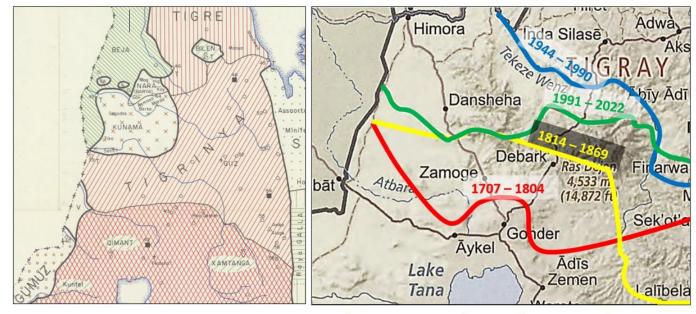


# Western Tigray in 109 historical and 31 ethnolinguistic maps (1607-2014)



Version 4

# **Graphical abstract**



Western Tigray in 109 historical and 31 ethnolinguistic maps (1607-2014)



Version 4

- Meta-analysis of co-eval historical maps representing Western Tigray (Ethiopia)
- Welkait part of Tigray in 1707-1804;
   1814-1886; 1939-1941; 1991-ongoing
- Welkait mapped as Amhara in 1891-1894 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 ት*ግራ*ይ፡ ማሕረሰይ ወልቃይት ላሕ**ማ**ይ ሕንጊድ፡ ሰበይተይ ኮራይት ተራኺበን ክልተ ኣራዊት

Welkait farmers' verse, recorded in the 1930s

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# Western Tigray in 109 historical and 31 ethno-linguistic maps (1607-2014)

#### Version 4

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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.

Contents	
Summary	3
Introduction	4
Methods	6
Quantitative meta-analysis	7
Discussion	9
Conclusions	13
References	14
List of maps	16
Dataset	19-166

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 109 maps, spanning the period 1607-1967, 100 were precise enough to be analysed, of which 66 display territorial control. Descriptive statistics of the dataset as a whole are presented.

Starting from the late 17<sup>th</sup> C., internal boundaries are clearly shown, with 37 maps (between 1683 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; 1831-1886; and 1939-1941) (Fig. 3); it is briefly mapped as part of Amhara in 1891-1894 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 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 20<sup>th</sup> C. ethno-linguistic maps of the Ethiopian state sustains the current extent of the Tigray region.

DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 3

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.

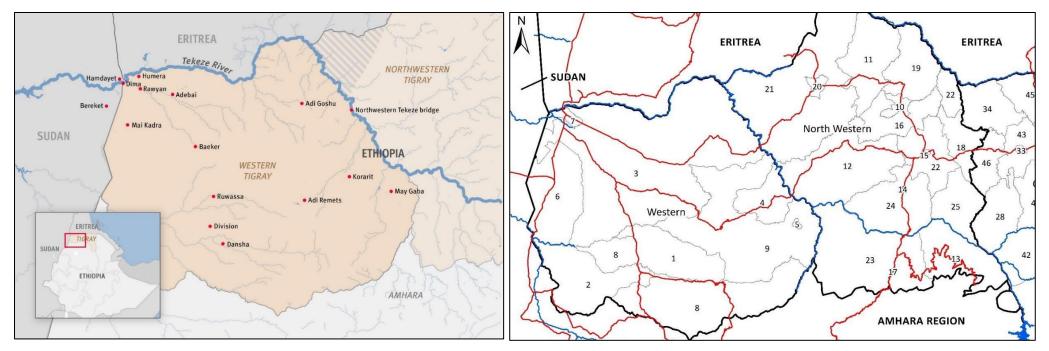


Fig. 1. Location of Western Tigray: at left with major towns (© Human Rights Watch & Amnesty International, 2022 (1)); at right woredas (districts): 1
Awrora, 2 Dansha town, 3 Kafta Humera, 4 Korarit, 5 May Gaba, 6 May Kadra, 7 Setit Humera, 8 Tsegede, 9 Welkait. Besides Western Tigray, the districts 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 <a href="https://data.humdata.org/dataset">https://data.humdata.org/dataset</a> (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 ongoing 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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፡ ጣሕረሰይ 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-19<sup>th</sup> 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 (<a href="https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~280071">https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~280071</a> ~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 (<a href="https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/nlib-digar:429790">https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/nlib-digar:429790</a>) and at David Rumsey (<a href="https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33543~171029:Composite—NO-Afrika-">NO-Afrika-</a>).

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 two specialised online repositories: The David Rumsey Historical Map Collection at Stanford (<a href="https://www.davidrumsey.com">https://www.davidrumsey.com</a>), and the Ethiomap repository (<a href="https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr">https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr</a>), 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).

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	Internal borders	Position of lettering suggests	Number of maps
maps	accuracy	accuracy	shown	territorial control	used in the analysis
10	7	3	2	1	3
10	1	9	9	0	9
64	1	63	26	13	39
25	0	25	13	2	15
109	9	100	50	16	66
	maps 10 10 64 25	maps         accuracy           10         7           10         1           64         1           25         0	maps         accuracy         accuracy           10         7         3           10         1         9           64         1         63           25         0         25	maps         accuracy         accuracy         shown           10         7         3         2           10         1         9         9           64         1         63         26           25         0         25         13	maps         accuracy         accuracy         shown         territorial control           10         7         3         2         1           10         1         9         9         0           64         1         63         26         13           25         0         25         13         2

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-one 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: the field notes on Welkait by ethnographer Giovanni Ellero, recorded in 1939-1940 (13).

#### **Quantitative meta-analysis**

One hundred and nine co-eval historical maps were retrieved, spanning the period 1607-1967. Contrary to common belief, the name "Amhara" is used as a territorial unit throughout the map series, with the exception of the years 1944-1990.

Out of the 109 maps, 100 provide sufficient precision and detail to be analysed, but nine maps had very poor locational accuracy and were not used in the descriptive statistics (period 1607-1707).

On 50 maps, internal borders within "Habesch" or "Abyssinia" are drawn. On the other hand, on another 50 maps, no boundary between Tigray and Amhara/Gondar/Begemder is established, but on 16 of these the position of lettering allows estimating the location of the border (Table 1). Hence, in total 66 maps could be examined for the location of internal borders.

On 37 maps, spanning the period 1683-1941, the boundary coincides with the crestline of the Simien mountains (22 maps, 33%), is established south of Simien (12 maps, 18%), or between Simien and Tekeze (three maps, 5%). 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 16 maps (24%), spanning the periods 1844-1847, 1891-1896 and 1944-1990, the boundary between Tigray, and Amhara/Begemder closely follows the Tekeze River.

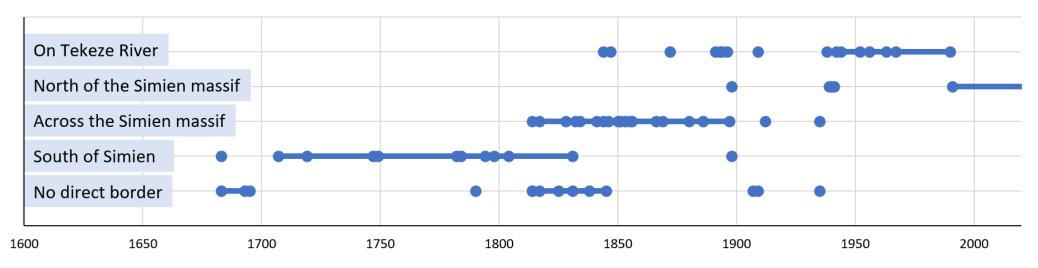


Fig. 2. Location of the border between Tigray/Tigrai/Tigre and Amhara/Gondar/Begemder, according to historical maps (n=66). Every dot represents a map in the dataset. Gaps between subsequent maps must be understood as "no information" or "period of shifting sway". Conflicting information on territorial 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 53 maps, the territorial control of Welkait is clearly indicated. On 19 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 20 other maps (38%), 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 26% of the maps, i.e. in 1891-1896 (five maps), 1909, 1925, 1938 and from 1942-1990 (five 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).

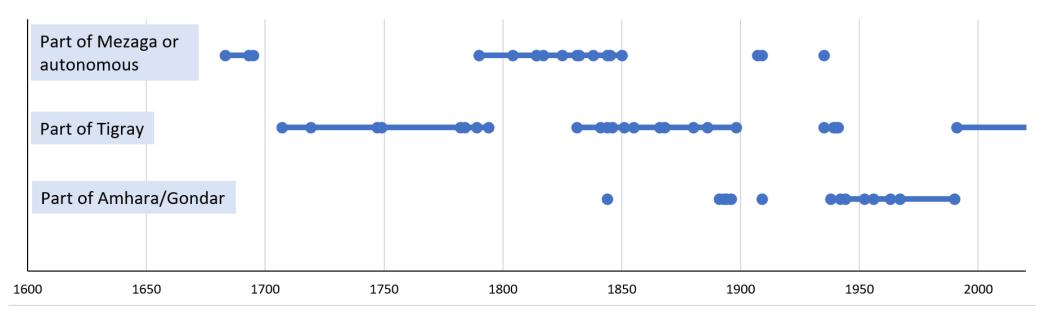


Fig. 3. Territorial control of Welkait, according to historical maps (n=53). Every dot represents a map in the dataset.

#### 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).

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.

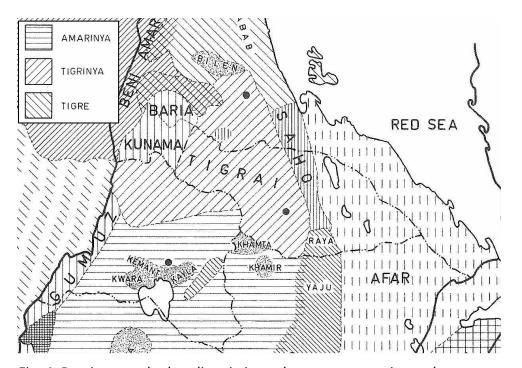


Fig. 4. Provinces and ethno-linguistic settlement patterns in northern Ethiopia, after by Trimingham (1965) (24), republished by Westphal (32). The Gondar province extended from Lake Tana up to the then province of Eritrea, with the Tekeze River forming the boundary. Besides a majority of Amharic speakers, 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 33). 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, 25 out of the 31 language maps of the Ethiopian state sustain the current extent of the Tigray region. As an exception among language maps (pages 129 to 166), Levine's (34) map (page 150) 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, 35). The other exception is the "Preliminary Atlas of Ethiopia" in 1962 (page 146), 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 157 to 162).

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, 36).

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 (37), 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).

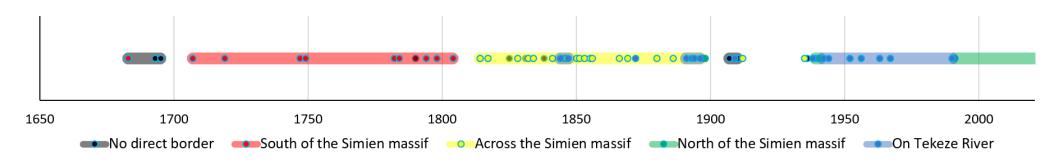


Fig. 5. Timeline of the location of the boundary between Amhara/Begemder/Gondar and Tigray/Tigrai/Tigre, according to historical maps (n = 66). Individual maps are represented by dots, some of which are hidden by overlap. This timeline holds the same information as Fig. 2, displayed in such a way to 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.

DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 11

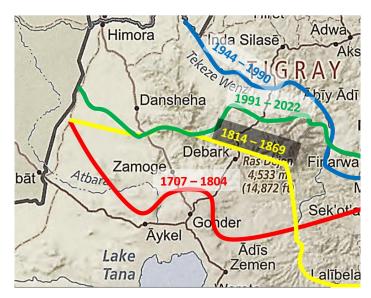


Fig. 6. Approximate location of the boundary between Amhara/Begemder/Gondar and Tigray/Tigrai/Tigre, according to historical maps (n = 66). Time steps and colours as in Fig. 5, and boundary courses in line with representative maps for the time steps: 1707 – 1804 (red, Bonne 1782); 1814 – 1869 (yellow, Handtke 1849); 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 10<sup>th</sup>, 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**

We thank four internal reviewers, professionals who have a contextual understanding of the region, as well as all colleagues who forwarded maps as well as contextual information.

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- 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 "አልንዛም 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).

# List of Maps

Ortelius & Vrients, 1608 (various editions, Mercator, Huygen, Ortelius, Hondi	us, Bertius,
1596-1637)	19
Sanson, <b>1656</b>	20
Boisseau & Jollain, 1659	21
Blaeu, <b>1665</b>	22
Morden & Cockerill, 1680	23
Du Val, <b>1682</b>	24
Ludolf & Gorgoryos, 1683	25
Manesson-Mallet, 1683 (similar in 1685)	26
Coronelli, <b>1695</b> (also 1692 and 1693)	27
Sanson & Sanson, 1695	28
de L'Isle, <b>1707</b>	29
Lobo & de Almeida, 1707	30
Chatelain & Gueudeville, 1719	31
Bowen, <b>1747</b>	32
de Vaugondy, 1749	33
Bonne, <b>1782</b>	34
Pitteri, <b>1784</b>	35
Bruce, <b>1790</b>	36
Dunn, <b>1794</b> (similar in 1786)	37
Cassini, <b>1798</b>	38

Cary <b>1804</b>	39
Pinkerton, <b>1814</b>	40
Salt, <b>1814</b>	42
Thomson, <b>1814</b>	42
Thomson, <b>1817</b>	43
Gaspari & Guessefeld, 1817	44
Borghi, <b>1818</b>	45
Arrowsmith, 1825	46
Vandermaelen, 1827	4
Brue, <b>1828</b>	48
Hall, <b>1830</b> (similar in 1828)	49
Gobat, <b>1831</b>	50
Lizars & Lizars, 1831	52
Arrowsmith, 1832	52
Russell, <b>1833</b>	53
Brue & Picquet, 1834	54
Combes & Tamisier, 1838	55
Weiland, <b>1841</b>	56
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (GB), <b>1843</b> (also in 1865)	57
Mc Queen & Isenberg, 1844	58
Arrowsmith, 1844	59
Dadafald 1944	c

Arrowsmith, 1845	61	Habenicht, <b>1885</b> (similar in 1887)	88
Handtke, <b>1846</b> (also 1851, 1855)	62	Colton, <b>1886</b>	89
Lefebvre, <b>1847</b>	63	Rand McNally, 1889	90
Lowry, <b>1848</b>	64	Habenicht, 1891	91
Andriveau-Goujon, 1850	65	Johnston, 1893	92
Stieler, <b>1851</b> (also 1853)	66	De Chaurand, 1894	93
Colton, <b>1855</b> (very similar in 1866, 1874)	67	Stieler & Lueddecke, <b>1894</b>	94
Walker, <b>1856</b>	68	Andree, <b>1895</b>	95
Marmocchi, 1858	69	Brockhaus, <b>1895</b> (similar in 1905)	96
Petri, <b>1859</b>	70	Bergamo, <b>1896</b>	97
Johnston, 1861	71	Rand McNally, 1897	98
Munzinger, 1864	72	Lannoy de Bissy, <b>1897</b>	99
Menke & Spruner von Merz, 1865	73	Rand McNally, 1898	100
Von Heuglin, 1866	74	Larousse, 1898	101
Beke, <b>1867</b>	75	Cram, <b>1901</b> (similar in 1889 and 1893)	102
D'Abbadié, <b>1868</b>	76	Johnston, 1906	103
Petermann, 1868	77	Rossetti, <b>1907</b>	104
Colton, <b>1869</b>	78	Guèbrè Sellassié, Tèsfa Sellassié, De Coppet, 1909	105
Fullarton, 1872	79	Petri & Shokalskago, <b>1909</b>	106
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (GB), 1872	80	Johnston, 1911	107
Smith & Muller, 1874	81	Rand McNally, 1912	108
Vigoni, <b>1879</b>	82	Papazian, 1923	109
Johnston, 1879	83	Haack & Stieler, 1925	110
Dye, <b>1880</b>	84	Grabham & Black, 1925	111
Andree, <b>1881</b>	85	Dardano, <b>1925</b>	112
Blackie, 1882	86	Touring Club Italiano, 1929	113
Letts 1883	87	IGMI 1935	114

The Daily Telegraph, <b>1935</b>	
Hammond, <b>1935</b>	
Perham, <b>1935</b>	
Consociazione Turistica Italiano, 1938	
Ministero dell'Africa Italiana, 1939	
Ministero dell'Africa Italiana, <b>1940</b>	
Thomasten, ca. <b>1940</b> – fake map	
De Agostini, <b>1941</b>	
HMSO, <b>1942</b>	
De Agostini, <b>1952</b>	
Bayer, <b>1953</b>	
Bartholomew, <b>1956</b>	
National Geographic Society, <b>1963</b>	
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ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS	
Wolynski, 1903: Dominio delle lingue nell'Eritrea, nell'Ethiopia e nella Somalia	
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#### Ortelius & Vrients, 1608 (various editions, Mercator, Huygen, Ortelius, Hondius, Bertius, 1596-1637)

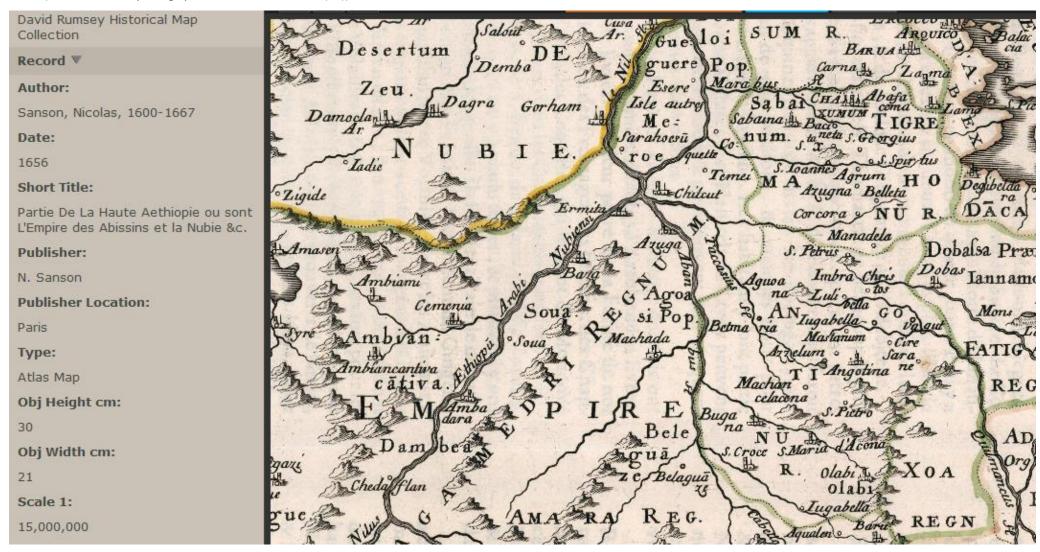
Very poor locational accuracy; see relative position of Chilcut, Tigre-mahon, Bagamidri. Note also the erroneous mapping of Blue Nile and Atbara that were assumed to meet again upstream, creating the "Island of Meroé" which persisted in maps for a century. Same geography was used in numerous maps at the time. Such maps with poor accuracy were not used in the meta-analysis (see Table 1).



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~275785~90048763:-125--Abissinorum-

#### Sanson, **1656**

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 (38))



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

# Boisseau & Jollain, 1659

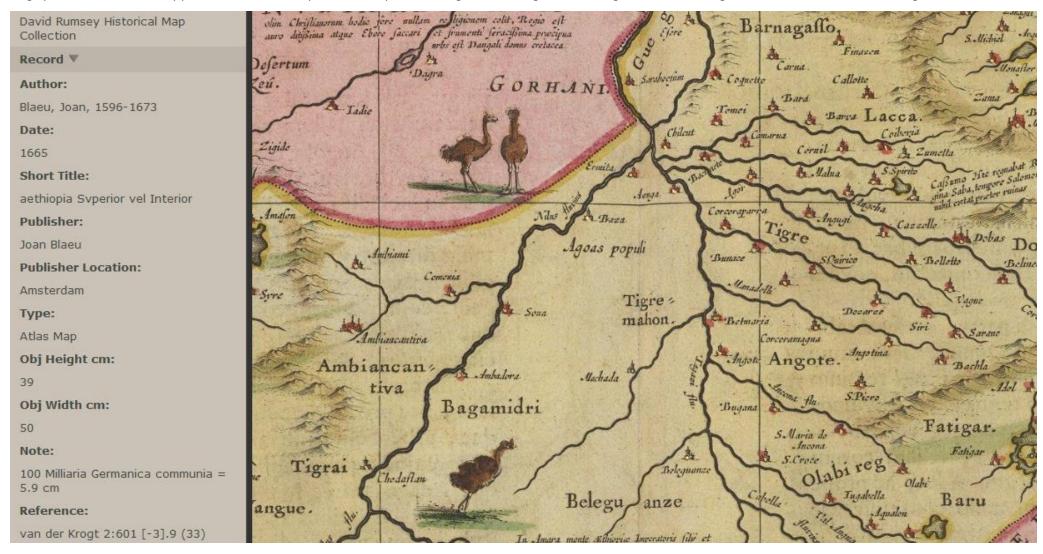
Many locational inaccuracies (see Amasen, Syre); boundaries not drawn.



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

# Blaeu, 1665.

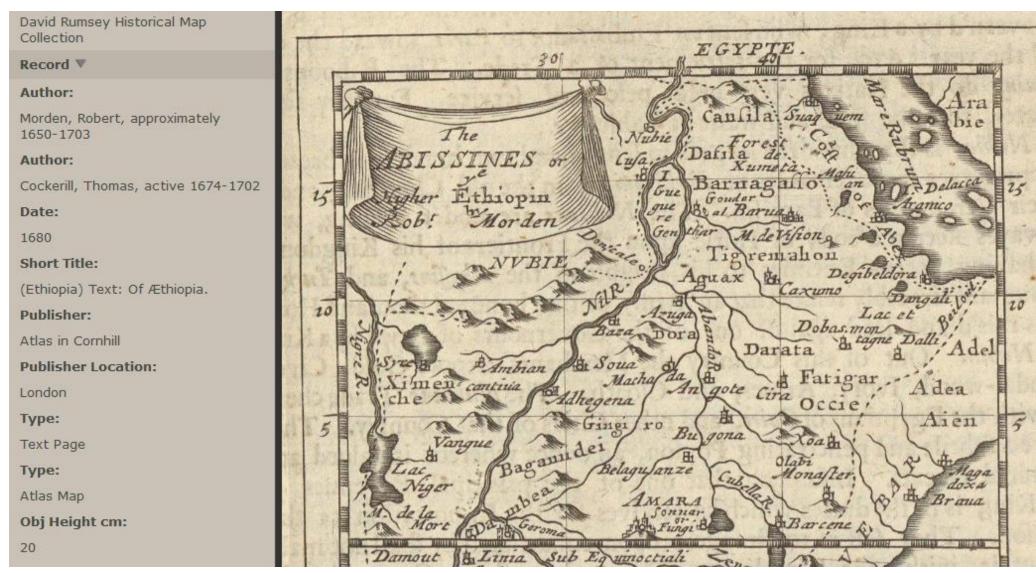
Largely based on Ortelius. Very poor locational accuracy; see relative position of Tigre, Chilcut, Tigre-mahon, Bagamidri. West of Bagamidri there is a non-identified "Tigrai".



