

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY

**THE HARRO ŠAYḤS' COLLECTION, WITH ANNOTATED
TRANSLATION OF ASTRONOMY MANUSCRIPT**



BY
SARTU SHEMSUDDIN

JUNE 2013

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

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The Harro Šayhs' Collection, with Annotated Translation of Astronomy
Manuscript

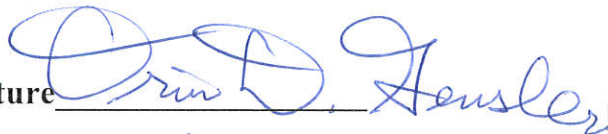
A Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University, in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Arabic
Philology

By
Sartu Shemsuddin



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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved and respected mother, Asia Hamid, who always supported my studies and took pride in my academic success.

Abstract

The thesis deals with the manuscripts in the collection of the Harro Šayḥs in Agarfa, Bale zone, Oromia region. The collection includes many printed books and also seven manuscripts. The Harro Šayḥs have played many roles in Arsi-Bale, as teachers, religious leaders, public figures, and mediators in conflict resolution.

The aim of this thesis is to present a handlist of the seven manuscripts in the Harro Šayḥs' collection. It has six chapters. The first chapter contains an introduction with literature review on the history of Islamization of Bale and in Ethiopia generally. The second chapter gives the biographies of the Harro Šayḥs. The third chapter is a catalogue of the seven manuscripts, with particular emphasis given to one untitled manuscript with numerous sub-titles (including astronomy) and to the loose sheets, which include a text without diacritics. The fourth chapter is a discussion of selected themes having to do with women: *Ḥuṭbat al-Nikāḥ* (The Marriage Sermon) and documents from two non-Agarfa women who had a connection with the Harro Šayḥs, i.e. *Sittīna Alawiya* (1892-1940) and *'Āʿiṣa Bint 'Alī Sulṭān Gomma*. The fifth chapter, which is the heart of the thesis, presents the astronomy text contained in the untitled manuscript, with Arabic text, translation and annotation. The last chapter contains conclusion and recommendation.

The Harro Šayḥs' collection was completely unstudied prior to this thesis, and is currently forgotten even by the guardians of the collection. I hope that the study will be a bridge for further studies of manuscripts in the collection and a stimulus to examine previously unstudied topics of Ethiopian Arabic manuscripts such as astronomy.

Transliteration

Arabic Consonants	Phonetic Transcription
ء	ʔ
ب	b
ت	t
ث	t̤
ج	j
ح	ħ
خ	ħ
د	d
ذ	d̤
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	ʃ
ص	ʂ
ض	ɖ
ط	t̤
ظ	ʒ
ع	ʕ
غ	g
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y

Arabic Vowels	Phonetic Transcription
Short Vowels	
اَ	a
وَ	u
يَ	i
Long Vowels	
آ	ā
ؤ	ū
ى	ī
Oromo Transliteration	
Oromo Long Vowels	Phonetic Transcription
aa	ā
oo	ō
uu	ū

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background

Although many Arabic manuscripts are found scattered throughout Ethiopia, studies on Ethiopian Arabic manuscripts are still in their beginning stages. The Arabic language and script have been in Ethiopia for many centuries. Arabic has a long-time relation with Ethiopia not only in Islamic literature but also in old translations of Christian texts. Among Muslim-dominated parts of Ethiopia, Arabic has played a vital role in the literature and scholarship of Bale, which along with Arsi, Harar, Wallo, and Jimma is particularly well known for production of Arabic manuscripts.

In Bale, the town of Agarfa has many Arabic manuscripts which up to now have not been treated by scholars. Indeed, Bale in general and Agarfa in particular are centers of Islamic teaching. In Agarfa there are a number of individuals and families of *'ulamā'* (scholars) who own collections of manuscripts. According to my informant Šayḥ Kamal, there are (at least) three such collections in Agarfa. One is that found in the home residence of the Harro Šayḥs.¹ The Harro Šayḥs contributed a lot as teachers, scholars, political leaders, public figures, and arbitrators in the life of Agarfa and Arsi-Bale in general. Their manuscripts are the main focus of this study. In this collection there are various kinds of manuscripts; some deal with astronomy, astrology, jurisprudence, literature, grammar, measurement, traditional folk history, and even a marriage

¹ I do not know the precise location of the other two collections.



contract. In general, these manuscripts give the subjective impression of great age, both in their covers and in their paper.

1.1.1 Description of Research Area

Agarfa woreda is located in the northwest of Bale zone. Bale is located at $5^{\circ} 22'$ to $8^{\circ} 08'N$ and $38^{\circ} 52'$ to $42^{\circ} 14'$ E covering an area of 71,208 square kilometers.² It is one of the twelve zones in Oromia Regional State of Ethiopia, sharing borders with Somali Regional State to the east and SNNP³ to the west; its capital city is Robe. Bale is named after the former kingdom of Bale (Sultanate of Bale) which was in approximately the same place.⁴ Based on the 2007 census this Zone has a total population of 1,402,492, and the dominant ethnic group is the Oromo (91.2%).⁵ It is known for its mountains and it is the place of wild coffee (Coffee Arabica). It is also home to half of the population of the Ethiopian Wolf and the largest population of the Mountain Nyala. Some of the historical places in Bale are Dirre Šayḥ Hussein or Anajina, which is found in Gololcha district in northeast Bale, and the Sof-Umar caves.

Agarfa woreda is located at $7^{\circ}20'N$ and $39^{\circ}20'E$. According to the statistical agency in 2005, this woreda has an estimated area of 1,213 square kilometers; the 2007 national census reports its population as 102,110⁶. The majority of the inhabitants are Muslim (76.64%) and the largest ethnic group is the Oromo (87.46%).⁷ Agarfa is bordered on the south by Sinanana Dinsho woreda, on the west by Mirab Arsi Zone, on the north by the Wabe Shabelle River which separates it from Arsi Zone, and on the east by Gasera and Gololcha district. The woreda has two towns, Agarfa town and 'Alī.

² Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau.

³ Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State of Ethiopia.

⁴ Ketema Mesqala 2001.

⁵ CSA 2005 National Statistics.

⁶ 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Results for Oromia Region.

⁷ 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Results for Oromia Region, Vol. 1, part 1.

Folk etymologies relate the term Bali (i.e. ancient name of Bale) to the Gada tradition, that is, to the Oromo words *baala* (land) or *baalli* (the political power in the Gada system). (Umer Nure 2006: 19). Bale is the center of various traditional pilgrimage sites, especially the shrine to Šayḥ Hussein at Anajina.

1.2 Statement of the problem

“Most of the Arabic literature of Ethiopia is contained in manuscripts that remain until now, not only unpublished but even unnoticed in private collections or public libraries all over the country.” (A. Gori 2006: 3)

A fine example of this is the Harro Šayḥs’ collection, which consists mostly of printed books but also includes seven manuscripts. The study of manuscripts in Bale is a research void. Braukämper and Østebø have mentioned the richness of manuscripts in Bale and particularly Agarfa, and two photos from one of the Harro Šayḥs’ manuscripts in Agarfa have been published by Østebø (2008: 174), but with only a very brief mention. That manuscript is included in the present thesis. The purpose of the thesis is to present and explore this untouched area of manuscript studies.

1.3 Significance of the study

The Harro Šayḥs are almost unknown to academic scholarship, yet they were important scholars and teachers, both inside and outside Bale, and contributed a lot to other Muslim teaching centers in the country. As such, it is useful and important to present their manuscript collection in proper philological form. In fact, some of the manuscripts in the Harro Šayḥs’ collection are quite old, dated 10th century Hijra (17th century AD), as will be discussed in chapter 3. This makes the project at hand particularly valuable.

Another important feature of the Harro Šayḥs manuscripts is their diversity. They include both religious and secular scientific texts which deal with astronomy, logic, metrics, jurisprudence, gender, grammar, historical fragments, praise of the Prophet, biology, measurement, the study of the holy Qur'an, etc. Such variety, as far as I know, is not common in Ethiopia within a single Arabic manuscript collection. Also philological study of astronomy texts among students at Addis Ababa University is (as far as I know) thus far nonexistent.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

General Objective

To catalogue the seven manuscripts in the Harro Šayḥs' collection in Agarfa, Bale.

Specific Objectives

- ✓ To present the text of one of these manuscripts dealing with astronomy, with annotated translation.
- ✓ To give biographical sketches of the Harro Šayḥs, who assembled the collection.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

There are several manuscript collections in Agarfa, but in this study I have limited myself to description of the Harro Šayḥs' collection. The scarcity of knowledgeable elders who know the history and background of the Harro Šayḥs, and the dispersal of their students all over Ethiopia, placed another limitation on the study.

1.6 Methodology

The seven manuscripts that I catalogued were photographed with digital camera, and the astronomy text was typed and translated. The cataloguing was done following standard philological methods.

The analysis of the astronomy text required expert information. Thus I consulted experts at the Astronomy Department here at Addis Ababa University, and I also consulted reference books like the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Three Muslim scholars helped me (Šayḥ Kamal, Šayḥ Ādam Mūsā and Ato Abdulkarim); additionally, interviews were done with local scholars at Agarfa and other parts of Bale, Arsi and Hararge.

1.7 Islamization of Bale (with literature review)

The research deals with the history and collections of Oromo ‘*ulamā*’ in Bale. The coming of ‘*ulamā*’ to Agarfa became one main reason for the establishment and development of Islam in Bale, where Arabic flourished and became the language of religion and of teaching centers there. This section presents previous studies done on Arabic and Islamization in Bale.

As mentioned in *World Ethnographic Survey* by Yoruk, Meba (1984), the Oromo live in the area from northeastern Ethiopia to east central Kenya and from the borders of Sudan to Somalia. Within Oromo territory, Muslim-dominated areas are in the north part of Arsi Bale, in the area surrounding Harar (Hararge), in the Wallo area, especially Yejju and Warra Azebo (Raya), and in the five Oromo Gibe states of Jimma, Limmu, Gera, Gumma, and Gomma, which became Muslim in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Medieval Bale province was bordered by various neighbor states; according to Braukämper these were Dāwaro and Šarka in the north, Hadiyya in the west, Adal in the east and unidentified provinces in the south. It was a significant battleground for the wars between the lowland Muslims and the Christian kingdom (Braukämper 2004:80). An early study devoted to medieval Bālī is Cerulli (1938).

Arabic is used not only by the Oromo of Bale but also among the Harari, Amhara, Argobba and other peoples of Ethiopia. Arabic, in fact, has been the language of religion and culture among Ethiopian Muslims for centuries. In medieval times various peoples of Ethiopia, especially the sultanates, used Arabic as their official language and the language in which they documented their history. One of earliest known sultanates which used Arabic as their official language was the Maḥzumite (Šawa) Sultanate (10th-13th centuries; see Wagner 2007).

Like the other sultanates of southern Ethiopia, Bale was established between the 11th and the 13th centuries. Its history is related to Šayḥ Hussein in the early 13th century; his shrine became a center of diffusion of Islamic knowledge and a meeting place for all Muslims in Southern Ethiopia (Mohammed Hassen 2003: 458). One of the earlier sultanates around Bale was Arabābni, which was a small Muslim province found in today's Arsi province, south of the Awaš River. It was one of seven Muslim trading states in southern Ethiopia; the others were Dāra, Ifat, Dāwaro, Hadiyya, Šārha and Bale which belonged to the Muslim belt or fringe (*at-tirāz al-Islāmī*) (Muth 2003: 294).

Maqrizī too, in his *Book of the True Knowledge of the History of the Muslim Kings in Abyssinia*, states about the sultanate of Bali that it was bordered by the medieval Muslim states of Dāwaro and Šarka in the north, Hadya in the west, Adal in the east and the vast grazing lands of the Oromo pastoralists in the south. (Manuscript translation by G.W.B. Huntingford: 1895).

The Bale area remains to a large extent ignored by the scholarly literature on Ethiopia. The most noticeable exceptions is the work of the anthropologist Ulrich Braukämper, although this is not a study of manuscripts. Braukämper (2004:155) states that the Islamization of earlier peoples living in present-day Bale territory goes back to the early 13th century A.D. He says that the

Oromo had a long cultural as well as religious contact with the Arab world which brought Islamic literature and religion. Teferi (2006: 22) writes that the Oromo probably made cultural and religious contact with the Islamic world in the second half of the 13th century. This was through Islamization processes first made in Bale Sultanate, the place where, according to Teferi, the Oromo were living before the 10th century.

The Wabe Shabele River has traditionally been a focal point for the physical description of Bale. Arsi is traditionally divided into three parts by the Wabe River: Arsi Gadabī in the west, Arsi Dīda'ā in the north, and Arsi Bāle in the east. This is based on how the Arsi-Bale people themselves have traditionally given a picture of their own living area. However, according to Gori's article on *Rabi` al-Qulūb* (2003:62), Bale is divided into two parts namely Didā and Bālah by the Wabe River. This reflects the physical perspective of the people of Anajina, who used to divide Arsi into two according to their own geographical viewpoint from Anajina.

The shrine of Šayḥ Hussein, which is found in Anājina (Dirre Šayḥ Hussein) in the northeast part of Bale, has a valuable contribution to make to the history of the expansion of Islam in Bale. The three known hagiographies of Šayḥ Hussein of Bale are *Rabī` al-Qulūb*, *Nuzhat al-'Asrār* and *Nasabuhu al-Šarīf*. In *Rabī` al-Qulūb* Šayḥ Hussein appears as a contemporary of the Yemani scholars Faqīh Abū 'Abbās, Aḥmad ibn Ujayl, and Isma'īl Al-Ḥaḍramī, who were said to have lived between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. According to *Rabī` al-Qulūb*, the Oromo resisted the missionary endeavors of Šayḥ Hussein (Gori 2003: 61). The shrine of Šayḥ Husayn is an important symbol for peaceful relations, social interaction, and cultural exchanges among people of different ethnic, religious, linguistic, and political backgrounds as discussed in Jeylan (2001).

Further, Foucher (1994:72) believes that the *awliya* (saints) of Bale legend are to be connected with the names of 114 Harar *awliya* who are believed to have spread Islam in Harar. In previous studies on Hararge, the link between the *‘ulamā’* and learning centers of Harar and of Bale is mentioned. Some studies which have discussed this issue are Trimmingham (1952), Burton (1860), and Abbas Ahmed (1992).

Although we do not have documented primary information, the end of the 12th century up to the 14th century are considered as the pioneer phase of Islamization in Bale, as stated in Guidi (1889:12), Littmann (1914:26), Braukämper (2002: 131), and Huntingford (1965:129). The soldiers’ songs in praise of the Christian Emperor Amda Tsion (1314-1344) which mention his victory over Alī, the ruler of Bale, most probably in the 1330’s, are one source of valuable information.

Braukämper (2004: 155) states that in the early 13th century the Oromo expansion isolated Arsi from other neighbor Muslim states. Haberland (1963: 28) writes that Islamic and Arabic literature in Arsi-Bale originally spread from northern Somaliland via Zeila to Arsi-Bale, though it is difficult to know exactly when the Oromo of Bale accepted Islam. Informants say that Islam began in Bale even before Šayḥ Hussein. Stanley (1967:19) also argues that the Oromo are the first inhabitants of Bale.

Østebø (2008: 87) states:

By the middle of the 19th century, Islam had been firmly established in the central highlands of Bale like Agarfa, Shafila, Koloba, ‘Alī , Qaso and Madarsho had already embraced Islam.(...) The northern districts of Gasera and Gololcha, the areas

around Robe and Goba as well as the eastern areas towards Goro and Ginir were now completely Islamized.

Studies made on Šayḥ Hussein have mostly been based on a limited number of primary and secondary sources. Among the contributions on Šayḥ Hussein's career are Cerulli (1922:181), Andrzejewski (1972, 1974, and 1975), Baxter (1987), Pelizzari (1993), Trimmingham (1952), Gori (1994 and 2006), Braukämper (1986 and 2002), Østebø (2005 and 2008), and unpublished theses of Eshetu Setegn (1973), Abbas Ahmed (1992), Mindaye Abebe (2005), and Umer Nure (2006).

The history of Islamization of Bale is part of the Islamization of Arsi. Especially relevant studies on Islam in Arsi have been done by Temam Haji (2002) *Islam in Arsi*, Braukämper (1989) "Islamization of Arsi Oromo", Braukämper (2002) and Abbas Haji (1982) *The History of Arsi Oromo*.

Others too who wrote at thesis level specifically on Bale are Aberra Ketsela (1971), Assefa Teshome (1990), Ketema Meskela (2001), Mindaye Abebe (2005), Sintayehu Kassaye (1985), and studies at thesis level focusing particularly on Islam in Bale were done by Aman Seifedin (1987), Eshetu Setegn (1973), Fekado Beyene (1996), Umar Nure (2006), Tarje Østebø (2008), Mindaye Abebe (2005), and Jeylan Woliyi (2001).

During the 18th and 19th centuries Islam started to play an important role in the political history of the country, especially in southeastern Ethiopia, as dealt with by Cerulli (1971), Trimmingham (1952), Andrzejewski (1972, 1974) and I.M. Lewis (1980). Works covering the Bale area in contemporary times have been done by Andrzejewski (1972, 1974, 1975) and Alessandro Gori (1997), writing on various aspects of the shrine of Šayḥ Hussein, as well as the contributions by

Gebbru Tareke (1977, 1991, 2000) who has written about the modern political history of Bale with particular reference to the armed insurgencies in the 1960s and 1970s. There are also studies related to Bale which in one way or another deal with Oromo history and culture. Such studies have been done by Asmarom Leggese (1973, 2006), Braukämper (1980), Haberland (1963), Mohammed Hassen (1994), and Schlee (1989). Huntingford (1975), drawing on and evaluating previous writers' work, adds useful information on Oromo history.

Of the many studies which have been done by students of Arabic Philology at Addis Ababa University, some are important to mention due to their relevance to this thesis, such as *The contribution of Šayḥ Muhammed Jaju to Arabic literature in Arsi* by Hassan Muhammad (2008), *Sheikh Hussein Kimo's (Sultan Hussein's) poetry manuscript and its cultural importance for the Arsi Oromo* by Abduselam Mohammed Ali (2008), *The `Ajamī Oromo interpretation of Qaṭro Ajurrumiyya* by `Abdalla Ḥadīr, *Analysis of Arabic manuscripts of Šayḥ Muhammad Rašād* by `Adnān Muhammad (2008), *The Arabic numerology manuscripts of Šayḥ Muhammed Amān Hadaga of Arsi* by Nuraddin `Abda (2009), *The biography and selected Arabic manuscript works of Šayḥ Sayyid Kamal* by Remedān Ahmed (2008), *A philological inquiry into Šayḥ Aḥmad Šayḥ Sirāj's Birillē Šafā (ʿAjami-Oromo) manzūma* by Muhammad Hakim (2007), and *Gender issues in the Diwān (court) in Harar and the sigil (register)* by Muna Abubaker (2008).

However, almost nothing has appeared specifically about Agarfa or the Harro Šayḥs; the only such work I have come across is Østebø (2008: 83-85). No study has been done so far on the Harro Šayḥs' collection, nor (as far as I know) on any Arabic Ethiopian astronomical manuscript. The present thesis is the first study on the Harro Šayḥs' collection and the first to focus on astronomy.

1.8 General History of Islam in Ethiopia (with Literature Review)

This review of literature presents relevant studies made on Islam in Ethiopia in general. The hagiographical literature of Ge'ez *gadlat* includes manuscript archives and historical documents of major socio-economic importance (Stuart Munro-Hay: 2002: 31). Similarly, Ethiopian *ʿulamāʾ* also did a lot for the documentation of Muslim history in Ethiopia, especially since the harsh times of Yohannes IV. Historical and philological studies have contributed a lot to our understanding of Arabic Islamic literature in Ethiopia though much remains unstudied. Arabic and its script have been used in Ethiopia by both Muslims and Christians for purposes of religion, culture, trade, and so on. Christian Arabic literature is very rich, and manuscripts from Egypt and/or the Middle East must have been circulating in the Christian part of Ethiopia since early times. The main evidence for this is translations from Arabic to Ge'ez as discussed e.g. in Murad Kamil (1942) and Kropp (1986) (see Gori 2007:744).

Islamic religion and society have contributed in major ways to the history and culture of Ethiopia. Not only this: even in order to know the history of Islam in Africa as a whole it is important to know the history of Islam in Ethiopia. On the other hand it is crucial to know the contact and relations between Islam and Christianity. Also the works done by Šihābaddīn, the chronicler of Imām Ahmed Gragn between the 16th and 17th centuries, and the works done by different European travelers and missionaries are precious in order to get a clear image of the territory and the situation of the people between the 16th and the 19th centuries, though all these sources need careful investigation and comparison with other sources (Hussein Ahmed 1992).

Some ancient Arab scholars gave some information on Islam in Ethiopia. The best known were Al-Maqrizi, Al-Mas'ūdi, Al-Ya'qūbī, Al-'umarī, Al-Qalqashandī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Ḥaldūn, 'Arab Faqih, and Al-Ṭabarī.

In the twentieth century one of the most famous scholars of Ethiopian and Somali studies was Enrico Cerulli; many Arabic manuscripts of Ethiopia were translated by him into Italian and some into English. Additionally many works in Arabic on Islamic history in Ethiopia have been published recently, among them books by Yusuf Ahmed, Sadiq Pasha, and Ibrahim Tarkan (see Hussein Ahmed 1994). One of the important younger scholars working today is A. Gori. In his first assessment of the holdings of the Vatican collection presented at Addis Ababa University in September 2012, there are 1,200 Arabic Islamic manuscripts found in the collection. These manuscripts come from all over the Islamic world, Morocco, Turkey, Ethiopia and others.⁸

In addition to manuscript study, some anthropological studies have dealt with Arabic inscriptions. In northeastern Šawa there are archaeological sites of historical ruins of the Asberi mosque, which have readable Arabic letters that were written during the Ifat sultanate. One such inscription gives the title of Rais ʿAlī ibn Malik ibn Malik (i.e. Governor ʿAlī, son of the King son of the King) following the name of the ruler. (Chernet Tilahun. PICES 1990: 1: 310).

Outside Ethiopia, in Italy, two major collections of Arabic Islamic manuscripts are found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library collection) and Biblioteca Civica (Carlo Bonetta) of Pavia. The Vatican collection consists of Cerulli's collection from Somalia and Harar which he donated to the Vatican library in 1963. Four of Cerulli's collections from Harar are catalogued by Levi della Vida (1965). Also twelve other manuscripts collected by Robecchi Bricchetti (1888-89) and donated in 1926 were catalogued by Renato Traini and kept in the Civic Library of Pavia. (Gori 2007: 745).

⁸ Quoted from presentation, Addis Ababa University, 2012.

On the other hand in Germany there are 22 Arabic manuscripts collected by Hans Martin Schlobies during his stay in Ethiopia (1925-28) and kept in the Preussische Akademie in Berlin and catalogued by Ewald Wagner. The Staatsbibliothek in Berlin has 21 original Ethiopian Arabic manuscripts collected by Wagner in 1966 and 1972 when he was in Harar, almost all of them published. This library also contains 15 copies of Arabic manuscripts from the IES and from the Lewis collection of London. The National Library of France contains 6 Ethiopian Arabic manuscripts including one from Harar which was collected in 1890 by Paulitschke from Amir Abdullahi of Harar and catalogued by Blochet (1925: 45). (Ibid).

The Austrian traveler Philip Paulitschke collected two sets of manuscripts of chants in the Harari language written in Arabic characters in Harar in 1885. On the other hand, Engineer Bricchetti Robecchi brought two sets of manuscripts from Harar which he kept in his personal collection and which are not published yet (Hassen Kawo 2008: 12).

The Dutch scholar A.J. Drewes (1976) acquired manuscripts in Ethiopia which are kept in his private collection. The Russian traveler Nikolay Gumilev also collected manuscripts from Ethiopia which are kept in the Saint Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Gori 2005: 2).

The National Archive and Library of Ethiopia (NALE) in Addis Ababa has collected some Arabic manuscripts which include Qur'an, but with no philological study or description attached to them. Jomier (1967: 292) reported four or five manuscripts in the mosque of Dire Dawa. (EAE 3: 745).

One of the few cataloguing projects on Ethiopian Islamic manuscripts to have been done so far was conducted by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. In this collection 157 manuscripts are

catalogued, among them 140 Arabic, 12 Harari and 1 Oromo manuscripts. (Gori Presentation, Addis Ababa University: 2012).

The definitive survey on Islam in Ethiopia was done by J.S. Trimingham (1952). Studies on Islam in Ethiopia have also been done by native scholars. Additionally Ewald Wagner has catalogued the Ethiopian Arabic and Islamic literature (Wagner 1997).

Recent years have seen an increase in studies of Islam in contemporary Ethiopia as in the work of scholars such as Jon Abbink (1998, 2007), Abebe Kiflayesus (1995), Tim Carmichael (1996), Eloi Ficquet (2006), as well as various studies by Hussein Ahmed (1994b; 1989a; 1989b; 2006). (Hussein Ahmed, 2007, overview of recent works on Islam in Ethiopia).

Many known scholars, both Ethiopians and foreigners, have referred to Arabic sources in their work. Some of them are Yilma Dheressa, Hussein Ahmed, Trimingham, Lapiso, Taddesse Tamrat, Cerulli, Sergew Hable Sellassie, Teklatsadik Makuria, Mohammed Hassen, Braukämper, Bahru Zewde etc.

Studies on Islam in Ethiopia from a historical perspective have been done by Aman Seifedin (2006), Umer Nure (2006) Nega Aba Jebel (1986), Mindaye (2005), and others. Hussein Ahmed in collaboration with Wagner and O'Fahey documented the works of local scholars on Arabic and 'Ajami. (See documented works of Hussein Ahmed by Kamal Abdul-wahab).

The contribution of Muslim šayḥs who come from Wallo also played an important role in the history of the expansion of Islam of the Arsi Oromo of Bale. The Wallo šayḥs migrated to Bale due to religious persecution in the time of Emperor Yohannes IV (1872-1889) (Mindaye 102: 2005). The development of Islamic literature in other, non-Ethiopian regions of the Horn also has had a valuable contribution to the history of Islam in Bale.

Chapter Two

The Biography of the Harro Šayḥs

Biography, like science begins with fact. It presents the specific reality of selected individuals. It is concerned with heredity, ancestry, place, birth, education, marriage, achievement and death.⁹

The word Harro is derived from a mountain near Agarfa in Bale, in which every year *Mawlid al-Nabi* (birthday of the Prophet) is celebrated. The Harro Šayḥs over the generations have been many in number. They are all members of the same family, all living in Agarfa. One of them is the religious and social leader of the community; when he dies or retires his position is filled by another Harro Šayḥ.

The main source used for this biographical sketch is interviews with the Harro Šayḥs' family members, especially Šayḥ Kamāl, Rabī'a (wife of the late Šayḥ Abdul-Jalīl), Salmān (grandson of Šayḥ Abdul-Jalīl), Heydar (son of Šayḥ Kamāl) and other non-relatives who also live there. Šayḥ Kamāl was my chief informant. I also used in some places the books by Østebø and Braukämper which present detailed studies on Islam of Bale. Finally I used physical sources like manuscripts, photographs, seals, certificate, gifts, and others in this and in other chapters too.

The Harro Šayḥs contributed a lot to the expansion of Islam in Agarfa and the surrounding areas. Besides being respected as scholars of Islam, these public figures were moreover known for their *karāmas* or miracles.

⁹ *Interpreting Literature* (1963), p.9.

Some scholars also represent Agarfa as an important place for the emergence of *‘ulamā’* in Bale. Thus Østebø (2008: 83), referring to Braukämper (2002), describes Agarfa as a “significant centre for Islamic teaching”.

To describe all the Harro Šayḥ over the last several centuries is not possible. There is a lack of primary sources, and fewer and fewer knowledgeable elders. No one has documented their biographies in writing. Therefore I will present the biography of only six Šayḥs.

As my informant Šayḥ Kamāl told me, their original ancestor was an Arab named Hāji Nāšir who was born in Ḥijāz, then went to Libya, and finally came to Ethiopia and specifically Bale several centuries ago (no exact date was given). On the other hand, others of the Harro Šayḥs said that they are Oromo of Bale. Also some of the other clans in Arsi Bale link themselves to Hāji Nāšir, and some clans claim an unspecified descent from the Arabs. At the same time this kind of folk history is common among the Muslims of Ethiopia, who link their ancestry to the Prophet to be respected in the society. So this kind of oral information should be treated with caution.

My informant Šayḥ Kamal showed me a family tree (in prose) of the Harro Šayḥs going back to Hāji Nāšir and then back to ‘Alī, taken from a note on the back of his Qur’ān. A photo of this document appears below, followed by an English transliteration.

