

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**SHEIKH SEID MUHAMMED SADIQ
(1889-1969)
PHILOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL AND
PATRIOTIC LEGACIES**

By

ENDRIS MOHAMMED

July 2007
Addis Ababa



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**SHEIKH SEID MUHAMMED SADIQ
(1889-1969)
PHILOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL AND
PATRIOTIC LEGACIES**

By

ENDRIS MOHAMMED

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

Addis Ababa University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Of Master of Arts in Philology

July 2007
Addis Ababa

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**SHEIKH SEID MUHAMMED SADIQ
(1889-1969)
PHILOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL AND
PATRIOTIC LEGACIES**

By

Endris Mohammed

Institute of Language Studies

Approved by Shimelis Maryem

mm
Advisor

ORIN D. GENSLER
Orin D. Gensler
Examiner

Hailu Habtu
[Signature]
Examiner

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In writing this thesis, I have incurred many debts to the family of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq who generously allowed me to investigate the textual legacies of their father and share their impressions and memories about him. These include Abdulkerim Seid, Asma Seid and Lubaba Seid. I am also most grateful to Ato Muhammed Hussein and Sheikh Muhammed Sherif for their help in securing two of Sheikh Seid's manuscripts. Thanks are also due to all my informants (cf. Appendix V).

I owe special thanks to my teacher and thesis supervisor, Ato Shimelis Mazengia, for his valuable advice, guidance and meticulous reading of the drafts of the thesis. I also owe intellectual debt to my friends Semir Yusuf, Murad Ridwan, Hamid Musa and Muhammed Hamidin for their critical feedback. I take pleasure at thanking Zeituna Rashid and Fatuma Seid for typing the thesis. Finally, yet importantly, I am grateful to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University for funding the project.

I dedicate this thesis to Neima Hassen, my wife, for her love and financial support. This project and my enrollment in the graduate program would have not been possible without her selfless generosity both in material and in spirit.



ABSTRACT

The main aim of the thesis is to bring to light the manuscripts of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq (1889-1969 E.C. or 1897-1977). Moreover, the study seeks to portray the contributions of Sheikh Seid towards documenting Ethiopian history and developing Ethiopian patriotic consciousness as well as strengthening the Ethiopian unity.

The study attempts to identify and classify the legacies of Sheikh Seid. His manuscripts, written in Amharic and Arabic, are examined and analyzed. By so doing, the study provides a share of impetus for enriching the limited documentary evidence about the contributions of the Ethiopian Muslim clerical scholars.

The research endeavors to show the role of Sheikh Seid as an agent of patriotism and unity among the Ethiopian people. Further more, the study makes an effort to point out the contribution of Sheikh Seid in filling some gaps in the political, social and cultural history of the country.

SYMBOLS

1. Amharic

Consonants	Phonetic symbols	Examples	Gloss
ሸ	š	šämmane	'weaver'
ቀ	k'	k'aläbät	'ring'
ቸ	č	čär	'generous'
ጀ	ǰ	ǰägna	'brave'
አ	'	'and	'one'
ዐ	'	'ayn	'eye'
ጠ	t'	t'ä rmus	'bottle'
ጩ	č'	č'alläma	'dark'
አ/ፀ	s'	s'älöt	'prayer'
ኸ	ñ	waññä	'he swam'
አ	p'	p'ä p'äsä	'to become bishop'
የ	y	yät	'where'

Vowels	Phonetic symbols	Examples	Gloss
1 st order	ä	mäla	'wisdom'
2 nd order	u	bälu	'they eat'
3 rd order	i	färi	'coward'
4 th order	a	lam	'cow'
5 th order	e	bet	'house'
6 th order	ə	əssu	'he'
7 th order	o	mogäd	'wave'

2. Arabic

Consonants	phonetic symbols	Examples	Gloss
أ	'	'ab	'father'
ب	θ	θawr	'bull'
ج	ǧ	ǧabal	'mountain'
ح	h	ħimār	'donkey'
خ	kh	khabar	'news'
ذ	ð	ðanb	'sin'
ش	ʃ	ʃaġar	'tree'
ص	s'	s'abr	'patience'
ض	d'	d'aman	'guarantee'
ع	'	'ayn	'eye'
غ	ǧ	ǧaniy	'rich'
ط	t'	t'alāq	'divorce'
ظ	z'	z'ulm	'oppression'
ق	q	qamar	'moon'
ي	y	yad	'hand'
هـ	h	haða	'this'

Vowels	Phonetic symbols	Example	Gloss
ا	a	malak	'angel'
و	u	s'umt	'silence'
ي	i	ħizb	'faction, party'
آ	ā	fāġir	'shameless'
أو	ū	nūr	'light'
أبي	ī	kabīr	'elder, big'

Abbreviations

cf.....	compare (see)
E.C.....	Ethiopian Calendar
f.....	the following page
ff.	the following pages
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts

CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgments	i
Abstract	ii
Symbols	iii
Abbreviations	v
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Background	1
1.2. Objectives	4
1.3. Statement of the problem	4
1.4. Significance	4
1.5. Limitation and Scope	5
1.6. Review of Related Literature	5
1.7. Methodology	9
2. Biography of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq	10
2.1. Family Background	10
2.2. Religious and Secular Training	12
2.3. Livelihood	14
2.4. In the Teaching Profession	15
2.5. Institution Building	16
2.6. Career in a Ministry	17
2.7. Political Role	18
2.8. Intellectual Pursuit and Challenges	18
2.9. Influence	20
2.10. Defending Rights	21
2.11. Literary contributions	26
2.12. Final Days	26
3. Works of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq	
Types and Descriptions	27
3.1. History	27
3.1.1. Published Book	27
3.1.2. Manuscript	31

3.2. History and Geography	39
3.3. Biography	44
3.4. Comparative Religion	45
3.5. Geography	51
3.5.1. Manuscript	51
3.5.2. Manuscript	54
3.6. Politics	55
3.7. Social	57
3.8. Translation	59
3.9. Articles	60
3.9.1. Religion	60
3.9.1.1. Sermon	60
3.9.1.2. Opening Speech	61
3.9.1.3. Mysticism	61
3.9.2. Politics	62
3.9.2.1. Administration	62
3.9.2.2. Constitutional issues	62
3.9.2.2.1. Expropriation	62
3.9.2.2.2. Recommendation	63
3.9.2.3. Patriotism	63
3.9.2.3.2. Countermeasure	64
3.10. Letters	65
3.10.1. To President Jamal Abdul Nasser	65
3.10.2. To the Embassy of Egypt	66
3.10.3. To Seyyid Alewi Muhammed Sāfī	67
3.10.4. To the <i>'Ulamā</i> in Addis Ababa	68
3.10.5. To Abdella Abdurrahman Nūr	68
3.10.6. To Lt. Col. Work'ənāh Gābäyāhu, General Security Head	69
3.10.7. To Islamic Public School of Dessie	69
3.10.8. To Mr. H.D. Richard	69
4. Analysis of Historical and Patriotic Legacies	71
4.1. Historical Documentation	71
4.1.1. <i>'Assihāmu as's'ā'ibā fī 'uḥduet al-waoaniyat al-Habašiyā al-kāḍibā</i>	71

4.1.2. <i>Yä Wällo Tarik</i>	75
4.1.3. <i>Manhal al-‘at šān fī tārīkh al-Hubšān</i>	83
4.1.4. Historical Documentation in Letters and the Articles	85
4.2. Patriotism	88
4.2.1. Social and Civil Affairs	88
4.2.2. Unity Despite Religious Differences	93
4.2.3. Stance in Times of Crises	99
4.2.4. Development	102
5. Conclusion and Recommendations	107
References	109
Appendices	112

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Ethiopia has been in close contact with the Arab world from time immemorial. As a result, the presence of Arabic in the Ethiopian literature, especially in that of the past is substantial and diversified. Arabic has played a significant role not only in Islamic Ethiopia but also in Christian Ethiopia (Gori 2006: 1). Ullendorff states “literature in Ethiopia means Ge’ez literature at least up to the nineteenth century, when books in Amharic began to come off the printing presses” (1965: 136). The truth about such statement may be partial as it reflects only one cultural aspect of Ethiopia. Although not as extensively as in Ge’ez, Ethiopian Muslims have produced a body of literature either in classical Arabic or in local languages using the Arabic script and to some extent in Amharic. Nonetheless, only few studies have so far been conducted on the Arabic language heritage of Ethiopia (Hussein 1992:35).

As noted by scholars in the field, Arabic had not been exclusive to the Islamic tradition in Ethiopia. Many ancient Christian Ethiopian religious writings were translations and or adaptations from Arabic especially through the Coptic Church of Egypt (Gori 2006:1; Leslau 1990: ix, Ullendorff 1965: 137). Besides, Arabic, both as a spoken and a literary language, has historical ties with the Ethiopian secular life and history that necessitates its study within the Ethiopian philology, linguistics, anthropology, history etc. That is, apart from the role Arabic has played in the traditions of Ethiopian Muslims, the contribution of the language in the heritage of the Christian literature provides a sufficient ground for its philological study.

The impact of Arabic on Ge’ez was unavoidable since Ethiopia in its Christian theology had close contact with the ancient Coptic Church of Egypt that used Arabic in addition to Coptic. Tremendous works of translations were conducted from Arabic especially by the order of Emperor Zär’a Ya’qob (Ullendorff 1965: 148). The following list is evidence of Arabic translations and adaptations in the Ethiopian Christian faith.

- *Mäs'ḥafä Sa'atat* 'Horologium'—it is a very famous prayer book in Ethiopia. Its earliest version is based on a Coptic Arabic text. It saw the light of day both in Ethiopia and in Europe.
- *Wəddase Maryam*—it is a collection of hymns and laudations in honor of Virgin Mary. It is a common text in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.
- *Gädlä Hawaryat* 'Acts of the Apostles'—addresses one of the literary genres of Ge'ez literature, that is, the lives and stories of martyrs and saints.
- *Tä'amrä Maryam* 'The Miracles of Mary'—although it had different origins, its final adaptation to Ethiopia was from the Coptic Church in its Arabic form as examined by Cerulli in his work *Miracoli di Maria*, 1943.
- *Rətu'a Haymanot* 'The Orthodox'—it was collected by St. John Chrysostom and was translated from Arabic during the reign of Zär'a Ya'qob (1434-1468).
- *Zena Ayhud* 'History of the Jews'—a secular historical work translated from Arabic (the original is Hebrew).
- *Haymanotä Abäw* 'Faith of the Fathers'—a collection based on Arabic sources. It is more of theology.
- *Mäs'ḥafä T'omar* 'Book of Letter'—it is about the Christian doctrine and particularly emphasizes the observance of the Sabbath.
- *Fäwsä Mänfäsawi* 'Spiritual Medicine'—it was prepared by Michael, bishop of Atrib and Malig in Egypt.
- *Fəṯha Nägäst* 'The Law of the Kings'—it is attributed to the Coptic al-As'ad bin 'Assal of Egypt. In addition, *ጄmbak'om*—an Arab by birth who came to Ethiopia during the wars of Imam Ahmed, was converted to Christianity and translated many works from Arabic. He was appointed as *ጂ' ረ'äge* 'head' of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church—a position no other foreigner has secured (Ullendorff 1965: 144,147,151-153).

It is a well-known fact that Arabic has a special role among Muslims, as it is believed to be the language of the last testament given by God to humankind—the Holy Qur'an. Much of the Arabic Ethiopian literature, though not studied well, has Islamic focus. Ethiopian Muslim clerics teach the public about Islam through the indigenous languages written in the Arabic script—*aḡamī* literature. Scholars agree on the fact that collecting and studying Arabic

manuscripts in Ethiopia has been unduly delayed despite the historical value of the heritage. For instance, in West Africa, a region comparatively far from the Arab World, concrete steps have been taken with respect to Arabic studies. Centre of Arabic Documentation at the University of Ibadan (Nigeria) was established in the 1960s. Furthermore, the Malian Arabic Manuscript Microfilming Project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (Washington D.C.), produced a *Handbook to the Arabic writings of West Africa and the Sahara* in 1979 (O' Fahey 2003: ix-x).

The Arabic Ethiopian manuscripts are not only uncollected and unpublished but also underestimation of their intellectual, literary as well as historical value prevails (Gori 2004: 2). However, the manuscripts are important in the reconstruction of the diverse cultural history of the country especially in the study of medieval Ethiopia where other indigenous sources are very scanty. The study of Arabic also enriches Ge'ez which "throughout its entire history, as a spoken and a literary language...was exposed to the influence of Arabic" (Leslau 1990: ix). The *kəbrä Nəgäst*, the defense of the claims of 'Solomonids', which served as a reason for hegemonic tendencies (Markakis 1974:30-31) has diverse sources including Arabic. The spiritual section of Ethiopia's judiciary code for centuries, *Fətha Nəgäst*, was derived from a Coptic code while the penal code was based on one of the four Islamic jurisprudence schools of thought namely *Šāfi'ī* especially Abu Ishaq al- Šīrāzi's *Kitāb al-Tanbih* (Erlich 1994:22).

Thus, the Arabic literature of Ethiopia needs scholarly consideration before the whole stock faces destruction. The present study is intended to make a modest contribution to bridge this gap by introducing some of the inaccessible Arabic and Amharic writings of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq and highlighting their historical and national values.

1.2. Objectives

General Objectives

- To reveal the philological values of the works of an Ethiopian Muslim cleric.
- To enrich the limited documentary evidence of the contributions of the Ethiopian Muslim clerical scholars.

Specific Objectives

- To portray the life of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq—Muslim cleric.
- To bring to light Sheikh Seid's contributions to:
 - the documentation of Ethiopian history.
 - the enhancement of Ethiopian patriotic consciousness and unity.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

The research attempts to reveal the contributions of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq in view of the indigenous Arabic and Muslim clerical heritage. More specifically, the research is set to answer the following questions:

- What are the philological contributions of Sheikh Seid in view of Ethiopian Patriotic consciousness and cohesive Ethiopian society?
- What are some of his observations about Ethiopian history?

1.4. Significance

This study provides some fresh information hitherto unknown to specialists in the Ethiopian philology and Ethiopian affairs. Its merit lies in the attempt to communicate how far the Arabic and Amharic language heritage of Ethiopian Muslim clerics helps to construct aspects of the linguistic, philological and social history of Ethiopia. More specifically the thesis will trace the family and educational background of Sheikh Seid, shed light on his contributions to the growth of local scholarship and more importantly analyze the philological facets in his writings. The study also identifies his role as a Muslim cleric in the creation of a cohesive Ethiopian society and State. This, in a way, supplements the initiative to annotate, translate and publish the extant Arabic manuscripts of Ethiopia which would

enrich the fund of primary source materials that are relevant for cultural and over all history of the country. Since studies on Ge'ez, on Ethiopian Arabic and '*ağamī* literature as well as on the rest of the Ethiopian languages are complementary inputs to enrich our knowledge about our society and for the appreciation of our heritages, the study calls for strengthening a multicultural approach to the study of Ethiopia. The research will make available the contributions of Sheikh Seid to students, researchers and to all those interested. Hence, the study affords further evidence with regard to the contributions of the Ethiopian Muslim scholars within the context of the Ethiopian rich literary heritage.

1.5. Limitation and Scope

The paper examines the available manuscripts and texts of Sheikh Seid according to the objectives set. There is no comparison of texts of same work to illustrate differences and produce interpretations for the variations for the simple reason that the manuscripts under study are single. It is known that no work of textual criticism can apply to a single manuscript. Besides, the thesis does not deal with '*ajamī* 'indigenous language in Arabic script' manuscripts and materials, as they are not generally found among the legacies under study.

1.6. Review of Related Literature

The limited attempt made by different scholars to collect, study and publish the Arabic and '*ajamī* heritage of Ethiopia need to be supported by institutionalizing the undertakings and encouraging further research to enlighten us better on the Ethiopian past. The Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) has valuable Arabic manuscript collections especially from Harar and Wällo that help researchers to enhance the knowledge of Arabic literature in Ethiopia. The institute has collected 157 MSS: 140 in Arabic, 12 in Harari, 1 in Oromiffa, 1 in Arabic-French-Amharic (tri-lingual) and 3 in Arabic-Harari (bilingual). In addition, many Arabic manuscripts are present in different parts of the country mainly in the hands of clerical families and Islamic learning centers (O'Fahey 2003: xvi).

According to Gori (2006: 3), works of Cerulli are pioneering in the field of Arabic MSS of Ethiopia. He published revealing articles since the 1930s based on local Arabic sources. The Vatican Library reserves these Arabic Islamic manuscripts collected by Cerulli. The Italian scholar published his collection of MSS in subsequent articles, that is, Cerulli 1931, Cerulli 1936 especially pp.1-55, Cerulli 1938 especially pp.1-37, Cerulli 1941, Cerulli 1942 and Cerulli 1964; all the above texts are reprinted in Cerulli 1971. Gori adds that the Civic Library of Pavia, Italy, comprises the Robecchi-Bricchetti collection of twelve Arabic manuscripts obtained from Harar and catalogued by Renato Traini (2006:3). Moreover, Hans Martin Schlobies collected twenty-two Arabic manuscripts and some non-Arabic manuscripts written in local languages especially *Səlt'i* which are kept at the Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. Drewes collected some Arabic manuscripts from Ethiopia privately and published some of them (1984:68-79). Wagner (1974:213-224) collected Arabic manuscripts from Harar and was able to edit most of them. He also catalogued, in 1997, the best piece for the study of Arabic and Islamic manuscripts in Ethiopia (Gori 2006:3). O'Fahey in collaboration with Professor Hussein Ahmed and Wagner produced a list of writings related to Islam in Arabic and various local languages of Ethiopia (2003:18-67).

The Ethiopian Arabic manuscripts identified so far treat different themes. Wagner (1997) introduces 12 genres. For instance, on the historiography genre the items of the MSS are genealogical trees, chronology of rulers and some short notes of historical importance, which help to reconstruct Ethiopian past. Hagiography is another genre. Mystical literature in Arabic is also abundant next to the historiographical production. Most of the mystical heritages are in verses of classical Arabic that concentrates on theological and moralistic genres. Juridical and administrative genre is not an exception in the Arabic language heritage of Ethiopia. The judicial records of Harar are living testimonies studied by different Ethiopian scholars (Gori: 2006: 9).

The printing of an Arabic manuscript is a strange phenomenon at home. Until recently, the focus of the Islamic publishers was mostly reprinting of the standard works of foreign Islamic scholars and some known *fiqh* 'jurisprudence' and theological texts. As to the works

of Ethiopian scholars, few have been printed in different publications of *Bilal* magazine (Hussein 1998:98). A recent biographical work (2005) by the late Haḡgi Muhammed Wälle concerning the Muslim scholars of Ethiopia represents an important original Ethiopian work in Arabic. It is entitled: *Kitāb 'ikaz'i himam al-'aḡbiyā', bi-rašš al-qat'rat min tarāḡīm al-'Ulamā wa al-'awliyā fī ḡumhuriyat al-'Ityūbiyā* 'A book enlightening the ambition of the ignorant through the glimpses of the biography of the Muslim clerics and saints of the Republic of Ethiopia'. The book delves into the life of the Ethiopian Muslim clerics. However, the real and practical benefit of the Arabic Islamic literature will be sufficiently addressed when materials are made adequate to scholars (Gori 2006: 4). Hence, the need for philological enquiry is evident.

Gori (2005:83-85), in his brief treatment of contemporary and historical Muslim scholars gives an outline of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq's biography and lists some of his writings and publications. He notes that Sheikh Seid claimed a descent from the family of Prophet Muhammed and comments on his genealogical connections with the renowned saint Abadir of Harar. Sheikh Seid, after completing his Islamic studies, engaged in private business (at age 23) in Harar. In 1926, he moved to Addis Ababa and employed as a teacher in the primary school founded by *Yä Əslam Səməmmənnät Mahbär* 'The Islamic Concord Association'. Sheikh Seid proved the pragmatic usefulness of learning Amharic literacy without damaging the Muslim religious identity at all. He was also a source of inspiration for the Sunday forum of students coming from different religious and cultural groups to discuss some issues of national concern at Täfäri Mäkonən School (Gori 2005:84).

In the publication as in the above, Gori explains the alleged secret contact of Sheikh Seid with the pan-Arabic and Islamic thinker *amir Šakīb Arslān* (1869- 1946) of Syria and his imprisonment during the Italian interlude as well as his role as a *qād'ī* 'Muslim jurist' in Wällo. Besides, his struggle to involve the Muslim population in the modern education process, his request for Amharic subject to be given at Šäwa Bär Mosque School in Dessie [founded in 1936], which develops into a "modern" school [1940], were mentioned as part of his achievements. Furthermore, the article points out his training at *Etege Mänän Training School for Teachers*, and his service at *Wäyžäro Səhən School* as a teacher, both in Dessie,

until 1958 to be followed by his post at the Ministry of Interior. In 1966, he was nominated by government authorities to be a member of the translation committee of the Holy Qur'an into Amharic. Finally, Gori mentions his publications: *Manhal al-'at'sān fī tārikh al-Hubšān*. 'A Spring for the Thirsty for the History of the Ethiopians'. *Əsləmännana Misyonawəyan* 'Islam and Missionaries', Agärəhən əwəq 'Know Your Country', *Yä täwhidənnā yä fiqh məmmariya* 'A Guide to Theology and Jurisprudence'.

Erlich (1994:117) cites Sheikh Seid's response to *amir* Šakīb Arslān's anti-Ethiopian stand during the Italian invasion quoting the then newspaper, *Bərhanənnā Sälām* of May 30, 1935. He mentions Sheikh Seid as a leader of the Muslim community in Addis Ababa and as a "relative of Menelik's and Iyyasu's *ra'is al-Muslimīn*, 'head of the Muslims', Abdullah Sadiq". In contrast, Sheikh Seid praises Arslān for his initiative to persuade Egyptian government to support Ethiopian Muslims and appreciates his writings in different Arab presses for the same purpose (Sheikh Seid 2001: 318). Further, Sheikh Seid's article mentioned by Erlich does not mention Arslān by name.

Abdurrahman (2004:11) mentions Sheikh Seid's years as a teacher in the *Nādi al-'Ittifaq al-Islamī* 'Islamic Concord Association' School, now *Fath* School near Nūr Mosque, Arada, Addis Ababa [recently demolished for reconstruction]. He also writes about Sheikh Seid's presence, together with his students as ordered by the colonial administration, at *Gänätä Lə'ul* Palace on the 19th of February 1937 (the day on which the Italian Fascists massacred numerous compatriots). In connection to the bombing, which allegedly triggered the massacre, Sheikh Seid had been imprisoned (Abdella 2005:22).

Hağgi Bäšər Dawd explains the role-played by Sheikh Seid in the translation of the Holy Qur'an and the great esteem he had on Sheikh Seid, "I have never seen an 'Ulamā (sic) like Sheikh Seid in this country". Hağgi Bäšər was a member of the translation committee of the Holy Qur'an set by the Ministry of Information and himself an Islamic and International law graduate from al-Azhar University, Egypt (Abdurrahman 2004:46-47). *Bilal*, the monthly magazine published by *Näğasī* Islamic Publisher, issued a short biography of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq by his eldest son, Abdulkerim Seid (in Amharic) and by the late Hağgi

Muhammed Wälle (Arabic). Actually, Gori's biographical analysis mentioned above is based on these *Bilal* (1993: 1, 9: 21-22, 37) articles.

The unpublished Arabic manuscript of Sheikh Muhammed Tajudin Ahmed of Wällo includes a brief account on Sheikh Seid (217 f.). This MS chronicles the biography of the Ethiopian Muslim clerics and the history of the medieval *Sult'ānates* 'Muslim States' of Ethiopia. It is entitled: '*Ilām al-'ağbiyā' bi-ḥayāt al-'uz'āmā' 'Ityūbiyā min al-'Ulamā' wa al-awliyā' wa al-salāt'īn al-Islām wa al-asāt'īn al-as'fiyā'*'. 'Enlightening the Ignorant the Biography of the Famous Ethiopian 'Ulamā, Saints and Islamic Sultanates and Pious Friends'. Sheikh Muhammed Tājudīn mentions about Sheikh Seid's teachers, his career as innovative teacher both in Addis Ababa and in Dessie, his membership in the first Muslim organization (the Islamic Concord Association) in Addis Ababa, his patriotism, his relations with the 'Ulamā 'Muslim clerics' of Azhar University and without hesitation with that of *amir* Šakīb Arslān. He also notes Sheikh Seid's writings on various subjects: Astronomy, geography, mathematics, *Tawḥid* 'theology', Ethiopian history and comparative religion. However, he does not mention any of the titles of the works.

1.7. Methodology

The main undertaking of the research is collection, description and content analysis of the written texts, both MSS and published works of Sheikh Seid. The researcher employs a limited anthropological approach to supplement the textual information available about his biography. Accordingly, he conducts an extensive interview with a total of forty family members, colleagues and students of Sheikh Seid residing in Addis Ababa, Dessie, and Goğğam (near Bati), Wällo, (not to be confused with Goğğam proper). In using oral information there is usually the tendency of running the risk of exaggerations or distortions in one way or another. Therefore, to check validity, the researcher has gathered and compared as much information as possible. Besides, the researcher attempts to verify oral information against the available written sources. While the inputs obtained through interviews were used to enrich the research findings, the study is anchored in the textual legacies of Sheikh Seid himself. Accordingly, these works have been described and analyzed.

CHAPTER II

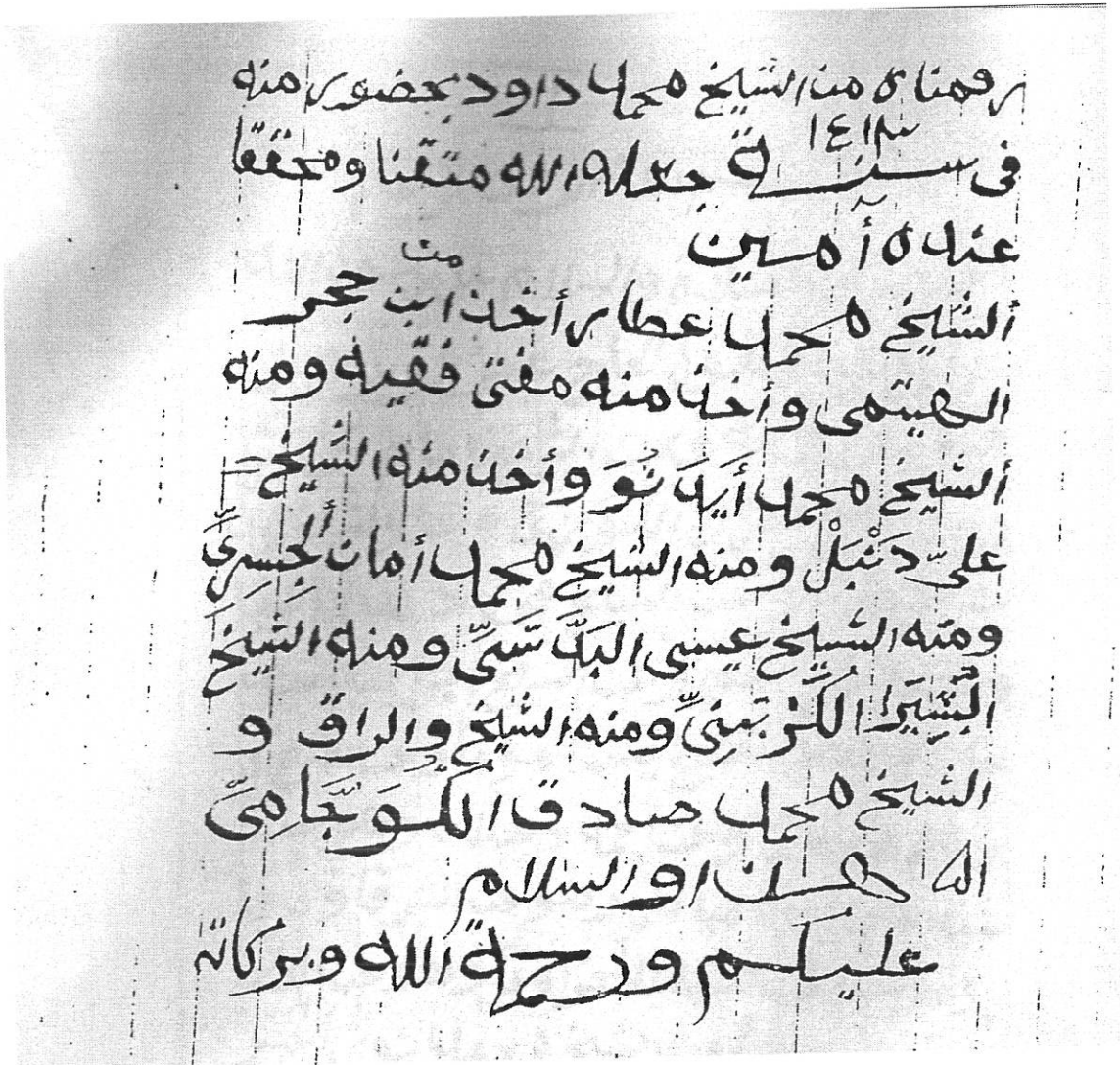
BIOGRAPHY OF SHEIKH SEID MUHAMMED SADIQ

2.1. Family background

Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq was born at a village called Goğgam, Tähulädäre district, 56 km. southeast of Dessie, the Capital of South Wällo. He was born to a pious and scholarly family in 1897 (1889 E.C.) from his father Sheikh Muhammed Sadiq (1842-1901) and mother Zämzäm Seid. Sheikh Seid's father was a well-known teacher. Many students used to gather at his teaching center at Goğgam, Wällo. Despite their ethnic diversity, his students lived in love and peace. According to the MS of Sheikh Muhammed Tajudin (303f.), he had 500 students at a time. Many informants make the number 800. He was also a known *Šāfi'ī* scholar nicknamed *Šāfi'ī tu oānī*, 'the second *Šāfi'ī*'. Imam *Šāfi'ī* (767-820) was the founder of one of the four schools of Islamic Jurisprudence. According to an informant, Sheikh Ali Muhammed, eighty strong teachers graduated under his tutorship. All sections of the society loved and respected Sheikh Muhammed Sadiq. He was a recognized leader. Thirty thousand people attended his funeral procession (Sheikh Seid 2001:426).

