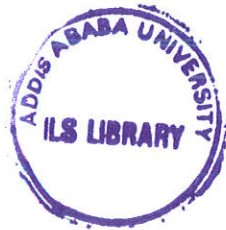


ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY
GRADUATE PROGRAMME

Philological and Historical Inquiry into Šayḥ
'Abdallāh Bin Šāliḥ's History Manuscript

By:
Muḥammadṭayyib 'Umar



June 2010
Addis Ababa

**Philological and Historical Inquiry into Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh Bin
Šāliḥ’s History Manuscript**

**By:
Muḥammadṭayyib ‘Umar**

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

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

Advisor: Prof. Orin Gensler

June 2010
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Approved by Board of Examiners

ORIN PENSLER

Advisor

Orin D. Pensler

Shimelis Marungia

Examiner

Orin

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the author, Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ, and to the Emirs and ‘Imāms of the Islamic Sultanates mentioned by him in the manuscript.

Transcription

A. Arabic

Arabic Consonants	Phonetic Transcription	Option	Example	Meaning
ء	'	ʔ	<i>mu'min</i>	'believer'
ب	b		<i>bayt</i>	'house'
ت	t		<i>tamma</i>	'to be completed'
ث	t̤		<i>tawr</i>	'ox'
ج	j	ǧ	<i>jabal</i>	'mountain'
ح	ħ		<i>ħafl</i>	'ceremony'
خ	ħ	x	<i>ħadama</i>	'to serve'
د	d		<i>damj</i>	'insertion'
ذ	d̤	ð	<i>dabħ</i>	'slaughtering'
ر	r		<i>ramz</i>	'symbol'
ز	z		<i>zahra(t)</i>	'flower'
س	s		<i>satara</i>	'hide'
ش	š	ʃ	<i>šams</i>	'sun'
ص	ṣ		<i>ṣawm</i>	'fasting'
ض	ḍ		<i>ḍaraba</i>	'beat'
ط	ṭ		<i>ṭifl</i>	'child'
ظ	ẓ		<i>ẓafar</i>	'victory'
ع	'	ʕ	<i>'ayn</i>	'eye'
غ	ǧ	ɣ	<i>ǧanam</i>	'sheep'
ف	f		<i>faras</i>	'horse'
ق	q		<i>qamar</i>	'moon'
ك	k		<i>kibd</i>	'liver'
ل	l		<i>laban</i>	'milk'
م	m		<i>maktab</i>	'office'
ن	n		<i>namla(t)</i>	'ant'

Arabic Consonants	Phonetic Transcription	Option	Example	Meaning
هـ	h		<i>harasa</i>	‘pound’
و	w		<i>waqt</i>	‘time’
ي	y		<i>yad</i>	‘hand’

Arabic Vowels	Phonetic Transcription	Example	Meaning	
Short	ا	a	<i>ḍaraba</i>	‘beat’
	و	u	<i>qubūl</i>	‘acceptance’
	ي	i	<i>qiṭ ‘a(t)</i>	‘part’
Long	آ	ā	<i>salām</i>	‘peace’
	و	ū	<i>ḥurūj</i>	‘going, or coming, out’
	ي	ī	<i>’imān</i>	‘belief’

B. Amharic

Amharic Consonants	English Transcription	Example	Meaning
ሀ/ሐ/ኸ/ኸ/ኸ	h	<i>hamus</i>	‘Thursday’
ሸ	š	<i>šämiz</i>	‘shirt’
ቀ	q	<i>qäbätto</i>	‘belt’
ቸ	č	<i>mäče</i>	‘when’
አ/ዐ	’	<i>’ahiyya</i>	‘donkey’
ኸ	ñ	<i>särratäñña</i>	‘worker’ or ‘servant’
ኸ	ž	<i>gäži</i>	‘governor’ or ‘buyer’
ጅ	j	<i>jägna</i>	‘hero’
ገ	g	<i>gämäd</i>	‘rope’
ጠ	t’	<i>t’ämäne</i>	‘chalk’
ጨ	č’	<i>č’äw</i>	‘salt’
አ/ዐ	s’	<i>s’ägur</i>	‘hair’
አ	p’	<i>’it(i)yop’iya</i>	‘Ethiopia’

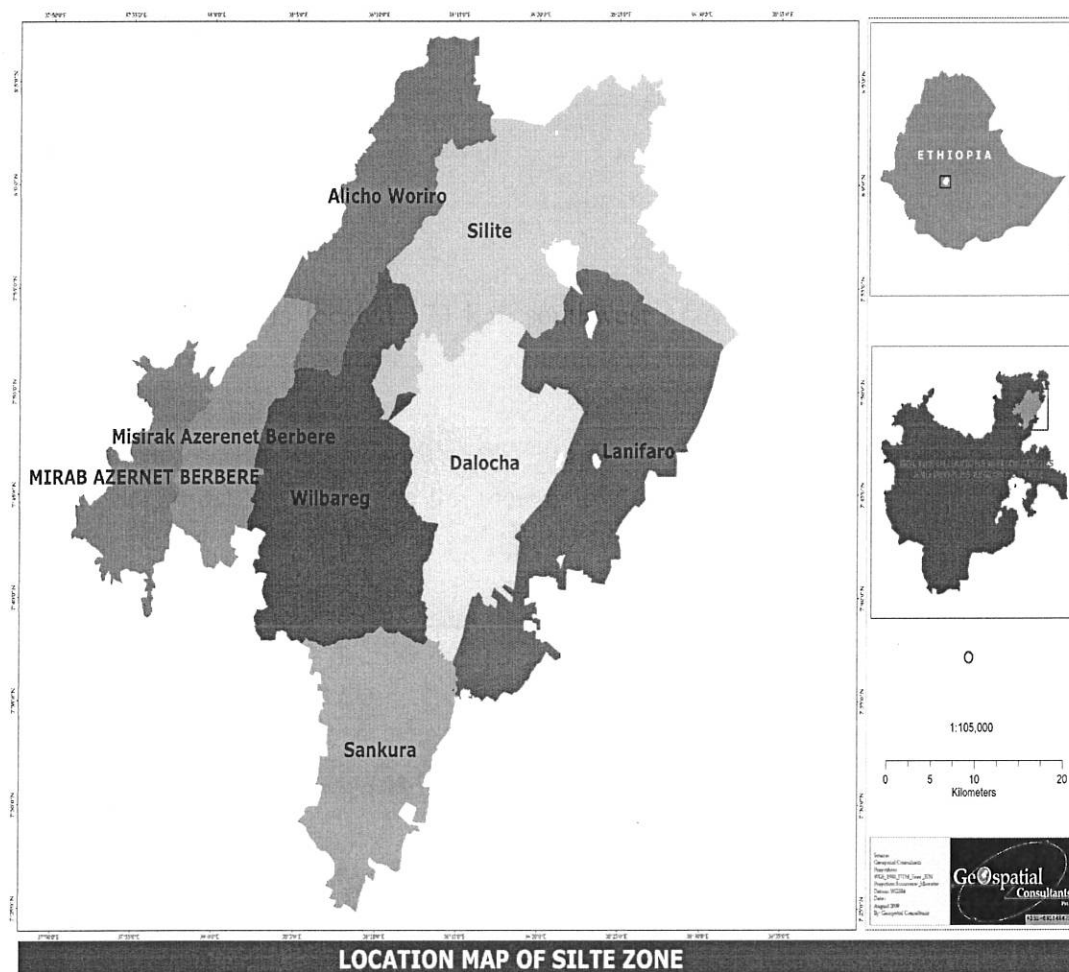
Amharic vowels	English Transcription	Example	Meaning
First order	ä	<i>säw</i>	‘human being’
Second order	u	<i>dulla</i>	‘stick’
Third order	i	<i>fit</i>	‘face’
Fourth order	a	<i>sar</i>	‘grass’
Fifth order	e	<i>bet</i>	‘house’
Sixth order	i	<i>sír</i>	‘root’
Seventh order	o	<i>hod</i>	‘stomach’

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

1.1.1. The Land

Silte (ሰልጤ) zone is one of the thirteen zones of South Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Region, SNNPR. It is located 173 km. southwest of Addis Ababa and is organized in eight *wärädas* (county-sized districts) namely 'Alliččo-Wiro (አሊሻ ዊሪሮ), Silte (ሰልጤ), Misraq 'Azärnät Bärbäre (ምስራቅ አዘርነት ቦርቦሬ), Mi'rab 'Azärnät Bärbäre (ምዕራብ አዘርነት ቦርቦሬ), Wilbarag (ወልባራግ), Daločča (ዳሎቻ), Lanfuro (ላንፋሮ), and Sankura (ሳንኩራ) as shown on the map below (the spelling on the map is sometimes inaccurate). There is also the Wärobe (ወራቤ) 'city administration'.



Note: The second map from the top in the right margin bears the label South Nations Nationalities and Peoples Republic (illegible).

These are further subdivided into 231 *qābāles*. The people speak an Ethio-Semitic language, Silṭiñña.

1.1.2. The People

The present-day Silṭe people have been called by different names at different times. Of these, the following can be mentioned:

1. Harla, indicating a relation to the Harari people; the language name was Harliñña.
2. Hadiyya, which was the name of the Islamic Sultanate formed after the eastward retreat and termination of the Wälasma Sultanate; the language name was Hadiyyiñña. (This is distinct from the Cushitic language Hadiyya.)
3. 'Islam, after the Christian highlanders attacked and defeated the Hadiyya Sultanate; the language name was 'Islamiñña.
4. Gurage; the language name was Guragiñña. (Gurage is a much broader term, embracing many languages.)
5. Silṭe; the language name is Silṭiñña.

The names Silṭi and Silṭe, as used today, are not synonyms: the Silṭi are considered a subset of the Silṭe. The two names arose as follows.

First, the Silṭi people (the smaller group) claim that they are the descendents of Haji 'Aliyyi of Harar, who came with the army of 'Imām 'Aḥmad bin 'Ibrāhim (commonly called by the Christians 'Aḥmad Grañ), married an indigenous woman and gave birth to a son named Sultan, from which the name Silṭi is said to have been derived. Again this tradition extends to categorize the people into nine clans: *wālaya*, *'abzana*, *gora*, *tite*, *daneččo*, *mukkārre*, *'arat-bār*, *'anšebesso*, *daṭe* (*wāzir sidist*). Second, the larger Silṭe group are historically not the descendants of just one person or tribe, but of different

sultanates and nations like Silṭi, Hadiyya, Bale and 'Arābabini (in 'Arsi) who have come together by stages to form one society. Thus recently the people agreed to have the name of their nation be Silṭe. This name has gained social and political acceptance and is the term I will use in this thesis. The economy of the people is based on agriculture, some cattle raising, and a little trading.

As we understand from this historical background, starting from the formation of the first Ethiopian Islamic Sultanate, i.e. the Sultanate of Šāwa (ሻዋ) in the year 896, this area and its people have been in close contact with Islam and the Islamic medium of communication, Arabic, alongside their own language. Consequently, they cultivated the Islamic culture and Arabic writings through their religion. Furthermore, Muslim immigrants from Harar (ሀረር) and Wällo (ወሎ) strengthened the local Silṭe religious base both in socio-economic and spiritual terms. These circumstances provided an excellent opportunity to learn Arabic from the learned immigrants, and this trend continues even today. Early writings in Arabic by indigenous clerics include the works of Šayḥ 'Umar Bašir (called the Wälāne Šayḥ) and Šayḥ 'Abdallāh 'Ali (called Dangiyy al-'Awwal). The nickname Dangiyy is derived from the name of the village Dange.

Before the official introduction of institutional education by Emperor Haile Selassie, in the “national” language, Amharic, and one of the international languages, English, the people used Arabic as the medium of religious education and legislative issues.

The central Christian government related the Arabic language directly to the Islamic religion. Hence instead of preserving Arabic written works, it preferred to undermine and even destroy the written heritage of Arabic. That is why there are relatively few Arabic works in the Ethiopian national and regional museums.

It is clear that traditional Islamic education held sway throughout the Silṭe zone. Everybody sent his children and even himself to get an Islamic education at the *madrasa*

(Islamic school). This shows that the Silte nation is well acquainted with the Arabic language; but for different reasons no opportunity was provided and no one was interested in exploring and preserving this Arabic heritage of the people.

1.1.3. The Manuscript

Accordingly, I was attracted to work in this area and to search for manuscripts by Muslim clerics of the zone. Fortunately I learned that Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ (called the Goläč’äba Šayḥ), living at Goläč’äba village, had written a history manuscript in the year 1388 AH (1968 AD) entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡalām fī duḡūl dīn al-’Islām fī mamlaka ‘Ityūbbyā bi-al-salām* (Lamp in the darkness: The peaceful entry of the Islamic religion into the kingdom of Ethiopia). I went to the place, Goläč’äba, hoping to find the aforementioned manuscript; but I learned that the manuscript had been partly burnt in 2008 AD and what I found was only a remainder of the burnt original. Immediately I recognized that I could not do anything on this manuscript unless I could get a copy, if there was any.

Continuing my search, after four months of personal contact with rural Muslim scholars and telephone calls to Saudi Arabia, I succeeded in finding in Riyadh a photocopy of a photocopy of the original made by ‘Abdul Wāsī’, the grand son of Dangiyy al-’Awwal. The photocopied manuscript consists of 310 pages and 48 sections, all of which deal with history.

What makes this manuscript exceptional is, first, that it is the work of an indigenous Muslim cleric in the Arabic language; second, that it compiles selectively the works of Arab historians on Ethiopian history from the ancient period up to the reign of Haile Selassie from the Islamic perspective; third, that it also compiles the unpublished historical writings of indigenous Muslim clerics; fourth, that it has a multidimensional quality, i.e., it covers the socio-economic, political, cultural, historical, spiritual and

moral aspects of the society, not only of Siġte zone but of Ethiopia as a whole. Even though much of the content of the manuscript is mentioned by other historians in passing, the point of focus of the Šayġ is to produce an explanatory and detailed work from an Islamic perspective.

Almost all historians of Ethiopia, both professional and non-professional, refer to Arabic sources in their works. For example, Trimmingham, Braukämper, Budge, Cerulli, Abir, Taddesse Tamrat, Bahru Zewde, Tekletsadik Mekuria, Hussein Ahmed, Yilma Diressa, Lاپسو G. Dilebo, Sergew Hableselassie, Muhammed Hassen, and others have written Ethiopian-related history books drawing on Arabic sources by such writers as Al-Maqrizi, ‘Arab Faqih, Ṭabari, Al-Mas‘udi, Ibn Ḥaldūn, Al-Yāqūbi, Ibn-Baṭūṭa, Al-‘Umari, ‘Abu Dāwūd, Ḥawāqil, Al-Qalqašandi, and others.

