Țefut: Mäșhafä țefut

GANNAGÉ (eds.), Regards croisés sur le Moyen Âge arabe. Mélanges à la mémoire de Louis Pouzet s.j. (1928–2002), Paris 2005 (= Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph 58), 609–26; DIANA SPENCER, "Trip to Wag and Northern Wallo", JES 5, 1, 1967, 95–108, here 103.

Lit.: AfrZion 91f., 177f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994 [1995], 69–102, here 72–80 and nn. 14–49 (92–98; Lit.).

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Təgray

T. (↑ 96.8; Amh. Təgre) is a historical region and a regional state of Ethiopia. The official name of the state is 10.4.4.9: hAAP: m391114: ↑96.8 (Bəherawi Kəlləlawi Mängəśti Təgray, 'Təgray National Regional State'). It encompasses all the territories of 17 Jegrəñña-speakers (and a few minority groups closely linked with them) in Ethiopia; T. is separated from the northern Təgrəñña territories by the River 1 Märäb, now serving as the state border to 1 Eritrea.

T.'s official language is / Təgrəñña. T. is situated between 12°-15° N and 36° 30'-40° 30' E and comprises 53,638 km² (according to the Tigrai Investment Guide); to the north, it borders to the state of Eritrea, to the west to northern / Sudan (/Kassala and /Qadarif provinces), to the south to the Amhara kəlləl, and to the east to ∧^cAfar kəlləl. T. has ca. 4.3 million inhabitants (CSA 2005). The greatest part of the population (ca. 80 %) are agriculturalists, contributing 46 % to the regional gross domestic product (2002/03). The highlands (11.5 % däga [Tgn. $d \partial g^w \partial^c a$], 40.5 % wäyna däga) have the highest population density, specially in eastern T. and central T. The much less densely populated lowlands of T. (qwälla) comprise 48 % of T.

The great majority of inhabitants are Orthodox Christians (95.5 % in 1994), with the exception of a small, but important Muslim subgroup (/Gäbärti) and a few Catholics (mainly ban phenomenon. Despite a general impression of ethnic and cultural homogeneity, there are a few ethnic minorities, especially at the borders of T., belonging to non-Təgrəñña groups, such as the /Saho-speaking /Irob at the north-eastern border to Eritrea, the / Rayya Oromo in the south-east (mostly speaking Təgrəñña today), the /Agäw-speaking /Hamta in /Abärgalle north of NWag, a few NKunama in the Habäša-Kunama wäräda east of *P*Humära, and scattered peripheral groups in the western lowlands, such as the Care of the *r*Sällim Bet (related with the T.'s administrative capital is / Mäqälä. Administratively, T. was divided into four, later six zones (zoba), which replaced the former awraggas in 1991 (names with number of inhabitants of the four original zones in the year 2005 [CSA 2005] with their capitals): Western Zone (Mə^crabawi zoba, i.e. 'western zone', ca. 1 mio inhabitants; Humära), Eastern Zone (Məbraqawi zoba, ca. 800.000 inhabitants; *P*°Addigrat), Central Zone (Ma°kälay zoba, ca. 1.3 mio inhabitants; Aksum), Southern Zone (Däbubawi zoba, ca. 1.2 mio inhabitants; ∧ May Čäw); in a recent administrative reform some of these were split and first a North-Western Zone (Səmenawi Mə^crab zoba; Inda Səllase Šire) and later a South-Eastern Zone (Däbubawi Məbraq zoba; Mäqälä) were created.

T. went through numerous administrative changes in the course of its history. In 1991 T. was radically reshaped. During the reign of *P*Haylä Sollase I, and also the following Därg period (
Provisional Military Administrative Council), T. did not yet encompass ∧Wälqayt (until 1991 having been part of / Bägemdər), while / Indärta in eastern T. extended over large 'Afar areas including the /salt plains, which were given to ^cAfar kəlləl. Still in the 1930s the regions south of ∃ndärta, i.e. /Wäğğärat and /Angot, formed the separate governorate called "Southern T." (ZerEth 396). Modern T. is the result of a merger of diverse historical northern provinces (with Tagrañña- and Agäw-speakers), which were often independent from each other.

