ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

ŠAYḤ ‘IBRĀḤĪM ‘AFFŪṢO

HIS MANUSCRIPTS HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND THE HALABA [ALAABA] SOCIETY HE LIVED IN

BY

FATHALBĀRĪ MUHAMMAD NŪR AWWAL

March 2012

ADDIS ABABA – ETHIOPIA
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

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ADVISOR
Professor Orin Gensler

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His manuscripts his contemporaries and the Halaba [Alaaba] society he lived in

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
Addis Ababa University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Philology

By
Fathalbārī Muhammad Nūr Awwal

March 2012
Addis Ababa – Ethiopia
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

ŠAYH 'IBRĀHĪM 'AFFŪSO

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By
Fathalbārī Muhammad Nūr Awwal

College of Social Sciences and Humanities
Philology Program Unit

Approved by
Advisor Orin David Gensler Signature
Examiner Joachim Crass Signature
Acknowledgements
Thanks to almighty Allāh for his unutterable graces! I extend my deep thanks to my parents, and to my wife Na’ima Rāggasa. Many special thanks go to my advisor, Professor Orin Gensler, for his valuable advice and constructive comments, and for helping with translations from German. Without his full support this thesis would have been much less successful.
I am also grateful to the team of the Governmental Communication, Cultural and Tourism Bureau (GCCT) in Halaba for their enthusiastic support, particularly the head of department Mr. Badru ’Isā.
I am also indebted to: Haj Yusuf Husayn, Haj Muhammad Nāṣr and his son Riyāḍ, Muhammad Sa’īd, director of Arabic unit in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Addis Ababa University, and Wulč’afo Jamāl for the rich information they provided. Thanks also to Yānīya Sayyid Makkīyye for her help with the Halaba Ajami.
My thanks also go to Professor Ulrich Braukämper (Institute of Ethnology, University of Göttingen, Germany) for sending me highly useful references of his own researches which were crucial to my paper. The informants are worth jewels of appreciation. I thank them all. My thanks are also due to many others who were connected with this work. In thanking all of the above I follow the teaching of the Prophet Muḥammad who said:

من لا يشكُر الناس لا يشكوّ عَلَهُ
Man lā yaškuru al-nāsa lā yaškuru Allāha
"Those who don't show gratitude to people don't show gratitude to Allāh!"
(Hadīṭ as narrated by Abū-Hurayra in Tirmīḍī 3/228)
Transliteration

1. Ethiopic

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**Abbreviations**

- A.A.U. Addis Ababa University
- Am. Amharic term
- Ar. Arabic term
- d. Died
- E.C. Ethiopian calendar
- fl. Floruit (flourished)
- G.C. Gregorian calendar
- H. Hijra
- Hl. Halaba term
- mss. Manuscripts
- rl. Ruled
Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father

Šayḥ Muḥammad Nūr Awwal,

may Allāh have mercy upon him.
Abstract
This thesis sheds light on Halaba society and culture, especially as reflected in the contribution of its scholars and Šayḫ ʿĪbrāhīm ʿAffūṣo in particular. The main aim is to emphasize their role in maintaining, improving and teaching the society.

The thesis has seven chapters. The first chapter contains an introduction which lays out the structure of the study. The second chapter deals with the related literature written by non-Halaba scholars. The third chapter presents an outline of the Halaba ethnic group socially, culturally and linguistically. The fourth chapter shows the technical way of preparing and writing mss. in Halaba. The fifth chapter discusses the scholarly literature written by the Halabas. The sixth chapter, after presenting a brief biography Šayḫ ʿĪbrāhīm ʿAffūṣo, analyzes his mss. and particularly the genealogy manuscript, comparing it with other genealogical mss. The last chapter includes the conclusion, recommendations, a list of informants and the bibliography.
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6.2 Šayḫ Ibrāhīm's mss.

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6.4 Pedigree of Halaba

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7.2 Informants

7.3 Reference
Chapter One – Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Every community has its own way of recording its culture and transferring traditions to the next generation. This is can be done either in oral or written form. From this point of view the study of ethnic minorities and their written works in Ethiopia, and of the Halaba people in particular, has been neglected for a long time. If it has been studied at all, it is mostly through the social sciences, anthropology and linguistics rather than through philology-based disciplines.

The intellectual contribution of the different Ethiopian minority communities has in general not been documented and studied. This seems clear when it comes to the role of local Halaba scholars. The case of Ḫibrāhīm ṬAffūso, his mss., and the Halaba society in which he lived can be taken as a typical example.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Halaba Arabic and Ajami mss., according to my knowledge, have not yet been studied at all. I hope to contribute to remedying this lack by introducing a native Halaba scholar, Šayḥ Ḫibrāhīm ṬAffūso. Hopefully, this research will be followed by other researchers and researches.

Moreover, the distribution of the mss. of the local scholars is difficult to ascertain. It is hard to find them, collect them, even sometimes to know their location. This makes the possibility of compiling, cataloguing and analyzing them very complex. This is one reason that I focus on only a single scholar in this thesis.
1.3 Purpose of the study

- To investigate the significance of traditional Halaba scholars and their literary works, to understand their role in serving the society they belong to, and to sketch the social and cultural history of Halaba.
- To discuss the role of traditional education in Halaba, both internally within their own society and externally in relation to Ethiopia as a whole.
- To reconstruct the biography of 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo, and to describe his literary contribution.
- To give the text of seven short mss. of 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo and to translate and analyze in detail his ms. on genealogy, comparing it to other genealogical mss., as well as discussing some of his letters.
- To highlight Ajami literature as used among the local Halaba scholars — its significance, technical details and system.

1.4 Significance of the Study

- Beyond the primary stage of finding and presenting the texts of the mss. by Šayh 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo and his Halaba contemporaries, the thesis studies them philologically, i.e., determining who wrote them and why, what they can tell us about the educational tradition, and what topics were focused on.
- The mss. are found in private collections and hence have never been studied, either by local or foreign researchers.
- It shows the contributions of 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo for the preservation of Halaba culture and for the growth of Arabic works in Ethiopia.
It will also serve as a starting point for future research and will bring the hitherto unknown works of 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo to the attention of scholars and interested readers.

It will provide the first introduction to Halaba Ajami literature.

1.5 Sources of data and data presentation
I made use of the following sources:

- Primarily data from seven Arabic mss. of 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo and other related Arabic mss. by other scholars.
- The relevant secondary literature.
- Data from unpublished written sources are cross-checked with the information gathered from oral sources; in particular, genealogies were collected from several ms. sources compiled by various writers.
- Interviews with informants.
- Since no single ms. or book contained all the information in chronological order, I had to analyze each source and then arrange it in chronological order. The aim was to close up gaps that one narrator had in his work but which another narrator did not.
- I found three Halaba Ajami mss. (not by Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo); one of them is analyzed in this thesis.
- Errors that appear in the original text are corrected by using square brackets, and in addition for comments to the text (including [!]).
- The symbol ~ means "correspondents to", and 0 means zero.
Chapter two - Review of literature

The study of philology is just in its beginnings in Ethiopia, and philological works on Halaba mss. are non-existent. Hence a review of literature about Halaba is very much in order.

The first scholar to discuss the historical and cultural aspects of Halaba in a detailed manner was Braukämper in his book *Geschichte der Hadiya Sud-Äthiopiens* (1980). According to him (1980: 57), the recorded history of the Halaba shows that, throughout the fifteenth century, the Hadiyya, another ethnic group, struggled repeatedly to obtain their independence from Ethiopia. In honor of Emperor Yāshaq (r1. 1413-30), a song was sung about the emperor’s victories against the rebellious 'Alaba and Gudälla who can be identified as Hadiyya subgroups.

Regarding 'Ibrahīm 'Affūso, as far as I know there is nothing written either about his life or his literary works, except a brief mention by Braukämper as a man who had good knowledge of the genealogy and traditions of the Halaba. Neither 'Ibrahīm 'Affūso nor other local Halaba scholars are mentioned by most scholars working in the field of Islamic literature in southern Ethiopia. The present study is thus the first attempt to present the works and the life of 'Ibrahīm 'Affūso as an Ethiopian scholar who made significant contributions to Ethiopian studies.

The first written mention of Halaba is apparently in the chronicle of Zar’a Ya’qob (rl. 1434-68), as given by Perruchon (1893:18), ... ṭwālti qalat gārad 'alu kwōlomu 'alā halāw masalehu. 'Halab garad must be an example for all', where "Halab garad" is listed among the leaders of groups defeated by Zār’a Ya’qob.
According to Nagga Wälødäsälase (1993), the Halaba of the Bələttæ valley are mentioned in 1614 in a report of the Portuguese missionary Antonio Fernandez¹ (d. 1642). On a projected trip from the Ethiopian dependency Kāmbata to the coast of the Indian Ocean, this traveler was forced by Aliko, the king of the Halaba, to return northwards via Šäwa to Gojjam. Aliko was at that time independent of the Christian state and on hostile terms with Emperor Susanyaös (rl. 1607-32). The oral traditions indicate that Aliko was the son of the famous Hajī 'Aliyye and a half-brother of Oyāta, who married King Hamālmal, who founded the Kāmbata dynasty around 1600. In the book The Oromo of Ethiopia by Mohammed Hassen (1994: 61), he states that Aliko was an ambitious man, who wanted to expand his territory, and that he was deposed by his own cousin in 1615.

According to Trimingham (2006:16, 31, 180-82), religiously the Halaba were one of the few Sidama tribes who were Muslims. This was so even at the time of Emperor Menālik II (rl. 1889-1913), when Christianity was the official religion and hence was adopted by many — but not by the Halaba. Regarding the Halaba religious doctrine, they adopted one of the major Sufi orders, the Qādiryya ṭarīqa, i.e., Islamic brotherhood, founded by the Hanbali jurist, 'Abdulqādir Al-Jaylānī (1077-1166); see Moreno (1941: 52-53).

Linguistically, Gertrud Schneider-Blum’s A Grammar of Alaaba gives a thorough descriptive overview of the structure of the Halaba language. The main chapters of this grammar deal with phonology, morphology and syntax, and contain many figures which mainly illustrate phonological phenomena.

¹He joined a secret diplomatic mission with Fāqrū Əqazi, appointed ambassador to the holy see of Rome and King Philip III of Spain (II of Portugal) by Susanyaös. They had to avoid the Red Sea harbors and the land-route to Cairo which were all controlled by Ottoman powers, and traveled southwards through Ennarya, expecting to reach Malindi and open a long-sought new route to the Ethiopia plateau. They went as far as the lands of Kāmbata and Gangero and returned after one year and seven months. (Encyclopediā Aethiopica V.2 p. 530)
Some traditional texts as well as English-Halaba and Halaba-English word lists complete this work. There is also a B.A. thesis entitled *Ya Alabana ya kambataña zayanat* "The Halaba and Kambata dialects" by Sälåmon Laggiso (1976 E.C. / 1984). His work focuses on comparing Halaba and Kambata phonetically and morphologically, with numerous examples. The two dialects have considerable mutual intelligibility and they have much shared vocabulary. In addition, a few pages are devoted to geographical and cultural characteristics. Geographically, the two are neighbors. They follow two different religions, but their funeral practices are similar, including slapping the chest, self-flagellation and putting off the funeral for two or three days after death. This traditional funeral culture is decreasing under the influence of both Muslim and Christian preachers and of education. Another practice is circumcision. The traditional belief is that it should be done in early childhood, to help prevent possible diseases or stunted growth later in life. The preferred days for this ceremony are Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday; other days are considered inauspicious. The preferred months are December and January, when the farming is already completed.

A further B.A. thesis focusing on Halaba was written by Bartukan Mängäsà in 1987 E.C. / 1995 *Ya Alaba boherásàb bahlawi gabča* "The traditional wedding culture of the Halaba". In this thesis she briefly mentions the contributions of local Halaba scholars to such themes as the migration and settlement of the people and general cultural features like entertainment, religion, funerals and circumcision.

The above researchers all discuss different aspects of Halaba society, but none of them mentions the Halaba Ajami literature either in its linguistic or philological perspective, although it is richly attested in the province. This literature is used as a tool to teach the community, transferring oral tradition to
written tradition, and to preach through composing poems that explain the fundamentals of Islam and give the biography of the Prophet Muhammad.

In general, the study of Halaba history, culture and heritage is still in its infancy. And what work has been done by researchers has not been devoted to describing mss. from the philological point of view.
Chapter three – Halaba society and history

3.1 Area sketch

The Halaba are an ethnic group who live in the Southern Nations’, Nationalities’ and Peoples’ Regional State of Ethiopia, and are one of the 7 wärädas in the South Nations Nationalities and People Region with a special administrative status ለይ ውልካ እይያይ wäräda, that is, a wäräda which is not part of any Zone, and directly under the Regional State council. The Halaba are related to the Qäbenä, Kämbata, Hadiyya, Tämbaro, Gädi’o-Därasa and Burji, linguistically, historically and genealogically.

The Halaba wäräda is bordered by the Oromo Region to the south and east, the Hadiyya Zone to the northwest and southwest, the Kämbata/Tämbaro Zone to the west, the Silțe Zone to the north and the Sidama Zone to the south. It is named after the Halaba people, and is their homeland.

Based on figures from the Central Statistical Agency, in 2007 (GCCT 2007) this special wäräda had a total population of 232,241 of whom 117,236 were males and 115,005 were females; 205,391 were rural dwellers, while the other 26,850 were urban. (Note: these numbers do not include the qäbäles of Yeye, Sewakon and Sinqōlle Bitena.)

The Halaba wäräda measures 973.76 square km., with annual mean temperatures from 24-29°C. The mean annual rainfall ranges from 759-1240 mm.; the altitude is about 1700-2200 m. above sea level.

For administrative purposes the wäräda is divided into the city of Qullito (with two sub-cities) and 76 rural qäbäles. New towns in the Halaba wäräda are Guba, Aläm Gābāya and Bāšāno. Qullito is the only city, the administrative center, and an important marketing and communication center, connected by a paved road to Addis Abāba and other cities like Šašāmānä and Arba Minč’. and
by gravel road to Hosa'na. It has five gates: one in the east towards Šašämānā which is 65 km. away, one in the west towards Hosa'na which is 76 km. away, a third gate in the north towards Wärabe which is 67 km. from it, another in the south towards Wolayta, 74 km. away, and one in the southeast towards Roppi, 28 km. away. The weekly market at Qullito is held on Thursdays, and is known as one of the largest open markets in Ethiopia.

The area around Qullito is famous for its production of green and red pepper and (Am. mitmitta), which are widely cultivated and are produced as a cash crop providing a sizeable part of the peoples' income. Hundreds of quintals of this crop are transported every week to Addis Ababa, Dässe, Šašämānā, Hawasa, Dilla, and other urban centers. The main cash crops are peppers, maize, (Am. teff), sorghum, dagussa (millet) and wheat.

Bee-keeping is still practiced traditionally by many farmers throughout the province of Halaba and the districts of Udana and the surroundings, most of which are forest. Honey is valued for its taste, healing properties and economic value. It is generally considered to strengthen the body and promote a long life. It is sold and used as a means of supplementing one's income.

According to 'Ibrāhīm 'Affīsono (Wulč'afo 1984), the word Qullito was originally the name of a man of the Side clan, who was lived around today's Water Resource Development Office quarter. He used a particular pathway to take his cattle to the Blatte River. When the Halaba people, who lived around that area and who had been using a much longer and more difficult route to the same river, became aware of this, they started to use this same path. In time, they started settling around this man's house and finally named the location after him. Originally, the route was called Gate of Qullito "Qullito Urro", but it became shortened to Qullito. (I know of no other suggested etymology for this name.)
Qullito lay on a major caravan route. On this route salt was transported from El-Qärä in Ogaden through Robe (in Bale) and Kofale (in Arsi) to Wolayta. There was also a large slave trade between Wolayta and Šäwa, of which Qullito was a market, around the end of the 19th century. The trade route at that time was insecure (Braukämper 1980: 183).

Today, the wärāda includes many different ethnic groups, mainly Amhara, Oromo, Tigre, Gurage, Kambilta, Hadiyya, Silṭe and others.

3.2 The term Halaba

There are a number of folk etymologies to explain the term Halaba, which are mentioned by Wulč'afo who in turn cites Ibrāhim Affūso, Sayyid Makkiye and Abba Miške Aliyye Guda. They are as follows:

1) The ancestors of the Halaba people came either from the Syrian Halab (Aleppo) or an alleged Libyan Halaba.

2) When Hajj Aliyye, a leader of the Silṭe ethnic group, came to the area, the other ethnic groups gave him gifts but not the people currently known as the Halaba. So he said to his followers in the Silṭe language "'Alə 'Aba" which means "they didn't give". So the name Halaba might have been taken from the Silṭe language.

3) The name comes from the question of 'Imām Ahmad bin Ibrāhim [nicknamed Grañ-the left handed fl. 1506-43], when he asked his supporters who had come to the area before him, "Did they refuse?" i.e., in Arabic, "هل أبي هل hal 'abā" (literally "did he refuse"). This indicates that they were people who had refused to convert to Islam.

4) It is taken from the name of one of the ancestors of the people, Halaba Māncāno.
5) Between Bale and Sidama, there is a mountain called by the name of Alabo, where the Halaba people lived for many years.

6) The Halaba people used to graze their cattle and drink milk in Doda/Bale. As a result they were named after this occupation, which in Arabic is حلال b or in Harari, Halabäta, meaning milker.

Of the above, the current chieftains of Halaba agree that Halaba is the name of the people and not the land. Additionally, Halaba is pronounced with a laryngeal Ha, and not the Amharicized pronunciation Alaba with 'A. Most of the Halaba believe that the last three of the above reasons for naming the ethnic group are adequate.

3.3 Movement and settlement according to the oral traditions

Oral traditions narrated by 'Ibrähîm 'Affûšo, Sayyid Makkiyye, 'Uṯmân Sittamo and Kalto Gäraro (all of which are mentioned by Wulĕ'afo, Mahdí, Muhammad Nâšr and Braukämper in his book of (1983) and his article of (2003)) state that the Halaba had their origin in Arabia and that it was only after a long period of migration that they finally settled in Ethiopia. (None of the individual narratives tells the whole story; below I have pasted together appropriate portions from different traditions.)

According to Muhammad Nâšr (2000), after crossing the Red Sea via Bāb Al-Mandab from their alleged homeland in Halab or Tripoli (Lebanon), they first settled near the Red Sea to the east of Ethiopia, and moved to the north of Ethiopia searching for a good environment for their cattle. There they lived for a number of years. The period when they were in the North was during the time of Amhara rule and the Amharas levied a yearly tribute of one Halaba girl, which they agreed to give. But when they gave this girl of theirs, they washed and shrouded her — rites that are performed over the dead — to show how
grievous it was to give one of their daughters away and to show how they
would consider the girl from then on. The Halaba paid this tribute for a while,
but then stopped and moved back to the southeast from where they had come,
not only because of the tribute but also because of their religious differences
with the Amhara.

Ibrāhīm ‘Affūso indicates that the Halaba are of šarīf origin, who came to
Ethiopia from Tripoli and then Yemen. They migrated from Yemen because of
trade, and their population increased in the regions surrounding Zayla' and
Jabarta on the Somali coast. Then they moved to Harar, where they stayed for
10 years, and then to Čārčār for five years. He also states that before the war
of 'Imām 'Ahmad bin 'Ibrāhīm 'Al-Gāzi, the Halaba inhabited the east of the
present-day Arsi area, mainly in Guna (Arba-Gugu) and Šärka Gādāb for sixty
years. When the war of 'Imām Ahmad started, Haji 'Aliye, with twelve men,
got to Kāfa in the west of Ethiopia to support him. The rest of the Halaba left
Šärka Gādāb and moved to Doda in Bale, where they shifted from trading to
grazing, and then went from Doda to Mount Alabo which is between Bale and
Sidamo. There they grazed their cattle for a long time and then moved on to
Sidama for about ten years (Wulč’afo 1984).

According to Braukämper, "When Oromo and Hadiyya informants were
questioned about Šärka, they spontaneously equated it with Širka in eastern
Arsiland, to which the traditions of many Alaba and East Gurage refer as their
former dwelling areas” (Braukämper 2004: 69). When 'Imām Ahmad
conquered Dawaro, Braukämper says, the Halaba “welcomed his troops and
joined them to fight against Christian supremacy, to which they had hitherto
been subject. The turbulence of the jihād provoked such far-reaching

2 The terms šarīf, sayyid and habīb are for the descendants of Hasan and Husayn bin 'Alī. Both are
grandchildren of Prophet Muhammad, through the marriage of his cousin 'Alī and his daughter Fatīma.
migrations among the peoples of that area that the whole ethnic situation was radically affected” (Braukämper 2004: 63).

Braukämper states elsewhere (1980:176) that “The migration traditions of the entire ethnic group were overlaid by those (traditions) which are connected with the traditions of the Hasan Alaba, who came to this area more than two hundred years later. The majority of the people had not joined the move to the west in the 16th century, but remained in Gadab. The center of Alaba settlement was the area between Dodola and the source of the Wabi Šebeli, (an area) which the Arsi still call “Alaba” today and where numerous clan names testify to the former presence of this group. From Gadab, part of the Alaba migrated to Malge in the northern Sidama highlands; the Qabena who migrated with them pressed on further to the north.”

In Sidama, two of the ancestors of the Halaba were born. Muhammad Naṣr explains (2000) that, “Here [in Sidama] the ancestor ..., Muhammad Mănčâno, begot two of his blessed progeny who were the forefathers of today’s Qabâna and Alaba ethnic groups.”

“As can be seen from a study of their genealogies and historical traditions, some Alaba and Qabena segments again left Sidamaland in the eighteenth century and migrated up the Bølatte to the vicinity of ŢOMBARO and Kambata” (Braukämper 2004:63). And, “because of the process of ḪIhâdd they moved their living area to the south of Gadab, and a part of the people migrated to the east, to the edge of the Gurage Mountain at the time of Amîr Nûr. And for unknown reasons, the Halaba left their homes in Sidamaland about 1720 A.D., crossed the Bølatte and settled in the vicinity of Kambata-ŢOMBARO in a place called 'Ilgâra [between Walayta and Kâmbata], where they lived for 12 years” (Braukämper 2003:206). As Wulč'afio reports in his ms. (1984), drawing on
'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo, the reason was that when the elderly Hasan Māncāno became blind and advanced in years, he stayed with his three sons: Yābale, Mālge and Yānase. His other sons and his brother’s sons migrated as mentioned above to 'Ilgāra. Muhammad Nāṣr makes it clear (2000) that it was Hasan’s brother Bukkana who migrated. He adds, “The place where Hasan Māncāno died was Šārka Gādāb and the place of his tomb is still well-known. It is visited by more than twenty thousand of his Halaba progeny each year, who make the visit because they want to keep in touch and stay connected with each other because they are so numerous and widely dispersed.” According to the report of GCCT (2007), the reason for the sons’ migration was because of a battle that took place with the 'Innariya clan in Guguma.

From ‘Ilgāra they moved to Ṭāmbaro where they lived for 15 years, according to Sayyid Makkīye in the notes of Mahdī (1996), but 16 years according to 'Ibrahīm 'Affūṣo as recorded by Wulē'afo (1984). Muhammad Nāṣr (2000) adds here that “a number of the Halaba in Ṭāmbaro left the place. But to this day, they meet . . . when it is deemed reasonable by their leaders. Their language is basically still the same, with some rare words sometimes appearing.”

The Halaba who left Ṭāmbaro then moved on to Mafīda. A story is told about this name. According to 'Ibrahīm 'Affūṣo, it was during their exodus that Waččamo (today Hosa na), who was the ancestor of the Wāsīra clan, died. They named the location of the place he died after him and lived there for a number of years before moving on to the Guna 'Onḍągaňñ region to the place called Mafīda. There they stayed for 15 years (Wulē'afo 1984). Sayyid Makkīye refers to Mafīda as Mafīda Gumaro (Mahdī 1996).

Both narrators ('Ibrahīm 'Affūṣo and Sayyid Makkīye) agree that the people divided into three: one group stayed in Mafīda, a second group migrated toward
what we now call Halaba, and the third to Qābena. This last group moved to 'Abbalte in the Jimma region.

Braukämper notes (2003:206) that in "about 1815, they were chased from there (Mafida) by the immigration of the Leemo-Hadiyya. In this area, they joined another group of their kinsmen, the so-called Uulla 'Alaba (derived from Uulla 'earth'), i.e., a homesteading people who had occupied this territory in the second part of the 16th century. In contrast to them, the newcomers were called Hasan Alaba after an ancestor. The final ethnogenesis of the Halaba was achieved by the fusion of these two groups." He also records (1980:177) that the Leemo came from the north in search of grazing land, and that they were a strong people. Due to their attack a separation took place between the Halaba and the Qābena; the latter moved to Gurageland in the north, where they still live today.

The Halaba lived with the Leemo in tension, until the warrior Šānqu, the son of war-leader Lilato – from the Side clan – quarreled with a Leemo man, Saţţamo – who was blind – and killed him. The Leemo threatened war and asked the Halaba for 300 cows as blood-price for Saţţamo. The Halaba paid 100 cattle in order to have peace and the Leemo demanded the same number for the next two years. In the fourth year, the Halaba refused to pay the tribute. The Leemo decided to wage war against them. 'Ibrahīm 'Affūṣo mentions that "the Halaba had agreed to pay 100 cows each year, which would have brought the total number of cows paid to the Leemo to 300 at the end of three years. However, the Leemo demanded a further 100 cows in the fourth year, which
was not in the agreement. The Halaba told the Leemo that the blood penalty was fulfilled and that no extra cows would be added. At this time the relationship between the two groups became sour and the Halaba looked on the Leemo with suspicion. Because they (the Halaba) were not the first to settle there, they were expecting the Leemo to attack them and try to conquer them’’ (Wulê’afı́ 1984).

One day, as a girl was cooking cabbage, the pot made a peculiar noise which the Halaba mistook for the sound of war. They were terrified and left the region in haste: the Qäbena to the north and the Halaba to the south. In fact, it was the fear of the Leemo, coupled with the sound of horses, that caused the already suspicious Halaba to leave the place without fighting. But a few Halaba, those who had intermarried, remained in the area of Guna and were assimilated into the Leemo ethnic group (Braukämper 1980:177 and Wulê’afı́ 1984).

After their defeat by the Leemo, the Halaba at first moved eastward to Yødäräq in Hulbarag, some time between 1810 and 1820; there they remained for less than 10 years (3 years, according ’Ibrāhīm ’Affūṣo (Wulê’afı́ 1984)). They were at first welcomed by the eastern Gurage Hulbarag as allies against the Leemo. But when the Hulbarag recognized that the Halaba could become a new enemy, they forced them to leave the country (Braukämper 1980:179). ’Ibrāhīm ’Affūṣo (Wulê’afı́ 1984) and Muhammad Nāṣr (2000) give the details of the story. When the Halaba were living together in Bufdäna with the Hulbarags, who spoke the Sölṭi language, they shared some similar religious and cultural features, as well as intermarrying with them. But the cattle and power of the Halaba increased and as a result of certain activities which demonstrated their power, the Hulbarags decided to take action against them. The Hulbarag called for a meeting, open only to those of Hulbarag ethnicity, to discuss the case of the Halaba, i.e., how dangerous they had become and what action should be
taken to secure the Hulbarag future. Finally, they came to a decision to attack the Halaba, not telling those who were in touch with the Halaba in order to keep it secret. A part of the decision was as follows (in the Šelti language):

\[ Ṽ thai Ṽ, sa car sa Ṽ, Ṽ, Ṽ, sa Ṽ, sa Ṽ, sa \ldots \]

hatat šifo gawtaton šiqasota ...

"Before they increase let’s finish them off..."

However, one of the Hulbarags whose daughter was married to a Halaba asked her to collect her furniture and bring it to his home because of the above-mentioned decision. The woman went to her husband’s house, told her husband of the secret decision that her clansmen had reached and then returned to her father’s house with her belongings. As a result, all the Halaba knew the arrangement of the Hulbarags. They departed for Mito speedily one night, taking only their children and cows; they did not collect their other voiced animals – like goats, asses, and chickens – but shut them in their homes to give the idea that they were still there. On their way to Mito, they took all the cattle and belongings of the Hulbarags when they found any, through the well-known tactic of (Hl.Gajiko Gages), which means running off and acquiring. When they arrived in Mito, they encountered the Wayyo of Arsi of the Oromo tribe, with whom they lived together. The boundary to Šašägo to the east remained stable and misunderstandings between them were limited to cattle rustling and clashes.

Following their assimilation with the Wayyo of the Oromo tribe, the Halaba and the Oromos decided to attack the Hulbarags, and did so more than once. The Hulbarags made a punning proverb about these attacks, which says:
The 'Alaba whom I raised (lit. grew up) Did not let me grow up.

This proverb gives an indication of how strong the Halaba were and how they took their revenge.

The Halaba arrived at Arsi guided by eight of their clan leaders Abagaz: Šoräko from the Side clan, Amo from the Safato clan, Abagaz Kotto from the Toronbora clan, Game from the Darimo clan, Boyambabiso from the Wäsärminä clan, Wädä (Hamdä) from the Wäšira clan, Hawalnä (Hato) from the Kolmine clan and Ţaso from the Azobado clan (GCCT 2007).

