

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE KĀDĪTO CLAN AND THEIR LIBRARY: ISLAMIC LITERATURE AND
KNOWLEDGE IN AWSA (‘AFAR)

By:

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Philology

Advisor: Prof. Orin Gensler



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Abstract

This thesis deals with the 'Afar clan of Kādīto (Ašrāf) and more specifically with the heritage of Arabic MSS preserved in their Mosque of Ďāle, near the town of Aysa'īta (Asaita) in Awsa. I explain how, when, why and by whom the library in the Mosque of Ďāle was established, and describe its present chaotic condition. The heart of the thesis is a short catalogue of 29 MSS which I found in that library, followed by a closer philological analysis of 10 of the MSS. In addition, the thesis discusses many issues relating to 'Afar culture, geography, history and economy. These include such general topics as 'Afar oral literature, food, law, clothing, as well as a history of Islamic and Muslim leaders in 'Afar and particularly in Awsa. The history and importance of the Kādīto clan, and of other scholarly clans such as the Kabirto and Šeiḥak-Šarīfa, are presented based on oral tradition.

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TRANSLITERATION SYMBOLS

1. Arabic consonants

Arabic sound	Transliteration
ا	'
ب	b
ت	t
ث	ṭ
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	ḫ
د	d
ذ	ḏ
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	š
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	'
غ	g
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y

2. Long vowels in Arabic and in Afar

2a.

Long vowels in Arabic	Transliteration
ا	ā
ي	ī
و	ū

2b.

Long vowels in 'Afar	Equivalent Phonetic
aa	ā
ii	ī
uu	ū
ee	ē
oo	ō

Special Symbol for 'Afar names: **Ḑ, ḑ** = implosive d

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

In this thesis, I decided to study Arabic MSS from the 'Afar-speaking part of Ethiopia, particularly MSS copied or written by the Kādīto family (main clan of the Ḍāle al-Šarīfa tribe). This family was a leading contributor to Islam in the Awsa sultanate through its Ḍāle traditional school. A branch of the family settled in the Tajorra sultanate in the northern part of the Republic of Djibouti several centuries ago. Many manuscripts and documents of this scholarly family have been lost, as informants revealed, especially during the Derg regime. As the elderly people in the locality state, the history of this family has been handed down from ancestors to descendants via oral communication. They also state that the family Kādīto gets its name from the Arabic term Qāḏī "judge" (kāḏī in 'Afar). In fact, the family has a long career of serving as Islamic judges in Awsa. It can be assumed that the Arabic word Qāḏī has been changed as: /q/ to /k/ and /ḏ/ to /d/, since 'Afar does not have the phoneme /ḏ/ and does not use /q/ very much in its phonetic system. The Kādīto claim themselves to be descendants of Šarīfa, i.e. in their turn descendants of the Prophet. Thus their main tribe is called Ḍāle al-Šarīfa, referring to the Ḍāle traditional school in Awsa.

According to informants, ever since the time of their ancestor Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad during the reign of Sultan Ḥanfare Ibn Aydāḥis, who ruled after his father Aydāḥis (Arramis 2011:12), the family has held the office and power of Qāḏī (Muslim Judge) in Awsa. They did not pass this power to other tribes, clans or families; there was even competition among members of the family itself. To maintain this power of their family members they sent their children to traditional Islamic schools both inside and outside of Ethiopia. For example, inside the country, they sent their children to the famous traditional Islamic school at Dawwe in southern Wallo, or they would send them abroad to Zabīd in Yemen, or to Mecca and Madīna in Saudi Arabia. They also acted as conflict mediators among different tribes of the 'Afar, and they gave advice to 'Afar inhabitants of Awsa. They had an Islamic traditional school called Ḍāle. The place Ḍāle is believed to have been the central focus of Islam in Awsa since the reign of Ḥanfare Aydāḥis of the Aydāḥisso dynasty (the last dynasty to rule Awsa sultanate) of the tribe of Afka'ek-Ma'ad in Awsa. Ḍāle is located just outside of Aysa'īta (Asaita), the former capital of both Awsa sultanate and 'Afar Regional State in Ethiopia, 660

kms northeast of Addis Ababa and 61 kms southeast of Samara, the current capital of 'Afar regional state.

My research work deals with this famous scholarly clan Kādīto and their well-known traditional school at Ādale. In particular, this study focuses on the manuscripts of the Kādīto family originating in the library of Ādale traditional school. As the first step of my research, I found four MSS in Addis Ababa brought from Ādale by 'Alī Aḥmad Kādī who himself belongs to the Kādīto clan. These four MSS enabled me to produce the proposal for my thesis topic. Then, I pursued my search to locate more MSS during my two fieldtrips to the area of Ādale. In the library at Ādale I succeeded in finding many manuscripts by Kādīto scholars as well as some MSS from outside Ādale. On the other hand, for the oral history of Ādale and Kādīto, I worked intensively with an elder of Kādīto, an intellectual named Muḥammad Aḥmad. I relied on him as my main informant for the oral history. He is considered the most knowledgeable person in Awsa regarding the history of Kādīto and Ādale.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

1. To provide an introduction to 'Afar history and culture, especially in Awsa sultanate.
2. To explore the details of the Ādale traditional school of the Kādīto clan, which is located near the town Aysa'īta, and to present the role of Kādīto in spreading Islamic education to Awsa since the advent of the Aydāḥissō Dynasty to the scene of Awsa.
3. To describe the library of the Kādīto scholars in the mosque at Ādale.
4. To make a brief catalogue of all the MSS which exist at the library of Ādale traditional school...not only the MSS which belong specifically to Kādīto scholars, but also some Arabic MSS produced by other Muslim scholars.
5. To conduct philological analysis and mention briefly the contents of ten MSS by Kādīto scholars at Ādale traditional school.
6. To understand and create awareness and contribute to the preservation of the Arabic MSS at Ādale, which are considered part of the heritage of Kādīto.

1.3 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study deals with MSS available in the library (in the mosque Ḍāle) of the Kādīto clan at Ḍāle traditional school in Awsa, as well as four MSS originally from Ḍāle which are now in Addis Ababa. One problem which the researcher faced was a scarcity of background information about Kādīto and Ḍāle. As just mentioned, none of the written sources on 'Afar or Awsa mentions Kādīto, with the single (possible) exception of Šeiḥ Gamāl al-Dīn. Moreover, there were no MSS that said anything about the Kādīto's genealogy or family history except for some references to birth dates of some Kādīto individuals. On the other hand, it was also hard to collect oral history. I found almost no informants who had good information about Kādīto history, since the elder scholars who once knew about the Kādīto clan have passed away. The single exception was my informant Muḥammad Aḥmad Yāsīn (al-Awsiyy), a middle-aged intellectual who possessed much knowledge about the history of Kādīto. I relied heavily on his information. Finally, most of the MSS which were found at the Mosque of Ḍāle were badly bound or (usually) completely unbound, carelessly kept, damaged by water and insects, torn, tattered and scattered here and there. This situation consumed my time and money, and made the research slower more difficult and less clear than it would otherwise have been.

1.4 Research Methodology

Standard philological methodology was used, including background reading, fieldwork, interviews, and catalogue preparation. I made digital photographs of parts of about 15 MSS, and full photocopies of 3 other complete MSS. I was not able to photograph any MS in its entirety due to lack of time and sometimes due to restrictions imposed by the guardians of the MSS (It should be noted that the guardians were sometimes very helpful). Research conditions were very difficult because the library is extremely disordered; sometimes I found a MS during one field trip but could not find it again on later visits. Moreover, much of the content of the library consists of loose, unbound sheets, and it was not always clear which sheets should belong to a single "manuscript".

1.5 Review of Related Literature

Of the sources I found relating to Awsa and the 'Afar, only one refers to Ďāle or the Kādīto clan. I will discuss it at the end. First I will survey the other sources.

A useful but hard-to-get source (printed in Nigeria) is the 108-page book by Kadafo Mohamed Hanfare entitled *The Background History of the Sultanate of Awsa*. On pp. 2-10 he discusses the early history of the Aydāḥisso dynasty, who even today are still considered a leading clan in Awsa.

In his long article "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", Enrico Cerulli has a section (part v) containing three fragments of a chronicle of Awsa. None of the fragments, however, mentions the Kādīto clan, so I will only briefly summarize them.

Cerulli's fragment (a) covers the period from the sack of Zayla until 999 A.H. In 999 the non-Muslim Oromo made an expedition against Awsa. They defeated Awsa and killed many of the 'Afar people; others died of thirst or disappeared. Fragment (b) describes internal conflicts between different Adal rulers from 1008 A.H. onward. It also tells of a successful expedition of the 'Afar against the Oromo in 1030 A.H. Fragment (c) has to do with volcanic eruptions and an earthquake that occurred in 1017 A.H.

Maqrīzī (n.d:8) has some geographical and historical discussion of 'Afar as part of the "Awfat" (Ifat) Sultanate which was later succeeded by the Adal Sultanate. Braukämper provides useful background on the sultanates of Yīfāt and Adal (2004:24-28, 29-38).

Further, Rajab Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, in his book entitled *al-'Alāqāt al-Siyāsiyya bayna Muslimī al-Zayla' wa-Naṣārā al-Habaša* (2009[1984]: 11-12) deals with the political history of 'Afar up to 1402 A.D. He says that 'Afar region in the Horn of Africa was considered part of the Sultanate of "Fatajar". After the decline of the Sultanate of *Fatajar*, the 'Afar regions became separated from *Fatajar* and formed their own independent sultanates. The 'Afar sultans were relatives of the *Fatajar* sultans. He gives the latitude of the Sultanate of 'Afar at that time as 8-12 N and longitude as 42-48 E. A significant point which is mentioned by this source is that the 'Afar area at that time included the region of Harar, Zayla', the River Awāš and western Djibouti. The capital of 'Afar Sultanate at that time was called Dakār. Rajab

Muhammad also suggests that the name 'Afar come from a place near the 'Afar port of Tajorra.

Loren F. Bliese (1982-83) deals with the oral literature of 'Afar. He describes 'Afar literature as having "sophisticated poetic forms" which are used on different socially appropriate occasions. 'Afar songs show a diversity of types. Each is "strictly" defined by "a number of syllables per line and different melody patterns". Bliese lists six kinds of 'Afar songs: *Kalluwalle*, *sad'da'a*, *horra*, *tirtira*, *sāre*, and *kassōwu*. Interestingly, while four of these also occur in Jamal 'Abdulkadir Redō's list (given in sec. 3), two are not included, *tirtira* and *sāre*. *Tirtira* "war shouts" (Bliese's translation, p. 61) are sung only by males, usually performed as short interruptions of the *horra*. The *Sāre* "praise song" is performed by either men or women.

J. Spencer Trimingham, in his study *Islam in Ethiopia* (1952:96-7), has some discussion of the history of Awsa. After the defeat of the Harar army by the Christians and devastating raids by the Oromo in the year 1577, the sultanate of Adal changed its seat from Harar to Awsa in the hope of attaining greater security. But the Oromo raided Awsa repeatedly, and around 1672 it disappeared as a political entity. Trimingham also devotes a section of his book to the 'Afar (pp. 171-177).

The only source which the researcher came across that apparently mentions the Kādīto clan is the book by Šeiḥ Gamal al-Din al-Šāmī and his son Hašim Gamal al-Din, *al-Manḥal fī Tārīḥ al-'Afar al-Danākīl* (2007: 646). However, this source does not call them by the name Kādīto at Ḍāle, discusses them as the "Ašrāf" or "Šarīfā" clans of Ḍāle. The question of whether "Ašrāf" is the same as "Kādīto" will be examined in chapter 3.

Finally, the *Ethiopia Tourism Directory* (2012: 134-135) discusses the famous paleontological finds (*Australopithecus afarensis*: the skeletons of Lucy and Selam) in the Danakil desert in 'Afar.

CHAPTER TWO: 'Afar; Geography and culture; the Awsa Sultanate; and the Ďāle Traditional School

2.1 Geographical Background

The area where the 'Afar people live is known as the 'Afar triangle. It extends from Djibouti on the Red Sea coast, inland in the direction of Addis Ababa as far as Hawaš, and then north along the eastern edge of the highland plateau as far as the Gulf of Zula near Massawa. According to 'Awad Dāwūd Muḥammad's thesis *al-Mas'alah al-'Afarīyah fī al-Qarn al-ifrīqī* (1993:3) the area of the 'Afar triangle is 160,000 km². In the second half of the nineteenth century, 'Afar land was divided by the European colonialists into three countries: Ethiopia (105,000 km²), Eritrea (35,000 km², which is known as Dankālīā) and Djibouti (20,000 km² out of a total area of 23,200 km²). The 'Afar region is a very hot lowland and dry desert area, most of which is called the Danākil Depression:

As Šeiḥ Gamāl al-Dīn and his son Hāšim Gamāl al-Din unanimously state in their book *al-Manhal fī tārik al-Afar (al-Danākil)* (1997:333-4), the precise location of Awsa sultanate in the periods of the "Ḥaralla" and "Dardōra" (Imāma) dynasties is not yet properly known. However, if we look later to the period of the Aydāḥissō Dynasty, particularly in the time of Sultan Ḥanfare Ibn Aydāḥis, we can more precisely locate the Awsa Sultanate. Some new western areas like Mille and the western part of Teru became part of Awsa sultanate at this time. This was due to the westward expansion of the Modaytō clans from Awsa region into those areas. As Šeiḥ Gamal al-Dīn and his son describe it, the location of Awsa Sultanate before Italian colonialism apparently extended along the Red Sea Coast from Bari-'Asōlī southeast to the area of 'Asab, then southward past Mt. Musā Ali toward the Lake 'Asal region, then west to the Abyssinian foothills at "Talālak" (near Bati?), then north along the foothills to the Teru region, then east to the coast near Bari-'Asoli. (The description as given was unclear to me, and included many place names which I could not properly identify. This is my best attempt to make sense of the description). The boundary of Awsa Sultanate, before the Italian occupation, thus included the whole coastal area of 'Asab. However, this boundary contracted under the Italians to exclude the coastal areas. That was after the death of Sultan Yayyo in 1926.

In addition to Šeiḥ Gamāl al-Dīn's written source, I also consulted orally three 'Afar intellectuals, Jamāl 'Abd al-Kādir Redō, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Šaḥeim and Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ġanī, about the location of Awsa sultanate. Although the territory of Awsa sultanate has expanded and diminished over the centuries, there is a traditionally recognized location for Awsa Sultanate among the 'Afar people. The location of Awsa Sultanate according to these two informants, is bounded to the north-east by Ḥabuli-Goso, to the north-west by Baylūl, to the south-east by Tand'aḥō (near Logya town), and by Būha and Aya'īta in the east. This account gives to Awsa sultanate a smaller territory than Gammāl al-Dīn's account. According to own experience and partly also according to 'Afar tradition, this oral information is more correct than Gamāl al-Dīn's. In general, the same is true of 'Afar sultanates in the Horn whose people know and recognize their traditional boundaries and territory.

For determining the location of 'Afar Regional State, we can refer to Atlas 2 prepared by the Bureau of Finance and Economic Development of 'Afar regional state (2009:6). 'Afar Regional State shares boundaries with four regional states in Ethiopia: in the northwest Tigray Region, in the southwest Amhara Region, in the south Oromiya, and in the southeast Somali region respectively. 'Afar Regional State shares an international boundary with Djibouti in the east and Eritrea in the northeast. Moreover, 'Afar region consists of five zones, 32 woredas (districts) and nearly 400 or more kebeles (sub-districts). The respective capitals of the aforementioned zones are:

- 1) Zone One: Samara (Capital of the 'Afar National Regional State)
- 2) Zone Two: Ab'āla
- 3) Zone Three: Awash Sabat Kilo
- 4) Zone Four: Kalluwan
- 5) Zone Five: Ḍāle-fage

2.2 Cultural Background of the 'Afar

The Encyclopedia Aethiopica (article 'Afar, Vol. I, pp. 115-6) states that the 'Afar language "Afaraf" belongs to one of the sub-groups of the Lowland East Cushitic Group. It is close to the dialect of Saho and Irob.

'Afar customary law (*Mad'a*), according to Jamal 'Abdulkadir, in his research paper entitled "The 'Afar Customary Law" (pp. 1-2), was compiled from the memories of well-known 'Afar leaders of the middle Eritrean coast in 'Iddī, Arra'tā and the surrounding areas. The compilation was done by Fitawrari "Yascin Mohamede" (Yāsīn Maḥamōdā), who was a well-known chief of that area. The 'Afar people, wherever they live, 'govern' by applying their customary law according to their needs and use it to solve their daily criminal, social, political and other problems. Such 'governing' can be done based on two kinds of 'Afar customary law. One is known as Bur'ili Mad'a (the customary law initiated by the tribe known as Bur'ilī) which was taken from the famous 'Afar clan or tribe of Bidū and the surrounding areas. It is well known among all the 'Afar tribes and widely used by the 'Afar all over the Horn of Africa. The second one is "Buddutt Mad'a" (the law of the clan Buddutt); this is also known among the 'Afar nation as a second 'Afar customary law which was produced by the Mōdaytō tribe. It is used widely, but not as much as the first one. Regarding criminal responsibility, 'Afar customary law is not concerned with who committed the crime individually, but with his clan or his tribe as a whole. Furthermore, 'Afar customary law has been influenced by classical Islamic law (Kassim Shehim, *The Influence of Islam on the 'Afar*, 1984:165).

The 'Afar have their own distinctive culture, which distinguishes them from other ethnic groups. An example is their general appearance: both sexes wear a skirt for covering the lower part of their bodies and garments of cloth upon their upper bodies, and the men carry a knife called *'Afar Gile*. But there are also some differences of style between the two sexes, in the manner of wearing their clothes, and (especially in rural areas) by using different kinds of embellishments, ornaments, and other decorations for their bodies. In addition there are slight differences from region to region. Such small differences can appear in every aspect of their lives: styles of wearing or decoration, accent of language, behaviour, wedding ceremonies, religious ceremonies, folklore, play, food etc. Moreover, there is one thing which is considered a universal aspect of 'Afar culture, called *Ḍāgu*. This means, that when 'Afar males meet each



other, they ask each other for any kind of news or new information, which then is spread by word of mouth efficiently and rapidly. In this way, news of every incident which occurs anywhere in the 'Afar region is spread to all the 'Afar.

As the informant Šeiḥ Muḥammad Darasa Mūsa described, there are some kinds of staple foods which are well known in 'Afar. Especially, these are considered to have been originally known by the northwest 'Afar and then introduced to other neighbouring 'Afar regions. There are six sorts of typical foods, which are as follows:

1. *Gogoyta* (bread) is originally known from the northern part of 'Afar Regional State. It is prepared by heating a round stone in the fire until it is red-hot. Then, the hot stone is covered with dough (made of wheat flour) and the dough bakes quickly until well done. It is very easy to prepare it wherever firewood is present, and it is often used by travelers as well as in villages. It is used by salt caravans bound for 'As-'Ale (Amole salt); even the neighbouring Tigray people use it when they are traveling in an 'As-'Ale caravan. In modern times all the different freedom fighters of 'Afar, Tigray and even Eritrea used *Gogoyta* bread.

2. *Gāgubeita* and *Barereytā* are other kinds of bread used at home by the 'Afar in the northern part of 'Afar Regional State. Unlike *Gogoyta*, *Gāgubeita* and *Barereitā* are baked by putting the dough directly onto the coals of the fire. *Barereytā* is a small type of bread with two "ears", a fast and soft food eaten especially by children until the time of the main meal. *Gāgubeita* is flat and bigger; it is shaped like a medium-sized dinner plate.

3. *Mūfe* is another kind of 'Afar bread which is widespread in the whole 'Afar triangle of the Horn of Africa, except in the northwestern part of 'Afar Regional State. *Mūfe* is made from the same dough of wheat flour. It is baked underground in an 'Afar traditional oven (a covered hole underground). It has basically the same shape as *Gāgubeita*.

4. *Daro* ('*Asīda*) is known all over Ethiopia by the name *Gonfo* (porridge). This kind of food is used in almost all African countries except in North Africa. It is main food of rural 'Afar, and most especially of the 'Afar in the north. It is cooked in a pot of water which sits over the fire on a tripod composed of three stones called by the 'Afar *Diand'ik*. After boiling the water, they throw into it the flour of wheat or some other grain, and use a special stick called *Sarrīta* to mix the flour with water. In the north *Daro* is eaten for all meals, three times a day.

The 'Afar nation, as a pastoralist people, also use animal products with all these kinds of foods: milk, butter, meat, honey.

5. A very important kind of food, widespread among all the 'Afar in the Horn of Africa is called *Sola al-Hadō* (grilled meat). It is cooked by putting the meat on smooth red-hot stones sitting on the coals. It is considered a very delicious meat, the best that I have ever eaten. Such kind of preparation is always done with small animals, like sheep, not with cows or camels.