Ancient provinces of Təgray

Today's unity of Təgrəñña territories south of the Märäb river is a rather modern phenomenon. Most northern provinces were ruled by their own governors, often descending from local dynasties (s. below) and preserving a high degree of autonomy within the empire, e.g., in legal and judicial issues, taxation etc. Only rarely these territories were unified under one ruler.

The core of today's T. was the most important northern province and bore the name "T." (henceforth called "T. proper"). Usually it controlled adjacent territories, which might be the reason why the term T. began to be used for the entire north. T. proper basically encompassed only \bigwedge cAdwa, Aksum (Tgn. Aksum, Ak^wsəm,

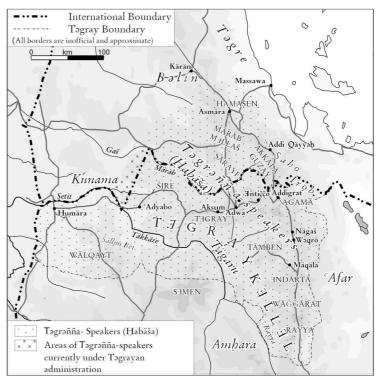
Gə°əz also Ak^wsəm) and ∧ Yəḥa (Tgn. Yäḥa), and regularly extended over ∧ Hawzen (with Amba ∃nda Ṣəyon) and ∧ ∃ntiččo. It included sometimes wider areas, such as ∧ Šire and ∧ Tämben, which, however, kept their own separate identities and often their local governors.

Hawzen was an important province seemingly already in Aksumite times (with important early rock-hewn churches, s. e.g., Plant 1985:175f.); according to the Gädlä Märgorewos, in the 13th cent. Hawzen encompassed wide areas from today's Hawzen to the °Afar salt plains in the east. Consequently, over the centuries the realm of T. regularly extended over all these territories (s. ill.: 17th cent. map). Tämben was included into T. already in the 17th cent.

(LudHist I, iii, §28), and at times also well before. An ancient permanent boundary of T. proper to the south is the *↑*Täkkäze, in ancient sources equalled with the *↑*Nile River (HuntGeogr 42). Therefore T. proper together with its dependencies was occasionally also called Täkkäze Məllaš ('beyond the Täkkäze').

Over a long period, the capital of T. proper was Hawzen in the (sub-)province Haramat. Already in the 17th cent. this town served as a seat of governors (PerrZarY, annex: Hawzen was then also "called Təgre"). In the 19th cent. it again served as the capital, e.g., of \nearrow Wəbe Haylä Maryam and *nəguś* \nearrow Nəguśe. "Adwa assumed the role of a capital in the 18th cent. under "Amdä Haymanot, and again later (starting from the 1880s in competition with the new capital Mäqälä).

T. proper was of strategic importance, both symbolically, as it included the sacred town of Aksum, and economically, due to important trade routes from the east (i.e. 'Agäma and Indärta) and the north. It included fertile plains (e.g., to the west of Aksum), and strategically important mountains. "The one who controlled Amba Inda Şəyon controlled T." (Markham 1869:263; s. Tsegay Berhe in PICES 14, 554). Still in the 20th cent. T. proper was a province of its own in the



framework of a wider homonymous province, also called T. (ZerÉth 393). Even if well before the 20th cent. occasionally the term "T." already extended over areas outside T. proper, local parlance preserved the old provincial names, and the term "T." is still used by rural people of T. as referring only to °Adwa *awrağğa*, while other regions of modern T. are still considered to be "outside T." by elders and rural people (Smidt in WenDAE II).