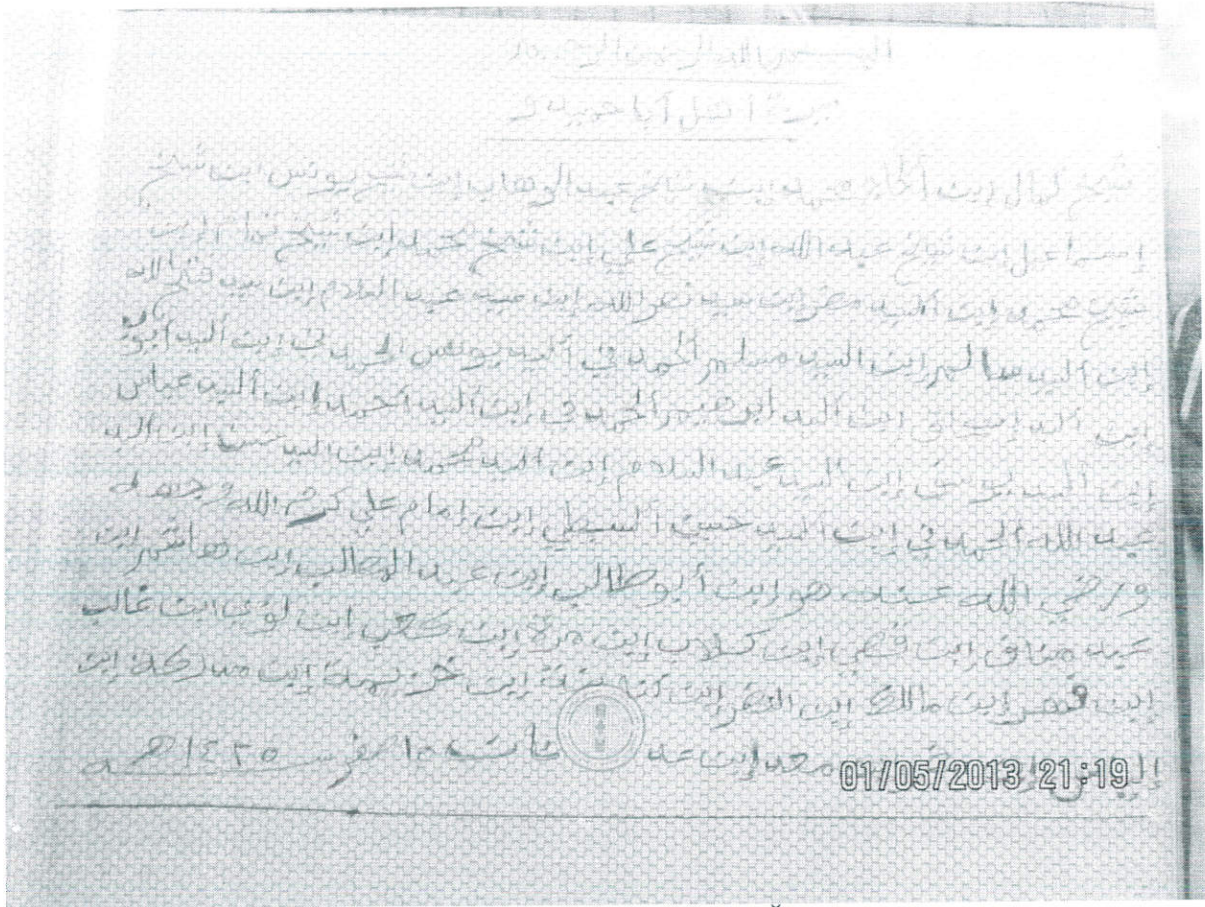


Figure 1: Genealogy of Harro Šayḥs.

[Translation:] (The) In the name of Allah the Most Gracious the Most Merciful

Genealogy of Abā Ḥamīdō Family:

Šayḥ Kamāl ibn Hāji Muḥammad ibn Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb ibn Šayḥ Yūnus ibn Šayḥ ʿIsmāʿīl ibn Šayḥ ʿAbdullāhi ibn Šayḥ ʿAlī ibn Šayḥ Muḥammad ibn Šayḥ Tamām ibn Šayḥ Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Mudar¹⁰ ibn Sayyid NaṣrAllah ibn Sayyid Abdul-Salām ibn Sayyid FaṭḥAllah ibn Sayyid Sālīm ibn Sayyid Muslim al-Ḥamdanī Sayyid Yūnus al-Ḥamdanī ibn Sayyid ʿAyyūb ibn Sayyid Iṣḥāq ibn Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamdanī ibn Sayyid ʿAḥmad ibn Sayyid ʿAbbās ibn Sayyid Yūsuf ibn Sayyid ʿAbdul-Salām ibn Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Ḥasan ibn Sayyid ʿAbdullāhi al-

¹⁰ According to my informant Šayḥ Kamāl, Mudar is an ancestor of the Madarshoo clan in Arsi.

Ḥamdanī ibn Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Sibṭī ibn Imām ʿAlī may Allah honor and bless him. He is the son of Abū Ṭālib ibn ʿAbdul-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāšim ibn ʿAbdu Manāf ibn Qusayyi ibn Kilāb ibn Murra ibn Kaʿb ibn Luʿiyy ibn Ġālib ibn Fahr ibn Mālik ibn al-Naḍar ibn Kanāna ibn Ḥuzayma ibn Madraka ibn Ilyās ibn Mudar ibn Maʿd ibn ʿAdnān on 15th of Ṣafar 1425 H.

Of the Harro Ṣayḥs I will discuss the following six, who are among the best-known members of the family:

1. Ṣayḥ ʾIsmāʿīl ibn Ṣayḥ ʿAbdullāhi (1790-1860)
2. Ṣayḥ Yūnus ibn Ṣayḥ ʾIsmāʿīl (1810-1870)
3. Ṣayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb ibn Ṣayḥ Yūnus (1839-1942)
4. Hāji Muḥammad ibn Ṣayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb (1889-1985)
5. Ṣayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl ibn Hāji Muḥammad (1909-1994)
6. Ṣayḥ Kamāl ibn Hāji Muḥammad (1947-now)

Ṣayḥ Kamāl did not give me any years of birth or death; rather, the year of death was described in terms of some well-known historical events. These events are datable; and together with the age at death, they give us a year of birth and death.

2.1 Ṣayḥ ʾIsmāʿīl ibn Ṣayḥ ʿAbdullāhi (1790-1860)

There is no written source for the biography of the Ṣayḥs. The only source is oral information from members of the family, who usually remember very little because so much time has gone by since the Ṣayḥs lived. During the interviews I tried to ask in detail about the biographies but for most of the Ṣayḥs they only remembered their name.

Ṣayḥ ʾIsmāʿīl was born in 1790 to his father Ṣayḥ ʿAbdullāhi (also known as Abā Hamīdō) in the present Agarfa area, Bale, Oromia region. Ṣayḥ ʾIsmāʿīl was a well-known religious teacher who

contributed to the expansion of Islam in Bale. When the young Ṣayḥ Ṣismāʿīl was 7 years old he disappeared, and for seven years no one knew where he was. Then he was found in a place called Sof-Umar Huluqa where he had been acquiring religious knowledge. Additionally Ṣayḥ Ṣismāʿīl took over the position of his father Ṣayḥ ʿAbdullāhi in ʿIlm (i.e. higher level of Islamic religious education) after his father died. Also he was the first of the Harro Ṣayḥs to celebrate *Mawlid al-Nabi* on Harro mountaintop outside Agarfa (Østebø 2008: 83).

My informant said that after that he was communicating with the *Jinn* "spirits", which led him to quarrel and be disagreeable with people. So he moved slightly outside of Agarfa, to Tullu Hambalat, located at the entrance to Agarfa town.

Ṣayḥ Ṣismāʿīl, together with the help of Ṣayḥ Maʿrūf Guddi¹¹ from Wallo,¹² contributed a lot to the development of Agarfa as a center of Islamic teaching. His son, Ṣayḥ Yūnus, took over his position after his death on Monday, Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 1860.¹³ His death occurred during the time of the Kifu-Qan or Great Famine, during the reign of Menelik II. At his funeral there were only four people who carried him to his burial place, and one who put him in his grave. During his and his father's time the significance of Agarfa as an Islamic center increased.¹⁴

2.2 Ṣayḥ Yūnus ibn Ṣayḥ Ṣismāʿīl (1810-1870)

Also our knowledge of Ṣayḥ Yūnus is limited due to lack of written sources and oral informants. Ṣayḥ Yūnus was one of the famous ʿUlamā of the 19th century. He was a religious teacher in the tradition of his family; he was also a judge. He contributed even more than his father not only to

¹¹ Ṣayḥ Maʿrūf Guddi was a person of Arab descent who came from Wallo to Agarfa to organize celebration of Mawlid. He also trained both Ṣayḥ ʿAbdullāhi (father) and Ṣayḥ Ṣismāʿīl (son) in the practice of Mawlid on Hambalat hill.

¹² Informant: Ṣayḥ Kamāl.

¹³ Informant: Rabīʿa, the wife of his grandson Ṣayḥ ʿAbdulJalīl.

¹⁴ Informant: Ṣayḥ Kamāl.



Agarfa but also to the people of Arsi and Bale in general. He also continued the practice of celebrating *Mawlid al-Nabi*. He died on Monday, Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 1870. Then his son ʿAbdulwahāb (later Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb) took over the position of his father.¹⁵

After the death of Šayḥ ʿIsmāʿīl and Šayḥ Yūnus their graves were made shrines at the end of the 19th century.¹⁶ Šayḥ Yūnus’s teaching place was under the sacred tree Oda¹⁷, unlike the place of his father and his children.

2.3 Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb ibn Šayḥ Yūnus (1839-1942)

He is well known among the Harro Šayḥs, who earned a reputation as one of the greatest ʿ*ulamāʿ* of 19th century Bale.¹⁸ He was born in 1839 in Agarfa Bale and lived for over a century. His father was Šayḥ Yūnūs and his mother was Āmina.

Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb was the paramount Qāḍī at Agarfa during the Italian invasion. Throughout his life he accumulated legal experience. He studied *ʿIlm* in many places of the country and under many different Šayḥs, which give him the chance to meet and learn from many elites, both secular and religious. Among his teachers was Šayḥ Aḥmad Wollo, who arrived from Wollo toward the end of the 19th century and settled in Bale at Hachacha in the Gololcha district; he played an important role in the training of emerging indigenous ʿ*ulamāʿ* in Bale. Another teacher was Šayḥ Aḥmad of Indato (a different person). Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb learned in a harsh time when there were difficulties in politics and in ordinary life.¹⁹

¹⁵ Informant: Rabiʿa.

¹⁶ Østebo (2008: 84).

¹⁷ Oda is a famous tree which is used as a meeting place by Oromo elders. This tree bears seed but no fruit. It played an important role in the Gada system.

¹⁸ Østebo (2008: 84).

¹⁹ Informant: Rabiʿa.

After his studies he returned to Agarfa and started to teach. The number of his students increased over time as many students from Arsi, Bale and Hararge and indeed from every corner of the country began to come and study under him.²⁰ The woman scholar ‘Ā’iša bint ‘Alī Sulṭān Gomma (see chapter 4) sent him a manuscript as *waqf* due to his eminent reputation.

Šayḥ ‘Abdulwahāb was the first judge to get official recognition from the government among the Harro Šayḥs. His judgments were based on the Qur’ān (Ḥukm al-Qur’ān). This shows us the contribution of Ethiopian ‘*ulamā*’ to the equity and peace of the society before the advent of modern courts of law. Even today the people of Agarfa use the Harro Šayḥs’ arbitration system, and the government gives official legal recognition to the Harro Šayḥs.²¹

Šayḥ ‘Abdulwahāb was also a public figure and a mediator between the society and government. He worked to protect his people from governmental religious bias. He was a proud nationalist who did not fear or hesitate to speak the truth.²²

One day Empress Zewditu (daughter of Menilik II) summoned him to her palace for a discussion on religious matters. Her first question was “What is *ḥarām* or forbidden in your religion?” His answer was “Even seeing or looking at your face is *ḥarām*”. The Empress was taken aback and told him to leave the palace immediately.²³

When Emperor Haile Sellasie came to power and Šayḥ ‘Abdulwahāb understood the Emperor’s hidden agenda to attack the Oromo Muslims of Bale, he immediately started to mediate between the people and the government of Haile Sellasie. For the rest of his life he continued to be

²⁰ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Informant: Rabi’a.

²³ Ibid.

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²⁰ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Informant: Rabi’a.

²³ Ibid.

mediator, arbitrator and spokesman of his people. Thus Emperor Haile Sellasie decided to reward him with gold and royal garment of high quality.²⁴

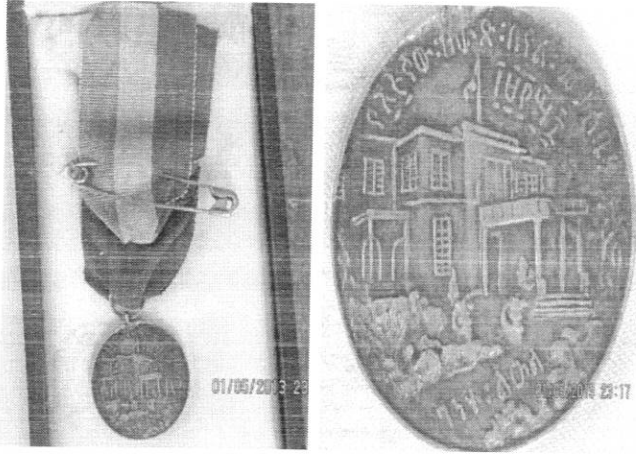


Figure 2: A medal awarded to Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb from Emperor Haile Sellasie on his 25th coronation anniversary, 1948 EC (1956 AD). It was presented posthumously to his son (Muhammad).



Figure 3: Two gold awards in the form of a star and crown

²⁴ Informant: Rabiʿa.



Figure 4: A silver key handle of Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb.

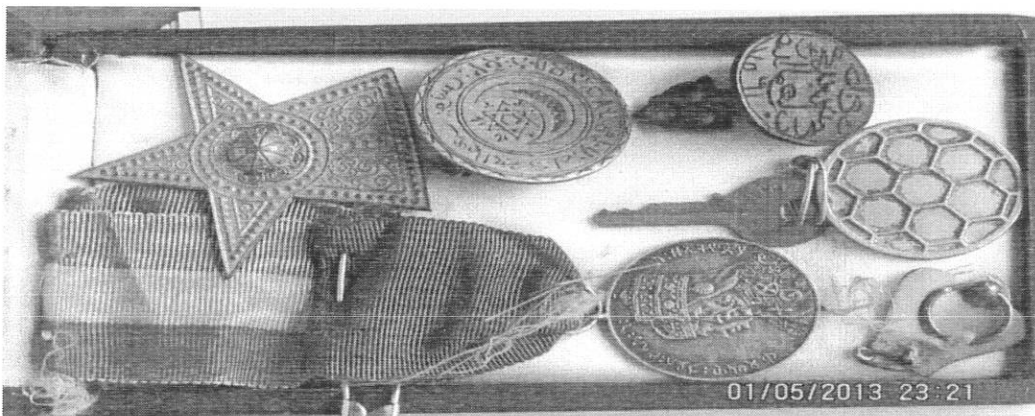


Figure 5: All the awards of Haile Sellasie I to Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb.

Even though he was working with the regime he was not happy with what the Emperor was doing in violation of human rights. There was no court of justice in Agarfa established by the emperor; the people were administered by Šariʿa law.²⁵

During the Italian invasion he continued to be a public figure and mediator, working on the issues of his people even more than before. This was due to the Italians' diplomatic strategy of using Muslim figures as intermediaries to communicate with the people. Among this the diplomatic letter sent to Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb from Eritrea by Sittīnā Alawiyā played an important

²⁵ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

role in helping the Italian government to be accepted by the people of Bale. For discussion of Sittīnā Alawiyā see Chapter 4, section (4.2.1).²⁶

In the Italian period, four Ānā (woreda), that is, Gasera, Walašē (Robe), Dinšo and Agarfa, met together in Agarfa for prayer at the time of Īd al-Fiṭr. They had no loudspeaker or *minbar* (chair). Rather, as the Šayḥ was praying, a spokesperson sitting on top of a tree would announce, “The Šayḥ is now doing *rukū*” or “The Šayḥ is now doing *sujūd*”, etc.

In fact the Oromo of Bale were happy in the change of regime due to the political pressure by the imperial government who forced them to conform to the Amhara in culture, religion, and even in (perceived) ethnicity. The Emperor also degraded the Šayḥs and their teaching centers. Even if the people did what the governors wanted, they did not get appreciation or respect. This was a conducive environment to welcome the Italians.

Such autocratic rule was offensive to people all over the country. There is a poem on this by the most famous poet and scholar of the Oromo, Šayḥ Bakrī Sapp’alo (1895-1980), as follows:

Xaaliyaan taankii gangalchee	The Italians drove their tanks
Gama ceekhaa daraaraa	Towards the flowering <i>ceekaa</i> tree
Amaara galee fixee	They entered & finished off the Amhara
Akka hoolaa baraaraa	Like a sheep for the feast
Mosolooniin caccabsee	Mussolini destroyed them
Miila siree Amaaraa	The legs of the Amhara throne
Mootichi dheefa deemee	The king panicked and went into exile
Goggogaan fuula aaraa	The skinny man with an angry face
Mootiin hiyyeeyisa miidhe	The king who oppresses the poor
Abaduu numa qaharaa ²⁷	Will be overthrown

²⁶ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

The poem protests against the harsh treatment of the Amhara regime. The hatred of the Šayḥs, of Muslims in general, and of other ethnicities (except the Amhara) was the result of its considering them as second-class citizens. So, the welcome of the Šayḥs was important for the Italian government in becoming successfully accepted by the society. Mohammed Hassen commented on the above poem, in *Journal of Oromo Studies* (2003:13), that Šayḥ Bakri is referring in this poem to the destruction of the power and throne of the oppressor.

Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb also did even more than his predecessors for *Mawlid al-Nabi*. Indeed, the Harro hilltop outside Agarfa has become an annual meeting place for the people of Arsi and Bale until today (Østebø 2008: 84).

Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb is also known for his *karāma* (the ability to perform miracles), which some people of Bale say he got from his father and others say from Šayḥ Našir. His *karāmas*, as my informant told me, were different from the miracles of others in terms of their immediate acceptance by Allah.²⁸

Here is one of his *karāmas*. A man committed an offense against a poor man by demanding interest on a loan. He came to the court of the Šayḥ, who asked the man to forgive the poor man the interest. But he refused to accept the Šayḥ's judgment. Finally he said to him, "You refuse to accept the reality that the man is poor and cannot pay interest. If you do not accept this judgment, let the tiger eat you". Then the man said to him, "If the tiger eats me in the lowlands of Bale [where Agarfa is located] it is by your *karāma*, but if it is in the highlands it is not by your

²⁷ *Barīsā Poems* by Mahdi Hamid Mude (p. 56)..

²⁸ Informant: Rabiʿa.

karāma.” After some days, the dead body of this man was seen thrown around by a tiger near his home in Agarfa.²⁹

Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb was the first of the Harro Šayḥs to have his own seal. His seal (which still exists today) is made of silver or a Maria Theresa dollar and it bears his name and address.³⁰ See the figure below.



Figure 6: Seal 1: Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb’s silver seal, now found in the home of the late Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl.

Remark:-The first photo shows the handle or reverse side of the seal. The second and third photo show the seal’s imprint, both on the seal itself and when stamped on paper. It gives the name of Hāji ʿAbdulwahāb Yūnus in both Arabic and fidāl writing. It also bears an interesting symbol: a Muslim crescent below a six pointed star. The six-pointed star is the symbol of Judaism; but it was also used by Haile Sellasie, in combination with a cross (inside the star), as a symbol of the Solomonic dynasty. On the Šayḥ’s seal we see instead the combination of star with a Muslim crescent. This is evidently a double allusion to the Šayḥ’s Muslim identity and to his role as an official of Haile Sellasie.

²⁹ Informant: Salman.

³⁰ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb was famous among the Harro Šayḥs for teaching ʿIlm and Islamic religion. Mohammed Safī describes him as a ‘house of knowledge’. Mohammed continues by saying that he was an arbitrator for both Bale and (the rest of) Arsi, with no government interference. Also Harro is a yearly meeting place for both Arsi and Bale i.e. for the Oromo in general.³¹

Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb died at the very advanced age of 103, on Monday, Rabīʿ al-Awwal of 1942. He was succeeded by his son Haji Muḥammad.³²

2.4 Hāji Muḥammad ibn Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb (1889-1985)

The son of Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb, he was born in Agarfa Bale in 1889. He was one of the known ʿulamāʾ of the 20th century, though he was less illustrious than his father and his sons. His main concern was with the literacy of his people and safeguarding them from attack. He was active in conflict resolution as a judge for all the Arsi and Bale people. Additionally Hāji Muḥammad continued the celebration of *Mawlid al-Nabi*.³³ Like his father, he travelled throughout the country not only to learn ʿKarāma but also to teach and assign teachers.³⁴ He went on Hajj at an early age, hence his title “Haji”.³⁵

He sent his sons Abduljalīl and Kamāl out of Bale for further religious studies to places like Hararge, where they copied and bought manuscripts. There they also met famous scholars and profited from their experience and knowledge.³⁶

When Hāji Muḥammad reached retirement age he summoned his son Hāji Abduljalīl to return to Agarfa, where he inherited his father’s position.³⁷

³¹ According to oral tradition, Arse was one of the children of Barento. He had two children, Sikko and Mando. Sikko, was the ancestor of (today’s) Arsi, and Mando of (today’s) Bale.

³² Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

³³ Informant: Rabīʿa.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

³⁶ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

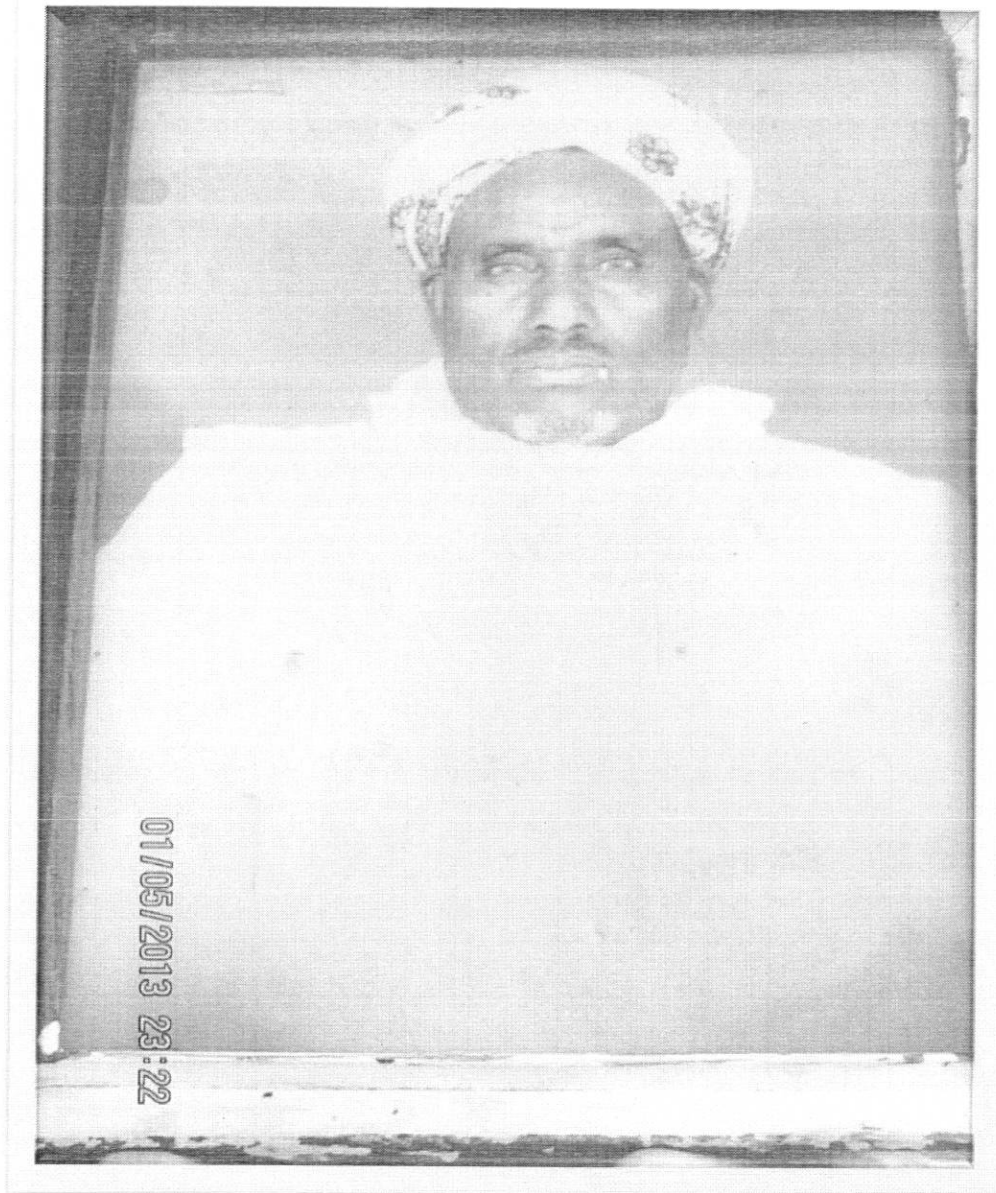


Figure 8: Picture of Hāji Muḥammad

He also had a seal like his father, bearing his name and the year (see below).

³⁷ Informant: Rabi'a.



Figure 9: Seal 2

The seal bear Haji Muhammad ibn ʿAbdulwahāb, the six pointed star with crescent and the year (1307 H or 1929AD).

Haji Muhammad died on Monday, Rabiʿ al-Awwal of 1985 and was succeeded by his son Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl.³⁸ Šayḥ ʿIsmāʿīl, Šayḥ Yūnus, Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb, and Hāji Muḥammad are all buried in the same shrine on the hill of Tullu Hambalat. They all died on Monday of Rabiʿ al-Awwal.³⁹

2.5 Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl ibn Hāji Muḥammed (1923-2008)

Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl was born in Agarfa Bale in 1909, to his father Hāji Muḥammad and his mother Radiya Ganamō Qannādash. His mother Radiya had four children. Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl had seven children, two girls and five boys.⁴⁰

³⁸ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

His teachers were Hāji Ibrāhīm Guddo of Dida`a, Šayḥ ʾIsmāʿīl Walašī of Robe, and Šayḥ Muḥammad Jaju of Jaju, all from Arsi⁴¹. He also studied for four years at the teaching centers of Dida`a (Gasgar) and Goro (Maliyyu).⁴²

He was an Imam for his Awrāja (district) and a Qāḍī. He was also an administrator, arbitrator, policy maker, and organizer of orphanages, and he also officiated at marriages. He was also advisor to a council of elders who tried to arbitrate among the TPLF, IFLO, OLF and others; he tried to solve their disagreements in a peaceful manner but all the parties started firing their guns before the meeting ended.⁴³



Figure 10: Photo of Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl (center) with his family.

He also had a seal like his predecessors (see below):

⁴¹ Šayḥ Muḥammad Jaju (1894-1956) was a well-known Šayḥ in Arsi. He was a teacher, leader, and qāḍī. He was born into a well-educated family; even his mother Kabīra ʾAšu was an educated woman. She was a teacher of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and other branches of religious education.

⁴² Informant: Salman Hassan Abdul-Jalīl (his grandson) and Šayḥ Kamāl.

⁴³ Informant: Rabiʿa.



Figure 11: Seal 3: seal of Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl

Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl did much for both religious and social issues. In the Ethiopian Millennium year the FDRE gave him a certificate of merit on the 25th anniversary of the agricultural college in Agarfa. The theme idea written on the certificate is his contribution in protection of the property of the college from violence and theft during the change of regime in 1989.



Figure 12: Certificate of Merit.

Šayh ‘Abdul-Jalīl died on Sunday night and was buried on Monday 11/5/2001 EC at the age of 85.⁴⁴

2.6 Šayh Kamāl ibn Hāji Muḥammad (1957- now)

Šayh Kamāl was born in Agarfa Bale in 1957 to his father Hāji Muḥammed and his mother Āmina Kabīr ‘Umar. Šayh Kamāl has three children. He is an elder for that Awrāja (District) and judge as well as an administrator and arbitrator, and he officiates at marriages.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Informant: Salman Hassan Abduljalil.

⁴⁵ Informant: Šayh Kamāl.

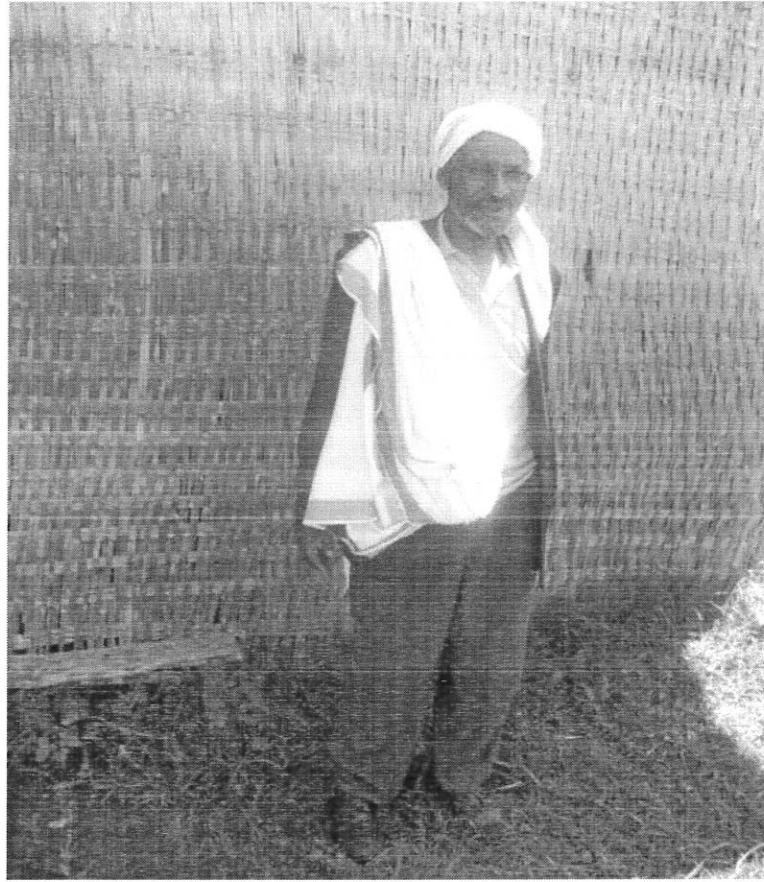


Figure 13: Photo of Šayḥ Kamāl

Even today he is a judge, serving free of charge. He works hard to solve the community's problems dealing with legal issues of both Arsi and Bale.⁴⁶

He studied Qur'an under three different Šayḥs: firstly Šayḥ Šamsī, then Šayḥ Ādam Sāhe of Bale and Šayḥ Muhammad Awwal of Wallo. Šayḥ Kamāl passed through different training centers in Arsi and Bale; he studied under an (unnamed) Mu'azzin and under the Harro Šayḥs, then under Hāji 'Alī yy Garād and the Širka Šayḥs.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

He went to Harar for further religious studies, where he stayed for four years. He studied *Arbaʿīn*, *Bulūġ al-Marām*, *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, *Tajrīdī*, and *Tafsīr*. His teachers in Harage were Šayḥ Ḥusayn ibn Šayḥ Zubayr of Fadis, Šayḥ ʿAbdallah ibn Kabīr Muḥammad of Haramāyā, and Šayḥ ʿAbdallah Ādamī of Arsi who was his *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) teacher.⁴⁸

He then went to Jimma, and after that to Sidamo, where he stayed for 3 years and 4 months, teaching together with Šayḥ Jamal of Gindhir. The Sidāmo people are illiterate in Arabic so he was there to bring literacy to the society. He then moved to Abbōmsa near Zeway, where he gathered 100 students and started teaching. Then he left the center at Abbōsa to Šayḥ Jamal ibn Šayḥ ʿAbdusalam and returned home due to the death of his father, Hāji Muḥammad. Then he started working with his brother Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl as his secretary. He worked on different legal cases in which he trained, and he became an arbitrator in the court of elders.⁴⁹

For the last ten years of his life Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl was ill due to hypertension. During this period Šayḥ Kamāl continued working, using his brother’s seal. Then after the death of Šayḥ ʿAbdul-Jalīl he made his own seal;⁵⁰ see the figure below:

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.