Most works of Ethiopian history, with few exceptions, have been based on external (non-Ethiopian) Arabic sources, European travelers’ accounts and Ethiopian Christian chroniclers. These need to be supplemented by indigenous Muslim sources composed by Ethiopian Muslims themselves in order to broaden the existing historiographical perspective. Especially the works of the Southern Muslim clerics, the forgotten ones, can be expected to contribute a lot to the reconstruction of the Islamic history in Ethiopia.

1.2 Objectives

1.2.1 General Objectives

- To place the Arabic written heritage by Ethiopians in its rightful position and enrich the available documentary evidence by Ethiopian Muslim scholars.
- To reveal the historical, philological and linguistic value of the works of Ethiopian Muslim clerics and scholars.
- To encourage and aid professional Islamic historians by providing them with valuable manuscripts.

1.2.2 Specific Objectives

Hoped-for outcomes of this study are:

- To publicize the life and contributions of Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šālih.
- To have this thesis on the works of Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šālih and the photocopy of the manuscript preserved, if possible, in the Manuscript and Documentation Unit of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) and similar institutions.
- To bring to light Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šālih’s contribution to the documentation of Ethiopian history.

1.3 Delimitation of the Study and Brief Presentation of Its Contents

This study will examine the works of Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šālih, particularly his history manuscript. Textual criticism (historical and philological description) will be applied only to the history manuscript. Since the work exists in only a single manuscript, no comparison of multiple manuscripts is possible.

In chapter 4, I will discuss the contents of the manuscript in close detail. Here, for general orientation, I will just give a list of the section titles.

The manuscript consists of the following 48 different sections, of which 45 section headers are given by the writer himself and the remaining 3 have been added contextually by the researcher (these are indicated as “reconstructed” in the list below). These are:

1. Introduction (page 2)
2. Needs of the historian (page 3)
3. Sources of history (page 3)
4. Supporting knowledge for history (page 5)
5. The beginning of history (the Creation) (page 5)
6. Language (page 9)
7. Periods of history (page 10)

8. The motives of the writer for writing this ms [reconstructed] (page 12)
9. The original condition of Ḥabaša before Islam [reconstructed] (page 15)
10. Ḥabaša-Arab relationship (page 17)
11. Ḥabaša conquest of Yemen (page 18)
12. Migration of the followers (of Muḥammad) to Ḥabaša (page 27)
13. The first migration (page 28)
14. The second migration (page 31)
15. The first Islamic military expedition to Ḥabaša (page 44)
16. Economic occupation of the coastal area of Ḥabaša (page 44)
17. Expansion of Islam in Ḥabaša (page 46)
18. Obscurity of Islamic history in Ḥabaša before the 8th century (page 56) [AH]
19. [The feelings] the Christians harboured toward the Muslims (page 64)
20. Islam and Christianity in the 8th century (page 64)
21. Boundaries of Ḥabaša at that time (page 68)
22. The battle of Şumbar Kure (page 71)
23. The weakness of the Islamic sultanate after that (page 79)
24. The Ottoman Empire in Ḥabaša (page 80)
25. The Muslim kings (page 82)
26. Muḥammad Ra‘uf Bāššā, governor of Harar (page 87)
27. Attack of Ḥabaša on Harar Muslims (page 89)
28. Military expedition of Egypt against Ḥabaša (page 91)
29. Divine revenge on King Yohannis (page 93)
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31. Islamic Sultanate of Jimma (page 96)
32. How the Jimma Sultanate was viewed by the Muslims (page 98)
33. Elimination of the Jimma Sultanate and its annexation to Ḥabaša (page 99)

34. Christianization of Muslims in Ḥabaša (page 101)
35. Islamic organizations in Ḥabaša (page 109)
36. Emperor Haile Selassie (page 110)
37. Italian invasion of Ethiopia (page 111)
38. The reason for the Italian entry into Ethiopia (page 112)
39. Virtues of Ḥabaša (page 116)
40. Religions and languages of Ḥabaša (page 127)
41. About *Tārīḥ al-‘awāriḍ* (page 136)
42. About what Šayḥ Wäläne wrote in his manuscript *Ḍahāb al-‘Ibriz* (page 147)
43. The chief masters of Islamic doctrine, who were influential in opening up Ḥabaša (page 157)
44. Some of the virtues of Harar (page 201)
45. The king ‘Aṣḥama [reconstructed] (page 210)
46. The scholars and patron saints of our region (page 241)
47. Some (Muslim) leaders who magnified Islam and supported scholars (page 262)
48. Our ancestors who immigrated from Hādiyya (page 279)

1.4. Methodology

The goal of the research is the description and content analysis of the manuscript. Thus the remainder of the original burnt manuscript was photographed with a digital camera as partial check on whether the photocopied document is truly a photocopy of the original; visual inspection shows that the two are identical in every way. Selected parts are printed, translated and discussed. Interviews with Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šālih’s senior students and members of his family, who are residing in Addis Ababa, Gurage Zone, Silṭe Zone and Jimma Zone, were conducted as well. Secondary literature was also examined.

1.5. Review of Related Literature

Since the opening of the philology section in the Department of Linguistics and Philology at Addis Ababa University, works describing Arabic manuscripts have been done by Muḥammad Seid Abdella, Oumer Mekonnen, Endris Muḥammad, Muna Abubeker, Khalid Muḥammad, Nuredin Delil, Muḥammad Hakim, Abdulkerim Seid, Hassen Muḥammad, Hussein Muḥammad, Kemal Abdulwahab, Muḥammadamin Hussein Mussa, Adnan Muḥammad, Remedan Aḥmed Abdu and Faysel Hussein in their MA theses. None of their manuscripts is exactly similar to the history manuscript of Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ, *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡalām fī duḥūl dīn al-’Islām fī mamlaka ‘Ityūbbiyā bi-al-salām*. Note, however, that brief biographies of the clerics Mufti Dawud (see recent MA thesis by Muḥammad Seid Abdella), Abret Šayḥ (MA thesis by Nuredin Delil) and Jamāl al-Din al-’Anniyy (MA thesis by Faysel Hussein) are given by Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ in this manuscript.

There exists an unpublished Arabic manuscript by Šayḥ Muḥammad Tajuddin Aḥmad entitled *’I’lām al-’aḡbiyā’ bi-ḥayāt al-’uḡāmā’ ’Ityūbbiyā min al-’ulamā’ wa-al-’awliyā’ wa-salāḡīn al-’Islām wa-al-’asāḡīn al-’asfiyā’* ‘Helping the ignorant through the biography of famous Ethiopian ‘ulamā’, saints and Islamic Sultans and pious authorities’. This work is similar to Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh’s manuscript by virtue of including the biographies of famous Ethiopian ‘ulamā’ and Islamic Sultans, but Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh’s work includes many other historical events too, starting from pre-Christianity up to the reign of Haile Selassie.

Almost the same is true in the case of Šayḥ Muḥammad Wale Aḥmed’s published biographical work entitled *Kitāb ’īqāz himam al-’aḡbiyā’, bi-rašš al-qaḡarat min*

tarājīm al-'ulamā' wa-al-'awliyā' fī jumhuriyya al-'Ityūbbiyā 'A book awakening the ambitions of the ignorant through selections from the biographies of Muslim clerics and saints of the Republic of Ethiopia'. This book corresponds to only one single section (section 43) of the subjects in Šayḥ 'Abdallāh's work, a section which deals with the biographies of famous Ethiopian 'ulamā'. The translated part unfortunately doesn't include these biographies.

In the numerous works of Ethiopian history by indigenous and foreign writers, the name of Šayḥ 'Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ is mentioned only once, in the senior essay by Sherif Keri entitled "The History of the Siltē Community in Addis Ababa" (1985), as an informant simply.

The writer of the manuscript, Šayḥ 'Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ, himself explicitly mentions numerous reference works that he used in his writing. Although he does not provide any bibliographical information on these references, such as their authors, publishers, volumes, page numbers, paragraphs etc., I have tried to check whether he directly quoted or simply took the general idea from them. From the specific detailed points of the manuscript, I understand that he used many other references in addition to those he mentions in the manuscript.

I will now go through the manuscript page by page and discuss briefly those sources which are explicitly mentioned by Šayḥ 'Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ.

- The author mentions the Arabic writer and historian Ibn Ḥaldūn in connection with "needs of the historian" (page 3), "sources of history" (page 3), "the beginning of history" (page 5), "supporting knowledge for history" (page 5), "language" (page 9) and "periods of history" (page 10). This refers to the book *Tārīḥ Ibn Ḥaldūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr Printers, 2001, volume 1, pages 13-18, page 54 and page 770 in a very broad sense).

- On pages 50 and 55 of the manuscript, the author mentions the book *Šubḥ al-'a'ša* regarding the Wāfāt Islamic state. This refers to the book *Šubḥ al-'a'ša fī sin'a al-'inšā'* by Ibn al-'Abbās 'Aḥmad bin 'Aliyy al-Qalqašandi (volume 5, pages 311-334; Damascus: Dār al-Fikr Printers, 1987), where the Wāfāt state is discussed in detail.
- On page 51 of the manuscript, the scribe mentions the book *Al-badr al-ṭāli'* in connection with the first Islamic State in Ḥabaša, and its leader Muḥammad bin 'Abi Baraka bin 'Aliyy bin Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Jabarti and his successor and brother. This refers to the book *Al-badr al-ṭāli' bi maḥāsin min ba'd al-qarn al-sābi'* by Muḥammad bin 'Aliyy bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdallah al-Šawkāni (volume 2, page 136; Beirut: Dār Ibn Kaṭīr Publisher, 1st edition).
- In connection with the lack of reliable documentation regarding what happened between the Christians and Muslims before the eighth century and the hardships that the Muslims faced under the rule of the seven Muslim sultanates on page 56 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ refers to the book *Tārīḥ al-'Islām fī al-Ḥabaša* by Yusuf bin 'Aḥmad (Cairo: Hijazi Publishers, 1935).
- On page 58 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the Arabic writer Ṭabari with reference to the harshness and injustice of the Ḥabaša to the Muslims, particularly their killing of the refugees. This detail is found in Ṭabari's book *Tārīḥ al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*. It seems that the author of the manuscript took his summary from *Tārīḥ al-Ṭabari* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987).
- The Šayḥ mentions the case of a Ḥabaša patriarch who disagreed with the king in the year 547 AH/1152 AD, whereupon the king wrote to the Egyptian sultān to replace him. In writing this the Šayḥ drew on the book entitled *Lubāb al-'ādāb*

by 'Amīr 'Usāma bin Munqiḍ on page 59 of the manuscript and also *Kitāb al-'I'tibār* by the same person on page 62 of the manuscript.

- On page 65 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the book *Kitāb al-'Ilmām* by Al-Maqrizi in connection with King 'Ishaq bin Dāwud, crowned in the year 812 AH/1409 AD over Ḥabaša. The full reference is *Kitāb al-'ilmām bi-'aḥbār man bi-'arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-'Islām* by 'Aḥmad bin 'Aliyy bin 'Abdulqādir bin Muḥammad al-Maqrizi (Cairo: al-Ta'līf Printing Press, 1895; pages 4-5). The idea is that King 'Ishaq took the rule of the Islamic sultanates out of the Muslims' hands and destroyed them. He captured and killed many Muslims and suppressed Islam for a long time, then wrote to westerners to meet to discuss the total eradication of the Islamic sultanates. This fact is discussed by Taddesse Tamrat in his book *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527* on pages 254-258 in the section "Ethiopia and the Crusades".
- On pages 14 and 70 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the book *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* regarding the first military expansion of Islam within Ethiopia, the battlefields, the rise, the victories and the defeat of 'Imām 'Aḥmad bin 'Ibrāhim (*Grañ*). This refers to the well-known book *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* by Šihab al-Din 'Aḥmad bin 'Abdulqādir bin Sālim bin 'Uṭmān al-Jizāniyy commonly called 'Arab Faqih. The Šayḥ used entire sections of the book. Almost all historians and history writers who have written on medieval Ethiopian history refer to this book. The book was translated into French and published by the orientalist René Basset from 1897-1909, and then into English by Paul Lester Stenhouse with annotations by Richard Pankhurst.
- On pages 82-83 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the book *Riḥla al-Ḥabaša* regarding the conquests of Ḥabaša by Aḥmad Grañ until the Christian king agreed to accept help from the Portuguese in exchange for allowing them to bring

Catholic priests into the country. This refers to *Riḥla al-Ḥabaša min al-'Istāna 'ilā Addis Ababa* by Šādiq Bāššā (Abu Dhabi: Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing, 1896).

- On page 83 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions an Ethiopian “writer” Ato Haile Mariam in regard to the origin and the rule of Aḥmad Grañ throughout Ḥabaša. However, I could not find either the author or the book.
- On page 86 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ refers indirectly to the book *First Footsteps in East Africa* by the British traveler and adventurer Richard F. Burton. He does not mention either the book or its author by name, but says only that an “Austrian” (Al-Namsāwi) writer had visited Harar in the year 1302 AH/1885 AD. Burton was British, but starting in 1871 he lived in Trieste, which was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hence the word “Austrian”. He was indeed one of the first Europeans ever to visit Harar, and described his impressions in Chapter 8, “Ten Days at Harar”. Burton’s visit was in 1855; apparently the year “1885” (above) is an error.
- On page 100 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the book *Masālik al-'abšār* in connection with the weak internal relations between the Muslim Sultanates, their wealth, their internal differences of thought and their dependency on the Christian king (Amhara). This refers to the book *Masālik al-'abšār fī mamālik al-'amšār* by Ibn Faḍl Allah al-'Umari (pages 16-17).
- On page 108 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the book *Mas'ala al-Ḥabašiyya* with regard to the fact that during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, two Muslim teachers, namely Šayḥ Māḥmūd Našawiyy and Šayḥ Yūsuf 'Ali Yūsuf, were sent to Ḥabaša from Egypt. This refers to the book *Mas'ala al-Ḥabašiyya* by 'Abdallah Ḥusayn (Cairo: Al-Raḥmāniyya Publisher, 1935).

