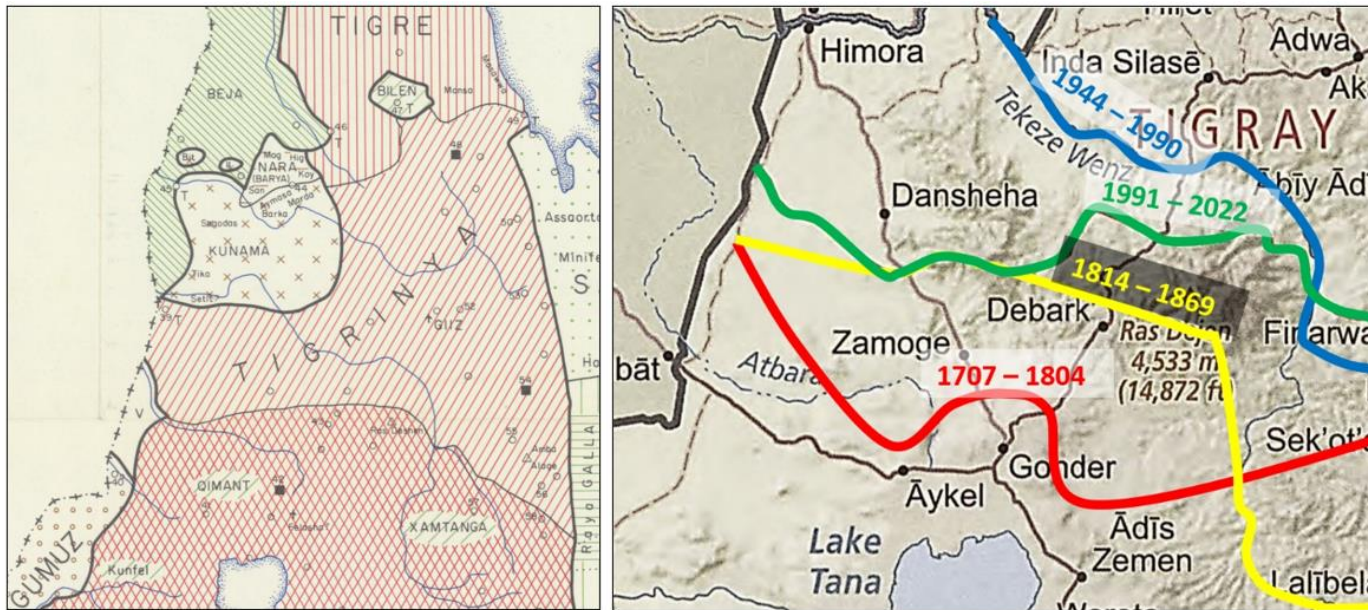


## Western Tigray in 117 historical and 33 ethno-linguistic maps (1607-2014)

## Graphical abstract



- 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

## Western Tigray in 117 historical and 33 ethno-linguistic maps (1607-2014)



Version 6

**ዓደይ ትግራይ፡ ማሕረሰይ ወልቃይት  
ለሕመይ ሕንጊድ፡ ሰበይተይ ኮራይት  
ተራኪበን ክልተ ኣራዊት**

*Welkait farmers' verse, recorded in the 1930s*

Nyssen, J., 2023. Western Tigray in 117 historical and 33 ethno-linguistic maps (1607-2014). Version 6. Ghent (Belgium): Ghent University, Department of Geography. Zenodo, 178 p. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6554937>

# Western Tigray in 117 historical and 33 ethno-linguistic maps (1607-2014)

## Version 6

**Date:** 25 April 2023

**Author:** Jan Nyssen, Department of Geography, Ghent University, Belgium

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## Summary

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

Historical maps representing the Western Zone of the Tigray Region (Welkait and adjacent districts, Fig. 1) have been retrieved from well-established repositories. Only maps prepared in the same period (co-eval maps) were used. Each map was screened for representation of internal borders, indicating sway or territorial control. Out of 117 maps, spanning the period 1607-1967, 108 were precise enough to be analysed, of which 71 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 39 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-analysis 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

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

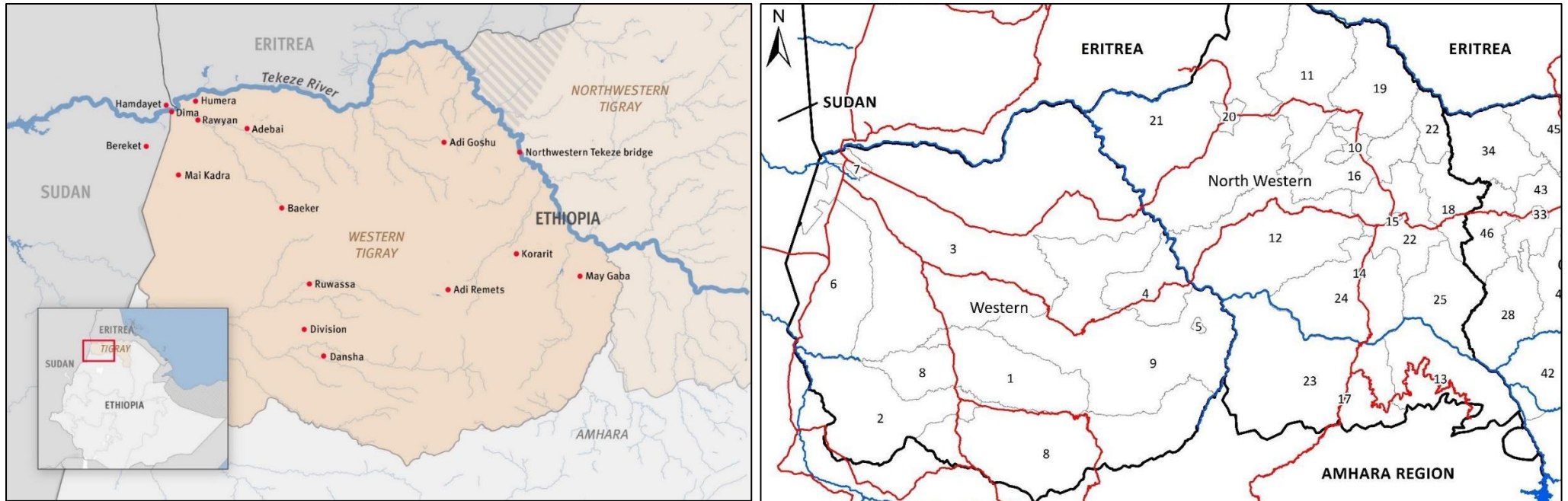


Fig. 1. Location of Western Tigray: at left with major towns ( © Human Rights Watch & Amnesty International, 2022 (1)); at right woredas (districts): 1 Awrora, 2 Dansha town, 3 Kafta Humera, 4 Korarit, 5 May Gaba, 6 May Kadra, 7 Setit Humera, 8 Tsegede, 9 Welkait. Besides Western Tigray, the districts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

## Introduction

This dataset focuses on historical maps of Western Tigray (Fig. 1), which is not only notable for the multiple war crimes committed there during the Tigray War (1), but is also a contested area in Ethiopia 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፡ ማሕረሰይ ወልቃይት  
 ላሕመይ 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*

Reverse, the Gondarines had this verse:

ወልቃይት ፅገዴ ሰሜን ኣርማጭሆ  
 ኣልገዛም ኣልሽ፡ ተገዛሽ 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 the then Tigray confederation. Two representative maps are:

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

**Handtke, F.H., 1849.** Nordöstliches Afrika, Ca. 1:5 600 000. In: Sohr, K., Supplement-Band zum Hand-Atlas der neueren Erdbeschreibung, 85. Flemming, Glogau/Głogów and Leipzig [in German]. Scans of this map may be downloaded from repositories at Estonia’s national library (<https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/nlib-digar:429790> ) and at David Rumsey (<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33543~1171029:Composite—NO-Afrika-> ).

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

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

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

## Methods

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

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.

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 dataset*

	Number of maps	Poor accuracy	Good accuracy	Internal borders shown	Position of lettering suggests territorial control	Number of maps used in the analysis
17 <sup>th</sup> C.	11	7	4	3	1	4
18 <sup>th</sup> C.	13	1	12	10	0	10
19 <sup>th</sup> C.	67	1	66	27	14	41
20 <sup>th</sup> C.	26	0	26	14	2	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>71</b>

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

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

### **Quantitative meta-analysis**

One hundred seventeen 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 117 maps, 108 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 54 maps, internal borders within “Habesch” or “Abyssinia” are drawn. On the other hand, on another 54 maps, no boundary between Tigray and Amhara/Gondar/Begemder is established, but on 17 of these the position of lettering allows estimating the location of the border (Table 1). Hence, in total 71 maps could be examined for the location of internal borders.

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

On 39 maps, spanning the period 1683-1941, the boundary coincides with the crestline of the Simien mountains (23 maps, 32%), is established south of Simien (12 maps, 17%), or between Simien and Tekeze (four maps, 6%). 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 (23%), spanning the periods 1844-1847, 1891-1896 and 1944-1990, the boundary between Tigray, and Amhara/Begemder closely follows the Tekeze River.

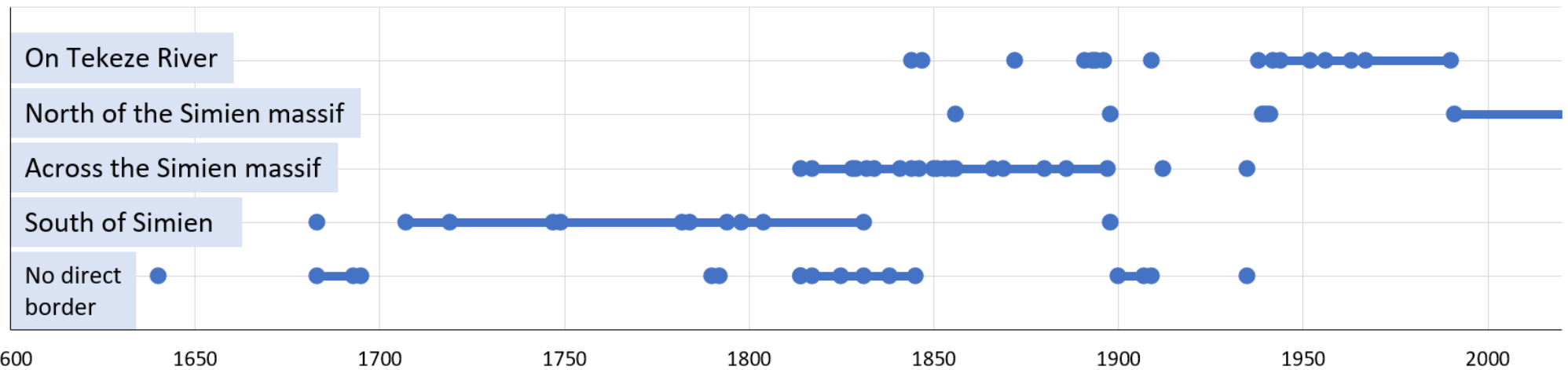


Fig. 2. Location of the border between Tigray/Tigrari/Tigre and Amhara/Gondar/Begemder, according to historical maps (n=71). Every dot represents a map in the dataset. Gaps between subsequent maps must be understood as “no information” or “period of shifting sway”. Conflicting information on territorial 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 57 maps, the territorial control of Welkait is clearly indicated. On 22 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 21 other maps (37%), 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 25% 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), Trimmingham (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).



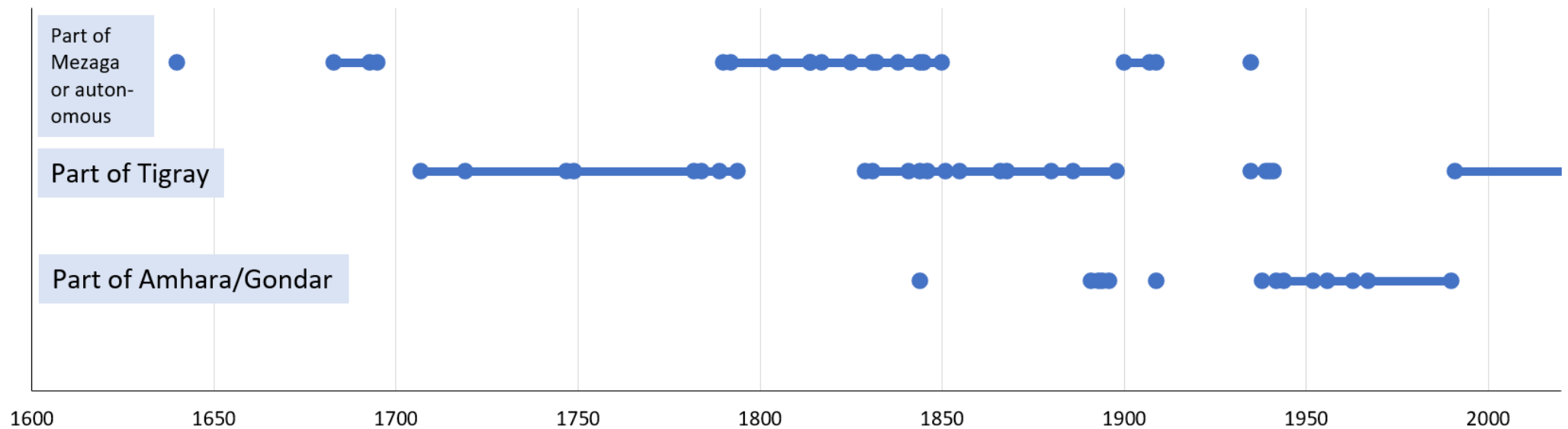


Fig. 3. Territorial control of Welkait, according to historical maps (n=57). Every dot represents a map in the dataset.

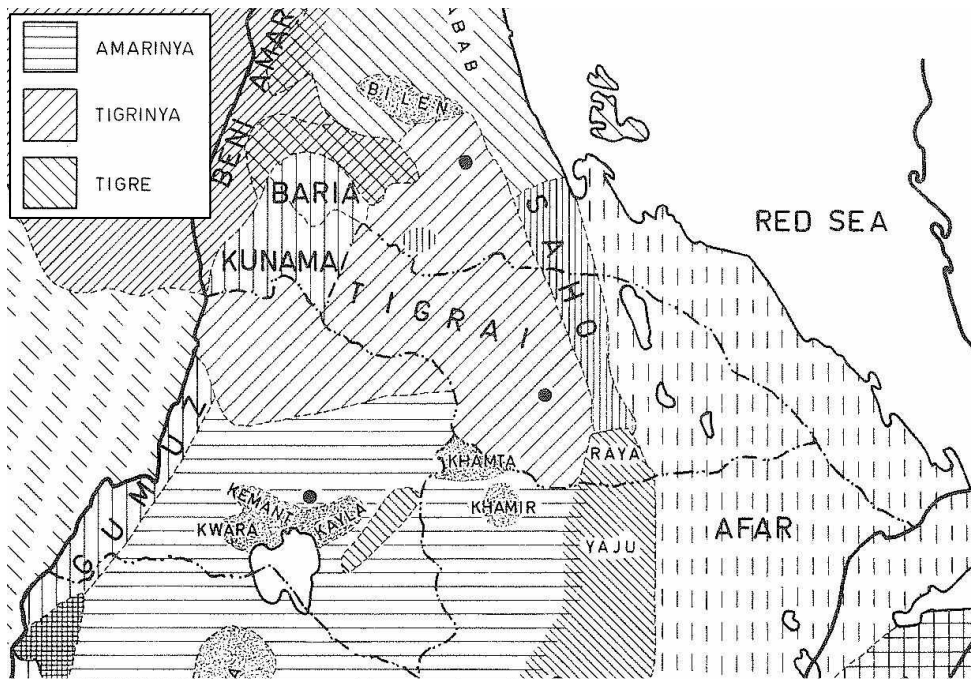
## Discussion

### ***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 resistance against the Derg regime that was in power at the time (31). A rare communication document between Derg’s military command and the Ministry of Defense, dating back to 1984 has been retrieved, where they lament that the population of Welkait and Tsegede supports the TPLF, because the people are Tigrinya speakers (32).

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



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

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

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

new basis not derived from concepts of the Ethiopian empire-state (*sensu* 34). In 1991-4, when the boundaries of the Ethiopian federal regions, including those of the Tigray Region were established, local self-determination was way more important than historical maps (29). Remarkably, 27 out of the 33 language maps of the Ethiopian state sustain the current extent of the Tigray region. As an exception among language maps (pages 139 to 178), Levine’s (35) map (page 162) 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 dominance of the country under the cover of multi-ethnic evolution (29, 36). The other exception is the “Preliminary Atlas of Ethiopia” in 1962 (page 157), 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 169 to 174).

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Boundary timelines

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

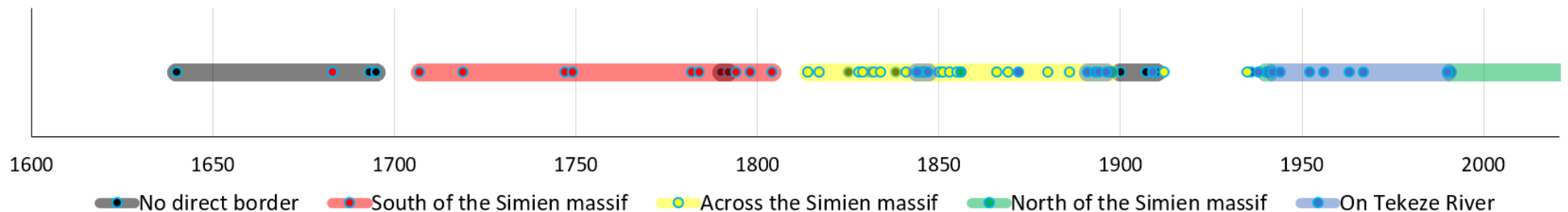


Fig. 5. Timeline of the location of the boundary between Amhara/Begemder/Gondar and Tigray/Tigrai/Tigre, according to historical maps (n = 71). Individual maps are represented by dots, some of which are hidden by overlap. This timeline holds the same information as Fig. 2, displayed in such a way to represent the major tendencies as well as interruptions in them. Position of borders is represented with the same colours in Fig. 6. Hiatuses represent time steps for which no information is provided by historical maps.

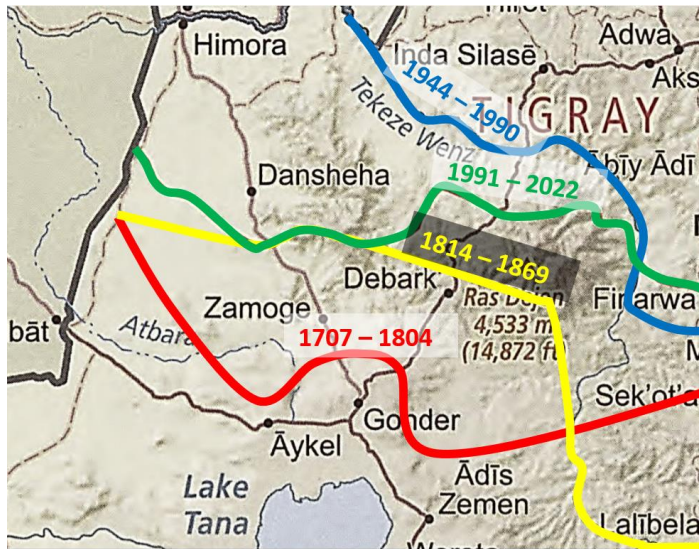


Fig. 6. Approximate location of the boundary between Amhara/Begemder/Gondar and Tigray/Tigrai/Tigre, according to historical maps (n = 71). Time steps and colours as in Fig. 5, and boundary courses in line with representative maps for the time steps: 1707 – 1804 (red, Bonne 1782); 1814 – 1869 (yellow, 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 acknowledging 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.

## **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.

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.

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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 "አልገዛም አልሽ" [algezam alsh] ("you said I will not surrender", "you" being here: Welkait, Tsegede, Simien, Armachiho, i.e., the contested lands of western Tigray and surrounding)? The verse indicates that at some points in time these areas were subjugated (by force or by decree) by Gondar.
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## Dataset

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

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## Ortelius & Vrients, 1608 (various editions, Mercator, Huygen, Ortelius, Hondius, Bertius, 1596-1637)

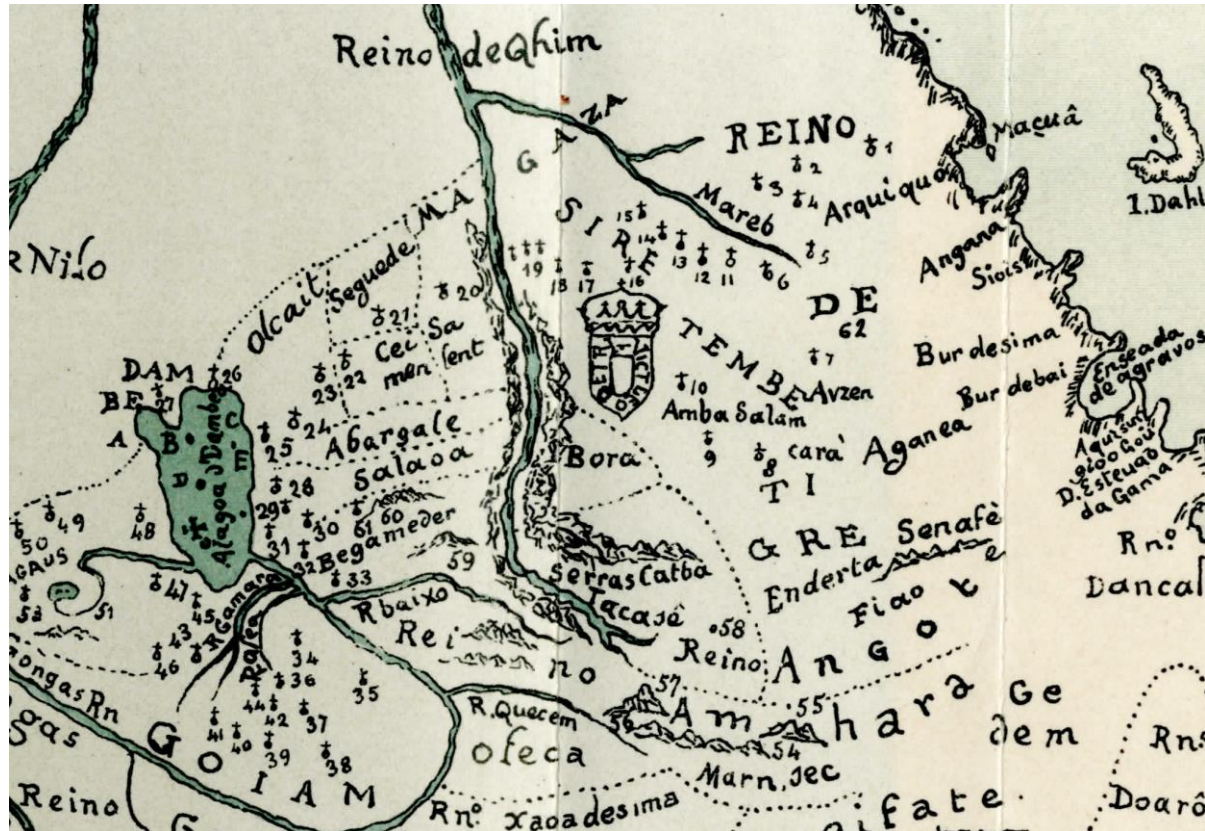
Very poor locational accuracy; see relative position of Chilcut, Tigre-mahon, Bagamidri. Note also the erroneous mapping of Blue Nile and Atbara that were assumed to meet again upstream, creating the “Island of Meroé” which persisted in maps for a century. Same geography was used in numerous maps at 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->

## De Almeida, 1640

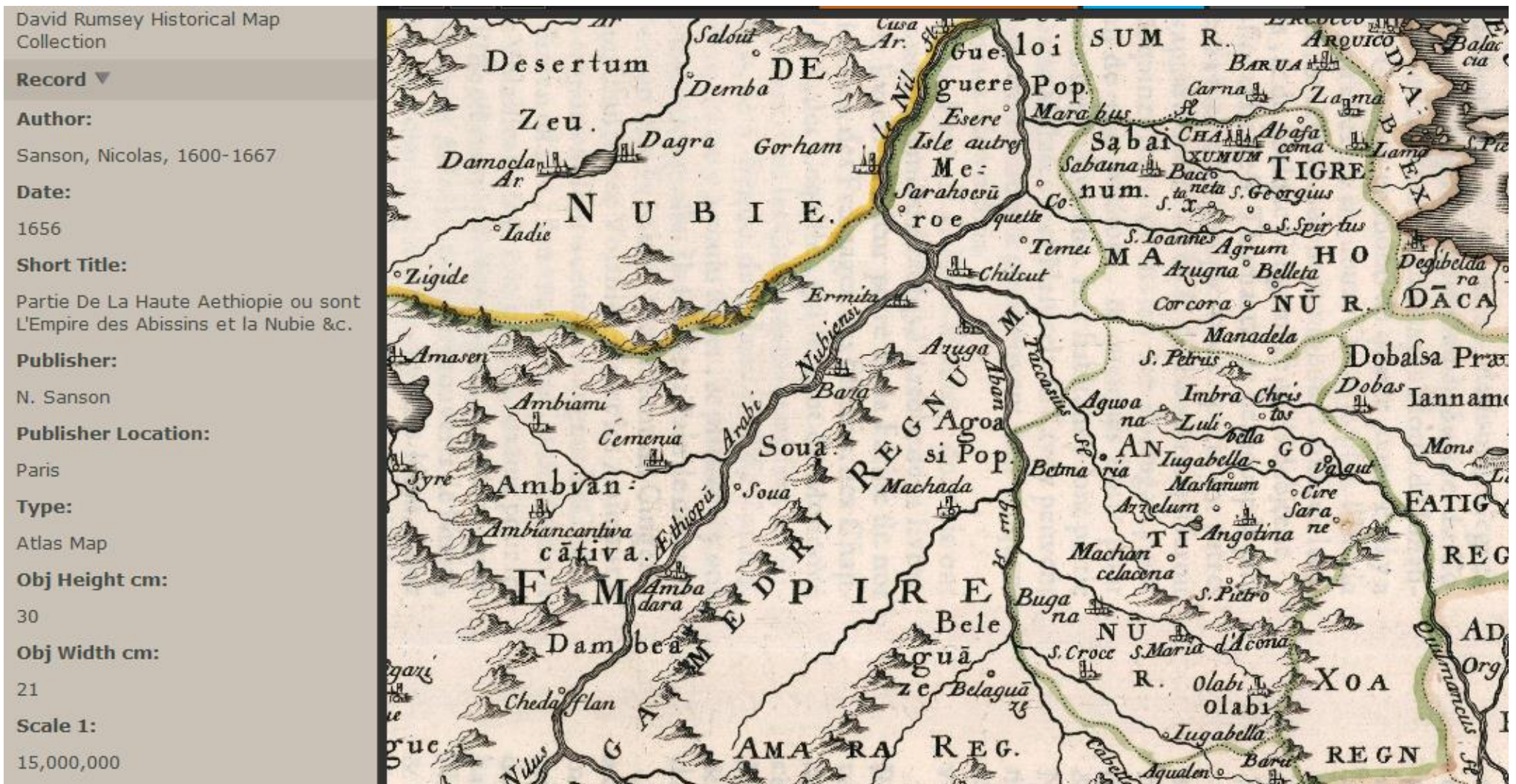
Numerous smaller territories, including Tigre, Dambea, Amhara, and others in between them. Despite the large distortions, this is the first map that shows internal boundaries.



Map of Ethiopia and the Red Sea (c. 1640), in Manuel de Almeida's *Historia de Ethiopia a Alta ou Abassia*. Manuscript of the British Library. (Photo from Camilo Beccari, *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptorum Occidentales Inedita saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. I, Roma, Casa Editrice Italiana, 1903. Plate VII-VIII) <https://www.mjr.link/books-maps.html> Map would depict the situation around 1630.

## 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 (39))



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

## Boisseau & Jollain, 1659

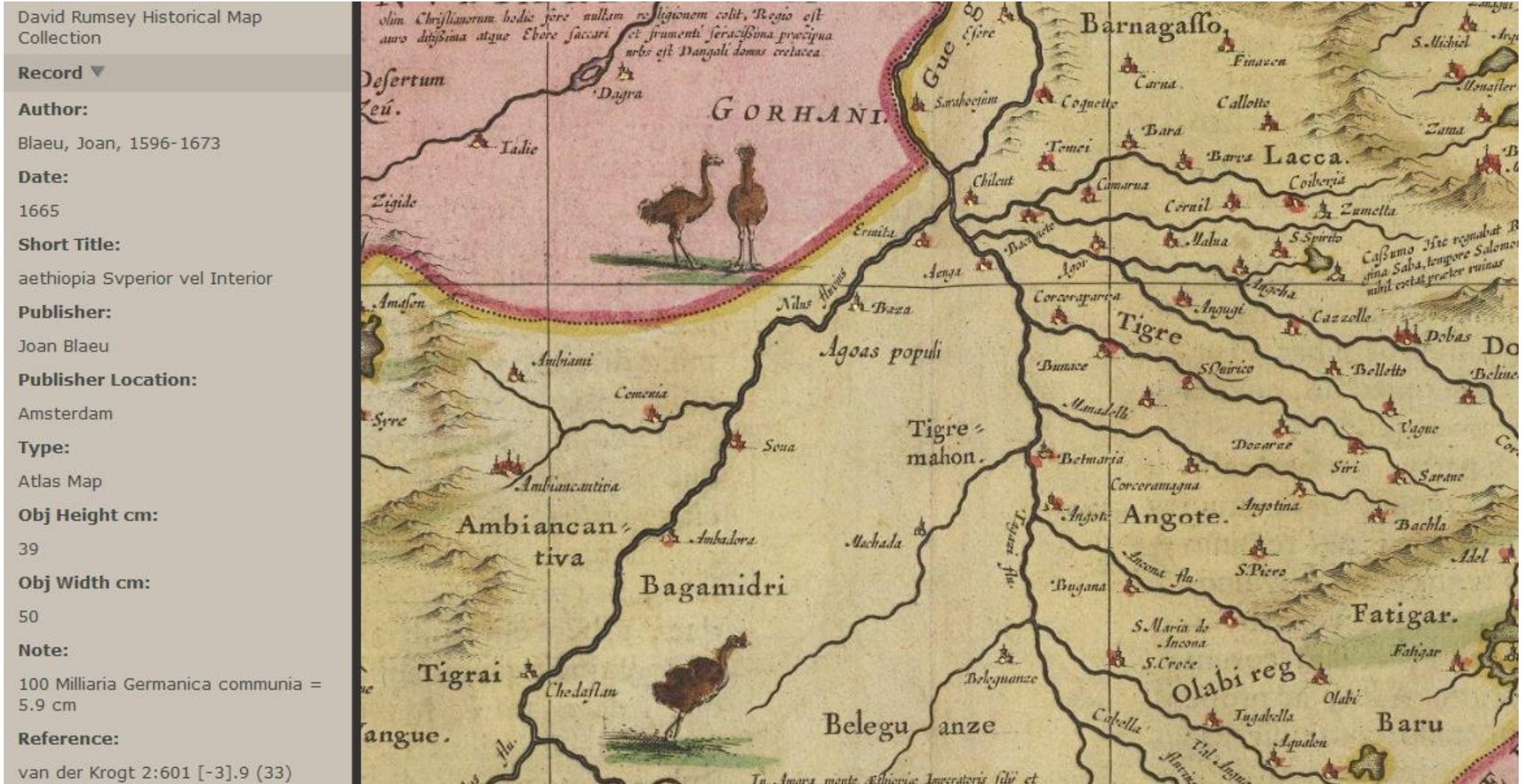
Many locational inaccuracies (see Amasen, Syre); boundaries not drawn.



<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".



<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~282839~90054346:aethiopia-Svsperior-vel->



## Morden & Cockerill, 1680

Numerous locational inaccuracies; internal boundaries not drawn.

David Rumsey Historical Map  
Collection

Record ▾

Author:

Morden, Robert, approximately  
1650-1703

Author:

Cockerill, Thomas, active 1674-1702

Date:

1680

Short Title:

(Ethiopia) Text: Of Æthiopia.

Publisher:

Atlas in Cornhill

Publisher Location:

London

Type:

Text Page

Type:

Atlas Map

Obj Height cm:

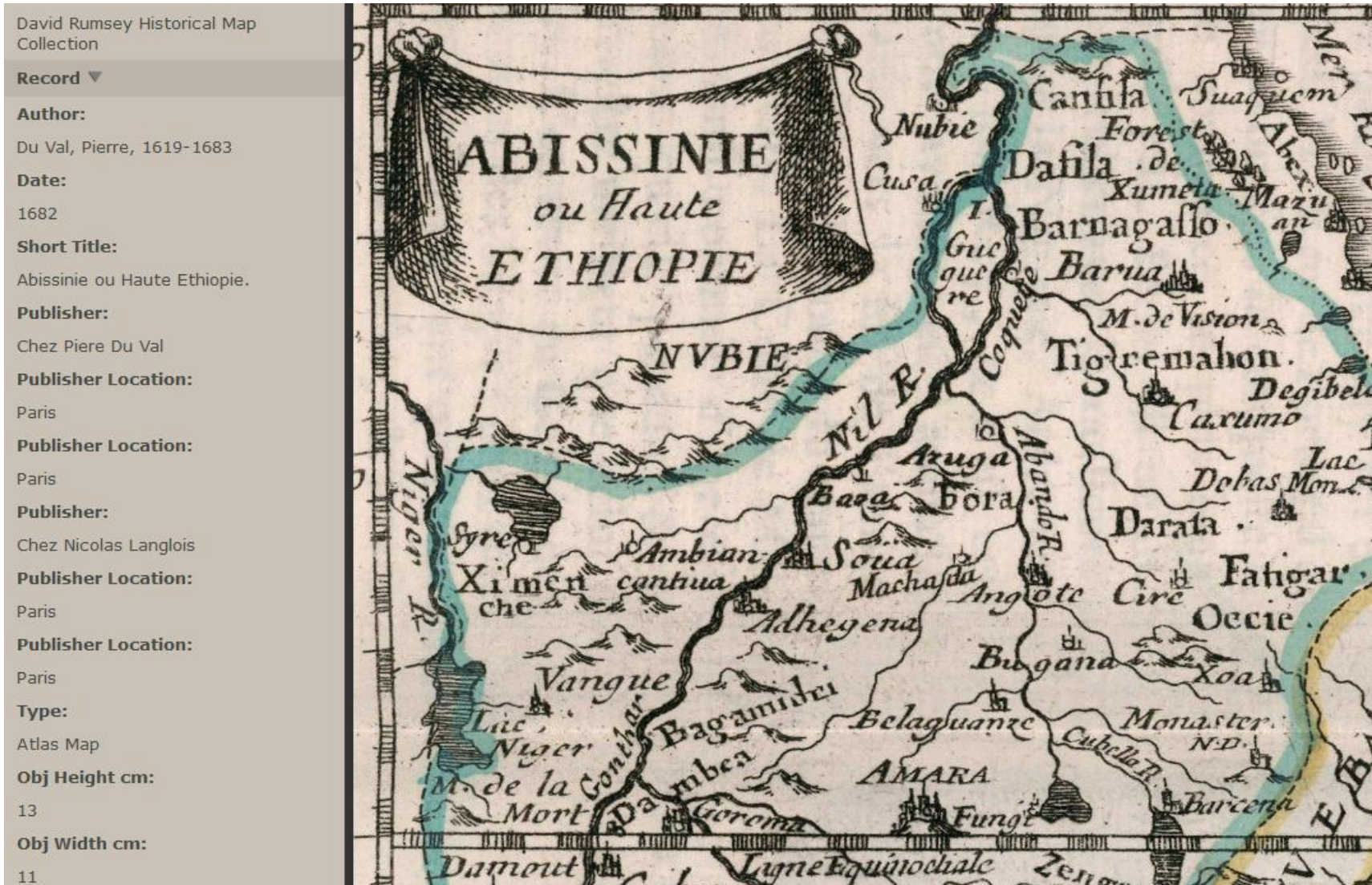
20



<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~335450~90103132:-Ethiopia--Text--Of-%C3%86thiopia->

## Du Val, 1682

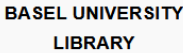

Numerous locational inaccuracies; internal boundaries not drawn.



<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).

<b>Title</b>	lobi Ludolfi, Habessinia seu Abassia, presbyteri Iohannis regio
<b>Description</b>	lobi Ludolfi, Habessinia seu Abassia, presbyteri Iohannis regio : perperam dicta ad exemplum tab. chorographicae P. Balth. Tellezii quanta fieri potuit diligentia formata correctis multis nominibus male scriptis; plurimisque locis passim insertis ex Gregorii Habess. fida relatione, illorum situ non ubique aequo certo / Christianus Ludolfus J. filius delineavit ex autographo parentis, anno Christi 1683
<b>Date</b>	between circa 1683 and circa 1690
<b>Source</b>	10.3931/e-rara-13437 : Info: Kartenportal.CH
<b>Creator</b>	Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704) Christian Ludolf Pieter Schenk Gerard Valck
<b>Permission</b> (Reusing this file)	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>This image is from the collection of the <a href="#">Basel University Library</a> and has been published on <a href="#">Wikimedia Commons</a> as part of a cooperation with <a href="#">Wikimedia CH</a>.</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1; text-align: center;">   </div> </div>



[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/59/UBBasel\\_Map\\_1683-1690\\_Kartenslg\\_Mappe\\_252-62\\_Habessinia\\_seu\\_Abassia.tiff](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](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=22)

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



The map is coloured and internal boundaries are drawn, which are very different from the above, commonly reproduced map. The delimited territories have no names. This is the only known version of Ludolf's map that is coloured in this way. We are not aware of any study that would report whether the colouring was done at the moment of map preparation or in later years or centuries. At this stage, we use the first map (page 27) as primary Ludolf & Gorgoryos map in the meta-analysis.

Manesson-Mallet, 1683 (similar in 1685)

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



**Title**

Empire des Abyssins.

**Creator**

Manesson-Mallet, Allain, 1630?-1706?

**Place of Publication**

France

**Date**

1685

**Coverage-Spatial**

Africa, Eastern

**Type**

Cartographic material

**Dimensions**

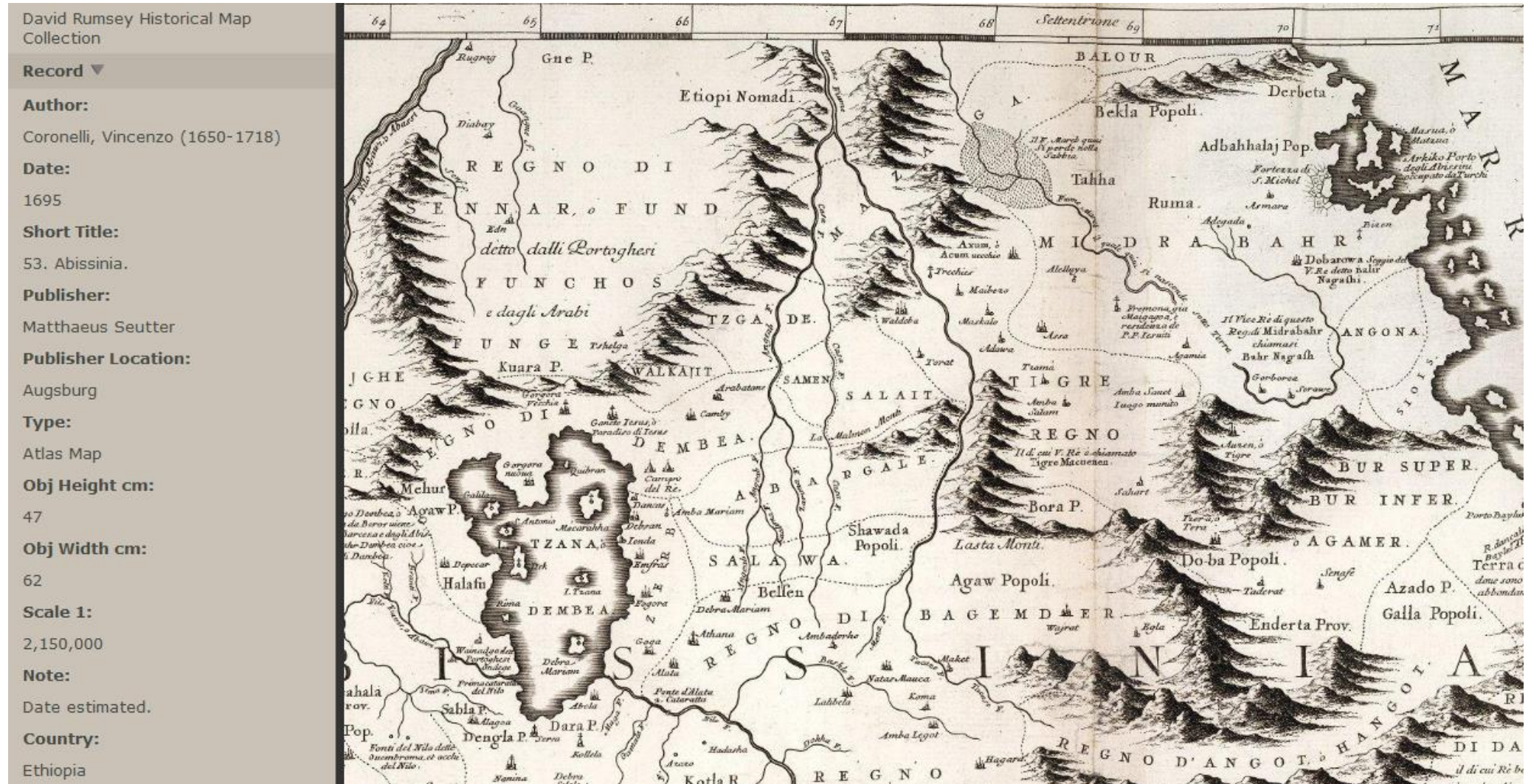
14.7 x 10.3 cm.

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

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

## Coronelli, 1695 (also 1692 and 1693)

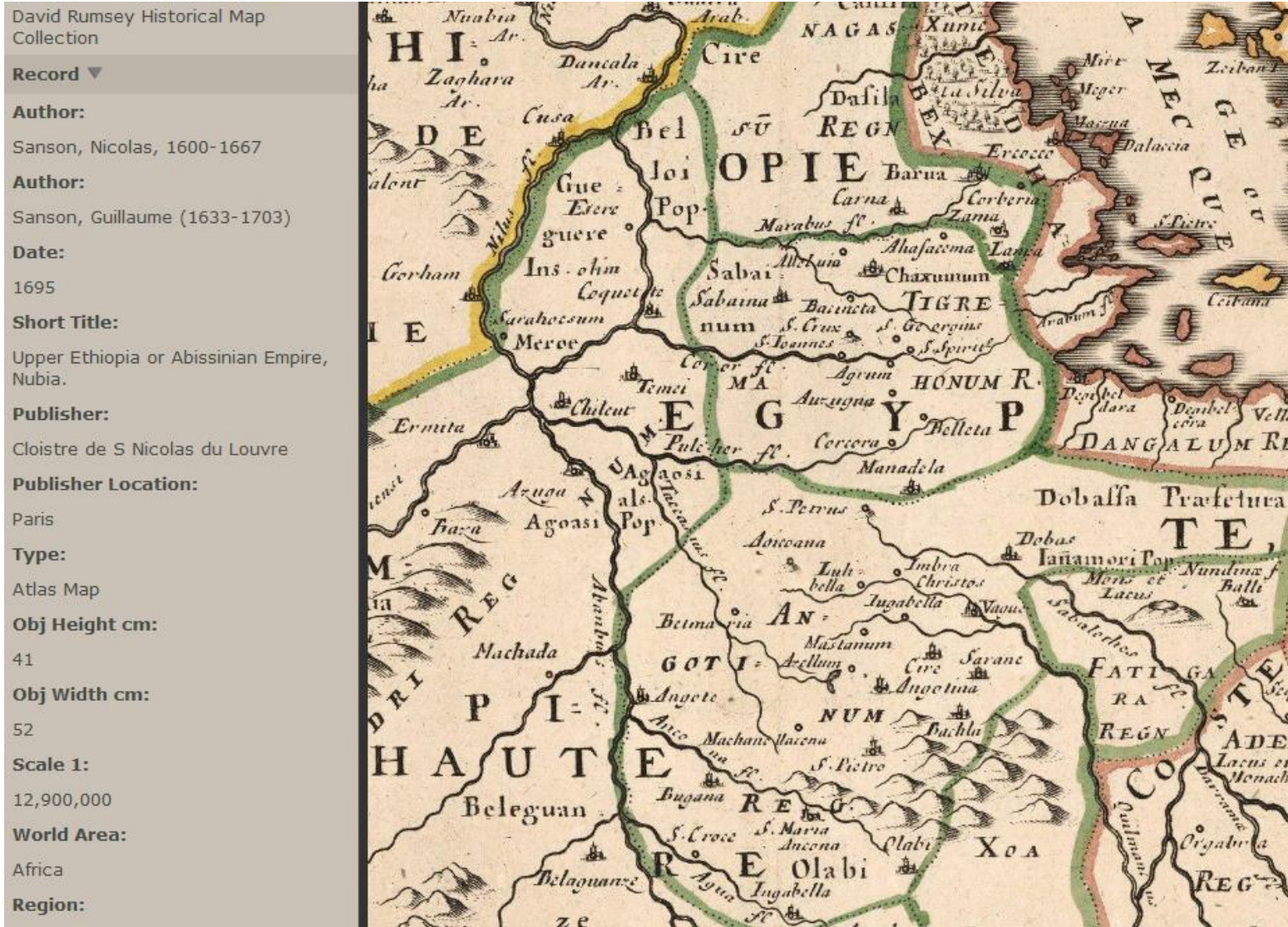
Borders of Kingdoms of Tigre and Bagemeder and surrounding princedoms, including Walkajit; without hierarchy. Tigre Regno extends southwest of Tekeze.



Part of a larger work called Atlante Veneto. <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~283026~90055440:53--Abissinia->  
<https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/68133/atlane-veneto-coronelli>

## 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 Tigre".



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

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



## Lobo & de Almeida, 1707

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



Date 1707

Source African Studies Centre Leiden

Library African Studies Centre, Leiden (the Netherlands)

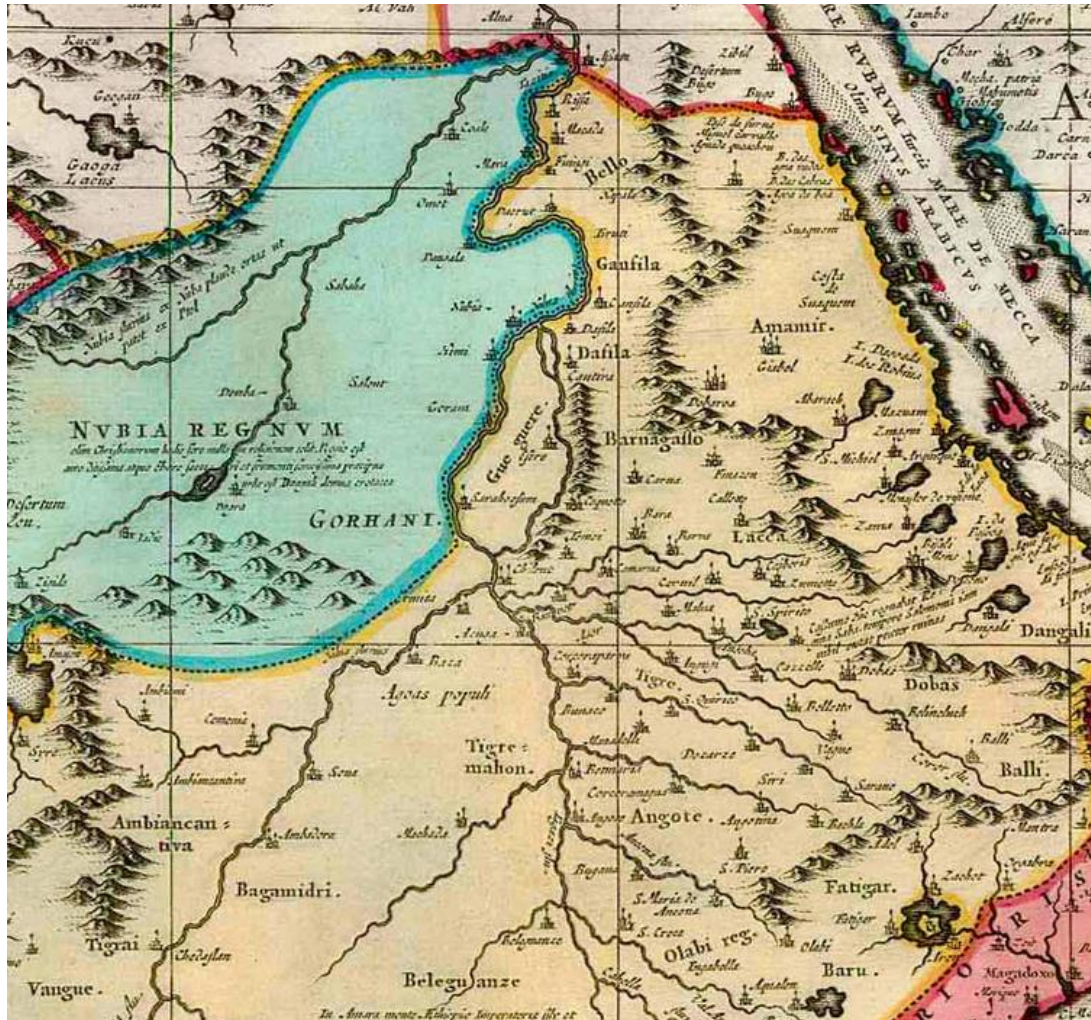
Author Jeronimo Lobo (1595–1678), Manuel de Almeida (1580–

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Africa\\_1707\\_Lobo.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Africa_1707_Lobo.jpg)

[catalogue.leidenuniv.nl](https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl) University Library, Closed Stack 5, 1392 H 6

## van der Aa, 1713

Locational inaccuracies like Sanson & Sanson (1695) and earlier maps. No internal boundaries drawn within Abyssinia. Note names Tigrai/Tigre at three places on the map.



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

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

# Chatelain & Gueudeville, 1719

Clear boundary, to the south of the Simien Mts.



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

## Bowen, 1747

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



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

[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=39](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 Axom 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>

## Boulton, 1787

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

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

**Record** ▼

**Author:**  
Boulton, S.

**Date:**  
1787

**Short Title:**  
Africa, with all its states, kingdoms, republics, regions, islands, &ca. (northern section)

**Publisher:**  
Robert Sayer

**Publisher Location:**  
London

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
52

**Obj Width cm:**  
121

**Scale 1:**  
8,400,000



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



## Bruce, 1790

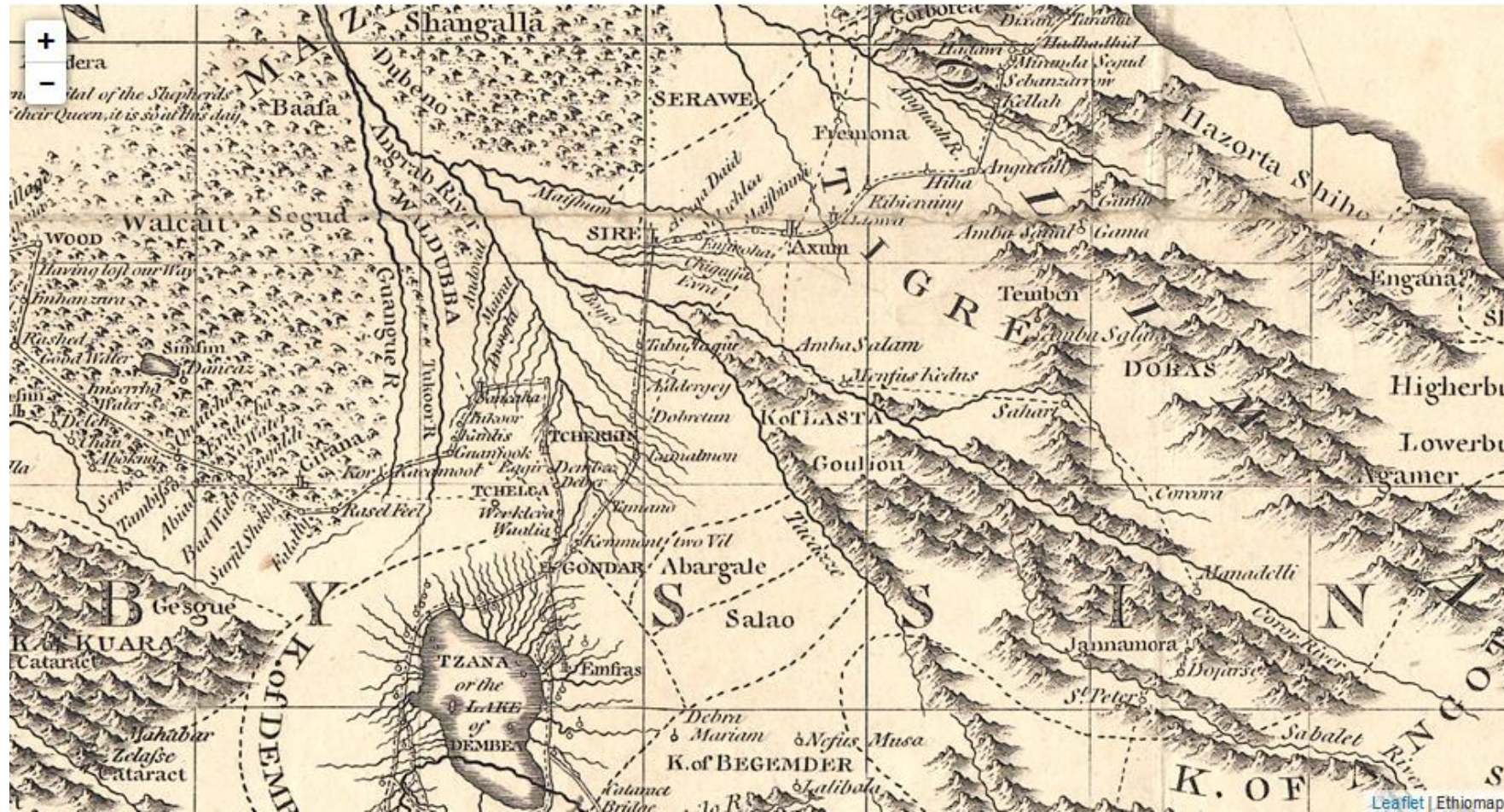
Separate territorial units Tigre, Begemder, Dembea, Abargale, Salao. At this stage we interpreted the map as displaying intermediate territories between Tigre and Dembea. This may need re-interpretation, as there are no boundaries displayed between Waldubba, Walcait and Tigre.



## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

Chart of the Arabian Gulf... (James Bruce - 1790)



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=51](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=51)

## Weigel & Schneider, 1792

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



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

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

Dunn, 1794 (similar in 1786)

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



## A map of Abyssinia and Nubia

TYPE OF RESOURCE  
cartographic

GENRE  
Maps

DATE CREATED  
1786

DIVISION  
Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division

AUTHOR  
Dunn, Samuel, d. 1794

PUBLISHER  
Sayer, Robert, 1725-1794

[More Details](#)

[Cite This Item](#)

IMAGE ID  
5207430

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

[Copy](#)

# A MAP OF ABYSSINIA and NUBIA,

By  
SAMUEL DUNN,  
Mathematician.

Published by LAURIE & WHITTLE, 53 Fleet Street, London.  
as the Act directs, 12<sup>th</sup> 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.

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▾

**Author:**  
Cassini, Gio. Ma. (Giovanni Maria), 1745-approximately 1824

**Date:**  
1798

**Short Title:**  
(17) La Nubia ed Abissinia.

**Publisher:**  
Calcogr. Camerale

**Publisher Location:**  
Rome

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
35

**Obj Width cm:**  
48

**Scale 1:**  
7,000,000

**Note:**  
Relief shown pictorially. Includes decorative title cartouche and bar scale. In Volume III.

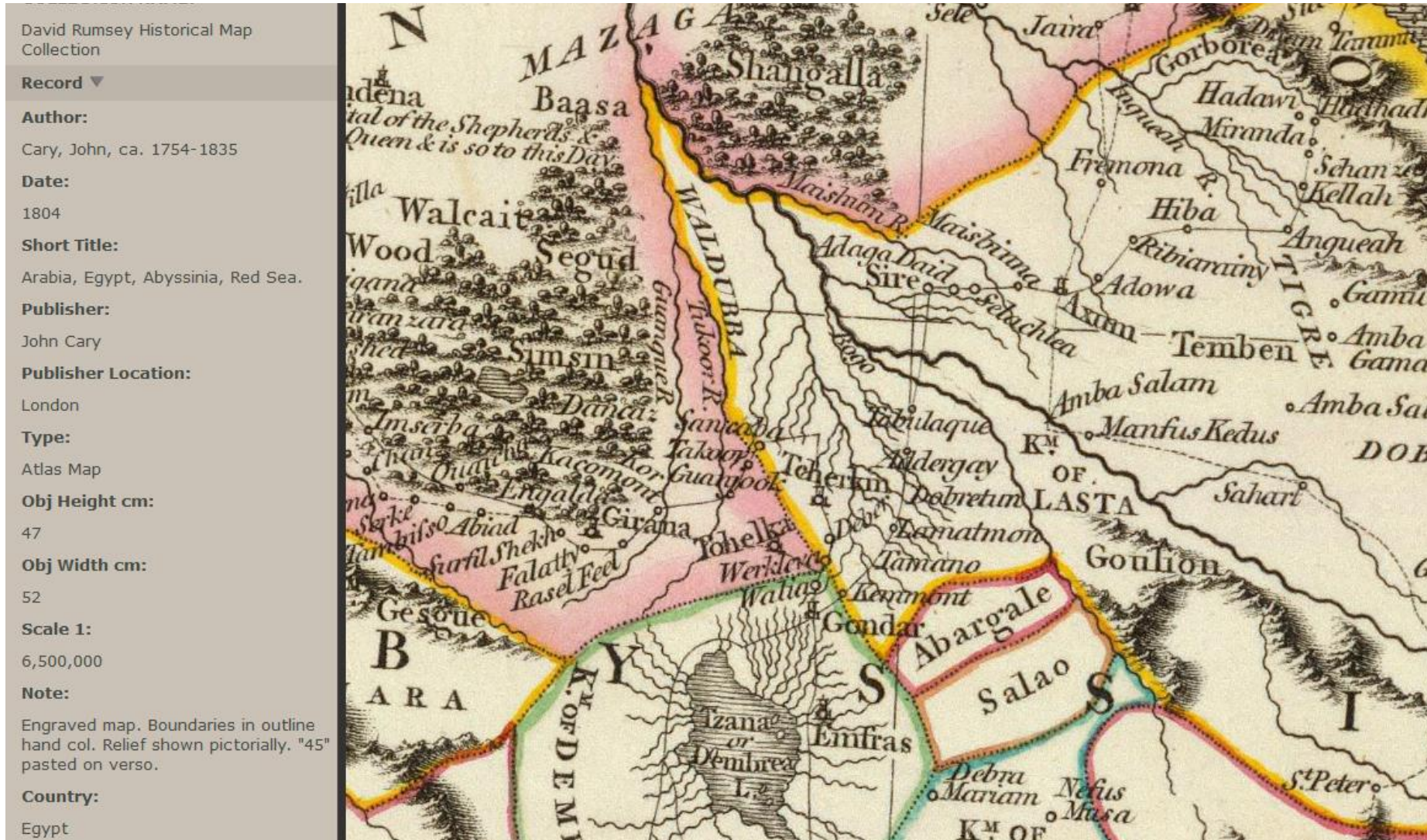
**Country:**  
Nubia



<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 principedoms 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.



## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

### Map of Abyssinia and the Adjacent Districts (Henry Salt - 1814)



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=23](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=23)

# Thomson, 1814

Numerous internal boundaries without hierarchy; Walcalt part of Mazaga.

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▾

**Author:**  
Thomson, John

**Date:**  
1814

**Short Title:**  
Arabia, Egypt, Abyssinia, Red Sea.

**Publisher:**  
Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy

**Publisher Location:**  
London

**Publisher:**  
John Cumming

**Publisher Location:**  
Dublin

**Publisher:**  
John Thomson

**Publisher Location:**  
Edinburgh

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
52

**Obj Width cm:**

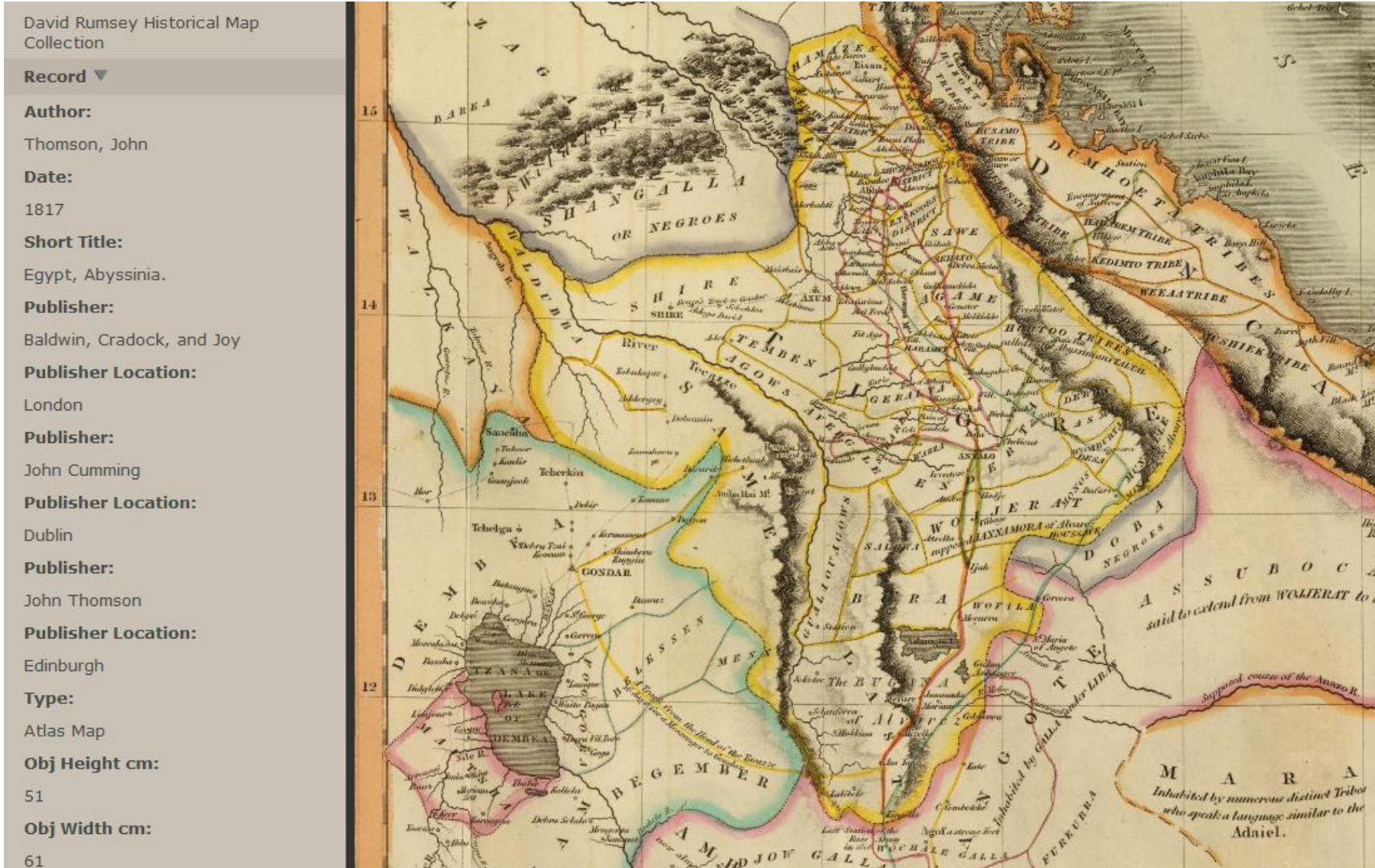


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~28370~1120799:Arabia,-Egypt,-Abyssinia,-Red-Sea->



# Thomson, 1817

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

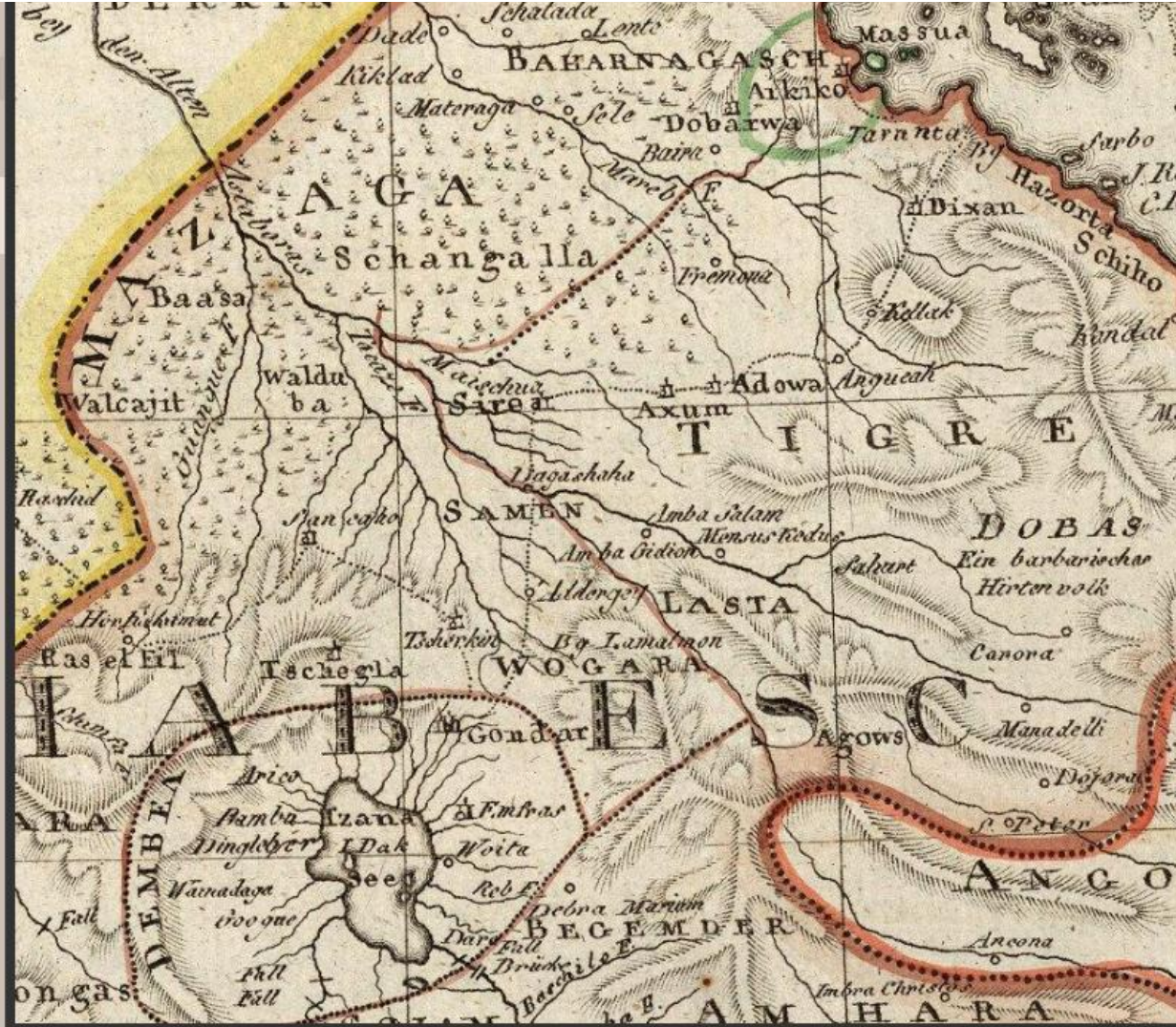


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~28373~1120802: Egypt, -Abyssinia->

## Gaspari & Guessefeld, 1817

Large territories between Tigre and Begemder, including Walcajit.

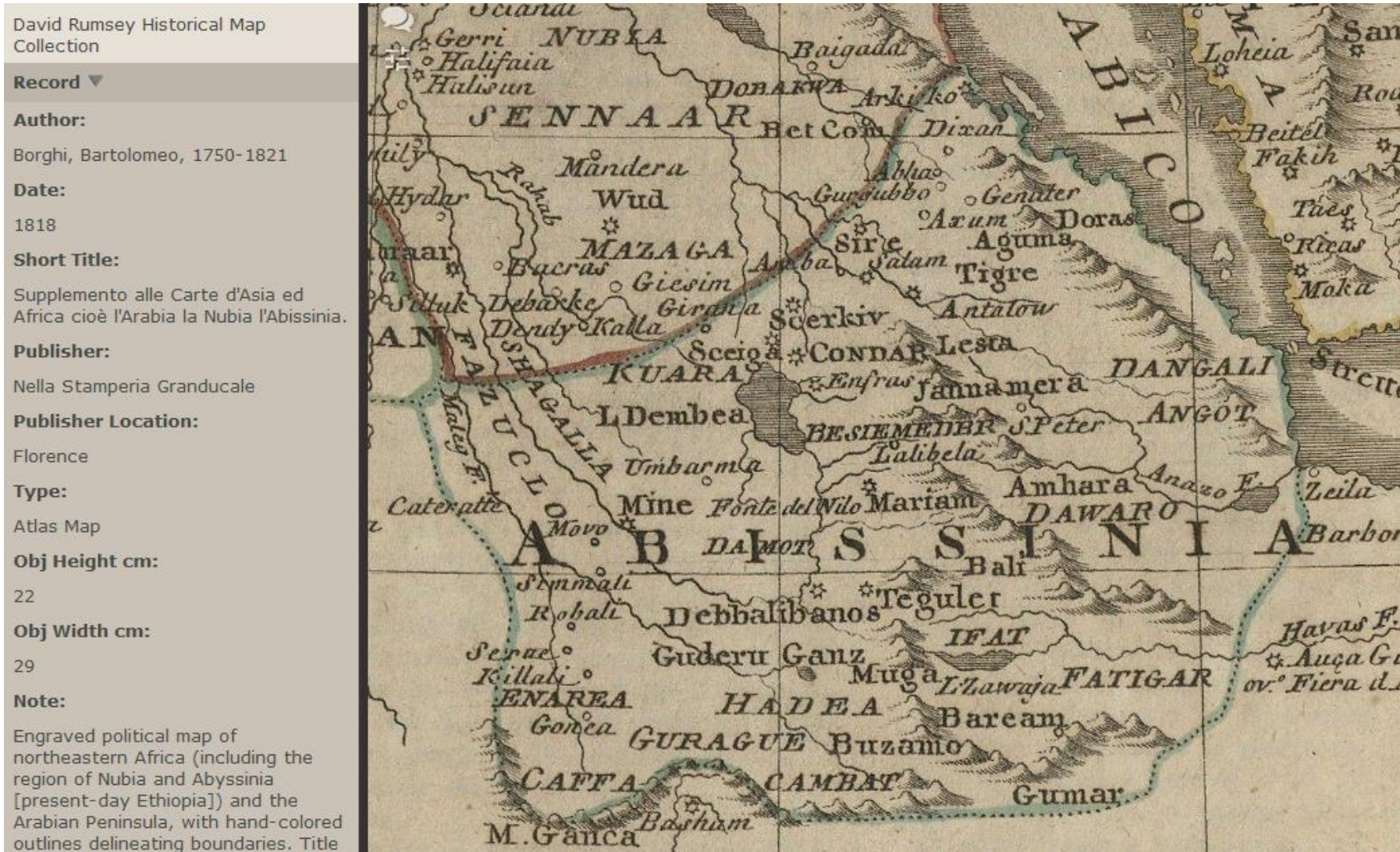
David Rumsey Historical Map Collection
<b>Record</b> ▼
<b>Author:</b> Gaspari, Adam Christian (1752-1830)
<b>Author:</b> Guessefeld, F.L.
<b>Date:</b> 1817
<b>Short Title:</b> L. Nile River, Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia.
<b>Publisher:</b> Verlage des Geographischen Instituts.
<b>Publisher Location:</b> Weimar
<b>Type:</b> Atlas Map
<b>Obj Height cm:</b> 60
<b>Obj Width cm:</b> 46
<b>Reference:</b> Espenhorst 1.1.2 (this copy is the 4th edition).
<b>Country:</b> Egypt



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

## Borghi, 1818

Abyssinia, without internal boundaries.



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

# Arrowsmith, 1825

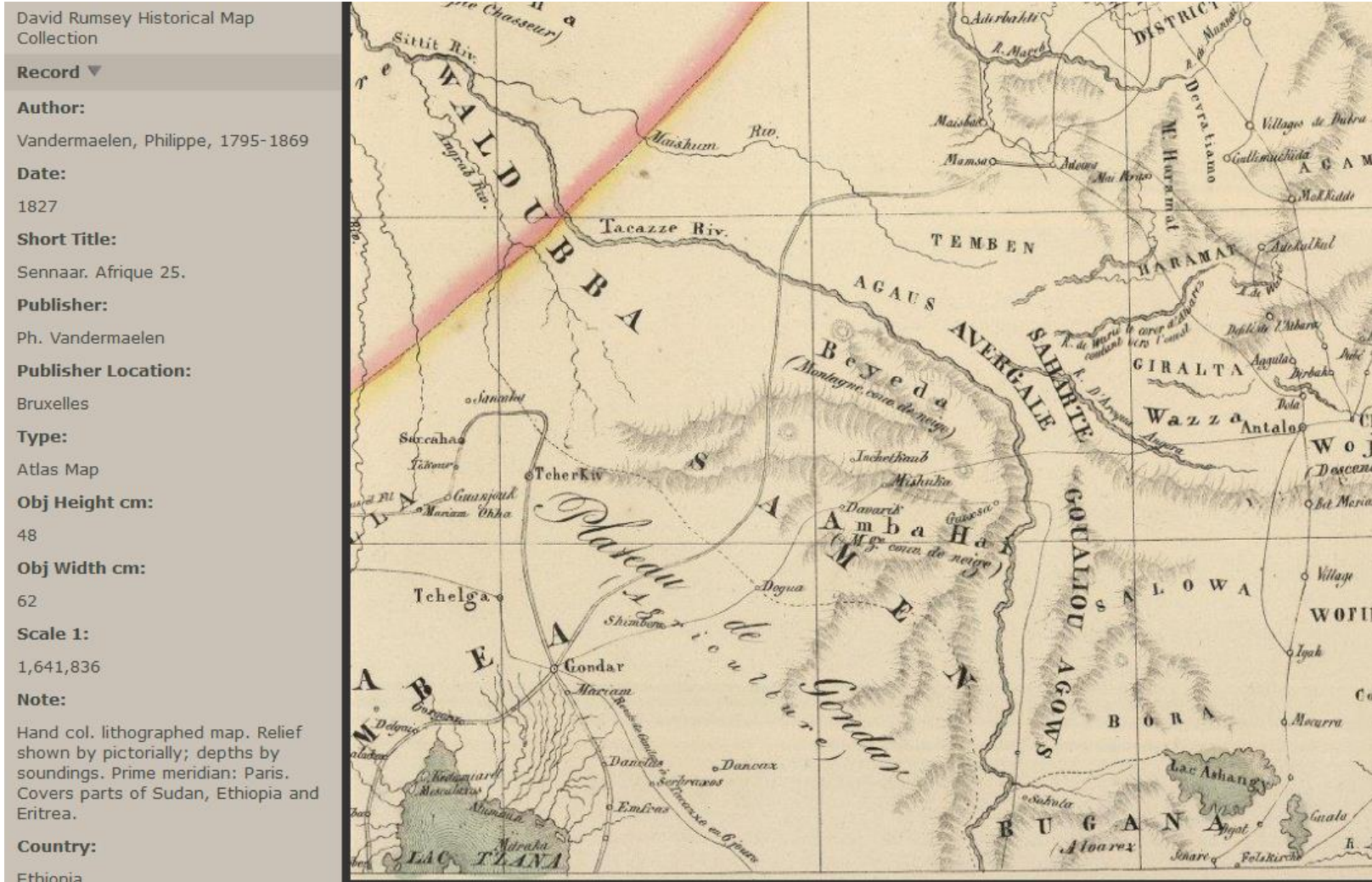
Internal borders without hierarchy.

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection
<b>Record</b> ▾
<b>Author:</b> Arrowsmith, Aaron Jr.
<b>Date:</b> 1825
<b>Short Title:</b> Abyssinia
<b>Publisher:</b> A. & S. Arrowsmith
<b>Publisher Location:</b> London
<b>Type:</b> Atlas Map
<b>Obj Height cm:</b> 31
<b>Obj Width cm:</b> 23
<b>Scale 1:</b> 3,500,000
<b>Note:</b> Hand color map, with colored boundaries. Showing regions, place names, rivers, etc. Includes notes. Relief shown by hachures. Prime meridian is Greenwich.

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

## Vandermaelen, 1827

Numerous names of “princdoms”, no Tigray or Amhara, no boundaries.



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

## Brue, 1828

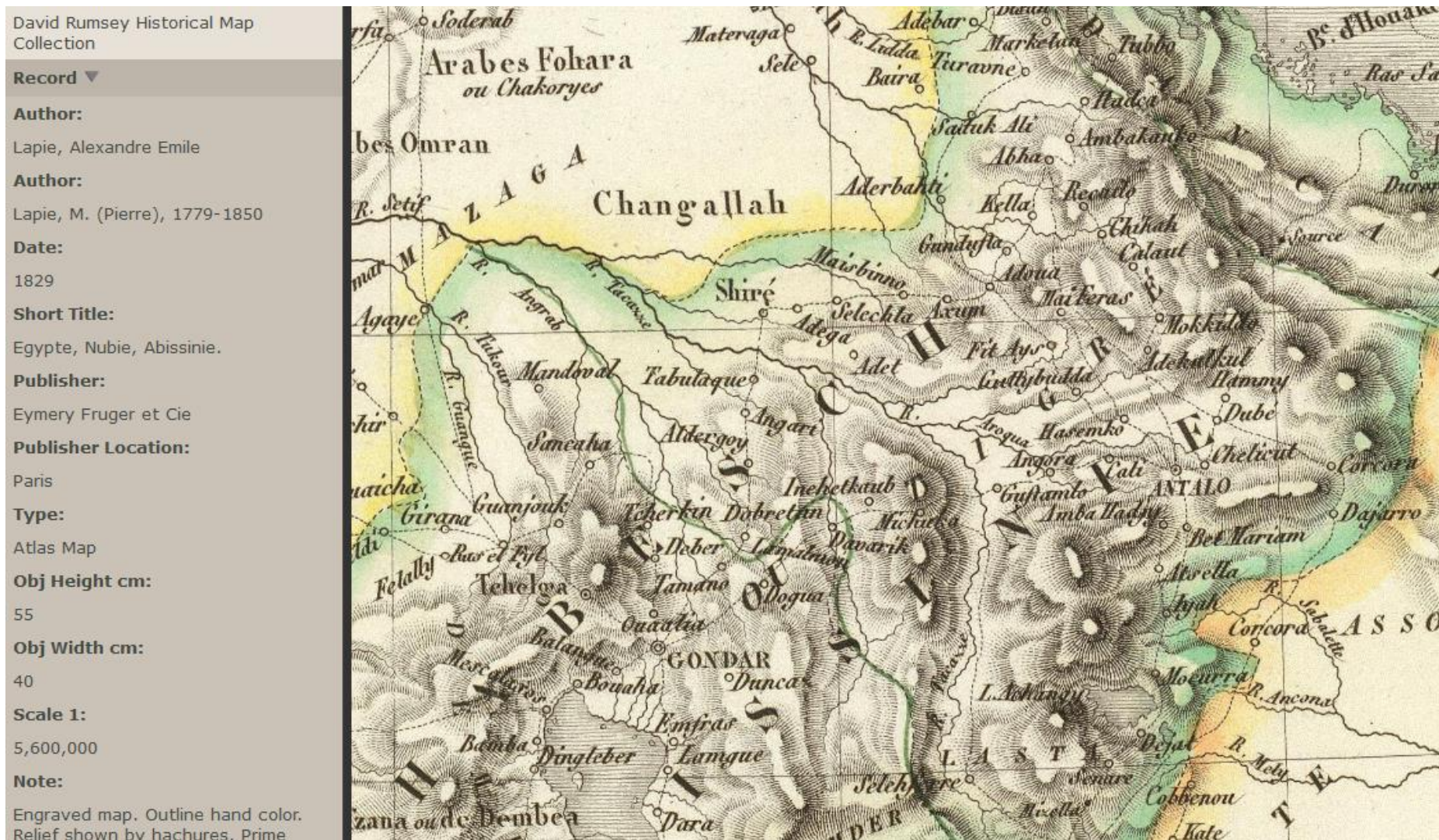
Dotted lines representing borders, across the Simien crestline



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

## Lapie, 1829

Southwestern boundary of Tigray in a thin green line



Lapie, M., 'Carte de l'Egypte, de la Nubie, de l'Abissinie, du Kourdofan, et d'une partie de l'Arabie', Paris: chez P.C. Schubey, rue de la Seine, 1838. 555x398, original outline colour.

1829 – Lapie AE <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~28704~1120941:Egypte%252C-Nubie%252C-Abissinie->

Same map was republished in 1838

# Hall, 1830 (similar in 1828)

No internal borders

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

**Record** ▾

**Author:**  
Hall, S. (Sidney)

**Date:**  
1830

**Short Title:**  
Nubia, Abyssinia.

**Publisher:**  
Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green

**Publisher Location:**  
London

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
53

**Obj Width cm:**  
51

**Scale 1:**  
5,100,000

**Note:**  
Engraved map. Boundaries hand col. Relief shown by hachures. Also numbered XXXIX.

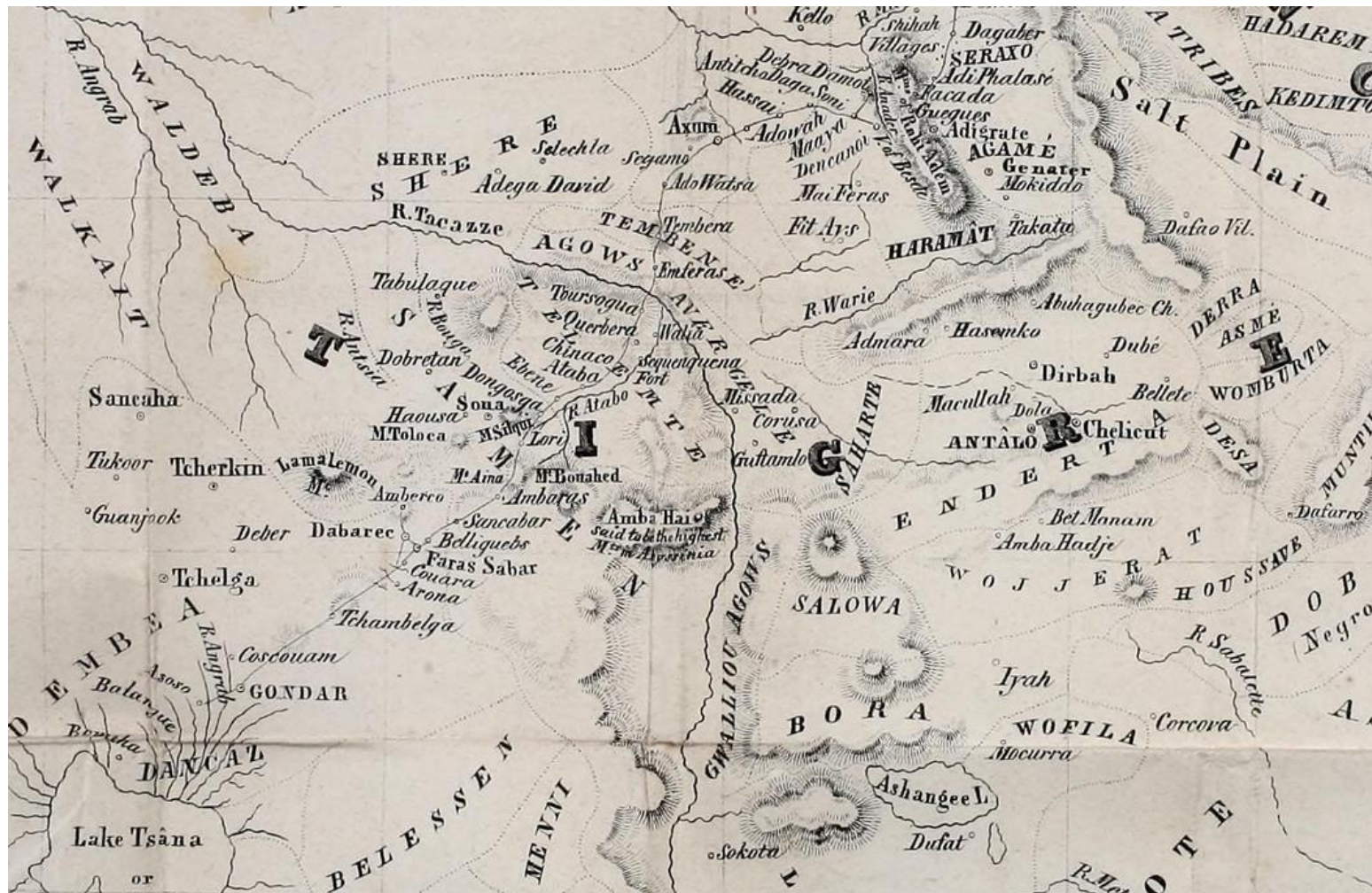


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~21817~670050:Nubia,-Abyssinia->



## 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".



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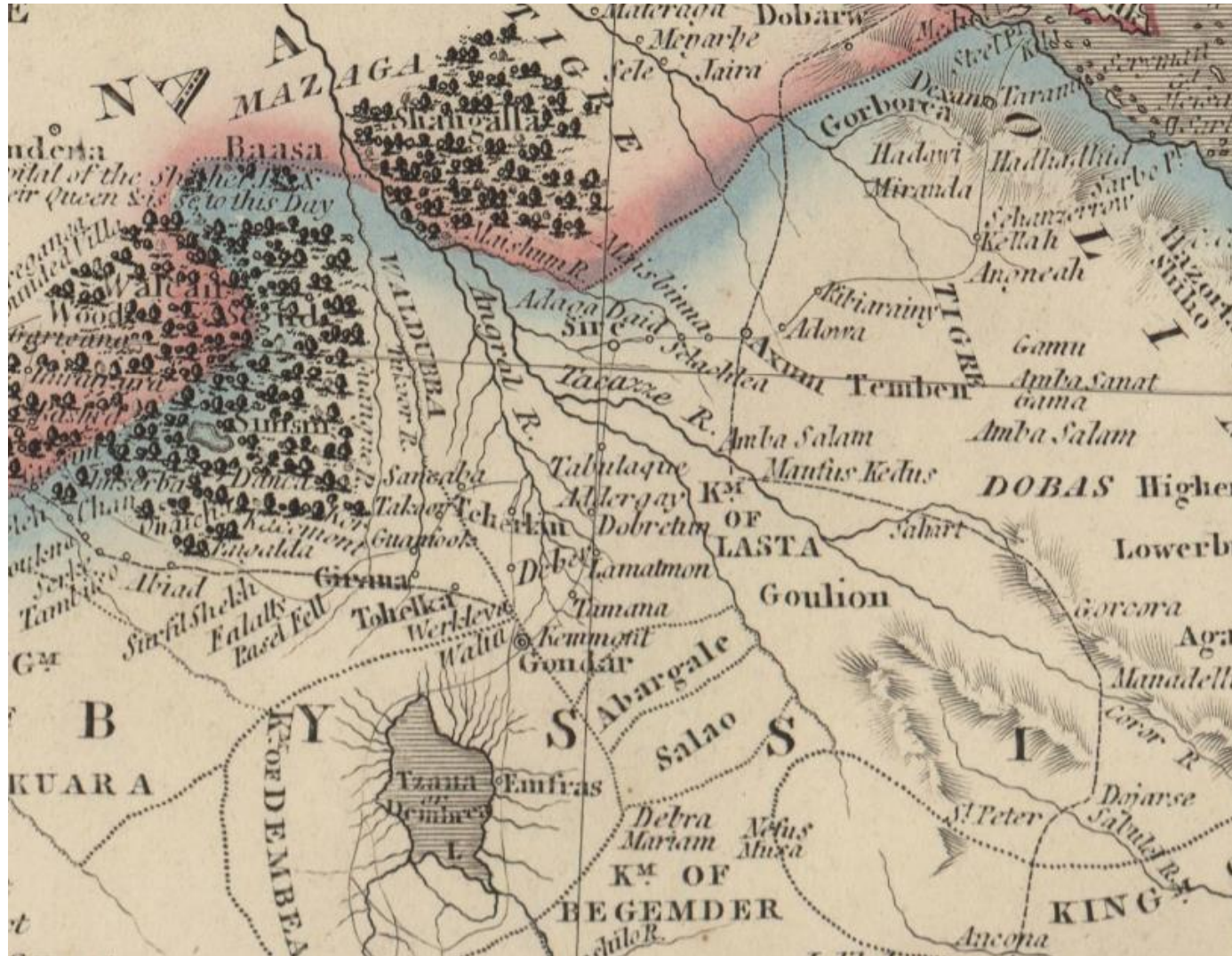
### Journal of three years' residence in Abyssinia

[Gobat, Samuel](#); [Clark, Sereno Dickenson](#); [Baird, Robert](#)  
M.W. Dodd, 1850

<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



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

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

# Arrowsmith, 1832

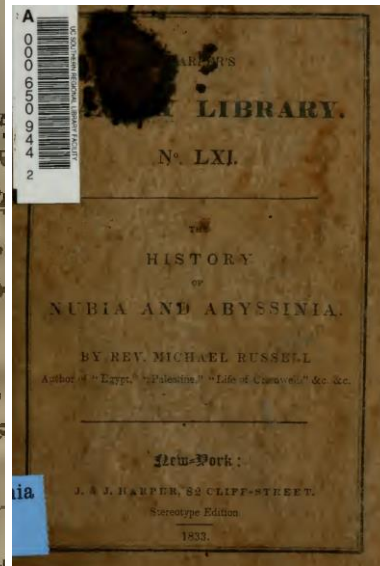
Clear boundary, south of the Simien crestline



<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

Record ▾

**Author:**

Brue, Adrien Hubert, 1786-1832

**Author:**

Picquet, C.

**Date:**

1834

**Short Title:**

Afrique, septentrionale.

**Publisher:**

C. Picquet

**Publisher Location:**

Paris

**Type:**

Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**

37

**Obj Width cm:**

54

**Scale 1:**

16,000,000

**Note:**

Hand colored engraved map. Relief shown by hachures. Includes inset of Cape Verde. Prime meridian: Paris. In embossed seal: Propriete acquise en 1835



<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

Home Maps Help

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



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=44](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=44)

# Weiland, 1841

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

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▼

**Author:**  
Geographisches Institut (Weimar, Germany)

**Author:**  
Weiland, Carl Ferdinand, 1782 - 1847

**Date:**  
1841

**Short Title:**  
Northeastern Africa or Egypt, Eritrea, Sudan, and Ethiopia.

**Publisher:**  
Weimar Geographisches Institut

**Publisher Location:**  
Weimar

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
61

**Obj Width cm:**  
49

**Country:**  
Eritrea

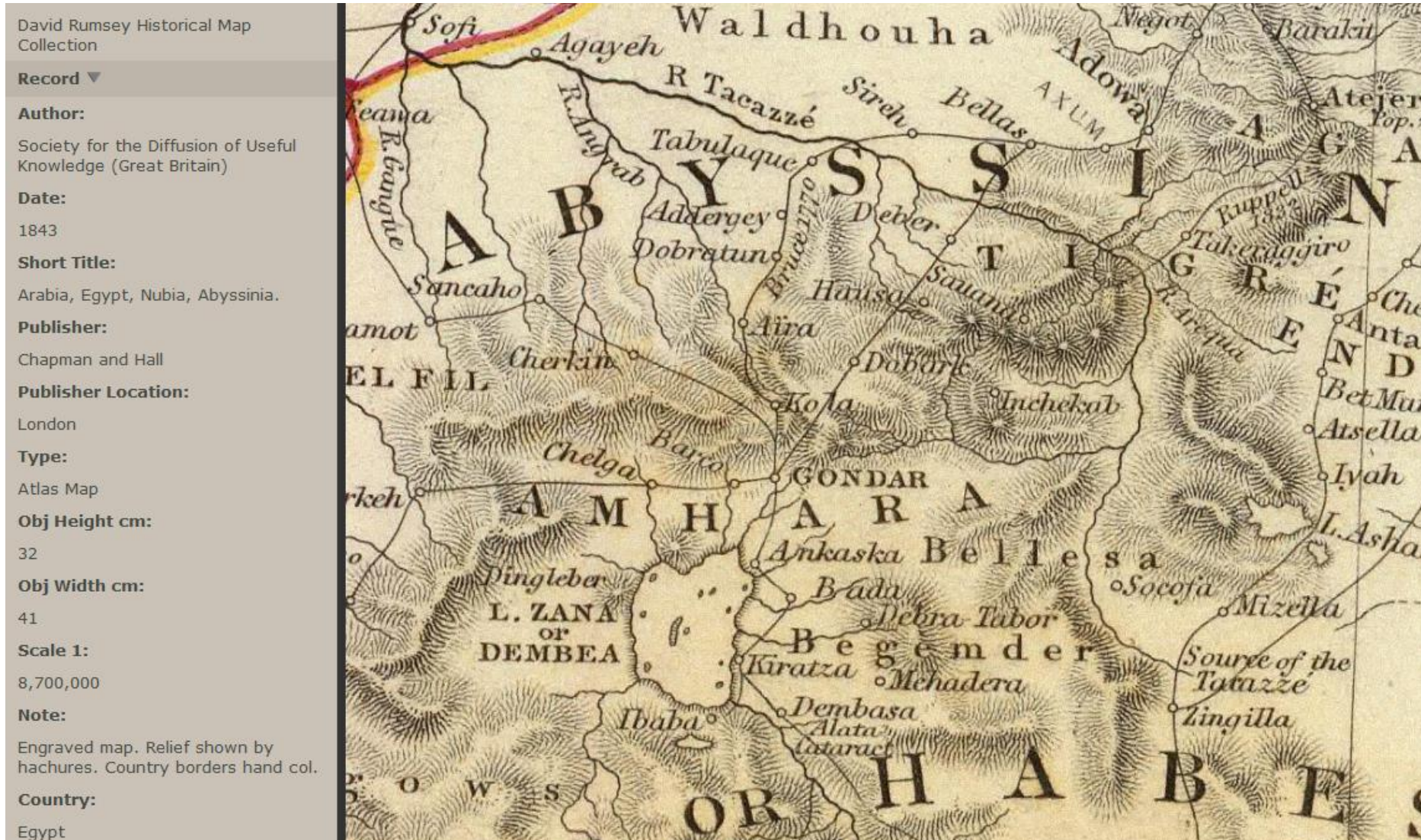
**Country:**  
Egypt



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

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

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



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



# Mc Queen & Isenberg, 1844

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



## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

Karte von Abessinien (James Mc Queen - 1844)



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=24](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?)

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▾

**Author:**  
Arrowsmith, John

**Date:**  
1844

**Short Title:**  
Nubia and Abyssinia.

**Publisher:**  
John Arrowsmith

**Publisher Location:**  
London

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
52

**Obj Width cm:**  
61

**Scale 1:**  
4,118,400

**Note:**  
In outline color.

**Reference:**  
None found - see Streeter Texas 1373A, Wheat 451, Martin & Martin 32 for the Texas map.

**Country:**  
Eritrea



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

# Radefeld, 1844

Clearly drawn boundaries; Walkay in Tigre

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▾

Author:

Radefeld, Carl Christian Franz, 1788-1874

Date:

1844

Short Title:

Nubien, Habesch, Kordofan, Darfur.

Publisher:

Bibliographischen Instituts

Publisher Location:

Hildburghausen

Type:

Atlas Map

Obj Height cm:

31

Obj Width cm:

36

Scale 1:

6,300,000

Note:

Engraved map. Boundaries hand col. Relief shown by hachures. "Meyers Handatlas No. 48." Prime meridians: Ferro and Paris.

Country:

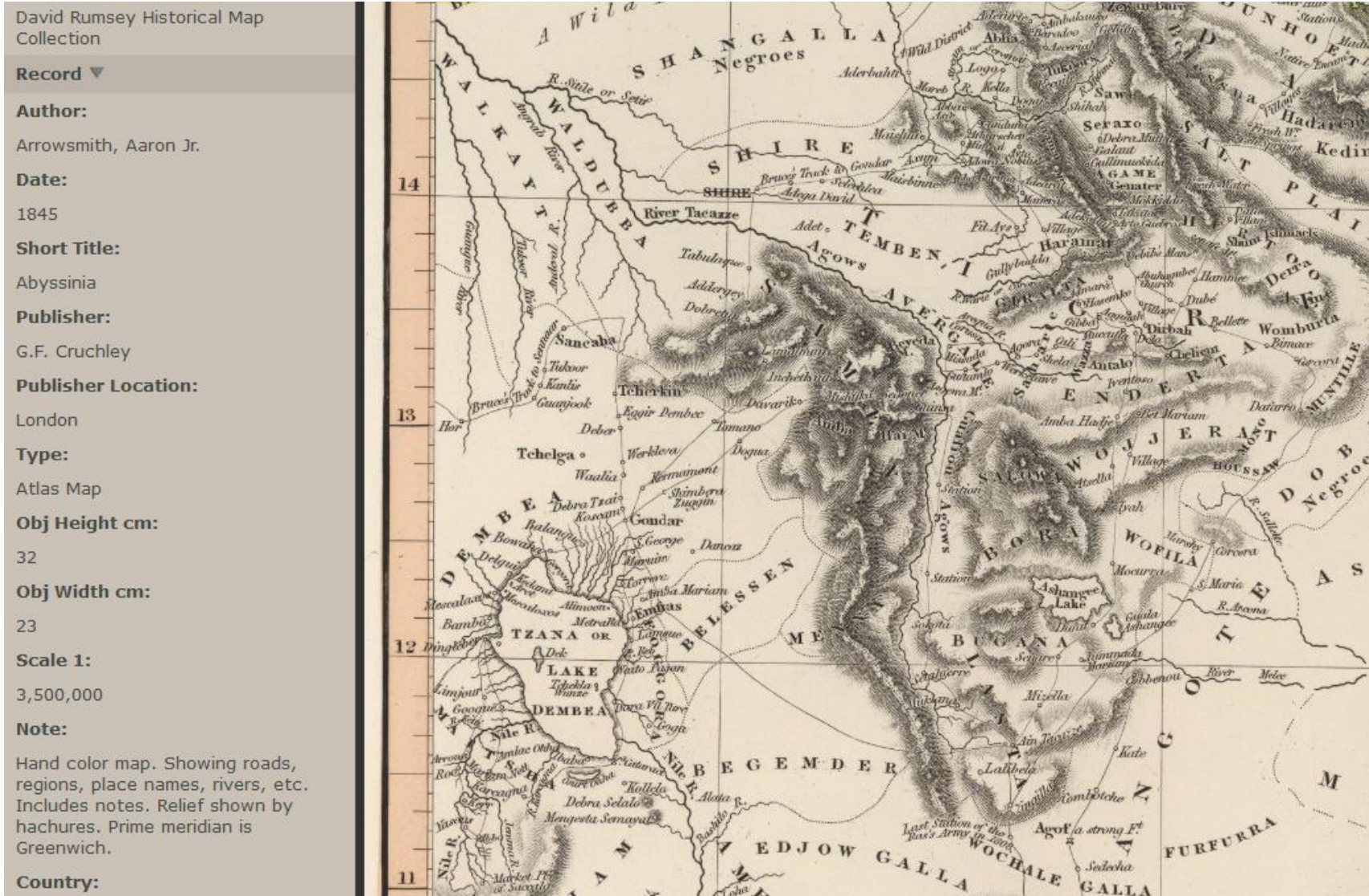
Ethiopia



<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



David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▼

Author: Handtke, F.

Author: Flemming, Carl

Author: Sohr, Karl

Date: 1846

Short Title: Nordostliches Afrika.