6. Another important traditional way of preparing meat is called *Dāgisa*. A camel or cow is slaughtered and the meat is boiled in a cauldron. Very large quantities of meat are involved. Only men (not women) may eat *Dāgisā*. Sometimes 'Afar men may eat nothing but *Dāgisā* for several weeks.

According to Jamal 'Abdulkadir Redō (2006:353), the oral literature of 'Afar is known among all the 'Afar under the general name "Gad". The oral literature is recited in a performance of dance and singing. One man acts as the leader. He recites a line and the crowd of people respond, clapping along with the text. There are many different styles. In most styles, the leader accompanies himself on the drum, and the people dance as they clap. According to Jamal 'Abdulkadir Redō, the oral literature of 'Afar has a rich poetry of all the different plays and songs, some of which are for men, some for women, and some for both. Although my own experience of the literature does not completely agree with Jamal's, I give his description of the various styles, as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Kassoowu</i> | (played only by men) |
| 2. <i>Laale</i> | (only men) |
| 3. <i>Horra</i> | (only men) |
| 4. <i>Kee-Kee</i> | (only women; in my experience, both sexes) |
| 5. <i>Walaabo</i> | (only women) |
| 6. <i>Kalliwalle Sabo</i> | (men and one woman) |
| 7. <i>Ginni li adala</i> | (only men) |

8. *Saxxaqa* (both men and women)
9. *Bori Saxxaqa (Saxxaca)* (both men and women)
10. *Qadar (Qadaara)* (both men and women)

According to the informant Ibrahim Ḥamad Seikō, there is a local belief among many 'Afar elders that some aspects of 'Afar culture might have descended from the ancient Egyptians of the time of the Pharaohs. The 'Afar region is close to "Punt", which is well authenticated in the history of the Egyptians. The pre-Islamic 'Afar religion is believed to have been somehow similar to Egyptian religion. Egyptian influence (it is believed) is also seen in their wearing of skirts. It is also seen in one kind of hair style, where the hair is removed from every part of the head except the two sides (right and left); it is believed that they borrowed such a hair style from the soldiers of the ancient Egyptian Pharaohs. Furthermore, Šeiḥ Gamāl al-Din al-Šāmī and his son state (1997:137-9) that the pre-Islam 'Afar religion was similar to that of South Arabia, featuring the worship of the "gods of the night" (the moon and perhaps the stars).

Today, according to Šeiḥ Gamāl and his son (1997:24), the 'Afar are a 100% Muslim nation. According to him the 'Afar were the first Abyssinian nation accept Islam. According to the informant Muḥammad Awal Ḥayāh, this was at the time of the first Hijra, the early migration of the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad to Abyssinia. The 'Afar not only accepted Islam and received the companions of the Prophet, but also accompanied them to the king of Aksum, Al-Nagāšī.

According to the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad Mūsā (who received a degree from Al-Azhar University), the spread of Islam among the 'Afar started in the period of Caliph Abūbakar (the successor of the Prophet), brought from Arabia via Bāb al-Mandab by the scholar 'Umar Aḥmad Ibrīhim al-Tamīmiyyi. This was at the time when the Islamic proselytizers started their Islamic activities in different parts of the world, particularly in Africa and Asia. A second direction for the spread of Islam was from the northern part of the Red Sea, perhaps during the reign of the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Marwān, through the efforts of the early ascetics and Sufis. A third impulse, a thousand years later, came from the Sudan. The most significant personality of them was the saint al-Šeiḥ Muḥammad 'Uṭmān al-Mirghanī (1793-1852) founder of the Mirghaniyyah order (Trimingham 1952:244). Later came al-Šeiḥ Ibrāhīm

al-Ḥalīl, who worked specifically among the 'Afar and established his traditional schools throughout 'Afar territory. The history book of the 'Afar, *al-Manhal fī tāriḥ al-'Afar (al-Danākīl)*, was written by Šeiḥ Ibrāhīm's son Gamal al-Dīn.

Many historical sources present the 'Afar as divided into two main tribes, *'Asā-Yāmarā* and *'Adō-Yāmarā*. Trimmingham says: "The 'Afar are divided into two main groupings, the *Asa Māra* or 'red-men' and the *'Ado Māra* or 'white-men': The 'reds' are regarded as the nobility whilst the 'whites' are thought of as an inferior stock" (1952:173). My informants Muḥammōdā Aḥmad Ga'as and Šeiḥ Muḥammad Ḥussein said that this terminology is meaningless, because there are no upper or lower social groups among the 'Afar people and also there is no red and no white. But, this terminology is in common use by the 'Afar people who are living in the southern half of 'Afar territory, starting from Djibouti and passing to the areas of Awsa sultanate (Zone One), then up to western ward into Zones 3 and 5. According to the oral tradition of the 'Afar, this terminology originally came about as a result of a conflict between two 'Afar groups (living in fertile vs. arid areas). But this terminology has no genealogical meaning or relation. The two groups are mixed with each other. Moreover, 'Afar people in the middle and north do not make use of or attach much importance to this terminology about *'Asā-Yāmarā* and *'Adō-Yāmarā*.

Another problem about the history of 'Afar is that many history books have dealt with the 'Afar as if they all belonged to the five well-known Sultanates of 'Afar, namely, the Sultanates of *Awsa*, *Tajorra*, *Raḥaytō*, *Gōba'ad* and *Girrifū* or *Birū*. These five Sultanates are well known due to their contacts and dealings with European colonialists in the areas near the Red Sea. But this leaves extensive 'Afar areas in the middle, west, and north still unstudied. According to 'Ali Nūr Muḥammad and Yayyo 'Ali Gim'or, in these regions there are oral traditions which tell about 'Afar history there in Dawwē, and Ba'adu in the western part of 'Afar region, in the middle in places like Af-Ḍērā, and in the north in the once-powerful area in the foothills of Abyssinia called *Awu*, inhabited principally by the 'Awi Leḥa bud'a', and the areas 'Ālā, and Ḥerto, now called Ab-'Ālā (the capital of Zone 2). Powerful 'Afar clans lived in the north like the tribes Ḥadū, Bal' al-Suwā, Bēdāl, and the two subtribes Ḥummōma and Abbayyūya of the Dāhimmēlā tribe. On the Red Sea, near the coast between 'Iddi and the Buri peninsula, are other 'Afar groups: the sub-tribe Baddirēra of the tribe Dāhimmēlā in the area of

Arra'tā and 'Iddi, and the Ga'asso (a branch of the tribe of Dammohoytā) on the Buri peninsula. The informant Jamāl 'Alī Ḥalīfā added, in spite of these are leading clans or tribes but there are living many 'Afar tribes including the minority of the old tribes of Baddi-Marū.

There are three charismatic 'Afar personalities who have been considered especially important leaders, both in religion and in politics, since the early part of the twentieth century. These were Yāsīn Maḥammōdā, from the Red Sea port town of 'Iddī and its surrounding areas; and Ḥajj Sirāj (Sirāj Bēh) and Šeiḥ Ḥussein Aḥmad Mūsa, both of whom were from northwestern 'Afar territory, specifically from Konnaba District (formerly Awu) in Zone 2. The leader Ḥajj Sirāj was a well-educated personality; he received his education somewhere in the Arab countries. Ḥajj Sirāj beside his important political role during the period of Italian colonialism was a major religious proselytizer among the 'Afar of Zone 2. He founded an Islamic traditional school at the Mosque of Waḥdeis, which was built by the Italians and which has disappeared today. Of his many students, one was the saint al-Šeiḥ Ḥajj Ḥalīfah, who himself produced many students; one of the later was al-Ḥajj Sāliḥand Muḥammad his student for several decades and even today has been serving as *Kādī* (Muslim Judge) in the Konnaba district.

Other Muslim scholars from 'Afar played a similar role specifically in the field of religion. A notable example is Šeiḥ Awwal Ḥayāt who was originally from the area of Teru (Zone 4). He lived in the period of Mufti Sirāj of Rayyā (second half of the twentieth century), and was graduated from Mecca and Medina. He was a powerful personality who introduced the anti-Sufi idea of *al-Salaḥiyya* into two of the 'Afar areas (Zone 4 and 2), as well as the area of Rayyā in Tigray.

According to informants Muḥammad-Nūr Šāliḥ Ibrāhīm, Al-Ḥajj 'Aliyyu Šāliḥ, Muḥammad Ma'rūf 'Utto Šeiḥ Balū'a, Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sa'īd these important 'Afar personalities and scholars were influenced directly or indirectly by scholars of Rayya, with the exception of Yāsīn Maḥammōdā from the Red Sea. The first such Rayya personality is the famous scholar Jamal al-Dīn al-Anniyy who was originally from the 'Afar tribe Šeiḥā in the area of Zola near the Red Sea. The second is the scholar Mufti Sirāj (not the same person as Hajj Sirāj above) who was originally of the old 'Afar tribe Dōba'a from Konnabā district in Zone 2. The third prominent scholar is Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sa'īd Kurāwule Šeiḥi of the 'Afar tribe Kabirto in

Awsa, who was known by his nickname Ḥamā Seyyidī or Kurāwule Šeiḥ. He was a student of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Anniyyi. As my informants told me, Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sa'īd was the most influential Rayya scholar and taught many students from Zone 2 and Zone 4 of 'Afar Region. My informants mentioned to me many students of Muḥammad Sa'īd as well as students of his students. Their list includes Ḥajj Hussein 'Ali; Muḥammad Jawhar ibn Ḥajj Kabīr; Šeiḥ Ṭayyib Muḥammad Amīn; 'Abd Allah 'Abd Amīn; Muḥammad Jawhar Muḥammad Amīn; the saint Ḥajj Ḥalīfā, who was a student of Ḥajj Sirāj; Šeiḥ 'Abd al-Kādir Suleymān, another important student of Ḥajj Sirāj. Ḥajj Muḥammad Šādik who was a Qāḍī 'Muslim judge' in Mekele (Tigray) during the Derg regime, and then afterwards a general Muslim Qāḍī of Ethiopia; Šeiḥ Ṭayyib Aḥmad from the area *Arādu*; Ḥajj Ḥussein Muḥammad 'Ali; Šeiḥ Dāwūd of the tribe Lak-Ḥina; Ḥajj Yāsīn al-Ḥajj Muḥammad, who was a famous preacher and who established a movable traditional school in different parts of 'Afar region, Massawa, Bore, 'Iddī, Tī'ō on the Red Sea, and places in the hinterland of 'Afar in Ethiopia like the town Dubte; Ḥajj 'Ali Darsā Muḥammad; 'Abd Allah Kādī; Muḥammad Ḥassan Ambad; 'Utmān Muḥammad 'Abd Allha.

The 'Afar economy is basically dependent on the raising of animals in the open desert, and traveling long distances as pastoralists with their animals. The kinds of animals they raise are camels, cows, and sheep, and the base of their life is the products of their animals, like milk, meat and butter. Previously, the 'Afar were engaged in agriculture in only two areas: the Awsa sultanate region and Badā in the far northern part of 'Afar Regional State on the boundary with Eritrea. But nowadays, according to our observation, the 'Afar people are also trying to practice agriculture in the areas along the banks of the Hwāš River, depending on irrigation. In fact, since the time of the Emperor Haile Sellasie and the Derg regime, government-sponsored projects of local or foreign companies have been investing in agriculture to encourage commercial products. But, unfortunately, these projects seem not to have given due consideration to the 'Afar culture, as they are a pastoralist people whose lives depend basically on the products of livestock. In addition there are several different areas of 'Afar Regional State which carry out limited agriculture that depends on seasonal rain or on the seasonal small rivers that flow from the highland of Ethiopia down to the 'Afar region. These areas are primarily Ab-'Alā, Magāle, Konnabā and Braḥle Districts in Zone 2, and Sifrā and Mille in Zone 1, as well as a few areas in Zones 3, 4, and 5.

The 'Afar region, and specifically the Danākil Depression, is the only region of Ethiopia which produces salt. One well-known salt-producing area in Ethiopian history was 'As-'Ale or Amole Č'aw (the place that produces the Amole salt-bars). More recently, the areas of Af-Deirā and Doobi have become major sources of salt, from which Ethiopia now exports salt to the markets of the world.

Most of the 'Afar of Ethiopia are pastoralists. A few engage in legal and illegal trade. As far as I know, in Eritrea and Djibouti, which are on the sea, more of the 'Afar engage in trade than in Ethiopia. But in Ethiopia itself, and especially in the north, the 'Afar people are facing a decrease in their livestock, which is considered basic in their lives. This is due to drought. In addition, the recent campaign of the Ethiopian government to fight illegal commerce (contraband) has badly affected the 'Afar and the Somali, who have depended to a large extent on such illegal trade. The government has made no attempt to provide alternative, legal ways of earning a living for the 'Afar. The situation is especially severe because of the drought and the decrease of their animals.

For a long time, there has been a chronic problem between the 'Afar in the southeastern part of 'Afar Regional State in Zones 1, 3 and the neighboring tribe of 'Isā from the Somali Region. The core of the problem is that the 'Isā do not respect the boundary with 'Afar. The 'Isā trespass routinely on 'Afar land, partly as pastoralists but also cutting the road and founding settlements there. Unlike the other neighboring pastoralist peoples of Tigray and Oromo, they do not utilize these 'Afar lands peacefully and temporarily, but as hostile looters and expansionists. There have been seemingly endless conflicts between the 'Afar and the 'Isā. As Muḥammad Tāhiro, the former vice president of 'Afar Regional State, said in a conference five years ago in Aysa'īta town, the 'Isā tribe do not behave with 'Afar as other pastoralists do, but basically aim to take over the land of 'Afar as they previously took over the area of Erer. This uninterrupted conflict between 'Afar and 'Isā has had a very bad effect on 'Afar economically, socially, and especially with regard to security. The Federal Government of Ethiopia must give serious attention to resolving this problem between the 'Afar and Somali Regions.

2.3 Sultanate of Awsa

As the 'Afar scholar 'Arrāmis Ḥummad has explained to me (personal communication), it is well known by the 'Afar elders that the Sultanate of Awsa was ruled by three famous dynasties: the Ḥaralla, Dardōra, and Aydaḥisso. The 'Afar elders also say that in earlier times there were living and ruling in the Awsa region an ancient and powerful 'Afar clan which was called Dōba'ā; tradition reports that 3000 children were born to them yearly. Other former ruling groups in Awsa are said to include the Intigre, Abrōra, and Bōrā-ratā.

The same informant gave a list of the 'Afar tribes who today are part of the Mōdaytō in the Awsa Sultanate region. These are:

1. Kulāyyā, which is well known throughout Awsa as a tribe of very respected clerics;
2. Šeiḥak-Šarifa, another tribe of highly reputed saints and great Islamic scholars;
3. Am'ītō-Šeyḥā (Grādar-Šeyḥā);
4. Lak'oli-Šeyḥā;
5. Gorrā'ītā;
6. Am'isittō;
7. Karbuddā;
8. Asmalik-Mōdaytō;
9. Damlik-Ḥad Sarrā;
10. Ḥabsū Sarrā;
11. Am'asā Sarrā;
12. Am'asak Ḥaysamāle

We do not have a fixed date concerning the establishment of Awsa Sultanate. J. Spencer Trimingham (1952:96-7) states that in 1577 AD the Awsa oasis became the last seat of the Sultanate of 'Adli (Adal) when this Sultanate transferred its base from Harar. At this time the Sultanate had become weak due to its continuous wars both internally and externally with the Ethiopian Christians. Furthermore, as mentioned by Šeiḥ and his son Hāšim Gamālu al-Dīn (1997:334-5), a major role in the political history of Awsa Sultanate was played by the Ḥaralla and Dardōrā (nicknamed Imāma) dynasties during the 9th and 10th centuries AH (roughly 15-16th century AD).

During the period of the Ḥaralla Dynasty, according to Gamāl al-Dīn and his son Hāšim (1997:333), Awsa Sultanate played a major role. It was the base of the 'Adli (Adal) Sultanate of 'Afar after Zeyla' and Harar. The Ḥarallā tribe of 'Afar is still living today in the Awsa Sultanate region and it has numerous branches. The most famous of them was that of Šeiḥ Kabīr Ḥamzah and his clan, which became known as the 'Kabirto'. After the Ḥaralla dynasty, the role of the Awsa Sultanate declined, especially during the period of the Dardōrā (Imāmā) dynasty. According to Jamāl al-Dīn and his son Hāšim (1997:333) the name Dardōrā means

mamālīk “mamelukes” [or *mamālik* “kingdoms”?]. Gamāl al-Dīn says they are still living in the region of Awsa, serving there as Muslim judges; however, this claim conflicts with the centuries-old role of the Kādīto as the Muslim judges in Awsa.

The political and economic empower during the time of the Aydāḥssō Dynasty in Awsa Sultanate is treated briefly in ‘Awad Dāwūd’s thesis book, entitled: *al-Mas’alah al-‘Afarīyah fī al-Qarn al-ifrīqī* [the issue of ‘Afar in the horn of Africa] (1993:16). He states that the Sultanate of Awsa was considered the greatest, most important and economically strongest of all the ‘Afar Sultanates in the ‘Afar Triangle in the Horn of Africa. Even the famous town of Harar was ruled by the Awsa Sultanate. Awsa was stragically secure against any attack by enemies and could not easily be taken by surprise because it was located in the heart of the desert. Economically, it depended on raising animals and farming the fertile and well-watered lands near the Hawāš River and raising animals.

According to ‘Awad Dāūd (1993:16), at the beginning of the 18th century the tribe Aydāḥissō seized the throne from the (Dardōra) Imāmā Dynasty, namely, from Imām Salman. The new Sultan, Data Kad’āfō of the Aydāḥsso Dynasty, was strong enough to maintain security in his country Awsa. Therefore merchants were attracted to its market and the Sultanate became a market center for a variety of products. During that period, a number of powerful Sultans of the Aydāḥissō Dynasty reigned in Awsa: Sultan Kad’āfō, Yāyō, Kad’āfō Moḥammad, Aydāḥis Muḥammad and finally Sultan Ḥanfare who ruled Awsa for 60 years until his death in 1862 A.D. During those times, the Sultan of Awsa was the strongest of all the ‘Afar Sultans. He behaved as a higher Majesty over all the other ‘Afar Sultans, and exerted great influence over them.

I.M. Lewis (1955:23-24) describes Awsa Sultanate in the period of the Aydāḥissō Dynasty as follows:

“Awsa represents the most extreme form of a tendency towards the formation of small centralized states as ruling islands in a sea of tribal society. The power and authority of their heads is considerable, resting as it does on the sanction of force provided by an extensive militia. Taxes are levied on produce and stock and fines are imposed the administration of justice”



Furthermore, due to its strategic location, Awsa Sultanate was able to keep its political stability and flourished economically through the good system of 'Afar customary law for collecting tax revenues from both agricultural products and livestock. The key factor in maintaining the political and economic stability of the Awsa region was the Hawāš River, which ran through the Awsa Sultanate. The Hawāš River was the artery of the Awsa Sultanate region distinguishing it from other 'Afar Sultanates in the Horn of Africa. (See also Abdallah A. Adou, 1993:38-40).

As the informants Muḥammad Aḥmad and Aḥmad 'Alī Kādī stated, the fertile land along the Hawāš River attracted pious immigrants originally from Arabia. These people introduced new systems of agriculture into the Awsa Sultanate region (see chapter 3).

2.4 The Traditional School of Ḍāle

Ḍāle (home of the Ḍāle Traditional School) is located in the heart of the historical Awsa Sultanate region. Administratively, it is now part of Zone One of 'Afar regional state. It is less than one km south of the town Aysā'īta (Asaita), the capital of the modern district of Aysā'īta and the last capital of the historical Sultanate of Awsa.

Ḍāle and the fertile land around it belong today to the Kādīto clan, who has been there for the last several centuries. There are rich oral traditions about the Ḍāle area. As the informants Muḥammad Aḥmad and 'Alī Aḥmad Kādī told me, it was originally heavy forest and was cleared by their ancestor al-Ḥajji Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir, the grandson of Abū Šawārib. The 'Afar people of Awsa at that time believed that the Ḍāle area was a dwelling of the Jinn (demons); therefore, it was called in the 'Afar language "Ginni Kōma" which means "Hill of the Jinn". As a result, no one had the courage to approach that area, except Šeiḥ Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir, when Sultan Ḥanfare Aydāḥis (Illalta I) granted him that land. It is said that the Sultan gave Šeiḥ Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir an option to choose land wherever he liked; the Sultan thought that he would choose the best and most fertile area. When the Sultan saw that Šeiḥ Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir had chosen an area covered with forests and water and generally believed by the indigenous 'Afar people to belong to demons, he was surprised: why did he not choose another better area? Finally, convinced of the sincerity of Šeiḥ Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir, the Sultan accepted his request and gave him that land in the Ḍāle area as tenure

for him and his family including his students. On the hilltop the Šeiḥ built a mosque. Later, the name of this Mosque was changed to Ḍāle, which means “stony”, and this name was extended to the surrounding farmland.

