor, the rights recognized by the constitution for citizens, legislative and executive bodies that were established, and modern laws that were enacted. The emperor held supreme authority, although there existed a symbolic constitution⁽²⁶⁾.

According to the constitution that attributes sanctity to the head of state, "the imperial blood flowing in his veins sanctifies the person of the emperor and his exalted status, which cannot be violated, and his authorities are beyond dispute"⁽²⁷⁾. Although the church had significant authority, the appointment of the emperor himself was approved by the Archbishop⁽²⁸⁾.

In the hands of the Emperor lies the appointment of all ministries, officials, their dismissal, transfer, declaration of war, granting of ranks, promotion of officers, direction of foreign relations, confiscation of properties, and their distribution as rewards to his followers and loyalists⁽²⁹⁾.

Legislative Authority comprises two councils, one for the House of Representatives and the other for the Senate. The country is divided into electoral units, each consisting of

(22) The land of the Galla extends northeast from Lake Victoria between the Ethiopian plateau in the north, the Somali Kingdom in the east, and the lands of Arous and Boran in the south. The Galla population exceeded ten million, and they are a brave people. For more details, see: Sabri, Muhammad, *Egypt in Eastern Africa: Harar, Zeila, and Berbera*, Egypt Press and Library, Cairo, 1939, p. 28.

It seems like you're referencing additional information about the Somali people and their kingdom. Here is the translation:

(23) Somalia: An Arab nation whose vast kingdom extends within a triangle bordered by the Kafa Mountains, or an imaginary line from the Tajura Gulf to the Tana River, covering a coastline of 1100 kilometers along the Gulf of Aden and 2200 kilometers along the Indian Ocean. This kingdom is wealthy due to its resources of frankincense, myrrh, gum Arabic, rubber, horses, and livestock. For more details, refer to the same source, p. 24.

(24) Same reference, p. 24.

(25) Hussein, Ahmed Abd al-Daim Muhammad, "The Alleged Theocratic State in East Africa and its Counterfeit Publications," Journal of Ma'adin for Human Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2022, p. 14.

(26) Shaker, Eritrea and Abyssinia, previous reference, p. 69.

(27) Same reference, p. 69.

(28) Same reference, p. 69.

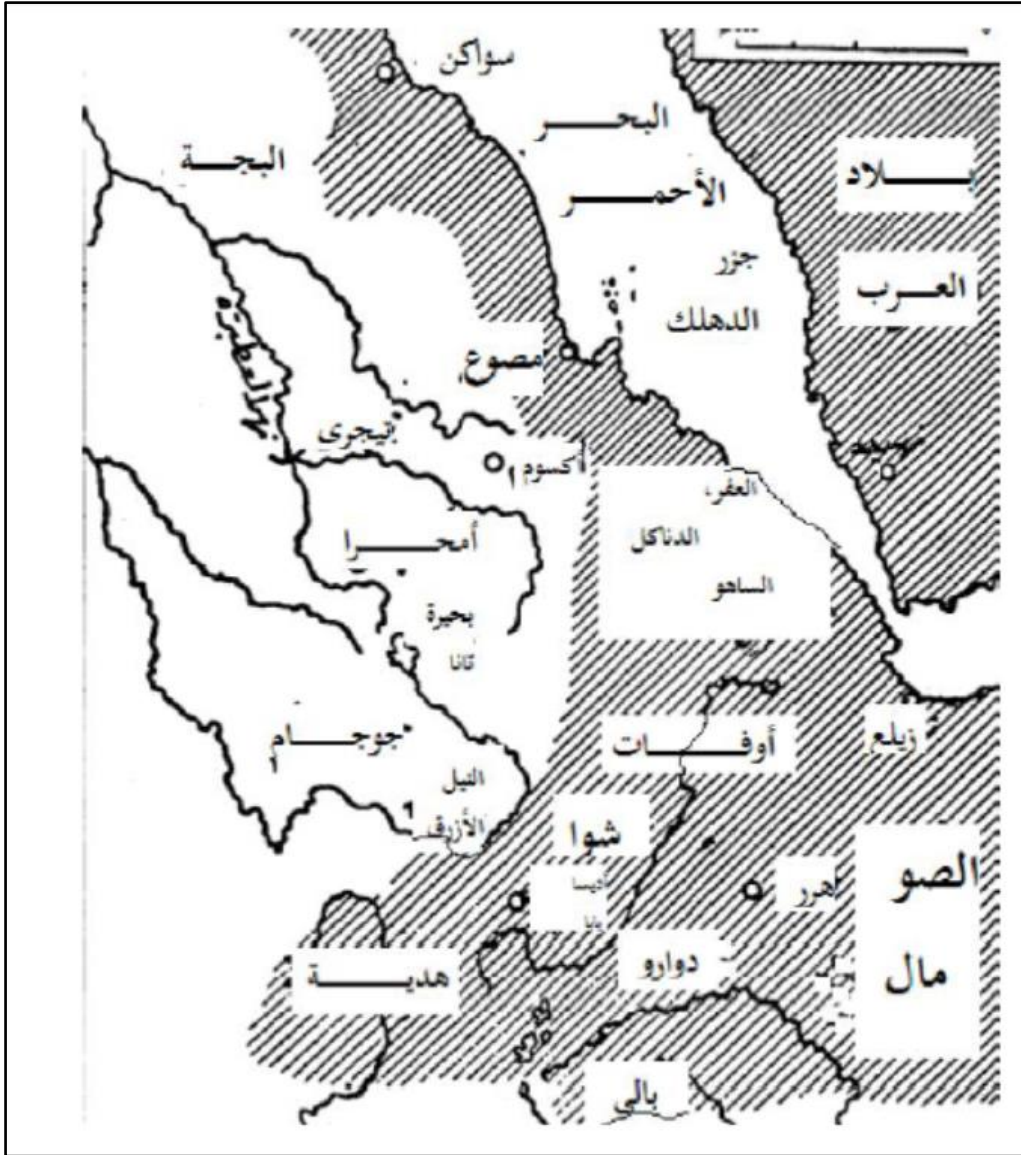
(29) Same reference, pp. 69-70.