According to written sources Sheikh Seid's family claim to be *Šariff*, 'a descendant from the family of Prophet Muhammed'. The genealogy in his book, *Manhal al-'at'sān fī tāriḫ al-Hubšān* 'A Spring for the thirsty for the History of the Ethiopians', lists each of his ancestors all the way to the Prophet Muhammed. According to an informant, Hağgi Muhammed Assaffi AbduRahman, Ashab Ali (a saint from Arsi) is his great-grandfather. Gori also mentions the genealogy list and comments that Sheikh Abadir of Harar appears with in the genealogical record (2005:83). This habit of recording genealogy is common in the Wällo Muslim clerical establishment. There is a special subject given in this case, '*ilm al-nasab* 'the science of genealogy'. In the course of the fieldwork, the researcher discovered a text that shows the succession of jurisprudence teachers' *silsilat al-fiqh* of Sheikh Seid's father as well as that of the famous Mufti Dāwūd (d.1818/19). The text is in the possession of Sheikh Muhammed Getaw Ibrahim, Dessie. This Arabic fragment refers Muhammed Sadiq's teachers going back to Ibn Hağar al-Haytami (1489 -1554) of Syria.

Teachers of Sheikh Muhammed Sadiq



Here is the English version: ... Ibn Hağar al Haytami → Sheikh Muhammed At'ār → Mufti Faqih → Sheikh Muhammed Aydānu → Sheikh Ali Dānbāl → Sheikh Muhammed Aman al Jisri → Sheikh 'Issa al-Bādāsi → Sheikh Bāşer Kārbāni → Sheikh Wārraq → Sheikh Muhammed Sadiq of Goğgam....

The spiritual and saintly stature of his father, Muhammed Sadiq, and his elder brother Sheikh Muhammed Sheikh Muhammed Sadiq is well established among the local people and amidst the Muslim scholarly section of Ethiopia, particularly in Wällo. The elder brother was a participant in the *T'it'a* armed conflict (some 3 km from Dessie) in which many '*Ulamā* 'Muslim clerics' participated to control Dessie in 1917. The local army defeated the Muslim uprising and Muhammed Sheikh captured. However, he was immediately released in honor of his person and the magnanimity of his saintly family. The elder brother studied *fiqh* under his father and under the guidance of Hağği Wärraq and Šarafudin Gärfa. Sheikh Muhammed was famous for his excellent conduct. He is considered to be the last authority in the *fiqh of al-Šāfi'ī* in Ethiopia. In addition, he was hard worker, generous, brave and active in public missionary work (Sheikh Muhammed Tajudin, 340f). According to an informant, Sheikh Muhammed Getaw, he graduated 313 *Muddarris* 'teachers'.

2.2. Religious and Secular Training

As a child, Sheikh Seid was able to read and pronounce the Qur'an tutored by Sheikh Hamza Nuzeile of Häläqu, a village near Bati. He studied the *Šāfi'ī* school, the predominant school of Islamic jurisprudence both in Ethiopia and abroad. According to oral sources, he studied under the patronage of his father the *fiqh of al-Šāfi'ī* up to the fourth text of its traditional series, that is, '*umdat as-sālīk wa'uddatu an-nāsik*'. In the only printed book of Sheikh Seid, there is no reference about his studies under his father. It notes that he learned *fiqh* 'Islamic jurisprudence' until *Minhağ al-t'ālibān* under the martyred Sheikh, Hağği Wärraq. He complemented the study of *fiqh* with the most advanced text, *Iršad*, until the chapter on *zakāt* 'charity', with the famous cleric Šarafudīn Gärfa (near Bati) (Sheikh Seid 2001: 429).

Upon the completion of his study of *fiqh*, the young Seid continued to study various Islamic and Arabic disciplines going to notable scholars. He studied commentary of the Qur'an and Arabic grammar under Sheikh Tämam Wädie and Hağği Ali Baranzil respectively. For the most important grammar text, '*alfiyāh*', his teacher was the famous Arabic grammar and syntax teacher, Sheikh Kämmalu Muhammed. Hağği Jawhar bin Haydar (d. 1919) taught him theology at Šonke. His theological school is that of '*Aš'ari*', a school founded by Abu Hassen *al-'Aš'arī* (fl.873/4-935/6), Iraq. He studied *balāğa* 'eloquence' with Hağği Kabīr

and Sheikh Ibrahim Abdurazāq of Yäğgu. All of his teachers were from Wällo (Sheikh Seid 2001: 429). In general, Sheikh Seid grew up in an environment that was favorable to cultivate religious fervor and knowledge.

Concerning the secular and formal educational background of Sheikh Seid, the researcher does not come across any precise text. The only indication comes from a teacher's credit certificate issued by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts for attending Vacation Course for Teachers held from 3 July - 2 August 1950 in Dessie. Accordingly, he stood first out of forty-seven students earning the following marks: Geography 97, History 95, and Science 93. He had a good knowledge of geography and politics as witnessed from his legacies. Sheikh Seid's literary mastery of the Amharic language can be observed from his great contribution in translating the Holy Qur'an into Amharic. Haḡgi Bäšər Dawd, a member of the translation committee, witnesses, "I think the work couldn't have been done if Sheikh Seid had not been in the group" (Abdurrahman 2004: 47). Sheikh Seid's literary competence in Amharic is the result of personal commitment, claims Asma, his daughter. There is a point in her assessment since her father was writing articles on the national press as early as 1934. It is better to say that he was self-taught. Further research may reveal the sources of his deep knowledge of Amharic and other secular sciences more thoroughly.

According to informants, Täfärra Mälaku and Lubaba Seid, Sheikh Seid was a polyglot. He spoke Amharic and Oromiffa perfectly. His Harari language skill was satisfactory. He understands some Ge'ez. Among the foreign languages, he had an excellent command of Arabic language, as it is evident in his works. A letter written by him on 20 July 1944 to the Arabic section of the B.B.C. indicates his participation in the Arabic poetry competition organized by the corporation. He had a reading knowledge of English and French. He spoke Italian too.

According to his daughter, Lubaba Seid, Sheikh Seid had a great esteem for French language. He used to read books written in French and had a big manual that helped him to learn French. She and her sister, Asma Seid, attended a French course at *Alliance Française* because of him. Sheikh Seid learnt Italian language while he was in Nakhra Island as a

prisoner (1937-1939) in the Italian prison camp (Sheikh Seid 2001:291). An informant, Abdella Abdurrahman Nūr, his nephew, knows Sheikh Seid's role as a chief of prisoners that helped him to get the opportunity to converse with the Italians; he was made so because of his tailoring skill.

Sheikh Seid had a keen interest in documentation. Most of the books he was reading bear his name and signature including the price. He writes notes and letters (including personal ones) with copies. Though many informants witness that Sheikh Seid spent his life writing and reading and preserved his MSS in his private library lapse of time and carelessness as well as lack of consciousness about the worthiness of his legacies had made many of them to disappear.

2.3. Livelihood

According to Sheikh Abdurrahman Muhammed, the son of Sheikh Seid's elder brother, their family was relatively well to do with a yearly harvest of more than 300 quintals of cereals. Sheikh Seid questioned the total dependency of most of the *'Ulamā* circle on the society. Besides, he did not want to live as a farmer on his family's fortune and opted for city life. He started his career as a trader in Harar in 1931. According to his daughter, Asma, he lacks the managing skills to handle his business while he was engaged in foodstuff and photocopy business both before and after his retirement. According to a letter dated on 15 September 1958 and addressed to the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, he was involved in cereal and coffee export trade though he was not successful.

Abdulkerim affirmed that his father married Zāynāb Abdella in 1943. He received a large residence, 13 rooms, in Dessie. Some documents (letters dated on 16/2/1943 and on 11/8/1981) show that he owned a large tract of land (1800 m²). When the Italians conquered Ethiopia, they built a large mansion on his land; after liberation, he claimed the house. Crown Prince Asfaw Wässon allowed him to take the house at birr 4010. Sheikh Seid owned the house and paid the amount by installment. After enduring some bureaucratic maneuvers, he was exempted by the Emperor not to pay the interest due on him for delayed payment.

The amount exempted was birr 2254.37 (two thousand two hundred fifty four and 37 cents) (Letter from the Ministry of Pen, 16/10/ 1961, № 741/ 9206/76/).

Empress Mänän Asfaw Ali Boru and Sheikh Seid's mother, Zämzäm Seid, had some lineal relationship. According to an informant, Sheikh Muhammed Getaw, Zämzäm was a grand daughter of Dinkitu Boru. Empress Mänän's grandfather, Ali Boru, was a brother of Dinkitu Boru. Thus, Sheikh Seid and the Empress as well as the Crown Prince were lineal descendents of Boru. Abdela Abdurrahman Nūr (2005:43) also writes about the relationship with the Empress. The family believes that Mänän (1891-1962) and Asfaw Wässon were sympathetic to Sheikh Seid and his family.

2.4. In the Teaching Profession

According to Gori (2005: 84), Sheikh Seid started his teaching service in 1934 and served until 1937 at the school established by the *Nādi al-Ittifāqi al-Islāmī* 'Islamic Concord Association' in Addis Ababa. According to an Egyptian newspaper 'As'-s'idq, 30 August 1934, the school started teaching Muslim children in a rental house in 1932. Later, the Association was able to build its own school and students were moved. The curriculum initially comprised Arabic and fundamentals of Islam. The Association requests the Egyptian government for teachers. The General Director of the school, Seid Muhammed Yaharun and its representative Seyyid Alewi Muhammed Safi (both of them Ethiopians) went to Egypt for soliciting support. The King of Egypt provided two scholars from al-Azhar, Sheikh Muhammed Bedri Bedwi and al-Hağğ Khelil Osman, covering all their travel expenses and salaries. The association on its own budget hired a teacher from *Dār al-'Ulūm* College of Egypt, Austaz Affandi Abdurrahman. As a result, the curriculum was advanced to include mathematics and history. Sheikh Seid's formative period as a teacher started in such context. As reported by one of his students at the school, Hağği Kamil Šariff, he taught Arabic. According to Gori (2005: 84), he taught Amharic.

Sheikh Seid was also serving as a teacher from 1943 to 1958 (Arabic, Fundamentals of Islam, Mathematics, Geography) in the school reestablished and administered by him in Dessie. In the mid 1940s, he was serving on fulltime basis. As indicated by a letter dated on

17 December 1963 and addressed to the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, he joined Wäyzäro Səhən School in 1946, teaching ethics and mathematics. The school continued at elementary level (up to eighth grade) until 1957. His private file which the researcher found from the School in Dessie shows that he used to earn birr 160 monthly while teaching there from 1946-1958.

An informant, Ato Muhammed Sani, witnesses that he faced many obstacles from the traditional *'Ulamā* section and the Muslim public for the only reason that he introduced the teaching of Amharic into a Muslim school. They believed that the Amharic literacy challenged the integrity of the Muslim faith. He asserted that Sheikh Seid was a pioneer and an agent of modern education among the Muslim community.

2.5. Institution Building

Sheikh Seid's life career was closely related to justice and its institutions both secular and religious. According to documents (letters dated on 4/8/1971 and on 11/8/1981), his presence at the secular courts was as an attorney for family inheritance case that consumed 22 years. While his involvement at the *Šarī'a* court was mainly to serve his fellow Muslims and to regulate pious endowments, *wāqf*. Thanks to Asma Seid, the researcher has the opportunity to see the seal for the committee of *waqf*, which was established by Sheikh Seid in Dessie. He managed to establish the *Šarī'a* court in Dessie after the Italian occupation (Gori 2005: 84). Letters of Sheikh Seid to different bodies in 1943 substantiate his struggle to establish a viable *Šarī'a* court in Wällo.

Similarly, letters dated on 4 April and 10 April 1943 and addressed to the Crown Prince as well as the Governor of Dessie, respectively, attest that Sheikh Seid was instrumental for the construction of Arab Gända and more specifically Šäwa Bär̄r mosques in Dessie. He was the founding member and administrator of the modern public school attached to the Šäwa Bär̄r mosque (Abdulkarim Seid, *Bilal* 1993, 1, 9:23)

2.6. Career in a Ministry

According to a certificate delivered from the Ministry of Interior, Public Security Department, numbered አስ/ 992/56 and dated on 22 July 1964, Sheikh Seid had worked in the Ministry from September 1958 to May 8, 1964 as an analyst and translator of Arabic materials on Ethiopia particularly on documents of national concern written in the Arab Press. The letter proves that he was efficient in his work, “...በአባጣሪነት አስተያየት በጣም ጥሩ የሆነ ችሎታ እያሳዩ ቆይተው...” ‘...after he had demonstrated his talent as an editor and analyst...’ Similar letters from the Ministry indicate that he worked in the Research Division of the Ministry specifically in the translation section. Lt.Colonel Work’ənäh Gābäyāhu, chief of the Security Department, signed one of the letters. His work at the Ministry of interior, 1959 – 1964, had helped him to get materials issued on the Arabic press abroad and widened his political consciousness. The articles that he issued in the 1960s are witnesses in this regard. Some of his articles and fragments attest his knowledge of the geography and politics of Africa and the world at large.

Sheikh Seid used to tell his nephew [Ambassador] Abdella Abdurrahman Nūr about his influence on the thoughts of Lt. Colonel Work’ənäh Gābäyāhu, one of the key figures in the Māngəstu Nəway's foiled coup. According to a letter dated August 1961, he also served as analyst and assistant advisor on Arab countries affairs. His Service was terminated as he retired as of 9 May 1964.

After retirement, Sheikh Seid was invited by the Ministry of Information to participate in the translation of the Holy Qur’an. Emperor Haile Sellasie, though he was not ready to make any significant institutional changes concerning his Muslim citizens, wanted to see a project of the translation of the Holy Qur’an into Amharic as a symbol of respect for the Muslim faith. Haḡgi Bāšīr Dāwūd, the only surviving witness among the members of the translation committee, explained the political motive behind the project. Prime Minister Aklilu Hābtāwāld told him that the Amharic translation was not intended for public use but only for political purposes and few copies would be in print. Bāšīr declined to accept such a project and demanded the translation to target the public. He also recommended most qualified Muslim scholars for the purpose. Here comes the historic moment for Sheikh Seid and his

long time colleague Haḡḡi Muhammad Sani Habib (1914-1989), Imam of the Grand Mosque of Anwar.

2.7. Political Role

Sheikh Seid probably completes his religious training in his early twenties. He was in Harar in 1922 and made a speech on the occasion held to celebrate the victory of the Ottomans over the Greeks. The speech manifests his early political ambitions and acumen. He made the speech in front of many 'Ulamā, Harari and Turkish dignitaries. The speech was prepared in Arabic, beautifully handwritten in black ink (he uses a square paper, now old and plastered at the middle, 42.5x27.3 cm.). He was only 25 years old.

According to the article entitled, 'Opinion', he was of the opinion that the main meeting point in the cultural, political and strategic relations between Ethiopia and the Middle East is to recognize the presence of Islam in Ethiopia and enhance the socio-political participation of the Muslim mass (22/10/1961). According to his daughter, Asma, he was jailed now and then for his open criticism and bold statements against the regime. His family used to ask a formal plea for clemency through Empress Mänän frequently and he was released promptly. His stay in prison was usually not long. Furthermore, Sheikh Seid was active participant in the patriotic struggle against the Italian invasion. He had produced many articles on *Bərhanənnā Sālam* newspaper before the occupation as it is evidently documented in the IES Library.

2.8. Intellectual Pursuit and Challenges

The two groups at odd with Sheikh Seid, the urban 'Ulamā and the merchants supporting them, failed to understand the gradual breakdown of the old socio-economic system. In his article entitled: 'andənät 'Unity' he seems to grasp well the coming of a new identity definition in the Ethiopian traditional life due to the introduction of modern education and tries to offer an accommodation to the emerging identity definition. Besides, he warns about the danger of insincerity to the social changes in the people (*Bərhanənnā Sālam*, September 20, 1934). For instance, he advised to educate not only male members of the society but also

the female folk and criticized the Ethiopian Muslims for lack of interest especially in women education (Sheikh Seid 2001: 160). Asma explains that he used to say, “If males are educated and the females remain illiterate there can't be compatibility in marriage”. An informant, Awagash, adds that, “he was a pioneer Muslim who had sent his daughters to school”.

Sheikh Seid might have understood the centrality of urban centers for developing the message of Islam. Hence, he encouraged involvement in urbanization. Since education is the main influencing element in urban life, he insisted on educating the youth. A letter addressed to the Crown Prince, on 9 November 1957, attests that Sheikh Seid's insistence on Amharic language competence was part of his plan to materialize the Muslim population's participation in governmental activities.

He condemns the UnIslamic practice and insincerity that lurks in the body of some of the 'Ulamā and political notables (*Bərhanənnā Sälām*, 15/8/1935). He had been labeled by some of his opponents a *Mu'tazila* 'deviant' for the simple reason that he initiates a new wave of public awakening fighting for modern education and Amharic literacy. Historically, the *Mu'tazililas* were eighth century Muslim religious philosophers and rationalists considered to deviate from some of the orthodox teachings of Islam (Azimbadi 2003:128-129). Further, he was critical about the ossification of intellectual life in the calcium of Arabic grammar and *fiqh* without giving attention to the world and what is going on the daily life of the people that he considers the social base of the Islamic teaching (*əsləmännanna Misyonawəyan*, p.37).

According to Sheikh Adem Musa, Sheikh Seid had an appetite for books and gathered a huge amount in his own private library. Unfortunately, only a small collection (about 250) is kept as a legacy in one of his daughter's (Lubaba Seid) house. She explained that the great majority was distributed to the 'Ulamā and their students when the family moved to Addis Ababa. The diversity of the subjects of the books left and their secular orientation show his tendency and enthusiasm. It is striking to see the ideological nature of some of his books—Marxism and Liberalism—in the context where only few Ethiopians knew about such perspectives.



Sheikh Seid is not an ordinary cleric who masters a certain aspect of Islam. His understanding of the religion is comprehensive and up-to-date, “ ሰይድ ሸህ ጃሚዕ ናቸው” ‘Seid Sheikh is comprehensive’ commented his nephew, Sheikh Abdurrahman Mohammed of Goğgam. The following quotation from his speech made on 21 December 1974 in gratitude to the Provisional Government of Ethiopia is a case in point.

የሰው ልጆች አካለ መጠን ከደረሱ በኋላ በመጨረሻ የተሰጠው የእስልምና ጥሪ በግብረገብነትና በማህበራዊ ኑሮ በቁጠባ ላይ የተመሠረተ ነው። እስልምና ሥጋዊንና መንፈሳዊን አጣምሮ የያዘ ነው። አእምሮ ጋር ጌን ለጌን ስለሚሄድ ለማንም ሕዝብ ለማንም ጊዜ ለማንም ሥፍራ የተስማማ ነው። እስልምና የተፈጥሮ ሃይማኖት ስለሆነ ባይሰበክም ራሱ ይሰራጫል። እስልምና የሥራ ሃይማኖት ነው። ሥሩ ሥራችሁን አላህም መልዕክተኛውም ያያል ይላል። በእስልምና ባህታዊነት የለም። እስልምና በዛሬዎቹ እስላሞች ሊገመት አይገባም። ትምህርቱን ለቀዋል። የማይቀረውን ሞት ጠልተዋል። ንዋይን ወደዋል ገንዘብን መውደድ የኃጥያት ሁሉ ራስ ነው።

Islam is the last call to humans after they had reached their highest maturity level. It is based on good conduct and embodies social and economic aspects. It is a hybrid of both the physical and spiritual elements of life. As it is rational, it is suitable for any nation, time and place. Islam is a natural religion; it expands by itself even without proselytizing activities. Islam is a religion of work. It says, ‘engage in work, Allah and the Prophet...will see your work’. There is no hermitic life in Islam. It should not be judged in view of the contemporary Muslims. They have deviated from its teachings. They hate the inevitable death. They love wealth. Excessive love of money is the very source of evil.

2.9. Influence

Who influenced Sheikh Seid most to become politically conscious and an ardent educationalist? He got his training at home and never set foot abroad except for Pilgrimage. As of a report dated on 3 July 1960, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1960. Since he went there with his family—his brother and sister—for quite a short time, we cannot assume that the trip furnished him with the conditions that markedly influenced him with respect to the outside world. Besides, he was a matured person long before that. The above-mentioned

report, addressed to the security chief, Work'ənäh Gäbäyāhu, reveals that he made a speech at Mina (5 km. from the holy city of Mecca) in the presence of the King of Saudi Arabia—Su'aūd bin AbdulAziz. The speech had impressed the audience.

According to an informant, Shemsedin Muhammed, it was through extensive reading that Sheikh Seid became aware of the lack of dynamism in the local Islamic manifestations and the need to regenerate it by avoiding its isolation from the main domains of life— education and politics. His descent from a pious and scholarly family had also given him the impetus to consider himself responsible for the cause of Muslims. His father's reputation as a leader and chief was respected even by Emperor Yohannēs. That was also a source of inspiration that helped him to engage in a political career. According to an informant, Seid Muhammed, he said, “መስጊድ ያባቴና የአያቴ ነው” ‘Mosque belongs to my father and grandfather’ in response to a wealthy merchant in Dessie who commented on his serious involvement in the affairs of the mosque. As indicated in a letter written on the 7 November 1976, Sheikh Seid was also a founding member of the Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme Council, which was established after the demise of the imperial order.

Furthermore, his involvement in the urban setting and the civil service machinery might have contributed to his personality as a patriotic figure. Hence, ancestral prestige, the role model of famous personalities among some of his contemporaries and predecessors and above all his extensive reading as well as life experience has contributed to his overall personality. Moreover, it is better fitting to say his natural talent, contact with trends in the intellectual and religious movements through the magazines, books and media, which he was following passionately, triggered his political maturity and his tendency toward reform.

2.10. Defending Rights

Sheikh Seid was highly conscious of human rights. This was reflected not only in his textual legacies but also in his practical life. He devoted his life defending his own and his family's rights as citizens, protecting women and children as well as defending the rights of the oppressed especially the Muslim masses of Ethiopia. According to a letter dated on 18

February 1974, he spent twenty-two years in litigation. The following letter also shows how much he was courageous to demand for his rights. It was dated on 31 June 1974 and addressed to the Deputy Commissioner of the Commission of Pension, ten years after his retirement. Sheikh Seid argues that technically he had been part of the “police”, and therefore should be entitled to a higher pension and related privileges.

ወደ ጡረታ የተገለልኩት ከፀጥታ ጥበቃ በመሆኑ ከፖሊስ ክፍል ለመሆኔ መጠራጠር የመንግስትን አቋም ያለማወቅ ይመስለኛል። ፖሊስ በአምስት ይከፈላል፡-

1ኛ/ ትራፊክ /2ኛ/ ፊናንስ /3ኛ/ የአሳት አደጋ ተከላካይ /4ኛ/ የወንጀለኛ ፖሊስ /5ኛ/ ሁሉንም ሊያዝ የሚችለው /የጥናት ክፍል/ የሚባለው የፖለቲካ ፖሊስ ነው። ግን ሰው ሊያውቀው አያስፈልግም። በዛሬው ዓለም የፖለቲካ ፖሊስ ከፖሊሶች የማይቆጠር ከሆነ ፖሊስ አልለ ለማለት አያስደፍርም። ካባኔው ጋር ተያይዞ አገሪቱ ከውጭ መንግስት ጋር ያላትን ግንኙነት ይጠብቃል። የቱሪስትን ሳይኮሎጂ ጭምር ይመለከታል። ከዚህ በላይ ማብራሪያ ልሰጥ ስለማይፈቀድልኝ ጡረታ የወጣሁበት መስሪያ ቤት ታይቶ መብቴ ይጠበቅልኝ ስለ አቤቱታየን አቀርባለሁ።

I retire from the Security Department, thus, questioning my being part of the police is to miscalculate the structure of the government. The Police have five departments: (1) Traffic (2) Customs officer (3) Fire brigade (4) Criminal branch (5) Political police, which has the authority to command all and identified as intelligence department. However, it should be clandestine. In today's world, if we cannot consider the political police as a police, we cannot claim having a police force any way. [This department] together with the cabinet pursues and protects the country's foreign relationship. It also observes the tourist's psychological makeup. It may not be fair to explain more. Thus, I cordially apply to consider my application in view of the government office I retire from.

Here are additional excerpts from his legacy related to defending rights:

ሐምሌ 6 ቀን 1966 ዓ.ም.
ለኢትዮጵያ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር
ለክቡር ልጅ እንዳልካቸው መኮንን ጽ/ቤት
አዲስ አበባ

የግል ሐብቴንም ሦስት ፍርድ ቤት የተስማማበትን
መብቴንም በጉቦ ግፍ የተነጠቅኩ አመልካች እኔ ሰይድ
ሙሐመድ ሳዲቅ ከዚህ የሚከተለውን አመለክታለሁ።
እንዲያውቀውም ለልዑል እግዚአብሔር አቀርባለሁ።

... በኢትዮጵያም የቃዲዎቹ ጉባዔ በ1936 ዓ.ም. በነጋሪት
ጋዜጣ በ62 ቁጥር ታውጇል። ይሁን እንጂ በ1952 ዓ.ም.
የፍትሃብሔር ሕግ ሲወጣ ከአሁን በፊት በልማድ ይሰራበት
የነበረው ሕግ ሁሉ ተሸሯል የሚል በ 3347 ቁጥር ስላለበት
በአዋጅ የተቋቋመውን የሸሪዓ ፍርድ ቤት ቀስ በቀስ ለማፍረስ
የማስፈጸም ችሎታና ትጋት የሌላቸው አማርኛ የማያነቡ
ቃዲዎች እየተሾሙ አገረ ገዢዎችና የፍትሐብሔር ዳኞች
ጣልቃ እየገቡ ፍርዱን እያዛቡ ጥቅም ሲከታተሉ ከመንግስቱ
ንዋይ ብጥብጥ በኋላ የተቋቋመው ፍርድ ሚኒስትርም ዳኞችን
በጥብቅ ባለመቆጣጠሩ ... ከባድ ችግር ፈጥሮአል። በፍርድ
በኩል የሚቀርበው አቤቱታ ከየአቅጣጫው ያስተጋባል። እኔም
ሃያ ሁለት ዓመት ሙሉ በመጉላላት እገኛለሁ.. እንደ ሕጉ
ይፈፀም በሚል ዲፕሎማቲክ አነጋገር ሳይሆን መዝገቡ
ተመርምሮ በቃዲዎቹ ፍርድ መሠረት ይፈጸም የሚል ግልጽ
ትዕዛዝ እንዲተላለፍኝ አቤቱታዬን በማክበር አቀርባለሁ።

አመልካች
/ፊርማ/
ሰይድ ሙሐመድ ሳዲቅ

July 13 1974
To The Ethiopian Prime Minister,
Office of Honorable Ləḡ Endalkačāw Mäkwonnən
Addis Ababa

I am an applicant, Seid Muhammed Sadiq, whose personal
wealth and three legally mandated claims have been denied
through bribery. Here is my plea to your honor.
I refer also to the attention of the Lord.

...In Ethiopia, the *qād'ī* court was established by proclamation
in 1944, issued through the *Nägarit Gazzet'a*, № 62. However,
the civil code promulgated in 1960 endorsed an article,
no.3347, which repealed all the customary laws then
applicable. As a result, the *Šarī'a* court, which was established
by a decree, was destined to wither away gradually through
the nomination of *qād'īs* 'Muslim jurists' who have no

capacity of implementation and who can not also read Amharic.... Besides, governors and civil judges intervene in the decision made by the *qād'ī* and misappropriate the verdict in their favor. The Ministry of Justice reorganized after Māngəstu Nəway coup attempt could not control the judges properly which troubled the Ethiopian Muslims much. A plea for justice is multi directional....I am also a victim...spending twenty two years in litigation...I appeal to your honor to make a clear order stating that it should be implemented according to the verdict of the *qād'ī* after the case is investigated, avoiding the diplomatic wording, 'let it be done according to the law'.

