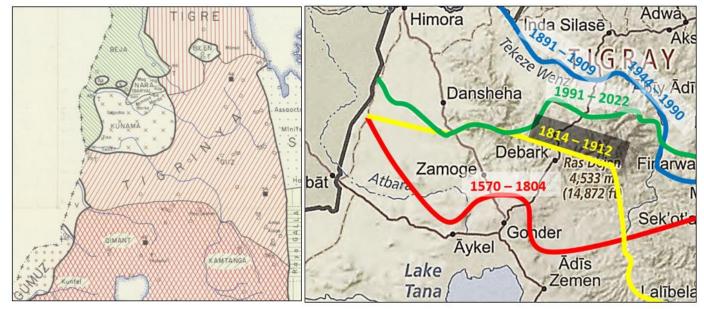


Western Tigray in 165 historical and 33 ethnolinguistic maps (1475-2014)



Version 7.1

Graphical abstract



Western Tigray in 165 historical and 33 ethnolinguistic maps (1475-2014)



Version 7

- Meta-analysis of co-eval historical maps representing Western Tigray (Ethiopia)
- Welkait part of Tigray in 1707-1794;
 1829-1898; 1908-1909; 1935-1941; 1991-ongoing
- Welkait mapped as Amhara in 1891-1896 and Gondar in 1944-1990
- Not any evidence that "Welkait was always part of Amhara"
- Language maps largely show Tigrinya on both sides of Tekeze River

ዓደይ ትግራይ፡ ማሕረሰይ ወልቃይት ላሕ**ሞይ ሕን**ጊድ፡ ሰበይተይ ኮራይት ተራኺበን ክልተ ኣራዊት

Welkait farmers' verse, recorded in the 1930s

Nyssen, J., 2023. Western Tigray in 165 historical and 33 ethno-linguistic maps (1475-2014). Version 7.1. Ghent (Belgium): Ghent University, Department of Geography. Zenodo, 226 p. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6554937

Western Tigray in 165 historical and 33 ethno-linguistic maps (1475-2014)

Version 7.1

Date: 22 July 2023

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Summary

There is a wide array of historical maps and records which jointly reveal that the territorial organisation of northern Ethiopia has tremendously changed over the last four centuries.

Historical maps representing the Western Zone of the Tigray Region (Welkait and adjacent districts, Fig. 1) have been retrieved from well-established repositories. Only maps prepared in the same period (co-eval maps) were used. Each map was screened for representation of internal borders, indicating sway or territorial control. Out of 165 maps, spanning the period 1475-1967, 159 were precise enough to be analysed, of which 93 display territorial control. Descriptive statistics of the dataset as a whole are presented.

Starting from the late 16th C., territorial control is frequently and clearly shown, with 57 maps (between 1570 and 1941) displaying a boundary that is located well south of the Tekeze River, or even south of the Simien mountains (Fig. 2). Welkait is explicitly included within a larger Tigray confederation (periods 1707-1794, 1829-1898, 1908-1909, and 1935-1941) (Fig. 3); it is briefly mapped as part of Amhara in 1891-1896 and part of Gondar from 1944-1990. At other periods it appears independent or part of a larger Mezaga ("dark earth") lowland region. The Amhara/Gondar – Tigray border is mapped on the Tekeze River at short intervals in 1844-1847, 1860-1872, and 1891-1896 and then more permanently between 1944 and 1990. The meta-analyis of the historical maps shows that for the larger part of the last 300 years, Western Tigray has been under Tigray jurisdiction (Fig. 5). However, at times of upheaval, the territory has been briefly reorganized under either the Amhara polities or was autonomous.

These maps demonstrate that the argument that Welkait was "always a part of Begemdir", or else Amhara, is not based on evidence, apart from a territorial reorganisation in the mid-twentieth century. In contrast, contemporary Tigray is a valid territory, whose legitimacy stems from modern federalism's faculty to create a region away from concepts of the Ethiopian empire-state. In 1991-4, when the boundaries of the Tigray Region were established as part of federal Ethiopia, local self-determination was way more important than historical maps. Remarkably, the consensus of the 20th C. ethno-linguistic maps of the Ethiopian state sustains the current extent of the Tigray region.

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In other words: the Amhara nationalist narrative that there was continuous ancestral ownership of Western Tigray is not confirmed by a meta-analysis of the historical maps. We conclude with the suggestion to especially consider the recent and subrecent actual world, including language maps.

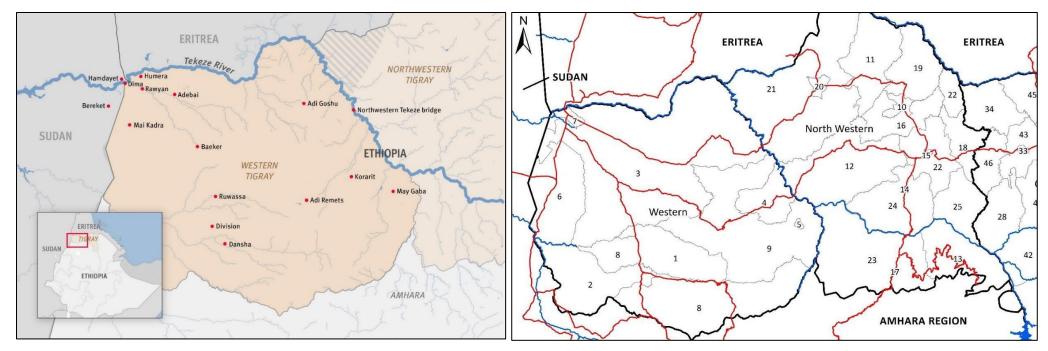


Fig. 1. Location of Western Tigray: at left with major towns (© Human Rights Watch & Amnesty International, 2022 (1)); at right woredas (districts): 1
Awrora, 2 Dansha town, 3 Kafta Humera, 4 Korarit, 5 May Gaba, 6 May Kadra, 7 Setit Humera, 8 Tsegede, 9 Welkait. Besides Western Tigray, the districts 23
Tselemti and 13 Dima as well as 17 May Tsebri town in Northwestern Tigray are also claimed by Amhara nationalists. (Source: Central Statistical Agency & Bureau of Finance, Economic Development (2020) Ethiopia Administrative Boundary Common Operational Database. Downloaded from https://data.humdata.org/dataset (2)).

Introduction

This dataset focuses on historical maps of Western Tigray (Fig. 1), which is not only notable for the multiple war crimes committed there during the Tigray War (1), but is also a contested area in Ethiopa between the Tigray and Amhara regions.

The Ethiopian constitution stipulates that the ethno-linguistic demography of a region, rather than the historical control of a group on that territory, determines the regional organisation. As a result, districts in Western Tigray were incorporated into the Tigray region in 1991-4, because a large majority

of Tigrayans lived there at the time of inclusion. However, many Amhara nationalists have claimed historical possession of these lands. Although this "historical ownership" argument is irrelevant to the current federal setup, Amhara irredentist claims should be scrutinized more closely. After all, Amhara irredentism has been a driving force in the Tigray war. Removing this most productive zone from Tigray appears also to be part of a strategy to impoverish and subjugate Tigray (3). Again, Ethiopian regime supporters proudly stated on July 2021: "Let them go! The defeated *Great Tigray* had to abandon the fertile regions it had stolen from the Amharas in the 1990s, and had to retreat to its arid *heimat*. (...) Tigray has no more modern agriculture and industry, the infrastructure is destroyed (...) The map of Greater Tigray was twice as large as the current poor Tigray" (4). Amhara irredentism (sensu 5) indeed had been one of the drivers of the war against Tigray.

Giovanni Ellero (6) hinted already at identity issues and territorial conquest in one of Western Tigray's districts called Welkait (see Fig. 1), in the early 20th Century. Two verses from his article can be used to summarize it.

To characterise the indomitable character of the Welkait people, Ellero mentioned a verse commonly used by the Welkait farmers:

ዓደይ ትግራይ፡ ማሕረሰይ ወልቃይት ላሕሞይ ሕንጊድ፡ ሰበይተይ ኮራይት ተራኺበን ክልተ ኣራዊት (7),

contextually translated from Tigrinya as:

My land is Tigray, my croplands Welkait
My cow is wild, my wife angry
Now, the two have joined their forces

Reversely, the Gondarines had this verse:

ወልቃይት ፅንዴ ሰሜን አርማጭሆ ኣልንዛም ኣልሽ፡ ተንዛሽ እነሆ. translated from Amharic as:

Welkait, Tseghedie, Semien, and Armachoho You said "I will not surrender" and yet! You have been subjugated (8)

In an interesting webinar on 13 April 2022 at the *Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis Horn von Afrika*, Prof. Wolbert Smidt (9) showed for the first time extracts of a map that contradicts the official Gondarine narrative of the history of Western Tigray, in which it is claimed that "Welkait has always belonged to Amhara" (5). A detailed search brought about several maps of the mid-19th Century, in which Western Tigray is clearly mapped as part of then Tigray confederation. Two representative maps are:

Weiland, C.F., 1841. Das nordoestliche Africa oder Aegypten, Nubien, Habesch, Kordofan und Dar-Fur, 1:5 000 000. Weimar: Verlage des geograph. Instituts [in German]. A scan of this map may be accessed and downloaded from the David Rumsey Center at Stanford University (https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~280071 ~90053341:Northeastern-Africa-or-Egypt,-Eritr).

Handtke, F.H., 1849. Nordöstliches Afrika, Ca. 1:5 600 000. In: Sohr, K., Supplement-Band zum Hand-Atlas der neueren Erdbeschreibung, 85. Flemming, Glogau/Głogów and Leipzig [in German]. Scans of this map may be downloaded from repositories at Estonia's national library (https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/nlib-digar:429790) and at David Rumsey (NO-Afrika-).

Historical maps of the Horn provide a lot of information about toponyms, regional names, and the territorial extent of groups, as well as local ideas of boundaries and routes, political claims overlapping, and ethnic conflicts and interactions. They were not only the work of visiting cartographers and scholars; they were the outcome of intensive local assistance and contacts

with seasoned local partners who were experts in territorial knowledge and sociopolitical practices (9). Besides, such maps allow pointing sometimes at different co-eval perceptions of territorial control. This relates not only to the position of internal boundaries but also to the extent of some territories that were very remote at that time, such as Mezaga.

On maps, boundaries will appear as lines, but the reality in Ethiopia is that it are also zones where a broad cooperation and interaction between ethnic groups takes place (10).

The goal here is not to prove territorial claims based on specific maps, but rather to demonstrate that there is a wide array of historical maps and records which jointly reveal that territorial organisation has tremendously changed during the last centuries. In other words: the narrative of ancestral Amhara ownership of Western Tigray does not correspond to historical documents. Having made this point, this article will conclude with the suggestion to rather consider the recent and subrecent real conditions on the ground.

Methods

Historical maps have been retrieved from three specialised online repositories: The David Rumsey Historical Map Collection at Stanford (https://www.davidrumsey.com), the AfriTerra collection (https://afriterra.org/), a private philanthropic foundation in Boston (MA, USA), and the Ethiomap repository (https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr), a project by the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris (France); Forschungszentrum Gotha der Universität Erfurt (Germany); Centre Français des Études Éthiopiennes (Ethiopia); and Mekelle University (Ethiopia). Additional maps were obtained from other online map collections (UBBasel, Switzerland; Atlas UGent, Belgium; British Library; Istituto Geografico

Militare Italiano; Library of Congress; Gallica Digital Library; African Studies Centre Leiden; University of Illinois; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Berkeley University, The London Library; Smithsonian Library; U. Columbia), as well as infold maps in books held at various libraries.

Only co-eval maps were used, i.e. maps that are contemporary with the displayed geography. All maps in the dataset are formally kept in well-established repositories (Table 1). No secondary sources, nor maps drawn in later periods were used. The language maps (at the end of the dataset) were mostly scanned by ourselves from the original works.

Table 1. Overview of historical maps in this datset

	Number of	Poor	Good	_	Position of lettering suggests	Number of maps
	maps	accuracy	accuracy	shown	territorial control	used in the analysis
15 th - 17 th C.	16	6	10	4	5	9
18 th C.	19	0	19	13	3	16
19 th C.	97	0	97	31	20	51
20 th C.	33	0	33	13	4	17
Total	165	6	159	54	32	93

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From each map, we extracted the area comprised between 35°40′ and 42°20′E, 11°30′ and 15°20′N. The historical maps were organised in chronological order. Each map was screened for representation (or absence) of borders, or possible positioning of lettering representing sway or territorial control. Especially in the oldest maps, the projection is often distorted and distances not proportional. In such cases, relative positions with respect to rivers and mountains were verified. Descriptive statistics on the dataset as a whole are presented. The meta-analysis of the maps is also summarised in a graphical way, using timelines.

Thirty-two language maps (1903-2014) were retrieved from linguistic works as well as Ethiopian atlases. Maps representing only the extent of Semitic

languages without precisions on the Amharic-Tigrinya interface, such as Beke's (11) or Borreli's maps (12), were not incorporated in the dataset. The language maps were interpreted as a separate set, since the extent of a language does not necessarily fit with boundaries of political control. Particularly, we verified which were the languages of the communities in Western Tigray, as mapped by the different authors, who were often senior linguists. To enhance its accessibility, we have also summarised a book written in Italian and with high locational accuracy (considering it as an additional map): the field notes on Welkait by ethnographer Giovanni Ellero, recorded in 1939-1940 (13).

Quantitative meta-analysis

One hundred sixty-five co-eval historical maps were retrieved, spanning the period 1475-1967. Contrary to common belief, the name "Amhara" is used as a territorial unit since 1640, with the exception of the years 1944-1990.

Out of the 165 maps, 159 provide sufficient precision and detail to be analysed, but six maps had very poor locational accuracy and were not used in the descriptive statistics (period 1656-1695).

On 61 maps, internal borders within "Habesch" or "Abyssinia" are drawn. On the other hand, on another 98 maps, no boundary between Tigray and Amhara/Gondar/Begemder is established, but on 32 of these the position of lettering allows estimating the location of the border (Table 1). Hence, in total 93 maps could be examined for the location of internal borders.

On 57 maps, spanning the period 1570-1941, the boundary coincides with the crestline of the Simien mountains (31 maps, 33%), is established south of Simien (22 maps, 24%), or between Simien and Tekeze (four maps, 4%). Cartographers de L'Isle (1707), Bonne (1782) or Cassini (1798) mapped Tigray's southern border close to Chelga (= Aykel) and Emfraz, two towns that are west and southeast of Gondar. Overall, on more than half of the analysed maps, large territories southwest of Tekeze River are mapped as part of Tigray (Fig. 2).

On 19 maps (20%), spanning the periods 1844-1847, 1860-1872, 1891-1896 and 1942-1990, the boundary between Tigray, and Amhara/Begemder closely follows the Tekeze River.

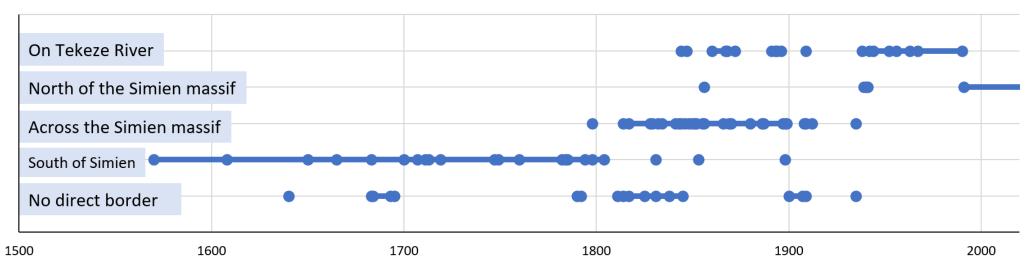


Fig. 2. Location of the border between Tigray/Tigrai/Tigre and Amhara/Gondar/Begemder, according to historical maps (n = 93). Every dot represents a map in the dataset. Gaps between subsequent maps must be understood as "no information" or "period of shifting sway". Conflicting display of territorial control in certain periods points to different information by cartographers. The power of such a large dataset is that the overall picture of the situation can be better grasped.

On 66 maps, the territorial control of Welkait is clearly indicated. On 24 of those maps, spanning the periods 1683-1693 and 1790-1838 and some isolated moments, Welkait is mapped neither as part of Tigray, nor of Amhara/Begemder (Fig. 3). On 26 other maps (39%), Welkait is explicitly included within a larger Tigray confederation (periods 1707-1784 and 1844-1886, and again briefly in 1939-1941); it is mapped as part of Amhara on 24% of the maps, i.e. in 1844, 1860-1867, 1891-1896 (four maps), 1909, 1925, 1938 and from 1942-1990 (six maps).

Whereas the study area was mapped in detail as Tigrinya speaking as early as 1903 (14), maps by Checchi et al (1906, republished in 1912) and Cohen (1924, republished in 1936) displayed the Amharic language up to the

Tekeze River (15-18). Starting 1921, Conti Rossini (19, 20) however mapped the Tigrinya language on both sides of the Tekeze, which remains a clear pattern on all subsequent linguistic maps. Two major ethnographic fieldwork campaigns by Ellero (1939-1940) (13) and Simoons (1960) (21) indeed recorded the whole area between the Tekeze (Setit) River and Angareb River as Tigrinya speaking, with passive knowledge of the administrative language Amharic. Detailed maps by Bryan (22), Perham (23), Trimingham (24), Leslau (25), Kuls (26) and especially Bender et al. (1976) (27) have become widely accepted among linguists and consistently map the area as Tigrinya speaking. The latter map was also reproduced in the authoritative Encyclopaedia Aethiopia (Volume V, 2014) (28).

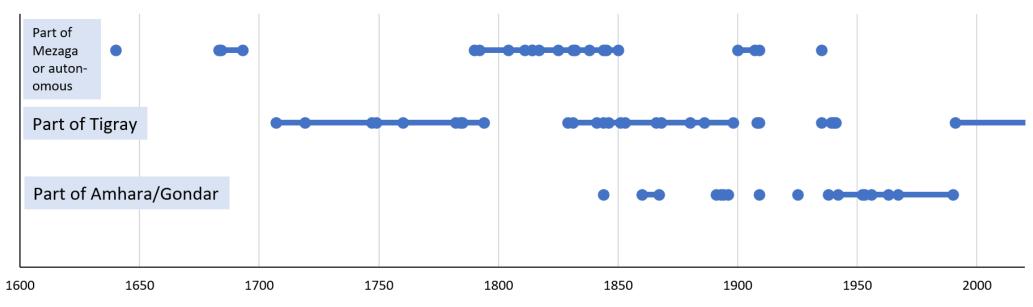


Fig. 3. Territorial control of Welkait, according to historical maps (n = 66). Every dot represents a map in the dataset.

Discussion

Welkait was not "always", rather "occasionally" part of Amhara

Overall, these maps demonstrate that the argument that Welkait was *always* a part of Begemdir or Amhara is not based on evidence, apart from a territorial reorganisation in the mid-twentieth century (29, 30). Indeed, the Abyssinian emperors Menelik and Haile Selassie divided the country into provinces, replacing territories that were formerly semi-autonomously governed. As colonial powers did elsewhere, Haile Selassie cut into these existing territories and used this territorial reorganisation as a way to reward his allies. The resulting provinces were hence constructed along the strength of local powers (zones of influence of major towns), regardless of ethnic composition. For instance, the northern third of Haile Selassie's

Gondar province was inhabited by Tigrinya speaking population (Fig. 4); the Dejena mountain range in Welkait (up to 2700 metres high) became, around 1980, the main base for Tigray resistence against the Derg regime that was in power at the time (31). A rare communication document between Derg's military command and the Ministry of Defense, dating back to 1984 has been retrieved, where they lament that the population of Welkait and Tsegede supports the TPLF, because the people are Tigrinya speakers (32).

The numerous historical maps that show Welkait, Tsegede, Tselemti and adjacent districts (see Fig. 1) as part of Tigray were systematically omitted in Achamyeleh Tamiru's (5) review justifying Amhara nationalist claims on the area.

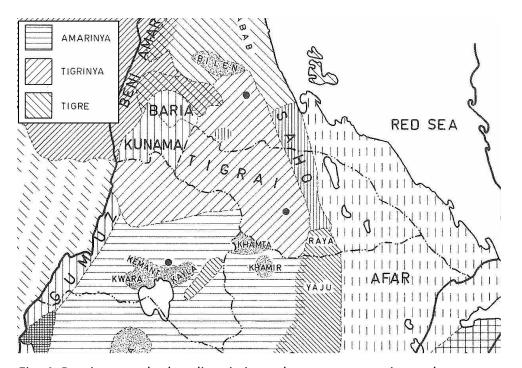


Fig. 4. Provinces and ethno-linguistic settlement patterns in northern Ethiopia, after by Trimingham (1965) (24), republished by Westphal (33). The Gondar province extended from Lake Tana up to the then province of Eritrea, with the Tekeze River forming the boundary. Besides a majority of Amharic speakers, Gondar comprised large areas inhabited by Tigrinya and Gumuz speakers, as well as Kwara, Kemant, Kayla and Yaju Oromo (in the eastern part of Gondar province). Population groups in the 1965 Tigray Province comprised Tigrinya speakers, Saho, Afar and Raya Oromo. Provincial capitals Gondar, Mekelle and Asmara are represented by large dots. Eritrea has since become an independent state. The post-1992 Tigray region encompasses the Tigrinya-speaking areas of Ethiopia.

The current extent of the Tigray Region is in line with language maps

In contrast, contemporary Tigray is a valid territory, whose legitimacy stems from the intention of modern federalism to create federated states on a

new basis not derived from concepts of the Ethiopian empire-state (sensu 34). In 1991-4, when the boundaries of the Ethiopian federal regions, including those of the Tigray Region were established, local selfdetermination was way more important than historical maps (29). Remarkably, 27 out of the 33 language maps of the Ethiopian state sustain the current extent of the Tigray region. As an exception among language maps (pages 187 to 226), Levine's (35) map (page 210) shows an extent of the Amhara language up to the Tekeze river. Ever since publishing the first edition of his "Greater Ethiopia – the evolution of a multiethnic society", Levine encountered much criticism for his vision of Ethiopia as a 'single societal system' and his advocacy for benefits of Menelik's conquests and Amhara dominancy of the country under the cover of multi-ethnic evolution (29, 36). The other exception is the "Preliminary Atlas of Ethiopia" in 1962 (page 205), where Mesfin Woldemariam maps Tigrinya language southwest of Tekeze River, yet with relatively minor extent. In his comments related to the maps of religions and languages in Ethiopia, the author seems concerned that Orthodox Christian and Amhara extent are insufficiently represented, what may point to some bias. Hence, we consider these maps as "outliers" among all other language maps (since 1903) that show an extent of Tigrinya that fits with the borders of Western Tigray. On the maps, the Tigrinya-speaking area extends from the Sudanese border up to the Rift Valley escarpment at the east. Two major rivers cross the Tigrinya language area, the Mereb at north and the Tekeze in the southern part. The same language community lives on both sides of the rivers. This was also cartographed as such on four different maps established by organisms directly depending from the "Derg" military government, in 1977, 1979, 1985 and 1988 (pages 217 to 222).

Within Ethiopia, rivers appear seldom as ethno-linguistic borders. The rivers Abay, Awash, Kusa (Beles), Wabe Shebelle, Mereb, Gibe, and many more flow through the same linguistic area. Amhara nationalists frequently argue

that the Tekeze river constitutes an ethno-linguistic border. However, in Ethiopia and around the world, the same communities dwell across large rivers. In Ethiopia, only the 200 kilometres of the Blue Nile canyon form an ethno-linguistic boundary, though even this latter linguistic boundary is not sharp on Bender's (1976) map (27, 37).

On ethno-linguistic maps, boundaries will appear as lines, and at the scale of this map, these lines are strongly generalised, straightening sometimes convoluted boundaries and transition zones. The reality in Ethiopia is that boundaries are also zones where a broad cooperation and interaction between ethnic groups takes place (10). In addition to Tigrinya, the maps also show that Kunama is spoken on the southern shores of the lower Tekeze River.

The federalist approach is built into Ethiopia's legal constitutional framework: history is nowhere referred to in the constitution, as both Art 46.2 ('states shall be delimited on the basis of settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the people concerned') and Art 39.5 ('a "nation nationality or people" for the purpose of this constitution, is a group of people who have or share a large measure of a common culture, or similar

customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory') make it clear that history or historical precedent are *not* acceptable legal bases either for the demarcation of states or for identifying the nations, nationalities and peoples which constitute legal right-bearers under the constitution.

As historical maps are a subject of research by the Ethiomap research project (38), with Wolbert Smidt working on maps of the Ethiopian highlands and northern territories, more findings on the context of these four centuries of maps are expected. Yet, there are clear major trends appearing from the meta-analysis of the historical maps.

Boundary timelines

Western Tigray has been inhabited by Tigrinya speaking populations and for the larger part of the last 300 years or more, as the maps show, it has been under Tigray jurisdiction, with a border running along or across the Simien massif (Fig. 5, Fig. 6).

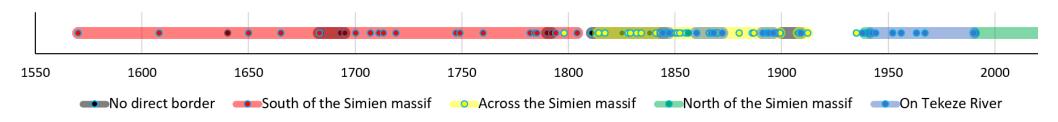


Fig. 5. Timeline of the location of the boundary between Amhara/Begemder/Gondar and Tigray/Tigrai/Tigre, according to historical maps (n = 93). Individual maps are represented by dots, some of which are hidden by overlap. This timeline holds the same information as Fig. 2, displayed in such a way to represent the major tendencies as well as interruptions in them. Position of borders is represented with the same colours in Fig. 6. Hiatuses represent time steps for which no information is provided by historical maps.

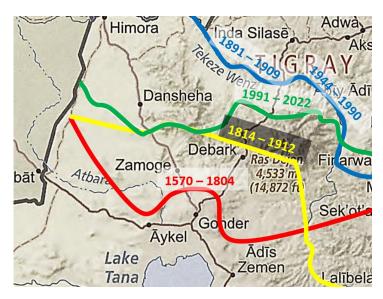


Fig. 6. Approximate location of the boundary between Amhara/ Begemder/ Gondar and Tigray/Tigrai/Tigre, according to historical maps (n = 93). Time steps and colours as in Fig. 5, and boundary courses in line with representative maps for the time steps: 1570 – 1804 (red, Bonne 1782); 1814 – 1912 (yellow, Handtke 1849); 1891 – 1909 and 1944 – 1990 (blue, De Agostini 1952); and current (green). The latter boundary course as well as the base map are from Library of Congress (2009).

Western Tigray has been inhabited by Tigrinya speaking populations and for the larger part of the last 300 years or more, as the maps show, it has been under Tigray jurisdiction, with a border running along or across the Simien massif (Fig. 5, Fig. 6). However, at times of upheavals like what is happening today (2020-2022), the territory has been briefly reorganized under either the Amhara polities or was by itself, as many provinces were under separate rulers. The general trend we see in the maps (Fig. 6), is supported by the Amharic verse on page 5 celebrating the subjugation of Welkait and surrounding districts.

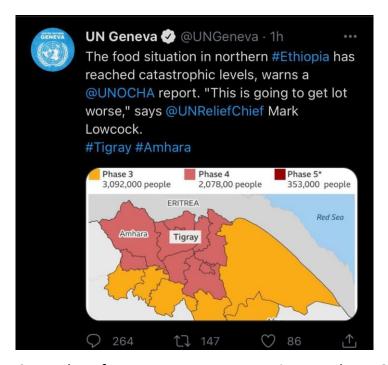


Fig. 7. Screenshot of a contemporaneous mapping error by UNOCHA (2021), representing a territorial claim. In digital times such errors are rapidly intercepted and the map has been deleted (yet without ackowledging the mistake).

If one were to come in 50 years from now, some maps of 2020-2022 would appear as in 1844-1847, or 1891-1894, with Western Tigray displayed as part of Amhara. For instance, on June 10th, 2021, UNOCHA briefly published a map of Tigray (presumably using information provided by their staff in Addis Ababa) with large parts of Tigay incorporated in the Amhara Region (Fig. 7). Hence, the brief hiatuses in historical maps where Welkait ceased to be part of Tigray may be explained by situations similar to that of 2020-2022.

Conclusions

Historical cartography demonstrates that claims of long-standing Amhara dominance over Western Tigray (Welkait and surrounding districts) are not supported by historical facts and are therefore based on sand. The map that is presented as 'historical Ethiopia, as it always was' – the one on the back of exercise books in Ethiopia in Derg time – that map and its variants, appeared only in 1944.

If historical ownership arguments are to take place, they should include the full range of historical maps. Also, settlement of territorial conflicts should especially reflect the recent and sub-recent ethno-linguistic situation. This dataset supports such an approach.

Acknowledgments

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- 7. The term ኣራዊት [arawit], when used for people, points to someone who is not easy to handle.
- 8. The verse shows the sense of subjugating a region, a region that does not belong to them. If it were already under their jurisdiction, why would someone state "አልባዛም ኣልሽ" [algezam alsh] ("you said I will not surrender", "you" being here: Welkait, Tsegede, Simien, Armachiho, i.e., the contested lands of western Tigray and surrounding)? The verse indicates that at some points in time these areas were subjugated (by force or by decree) by Gondar.
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Dataset

Maps in the dataset are reproduced as historical documents, without correcting the derogatory xenonyms for some ethnic groups. The maps are study objects, and we obviously do not endorse the undertakings of their authors (e.g. Derg regime, Italian invasion).

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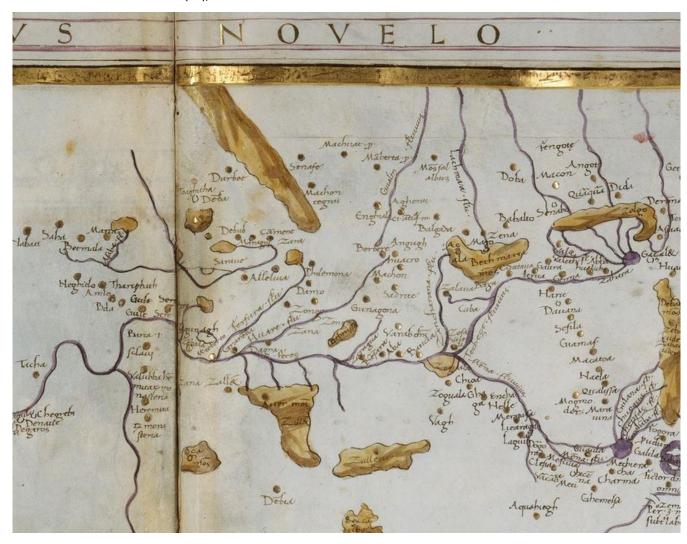
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Martellus, c. 1475

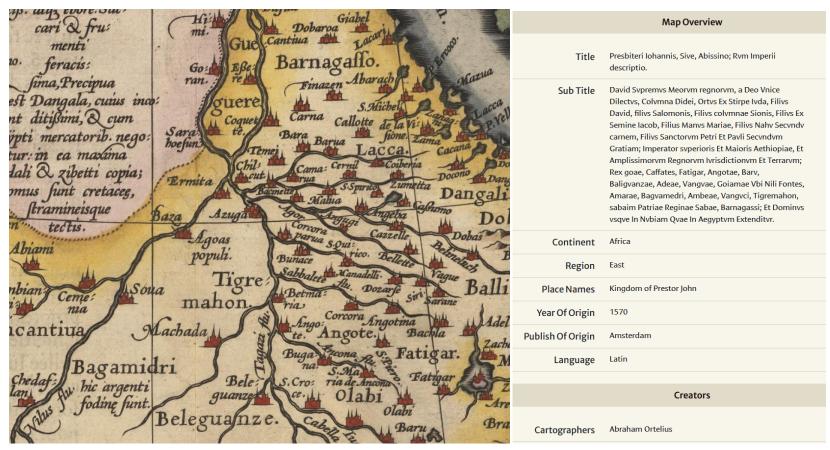
One of the four known copies of the Egyptus Novelo map, held at Yale (39). North is to left. Pattern of rivers is more accurate then what appeared on later maps. Many place names and itineraries have been identified (40), but no hint to territorial control.



Henricus Martellus, c. 1475–80. Egyptus Novelo. Copy held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-76840-3 5/figures/2

Ortelius, 1570

Very poor locational accuracy. Note also the erroneous mapping of the river system. Blue Nile and Lake Tana not represented. The Atbara was assumed to meet the main Nile again upstream, and immediately splitting off again, creating "Guegere" or the "Island of Meroé" which persisted in maps for more than a century. The Tekezze is mapped already by Ortelius in 1570 (*Tagazi flu*.). On this map, and on other maps for more than a century, an area called **Tigremahon** is represented, west of Tekezze and including *Agoas populi* (Agaw people). In his early encyclopedia (Vol. 4, p. 452), Jacob Hofmann noted in 1698 that "Tigre is a kingdom in Africa, part of Abyssinia, whose viceroy is called Tigre mahon" (41). Hofmann cites the Portuguese Jesuit Jerónimo Lobo, who served in Ethiopia from 1625 to 1634, as his source (42). Also, by the mid-17th C., the Abyssinian lexicographer Abba Gorgoryos had observed maps with 'Tigremahon' and noted that this is not a proper place name but a rewording of ትግራይ ምትን [tigray mokonnen], (land under the) Governor of Tigray, as reported in Bruce's *Travels* (43), p. 156. In his "Historia Aethiopica" of 1681 (44), Job Ludolf who worked closely with Abba Gorgoryos writes indeed that the name "Tigremahon is corrupted from Tigre Macuonen, the title of the viceroy" (Book I, Chapter 4, paragraphs 6 and 7). And Balthazar Telles (1710) insists in "The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia" (p. 9) that "Tigremahon" is the same as "Tigre" (45). Hence, where "Tigremahon" is printed in large letters across a wider area on historical maps, we have interpreted this as an indication of Tigray's territorial control.



Ortelius, A., 1570. Presbiteri Iohannis, Sive, Abissino; Rvm Imperii descriptio. Amsterdam. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/163

Ortelius & Vrients, 1608 (various editions, de Jode, Mercator, Huygen, Ortelius, Hondius, Bertius, Van Linschoten, Quad & Bussemecher, 1578-1637)

Same geography was used in numerous maps at the time. For quantitative analysis, we considered all these maps as one, remarkably mapping "Tigremahon" west of *Tagazi flu*. (see previous map for details)



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De Almeida, 1640

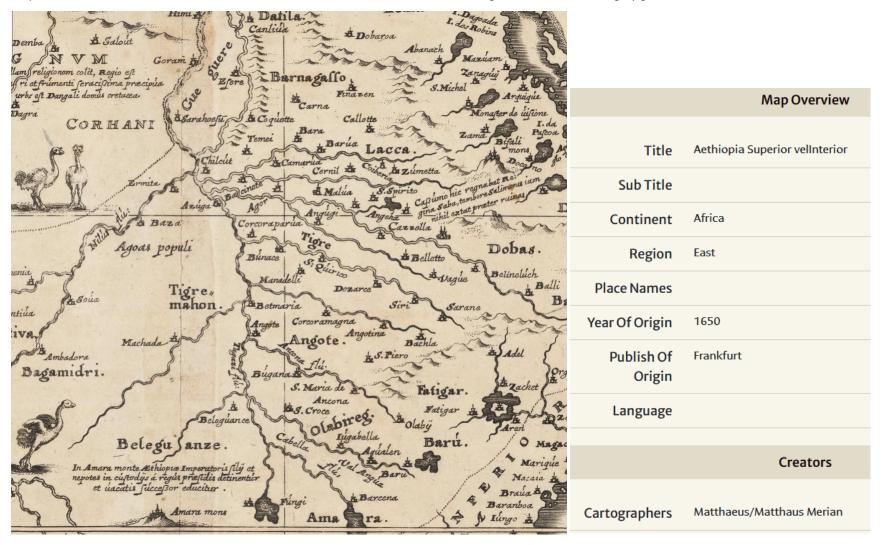
Numerous smaller territories, including Tigre, Dambea, Amhara, and others in between them. Despite the large distortions, this is the first map that shows internal boundaries.



Map of Ethiopia and the Red Sea (c. 1640), in Manuel de Almeida's *Historia de Ethiopia a Alta ou Abassia*. Manuscript of the British Library. Photo from Beccari (46), Plate VII-VIII; https://www.mjr.link/books--maps.html. Map would depict the situation around 1630. For the context see Pennec (47). Many maps of the following century were partly based on de Almeida's map (46), including the wrong positioning of Abargale and Salaoa (west of Tacase in stead of east of the river).

Merian, **1650**

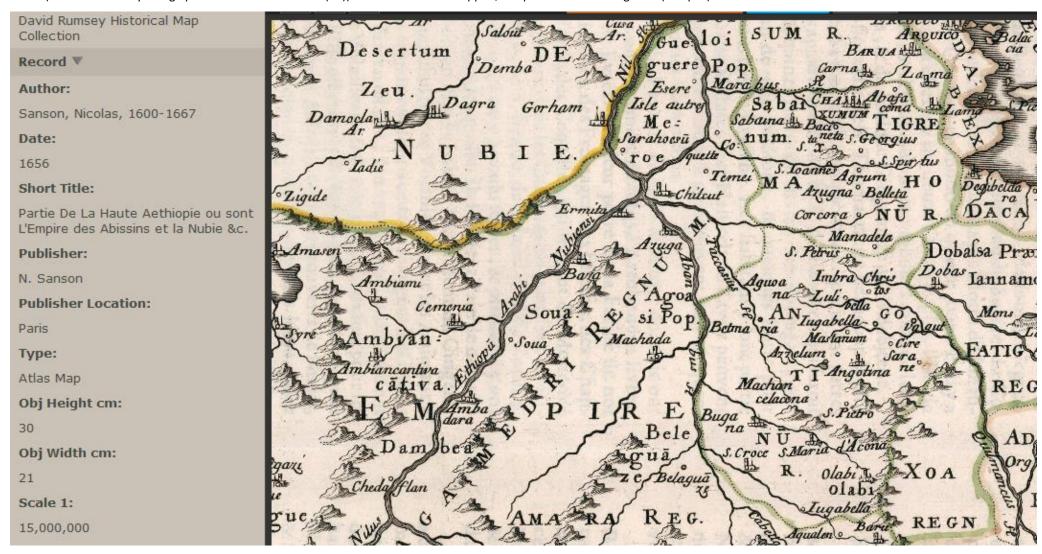
Map inherited from Ortelius' time. No internal boundaries drawn, but the location of "Tigremahon" indicates Tigray governs also across Tekeze.



Merian, M., 1650. Aethiopia Superior vel Interior. Frankfurt. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/585

Sanson, 1656 (also 1659)

Mercator's map, with boundaries drawn; large Begemedri Regnum, up to Meroe; small Tigre Mahonur. Same important locational inaccuracy as the previous maps; note the large Meroe island (which is in reality a large peninsula between rivers (48)). River *Taccasus* is mapped, but points to the wrong river (Areqwa).



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~294868~90065866:Partie-De-La-Haute-Aethiopie-ou-son

Boisseau & Jollain, 1659

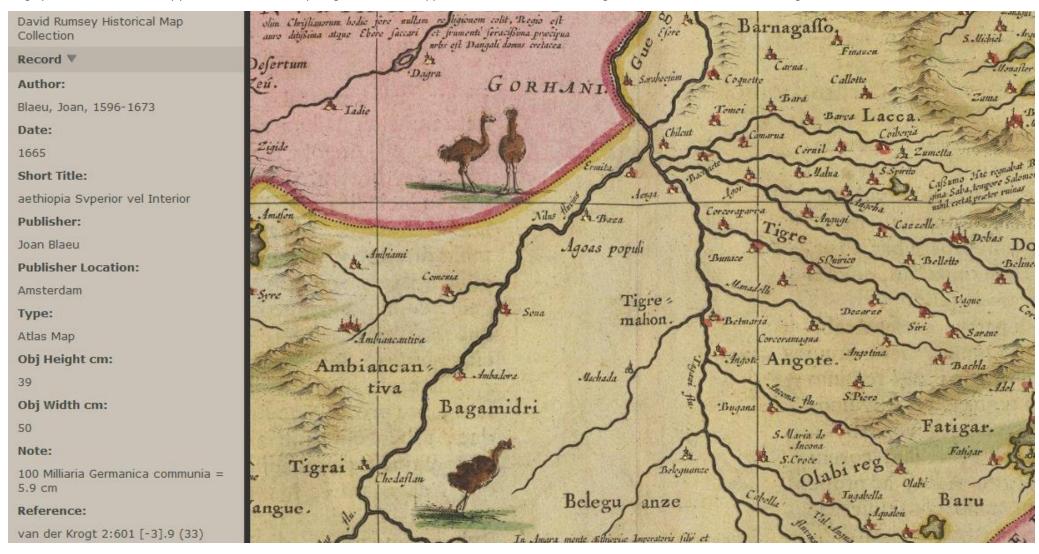
Many locational inaccuracies (see Amasen, Syre); boundaries not drawn.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~305808~90076154:Le-Royaume-Abyssin-

Blaeu, 1665, also in 1650 (reproduced by Hondius & Janssonius in 1663)

Largely based on Ortelius. Very poor locational accuracy. "Tigremahon" is mapped west of Tekeze. West of Bagamidri there is a non-identified "Tigrai".