After a period of time the Halaba left Arsi as well. According to 'Ibrahim 'Affūso (Wulč'afo 1984), two different stories are told about their separation from the Oromo:

1) When a Halaba was returning from Lake Šala with his cattle, he was suddenly met by an Oromo. The Oromo had seen a big ox among the Halaba’s cattle and took it from the Halaba by mixing his own cattle with the Halaba’s. But the Halaba noticed it and told the Oromo that the ox was his. The Oromo returned the ox. But the issue escalated into a fight, the result of which was the death of the Oromo. The Oromos became very angry and surrounded the Halaba, demanding that the killer be surrendered to them. The Halaba knew that to refuse the Oromos’ request was impossible, so they came to an agreement, whereby in return for safe passage out of Oromo land, they would point out the killer’s place. The killer in turn accepted martyrdom in order to save his people. The Oromos agreed to this, and the Halaba left Mito for
Alage. The Oromos went to the place indicated by the Halaba and began searching for the killer. One of the Oromos saw something which looked like discarded furniture in a corner, but as he started to go through it the Halaba, who had been hiding behind it, suddenly came out of hiding and killed him. Then the Oromos killed the Halaba with their lances. This additional killing of another of their own doubled the anger of the Oromo towards the Halaba. So they pursued them all the way to Ṭabbamā and engaged in a battle in which many people died on both sides. The Halaba lost many people, particularly from the Darimo clan. After this war, they settled in Alage after collecting their wounded soldiers, elders, women, children and cattle.

2) In Dāṭbāla near Lake Šala, where the Halaba lived after their migration from Sabolla in the Hulbarag area, they became a part of the Oromo in accordance with the Gāda ruling system, which considered the two parties as an elder brother and a younger brother. Together, they attacked the Hulbarags more than once. After seeing the military tactics and bravery of the Halaba, the Oromos came to the conclusion that given time the Halaba would become stronger and that this small ethnic group would be dangerous even to them. So they decided to institute a different Gāda method, which was to assimilate the Halaba into the Oromo tribe. This decision was unacceptable to the Halaba, so they ignored it. After a while a Halaba man stole a cow from the Oromos’ land. The punishment for stealing under the former Gāda system was to flog the thief, not to kill him, which was the punishment under the new Gāda method. But the Oromos
determined to kill the thief. Hence the Halaba decided to flee to 'Ilgāra.

Finally, Muhammad Nāsr (2000) suggests that the separation from the Oromo occurred because of a problem with well-water.

Braukämper (1980:181) states that, during the first half of the 19th century, the territory of the Halaba extended until the 'Ilgāra, which was the area in the south of the Kāmbata Mountains where the Hasan fraction remained after their exodus from Sidama. He also states that the Halaba moved from Yādārāq, where they had lived for three years, to the southeast and went south through the 'Arsi lowland of Šašāgo to Lenda and Qullito at central Bølatte, where other Halabas called Uull 'Alaba were already living. This was the last stage of a long migration and of their crystallization as an ethnic group and with specific group consciousness (Braukämper 1980:181, Wulč'afо 1984, Muhammad Nāsr 2000). About 1820 they finally reached their present dwelling area in the lowlands east of the Bølatte River (Braukämper 2004:63).

According to 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo (Wulč'afо 1984), after 'Ilgāra the Halaba moved to Sanqällle, Qerrenso and 'Udana. Then they returned to 'Ilgāra to collect their relatives and settled in Hanša, where they divided the area among themselves. 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo and Sayyid Makkiye note that the Halabas' total wandering period was 118 years (Mahdí 1996).

After the expansion of Wolayta state in the second half of the 19th century, the Badawačo clan of the Kāmbata were pushed little by little to the north, which in turn put pressure on their northern neighbors; and in time they drove the Halaba from their territory west of the Bølatte. The Halaba were able to hold a small bridge-head on the other side of the Bølatte River, because the Badawačo were forced to concentrate their strength against the powerful Wolayta. During
the civil war at the time of Ləj 'Iyasu, the Halaba lost this area to the Badawaco. The Badawaco pushed the Halaba back from the Dato mountain area, which had previously served as grazing land for their cattle (Braukämper 1980:181).

According to 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūso, after 27 years of living in Lenda and Qullito, the Halaba were raided by the Amhara governor Ras Gobāna (d. 1889), who was the first ruler of Halaba province (Mahdí 1996 and Wulč'afo 1984). Braukämper similarly states (2003:206) that the area of Halaba was incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in a military campaign of Mənilik's general, Wādajo Gobāna, in 1891-92.

3.4 Composition of the Halaba clans

Information about the composition of the Halaba clans is mixed and confused. The earliest known documented information of their composition starts after they arrived at Arsi, to which they had been led by eight of their leaders as mentioned above in sec. 3.3.

For a few of the clans, namely the Side, the Darimo, the Wāšira and the Šamana, we have some oral information about their historical background. We are best informed about the Side. They are descended from people of an earlier migration wave, who came to Gurageland from the area between the western part of the Č'ärč'är range and the Širka area at the time of Amīr Nūr and were scattered in the wars against the Amharas under Sārs'ā Dōngal (rl. 1563-97) and Susənyos (rl. 1607-32) (Braukämper 1980:179). We are also told that they are descendants of a Muslim prince who had lived in the Gurage-Kāmbata area and was a contemporary of Emperor Susənyos (Braukämper 2004:64). Under
the name Mogomanna they also held an important position among the Čāha-Gurage.

Just as the Side had once achieved a leading position under the original inhabitants of the region, under the name of Agamo and Mogomanna, they also had an important political role under the Halaba and the Qābena. About eight generations earlier, still at the stage of 'İlgāra-Ťâmbaro, Dilapa, the first of the Side to hold the title Woma (Hl. Wom), joined the Halaba and founded a kind of dynasty. Since then the Side have differentiated themselves from the "ordinary" Halaba, calling the latter (Hl. ağger). There is no doubt about the chronology: eight generations until Dilapa and the stay of the Halaba in the area of Ģāmaro in the mid-18th century. Genealogically there are no traces of the Side among the Halabas in Sidama, which gives an additional indication that they were first integrated into the Halabas in the north. It is unknown why they joined another ethnic group that was such a long distance from their original scattered settlements in the Gurage region, and rose to such a leading position (Braukämper 1980:179-180).

For three other clans, the Darimo, Wāṣira and Šamana, we have much less information. The Darimo enjoy high prestige among the Halaba, and also among the Qābena and East Gurage. They are said to be descended from an eponymous ancestor Darimo, a brother or cousin of Side. In order to differentiate them from the rest of the Halaba, the Sides and the Darimos are jointly named after a common eponymous ancestor, Nasro (Braukämper 1980:180).

As for the Šamana clan, they claim that their ancestor is Haji Nāṣir, probably the same person as 'Abdul Nāṣr, a commander of 'İmām Ahmad bin 'İbrāhīm Grañ’s army (Braukämper 2004:158).
Currently the clans are distributed all over the Halaba territory (GCCT 2007). They are as follows:

- **Ajja**: Čalmānā, Kānasā, Korjo, Nāgada, Toroda, Zebeđa
- **Anāšaqo**: Darimo, Kāncā, Kučā, Sāfato, Ţorontnora, Zizanča
- **Awda**: Gänza, Kitabo, Mālga, Side, Wāšarminā
- **Azobada**: Haqlā, Kolminā, Mānola, Toqqu, Wāšira

The clans of the Halaba, and of the closely related Qābena and Ajamu, are composed of families and sub-families, as depicted in the following table (GCCT 2007).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Families and Sub-Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darimo</td>
<td>Wačamo, Fučare, Amano, Azmaro, Stâñe, Dolap'ā, Abečo, Ajamo Lenēha and Ašlāba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gänza</td>
<td>Hagago, Bučāče, Ratose, Šifāta and Dulala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānasā</td>
<td>Bulamo, Atalo, Kātāma, Burase, Susa, Grja and Arago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitabo</td>
<td><em>Family 1</em>: Yānā’ute and his sons Bulānčo, Ribana, Zatwalāmo, Gumgāna, Riččāna, Bade, Barsāba, Gisa and Abte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Family 2</em>: Yākuče and his sons Qulunbo, Guzube, Lākko, Daru, Luta and Asqālāta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolmine</td>
<td>Đaqino, Maltano, Hamida, Dagero and Sāminčo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālga</td>
<td>Awlānāba, Gudār, Jafār, Halo, Abubākār and Kālīfa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāfato</td>
<td>Abite, Aurago, Gidano, Fifato, Čno (Anāšaqo), Auma, Lanko (Manolā), Tāmamo and Toqqu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side</td>
<td>Wom-dolap’ā and subjacent Wom-’urāgo, Wom-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As a final point, clan identity is seen in Halaba as the prime determinant of social identity. Exogamy being the common practice in Halaba culture, clan identity is very important in defining permitted and prohibited marriage partners: intermarriage of Wāshira to Wāshira, Side to Side and so on is not favored. It is also important in determining rights to resources such as land, cattle and even inheritance, as well as indicating the rights to duties in central rituals and in conflict resolution. For example, whenever there is an assembly of the Halaba, the Sides must preside. If no Side is present, then another clan may preside.

3.5 Society and culture

According to the travel report of Fernandez (d. 1642), at the beginning of the 17th century a small Muslim principality existed in Halaba whose leader, Aliko,
was evidently the son of the famous Haji ‘Aliyye (Braukämper 1980:176, 2004:64). This report shows that the ancestral Halaba (‘Uull-‘Alaba) living in the area east of Kāmbata at the beginning of the 17th century were still Muslims.

Later, when a group of the Halaba were living with the Leemo-Hadiyya, they maintained their separate identity by virtue of their occupation as leather workers and producers of saddles and bridles (Braukämper 1980:177). Most of the Halaba later migrated from Leemo-Hadiyya to Sabola-Hulbarag, where (according to ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Affūsō) they adopted their Silte language, their style of worshipping and their culture as well as intermarrying with them (Wulè’afo 1984).

After their subsequent migration from the Hulbarag area, the Halaba became allies of the Wayo clan of the Arsi-Oromo through the adoption ceremony of (Hl. Lalaba) [Am. mutōnī ‘protection’] (Wulè’afo 1984 and Braukämper 1980:181). Following this adoption, the Halaba and the Wayos decided to attack the Hulbarags. As a means of identification so as not to kill each other on the battlefield, the Halaba came up with the idea of tying grass (Hl. duffas) on their heads. Also as a proof that a warrior had fought and killed in the battle, and to confer upon him the status of a hero, the Halaba adopted the practice of cutting off the foreskins of their slain enemies. The Halaba adopted the Oromo pagan religion of Awama as well as the cultural practice of wearing multicolored (Hl. doqas, gobas and the so-called megtei), an apron that was belted at the waist. However, the friendly relations with the Oromos did not continue but became hostile, leading to the battle of Tibamme, where many people died. To commemorate the Halaba heroes who died in this battle, the
Halaba women composed a song which is still sung at wedding ceremonies today. It says:

\[
\text{Salir badatno daro badatno}
\]

Near to Lake Šala the medicine is near

This means that the blood of those who died in battle near Lake Šala became “medicine” in the soil of the lake’s shore (Wulč‘afo 1984).

Language

The Halaba language (self-name: Halaabisata), together with Kämbata, Qäbena and Ţambaro, belongs to the Kämbata language group which is a subgroup of the Highland East Cushitic family. Linguistic information about Halaba is described fully by Schneider-Blum (2007), and I will not repeat this description here. The exact identity of the language spoken by the Halaba in earlier times is not clear, but their oral traditions of movement and later settling indicate that they were originally Semitic speakers who switched to Cushitic. The Halaba “through intensive contact with these groups [Ţambaro and Kämbata] … are said to have changed their Semitic (East Gurage) language in favour of the Cushitic Kambata idiom … The names in the genealogies and the oral traditions do not give sufficient indices for a reliable language classification. However, the Arsi traditions report that Hadiyya groups north of the Wabi Shäbballe, whom they either assimilated or expelled, were ‘Gurage-speaking’, that is, from the Semitic cluster” (Braukämper 2004: 63-65).

“It is uncertain whether the ‘old’ Halaba settlers Ulla-Alaba still spoke the Semitic language of their East Gurage clan relatives and were only Cushiticized by the new settlers, or whether already before, as neighbors of the Kämbata,
they had taken over their Cushitic language [i.e. Kämbata]” (Braukämper 1980:179).

**Socio-Political formation**

Alongside the linguistic change from Semitic to Cushitic, it is probable that the Alaba were subject to Tambaro and Kambata influence in the socio-political sphere as well. The title (Hl. Woma) and the institutional customs connected to it were clearly borrowed from the monarchical structures of these neighboring groups. In the second half of the 19th century, the political leader of the Halaba was Nunnaide (d. 1885) of the Side group. His title of (Ar. 'Imām) is a definite sign of a socio-cultural transformation: with the re-Islamization process, the traditional institution of *Woma* was pushed into the background (Braukämper 1980:180).

A large variety of titles are given to the local leaders, such as:

1. *Abāgaz* denotes those who have been elected as representatives and spokesmen of the people in meeting with other ethnic groups.
2. *Gārad* is a title used to indicate chiefs, kings or rulers of different rank. It has been an official designation *Halab garad* since the time of Emperor Zār‘ā Ya’qob, as mentioned in his chronicle (Perruchon 1893:16).
3. *Šakka* is used for an elder and scholar.
4. *Haji* is used to address a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.
5. *Kitabānna* ‘book person, scholar’ is derived from the Arabic word *kitāb* ‘book’, and is used specifically to indicate a scholar who teaches and preaches in the mosque.
6. *Gāribas* are people who roam around carrying Y-shaped sticks as a symbol of Nūr-Husayn, and make pilgrimages to his grave in Arsi.
7 The Arabic title ‘Imām means leader or master. In Halaba, the title was first applied to ‘Imām Nunnade and is also sometimes used as a proper name: ‘Imama.

8 Other means of addressing people include ‘Abba ‘abālu, i.e., ‘father of …’, and ‘Abalu ‘Amma ‘mother of…’

9 Azma was formerly a traditional title for a war leader.

10 Wom was formerly a traditional title for a clan leader.

An economical and agricultural transformation also took place at the initiative of ‘Imām Nunnade from about 1860 onwards. From Wolayta he adopted the cultivation of maize, white and red sorghum, taro, coleus and cotton. Additionally, enset cultivation was introduced from Kāmbata, although it proved to be not suitable for growing at the altitude of 1800 meters. These innovations, however, were very difficult for a conservative people to accept. As nomads, the Halaba felt that cultivation of the land destroyed the grazing grass and the balance of nature. Only after decades did agriculture become normal among the Halaba (Braukāmper 1980:182).

Muhammad Naṣr (2000) provides extra detail for the story. Nunnade the son of Wadello had only a little education but he was brave, smart and broad-minded. He organized the Halaba group, making Qullito their center and dividing the surrounding areas among the clans. The Halaba had never succeeded in establishing an independent rule before Nunnade. They remained, like most of the other ethnic groups, nominally subject to the powerful rulers of the day: the emperor and the Italian colonialists. Nunnade started to think about how to transform the Halaba people from nomads, whose lives were dependent on the milk of cows and the exchange of this milk and its derivatives with other tribes, to a settled people. This was the case even though their neighbors, the Kāmbatas and the Wolaytas, were already agriculturalists. He decided to bring
wheat and pumpkins from Wolayta and Kambata. However, the people refused to plough, believing that the ground should be used only for grazing. They threatened that if he tried to split their ground, that they would split his stomach. But he ignored them, inviting their women for a ceremony where the food that he was trying to get the people to adopt was served. The women returned to their homes and succeeded in getting their husbands to reassess their position on farming.

Muhammad Nasr also mentions that Nunnade was the person who built the Jami Al-Nur ‘Nur Mosque’ in Qullito, the largest mosque in Halaba. For several decades the congregational Friday prayer (Salāt al-Jum’a) has been held at this mosque. The mosque has had a long and partly stormy history characterized by administrative obstacles and financial difficulties. The Italians renovated it at the time of their occupation. One of the problems the mosque faced during its early history occurred at the end of the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. A decision was reached by the municipality to change the location of the mosque from the center of Qullito to its outskirts and they specified a place near the River Balatte (locally known as Wayra) offering the argument that places with religious overtones should not be in the middle of town. A committee organized by Sayyid ‘Ali, his son, Sayyid Makkiyye, Haji Muhammad Nasr himself, and Haji ‘Abdullah Omar Franko came together to persuade the municipality to change its decision. Haji ‘Abdulla Omar even left his work and risked the possibility of prison to follow this cause. He was in fact imprisoned and banished from the town of Qullito for a while until he and the other members of the committee were finally successful.

As Qullito expanded, the number of Muslims residing in the city also increased. In the Derg period, some of the community’s prominent elders took
the initiative to erect a large mosque. Firstly, a committee went through Halaba, collecting contributions for the building of this mosque. The committee also flew to Saudi Arabia to collect money from the émigré Halaba who lived there. After collecting these contributions, including a large donation from Sayyid Makkiye’s personal funds, enough money was raised to build the current mosque. In addition, some of the money went into building shops around the mosque. Two shops were constructed and the income from the rental of these shops was donated as an endowment to the mosque. The endowment was not only used to cover the mosque’s expenses but was also used to build additional shops. Additionally, the monthly salaries of the 'Imām ‘A person who leads the prayer ...’, the Muʿazzin ‘The man who calls loudly before each obligatory Ẓalāt, calling the people to prayer ’ and the guards were (and still are) covered by it. The 'Imāms were successively the Yemeni Šayḥ Qāsim ʿAbdu who was succeeded by Šayḥ ʿUṯmān Labbiso; the current incumbent is Šayḥ ʿAhmaddin Uṯmān, with Šayḥ Šifā Muḥammad and Šayḥ Mahdi Husayn as co-'Imāms.

**Islam in Halaba**

The process of Islamization in Halaba occurred through Sufi scholars, learned men, and traders, usually Ethiopians but sometimes of foreign origin. In the middle of the 19th century, around 1850, a campaign for re-Islamization started in the area of Qullito under the leadership of missionaries from outside Halaba. One such missionary was Šayḥ Šālih/Walle, who came from Yifāt to Halaba after an intermediate stay in Sīlte. He did not stay with the Halaba for long, choosing to return to the eastern Gurage area. The missionary activity of Šayḥ Hanna from Bale was more important. He belonged to the famous Nur Husayn line. During his preaching, he is said to have informed the Halaba of their
genealogy and origin at the Dato Mountains west of the River Bəlatte, telling them that they were Muslims and that their clan fathers such as Hasan and Side had made major contributions to the religion. He exhorted them with great conviction to return to the religion of their fathers and the Halaba immediately reaffirmed their identity as Muslims. The activity of Šayh Hanna established a permanent institutional base of Islam among the Halaba by building Quran schools and organizing pilgrimages to the tomb of Šayh Husayn. He died in the Halaba area west of the Bəlatte and was buried in the favorite place of his missionary activity, the Dato Mountains. Additional Islamization impulses in the 19th century came from Hasan 'Ənjamo of Qăbena, with his fanatical desire for religion which impressed not only the Qăbena but also the neighboring peoples such as the Halaba (Moreno 1941:52-53, Braukämper 1980:182). In the 1940s, a sanctuary was established in honor of Nurullah 'Ahmad, the eldest son of Šayh Husayn, on the banks of the Bəlatte River near Qullīto (Braukämper 2004:159).

As Muslims, the Halabas observe the three holydays: (Ar. 'Īd Al-Fiṭr, 'Īd Al-'Aqṣa or 'Arafa, and Mawlid). 'Īd Al-Fiṭr comes at the end of the Ramaḍān fast, which is one of the five pillars of Islam prescribed by Islamic law and which is obligatory for all adult Muslims. In Halaba, the regular observance of the 'Īd is on the eighth of Sawwāl, the month after Ramaḍān, because the pious among them continue to fast for six days at the beginning of this month prior to the 'Īd (2-7 Sawwāl, the so-called Šawwāla). 'Īd al-'aḍḥa or 'Arafa, a popular Muslim festival which is held all over the Islamic world, takes place on the 10th day of the month of ḡū al-hijja. In this festival, those who are able will
slaughter an animal. In both festivals, children are given new clothes and after
the prayers, some coins by their parents and relatives.

Another major social festival is **Mawlid**, the name by which the celebration of
the birth of the Prophet Muhammad on 12 **Rabi' al-‘Awwal** is commonly
known in the Islamic world. It is an important means for strengthening the
development and spiritual awareness of the faithful. It is observed through feeding
the poor, reading the Quran, and reciting the circumstances of the Prophet's
life. In Halaba, the celebration takes place in the Bāddene district where all the
local Šayḥs gather. It starts on the eve of the actual birthday (Ar. **muqaddima**).

Famous classical Arabic works like **Burda** are recited, as well as the works of
local Muslim scholars, who have composed a large number of poems both in
Arabic and in Halaba Ajami. During festivals, many Halaba may chew ē'at. In
earlier generations, the leaves were chewed primarily on special occasions
either by those engaged in religious studies and worship, or by groups
consisting mainly of older men socializing with each other, for increased
alertness, energy and capacity for concentration. Unfortunately, today most
people have become habitual chewers, irrespective of gender, age, religion or
ethnic affiliation.

Participants in the Mawlid festival perform (Ar. ** dikr** and **salawāt**). The term
** dikr** is from the verb ** gakara** 'to remember', an exercise of religious piety,
consisting in the recollection of God through repetition of his names or
laudatory formulas. It can be practiced both solitarily and in a whisper,
especially in a spiritual retreat (Ar. **balwa**), or collectively and aloud during the
weekly ritual gathering (Ar. **haḍra**), according to the preferences of each Sufi
order (Ar. **tarīqa**). **Dikr** is performed in a specific ritual order, with peculiar
breathings and physical movements. In the **haḍra** ritual, ** dikr** is usually
associated with the recitation of litanies (Ar. awrād, pl. of wirād sg.) and spiritual poems (Ar. manzūma). The term ʕalawāt has several related meanings. In the first place, it refers to a brief fixed phrase that is to be uttered repeatedly after saying or hearing the name of the Prophet Muhammad. Second, it can refer to a similar but somewhat longer formula which serves as maṣrab (semi-regular refrain) to a manzūma poem. Third, it refers to a genre of Sufi poetry which is built up on these phrases as the "backbone" of the poem. There are (at least) four ʕalawāt formulas that are in common use in this genre:

1. ʕallā Allahu 'alayhi wa-sallam 'May Allah bless him and grant him peace.'
2. 'alayhi al-ʕalāt wa-l-salām 'Blessing and peace be upon him.'
3. allahumma ʕalli wa-sallim 'alā sayyidinā Muhammad 'O Allah, bless and bestow peace upon our master Muhammad!'
4. allahumma ʕalli wa-sallim 'alā sayyidinā wa-mawlānā Muhammad 'O Allah, bless and bestow peace upon our master and patron Muhammad!'

Calendar

According to Halaba oral tradition, the eight Halaba clan leaders met at Mitto many years ago to develop and establish the system of (Hl. Sera), a system of socio-cultural regulation of the society, which consists of complex rules for marriage, circumcision, meetings and so on. The name sera is also given to an annual festival celebrating these socio-cultural values. This festival takes place
Each two years in one of the selected places. In this year it held in Qullito city between 7-8 January 2012, for the fifth time.

In Halaba culture, seasons, days and some months have their own Halaba names, which are still in use today in Halaba traditional society. The following table shows the Halaba denominations alongside the usual Ethiopian and European names.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European</th>
<th>Ethiopian</th>
<th>Halaba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A) Seasons</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>Bāga ከ</td>
<td>ክሆጌ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>Kəräm't ከ</td>
<td>ክርማ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>Bäləq ከ</td>
<td>እማታ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>S'adāy እ</td>
<td>ኦርጉ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B) Days</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>'Əhud ኢ</td>
<td>ከፋብታ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Sānño ከ</td>
<td>ከፍታ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Maksálno እ</td>
<td>እጉም ብጉጉ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Rābu' እ</td>
<td>እም እም</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>ካሮስ እ</td>
<td>ካምስ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>'Arb ኢ</td>
<td>ከሚ እ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Qədame ከ</td>
<td>እም እም</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C) Months</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| September | Māskărām እ | እጉም | 'Ida ra እ

7 The Halaba names are from the GCCT report (2007), and hence are given there in fidāl. My transcription here reflects the fidāl.
Table 2: Halaba names for seasons, days and months

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Halaba Name</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Ṭeqəmt ḫ̲h̲ulə́</td>
<td>Mäšeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Hadar ḫ̲n̲c̲</td>
<td>'Intongota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Taḥsas ḫ̲b̲n̲n̲</td>
<td>Mängäsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>ḏ̲r̲ PC</td>
<td>Wātōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Ṣākkattit Ḫ̲l̲l̲</td>
<td>Mazze ★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Mäggabīt Ḫ̲l̲l̲</td>
<td>'Asēre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Miyażya Ḫ̲l̲l̲</td>
<td>Sāñeta ★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Gēnbōt Ḫ̲l̲l̲</td>
<td>Hamleta ★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Sāñe Ḫ̲l̲</td>
<td>Naseta ★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Hamle Ḫ̲l̲</td>
<td>Māsāro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Nāḥase Ḫ̲l̲</td>
<td>Ṭeqəmta ★</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercalated month</td>
<td>P'agume Ḫ̲l̲l̲</td>
<td>Qw'agumātə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some notes on the above table:

- Halaba uses its own names for five of the seven days of the week. Exceptions are Ḥarp'a ‘Wednesday’, Kamsa ‘Thursday’ and Ḥom atāta ‘Friday’, which are loanwords taken either directly or indirectly from Arabic (Schneider-Blum 2007: 466, 483; for Arabic ḥ > k, see Leslau 1990: 7).
- The names for the seasons come from the habitual activity of the season, which in turn is named after it. They are: ḥago ‘dry’, kārmi ‘rainy’, lamuṭə ‘greenness’ and marāta ‘harvesting’.
- As usual in Ethiopia, the year has 13 months, including an intercalated month counting 5 or in leap year 6 days.
It is interesting to note that six of the Halaba month-names (marked with * in the table above) are (almost) the same as the general Ethiopian names, but occur two months earlier. This is quite puzzling and I cannot explain it.

Of the other six month-names, these traditional names sometimes come from seasonal changes that happen at the given time of year. Some of them are analyzed by the Halaba people as follows: October mäṣeta 'production', November 'intongota 'wealthy' (traditionally in Halaba they say that everyone gains from the production), December māngāsa 'the end of the year' (this time is considered as the last month of farming), January wātot 'drought' (it is drought because the month is hot and dry).

Establishing family
When a young Halaba man decides to set up a conjugal home, he builds his own traditional house separately. The house is of the "wattle and daub" type, made of mud and grass applied to a skeleton of branches. The structure is circular, with an average diameter of approximately 8m. This distance is traditionally measured by pacing off 7 Halaba "feet" from the planned center of the house. A Halaba "foot" is equal to the length of two human feet, so the radius of the house will be 2x7=14 feet, and the diameter 28 feet (roughly 8 meters). The interior is divided into three rooms by hanging straw mats as partitions. The main front room contains the fireplace and an earthen sleeping platform; the second (in back on the right) is used as a bedroom for the husband and wife; the third (in back on the left) is divided into an upper room for storing kitchen utensils and foodstuffs, and a lower room for a night-shelter for the cattle (if they are not too many). A strong tree-trunk is used as a pillar to
support the steep thatched roof, with additional buttresses fixed at its upper part for additional support; the roof is normally 14 arm lengths in height plus one additional arm length for the buttresses. The front room is the domicile for humans, whereas the animals — cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys, and chickens — are kept in back in the left part of the hut behind a wooden barrier. Small windows, approximately 30x30 cm., are fixed into the hut. The kitchen, where food is both prepared and eaten, is centered on the hearth, which has the form of an earthen oven or fireplace. The interior of the house has multicolored decorations which depict Islamic architecture, mosques, minarets, and words like “Allāh” and “Muhammad”. The process of building is a group undertaking. A group of men lay the foundation stones, circling it with vertical branches measuring up to 8 arm lengths in height for the basic wall, plus one arm length implanted into the ground. The women are then given the task of plastering these walls with mud and grass (wattle and daub). This is done twice, first roughly and then smoothly. They also have the task of preparing coffee and supper for the men as they work.

Marriage represents a fusion of Islamic and traditional practice. It is the one of the cornerstones of social organization. The Halaba are exogamous. Traditional marriage takes place after the male reaches the age of 18, and the woman the age of 15. Pre-marriage practices begin when a man’s parents tell him to go and look for a bird; this is known as (Hl.č'ičú lā'ī) which literally means “to see a bird”. If the man sees a woman at the same time he sees a bird, he will take it as a good omen that she is the one he will marry. Next comes the day of the payment of the dowry, which is known as (Hl. gābbāra). Then there is (Hl. zānu), which is when the actual marriage date is determined. And then there is (Hl. dora), the period of engagement.

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8 According to Joachim crass: This kind of practice exists also among the Mareqo/Cibida
There are seven ways that marriage can occur. (the names given below all are of Halaba).

1) *Mā'isiso*, i.e., direct marriage, which occurs in the usual lengthy and traditional way.

2) *Burān Assu* is the shortest process. It is almost totally informal: the man just paints a symbol on the woman’s clothing and she becomes his wife. Under this custom, the woman’s opinion will not be requested.

3) *Herāna* is based on the agreement of a man and woman who are in love with each other. The woman goes to her lover’s home without telling her family; if there is a problem it can be solved later through the elders.

4) In *Agga*, if the woman falls in love with the man, she will go to his hut and embrace the central pillar and will not leave the house.

5) *Gosu* is when the man abducts the woman with neither her nor her family’s consent. In this case the problem can also be solved as in the case of *Herāna*.