100,000 voters. Candidates must be at least 25 years old, with a term of 4 years for the House of Representatives and 6 years for the Senate. Each year, the Emperor appoints a President and Vice President for each council, both of whom must be from the ruling house and at least 35 years old⁽³⁰⁾.

The country is divided into 13 provinces, each headed by a governor. Provinces are further divided into districts, and districts into centers and regions. The provinces are as follows:

1. Arousi, 2. Bejimdr, 3. Jamukova, 4. Jogam, 5. Harar, 6. Ilobabor, 7. Kafa, 8. Shoa, 9. Sidamo, 10. Tigre, 11. Walaga, 12. Wello, 13. Bali⁽³¹⁾,

Refer to Figure 2 for the Islamic provinces during the 14th century⁽³²⁾.



⁽³⁰⁾ Same reference, p. 70.

⁽³¹⁾ Same reference, p. 70.

⁽³²⁾ Blawi, Moumen, "The Islamic Kingdom of Harar," previous reference, p. 30.

Similarly, the system of governance in the city of Harar was traditional, like other kingdoms. Its rulers held titles such as sultans and kings, and despite the hereditary nature of rule, the selection of the ruler involved consultation. Al-Umari stated, "All the kings of these kingdoms, even though they inherit them, they cannot govern unless appointed by the Sultan of Mekkah"⁽³³⁾. When a king died, the remaining family members would approach the Negus to seek his favor, and one of them would be chosen to whom the rest would listen and obey. Nonetheless, the rulers of the kingdom of Harar considered the ruler of Mekkah their superior and sought his guidance in facing their problems, pledging allegiance to him if necessary⁽³⁴⁾.

The administrative system in the city of Harar relied on each tribe being governed by a sheikh who conveyed their issues to the ruler. The administrative divisions were structured according to a system established by the ruler, as follows:

1. The King: The king was responsible for the kingdom and held authority within it. Within the kingdom, he sat on a special throne, with ministers of various ranks seated to his right and left. The governance in the Kingdom of Harar was hereditary, with princes and ministers chosen through consultation.
2. Ministers: Serving as a bridge between the king and the people, ministers sat on chairs subordinate to the king's throne. They had the right to propose opinions and viewpoints to find the most suitable solutions benefiting the kingdom.
3. Tribal Sheikhs: Chosen by their tribes, tribal sheikhs represented them and had the authority to negotiate with the king. It was required that they be elder statesmen knowledgeable about all tribal matters.
4. The General Public: Representing various societal strata, the general public did not have the right to issue or contest decisions, especially final ones⁽³⁵⁾.

As for the judiciary, there existed a Supreme Court (Imperial) where judges were appointed by the Emperor⁽³⁶⁾.