Publisher: Carl Flemming

Publisher Location: Glogau

Publisher Location: Leipzig

Type: Atlas Map

Obj Height cm: 70

Obj Width cm: 41

Scale 1: 5,200,000

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

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

# Lefebvre, 1847

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



## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

### Carte générale d'Abyssinie (Théophile Lefebvre - 1847)



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=21](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=21)

# Lowry, 1848

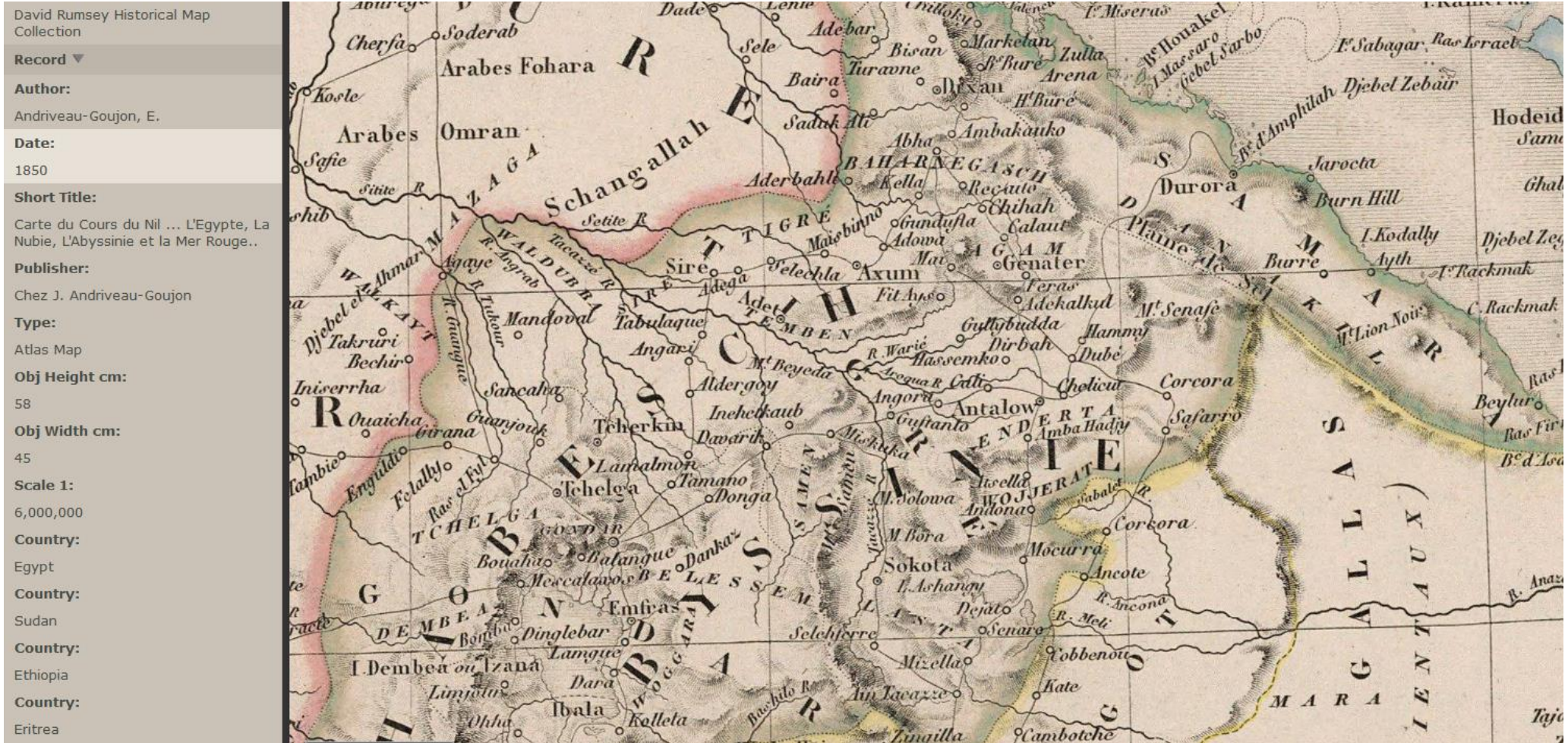
Internal boundaries not mapped



<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~37507~1210498:Nubia-and-Abyssinia-to-Bab-El-Mandeb>

# Andriveau-Goujon, 1850

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

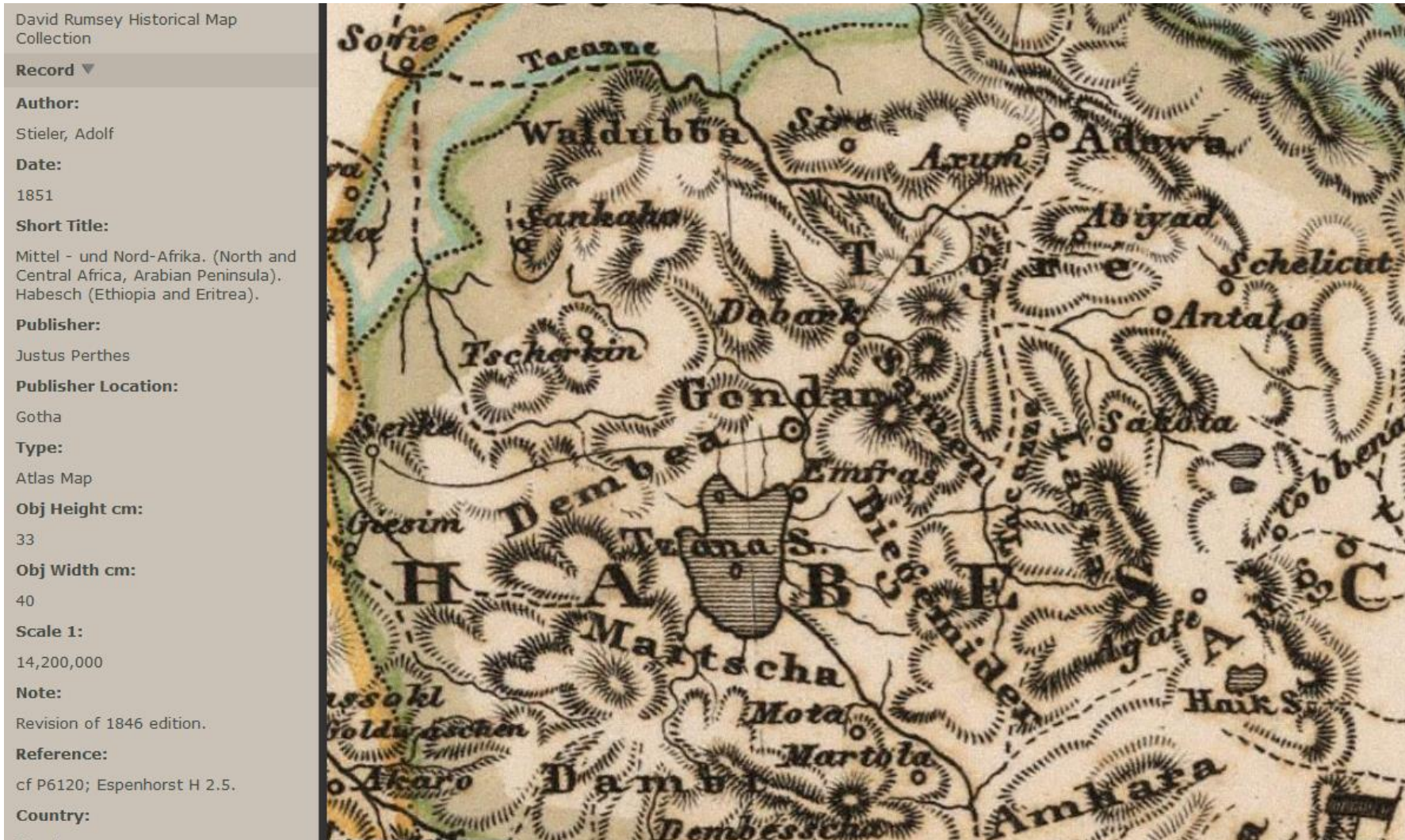


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~284523~90057065:Carte-du-Cours-du-Nil----L-Egypte%2C>



## Stieler, 1851 (also 1853)

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



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

## Lapie & Lapie, 1851

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

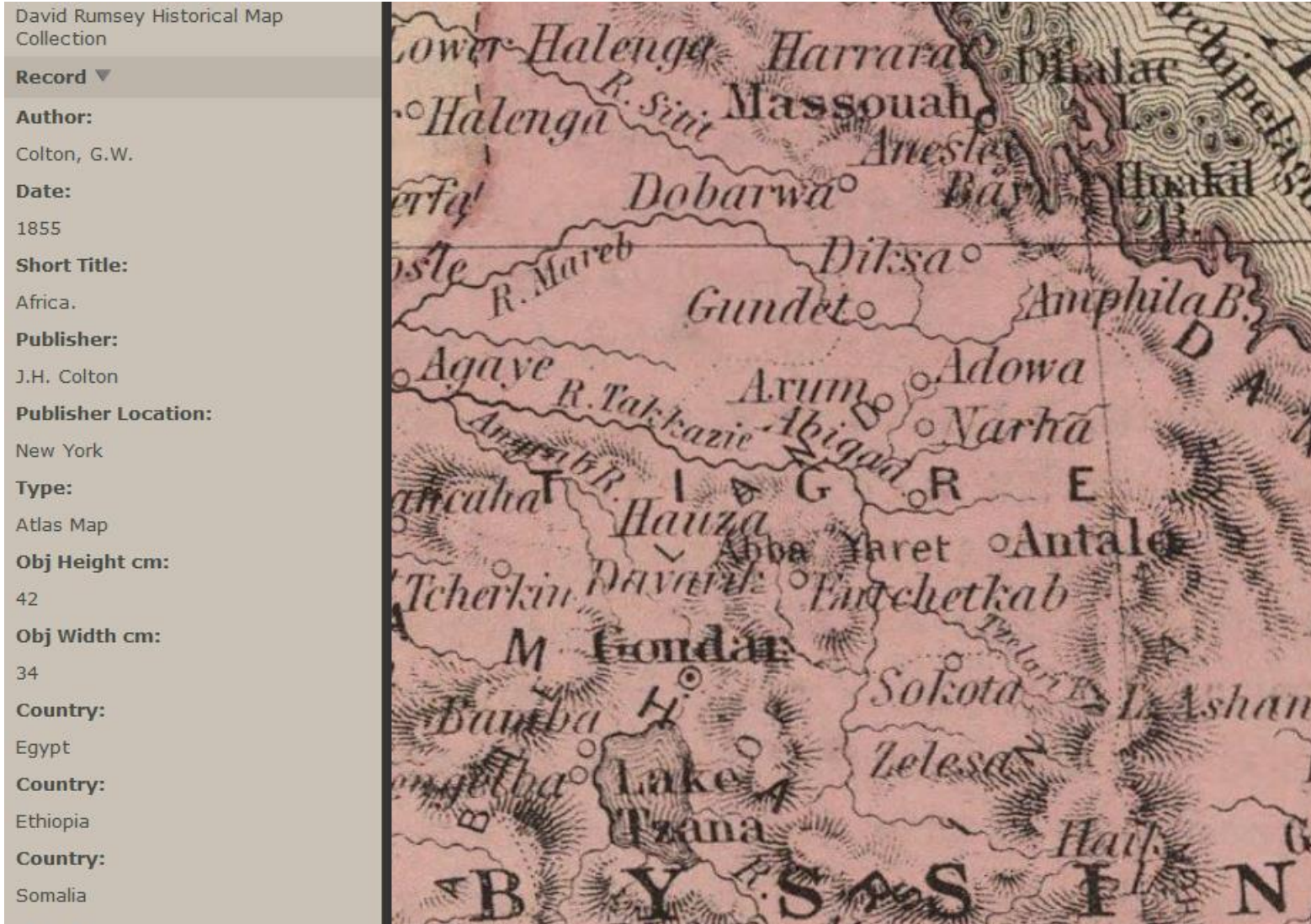


Lapie, M., 'Carte de l'Egypte, de la Nubie, de l'Abissinie, du Kourdofan, et d'une partie de l'Arabie', Paris: chez P.C. Schubey, rue de la Seine, 1838. 555x398, original outline colour.

1851 – Lapie PM and Lapie AE <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~318097~90086978:Carte-de-l-Egypte%252C-de-la-Nubie%252C-de->

Colton, 1855 (very similar in 1866, 1874)

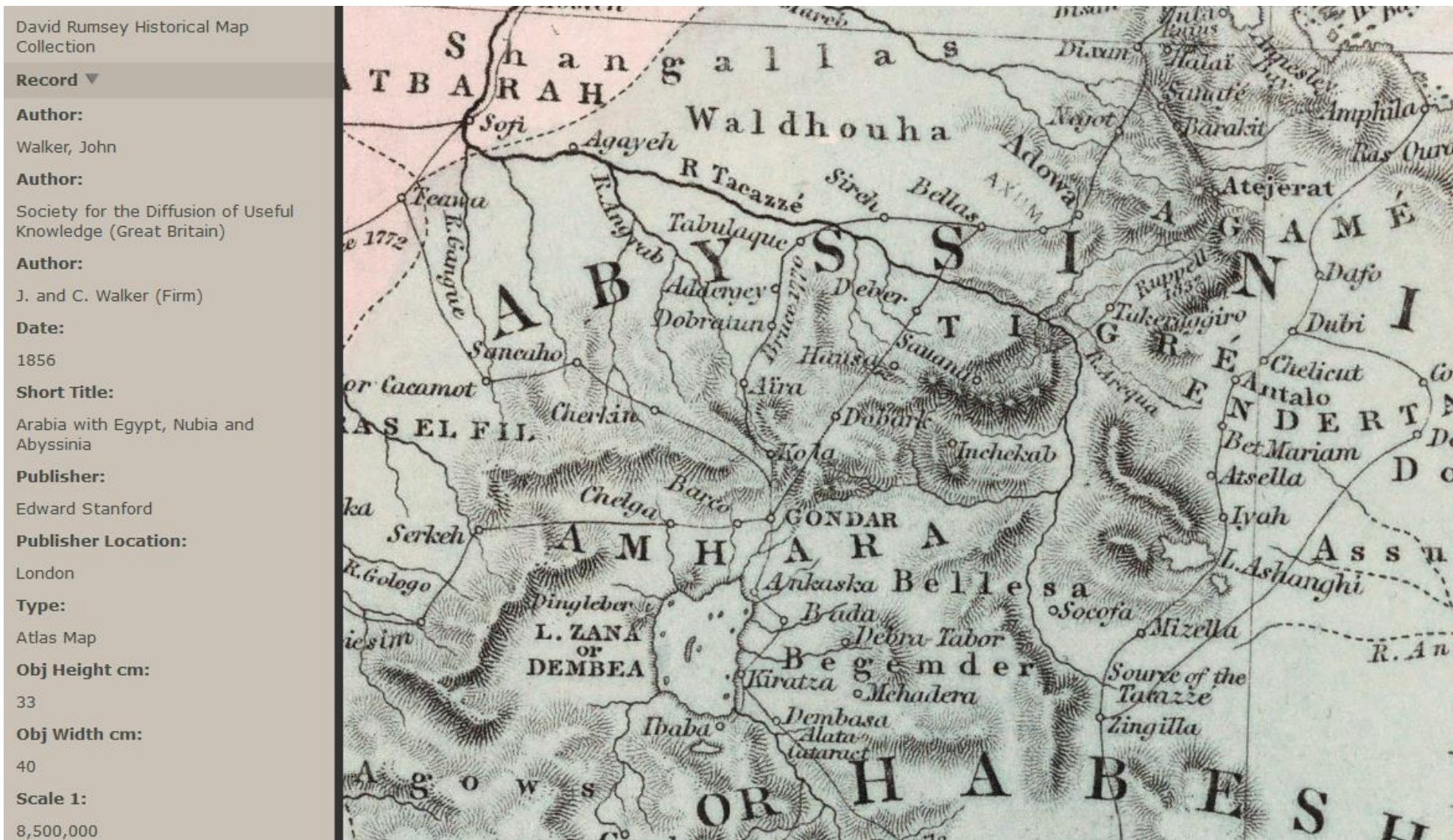
No internal borders, lettering Tigre spans both sides of Tekeze



<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~308930~90078654:Africa->

## Walker, 1856

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



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

## Fullarton, 1856

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



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

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

## Marmocchi, 1858

Abissinia (internal boundaries not drawn)

David Rumsey Historical Map  
Collection

Record ▼

Author:

Marmocchi, Francesco C.

Date:

1858

Short Title:

4. La Nubia e L'Abissinia.

Publisher:

Paolo Rivara

Publisher Location:

Genoa

Type:

Atlas Map

Obj Height cm:

29

Obj Width cm:

35

Scale 1:

11,500,000

Reference:

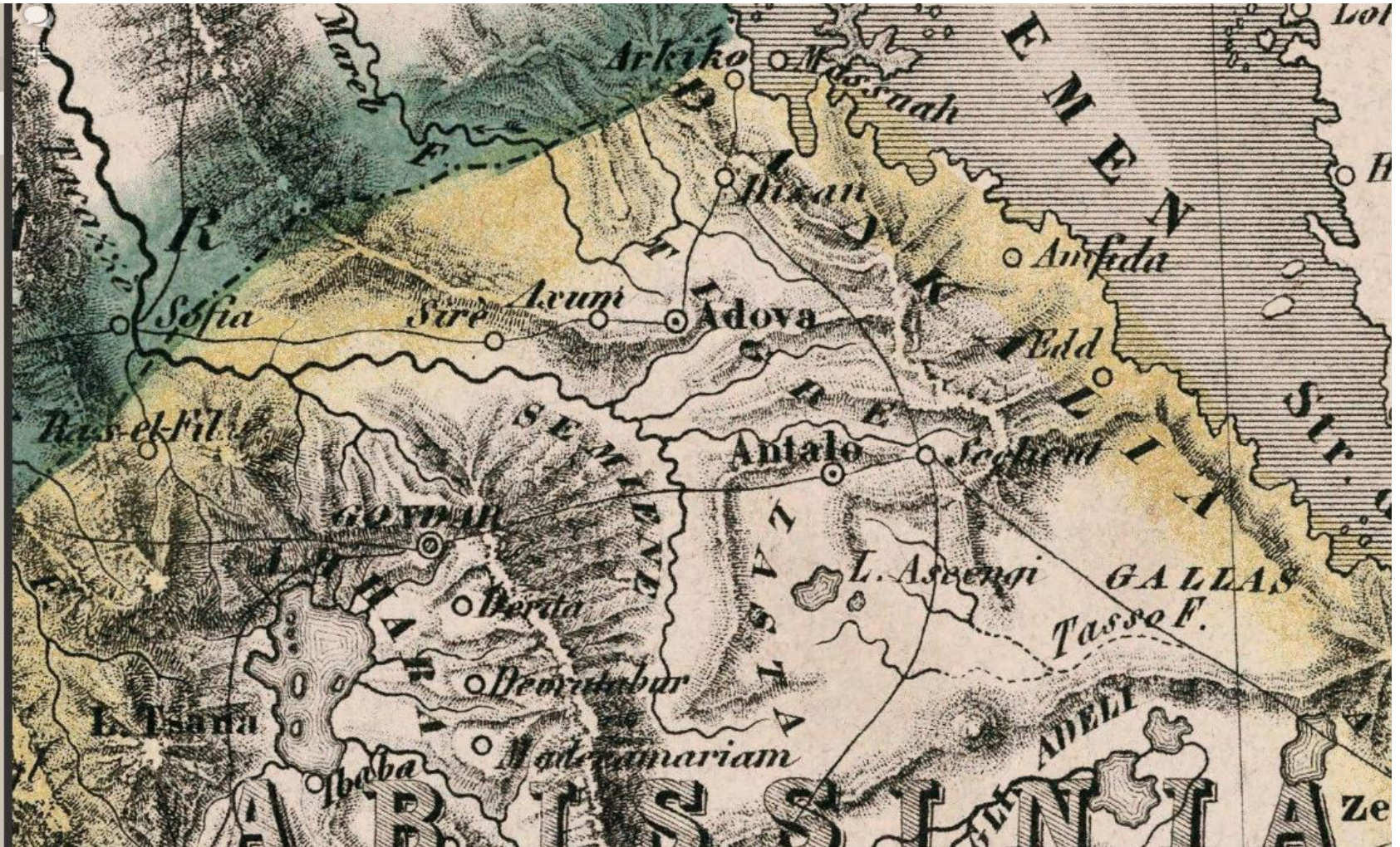
P828

Country:

Ethiopia

Country:

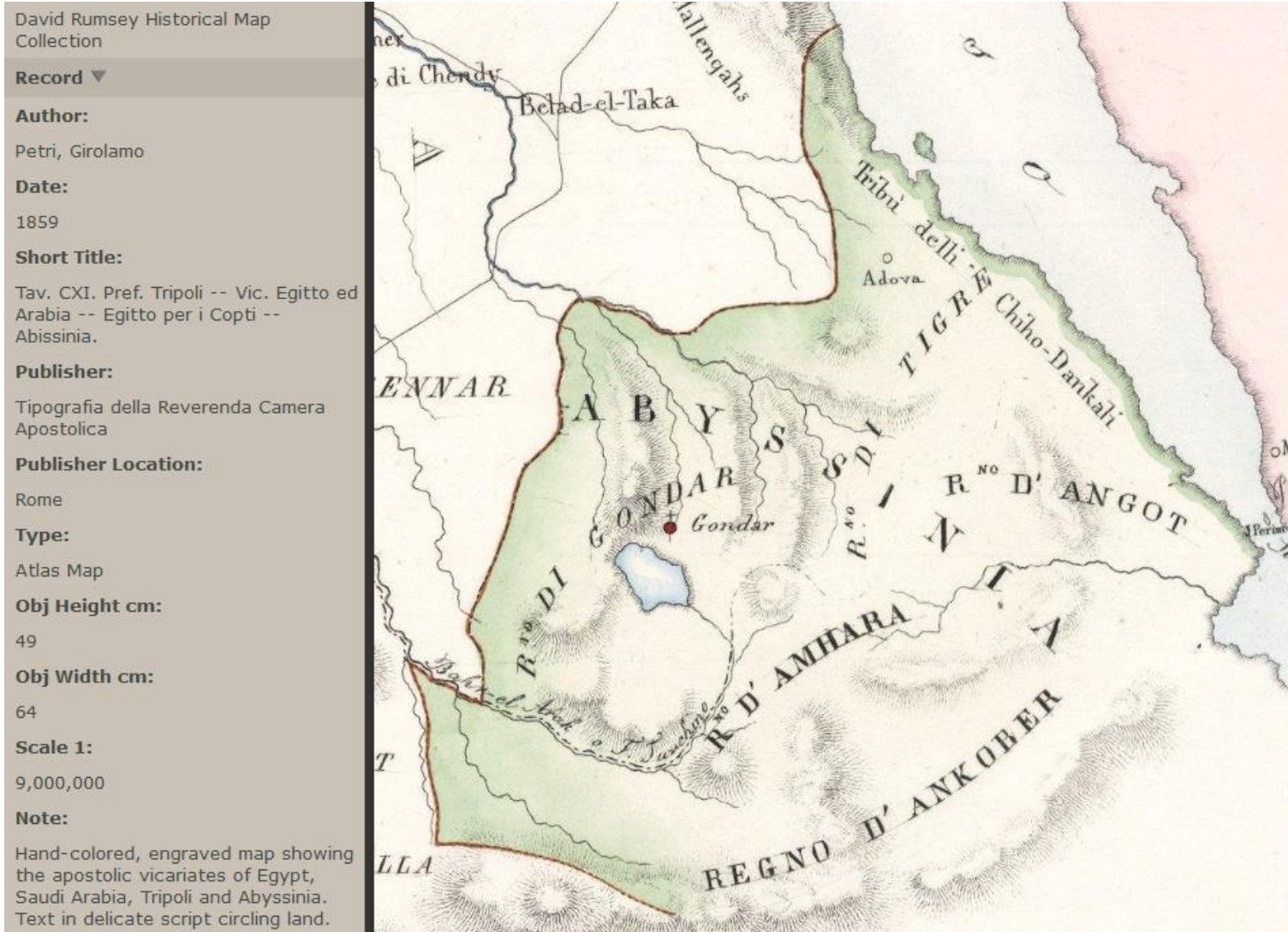
Sudan



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

# Petri, 1859

No internal boundaries



<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

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

**Record ▼**

**Author:**  
Johnston, Alexander Keith, 1804-1871

**Date:**  
1861

**Short Title:**  
Nubia, Abyssinia.

**Publisher:**  
William Blackwood & Sons

**Publisher Location:**  
Edinburgh

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
46

**Obj Width cm:**  
58

**Scale 1:**  
2,854,868

**Note:**  
Engraved map. Boundaries hand col.; hydrography printed in blue. Relief shown by hachures. "Keith Johnston's general atlas 40."

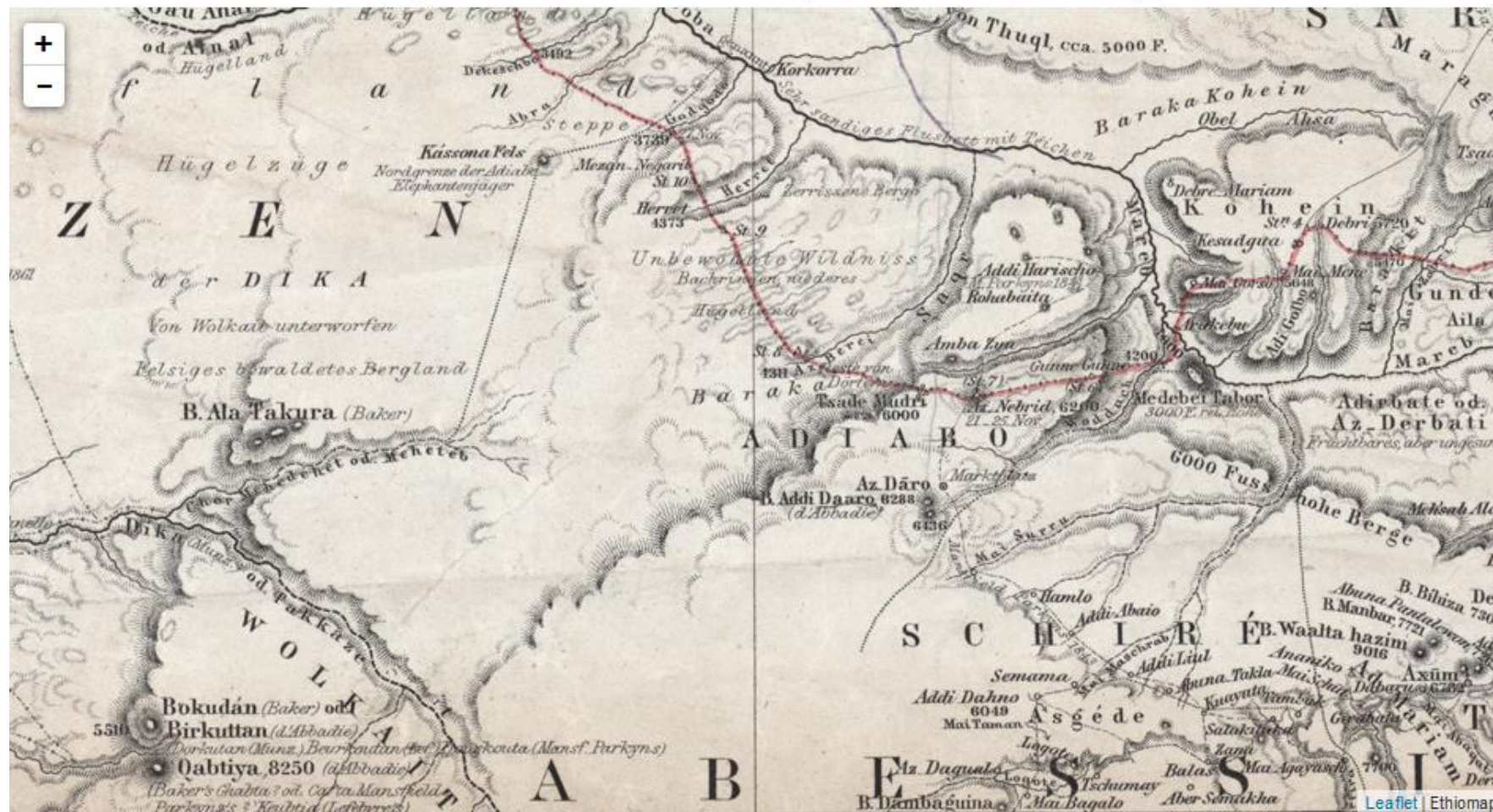
**Country:**  
Ethiopia

This historical map of Ethiopia, titled 'Nubia, Abyssinia', is a detailed engraving from 1861. It depicts the geographical layout of the region, including major rivers such as the Nile, Sobat, and Tana, and prominent mountain ranges like the Simien and Galla. The map is divided into numerous provinces and districts, many of which are labeled in Amharic script, such as 'SHANGALLA', 'BASENA', 'TELEMTE', and 'AMHARA'. The map uses hachures to represent relief and blue ink for hydrography. The title 'Habesh' is written in large letters across the center of the map. The map is framed by a grid of latitude and longitude lines.

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



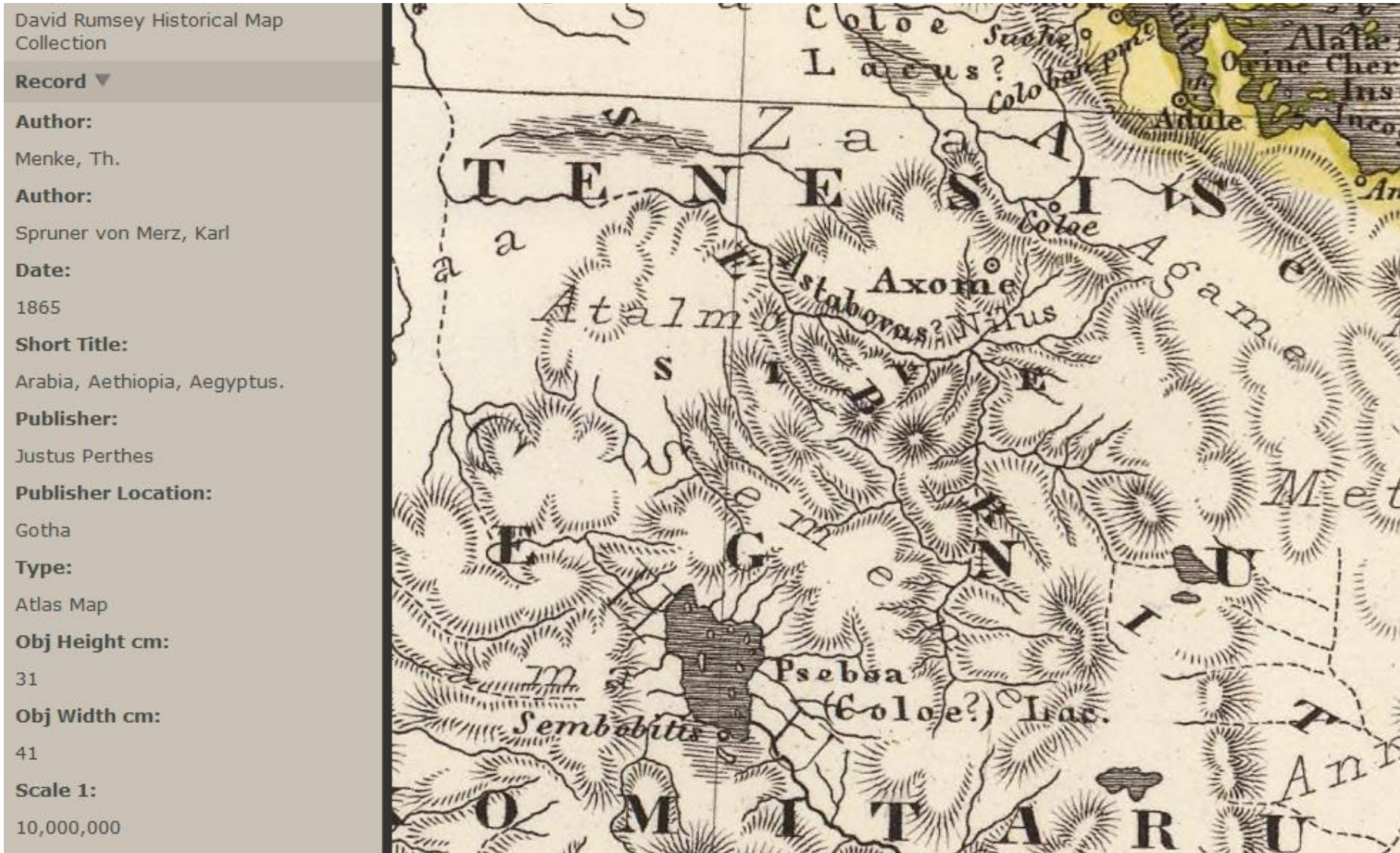
Originalkarte von Nord Abessinien (Werner Munzinger - 1864)



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=42](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=42)

## Menke & Spruner von Merz, 1865

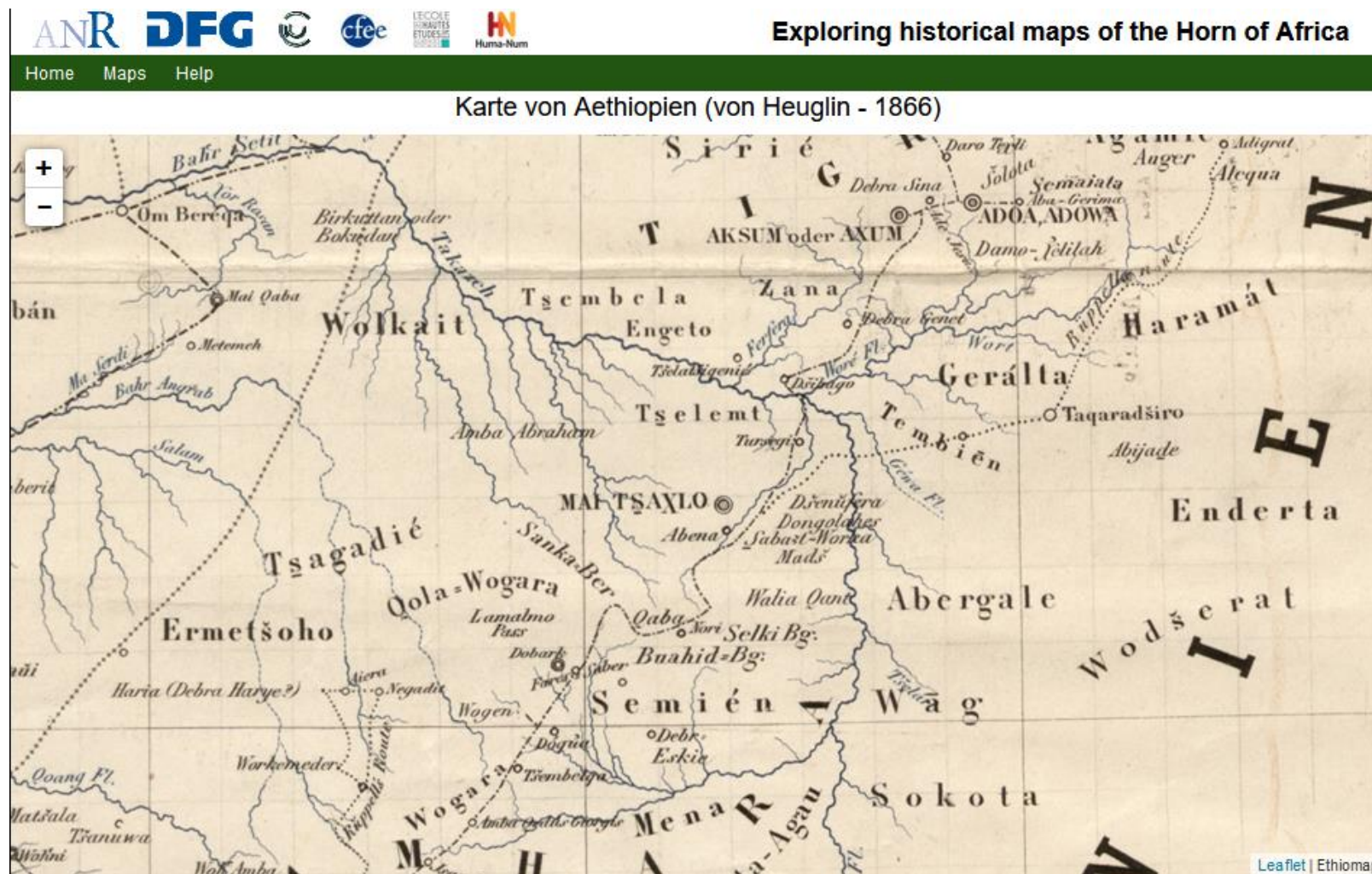
No internal boundaries



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

## Von Heuglin, 1866

No borders shown between Amhara and Tigrí. Names are clearly written with Tigrinya accents including Ermetšoho, Ṭselemt, Ṭsagadié, Mai Ṭsaxlo, 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](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.



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**BOOK**  
**The British captives in Abyssinia**  
Beke, Charles T.  
London : Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer  
1867

## D'Abbadie, 1868

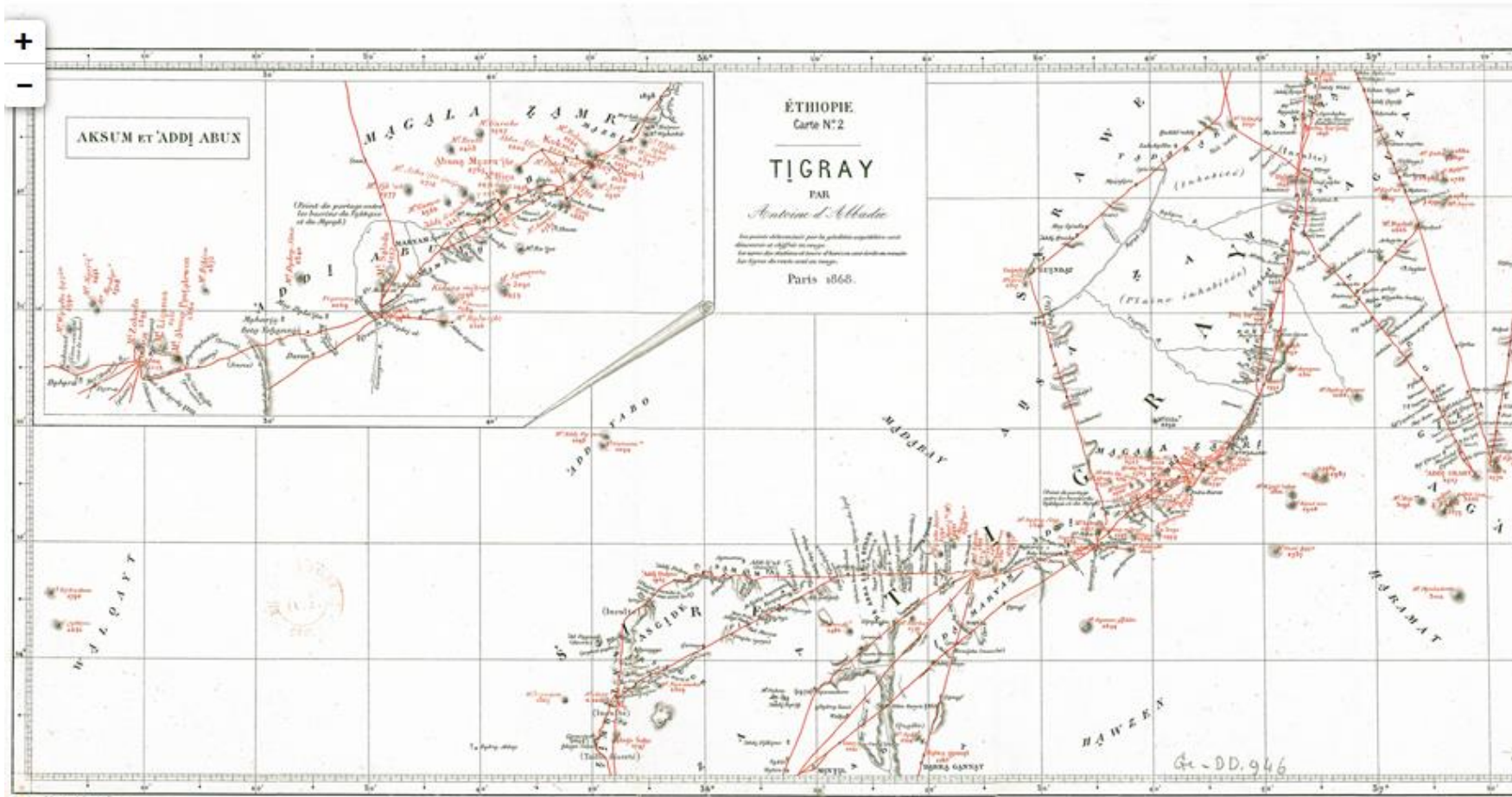
Maps 2 and 3, no borders shown; Walquayt suggested as part of Tigray



## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

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



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=12](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=12)

Petermann, 1868

No borders shown; coloured lines are itineraries

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DFG



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GEOGRAPHIQUES

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Exploring historical maps of the Horn

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### Originalkarte von Central-Abessinien (A. Petermann - 1868)



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=36](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=36)

## Colton, 1869

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

David Rumsey Historical Map  
Collection

Record ▾

Author:

Colton, G.W.

Date:

1869

Short Title:

North Eastern Africa.

Publisher:

G. W & C. B. Colton & Co.

Publisher Location:

New York

Type:

Atlas Map

Obj Height cm:

40

Obj Width cm:

33

Scale 1:

15,000,000

Note:

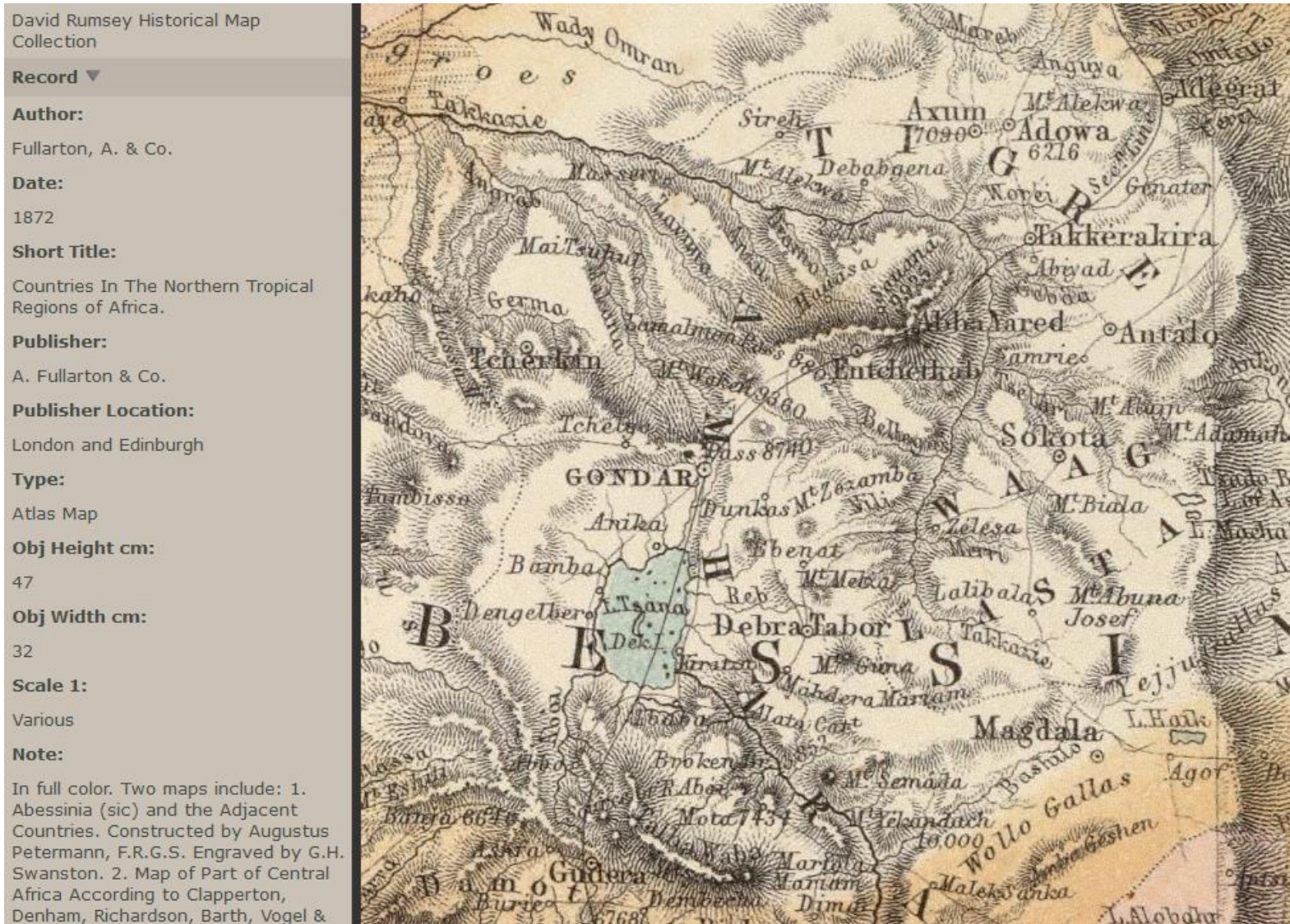
Prime meridians are Greenwich and



<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

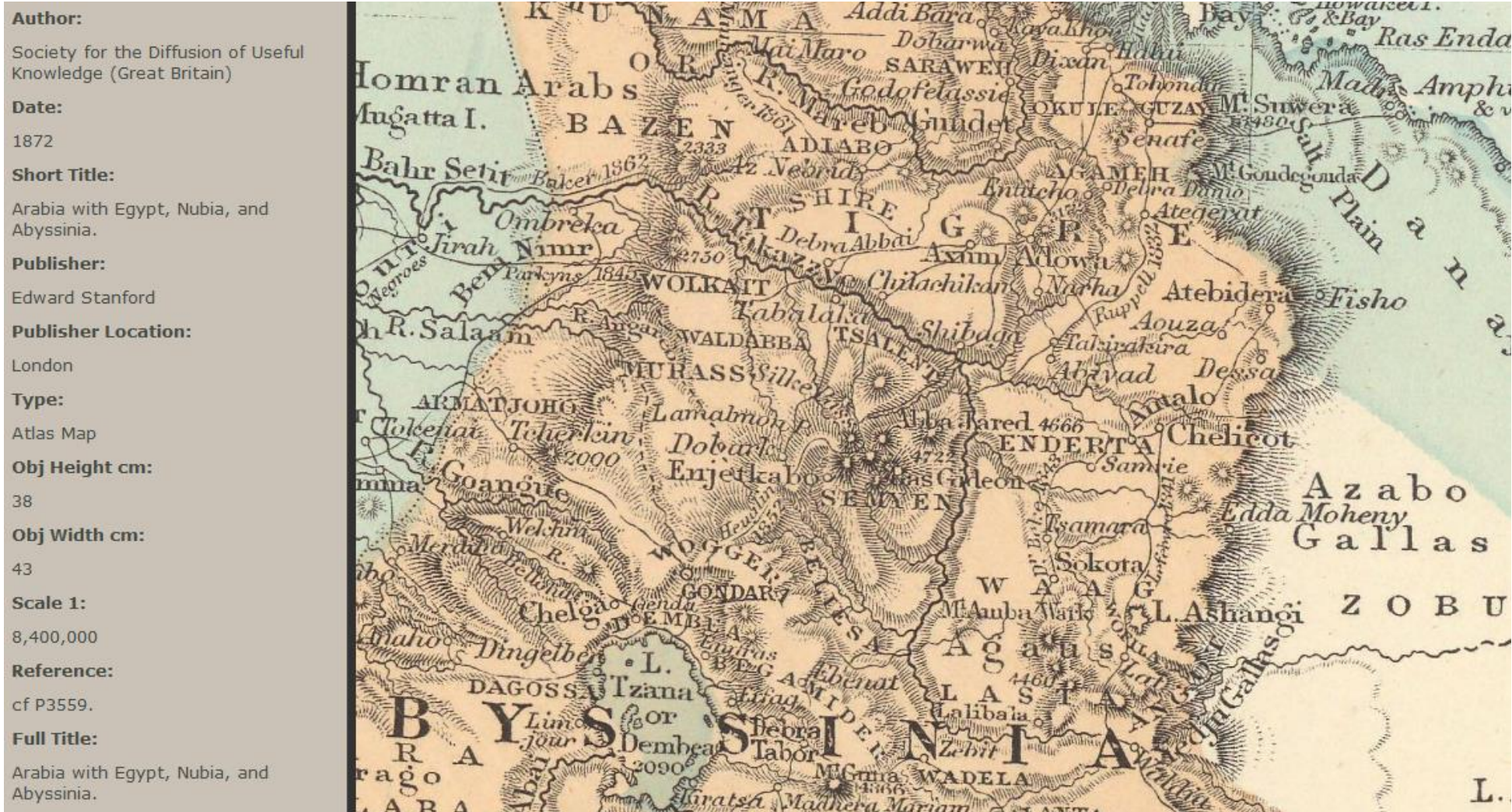


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3462~400032:Countries-In-The-Northern-Tropical->



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

No internal borders drawn



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

# Smith & Muller, 1874

Without boundaries

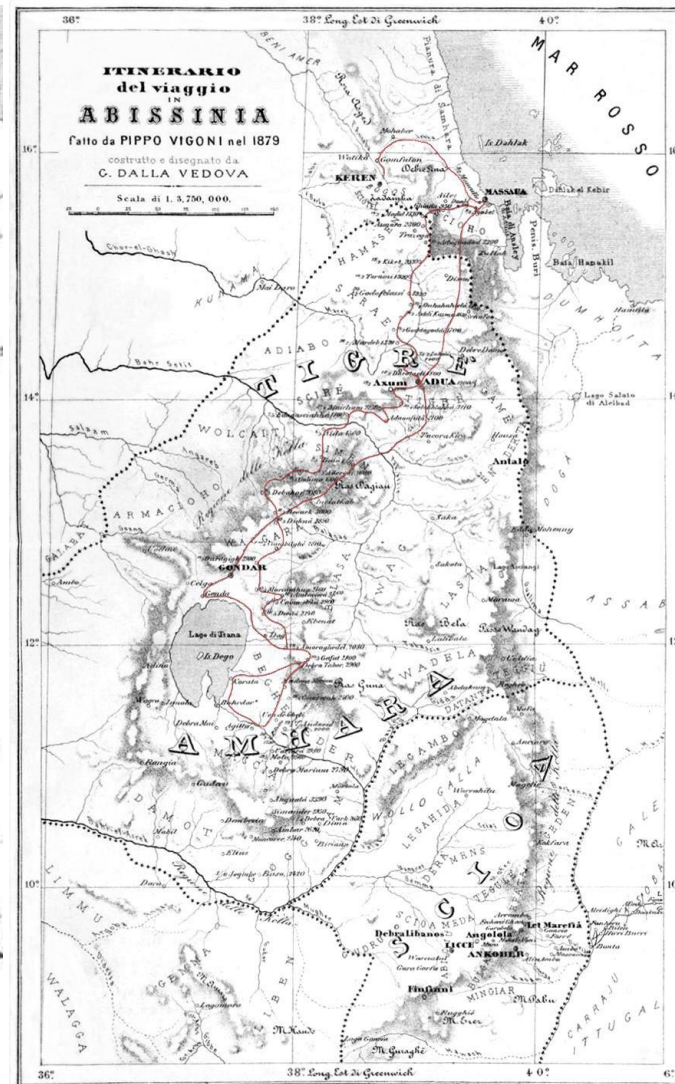
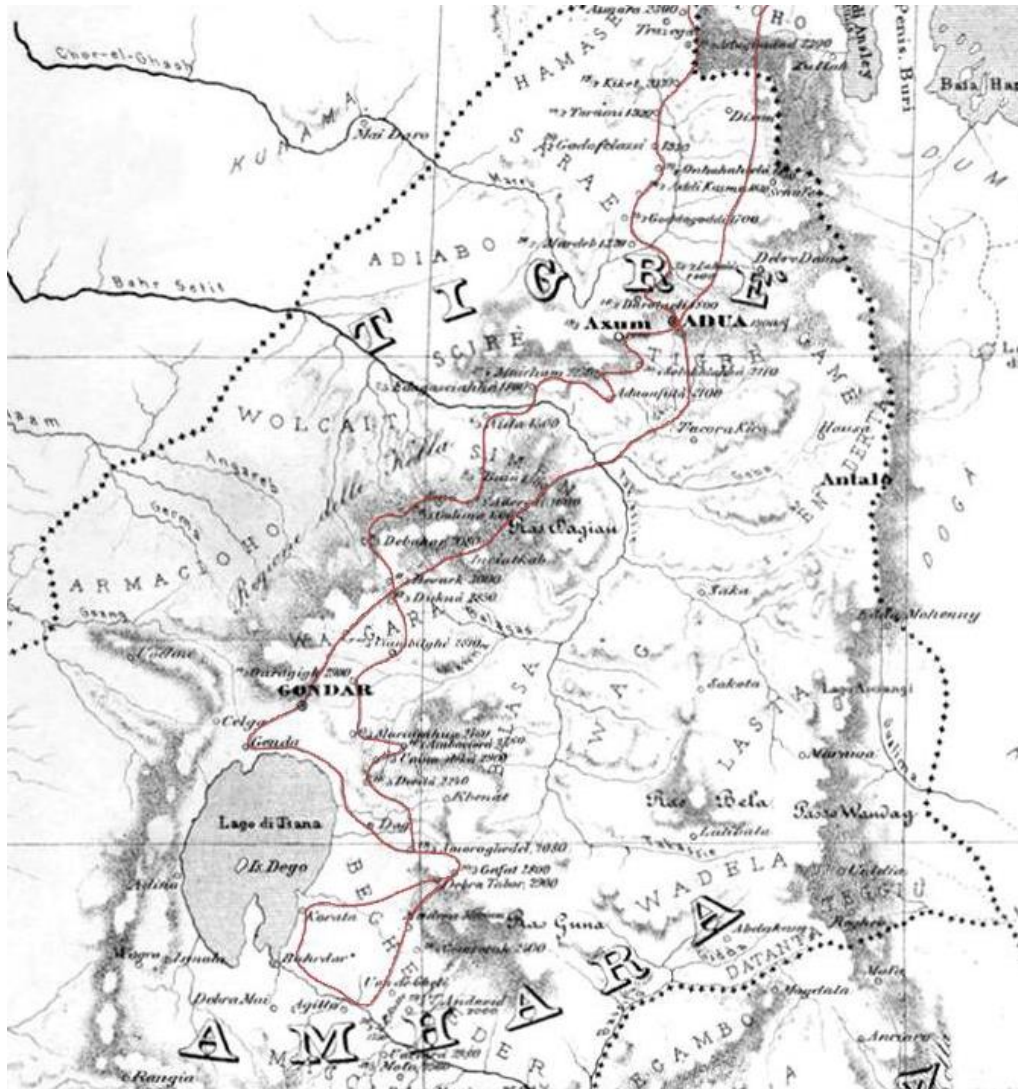
David Rumsey Historical Map Collection
<b>Record</b> ▼
<b>Author:</b> Smith, William, 1813-1893
<b>Author:</b> Muller, Charles
<b>Date:</b> 1874
<b>Short Title:</b> Arabia et Aethiopia. India
<b>Publisher:</b> John Murray
<b>Publisher Location:</b> London
<b>Type:</b> Atlas Map
<b>Obj Height cm:</b> 43
<b>Obj Width cm:</b> 59
<b>Scale 1:</b> 10,000,000
<b>Note:</b> 2 maps on 1 sheet, outline hand color. Shows major cities, roads, rivers and mountains. Relief shown by hachures.

The map depicts the region of Arabia and Aethiopia, showing the Nile river system, major cities such as Adulis, Caloe, and Agame, and various mountain ranges and lakes. The map is titled 'Arabia et Aethiopia. India' and includes a metadata sidebar on the left.

<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\\_YOC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.be/books?id=xVFrasFe_YOC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false)

# Johnston, 1879

No internal boundaries

## COLLECTION NAME:

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

## Record ▼

## Author:

Johnston, Alexander Keith

## Date:

1879

## Short Title:

Upper Nubia and Abyssinia.

## Publisher:

W. & A.K. Johnston

## Publisher Location:

Edinburgh

## Type:

Atlas Map

## Obj Height cm:

47

## Obj Width cm:

60

## Scale 1:

2,854,868

## Note:

Countries and districts outlined in color. Relief shown by hachures. Four scales.

## Country:



<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~37189~1210166:Upper-Nubia-and-Abyssinia->

## 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



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#### Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia; or, Khedive, in his provinces and beyond their American Staff.

William MacE DYE  
New York : Atkin & Prout, 1880.