6) In *Rebuta*, if a man has lost his fiancée, he will go across to another family without asking them or going through the normal procedure and will abruptly tie his whip to the pillar of their hut.

7) In *Rāgta*, in case the husband dies, the wife marries a member of her husband’s family, usually the husband’s brother. In this case she cannot refuse because she is part of the man’s inheritance which is divided among his family.

The marriage is usually accompanied by the exchange of gifts at various stages in the marriage process, either from the bride’s family to the groom’s or vice versa.

The marriage ceremony takes place after the agreement of the families. The ceremony typically symbolizes the values of both families, masculinity,
fertility, the community and the joining of the couple. The cost of the ceremony is high, due to serving food and drink to all invitees during the several days of the celebration. The close friends of the bride and those of the groom compete in singing the praises of their clan through both traditional and impromptu verses.

Divorce is rare among the Halaba because of the strong ties between the husband and wife and the feeling of responsibility both have, not to mention the holiness of Islamic marriage and the need and desire for the family not to be separated. But in cases where divorce does occur, a divorced Halaba woman is allowed to marry again. Polygamy is practiced in the society; the man can have up to four wives, according to standard Islamic practice.

**Kids**

When a Halaba woman gives birth, she is taken care of by her family and neighbours. On the third day after she delivers, she is washed in a traditional medicine known as (Hl. *Hoboţa*). On the fifteenth day after the birth, the baby is taken out into the sunshine and a ceremony follows. It is believed that if this is not done, the child will be negatively affected. At the age of eight years, both boys and girls must pass through the rite of (Hl. *ţurkāmi*) or circumcision. It is believed that if circumcision takes place before this age, the child may be affected either by weakness or stunted growth. It marks the point at which a child becomes ritually pure and eligible for marriage. Before the circumcision takes place, the family and relatives meet with each other and promise to give (Hl. *orifọ*), i.e., gifts. After the operation the child is kept in seclusion, (Hl. *Hanşāro*), until the wound heals. Then, the circumcised of both sexes gather together under a large tree in a ceremony known as (Hl. *Nāqāta*), and take
circumcision names for themselves. Preferred names for males are: Wäma, Adla, Fätto, Burägo, Suluba, etc., and for females: Hţggame, Bara, Máltäbara, Kubila, Lokku, etc. The circumcised children meet with each other and play cultural games each Tuesday, Friday and Sunday for four weeks. At the end, they all have a farewell party, known as (Hl. Hulloqa), taking a trip to the biggest market in Qullito. They are then entitled to join the society and become a part of it. This is known as (Hl. Gădamoje).

Judiciary
Traditionally, problems that arise in the society are dealt with through a special meeting known as (Hl. Ogätă), which is held under a tree. The leader of such a meeting is called (Hl. Dabo Muriče). If the problem is within a specific clan, the Dabo Muriče will be the clan leader. But sometimes, if a problem is too difficult for the clan leader to solve on his own, he can ask for the help and support of the other clans and the problem will be solved in the presence of the leader of the entire Halaba people, who has the title of (Hl. Bok Muriče). Two judges, having the traditional title of (Hl. Qorto Anaketu), will be selected at the meeting to hear the issues regarding the problem from those involved. If the accounts conflict with each other, i.e., Qorto, they can be joined or re-pieced together to get a more accurate version of what happened, an action known as Gumgumă, i.e. to arrive at a solution. Subsequently, the leaders come to a decision of punishment, murte, for the person who is considered to be at fault. Punishments can range from forgiving each other (the litigants) or paying a small sum of money, to the giving of a bull or a jar of honey, etc. Anyone who refuses to carry out the leader's decisions will be isolated from the society until he changes his mind.
Hospitality
The society is warm but reserved. This can be seen clearly in their way of greeting and receiving guests. In greetings, they are polite and show consideration and respect for each other. When people meet on the road, they will inquire after each other’s health, followed by inquiries after other members of the family. The exchange of the formula of greeting may take some minutes. When relatives or friends of either sex meet after a long separation, they usually kiss each other on both cheeks repeatedly, the older or superior in status kissing first. Another kind of greeting is to first shake hands and then kiss the back of each other’s hand. This is usual for all except those who are older or superior, who do not kiss the hand of one who is younger or of lower rank. When people are sitting together, they usually greet an incoming person by rising from their seats. The formula hatti gota is the general traditional expression of greeting or welcome and of parting, and may also be also used anytime for any person. The word Fäyyanootta is also used as a substitute for Wagärätä indo. In receiving guests, the head of the family receives them by saying, “Ahribu”, a word apparently borrowed from Arabic Arhibu, meaning ‘welcome’. The guests respond by saying “Dā’iyye”, ‘be healthy’. Traditional foods and drinks are served such as Mārqa ‘porridge’, Bukko ‘traditional bread prepared by mixing maize and wheat’, or Torošo Borata ‘barley bread with butter’.

Foods and drinks
The basic grains utilized in the society are ṭef, maize, sorghum, barley, wheat, and millet. There are two main meals, the midday meal (Hl. hošu) and the evening meal (Hl. horbaate). In the morning food is taken informally called
(Hl. *afo fëntánto* ‘opening the mouth’). Snacks, such as boiled, roasted or toasted peas or beans, are eaten when people are out in the fields or pasture, or during a trip. Indigenous non-alcoholic drinks which are prepared locally are (Hl. *qaribo*) which is made from maize and barley, (Hl. *samita*) from barley and (Hl. *buluto*) from maize and sorghum.

**Female**

Women have tasks that require less physical strength, such as taking care of children, cooking, milking, washing, watering, buying and selling little things like milk and its derivatives. They are also responsible for drawing water from the well, cultivating small gardens and transferring the harvested crops to a storage place. Halaba women also do a lot of handicraft work, such as the weaving of baskets (Hl. *bâttrata*) used to contain milk or butter. They also make hats, bee-hives and the traditional flat basket (Hl. *másob*). Traditionally the women used to wear dresses made of leather, like the (Hl. *fo’álsa*) or straight skirt, the (Hl. *lenda, laqorà*, and *'atáti*) which were worn around the waist with a belt, and the (Hl. *bulluuko*), a blanket (of cloth) given as a pre-wedding gift to the bride by the family of the bridegroom. All these garments have also been largely adopted by the men. More recently, the clothing that is normally worn is made of cloth.

**Hairstyle**

Hairstyling is one of the main traditions of the Halaba people. There are a large variety of designs, which are done using oil and are accentuated with a variety of objects including wooden combs, beads, and head cloths that frame the head and the face. The style of hair indicates a lot about a person’s age, gender, and
social status. Among these hairstyles are goto, a children’s styling of the front of the head. Another is guragāma, where the lower part of the back of the head is shaved, while the hair in front is braided across the top of the head. There is also qululo, in which all the hair is shaved. For young people who are not yet engaged, the hair is styled in the shape of a hat, in a style known as qomita. A woman looking forward to her wedding day would wear her hair in the bājuta style. The fitko style is worn during festivals to brighten the day. In this style, a girl commonly has her hair divided down the middle and the braids are allowed to hang loosely to the ears, framing her face while five or more braids are woven from the front of the scalp to the nape of the neck. The hair at the front of the head is gathered into a round bun while at the back it is braided or left free. The haršāma style, preferred by most of the married women, is a tier of collected or braided hair. Hairstyle is often the completing factor in dressing and is a very important factor for married women among the Halaba. The most common style of wearing the hair is for it to be unbraided and pulled back to form two knots at the nape of the neck, covered with a net. For men, adolescence is a time to try new hairstyles and to decorate the hair with ornaments and wooden combs. The sija style is usually worn after circumcision. It consists of a rounded bob which is fluffed daily with a comb. A man’s hairstyle serves to indicate his power and prestige.

Folk art

In Halaba, traditional dances and plays are done on different occasions. For example, during circumcision, a play called huwe gāda is performed; for weddings, another play, Alla da’imo, is performed; in the springtime, lono-hoyte, a type of dance, is done. When a person wants to boast or praise somebody, usually during a special occasion, he will perform the geraro, or the
*qala kora korenoga* which are specific dance movements associated with boasting and praising, respectively. These dances are accompanied by instruments such as the *karâbo* tambourine, the *dobbe* kettle drum or the *hululâtâ* flute. In addition, plays can take the form of *gugs*, which is the name for mock warfare on horseback, carried out partly for amusement, and partly as training for real fighting. Moreover, riding and wrestling are practiced widely.

**Mourning**

The process of mourning follows Islamic tradition. Mourning is locally called *Al-fâte* from the name of the 1st chapter of the Quran *Surat Al-fâtiha*, which is recited to express one's sympathy. *Salawât* are recited for seven days if the dead person is an adult, and sometimes also for children. *Holemânco*, i.e., lamentation, is done if the deceased was a hero or warrior. When the mourners come to give their condolences, the men usually beat themselves with a whip while the women at the place of lamenting receive them by advancing and retreating three or four times. When the women themselves come to lament, they do it either by waving their shawls or beating their chests.

**Islamic education**

Traditionally, education among the Halaba means Islamic education. The basic purpose of Islamic education is the trans-generational transmission of its religious, moral and behavioral precepts, as well as the strengthening of the knowledge and practice of Islamic tenets within the community, such as the concepts of what is licit (*halâl*) and illicit (*harâm*) and the Islamic legal framework of the *şari‘a*, within which all the day-to-day relationships among the faithful are conceived. The training of teachers and scholars is another
object of traditional Islamic education. A major role of scholars is the
development and dissemination of Islamic learning throughout the region.

Traditional Islamic education is generally structured in several different levels
of learning. The elementary level is based on the Quran. The children learn as
many verses from the sacred text as possible reciting Qur'ān, and at the same
time they learn to write. They are taught the Arabic alphabet and then start to
read and write Quranic verses on the small board known as Lawh, which is a
reusable flat wooden board or tablet of varying size, under the guidance of the
teacher. Courses in Arabic reading and writing for children are held in the
Halaba language. According to 'Abdurrahmān 'Ibrāhīm, the teaching of the
Arabic harakāt ‘vocalization’ for beginners was (and still is) done through a
local method using local terms. For example: (ْ) ba fatha ‘short vowel -a’ is
represented as ba likāza, (ُ) ba kasra ‘short vowel -i’ is represented as ba lasti,
(ٌ) ba ḍamma ‘short vowel -u’ is represented as ba lukada, and (َ) ba sukūn
‘zero’ is represented as ba karim. 9 Elementary courses in the Quran usually
finish with a joyous ceremony of completion (Ar. ǧitma) which emphasizes the
importance of the sacred texts and its language for every Muslim. The schools
are named (Hi. Qurana mini ‘house of the Quran’).

Advanced students attend higher-level courses which take them into the great
works of the Islamic traditional heritage. After studying (Ar. ǧīfż al-Qur’ān),
jurisprudence (fiqh) is taught, following the Šāfī’ī school of Islamic
jurisprudence, one of the four Sunni Islamic schools (maqāhīb), which is
followed by all the Halaba. The fiqh courses given are named after the books
which are studied in them, beginning with short and easy works and
progressing to longer and harder books. These are (from easiest to hardest):

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9 I do not know what these four words mean. A similar practice is apparently found among the Silti and Harari.
Islam among the Halaba almost always means Sufism, and therefore advanced students also study Islamic mysticism. Books on mysticism include *Dala'il Al-Bayrāt* (guidance to good things) by Al-Jazulī (d. 1465) and *Kitāb Al-aḍkār* (the book of ḍikr) by Al-Nawawī. In the genres of *Madh Al-Nabī* (eulogy of the Prophet), *Ṣalawāt al-Ṣāliḥ Al-Nabī*, and other pious poetry, we find works like the renowned *Qaṣīdat Al-Burda*, by the well-known poet Muhammad bin Sa‘id Al- Buṣayrī (d. 1298) and *Tanbih Al-Anām fi Bayān ‘Ulw Maqām Nabiyyina Muhammad* (a reminder for people explaining the elevated position of our Prophet Muhammad) by Al-Qayrawānī (d. 1539). At the Prophet’s annual birthday anniversary celebration *Mawlid*, the book *Ṣarafl Al-Anām* by Barzanj and Munawi is recited, alongside Halaba Ajami poems composed by local Halaba scholars. Among these Ajami poets are Šayḫ Šāliḥ Habule, nicknamed Bāṛrāšakka (chief of the jungle), Šayḫ Muḥammad Jadānna (struggler) who lived in ‘Udana and later the Kutto district, and today Haji Muḥammad Adam Al-Hullagabbī from Hullagābbā district, and others as well.

For Islamic theology (*Tawḥīd*), the book *Jawharatu Al-Tawḥīd* (the jewel of monotheism) by Burhānuddin Al-Liqānī (d. 1620) is studied. For Arabic grammar (*Nahw*), the basic text is the *Alfiyya* (one thousand verses) of Bin Mālik with its commentary by Bin ‘Aqīl (d. 1348). In Quran exegesis (*Tafsīr*) the students study *Al-Jalālayn* by Al-Suyūṭī (d. 1490), and for the sayings of the Prophet (*Ḥadīṯ*) the *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Buḥārī (d. 835) is the text.
Only a small number of books are used as texts. This is for economic reasons: there are a great many students, limited funds for buying books, and a serious shortage of writing materials. Even the teachers are not regularly paid for their work, for which they usually receive only symbolic rewards, and they have to earn their living mostly from other activities, such as commerce and farming.

The more advanced students play the role of assistant teachers. After completing the main part of their courses, they often leave home and travel to find the best teacher in the field which they wish to study. Popular places of advanced study are Zäbbimola of Qäbena district, Jimma, and Wollo. During their travels, students must live on alms or seek the support of a wealthy family or dip into their own pockets. The most advanced students travel and study abroad in places like Mecca and Medina, either in the mosques or in universities like the Islamic University in Medina or Där Al-Hadiţ school in Mecca. In the mosques they attend ḥalaqas, lecture courses given by the teacher to a group of students who form a circle around him.

The first central Islamic school in Halaba was founded by the saint Sayyid 'Alî Umar (d. 1964), who studied under the scholar Hâji Surûr nicknamed Obiyyu in Zabbimola (Qäbena). After his graduation, he returned home and in 1919 established a new mosque and the above-mentioned school in it, in Bëddâne district. This soon become a focal point for ḥafra and Mawlid among all the Halaba. Later he established a second school in the Qärrenso district.

In Halaba, modern Islamic education has involved widening of the curriculum to include non-traditional secular subjects like Amharic, English, mathematics and science. A typical example is the Dar Al-Hadiţ Islamic school in Qullito (est. 1970), which teaches Islamic education alongside secular academic courses. According to 'Abdurahmän 'Ibrăhīm, in the last half-century the
province has had many scholars in all the districts. Some of them are Adam Ṣommono at 'Udana, Yusuf Abbadāne at Māqqala, Saʾīd Rājato and later his son Yāsīn at Māja, Kamāl 'Abdussalām at Ašoka, and 'Abdulla Ḥābīb and earlier his father Ḥābīb at Qerrenso. Currently, Ahmaddīn 'Utīmān, Muhammad Nūr Awwal and 'Abdulla Ḥusayn at Qullito, and Sulaymān Sīrāj at Hanša, are some of the leading scholars.

All informants emphasize the fact that the life of the teaching 'ulama 'scholars' and the students was one of hardship. With exception of a small class of those who were economically better off, the overwhelming majority of scholars depended for their livelihood on farming, and often some of their students helped them with the tilling, sowing, weeding and harvesting of the crops. In such cases the student thus depended for his livelihood on his master. Students who were far away from their homes would seek part-time work connected with farming. The students studied all morning and briefly in the evening, with the afternoons free.

When the Italians conquered Ethiopia, Sayyid 'Alī Umar was nominated to be the president of the general Islamic high court for the southern Ethiopia region. He accepted this position against his desire, but it brought good results for the region. He repaired the Qullito mosque Jāmiʿ al-nūr. He and his fellow leader Hajj 'Abdulla 'Umar made the pilgrimage to Mecca with all expenses paid by the Italians (Muhammad Nāšr 2000).

According to Trimingham (2006: 137), in the Italian period Islam was given official recognition in Ethiopia, and in Halaba as part of Ethiopia. The Muslims had formerly had no-well built mosques, but the Italians built them wherever there were Muslims, whether in the majority or in a minority. Qādis (judges) were appointed to deal with matters coming under šariʿa law, and Arabic was
introduced into all Muslim schools. An important historical note is recorded at that time by an Ethiopian cleric, Abū Ahmad Al-‘Ityopī, who wrote a book entitled *Al-‘Islam Al-jarīḥ fī Al-Habaṣa* 'the injured Islam in Abyssinia/Ethiopia'. In a paragraph about the Italian occupation he writes as follows:

Let it be known that I do not approve of fascist colonialism, and I do not prefer it as a good form of government for an Islamic nation; but I am giving a true account of history, and I am recording what I myself have seen and what the country has seen. At the time of the Italian occupation, Ethiopian Muslims could travel abroad with full freedom to Muslim nations, wherever they wanted and without any controls, for trade, tourism and education. Preachers, religious leaders, Islamic delegations...
and journalists could enter Ethiopia in order to study the Muslims and their situation. The Italian government did not interfere with this, but rather made every effort to help the Muslims, to facilitate things for them, and to hold meetings with them. The number of Ethiopian pilgrims to Mecca increased from year to year in the Italian period in contrast to the situation under the Ethiopian government before and after.¹⁰ The Muslim population increased, even becoming a very large majority [!] over the course of 5 years, and government positions, both military and civil, were distributed among them. (pp. 85-86)

From the above we can see the attitude of the Ethiopian Muslims during the occupation. It was a pragmatically motivated accommodation on both sides. Italian policy was based on politics (divide and rule), not because they liked the Ethiopian Muslims but because they needed a class of people who would support them. The attitude of the Italians can be seen clearly in their harsh treatment of the Muslims in Libya. But the Ethiopian Muslims needed support, and were willing to accept it from the Italians. Relatively insulated from the wider Islamic world, they were not greatly concerned with Italian policies in other countries.

**Customs**

There are various traditional Halaba socio-cultural practices and institutions, although today many are decreasing or disappearing. Some of these are 'abáda, buzáná, gosfe, faţuma, dadoo, magarágá, all related with belief. Certain days of the week are allotted to the cult of particular saints: Tuesday is devoted to

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¹⁰ In 1936 the number of Ethiopian pilgrims reached somewhere between 1600 and 1900, whereas after the restoration of the monarchy, the number plunged to only 57 (Erlich 2007: 73-73).
Šayḥ Nūr Ḥusayn, Wednesday to ‘Abdul Qādir al-Jaylanī, and Saturday to Ḥiḍir. These days are celebrated by chewing Ḍ'āt, drinking coffee and reciting ḍikr. Amulets (ḥijāb ǧalsam) play an important role in traditional Halaba society. They are believed to help the wearer to recover from illness, to give birth to a healthy child, to have an official request granted, to get relief from distress and so on. They are worn around the neck or inside the clothes. The amulet contains a text, traditionally written on parchment and today on paper, which includes a geometrical figure (magic square, or jadwal) containing magical texts taken from the Quran or other sources. Recently, a better knowledge of the basic teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and his way (Sunna) has led the Halaba to make less use of such amulets. Other traditional practices that had been adopted by Sufism are also increasingly condemned. To seek blessing through a tree, a stone or the like, or to seek help from other than Allah, or to make vows or sacrifices to other than Allah, is polytheism (ṣīrk).
Chapter Four – Overview of Halaba mss.

A large amount of Arabic literature (including some Halaba Ajami) is spread over Halaba province, found in private collections either of the writer’s family or of his pupils. There are some old manuscripts; however, the majority are relatively recent and are written on modern paper. The following gives an overview of Halaba writing techniques.

1. Introduction

Halaba mss. are the written records left to us by local scholars, a kind of still-video of the past — a reflection of the art, life, history, and thinking of earlier times, including the traditional education system and cult practices. There is a wide diffusion of mss. containing Islamic works by non-Ethiopians, considered fundamental for the instruction of the faithful and for strengthening Islam. These are usually copied and commented upon by local scholars; the ms. which is copied sometimes comes from abroad, but usually from other places in Ethiopia. As well as texts which are reproduced locally, others are brought in by itinerant clerics or learned men who have studied abroad.

Ethiopian Arabic and Ge’ez mss. often show philological and thematic resemblances. I will mention two points. Thematically, we can note first that Šayḥ ‘İbrāhīm ’Affūso, regarding Saint Sayyid ‘Abdussalām Al-’Asmar, says that he died 151 times and finally departed from his grave forever. A similar case is that of the Christian Saint Abiyā Egzi. “When he was at his monastery of Däbrä Mädhani, he heard that his spiritual daughter, Burekt Maryam, had died. He prayed saying, ‘O my lord Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, you have raised Lazarus from the tomb after four days...’ While praying this he heard that she was raised. She lived on for many years as an abbess of the monastery” (Asfaw 2007:76-77).
The second point is purely philological. The standard order of Ge’ez fidäl and the standard order of the Arabic alphabet are completely different. But both Ge’ez and Arabic have an alternative order which preserves the old Semitic alphabetical order (Ge’ez abugida, Arabic abjad), and these are identical in the two languages. However, the Ge’ez abugida (unlike Arabic abjad) is not used for numbers. The abugida and abjad are given together in the following table (written from right to left):

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2. Form

The manuscripts have come to us in the following forms:

a) **Codex**: This is book-format, and is overwhelmingly the most common. Pages are combined to form quires and the quires are bound together to form a book.

b) **Scroll**: This format is rare among the Halaba, and is used almost entirely for short magical texts that are kept in amulets.

3. Writing Materials

The Halaba use a variety of writing materials depending on the availability of such materials to the writer. The material is almost always one of the following:

a) **Parchment (vellum)**: Sheepskin has long been used for writing mss. The skin is tanned and dried until fit to be written upon. This format is
characterized by one smooth face, the flesh side, and a rough one, the hair side.

b) **Wooden Tablets:** Some writings have been preserved on small wooden boards, on which pupils of traditional schools write Quranic verses. These tablets are much more common than parchment.

c) **European Paper:** Imported technology and materials started to appear widely in the 20th century. Some Halaba scholars began to use it even at that time. Today most writers use paper.

4. **Writing Tools**

The Halaba utilize materials available in their environment to create ink in several colors, but especially black and red. Students and teachers both made their own ink. Some of these domestically produced writing tools are as follows:

a) **Ink:** The ink used on the mss. was prepared from local materials, mainly soot and vegetable substances. The best ink should be black and lustrous.

b) **Pens:** Wooden reeds were used in writing. They were properly cut, scraped and sharpened, sometimes at both ends.

c) **Ink-pots:** The copyists used small clay pots to store the different inks.

5. **Binding**

The binding consists not only of two covers and a spine, but also a leather or cloth flap attached to the back cover. This flap could either fold over the front cover, or be inserted among the pages of the book as kind of bookmark. To firmly attach the cover or the flap to the pages of the book, a strip of lining was glued to the spine and to the facing page or cover. The lining was the same.
length as the spine, but wider; it could be made of cloth, paper (often marbled), or leather.

6. Format

The definitions that follow are partly taken from various internet sources, partly from the MLA style manual, and are partly my own.

a) **Writer**: The name of the author or the scribe (or both) is written either on the title page or in the colophon (or both). The writer’s name traditionally includes a *nisba* (ending *-iyy*), denoting the country or Islamic order (*maf*/*hab*) or lineage with which the person is associated. A person’s name can include several nisbas in succession.

b) **Tamalluk** ‘right of possession’ is given at the beginning of the manuscript. There are two main types:

1) *Širā* ‘purchase’. The owner states that he bought the book from a certain person for a certain sum of money.

2) *Waqf* ‘endowment’. This happens when the original owner decides to make a book endowment, i.e. to make a book which he owns available either for specific scholars and students or generally for all users.

c) **Rubrics**: These are used for headings or titles in mss. and are written in a distinguishing red color. In addition certain important words in the texts (Allāh, Muhammad, and praising and blessing upon him) are also typically highlighted in red ink. Rubrics are often written in large, bold and decorated letters.
d) **Colors:** Two colors of ink are used in the mss., red for rubrics and black for the general textual material. Other colors are used occasionally for decoration.

e) **Columns:** The mss. are written either in one or two columns. The one-column format is for normal text, while two columns are used for poetry.

f) **Language and script:** All the mss. are written in Arabic script, either in the Arabic language or in a local language with Arabic script (Ajami).

g) **Pagination:** Pages are not numbered, but the method of catchwords (Ar. *taʿqība*) is used. A catchword is a word written in the margin at the bottom of a page that repeats the first word of the following page. Usually the catchword is written on the verso (not recto) page. Its purpose is not to indicate the (unseen) first word of the other side of the folio, but just to indicate the sequence-order of the folios.

h) **Ruling:** To insure that the written lines would be parallel and straight, a ruling frame called *mistara* was used; it was made of wood with cords placed across it at regular intervals. Each folio of paper was pressed over this frame, whose strings would then leave an impression on the paper which could serve as guidelines.

i) **Colophon:** A statement written at the end of a text, in which the copyist records the date on which he completed the copy and sometimes also his name and the place. Other information is sometimes included in a colophon, such as the fact that the copyist compared the copy with another important copy to get the best readings.

j) **Overlinings:** In Arabic texts, single words or phrases are frequently highlighted by placing a line over (not under) the word or phrase. This overlining is sometimes written in red ink or another color to accentuate it.
k) **Re-inking:** The ink in a ms. often fades or is damaged by water to the extent that the writing becomes quite faint and difficult to read. Occasionally a later reader will write over a faint passage in new ink so as to make it easier for others to read. This rewriting of lines or passages by a later reader is called "re-inking".

l) **Marginalia:** The Latin word for "things in the margin," marginalia refers to any annotations, corrections, glosses, or diagrams that have been written in the margins. They can be written by the copyist himself, but more often they are annotations made by later owners and readers.

m) **Title:** The title of the book is given on the first cover page, usually in decorative calligraphy, bold and clear. One line below the title, the author's name and his date of death appear. The title can also re-appear at the bottom of the second page, in the introduction and at the end of the text.

The title of a new chapter or sub-chapter is indicated by leaving a blank line, writing the new title in a different calligraphy, and/or rubricating it.

n) **Opening:** The book opens with the *Basmalah* followed by thanks to almighty Allah for helping the writer to write the book. This traditional way is called *dībāja* (preamble). Then the author explains why he wrote the book, indicating the title by saying: "and I named it", *wa-sammaytuhu*. Finally, he mentions the contents.

o) **Punctuation marks:** Western-style punctuation does not appear. But the writer uses certain symbols — an 0 shape, three dots ⋮ (triangular) or a dash — to highlight a rare or very important concept. This symbol appears above, below, or between the relevant words.
p) **Abbreviations:** The writer uses standard Arabic abbreviations for well-known scholars, books and terminology. He explains his use of abbreviations in the introduction. In addition corrections and additions which were done by the author, the copyist, the reader, or the owner can be indicated by abbreviations and symbols. Such are: ِْئًا and ِْئًا’ for ‘wrong’, ِْئي for ‘light’ (not geminated), ُّي for ِْئاللَّهُ ِْئائِن ِْئائِن ‘it might be like this’, ِّد, ِّدَي, ِّدَي or ِّدَي for ‘right’, ِّن for ِّنِب ‘clarification’, ^ or َّ to mark the place of the error. A word which is wrong in the original ms. is often copied exactly as is, but with the annotation ْ or a long —— over the word to show that it is an error; this practice is known as ِّمِرِ (nursing) or ِّمِبِبِ (door bolt).

7. **Decoration**

The decoration of Islamic manuscripts with a variety of designs, images and colors is relatively rare in Ethiopia and Halaba in particular. The reason for this is unclear. Some of the existing decoration types are as follows:

a) **Opening:** There is sometimes a decorated panel in Arabic calligraphy above the start of a treatise, called ِّعَنَّ. Thus the Basmala (ِّبَسُمِي ِّلَّهَي ِّمَلِي ِّمَلِي ِّمَلِي) ‘In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful’, which almost always begins a treatise, is sometimes written in illuminated calligraphy.

b) **Decorations:** Pictures sometimes appear as decoration in the ms., typically on the first and the last folios, and sometimes in the blank space between one chapter and the next. The picture might be of a crescent, mosque, minaret, dome, stars or other motifs.
8. Dating

The dating in the ms. states when the text was composed, or copied, or both. The date in the Halaba mss. is sometimes given in Arabic numerals, but more often as a chronogram, i.e. a date given in a disguised form - most often one in which the standard numerical values of the Arabic letters (in the Abjad letter-number system) are combined to produce a date.

Abjad letter-numerals are the letters of the Arabic alphabet assigned numerical values according to their position in the old Semitic (Hebrew) alphabetical order. They can thus be used in various combinations to represent any number from 1 to 1999. This is not a place-notational system, for their value does not depend upon their position relative to one another. For example, the year "1347" would be written ™ (غ، ش، م، ز) غشمز). The following are the Abjad letters with their numerical values.

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9. Handwriting

The handwriting seen in the Halaba mss. is mostly Nasḥ (from Arabic nasabha, nasḥ 'to copy'), which is the most common style of Arabic script in Ethiopia, and less frequently (Ar. Ruqʿa), one of the modern types of handwriting, known for its clipped letters composed of short, straight lines and simple curves, as well as its straight and even lines of text. In general, the shape of
letters is clear and large with almost no extension-lines at the end of the line. Words are often divided across lines, as is common in Ethiopian Arabic writing.