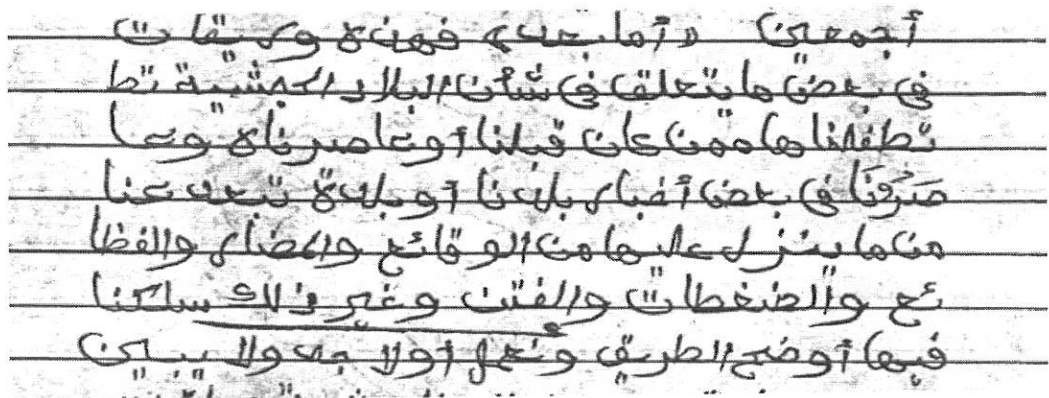
Applicant

(signature)

Seid Mohammed Sadiq

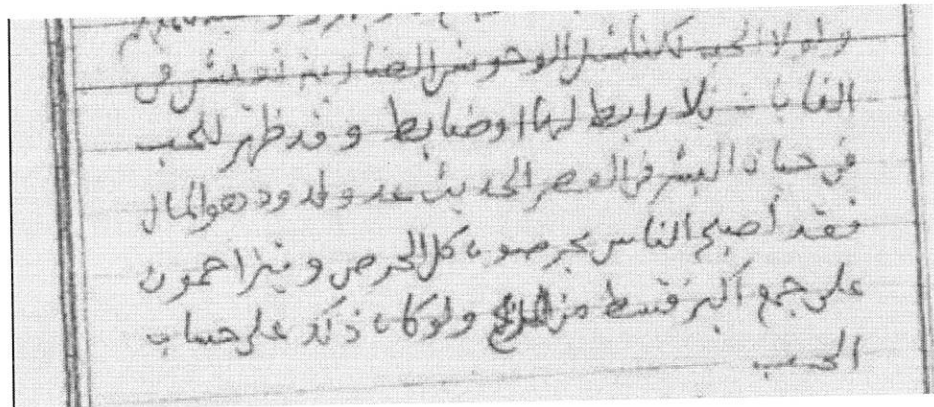
According to Asma Seid, the Provisional Military Government expropriated his family's property claim after he had won the battle in courts and was awaiting implementation. He had no choice but to continue the legal battle. He was asked why he was spending his time in vain for a property already at the disposal of the government. His answer was, “የ ማን ብለው ንብረቱን እንደወሰዱት መረገጥ አለበት” ‘It should be clear that whose property was expropriated by them [the government]’.

Despite political pressures, he was able to produce a political critique against Haile Sellasie's government. At the preface of the MS, '*Assihāmu as's'ā'ibā fī 'uhduət al-waəaniyat al-Habašiyā al-kāḍibā* 'The Piercing Arrow in the Idolatrous Abyssinian Mythology', he declares:



ገረገጥና ገረገጥና የሆነውን ግንኙነት
የሆነውን ግንኙነት የሆነውን ግንኙነት
የሆነውን ግንኙነት የሆነውን ግንኙነት
የሆነውን ግንኙነት የሆነውን ግንኙነት
የሆነውን ግንኙነት የሆነውን ግንኙነት
የሆነውን ግንኙነት የሆነውን ግንኙነት
የሆነውን ግንኙነት የሆነውን ግንኙነት

‘...This is a treatise that narrates about some events, injustices, inflictions, pressures and tribulations that are related to Ethiopia—near and far—as we have conceived it from our predecessors and contemporaries....’ His concern for the people is reflected in each of his MSS. The short treatise he wrote about love and affection was not an exception. He lamented on the change of noble values and the complexity it created resulting in depriving human rights. An excerpt from the author's handwriting reads:



‘...If not for love, we would have been like beasts living in the jungle without law and order. In our contemporary life, love has faced an arch-enemy—money. People have become so lavish. They anticipate amassing as much fortune as possible and profiteering even if their action might be at the expense of love’.

A letter dated on 26 January 1963 and addressed to Ato Kebede Sibhatu, a health centre officer in Dessie, also denotes his disposition:

... በኔ በኩል የጉድጓዱ ውኃ ፈጽሞ ቢዘጋም እታገሳለሁ
ያልፋል በሰው ልጆች ታሪክ ብዙ አልፏል ቢሆንም
ቢታበልባችሁ እመኑ ማራችሁ መራራ ነው ቢባል እራት ነው
በሉ ብትበደሉ ሳቁ እንጂ አታልቅሱ ብትወቅሱ እጅ ንሱ
የሚባለውን ትዕዛዝ ሕሊናዬ አይቀበለውም ... ብዕር ስይዝ
በልበል ስለሚለኝ ይቅር በለኝ ::

On my part, I shall remain in patience even if the well water is to be closed. Time has endured so many things in human history. However, my mind is not in a position to accept the commandment which preaches to admit when wronged, to

accept readily when some one claims your honey as if it was aloes and to remain silent when you are oppressed as well as to be timid when you are wrongly criticized...sorry, I can not control my pen....

2.11. Literary Contributions

Sheikh Seid contributes various letters, articles, MSS of considerable size and a book on various topics ranging from religion to politics and science. Most of his works are in the custody of his family, unpublished. Listing, description and thematic analysis are the subjects of the following chapter.

2.12. Final Days

He conducted his first Haġġ ‘pilgrimage’ in 1960. According to his daughter, Asma Seid, he was denied to go to Mecca for Pilgrimage by government authorities after completing the necessary travel procedures in 1977. He was disappointed by the incident and was in bed for subsequent four months to be cared at her residence around Č’aw Bärända, Addis Ababa. He set off for Dessie conscious of his end. He wanted to be buried at his family's cemetery. Nevertheless, he cancelled his wish not to trouble his beloved daughters and wife to travel all the way to Goġġam (of Wällo). His only son was in Russia.

Sheikh Seid breathed his last on Monday 14th of February 1977 (1969 E.C.) at the age of 80 and was buried in the Muslim cemetery of Kädajo—the land previously allocated by the imperial government to support the administration cost of his school at Šäwa Bär Mosque. His wife, a son and four daughters survived him. According to his will, the following epitaph reads on his gravestone:

يَا واقفين بقبرنا لا تعجبوا من أمرنا
بالأمس كُنَّا مثلكم وغدا تكونوا مثلنا

Oh ! those who stand by our grave, don't be surprised by our fate
Yesterday we were like you, tomorrow you will be like us.

CHAPTER III

Works of Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq

Types and Descriptions

Sheikh Seid has left a number of MSS in Arabic and Amharic. Most of them have not seen the light of day. They have not also been studied. The present study is an attempt to highlight the contents, types and characteristics of his textual legacies. This chapter presents the works of Sheikh Seid categorizing according to the subject matter they dwell on. The next chapter discusses some of the MSS from historical and patriotic perspectives.

3.1. History

3.1.1 Published Book

a. Basic data

Title: منهل العطشان في تاريخ الحبشان *Manhal al-'at'shān fī tāriḫ al-Hubshān*. 'A Spring for the thirsty for the History of the Ethiopians'. The language is classical Arabic and it consists 436 pages. It was compiled in 1969 as the author indicated in a piece of paper. However, it was published in 2001 posthumously (cf. p.83).

b. Physical Features

Since the work is in print, there is no need for physical explanation.

c. Style

The narrative is in prose and yet employs some verses. Ato Abdella Abdurrahman Nūr and Haḡgi Muhammed Wälle, respectively, write the preface and the introductory biographical account of the author. Ato Abdella also includes an excerpt from the MS of Haḡgi Muhammed Tājudīn [refer on p.8 of the thesis], on permission, concerning the biography of the author, his elder brother and father. In addition, Ato Abdella contributes the marginal annotations, though very few, and the conclusion too. The late Haḡgi Muhammed Wälle,

Imam of the Nūr Mosque, Addis Ababa, edited the MS. The text is divided into different topics but not chronologically. It is complete and has no omitted pages.

d. Linguistic Features

This work is written in line with the requirements of Arabic grammar and rhetoric. Phonologically, we do not observe symbols that represent Amharic sounds that are absent in the Arabic sound system (In part this may be due to the ignorance of the typesetters; the book was published posthumously. So Sheikh Seid could not check the printed version). He mentions twenty-eight words from the Holy Qur'an, which he considered borrowings from Ethiopian languages (140 f). Nevertheless, the author does not mention the possible cognates from the Ethiopian languages. Here is the list of the alleged borrowed words:

Alleged Loan words in the Holy Qur'an

Word	Transliteration	Sheikh Seid's Gloss
1. الشطر.	<i>aš a t' r</i>	'direction' [basically "half"]
2. جبت	<i>ğibt</i>	'magic and evil spirits'
3. طاغوت	<i>t'āgūt</i>	'idol'
4. الحوب	<i>al-ħūb</i>	'sin'
5. الأواه	<i>al- 'wāh</i>	'compassionate'
6. ابلعى	'ibla'ī	'to swallow'
7. وغيض الماء	<i>wagīd' al- mā'</i>	'the water minimized'
8. المتك	<i>mutk</i>	'meal'
9. طوبى	<i>t'ūbā</i>	'heaven'
10. السكر	<i>sakr</i>	'beverage'
11. طه	<i>t' āha</i>	'to mean oh ! man or oh ! Muhammed'
12. حرم	<i>ħirm</i>	'obligatory '
13. سجل	<i>sağl</i>	'man'
14. الدرّي	<i>durī</i>	'shining'

15. أوبي	'awibī	'glorify'
16. العرم	al- 'iram	'dam'
17. المنسأة	al-mansa't	'iron bar'
18. يس	yasin	'oh!man'
19. الأواب	al-awwāb	'penitent'
20. يصدون	yas'uddūna	'they laugh'
21. كفلين	kiflain	'dual', 'section'
22. ناشئة	nāši't	'to wake up'
23. منظر	munfat'ir	'split'
24. قسورة	qaswarat	'lioness'
25. الأرائك	'rā'ik	'bed'
26. يحور	yahūr	'to turn back'
27. سينين	sīnīn	'good'
28. المشكات	al-miškāt	'window'

e. Content

The migration of the first Muslims to Ethiopia in 615, and the historic reception they accorded at the Axumite court was a very important intervention for the relation between Islam and Ethiopian Christianity. Sheikh Seid gives particular attention and extended coverage to that event. He writes:

الحبشة أول بلدة وقعت فيها هجرة الإسلام:

لما اشتد أذى مشركي مكة لمن آمن برسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ليردوهم عن دينهم وجاعوا إليه يشكون ما يجدون من ذلك قال لهم: ((لو أنكم تفرقتم في الأرض حتى يجعل الله لكم فرجاً ومخرجاً مما أنتم فيه)) أي فيجمعكم وفي رواية تفرقوا في الأرض فإن الله سيجمعكم، فقالوا له: إلى أين نذهب يا رسول الله؟ فقال: لهم ((إلى ها هنا)) وأشار بيده الشريفة إلى جهة أرض الحبشة لكونها كانت أحب جهة إليه أن يهاجر قبلها وذلك بدليل قوله لهم فإن بها ملكاً صالحاً لا يظلم ولا يُظلم عنده أحد وهي أرض صدق

Abyssinia—the first country to host the Emigration of Islam

When the persecution of the pagans of Mecca against those who believe in the Prophet of Allah... reached its peak and [forcefully tried] to divert them from their religion, they came to the Prophet and complained about their suffering. He responded to them, 'It is better if you immigrate to another land until Allah brings a way out of the difficulty you are facing and creates a favorable condition....'. According to another version, he orders them, 'emigrate, Allah will gather you'. They asked, 'Where shall we go...' and he answered, 'to that direction,' pointing his blessed hands towards the direction of the land of al-Habašā. He used to love that direction for the purpose of emigration... because as he explained to them, '... there is a pious king who does not oppress and allows no one to be oppressed in front of him. [Abyssinia] is a land of truth' (2001:108).

The book consists six chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the importance of studying history, the problem of Ethiopian historiography, its ancient and modern borders, topography, climate, seasons, rivers, minerals, currency, livestock, import and export commodities, army, education, language and religion.

Chapter 2 is a brief assessment of the Ethiopian presence in Yemen during the Axumite era. Based on Arab historians he explains that the Jewish king of Yemen, ḏū-Nūwās, attempted to convert the Yemenite Christians of Naḡrān to Judaism. They refused. The king dug a ditch and burned them alive including their sacred texts. The news of such atrocity reached the Roman Emperor. He urged the Ethiopian king, Caleb, to avenge the blood of the Christians. The Qur'an (85: 4-6), the author quotes, denounced the massacre. The Ethiopian army went to Yemen and defeated the Jewish rulers. The Ethiopians colonized Yemen for 72 years (529-601) or according to the writer, Sadiq Makram, as quoted by the author, for 150 years (450-550) (p.80).

A few phrases about the engagement of the two forces show Sheikh Seid's perspective of the incident (2001: 80):

فقابل جموع الحبشة بمن أطاعه من قومه وخاصته وقاتلهم في عدن فلم تثبت
جيوشه القليلة أمام جيش الحبشة الجرار وولت منهزمة ولما أيقن بالأسر وأن لا
عزة له في الحياة اقتحم البحر بجواده قانلاً: الغرق ولا الأسر

...[ḏū-Nūwās], leading the people loyal to him and his close aids, fought the Abyssinian army in Aden. His small force could not resist the brave Abyssinian army. His forces were defeated and dispersed. When he was sure about the inevitability of captivity and humiliation, he dashed into the sea with his horse saying, ' it is better to drown rather than being a captive'.

As time went by, the Yemenites resisted Ethiopian presence. As a result, with the decisive support of the Persians, they were defeated and came back home.

Chapter 3 (pp.89-162) and chapter 4 (pp. 163-287) give greater emphasis to the very important 7th century contact between Ethiopia and Islam (the Arab World) showing the milestones in the reciprocal relationship between the two entities. Chapter 5 deals with the relationship between the Ethiopian State and its Muslim population. It gives particular attention to the grievances of Ethiopian Muslims, agents of Islamization and the first Islamic Sultanates of Ethiopia. Chapter 6 is a general overview of Ethiopia's ancient and modern history—political and ethnographical analysis. The author uses European and Arabic sources. The drawbacks of the work features in its chronological discrepancies and lack of proper acknowledgements of references.

3.1.2 Manuscript

a. Basic data

Title: *'Assihāmu as's'ā'ibā fī 'uḥduṭ al-waṭaniyat al-Habašiyā al-kāḏibā*

‘ السهام الصائبة في أحداث الوثنية الحبشية الكاذبة ’

‘The Piercing Arrow in the Idolatrous Abyssinian Mythology’ (cf. pp.71, 93).

The essence of the title, as the MS indicates, is all about the political establishment of Abyssinia which the author believes full of myths and injustices.

The language is classical Arabic, extending to 112 pages. It is a dated MS compiled in 1959. The epilogue is an addition some time later in 1949.

b. Physical features

Paper (modern), 29.6 x 21 cm, 1 col., recto and verso, black ink (100 pages), blue ink (12 pages), good handwriting, Arabic, hard covered ruled record book and two charts are included which are written in pencil. Each page contains 26 lines. The first and the second pages are left for the title and a sort of preface (12 lines) respectively. The third page contains also 12 lines; the remaining part is left empty for a diagram though not copied by the scribe. The other exception is on page 37 (10 lines, plus a diagram), on page 106 (14 lines, the remaining was left for a diagram). The last page has only 20 lines. We find blurred parts due to moisture (11 ff.). However, the text is not very difficult to read. The MS needs restoration work as it is partially dismantled from the cover.

c. Style

The narrative is in prose except for the epilogue, which has some rhyme. The text is to some extent divided into different topics but not systematically. Many issues are entertained under a single topic. It is a barrage of anecdotes and information centered on the concerns of Ethiopian Muslims related to religious and civil rights as citizens of the country. The text is complete; there are no omitted pages. However, the copyist probably does not copy two charts even though he left blank spaces. The actual text surfaces 91 pages while the remaining 21 pages are epilogue. It entertains marginal annotations on some linguistic and theoretical issues raised by the author. The notes are in ballpoint by unidentified person, different from the handwriting of the copyist (pp. 4-6). It employs vowels to avoid problem of geminating (p.38, 53, and 64). The paleography is clear and easy to read. There is a fixed orthography in general.

d. Linguistic Features

The manuscript, as indicated under (a), is in classical Arabic, but sometimes uses Amharic words such as *balabbat*, *t'äbäk'a*, *šambäl* and *firma* without their Arabic equivalents. Thus, the annotator gives for some words like *balabbat* 'landed gentry' equivalent Arabic glosses (p.4). Some Amharic words, for instance, ጳጳ *daña* 'judge' ጠበቃ *'attorney'*, ቀበሌ *k'äbäle*, 'sub-district' ወረዳ *wäräda*, 'district' አውራጃ *awraja* 'province' (p.36) are used

without their Arabic equivalents. The author provides Arabic glosses for loan words such as *awaḡ* አዋጅ ‘proclamation’, الاعلانات (p.5), *fətat* فتات ‘funeral prayer’, الفك من القيد.

There is also copyist intervention. For instance, to explain the word Amhara, the copyist says, *يعنى الكريستيانية*, ‘by Amhara he meant Christians’ (p. 14). Sheikh Seid employs the word Amhara (p. 5) to mean Christian as it predominantly serves to that end in his region Wällo until now especially in the rural areas. However, he does not ignore the ethnic affiliation based on language. Strictly speaking, the Wälloyan Muslim is either an Amhara or an Oromo. That is why Sheikh Seid notes that any one who speaks Amharic is considered an Amhara, whether a Muslim or a non-Muslim (p. 47). Above all, the Wällo Amhara custom is a hybrid of Christian, Muslim and Oromo elements. Nevertheless, the annotator makes a hasty comment and writes that Amhara is an ethnic group, which speaks Amharic; therefore to represent the Abyssinian Christians by the word “Amhara” is wrong (p.5).

To be more precise, the word Amhara in the Wälloyan context, as mentioned above, had a Christian connotation; it does not strictly denote an ethnic group devoid of its religion especially during the previous imperial regimes. Thus, the author used the term the way the majority of the community was using. For instance, *əssu Amara näw* means ‘He is a Christian’ or if a Wälloyan says, *yəh yamara səga näw*, it means ‘this is meat for Christians’. The expression still functions in the rural social milieu. This partly shows the liberalism of Wällo “Amhara” Muslims as regards questions of ethnicity.

The MS has no apparent grammar mistakes. Nonetheless, there is a morphological annotation (p. 4). For example, the text uses the feminine gender in the following expression: *كانت المسلمون* ‘the Muslims were [feminine]’. The annotator corrects as, *كان المسلمون* ‘the Muslims were [masculine]’. This must be an error from the copyist. The use of synonyms and emphatic words is very common. For instance, he expresses the content of this MS (p.38) as follows:

إذا تأملت إلى ماسطرته تفهم منه أشياء لا تجدها مسطورة في الورقة ولا نظرنا إليها
الحديقة فهي بستان يرتع في رياضها الراتعون ويشبع من مواعدها الجائعون ويدرك
مأموله طامعون ونيران يملك في حر لظاها المفرطون وسم يكمن في البطون. فيالها
من كنوز أباها كاتب متبرع وشاك متدرع تكفي العالم عموما وتجلوا غموما وهموما
وتفتحوا فهو ما وتبرز سرا كان مرموزا ومكتوما...

When you contemplate through what I write, you will observe facts that are not written on a paper and do not come off light. You may enjoy this garden. It is very satisfactory for those who are hungry. Eager people can achieve their quest.... What a precious treasure produced by a volunteer writer...it will satisfy the world in general; it will open a new horizon and disclose what was classified and secret....

The Arabic narration of this MS uses Qur'anic expressions that magnify the content of the text, not in a manner of quotation. For instance, after discussing human right infringements he concludes with the Qur'anic statement: *والله لا يهدي القوم الظالمين*: '...Allah does not guide the wrongdoing lot' (p.103).

According to the text, Emperor Tewodros's anger against the priests who refused to anoint him before his final success was severe. They came when he prevailed. He ordered them to get out angrily. The author uses the Qur'anic phrase *قبل أن يحل عليكم غضبي* (20:81) 'before my wrath descends on you' to express the "incident" (p. 10).

In 1889, Emperor Yohannēs IV faced internal rebellion from *Nəgus* Täklä Haimanot of Goğgam and King Menelik of Šäwa. To make things worse the Mahadists were at door. The author expresses the situation in the rhetoric of the Qur'an: *وضاقت عليه الأرض بما رحبت* (p. 13) 'the earth became narrow for him in spite of its expanse'.

He also explains the suffering of the Ethiopian people and concludes that those who demanded their rights had no way to achieve it, then follows the Qur'anic reprimand,

أفمن هذا الحديث تعجبون وتضحكون ولا تبكون

'Do you then wonder at this discourse, and laugh and do not weep...?' (53: 60-61) (p.20). The MS assesses the problems in the bureaucracy of the day and the inhuman procrastination in court cases, then castigates the functionaries declaring, *ألا إنهم هم المفسدون*, (p.21) 'Look! they are themselves the agents of corruption'. We read other references from the Qur'an on pp. 27,33,48,49,73, etc.

The MS is rich in metaphor and simile. For instance, the “unhistorical” nature of some incidents in Ethiopian history reads as follows:

بستانا بلا ثمر وغيما بلا مطر و عينا بلا نظر أما تراهم يمزجون الغش بالسمين فإذا عرفت ذلك تعلم يقينا كون محاكياتهم
كسراب بقيعت تتخيله ماء فإذا جنته لا ترى فيه شيئا (p.10)

‘[Their history] is like a garden without fruits, a cloud without rain and an eye without sight. Do you see that they disfigure facts? When you know this, it will be clear to you that their narration is like a mirage...’ (p.10). Here, he prefers the word *غيما* *gaiman* ‘cloud’ instead of the ordinary *سحابا* *sahāban*, ‘cloud’; the idiom *يمزجون الغش بالسمين* *yumazziḡun al-ḡašša bi samīn* ‘they disfigure the fact’ instead of... *يخلطون الحق بالباطل* ‘they confuse the right with the wrong’. Besides, the text employs the word *يكونه* *yaḥkūnahu* ‘they narrate’ instead of the common *يتحدثون* *yataḥaddaəūna* ‘they state’.

Unlike the printed work (cf.p.27), sounds that are not part of the phonetic inventory of Arabic are generally consistently represented by local symbols accustomed among the Ethiopian Muslim clerics. This particularly works when a personal name or locality is mentioned as *ጭልጭል* Č’ələč’əle, *ظلازل*, with three dots over *ظ* [z’] (p.60). The most frequent Amharic sound in the text is [ɣ] [g]. It is phonetically represented by three dots over the letter *غ*. For instance, *መንገሻ* is written as *منغشا* with three dots over *غ* [ḡ] (p.12), however, consistency is lacking. There are instances in which the symbol appears with a single dot (pp.4, 14,15,101).



Some phonetic representations for Amharic sounds

Sound	Symbol	Example	Gloss	Page
[ʎ] [g]	Ḡ (three dots)	ግራግ غراي	'left handed'	9, 46
[ɲ̥] [ñ]	Ḡ (three dots over yā')	ዳኛ دانيآ	'judge'	10,21,117
[ʧ] [č]	ጃ	ደጃዝማቸ دجازماج	'general'	7,10,15, 49
[ḥ] [č']	ظظ (three dots over ظ č')	ጩጩ ظظظ	'Č'ərč'ər' (place name)	16,47
[ɹ] [re] 5 th order	ري	ተሁሰደሬ تهلدري	'Tähulädäre' (place name)	4
[no] 7 th order	نو	ወረሂበኖ ورهبنو	Wärrähibäno	24

e. Content

Some remark on the history of the MS may be necessary. It is a copy in the possession of an informant, Ato Mohammed Yesuf, Addis Ababa. He claimed that he had seen and discussed the original MS at the hand of Sheikh Ahmed Hussein who lived in Addis Ababa and died in 1996. Ato Mohammed initiated Sheikh Ahmed who had a legible handwriting to scribe the original MS. Sheikh Ahmed had completed copying the manuscript on 26 January 1992 as it is indicated in the colophon of his copy (p.112). The researcher could not get information on

the whereabouts of the original copy. Since the copyist makes no mention of the author's name, we have to substantiate objectively to claim the MS actually belongs to Sheikh Seid. One of his students in Dessie, Ato Muhammed Sirağ, confirms that he knows well Sheikh Seid's MS with the same title. Hağgi Bäšir Dāwd, colleague of Sheikh Seid, gives his own judgment that the MS belongs to Sheikh Seid. He explains that the nature of the charts inside the MS were Sheikh Seid's style. Muhammed Jawhar, one of the key figures at the eruption of the Revolution of 1974 Muslim demonstration, confessed that he knows his teacher, Sheikh Seid, authored a work with the same title. The size of the work, he added, is comparable to the known *fiqh* text in the *Šāfi'ī* rite entitled, *Umdatu-s-sālik wa'uddatu n-nāsik*. [This *fiqh* text is about 124 pages on normal size paper, which is almost equivalent to the MS under investigation].

Although the copyist does not write the author's name, we read the author's name, citizenship, region and epithet as 'historian, great fighter and successful' at the inside front cover of the MS. The note is handwritten with black ink. Besides, Sheikh Seid's name, epithet and region read at the first page under the title of the work. Both are the handwritings of the editor of the printed work of Sheikh Seid, the late Hağgi Muhammed Wälle Ahmed. According to an informant, Seid Muhammed, the copyist was Muhammed Walle's in-law. This is substantiated by comparing the hand writing in this manuscript with that of Hağgi Muhammed Wälle's handwriting in his work (2005). The original manuscript may have the author's name because the author explains in the copy manuscript that his thoughts are no more a secret for him as he has put it into a paper (p.40). However, such politically sensitive work might have remained anonymous.

Coming back to the contents of the manuscript, after a short doxology the author gives a sort of preface. "It is a treatise concerning Ethiopia as we have collected it from our predecessors and contemporaries narrating some of the significant events, oppressions, maltreatments and inflictions burdened upon the people" (p.2). A substantial part of the narrative focuses generally on the relationship between the Ethiopian political establishment and its Muslim population especially during its modern history.

Sheikh Seid dedicated this MS as an attempt to record especially the history of Ethiopian Muslims. He put his reason bluntly:

وإنما خصصت المسلمين لأنني إنما قمت نصرته لهم وإلا فكل من الحبشة مسلما كان أو
كافرا لا يخلوا عن تضرر وتخرج وضيق وضغط ونكد كما أن كل من مشى في الشمس
لا يفوته من حرارتها ومن قرب إلى النار لا ينجوا من إحراقها

(This is a continuation of our previous discussion about the life of the Muslims in the country...) I give particular attention to the Muslims because I want to defend them, otherwise all people living in Ethiopia, Muslim or non-Muslim, are not immune from oppression, suffering, tumult, imposition and infliction. Any one who walks through sun light cannot be safe from its spark, and any one who approaches a fire cannot escape from its flame... (p.9).

The above statement clearly indicates Sheikh Seid's attachment to the Ethiopian cause in general. He opposed the political entity and its proxy—the clergy—as well as some historical perspectives, not all Christians as individuals or religious group. He writes that the oppression in Ethiopia is not the function of religion only. He acknowledges that Christian masses were as unprivileged as their Muslim compatriots were. This theme is presented in an interesting rhetoric: “any one who walks through sun light can't be safe from its spark, and any one who approaches a fire can not escape its flame...” (p.9). He bitterly expresses the wrong done against Ethiopian people when he records that the only rescue from the (political) oppression for the people of Ethiopia is “death or exile” (p.9). Many writers and critics of Emperor HaileSellasie do not attack him in person before his final demise. However, Sheikh Seid comments on his Majesty. It reads:

وقد تركت في وسط تدبير بياضا خاليا من كتابة علامة على وجود ملك وسط البلاد إلا أنه خارج عن رعيته عملا وحكما
وأنه رافض حقوق الخلق ورام وراء ظهره

“I leave at the centre of the chart a white blank space to indicate the central figure of the Emperor in the country, but he is practically and in spirit unconcerned about his subjects. He violates the right of the people, and is irresponsible to their demands”.

To sum up, the MS delves the milestones in the Ethiopian Muslim history: the 7th century coming of the Muslim to Ethiopia, the Imam Ahmed war, the religious policies of the Emperors—Tewodros, Yohannäs, Menelik II and Haile Sellasie—including Ləğ Iyyasu's reign. However, the text emphasizes the incidents in the Haile Sellasie regime. Technically, it is disorganized and needs an editorial work. Besides, it invests emotionally insulting words (p.39) and it is to some extent offensive to the so-called Solomonids establishment.

3.2 History and Geography

a. Basic data

Title: *Yä Wällo Tarik* ‘The History of Wällo’. It is referred as *Agärähän əwäk* ‘Know Your Country’ in other literatures (Gori 2005, 85, O’Fahey 2003: ix-x). However, the MS reveals as *Yä Wällo Tarik. Agärähän əwäk* is a sub-title. The Language is Amharic. It is about 101 pages, undated and is anonymous authorship. Written sources (Gory 2005: 85) and a letter written from Wällo General Governorate Office (no.1469, dated 24/1/1956) concerning Sheikh Seid's participation in the project of preparing the document, ‘Knowing about Ethiopia!’ suggest the identity of the author. Besides, the style of the work as compared to similar works of Sheikh Seid and a witness from his son and more importantly his daughter, Asma, who typed this and some of his manuscripts and letters establish that the manuscript belongs to him. The internal evidence useful for establishing a date for the redaction of the text is the reference about the 1944 federation of Eritrea and the above-mentioned letter (cf. pp. 75,89).

b. Physical features

Paper 29.6 x 21 cm, 101 leaves (not including the two leaves of the table of content, lately added), 1 col., 26-32 lines, recto only (on page 15-40, recto & verso), typewritten, black ink, covered with simple card (classer) while four leaves are handwritten on square paper. The condition of the MS is clean. Since it is not hard covered, it needs restoration work.

c. Style

The narration is in prose. The letters are clear and legible. There are few poetic references. The main body of the text contains few inserts and corrections that are handwritten by Abdulkarim Seid (the author's son) (pp. 1-10, 72,74,75,78 and 82). Some parts are paginated. Abdulkarim also irregularly paginates some others. Hence, for practical reason, the researcher tentatively paginates the text. About thirty pages demonstrate tabular data; few lines are half-deleted (p.8). The text may not be complete. There are some handwritten characters, word and phrase insert on the text. There is no marginal annotation. It provides a freehand designed road map of Wällo (p.99). It is well organized.

d. Linguistic Features

The language is standard Amharic. The author attempts to make some etymological assessments. We may look at the following examples.