- On page 136 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the manuscript *Tārīḥ al-‘awarīḍ* with regard to the events which happened in the lifetime of Jamāl al-Din al-’Anniyy. This refers to the unpublished manuscript *Tārīḥ al-‘awarīḍ* (commonly known as *Tārīḥ al-’Anniyy*) by Jamāl al-Din al-’Anniyy himself.
- On page 147 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the manuscript *Ḍahab al-’ibrīz* in connection with the biographies of certain Muslim scholars and well-known persons. This refers to the unpublished manuscript *Ḍahab al-’ibrīz fī manāqib al-’awliyā’ wa-al-’ulamā’ wa-al-’šuhādā’ wa-ṣulḥā’ al-’aḥbāš wa-šayḥ ‘abdul‘azīz* by ‘Umar bin Šayḥ Bašir, commonly called the Wälāne Šayḥ.
- On page 216 of the manuscript, the Šayḥ mentions the book *Al-tanbīh wa-al-muhaddab*. In a marginal note on the same page he says that this book is mentioned in another manuscript called *Rabī’ al-qulūb* with regard to a certain person from Bale who went to Yemen to study under the Yemenite Šayḥ ‘Aḥmad bin ‘Ujayl. The Yemeni teacher sent him back to Ethiopia, urging him to spread Islamic education with this book *Al-tanbīh wa-al-muhaddab*. The full reference is *Rabī’ al-qulūb fī dīkr manāqib wa-faḍa’il sayyidinā al-šayḥ Nurḥusayn* (page 30 of part 1 and page 28 of part 2).

In reading the manuscript, I noticed many places where the wording of the text reminded me of other Arabic works I have read. Regarding such works, which the Šayḥ could well have known of and drawn upon but did not mention by name, I will categorize them into: (A.) Arabic by foreign (non-Ethiopian) writers, (B.) English by foreign writers, and (C.) Amharic by indigenous writers. I list these works below with a brief summary of their relevant contents (i.e., topics for which the Šayḥ probably used the given book).

A. Works in Arabic by foreign (non-Ethiopian) writers

- The Holy Qur'ān:
 - Suras 3:200 and 9:111. These verses were recited to the army of 'Imām 'Aḥmad bin 'Ibrāhim (Grañ) to spur on the army at the battle of Şumbar Kure, the battle between the Ḥabaša and 'Imām 'Aḥmad.
 - Sura 5:83, regarding the weeping of 70 Ethiopians at the Prophet's recitation of the Qur'ān. They had come to Medina from Ethiopia with the immigrant followers of Muḥammad.
 - Sura 85:4-5, regarding the persecution of the Najrān Christians by Dū Nuwās.
 - Sura 18:83, regarding Dū al-Qarnayn (Alexander the Great).
 - Sura 105:1-5, regarding the Companions of the Elephant [the Abyssinians ruling Yemen] who departed for Mecca to destroy the Ka'ba.
- *Al-Şāwiy fī Ḥāšiya al-Jalālayn* by 'Aḥmad Şāwiy al-Mālikiy, regarding the funeral prayer over the Nājaši.
- *Sīra Ibn Hišām* by 'Abdulmalik bin Hišām, regarding:
 - Ḥabaša conquest of Yemen.
 - First migration (of the followers of the Prophet to Ḥabaša).
- *Şaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī* (4th edition, volume 4, pages 287-290, ḥadīṭ number 429, translated into English by Dr. Muḥammad Muḥsin Ḥān), regarding:
 - The Nile River, on the topic "The Virtues of Ḥabaša".
- *Sīra Ibn 'Ishāq*, volume 1, page 59, by Muḥammad bin 'Ishāq regarding:
 - The sayings of the Prophet when sending the emigrants to Ḥabaša.
- *Al-Raḥīq al-Maḥtūm* by Şafīyy al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakfūrī, on:
 - Ḥabaša-Arab and Ḥabaša-Yemen relations.
- *Sīra Rawḍa al-'Anwār* by Şafīyy al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakfūrī on:

- Virtues of Ḥabaša (particularly the Ḥabaša nurse of the Prophet, 'Ummu 'Ayman al-Baraka).
 - The second migration (of the followers of Muḥammad).
- *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (The Life of Muḥammad), pages 3-22, by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal on:
- Ḥabaša-Arab and Ḥabaša-Yemen relations.
- *Sīra al-Ḥabaša* by Al-Ḥaymi al-Ḥasan bin 'Aḥmad on:
- Ḥabaša-Arab and Ḥabaša-Yemen relations.
 - The conditions of Ḥabaša before Islam.
 - Economic occupation of the coastal area of Ḥabaša.
 - Expansion of Islam in Ḥabaša (focus on the formation of sultanates).
 - Virtues of Ḥabaša (including 'Aḥmad Grañ).
 - Ottoman Empire in Ḥabaša.
 - Christianization of Muslims in Ḥabaša (includes Libnä Dīngil and Gälawdewos).
 - King Mīnilik and Islam.
- *Al-Ḥabaša* by Ḥasan Muḥammad Jawhār on:
- Religions and languages of Ḥabaša (including the origin and meaning of the word Ḥabaša).
 - Boundaries of Ḥabaša.
- *'Ituybbiyā* by Ḥasan Muḥammad Jawhār on:
- Ḥabaša-Yemen relations.
 - The condition of Ḥabaša before Islam.
 - The Emperors of Ḥabaša up to Haile Selassie.

- *Raf' ša'n al-Ḥubšān* by Al-Suyūṭī on:
 - Ḥabaša-Arab relations.
 - The migration (of the followers of the Prophet to Ḥabaša) including mention of the Nājaši.
 - Virtues of Ḥabaša (including what is said about Ḥabaša in the *ḥadīṯ* and Qur'ān; the Prophet's nurse 'Ummu 'Ayman, Baraka al-Ḥabaša; the first mu'azzin, the Ethiopian Bilal; the River Nile).
 - Economic occupation of the coastal area of Ḥabaša.
 - Expansion of Islam in Ḥabaša.
 - Boundaries of Ḥabaša.
- *Tanwīr al-ḡabaš fī faḍl al-Sudān wa-al-Ḥabaš* by 'Abū al-Faraj 'Abdurraḥmān bin al-Jawziyy on:
 - The migration (of the followers of the Prophet to Ḥabaša), including mention of the Nājaši.
 - Virtues of Ḥabaša (including the first muezzin, Bilal).
 - Religions and languages of Ḥabaša (including Dū al-Qarnayn).
- *Al-'Islam fī 'Ityūbbyā* by Dr. Zāhir Riyāḍ on:
 - Religions and languages of Ḥabaša (including the people and their history).
- *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīḥ* (commonly known as *Tārīḥ Ibn al-'Aḥīr*) by 'Izzaddin 'Abu al-Ḥasan 'Aliyy bin Muḥammad 'Abdulkarim al-Jazriyy, commonly known as Ibn al-'Aḥīr. This book deals with:
 - The first Islamic military expedition to Ḥabaša.

B. Works in English by foreign (non-Ethiopian) writers

- *Islam in Ethiopia* by J. Spencer Trimingham (1952). Inter alia, the book deals with:
- Paganism.
 - Judaism.
 - Christianity.
 - Distribution of Islam across the territories of Ethiopia.
 - The Aksumite conquest of Yemen and the building of a church in Şan‘a.
 - The migration of Arab Muslims to Ethiopia.
 - The conversion of the Abyssinians to Christianity.
 - Islamic kingdoms in eastern Šäwa.
 - The Solomonic dynasty.
 - The Muslim sultanates.
 - The Christian struggle with the sultanates.
 - The great conquest of 'Aḥmad Grañ.
 - Minilik's conquest of Muslim and pagan regions and Lij 'Iyyasu's attempt at a so-called Muslim revolution.
 - European military forces in the region.
 - The reign of Haile Selassie.
 - The dervish orders.
- *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia* by Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (1928). Inter alia, the book deals with:
- The meaning /origin of the word Ḥabaša.
 - The religion of Abyssinia; here he mentions that the Abyssinians worshipped gods other than the one God of Noah.

- The migration (of the followers of Muḥammad to Ḥabaša); he mentions that the Näjaši embraced Islam but did so secretly, in order not to fight against the Christian majority so as to protect his people and country from bloodshed.
- The economic occupation of the coastal areas.
- The reign of 'Armāḥ (the Näjaši).
- The battle of Şumbar Kure and other battles with 'Imām 'Aḥmad.
- Lībnä Dīngil.
- 'Imām 'Aḥmad.
- Gälawdewos.
- 'Ifat, Bale, Fäṭägar, Hadiyya and Wajj.
- Särs'ä Dīngil.
- Christianization of Muslims.

C. Works in Amharic by indigenous (Ethiopian) writers

➤ *Käṭa'ot 'amlīko wädä kristinna* by Täkläś'adiq Mäkuriya (1958). This book deals with:

- Ethiopians originally worshipped idols (gods other than the one God).

➤ *Yä 'Ityop'ya tarik, Nubya, Aksum, Zaguye* by Täkläś'adiq Mäkuriya (1973a).

Inter alia, the book deals with:

- Ethiopian rule in pre-Islamic Egypt and South Arabia.
- The assignment of Abraha as a governor and his campaign with elephants to destroy the *Ka'ba*, his defeat and death.
- The hospitality of the Näjaši, his happiness while listening to the *Qur'ān* recitation, his refusal to send the Muslim refugees back to Qurayš, and the Muslims' stability in Ethiopia.

- Christian seaports in Ethiopia that were lost to the Muslims during the entry of Islam; the weakening of Ethio-Roman relations at this time; the collapse of Aksum.
 - Contact of the Zagwe government with the Ottomans through Egypt.
- *Yä 'Ityop'ya tarik: kä 'As'e Yäkunno 'Amlak 'iskä 'As'e Libnä Dīngil* by Täkläś'adiq Mäkuriya (1959). Inter alia, the book deals with:
- The fighting of 'As'e Yäkunno 'Amlak against the Adal [Afar and 'Issa]. Because of this the Egyptian Sultan refused to send a patriarch to the Ethiopians; thus Yäkunno 'Amlak contacted Jerusalem and asked them to intervene.
 - The entry of the Qurayš Muslims, who called themselves Walasma, to Ethiopia in the seventh year of the reign of 'As'e 'Amdä S'iyon.
 - The termination by 'As'e Dawit of the forced Christianization of the Ethiopian Muslims, which had been the practice of Säyfa 'Ar'id.
 - The arrival in Ethiopia of four Egyptians including one military officer who joined 'As'e Yishaq, thus enabling him to strengthen his military and economic power. He also opened communication with the French government to eradicate Islam, but Jamāl al-Din forced him to retreat to Abbay.
 - 'As'e 'Amdä 'Iyyäsus's conquest of the Muslims; his death in a plague.
 - Muḥammad bin Badlay's payment of tribute to 'As'e Bä'dä Maryam.
 - 'As'e 'Iskindir's conquest of Adal.
 - The fighting of 'As'e Naod with Maḥfuz.
- *Yä 'Ityop'ya tarik: kä 'As'e Libnä Dīngil 'iskä 'As'e Tewodros* by Täkläś'adiq Mäkuriya (1973b). Inter alia, the book deals with:
- The war between 'As'e Libnä Dīngil and Maḥfuz.

- The first war against 'Aḥmad Grañ.
 - The entry of the Portuguese into Ethiopia to support the Christian highlanders, and the victory over 'Aḥmad Grañ at Wägära and Dänbiya (Zäntära) during the reign of 'As'e Gälawdewos.
 - The death of 'Aḥmad Grañ, the capture of Garad 'Ali and the return of Minas from Muslim captivity.
 - The rise of Nur Muḥammad and the death of Gälawdewos.
 - The Galla (Oromo) and the campaign of Särs'ä Dīngil to Ennaria.
 - The victory of Särs'ä Dīngil over the Sultan of Harar and the Turks.
 - The principalities of Ras 'Ali, Ras Gugsa, Ras Yimam, Ras Mariyyä, and Ras Dori.
- *Yä 'Ityop'ya tarik: kä 'As'e Tewodros 'iskä 'As'e Qädamawi Haile Sellassie* by Täklä's'adiq Mäkuriya (1968). Inter alia, the book deals with:
- Tewodros's war in Wällo and his suicide.
 - Yohannis's wars with Egypt and Italy.
 - Yohannis's attempt to unify all religions under Christianity.
 - The battle of Mätämma and Yohannis's death.
 - Minilik's relations with Italy; the war in Mäqäle; why Minilik left Asmara for the Italians.
 - The tripartite agreement between Britain, France and Italy; territorial expansion of Minilik.
 - The reign of Lij 'Iyyasu and Empress Zäwditu.
 - The imprisonment of Lij 'Iyyasu.
 - The death of Empress Zäwditu.
 - The crowning of Haile Selassie.

- Italian invasion of Ethiopia.
 - The flight of Haile Selassie to Europe and his return with the British army and defeat of the Italian army.
- *'Islīmīnanna 'Afrīqa*, translated by Gobāze T'affāt'ä from the book written by the Reverend Godfrey Dale (1967). Inter alia, the book deals with:
- The Muslim convert to Christianity called Zakariyya Jibril.

More recent works treating the same topics

A. Works in Arabic by foreign (non-Ethiopian) writers

- *Al-'Islām wa-al-Ḥabaša: 'abr al-tārīḥ* by Muhandis Fathī Ġayṭ (1998).
- *Ma'ālim al-hijratayn 'ilā 'arḍ al-Ḥabaša* by Dr. 'Aliyy al-Šayḥ 'Aḥmad 'Abū Bakr (1993).
- *Kitāb al-ṭirāz al-manqūš fī maḥāsīn al-Ḥubūš* by Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Buḥāriyy al-Makkiyy (1980).
- *Al-'Aḥbāš bayna Ma'rib wa-'Aksūm* by Mumtāz al-'Ārif (1975).
- *Bayna al-Ḥabaša wa-al-'Arab* by 'Abdulmajīd 'Ābidīn (1998).
- *Al-sīra al-nabawiyya: durūs wa-'ibar* by Dr. Mušṭafa al-Sabā'iy (1985).
- *Al-'alāqāt al-siyāsiyya bayna muslimiy al-Zayla' wa-naṣārā al-Ḥabaša fī al-'uṣūr al-wasaṭī* by Rajab Muḥammad 'Abdulḥalim (1995).