 $\underline{https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~9005436:aethiopia-Svperior-vel-luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282830.$ 

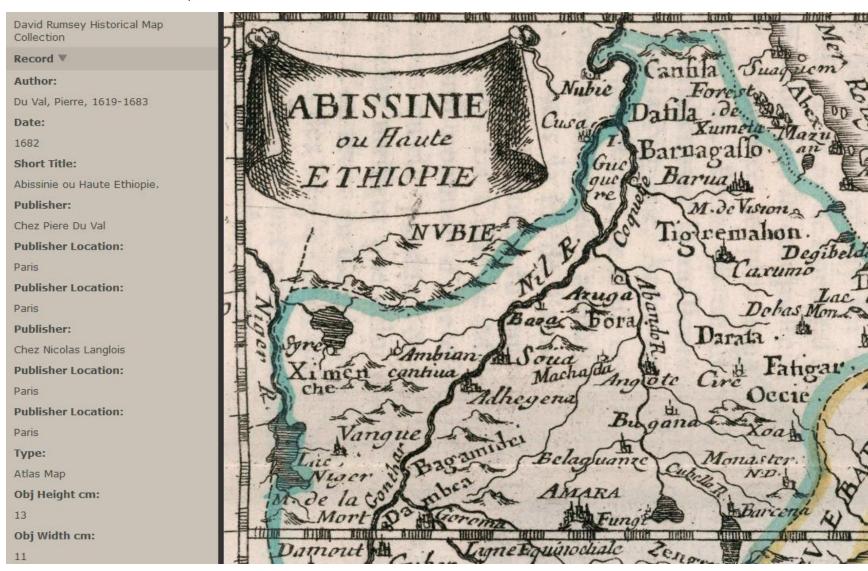
# Morden & Cockerill, 1680

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

# Manesson-Mallet, 1683 (similar in 1685)

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://digital.library.illinois.edu/items/573c6910-e947-0133-1d3d-0050569601ca-1#

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

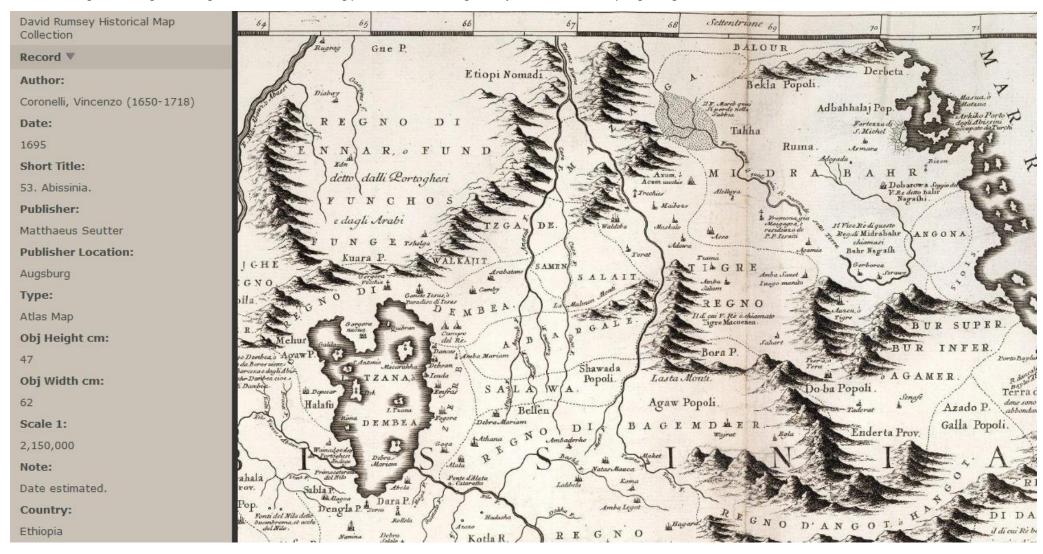
Cartographic material

#### **Dimensions**

14.7 x 10.3 cm.

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

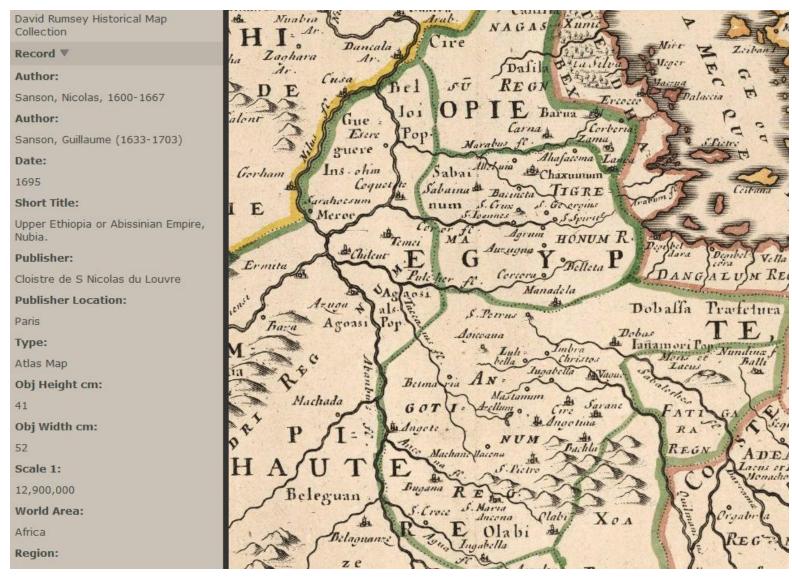
Borders of Kingdoms of Tigre and Bagemeder and surrounding princedoms, including Walkajit; without hierarchy. Tigre Regno extends southwest of Tekeze.



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

# Sanson & Sanson, 1695

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

# 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

# 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**

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<sup>e</sup> 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

# Bonne, **1782**

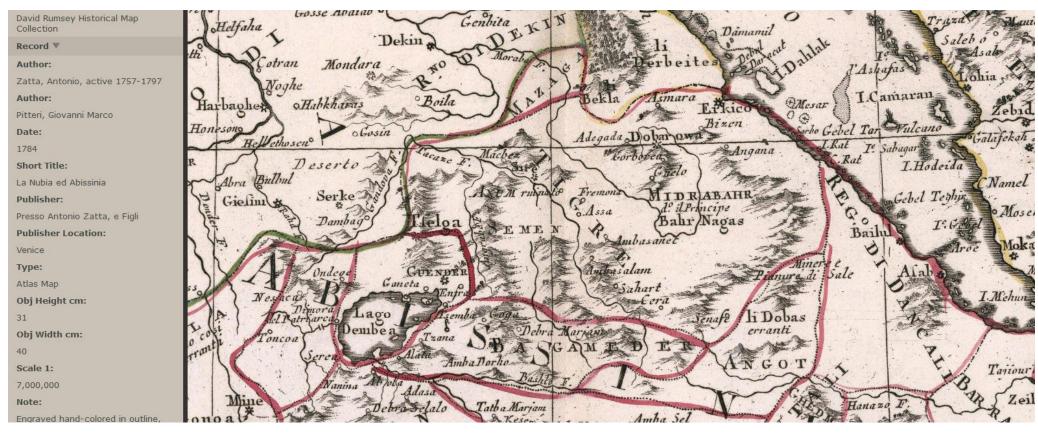
Boundary Tigré/ Dembea-Bagameder runs well south of Tekeze; Tselga = Aykel as border town. Similar map in 1780, but without borders.



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

Separate territorial units Tigre, Begemder, Waldubba, Walcait...

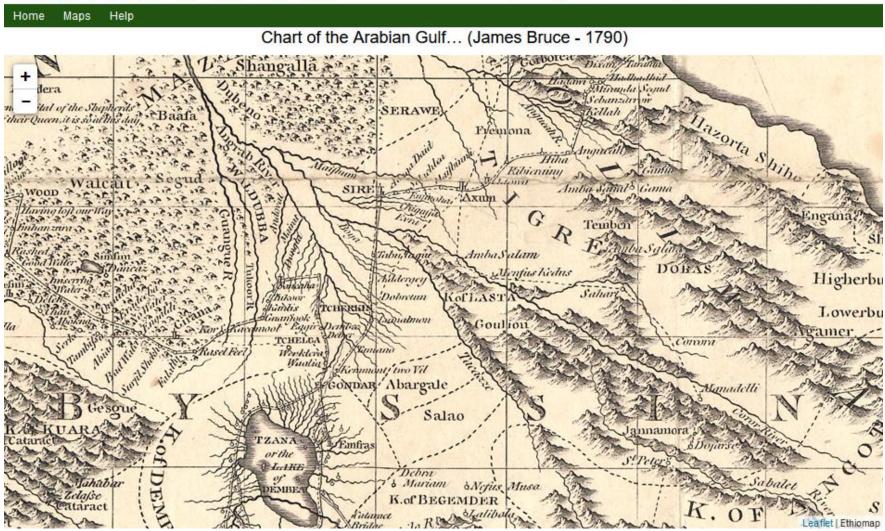








# Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa



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

#### 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.

https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/1dd15940-857d-0132-6513-58d385a7b928

#### Cassini, 1798

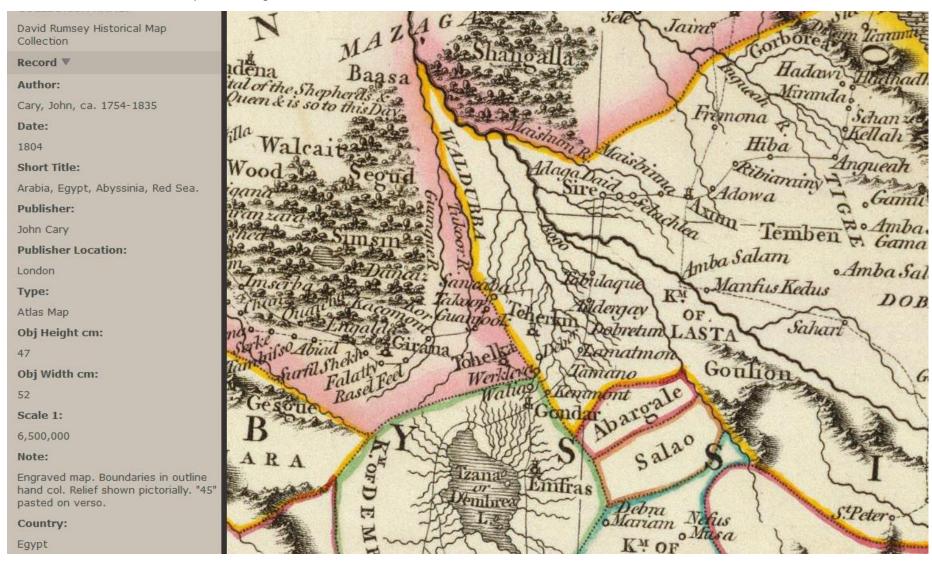
Tigre border with Guender and Bagameder outlined, south of Semen; all are part of Abissinia.



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

#### Cary 1804

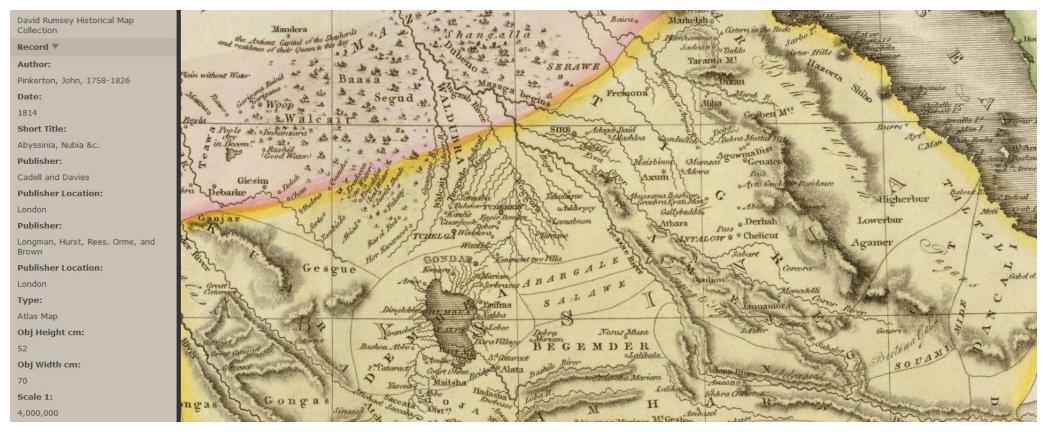
Border is south of Simien; Walcait part of Mazaga.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~21540~640032:Arabia,-Egypt,-Abyssinia,-Red-Sea-

# Pinkerton, 1814

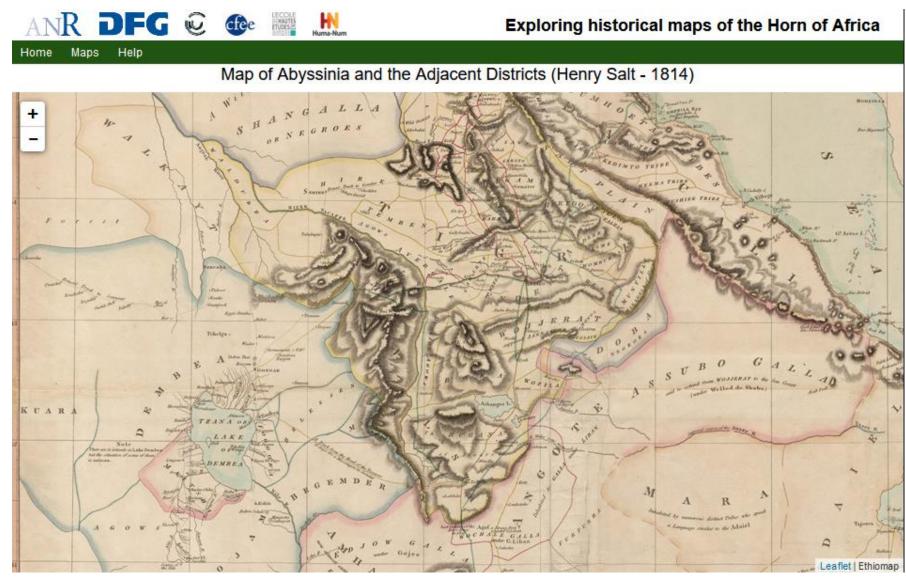
No territorial hierarchy shown. Three intermediate princedoms are mapped between Tigre and Begemder; Walcait not part of Abyssinia.



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

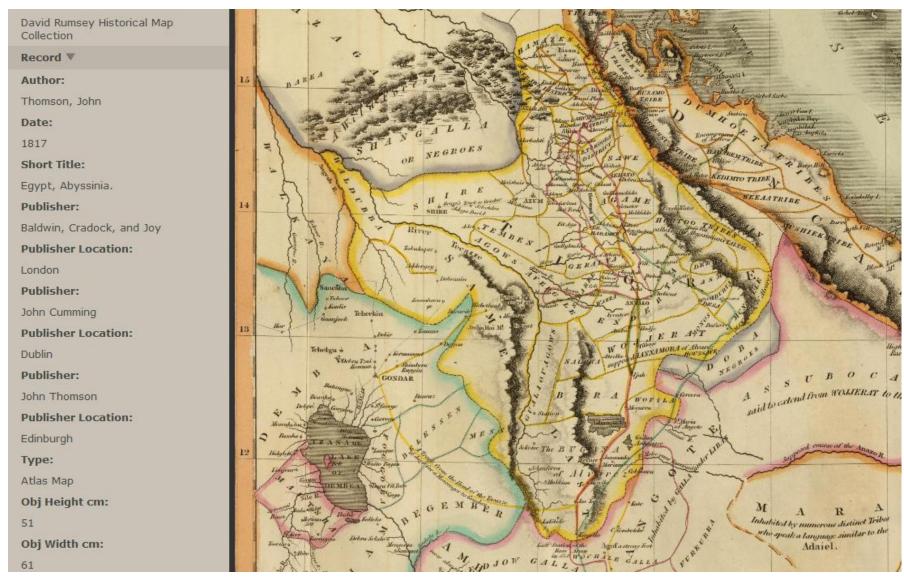
Numerous internal boundaries without hierarchy; Walcait part of Mazaga.



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

#### Thomson, **1817**

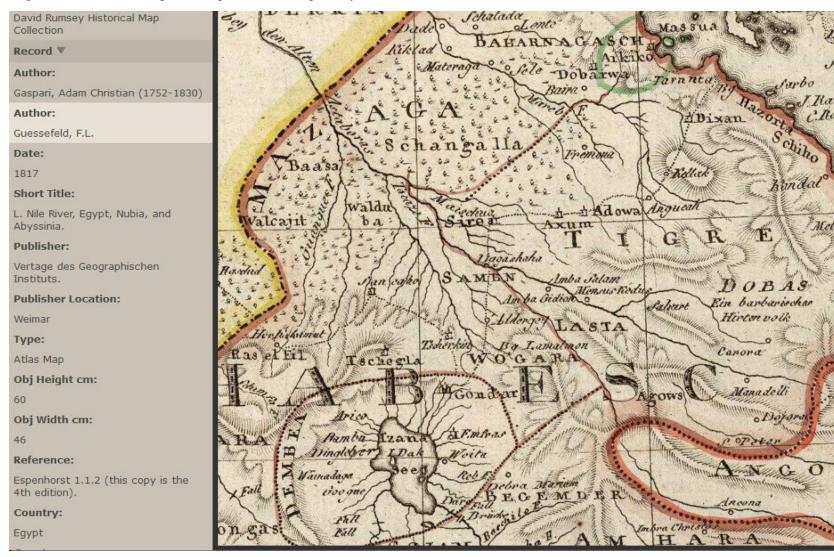
Clear delimitation of Dembea, Walkaya and Tigre, which extends west of Tekeze River.



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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Engraved political map of northeastern Africa (including the region of Nubia and Abyssinia [present-day Ethiopia]) and the Arabian Peninsula, with hand-colored outlines delineating boundaries. Title	Gonca GURAGUE Buzamo  CAFFA CAMBAT Gumar  M. Ganca Basham

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

# Arrowsmith, 1825

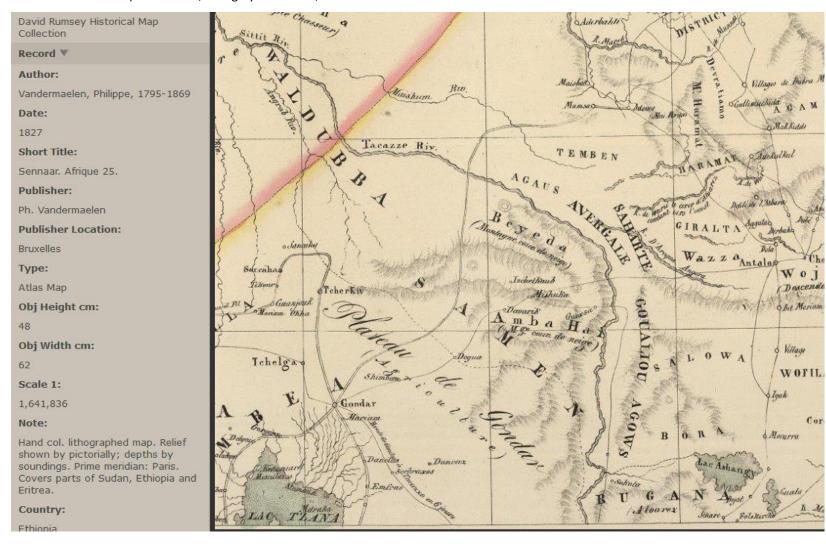
Internal borders without hierarchy.

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names, rivers, etc. Includes notes.	Limjour Typeklas O Mizella Mizella
Relief shown by hachures. Prime meridian is Greenwich.	Bear DEMBEA Dora Til Tury

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.



#### Brue, 1828

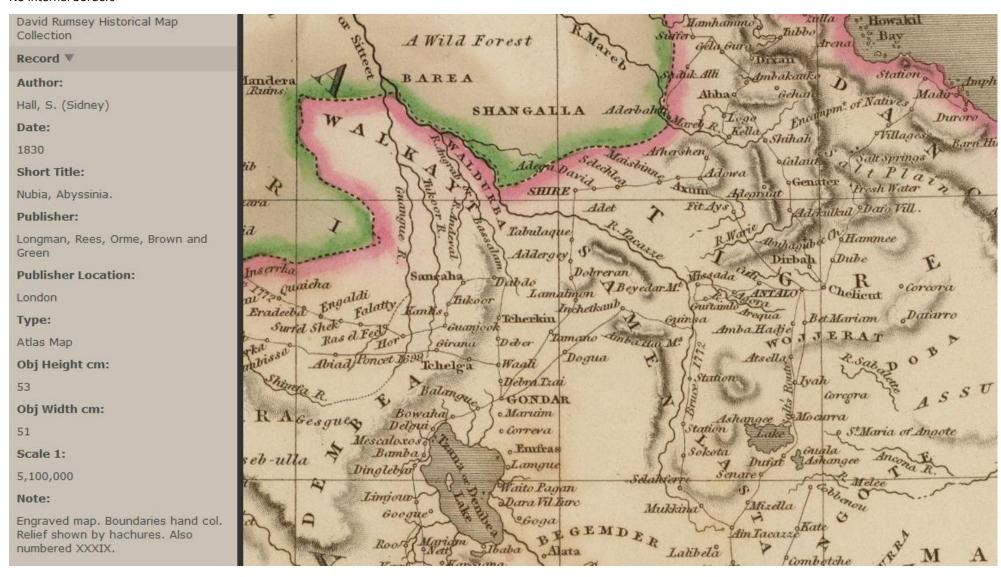
Dotted lines representing borders, across the Simien crestline

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-

#### Hall, 1830 (similar in 1828)

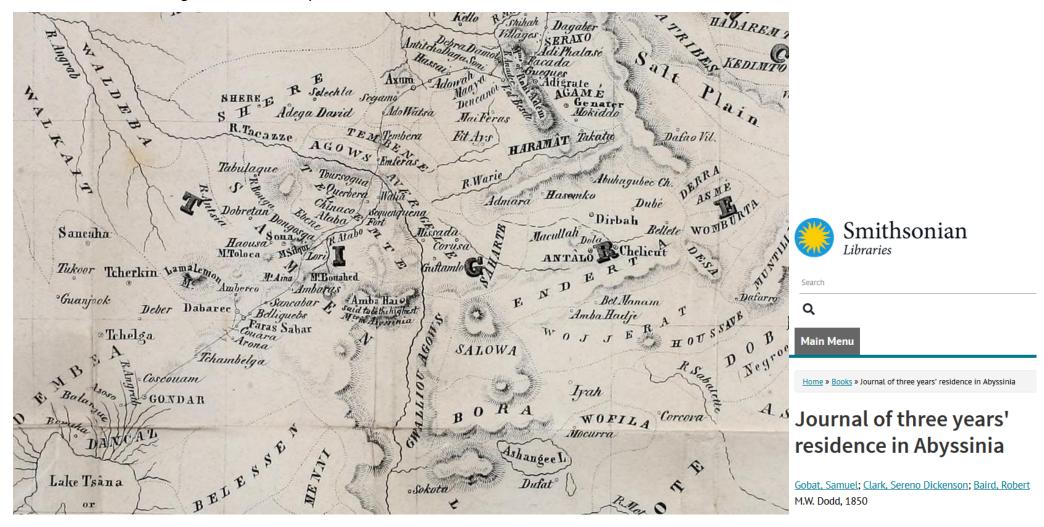
#### No internal borders



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

#### Gobat, 1831

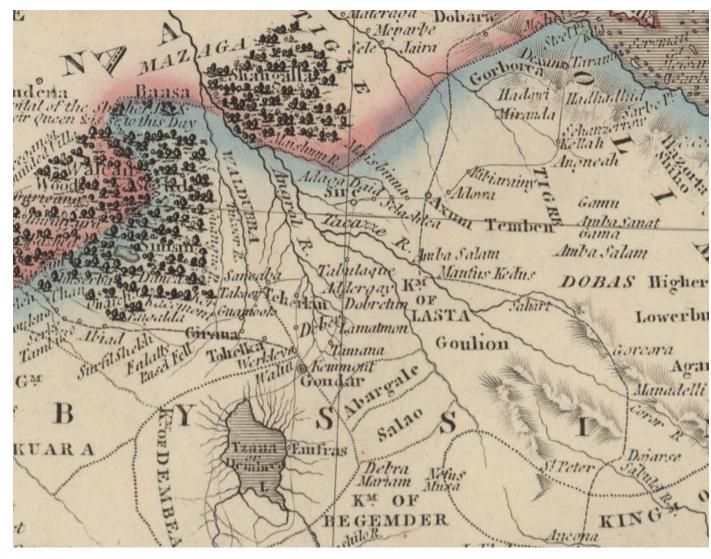
Gobat's book and map refer to the period of his active travel in Abyssinia (1830-1832). Numerous internal boundaries; positioning of lettering TIGRE hints at territorial control including "Samen" and likely also "Walkait".