1. ወይና ደጋ *wäyna däga*

The Amharic equivalent for ‘temperate’ is ወይናደጋ *wäynadäga*. Sheikh Seid narrates, “... መካከለኛው ሀገር በሀዘብ የተጨነቀ ስለሆነ አንድ ደገኛ በመካከል ለሚኖረው ወንድሙ ቆላ ሂድ ‘ወይ ና ደጋ’ ስላለው አገሩ ወይናደጋ ተባለ ይባላል ::” (p.1) ‘... the word was coined when a certain highlander met his brother living in the over populated temperate zone and advised him either to go to low land or come to highland ...ወይ ና ደጋ *wäy na däga* ‘or come to a highland’.

2. ባብኤል መንደብ *bab-el-Mändäb*

The Amharic name is (transparently) from Arabic: ‘ባብ ኣል መንደብ’ *bāb al-mandab* /የችግር በር/ ‘gate of lamentation’ (p.2).

3. ተግሬ *Təgre*

The word comes from the Arabic word *tağir* ‘trader’—according to the author. This refers to the ancient occupation of the people from which their name *Təgre* was derived (p.2).

4. ኢትዮጵያ *Ityop'ya*

The word Ethiopia, according to the text, is a Greek translation of the Hebrew word *Cush* (p.3) or it is a borrowing from the Phoenician language, which means 'delicate scent'. This indicates the country's favorable climate (p.4). However, the word is conventionally understood as the Greek form of Cush, meaning 'black or brown people' (p.3).

5. ኖብያ *Nobyä*

The word comes from the noun 'ኖብ' *nob* which means 'gold' in the Nubian language. Since the country [now Sudan] had a lot of gold, it was named as Nobia (p.3).

6. ሐበሻ *Häbäša*

The Amharic word is considered to be derived from an Arabic word meaning 'ሰበሰበ/ደበበ' *säbäsäbä / däbäläk'ä* 'to collect / to mix'. Therefore, *Häbäša* became the name of a mixed people of different colors (P.3) [In Hebrew , ḥ-b-š does mean "to mix"] .

7. ሺፋ እና መቅተላ *Šifa and Mäqtälä*

In Wällo there are place names called *Šifa* and *Mäk'däla*. Sheikh Seid points that both names were innovations of Imam Ahmed [Grañ] showing the heavy human toll he countered in the area. *šifa* in Arabic means 'ጥንብ' 'rotten' while *maqtala* is 'a place of massacre' 'መግደያ'. He adds "መቅተላ ግን ወደ መቅደላ ተለውጧል", that is, *mäk'täla* has changed to *Mäk'däla* (p.9).

8. ካርቱም *Kartum*

It is derived from the Arabic 'ክርቅ' *khreq* which means 'ቁርጥ' or 'የተማሰ', 'canal' (p.42).

9. መዳባይ *mädabay*

According to the MS, this word was in vogue during the reign of Menelik I. It meant a soldier. Later on equivalent words such as 'ጨዋ ፣ መልከኛ ፣ ወታደር' were invented (p.42). The author cites no evidence for the claim.

10. አማራ ሳይንት *Amara Sayant*

According to Aläqa Tayä, as quoted by Sheikh Seid, Amara or Amhara means cultivator, 'አራሽ'; 'ሳይንት' سايينت in Arabic means 'የእህል ማከማቻ ጎተራ', 'barn'. Besides, the author quotes some possible linguistic derivatives of the word Amhara, that is, from the Arabic أحمر *Ahmar* which means 'red', following the color of their land, or from 'ህምያር' 'Himyar' from the south Arabian tribe of Himyar (p.43).

11. ምኒልክ *Mənəlik*

The text suggests that it was coined from the Arabic منى لك 'ሚኒ ለክ' 'from me to you' That is, when queen Saba gave birth, she congratulated Solomon and said, 'this son is a gift from me to you' (p.45).

12. ቋራ *Quara*

The MS explains that *Quara* is an ancient language of the Agäw that means, 'ፀጋይ' 'sun' (p.47).

List of old or Wälloyan Amharic in the MS

Amharic (old)	[Modern Amharic]	Gloss	Page
ዘብጥ zäbt'	ሜዳ	'plain'	1
አቅበዘበዘ 'ak'bäzäbäzä	አሳደደ	'to exile'	42
ዐርብ 'rəb	ሸማ	'cloth'	60
የገነገነች yägänägänäč	የደረሰች	'matured'	60
ንዳድ <i>nədad</i>	ወባ	'malaria'	60
አሻል <i>'ašal</i>	እግሩ የነጣ ፈረስ	'white leg horse'	81
ባኩ <i>baku</i>	ወተት የማትሰጥ	'not milk giving'	82
ጥጋ <i>t'əga</i>	ዳገት	'steep'	82

ደጋጋ <i>dägaga</i>	ትልቅ	‘big’	82
ጎንዶ <i>gondo</i>	ጥቁር(ለአህያ)	‘black (donkey) ’	83
ፈንዛ <i>fänza</i>	ጅራቱ የነጣ ፈረስ	‘white tail horse’	81
ሰጋር <i>sägar</i>	የማይነቀንቅ (ለበቅሎ)	‘comfortable’ (for mule)	81

e. Content

This MS deals with the geography, economic, political and cultural history of Wällo. The work is part of the project initiated by Haile Sellasie's Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. Sheikh Seid explains that the Ministry ordered him to prepare the history of Wällo (p. 1). The MS has four main sections. An introductory remark on Ethiopian history entertains a brief profile of its ancient borders, name, demography, religious distribution, border, ethnic composition, etc. (pp.1-6). The first section begins with the topic *Yä Wällo Tarik* ‘The History of Wällo’: geography, border, nomenclature, and historical significance. It also elaborates the districts of Wällo, *awraḡas and wärädas*, their date of establishment, borders, market sites including the commodities sold and the day of the market (pp.12- 40).

The second section is about the ethnic composition of Wällo. It illustrates a brief history of Agäw, Adal [Afar], Argoba and Šägur, Oromo, Gafat, Wäräseh (Wärä Sheikh) and Mamädoč (pp.41-58). The third section deals with Wällo and its culture: language, clothing, holidays, popular songs, marriage norms, inhabitants, food culture and religion (pp.59-77). The fourth section is about the means of life or livelihood of the people of Wällo, that is, agriculture, animal husbandry including animal pests (pp.78-101). This MS is very rich in empirical data. However, it lacks to acknowledge sources in many cases.

3.3. Biography

a. Basic data

Title: كتاب قوت الشائق الذائق وشراب العاشق التائق من مولد النبي الفائق على سائر الخلائى

Kitāb qūtu al- šā'iq 'aḏā'iq wa šarāb al- 'āšiq attā'iq fī mawlid 'annabiy al- fā'iq 'lā sā'ir al-khlā'iq 'A book of Provision for the longing and artful, and a drink for the loving during the birthday celebration of the noblest Prophet '.

Long titles are common in much earlier Islamic literature. The colophon maintains the author's name. The language is classical Arabic. It counts 95 pages. The date of compilation is 1925.

b. Physical features

The paper is 17 x 12 cm, modern and ruled, 1 col.17 lines, handwritten (original), recto and verso, black ink. The condition of the MS is clean and complete but old and plastered at the beginning, middle and end. The cover is not thick enough, fragile and needs restoration.

c. Style

The entire narrative is a poetic prose *Sagʿ* ending with similar rhythms and rhymes. It is a rhymed prose. The salute to the Prophet, which is a common formula on Mawlid 'birth day' literature, is written in red ink that reads, اللهم صلى وسلم وبارك عليه 'May Allah bless and salute the Prophet'. It appears frequently. There are abundant marginal notes, inserts and elaborations by the author (pp.4,5,7,9,13-16,19-21,27,30,36,37,39,41-44,46,47,49,53,56,61, 62-70,75,76,81,83,89,90,92,93). Though the text was not paginated, the researcher for practical reason tentatively has paginated the MS.

The MS has catchwords to guard against errors in binding. The handwriting is neat. The colophon, which is written in pencil has faded and is very difficult to read. There is damage during restoration in the first two leaves that makes the reading hard. In the remaining section, the letters are clear and easy to read. A formula of blessing for the author and his

families is included here and in other Arabic MSS. In contrast, the Amharic works of the author follows secular line, no doxology.

d. Linguistic features

There are no evident mistakes in grammar and syntax. This MS of the Prophet Muhammed's biography is neither in prose nor in verse. He labors excessively to maintain the rhyme, **سجع**, *Sağ'*. As a result, the author invests many rare words and expressions. There are about twelve poetic inserts; nine of them do not mention a source. However, all of these poetic passages are indented in the MS, a sign that they are intended to be quotations.

e. Content

It is the biography of Prophet Muhammed. It narrates the life of the Prophet from birth to death. We find exceedingly glowing description of the Prophet's power, his orthodox character and deeds. The text manifests the author's deep knowledge of Arabic and Islamic doctrine. From a historical point of view, it explains the role played by Ethiopians in the life of Prophet Muhammed. The Ethiopian 'Ummu Ayman Baraka, looked after Muhammed from his birth and through out his boyhood and served him as a mother until he married Khadiġa. The Prophet is quoted to have said, "Ummu Ayman is my second mother" (P.55). This original MS is in the custody of Sheikh Muhammed Sherif of Gärba (near Bati) who kindly allowed the researcher to make a photocopy. He is a nephew of Sheikh Seid.

3.4. Comparative Religion

a. Basic data

Title: *Əsləmännana Misyonawəyan* 'Islam and Missionaries' (cf. p.96). The language is standard Amharic and contains the author's name. It counts 174 pages. The date of compilation is 1962.

b. Physical features

1col, 29-32 lines, all in recto, computer written (very recently), and the type of paper is normal A4 size, 29.5 x 21cm. 1 col.30 lines. It consists 174 leaves (main body), all in recto,

exclusive of the front 7 leaves (title page, table of contents and introduction). Though Amharic, it gives English equivalents for some proper names and technical words, with glosses when necessary. The MS is in good condition, clean, complete and protected.

c. Style

It is written in modern Amharic prose. A sort of preface and introductory remark surfaces at the beginning. Abdulkerim Seid prepares the table of content. The researcher, works on the computed copy MS at the possession of Abdulkerim Seid. He has made an editorial work referring some of the handwritten fragments for some missing contents. He prepares the final copy based on mainly the typewritten original copy. It cultivates a wide range of theological comparative references. English words are used for certain proper names. Spelling errors especially on the English reference are found. Though a complete work, it lacks a conclusion. In general, it is well organized.

d. Linguistic feature

The MS manifests the author's command of the Amharic language. Since the MS is in Amharic using an Amharic script, the author provides the following glosses. We can see from the examples below how the writer attempts to translate foreign words into Amharic.

Amharic translation of some technical words

Word	Amharic	Page
revolution	‘ገናና ብጥብጥ’	11
ortho	‘ርቱዕ/ቅን’	13
dox	‘ክብር’	13
mythology	‘የተረት ትምህርት’	26
Phoenician	‘ፈኒቃውያን’	26
Isis	‘እናት’	34
Serapes	‘በዓል’	34
horus	‘ፈረሰኛ ልጅ’	34
atheism	‘ከህይደት’	40

indivisible	‘ክፋይ የማይቀበል’	41
molecule	‘ቅንጣት’	41
biology	‘የሕያዊውን መለዋወጥ(የሚያጠና)’	41
geology	‘የምድርን መገለባበጥ (የሚያጠና)’	41
philosopher	‘ብልሃት ወዳጅ’	42
Academia	‘የመምህራን ማክማቻ’	42
sophists	‘ቅጥረኛ መምህራን ’	43
atom	‘ ነጠላ/ ቅንጣት’	44
elementary particles	‘ነጠላ መሠረቶች’	44
koine	‘ተረኛ ቋንቋ’	84
logia	‘የክንፈር ቃላት’	84
horizon	‘ ገመገም’	59
sunset	‘ፀሐይ ግባት’	107
Tabernacle	‘ቤተ መቅደስ’	144

The simile he uses in this MS is rich. He expresses a religious man: “...እንደ እንስሳት ሰባሪ፣ እንደ ውሻ ተናካሽ እንደ አጋሰስ ተራጋጭ እንደ ከብት ተዋጊ አይሆንም... እንደ ውሻ ተለማም፣ እንደ ቀበሮ ተገለባብ፣ ገንዘብ ለማግኘት አይፈልግም...” (p. 10). ‘He is not fierce like beasts and not as biting as a dog. He neither kicks any one as a horse nor pierces as a cattle, ...he does not faint like a dog and rattle like a fox to get money’.

e. Content

What was the motive for writing such a comparative work? Sheikh Seid explains that the prime motive for writing his MS . *ጃስሌማንና ማህተም* ‘Islam and Missionaries’ is to refute the English work by Reverend Godfrey Deil, *ጃስሌማንና አፍሪካ* ‘Islam and Africa’ and translated into Amharic by Gobāze T’affāt’ā in 1957. According to informants, Yēmār Wārrak’e and Austaz Yasufe Adem, this book was banned after a Muslim public protest. The researcher has the opportunity to consult the work. To this effect, Sheikh Seid prepares. *ጃስሌማንና ማህተም* to refute what he called sacrilege and

Islam in the book and some Western allegations written in the 18th and 19th centuries against Islam (p.5).

According to Sheikh Seid, both the adherents and followers of other religions, misunderstand Islam. Hence, he intended to rectify those misconceptions in comparative approach dealing other world religions too. He urges the readers to be reasonable and open mind. The preface of the MS reads:

ማንንም ነገር መውደድና መጥላት ማመንና መካድ የሚገባው ነገሩን መርምሮ አስቦና በዓይነ ልቦና ተመልክቶ ውነቱን ከሐሰት ለይቶ ከተረዱ በኋላ መሆን ሲገባው እንደው ከአባት ከእናት አገኘሁ ብሎ መከተል ብዙዎችን ሕዝቦች ያሳሳተ ድንቁርና መሆኑ ይታወቃል በአገራችን እስልምናን የያዙትም ያልተከተሉትም እንዳልሆነ አድርገው ስለሚገምቱት የእምነቱና የክህደቱን ጉዳይ ለአንባቢው ለራሱ ትኛ እርግጠኛውን ሁኔታ ለማስረዳት ብቻ በአማርኛ ለመጻፍ በሕሊና ተገድጃለሁ።

It is proper to like or dislike, believe or disbelieve something after thorough study and contemplation, distinguishing the true from the false. However, many people have deviated from the right path, because of blind imitations of their parents. It is an utter ignorance. In our country, both who do and do not profess Islam misunderstand it. Hence, my conscience has forced me to write the real picture in Amharic, leaving the judgment for the reader.

The MS comprises five sections. The first section deals with the relationship between Islam and missionary Christianity or the Western critics of Islam. The author some times uses words that insult emotions. He castigates the missionary attack on Islam as unlearned and full of fallacies (p.1). The second section discusses about the definition of religion in general. He defines religion laconically, “**ሃይማኖት... የሰው አእምሮ ያለመሪ ክፉንና ደጉን ለይቶ ለማወቅ ባለመቻሉ፣ አላህ በየጊዜው ለሕዝብ መሪ እንዲሆን ለመረጠውና በታምር ለደገፈው ነቢይ ያስተማረው ሰማያዊ ሕግ ነው።**”(p.7). ‘Religion is a heavenly law revealed in different times to a prophet chosen by Allah and accompanied by miracles as the human mind was not able to establish the standard of good and evil’.

On the issue of the significance of religion, he explains clearly in a way that shows his understanding of religion and better command of Amharic. It reads:

ምግብ ለሕይወት እንደሚያስፈልግ ሃይማኖትም ክፉ ጠባይን ለማረምና ኃይለኞችን ከተንኮል ለማሳገስ ለሰው ልጆች አስፈላጊ ነው። ሕግ የሌላቸው ሕዝቦች በጫካ ሕግ ለኃይል መገዛት፣ ለአሸናፊ መታዘዝ ይኖርባቸዋል። የሰው ልጆች ጠባይ፣ ራሳቸው ከሚያወጡት ምድራዊ ሕግ ይልቅ ሃይማኖት ለሚባለው ሰማያዊ ሕግ መታዘዝ ይቀናቸዋል። ሃይማኖት አሁን ላለንበት ለአዳዲስ ዓለም በፍቅርና በሰላም ለመኖር ይረዳቸዋል..... (P.7)

As food is essential to sustain life, religion is so important to regulate behavior and check the powerful. People without [divine] law have to abide to the law of the jungle, or to submit for the victorious. Human behavior is more prone to divine law than the man made laws. Religion helps them to live in peace and love in this world....

This MS has many quotations from famous personalities: revivalists, philosophers and writers whose role models or influence for the thinking and scholarship of Sheikh Seid is traceable. It mentions the ideas of Jamāl Dīn al-Afġānī (1831-1898), Rašid Rid'a, Muhammed Abduhu and Muhammed Shultut [the last three were famous Azhar University scholars]. The MS also mentions Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Voltaire (1694-1726), Rousseau (1712-1775), Darwin, Marx and Lenin (pp.42, 44) to explain the need for religion or to criticize some of them for their anti-religious stand. The author quotes Pascal and Einstein for their deep observation.

በ1662 ዓ.ል. የነበረው ፈረንሳዊው ፓስካል ሰማይን ሲመለከት ይህ ከእጅም ከዐይንም የራቀው አካል ምንድን ነው? ፍቺን ባወቅኩት እያለ ይመኝ ነበር። ሳያውቀው ሞትዋል። አነስታይን... የሰውን ክፋትና ውርደት ተመልክቶ 'ሰው በትንሹቱ ምድር ላይ የሚኖር ትንሽ ፍጥረት ነው' ብሎአል። ይህንን ታላቅ ዓለም የፈጠረ አምላክ ሰዎችን ለማዳን ሰው ሆነ ማለት ግምቱ ይርቃል ሲል አትቷል። (p. 15)

The French man, Pascal, who lived in the 1662 (sic), always asks, looking at the sky, 'What is this object, which is far from our hand and sight'. He wished to know its secret but died without knowing its essence. Einstein observes the cruelty and wickedness of humankind and says, 'Man is a miniature creature living in the small planet, earth'.

Since this MS is a response for the missionary criticism on Islam, it has many references challenging and questioning Christian beliefs (pp. 15-16). However, it treats the difference between Islam and Christianity in a way that can build understanding between the followers of the two religions, pointing out their similarity and differences (pp. 19-20). On the other hand, the writer tries to draw similarities between the two religions by quoting the Bible and the Qur'an confirming some common monotheistic creeds concerning God. Further, the MS briefly discusses Zoroastrian beliefs, Buddhism, Hinduism, ancient Egyptian creeds, Greek mythology, Homer's *Iliad and Odyssey*, Valmont's (India) *Mahasarata*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Fergus's (Persian) *Shahnama* that in general witnesses the author's wide reading (pp.28-34). Apart from theological issues, the text also comments on marriage, women's right, table manner, questions of war and peace (pp.23-25).

The fourth section deals with the religion of Islam: definition, significance, divine attributes, and basic teachings. The content and analysis is not like ordinary preaching. It has many learned references, comparisons and philosophical enquiries. The author quotes Pythagoras, Socrates, Aristotle, the Sophists, Zeno, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, etc. in order to deal religious questions and issues (pp.42-45). The last section specifically treats the six pillars of Islamic faith *'iman* in depth. Sheikh Seid extensively quotes from the Bible for comparison as well as to supplement some stories mentioned in the Islamic sources.

To sum up, this work is probably a pioneer on comparative religion literature in the Muslim press authored by a native scholar. Many of the hitherto advanced writings especially during the last 15 years concerning comparative religion are translations and adaptations from world wide known scholars like Ahmed Didat (South Africa), M.A. Bagel (India) and Muhammed 'At'a'ur-Rahim (Pakistan). Sheikh Seid's contribution in this regard may be considerable. A quotation from the preface of the manuscript can summarize the positive contribution of the MS. It reads:

**በዓለም የታወቁትን ሃይማኖቶች... በክርክር መልክ ሳይሆን
 አስተያየታቸውንና መቀራረባቸውን ለማስረዳት እነሆ ይህን
 መጽሐፍ አዘጋጅቻለሁ። ...እስልምና የአንድነትና የመተባበር
 ሃይማኖት ነው። ...የፋናቲኮችና የሰነፎች ሃይማኖት**

አይደለም። የቡዛ [ቡድን] ሃይማኖት ርህራሄን፣ ክርስትና መፋቀ ርን ይመራል...እስልምናም ወንድማማችነትን፣ መፋቀርንና መልካም ጠባይን ጠቅልሎ ይዟል።...

Here I prepare this work not to open the door of polemical controversy but to address the tenets of the world famous religions' emphasizing their similarities....Islam is a religion of unity and solidarity....not a religion of fanatics and idles. Buddhism preaches about mercy, Christianity champion's love and Islam stands for goodwill, love and good manners altogether.

3.5. Geography

3.5.1 Manuscript

a. Basic data

Title: علم الجغرافية 'The Science of Geography'. The language is modern Arabic. It has 87 pages. It is an anonymous MS. Though undated, there is an indication that at least it has been written in its present form after the Revolution. The exercise book in which the writing appears may help us to establish a date for its redaction. It has printed the motto, "Let International Proletarianism Prevails", in Amharic.

b. Physical features

The paper is 19.9 x 16.2 cm. The type of the paper is ruled (ordinary exercise book), 1 col. 19 lines, handwritten on recto & verso in blue ink. The condition of the manuscript is clean but incomplete. A restored rip is found at the front page, no omitted pages. It is fragile and needs restoration work as it is dismantled.

c. Style

The handwriting seems to belong to Sheikh Seid, as it is very similar to the handwriting found in other MSS, which do bear his name and signature. Marginal annotations are inserted in some leaves, written in most cases in pencil (pp.2, 4, 6, 7, 13,14,18,19, 25,35,38,39, and 40). There are also annotations in blue ink (pp.31, 32, 38, 39, 41, and 45). The topics are written in red ink. The handwriting is clear and easy to read, no abbreviations.

The MS shows nine diagrams which are drawn by pencil. Yet, some leaves are kept empty for diagrams (pp.5, 16). It is incomplete fragment. It was wrongly paginated and dismantled. Thanks to the catchwords, the researcher was able to rearrange and repaginate. The writing system is accurate, that is, it follows modern Arabic writing system. There are no damages and omitted pages.

d. Linguistic features

The author uses modern Arabic with references from classical Arabic. There are no apparent mistakes in grammar and syntax. It gives Amharic equivalent translations for some technical Arabic words in the text. The following table shows the translated technical words.

Amharic Glosses for Arabic words

Arabic	Amharic	[Gloss]	Page
الرياضي	‘የሒሳብ’	‘mathematical ’	1
السياسية	‘የፖለቲካ’	‘ political ’	1
الطبيعية	‘ የተፈጥሮ’	‘natural ’	2
الاقتصادية	‘የቁጠባ’	‘economical’	2
التاريخية	‘ የታሪክ’	‘historical’	2
مفلطحة	‘ ደፍጣጣ’	‘elliptical ’	37
منبججة	‘ዘርኳታ’	‘ wide at the middle’	37
تضاريس	‘ሸንተረር’	‘range of hills’	38
الكرة الشمال	‘ሰሜናዊ ክብብ’	‘northern hemisphere’	41
خط الاستواء	‘የመሬት ወገብ’	‘equator ’	41
الكرة الارضية	‘የመሬት ክብብ’	‘circumference’	41
أبعاد الأرض	‘የመሬት መጥን’	‘radius of the earth’	40
أقطار	‘ዛቢያ’	‘orbit’	40
قطر الأرض	‘የክባ ግማሽ’	‘ hemisphere’	40
خطوط العرضي	‘የማግ መስመር (ኬክሮስ)’	‘longitude’	62
خطوط الطول	‘የድር ቅታሪ (ኬንትሮስ)’	‘latitude’	62

e. Content

The text focuses on teaching the subject of the fundamentals of geography based on scientific facts. What is new in the text is that it compares and contrasts some of the scientific hypothesis with that of the positions in the Holy Qur'an. It addresses issues of creation, the movement of the earth and the sun etc. (pp. 4, 9,12,13,20, 21 ...). The author remarks that all claims of astronomy and science are not always universal facts. Thus, when there is a manifest contradiction with clear and established text of the Qur'an, he argues, students should stick to their religion and do not blindly follow all what is claimed to be scientific without sound evidences (p.13).

فلا ينبغي لنا أن نقتل جميع الفلكيين في كل ما قالوا من غير بحث ولا نظر ولا تحليل ولا تمحيص وأن نغتر لكل ما نسمعه منهم وإن روجوا وبهروا فكثيرا ما يسارعون إلى أحكام الجازمة من غير دليل ولا برهان

'It is not proper to accept what the Astronomers claim to be a fact always without pondering and contemplating....They made hard conclusions without empirical evidence in many instances'.

It begins with definition (modern) of Geography, mentioning its categories: Mathematical geography, Natural geography, Political geography, Economic geography and Historical geography. Then, mentions the following points as purposes or motivations to learning geography.

- 1- To know the system of the natural world, how it originates, its excellence and marvels that induces and strengthens our confidence in God, though many people do understand only the outward appearance of the world.
- 2- To guide travelers, military strategists, colonialists and traders about the natural (physical) appearance and productions of a certain environment to facilitate their purpose.
- 3- To guide historians about the influence of environment on human life and human relationship as well as human behavior (p. 2).

The MS elaborates the following topics scientifically. Earth and sky, planets, the shape of the earth, circumference of the earth, directions, the rain, eclipse of the sun and the moon,

longitude and latitude, the continents and oceans, wind, atmosphere, weather, cloud, rain, mirage, snow, hail, and earthquake. The MS is not complete. The researcher has made this MS available to an instructor at Technology Faculty of A.A.U., to comment on the general content of the MS. He suggested that the ideas it entertains are modern and scientific with learned references from Archimedes, Zamakshari, Makrizi, Pythagoras, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ptolemy, and Copernicus etc.

3.5. 2. Manuscript

a. Basic data

Title: There is no reference about the title and about the name of the author. However, the same handwriting of Sheikh Seid goes throughout the fragment. The language is Amharic. It has only twelve pages. This piece has no date.

b. Physical features

Paper 20.5x15.8 cm, the type of paper is ruled (ordinary exercise book), 1 col., 21 lines, handwritten (pencil), recto & verso (5 leaves), recto (6 leaves). It is a fragment, dismantled, and incomplete. The fragment exhibits seven simple geographic diagrams. There are some rips at the margins of some of the papers. It is very fragile and needs binding and restoration.

c. Style

The handwriting (in pencil) no doubt belongs to Sheikh Seid, as it is very similar to the handwriting found in other MSS, which do bear his name and signature. Originally, it was not paginated. Later on, the author's son paginates the fragment. Some are not neatly written. However, the letters are clear and easy to read.

d. Linguistic Features

The fragment is written in modern Amharic, some Arabic inserts are found to give equivalents for terms.

e. Content

The text discusses the shape and circumference of the earth as well as directions in brief. It appears that Sheikh Seid probably intended to translate the Arabic version of the same subject mentioned above (3.5.1).

3.6. Politics

a. Basic data

Title: “መንግስትና አመራራት” *Māngəstəna Amäsārarātu* ‘Government and its formation’* The language is Amharic, only 29 pages. No date is mentioned, however, there is a clear indication disclosing that it was written in 1969 (p. 16).

b. Physical features

The paper is 20.3 x 14.8 cm., hand written, 29 leaves, all in recto, 1 col., 21-22 lines, blue and black ink, some phrases are written in pencil, it is paginated (red ink) using Arabic numerals. The MS is entirely in fidäl except for a single title, which is written in ‘*ağamī*’ that is منغست أندمن يكفال *Māngəst əndämən yəkäfäla* ‘What are the components of a government?’. This may be an indication that the entire MS was perhaps originally written in ‘*ağamī*’. The MS is incomplete. The condition of the MS is clean but without cover paper at the backside. It needs restoration work.

c. Style

The handwriting is similar to the handwriting found in other MSS, which do bear his name and signature. Though written in modern Amharic, there are some Arabic inserts, mainly translation of technical words like capitalist, communist, socialist and democracy. It may partly indicate that Sheikh Seid uses Arabic sources. Originally not paginated, later paged by his son, Abdulkərim Seid. The handwriting is very neat; the letters are clear and easy to read. It adds some marginal annotations in pencil. There is no abbreviation.

* The MS is anonymous though the handwriting is similar to Sheikh Seid's handwriting and some of the quotations are found in other MSS. The literary style and expressions together with the oral confirmation from the author's son attest that the MS belongs to him.

d. Linguistic features

The text follows modern Amharic structure. The author attempts to give translations for technical words, which might had been strange at least in the 1950s as shown in the following table.

Amharic glosses of political terms

Word	[Transliteration] /Gloss	Page
politics	<i>yägara Həiwät</i> 'የጋራ ሕይወት (አስተዳደር)'	1
policy	<i>'alama</i> 'ዓላማ'	5
nation	<i>həzəb</i> 'ሕዝብ'	2
theocracy, ተአክራቲ(sic)	<i>sədə mänəgəst</i> 'ስድ[ገደብ የለሽ] መንግስት'	10
democracy	<i>yä həzəbə mänəgəst</i> 'የሕዝብ መንግስት'	10
political party	<i>yä polätika mahəbär</i> 'የፖለቲካ ማኅበር'	16
bureaucracy	<i>yä s'hafiwäčə dəwəğət</i> 'የጸሐፊዎች ደርጅት'	23
political bureau, ፖሊቲቢሮ	<i>yä polätika kəfəl</i> 'የፖለቲካ ክፍል'	23
Socialist	<i>yä gara häbtən (mäsarätə ya dārägä)</i> 'የጋራ ሀብትን (መሠረት ያደረገ)'	23
Communist	<i>yä k'alək'al häbtən(mäsärät ya dārägä)</i> 'የቅልቅል ሀብትን (መሠረት ያደረገ)'	24
Dictator (Latin)	<i>bähəgä mängəst yä mayəwäsənə, bə parlamänt</i> <i>yä mayämära</i> 'በሕገ-መንግስት የማይወሰን፣ በፓርላሜንት የማይመራ'	11
[Expropriated] ተገናዘበ	<i>yä həzəbə gänzäböcə ənədihonu adärägä</i> 'የሕዝብ ገንዘቦች እንዲሆኑ አደረገ'	24

e. Content

This treatise is undoubtedly a sober and intellectual reflection on what was existing and had existed at the political science (theory), descriptive politics (practice), history, and (to a single extent) political analysis. The reflections on the types of government, the meaning of “nation” and “state”, their distinctions and similarities...can be categorized under the headings of political science as a theoretical category. Nevertheless, the MS is not limited to elaboration of concepts. It goes into describing and, to a slight degree, analyzing concrete political situations. Its richness in empirical evidences, drawn from international and local settings, is indeed remarkable. The detailed information regarding the election in Ethiopia, 1961, shows that the author has carried out significant empirical research on the issue.