Numerous princes and families converged on the city of Harar from various backgrounds. Harar emerged as an administrative city in the 3rd century Hijri / 9th century CE, with Prince Haboba being its first ruler in 312 AH (924 CE), followed by Prince Omar al-Radi Abadir (363-384 AH / 974-994 CE)⁽³⁷⁾. Below are the names of some of the families of the Islamic Kingdom of Harar:

1. The Habboubiyya Family, 2. The Dilmiyya, 3. The Ja'fariyya, 4. The Barkhatiyya, 5. The Mukhzumiyya, 6. The Abadriyya, 7. The Miaowiyah, 8. The Harla Ja'farawiyya, 9. The 'Adliyya, 10. The Asmiyya, 11. The Huwitiyya, 12. The Adiliyya, 13. The Somali Ahmadi, 14. The Suhayliyya, 15. The Dawudiyya, 16. The Mansuriyya, 17. The Sabrudiniyya, 18. The Abramia, 19. The Sadiqiyya, 20. The Khedivial Turkish Egyptian
- These families had their capital in the current city of Harar⁽³⁸⁾.

⁽³³⁾ Al-Umari, Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Fadl Allah al-Qurashi (d. 1349 CE), "Masalik al-Absar fi Mamalik al-Amsar," Cultural Foundation, Abu Dhabi, 1st edition, 1423 AH, Vol. 4, p. 31.

⁽³⁴⁾ Same source, Vol. 4, pp. 44-45.

⁽³⁵⁾ (35) See: Blaoui, Belkacem, "The Islamic Kingdom of Harar in the Middle Ages," Master's Thesis, Ahmed Draya University, Adrar, People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, 2020, p. 12.

⁽³⁶⁾ (36) Shaker, Eritrea and Ethiopia, previous reference, p. 70.

⁽³⁷⁾ (37) Sheikh, Yusuf, "The Islamic Kingdom of Harar," Riyadh, 10/11/1420 AH, pp. 15-16.

⁽³⁸⁾ (38) Same reference, p. 16.

In the year 1271 AH / 1855 CE, Captain Richard Burton visited the Islamic Kingdom of Harar during the reign of Ahmed V, son of Prince Abu Bakr, son of Prince Abdul Shakur. Burton was the first European to enter Harar, the Holy City in East Africa, which is the third Islamic city where non-Muslims were not allowed entry, after Mecca and Medina. He entered in disguise under the name Hajj Abdul Mirza. Captain Burton mentioned that the kings of Harar prohibited Christian Abyssinians from entering, and any non-Muslim was forbidden from entering Harar. The rulers of Harar applied Islamic Sharia: murderers were executed, thieves had their limbs amputated, and adulterers were punished with stoning⁽³⁹⁾.

When Raouf Pasha successfully conquered the city of Harar, he spoke of the administrative, economic, and political deterioration he found there. He mentioned that the city had been prosperous since the time of Ahmed Gagn in the 16th century AD, but had fallen into a state of corruption that was lamentable. This was evidenced by its inability to control even an inch of the neighboring Gala lands. The middle class had ceased to exist as an entity and had become at the mercy of the ruling class, whose members neglected their rights. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate to reorganize its administration. The supervision of the region extended to Tajura, Zeila, and Berbera, which became known as Harar's dependencies. Raouf Pasha was appointed to oversee these areas after Khedive Ismail bestowed upon him the title of Ferik. He was assisted in governing these provinces by several governors and local leaders from Harar. Overall, administrative appointments were issued⁽⁴⁰⁾ in the city of Harar⁽⁴¹⁾ as follows:

1. Raouf Pasha - Governor of Harar and its dependencies (Tajura, Zeila, and Berbera).
2. Jamal Pasha - Governor of Berbera.
3. Abu Bakr Shuhaym (the Somali) - Governor of Zeila.
4. Mohammed Abdul Shakur - Governor of Harar.
5. Abdul Wahab Pasha - Deputy Governor of Harar, authorized to manage Harar in the absence of Raouf Pasha. He also chaired the council of governance during that period⁽⁴²⁾.

After the immediate conquest of the city of Harar, Khedive Ismail issued a decree, beginning with an explanation of the Egyptian government's policy towards the city. He emphasized that Islamic Sharia would be the reference for judgments, commanding good and forbidding evil⁽⁴³⁾.