Several names of the other northern provinces in today's T. are very ancient (for example, the *P*^cAgamä were already mentioned in the *Monumentum Adulitanum*), and persisted from their first mention in ancient / inscriptions or medieval documents until modernity, while others only existed temporarily, shaped for the needs of newly appointed governors. Historical provinces are Šire, /Advabo, /Haramat (with Hawzen), ∧Gärcalta, Tämben (or Wärci məllaš, its border river Wär^ci separating it from T. proper), 'Agamä (including the Irob mountains), / Səra° (in the 20th cent. replaced by the Așbi and Dära), Endärta (historically including the Arho saltplains of the ^cAfar lowlands, with the bä^calgäda, *P*Balgäda, the controller



Extract from a map of Ethiopia after d'Almeida and others, 1662 (redrawn ca. 1680), showing the northern provinces: Təgray ("Tigre") with the 'Adwa region, Hawzen and Indärta in that time was unified with the realm of the *bahər nägaš* ("Terra dos Barnagaes"), but 'Agamä ("Agamea"), Tämben, Bur, Šire being separate provinces (note: Aççum = Aksum, Anderta = Indärta, Arquiqua = Hərgigo, Assa = Assam, i.e. later 'Adwa, Auzem = Hawzen, Bagela = Baqla, Cerá = Şəra', i.e. Agula', Daleca = Dahlak, Dobas = Doba'a, Guele = Gwal'a, i.e. later 'Addigrat, Lamalmon = Limulima, Maçua = Massawa, Magaza = Mäzäga, Oldeba = Waldəbba, Salaoa = Säläwa, Sart = Sahart, Seguede = Şägäde); from PerrZarY, annex

of the salt trade), \checkmark Säḥart, \checkmark Säläwa, Wäǧǧärat, \urcorner Rayya °Azäbo (submitted only in the 19th cent. by *aşe* \checkmark Yoḥannəs IV), and in the west \checkmark Şällämt and Wälqayt (originally encompassing only the western T. highlands), and finally the \checkmark Mäzäga lowlands, a former Muslim sultanate in the west successively included into the sphere of influence of Wälqayt. Some smaller territories were at times independent from the rulers of these greater provinces; the exact boundaries could change quickly following the political (and military) fortunes of their rulers (for several provinces of the north which existed then separately see the tax registers of *ase* \checkmark Tewodros II; Girma-Selassie Asfaw – Richard Pankhurst 1978).

The spiritual core of T. was and is Aksum. Even if being formally under the rulership of the central province (T. proper), the town enjoyed a special status, as a free city with its own self-government. Its administrators were the *noburä od*, a governor appointed by the Ethiopian ruler, and the *qarigeta*, the mayor elected by the male members of the seven "Aksumite clans" of Aksum, Mäläkya Aksum, Bägi°o, Fərhəba, Kudukwi, Wäldmaybih, Akoro und Näfas. These encompassed the entire whole indigenous city population, who was not to pay any taxes (for new research on the selfgovernment of Aksum s. Muluwork Kidanemariam 2010; Smidt in WenDAE II). The nəburä əd represented the sphere of the Ethiopian state and often descended from local leading families; if he was a layman, he appointed an afä nəburä ∂d ('speaker of the *n*.') for the administration of church issues. Aksum as the guardian of the Tables of the Law (səlatä muse, also identified as tabota soyon; Ark of Covenant) was regarded as "a church". On this ground its priests did not allow Yoḥannəs IV așe to

permanently establish his royal *kätäma* there (s. the plan in DAE I), who therefore had to found another capital. The city population managed to defend their traditional self-government – with the *qarigeta* being independent from the *naburä* ad – even throughout the 20th cent. politics of centralization by *ase* Haylä Śəllase I.

First mention of Togray in ancient sources

The oldest inscriptions and texts referring to the population of the Aksumite kingdom and its neighbours do not know the term T. yet; they show an ethnic diversity, which has partially disappeared today. A variant of the term T. first appears in a 10th-cent. gloss to \nearrow Cosmas Indicopleustes, i.e. after the Aksumite period; according to this source important groups of the region were the "Tigrētai" and the "Agazē" (i.e. % Ag^cazi), the latter being the Aksumites (Hunt-Geogr 43; Wolska-Conus 1968; cp. also the Tə-grəñña writer Fesseha Giyorgis 1987:173f., who extends the term *bəherä* Ag^cazi, i.e. Aksum, over all of Ethiopia; BerTarik uses the term *mədrä* Ag[°]azit [sic] for the Eritrean highlands).