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/

#### MAP

# Arabia: With the Adjacent Countries of Egypt and Nubia.

Arabia : with the adjacent countries of Egypt & Nubia

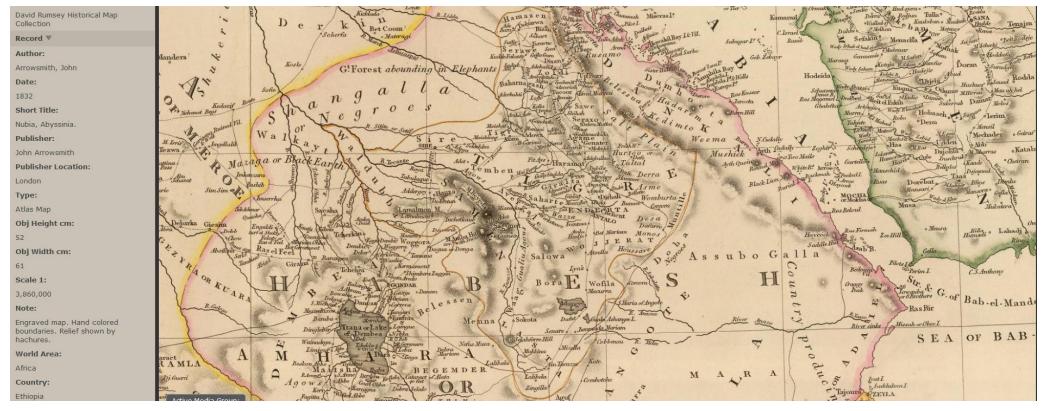
William Home Lizars (1788-1859) was a Scottish engraver and painter and the son of the engraver Daniel Lizars. This map appears identical to the one engraved by Daniel, which appeared in The Edinburgh Geographical and Historical Atlas published by John Hamilton in 1831. It is plate 47 of the atlas. Relief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

# 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

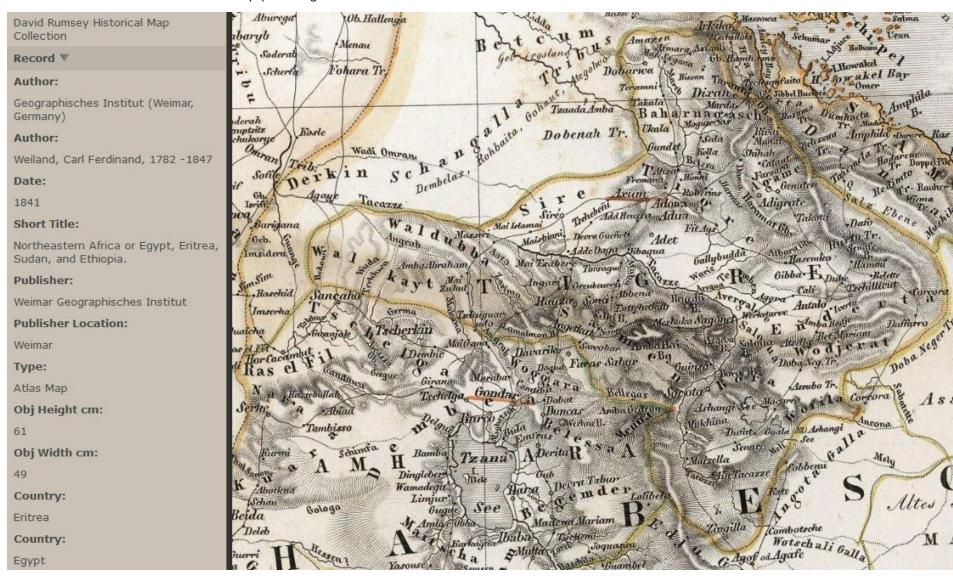
Carte de l'Abyssine, du pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat (Combes et Tamisier - 1838)



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

#### Weiland, **1841**

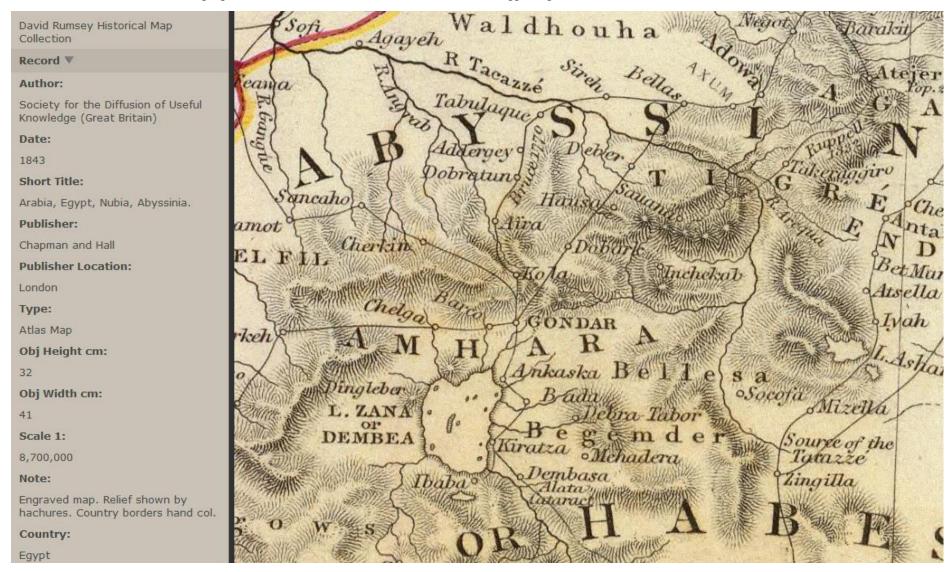
Internal border well south of Tacazze. Walkayt part of Tigre.



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)

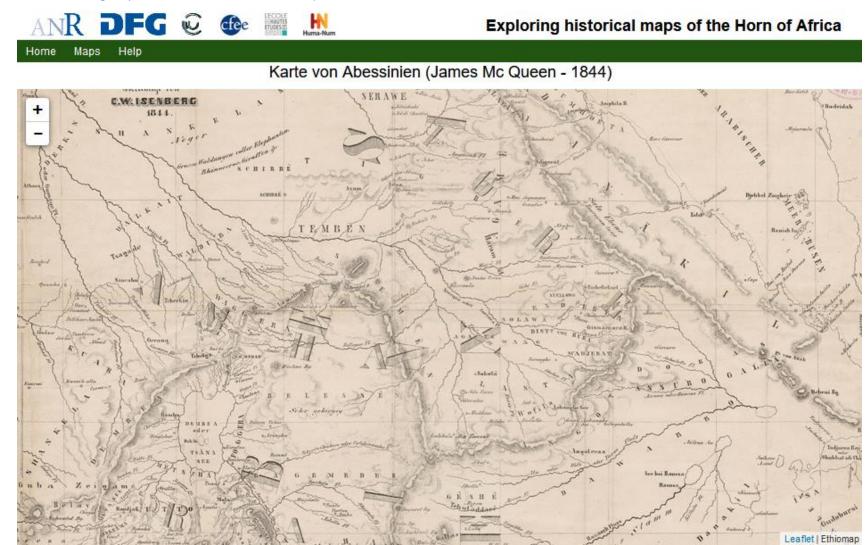
No internal borders drawn; lettering Tigré across Tekeze and Amhara north of Lake Tana, suggesting a border over Simien.



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 <a href="https://www.abebooks.com/first-edition/Journals-Rev-Messrs-Isenberg-Krapf-Missionaries/30494935218/bd">https://www.abebooks.com/first-edition/Journals-Rev-Messrs-Isenberg-Krapf-Missionaries/30494935218/bd</a> )



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

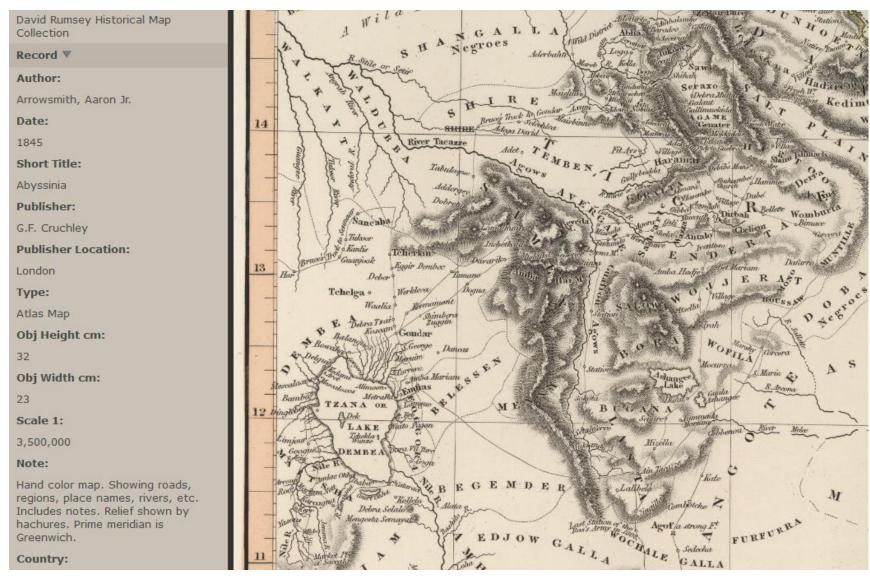
Clearly drawn boundaries; Walkayt in Tigre



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

#### Arrowsmith, 1845

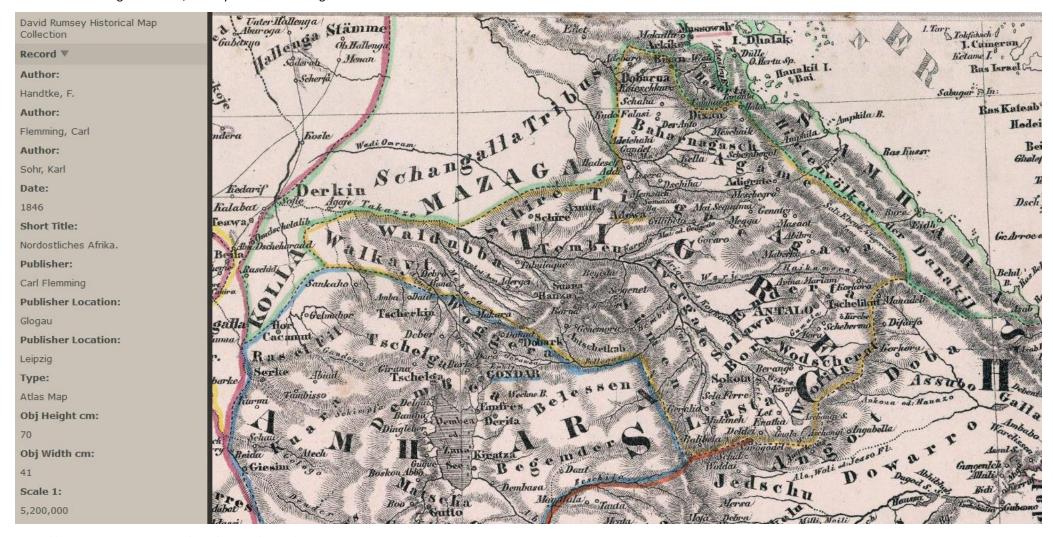
Intermediate territories (Simen, Walkayt, ...) between Tigre and Begemder. Same borders as 1844 but hierarchy in territorial control not shown



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

#### Handtke, **1846** (also 1851, 1855)

Borders Amhara-Tigre outlined; Walkayt and Simen in Tigre



 $\underline{\text{https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY}^{8}\text{-}1^{3}04175^{9}0074736:Nordostliches-Afrikantservlet/detail/RUMSEY}^{2}$ 

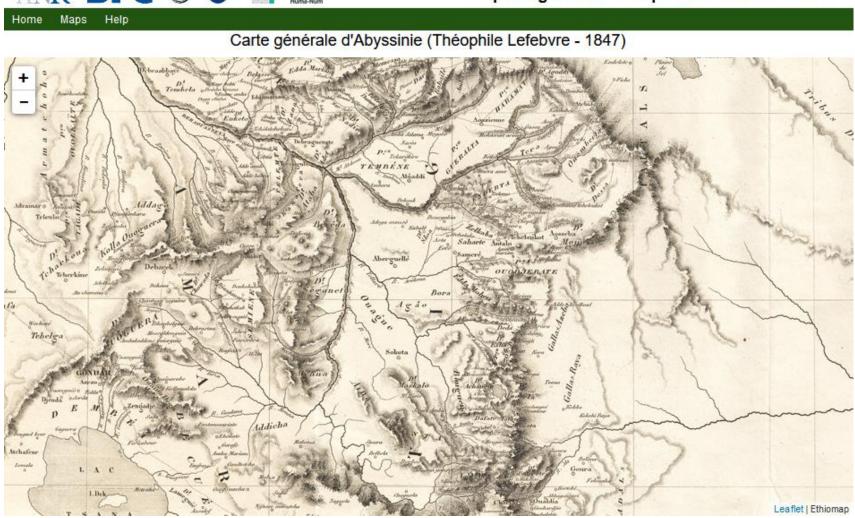
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# Lefebvre, 1847

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



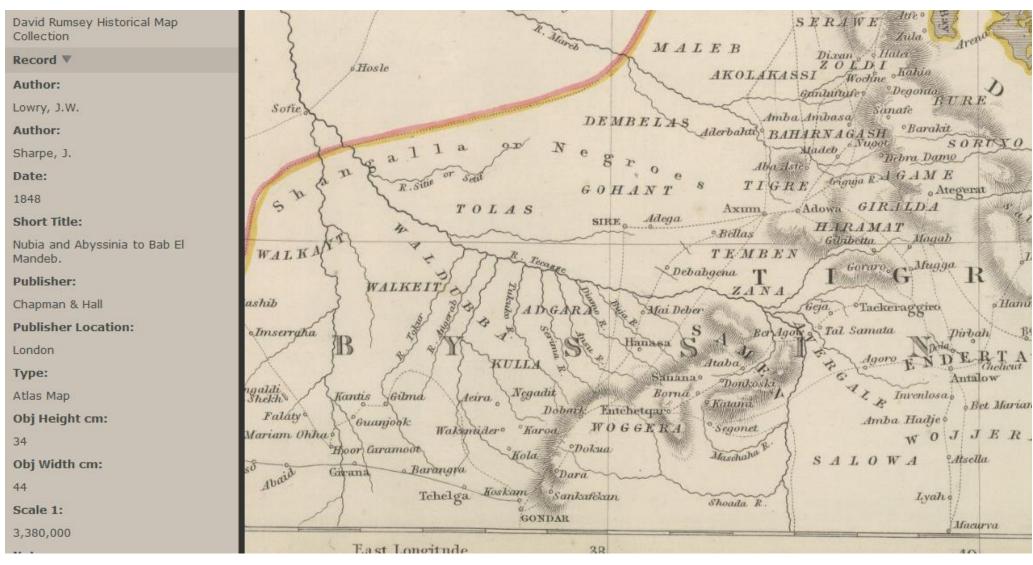
#### Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa



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

#### Lowry, 1848

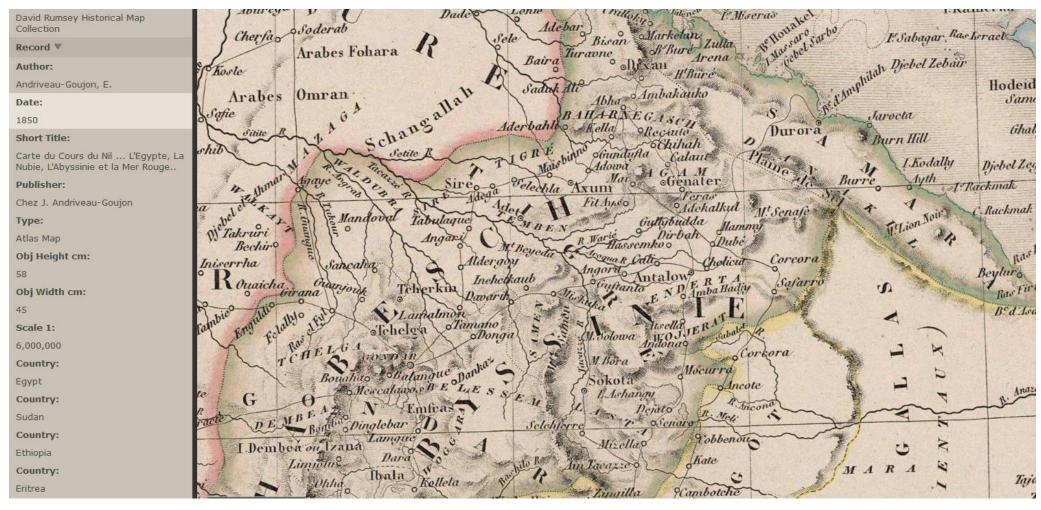
Internal boundaries not mapped



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

#### Andriveau-Goujon, 1850

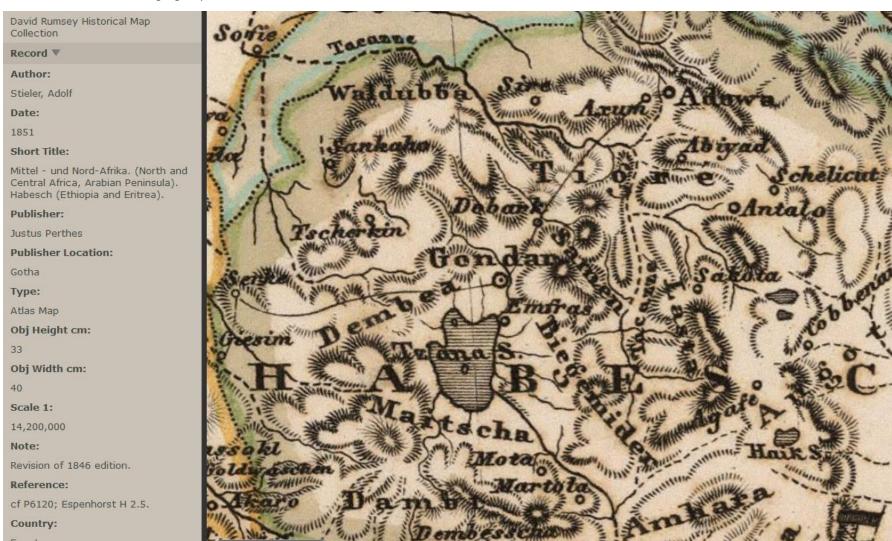
Habesch with Gondar and Tigre, border in thin dotted line, across Simien. Walkayt part of Mazaga.



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~283026~90055440:53--Abissinia-

# Stieler, **1851** (also 1853)

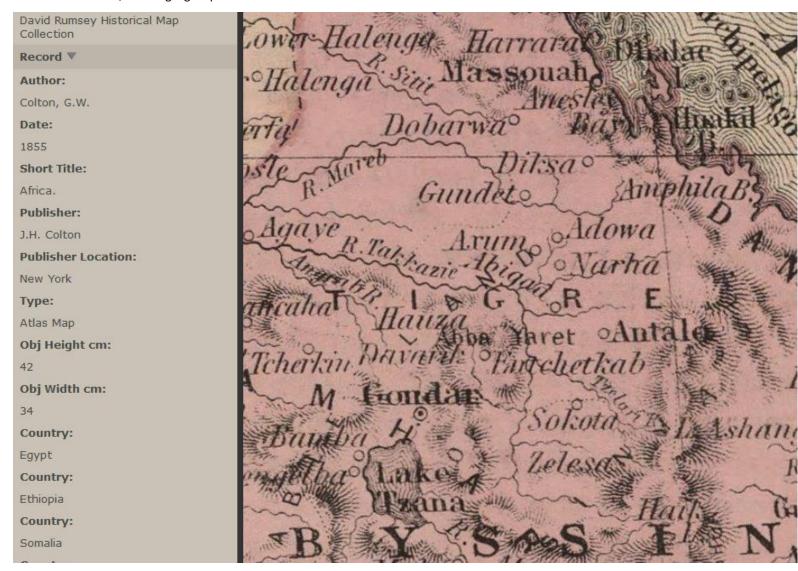
No internal borders; lettering Tigré spans both sides of Tekeze R.



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

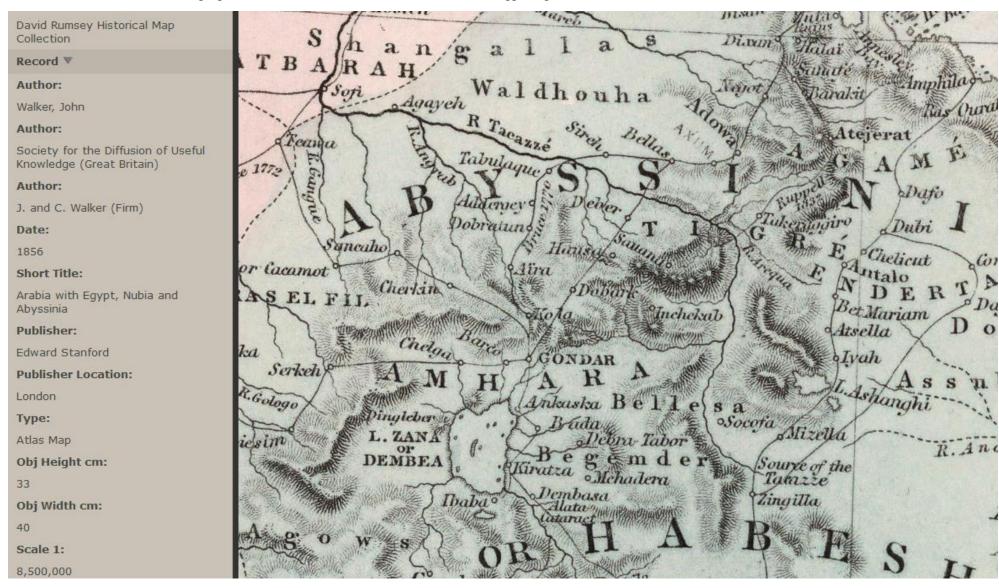
## Colton, **1855** (very similar in 1866, 1874)

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

# 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**

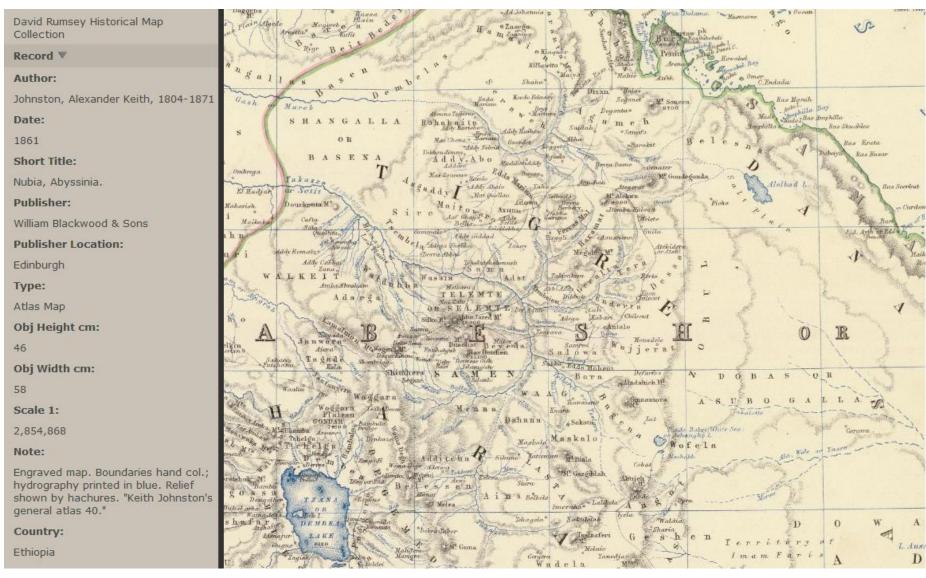
#### No internal boundaries

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

#### 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

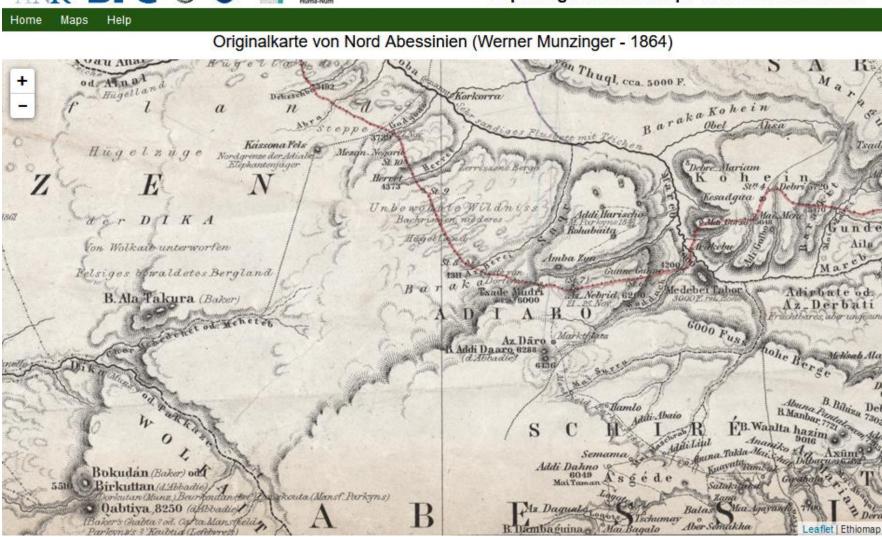








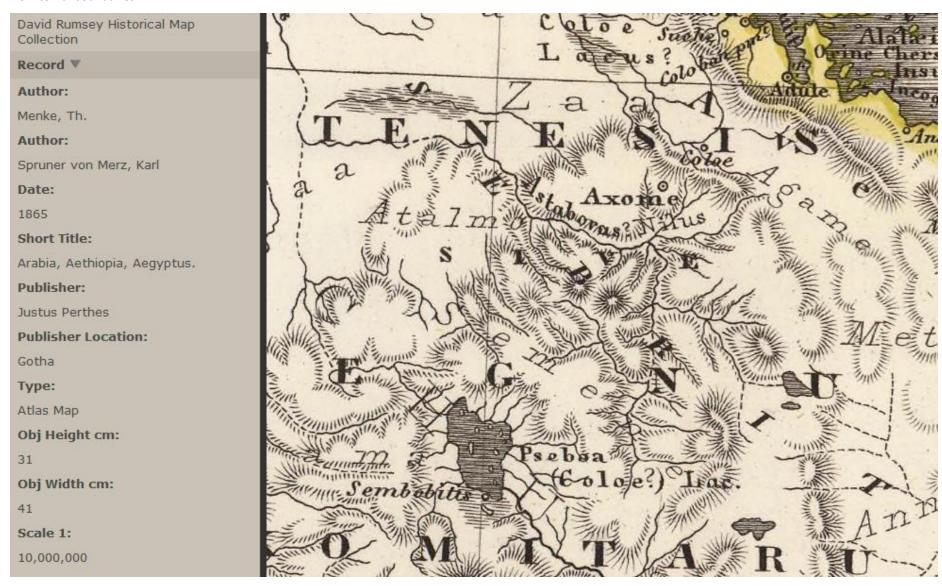
#### Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa



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

# Menke & Spruner von Merz, 1865

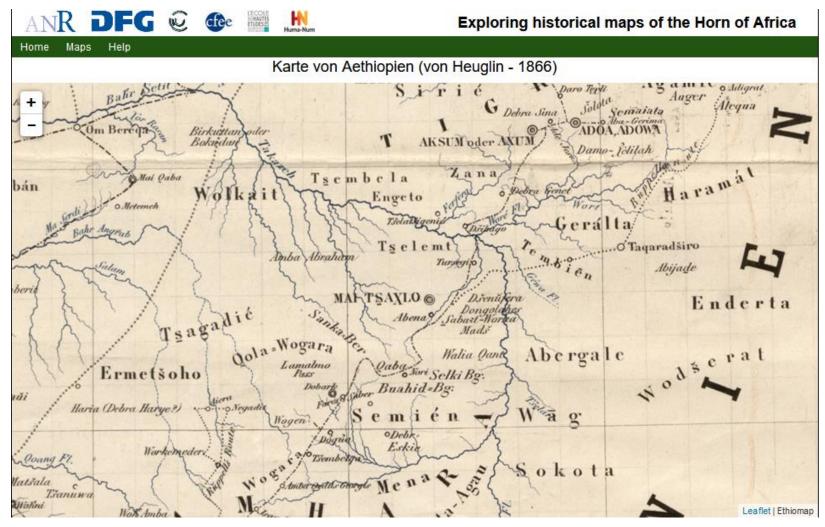
No internal boundaries



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

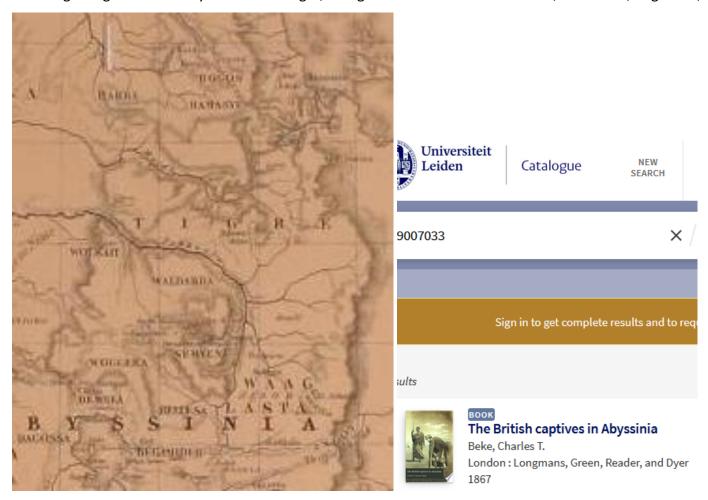
#### Von Heuglin, 1866

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.