This decree served as a covenant of work to which both the rulers and subjects adhered. Raouf Pasha organized a military celebration attended by princes, scholars, judges,

⁽³⁹⁾ Same reference, p. 18.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ The general governor in the city of Harar represented the Khedive personally in those countries and was responsible for their administration. He was the link between Egypt and the city of Harar. See: Sadek, Mohamed Mahdi, Egypt's Civilizational Role in Harar and its Dependencies (1875-1884), Egyptian Historical Magazine, Egyptian Historical Society, Vol. 28-29, 1982, p. 341.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Sayed, Mohamed al-Mutasim, Harar under Egyptian Rule, Egyptian Historical Magazine, Egyptian Historical Society, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1950, p. 173.

⁽⁴²⁾ Al-Jamil, Shoukry Atallah, Historical Documents in the Red Sea (1863-1879), Committee for Arab Affairs Press, n.d., p. 283.

⁽⁴³⁾ Register No. 10, Arabic Orders - p. 26, No. 2, 12 Shawwal 1292 AH, Al-Jamil, as cited in the previous reference, p. 281.

merchants, and dignitaries. During this event, the decree was read aloud to ensure everyone understood its contents and implications⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The Egyptian governors implemented comprehensive administrative reforms that affected all aspects of life in Harar. Among these reforms were the regulation of marriage contracts, the registration of all types of property including houses and orchards, and improvements in healthcare. They established a large hospital near Bab al-Turk⁽⁴⁵⁾. Additionally, the Egyptian administration mandated reporting every death for official burial permission, organized child vaccinations, and took measures to eliminate health threats. For instance, Ridwan Pasha banned the consumption of tobacco, khat, and all beverages harmful to health⁽⁴⁶⁾.

In 1884, the Egyptian government ordered the deployment of Egyptian soldiers to Harar and appointed the son of Prince Abdullah Abdul Shakur as an independent prince over them⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Cultural conditions in the city of Harar from its founding until 1887.

The spread of Arab culture in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) was greatly facilitated by migrations of various sects and groups from the Islamic world. Scholars from Yemen played a significant role due to its proximity. Notable figures such as Sheikh Fakhr al-Din Uthman bin Ali bin Mahjun al-Bari'i al-Zaila'i (d. 743 AH / 1343 CE)⁽⁴⁸⁾, author of "Tabayin al-Haqaiq fi Sharh Kanz al-Daqaiq", and the scholar and jurist Jamal al-Din bin Abdullah bin Yusuf bin Muhammad al-Zaila'i (d. 762 AH / 1360 CE), known for his work "Nasb al-Raya fi Takhrij Ahadith al-Hidayah", were prominent in this cultural dissemination⁽⁴⁹⁾.

The kings of the Kingdom of Harar showed great interest in cultural life. They built schools and various madrasas to teach the Quran, Arabic language, and other sciences like jurisprudence, hadith, and interpretation. As a result, Arabic became widely spoken among the people, alongside their local languages, and was used in official and judicial documents⁽⁵⁰⁾.

During the reign of Ghazi Ahmed, Harar flourished and became a center of Islamic radiance in Abyssinia. It boasted around ninety mosques, along with scholars, preachers, and schools teaching jurisprudence and Arabic language⁽⁵¹⁾ ⁽⁵¹⁾. Harar remained a symbol of Islamic civilization in East Africa and a significant source of Islamic culture, fostering new educational movements and nurturing figures in Sufism, jurisprudence, and other disciplines. Women also adhered to Islamic attire in streets and schools. Figures like Sheikh Abdullah al-Harari played a pivotal role in transmitting Hadith knowledge to Abyssinia, having studied under Meccan scholars before returning to teach. Sheikh Ali

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Yahya, Jalal, Egyptian Africa and Colonial Ambitions in the 19th Century, Dar Al Maaref, Egypt, 1984, p. 153.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Sayed, Harar under Egyptian Rule, previous reference, p. 176.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ This is one of the five gates through the wall of the city of Harar.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Sayed, Harar under Egyptian Rule, previous reference, p. 176.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Al-Maqrizi, Al-Ilmam, cited in previous source, pp. 56-60.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Ahmed, Youssef, Islam in Abyssinia, Hajazi Press, Cairo, 1935, p. 68.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Shaker, Mahmoud, Arteria and Abyssinia, Islamic Office, Beirut, 2nd ed., 1418 AH, p. 59.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Masoud, Laban, Contemporary Islamic Society, previous reference, p. 237.

Omar al-Harari was renowned for his expertise in Quranic recitations and the ten Qira'at, while Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Salam al-Hararbi was known for his teachings in jurisprudence. Sheikh Babiker Sablo was noted for his historical works on the Oromo people⁽⁵²⁾.