The toponym T. is probably originally ethnic; the "Tigrētai" then meant "the tribes near Adulis" (HuntGeogr 43, 45). They correspond to the *P*T ogre groups living in the same area today; however, a historical identity between today's sub-groups and the 10th cent. groups cannot be supposed, as this could not explain the existence of the toponym "T." for the Aksum-^cAdwa area. It should be concluded that T. groups lived along the main route between Aksum and the coast, and later separated, both ethnically and linguistically. There is no indication that the term T. could be explained through Gə°əz *gärärä ('subdue'), with the meaning 'the submitted' (in supposed contrast to the "free" Ag^caziyan linked with the rulers of Aksum), as this could not explain why the most important province took the name T. The term might even not be Ethiosemitic and predate the Sabaean presence in Ethiopia. It is not excluded that the term *tk³r.w* ("Tekaru"; SerHist 25) from a list of southern peoples and countries allegedly subdued by Pharaonic Egypt in the 15th cent. B.C. may already be linked with the term T.; in this case it should mean a region within or in the vicinity of ∕ Punt.

Population history

T. was densely populated since ancient times; research in Lake sediments of *P*Hašəngä show that ecological change started with first dense settlements ca. 4,000 years ago. Today's T. region is the result of a complex process of internal migrations, cultural assimilitation and also expansion (in western T.), as well as of unification, separation, and re-unification of diverse Təgrañña subgroups and provinces; starting from an early age T. was marked by the dynamics of interaction between Cushitic-speaking groups (probably the most ancient population of T.) and Semitic-speakers, whose language and political culture marked T. deeply. Placenames are usually of Cushitic and Semitic origin; several of the latter can be linked with toponyms in southern Arabia. Pre-Aksumite inscriptions show that T. was marked by a Sabaic-influenced kingdom (*P*D^cMT), which had merged with a local culture. In later Aksumite times migration again linked both sides of the Red Sea, with Aksumite settlements also on the Arabian side. Toponyms indicate that the T. highlands had an important (Pre-)Agäw population in ancient times (the house-style specific for Agäw regions reaching up to Aksum, in a region with Agäw toponyms); north of it there was a *P* Beğa migration after the fall of Aksum, and later several migrations of Agäw groups (*P* Adkämä Mälga[°]; *P* Bilin).

Overpopulated T. was a source for migrations over centuries, e.g., to the south, numerous southern groups claiming origin from T. The history of migration (Population history) also links much of the Eritrean highland population with T. Oral tradition maintains that the Tagrəñña groups of Hamasen and Akkälä Guzay descend from a 13th-cent. leader, called "nəgus" Meroni in the tradition, who had led his followers from T. to the Eritrean highlands (assimilating the older population of partially Beğa background). There are numerous other examples of groups who migrated from T. at different times. For example, according to oral traditions collected and published by Conti Rossini (1942:162, 189, nn. 12-13), Wəqro is said to be the ancient place of origin of several Təgrəñña groups who had migrated to Eritrea (Kälkälti, Wäqärti and Šəlläle). The important ⊿∃ggäla sub-group is found both in T. and Akkälä Guzay. One of the last important migrations from T. took place in the 19th cent., when ase Yohannas IV placed Tagrayan lords as governors over the ≁ Märäb Məllaš (i.e. mainly the Eritrean highlands), such as ras ∧ Alula ∃ngəda from Tämben. Many Tämbenay settled especially in the Asmära area, mixing with the local inhabitants. The foundation of the Italian Colonia Eritrea attracted further migrants from T., including Muslim Ğäbärti merchants.

The population of T. has preserved ancient self-designations, usually linked with the names of their historical provinces (at least some of which might originally have been ethnonyms); etymologically some can be linked to the Ethio-Sabaean past (e.g., Şəra[°]), but most are of unclear etymology. Inhabitants of T. call themselves Tägaru (Tgn. sg. Təgraway; Amh. pl. Təgrawiyan [neolog. from Gə^cəz], Təgre). Examples for other ancient province names and self-designations are: ^cAgamä (nisba: ^cAgamä), Rayya (Rayya), Səra^o (Säb'a Şəra'; in the Aşbi area Şərə'ti for a subgroup), Tämben (Tämbenay) etc. In oral tradition, the terms Ag[°]aziyan and Sabawiyan for the inhabitants of T. proper and 'Agamä are still in use. Other ancient ethnonyms are still preserved in names of villages or small districts (e.g., the 8th/9th cent. Gämbela [HuntGeogr 43], now a village south of Mäqälä; the "kingdom" Agabo, known from the stelae of Maryam ^cAnza, in village names in eastern T. [Kropp 2009]).