B. Works in Arabic by Ethiopian writers

- *'Ityubbyā wa-al-'Urūba wa-al-'Islam* by Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib bin Muḥammad bin Yūsuf al-Yūsuf (1996).
- *Manhal al-'aṣṣān fī tārīḥ al-ḥubšān* by Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq (2001).
- *Tārīḥ 'Ityubbyā*, part one, by Muḥammad Taj 'Abdurrahmān al-'Arūsī (1999).

C₁. Works in English by Ethiopian writers (books and articles)

- *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia* by Hussein Ahmed (2000).
- “Aksum in Muslim Historical Tradition” by Hussein Ahmed (xxix 2:47-66).
- “Italian Colonial Policy towards Islam in Ethiopia and the Response of Ethiopian Muslims (1936-1941)” (paper read at the International Conference on Africa Orientale Italiana) by Hussein Ahmed(2006b).
- *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* by Sergew Hable Sellassie (1972).
- *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527* by Taddesse Tamrat (1972).
- *A Short History of Ethiopia and the Horn* by Bahru Zewde (1998).
- *A History of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1991)* by Bahru Zewde (2008).
- *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860* by Muhammed Hassen (1994).
- “Some Notes on Harar and the Local Trade Routes: A Report on the Views of Ex-merchants of Shawa” (1839-1935) by Ahmed Hassen Omer (2001).

C₂. Works in English by Ethiopian writers (theses and senior essays)

- *Ethiopia and the Arab World*, BA thesis by Muhammedamin Salah (2005).
- *Islam and the Muslim Community in Gommaa, A Historical Survey (1886-1974)*, MA thesis by Aman Seifedin (2006).
- *The First Hijra: A Study of the Earliest Christian-Muslim Relations*, MA thesis by Alam, S (1982).
- *Islam and the Muslim Community in the Kingdom of Jimma (1870-1974)*, MA thesis by Endalew Djirata (2008).
- *The Origin and Development of Jimma Town up to 1942*, MA thesis by Tadessa Semma (2007).

- *The History of the Silte Community in Addis Ababa*, BA thesis by Sherif Keri (1985).
- *A Cultural History of the Silte People*, MA thesis by Abdi Kedir (2005).
- *A History of the Silte People: A Special Emphasis on Their Struggle for Identity and the Subsequent Socio-Economic Development of Silte Zone (1274-2004)*, BA thesis by Yalew Tezera (2005).

D. Works in English by foreign (non-Ethiopian) writers

- *Localizing Salafism: Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia* by Terje Østebø (2008) .
- *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia* by Ulrich Braukämper (2002).
- *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia: Islam, Christianity and Politics Entwined* by Haggai Erlich (2003). The standard work on Ḥabaša-Arab relations.

E. Works in Amharic by Ethiopian writers

- *Yä Grañ 'Aḥmad Wārära* by Täkläś'adiq Mäkuriya (1975).
- *Yä 'Ityop'yawinnät tarikawi mäsärätočč 'inna mäsariyawočč*, by Dr. Lap'iso G. Dilebo (1999).
- *Tironä: Yä 'Ityop'ya qäddämtinna talalaq 'ulämočč tarik*, translated by Abdallāh Muḥammad Ali (2006) from the Arabic manuscript of 'Umar bin Šayḥ Bašir, *Ḍahab al-'ibriz fi manāqib al-'awliyā' wa-al-'ulamā' wa-al- šuhādā' wa-ṣulḥā' al-'aḥbāš wa-šayḥ 'abdul'aziz*.
- *'Imām 'Aḥmad 'Ibrāhim ('Aḥmad Grañ)* by Täšomä Birhanu Kamāl (2008).
- *Yä 'Ityop'ya tarik: bä 'asra sidistiñaw kiflä zämän* by Yilma Diressa (2008).

- *Jäbdu* by Wärfu Nida (1991).
- *Yäsilt'ennät biherawi mäggäläč'awočč 'inna lä'ityop'yawinnät hilliwinnanna 'idgät yabäräkkätut 'astäwas'io* by Abdulfatah Huldar (2008).
- *Šayḥ Zakariyya Jibril ('Aläqa Näwayäkristos): kä 'isliminna wädä kristinna* by Tiruneh Waldeselassie (2002).
- *Yä 'Ityop'ya muslimočč yä siqayinna yämäkära tarik* by Muḥammad Yusuf Ya'qub (1995).
- *Yä'ayn misikkir* by Abdellah Abdurrahman Nur (2005).

Full information about the aforementioned sources is given in the bibliography.

CHAPTER 2

BIOGRAPHY

2.1. From birth to adolescence

Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ (called the Goläč’äba Šayḥ) was born in the village of Borära, Daločča *wäräda* in Silte zone. The area around this village is commonly called ‘Arat Bär, which is the name of one of the nine tribes of the Silti people. According to my informants, he was about 37 years old during the *Hidar bäšša* or ‘epidemic’ during the Ethiopian month of Hidar— that is, in 1918 AD. This means he would have been born during the region of Minilik in 1881 AD. His father was a farmer, ‘Ato Šāliḥ Muḥammad, and his mother was Wäyzäro ‘Amina ‘Ali.

He studied the following religious and language subjects with the corresponding Muslim scholars, listed below in the chronological order in which Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ studied the subjects:

- Qur’ān recitation and *fiqh* (jurisprudence) for beginners with Šayḥ Ḥāmid Muḥammad’amin (called the Kolisa Šayḥ)
- *fiqh* courses like *Šujā’* (taken from the name of the book’s author ‘Abu Šujā’), *bāfaḍl*, *‘umda al-’aḥkām* (‘pillar of the rules’), and *minhaj* with Šayḥ Šifa (called the *Kassay Šayḥ*), who came from ‘Innāmor, the present Gurage zone and resided at Godäbamo, somewhere between Daloča and Goläč’äba
- *naḥw* ‘syntax’ with Šayḥ Muḥammad Ḥaṭṭāt, commonly called Wač’č’a Šayḥ and also called Gurage Šayḥ

- *'ilm al-naḥw wa-al-ṣarf* '(advanced) syntax and grammar' with Šayḥ Bašir bin Šāliḥ (called the Jarāmo Šayḥ) at 'Innāqor, West 'Azārnāt subdistrict
- *fath al-wahāb, fath al-jawād* and *'arud* (different advanced courses of *fiqh*) with Šayḥ Muḥtār (called the Gač'ämsto Šayḥ), at West 'Azārnāt subdistrict near Jarāmo
- *balāğa* and *mantiq* ('eloquence' and 'logic') with Širo Šayḥ near Jimma with his teacher, Šayḥ Muḥāmmad Ḥattāt
- *tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (exegesis of the *Qur'ān*) and *qādiriyya, aḥmadiyya* and *rašhādiyya ṭarīqa* (three *sufi* doctrinal schools) with Šayḥ 'Abdallāh 'Ali (called Šayḥ Dangiyy al-'awwal)

2.2. From adolescence to maturity

2.2.1. Married life

When he reached adolescence, his neighbour and first teacher, Šayḥ Ḥāmid Muḥāmmad'amin (called the Kolisa Šayḥ), arranged the marriage of Šayḥ 'Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ to his daughter and assigned him to teach at the village of Goläč'äba. They had six children: Kamāl, Sirāj, Tāju, Sayyid, Lubāba and Taqiyya.

'Imām Sirāj 'Abāgaz Sediso, a leading and wealthy person in Silṭe, arranged the Šayḥ's second marriage to his daughter 'Amina Sirāj and gave them a large farm as her dowry. She had five children: 'Alā'uddīn, Baḥraddīn, Nizāmuddīn, Badruzamān and Faṭṭiyya.

Once his children from his second wife were born, to avoid disagreement and tension between the two wives and their children, he moved his first wife with her children to Lanfuro Wārāda in the village of Nājate beside the Wānč'ičo River.

2.2.2. Life as a teacher

Assigned as a new teacher at Goläč'äba, Šayḥ 'Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ at first faced a problem of social rejection by the surrounding community because they had been supporting the two popular local religious leaders and teachers, 'Abret Šayḥ and Qätbäre Šayḥ, and their students. But the two local Šayḥs made peace between Šayḥ 'Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ and the surrounding community and convinced the people to send their children to him. The people of the community also started to benefit from his teachings, to sponsor his students, and even started to farm his land for him.

Soon he built a mosque in collaboration with the local people, and within a short time he became popular and got a large number of students. As some of his students informed me, the number of students reached about 750.

His way of teaching was very different from that of other traditional teachers. For example, when new students joined his school, before class began, he asked them where they came from, their level of education, and the conditions in their living place. Then, after completing the round, he resumed his place and told the students about the social, political and economic history of each place. Only then would he begin to teach.

The other distinctive quality of the Šayḥ was that he urged his students to participate in practical work. For example, he urged them to plant cash crops like eucalyptus, *enset* and *č'at* in the compound of their local sponsors. He also motivated them to get formal education in government schools. Two of my informants, Šayḥ Sirāj Šarif and 'Anwār Muḥammad, got their education as the result of his advice.

His senior students, who continued as teachers after him, are: Ḥaj ‘Ali (Mälša Šayḥ), Šayḥ Šāfi Muḥāmmad (‘Urago/Goto Šayḥ), Šayḥ Muḥāmmad ‘Abdallāh (Dangiyy al-Ṭāni), Šayḥ Muḥāmmad Šayḥ ‘Issa (‘Agawa Šayḥ), Šayḥ ‘Ibrāhim (Gambella Šayḥ), Šayḥ Nuri Šayḥ Dāwūd (Mukkare Šayḥ), Šayḥ Nuri (Kusaye Šayḥ), Ḥaj ‘Idris (Daloča Šayḥ), Šayḥ Siraj Šarif, the judge in Silṭe wäräda Islamic court.

Of his contemporaries, some well-known figures are: Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh (‘Am Šayḥ), Šayḥ ‘Adam (Wajja Šayḥ), Šayḥ Muḥāmmad ‘Abdallāh (Dangiyy al-Ṭāni), (contemporary and also student), Šayḥ Sulaymān (contemporary and also student), Šayḥ ‘Abdul‘aziz (‘Asano Šayḥ) and Galme Šayḥ (Daloča).

2.2.3. His writings

His love of reading led him to dig out history materials like *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, dealing with ‘Imām ‘Aḥmad bin ‘Ibrāhim (called Grañ by the Amhara); *Dahab al-‘Ibriz*, on the biography of indigenous Muslim scholars; Ibn Hišām and Hālabiyya, about Ethio-Arab and Ethio-Yemeni relations and the migration to Ethiopia of the followers of Muḥammad; *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad; and magazines and journals presenting general information. His *tafsir* teacher Dangiyy al-‘awwal motivated him to write something about Ethiopian history from the Islamic perspective. As a result, in 1388 AH/1968 AD he wrote a 310-page history manuscript entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡalām fī duḡūl dīn al-‘islām fī mamlaka ‘Ityūbyā bi al-salām* ‘Lamp in the darkness: The peaceful entry of the Islamic religion into the kingdom of Ethiopia’, which was his final work. This manuscript is the focus of this thesis. Earlier he had written the following works:

- *'I'lān fī ḥaqīqa(t) al-'insān* 'Manifestation on the true nature of human beings'. It tells about the evolution of human beings and what make them different from animals.
- *Dalā'il: mišbāḥ al-sayyār fī ṣalāt 'alā nabīyy al-muḥtār* 'Proofs: lamp for the traveler in the blessing for the chosen Prophet'. It teaches how to pray for the Prophet and to invoke Allah, but without directly quoting from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*.
- *Barzanj: Kitāb jāl al-fikr; muḥtaṣar samṭ al-durar fī 'aḥbār sayyid al-bašar* 'Barzanj: The book of the field of ideas; Abridgement of the chain of pearls about the news of the Lord of humanity'. It tells about the life of the Prophet in the form of *manzūma*.
- *Manāqib šayḥ dangīyy al-'awwal wa-qaṣīda madḥīhi wa-tawassul bihi* 'Deeds of Šayḥ Dangīyy al-'Awwal, and poems in his praise and intercession through him'.
- *Tawassulāt* 'Intercessions', *manzūma* (poetry) and praise.
- *Mawlid al-rasūl* 'Birth of the messenger', the biography of the Prophet Muhammad.
- *Tawḥīd* 'Unity of God', beginner's text.
- *Tamrīn* 'Introduction to *naḥw*', syntax.

2.2.4. His other interests

Unlike the majority of traditional Muslim teachers, Šayḥ 'Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ was very interested in gathering local, national and international news from the available media and from educated persons. For example, he read a monthly bulletin from Egypt which he borrowed from the Ibn Salam bookshop in Addis Ababa. He also bought books directly from this shop when he visited Addis Ababa to apply for permission to go on Hajj.

Not only reading but also collecting and copying the important ideas from what he read was another of his qualities. For example, he collected a number of poems from the books he read and bound them together as a single manuscript. He paid particular attention to historical events in Ethiopia, which finally enabled him to write his history manuscript.

In 1953 E.C./1960-61 AD, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and used this opportunity to refer to history materials at Medina. He stayed there one month more than the usual time in order to read and note important historical events concerning Ethiopia. After returning to his homeland, he started writing his history manuscript, which he finished in 1968 AD.

Another quality was that he respected educated people and government-assigned officials in his district and intentionally established contact with them to discuss and learn from them about the country's condition. In addition to this he collected relevant materials in Amharic and English and asked these elites to read them aloud to him. He invited his guests to read his Ethiopian history manuscript and requested them to give him comments, new ideas and suggestions.

In writing this manuscript, he used materials like *Sira Ibn Hišām*, *Sira Hālabiyya*, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (the life of Muḥammad), *Dahab al-'Ibriz*, *Tārīḫ al-'Awārid*, the *Qur'ān*, *Ṣaḥīḫ al-Buḥārī*. He also used the book *Futūḫ al-Ḥabaša* which he got from his Harari student Ṭaha 'Uṭmān.

2.3. Old age

When he reached about 90, he could no longer continue his regular duties and thus arranged for his students to continue their lessons with neighbouring scholars. But he kept up his reading and continued to do a little writing. When he reached 100, he was bedridden and stopped his writing. But when guests came to visit him, he invited them to read aloud from his history work. Finally, in the year 1992 he died a natural death at home at the age of 112.