The other striking point is the author's objectivity. Almost all the ideas generated in the text are simply described from an objective commentator's point of view. Tendencies of “proving” a pre-determined conclusion are not that much manifest in this writing. The text includes some instances of an Islamic version of a political thought. For example, he writes how election was made under Islamic legislation (12f.), financial issues (lottery, insurance, interest) (p.19), welfare and private property (p.25) and the auditing of government officials property (p.27). He emphasizes the need for a political party with different views.

Sheikh Seid used to say, “ጎቃፊ የሌለው መንግስት በገደል አፋፍ ላይ እንደቆመ ከብት ነው...” ‘A government without an opposition [party] is like a cattle standing at a hillside’. Of course, the notes cannot be absolved from any drawbacks. Disorganization of ideas, confusion of terms (like “State” and “Government”), and confusion of economic categories with political ones (like including “capitalist”, “communist”...under “types of government” and so on can be easily detected.

3.7. Social

a. Basic data

Title: *Ta' rīful hubb wadā' 'aimuhu*

تعريف الحب ودعائمه ‘The Definition of Love and its pillars’.



The language is modern Arabic, 38 pages. There is no mention of the author and the date.

b. Physical features

The paper (modern) is 17x10 cm., 1 col. 18-19 lines, handwritten, recto & verso, in pencil, except for pages (18,19, 24), blue ink. The condition of the manuscript is clean, internally there are no omitted pages, but the MS is clearly unfinished. The MS is fragile, dismantled and without cover. It needs restoration work.

c. Style

The handwriting seems to belong to Sheikh Seid, as it is similar to his signed handwriting. There are quotations, with blue ink, unrelated to the topic at the outer and inner side of the covering page. Marginal annotations are inserted in some leaves to elaborate some points or as part of the text. On page 9, a piece of paper is attached which is a complement to a paragraph in the text. It is a fragment (not completed). It was not originally paginated (temporary page number is put by the researcher). The first ten leaves have catchwords, the rest are unmarked except for two leaves. It has no damage and omitted pages. The handwriting is very neat except for pages 11, 19 and 21. The letters are clear and easy to read.

d. Linguistic features

The text is a prose written in modern standard Arabic. Some verses are quoted. In contrast to other works, the author does not use Amharic or English words to clarify some concepts or technical words. There are no apparent mistakes in grammar.

e. Content

This piece of writing is purely secular in content and approach. It is all about sex education. The first part attempts to define love and explain some of its components as well as the necessity of love for successful marital life. The subsequent topics deal with gender issues, features of a pretty girl, the reasons behind marriage, its problems and secrets, including sexual behavior of both sexes.

3.8. Translation

a. Basic data

Title: *Qəddus Qur'an* 'The Holy Qur'an'. It is an Amharic translation of the Holy Qur'an, 457 pages, printed in 1969. Sheikh Seid was co-translator and he played a key role in the process.

b. Physical features

Since it is printed, there is no need for physical description.

c. Style

It is a literal and word-to-word translation with many lexical footnotes. It does not include the Arabic text and exegesis of the Qur'an.

d. Linguistic features

It addresses a very brief linguistic analysis at the preface (10 ff.). It remarks syntactic, morphological and phonetic representations pursued in the translation. There are also lists of words used in the Arabic Qur'an that are borrowings from Hebrew, Persian, and largely Ethiopian languages. Twenty-six alleged loan words from Ethiopian languages that the Qur'an invests are on table at the preface (10 ff.); the complete list (with two more additional words) is given previously (cf.p.28).

e. Content

The authors attempt to capture the message of the Holy Qur'an. Actually, it is difficult to convey the essence of the Qur'an in literal translations without adding an elaborate commentary. However, for direct textual meaning the work is very useful.

To sum up, Sheikh Seid's MSS are not limited to the above list. According to informants, Sheikh Muhammed Jawhar and Sheikh Abdella Muhammed, as well as textual evidences two works are believed to be part of his contribution. The first one is, *Yä Täwhidāna Yä fiqh mämmariya* 'A guide to Theology and Jurisprudence'. Though mentioned on *Bilal*

magazine (1993:1, 9) and O’Fahey (2003: 55), the researcher could not trace this text. The second one is *حديقة الكواكب في علم الكواكب Hadiqat al-kawākib fī ‘ilm al-kawākib* ‘Garden of Stars about the Science of Stars’. Sheikh Abdella Muhammed confirms that he reads this MS recently and delivers to one of the families of Sheikh Seid at Gärba, Wällo. The work is conceived to be on ‘astronomy’.

3.9. Articles

Among the sixteen articles collected by the researcher, seven of them were published on *Bərhanənnā Sälam* newspaper (cf. p.85). They are all in Amharic and almost all talk about the need for unity and solidarity. There is a list of the published articles at the end of this thesis and some of them are discussed in the next chapter. The unpublished articles may need some description. The following is a brief assessment according to their subject matter.

3.9. 1. Religion

3.9.1.1 Sermon

a. Basic data

Title: it has not a title. It mentions the name of the author. The text reads in Amharic, 2 pages, and dates on 3 June 1946.

b. Physical feature

It is handwritten in blue ink, ruled paper (modern) 33 x 21 cm, 2 col. (the second leaf is 1 col.), recto only, 38 lines and only two leaves. There is a rip at the middle and bottom end of both leaves. The text is clean and the letters are legible.

c. Content

It is a holiday [*‘id al-Fit’r*] address to the faithful, pointing out about the early history of Islam, its relation with Ethiopia and the need for national unity regardless of religion.

3.9.1.2 Opening Speech

a. Basic data

Title: “ሃይማኖቶችና ጥቅማቸው” ‘Religions and their benefit’. It is in Amharic, 2 pages. The name of the author is mentioned. It is a dated manuscript, 21/12/1974.

b. Physical feature

Modern paper, 29.9 x 21 cm, 1 col. recto only, 12-32 lines, two leaves, there is small rip at the middle edge of both leaves, clean, legible, good condition and handwritten (carbon copy).

c. Content

The text addresses the pragmatic role of religions and their essential unity. It was occasioned in gratitude to the Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia for allowing the Ethiopian Muslims to celebrate the Friday sermon officially.

3.9.1.3 Mysticism

a. Basic data

Title: “የሌሊት ጉዞና ወደ ሰማይ ማረጋገጫ” ‘The Night Journey and Ascension to Heaven’ It is anonymous, written in pencil and in Amharic. It covers three pages. It is undated.

b. Physical feature

Modern paper, 29.6 x 21cm, 1 col. 6-26 lines(3 leaves), not paginated, handwritten in pencil (by Sheikh Seid) which is identified by comparison.

c. Content

The text narrates Prophet Muhammed's miraculous night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and his ascension to heaven.

3.9.2. Politics

3.9.2.1 Administration

a. Basic data

Title: “የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ” ‘The People of Ethiopia’. It is in Amharic, 3 pages and dated, 23/9/1958 (cf. p. 97,105). The author is distinctive, Seid Muhammed Sadiq.

b. Physical feature

The type of the paper is plain, 29.6 x 21 cm, 1 col., 3-34 lines (three leaves). It is paginated, typewritten and in good condition.

c. Content

According to his own explanation, the article is an answer to the oral request from the Security Department of the Ministry of Interior to address the disparity in life standard and spirit between Ethiopian Christians and Ethiopian Muslims.

3.9.2.2 Constitutional issues

3.9.2.2.1 Expropriation

a. Basic data

Title: “ ኢትዮጵያ ትቅደም፣ ሕገ-መንግስቱ ይሻሻል፣ ያለ ህግ የበለጸጉት ይወረሱ”

‘Ethiopia first, let the constitution be amended; people who made fortunes illegally shall be confiscated’. It bears the name of the author. The language is Amharic. It dates on 13 August 1974 (cf. p.97).

b. Physical feature

Modern plain paper 29.6 x 21 cm. 1 col., 32 lines, (single), faded, handwritten in pencil (copy). It is a fragment.

c. Content

The author speaks favorably of the short-lived peaceful resistance to the imperial order at the beginning of the 1974 Ethiopian Revolution. He gives a moral justification for expropriation of the excess wealth of those who prospered illegally citing Islamic sources.

3.9.2.2 Recommendation

a. Basic data

Title: “ግልጽ ደብዳቤ” ‘Open letter’. It is typewritten in Amharic, 5 pages and dated, 13/7/1974. It bears the name of the author.

b. Physical feature

Plain paper 29.6 x 21 cm. 1 col., 3-40 lines (five leaves) and paginated. It is typed but hand written corrections and insertions are made by the author. The text is in good condition.

c. Content

The text recommends some elements that are worthy of consideration to the draft constitutional amendment in 1974.

3.9.2.3. Patriotism

3.9.2.3.1. Heroes

a. Basic data

Title: “ከወሎ ተወላጆች ለአገራቸውና ለወገናቸው ከአገላለጽ ከብዙ በጥቂቱ” ‘Patriotic deeds of some Wälloyäs’. The text is in Amharic, 2 pages and dated, 28/1/1975.

b. Physical feature

The paper is 29.9 x 21 cm, handwritten, black ink, 1 col., 16-33 lines (2 leaves), and black ink, paginated and in good condition. The type of the paper and the handwriting, which is similar to other works of Sheikh Seid as well as an oral witness (Abdulkerim), strengthens each other to substantiate the identity of the author.

c. Content

The article explains the patriotic contributions of four famous men from Wällo: Ləḡ Iyyasu, *Däḡazmač* Amäde Sadiq, Sheikh T’alha Ja‘far and Sheikh Mohammed Sadiq (cf.p. 85).

3.9.2.3.2. Countermeasure

a. Basic data

Title: “አስተያየት” ‘Opinion’. It is written in Amharic, 4 pages and is dated, 22/10/1961.

b. Physical feature

The paper (modern) is 29.6 x 21 cm, 1 col., 12-29 lines (4 leaves). It is paginated, typewritten and in good condition.

c. Content

The article is a response to the anti-government media protests abroad concerning its relation with Islam and Ethiopian Muslims.

Furthermore, Sheikh Seid contributes articles to the press. The following is the list of the articles.

Published articles

	Topics	Press/Date
1	ሥልጣንና ነገር ‘Power and Litigation’	<i>Bərhanənnā Sälam</i> newspaper (April 26, 1934)
2	የኢትዮጵያ ክርስቲያኖችና የአርበኞች ፍቅር መጠንከርና አንደኛቸው የአንደኛቸውን በዓል ማክበር ‘Strengthening Ethiopian Christians and patriots mutual love and unity by celebrating holidays together’	<i>Bərhanənnā Sälam</i> newspaper (November 8, 1934)
3	የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ ‘Ethiopian History’	<i>Bərhanənnā Sälam</i> newspaper (February 14, 1935)
4	ስለ ሰይድ አብደላ መሀጁሽ ሞት ‘Obituary of Seid Abdella Mehjus’	<i>Bərhanənnā Sälam</i> newspaper (February 14, 1935)
5	የአረብ ጋዜጣዎች ቃላት ‘Comments of the Arab Press’	<i>Bərhanənnā Sälam</i> newspaper (May 30 , 1935)

6	ደስ የሚያሰኝ የከተማ ወሬ 'Pleasant downtown talks'	<i>Bərhanənnā Sälām</i> newspaper (August 15, 1935)
7	አንድነት 'Unity'	<i>Bərhanənnā Sälām</i> newspaper (September 21, 1934)
8	የሕዝብ ጸጥታ ለመጠበቅ የኑሮ ደረጃውን ማሻሻልና ማስተካከል ያስፈልጋል 'The Necessity of improving the life standard of the people for national security'	Special Magazine (?) / 1964/.

3.10. Letters

Letter writing was one of the important occupations of Sheikh Seid. According to informants, Seid Muhammed, Asma Seid and Ahmed Yesuf, he used to write letters to Emperor Haile Sellasie, the Crown prince and President Mängəstu Häile Maryam. Besides, he is believed to write to heads of States in the Arab and Islamic world, local and international organizations, and other important personalities. Since letters are important expressions of one's personality, the thesis discusses selected letters of Sheikh Seid below and in the next chapter to supplement the documentation of the legacies.

3.10.1 To President Jamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt

It was written in 1963. Though handwritten (modern paper) by Sheikh Seid, it was not signed, and remains anonymous. Instead, there is a cryptic message—literally *bit'āqā ka-taḍkirati lil-mawd'ū*—'ID-card as a remainder of the subject' that may hint at a previous contact between the two men. Here is the Arabic copy of the letter.

بسم الله والحمد لله
 سيدى الرئيس جمال عبد الناصر
 السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته
 بالاصالة عن نفسي وبالنيابة عن اخواني اقدم اليكم
 شكرنا المصير لوجودكم بيننا و سعادتنا بمقابلتنا و اهنئكم
 و تحياتكم العظيمة بالعام الجديد عام ١٣٨٣ هجرى اظال الله عمركم
 ووفناكم للعمل بما فيه خير الاسلام و المسلمين بل وفيه الإنسانية
 هماء لنا و حالنا ليس الجسد لا يخفى عنكم زهو امنكم و مسد جميع
 الدول العربية و الإسلامية أنه لا تنزلوا اظننا فرقة
 للبشرية و دشم و السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته
 غرة محرم ١٣٨٣ هـ
 ادريس ابا

بطاقة تذكرة للموضوع

In the name of Allah, Praise be to Allah.
 Honorable President Jamal Abdul Nasser,
 May Allah's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

On behalf of my self and my brothers, allow me to extend my heart-felt gratitude for your presence here and for giving us the opportunity to meet your Excellency. I wish you and your great people to have a happy new year of 1963. May Allah help you, bestow his blessings and empower you to work for the best of Islam, Muslims as well as the rest of humankind forever. To come to the point, we gather that you are no stranger to the status of Ethiopian Muslims. Hence, we request your honor and all Arab and Islamic governments not to let our children to be victims of missionaries. We wish you the best, May Allah shower his greetings and blessings upon you.

Muharram, 1383 al-hijri, [1963], Addis Ababa.

ID-card as a remainder of the subject.

Nasser was seen in the early 1960s as champion of the Arab world and an anti-imperialist establishment. His rhetoric about Islam in the initial period of his revolution attracted Muslim sympathy in both Egypt and abroad. According to Erlich, when he came to inaugurate OAU in 1963, “hundreds of thousands of Ethiopian Muslims spontaneously traveled (many on foot) to the air port to welcome him, completely surprising the Ethiopian authorities....The thunderous cry of ‘Nasser! Nasser!’ still rings in the ears of many of the Ethiopian police and military” (1994: 139).

3.10.2. To the Embassy of Egypt

He also wrote a letter (Arabic, handwritten on modern paper, black ink) on behalf of the Islamic *qāḍī* Office of Dessie to the representative of the Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt, T’ahir Bakr al-Amri, Addis Ababa, dated on 28 January 1952. It elaborates four issues: appreciation of previous support from the Egyptian government, Ethio-Egyptian relationship, aid for the people, the situation of the Ethiopian Muslim and the need for financial support to establish Islamic modern schools. He promised the proper administration of the funds. Finally, he asserts that education is the only way to unite and empower Ethiopian Muslims so that to enable them to serve their country.

3.10.3. To Seyyid Alewi Muhammed Sāfi

This is an Arabic letter with similar philological features as the above letter (3.10.2) and addressed to the representative of the Islamic Concord Association, Addis Ababa, dated on 24 January 1952, Dessie. It explains that he needed to contact Muslim diplomats especially Egyptians to succeed in his struggle. The condition of Muslims, he reports, is improving but he emphasized that what they lost is much more than the gain. He criticized the majority of Muslims for damaging their own cause.

He also reports about his accomplishment concerning the *Šarī’a* Court in Dessie. We read that he struggled to reorganize and institutionalize the court in Dessie. He prepared by-law (the only *‘ağamī* text at the disposal of the researcher), code of procedure and related documents. The document comprises the character count of the chief *qāḍī* ‘jurist’, his Deputy and Secretary. It addresses the jurisdiction of the *Šarī’a* court, electoral procedures,

customary affairs of the Muslims to be included in the jurisdiction of the court, the different levels of the court—the 1st instant, 2nd and the High court—as well as the court of appeal and its procedures. In addition, the name, stamp, income, expenses (budget), office, etc., of the Islamic court is included in the submitted document. It is unfortunate that none of the above documents, except a two-page bylaw, survived. He mentions that he submitted the document to the Ministry of Justice and Legal Affairs, despite the (Chief) *qād'ī*'s move against his plan. He blamed the bureaucracy for denying a prompt response.

3.10.4. To the 'Ulamā in Addis Ababa

The letter was written on 28 January 1952. It is in Arabic, handwritten on modern paper with black ink. It is all about his four-year struggle in Dessie after he left Addis Ababa in 1943. He established two mosques, organized the *Šarī'a* court and founded an organization called “የእስላም አንድነት ማህበር” ‘Islamic Unity Association’ *Jam‘iat al-waḥdat al-’Islamiya*. He requests the help of his brothers in Addis Ababa telling them that he could not do anything better alone. Six grievances rose by the public against the chief *qād'ī* were brought into their attention.

3.10.5. To Abdella Abdurrahman Nūr

This letter was written on 18 April 1976, Addis Ababa. It is handwritten in pencil (modern paper). Abdella Abdurrahman Nūr is the son of Sheikh Seid's elder sister *Emete* Nāfisa Mohammed Sadiq. According to his published memoir, his mother was very close to Empress Mānān and her venue to the Wällo 'Ulamā and saints, that is, the Empress used to request the eminent saint's blessings and prayers through her (Abdella 2005:19). Abdella Abdurrahman was a long time staff of the Foreign Ministry. He served in various positions including an Ambassadorial post. A letter written to him while he was in Ghana, suggests the family's close relationship with the Crown Prince. The letter states: “... ሸህ ሙሐመድ ሙሐመድ ሳዲቅ በጣም ታመው ስለነበር ለግርማዊት [ረ]ፍት እንኳ ለመምጣት ባለመቻላቸው ደብዳቤ ጽፈው ነበር። ልዑል አልጋ ወራሽም መልሱን ጻፉላቸው...” ‘Sheikh Muhammed Muhammed Sadiq was severely sick and could not attend the funeral procession of her Empress. He wrote a letter of condolence. The crown prince had replied to his letter...’

3.10.6. To Lt. Col. Work'ənäh Gäbäyāhu, General Security Head

It is a report about the religious and political situation in Mecca and its environs during the season of Haḡḡ in 1960. It is handwritten in pencil (modern paper). Sheikh Seid conducted his first Pilgrimage same year together with his elder brother and sister, *Emete* Nāfisa (Abdella 2005:111). This is a two-page report, handwritten in pencil and dated on 24 June 1960. Here it is sufficient to say that Sheikh Seid made a speech at the Saudi Royal Palace in Mina (5 km from Mecca) in front of King Sa'ud bin AbdulAziz. He was accompanied by seven Ethiopians including Ethiopian Ambassador (Abdella Madani) and Secretary (Ridwan Abdella) to the Royal Kingdom. His speech received great applause from the audience. According to an informant, Ahmed Yesuf, he also made a speech at *'arafāt*—site of biggest congregation among the ceremonies of the Pilgrimage. He ended his speech with, “Seid Muhammed Sadiq from Ethiopia”. This last phrase, Ahmed explains, made his majesty Haile Sellasie very happy when he heard of the event.

3.10.7 To Islamic Public School of Dessie

It is handwritten in Amharic (modern paper) on 20 April 1976. It includes as signatories Haḡḡi Muhammad Sani Habib and Haḡḡi Muhammad Osman (a pious merchant). It was a reply to a letter written from the school administration dated on 22 March 1976 concerning the school's financial crises. They demanded the administration not to deliver the school over to the government and promised to settle the financial problems. They were trying to get a funding organization. They insist, “We urge you not to hand over the school to the government; the program will be changed”. This is an indication of relationship with the new government.

3.10.8. To Mr. H.D. Richard, State Bank of Ethiopia

The letter is typewritten in English (September 15, 1958). It states that Sheikh Seid bought 3,500 quintals of cereals. However, because of a new rate of exchange the price of his stock got down by 50% of its cost price. He blames the Bank's branch office in Dessie for the loss. Besides, there is an indication in the letter that Sheikh Seid was involved in coffee export

business for some time. He accused the Bank in Dessie for double standard. “I had applied again to your office to sell coffee in East African Shillings, while the same was granted to many others, I was denied”. Sheikh Seid continued his objection and as a result, the Ministry of Pen gave an order to remit him birr 2600 (two thousand six hundred) as indicated in a letter written by him and addressed to Haḡgi Muhammad Sani Habib and Dessie branch of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia.

To sum up, the legacies of Sheikh Seid MuhammedSadiq are diverse in content and approach. Most of them, actually, deal with issues relevant to the Ethiopian discourse. This chapter focuses on the philological aspect of the treasure. The attention of the following chapter is specifically directed to the historical and patriotic values of the MSS and writings of Sheikh Seid.



CHAPTER IV

Analysis of Historical and Patriotic Legacies

This chapter first discusses the historical insights of Sheikh Seid and then points out some of his legacies of patriotism and national consciousness.

4.1. Historical Documentation

4.1.1. *'Assihāmu as's'ā'ibā fī 'uḥduṭ al-waṭaniyat al-Habašiyā al-kāḍibā*

'The Piercing Arrow in the Idolatrous Abyssinian Mythology'

This MS reveals the record of many Ethiopian leaders on the Muslim issue (cf.p.31). It is a strong criticism against Ethiopian political system covering the regimes especially between Emperor Tewodros II and Haile Sellasie I. First, it is perhaps an important source as it presents Ethiopian history from the viewpoint of a Muslim scholar. Second, it shows Christian-Muslim relations both at political and social levels. Third, it marks domestic-foreign Muslim contacts and sympathies. The following is an overview of the MS.

a) A Muslim Reading of Ethiopian History

The first contact between Islam and Ethiopia was in 615, when a group of Muslim emigrants came to Ethiopia seeking a safe haven. They were hosted and accepted by the *Naḡāšī* 'king' of Axum and they lived for 16 years. The author acknowledges this as the formative stage in the relation between the two great religions—Islam and Christianity. He explains that it is an honor for Ethiopian Muslims as they are citizens of a country that hosted the first Islamic emigration. He praises the king, his courtiers and governors for their justice and welcome (p.9). Unlike the political "spin" which is, so often given to this important episode epitomizing the Ethio-Islam relationship, Sheikh Seid argues that the political tolerance towards Islam and Muslims was in fact short-lived. He states:

ثم خلف من بعدهم خلق تشمروا عن ساق الجد لإضرار المسلمين عكس ماكانوا عليه فيما مضى حتى بكى المسلمون الدم

‘Then they were succeeded by authorities who were zealots and determined to inflict harsh treatment against the Muslims in contrast to what they enjoyed before; Muslims wept severely...’(p.9). According to the author, afterwards there comes an era that reverses and avenges the century old Muslim plight, that is, the advent of Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim (Grañ) in the sixteenth century. He perceives the *Grañ* episode as liberation for the Muslim mass acknowledging the incident as a punitive measure to an excessively intolerant regime. He explains:

ولم يجد مخلص فبينهما المسلمون على هذه البلايا جيل بعد جيل وهم في تكبر وتجبر والمسلمون في تصير إذ سلط الله عليهم مجاهدا يضيق عليهم الأرض بالطول والعرض يقال له إمام أحمد بن إبراهيم...

‘No redeemer was found. While the Muslims were burdened with these tribulations, generation after generation; while they [the rulers] were flaunting in pride and arrogance, the Muslims practiced patience. Then God gave them a ruler, a freedom fighter, who besieged them through out the land, length and breadth; he was called Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim’(p.9).

The author also criticizes what he labels as the “Amhara [Christian] inventors of history” for misrepresentation of some historical facts without providing concrete evidence. He made mention of the clergy as an agent of disunity, fomenting hatred as well as misleading the rulers. Sheikh Seid writes the Oromo were not latecomers to the Ethiopian soil and argues enjoying a precedent before the ethnic Amhara, long before what is termed as the Oromo Migration (p.10). Thus, he interprets the Oromo Migration as a restoration of what was lost to the Amhara of an original Oromo land. Here, we are not to argue about the historicity of the claim. That will be an assignment for the students of history proper.

The MS records the harsh measure taken by Emperor Tewodros against his opponents including priests and his own folk. Sheikh Seid narrates, probably, folk tales in this regard (p. 11). He rejects the claims of the “Solomonids” as legendary and the supposed adultery that gave birth to Menilik I, as blasphemy and dishonor to Prophet Solomon and Ethiopia. He portrays Emperor Yohannēs IV as a close ally of Muslims and Muslims used to pray for his success before he came to power. This amicable relationship, the author explains, was disrupted when he consolidated his power (pp. 7, 8, 13).

The text also touches upon the history of King Mika'el and Ləḡ Iyyasu including the battle of *Sägäle* and the role played by Abba Hanna in the final demise of Iyyasu. The narration may be important in strengthening the genuineness of Mika'el's conversion to Christianity and his relations with the Muslim subjects of Wällo. The MS narrates that King Mika'el chopped the hand of a famous Muslim cleric, Sheikh Ibrahim. The latter is claimed to have cursed him saying, 'كتبت القرآن الكريم باليد التي قطعتها قطع الله عقبك ونسلك' , 'you chopped my hand that copied the Holy Qur'an, May Allah bring your end and terminate your descendants' (p. 26). The historicity of such an incident may be questionable; however, it partly reflects the tense relationship between the two entities.

The writer's reading of history calls attention to how Ethiopian Muslims were forced to pay financial contribution for the church activities and building (p.33), the number of Mosques as compared to the number of churches as well as the number of Muslim religious teachers and learning institutions during the reign of Emperor Haile Sellasie. It also discloses the atrocities perpetuated by the Haile Sellasie regime against Muslims and their institutions (p.30, 51). The MS also narrates Sheikh T'alha Ja'far's resistance against Emperor Yohannəs and Menelik II, his alliance with the Italians and his immediate defection as well as the Bäkke massacre in Qallu, Wällo, which may help for historical reconstruction of the events (pp. 14, 15).

The MS lists Muslim *balabats* 'landed gentry' of Wällo "who lost their real power" but it does not give time reference. Here is the list: Birru Lubo (governor of Qallu), Muhammed K'ank'e (governor of Rəqqe), Kelil Nemeye (governor of Bätäho), Dägğazmač Bärnye bin Ademe (governor of Buko), Adäla Bille (governor of Lägä Gora), Abba Getu (Ali), (governor of Lägä Hädä) and Amäde Nadaw (governor of Lägambo). It adds, Ali Wädaje (governor of Boräna), Dägğāzmač Assanu Wädaye (governor of Därra), T'ahir Wädaye (governor of Wärä'illu), Amäde Sidiq (governor of Tähulädäre), Mamädoč (predecessors of Imam Mohammed Ali)—governors of Wärähimäno and finally Mohamed Anfäre (Sultan of Aussa and Assab) (56f.). The author mentions, "Being a Muslim" as the reason behind losing power.

The MS further writes about Amir Abdullahi of Harar and his struggle against Menelik at C'älänk'o (1871) as well as that of Seid Muhammed Nūr (Fitawrari Dadi) (d. 1911), a fighter from Bale, and his resistance against Emperor Menelik (58f). The MS dwells on Ethiopian Muslims deprivation of access to land in Goğgam, Tigre, Begemdir and other Christian dominated areas while losing their *rist* (land) in Muslim dominated regions. The MS also deals with the history of Ləğ Iyyasu's dismissal, the suffering the Harari's encountered for demanding equality and the gradual erosion of Jimma's Islamic identity and self-rule. Besides, it narrates the confiscation of *Waqf* 'trust' land in AUSA and the imprisonment of its ruler, Sultan Mohammed Yayo; the suffering of Arsi Muslims as well as the social inequality and discrimination in court and government offices.

b) Christian-Muslim Relations

The MS dedicates itself to the exposition of the nature of Christian Muslim relationship in Ethiopia. It reveals some classified episodes (p. 36). It criticizes with strong words the negative stereotypes against Ethiopian Muslims and shows the psychological and practical gap between the followers of the two religions (pp. 12, 19, 33, 25, 63, 73, 51-57, 76 and 77). He blames the political establishment for fomenting and disturbing amicable Christian-Muslim relationships (p. 70).

The narrative is full of episodes that emphasize the areas of conflict in the long relationship between the followers of the two religions both at the political and the societal levels. The only exception of peaceful, reciprocal and symmetrical relationship, Sheikh Seid argues, is that of the short-lived Ləğ Iyyasu's interlude. However, the author gives no scriptural base for the cultural prejudice and misconceptions between the followers of the two religions (p. 50).

c) Contact with the Outside World

The MS clearly demonstrates the attempt of Ethiopian Muslims to make contact with the outside world for getting diplomatic and material support as well as assure the Muslim presence in the country. It mentions that Ethiopian Muslims exile to al-Hijāz and to the Red Sea coast regions after the Borumieda (north of Dessie) proclamation of Emperor Yohannēs

(1878) (p. 14). Moreover, the text records the struggle of the Somalis against the British imperial rule, for example, that of Sultan al-Hağğ Abdurrahman bin Mursil bin Omar (p. 60).