The Ḍāle Mosque was not only a place of worship, but also played a great role in the spreading of Islam and Islamic culture among the ‘Afar people in Awsa Sultanate, led by the Kādīto scholars. The Kādīto clan founded an Islamic traditional school at the Ḍāle Mosque. As Muḥammad Aḥmad added, the school also provided non-local students with accommodation and food; in fact the school had an endowment (waqf) of fertile land specifically for that purpose given by Sultan Ḥanfare Aydāḥis (Illaltā 1). The Ḍāle School has a library, and this was the source of the manuscripts which I have studied in this thesis.

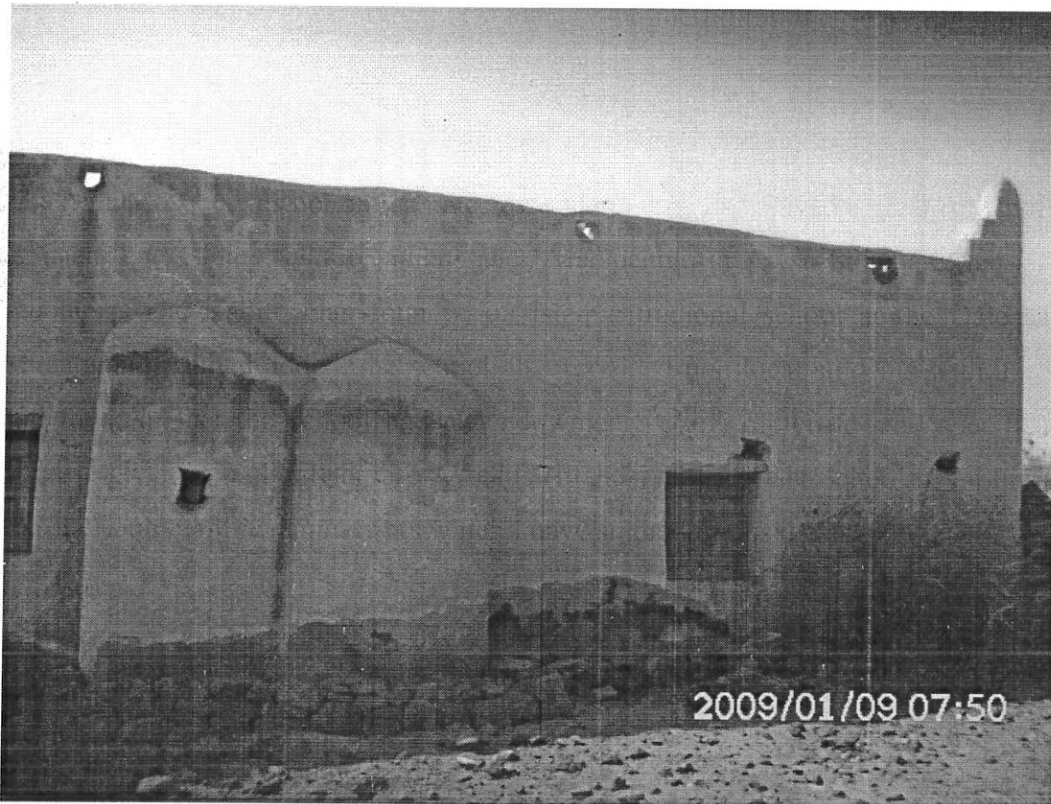


Figure 1: Ḍāle Mosque in 2009



Figure 2 Ruins of the Residence of Ahmad Kabir (n.d).

CHAPTER THREE: The Kādīto family or clan

3.1 The origin of the Kādīto clan

According to my informants (Muḥammad Aḥmad and 'Ali Aḥmad Kādī and the late Muḥammad 'Umar), the Kādīto clan trace its lineage back to 'Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib, the Qureiši kinsman of the Prophet (the Hāšimī clan). The most famous Kādīto chief was al-Kādī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām; and his ancestor, the famous scholar Abū Šawārib, was the first Kādīto.

There is some confusion regarding the term "Ašrāf" in connection with Kādīto. Everyone agrees that the Ašrāf are a broad tribal group who trace their lineage back to Ḥusein bin 'Ali bin Abī Ṭālib, a cousin of 'Aqīl bin Abī Ṭālib. They include the Kādīto, but also other groups (such as Kabirto and Šeiḥak-Šarīfa).

The problem arises when we examine the 'Afar history book by Šeiḥ Gamāl al-Dīn al-Šāmī and his son Hāšim (1993). Gamāl does not mention the name "Kādīto"; instead, he discusses certain sub-tribes of the Ašrāf who came from Ḍāle. Ḍāle is the place where the Kādīto live, so it is natural to assume that these Ašrāf sub-tribes are themselves Kādīto, although he does not use the word Kādīto. Šeiḥ Gamāl al-Dīn also says that the ancestor of **all** the Ašrāf (including Kādīto, presumably) was Abū Šawārib; and his lineage, says the Šeiḥ, goes back to Ḥusein. This would mean that the ancestor of Kādīto was not 'Aqīl but his cousin Ḥusein.

This is clearly different from the information I was given by my informants. My informants strongly argue that there is no nearer relation between the clan Kādīto and the tribe Ašrāf, except for their very early common descent from the Hāšimī clan of Qureiš at the time of the Prophet. My informants say that the Kādīto are descended from 'Aqīl, and not from his cousin Ḥusein. Of these two accounts, I prefer to believe the story told by my informants. They themselves are from Ḍāle, whereas Šeiḥ Gamāl al-Dīn is from elsewhere, from somewhere on the Red Sea.

The confusion about the "Ašrāf" can also be seen in a different way. According to Šeiḥ Gamāl al-Dīn, the Ašrāf connected to Ḍāle are as follows: 1. Abrat Šarīfa at Ḍāle of Awsa in Ethiopia; 2. Dakāl Šarīfa at Ḍāle; 3. Bōrart Šarīfa at Ḍāle; 4. Dahā Šeiḥā at Ḍāle; 5. Bōlō al-Šarīfa at

Ḍāle; 6. Šarīfa in Tajorra of Djibouti. But my informants (Muḥammad Aḥmad and ‘Ali Aḥmad Kādī and the late Šeiḥ Muḥammad ‘Alī ‘Umar) say that these six groups are “Kādīto”; except in the very broad sense, they do not belong to the Ašrāf, as claimed by Gamāl al-Dīn al-Šāmī and his son Hāšīm (1993:470-3).

3.2 Biographies of Some Members of the Kādīto Clan

According to the main informant Muḥammad Aḥmad, whom the Kādīto consider a leading intellectual, we can trace a genealogical chain of nine personalities of Kādīto scholars, the first eight of whom served as Kādī (full Judge) in Awsa Sultanate, with the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad himself as the latest in the chain. Their names with their biographies are as follows:

1. As already mentioned, the first is Abū Šawārib (“he of the mustache”) who is considered the grand ancestor of the Kādīto clan. There are different versions of his biography. According to Gamāl al-Dīn and his son Hāšīm (1993:472), Abū Šawārib was originally from “Gobad” (Gōba‘ad), located southwest of Tajorra in Djibouti. Abū Šawārib went to Harar with his family and participated in the holy wars in Adal sultanate in the 16th century. He returned from Harar to Tajorra in 1100 A. H. (1688/1689 A.D.) and died and was buried there. The books that he wrote are still used for teaching both in Tajorra and in Awsa Sultanate region.

My informant Muḥammad Aḥmad presents the biography differently. According to him, Abū Šawārib came from Al-Qalqašandiyyah in Upper Egypt; his ancestors had migrated there from South Arabia in the distant past. He went from Egypt to Mecca, then to Yemen, and finally to Tajorra in Djibouti. In Tajorra he played a great role as a Muslim scholar, building a mosque there. There he composed some books on Islamic doctrine which are still taught both in Tajorra and in Awsa. He also worked as an Islamic missionary in Tajorra, Awsa and even Harar, after the decline of the Islamic Emirate in Harar. His most famous role was as a participant among the ‘Afar group Malāsay during the holy wars of the 16th century.

As Muḥammad Aḥmad told me, during the time of Imām Salman of Awsa (Dardōra dynasty), Abū Šawārib came from Tajorra to Awsa Sultanate. There he at first enjoyed good relations with Imām Salman, who gave him his daughter in marriage. However, this good relationship soon deteriorated. At that time Awsa was in a political crisis involving a conflict between Imām Salman (of Dardōra dynasty) and Data Kad’āfō, the founder of the following Aydāḥissō

dynasty. Abū Šawārib was accused by Imām Salman of supporting Data Kad'āfō. When Abū Šawārib heard that Imām Salman was plotting to murder him, he fled at night and returned to his country Tajorra.

2. Al-Kādī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādīr, the grandson of Abū Šawārib, was the founder of Ḍāle traditional school. He came to Awsa to complete the task which had been started before by his grandfather Abū Šawārib as an Islamic missionary in Awsa. He settled at first primarily in the place called Wayyīrā (on the Wayyīra tributary of the Awāš River) in Awsa region and he stayed there for a while with the clerics of the 'Adōmā tribe. When the Wayyīra dried up, he moved to the area of the other branch of the Awāš River which was called the Nangaltā. Nowadays, the Wayyīra has essentially disappeared and the Nangaltā is the continuation of the Awāš River. As the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad says, this shifting of the water flow forced people to move away from that area to the Nangaltā side, where water was available. Among these people was Šeiḥ Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir. When he asked Sultan Ḥanfare Aydāḥis for a place to live with his family and students, Sultan Ḥanfare Aydāḥis granted him a place which was called *Ginni-Kōmā* "the hill of Jinni" with its surrounding land. This land was fertile, but it was covered with thick forests and water. Šeiḥ Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir cleared it, established a residential settlement there and founded the Mosque of Ḍāle which became the initial nucleus of the Ḍāle Islamic traditional school.

3. Al-Ḥājjī Yāsīn, son of Moḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir, studied at Al-Azhar in Cairo. Earlier, he had studied in Mecca or Medina for an extended period, perhaps fifteen years. This diverse education made him able in his future life to comprehend a wide variety of Islamic knowledge. He was appointed as a Muslim judge (Kādī) in Awsa after his father Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir died, and in addition he played a major role in his society in such areas as political, social and economic and so on. He was especially well known for his invention of a new system for storing farm products in Awsa Sultanate. The main farm product in Awsa Sultanate at this time was *dura šāmī* (probably maize); Ḥājjī Yāsīn invented a system for stockpiling this grain by building special chambers with stones, called in 'Afar "Daro al-Rīgī" (chambers for storing the harvest), which were used as a kind of bank of the products.

As the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad asserted, al-Ḥājjī Kādī Yāsīn also played other important roles in the society. He was a traditional Muslim doctor and treated different kinds of diseases.

For instance, he treated leprosy, inflammation of the eyes, and diseases of the stomach like cholera. It was said that he treated the cholera using clay from underground. This experience made him very famous and his name became widespread and beloved among the whole 'Afar people in Awsa sultanate. He married a number of women and had many children by them.

4. Al-Šeiḥ Muḥammad 'Abd Al-Salām (Kādī Yāsīn's nephew) became Kādī (Muslim judge) in the Awsa Sultanate region after his uncle Kādī Muḥammad son of Šeiḥ Dāwūd died. This position was not an inherited position but was based on merit and was competitive among the Kādīto clan; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām was chosen for it because no one was as capable as him among the Kādīto clan. Moreover, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām was known for his courage, frankness and quickness to reach a decision in issues which were related to Islamic law. He also had been included, along with his uncle Kādī Muḥammad son of Šeiḥ Dāwūd and Sultan Muḥammad Yayo (Awsa), in the delegation to Rome during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia and Eritrea in the regime of Mussolini.

5. Al-Ḥājjī Bašīr son of Ḥājjī Yāsīn succeeded to the position of Islamic judge (Kādī) in Awsa Sultanate after his cousin Muḥammad 'Abd Al-Salām. He was known as an ascetic and pious man, and because of that, he ultimately resigned his position as Kādī. His education was typical for the Kādīto clan. Early in his life he studied basic courses in Islamic knowledge as well as in Arabic, learning and memorizing the Holy Qur'ān from Kādīto scholars at Ḍāle traditional school in his country Awsa. Then he completed his studies abroad, as was the custom of the Kādīto clan, in Mecca.

6. Al-Šeiḥ Muḥammad the son of al-Kādī Yāsīn succeeded to the position of Kādī after his brother al-Ḥājjī Bašīr had resigned. Like his brother al-Ḥājjī Bašīr, Šeiḥ Muḥammad son of Kādī Yāsīn was also a very pious man, and he too resigned his position as Kādī. Like the other Kādīto children, the young Muḥammad began his studies by taking basic courses at the Ḍāle traditional school. Then he left home, as usual for Kādīto clan members, and went to Dawwe, the most famous Islamic traditional school in southern Wallō. He, too, could read and memorize whole chapters of the Holy Qur'ān. His children were Nūrū, Aḥmad, Waddiyyah, Aminah and Fāṭumah.

7. Al-Ḥājjī Aḥmad al-Kabīr b. al-Kādī Yāsīn served as kādī and was known for his severity of judgment in the Islamic court. He was said to be a great scholar, proficient in mathematics, Arabic, astronomy and genealogy. He was considered the most skillful Arabic grammarian (Naḥwi) and genealogist. He too studied basic Islamic and Arabic knowledge in the traditional school at Ḍāle, and then he went to Mecca to complete his higher education. He lived during the 20th century, including part of the period of the late Sultan ‘Alī Mirāḥ. He married several wives, who bore him children: Aḥmad, ‘Abd al-Salām, Maḥbūb, Asmā, Zahrā’, Madīna, ‘Abd al-Ṭīf, and Bašīr Yāsīn.

8. Al-Ḥājjī Aḥmad Ṣaḡīr, son of al-Kādī Yāsīn, was considered a most careful kādī in the Muslim court of Awsa Sultanate. Furthermore, during his time, Awqāf (Islamic endowments) in Awsa increased and became more organized than before. Therefore, he was considered as a kind of local “Minister of awqāf” as in Islamic countries.

9. The present Kādī of the Kādīto clan is al-Šeiḥ Muḥammad Aḥmad Yāsīn (al-Awsiyyi) who is the main informant for this research work. Not only is he the current holder of the position of district kādī in Awsa, but his engagement as kādī extended even outside of the country, to Djibouti. Further, he is considered a wise and well-educated man among his clan members in Ethiopia. So, the researcher relied on him in producing this research work, conducting intensive interviews with him to get information about Kādīto clan biographies.

He started his education by learning Holy Qur’ān at Ḍāle, as any child of Kādīto did. Then, he together with his cousin Maḥbūb Aḥmad Yāsīn, he continued by studying basic knowledge in Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh of the Šāfi’i school) in Dubte, near to Samara, the capital of ‘Afar Regional State. Their teacher was the scholar al-Šeiḥ Ḥusein Nasri, who had previously graduated from Ḍāle traditional school. Thereafter, he continued his education in the Islamic primary school in Aysa’īta town, which was established by the late Sultān ‘Alī Mirāḥ Ḥanfare. According to him, he was the first child to register in the first year of that school, approximately in the 1960s. He completed his primary education at that school. Then, as usual with the Kādīto clan, he went abroad for further study. He was one of four Kādīto children who were sent to Zabīd in Yemen in 1968/69 A.D. With the help of the well-known ‘Afar scholar Ḥajjī Asadō, who was living in Zabīd, Muḥammad Aḥmad was able to enrol in the Kuwaiti school in Zabīd. He completed his intermediate school education there. In 1972

A.D. Muḥammad Aḥmad Yāsīn returned to his homeland Awsa. In 1974 A.D. he went to Cairo hoping eventually to continue his education in Al-Azhar University. In fact, when he reached there, he registered in the Al-Ma'hadu Al-Baramōnī intermediate and high school of Al-Azhar in Cairo. Unfortunately, after he completed his secondary level, he was unable to pursue the degree program in Al-Azhar University due to the economical and social problems he faced as a consequence of the political crisis in Ethiopia during the period 1974/75 of the Derg regime, which profoundly affected him and his family as well as other 'Afar people of Awsa Sultanate.

He intended to return to Ethiopia, but he was forced to stay in the Republic of Djibouti. He started to work there as an expert in the Islamic Court of the Republic of Djibouti. After a short period, he was promoted to a vice president in the same Islamic Court. In 1982 A.D. he was promoted again to president of the Islamic Court of a district in the capital city of Djibouti, where he served for ten years.

After the Derg regime was overthrown in Ethiopia, Muḥammad Aḥmad returned home to take part in the development of Ethiopia. He became head official of the Court in the newly established 'Afar Regional State during the period of the transitional government in Ethiopia. After almost three years, he was transferred to the office of Islamic court Judge and then he became head of the Islamic Court in Aysa'itā town. Later, he was chosen as a representative of 'Afar Regional State to the Organization of Islamic Affairs in Addis Ababa, where he worked for three years. Then, he returned to 'Afar Regional State and worked in the office for preventing and controlling HIV/AIDS for two years. Finally, he returned to his original work as a Muslim judge, in a court of the Afambo District in Afambo Zonal town of 'Afar Regional State, where he is still serving today.

There have also been other scholars of the Kādītō clan, who were not working as a full Kādī. To mention some of them:

1. The Kādītō scholar Ḥājji Ṣālīḥ Turāb is son of 'Abd al-Malik. Ḥājji Ṣālīḥ was killed by the Derg army during their campaign to Awsa Sultanate in 1975 A.D. It is known that this scholar worked as a deputy judge (wakīl Kādī) in Aysa'itā town, beside his regular job as a merchant in Aysa'itā. According to my informant, Ḥājji Ṣālīḥ Turāb completed his basic Islamic

education at Ďāle, and then studied in Rayya. He was then engaged as a Muslim deputy judge by two main Muslim judges, al-Kādī Aḥmad Kabīr and al-Kādī Aḥmad Ṣaġīr Yāsīn, in Awsa Sultanate.

2. The Kādītō scholar al-Šeiḥ Yāsīn Aḥmad Yāsīn (son of Aḥmad Kabīr), who passed away in 2009 A.D., was the most prominent scholar among his generation of Kādito, whence his nickname “al-Šeiḥ al-Dā’iyah” (the Proselytizer). He was well known for his fine recitation of the Holy Qur’an and for his knowledge and interpretation of it. Moreover, he translated part of the Holy Qur’ān into the ‘Afar language, using Arabic script (‘Ajamī) and not the Latin script that is commonly used today in ‘Afar Regional State. Al-Šeiḥ Yāsīn began his education studying under two prominent scholars of the Kādītō clan, al-Šeiḥ Muḥammad (son of al-Kādī Yāsīn) and his father, al-Ḥājjī Aḥmad Kabīr Yāsīn. Then he went with his uncle al-Šeiḥ Muḥammad to Dawwe, where he memorized the whole Qur’ān and continued his Islamic studies. Thereafter, al-Šeiḥ Yāsīn Aḥmad Yāsīn went to Egypt to continue his higher education at al-Azhar University, although he did not realize his ambition of getting a B.A. there. But in spite of this he influenced the ‘Afar people through his Islamic teaching and proselytizing. Especially noteworthy here were his unique Islamic programs broadcast over radio and T.V. from Djibouti, which benefited the ‘Afar people everywhere in the Horn of Africa. These programs continue today, even after his death.

3. A third Kādītō scholar was Al-Šeiḥ Aḥmad son of al-Kādī Muḥammad ‘Abd Al-Salām. He is known by his nickname ‘Kādī Aḥmad’. As the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad described, he was considered a great scholar of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) of the Šāfi’ī School. He was also proficient in *ḥadīth* (the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad) and he was known for his clarity as a scholar. His early education was at Ďāle traditional school, studying under Kādītō scholars like his father and mostly under al-Šeiḥ Muḥammad (son of Kādī Yāsīn). When he was grown up, he went to Arabia (Mecca-Madīna) for further study.

According to my informant Muḥammad Aḥmad there were also great women Kādītō scholars. Mention could be made of Fātuma Kādī Yāsīn, Asmā’ Kādī Aḥmad Kabīr, Lūlī Aḥmad Ṣaġīr and Ḥālīma Aḥmad Ṣaġīr. According to Muḥammad Aḥmad, Lūlī and Asmā’ have passed away, but the other two are still alive. Fātuma is considered the best known of them all. She was well known for her patience and tolerance, and for her educational role as regards

specifically female matters such as the do Islamic purification, which must be followed by several kinds of rituals and worship. Fātuma played an important role in explaining to woman about menstruation, confinement, and childbirth.