In the city of Harar, the Shafi'i school of thought was prevalent, and Quranic schools (kuttab) were established for Quran memorization and teaching of jurisprudence (fiqh). Various Sufi orders such as the Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya also spread, emphasizing celebrations like the Mawlid al-Nabi (Prophet's birthday), where gatherings for remembrance, praise, and hymns were held. Festivities for Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, weddings, and circumcision were also observed. Despite differences in ethnicities, beliefs, and practices—including some forms of polytheism—Islam succeeded in implanting its doctrines, becoming a beacon of Islamic faith thereafter⁽⁵³⁾.

The people of Harar lived simple lives, focusing on work, livelihood, and education. Children attended kuttab during the day, while adolescents studied at night. Some pursued Sharia studies under scholarly mentors to deepen their religious understanding, showing strong devotion to the Shafi'i school. An officer among the Egyptian military in Harar remarked: "By my life, the Shafi'is in Egypt can take pride in the people of this land for their deep understanding of their school, especially considering they are in the heart of Africa"⁽⁵⁴⁾.

In 1876, General Muhammad Nadi requested from Khedive Ismail permission to establish a school in Harar aimed at teaching reading and writing to its children. The request highlighted several points:

1. Availability of ample space suitable for constructing a school in Harar.
2. The directorate committed to providing necessary desks and benches despite wood shortages.
3. The Egyptian administration undertook to continue the education of these students in Egypt after completing primary education in Harar.
4. Each student received a weekly stipend of one and a half jihad pay, along with annual grants of two tunics, a fez with a red circle, medium-length jalabiya, and trousers resembling pants.
5. The school curriculum included agriculture, calligraphy, arithmetic, Quranic studies, and religious doctrines, taught by teachers appointed by the Diwan al-Ma'arif.
6. The school initially enrolled around two hundred students⁽⁵⁵⁾.

The last Egyptian governor of Harar was Ali Rida Pasha (1882-1884), credited with cracking down on charlatans and sorcerers⁽⁵⁶⁾ ⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Urban conditions in the city of Harar from its founding until 1887.

The early governors of Harar showed great interest in mosque architecture, considering them centers for Islamic education. As a result, the governor bestowed significant

⁽⁵²⁾ Al-Aroussi, Mohammed Taj, *Islamic Civilization: Wealth, Openness, and Discipline*, "Harar in Ethiopia: Haven of Science and Civilization", *Al-Rabita Magazine*, Mecca, Issue 636, September 2019, p. 36.

⁽⁵³⁾ Blaoui, Moumen. *The Islamic Kingdom of Harar*. Previous reference, p. 25.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Yahya, *Egypt in Africa*. Previous reference, p. 150.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Sadiq, *Egypt's Civilizing Role in Harar*. Previous reference, p. 357.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Hussein, Abdullah. *Sudan from Ancient History to the Egyptian Expedition*. Hindawi Foundation, 2013, p. 186.

attention upon them, leading Harar to house approximately ninety mosques, all intricately designed with splendid geometric patterns and Islamic aesthetics⁽⁵⁷⁾.

At the heart of the city lies the ancient Jami Mosque, renowned among its mosques, alongside Din Agobara Mosque, Anwar Mosque, the Grand Mosque, and Abu Bakr Mosque. Harar also boasts over a hundred shrines, notably the Sheikh Abadir Shrine, which attracted numerous Muslims for pilgrimage and blessings⁽⁵⁸⁾. Thus, Harar earned several titles such as the City of Saints and the City of the Righteous, remaining one of the foremost beacons of knowledge and culture among renowned Islamic cities like Baghdad and Medina in past centuries⁽⁵⁹⁾.

Moreover, Harar features several architectural landmarks, most notably the wall known as "Bujogola," constructed between the 13th and 16th centuries AD, completed during the reign of Prince Nuri (1556-1567). The purpose of this wall was to protect the city from external invasions, featuring five gates that opened at dawn and closed at sunset: Bab al-Salam, Bab Badr, Bab al-Bahr al-Ahmar, Bab al-Nasr, and Bab al-Rahma. Caravan traders arriving after sunset would camp outside the wall, paying taxes upon entry at dawn through one of these gates. The wall includes twenty-four watchtowers, some inscribed with Arabic phrases such as "Ya Allah al-Nasr." Additionally, the city retains ancient data that gives its architecture a distinct character reminiscent of buildings in the Red Sea and southern Arabian regions⁽⁶⁰⁾.