Sheikh Seid's open letters to the leaders of Saudi Arabia and Egypt demand the renewal of the seventh century amicable relationship between Christianity and Islam (pp.91-112). The letters exhibit the psychological and political differences between Ethiopian Muslims and Christians as observed in view of some Arab and Islamic causes and events. For instance, the author points out that Ethiopian Muslims welcomed Nasser's victory over the British colonizers, they sold and hoisted his picture in Addis Ababa to the displeasure of some Christian compatriots and resulting in surveillance and arrest by the police (p. 99).

In general, despite organizational flaws this MS may be useful as a source for further documentation of Ethiopian linguistic, cultural and political history enriching the perspective in which our history is to be interpreted.

4.1.2. *Yä Wällo Tarik*

The introductory section in this MS *Yä Wällo Tarik* 'The History of Wällo' gives a general view of the history of Ethiopia (cf. p.39). Concerning the ongoing controversy regarding the religious numerical diversity, he comments that Ethiopian Muslims comprise above fifty percent of the total population of Ethiopia, though the Arab writers had given an exaggerated figure while the Western scholars talked about fewer Muslims (p. 1). He quotes Bāšša Sadiq's *Rihlat al-Habašā* 'The Voyage to Ethiopia' who writes that Ethiopia had 12 million people: 8 million Muslims, 4 million Christians and 25,000 Fālaša. Bāšša was the Turkish envoy to Emperor Menelik who visited Ethiopia in 1904.

The MS briefly assesses Ethiopia's ancient borders, glory and ethnic background. It attempts to present the tribe of *Kam* as the ancient people of Ethiopia, and then came the Cushitic people and finally the Semitic (2f.). The author mentions about the ancient Ethiopian governorates or regions quoting de Almeida, Rudolf and Paez (p.6). However, he does not indicate sources properly. He simply quotes historians like Täklä S'adik' Mākūria, Alāk'a Tayä, Glaser, de Almeida, Rudolf, Pier Paez, etc.

Apart from the introduction, chapter one of the MS deals with the geography of Wällo, its centrality and strategic importance in Modern Ethiopian history. Lakomälza was its ancient name; renamed as Wällo after the sons of an Oromo chief named Wällo dominated the area (p.7). He argues that Wällo was referred as Betä Amhara holding many famous churches before the advent of Imam Ahmed (Grañ) and the Oromo movement. The MS discusses the beauty and wealth of Wällo during the time of Imam Ahmed and the dominant position of the Amharic language in the area. The MS quotes Šīhab ad-Dīn (Arab Faqih) to show the borders of Wällo (Betä Amhara) as follows:

ቤተ አምሐራ ሰፊ አገር፣ ባለ ብዙ ሲሳይ ነው። ገብስና ስንዴ ይለማበታል። ዝናብና ወንዝ ይበዛበታል። ከዓባይ ምድር እስከ አንጉት ደላንታ ድረስ ዙሪያቸው ሃያ ቀን የሚያስኬዱ ጋራዎች ያካበቡታል... ይህም ቃል 'ወሎ ዋሄት (ሞፈር ውሃ) በፈሰሰ ጨጨሆ በመለሰ እስከ ተከኔ ድረስ ነው' የሚባለውን የአፍ ልማድ ታሪክ ጋር ይገጥማል። (p. 7)

Betä Amhara is a large region with abundant resources. It produces barley and wheat. It has frequent rain and many rivers. Mountains that consume a twenty-day walk ranging from Blue Nile area all the way to Angot [and] Dälanta surround the region... 'This confirms the oral tradition that claims to delimit the borders of Wällo to be between Wahet (Mofär Wəhä) and Č'äč'äho bordering Täckkäza'.

Based on such information, Sheikh Seid claims Därra, Jamma and Midda to be part of Wällo. Därra is now under North Šäwa. According to the text, the soldiers of Imam Ahmed bin Ibrahim looted MSS and other materials from such churches as Atrons Maryam, Mäkanä Səllase, Däbrä Gännät and Gännätä-Giorgis. Sheikh Seid describes the wealth of the churches and adds his own observations about the area.

በቃሉ ጦሳ ግድብ በሚባለው ስፍራ ትላልቅ ጥርብ ድንጋዮች... በዋግ አውራጃ ድሃና ኪታራ ከሚባል ሜዳ አራትና ስድስት ሜትር የሚሆኑ የድንጋይ ማዕዘኖች... በወረባቦ ቢሌ በሚባል ቦታ ስፋሬ ጥርብ ድንጋዮች በተሁለደሬ ወረዳ ጭፈታ [ቀበሌ] ዑከን በሚባል ጋራ ላይ ጽሑፍ ያላቸው የካብ ፍራሽ ስፋሬ ድንጋዮች ይገኛሉ... p.8)

In Qallu, in a place called T'osa Gəddəb there are huge hewn rocks. There are similar rocks that are 4-6 meters high in Wag 'awraḡa, Dəhāna district, in a plain area called Kitara.... There are also huge hewn rocks in the locality called Bille, Wārābabo. Similarly, stone slabs with inscriptions on them are found in Tāhulādāre district, č'əffāta [k'ābāle], on a mountain called 'Ukān.

The MS describes Amba Gišān in detail based on Graň's chronicler. It notes that the Amba accommodated more than a thousand residential houses, about 2300 members (male and female) of the Royal families. Besides, it lodges artisans, valuables, stores and water facilities (p.9).

The chronicler, Arab Faqih, in conclusion to his assessment of the affluent Betä Amhara is quoted as witnessing, “ከቤተ አምሐራ ያገኘነው ወርቅና ብር በቀረው ሐበሻ ውስጥ ካገኘነው ሁሉ ይበልጣል። ቤተ አምሐራን ከያዝን ወርቁ ለመርከሱ፣ መመዘኑ ቀርቶ በግምት ተገባይነት። ያንዱ በቅሎ ዋጋ እስከ አርባ ወቄት ወርቅ ደረሰ...” (p.9) ‘The gold and silver that we have amassed from Betä Amhara was much greater than the one we got from the rest of Hābāša. After we controlled Betä Amhara, gold became so cheap and we used it for transaction by estimation, without measurement. A mule was worth forty wāk’et [about 1 kg and 120 gm of gold]’.

The author takes pains to list the borders of Wällo and its administrative regions established in 1933. He claims the eastern border of Wällo to be the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. He argues that Beilul and Assab belong to Wällo (p. 15). The author lists each 'awraḡa, wārāda and sub-wārāda of Wällo in detail including the year of establishment and the major towns (pp. 11-14). The border demarcations themselves are important data as they identify names of rivers, mountains and other landmarks in Wällo.

The second chapter of the MS presents ethnographic data of the people of Wällo. The MS presents the history of Amhāra, Agāw, Adal, Argoba and Šāgur, Oromo, Wārrā Seh and Mamādoč dynasty as well as the Gafat people (pp. 41-65). The Wārrā Seh and Mamādoč do not constitute a separate ethnic group. The MS treats them separately perhaps since they

claim to descend from the Arabs and play a leading role as dynasties for centuries. It may be essential here to extract some of the most illustrative historical notes concerning the ethnic groups of Wällo from the MS.

1. Amhara

In this section, the MS provides a lot of information of historical relevance. It cites a historiographical problem on Ethiopian history in general and Amhara history in particular.

It comments:

ታሪክ ተመራማሪዎች የአማራ ሕዝብ ከየት እንደመጣ አይታወቅም ሲሉ እጅግ አድርገው ይደነቃሉ። የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ እርግጠኛው አለመታወቁ ምክንያት የሐሳብና የንግግር ነፃነት ባለመለመዱና፣ የኢትዮጵያ ዋና መናገሻ ቦታ መለዋወጡ፣ የጽሑፍና የፖለቲካ ገመድ ቀጩ በእጃቸው የነበረው ታሪክ ጸሐፊዎች፣ ቀሳውስትና ካህናት፣ ለየነገስታት ታሪክ ነገስት የሚጽፉት ጸሐፊ ትእዛዞች የንጉሱን ሥራ ከመጽሐፍ ቅዱስ ጋር እያያዙ፣ ለርሱ ትንቢት እንደተነገረ እያስመሰሉ፣ ወገናቸውን እያጋነኑ ስለሚጽፉና ንግሥናው በሌላው ቦታ ሲዛወር፣ ትናንት የካቡትን ንደው፣ ያለፈውን አኩስሰው የጊዜውን ስለሚያበልጡ እውነቱን ባለመከተላቸው ነው። የውጭ ሰዎችም ስለ ኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ የጻፉት በመንገድ ሲያልፉ ነጥቀው ያገኙትን እንዳገኙ ስለጻፉ ነው። (p. 41).

The origin of the Amhara nation remains puzzle to historians. The confusion about the true history of Ethiopia is due to the absence of the tradition of freedom of expression and speech as well as due to the mobile nature of its capital cities. Further, the writers of history who control the press and the political center—the priests, the clergy and the chroniclers—confuse the acts of the Kings with that of the deliberations in the Bible. They associate prophecies as if made in favor of the King, writing inflating their own patrons and disclaiming as well as distorting what they built before when their patrons were deprived an access to power. As a result, they do not pursue the truth. Foreigners also write about Ethiopian history without deep research. They depend on informants at their disposal.

The MS discusses different hypotheses of the origin of the Amhara people. It presents linguistic evidence focusing on the relationship of Amharic with Ge'ez, Tigrinya, Arabic and

Hebrew to disprove the coming of the Amhara from abroad quoting As'eme's *History of the Galla* [Oromo] (p. 42).

2. Agäw

The author mentions some points whose historicity is dubious, using the word “ደላሎ” ‘It is said’ (p.47). The Agäw, the MS explains, are known for their immobility for centuries (p. 47). He refers further reading about the Agäw from *Kəbrä Nəgäst*, pp.159-191 and 702. This shows that the author uses the *Kəbrä Nəgäst* as a source for some of his account in addition to some of the works of Täckle S’adik’ Mäkuria, Aläqa Tayä and As’eme whom he refers in this MS.

4. Argoba and Šägur

In the MS, they are referred to as the descendents of the Arab Umayyad family exiles who settled in the low land in about 800. They intermingled with the Amhara people through marriage forming the ethnics known as Argoba and Šägur. Their culture is similar to the Arabs (p.49). The MS indicates that a great influx of Arabs in Ethiopia happened during the Italian invasion (1935)—more than 50,000 (p.49).

5. Oromo

The MS deals with the various hypotheses of the origin of the Oromo people. It supposes that they came from Asia or Australia via the Indian Ocean and crossing Wabi Šäbäle and Juba finally settled in Arsi, Bale and Boräna. They dominated central Ethiopia after the *Grañ* war. The MS also elaborates their custom, habit and rituals. It illustrates the full participation of each member of the group in battle, which enabled them to prevail over the Amhara some times in history. It also explains the challenge they posed for Ethiopian Emperors from Gälawdiwos to Yohanəs I (1667-82) and Iyyasu I (1682-1706). Furthermore, it dwells with their tribes (pp. 50-53).

6. Wärrä Seh and Mamädoč

a) Wärrä Seh family

According to the data in the MS, the Wärrä Seh family is a ruling dynasty, a hybrid of Oromo and Amhara with Arab blood. It states: “...በ1530 ዓ.ም. ሸህ ዑመር አህመድ የሚባሉት ዐረብ በዘይላ በኩል ወደ ኢትዮጵያ ገብተው፣ ...ወደ የጁ መጡና ተቀመጡ። ብዙ ሴቶችም አግብተው ብዙ ልጆች ወለዱ። ስለ ብዛታቸውም ወረሸህ ተባሉ፣ የሸህ ቤተሰቦች ማለት ነው። በቀን ብዛት 'ሸ' በ 'ሴ' ፊደል ተለውጦ ወረሴህ ተባሉ።” (P.54).

‘In 1530 an Arab named Sheikh Omar Ahmed arrived in Ethiopia via Zeila He settled in Yäggü and married with many women. As a result, he formed a big family. They became known in [Oromo] as *ወረሸህ Wärrä Šäh* ‘the family of the Sheikh’ for their numerical density. Through time [Š] changed to [S] and become *Wärrä seh* [*ወረሴህ*].

The MS also gives the genealogy of the Wärrä Seh family showing the important chiefs of Wällo all the way from the first son of Sheikh Omer named Wälle to Ras Ali the Great, Ali Gaz, Dägač Faris, Ras Gugsa, Ali the Minor and Däggazmač Bət’ul to Etege T’aytu (p.55).

Apart from Wällo, the MS records a historical indication about the people of Bägemdär. That is, their rejection of tribute. He notes one of the reasons for the emergence of the *Era of Princes* was the attempt made by Ras Ali the Great to levy tribute on the people of Begemdir following the order of ‘As’e Täklä Giyorgis. The people rejected the move with the conviction: “በጌምድር ደረቱን ለጦር፣ እግሩን ለጠጠር፣ መስጠት እንጂ ግብር የለበትም” ‘The People of Bägemdär are destined to provide only military service and not to pay tribute’. Nevertheless, ‘As’e Täklä Giyorgis insisted on the imposition of the levy. The result was, however, the refusal of the people to accept the monarchy and hence the rule of princes prevailed (p. 55).

b) Mamädoč (Mohamädoč)

This part contains data that may be helpful for the reconstruction of the history of Wällo (pp. 51-55). It illustrates the dynasty of Mamedoč and the rulers of Qallu, the infighting between different chiefs of Wällo during the reign of Emperor Yohanəs, the battle between Ras Adal

(*Nəgus* Täklä Häymanot) and King Mika‘el. It also indicates dates of important historical events: birth of Ləḅ Iyyasu and the date and content of Menelik’s will for him, Ləḅ Iyyasu’s ascension to power, his subsequent expulsion, and the battle of Säḡäle. The MS deals with the genealogy of Mamädoč that goes back to Sheikh Nūr Hussein of Ananḡina (Bale). It is interesting to read the genealogical connection of the famous Sheikh Hussein and Omar Abadir of Harar with that of the Wällo Mamädoč (P. 56).

The narration about the Mamädoč family ends with the following, “እነሆ ማመዶች በጨረቃ አቆጣጠር 210 ዓመት ወሎን ገዝተው፣ በወንድ በኩል ያለው ስመ ትውልድ (ዲናስቲ) ተለውጦ የወይ/ሲሂን ሚካኤል የልጅ ልጅ ልዑል አስፋ ወሰን ኃይለስላሴ አልጋ ወራሽ ሆኑ።” (p. 60). ‘According to the lunar counting system, the Mamädo family ruled Wällo for two hundred and ten years [203 solar years], after which the male line of the dynasty was changed and the grandson of Wäyzäro Səhən Mika‘el, Prince Asfaw Wossen Haile Sellasie, became a crown prince’.

The language and culture of Wällo is the preoccupation of chapters three and four of the MS. Sheikh Seid was famous for his nationalist passion. However, his love for his region, Wällo, was special. The following is an aspect of his commendation for Wällo and its people.

ወሎ ሰውም እህልም ያበቅላል... የተዋቡ ቆንገሮች፣
 የወታደር መንፈስ የሚሰማቸው ጉበዞች ይገኙበታል።
 ...እገረ ሞኝ ቢመስሉም ውስጠ ብልሆች ናቸው፣ ከሁሉም
 ጋር ይስማማሉ። ወሎ ገብስ ነው። ለተፈለገው ጉዳይ
 ይውላል። አማርኛቸው የተጣራ ባይሆንም፣ ግጥምና ቀልድ
 ይገራቸዋል... የወሎ ሰው በማንም አገር ቢሔድም ከድኅነቱ
 ጋር ክብር ይሰማዋል...(p. 64)

Wällo produces both grain and men of merit... One comes across pretty women and men of courage... Outwardly, they may look naive, but they are wise. They are in good terms with all. A Wälloyan is like barley—he/she is fit for any purpose. Their Amharic is not standardized. However, they know poetry and jokes.... A Wälloyan could be poor but proud even in foreign lands....

The author addresses Christian and Muslim customs, the land tenure system and scarcity of schools. He criticizes the government for allocating the education tax collected from Wällo to Šäwa, Tigräi and Illubabur on the pretext of regional loan. Sheikh Seid diplomatically criticizes the conflict between Šäwa and Wällo as worthless. He particularly comments Emperor Haile Sellasie's negative attitude toward the region. Sheikh Seid had also a keen sense of history. He cites many historical incidents that demonstrate the alliance between Šäwa and Wällo and urges to cherish that legacy, ignoring recent conflicts (p.66).

The MS spares some space for the formal dress style (*garb*) of the people, both in urban and rural areas including the *garb* of the priests, the '*Ulamā* and different ethnic and gender groups. It mentions the hygiene and cosmetic culture of the people. It also illustrates holiday ceremonies, both secular and religious, with their respective songs; marriage customs of both Christian and Muslims, the love affairs of the youth, their artistic songs; and funeral services (pp. 66-73).

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss the diversity of religion in Wällo. It briefs the table manners. The MS explains that there is much in common between Muslims and Christians. The author considers the differences between Christian and Muslim communities concerning the taboo against eating the flesh of animals slaughtered by the other as culture mainly specific to Ethiopia, approved by neither the Bible nor the Qur'an (p. 74). The MS points out some practices like *Wuk'abi* or animal sacrifice rite expecting cure. He criticizes both Muslims and Christians for the practice against the teachings of both religions (p. 75).

The MS exhibits the work ethic and the skills of the Wällo people. Weaving skill of the Argoba, blanket and carpet making in Wäräillu and Wadla, handcrafts in Boräna, gunpowder making in Sayənt (before the Italian invasion), Saddle making in Tänta, pottery in Wärä'illu are cases in point. It records the high-level production of the time especially of wheat at an export level (pp.77-80). In addition, the text describes domestic and wild animals, that is, their natural behavior, benefits, breeding time, life span etc. A note on chickens and bees is also made available.

Switching from history and ethnography to geography, the final chapter of the MS deals with the physical features of Wällo. That is its mountains, rivers, climate, forestry, minerals, towns, population, and industry as well as approximate number of houses in each respective major town. Another important matter that the MS provides is an empirical data informing the market profile in all the then twelve *'awraḡas* of Wällo. Road facilities and animal diseases are the “final” issues the MS focuses on. The author sketches a freehand road map of Wällo (pp. 99-101).

4.1.3 Manhal al-‘at’šān fī tāriḫ al-Hubšān.

This is a book of history based on Ethiopian, European and Arab historical works concerning Ethiopia (cf. p.27). It portrays the essential position of Ethiopia in Islamic history (p. 17). It provides some data that may help to reconstruct the history of the country in general and that of its cultural history in particular. Sheikh Seid inspired his Muslim contemporaries to focus on history. He quotes distinguished foreign authorities on Islamic scholarship in this regard. He states that it is through the inspiration of Ibn Jarir, Ibn Asākir, Ibn Khaldun, Imam Suyutī and other Islamic scholars that he authors the book under investigation which gives emphasis to what he calls a “paramount issue” in Islamic history, that is, *al-ḥijra ‘ilā al-Habašiyā*, ‘emigration to Abyssinia’.

In view of the general history of Islam in Ethiopia, the writer claims to record the most trustworthy information available (pp. 17-18). He is pessimistic about the historical accounts of Ethiopia. He ascribes the problem of authenticity in studying the history of the country to lie on the very nature of the political history of the country—absence of stable political system. According to Sheikh Seid, a hereditary dynasty that comes to power without bloodshed helps historical documentation. The opposite was, however, true in the Ethiopian case. Chroniclers and historians portrayed events according to the interests of their patrons.

In most cases, Sheikh Seid accuses church historians for collaboration with the ruling elite. As to the Muslim clerics, he acknowledges their intellectual capacity, but blames the authorities for barring freedom of speech, let alone freedom of writing. Nonetheless, he also blamed the *‘Ulamā* for neglecting the study and documenting of history except recording

some historical events in the margins of their religious texts. In sum, he put the writing of history in his time as trapped between church historians, whose output he considers legendary in most cases, and that of Europeans that he blamed for being superficial and not objective (p. 26).

The significance of this work lies on its general information about Ethiopia for the Arabic audience. It strengthens Ethiopian-Islamic relationship as it gives an extended coverage of the episode of the *hijra* 'flight' and the profile of the participants, and more importantly the history of the Ethiopian king, Ashamā (Armāh) popularly known among the Ethiopian Muslims as *Naḡašī* who welcomed them.

Moreover, the MS illustrates the spiritual, cultural, linguistic and material exchange made between Ethiopia and the Arab world. The Arabs came to know about the mule after the Prophet received it as a gift from the king of Ethiopia. A box like stretcher *k'areza* was also unknown to the Arabs (p. 137). The name of the textual version of the Holy Book of Islam, the Qur'an, is *Mus'haf*, which is a borrowing from the Ethiopic, *mās'haf* 'book' (p. 138). He adds, quoting Islamic sources, that the cousin of the Prophet, Ja'far, practiced the dancing style of the Tigrisians for the first time when he finally rejoined Prophet Muhammed after prolonged refuge in Ethiopia.

The book delves into the biographical accounts of seventy followers of the Prophet who came to Ethiopia (children, women and men) (pp. 165-244). It also mentions two persons considered to be among ancient prophets who belong to *al-Habašā* (p. 245). There is no indication about the name of one of the ancient Abyssinian Prophets while he notes the other one as Luqman. The work enumerates, with their respective biography, about 25 immediate followers of Prophet Muhammed who have descent from Abyssinia. Bilal, Manhaj al-Habašī and Abu Bakrat al Habašī are in the list (pp.251-273). The book points out five *S'ahabiyāt* 'women companions of the prophet': 'Ummu Ayman, Sa'irā, Barakā, Gafirā and Nabi'a (273 ff). Furthermore, it enumerates *Tābi'iyāt* 'those who accompany at least one of the Prophet's companions' (pp. 273-283) and famous Arabs whose mothers were from Abyssinia (283 f).

The section on Islam in Ethiopia (pp. 291-298) deals with the introduction of the religion to the country and gives much emphasis to the twentieth century religious, educational, social, economic and political realities of the Ethiopian Muslim including the significant role of women in the day-to-day life of the society. It elaborates the relationship between Muslims and the government including the medieval Islamic Sultanates that may help the reconstruction of the cultural and political history of the country (pp. 301-332). The book treats the ancient history of the Ethiopian people with a chronological list of its rulers both before and after the birth of Jesus including the Zagwe and Solomonid dynasties. The author acknowledges that the section is an edited translation of Blaten Geta Hərui Wäldä Səllase's *Wazema* 'The Eve' (pp. 335-414). The final portion deals with the reigns of Emperor Tewodros, Täklä Giyorgis and Emperor Yohannəs, especially their religious policy (pp. 414-420).

4.1.4. Historical Documentation in Letters and Articles

The letters (cf.p.65) and the articles (cf.p.60) of Sheikh Seid raise many issues of historical importance. However, we concentrate on one of the unpublished articles that deal with the historical role of four personalities from Wällo: Ləğ Iyyasu, Amäde Sadiq, (Sheikh) T'alha Ja'fär and (Sheikh) Muhammed Sadiq.

The fabulous and playboy type history of Ləğ Iyyasu has no place in Sheikh Seid's treatment of Iyyasu's short-lived rule. He portrays him as a national hero, a progressive unionist and a diplomatic young prince who brought *t'ena* 'health', that is, 'peace' to his country. Furthermore, he commends Ləğ Iyyasu as heir to the spirit of his grandfather, Emperor Menilik II, who anticipates building Greater Ethiopia.

According to the article, Ləğ Iyyasu put off his coronation as an Emperor of Ethiopia until he could bring what he claimed to be peripheral parts of his country back into its fold. He befriended the people living on the borders through marriage alliances and diplomatic gestures going back and forth across to the regions where one would not normally go for pastime.

Ləğ Iyyasu allied with Turkey and Germany during the outbreak of World War I to fulfill his grand mission. In 1906, Italy, France and England signed a tripartite agreement to divide Ethiopia. According to Sheikh Seid, all of them usurped land that Ethiopia claimed. Therefore, Iyyasu's choice of alliance was sound. Nonetheless, Iyyasu made a diplomatic effort to get the support of the Allies. The colonizers demanded compensation in order to honor his territorial claim. To this end, he was raising a fund.

It was unfortunate, explains the author, that the Šäwan forces deposed Ləğ Iyyasu by the instigation of Täffäri Mäkwonnən. Sheikh Seid considers Zewditu's ascent to power as a Šäwan plot and she was no more than a puppet empress. The article explains that Ləğ Iyyasu's stay in Harar (1917) was not supported by the local people and hence he had to march to Dessie through Aussa. When he heard the news of his father's (King Mika'el) defeat at Sägäle, near Debra Brehan, he fled to Maqdäla and resisted the forces of Fitawrari Häbtä Giyorgis for three years [1917-1919], only to be defeated finally.

The sympathetic Sheikh Seid continues his narration. The Amharic original may be more informative here:

...(እያሱ) ወደ በረሃ ወርዶ በረሃብ ሲንገላታ እንኳ አገሩን አልካደም። ጣሊያኖች ትግሬን ስጠንና በአልጋህ ላይ እንመልስህ ቢሉት ተፈሪም ቢሆን ወንድሜ ነው እናንተን አወጣለሁ ብዬ ተነስኜ እናንተን አግብኜ ታሪኬን አላበላሽም ማለቱ ያንኑ ጊዜ ተነግሮአል።

He did not betray his country even in the most adverse time of his life, that is, when he was roving in the desert as a fugitive. The Italians approached him and promised to enthrone him if he was ready to offer them Tigräi in exchange. However, he responded, 'Whatsoever Täfäri is my brother. I struggled to get rid of you, now I shall not tarnish my history by entrenching you.'

Sheikh Seid concludes, “ቢሻውም ይስለም ወይም ለፖለቲካ ይመሳሰል የግሉ ነው። አያገባንም። ስልመሃል ተብሎ ንግሥናውንና ሕይወቱን ስለአጣ ከእስላሞቹ ቆጥረነዋል...”

(p.1).

‘(Iyyasu) might have accepted Islam or pretended to be a Muslim for political ends, that is his private affair; it is none of our concern. However, since he had lost his power and life allegedly for confession to Islam, we consider him a Muslim’.

The second Wälloyan historical figure, Dägğazmač Amäde Sadiq, was a governor or chieftain of Tähulädäre district (Wällo) during the reign of Emperor Yohannəs IV. What was his contribution? At the battle of Adwa, he was with Emperor Menilik II and inflicted, along with his comrades, a heavy damage on the front army of the enemy—the Italians. The third figure was Sheikh T’alha Ja’far. The author accords him the following epithet: “...አፄ ዮሐንስ በ1880 ዓ.ል. አምሳ ሺህ የሚሆኑትን የወሎ እስላሞች ቃሉ በኬ ሜዳ ላይ በግድ ክርስትና ሲያስነሱ ነፃነቱንና መብቱን ለማስከበር የተከላከለው ገናናው ጀግና ጦልሃ ጀዕረር (ሸሀ) ነው።” (p.2) ‘When Emperor Yohannəs enforced Christianity upon fifty thousand Muslims of Wällo on the plain of Bäkke in 1880, the famous hero called T’alha Ja’far (Sheikh) defended his freedom and right’.

The fourth Wälloyan hero was the writer's father, Muhammed Sadiq (1842-1901). Sheikh Seid portrays him as follows:

መሐመድ ሳዲቅ የሸሪዓ ሕግ በማስተማር ብዙ ሕዝብ አሰልጥኗል። በዙ መምህራናችም አውጥቷል። በተማሪዎቹም በሕዝቡም መካከል ተወዳጅ ከመሆኑም በላይ ወገን የማይለይ ለሀገሩ ታማኝ በመሆኑ አፄ ዮሐንስ እንኳ እስላሞቹን ወደ ሱዳን ይላላካል በማለት ተጠራጥረው መስጊድ ይፍረስ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ይንገሥ የእስላም አገሩ መካ የአሞራ አገሩ ዋርካ ነው እስላም የሆንክ ክርስትና ተነሳ አልነሳም ታልክ አራት ወር ሰጥቼህህ ከአገሪ ውጣ ብለው በ1880 ዓ.ል. ሲያውጁ መሐመድ ሳዲቅ አገር አቅኝ ነው የጀማ መሬቱን እንደያዘ ይቆይ ሲሉ ፈቅደውለታል። እስከ አሁንም በልጅ ልጆቹ እጅ ይገኛል።(p.2)

Muhammed Sadiq had trained many people by teaching them Islamic law. He graduated many teachers. He earned love and respect from his students and the people at large. More important was his impartiality as well as faithfulness to his country. As a result, he was not even antagonized by Emperor Yohannəs, when he declared in 1880, suspecting the Muslims for corresponding with the Sudan, ‘Let Mosques be destroyed and Churches reign; the country of the Muslims is Mecca as

the home of the crow is the oak. If you are a Muslim you should baptize, if you refuse to do so, you should leave my country in four months time'. Nonetheless, [the Emperor] with respect to Muhammed Sadiq said, 'He has a role in the country's development; he can keep his land in Jimma'. The land is still in the possession of his grandchildren.

4.2. Patriotism

The written legacies of Sheikh Seid clearly show that he devoted himself to Ethiopia and the unity of its people regardless of ethnic and religious background. Sheikh Seid's patriotism developed in a socio-political background that tended to stimulate Muslim opposition to the regime rather than inspire patriotic feelings for "Ethiopia".