10. Folio
A folio is a leaf of paper; its front is referred to as the recto and the back as the verso. Since Arabic is written from right to left, when a volume is opened to a full opening (facing pages), the back, or verso, of one folio will be on the right hand side of the opened book, and the front, or recto, of the following folio will be on the left. This is the reverse of the nomenclature for European mss.; since the Latin alphabet is written left to right, the term recto designates the right-hand page of the opened book while verso designates the left-hand page.

11. Circumstances of copying and forms of authentication
In Halaba, the copying of mss. is almost always done in the context of education, as part of the process of studying and learning. The master may sometimes commission a copy of a book to be used in teaching. But much more commonly, the student is the copyist.

In the first step, the student himself prepares his own written copy of the text from which the master will teach. This is prepared before the course of lectures ever begins. Then, when the class has started, the student writes down in the margins of his own text-copy what his master says (Ar. 'imlā' 'dictation'). This initial copy is full of errors. It is a kind of first draft, called muswadda in (Arabic from the root s-w-d 'black'). The errors may be due to the student's (mis)understanding of the lesson, or his inaccuracy, or because of mistakes which the master makes as he teaches. Different students will record different versions of the master's words, and the master himself will not use just the
same words each time he teaches. From the rough draft, the student then makes a second, fair copy, called (Ar. *mubypadā* from the root *b-y-d* ‘white’). This is the final form of the manuscript.

An important final step in this process is the authentication of the copy (Ar. ‘*ijāza*, lit. ‘making lawful’). An ‘*ijāza* is the authorization given, directly or indirectly, by the master that a copy of his treatise has been done correctly and can be transmitted to others. The authorization is usually written by the copyist (the student) at the end of the treatise. There are four kinds of ‘*ijāza*:

1. *Al-rīwāya*: oral transferring. The student simply writes a phrase like *qala saytunā* ‘our sheikh said’. The master’s approval is implicitly assumed.

2. *Al-samā’:* the student who heard his master teaching writes the word *samiatu* ‘I heard’. Again, the master has implicitly authorized this.

3. *Al-qira’a*: reading; the student reads his copy to his master, who in turn gives him permission. This is the most reliable form of ‘*ijāza*.

4. *Al-nasb*: copying; the master gives open permission to any reader to legally quote and copy from his book.
Fig. 1. Rubrication: *Allahumma*, Muhammad, the repetition number 3 (indicating that the previous word or phrase should be read 3 times), the change from masculine to feminine (interlinear), and some decorations. 

Catchword: at the end of the verso *kunta* 'you were' is written, which is the first word of the recto.

Symbols: At the end of the sixth line verso 51, an abbreviation of *intahā* 'completed', is written.
Fig. 2. The ending of the chapter, written inside an ornamental triangle, contains standard concluding sentences – peace and blessing be upon our master Muhammad, his family and his companions. Glorified is your lord, the lord of power! (He is free) from what they attribute to him! And peace be upon the messengers. And all praise to Allah, the lord of creation.
Fig. 3. The verso page, originally blank, contains nothing but notes, diagrams, and commentary; the recto page is full of notes in the margins. The notes are written in every direction and orientation. The symbol over a word indicates that this term is explained in the margin. The main text of the recto discusses the *silsila* (chain) of Sufism.
Fig. 4. These two pages are a compilation of several brief pieces (both prose and poetry), all expressing various good activities (faḍā'il) for people.
Fig. 5 The writing on these pages is both large and small.
Fig. 6. The beginning of the chapter is fully decorated. Unfortunately, the recto is not the first page of the actual text: some pages are omitted, as is clear from the beginning of the recto page. The title page is a loose (unattached) sheet in the book, the binding is broken, and the recto starts a new sewn signature. Probably one or more signatures have been lost.
Fig. 7. The writing here, at the end of the chapter, is not well done and seems to have been written in a hurry. The copyist's name and the year of writing are recorded.
Fig. 8. The whole page is full of marginalia.
Fig. 9. This is an additional sheet full of commentary. It was inserted into the text at the time of binding, and is bound into the book.
Chapter five – Literature of the Halaba

5.1 Arabs and Arabic in Halaba

Many Arab immigrants were traders from Yemen. They came to Ethiopia, and to Halaba in particular, for business purposes. People of Arab origin started settling in Halaba many decades ago, according to 'Umar Basikkīr. He arrived in Halaba in 1935 E.C. (1943), when he was 22 years old, crossing the Red Sea, then proceeding via Massawa → Asmara → Dässie → Šašemāne and finally on to Halaba.

'Umar Basikkīr remembers some of the Arabs who were living in the Halaba area when he arrived. There were more than 40. To mention some of them, there were three brothers who had come from Wolayta: Sayyid 'Abdurahmān Al-Jifrī, Sayyid Muhsin Al-Jifrī and Sayyid Abū-Bakar Al-Jifrī. The first was a popular Sufī, who led the prayers and the recitation of Ṣalawāt in the Jami‘ Al-Nūr mosque in Qullīto. He and his second brother lived their entire life in Halaba, while the third left Halaba and moved to Asālla where he died.

Haydar, Ahmad Baraḡdī, and 'Abdu Qāsim were some of the other early Arab settlers. The first two were able to communicate with the people either in Arabic or (less fluently) in Amharic. But the third became a fluent speaker not only of Amharic but also of Halaba. Qāsim and Muslih were two others among the early Arab settlers. They were especially known for their support of Sayyid 'Alī Umar in his Islamic activities, such as building the mosque in Bāddenn̵ district, arranging the ceremony of Mawlid, and covering expenses of local students (Hl. Darāsata).

The two brothers Šālih and Dahmān, the sons of 'Abdulla Bāšāmī, arrived two months before 'Umar Bāsikkīr. According to Dahmān’s son, 'Abdurahmān Dahmān Bāšāmī, who was born in Halaba in 1956 E.C. (1964) and speaks Amharic and Halaba besides his native language Arabic, the tolerance and
kindness of the Halaba society cannot be described. As Muslims, the Halaba greatly respected the Arabs because of their close relation to the Prophet and their participation in Halaba society. His father Dahmān was born in Yemen in 1899 E.C. (1907), and passed away and was buried in Qullito, Halaba in 1974 E.C (1982). His uncle Ṣāliḥ Bāšāmī passed away several years later in 1985 E.C. (1993). Currently, there are few Arabs living in Halaba.

The Arabic language enjoys a particular prestige among Muslims, including the Halaba, as the language of the holy Qur’ān and the scholarly language of Islamic civilization as a whole. Halaba scholars, like their colleagues elsewhere, developed their mastery in Arabic and became able to read and to write works in that language. This has played a central role in both the literary history and social life of the Halaba community. For instance, Arabic is widely used in Quranic schools and as a second language for educated people in the community.

Sufi terms
Numerous Arabic terms taken from Sufi scholars have been assimilated into the Halaba community and become an inseparable part of Halaba religious culture and literature. The following are some Arabic common terms:

1. ‘Abdāl are a special class of Awliyā’ whose identities are concealed. Their number is 40 and this figure remains constant: when one dies, Allah chooses another to replace him. They possess miraculous powers.

2. Ārif literally means a person who knows. Technically, it refers to a person who possesses deep insight into spiritual matters. Hidden knowledge of Allah is revealed to him by way of inspiration. His divine perception is vivid and alive, not a mere intellectual understanding.
3 Faqīr literally means a pauper, a destitute person. Technically, it refers to a poor and pious ascetic who does not beg but puts his trust in Allah.

4 Ḥaḍra literally means honorable presence. Technically it refers to the presence of the Prophet at the time of making ḡikr.

5 Ḥalwa, literally solitude, is technically a spiritual retreat, a religious house or isolation from the world.

6 Kašf, literally meaning to open, and ilhām, literally meaning inspiration, are used technically to refer to divine messages inspired in the spirit of a saintly person.

7 Murīd, literally adherent, is technically a junior member of a Sufi order, one who is aspiring to reach the higher levels of spirituality granted to Allāh's beloved.

8 Silsila, literally chain, is technically a word used to describe the genealogical chain of spiritual masters in a Sufi tariqa, starting from the Prophet Muhammad down to the present head of the order.

9 Waliyy sg. (plural Awliyā'), literally ‘near’, refers technically to a saint or holy man.

10 Zuhd, literally asceticism, means renunciation of the world and abstaining from worldly pleasures and luxuries. Zuhd leads to a complete break with this world.

There are many works in Arabic by Halaba scholars. The main focus of this thesis is the contribution of Šayḥ 'Ibrahīm Affūṣo, and a separate chapter (chapter 7) will be devoted to his mss. In the present chapter I will present works by two of his contemporaries: works in Arabic by Šayḥ Husayn bin 'Ibrāhīm, and a Halaba Ajami manẓūma by Šayḥ Šāliḥ Habule.
5.2 Notes on Šayḫ Husayn bin 'Ibrāhīm and his book

5.2.1 Biography

According to his nephew, Šayḫ Husayn was a well-known scholar and reformer. He lived in Maja district in Halaba. He is described as a (Hl. kitabānī ‘scholar’), as Ar. faqīh ‘legal scholar’), (Ar. nahwiyy ‘grammarians’) and a good (Ar. ḥattāt ‘calligrapher’). He studied theology, jurisprudence and Arabic grammar in his own area, and travelled to Qābena and Jimma to attend advanced courses. Many students came to study with him from both Halaba and elsewhere. He belonged to the qādiriyya Sufi order and was a zāhid (ascetic). He died in Maja in 2000 at the age of more than 70.

5.2.2 His ms. on Islamic topics

Šayḫ Husayn’s ms. which will be examined here comprises several works, which will each be discussed in turn. The handwriting in the ms. is good and the letters are of medium size. The text is written in black ink, except that some of the headings, the endings, the word of supplication Allahumma ‘O Allah’, and the Prophet’s name Muhammad are in red. The red words Allahumma and Muhammad are written in very small and compressed letters, sometimes overlapping the black-ink text; apparently the black-ink text was written first, leaving very small blank spaces to be filled in later in red. There are holes in the first and the last folios (eaten by mice?). Some marginal notes appear in the first two folios, and on the recto of the sixth folio.

The following, pointing out the owner of the book, appears on the recto of the sixth folio. (There are numerous mistakes, some of which will be noted in passing.)
The owner of this $\text{Salawât}$ book is Husayn bin Ibrâhîm 'Iyaks bin Hasan Dannab, the Barbariyy. He has set out to make this book an endowment. For this world and what is in it are evanescent, and the hereafter and what is in it are permanent. He has donated this prayer book as a charitable endowment ($\text{waqf}$); it is not to be sold, not to be given away, and not to be pawned. He has assigned its supervision [i.e. of the $\text{waqf}$] to himself, then to his sons and their descendants, then to the readers, then to all Muslims.'

The ms. is written on pre-modern paper in Arabic. It has 71 folios and its size is 18cm. x 13cm. The binding has disappeared and a layer of cloth covers and protects the spine.

The work can be classified into four components:

1st. *Raqā‘i‘* ‘relentings’ (softening of the hearts) — ff. 2 - 5

2nd. *$\text{Salawât}$* ‘praise and blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad’ — ff. 6 - 70

3rd. *Du‘ā‘* ‘supplication’ and *Tawassul* ‘intercession’ — ff. 70 - 78

4th. *$\text{Ta\d{a}rru}$‘* ‘entreaty’ — ff. 78 - 79

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1. Raqā’iq: relentings (softening of the hearts)

Opening:

Bismillahi al-rahmāni al-rahīm

‘In the name of Allah, the Gracious, the Merciful.’

Al-hamdu li-llahi mudabiru l-qadara bi-qā‘a’ti l-māfaq wa-mursili l-mawti
ka-ma‘zi l-rā‘id al-ignā īliara...

‘Praised be Allāh, who ordains fate, the pattering of the rain, and who sends death like the thunder when it comes…’

Text: It is a mystical Sufi way of preparing the Sufi followers, readers and Muslims in general for the hereafter. The text contains themes which make the heart tender by affecting the feelings of the listener. The topics are: the brevity of life, death, the Judgement Day and that no one can prevent what may happen.

Philological notes: The text consists of 3 and a half folios, each page containing 24 lines. The writing is clear and good and the letters are of medium size. The calligraphy is nasb. On the first page, the dot under the bā’ in the opening bismillah is omitted, while in folio 6 in the same opening word the dot is present. At the end of the raqā’iq the formulaic word sayyidina has no dots on the yā’ and the nūn. The symbol for hamza (ے) is almost never written. The alif al-madd (ٰ) is not written, e.g. in al-‘ābā’ (the fathers). There are a few interlinear corrections, either by the author himself or someone else. Some corrections are simply added words: ‘īlā ‘to’ in folio 5v. (line 2), wa-‘tāba’nāhu ‘and we followed him’ (line 5), and wa-‘lamī yā ‘āmata bint ‘āmati llāh ‘and know, O you maidservant, daughter of the maidservant of Allah’ (line 8). The
last example indicates explicitly that the text is directed at women as well as men. Similarly, several interlinear additions change a verb-ending or pronoun from masculine to feminine; the intention is to indicate the inclusion of women as well as men (while not excluding men). Thus –lī is written above تقول taqūlu ‘you say (masculine)’ to indicate تقولي taqūlī ‘you say (feminine)’ (f. 5r. line 3); قلī is written above فقل fa-qul to indicate فقولي fa-qūlī (f. 5r. line 4); –hā (3fsg) is written above –hu (3msg) in the words وحدثته ٍghribة him ٍgurbatuhi, بعدة ba’dahu and لله lahu (folio 5v. lines 2-4).

There are two parts in the Raqāiq, each one introduced by a Basmallah. The first part is in rhyming poetry. For example:

Their homes and palaces became empty

Fa-’aṣbahat
buyūtuhum wa-
quṣūruhum ḍāwiya

And their sons and wives crying

Wa-’awlāduhum
wa-’azwājuhum bākiya

And their sisters supplicating

Wa-’aṣwāṭuhum dā’iyā

And their relatives and kin are calling

Wa-qaribuhum
wa-raḥimuhum munādiyā

And their companions and friend(s) are desolate, far away

Wa-’aṣḥābuhum
wa-rafiquhum mustawhiṣīna qāṣiyā
The second part contains quotations from the holy Qur’an which have to do with Raqāiq. Examples:

Everything will perish except his Face. His is the decision, and to him you (all) shall be returned. (28:88)

Every soul shall taste death. And only on the day of resurrection shall you be paid your wages in full. And whoever is removed from the fire and admitted to Paradise, he indeed is successful. The life of this world is only the enjoyment of deception (a deceiving thing). (3:185)

Thereof (the earth) we created you, and unto it we shall return you, and from it we shall bring you out once again. (20:55)
2. Șalawāt: praise and blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad.

Opening:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Bismillahi al-rahmāni al-rahīm

‘In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful.’

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى

Al-ḥamdū li-llāhi wa-salāmun ‘alā ‘ibādihi allāqiṇa șṭafā

‘Praise be to Allāh, and peace be on his servants whom he has chosen (for his message)’

Text: This part (Șalawāt proper) comprises most of the folios in the Șalawāt ms. The text is manzūma in praise of the Prophet. The following is the māṣrāb of the poem, the refrain which recurs several times in the course of the manzūma:

اللهُم صل على محمد وعلى آل محمد كما صلئت على إبراهيم إبنك حميد مجيد . اللهم بارك على محمد وعلى آل محمد كما باركت على إبراهيم إبنك حميد مجيد


‘O Allah, bless Muhammad and the family of Muhammad as you (Allah) blessed 'Ibrāhīm. You are all-praiseworthy, all-glorious. O Allah, invoke a blessing upon Muhammad and upon the family of Muhammad as You invoked a blessing upon 'Ibrāhīm. You are all-praiseworthy, all-glorious.’

Philological notes: The Șalawāt start from the sixth folio recto and end at the 62nd, with a concluding supplement from ff. 63 – 70. They are divided into five
chapters, with an introduction describing how to make oneself ready to recite the Salawāt. Using different phraseology each chapter eulogizes and praises the Prophet Muhammad, his family, his companions, and his followers. The first chapter ends at the 20th folio, with one word running on to the next page. The second chapter extends from folio 20 until folio 36; the third chapter from 36-50; the fourth chapter from 50-55; the fifth chapter from 55-62. The beginning and end of all chapters except the first are rubricated. Example of a chapter ending (which is also a beginning):

\[ \text{انتهى الفصل الأول ويتلوه الفصل الثاني} \]

\[ \text{Intahā al-faṣlu al-‘awwal wa-yatlūhu al-faṣlu al-kinī} \]

‘The first chapter is completed, and is followed by the second chapter.’

The author has not used the standard abbreviations typically found in Salawāt, such as \( \text{Ṣalām} \) صلعم and \( \text{Ṣad} \) ص (both abbreviating \( \text{Ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam} \)).

Each page (recto and verso) contains 10 lines. The text includes a few interlinear corrections, either by the author himself or someone else. Such are:

In the eighth folio verso line 3, \( \text{باركت} \) bārakta; in the 16th folio recto, line 5, \( \text{الحق} \) al-ḥaq; verso line 7, main text has \( \text{جینہ} \) jīna: correction added is \( \text{المحتاجین} \) al-muhtājīn ‘those in need’; in the 17th folio recto, line 2, \( \text{اربعاً} \) ‘arba’an, is added above main text to give a choice of either three or four repetitions; in the same folio verso in the final line the Prophet's name Muhammad is inserted; the same name was already written in red between the words of the main text, but is illegible there due to lack of space. The latter case is also repeated in folio 21 recto, line 3. On folio 21 verso the word \( \text{ وسلم} \) wa-sallim in the 1st line is added, and in the 9th line the Prophet's name Muhammad. In the 22nd folio recto, line 2, \( \text{الذي} \) allāḏī is added. On folio 22
verso, line 7, the main text has *kullamā ḍakaraka al-ḍākirūna* ‘when the mentioners make mention of you (Muhammad)’; in the margin the continuation is added: *wa-gafala ‘an ḍākirihim al-gāfilūn Sīḥh* ‘and the omitters omit mention of them (the other prophets)’, with the word *Sīḥh* ‘correct’ added at the end to state that this continuation is the correct wording. An interesting case is folio 23 verso, last line; the main text has *al-muqarrabīna* ‘near (to Allah)’, and in the margin we see *al-muttaqīna*, with added *ṭa* meaning *ṭāta* ‘wrong’. This must mean that there is a familiar alternate reading *al-muttaqīna* ‘the pious’ which the writer considers incorrect. (This is not a "correction" but a comment.) The same kind of example appears in the next folio 24 recto, first line *al-muḥsinīn* ‘charitable’; the main text has *al-rā‘isīn* ‘the chiefs’, while in the margin we see *al-muḥsinīn* *ṭa* to indicate that *al-muḥsinīn* is the wrong version. In the 27th folio verso the two letters *Alif* and *rā‘* are added in the eighth line, to change the incorrect version *ad-dīna* ‘the religion’ in the main text to the correct *ad-dīraynī* ‘the two residences’ (the present life and the hereafter). On folio 28 recto, line 8, the word بِحَقَّ bi-haqqihi ‘by (his) right’ in the main text is run into the next word, so that it is hard to read; hence the scribe has written this word بِحَقَّ bi-haqqihi again in the margin for clarity. On folio 47 recto on the last line the word *Muḥammad* is added. On the 58th folio recto, line 10, the word *illiyīn* ‘superiors’ appears as a correction to the main text *al-‘a‘lāyn.*

The *Ṣalawāt* proper end on the 63rd folio recto; then on folio 63 verso comes a supplication (*du‘ā‘*) as a conclusion to the ceremony of the *Ṣalawāt*, running until the 69th folio plus the first four lines of the 70th folio recto. At the end of this section the word *tammat* ‘completed’ appears.
3. Du‘ā’ ‘supplication’ and Tawassul ‘intercession’

On folio 70 recto, a red decoration marks the beginning of a short new section of the ms., which covers folios 70-78r. It includes three short texts, which are du‘ā’ and tawassul. I will discuss each of the three briefly.

3.1 Opening:

This text is du‘ā’, the most basic form of prayer. As usual the text begins with the basmala.

\[
\text{Bismillāhi al-rahmāni al-rahīm}
\]

‘In the name of Allah, the Gracious, the Merciful’.

\[
\text{Allāhumma 'īsrah bi-al-Ṣalātī 'alayhi Šudūranā wa-yassir bihī 'umūranā}
\]

‘O Allah! Delight our breasts through prayer to him (Muhammad) and make our tasks easy thereby’.

Text: It runs from folio 70 recto, line 5, until folio 71 recto, bottom. The text is supplication connected with entreaty to the Prophet Muhammad. This is a prose text.

Philological notes: The writing is small, and the line spacing is narrow but the text is generally clear. Black ink is used everywhere, except for the first word Allāhumma which is rubricated. The second and third pages (ff. 70v.-71r.) are enclosed in a page border; the border on page 3 is decorated. At the end of the text the numeral 3 appears, meaning that the last phrase must be read three times.
3.2 Opening:
This text is also *du'ā*'. It begins:

الهـي الهـي يا الهـي يا ذا المنن
سلمنا من البلا ومن فتنت الزمن

'Ilāhī 'ilāhī yā 'ilāhī yā ǧā l-mināni
*Sallīnā mina l-balā wa-min fitnati al-zamāni*

‘My God! My God! O my God! O He of blessings!
Make us safe from affliction, and from the temptation of time.’

Text: The text is a page and a half (ff. 71v.-72r., line 5). The content is similar to that of the previous text, but this text is poetry.

Philological notes: The handwriting is good and of medium size. Hamza is almost never written. The rhyme letter of the poem is the letter Ḥāʾ, so that the poem could be named as a Ḥāʾiyya. The entire poem is 17 lines long, divided into two columns. At the end of the poem the name of the original author is added in the margin, 'Abdu Raḥmān bin Samad Ḥamād. Nothing is known about him. He must have been an important man, however, because his name is followed by the formula ṣaḥiṣa allāhu 'anhum 'may Allah be pleased with them [sic]', which is reserved for important people.

3.3 Opening:
This text is *tawassul*, a poetic prayer for intercession of the Prophet or a saint on behalf of the one who prays. The poem has two halves, each with its own opening. The opening of the first half (f. 72r.):

الهـي الهـي يا الهـي يا ذا المنن

'Sallīnā mina l-balā wa-min fitnati al-zamāni

‘My God! My God! O my God! O He of blessings!
Make us safe from affliction, and from the temptation of time.’
And the opening of the second half (f. 73v., bottom):

الهوية يا الهوية يا
باستمانتك الحسنمنا من البلا
'Ilāhī 'ilāhī yā 'ilāhī 'ilāhī yā
Bi-āsmā'ika al-husnā sallimnā min al-balā
‘My God! My God! O my God! My God! O
By your most beautiful names make us safe from affliction.’

Text: The text is the longest of the four, running from f. 72r.-f. 78r. In this poem the opening is a mašrab, a refrain which is recited by the listeners at the end of each stanza.

Philological notes:

The poem is of the form called taifa ‘triplet’. Its stanzas consist of 3 short lines followed by one long line (followed in turn by the mašrab). The short lines all rhyme within the stanza, but different stanzas have different rhymes. All the 4th lines rhyme with each other. In the first half-poem, the long lines all have the rhyme –ni; in the second half-poem, the long lines have the rhyme –lā. Interestingly, the long lines are all too long to fit onto a single line on the page; thus the last few words are written vertically in the left margin going upwards, creating an esthetic pattern (see illustration in fig. 20). The three short lines are read by the reciter; the listeners may join in on the long fourth line; then everyone recites the mašrab together.

The writing is good and of medium size. Hamza is (almost?) never written. The opening lines (mašrab) of the two half-poems are written in red. At the end of the first half-poem the word tammat ‘completed’ appears. Note that in the opening the word fitna(t) is written with a normal final tāʾ:، "فَتَنَتْ، not tāʾ marbūṭa: فَتَنَتْ.
4. Taḍarruʿ 'entreaty'

Opening:
This text is taḍarruʿ, a prayer which is similar to duʿā' but more powerful and more profound. It begins:

نَدْعُوك مِضْطَرِينَ بِالْصَفَاتِ

*Nad'ūka muḍṭarīna bi-al-ṣafāti*

'We, who are compelled (to do it), supplicate you by (your) qualities.'

Text: This poetic text occurs on the last two folios of the ms. (ff. 78v.-79r.; f. 79v. is blank).

Philological notes: Folio 79, the last folio of the ms., has several holes and is in bad condition, but is completely readable. The text is written throughout in black ink, and the handwriting is small but good. The poem is written in two irregularly aligned columns.
Fig. 11. It is usual to have a few originally blank pages at the beginning and at the end of the mss., which are then used for annotations.
فِي مَّا الْخَيْرِ وَلَا الْخَبَرِ وَلَا الْحَقِّ وَلَا الْكَيْسِ وَلَا الْأَسْلَامِ وَلَا النَّصْبِ وَلَا الْمَضْلِومِ حُيْتَانِ يُضِلُّونَ عَنْ رَقَائِقِهِمُّ بِالْكِتَابِ وَالْْمُلْكِ وَطُورُّ الْحَقِّ وَالْغِيْبَةِ وَالْمَلَّامِحِ لِمَا يُؤْمِنُونَ مِنْهُ وَلَا يَعْلَمُونَ بِالْغَيْبِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّهِ الْمُعْلِمِ
Fig. 13: A page of Silawāt.
Fig. 14. An example of rubrication: In these folios, it marks the end of the first chapter and the beginning of the second chapter, as the copyist explicitly states.
Fig. 15. The rubicated title which ends the second chapter and begins the third chapter is written diagonally. (There is insufficient space to write the title horizontally.)
Fig. 16 The catchword in the verso indicates that the first word in the recto should be *Allāhumma ‘O Allāh*; but this is not the first word of the recto. This means that there is/are omitted page(s) here. The binding also shows a kind of crack here, running the length of the spine, which could be another sign of missing pages.
Fig. 17. The ending of the chapter is decorated. Another chapter then begins which is written in smaller script.
Fig. 18. These two pages are *Du āʾ* (supplication), written inside page-border lines. These are the only ms. pages which have page-borders.
Fig. 19. These two pages contain *Tawassul* (intercession) poems.
Fig. 20. A *Tawassul* poem, written in the *taffita* form (3+1 lines). Note the upward-oriented vertical continuation of the long fourth lines in the left margin.
Fig. 21. These are the last two pages in the ms.; they contain *taфarru* ‘entreaty’. Note the holes in the final folio.
5.3 Ajami literature

Arabic script was used to write Halaba instead of the Ethiopic script *Fidäl*, partly because of the lack of formal education during the imperial period, so that the Halabas could not write *Fidäl* correctly or even at all. An even stronger reason is the very influential role of Arabic on the life of the Halaba community.

There is no one unified method to write the special Ajami letters for non-Arabic phonemes of Halaba; rather, this depends on the usage of the individual writer. It is a difficult writing system to learn, since the reader must know both the Arabic script and the spoken Halaba language. And to really understand what is written, one needs already to have a good understanding of the topic and its background. The following table shows the special Ajami consonant letters used by Šayḫ Šalih Habule in the particular ms. whose text will be discussed below. (For the different system used by Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm Affūso in his Ajami, see table no. 4, sec. 6.2 below.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Halaba consonants with no Arabic counterpart</th>
<th>Ajami letter</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>َّ     ًخ</td>
<td>galut (line 1)</td>
<td>thanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Č</td>
<td>ُه     َز</td>
<td>girāčči (line 15)</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Č'</td>
<td>ّه     ِط</td>
<td>č'iffita(line 16)</td>
<td>garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ŵ</td>
<td>ُه     ُب</td>
<td>Bātiňāha (line 19)</td>
<td>calling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ź</td>
<td>ُه     ُج</td>
<td>'Azzaţzani (line 51)</td>
<td>ordering</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowels were a major problem. The text is fully voweled, including šadda; the problem concerns the interpretation of the vowel marks. The difficulty was especially serious because, although I know some Halaba, I am not a native speaker and not a linguist. To consistently transfer the Aajmi writing into the
vowel system presented by Schneider-Blum is more than I am able to do, especially as regards long and short vowels. (My thanks to Professor Orin Gensler for helping me to clarify these issues.)

In the version of the poem as I present it, the original Ajami is given first as a photocopy, so the reader can see exactly what is written. Then I give my own attempt at a Latin transliteration. This is not an attempt to present a literal, symbol-for-symbol transliteration of the Arabic letters and vowel-marks, which would make little sense (the reader can see from the photocopy what is actually written). It is also not a "transformation" into Schneider-Blum's phonemic system. Rather, it is my approximate attempt to give the sounds as (I think) they should be pronounced. I sometimes use the notation ā, which reflects fīdāl and is only approximately accurate.

One other point should be noted. We often see the Arabic sequence  [i.e., kasra followed by yā' with sukūn]. I often "heard" this sequence as ā, and transcribed it as a; it may be Schneider-Blum's /e/, but I am not sure. (Occasionally something analogous happens with , i.e. jamma followed by wāw with sukūn; this is probably /o/.)