[Details](#) [I want this](#)

**Title:** Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia; or, military servi  
in his provinces and beyond their borders, as experienced by t

**Author:** [William MacE DYE](#)

**Publication Details:** New York : Atkin & Prout, 1880.

**Language:** English

**Identifier:** System number: 001021918

**Physical Description:** xvi, 500 pages ; (8°)

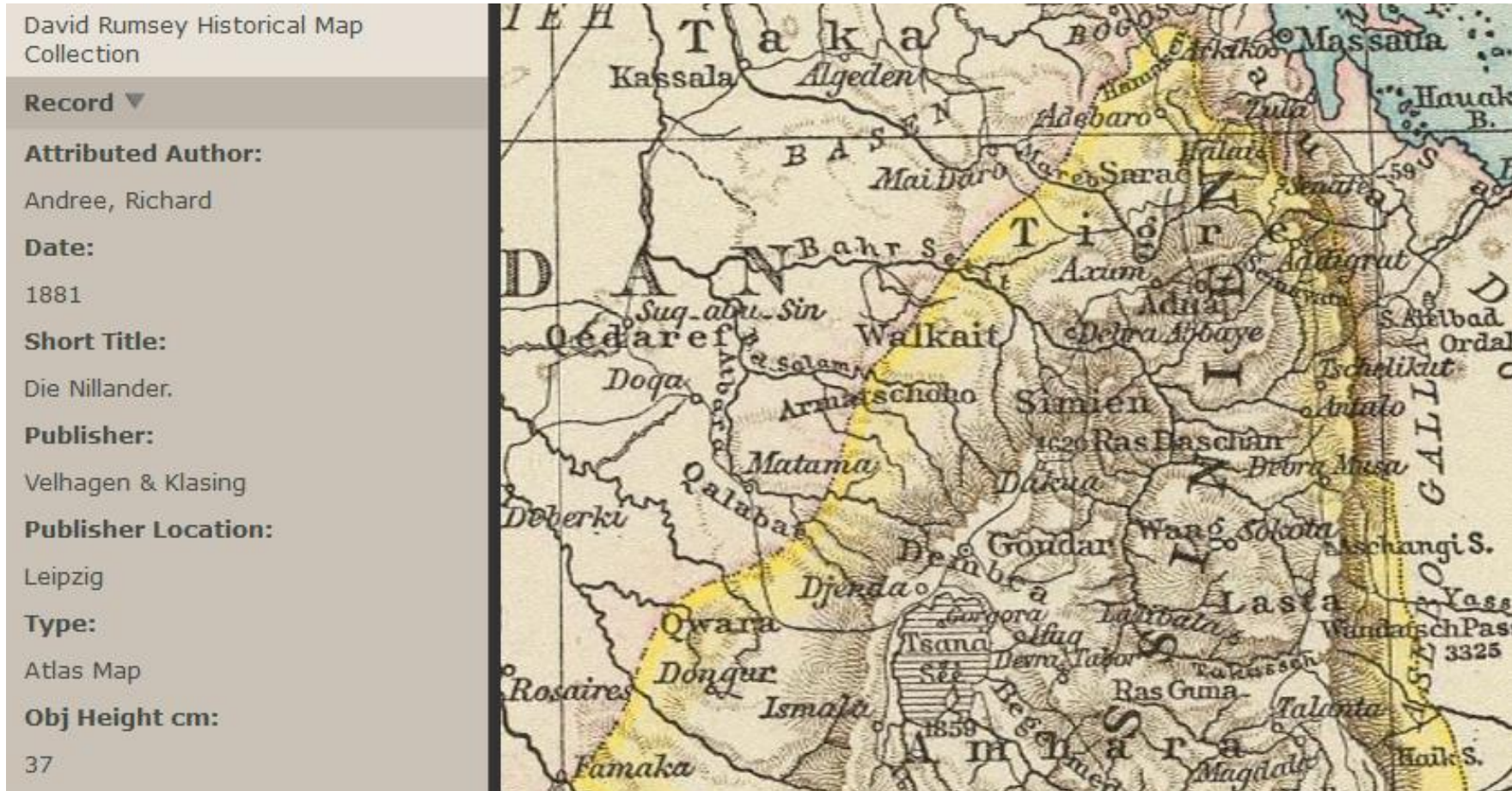
**Shelfmark(s):** General Reference Collection 9061. ee.8.

**UIN:** BLL01001021918

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c5/DYE%281880%29\\_p519\\_Map\\_of\\_NORTH-EASTERN\\_AFRICA.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c5/DYE%281880%29_p519_Map_of_NORTH-EASTERN_AFRICA.jpg)

## Andree, 1881

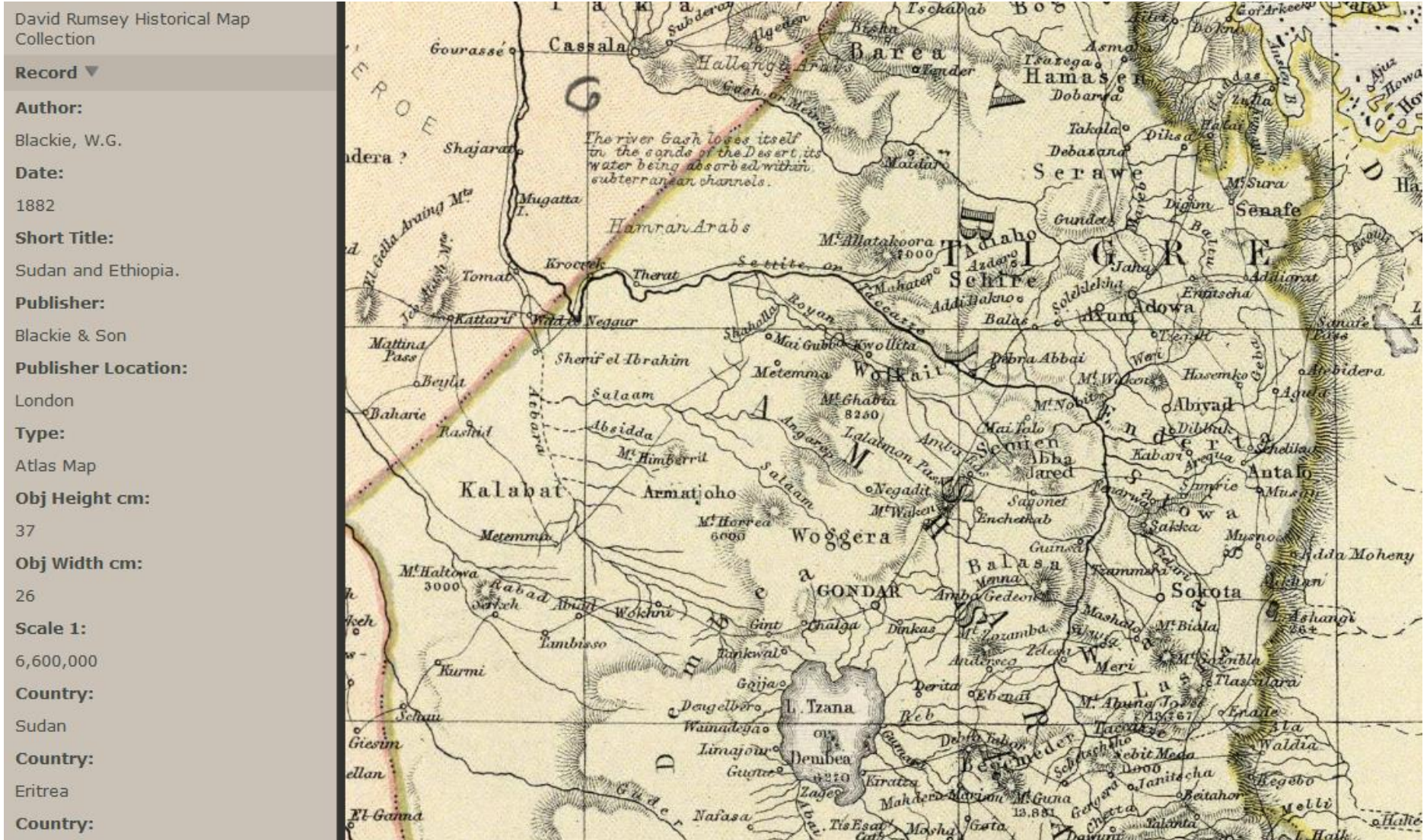
Internal boundaries not shown



<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



<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](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

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection	
<b>Record</b> ▼	
<b>Author:</b> Rand McNally and Company	
<b>Date:</b> 1889	
<b>Short Title:</b> Upper Nubia and Habesh or Abyssina.	
<b>Publisher:</b> Rand McNally	
<b>Publisher Location:</b> Chicago	
<b>Type:</b> Atlas Map	
<b>Obj Height cm:</b> 27	
<b>Obj Width cm:</b> 34	
<b>Scale 1:</b> 5,000,000	
<b>Note:</b> Countries in color; states outlined in color. Relief shown by hachures.	
<b>Reference:</b> P952.	
<b>Country:</b> Eritrea	

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

# Habenicht, 1891

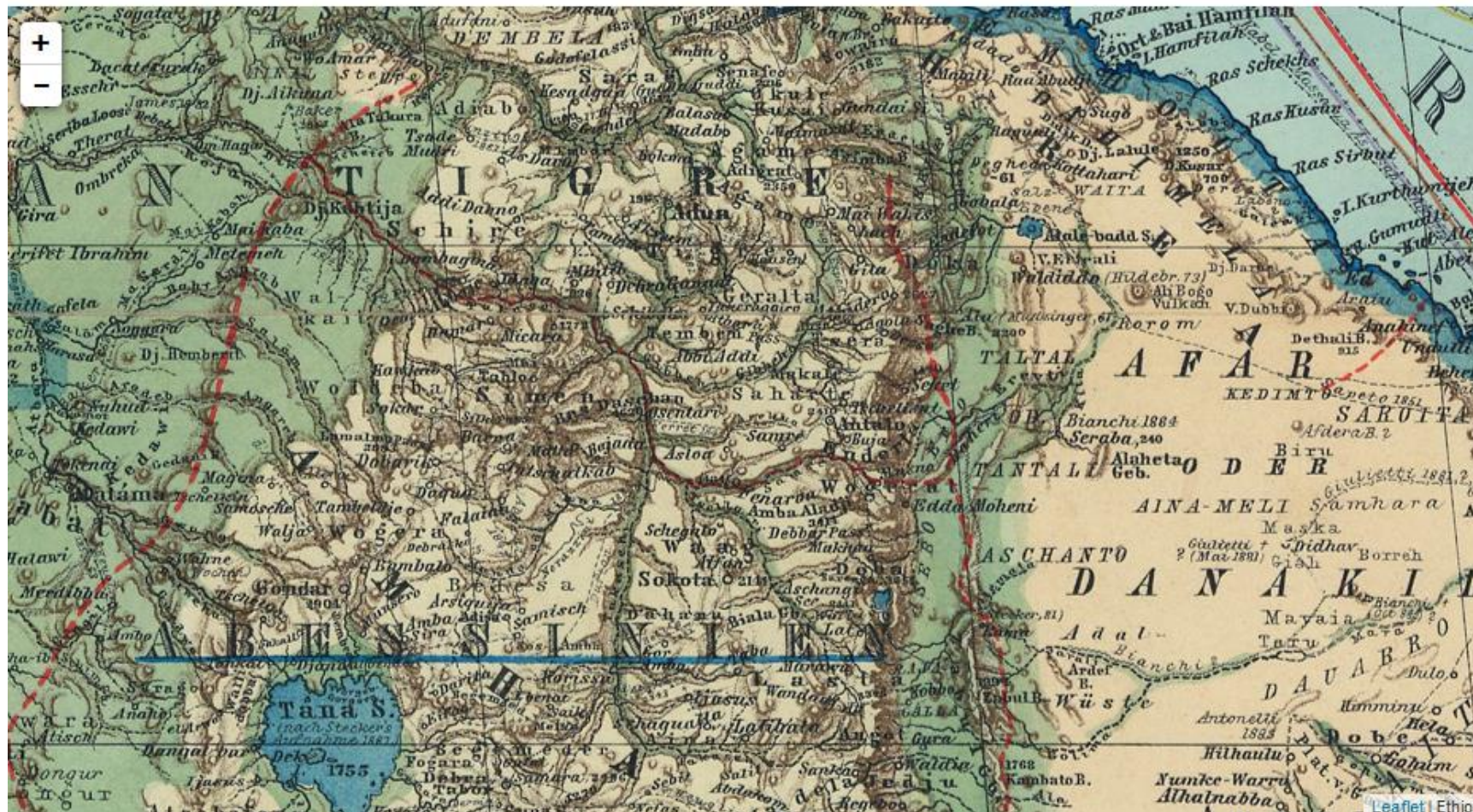
Border Amhara Tigre drawn on Tekeze R. in red colour.



## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

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



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=2](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=2)

# Johnston, 1893

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

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection	
<b>Record</b> ▼	
<b>Author:</b> Johnston, Alexander Keith	
<b>Date:</b> 1893	
<b>Short Title:</b> Upper Nubia and Abyssinia.	
<b>Publisher:</b> W. & A.K. Johnston	
<b>Publisher Location:</b> Edinburgh	
<b>Type:</b> Atlas Map	
<b>Obj Height cm:</b> 47	
<b>Obj Width cm:</b> 60	
<b>Scale 1:</b> 2,854,868	
<b>Note:</b> Countries and districts outlined in color. Relief shown by hachures. Four scales.	
<b>Reference:</b> cfP6269 (1894 ed.).	

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

<https://www.alamy.com/habesh-or-abyssinia-tigre-amhara-shoa-godjam-ethiopia-johnston-1892-old-map-image242553078.html>

# De Chaurand, 1894

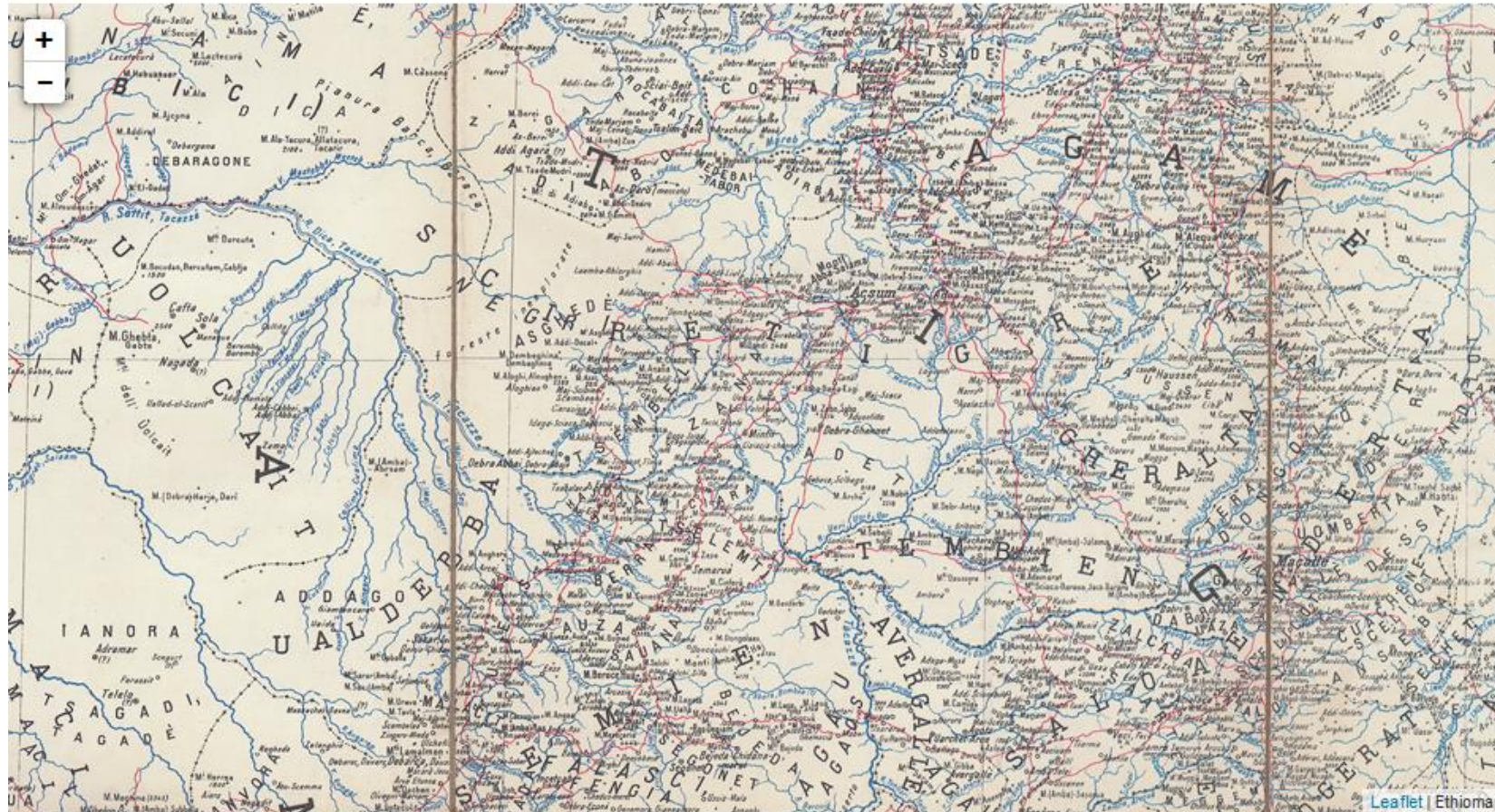
Internal border Amara-Tigre drawn on Tekeze (+.+.+ line); 1892 version does not display borders



## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

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

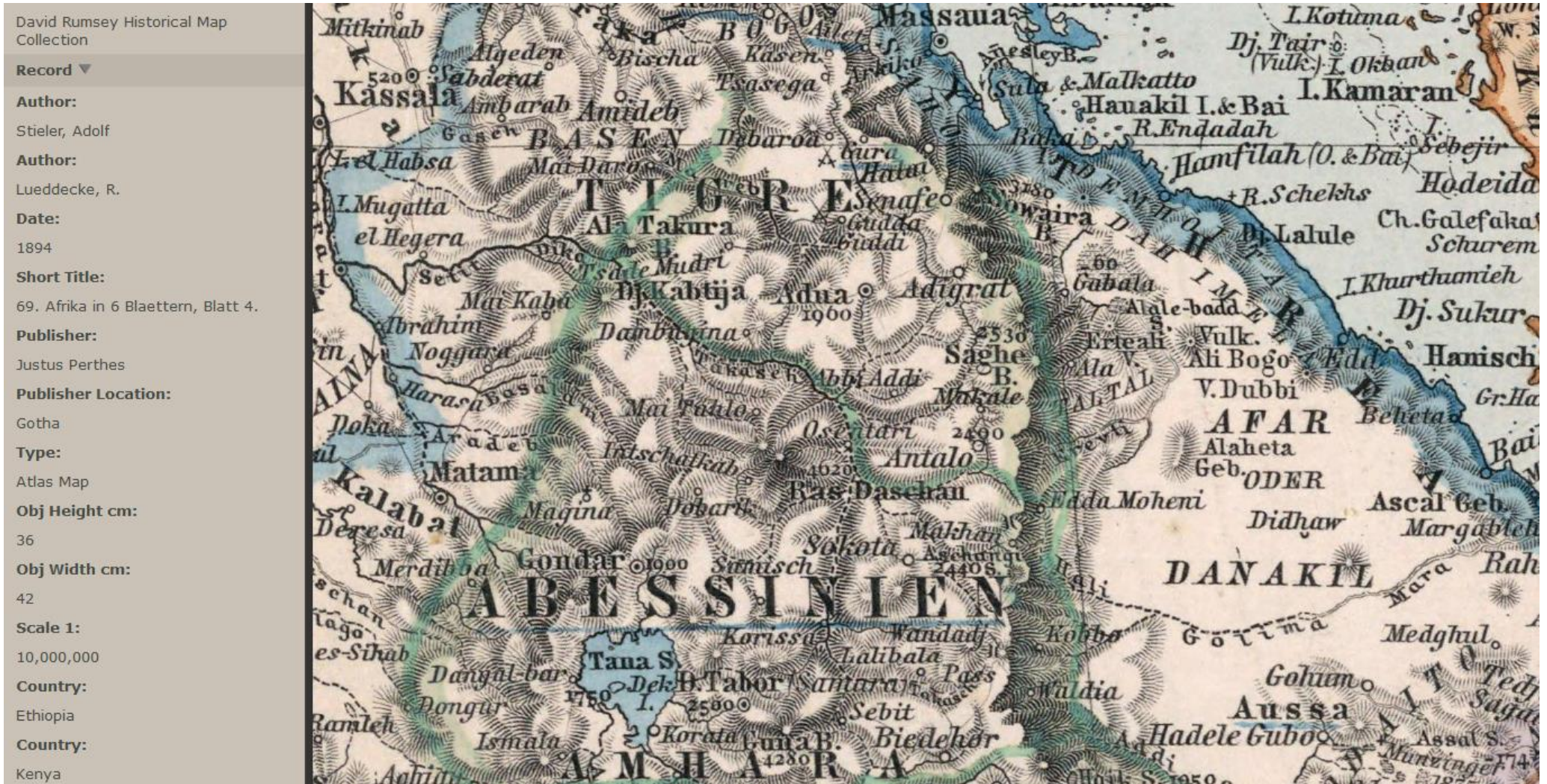


[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=61](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=61) <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g8330m.g2009578530/?sp=3>

[https://www.igmi.org/carte-antiche/digitale\\_300\\_dpi/carta-1617469319.3](https://www.igmi.org/carte-antiche/digitale_300_dpi/carta-1617469319.3)

## Stieler & Lueddecke, 1894

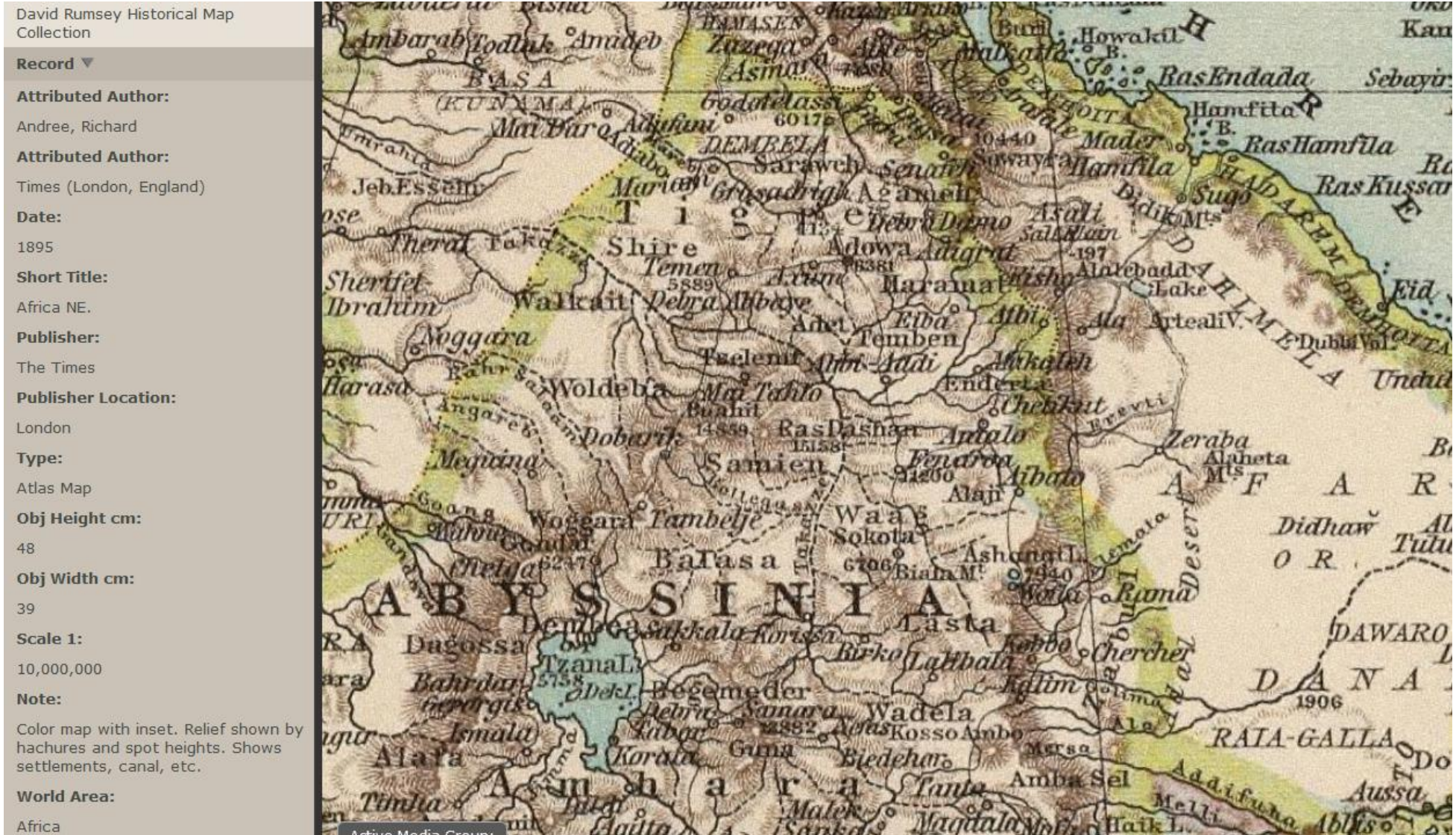
Internal border Amhara-Tigre on Tekeze R., but inconsistent. Italian territory not mapped.



<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

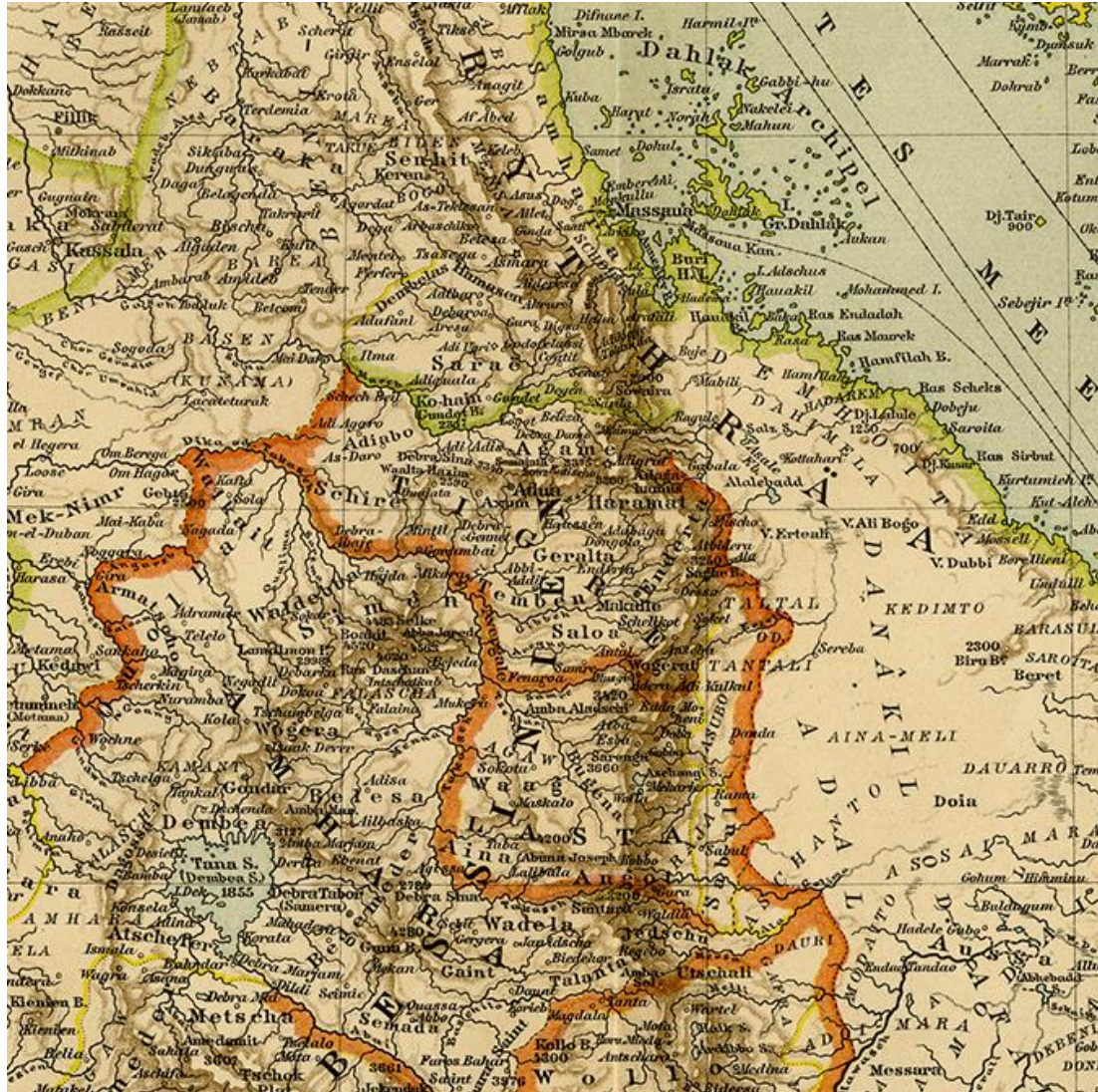


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~30738~1150672:Africa-NE->



## 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; Ualcit mapped as part of Amhara



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

# Rand McNally, 1897

No internal borders

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▾

**Author:**  
Rand McNally and Company

**Date:**  
1897

**Short Title:**  
Abyssinia, surrounding countries.

**Publisher:**  
Rand McNally

**Publisher Location:**  
Chicago

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
32

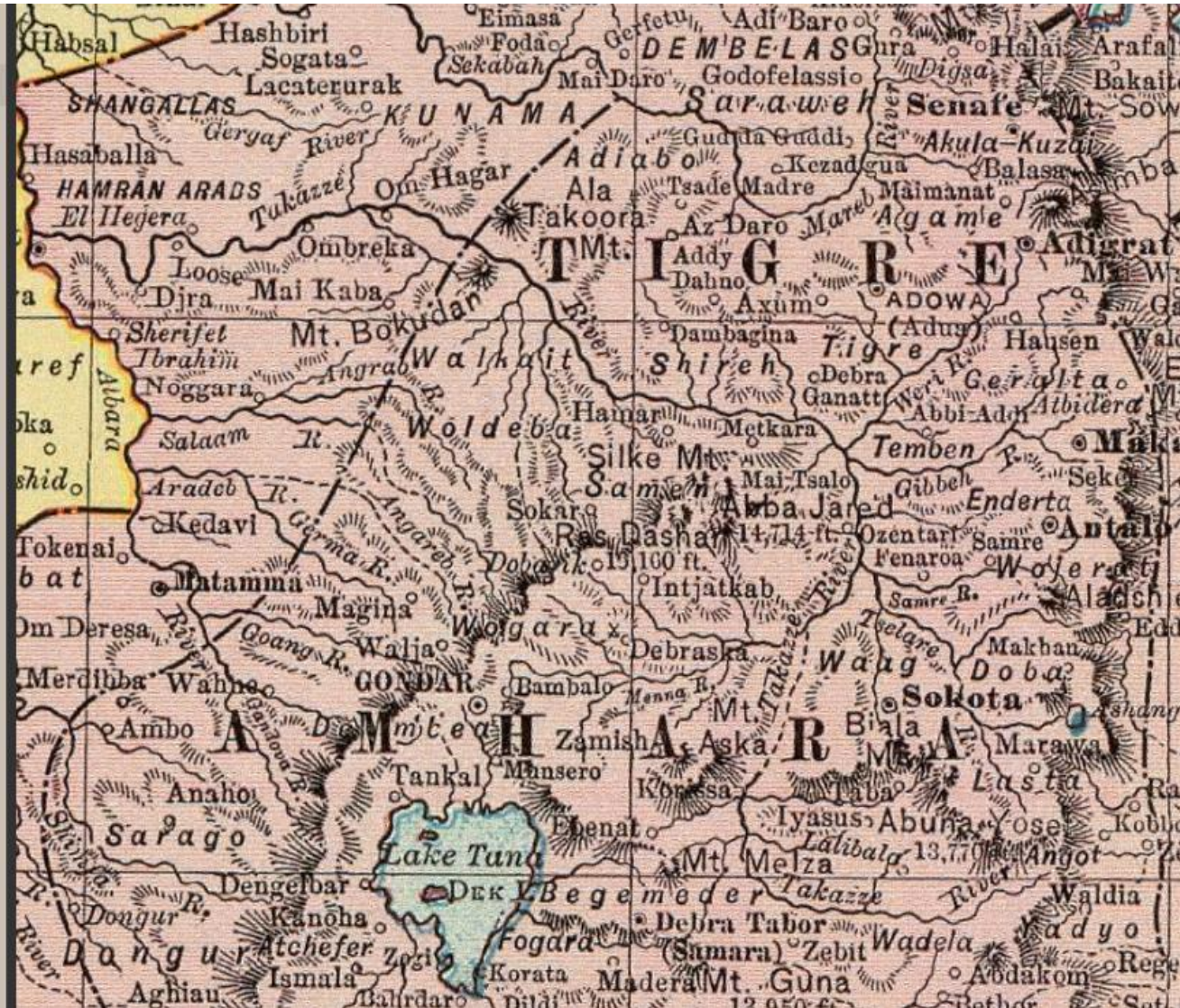
**Obj Width cm:**  
46

**Scale 1:**  
6,450,000

**Note:**  
Col. map. Relief shown by hachures and spot heights. Indexed. "Rand, McNally & Company's" in margin.

**Country:**  
Eritrea

**Country:**



<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



## Exploring historical maps of the Horn of Africa

Home Maps Help

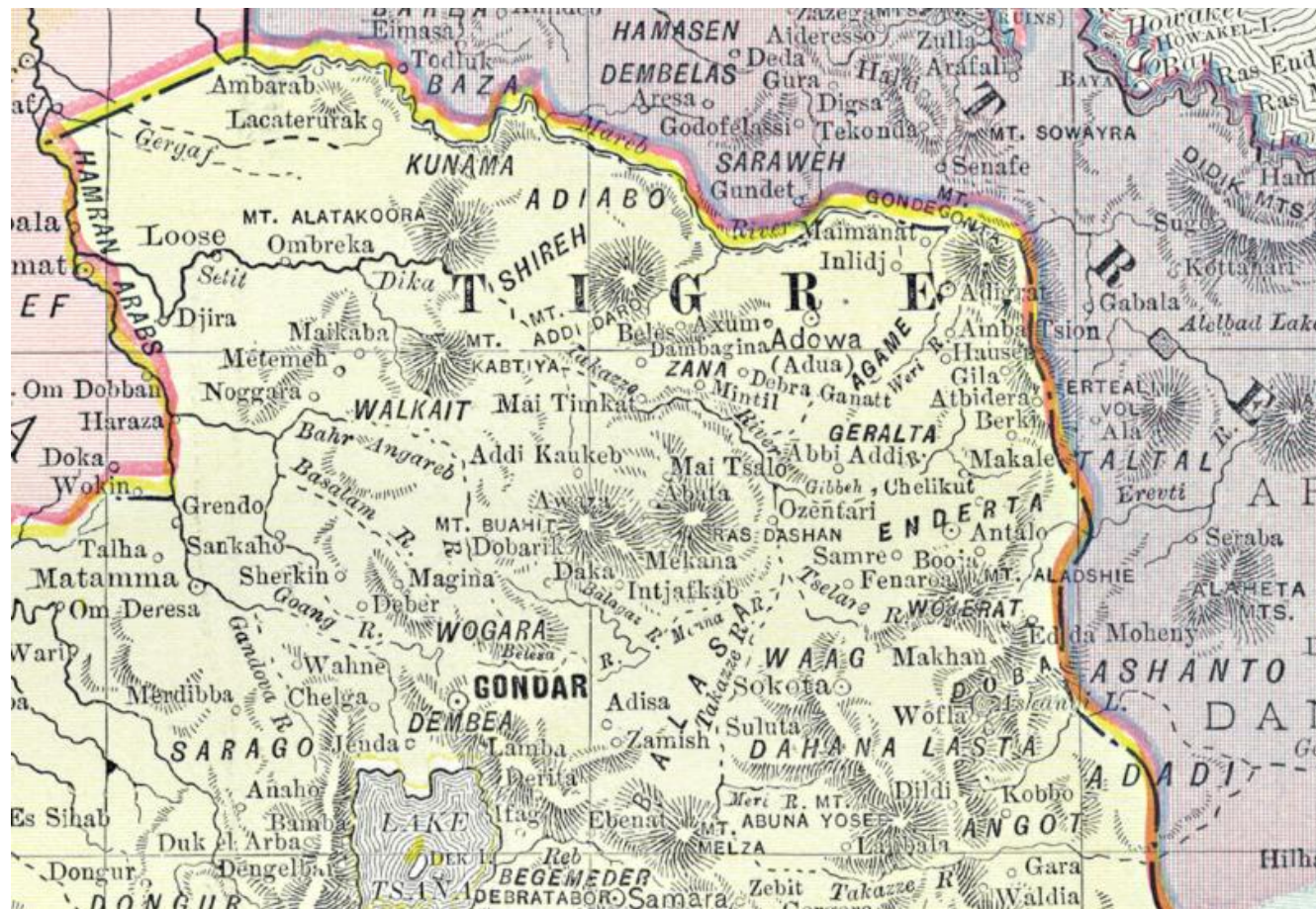
### Afrique - F° 29 - Gondar (Lannoy de Bissy - 1897)



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=30](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=30)

Rand McNally, 1898

No internal boundaries shown, lettering Tigre across Tekeze River



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## ☐ Descriptive Information

**Title**  
Abyssinia and the Surrounding Countries

**Creator**  
Rand McNally and Company

**Place of Publication**  
United States

**Date**  
1898

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

## Larousse, 1898

Lettering TIGRE across the whole northern Ethiopian highlands



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

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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.



# Cram, 1901 (similar in 1889 and 1893)

Internal borders not drawn

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection	
<b>Record</b> ▾	
<b>Author:</b>	
Cram, George Franklin	
<b>Date:</b>	
1901	
<b>Short Title:</b>	
Egypt, Abyssinia, Eritrea and Egyptian Sudan. Tasmania.	
<b>Publisher:</b>	
George F. Cram	
<b>Publisher Location:</b>	
Chicago	
<b>Type:</b>	
Atlas Map	
<b>Obj Height cm:</b>	
43	
<b>Obj Width cm:</b>	
67	
<b>Scale 1:</b>	
6,353,000	
<b>Note:</b>	
Border of map has a list of cities and populations, keyed to map. Relief shown by hachures. Prime meridians Washington D.C. and Greenwich. Countries and Tasmanian counties differentiated in full color.	

<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.

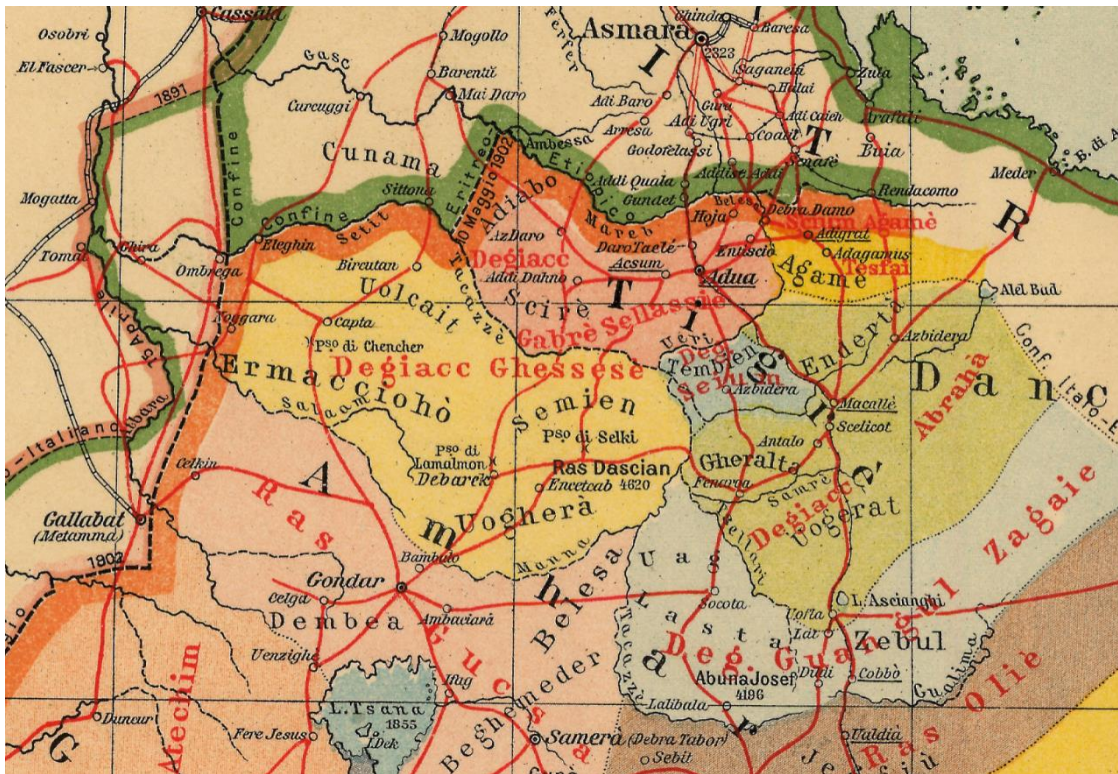
David Rumsey Historical Map Collection
<b>Record</b> ▾
<b>Author:</b>
W. & A.K. Johnston Limited
<b>Date:</b>
1906
<b>Short Title:</b>
Upper Nile and East Sudan. Abyssinia.
<b>Publisher:</b>
W. & A.K. Johnston Limited
<b>Publisher Location:</b>
Edinburgh; London
<b>Type:</b>
Atlas Map
<b>Obj Height cm:</b>
27
<b>Obj Width cm:</b>
45
<b>Scale 1:</b>
10,496,000
<b>Reference:</b>
P1078.
<b>Country:</b>
Egypt



<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 tributary to him.



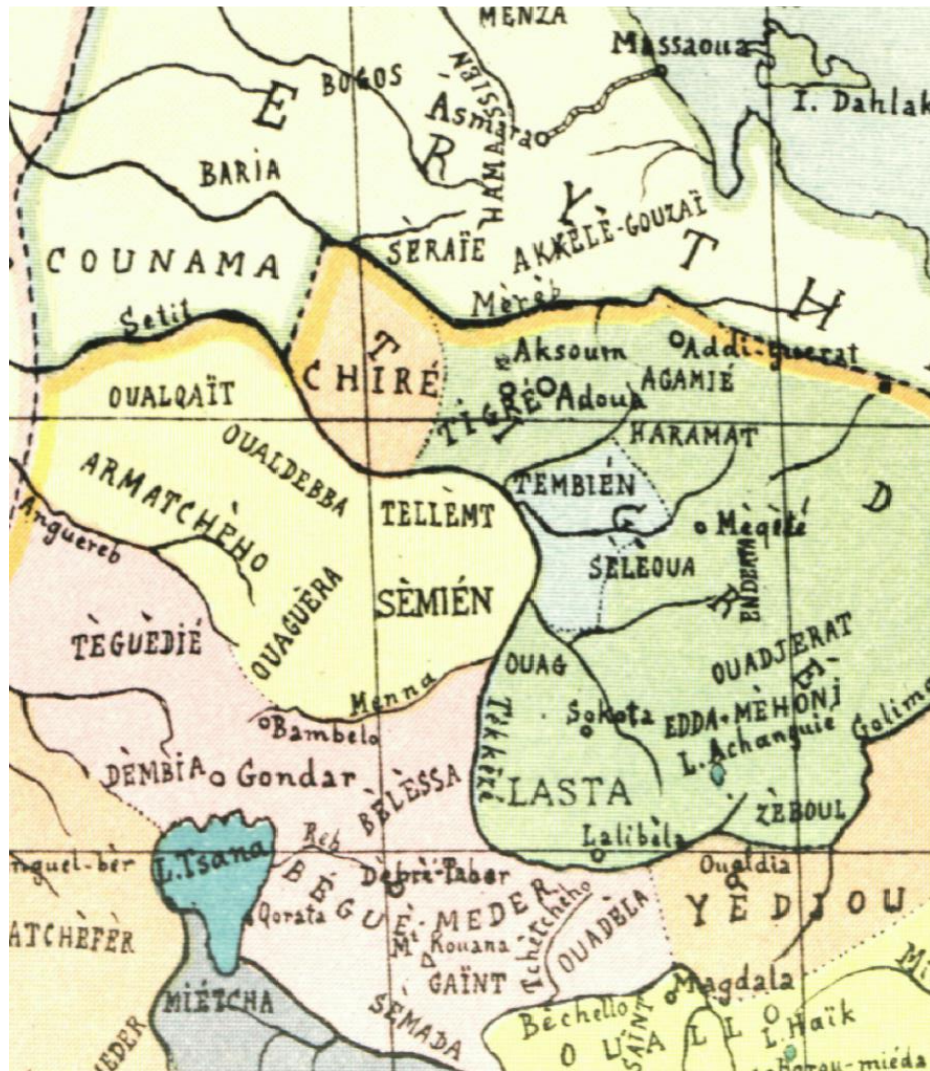
Home > American Geographical Society Library Digital Map Collection > Schizzo Dimostrativo della situazione politica  
**Schizzo Dimostrativo della situazione politica nell'Africa Orientale / Ist Geogr. Dott. G. de Agostini & C.**



<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 SELASSIE

Publiée et annotée

PAR

MAURICE DE COPPET

ANCIEN MINISTRE DE FRANCE EN ÉTHIOPIE.

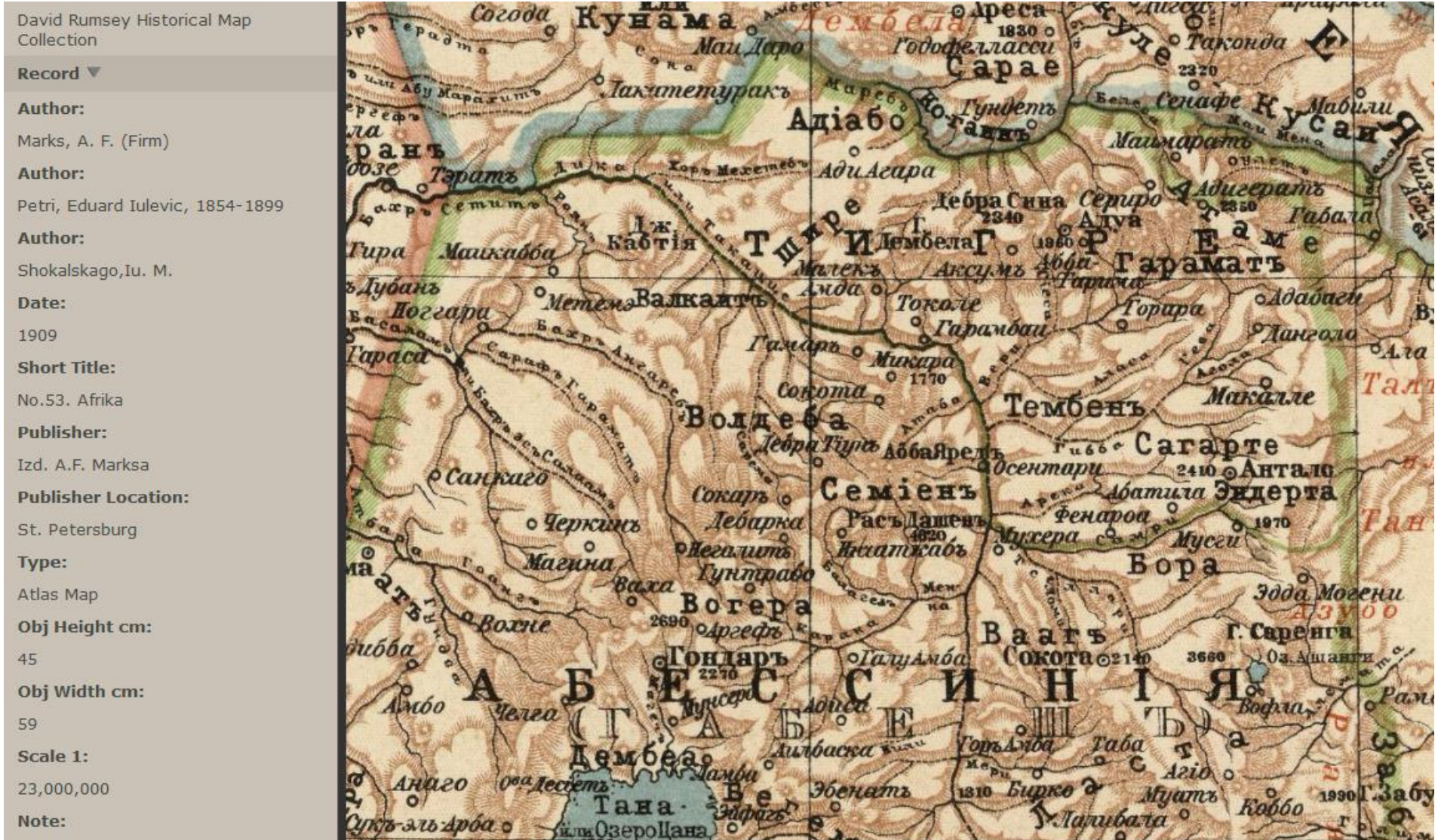
ATLAS



[http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cu/texts/ldpd\\_10249517\\_000/ldpd\\_10249517\\_000.pdf](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cu/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.

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection	
<b>Record</b> ▼	
<b>Author:</b>	
Johnston, W. & A.K.	
<b>Date:</b>	
1911	
<b>Short Title:</b>	
Upper Nubia and Abyssinia.	
<b>Publisher:</b>	
W. & A.K. Johnston	
<b>Publisher Location:</b>	
Edinburgh	
<b>Type:</b>	
Atlas Map	
<b>Obj Height cm:</b>	
47	
<b>Obj Width cm:</b>	
60	
<b>Scale 1:</b>	
2,854,868	
<b>Note:</b>	
Countries outlined in color. Relief shown by hachures. Three scales.	
<b>Reference:</b>	
cfP6269 (1894 ed.).	

<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

David Rumsey Historical Map  
Collection

Record ▾

Author:

Rand McNally and Company

Date:

1912

Short Title:

Abyssinia.

Publisher:

Rand McNally and Company

Publisher Location:

Chicago

Type:

Atlas Map

Obj Height cm:

41

Obj Width cm:

30

Scale 1:

6,399,360

Reference:

P3637b.