Cultural heritage

The cultural heritage of T. is particularly rich. T. hosts the UNESCO world heritage site of the Aksum stelae park (∧ Stelae), numerous medieval ∧ rock-hewn churches, with a special concentration in eastern T. (Teweldemedhin Josief 1970; Plant 1985; Lepage – Mercier 2005) and other church buildings dating from the ancient Aksumite period (such as Däbrä Damo monastery), often richly painted (∧ Painting). Archaeological research has been able to document a great density of cultural remains from the stone age until medieval times (Godet 1977).

T. as the core of the Aksumite Empire bears the oldest witnesses of Christianisation of the region. The monastery *P* Inda Abba Sälama, an important, but remote pilgrimage site in the mountains of Tämben, is said to host the grave of Frumentius (*P* Sälama Käšate Bərhan; CRStor 258); monasteries and churches attributed to the *P*Nine Saints are found all over T. The sometimes rich *P* manuscript collections of churches and monasteries are under threat due to economic decline of the Church (following the 20th cent. land reforms; *P* land tenure); they preserve some of the oldest surviving manuscripts of Ethiopia (such as in the monastery *P* Inda Abba Gärima near ^cAdwa).

Most important for the reconstruction of the history of regional interrelations, political and genealogical alliances and dependencies, governors, and ancient administrative structures are land charters, documenting g^{w} alti and rasti rights (PG^{w} alt; PRast; cp. CrumLand; HuntLand). The most prominent text preserving legal documents – some allegedly Aksumite – is the *Liber Axumae* (PAksum: Mäshafä Aksum), which documents traditions on Aksum and Aksum Sayon, land rights, and duties towards the church. Written documents are amended by a rich, and often very strictly transmitted oral tradition on Pgenealogies and land rights, poetry, songs and legends which form a rich intangible heritage of T.

In the course of history, many sanctuaries in T. were affected by war, especially in the 16th cent., when the armies of $im\bar{a}m \nearrow Ah$ mad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī occupied most of T., destroying churches and monasteries (however, the Aksumite Däbrä Damo, which offered refuge to ase \sim Ləbnä Dəngəl, stayed unharmed). A great part of the ancient manuscript heritage got lost in that period (\scale Futub al-Habaša; BassHist).

As the home to the oldest Muslim population of Ethiopia, T. also possesses Muslim sites (especially the pilgrimage site of \nearrow Nägaš; architectural remains in Wägər Hariba, and possibly in Maryam \nearrow Nazret) and inscriptions. In addition, during the 16th cent a group of Portuguese soldiers together with \nearrow Jesuit missionaries founded the settlement of \checkmark Fəremona, which included a Catholic church (cp. the Portuguese descriptions of T., Beccari 1912; Barradas 1996). After Catholicism was re-established among a minority by de \checkmark Jacobis (OMahPh) in the 19th cent., some new churches were built.

Rulers of Təgray

A "Təgrayan dynasty" in the proper sense never came into existence, the competing dynasties of the respective T. provinces being too strong. At times, local provincial rulers managed to establish their rule over most Təgrəñña provinces.

Temporarily, the northern provinces were unified under one to two rulers, since at least the 14th cent. mainly the *↑təgre mäk^wännən*, usually seated in the Hawzen or 'Adwa area (i.e., T. proper), and, further north, the *nagaš*, who controlled the trade routes to the *P*Red Sea. Only rarely all territories were unified in one hand; examples being däğğazmač / Kəflä Wahəd in the late 16th cent., the 17th cent. ruler däğğazmač / Habśəllus (appointed over the huge territory ">Bambolo məllaš" extending from Gondär over T. into today's Eritrea), his son däğğazmač / Gäbrä Krəstos of / Hamasen, in the 18th cent. däğğazmač / cAmdä Haymanot, succeeded by the much more powerful ras / Mika°el Səhul, and, finally, in the 19th cent. ase Yohannəs IV and his family members.