#### D'Abbadié, 1868

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



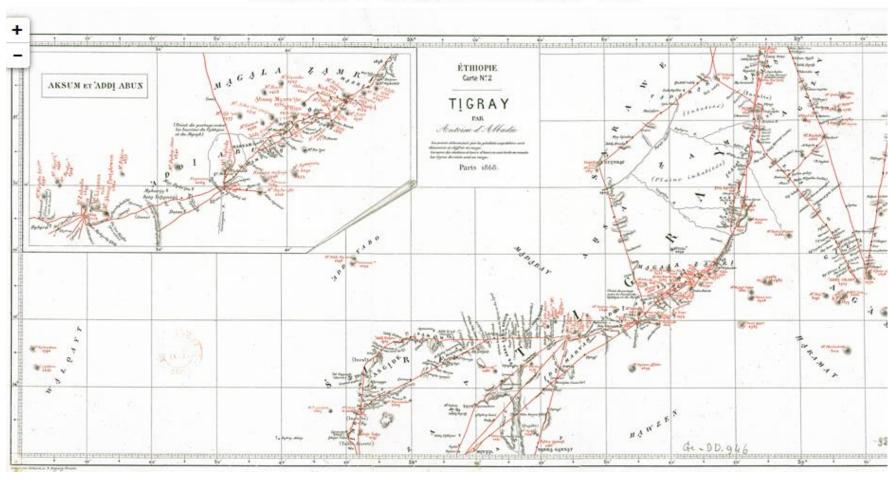




## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Maps Help

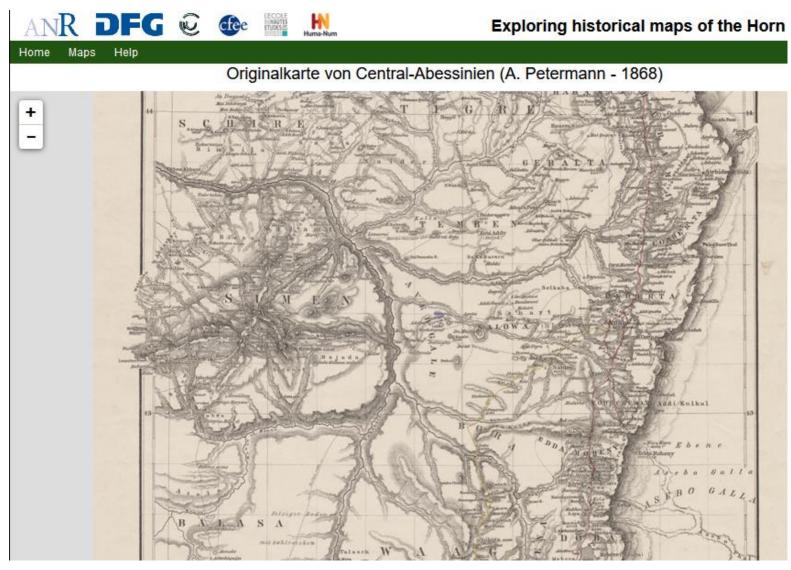
# D'Abbadie n° 2 - Tigray (Antoine d'Abbadie - 1868)



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

# Petermann, 1868

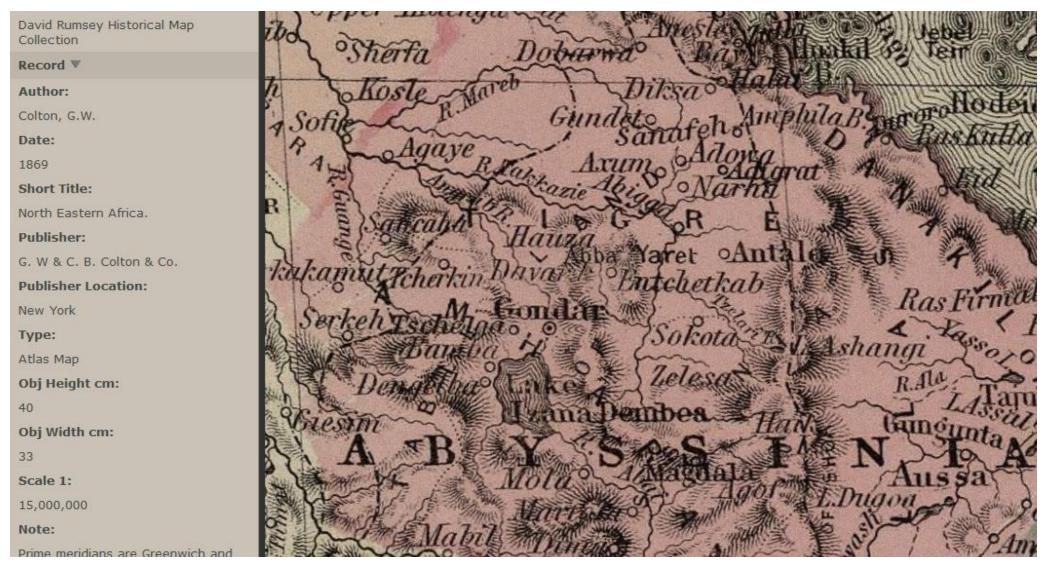
No borders shown; coloured lines are itineraries



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-

# Fullarton, 1872

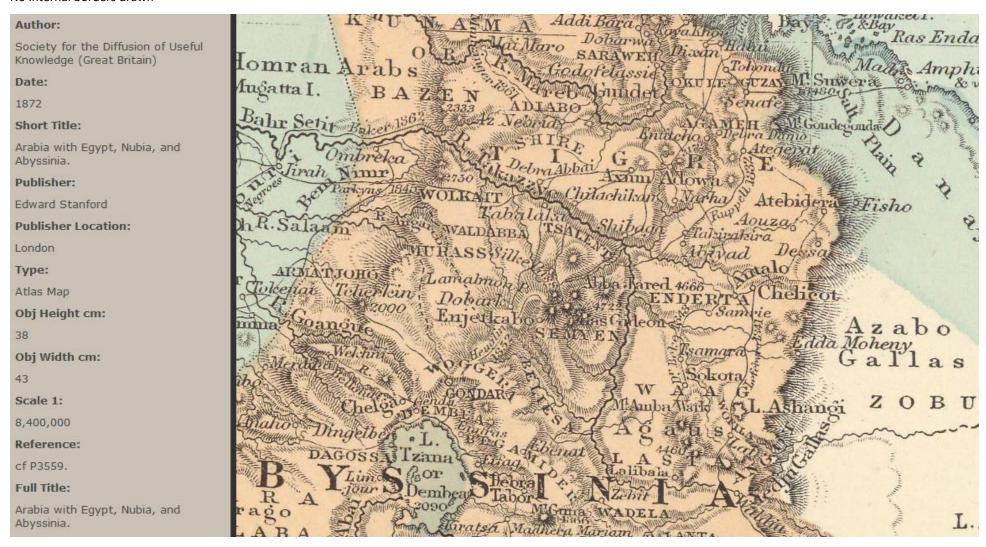
No internal borders. Letterings Tigre and Amhara both are close to Tekeze, probably indicating that it was considered the border

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https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3462~400032:Countries-In-The-Northern-Tropical-

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

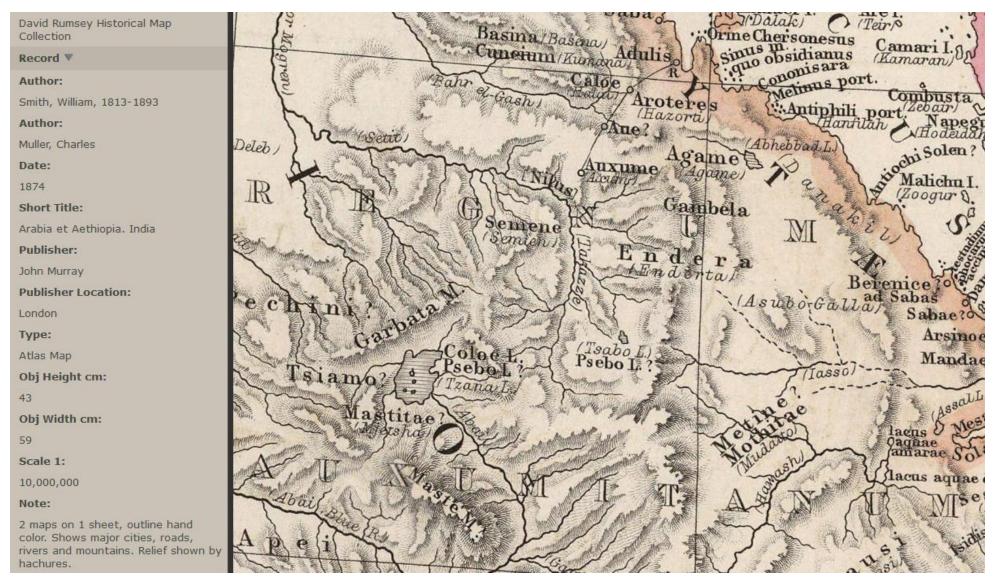
No internal borders drawn



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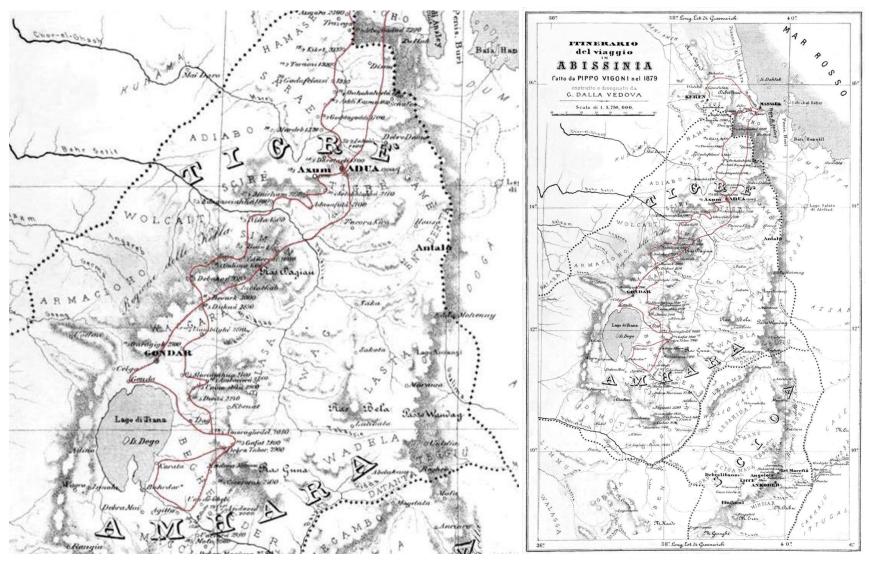
#### Smith & Muller, 1874

#### Without boundaries



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

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

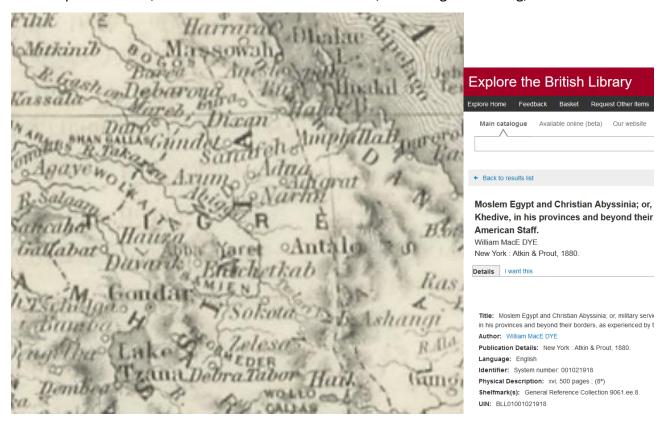
# Johnston, 1879

No internal boundaries

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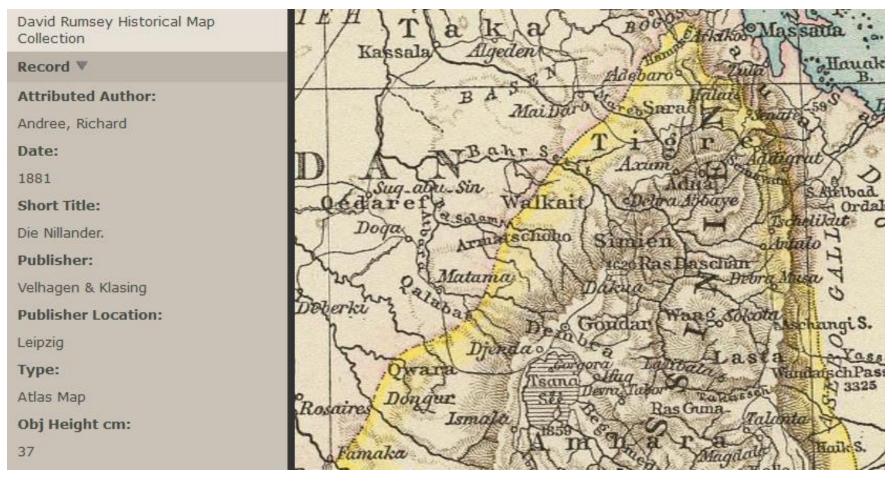
Dye, 1880
Wolkait part of TIGRE, which stretches across R. Takazza; according to lettering, border AMHARA-TIGRE runs approx. over the top of Simien Mts



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

## Andree, 1881

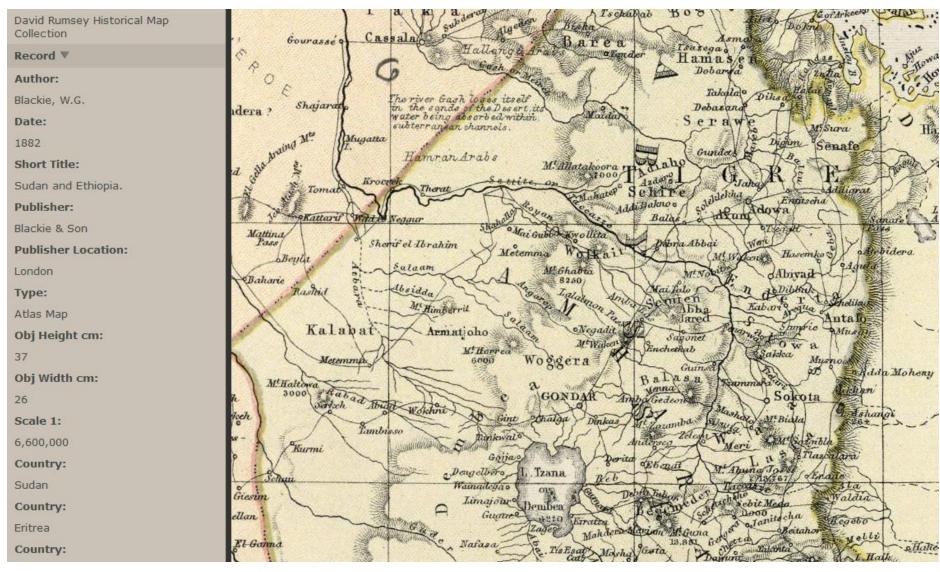
Internal boundaries not shown



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~30816~1150754:Die-Nillander-

#### Blackie, **1882**

#### Internal boundary not drawn



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

# Letts, **1883**

#### No internal borders shown

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Colored map. Relief shown by hachures and spot heights. Shows cities, British consulates, vice-consulates and consular agents, roads, railroads, rivers, etc. Includes statistical tables.	A B A MIETCH	Wiggins WADELA

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

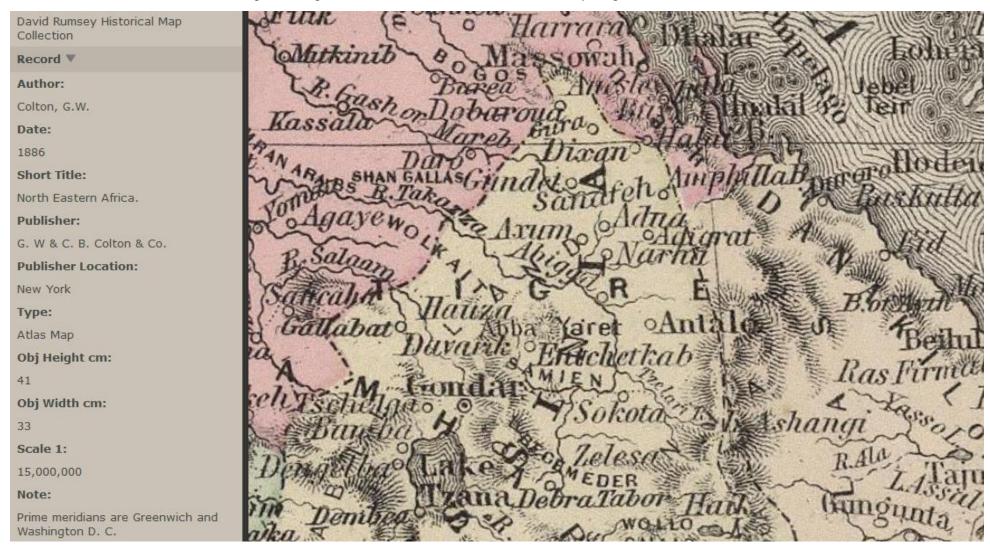


https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~317143~90086028:Sektion-6--

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

#### Colton, 1886

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



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~209908~5003708:North-Eastern-Africa-

#### Rand McNally, 1889

#### No internal boundary



https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~37470~1210344:Upper-Nubia-and-Habesh-or-Abyssina-

## Habenicht, 1891

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





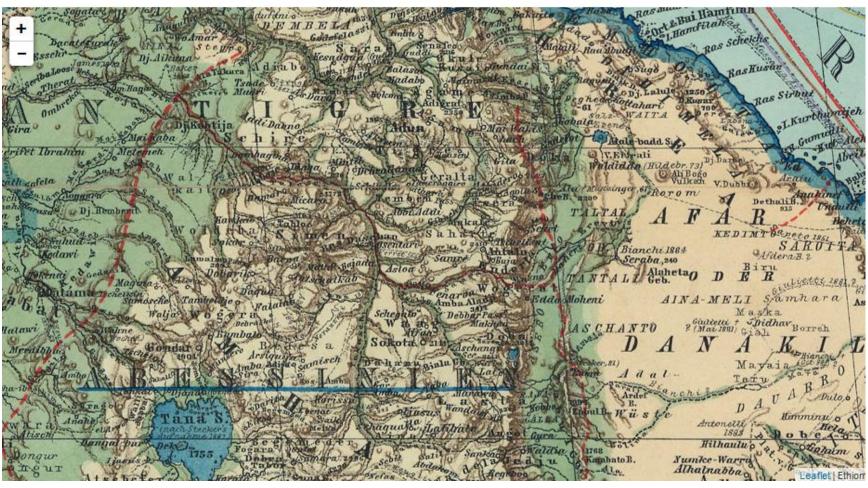




## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

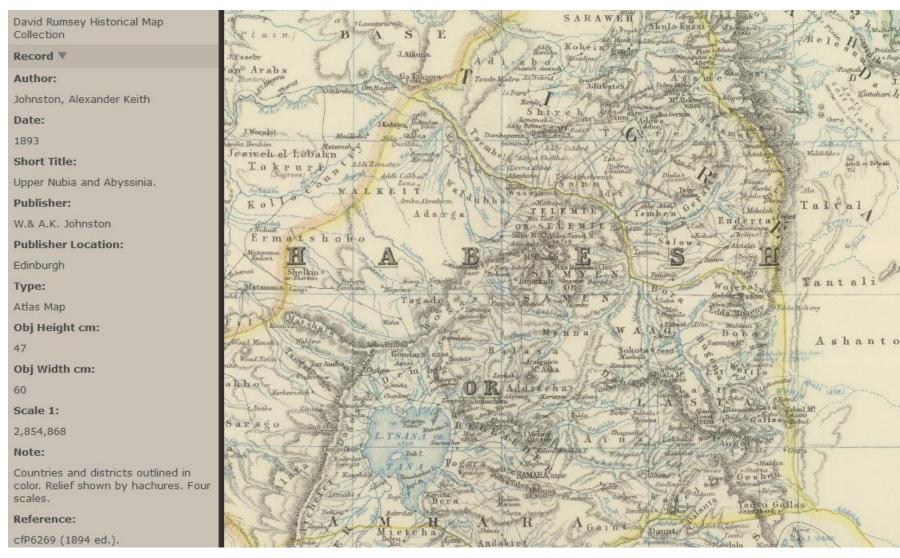
#### Justus Perthes' Afrika (Habenicht - 1891)



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

#### Johnston, 1893

In a 50- year record of atlas maps (1861-1911), this Johnston map in one instance places the border on Tekeze



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

## De Chaurand, 1894

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





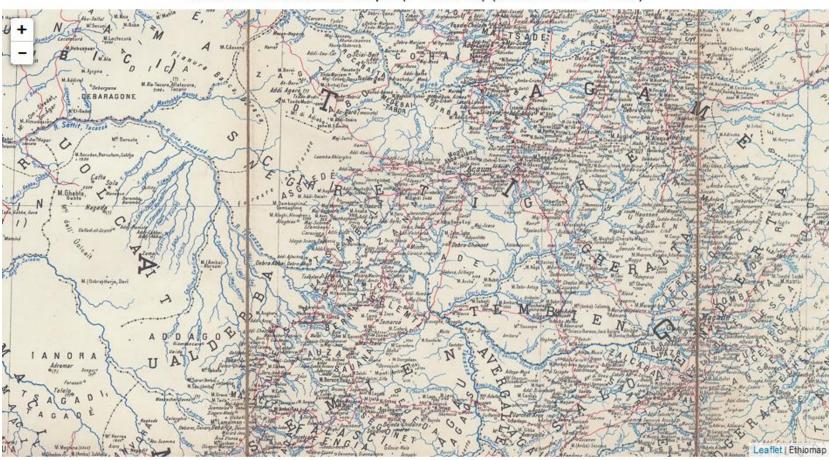




## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

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

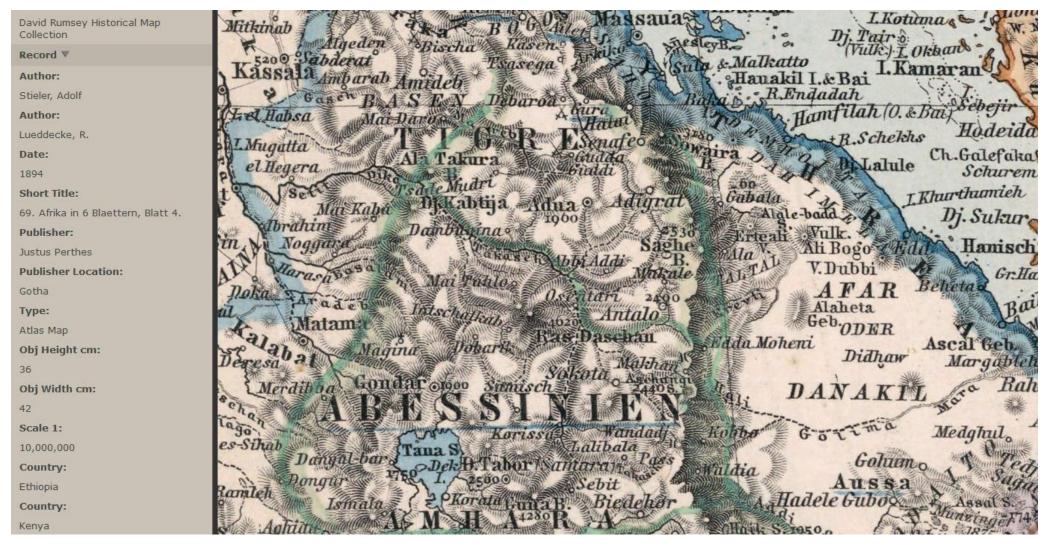


https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id article=61 https://www.loc.gov/resource/g8330m.g2009578530/?sp=3

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

#### Stieler & Lueddecke, 1894

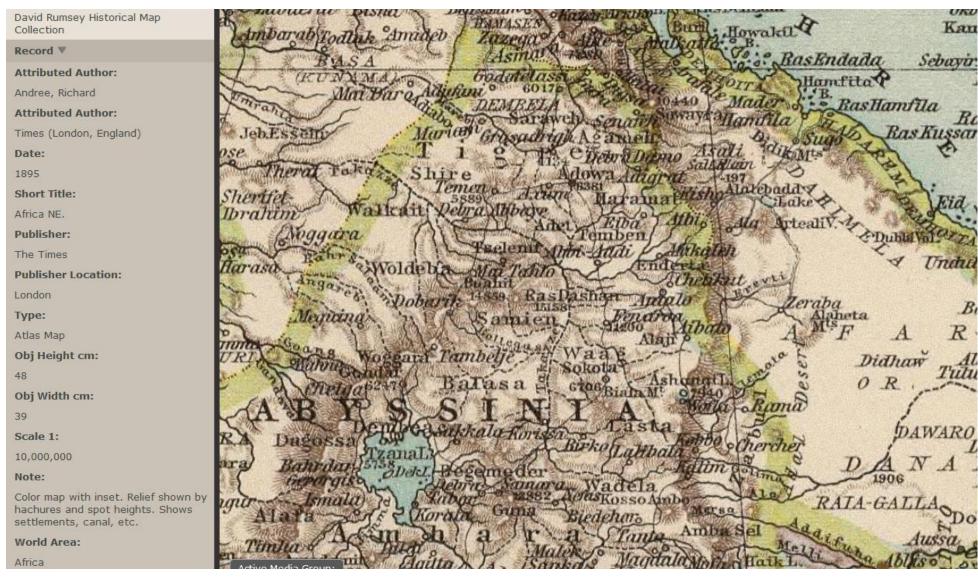
Internal border Amhara-Tigre on Tekeze R., but inconsistent. Italian territory not mapped.