Figure 14: seal 4: Šayḥ Kamāl’s seal bearing his name, crescent, star (5-pointed) and his telephone number.

As a judge, he has worked on different issues, ranging from easy cases such as theft of mobile phones to serious cases like murder. The testimony of witnesses in the court is given by swearing on the Qur’an, which the people hold in great reverence. The Harro Šayḥ’s court is especially important in cases without eyewitnesses, which are difficult to bring before government courts.⁵¹

Even today he is the leader and organizer of the annual Mawlid. The Mawlid of the Harro Šayḥs at Harro hill is celebrated for ten consecutive days from 12-22 of Rabiʿ al-Awwal. They collect money and materials from people and then document it in a book in which the name, amount of money, material and place of residence of the donor is written each year.⁵²

⁵¹ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

⁵² Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

Chapter Three

A Brief Hand-list of the Manuscripts in Harro Šayḥs Collection

As the Šayḥs started to go and study in places like Hararge, they also started to buy and bring manuscripts. Even nowadays the buying and selling of medicinal manuscripts in Bale is in practice. Though some *‘ulamā’* owned books and others used to copy them by hand as manuscripts.⁵³

The Harro Šayḥs, in contrast to other *‘ulamā’* of the country, preferred to buy and copy manuscripts rather than creating their own written manuscripts. They bought books either with money or by barter. One of the manuscripts in the collection was acquired for 50 goats.⁵⁴ The Harro Šayḥs’ collection consists mostly of printed books but also has a small number of manuscripts, both religious and secular. The collection of the Harro Šayḥs was accumulated by the Šayḥs of the same family who lived in different periods.

I will now present a brief catalogue of the collection. Though the collection consists mostly of printed books, this study deals only with the manuscripts.

⁵³ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl.

⁵⁴ Informant: Hassan Mohammed Kawo.



Figure 15: The Harro Šayḥs' collection.

3.1 General description of manuscripts in the collection

The number of Arabic manuscripts found in the Harro Šayḥs' collection is seven, each bound separately as a book. Before describing the individual manuscripts, I will present those features which are common to all or most of the mss. Features of the manuscripts which agree with this general description will not be repeated in the individual entries. The general description will follow the format of the individual descriptions.

Place: All of the mss are found in the Harro Šayḥs' collection, Agarfa, Bale. They are all stored in the home of the late Šayḥ AbdulJalīl, in a locked cabinet which is overflowing with books.

Binding: Most of the manuscripts are bound in hard leather with panel stamps. Two of them additionally have a cloth cover over the binding.

Writing material: Black traditional ink is used for all the manuscripts. Other colors are also used (red, green, yellowish), depending on the manuscript.

Paper: All are written on thick paper, which however comes from various sources.

Guard folios: Most of the manuscripts have both beginning and ending pages.

Handwriting: All the manuscripts are written in Nashḥ.

Style of the writing: In most of the mss the size of letters is medium, and the writing is excellent, so it is easy to read.

Catchwords: All the mss except one has catchwords on every verso page.

Overall condition of the manuscript: All of the mss are bound, or were originally bound, as books. The binding is usually intact. Since the mss are locked in a cabinet, they are in fairly good condition, although some pages are ripped, dirty, discolored, or stained and there are some holes in the pages. No one has read them or looked at them since Šayḥ Abduljalīl.

Language: All the manuscripts in the collection are written in Arabic. They are partly voweled except full vowelizing in the Qur'an.

Pagination: Only manuscript number 1 has any page numbers.

Additionally, all of the manuscripts have loose sheets inserted into them. These are about different topics, unrelated to the topic(s) of the manuscript itself. These loose sheets will be described separately, at the end of the hand-list.

3.2 Physical and content description of the Harro Šayḥs' manuscript collection

Here the detail of manuscripts in the collection will be presented:

3.2.1 The Untitled manuscript:

It contains many different sub-manuscripts on different topics.

Dimensions: the dimension of binding and dimension of pages of the manuscript are equal, 21 x 16 cm.

Column: one

Binding: Back cover is missing.

Writing material: Red ink is used for title, emphasis and numerals within the text.

Number of folios: 105 folios or 210 pages.

Number of lines: 29-31 per page.

Guard folios: it has both beginning and ending pages although its back cover is missing.

Scribe or copyist: anonymous

Date: no colophon at beginning or end; but in the middle of the ms at the end of a subsection there is a colophon which says: "The author said, 'I finished writing on Tuesday Ḥijja al-Ḥarām 769 A.H. (1401 AD).' The copyist of the commentary said, 'I finished the commentary on Wednesday sixth of Rajab 924 A.H. (1556).' "

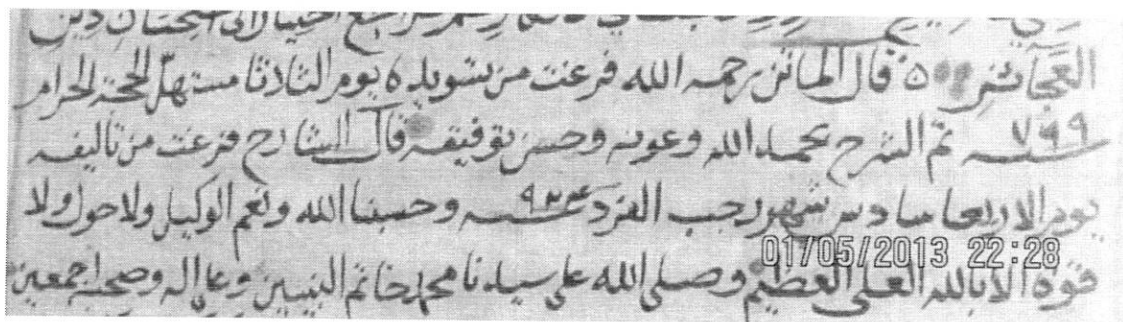


Figure 16: the oldest manuscript date

Marginal notes: yes, in all four margins.

Catchwords: catchwords only on the first 80 pages or so. Some of the sub-manuscripts have catchwords on every verso; some, only on some pages; some, none at all.

Page layout: in most of the sub-manuscripts, the written field is enclosed by a single or double red line. The written field is usually 15 x 10.2 cm.

Pagination: the first 70-80 pages (covering several sub-manuscripts) have consecutive page numbers at the top, in Arabic numerals, and the sequence of the numbers is not always right. After this the pagination stops.

Contents of the manuscript:

The manuscript contains seventeen parts and topics. Among them the first topic is astronomy. Mainly it revolves around division of the seasons, constellations and the zodiac signs, mansions (houses) of the moon and the concept of shadow length at noon in different seasons of the year. A detailed discussion of the astronomy part of the manuscript will be presented in chapter 5.

اعلم ان السنة مشتملة على اثني عشر شهرا والشهور مشتملة على اربعة فصول وهي الربيع والصيف
 والخريف والشتاء وفي كل فصل منها ثلثة بروج تنزل الشمس فيها وذلك بقول الشيخ الفقيه سالم
 بن فضل نفع الله به وسبحان من فصل اوقات الزمان جميعها باربعة معتادة العود والكر الربيع
 والخريف وهو ثلثة عشر من شهر اذار من شهر اذار من شهر الروم ويوم اربعة ايام في الفرج المقدم وتسميه
 لخصه موت الفرج بالمعجزة على حساب طالع الفجر واربعة ايام في الصرفة على حساب غارب الفجر
 وهو حساب الشيا في المشهور في الشجر وخصه موت وجملة ايامه ثلثة وتسعون يوما
واما الخريف في الجهة المذكورة فله من البروج السرطان والاسد والسنبلة وهو ثلثة
 اربعة عشر في حزيران وهو ثلثة عشر في القعدة على حساب طالع الفجر وعلى حساب الشيا في ثلثة
 في السولة وجملة ايامه تسعة يوما ايضا **واما الشتاء** فله من البروج الميزان والعقرب والقوس
 وهو اول فصل الشتاء في الشجر ونواحيها وهو ثلثة عشر في ابول من شهر الروم ونهاره في الصفة
 في حساب طالع الفجر وفي الفرج المقدم الذي تسميه لخصه موت الفرج بالعين المعجزة على حساب
 الشيا وجملة ايامه ١٩ يوما فقط **واما فصل الربيع** وهو اول فصل الربيع عند أهل
 الشجر ونواحيها فله من البروج الجدي والدلو والحوت وهو يوم ثلثة عشر من السولة على حساب
 طالع الفجر وعلى حساب الشيا وهو غارب الفجر يوم سبع في القعدة وجملة ايامه تسعون يوما
 هذا المختص ما قاله الشيخ ولي الله عبد الله بن اسعد الباقعي والامام كمال الدين الفارسي رحمه
 الله الالهة اختلفا في عدد ايام الفصول اختلفا في سيرة ايام السنة التسمية وهي سنة النجوم
 ١٩ يوما وربع يوم فكل السنة الرابعة ٣٦٥ يوما وذلك بقول الشيخ عبد الله بن
 اسعد الباقعي نفع الله به آمين لكنه على حساب طالع الفجر ففصل الربيع والحزيراء
 بسادس ايام المقدم يدخل خامس عشر من ارجح اوله وفي الحمل الشمس الميرة تنزل
 وخامس عشر من حزيران جاوردت الى سرطان بالحرارة يدخل وحينئذ في الفرج سبع لهقعة
 وذلك لفصل الصيف لاسك او ك وفصل خريف بين ح وباردة بمنزلة الشمس الهيمية تعدل
 بابول عشر ثلثة وصرفة ثمانية فخرها يتهلل وهي ككانونين كانونين مصطلا: فصل الشتاء
 باصاح بالبرد قبيل: واولة في الفرج سبع لسولة: وشمس بجدي لذبتوا ويوكل: باول كانونين
 خامس عشرة: يكون فان كنت البصحة تقبل كل الكس والنس بالكسا في اريكة: للعلائك والكس
 عندك بكملة انتهى **وقد** يذكر فيه عدد المشازو والمغارب واما السنة التسمية ودرج
 العلك وسير الشمس فيها على ما ذهب هل الشرح ذكر في التفسير ان للشمس ثلثة وثمانون وستين
 مسترقا ومن المغارب كذلك **هنا** قول علي رضي الله عنه وهو الصحيح **وعلم** ان السنة
 كذلك لان تكون كبسة فتروا يوما فطلع كل يوم من مشرق وتغرب في مغرب حتى تسنوي جميع

Figure 17: part 1 of manuscript 1 (the Astronomy part of the manuscript).

The second part, entitled *Kitāb Faḥ Rabb Al-Bariya*, is a commentary on *Ḥazrajiyya* (a well-known printed book) by Ṣayḥ and Judge Zakariya Al-Anṣārī (d. 515 AH). The book discusses types of Arabic poetry.



Figure 18: part 2 of manuscript 1 with cloud band decoration.

The third part is entitled *Kitāb Al-ʿArūḍ Al-Bārīʿ bi-l-iḥtiṣār Al-Jāmiʿ* by Ṣayḥ Al-Imām Al-Ḥibr Al-Hamām Šujaʿaddiin Abī Al-Qāsim Alī ibn Jaʿfar Al-Saʿdī also known as ibn Al-Qaṭṭāʿ. The topic is traditional Arabic metrics. The text is a familiar one all over the Muslim world; the first copy of it was written in 515 AH⁵⁵. I have a digitized copy of one similar manuscript.

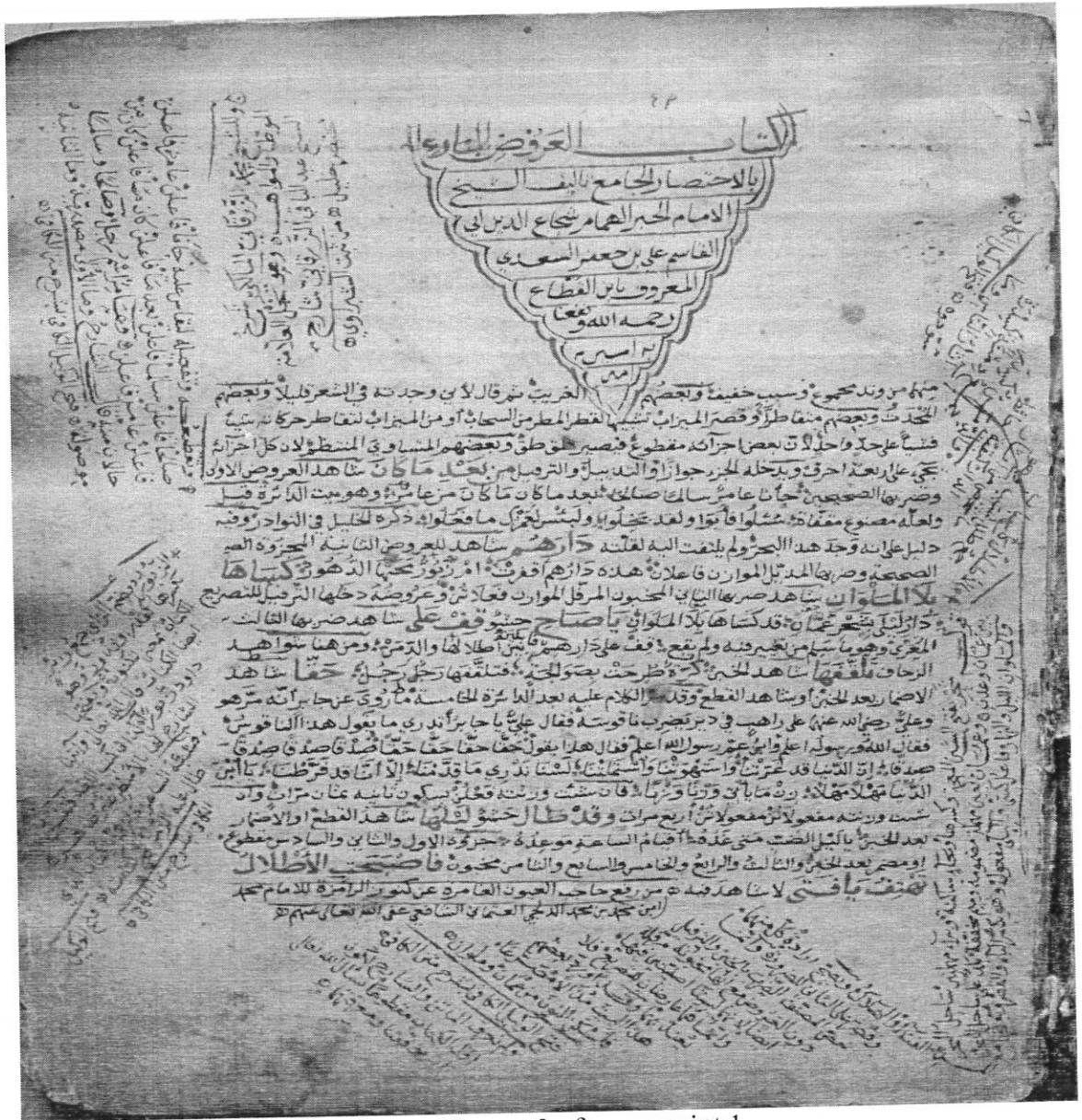


Figure 19: part 3 of manuscript 1.

⁵⁵ Source Informant: Hassan Kawo.

The fourth topic is a commentary on Risāla Al-ʿaḍudiya which deals with research methodology.



Figure 20: part 4 of manuscript 1.

The fourth topic is a commentary on Risāla Al-ʿaḍudiya which deals with research methodology.



Figure 20: part 4 of manuscript 1.

The fourth topic is a commentary on Risāla Al-ʿaḍudiya which deals with research methodology.



Figure 20: part 4 of manuscript 1.

The fifth topic is another text on Astronomy.



Figure 21: part 5 of manuscript 1.

At the end of this part of the manuscript there is a strangely formatted page that is a jumbled mixture of jurisprudence and grammar. See below:



Figure 22: the end page of part 5 of manuscript 1.

The sixth topic is *'Ilm Al-Badr'* or rhetoric, i.e. how to speak well and choose words effectively. Also it contains *'Ilm Al-Manṭiq* or logic. Different religious topics are included as well.



Figure 23: part 6 of manuscript 1.

The seventh topic is 'Ilm Al-Awfaq or Numerology.



Figure 24: part 7 of manuscript 1.

The eighth topic is *madh*, praise of the Prophet



Figure 25: part 8 of manuscript 1.

The ninth topic is again Numerology.

فصل في التفسير اعلم انك اذا احدثت الاسم من قدام ستر المطلوب على اسم الطالب واخره واسمها حروفها وكثرهما وهو ان تاخذ حروف الاول من اول السطر وتضعه وتاخذ حروف الاخير من السطر وتضعه
 التي تباينها الى الحروف ثم تفعل بها وصنعته كذلك ان يخرج الاسم صحيحا وذلك ان تاخذ الحروف الاخير
 الاول والثالث ونالك الثالث الى اخره وذلك ان تاخذ الاول والثامن وخمسة الخامس الى اخره وذلك ان تاخذ
 السابع وسابع السابع الى اخره وذلك ان تاخذ الاول والثامن والعاشر والعاشر والخامس الى اخره وذلك ان تاخذ
 صحفها في حروفها وانزل السطر حرقا واحدا من كل سطر وحرفا واحدا من اخره وانزلها من سطر الاول
 مقدمه والاخر عليه وكثرها سبعة اسطر وحدا واول السطر واواخرها كما تقدم ذكره وانفس الحروف نظائر
 صفحتها او غيرها وانظر فيما لها من الاعداد الجمل الكبير وانفس في باصل الصيغة وقفا معا فانها تفرق
 عليك الحروف فاقطعها بالجمل الصغير واخماه تشاهد العجم من الاعداد في الثانية ان باذن منسب الاسباب
 واعلم ان السطر للمكون في الدعاء ان تاخذ حروف الاسماء التي يذكرها مثل قولك الكبير المتعال وتظنكم الهام
 الاعداد بالجمل الكبير في الالف واللام وانما تاخذ كبر متعال فذكر ذلك العدد في موضع حال بالشرائط
 المعينة من جميع الهمة على صهارة فانه استحباب لك لتوقيت وهو الكبريت الاحرق ان الزيادة على العدد المطلوب
 اسراف والنقص منه اخلال وكل من فضله مفصلا فسيحان العالمين باسم الله
 وقت المربع فهو ان سقطت صفة واحدا وما بقى التبعة في بيت قبل الواحد ثم تقص واحدا وتضع ما بقى في
 بيت قبل الثلاثة وهكذا في بيت قبل الثمانية وذلك بعد ان ثبت في ثمانية بيت المذكورة على حروف هذه
 كل تضع مع الواحد الى الثانية العدد المذكور في بيت افعال العدد الحروف وذلك ان اول بيت من المربع بيت الواحد
 والاربع بيت الثمانية والسادس بيت السنة والسابع بيت الثلثة والعاشر بيت السبعة والثاني عشر بيت الالف والرابع
 عشر بيت الاربع والخامس عشر بيت الخمسة وهذه صورته

٨	٨٠	٨٨	١
٨٣	٣	٤	٨٨
٢	٨٦	٧٩	٧
٨١	٨	٤	٨٢

حمت

حكم	علم	باسط	بديع
٧٨	١٩٠	٧٣	٨٤
٧٣	٧٩	٨٨	١٤٩
٨٤	٧٠	١٨٣	٨٠
١٨١	٨١	٨٣	٧١

لطف ٢٩

رحين	ما	انا هم	الله	فصله
٨٤٣	٣٤٣	٧٤٣	١٨٤	٩١٨
٨٤٥	١٥٤	٩١٣	١٨٣	٨٤٣
٩١٤	٣٤٣	٨٤٣	٧٤٣	١٨٤
٣٤٣	٣٤٣	١٨٤	٩١٣	٣٤٣
٣٤٣	٩١٣	٣٤٣	٣٤٣	٩١٣

لطف ١٤٧٤

٩٨٤	٨٨٤	٨٨٤	٨٨٤
٨٨٤	٨٨٤	٨٨٤	٨٨٤
٨٨٤	٨٨٤	٨٨٤	٨٨٤
٨٨٤	٨٨٤	٨٨٤	٨٨٤

حرف فتح

١٤٨	١٧٣	١٤٨
١٤٧	١٤٩	١٧١
١٧٣	١٤٨	١٧٠

Figure 26: Part 9 of manuscript 1.

The tenth part relates a dream which contains a message from the Prophet.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله وحده والصلاة والسلام
على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أما بعد فانه لما كان بها الاثنين
لسبع حلت من شهر الرسالة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عن مرويه
والامر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر على لفظ الراوي لها وهي
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اعلموا يا امة محمد صلى الله
عليه وسلم ان الراوي لهذه الرسالة يقول اني كنت في ليلة الجمعة في الشهر
المذكور جالساً في غير المحراب في مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وانا
انلوا العزبان وما كان عندي احد حتى صار نصف الليل وانا متفكر في امر
مكة نبي امة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم واذا استبد الرسل واقفة عن يميني وقد
احد نبي سنة النور وهو يقول لي يا شيخ صالح العلم امي قال الشيخ لما سمعت
الكلام قلت من هذا المتكلم وسمعت اعصامي وراسي وصوت فدي ووضع
يمينه على سمائي فقال لي يا شيخ صالح قل لا تفتي من ليلة الجمعة الى ليلة الجمعة ما
من امي سمعون الف رجل وما منهم الا سمعون رجلاً ما نوا على الايمان والباقيون
ما نوا على خلاف الايمان فاستجبت من ربي عز وجل على حال امي فان اكثرهم
يعصون الله تعالى يعقوف الوالدين وما بقي في قلوبهم شفقة ولا رحمة وتغير
قلوبهم وبيئاتهم صار لا يرحم فقيرهم وصغيرهم لا يوقر كبيرهم صاروا
يجلسون في المجالس للغبية والتميمة ويتعاملون ببهاذة الزور والبهتان وهم
منهتون عن ذلك باي القران وسنتي يا شيخ صالح قل لهم قبل هذه الوصية
ارسلت اليهم مكتوبين من بعد وفاتي وما اصطلحوا ولا تانوا ولا حافظوا من
غضب الله عليهم وسخطه وسطوته وتحويل العقوبة لهم ونظمت انا مستحي
من ربي عز وجل وملكته وهم يقولون لي يا شيخ اعلمك يعصون الله باكثر مما

Figure 27: part 10 of manuscript 1.

سؤال الحكمة في خلق الانسان وقوله تعالى ولقد خلقنا الانسان في احسن تقويم اي في صورة وفيها تركيب
وهيئة وفي الانسان عشرة اعصاب في كل عضو منها عشرة فوائد اعلاها القلب واسفلها الراس وفيه العقل والهم لا تدرك العقل
وهو في الدماغ في اظهر الاقوال كما قاله النسيابوري وهو الطف ماني الانسان لان آذنه الطف الاعصاب وجعل الدماغ
مثبتا الاعصاب لما علم انه مشرف على الاعضاء فلا يمكن له في وقت النفوس من مكانه فحمله منبت ما يكون في الحس والحركة
لتحريك الاعصاب متى سادت وحسرت المحسوسات دون نقله وحركته وايضا وطوبه الاعضاء بما تحتملها وطوبه الاعضاء بما
يحتملها من فوقها من الدماغ فاعرفه وايضا جعله الله مدورا وليس من الاشكال شكل اوفق من المدد فير لا يمانه وتنا
سريع الانتكاس في حمله عظم واحدا بل جعله قطعا متمازجا ونحوه حتى لو اصابت واحدة منهن اقله لم يتعد الى الباقي منها وجعل
بين تلك العظام المحاوره صلوة فالتصاعد الخاضع منها يسبق البدن منها ويستخرج الدماغ من صدرها حتى يخرج من تحت الشعر
ويختص في ظاهر الخلد من الراس وجعل الراس على ساس وثيق من العنق وجعل الراس بوابا كاطراف يدرك بها القلب وجميع الاعضاء
المحسوسة فيذكر السوعات من طاقتي السمع والمبصرين من العينين والمدونات باللسان والمشمومات بالشم وهذه
الاعضاء كالرسل والحجاب على باب الملك تلغ القلب ما تدركه في العين فكل واحد منها يتحسس من البدن من الافات وحملها
بكرة كما لو اذ اقبالها متى ارشبت صورته فيها كما ترشم في المرأة فكل العين بواسطة ذلك وجعلها قابلة لما بها فترشم
فيها صورة كل شي قالها مع صغر الناظر وجميع سحمة العين تسمى الحدة والسواد تسمى المقلة والذي هو كالمرة ينظر به
الانسان يسمى الناظر وهو مدور صغير في وسط المقلة وجعل الله تعالى العين سريعة الحركة وجعل لها اجفانا تسترها وجعل
اهدابا من الشعر كجناح الطائر ينظر بانضمامها وابتعادها الذباب والهوام عن العين وجعل العين في الراس لانه السراج يوضع
على راس المارة وجعلها اثنين كالمشمس في الغمر وجعلها تحت الجبهة لانه من جوانب الوجه كما عين الدواب يرى الانسان فوجه
وتحت وجوانبه وجعل فوقها حاجبين متوسلين اسودين لئلا ينظر البصر بالاضواء لان الذي ينظر في السواد الى الياض
يكون احد نظرا والآخر للحدقة سودا واهلاد الشعر شعر السواد والمجان سودا والنظر الى الاسود يعوق النظر
ولذلك قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في الاعداء انه يعوق البصر والنظر الى الابيض يفرق البصر ويضعفه وجعل الحدقة
مختركة في مكانها لتتحرك الناظر الى الجهات منه وسرعة في صوره من غير ان يلوي عنقه وجعل الناظر من جميع اعظام مستقيم
عرضا وفيه بضع واحدا منها اعلى والاخر من تحتها لاجتماع الناظران على شي واحد لئلا يترى له الشخص الواحد شخصين
وفي الاديان جعلها الله حاسوتين للقلب يوديان اليه ما يدركانه من السمع والاشاي نصب على طرف كل ثقب منها
صدفا ثابتا في داخله حكا وله عوجة لتثبت فيه الصوت وسوقا الى الصياح ولولا مكان هذه الاصداف لتسمع الاصايل
ولم يجعل اصداق الحيوانات المشبهه والطاره ثمانية قال كل حيوان ذو اذن ثمانية اذ او كل حيوان ذو اذن
باطنة باصلا لان حاجتها الى الاستماع اقل من تلك من السباحة والطي ان عند شربها ومسا خلق الخلد اعني جعل سمعه
يتعدى قدر بصر غيره لاجتناب من يحد فيرون وجعل في داخل الاصاخر عرقا متر الجموع فيبع الحشرات والهوام عنها
وجعل صدف الاذن اصلب من اللحم واليبس من العظم لئلا يسقط ولا يكثر شربه انه تعالى شق هذه الاصاخر اما ثمة اخرى
وهي ان الرطوبات السائلة تمر عليها من وابلها ولا يصل منها الى الاذن ما يضرها لان حاجته الى الاستماع والنظر اكثر منه
الى الكلام وجعل الشمع على السمع والشمع والشمع لئلا يسمع من جوانبه الستة قال النسيابوري وجعل الاذن ميرايا
للرأس كالآفة يصني بها من الافئدة والكنائف **سؤال** فجعل الله للانسان عينين واذا بين وجعل له لسانا واحدا
فصل لان حاجته الى السمع والبصر اكثر من حاجته الى الكلام قال ابو الهيثم في الاضواء انك من فيك فاما جعل الله تعالى
لذو اذنين اثنين لسانا واحدا لئلا يسمع اكثر من الفعل **سؤال** وجعل له عترة لسانه وليس موت المرء
من عترة الرجل فعرفته من فيه ترمى براسه وعترته بالرجل يرا على مهل وقيل فيه نبيه للبعد على ان
يستحب ان يقبل من الكلام الا في الحيرة وان لا يتكلم فيما لا يحبه **فصل** وهذا هو الذي في ان الله تعالى جعل اللسان داخل الفم
دونه الانسان والشفين واللسان لا يقبله الكلام الا في حدهما السبعين العبد باطرق شفقه على الكلام وقيل ان
عمر رضي الله عنه ان كان يصلي في قبة لم يسمع من الكلام فيما لا يحبه **سؤال** فغده عشر خصال احدها
احكام الروائح الطيبة والمثنية والثانية محمد بن القاسم قال في الطب الفوائده

Figure 28: part 11 of manuscript 1.

The twelfth topic is the famous *Burda Al-Buṣīrī* or praise of the Prophet which was written by Buṣīrī and is well-known in Dirre Šayḥ Hussein. (The page is covered with annotations written in the margins and between the lines, oriented in all directions.)



Figure 29: part 12 of manuscript 1.

The thirteenth topic deals with the dirhām (i.e. the unit of money earlier used by many Arabs but today used only in the United Arab Emirates and Morocco) and the value of silver and gold in the early days of Islam.



Figure 30: part 13 of manuscript 1.

The fourteenth topic is a one-page discussion of verses from Sūra al-Tawba and Sūra al-Qaṣaṣ (Qur'ān Suras 9 and 28).