The 18th cent. "maiordomus" of Ethiopia Mika°el Səhul formed a greater T., which after him virtually became a separate kingdom. He was succeeded by ra'si ∧ Wäldä Sollase of Endärta, who ruled T. independently in the /Zämänä *mäsafənt*; and he in turn by *däggiyat* / Säbagadis of the šum ^cagamä dynasty, whose successor was his son-in-law Nyabe of the Amharic-speaking ers of Təgrayan provinces were almost always of Təgrayan origin; in this sense, Wəbe's rule was a new phenomenon and is often perceived in oral tradition as a period of "oppression by an outsider". However, even the rule by Təgrayan princes were often perceived as such by locals, if they did not descend from their own local dynasties; this regularly motivated popular support to numerous competing princes (e.g., / Kaśa Golža against Kaśa Mərča, the later Yoḥannəs IV).

There was no strong concept of a "pan-Təgrayan" ethnicity, local identities often being stronger. Some areas never or only rarely submitted to the rule of a Təgrayan overlord, but stayed under their own autonomous rulers (such as Hamasen for most of the time, Wälqayt, Wäggärat, Rayya, Zəbul etc.); this was in a way solved by ase Yohannəs IV, who due to his descent from all important Təgrayan dynasties could rally support from most Təgrayan regions (BTafY; ZewYohan). After his accession to the imperial throne, T. was governed by his uncle Ar⁵aya Śəllase Dəmşu, who died shortly after Yohannəs. Ar'aya's successor ra'si Mängäša Yohannəs, the Emperor's son, was only to some degree able to keep T. under his control. Ase ∧Mənilək II used the situation to partition again T. along older borders between several governors, who went into war against each other immediately after his death (e.g., *P* Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər of Aksum and ↗Səbḥat Arägawi of the °Agamä dynasty).

Later, T. was given as a fief to other descendants of Yohannəs. Thus the first "Təgrayan" dynasty was created, which, however, depended on support of the Šäwan-dominated state. In a brief attempt to exploit Təgrayan discontent with Šäwan rule for his own power interests, *P*Haylä Śəllase Gugsa from that dynasty allied with the Italians in the war of 1935-36 to become ruler of a more autonomous T. This, however, proved to be a political miscalculation. Instead of becoming an autonomous princedom, T. was included into Eritrea within / Africa Orientale Italiana. Only when the fortune of the Italian occupants changed in World War II, they placed noguś /Śoyyum Mängäša as their governor over T. After the Emperor's return from exile, he was confirmed as a governor (with the title $\mathcal{I}la^{c}ul$ ras), but mainly nominally. His son, la^cul ras Mängäša Śayyum, succeeded him in 1960 and was deposed in the PRevolution of 1974. After that he was involved in the formation of the armed Ethiopian Democratic Union in the western lowlands, together with General / Iyasu Mängäša (s. EAE vol. 5).

This "Təgrayan dynasty" strongly relied on Christian symbolism and deducted their legitimacy from their control of Aksum, which hosts the church Aksum Səyon with the Ark of the Covenant. "Defined by its predominant Christian character, T. formed not only a durable component of the Ethiopian nation but was also part of backbone of the Ethiopian state" (Adhana Haile Adhana 1998:43). The rulership over T. (and Ethiopia) was occasionally identified with the rulership over Aksum Şəyon by powerful rulers with connection to T. Consequently, even the term Şeyon (\nearrow Zion) could be used in exchange with T. in specific contexts. Yoḥannəs IV called himself nəguśä səyon (e.g., on a silver nägarit of his godson ras \nearrow Mika°el Ali, of Wällo, kept in Aksum Şəyon, s. Smidt in WenDAE II). Creating a sort of spiritual succession, Mika°el Ali called himself nəguśä səyon after his coronation as nəguś of T. in 1914 (he translating it into Arabic as 'king of T.'; Smidt 2007/08:436f.; cp. also GebMolIyas).