3.3 The role of the Kādīto clan within the 'Afar community

3.3.1 The direct role of the Kādīto clan

Before dealing with the role of Kādīto in Awsa Sultanate, it is better to briefly review and expand on what we mentioned previously. For many centuries, the Awsa Sultanate region attracted Muslim scholars from Arabia. Moreover, Awsa contributed in important ways to the Islamic Adal Sultanate since its establishment, and also was its last seat. Therefore, even before Kādīto, Awsa was a center of Islamic learning. According to the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad, the pre-Kādīto scholars of Awsa belonged to two well-known tribes called Kabirto and Šeiḥak-Šarīfa. Both of these groups follow the Ḥanafīyy *Madḥab* (School of jurisprudence), whereas the Kādīto are Šāfi'īyy. I will discuss both of these groups below.

The scholars of the tribe Kabirto were active for a long period of time in spreading Islamic knowledge among the 'Afar people in Awsa. They contributed much for increasing popular awareness, especially through *Madḥ al-Rasūl* (public poetry performances in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad). Their importance can be understood from the existence of eight well-known mosques in Awsa constructed by the Kabirto in early times and still in use today, each mosque with its own *Jamā'ah* (a congregation of Muslims). The Kabirto are also considered as the descendents of the former Ḥaralā Dynasty of Awsa Sultanate.

According to the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad, the most prominent early scholars of Kabirto were Šeiḥ Kabīr Ḥamzah, his son Šeiḥ Kabīr 'Alī, and Kabīr 'Abd al-Bārī. These earlier scholars were known especially for *madḥ* (praise of the Prophet). Later, several of the Kabirto became proficient scholars in Islamic jurisprudence: Ḥājji Jailānī, Ḥājji Qamarū, Ḥājji Šarīf, Šeiḥ Abdu Razzāq and Šeiḥ Muḥtār. All these scholars of Kabirto received their education in Mecca and Madīnā or in Zabīd in Yemen. During the twentieth century, the most prominent scholars were the two brothers al-Šeiḥ Šiddīq Ḥamzah 'Abd al-Qādir and especially his brother Ḥājji Asadō. Ḥājji Asadō is considered the greatest of the Kabirto scholars. He was well-known among the scholars of Zabīd in Yemen; he received Yemeni citizenship and was

appointed to higher positions in Yemen. In the recent period a younger scholar can be mentioned, Šeiḥ Maḥmūd, the son of Ḥājjī Jailānī. As far as I know, the legacy of these Kabirto scholars has not yet been studied by scholars.

The second group of non-Kādīto scholars are the tribe of Šeiḥak-Šarīfa. As with the Kabirto, the legacy of the Šeiḥak-Šarīfa remains unstudied. According to the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad, the Šeiḥak-Šarīfa are known as the earliest tribe in the Awsa region. They have their own three traditional schools in Awsa: the school of Šarīfa al-Bōlō, the school of al-Lasā Bōlō and the school of Dōba'aytū. These traditional schools received 'Afar students from all over Awsa Sultanate, who then returned to their own regions and played an important role there. The sorts of knowledge which they were taught included: 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd (Islamic monotheism), 'Ilm al-fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), and 'Ilm al-Ḥadīṭ (the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad). The most famous of the earlier Šeiḥak-Šarīfa scholars were Ḥājjī 'Umar and Ḥājjī Tāhah. They were businessmen as well as Islamic scholars and sufis. In recent times, the most prominent scholars of Šeiḥak-Šarīfa are especially:

- 1) Šeiḥ 'Ali Ḥamzah, who was knowledgeable in Islamic jurisprudence, in *ḥadīṭ* (the traditions of the Prophet) and in *tafsīr* (the interpretation of the Holy Qur'ān).
- 2) Ḥājjī Sayyidī (Muḥammad 'Umar), who was a proficient scholar in every aspect of Islamic knowledge.
- 3) His son Šeiḥ Muḥammad Amīn Muḥammad 'Umar, who inherited broad and deep Islamic knowledge from his father Muḥammad 'Umar.

As the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad explained, in spite of the important role which was and is still played by scholars of Kabirto and Šeiḥak-Šarīfa, nevertheless the role played by Kādīto clan scholars was greater. The activities of the Kādīto scholars were most systematic and efficient because of their well-known traditional school at Ḍāle, which was subsidized by an endowment (*waqf*) of fertile farmland for their educational activity and for their own living. As we discussed above, the Sultan Ḥanfare Aydāḥis (Illalta I) donated these lands to the founding ancestor of the Kādīto clan, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir, who established the Ḍāle traditional school and was the first Kādīto Kādī in Awsa. As mentioned, since the early period of the Aydāḥisso dynasty from Illalta I until the late departed Sultan 'Ali Mirāḥ Ḥanfare (died 2011 A.D.), Kādīto scholars have monopolized the position of Kādī in Awsa Sultanate.

As the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad stated, in earlier times, the 'Afar people were not well accustomed to Islamic morality and Islamic principles. So it is no wonder that there prevailed among many of the 'Afar un-Islamic practices. Such practices were gradually eliminated in Awsa by the Kādīto scholars through their good counsel and their teaching of different kinds of Islamic knowledge. These un-Islamic practices included the following:

1. According to Islamic law, a divorced woman or a widow must wait for a certain period of time called *'idda* before remarrying. However, the 'Afar used to violate this requirement. Before agreeing to divorce his wife (e.g. due to sexual impotence), an 'Afar man would often impose the condition that his wife must **immediately** remarry his brother or another close relative in his clan. This is a violation of *'idda*.
2. In Islamic law, when a man dies his widow is guaranteed a certain portion of his estate for herself and her children. However, the 'Afar tribes of Awsa and elsewhere considered all of the dead man's estate to belong to the clan, without any concern for his widow or children. Moreover, if the widow wanted to remarry, they prevented her from marrying anyone who did not belong to their tribe or clan; she could only marry within the clan, or else remain unmarried for the rest of her life. This was her only choice. Thus the clan of the dead man had full power over the widow.
3. Barring a woman from inheriting land from any of her relatives was another un-Islamic practice among the 'Afar tribes in Awsa. They were afraid that the wealth of the fertile farming lands might ultimately be transferred out of their clan if the woman married an outsider.
4. Another bad custom of the 'Afar in Awsa had to do with the harvest seasons of corn and dates. Men and women who were working in the harvest would stay away from their homes overnight, often making merry with members of the opposite sex and engaging in improper behavior. This led to many cases of divorce during these periods. Kādī Ḥājji Aḥmad Kabīr the son of Kādī Yāsīn was known to have fought against such improper behavior, which as a result of his efforts was eventually abandoned or reduced.
5. Among the 'Afar, and throughout the Horn of Africa, possession by an evil spirit called *zar* was recognized as a common occurrence. Among the 'Afar, possession by a *zar* was restricted

to women. The traditional way of treating *zar* possession was by hand-clapping, dancing, and drum playing in a group around the possessed woman. The crowd's behavior could become wild and uncontrolled; they might take off their clothes, or slaughter a sheep and use its blood to propitiate the evil spirit. This kind of behavior was forbidden according to Islamic belief. Al-Kādī al-Ḥajjī Aḥmad Kabīr, the Kādīto judge, established a special committee to fight against this. Nowadays such cases of possession are much less common, as a result of improved education and of the influence of spiritual leaders like Aḥmad Kabīr.

As the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad told me, alongside the Ḍāle traditional school as a main center, there were also other traditional schools of Kādīto in and outside Awsa. These centers functioned as sub-branches of the main Ḍāle traditional school. There was a school, for example, in the town of Aysa'īta, founded by the Kādīto scholars Šeiḥ Muḥammad b. Kādī Yāsīn and Ḥajjī Šāliḥ Turab; also a school in a place in Awsa called Šeiḥ Ḥasan (near the area called al-Abror) which was established by al-Kādī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām and his assistant Šeiḥ Muḥammad Kamāl b. Kādī Yāsīn. Outside of Awsa there was a Kādīto sub-school in Tajorra of Djibouti, at the Mosque of Šeiḥ Ibrahīm, which was founded by the ancestor of the Kādīto clan Abū Šawārib; today, that mosque is directed by a Kādīto scholar called Banoyta Ḥajjī Turāb b. 'Abd al-Mālik. These clerics of Kādīto, beside their main role as teachers and scholars also, were engaged as *wakīl Kādī* (deputy judge) in their respective areas.

As the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad stated, the Kādīto also contributed to Awsa economically. This was by developing new methods of farming in Awsa, including the use of new agricultural techniques and tools. Some of the tools, Muḥammad Aḥmad said, were brought from Harar to Awsa by the ancestors of Kādīto. Three specific techniques can be identified:

- According to the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad, one agricultural instrument was an iron piece which is called by the 'Afar of Awsa *ḥilkat* (apparently Arabic *ḥalqa* "ring, link, disk"). Muḥammad Aḥmad's description was not fully clear to me, but apparently this piece was intended to strongly connect parts of the plow, or the plow and the long wooden shaft, to each other. Previously the Kādīto of Awsa had used a rope for this purpose, which however was not strong enough and was always coming loose.



- Muḥammad Aḥmad also described a second farming instrument, called a *ko'ar*, which was invented by the Kādīto at Ḍāle. This is a long hollow “pipe” made of bamboo or a bamboo-like cane which is used for dropping seeds into the earth. The seeds slide down the pipe into the furrow just ahead of the plow, which immediately covers them with soil. Two men work together: one leads the oxen, the other keeps the pipe filled with seeds. This is a big change from the traditional manner of planting seeds. The ‘Afar farmers used to sow grain by scattering handfuls of seeds through the air, as is still done in other parts of Ethiopia. The disadvantage of this traditional method was that the seed stayed on the surface of the earth. Birds could eat it; and even if the seeds successfully sprouted, the roots would not go deep into the ground and the plants could be easily blown over by the wind. With the new method, the seed was immediately buried in the ground. Birds could not eat it, and the plant’s roots would grow deep and strong.

- The third farming innovation mentioned by Muḥammad Aḥmad was the development of stone storage chambers for storing agricultural products. According to Muḥammad Aḥmad, this was the invention of the leading Kādīto scholar Aḥmad Kabīr Yāsīn.

According to the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad, a picture of these special tools was used as an identifying mark of the Kādīto clan. They put this mark on the bags of their products or used it as a brand on the bodies of their animals, especially on their necks. Each ‘Afar tribe had its own brand, which helped them to recover lost animals, especially camels. Therefore, the Kādīto mark became well known among all the ‘Afar tribes near Awsa.

3.3.2 The indirect role of the Kādīto clan: The students of Ḍāle

The indirect contribution of Kādīto scholars was made by their students, who graduated from Ḍāle traditional school and returned to their homes as teachers. As stated by the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad, the students were from diverse ‘Afar regions and tribes, not all from Awsa. The students passed on to the ‘Afar what they had learned from the Kādīto: how to perform prayers, fasting, *Zakāt* (charity), pilgrimage (*hajj*) and so on. They also served as *Kādī* or *wakīl Kādī* (deputy Judge) in their districts where there was no *kādī* of the Kādīto clan.

The areas most influenced by students of the Kādīto clerics were five. I will discuss these in turn.

The first area which was influenced by Kādīto students consists of Dubte town and its surrounding areas, approximately 10-12 km east of Samarā. The informant Muḥammad Aḥmad mentioned several well-known Kādīto students from this area: Kadi Kad'a Šeiḥ Ḥusein Nasri, Kadi Ḥusein Saḡīr Nasri and 'Asa 'Ali 'Abdallah. The first two were made deputy Kādī in their local areas. All were active in teaching Islam.

The second area which was influenced by students of Kādīto scholars was the region of Mille and Galāḥa, southwest of Samarā on the main road which runs between Addis Ababa and Djibouti. A noteworthy Kādīto student in this area was the prominent Šeiḥ 'Arab.

The third area which was affected by students of Kādīto scholars was the area of Sifrā (or Chifra). The Sifrā region is located northeast of Dessie, in the lowlands just below the foothills of the mountains of Abyssinia of northern Wallo. The students of Kādīto from this area were the children of Šeiḥ Wagrīs of Sifrā. After returning from Ḍāle to Sifrā, they established a mosque there which is known as the Mosque of the children of Wagrīs. Of these children of Šeiḥ Wagrīs, Šeiḥ Muḥammad Amīn Wagrīs is still alive today.

The fourth area is Immīnō, in the northeastern part of Awsa sultanate. Here the most notable personality was Šeiḥ Ḥayyu of Immīno. According to Muḥammad Aḥmad, he learned only through listening (apparently not through reading and writing). Nevertheless, Šeiḥ Ḥayyu was a prominent student among his colleagues at Ḍāle. He also held the responsibility for bringing up the children of his teacher Kādī Yāsīn. He repeatedly went back to his country Immīno to advise the 'Afar tribes there about Islam.

The fifth area is Dar Hakājī which is near Immīnō. The most noteworthy student from that area was a woman, called Ḥājja Kaydah. Like Šeiḥ Ḥayyu, Ḥājja Kaydah learned by listening only. She was a well-known woman jurist (*faqīha*). Furthermore, she established a mosque in her region (Dar Hakājī), and appointed for that mosque an Imām

3.3.3 Marriage practices of the Kādīto

The marital system of the Kādīto clan as well as the Šeiḥak-Šarīfa tribe is different from that of the other 'Afar tribes. In traditional 'Afar marriage, which is called in the 'Afar language *absuma*, the man generally marries the daughter of his mother's brother or the daughter of his father's sister. This holds for most of the 'Afar who are living in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea, especially in the countryside and especially in the southern and western areas. However, the Kādīto clan and the tribe Šeiḥak-Šarīfa have been in many respects assimilated to general Arab culture, including marriage customs. Thus a man can marry any of his cousins, including the daughter of the father's brother or the mother's sister, which in the general 'Afar culture is considered as a taboo. In addition, according to the informant Muḥammad Aḥmad, the only tribe with which the Kādīto clan normally has marital relations is the Aydāḥisso Dynasty tribe.

As the informants Muḥammad Aḥmad and Ali Aḥmad Kādī explain, marriage among the Kādīto follows a process that has been part of their inherited culture since the 15th century. The young man first approaches (indirectly) the girl's father or her close relative. This involves a special engagement ceremony, as the first step on the way to marriage in the near future. Important personalities from both families (bridegroom and bride) as well as the elders are present on the occasion of the engagement. This day is known by the name of *al-Fātiḥah* (the day of opening or engagement) or *Fātiḥatu Aklatī*. A main object of this ceremony is to fix the date for the marriage.

The marriage ceremony among the Kādīto clan and Šeiḥak-Šarīfa always occurs on Friday night after the evening prayers ('išā') in the Mosque of Ḍāle. This follows a tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad that there is special abundance and blessing from God during the night of Friday. Preparations for the wedding always start three days before the marriage ceremony, although in the past it used to be five days before. The wedding ceremony in the Mosque is known as *Madān* (the oral contract of marriage). Leading representatives of both families are present, including a Qādī who legally performs the marriage. The girl herself is not present; she stays at home, but she sends to her consent orally with three trust worthy witnesses.

After the official wedding ceremony, the following ceremonies follow immediately:

- 1) Early the next morning a sheep (a big sheep) will be sent from the bridegroom to the home of the bride with five kilos of butter. At noon of the same day, the groom sends 25 kilos of dates, five kilos of coffee, and one kilo of henna, and also an ox as a gift to the bride's father.
- 2) The bride-price to be paid by the groom is traditionally 48 birr (in silver) to the bride's mother and 24 birr (in silver) to the bride's father. The money gifts, put in a specially ornamented basket which is prepared for this purpose, are sent in a special public procession to the bride's parents.
- 3) Starting from the Monday after the wedding until the afternoon of Wednesday, the wedding festivities continue in the house of the bride. Then on Thursday, they must be transferred to the house of the groom. It is worth mentioning that there is no mixing between opposite sexes in the wedding celebration at all. Men and women celebrate separately. Each sex has its own special folklore, dances and invocations of God.

A significant event that occurs just before the wedding ceremony itself, on the same evening, is a special bath and purification of the groom, after which he puts on special new clothes made for the wedding. The bath and purification are done according to the order of elders who are present on the occasion, and they also assist him in putting on the new clothes. These include the traditional 'Afar skirt, and a tunic to be worn on the upper part of the body, a tarboosh for the groom's head, an umbrella, a stick, a finger ring and a locally produced fan made of woven sticks. The elders dress the bridegroom in these things, one after the other. After this he stands above the other people, in an elevated place.

CHAPTER FOUR: Catalogue and philological analysis of the MSS of Kādīto

4.1 General characteristics of the collected MSS at the library of Āle mosque (brief survey of MSS)

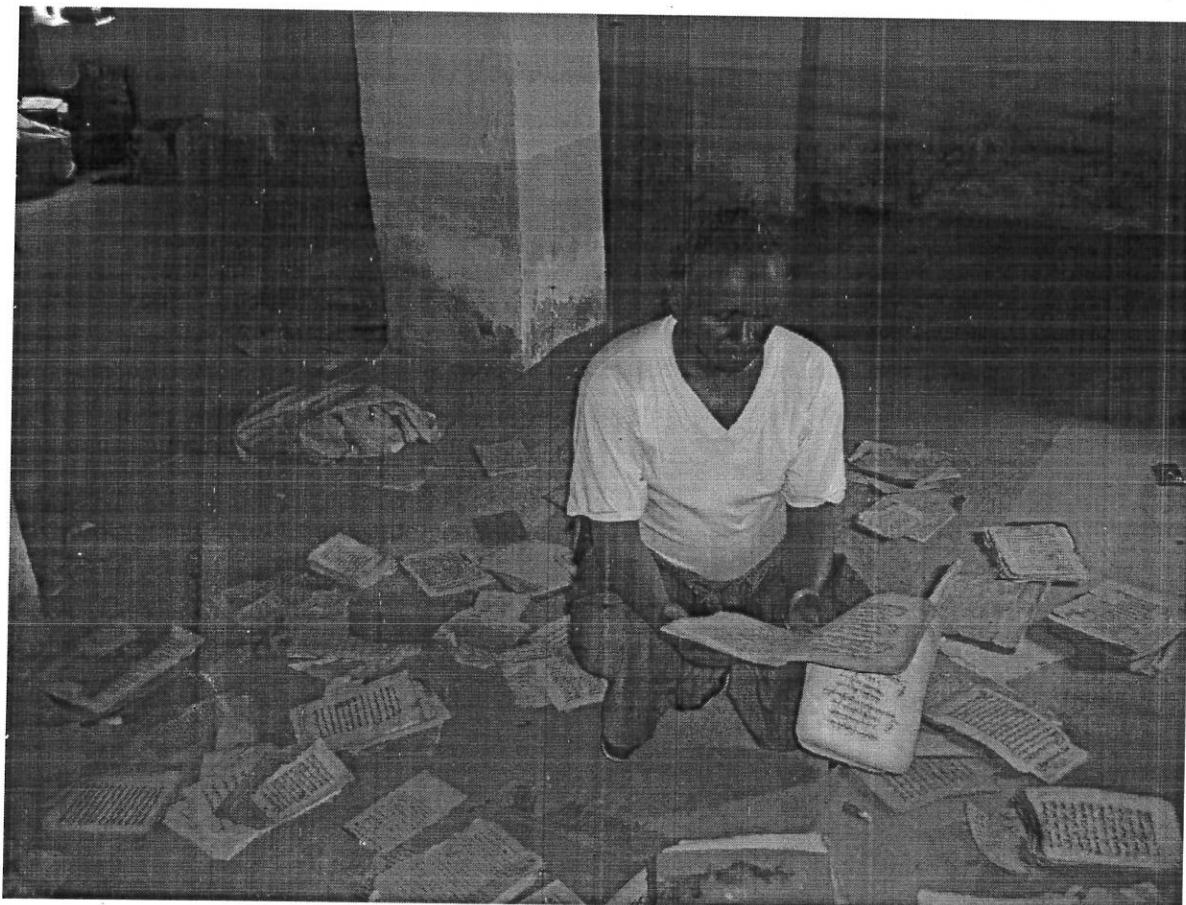
The manuscripts which I found belong to the 'Afar Islamic religious scholars of the Kādīto clan at Āle Traditional School (at Āle Mosque). In this chapter I will briefly list all the MSS which I found in the library of Āle traditional school, not all of which are by Kādīto scholars. Then, I will describe and analyze in detail ten of these MSS, all by Kādīto scholars.

In fact, it was very hard to carry out a study of the library at Āle traditional school. This was due to the disorder in the library, with MSS dispersed here and there all over the library (see fig. 3) below. Moreover, some parts or folios of these MSS as well as old printed books were kept in or outside of old wooden boxes at the Mosque. So, general conditions of the MSS in that library were very bad. It was very hard to get any full MS in all its parts. The Kādīto are well experienced in decoration of MSS with illustrations, diagrams, marginal annotations and skillful handwriting. But on the other hand, they did not give due attention to proper bookbinding, with the result that almost all of the books are falling apart. This technical problem of poor binding was accompanied by a lack of awareness about the preservation and safeguarding of the MSS. Many of the MSS are very badly damaged on their edges, and with rips and disfiguration on the folios. These were partly due to man-made causes and partly to natural causes like fire, rain, insects and so on. In particular, the informants Muḥammad Aḥmad, 'Alī Aḥmad Kādī and the late Muḥammad 'Alī 'Umar all confirmed that the Derg army caused much damage through looting and setting fire to precious MSS during their campaign to Awsa in 1975 A.D.