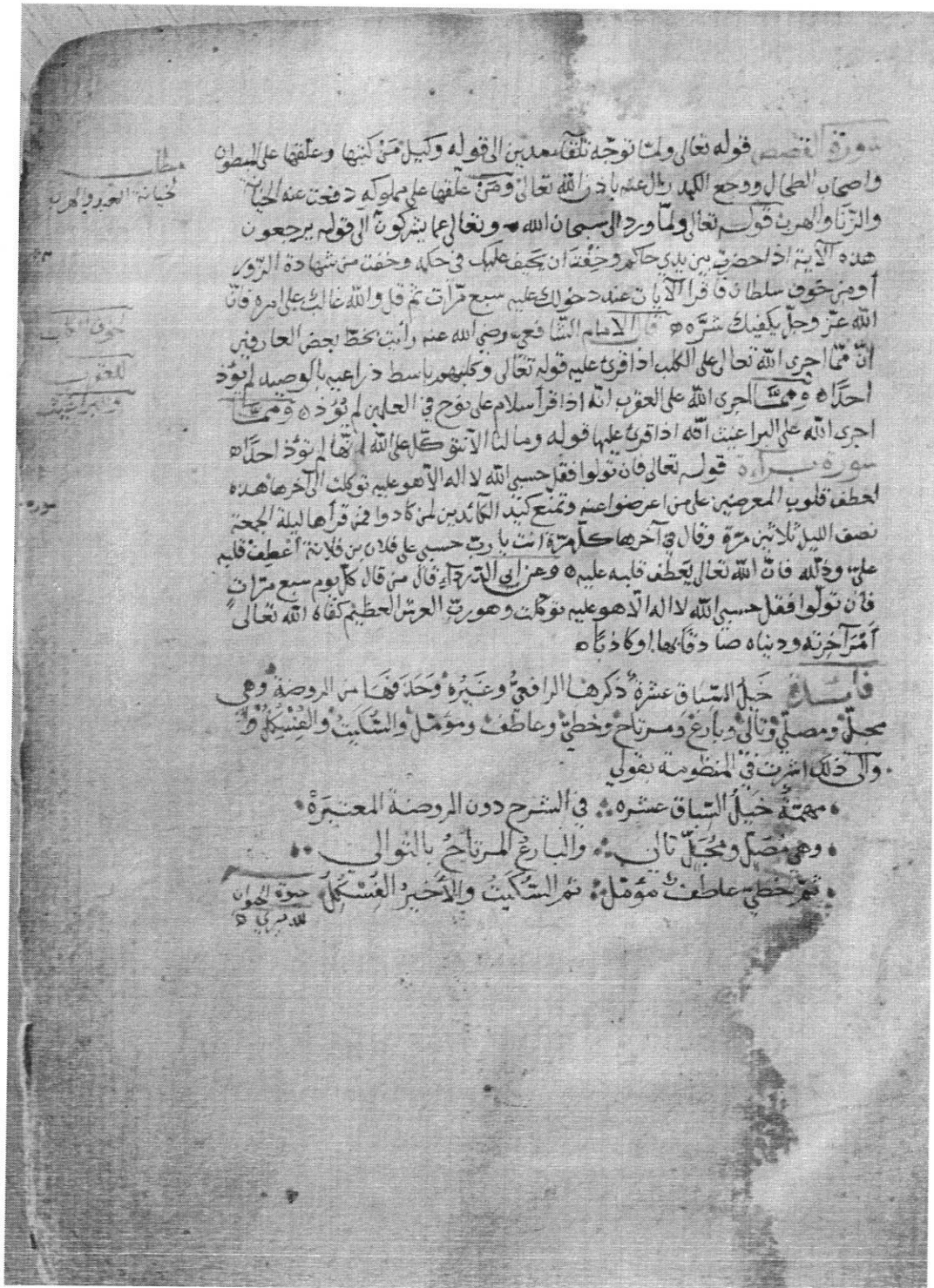


Figure 31: Qur'an

The fifteenth topic is Nahw or Arabic grammar.

بلاية لآلا بالإضافة ضرب هو الجسم أو الحاص وضرب هو ان مشترك وغيره صار له وضعة
أختياراً بالقياس إلى المكانة الأولى الحاص وأختياراً إلى المكانة الثانية المشتركة له. ولغيره في أفاقة أذ كل
إنسان وضع من القطبتين مثلاً ومن الأفاق وكل جزء من السماء وضع من أجزاء الأرض في كل حاله
من الأجزاء وبحركة شذلت في الوضع فقط الذي المكانة هـ القول في العرض الذي يعبر
عنه بأنه له وقد يسمى بالحدية ولما تمثل هذا المشتغل والنسخ والمبتطل من فلا حصل له معنى سوى أنه
نسبة الجسم المنطبق على سطح بسيطه أو على بعضه إذا كان المنطبق ينقل بانقلاب الخط به المنطبق
عليه فهو منه ما هو طبيعي كالحق الحيوان والكروية السطحية ومنه ما هو آرائي كالنقص للإنسان
والمشابهة في الآراء وليس من هذا القبيل لأن الآراء لا ينقل بانقلاب المساحة بل بانقلاب النسبة
في هذه المقولة بل في مقوله القول بفعل ومعناه نسبة الجوز المر موجود منه في غيره
غير باب الذات بل لا يزال يتجاذب كالسخر والنسب والقطع فان البرودة والتخون والانعطاف
بالنسخ والانت والاشياء الحارة في غير حاله نسبة الأسماء كما عند من اعتقد ما أساء في الوجود فملك
النسبة من جانب السبب بخبره عند بفعل إذا قال السخر ويبرد ومعنى السخر يفعل التخون ومعنى يبرد
يفعل البرودة فهذه النسبة هي التي عبر عنها هذه العبارات وقد يعقل محققاً أن تسمية ذلك فعلاً
محتملاً إذا كان يرى الفعل محتملاً في كل من الاختيار له ولكن لا يتكلم مع ذلك نسبة لأجلها تحت التا
وتلك النسبة جنس من الأخرى غير عنه بالفعل والغيره ولا يصاحبه في العبارات هـ القول
الإنفعال هو نسبة الجوهر المتغير إلى السبب المتغير فكل متفعل عن فاعل وكل مشغى ومشغى
فمن مشغى ومشغى بحركة العادة المطردة عند أهل الحق ويحكر ضرورة الجملة عند المتغلة والغللة
والإنفعال على الجملة لغزاً والتغلة قد يكون من كيفية إلى الكيفية مثل ما مضى الشعر من الشواد إلى البياض
عند التكرار على التدرج وتصيره من الحروف إلى البرودة فانه حين يتغير عن الحارة قليلاً قليلاً ويحدث فيه
البرودة قليلاً قليلاً على الاتصال إلى ان ينقطع ساوكة فيقف وهو في كل وقت على حالة يقارن ما قبلها
فليس له حالة مستقرة في وقت السلوك وعلى الجملة لا فرق بين قولك ينقل وبين قولك يتغير وأنواع
التغير كثير وهي أنواع الإنفعال بعينه فخذة هي الأجناس العاليه للموجودات كلها وقد جرى اسم الترتيم
خصها في هذه العشرة فان فعل هذا العشر من نقلها المتقدم بين أو عليه بهان هـ قلت
التقليد شأن العتيان ومقصود هذا الكتاب ان يهتدى به طرق البرهان وقصده اني هذا العصر
فيه دساقون أخذها ان هذه العشرة موجودة وهذا معلوم بشاهد العقل كما فصلناه في الأخرى
انه ليس في الوجود شيء خارج عنها وضرب ذلك بان كل ما الحركة العقل ليس كما هو صواب
عرض بكل عرض ينطو به عبارة أو محتاج في خاطر فكل ادراكه تحت هذه الجملة والاشياء انه ليس
بممكن ان تقتصر على تسعة وطرق معرفة ان يعرف تمايز هذه الأقسام كما ذكرناه واختلافها
فيتم العلم هذه الدعوى بهذه الجملة لغزاً لا يتعدى ان يستعمل طرق وجه متباينة قسم

Figure 32: part 15 of manuscript 1.

The sixteenth topic is a summary of 'Ilm Al-'Arūd or Arabic metrics.



Figure 33: part 16 of manuscript 1.

The seventeenth topic is an account of the successive deaths of a Roman, an Ethiopian and an Egyptian king.



Figure 34: part 17 of manuscript.

3.2.2 Title of the manuscript: Qurʾān with commentary on *Tajwīd*.

Owner: The manuscript says “ḥaqq Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb,” who died in 1942.

Dimensions: the dimensions of binding and dimensions of pages of the manuscript are equal, 22 x 31.5 cm.

Column: one

Binding: bound in hard leather; both covers intact. Binding is covered with a pink cloth.

Writing material: Red ink for title and decoration, green ink for subtitles and emphasis.

Number of folios: 305 folios or 610 pages.

Number of lines: not constant, varies between 15-31 lines per page.

Guard folios: it has both beginning and ending pages.

Scribe or copyist: anonymous

Date: The date in the colophon is 1232 A.H. (1864 AD). The copyist said that he finished at mid-day, prayer time, in the month of Šafar, but he does not mention the day of the month.

Marginal notes: yes, in all four margins.

Page layout: in most of the manuscript, the written field is enclosed by a double red line. The written field is usually 15 x 25.5 cm.

Decoration: The first two pages of the Qurʾān are decorated in red, green and yellow. The other parts have decorations that are done for emphasis.

Pagination: it has no page numbers.

Contents of the manuscript

The manuscript contains various parts. Among them the first topic is *Tajwīd*, dealing with oral recitation of the Qurʾān. The second part is Duʿā, the third part is the holy Qurʾān.

01/05/2013 23:40

سورة البقرة مدتها الا خمس ايات واعظم
 واصغرها البقرة على ما في هذه الاية نزلنا بمكة
 والنقايون كما ترجعون فيه الى الله نزلنا نطق وهو اعراب
 نزلت في قول بن عباس رضي الله عنهما اذن الرسول الى اعرابها
 نزلت في يوم فتح مكة وهن كثر لم يفت احد قبله في ما
 الا وسبع وعشرون اية في عددها البصيرت وست في الكوفي وخمس
 في الباقية **الخلاف** في احدى عشر اية امة عددها الكوفي هذا اب السمر
 عددها الستة عشر وترى عوضها انما نحن مصححون الا ما نضعه عنهم
 البصري تاويل الا ليات عددها اثنان في المدني الاول من خلاف نزلها
 اثنان الاخير ما عددها البصري في الحجب القوم عددها البصري والمدني
الاخر وكانها ستة الاف ومائة واحدة
 وعشرون كلمة واحدة وحروفها خمسة
 وعشرون الفاً وخمسة مائة حرفاً

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 سورة البقرة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 سورة البقرة
 في يوم فتح مكة
 في قول بن عباس
 في الكوفي وخمس
 في الباقية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

التي ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى للمتقين

الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون الصلاة ومما

رزقهم ينفقون والذين يؤمنون بما نزل

اليك وما نزل من قبلك والآخره هم يوقنون

Figure 35: manuscript 2.

The fourth topic is Du'ā' Ḥatm al-Qur'ān (Du'ā' for the conclusion of recitation of the Qur'ān).

The fifth topic is Ḥuṭbat al-Nikāḥ or Marriage Sermon. It will be discussed briefly in chapter four. The sixth topic is praise of the Prophet and unspecific general Du'ā'.

This manuscript was bought by Ṣayḥ 'Abdulwahāb in exchange for fifteen cows.



Figure 36: sample page of manuscript 2.

3.3.3 Title of the manuscript: *Muḥtaṣar Tanbīh al-ʿanām: madḥ* in praise of the Prophet.

Owner: The manuscript says “ḥaqq of Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb” who died in 1942.

Dimensions: the dimension of binding and dimension of pages of the manuscript are equal, 24 x 38 cm.

Column: one

Binding: The bound is covered by a colored cloth, with a pattern of black, red, blue and green stripes.

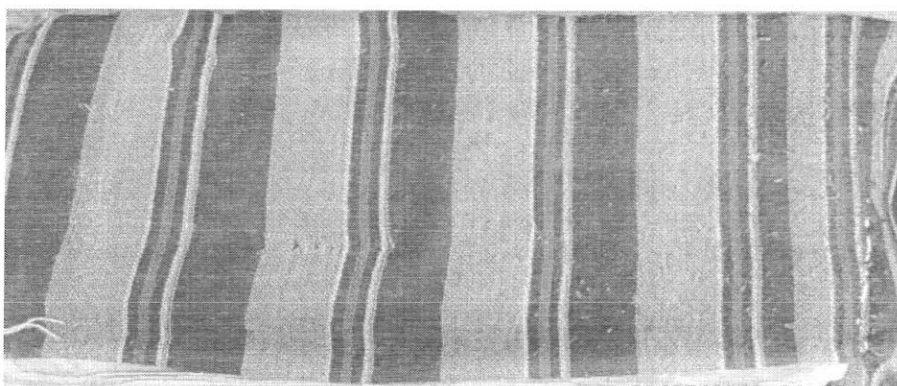


Figure 37: Binding of manuscript number 3.

Writing material: Red ink for names of Allah and the Prophet. The verses are divided into half-lines by the name Muḥammad (in red); see Figure 38.

Number of folios: 152 or 304 pages.

Number of lines: 20 or 21 lines per page.

Guard folios: it has both beginning and ending pages, with an extra blank guard folio both at the end and the beginning.

Scribe or copyist: ʿAbdullāhī ibn Šarīf.

Date: The colophon says that it was completed at the time of Duḥā prayer (mid-morning) on Thursday, seventh of Šawwāl, year 1327 AH (1959 AD)

Marginal notes: yes, in both side margins.

Page layout: There is no line enclosing the written field. The written field is 17.5 x 28 cm.

Contents of the manuscript:

The manuscript contains a *madh* poem in praise of the Prophet.

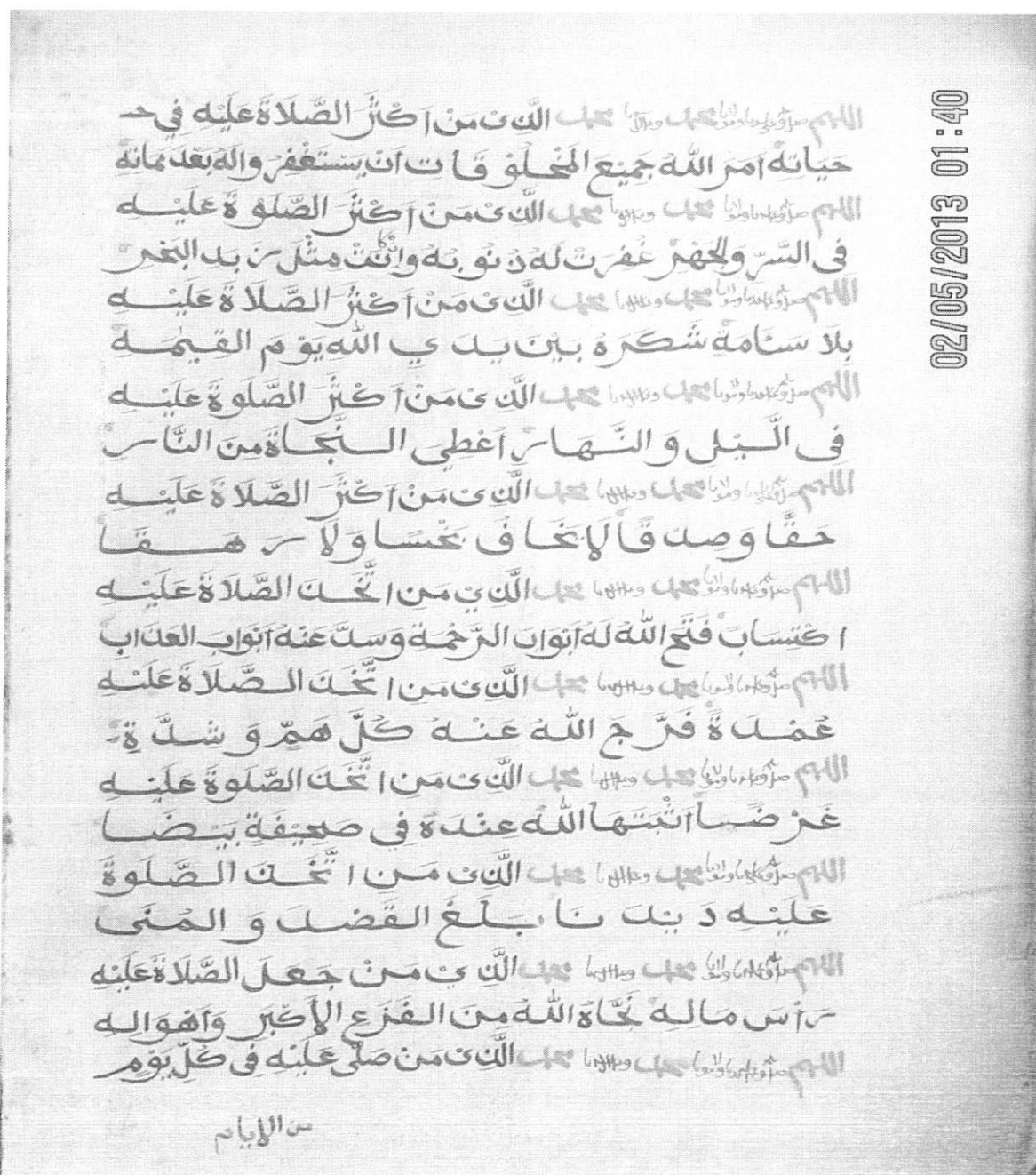


Figure 38: sample page of *madh* or manuscript number 3.

Special feature: This manuscript was sent to Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb from ʿAʿiša bint ʿAlī, king of Gomma. Discussion on ʿAiša bint ʿAlī will be found in chapter four (4.2.2).

3.3.4 Title of the manuscript: *Kitāb al-Aḥkām* (Commentary on Jurisprudence in Ḥadīṯ)⁵⁶.

Owner: The manuscript says “ḥaqq of Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb”.

Dimensions: the dimension of binding and dimension of pages of the manuscript are equal, 24 x 34.5 cm.

Column: one

Binding: front cover and spine are bound in hard cardboard; back cover is missing.

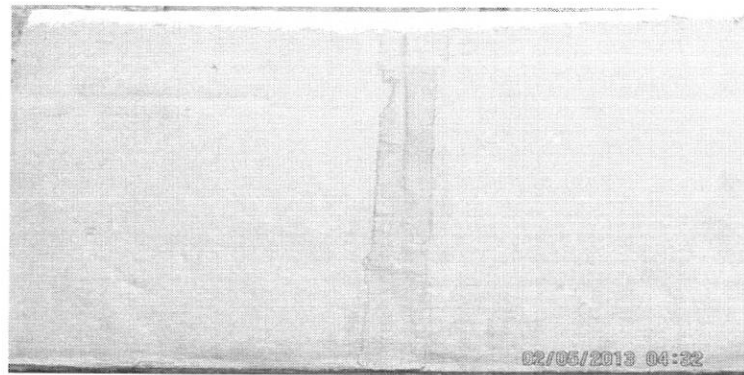


Figure 39: Binding of manuscript number 4.

Writing material: Red ink for title and emphasis.

Number of folios: 132 or 264 pages.

Number of lines: constant, 26 lines per page.

Guard folios: no beginning and ending pages, no guard folios.

Scribe or copyist: anonymous

Date: no colophon, hence no date.

Handwriting: Very distinctive handwriting, different from all the other manuscripts.

⁵⁶ Some informants also call it *Tawṣīḥ*.

Page layout: There is no line enclosing the written field. The written field is 15.5 x 26 cm.

Contents of the manuscript:

Commentary on jurisprudence in *Hadit*.

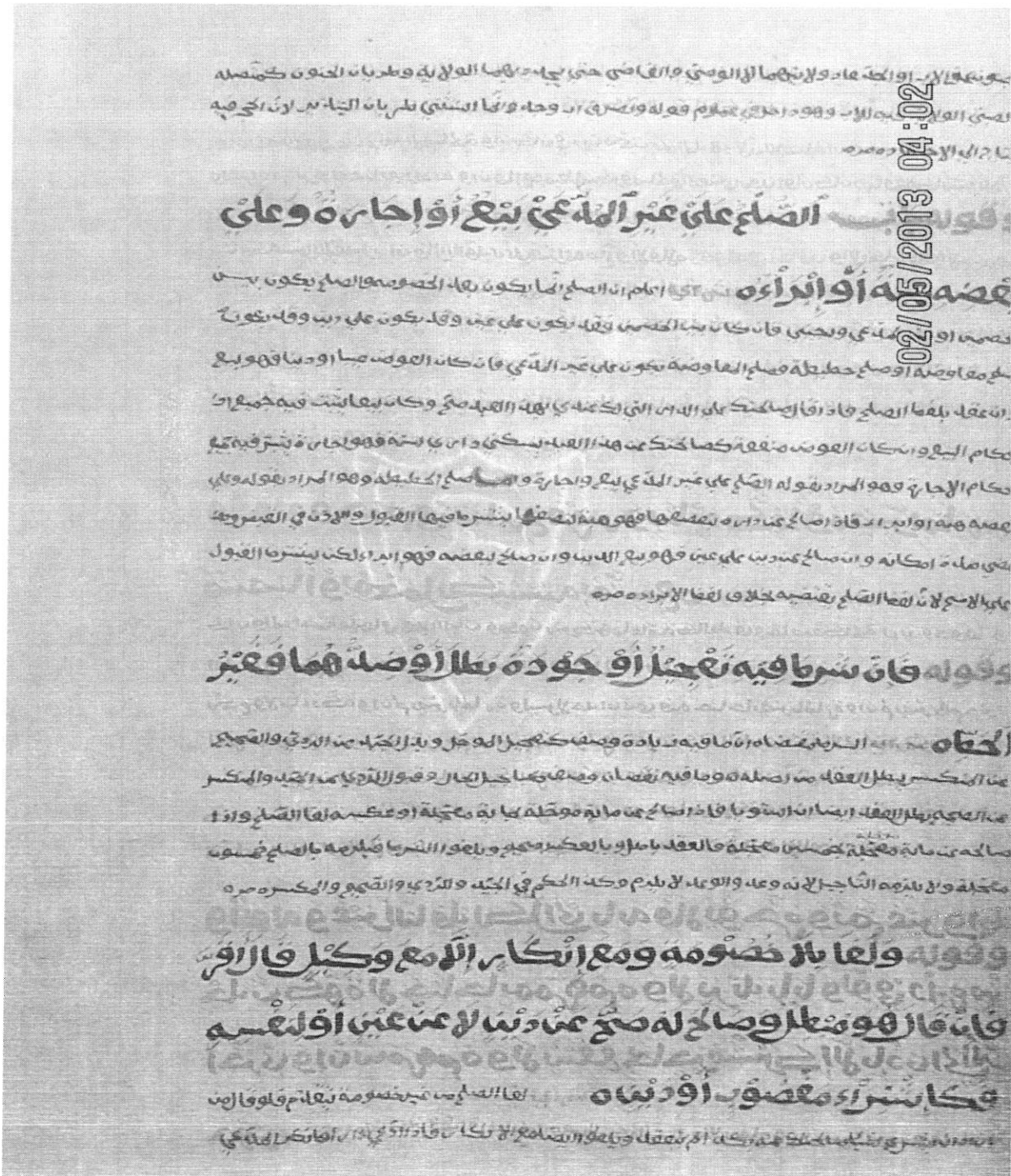


Figure 40: sample page of manuscript number 4.

Special feature:

This manuscript is written on high-quality, cream-colored Turkish paper. This is visibly seen due to the presence of a watermark involving a well-known symbol: a crescent moon in a shield. This is the symbol of the Bayāḍ Abū Šabak Iŝānbulī ‘Alī Aŝlī paper company of Istanbul.⁵⁷

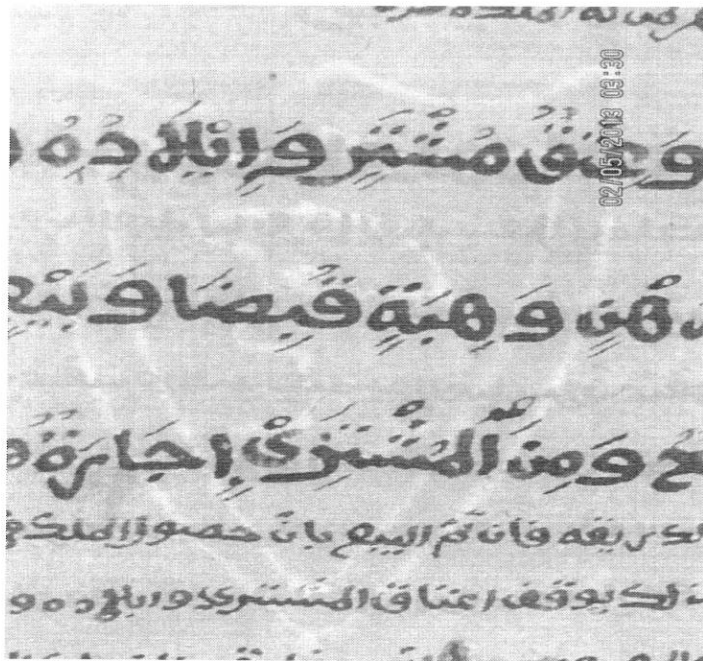


Figure 41: watermark Turkish paper symbol.

According to the informant, the owner of this manuscript, Šayḥ ‘Abdulwahāb, was eager to buy it but he could not afford it. Then Hussein Hubbo of Jidda Gindhir, Bale became the sponsor for Šayḥ ‘Abdulwahāb and he bought it by barter for 50 goats.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Kamal Ibrahim (2012: 120).

⁵⁸ Informant: Šayḥ Abdurahim Šayḥ Muhammad Sani.

3.3.5 Title of the manuscript: *Qur'ān al-Karīm*.

Owner: The manuscript says “ḥaqq of Šayḥ ʿAbdulwahāb”.

Dimensions: the dimension of binding and dimension of pages of the manuscript are equal, 15 x 22 cm.

Column: one

Binding: Hard leather binding; extended back cover flap of leather which wraps around to the front cover.

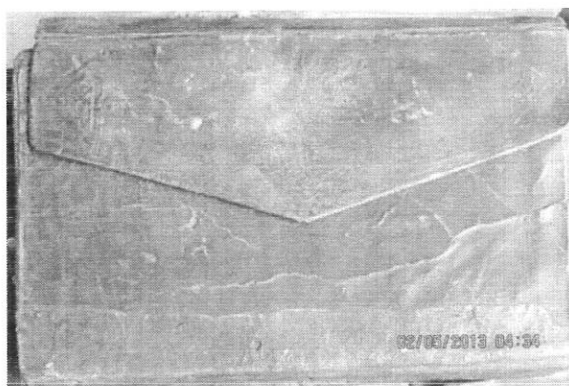


Figure 42: Flap cover of manuscript number 5.

Writing material: Red ink for decoration.

Number of folios: 305 or 610 pages.

Number of lines: constant, 15 lines.

Scribe or copyist: anonymous

Date: the copyist writes that he finished copying at mid-day, Wednesday, the fourteenth of Šafar, year 1310 A.H (1942 A.D.).

Marginal notes: yes, in all four margins.

Page layout: There is no line enclosing the written field. The written field is 10.5 x 17 cm.

Decoration: Red color for gemination (*šadda*) and long vowels (*madda*).

Also, red color on two pages as decoration.

Contents of the manuscript:

The manuscript contains various parts. Among them the first topic is *Tajwīd* (oral recitation of the Qur'ān), the second is praise of Allah, and the third is *du'a'*. This is followed by the Qur'ān itself, with appended comments by the copyist.

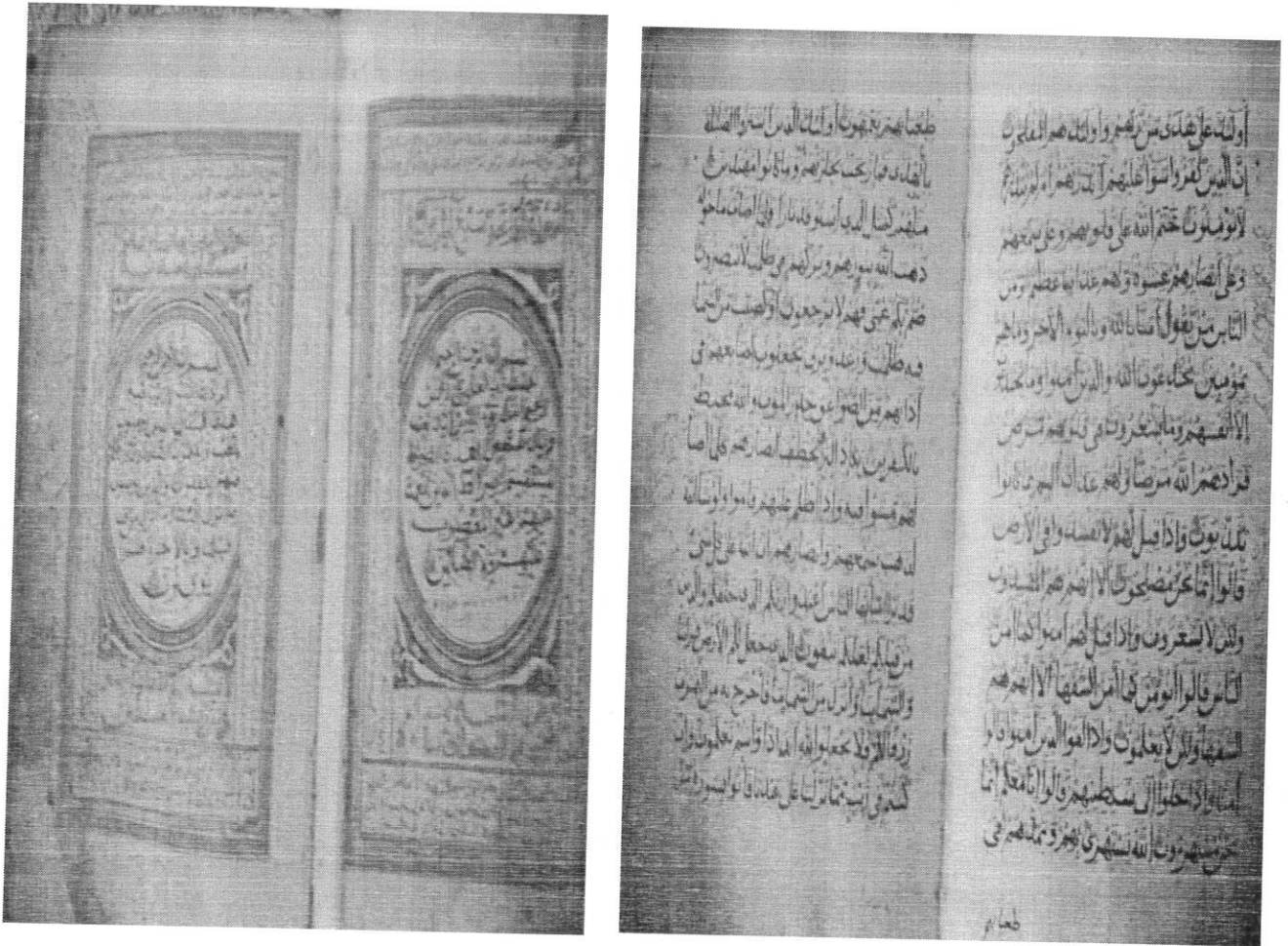


Figure 43: Qur'ān, manuscript number 5.