As for the dwellings, they were constructed from mud, stone, or wood, often roofed with domes or thatched roofs, and were not surrounded by walls, nor were they luxuriously built⁽⁶¹⁾. Houses in small towns and villages were typically built with thatch⁽⁶²⁾. The utensils used for eating were made of black-painted pottery, their fuel was wax, and the fuel for their lamps was beef fat. They also used ghee to smear their faces⁽⁶³⁾.

During the Egyptian administration period, Raouf Pasha Khedive Ismail requested artisans to be sent to Harar for construction work. They agreed to build barracks for soldiers on Governor's Hill and to increase the number of troops in the city due to its expansion⁽⁶⁴⁾.

The Egyptian administration also focused on establishing centers at important transportation junctions for security. They established the town of Jeldessa at the intersection of the roads to Harar, Shewa, and Zeila, which aided in the urban progress of Harar. Raouf Pasha also implemented a program for essential facilities to rebuild and improve the urban amenities in Harar. He employed soldiers to construct most

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Bashir, Ikram Jameel. "Muslim Kingdoms in Abyssinia through the Book of Roads and Visions," Journal of Adab al-Rafidain, Issue 22, Cairo, n.d., p. 120.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Al-Aroussi. "Islamic Civilization," Previous reference, p. 34.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Ahmed. "Islam in Abyssinia," Previous reference, p. 67.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Al-Aroussi. "Islamic Civilization," Previous reference, p. 34.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Al-Amari, Masalim al-Absar, Vol. 4, p. 36.

⁽⁶²⁾ Al-Akhsas: Singular is Khass, which is a house made of wood or bamboo, and it is said that Khass is a house roofed with planks in the form of Ajz. See: Ibn Manzur, Lisan al-Arab, Dar Sader, Beirut, 3rd edition, 1414 AH, Vol. 7, p. 26.

⁽⁶³⁾ Al-Amari, Masalim al-Absar, Vol. 4, pp. 50-51.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ (64) Yahya, Misr al-Afriqiyya, Previous reference, p. 154.

government buildings and employee housing, thus sparking a general urban revolution in the city⁽⁶⁵⁾.

Before the Egyptian administration, the people of Harar obtained necessary water from distant wells outside the city. After the Egyptian administration took over, they ordered the digging of a canal to bring water into the city, easing the hardship for its inhabitants. At that time, drinking water was limited to nine springs, four on the northern side and five on the southern side, with the furthest one from Harar located about six thousand meters away, and the nearest about one thousand meters away. The average depth of these springs was around forty centimeters, with widths ranging from four to eight meters⁽⁶⁶⁾.

Additionally, the Egyptian administration constructed about 102 houses, along with several shops and the Governor's office building. They beautified public gardens and also built a mill for grinding grains instead of using grinding stones. Egyptian workers participated in its construction and taught the people of Harar how to operate it. They also established a mosque where people could perform religious rites⁽⁶⁷⁾.

The economic conditions in the city of Harar since its foundation until the year 1887.

The economy of Harar primarily relies on agriculture, which constitutes approximately 80% of the national income. Allah has endowed it with natural resources, including heavy rainfall during the summer season, along with climatic diversity that results in a variety of agricultural produce. However, agriculture in Harar is significantly delayed due to widespread feudalism and extensive ownership by the ruling class, compounded by ignorance of both modern and traditional farming methods. Despite abundant water channels, they are not utilized or regulated for irrigation; dams are not constructed, and water is solely dependent on rainfall⁽⁶⁸⁾.

Harar is considered one of the richest and most fertile cities in Abyssinia. It cultivates Harari coffee and various types of grains, most notably 'naf', which is a staple food for highland inhabitants, resembling barley. There is also barley, which due to its abundance serves as livestock feed, as well as wheat and maize, which are staple foods for the population. Additionally, there is a variety of vegetables, fruits, and nuts. Harar also abounds in livestock, including sheep, goats, and cattle, and is rich in minerals such as platinum, copper, and gold⁽⁶⁹⁾.

Despite agriculture in Harar constituting 80% of the country's economy, farming has been significantly delayed due to ignorance of agricultural methods, both old and modern, despite ample water resources. The absence of dams has led to unregulated irrigation practices, relying solely on rainfall. Regarding land fertility, fertilizers were scarce, and the land itself was less fertile due to limited agricultural practices⁽⁷⁰⁾.