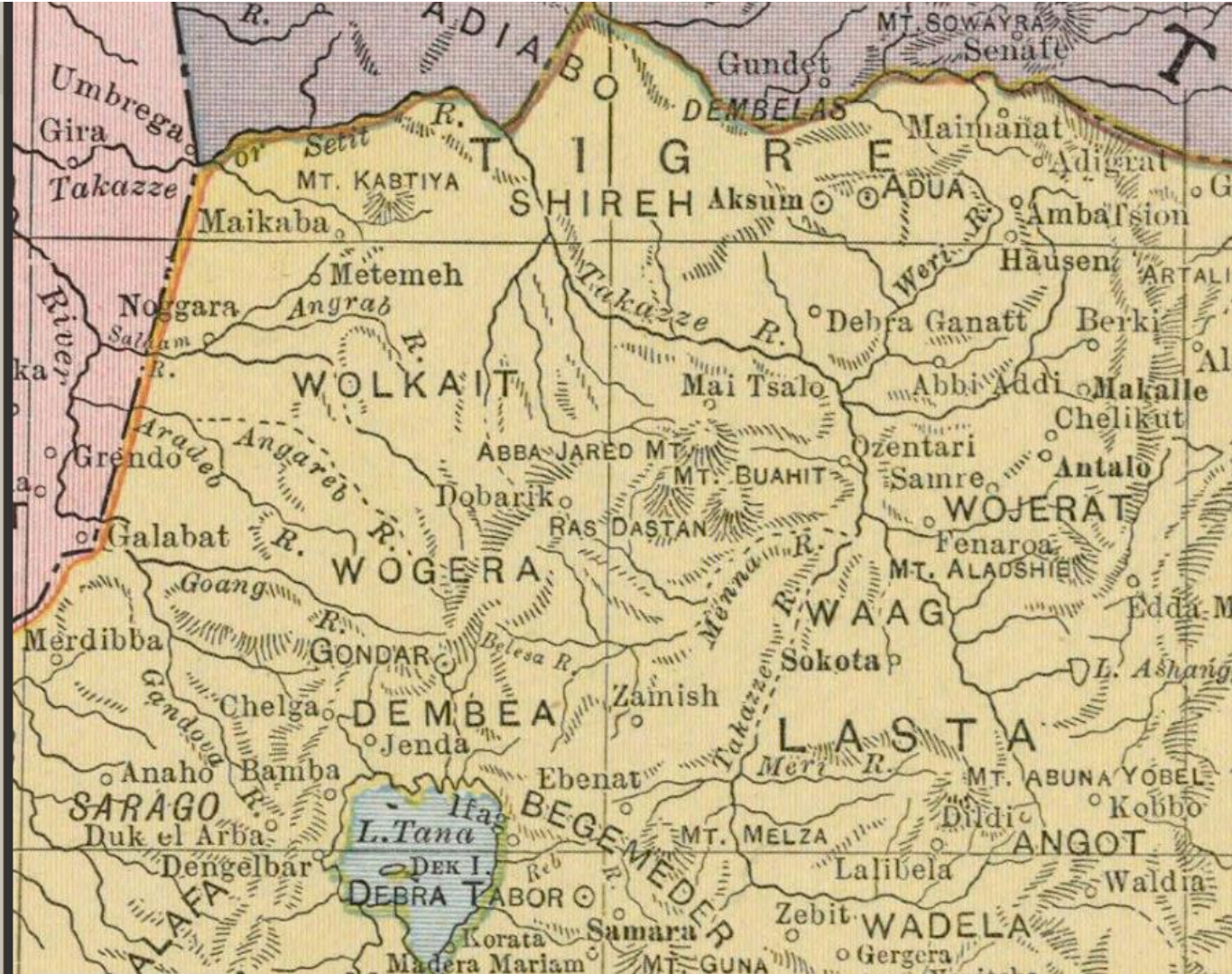
Country:

Ethiopia

Country:

Djiouti

Country:

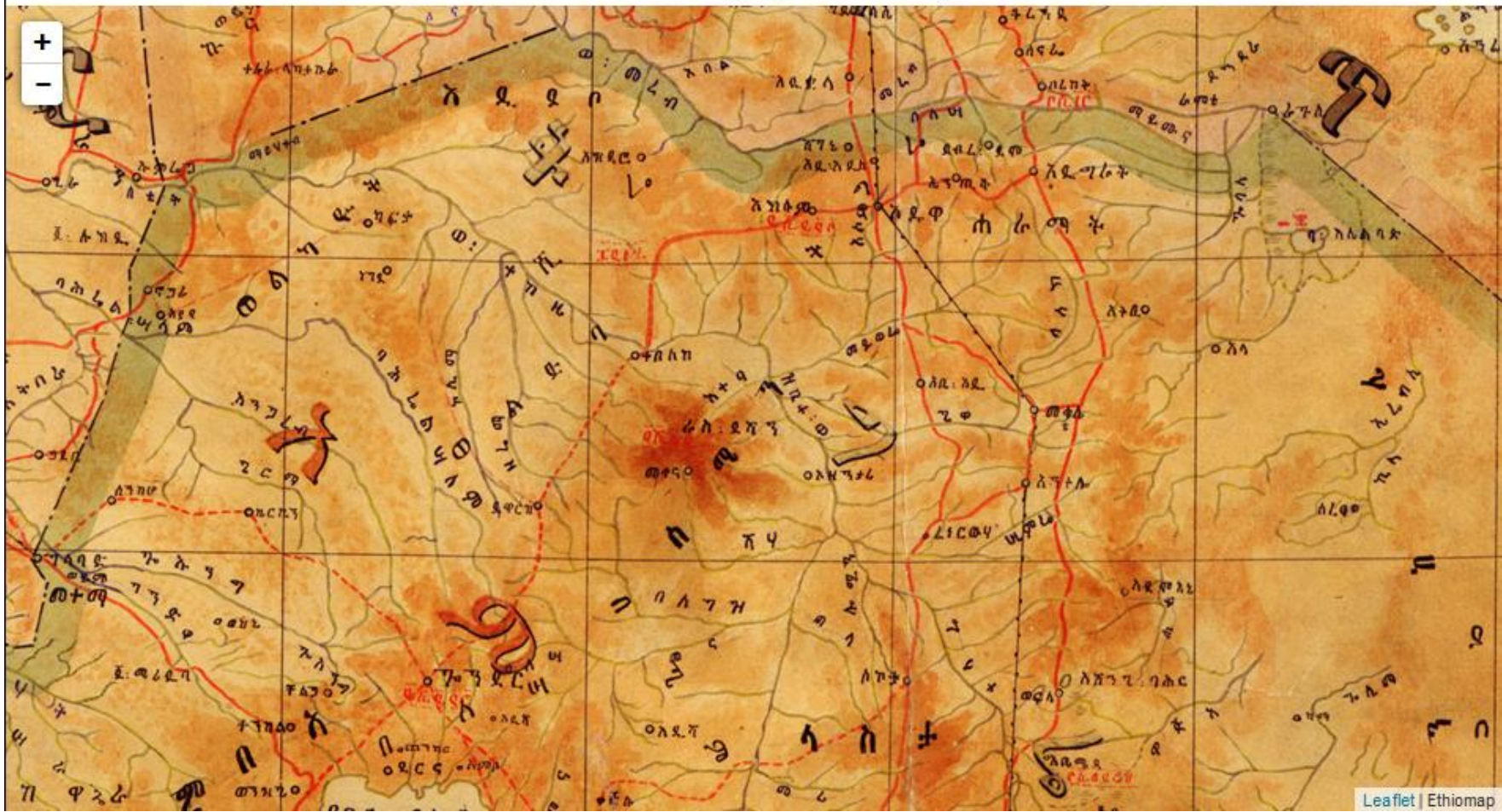


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~308634~90078214:Abyssinia->

# Papazian, 1923

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

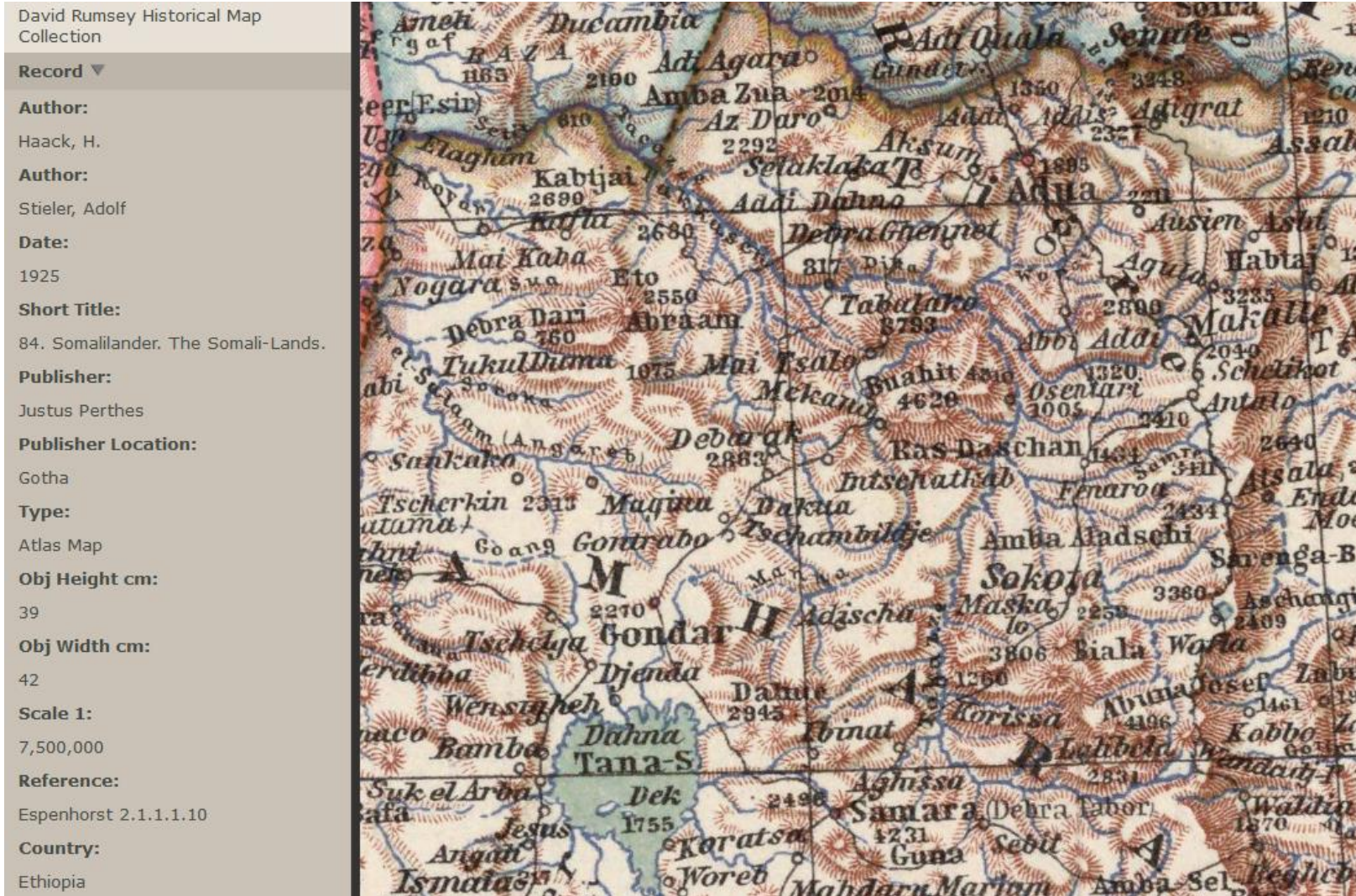
የኢትዮጵያ ካረታ (Papazian - 1923)



[https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id\\_article=9](https://ethiomap.huma-num.fr/public/?id_article=9)

## Haack & Stieler, 1925

Internal border not shown; Eritrean border according to Italian claims

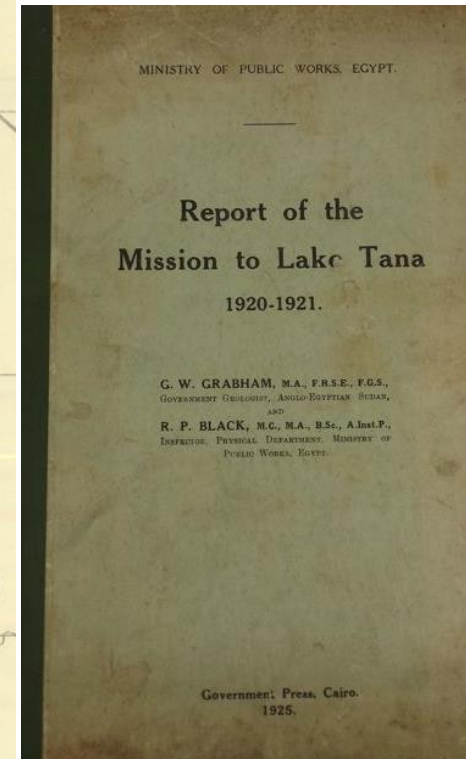
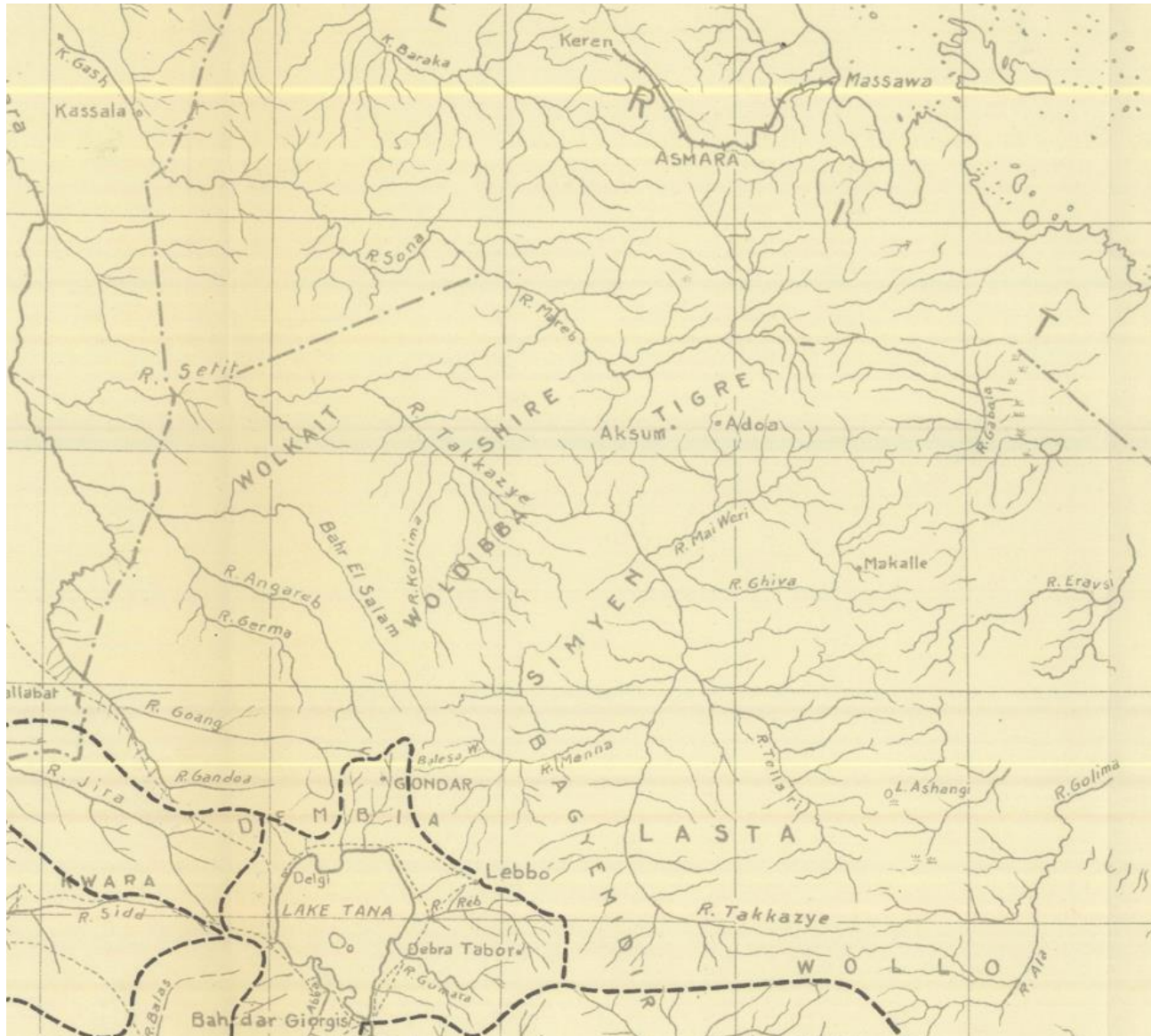


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~265654~90040053:84--Somaliländer--The-Somali-Lands->



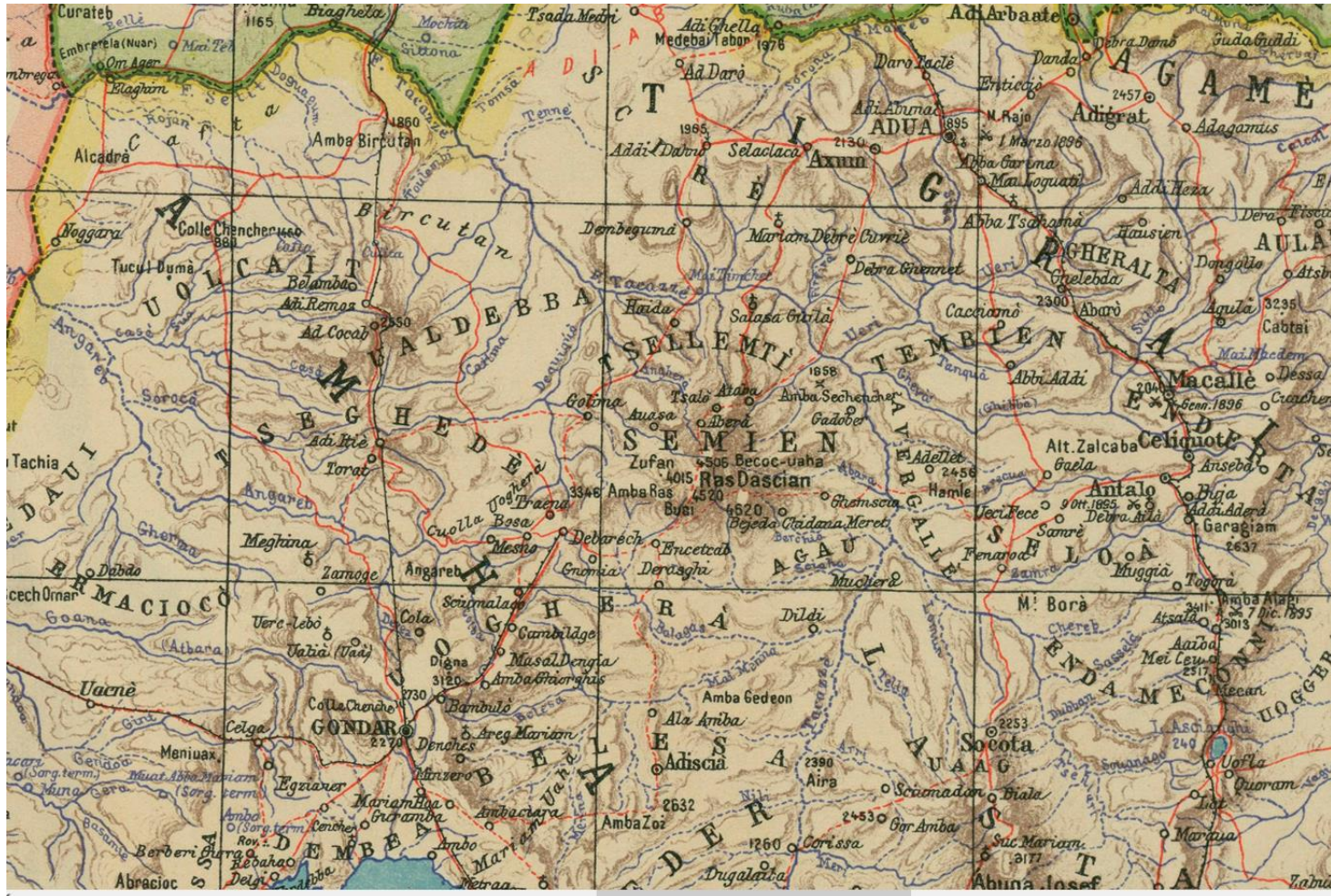
Grabham & Black, 1925.

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



English: Africa Orientale - Carta dimostrativa fisico-politica costruita / redatta e disegnata da Achille Dardano, Ministero delle Colonie. Ufficio studi e propaganda

1925

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Achille Dardano (1870–1938)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1925 - Africa Orientale - Carta dimostrativa fisico-politica.jpg](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

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

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

**Record** ▼

**Author:**  
Touring club italiano

**Date:**  
1929

**Short Title:**  
116-17. Eritrea, Etiopia, Somalia.

**Publisher:**  
Touring club italiano

**Publisher Location:**  
Milano

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

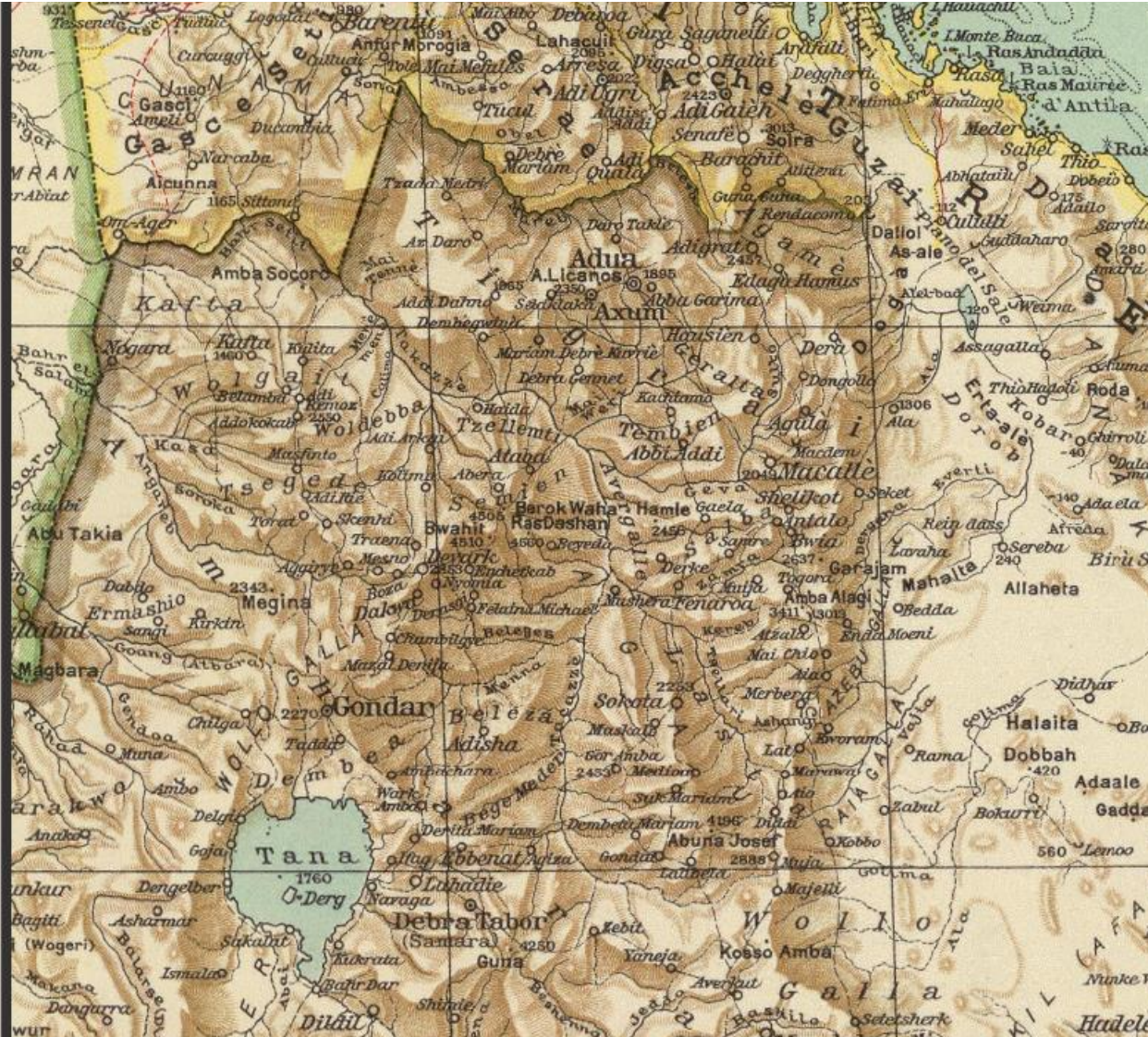
**Obj Height cm:**  
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**Obj Width cm:**  
45

**Scale 1:**  
5,000,000

**Note:**  
Color map. Relief shown by hachures and spot heights; depths by isolines. Includes 1:2,500,000 scale insets of parts of Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia.

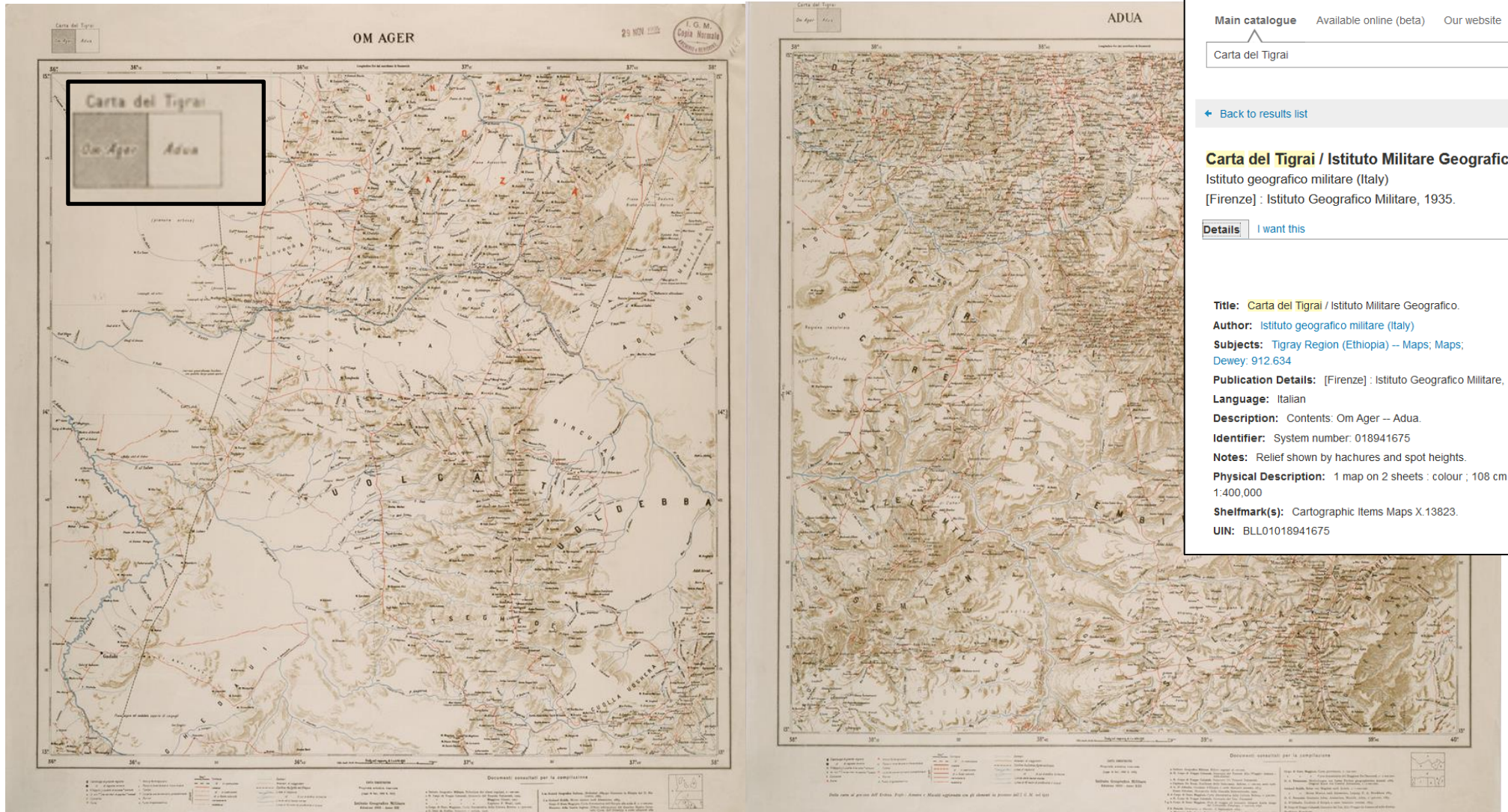
**Country:**  
Eritrea



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

# IGMI, 1935

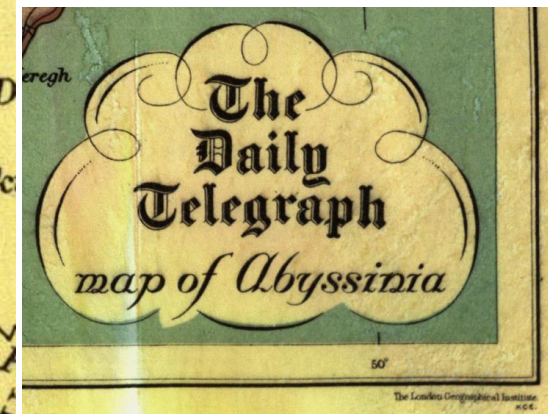
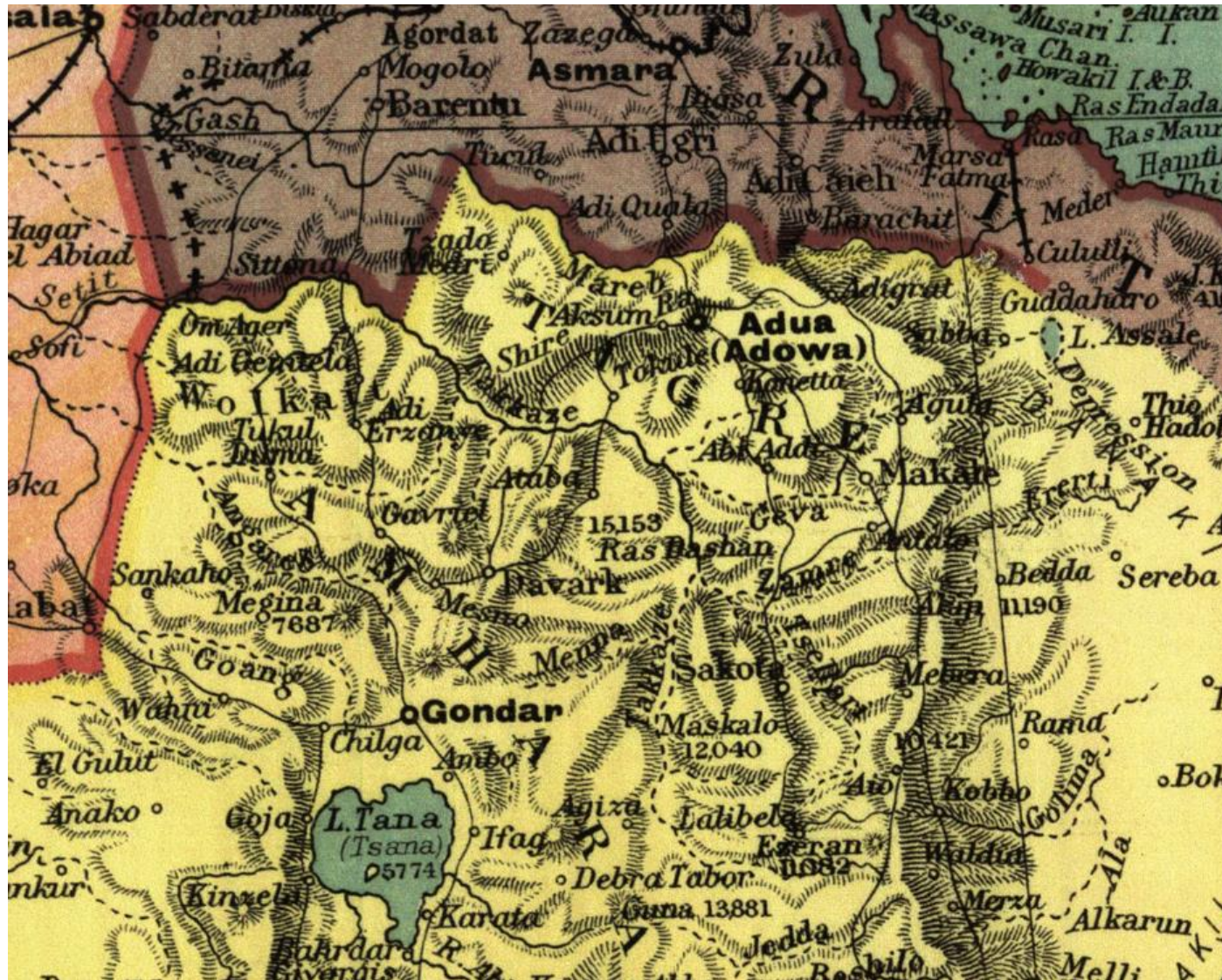
“Carta del Tigray”, one map on two sheets, before Italian occupation



<http://explore.bl.uk/BLVU1:LSCOP-ALL:BLL01018941675>; [https://search.nls.uk/permalink/f/sbbkgr/44NLS\\_ALMA21433089100004341](https://search.nls.uk/permalink/f/sbbkgr/44NLS_ALMA21433089100004341);  
[https://www.igmi.org/en/carte-antiche/colori\\_a1/carta-1617469408.27](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](https://www.igmi.org/en/carte-antiche/digitale_300_dpi/carta-1617469408.75)

# The Daily Telegraph, 1935.

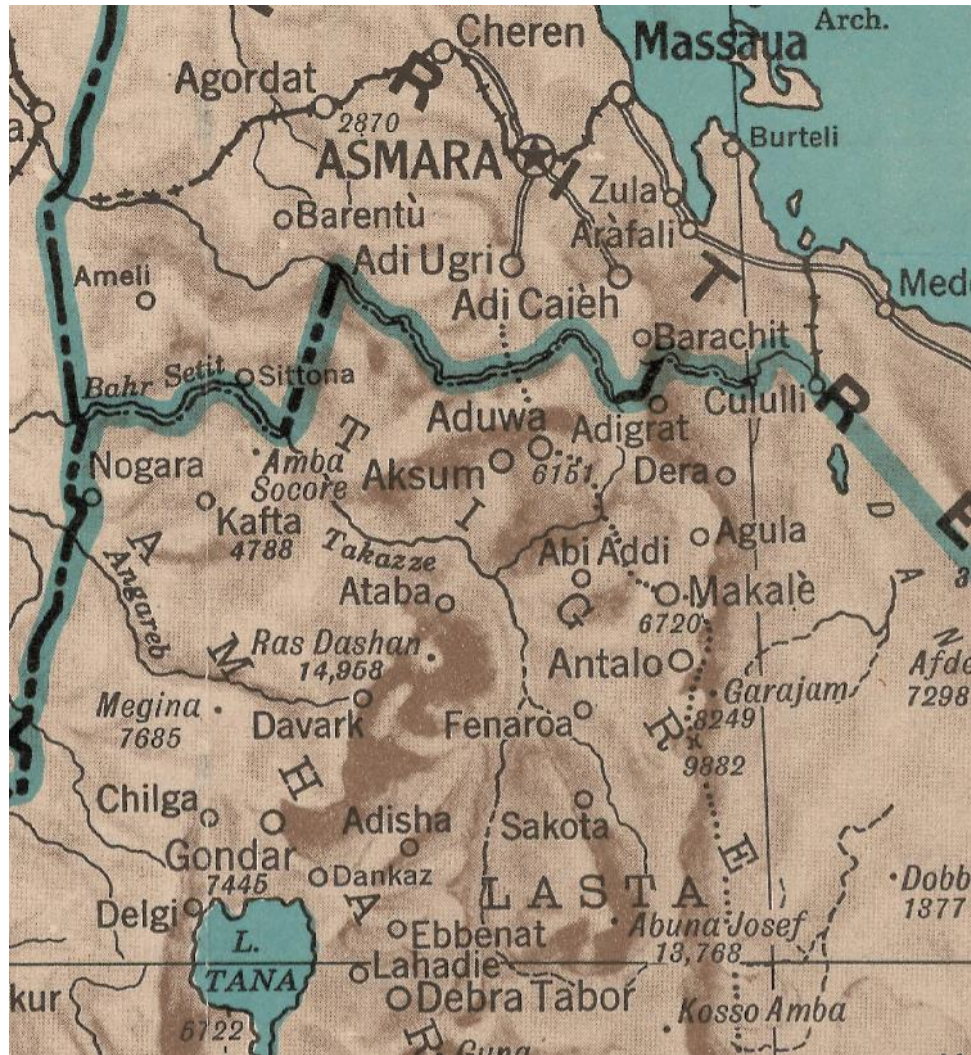
No internal borders shown. Similar map published in 1935 by The Times.



(map from private collection)

## Hammond, 1935

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



Map of Ethiopia and adjoining territories

Ethiopia 1935

1935

C.S. Hammond & Co. Inc.

Ethiopia - Maps

Africa

Ethiopia

Includes 2 inset maps, location map and population comparison diagram.

cartographic image

Still Image

Color

1:6,336,000

American Geographical Society Library - Maps

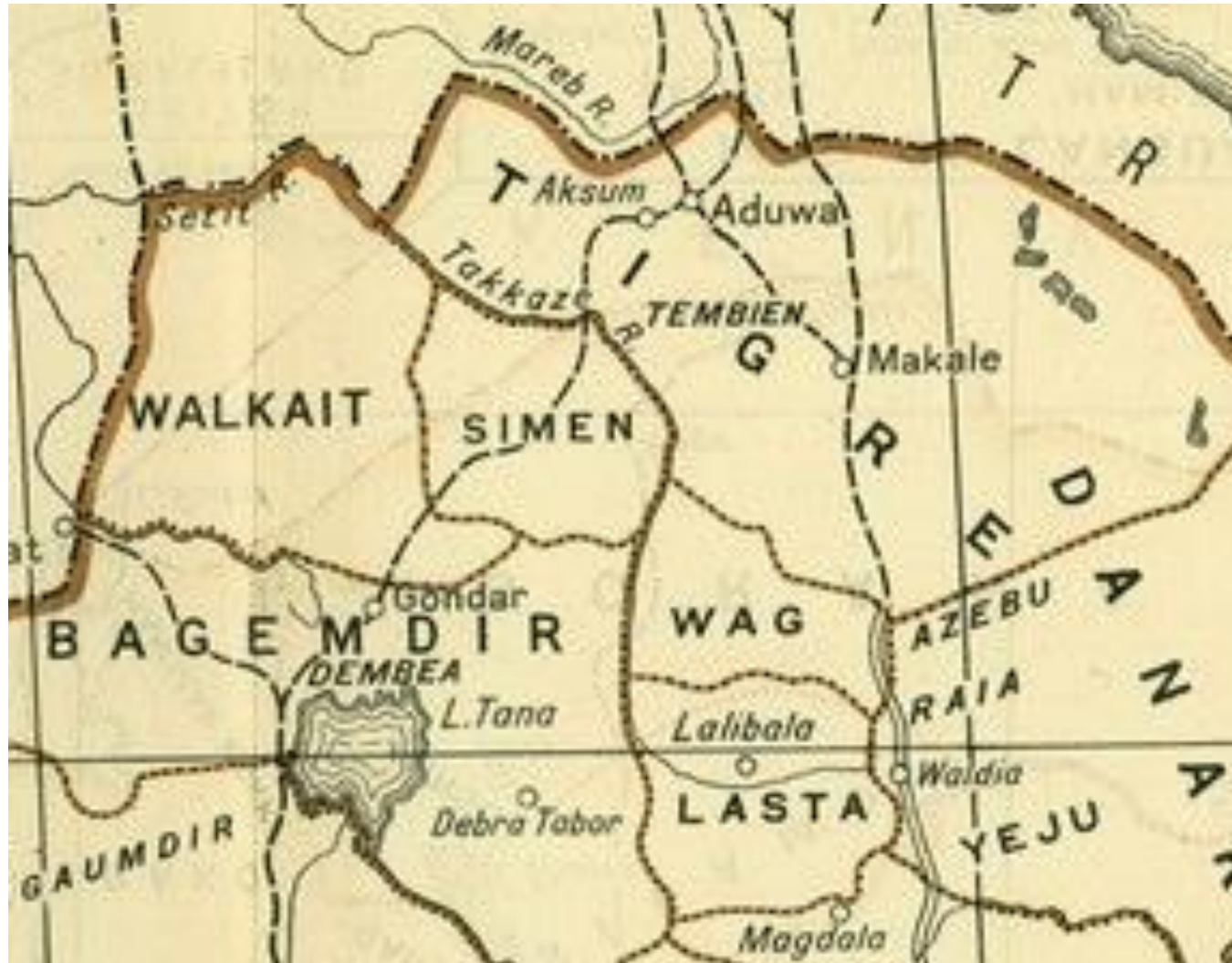
351 A-[1935]

American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

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

## Perham, 1935

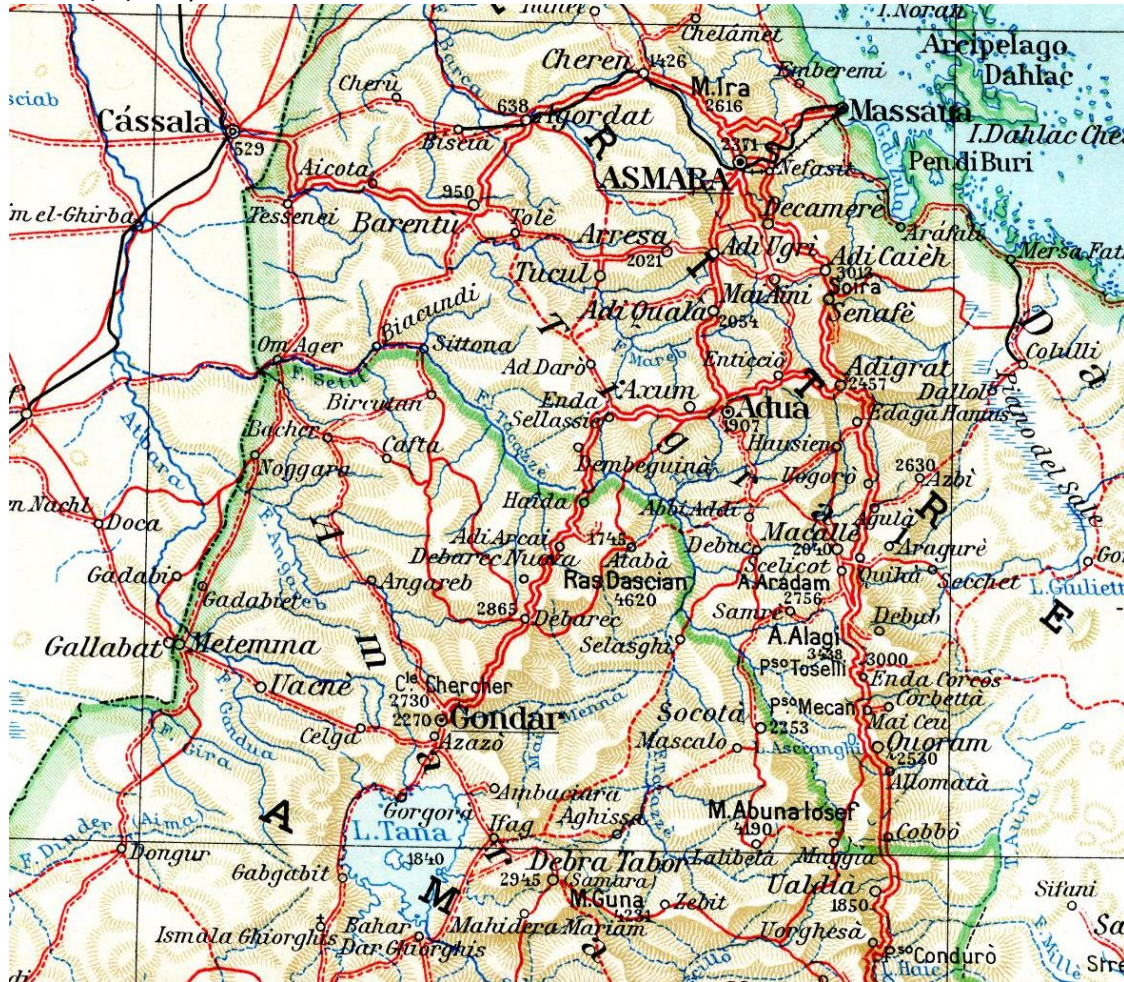
1935 situation, published in 1948. No direct border between Bagemdir and Tigre.



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 Eritrean southern frontier lost its status of international boundary, as Eritrea was attached to Tigray, becoming a province of the newly formed AOI (40). The administrative borders are clearly represented on this map. Border between Eritrea/Tigray 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 (41). Maps in 1939-1941 show a different situation.



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PAGE 1 117 Results

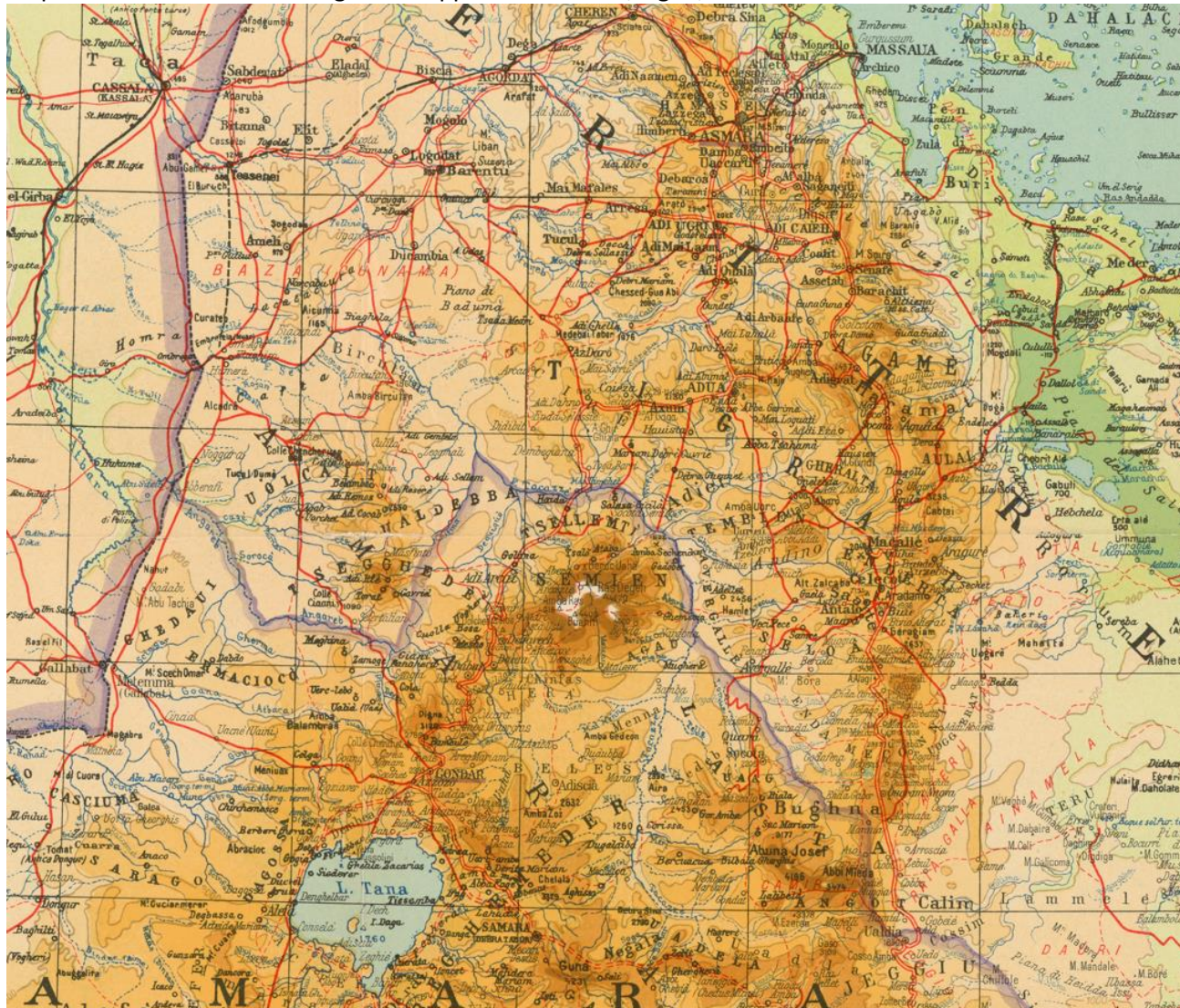
1 BOOK **Africa orientale italiana.**  
Touring club italiano.  
1938  
Shelved Under: Touring club italiano.

[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](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, 42, 43). 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/Tigray; Tselemti and Dima included in Amara. Compare to next page, and De Agostini, 1941.



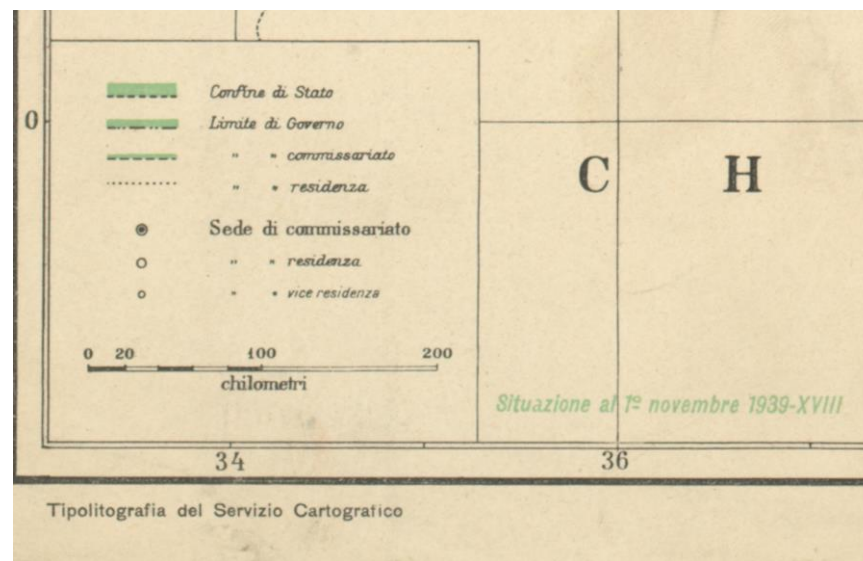
Africa orientale Italiana : carta dimostrativa fisico-politica / Ministero Dell' Italiana ufficio studi servizio cartografico. Costruita, redatta e disegnata di Achille Dardano  
Dardano, Achille \*1870-1938\*  
Italia / Ministero dell'Africa Italiana / Ufficio Studi  
3. ed. aggiornata al 31 dicembre 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

Kart. C 6510<3>  
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

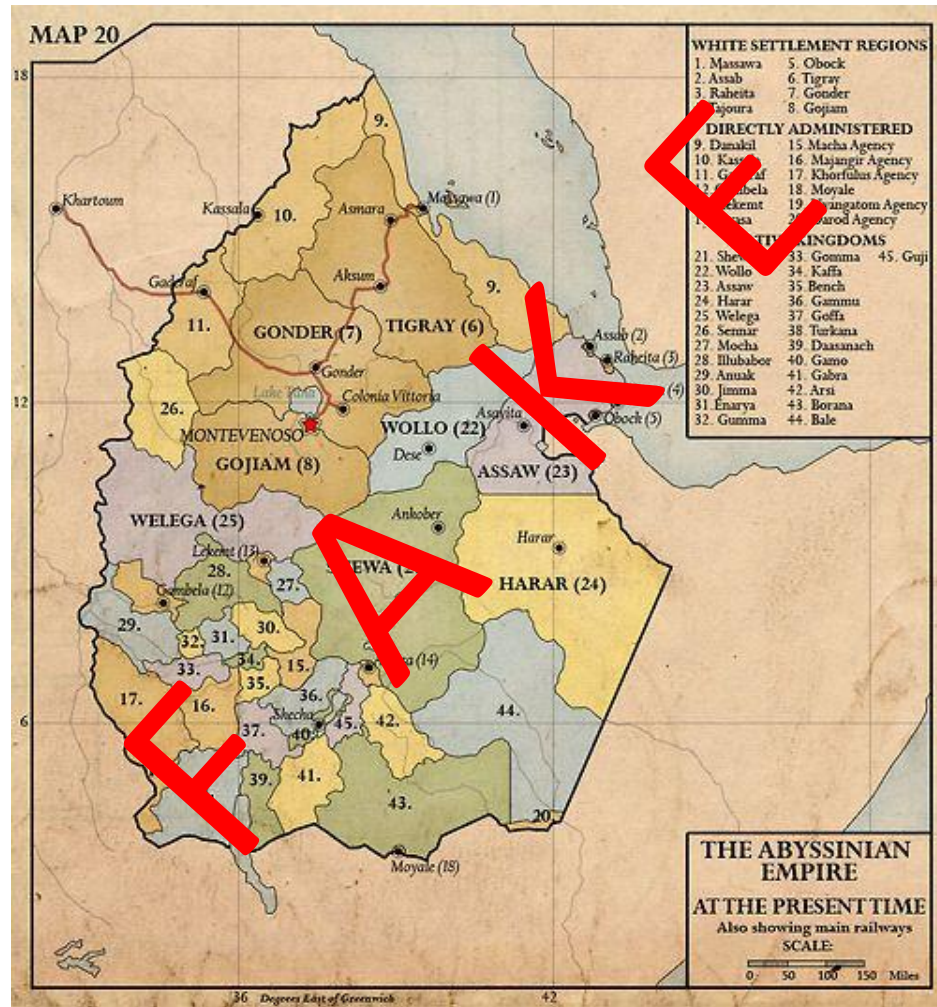
### Note Bibliografiche

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 SC03.D14963F blu

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

## Thomasten, ca. 1940 – fake map

Not used in the meta-analysis.