 $\underline{https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839.$

Sanson, **1669**

Locational inaccuracies on stream network like Ortelius. Internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia. Sanson maps a very wide Bagamedri, including "Agaofi Pop." (Agaw) and the Meroe Island ("Guergere").

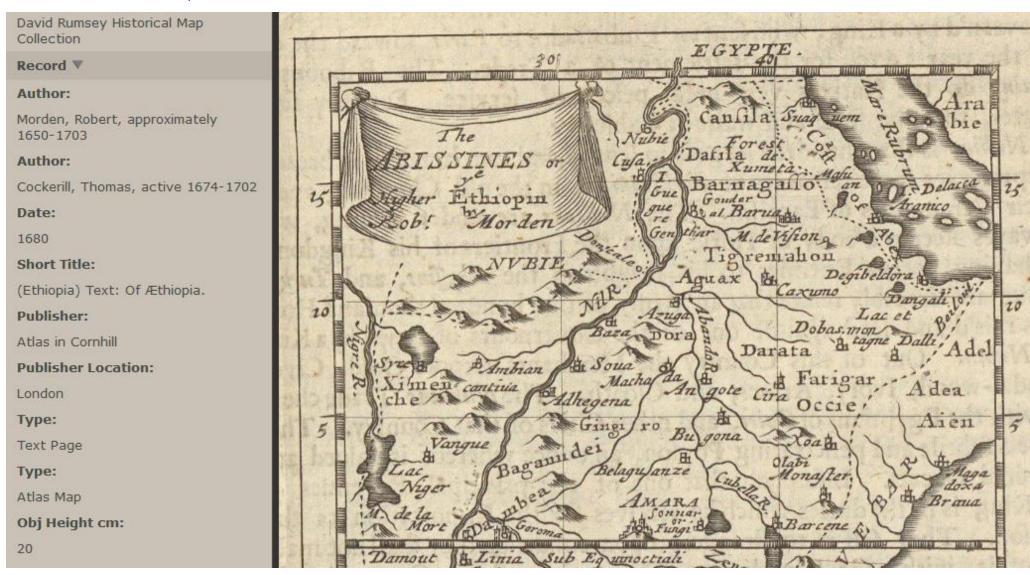
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and Chilout Auzugna Degit	Sub Title	To the Honorable, Sr Robert Viner, of London. Alderman, Knight & Baronet. This Mapp is humbly dedicated by Ric: Blome
Agaofi Dob	Continent	Africa
Baza & NAGOTA Doba	Region	East
Inham Luhbella	Place Names	
Cemena Sova Detmaria KINGD To Jague	Year Of Origin	1669
Am biancan & Machada Angota by Sarans	Publish Of Origin	London
tiva tiva & Bachla	Language	English
Belegu Bugana Olabi XOA		Creators
Schedaflan Sanze Ancona Clabi	Cartographers	Nicolas Sanson
Belagu Ingabella KINGDO	Publishers	Richard Blome
There a AMARA Fungi, Barrela	Engravers	Francis Lamb Thomas Burnford Wenceslas Hollar

Sanson, N., 1669. A Mapp of the Higher and Lower Ethiopia. London. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/785

DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 28

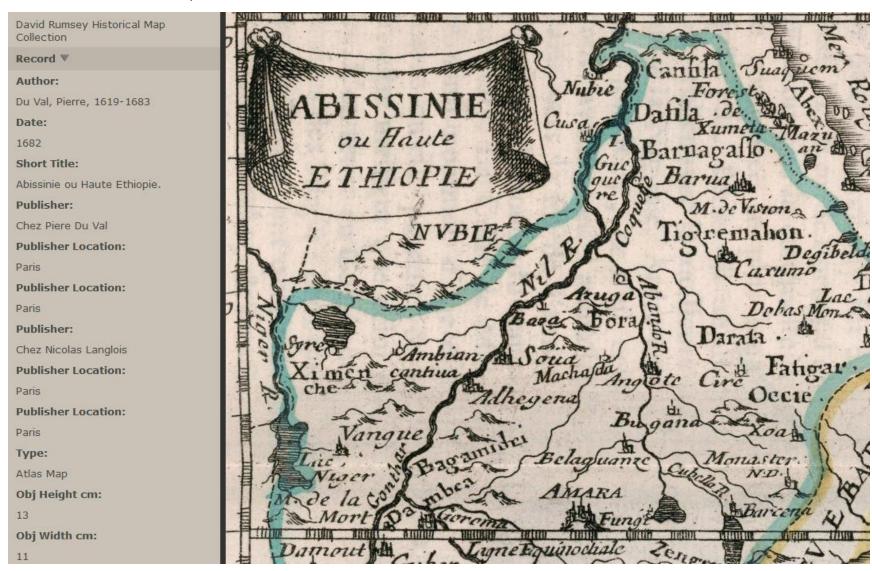
Morden & Cockerill, 1680

Numerous locational inaccuracies; internal boundaries not drawn.



Du Val, 1682

Numerous locational inaccuracies; internal boundaries not drawn.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~315847~90084676:Abissinie-ou-Haute-Ethiopie-

Ludolf & Gorgoryos, 1683

Besides Bagemder and Tigre, there are separate Midra Bahr and Semen (including Walkajit).



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/59/UBBasel Map 1683-1690 Kartenslg Mappe 252-62 Habessinia seu Abassia.tiff

https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=22

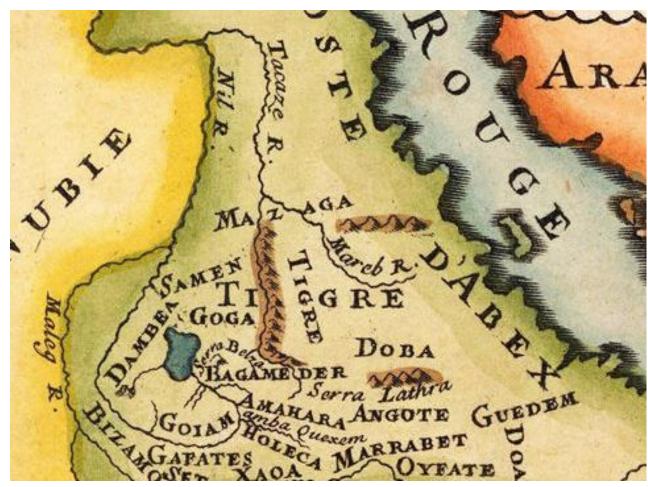
Another version of the map by Ludolf and Gorgoryos is held in a private collection (Clapham 2011) https://www.anglo-ethiopian.org/publications/articles.php?type=L&reference=publications/articles/2011summer/mapping.php



The map is coloured and internal boundaries are drawn, which are very different from the above, commonly reproduced map. The delimited territories have no names. This is the only known version of Ludolf's map that is coloured in this way. We are not aware of any study that would report whether the colouring was done at the moment of map preparation or in later years or centuries. At this stage, we use the first map (page 31) as primary Ludolf & Gorgoryos map in the meta-analysis.

Manesson-Mallet, 1683 (similar in 1685 and 1700)

Quite good relative position of hydrography. Size of lettering tends to indicate hierarchy in territitorial control. "Tigre" spans Tacaze R. and includes "Samen" (smaller lettering).



https://www.biblio.com/book/empire-abyssins-mallet-allain-manesson/d/1342920520

Title

Empire des Abyssins.

Creator

Manesson-Mallet, Allain, 1630?-1706?

Place of Publication

France

Date

1685

Coverage-Spatial

Africa, Eastern Q

Type

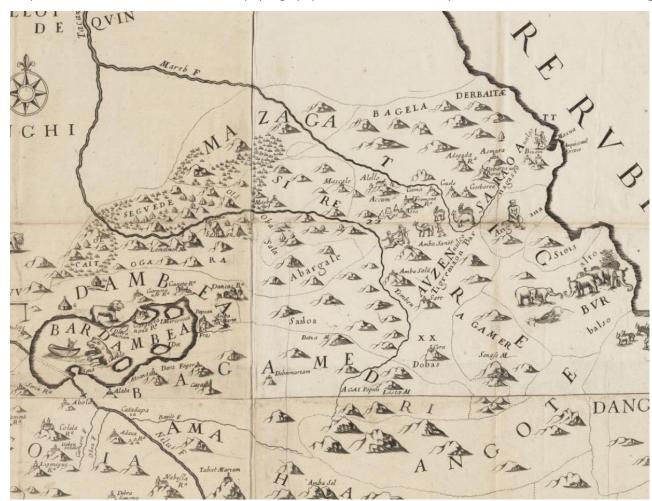
Cartographic material

Dimensions

14.7 x 10.3 cm.

Eschinardi, 1684

Despite locational inaccuracies, the overall physiography fits the real world. Many intermediate territories between Tigre and Bagamedri and Amahara. Olcait mapped as autonomous.

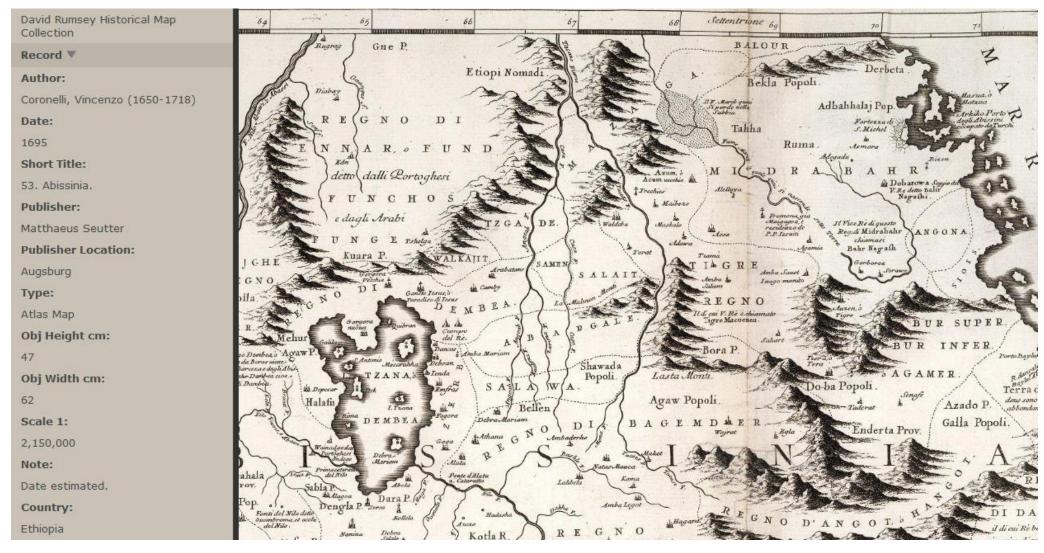


	Map Overview
Title	Imperii Abassini Tabvla Geoggraphica, ex oculatis relationibus Patrum Soc les V aliorumque interse comparatis &c ad trutinam Regulae geographicae examinatis reiectis ijs quae concordi eorumdemhistoriae que Mater est Geographiae repugnabant A Francisco Eschinardo S. lesu
Sub Title	
Continent	Africa
Region	East
Place Names	Source of Blue Nile River, Ethiopia, Lake Tana, Fontes Nili, Fountain of the Nile,
Year Of Origin	1684
Publish Of Origin	Paris
Language	Latin

Eschinardi, Francisco, 1684. Imperii Abassini Tabvla Geoggraphica. http://catalog.afriterra.org/viewMap.cmd?number=327

Coronelli, **1695** (also 1690, 1692 and 1693)

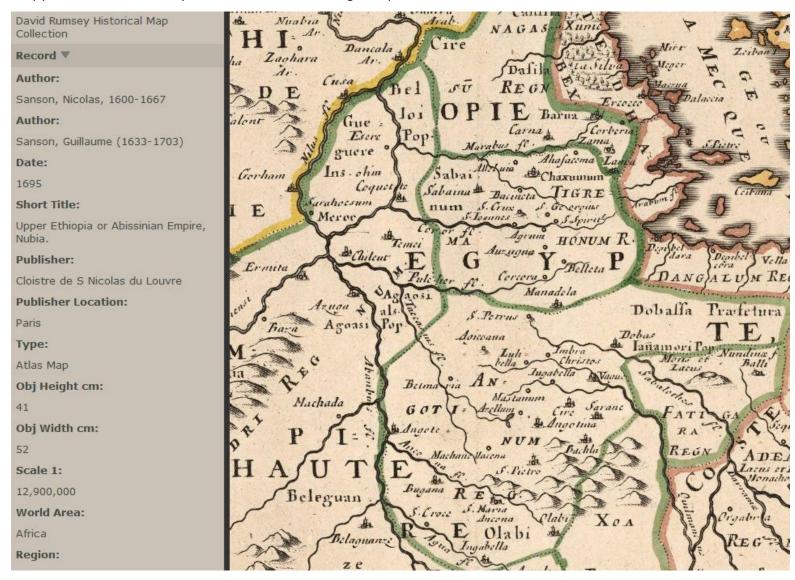
Borders of Kingdoms of Tigre and Bagemeder and surrounding princedoms, including Walkajit; without hierarchy. Tigre Regno extends southwest of Tekeze.



Part of a larger work called Atlante Veneto. https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/68133/atlante-veneto-coronelli

Sanson & Sanson, **1695** (also 1700)

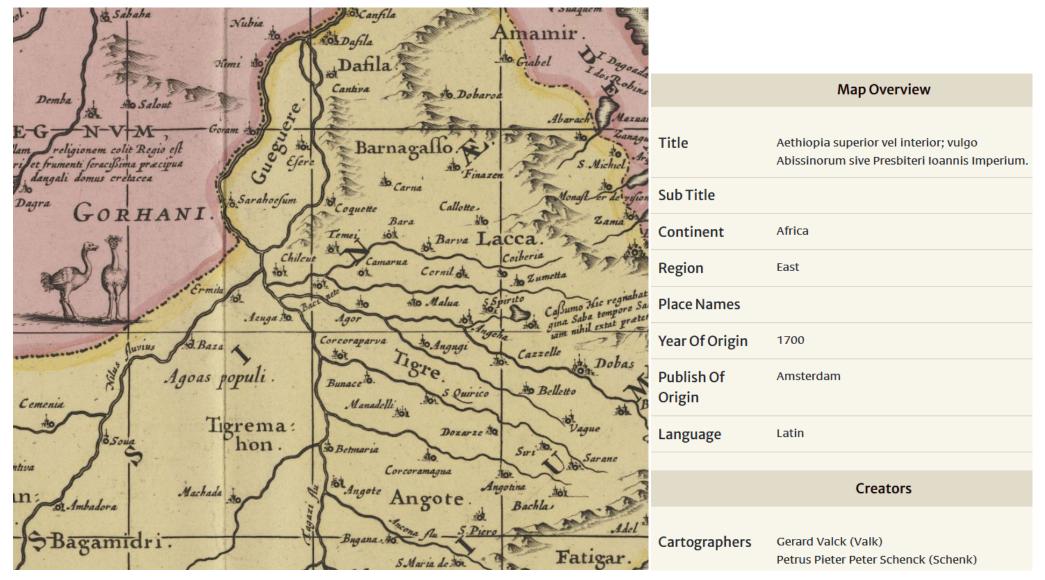
Very poor locational accuracy; the "Island of Meroé" is again represented.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~280886~90053724:Upper-Ethiopia-or-Abissinian-Empire

Valck & Schenck, 1700

Locational inaccuracies like Ortelius. No internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia. Note names Tigremahon west of *Tagazi flu*. The map does not indicate how far this land "under the authority of the governor of Tigray" extends, but reasonably it is the wider area between Gorhani, Tigre and Bagamidri.



Valck, G., Schenck, P., 1700. Aethiopia superior vel interior; vulgo Abissinorum sive Presbiteri Ioannis Imperium. Amsterdam. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1978

DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 37

de L'Isle, 1707

Border is drawn well south of Simien Mts; Olcait in "Royaume de Tigré".



https://www.loc.gov/item/2021668731/

MAP

Map of Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, etc..

Carte de l'Egypte, de la Nubie, de l'Abissinie &c.

French cartographer Guillaume de L'Isle (1675-1726) was admitted into the Royal Academy of Sciences when he was 27 years old and subsequently became the first person to receive the title Premier Géographe du Roi (principal geographer to the king). He was one of the most important cartographers of the early 18th century and a major figure in making Paris a center of cartographic science....

Contributor: L'isle, Guillaume De - Desrosiers,

Active

Date: 1707

Lobo & de Almeida, 1707

Many of Ortelius' elements still present; strong distortion of the projection in the eastern part.



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Africa 1707 Lobo.jpg

catalogue.leidenuniv.nl University Library, Closed Stack 5, 1392 H 6

Moll, 1709

Map that is less inspired by its predecessors. Comes with new topological errors, including the drainage of Tekeze into the Mareb swamps in Sudan. No internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia.



Moll, H., 1709. Abissinia and Nubia. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3761

Chatelain, 1711

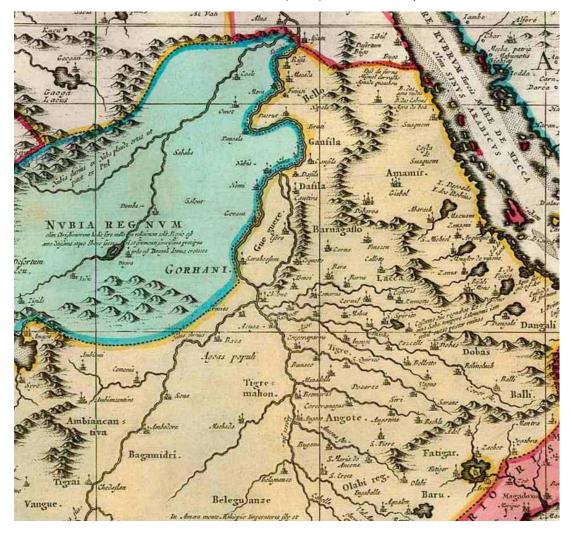
Strong improvements for locational accuracy of physiography. Internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia. Roye de Tigre (Kingdom of Tigray) includes Semen, Lamalmo, Olcait and Seguede.

E SENNAR Ligaoda Ligaoda Meskenab Ligaoda Meskenab Ligaoda Derkin ou Dequin Morabo Morabo	
dara le Mor BERLACTIONS Arcouge	Map Overview
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ul Desert AXUM (Contine	ent Africa
Sen Bockett Blad DATAGAS. Region	North
Place No.	ames Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Chad, Libya
ege Rde DAWREAU OR OY. DE, LIGREI Year Of	Origin 1711
Rde DAMBEA HONDAR Abargale (Ambasalam Gancta o LDancas Abargale Sart Agamen Publish Origin	Of Amsterdam
de Damber Coga Salaoa Botza M. les Doi	ge French
Isemba Debra Marjam Senaje Cafres	Creators
Alta Re DE BGEMDER Latta	
o Aboola Amba dorho Cartogr	raphers Henri Abraham Chatelain

Chatelain, H.A., 1711. Carte Particuliere de l' Egypte, de la Nubie, et de l' Abyyssinie. Amsterdam. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3699

van der Aa, **1713**

Locational inaccuracies like Sanson & Sanson (1695) and earlier maps. No internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia. Note Tigremahon west of Tekeze.



Haute Ethiopie, ou l' Abyssinie, ordinairement l'Empire du Preste Jan, dans l'Afrique. In: Nouvel Atlas, très exact et fort commode pour toutes sortes de personnes, Contenant Les Principales cartes géographiques. Leiden, P. Van der Aa, n.d. (1713) https://sanderusmaps.com/our-catalogue/antique-maps/africa/old-antique-map-of-central-africa-by-pieter-van-der-aa-26157

An earlier version was published in Dutch as: van der Aa, P., 'Keyserlye Gezandschap Door de Eerw. Vader A. Fernandez en Tecur Egzy uyt Aethiopien aan den Konink van Gingiro gedaan', Leyden, 1707, 288 x 217, coloured

Chatelain & Gueudeville, 1719

Clear boundary, to the south of the Simien Mts.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~324696~90093924:Tome-VI--No--3--Pag--7--Carte-Parti

Bowen, 1747 (also 1750)

With internal borders. "Kingdom of Tigra" extends well south of Tekeze; Olcait part of "Kingdom of Tigra".



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~2593~280009:Nubia-&-Abissinia-

https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=39

de Vaugondy, 1749

"Roy^e de Tigre" (Kingdom of Tigray) expanding widely on both sides of Tekeze River. The river is named Atbara on the map, but topology and location of place names Siri and Axoum indicate that this is the Tekeze River. Southern border of Tigray is near to Gondar.



Hope COLLEGE

Nubie, Abissinie, et Cote d' Ajan

ARTIST

Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (French, 1688 - 1766)

DATE

1749

MEDIUM

hand-colored engraving on laid paper

DIMENSIONS

Plate: 7 x 7 5/8 in. (17.78 x 19.37 cm) Sheet: 8 1/2 x 11 in. (21.59 x 27.94 cm)

CREDIT LINE

Gift of Neal and Elizabeth Sobania

https://providence.hope.edu/index.php/Detail/objects/5536

Salmon, **1760**

Gradually the locational accuracy gets better. Internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia. On this map, R° di Tigre (Kingdom of Tigray) not only incorporates Semen and Olcait, but also explicitly includes Gondar and L. di Dambee (Lake Tana).



Salmon, T., 1760. Carta Geografica dell' Etiopia o Abissinia. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3710

Bonne, 1782 (also 1771)

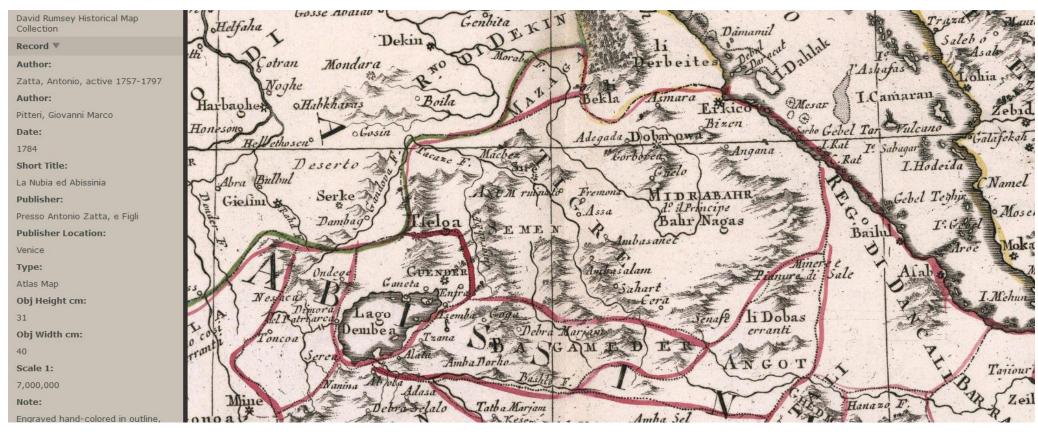
Boundary Tigré/ Dembea-Bagameder runs well south of Tekeze; Tselga = Aykel as border town. Similar map in 1780, but without borders.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~20493~540091:Nubie,-Abissinie-

Pitteri, 1784

Tigre border with Guender and Bagameder outlined; all are part of Abissinia. Border well south of Simien.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~295461~90066605:La-Nubia-ed-Abissinia

Bowen & Bachiene, 1785

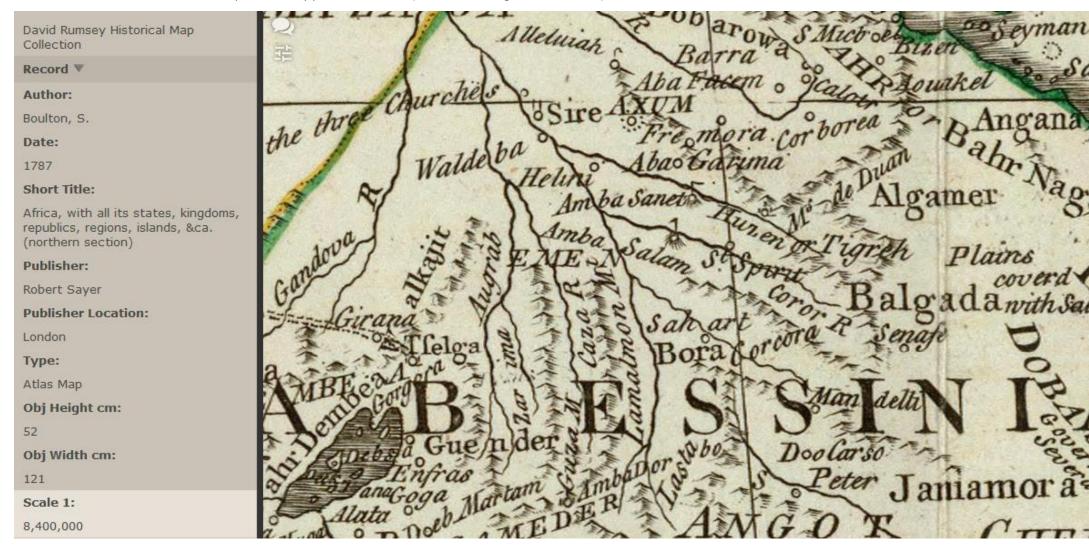
Kon[inkrijk] Tigra (Kingdom of Tigray) stretches from the Red Sea westwards well across Tekeze; it includes Olcait, Lamalmo and Ogara.

Maza oa BEKLA Nanderers DUBARUA		
Segueda Adoua Adegada Segueda Heleni Saravi Angana Angana Sen Cosin Atbara Madiez Siri		
Woestyne Olcait P. Axun O Goroomea Sios Ne		Map Overview
Serkin B. Lamalyno Premone Older BARNAGA Dambago Chelga Ogara Op. 1	Title	Nieuve en Naauwkeurige Landkaart van NUBIE en ABISSINIE, beneven derzelver aangrenzende onderhoovige Landschappen, naar de laatste en beste Schryvers opgesteld, door
lege K DAMBEA CATME of K O N. I I G R A	Sub Title	
Ganeta Con DAR Ambasalam	Continent	Africa
Gorgora Dancas Abergale Bora Sart Agamer De	Region	North
Senase Dobas	Place Names	Nubia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Egypt, Somalia
M. Dambea Cafres	Year Of Origin	1785
Sena Debra Marjam Setta B. A. C. M. D. E. R. C. M.	Publish Of Origin	Amsterdam
Alata R. BAGEMDER CLatta KONA	Language	Dutch
na & Colesia Agaus		Creators
Talo & Adaxa Tabat Marjam ANGOT	Cartographers	Emanuel Bowen Willem Albert Bachiene
V. GOJAMA OK. AMARA Ambacel E	Publishers	Mathijs Schalenkamp F Van Fagen

Bowen, A., Bachiene, W.A., 1785. Nieuve en Naauwkeurige Landkaart van NUBIE en ABISSINIE, beneven derzelver aangrenzende onderhoovige Landschappen, naar de laatste en beste Schryvers opgesteld [in Dutch] (New and accurate map of Nubia and Abyssinia, additionally to adjacent and dependent territories, established by the latest and best writers). Amsterdam. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1134

Boulton, **1787**

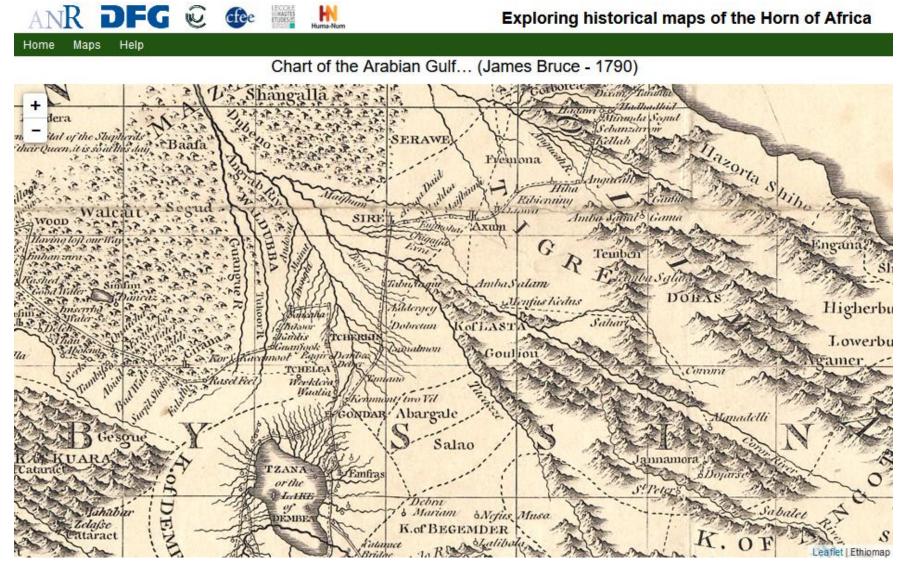
Internal boundaries not drawn; same map was already published in 1779 ("Africa According to Mr D'Anville")



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3659~430001:Africa%252C-with-all-its-states%252C-kingdo

Bruce, 1790 (also 1813)

Separate territorial units Tigre, Begemder, Dembea, Abargale, Salao. At this stage we interpreted the map as displaying intermediate territories between Tigre and Dembea. This may need re-interpretation, as there are no boundaries displayed between Waldubba, Walcait and Tigre.



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=51

Weigel & Schneider, 1792

Separate territorial units Tigre, Begemder, Dembea, Abargale, Salao. Interpreted as "intermediate territories". See also Bruce, 1790



Weigel and Schneider, 'Neue Karte von Habessinien und der Angraenzenden Laendern', Nürnberg , 1792, an account of which was published as Wolbert Smidt and Christopher Clapham, 'An annotated late eighteenth century map of Ethiopia', in Wolbert G.C. Smidt & Sophia Thubauville, eds., Cultural Research in Northeastern Africa: German Histories and Stories, Frankfurt am Main: Frobenius Institute, 2015, pp.47-59.

Weigel & Schneider (1792) have reproduced Bruce's map (1790) in German, without significant modifications. Only one (annotated) copy of this map is available – it has been discussed by Smidt & Clapham (2015).

Dunn, **1794** (similar in 1786)

Borders of Tigre in line with de l'Isle. "Oscait" part of Tigre



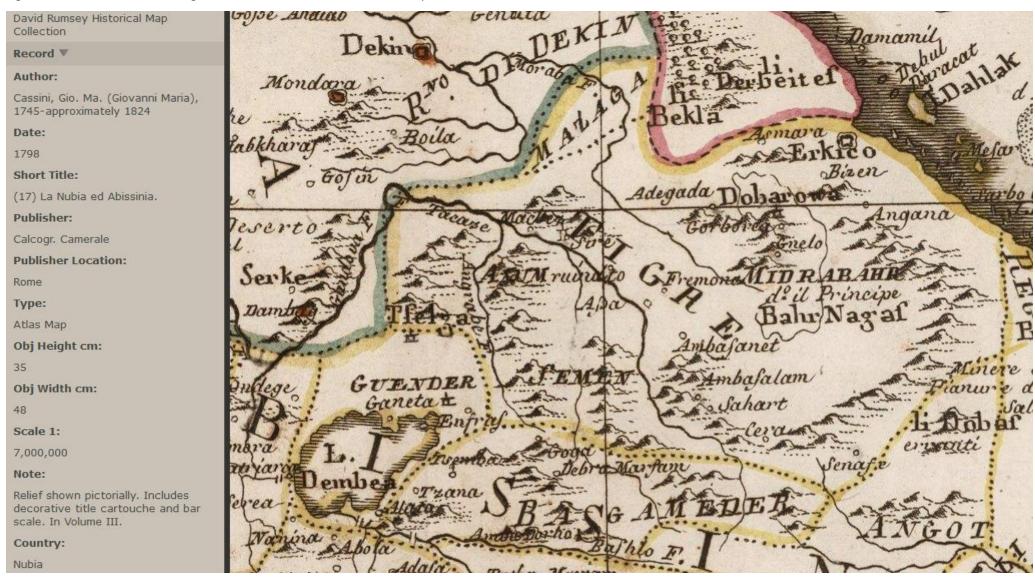
A map of Abyssinia and Nubia

TYPE OF RESOURCE cartographic **GENRE** Maps DATE CREATED 1786 DIVISION Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division Dunn, Samuel, d. 1794 **PUBLISHER** Sayer, Robert, 1725-1794 More Details Cite This Item IMAGE ID PERMALINK 5207430 https://digitalcollections.ny AMAPABYSSINIA and NUBIA, By SAMUEL DUNN, Mathematician. Published by LAURIE & WHITTLE, 53 Fleet Street, London. as the Act directs, 12. May, 1794.

 $\underline{https://digital collections.nypl.org/items/1dd15940-857d-0132-6513-58d385a7b928}$

Cassini, 1798

Tigre border with Guender and Bagameder outlined, south of Semen; all are part of Abissinia.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~325604~90094516:-17--La-Nubia-ed-Abissinia-

Walch et al., **1798**

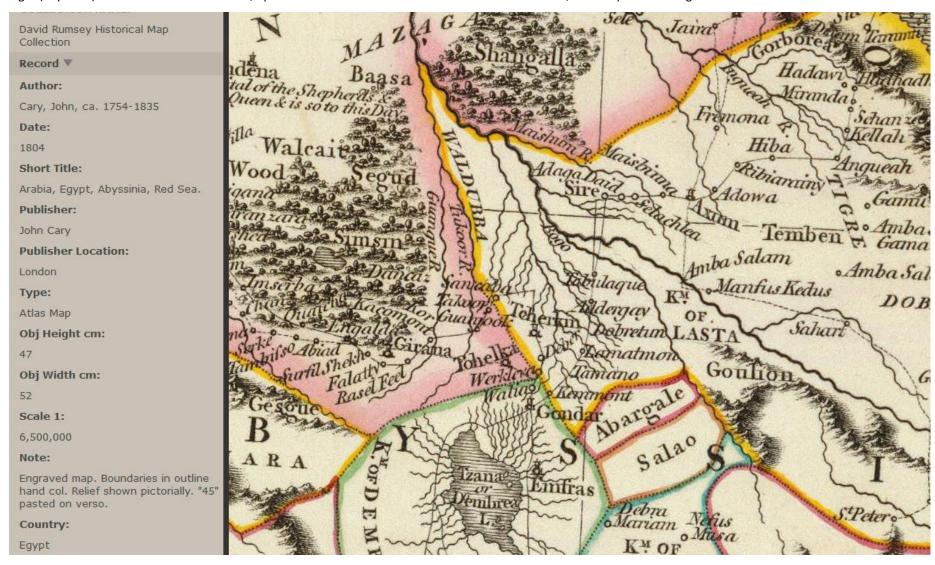
No internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia. Lettering Tigre extends up to Seman and includes Waldeba, west of Tekeze. Territorial control over Welkait unclear on this map.

BEKLAS		
Hamase Brkiko		Map Overview
St Michael B.	Title	Karte von Egypten
Alleligat harmas Gerbons	Sub Title	
aid Turella Sire 3 Premona	Continent	Africa
Waldeba Aba Garat Teb 2	Region	North
I Gain	Place Names	Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Darfur,
[Amba Salam	Year Of Origin	1798
Girana S Sahar Cera	Publish Of Origin	Augsburg
go Tselod Te July 1	Language	German
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Transford Ambadorho Incona Incona Incona Incona Incona	Cartographers	Jean (Johannes John) Walch Gilles Robert de Vaugondy Didier Robert de Vaugondy

Walch, J., de Vaugondy, G.R., de Vaugondy, D.R., 1798. Karte von Egypten. Augsburg. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/941

Cary 1804

Tigre (in yellow) extends well west of Tekeze, up to Kemmont and Waldubba. Border is south of Simien; Walcait part of Mazaga.



Cary, J., 1804. A New Map of Arabia including Egypt, Abyssinia, The Red Sea &cc. &c. London. https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~21540~640032:Arabia,-Egypt,-Abyssinia,-Red-Sea-

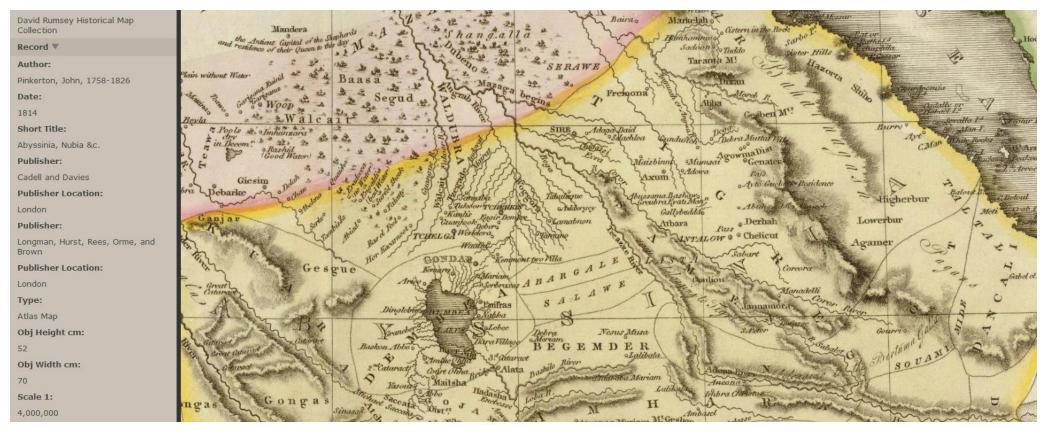
Mollo, 1811
Locational inaccuracies. Several intermediate territories between Tigre and Bagamedri and Amahara.

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Walcajt & Waldu & Maiscine Sure Idowa Angueah handal Raom	Continent	Africa
Dagashaha T I G R L. Men	Region	North
Mens Sahart Einbarbarisches Assab	Place Names	Egypt, Sudan, Darfur, Ethiopia, Red Sea
Busch Hil Techegla Subject LASTA Carora	Year Of Origin	1811
Gondar B LAgous S. Manadelli C HINX	Publish Of Origin	Prague
Bamba 12 and Emplay	Language	German
Worten Worten		
BEGV EMDER		Creators
Brukken AMH Jawa Christos ARA	Cartographers	Tranquillo Mollo

Mollo, Tranquillo, 1811. Charte vom Nil-Strome oder Aegypten Nubien und Habesch. http://catalog.afriterra.org/viewMap.cmd?number=1632

Pinkerton, 1814

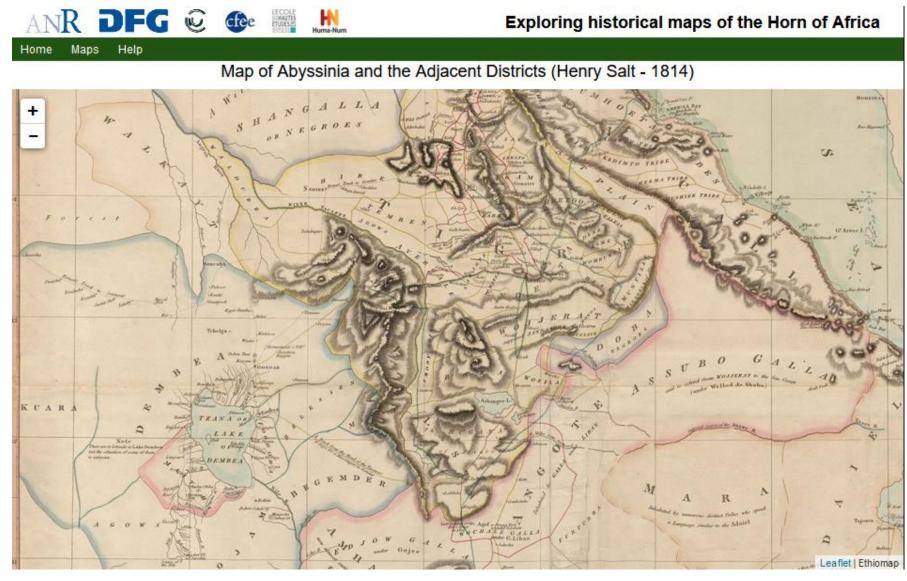
No territorial hierarchy shown. Three intermediate princedoms are mapped between Tigre and Begemder; Walcait not part of Abyssinia.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3834~370026:Abyssinia,-Nubia-&c-

Salt, **1814**

Large Dembea; Large Tigre (including Simien, Waldubba); Walkayt separate.