As for the animal wealth, it was diverse, including fishing, hunting deer, horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and various birds such as eagles, hawks, and poultry. Additionally, there

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Same reference, pp. 156-157.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Sadiq, Dawr Misr al-Hadari fi Harar, Previous reference, pp. 355-356.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Same reference, p. 356.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Shakir, Arthuria and Abyssinia, previous reference, pp. 56-57.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Ahmed, Iman Fuad Ali, "The City of Saints Harar in Islamic History," Culture for Development Association, p. 73, 2021.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Blawi, Moumin, "The Islamic Kingdom of Harar," previous reference, p. 15.

were crocodiles and river horses. All this animal wealth was exploited through their sale in markets and the use of their skins in the production of clothing, shoes, and carpets. For example, cattle, goats, and sheep were consumed for their meat and fat, and their milk was drunk. Some animals like donkeys and mules were used for travel or transportation, while camels were bred for their fatty substance and milk, and their hides were used⁽⁷¹⁾.

Commerce in Harar was conducted through barter due to the limited use of currency. The lack of security in Harar at that time diminished economic activity. Caravans coming from the interior paid hefty taxes to the Amir of Harar and the tribes they passed through. Traders were often targeted by coastal tribes under the leadership of a man from the clan known as 'Al-Qaban', who shared profits with them in exchange for protection. Sometimes, instead of goods arriving from Harar to the coast in fifteen days, the journey took a year and a half or two due to lack of security. Consequently, Harar became a fortified city surrounded by walls on all sides to protect it from external threats. It had five gates controlling inbound and outbound trade⁽⁷²⁾.

Rauf Pasha issued an order to invalidate the Amir's currency and mandated the use of no other currency than the Egyptian currency. A sample of the old Harari currency was sent to Egypt for analysis to determine its silver content, preparing for its purchase from the locals. The Egyptian government believed in gradually phasing in the replacement process to avoid disrupting trade and commerce in Harar, also sending quantities of Egyptian currency to replace the old currency⁽⁷³⁾.

When Raouf Pasha learned about the presence of coal near the borders of Shoa, the Egyptian administration entered into a treaty with Menelik, the ruler of Shoa, and tasked Raouf Pasha with opening and securing the roads between Harrar and the Shoa region to facilitate trade between them⁽⁷⁴⁾.

Raouf Pasha also made the local residents of Harrar traders, with taxes they paid half in barter and half in currency, especially since the locals were not accustomed to using money. The Egyptian administration foresaw potential tension arising from this situation, necessitating the establishment of warehouses in the provinces. Therefore, they decided to monopolize the coffee trade, purchasing it directly from the locals. They allowed all Harrar residents to cultivate coffee and buy it with currency, aiming to standardize trade with foreign entities and to familiarize the locals with the new currency. Additionally, the Egyptian administration promoted the cultivation of vineyards, almonds, peaches, lemons, oranges, apricots, bananas, and all grains from the Delta such as wheat and sugarcane, along with potatoes, squash, beets, melons, cotton, and other crops. The Egyptian administration imposed local taxes on livestock, sheep, and crops. Egypt was concerned about the introduction of any new systems that might lead to opposition from the locals. Therefore, the governor-general advised against estimating any additional increase in their previous revenue, ensuring they would receive revenues in the same manner as under the previous government, until a new government gradually took shape⁽⁷⁵⁾.

(71) (71) Shakir, Eritrea and Abyssinia, previous reference, p. 66.

(72) (72) Sadiq, Egypt's Civilizational Role in Harar, previous reference, p. 354.

(73) (73) Yahya, African Egypt, previous reference, p. 155.

(74) (74) Same reference, page 155.

(75) Nasr, Sayed Youssef, "Egyptian Presence in Africa during the Period 1820-1899", Dar Al-Maaref, Egypt, 1st edition, 1981, page 380.

Raouf Pasha also inspected some areas of the city of Harrar and found that half of the lands owned by each tribe had been left uncultivated despite the presence of water and the fertility of the region. He encouraged the locals to cultivate coffee. Orders were issued by Khedive Ismail to the general governor of Harrar to personally inspect all administrative regions and encourage tribes to cultivate coffee. He began dividing the lands among them and initiated the establishment and development of numerous agricultural villages. He established 250 agricultural towns and allocated a thousand acres to each mayor of those areas. The mayor received five cows as a fee, for which he was given a tunic, a turban, a tarboosh, and four arms of fabric. The town mayor also brought two cows, which determined for him five hundred acres. He started with every tribe by understanding and gifts, working to attract their hearts and bringing them closer to the new administration, and in serious work, productive production⁽⁷⁶⁾.