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

## De Agostini, 1941

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



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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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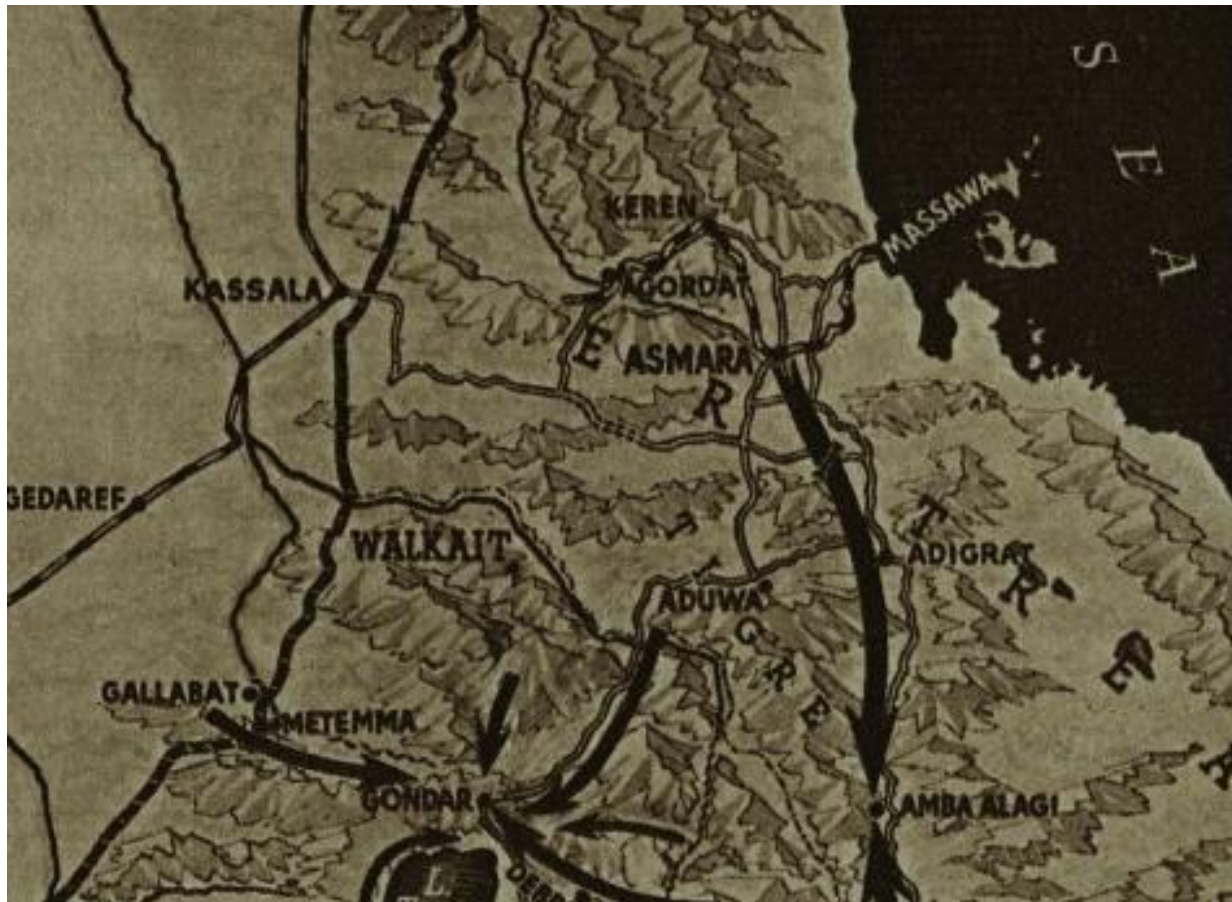
1 Results

1 MAP  
Dalla cirenaica all'Etiopia, Egitto e Sudan Anglo-Egiziano.  
Istituto geografico De Agostini.  
1941  
Available at Earth Sciences & Map Library  
Earth Science/Map Collection Map Case B  
(G8330 1941 .I8) >

[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](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

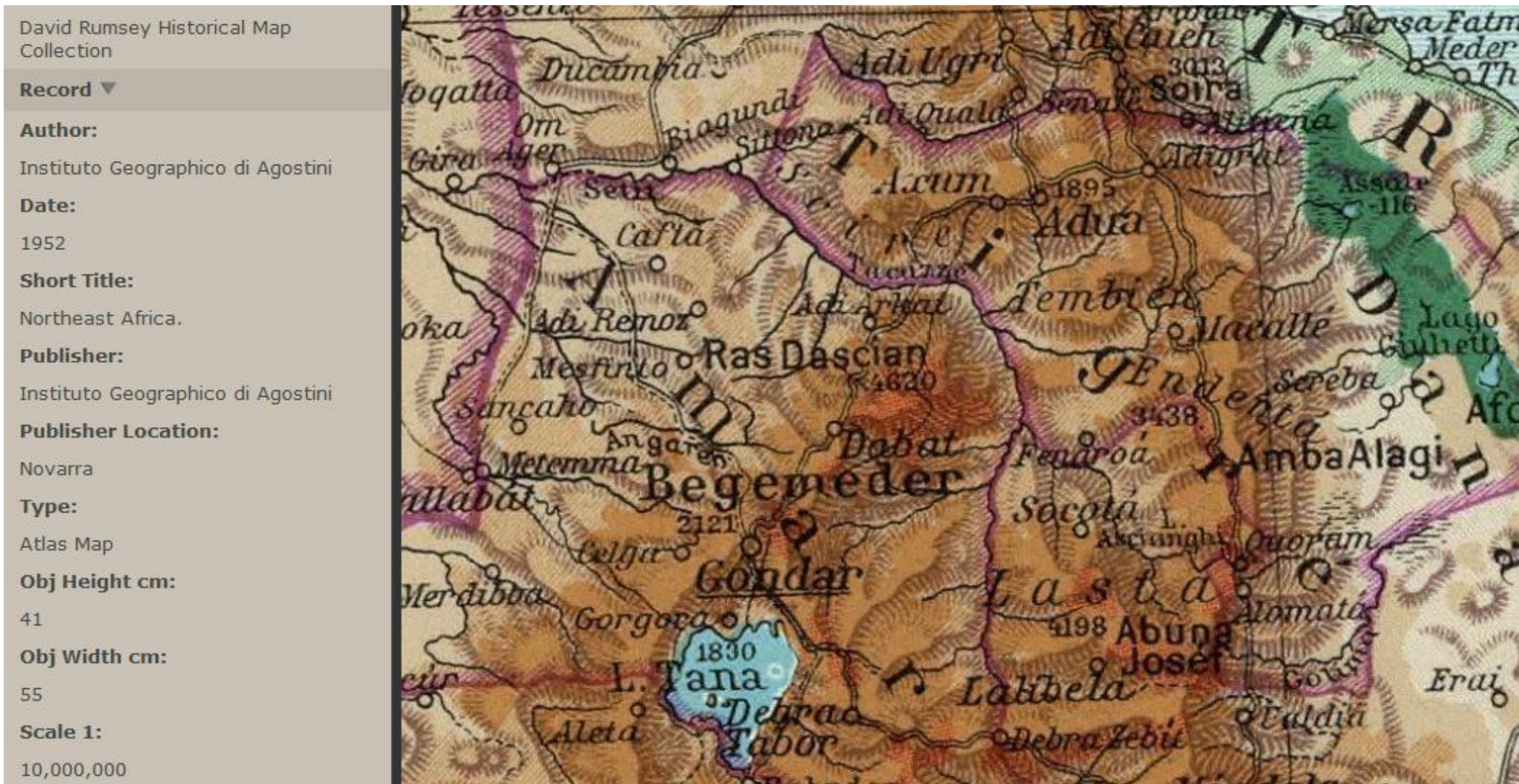
The maps in this book about the British warfare against the Italian army in Ethiopia reused the borders drawn on the 1938 Italian maps, and, hence, put the border between Eritrea/Tigre and Amara on Tekeze River.



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

## De Agostini, 1952

Border on Tacazze.



<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~212786~5500703:Northeast-Africa->

## Bayer, 1953

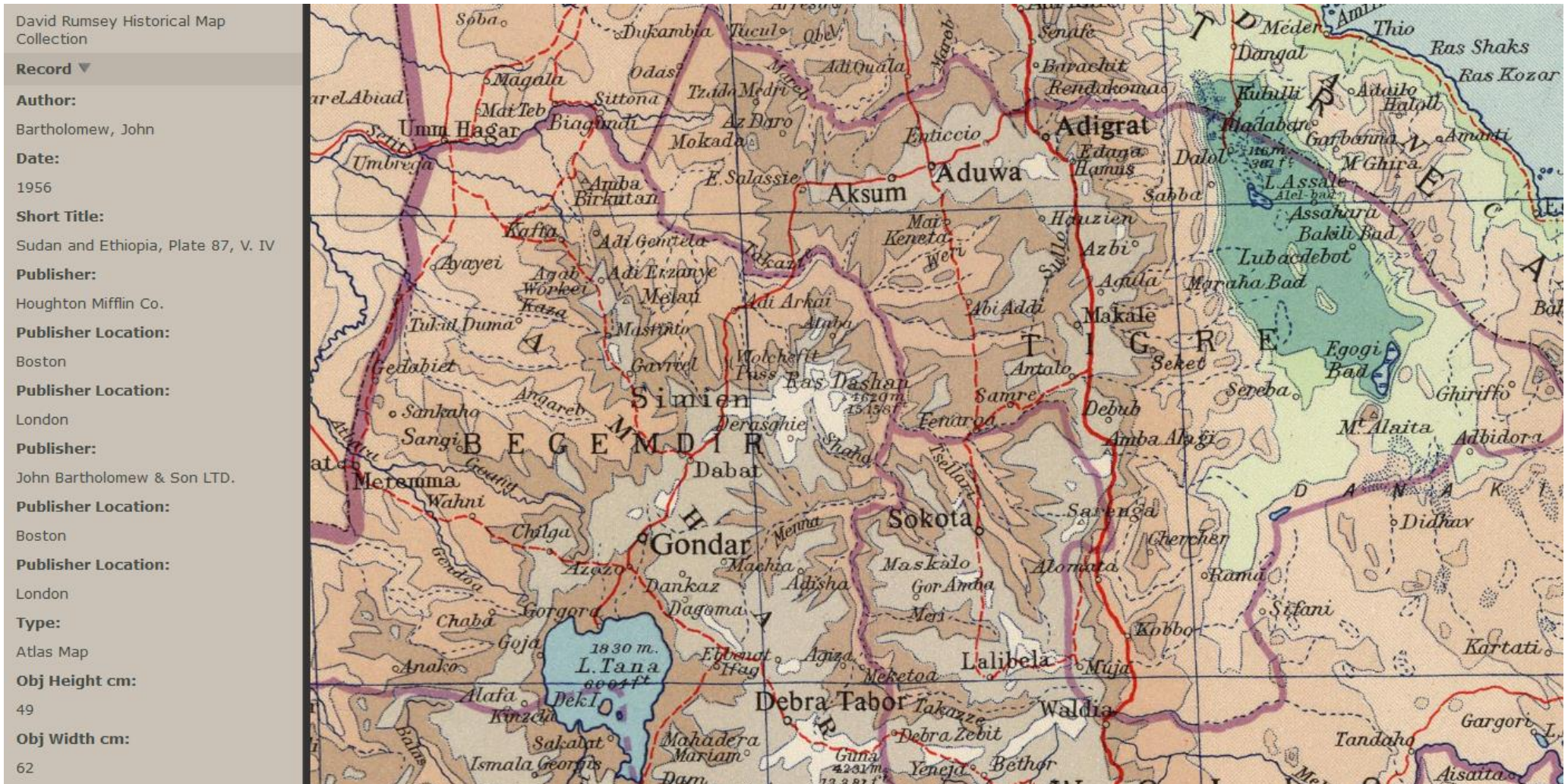
Internal borders not drawn



<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



David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▼

**Author:**  
Bartholomew, John

**Date:**  
1956

**Short Title:**  
Sudan and Ethiopia, Plate 87, V. IV

**Publisher:**  
Houghton Mifflin Co.

**Publisher Location:**  
Boston

**Publisher Location:**  
London

**Publisher:**  
John Bartholomew & Son LTD.

**Publisher Location:**  
Boston

**Publisher Location:**  
London

**Type:**  
Atlas Map

**Obj Height cm:**  
49

**Obj Width cm:**  
62

<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

## Africa, Countries of the Nile

Afrika, landen van de Nijl 1 : 7920000

Afrika, landen van de Nijl, Egypte, Libië, Soudan, Ts  
Ethiopië, Somalië, Kenia, Oeganda, Centraal Afrika  
Republiek, DR Congo, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi,  
Jordanië, Saoedi-Arabië

56

Sheet Number

Undefined

Serial Number

Undefined

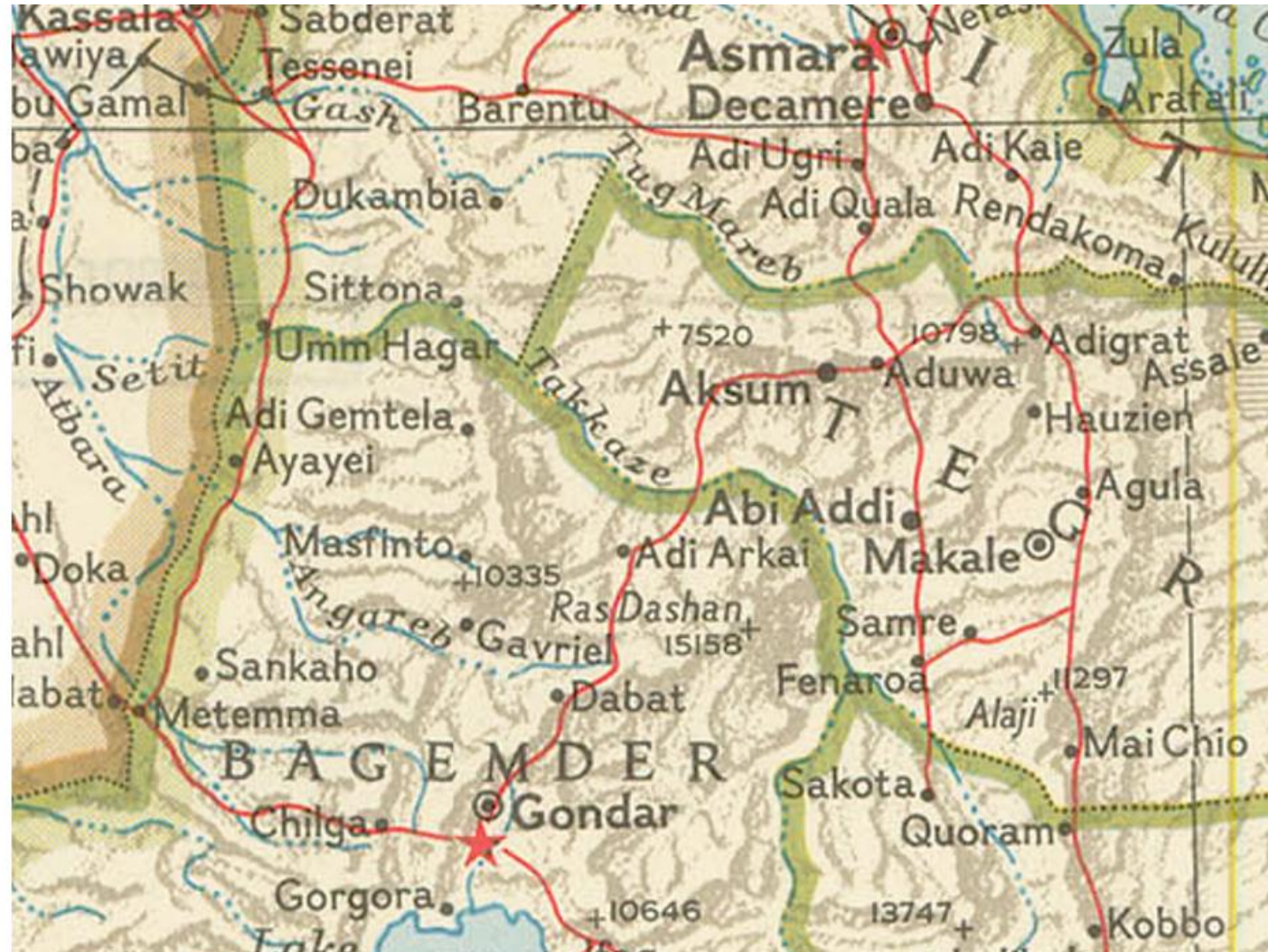
Edition

National Geographic Society

Publisher

1963

Washington D.C.



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

# USSR, 1967

Border Begemder/Tigre on Tekeze

David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

Record ▾

Author:

USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Date:

1967

Short Title:

170-171. Africa, Equatorial. The World Atlas.

Publisher:

USSR

Publisher Location:

Moscow

Type:

Atlas Map

Obj Height cm:

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Obj Width cm:

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Scale 1:

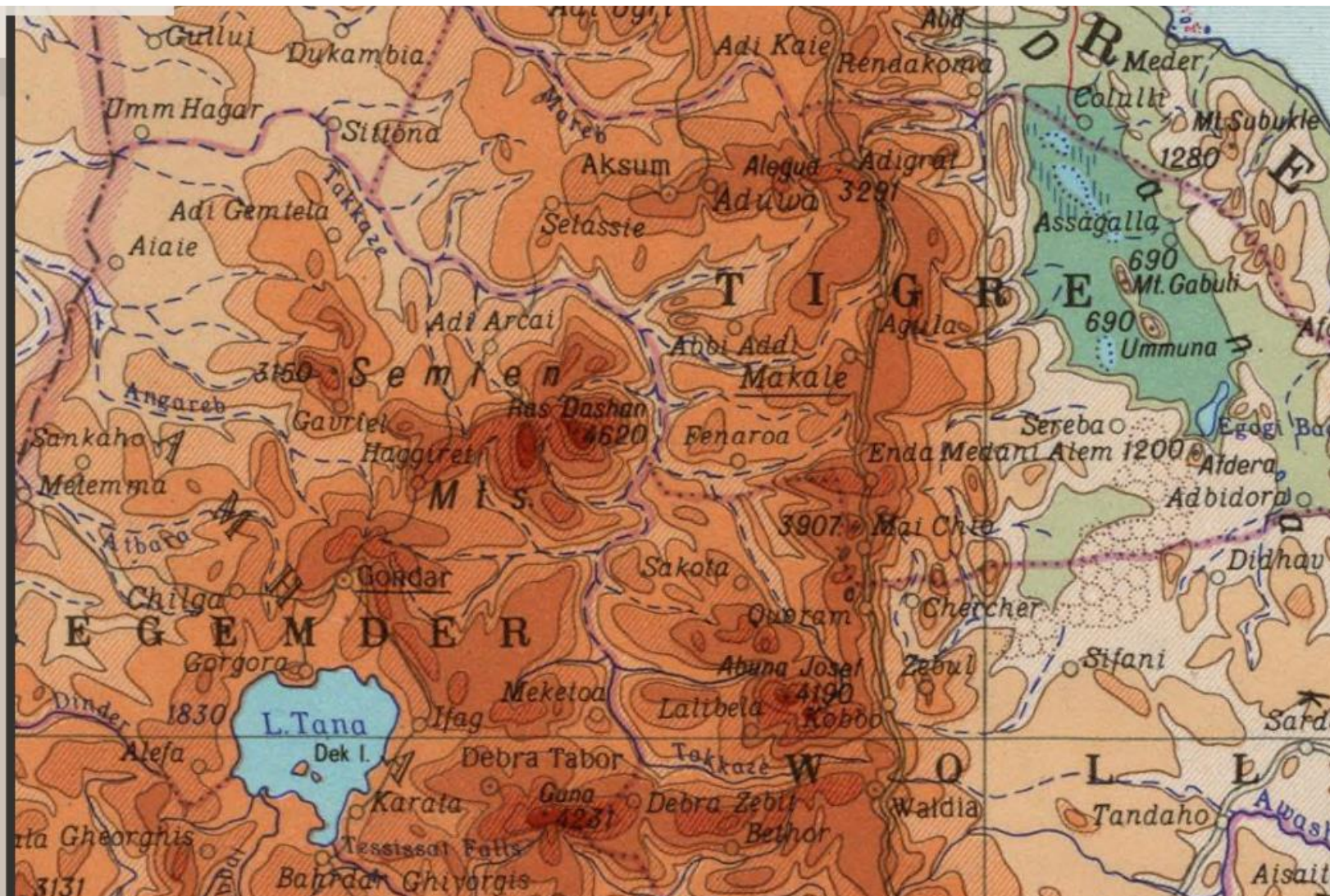
7,500,000

Country:

Central African Republic

Country:

Ethiopia

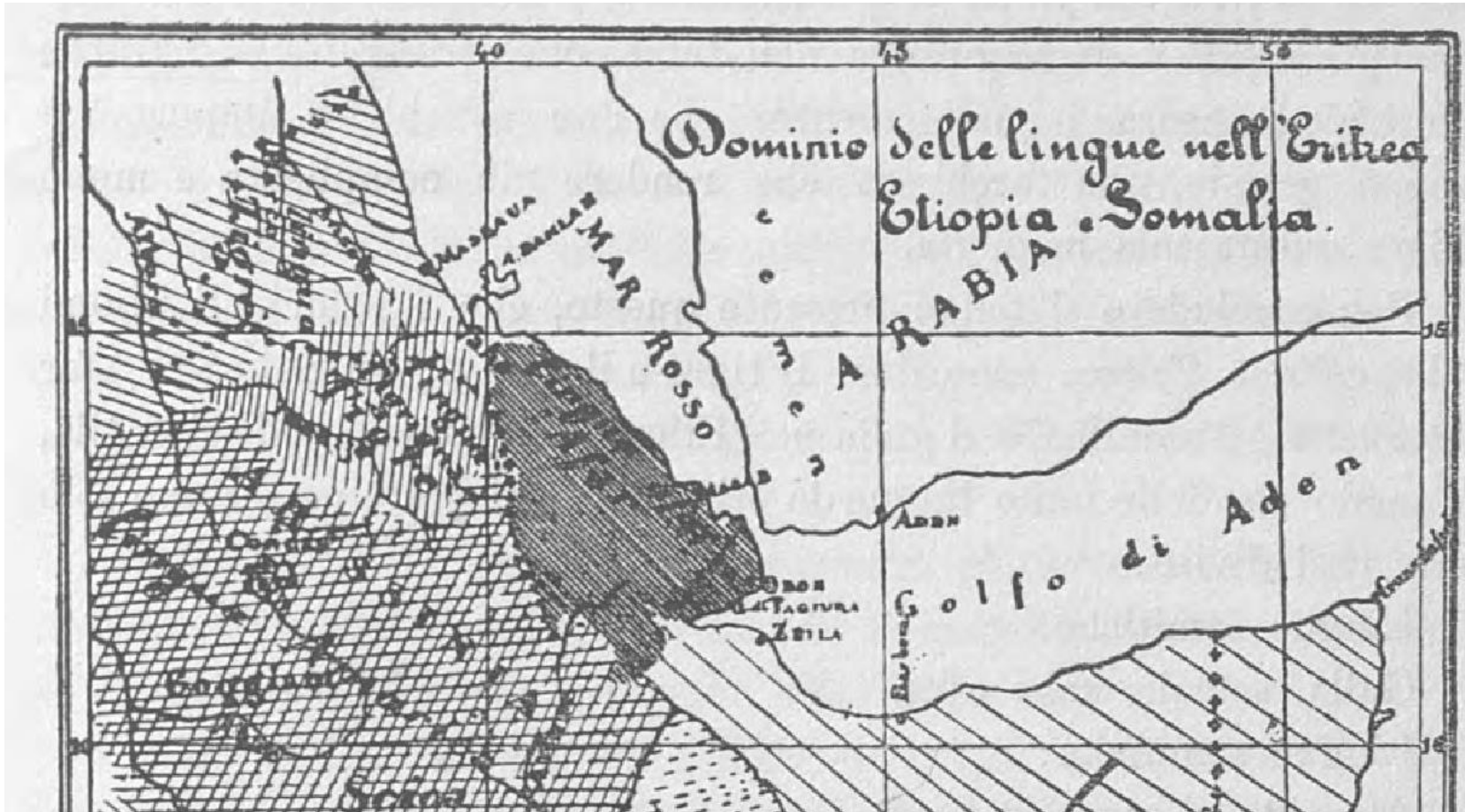


<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~208346~3001988:170-171--Africa,-Equatorial--The-Wo>

## ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS

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

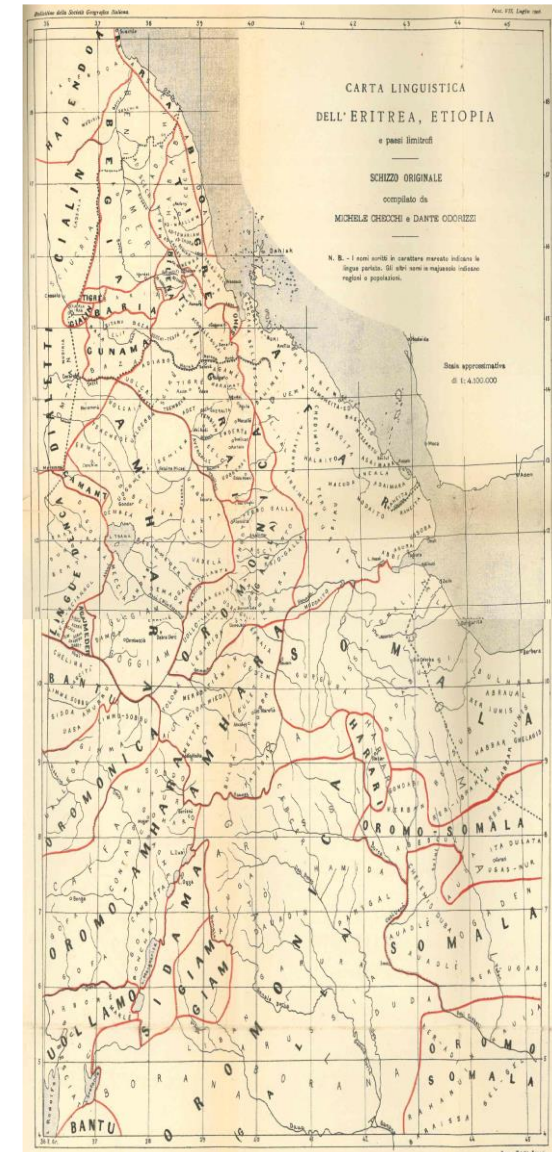
"Tigrigna" (pattern with vertical lines) spans across Tekeze River.



Wolynski, D., 1903. Glottologia coloniale. Lingue e dialetti parlati nell'Eritrea, nell'Etiopia e nella Somalia. *L'Italia Coloniale*, 4 (1): 1-18.

[http://sebinaol.unior.it/sebina/repository/catalogazione/documenti/Wolynski\\_Glottologia%20coloniale%20\(84531\).pdf](http://sebinaol.unior.it/sebina/repository/catalogazione/documenti/Wolynski_Glottologia%20coloniale%20(84531).pdf)

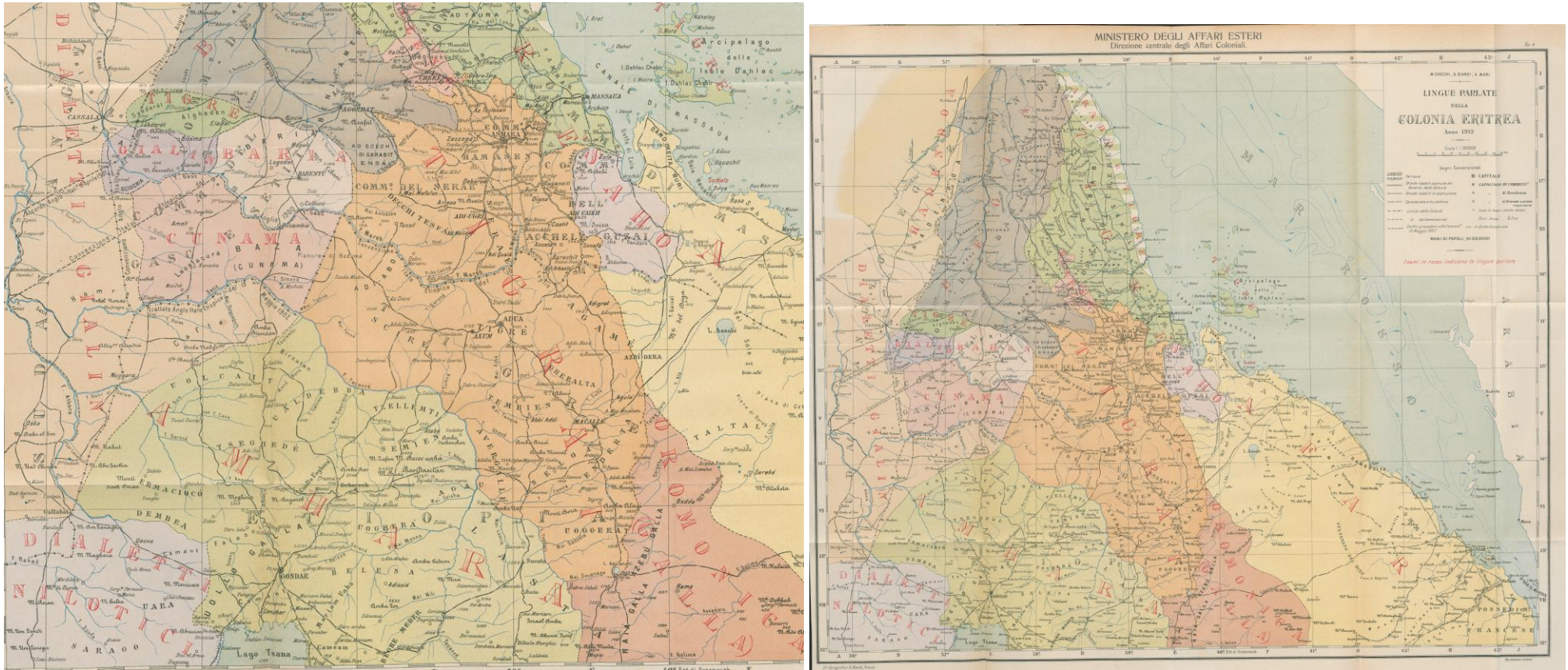
Checchi and Odorizzi, 1906. Language map of Eritrea and Ethiopia



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. Languages spoken in Eritrea

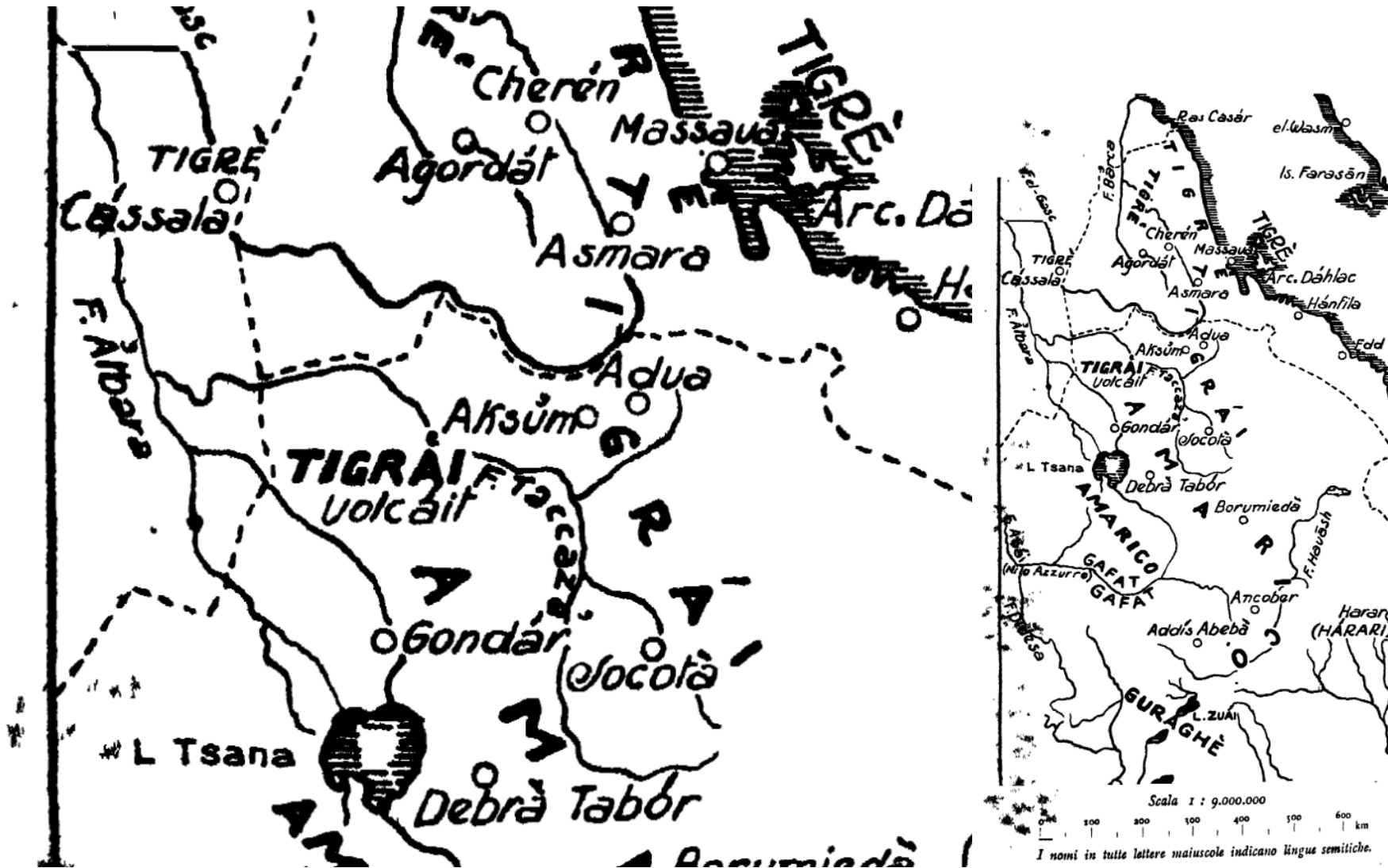


This map shows use of arabic dialect (Gialin or Cialin), well into the current Western Tigray. It republishes the outlines by Checchi & Odorizzi (1906)

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.

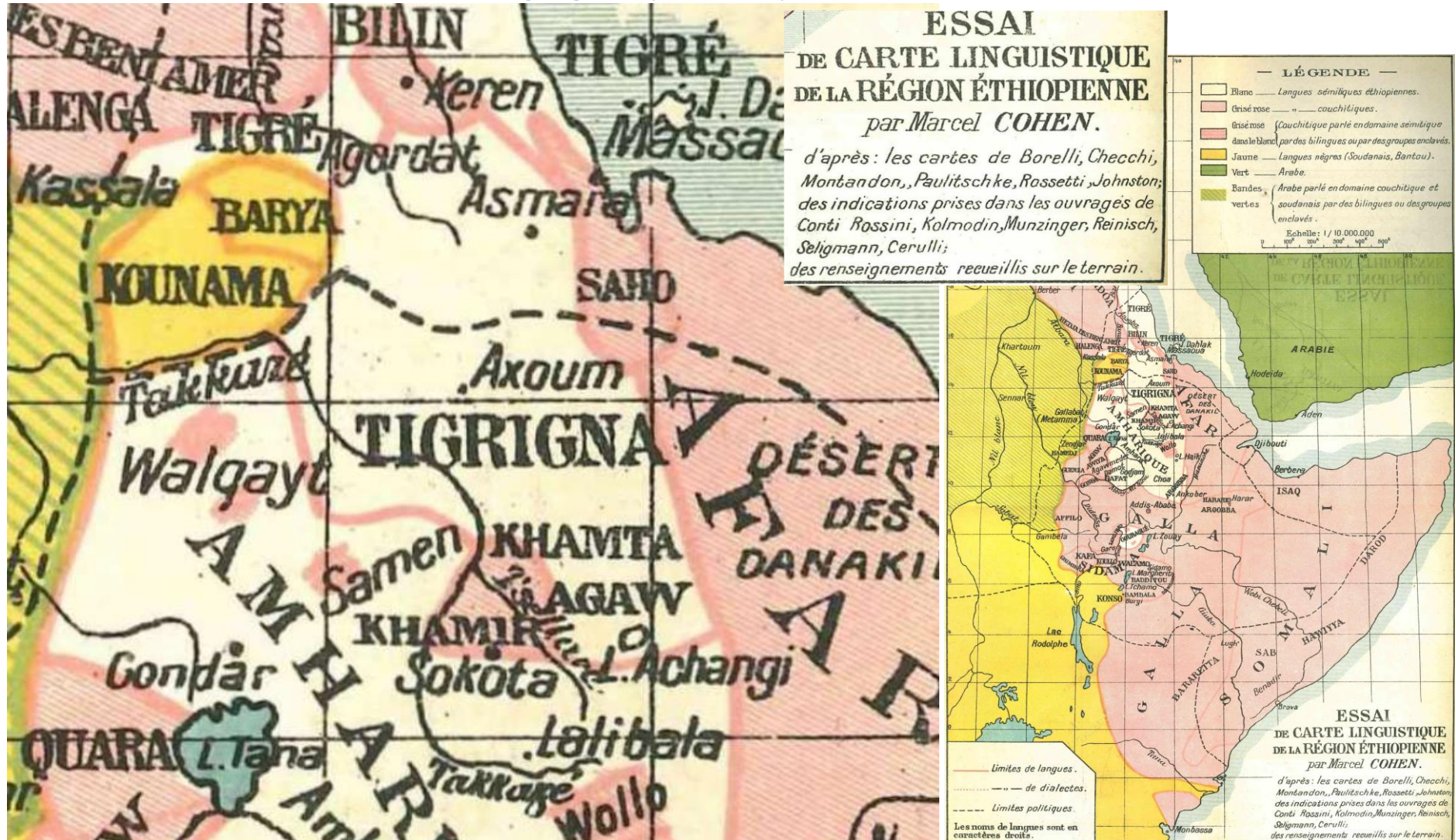
## Conti Rossini, 1921: Lingue semitiche d’Etiopia

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 Uolcãit.



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

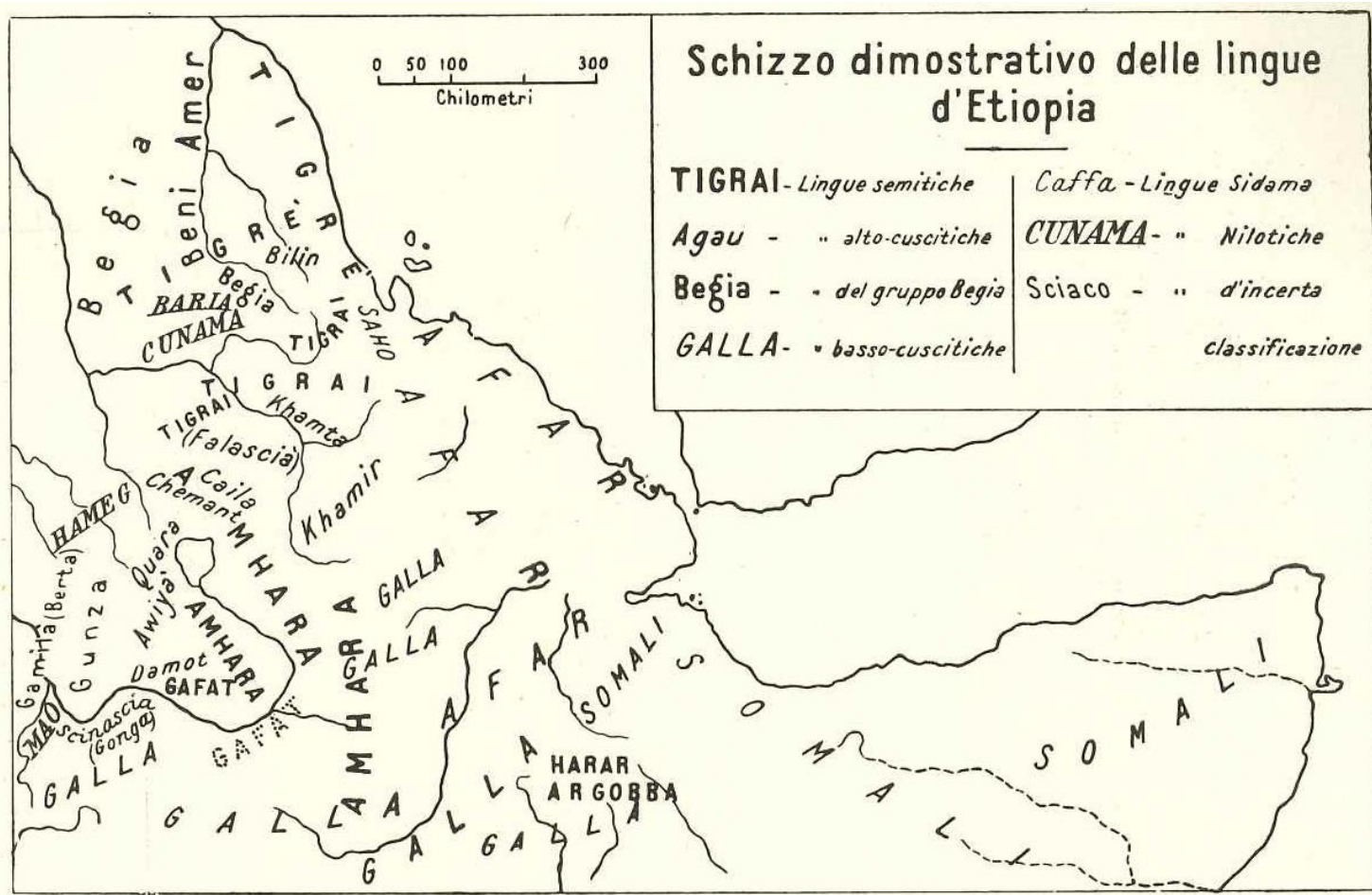
Meillet and Cohen, 1924. Tentative language map of Ethiopia



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

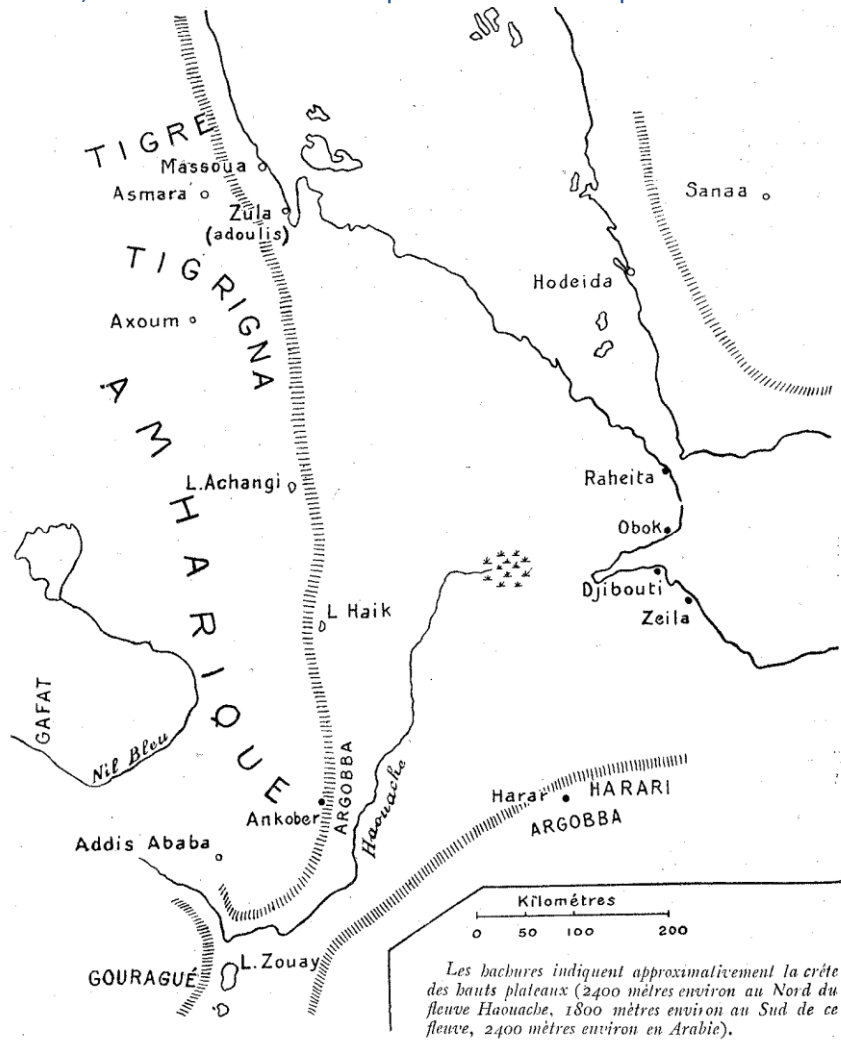


Conti Rossini, C., 1928. Storia d'Etiopia. Vol 1. Milano: A. Lucini & C.

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



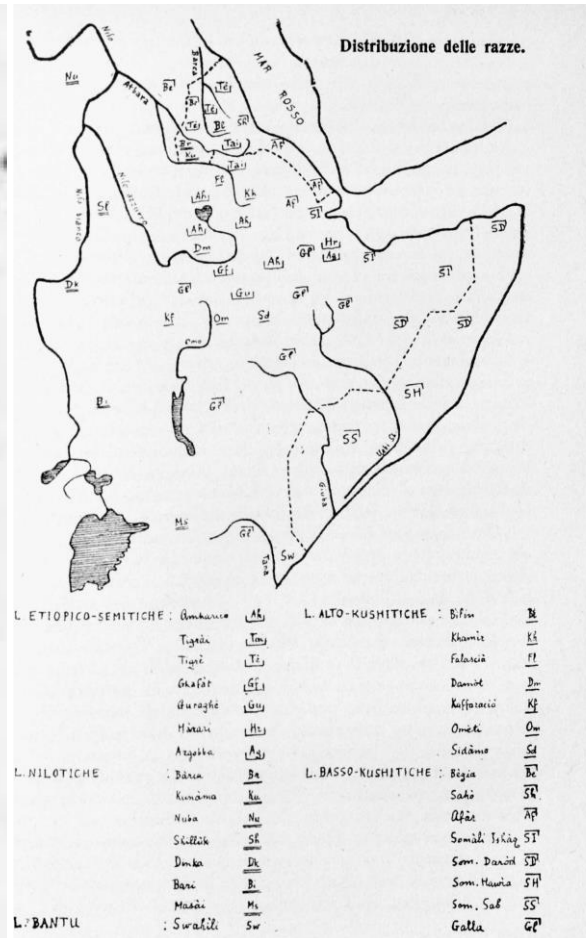
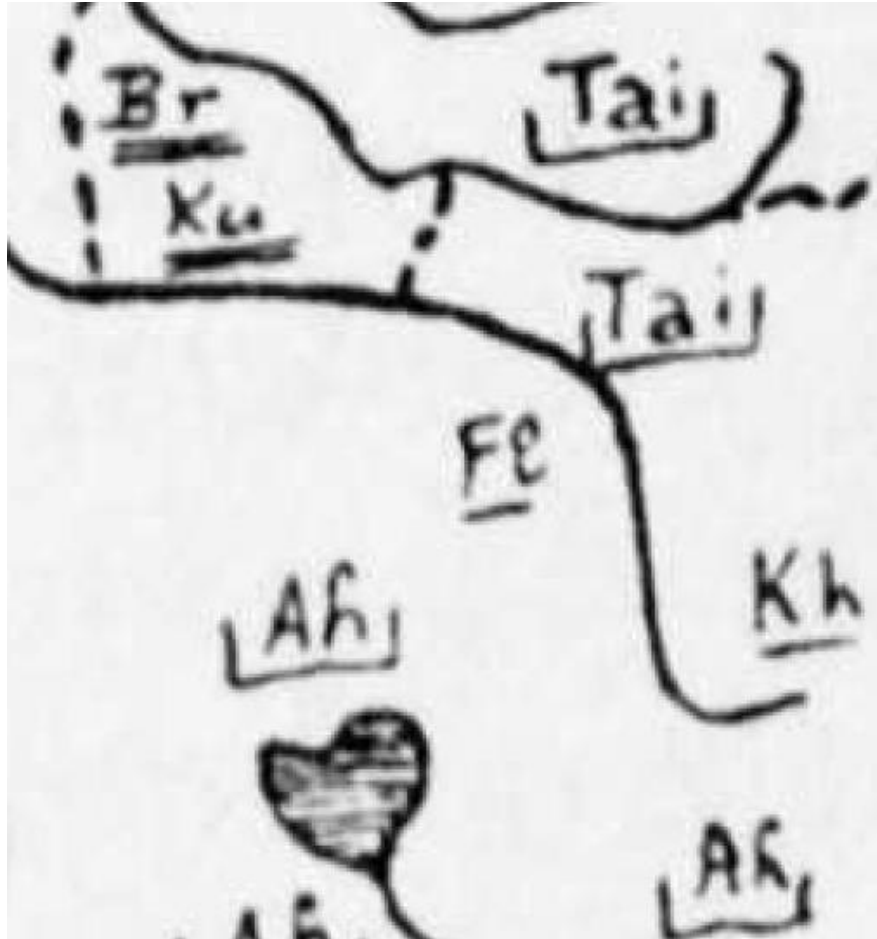
Cohen, 1931. Sketch map of the Ethiopian Semitic languages



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

## Ducati, 1931. Distribuzione delle razze

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

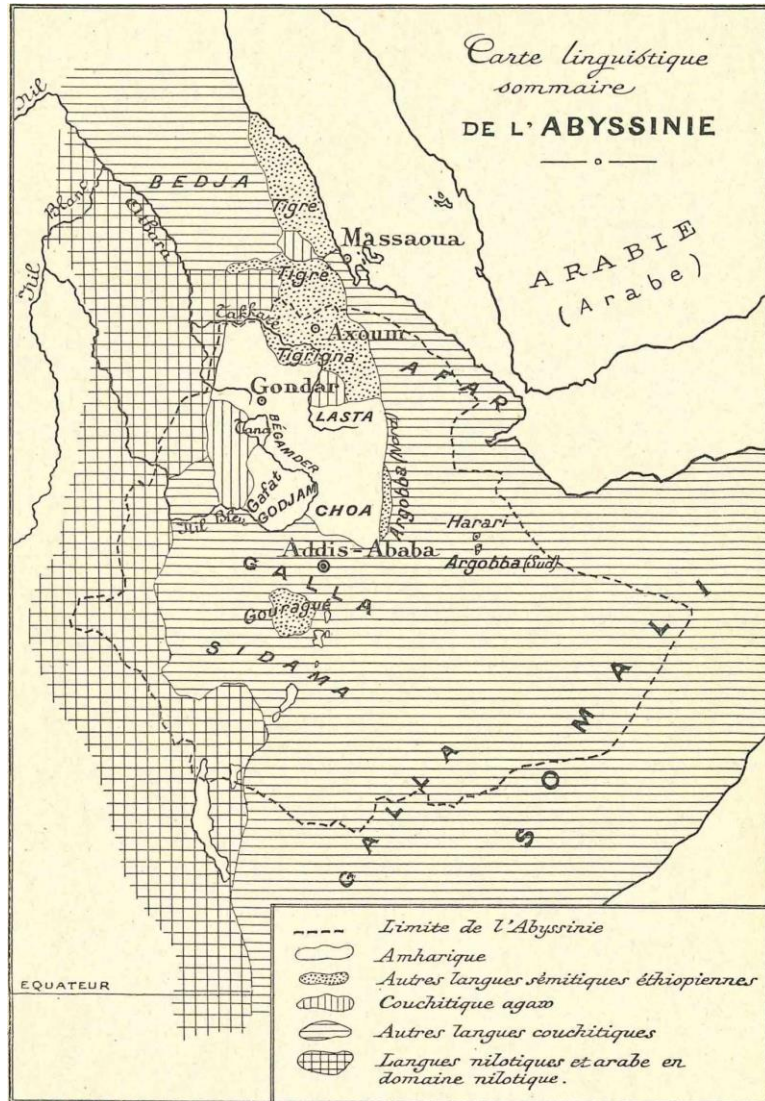


Quite generalised map; from north to south, the Mereb River, the Eritrean border, the Tekeze River and Lake Tana may be used as reference.