The Halaba Ajami writings which I have found are all Manẓūma poems in praise of the Prophet and the saints. These poems were and still are recited throughout the province. They are performed orally but are often written down beforehand in Ajami. A characteristic feature is the use of many Arabic loan words and phrases. The Manẓūmas are recited during the month of Ramaḍān as well as on the occasion of religious feasts like 'Īd al-Fīṭr, 'Īd al-ʿAḍḥā, and Mawlid celebrations, or whenever a group of Muslims wish to do so. The following topics are the most common:
1. Praise of God (تانِّ ‘الَا اَلَّا حَ)  
2. Biography of the Prophet (مَوُلِد الْنَبِيِّ)  

During my recent fieldwork I collected three Halaba Ajami Manṣūmas, bound together in one book. According to Sayḥ Sirāj Wārraqe ‘Abdulla, who owns the book, the first of Manṣūma is by Sayḥ Sālih Habule, the second by Sayḥ Muḥammad Jadaňa and the third by Sayḥ Hāji ‘Ilyās, who were all leading Halaba writers in Ajami. Sayḥ Sālih Habule (d. 1985), nicknamed bārrā-šakka (chief of the jungle), was a very influential Halaba Sufi, who studied under Sayyid ‘Alī ‘Umar. For the purposes of study and analysis in this thesis I have selected the Manṣūma by Sayḥ Sālih Habule, which is about prayer and praise for the Prophet Muhammad. It is composed of 92 verses.
5.3.1 Opening: The opening is in Arabic; it is a *Mašrab* (refrain):

```
'Āṣalātu wa-s-salāmu 'alā nūri l-kawni * nabī zayni yā qurrata l-'ayni
```

Prayer and praise for the light of the universe * O beautiful Prophet, O delight of the eye!

5.3.2 Text, transliteration and free translation

The transliterations reflect, as much as possible, my own attempt to render actual spoken Halaba pronunciation.
1. Abbu galuṭ galu māṭṭī māgāniha
2. Assiyonni biččiha  abba nabiyyaha
3. Issāni hiruta tunsiččiminiyha
4. Abbata halličču qiyma  arriha
   iyonnā nuriha  aḥīra minīni

Thanks to almighty God
Who gave us the greatest Prophet
He (the Prophet) is an intercession for us on the Judgement Day
Under his protection on the Judgement Day
Let him be our shelter on that day
Abbu rahmatu alissa 'iwässä
Rahmatu wagäretu issakabbabussa
Issata yänoha issanin bärussa
Dudu täwa'ano guña mu'jizassa
   guña halläčussa bussanu 'arroni

May Allah have mercy on him
Let peace and mercy surround him (the Prophet)
The one who remembers him (the Prophet), let him be with him
Even the mute speak of his (Prophet’s) miracle
   under the (fierce heat of the) sun his lovers are in his shade
9  Ittānassa mannu 'issa 'addakurru
10  Tumadudu bussa waraqani warro
11  Gibānussa mānnu 'issani bororro
12  Issata hoggā dāqqiyha hort'ano

     hillāssi hororāno  ittasigirani

The one who loves him (the Prophet), his horse carries him and he goes toward him (the Prophet)
His lovers recorded his (Prophet’s) beautiful speech on paper
The one who hates him (the Prophet) curses him
He who misses the Prophet strives to get to him
     and his intestines are burned by his love
13 **Hilwuhu ťumułu** issa mir'anu

14 **Gasi urişšata hiruta dā'anu**

15 'Azabi giračči hijabi fulamu

16 **Jannati č'iffita 'aggi burraqānu**

  **Orişšaći ťummanu nurini 'agānu**

He (the Prophet) guides both the good and the bad

They will get the mediator (the Prophet) for tomorrow's trouble

They will be saved from hell

They will have enjoyment in the garden (of Paradise)

  They will be saved from trouble, and come into the light
Day and night his lover goes toward him (the Prophet)
When he gets every light, he says, This is he (the Prophet)
The lover loses his heart in calling him (the Prophet)
He calls repeatedly, “O Muhammad!”
He is satisfied by the universal light (the Prophet)
21 Minissa nurini ittassa hočēima
22 Gāfōla gisānnačī qasīnō baqqā'imma
23 Tunsicčī orišačī nurini fuššiyomma
24 Muḥabba girata galbin afsisāmma
                 waqqani worāmma girāčī fuššāni

The lover supplicates through his (Prophet’s) light and love
His love (Prophet’s) refreshes the hearts of those who forget God
He (the Prophet) takes us out from the darkness by his light
His love is put on the hearts
He guides his lovers to the direct path and saves them from hell
25  Maḥabba ē'u'ata qasin butuhāmma
26  Orru qullāha kaminani hurāmma
27  'Āzi abillisi girani bussāmma
28  Qalābisi mida'cāni rāmaṭu dubāmma
     nurānī gazāmma foloč'ē'o kamāni

He removes filth from the hearts
He looks and calls him (the Prophet); he is neither standing nor sitting
His love (Prophet's) is burning both inside and outside
His passion (Prophet's) tied the lover's heart
     his light gives his followers no rest
29 Muhammad yānnohu wajagārā qašṣo
30 Maḥabba baruda qalābāyni  afsiššo
31 Ittasi minṭaṣa qalābīnktasi waššo
32 Minissa nurini ʿiyāṭtasi waraššo
   matubika hošṣuhāma lifatānī

The one who is called Muhammad penetrates into the spirit
His love is mixed in the heart like gunpowder
The carpet of (his) love is unrolled in his heart.
The light of his face is beloved
   the lovers live in his reflection
All arise, as soon as the name of Muhammad is hailed
The heedless, sleepy and weak are waking
He is a screen (against hell) and the buried comes out from the grave
He says, "O Muhammad!" with his loving tongue
standing and crying all day and all night
37 Etānussa mannu lāʾi horātā’ano
38 Gibanussa mannu dubbissa sammano
39 Qalbus dorāmmāni ḥaqqanā waqqarano
40 Etānussa manna sāmmi qannatāno
   girāta maṭāno būban jannāmini

Those who love him (the Prophet) strive to see him
Even he who hates him (the Prophet) cannot say anything against him
Who hates the Prophet becomes insensible and beats his own body with sticks
He mocks the lovers of the Prophet
He takes out the hellfire from his burning body while he is being burned
God loved him, and named him

His (Prophet’s) light passed toward the sea

He was able to decrease the fifty ʿsalāts (prayers) to five

His heart is filled with knowledge and decency

He (Allah) welcomed him (the Prophet) in his vast field
45  *Buraqi yännohu ittatasi ücüyu*

46  İtu’agu hoggi gądabus hokkâ'yo

47  Hakkara 'illammi qalbusi hortäyo

48  Našaṭi girâni 'alusu girtäyo

dânusi dortäyo dāqqämmoniqiyani

The *Burāq* (animal on which the Prophet began his ascent to the seven heavens) cried from happiness, that it served the Prophet

The Prophet’s love adhered to his (the lover’s) belly

The lover’s heart asks, When will I arrive?

The lover’s ardor burned his upper body

his appearance changed, saying, How can I get to him (the Prophet)?
Jibril (Gabriel) asked about the news,
He asked Burāq about the Prophet:
"I am here because of God’s command to take you (the Prophet)."
He (Jibrīl) told the Prophet that he will take him wherever he wants
He will put him in touch with any prophet he wishes
53 'Itānusa mānu burqānka 'ikki warqa
54 Gibānāsu mānu warqanka 'ikki borga
55 'Abiyonani fanqalibuha šukkan boga
56 Kulyānāni moč'oč'ibo qālbi mač'e'a-t-dunqa
   'Ihamuqqi warqa inkiyāni najani

Both purely good and partly good people love the Prophet
The good or the bad person, is named by him (the Prophet)
Even if he is given good advice he will not return (to the right path)
He (person with a closed heart) never accepts advice
    he might be like gold if he had good knowledge
O my mother’s son (brother), you can see and have the Prophet’s light
Day and night you will spend time with him (the Prophet)
You will be freed from the present life by the Prophet’s light
Then you will say, He who loves the Prophet is on the correct path
You will wear light both inside and outside
61 Gāfūla biqullīta ṯaṭī turritanāti
62 Našaṭī ā'affītā 'āgi burraqqanti
63 Jannāti minīha 'ītāta ikkanāti
64 Hassonāti murādi anāgāni anfānāti

Moquta da itanī 'abba maganāni

You will roll up and throw out the mat of heedlessness
You will run happily in your ardor
On the Judgement Day you will be his lover in heaven
Anything you need you will get it
and even you will get advice from God
O my mother’s children, wake up and let us speak about the Prophet
Let us tell them that we cannot live while the heart is dry
Let us record it on paper with ink
What should I tell and what should I say?
he searches for words and tries to speak
O Prophet! You are our father and our mother
Do not throw us out of tomorrow's home (Paradise)
Be our mediator on the Judgement Day
The broadest shade in tomorrow's home
How great is our richness with our good Prophet!
73 Medina gāta 'igāta 'igāta
74 'Angunni 'affinni ki'anāba 'angota
75 Wāswasi kāmminni kā'nini 'inkuta
76 Muhammada yāni 'orreni konnota

    iggatā yonātā sasunə kāminini

O Medina's leader, we beseech you!
Lead us, to enter and be with you
Keep away the whispers of the tempter from us
Let us say, Muhammad is our intercessor
we beseech him in our three homes (present life, grave and Judgement Day)
O Allah, guide us to the Prophet's light
Make us enter into his pocket (his way)
We have no solution except him
We are telling you our problem
our need will only be fulfilled through the Prophet
O Allah! Protect us from bad things
Tell us the solution for tomorrow's problem
Make us live through the Prophet’s love
Make us die in obedience to God
on the dark day replace it with light
This Ajami poem is finished, written by the hand of mīm
Driving force of everything (to) the presence of togetherness
Graceful of heart, giver (master) of favor
Its meaning is understood by all who hear it
it has layers of meaning and easy structure
89  Śalātu rabbinā l-wāhid al-aḥadi

90  'Alā Muḥammadin mawji bahrī l-jūdi

91  Wa-l-‘āli wa-l-Ṣāhbi rukka‘i l-suṣjadi

92  Mā ḥāra ‘aṣiqūn li-haḍrati l-sa‘d

   wa-mā qāla al-Ṣādī yā durrata l-kawni

Praise to our Lord, the unique and the One
(And) upon Muhammad the wave of the sea of generosity
And to the family and the companions, the worshippers and the prostraters
As the lover flew toward the place of happiness
and the very thirsty said: O pearl of the universe!
5.3.3 Some philological notes on the poem

1- A characteristic feature of the Halaba Ajami poems is the frequent use of either Arabic or Amharic loanwords or phrases. Some of these are listed in table 4, taken from the above poem. For each word, two pronunciations are give: as pronounced in Halaba, then as pronounced in Arabic or Amharic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic loanwords</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Arabic loanwords</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Arabic loanwords</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rahmātu رحمة rahma</td>
<td>merciful</td>
<td>mujīza معجزة muˈjīza</td>
<td>miracle</td>
<td>’azābagi عذاب adāb</td>
<td>torture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hijabu حجاب hijāb</td>
<td>screen</td>
<td>jānna جنة janna</td>
<td>heaven</td>
<td>qiyama قيامة qiyāma</td>
<td>resurrection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhabba محبت mahabba</td>
<td>love</td>
<td>qalāb قلب qalb</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>qabr قبر qabr</td>
<td>grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jannahm جنحان jannahm</td>
<td>hell</td>
<td>salata صلاة ṣalāt</td>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>ilma علم ’ilm</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’adaba أدب ’adab</td>
<td>good manners</td>
<td>nasihata نصيحة nasīha</td>
<td>advice</td>
<td>gafla غفلا gafla</td>
<td>inadverntence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waswasa وسوس waswās</td>
<td>whispers</td>
<td>hāja حاجة hāja</td>
<td>need</td>
<td>bārūda بارودة bārūda</td>
<td>gunpowder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bahrani بحاران bahrān</td>
<td>seas</td>
<td>šaḡeltānti شغلت šaḡalat</td>
<td>to worry</td>
<td>mādda مداد madd</td>
<td>ink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qālama قلم qalam</td>
<td>pen</td>
<td>wāraqa ورقة waraqa</td>
<td>paper</td>
<td>ajāb عجب ’ajab</td>
<td>astonishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta’ata طاعة ṭā a</td>
<td>obedience</td>
<td>hulwuhu حلو hulwu</td>
<td>sweet (good)</td>
<td>najani نجاة najā</td>
<td>set free</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amharic loan words</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māṭānעון mätān</td>
<td>size</td>
<td>mālāha עון māla</td>
<td>solution</td>
<td>gādābussāעון gādāb</td>
<td>limitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’azzažzani עזעזע azzaazu</td>
<td>order</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table no. 3: Loanwords in Halaba Ajami
2- The Ajami *manẓūma* is written in *taṭīṭa* form.

3- Catchwords appear on all pages (both recto and verso) of the poem.

4- The verses of the 12th, 52nd, 56th and 68th lines are all too long to fit onto a single line on the page; thus the last word(s) is/are written vertically in the left margin going upwards.

5- Ajami literature was one of the subjects well-known to Halaba scholars. They used and mentioned it. On the 74th line the author mentioned that this poem is Ajami literature تَمْمَتِ عُمُّ جَيْاُمِيْة *ta[a]*mmat 'Ajamiya 'Ajami is finished'.

6- The last eight lines of the poem are fully in Arabic.

7- The colophon gives the year when the text was copied: 1431 H. – 2010 (note the very recent date).

8- The word *tamm*rat at the end is written with a long vowel: *tām*mat. This is an error, done either by Šayḫ Šālih Habule or by the copyist Šayḫ Sirāj Wārraqe 'Abdulla.

9- In the poem the phrase *bi-yaḍ al-mimiy*a occurs (line 85), which means by the hand of *mim* — Mr. *Mim*, whose name begins with the letter *mim*, e.g. Muhammad, Malik, Manṣūr, Muṣṭafā, etc. This is puzzling, since neither the author nor the copyist has a name that starts with the letter *mim*.

10- On line 91, the word *wa-l-ʿāl* "and the family" is written strangely. Over the alif of ʿāl appears both a hamza and a *madda* (length mark). The correct spelling would have only *madda*, but no hamza.
11- Line 91 reads: wa-l-ʾāl wa-l-ṣahb rukkaʾ l-sujjad. We would expect the two words rukka and sujjad to both be definite or both be indefinite; this is not the case, however, and the result is not good Arabic.

12- In line 16 of the poem (a long line), the line ends with the words nurini ʾaganu. This is a mistake: it should be ʾaganu nurini, as indeed it was when I heard the poem recited orally. The reversal causes the line to end in -amanu, which rhymes with the previous 3 lines (short lines); this, however, violates the standard rhyme scheme for taṭijā, whereby all the 4th lines (long lines) must have the same rhyme (here, -nī).
Chapter Six – Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo and his mss.

6.1 Brief biography

According to interviews conducted by Braukämper in 1972, Mahdī in 1980 and Wulč’afo in 1984, and knowledge gathered about him from his clansmen and relatives, particularly his eldest son 'Asmā, the following can be said concerning his biography:

'Ibrāhīm was born around 1896; the exact date varies from informant to informant. His father 'Affūšo Guddammo was from the Šide clan and lived in Lenda and Qullito. His mother Lādame Ḭnjabo descended from the Hulbārag clan in 'Amba district in the Kāmbata area. He states in his ms. 3 that his mother’s lineage is: Lādame ← Ḭnjabo ← Gānnāso ← Sībato ← Harrušo ← Gāyyamo ← Ḭllo ← Qārrana ← Ġqo ← Zato.

He had 3 wives, whom he married at different times. All of them passed away during his lifetime.

1. 'Āsiyā Ḥabīb: she was his first wife, from the Zato clan. She had three children, two sons and one daughter. The two younger children died during his lifetime; his one surviving child is the eldest son 'Asmā, who kindly helped me and permitted me to use his father’s ms.

2. Šamsiyya Buturo

3. Warqitte Šayḫ 'Ahmad, widow of Ḥitāwrat Buṣra. The two latter wives had no children.

Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm performed the Ḥajj ‘pilgrimage’ five times, the first in 1946; according to 'Ahmaddīn 'Uṭmān who accompanied him in his last journey, and to Muhammad Nūr 'Awwal who received them in Massawa where he was living, the Šayḫ’s last Ḥajj was in 1970. He used to lead groups of Ḥajj
pilgrims who asked him to be their guide to the holy places because of his great knowledge of Islam as well as his general knowledge and his mastery of both Amharic and Arabic. As a result most of the Shayh’s Hajj expenses were covered by the group which he led.

He was fluent in Amharic, speaking the Wello dialect, and he also knew some Oromiffa. He received his first Islamic education in his area, specifically from Shayh Karari and his son Hajj Hamuda. For his higher Islamic education the young 'Ibrahîm travelled to Wello where he studied under many scholars of that region. After his graduation he returned home and started to teach Qur’an and other Islamic subjects alongside farming his land and grazing.

'Ibrahîm became a volunteer attorney for those who were not able to pay the expenses of a regular lawyer in the local courts; in addition, he served as a translator and a mediator between plaintiffs and defendants in order to solve the disagreement peacefully.

'Ibrahîm 'Affùso used to assemble the elders and scholars every fifteen days in his home in Ç'orroqç'o district for Muqâkara ‘discussion’ about the society in its religious, social and cultural aspects.

He was a well-known orator as a ūlûb at the collective Friday prayers Jum’a and the two holy ceremonial days ‘Īd Al-Fîṭr and ‘Īd Al-'Aqîlâ. His powerful speeches had great influence on his hearers to the extent that some would cry out and even faint. His position in the society grew steadily and he became a leading intellectual. As such, King 'Abba Jifar of Jimma invited him to come to Jimma, along with his friends Fitâwrârî Bušrâ, Hajî Husayn Fanqamo, Kamâl Gobâño, Hajî Husayn Badaro and 'Imâm Bamud Waqqo, as representatives of the Halaba; the purpose was to build closer relations and to discuss how to develop bilateral issues.
During the period of Italian colonialism he was imprisoned by the Italians with his friend Fitawrari Bušra for a few days, suspected of practicing magic. However, the Italians' true intention was to inquire about their activities toward the colonialists. They were soon released.

In his old age Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm lost his sight. He died in 1984 E.C. /1992, as is recorded on his tombstone in Arabic. He is buried in the cemetery of Č'orroqo district in the left corner of the graveyard, where the tombstone clearly distinguishes him from others. All the elders, scholars, officials and hundreds of people came to his funeral to bid him a last farewell. The following words are carved on his tombstone:

هذا قبر شيخ إبراهيم أفصوسو 1984

Haḏa qabru Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūso 1984

'This is the grave of Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affuso 1984 E.C. /1992'.

This sentence was carved just one day after his death. The writer clearly had insufficient knowledge of Arabic, since he wrote the word Šayḫ as an indefinite noun, where as the definite form Al-Šayḥ would be correct. The inscription does not specify the year of death as Gregorian or Ethiopian calendar, but according to all the informants it is the latter.

6.2 Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm's mss.

I was shocked that I was able to discover only seven of his mss. in his library; it is hard to believe that such a great scholar and intellectual, who lived a century ago, would have just a few mss. in his library. According to his son 'Asmā most of his mss. have either been lost or borrowed and have not been returned. The seven mss. are listed and described below:
Ms. 1- صلوات

Basic description: it is about صلوات, peace and blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad.

Technical description: The binding is leather, with some large holes. 37 folios are present, written on pre-modern paper. On the 1st folio recto the owner of the ms. is recorded in Arabic in a rectangular box bordered by double lines:

حق إبراهيم بن عبد الله بن غدمو بن دوي بن أبييين بن هوغن بن بايموت بن مندق بن سن بن
سمرنالدين بن يش بن اسفاين بن اط زراقم

Haqq 'Ibrāhīm bin 'Abdulla bin Guddamo bin Dāwe bin 'Abiyān bin Hogān bin Baymot bin Māndaq bin San bin Samaraddīn bin Yaš bin 'Asfayn bin 'I İzeraqam

'Property of 'Ibrāhīm bin 'Abdulla bin Guddamo bin Dāwe bin 'Abiyān bin Hogān bin Baymot bin Māndaq bin San bin Samaraddīn bin Yaš bin 'Asfayn bin 'I İzeraqam'.

On the first folio verso the opening appears with a decoration. The next pages are lost and it is unknown how many pages they were. Folios 1-22 contain 10 lines each; folios 23 - end contain 12 lines each. The 17th folio verso, for unknown reasons, is blank. Allāh's and the Prophet's name are rubricated; however, from folio 32 verso to the end, blank spaces are left for these names but the names are not written in. Evidently the writer meant to come back again and fill in the names in red ink, but he never did. The page size is 13cm. x 18cm. Regarding the paleography of ﺱ sin: usually with 3 "teeth"; but in ۚ وـ لـ و wa-sallim it is written as a simple line (ruq'a style) directly over the waw: ۚ وـ لـ.

In the colophon the following statement appears:
This book has been completed with Allah's help and his good fortune through the hand of the needy and humble Hasan the son of 'Ulmān, on Thursday in the month of Ša'ban in the year 1336 Hijra [1915 A.D.]. Best blessing and purest peace be upon him.

The ms. is divided into two parts; the end of the 1st part and the beginning of the 2nd part comes in the 20th folio, divided by basmallah. All the contents of both parts are Salawāt. The first half of the ms. is partly vowelled and marks ṣadda, but not the second part.

Philological analysis: On the 1st folio recto the 'Alif as kursī of hamza in 'Ibrāhīm is not written. On line 2 of folio 9 verso, a small v symbol is written to mean a word has been omitted, which is added in the right margin: istagnā ‘to dispense with’.

On folio 10 verso, last line, min is written at the end of the line and then repeated on the opposite folio’s recto. Note that the catchword is not min, but 'aṭār, which is the second word on the facing recto; this means that min is wrongly repeated.

On folio 11 verso, last line, a small symbol v is again inserted to indicate an inserted correction: wa-mawlānā ‘and our master’.

For folio 12 verso there are two remarks:

1) On the sixth line, the numerical symbol Ṝ ‘three’ appears which means that this last sentence must be recited three times.

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2) On line 8 the word minnā ‘from us’ is written in the right margin. Folio 15 recto contains a correction on its third line. The word ʿlā ‘do not’ was omitted, but the error was discovered and repaired by inserting the correct word in-line at the correct place.

Folio 17 verso is blank, although the top half of the page is written very lightly in pencil. The pencil writing is hard to read, but it does not seem to belong to the text; the text proceeds directly from folio 17 recto to 18 recto, with no interruption (and with the correct catchword at the bottom of 17 recto). Note that the blank page comes at the end of a sewn signature.

On folio 18 verso on the first line biḥā ‘by it’ is inserted between two words.

From the 22nd folio until the 25th folio, the writing is of poorer quality than the previous pages. The ink is less black, and the two dots of the yāʾ in sayyidīnā ‘our master’ are absent. The catchwords on folio 25 verso (بَالْفَضْلُ) and 27 verso (فِيَّالْفَضْلِ) are written with no diacritic dots or hamza at all. These words are written correctly (i.e. with diacritics and hamza) in the top line of the next page. Similar cases where the catchword omits all or some of the consonantal diacritics (dots) are the following:

A- Folio 28 verso catchword خَافِضُ ُبَلَيْفِ ‘lower’, no dots.

B- Folio 31 verso catchword اللُّوَابُ Al-tawāb ‘reward’, three dots are present over ثُلُثِ, no dots under بَ حَمْزَةُ ‘ba’.

C- Folio 32 verso تستَرْنَا التَّأسيسُ تَاستَرَنَا ‘you cover us’, no dots. Here تستَرْنَا is not literally the first word on the next page, but rather the first important word in the first line.

D- Folio 33 verso catchword عَلَيْهِمْ alayhim ‘upon them’, no dots.
E- Folio 34 verso "catchword" ظ. Here only the first letter waw of the first word "wa-tab'atuhu ‘and you send him’ appears as the catchword. (The same thing appears on at least one other folio.)

F- Folio 35 verso catchword ًَانسأن ‘human being’, no dots.

G- Folio 36 verso "catchword" قتا, no dots. Here the word ترزقنا ‘you nourish us’ is split over the page break: ترز قتا ترزو-قنا tarzu-qunā; the "catchword" indicates only the second part of the word.

H- Phenomena seen in examples A - G include:

1- Lack of consonantal dots (pure رسم ‘dotless consonantal skeleton’).

2- Catchword is only part of the word.

3- Broken word, catchword is 2nd half.

4- Catchword is not literally first word.

I- Finally, the colophon states that the ms. was written "by the hand of" Hasan bin ʿUṭmān. Since I found this ms. in ʿSayḥ Ibrahim Affūṣo’s collection of mss., this must mean that either ʿSayḥ Ibrahim in his old age asked Hasan ʿUṭmān to write down this book for him, or that he bought it from him, or that the book was borrowed from Hasan ʿUṭmān but not returned to the original owner.

Ms. 2: Haqībatu al-fawa'id wa-jāmi'atu al-farā'id ‘The Kit-bag of Benefits and Collection of Unique Gems’.

Basic description: As is clear from the title, this book contains different subjects. The main topic is the fundamentals of the Qādiriyya Sufi order: duʿā‘ ‘supplication’, qirā‘a ‘reading’, ḡikr ‘reciting’, and the preparation and morals
involved in these activities. Linguistic themes like al-‘aḏḏād ‘opposites’ and the book of Muṭṭallat Quṭrub, the "triplets" of the scholar Quṭrub, are included too, as are Ḩal Im al-Ḥadīṯ ‘science of Ḥadīṯ’ and fiqh ‘jurisprudence’. Ṣalāwāt ‘praising and blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad’, wa’ẓ ‘exhortation’ and fatāwā ‘legal opinions’ of leading scholars are also mentioned.

**Technical description:** The original binding of this compiled work is in thick black paper attached at the spine by a piece of cloth; later someone added an extra binding in cardboard on top of the old binding. Moreover, this second person named the work, giving it the title (written on the cardboard cover):

\[
\text{حقيقه القوانين وجماعة الفراند} \\
\text{لجامعها الوالد الشيخ إبراهيم الماجد} \\
\text{Haqībatu al-fawā‘id wa-jāmi‘atu al-farā‘id} \\
\text{Li-jāmi‘ihā al-wālid al-shayḫ ‘Ībrāhīm al-mājid} \\
\text{‘The kit-bag of benefits and collection of unique gems} \\
\text{Compiled by the illustrious father Shayḫ ‘Ībrāhīm’.
}

The ms. is written on pre-modern paper. The handwriting is of medium size and good. Some headings, symbols and the supplication of Allāh are rubricated. The ms. has a total of 62 folios. The page size is 12cm x 18cm.

As noted, the book includes discussion of various topics. The first three folios discuss the qualities of the Prophet, quoting from the Prophet’s sayings, his companions’ sayings, stories and poems. Folios four through ten contain supplication and entreaty. From folio 10 to 14 supplications are quoted from Shayḫ al-Annī, then from folio 15 to 18 further supplications appear. Folio 19 begins with an introduction about the supplication of the Qadiriyya saints, including the fundamental rules for the supplication, its preconditions, morals and time; it is divided into four brief sections. This topic ends on the fifth line
of the verso of the 22nd folio. The next two folios (23 and 24) discuss the benefits to be gained from visiting the graves of the saints and from writing the names of the prophets, as well as how to entreat in their name and specific formulas of supplication. The traditional Sufi genealogical chain silsila is presented, from Allāh to Jibrīl ‘Gabriel’ to the Prophet to the saints down to Šayḫ Dāni. This covers folios 25 and 26 recto.

Folio 26 verso until 30 is devoted to linguistic themes. The first consists of excerpts from the book of Muṭṭallaṭ Qūṭrub ‘the triplets of the scholar Qūṭrub’. It is about how a word can have three different meanings depending on its internal voweling (a, u, i). The second linguistic topic is Al-'Aḍḍād ‘the opposites’. It explains how a word can have two opposite meanings at the same time.

Prayers against plagues, prayers for good fortune, and prayers to choose what is good for oneself are dealt with on folios 30 and partly of 31. At the bottom of folio 31 recto two poetic lines from 'Ilm Al- Ḥadīth ‘science of Ḥadīth’ are presented. The next three folios (31 verso – 34 recto) have miscellaneous topics. Șalawāt are given on 34 verso and 35. Folio 36 and the recto of 37 are covered with notes. From 37 verso until 43 is wa’Z ‘admonition’.

Two ḥuṭbas ‘sermons’ are found from 43 recto (last five lines) to 51; the first is for ‘Īd al-‘adḥā and the second is for ‘Īd al-Fiṭr. The official marriage text is given at the bottom of folio 51. A poem of raqā‘iq ‘relentings, softening of the hearts’ is given on folio 52 recto. There follows an explanation of the Quranic Sūrat Al-fātiha, followed by a verse composition of fundamental rules for fiqh ‘jurisprudence’ with copious interlinear notes from the 53rd folio verso until 55th folio recto. Folios 55 verso to 60 discuss the methods, abbreviations and techniques of Šāfi‘i fiqh scholars. Folios 61 to 62 contain Arabic terms for
animals, vegetables, fruits, and musical instruments, translated into their Amharic (Ajami) equivalents.

The major part of the ms. is not vowelled and without šadda, except for the ending rhyme of the šalawāt (folio 34 verso to folio 35 verso) and the entirety of the two ḫuṭbās (folio 43 recto to folio 51 verso).

Philological analysis: The ms. is full of marginal notes on all sides and in between the lines, giving explanations or annotations. The symbols used in the text to mark the location of the marginal note are: — over the relevant word(s) and 〇 small circle dotted in its center.

The marginal notes often include quotations which conclude with the standard abbreviations 

\[\text{انتهى} \text{ intahā = "completed"}\] followed by an abbreviation indicating the source.