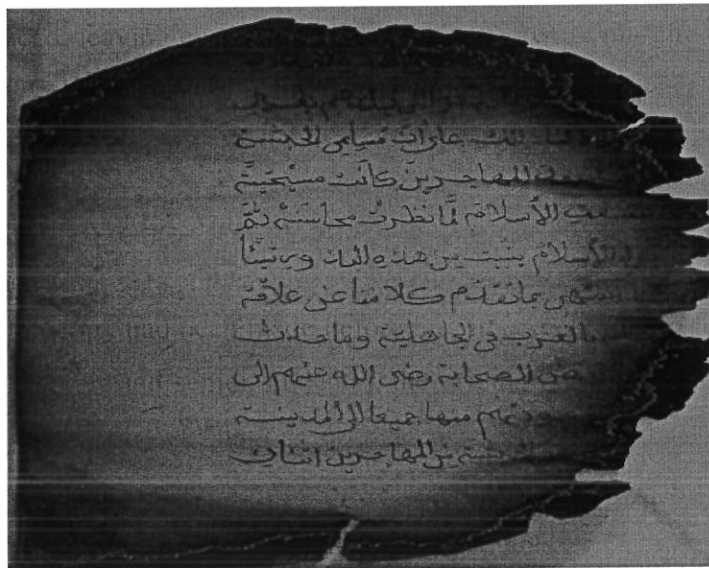
CHAPTER 3 PHILOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

3.1. Physical Materials of the Manuscript

The history manuscript of Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ, *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡalām fī duḡūl dīn al-‘Islām fī mamlaka ‘Ityūbyā bi-al-salām* (Lamp in the darkness: The peaceful entry of the Islamic religion into the kingdom of Ethiopia), is written on thin, white, lined paper in bright blue and red ink with a modern ballpoint pen. The manuscript is written in a modern notebook covered with cardboard; the notebook measures 23.9x17.4x2 cm, and the paper size is 22.8x16.3 cm. There are 24 ruled lines per page. For clarity, the Šayḥ wrote double-spaced, leaving every other line blank. There are margins on all four sides, leaving a writing field of 19.5x14.2 cm. The manuscript has 310 pages altogether; each page is written on one side only

3.2. Overall Condition of the Manuscript

As mentioned in section 1.1.3 above, the manuscript was badly damaged in a fire in 2008. Fortunately, a photocopy had been made before the fire. According to the photocopy and the informants (his sons and senior students), the original manuscript was complete, i.e. no pages were missing, ripped or torn off; the pages of the surviving manuscript are clean, not fragile, have no holes and the ink is clearly legible. Here is a photograph of a typical page of the original (p. 43), showing the damage by fire.



3.3 Page Layout

The author himself provided Arabic page numbers at the top of the page, going from right to left, starting from the main body of the manuscript (excluding the introductory parts) up to the end of section 48, i.e. leaving the first 11 introductory pages without any type of numbering. These numbers are sometimes enclosed by a kind of parentheses, often of the form ﴿ ﴾. However, the sequence of these page numbers is very strange, as will be shown below. Therefore, one of his senior students later provided his own page numbers in the top margin, beside the original page numbers, for the entire book. Unfortunately, he skipped some numbers and left a few pages with no number. Recognizing these errors, he later went back and again wrote page numbers, this time in the bottom margin and now in the correct, full sequence. It is this pagination that has been used by the researcher.

The original sequence of page numbers as given by the Šayḥ is shown below. I have added in square brackets the probable page-sequences that the Šayḥ perhaps intended.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,	[1-9]
0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90,	[10-19]
200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209,	[20-29]
30, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309,	[30-39]
40, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409,	[40-49]
50, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509,	[50-59]
60, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609,	[60-69]
70, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709,	[70-79]
80, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809,	[80-89]
90, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909,	[90-99]
00, 100, 0120, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109,	[100-109]



1010, 1020, 10201, 10202, 10203, 10204, 10205, 10206, 10207, 10208, 10209,	[110, 120-129]
0130, 01301, 01302, 01303, 01304, 01305, 01306, 01307, 01308, 01309,	[130-139]
0104, 01041, 01042, 01043, 01044, 01045, 01046, 01047, 01048, 01049,	[140-149]
0105, 01051, 01052, 01053, 01054, 01055, 01056, 01057, 01058, 01059,	[150-159]
0106, 01061, 01062, 01063, 01064, 01065, 01066, 01067, 01068, 01069,	[160-169]
0107, 01071, 01072, 01073, 01074, 01075, 01076, 01077, 01078, 01079,	[170-179]
0108, 01081, 01082, 01083, 01084, 01085, 01086, 01087, 01088, 01089,	[180-189]
20, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209,	[200-209]
2010, 20011, 20012, 20013, 20014, 20015, 20016, 20017, 20018, 20019,	[210-219]
30, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309,	[300-309]
3010, 30101, 30012, 30013, 30014, 30015, 30016, 30017, 30018, 30019,	[310-319]
3020, 30201, 30202, 30203, 30204, 30205, 30206, 30207, 30208, 30209,	[320-329]
30302, 30303, 30304, 30305, 30306,	[332-336]
30041, 30042, 30043, 30044, 30045, 30046, 30047, 30048, 30049,	[341-349]
3005, 30051, 30052, 30053, 30054, 30057, 30056, 30058, 30059,	[350-359]
3006, 30061, 30062, 30063, 30064, 30065, 30066, 30067, 30068	[360-368]

What I have given as “0” (zero) in this list is of course a dot • in Arabic. A reasonable assumption is that not all of these dots were intended to be “zero”, but perhaps were a kind of decoration. This is especially likely since many of the dots are written underneath (not beside) the other digits. But even with this assumption, it was impossible to create a rational sequence from these page numbers. The best that can be said is that there is a sort of ascending sequence (see bracketed numbers above).

Decorations of various kinds appear on some of the pages. On page 11 the word انتهى “end” is repeated, with decoration. On page 156 and 229 the phrase هذا والسلام are

decorated; on page 227 a meaningless flowery decoration is added; and on page 201 some of the letters in the chapter-title are decorated. The decoration typically involves a graphic doubling of the strokes which make up the letter.

There are copious marginal notes written in all four margins, usually the left and right margin but sometimes the top and bottom; some of these are written diagonally or even upside down. The notes are in the author's own handwriting, and thus represent his revisions to his own text.

The text is not divided into columns and is written without indentation. Frequently, but inconsistently, the symbols  or  appear in order to mark a new paragraph, a new idea, or a title; the symbol is written over the given word or phrase.



3.4. Style of the Writing

As seen on the unburnt portions of the original manuscript, the letters are medium in size, legible but somewhat messy, written in blue and red. The author uses red ink in writing:








- Main points
- Punctuation marks and diacritics
- Chapter titles
- Raised numbers in the text which are keyed to marginal notes (like footnote numbers).

Vowel diacritics and *šadda* occur frequently but with no consistency.

The words are separated from each other mostly by a space. Rarely he uses commas to separate repeated words. Often a period or formulaic ending-phrase appears at the end of a sentence, using a great variety of different notations as follows:

- He uses the symbol  at the end of a paragraph on pages: 4, 5, 12, 32, 80, 110, 111, 115, 198, 281
- He uses the symbol  (especially at the end of the marginal notes) on pages: 39, 40, 47, 63, 66, 69, 72, 77, 80, 87, 95, 112, 113, 115, 121, 126, 130,

137, 139, 147, 149, 151, 167, 171, 175, 196, 199, 205, 210, 257, 267, 268, 281, 285, 299, 301







- He uses the phrase *هذا والسلام* on pages: 185, 229, 246, 249, 262, 268, 290
- He uses both the word *هذا والسلام* and the symbol  on page 156 and the reverse on page 249
- He uses the symbol  on page 69 at the end of the marginal note
- He uses the symbol  on pages 147, 255
- He uses the word *انتهى* on pages 11, 112
- He uses unique symbols on pages: 224, 264, 277
- He usually uses the notation ‘ for comma (also occasionally used as a period)
- He uses the symbol   to enclose some topics on page 3 and to enclose most of his page numbers
- He sometimes uses other symbols to enclose the topic (e.g. pages 80, 136)
- He uses the quotation mark   on page 83.

3.5. Orthography of the Text

The text is written in modern literary Arabic, almost always with standard spelling (see section 3.5.2 below).

3.5.1. Transliteration

On some pages of the manuscript, the author transliterates non-Arabic words inconsistently as follows:

To transcribe the sound /g/ in Arabic script, the author inconsistently uses six different letters      

Representing letter	Arabic word	Transcription of the Ethiopic	Ethiopic word	Page
چ	چیرا	Gera	ጌራ	129
	أچارو	'Aggaro	አጋሮ	129, 130
	چندر	Gondär	ጎንደር	194
	چبار	Gäbbar	ገባር	171
	چوبنا	Gobäna	ጎቦና	151, 153
	چدی	Geddiyy	ጌዲይ	180
	أرجبا	'Argobba	አርጎባ	197
	چالا	Galla	ጋላ	148
	دنچی	Dangiyy	ዳንጊይ	12,274,300, 309
	چرانی	Grañ	ግራኝ	69, 82, 83
	دنچل	Dingil	ድንግል	69, 209
	إنجليزية	'Ingliziyya	እንግሊዝኛ	13
	إنچلیز	'Ingliz	እንግሊዝ	111
	أوجادين	'Ogaden	ኦጋዴን	94
	چیراچی	Gurage	ጉራጌ	279
	چراچ	Gurage	ጉራጌ	148
	چراچی	Gurage	ጉራጌ	266
	چراچی	Gurage	ጉራጌ	151
	ملجا چلو	Mälgagillu	መልጋጊሉ	280
	چونا	Guna	ጉና	280
	إندچاپ	'Indägañ	እንደጋኝ	280
	أجتا	'Aggätta	አገታ	281
	أجر	'Agär	አገር	281
ج	چالا	Galla	ጋላ	54,79, 82,86,92,94,96
	چندار	Gondär	ጎንደር	90
	ولاچة	Wällägga	ወለጋ	94
	چری	Gore	ጎራ	125
	چور	Gore	ጎራ	129
	چما	Gumma	ጉማ	129
	چتا	Gäta	ገታ	184, 185
	هلباراج	Hulbarag	ሁልባራግ	280
	أچاوی	'Agawiyy	አጋዊይ	260
غ	أغاوی	'Agawiyy	አጋዊይ	308
	بغمدر	Bägemidir	በጌምድር	96

Representing letter	Arabic word	Transcription of the Ethiopic	Ethiopic word	Page
ك	كوكسا	Gugsa	ገግሳ	82
	كلودوس	Gälawdewos	ገላውዴዎስ	69
پ	نپادی	Näggade	ነጋዴ	96
ج	دنچی	Dangiyy	ዳንጊይ	299

He also uses two different graphemes ظ and ج to represent the sound č', as shown below:

Representing letter	Arabic word	Transcription of the Ethiopic	Ethiopic word	Page
ظ	ظات	č'at	ጭት	125
	ظامس	Č'amiso	ጭሚሶ	273
	يظرت	Yäč'rit	የጭሪት	280
	ظرظر	Č'ärč'är	ጨርጨር	130
ج	جلقو	Č'älänqo	ጨለንቆ	89

3.5.2 Spelling mistakes

There exist many words in the manuscript which have non-standard spellings as shown below.

A. Misuse of 'atīf (ا) in writing 3rd-masculine-plural verb forms

Wrong spelling	Page number	Line number	Correction
فأخذو	29	7	فأخذوا
لأفسدو	30	3	لأفسدوا
فاقتتلو	30	10	فاقتتلوا
فعادو	31	8	فعادوا
وجدو	35	3	وجدوا
علمو	39	9	علموا
نظمو	48	8	نظموا
كانو	79	7	كانوا
بدعو	80	10	بدعوا
أخذو	93	9	أخذوا
تحاربو	152	7	تحاربوا
فتعلقو	88	3	فتعلقوا
ليقتلواهم	33	5	ليقتلواهم
عاتبواهم	35	2	عاتبواهم
مصرفواهم	47	4	مصرفواهم
ارسلواها	33	8	ارسلوها
اصلحواها	64	6	اصلحوها
اعتبرواها	70	5	اعتبروها
فتنونا	38	2-3	فتنونا
ليردونا	38	3	ليردونا
قهرونا	38	5	قهرونا
ظلمونا	38	5	ظلمونا
وجدوا	41	6	وجدوا
اجلسوا	41	6	اجلسوا
أنزلوا	103	8	أنزلوا

يحتلونها	45	2	يحتلونها
مهاجرون	42	4	مهاجرون
مهاجرون	43	2	مهاجرون
مسلمون	44	11	مسلمون
تفرون	73	7	تفرون
تقولون	39	1	تقولون

Note that the incorrect spelling تفرون and the correct spelling تفرون both cooccur consecutively in the very same line (page 73, line 7)!

B. Other spelling mistakes involving 'alif (ا)

Wrong spelling	Page number	Line number	Correction	Comment
واعدا	77	1	وعدا	Misquote from Qur'ān
روية	33	4	رواية	
ذلك	Very often		ذلك	

C. Non-standard *kursi* (seat) for *hamza* (ء)

Ms <i>kursi</i>	Standard <i>kursi</i>	Page number	Line number
رؤس	رؤوس	76	6,7
قرء	قرأ	76	10
يسوعنى	يسوؤنى	13	12
شؤن	شؤون	80	10
رعى	رأى	73	12

D. Subject marker on verb (apparent grammar errors)

Text	Should be	Page	Line	Comment
فكونى	فكونوا	39	1	See below
سبق	سبقت	71	11	Subject is واقعة (fem.)

The spelling فكونى (2nd-feminine-singular) is very strange and makes no sense in context.

E. Mistakes due to oversight

Carelessly written word	Correction	Page number	Line number
ينكبان	ينكبان	3	4
فتوح	فتوح	14	10
اعتناق	اعتناق	19	5
مجزر	مجزر	44	6

In spellings like ينكبان and اعتناق the scribe has carelessly written 3 small “teeth” instead of two.