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=23

Thomson, 1814

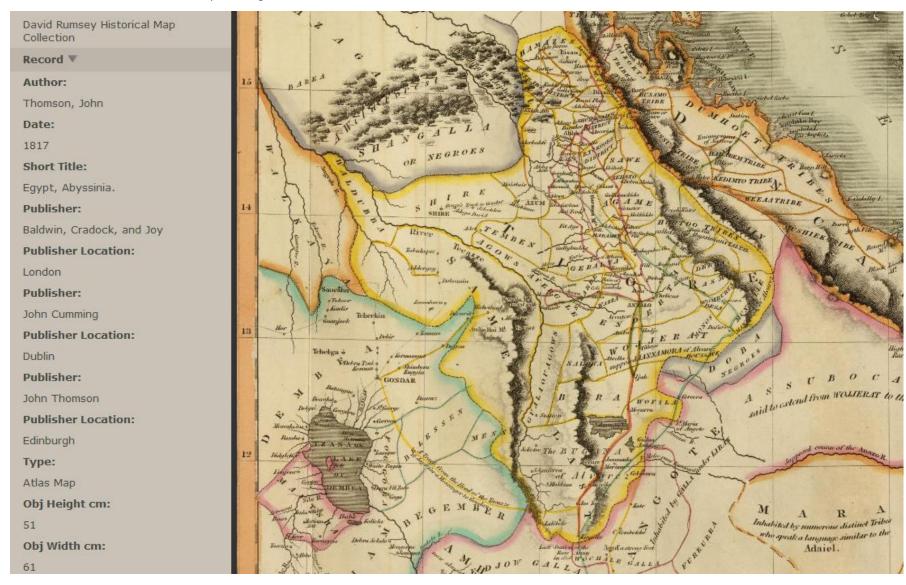
Numerous internal boundaries without hierarchy; Walcait part of Mazaga.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~28370~1120799:Arabia,-Egypt,-Abyssinia,-Red-Sea-

Thomson, 1817

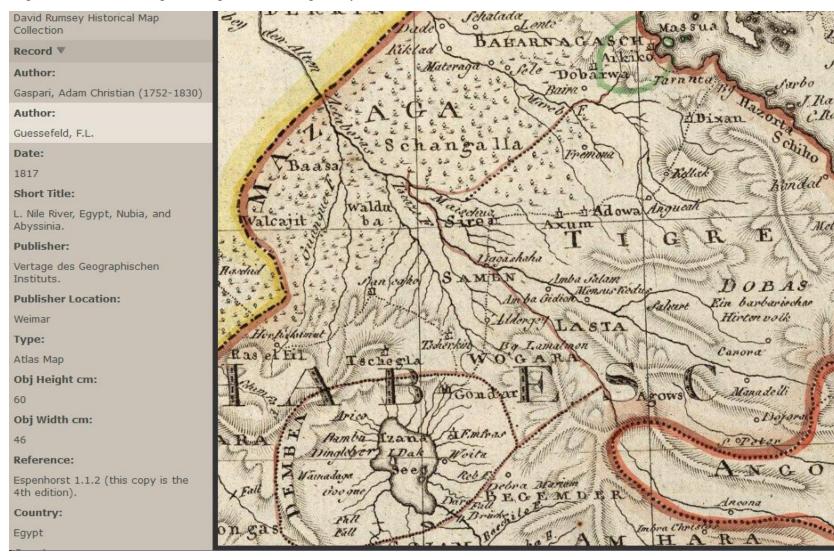
Clear delimitation of Dembea, Walkaya and Tigre, which extends west of Tekeze River.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~28373~1120802:Egypt,-Abyssinia-

Gaspari & Guessefeld, 1817

Large territories between Tigre and Begemder, including Walcajit.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~276124~90049316:L--Nile-River,-Egypt,-Nubia,-and-Ab

Borghi, **1818**

Abissinia, without internal boundaries.

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https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~339860~90108067:Supplemento-alle-Carte-d-Asia-ed-Af

Arrowsmith, 1825

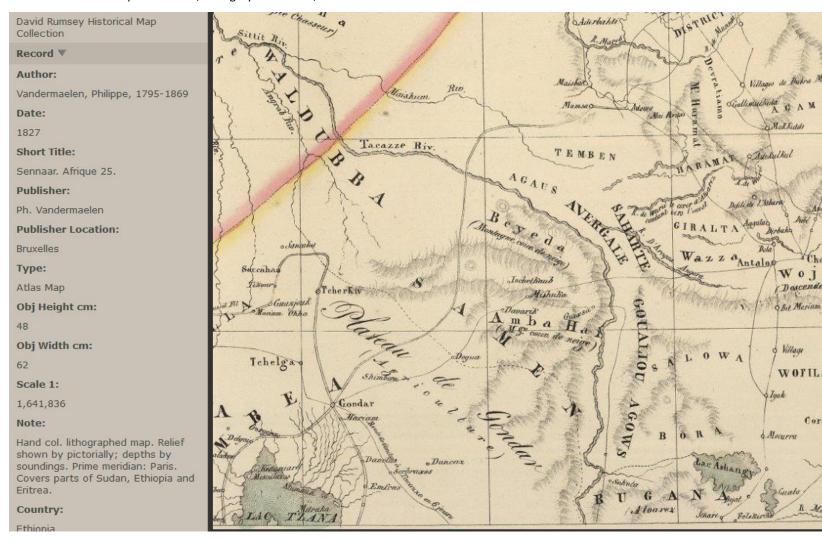
Internal borders without hierarchy.

David Rumsey Historical Map	Wi i Mations
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Arrowsmith, Aaron Jr.	R E Minchille State Special State of the Sta
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names, rivers, etc. Includes notes.	Tipokla Strong Mirella Mirella Mirella
Relief shown by hachures. Prime meridian is Greenwich.	Goognes DEMBEA Dora VI Tura

https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~233965~5509786:Abyssinia

Vandermaelen, 1827

Numerous names of "princedoms", no Tigray or Amhara, no boundaries.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~25205~90090253:Sennaar--Afrique-25-

Brue, 1828

Dotted lines representing borders, across the Simien crestline

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection Record ♥ Sodereb Author: baraao Brue, Adrien Hubert, 1786-1832 Date: 1828 **Short Title:** Afrique, septentrionale. Publisher: A. Brue helicut **Publisher Location:** Sarcaka Paris Type: Atlas Map Obj Height cm: 37 Obj Width cm: 54 Scale 1: 15,000,000 Note: Hand colored engraved map. Relief

https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33953~1170106:Afrique,-septentrionale-

Lapie, 1829

Southwestern boundary of Tigray in a thin green line

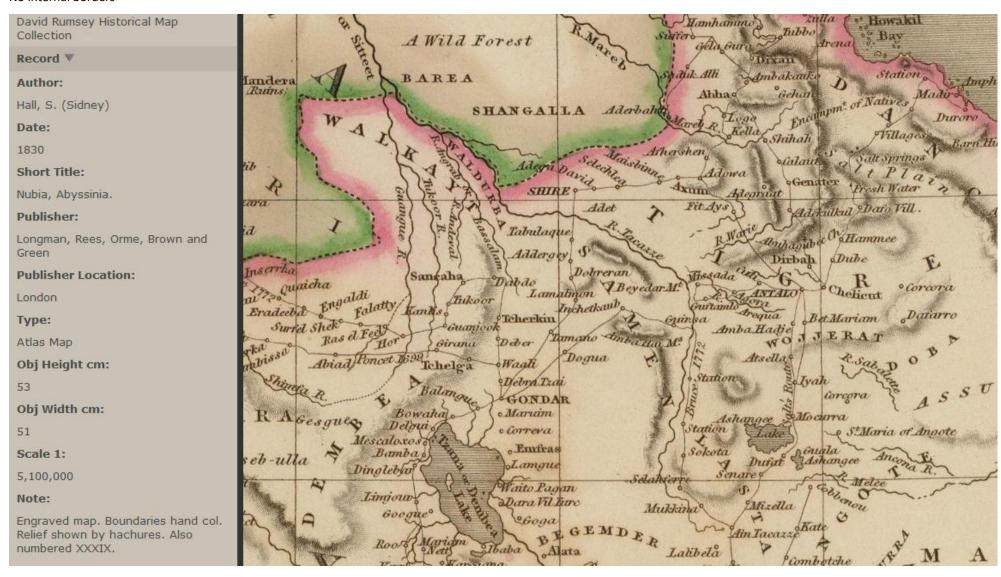


Lapie, M., 'Carte de l'Egypte, de la Nubie, de l'Abissinie, du Kourdofan, et d'une partie de l'Arabie', Paris: chez P.C. Schubey, rue de la Seine, 1838. 555x398, original outline colour. 1829 – Lapie AE https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~28704~1120941:Egypte%252C-Nubie%252C-Abissinie-

Same map was republished in 1838

Hall, 1830 (similar in 1828)

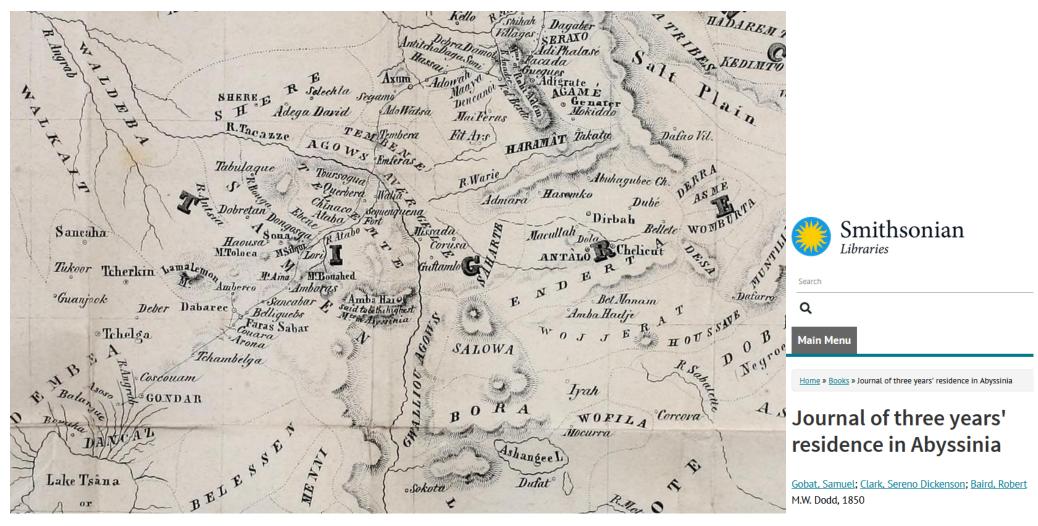
No internal borders



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~21817~670050:Nubia,-Abyssinia-

Gobat, 1831

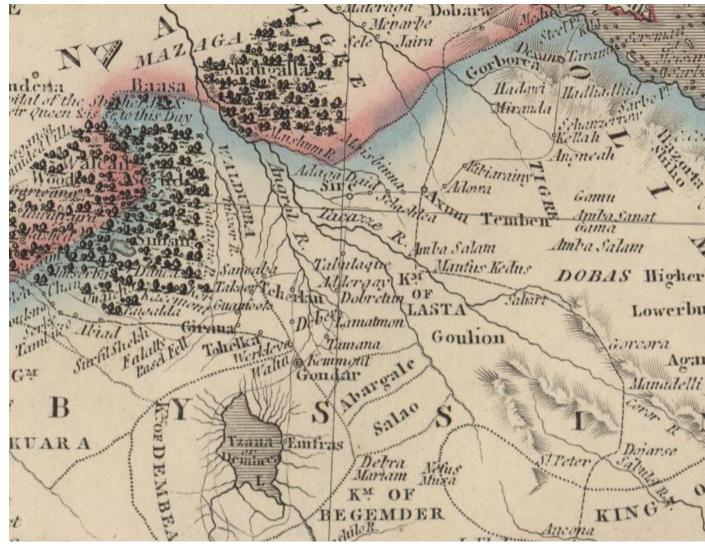
Gobat's book and map refer to the period of his active travel in Abyssinia (1830-1832). Numerous internal boundaries; positioning of lettering TIGRE hints at territorial control including "Samen" and likely also "Walkait".



https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/journalofthreeye00goba

Lizars & Lizars, 1831

Map displays borders, without hierarchy; numerous smaller entities; Walcait is mapped as part of Mazaga



https://www.loc.gov/item/2021668729/

ИΑР

Arabia: With the Adjacent Countries of Egypt and Nubia.

Arabia : with the adjacent countries of Egypt & Nubia

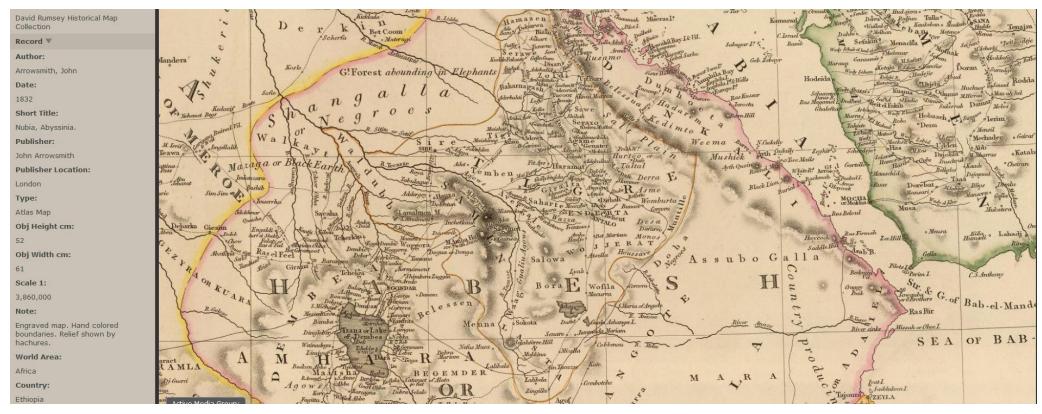
William Home Lizars (1788-1859) was a Scottish engraver and painter and the son of the engraver Daniel Lizars. This map appears identical to the one engraved by Daniel, which appeared in The Edinburgh Geographical and Historical Atlas published by John Hamilton in 1831. It is plate 47 of the atlas. Relief is shown by hachures, and scale is indicated in British statute miles. The...

Contributor: Lizars, Daniel - Lizars, W.H. (William Home)

Date: 1831

Arrowsmith, 1832

Clear boundary, south of the Simien crestline



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33873~1170025:Nubia,-Abyssinia-

Linant, **1832**

No internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia.

Part of the		
Red Sea		Map Overview
Gingeral 18	Title	Upper Countries of THE NILE
marian Ron & W. Oronyt	Sub Title	to illustrate M. Linant's Journey.
The state of the s	Continent	Africa
7	Region	East
Kalik and 16	Place Names	Bahr-Abiad, or White Nile River, South Sudan, Sudan, and Blue Nile, Ethiopia
3 Soderab Comme	Year Of Origin	1832
Softe A Mando	Publish Of Origin	London
a since Assum	Language	English
Sacaha Sacaha		Creators
Ras el Feel Girdna Grana GONDAR	Cartographers	Maurice Adolphe Linant
E Trans	Publishers	RGS Royal Geographical Society John Murray
A M H A R A	Engravers	John Arrowsmith

Linant, M.A., 1832. Upper Countries of the Nile. London. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3088

Russell, **1833**

No internal borders shown.



https://ia800309.us.archive.org/17/items/nubiaabyssiniaco00russ/nubiaabyssiniaco00russ.pdf

Brue & Picquet, 1834

Internal border Amhara-Tigré runs well south of Tekeze R.

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection odereb Record ♥ obaraao Author: havono Brue, Adrien Hubert, 1786-1832 Author: bhao Picquet, C. Date: 1834 **Short Title:** Chelicut Afrique, septentrionale. Publisher: Sarcaka C. Picquet **Publisher Location:** ndona Paris Type: Atlas Map Obj Height cm: Obj Width cm: 54 Scale 1: Amba Gashen 16,000,000 Note: Hand colored engraved map. Relief o Makan Scharree shown by hachures. Includes inset of Cape Verde. Prime meridian: Paris. In embossed seal: Propriete acquise en

https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~35065~1180690:Afrique,-septentrionale-

Combes & Tamisier, 1838

Numerous smaller territories with boundaries, and three main territories, Tigré, Semen and Amhara (boundaries do not allow to ascertain affiliations).









Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Maps Help

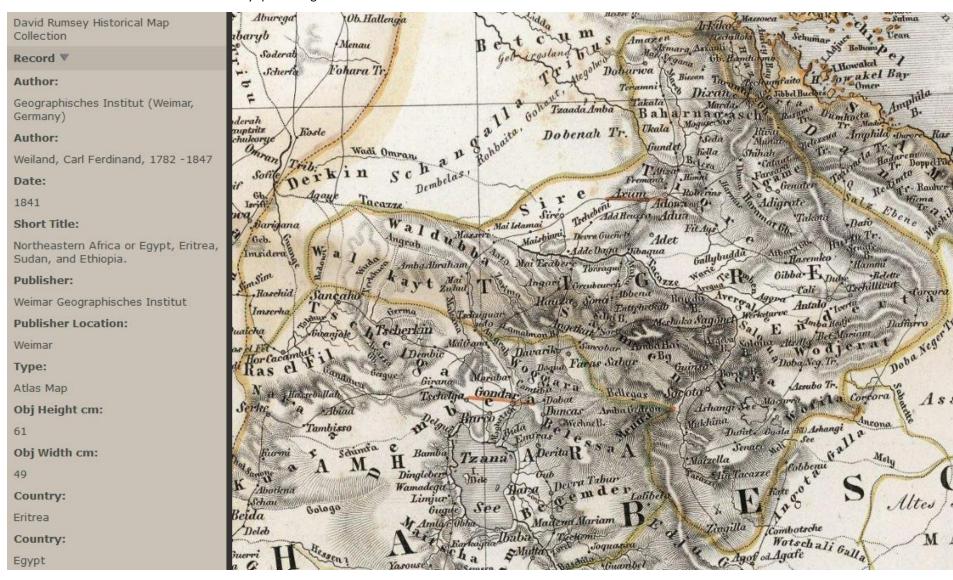
Carte de l'Abyssine, du pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat (Combes et Tamisier - 1838)



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=44

Weiland, **1841**

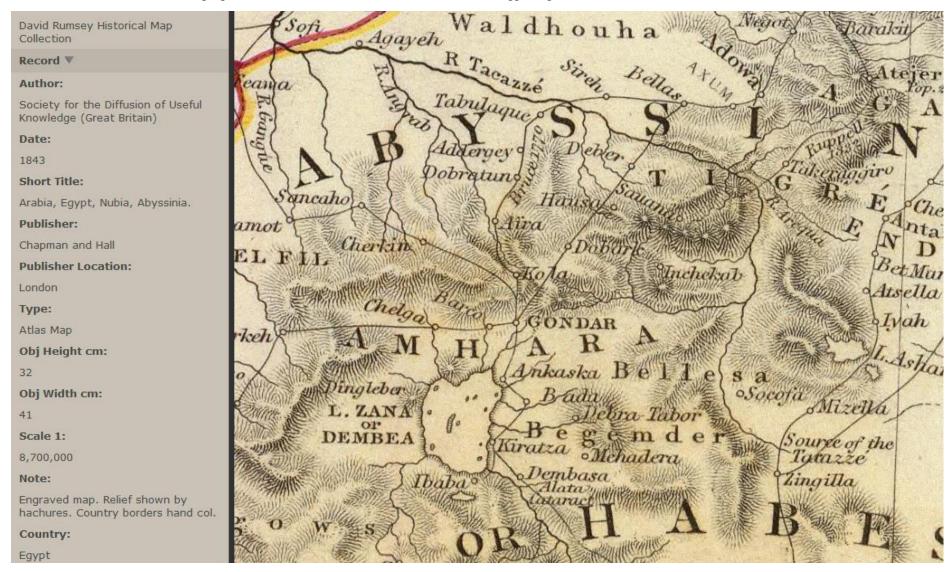
Internal border well south of Tacazze. Walkayt part of Tigre.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~280071~90053341:Northeastern-Africa-or-Egypt,-Eritr

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (GB), 1843 (also in 1865)

No internal borders drawn; lettering Tigré across Tekeze and Amhara north of Lake Tana, suggesting a border over Simien.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~20915~530016:Arabia,-Egypt,-Nubia,-Abyssinia-

Mc Queen & Isenberg, 1844

No boundaries; naming Tigre and Amhara suggests boundary is on Tekeze; Walkait a bit to the west. Data collection: 1839-1842 (see https://www.abebooks.com/first-edition/Journals-Rev-Messrs-Isenberg-Krapf-Missionaries/30494935218/bd)



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=24

Arrowsmith, 1844

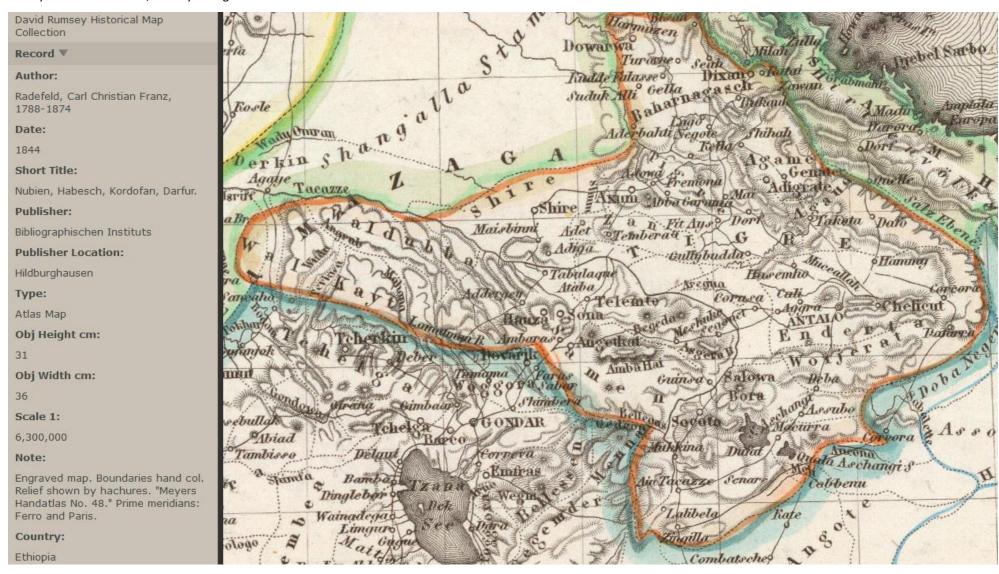
Tigre-Amhara border well to the SW of Tekeze; Walkayt undefined (part of Shangalla?)



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~2740~260025:Nubia-and-Abyssinia-

Radefeld, 1844

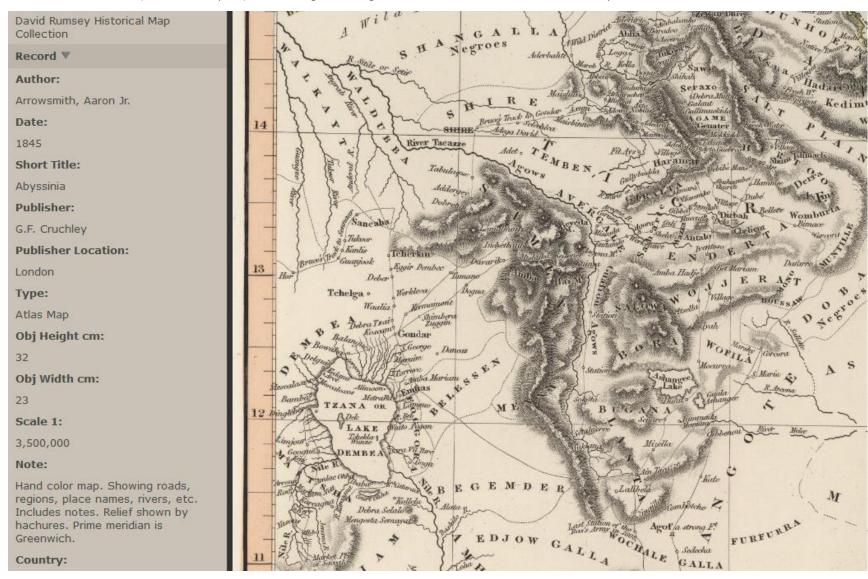
Clearly drawn boundaries; Walkayt in Tigre



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~21270~690036:Nubien,-Habesch,-Kordofan,-Darfur-

Arrowsmith, 1845

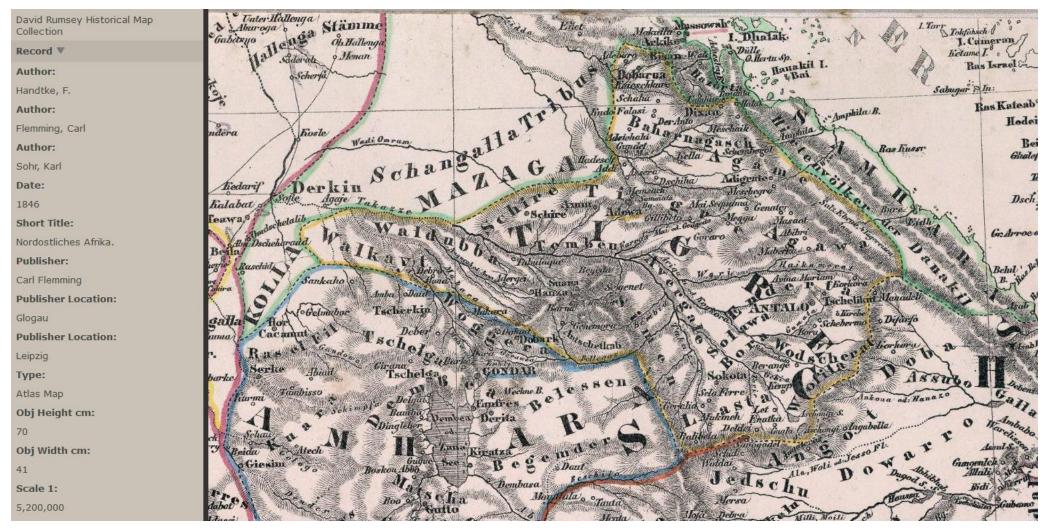
Intermediate territories (Simen, Walkayt, ...) between Tigre and Begemder. Same borders as 1844 but hierarchy in territorial control not shown



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~253458~5518898:Abyssinia

Handtke, 1846 (also 1847, 1851, 1855)

Borders Amhara-Tigre outlined; Walkayt and Simen in Tigre



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~304175~90074736:Nordostliches-Afrika-

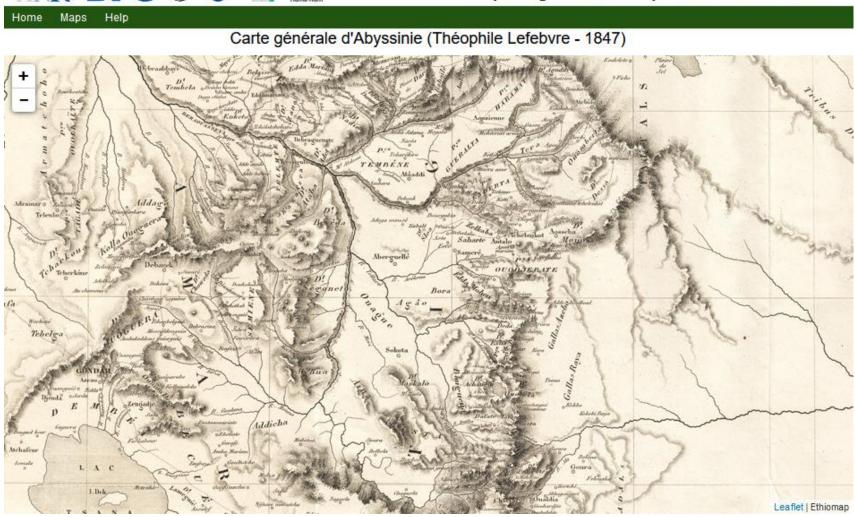
https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/nlib-digar:429790

Lefebvre, 1847

No borders drawn, position of lettering Amhara and Tigre may suggest a border on Tekezze R.



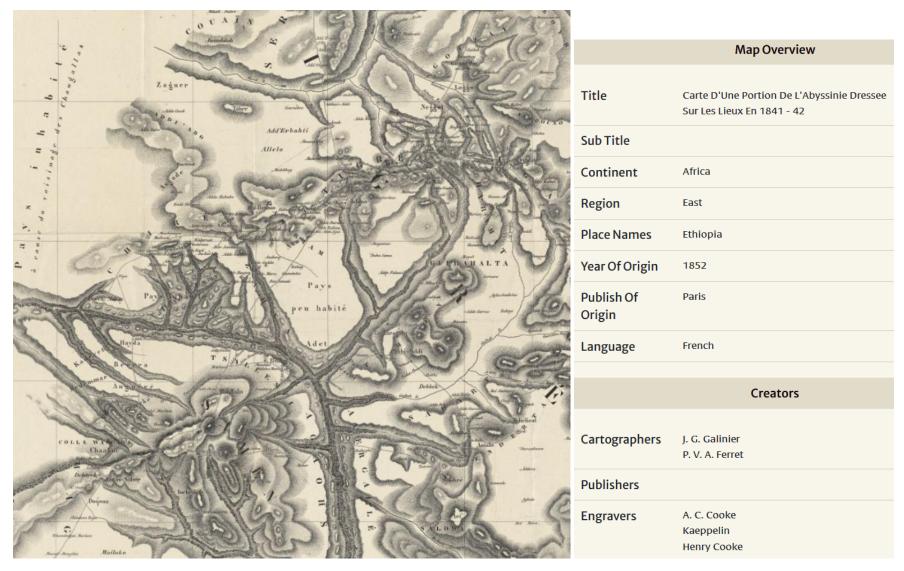
Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=21

Galinier & Ferret, **1847** (also 1867)

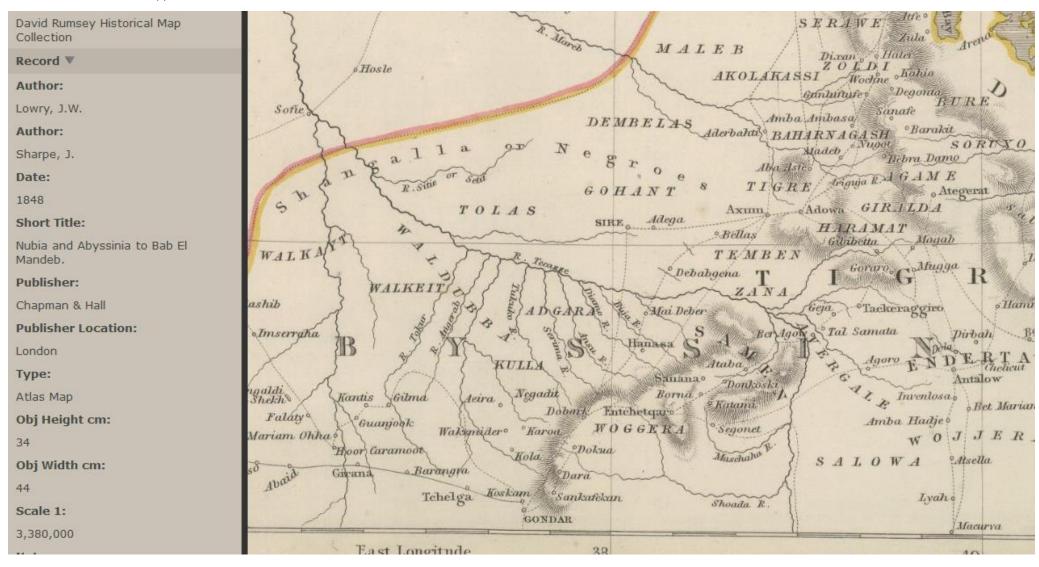
Map stands out by its detailed representation of the topography, unseen in earlier maps. No internal borders drawn.



Galinier, J.G., Ferret, P., 1847. Carte d'une Portion de l'Abyssinie Dressée sur les Lieux en 1841–42. In : Ferret, A. and Galinier, J.G., Voyage en Abyssinie, dans les provinces du Tigré, du Samen et de l'Amhara (Vol. 1). Paulin. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2446

Lowry, 1848

Internal boundaries not mapped



 $\underline{https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY^8^1^37507^1210498:Nubia-and-Abyssinia-to-Bab-El-Mande}$

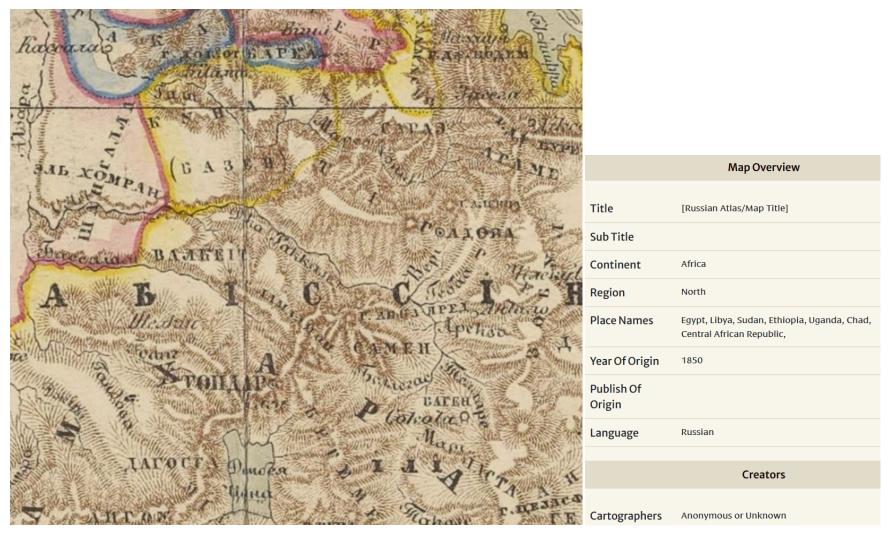
Kovalesky, 1848

No internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia. Location of lettering TIGRE and AMHARA suggests a border south of the Tekeze, maybe over the Simen Mts.

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Maneon ADBARDA CEPABE CON TRANSPORT		
MAHEATA P A P Annuaga		Map Overview
HEPPBI. Revised III a Management September 1 Septembe	Title	KAPTA[Russian script]
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1 Macdions	Continent	Africa
T IN Toping Acuton March	Region	East
BAJIANG A Control of P. Taukamerer	Place Names	Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia, Uganda, Kenya, Darfur,
Claudy Land Medanapa Ille anky	Year Of Origin	1848
replanting States State	Publish Of Origin	
Linana Hona & North Ankanno. P. Berry Late 14	Language	Russian
The state of the s		Creators
Wenaraa Wanone I. Adeona II. Andree I. Adeona II. Andree III. Andree II. Andr	Cartographers	Yegor (Igor-Egor) Petrovich Kovalesky - Kovalevsky
TO BELEMAEP B	Publishers	Paul Pelit
The leneing M profix A P A Bout P Ara un Bout I	Engravers	J. Boitouzel

Kovalesky, Y.P., 1848. Карта Восточного Судана и Абиссинии [in Russian] (Map of East Sudan and Abessinia). Pellit. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2794

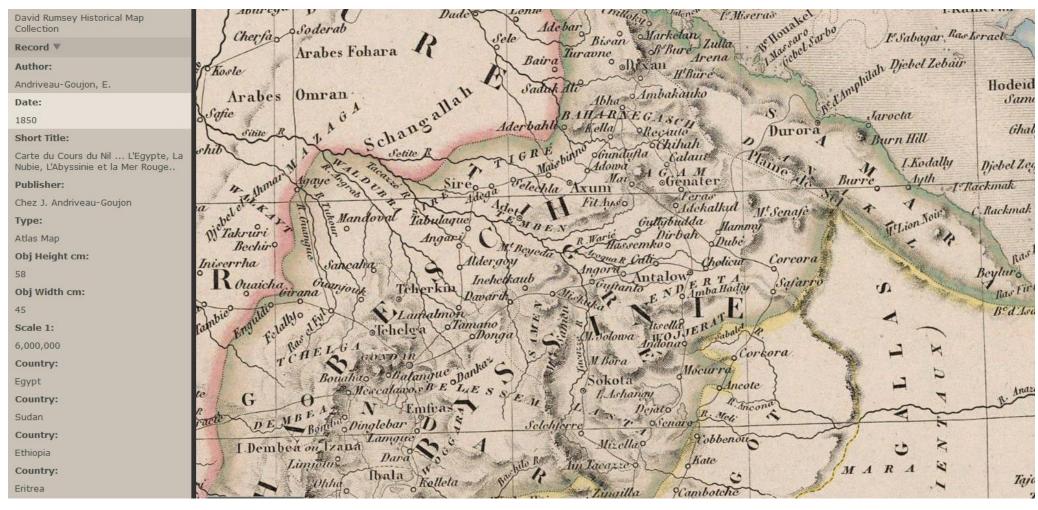
Anon., 1850
Russian map. No internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia.



Anon., 1850. Восточная часть Северной Африки [in Russian] (Eastern part of North Africa). https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3781

Andriveau-Goujon, 1850

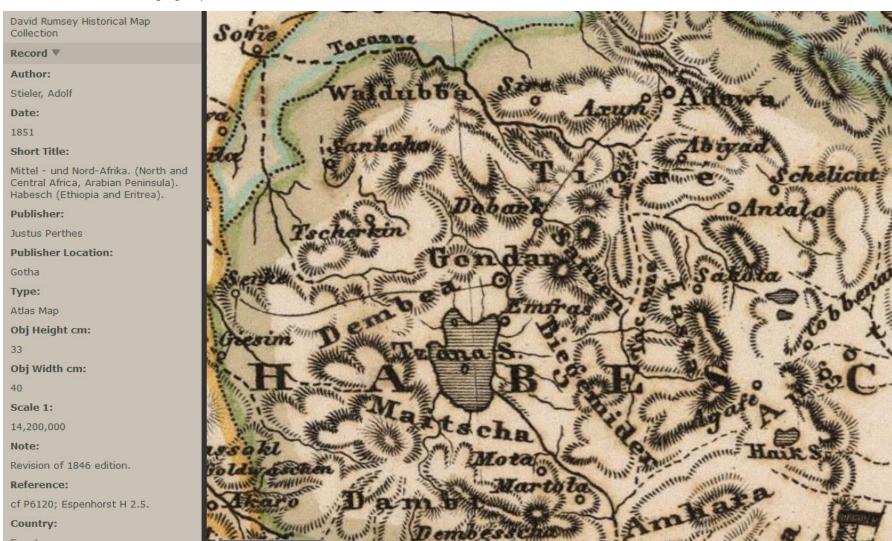
Habesch with Gondar and Tigre, border in thin dotted line, across Simien. Walkayt part of Mazaga. Same map was also published in 1848.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~284523~90057065:Carte-du-Cours-du-Nil-----L-Egypte%2C

Stieler, **1851** (also 1853)

No internal borders; lettering Tigré spans both sides of Tekeze R.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~244056~5513687:Mittel---und-Nord-Afrika---North-an

Lapie & Lapie, **1851**

Very similar to Lapie 1829, but internal boundary not drawn. Lettering TIGRE extends west of Tacazze



Lapie, M., 'Carte de l'Egypte, de la Nubie, de l'Abissinie, du Kourdofan, et d'une partie de l'Arabie', Paris: chez P.C. Schubey, rue de la Seine, 1838. 555x398, original outline colour. 1851 – Lapie PM and Lapie AE https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~318097~90086978:Carte-de-l-Egypte%252C-de-la-Nubie%252

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (GB), 1852

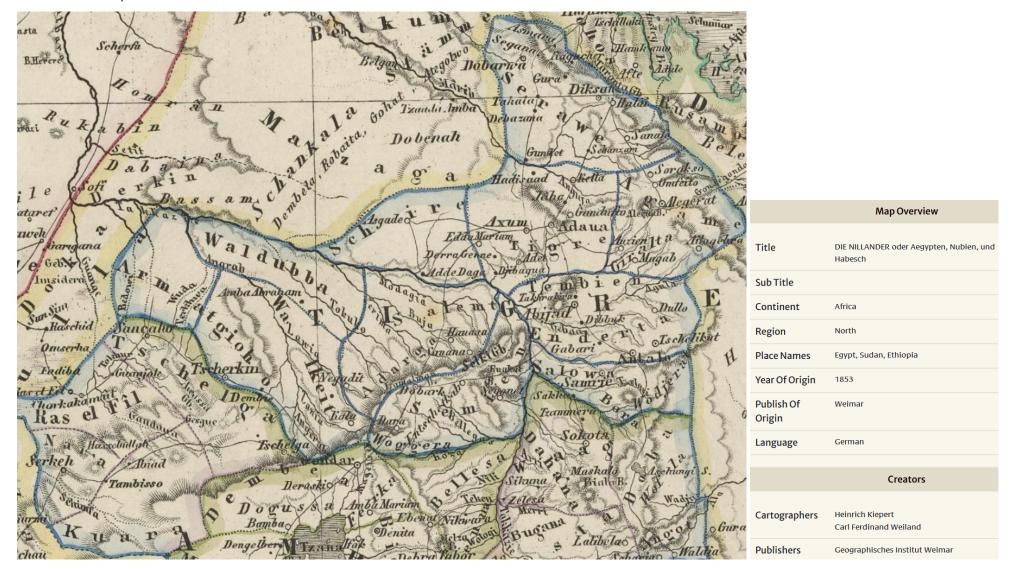
No internal borders drawn, TIGRE lettering across Tekeze.