Many of the MSS which were produced by Kādīto scholars were for religious purposes. I found three copies of the Holy Qur'ān, one MS of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), two MSS of Tawḥīd (Islamic Monotheism) and two prose MSS consisting of praise of the Prophet (madḥ). Furthermore, there are some MSS about Arabic language and literature: Arabic grammar or *naḥw* (two MSS), morphology or *ṣarf* (two MSS) and poetry in praise of the Prophet (five

MSS). In addition, there is one MS on astronomy, as well as letters which were sent by leading personalities like Muftī Sirāj and others to Ḍāle, addressed to Kādīto scholars.

The photograph below shows the general condition of the MSS in the library.



(Figure. 3)

4.2 Circumstances of the establishment of the library at Ġāle traditional school (when, who, how and why)

According to the informants Muḥammad Aḥmad and 'Alī Aḥmad Kādī, the date of the Kādīto library goes back to the establishment of the Mosque at Ġāle (see chapter 3). The mosque contained the Ġāle traditional school, and from the beginning, books were necessary for worship at the mosque as well as for the students at the school. It is worth mentioning the most prominent scholars of Kādīto who shared directly or indirectly in collecting MSS and bringing old printed books to the library. According to the informants, these were:

1. Muḥammad 'Abdu al-Kādir himself, the founder of Ġāle, who lived at the time of Sultan Ḥanfare Aydāḥis (Illalta I).
2. Kādī Yāsīn b. Ḥājji Muḥammad lived around the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Ḥanfare (Illalta II) and of Yayo Muḥammad Ḥanfare (Dadas Yayo).
3. Ḥājji Bašīr b. Kādī Yāsīn and his brother Šeiḥ Muḥammad b. Kādī Yāsīn lived in the time of Sultan Yayo Muḥammad Ḥanfare.
4. Kādī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām was a nephew of Kādī Yāsīn and lived in the period of Sultan Muḥammad Yayo Muḥammad (Dadas Muḥammad).
5. Al-Ḥājji Aḥmad Kabīr and Aḥmad Saḡīr were two brothers, the sons of Kādī Yāsīn; they lived during the reign of the late departed Sultan 'Alī Mirāḥ Ḥanfare who died in 2011 A.D.

The collection of books at the library of Ġāle traditional school began to be created through the copying of MSS to fulfil the needs of the school before the emergence of the printing press. The Kādīto scholars wrote many MSS in Arabic on different Islamic and Arabic subjects.

After the emergence of the printing press and printed books, the Kādīto scholars endeavored to acquire printed books from the Middle East. Indeed, according to the observation of the researcher, the Mosque of Ġāle is crowded with many old printed books. The Kādīto had a long-established educational relationship with the Middle East. This was basically as a result of the Kādīto custom of pursuing their education abroad: in Zabīd (Yemen), in Mecca and Madīna or at Al-Azhar in Cairo. In addition, all of the leading Kādīto scholars had made the



hajj to Mecca, as shown by their title *Hajji*. All this testifies to the Kādīto clan's long and strong relation with the Islamic countries of the Middle East, arguing that they were certainly in a good position to find printed books there on Islam and on Arabic.

The library of Kādīto at Ḍāle also contains some MSS produced by other Muslim scholars from other Ethiopian regions. Here I will present four such examples, out of a total of nine MSS that I found. The first is a MS entitled ميهج الاحباب في نظم منهج الطلاب by the great Islamic scholar Šeiḥ Zakariyya al-Anšārī. It is about *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) of the Šāfi'i school. The MS had been copied by أستاذ الأساتذة *ustād al-'asātiḏa* 'master of masters' Kabīr Aḥmad Ḥājjī 'Abd al-Raḥmān. According to a letter dated 1381 A.H. which was found inside the MS's pages, the MS was sent to Yāsīn Muḥammad of Kādīto by its former owner, Muḥammad Zein b. Šeiḥ Muḥammad.

A second example is a MS entitled *Al-Minḥah al-Gaybiyyah*, by Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sirāj—evidently Mufti Sirāj, who is a *Mufti al-Ḥabaša* (an Ethiopian cleric, and therefore not a Kādīto). The MS also reminds me personally of a printed book I once read about Mufti Sirāj, which gives his responses to questions by Ethiopian students in Saudi Arabia. I found the contents of this printed book to be very similar to this MS from the library of Ḍāle. The MS deals with the issue of *tawassul*, i.e. intercession to Allah by invoking the name of a deceased saint. This is a *Šūfi* practice, but is rejected by *Salafiyya* scholars. The MS is a response to the *Salafi* idea that anyone who follows this practice is falsely ascribing partners to Allah (*širk*). The MS's author rejects this salafi idea: rather, any Muslim who belongs to أهل القبلة *Ahl al-Qibla*, that is, who prays in the correct direction (*qibla*) facing Mecca, cannot be called a heretic (*kāfir*).

A third example of a non-Kādīto MS from Ḍāle is short MS entitled تبريد الفوائد *Tabrīd al-Fawā'id* by Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sirāj Ḥalīfa al-Najhānī who was also a *Mufti al-Ḥabaša*, an Ethiopian Muslim cleric. This MS was sent to the Kādīto scholar Šeiḥ Yāsīn b. Šeiḥ Aḥmad al-Awsiyyi. The content of the MS is advice, preaching, the significance of mentioning Allah (God), and praise of the Prophet Muḥammad.

A fourth example is a poetry MS which apparently is from Awsa, but not written by Kādīto scholars. The scribe is given as Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd. As the late informant Muḥammad

'Ali 'Umar asserted, this man probably is one of the Šeiḥak-Šarīfa scholars in Awsa, and indeed this kind of poetry is believed to be associated with the Šeiḥak-Šarīfa scholars in Awsa, who call it by the name of *al-Burdah*. By contrast, as he said, Kādīto scholars use the genre called *al-Qaṣīdah al-Witriyyah* for praise of the Prophet (*madḥ*).

These Islamic documents from outside the Kādīto clan are a reflection of the leading role played by the Kādīto in the educational process in Awsa. This contribution of Kādīto came at a time when secular education as observed nowadays in Ethiopia did not exist among the 'Afar. The role of the Kādīto scholars through the Ḍāle traditional school was parallel with the role which was played by the Ethiopian orthodox churches among the Christians.

4.3 A brief list of the MSS in the library of Ḍāle

The total number of Arabic MSS that come, directly or indirectly, from the library of Ḍāle traditional school (excluding printed books) were 29 MSS. I divided these into three groups which I called A, B, C. Group A MSS were written or copied by Kādīto scholars and explicitly bear their name. These comprised 8 MSS including a single sheet recording a judge's decision. The second group (B) comprised 14 MSS which did not bear their copyists' names. The third group (C) includes 7 MSS, bearing their copyists' names, which were produced by Muslim scholars outside of Ḍāle and imported or brought to Ḍāle. I did not include the MSS of group C in my philological analysis simply because they were not Kādīto products. Rather, this philological analysis includes 5 MSS of group (A) and 5 MSS of group (B) for a total of 10, as we will see below. The other 19 MSS of the three groups (3 MSS of A, 9 MSS of B and all 7 MSS of C), I included in my list for every group but with no discussion.

Of these 29 MSS, four were not found in Ḍāle but in Addis Ababa, in the possession of a Kādīto man named 'Ali Aḥmad Kādī. One of these (group A) bears the name of a Kādīto copyist. The other three (group B) have no explicit indication of "Kādīto", but I included them based on the testimony of 'Ali Aḥmad Kādī. None of these four were among the ten MSS I selected for detailed analysis, although I mention them all in the lists below.

In my catalogue, my intention was to present MSS copied by scholars of the Kādīto family which means group (A); but, I did not find as many MSS as I hoped in this group. Of the 8 MSS in group (A), only 5 seemed useful for philological analysis. Of the remaining 3 MSS,

two are of the Qur'ān and one is a brief legal judgement. Because of this very small number, I also did philological analysis on 5 MSS of group (B), even though they did not bear their copyists' names. I did not really have any other alternative. (Note that group (B) included several MSS on *fiqh* 'Islamic jurisprudence' of the Šāfi'iyya School, which is the same school of jurisprudence (*madhab*) as that of the Kādīto family. In selecting the 5 MSS from group B, my criterion was thematic diversity.

The MSS of the 3 groups (A, B, C) are listed below. Those which I will study in detail are marked with a bullet (●).

A. This group (A) contains **eight** MSS which were produced by Kādīto scholars whose name is explicitly stated in the MS. Seven of these MSS were found by the researcher in the library of the Mosque at Ďāle. In addition, one copy of the Qur'ān was found in the home of 'Ali Aḥmad Kādī in Addis Ababa. The 8 MSS are:

1. Holy Qur'ān copied by Aḥmad b. Kādī Yāsīn, in excellent handwriting but with no binding, which consists of 275 loose folios. It is currently at the home of Muḥammad Aḥmad in Ďāle.
2. ● *'Aqīdatu al-'Awwām fī al-tawḥīd*, a fragmentary MS about Islamic monotheism with no cover, consisting, of 17 folios and copied by Ḥanfare (Aḥmad Ṣaḡīr) b. Kādī Yāsīn.
3. A single page which is a judgement issued by Kādī Bašīr b. Yāsīn in 1209 AH (1809 AD). This document is written on the reverse side of the title page of a printed book on *fiqh* entitled *Mīnhāj al-Ṭālibīn wa-'Umdat al-Muftīn*. The judgement treats the theme of a disputed inheritance of books that were distributed among the sons of the Kabirto saint Ḥajji Kabīr after he died. This page also contains some other text which is not clear, written in different and bad handwriting; it apparently is an invocation to be recited at graves.
4. ● A fragmentary MS on astronomy which is entitled *'Arūs al-Samar fī manāzil al-qamar tasmiyat al-saḥar* 'Nocturnal conversation for determining the Houses of the moon and an exposition of how to identify the time of the early dawn'. Only 6 folios remain of this MS. It was copied by Aḥmad (Kabīr) b. Yāsīn.
5. ● A manuscript of *madḥ* poetry in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad entitled *al-Qaṣīdah al-witriyyah* by Aḥmad Kabīr b. Kādī Yāsīn. The MS consists of 134 folios.

6. • A *Qaṣīdah* (untitled) in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad copied by Aḥmad Kabīr Yāsīn, written mostly in black ink, but with some lines in blue or red ink. This MS has 61 folios, but it is still only a fragment.

7. • This is a fragmentary MS consisting of loose sheets. It is about *ʿIlm al-Ṣarf* ‘morphology’, copied by Aḥmad b. Kādī Muḥammad b. Ḥajji ‘Abd al-Salām. There are 11 folios.

8. Holy Qur’ān copied by Kādī Yāsīn, bound and in excellent condition. Now in the home of ‘Ali Aḥmad Kādī in Addis Ababa.

B. This is a list of **fourteen** MSS comprising group (B). All of them are found in the library of the Mosque at Ḍāle except three MSS which are at the home of ‘Ali Aḥmad Kādī in Addis Ababa. Most of them are fragmentary MSS. They generally deal with Islamic religion, Arabic grammar, and praise of the Prophet Muḥammad. As follows:

1. Untitled poetic MS about the miracles and biography of the Prophet Muḥammad. Since this MS is fragmentary and consists of only 7 loose sheets, it has no colophon. Therefore, it does not bear the name of the author, the copyist and the date. The MS has been badly affected by insects and/or weather, and considerable damage on the edge of all its folios is visible. The copyist’s handwriting is normal. Ink is basically black but with red ink for important words or phrases. Contains many annotations.

2. This untitled MS is about the biography and praise of the Prophet Muḥammad (*ṣalāt ‘alā al-nabiyy*). Each line is written inside its own individual double-lined frame; the frame is colored with a very light orange-red wash of paint. The MS consists of 36 loose sheets and has no colophon; hence, it does not contain the name of author, copyist or date. Black ink, excellent handwriting. Surprisingly, this MS had 36 folios on my first field trip to Ḍāle, but I only found 7 folios on my second trip, and nothing at all on my third trip.

3. • MS entitled *tuhfat al-’iḥwān fī wadā’ šahr ramaḍān*. The title appears in white letters on a black inverted triangle. The text urges the reader to do good deeds and to stop evil deeds particularly during the month of *Ramaḍān*. In addition, it mentions the greatness of Allah, kindness of the prophet Muḥammad, Abū Bakar, and ‘Ali. The MS has 19 folios and seems to

have lost some folios. It was composed by the scholar Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, but the copyist is not known.

4. This MS consists of 35 loose sheets. It is a commentary entitled *Bab al-I’rāb min kitāb al-Ajurrumiyya* on Arabic grammar with many marginal annotations. The author of the commentary is not known, nor is the copyist, owner and date, since the MS does not have any colophon. According to my informant Šeiḥ Muḥammad ‘Umar, the MS is a commentary and interpretation of the well-known textbook *al-Ajurrumiyyah* which was composed by Abū ‘Abdallah b. al-Du’alī al-Šanhājī, who is known by his nickname *Ibn al-Ajūrrumī*. I found this MS in my first field trip to Ḍāle, but I could not locate it in my second and third trips.

5. ● This a MS of the main text (*matn*) of the famous book *Alfiyya* on Arabic grammar, written by the well-known scholar Muḥammad bin Mālik. This MS comprises 14 folios.

6. MS of *fiqh* of the Šāfi‘ī school entitled *‘umdat al-sālik wa-‘uddat al-nāsik*. The author is the scholar Šahāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Naqīb al-Šāfi‘ī. Folios were stuck together, so I could not count them or read all of them.

7. ● Another version (with readable pages) of the same text *‘umdat al-sālik wa-‘uddat al-nāsik*, 82 folios.

8. ● A 5-folio fragment of a MS on *fiqh*. It bears no title or name of its copyist or composer.

9. An 8-folio fragment of a MS on *fiqh*. It bears no title or name of its copyist or composer.

10. ● *Kitāb fath al-Raḥmān fī Dīkr al-Šalāt*, MS in praise of the prophet Muḥammad, 79 folios.

11. MS of the Holy Qur’ān by unknown copyist, 340 folios, bound but with no cover.

12. *Kitāb Muḥtaṣar Tanbīh al-‘Anām*, a large book of *madḥ* detailing the excellent qualities of the Prophet Muḥammad. The MS is written in excellent handwriting and consists of 182 folios. There is a colophon which includes the title of the MS, but no author or copyist and no date. Next to the colophon are the dates of birth for some children of Kādīto. Found in Addis Ababa.

13. *Du'ā' Tuqra'u fī Madh al-Nabiyy fī Layālī min Šahr Ramaḍān* “prayers in praise of the Prophet to be read at night during Ramaḍān”. This MS, although bound, appears to be the oldest I have seen because its paper is discolored, cracked and extremely fragile and brittle. It consists of 46 folios. This MS contains no author, copyist, date, because it has no any colophon. Found in Addis Ababa.

14. No title; contents are similar to the preceding MS. The MS consists of 54 folios. No colophon therefore no name of author or no copyist and no date. Found in Addis Ababa.

C. Group (C) includes seven MSS which were produced by other Muslim scholars (not Kādīto scholars) from different Muslim areas of Ethiopia. These are as follows:

1. Untitled fragmentary MS of *madh* poetry in praise of the Prophet, consisting of 57 loose sheets by an unknown author. As my informant Muḥammad 'Ali 'Umar said, this poem seems to be a kind of *Qaṣīdah al-Burdah*. Therefore, it is likely that it belongs to the Šeiḥak-Šarīfa clan in Awsa and not to Kādīto, because *Qaṣīdah al-Burdah* is known to be characteristic of Šeiḥak-Šarīfa whereas *Qaṣīda al-witriyyah* is characteristic of Kādīto, when writing *madh* for the Prophet Muḥammad. The MS was copied by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd from Šeiḥak-Šarīfa. Excellent handwriting, mainly in black ink but with some lines in red ink. The MS shows its date of completion: 13th Jamād al-Awwal of the year 1227 AH.

2. Manuscript consisting of one sheet on *tawḥīd* ‘Islamic monotheism’. It was written by Ḥammad b. Ḥanfare b. Ḥammad, also from Awsa region but not a Kādīto.

3. Manuscript on *fiqh* of the Šāfi'i School. A complete bound book in very good condition; I did not record the number of pages. Originally the MS was entitled *Nuḥum manhaj al-ṭullāb* by Šeiḥ al-Islam Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī. Then it was copied by 'ustād al-'asātīda (Master of Masters) Kabīr Aḥmad Ḥāj 'Abd al-Raḥmān (a non-Kādīto), though with a slight change of title, *Mubhaj al-Aḥbāb fī nuḥmi manhaj al-ṭullāb*. The MS itself is not dated. Inside of the MS, I found a small one-page letter which says that Muḥammad Zeyn sent this MS via 'Ali Fāris to “his brother in Allah” Aḥmad Yāsīn (a Kādīto). The date of this letter was 8 Rajab, 1381 AH.

4. A fragmentary MS entitled *al-minḥah al-ġaybiyyah* and was written by Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sirāj al-Muftī b. Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Jabartiyyi al-Anniyy (not Kādīto). The MS consists of 13 remaining folios and was written as a reply to salafiyyā theology. The date of writing was Saturday, 17 Rajab, of the year 1423 A H.

5. This is a fragmentary MS, entitled *fā'idat al-dīkr* of Šeiḥ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Šādīlī. It has evidently lost some folios; what remains is only 4 folios. The content is not fully clear; it seems to be a mixture of prayers and praise of the prophet Muḥammad. The MS was copied or edited by Aḥmad al-Badawī.

6. MS of the Qur'ān, consisting of 319 folios, copied by Muḥammad bin Ḥājji Ḥamad Jabā (non-Kādīto name). No binding or cover.

7. A manuscript about the religious significance of *dīkr*, entitled *Tabrīd al-fawā'id* and composed by Muḥammad Sirāj Ḥalīfā al-Najhānī (Mufti Sirāj). The copyist was Aḥmad Muṣṭafā b. al-Šeiḥ 'Abdallāh al-Bayliyyi al-Ḥanafiiyyi who sent it to his "brother in Allah" al-Šeiḥ Yāsīn b. al-Šeiḥ Aḥmad al-Awsiyy (a Kādīto scholar in Awsa). Six loose sheets written on unlined smooth paper.

4.4 Description of 10 MSS

Descriptions will be given 10 MSS from two groups, A (name of Kādīto copyist appears in MS) and B (no name of copyist appears), excluding group C (MSS from abroad) from description. These are as follows:

1. **Title** of MS is غروس السمر في منازل القمر شرح تسمية السحر 'Arūs al-Samar fī manāzili al-Qamar *ṣarḥ tasmiyat al-Saḥar* 'Nocturnal conversation for determining the Houses of the moon and an exposition of how to identify the time of the early dawn'.

This MS is about Astronomy for identifying the time of prayers or fasting, especially the dawn prayer (*fajr*). I took a digital photo of this MS in my first field trip to Ḍāle. But, unfortunately I was unable to find it when I returned to the same place for my second and third fieldwork.

Dimensions: 5 x 3.65 cm, the distance between lines is 1 cm only.

Material: Written on sheets of a thick paper which is folded and thus made into two half leaves.

Number of folios: 6 folios

Lines per page: Variable

Binding: It does not have any cover and the leaves are not sewn.

Handwriting: Handwriting of the MS is *ruq'ah*, of average quality.

Date: The colophon does not give the date of starting, but it does give the date of completion written out in words. It was finished in the afternoon of Wednesday, 24 Ramaḍān 1371 A. H.

Copyist: As many informants told me, this MS. was copied by Aḥmad Kabīr bin Kādī Yāsīn. The colophon identifies him as “Aḥmad bin Yāsīn”.

Owner: The owner of this MS is Muḥammad Aḥmad Yāsīn, of the Kādīto clan.

Contents: The MS basically contains instructions for recognizing the times of prayer in the different seasons of the year. In addition, written on the outside of the colophon proper and in a different handwriting, the MS gives information about the birth dates of various Kādīto children and about the war which broke out between Muḥammad Ṣaḡīr Yayyo and the last Sultan, ‘Alī Mirāḥ.

Following are excerpts from the astronomical part. To orient the reader, the text is clearly a prose commentary on another text written by someone else. That original text is composed as poetry with two hemistiches separated by * ; twice the symbol * divides a word in two بالعوء * بالعوء * = and بيومين * = بيومي * ن . As best I can, I will try to write the older poetic text (which is commented on) surrounded by quotation marks, followed by the commentary. Words written in (parentheses) in the Arabic text indicate either marginal additions, or my correction to apparent errors in the text. The text is difficult, and its meaning is not always clear.