Then, at the end of the manuscript there is *Du'a' Ḥatm al-Qur'an*.

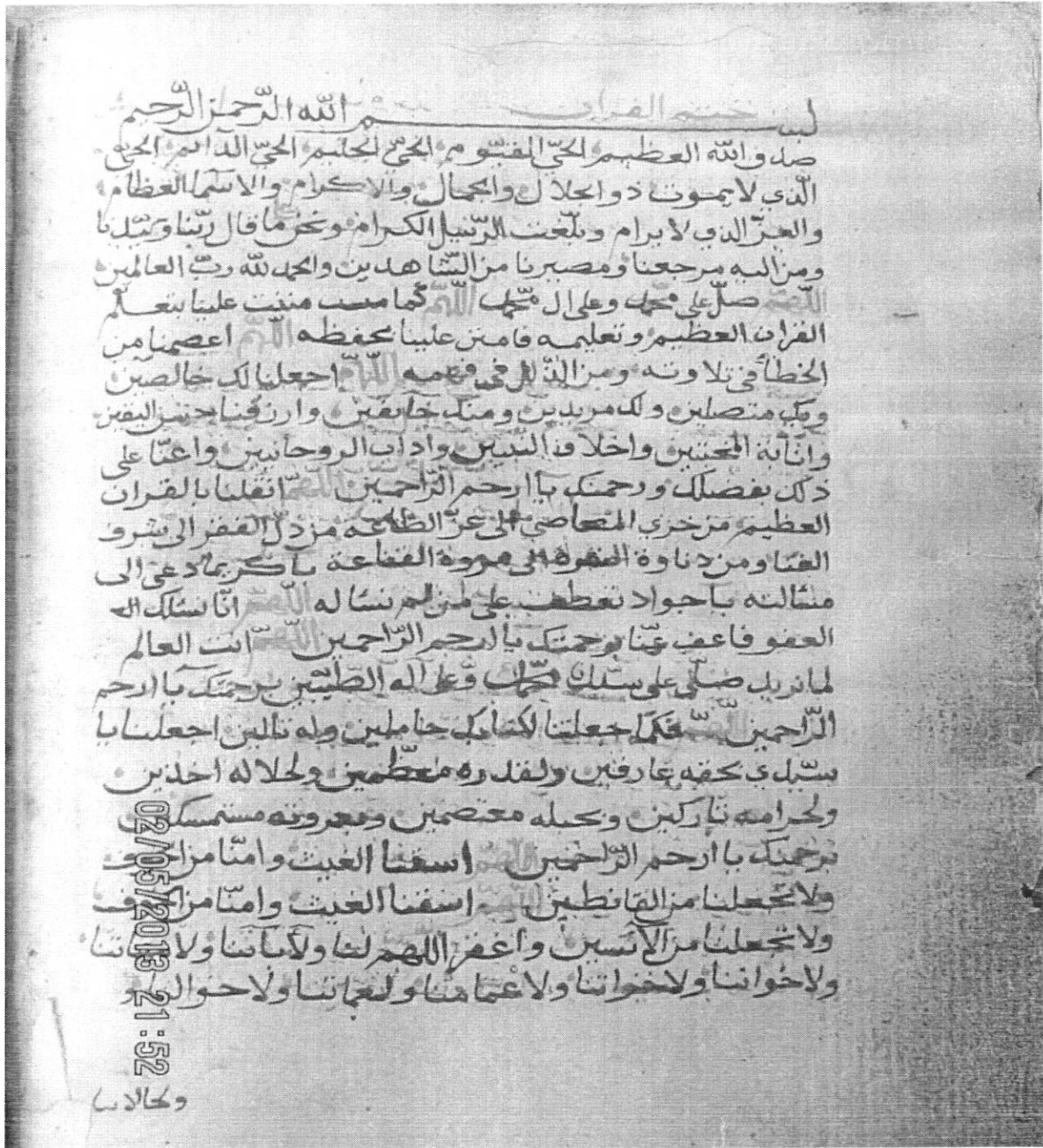


Figure 44: end part of manuscript number 5.

3.3.6 Title of the manuscript: *Dikr Allah* (praise of Allah).

Dimensions: the dimension of binding and dimension of pages of the manuscript are equal, 16 x 22 cm.

Column: part of the manuscript has one column, and part has two columns.

Binding: bound in hard leather; on top of the binding is a second binding in stamped leather after damage to the original binding. Some folios are separated by a large crack in the binding; in other folios, the sewing of the rebinding has covered over a few letters at the spine.

Writing material: Red ink for punctuation marks.

Number of folios: 135 or 270 pages.

Number of lines: First half 10 lines, second half 16 lines (Muḥammas format, 4x4).

Guard folios: it has a beginning page but the ending pages are missing due to damage.

Scribe or copyist: anonymous

Date: no exact date.

Marginal notes: copious interlinear notes on the first half, often written upside down; very few marginal notes on the second half (Muḥammas).

Page layout: There is no line enclosing the written field. The written field is 13 x 18 cm. First half of manuscript: constant length of lines, with even numbered lines written larger and heavier than odd-numbered lines. Second half: Muḥammas format (3 short + 1 long line, with the long line extended upward at the left margin).



Figure 45: first half of manuscript number 6.

Decoration: red color for punctuation marks and for a few of the interlinear notes.



Figure 47: the first folio of manuscript number 6.

On f. 2v the *dīkr* itself begins (See figures 45 and 46 above). There are about 53 folios in 10-line format, then about 77 folios in *Muḥammad* format.

3.3.7 Title of the manuscript: *Kitāb Mujīb al-nidā ilā šarḥ qaṭr al-nadā*.

Owner: The manuscript says “haqq of Muḥammad”, presumably Hāji Muḥammad.

Dimensions: the dimension of binding and dimension of pages of the manuscript are equal, 15.5 x 23 cm.

Column: one

Binding: beautifully bound in stamped hard leather with an extended cover flap.

Writing material: Red ink for title with cloud band.

Number of folios: 111 or 222 pages.

Number of lines: constant, 22 per page.

Author: given on the title page as ‘Abdallah al-Nākihiyy. He is described as “the Sībawayh”⁵⁹ of his time. The title page also has a separate comment saying he is Abū ‘Abdallah Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd al-Ḍahājī, known as ibn ‘Ajurrum. This would seem to say that the author is the famous grammarian Ibn ‘Ajurrum.

Copyist: anonymous

Date: The year is given on the title page, but it is hard to read; apparently 1223 A.H. (1855 AD) (number is written right to left). In the colophon at the end, the scribe says that he finished at mid-day on Tuesday, the thirteenth of Rabi’ al-Awwal.

Marginal notes: many, and in all four margins also interlinear.

Page layout: In most of the manuscript, there is no line enclosing the written field. The written field is usually 10 x 15 cm. Some pages consist of small, neatly separated blocks of text. One page has some text arranged in a large sun-shape, with the letters forming the rays of the sun. This text consists of five repetitions of *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata* in different inflectional variants: *lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatun*, etc.

⁵⁹ The famous Arab grammarian of antiquity.

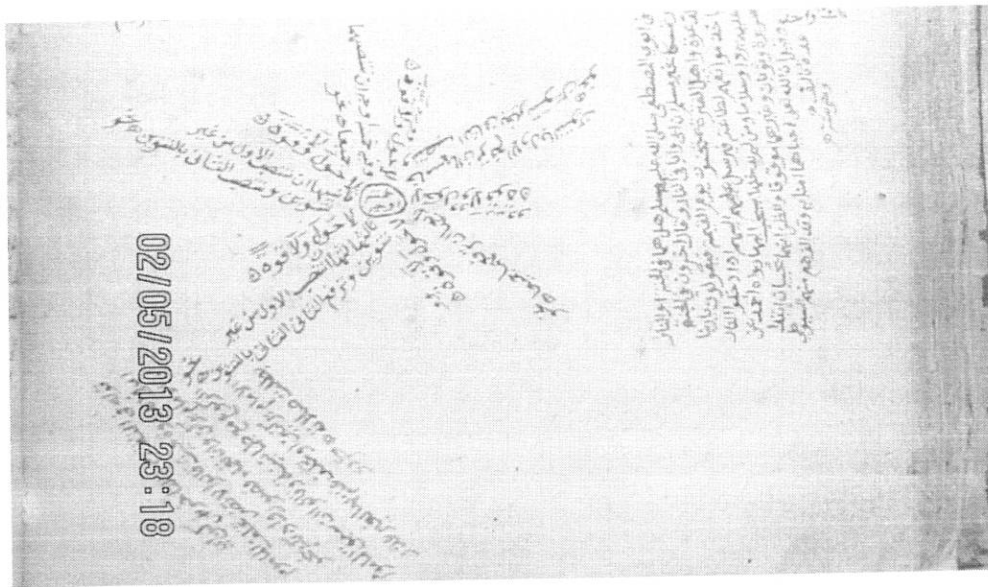


Figure 48: the sun-shape, with letters forming rays.

Contents of the manuscript

Almost all of the manuscript is *Šarḥ qaṭr al-nadā*, a commentary on the grammar text *Qaṭr al-nadā*. Three pages at the beginning seem to contain a hodgepodge of topics.

3.3 The loose sheets

Some 20-odd loose sheets are found scattered throughout the manuscripts. Here are a few of them:



Figure 50: discussion of Arabic poem

This is a second copy of a similar Arabic poem found as the fourth topic of manuscript number one.



Figure 51: Page of Jalālayn commentary.

A third example is a loose sheet (two pages) reproducing the commentary of al-Jalālayn⁶⁰ to several verses of Sūra al-Nisā' (4: 127-130). This is a word-for-reproduction of exactly what is found in Al-Jalālayn, i.e. Qur'ānic *matn* and commentary in alternation. Interestingly, there are one or two small discrepancies; notably the word *وتعضلوهن* of Jalālayn occurs in the manuscript as *وتعظوهن*, as if the copyist had combined *ḍād* + *lām* to yield the single letter *zā*: *ظ* → *ض*.

⁶⁰ Thanks to my advisor Orin Gensler for identifying this text for me.

١٢٠٦/١١

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إلى حضرة والدي العزيز العالی إلى نفس لطیف عبد جلیل جامع بحر وامن راسخ امجاد
السلم علیکم ورحمت اللطیف وبرکاتہ

کیف حالکم و صحتکم و کیف عما غبتکم ارجو ان الله ان تكونوا فی لوجه حید و عیشت
لهیئت مریت یازن الله

وان سالتکم عنی فانما فی اشم الطخت والنافیت الثامت ولله الحمد مع یوم ان
والولاد ولدیة صفا سوری رؤیتکم و نکتکم اخیارکم

وما استلکم عن حال جمیع اسرقت و اهل همالک و اخوتی و اخواتی و منهم ما نکت
و اولادها و روحها مع اولادها و اولادها و اولادها و اولادها و اولادها و اولادها
وعید لفتاح و عید الحکم اشم کل السید و الهناد بان صاد الله و اولادها
استلکم عن اخیار البلاء و اولادها لعد سمعنا عنک اخیار سارة و العیبت
الرفیقة و الفعت التي انزلها الله علیکم و ارجو ان الله ان یبسط علیکم یازنه
و كما اظکرکم ما فی القدیة التي ارسلتوها لى بیة اشم حسن و صبی لیر بری و لیس
و اما یتیم علی عم ردکم ان هیوان مع سماع تصنی کلها من اشم حسن و كما سیت
ان سقیم یانق علی خلعت مع اشم بحر و ان تلك اوزعت التي ارسلتوها
بید حسن و وصلت بید جامع حسوا و کلموا فی هذا الموضوع کثیرا و کتبه لکن و لم
ینفع لى حاضرًا و مستقبلًا و ان هذا الخلاف لم ولن ینتھن بییننا من الدهر
سأوقف بکرم عن هذا الموضوع إلى هنا

استلکم من کمال لعد سمعت من مریت کین حاله لکن و اشم لشفاء العاجل
یازن الله و كما سمعت ان اشمی آتیت و لکن لو عدها اشمی لو ما ترا معها
ما لولوا لعد و اما لکم ان تكونوا معطرا ان اشمی یفر عنی هنا یا والدی الوالدین
هذا ما سمعت من اشمی لشفاء العاجل و لکن و اشمی لشفاء العاجل
استلکم ان اشمی لشفاء العاجل و لکن و اشمی لشفاء العاجل
و كما اشمی لشفاء العاجل و لکن و اشمی لشفاء العاجل
کیف صحتکم ارجو ان الله ان تكونوا فی لوجه حید و عیشت
جمیع اهل و اولادها و اولادها

Figure 52: This is a letter (above) sent to Šayḥ ‘Abdul-Jalīl from his daughter.

A fourth example is a letter sent to Šayḥ ‘Abdul-Jalīl from his daughter.

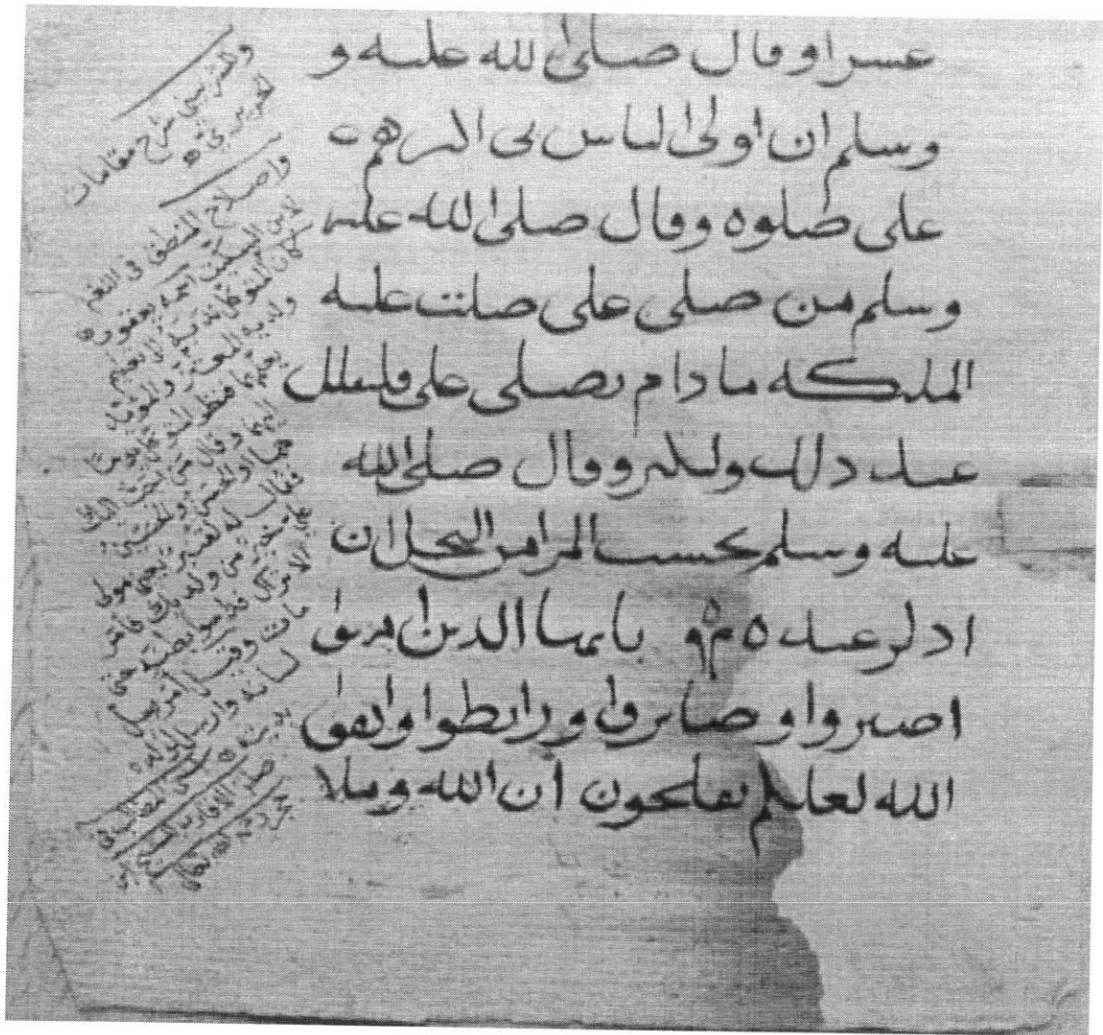


Figure 53: the page without diacritics

This is an interesting text on very old thick paper. Although almost all the diacritics are omitted except for nūn (ن) and one tā (ت), the text is readable and meaningful. Other loose sheets are from printed books. Others are guard folios of the above discussed manuscripts others are loose sheets from the Qur'ān.

Chapter Four

Some Gender-Related Themes of the Collection

Under this chapter I have selected two pages from two manuscripts. The first presents a marriage sermon and the second describes a *waqf* donation from a Gibe princess. Also, based on oral information, I describe a letter sent to Agarfa by a woman *šarīfa* at the time of the Italian occupation. All three of these deal with issues of gender. Additionally, chapter five below will be entirely devoted to astronomy.

4.1 Ḥuṭbat al-Nikāḥ (The Marriage Sermon)

This one-page text is a sermon to be read at a marriage ceremony. I first translate the text, then give general discussion of marriage in Islam, and finally an excerpt from Ethiopian law of marriage concerning Muslims.

هذه خطبة النكاح عتي حفيد ذليل الرأجبي رحمة من ربّه

الحمد لله وحده ونستعينه ونستغفره ونستأذنه ونعوذ بالله من شره
 ومن سيئات أعمالنا ومن يهدي الله فلا مضال له ومن يضلل فلا
 مضال له وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له وأشهد
 أن محمداً عبده ورسوله النكاح سنة الأنبياء وظلال الأتقياء ووجه من
 الفخار واداب من ربّ الأرض والسماء ويجعل العليل قريبا والأجنبي
 نسياً وتقواً الله الذي تستأخرون ولا يرجم من الله كان عليكم قسياتاً
 يقها الذين آمنوا تقوا الله حق تقائه ولا تهوت إلا وأنتم مسلمون يأتيها
 المأمور تنور جوهركم الذي خلقكم من نفس واحدة وخلق منها زوجها
 وبنت منها رجالاً آخرين وأنتم تقوا الله الذي تسألون به والامر لهم إن
 الله كان عليكم من قسياتاً يقها الذين آمنوا تقوا الله وقولوا قولا سديداً
 يصلح لكم أعمالكم ويغفر لكم ذنوبكم ومن يبلغ الله ورسوله فقد فاز
 فوزاً عظيماً إن وجهه على ما أمر الله به من أمساك بملء فيه أو ستر
 بام حسان زوجت فلانة بنت فلان لفلان ابن فلان كونه
 قلت نكاحي وله قبل الله منا وجهها وألفها كالف بين
 دم وحواء وبين إبراهيم وسارة وبين حكي وفاطمة و
 بين سيبنا وحبيبا وشقيتنا ونسبنا محمداً صلى الله
 عليه وسلم وعائشة الفاتحة

01:28
02/05/2013

Figure 54: The marriage sermon (Ḥuṭbat al-Nikāh)

Ḥuṭbat al-Nikāḥ (Marriage Sermon):

[**Translation:**]⁶¹ This marriage sermon is (delivered) by me, the wretched and humble (man) who hopes for mercy from his Lord. Praise be to Allah, we praise Him, we seek help from Him, we ask forgiveness from Him, we ask right guidance from Him, we ask Him to forgive us from evil things of our spirit and from our bad deeds. No one can misguide the one whom Allah has corrected and no one can correct the misguided. I witness that there no God except Allah; Muhammad is His messenger and His Prophet.

Matrimony is the *Sunna*⁶² of the prophets, the action of those who fear Allah, a haven from adultery, right conduct from the Lord of heaven and earth, who makes the far to be near, and the stranger to be kin [wife and husband].

Be careful of your duty toward Allah in whom ye claim (your rights) of one another, and toward the wombs (that bore you). Lo! Allah hath been a Watcher over you. [Sura 4:1]

O ye who believe! Observe your duty to Allah with right observance, and die not save as those who have surrendered (unto Him) [Sura 3: 102]

O mankind! Be careful of your duty to your Lord Who created you from a single soul and from it created its mate and from the two of them hath spread abroad a multitude of men and women. Be careful of your duty toward Allah in whom ye claim (your rights) of one another, and toward the wombs (that bore you). Lo! Allah hath been a Watcher over you. [Sura 4:1]

O ye who believe! Guard your duty to Allah, and speak words straight to the point;

⁶¹ The Qur'an translation basically follows that of Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Koran*.

⁶² *Sunna* is one of the basic sources of Islamic law, based on Muhammad's words and deeds as recorded in the Hadith.

He will adjust your works for you and will forgive you your sins. Whosoever obeyeth Allah and His messenger he verily hath gained a signal victory. [Sura 33: 70]

I marry him (to his wife) according to the command of Allah, that he should “Retain her in kindness or release her in kindness”. [Sura 2: 231].

I hereby marry so-and-so [bride] and so-and-so [groom] with/ without⁶³ dowry.

I accept her marriage to me/ to him. Let Allah accept from us and join and unite them, as he (Allah) joined between Ādam and Ḥawwa, between Ibrāhim and Sārra, between ‘Alī yy and Fāṭīma and between our leader, our beloved, our mediator, and our Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him and ‘Ā’iṣa. (Then they read Sūra) Al-Fāṭiḥa... **[End of translation]**

4.1.1 Requirements and status of a valid marriage in Islam

In Islam for a legal marriage to take place, various requirements must be fulfilled. Some of these requirements that are related to the above sermon are discussed here.

In Islamic marriage the process of *nikāḥ* is done by established procedures. The consent of the woman is given through her guardian while the man directly gives his consent by himself. So the contract of marriage is made between the guardian and the husband. The guardian could be a particular or general guardian. A general guardian, who is a court judge, is appointed in cases where the woman has no guardian who is a blood relative. As a particular guardian, the father is preferable if he is alive; in his absence, a brother who has attained majority, or an uncle on the side of her father.⁶⁴

⁶³ The word *بمهر* (*bi-mahr* ‘with a dowry’) is written in the manuscript with the ligature *lā* ‘not’ attached to the *bā*. The intention is evidently to present two optional readings (‘with/without’).

⁶⁴ Abdulmalik (2009: 25).

Dowry is another requirement for valid marriage. In Islam dowry (or *mahr*) is given by the husband to the wife. According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*

Mahr, in Islam, the gift of money or property given by a bridegroom to his bride without which a marriage is not valid. Normally the amount to be given is specified in the marriage contract. Although *mahr* is generally payable on the demand of the bride, part of it may be deferred, to be paid in the event of widowhood or divorce.

Most Muslim scholars do not specify an exact minimum age for marriage. However, al-Hanafī states that the basic precondition for marriage is *'aql* or intellect and *rušd* or integrity. Some others relate it to *bulūġ* or puberty. Still others relate it to *ahliyya* or the ability to acquire rights and exercise them, to accept duties and perform them.⁶⁵

The marriage must have two witnesses for purposes of publicity. Publicity is important to insure the life-long duration of the marriage. To keep a marriage secret in Islam is unacceptable. Some jurists state that an unpublicized marriage is non-religious and reprehensible.⁶⁶

In Islamic marriage, mutual respect and support are among the merits of marriage. This can be seen in many Qur'an verses, for example:

And consort with your wives in a goodly manner; for if you dislike them, it may well be that you dislike something which God might yet make a source of abundant good [sura 4:19].

Thus Islam excludes hatred from marriage. Rather, the couple should live together on a footing of kindness and equity.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Abdulmalik (2009: 31).

⁶⁶ Abdulmalik (2009: 32).

Finally, it is crucial to have a source of income in marriage. It is the responsibility of the husband to work and to financially support his family even if the wife has her own source of income.⁶⁸

4.2 The Two Women

4.2.1 Sittīna Alawiya (1892-1940)

Sittīna Alawiya was a leading member of the Mirgānī family. Sitti is a title given to a respected lady of high status, derived from the word Sayyidatī (my lady). It was used in medieval times as the title of king's wife in Arab countries. She is called Alawiya, which is the term given to people who are descended from Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, as the Mirgānī family indeed were.⁶⁹

Caniglia (1940: 53-57) states her family tree as follows:

Sittī Alawiya, Sayyid Hāšim al-Mirgānī, Sayyid Muhammad ʿUṭmān al-Mirgānī, Sayyid Muhammad Abubaker, Al-Mahjūb, Sayyid ʿAbdullahi al-Mirgānī, Sayyid Ibrahim, Sayyid Hassan, Sayyid Muhammad Amin, Sayyid ʿAlī Mirgānī, Sayyid Hassan, Sayyid Amir Kurdī, Sayyid Haidar, Sayyid Hassan, Sayyid ʿAbdulla, Sayyid ʿAlī, Sayyid Hassan, Sayyid Ahmad, Sayyid ʿAlī, Sayyid Ibrahim, Sayyid Jahia, Sayyid Issa, Sayyid Abubaker, Sayyid ʿAlī, Sayyid Muhammad, Sayyid Ismail, Amir Kurdi al-Buḥari, Sayyid Umar, Sayyid ʿAlī, Sayyid Uṭmān, Sayyid ʿAlī al-Mutaqi, Sayyid al-Hassan, Sayyid ʿAlī al-Hādi, Sayyid Muhammad Giauadi, Sayyid ʿAlī al-Rawda, Sayyid Mūsā al-Qāsim, Imam Jaʿfar Sādiq, Muhammad al-Baqer, ʿAlī Zayn al-Abizar, Ḥusayn, ʿAlī, Abu Ṭālib.

⁶⁷ Abdulmalik (2009: 36).

⁶⁸ Abdulmalik 2009: 38.

⁶⁹ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl; see also Hofheinz (1992).

Alawiya bint Šayḥ Hāšim Al-Mirgānī was born in 1310 AH (1892 AD) as the second daughter of Hāšim Al-Mirgānī, who brought the Ḥatmiya Mirgāniya Sufi brotherhood to Massawa. She was the leader of the Ḥatmiya ʿarīqa in Eritrea after the death of her father in 1901.⁷⁰



Figure 55: Photo of Sittī Alawiya⁷¹

After the death of Alawiya's father, the Italians feared the rise of another strong religious figure.

But, as Bruzzi says:

⁷⁰ *EAE* 2003: 1: 192-193.

⁷¹ Source: Caniglia (1940).

Against the Italian authorities' expectations, Sayyid Hāšim Al-Mirgānī's daughter, Sitti 'Alawiyya, also emerged as another important religious mentor in the country. Her authority was also related to successful achievements in conflict mediation among locals, as well as between Italian authorities and local people. According to colonial data, Sitti 'Alawiyya's influence was particularly relevant among colonial soldiers.⁷²

As Caniglia states, Alawiya had a respected status and position at the time of the Italian colony in Eritrea, and she had a powerful influence on the people of Eritrea.

Alawiya is relevant to the story of the Harro Šayḥs because of her correspondence with Bale. According to my informant Šayḥ Kamāl, around the time of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1935, she sent a diplomatic letter with the Italians to Bale, in which, drawing upon her Muslim background as *šarīfa*, she urged the Muslims of Bale to accept Italian rule.⁷³ Unfortunately the letter itself is now lost.

Alawiya influenced the people of Bale through her diplomatic letter and less formal communication(s) with the Šayḥs. Among the *'ulamā'* she sent a fraternal letter to Šayḥ 'Abdulwahāb Šayḥ Yūnus (1839-1942) saying that both of their dynasties were descended from a holy man who came from Ḥijāz. Her main role was peacekeeping at the time of the change of regime (from Haile Sellasie to Italy). Additionally, being a Muslim lady helped her to create pressure on the society.⁷⁴ Thus, the representatives of the Mirgānī family became government advisors and mediators during the Italian occupation.⁷⁵

⁷² Bruzzi (2012:2).

⁷³ Informant: Šayḥ Kamal.

⁷⁴ Informant: Šayḥ Kamāl

⁷⁵ Bruzzi (2012:3).

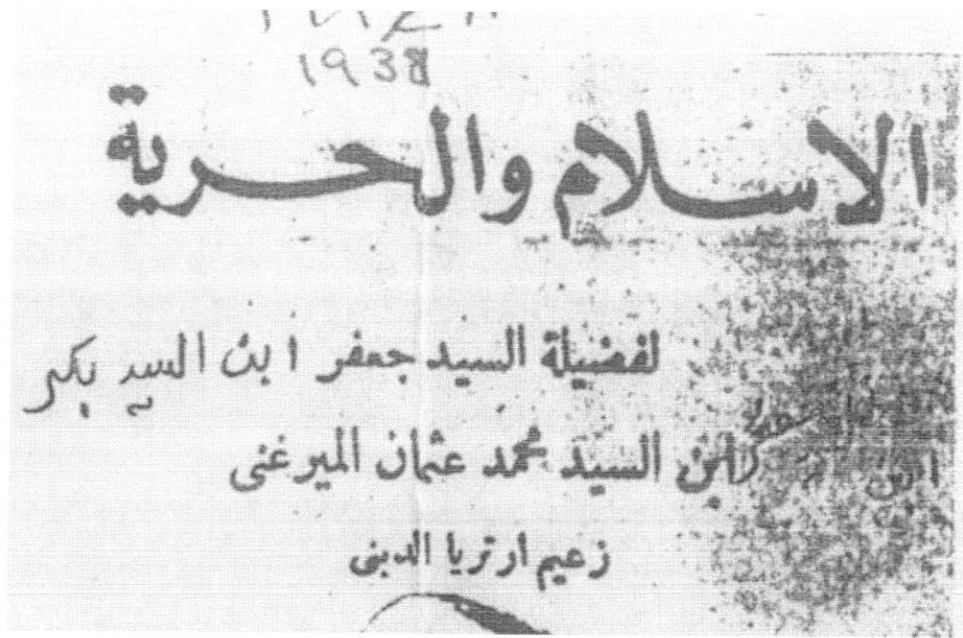


Figure 56: an article written by Sayyid Ja‘far ibn...ibn Sayyid Muhammad ibn ‘Uṭmān al-Mirgānī.