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.

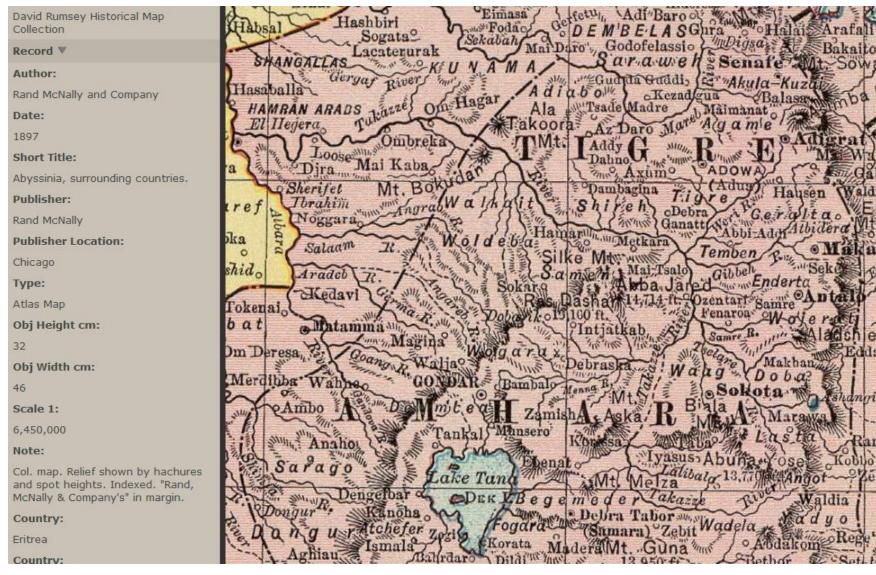
Bergamo, **1896**Border drawn on F. Tacazze; Ualcait mapped as part of Amhara



https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b77590920/f1.item

#### Rand McNally, 1897

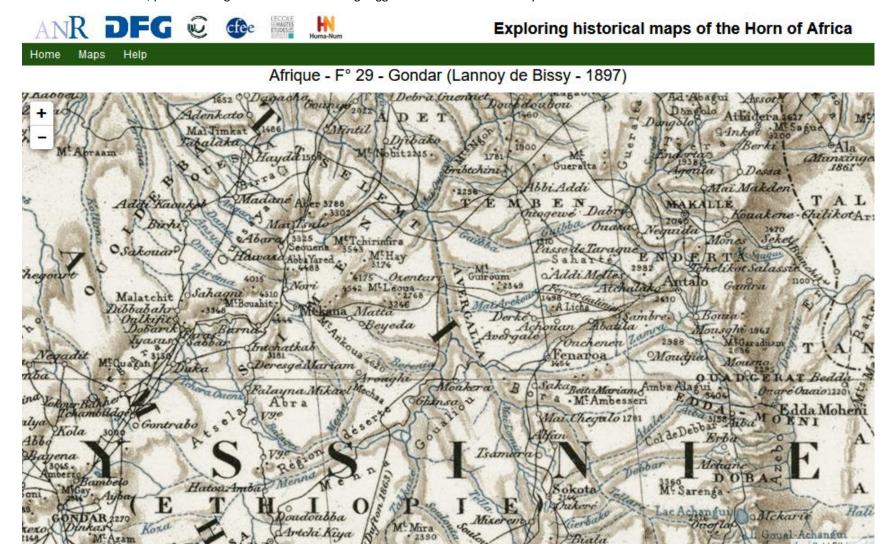
#### No internal borders



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

#### Lannoy de Bissy, 1897

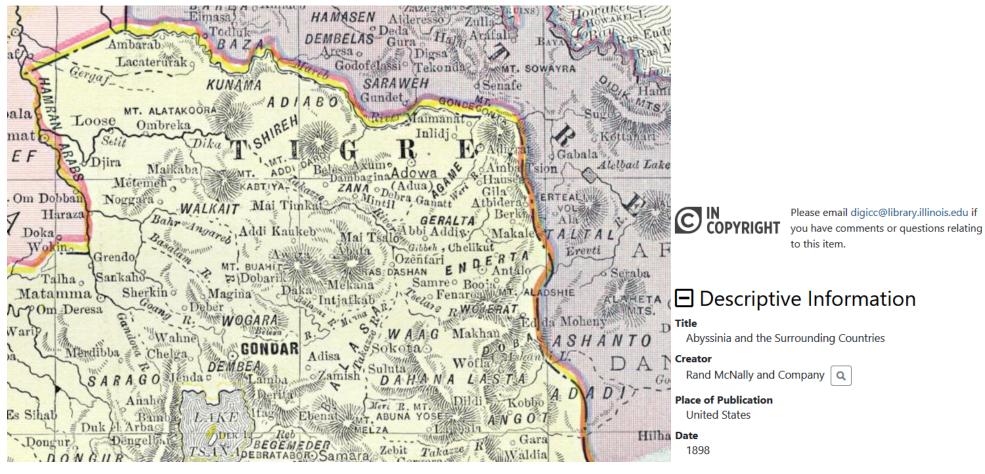
No internal boundaries; position of Tigre and Amhara lettering suggests Simien is the boundary



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

#### 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

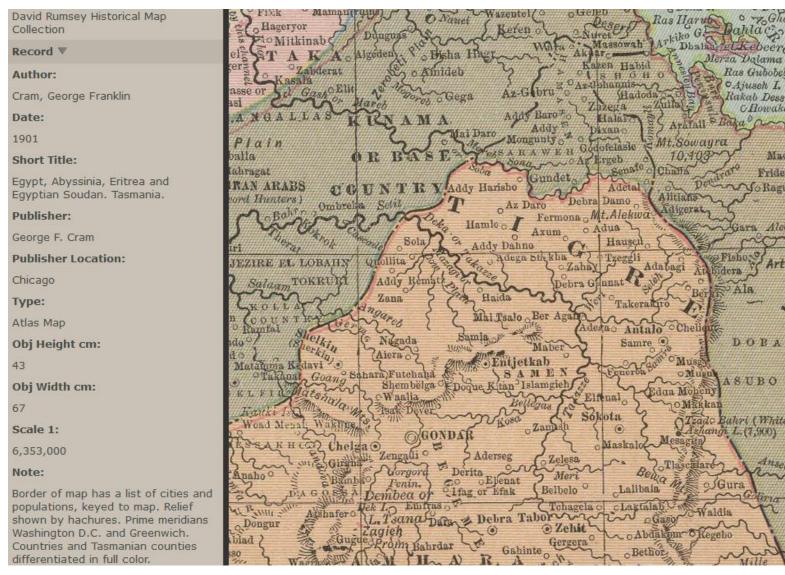
# Carte Generale de l'Afrique

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/

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

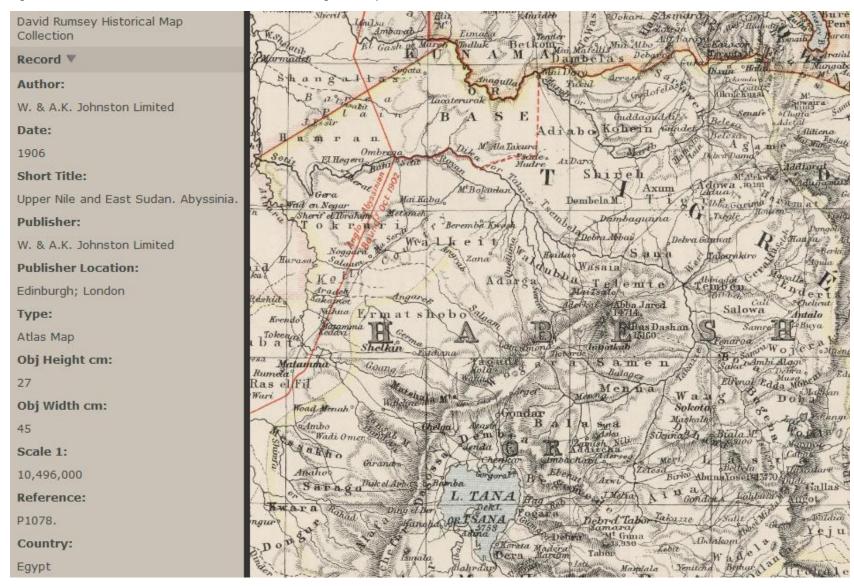
#### Internal borders not drawn



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

#### Johnston, 1906

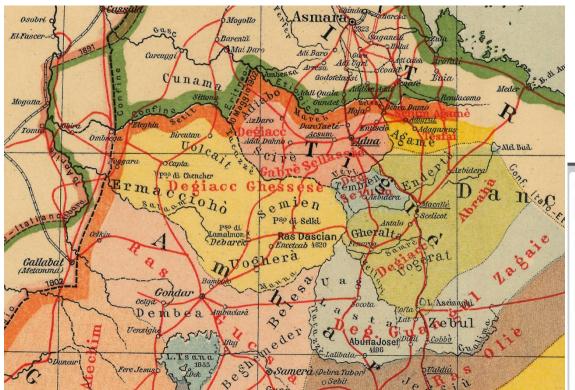
Tigré-Amhara border not shown. Eritrean border according to Ethiopian claims.



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/

## 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

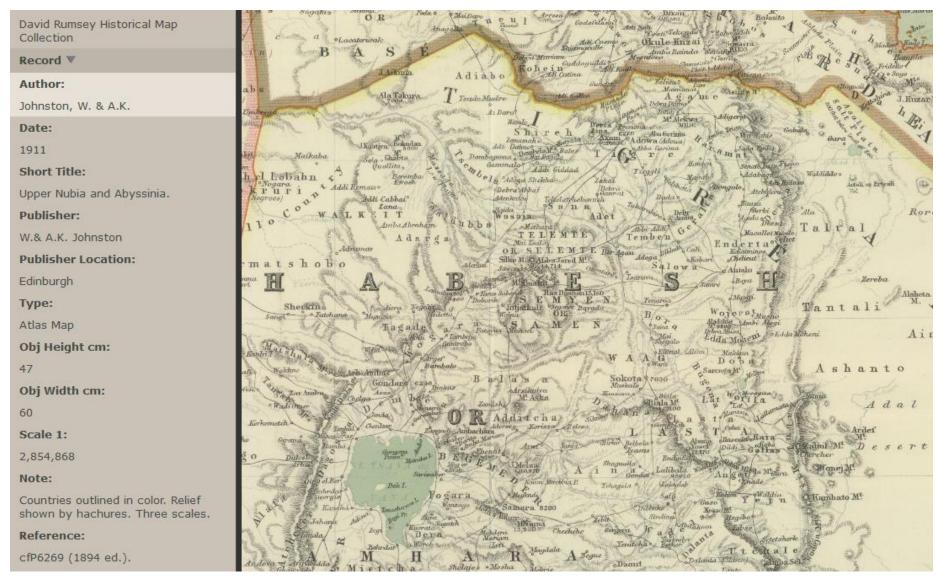
Border on Tekeze, in green colour



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

## Johnston, 1911

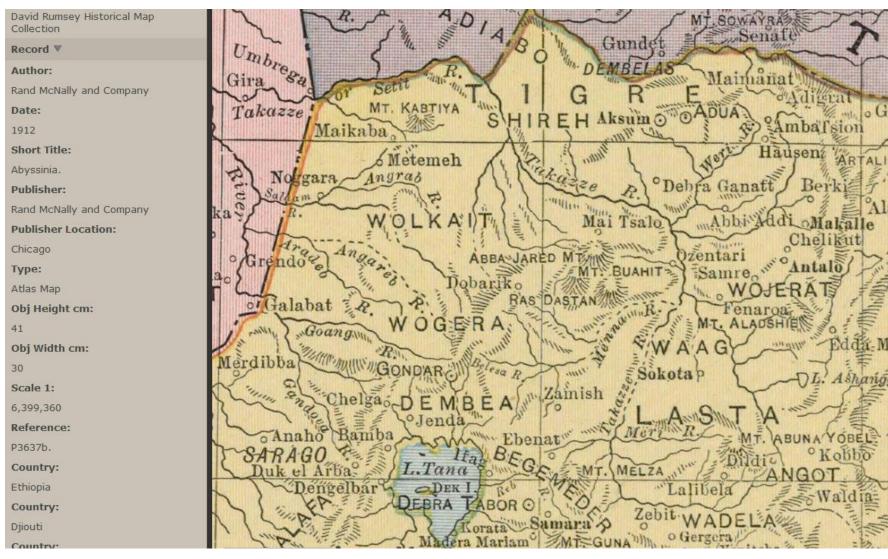
Tigré-Amhara border not shown. Eritrean border drawn according to Ethiopian claims.



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

#### Rand McNally, 1912

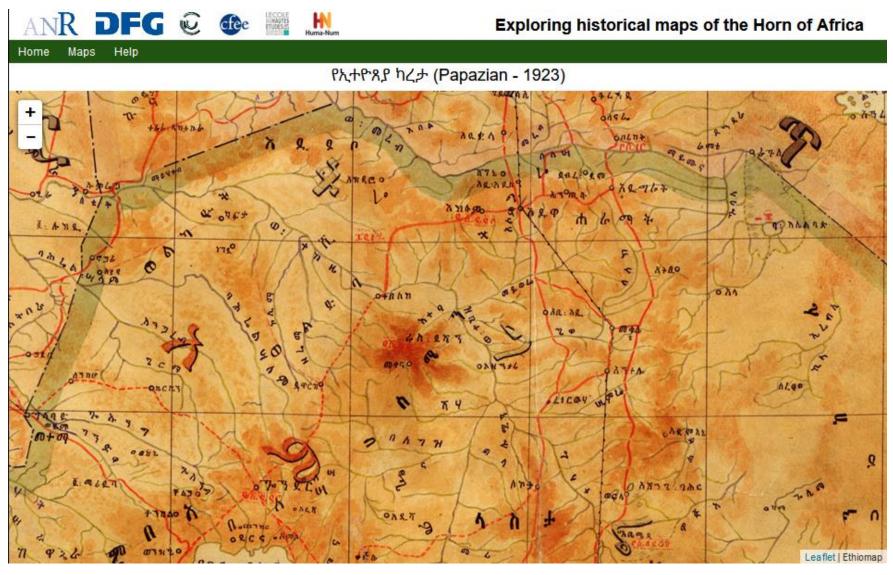
No internal borders; lettering Tigre spans across Tekeze



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

## Papazian, 1923

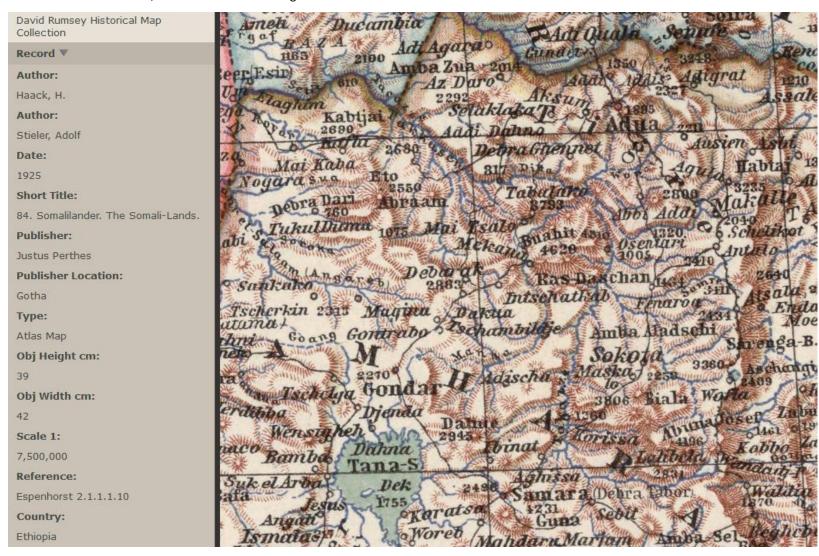
Tigre and Amhara as main subunits; border not drawn. Eritrean border according to Ethiopian claims.



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

## Haack & Stieler, 1925

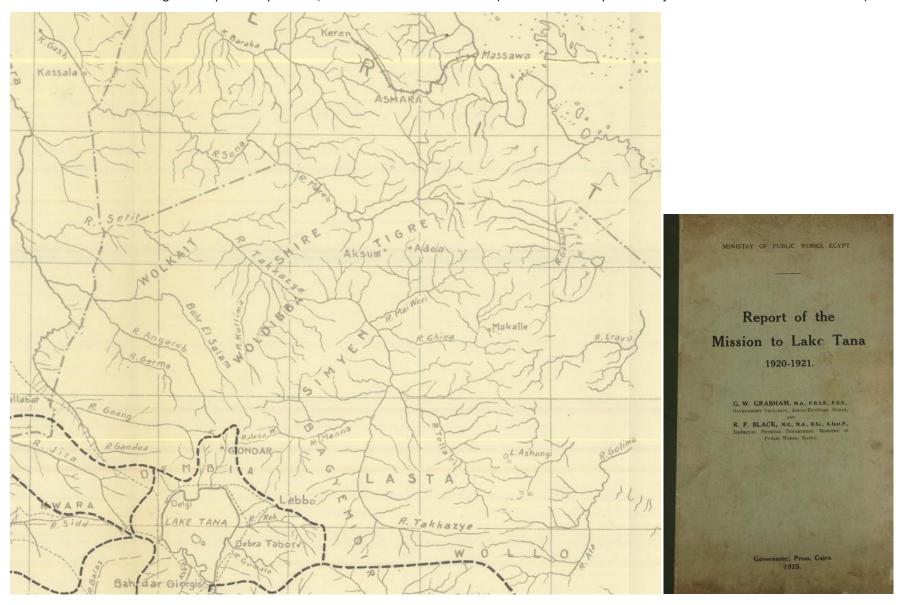
Internal border not shown; Eritrean border according to Italian claims



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

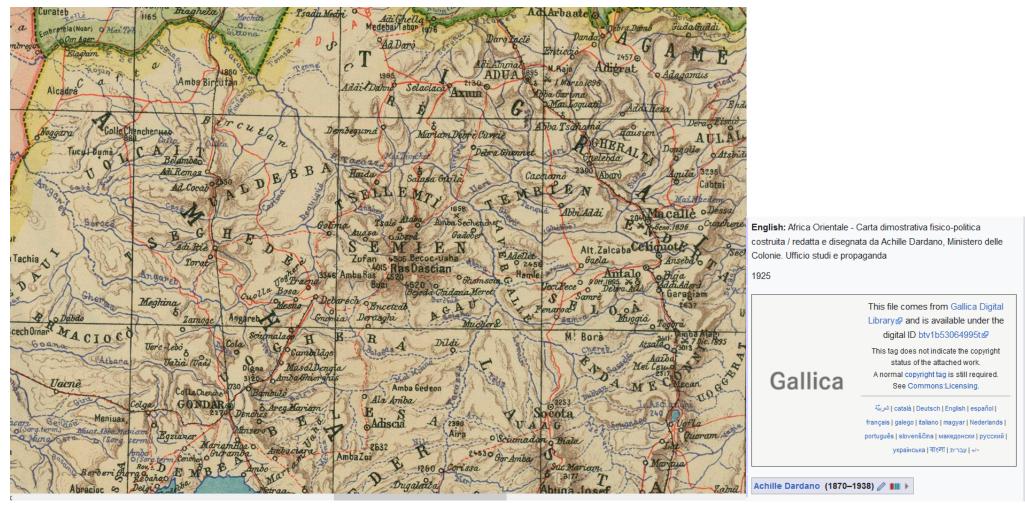
## Grabham & Black, 1925.