فلهذا قال فيه يوم (بتزويد) ويومان ثم بين متى تجتمع كل منزلة بالفجر في أيام (٢) كل سنة فذكره على شهور القبط أولها توت
فلهذا بدأ باجتماع الفجر بالخرتان فقال :

And for this reason he said “a day” (and added) “and two days”, then he explained: when each zodiac sign meets the dawn for (two) days every year. And he presented this according to the Coptic months, the first of which is Tūt, which is he began with the meeting of the dawn in [the sign] ḥartān [which happens in Tūt]. And he said:

يطلع الفجر قبل توت ببومين . جميع الأعوام بالخرتان | ثم تبدو بصرفة منه في اثني . عشر الفجر واضح بالعيان اليومان
للذان قبل توت يحسبان من أيام النسي والهاء في منه عائد على توت.

“Before Tūt, the dawn appears every year in ḥartān [the 11th mansion of the noon]; thereafter it appears in ṣarfa, [which is] the 12th [mansion of the moon]; the dawn is clearly visible to the eye.” And the two days just before Tūt are considered as belonging to the “extra month” Nasī’ [in Ethiopia: equivalent to P’agme ?]. And the hā’ in *minhu* [see Arabic text, above] refers to Tūt.

ثم خامس وعشرين بالعواء . تبدو نجومها كالجمان. الجمان حب من الفضة يضع كالدر واحدها جمانة.

“Then on the 25th, in Bootes [the 13th mansion], its star appears like *jumān* [pearls]”. *Jumān* means beads of silver, like pearls; its singular is *jumāna*.

ثم ثامن (لبانه) يبدو . بسماك عشرين (عرشه) منه دان أن أي يبدو الفجر بالسماك في شهر بابه وعرشه يعني عرش
السماك وهو أربعة انجم على صورة النعش منحدره عنه والجنوب.

“Then on the 8th of Bābih, it appears in the ‘Bier of Simāk’ [a star in Virgo; the 14th mansion] low down”. That is, the dawn appears in Simāk in the month of Bābih; and its “bier”, I mean the “Bier of Simāk”, consists of four stars in the shape of a bier descending from it toward the south.

ذلك اليوم منه خامس تشرين . المبدأ في اشهر السريان يعني أن الثامن شهر بابه يوافق الخامس من شهر تشرين الأول فهو
أول الشهور السريانية ويقال ايضا السريانية بكسر الراء وتشديدها, هكذا كان يقول الحافظ أبو طالب السلفي فيما أخبرنا أبو
الحسن ناظم هذه القصيدة عنه.

“That day in it [8th of Bābih] is the 5th of Tishriin, the first of the months of the Syrians”. This means that the 8th of the month of Bābih is equivalent to the 5th of the month of Tishrin al-

Awwal which is the first Syriac (Suryāniyya) month. And one also says “al-Sirriyāniyy” (?) with Kasra and rā’ and gemination (??). And this is how the ḥāfiẓ Abu Ṭālib the Salafī said it, as we learn from Abu al-Ḥasan, the poet of this qaṣīdah.

ولدت بنتي اسما بنت احمد كبير ليلة الثلاثاء وقت العشا في شهر رمضان المكرم بعد ما خلا منه 2 في ليلتين في سنة 1371 وقد وقع الحرب بين السلطان علي مراح حنفر وبين محمد صغير بن السلطان يايو في محرم ليلة الاربعاء 16 منه وقتل فيه ناس كثير ومنهم الشيخ شفا اليلمي وغيره واستمر الحرب الى يوم الخميس 17 وانتصر السلطان على مراح عليه وغلبه في ذلك اليوم. وذلك في سنة 1374 من هجرة من له العز والشرف | عليه افضل الصلاة والسلام | وفي ذلك السنة في صفر الخير ولدت عائشة بنت احمد كبير و آمنه بنت الحاج أحمد صغير

‘My daughter Asmā, the daughter of Aḥmad Kabīr, was born on Tuesday evening in the month of Ramaḍā when 2 nights had elapsed in it [i.e. in Ramḍān] in the year 1371. And the “war” between Sultan ‘Ali Mirāḥ Ḥanfare and Muḥammad Ṣaġīr the son of Sultan Yayo Occurred in [the month of] Muḥarram on Wednesday night on the 16th. And many people were killed in it, among them Šeiḥ Šifā al-Yalmī and others. And the “war” continued until Thursday the 17th. And Sultan ‘Ali Mirāḥ was victorious over him [Muḥammad Ṣaġīr] and defeated him on that day. And this happened in the year 1374 after the Hijra of [Muḥammad], the one who has power and glory, many the best blessing and peace be upon him. And in that year in [the month of] Ṣafar were born ‘Ā’iša, the daughter of Aḥmad Kabīr, and Āmina, the daughter of Hajji Aḥmad Ṣaġīr’. [Comment: the author is Aḥmad Kabīr himself].

2. **MS. (B7):** entitled عمدة السالك و عدة الناسك ‘Umdat al-Sālik wa-Uddatu al-Nāsik ‘support of the mystical seeker and kit-bag of the anchorite’.

Dimensions: 22 x 18 cm; distance between lines 1 cm.

Material: Unlined old paper. Pages very badly affected by rain, torn, eaten by insects and/or weather-beaten; further, the edges of some folios seem to have been burnt by fire. MS needs restoration.

Number of folios: 82 folios.

Lines per pages: Variable

Binding: The MS is bound in old cowhide and is sewn. But the cover is at least half disintegrated and the sewing has come loose from the folio papers. Nevertheless, all the folios remain inside of the cover (or what is left of the cover).

Handwriting: Regular

Scribe: Unknown

Composer of the MS: As indicated in the introductory folio, the composer was the scholar Šahāb al-Dīn.

Owner: The MS. is kept at the second home of Muḥammad Aḥmad in Ḍāle.

Date: Not given.

Content: This MS is fundamentally about *fiqh* ‘Islamic jurisprudence’ concerning worship, according to the Šāfi‘ī school. There are chapters entitled Kitāb al-Ṭahāra (purification), Bāb al-Miyāh (water), and Bāb al-Ġusl (washing), which are the main themes of the MS. But in addition, there are some additional annotations in the front of five folios and on the last leaf. I would like to give special attention to these additional annotations. Some of the annotations are written on very badly damaged paper, so that some words are illegible or torn away. The Arabic is also sometimes unclear as regards grammar and content.

The first annotation is on folio 1r:

ولا يحرم النوم قبل الوقت وان علم عدم استيقاظه فيه لانه لم يخاطب بالصلاة قبل دخول وقتها ع ش على م ر و كراهة النوم قبل الصلاة بعد دخول وقتها تجري في سائر الأوقات وانما خص الكراهة بالعشاء لانها محل النوم وقوله ولا يحرم النوم قبل الوقت اي وا_ عدم فعلها في وقتها كما اذا نام قبل الجمعة قاصدا تركها فلا يحرم وجوب السعي بعيد الر_

‘It is not forbidden to sleep (just) before the time (of prayer), unless one knows that he will not wake up in time. Because it was not requested of him to perform the prayer before its time, ‘ š on m r [sic; the text writes the isolated letters *ayin, shin, then mim, ra*]. And it is considered unacceptable to sleep (just) before prayer once its time has come. This holds in general for (all) the remaining times (of prayer), but especially for the evening prayer, since it is (itself) at the time of sleeping. And in saying “It is not forbidden to sleep (just) before the time (of prayer)”, he means not doing it at its time (i.e. at the time of prayer) – just like, if you deliberately go to sleep (just) before (performing) the Friday prayer, then you might omit it (by

oversleeping). And the obligation of *sa'y* (making the ritual walk as part of Hajj) is not forbidden for one who is living far [text illegible; sense very unclear].

The second annotation is on folio 1r (same page as the first):

فائدة : المنهاج مختصر من المحرر فالمحرر مختصر من الوجيز فالوجيز مختصر من الوسيط والوسيط مختصر من البسيط
والبسيط مختصر من النهاية

‘Useful note: Al-Minhāj is an abridgement of (the book) al-Muḥarrir, and al-Muḥarrir is an abridgement of al-Wajīz and al-Wajīz is an abridgement of al-Wasīṭ, and al-Wasīṭ is an abridgement of al-Basīṭ, and al-Basīṭ is an abridgement of al-Nihāyah’.

On page 2 there is a poem by the copyist of this MS:

وعيشي كالمريض بلا طبيب	حياتي كالممات بلا حبيب
من العيش التي لا خير فيه	ألا موت بيع فنشتريه
وتطلبه اذا بعد المزار	اتترك من تحب وأنت جار
وتسئل في المنازل ابن ساروا	وتبكي عندنا بهم اشتياقا
وترجوا أن يخبرك الديار	تركت سؤلهم وهم حضور
ومت كمدا فليس لك اعتذار	فلم نفسك ولا تلم المطايا
اذا لم يكن فيها حبيب يوافق انتهى	ولا خير في الدنيا ولذة عيشها

‘My life is like death without a friend and my life is like a sick man with no physician.

Is not death a thing which we buy from a life which has no good in it?

Do you leave someone you love while you are (his) neighbor, and do you (now) seek him when the visiting-place is distant?

Do you weep for them among us out of yearning; and do you ask in their homes where they have gone?

Did you refrain from asking them while they were present?

And do you want (their) homes to give you news (of them)?

So blame yourself and do not blame others. And then die in grief, there is no excuse for you.

There is no goodness in the world and (in) the delights of its life, if there is in it no dear friend to be with you.’

On page 3 (introduction), there are five annotations. These are as follows:

First annotation (a gloss to the word *bism* in *bism Allāh* in main text):

بِسْمِ: الباء بره والسين ستره والميم ملكه

bism: ‘Al-bā’ means His charity [or: His outside], al-sīn is His screen/veil [or: His secret inside] and al-mīm is His kingdom’.

Second annotation (an explanation of the name Al-Šāfi‘ī in main text):

الشافعي : اسمه محمد ابن ادريس ولد سنة خمسين ومائة ومات سنة اربع ومائتين اخبر عنه النبي صلى الله وسلم انه عالم قریش يملا طباق الارض علما وأوصى قبل موته ان يمروا بجنائزه على باب السيدة نفيسة ففعلوا فصلت عليه ثم ماتت بعده (بأر) بع ثنين رضي الله عنهما ...سنة

‘His name is Muḥammad bin Idrīs; he was born in (the year A. H.) 150 and died in 204. The Prophet (Muḥammad) said about him that he was a scholar of the (clan) Qureyṣ, who will fill up the layers of the earth with knowledge. Before he died, he instructed people to bring his corpse to the door of Mistress Nafīsa. And they did so and she prayed over him. And then she died four years after his death. May Allah be pleased with both of them... Year’.

Third annotation:

والفرق بين الاقتصار والاء ختصار (والاختصار) ان الاختصار وهو التعبير باللفظ القليل عن الكثير والاقتصار وهو الاتيان ببعض الشيء دون بعضه اه كفاية الطالبين

‘The difference between *iqtiṣār* ‘restriction’ and *ihṭiṣār* ‘abbreviation’ is that *ihṭiṣār* is an expression in few words rather than many, while *iqtiṣār* means mentioning (citing) only part of a thing and omitting part.’ End. Kifāyat al-Ṭālibīn

Fourth annotation (a note on the word *tahāra*):

كتاب الطهارة : لغة النظافة والخلوص من الأذناس وشرعا رفع الحدث وازالة النجس ا (و) فى معناهما او على صورتها كالتييم والاعتسالات المسنونة وتجديد الوضوء والغسلة الثانية والثالثة وهي الشاملة لانواع الطهارة وبدأ بالماء لانه الاصل ا ه ف ف ب

‘Linguistically, an expression for cleanliness and purification from pollution. Legally, the removal of impurity and elimination of filth. And in the meaning and the form of these two, it

is like going to get clean sand for purification [cf. Sura 4:43, 5:6], and the prescribed ablution, and repetition of the ritual ablution (*wuḍūʿ*), and the second and third washing. And this completes the types of purification. But it [the Qurʾān] begins with water, for it is basic’.

Fifth annotation:

الرافعي : اسمه عبد الكريم بن محمد اسمه يحيا

‘Al-Rāfi‘ī: his name is ‘Abdu al-Karīm bin Muḥammad...his name is Yaḥyā’

In the fourth folio, there is an annotation which deals with kinds of water:

واقضل المياه على الاطلاق الماء النابع من بين اصابعه صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم ماء الزمزم ثم ماء الكوثر ثم ماء الانهار ()
ونهر ببحون وجيحون والدجلة (الدجلة) والفرات ونيل مصر

‘Absolutely the best kinds of water are the water that springs forth from between the fingers of the Prophet Muḥammad, then the water of Zamzam, then the water of Kawṭar, and then the water of the rivers [illegible] and the River Bīḥōn and Jīḥōn and Diḥlah [Dijlah] (the Tigris) and Furāt (the Euphrates) and the Nile of Egypt’.

In the fifth folio, there is a short annotation about ablution: for travelers (and sometimes for people at home), instead of washing the feet, one is allowed to wipe off a pair of special shoes in performing ablution:

لان المسح رخصة

‘Because wiping is permitted’

Two additional annotations appear on the last folio of the MS (see Appendix):

لرؤية النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وهي انك تصلى اربع ركعات تقرء في كل ركعة فاتحة الكتاب وسورة والضحى والم نشرح لك وسورة القدر والزلزلة فاذا سلمت تصلى على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اربعين مرة تنام مستقبل القبلة فاذا كنت كذلك ترفع روحك حتى تسجد (الله) تعالى تحت العرش فعند(ها) ترى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم) سبعين مرة حتى لا يشتبه



‘In order to see the Prophet, peace be upon him: when you pray four *rak'āt* (“bowings”), you should read during every *rak'a* the *fātiḥa*, and *sūrat al-Duḥā* (93), and *sūrat al-Šarḥ* (94), and *sūrat al-Qadr* (97), and *sūrat al-Zalzala* (99). When you have finished, then you should pray for the Prophet, peace be upon him, forty times. You should (then) sleep facing the *qibla* (direction of prayer). And when you are like that, your spirit will ascend until it prostrates itself to the Almighty below the Throne. And then, with that, you will see the Prophet, peace be upon him, seventy times, so that there is no doubt (about it)’.

المختار من أطيب بطون العرب الذي وحيه غير مكتسب الذي جاء بالحنفية السما الذي جعل الله طاعته نجاة وربحا الذي أنزل الله عليه السكينة الذي أخذ الله الميثاق على النبيين لتؤمنن به ولتصرنه أمتا في أصلاب النبيين الذي يجلس على يمين الرحمن وكنا يديه يمين أول من يستأذن على ربه الذي لم يرض الله دين أحد الا بحبه الذي جعله الله مؤتما به وبدينه الذي جعله الله متبوعا من يوم خلقه وتكوينه الذي أمر الله الخلق أن يهتدوا بهديه الذي أمر الله الخلق أن يقفوا عند أمره ونهيه الذي لا يرثه من ذوي رحمه وارث الذي أحل الله لهم الطبيات وحرم عليهم الخبائث الذي جعل الله ملا نكة عند البيت المعمور تصلي على أرواح أمته عند الحضور الذي جعل الله أصحابه الأبرار رحماء بينهم أشداء على الكفار الذي جعل الله كل سحر يسحر به أحد في الأنام يبطل يوم مولده عليه الصلاة والسلام الذي سبقت روحه أرواح الأنبياء والارسل في ميدان المعرفة الى رياض الوصال الذي جعل ثواب أمته في محاسن أعمالها

‘The Chosen one from among the best of the Arabs, whose revelation cannot be earned, who brought the True and Magnanimous [religion, i.e Islam], whom Allah made obedience to him a salvation and a profit, upon whom Allah has brought down His presence, whom Allah made a covenant with the prophets (saying) “ Believe in him and support him,” who is at home with the innermost being of the prophets, who sits at the right hand of the Merciful and both of his hands are right [hands], the first to ask permission of his Lord, without whose love Allah is not pleased with the religion of anyone, whom Allah made so (others) should follow his example and his religion, whom Allah made as a leader from the day of his creation and his making, whom Allah commanded (all) creation to be guided by his guidance, whom Allah commanded (all) creation not to look beyond his commands or prohibitions, who no relative will be his inheritor, to whom Allah permitted (all) good things and forbade evil, whom Allah made (the) angels in the Inhabited House (heaven) pray in the (divine) Presence for the spirit of his people, whose righteous friends Allah made merciful among each other and severe against the non-

believers, on whose birthday (blessing and peace be upon him) Allah nullifies all magic which any of mankind may do, whose spirit preceded the spirits of the prophets and the messengers in the field of knowledge to the gardens of Communion, who made the reward of his people (to be) in the merit of their deeds’.

3. **Title:** None is mentioned.

As my late informant Muḥammad ‘Ali told me, this MS seems to have been copied, with added commentary, from the book entitled *‘aqīdat al-‘awwām* “Doctrine for the people” of *al-Aṣḥā‘irah* on the subject of Tawḥīd ‘Islamic monotheism’ of *al-Aṣḥā‘irah* Sunni doctrine (*‘ahl al-sunna*). The MS. talks about the ninety-nine attributes of Allah, focusing on twenty special attributes of the Almighty.

Dimensions: 24 x 18 cm.

Material: Thick old paper.

Number of folios: 17 folios; some pages are unreadable due to blurry ink.

Lines per pages: variable, one cm between lines.

Binding: It is not clear to me how many of these folios really belong together. The folios were fragments scattered here and there. There was no cover. Some of the folios seem to have originally been sewn with a thin thread, but the thread has been lost.

Copyist: Ḥanfare bin Kādī Yāsīn

Handwriting and ink: Handwriting of average quality. There may be several different hands, though I am not sure; when I asked, my informant Muḥammad ‘Ali suggested that perhaps various students in the same center helped each other in the writing of this MS. Regarding the ink, it should be noted that the pages include both an original text and some secondary commentary on it; the original text is rubricated in green, blue, or red ink (each page all in one color), while the secondary commentary is always in black ink. Strangely, in my third field trip I found that someone had added 4 additional folios to this group; they are in red ink. I did not find these folios in my first and second field trips.

Date: Unknown

Owner: In the possession of Muḥammad Aḥmad (al-Awsiyyi) at Ḍāle

Author: Unknown

Basis for Compilation: All of these loose folios have to do with *tawḥīd* “Islamic theology”. Some of them are connected by catchwords; these pages also have the same handwriting and the same color of ink. Other folios are not connected by catchwords; they show slightly different handwritings (?) and different colors of ink. The 4 additional folios (written in red ink) also clearly belong together.

Contents: The MS is fundamentally a text on Islamic monotheism with added commentary. But at the same time, as is typical of Kādīto MSS at Ḍāle, the MS includes in its first part some extra additions. These include the famous incident of *laylat al-‘isrā’* ‘the Prophet Muḥammad’s midnight journey’, and praise of the Prophet Muḥammad by praying and wishing for him the best blessing and peace. Part of the MS also consists of thanks, invocation and glorification of Allah through His great names and attributes. In general the contents of the MS are as follows; the themes are not presented in order in the MS but are scattered throughout the text.

1. The MS invokes intercession for four successors of the Prophet Muḥammad, namely Abū Bakar, ‘Umar, ‘Uṭmān and ‘Ali.
2. The MS mentions some of the essential duties of all messengers and prophets, in which all Muslims must believe. There are four duties: intelligence, truth, transmission (of God’s message) and faithfulness. According to this MS, the Prophet Muḥammad distinguished himself over all other messengers in his transmission of God’s word. Any attributes which contradict with those which have been mentioned above cannot be attributed to the prophets and messengers. A Muslim must believe that all prophets and messengers are sinless. However, prophets and messengers are human beings, and can contract a human illness without negatively affecting their exalted status.
3. A Muslim must believe that the angels have no parents, do not eat, do not sleep and devote themselves to fulfilling the commands of their Lord (Allah). An adult Muslim must know the names of ten angels, but the composer of these MS mentions only four. **First** is the Angel Jibrīl who is responsible for revelation; **second** is the Angel Mīkā’īl who is entrusted with livelihood and subsistence; **third** is the Angel Isrāfīl who is

responsible for blowing the Trumpet of death and resurrection (on the Last Day). The **fourth** one is 'Azrā'īl who is entrusted with taking away life (death).