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Agayeh Randuna		
R Tacazzé Siren Bellas A Pour A		
Tabulaque Co Co		Map Overview
	Title	ARABIA with EGYPT, NUBIA and ABYSSINIA
Addayey of Debler.	Sub Title	
Pobratune & T I G akenda	Continent	Africa
aho Hansalo agua	Region	North
Cherkin Dobark	Place Names	Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Yemen, Saudi Arabia,
Kola Juchekab	Year Of Origin	1852
Chelga GONDAR GONDAR	Publish Of Origin	London
A M H A R A	Language	English
Ankaska Bellesa		Creators
Pingleber J. Ankaska Belles & Socofa Miz	Cartographers	
DEMBEA Be gem der Source of Mchadera Totazz	Publishers	SDUK Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Charles Knight

SDUK, 1852. Arabia with Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia. London. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1933

Kiepert & Weiland, 1853

Map shows Tigray with its administrative divisions, including Salemt, Semien, Waldubba, Walkeit and Armatgioho. Colouring tends to indicate that, more to the southwest, Chelga, Ras el Fil and Kuara were disputed territories.



Kiepert, H., Weiland, C.F. 1853. Die Nilländer oder Aegypten, Nubien, und Habesch. Weimar, Geographisches Institut Weimar. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3820

d'Arnaud & Brun-Rollet, 1854

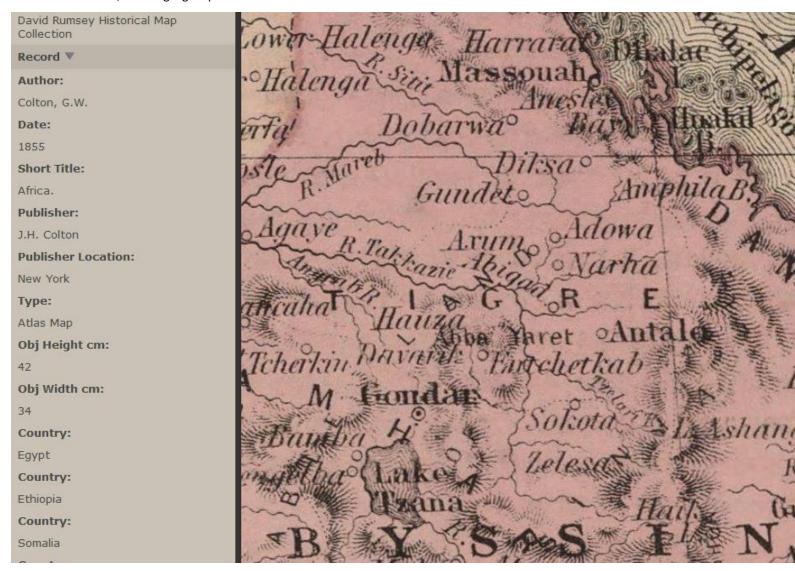
Northern part, near the Red Sea coast totally subdued, including Mareb R. No internal boundaries drawn.

Hudendoah	, p		Map Overview
Vidda R Mokolle Masou	Can a	Title	Esquisse D Une Carte des Pays compris dans la r?ion DU NIL BLANC Dessin? d'apres la Carte de Mr d'Arnaud et autres carte r?entes Les Informations Des Indigenes et les dernieres relations.
umbrega Di Ga kend		Sub Title	[upper right margin] Bulletin de la Soci??de G?graphie December 1854
The Romman	Para de la companya della companya d	Continent	Africa
Mai Gaba	The state of the s	Region	North
Basialam &	reh	Place Names	White Nile, Darfur, Sudan, Khartum, Ethiopia, Kenya,
Total Total	nté V	Year Of Origin	1854
Tscholkim		Publish Of Origin	Paris
Goang R Tchelon	7	Language	French
Conday			Creators
th Benbeak Beguernet	And the second s	Cartographers	d' Arnaud Brun-Rollet
	, , ,	Publishers	Societe de Geographie Brun-Rollet

d'Arnaud & Brun-Rollet, 1854. Esquisse d une carte des pays compris dans la région du Nil Blanc. Paris, Sociéte de Géographie Brun-Rollet. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1809

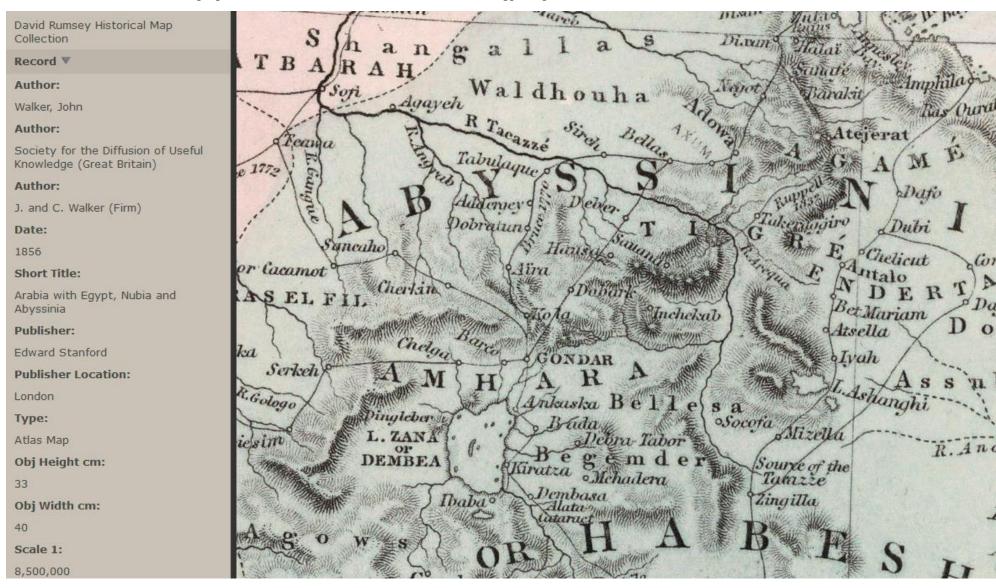
Colton, **1855** (very similar in 1866, 1874)

No internal borders, lettering Tigre spans both sides of Tekeze



Walker, 1856

No internal borders drawn; lettering Tigré across Tekeze and Amhara north of Lake Tana, suggesting a border over Simien



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~292734~90063977:Arabia-with-Egypt,-Nubia-and-Abyssi

Fullarton, 1856

Border not drawn; wordings TIGRE and AMHARA, like on the 1872 version, suggesting a border or an interface on Tekeze or slightly southwest of it.



Petermann, Augustus, 'Abessinia and the Adjacent Countries', London & Edinburgh: A. Fullarton & Co., 1856. 137x228, original outline colour.

Map at high resolution may be purchased from: https://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-US/english-school/map-abessinia-and-the-adjacent-countries-constructed-by-augustus-petermann-colour-lithograph/asset/6004703

Marmocchi, 1858

Abissinia (internal boundaries not drawn)



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~296942~90068532:4--La-Nubia-e-L-Abissinia-

Petri, **1859**

No internal boundaries

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection	net III 3
Record ♥	di Chondy
Author:	Belad-el-Taka 2
Petri, Girolamo	De formation
Date:	Think a se
1859	
Short Title:	
Tav. CXI. Pref. Tripoli Vic. Egitto ed Arabia Egitto per i Copti Abissinia.	ENNAR A BY
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Tipografia della Reverenda Camera Apostolica	
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Rome	AR BOND' ANGON
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Atlas Map	
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49	The state of the s
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64	ETE
Scale 1:	T Sall S
9,000,000	W. W
Note:	
Hand-colored, engraved map showing the apostolic vicariates of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Tripoli and Abyssinia. Text in delicate script circling land.	LEA REGNO D'ANKOHEN

https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~328696~90097202:Tav--CXI--Pref--Tripoli----Vic--Egi

Petermann & Swanston, 1860

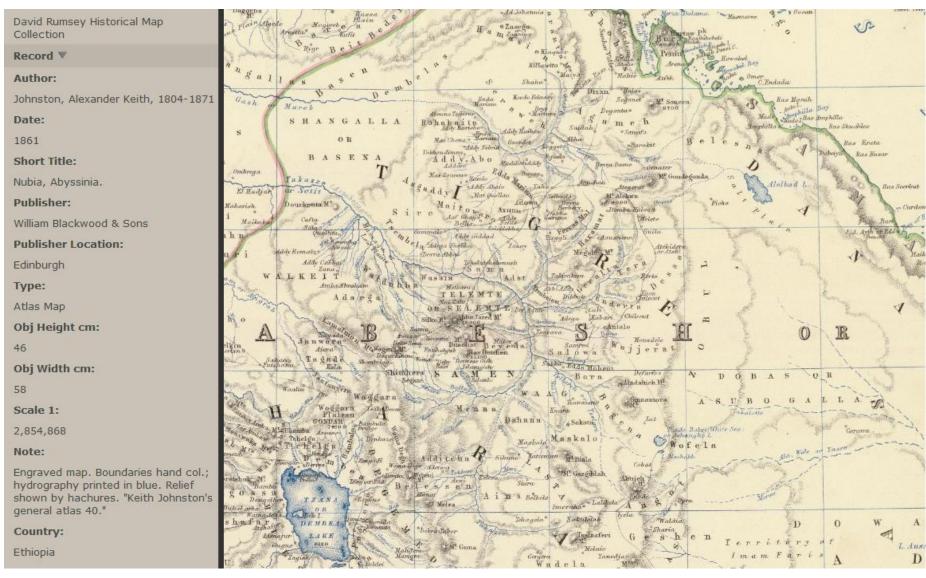
Internal boundaries drawn as thin dotted lines. For instance boundary Amhara-Tigre follows Takkazie.

Tsaada Amba Debarna Halas Missouera		
Wady Omran Anguya Species		Map Overview
Sinch Axum Mt Alekwar Sinch	Title	N Trop Regions of Africa
70900 AIOW & S	Sub Title	
Marson Debabaena G 6216 Worei So Genater	Continent	Africa
Mai Tanhag	Region	North
Germa danalment Alle Antalos	Place Names	Ethiopia, Chad
Tch en in a marie america	Year Of Origin	1860
Tcheland Pass 8740 Solkota Mt Adam	Publish Of Origin	London
GONDAR Dunkas M. Jonamba A. M. Biala M. Biala M. M. Biala	Language	English
bengt when the same		
Bamba Reb M. Metsar Lalibala S Methuna		Creators
Dengethero I. Tsana Debrackabor I. Jakkasie I. Josef.	Cartographers	August Petermann George H Swanston

Petermann, A., Swanston, G. 1860. Countries in the northern tropical regions of Africa. London. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/579

Johnston, 1861

Tigre and Amhara as main subunits of Habesh; border not drawn



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~21335~620035:Nubia,-Abyssinia-

Munzinger, 1864

No internal boundaries shown. Red line is not a border but an itinerary

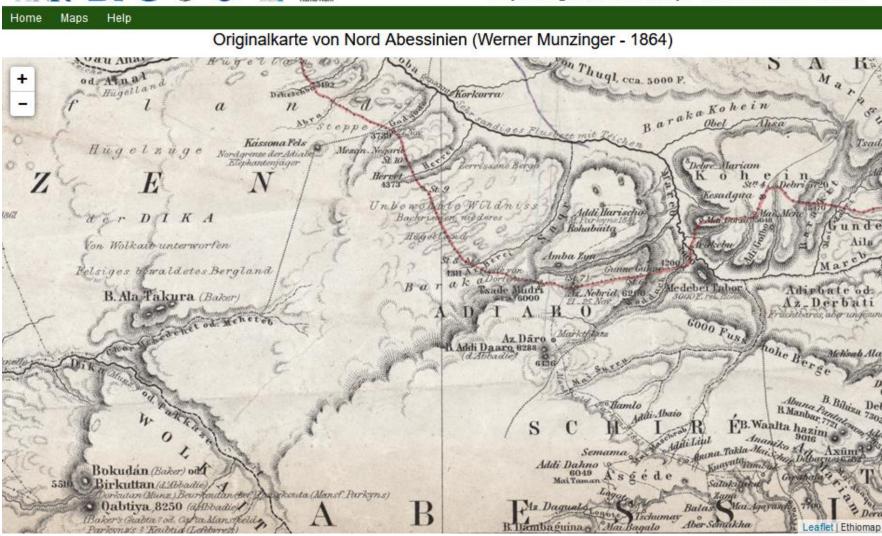








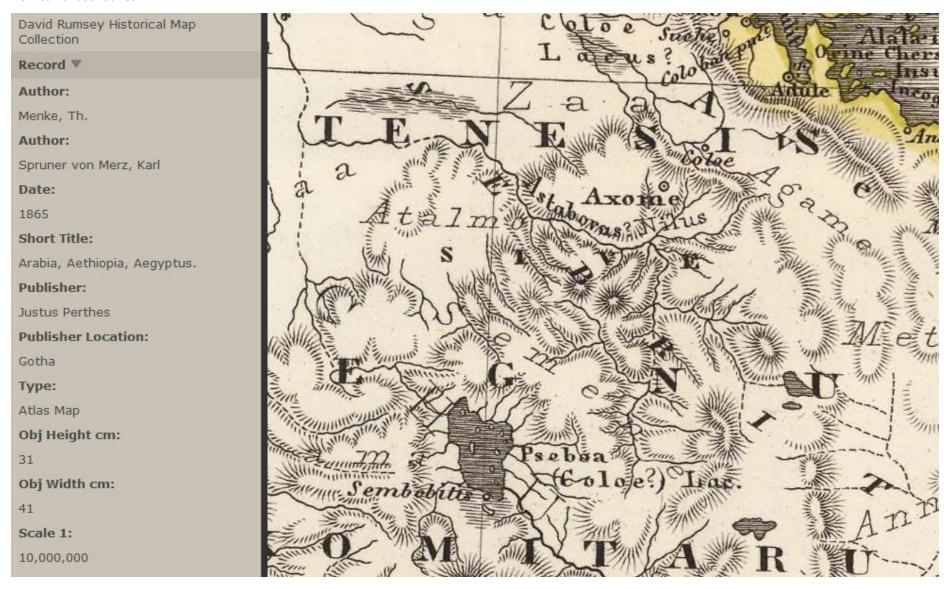
Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=42

Menke & Spruner von Merz, 1865

No internal boundaries



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~34744~1180357:Arabia,-Aethiopia,-Aegyptus-

Lejean & Graf, 1865

Internal boundaries not mapped.

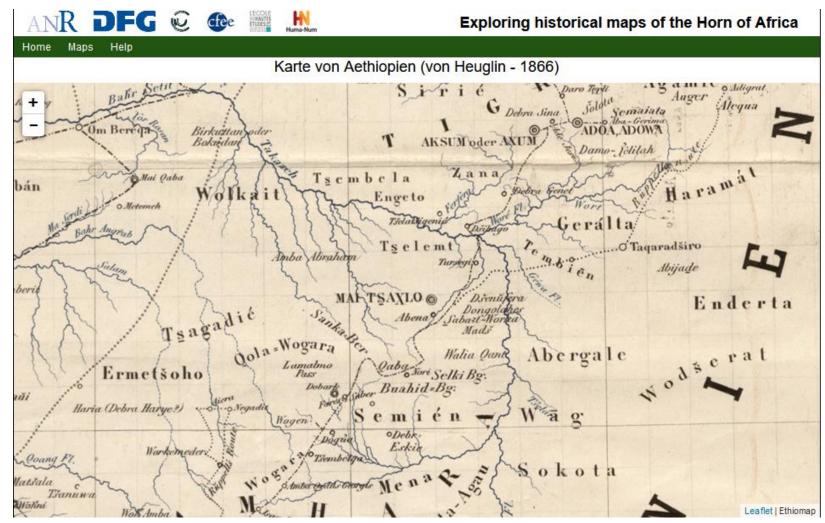
Kassalae Bidjas Bidjas Boberava Boberava Hamasen		
h s a u Hiks		Map Overview
a b a i n e h Au Homrân Chi	Title	Das Nordostliche Africa
Suffice sette	Sub Title	
maigawie Debra Abbuje A run	Continent	Africa
a a linus a li	Region	North
oka Armatschol	Place Names	Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Darfur, Ethiopia,
Sankaha Antalo	Year Of Origin	1865
Metammoh Talladam Tal	Publish Of Origin	Weimar
Terdisho H Solsan Tso	Language	German
arandor of the second of the s		Creators
A Supplied to the supplied to	Cartographers	Guillaume Lejean Adolf Graf
Hail Hail	Publishers	Geographisches Institut Weimar
A Section A	Engravers	G. Haubold

Lejean, G., Graf, A. 1865. Das Nordostliche Africa. Weimar, Geographisches Institut Weimar. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1593

DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 103

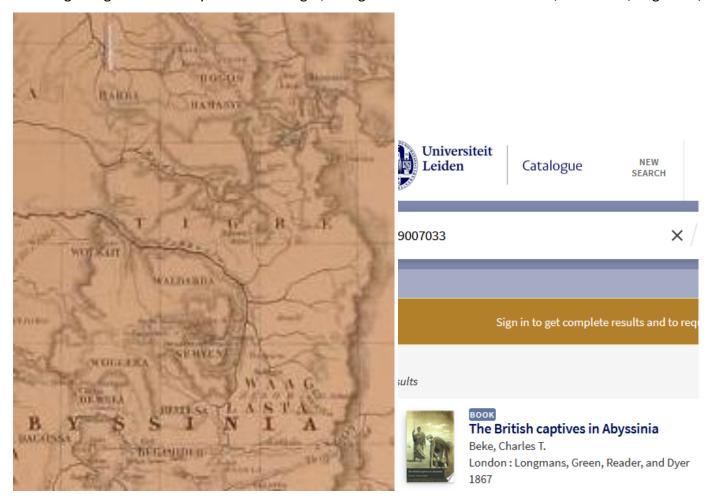
Von Heuglin, 1866

No borders shown between Amhara and Tigrié. Names are clearly written with Tigrinya accents including Ermetšoho, Tselemt, Tsagadié, Mai Tsaχlo, May Qaba, Dogu'a, Qola, etc. The geographic descriptions suggest these regions have been under Tigray at the time.



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=52

Beke, 1867.
Lettering at highest level: Abyssinia. Next: Tigre, Waag or Lasta. Third level: Wolkait, Waldabba, Begemdir, Dembea, etc. Internal borders not drawn.



Petermann & Parkyns, 1867

Internal boundaries not mapped. Position of lettering "Amhara" and "Tigre" tends to indicate that Tekeze was considered as the border.

K STA		Map Overview
Biliama Boomes Boomes Analys A	Title	Map of Part of Abyssinia and Nubia, to illustrate the journey of Mansfield Parkyns, Esq. Drawn from the Author's own observations, as well as the Surveys and researches of Ferret and Galinier, Ruppell, Beke, Russegger, Werne, etc
O R	Sub Title	
B A S E N A S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	Continent	Africa
186 AD DY Manager	Region	North
Married Filters of the Control of th	Place Names	Ethiopia, Lake Tana
THE STATE OF THE S	Year Of Origin	1867
Deva Hary TSAGADDY ARMATCHOID ARMATCHOID Challent Challent Challent Challent Challent Challent	Publish Of Origin	London
AKAATCHOHO KUTAA American January In Sundan January In Sundan Sample	Language	English
Andrew Manager St. S.		Creators
Amilia Gerenti Tehelga*	Cartographers	August Petermann Mansfield Parkyns
Thomas Low Live Comment of the Comme	Publishers	John Murray
Bank Essan Bank States Control of States Sta	Engravers	August Petermann

Petermann, A., Parkyns, M., 1867. Map of Part of Abyssinia and Nubia, to illustrate the journey of Mansfield Parkyns, Esq. London, John Murray. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1308

Ravenstein, **1868** (also 1867)

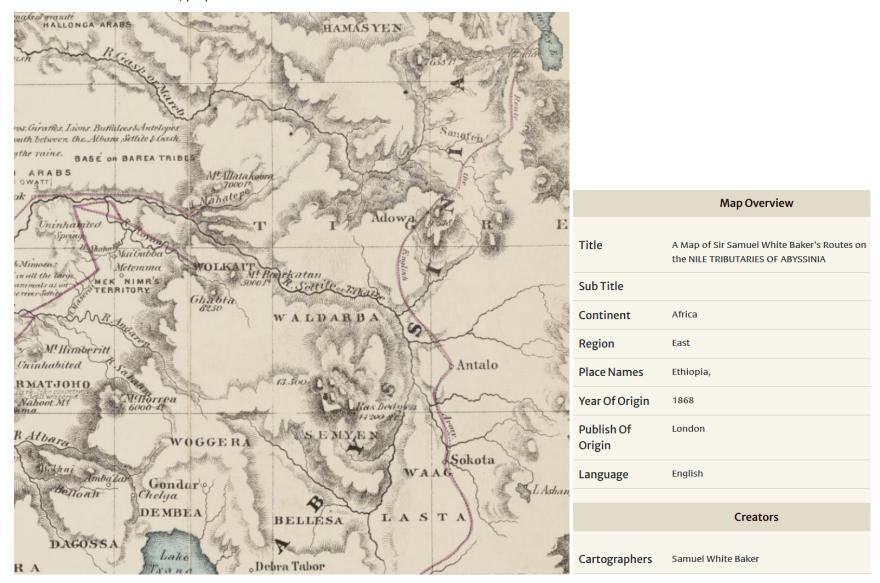
War map, probably prepared for the broader public in Germany. Border Amhara-Tigré drawn on Tekeze.

Separate Science A m h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h h		
Brigging for Engl. Salls get Set dary get Set dary get Set dary get Set dary get g		Map Overview
Die Schweiz im Maaastabe der R. Glargery Schlate Kestl	Title	Kriegskarte von Abessinien
Ubersichts Karte zur Grossen-Vergleichung	Sub Title	
Kriegskarte Santa	Continent	Africa
VOIL	Region	East
ABESSINIEN AMERICAN A	Place Names	Ethiopia
Maasstab: 1:2,000,000 1 2 3 4 5 10 Dentes the Geograph Meilen, is 1 2 Lynn. Maasstab Geograph Meilen, is 1 2 Lynn.	Year Of Origin	1868
0 5 10 20 10 40 50 Derwayie Mires Mires 62 10 10 40 50 Derwayie Mirion. Englische Statute Mires 62 10 10 40 Aguse. Hiben in Pariser Plus. Gambiles. Ga	Publish Of Origin	Berlin
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Debra Takers (Male Company Com	Publishers	Bibliographischen Instituts

Ravenstein, E.G., 1868. Kriegskarte von Abessinien. Hildburghausen, Bibliographisches Institut. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/685

Baker, 1868

Internal boundaries not drawn; purple lines are itineraries.



Baker, S.W., 1868. A Map of Sir Samuel White Baker's Routes on the Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia. London. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1416

D'Abbadié, 1868

Maps 2 and 3, no borders shown; Walquayt suggested as part of Tigray





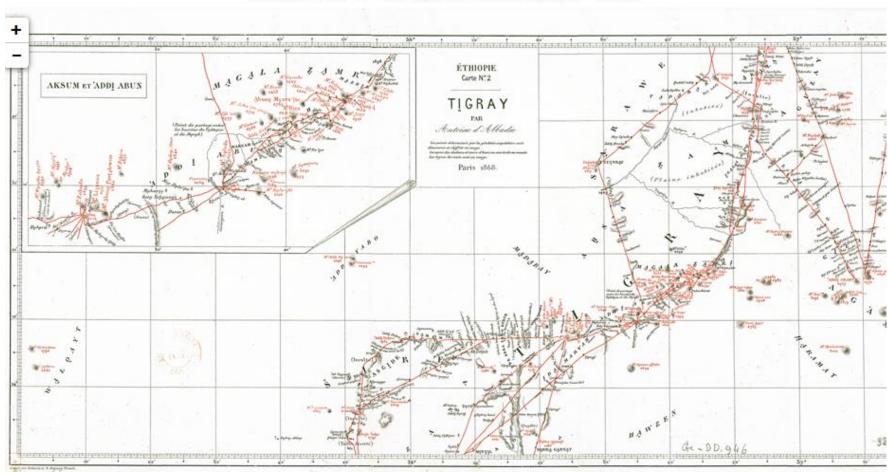




Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Maps Help

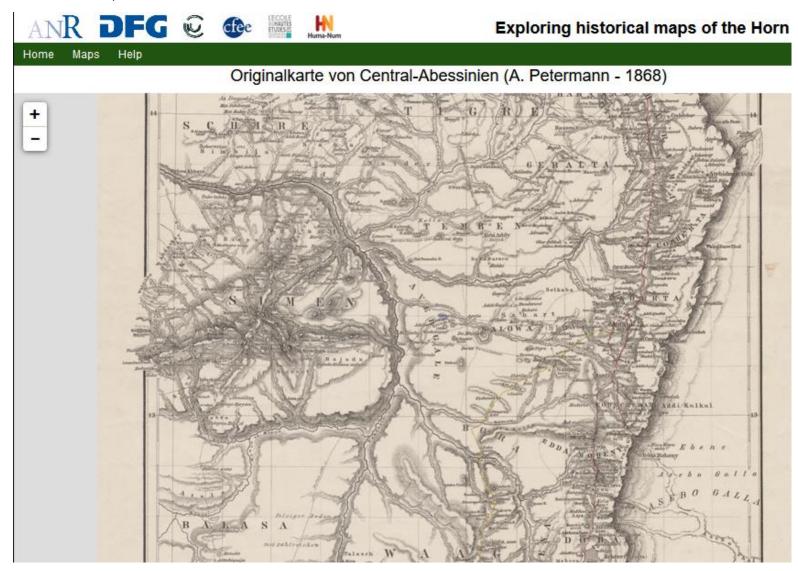
D'Abbadie n° 2 - Tigray (Antoine d'Abbadie - 1868)



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=12

Petermann, 1868

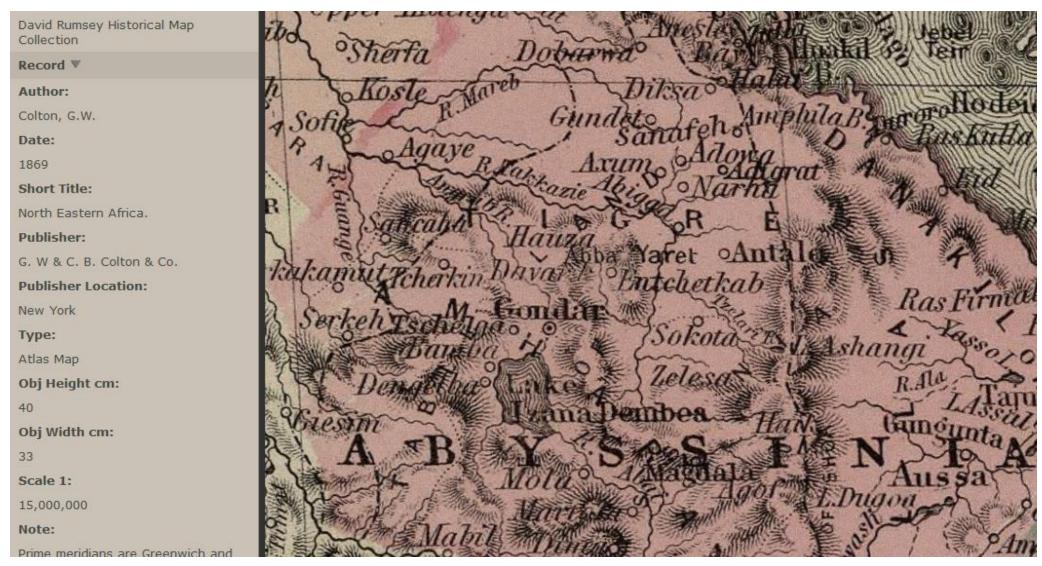
No borders shown; coloured lines are itineraries



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=36

Colton, **1869**

Thin dotted line as border, well south of Tekeze R.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~209210~5004023:North-Eastern-Africa-

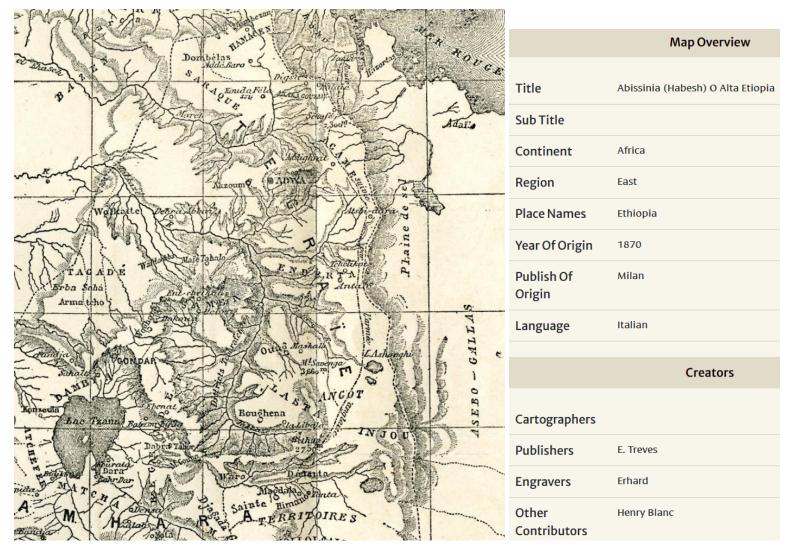
Manuel, **1870**

Internal boundaries not drawn; lettering "TIGRE" closely follows and crosses "Tacazze", suggesting a territory that expands on both sides of the river.

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Manuel, J., 1870. Carte des Sources du Nil Blanc et de Ses Affluents. Paris, Institut de L'Egypte Ismail Pacha Pasha Khedive. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/810

Treves, **1870**



Anon., 1870. Abissinia (Habesh) O Alta Etiopia. Milano, E. Treves. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2806

Fullarton, 1872

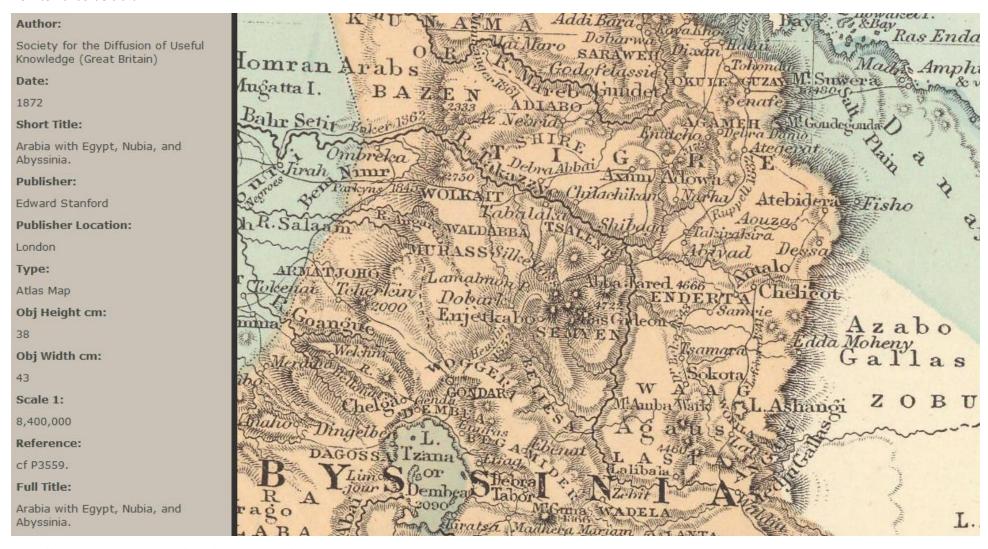
No internal borders. Letterings Tigre and Amhara both are close to Tekeze, probably indicating that it was considered the border

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Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (GB), 1872

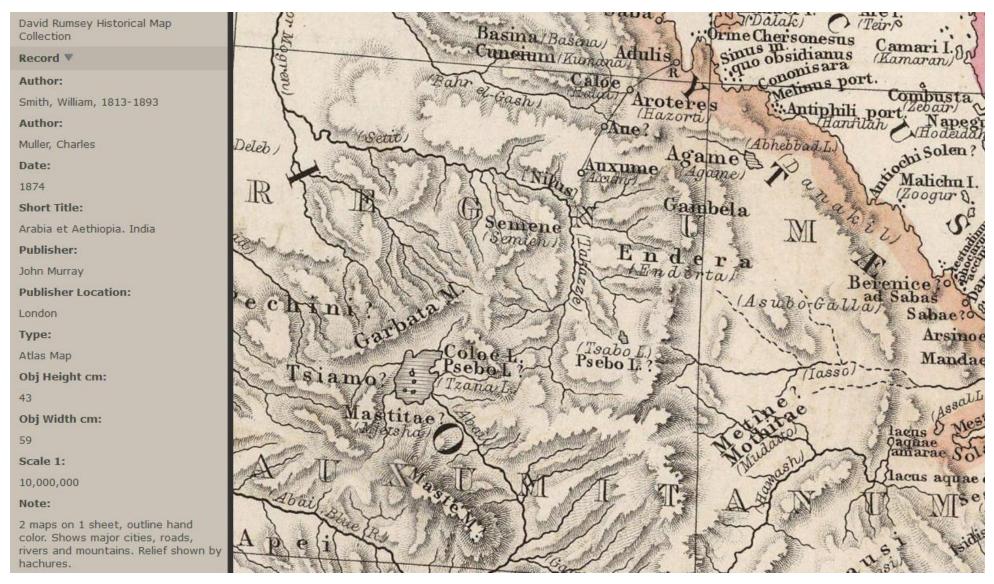
No internal borders drawn



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~337962~90105928:Arabia-with-Egypt,-Nubia,-and-Abyss

Smith & Muller, 1874

Without boundaries



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~315602~90084335:Arabia-et-Aethiopia--

Migeon, **1874**

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egouina Assald Fattama Morrou		Creators
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bas Trana	Other Contributors	Alexandre A. Vuillemin

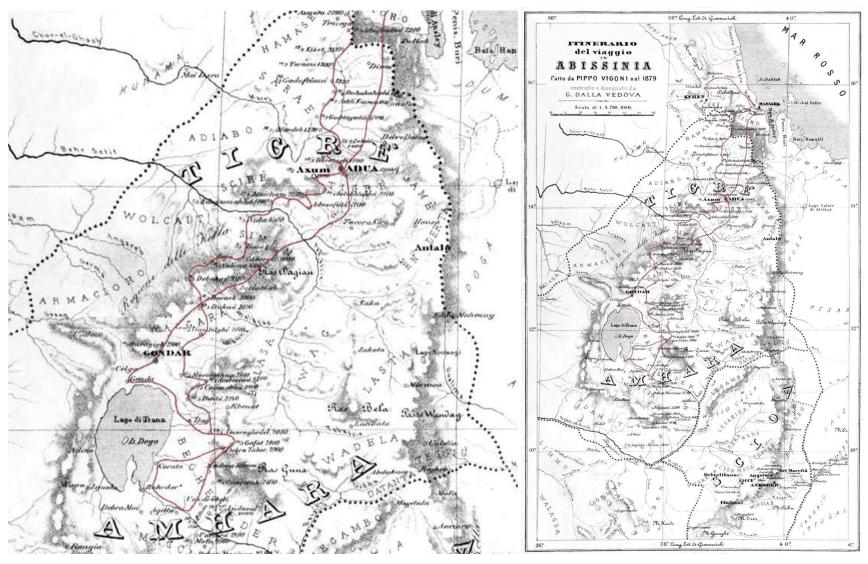
Migeon, J., 1874. Egypte et Abyssinie. Paris, Charles Lacoste. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2237

Barbot, **1877**

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ogo V Selehferre	Publishers	Jean Artheme Fayard de la Brugere
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Barbot, R., 1874. Nubie et Abyssinie. Paris, Jean Artheme Fayard de la Brugere. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2011

Vigoni, 1879
Border Tigré-Amhara not represented. Red line is itinerary.



https://books.google.be/books?id=xVFrasFe Y0C&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

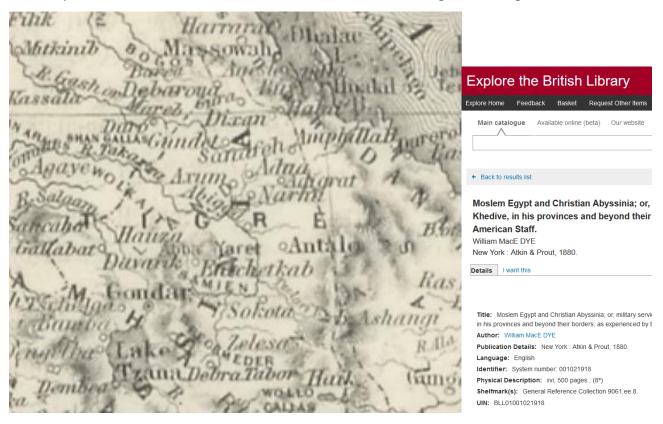
Johnston, 1879

No internal boundaries

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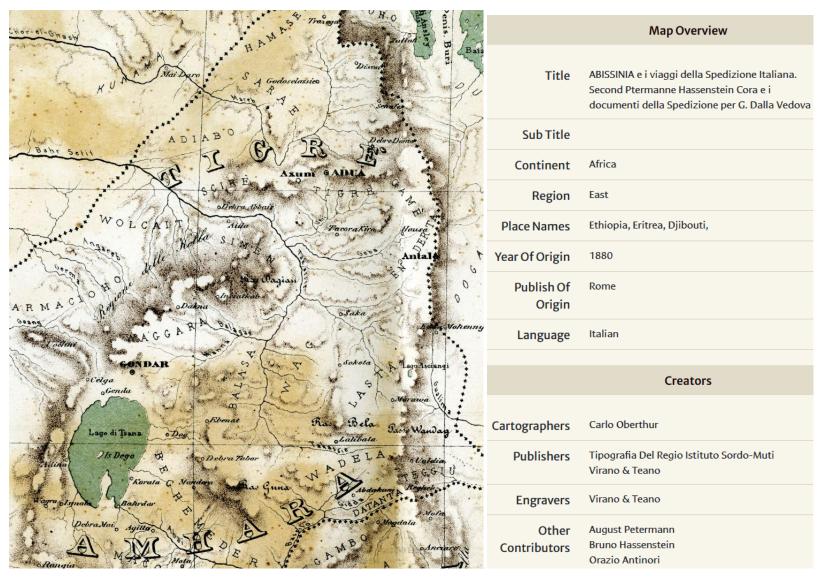
Dye, 1880
Wolkait part of TIGRE, which stretches across R. Takazza; according to lettering, border AMHARA-TIGRE runs approx. over the top of Simien Mts



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c5/DYE%281880%29 p519 Map of NORTH-EASTERN AFRICA.jpg

Dalla Vedova, 1880

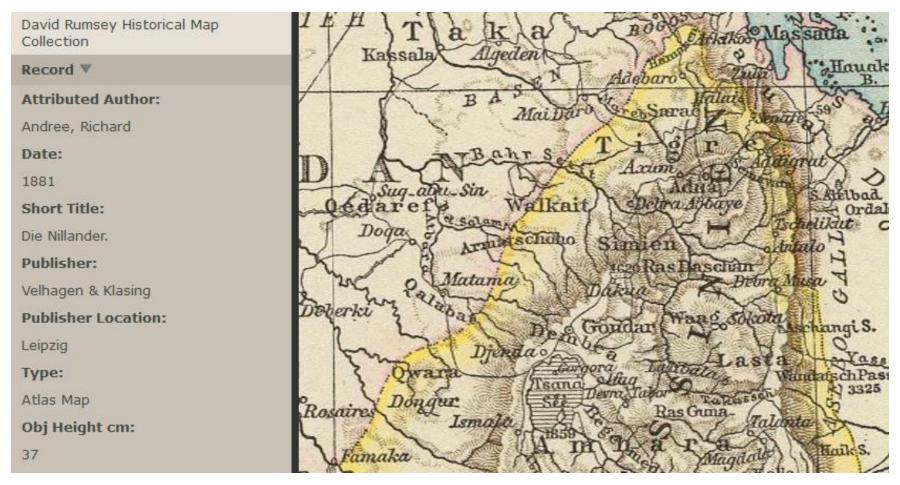
Internal boundaries not drawn. Relative positioning of lettering TIGRÉ with T touching the Tekeze tends to indicate a border south of the river.