In his MS, *Yä Wällo Tarik*, 'The History of Wällo' he shows his deep interest in Ethiopian history, culture economic and social life. In an introduction to the MS he writes in a patriotic tone: “በዙ ነገሰታት መብቷን በመቀነስ ታሪኳን ለመደምሰስ ነፃነቷን ለማርከስ ዓይናቸውን ቢጥሉባትም አፈር እየመላች መልሳቸዋለች። የታሪኳ አክሊል የወሰኗ ክልል በጀግኖቿ ሰይፍ ታፍሮ፣ በጋራዎቿም ኃይል ታጥሮ መኖሩን ማንም ታሪክ ጸሐፊ አይዘነጋውም።” (p. 1). 'Many Kings attempted to destroy its [Ethiopia's] history, to infringe its independence; but they turned back in utter defeat. No historian can ignore that the crown of its history and the sovereignty of its borders remain unchallenged by the sword of its heroes and the impregnable nature of its mountains'. The following are some of the illustrations of his concern about his country, Ethiopia, and its people.

4.2.1 Social and Civil Affairs

Sheikh Seid struggled to see an efficient government and always commented on what he saw improper and a barrier for the development of his country. In the above-mentioned MS, after describing the various skilled activities and farming in Wällo, Sheikh Seid exposes the negative attitude of his days towards work.

...ያለፉት ሥራዎች ምንም ለሕዝብ ጠቃሚ ቢሆኑ፣
መስንቆና በገና መቼወችም ለማጫወት ተፈላጊዎች
ቢሆኑ[ም]፣ ከበገና መቼ በስተቀር ያሉት ሠራተኞች በእኛ

ዘንድ የተዋረዱ ናቸው፣ የጨዋም ልጅ አይጋባቸውም፣
ሠርቶ መብላት ከነውር ይቆጠራል። ሌላው ቀርቶ ዋና
መኖሪያችን እርሻ ሲሆን፣ ገበሬም አፈር ገፈ ተብሎ
ይሰደባል። ስለዚህ ጨዋ ማለት ሠርቶ የማይበላ ሰነፍ ነው፣
ብለን ልንተረጉመው ይገባል። (p.77)

...even though, all the above-mentioned professions are beneficial to the society, *Mäsänk'o* and *Bägäna* players are also important for entertainment; except for the *Bägäna* players all other professionals are degraded. People of higher social ranks by birth do not marry them. They consider working in order to earn one's living shameful. Although our living depends on agriculture, the peasantry is insulted. Thus, it is proper to define a man of decent life as one who does not work and is actually lazy'.

The MS, *Yä Wällo Tarik*, also states the author's concern for the rural people (cf.p.39). It reads, “...የጤና ታክስ እየተሰበሰበ በገጠር ለሚኖሩት ሕዝቦች ለድንገተኛ ሕመም መርፌ የሚወጋ፣ ቁስል የሚያደርቅ የድ [አዮዲን]፣ ለጉንፋን ክኒን የሚሰጥ አልተደረገላቸውም...” (p. 65) ‘Health tax is collected from the people. However, there is no health officer for the rural people who can provide medication for emergency, gives iodine to heal wounds, and furnishes tablets to protect common cold.’

In relation to the infrastructure of the rural area, Sheikh Seid commented about the inefficiency of the government in providing the necessary services. He writes, “...በአንዳንድ አውራጃዎችና ወረዳዎች ማዘጋጃ ቤት ቢቋቋምም፣ በአብዛኛዎቹ ማዘጋጃ ቤት ባለመቋቋሙ፣ ከተማ የሚቀይስ (የሚለካ) መሐንዲስ ባለመደረጉ፣ ውበትና ጤና የሚሰጡ መንገዶች አልተቀየሱባቸውም...” (p. 92) ‘Though municipalities have been established in some *awraḡas* and *wärädas*, we do not find any in many of the districts. As a result, there are no engineers who can plan the towns and design roads that give beauty and comfort’.

Sheikh Seid, despite his Muslim clerical background, carefully notices Christian culture and customs in this MS, ‘The History of Wällo’. Accordingly, he portrays *Gänna* ‘Ethiopian Christmas’, *Mäsk’äl* ‘The finding of the True Cross’ and the Ethiopian New Year. In

addition, the MS provides popular songs chanted on special occasions. The following is, for instance, one of such songs.

..የኔማ እመቤት የፈተለችው፣ /ሆ/
ሸማኔ ጠፍቶ ማሪያም ሰራችው፣ /ሆ/
ለዚያች ለማሪያም እዘኑላት፣ /ሆ/
ዓመት ከመንፈቅ አለቀላት፣ /ሆ/ (p. 68)

The spinning of my lady is so fine... Hurray!
No weaver dared to work on it, but Mary... Hurray!
Pity Mary, it took her a year and a half ...Hurray!

There are also points from his letters that demonstrate his social concerns. In a letter dated on 25 February 1971 and addressed to a health authority in Dessie for his decision to close a water well in Sheikh Seid's residence that was serving mainly poor neighbors, he states the following:

...ተቃውሞው በአሠራሩ እንጂ በሥራው ባለመሆኑ የራስን ጉድለት ወደ መንግስት በማላከክ ምርቱን ከግርዶ መቀላቀል ተገቢ አይደለም ... ስልጣን ለዘለፋ መሣሪያ አይደለም የበላይ አስተዳደር ክፍልም ቢሆን አንድን ሠራተኛ ለሕዝብ አስተዳዳሪነት ከመሾም በፊት የግብረ ገብነት ትምህርት ማስጠናት ይቀድማል ማለትን ሊገነዘብ ይገባል፣ የማቴወስ ወንጌልም በ15/14 ቁጥር ላይ የጠቀሰው ምክር በሥራ ላይ ሊውል ያስፈልጋል። ዕድሜ ራሱ ትምህርት ነው ከአርባ ወጥ ወጣት ጥሬ እውቀት የሸማግሌ ግምት ይበስላል ተብሏል፣ የግሪኩ ሱቅራጥ ራስህን እወቅ ይላል ማንነትህን ማወቅ አምላክህንም ሌላውንም ለማወቅ ይረዳልና... በማለት አትቷል። በእውነቱ አፈ ዳተኛ ብሆንም አስተያየቴ ጠባብ አይምሰልህ...

....The opposition was not to the work itself but rather to the implementation. It is not proper to blame one's own weakness on the government and create confusion while the mistake is on the part of the service giver... Power is not an instrument for taunting. The high authorities should realize that would-be public servants must be given training in ethics. The advice in the Gospel of Matthew 15:14 [“the blind leading the blind”] should be implemented. Age itself is wisdom. It is said that the crude thought of the elderly is better than the refined knowledge of a man of forties. Socrates said, ‘know yourself;

this will help you to know your God and others too'. Though I am not a fluent speaker, do not think that I am narrow-minded....

Sheikh Seid's civil concern started before he joined Wäyzäro Səhən School in 1946. As early as 10 April 1943, he wrote to the Mayor of Dessie about his project to solve the scarcity of water in the city during dry seasons. In another letter (19/10/1971) sent to the Crown Prince Asfaw Wässon by registered mail (the receipt is still intact) he requested the Prince to support the initiative made by the mayor of Dessie to keep the city clean and beautiful. On 8 November 1971, he wrote a letter to Däggzmač Solomon Abraham, a parliamentarian from Wällo, about the situation of the city administration. After a week, he received a letter from the Mayor (18/11/1971) inviting him to visit his office to discuss the matter in detail.

An appeal written by him in 1964 (the first five points including the addressee are lost, but a copy is addressed to a Parliamentarian from Dessie). It demands to facilitate the construction of roads, ambulance and sufficient water services as well as the construction of modern barn for emergency food supply. It also recommends the establishment of textile industry and soap factories since Wällo is cotton and oil seeds producing region. Besides, this typewritten letter states:

የቦርካና ግድብ እንደ አስዋን ከፍተኛ ግድብ 200 ሚሊዮን ፓውንድ ስለማይፈጅ ተገድቦ ውሀው በመሰራጨቱ የሚፈጠረው የወባ ትንኝ እንዲጠፋና የጨፋ መሬት በስኳር አገዳና በልዩ ልዩ አትክልት ለምቶ የስኳር ፋብሪካ በ ወለዲ ከተማ እንዲቋቋም እንዲደረግልን ስናሳስብ የሐይቅ ፈሳሽም ተምሶ ውሀው እንዲወርድ ቢደረግ በረሀውን ለማልማት የሚያስችል በመሆኑ በአፄ ዩሐንስ ጊዜ ተጀምሮ ነበር የሚባለው እንዲፈጸምልን...ድኅነትን ለመቃወም [በ]ቦረና ከለላና በጃማ ውስጥ በቀላሉ የሚወጣ የብረት ማእድን በየጁና ሐብሩ የደንጋይ ክስል በአውሳ የምድር ዘይት ፔትሮል ስለሚገኝ ፋብሪካዎች ቢቋቋሙባቸው የሥራ ፈችዎችን ችግር ለማቃለል ይችላሉ...

The Borkäna dam will not demand 200 million pound like the huge Aswan Dam, therefore, we recommend the blocking of the river while taking the necessary caution to prevent the resulting malaria infection. We also recommend to cultivate the

vast tract of Č'äffa in order to produce sugarcane and various vegetables. Besides, we demand the construction of sugar factory at Wällädi district. We gather that Emperor Yohannəs started a project to utilize [lake] Häiq so that it can develop the neighboring desert; we demand the reconsideration of this project.... In order to resist poverty and check unemployment it is essential to install factories in the regions known for their abundant iron ore that is easy to exploit in places like Boräna, Kälala and Jamma. Yäggu and Härbu have deposits of charcoal and Ausa [now Afar] has petrol, we request the construction of factories over these areas....

Sheikh Seid reveals his dissatisfaction to the Addis Ababa mayor the year he arrived in the capital after quitting his job as a teacher in Dessie. The letter (handwritten) that he wrote on 7 February 1959 partially reads as follows.

...በአንድ ቦታ የተጀመረው ሥራ ሳያልቅ እዚህም እዚያም የውሃ ቦምባ ሲቆፈር የስልክ ገመድ ሲቀበር... ሲሞላ ሲደለደል ዘወትር በጅምር ይታያል... ጉብኝቶች የሚመጡት የኢትዮጵያን አየር የሕዝቡን ሁኔታ መቀደሙን ወይም ወደኋላ መቅረቱን ለመመልከት ሲሆን በቅኝ አገር የነጭና የጥቁር መኖሪያ እንደሚለያዩ ነጮች በብዛት የሚኖሩበት ፒያሳ ጽዳቱ የተሻሻለ ሆኖ ሲገኝ የአገር ተወላጆች የሚኖሩበት ስፍራ አዲስ ከተማና ሌላውም ጽዳት ማግኘት ቀርቶ በአውራ ጉዳናው ዳርዳር የሽንት ጉርፍ ይታያል። ይህም አገራችንን ለማሰደብ የምንፈቅድ ይመስላል። እንደዚሁም ገንዘብ ለማግኘት ጥሩ ጥሩውን ቤት አከራይተን በቆሻሻ ቤት ተቀምጠን ስንታይ ራሳችንን የምንንቅ ያደርገናል... ።

We always observe unsettled works here and there, digging and burying water pipes and telephone cables; things are ongoing.... Tourists come to see the Ethiopian weather and the advancement or backwardness of the people. In a colonized country, the whites and the blacks live segregated. Similarly, we see the Piazza area, where the majority of the whites live, tidy. In contrast, *Addis Kätäma* district, where the native citizens reside is shanty. We observe in the roadsides piles of dirt. This perhaps demonstrates our readiness to dishonor our own country. Besides, as if we have no self-respect, we rent beautiful houses to others to earn money while we live in dirty houses....

On 7 March 1972, Sheikh Seid wrote a letter to Dägğazmač Solomon Abrahām, a parliamentarian from Wällo, about the archives of the Municipality in Dessie, which he emphasizes, the importance of secured and organized archives.

...የጠቅላይ ግዛቱ የማዘጋጃ ቤቶች አርኪቭ ጭምር ለተመልካች የሚያስከፋ ከአደጋም ምንም የማይከላከሉ ከመሆናቸውም በላይ ለሰራተኞችም ሥራቸውን ለማከናወን በቂ ሆነው ስለማይገኙ መንግስት የራሱን ጥቅም እንጂ የሕዝቡን አደራ አይመለከትም ያሰኛሉ። በሕዝቡም መዋጮ ቢሆንም በየክፍሉ ደንበኛ አርኪቭች እንዲሠሩ አሳስባለሁ።...

The archives including that of the General governorate are unpleasant for visitors. They are vulnerable for risks and are insufficient to the workers in order to execute their work properly. The situation invites to make the impression that the government has no interest other than its own benefit, ignoring public concerns. I recommend the building of secured archives.

Concerning education, according to an article published on *Bərhanənnā Sälām* newspaper, on 26 April 1934, he has this to say.

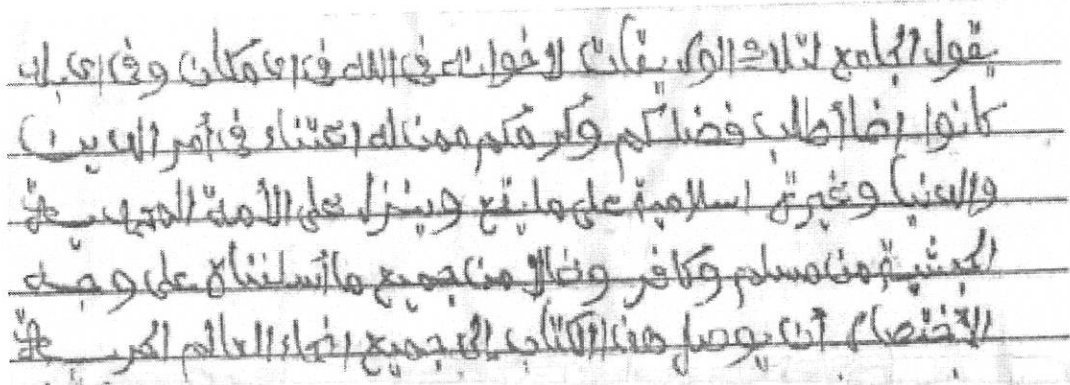
...ትምህርት ማለትም ቋንቋን ብቻ መማር አይደለም። ዋናው ትምህርት... አገርን መውደድ ምግባርን ማሳመር ነው። የቋንቋ ትምህርት መፈለጉ ስለዚህ መዳረሻ ነው ሌላ ጥቅም ኖሮት አይደለም... ሥልጣኔና ትምህርት ክፉ ክፉውን ልማድ እየተው መልካም መልካም የሆነውን ጠባይ መያዝ ነው እንጂ በግሩ ጫማ ካልሰካ በራሱ ባርኔጣ ታልደፋ የማይሰለጠን አይምሰልህ... ።

Education is not only learning language. It is rather to love one's country and to embrace good conduct. ...Language education is only a means to achieve that end. Shunning bad habits and pursuing good conduct could only judge civilization and education. It is wrong to think that one cannot be civilized without wearing shoes and a hat.

4.2.2 Unity Despite Religious Differences

One of his MSS, *'Assihāmu as's'ā'ibā fī 'uḥduet al-waəaniyat al-Habašiyā al-kāḍibā* 'The Piercing Arrow in the Idolatrous Abyssinian Mythology' is a severe criticism of the

Ethiopian outmoded monarchical rule (cf. pp.31,39). This memoir of Sheik Seid is probably a discourse of a lifelong anger he kept private. It has no space for marking positive qualities (p. 82). It is not primarily designed to portray the good and heroic perspectives of the Ethiopian history in general. Sheikh Seid portrays what happened in our history and what he witnessed in his own time. He does not seem to be prudent in his choice of words. The criticism focuses on issues that he believed cast a shadow on amicable relationship among the citizens of Ethiopia and humans at large. The following statement is to draw attention to his grievances against the status quo.



The compiler of this treatise calls his brothers in Islam, all those who have concern for religion and the world as well Islamic sensitivity, wherever they are to give attention to what is happening against the... Ethiopians—Muslims, non-Muslims and the Oromo—as we explain in this brief assessment. [I urge you] to make this book reach the free world.... (P.83)

According to the reference of this MS, the seventh century successful emigration of the followers of Islam and the goodwill of the Abyssinian king was very important but cannot be considered, as mentioned previously, epitomizing Ethiopian political establishment of all times concerning Islam and Muslims (p. 2). Professor Taddesse Tamrat shares the same view: “The amicable relations between the Prophet and the Kingdom of Axum... were only short-lived and hostilities seem to have already started before his death in 632” (1972: 31).

Nevertheless, Sheikh Seid acknowledges the reception accorded to the Muslim emigrants from Mecca as a valuable event that can serve as a landmark of cohesion between the two

religions and their adherents. He states that his problem is not with his country but with the administration (pp.9, 91). Furthermore, the author does not raise questions regarding only the suffering of the Ethiopian Muslims. As pointed out earlier, he bitterly criticized the government of Haile Sellasie for the corrupt bureaucracy especially in its legal arm. He addresses such issues as the abject poverty and lack of freedom that the Ethiopian masses were relegated to irrespective of religion (p.19, 20). He states:

فوا لله إن الحبشة ما وجدت الحرية ، بل اشتد عليها الأمر...وليتهم لم يعلنوا بالحرية ولم نسمعها بأذننا وهذا الإعلان صار
تغيرا وليس تحريرا

‘I swear Ethiopia does not get its freedom, rather things are going worse and worse...it was better if they do not declare about freedom and our ears does not hear the word. This proclamation has become a deceit, it does not yield freedom.’ (p.55). He also explains the alienation of the political leaders from the people and exposes the dictatorial behavior of the rulers as follows:

لهم ملوك وأمراء جبابرة... سلطها الله على أمة الحبشية من المسلمين والكافرين فليس للأمة مفر ولا مقرولا منفذ ولا
ممر... والحياة التي تحيها الرعية ليس بحيات بل هي برزخ وذلك لفقد ملك عادل... (p. 55)

‘They have dictatorial Kings and Princes... Allah has empowered them over the people of Ethiopia, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. There is no hiding place and shelter, no place of refuge, no outlet, and no safe way for the people. The life of the citizens is not a normal respected life. It is doom. All this happens as a result of the lack of a just king’. On the other hand, he praises Christian rulers outside Ethiopia for the fair treatment accorded to the minority Muslim subjects in their territory, which he comments as a mark of true patriotism that helps to build a cohesive society (p.51).

Sheikh Seid, as witnessed in many of his legacies, struggled to emphasize points of convergence between Christianity and Islam. In the preface of his printed work, he praises God for making Ethiopians supporters of the Holy Prophet of Islam and bestowing upon them an important position in the Islamic services—the call to Prayer, *‘al-’aḏān*. That

position, according to the order of Prophet Muhammed, is a reserve for Abyssinians. He states:

ونشكرك على أن هديتنا ونورت أسلافنا وأزحت عنهم الغبش واصطفيتهم لخدمة رسولك سيدنا محمد القائل: ((الدعوة -أي الأذان- في الحبش...)) (p.17)

“We Praise you (oh! God) for the guidance bestowed to us, for you enlighten our ancestors and shatter darkness from them, chosen them to be at the service of your apostle who says, ‘*al-’aḏān*, the call to prayer, should be at the hands of the Abyssinians’”

In his MS, *Ḍslāmānnana Misyonawəyan* ‘Islam and Missionaries’ (6f.), which is of religious nature, he underscores that religion should be a cohesive element and not a divisive instrument (cf. p.45). He supports his view by citing what Prophet Muhammed once stated regarding religion. “አንድ ሰው ነቢ መሀመድን ሃይማኖት ምንድን ነው ብሎ ቢጠይቅ መልካም ጠባይ ነው ሲሉ መልሰውለታል አብዛኛዎቹ መሪዎች ግን ሃይማኖትን ለፖለቲካ መሳሪያ አድርገው ሕዝብን ለመለያየት ይጠቀሙበታል ::”(p.7). ‘A person came to the Prophet and asked him about the essence of religion; ‘good conduct’ was the response of the Prophet. Nevertheless, many leaders used religion as a means to divide people for their political ends’.

Sheikh Seid attempted to avoid religious biases and stressed to stick to the communality of religious teachings. In the article entitled ‘Religions and their benefit’, (21/12/1974), he explains:

...ሃይማኖቶች ቅርንጫፋቸው ቢለያይም መሠረታቸው አንድ ነው። ሁሉም በመልካም ጠባይ ያዛሉ ተክፉ ምግባርም ያሳግሳሉ፤ ሁሉም ለራስህ የምትወደውን ቢርቅም ቢቀርብም ለአባትህ ልጅ ለወንድምህ ወደድለት ወደሚለው ምክር ያመላክታሉ...ሕዝቦች (አምላክን) እንደ ቋንቋቸው በልዩ ልዩ ስም ሰይመውታል። በእብራይስጥ ኤል፣ በዐረብኛ አላህ፣ በፋርስ ኹዳይ፣ በኢጣሊያ ዲያ፣ በእንግሊዝኛ ጉድ በአማርኛ እግዚአብሔር [ኦሮሞዎች] ዋቅ ይሉታል። ከእርሱ ሌላ ማንንም ሰውንም ቢሆን እንዳናመልክ ሃይማኖቶች ሁሉ ያወግዙናል... (p.1)

All religions are basically the same though there are differences in the details. They all enjoin virtue and prohibit obscenity. All of them advise to wish one's brother what one wishes oneself. People address [God] according to their language: in Hebrew, *El*, in Arabic *Allah*, in Persian *Khuday*, in Italian *Dio*, in English God, in Amharic *'əgzi'abəher*, in Oromo *Waq*. Each religion forbids worshiping any deity than Him including men. Religion should be a uniting factor....

In an article, 'Ethiopia first, let the constitution be amended, people who made fortunes illegally shall be confiscated', he declares: “...ኢትዮጵያን በሃይማኖትና በነገድ መለያየት ምንም አልጠቀማትም። ገናና የነበረችውን ከዓለም ሁሉ ወደኋላ ከቀሩት 25 አገሮች መጨረሻ አደረጋት። ትብብሩ ይሻላል። አንድነት ኃይል ነው” (p.1) ‘...Religious and ethnic sectarianism does not benefit Ethiopia. It makes the country, which was glorious in the past, the last of the 25 least developed countries of the world. Solidarity is better, unity is strength’ (13/7/1974) (cf.p.62).

The piece of article entitled, ‘The People of Ethiopia’ illustrates Sheikh Seid's objectivity and impartiality. He writes: “...ሹማምንቶችና ዳኞች ጸሐፊዎችና መምህራኖች ሲቀሩ የቀረው ሕዝብ አልተመቸውም። ከእስላሞቹ ይልቅ በግብርናና በንግድ በተራ ወታደርነት የሚኖሩት ክርስቲያኖች ከእስላሞቹ ኑሮ በታች ነው በማለት ይገመታል...”(23/9/58). ‘...it is only the officials, the judges, the functionaries in the bureaucracy and the teachers who are better off. Otherwise, the rest of the society is in misery. The living standard of the Christian peasants, traders, and the regular members of the military are even worse than that of the Muslims’ (cf.p.62).

In order to build a common spirit he quotes some great historical events. It appears at the newspaper, *Bərhanənnā Sälām*, that: “...የነቢ መሐመድ ሁለተኛ ተከታይ ሽሊፋ ዑመር የኢትዮጵያን መንግስት ውለታ ለመመለስ ኢየሩሳሌምን በያዘ ጊዜ በየሩሳሌም ያሉት ክርስቲያኖች አብሮም ኢትዮጵያ[ዊ] ክርስቲያኖች ብሎ ለይቶ መስቀላቸውም ቤተ-ክርስቲያናቸውም እንዳይነካ ማድረግ ታወቋል...” (8/11/1934). ‘...when the second Caliph of Prophet Muhammed, Omar, controlled Jerusalem, he spared the cross and churches of the

Christians, especially the Ethiopian Christians in return for the hospitality of the Ethiopian State accorded to the Muslims who immigrated to the country’.

As representative of the Muslim population in Dessie, he used to make a speech during holiday gatherings in front of government dignitaries and the Muslim public. For instance, according to a piece of article, on ‘*id al- fit’*re day, he airs constructive remarks.

...እኛም የአንድ አገር ሕዝብ የሆነው ኢትዮጵያኖች ያንድ ቤት ሰው ስለሆን ደካሞች በኃይለኞች እንዳይደመሰሱ... የሰው ልጆች በአዕምሮ ተመርተው እንዲኖሩ የተመሠረተውን ሃይማኖት ለመለያየ መሣሪያ ማድረጋችን ቀርቶ እንዲሁ እንደ ተጀመረው መተሳሰራችን እየበረታ እንዲሄድና ለራስህ የምትወደውን ለወንድምህ አድርግ በተባለው መሠረት እርስ በርሳችን ተፋቅረን ያለው ለሌለው አካፍሎ... ያልተማረው ተምሮ ሕግን አክባሪ እንድንሆን እንመኛለን... (3/6/1954).

We are all Ethiopians, peoples of one country, and members of one family. Religion was founded to protect the powerless against the onslaught of the powerful. We have to stop making religion, which is destined to help humans to live guided by reason, a tool for disunity. We wish to see the bond amongst us to be further strengthened on the principle that requires us to do to our brothers what we wish to ourselves. We are eager to see the nurture of love among us, and would like the fortunate ones share what they have with the needy. Further, we wish the uneducated to become enlightened and law abiding.

Sheikh Seid does not want to be a propagandist. Hollow words about unity, he asserts, cannot solve the entrenched problems of the country. Therefore, he recommends, the following measures in order to create a cohesive Ethiopian society.

1. Involvement of Muslims in the military service to avoid the allegation that the Emperor considers Muslims as unnecessary and unrecognized as citizens.
2. Opening of Islamic schools in order to facilitate recruits for the government services.
3. Equal participation of able and knowledgeable Muslims in government posts....

4. To allocate reasonable salary to the *qad'is* and accord due respect to them....
5. To appoint Muslim chiefs in areas populated by Muslims....

(*Bərhanənnā Sälām* newspaper, 15/8/1935).

4.2.3 Stance in Times of Crises

The 1935 Italian aggression was a great shock to Ethiopia. Long before the actual battle, the Italians were active in the propaganda for war. They have tried to divide Ethiopian people on religious line. Sheikh Seid defended the issue of unity and solidarity. In an article dated on 26 April 1934 (*Bərhanənnā Sälām* newspaper), he appealed that Ethiopians should not be sectarian and partisan; what is most needed are love, unity and solidarity to defend the country from its enemies. His statement as quoted by Erlich (1994:117), reads:

Some Arab journalists wrote about Ethiopia's need for help. But others, those who understand nothing about this country...say that Muslims are discriminated against. ...Mussolini's men want to separate the Muslims and Ethiopia. My people let us not fall into this trap. Let us prove that we are the same nation. Let us forget the old saying, "skies have no pillars, Muslims have no land". It is no longer the case that in Ethiopia people are selected for governmental posts by their religion. This is my message to anyone who wants to see Ethiopia free.

He shows deep understanding of a real nationalism. His nationalism is a pragmatic one, not a utopian type. In a part of Sheikh Seid's biography (written by his son), a part which the *Bilal* magazine (1, 9, 1993) editor omitted, the following passage occurs:

አገርን ማገልገል የሰው ልጅ ግዴታ በመሆኑ ጥቅም አይፈለግበትም ሆኖም ምቹት ያገኘንበት ሀገር ሀገራችን ነው። ያከብሩን ሰዎች ቤተሰቦች ናቸው የሚሉ ስለማይጠፉ ለሀገር አገልጋይ ዋጋውን መስጠት ተገቢ ነው። ሀገርን መውደድ ማለትም መሬቱን፣ ሕዝቡንና የሕዝቡን ባህል ጭምር ነው እንጂ ጭቃውንም [መሬቱን] ጠላትም የሚወደው መሆኑን ማወቅ ጠቃሚ ነው።

Serving one's country is a natural obligation; no material benefit is to be expected out of it. However, since there are

those who say 'We belong to any country which comforts us and those who honor us are our families', it is thus proper to reward one who serves his country earnestly. Loving one's country means loving its land, people, and culture. It is worthy to note that even the enemy loves a country's soil.

Furthermore, he stresses positive elements. Since the reign of Emperor Menelik Muslims were free from the night curfew during the month of Ramadan and a gun salute heralds their holiday (*Bārhananna Sälam* newspaper, 8/11/1934). In the article, 'Ethiopian History', Sheikh Seid cautiously attempted to present the stance of an anti-government segment of the Ethiopian Muslims and reminds the authorities of the dire need to address resentments. He writes:

ጌቶች ሆይ በማዕረግ ሥራ ላይ የቆማችሁ መኪንንቶች የዛሬው ቀን የትላንትና አይደለምና ይበድሉናል... በመንግስት ሥፍራ ላይ አያቆሙንም በምክሩ በዝክሩ አያገቡንም እንዲያውም ምን ርስት አላችሁ ይሉናል እያሉ በቁጭት ልባቸው የሚፈላ ወገኖቻችሁ ምን አልባት ቢኖሩ አይታወቅምና ከበታቻችሁ ያሉትን ሕዝቦች በማዘን ዓይን እንድታይዎቸው በፍቅር እንድታቅፍዎቸው ሁላችንም በበኩላችን ላንድነት እንድንጥር እናሳስባችኋለን።

Dear Sirs, nobles in authority, time have changed and there might be those who feel they get unfair treatment and marginalized from participating in government and consultations. Even worse, they say they are being told they have no right to own land. Therefore, I request you to take pity on your people, embrace them with love. I appeal to all of us that we all strive for unity (14 February 1935).

The same article as in the above, explains the reason for his concern of unity and the divisive nature of the Italian policy and the response of some dissented section internally.