Sitti Alawiya’s pro-Italian stance was not shared by everyone in her family. The accompanying photo shows an article entitled “Islam and Freedom” written by Sittī Alawiya’s uncle from Eritrea, Sayyid Ja‘far ibn Sayyid Baker ibn Sayyid Muhammad ibn ‘Uṭmān al-Mirgānī.⁷⁶ The article presents the disadvantages of World War II for Islam and the colonialist consequences on freedom and democratic rights in Eritrea. Sayyid Ja‘far was in favor of Pan-Africanism, whereas Sittī Alawiya collaborated with the colonialists.⁷⁷

According to Caniglia (1940:213) and Hofheinz 1992:26) she had no children and died in 1359 AH (1940 AD). “Al-Šarīfa al-Mirgānī has died. Sadness prevails among all the Muslims of the Empire. [...] She was always close to the Italian Government.” This quotation is taken from *Barīd al-Imbirāṭūriyya*, 27 October 1940 – XVIII, an Arabic version of the Fascist newspaper

⁷⁶ This article, dated 1938, is now in the possession of Sayyid Ja‘far’s grandson in Cairo.

⁷⁷ Bruzzi (2012:4).

which was published in Addis Ababa during the Italian occupation.⁷⁸ She was buried together with her father in Ḥaṭmilo shrine near Massawa. Their shrine continues to attract pilgrims every year, especially on the 23rd of the month Šawwāl.

4.2.2 ‘Ā’iša Bint ‘Alī Sulṭān Gomma

‘Ā’iša Bint ‘Alī Sulṭān Gomma was the daughter of Sulṭān ‘Alī of Gomma, one of the five Gibe states in southern Ethiopia (the others are Limmu-Enarya, Gumma, Jimma and Gera). Gomma was the first Gibe state in which Islam was broadly accepted by the entire population, while in the other Gibe states it was only adopted by the leaders. ‘Alī was the seventh king of Gomma, known among the Oromo people as Abbā Bōqā Abbā Jifār (ruled 1877-1883).

There was an established convention in Oromo Muslim society for assigning an Oromo name corresponding to the person’s Arabic name. For example, if the Arabic name of a king was ‘*Abdullahi*’ they called him Abbā Jōbir; ‘*Ādam*’, Abbā Durā (or Nama Durā); ‘*Alī*’, Abbā Bōqā; ‘*Muḥammad*’, Abbā Garō, etc. The ruling family of Gomma belonged to the Awālanī clan, part of the Macca Oromo branch.

In the history of the Gibe states the role played by women is important. A case in point is Gumaytī, the mother of Abbā Jifār II. She was the daughter of the king of Gumma Abbā Dūlā Abbā Jinka and wife of Abbā Gomol king of Jimma (father of Abbā Jifār). She was one of the religiously well-educated women of the Gibe states, and was also known for her intelligence in politics. Gumaytī was the mother of four children and ruled as regent for four years after the death of her husband, then handed over her throne to her son Abbā Jifār.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Bruzzi (2012:10).

⁷⁹ Informant: Abdulkarim Abbā Garō.

What made this area peculiar among other Islamic regions of the country was the literacy of women. This area was the only place that gave attention to the literacy of women. In Gomma women studied Islamic religion whether they were from the upper classes or not.⁸⁰ At the time when Islam started in Gomma 300 women attended lessons in teaching centers. Even the wife and children of the king attended religious education as mandatory. The kings were not religiously well educated but they consulted with the Šayḥs on religious, social and political issues. Among the well-known Šayḥs who contributed to the expansion of Islam in Gomma were Šayḥ NaṣrAllāh ʿAyyūbī, Šēkkota Šōnkē, Šēkkota Jījje, and Šayḥ Šabīb Baydī.⁸¹

⁸⁰This and the following come from my informant Abdulkarim. For general information on Gomma see Mohammed Hassen (1994: 109-110 and passim).

⁸¹Informant: Abdulkarim Abbā Garō.

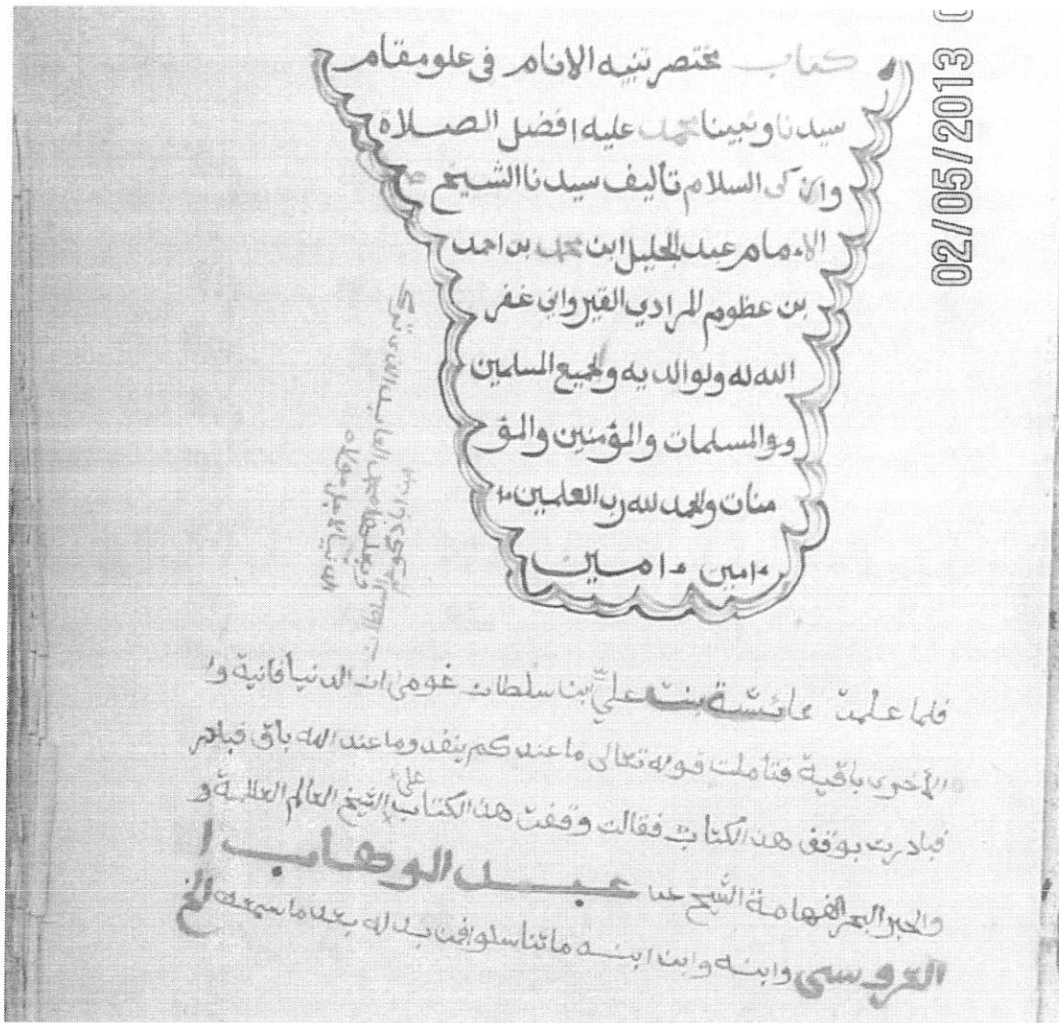


Figure 57: title page of manuscript sent from ‘Ā’iša to Šayḥ ‘Abdulwahāb.

One of the manuscripts in the Harro Šayḥs’ collection, *Tanbīh al-anām* (Commentary on Praise of Prophet), has an interesting history of acquisition. It was sent to Šayḥ ‘Abdulwahāb of Harro from ‘Ā’iša Bint ‘Alī Sulṭān Gomma, the daughter of king ‘Alī of Gomma.⁸² She sent the manuscript to Agarfa late in her life, in 1327 A.H. (1959 AD), saying “I give this book as a *waqf* donation in the name of the well-known Šayḥ ‘Abdulwahāb of Arsi and his descendants.” On the title page the scribe explains her reason for the donation: he says that, realizing that life is ephemeral but the Hereafter is forever and that *mā ‘indakum yanfadu wa-mā ‘inda Allāhi bāqin*

⁸² Mss 3: Tanbīh: 3.

‘what you have passes away, but what Allah has endures’ (Qur’an 16: 96), the elderly ‘Ā’iṣā decided to make a pious donation of the manuscript as a *waqf*.⁸³

‘Ā’iṣā was one of the well-educated ladies of the royal family of Gomma. Before marriage her name was Gēnnē Qālitti ‘Ā’iṣā and after marriage Gēnnē ‘Ā’iṣā. She was married to a known Šayḥ outside of her clan.⁸⁴

⁸³ Translation of some part of the manuscript.

⁸⁴ Informant: Abdulkarim.

Chapter Five

Astronomy Sub-Manuscript: Text, Translation and Annotations

5.1 Introduction

Astronomy is the study of the universe, celestial bodies, observations and theories related to the solar system, galaxies and space. It is also an ancient field of study in which people looked at the sky and described the universe. It was used in ancient Egypt to help the agrarian people to know the status of the seasonal flood of the Nile River.⁸⁵

Modern astronomers use different instruments like telescopes, cameras, spectrographs, and computers. But this is a recent phenomenon. Early astronomers were amateurs who observed the sky partly as a hobby. Though they were not scientifically trained, they contributed valuable observations which became the basis of today's astronomy.⁸⁶

The awareness of calendar concepts is not new in Ethiopia. In prehistory, the times of migration, planting, harvesting, and hunting needed to be accurately known and thus a reliable calendar was needed. In Ethiopia, accurate calendric knowledge is associated not only with the Christian and Muslim written traditions but also independently the oral tradition of the Oromo. The Borana used a lunar calendar having 12 months and 354 days; they made no use of weeks but instead gave each day in a month a separate name. In Borana traditional culture there is an expert on time reckoning called Ayyantu who makes use of observation of the position of stars and the moon. He uses seven groups of stars or constellations. Lami (Triangulum), Busan (Pleides),

⁸⁵ Encyclopedia Encarta: Astronomy.

⁸⁶ Amateur astronomy: *ibid.*

Bakkalcha (Aldebaran), Algajima (Bellatrix), Arb Gaddu (central cluster of Orion), Urji Walla (Saiph), and Basa (Sirius).⁸⁷

The Arabs wrote about astronomy from the early centuries of the Muslim history (Goldziher 1966: 102-4). The picture below shows an Arabic manuscript from Mali which contains the names of the constellations.

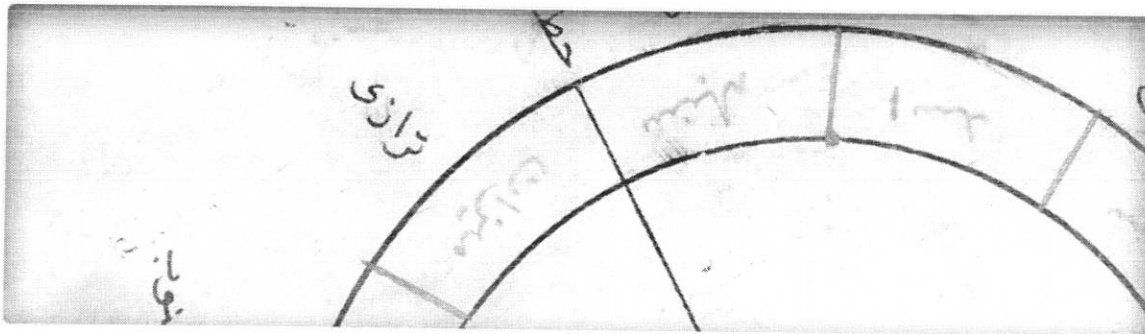


Figure 58: Astronomy manuscript from Mali⁸⁸

The Arabic text analyzed below shows the awareness of Ethiopian Muslim scholars about astronomy. The concepts of calendar and constellations are also known in the Geez tradition too. See the figure below that shows the constellations with their description with corresponding months and zodiac signs.

⁸⁷ Asmarom Legesse: 1973: 180.

⁸⁸ Source: Addis Ababa University, science faculty, astronomy department.

የጊዜ ስዋክብት የባሕርያቸው ምሳሌ

ምንጭ:- ዓለድ ኅገሥቱ ወፋግሬ በዋናነት በጥንታዊያን የጌደራጌ ለገላ 375 ጠባብ የተዘጋጀ በሙሉዊ ቅርስ ለ.፪. ለግዳር ዓ. ም.



Figure 59: Astronomy in Ethiopia (compiled in September, 2001 AD, by Ayele from Geez manuscript Awda Nigist Wafikare Kawākibt)⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Source: Addis Ababa University, science faculty, astronomy department.

Astrology is the study of the positions and movements of astronomical bodies, i.e. the sun, moon, planets, and stars, in the belief that they correspond to events on Earth. The Zodiac signs are 12 astrologically significant parts of the sky that are seen as a narrow band in the sky in which the movements of the major planets, sun, and moon take place. They are named for major constellations. The 12 signs correspond to the 12 months of the year, and indicate the sun's changing position in the celestial sphere of stars as the year progresses. There are also 28 groups of stars (constellations) through which the moon passes successively each month. These are called the mansions or stations of the moon, *manāzil al-qamar*. They are described in the manuscript and in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* under the entry "al-Manāzil".

The names of the twelve zodiacal signs are Aries, the Ram; Taurus, the Bull; Gemini, the Twins; Cancer, the Crab; Leo, the Lion; Virgo, the Virgin; Libra, the Balance; Scorpio, the Scorpion; Sagittarius, the Archer; Capricorn, the Goat; Aquarius, the Water Bearer; and Pisces, the Fishes.⁹⁰ The 28 mansions of the moon (as described in the manuscript and in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*) are given in the following table:

⁹⁰ Encarta Encyclopedia: signs of the zodiac.

Mansions	The 28 mansions of the moon	
	Arabic Name	English Name
1.	Al-Šaraṭān (الشَّرَطَان)	The two signs
2.	Al-Buṭayn (البطين)	Little belly
3.	Al-Turayyā (الثريا)	Pleiades
4.	Al-Dabarān (الدبران)	Aldebaran
5.	Al-Haq'a (الهقعة)	3 stars in Orion
6.	Al-Han'a (الهنة)	2 stars in Gemini
7.	Al-Dirā' (الذراع)	The lion's paw
8.	Al-Naṭra (النثرة)	The nostril of the lion
9.	Al-Ṭarf (الطرف)	The eye of the lion
10.	Al-Jabha (الجبهة)	Forehead of the lion
11.	Al-Zubra (الزبرة)	Lion's mane
12.	Al-Šarfa (الصرفة)	Lion's heart or weathercock
13.	Al-'Awwā (العوا)	The barker
14.	Al-Simāk (السمك)	The prominent
15.	Al-Ġafar (الغفر)	The cover
16.	Al-Zubānān (الزبانان)	The Horns or pincers of Scorpio
17.	Al-Iklīl (الاکلیل)	The crown or head of Scorpio, 3 stars in Scorpio
18.	Al-Qalb (القلب)	The heart of Scorpio
19.	Al-Šawla (الشولة)	Tail or sting of Scorpio

20.	Al-Na'ā'im (النعام)	The ostriches, Stars in Pegasus; 8 stars in Sagittarius
21.	Al-Balda (البلدة)	“The town”; empty space in Sagittarius
22.	Sa'd Al-Dābiḥ (سعد الذابح)	The luck of the slayer
23.	Sa'd Bula' (سعد بلع)	The luck of the devourer
24.	Sa'd Al-Su'ūd (سعد السعود)	The greatest luck
25.	Sa'd Al-Aḥbiya (سعد الاخبية)	The luck of the tents
26.	Al-Muqaddam (فرغ المقدم)	The fore socket
27.	Al-Mu'ahḥar (فرغ المؤخر)	The hind socket
28.	Baṭn al-Ḥūt or Al-Riṣā (بطن الحوت)	Fish belly

Table 1: Mansions of the moon

There are two terms that occur repeatedly in the manuscript whose meaning is not immediately evident. These are *ṭāli' al-fajr*, lit. “rising of the dawn”, and *gārib al-fajr*, lit. “setting of the dawn.” According to all dictionaries I consulted, the term *fajr* refers strictly to sunrise; none of the definitions mentions “sunset”. So what is the “setting of the dawn”? The key here is that “dawn” is not an instantaneous process but has duration. The “rising of the dawn” is the first pre-dawn reddening of the sky; the “setting of the dawn” is the end of the dawn when the sun comes up.

There are three similar but distinct senses of the concept of east and west found in the manuscript. The first is east and west simply as directions. Second is the “two easts”, that is, the two extreme positions from which the sun rises at mid-summer and mid-winter. And the two wests are the two extreme positions of sunset. Thirdly, the easts are the different positions from

which the sun rises successively during the year, a different “east” each day. Similarly, the wests are the different positions at which the sun sets each day of the year.

Here is the first of the two astronomy texts in the collection (i.e. the first sub-manuscript in the “Untitled” manuscript), with translation and annotations. I give the text in full. The numbers in square brackets, e.g. [2], refer to page numbers of the sub-manuscript.

5.2 Translation and annotation of the text

[1] شَمْسٌ تَقَمَّرُ وَالْمَرِيخُ يَتَّبِعُهُ عَطَارِدٌ يَشْتَرِي مِنْ زُهْرَةَ رُحَلًا

لكل يوم من الأسبوع واجدها فالشمس للإحد السموات قد جُعلا (؟) والتلو للتلو

The Sun becomes the Moon and Mars follows it

Mercury becomes Jupiter, and from Venus (comes) Saturn

Each day of the week has one of them

The sun is for one of the heavens (?) each one in succession⁹¹

[2]

اعلم أن السنة مشتملة على اثني عشر شهراً. والشهور مشتملة على أربعة فصول وهي الربيع والصيف والخريف والشتاء وفي كل فصل منها له ثلاثة بروج تنزل الشمس فيها وذلك بقول الشيخ الفقيه سالم بن فصل نفع الله به وسبحان من فصل أوقات الزمان جميعها بأربعة معتادة العود والكرّ ربيع وصيف مع خريف وبعده شتاء إلى يوم القيامة [القيامة] والحشر

⁹¹ This is a mnemonic device for easily memorizing the names of the planets. Notice that the names of the moon and of Jupiter are made into verbs: *qamar*→*taqammarā*; *al-Muštārī*→*yaštārī*.

Know that a year comprises twelve months. And the months comprise four seasons. These are spring [Al-Rabīʿ], summer [Al-Ṣayf], autumn [Al-Ḥarīf], and winter [Al-Ṣitāʿ]. In each season, there are three signs of the zodiac where the sun dwells. This is according to the learned Ṣayḥ Sālīm ibn Faṣl, may Allah make us benefit from him. Praise to Him who divided the seasons into four, successively and repeatedly: spring, summer, autumn and winter until the day of resurrection.

فصل

الصيف فله من البروج الحمل والثور والجوزاء. وهو نهار ثلاثة عشر من شهر اذار من شهور الروم. ويوم اربعة ايام في الفرع المقدم. وتسميه الحضرموت الفرغ بالمعجمة على حساب طالع الفجر. واربع ايضا في الصرفة على حساب غارب الفجر. وهو حساب الثبأمي المشهور في الشجر وحضرموت. وجملة ايامه ثلاثة وتسعون يوماً هـ

Section

The summer season has the signs of the Zodiac الحمل [Al-Ḥaml]-Aries (i.e. Ram), الثور [Tawr] - Taurus (i.e. Bull), and الجوزاء [Al-Jawzā]-Gemini (i.e. Twins).⁹² It is on the thirteenth of Aḏār⁹³ (March) according to the Roman calendar.⁹⁴ And it is 4 days in al-Farṣ al-Muqaddam, which the Ḥaḏramawtis⁹⁵ call al-Farḡ (al-Muqaddam), reckoned according to the rising of the dawn. Likewise it is also 4 days in al-Ṣarfa, reckoned according to the setting of the dawn, which is the

⁹² In this zodiacal description of the four seasons there is a 3-month discrepancy vis-à-vis our normal conception of the seasons. Thus he presents summer as going from March 21-June 21; autumn, from June 22-September 22; winter, from September 23-December 21; and spring, from December 22-March 20.

⁹³ Actually Aḏār is a month in the Syriac/ Hebrew calendar, not Roman calendar. The same is true for Aylūl.

⁹⁴ “The original Roman calendar, introduced about the 7th century BC, had 10 months with 304 days in a year that began with March. Two more months, January and February, were added later in the 7th century BC, but because the months were only 29 or 30 days long, an extra month had to be intercalated approximately every second year. The days of the month were designated by the awkward method of counting backward from three dates: the calends, or first of the month; the ides, or middle of the month, falling on the 13th of some months and the 15th of others; and the nones, or 9th day before the ides. The Roman calendar became hopelessly confused when officials to whom the addition of days and months was entrusted abused their authority to prolong their terms of office or to hasten or delay elections.” (Encarta Encyclopedia: Calendar).

⁹⁵ Ḥaḏramawt is a region in south Arabia (Yemen).

reckoning of al-Šabāmī who is famous in Šijr and Ḥaḍramawt. Its total number of days is ninety-three.

وأما الخريف في الجهة المذكورة فله من البروج السرطان والاسد والسنبلة وهو نهار اربعة عشر في حزيران وهو نهار ست في الهقعة على حساب طالع الفجر وعلى حساب الشبامي نهار ست في الشولة وجملة ايامه ٩٣ يوماً ايضاً وأما الشتاء فله من البروج الميزان والعقرب والقوس وهو أول فصل الشتاء في الشجر ونواحيها وهو نهار ١٥⁹⁶ في أيلول من شهور الروم ونهاره ٧ في الصرفة في حساب طالع الفجر و٧ في الفرع المقدم الذي تسميه الحضرموت الفرغ بالغين المعجمة على حساب الشبامي وجملة ايامه ٨٩ يوماً فقط

The autumn in turn has the zodiac signs [Saraṭān]-Cancer (i.e. Crab), [Al-Asad]-Leo (i.e. Lion) and [Sunbula]-Virgo (i.e. Virgin) which is on the fourteenth day of Ḥazīrān (June). And it is six days in al-Haq'a reckoned according to the rising of the dawn; and according to the reckoning of al-Šabāmī, six days in al-Šawla. Its total number of days is 93. And as for the winter, it has the following zodiac signs: [Al-Mīzān] – Libra (i.e. Balance /Scale), [Al-'aqrab] - Scorpio (i.e. Scorpion), and [Al-Qaws] – Sagittarius (i.e. Archer). And it is (considered) the First Winter season according to Šijr scholars and others. It (begins) on the 15th of Aylūl (September) according to the Roman calendar. And its days are 7 in Šarfa, reckoned according to the rising of the dawn, or 7 in al-Far' al-Muqaddam, which the Ḥaḍramawtis call al-Farḡ (al-Muqaddam), according to the reckoning of al-Šabāmī. It has only 89 days.

وأما فصل الربيع وهو أول فصل الربيع عند أهل الشجر ونواحيها فله من البروج الجدي والدلو والحوت وهو يوم نهار ٥ من الشولة على حساب طالع الفجر وعلى حساب الشبامي وهو غارب الفجر يوم سبع في الهقعة وجملة ايامه تسعون يوماً هذا مخلص ما قاله الشيخ ولي الله عبد الله بن اسعد اليافعي والإمام كمال الدين الفرسى رحمهما الله إلا انهما اختلفا في عدد ايام الفصول اختلفا يسيراً فجملة ايام السنة الشمسية وهي سنة النجوم ٣٦٥ يوماً وربع يوم فتكمل السنة الرابعة ٣٦٦ يوماً

⁹⁶ "Five" is written in this manuscript with a shape that looks like "8".

As for the spring season, which is (considered) the First Spring season by the people of Šijr and others, it comprises the zodiac signs الجدي [Al-Jady]-Capricorn (i.e. Goat), الدلو [Al-Dalw]-Aquarius (i.e. Bucket/ Water carrier), and الحوت [Al-Ḥūt]-Pisces (i.e. Fish). And it is 5 days in al-Šawla, reckoned according to the rising of the dawn; and according to the reckoning of al-Šabāmī, i.e. the setting of the dawn, it is 7 days in al-Haq'a. And its total number of days is ninety. This is based on Šayḥ Waliy-Allah 'Abdallah ibn 'As'ad al-Yāfī'ī and al-Imām Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fursī, may Allah bless them, except that they disagree slightly on the number of days in the seasons. The number of days according to the solar or astral calendar is 365 days and a quarter which becomes one complete day every fourth year with 366 days.

وفي ذلك يقول الشيخ عبد الله بن اسعد اليافعي نفع الله به أمين ● لكنّه على حساب طالع الفجر ●⁹⁷

● فصل ربيع الحر والفجر زاهر ● بسادس ايام المقدّم يدخل

● بخامس عشر من اذار حلولّه ● وفي الحمل الشمس المنيرة تنزل

● وخامس عشر من حزيران جاوزت ● الى سرتان بالحرارة يدخل

● وحينئذ في الفجر سبع لهقعة ● وذال لفصل الصيف لا شك اول

● وفصل خريف بين حرّ وبارد ● بمنزلة الشمس البهية تعدل

● بايلول عشر ثم ست وصرفه ● ثمانية فجرها يتهلل

● وهي ككانونين كانون مصطلا ● فصل الشتاء يا صاح بالبرد مقبل

● واوله في الفجر سبع لشولة ● وشمس بجدي لذيشوا ويوكل

⁹⁷ The rest of this chapter is divided into half lines by the symbol *, as if it were a kind of poetry; for readability I replace this with a bullet ● in the text below. There are 20 half lines comprising 10 full lines; every full line ends in the rhythm -lu.

بأول كانونين خامس عشرة • يكون فان كنت النصيحة تقبل •

كُل الكُبش والبس بالكسَا في اريكة • لكحلانكت والكبش عندك يكمل •

انتهى ه ه

On this Šayḥ Waliy-Allah ‘Abdallah ibn ‘As‘ad al-Yāfi‘ī, may Allah make him useful, said: But it is reckoned according to the rising of the dawn •

The spring season (is known by its) heat and the dawn is luminous. • On the sixth days [sic] of Muqaddam it begins; •

On the fifteenth of Āḍār (March)⁹⁸ is its arrival • and the radiant sun enters Ram (Aries)•

And on the fifteenth of Ḥazīrān (June) it passes • it enters Crab (Cancer) with its heat •

Then in the dawn seven (days) in al-Haq‘a • and it is the first sign of summer without any doubt. •

The autumn season is between hot and cold • it turns aside to the bright mansion of the sun •

On Aylūl (September) tenth plus six; and Šarfa, • it has eight shining dawns •

And they are like two Kānūns, a warm stove (Kānūns), a warm stove (*kānūn*).⁹⁹ • Also, O my friend, the winter season approaches with its cold •

and it begins in the seventh dawn of Šawla¹⁰⁰ • [??]

⁹⁸This statement of the first day of the seasons, which now does correspond to our normal calendrical conception, stands in contradiction to the 3-month discrepancy noted above. Evidently the author is content simply to present the views of different authorities, ignoring contradictions.

⁹⁹ The “two Kānūns” are standardly December and January. Why does the author mention them in the autumn, and why the description “warm stove”?

¹⁰⁰ The last five half-lines are difficult and I have not translated them.

يذكر فيه عدد المشارق والمغارب وايام السنة الشمسية ودرج الفلك وسير الشمس فيها على مذهب اهل الشرع. ذكر في التفسير ان للشمس ثلثمائة وخمسة وستين مشرقاً ومن المغرب كذلك هذا قول علي رضي الله عنه وهو الصحيح وعدد ايام السنة كذلك الا ان تكون كبيسة فتزداد يوماً فتطلع كل يوم من مشرق وتغرب في مغرب حتى تستوفي جميع

Section

This section contains the number of sunrises and sunsets, the solar calendar, the degrees of the celestial sphere, and the course of the sun from the Šari'a point of view.¹⁰¹ Qur'anic commentary (tafsīr) says that the sun has three hundred and sixty-five sunrises and sunsets. This is what "Alī yy, may Allah be pleased with him, said and it is the truth. And the number of days of the year is the same [i.e. 365] except if it is a leap year, in which case it adds a day. And every day it rises from a (different) position in the east and sets in a (different) position in the west until it is completed.

[3]

فاذا كانت كبيسة طلعت يومين في مشرق واحد وغربت في مغرب واحد واستدلَّت العربُ على ذلك بالظلِّ عند الزوال اذا كان دليلاً على الشمس كما ان الشمس دليلٌ على الظل قال تعالى "ثم جعلنا الشمس عليه دليلاً" وهذا المشرق آخر المشارق في الصبأ وتشرق فيه يوم تحلُّ الذراع لانها لا تكبس الا فيه. وعددُ درج الفلك ثلثمائة واربعه وستون درجة. كل منزل ثلاث عشرة درجة. والدرجة ثلثون دقيقة. والدقيقة ستون ثانية. والثانية ستون ثالثة. وكذا الى العشرة هذا مذهب الرؤية وقال اهل النجوم هي ثلثمائة وستون درجة لا غير لان الشمس عندهم تسير كل يوم درجة الا شيئاً من دقيقه فتزيد لهم في السنة خمسة ايام يسمونها المسترقة وتسير الشمس عند اهل الرؤية كل يوم درجة كاملة فتقطع ثلثمائة واربعه وستين درجة بثلثمائة واربعه وستين يوماً. وبقي يوم من السنة الشمسية فزادوه في الدرجة الكبرى من الذراع فهو اول يوم من السنة. هذا مذهب العرب في اكمال الشمس

¹⁰¹ Šari'a: Islamic religious law, based on the Qur'an.

للفلك وهو مذهب عيان لظل الزوال. ومذهب اهل النجوم مذهب خَيْرٍ عن ارسطاطاليس وغيره وقد قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ليس الخبر كالمعاينة.

If it is a leap year it rises for two days (in succession) from the same position in the east and sets at the same position in the west. The Arabs seek to get information about that through the shadow at midday, for it is an indicator of the sun, just as the sun is an indicator of the shadow. As Almighty Allah said “We make the sun an indicator of it (shadow)”¹⁰². And this (position of) sunrise is the last one in the east wind; and the sun rises there on the day when it is in al-Dirā‘, for the intercalated day (of leap year) only happens then. The number of degrees in the celestial sphere is three hundred and sixty-four degrees. Every lunar mansion has thirteen degrees. A degree has thirty minutes,¹⁰³ a minute has sixty seconds, and a second has sixty *tālīta*. This continues up to ten [??]. This approach is based on observation. On the other hand the star-gazers say it is only three hundred and sixty degrees because according to them the sun moves one degree minus some minutes every day; this adds five days per year for them and they call them the “stolen” days. According to (astronomical) observation the sun moves every day one full degree and it crosses three hundred sixty-four degrees in three hundred sixty-four days. One day remains of the solar year and they add it to the “Great Degree” in al-Dirā‘, and it is the first day of the year. This is the approach of the Arabs regarding the completion of the sun’s round through the celestial sphere, and it is based on observation of the shadow at midday. But the star-gazers depend on the reports of Aristotle and others. Thus the Prophet said that a report is not the same as observation.