Dalla Vedova, G., 1880. Abissinia e i viaggi della Spedizione Italiana. In: Oberthur, C., Memorie della Societa Geografica Italiana volume II, Parte Prima. Spedizione italiana nell'Africa Equatoriale. Risultati zoologici. I. Lepidotteri. Rome, Tipografia Del Regio Istituto Sordo-Muti. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2604

Andree, 1881

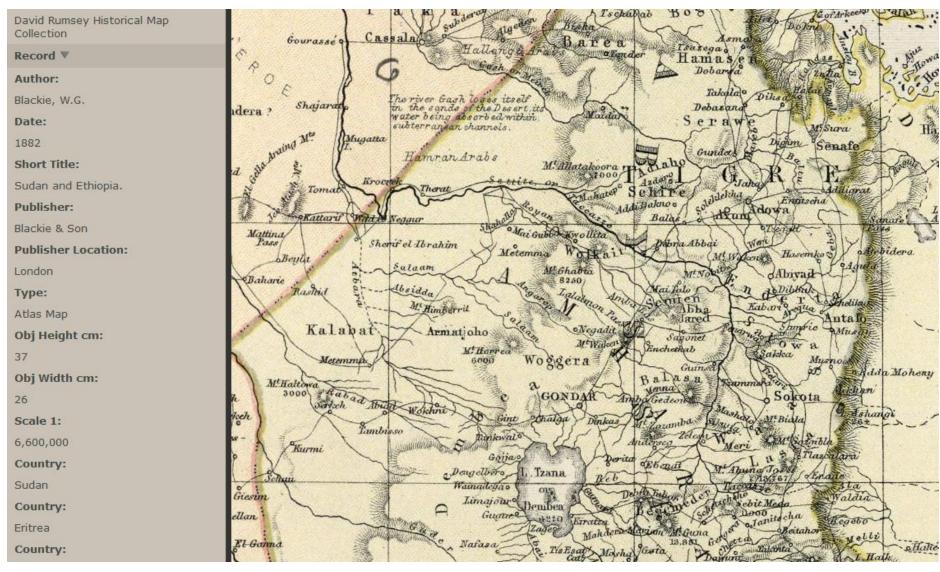
Internal boundaries not shown



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Blackie, 1882

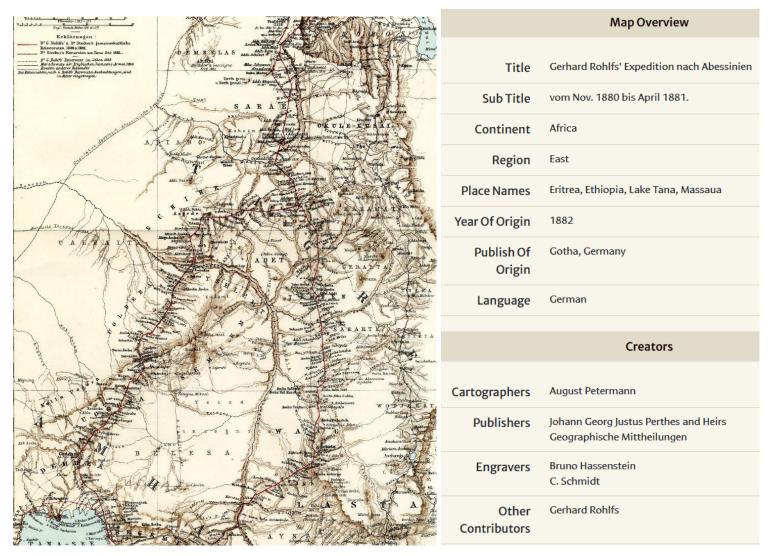
Internal boundary not drawn



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~272644~90046422:Sudan-and-Ethiopia-

Petermann, 1882

Internal boundaries not drawn. Red lines are itineraries.



Petermann, A., 1882. Gerhard Rohlfs' Expedition nach Abessinien. Petermann's Geographische Mitteilhungen, Jahrgang 1882. Tafel 18. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2671

Stanford, 1883 (also 1885, 1888 and 1900)



Stanford, E., 1883. A Map of the Nile, from the Equatorial Lakes to the Mediterranean, embracing the egyptian Sudan (Kordofan, Darfur, &c) and Abyssinia. London, Stanford. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1348

Letts, **1883**

No internal borders shown

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https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~31449~1150405:Arabia,-Egypt,-Nubia,-Abyssinia-

Habenicht, 1885 (similar in 1887)

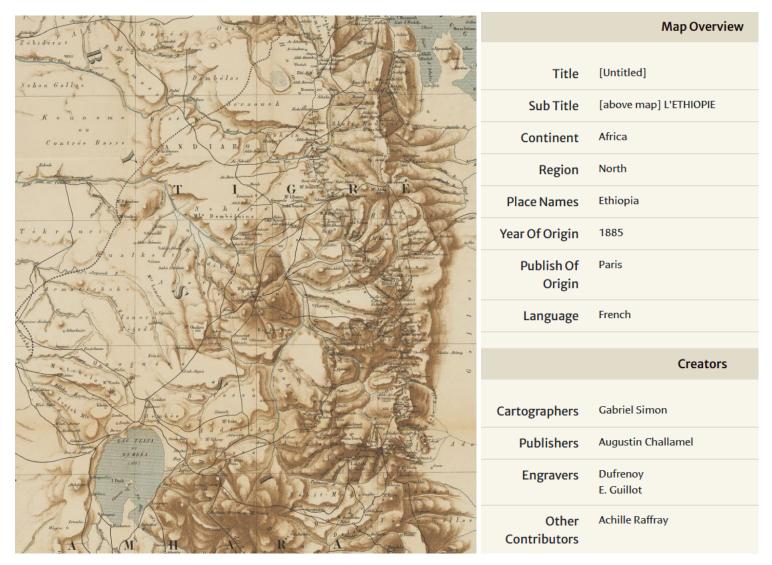
Boundary Amhara-Tigre not drawn; Italian territory not outlined



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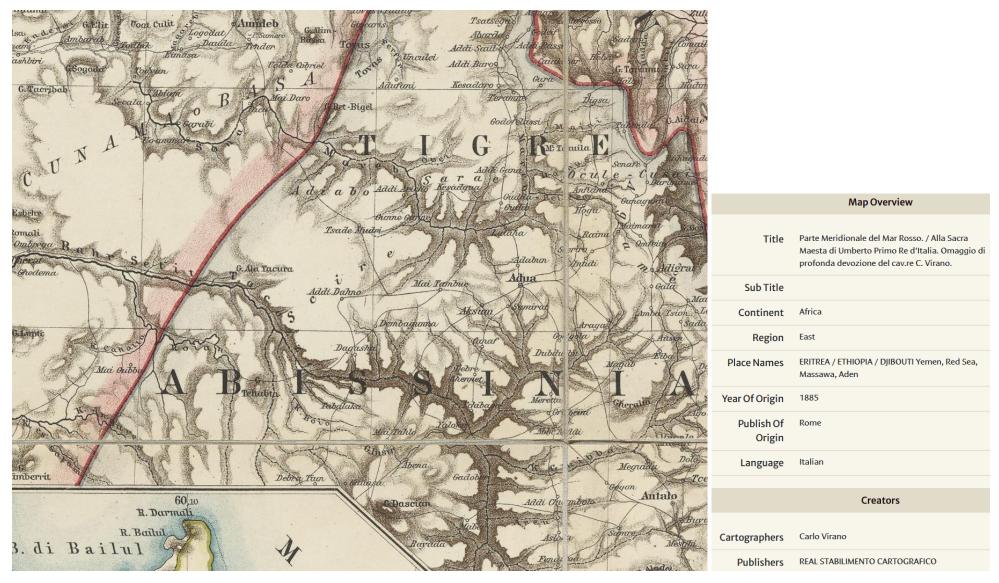
https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=37

Simon, **1885**



Simon, G., 1885. L'Ethiopie. Paris, Augustin Challamel. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1612

Virano, 1885



Virano, C., 1885. Parte Meridionale del Mar Rosso. Roma, R. Stab. Cart. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3650

Colton, 1886 (also 1880)

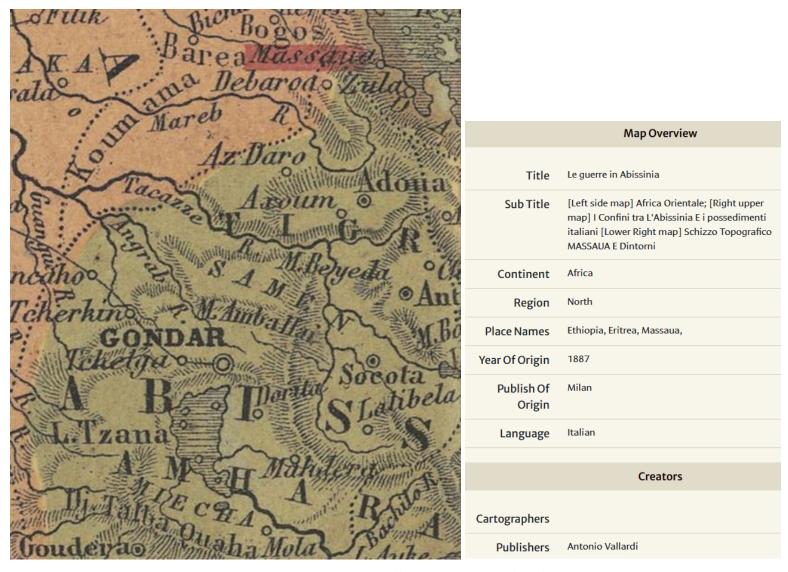
No internal boundaries drawn; most of the Tigre lettering established southwest of Tekeze; Wolkait clearly in Tigre



 $\underline{https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY^8^1^209908^5003708:North-Eastern-Africation (Control of the Control of the Control$

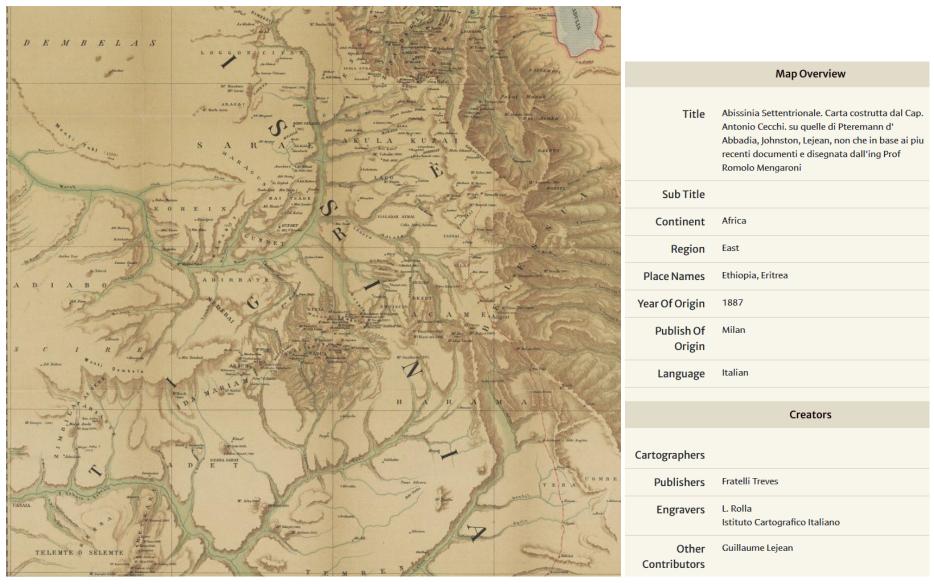
Vallardi, 1887

Internal boundaries not drawn. Positioning of letters "TIGRE" along and even across "Tacazze R." tends to indicate territorial control south of the river.



Anon., 1887. Le guerre in Abissinia. Milano, Stabilim. R. Vallardi. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1572

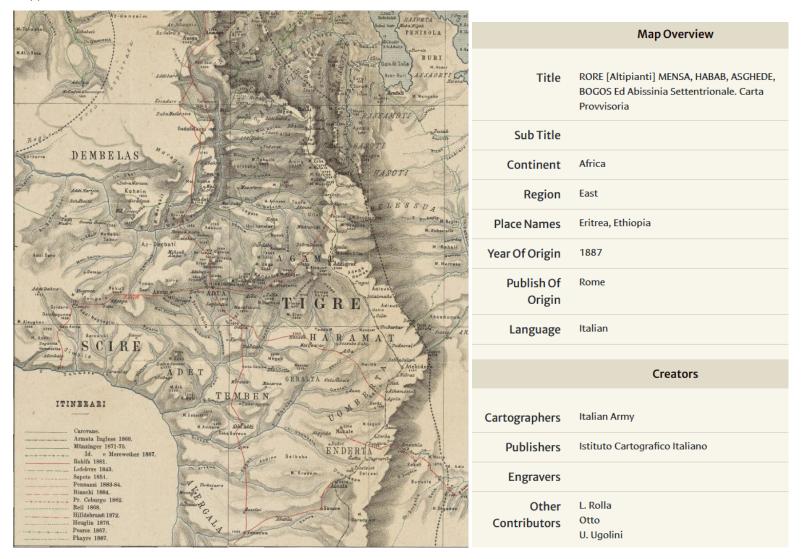
Cecchi, **1887**



Cecchi, A., 1887. Abissinia Settentrionale. Milano, Fratelli Treves. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3445

Camperio & Ugolini, 1887

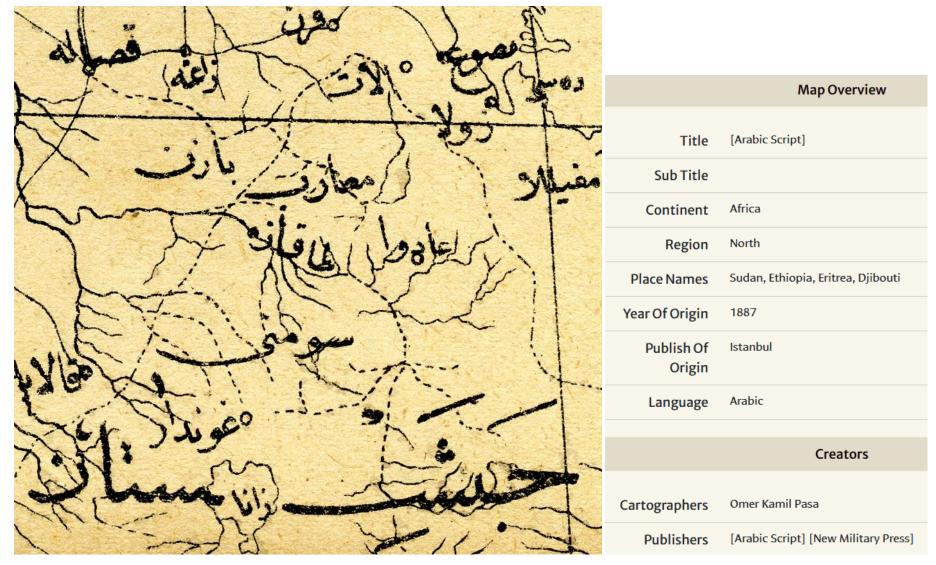
Internal boundaries not drawn. The area SW of Tekeze has been left blank for inserting the legend. It does not stand for a boundary, as on this map no areas beyond boundaries of the mapped area are left blank.



Camperio, M., Ugolini, U., 1887. Rore (Altipiani) Mensa, Habab, Asghede, Bogos ed Abissinia Settentrionale. Carta Provvisoria. Rome, Istituto Cartografico Italiano. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3632

Omer Kamil Pasa, 1887

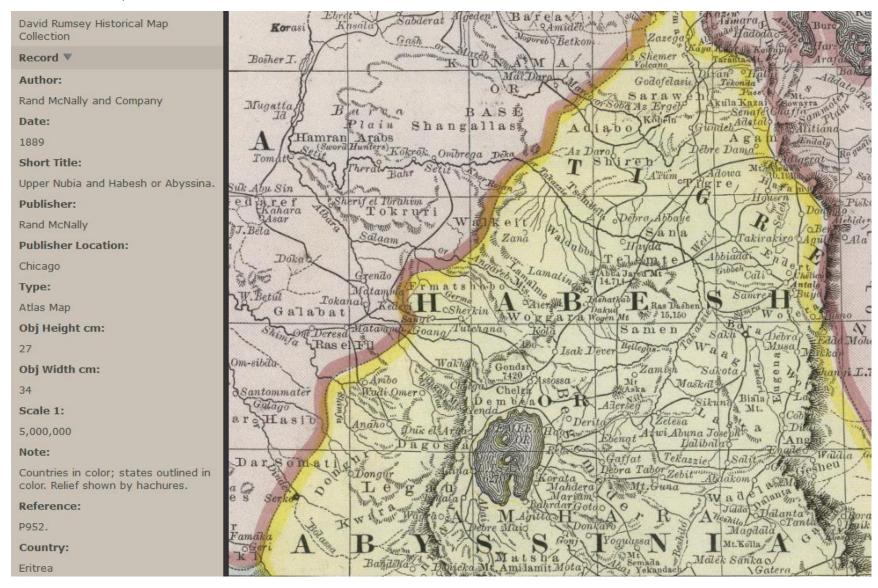
Map in ottoman Turkish. We read Taqaza (طاقازة), Soumna (عادوا) (Semien), Adwa (عادوا) and Gonder (عادوا). Internal boundaries not drawn.



Omer Kamil Pasa, 1887. حبشستان [habashistan] (Habash country). Istanbul: New Military Press. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3974

Rand McNally, 1889

No internal boundary



 $\underline{https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY^8^1^37470^1210344: Upper-Nubia-and-Habesh-or-Abyssina-nubia-and-Habesh-or$

Habenicht, 1891

Border Amhara Tigre drawn on Tekeze R. in red colour.





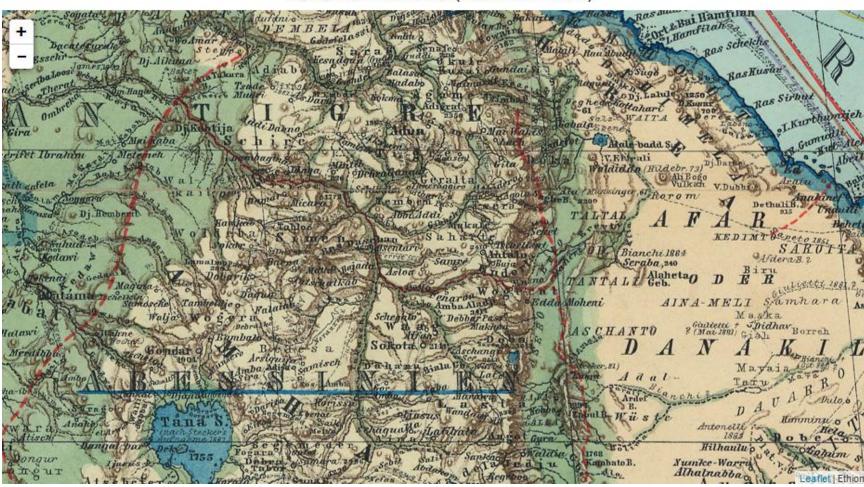




Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

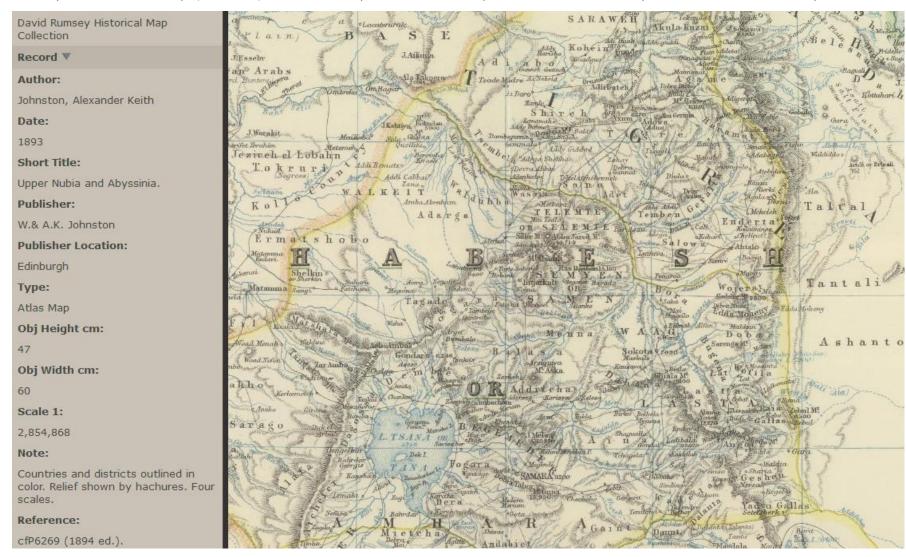
Justus Perthes' Afrika (Habenicht - 1891)



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=2

Johnston, 1893

In a 50- year record of atlas maps (1861-1911), this Johnston map and another version published in 1892 are the only instances where the border is placed on Tekeze



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~37991~1211004:Upper-Nubia-and-Abyssinia-

 $\underline{https://www.alamy.com/habesh-or-abyssinia-tigre-amhara-shoa-godjam-ethiopia-johnston-1892-old-map-image 242553078.html}$

De Chaurand, 1894

Internal border Amara-Tigre drawn on Tekeze (+.+.+ line); 1892 version does not display borders





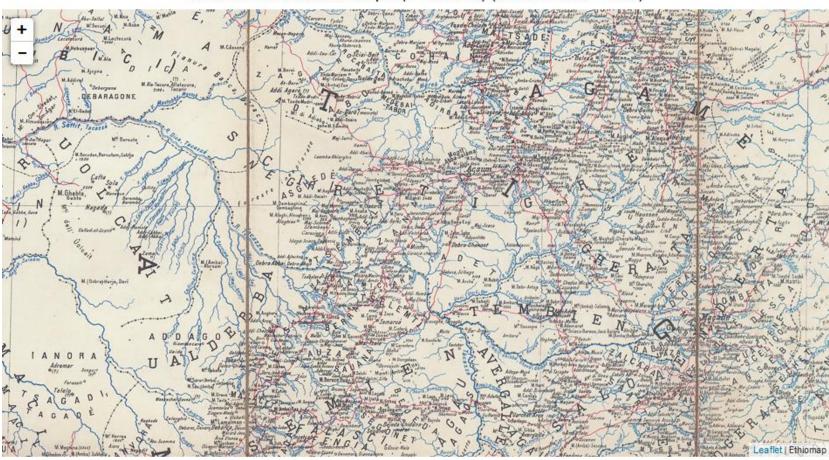




Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

Carta dimostrativa dell'Etiopia (3 - Gondar) (De Chaurand - 1894)

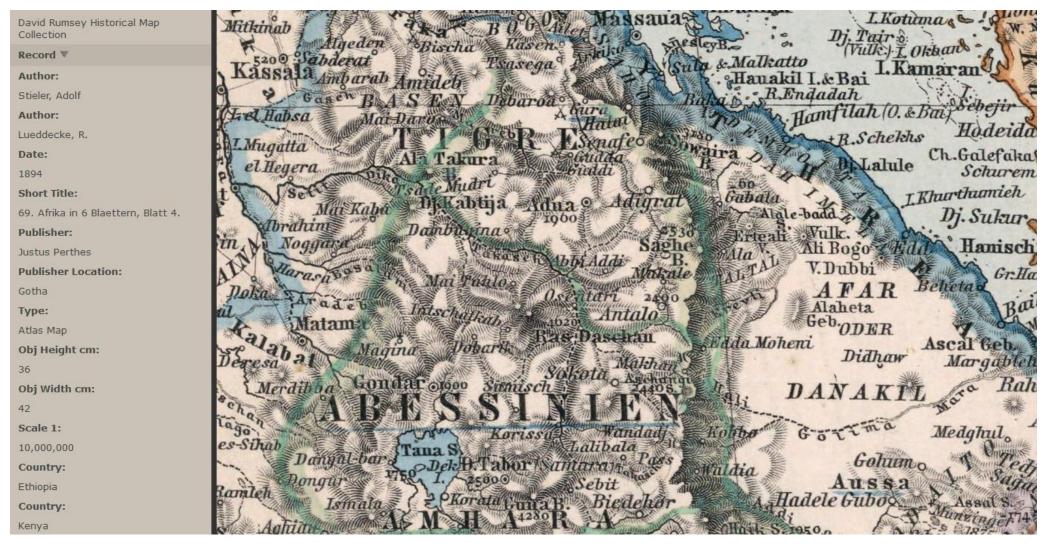


https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=61 https://www.loc.gov/resource/g8330m.g2009578530/?sp=3

https://www.igmi.org/carte-antiche/digitale 300 dpi/carta-1617469319.3

Stieler & Lueddecke, 1894

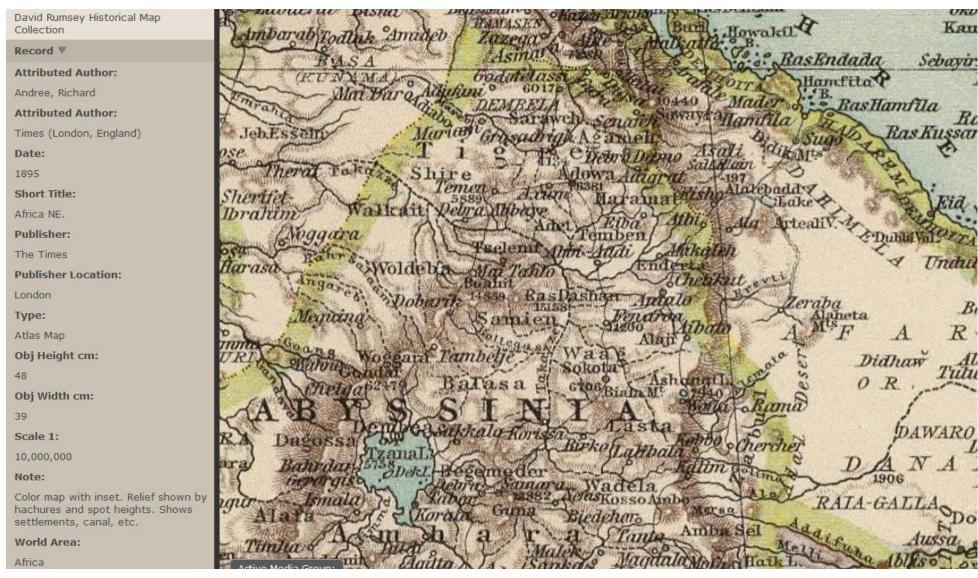
Internal border Amhara-Tigre on Tekeze R., but inconsistent. Italian territory not mapped.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~319981~90088877:69--Afrika-in-6-Blaettern,-Blatt-4-

Andree, 1895

Tigre and Amhara as main subunits of Abyssinia; border not drawn. Italian possessions not outlined



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~30738~1150672:Africa-NE-

Brockhaus, 1895 (similar in 1905)

Border Amhara-Tigre drawn on Tekeze River



https://pictura-prints.com/product/antique-map-africa-arabia-eritrea-ethiopia-meyers-1895/ This map is available at many commercial sites. So far it could not be retrieved from a formal repository.

The Times Atlas, 1895

Internal boundaries not drawn.

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Anon., 1895. Africa North-East. London, The Times Atlas. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1502

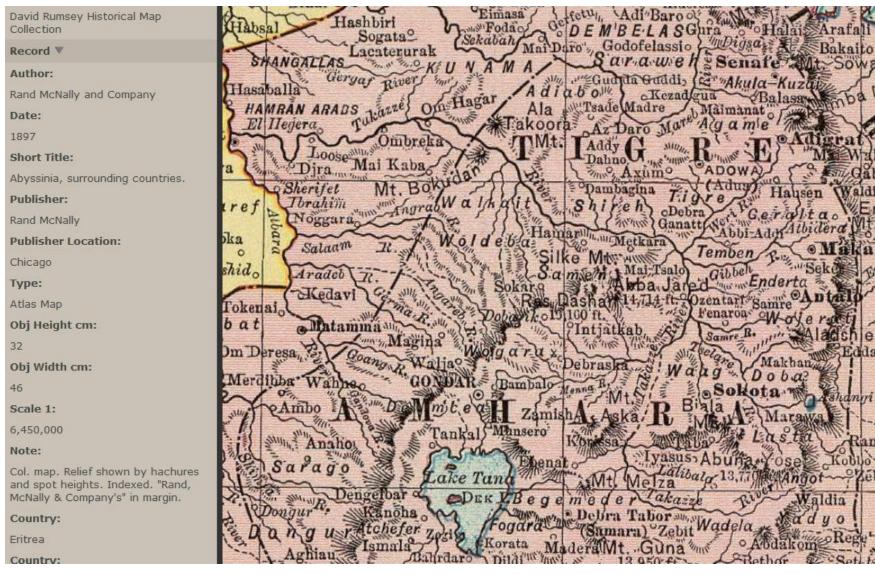
Bergamo, **1896**Border drawn on F. Tacazze; Ualcait mapped as part of Amhara



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Rand McNally, 1897

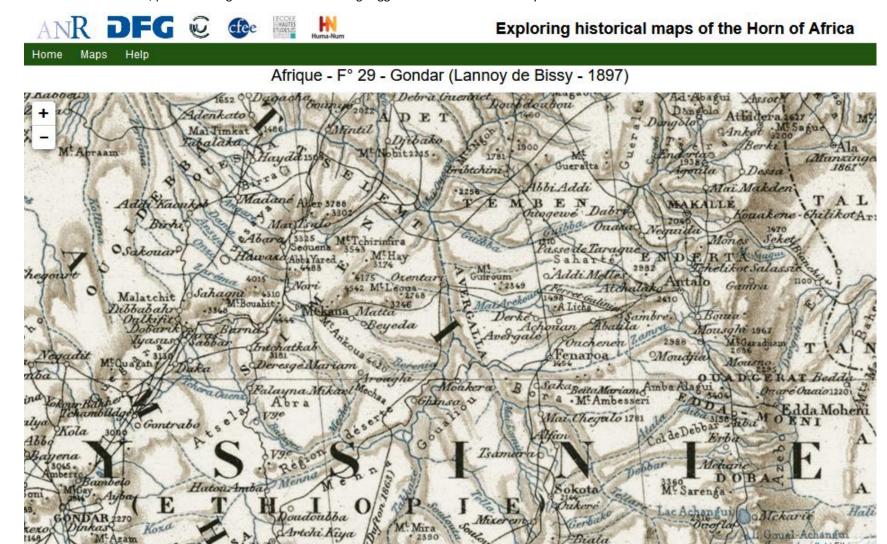
No internal borders



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~20367~550109:Abyssinia,-surrounding-countries-

Lannoy de Bissy, 1897

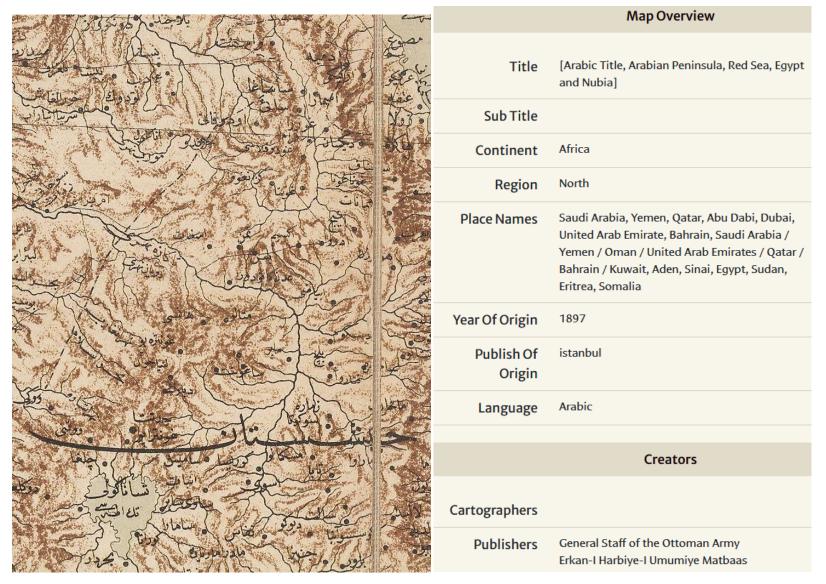
No internal boundaries; position of Tigre and Amhara lettering suggests Simien is the boundary



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=30

Ottoman Army, 1897

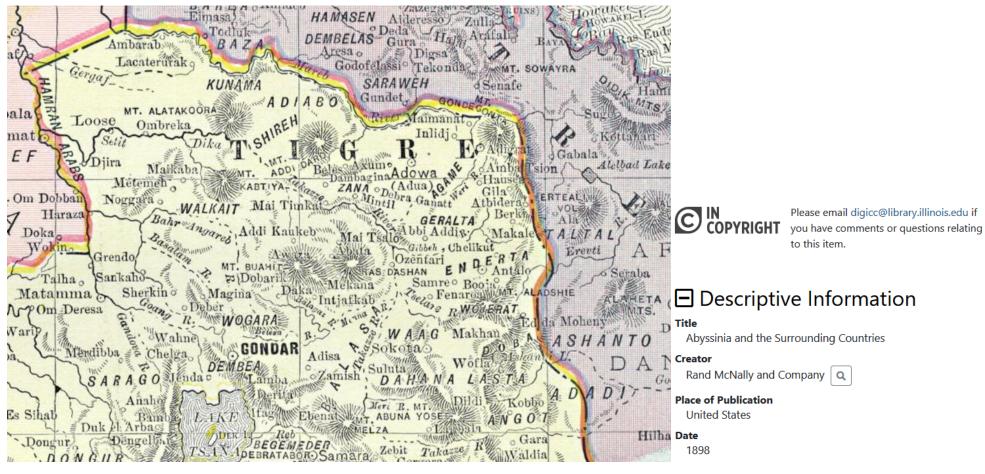
Map in ottoman Turkish. Internal boundaries not drawn.



Anon., 1897. Arabian Peninsula, Red Sea, Egypt and Nubia (in ottoman Turkish). Istanbul, General Staff of the Ottoman Army. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3762

Rand McNally, 1898

No internal boundaries shown, lettering Tigre across Tekeze River



https://digital.library.illinois.edu/items/33747e30-e946-0133-1d3d-0050569601ca-d#

Larousse, 1898

Lettering TIGRE across the whole northern Ethiopian highlands





Scanned Maps

Introduction to Scanned Maps World Africa

Carte Generale de l'Afrique

In Nouveau Larousse Illustré: Dictionnaire universel encyclopédique, publié sous la direction de Claude Augé. Paris, Librairie Larousse. 1898-1904.

https://lib.msu.edu/branches/map/MSU-Scanned/Africa/AE25L35-1898/

Vuillot, **1899**

Internal boundaries not drawn. Lettering TIGRÉ crosses the *Takassé R*.; relative position with AMHARA tends to indicate a border across Semien.

Maraj Rama Addi Gang Hoode Again Aga		
abreka. Belessyngeleb Belessy		Map Overview
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Term by Mokale	Sub Title	
Operation Democrat	Continent	Africa
Hagina & Debarrer	Region	North
Sanoche Valja	Place Names	Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Nile
Cana Y 0 2 e t' A 1 Delmaska R 50	Year Of Origin	1899
tibba Condas Bantalo Justinia Sohna Sinsa Condas Bantalo Justinia Condas Bantalo Condas Ba	Publish Of Origin	Paris
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Tana beg		Creators
Dangal Bais 1851 Camara 1851 Contra Dundidia	Cartographers	P Vuillot
Bahn Bar San San San Da Santa	Publishers	Missions Catholiques Societe de Geographie de Paris
Timed Francis Scalle Conductor Science Marchala Scott	Engravers	R Hausermann Dufrenoy

Vuillot, P., 1899. Carte des Missions Catholiques Du Nord-Est de l'Afrique Comprenant l'Egypte, l'Abyssinie, le Soudan et la Region du Haut Nil. Paris, Missions Catholiques & Société de Géographie de Paris. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/4062

Artaria, 1900

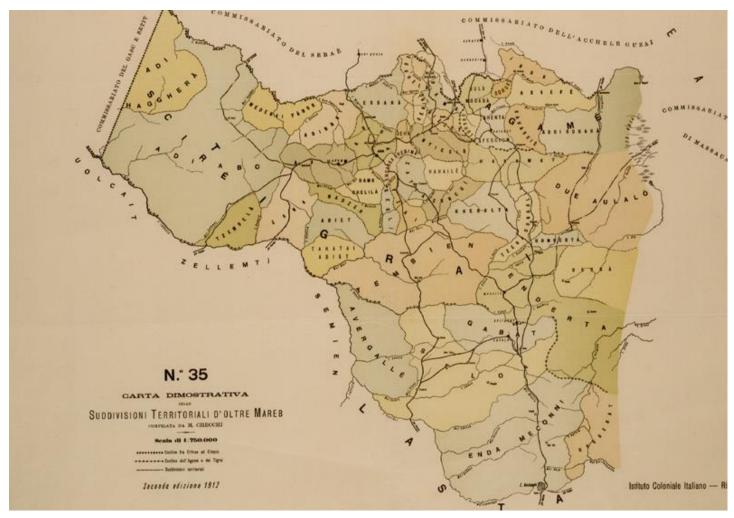
Internal boundaries not drawn. Lettering TIGRE runs at the west of Tekeze River, way south, beyond Magdala. We prefer to conclude on lack of care by the mappers, and would not include this map in the meta-analysis. Double red lines are projected or imagined railways (none realised).

Fillik: Palgabele Cheleb Ain Bohul-ARCHIPE ARCHIPE Belagenda Keren MASSAUA Da Ebret Sabilerat a Rassau Ashiko Asmana Asma		
Achmed Ambarab Eimasa Tadanko HAMASEN Mala		Map Overview
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ker Ibrahim Schilling Schille Golgolas Adenkath Golgolas	Continent	Africa
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Bamfai o Trendo Schegurt Birhi Mai Tsalo Matalle Makaile	Place Names	Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Darfur, Ethiopia
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iensa Uasra Kikii Baha pildi Magdala Nege Biede Baba Libsi		Creators
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Sifi OBandia Odudera Mota Abai Ornsa Tascheb Walder O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	Publishers	Artaria & Co.

Anon., 1900. Die Nil-Laender. Vienna, Artaria & Co. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2799

Checchi, 1900

Territorial organisation of "Oltre-Mareb", i.e. territories south of the Mereb R., border of the then Italian colony of Eritrea. Compare to Rossetti (1907) and Guèbrè Sellassié et al. (1909)

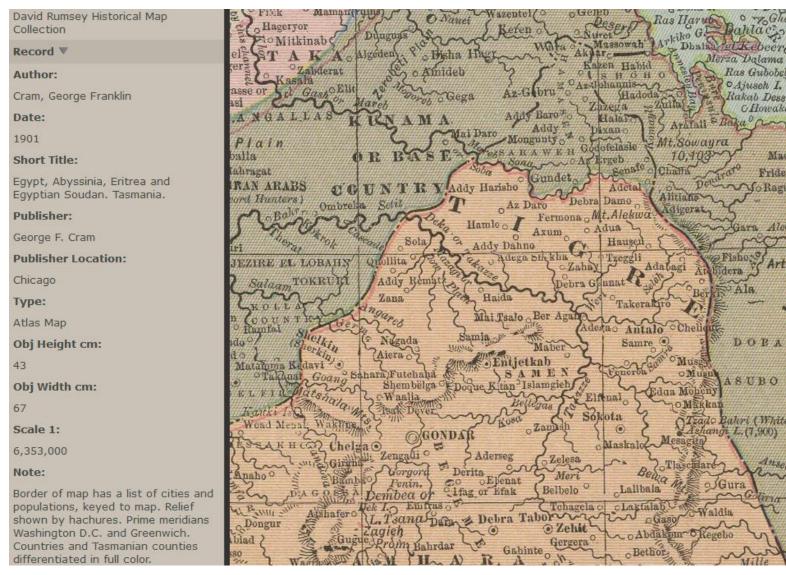


First edition around 1900, second edition (totally identical) in 1912. The second edition is presented here because of the availability of a high-resolution scan. https://www.igmi.org/@@search?SearchableText=suddivisioni+territoriali+oltre+mareb

Map published by Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Legend: +++++++++ southern border of Eritrea; +-+-+-+ borders of Agame and Tigray; --------------Further subdivision

Cram, **1901** (similar in 1889 and 1893)

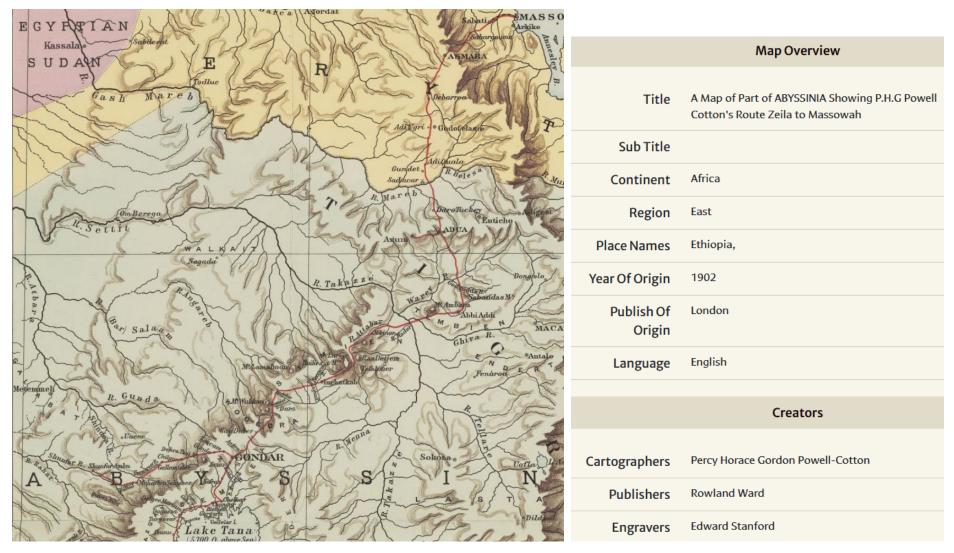
Internal borders not drawn



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~213586~5501058:Egypt,-Abyssinia,-Eritrea-and-Egypt

Powell-Cotton, 1902

Internal boundaries not drawn. Red line is itinerary.