In the fifth folio at the bottom of the recto, three words are inserted: 

\[\text{الدنيا واخرى صح} \text{ dunyā wa-’ufrā šahh ‘the present life and the hereafter: correct’}\]. This indicates that the words dunyā wa-’ufrā may be added to the text, and it is correct (šahh) to do so.

The marginal notes include a number of explanations of individual words that occur in the main text. For example, on folio 12 verso, in the right margin, the word al-hafwa ‘mistake’; on folio 16 recto the word al-qatar ‘dust’; on folio 16 verso the word al-qiṣṣa ‘dried hides’.

This ms. (starting from folio 23) contains a huge amount of information about religious values, historical events and other subjects. The following table no. 4 summarizes the contents from folio 23 onwards.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Folio 23 recto, and half of the verso</td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>The benefits of writing and rehearsing the names of the 313 prophets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folio 23 verso to folio 24, and folio 30</td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Various modes of supplications for different purposes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folio 25</td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Traditional method of the Qadiriyya Sufi mystical order in receiving and transferring the Qadiriyya tradition through the chain (silsila) beginning from the Prophet until the current saint.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Folio 25 verso – last six lines and folio 26 recto | Historical   | 1- The death of Šayḫ Muhammad Jamāluddīn Al-‘Ānniyy, on Monday morning, 25 Rabi’ al- Awwal 1299 H. (1878), buried at Kārme village in the Yājju area.  
                      |                  | 2- The death of Šayḫ Ahmad bin ’Ādam Al-Danniyy, on the eve before Thursday, 26 Du al-Qa‘da 1321 H. (1900), buried on Friday afternoon at Kakor village in the Yājju area. |
| Folio 26 verso to folio 29 recto  | Linguistic       | Two types of linguistic categories are discussed:  
                      |                  | 1- Mutallat ‘triplet’: a word which can have three different meanings depending on its variant diacritical vowel-markings.  
<pre><code>                  |                  | 2- Aḍḍād ‘opposites’: words which have two opposite meanings.                                                                 |
</code></pre>
<p>| Folio 29 verso to folio 31 verso | Miscellaneous    | Notes, supplications and Ilm Al-Hadīt.                                                                                                    |
| Folio 32 recto                  | Religious        | Fatwā ‘legal opinion’ on the exact way of how to pray and recite praise upon the Prophet.                                                  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio 32 verso to folio 36 recto</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th>Notes, supplications and Ṣalawānān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Folio 36 verso to folio 41 verso</td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td><em>Wa</em>ʻrā‘ ‘admonition’ to be ready for the Day of Judgement and that this present life is only a bridge to the next one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folio 42 recto to folio 49 verso</td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Two ḥuṣbāṣ ‘sermons’ for the two holydays, ‘Īd Al-Fiṭr and ‘Īd Al-ʿAḍhā, are recorded. On ‘Īd Al-Fiṭr the ḥaṭīb ‘preacher’ has a duty to instruct the faithful congregation concerning zakāt ‘almsgiving’. On ‘Īd Al-ʿAḍhā he gives the rules for the holyday sacrifice. On both holydays the sermon is delivered in two parts, both delivered while the ḥaṭīb is standing; they are separated by a pause of a few minutes when the ḥaṭīb sits down (يَقُدُّ هُنَا قَالُوْلا). The sermon’s first part opens with 9 takbūrs, saying <em>Allāhu Akbar</em> ‘Allāh is great’ (يَكُوْن ۱۰ يُكَابِبِرُوُذَا تِسَآ), and the second part with 7 takbūrs. In the ‘Īd the ṣalāt ‘praying’ precedes the sermon, while in the regular jum‘a ‘Friday service’ the ṣalāt comes after.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folio 50 recto to folio 58 verso</td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td><em>wa</em> ʻrā‘, explanations for sūrat al-ṣātīha “the 1st chapter of Qur‘ān” and the Ṣafī‘i fiqh ‘jurisprudence’ skills and rules. The explanation is in the form of a poem with copious marginal notes, written horizontally, vertically, or even sometimes upside down or obliquely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folio 59 recto to folio 60 recto</td>
<td>Linguistic</td>
<td>Arabic terms are explained in Ajami Halaba. The only Ajami in any of Ṣayḥ Ibrahim Affūṣo’s mss. is on these limited three pages. When he writes Ajami, he uses the following conventions:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folio 60 verso</td>
<td>Historical (brief notes in pencil or ballpoint pen)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Convention</strong></td>
<td><strong>Halaba</strong></td>
<td><strong>Arabic</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ل or غ = g</td>
<td>َتَنَٰئِن</td>
<td>عَقْرَب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اًكَرْدِم</td>
<td>ِلْرَمْع</td>
<td>ِيَربِع</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ط = خ</td>
<td>ُقَّةُذِي</td>
<td>سَلُحَافَة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>َي = ـ</td>
<td>ُتَنَّى</td>
<td>بَعْوَض</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For a different Ajami transcription system, see section 5.3.)

1- The emergence of Ahmad Gran in the year 693H. (1272). [the date given in the ms. is incorrect]
2- The Italian army spread out in Ḥabaṣa in 1355 H. (1934).
3- The English army attacked the Italians in 1360H. (1939).
4- The birth of Șayḫ Ibrahim’s son Al-Ḥusayn bin Ibrāhīm on 15 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1357 H. (1937).

Table no. 4: Contents of ms. 2
Ms. 3- Untitled

Basic description: Šalawāt, and genealogical and historical texts.

Technical description: The ms. is written in a modern exercise book, on thick paper and with a strong cardboard cover, paginated (with pre-printed page numbers) from 1-192. Pages 59-74, 121-130, and 161-166 have been crudely torn out; from the remains of pp. 121-130 it is clear that at least these pages were written on. The book is a mixture of different texts, in different handwritings and different inks; the main texts are written upside-down. The written pages run from 5-29, and 34-43; the rest are blank except for pp. 32, 58, 75, 117 and 120 (and the remains of 121 - 130), which are written in ballpoint pen in crude handwriting. The page size is 15cm. x 22cm. The different handwritings are clear and of medium size. Part of the text is written in black ink with thick letters; part is written with a ballpoint pen. In the manzūma poem (see below), there is rubrication, apparently in red pencil (not red ink).

The ms. does not include vowels and šadda except for a small number of words. Hamza is not written in any of the texts. On page 5, exceptionally, two diacritic marks are written in order to avoid confusion. They are:

1) نُمَّ 'ni'ma 'what an excellent'; the nun is written with kasra to distinguish it from نَمَّ 'na'am 'yes'.

2) A šadda 'gemination marker' appears in عليّ, to distinguish this name from 'alā 'on'.

Pages 6-17 and 34-43 (in black ink) are Šalawāt, praise and blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad. Pages 18-29 (in ballpoint pen) present genealogies of the Halaba people and others, including a little historical background of the Halaba.

Philological analysis: The different texts that comprise the book are not written in any particular order, and sometimes one brief text interrupts another.

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The main diacritics found in the text are:

1) —— to indicate either a major change of subject, or the location in the main text of a marginal note.

2) X to indicate that a word(s) has been omitted and is added in the margin.

Two Halaba letters are innovated in the genealogies. Interestingly, the innovated letteres are different from ms. 2. The first is to indicate the sound [č'] by modifying the Arabic ط through putting three dots underneath. The word so written is قُرُابِتْرا C'urabutra, the shrine of Sayyid 'Abdussalam's grave. The second is the letter for [g] which is written as غ with 3 dots over it, as in جِنَّة genna, the name of a village in Innor area where the saint's grave is visited.

The mašrab 'refrain' is written in vertically in the right margin of p. 6, which is rare in Arabic mss. It seems the Šayb forgot to write the mašrab at the beginning, and later there was not enough space to write it in its proper place. So he had no other option but to write it in the above-mentioned form. In this mašrab the numerical 3 is written, to mean "repeat three times"; this is a very common usage.

Pages 6-17 contain two poems, preceded by an introduction on p. 5. The first poem, on pages 6 to 14, is an Istigfar استغفار poem, which is the act of seeking forgiveness from Allāh, one of the essential parts of Muslim worship. This act is generally done by repeating the Arabic words 'Astağfiru llāh, meaning "I seek forgiveness from Allāh". However, in Sufism it is done differently, through a poem recited by the master while the followers repeat the mašrab 'refrain'. The colophon on page 14 is dated on 27th Rajab 1358 H. /12 September 1939. The second poem, a madh 'eulogy poem', runs from page 14 sixth line to page 17 and is
dated two days after the first poem, on 29th Rajab 1358 H./14 September 1939.

- On page 22 the omitted word אליא 'ilā ‘to’ is added between the lines.

- Pages 24 and 26 - 28 contain a list of three Muslim saints with their genealogies and historical background. The first saint mentioned is Al-Hājj Kabīr Hamīd whose genealogical line goes back to 'Alī bin 'Abī Ṭālib, the companion of the Prophet. The second saint is Sayyid 'Abdussalām Al-'Asmar. His origin, residence and family are mentioned. He too is descended from 'Alī bin 'Abī Ṭālib. These two saints have the rank of šarīf or sayyid, which means they are descended from the Prophet's family. The third is a widely celebrated saint in Ethiopia and in Harar particularly, the well-known Abādir. His family background, education, and origin are mentioned. Abādir is almost always known by his nickname (which is Abādir); his true name is 'Alī bin 'Umar. Abādir had one son named Muhammad; Muhammad went to Tigray, married there, and had a son 'Ismā‘īl. From 'Ismā‘īl the family tree started to spread. The family was known as kābirā ‘the great’, because of their descent from 'Alī bin 'Abī Ṭālib, like the above two saints.

- Page 25 interrupts the saints’ genealogies with a one-page genealogy of the Halaba. Pages 18 – 23 similarly contain various genealogies, of the Halaba and of Ibrahīm Affūso himself. Page 29 is again a genealogy of the Halaba.

- Page 32 is a page of Ṣalawāt written with ballpoint pen in bad handwriting.

- A Madh ‘eulogy’ is found on pp. 34 to 43, with a rhyme in the letter ta’ (either -at or -āt). The Madh starts with a maṣrāb praising the Prophet.
Muhammad, describing him as Yā šamsa(n) fī al-Madīna ‘O sun in Medina’. A descriptive title of the Madh is written vertically in the right margin, preceded (in the margin) by a double line in red (II). It is written as follows:

هذ ه أنيس الأحباب بلا حجاب ونقب شاهدوا شمس التلعة

Hāḏihi 'anīsu al-ʾaḥbāb bilā ḥijāb wa-niqāb šāhadū Šamsu al-ṭalʿa

‘This is an intimate friend for lovers, without screen or veil; they have seen the rising sun.’

The Madh contains three sections, labeled twice as bāb and once as faṣl. The first section begins on page 34, seventh line:

باب في مدح الحبيب بصفات العجيب

Bāb fī madh al-ḥabīb bi-ṣīfātihī al-ʾajīb

‘Section in praise of the beloved (Prophet), with his admirable qualities.’

The second section starts on page 39, second line:

باب في شمايله وكمالاته ذاته

Bāb fī šamāʾilihi wa-kamālāti ṣātihi

Section about the Prophet’s good qualities and the perfections of his person

The third section begins on page 40 on the second-to-last line:

فصل في ذكر وجهه

faṣl fī ṣākri wajhihi

Section describing his face

On the last line of the madh (page 43), an alternative reading is given just below the final text-line: instead of mā lahu faṣl ‘he is incomparable’
(main text), the alternative in the margin is mā lahā sāhil ‘they (the seas) have no coast’, i.e. no limit.

Ms. 4-

tlehfa al-muhataj bi-šarh Al-Minhāj

Basic description: The ms. is about fiqh ‘jurisprudence’ of the Šāfi‘ī school. An original text is given (in red), with lengthy comments interpolated (in black).

Technical description: The ms. is written on old but very good-quality heavy paper, with the impression of the ruled lines for even line-spacing still clearly visible on blank pages. The binding of the book is cardboard covered with leather, and a piece of cloth is glued to the spine on the inside of the front and back covers. A heavy leather flap folds over the front cover of the book. The ms. contains 72 folios. One folio and three versos are blank. The size is 18cm. x 25cm. The handwriting is of medium size and good quality. For additional explanations some pieces of paper are sewn in (or occasionally loose) between the folios.

The ms. is divided into two sections. The first section (ff. 1-27r) is a copy (with commentary) of the introduction to the book Tuḥfatu l-muhtāj bi-šarh al-minhāj ‘Paragon of the needful for the interpretation of the Minhāj [way, method]’, by Ahmad bin Ḥajar Al-Haytamī (d. 1552). Folio 27 verso to folio 31 verso is almost all blank except for a few notes. The second section (ff. 32-72) is a copy of Farā‘īd ‘law of distribution of estate’ from the third part of Muğnī al-muhtāj ‘ilā ma‘rifati ma‘ānī ‘alḥāz al-minhāj ‘Sufficiency of the needful for understanding of the terms (found) in the Minhāj’, by Muhammad Al-Šarbīnī (d. 1556). The purpose of the author is to give clarification and detailed explanation of these two original texts, both of which are basic works of Šafī‘ī jurisprudence.
Philological analysis:
Some technical philological notes:

- Folio 2 recto, the title of the first section appears within a ruled triangular shape.
- Folio 2 recto, there appears a reminder written with a ballpoint pen:

  تذكرة في تاريخ موت فتورياري بشرى هدار خمسة أيام بعد ألف وتسعين
  وخمسة وأربعين سنة

  Taqżira fi mawti Fitāwrari Bušrā Ḥadār Ẓamsatu 'ayyām baʿda
  'alf wa-tisʿa miʿa wa-Ẓamsa wa-ʿarbaʿin sana.

  ‘Memorandum: on the death of Fitāwrari Bušrā, on 5 Ḥadār 1945
  [E.C.] / 14 November 1953.’ (This has no connection with the rest
  of the book.)

- Folio 2 verso to folio 3 recto, line 8, contains the introduction to the book
  Tuhštatu l-muḥtāj bi-ṣarḥ Al-minhāj.

- Folio 3 recto, line 8, to folio 27 recto gives a commentary to this
  introduction.

- Folios 7 and 8 are ripped out, but this does not seem to affect the
  contents of the ms.

- The marginal notes are written right side up, upside down, diagonally,
  vertically and horizontally. They contain linguistic explanations, further
  details, remarks and brief biographies of people referred to in the text.

- At the end of the colophon to the first part (folio 27r) the completion
  year is given as 1336H. /1915.

- On folio 68 the colophon states that this book was written by 'Ibrāhīm at
  the beginning of ṣawwāl 1332H. / August 1914 [possibly 1334? unclearly written].
The date of the second section (1332 or 1334) is earlier than the date given for the first (1336). It seems that in binding the texts together in one volume the author did not pay attention to the order of the dates.

Folios 69 verso to 72 are appendices to the second section of the ms. The final words the ms. are "completion of Taqrîr", indicating that at least part of this final section is quoted from the book Taqrîr.

Sayyîb 'Ibrâhîm in his marginal comments uses symbols in the main text which are keyed to the appropriate note in the margin. Some of these annotational symbols are: ﺛ- ﺛ- ﺛ- ﺛ- ﺛ- ﺛ- ﺛ- 

The ms. contains only a small number of vowel-diacritics and șadda.

Ms. 5

'Umdat Al-Sâlik wa-'Uddat Al-nâsik.

Basic description: compiled by Šihâbuddîn Abî al-'Abbâs Ahmad bin al-Naqîb Al-miṣriyyî [no year is mentioned]. This ms., 'Umdat 'Al-Sâlik wa-'Uddat Al-nâsik 'support for the travellers and preparation for the pious', discusses the Šâfi‘î fiqh 'jurisprudence' and is summarized from the opinions of two of the main 'Imâms of the Šâfi‘î school, Al-Nawawî (d. 1277) and Al-Râfî‘î (d. 1157).

Technical description: This is a printed book, printed in Egypt in the month of Jumâdâ al-‘īlâ 1332 H. – March 1914. The publisher is Dâr al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya al-Kubrâ. The book is divided into 11 major sections (kitâb), 75 chapters (bâb) and 55 sub-chapters (faṣîl).

A large chunk of the entire book has been torn away or eaten away on the side of the book which is opposite the spine. This missing piece is in the form of a ragged semicircle about 17cm. high and 7cm. wide. Since the book has a 5cm. blank right margin, not much of the printed text has been lost, although many of the handwritten marginal notes are partly destroyed. Except for the missing
chunk, the pages are in good condition. The spine is covered by a piece of leather. The entire contents of the book are about *fiqh* according to the Şafi‘î doctrine. The book is full of marginal notes.

**Philological analysis:**

- Şayḫ ’Ibrāhīm was greatly interested in education; he was one of the few Halaba to own a printed book at this early date.
- On the first page of the table of contents (at the back of the book) the owner's name is recorded in pencil:
  
  
  *Hāgā haqqu ‘Ibrāhīm*
  
  'This is the possession of 'Ibrahīm'.

- Three tables are drawn in by hand:

  1- Folio 1 recto, contains a table of the names of the seven famous scholars who are associated with the seven official readings (*qirā‘āt*) of the Qur'ān, and their students and their later disciples.

  2- The final folio contains the second and third tables. They are about how to figure out the day of the week of the beginning of the months.

- On the second-to-last folio a wonderful note is recorded, full of puns:

  *Munna min manni man manna min faqlihi, al-‘Aliyy al-‘Azīm*
  
  'Give a gift of the Giver, in His grace, the supreme, the mighty'.

**Ms. 6 Untitled – Miscellaneous works**

**Basic description:** The four works which make up this collection are not bound, but appear as loosely joined sheets inside a heavy cardboard book-jacket. None of these works bears a title; I have added my own descriptive title to each of the works. The works are:
Ms. 6.1 **Astronomy.** This ms. deals with the science of Astronomy, which is an optional part of the curriculum for advanced Islamic students. Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm ’Affūṣo was one of those who attained this level of education. The teachings of Islam advise Muslims to find ways of using the stars. The Qur’ān says: "And it is He who has set the stars for you, so that you may guide your course with their help through the darkness of the land and the sea. We have indeed explained in detail our 'Āyāt [proofs, evidences, verses, lessons, signs, revelations] for people who know" (6:97). There is a distinction in Islamic studies between Astronomy and Astrology. Astronomy is the science which deals with the principles governing the behaviour of the planets, stars, galaxies and the universe in general. This science is licit (*halāl*). Astrology is a pseudo-science that claims to predict the destinies and lives of people as a result of the movements or positions of the planets and so on. This science is illicit (*harām*).

Ms. 6.2 and Ms. 6.3 **Madh ‘eulogy’.** Madh is recited universally, and particularly in Halaba, to celebrate the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday, during *Mawlid* and on other occasions. The eulogy is a compiled poetic biography of the Prophet Muhammad, with the significance of his birth as its main theme. It is based on verses from the Quran, *Hadīq* and *sīra ‘biography of the Prophet Muhammad*. It contains many chapters in poetic prose (*saj*), with the rhyme changing periodically. During the recitation the congregation responds (sometimes several times) as given in the *maṣrāb*. The recitation is done either standing (*qiyyām*) or sitting. Most of the poems are recited while sitting. At places where the poems contain in their *maṣrāb* salutations, the audience rises out of respect and devotion to welcome the Holy Prophet and they offer him *salāms*. 

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Ms. 6.4 Tawassul ‘intercession’. This means an entreaty to Allāh by invoking the intercession of the Prophet or another holy man or an angel. The followers of Sufism compose poems related with tawassul. This is a hotly debated issue in Islam. According to orthodox Islam, entreaty which is made directly to Allāh is licit, but to entreat through the intercession of human beings (prophet(s), saint(s),...) or angels (Jibrīl, Mīkā‘īl, etc.) is forbidden as it could lead to širk ‘polytheism’. According to Sufi scholars, however, it is not forbidden, because the intercessor has a high status with Allāh and is only functioning as a mediator.

Technical description:
Ms. 6.1 Astronomy: The first few pages of the ms., including the title page, are missing, and apparently also the last few pages. It is unknown whether the ms. is complete or incomplete. All the ms. is written in black ink, except that in the first two folios some of the words are rubricated by being overwritten in red on top of the black ink, and the last page is a table written entirely in red. The ms. is written on pre-modern paper. The handwriting is thick, of good quality and of medium size. Some marginal notes are written in thinner script. There is no binding; the gatherings are (barely) held together by a worn purple thread. Šayḫ ʿĪbrāhīm ʿAffūṣo in this work compiled a new contribution based largely on previous works done by other scholars. The main objective was to carry out a comparative study of the Arabic-Islamic, Coptic, Gregorian and Ethiopic calendars. Šayḫ ʿĪbrāhīm classified the year into two basic types: Arabic-Islamic and Coptic. The Arabic year is lunar, i.e. based on the new moon, and the Coptic is solar. The basic lunar year basīṭ is 354 days and "one fourth or one fifth of a day" (meaning unclear?), or it is a leap year kabīs, i.e. 355 days. The
(beginning of the) month is determined either through sighting (of the new moon) or through the calendar. Sighting occurs after sunset, which the Arabs count as the beginning of the day.

**Ms. 6.2** It is about *Madh ‘eulogy’*. The first few pages of the ms. are lost. The extant ms. contains fifty folios. About one-fifth of the first folio is torn away, while the others are in good condition. Two blank folios are found at the end. The ms. is written on pre-modern paper. All the text is in black ink, except that the headings of the poems and sometimes one or two words written vertically in the margin are in lavender ink, as are the symbols which regularly mark the end of each hemistich. The page size is 24cm. x 19cm.

**Ms. 6.3** The ms. is also about *Madh ‘eulogy’*. The writing is good and of small size. The page size is also small, 13cm. x 18cm. The text is written in black ink except that the headings and some decorations are rubricated in dark red ink. The ms. consists of only nine folios. The ninth folio is written to the bottom of the page; there is a catchword at the bottom of this last page, indicating that the ms. is incomplete.

**Ms. 6.4** The text is about *Tawassul ‘entreaty’*. This ms. is written in a medium- size exercise book made in the U.S.A.; there is no binding, but the pages are held together by a thick white thread. The writing is good. The ms. has 17 folios; the final two folios are blank except for scribbling. The text is written in black ink throughout except for a few sentences that are rubricated in red-orange ink. The size is 17cm. x 21cm.

**Philological analysis:**
Ms. 6.1 Astronomy. Ṣayḥ ʿIbrāhīm ʿAffūṣo compiled the ms. from different sources, which he mentions in the margins.

- Folio 1 recto, line 3 ff., gives details on the significances of Astronomy based on testimony from the Qur’an and Ḥadīṯ. Ṣayḥ ʿIbrāhīm enumerates a number of reasons, some of which are:

1- Muslims are expected to pray towards the Kaʿba in Mecca and orient their mosques in that direction. Thus they need to determine the direction of Mecca from a given location. This can be calculated using astronomy.

2- The time of ṣalāt ‘prayer’. Muslims need to determine by the sun the proper times for the prayers at fajr ‘sunrise’, zuhr ‘midday’, ʿasr ‘afternoon’, mağrib ‘sunset’, and ʿîštā ‘evening’. Ṣayḥ ʿIbrāhīm’s first testimony from the Qur’an (sura 10:5) contains a minor misquote; the error is in adding the letter wa at the beginning of the verse. The correct verse reads:

\[Huwa alla/ja 'ala al-samsa ẓyā′an wa al-qamara nūran wa-qaddarahu manāzila li-ta′lamū 'adada al-sinīn wa al-hisāb.\]

‘It is He who made the sun to be a shining glory, and the moon to be a light, and measured out stages for it [i.e. the zodiac periods], that you might know the number of the years and the reckoning.’

- Folio 1 recto, 6th line, the two letters fa’ and alif are written as joined together although they belong to different words. It is written: تعرف أوقات, but should be: تعرف أوقات taʿarruf ʿawqāt ‘knowledge of (the) times’.

- Folio 2 verso in the right margin a sub-title is added in pencil al-ʿayyām al-basīṭa ‘the basic days (in contrast to leap year)’. 
Folio 3 recto, first line, the Abjad technique of calculation is used. The pseudo-word that appears is garsazu for calculating the numerical value of the year 1267. In analyzing this term: gayn 1000, ra’ 200, sin 60, zayn 7; in total, 1000+200+60+7 = 1267.

Folio 3 verso, sixth line, has a spelling mistake: waw appears instead of ya’. The word is written فطروق فطروق but should be فطروق فطروق ‘and the way’.

Folio 3 verso, 3rd line, has the nonsense words بجهوأيداهزاج bajhaw abdā hizāju; and in folio 5 verso, 8th line, the meaningless verse appears:

وزاج ده وآب جد وزاي ده ورجي ده دأب جد فتملا

wazāju dah wa’ab jad wazāy dah warayj dah da’ab jad fata’ammalā

The sequence of letters is reminiscent of the abjad order, but only approximately.

In folio 4 verso, a list of the Coptic months is given. To help the reader pronounce these unfamiliar names correctly, sometimes brief phonetic comments are included as part of the list. Such are:

1. برمهات بسكون الراء وفتح الميم
   Burmahāt bi-sukūn al-ri’ wa-fatn al-mīm
   (The month) Burmahāt is pronounced with sukūn of the ra’ and fatha of the mīm.

2. بشنس بشين معجمة قبل النون الساكنة ومهملة بعدها
   (The month) Bišans bi-šīn mu’jama qabla al-nūn al-sākina wa-muhmala ba’dahā
   (The month) Bišans is pronounced with a dotted šīn ش before the vowelless nūn (sākina) and an undotted šīn س after it.

3. بفونة بوزن فعولة
   Ba’ūna bi-wazni fa’ūla
   (The month) Ba’ūna is pronounced according to the pattern of fa’ūla.
Folio 8 verso, 8th line, unnecessary repetition of the words 'Alā mā za'amahu ba'qu 'ulamā'i l-'Islām 'As is alleged by some Muslim scholars':

على ما زعمه بعض علماء الإسلام الفلاسفة وهو المسمى بالعرش في لسان الشرع على

ما زعمه بعض علماء الإسلام

'Alā mā za'amahu ba'qu 'ulamā'i l-'Islām Al-falāsifa wa-huwa Al-musammā bi l-'arṣ fi lisān aš-šar ' 'Alā mā za'amahu ba'qu 'ulamā'i l-'Islām

'As is alleged by some Muslim scholars, philosophy is called "the throne" in the language of Islamic law, as is alleged by some Muslim scholars'.

On folios 10–13, the names of many constellations are given and discussed. In most cases the description is accompanied by a schematic picture (rubricated) of the constellation, consisting of different arrangements of small and large circles and star-shapes. The list is as follows; the pictures reproduce approximately the shape given in the ms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Arabic/English</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Picture</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aš-šarţān/Sheratan</td>
<td>The two signs</td>
<td>☄️ ☄️</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-buţayn/Botein</td>
<td>The little belly</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aţ-burayyā</td>
<td>Pleiades</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad-dabrān/Aldebaran</td>
<td>The followers (of the Pleiades)</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-haq’a /Heka</td>
<td>The white spot</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-han’a /Alhena</td>
<td>The mark of the brand</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad-ḍirā’</td>
<td>The arm (of the lion)</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td>☄️</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An-naṭra</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Unpictured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-ṭaraf/Tarf</td>
<td>The glance (of the lion)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-jabha/Algieba</td>
<td>The forehead (of the lion)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-ṭaraṭīn</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Dictionary has ṭarāṭīn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-ṣarifa</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-ʿawwāʾ/Auva</td>
<td>The barker (one who barks)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimāk</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-ḡafīr</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Az-zubān/Acubens</td>
<td>The claw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Term</td>
<td>English Description</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-‘iklīl</em></td>
<td>The corona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-qalb</em></td>
<td>The heart</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aš-šawla/Shaula</em></td>
<td>The raised tail of the scorpion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>An-na‘ā‘im</em></td>
<td>The crux</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-balda</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sa’d aṣ-Ṣābiḥ/Dabīḥ</em></td>
<td>The lucky (star) of the slaughterer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Su’ad</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>0°0°0°</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sa’d As-su‘ūd/Sadalsuud</em></td>
<td>Luck of lucks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Name</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td>Image</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa'd Al-'aḥbiya/Sadachbia</td>
<td>Lucky (star) of the tent</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Star" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-farğ al-muqaddam</td>
<td>?</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Star" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar-rišā /Alrescha</td>
<td>The rope</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Fish" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He says it looks like a fish

Table no. 5: Shapes and forms of constellations and their Arabic names
Folio 15 recto, 7th line, Šayḫ ʿIbrāhīm ʿAffūṣo explains that most of the names of the constellations are of animals. The reason is that, when they saw the constellations, the Arabs imagined them as animals.

Last folio 19 verso, Šayḫ ʿIbrāhīm ʿAffūṣo summarizes and compares the above astronomical text through different calendars. The table below shows this briefly. The meaning of a great deal in this table is not clear to me, especially the four columns that contain numbers; I simply give the table just as it appears in the manuscript. Words in [brackets] are my additions.