እስላሞቹ ቁጥራችሁ ብዙ ነው። ሁለት እጅ ትሆናላችሁ። ሥራ አይሰጥዎችሁ በማዕረግ ስፍራ አያቆሙዎችሁ ምን ዝም ያሰኛችኋል። ይህን ያህል ስትበደሉ እንደሚሉ በጉን ለክርስቲያኖቹ እኒህን እስላሞች አታቅርቡዎቸው። ኢትዮጵያን ያደከማት የነርሱ ጦርነት ነው። ታልደከሙ እረፍት አታገኙም የሚሉ ክፉ መካሪዎች ወንድማማች አጣዮች አይጠፉም እየመሰለኝ ነው...

There are people who stir up agitation and say, ‘Muslims you are much in number, you count for two third [of the total population]. Nonetheless, they do not provide you any job, you are deprived of power, why all this absolute silent and burden such a humiliation’. On the other hand, they instigate the Christians, ‘do not befriend the Muslims, Ethiopia has weakened due to their incessant war, if they are not weakened you will not get peace’. I suspect that there are such ill spirited advisers and troublemakers who go against brothers....

Sheikh Seid, despite the odds, concludes by opting for the forces of unity and cohesion against the divisive axis:

እኔስ የሚታዩኝ እርግጠኛው ወደፊት ሥልጣኔ እየገባቸው አንገት ላንገት ተቃቅረው ተሰልፈው ሞት ሽረታቸው አንድ ሁኖ የጋራ ጠላታቸውን ሲመልሱ ነው... ይህንን ለመጸፍ ያደረሰኝ የዋሆች ወንድሞቼ ነፃነት እናገኝ መስሏቸው ተወገናቸው ተለይተው ከባድ ቀንበር እንዳይጫናቸው ነው:: ትልቁ የዓለም ጦርነት ብዙ ትምህርት ገልጦልናል::
(*Bərhanənnā Sālam*, 14 February 1935).

I definitely expect that both of them will gradually develop and nurture maturity, come to terms together—craving a common goal and destiny—and fight their common enemy... I feel responsible to write this article to remind my innocent brothers lest they stand against their compatriots believing to secure their freedom. That will result in a heavy loss. The great World War has taught us a lot.

In an article entitled: “ደስ የሚያሰኝ የከተማ ወሬ” ‘Pleasant downtown talk’ (*Bərhanənnā Sālam*, 15/8/1935), Sheikh Seid called for the service of the country refraining from expressing his own personal grievances. He states: “...ምንም ሥፍራም ቢቸግረኝ ቢጠበኝ፤ ከአገሬም ድሎት ባላገኝላት ተወልደው ያደጉበትን አገር መውደድ የተፈጥሮ ልማድ ስለሆነ ያገር ፍቅር ወደፊት እየገፋኝ የሥልጣኔና የነፃነት መሠረት አንድነት መሆኑን አውቃለሁና በገሃድ ለአንድነት ሥራ በየጊዜው ከመጸፍ አልሰነፍሁም....” ‘Even though I am in deprivation and do not secure any comfort from my country, it is a natural trait to love the homeland. I am overwhelmed by love of my country and I know that unity is the base of civilization and freedom, I am always tireless to write in favor of unity’

4.2.4 Development

On the edition of August 15, 1927, *Bārhananna Sälam*, Sheikh Seid commented on developmental issues. He grasped disadvantages of some bad traditions practiced in the name of religion. In more strong words, he accuses some pseudo clerics of pursuing anti-development stance. He states:

“አንዳንድ ቃልቻ ነን ባዎች ፍርድ እናውቃለን፤ ጸሎት እናደርጋለን፤ ጋርድ እረድ፤ ጫት አምጣ፤ ቡን አፍላ እያሉ እያጨበጨቡ ድቤ እየወገሩ... እቤት እየሞሉ ሰንፈው አሳንፈው ደህይተው የእስላሙን ሕዝብ አደህይተውት ይኖራሉ።”

Some pseudo Muslim clerics claim to know the future. They pretend to make an honest prayer and order the innocent to arrange a curtain [for the prayer ceremony], to slaughter his animals, to bring ç’at and coffee. They clap their hands and beat the drum. They remain at home idle and make others idle too. They are themselves poor and impoverish the Muslim community too.

On the other hand, Sheikh Seid also laments the shortcomings of the priests:

“ከቄሶችም አሠርሁ፤ ፈታሁ አወገዘሁ፤ ማርሁ እያሉ ሕዝቡ ተስማምቶ፤ ኅልብቶ እንዲኖር የክርስቶስን ሰለማዊ መንገድ መስበክ ሲቻላቸው ሰንፈው የተውት አሉ...”

We do find among the priests those who claim to have magical power and the privilege of excommunicating and forgiving. There are those who have abandoned preaching the peaceful path of Christ, which is helpful for the people to develop sense of co-existence, cohesion and advancement....

He advises that both groups should try their best for national unity and cement internal cohesion so that to avoid mistrust in hard times. “ሁለቱም ወገኖች ላንድነት ቢጥሩ መከራ በመጣ ጊዜ መጠራጠሩ ቀርቶ ሥራን በብርቱ ልብ ማከናወን ይቻል ነበር።” ‘If both parties tried their best to achieve unity, it would have been possible to accomplish our duty whole-heartedly in times of crises’.

Sheikh Seid uses the same column of *Bərhanənnā Sālam* to address the role of cultural pluralism in developmental schemes. He states:

...ኢትዮጵያ በውስጧ ተወልዶ ላደገ ሁሉ አገር ናት እንጂ ካንዱ ላንዱ ልዩነት አላት ለማለት አይቻልምና እኩሉ ወይም የሚበልጠው ሕዝብ እንኳን ሊሰለጥን ሥልጣንና ምን እንደሆነ አያውቅም ማለት አይገባም። ስለዚህ እስላሙ ካልተጠመቀ ጠበል ካልረጨው መስቀል ካልገጨው፣ አማራ ካልሰለመ ማለት አይገባምና ልማዳችሁን ታልተዋችሁ አትሰለጥኑም ማለት ቀርቶ ከፍቅር ሁነን እናስተምራቸው ሥራ እናግባቸው እናሠልጥናቸው የሚል አሳቢ ቢገኝ ለሀገር ጥቅም ሁኖ አንድነቱን ያፀናል... (*Bərhanənnā Sālam* newspaper, April 26, 1934)

Ethiopia is home for anyone born and nourished in; it is not appropriate to say that the country makes distinction. It is not sound to comment that half or more than half of the people do not know about civilization, let alone to be civilized. It is also improper to harass the Muslim to be baptized, sprinkled with the holy water and patted by the cross; similarly, the Amhara should not be forced to accept Islam. Thus, it is not right to say you cannot be civilized unless you abandon your custom. Some one who, based on love, could get them educated, employed and trained; that would benefit the country and help strengthen unity.

According to an article, entitled “የሕዝብ ፀጥታ ለመጠበቅ የኑሮ ደረጃውን ማሻሻልና ማስተካከል ያስፈልጋል” ‘The Necessity of improving the living standard of the people for national security’, he mentions seven key points that he thought would improve the condition of his country. The following are the points:

1. How to improve agricultural productivity and nationalization of excess private possessions.
2. Minimizing house rent.
3. Pointing how to improve the living standard of the people, listing parameters of an efficient government.
4. How to improve the judiciary process.

5. The role of the government in improving commerce.
6. How to improve the living standard particularly of the rural people.
7. Investment opportunities for foreigners and the expansion of bank services.

However, in the fragment under investigation, which is dated on 1964, only the first point is actually discussed.

Sheikh Seid, in the same article expresses the deprivation of the peasants and the majority of the people and its possible consequence:

ከ19ኛው ዘመን ልደት እኩሌታ ወዲህ የባሪያ ሽያጭ ቢከለከልም እነሆ አንድ መቶ ዓመት መሉ የመሬት ባሮች ነፃ አልወጡም... ማስተካከል (ፍትህ) ሰማያዊም ምድራዊም ሕግ ነው። አንዱ ሲበላ ሌላው ተመልካች መሆኑና የአገሩ ሃብት በጥቂት ሰዎች እጅ ተወስኖ መታየት ቂምን ይፈጥራል። በመጨረሻም የእርስ በርስ ደም መፋሰስን አምጥቶ የኮምኒስትን ድርጅት ይወልዳል....

Slave trade was prohibited since the second half of the nineteenth century. However, for the last hundred years land slaves have not achieved their freedom.... Justice is mandatory from the divine and earthly perspectives. People's rage would be the consequence when one section of the society lives in comfort while others remain spectators and when resources of the country are appropriated by a handful of individuals. This, in the final analysis, will drag into bloodshed giving birth to a communist organization.

Sheikh Seid made the above comment ten years before the 1974 Revolution! He added, in the same article, that “መገናዘብ” which he translated as “making state or public property the excesses of the richest” could bridge the gap between the upper and the lower class of the society. “This is not total expropriation” he commented. Accordingly, only excess wealth will be given to the poor by long-term credit to be paid to the owner. The poor will fully possess the land after settling the credit. Neither party will be at risk on such arrangements. Neglecting such measures, Sheikh Seid warned, would facilitate the coming of the communists and specifically warned the nobility.... “ባለጉልቶችና ባለዋና ገንዘቦች ይህንን

አጥብቆ ማሰብ ይኖርባቸዋል።” ‘Landlords and capitalists should take notice of this fact’. In addition, he gives short notices about the nature of communism. Karl Marx's ‘Das Kapital’ and Lenin's Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and the challenge it poses for a people who calls itself Free or Democratic.

The short unpublished article, ‘The People of Ethiopia’, demonstrates Sheikh Seid's interest in International politics and economics (cf.p.62). He comments:

በዐረቦችና በሕንድ በአፍሪካም ከነኒክሮማ ቅዋሜ የሚመነጨው ስብከት ምዕራባውያን ከኛው ወስጥ በነሱ ፕላን የሚመሩ ባለሥልጣናት እየያዙ በሃይማኖት በዘር እየለዩ በአልኮልና በዳንስ ልባችንን እያጠፉ ይገዙናል፤ እንረዳችኋለንም በማለት ውል እያገቡ ጥቅማችንን ይወስዱብናል፤ እናስተምራችኋለን የሚሉትም ትንሽ ሰልጥንን ሸቀጣቸውን ለመግዛት እንድንችል ያህል ነው እንጂ ራሳችንን እንድንችል አያደርጉንም የሚል ነው።

The resistance of the Arabs, the Indians, and in Africa such movements as that of Nkrumah focus on the fact that the Westerners pick leaders from amongst us who are followers of their plans; that they divide us on religious and ethnic grounds; that they dazzle us by alcohol and dancing. They also exploit us under the guise of aid; that they claim to educate us, but the intention is to civilize us to the level that would enable us to buy their commodities and not to attain development.

In the same article, he airs his own recommendations to solve the country's crisis at the time. Here are some of the issues:

1. Strengthening and stimulating the position of effective administrators and authorities to solve the problem of the service seeking population who spend their work time troubled by the bureaucratic maneuvers. Besides, governors should learn political economy in order to solve the problem of unemployment and the issue of land distribution.
2. Urban population needs proper guidance lest they tend to civilize their standard of life before they train themselves on work and work ethics, which makes their expenses more than their income resulting financial bankruptcy...
3. People murmur about over taxation of the business community that they believe curtail their activity. Thus, care

shall be taken in this regard and make the necessary improvements in the agricultural and trade sector.

4. Rather than constructing large and very expensive buildings in cities, the government shall give priority to build roads that connect more populated regions... and work to improve the life standard of the people...

On 12 July 1974, Sheikh Seid wrote an “Open Letter” to the higher Constitutional Council Office—a five-page opinion about some endorsements to the concern of the committee. He addresses three major problems of the country: Land tenure, political and legal systems. He records the country's age-old land tenure with specific data, including the percentage of arable land in some provinces, the grievances of Wällo tenants and his own recommendation for the land tenure system. On the political side he comments that “the constitutional council should represent intellectuals who are diverse both in religion and outlook, formulate a constitution that can safeguard the rights of the people at large and converge the different interests. A Constitution drafted to keep the privilege of certain individuals (groups), he argues, will not sustain the unity of the country and it would be fatal. Further, he comments that the people's rights should be explicitly guaranteed in the constitution. The solutions indicate his close attachment with the problems at the grassroots level. In relation to the legal crisis, he mentions absence of independent judiciary, the prevalence of corruption and Election frauds.

To sum up, Sheikh Seid's textual legacies are full of episodes pertaining to his keen interest in Ethiopian history that in the final analysis are helpful to trace his role as a cohesive element between different cultures by enhancing Ethiopian patriotic consciousness and unity based on equal opportunity and access to education, justice and development for all. Moreover, the legacies are helpful inputs in the documentation of Ethiopian history.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion and Recommendations

Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq was an all-rounded role model cleric. This religious leader was endowed with qualities that most of his contemporaries did not possess. His practical involvement in the civil service and active participation in the political life of the Ethiopian society are well portrayed in his philological legacies. The texts of his MSS witness that he was equipped with Islamic, Biblical and secular knowledge. During his days, there was no cultural atmosphere for the rise of a versatile personality like him. As his works testify, he was a person who thought beyond his generation.

A careful examination of the contents of his writings and a close study of his career reveals that he was more of social activist than a traditional cleric. He was an intellectual conscious of the historical injustices perpetuated by the imperial powers against Ethiopia. He was a man who had great enthusiasm to see his country united regardless of ethnic and religious differences. He aspired to see his country developed economically and advance politically.

The works of Sheikh Seid and his life, as the researcher attempts to disclose in this Philological study, generally show the need of the hunt for legacies not only in our far past but also in the near past. Linguistically, Sheikh Seid's works partly demonstrate the literary development of Arabic on the Ethiopian soil and the contribution of local Muslim clerics in developing the Amharic language. Philologically, the partial collection and description of the texts available at the disposal of the researcher reveals the variety and validity of the subjects that the author attempts to address.

The study gives emphasis the historical and patriotic aspects of the legacy. It demonstrates the contribution of Sheikh Seid to the issue of identity and politics in Ethiopia. The study also sheds light on the role of Ethiopian Muslims and the relations between the Ethiopian Muslim and “modernity” during the period between 1930s and the 1960s. It also reflects on the role and place of Islam in Ethiopia, interactions with Christianity from both indigenous and missionary perspectives as well as traditional religions in the country. The researcher

believes, the works left by Sheikh Seid generally witness the wide readings and empirical investigations the author carried out and the scholarly tendency he was equipped with. Further philological study on the subject would better develop the ideas in this thesis.

The researcher has managed to identify and analyze Sheikh Seid's literary legacy. Nonetheless, he recommends that a reliable means should be devised to make the treasure accessible for further interdisciplinary studies. Finally, a word of caution: the researcher has gathered MSS, texts, fragments, articles and letters of Sheikh Seid that are in fairly good condition in the custody of his family. They deserve gratitude for keeping his legacy for the last thirty years. However, the future of this national treasure is highly vulnerable and hence appropriate institutional intervention seems mandatory.



References

- Abdella Abdurrahmannur. 2005. *Yä 'ayn Məsəkkər* (Amharic). Addis Ababa.
- Abdulkarim Seid.1993. Sheikh Seid Muhammed Sadiq (1889-1969), *Talak' Yä Dīn Tagay* (Amharic). In *Bilal* 1, 9. (magazine). Addis Ababa: Nägāšī Islamic Publisher.
- Abdurrahman Reshide. 2004. *An Autobiographical Narrative of al- Hağğ Kamil Abubakar Sherif and al-Hağğ Bashir Dawd*. B.A. thesis. Addis Ababa University.
- As's'idq* (newspaper), *Minal Ĥabašatī 'ilā al-Mis'r*. 30 August 1934. Egypt.
- Azimbadī, Badr. 2003. *Great Personalities in Islam*. New Delhi: Adams Publishers and Distributors.
- Cerulli, Enrico.1931. Documenti arabi per la storia dell' Ethiopia, *Reale Accademia dei Lincei-Memorie*, ser. VI, 4.pp. 37-101.
- _____.1941. Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico. *Rassegna di studi Etiopici*, 1.pp. 5-42.
- _____.1942.Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XV alla conquista egiziana (1875). *Rassegna di studi Etiopici*, 2.pp. 3-20.
- _____. 1971. L'Islam di ieri e di oggi. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.pp. 135-206.
- Drewes A.J. 1984. The library of Muḥammed b. 'Alī b. Abd al- Šakūr, Sult'ān of Harar,1272-92/1856-75, in *Arabian and Islamic Studies*. Articles Presented to R.B. Serjeant on the occasion of his Retirement, R.L.. Bidwell & G.R. Smith, ed. London & New York, pp. 68-79.
- Erlich, Haggai.1994. *Ethiopia and the Middle East*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Gori, Alessandro. 2005. Contemporary and Historical Muslim Scholars as Portrayed by the Ethiopian Islamic Press in the 1990's. In *International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies*,8, Uhlig. ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. pp.83-85.
- _____. 2006. Arabic Islamic Literature in Ethiopia (a paper presented to *The second International Symposium on Ethiopian Philology*). Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University.
- Hussein Ahmed.1992. The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia In *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3:1, pp.15-46. Cape Town :University of Cape Town.

- _____. 1998. Islamic Literature and Religious Revival in Ethiopia. 1991-1994. In *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara*, 12, Paris, pp. 89-108.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1990. *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Markakis, John .1974. *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Muhammed Tajudin Ahmed. (MS). 'Ilām al-'aġbiyā' bi-ḥayāt al-'uz'āmā' 'Ityūbiyā min al-'ulamā' wa al-'awliyā' wa al-salāt 'in al-Islām wa al-asāt 'in al-as'fiyā'.
- Muhammed Wāle. 1993. *Nubḏā min ḥayāt al-ṣaykh Munād'il 'ala iz'hār al-ḥaqq al- ṣaykh al-labīb Seid Muhammed Sādiq. Bilal* (magazine), 1, 9. Addis Ababa: Nägāšī Islamic Publisher.
- _____. 2005. *Kitāb 'ikaz'i himum al-'aġbiyā', bi-rašš al-qat'rat min tarāġīm al-'ulamā wa al-'awliyā fī ġumhuriyat al-'Ityūbiyā*. Addis Ababa: Nägāšī Islamic Publisher.
- Moges Yigezu. ed. 2006. In *The Second International Symposium on Ethiopian Philology* (Abstract), p.13. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University.
- O'Fahey, Rex Sean. 2003. *The Writings of the Muslim Peoples of North Eastern Africa*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Seid Muhammed Sadiq. 2001. *Manhal al-'at'sān fī tārīkh al-Hubšān*. S'an'ā': Markaz al-turāo wa al- buhūo al-Yamanī.
- Seid Muhammed Sadiq and Haġġi Muhammed Sani. 1969. *Qəddus Qur'an*. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printers Ltd.
- Taddesse Tamrat. 1972. *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1257*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trimingham, J.Spencer. 1976. *Islam in Ethiopia*. London: Frank Class and Co.Ltd.
- Ullendorff, Edward .1965. *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People*. London: Oxford University Press.

Wagner, Edward.1974. Three Arabic Documents on the History of Harar. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 12.pp. 213-224.

_____. 1997. *Afrikanische Handschriften. Teil 2. Islamische Handschriften aus Äthopien*, Stuttgart: Stemes (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XXIV, 2).

APPENDICES

Appendix I. List of Unpublished Manuscripts

A. Amharic Manuscripts

1. *Əsləmännana Misyonawəyan* ‘Islam and Missionaries’.
2. *Mängistənnā ’amäsärarātu* ‘Government and its Formation’.
3. *Yä täwhidənnā yä fiqh məmmariya* ‘A Guide to Theology and Jurisprudence’.
4. *Yä Wällo Tarik* ‘The History of Wallo’.

B. Arabic Manuscripts

1. *’Assihāmu as’s’ā’ibā fī ’uhduət al-waəaniyat al-Habašiyā al-kāđibā* ‘The Piercing Arrow in the Idolatrous Abyssinian Mythology’.
2. *’ilm al-ğugrāfī* ‘The Science of Geography’.
3. *Hadiqat al-kawākib fī ’ilm al-kawākib* ‘Garden of Stars about the Science of Stars’.
4. *Kitāb qūtu al- šā’iq ’ađā’iq wa šarāb al- ’āšiq ’attā’iq fī mawlid ’annabiy al- fā’iq ’lā sā’ir al-khlā’iq* ‘A book of Provision for the longing, artful and a drink for the loving during the birthday celebration of the noblest Prophet’.
5. *Ta’ rīful ħubb wadā’ ’aimuhu.* ‘The Definition of Love and its Pillars’.

Appendix II. Unpublished articles

1. “የሌሊት ጉዞና ወደ ሰማይ ማረጋገጫ” ‘The Night Journey and Ascension to Heaven’ (n.d.). Dessie.
3. [*id al- Fit’r* holiday speech]. 3/6/54. Dessie.
4. “የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ” ‘The People of Ethiopia’. 23/9/58. Addis Ababa.
5. “አስተያየት” ‘Opinion’. 22/10/61. Addis Ababa.
6. “ኢትዮጵያ ትቅደም ፤ ሕገ-መንግስቱ ይሻሻል ያለህን የበለጸጉት ይወረሱ” ፤ ‘Ethiopia first, the constitution be amended, people who made fortunes illegally shall be confiscated’. 13/7/1974. Addis Ababa.
7. “ሃይማኖቶችና ጥቅማቸው” ፤ ‘Religion and their benefit’. 21 /12/1974.

8. “ከ ወሎ ተወላጆች ለአገራቸውና ለወገናቸው ከአገለገሉት ከብዙ በጥቂቱ”፣ ‘Patriotic deeds of some Wälloyäs’. 28/1/1975.
9. በወሎ ዋና ከተማ በደሴ የተቋቋመው የወቅፍ ኮሚቴ”፣ The *Waqf* Committee Established in the Capital of Wällo, Dessie. (n.d.). (*ajami*).

Appendix III. Published Articles

1. “ሥልጣንና ነገር” ‘Power and Litigation’ *Bərḥänənnā Sälam* newspaper, April 26, 1934. Addis Ababa.
2. “የኢትዮጵያ ክርስቲያኖችና የአርበኞች ፍቅር መጠንከርና አንደኛቸው የአንደኛቸውን በዓል ማክበር” ‘Strengthening Ethiopian Christians and patriots mutual love and unity by celebrating holidays together’. *Bərḥänənnā Sälam* newspaper, November 8, 1934. Addis Ababa.
3. “የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ” ‘Ethiopian History’ *Bərḥänənnā Sälam* newspaper, February 14, 1935. Addis Ababa.
4. “ሰለ ሰይድ አብደላ መሀጃሽ ሞት” ‘Obituary of Seid Abdella Mehjus’ *Bərḥänənnā Sälam* newspaper, February 14, 1935. Addis Ababa.
5. “የአረብ ጋዜጣዎች ቃላት” ‘Comments of the Arab Press’ *Bərḥänənnā Sälam* newspaper, May 30, 1935. Addis Ababa.
6. “ደስ የሚያሰኝ የከተማ ወሬ” ‘Pleasant talks of the city’ *Bərḥänənnā Sälam* newspaper, August 15, 1935. Addis Ababa.
7. “አንድነት”. ‘Unity’ *Bərḥänənnā Sälam* newspaper, September 20, 1934. Addis Ababa.
8. “የህዝብ ጸጥታ ለመጠበቅ የኑሮ ደረጃውን ማሻሻልና ማስተካከል ያስፈልጋል” ‘The necessity of improving the life standard of the people for national security’. Special Magazine (?), 1964. Addis Ababa.

Appendix IV. A List of Selected letters

a. Outgoing

1. To the Crown Prince. 9 November 1942. Dessie.
2. To the Crown Prince. 5 April 1943. Dessie.
3. To the Mayor of Dessie. 2 April 1943. Dessie.
4. To the Wällo *Awraḡa* Supreme Court. 12 March 1946. Dessie.
5. To the Islamic Public School. 27 December. 1947. Dessie.
6. To the Mayor of Dessie, n.d. Dessie.
7. To the Embassy of Egypt to Ethiopia. 1952. Dessie.
8. To the Islamic Concord Association. 24 January 1952. Dessie.
9. To the 'Ulama in Addis Ababa. 29 January 1944. Dessie.
10. To the B.B.C. (British Broadcasting Corporation). 20 July 1944.
11. To Investigation of Court Cases Council. 23 April 1955. Addis Ababa.
12. To Seyyid Alewi Muhammed Sāfi. 24 January 1952.
13. To Wäyzäro Səhən School. 24 January 1956. Dessie.
14. To the Mayor of Addis Ababa. 7 February 1959. Addis Ababa.
15. To the Ministry of Interior, Public Security Department. 3 July 1960. Addis Ababa.
16. To Mr. Yagardas Lilader. 24 June 1961. Addis Ababa.
17. To the Ministry of Finance, Wällo Regional Office. 14 December 1961. Dessie.
18. To President Jamal AbduNasser. 1963. Addis Ababa.
19. To the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. 17 December 1963. Addis Ababa.
20. To the Commission of Pension. 31 May 1974. Addis Ababa.
21. To Abdella Abdurrahman Nūr. 27 May 1962. Addis Ababa.
22. To wäyzäro Səhən School. 2 June 1962 Addis Ababa.
23. To the State Bank of Ethiopia. 15 September 1958. Addis Ababa.
24. To Lt. Col. Work'ənäh Gäbäyāhu, General Security Head. 26 June 1960.
25. To the Ministry of Justice. 21 February 1969. Addis Ababa.
26. To the Ministry of Interior, Municipality Section. 4 August 1970. Addis Ababa.
27. To Investigation Council of Court Cases. 12 May 1970. Addis Ababa.
28. To Ato Kebede Sibhatu. 2 February 1971. Dessie.
29. To the Supreme Court of Wällo. 7 March 1972. Dessie.

30. To the Crown Prince. 30 April 1972. Addis Ababa.
31. To the Governor of Wällo. 8 November 1971. Addis Ababa.
32. To the *qāḍī* Court of Dessie. 8 December 28 1971. Addis Ababa.
33. To the Supreme Court of Wällo. 3 June 1971. Addis Ababa.
34. To the wäyzäro Zäynäb Abdella. 29 July 1971. Addis Ababa.
35. To the Emperor Haile Sellasie. 26 October 1972. Addis Ababa.
36. To the Prime Minister Office. 13 July 1974. Addis Ababa.
37. To the Islamic Affairs Supreme Council. 7 November 1976. Addis Ababa.
38. To the World Islamic League. Arabic. April 19 1976. Addis Ababa.
39. To the Islamic Public School, 20 April 1976. Addis Ababa.

b. Incoming

1. From Wällo General Governorate schools office. 17 January 1949. Dessie.
2. From the Imperial Cabinet Office. 14 August 1950. Addis Ababa.
3. From the Ministry of Justice. 27 November 1954. Addis Ababa.
4. From the Ministry of Mines and State Domain. 3 March 1960. Addis Ababa.
5. From the Ministry of Interior, Public Security Department. 30 August 1961. Addis Ababa.
6. From Ministry of Interior, Public Security Department. 22 July 1964. Addis Ababa.
7. From the Ministry of Pen. 12 December 1961. Addis Ababa.
8. From the Ministry of Interior, Public Security Department. 7 February 1960. Addis Ababa.
9. From the Municipality of Dessie. 18 December 1971. Addis Ababa.
10. From Wällo Governorate Supreme Council. 5 October 1973. Dessie.
11. From the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing. 20 January 1981. Addis Ababa.

Appendix V. List of Informants

Name	Date of Interview	Place	Age
Abdulkerim Seid	20/11/06	Addis Ababa	64
Asma Seid	20/11/06	”	52
Lubaba Seid	21/11/06	”	51
Dr. Seid Ahmed	21/11/06	”	72
Abdurrahman Nur	22/11/06	”	75
Ahmed Yesuf	23/11/06	”	65
Beshir Dawd (Haḡḡi)	25/11/06	”	85
Shemsedin Muhammed	25/11/06	”	53
Abdurahman Muhammed (Sheikh)	28/11/06	Goḡḡam (Wällo)	87
Mohammed Awol	30/11/06	”	40
Mohammed Sherif (Sheikh)	30/11/06	Gärba (Wällo)	80
Abdella Muhammed (Sheikh)	4/12/06	‘At’ayä (Šäwa)	70
Austaz Yesuf Adem	5/12/06	Dessie	63
Sheikh Mohammed Ali	5/12/06	”	71
Mohammed Ali	6/12/06	”	75
Mohammed Hamza	6/12/06	”	65
Mohammed Sani	7/12/06	”	63
Seid Ali Beyan (Sheikh)	7/12/06	”	87

Tafera Melaku	8/12/06	”	68
Awagash Yeshaw	8/12/06	”	47
Ali Mohammed(Sheikh)	9/12/06	Dessie	77
Muhdin Hassen (Sheikh)	13/12/06	Gärba	75
Muhammed Jawher (Sheikh)	14/12/06	Kombolcha (Wällo)	58
Mohammed Siraj (Sheikh)	14/12/06	Dessie	67
Yimer Warraque	14/12/06	”	84
Adem Musa (Sheikh)	14/12/06	”	71
Haqut A.Mejid (Sheikh)	15/12/06	”	55
Sani Ibrahim (Sheikh)	15/12/06	”	65
Ansha Ahmed	15/12/06	”	96
Muhammed Imam(Sheikh)	16/12/06	”	64
MuhammedGetaw(Sheikh)	16/12/06	”	86
Abdel Kemul	16/12/06	”	70
Mohammed Omar(Hağği)	17/12/06	”	67
Abdul Manan (Hağği)	17/12/06	”	
Hussen Qadi (Sheikh)	17/12/06	”	68
Hassen Amede (Sheikh)	17/12/06	”	95
Mohammed Assaffi (Hağği)	01/01/07	Addis Ababa	67
Amade Lemma (Fitawrari)	7/01/07	”	82
Seid Muhammed	8/01/07	”	63
KamilSheriff (Hağği)	8/01/07	”	78

Declaration

I, the under signed, declare that this thesis is my original work and that all sources of materials used for this thesis are properly acknowledged.

ENDRIS MOHAMMED

Name



Signature