Powell-Cotton, P.H.G., 1902. A Map of Part of Abyssinia Showing P.H.G Powell Cotton's Route Zeila to Massowah. London, Rowland Ward. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/1657

Harmsworth, 1906

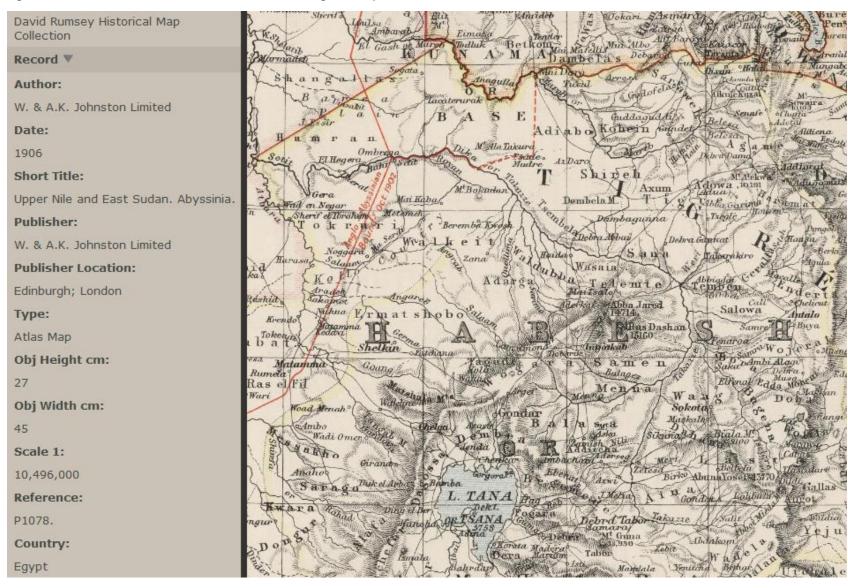
Internal boundaries not drawn.

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and Senate Bakarto	Sub Title	
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Woking Redawi Sold Has Dasharr Same Wila	Language	English
d San Pabarico Managledb R San		
Description Walter and The Control of the Control o		Creators
Merdibba GONDAR Selkota Ashanar	Cartographers	
iter miles Distributed Distrib	Publishers	Alfred (Lord Northcliffe) Harmsworth
aboya Tankal Anno Taba Mara	Engravers	
Dangalbar Dekr. Debra Samara Klakarie	Other Contributors	London Geographical Institute George Philip & Son

Harmsworth, A., 1906. Egypt, The Sudan, & Abyssinia. London, London Geographical Institute & George Philip & Son. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/56

Johnston, 1906

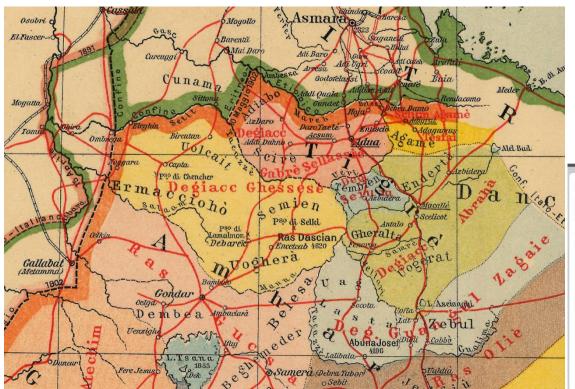
Tigré-Amhara border not shown. Eritrean border according to Ethiopian claims.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~238158~5511391:Upper-Nile-and-East-Sudan--Abyssini

Rossetti, 1907

Within the map series, there is this particular moment in time where emperor Menelik has cut Tigray in half a dozen of territories, the northern part bartered to Italy and the other princedoms directly tibutary to him.





American Geographical Society Library

UWM Libraries

Home > American Geographical Society Library Digital Map Collection > Schizzo Dimostrativo della situazione politica

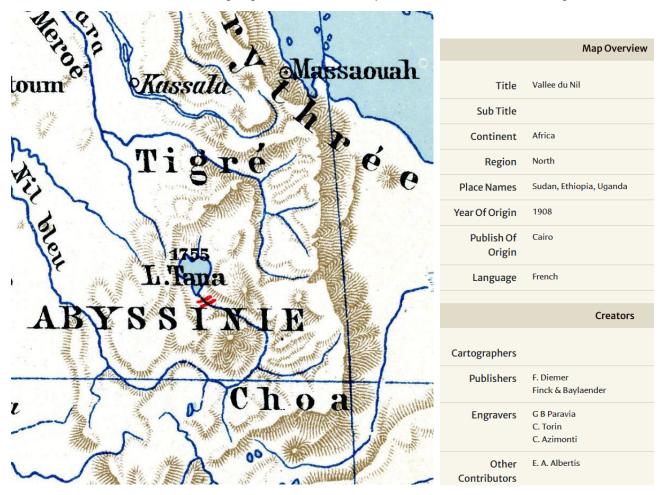
Schizzo Dimostrativo della situazione politica nell'Affrica Orientale / Isl Geogr. Dott. G. de Agostini & C.



https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/10634/

d'Albertis, 1908

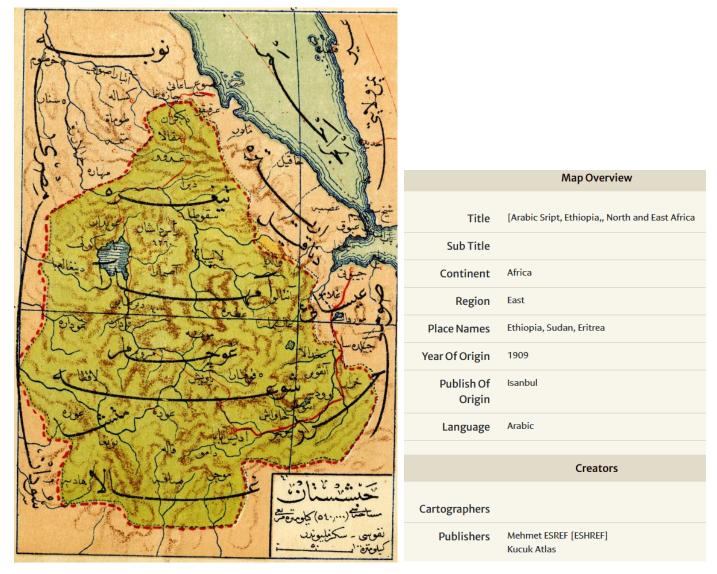
Internal boundaries not drawn. Lettering "Tigré" across Tekeze R. up to the Sudanese border, including Welkait.



d'Albertis, E.A., 1908. Vallée du Nil. In: Une croisière sur le Nil: Khartoum-Gondokoro. Cairo, F. Diemer, Finck & Baylaender Succ. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2434

Eshref, **1909**

Map in ottoman Turkish. Internal boundaries not drawn. Red line represents an itinerary. تيعـــرُ [tigre] in wide lettering across Tekeze to incorporate western Tigray. Southeast of Lake Tana, we have امهــارا [amhara].



Eshref, M., 1909. حبثستان [habashistan] (Habash country). Istanbul, Kucuk Atlas. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/4049

Guèbrè Sellassié, Tèsfa Sellassié, De Coppet, 1909

This is based on the work of Menelik's chronicler Guèbrè Sellassié. Though published in 1930, the map refers to the period of Menelik's reign, more precisely 1909. Many elements taken from Rossetti (1907). At the position of the current Western Tigray, there were districts Oualqaït, Sèmién, etc., intermediate between Tigré and Béguè-Meder.





CHRONIQUE

DU

RÈGNE DE MÉNÉLIK II ROI DES ROIS D'ÉTHIOPIE

Traduite de l'amharique
PAR
TESFA SELLASSIE

Publiée et annotée

MAURICE DE COPPET
ANCIEN MINISTRE DE FRANCE EN ÉTHIOPIE

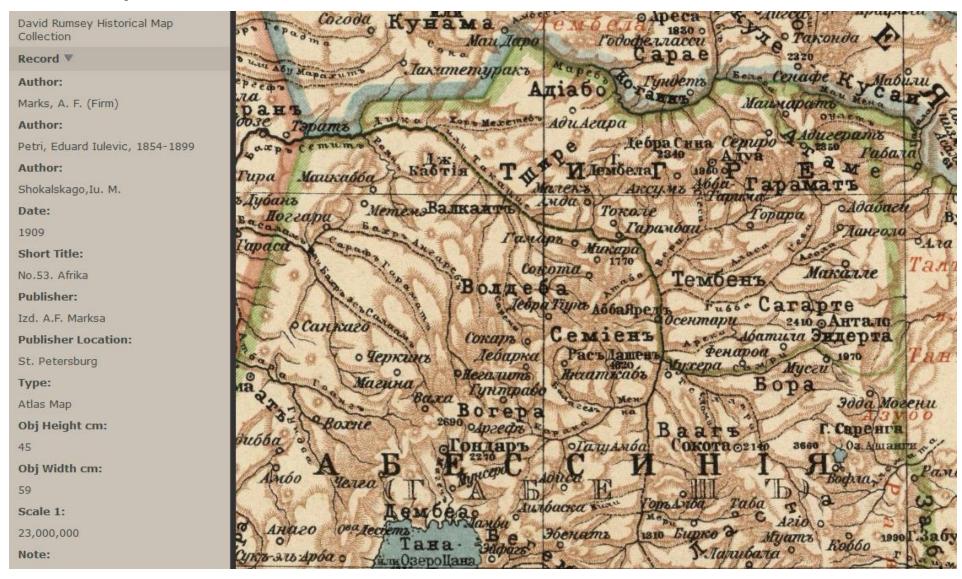
ATLAS



http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd 10249517 000/ldpd 10249517 000.pdf

Petri & Shokalskago, 1909

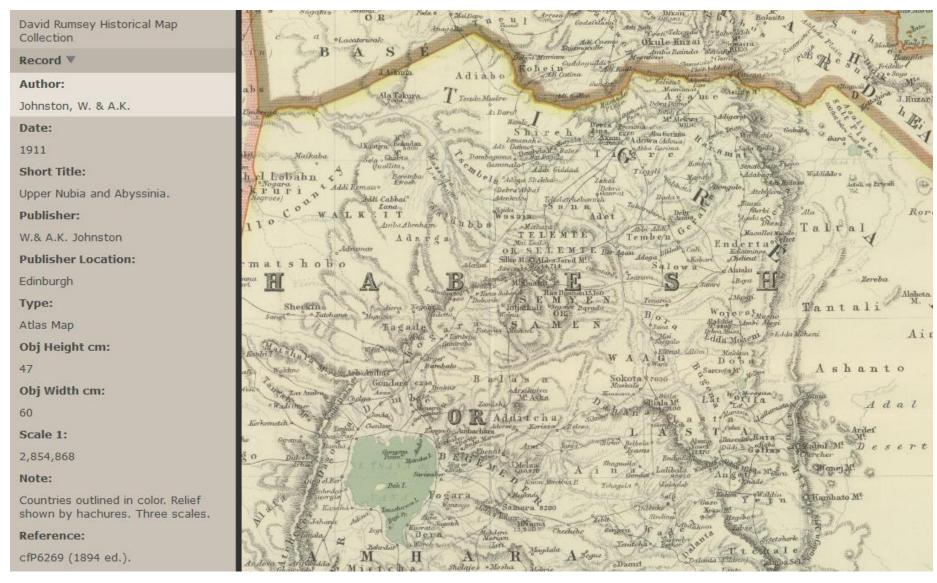
Border on Tekeze, in green colour



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~255796~5520039:No-53--Afrika

Johnston, 1911

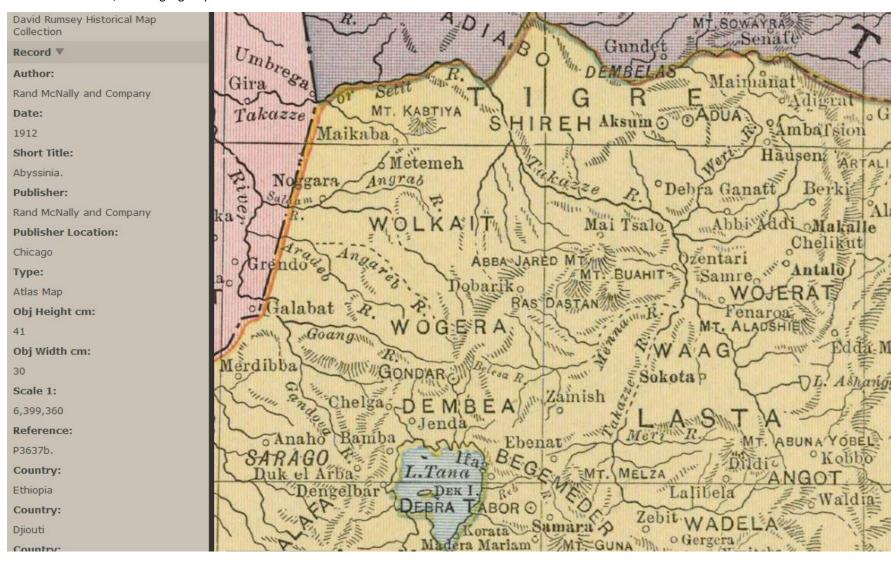
Tigré-Amhara border not shown. Eritrean border drawn according to Ethiopian claims.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~37127~1210668:Upper-Nubia-and-Abyssinia-

Rand McNally, 1912

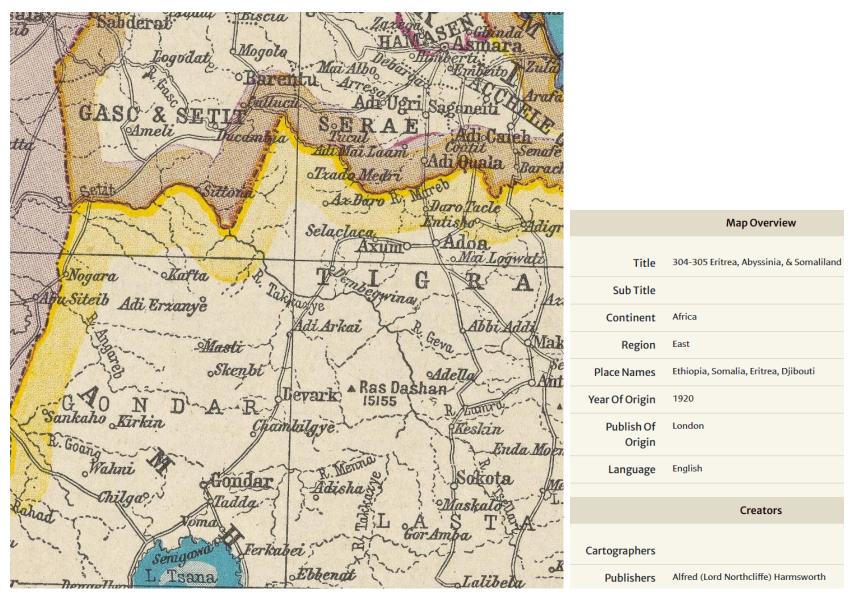
No internal borders; lettering Tigre spans across Tekeze



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~308634~90078214:Abyssinia-

Harmsworth, 1920

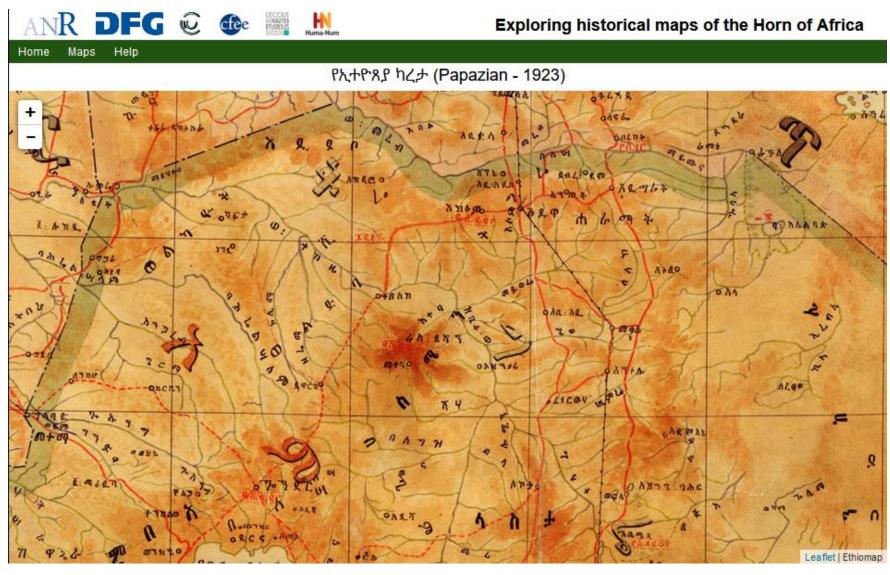
Internal boundaries not drawn.



Harmsworth, H.S., 1920. Eritrea, Abyssinia, & Somaliland. London, Harmsworth New Atlas of the World and Pictorial Gazetteer. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/223

Papazian, 1923

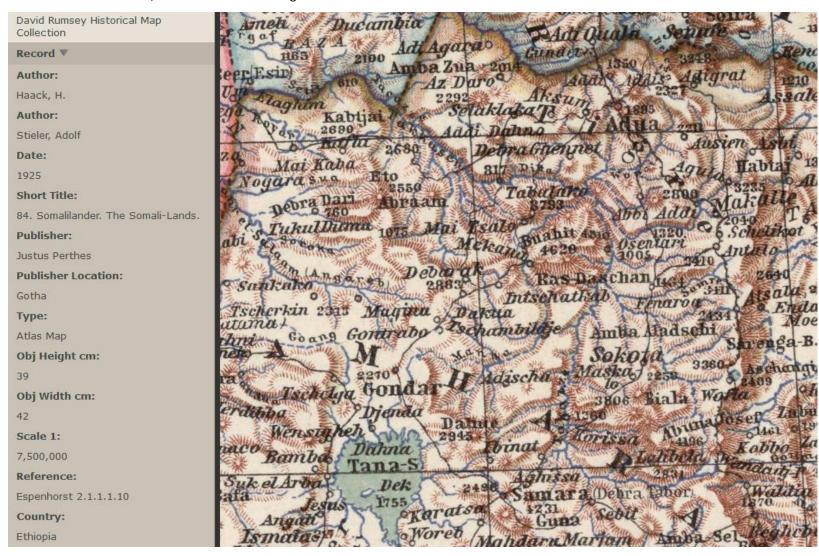
Tigre and Amhara as main subunits; border not drawn. Eritrean border according to Ethiopian claims.



https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=9

Haack & Stieler, 1925

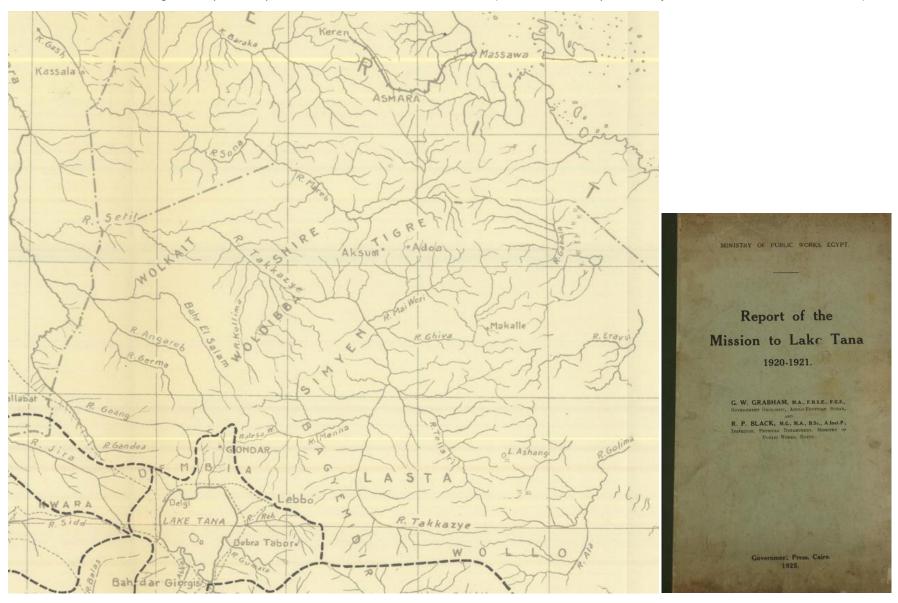
Internal border not shown; Eritrean border according to Italian claims



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~265654~90040053:84--Somalilander--The-Somali-Lands-

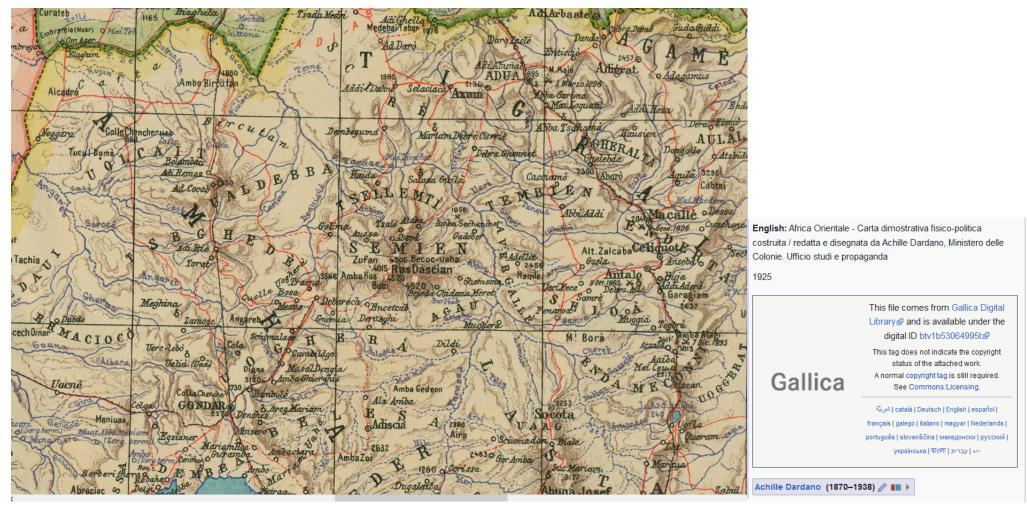
Grabham & Black, 1925.

Border with Eritrea according to Ethiopian interpretation; internal boundaries not drawn. (The dotted lines represent major catchments of the Blue Nile basin).



Dardano, 1925

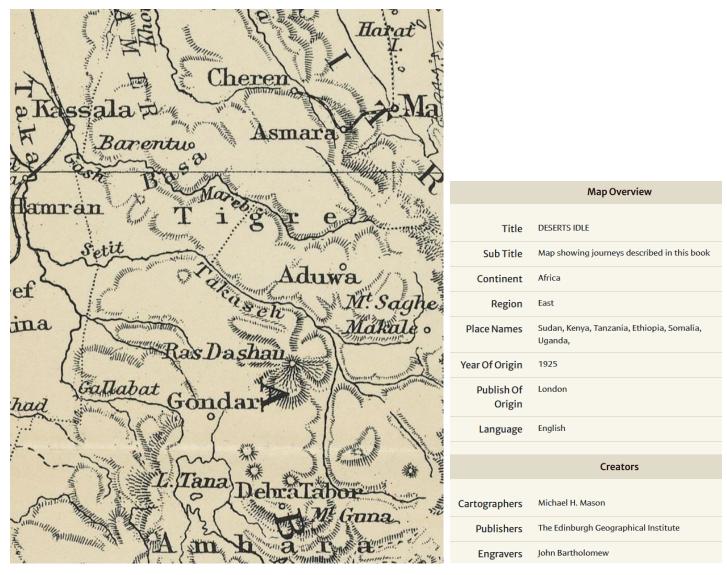
No border drawn



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1925 - Africa Orientale - Carta dimostrativa fisico-politica.jpg https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53064995t

Mason, **1925**

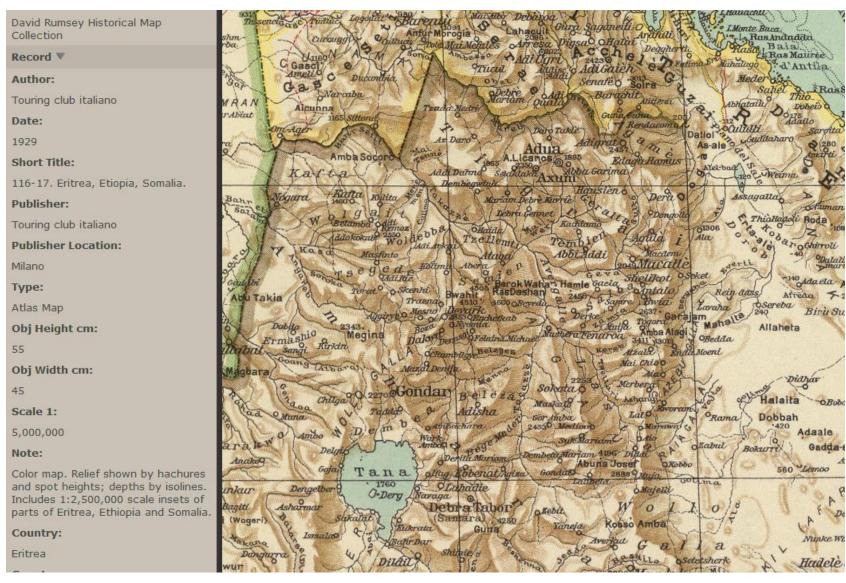
Internal boundaries not drawn.



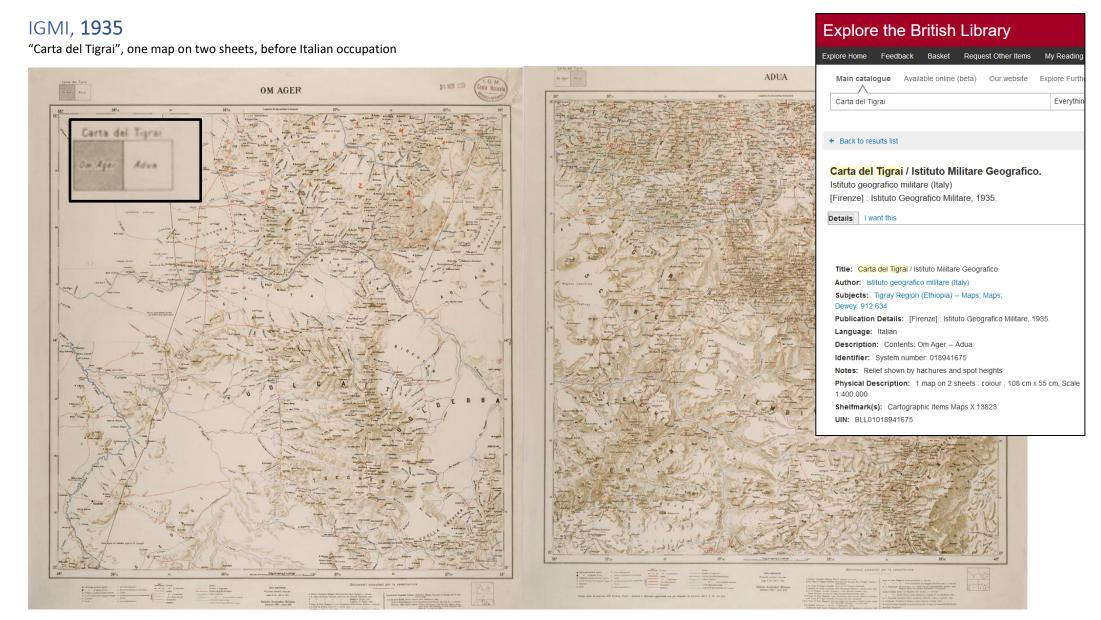
Mason, M.H., 1925. Deserts idle. London, The Edinburgh Geographical Institute. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/2026

Touring Club Italiano, 1929

Tigrai and Amhara as subunits of Etiopia; border not drawn. Italian possessions outlined with border along Italian claims.



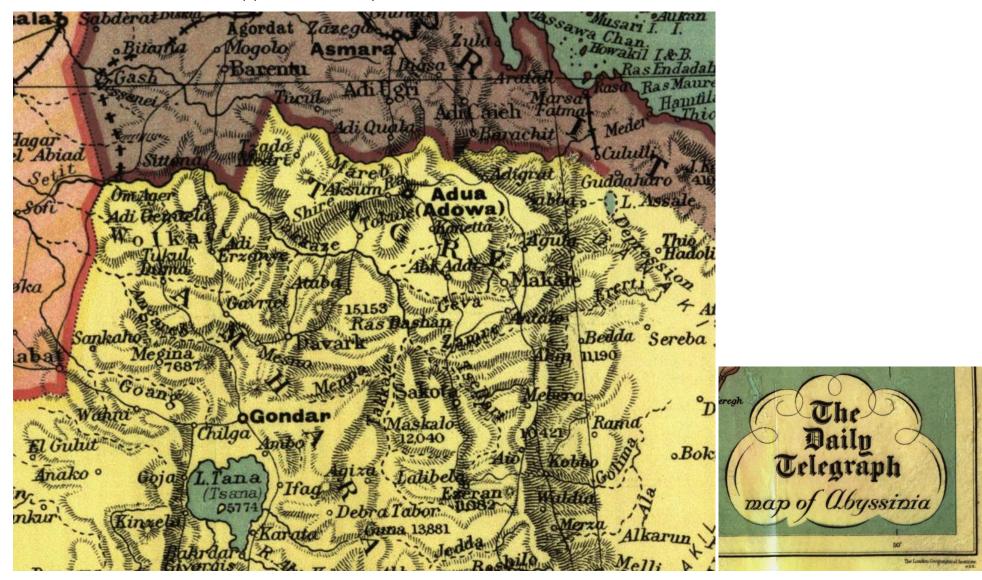
https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~31884~1151211:116-17--Eritrea,-Etiopia,-Somalia-



http://explore.bl.uk/BLVU1:LSCOP-ALL:BLL01018941675; https://search.nls.uk/permalink/f/sbbkgr/44NLS ALMA21433089100004341; https://www.igmi.org/en/carte-antiche/colori a1/carta-1617469408.27 and https://www.igmi.org/en/carte-antiche/digitale 300 dpi/carta-1617469408.75

The Daily Telegraph, 1935.

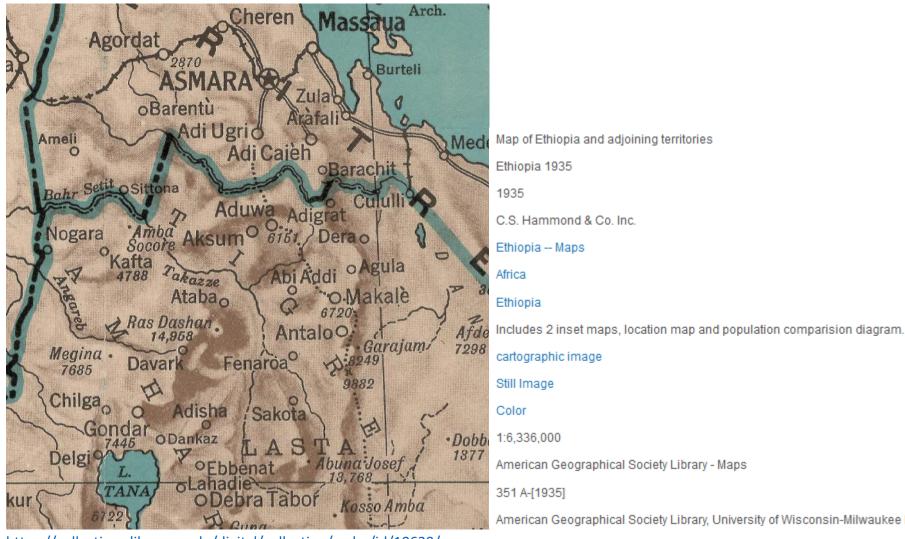
No internal borders shown. Similar map published in 1935 by The Times.



(map from private collection)

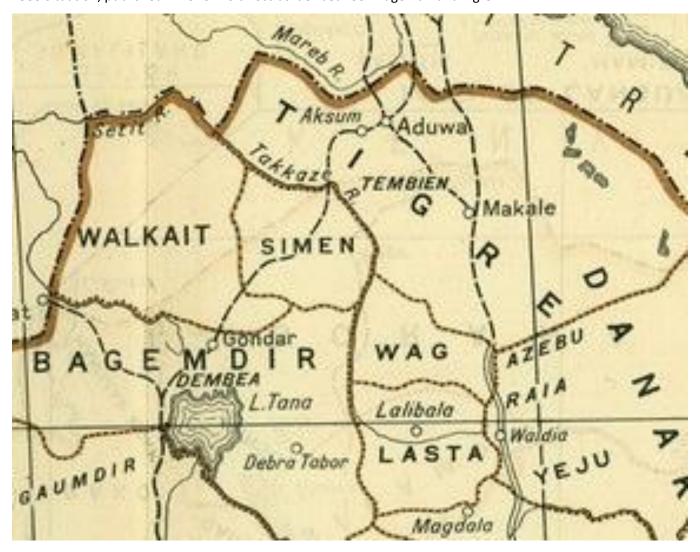
Hammond, 1935

No internal boundaries displayed. Position of TIGRE and AMHARA tends to indicate a border running SW of Takazze



https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/10629/

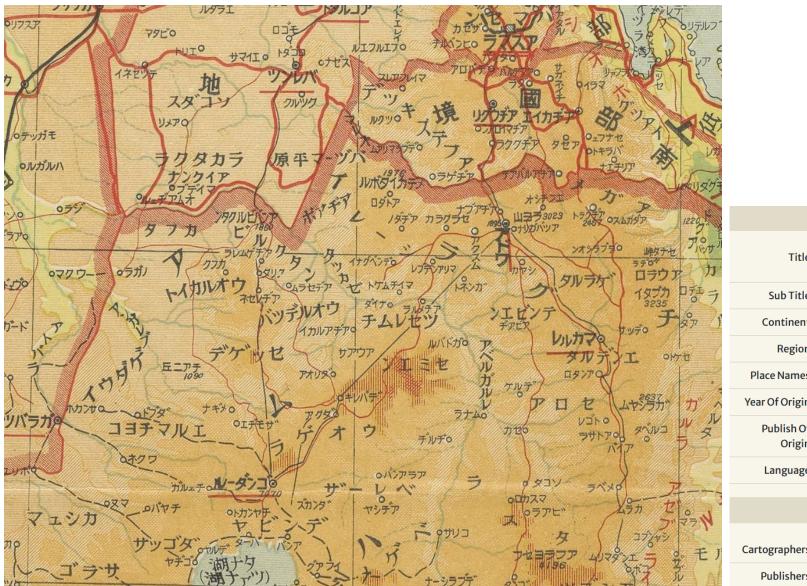
Perham, 1935 1935 situation, published in 1948. No direct border between Bagemdir and Tigre.



Perham M.F., 1948. The government of Ethiopia. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 481 p. (Own scan)

Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbunsha, 1936

Internal boundaries not drawn.



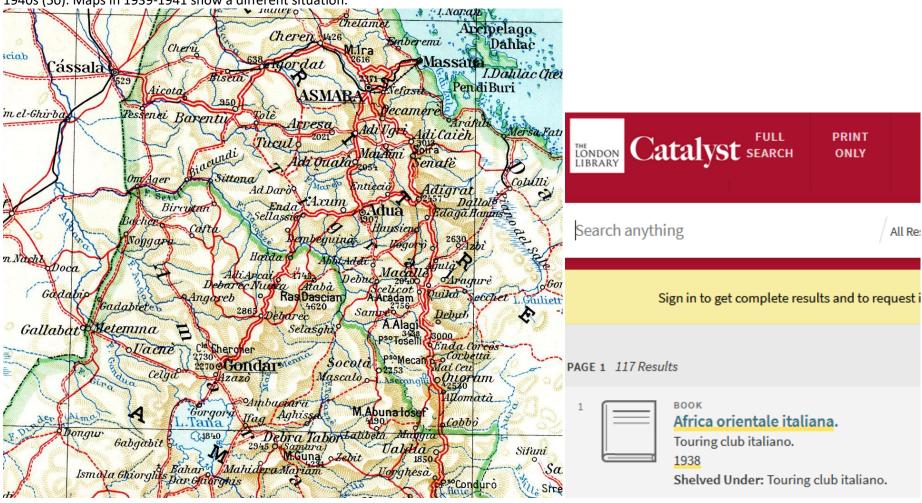
	Map Overview
Title	[Saishin echiopiakoku meisai zenzu / Latest Details on the Country of Ethiopia]
Sub Title	
Continent	Africa
Region	East
Place Names	Ethiopia
Year Of Origin	1936
Publish Of Origin	Tokyo
Language	
	Creators
Cartographers	
Duhlishers	Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbunsha

Anon., 1936. Saishin echiopiakoku meisai zenzu (Latest Details on the Country of Ethiopia). Tokyo, Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbunsha. https://catalog.afriterra.org/map/3986

DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 175

Consociazione Turistica Italiano, 1938

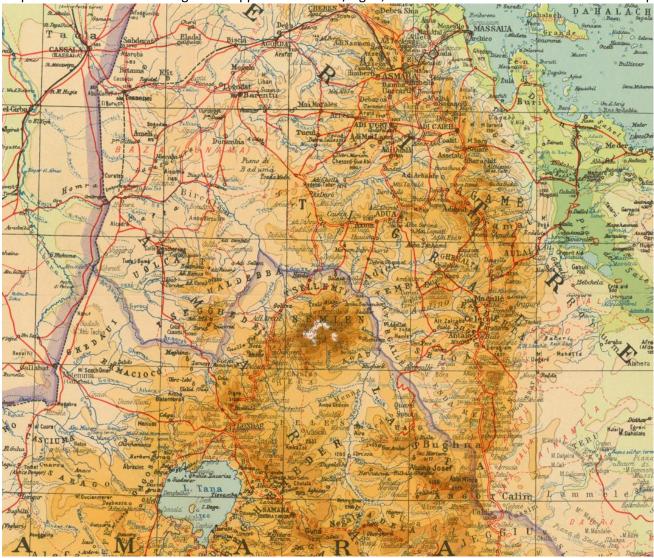
Widely published map. For a period of five years (1936-1941), most parts of the Horn of Africa were included in "Africa orientale Italiana" (AOI). Within this AOI, the Eritrean southern frontier lost its status of international boundary, as Eritrea was attached to Tigray, becoming a province of the newly formed AOI (49). The administrative borders are clearly represented on this map. Border between Eritrea/Tigrai and Amara follows the Tekeze River. Numerous Italian maps published in 1936-1938 by IGMI but also by media display this course of the border between "Amara" and "Eritrea". This situation was also reproduced on British/South African topographic maps of Ethiopia in the 1940s (50). Maps in 1939-1941 show a different situation.



 $\frac{\text{https://catalyst.londonlibrary.co.uk/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma990004461790206436\&context=L\&vid=44LON_INST:LondonLib\&lang=en\&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI\&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine\&tab=Everything&query=any,contains,africa%20orientale%20italiana%201938\&offset=0$

Ministero dell'Africa Italiana, 1939

On 1 July 1939, the Italian coloniser made an administrative rearrangement: "Setit-Angareb" (Uolcait) was included again with Eritrea/Tigray (Gov. Gen. Decree on 1 July 1939) (13, 51, 52). As of the second half of 1939, the change in administrative border between "Governo Eritrea" and "Governo Amara" is clearly represented on the Italian maps. Welkait and surroundings are mapped with Eritrea/Tigrai; Tselemti and Dima included in Amara. Compare to next page, and De Agostini, 1941.



Africa orientale Italiana : carta dimostrativa fisico-politica / Ministero Dell'/ Italiana ufficio studi servizio cartografico. Costruita, redatta e disegnata di Achille Dardano

Dardano, Achille *1870-1938*

Italia / Ministero dell'Africa Italiana / Ufficio Studi

3. ed. aggiornata al 31 dicembre 1938-XVII

1:2.000.000

Italian

Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1939

1 Kt : mehrfarb ; 95 x 112 cm

Nebent.: Carta fisico politica dell' Africa orientale Italiana

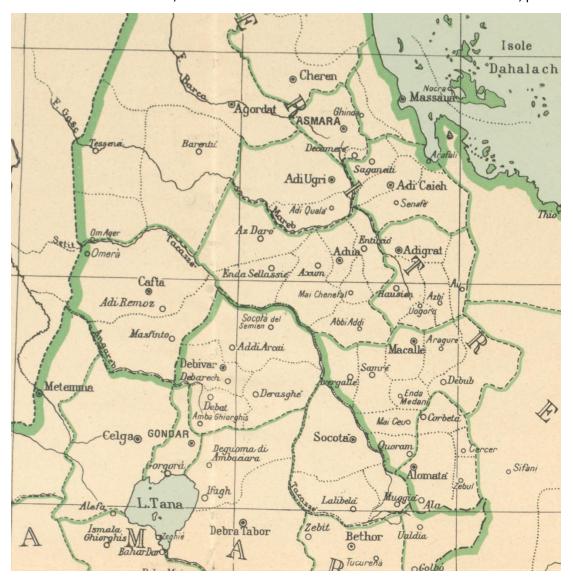
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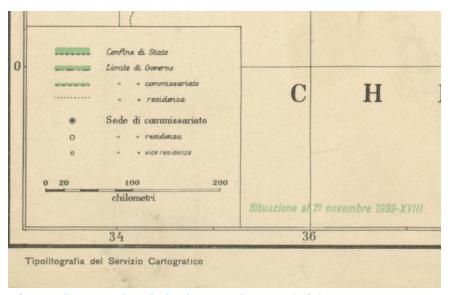
Unter den Linden - Requesting/Consulting in the Maps Reading Room contact

https://stabikat.de/DB=1/LNG=EN/CLK?IKT=12&TRM=392452332

Ministero dell'Africa Italiana, 1940

Administrative borders clearly represented. Welkait and surroundings (the hexagon north of Lake Tana) mapped with Eritrea/Tigrai; Addi Arcai district, including the current Tselemti and Dima woredas, is included in "Amara". Boundaries as of November 1939, published in 1940.