¹⁰² Qur’an Sura 25: 45.

¹⁰³ This seems to be a mistake. A degree has 60 minutes, not 30.

فأما المشارق والمغرب فمصطفة في عرض الفلك فأولها في نصف ريح الجنوب وأخرها في نصف ريح الصبا. وأول المغرب في نصف ريح الدبور وأخرها في نصف ريح الشمال. والدرج مصطفة في طول الفلك وأوسط المشارق في مهب النكباء بين الجنوب والصبا. وأوسط المغرب في مهب النكباء بين الدبور والشمال. وإذا كان نصف الشتاء وهو يوم خمسة عشر من كانون الأول حلت الشمس في البلدة. وهي في أسفل الفلك فيطلع ذلك اليوم في اول المشارق منحة في الجنوب حتى أن بعض الناس زعم أن بلدا من الاقاليم الذي في داخل الشمال لا يرى فيه جرم الشمس ذلك اليوم لأنها تجري في طرف القبة الجنوبي فينحط عن اهل الشمال. قال اهل الشرع ان صح ما قالوا صلى في هذا البلد يوم لا ترى فيه الشمس بالاجتهاد كما نقول في يوم الغيم. قلت وهذا اقصر يوم في السنة فلا تزال الشمس تقطع كل يوم درجة في طول الفلك ومشرقا في عرضه احدى وتسعين يوما وهي سبع منازل. اولها البلدة والذابح وسعد بلع وسعد السعود وسعد الاخبية والمقدم والموخر. ثم يدخل بطن الحوت من الغد فتطلع من اوسط المشارق في مهب النكباء فيعتدل الليل والنهار وهو نصف الربيع وهو يوم ستة عشر من اذار. ثم تسير على سبيلها الاوّل كل يوم درجة في طول الفلك ومشرقا في عرضه احدى وتسعين يوما. وهو سبع منازل ايضا. اولها بطن الحوت والشرطان والبطين والثريا والدبران والهقعة والهنة. فتستكمل من المشارق مائة واثنان وثمانين مشرقا ومن المغرب كذلك. ثم يحل الدرجة الكبرى من الذراع وهي في اعلى الفلك فان كانت السنة غير كبيسة اقامت فيها يومين ولم تتكرر شيئا من طلوعها في المشارق. وان كانت كبيسة اقامت فيها ثلاثة ايام فكررت طلوعها يومين في مشرق واحد ويغرب في مغرب واحد. وهذا اليوم نصف الصيف وهو اطول يوم في السنة. وهو يوم خمسة عشر من حزيران الا انها مع اقامتها في هذه الدرجة ترجع الغد رجوعا يسيرا ويطول الظل عند الزوال ان كان شماليا ويقصر ان كان جنوبيا فلا تزال ايضا تقطع كل يوم درجة في طول الفلك ومشرقا في عرضه راجعة في غير تلك المشارق التي جأت بها

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As for the easts and wests (locations of sunrises and sunsets), they are arrayed along the (full) breadth of the celestial sphere. And the first of them (of the sunrises) is halfway through (the time of) the south wind, and the last of them is halfway through the east wind. And the first of the sunsets is halfway through (the time of) the west wind, and the last of them is halfway

through the north wind. And the degrees are arrayed along the (full) length of the celestial sphere. And the mid-point of the sunrises is at the place where the side wind blows from between the south and the east; and the mid-point of the sunsets is at the place where the side wind blows from between west and north. And when it is halfway through the winter on the fifteenth of Kānūn al-Awwal (December)¹⁰⁴ the sun enters al-Balda. And it is at the lowest point of the celestial sphere, and it rises on that day in the first of the sunrises (locations), going down in the south until some people claim that it is a country (*balad*) belonging to the regions of the north where the body of the sun is never seen on that day, since it is moving on the southern edge of Al-Qubba [Corona Australis] where it has sunk too low for the people of the north (to see). The followers of Islamic law say that it is true what they say in this country about a day when you cannot see the sun even with effort, as it were “on an overcast day”. I said this is the shortest day of the year. And the sun continues to move each day one degree along the length of the celestial sphere, and (it moves) one “east” (one sunrise position) along its breadth, for ninety-one days. And this comprises seven lunar mansions: first al-Balda, (then) al-Dābiḥ, Sa’d Bula’, Sa’d al-Su’ūd, Sa’d al-’Aḥbiya, al-Muqaddam, al-Mu’ahḥar. Then it enters Baṭn al-Ḥūt on the next day. And it rises at the mid-point of the sunrises, at the place where the side wind blows. And the length of night and day becomes equal. This happens in the middle of spring, that is, on the sixteenth of Āḍār (March). Then it continues traveling on its course, every day one degree along the length of the celestial sphere, and (it moves) one “east” (one sunrise position) along its breadth, for ninety-one days. This also comprises seven lunar mansions: first Baṭn al-Ḥūt, (then) al-Šaraṭān, al-Buṭayn, al-Ṭurayyā, al-Dabarān, al-Haq’a, al-Han’a. And they comprise in full one hundred eighty-two “east” and likewise for the “west”. Then it enters the “Great

¹⁰⁴ This is inconsistent with what is said elsewhere. The 15th of December (and March) is the beginning of the season, not its halfway point.

Degree” of al-Dīrā’, where it is at the highest point of the celestial sphere. If it is not a leap year it remains there for two days but without repeating the same sunrise position twice. But if it is a leap it remains there for three days and it does repeat the sunrise position for two days in the same place, and the sun will set (for two days) in the same place, too. That day is midsummer and it is the longest day of the year. This is on the fifteenth of Ḥazīrān (June). But when it is (residing) in that (celestial) degree it turns back a little on the next day; and the noon shadow will become longer if it is in the north, and shorter if it is in the south. And it continues to move every day one degree along the length of the celestial sphere, and (it moves) one “east” along its breadth, returning in different “east” than those from which it came.

[4]

وعددُ المشارق عند هذا مائةٌ وثمانون مشرقاً ومن المغرب كذلك. والصحيح أن أكثر أهل التفسير مُجمعون على خبر علي رضي الله عنه في تفسير قوله تعالى "فلا أقسم بربّ المشارق والمغرب" أن عددها ثلثمائة وخمسة وستون مشرقاً والمغرب كذلك فلا تزال الشمس راجعة في غير تلك المشارق كما عرّفناك اثنين وتسعين يوماً. وفي الكبيسة ثلاثة وتسعين يوماً. وهي سبع منازل أيضاً. أولها الذراع والنثرة والطرف والجبهة والزبرة والصرفة والعواء. ثم تحلّ السمك من الغد فتطلع ذلك النهار من اوسط المطالع وتغرب في اوسط المغرب وذلك في مهبّ النكبا أيضاً. فيعتدل الليل والنهار وهو نصف الخريف وهو يوم خمسة عشر من ايلول. ثم تسير على سيرها الأول تقطع كل يوم درجة في طول الفلك ومشرقاً في عرضه احدى وتسعين يوماً وهي سبع منازل أيضاً. أولها السمك والغفر والزبانان والاكيل والقلب والشولة والنعام فتستكمل مائة وثلاثة وثمانين مشرقاً وهي التي بقيت من المشارق. ثم تحلّ البلدة من الغد وهو يوم خمسة عشر من كانون الاول هكذا ابد الدهر فتعالى مُتَقِنُ الاشياء ومدبرها كيف يشاء وهذا مذهب رعاة الشمس من أهل السنّة هـ

According to this there are one hundred eighty sunrises and the same for the sunsets. The correct argument is that most Qur’anic interpreters agree with ⁹⁵Alī yy, may Allah bless him, in his interpretation of [the Qur’anic verse (70: 40)] “I swear by the creator of easts and wests (sunrises

and sunsets),” namely that its number is three hundred and sixty-five sunrises and the same for the sunsets. And the sun continues to return in different “east”, as I told you, for ninety-two days, or if it is leap year ninety-three days. And this also comprises seven lunar mansions: first is al-Dirā’, (then) al-Naṭra, al-Ṭarf, al-Jabha, al-Zubra, al-Ṣarfa, al-‘Awwā. Then it enters al-Simāk on the next day. And it rises on that day at the mid-point of the sunrises, and it sets at the mid-point of the sunsets, and that is also at the place where the side wind blows. And the length of night and day becomes equal. This happens in the middle of autumn, that is, on the fifteenth of Aylūl (September). Then it continues travelling on its course, moving each day one degree along the length of the celestial sphere, and one “east” (one sunrise position) along its breadth, for ninety-one days. And this also comprises seven lunar mansions: first al-Simāk, (then) al-Ġafr, al-Zabānān, al-ʾIklīl, al-Qalb, al-Šawla, and al-Naʾāʾim. And they make up in full one hundred-eighty three “east” which is what remains among the easts. Then it enters al-Balda on the next day, the fifteenth of Kānūn al-Awwal (December), like this forever. And Allah is the perfect creator of things, who orders them as He wishes. And this is the approach of orthodox Muslim guardians of the sun.

فصل

واعلم ان المنازل ضربان نبيّر وخفيّ فاذا طلع الفجر في الخفيّ فلا تكاد ترى نجومه حتى يكون الفجر في اخر المنزل لخفائها. واما النبيّر فقد ترى نجومه والفجر في المنزل الذي قبله لشدة ضوئها فلا يحكم بطولوع النبيّر اذا رأي بعد الفجر لشدة ضوئه. ويحكم بطولوع الخفي اذا دخله الفجر ولم تر نجومه لخفائها. فلو سأل سائل عن النبيّر هل طلع وقد روءي في الاسفار لشدة ضوئه. قلنا لا ولو سأل عن الخفي وقد حلّه الفجر لكنّا لم نر نجومه لخفائها هل طلع. قلنا نعم لانه لا يحكم بطولوع منزل الا اذا دخله الفجر ه

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Know that the lunar mansions are of two types: **bright** (visible) and **hidden** (invisible). If the dawn rises in a hidden (mansion) you almost cannot see its stars until the dawn is in the last part of the mansion, due to their hiddenness; while with a visible (mansion) we can see its stars even when the dawn is in the preceding mansion, due to its strong brightness. And one cannot judge that a visible (mansion) has risen if it is seen (only) after the dawn, due to its strong brightness. But one can judge that a hidden (mansion) has risen when the dawn enters it, even if you cannot see its stars due to their hiddenness. If someone asks about a bright (mansion), has it (truly) risen if it comes into view (only) in the whiteness of late dawn, due to its strong brightness? We say no. And if he asks about a hidden (mansion), has it (truly) risen if the dawn has entered it but we cannot see its stars due to their hiddenness? We say yes. For the only way to judge that a mansion has risen is if the dawn has entered it.

الأول الشَّرَطَانِ الفجر في الشرطين في اليوم الرابع والعشرين من نيسان. ثم البطين وهو ثلاثة كواكب خفية كأنها اثافي قدر. وقال بعضهم هذه الكواكب موضع بطن الحمل فيما شهوا ويطلع الفجر في اليوم السابع من ايار. ثم الثريا وهي ستة كواكب وبعضهم يقول سبعة. ويسمونها بعضهم النجم وبعضهم يقول هي آية الحمل فيما شهوا وبعضهم يقول هي راس الثور. ويطلع الفجر في الثريا في اليوم العشرين من ايار. ثم الدبران وهو كوكب احمر حوله كواكب صغار كأنها دال. والكوكب الكبير باسفل الدال. وقال بعضهم الدبران سنام الثور فيما شهوا وبعضهم يسميه المجدح وبعضهم يسميه الهودج وبعضهم يسميه القلائص. ويطلع الفجر في الدبران في اليوم الثاني من حزيران. ثم الهقعة وهي راس الجوزاء والجوزاء اربعة عشر نجما على صفة الانسان والهقعة منها ثلاثة نجوم صغار في موضع واحد كأنها اثافي وقد بلغنا ان رجلا سأل بن عباس عن رجل قال لامراته انت طالق بعدد النجوم السماء. قال ابن عباس يكفيها من نجوم السماء الهقعة يعني راس الجوزاء. ويطلع الفجر في الهقعة في اليوم الخامس عشر من حزيران وهو اطول يوم. ثم الهنعة وهو كوكبان بينهما قدر ذراعين في راي العين. احدهما خفي والاخر نير. وهو الشبامى ويطلع الفجر في الهنعة في اليوم الثامن والعشرين من حزيران والشمس يومئذ في آخر درجة من الذراع ان كانت السنة غير كبيسة وان كانت كبيسة ففي التي قبل الاخيرة [5] وهي الثانية عشر

The first (mansion of the moon) is [Šaraṭān]. The dawn enters it on the twenty-fourth of Nīsān (April). Then [Al-Buṭayn] or the second mansion of the moon is three hidden stars which resemble the tripod of a kettle. Also some of them say that these stars look like a sheep's belly. The dawn enters it on Iyār (May) seventh. Then [al-Turayyā] or the third mansion of the moon is six stars, some say seven. Some of them call it a star and others say it is the rump of a sheep as they imagined, while others say it is the head of a bull (Taurus). The dawn enters it on Iyār (May) twentieth. Then [Al-Dabarān] or the fourth mansion of the moon is a red star that is surrounded by small stars as if they formed (the letter) *dāl*, with the big star at the bottom of the *dāl*. Some of them call it the hump of a bull as they imagined; others call it *mijdah* (a mixing and stirring instrument), and others call it the howdah, while others call it *al-qalā'is* (young camels). The dawn enters it on Ḥazīrān (June) second. Then [Al-Haq'a] or the fifth mansion of the moon is the head of Gemini; Gemini is fourteen stars forming the picture of a person, and among these al-Haq'a is three small stars positioned in one place as if they were a tripod. We are told that a man asked Ibn 'Abbas about the story of the man who said to his wife "You are divorced (*talāq*)¹⁰⁵ like the number of stars in the sky." Then Ibn 'Abbas said, "Of the stars in the sky al-Haq'a is enough for her", that is, the head of Gemini. The dawn enters al-Haq'a on the fifteenth of Ḥazīrān (June) which is the longest day. Then [Al-Han'a] or the sixth mansion of the moon is two stars with a distance between them of two arm lengths by eye view. One is hidden while the other is bright. According to al-Šabāmī the dawn enters it on the twenty-eighth of Ḥazīrān (June) and the sun on that day reaches the last degree of [Al-Dirā'] or the seventh mansion of the moon

¹⁰⁵ *Talāq* is a type of divorce performed by husband Talaq takes the form of three repudiations of the wife, preferably separated by a period of reflection. After three statements of divorce the couple cannot remarry each other unless the wife marries another man and is widowed or divorced again. Encyclopedia of Islam.

if it is not a leap year, or the second-to-last degree, if it is a leap year. [Al-Dirā' is two bright stars.¹⁰⁶ The dawn enters it] on the twelfth of Tammūz (July).

ثم النثرة وهي كوكبان خفيان بينهما مقدار عظم. وفيما بينهما لخرة بيضاء كأنها قطعة سحاب. وبعض العرب يقول هي السرطان وبعضهم يقول هي لسان الاسد فاذا طلعت النثرة طلع على اثرها بالعراف من الذراع اليماني. وهما كوكبان احدهما نير والآخر اقل ضوءا منه. يقال للنير منهما الشعري الغميصاء.¹⁰⁷ تقول العرب بكت حتى اغمضت يطلع على اثر الشعري الغميصاء الشعري العبور. تقول العرب عبرت المجرة وهذا من كلامهم في الجاهلية والشعري العبور معارضة للذراع مما يلي الجنوب. وهي كوكب نير ازهر. وهي التي ذكرها الله عز وجل حين قال "وانه هو رب الشعري". وكانت العرب تعبدته وتقول لم نر نجما قطع السماء عرضا الا هو. وطلوع الشعريين جميعا قريب من طلوع النثرة. ويطلع الفجر في النثرة في اليوم الخامس والعشرين من تموز. ثم الطرف وهو كوكبان خفيان وهما عينا الاسد فيما شبهت العرب. وهما يقدمان الجبهة بمقدار خمسة اذرع في راي العين. وبعضهم يقول هي اربعة كواكب من جهة الشمال. وكوكبان من جهة الجنوب. ويطلع الفجر في الطرف في اليوم السابع من آب. ثم الجبهة وهي اربعة كواكب نير فيها اعوجاج واليماني منها كوكب كبيرة. قال بعض العرب هي جبهة الاسد وهي الجمره الاولى. ويطلع الفجر في الجبهة في اليوم العشرين من آب. ثم الزبرة وهي كوكبان نيران يشبهان الذراع ولكنهما اقل ضوءا من نجميه. وقال بعض العرب وهما كفا الاسد وهي الجمره الثانية. ويطلع الفجر في الزبرة في اليوم الثاني من ايلول. ثم الصرفة وهي كوكب نير تتلو الزبرة. وقال بعضهم هي قلب الاسد. وهي الجمره الثالثة. ويسمى الكبرى وانما سميت الجبهة والزبرة والصرفة جمارا لان بطلعهن مع الفجر يعتدل الزمان. وقطعا جمره الحر. وبسقوطهن مع الفجر يعتدل الزمان جميعا وقطعا جمره البرد. ويطلع الفجر في الصرفة في اليوم الخامس من ايلول. ويستوي حينئذ الليل والنهار. ثم العوا وهي اربعة كواكب كأنها لام مكتوب باليسار. وتسميها العرب ورك الاسد. ويطلع الفجر في العوا في اليوم الخامس والعشرين من ايلول. ثم السماك الاعزل. وهو كوكب منفرد. وهو رجل الاسد اليمانية وهو اليسرى منه. ويطلع قبل طلوعه اربعة كواكب بيض كأنها سرير وفيهن اعوجاج يطلع مما يلي سهيلا. يسمونها عرش السماك. واما رجل الاسد فهي كوكب احمر يقال له السماك الرامح لنجم صغير يقدمه لا تنزل به شمس ولا قمر. ويطلع الفجر في السماك الاعزل في اليوم الحادي عشر من تشرين الاول. ثم الغفر وهو ثلاثة كواكب خفية متقوسة. وقال بعضهم هي ذنب الاسد. والعرب تتبارك بطلوعه وتقول

¹⁰⁶ Source: Lane (Vol. 3, s.v. *dirā'*).

¹⁰⁷ The manuscript has *الغميصاء* and *اغمضت*; Lane (Vol. 6) presents these words under the root *g-m-ṣ*, showing that this is a mistake for *الغميصاء* and *اغمصت* ('bleary-eyed')

في رجزها خير منزلة في الابد منزلة بين الزبانان والاسد يعنون بذلك الغُفْرَ ويطلع الفجر في الغفر في اليوم الرابع والعشرين من تَشْرِينِ الأوّل ثم الزبانان وهو كوكبان نيران بينهما مقدار خمسة اذرع في راي العين. وهما قَرْنًا الاقرب فيما شَبَّهوا. ويطلع الفجر في الزبانان في اليوم السادس من تَشْرِينِ الثاني ثم الاكليل وهو صدر العقرب وهو اربعة كواكب ثلاثة منها مصطفة والرابع صغير يقدمها ويطلع الفجر في الاكليل في اليوم التاسع عشر من تشرين الثاني. ثم القلب وهو قلب العقرب فيما شَبَّهوا وهو كوكب أحمر بين كوكبين هو اكبر منهما. وهو في اصل ذنب العقرب. واذا طلع القلب طلع بازانة النَّسْرِ الواقع ويطلع معه نجمان ويسمونهما الهرايرين لأنهما [6] اذا طلعا مع الفجر يشتدّ البرد فتقول العرب اذا طلع القلب هو كلب الشتاء ويطلع الفجر في القلب في اليوم الثاني من كانون الاول.

Then [Al-Naṭra] or the eighth mansion of the moon is two hidden stars with a distance between them of a bone length. Between them is a white blotch as if it were a piece of cloud. Some of the Arabs said that it is Saraṭān [Crab or Cancer] and the others said that it is the tongue of a lion. And when al-Naṭra rises, there rises just after it [another star-group] in the right-hand region of al-Dīrā'. These are two stars; one is visible and the other is less bright. The brighter is called *al-šuray al-ġumayḍā'* (Ši'rā al-Ġumayḍā'). The Arabs said it is wept until it was bleary-eyed (*ʿaḡmaḍ* [*ʿaḡmaṣ*]). After *al-šuray al-ġumayḍā'* there rises *al-šuray al-ʿabūr* (Ši'rā al-ʿAbūr). The Arabs said it forded (*ʿabara*) the Milky Way, which is a saying from the Jāhiliyya period [i.e. before Islam]. Al-Ši'rā al-ʿAbūr is opposite al-Dīrā' to the south. It is a very bright star. It is this that Allah mentioned when He said, "He (Allah) is the Lord of Ši'rā" [Qur'ān 53: 49]. The Arabs used to worship it and they said there is no other star which cuts across the sky except Ši'rā. And the rising of the two Ši'rā's is near to the rising of al-Naṭra. The dawn enters al-Naṭra on Tammūz (July) twenty-fifth. Then [al-Ṭarf] or the ninth mansion of the moon is two hidden stars; they are the eyes of the lion as the Arabs imagined. They are seen before al-Jabha by five arm lengths according to eye view. Some of them said it is four stars to the north, or two stars to the south. The dawn enters al-Ṭarf on Āb (August) seventh. Then [Al-Jabha] or the tenth mansion of

the moon is four bright stars containing a curve, the rightmost of which is a big star. Some of the Arabs said it is the forehead of the lion and it is the first *jamra* “coal”. The dawn enters it on Āb (August) twentieth. Then [al-Zubra] or the eleventh mansion of the moon is two bright stars which look like al-Ḍirā’ but with less brightness than the two stars [of al-Ḍirā’]. Some of the Arabs said it is the two flanks of the lion and it is the second *jamra*. The dawn enters it on Aylūl (September) second. Then [al-Ṣarfa] or the twelfth mansion of the moon is a bright star that follows al-Zubra. Some of them said it is the heart of the lion and it is the third *jamra*. It is also called the biggest. The reason for calling al-Jabha, al-Zubra, and al-Ṣarfa by the term *jamra* is that when they are rising at dawn, the time is balanced [??], and they (dual) cut the *jamra* of heat; and when they are setting at dawn, the time is balanced completely, and they (dual) cut the *jamra* of cold [???]. The dawn enters al-Ṣarfa on Aylūl (September) fifth¹⁰⁸ and night and day become equal. Then [Al-ʿAwwā] or the thirteenth mansion of the moon is four stars like the (letter) *lām* written leftwards (backwards?). The Arabs call it the hip of the lion. The dawn enters it on the twenty-fifth¹⁰⁹ of Aylūl (September). Then [Al-Simāk al-Aʿzal] or the fourteenth mansion of the moon is a single star. It is either the right leg or the left leg of the lion. Before it rises, four white stars rise that resemble a bed. In them there is a curve that rises after the star Suhayl. They called it the throne of the fish. As for the leg of the lion, it is a red star that is called Rāmiḥ (Spear-thrower) because of a small star preceding it (i.e. the spear) where neither the sun nor the moon resides. The dawn enters it on Tišrīn al-Awwal (October) eleventh. Then [Al-Ġafr] or the fifteenth mansion of the moon is three hidden stars in a curve. Some of them said it is the tail of the lion. The Arabs considered its rising as a blessing and in their poetry they said that the best mansion forever is the mansion between the Lion [14th] and al-Zabānān [16th], by which they

¹⁰⁸ Evidently a mistake; should be “fifteenth” (13-day intervals between successive mansions).

¹⁰⁹ Evidently a mistake; should be “twenty-eighth.”

mean al-Ġafr [15th]. The dawn enters it on Tišrīn al-Awwal (October) twenty-fourth. Then [Al-Zabānān] or the sixteenth mansion of the moon is two bright stars with a distance between them of five arm lengths by eye view. And they are the two horns of the scorpion, as they imagined. The dawn enters it on the sixth of Tišrīn al-Tāni (November). Then [Al-Iklīl] or the seventeenth mansion of the moon is the chest of the scorpion and it is four stars, three of which are in a line and the fourth is small and precedes them. The dawn enters it on Tišrīn al-Tāni (November) nineteenth. Then al-Qalb (Heart) or the eighteenth mansion of the moon is the heart of the scorpion as they imagined. It is a red star between two stars and it is bigger than both of them. It is found in the base of the scorpion's tail. And when al-Qalb rises, al-Nasr al-Wāqī' rises opposite it, and it rises with two stars called [Al-Harārayni]. When they rise at dawn it will become very cold; the Arabs said when the heart [qalb] rises it is a dog [kalb] of a winter. The dawn enters al-Qalb on Kānūn al-Awwal (December) second.

ثم الشولة وهي شولة العقرب وهي اللحمية التي تضرب بها فيما شبهوا. وهما كوكبان ابيضان بينهما مقدار شبرٍ وهما مع
المجرة اليمانية. ويطلع الفجر في الشولة في اليوم الخامس عشر من كانون الاول وهو اقصر يوم في السنة. ثم النعائم وهو
ثمانية كواكب أربعة منها اسفلٌ واربعة منها اعلى. فالسفلى في المجرة الثانية ويسمونها النعائم الواردة. وتسمى العليا النعائم
الصادرة ويسمون النعائم كلها القوسَ وبعض العرب تسميها القلادة. ويطلع الفجر في النعائم في اليوم الثامن والعشرين من
كانون الاول. ثم البلدة وهي بقعة بين النعائم والذابح ليس فيها كوكبٌ بين. وفيها تنزل الشمس في اقصر يوم في السنة. وبعضهم
يسميها بلدة الثعلب وشبهوها من السماء ببقعة رُبض فيها ثعلب فضرب بذنبه فنفرقت الكواكب عنه فلذلك سميت بلدة الثعلب.
ويطلع الفجر في البلدة في اليوم العاشر من كانون الثاني. ثم الذابح وهما كوكبان نيران بينهما مقدار ذراع ومع الاعلى منهما
كوكب صغير قريب منه. وبعضهم يسمي الصغير القرط. وقال انما سمي الذابح بهذا الكوكب لما دنا منه فقالوا اذبحه. ويطلع
الفجر في الذابح في اليوم الثالث والعشرين من كانون الثاني. ثم بلغ وهما كوكبان خفيان بينهما مقدارُ شبرٍ. ويطلع الفجر في بُلَع
في اليوم الخامس من شباط. ثم السعود في اليوم الثامن عشر من شباط. ثم الاخبية وهو اربعة كواكب منها ثلاثة كأنها اثنافي

والرابع كأنه معلق بازاء واحدٍ منها¹¹⁰. فاذا تأملتَهم كانوا كالكناديل [كالكناديل] المعلقة¹¹¹. ويطلع الفجر في الاخبية في الاخبية في اليوم الثالث من اذار. ثم المقدم وهما كوكبان نيران بينهما مقدارُ سبعة اذرع. والشاميّ منهنّما حوله ثمانية كواكب صغار. فمنهنّما كوكبان مما يلي الشمال. وكوكبان مما يلي الجنوب وكوكبان مما يلي الصبا وكوكبان مما يلي الدبور. والكوكب الكبير وسط هذه الثمانية. وبعضهم يقول هذه الثمانية هي صلب الدلو. والكبيرُ منهنّما هو الحلقة فيما شبهوا ويطلع الفجر في المقدم في اليوم السادس عشر من اذار. ويستوي حينئذ الليل والنهار. ثم المؤخر وهما كوكبان على صفة المقدم في ضوئهما ويُعدّ ما بينهما. فاذا نظرت الى كوكبي المقدم وكوكبي المؤخر رأيت اربعة كواكب كأنها سرير. وقال بعضهم هذه الاربعة الكبار هي صلب الدلو الاكبر. وبعضهم يسمي الشاميّ من كوكبي المؤخر القائد. ويطلع الفجر في المؤخر في اليوم التاسع والعشرين من اذار. ثم بطن الحوت وهي كواكب صغيرة على صورة السمكة. وفيها نجم احمر يُسمّى الشوكة السمكة¹¹² وبعضهم يسميها الرشا. ويطلع الفجر في بطن الحوت في اليوم الحادي عشر من نيسان ه ه

Then [Al-Šawla] or the nineteenth mansion of the moon is the sting of the scorpion which he uses to strike with, as they imagined. It is two white stars separated by the distance of a hand-span. They are grouped with al-Majarra al-Yamāniyya [??]. The dawn is in Šawla on the fifteenth of Kānūn al-Awwal (December) and it is the shortest day of the year. Then [Al-Na‘ā’im] or the twentieth mansion of the moon; it is eight stars four of which are lower while four are upper. And the lower (stars) are in Al-Majarra al-Tāniya and they call it Al-Na‘ā’im al-Wārida, while the upper (stars) are called Al-Na‘ā’im al-Šādīra. They call the entire Al-Na‘ā’im “the bow”, and some of the Arabs call it the necklace.¹¹³ The dawn enters it on Kānūn al-Awwal (December) twenty-eighth. Then [Al-Balda] or the twenty-first mansion of the moon is a region between al-Na‘ā’im and al-Dābiḥ with no identified (visibly) seen stars. The sun resides in it on

¹¹⁰ Manuscript has منهم with interlinear correction to منها.

¹¹¹ Manuscript has المعلق with interlinear correction to المعلقة.

¹¹² Corrected in the margin to شوكة السمك.