Also the history of \nearrow titles and ranks in T. shows interesting features and reflects the complex local systems of government. T. knows a wide variety of ancient state and cultural titles and designations of ranks and offices. Their meaning often differed from the meaning these or similar titles have acquired in territories further south (\nearrow Amhara). Some are remnants of an ancient administrative system (many of these old titles have vanished today, e.g., the \checkmark hasg^wa and ^caqqabe sänsän of \exists ndärta), others are expressions of local cultural and socio-political structures (e.g., abbo gaz [\checkmark Gaz]; hanta etc.).

Modern Təgray

Modern T. as a united province has its origin in the unification of its (sub-)provinces by ase Yohannəs IV and his successors. This did not, however, change the ancient claims for autonomy by local leaders and by several quite egalitarian, non-feudalist peasant communities (Abdulkader Saleh et al. 2008). After its hayday under Yohannəs, T. was heavily challenged, and was gradually reduced in importance within Ethiopia, and outside influence within T. increased. T. oral traditions preserve numerous poems and legends which report on T. resistance against non-T. lords (to name only few examples, s. Conti Rossini 1906, 1942; for an 1898 awağ of ra'si Mängäša Yohannəs calling for armed resistance against Mənilək II, s. Mekonnen Birhane 1998/99:67f., with further texts on T. resistance; cp. also a warsong of 1906, Smidt 2007).

Much of T. was briefly occupied by the Italians in the foremath of the 1896 Battle of °Adwa (*Italian War*, 1895–96). Again, T. was one of the major battle grounds during the *Italian War* 1935–36, with an initial success by the Ethiopians in the First Battle of Tämben in January 1936, and their dramatic defeat in the Second

Battle a month later; after the Battle of May Čäw in southern T. (followed by attacks of Rayya against *ase P* Haylä Səllase's army), the Ethiopian government collapsed.

During Italian occupation, T. was included into Eritrea (/ Eritrea: Administrative division), and then after 1941 reunified with restored Ethiopia (s. British Military Administration of Ethiopia, EAE vol. 5). Haylä Śəllase's harsh measures to establish control by the central government, however, quickly led to local resistance. Significantly, the Näyyanä rebellion started in the province of Wäğğärat, which was especially marked by egalitarian structures. After the rebels had captured the capital Mäqälä, heavy bombing by the British in 1943 ended the uprising. This was followed by a further process of marginalization of T., which was also heavily affected by the 1970s and 1980s *▶* famines (often caused by ↗ resettlement measures).

Measures of centralisation, aggressive marginalisation, economic decline and political suppression led to the creation of local armed resistance movements in the 1970s, especially the *∧*Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). During the following liberation struggle mainly three options for the political future of T. were discussed among the insurgents: the creation of an ethnicbased independent "Greater T.", incorporating the Eritrean highlands "lost in 1889" (i.e. the "T. Təgrəññi" concept already shortly propagated by the Eritrean politician / Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam in the 1940s), or the full inclusion of T. into Ethiopia, with T. as the spearhead of liberation of all Ethiopians from oppression; a third option aimed first at "the liberation of T. as such", leaving the question of T.'s role within Ethiopia "to the historical process" (Adhana Haile Adhana 1998:48). Starting from 1989 T. was under full control by the TPLF, with rock-hewn headquarters in °Addi Gäza°ti nearby ∧Mälfa. Social, economic and political reforms, including a major land reform (Smidt 2008), were already started in that period and consolidated when the TPLF took over the government officially in 1991.

T. was strongly affected by the Eritrean-Ethiopian war of 1998–2000 (partially caused by unsolved contradictions between local rights and international legal obligations, cp. Smidt in Abdulkader Saleh et al. 1998:293–321; for cartography cp. Ciampi in PICES 14), but has witnessed an economic revival since then. The process of historization of T.'s role in the radical change of government in Ethiopia in 1991 has just started. There are already serious studies on the origins of the liberation struggle (Gebru Tareke 1991). The internal structures of the early TPLF and the history of its leading figures are still under much discussion, but subject of first studies and accounts (e.g., Solomon Inquai 2007; Haylay Hadgu 2009, and cp. its counter-work Asgädä Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Mika°el 2009).