Libreria: Libreria Grandangolo di Salvarani Paolo e c. sas (Italia)

Soggetti: Storia e politica – colonie – Geografia viaggi esplorazioni – Prodotti

Peso di spedizione: 1.000 g

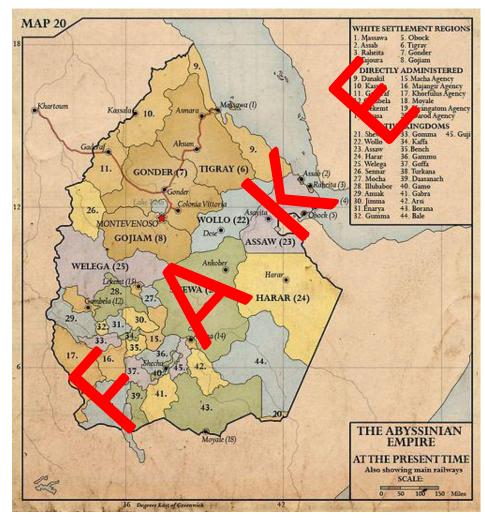
Note Bibliografiche

Carta geografica, CIRCOSCRIZIONI AMMINISTRATIVE Dell'Africa orientale Italiana N 743 – 1940–XVIII Tipolitografia del Servizio Cartografico,1940, cm 64x56, grande carta geografica ripiegata, legenda al margine inferiore. Condizioni di conservazione Esemplare in discrete condizioni con tracce d'uso, normali pieghe con alcuni strappi restaurati (vedi foto), angoli con pieghette e angolo sup destro mancante, margini con piccoli strappetti e qualche macchietta, per le condizioni vedi foto. Ministero dell'Africa Italiana ufficio studi servizio Cartografico SCO3.D14963F blu

https://www.maremagnum.com/libri-antichi/grande-carta-circoscrizioni-amministrative-africa-orientale/163503214

Thomasten, ca. 1940 – fake map

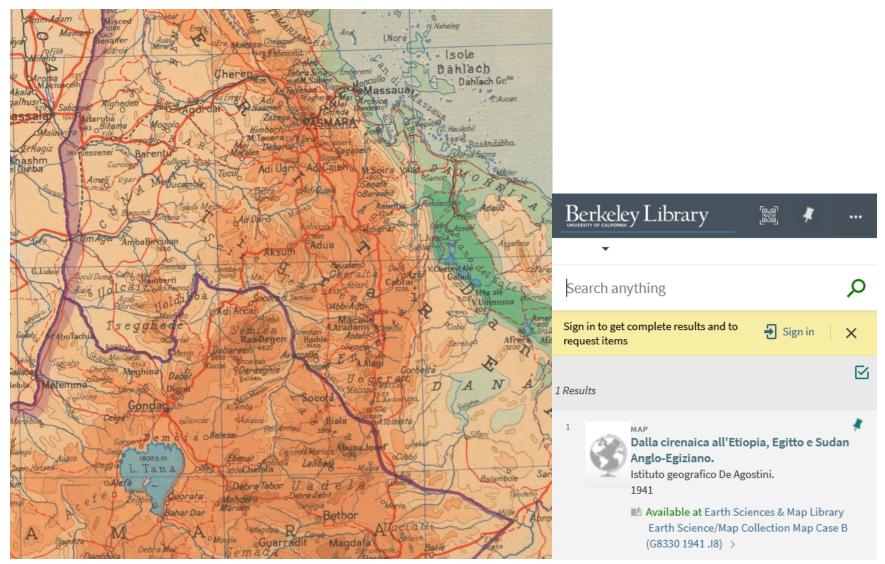
Not used in the meta-analysis.



This map is often posted on social media as evidence that the Gonder-Tigray border has been on Tekeze since the time of the Abyssinian empire. The map shows numerous flaws. See non-existent "white settlement regions", "Montevenoso", "Colonia Vittoria", railways and encroachment onto Sudan and Djibouti. The map is fake; it was created in 2009. Source is Ed Thomasten, a believer of Alternate History: https://www.deviantart.com/edthomasten/art/Empire-of-Abyssinia-c-1940-145811981. Colleagues fake mappers discuss the creation here: https://www.deviantart.com/edthomasten/art/Empire-of-Abyssinia-c-1940-145811981

De Agostini, 1941

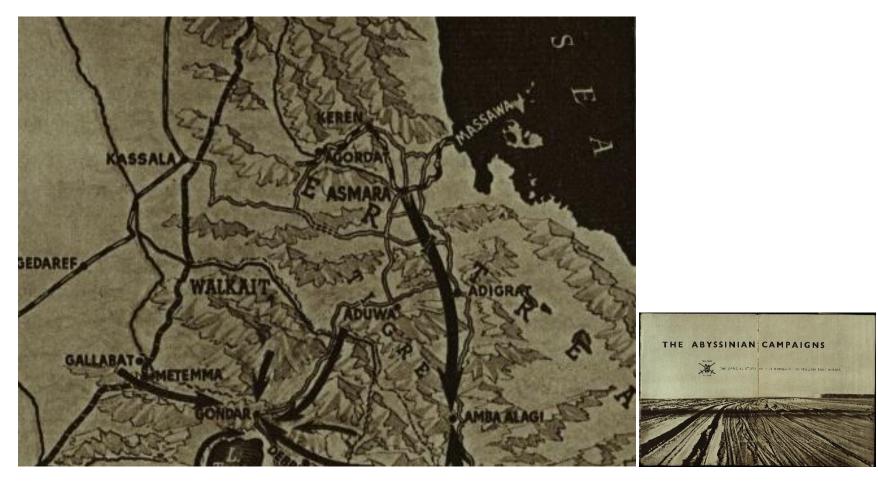
Administrative border clearly represented. "Uolcait" and surroundings mapped with Eritrea/Tigrai; just east of it, Tselemti and Dima are mapped with the then Italian Amara province



 $\frac{https://search.library.berkeley.edu/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991024063599706532\&context=L\&vid=01UCS_BER:UCB\&lang=en\&search_scope=MyInstitution\&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine\&tab=Everything\&query=any,contains,39146267\&offset=0$

HMSO, **1942**

The maps in this book about the British warfare against the Italian army in Ethiopia reused the borders drawn on the 1938 Italian maps, and, hence, put the border between Eritrea/Tigre and Amara on Tekeze River.



https://search.iisg.amsterdam/Record/293356

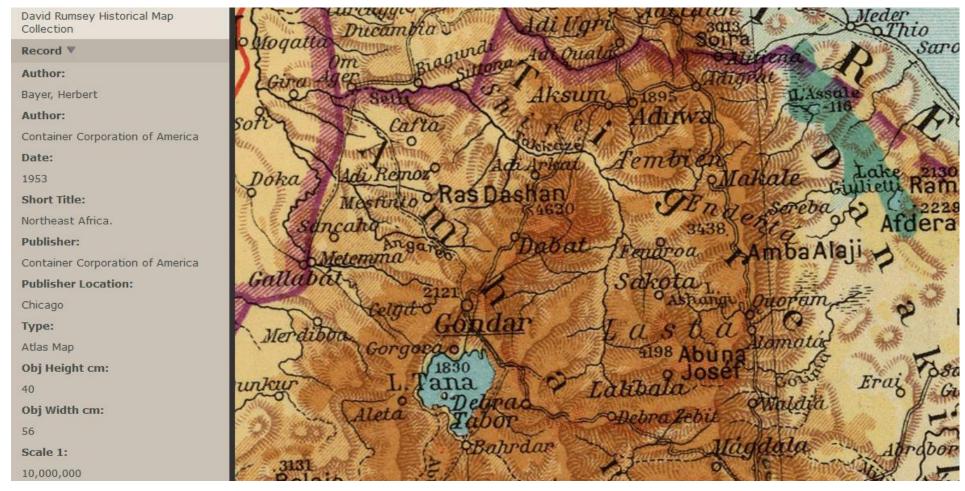
De Agostini, **1952**

Border on Tacazze.

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Instituto Geographico di Agostini	Gira de la
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Bayer, **1953**

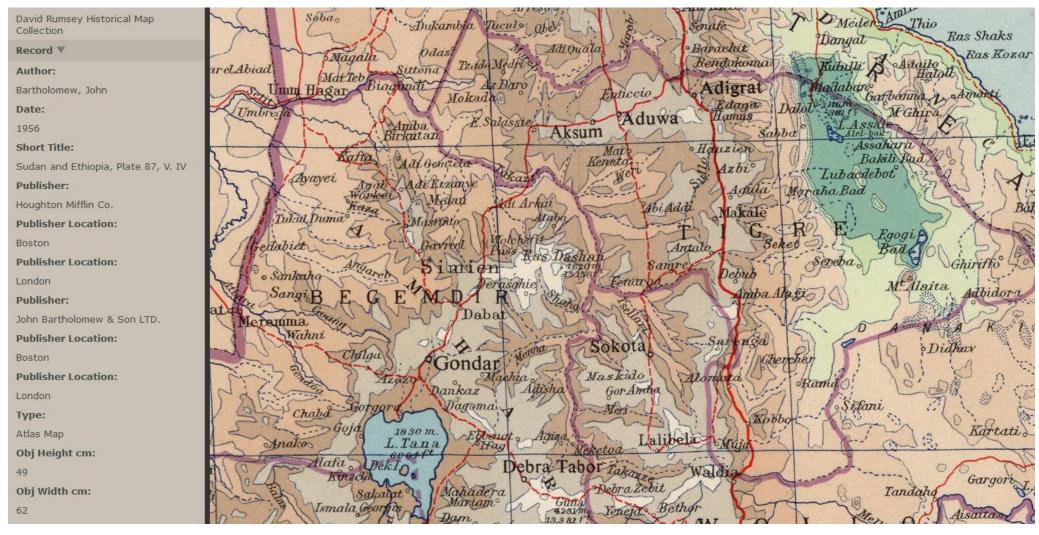
Internal borders not drawn



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~218067~5504025:Northeast-Africa-

Bartholomew, 1956

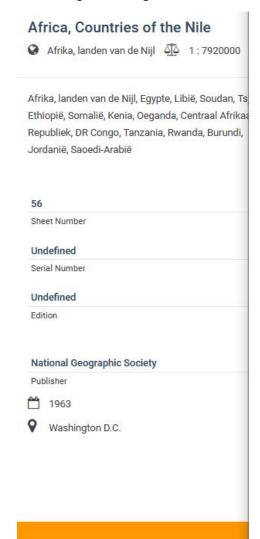
Border on Takazze; Kobbo and Muja included in Tigre

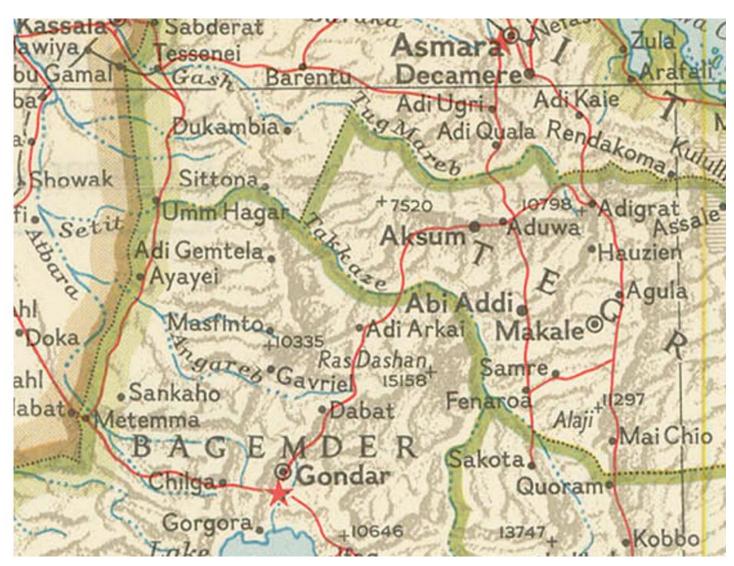


https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~225488~5506192:Sudan-and-Ethiopia,-Plate-87,-V--IV

National Geographic Society, 1963

Border Bagemder/Tegre on Takkaze

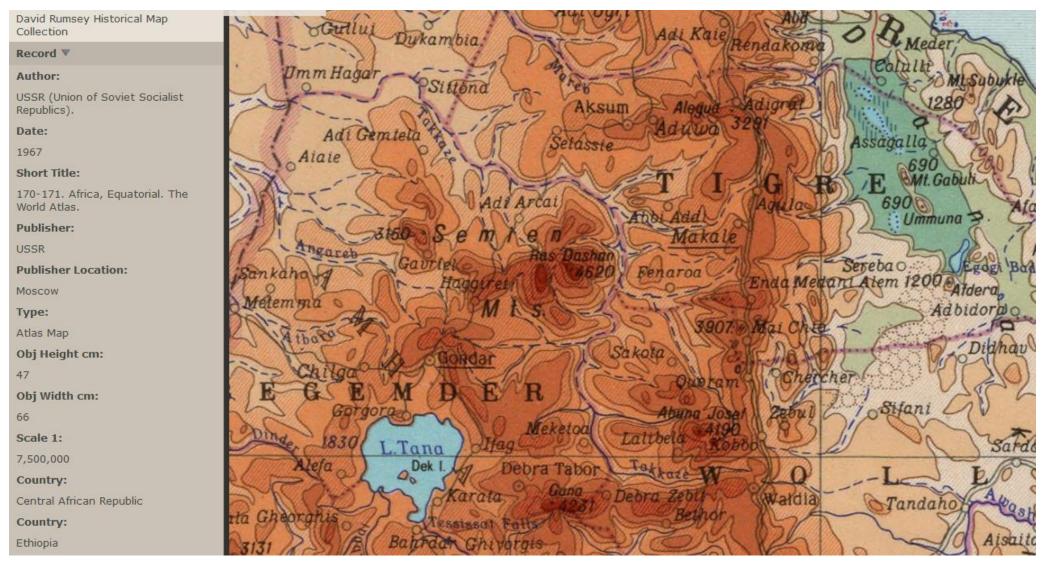




https://www.atlas.ugent.be/items/5071

USSR, 1967

Border Begemder/Tigre on Tekeze

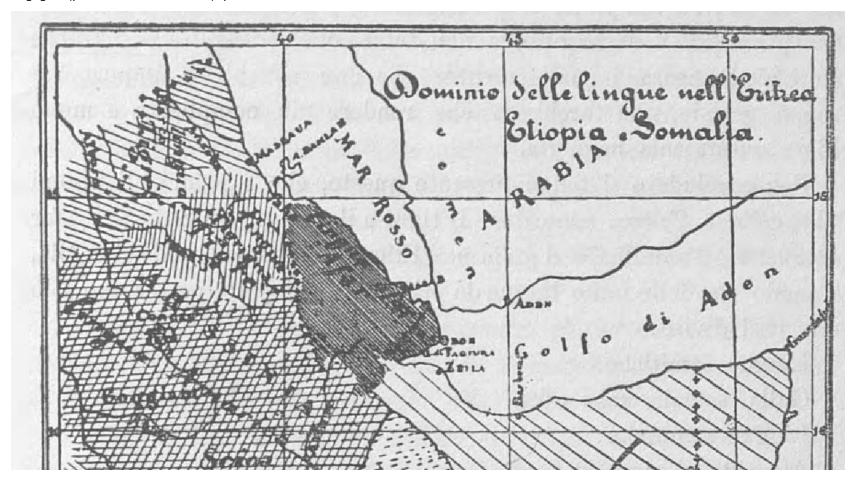


https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~208346~3001988:170-171--Africa,-Equatorial--The-Wo

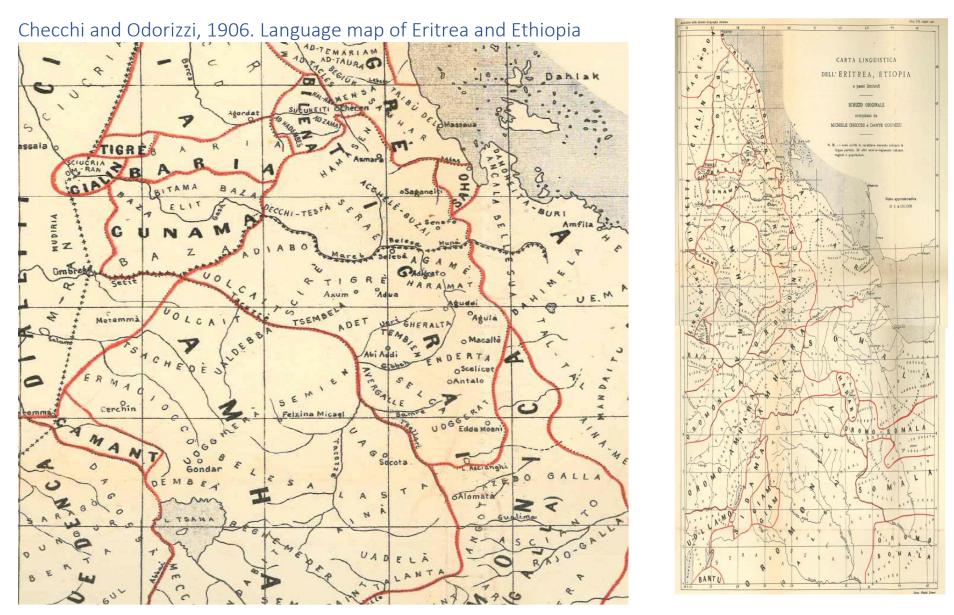
ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS

Wolynski, 1903: Dominio delle lingue nell'Eritrea, nell'Ethiopia e nella Somalia

"Tigrigna" (pattern with vertical lines) spans across Tekeze River.



Wolynski, D., 1903. Glottologia coloniale. Lingue e dialetti parlati nell'Eritrea, nell'Ethiopia e nella Somalia. L'Italia Coloniale, 4 (1): 1-18. http://sebinaol.unior.it/sebinao/repository/catalogazione/documenti/Wolinski Glottologia%20coloniale%20(84531).pdf



Checchi, M., Odorizzi, D., 1906. Carta linguistica dell'Eritrea, Etiopia et paesi limitrofi. Bolletino della Societa Geografica Italiana, 43 (2). Republished in colour in 1912 (next page).

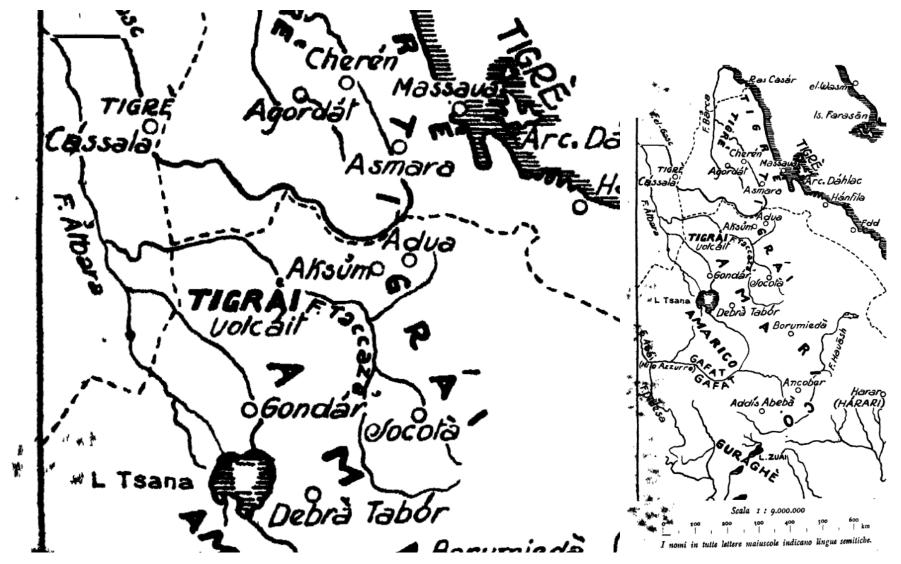
Checchi, Giardi & Mori, 1912. Langages spoken in Eritrea MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI

This map shows use of arabic dialect (Gialin or Cialin), well into the current Western Tigray. It republishes the outlines by Checchi & Odorizzi (1906)

Conti Rossini, C., 1912. Uno sguardo all'Etiopia settentrionale e alle regioni limitrofe nei rispetti linguistici. Rivista Coloniale, 2: 349-353. Map drawn by M. Checchi, G. Giardi, A. Mori.

Conti Rossini, 1921: Lingue semitiche d'Etiopia

Names in bold capital letters indicate extent of Semitic languages in Ethiopia. Tigrai language stretches west from Tekeze River up to the Sudanese border, including Uolcait.



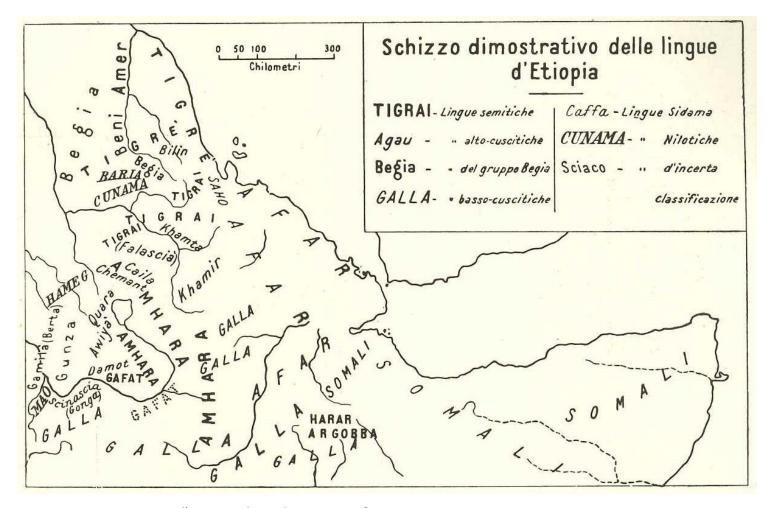
Conti Rossini, C., 1921. Le lingue e letterature semitiche d'Etiopia. Oriente Moderno, 1: 169-176. In contrast to the previous map, drawn by other authors, here Conti Rossini reports his own findings. https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.318622

Meillet and Cohen, 1924. Tentative language map of Ethiopia ESSAL DE CARTE LINGUISTIQUE - LÉGENDE -DE LA RÉGION ÉTHIOPIENNE Blanc ___ Langues sémiliques éthiopiennes. par Marcel COHEN. d'après : les cartes de Borelli, Checchi, Montandon, Paulitschke, Rossetti , Johnston; des indications prises dans les ouvrages de Conti Rossini, Kolmodin, Munzinger, Reinisch, Seligmann, Cerulli; des renseignements recueillis sur le terrain. ARABIE ESSAI
DE CARTE LINGUISTIQUE DE LA RÉGION ÉTHIOPIENNE par Marcel COHEN. Limites de langues d'après : les cartes de Borelli, Checci -.. - de dialectes Montandon, Paulitschke, Rassetti Johns Limites politiques. Conti Rossini, Kolmodin, Munzinger, Rein Seligmann, Cerulli;

Meillet, A., Cohen, M. (eds.), 1924. Les langues du monde. Paris : Librairie Ancienne Edouard Champion.

Here, Marcel Cohen maps Welkait as Amharic speaking with Falasha inclusions, and Tigrinya in Tsellemti. The same map is also redrawn in his 1936 book.

Conti Rossini, 1928. Overview map of the languages of Ethiopia



Conti Rossini, C., 1928. Storia d'Etiopia. Vol 1. Milano: A. Lucini & C.

Mapping style and extent of languages are in line with Conti Rossini's 1921 map.

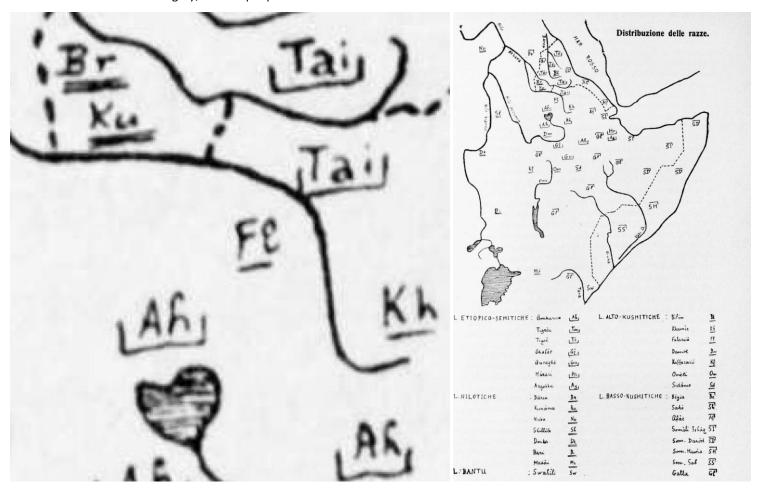
Cohen, 1931. Sketch map of the Ethiopian Semitic languages TI GREMINA Asmara o Zula (adoulis) TI GREMINA Hodeida Hodeida

Raheita Obok Djibouti Zeila Hararum HARARI ARGOBBA Addis Ababa Kilométres 200 100 Les bachures indiquent approximativement la crête des bauts plateaux (2400 mêtres environ au Nord du fleuve Haouache, 1800 mêtres environ au Sud de ce fleuve, 2400 mêtres environ en Arabie). GOURAGUÉ

Cohen, M., 1931. Etudes d'éthiopien méridional. Paris: Geuthner.

Ducati, 1931. Distribuzione delle razze

No information on Western Tigray; Falasha people in Simien Mts.

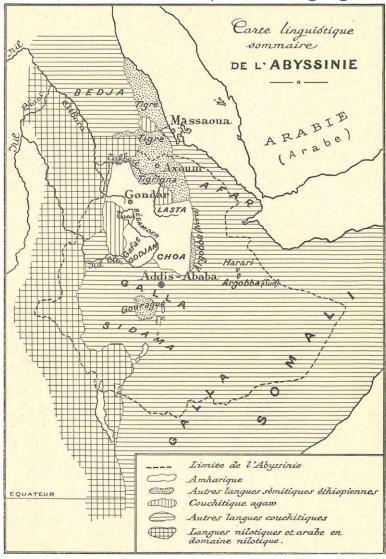


Quite generalised map; from north to south, the Mereb River, the Eritrean border, the Tekeze River and Lake Tana may be used as reference.

Ah = Amharico; Tai = Tigrai; Br = Baria; Ku = Kunama; Fl = Falascia; Kh = Khamir

Ducati, B., 1931. Stirpi camitiche e idiomi dell'Africa italiana. Rivista delle colonie italiane, V: 767-782.

Cohen, 1936. Sketch map of the languages in Abyssinia



Cohen, M., 1936. Traité de langue amharique. Paris : Institut d'Ethnologie.

Note that this reproduces the Meillet & Cohen (1924) "tentative" map

Ellero, 1939-1940. Ethnographic fieldwork

The notebooks of ethnographer Giovanni Ellero, holding field notes from Welkait, have been published as a book by Professors Dore, Mantel-Niečko and Taddia: "I Quaderni dal Wälqayt" (L'Harmattan Italia, 2005) (13).

Ellero was in Welkait in 1939-1940, where he was district administrator as part of the Italian occupying administration. He was taken prisoner by the British in 1941; his wife Pia Maria Pezzoli typed and organised the field notes when Ellero was prisoner and at the same time administrator in Eritrea under the supervision of S.F. Nadel SPO. In 1942 he was transferred to South Africa as prisoner of war, but he perished when the boat on which they travelled was sunk by the Japanese marine.

For his fieldwork, Ellero visited all villages of Welkait, and also part of Kafta. For every village he noted (among many other details) the number of inhabitants, the origin of the first inhabitants of the village, and the genealogy of how the inhabitants were related to the founders of the village. Language(s) practiced, religion, cropping system, and sometimes tales, habits and customs were also recorded. Ellero did not draw a language map, but his inventory is exhaustive. The notebooks included hand-drawn maps of all sub-districts visited (Fig. E1).

In almost all studied villages, the inhabitants remembered that, many generations earlier, their forefathers had migrated from a specific place of origin in the Tigray highlands; some villages were also inhabited by descendants of slaves, especially in the eastern plains ("Mezega Uolcait"). In all villages, the people were reported to speak Tigrinya, with mostly passive knowledge of Amharic. Those who were literate wrote in Amharic; Ellero mentions the reason: all communication with the administration was in Amharic. The descendants of slaves had forgotten their original language, and all practiced Tigrinya for daily communication. However, the priests commonly preached in Amharic, as was common all over Ethiopia at the time.

Some examples:

(113-114) Belamba: "they speak Tigrinya, but Amharic is also understood. They write in Amharic due to the fact that the commanders were Amhara, and because Amharic is the official language".

Gianni Dore Joanna Mantel-Niečko Irma Taddia

I QUADERNI DEL WÄLQAYT

DOCUMENTI PER LA STORIA SOCIALE
DELL'ETIOPIA

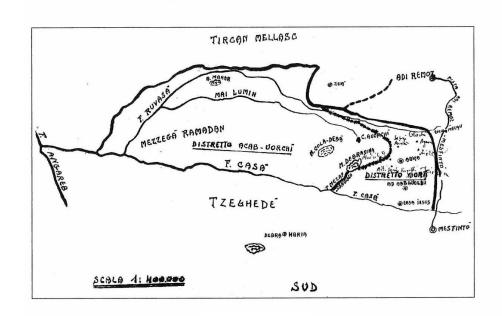


L'Harmattan Italia
"Il Politico e La Memoria"

(141-142) Mezega Uolcait: inhabitants were mostly descendants of slaves and of Oromo migrants, they tended to mix with the Tigrayans. They commonly spoke Tigrinya, almost all understood Amharic but spoke it badly. The Oromos remembered their original language, the others had forgotten it.

(146) Tselolo: "The familiar language in Tselolo is Tigrinya. All can also understand and speak Amharic: it it especially used in songs and in court. Preaching in the churches is in Amharic".

(153-154) Aura: "They speak Tigrinya, but Amharic is understood by all. They write in Amharic. Preaches are in Tigrinya"



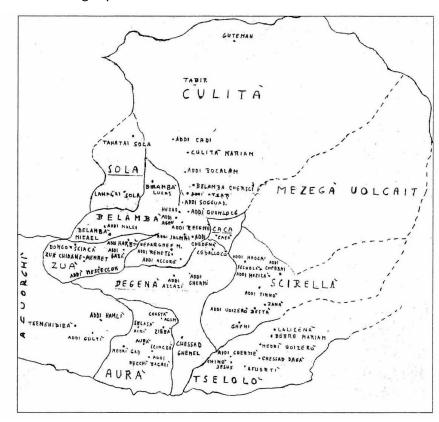


Fig. E1. Overview maps of Welkait from Ellero's field notebook. There is overlap between the left and right maps (district Aura). For every sub-district, there is a specific map, showing the locations of the villages visited.

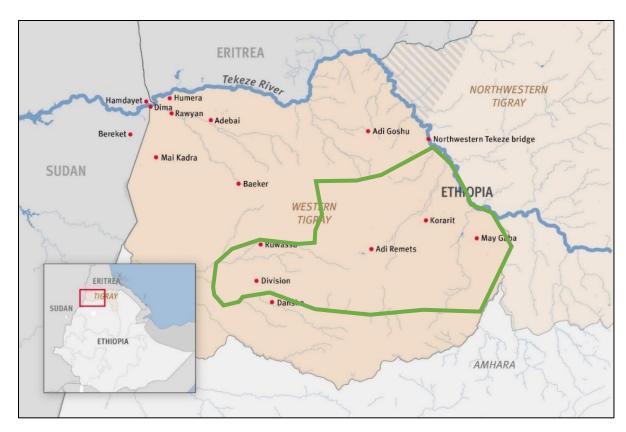


Fig. E2. Welkait in 1939-1940, according to Ellero's field notes (Fig. E1; generalised borders of Welkait in green colour). Here, every village was visited at the time by Ellero and his team; everywhere Tigrinya was the mother tongue; Amharic was understood and used at variable degrees. Base map © Human Rights Watch & Amnesty International, 2022 (1).

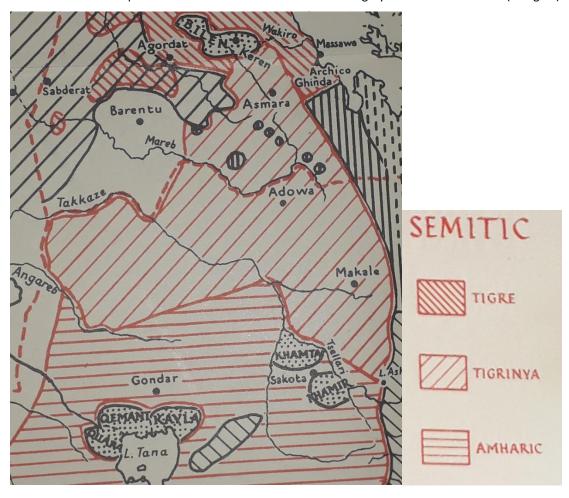
Pages 204-208 of the *Quaderni* hold a list of 116 place names with their etymology, obtained by Ellero and his translators. The etymology of most place names is of Tigrinya origin. Some exceptions for Addi Tinno (Oromo for a short person), Zua (Falasha), Batua Mariam (bible), In the whole list of place names, there are no locations that in 1939 held a name of Amharic origin. More specifically, among the 116 place names, there are

- 76 (more than half) locations named Addi ...
- 12 locations named Mai ...
- Selassa Aini (T: ሰላሳ ዓይኒ) thirty eyes
- Seleste Codo (T: ስለስተ ኮዶ) three fig trees, most probably Ficus sur (53)
- Agam (T: ኢጋም) vernacular name for the shrub Carissa edulis (53)
- Edaga Hamus (T: ዕዳጋ ሃመስ) Thursday market
- Lahalai Uollel and Tahatai Uollel (T: ላዕለዋይ ዎለል; ታሕተዋይ ዎለል) upper and lower part of Uollel village; the word "Uollel" according the inhabitants indicates a plain with a lot of grazing cattle
- Gual Emba (T: ጓል እምባ) daughter of the mountain, typically used for a village on a hill, adjacent to a larger mountain
- Chessad Daga (T: ክሳድ ሪዳጋ) market place on a mountain pass
- Chetri (T: ከትሪ) "Ketri", river narrowing, by analogy used for mountain pass. See also current use of "ketri" for check dam.
- Many other place names, similarly transpiring the symbiosis between people and place may be discovered in the "Quaderni", pp. 204-208.

In our understanding, this is the most detailed field investigation that has been done in the area by an ethnographer.

Bryan, 1948. Map of Semitic and Cushitic languages.

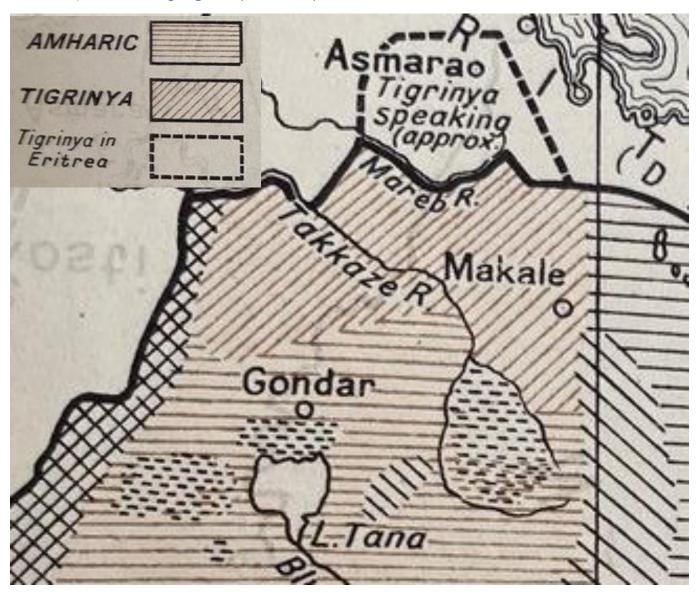
The southern border of the Tigrinya-speaking area is drawn as a straight line between the Angareb and Takkaze Rivers. Simoons (1960) draws it slightly curved. Bryan (1948) explicitly mentions that the strip to both sides of the southern border of Tigray is often a transitional (bilingual) zone.



Semitic languages in red colours, Cushitic languages in black colours. Broken red lines represent international borders.

Bryan, M.A., 1948. The distribution of the Semitic and Cushitic languages of Africa. International African Institute & Oxford University Press.

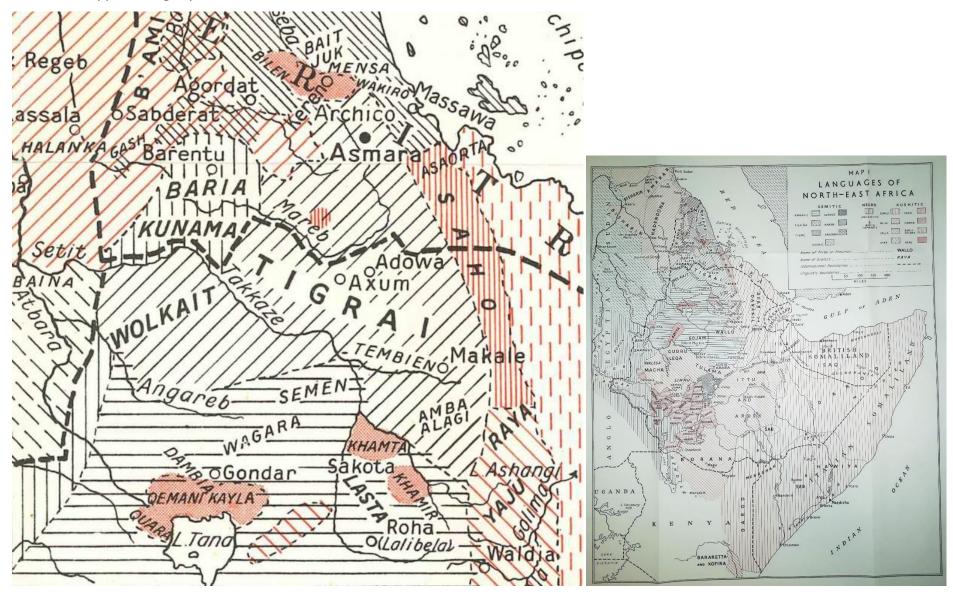
Perham, 1948: Language map of Ethiopia



Perham M.F., 1948. The government of Ethiopia. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 481 p.

Trimingham, 1952. Languages of North-East Africa

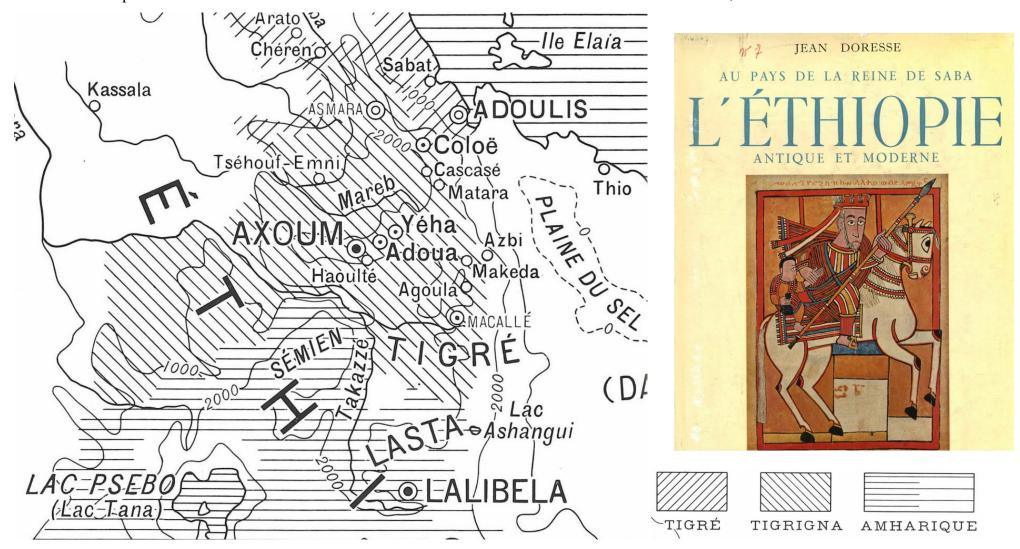
Wolkait is mapped as Tigrinya dialect.



Trimingham, J.S., 1952. Islam in Ethiopia. Oxford University Press.

Doresse, 1956. Semitic languages in Ethiopia.