¹¹³ My informant Šayḥ Ādam describes this mansion as animals crossing a river.

the shortest day of the year.¹¹⁴ Some of them called it the country of the fox, as they imagined it in the sky in a place where a fox rested, and he struck with his tail and the stars were scattered away. That is why it is called the fox country. The dawn enters it on Kānūn al-Ṭāni (January) tenth. Then [Al-Dābiḥ] or the twenty-second mansion of the moon is two bright stars with a distance of an arm's length between them. And together with the higher of the two there is a small star close to it. Some of them call the small one the earring. The name Al-Dābiḥ "the slaughterer" is given to this star because he [an unnamed person] approached it and they said (to him), "Slaughter it". The dawn enters it on Kānūn al-Ṭāni (January) twenty third. Then [Bula^c] or the twenty-third mansion of the moon is two hidden stars with a distance between them of a hand-span. The dawn enters it on Šubāṭ (February) fifth. Then [Al-Su'ūd] or the twenty-fourth mansion of the moon, on the eighteenth of Šubāṭ (February). Then [Al-Aḥbiya] or the twenty-fifth mansion of the moon is four stars, three of which resemble a tripod and the fourth is hanging from one of them. If you look at them carefully they resemble hanging lamps. The dawn enters it on Āḍār (March) third. Then [Al-Muqaddam] or the twenty-sixth mansion of the moon is two bright stars with a distance between them of seven arm lengths. And the more northerly of the two is surrounded by eight small stars: two to the north, two to the south, two to the east and two to the west. And the big star is amidst these eight. Some of them say these eight stars are the cross-piece of the Bucket (Aquarius). The bigger of the two is like a ring as they imagined. The dawn enters it on Āḍār (March) sixteenth, and then night and day are equal. Then [Al-Mu'aḥḥar] or the twenty-seventh mansion of the moon is two stars that are like Muqaddam in their brightness and the distance between them. When you look at the two stars of Muqaddam and the two of Mu'aḥḥar you can see four stars like a bed. Some of them say these four big stars are the

¹¹⁴ I do not understand the text here. Above it says that the shortest day of the year is in al-Šawla. Here, however, it says that on the shortest day of the year, the sun resides in al-Balda. How can the shortest day of the year be in two different mansions?

cross-piece of a big bucket. Some of them call the more northerly of the two stars of Al-Muʿaḥḥar “Al-Qā'id” (leader). The dawn enters al-Muʿaḥḥar on Āḍār (March) twenty-ninth. Then [Baṭn Al-Ḥūt] “fish belly” or the twenty-eighth mansion of the moon consists of small stars in the form of a fish. Among them is a red star called fish bone and some of them call it Al-Riṣā (rope). The dawn enters Baṭn Al-Ḥūt on Nīsān (April) eleventh.

فصل

في معرفة طريق القمر فطريقه في الشرطين من جهة الجنوب قريبا من المنزل وقد ينحط أحيانا ولا طريق له في الشمال وطريقه في البطين من جهة الجنوب ايضا وقد يغطيها أحيانا واما الثريا فيلاصقها من جهة الجنوب حتى يكاد يغطيها. واكثر ما يكون هذا في ليالي الفرد. وقد يعدل عنها نادرا في الشمال وربما عدل ايضا في الجنوب. والدبران ينزل به كالثريا وقد رأيت غطاء جملة ولا يقارب الهقعة ابدا بل يعدل عنها في الشمال. ويقارب الهقعة في الغالب وقد يعدل عنها في الشمال نادرا والذراع الجنوبي لا ينزل به ابدا بل في الذراع الشمالي من جهة الجنوب ملاصقا لاحد الكوكبين ولا طريق له في الشمال. وقد يتوسط بين الذراعين واقربه الى الشمالي. ويلاصق النثرة وربما غطاها جملة والطرف يقاربه وربما توسط بين [7] العينين ثم يمر في وسط الجبهة وربما عدل الى الكوكب الاحمر. وربما انحط في الجنوب ولا يقارب الزبرة بل يعدل عنها في الجنوب وكذلك الصرفة ايضا. ويقارب العوا مما يلي الجنوب ثم لا ينزل الراح ابدا بل يلاصق الاعزل وربما انحط عنه في الجنوب. وربما ارتفع في الشمال ثم يغطي الغفر غالبا. وقد ينحط في الجنوب وقد يرتفع عنه في الشمال ثم يمر بين كوكبي الزبانان غالبا وقد ينحط عنه في الجنوب. وقد يرتفع في الشمال ه ويمر في الاكليل من جهة الشمال وربما مر من جهة الجنوب ويلاصق القلب من جهة الشمال. وقد يعدل عنه قليلا ولا طريق له في الجنوب. ويمر بازاء الشولة عادلا عنها في الشمال والنعام ان ارتفع في الشمال نزل في الصادرة وان انحط في الجنوب نزل في الواردة ويمر وسط البلدة وربما عدل عنها في الشمال. ثم يعارض الذابح متبعا في الجنوب. وقد يقاربه حتى يكون بينهما قيد ذراعين للناظر. ثم يطوى بلع غالبا فان نزل به فكما ينزل بالذابح ويعارض السعود من جهة الجنوب وكذا الاخبية. ثم يعارض المقدم من جهة الجنوب ايضا معارضة شديدة. وقد يقرب منه حتى يكون بينهما قيد ذراعين للناظر. وكذا المؤخر ينزل به كما ينزل بالمقدم سوا ومثلها بطن الحوت ولكن لا يقرب منه ابدا فاعرف ذلك.

Section: on the path of the moon

Its path is to the south of Šaraṭān (the first mansion), near to the mansion. But sometimes it goes down and has no path to the north. And its path is also in Al-Buṭayn or the second mansion to the south and sometimes it covers it.¹¹⁵ As for al-Ṭurayyā (the third mansion), it (the moon) touches it to the south until it almost covers it. This mostly happens on odd-numbered nights. In rare cases it deviates to the north and sometimes also to the south. Then the moon enters al-Dabarān (the fourth mansion) as with al-Ṭurayyā, and I have sometimes seen it cover it completely. It never comes close to al-Haq'a (the fifth mansion) but deviates to the north. Usually it comes close to al-Han'a (the sixth mansion) but in rare cases it deviates to the north. It never resides in the southern [part of] al-Dirā' (the seventh mansion), but rather in the northern al-Dirā' (coming) from the south, touching one of the two stars with no path to the north. Sometimes it is in the middle between the two Dirā's, closer to the northern one. Then it touches al-Naṭra (the eighth mansion) and sometimes covers it completely. And it comes close to al-Ṭarf (the ninth mansion), and sometimes it is in the middle between Al-ʿaynayn (the two eyes of al-Ṭarf). Then it passes in the middle of al-Jabha (the tenth mansion) and sometimes it deviates to the red star, and sometimes it goes down to the south. And it does not come close to al-Zubra (the eleventh mansion) but deviates from it to the south. The same too for al-Šarfa (the twelfth mansion). It comes near al-ʿAwwā (the thirteenth mansion) from the south. Then it is never detached from Al-Rāmiḥ, but it touches al-ʿAʿzal [these are two stars associated with al-Simāk, the fourteenth mansion of the moon]; and sometimes it goes down from it to the south and sometimes it rises to the north. Then usually it covers al-Ġafr (the fifteenth mansion), and sometimes it goes down to the south and sometimes it rises from it to the north. Then it usually passes between the two stars

¹¹⁵ The sense seems to be that the moon is very large, so it can physically cover an entire mansion.

of al-Zabānān (the sixteenth mansion) and sometimes it goes down from it to the south and sometimes it rises to the north. Then it passes through al-Iklīl (the seventeenth mansion) from the north, or sometimes it passes from the south. And it touches al-Qalb (the eighteenth mansion) from the north, and sometimes it deviates from it a little, and it has no path to the south. Then it passes opposite to al-Šawla (the nineteenth mansion), deviating from it to the north. Then as for al-Naʿāʾim (the twentieth mansion), if it (the moon) goes up to the north then it will reside in al-Šādira, while if it goes down to the south it will reside in al-Wārīda [these are two groups of stars in al-Naʿāʾim]. Then it passes in the middle of al-Balda (the twenty-first mansion) and sometimes deviates from it to the north. Then it avoids al-Dābiḥ (the twenty-second mansion), keeping far off to the south. It sometimes reaches near to it until the distance between them is two arm lengths for an eye viewer. Then usually it covers al-Bulaʿ (the twenty-third mansion) although it resides in it, as it also resides in al-Dābiḥ. Then it avoids al-Suʿūd (the twenty-fourth mansion) to the south, and likewise al-Aḥbiya (the twenty-fifth mansion). Then it very strongly avoids al-Muqaddam (the twenty-sixth mansion) to the south. And sometimes it (the moon) reaches near to it until the distance between them is two arm lengths for an eye viewer. And similarly al-Muʾaḥḥar (the twenty-seventh mansion); it (the moon) resides in it just as it resides in al-Muqaddam. And Baṭn al-Ḥūt (the twenty-eighth mansion) is like the two of them, but it (the moon) never comes near it. So know this.

فصل

وجميع ما ذكرنا من مسير القمر انما هو اذا لم يحل الفرج. فإما ان حلها فطريقه متوسط بين المنزلتين ويعرف الجميع بإدمان

الرصيد.

Section

All that we have discussed above about the motion of the moon applies only to cases where [the moon's rising] does not fall in a gap [between two mansions]. If it does fall in a gap, then its path is intermediate between the two mansions. And everyone knows it *bi-ʿidmān al-raṣīd* [??].

فصل

الازمنة اعلم تبتك الله ان العَرَبَ لَمَّا عَرَفَتْ سَنَةَ الشَّمْسِ قَسَمَتْهَا عَلَى اَرْبَعَةِ اجْزَاءٍ. صَيْفًا وَخَرِيفًا وَشِتَاءً وَرَبِيعًا. فَصَارَ لِكُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهَا اِحْدَى وَتَسْعُونَ يَوْمًا. وَبَقِيَ يَوْمٌ فَفَنظَرُوا فَاذَا الشَّمْسُ تَقِيمُ فِي الدَّرَاعِ اَرْبَعَةَ عَشْرَ يَوْمًا فَزَادُوا ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمَ فِي الصَّيْفِ. وَهُوَ اطْوَلُ يَوْمٍ فِي السَّنَةِ. فَاذَا كَانَتِ السَّنَةُ كَيْبَسَةً اَقَامَتْ فِي الذَّرَاعِ خَمْسَةَ عَشْرَ يَوْمًا. وَقَدْ رَوَى يَحْيَى بْنُ سَعِيدٍ الزَّبِيرِيُّ حَدِيثًا رَفَعَهُ اِلَى امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ اَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ وَكَانَ يَوْمُنَا فِي الْبَصْرَةِ اَنَّهُ قَالَ اِنَّ الْخَرِيفَ اِحْدُ وَتَسْعُونَ يَوْمًا. وَالشِّتَاءُ بَعْدَهُ اِحْدُ وَتَسْعُونَ يَوْمًا. وَالرَّبِيعُ بَعْدَهُ اِحْدُ وَتَسْعُونَ يَوْمًا وَزِيَادَةُ يَوْمٍ فِي الصَّيْفِ فِي غَيْرِ الْكَيْبَسَةِ وَيَوْمِينَ فِي الْكَيْبَسَةِ. فَذَلِكَ ثَلَاثَانِ وَخَمْسَةٌ وَسِتُّونَ فِي غَيْرِ الْكَيْبَسَةِ. وَثَلَاثَانِ وَسِتُّونَ يَوْمًا فِي الْكَيْبَسَةِ. وَرَوَى عَنْهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ اَنَّهُ قَالَ لِلشَّمْسِ ثَلَاثَانِ وَخَمْسَةٌ وَسِتُّونَ كَوْمًا. يَطْلُعُ كُلُّ يَوْمٍ مِنْ كَوْمَةٍ وَرَوَى اَيْضًا يَحْيَى بْنُ سَعِيدٍ حَدِيثًا رَفَعَهُ اِلَى عَلِيِّ بْنِ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ اِذَا كَانَ الظِّلُّ فِي الْبَصْرَةِ وَقَتِ الزَّوَالِ سِتَّةَ اِقْدَامٍ وَنِصْفًا فَهُوَ ظِلُّ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مِثْلَهُ وَهُوَ اَوَّلُ الشِّتَاءِ. فَاِذَا مَضَى خَمْسَةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ يَوْمًا فَهُوَ نِصْفُ الشِّتَاءِ فَيَكُونُ الظِّلُّ تِسْعَةَ اِقْدَامٍ غَيْرِ ثَمَنٍ. ثُمَّ تَرَجَعَ الشَّمْسُ مِنَ الْغَدِّ وَبَيَّنْدَى النَّهَارُ فِي الزِّيَادَةِ وَاللَّيْلِ فِي النِّقْصَانِ. فَاِذَا مَضَى سِتَّةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ يَوْمًا فَهُوَ اَخْرَ الشِّتَاءِ. وَيَكُونُ الظِّلُّ سِتَّةَ اِقْدَامٍ وَنِصْفًا وَهُوَ ظِلُّ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مِثْلَهُ. ثُمَّ يَدْخُلُ الرَّبِيعُ مِنَ الْغَدِّ. فَاِذَا مَضَى خَمْسَةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ يَوْمًا فَهُوَ نِصْفُ الرَّبِيعِ. يَسْتَوِي فِيهِ اللَّيْلُ وَالنَّهَارُ وَيَكُونُ الظِّلُّ ثَلَاثَةَ اِقْدَامٍ وَنِصْفًا فَاِذَا مَضَى سِتَّةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ يَوْمًا دَخَلَ الصَّيْفُ. فَيَكُونُ الظِّلُّ قَدَمًا وَنِصْفًا رَاجِحًا. فَاِذَا مَضَى خَمْسَةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ يَوْمًا فَهُوَ نِصْفُ الصَّيْفِ. وَهُوَ اطْوَلُ يَوْمٍ فِي السَّنَةِ. فَيَكُونُ الظِّلُّ نِصْفَ قَدَمٍ رَاجِحًا ثُمَّ تَرَجَعَ الشَّمْسُ مِنَ الْغَدِّ. فَاِذَا مَضَى سَبْعَةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ يَوْمًا فِي غَيْرِ الْكَيْبَسَةِ وَثَمَانِيَةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ فِي الْكَيْبَسَةِ فَهُوَ اَخْرَ الصَّيْفِ. فَيَكُونُ الظِّلُّ قَدَمًا وَنِصْفًا رَاجِحًا. ثُمَّ يَدْخُلُ الْخَرِيفُ مِنَ الْغَدِّ. فَاِذَا مَضَى خَمْسَةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ يَوْمًا اَعْتَدَلَ اللَّيْلُ وَالنَّهَارُ وَهُوَ نِصْفُ الْخَرِيفِ. فَيَكُونُ الظِّلُّ ثَلَاثَةَ اِقْدَامٍ وَنِصْفًا رَاجِحًا فَاِذَا [8] مَضَى سِتَّةٌ وَارْبَعُونَ يَوْمًا فَقَدْ خَرَجَ الْخَرِيفُ وَدَخَلَ الشِّتَاءُ مِنَ الْغَدِّ. فَيَكُونُ الظِّلُّ سِتَّةَ اِقْدَامٍ وَنِصْفًا وَهُوَ ظِلُّ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ مِثْلَهُ. هَكَذَا جَاءَ عَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ اَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ هـ

Section: On the Division of the Seasons

You should know, may Allah strengthen you, that when the Arabs came to know about the solar year they divided it into four seasons: summer, autumn, winter and spring. And each of them has ninety-one days. One day is left over. Then they observed; and if the sun resided in al-Dirāf [the seventh lunar mansion] for fourteen days, then they added that day to the summer. And it is the longest day of the year. And if it is a leap year, then the sun resides in al-Dirāf for fifteen days. And Yahya ibn Sa'īd Al-Zubayrī narrated a Ḥadīṭ which he ascribed to 'Aliyy ibn Abū Ṭālib, may Allah bless him. One day in Baṣra he said, the autumn has ninety-one days, then winter after it has ninety-one days, the spring after it has ninety-one days, with one additional day in summer if it is not leap year and two days if it is leap year. This is three hundred and sixty-five days, and three hundred and sixty-six days if it is leap year. Also it is narrated from the Prophet that "The sun has three hundred and sixty-five 'apertures'; each day it rises from a [different] aperture." Also there is narrated from Yahya ibn Sa'īd a Ḥadīṭ which he ascribed to 'Aliyy, may Allah bless him. If in Baṣra the shadow [of some standard measuring pole? of a man?] at mid-day is six and a half feet long, this is also the shadow of everything which is like it. This is the first day of winter. And when forty-five days have passed, that is the middle of winter, the length of the shadow becomes nine feet minus $1/8$. Then the next day the sun turns back (in its course); the day begins to become longer while the night becomes shorter. After forty-six days comes the end of winter. The shadow becomes six and a half feet long and this is also the shadow of everything which is like it. Then the spring begins on the next day; then after forty-five days comes the middle of spring. The night and day become equal, and the shadow length becomes three and a half feet. And after forty-six days, the summer starts and the shadow length is one and a half feet

predominantly.¹¹⁶ After forty five days comes the middle of summer, which is the longest day of the year; and the shadow length becomes half a foot predominantly. On the next day the sun turns back (in its course). After forty-seven days have passed if it is not a leap year or forty-eight days if it is a leap year it is the end of summer; the shadow length becomes one and a half feet predominantly. Then the autumn begins on the next day; and after forty-five days the night and day become equal, which is the middle of autumn. And the shadow length becomes three and a half feet predominantly. Then after forty-six days the autumn ends and the winter begins on the next day. Also the shadow length becomes six and a half feet and this is also the shadow of everything which is like it. This is based on ‘Aliyy ibn Abū Ṭālib, may Allah bless him.

فصل

ثم قال ابو جعفر البصري في كتابه ه وبعد فاننا نظرنا الى اليوم الذي ذكره علي رضي الله عنه انه اول يوم من الشتاء واذ هو يوافق اول من تشرين الثاني. ونظرنا الى اليوم الذي قال انه نصف الشتاء وانه اقصر يوم في السنة. فاذا هو يوافق خمسة عشر يوماً من كانون الاول. ونظرنا الى اليوم الذي قال انه آخر الشتاء فاذا هو يوافق ثلثين يوماً من كانون الثاني ويدخل الربيع من الغد. ونظرنا الى اليوم الذي قال فيه يستوي الليل والنهار وانه نصف الربيع فاذا هو يوافق ستة عشر يوماً من اذار. ونظرنا الى اليوم الذي قال انه آخر يوم من الربيع فاذا هو يوافق اول يوم من ايار. ويدخل الصيف من الغد. ونظرنا الى اليوم الذي قال انه نصف الصيف. وهو اطول يوم في السنة فاذا هو يوافق خمسة عشر من حزيران وفيه انتهاء قصر كل ظل شمالي وانتهاء كل ظل جنوبي. ثم ترجع الشمس من الغد. ونظرنا الى اليوم الذي قال انه آخر يوم من الصيف فاذا هو يوافق اول يوم من آب. ويدخل الخريف من الغد. ونظرنا الى اليوم الذي قال انه نصف الخريف وفيه يعتدل الليل والنهار. فاذا هو يوافق خمسة عشر يوماً من ايلول. ونظرنا الى اليوم الذي قال انه آخر يوم من الخريف فاذا هو يوافق آخر يوم من تشرين الاول ويدخل الشتاء من الغد ه

¹¹⁶ راجحاً means “predominantly”; in the present context, it might mean “approximately”. Note that three out of four occurrences of راجحاً are in the summer season, when the shadow is shortest and perhaps hardest to measure accurately.

Section

Abū Jaʿfar Al-Baṣrī states in his book: We looked at the day which ʿAlī yy, may Allah bless him, states as being the first day of winter which corresponds to the first day of Tišrīn Al-Ṭānī (November). We also looked at the day he calls the middle of winter, that is the shortest day of the year, which corresponds to the fifteenth of Kānūn Al-Awwal (December). And we looked at the day he calls the last day of winter which corresponds to the thirteenth day of Kānūn Al-Ṭānī (January). On the next day the spring begins. Additionally we looked at the day he says has equal length of night and day, that is the middle of spring, which corresponds to the sixteenth of Āḍār (March). We also looked at the last day of spring, which corresponds to the first day of Iyār (May); the summer begins the next day. And we looked at the day he said is the middle of summer which is the longest day of the year, which corresponds to the fifteenth of Ḥazīrān (June) on which the shortening of all northern shadows and all southern shadows ends. The sun turns back (on its course) the next day. Also we looked at the day he called the last day of summer which corresponds to the first day of Āb (August). The autumn starts on the next day. And we looked also at the day he called the middle of autumn in which the night and day become equal, which corresponds to the fifteenth of Aylūl (September). Additionally we looked at the day he said is the last day of autumn, which corresponds to the last day of Tišrīn Al-Awwal (October). And the winter begins on the next day.

فصل

اجمع الناس على اطول يوم في السنة أنه الذي ترجع الشمس في غدوته منحطة الى الجنوب وعلى اقصر يوم فيها انه اليوم
ترجع في غدوته مرتفعة الى الصبا ولكن اختلفوا في الرجوع من اي منزل. فقال اهل الرعاية مثل يحيى بن سعيد الزبيرى وابي
محمد العبدى وابي العباس الصفار ترجع من ثاني يوم تحل الذراع بشهادة انتها وقصر الظل ذلك اليوم. واخذه بالزيادة من ثانيه

ان كان شماليا وان كان جنوبيًا. ينعكس هذا فكان هذا دليلا لهم على الرجوع. اذ ليس للعرب دليل على الشمس الا الظل كما ليس
ثم دليل على النظر الا الشمس. وقال اهل التقويم ترجع من ثمان يوم تحل النثرة فاذا ثبت هذا ففي اي يوم تحل الذراع ففيه ثلاثة
اقوال. الاول تحله في اليوم التاسع من حزيران وترجع في اليوم العاشر منه. الثاني تحله في اليوم التاسع عشر حزيران وترجع
يوم العشرين منه. الثالث تحله في الخامس عشر من حزيران وترجع في اليوم السادس عشر منه. وهذا مذهب الرعاة لانه وضع
على الرصد والرعاية. ولانه قول بين قولين وخير الامور اوسطها ه

Section

People agree that the longest day of the year is when the sun turns back (on its course) declining toward the south, and that the shortest day is the day it returns (on its course) ascending to the east [sic]. However, they disagree on which mansion it returns from. Astronomers like Yahyā ibn Saʿīd Al-Zubayrī, Abū Muḥammad Al-ʿAbdī and Abū Al-ʿAbbās Al-Ṣafār said that it returns back on the second day that it is in *Dirāʿ* [the seventh mansion] and it is taken as evidence. And on that day the shadow becomes (maximally) short. And it begins to grow on the next day, whether to the north or the south. It reverses itself; and they use this as evidence for the return (of the sun). Indeed, for the Arabs there is no evidence on the sun except the shadow just as there is no evidence for sight except the sun[?]. (On the other hand) the *taqwīm* scholars (almanac calendar) said that it returns back on the second day that it is in al-Naṭra [the eighth mansion]. If this (can be taken as) settled, then (they also disagree) on which day is it in al-*Dirāʿ* [the seventh mansion]? There are three opinions on this. The first is that it enters it on the ninth day of *Ḥazīrān* (June) and turns back on the tenth day. The second is that it enters on the nineteenth of *Ḥazīrān* (June) and turns back on the twentieth. The third is that it enters on the fifteenth of *Ḥazīrān* (June) and turns back on the sixteenth. This is the way of the star-watchers, as it is based upon observation and watching stars. The [last] opinion is intermediate between the [other] two opinions, and the middle opinion is to be considered the best.

فَصْلٌ

وهذا المذكور هو رجوعها في الصيف ورجوعها في الشتاء مبنيّ ايضاً عليه. فمن قال ترجع في الصيف في اليوم الفلاني من حزيران قال ترجع في الشتاء في ذلك اليوم من كانون الأوّل. وكذا ايضاً من قال ترجع في الصيف من ثاني يوم تحل النثرة قال ترجع في الشتاء من ثاني يوم تحل الذابح ومن قال ترجع في الصيف من ثاني يوم تحل الذراع قال ترجع في الشتاء من ثاني يوم تحل البلدة هـ

Section

The above has to do with its (the sun's) return in the summer; and [the date of] its return in the winter has the same basis. Those who say that it turns back in the summer on such and such day of Ḥazīrān (June), at the same time say that it turns back in the winter on that same day in Kānūn Al-Awwal (December). Thus also those who say that it returns in the summer on the second day that it is in Naṭra [the eighth mansion], say that it returns in the winter on the second day that it is in Dābiḥ [the twenty-second mansion]. And those who say that it returns in the summer on the second day that it is in Dira⁶ [the seventh mansion], say that it returns in the winter on the second day that it is in Balda [the twenty-first mansion].

فَصْلٌ

في علم نزول الشمس في المنازل. اعلم أنّ العرب رَعَوَا هذه المنازل ونظروا الى اثني عشر منزلاً التي تطلع في كل ليلة. فاذا آخر ما تطلع منها مع الفجر المعترض ثمّ يتقدم ذلك المنزل الفجر فيطلع قبله. ويرتفع في كل ليلة بقدر شبر في رأي العين. وذلك لمفارقة الشمس لهذا المنزل سائرةً الى المشرق حتى اذا تمت ثلاثة عشرة ليلة طلع منزل آخر مع الفجر قد كاد يطلع مع الاسفار. فصار ما كان يطلع مع الفجر يطلع قبل الفجر. وما كان يطلع مع الاسفار يطلع مع الفجر بمقدار جزء من الليل اثنا عشر جزءاً. وتغيّب منزل آخر في المغرب من المنازل التي كانت ترى في المغرب في اول الليل فصار مع الحمرة. وذلك لقرب الشمس منه سائرةً الى المشرق. فدأهم على أنّ الشمس تنزل في كل ثلاثة عشر بمنزل من هذه المنازل. وينتقل الى المنزل

الثاني بعده الى جهة المشرق ونظرو الى ما يطلع مع الاسفار والى ما يغيب مع الشفق الاحمر فاخذوا اوسط ما بينهما فعلموا ان

الشمس منازلها [منزل] به ه ه ه والله اعلم ه

Section: on the (zodiac) stations of the sun

You should know that the Arabs observed twelve solar stations [twelve zodiac constellations] that rise each night. The last one of these rises at dawn. Then [on subsequent nights] that same constellation will precede the dawn and rise before it. It increases each night by the distance of a hand-span by eye view. This is because the sun is (gradually) separating itself from that station as it moves to the east, until when 13 nights have passed it will be the next station [zodiac constellation] that rises at dawn, indeed almost in the whiteness of late dawn¹¹⁷. And what [i.e. whatever constellation] had previously [on previous nights] risen at dawn will now rise before dawn; and what had previously risen in the whiteness of late dawn will now rise at dawn, by one part of the night out of 12 parts. And a different constellation sets in the west than those constellations that can be seen in the west at the beginning of the night, when it becomes red. This is because the sun is approaching it as it moves to the east. And this showed them that every 13th (day) (of each month) the sun settles in (another) one of these stations. And then it moves on to the next station toward the east. And they observed what [i.e. what constellation] is rising in the whiteness of late dawn and what is setting in the red evening twilight; and they take what is in the middle between them, and they know that that is the zodiac sign where the sun is. Allah knows the best.

¹¹⁷ الاسفار: whiteness of dawn or daybreak (Lane, Vol. 4, s.v. *safar*).

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Bale region of Ethiopia is an important place where Arabic manuscripts are found, though they are scattered and have been almost entirely ignored by scholars. There are many Bale scholars whose history and contribution remain unstudied. Among these, the Harro Šayḥs and their collection are significant. The Harro Šayḥs who are introduced here have been leading public figures, teachers, arbitrators and scholars for many generations.

The Harro Šayḥs contributed to the society of Agarfa and Bale at large. Their collection in Agarfa consists mostly of printed books but also seven manuscripts. This thesis has examined and catalogued these manuscripts. The manuscripts in the collection deal with various topics such as astronomy, poetry, research methodology, numerology, grammar, jurisprudence, logic, rhetoric, praise of the Prophet, letter, human anatomy, Qur'an, *madḥ*, *Hadīṭ*, etc. No previous study has identified any collection in Agarfa; this thesis presents it to the academic world for the first time.

The Harro Šayḥs also contributed significantly to the expansion of Islam and the local celebration of *Mawlid al-Nabi*. They are highly respected in the society due to their religious and political activities. They are arbitrators and public figures for all the Arsi-Bale people. The Šayḥs are known throughout Arsi-Bale, Hararge, Jimma, Wallo, and Gurage land. Although they are many in number, this study presents the biographies of just six Šayḥs due to lack of adequate sources.

A matrimony sermon given in the manuscript is also discussed, as the role of two women, namely Sittī Alawiya (a scholar and religious leader) and ‘Ā’iša bint ‘Alī Sulṭān Gomma. ‘Ā’iša (the daughter of the 7th king of Gomma). Sittī Alawiya sent a diplomatic letter to Agarfa from Eritrea during the Italian occupation, and ‘Ā’iša sent a manuscript as a *waqf* donation from Gomma to Agarfa.

The astronomy manuscript shows us that the Šayḥs’ collection includes not only religious but also secular manuscripts. Even though they were not scientifically trained the Šayḥs had good background knowledge on planets, stars, solar and lunar calendars. Also the 12 zodiac signs, the 28 stations of the moon and other topics are presented.

The following recommendations can be useful:

1. Collecting and preserving the scattered manuscripts in Agarfa, especially in private homes, to protect them from disintegration and disappearance.
2. The manuscripts in Bale as a whole await academic investigation, cataloguing and digitizing.
3. The manuscripts catalogued in the thesis also need further analysis.

Informants

Name	Place	Date	Age	Remark
Mekuanint Kifle	Addis Ababa	March 3, 2013	30	He is a PhD student of physics and astronomy
Rabī'a Qāsim	Agarfa	November 8 and 9, 2012 May 1, 2, and 3, 2013	67	She is the wife of the late Šayḥ 'Abduljalīl
Sa'ad Ṭāhir	Agarfa	November 8 and 9, 2012 May 1, 2, and 3, 2013	19	He is a grandson of Šayḥ 'Abduljalīl
Sādām Ṭāhir	Agarfa	November 8 and 9, 2012 May 1, 2, and 3, 2013	17	He is a grandson of Šayḥ Kamal
Salman Hassen	Agarfa	November 8 and 9, 2012 May 1, 2, and 3, 2013	18	He is a grandson of Šayḥ Kamal
Šayḥ Ādam Mūsā	Addis Ababa	February 21, 2013 and many telephone conversations	80	He is well educated in Islamic teachings or <i>'ilm</i> and especially in astronomy
ʿAbdul-Karim Abbā Garō	Jimma	Many telephone conversations	55	He is a well-educated informant of the royal family of Jimma
Šayḥ Kamāl ibn Hāji Muḥammad	Agarfa	November 8 and 9, 2012 May 1, 2, and 3, 2013 and many telephone conversations	65	He is major informant who has much knowledge about the history of the Harro Šayḥs
Šayḥ Abdurahim Šayḥ Muhammad Sani	Agarfa	November 8, 2013 and May 2, 2013	63	He is a good informant on the history of the manuscripts in the collection

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Declaration

This thesis is my original work and all sources used here are properly acknowledged.

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