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

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

Cohen, 1936. Sketch map of the languages in Abyssinia



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

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

## Ellero, 1939-1940. Ethnographic fieldwork

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

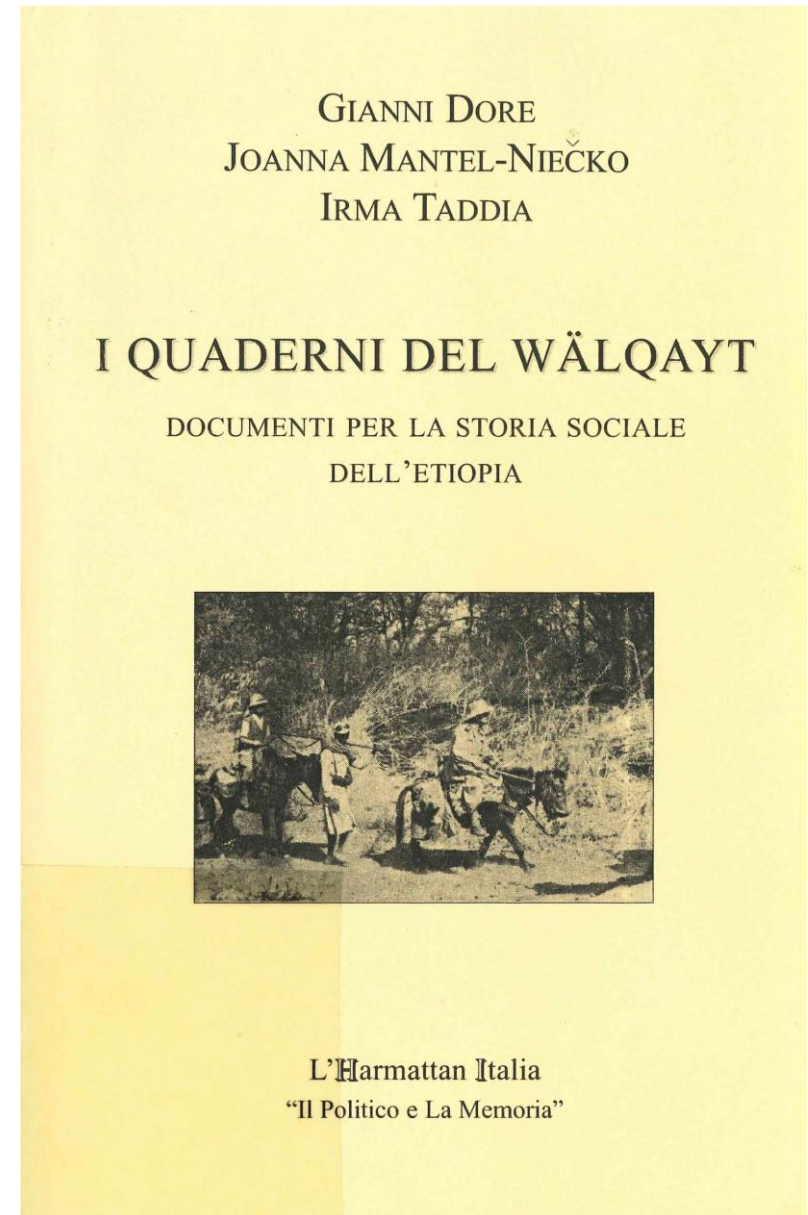
Ellero was in Welkait in 1939-1940, where he was district administrator as part of the Italian occupying administration. He was taken prisoner by the British in 1941; his wife Pia Maria Pezzoli typed and organised the field notes when Ellero was prisoner and at the same time administrator in Eritrea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

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

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

Some examples:

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





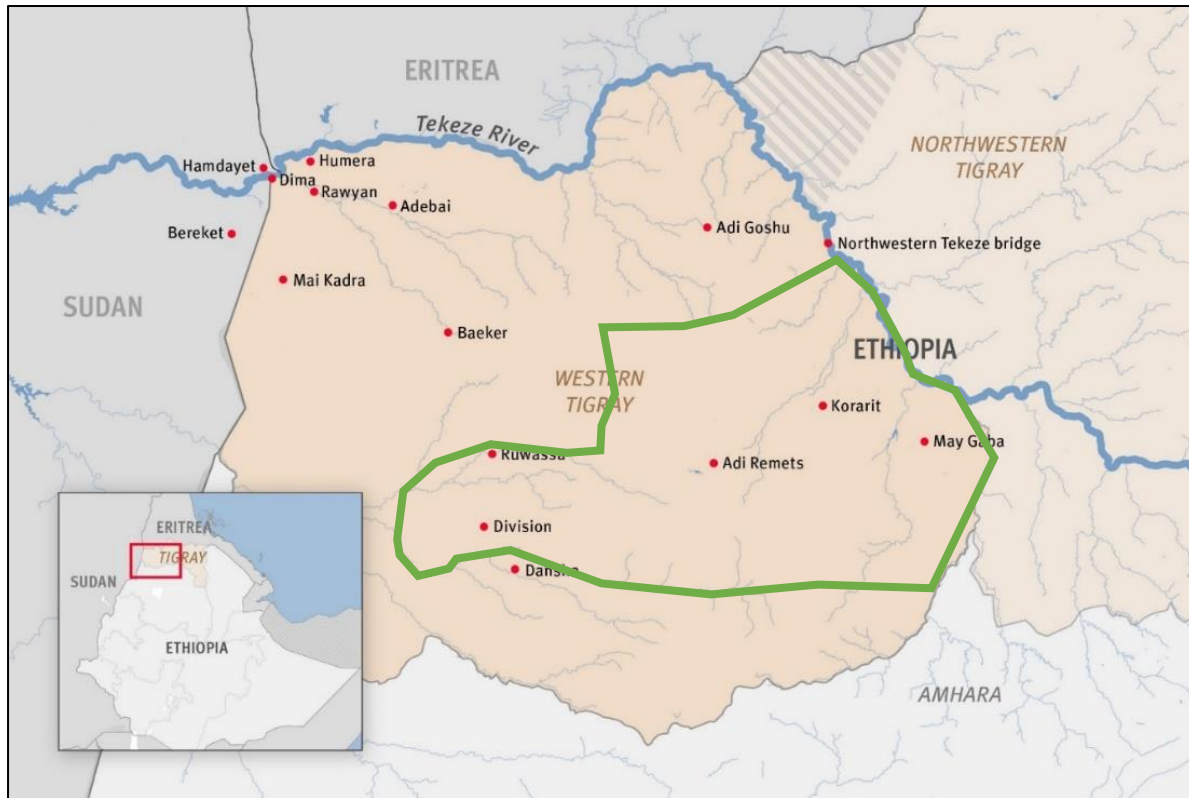


Fig. E2. Welkait in 1939-1940, according to Ellero's field notes (Fig. E1; generalised borders of Welkait in green colour). Here, every village was visited at the time by Ellero and his team; everywhere Tigrinya was the mother tongue; Amharic was understood and used at variable degrees. Base map © Human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

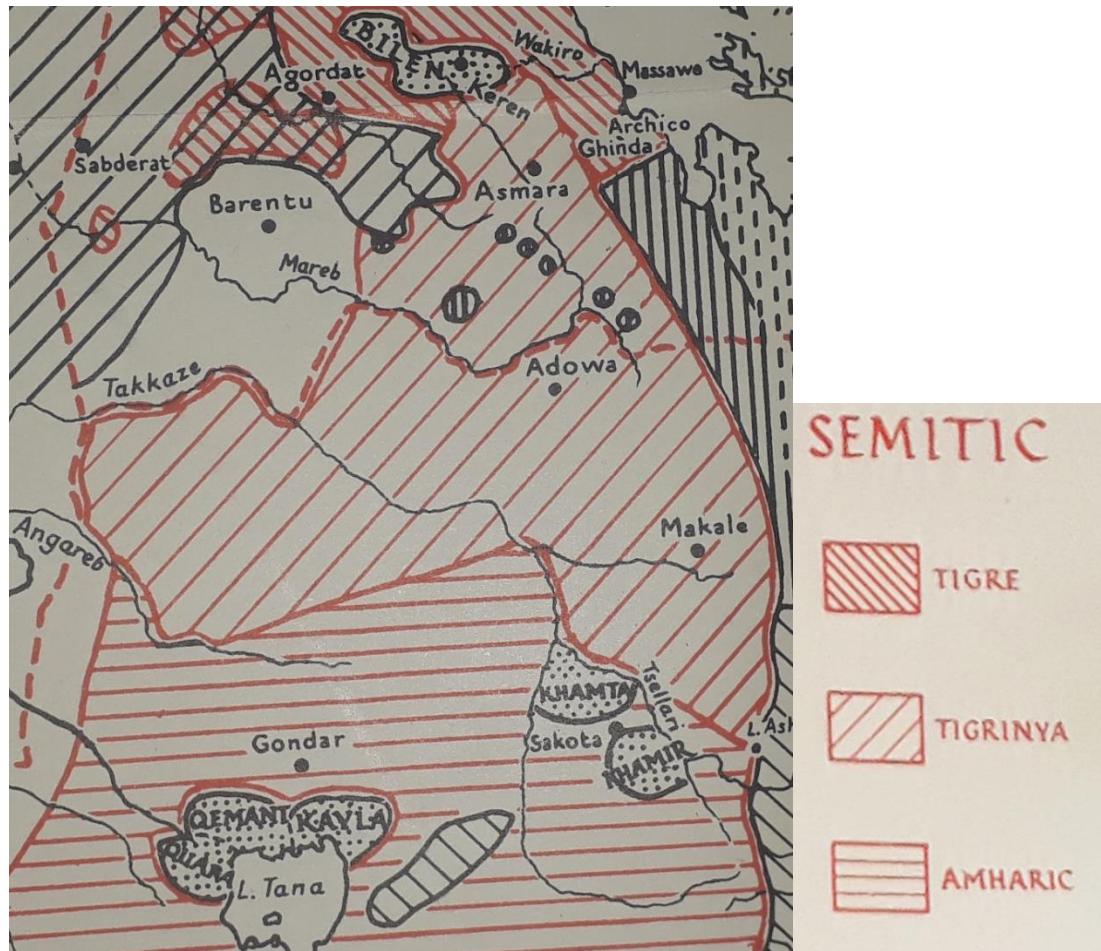
Pages 204-208 of the *Quaderni* hold a list of 116 place names with their etymology, obtained by Ellero and his translators. The etymology of most place names is of Tigrinya origin. Some exceptions for Addi Tinno (Oromo for a short person), Zua (Falasha), Batua Mariam (bible), .... In the whole list 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 ዓይን) – thirty eyes
- Seleste Codo (T: ሰለስተ ኮዶ) – three fig trees, most probably *Ficus sur* (44)
- Agam (T: አጋም) – vernacular name for the shrub *Carissa edulis* (44)
- Edaga Hamus (T: ዕዳጋ ሃሙስ) – Thursday market
- Lahalai Uollel and Tahatai Uollel (T: ላላላዊ ያላላ; ታሕተዊ ያላላ) – 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: ዳል እምባ) – daughter of the mountain, typically used for a village on a hill, adjacent to a larger mountain
- Chessad Daga (T: ክሳድ ዕዳጋ) – market place on a mountain pass
- Chetri (T: ክትሪ) “Ketri”, river narrowing, by analogy used for mountain pass. See also current use of “ketri” for check dam.
- Many other place names, similarly transpiring the symbiosis between people and place may be discovered in the “Quaderni”, pp. 204-208.

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

## Bryan, 1948. Map of Semitic and Cushitic languages.

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

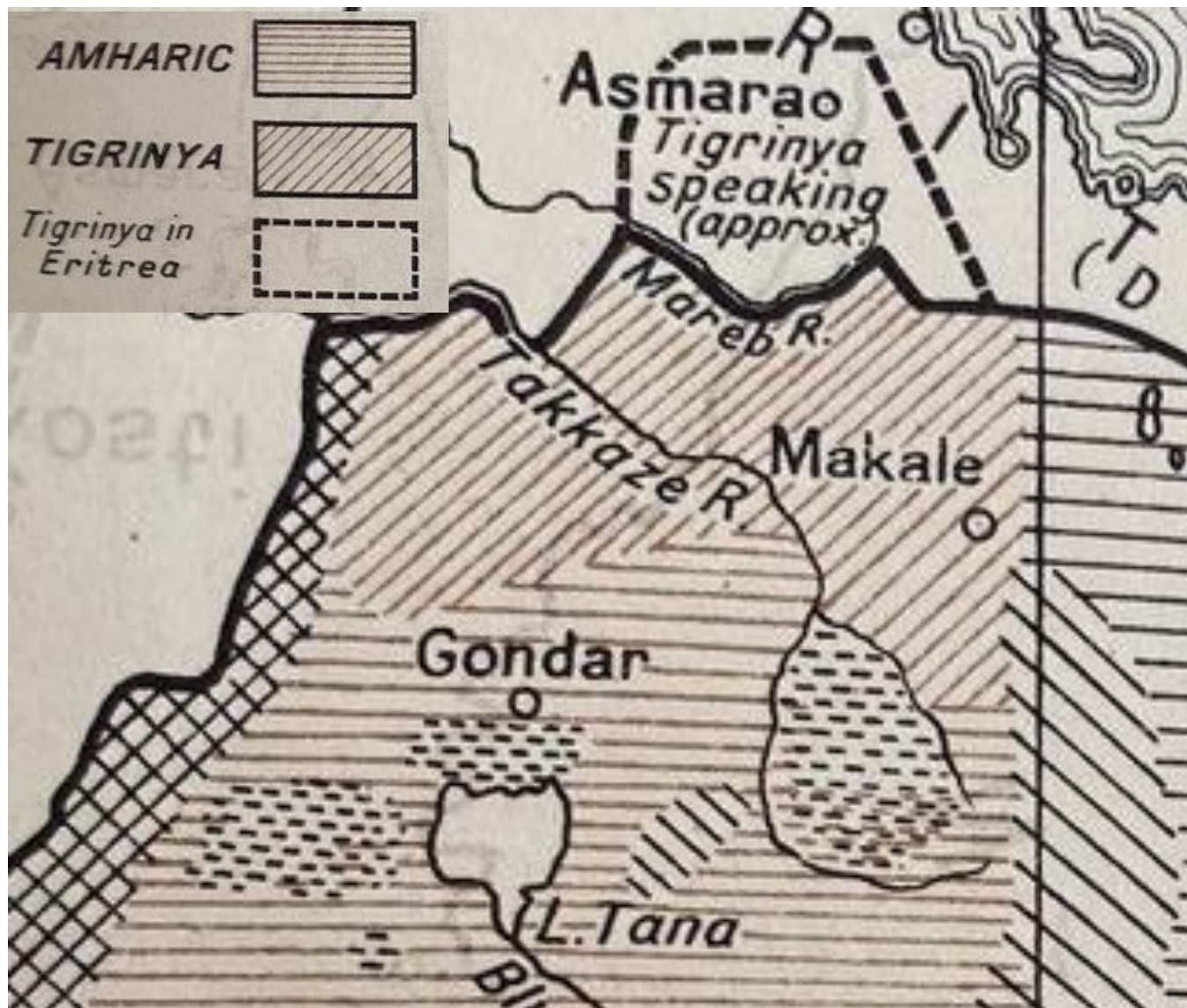


Semitic languages in red colours, Cushitic languages in black colours. Broken red lines represent international borders.

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

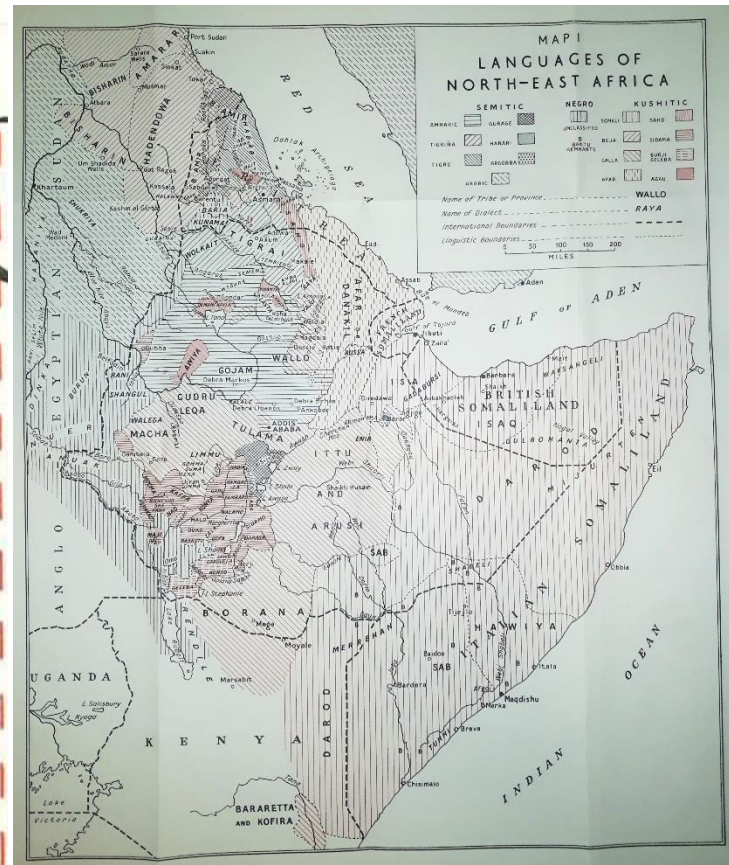
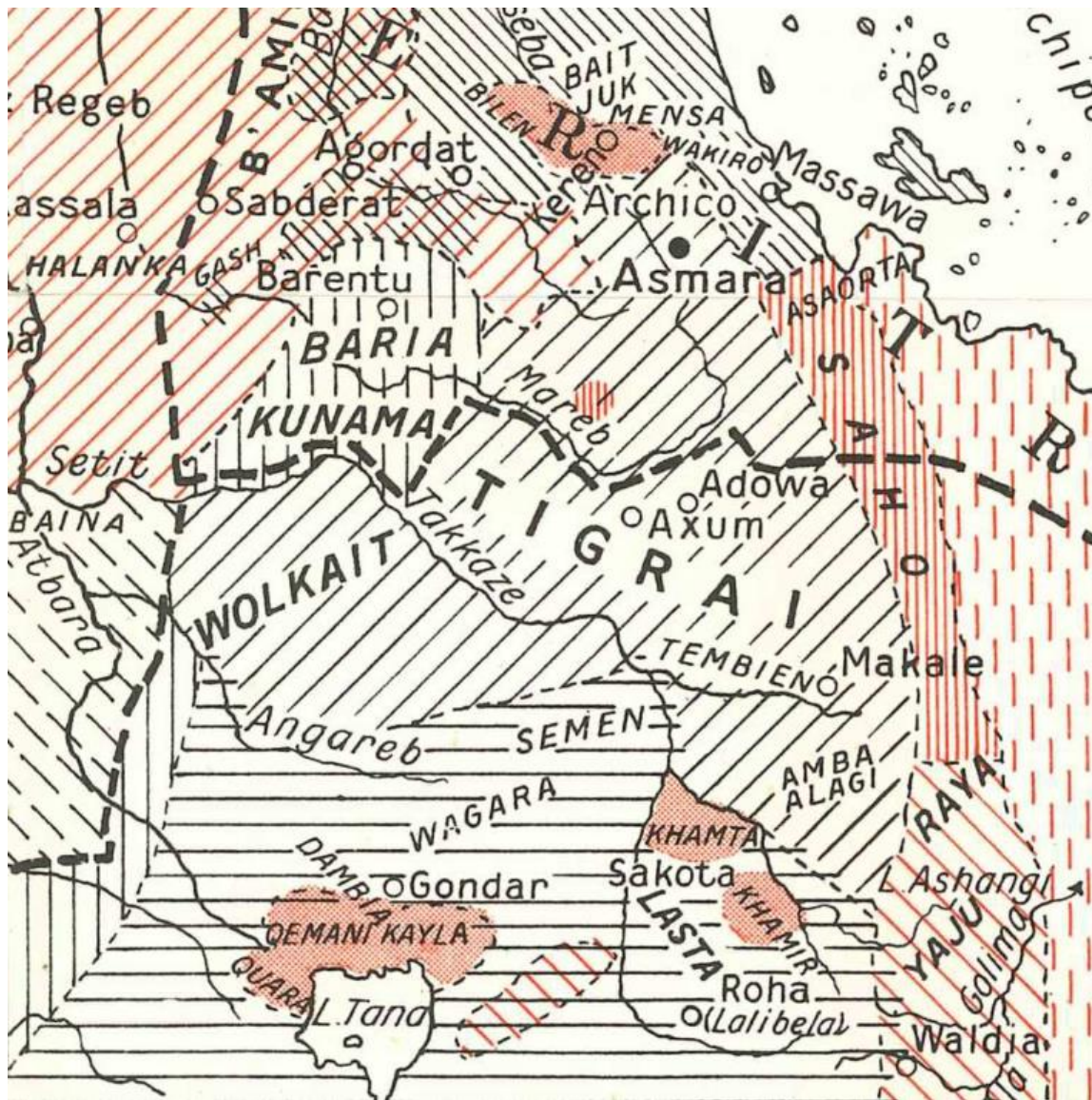


Perham, 1948: Language map of Ethiopia



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

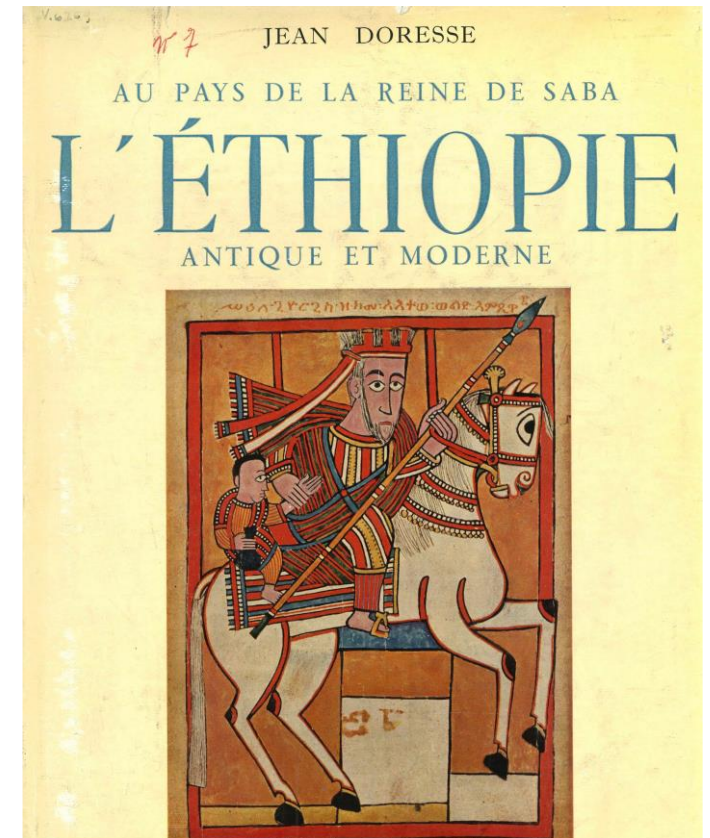
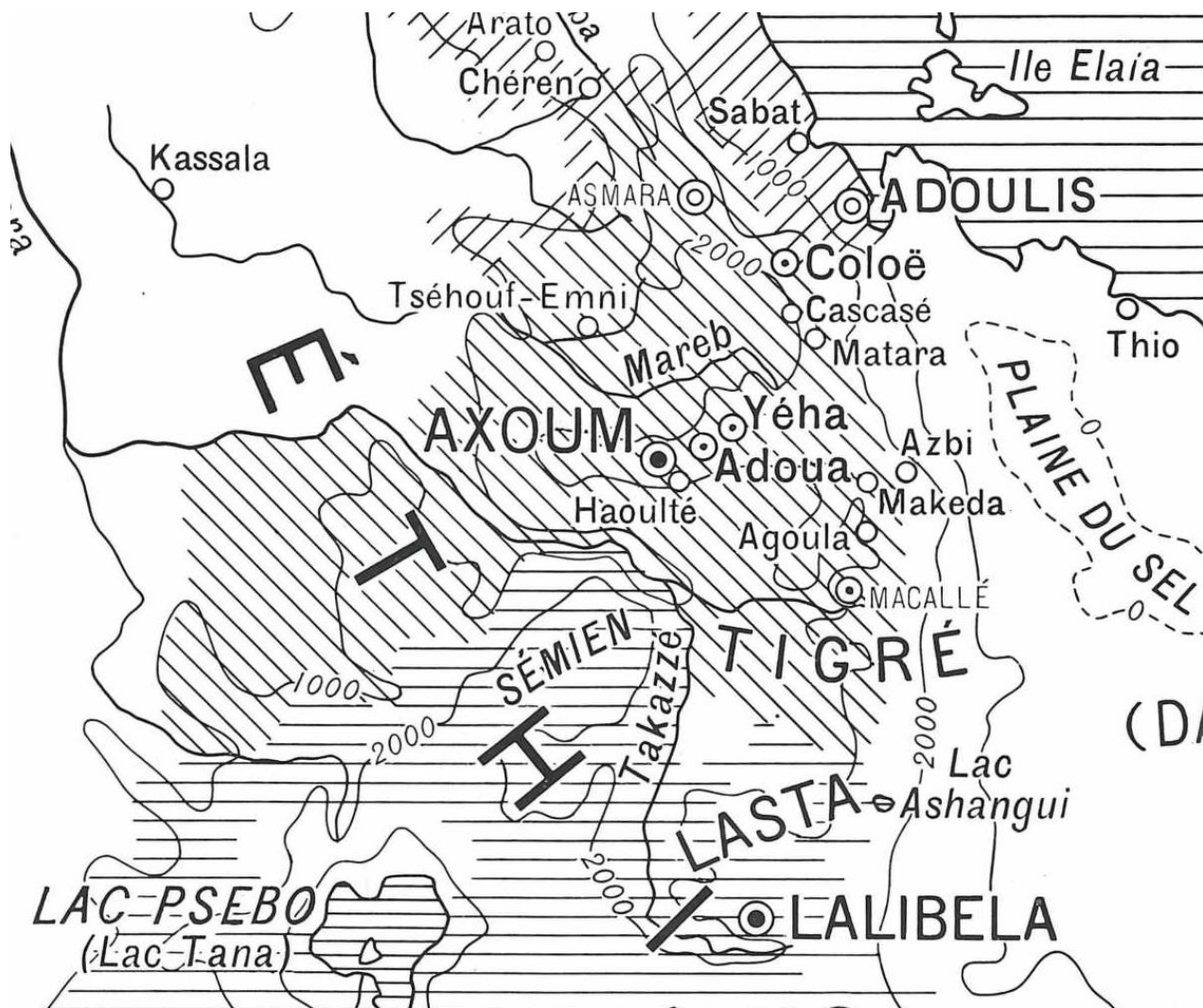
Trimingham, 1952. Languages of North-East Africa  
 Wolkait is mapped as Tigrinya dialect.



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

Doresse, 1956. Semitic languages in Ethiopia.

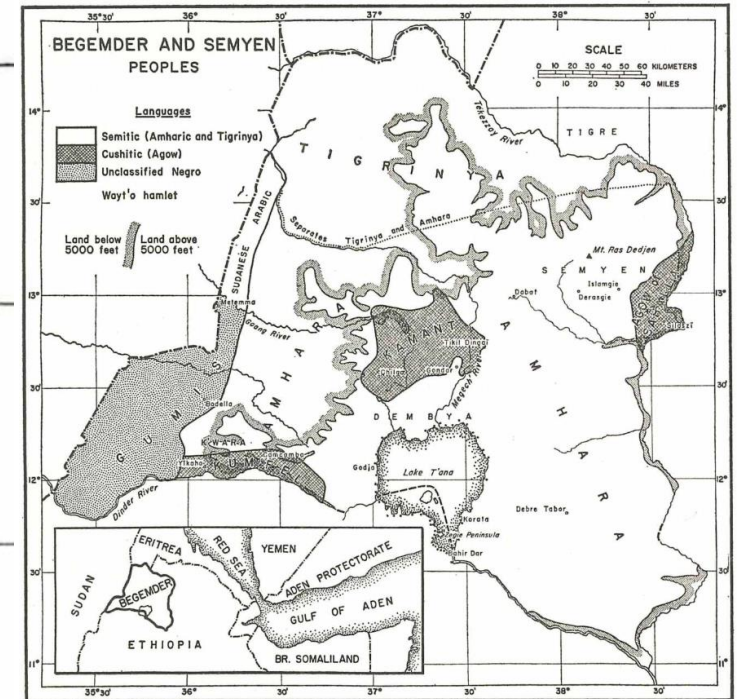
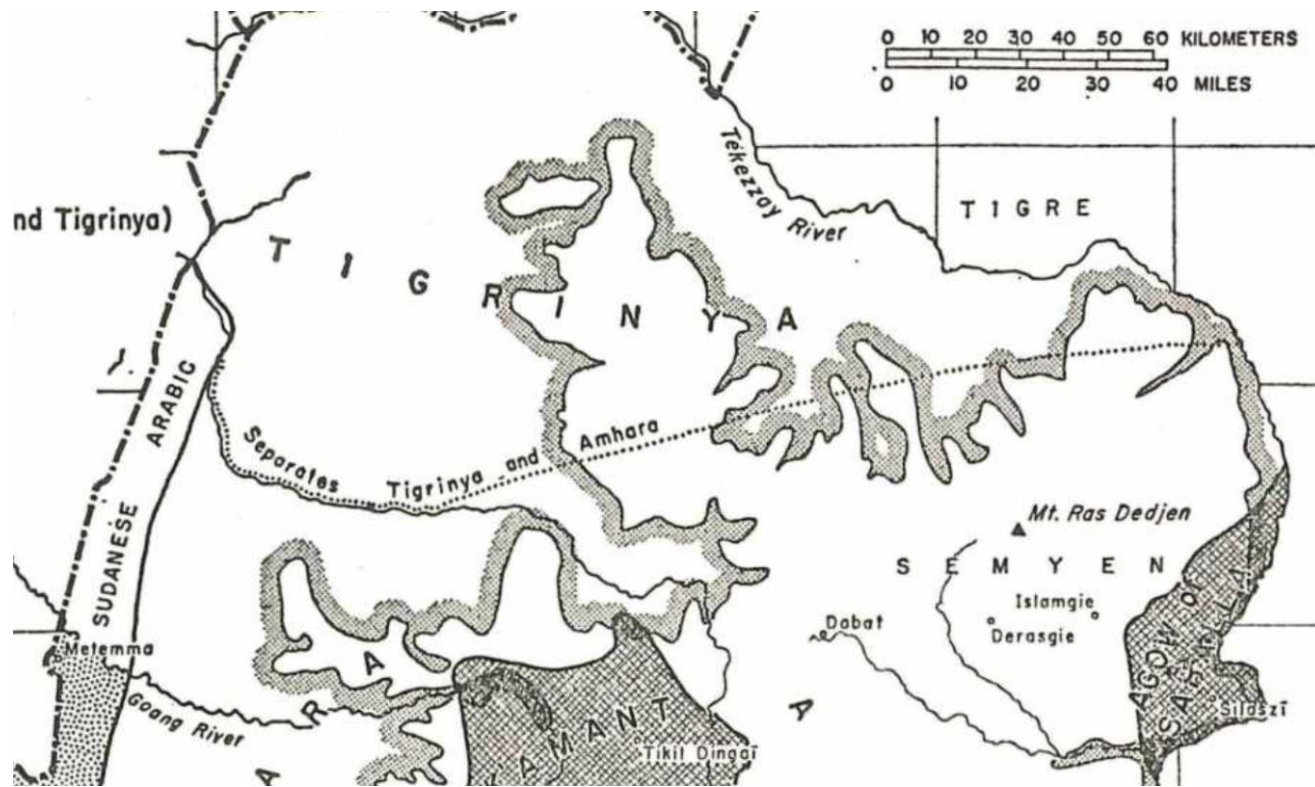
Doresse does not indicate the sources used to prepare this map, that shows Tigrinya spoken in the current Western Tigray, as well as south of it in the lowlands of Aramachiho up to the banks of Atbara River near Metemma. Contour lines with 1000 m interval in thin lines; rivers in thicker lines.



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

Simoons, 1960. Begemder and Semyen, peoples.

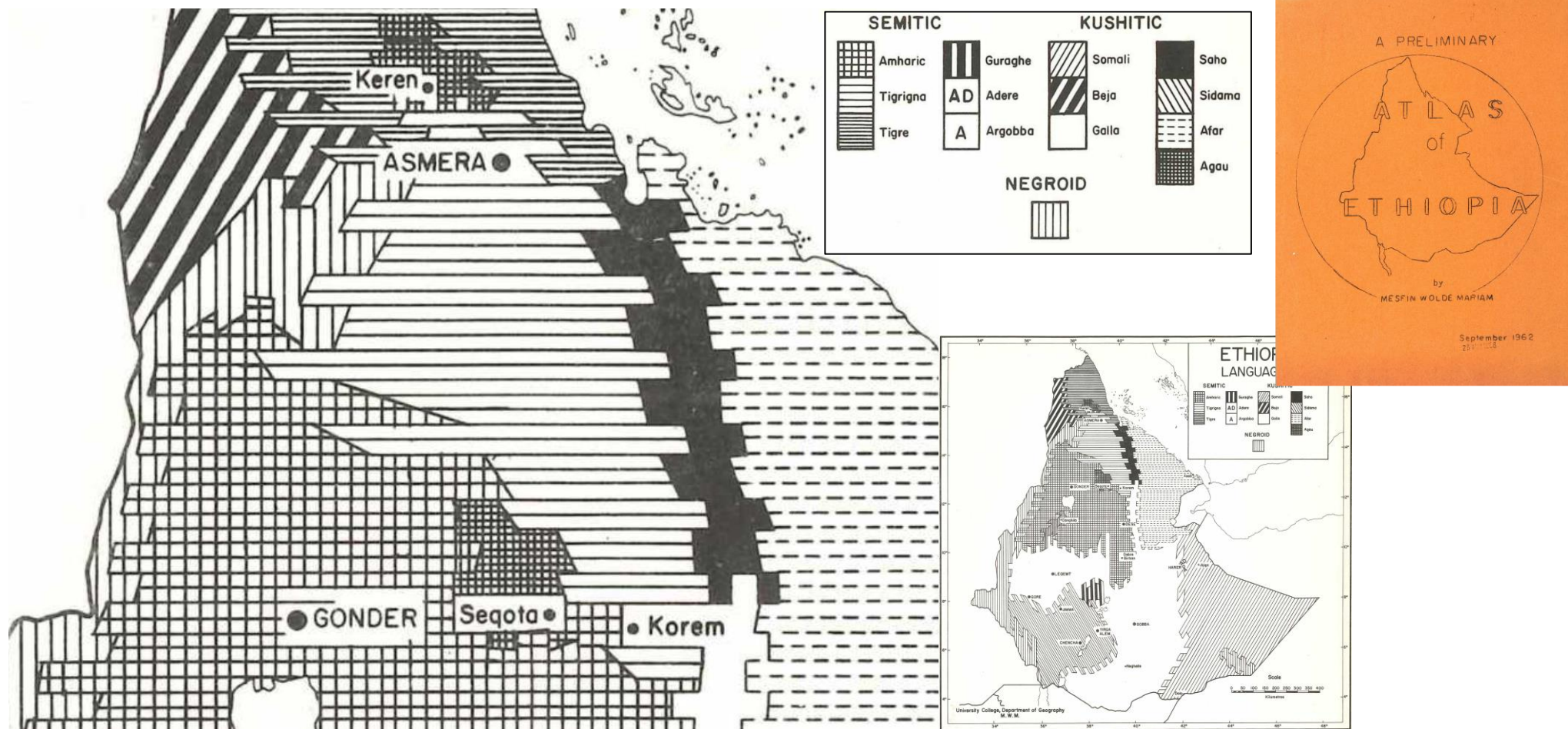
Tigrinya/Amharic language boundary drawn on a map displaying the political boundaries as they were in 1960. The northern one third of the then Begemder province inhabited by Tigrinya speakers. This fits closely with the current legal border between the Tigray and Amhara Regions.



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

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

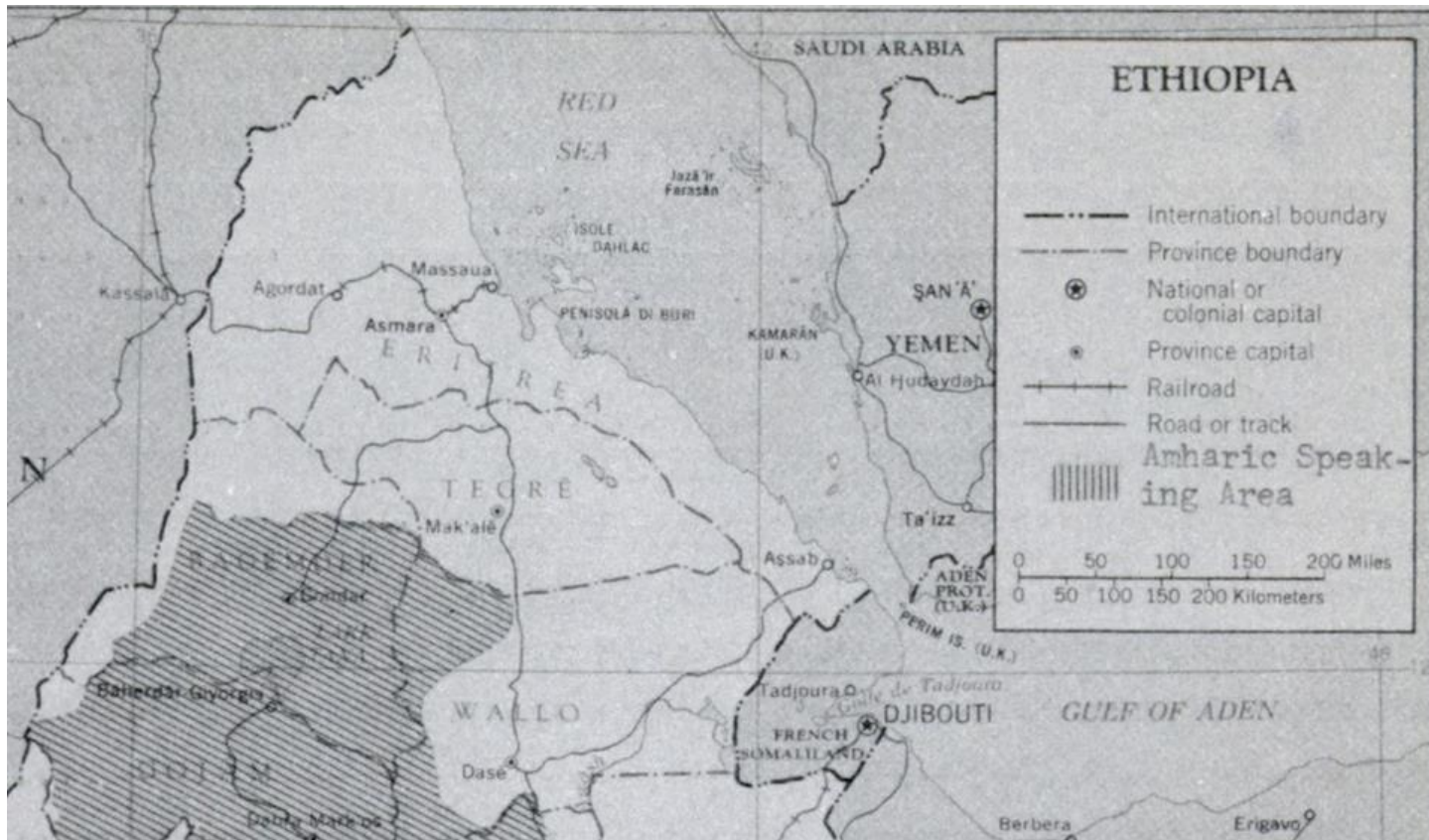
Source for language distribution not mentioned. Explanatory note with this map: "The attempt here is merely to show the distribution of the various language families and the major languages of each family. This is not because of any attempt to conceal the fact that there are many more dialects than are shown on the map but because an attempt has been 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 corresponds to the current Western Tigray, as well as Tselemti and Dima woredas in Northwestern Tigray.



# AMHARIC

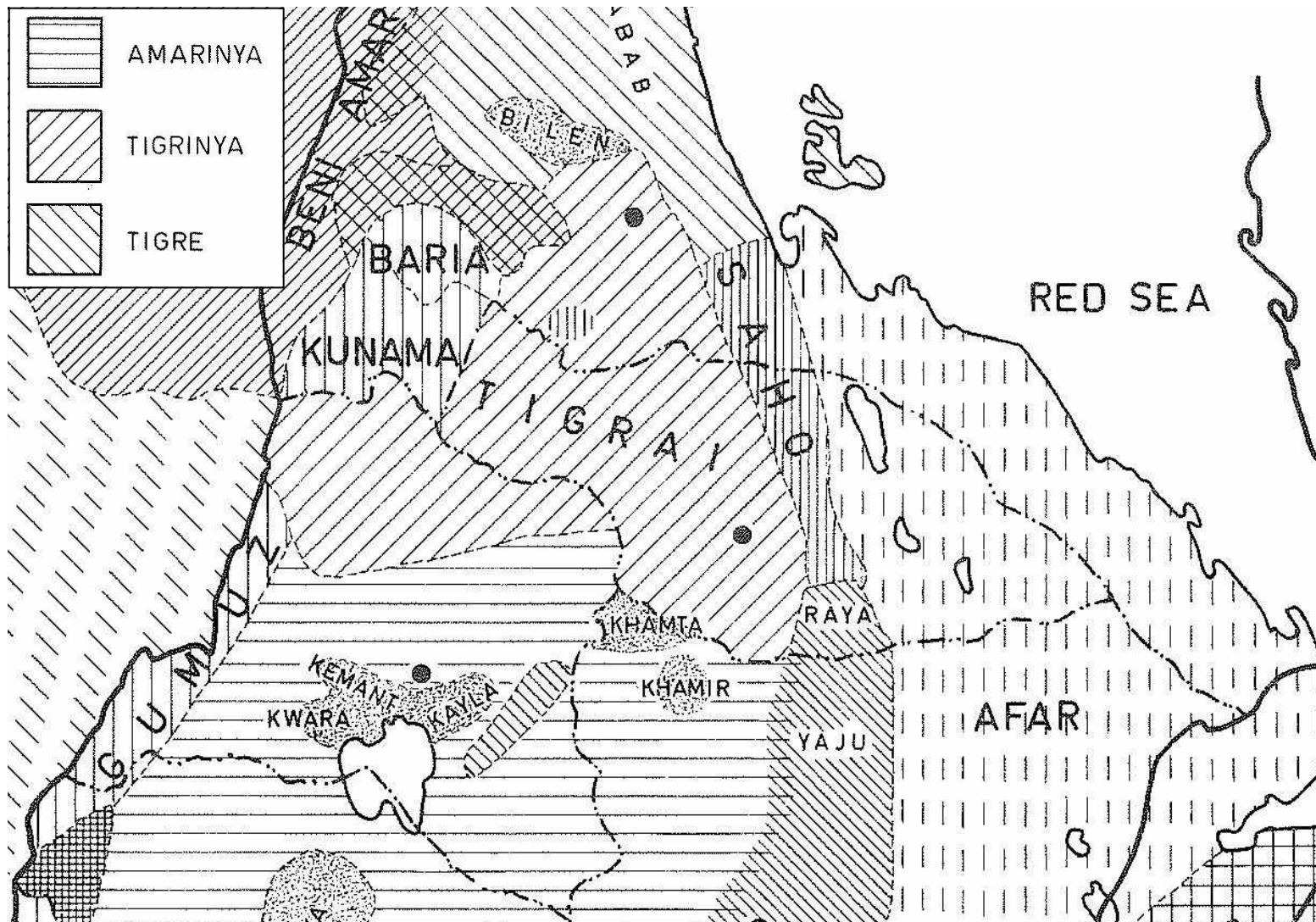
**BASIC COURSE**  
Units 1 - 50



SERGE OBOLENSKY  
DEBEBOW ZELELIE MULUGETA ANDUALEM  
**FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE**  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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





Excerpt of: Trimingham, 1965. Map of provinces and ethno-linguistic settlement patterns in Ethiopia, republished by Westphal (1975)

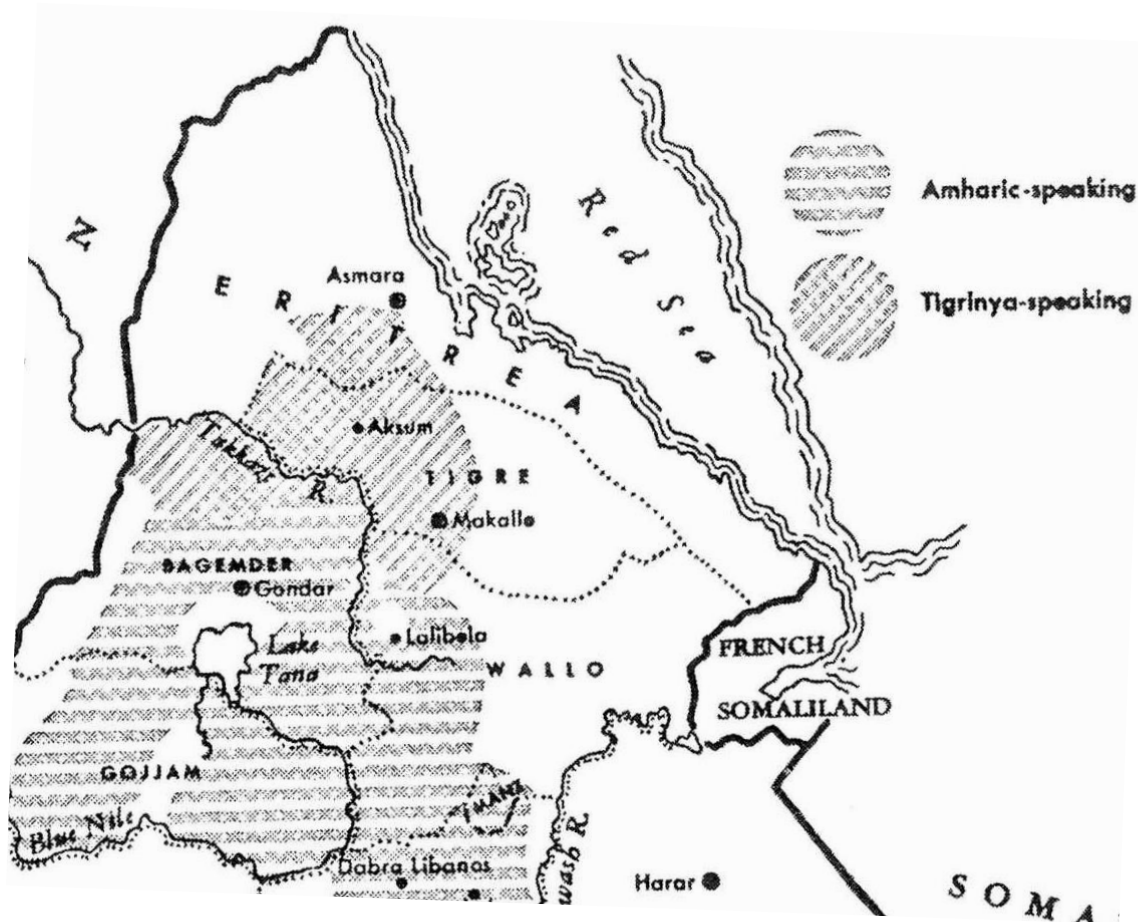
Trimingham J.S., 1965. Islam in Ethiopia. London: Frank Cass & Company.

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





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



WAX & GOLD  
TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN  
ETHIOPIAN CULTURE

Donald N. Levine

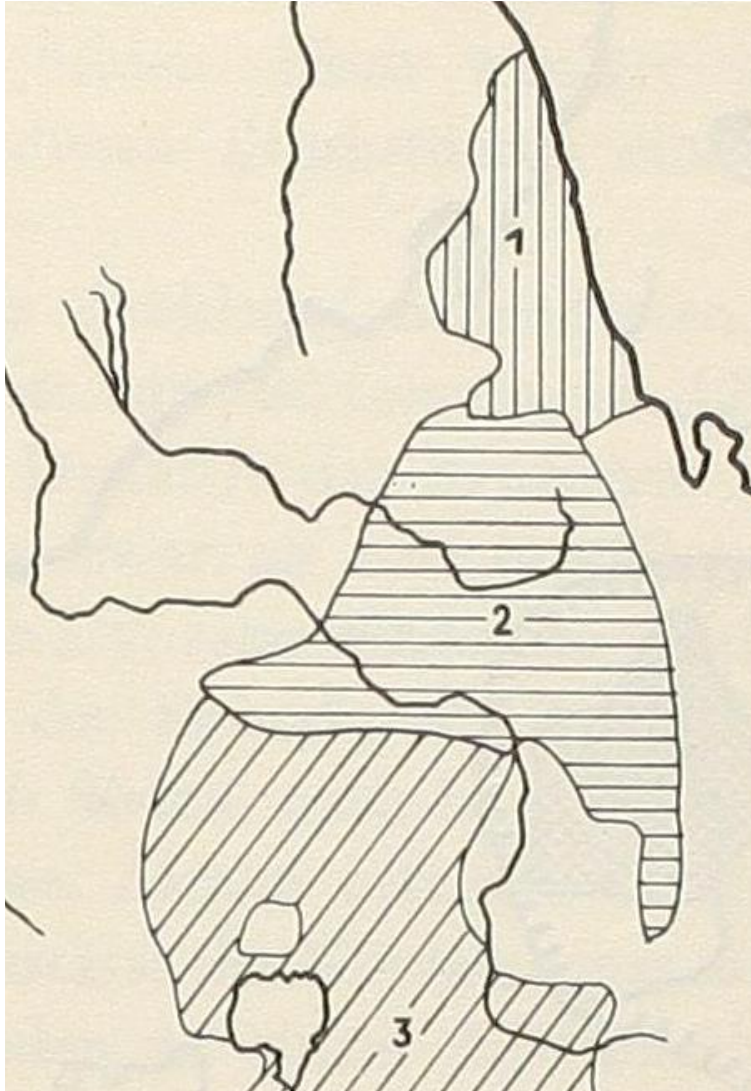


The University of Chicago Press  
Chicago and London

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

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

## Haberland, 1965. Semitic languages in Ethiopia



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

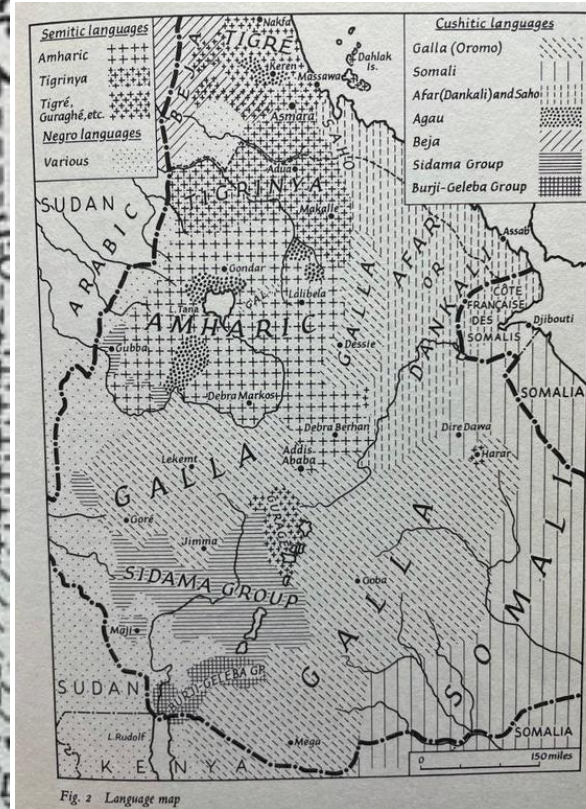
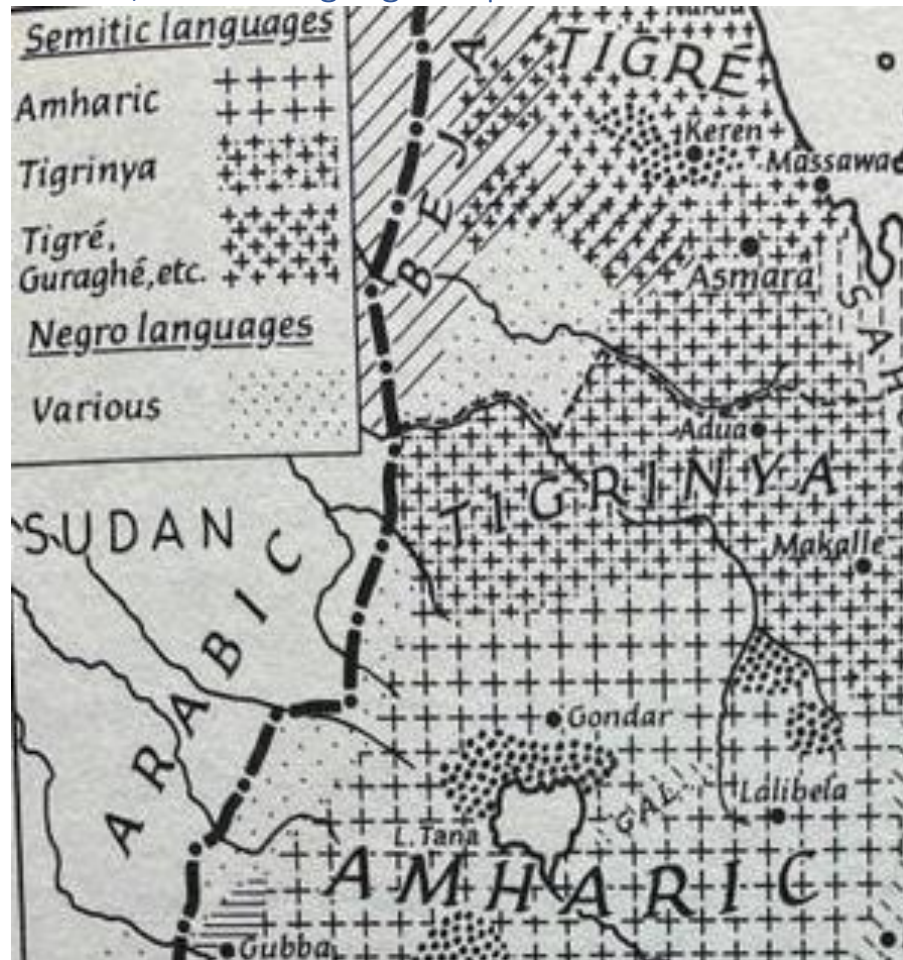
Haberland, E., 1965. Untersuchungen zum äthiopischen Königtum. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

<https://opendata.uni-halle.de//handle/1981185920/103054> (open access).