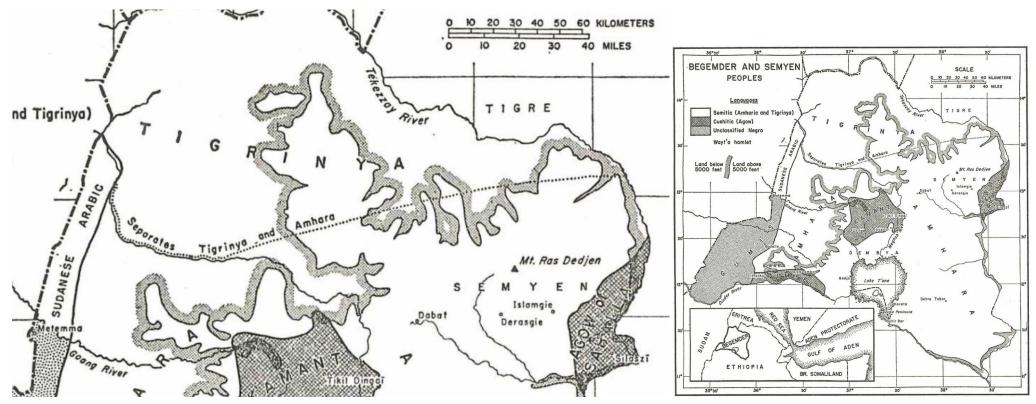
Doresse does not indicate the sources used to prepare this map, that shows Tigrinya spoken in the current Western Tigray, as well as south of it in the lowlands of Aramachiho up to the banks of Atbara River near Metemma. Contour lines with 1000 m interval in thin lines; rivers in thicker lines.



Doresse, J., 1956. Au pays de la reine de Saba – L'Ethiopie antique et moderne. Paris: Albert Guillot

Simoons, 1960. Begemder and Semyen, peoples.

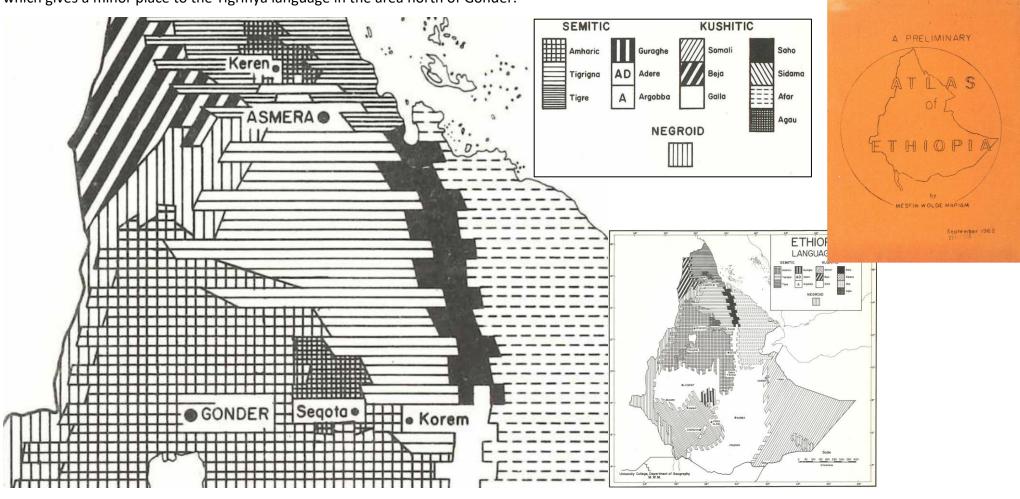
Tigrinya/Amharic language boundary drawn on a map displaying the political boundaries as they were in 1960. The northern one third of the then Begemder province inhabited by Tigrinya speakers. This fits closely with the current legal border between the Tigray and Amhara Regions.



Simoons, F.J., 1960. Northwest Ethiopia: peoples and economy. Madison (Wis): University of Wisconsin Press

Mesfin Woldemariam, 1962. A preliminary atlas of Ethiopia: Languages.

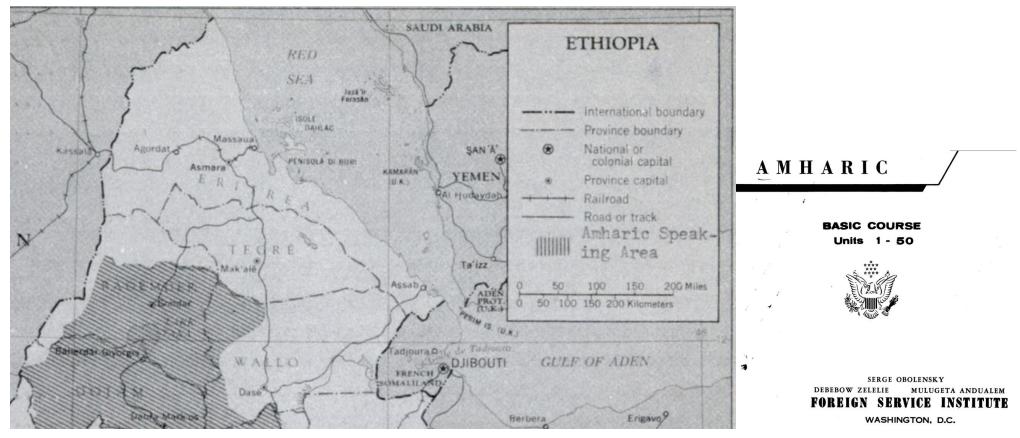
Source for language distribution not mentioned. Explanatory note with this map: "The attempt here is merely to show the distribution of the various language families and the major languages of each family. This is not because of any attempt to conceal the fact that there are many more dialects than are shown on the map but because an attempt has heen made to avoid details and pretense to accuracy. For a better understanding and assessment it is necessary to look at this map with that of population density; otherwise one may fall easily into error". A similar note was written with the map of religions. Mesfin seemed to do a large effort to highlight Orthodox Christian and Amhara dominance of Ethiopia, what may downplay the significance of this map, which gives a minor place to the Tigrinya language in the area north of Gonder.



Mesfin Woldemariam, 1962. A preliminary atlas of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa.

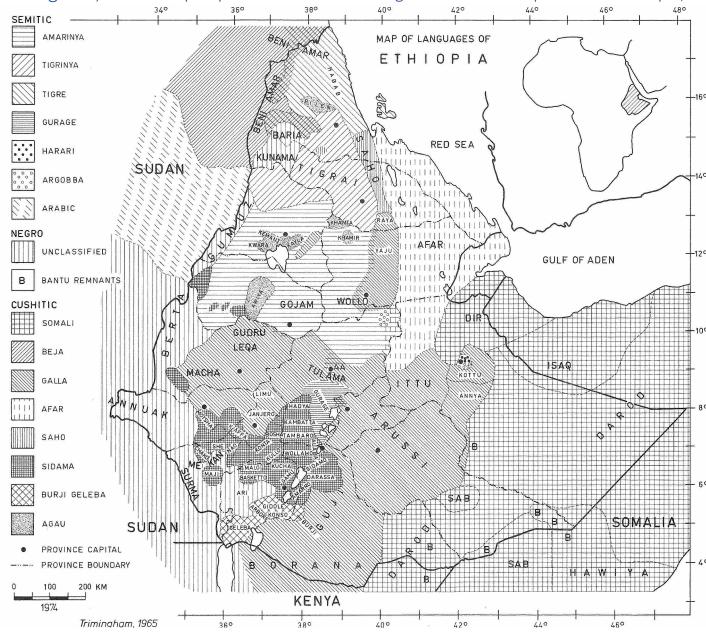
Obolensky, Debebow, Mulugeta, 1964. Amharic speaking area

On this map, the northern part of the then Bagemder province is displayed as non-Amharic speaking area. That area corrresponds to the current Western Tigray, as well as Tselemti and Dima woredas in Northwestern Tigray.

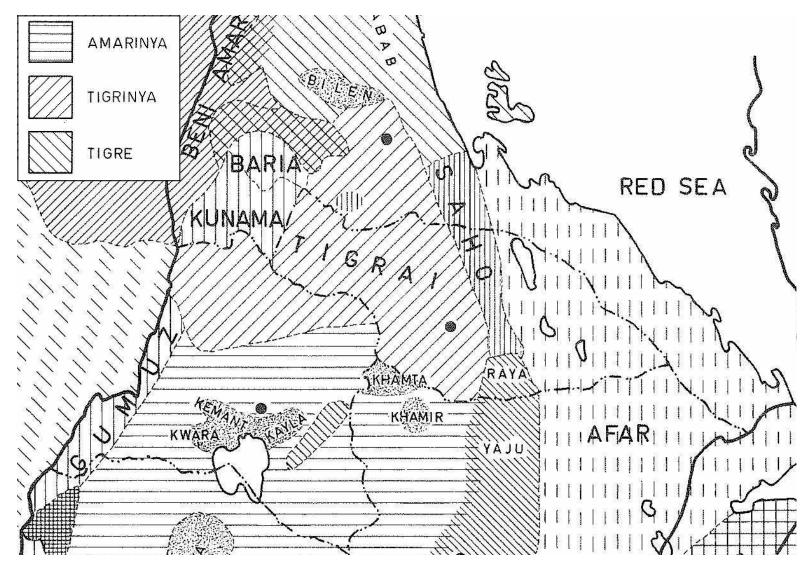


https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31210007315870&view=1up&seq=17&q1=map

Trimingham, 1965: Map of provinces and ethno-linguistic settlement patterns in Ethiopia, republished by Westphal (1974)



DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 207

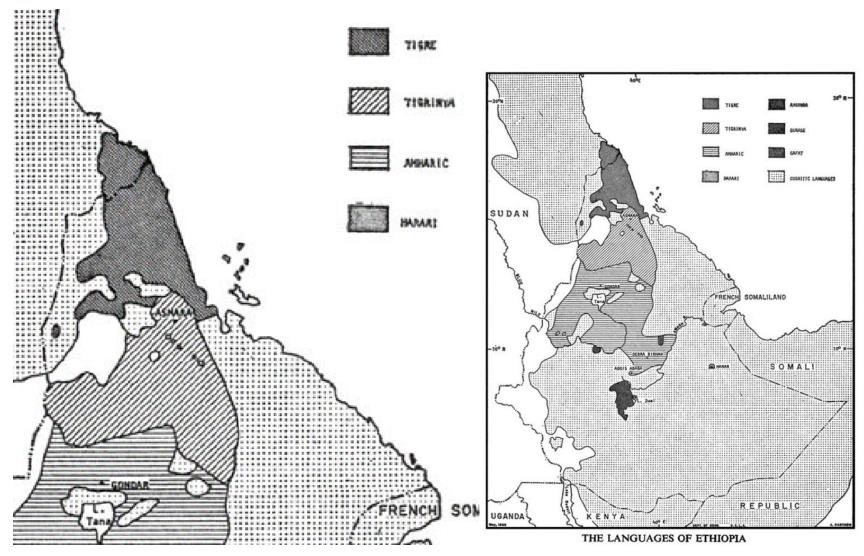


Excerpt of: Trimingham, 1965. Map of provinces and ethno-linguistic settlement patterns in Ethiopia, republished by Westphal (1975) Trimingham J.S., 1965. Islam in Ethiopia. London: Frank Cass & Company.

Westphal E., 1975. Agricultural systems in Ethiopia. Wageningen: Centre for Agricultural Publishing and Documentation. 278 p.

Leslau, 1965: The Semitic languages of Ethiopia

Tigrinya language extends from East to West up to the Sudanese border



Leslau, W., 1965. An annotated Bibliography of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111657325

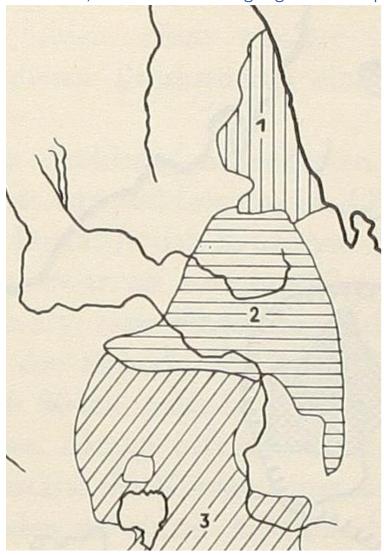
Levine, 1965. Amharic- and Tigrinya-speaking areas in Ethiopia



Levine, D., 1965. Wax & gold – tradition and innovation in Ethiopian culture.

Note: there is a contradiction in this work between the map, and a footnote that places the ethnic border on the Tekkeze river. In a later work (1974), Levine maps the language border on the River. Levine is "unique" in the sense that he reproduces the "Cohen 1920s" vision up into the 1970s, despite ethnographic fieldwork around 1940 (Ellero) and 1960 (Simoons)

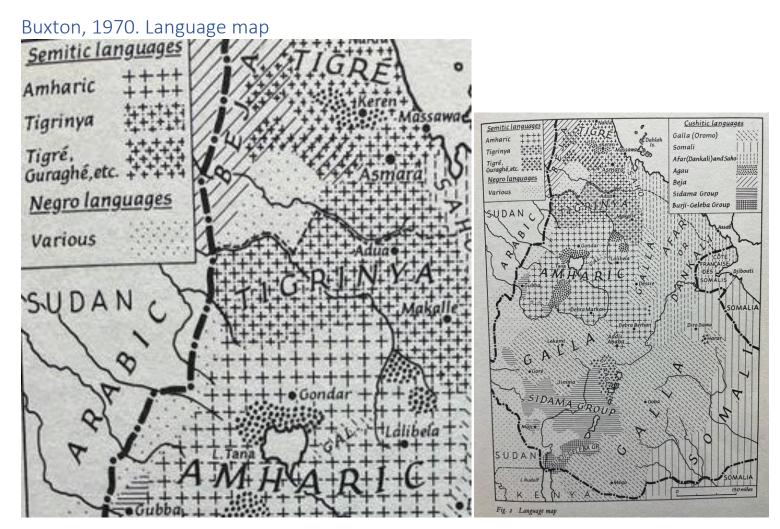
Haberland, 1965. Semitic languages in Ethiopia



Map represents language distribution at end of 19th C.: 1 Tigre, 2 Tigrinya, 3 Amharic. Physiographic features allow to position the extent of the language domains: Red Sea coast, Mereb R., Tekezze R., Lake Tana.

Haberland, E., 1965. Untersuchungen zum äthiopischen Königtum. Wiesbaden: Steiner. https://opendata.uni-halle.de//handle/1981185920/103054 (open access).

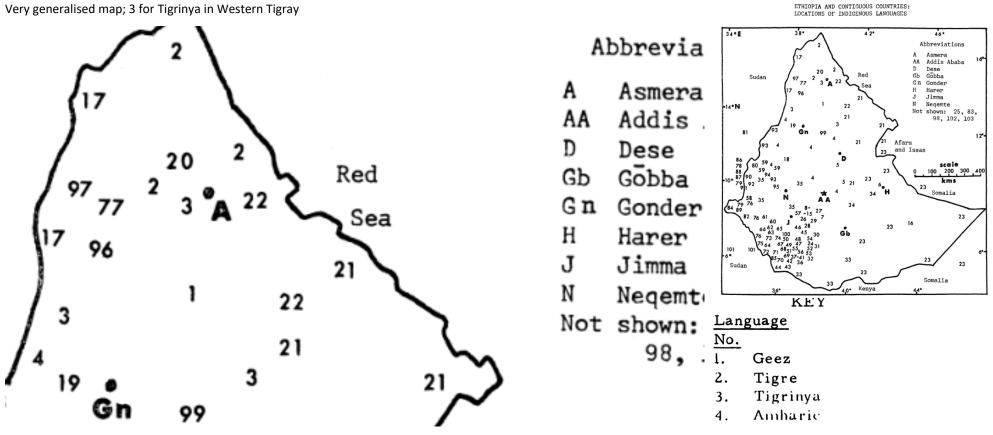
In the introduction of this book, he summarises the development of the Semitic language domains, as well as Agaw, in northern Ethiopia in three maps. See the full maps and translated snippets here: https://tghat.com/2023/04/18/eike-haberlands-extent-of-semitic-languages-in-the-horn-of-africa-through-time-with-3-maps/



Buxton, D.R., 1970. The Abyssinians. Praeger Publishers.

Bender, 1971. Locations of indigenous languages

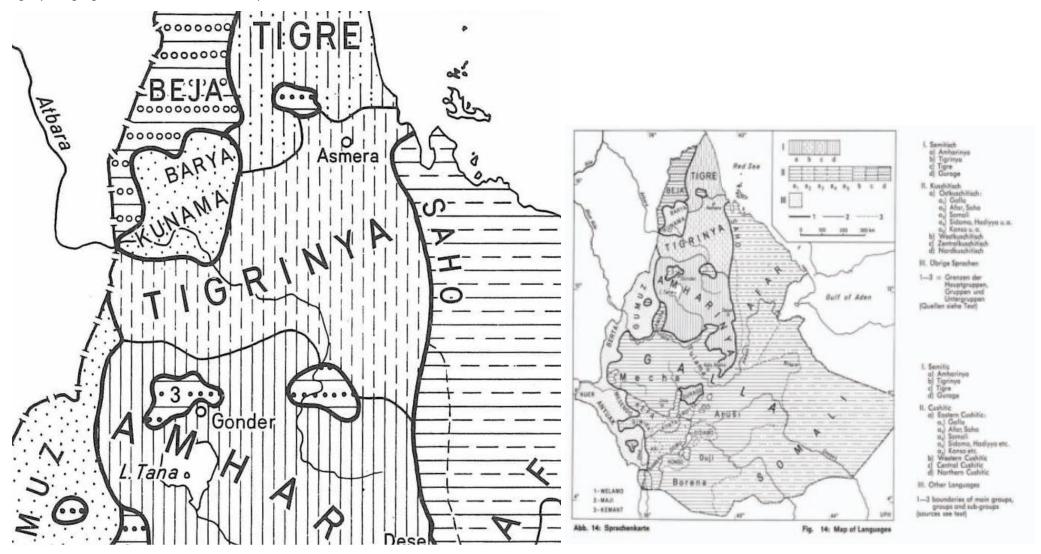
Very generalised map; 3 for Tigrinya in Western Tigray



Bender, M.L., 1971. The Languages of Ethiopia: A New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion. Anthropological Linguistics, 13 (5): 165-288. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30029540?seq=1

Kuls, 1972: Map of languages

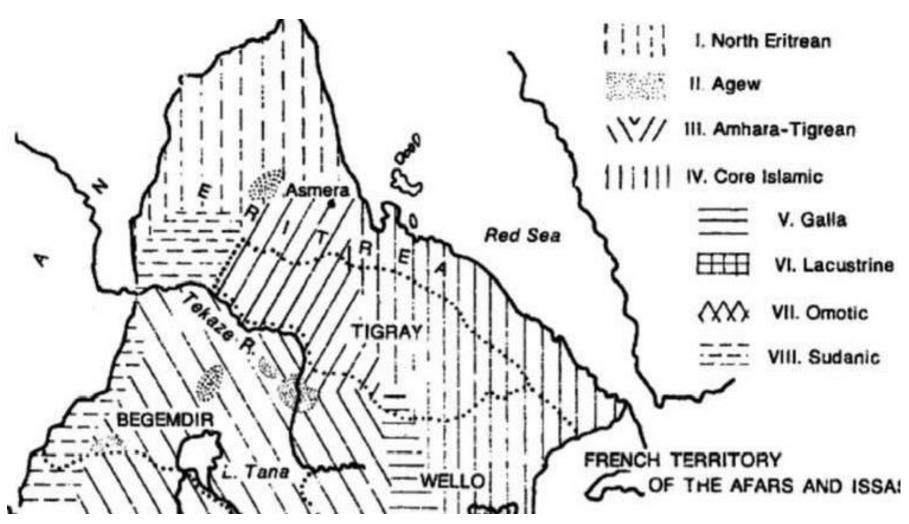
Tigrinya language with full East-West extent up to the Sudanese border, across the Tekeze River.



Schaller, K.F., Kuls, W., 1972. Äthiopien-Ethiopia. Eine geographisch-medizinische Landeskunde / A geomedical monograph. Geomedical monograph series, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften Math.-nat. Springer-Verlag Berlin, Heidelberg, New York.

Levine, 1974: Language map

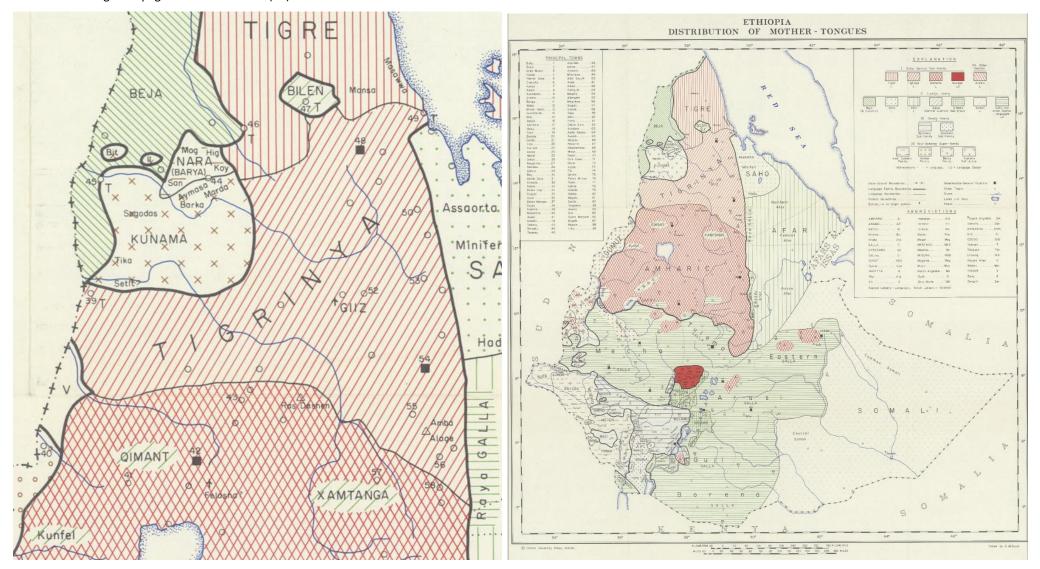
Besides an extent of Amhara language that is out of phase with all other language maps (pages 187 to 225), Levine's map holds numerous other inconsistencies. Tigre or Gurage are absent from the legend; dozens of Cushitic and Omotic ethnic groups as well as Gurage are lumped as "lacustrine"; Afar and Somali are merged into "core Islamic"; Amhara and Tigrean proposed for merger...



Levine D., 1974. Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

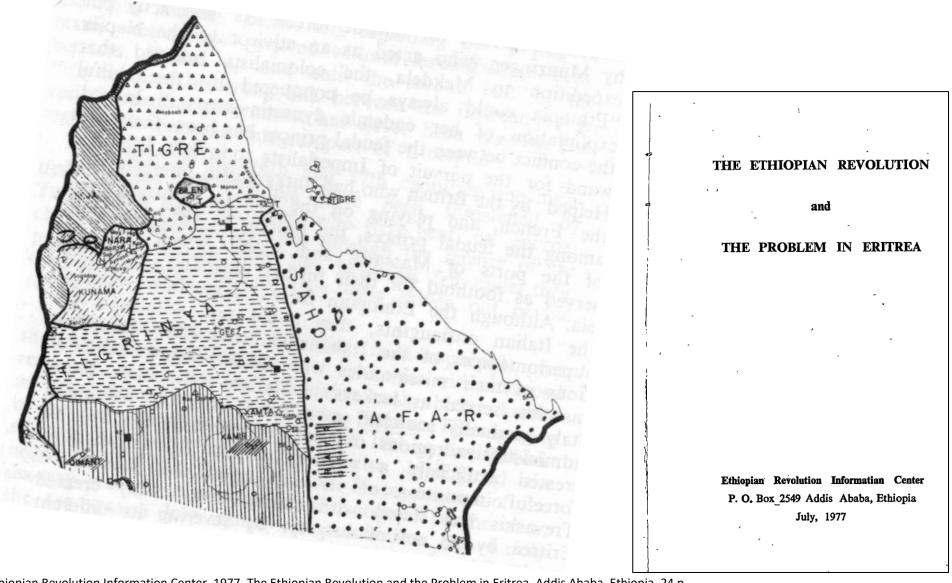
Bender et al., 1976. Ethiopia, distribution of mother-tongues

The current western Tigray mapped as Tigrinya-speaking, with Kunama along the shores of the lower Tekeze River. Localised "T" at Humera (39) for Takruri, people of West African origin who settled along their pilgrim route to Mecca (54).



Bender, M.L., Bowen, J.D., Cooper, R.L. and Ferguson, C.A., 1976. Language in Ethiopia. Oxford University Press. For more context about this map: see (37).

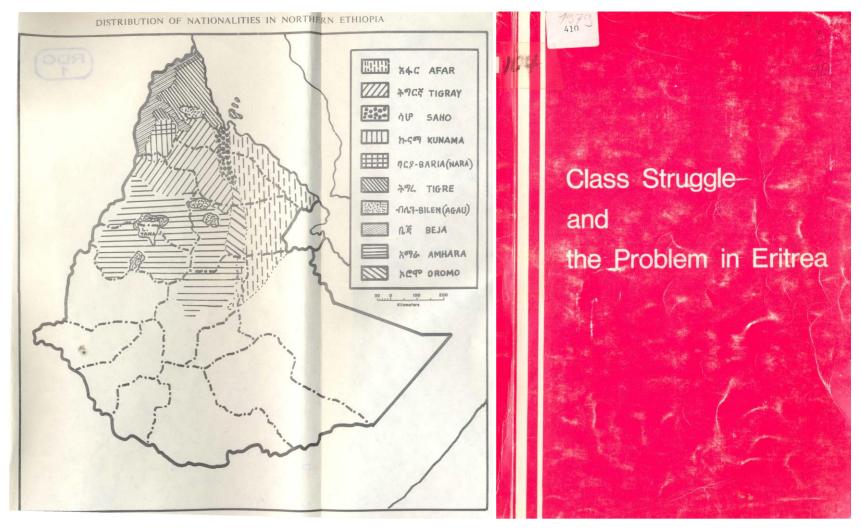
DERG, 1977. Distribution of nationalities in Northern Ethiopia.



Ethiopian Revolution Information Center, 1977. The Ethiopian Revolution and the Problem in Eritrea. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. 24 p.

DERG, 1979. Distribution of nationalities in Northern Ethiopia.

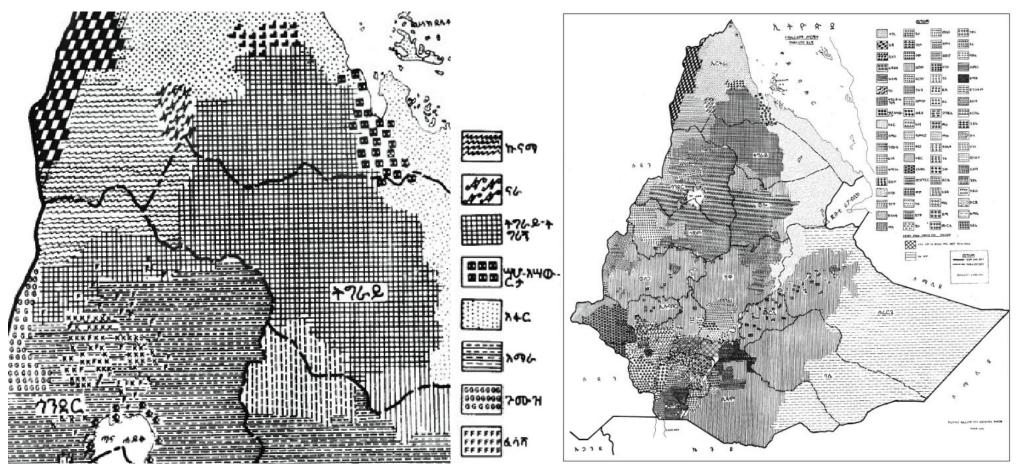
Tigrinya language area is mapped on both sides of the Tekeze River, reaching up to the Sudanese border. According to several occurrences in the book, at that time the Tigrinya language was spoken in areas that pertained to the Derg period provinces of Eritrea, Tigray, Gondar and Wollo. Areas mapped as Tigrinya-speaking correspond to the current extent of the Tigray region plus central Eritrea.



Ethiopian Revolution Information Center, 1979. Class struggle and the problem in Eritrea. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. 139 p., map.

Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities, 1985. Catalogue and map of Ethiopian nationalities.

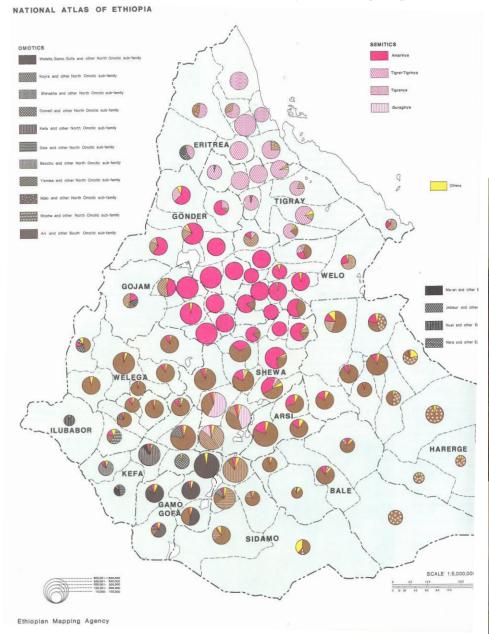
According to this map, the ethnic groups in Western Tigray are Tigrayans and Kunama. Kunama area does look rather too wide; compare to Bender et al., 1976. Small letters F for small groups of Falasha. Like on many language maps, in the extreme western part of the Tigrinya-speaking area, the latter borders with the Gumuz-speaking area.

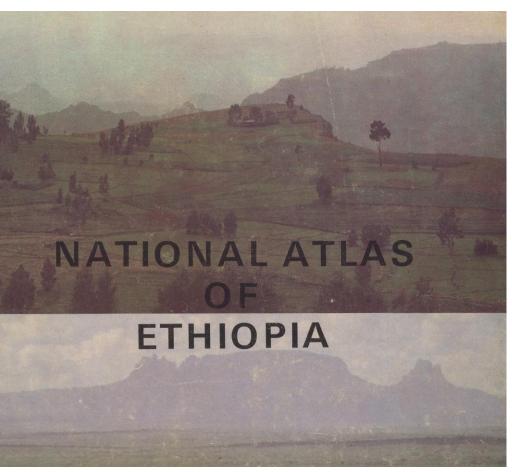


Legend, starting from the top: Kunama, Nara, Tigray-Tigrinya, Saho, Afar, Amhara, Gumuz, Falasha.

Map was republished by Mulatu Wubneh, 2017. Ethnic Identity Politics and the Restructuring of Administrative Units in Ethiopia. International Journal of Ethiopian Studies, 11 (1 & 2): 105–38. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26586251.

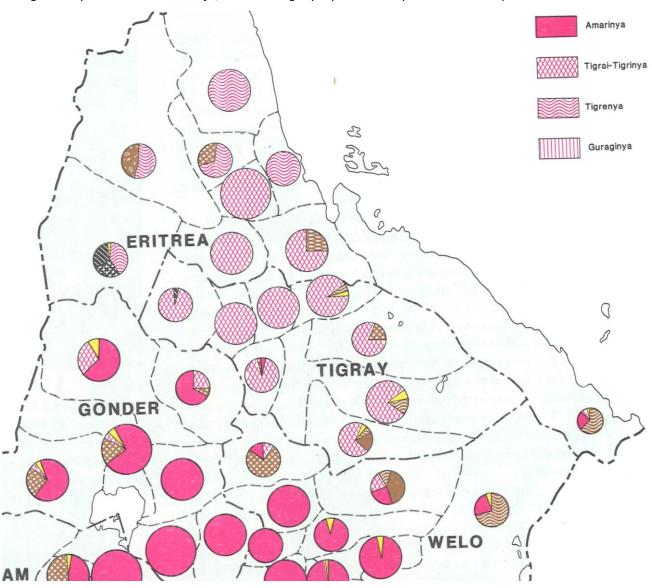
EMA, 1988: National Atlas of Ethiopia - Languages





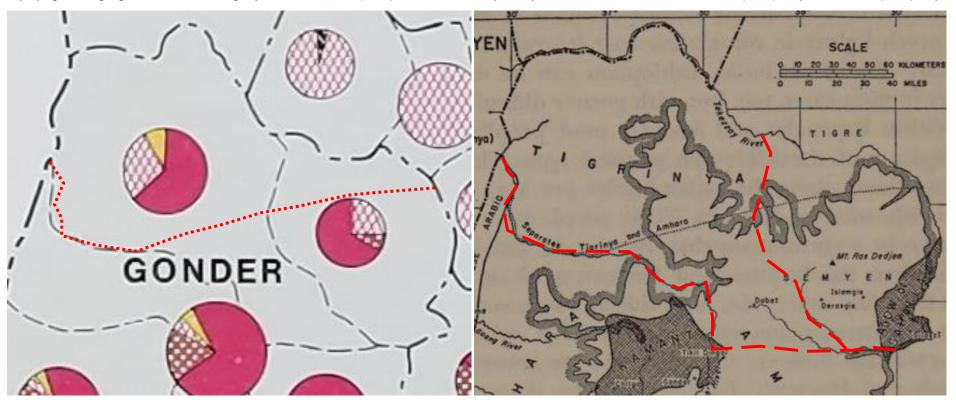
DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 220

The map in the 1988 National Atlas of Ethiopia actually does not represent a spatial distribution of languages, but pie charts of census results at the level of *awrajas*, an intermediate administrative level at the time. Details in the zone of interest show large shares of Tigrinya speakers in the northern *awrajas* of the then Gonder province. The ethnic groups are not homogeneously "mixed" in each *awraja*, rather the Tigrinya speakers occupied the northern part of the two northern *awrajas*. Contrast to Trimingham's (1965) map.

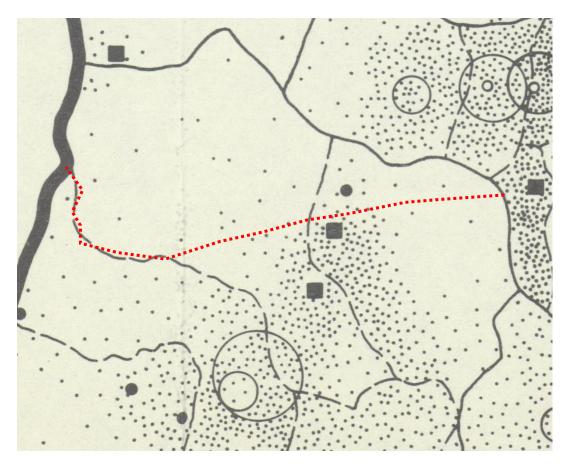


Didactic exercise: how pie charts hide the spatial distribution of ethnic groups in the 1980s' Gonder province

How to link up the map in the 1988 Atlas of Ethiopia with the other maps of languages spoken in NW Ethiopia? Let us contrast the 1988 map holding pie charts with the best map at hand displaying the language border Amharic-Tigrinya; that is Simoons (1960). On the below maps, we plotted some crucial borders of EMA's (1988) map on Simoons' (1960) map; and vice versa.



At left, the EMA (1988) map with addition of the language boundary between Tigrinya and Amharic, as taken from Simoons' (1960) map. At right Simoons' (1960) map with outlining of the then awrajas Dabat/Welkait (at the west) and Simien/Tselemti (at the east). Superimposed lines are in red colour on both maps. Taking into account the areal share of the population groups, and the much higher population densities in the southern part of the awrajas (see next page), the population distribution in these two districts can be easily understood. The southern parts are uplands above 1500 m \approx 5000 feet, south of the thick greyish line on the map at right.

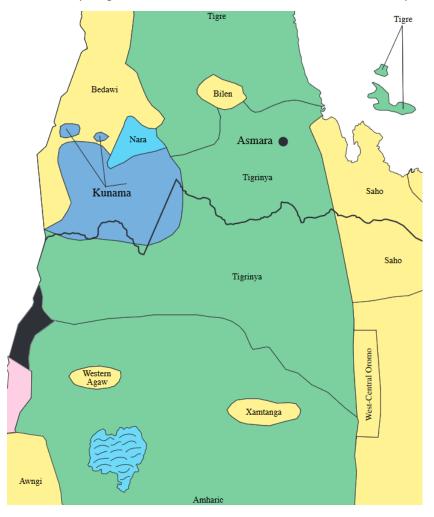


Population distribution in the northern part of the Begemder province in 1967, according to Central Statistical Office and the Imperial Ethiopian Mapping and Geography Institute (27). Every dot stands for 1000 rural inhabitants. Larger black dots are settlements and circles represent towns. The central part of the map is inhabited by Amhara-speakers, in the uplands, with high density. Lowland areas show low population density. Language boundary between Tigrinya and Amharic in broken red line, as taken from Simoons' (1960) map.

This exercise also allows understanding how, in the period 1943-1990, as represented by the three maps, not only provinces were drawn in such a way as to minorise the peripheral population groups at the benefit of the dominant Amhara ethnic group, but also *awraja* boundaries did not consider ethnicity, again imposing the dominant central language on the peripheral groups.

SIL Ethiopia, 2005. Languages of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti

Border lines quite generalised. Black colour for uninhabited area; in reality this in these areas there is shifting cropping by Gumuz who also displace their settlements regularly (21, 55).

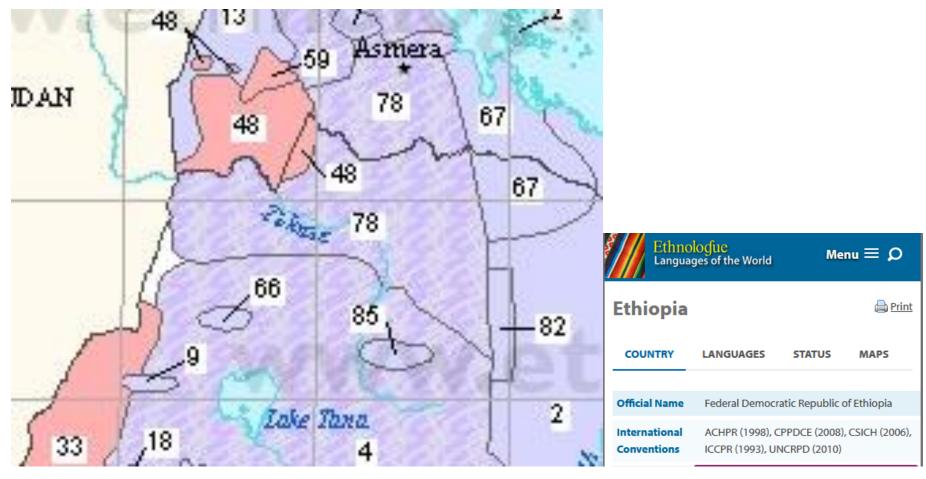


 $\underline{https://silethiopia.org/wp\text{-}content/uploads/2013/12/Language\text{-}Map\text{-}30.03.2005.pdf}$

SIL International is an evangelical Christian non-profit organization whose main purpose is to study, develop and document languages, especially those that are lesser-known. SIL Ethiopia was founded in 1973 as a non-profit organization.

Ethnologue, 2009

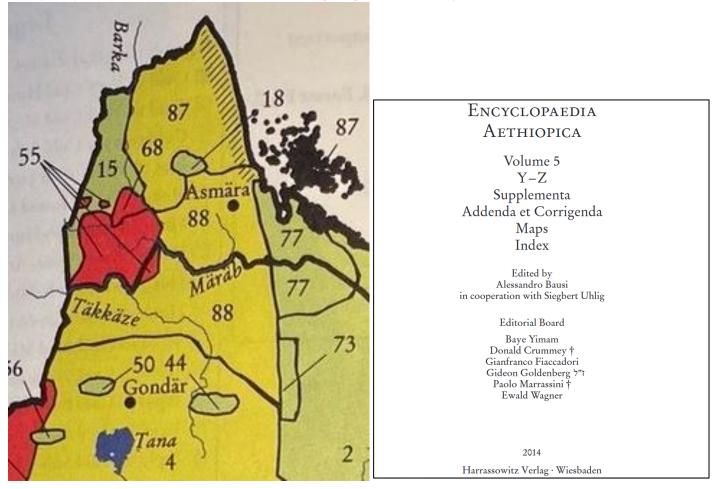
Legend: 78 for Tigrinya, 2 Afar, 4 Amharic, 33 Gumuz, 48 Kunama, 66 Qemant Agaw, 67 Saho, 82 Oromo and 85 Xamtagna Agaw



http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=ET (behind paywall)

Map retrieved from: Tekabe Legesse Feleke, 2021. Ethiosemitic languages: Classifications and classification determinants, Ampersand, 8: 100074. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amper.2021.100074.

Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, 2014. Languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea



2 Afar, 4 Amharic, 55 Kunama, 73 Oromo, 77 Saho, 88 Tigrinya. The editors do put a caveat on the language map saying that it shows a "necessarily schematic representation of language borders. The reader should be aware that these borders only ideally mirror the multi-ethnic and linguistic realities of the respective areas on the ground and do not take into account the natural fuzziness of these boundaries" (p.592)

Schulz, M., Sernicola, L., Bustorf, D., Martinez d'Alos-Moner, A., Meckelburg, A., 2014. Maps - Languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea. In: Bausi, A., Uhlig, S., Encyclopaedia Aethiopica (Vol. V). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.