F. Inconsistently spelled place names

Names	Transliteration	Ethiopic word	Page
شوا	Šäwa	ሸዋ	16, 51, 66, 89, 93
شوى	Šäwa	ሸዋ	71
إلتريا	’Iltriya	ኤርትራ	80
إريتريّة	’Irītriya	ኤርትራ	91

G. Inconsistently spelled words (mostly foreign)

Inconsistently spelled word	Transliteration	Meaning	Page
أتراك	’Atrāk	Turks	69
تركیون	Turkiyyūna	Turks	79
برتغاليين	Burtganiyyīna	Portuguese	77
برتغاليين	Burtgaliyyīna	Portuguese	83
ولكننى	walākinnanī	But me	13
ولكنى	walākinnī	But me	14
بطريرك	baṭriyark	patriarch	57
بطرك	baṭrak	patriarch	57, 60, 61

Also Gurage, Gondär, Dangiy, ’Agawiyy, Gore, Galla are inconsistently spelled, as already mentioned above under “Transliteration” (Section 3.5.1).

3.5.3 Miscellaneous Points

- Often (almost always) the combination *'alīf-kasra* is written with the *hamza* above the *'alīf*, with the *kasra* written below the *'alīf* (أ).)
- There exists a noteworthy use of the Arabic letter خ to transcribe the Amharic letter ከ *kä*. Instead of using the correct Arabic letter ك *kāf* in transcribing the name ማካኤል *Mika'el*, he writes ميخائيل on page 101 line 12 and page 102 line 4. Curiously, this is the correct form in Hebrew. The Šayḥ's native language, Silti, does not have the sound ḥ at all. (In Arabic loanwords into Amharic there is the reverse phenomenon: Arabic خ is often transcribed as Amharic ከ (Leslau 1990: 7).)
- He also adds the Arabic letter د in transcribing the Amharic word (title) *Lj*, i.e. he writes ليدج on pages 102 and 103.
- Note the use of the form إفرنج *'Ifränj* on pages 7 and 66 as (apparently) a plural of فرنج *Färänj* 'European'.
- Most of the time he uses the symbol ۛ to represent two diacritic dots .. (both below and above the letter), and similarly the symbol ۞ to represent three diacritic dots ∴. (both below and above the letter). But the usage is inconsistent. Thus on page 148, for example, we find:

أقبلت, line 3; here he uses the symbol ۛ for the two dots

كتب, line 11; here he uses the usual two dots.

تثدد, line 4; here he uses the symbol ۞ for the three dots.

بعشرة, line 12; here he uses the usual three dots.

- In writing dates, he occasionally uses unnecessary dots in between the digits. The same practice is seen (inconsistently) with his page numbers (see Section 3.3 “Page Layout” above). The dot would normally mean “zero”, but here it is better interpreted as empty decoration. Examples:

١٠٣٠٣٠١ (1030301) to write ١٣٣١ (1331) on page 102,

١٣٠٣٠٤ (130304) to write ١٣٣٤ (1334) on page 103,

١٣٠٤٩ (13049) to write ١٣٤٩ (1349) on page 103,

١٩٢٠١ (19201) to write ١٩٢١ (1921) on page 106.

Note that here even the positions and the quantities of dots in each number are not consistent.

- There is a unique way of writing the word **الحكام** as **الرفكمام** on page 68.
- There exist a number of broken words in the manuscript. In all cases, the word break occurs after a letter which does not join to the left (ا، د، ذ، ر، ز، و). An example (p. 161) is

وكا.....

.....نت

for **وكانت**. (The same practice has been observed in some Arabic manuscripts from Arsi.) Here is a complete (?) list of such broken words.

Page number	Starting line	Page number	Starting line	Page number	Starting line
9	8	114	4	203	2, 6
12	11	118	11	207	4
16	10	122	11	208	1
17	2	124	3,6,7,10,11	216	5
19	7	125	1, 10	220	9
20	2	126	4	231	10
25	3	130	9	236	7
29	3	132	3	240	7, 9, 12
34	5, 6, 8	133	1, 6, 11	241	4, 9
36	9	135	2	242	8

37	4	136	2, 3, 12	243	10
38	2, 7	137	2, 7, 11	248	2
39	3	138	5	249	9
40	8, 10	139	1, 2, 10	252	10
45	5, 7	140	1, 12	253	4, 7
47	8	141	1	263	11
48	7	144	7	264	3
50	10	148	9	265	8
51	9	149	7	266	9
55	1	151	7	268	2
56	5	152	7	270	3, 12
57	8, 9, 11	157	2, 7, 8, 9	272	11
62	6	158	6, 8, 10	273	4
64	1	160	2, 8	274	11
66	2, 3, 6, 11	161	3, 5, 6	280	2
68	4	162	3	281	2
69	2	163	10	284	11
70	2, 7, 8	165	4	286	11, 12
71	1	168	2,8	288	1, 10
73	11	170	1	289	9, 10
82	8	171	4	290	8
83	3, 9	173	6, 7	291	9
84	7	176	6	293	2
85	9	178	1	294	4, 8, 10
93	5	181	1	296	1, 5, 8
100	5	182	2	297	5
103	3, 9	183	9	299	2
104	1, 6, 10	184	9	300	5
105	1, 2	186	4, 8	301	5, 8, 10
107	3	188	2	302	3
108	4	194	11	306	4, 12
111	5	198	10	308	6
112	8				

At least once a word is broken in this way across a page break (pages 306-307).

3.6. The Language of the Text

The text is written entirely in modern literary Arabic, in good normal style with numerous quotations from the Qur'ān, ḥadīth, history books, etc. As noted above, there are some spelling mistakes. The grammar is good.

3.7. Organization of the Manuscript

3.7.1. Title

The title of the manuscript *مصباح الظلام فى دخول دين الإسلام فى مملكة اثيوبيا بالسلام* *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡalām fī duḡūl dīn al-'Islām fī Mamlaka 'It'yūbbyā bi al-salām* (Lamp in the darkness: The peaceful entry of the Islamic religion into the kingdom of Ethiopia) is clearly written on the first page in decorated and stylized handwriting. Below this title is written *ليجامعه عبدالله بن صالح عفا الله عنه وعن والديه وعن اسلافه سنة ١٣٨٨ هـ* *li-jāmi'ihī 'Abdallāh bin Ṣāliḥ 'afā 'Allāhu 'anhu wa-'an wāliḏayhi wa-'an 'aslāfihi 1388 sana AH* (May Allah forgive the compiler 'Abdallāh bin Ṣāliḥ and his parents and his predecessors, Year 1388 AH). In between the word *اسلافه* and the date *١٣٨٨*, there is an unreadable sign. At the bottom of the page *من اخر القرن الرابع عشر* *min 'āḡir al-qarn al-rābi' 'aṣar* (from the end of the fourteenth century) is also written. Above the title, there is a shaded region which might be a decoration or crossed-out writing.

3.7.2. Subtitles

The manuscript consists of 48 subtitled chapters as listed in section 1.3. There are 45 subtitles, all written in red ink; I have added 3 more (reconstructed titles). Of the titles, 15 are run into the preceding text continuously, i.e. written with no leading spaces or line break, as follows:

Sequence number of subtitle	Page number	Sequence number of subtitle	Page number
14	31	32	98
15	44	34	101
17	46	38	112
22	71	40	127
25	82	43	157
28	91	46	241
29	93	47	262
31	97		

The following four subtitles are written at the bottom of the previous page:

Sequence number of subtitle	Page number
11	18
20	64
26	87
30	93

3.7.3. Date and colophon

The date of completion of the manuscript is written on the title page below the title as سنة ١٣٨٨ هـ (year 1388 AH/1968 AD) but there is no final colophon.

3.7.4. Introduction

The manuscript has a brief introductory part on pages 1-11 consisting of the subtitles:

- i. Definition of history
- ii. Needs of historian
- iii. Sources of history
- iv. Supporting knowledge for history
- v. The beginning of history
- vi. The language
- vii. Periods of history.

3.7.5. Author

The compiler of the manuscript is Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šālīḥ, as is stated on the title page.

3.7.6. Theme

The manuscript presents the history of Islam in Ethiopia, dealing especially with the peaceful entry and expansion of Islam into Ethiopia and the mistreatment of the Muslims by the Christian highlanders, notably at the time of the formation of the Islamic kingdoms.

CHAPTER 4 TRANSLATION AND BRIEF COMMENTARY

In this chapter, sections 1-24 of the manuscript (pages 1-82) will be translated and commented on. The Arabic text consists of a total of 48 sections and thus continues to page 310. Due to time constraints, I could not provide the translation and comments for sections 25-48 of the manuscript but their titles are given in the table of contents and section 1.3 of this thesis.

The title of the manuscript, مصباح الظلام فى دخول دين الإسلام فى مملكة اثيوبيا بالسلام *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓalām fī duḥūl dīn al-'Islām fī Mamlaka 'Ityūbyā bi-al-salām* (Lamp in the darkness: The peaceful entry of the Islamic religion into the kingdom of Ethiopia) coincides with the first main theme of the manuscript, the coming of Islam to Ethiopia. In the following text, numbers in square brackets such as [2] refer to a new page-number in the manuscript; parenthesized numbers in brackets such as ([3]) mean that this page-number has already been given in a previous section. Arabic words in square brackets represent my corrections to the original manuscript.

4.1

[2] بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

مقدمة

فى حد (ای تعريف) التاريخ التاريخ اوالتاريخ بالتسهيل مصدر معناه اللغوى التوقيت ومعناه الاصطلاحى علم تعرف به احوال الامم الماضية والشعوب الغابرة والحاضرة وهو مفيد لكل طبقات البشر.

[2] In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

Introduction

Definition of history: History (*ta'rīḥ, tā'rīḥ*) is a word whose linguistic meaning is appointing the time (limiting the time), and whose technical meaning is a science whereby one may learn the conditions of bygone

nations and of past and present peoples. It is useful for all classes of mankind.

4.2 [3] حاجة المؤرخ

المؤرخ كما عرفه العلامة ابن خلدون محتاج الى مآخذ متعددة ومعارف متنوعة وحسن نظر وتثبت يقضيان بصاحبهما الى الحق وينكبان به عن المزلات والمغاليط وافضل مزايا المؤرخ الادراك بمعناه الصحيح.

[3] Needs of the historian

The historian, as defined by the scholar Ibn Ḥaldūn, is in need of multiple sources and diverse knowledge, and goodness of insight and verification, which will predispose their possessor to the truth and to turn away from lapses and errors. The greatest virtue of the historian is to discern its true meaning (i.e. of history).

4.3 ([3]) مآخذ التاريخ

التاريخ يؤخذ من الاثار والرسوم، وهى ثلاثة: الآثار المضبوطة، الاثار المنقولة، الاثار القديمة.

([3]) Sources of history

History is taken from traces and inscriptions that are of three (types): explicit traces (from records and ledgers), traces transmitted orally, and ancient traces (from ancient monuments).

He explains each category on pp. 3-5, which I have omitted.

4.4 [5] العلوم التى تعين على التاريخ

العلوم التى تعين المؤرخ وتجلو حقائق التاريخ هى كثيرة أهمها علم الجغرافية، وعلم التقويم وعلم طبقات الأرض.

[5] Supporting knowledge for history

The fields of knowledge that support the historian and clarify the facts of history are many; the most important are geography, chronology, and knowledge of the layers of the earth (geology? archaeology?)

4.5 [5] مبدء التاريخ

جرت عادة البشر حتى الطبقات العامة أن تهتم بالحوادث الكبرى وتظل تذكرها بسائق الفطرة فقد كان الناس يؤرخون حوادثهم بتلك الوقائع...

[6] ألقائع الكبرى ألتى أعتبرت مبدء للتاريخ كثيرة جدا لكن الاكثر استعمالا مبدء الخليفة، الميلاد المسيحى، الهجرة المحمدية.

[5] The beginning of history (the creation)

It has been the custom of people, even the common people, to give special importance to major occurrences and very naturally to continue to recount them, and people have dated events in terms of these occurrences. ...

[6]... there are a great many major occurrences which have been considered as a beginning of history, but the most commonly used are the beginning of creation, the birth of Jesus and the migration (Hijra) of Muḥammad (the Prophet).

He discusses this part for nearly four pages, mainly focusing on the major events that can be taken as reference dates for historians [I have omitted]. He mentions especially the birth of the Prophet Jesus and the migration of the Prophet Muhammad as two of these major events.

4.6 [9] اللغة

ألاجماع يؤدى بالضرورة الى التخابط والتحدث، فالإنسان اذا بعد تنظيم اجتماعه استخدم عبارات عبر بها عن اغراضه وكان ما يسمونها اللغة. فاللغات اذن اصلها واحد وبعد ذلك تفرعت بتفرع الإنسان الى اقوام واصناف واجناس.

[9] Language

Social intercourse necessarily leads to conversation and communication. After the organization of society, man made use of verbal expressions to express his intentions, and this is what is called language. Languages thus had a common origin and then branched out as mankind branched out into nations, classes and races.

In this part he also discusses the types of history, that is, general and specific.

4.7 [10] أزمنة التاريخ

قسم المؤرخون أزمنة التاريخ الى ثلاثة اقسام. القسم الاول سموه القرون الاولى ومبدؤها من الأزمنة المجهولة الى زمن انقراض روما الغربية، والقسم الثاني سموه القرون الوسطى ومبدؤها [11] من انقراض روما الغربية الى انقراض مملكة روما الشرقية اي من فتح بنى عثمان للقسطنطينية، والقسم الثالث سموه القرون المتأخرة ومبدؤها من فتح القسطنطينية الى يومنا هذا القرن.

[10] Periods of history

Historians divide history into three periods. The first, which is called antiquity, starts from unknown time to the end of the western Roman Empire; the second, which is called the Middle Ages, starts [11] from the end of the western Roman Empire to the end of the eastern Roman Empire, that is, the conquest of Constantinople by Bani 'Uṭmān; the third, which is called modern history, starts from the conquest of Constantinople up to our present century.

In the above seven parts, the author gives a general idea of what history is, what the needs of historians are, what educational background they should have, when 'history' began, the origin and importance of language and the periodization of history.