In the introduction of this book, he summarises the development of the Semitic language domains, as well as Agaw, in northern Ethiopia in three maps. See the full maps and translated snippets here:

<https://tghat.com/2023/04/18/eike-haberlands-extent-of-semitic-languages-in-the-horn-of-africa-through-time-with-3-maps/>

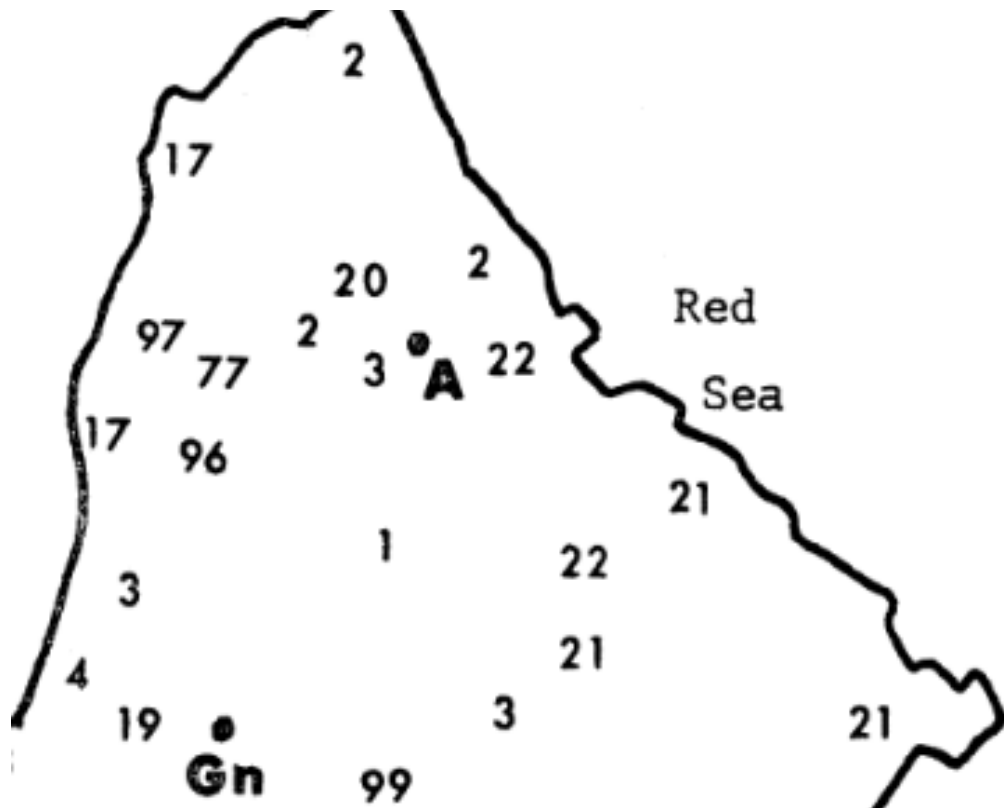
Buxton, 1970. Language map



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

# Bender, 1971. Locations of indigenous languages

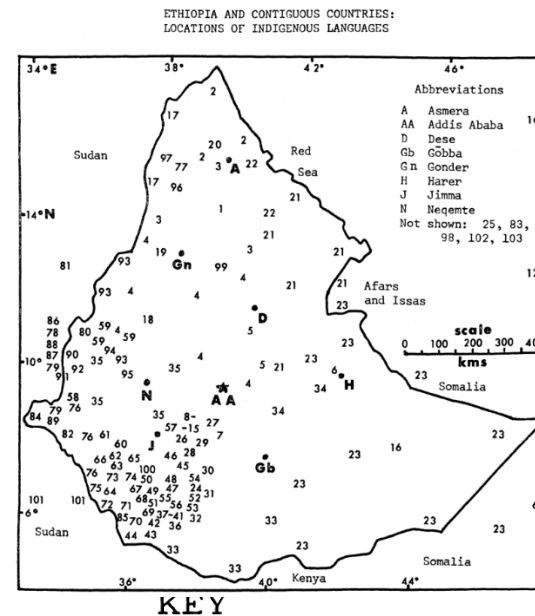
Very generalised map; 3 for Tigrinya in Western Tigray



## Abbrevia

- A Asmera
- AA Addis
- D Dese
- Gb Gōbba
- Gn Gonder
- H Harer
- J Jimma
- N Neqemt

Not shown:  
98,



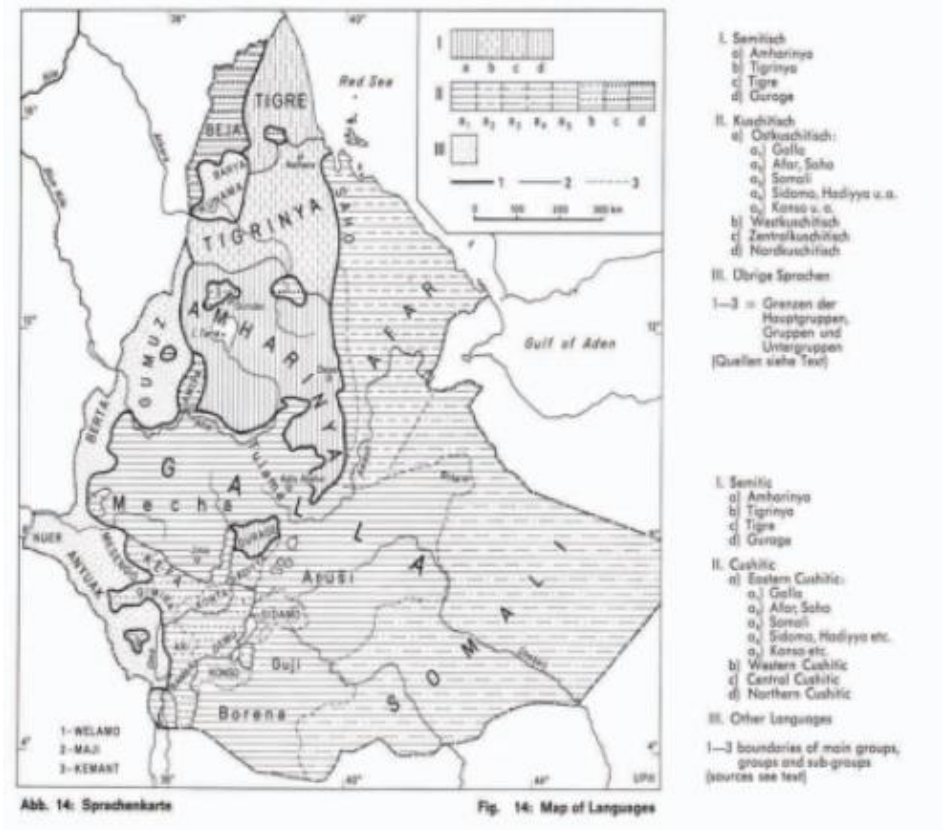
## Language

- | No. | Language |
|-----|----------|
| 1.  | Geez     |
| 2.  | Tigre    |
| 3.  | Tigrinya |
| 4.  | Amharic  |

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

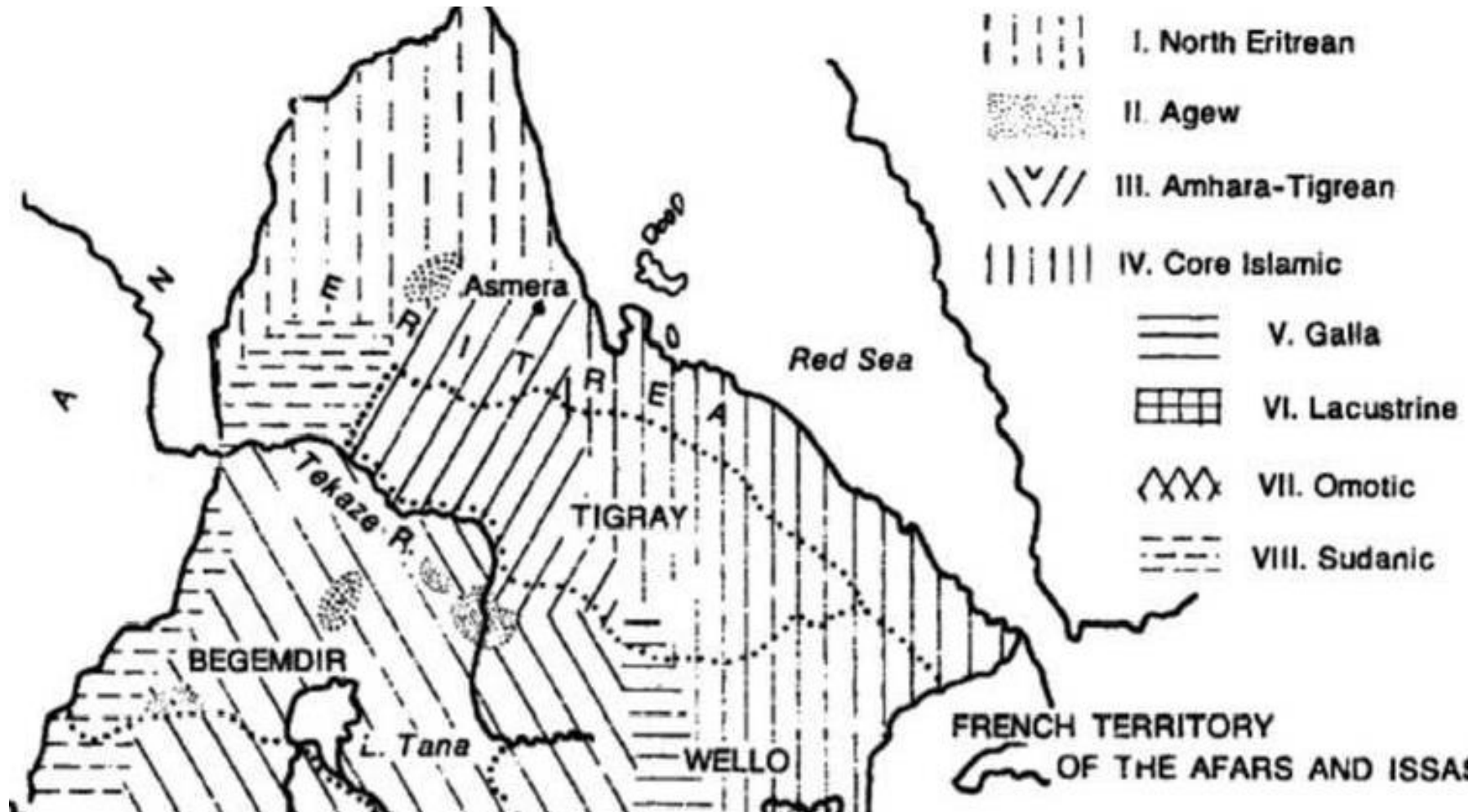
Tigrinya language with full East-West extent up to the Sudanese border, across the Tekeze River.



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

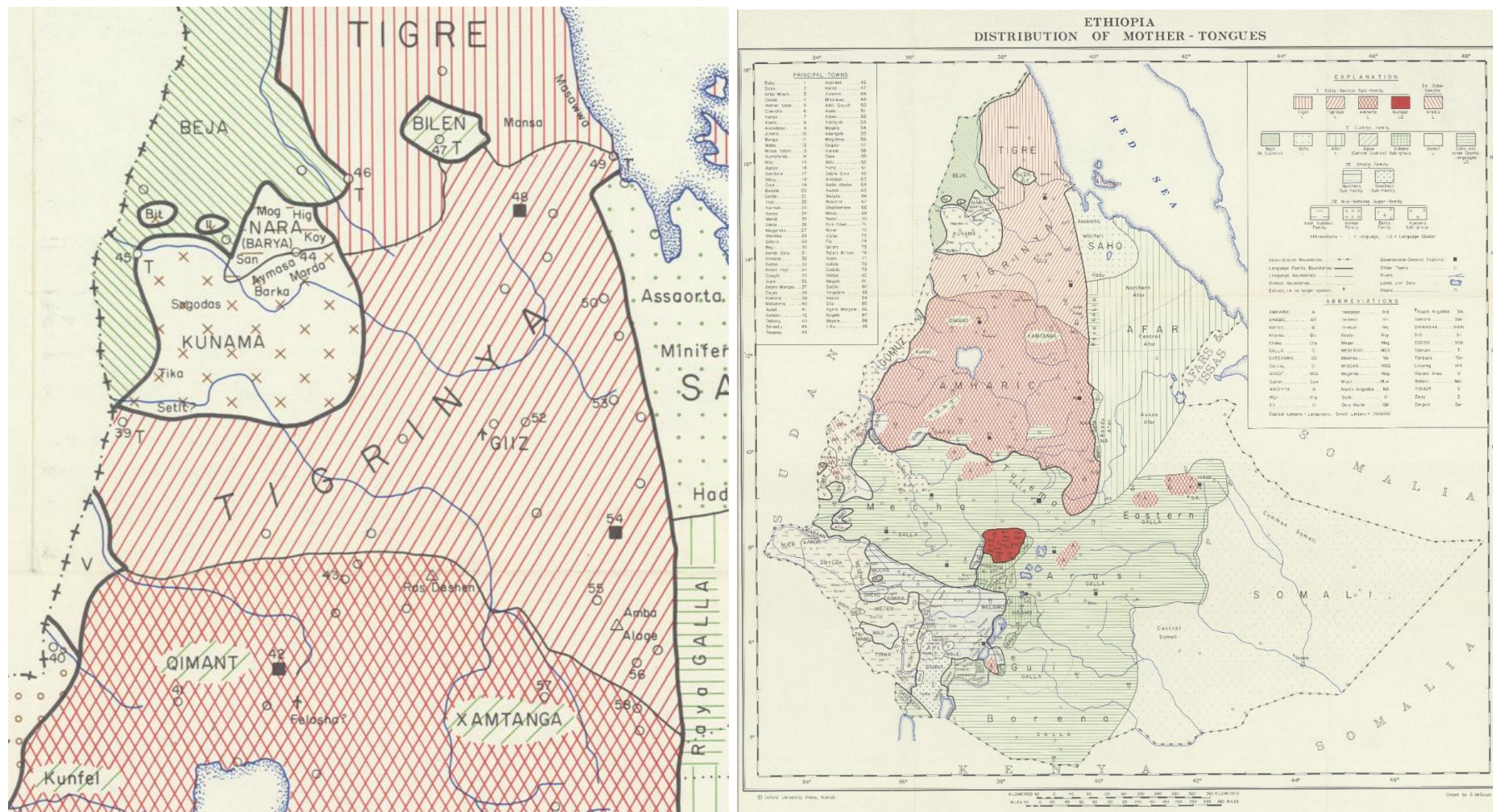
Besides an extent of Amhara language that is out of phase with all other language maps (pages 139 to 177), Levine's map holds numerous other inconsistencies. Tigre or Gurage are absent from the legend; dozens of Cushitic and Omotic ethnic groups as well as Gurage are lumped as "lacustrine"; Afar and 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

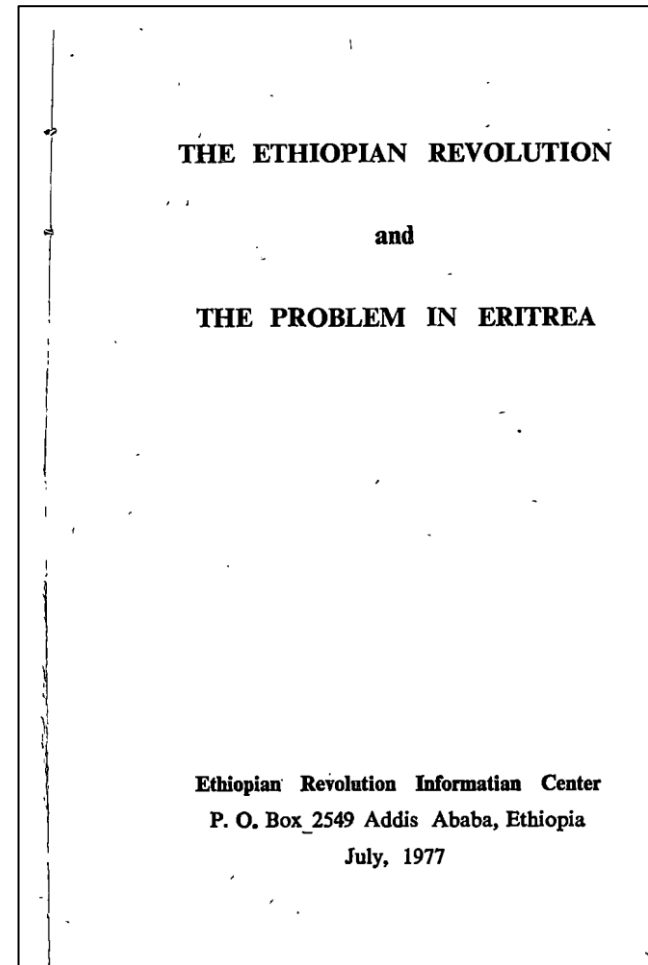
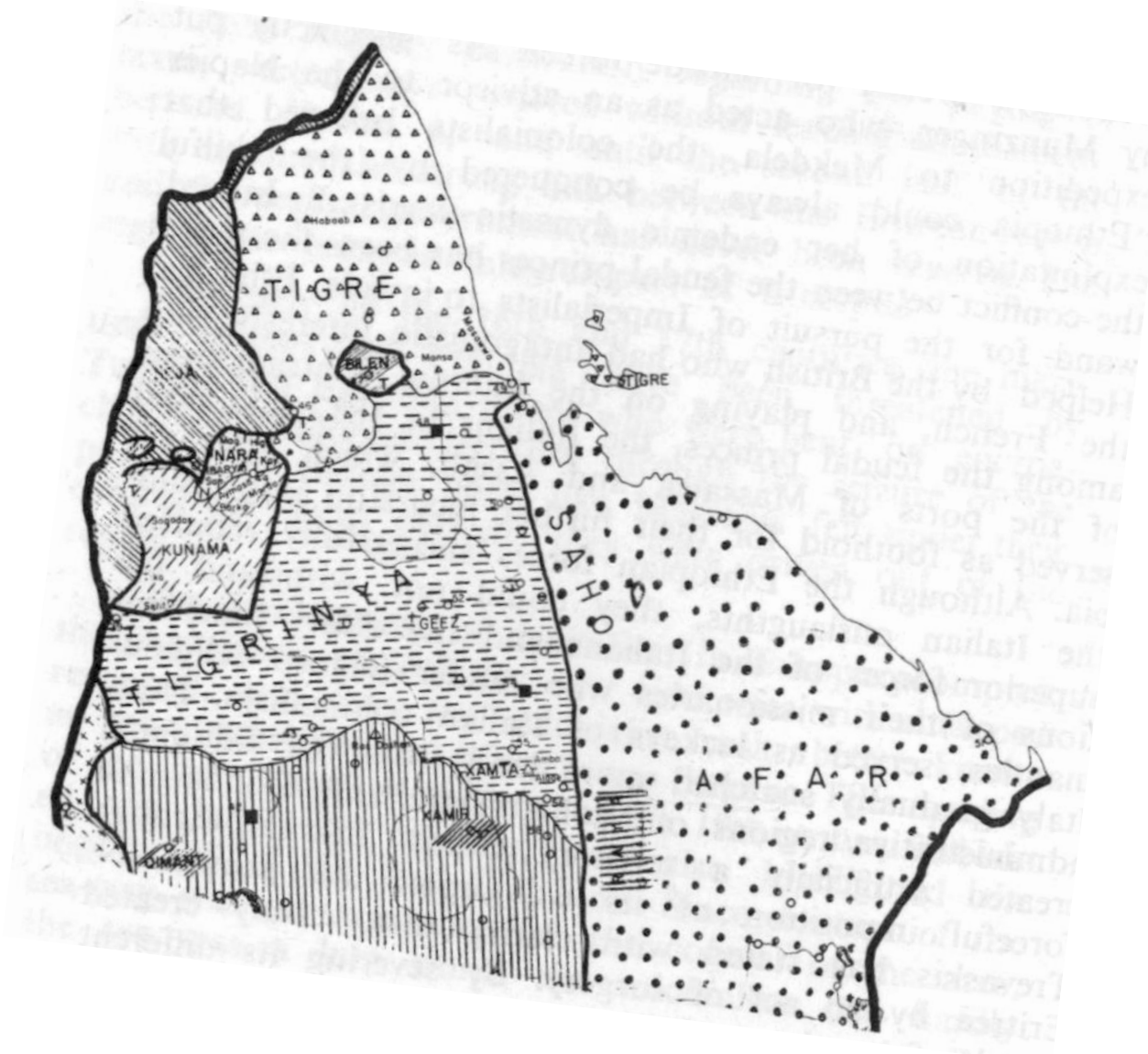
The current western Tigray mapped as Tigrinya-speaking, with Kunama along the shores of the lower Tekeze River. Localised “T” at Humera (39) for Takturri, people of West African origin who settled along their pilgrim route to Mecca (45).



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



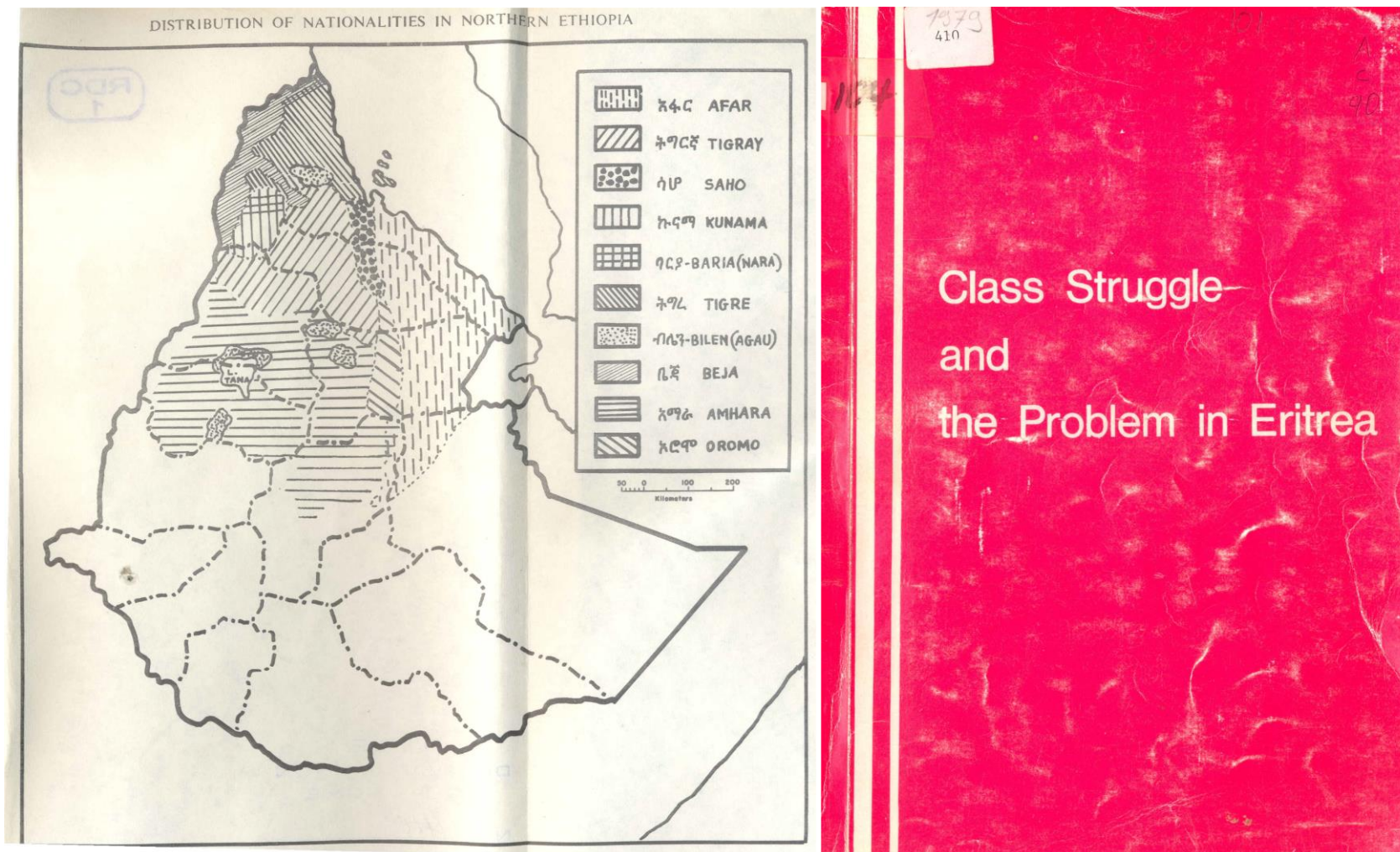
DERG, 1977. Distribution of nationalities in Northern Ethiopia.



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

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

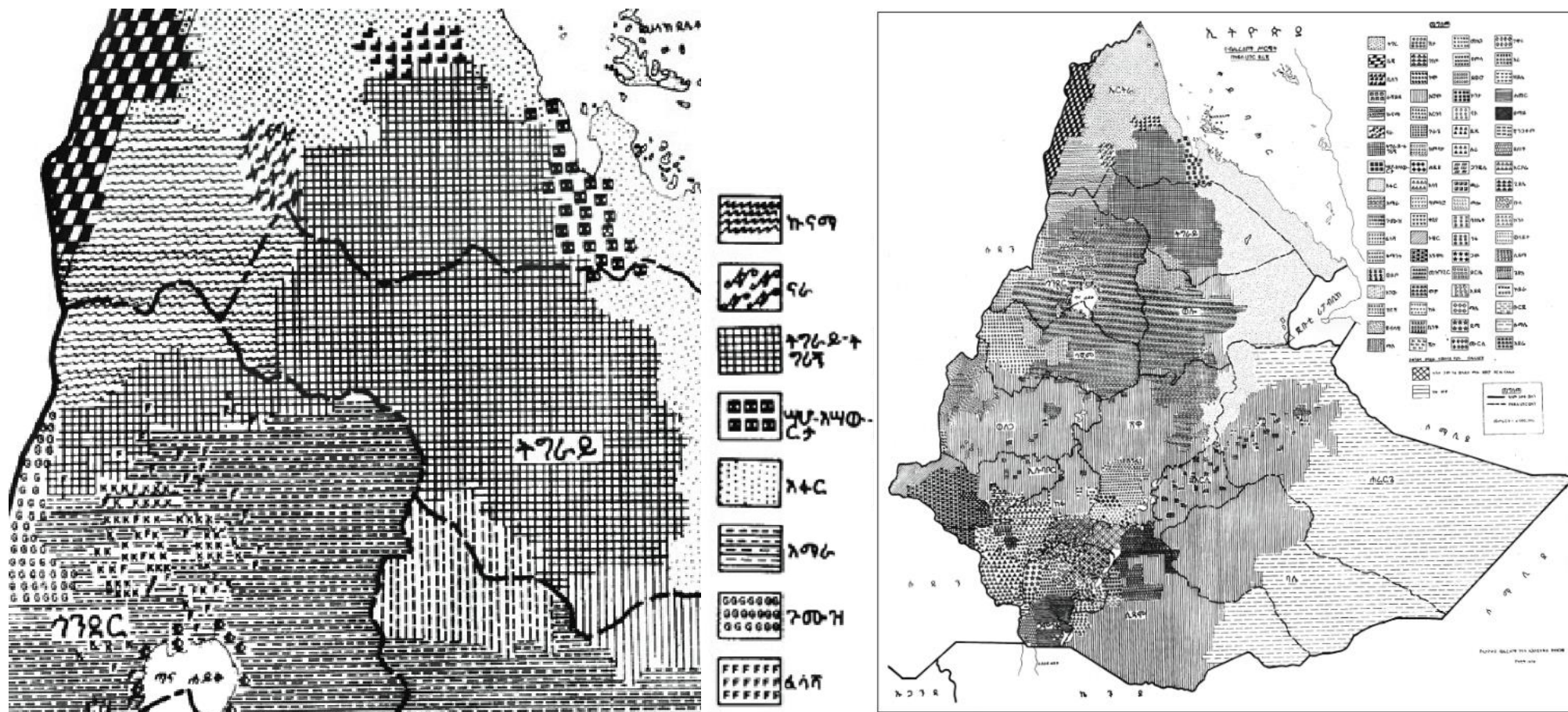
Tigrinya language area is mapped on both sides of the Tekeze River, reaching up to the Sudanese border. According to several occurrences in the book, at that time the Tigrinya language was spoken in areas that pertained to the Derg period provinces of Eritrea, Tigray, Gondar and Wollo. Areas mapped as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



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

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

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

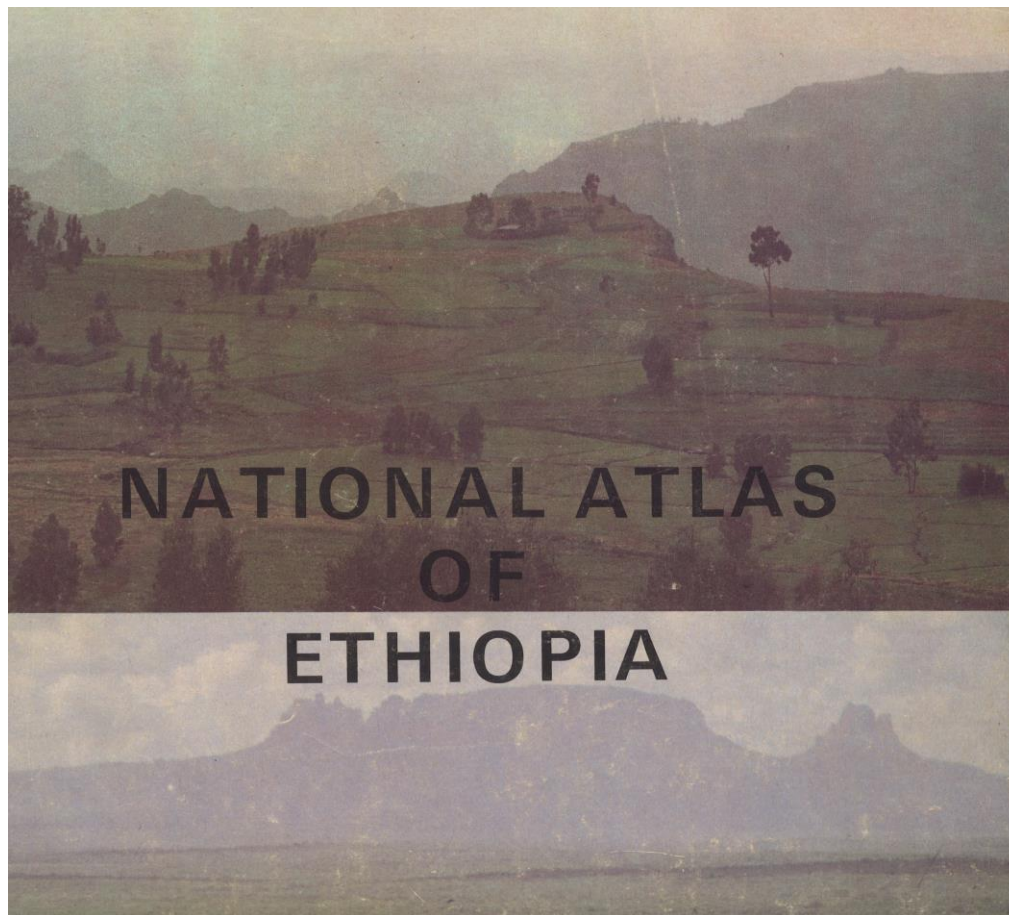
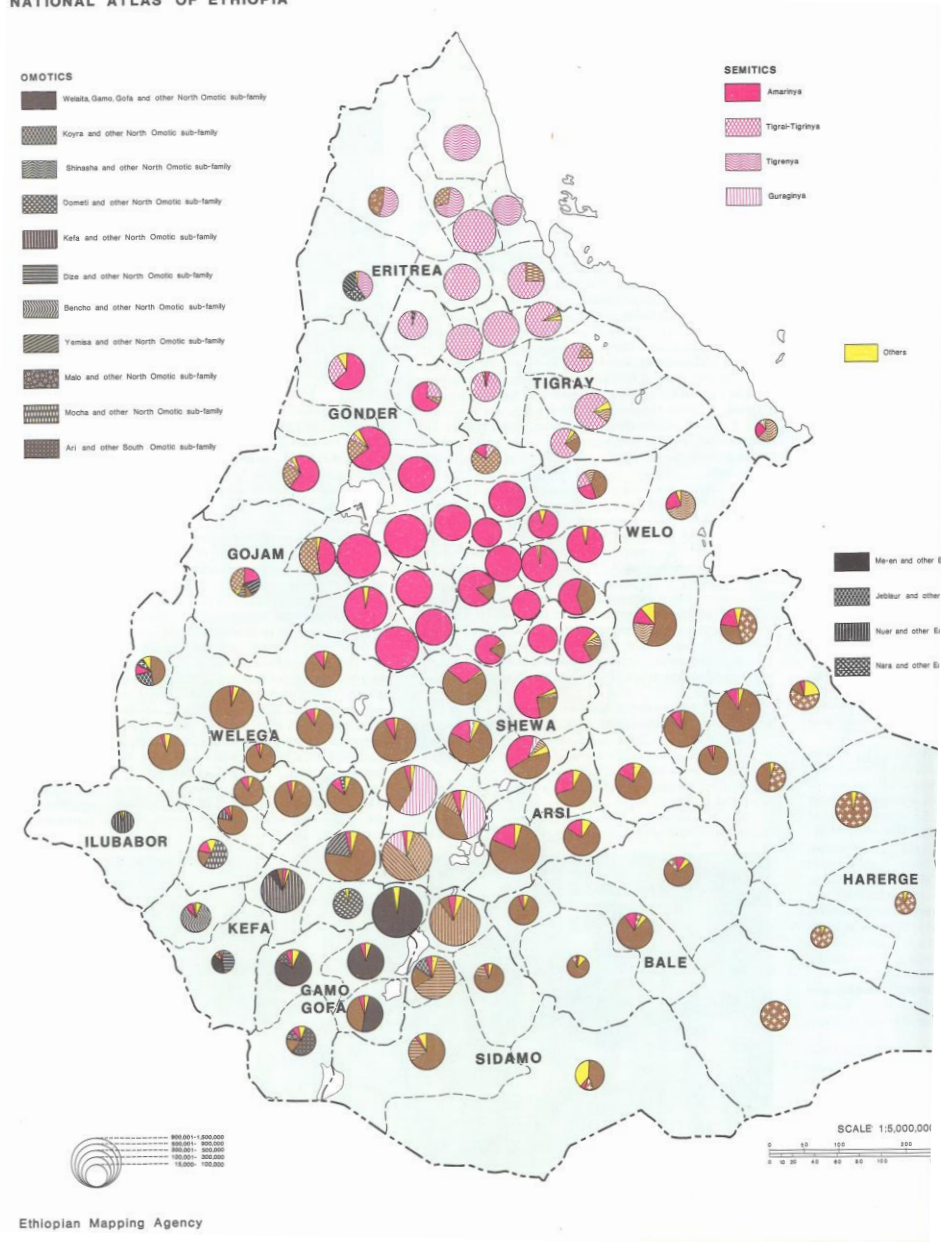


Legend, starting from the top: Kunama, Nara, Tigray-Tigrinya, Saho, Afar, Amhara, Gumuz, Falasha.

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

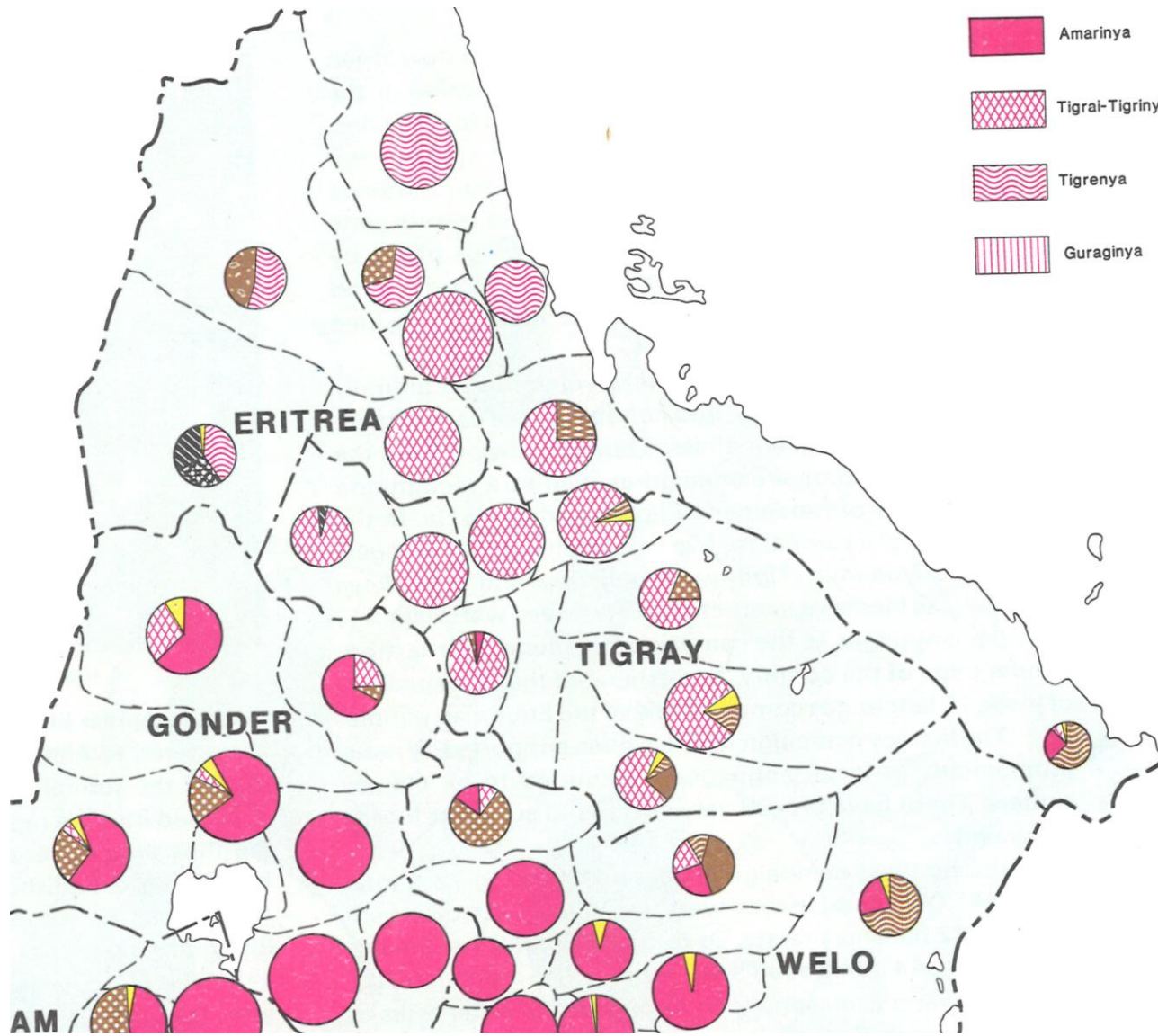
# EMA, 1988: National Atlas of Ethiopia - Languages

NATIONAL ATLAS OF ETHIOPIA



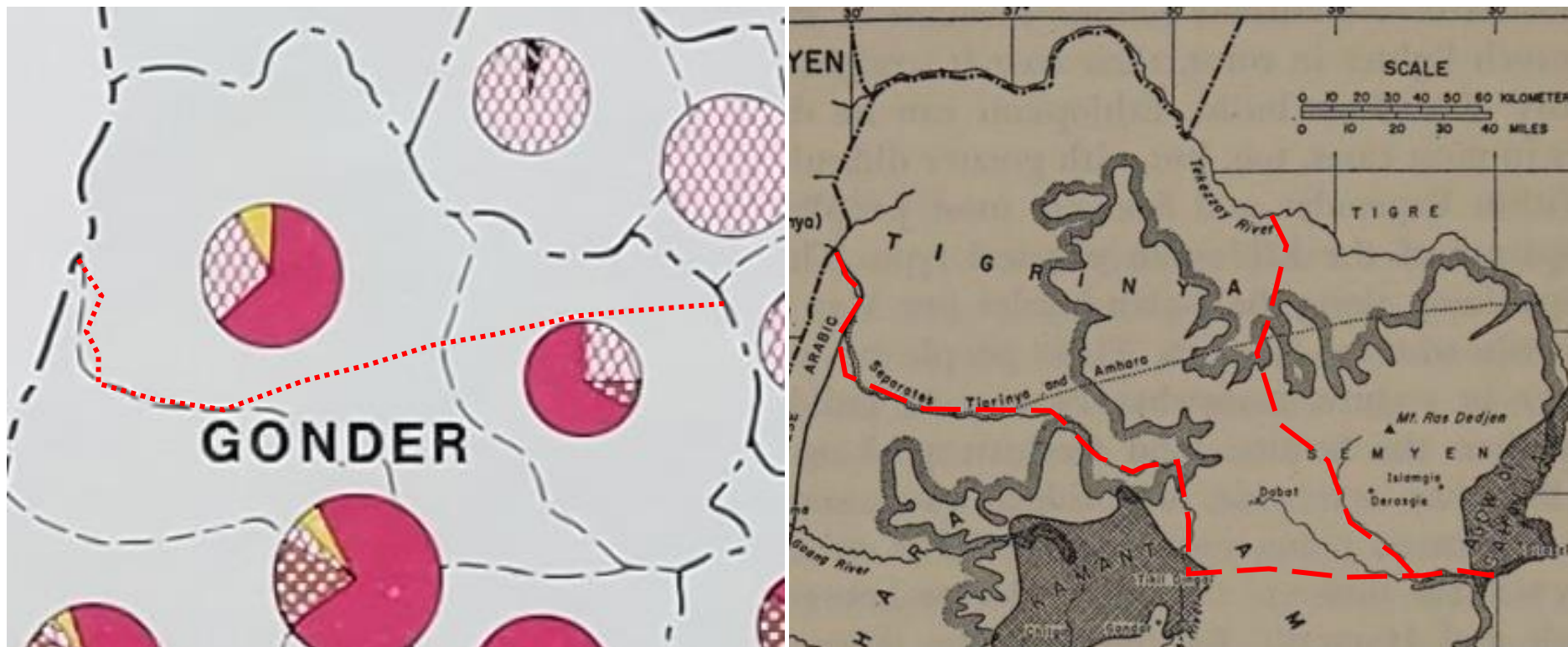
DATASET: HISTORICAL AND ETHNO-LINGUISTIC MAPS OF WESTERN TIGRAY - 172

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 Trimmingham’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.

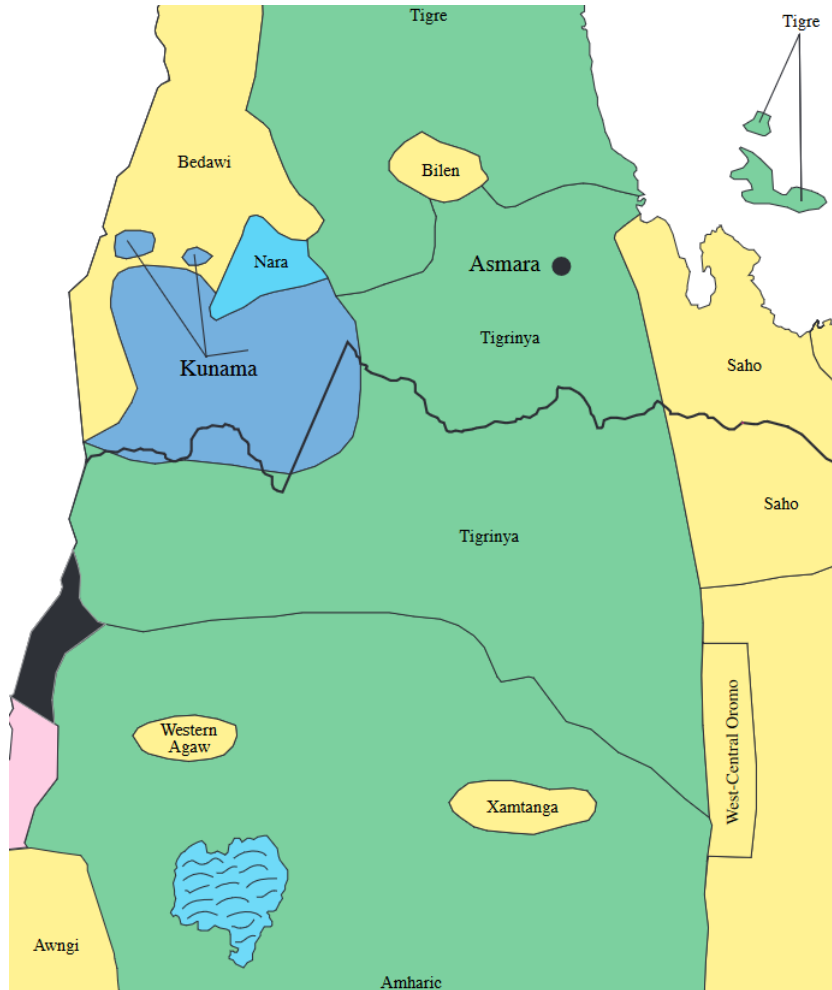


*Population distribution in the northern part of the Begemder province in 1967, according to Central Statistical Office and the Imperial Ethiopian Mapping and Geography Institute (27). Every dot stands for 1000 rural inhabitants. Larger black dots are settlements and circles represent towns. The central 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, 46).



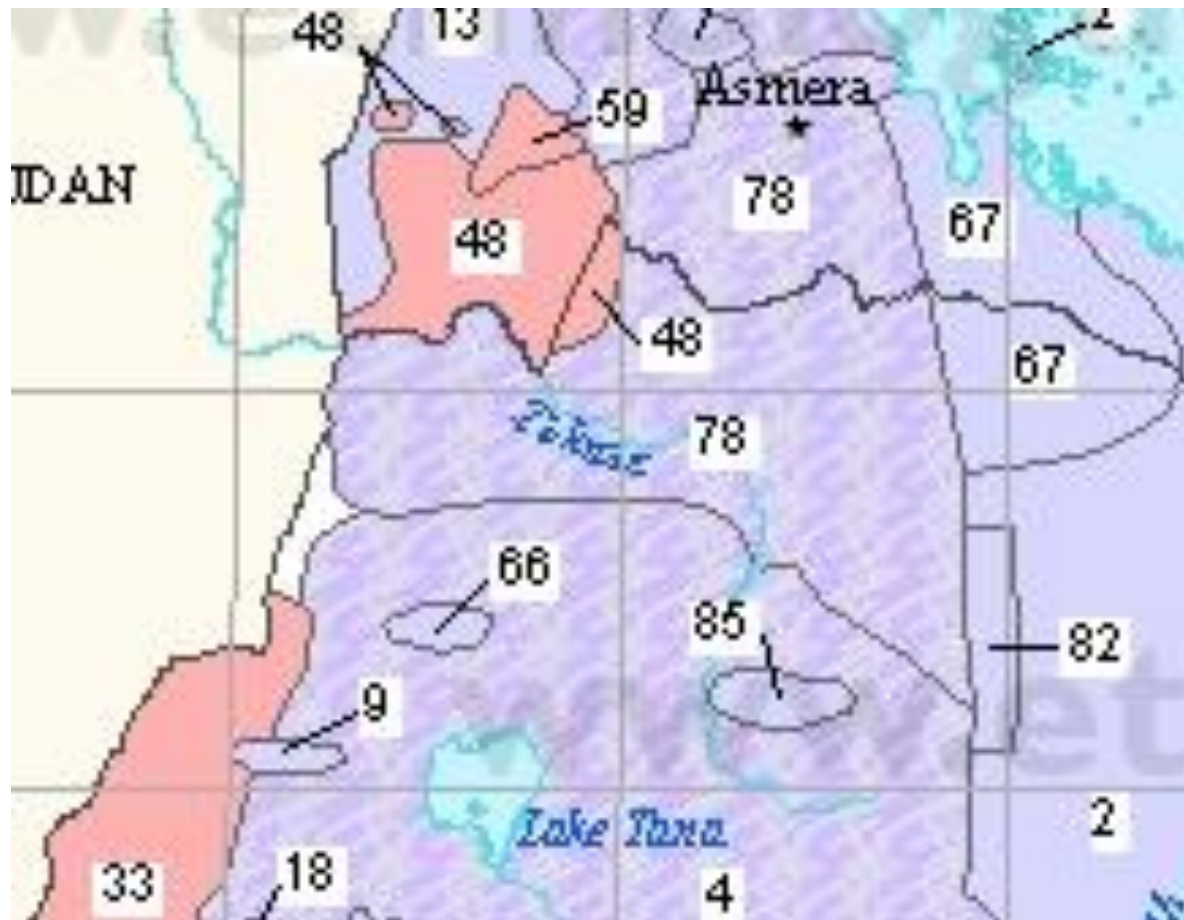
<https://silethiopia.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Language-Map-30.03.2005.pdf>

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



**Ethnologue**  
Languages of the World

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### Ethiopia

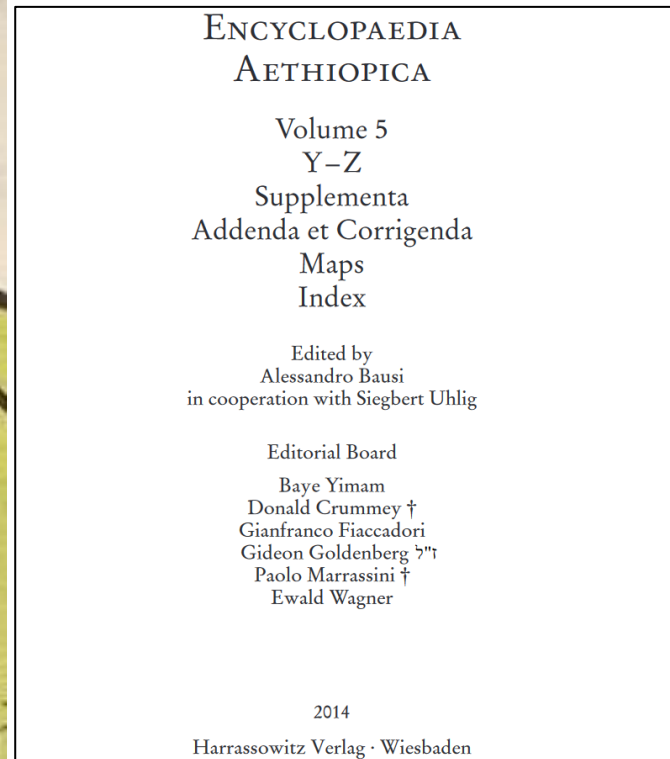
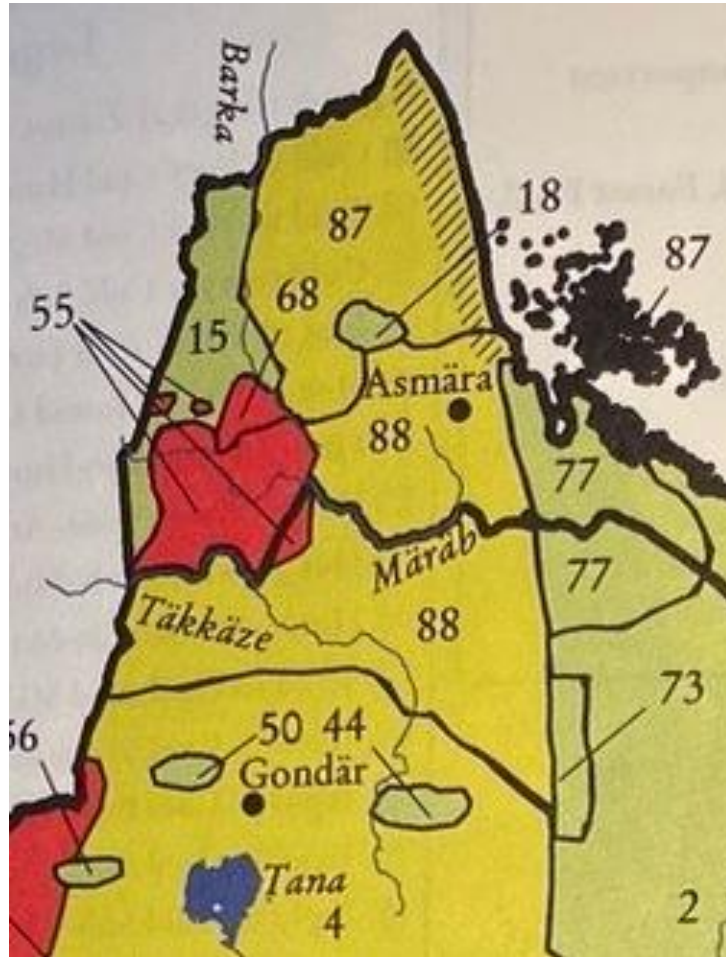
Print

COUNTRY	LANGUAGES	STATUS	MAPS
<b>Official Name</b>	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia		
<b>International Conventions</b>	ACHPR (1998), CPPDCE (2008), CSICH (2006), ICCPR (1993), UNCRPD (2010)		

[http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_map.asp?name=ET](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=ET) (behind paywall)

Map retrieved from: Tekabe Legesse Feleke, 2021. Ethiosemitic languages: Classifications and classification determinants, *Ampersand*, 8: 100074.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amper.2021.100074>.



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.