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



## Dardano, 1925

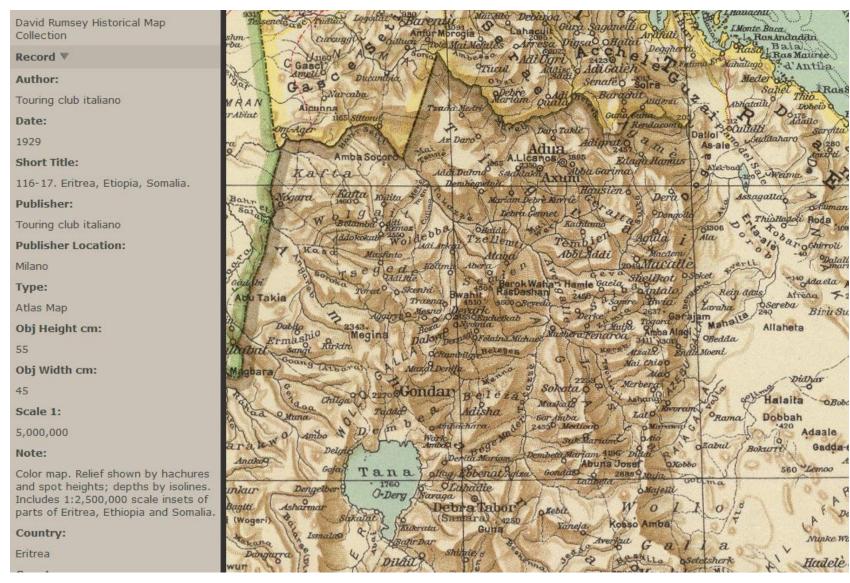
#### No border drawn



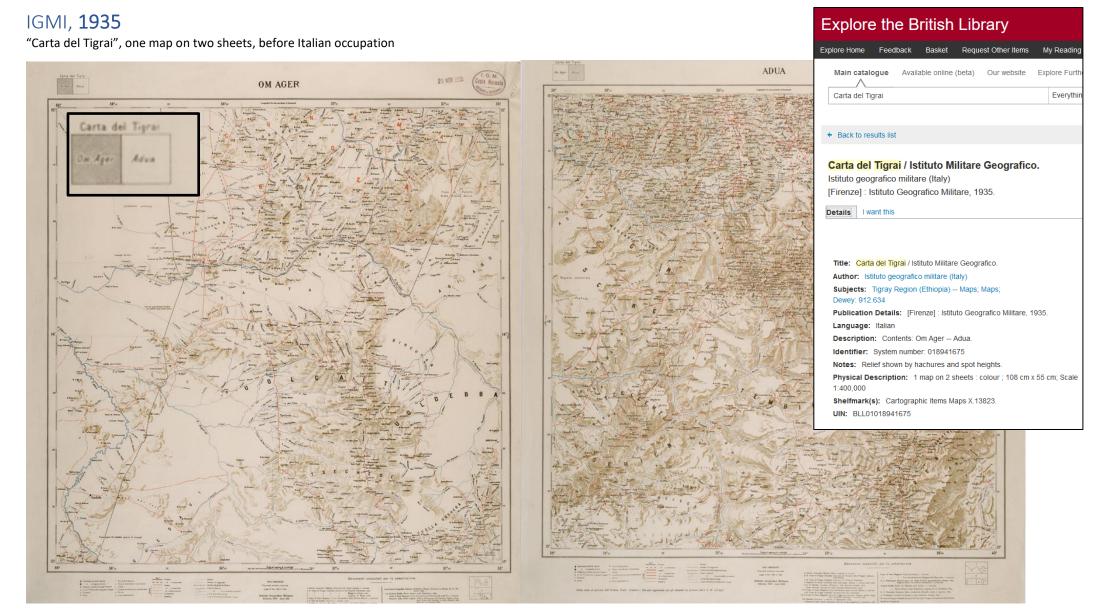
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1925 - Africa Orientale - Carta dimostrativa fisico-politica.jpg https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53064995t

## Touring Club Italiano, 1929

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



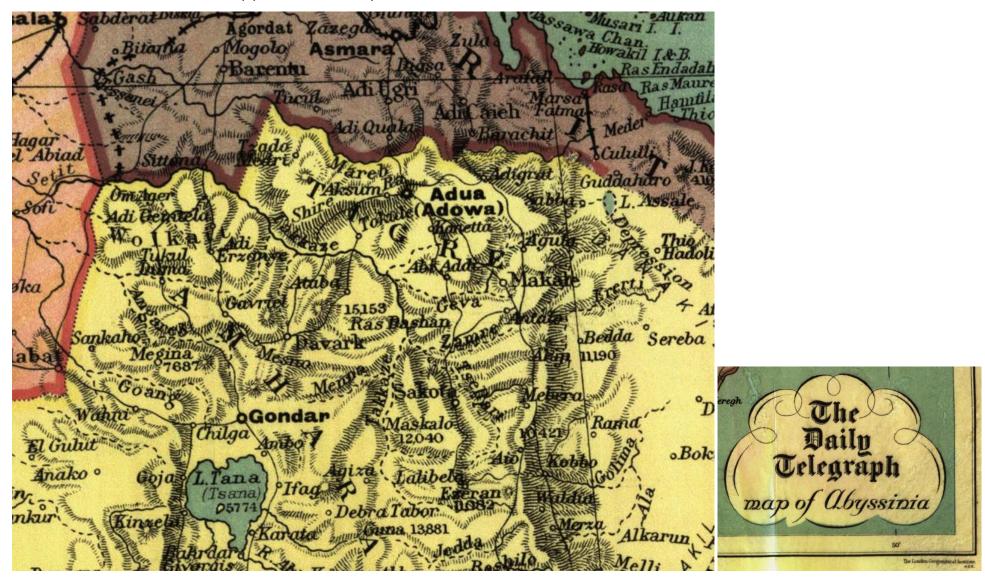
https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~31884~1151211:116-17--Eritrea,-Etiopia,-Somalia-



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.

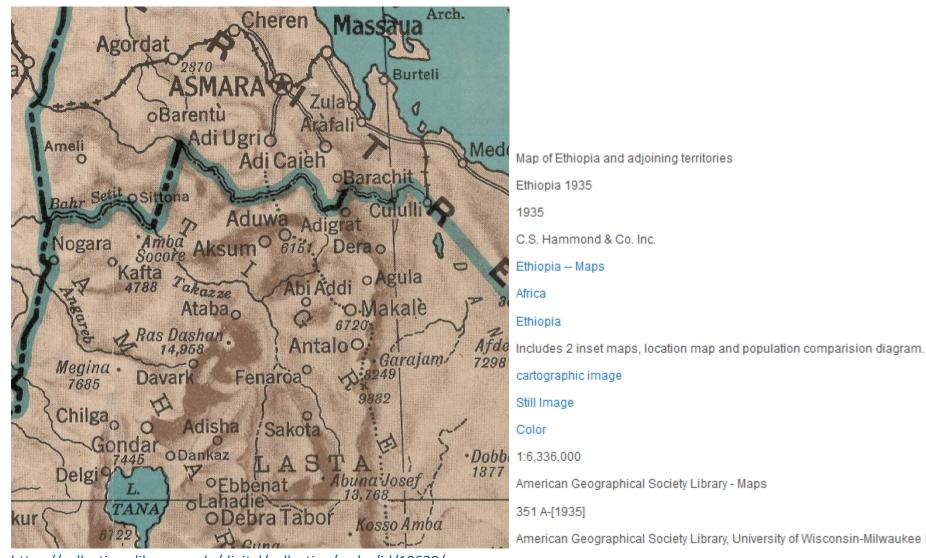
No internal borders shown. Similar map published in 1935 by The Times.



(map from private collection)

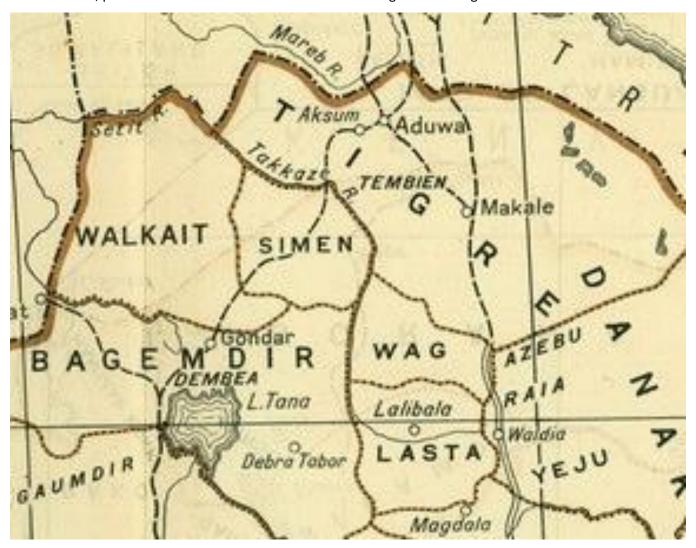
## Hammond, 1935

No internal boundaries displayed



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

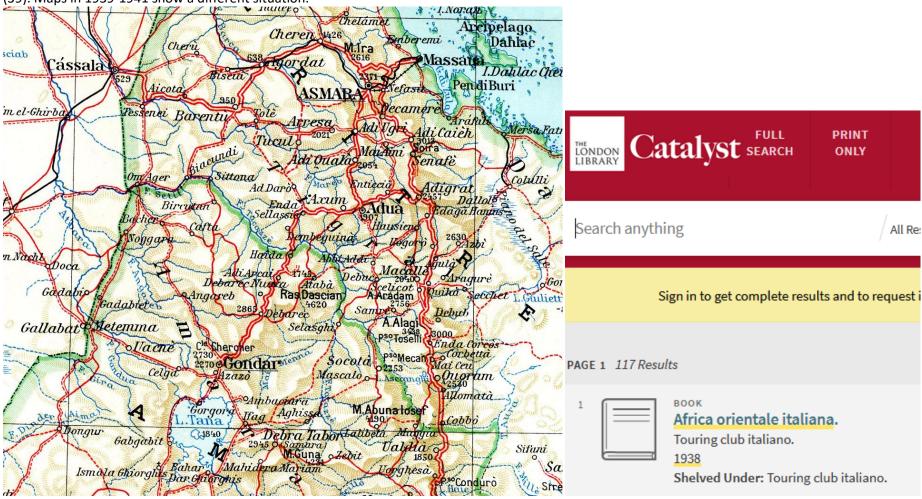
Perham, 1935 1935 situation, published in 1948. No direct border between Bagemdir and Tigre.



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

## Consociazione Turistica Italiano, 1938

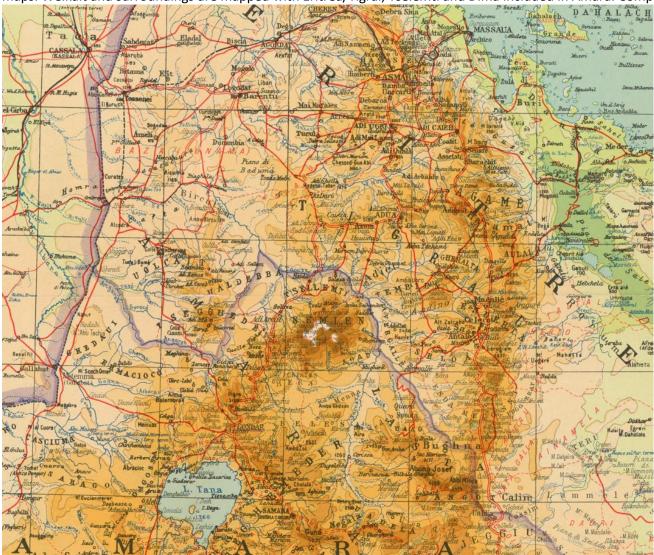
Widely published map. For a period of five years (1936-1941), most parts of the Horn of Africa were included in "Africa orientale Italiana" (AOI). Within this AOI, the Italian administration was organised according to six governi: Eritrea (including Tigray), Amara, Scioa, Galla-Sidama, Harari and Somalia. 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 (39). 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, 40, 41). 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

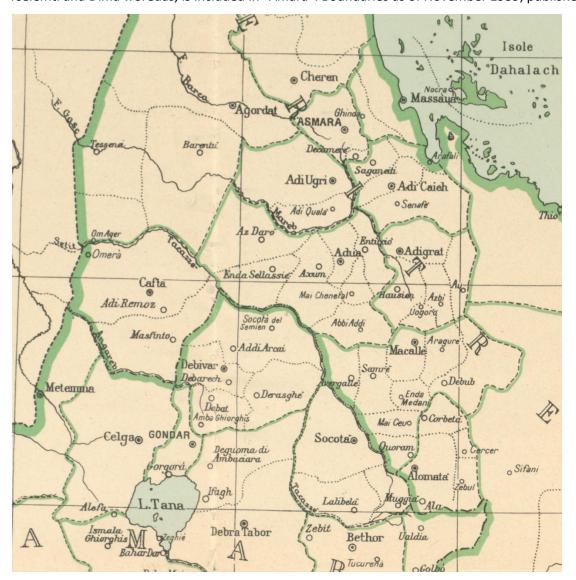
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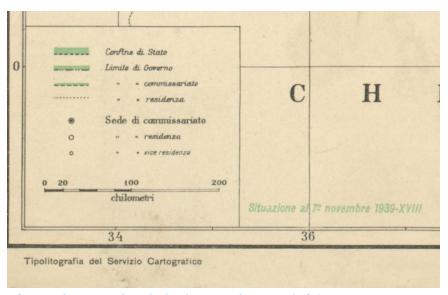
Unter den Linden - Requesting/Consulting in the Maps Reading Room contact

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

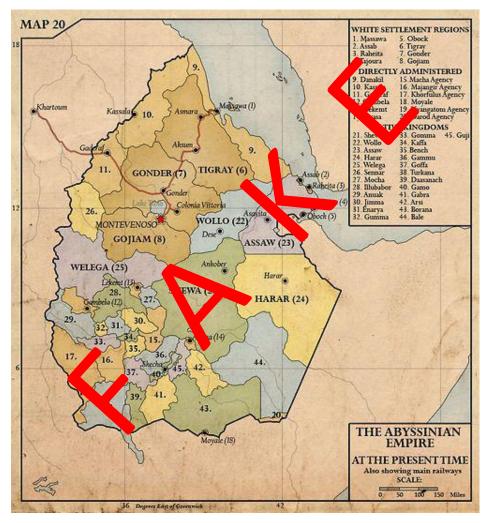
#### Note Bibliografiche

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

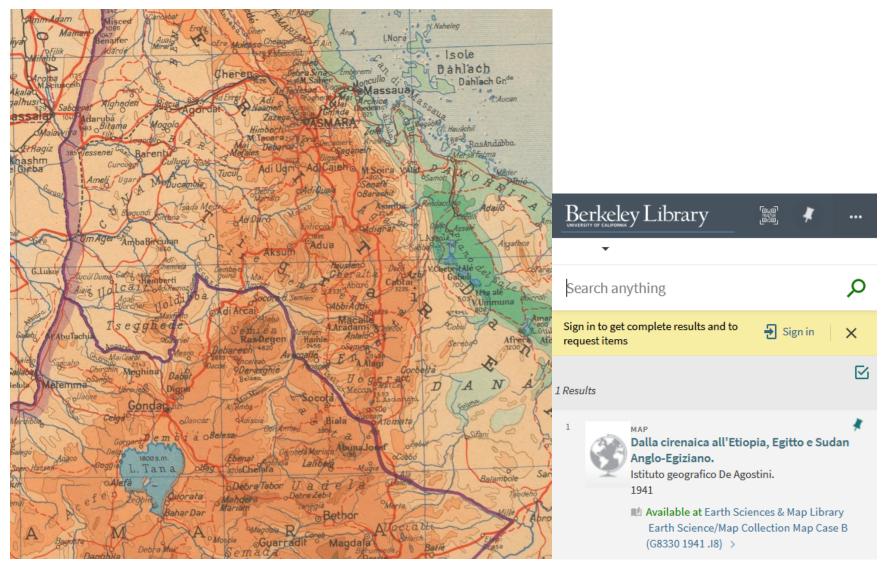
Not used in meta-analysis.



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: <a href="https://www.deviantart.com/edthomasten/art/Empire-of-Abyssinia-c-1940-145811981">https://www.deviantart.com/edthomasten/art/Empire-of-Abyssinia-c-1940-145811981</a>. Colleagues fake mappers discuss the creation here: <a href="https://www.deviantart.com/edthomasten/art/Empire-of-Abyssinia-c-1940-145811981">https://www.deviantart.com/edthomasten/art/Empire-of-Abyssinia-c-1940-145811981</a>

## De Agostini, 1941

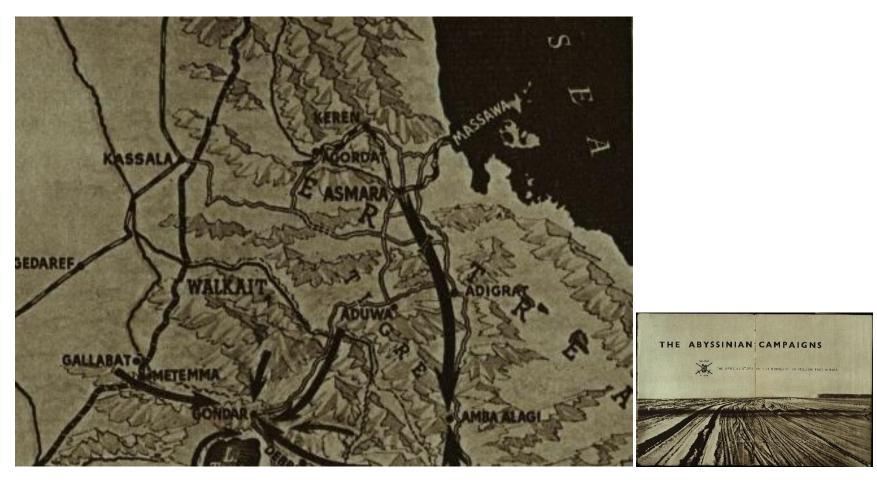
Administrative border clearly represented. "Uolcait" and surroundings mapped with Eritrea/Tigrai; just east of it, Tselemti and Dima are mapped with the then Italian Amara province



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

## 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

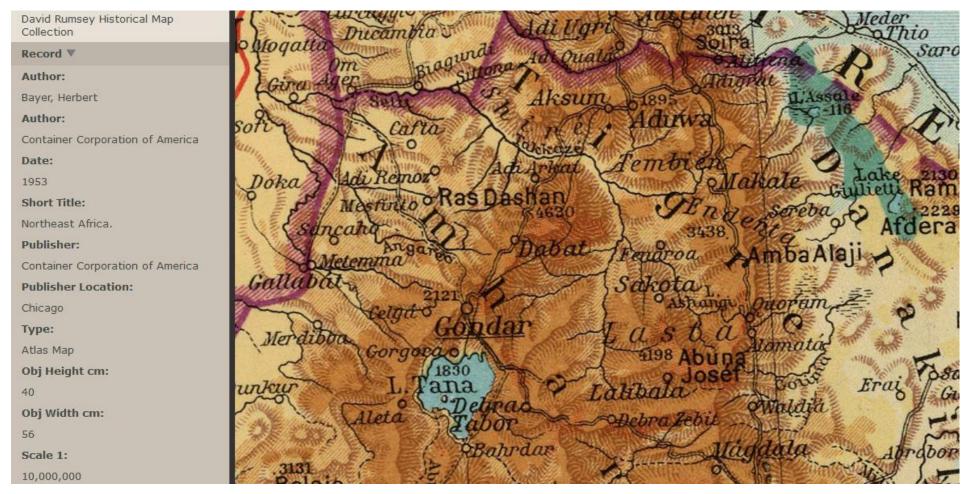
# De Agostini, **1952**

Border on Tacazze.

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection	Adi Warri Adi Caich Mersa Fatm
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Instituto Geographico di Agostini	Gira de Laum Massar
Date:	Aduta 116
1952	Carta
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Northeast Africa.	oka 3 sai Remore Jago Jo Maralle Lago
Publisher:	Masting o Ras Dascian
Instituto Geographico di Agostini	Estaration 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
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## Bayer, **1953**

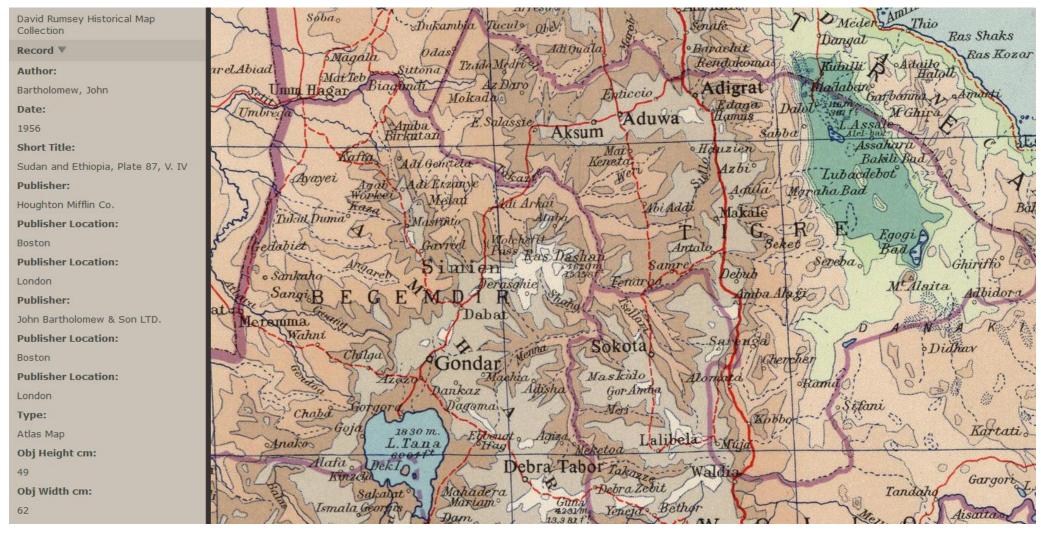
#### Internal borders not drawn



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

## Bartholomew, 1956

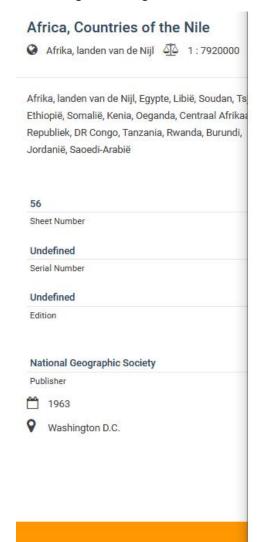
Border on Takazze; Kobbo and Muja included in Tigre

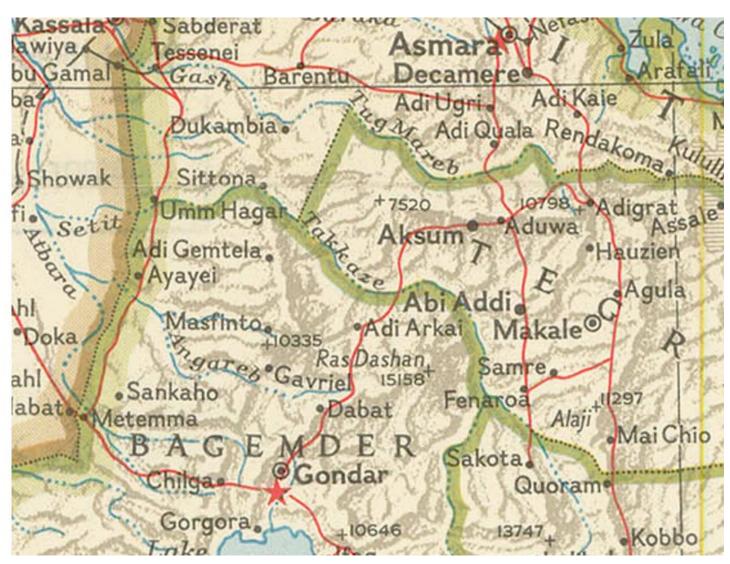


https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~225488~5506192:Sudan-and-Ethiopia,-Plate-87,-V--IV

## National Geographic Society, 1963

Border Bagemder/Tegre on Takkaze

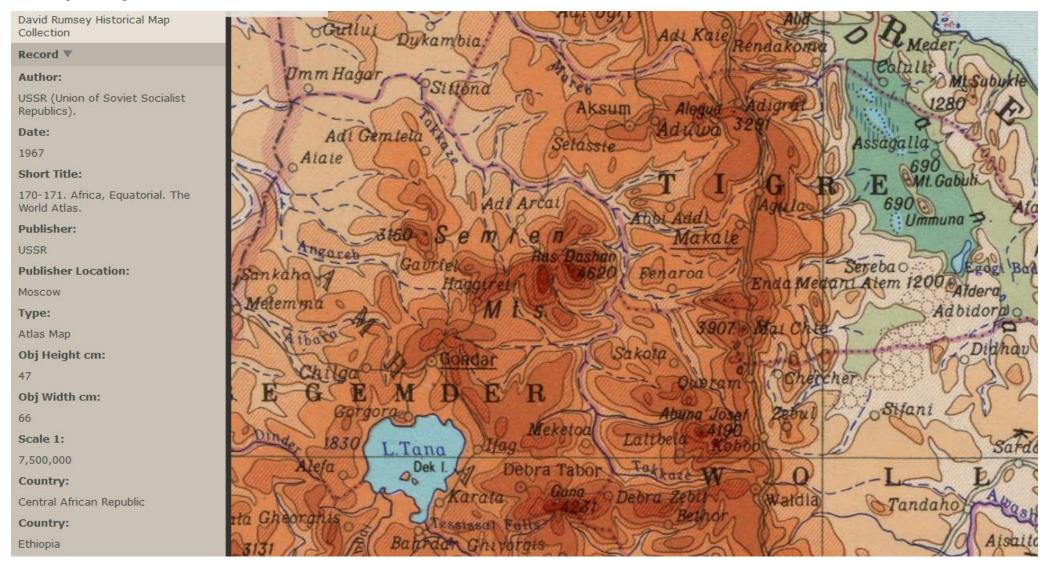




https://www.atlas.ugent.be/items/5071

## USSR, 1967

#### Border Begemder/Tigre on Tekeze

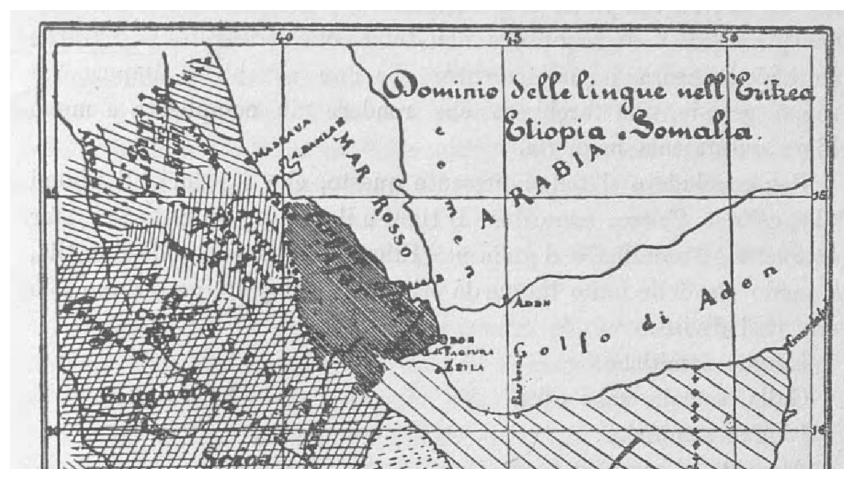


https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~208346~3001988:170-171--Africa,-Equatorial--The-Wo

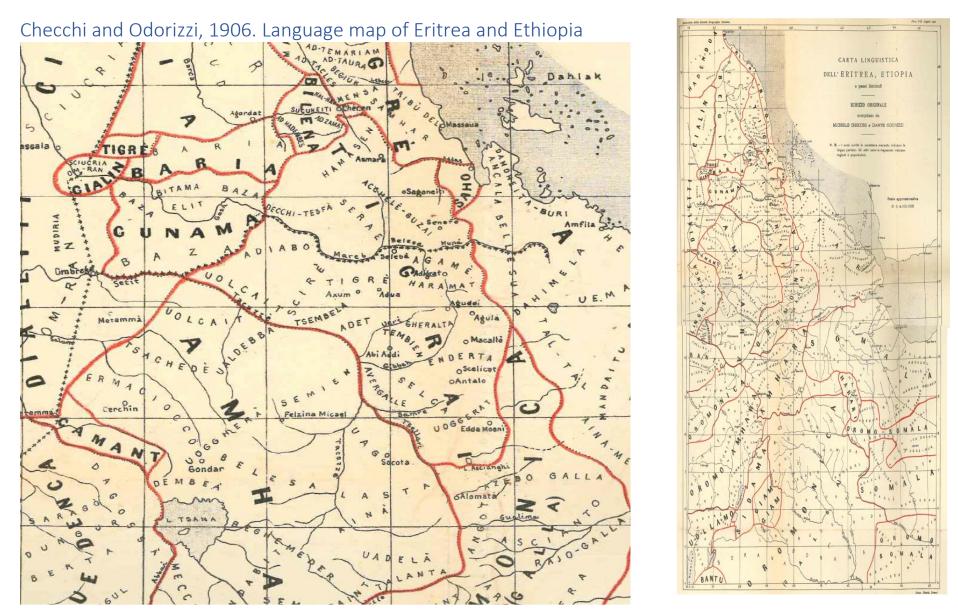
#### ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS

## 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. <a href="http://sebinaol.unior.it/sebinaol.un



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).