Src.: AbbGeogr; MANOEL BARRADAS, Tractatus Tres Historico Geographici (1634), a Seventeenth Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43); BassHist; CAMIL-LO BECCARI, Il Tigrè, descritto da un missionario gesuita del secolo XVII, Roma 1912; BeckHuntAlvar; BegCron; BTafY; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine, Verbania 1942 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria dell'Africa italiana 5); ID., "Poemetto lirico tigrai per la battaglia di Addi Cheleto", in: Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag, vol. 1, Gießen 1906, 925-39; CRAxum; CRStud; CSA 2005; DAE I-IV; FESSEHA GIYORGIS, Storia d'Etiopia, ed., tr. by YAQOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987; GebMolIyas; GIRMA-SELASSIE ASFAW - RICHARD PANKHURST, Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia, 1855–1868, London 1978; GueCopMen; HuntGeogr; HuntLand; KolTrad; LudHist I, iii, §28; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, Abyssinian Expedition, London 1869, 263; RUFFILLO PERI-NI – GÄBRÄ NÉGUŚ, መረብ፡ መሳሽ (Märäb Mällaš), Roma - Asmära 1995 [tr. from Ital.: Di qua dal Marèb (Marèbmellasc), Firenze 1905]; PerrZarY, annex; RubActa I-III; field notes of the author, 2004–06.

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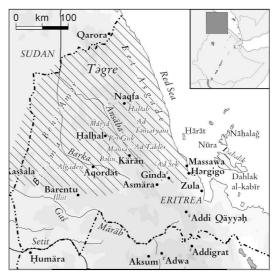
Wolbert Smidt

Təgre

Təgre language

T. is a northern *↑*Ethio-Semitic language spoken in *↑*Eritrea (provinces Northern Red Sea, [°]Ansäba, Gaš-Barka, and Dahlak Archipelago) by ca. 800,000 people (1997 Census, s. Gordon 2005:112); there are also some T.-speakers in





Sudan. Saleh Mahmud (2005:70) establishes three major dialect groups, consisting of the following dialects: 1) Sāḥəl [or Ḥabāb], Barkā [or Beni ʿĀmər], Māryā Ṣallām; 2) Mansaʿ, Bet Ğuk, Māryā Qayāḥ; 3) Samhar (cf. also Morin 1996). A variety spoken on the Dahlak Kebir island of the Dahlak Archipelago, traditionally considered to be a further T. dialect, is claimed by Simeone-Senelle (2006) to be a separate language (cf. also Saleh Mahmud 2005:73, n. 3; ***Dahlak islands: Haka na Dahālík). The present survey is based on the Mansaʿ dialect, described by Raz (1983 etc.).

The language is used in everyday communication as well as in mass media and as a medium of education in primary school (Ethiopic *r* script is employed). Collections of oral literature in T. have been written down and published by Rodén (1913) and Littmann (1910; 1911; 1949). Bible translation into T. was initiated at the end of the 19th cent. by the Swedish Mission in Eritrea; the entire New Testament in T. appeared in 1902. The first original novel in T. was published recently (Mahammad-°Ali Ibrāhim 2007).

Consonantal inventory (consonants in brackets are rarely used): labials (p), b, (p), f, m, w; alveolars t, d, t, s, z, s, n, r, l; palatals \check{s} , \check{z} , \check{c} , \check{g} , \check{c} , y; velars k, g, q, (b); pharyngeals \dot{b} , \ddot{c} ; glottals b, \ddot{c} . Vowels are: i, u, e, a, o, a, \bar{a} . a is defined by Raz (1983:6) as a mid-central vowel. Vowel length is phonemic only for the vowel a (however, in the majority of contexts the opposition between the short and long a is both quantitative and qualitative: [\ddot{a}] vs. [\bar{a}]). In word-final position, the opposition between a and \bar{a} is neutralized.