الحمد لله على نعمة الاسلام، والصلاة والسلام على سيد الانام وآله وصحبه الكرام، ما دامت الليالي والايام،

وبعد فلما كان علم التاريخ عظيم النفع، وكثير الوقع لأن فيه يفتح النظر، ويحصل العبر، ويجول الفكر بسببه فيما غير، وعلماء ناحيتنا لا تهتم لمعرفة الا القليل منهم كشيخنا الدنجي رضى الله عنه، وشيخنا الولنى رضى الله عنه فلما عرفت ذلك، اشغلت فكري فى وضع كتاب بذكر تاريخ الحبشة فوفقت لمطالعة كتاب موضوع فى ذلك فى الحرم [13] النبوى ولكنه طويل فموضوعه فى القانون الدولى ومختلط باللغة الانجليزية فلذلك تركت حمله وفهمت مقصوده، وأردت أن أبين علاقة الحبشة فى العرب قبل الاسلام وعلاقتها بعد ظهور الاسلام لعلمائنا ليكونوا على بصيرة فى أصل دين الاسلام ودخوله الى الحبشة لقوله تعالى ان الدين عند الله الاسلام فأن من لم يعرف تاريخ دينه ربما يتزلزل قلبه بأنه مغلوب فيضعف إيمانه ومن لم يعرف تاريخ نسبه من العلماء يلحقه النقص غدا أو بعد غد وانبه إخواننا أن يهتموا بمعرفة أنسابهم وسؤال أشياخ البلاد عن ذلك ولكننى يسوءنى عدم معرفتى [14] اللغة الامحرية لأطالع كتبها الموضوعه فى تاريخ الحبشة ولكنى سألت بعض من وقف عليها وأخبرنى أنها قليلة الأنصاف بذكر الاسلام وتضيفه إلى القلة والضعف فتركت إهتمامى بها ورجعت الى مطالعة الكتب العربية كالكتاب المدنى المتقدم ذكره وكتاب الشيخ الولنى اى الذى وضعه فى فضل الحبشة ومناقب علمائها ولكنه فاته ذكر دخول الاسلام فيها اول ظهوره وطالعت كتاب فتوح [= فتوح] الحبشة للعلامة الشهاب احمد بن عبد القادر الجيزانى المدعو عرب فقيه الهررى وطالعت كتاب الاسلام فى الحبشة وفيه وثائق صحيحة [15] قيمة عن أحوال المسلمين فى مملكة أثيوبيا من شروق شمس الاسلام الى هذه الأيام اعنى أيام جلاله هيلاسلاسى الأول.

[12] In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

The motives of the writer for writing this manuscript [reconstructed title]

Praise be to Allah for the bounty of Islam, Peace and Blessings be upon the chief of mankind (the Prophet Muḥammad), his family and his respected companions, as long as the nights and the days endure.

Since the science of history is of great benefit and of manifold impact, as it opens up our horizons, and teaches us lessons, and makes us at home with past events, and yet the scholars of our area do not attach much importance to knowing it except for a few like our Šayḥ Dangiyy and Šayḥ Wäläniyy, may Allah be well pleased with them; when I recognized this, I thought to write a book recounting the history of Ḥabaša. I had the good fortune to read a book about this in the Sacred (place) [13] of the Prophet [Medina], but it was long, its subject was international law and mixed with English; so I set it aside once I understood its [general] intention. And I want to explain to our scholars the relationship between Ḥabaša and the Arabs both before Islam and after the appearance of Islam, so that they may understand clearly the origin of the Islamic religion and its entry into Ḥabaša; in the words of the Most High, “The Religion before Allah is Islam” [Qur’ān 3:19]. For he who does not know the history of his religion, his heart may waver in defeat and his belief may weaken; and a scholar who does not know the history of his lineage, the deficiency will catch up with him sooner or later. And I urged our brothers to take an interest in their lineages and to ask the elders of the area in this respect. But I was troubled by my lack of knowledge [14] of the Amharic language, to read the books (written in it) about the history of Ḥabaša; but I asked some people who do know them [Amharic books], and they told me that they do not do justice to Islam and attribute to it insignificance and

weakness. Hence I left off being concerned with what is in them and turned back to reading Arabic books like the above-mentioned book from Medina and the book of Šayḥ Wālāniyy, namely the one that he wrote about the virtues of Ḥabaša and the biography of its (Muslim) scholars; but he failed to mention the entry of Islam to it (i.e. to Ḥabaša) at the time of its first appearance (i.e. of Islam). And I read the book *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* by the erudite Šihāb 'Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jizāniyy called '*Arab Faqīh al-Harariyy* [*Harariyy* is added between the lines], and I read the book *al-'Islām fī al-Ḥabaša* which gives a true and valuable [15] record of the condition of the Muslims in the kingdom of Ethiopia from the rising of the sun of Islam up to the present day, I mean the reign of his Majesty Haile Selassie the First.

In the next part, part 4.9, the author turns to his main subject but does not give any title. From its content, specifically the last line of the part, the hypothetical title can be reconstructed as “The condition of Ḥabaša before Islam”. At the beginning, he mentions that Ethiopia was originally a pagan, idol-worshipping country:

4.9 [15] أولا

فاذكر حال إثيوبيا فأنها كانت وثنية شمالها وجنوبها شرقيها وغربيها ولكن الوثنية تختلف بعبادتها
... [17] هذا ما كان في حال الحبشة قبل الأسلام

[15] The original condition of Ethiopia [reconstructed title]

To begin with, I will recall the (original) condition of Ethiopia, which was pagan, north and south and east and west; but the paganism encompassed various forms of worship... [17] This was the condition of Ḥabaša before Islam.

The author explains the various types of worship in different regions and nations of the country. Furthermore he mentions that even after Christianity was introduced into the country and the Christians fought against idolatry, the people south of northern Šäwa resisted conversion and did not change their culture before the entry of Islam.

4.10 ([17]) فصل اذكر فيه علاقة الحبشة بالعرب

يرجع علاقة الحبشة بالعرب الى عصر قديم يبتداء من وقت أن عرف العرب حاجتهم الى الرقيق ليرعى إبلهم ويحلب نياقهم ويقوم بخدمتهم وقد كانت سفن اليمن تسطوا على سواحل الحبشة تتخطف نساءهم وأبناءهم وتبيعهم عبيدا في أنحاء جزيرة العرب وغيرها

([17]) Ḥabaša-Arab relationship

The relationship between Ḥabaša and the Arabs goes back to the time that the Arabs realized that they needed slaves to tend their camels and milk their she-camels and to be in their service. The ships of Yemen raided the coastal area of Ḥabaša to abduct their women and children, and they sold them as slaves throughout the Arabian Peninsula and elsewhere.

Trade relations between Ethiopia and the eastern and western world have been discussed extensively by various writers, especially for the Axumite period. In particular, they mention the slave trade, although which party or country was a seller and which one was a buyer is generally unspecified. The author of this manuscript, however, discloses that Arabs were buyers through Yemen. Moreover, Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abdurrahmān al-Suyūfī, in his book *Raf’ ša’n al-Ḥubšān*, includes a lengthy discussion (pages 182-317) of Bilāl bin Rabāḥ, Abu Bakrah Nafi’ bin Masrūḥ, Ḥālid bin al-Ḥawāriyy, Dū Maḥbar, Dū Maḥdam, ‘Ummu ‘Ayman, Mamṭūr ‘abū Salām, and thirty-three other Ethiopian slaves in the Arab world, who were later freed after the introduction of Islam.

4.11

[18] فصل فى احتلال الحبشة لليمن

[19] ذكر مؤرخو العرب احتلال الحبشة لليمن بروايات مطولة، خلاصتها أن أحد ملوك اليمن وإسمه ذو نواس كان يهوديا وكان يحمل الناس على اعتناق اليهودية. وكان أهل نجران نصارى وفيهم قليل من اليهود. فجاء الى ذى نواس يهودى يتظلم من نصارى نجران ويزعم أنهم قتلوا ابنا له فغضب ذو نواس وغزاهم وقتل منهم خلقا كثيرا وحمل من بقى منهم على الدخول فى اليهودية فأبو فصنع لهم أخدودا فى الأرض وملاء نارا ثم عرضهم عليه فمن دخل فى اليهودية خلى سبيله [20] ومن أبى القاه فى الأخدود وهو الذى ذكره الله تعالى فى كتابه الكريم بقوله قتل اصحاب الاخدود، النار ذات الوقود، فأقلت منهم رجل يدعى ذو ثعبان، حتى أتى قيصر ملك للروم يستنصره على ذى نواس فأرسله قيصر الى ملك الحبشة وكتب اليه يأمره بنصره وكان ملك الحبشة تحت امره فأرسل معه جيشا بقيادة رجل اسمه أرياط، فدخل اليمن واحتلها باسم النجاشى ملك الحبشة بعد ان قتل وسبى وخرّب البلاد فولاه النجاشى ما ضمه اليه من ارض اليمن، وكان فى عسكره رجل داهية يسمى ابرهة الأشرم نازعه الملك ثم اقتتلا [21] فقتله أبرهة واستقل بالأمر فأقره النجاشى على ملك اليمن...

[18] Ḥabaša conquest of Yemen

[19] The Arab historians reported about the Ḥabaša occupation of Yemen in great detail. In brief, a king of Yemen named Ḍū Nuwās was a Jew and persuaded people to embrace Judaism. The people of Najrān were Christians but among them were a few Jews. One of the Jews came to Ḍū Nuwās to complain about the Najrān Christians, claiming that they had killed his son; Ḍū Nuwās became angry and campaigned against them and killed many people and compelled the survivors to embrace Judaism. the Najrān Christians refused, and so Ḍū Nuwās made a trench in the ground

and filled it with fire and showed it to them; those who embraced Judaism were left to go their way, [20] and those who refused were thrown into the trench. That is what Allah the Most High recalls in his glorious Book saying, “Woe to the makers of the trench (of fire) supplied (abundantly) with fuel” [Qur’ān 85:4-5]. Someone from (among the persecuted) called *Dū Ta‘bān* escaped and he came to *Qayṣar* [Caesar], the Roman [i.e. Byzantine] king, and asked him for help against *Dū Nuwās*. *Qayṣar* sent him (*Dū Ta‘bān*) to the king of *Ḥabaša* and wrote to him (the king) ordering him to help him, for the king of *Ḥabaša* was subject to his orders. He (the king of *Ḥabaša*) sent an army with him (*Dū Ta‘bān*) under the command of a man named *’Aryāṭ*, who entered Yemen and liberated them in the name of the *Nājāšī*, king of *Ḥabaša*, after he had killed and taken prisoners and devastated the land, and the *Nājāšī* appointed him (*’Aryāṭ*) as governor over the part of Yemen that he had annexed. In his army there was a cunning man called *’Abraha al-’Ašrām* contended with him for power. They (*’Aryāṭ* and *’Abraha*) fought each other [21] and *’Abraha* killed him and assumed power, and the *Nājāšī* acknowledged his rule over Yemen...

... حينما تم له الأمر، بنى فى صنعاء كنيسة سماها القليس وكتب الى النجاش أنى قد بنيت لك كنيسة لم ير مثلها وسأصرف حاج العرب وكانت العرب فى جاهليها تحج الى البيت العتيق بمكة وشاع بينهم ما عزم عليه ابرهة فجاء رجل من بنى فقيم فدخل القليس وأحدث فيها نكاية فى أبرهة فبلغ ابرهة ذلك [22] فأقسم ليهدم البيت الذى تحج اليه العرب ثم جهز جيشا من الحبشة وسار فى مقدمته راكبا الفيل حتى بلغ الطائف فأرسلت معه تقيف دليلا اسمه أبو رغال يدلّه على مكة، فسار حتى إذا بلغ مكانا بقرب مكة يدعى المغمس. هلك أبو رغال والعرب ترجم قبره فيه الى الآن...

...When he was finished with that matter, he built a church in Şan‘ā’ and called it *Al-Qulays* and wrote (a letter) to the king (of Ḥabaša) saying, “I have built for you a church whose like has never been seen, and (with it) I will distract the Arab pilgrims.” In that pre-Islamic time, the Arabs performed pilgrimage to *Bayt al-‘Atīq* in Mecca. And the news spread among them of what ‘Abraha had decided upon, and a man from *Bani Faqīm* [i.e. *Bani Fuḡaym*] came to *Al-Qulays* and in it (the church) he perpetrated an outrage against ‘Abraha. News of this reached ‘Abraha [22] and he took an oath to destroy the House to which the Arabs practiced pilgrimage. Then he prepared an army of Ḥabaša and set out at its head riding an elephant until he reached *Tā’if*. A skilled man called ‘Abū Raḡāl was sent with him as a guide to show him the way to Mecca. He went until he reached the place near Mecca called *Al-Maḡmas*. ‘Abū Raḡāl perished (there) and the Arabs still stone his grave today...

[24]... فلما أصبح تهباً لدخول مكة بجيشه ليهدم البيت وركب فيه ووجهه الى مكة فبرك ولم يقم فضربوه وآذوه فلم يقم فوجهه الى ناحية اخرى فقام فأداره نحو مكة فبرك وفي هذه الساعة الرهيبة أرسل الله على أبرهة وجيشه جيشاً من جنوده وما يعلم جنود ربك إلا هو، وما هي إلا ذكرى للبشر، وهذا الجيش طيور صغار جاءت تحمل [25] حجارة دقيقة في أرجلها ومناقيرها وألقتها على أبرهة وجيشه فكانت لا تصيب احداً إلا أهلكته فارتد أبرهة ومن معه يتساقطون هلكتهم وفي قصتهم نزلت سورة الفيل وهي قوله تعالى "ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بأصحاب الفيل ألم يجعل كيدهم في تضليل وارسل عليهم طيراً أبابيل ترميهم بحجارة من سجيل فجعلهم كعصف مأكول"، فلما هلك أبرهة ومن معه من الحبشة قام بملك اليمن بعده ابنه يكسوم، وكان جباراً فأذل العرب وأذاقهم أنواع الظلم في اليمن انتقاماً لأبيه وقومه فلما اشتد الضغط عليهم ذهب سيف بن ذى يزن [26] الى كسرى رئيس الفرس المجوسى واستنصره على الحبشة وحسن له ضم اليمن الى ملكه لما فيها من خير فأرسل معه جيشاً قوياً تمكن من سحق من في اليمن من الحبشة واحتلها وسبى

ما بقى من نساءهم وأولادهم فازداد بهذا عداوة الحبشة للعرب لأنهم كانوا سبب إجلائهم عن اليمن بعد أن احتلواها نحو 70 سنة مع ابادة رجالهم واسترقاق نساءهم وذراريهم.