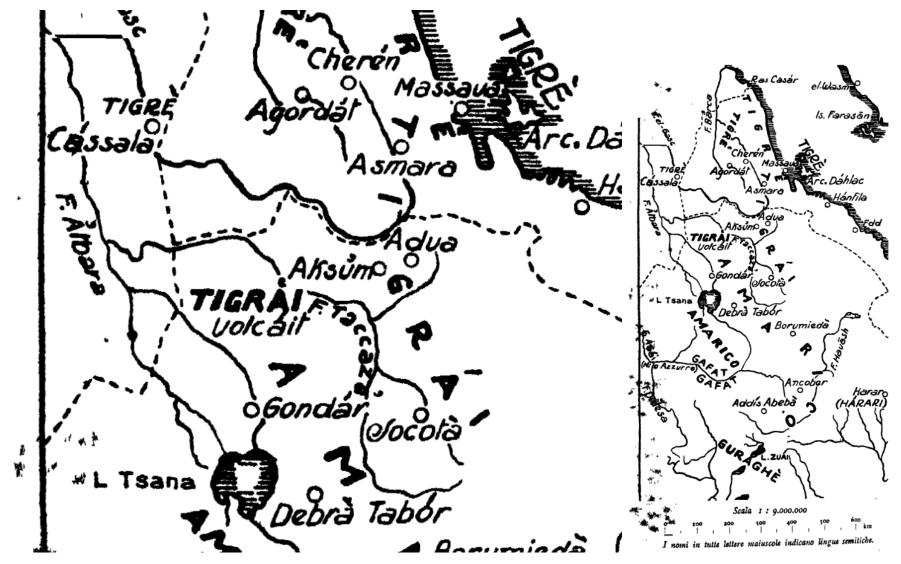
Checchi, Giardi & Mori, 1912. Langages spoken in Eritrea MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI

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.



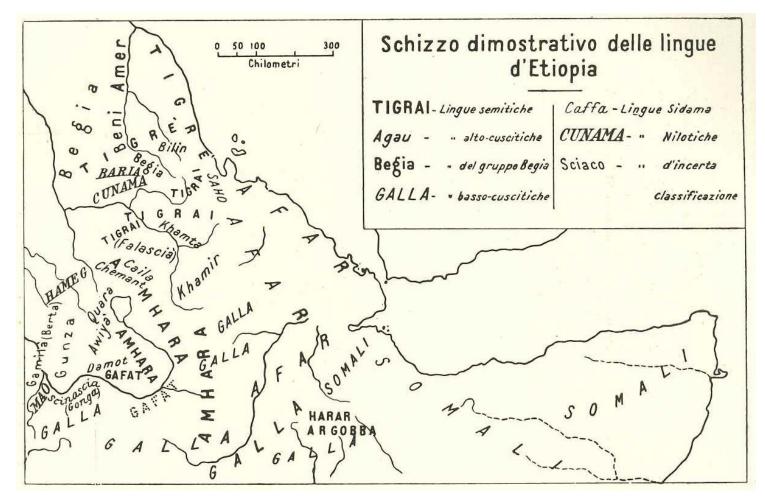
Conti Rossini, C., 1921. Le lingue e letterature semitiche d'Etiopia. Oriente Moderno, 1: 169-176. In contrast to the previous map, drawn by other authors, here Conti Rossini reports his own findings. <a href="https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.318622">https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.318622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

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 des indications prises dans les ouvragés d 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 O Ello Asmarao Hodeida Raheita Obok Djibouti Zeila

Hararum HARARI ARGOBBA

Kilométres

100

200

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).

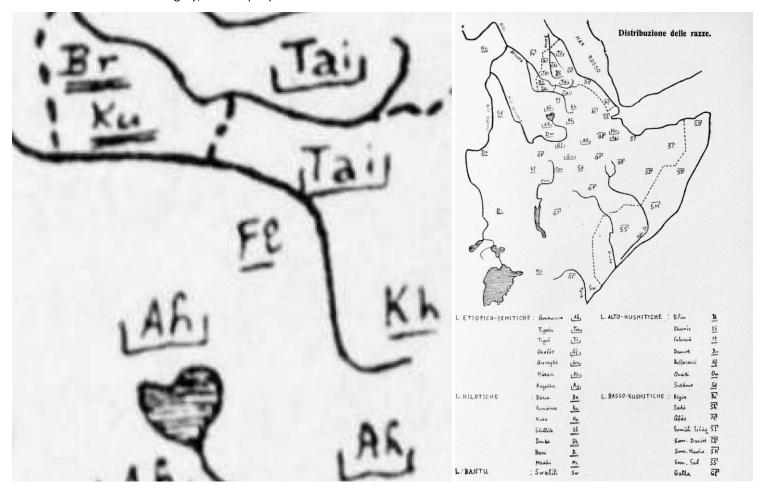
Cohen, M., 1931. Etudes d'éthiopien méridional. Paris: Geuthner.

Addis Ababa

GOURAGUÉ

## Ducati, 1931. Distribuzione delle razze

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

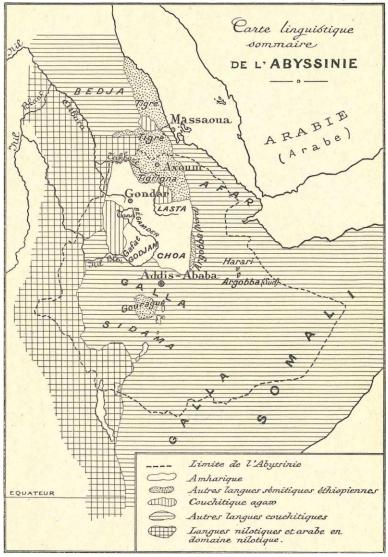


Quite generalised map; from north to south, the Mereb River, the Eritrean border, the Tekeze River and Lake Tana may be used as reference.

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

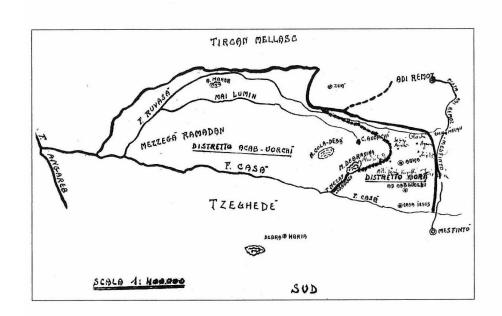


L'Harmattan Italia
"Il Politico e La Memoria"

(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"



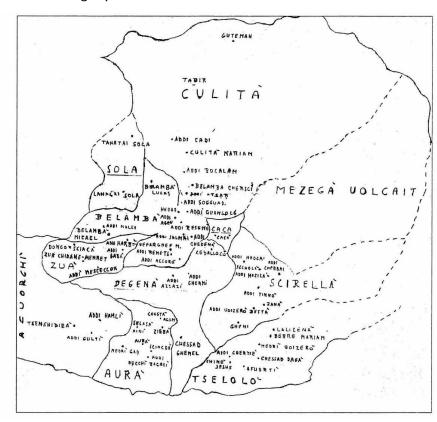


Fig. E1. Overview maps of Welkait from Ellero's field notebook. There is overlap between the left and right maps (district Aura). For every sub-district, there is a specific map, showing the locations of the villages visited.

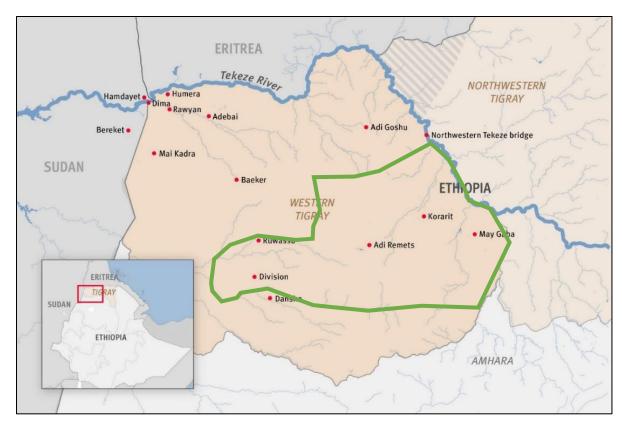


Fig. E2. Welkait in 1939-1940, according to Ellero's field notes (Fig. E1; generalised borders of Welkait in green colour). Here, every village was visited at the time by Ellero and his team; everywhere Tigrinya was the mother tongue; Amharic was understood and used at variable degrees. Base map © Human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

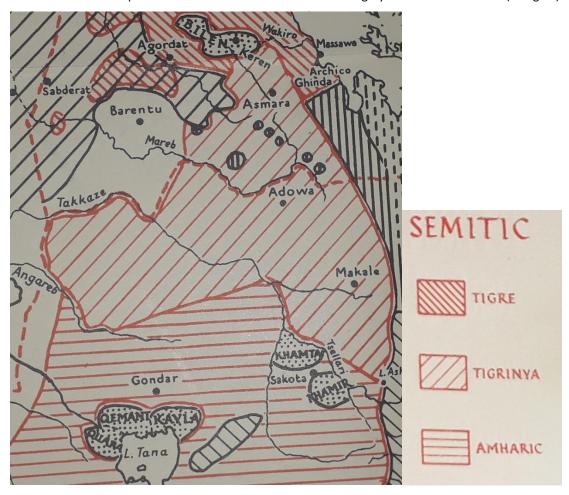
Pages 204-208 of the *Quaderni* hold a list of 116 place names with their etymology, obtained by Ellero and his translators. The etymology of most place names is of Tigrinya origin. Some exceptions for Addi Tinno (Oromo for a short person), Zua (Falasha), Batua Mariam (bible), .... In the whole list 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: ሰለስተ ኮዶ) three fig trees, most probably Ficus sur (42)
- Agam (T: ኢጋም) vernacular name for the shrub Carissa edulis (42)
- Edaga Hamus (T: ዕዳጋ ሃመነስ) 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.

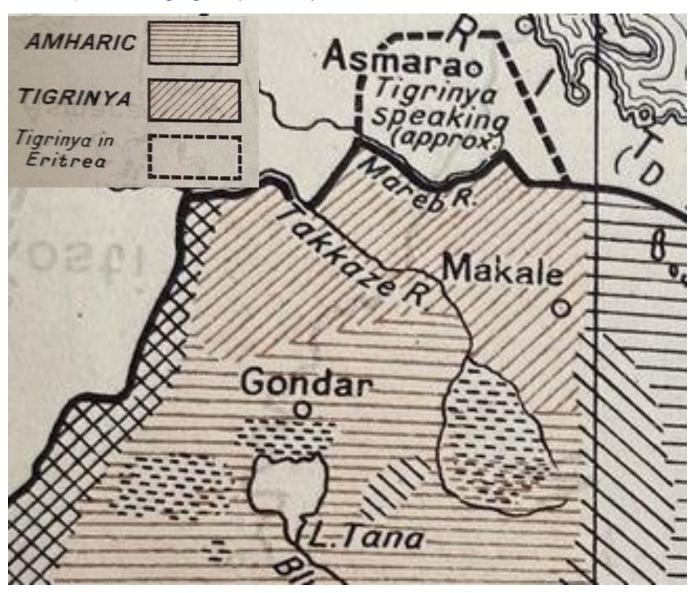
The southern border of the Tigrinya-speaking area is drawn as a straight line between the Angareb and Takkaze Rivers. Simoons (1960) draws it slightly curved. Bryan (1948) explicitly mentions that the strip to both sides of the southern border of Tigray is often a transitional (bilingual) zone.



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.

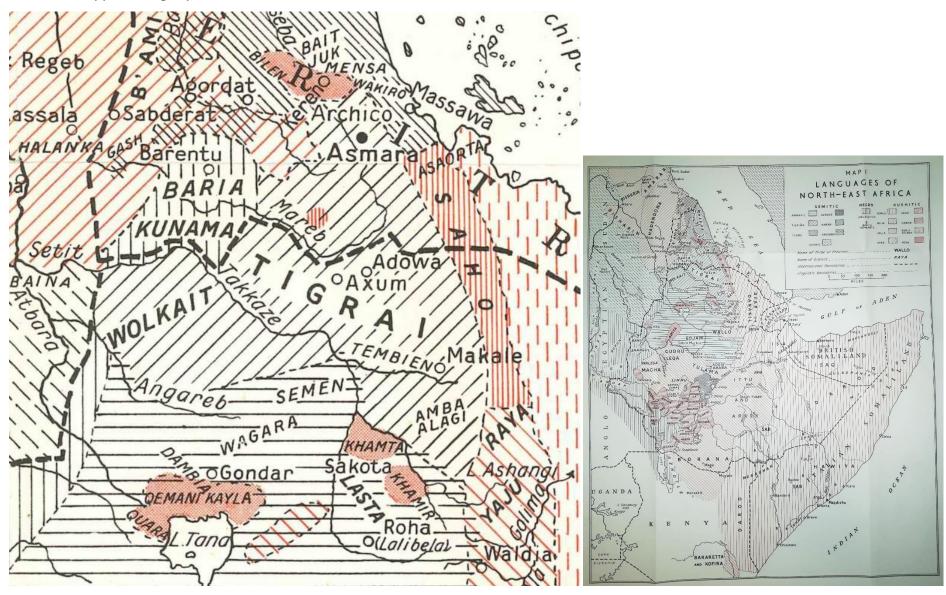
Perham, 1948: Language map of Ethiopia



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

## Trimingham, 1952. Languages of North-East Africa

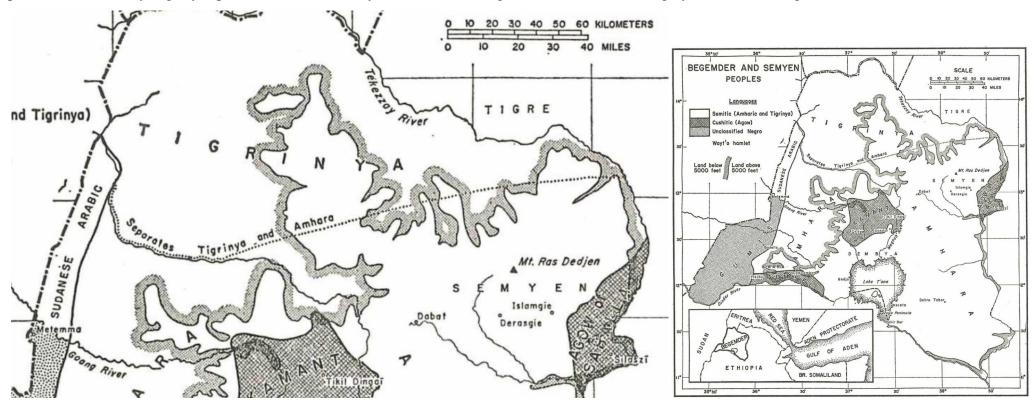
Wolkait is mapped as Tigrinya dialect.



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

## Simoons, 1960. Begemder and Semyen, peoples.

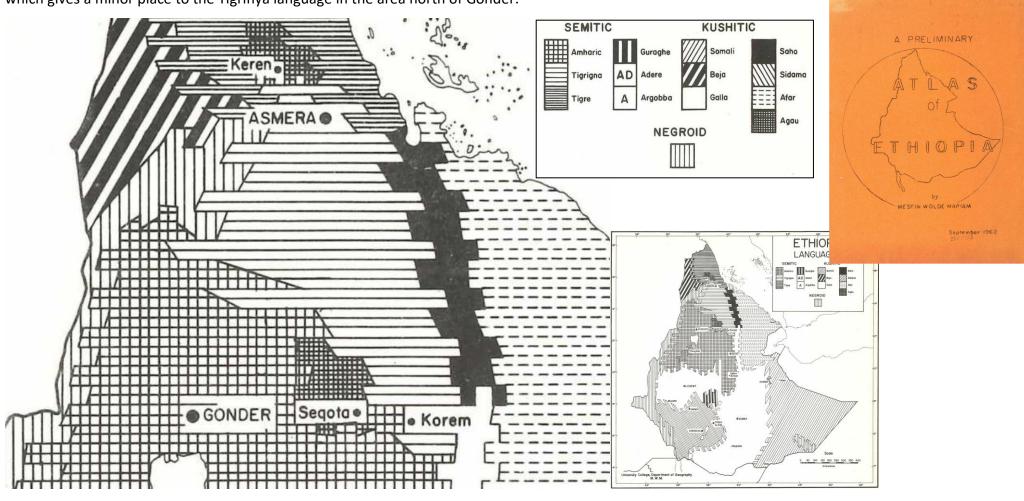
Tigrinya/Amharic language boundary drawn on a map displaying the political boundaries as they were in 1960. The northern one third of the then Begemder province inhabited by Tigrinya speakers. This fits closely with the current legal border between the Tigray and Amhara Regions.



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

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

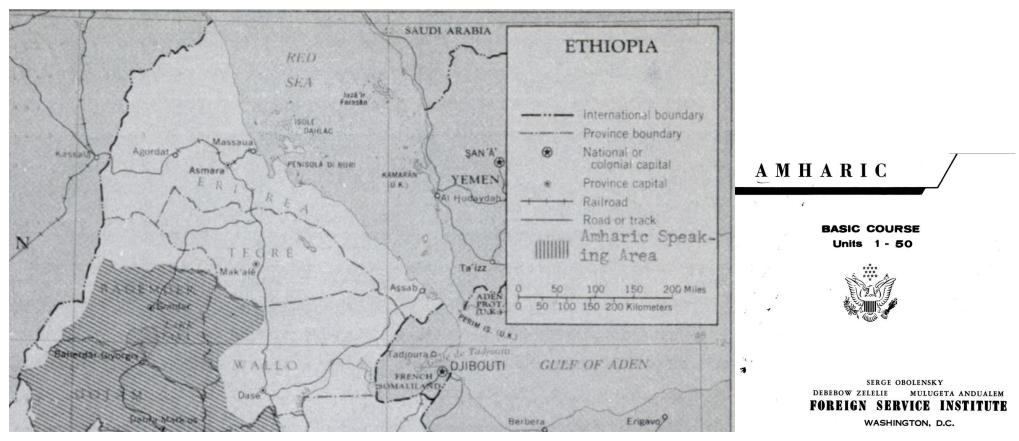
Source for language distribution not mentioned. Explanatory note with this map: "The attempt here is merely to show the distribution of the various language families and the major languages of each family. This is not because of any attempt to conceal the fact that there are many more dialects than are 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.

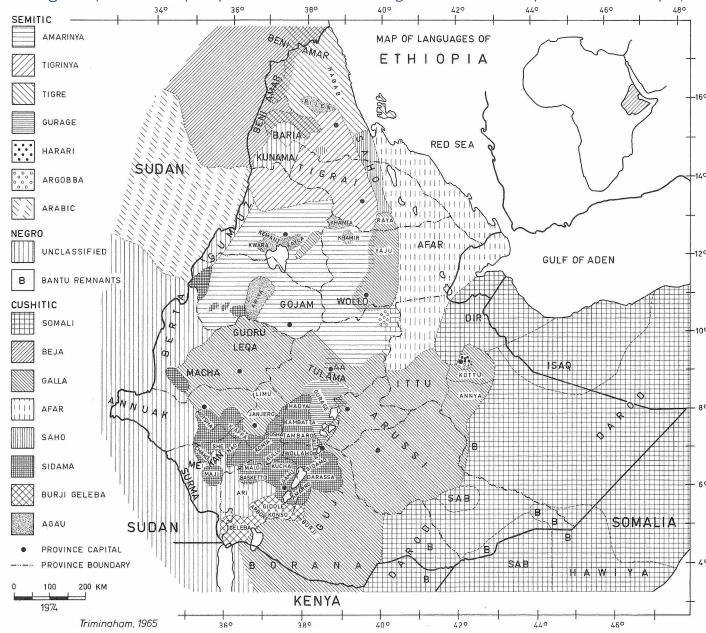
### Obolensky, Debebow, Mulugeta, 1964. Amharic speaking area

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.

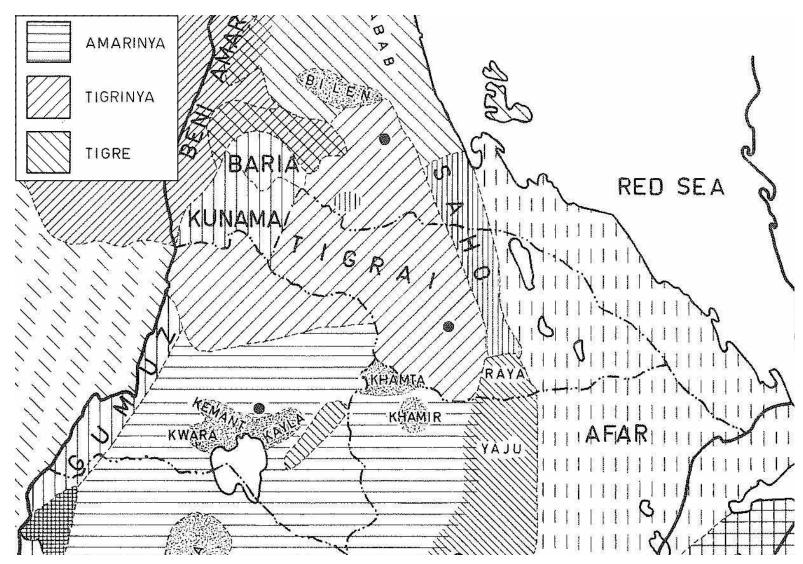


https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31210007315870&view=1up&seq=17&q1=map

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 - 148

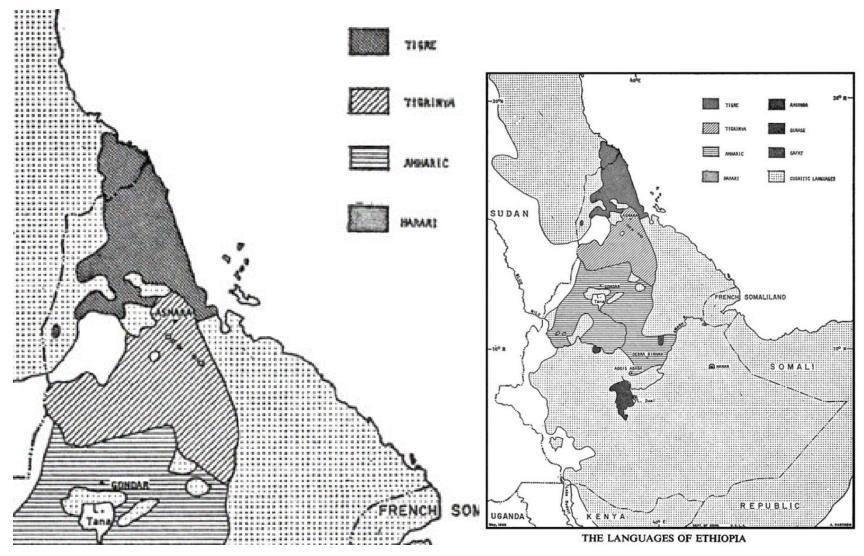


Excerpt of: Trimingham, 1965. Map of provinces and ethno-linguistic settlement patterns in Ethiopia, republished by Westphal (1975) Trimingham J.S., 1965. Islam in Ethiopia. London: Frank Cass & Company.