4. An adult Muslim must believe that the Prophet Muḥammad is the last Prophet and Messenger who was sent by Allah in mercy for the world. The MS asserts that the Prophet Muḥammad is the best of creations. He was born in Mecca; he is descended from the Hāšimiyy sub-tribe of Qureyṣ, and ultimately from Ismā'il His mother's name was Āminah and his wet nurse was Ḥālīma al-Sa'diyyah. When he reached the age of forty, the revelation from Allah was brought down upon him by Jibrīl. Then he spent thirteen years in Mecca and ten years in Medina, where he died. The Prophet Muḥammad married nine women, who are considered the "mothers of believers"; they were forbidden to remarry after his death. He begot three sons and four daughters by these wives.
5. There are explanations of the six pillars of Islam in which any Muslim must believe on the Day of Resurrection.
6. The MS declares some of the basic obligations on a Muslim who is of full age (adult). He must believe in the ninety-nine names (or attributes) of Allah, which are mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān or the Ḥadīth. Anything which contradicts these attributes must be rejected. The scholars of *al-Aṣā'ira* particularized twenty of these ninety-nine attributes which they consider to be most essential for any Muslim. Here are some of these twenty attributes: Al-wujūd 'existence', al-qidam 'precedence', al-baqā 'everlastingness', al-muḥālafah li-al-ḥawādīth 'opposite of accidents', al-waḥdāniyya 'oneness', al-ḥayā 'Eternal', al-qudrah 'prepotence', al-Irādah 'will', al-'Ilm 'Knowledge', al-Sam' 'hearing', al-Baṣar 'sight', al-Ṣamad 'Master', *lam yalid wa-lam yūlad* "He begets not, nor was He begotten", and *wa-lam yakun lahū kufuwan 'aḥadun* "and there is none co-equal or comparable unto Him" (sura 112:3-4).

7: An adult Muslim must believe in the four books that were revealed by Allah to the prophets. These are the Torah (Old Testament) to the Prophet Musa (Moses), the New Testament to the Prophet 'Īsa (Jesus), the Psalms to the Prophet Dāwūd (David) and the Qur'ān to the Prophet Muḥammad.

Here we can mention some examples from the original text:

سميع بصير والمتكلم • له صفات سبعة تنتظم

'Hearer, Seer and Speaker, who has seven well-ordered attributes'

The following is the commentary on this text:

يعنى انه يجب على المكلف ان يعتقد ان الله تعالى (تعالى) يتصف بالسمع والبصر والكلام كما قال الله تعالى وهو السميع البصير وقال الله تعالى وكلم الله موسى تكليماً...

'It means that an adult (Muslim) must believe that Allah is to be described in terms of hearing, seeing, and speaking. As God said (17:1): "He is the Hearer, the Seer". And God said (4:164): 'And God spoke to Moses directly'.

The second text of the original tells of the possibility that prophets and messengers may be afflicted by slight diseases like any other human being:

وجائز في حقهم من عرض • بغير نقص كيف المرض

'And they [prophets or messengers] can be subject to accidents/ailments with no deficiency, a slight disease.'

The commentary on this original reads:

يعنى انه يجب على المكلف ان يعتقد ان الجائز في حق الانبياء والمرسلين عليهم الصلاة والسلام وقوع الاعراض البشرية التي لا تؤد الى نقص في مراتبهم العلية كالمرض الخفيف.

"It means that an adult (Muslim) must believe that prophets and messengers are subject to human accidents or ailments, which (however) does not lead to any deficiency in their superior status, such as a slight illness". Note that the commentator interprets the word *kafif* (lit. 'blind') as if it were *hafif* 'slight'.

4. **Title:** القصيدة الوترية *Al-Qaṣīdah al-witriyyah*

The title of this MS *Al-Qaṣīdah al-witriyyah* is found written in the colophon, along with the date of completion and the name of the copyist Aḥmad (Kabīr) bin Kādī Yāsīn. It is the second of two texts found together in a cardboard folder. The first text deals with *madḥ* (praise of the Prophet Muḥammad).

Dimensions: 18 x17 cm.

Material: Thick old paper.

Number of folios: 134 folios. The first 35 folios make up the *madḥ* section. The remaining 99 folios are the *Qaṣīda*.

Lines per page: 12 lines, arranged in the *muḥammas* pattern of 3 short lines + 1 long line. This system is followed on every page of the second part. The long lines are often shaded with in a very light red brown color. The long lines have background shading in a very light red-brown color.

Binding: Two MSS are found together in a cardboard folder which is plastered with a piece of cloth on the spine. The folios of this MS were put inside this cover as loose pages, without sewing them together. Such unbound MSS are common with Kādīto scholars; thus many folios of this MS can be expected to have been lost.

Copyist: I could not clearly distinguish between two brothers named Aḥmad (Kabīr and Ṣaḡīr). There is an indication in the colophon of this MS on folio 35 (at the end of the *madḥ* section) that says that the copyist Aḥmad bin al-Marḥūm Ḥājj Yāsīn bin al-Ḥājj Muḥammad transferred this MS to his brother Aḥmad bin al-Kādī al-Ḥājj Yāsīn. But as my late informant Muḥammad ‘Alī asserted and as is shown by the handwriting of the MS, the copyist is evidently Aḥmad Kabīr Yāsīn.

Handwriting and Kinds of ink: The *Qaṣīda* itself is written in beautiful *nashī* handwriting; the various texts in the first part have different handwritings, some good and some bad. The *Qaṣīda* is fully vocalized. Black ink is used for most of the main text, but the copyist uses red ink for some important words, phrases and sentences; for some words he sometimes uses black ink and then shades the word in red.

Pagination and Catchwords: The second part (*Qaṣīda al-witriyya*) has page numbers at the top in the middle. The first part has catchwords but no page numbers.

Date: The manuscript is a compilation of a number of texts, and several of these texts have their own colophon. Two of the colophons mention a date. One of these dates is Saturday, 9th of the month of *Ša'bān* 1348 AH. The other date, which evidently occurs at the end of the entire MS (at the end of *Qaṣīda al-witriyya*), is Friday, 8th of the month *Muḥarram* 1349 AH; this last date is found in a colophon which bears the name of the copyist Aḥmad bin Kādī Yāsīn. Both dates are dates of completion (*tammāt*).

Owner: As mentioned above, the copyist Aḥmad (Kabīr) bin Kādī Yāsīn says in the colophon on folio 35 that he gave this MS to his brother Aḥmad (Ṣaḡīr) bin Kādī Yāsīn as a gift. Today, the MS is kept at the home of Muḥammad Aḥmad (al-Awsiyyi) in Ḍāle.

Author: Unknown

Content: The MS consists of two parts. **The first part** is shorter, containing 35 folios. It includes a mixture of themes. These are praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, the superiority of the first four successors of the Prophet, i.e the caliphs Abūbakar, 'Umar, 'Uṭmān, and 'Ali, glorification of Allah, invocation, reciting prayer and wishing the best peace to the Prophet Muḥammad. Further, this part of the MS gives some especially excellent qualities of the month of *Ramaḍān* as compared to other months. All these are expressed through verses of poetry, prose or Qur'ān. Twice there appears the sub-title: هذا دعاء تقرأ بعد القصيدة الوترية في كل ليلة من شهر رمضان *hāḍihī du'ā' tuqra'u ba'da al-Qaṣīdah al-witriyya fī kulli layla min šahri ramaḍān* 'This is an invocation which is read after *Qaṣīdah al-witriyya*, on each night of the month of *Ramaḍān*'.

It is hard to describe the first part of this "manuscript", which is essentially a pile of loose or semi-loose sheets. The pile contains a confused mixture of text fragments; it even happens that pages that apparently belong together are scattered through the pile. Some of the identifiable texts are:

1. Al-ḥulafā' al-rāšidīn



This is a poem in praise of the first four caliphs. It follows a repeating pattern of 3 short lines, 1 long line. The 4-line stanzas all follow the same formula:

Abu Bakr...

'Umar...

'Utmān...

'Alī... ... sādāt ma'a al-nabiyy 'alayhim al-salām.

This section has a colophon at its end, stating that it was written by 'Aḥmad bin al-Ḥajj Yāsīn (no date). Interestingly, this MS also contains another, different fragmentary copy of the same text; this one also has its own colophon, but neither the copyist nor the date is given. The handwriting of the two copies seems to be the same.

2. Another text (fragmentary) is a poem in praise of Ramaḍān. This covers a little more than 5 pages of the MS. It consists of lines of the same length, divided into half-lines. Every line (except the last five) follows the formula:

Yā Šahr... ... Yā Ramaḍān,

with the words *Yā Ramaḍān* in red ink. The half-lines are separated by a very large, solid egg-shaped mark which resembles the letter *hā'*. This poem has a colophon at its end, giving the name of the copyist as Aḥmad bin al-Ḥajj Yā Sīn bin al-Ḥajj Muḥammad. Next to the colophon is the cross-shaped palmette which seems to be characteristic of the scribe Aḥmad (see below).

3. The *witriyya qaṣīda*, which is found in the second part of the MS in a full beautiful copy, also appears fragmentarily as a different copy in the first part of the MS. Its handwriting seems different from that of the other *witriyya*. This copy has a colophon at its end, which does not name the copyist but does give the date of completion as 9 Ša'bān, 1348 (the year is not completely clear).

The main part of this MS (90 folios) is the **second part**, consisting of the *Qaṣīda al-Witriyya*. The *Qaṣīda al-Witriyya* is organized into alphabetical blocks of verses, each block continuing for several pages and involving the same rhyme letter. The beginning of each block is marked with a large elaborate colored “palmette” symbol that looks like a four-pointed star. The star often encloses the words (e.g.) *qāfiyat al-bā’*. This means that this block of verses has a rhyme scheme using the letter *bā’*. All the long lines in this block end with *bā’*, and they also begin with *bā’*. In each set of 3 short lines the 3 short lines rhyme with each other, but not with the long lines (and not with other sets of 3 short lines). This creates a rhyme pattern, e.g.

B xxx B

----- E

----- E

----- E

B xxx B

----- F

----- F

----- F

B xxx B

----- G

----- G

----- G

At one point, as part of a section of *du‘ā’* the phrase occurs: *يا حمسوق يا كهيعص*. These two “words” belong to the “Mysterious letters” of the Qur’ān; they appear at the beginning of Sūras 42 and 19, respectively. What is interesting here is that the poet addresses these letters with *Yā*, as if they were names of Allah.

At the beginning of the Qaṣīda there is a table of contents, giving the page number where each successive rhyming- letter (*qāfiya*) begins.

This long *qaṣīda* is devoted to the praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, his privacy, and his superiority over all others, even all the Prophets and Messengers who preceded him. There is a part which describes how the Prophet Muḥammad, in spite of his appearance as a human being, at the same time has the same position as the angeles with Allah. Very often the author blames himself for his own shortcomings in contrast to the virtue and truth of the Prophet and Allah.

At 3 places in the MS there is a record of the **birth** of various Kādīto children. Two of these are on loose sheets (full page); one is a half-page added at the end of a poem (*madḥ, du'ā', taṣaffu'*) to the Prophet Muḥammad. Since these small texts give important information about the Kādīto, I will give all three, with translation. Here is the first:

هذه تاريخ ولادة الميمونة مدينة بنت احمد نهار السبت وقت العصر فى جماد الثانى ثالث وعشرين فى سنة 1349 الف
وتلثمائة (ثلاثمائة) تسع واربعين من هجرة المصطفى عليه (السلام) انبتها الله نباتا حسنا وجعلها بنتا مباركة أمين سيدنا
محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم أمين أمين أمين تاريخ ولادة الوليدة الميمونة فاطمة الزهراء بنت احمد بن القاضي الحاج يسين (يا
سين) نهار السبت وقت طلوع الشمس فى اول شهر ذى (ذى) الحجة سنة 1352 الف ثلاثمئة (ثلاثمائة) اثنين وخمسين من
هجرة سيد الأولين والآخرين عليه افضل الصلاة وازكى التسليم انبتها الله نباتا حسنا وجعلها بنتا مباركة ومؤمنة أمين بجاه
سيد المرسلين محمد وصلى الله (عليه) وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم.

‘This is the birthday of the fortunate Madīna, the daughter of Aḥmad. This was during the daytime on the afternoon of Saturday, twenty-third of *Jamādu al-tānī* in the year 1349, after the Hijra of the Chosen One (the Prophet Muḥammad) peace be upon him. May Allah make her grow well and make her a blessed daughter, amen. Our Master the Prophet Muḥammad peace be upon him, amen (three times). The birthday of the fortunate daughter Fāṭuma al-Zahrā’, the daughter of Aḥmad bin al-Kādī al-ḥajjī Yāsīn, was in the daytime of Saturday, at sunrise, on the first day of the month of *Dū al-ḥijjah*, in the year 1352, after the Hijra of the master of the first and the last (Muḥammad), may the best blessing and the purest salutation be upon him. May Allah make her grow well and make her a blessed and believing daughter,

amen. By the glory of the master of the messengers, Muḥammad, peace and salutation be upon (him), his family and his companions’.

The second text of birthdays of the Kādīto children is:

تاريخ ولادة الولد المبارك الميمون محمد نور بن الشيخ محمد بن القاضي الحاج ياسين (ياسين) يوم الاحد في شهر جماد الاولى ثاني عشر سنة 1349 اعني الف وثلاث مئة (ثلاثمائة) تسع واربعين من هجرة المصطفى عليه افضل الصلاة وازكى التسليم جعله الله عالما فقيها كاجداده المباركين وانبته نباتا حسنا أمين بجاه سيد المرسلين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وءاله وصحبه وسلم. ولد الولد المبارك محمد ياسين (ياسين) بن احمد كبير بن الشيخ الحاج ياسين (ياسين) نهار السبت وقت الضحوة الكبرى في شهر المحرم رابع يوم منه في سنة 1355 الف وثلثمئة (ثلاثمائة) وخمسة خمسين من هجرة افضل الخلق على الاطلاق عليه صلاة وسلام (الصلاة والسلام) من الخلاق ابته الله نباتا حسنا وجعله علما (عالما) عاملا بجاه نبينا عليه الصلاة والسلام أمين. وولدي (وولد) ايضا عبد السلام بن أحمد المذكور نهار الأحد وقت الضحى في الشهر رمضان الذي انزل فيه القرآن سادس يوم منه سنة 1357 الف وثلثمئة (ثلاثمائة) سبعة وخمسين من هجرة المصطفى عليه افضل الصلاة وازكى التسليم جعله الله عالما فقيها عاملا بجاه (ه) خير خلق الله صلى الله عليه وعلى ءاله وصحبه أجمعين وولد ايضا محمد بن المذكور نهار الجمعة وقت الشروق في شهر جماد الأولى تاسع يوم منه 9 سنة 1362 ألف ثلثمئة (ثلاثمائة) اثنين وستين من هجرة من له العز الشرف (والشرف) عليه افضل الصلاة والسلام انبته الله نباتا حسنا وجعله عالما عاملا بجاه النبي وءاله وصحبه صلى الله عليه وءاله وصحبه أمين.

‘Birthday of the blessed and fortunate son Muḥammad Nūr bin al-Šeiḥ Muḥammad bin al-Kādī al-ḥājj Yāsīn, on Sunday in the month of *Jamād al-’Ulā* on the 12th (day), in the year 1349 after the Hijra of the Chosen One (the Prophet Muḥammad), may the best blessing and the purest salutation be upon him. And may Allah make him [Muḥammad Nūr] a scholar in jurisprudence like his blessed ancestors and make him grow well, amen. By the glory of the master of messengers (Muhammad), and may Allah bless and greet our master Muḥammad and his family and his companions. The blessed son Muḥammad Yāsīn son of Aḥmad Kabīr bin al-Šeiḥ al-Ḥājj Yāsīn, born during the daytime in the “great” morning of Saturday, fourth day of the month of *al-Muḥarram* in the year 1355 after the Hijra of the absolute best of creatures (the Prophet Muḥammad), may blessing and peace be upon him from the Creator. May Allah make him grow well and make him a scholar and a doer. By the glory of our Prophet, blessing and peace be upon him, amen. And also the child ‘Abd al-Salām son of the above-mentioned Aḥmad, during the daytime on Sunday morning on the sixth day of the month of *Ramaḍān* in which was revealed the Holy Qur’ān, in the year 1357 after the Hijra of the Chosen One (the prophet Muḥammad), may the best blessing and the purest salutation be upon him. May Allah

make him a scholar in jurisprudence and a doer. By the glory of the best creature of Allah, may Allah bless him and his family and his companions all of them. In addition, Muḥammad son of the above-mentioned, during the daytime, at sunrise on Friday, the ninth of *Jamād al-ʿUlā*, in the year 1362 after the Hijra of the one who has glory and honor, may the best blessing and peace be upon him. May Allah make him grow well and make him a scholar and a doer. By the glory of the Prophet, his family and his companions, may Allah bring blessing upon him, his family and his companions, amen. [The information about the last child is written all in red.]

The third text of birthdays of the Kādīto children:

تاريخ ولد (ولادة) الولد المبارك محمد شمس الدين بن احمد المذكور فجر يوم السبت في شهر جماد الأول ثمانية يوم منه سنة 1367 الف ثلاثمئة (ثلاثمائة) سبع وستين من هجرة المصطفى عليه صلاة وسلام (الصلاة والسلام) من الملك الديان انبته الله نباتا حسنا وجعله عالما عاملا بجاه أشرف الخلق محمد صلى الله عليه وءاله وصحبه وسلم. وقد (ولد) الولد المبارك الميمون عبد الحميد بن الحاج احمد صغير ليلة الاحد قبيل النصف في شهر شوال ثلاثة وعشرين منه في سنة 1357 ألف وثلاثمئة سبع وخمسين من هجرة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم جعله الله عالما عاملا بجاه سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى ءاله وصحبه وسلم وقد ولد الولد المبارك كداف محبوب بن احمد كبير في شهر المحرم وذلك في سنة 1369 انبته الله نباتا حسنا بجاه سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.

'Birthday of the blessed son, Muḥammad Šams al-Dīn son of the above-mentioned Aḥmad, at dawn of Saturday on the eighth of the month of *Jamād al-ʿawwal* of the year 1367 after the Hijra of the Chosen One (the Prophet Muḥammad), prayer and peace be upon him from the divine King. May God make him grow well and make him a scholar and a doer by the glory of the most honored of creatures Muḥammad, may Allah bless and greet him including his family and his companions. And there was (born) the blessed and fortunate son 'Abd al-Ḥamīd bin al-ḥājj Aḥmad Ṣaġīr, on Sunday night a little before midnight, on the 23rd of the month of *Šawwal* in the year 1357 after the Hijra of the Prophet, may Allah bless and greet him. May God make him a scholar and a doer, by the glory of our master Muḥammad, may Allah bless and greet him and his family and his companions. And there was born the blessed son Kadāfō Maḥbūb bin Aḥmad Kabīr, in the month of *al-Muḥarram* and that was in the year 1369. May God make him grow well. By the glory of our master Muḥammad, may Allah bless and salute him'

5. **Title:** None. The MS is poetry in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Dimensions: 31 x 20.5 cm.

Material: Most of the MS is on thick old paper. There are 6 additional folios of the MS which are on modern horizontally lined green paper.

Number of folios: Altogether there are 61 folios. Strangely, out of this I found 6 folios that had been added in addition to the main major folios of the MS.

Lines per pages: 12 lines

Binding: None

Copyist: The name al-Hājj Aḥmad Kabīr Yāsīn Kādī is given as the name of the copyist. This name is written in blue ink in a different handwriting from the rest of the MS. Moreover, the handwriting of the main text in this MS is unlike the handwriting of Aḥmad Kabīr in other MSS which were copied by him.

Handwriting and the kinds of ink: The handwriting of this MS is excellent. The last 24 folios are chiefly in black ink, with some lines in blue or red ink. In the remaining 37 folios only black ink appears. The MS is fully vocalized, has catchwords and is in rhyme.

Date: Unknown

Owner: Now at the home of Muḥammad Aḥmad in Ḍāle.

Contents: The content of this MS is praise of the Prophet Muḥammad and his excellence over all creation.

6. **Title:** تحفة الاخوان في وداع شهر رمضان الكريم تاليف الامام الهام الاعلامة المدقق ابي الفرح عبد الرحمن بن علي
al-Tuḥfat al-'Iḥwān fī wadā' i šahri ramaḍān al-karīm ta'līf al-'Imām al-hāmm al-'Allāma al-Mudaqqiq 'Abī al-Faraḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī 'Gift of the brothers for bidding farewell to the noble month of Ramaḍān, which was written by the important, erudite, and meticulous scholar 'Abū al-Faraḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī'

Dimensions: 24 x 16 cm

Page layout: Each line is written inside an individual double-lined frame; the frames are filled with a very light orange-red wash of paint, over which the text is written. The frames are separate, but are joined at the left and the right with a double vertical line.

Material: Thick old unlined paper.

Number of folios: 19 folios

Lines per page: Variable

Binding: No cover; no sewing.

Copyist: Unknown

Writing: Excellent Nashī handwriting. Important words and phrases are rubricated in red. The text is fully voweled.

Date: None.

Owner: The MS is in the possession of my informant Muḥammad Aḥmad (al-Awsiyyi) at his home in Ḍāle.

Author: As shown in the title.

Content: The MS bids farewell to the month of Ramaḍān and praises its excellence over the other months. On the first page, directly below the beautifully calligraphed title, there are 12 lines praising the first four caliphs; each has a parallel structure:

'Abu Bakr... 'Umar... 'Uṭmān... 'Ali...