In light of the locals' enthusiasm for coffee cultivation, the city of Harar became a major revenue earner from this crop, exporting large quantities abroad. The reputation of Harari coffee spread in foreign markets, especially in Aden, competing with Yemeni coffee. Traders in Aden and Europeans preferred Harari coffee, purchasing it at higher prices⁽⁷⁷⁾.

As for industries in the city of Harar, they were scarce; there was only one Hadhrami tanner and a number of blacksmiths⁽⁷⁸⁾. The industrial sector represented barely 15% due to:

- Transportation difficulties caused by rugged terrain, alternating valleys, and highlands, hindering commercial routes.
- Lack of capital to finance economic industries⁽⁷⁹⁾.

During the Egyptian administration, the people of Harar became acquainted with various industries, and a number of tailors and saddle-makers were trained to accompany the Egyptian campaign. The locals showed interest in fabric manufacturing. The governor and senior Egyptian officials wore clothes made in the city to encourage the population to follow suit, abandoning their traditional robes or tunics. Egypt also dispatched letters, a money-changer to Harar, and officials for weighing and measuring instruments to regulate the buying and selling process⁽⁸⁰⁾.

Harar is also considered a trading city due to its general geographic location. Barberah served as its natural port for the neighboring provinces. The people of Zeila, Barberah, and Hadhramaut bought certain silks reserved for command, as well as cloth goods and copper vessels. They also bought Indian rice, sugar, tea, dates, and cotton fabrics from Arabia. They sold these goods in Harar and purchased Harari coffee, tanned and untanned leather, as well as goods from abroad such as tiger skins, ostrich feathers, elephant tusks, tobacco, and honey, which they sent to various destinations⁽⁸¹⁾.

(76) Gindi Pasha, George, "Isma'il as Portrayed in Official Documents", Dar Al-Kutub Al-Masriyya Press, Cairo, 1st edition, 1947, pages 264-265.

(77) Sadiq, The Cultural Role of Egypt in Harar, previous reference, p. 355.

(78) Same reference, p. 355.

(79) Attia, Mukhzum Al-Futuri, Studies in the History of East Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, Kazan University, Libya, 1998, p. 70.

(80) Sadiq, The Cultural Role of Egypt in Harar, previous reference, p. 355.

(81) Ahmed, City of Saints Harar, previous reference, p. 74.

Conclusion:

This research has examined the administrative, cultural, urban, and economic conditions of Harar from its founding until 1887. The study has yielded several findings and recommendations:

First: Findings

1. Harar is distinguished by its important geographic and strategic location, situated on a high plateau overlooking valleys from three sides.
2. It served as an Islamic city that contributed to the spread of Islam and Arab culture in East Africa, also being one of the important kingdoms of Abyssinia.
3. Harar was a significant trading center, linking trade routes with other cities in Ethiopia, which contributed to its economic advancement. The city's name derives from the Harari tribe, who migrated to it from the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, and Egypt.
4. Harar was renowned for its agricultural products, particularly "Harari coffee," and its inhabitants were noted for their livestock and commercial activities.
5. Urban development in Harar progressed significantly, hosting numerous Islamic heritage sites such as the Jugol city walls, three mosques dating back to the 10th Hijri century including the ancient mosque known as the Friday Mosque, and a museum preserving various artifacts of Islamic civilization.
6. The Shafi'i Sunni school of thought predominates in Harar, with Sufi orders playing an active role in the city's Islamic dissemination.
7. Under Egyptian administration, Harar experienced significant cultural progress, including the establishment of modern schools. The withdrawal of Egyptian administration saddened the city's residents due to the economic setbacks and damages incurred upon their departure.
8. Raouf Pasha implemented an extensive program to beautify the city and enhance its infrastructure, utilizing Egyptian soldiers to construct most government buildings and employee residences.
9. The Egyptian administration constructed a reservoir in the city, bringing water from the Qarri spring and distributing it through a comprehensive canal system. Efforts were also made to combat the use of stimulants and other drugs that posed risks to the nervous system.

Second: Recommendations

For those responsible for scientific research, we recommend:

- Providing specialized sources and references on the history of Harar, especially concerning Islamic kingdoms in East Africa.
- Not neglecting studies focusing on East Africa, particularly various regions across the continent.

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