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



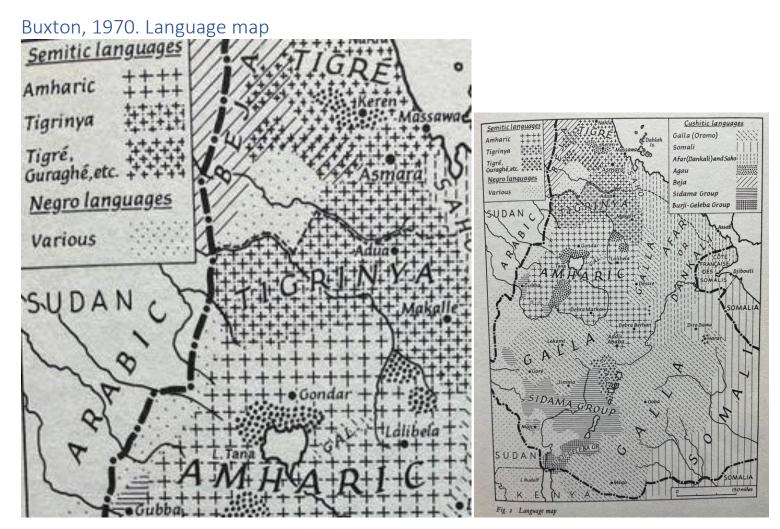
Leslau, W., 1965. An annotated Bibliography of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111657325

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



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

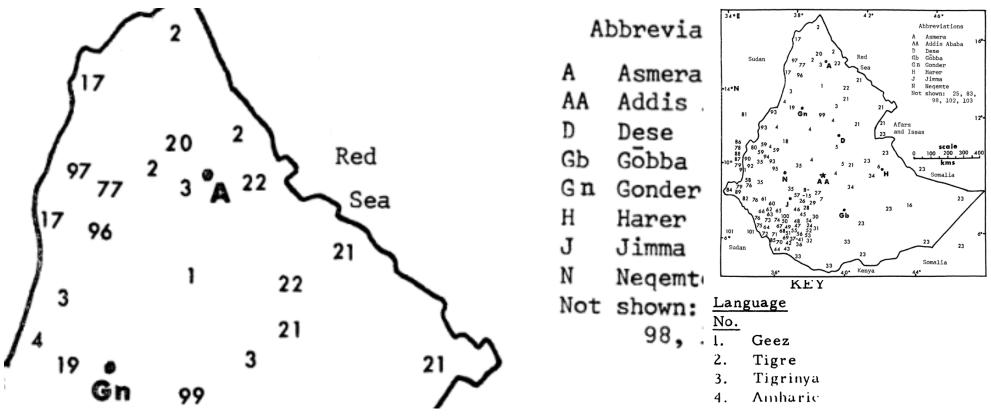
Note: there is a contradiction in this work between the map, and a footnote that places the ethnic border on the Tekkeze river. In a later work (1974), Levine maps the language border on the River. Levine is "unique" in the sense that he reproduces the "Cohen 1920s" vision up into the 1970s, despite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



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

### Bender, 1971. Locations of indigenous languages

Very generalised map; 3 for Tigrinya in Western Tigray

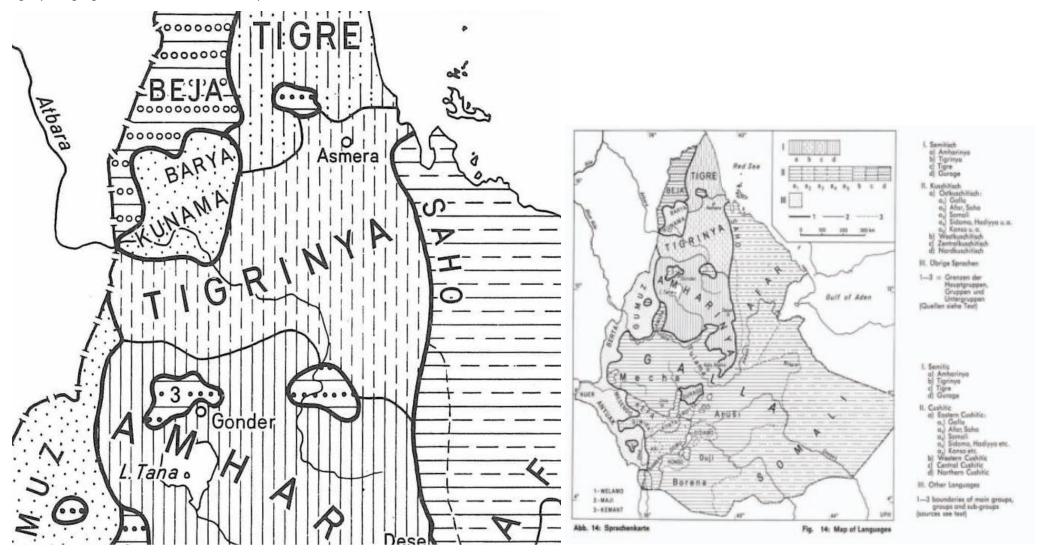


ETHIOPIA AND CONTIGUOUS COUNTRIES: LOCATIONS OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

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

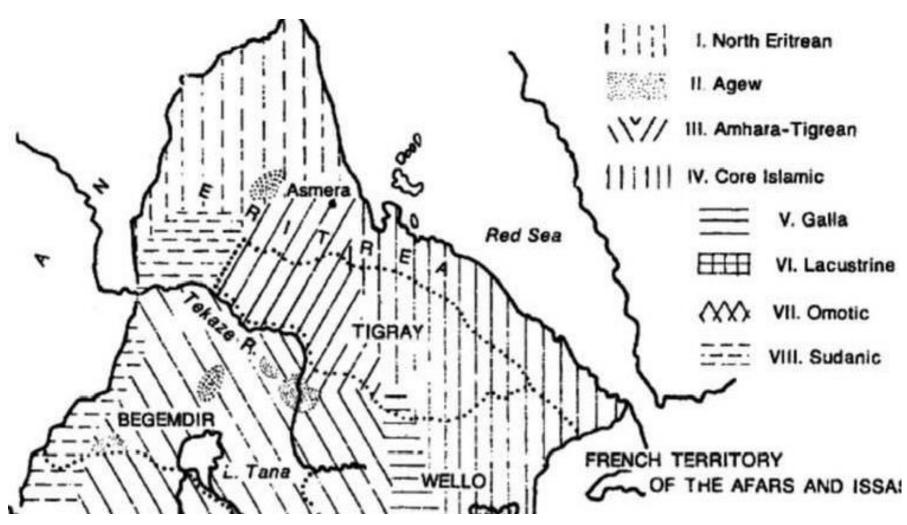
Tigrinya language with full East-West extent up to the Sudanese border, across the Tekeze River.



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

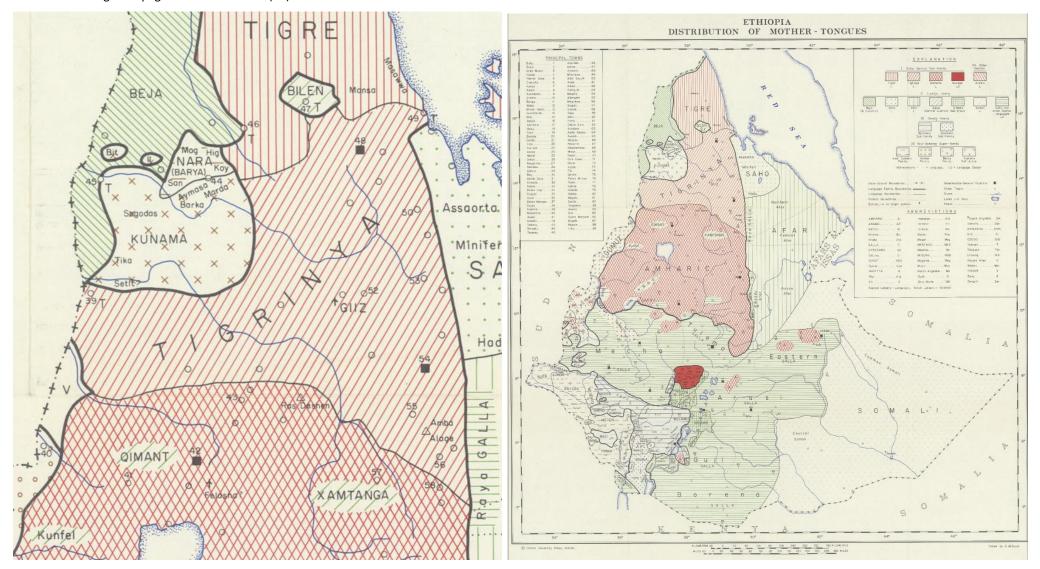
Besides an extent of Amhara language that is out of phase with all other language maps (pages 129 to 165), Levine's map holds numerous other inconsistencies. Tigre or Gurage are absent from the legend; dozens of Cushitic and Omotic ethnic groups as well as Gurage are lumped as "lacustrine"; Afar and 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.

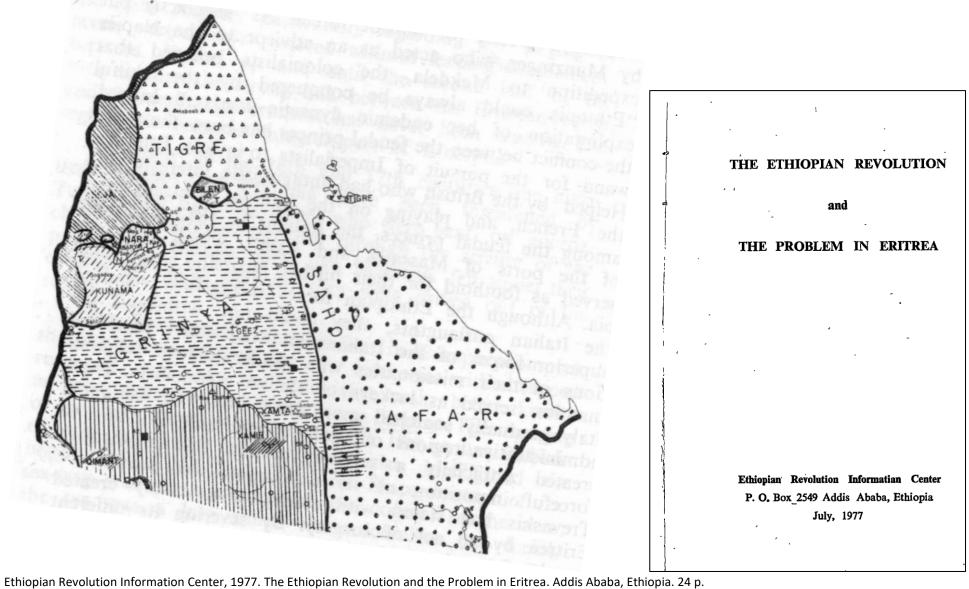
## Bender et al., 1976. Ethiopia, distribution of mother-tongues

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 (43).



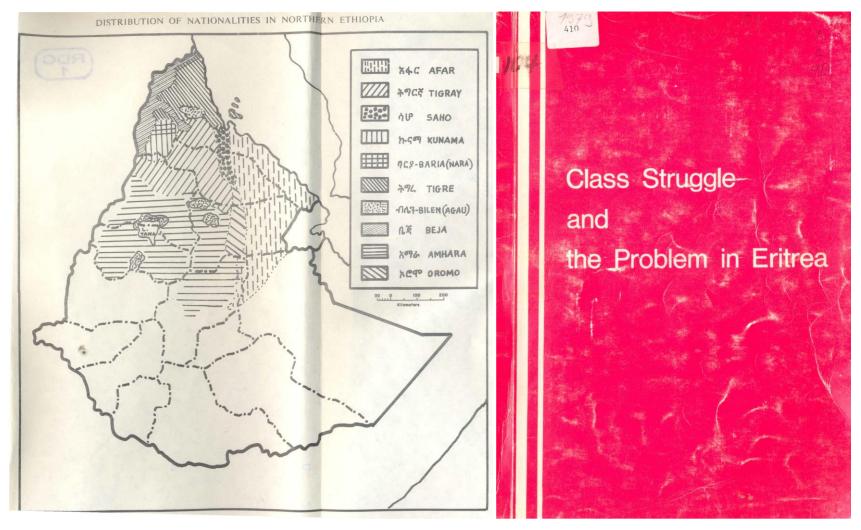
Bender, M.L., Bowen, J.D., Cooper, R.L. and Ferguson, C.A., 1976. Language in Ethiopia. Oxford University Press. For more context about this map: see (36).

DERG, 1977. Distribution of nationalities in Northern Ethiopia.



#### DERG, 1979. Distribution of nationalities in Northern Ethiopia.

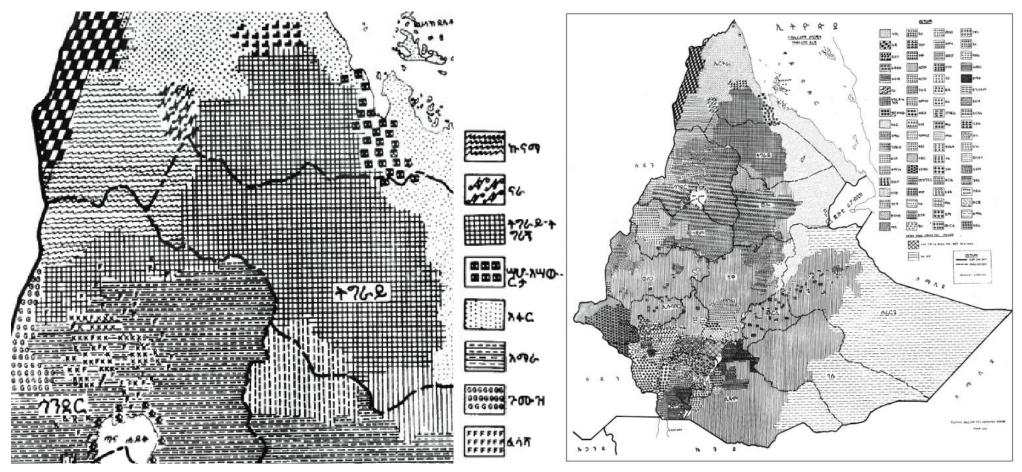
Tigrinya language area is mapped on both sides of the Tekeze River, reaching up to the Sudanese border. According to several occurrences in the book, at that time the Tigrinya language was spoken in areas that pertained to the Derg period provinces of Eritrea, Tigray, Gondar and Wollo. Areas mapped as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

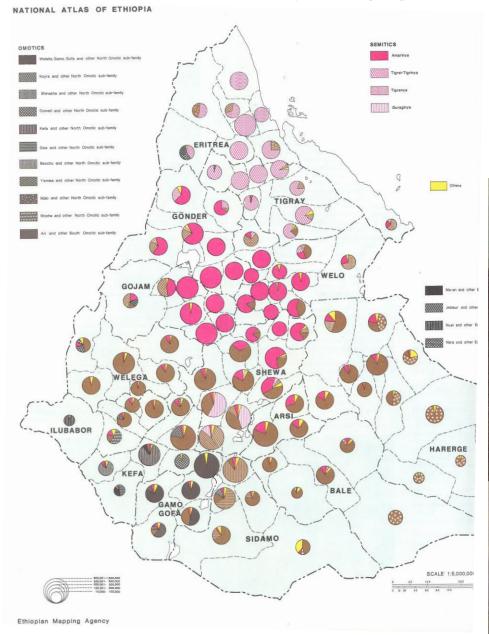
According to this map, the ethnic groups in Western Tigray are Tigrayans and Kunama. Kunama area does look rather too wide; compare to Bender et al., 1976. Small letters F for small groups of Falasha. Like on many language maps, in the extreme western part of the Tigrinya-speaking area, the latter borders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

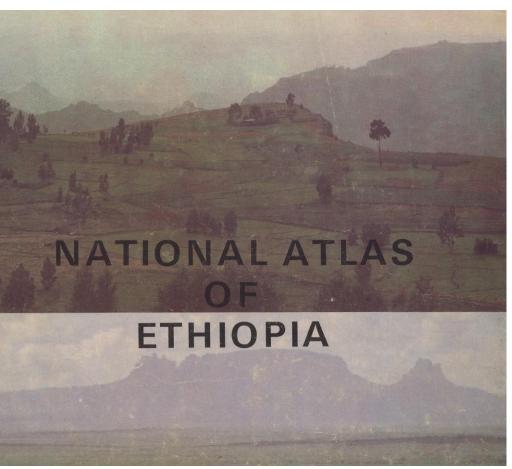


Legend, starting from the top: Kunama, Nara, Tigray-Tigrinya, Saho, Afar, Amhara, Gumuz, Falasha.

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. <a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/26586251">https://www.jstor.org/stable/26586251</a>.

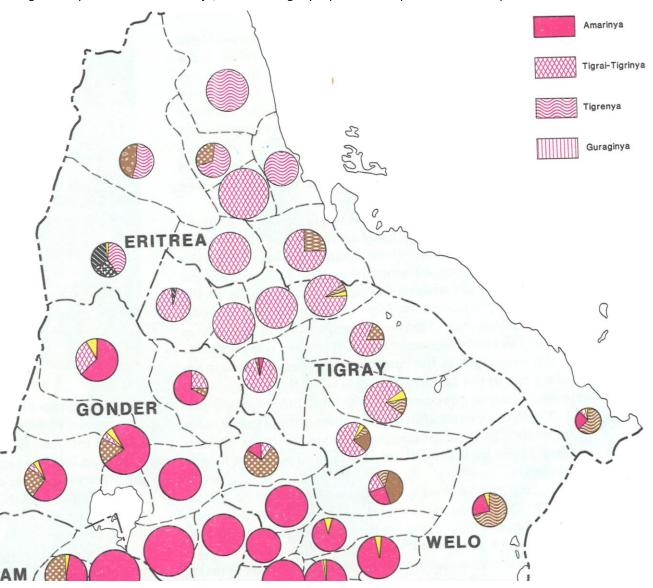
# EMA, 1988: National Atlas of Ethiopia - Languages





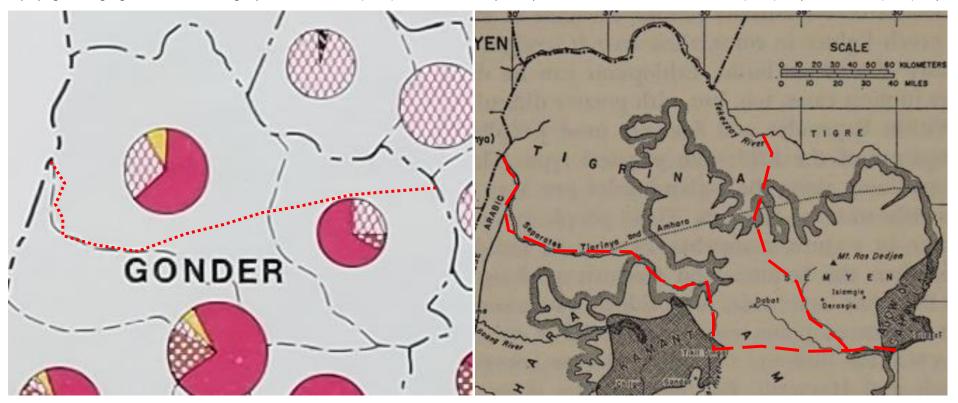
DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 160

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.

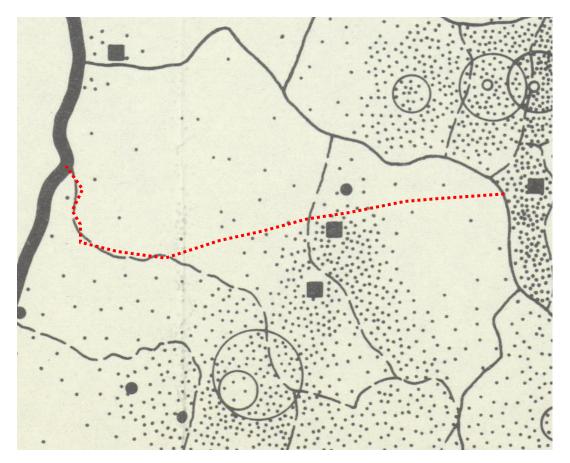


## Didactic exercise: how pie charts hide the spatial distribution of ethnic groups in the 1980s' Gonder province

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.

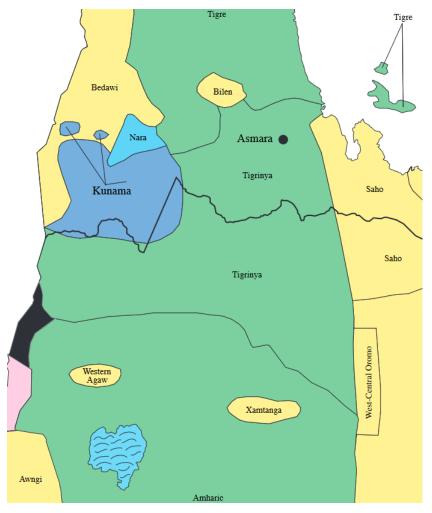


Population distribution in the northern part of the Begemder province in 1967, according to Central Statistical Office and the Imperial Ethiopian Mapping and Geography Institute (27). Every dot stands for 1000 rural inhabitants. Larger black dots are settlements and circles represent towns. The central 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, 44).

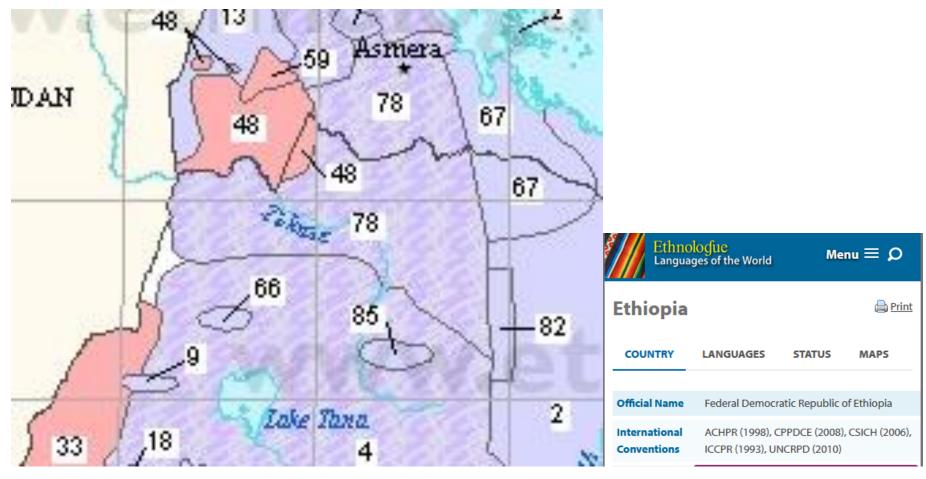


https://silethiopia.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Language-Map-30.03.2005.pdf

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

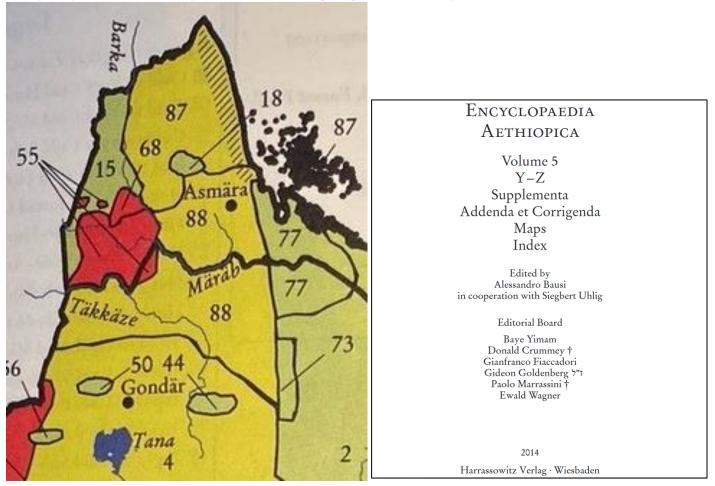
Legend: 78 for Tigrinya, 2 Afar, 4 Amharic, 33 Gumuz, 48 Kunama, 66 Qemant Agaw, 67 Saho, 82 Oromo and 85 Xamtagna Agaw



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. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amper.2021.100074">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amper.2021.100074</a>.

## 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.