In the margin, the comment appears: February in kabīsa — a full year without fraction — is 31. The month is here written correctly as فبراير, although in the table itself it is فبراير. It is not clear why he says (apparently) that February has 31 days, which in the European calendar is never the case.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Name</th>
<th>Coptic Name</th>
<th>Coptic Months</th>
<th>Kabīsa Month [Ethiopian]</th>
<th>European Month</th>
<th>Zodiac Sign</th>
<th>Coptic Days from Tūt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Aylūl أيلول</td>
<td>Tūt</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>Maskārām  الفلسطيني 21</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Mīzān Libra</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tišrīn 'Awwal تشرين أول</td>
<td>Bābih</td>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>Ṭeqāmt 昱 22</td>
<td>Nofamir [November]</td>
<td>‘Aqrab Scorpio</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tišrīn ṭānī تشرين ثاني</td>
<td>Hātūr</td>
<td>4 5</td>
<td>Hodar 昱 22</td>
<td>Destember [December]</td>
<td>Qaws [Bow (Sagittarius)]</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānūn 'Awwal كانون أول</td>
<td>Kīhak</td>
<td>4 5</td>
<td>Taḥsas 昱 23</td>
<td>Yanāyir [January]</td>
<td>Jadiyy Capricorn</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šubāṭ شباط</td>
<td>Amšīr</td>
<td>5 6</td>
<td>Yākkatīt 昱 22</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>Hūt Pisces</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Syriac</td>
<td>Coptic</td>
<td>Ethiopian</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>Zodiac</td>
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<td>'Ağăr</td>
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<td>Baramḥät</td>
<td>Mäggabit</td>
<td>24 April</td>
<td>Haml</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5 6</td>
<td>Barmūda</td>
<td>Maziya [Miyazāya]</td>
<td>24 May</td>
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<td>Taurus</td>
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<td>'Āyār</td>
<td>5 6</td>
<td>Bişans</td>
<td>Ganbot [Gemini]</td>
<td>25 June</td>
<td>Jawzā’</td>
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<td>ḽuzā’</td>
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<td>6 7</td>
<td>Ba’ūna</td>
<td>Sāne [Leo]</td>
<td>25 July</td>
<td>Sarāṭān</td>
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<td>Sūrtān</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tammūz</td>
<td>6 7</td>
<td>Abīb</td>
<td>Amle [Hamle]</td>
<td>26 Ağṭas</td>
<td>‘Asad</td>
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<td>[August]</td>
<td>ṣād</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>'Āb</td>
<td>7 8</td>
<td>Mīsrā</td>
<td>Nāse [Nāhase]</td>
<td>27 September</td>
<td>Sunbula</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spīča (Virgo)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table no. 6: Month correspondences: Arabic (Syriac), Coptic, Ethiopian, European, and Zodiac.
Ms. 6.2 Madh.

- What I am calling Folio 1 is a loose sheet which I found on top of the rest of the ms. It contains 15 lines recto and 14 lines verso. About one-fifth of this page has been ripped off, and the ink on the recto is partly damaged by water. I assume that this sheet is the end of a madh poem which has otherwise been lost.

- Folio 2 recto begins with a mašrab and thus can be considered as the beginning of a section. The mašrab is rubricated (here and throughout) in red-purple ink and reads:

\[
\text{ صلى الله على محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم}
\]
\[
\text{ṣallā Allāhu 'alā Muhammad ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam}
\]
\[
\text{‘May Allāh bring blessing upon Muhammad. May Allāh bring blessing and peace upon him’.
}

This section contains 35 lines altogether, divided into two columns and ending at folio 3 recto, 7th line.

- Folio 3 recto 8th line begins a new section with a total of 48 lines, signaled by a mašrab:

\[
\text{صلاة وتسليم وأزكي تحيّة على المصطفى الهادي يرايا محمد يا حبيب الله}
\]
\[
\text{ṣalāt(un) wa-taslīm(un) wa-'azkā tahiyyati 'alā al-muṣṭafā al-hāḍī barāyā Muhammad ya habība Allāhi}
\]
\[
\text{‘Blessing, peace and righteous salutation upon the chosen one, the guide of (all) creatures (?); O Muhammad, O beloved of Allāh!’
}

- This poem is written in the Taṭīṭa ‘triplet’ form, consisting of three short lines followed by one long line. The mašrab is rubricated and the upward-oriented vertical continuation of the long fourth lines in the left margin is rubricated too, except for the first two stanzas.
Folio 3 verso, 5th line; a line is omitted, which was then added in the right margin vertically, marked with a symbol (x).

Folio 4 verso, a poem of ṣalawāt appears. The poem contains 59 verses. It starts with a mašrab:

\[ \text{’Awāy salām ’alayka (3) Ȳs‘alawātu Allāhi ’alayka} \]

‘My shelter, peace upon you (3), Allah’s blessings upon you’.

This mašrab must be recited three times. The numeral e.g. ٣ meaning "repeat 3 times" appears (in madh) in the middle of the line, where the intention is to repeat the entire line, not just the words that precede the number (٣). This pattern occurs throughout the madh poems of Ṣayḥ Ibrāhīm ɅAffūṣo.

Folio 6 verso, another poem of ṣalawāt appears. It begins with the mašrab:

\[ \text{Yā Mustafī al-anām Ȳ al-sa‘līm} \]

‘O chosen one of mankind (3), peace be upon you’.

Again, the audience must repeat the mašrab three times.

In folio 7 verso, a poem begins with the mašrab:

\[ \text{Allahumma Ṣallī ’alā Muḥammad (2) Ȳa ’imām al-harami kanz(un) mutalsam(un)} \]

‘O Allāh, blessing upon Muḥammad (2), O leader of the sanctuary, talismanic treasure’.

Linguistically, the word  ṭalsam is originally a Greek loanword utilized in Arabic and Ethiopic to mean ‘talisman, charm and mystery’.

172
Folio 9 recto, 7th line, and folio 10 recto, 2nd line, a mašrab is found:

محمد سلام عليكم سيدي سلام عليكم صلاة الله على خير البرية

Muhammad salām 'alaykum sayyidī salām 'alaykum Ṣalātu Allāhi 'alā ḥayri al-bariyyā

‘Muhammad, peace be upon you! O my master, peace be upon you, blessing of Allāh upon the best of creation’.

This same mašrab occurs in two successive madh poems.

Folio 11 verso, 6th line, a mašrab begins:

اواي نبي 4 محمد نبي سلام عليكم

‘Away nabiyy (4) Muhammad nabiyy salām ‘alaykum

‘O Prophet, my shelter (4), Muhammad, O Prophet, peace be upon you’.

The mašrab is to be repeated by the audience four times.

Folio 12 verso, 5th line, begins with another mašrab:

صلی الله [علي] محمد 2 محمد علم الهذي محمد

ṣallā Allāhu [‘alā] Muhammad (2) Muhammad ‘alamu al-hudā Muhammad

‘May Allah bring blessing [upon] Muhammad (2), Muhammad, symbol of right guidance’.

The expected word  على □alā is omitted.

Folio 14 verso, first line; the mašrab is:

الصلاة والسلام 2 على النبي خير الأنام

aṣ-Ṣalātu wa-s-salām (2) ‘alā al-nabiyy ḥayri al-‘anām

‘Blessing and peace upon the Prophet, the best of humankind’.
Folio 15 recto, 3rd-to-last line; the mašrab is:

رب صل وسلم على النبي المنجل رب صل وسلم على النبي المنجل
rabbi șalli wa-sallim ʿalā al-nabiyyi al-mubajjali rabbi șalli wa-
sallim ʿalā al-nabiyyi al-mubajjali

‘O my Lord! Blessing and peace upon the honorable Prophet. O my Lord! Blessing and peace upon the honorable Prophet.’

Note that the mašrab, which is repeated, is written out in full twice, instead of being written once with the number 2 (two) in the middle as elsewhere.

In folio 17 verso there is the mašrab:

زين نبي زين نبي زين نبي يا حبيبي سلام عليكم
zaynu nabī zaynu nabī zaynu nabī yā habībi salāmu ʿalaykum.

‘The graceful Prophet, the graceful Prophet, the graceful Prophet, O my beloved! Peace be upon you’.

In folio 18, line 6, has the mašrab:

اللهем صل على محمد 2 نظام الوجود وسلم عليه
Allahumma șalli ʿalā Muhammad (2) niẓāmu al-wujūdi wa-sallim
ʿalayhi

‘O Allāh, blessing upon Muhammad (2), the paradigm of existence; peace be upon him’.

On folio 20 folio recto, written vertically in the right margin, the comment appears: اللهم أصلح المداد والقرطاس Allahumma ʿaṣīh al-madda wa al-qirṭāsa. ‘O Allāh! Make proper the ink and the paper’. Šayḫ Ṣayb Ibrāhīm is asking Allāh to enlist the ink and paper to help him write correctly.
On folio 21 verso, we find the *mašrab*:

اللهُم صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ ۖ سَيِّدِي سَلَامُ عَلَيْكَ

*Allahumma ṣallī 'alā Muḥammad (2) sayyidī salām 'alaykum*

'O Allāh! Blessing upon Muhammad (2), O my master! Peace be upon you'.

In folio 22 verso, near the end of the poem (between the fourth and fifth line) in the right margin, the rubricated word *mabhaṭ* ‘topic’ appears, presumably to indicate that a new topic is starting. (This word appears nowhere else in this ms.)

Folio 22 verso, sixth line, has a *mašrab*:

صلَّي الله سلام على جمال العالم محمد وآله وصحبه الأكابر

*Ṣalātu Allāhi salām 'alā ālam Muḥammad wa-ʾālihi wa-Ṣalāhihi al-ʿakārim*

'May Allah bring blessing and peace upon the beauty of the universe, Muhammad, his family and his very honorable companions'.

Folio 24 recto, the *mašrab* is almost the same as on folio 17:

زين نبي نبي زين نبي نبي نبي محمد سلام عليكم

*zaynu nabi nabi zaynu nabi nabi nabi Muḥammad salāmu 'alaykum*

'The graceful Prophet, O Prophet! The graceful Prophet, O Prophet! The graceful Muhammad! Peace be upon you'.

175
Folio 26 recto, in the 7th line, a mašrab:

صلى الله عليه وسلمًا تسليماً من أوضّح سرائط مستقيماً

Ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallāma taslīman man 'awḍaḥa ṣīrāṭa mustaqīmā

'May Allah bring blessing, peace and salutation upon him, the one who shows clearly the straight way'.

There are two word-final alif's in this mašrab which are difficult to explain grammatically; perhaps they indicate lengthened pausal pronunciation at the end of half-lines.

Folio 26 verso to folio 28 recto, a long poem with the mašrab:

اللهُم صَلِّ وَسَلَّمُ عَلَى سَيْدِنَا مُحَمَّد

'Allahumma ṣallī wa-sallīm 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad

'O Allāh! Blessing and peace upon our master Muḥammad'.

Under this ṣalawāt’s mašrab there appears a sub-mašrab:

زَينَ كُلُّ زَينٍ زَينَ كُلُّ زَينٍ زَينَ

zaynu kullu zayni zaynu zaynu kullu zayni zaynu zaynu.

'Graceful all graceful, graceful graceful graceful all graceful, graceful graceful'.

This sub-mašrab recurs 6 more times (total of 7) on folios 26, 27, 28 in this long ṣalawāt poem.

Folio 28 recto, an Ajamī mašrab appears in a mixture of Arabic and Amharic:

اللهُم صَلِّ [عَلَى] مُحَمَّدٍ يَمِينَ شَمَّ يَعِربُ دُوَامًا مُجَرَّب

'Allahumma ṣallī [‘alā] Muḥammad yā-mādīnā šum yā-‘arab
dawām mujarrab

'O Allāh! Blessing [upon] Muḥammad, leader of Medina, the
ever-proven one of the Arabs.'
Although the *maṣrāb* is Ajami, the poem itself is Arabic. The innovated Ajami phrase is: *yā-mādīnā šūm yūdīn ḫāyī ʿlīm* ‘leader of Medina’, as well as the immediately following occurrence of *yā-*, both showing Amharic word order.
As once before the expected word *ʿalā* ‘upon’ was apparently omitted between *ṣallī* and Muhammad.

➤ Folio 29 verso to folio 31 recto, a poem with the *maṣrāb*:

حِيَالَةُ الْعَالَمِ عَلَىٰ الْصَّلاةَ وَالْسَلَامَٰ

ُحَلَّيْتَ عَلَى ِالْعَالَمِ (2) ʿَلَائِكَةَ الْحَلَّيْتَ عَلَى الْمَسِحِّ

‘O life of the universe! (2) Blessing and peace be upon you’.

➤ Folio 31 recto to folio 32 recto, a poem with the *maṣrāb*:

صَلِّي اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ مَهْدِهِ الرَّسَالَةِ

ُسَلَّمَ آلِهُ وَسَلَّمَ دِيَلَّ (2) مُحَمَّدَ السَّلْيِسْلَةِ

‘May Allah bring blessing upon (2) Muhammad, the sun of the (holy) mission’.

➤ Folio 32 recto to folio 35 recto, two successive poems occur with identical *maṣrāb*’s:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ وَسَلَّمْ عَلَيْهِ وَءَالِهِ

ُسَلَّمَ آلِهُ وَسَلَّمَ دِيَلَّ (2) مُحَمَّدَ وَءَالِهِ

‘O Allāh, blessing and peace upon (2) Muhammad and his family’.

In folio 35 line 7 a suggested change (or correction?) is added in the left margin in ballpoint pen and apparently in a different handwriting: the words *wagay(un) tagīchu* in the main text are emended to *wafay(un) tafīchu*.
In the same folio, 12th line, in the same (corrector’s) handwriting, a serious error is corrected in the left margin: the omitted word غيرi ‘not’ is added, with the symbol X indicating the location of the insertion.

- On the second-to-last line of folio 35 recto to folio 36 recto, a new poem appears with the mašrab:

اللهُمَّ صِلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَسَلِّمْ وَبَارِكْ وَعَلَى عَالِهِ

Allahumma šalli 'alā Muhammad (2) wa-sallim wa-bārik wa-‘alā 'ālihi

‘O Allāh, blessing upon Muhammad, (2) and peace and blessing, and upon his family’.

- On line 8 of folio 36 recto the mašrab appears:

يا ذا الجلال ۢ صِل وَسَلِّم عَلَى طَلْعَة الْجِمَالِ

ya Qā al-jalāli (4) šallī wa-sallīm 'alā tāl'ati al-jamāli

‘O He of majesty! (4) Blessing and peace upon the countenance of beauty’.

- The second-to-last line of folio 37 recto has a two-part mašrab:

صَلِّ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ يَا زَيْنُ الْوُجُودِ اِشْرَفُ الرُّسُلِ

šallā Allāhu 'alayka yā zayna al-wujūd 'ašrafā al-rusulā

‘May Allah bring blessing upon you, O the graceful one of existence, the noblest of prophets.’

حِبْبُ الْوَدْوُدْ طَه صَاحِبُ المَقَامِ الْمَحْمُودِ

Habība al-wadūdī Ţāha Šāhib al-maqām al-mahmūd

‘The beloved of the Affectionate One [Allah], Ţāha, he of the Station of Praise.’
Tāha is one of the names of the Prophet Muhammad. The *alif* at the end of the word *al-rusulā* is surely a grammatical mistake; one would have expected *al-rusuli*.

In folio 41 recto:

1) In line 9 a *mašrab* is found:

\[
\text{اللهم صل على محمد ۳ احمد المصطفى شراب الصفا}
\]

\[
\text{Allahumma Ŧalli 'alā Muhammad (3) 'ahmad al-mušṭafā šarābu al-}
\]

\[
\text{ṣafā}
\]

‘O Allāh, blessing upon Muhammad! (3), ’Ahmad, the chosen one, the purest of drinks.’

2) In the left margin a lengthy rubricated annotation is inserted diagonally:

\[
\text{هذه والثلاثة بعدها لشيخنا شها[ب] الدين الداني رضي الله عنه وألفا [؟] مموجه}
\]

\[
\text{الشطر الأول من الأبيات للشيخ والشطر الثاني تلميذه الشيخ حسين رضي الله عنه}
\]

\[
\text{Hāḏīhi wa-al-ṭalāğa ba'dahā li-šayḥ[īnā Ŧihā[ b] al-Dīn al-Dānī}
\]

\[
\text{raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu wa-'ālaftā [?] mamzūja al-ṣaḥr al-'awwal}
\]

\[
\text{min al-'abyāt li al-šayḥ wa al-ṣaḥr al-ṭānī li-tilmīḏīhi al-šayḥ}
\]

\[
\text{Husayn raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu.}
\]

‘This poem and the following three poems [folio 42 v. fifth line, folio 45 r. 10th line and folio 46 r. 8th line] are (compiled) by our Šayḥ Ŧihā[ b]u al-Dīn al-Dānī, may Allāh be pleased with him. Their authorship is mixed: the first hemistich in each line is by Šayḥ Ŧihā[ b]u al-Dīn al-Dānī, and the second hemistich by his pupil Šayḥ Husayn, may Allāh be pleased with him.’

Here the final letter *bā’* of *Šihāb* is accidentally omitted. The word which I have transcribed *wa-'allaftā* is written as *والنا* which makes no sense "as is". I am not sure of the correct emendation.
In folio 42 verso fifth line a mašrab appears:

 صلى الله عليه و مهيب المولى
ṣallā Allāhu 'alā (2) Muhammad habībi al-mawlā

'May Allah bring blessing upon (2) Muhammad, beloved of the Master.'

Folio 45 recto, 10th line, has the mašrab:

الله صلى عليه محمد وما ديد سرذاك الوادي
Allahumma salli 'alā Muḥammad (2) Muḥammad al-hādī sirru ḍāka al-wādī

'O Allāh, blessing be upon Muhammad! (2) Muhammad, the guide, the secret of that valley.'

In the 20th line of the poem al-nubalā ‘the noble ones’ is written, while al-kumalā ‘the perfect ones’ is inserted just above it. (Note that both words, as well as al-judāla earlier in the line, fail to have the expected final hamza.) These are alternative readings, and both make equally good sense.

Folio 46 recto, 8th line, a mašrab with:

الله صلى عليه مبارك السلام عليك
Allahumma salli 'alā Muḥammadin mubārakā al-salāmu 'alayka

'O Allāh, blessing be upon the blessed Muhammad! Peace be upon you'.

As before, the final alif in mubārakā is grammatically puzzling.

Folio 47 verso first line to folio 48 verso, the last poem of the ms. appears with a mašrab:
صلوة الله سلام 2 عليك يا رسول الله

ṣalātu Allāhi salāmun (2) ‘alayka yā rasūla Allāhi

‘May Allāh bring blessing and peace (2) upon you, O Prophet of Allah!’

Every line of this last poem ends with the word الله Allāh, which is written in black and then rubricated (purple over black), except for the final page (final 6 lines) which has no rubrication. The poem ends with the word tammat ‘completed’ which is written in an elaborately decorated style.

Linguistic and paleographical notes to text 6.2:

➤ Sayyid 'Ibrāhīm in his writing mostly writes the connected ‘ayn in a peculiar way: ﯾ-not the usual ــ.

➤ In the word ālīhi ‘his family’, the spelling الله 알له (f. 32, and f. 35) appears instead of the standard الله . Note the initial hamza with no written alif.

Ms. 6.3 Madh. The main philological notes are:

➤ The first folio recto is blank, while the verso contains the mašrab of the first poem:

مرحبا بكم مرحبا بكم يا رسول الله سلام عليكم

marḥaban bikum marḥaban bikum (3) yā rasūla Allāhi salāmun ‘alaykum

‘Welcome to you! Welcome to you! (3) O Prophet of Allah! Peace be upon you’.

The poem is in taḥfiṣa form, with 3 short lines and one long line; the continuation of the long fourth lines in the left margin is written upward-oriented vertically.
Folio six verso, another masrab appears:

الله صل على محمد حبيبي حبيبي شافائي نبي

Allahumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad ḥabībī ḥabībī šifāʾī nabiyyī

'O Allāh! Blessing upon my beloved Muḥammad, my beloved, my healer, my Prophet.'

In folio 9 recto a masrab occurs in the right margin vertically:

الله صل على محمد رحمة الأنام شفاء الصائم صلى الله عليه وسلم

Allahumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad raḥmatu al-ʿanāmi šifāʾu al-suqmi ṣalla Allahu 'alayhi wa-sallim

'O Allāh, blessing and peace be upon Muḥammad, the mercy of mankind, the healer of sickness. May Allah bring blessing and peace upon him'.

Linguistic explanations are inserted in the margins, written upside down:

1) al-sirr (folio 2 recto, last line) literally means ‘secret’. But in Sufism its meaning can be similar to that of qalb ‘heart’ and ruḥ ‘spirit’.

2) ṭalām (folio 2 recto, last line) literally means ‘darkness’. But in Sufism it can mean the turbidity which affects the heart.

3) al-šumūs (folio 3 verso, third line) literally means ‘suns’. The marginal note explains this as hyperbole (mubālaḡa) for ‘sun’ (singular).

Ms. 6.4 Tawassul. All the ms. is written in black ink, except for a few rubricated lines (in light red). These are:

1) Folio 7 recto, third line, بالولي الكامل أعني شمس الدين bi-l-waliyyi al-kāmil ‘a nī Šamsu al-Dīn ‘by the perfect saint, I mean Šamsu al-Dīn'.
2) Folio 10 recto, fifth line, فرج Allah, Allah, Allah, Allah, 'aj'il faraji 'O Allah, O Allah, O Allah, O Allah, hasten my relief.’ The scribe has mistakenly written فرج (f-d-r-j) instead of فرج.

3) Folio 12 verso, 9th line:
من الله يمسى يشير فجد عليه رب بالتبيشير

"Man 'allafahu yusammâ Bašîr fa-jud alayhi rabbi bi al-tabsîr
‘The one who composed this is named Bašîr. O Allah, be generous
to him with glad tidings (tabsîr).’"

4) Folio 12 verso, 12th line, يا ربي صل yâ rabbi ʿAllâ 'O God! Pray'.

5) Folio 12 verso, 13th line, tammat sanat 1357 'completed in 1357 H./ 1936.

In folio 12 verso, last line, the name of the copyist is spelled out:
katibu hu 'A h ma d bi n Mu hâ mma d. The copyist is: 'Ahmad bin Muhammad. The letters are spelled out separately (not joined), and the mim is written like an isolated hâ (ṣ). Note that the dâl (twice) is written with a connecting stroke to the right, even though the letter is not connected to anything.

7. Notes and letters
According to Şayḫ 'Ibrâhîm's son 'Asmâ, his father's position in society enabled him to meet the last governor of Jimma 'Abba Jifâr II (rl. 1878-1930), Emperor Haile Selassie (rl. 1930-1974) as well as all the regional authorities during the era of the Emperor and the Därg. In his meetings with these authorities, Şayḫ 'Ibrâhîm raised and discussed issues of the Halaba people. The different notes and letters found in his library highlight his personality, manner of communication, character and status.
Basic description
The basic content of these various papers is court affairs, cases of family disputes and general social relationships.

Technical description
These documents are individual sheets of paper, sometimes folded but not bound; they are in good condition and can be read easily. The majority of the notes and letters are written (in fidāl) in Amharic; a few are in Arabic. Some of the sheets are slightly damp, which in turn has sometimes affected the ink.

Philological analysis
The content of the notes and letters of  Decompiled 'Ibrahīm can be classified as follows:

1) *Mediator*:  Decompiled 'Ibrahīm worked as a mediator between disagreeing people. In such cases sometimes the court would consult him to get his ideas on the matter, and sometimes would refer various matters to him to resolve the problem peacefully. For example:

A. The case of  'Abdulla Habīb in his petition written on عقد

B. A case numbered 163 dated on عقد/\\/\\/\\/\\/\\/\\/ Sāne 16/1947 E.C. 23/6/1955; the court wished to ask  Decompiled 'Ibrahīm ܓӏܠܐܕ ܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘ thập阳县 ‘a particular question’.

C. In another case he was summoned to make a presentation to the court on ܓܝܘܢܝܬܐ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩﻄܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩﻄܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘQed 14/47 E.C. - 22/1/55, and again two months later on ܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܘܝܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܓܢܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩܛܕ ܣܘܩ才干 ܬܘܪ $12/47 E.C. - 20/4/55. These two summonses are identical in style, and the clerk’s name, his signature, handwriting, and the seal of the court are also the same.
D. A case which is dated on ፹,2 12 ውጤ, 21/3/46 contains the name of the disputants, the witnesses and the judge. An interesting thing is the method of signature: here and elsewhere it is a fingerprint surrounded by the name written in a circle.

E. ‘Sayḥ ‘Ibrāḥīm and two companions went to Kāmbata ‘Awrajja ‘region’ to talk with the administrative authorities about how to put an end to cattle theft in Halaba. This can be learned from a petition written on ት, 12/40 E.C. --/12/45 (the day is omitted from the date).

F. A problem between a husband and wife was resolved by ‘Sayḥ ‘Ibrāḥīm on ት, 2/38 Tahsas/2/38 E.C. - 11/12/45.

G. A documented mediation dated on ጥፌ 20/47 E.C. - 20/9/54, and written by ‘Sayḥ ‘Ibrāḥīm himself. He was thus both the writer and the mediator.

H. A conciliation ኢወรวንኩ ሞትinactive ‘conciliation agreement’ among disputing parties is dated on ፹, 27/47 E.C. - 4/6/55. In standard Amharic, the first word would be ፓር ሞትinactive ‘of conciliation’; ‘Sayḥ ‘Ibrāḥīm wrote a contracted form of the word, reflecting his Wollo dialect of Amharic.

I. A document dated on ከAccessible 29 ሕፁ 67 ሀር ከAccessible 29/67 E.C.- 5/8/75, at the beginning of the ዏኅ era, indicates that ‘Sayḥ ‘Ibrāḥīm was still continuing to serve his local society even after the fall of the Emperor. In the colophon the usual boasting is found: ለ, እጋ ከAccessible ሀር ከAccessible እጋ ከAccessible ሀር ከAccessible ‘Ityop’inya
taqdäm እብረትሓስብፋናነት ዯልእልም ‘let Ethiopia be the first, and let socialism be verdant’.

J. A draft written to the general governor of Arsi regarding a land dispute. This was done on ይመጋት ቅን:ና ይንጋት, ይኽእተት day/47E.C.- 2/55 (the word ‘day’ appears, but not the day itself).

K. A sale was carried out between 'Abdulla and Mūsā. This was in the presence of three witnesses. It was dated on ይጋጋር ገ/1 ከedar/10 - 49/11/19. [Here, the order is (Y,M,D) = year, month and day].

2) Clerk: ማሳይ ኡብርሃም’s ability to write Amharic made him the clerk for his local district in the ‘ወመፋ ‘social credit cooperation group’. This was done weekly by collecting a specified amount of money from each of the members and recording the names of the contributors. At regular intervals, the total amount would be given to one of the members, in rotation. There are two such texts, both written in Arabic / Amharic Ajami. One states that it was written on ድጋጋር ገ/7 ከዩዴዜ 4/46 E.C.-12/4/54; the other is undated. The contributors would pay either in birr or in cents, but one participant paid the large sum of ዮ ከወዑ ገ/7 ይሽእንግ (shilling) also is used, with 20 ዮሽእንግ equals one bonda.

3) Aid: In a message written to ማሳይ ኡብርሃም on ድወ ቅ/7 እምለ 6/48E.C.-13/7/56 እትወምራሪ Sulaymān Buṣrā, who had travelled to the general regional office, requests ማሳይ ኡብርሃም to send him expenses for his daily activities.
Friendship and sociability: Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm had a good and strong relation with his friends. His respect for his colleagues is shown in the way he addresses them, in high-quality eloquent language. The following can be taken as an example:

إلى حضرة إسيادي وفخري واعتمادي اعني حضرة الفاضلين الكاملين ...

'Ilā haṭrat 'asyādī wa-faḥrī wa-timādī 'a'nī haṭrat al-fāhilīna al-kāmilīna...

'To my respectable masters, my pride and my support, I mean the respectable, excellent and perfect...' Others showed their respect for Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm and their warm feeling for him in the salutation of their letters to him.

1- Šayḫ Sayyid Makkiyyī, in an undated short letter, begins his message by lauding:

إلى الولد العزيز ذي الجناح الحريز 'Ilā al-walad al-'azzz al-janab al-narzz

'to the dearest son, he of the unassailable position'.

2- A letter written by 'Abdulla Šālih dated 1368h. – 1947. He begins in the usual way of writing among Muslim scholars: the basmalla 'in the name of Allāh, the most gracious, the most merciful', hamdalla 'praising and thanking Allāh', šalawāt 'praising and blessing upon Muhammad'. Then, he continues by expressing his eternal love and esteem for Šayḫ Ibrahīm:

إلى الجناح المحترم والخليج المعظم والحبيب المكرم اعني به اخينا في الله 

ومحبتي الله الشيخ إبراهيم عبد الله فلما زالت محاسنته تلتى ومكارمه تملى ودية 

سلام ورحمة على جبابكم العليقة وحضرتكم السنيه

'ilā al-janāb al-muḥtaram, wa al-ḥalīl al-mu'azzam wa al-habīb al-mukarram 'a'nī bihi aṣīna fi allāh wa-muhibbinā li allāhī al-

Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm 'Abdulla fa-lā zālat maḥāsinahu tulā wa-
194? is missing; perhaps it was zero, which would be represented by a dot (small, hence easy to overlook), to give "1940".

6) **Historical note:** A note written on paper in Arabic about Halaba and the surrounding areas. The text is as follows:

> ودخل الانجليز قليتو ضحية يوم الاثنين لعشر بقيت من ربيع الثاني وضربوا الايطا بالمدافع الشديدة ضربا عنيفا وقتلوا كثيرا منهم واترو جما غفيرا من جاؤرهم وكتبائهم وسراجاتهم ... وراء لجلس لي ولامو سنة 1360

> wa-daḥala al-'inljī Qullito ḍahwata yawmi al-'iḥnayn li-'ašrī baqiyyat min Rabi' al-ṭānī wa-ṭarabū al-īţā... bi-l-madāfī al-šadīda ṣarban 'anīfan wa-qatalū kaftar minhum wa-`asaru jamman ṣafīran min jā`rālihim (?) wa-kabṭānātihim wa-sirājinatihim [...] Walamo sana 1360.