Each caliph's name is followed by a description or epithet, different in every line. The main body of the text starts on page 2 with a Qur'anic verse about Ramaḍān (2:185). It continues with a mixture of poetry and rhymed prose. Many advantages of worshipping during the month of Ramaḍān are given; such worship gives the pious a special opportunity to enter Paradise instead of Hell. The MS contains many invocations taken from the Ḥadīṭ and the Qur'ān.

Date: None.

Owner: The MS. is now kept at the home of Muḥammad Aḥmad Yāsīn of the Kādīto clan.

Composer: Hāšim bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Conceivably this might instead be the name of the patron.

Contents: This MS is *Ṣalāt ‘alā al-Nabiyy* “prayer and best peace for the Prophet Muḥammad”, of a special type known among Muslim communities as *al-Du‘ā’ al-Ibrāhīmiyyah*. It is usually recited during the Muslim prayer service in the last sitting. This last sitting is called *al-Tašahhud al-‘Aḥīr*, and this name is also given to the *Du‘ā’ Ibrāhīmiyyah* itself.

The text consists of many, many identical or near-identical repetitions of formulas which compare Muḥammad to Abraham. Here is a typical excerpt:

‘Allāhumma, ṣalli ‘alā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ‘āli Muḥammad,

kamā ṣallayta ‘alā ‘āli Ibrāhīm ‘Innaka ḥamīdun majīdun

‘Allāhumma, bārik ‘alā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ‘āli Muḥammad,

kamā bārakta ‘alā Ibrāhīm wa-‘āli Ibrāhīm ‘Innaka ḥamīdun majīdun

8. **Title:** The title is not mentioned in this MS.

The MS. is about *ṣarf* ‘Arabic morphology’. There is a colophon in black ink which states the copyist and the owner (see below) and also the date of completion. Next to and outside the inverted triangle of the colophon, there is an annotation in blue ink which repeats the same information.

Dimensions: 24 x18 cm.

Material: Old thick paper, unlined

Number of folios: 11 folios

Lines per page: variable

Pagination and catchwords: Some but not all of the pages are numbered. All of the versos have a catchword. The folios form one continuous block of text, as is clear from the text itself.

Binding: It has no binding and is a fragmentary MS. All the pages are loose sheets.

Copyist: Ḥajjī Aḥmad bin Kādī Muḥammad bin Ḥajjī ‘Abdu al-Salām, who is identified in the colophon as both the copyist and the owner of the MS.

Handwriting and ink: Handwriting is normal. The copyist of this MS used three colors of ink. The MS is mainly written in black ink. But sometimes the copyist uses red ink for the title of chapters and sub-chapters, and for some important words and phrases. Also there is an annotation beside the colophon of the MS which is written in blue ink.

Date: There is no date of starting. The colophon gives the date of completion: Thursday, 15th of the month Rabī‘ al-Awwal of the year 1341H (1941AD).

Owner: Today, the MS is found together with many other MSS by Kādīto scholars in the home of Muḥammad Aḥmad at Ḍāle in Awsa. I originally found it in the mosque, but I moved it (with permission) to Muḥammad Aḥmad’s house.

Author: Unknown

Basis for compilation: Of the 11 folios, ten fall into a fairly clear sequence, on the basis of content, catchwords, and especially page numbers: Each folio as a whole (not the individual pages) bears a folio number, going from 1 to 10. The remaining single folio is thematically related to the others, but does not (apparently) form a sequence with them.

Content: This MS is almost certainly a fragment. At the beginning, in an introductory part, it says that there are 35 chapters. But (apparently) not all of these chapters appear. Moreover, the MS is full of chapters, sub-chapters, and sub-sub-chapters, all called *bāb* or *naw’*, and it is hard to figure out the overall organization.

The MS deals with verb morphology. It presents a very large list of verbal types. Some of these are familiar: fa’ala-yaf’ulu/ yaf’alu/yaf’ilu, fa’ila-yaf’alu, fa’ula-yaf’ulu. Most (all?) of



the standard ten binyanim are presented, as well as various quadrilateral types. Additionally, rarer types are presented — not just the binyanim XI-XV (if'anlala, if'awwala etc), but many derived quadrilateral types formed by inserting *wāw* or *yā'* into a trilateral root. Not only does the author give patterns like *faw'ala*, *fay'ala*, but also *fa'wala*, *fa'yala*, which are extremely exotic.

Each verb type is presented by giving 3 forms: past, present-future and verbal noun (*maṣdar*). The author also states which extra letters (if any) have been added to create the form, e.g. statements like “*yā'* is added between *'ayin* and *lām* of the root”. He usually also states whether the form is transitive, intransitive, or both. He also has a discussion of gemination, and also of *hamza*.

At the end of the MS, a catalogue of 7 types of weak (and sound) verbs is given:

Ṣaḥīḥ	sound verb
Miṭāl	I-weak [not a common term]
'Ajwaf	II-weak “hollow”
Nāqiṣ	III-weak “defective”
Lafīf	roots with 2 weak redicals
Muḍā'af	geminate roots (II= III)
Muhmūz	roots with hamza

Just before this he also gives a different, eightfold classification of verb: trilateral vs. quadrilateral; sound vs. “un-sound” (weak); and plain forms vs. that have an added element (*mazīd*), as in 'a-karma.

The MS apparently has some mistakes. There are two types of doubly weak verbs (*lafīf*), namely W- C-W and C-W-W. The author explicitly calls them both by the same name, *al-lafīf* *al-maqrūn*, which cannot be right; presumably C-W-W should be *maqrūn* (“connected”) and W-C-W should be something like *gayr maqrūn*. For binyanim like *ifta'ala* the author also

describes the initial letter as a “hamza”, even though it should really be an alif al-waṣl. There is also an orthographic peculiarity: a final alif maqṣūra is written with a vertical alif just over it.

In a morphological study, it would seem to be crucial to give the vowels. But with rare exceptions, vowels are found only on the first page of the MS and the first two lines of the second page. This means that forms like yaf`ulu, yaf`alu, yaf`ilu all have an identical appearance in the MS, and can be distinguished only by the examples that the author gives. And forms like fa`yala, which are given with no vowels, look like fa`īla: فعيل

9. **Title:** 'Alfiyya (this name is mentioned twice in the introductory paragraph of the MS)

I found this MS during my first two field trips to Ḍāle. But when I returned for my third field trip, to that area, I could no longer find it.

Dimensions: 23.5 x 17 cm.

Material: Thick heavy paper of the kind used for official cover files today. Gray in color with perhaps a greenish tinge.

Number of folios: 14 folios.

Lines per page: Usually 11, sometimes 12 or 13.

Binding: None; loose folios.

Handwriting: The MS is written in excellent handwriting with *ruq'a* calligraphy. Black ink is used except for titles and sub-titles, where the copyist uses red.

Author: Muḥammad bin Mālik.

Basis for compilation: Catchwords on most verso pages.

Date: The introduction to the MS. does not bear any date. There is no final page, since the MS is a fragment; hence, no colophon and no date.

Copyist: Unknown

Owner: The owner of this MS is now Muḥammad Aḥmad Kādīto; because, it is present among many other MSS in his home at Ḍāle.

Content: This is an incomplete MS of Ibn Mālik's famous grammatical poem *Alfiyyah*. It contains only the *matn* "main text body" of the book, with no commentary and no almost marginal notes.

The MS has the following 15 chapter titles:

1. Al-kalām wa-mā yata'allaf minhu
Speech and what it is composed of (its component parts)
2. Al-mu'rab wa-al-mabnī
Declinable and indeclinable words.
3. Al-nakira wa-al-ma'rifa
Indefinite and definite
4. Al-'alam
Proper names
5. Ism al-'išāra
Demonstratives
6. Al-mawṣūl
Relative pronouns
7. Al-mu'arraḥ bi'adāt al-ta'rīf
Definiteness by means of the definite article
8. Al-ibtidā'
Nominal sentences [*mubtada' and ḥabar*]
9. "Kāna wa-'aḥawātuhā
Kāna and its sisters
10. faṣl fi "mā" wa-"lā" wa-"lāta" wa-"in" al-muṣabbahāt bi-"laysa"
Chapter on *mā, lā, lāta* and *'in* which are like *laysa*
11. af'āl al-muqāraba
Verbs of apposition [*kāda, 'asā, and others*]
12. "lā" allatī li-nafy al-jins
Lā of generic negation

13. 'a'lama wa-'arā [from IV]

[Multiple objects of causative verbs (like 'a'lama, 'arā)]

14. Al-nā'ib 'an al-fā'il

Passive [lit., "substitute for the agent"]

15. ištiḡāl al-'āmil 'an al-ma'mūl

Government of the governor on the governed (?)

Most pages are fully voweled. But there is no vowelings on (what seems to be) folios 11rv, 13v, 14rv. (Note that 13r, by contrast, is fully voweled.)

10. Title: None

I found this fragmentary MS only on my third trip to Ḍāle.

Dimensions: 24 x 18 cm.

Material: Thick old unlined paper.

Number of folios: 5 folios.

Lines per page: 17 lines

Binding: None; loose sheets

Handwriting: Clear, of medium quality; no vowelings

Date: None

Owner: Unknown

Contents: This fragmentary MS is about *fiqh* 'Islamic jurisprudence' in particular *fiqh al-'ibādāt* 'rules for worship and prayer', and especially rules for ablution and purification. When performing one's ablutions, a traveler (unlike a person at home) does not have to take off his shoes, but is allowed to simply wipe them off, for a period of 3 days. Purification rules for menstruation (*ḥayḍ*) and for other kinds of bleeding are presented. There is discussion of rules for cleaning yourself after excreting (*istinjā'*) at the beginning of ablution. During excretion one is not allowed to face in the direction of Mecca (*qibla*), or in the opposite direction, or

towards the sun or the moon. Different kinds of impurity are distinguished: *ḡalīz* 'gross' and *ḥafīf* 'light'.

CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusion

This thesis has dealt with the scholarly role of the Kādīto, a leading family of Muslim scholars in Awsa in 'Afar Regional State. Through their traditional school at the Mosque of Ďāle (Awsa) the Kādīto played a significant role for more than 200 years as Muslim judges and scholars of the 'Afar tribes. This direct role played by Kādīto scholars has been carried on from generation to generation since Sultan Illalta I up to the late Sultan 'Alli Mirah̄ Ḥanfare, who died in 2011 AD.

Additionally, in this region of Awsa, there are scholars of other tribes or families who preceded Kādīto scholars in the role of spreading Islamic and Arabic knowledge among 'Afar people. These are the scholars of Šeiḥak-Šarīfa, the scholars of Kabirto and others. None of these 'Afar groups has been the focus of philological investigation thus far. In particular, no one has studied the Kādīto library at Ďāle. As far as I know, I am the first one to do research on this family Kadīto and their heritage of Awsa.

A significant part of this thesis is related to Kādīto history. The thesis presents brief biographies of twelve male scholars of Kādīto. There were also women of Kādīto who were specialists in Islamic law relating to how to conduct the ritual purification before prayer.

The thesis also looks briefly at the connections between Awsa and the larger Muslim world. 'Afar people living in the south and west have had connections to the traditional school in southern Wallo (the center of Dawwe). The north and central 'Afar areas were influenced by a number of well-known scholars of Rayya. According to informants, these Rayya scholars were originally from various 'Afar tribes. They include Jamāl al-Dīn al-Anniyy, descended from the 'Afar tribe called Šeiḥa; his student Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sa'īd (Argule al-Šeiḥ) from the tribe Kabirto in Awsa; and Mufti Sirāj, descended from the well-known old 'Afar tribe of Dōba'a. This is on the local level. On the global level, 'Afar Region has maintained educational relations with Arab countries of the Middle East, particularly with the school of Zabīd in Yemen, and with Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia and Al-Azhar in Cairo.

The heart of the thesis is a brief catalogue of 29 MSS from the library at Ďāle, including short philological analyses of ten of the MSS. Most of the MSS include praise (*madḥ*) of the Prophet Muḥammad either as the main subject of the manuscript or through marginal

annotations and additions. There are also MSS of the Qur'ān and about jurisprudence, theology, and astronomy. Most of the MSS are loose, unbound sheets in bad condition.

The library at Ďāle is the most important known source of Arabic MSS from 'Afar. But the MSS are in very bad condition, and the owners of the library have no awareness of the MSS's value and have given no attention to their preservation. My recommendation is to teach awareness among the local people and to seek funding and support for preservation from the 'Afar Regional Culture and Tourism Bureau and from other heritage organizations in Ethiopia.

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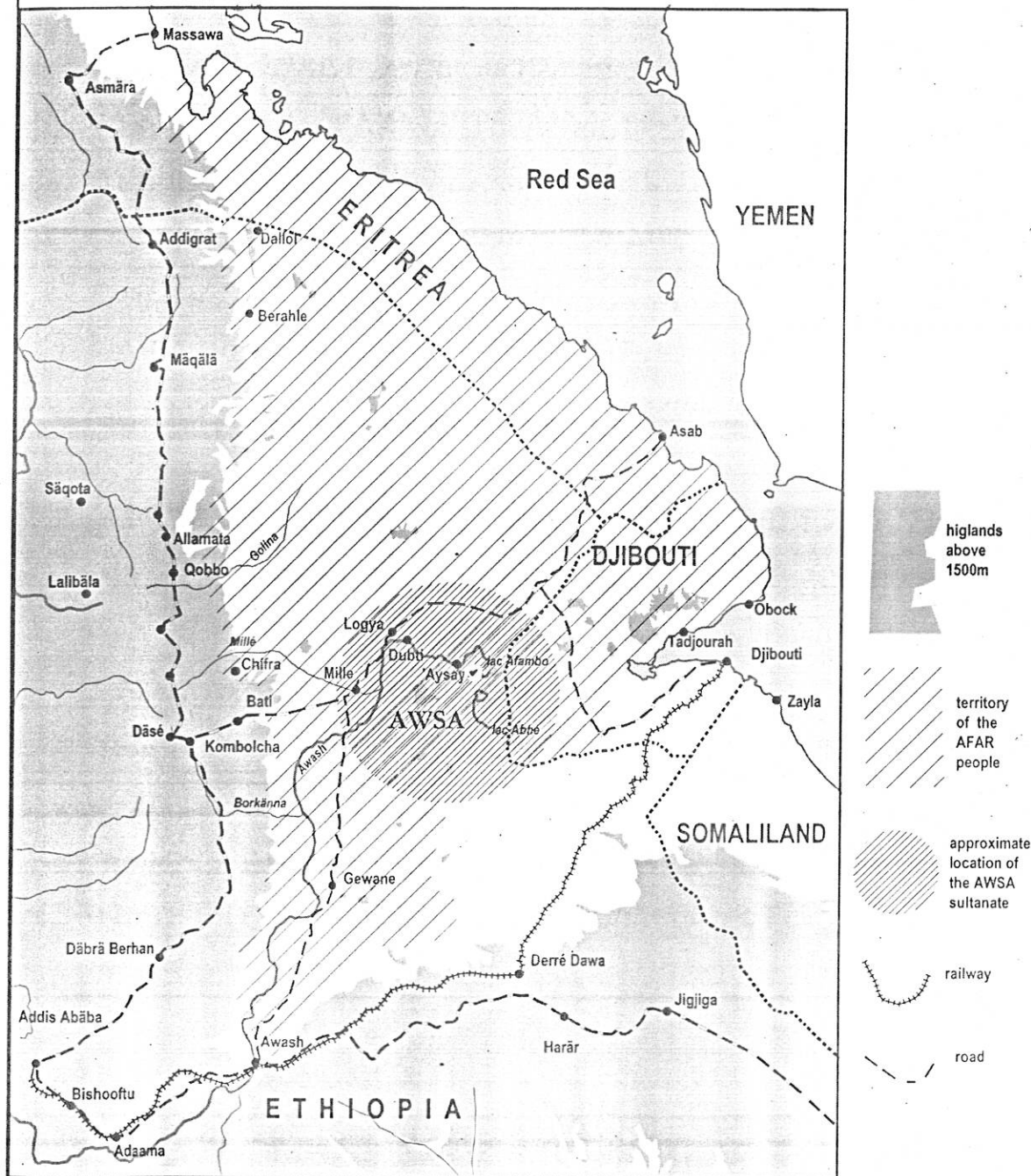
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List of Informants

	Name	Age	Place of interview	Occupation
1	Muḥammad Aḥmad Yāsīn al-Awsiyy	55	Aysa'ita	Muslim judge at Afambo district, Zone One
2	'Ali Aḥmad Kādī	40	Addis Ababa	Muslim judge at Samara
3	Muḥammad 'Ali 'Umar (the late)	40	Ḍāle	Muslim preacher
4	Ibrāhīm Ḥamad Seiko	65	Aysa'ita	Farmer
5	Muḥammad Awwal Ḥayāt	55	Samara (capital of 'Afar Region)	Muslim scholar
6	Muḥammad Aḥmad Mūsā	65	Aysa'ita	Works in 'Afar education sector, Aysa'ita district
7	Šeiḥ Muḥammad-Darasa Mūsā 'Ali	48	Addis Ababa	'Afar member of the Federal Muslim Council
8	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Šaḥeim	65	Addis Ababa	Parliament member from 'Afar in Haile Sellasie regime; now retired
9	Maḥammōda Aḥmad Ga'as	55	Addis Ababa	Works in Federal Ministry of Science and Technology
10	Jamāl 'Abd al-Kādīr Reido	60	Samara	Former head of 'Afar Language Office, Samara; now retired
11	Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ġanī	50	Samara	Expert in 'Afar Language Office, Samara

12	Jamāl 'Ali Ḥalīfā	60	Samara	Expert in 'Afar Language Office, Samara
13	Šeiḥ Muḥammad Ḥusein 'Ali	40	Logyā	Muslim scholar
14	'Ali Nūr Muḥammad	40	Logyā	Former 'Afar freedom fighter; recently moved to Saudi Arabia
15	'Arrāmis Ḥummad Sulle	48	Addis Ababa	'Afar researcher from Republic of Djibouti
16	Šeiḥ Balū'a	60	Logyā	Works in Muslim court of Aysa'ita district
17	Ḥajj 'Aliyyu Šāliḥ	60	Logyā	'Afar Regional parliament member from Zone 4
18	Šeiḥ Muḥammad-Nūr Šāliḥ Ibrāhīm	45	Samara	Assistant Muslim judge in the court of Zone 2
19	Ḥajj Muḥammad Ma'rūf 'Utto	55	Samara	Works in a Muslim court of Samara
20	Šeiḥ Muḥammad Sa'id	60	Logyā	Muslim judge in court of the town Logya
21	Yayyo'Ali Gim'or	70	Logyā	'Afar traditional leader from his area Afd'eira (in center of 'Afar Region).

TERRITORY OF THE 'AFAR PEOPLE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA
AND APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF THE AWSA SULTANATE



Appendix: Photo of annotations to page of Ms 'Umdat al-Sālik



Appendix: Photo of annotations to page of Ms 'Umdat al-Sālik

الذي ان اظلمت ظلمات العرب الله وجهه نورك
الذي جعل الله سبحانه الله جعل الله طاعته مجاه و
منها الله ربنا الله عليه السليمه الله احد الله ايتاف
في التبيين الممنون به ولتصريفه المنقلب في اصحاب
التيارات التي جعلت على جميع الرحمن وكلنا لله يوم
اول من استاذن على حبه الله مرض الله دبر
احد الايمان السجده الله مؤمنه وبه يديه
التي جعله الله مشوعا من يوم خلقه وتكونت
الذي امر الله خلق الدنيا وابتدأ به الله امر الله
لخلق ان يقوا عنه امره ونهيه الذي لا يبرته
من دوي رحمه وارث الله احد الله لهم الطيبات
وحرم عليهم الغنائم التي جعل الله ملكة عند
التي المعرفه وتضلي عن ارواح الله عند الحضور
الذي جعل الله اصحاب الايمان رحما بينهم استاذ على
الكفار الذي جعل الله كل من شر به احد و الانام
يصل يوم توليه عليه الصلاة والسلام الذي سبقت
اروحه ارواح الانبياء والارسل في ميدان المعرفة الى
رياض الوصال الذي جعل الله ثواب الله في محاسن اعمالها



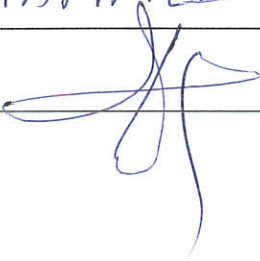
Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university. All sources have been duly acknowledged.

Candidate:

Name MOHAMMED IDRIS MOUSSA

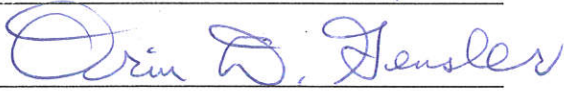
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Supervisor:

Name ORIN GENSLER

Signature



Date: 4 December 2012