> ‘The British entered into Qullito on the morning of Monday, with ten days remaining in Rabi’ al-ṭānī [i.e. on the 20th]. They bombarded the Ita[lians] fiercely with heavy cannon-fire, and killed many of them, and they captured many of their generals [...] and captains and sergeants...[?] Wolayta in 1360h.- 1941.’

➢ Three comments on this historical note:

1- The distance between Halaba and Wolayta is only around 80 km. This means that when Wolayta was freed from the Italians in 1941, Halaba was freed too.

2- Two English loan words appear: kabṭānātihim ‘their captains’ and sirājinatihim ‘their sergeants’; possibly also jānralihim ‘their generals’, which may be what underlies the attested spelling جاعراثهم jā`rālihim. The feminine plural ending on "captains" (-at) is puzzling; the word for "sergeants" is a broken plural.
makārimuhu tumlā hadiyyatu salām wa-tahiyya 'alā hibābikum al-
'aliyya wa-haḍratikum al-saniyya ... ‘To his respected excellency, the glorified intimate friend, the
honored and beloved, I mean our brother in Allāh, who loves us in
Allāh, Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm 'Abdulla whose good merits are always
being recited and his noble qualities spoken of, a gift of peace and
salutation, for your exalted friends and your resplendent
excellency, ...’

4) **Guardianship:** Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm took the responsibility for looking after
the al-Nūr mosque in Qullito. During the period of Italian colonialism
the Italians were discussing whether to repair the mosque or to tear it
down and rebuild it. The expenses for the two alternatives are recorded.
The existing documents are two papers. An Italian signature is found at
the bottom of both.

5) **Marriage official:** One of Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm's ways of serving his society
was to supervise agreements of marriage between the bridegroom and
the bride’s representative.

A. A typical example, written in Arabic, is a marriage which took
place on 15 dū al-Qa’da 1372h. – 1951, between Jamīlā and
‘Assamo, in the presence of three witnesses. The Ajami Amharic
word ظث firma ‘signature’ is written at the end instead of
the classical Arabic: توقيع tawqī‘.

B. Another marriage agreement is also written in Arabic but the
dates, although written using Arabic numerals, are given
according to the Ethiopian calendar as follows: 1944
20 tāriḥ ḥodar 25 194--- [5 Dec. 1947]. The final digit in the year
3- It is strange that the word "Italians" is written only as الابطّ al-ʾīṭā. Several other words are either spelled strangely or are hard to decipher properly; see photo.
Fig. 22. A page of Halaba genealogies.
Fig. 23. A page of Halaba genealogies.
Fig. 24. Sayh 'Abd-al-'Im 'Affuso's own genealogy.
Fig. 25. A page of Halaba genealogies.

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Fig. 26. History of the Halaba and Qabeena.
Fig. 27. A page of Halaba genealogies.
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Fig. 28. Genealogy of the Kabire family.
Fig. 29. From a brief biography of Saint 'Abdussalām Al-Asmar

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Fig. 30. From a brief biography of Saint 'Abdussalam Al-'Asmar
Fig. 31. Brief biography of Saint Abādir
Fig. 32. A page of Halaba genealogies.
Fig. 33. A page of Salama.
Fig. 34. A page of 'Istigfar manzama, with mašrab written vertically.
Fig. 35. The ending of *Iṣtiğfār manzūma* and the beginning of *Taḍarru*.
Fig. 36. A page of Taṭarru'.

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Fig. 37. A note dated Māggabit 12/1938 E.C. -21/03/1946 regarding a dispute between two parties. The judge was Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm.
Fig. 38. Summons for Šayḫ ‘Ibrāhīm regarding a ‘particular question’ dated Sāne 16/1947 E.C./23/06/1955.
Fig. 39. Bill of sale for a gray mule.
Fig. 40. A letter written to Šayḫ ʻIbrāhīm dated 1368h./1947.
Fig. 41. Bill of sale for a gray mule.
Fig. 42. Estimate of expenses for repair of a mosque, with Italian signature.
Fig. 43. A marriage agreement.
Fig. 44. A message requesting help from Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo

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Fig. 45. A memorandum resolving a dispute.

Fig. 46. A summons for Šayḫ 'Ibrāhīm to serve as a witness.
Fig. 48. A historical note about the Italian conquest of Qullito.
Fig. 48. A historical note about the Italian conquest of Qullito.
6.3 Analysis of collective genealogical mss.

The study of genealogy 'ilm 'al-nasab, which frequently touches on the field of biography, takes us back to the very beginnings of Islamic literature, where the genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad and later the caliphs created a lasting interest in this field. It soon became a common pattern in the Muslim clerical establishment. This science serves to stabilize a group's identity, including its ideological and religious basis. It is an important source and instrument for modern historiography. Used critically, it can help detect the approximate time of a migration by counting the number of generations recorded in a genealogy. The Halaba attach great importance to knowledge of the relations of kinship and descent. It plays a crucial role in local decision-making processes: in Halaba, when a traditional meeting is held the leader of the meeting must belong to the Side clan, if a Side is present at the meeting. The reason is that the Side are assumed to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.

Genealogical documents in Halaba are preserved in both oral and written form. A Halaba genealogy is chiefly patrilineal. It contains the names of all the sons of a certain distant forefather, especially if they are themselves founding fathers of settlements or played an important role in politics. In some cases, daughters are also included, particularly if through their marriages important genealogical links were established. The parts of existing documents of Muhammad Naṣr and Mahdī Husayn dealing with their parents' genealogy show clearly their descendants. Moreover Mahdī Husayn recorded the genealogical tree of 'Abdulqādir 'Abdulhakīm, drawing on written notes of Sayyid Makkiyyi. Genealogical linkage may cross ethnic boundaries, resulting in inter-ethnic clan relations. For example, the Halaba and Qābena, who are today geographically far away from each other, are genealogically connected and consider themselves as full brothers. This genealogical connection establishes a strong
tie, which results in the quasi-impossibility of refusing mutual help. Elders, who are the keepers of customary law, may also preserve genealogical knowledge. Sayyid Makkiye’s personal, private efforts in the field of genealogy, asking other elders about themselves and even cross-checking with similar ethnicities, succeeded in establishing the so-called شجرة هلابا Šajaratu Halaba ‘Halaba genealogical tree’. According to Mahdi Husayn, a meeting with elders from the Ţambaro ethnicity was held in 1984E.C. – 1992. The aim of this meeting was to get to know each other better, to strengthen their bilateral relations and to assure a good future for the next generation. This was done in part through comparing their knowledge of their respective ancestors.

The following works document the genealogies and biographies of several leading Halaba scholars. I give a great deal of detail; although I cannot personally verify all of the claims below, this can be useful raw material for future scholars.

1) Muhammad Nasr

His biography is recorded by himself in an unpublished compilation Al-Jawhara al-Šahabiyya fi Tārīḥ al-Šuʿūb Al-lTyoopiyya ‘the golden jewel about the history of the Ethiopian nations’. In the chapter "Biography of the Author", which in the ms. is dated 3/7/1421h.-20/1/1992, he states that he was born in 'Alloaqa district in Halaba province a few years before the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. Two years after the occupation he moved with his family to Bobbissa, 25km. away. Four years later, as a young boy, he started to learn to recite the Qur’an under Šayḥ Taqiyuddin Bašir. After that he travelled to the Hulbārag area to study under Šayḥ Sa’īd 'Uṭmān, then later he returned to Halaba to continue his studies. Under the local scholar 'Adam Sommono, he
studied jurisprudence *fiqh*; Arabic grammar *Nahw*, under Mūsā Hasan; and *Ḥadīth* under Sayyid 'Alī 'Umar. On 1/1/1374h / 30-08-1954, he went to Addis Ababa to study with 'Ahmad Dalliti. In 1380h.-1960, as a young man, he got a scholarship from the Islamic university of Medina in Saudi Arabia. After he completed the pre-university preparatory program there, he returned home where he began his activities in the 'Afar region, then going to Jimma, 'Illubabur, Bāddāle and finally back to his birthplace Halaba. In 1391h.-1970 he established Dār Al-hadīth, which is generally considered the first public school not only in Halaba but also in the whole southern region of Ethiopia.

Muhammad Nāṣr in his biography presents his father's lineage in parallel to his mother's lineage. The two lineages meet at the 12th generation (*'Umar*) on his father's side, and the 11th on his mother's. The following table gives the lineage of his parents, going back in time from 1 (present) to 11/12 (past).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Father's lineage</th>
<th>Mother's lineage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Muhammad Nāṣr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hamīd (<em>'Abdulhakīm</em>)</td>
<td>Zamzam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Šurāmo</td>
<td>Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Māltano</td>
<td><em>'Azma Gibato</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ṭoṭirote</td>
<td><em>'Azma Qalbo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wā’ma’otallo</td>
<td><em>'Azma Šula</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wā’māsāmo</td>
<td><em>'Azma Kašlab</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Wā’momaymoto</td>
<td><em>'Azma Jēgān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ṭoroda</td>
<td><em>'Azma ’Allāqero</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bukkanna</td>
<td>Haji <em>'Alī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mānčeno</td>
<td>Haji <em>'Umar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><em>'Umar</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Muhammad Nāšr, a large number of southern Ethiopian ethnicities — Qābena, Wālene, Gādābano, Gurage, Sīlṣe, 'Innāqor, 'Azārnāt Barbire, Limmo, 'Indāgañā, Soro, Ţāmbaro, Hādiyya, Kāmbata, Hulbārag, Sidama and a part of Oromo, in addition to Halaba — have genealogies that come together in their 12th, 13th, or 14th generation. Muhammad Nāšr says this explicitly. He makes this as a general statement; but his work also includes a detailed genealogical comparison of the Halaba and six other similar and neighbouring ethnicities. These ethnicities’ genealogies, according to his data, come together some 6 to 16 generations back.

The following table is a comparison done by him of these six other ethnicities alongside his own Halaba lineage. Ancestors marked here in **boldface** indicate where the genealogies meet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Halaba (father’s line)</th>
<th>'Azärnät Bärbär</th>
<th>Qäbena</th>
<th>Kämbata</th>
<th>Hadiyya</th>
<th>Hulbärag</th>
<th>Č'iro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Muhammad Nāṣr</td>
<td>Muhammad Nāṣr</td>
<td>Faḍlu</td>
<td>Jamāl</td>
<td>Yohannās</td>
<td>Muṣṭafā</td>
<td>Muṣṭafā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hamīd ('Abdulhakīm)</td>
<td>Zamzam</td>
<td>'Asfa</td>
<td>Hamīd</td>
<td>Lomābebo</td>
<td>'Abdulwahhab</td>
<td>Maryam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Śurāmo</td>
<td>Hasan Takiso</td>
<td>Nigaš</td>
<td>Muhammad Nūr</td>
<td>Dabbaro</td>
<td>'Ahmad Saki</td>
<td>'Ibrāhīm Qalbato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Māltano</td>
<td>Azma Gitato</td>
<td>Nurū</td>
<td>Safī Gājibo</td>
<td>Buba</td>
<td>Mando</td>
<td>Gāndīsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ṭōṭiro</td>
<td>Azma Qalbo</td>
<td>Dannābo</td>
<td>Gāttānā</td>
<td>Gannamo</td>
<td>Lālisso</td>
<td>Gāddīsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wā’mā’otallo</td>
<td>Azma Šula</td>
<td>Bitossa</td>
<td>'Ayyīdo</td>
<td>Hasan</td>
<td>Dullāmo</td>
<td>'Ajama Č'ība</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wā’māsāmo</td>
<td>Azma Dor</td>
<td>Č'arāfū</td>
<td>Mollāde</td>
<td>Zuhīso</td>
<td>Gārad Čibbato</td>
<td>Kontam Kafaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Wā’māsamaymoto</td>
<td>Azma Kašlab</td>
<td>Marina</td>
<td>Bāddāne</td>
<td>Wā’mā’otallo</td>
<td>'Ofri</td>
<td>Gāzāč’č’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ṭoroda</td>
<td>Azma Jigan</td>
<td>Muzayīn</td>
<td>Dagīro</td>
<td>Wā’māsāmo</td>
<td>Tašo</td>
<td>Gibalū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bukkanna</td>
<td>Azma Alliqaro</td>
<td>Sulṭān</td>
<td>Bašīr</td>
<td>Wā’māsamaymoto</td>
<td>'Azzoğada</td>
<td>'Imoše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mānčeno</td>
<td>Ḥāji ‘Alī</td>
<td>Šaffata</td>
<td>Qaṭwiṭo</td>
<td>Ģōro</td>
<td>Bukkanna</td>
<td>Gurač’ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>'Umar</td>
<td>'Umar</td>
<td>Bukkanna</td>
<td>'Imano</td>
<td>Bukkanna</td>
<td>Mānčeno</td>
<td>Wazāro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mānčeno</td>
<td>Mānčeno</td>
<td>Tīramo</td>
<td>Mānčeno</td>
<td>'Umar</td>
<td>Mālga 'Egā’lo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>'Umar</td>
<td>Waširāmānēčō</td>
<td>'Umar</td>
<td>Han</td>
<td>???</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mānčeno</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table no. 7. Comparative genealogies of seven ethnicities.

Note: The maternal line of Muhammad Nāṣr appears twice in the source; there is a small discrepancy between the version given here in table 10 and that given just above in the main text.
As seen above, the genealogical lineage of Muhammad Nāṣr (column 1) joins with that of Yohannès of Hadiyya in the 6-8th generation (Wā'mā’otallo), and in the 10-12th generation with Faḍlu of Qābena and Muṣṭafā of Hubbārag (Bukkanna). In the 12th generation his genealogy interlinks with that of 'Azārīnāt ('Umar) and in the 16th generation with Jamāl of Kāmbata (Mānčeno). In the genealogy of Č'iro, I have put "???" at the bottom, because the author does not give any earlier generations. We can guess that "???" might be 'Umar, who is found as the ancestor in the other genealogies; recall that Muhammad Nāṣr himself mentions (above) that all these ethnicities meet in the 12-14th generation. In the case of Kāmbata, to be sure, the name of 'Umar is not mentioned explicitly; but he is already known as the father of Mānčeno, who does appear.

2) Mahdī Husayn

He spent the first five years of his life with his father Shayb Husayn Nurī learning to recite Qur’ān, then he continued with his elder brother Muhammad. After that he continued studying with his cousin Shayb ‘Abdurrahmān ‘Isā for about a year, then with Shayb ‘Ogat’ana in ‘Aymālle district. He studied with Shayb Yusūf ‘Abbadanniyy for only one month, and finally with Shayb ‘Adam Muṣṭafā Gābāro until completing the whole Qur’ān; with Shayb ‘Adam he also started the fundamental beginner’s text of jurisprudence (fiqh), Safīna Al-najā. He completed Safīna Al-najā with Shayb Sulaymān in Bārače’o district and started the second book of fiqh, by ‘Abū Şuja’, Matn Al-gāya wa-l-taqrīb. He later travelled to Sadda district in the Silţe area to study under Shayb Mahmūd ‘Ahmad, continuing from where he had stopped in the last course, besides
reading all other Šāfī’ī books of fiqh over the next six years. After that he returned home, studying in Battie and Hanša. In addition, for short periods he studied in 'Azārnāt and Qābena. Finally, he travelled to the holy places Mecca and Medina on 25/11/1392H. - 1962 E.C. - 1970. He entered the Dār Al-hadīṯ secondary school in Mecca on 9/11/1392H. - 1970 and remained there for about seven years. He then studied eight years in Medina Islamic university, the first four to complete his secondary education, the latter four years for his Bachelor’s degree in the faculty of hadīṯ and Islamic studies. He completed his academic courses in 1405H.-1406H./1985-1986. Finally, he returned home on 30/1/1407H.-24/1/1979 E.C. - 28/9/1986 and began teaching in the Dār Al-hadīṯ Islamic school in Qullito, where he is still working today.

Sayḥ Mahdī Husayn’s lineage is given as a list in his personal diary as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Father’s lineage</th>
<th>Mother’s lineage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mahdī Husayn</td>
<td>Halīma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Husayn</td>
<td>Rābbō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>'Irgāʾāʾō</td>
<td>Šola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dālḳār</td>
<td>Dadāso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ṣorašā</td>
<td>Lemmosā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ginno</td>
<td>Jigāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Māndino</td>
<td>Maqqe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dillaba</td>
<td>Bamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Tamaraddīn</td>
<td>Qaččʼītō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hawašē</td>
<td>Nūr Yūsūf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Side</td>
<td>'Ahmad Al-Bārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>'Allošē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Naʃraddīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Mahmūd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Umar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Starting from the 10th generation of his mother's lineage Qač'č'ito, some details are given in prose discussion; the discussion partly disagrees with the above list. Qač'č'ito had four sons: Bamo, Gumbanna, Nabitta, and Duwātta. Bamo's son is stated to be Lemmosā, who in turn had two sons: Humam and Dadāso. Here, two ancestors (Maqqe and Jigāna) are skipped and unmentioned. Dadāso begot three children, two sons and one daughter: Tāra, Šola and Jamīla. The middle son Šola had only one son, Rābbō, who was the grandfather of Mahdī Husayn on his mother's side.

3) 'Abdulqādir 'Abdulhakīm

Alongside his own personal genealogy, Mahdī Husayn also recorded the genealogy of Šayḥ 'Abdulqādir 'Abdulhakīm, quoting it from written notes by Sayyid Makkīyye. Šayḥ 'Abdulqādir 'Abdulhakīm was born in Lenda district, Halaba province, in 1301h.-1880 and passed away on 15/4/1413h.-1992 in Medina, Saudi Arabia. His genealogical lineage is as follows:

'Abdulqādir → 'Abdulhakīm → Banata → Duwayy → 'Atalā → 'Abbiyu → Sultan → Țamaraddīn → 'Alī → Naṣraddīn → Mahmūd → 'Umar.

In his field research in 1972-74, Ulrich Braukämper met three Halaba notables, 'Imām Kalto Gāraro, Balambāras 'Uṭmān Sittamo and Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo. He recorded their lineages in his book Geschichte der Hadiya, appendix II, pp. 414-423. Since my thesis focuses on Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo, I have given here his genealogy based on two sources, i.e. both Braukämper and the Šayḥ's own written records (the two sources do not agree completely). First I give the following lineages of Kalto Gāraro and 'Uṭmān Sittamo, as presented by Braukämper.
4) Kalto Gäraro
His lineage is as follows:
’Imām Kalto was born in Hulluqo district and lived at different places in the vicinity of Qullito. As to his title of ’Imām, he did not have a high Islamic school education but rather bore his title as a Gāriba ‘a follower of Šayḫ Nūr Husayn’ who made frequent pilgrimages to his mausoleum in ’Anajina district, Bale region. His ancestors lived in Qullito going back to Aibiddo. His 7th–generation ancestor Ramso lived in Womba south of the Dagossa River, and left because of the violent penetration of the Lemmo to Hulbārag. Ramso’s father and grandfather, Moč’č’ā and Hamdā, stayed in present Lemmo. Going back further, ’Azmaro roamed as a nomad between ’Ilgāra (at present Badawwačco) and Waččamo. Darāmu and ’Allošā lived in Sidama country. As for Naṣraddīn, people say that he and his ancestors were Qurayš Arabs who lived in Barigamma in Arabia.

5) ’Uṭmān Sittamo
His lineage is as follows:
’Uṭmān → Sittamo → Gugabo → ’Anāgago → Gallačo → Boltānno → ’Aibiddo → Galammo → Kormā → Ṭadde → Kallāl → Hamaddo → Šabbo → Šammana → Sulto → Haji Naṣr → Šabarkallā.
’Uṭmān was from the sharīfic clan of Šammana Hamado. He was born in about 1911 in Ṭuqqa district and later moved to the neighbouring Ṭeffo. He was a second-generation Muslim and was appointed by the government as Balabbat.
The Amharas gave this title first to his father Sittamo, who was born in the vicinity of Tikare on the west bank of the River Balatte.

6) 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūsō

Among other subjects, Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm's Ms.3 contains information about his genealogical lineage. Roughly the same information was communicated orally by the Šayḥ to Braukämper, who in turn recorded it in his Geschichte der Hadiya, appendix II, p. 414. This is his genealogy, as given in Braukämper:

'Ibrāhīm → 'Abdulla → 'Affūsō → Gāddamo → Duwayyi → Gānno (f) → Māndīd → Dīlīaba → Ṭamaraddīn → Hāwaše → Side → Halloše → Nāṣr → Mahmūd → 'Umar.

His grandfather 'Affūsō spent his whole life in Lenda and Qullito whereas his wife originated from Hulbārag. Gāddamo was born in Ḫādāraq (Hulbārag) and died in Qullito. Duwayyi was born in the border area in Mafda between Innāmor and 'Indāgaūn and died in Ḫādāraq. Gānno and Māndīd spent their lives near Mafda. Dīlīaba moved from ‘Ilgāra (today Badawaccō) to Waččamo (today Leemo). Ṭamaraddīn and Hāwaše wandered as nomads between the Sidama area and ‘Ilgāra-Ṭāmbaro. A shrine to Side existed in Dangāwura in Innāqor. Halloše and Nāṣr lived in Sidama. The ancestors before Nāṣr lived in Arabia. (As already noted, the above information follows Braukämper.)

'Ibrāhīm 'Affūsō’s own manuscript gives additional information, as follows: The earliest-mentioned ancestor ‘Umar had a lineage going back to the Prophet Muhammad. This lineage is presented as follows:

The following description gives the family background of Sayyid ‘Ibrahim ‘Affuso as he himself presents it. Note that there are small differences compared to Braukämper’s account. In the following, the abbreviation "h" = hāji, and "w" = wom, a traditional title for a leader. The symbol → means "going back in time"; thus x → y means "y is the father of x".


2  Ginno (f) → Mandid → Dillaba → Tamaruddin → Hawashi → Nashr → h.Mahmud → h.‘Umar → h.Ahmad → h.‘Utman → Abdu Nashr → Nawfal → Nuhli → ‘Isma‘il Jabarti (there is a popular story that ‘Isma‘il’s mother was a sister of Sayyid Ahmad Al-Badawi, a popular saint of Harar).

3  Children of ‘Affuso (‘Ibrahim’s father): ‘Ibrahim, Mešuri, Mesur, Halima (f), Zemzema (f), Sa‘iid, ‘Umar, Muhammad, ‘Hadija (f) and Nurī.

4  Children of Guddamo (‘Ibrahim ‘Affuso’s grandfather): ‘Affuso, Mantoñe (f), Qellače (f), ‘Igilli, Mandari (f), ‘Edbe (f) and Fesase (f).

5  Duwayneyi (‘Ibrahim ‘Affuso’s great-grandfather) → w.‘Ušano (m) → w.Hogusso → w.Maymot → Mandiqa → Zogo → Samu → Baddala → Asfani → As’e Zar’a Ya’qob. (Note the presence of Zar’a Ya’qob in this
6. Children of Duwwayyi: Guddamo, Bardengo, Ajma (f) and Aršema (f).


8. Children of Side (Ibrahim Affuso’s 10th-generation ancestor): Hawashi, Allere (his sons are many in Leemo), ‘Imirre (he married the daughter of Inniqamt Gummery) and Gebrehenne (he married the daughter of the Čāha Māgāne).


10. Children of Tamaraddin: Dillaba, Gongina, Nurī, Siltamo, Mandaqqa, Jigan and Bussa (f) (she married ‘Uṯmān ‘Abār and had nine children).

11. Wives of Dillaba:
   2) Gessere: children Hano and Maqase.

6.4 Pedigree of Halaba

The Halaba ethnicity is mentioned briefly in ms. 3, page 29, of Sayḥ ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Affūṣo. He mentions an eponymous ancestor named Halabo, and his descendants. Further detail can be found in notes written by Mahdī, who takes his information from Sayḥ ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Affūṣo. Sayyid Makkiiyi also drew the genealogical tree of the ethnicity based on study and discussion with the elders, specifically the educated and clan chiefs (see sec. 7.3 above). The following chart presents the pedigree of Halaba as is recorded by Sayḥ ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Affūṣo in ms. 3, page 29.
Pedigree of Halaba
According to Šayḥ ʿIbrāhīm ʿAffūṣo, the Halaba are composed of three groups: the Hasan, the Bukkanna, and the Malge. He gives genealogical details for Hasan and Bukkanna but not for Malge; for Malge, he states only that Malge's descendants are numerous in Sidamo. Braukämper presents this somewhat differently: "Malge is supposed to be the location of the grave of Hasan, a leading personality who lived about 13 generations ago, i.e. about 1600, and who gave his name to the (tribal) division of the Hasan Alaba." The descendants of Bukkanna, who goes back to another line originating in the common tribal ancestor Alābo (Halābo), are also included under this name. In the region of Malge a further part of the people split off and ethnically joined the Oromo-speaking Guji. The northern Guji, whose name for themselves is Hallo, are generally called by their neighbors as Alabdu or Aladdu, and by the Darassa also as Alabatta (sg. Alabicco), a circumstance due to their mixture with the Alabas" (Braukämper 1980:176-177). Note that for Braukämper, "Malge" is apparently a place-name, not a person or an ethnicity.

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11 Moreno estimated the date of the stay in Malge as 1700 (Moreno 1941:52).
Chapter Seven – Epilogue

7.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

Şayḫ ʻIbrāhīm ʻAffūṣo was a brilliant intellectual cleric who contributed greatly to shaping the cultural, religious and notably the social structure of his community. His mss. attest to his familiarity with a broad range of religious, genealogical and historical knowledge. Şayḫ ʻIbrāhīm’s collected manuscripts combine a great many aspects of Islamic discourse such as: fiqh ‘jurisprudence’, Sīra ‘biography of the Prophet Muhammad’, astronomy, genealogy, and Sufism. He counseled the people to submit completely and honestly to the teachings of Islam, and to follow and benefit from the Companions’ exemplary honesty and dedication to the religion and from their heroic sacrifices in its cause. He taught his society to be frank in belief, and how it should worship, practice and live the religion. Generally, the mss. show the author’s attempt to develop his society and to be a good citizen.

This work, I hope, has opened up new discoveries and information about Halaba Muslim culture and Şayḫ ʻIbrāhīm ʻAffūṣo. Further philological studies on other Halaba scholars are certainly desirable.

Some recommendations follow:

1. Collecting all locally distributed mss. found in private homes under one roof, to facilitate further study and protect them from deterioration.

2. Publishing the Arabic sources for the genealogy and history of the Halaba.

3. Last but not least, much more research needs to be done on the Southern Nations and Nationalities Region, and on Halaba in particular, in order to open up to scholarship the huge treasure of mss. in the region and province.
7.2 Informants

The list of informants is ordered alphabetically. I interviewed all of them in Qullito city and Č’orroqo district between 10-20/6/2002 E.C.-17-27/2/2010:

1 'Abdurrahmān 'Ibrāhīm 'Enjajjo (Šayḥ), 72 years old, BA in Islamic studies from Islamic University, Medina, Saudi Arabia. Well-educated and active in teaching not only in his province but also in the region as a whole.

2 'Abdurrahmān Dahmān Bā-Šāmī, 48 years old, an intelligent and honest businessman. He is of Arab origin, and speaks Arabic, Amharic and fluent Halaba.

3 'Abdulla Husayn (Šayḥ), 65 years old, MA in Islamic studies from 'Ummu l-Qurā University, Mecca, Saudi Arabia. 'Imām and  bağlantı of the Al-Jabartī mosque in Halaba, director of Jabartī school.

4 'Ahmaddin 'Utman (Šayḥ), 70 years old, MA in Islamic studies from 'Ummu l-Qurā University, Mecca, Saudi Arabia. 'Imām and  bağlantı of the Al-Nūr mosque, teacher in Jabartī school.

5 'Asmā 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūso, 67 years old, the eldest son of Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm. He has gathered a great deal of information about his father. All of the present mss. are in his possession.

6 'Awwal ḪUtman, 58 years old, BA in Islamic studies from Islamic University, Medina, Saudi Arabia. Schoolteacher, preacher and 'Imām in Bilāl mosque. He owns some mss. of his uncle Šayḥ Husayn bin 'Ibrāhīm, which helped me in telling his story.

7 Mahdī Husayn (Šayḥ), 65 years old, teacher and co-'Imām. Close relative of Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm. He was in close contact with him, and copied and heard from him much about Halaba history and genealogy.

9 Muhammad Nūr ‘Awwal Yūsūf (Ṣayḥ), 80 years old, ‘Imām and teacher. He was a contemporary of the leading Halaba scholars of the previous generation, and he also knows about earlier generations of scholars.

10 ‘Umar Bāṣikkīr (Ṣayḥ), 90 years old, businessman. He has a good memory for narrating the early days of the Arabs in Halaba.

11 Sirāj Warraqe ‘Abdulla (Ṣayḥ), 48 years old, a popular Manzūma reciter of the younger generation.

12 Wulē’afī Jamāl, 48 years old, well-educated researcher and local official.

13 Yūsūf Husayn (Ṣayḥ), 63 years old, MA in Islamic studies from ‘Ummu l-Qurā University, Mecca, Saudi Arabia. ‘Imām and ṣāḥib in Dār Al-Hadiyya mosque and director of Dār Al-Hadiyya Islamic school.
References


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