[24] When he prepared to enter Mecca with his army to destroy the House, he mounted his elephant and faced it towards Mecca. And it kneeled down and did not stand up. They beat it and hurt it but it wouldn't stand up. When he faced it in a different direction, it stood up. When he turned it back to the direction of Mecca, it kneeled down. And at this terrible time Allah sent against 'Abraha and his army an army of his own soldiers—and no one knows the soldiers of your Lord except Himself. And this is nothing other than a reminder to mankind. And this army consisted of small birds carrying [25] minute stones in their feet and beaks, and they pelted 'Abraha and his army with them. Anyone who was hit was destroyed. 'Abraha and his army retreated, falling dead one after the other. And this is among their stories, as is revealed in the “Chapter of the Elephant” (Sura 105 of the *Qur'ān*) in the words of the Most High:

Seest thou not how thy Lord dealt with the companions of the elephant; did he not make their treacherous plan go astray? And he sent against them flights of birds, striking them with stones of baked clay; then did he make them like an empty field of stalks and straw (of which the corn) has been eaten up.

And when 'Abraha and the Ḥabaša who were with him perished, his son Yāksum took over the kingship of Yemen after him. He was a tyrant and humiliated the Arabs and he made them taste different types of oppression in revenge for his father and his people. And when the pressure on them (the Arabs) intensified, Sayf bin Dī Yazan went [26] to Kisra the *Magus*, ruler of Persia, to request his support against the Ḥabaša (in Yemen), and he showed him how advantageous it would be to annex Yemen to his kingdom because of all the good things in it. So he (Kisra) sent a strong

army with him (Sayf bin Dī Yazan) capable of crushing the Ḥabaša in Yemen, and they occupied it and captured the remaining women and their children (of Ḥabaša). This increased the enmity of Ḥabaša to the Arabs because they were the cause of their withdrawal from Yemen after having occupied it for some 70 years, along with the annihilation of their men and the enslavement of their women and offspring.

In this section Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh draws upon Ibn Hišām, whose wording is sometimes identical; note that in both versions, the Byzantine Qayṣar orders the king of Ḥabaša to provide help against Dū Nuwās. This is Ibn Hišām’s text:

أمر دوس ذى ثعلبان وابتداء ملك الحبشة
وذكر أرياط المستولى على اليمن

(قرار دوس واستنصاره بقيصر):

قال ابن إسحاق: وافلت منهم رجل من سبأ، يقال له: دوس ذى ثعلبان، على فرس له، فسلك الرمل فأعجزهم، فمضى على وجهه ذلك، حتى أتى قيصر ملك الروم، فاستنصره على ذى نواس وجنوده، وأخبره بما بلغ منهم، فقال له: بعدت بلادك منا، ولكنى سأكتب لك إلى ملك الحبشة فإنه على هذا الدين، وهو أقرب إلى بلادك، وكتب إليه يأمره بنصره والطلب بثأره.

The affair of Daws Dī Ta‘labān and the beginning of the kingdom of Ḥabaša,

including mention of ‘Aryāṭ who was appointed governor over Yemen

(The resolution of Daws and his request for help from Qayṣar)

Ibn ‘Ishāq said: And a man from Saba’ called Daws Dī Ta‘labān escaped from them on his horse, he crossed the sandy desert and he outstripped them. He proceeded in this way until he reached Qayṣar, the king of Rome [Byzantium], and requested his help against Dū Nuwās and his army. He informed him (Qayṣar) what had happened to them (the people). He

(Qayṣar) said to him: “Your country is far from us, but I will write on your behalf to the king of Ḥabaša, who is of the same religion. He is closer to your country”. And he wrote to him ordering him to help them and to seek revenge.

In connection with these events, Sergew Hable Sellassie remarks in his book *Ancient and Medieval History to 1270* (page 135):

After the final defeat of Dhu Nuwas, there was no radical change in administration. The only innovation was the appointment of Abreha as commander of the Ethiopian garrison there.

Quoting from Procopius, he continues:

‘Now this Abramōs [Abraha] was a Christian, but a slave of a Roman citizen who was engaged in the business of shipping in the city of Adulis in Ethiopia’.

Earlier, Sergew also mentions the persecution of the Christians in South Arabia (pp. 126-128).

Most of the events mentioned here by Ṣayḥ ‘Abdallāh are found in the text and commentary of the Holy *Qur’ān*. Thus it is very probable that he used it as a reference.

4.12

[27] Migration of the followers (of Prophet Muḥammad) to Ḥabaša

This part (omitted here) is a brief summary of the next two parts, i.e. concerning the first and the second migrations. The two migrations are treated separately in detail in parts 4.13 and 4.14 below.

فخرج من المسلمين احد عشر رجلا واربع نساء [29] وعبروا البحر الاحمر الى الحبشة واستجاروا بالنجاشي فأجارهم وعلم منهم ببعثة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فأكرم مثواهم وذلك فى السنة الخامسة من النبوة اما البطارقة من قومه فكانوا شديدي التعصب لدينهم فعز عليهم ان تقام فى مدينتهم المسيحية شعائر دين آخر فأخذوا [فأخذوا] يهددون المهاجرين ويحرضونهم على التنصر فثبت الله المسلمين على إيمانهم إلا واحدا، وهو عبيدالله بن جحش، فإنه لضعف اسلامه ارتد وتنصر، فلما تنصر قام يحرض المسلمين على التنصر فهال النجاشي هذا الامر وأحاط المسلمين بسور من عنايته ومنع البطارقة [30] من التعرض لهم فثار البطارقة عليه وكادوا يخلعونه لولا ان الله نصره عليهم لأفسدوا [لأفسدوا] عليه أمره لأن المهاجرين يقيمون الصلاة فى اوقاتها علانية فى محلهم الذى اقامهم فيه النجاشي واقام المسلمون بخير دار وظهر فى ذلك الوقت ملك فنازع النجاشي فى ملكه فعظم ذلك على المسلمين وسار النجاشي ليقاتله وارسل المسلمون واحدا منهم ليأتيهم بخبره وهم يدعون له بالنصر فاقتتلوا [فاقتتلوا] فظفر النجاشي عليه فما سر المسلمون بشئ سرورهم بظفره. ثم أسلم عمر وحمزة عم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ووجد اتباع [31] النبي بأسلامهما بعض راحة واشيع الى الحبشة أن قريشا أجابت الدعوة وتركت الأذى للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم واتباعه فأحب المهاجرون اغتنام فرصة السلامة وفرارا من وحشة الغربية رجع اكثرهم الى مكة وكان مكثهم فى الحبشة فى هذه الهجرة نحو ثلاثة اشهر فلما قدموا الى مكة وجدوا عنت قريش يزداد كما ازداد عدد المسلمين ايضا فعادوا [فعادوا] الى الحبشة ثانية

[28] The first migration

Eleven men and four women of the Muslims set out [29] and crossed the Red Sea to Ḥabaša; they asked the Nājaši for refuge, which he granted. And he learned from them about the coming of the Prophet, Peace and Blessings be upon him, and he gave them a distinguished dwelling place; this was in the fifth year of the Prophet. But the patriarchs of his people (the Ḥabaša) were extremely zealous for their religion, and it was hard for

them to (accept) the rituals of another religion to be held in their Christian capital of Ḥabaša; thus they began to intimidate the immigrants and pressured them to embrace Christianity. (But) Allah made the Muslims firm in their belief except one who was ‘Ubaydullāh bin Jaḥṣ [literally “little servant of Allah, son of donkey”]. Because he was weak in his Islam, he became an apostate and converted to Christianity. And when he had converted, he began to pressure the Muslims to convert. This alarmed the Nājaši, and he encompassed the Muslims in the wall of his care and forbade the patriarchs [30] to interfere with them. Then the patriarchs were stirred up against him, and they almost deposed him. And had not Allah helped him against them, they would have subverted his command that the immigrants could perform prayer publicly at the appointed times in the place that Nājaši had provided for them; and the Muslims lived in the finest of dwelling places. At this time a king appeared to threaten Nājaši’s throne. This greatly distressed the Muslims, and when Nājaši went to fight against him (his opponent), the Muslims sent someone from among them to bring information about him (Nājaši) and they prayed for his victory. And they (Nājaši and his enemy) fought each other and Nājaši was victorious, and nothing ever made the Muslims happier than his victory. Then ‘Umar and Ḥamza, the uncle of the Prophet, Peace and Blessings be upon him, embraced Islam, and the followers [31] of the Prophet got a certain relief upon their conversion. And [mis]information came to Ḥabaša that the Qurayši had responded (positively) to the call (to convert to Islam) and had stopped troubling the Prophet, Peace and Blessings be upon him, and his followers. And the immigrants preferred to seize this opportunity of peace to escape from the loneliness of exile, and most of them returned to Mecca. And their sojourn in Ḥabaša in this migration was for about three months. But when they arrived at Mecca, they found that just as the

number of Muslims had increased, so had the oppression of the Qurayši increased. And so they returned to Ḥabaša for a second time...

4.14 ([31]) الهجرة الثانية

ولما كانت قريش لا تكف عن أذى المسلمين إجتمع عدد كثير ممن أسلموا يبلغ عددهم 80 رجلا عدا النساء والاطفال وقصدوا الحبشة ثانية [32] فرحب بهم النجاشي وأسكنهم مجتمعين ليقبوا شعائر دينهم واسلم هو على يد جعفر ابن أبي طالب لأنه كان مع المهاجرين في هذه المرة ويقال ان إسلامه كان سرا خوفا من البطارقة لئلا تخلعه فلذلك لم يثبت تاريخ الحبشة والفرنج إسلامه وهناك خشى كفار قريش ان يكون هذا العدد من المهاجرين قوة للتبشير بالاسلام في الحبشة وانهم اذا تم لهم ذلك عادوا بجيش من الحبشة كبير لحرهم ونصرة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لان غزوة الحبشة لليمن ولمكة لا تزال عالقة بأذهانهم [33] فاذا جاء جيش الحبشة هذه المرة يكون لنصرة دين الله فلا يصده الله عن مكة كما صد جيش أبرهه الذي كان يقصد هدم بيته واهلكه وفي رواية [رواية] اخرى أن قريشا ارادت ارجاعهم الى مكة ليقتلواهم [ليقتلواهم] بقتلى واقعة بدر فجمعت قريش هدايا نفيسة لتقدم الى النجاشي وهدايا اخرى لتقدم الى البطارقة وأرسلوها [وأرسلوها] مع عمرو بن العاصي وعبد الله بن ابي ربيعة وأفهموها ان يتفقا مع البطارقة على ان يساعدهما في رد المهاجرين الى قومهم فلما قدما الى الحبشة قدما الهدايا الى البطارقة واخبراهم [34] بما وفدا من اجله وطلبا منهم ان يحولوا بين المهاجرين وبين النجاشي حتى لا يسمع كلامهم لئلا يتأثر بفصحا تهم وحس ما يسمع من كلامهم ثم قدما اليهم الهدايا التي للنجاشي فأرسلها البطارقة اليه فاستدعى عمرا وعبيد الله [عبد الله] وشكرهما وسألها عن حاجتهما فقال عمرو أيها الملك انه قد ضوى (اي دخل) الى بلدك منا غلمان سفهاء فارقوا دين قومهم ولم يدخلوا في دينك وجاءوا بدين اخترعوه لا نعرفه نحن ولا أنت وقد بعثنا اليك فيهم أشرف قومهم من ابائهم وأعمامهم وعشائهم لتردهم اليهم [35] فهم أعلى بهم اعينا واعلم بما عابوا عليهم وعاتبواهم [وعاتبواهم] فيه فلما سكت تكلم البطارقة وحاولوا اقناع النجاشي بوجوب ردهم الى قومهم واخراجهم عن بلده ووجدوا [ووجدوا] بقدوم عمرو وعبدالله فرصة ثمينة تريحهم من هؤلاء الضيوف الذين يدينون بغير دينهم ولما كان النجاشي قد أسلم كما علمت وكتب اسلامه

عن قومه وكان فى قدرته ان يرد وفد قريش بدون ان يسمع حجة المهاجرين ولكنه اراد ان يسمع اصحابه دعوة الاسلام رغبة منه فى ان تلين قلوب بعضهم اليه لذلك أبى ان يبيت فى الأمر قبل ان يسمع [36] كلام المهاجرين وهم الخصم لثانى ولذلك طلب المهاجرين فلما حضروا مجلسه قال لهم ما هذا الدين الذى فارقتم فيه قومكم ولم تدخلوا فى ديني ولا فى دين احد من الملل فتكلم جعفر ابن ابى طالب يصف له فضائل الاسلام وكان خطيب القوم وأشدهم جرأة وقال أيها الملك كنا قوما أهل جاهلية نعبد الأصنام ونأكل الميتة ونأتى الفواحش ونقطع الأرحام ونسيئ الجوار ويأكل القوى منا الضعيف فكنا على ذلك حتى بعث الله إلينا رسولا منا [37] نعرف نسبه وصدقه وأمانته وعفافه فدعانا الى الله لنوحده ونعبده ونخلع ما كنا نعبد نحن وآباؤنا من دونه من الحجارة والوثان وأمرنا بصدق الحديث واداء الامانة وصلة الرحم وحسن الجوار والكف عن المحارم والدماء ونهانا عن الفواحش وقول الزور وأكل مال اليتيم وقذف المحصنات وأمرنا أن نعبد الله ولا نشرك به شيئا وأمرنا بالصلاة والزكاة والصيام وعدد عليه أمور الاسلام ثم قال فصدقناه وآمنا به واتبعناه على ما جاء به من عند الله فعبدنا الله وحده لا نشرك به [38] شيئا وحرمنا ما حرم علينا واحللنا ما احل لنا فعدا علينا قومنا فعذبونا وفتنونا عن ديننا ليردوانا [ليردونا] الى عبادة الأوثان عن عبادة الله وان نستحل ما كنا نستحل من الخبائث فلما قهروانا [قهرونا] وظلموانا [وظلموانا] وضيقوا علينا وحالوا بيننا وبين ديننا خرجنا الى بلادك واخترناك على من سواك ورغبنا فى جوارك ورجونا أن لا نظلم عندك فصدقهم النجاشى وأمنهم وأبى ان يسلمهم الى عمرو وعبد الله فأختلى عمرو بالبطارقة، وقال لهم سأغدوا على النجاشى بما يدعونه الى ابعادهم عن بلادكم فأنهم يقولون فى [39] عيسى ابن مريم غير ما تقولون [تقولون] فكونى [فكونوا] معى وشدوا أزرى فوعده خيرا ثم غدا الى النجاشى وقال له إن هؤلاء يقولون فى المسيح غير ما عندكم فيه فأحضر المهاجرين وقال لجعفر هل معك مما جاء به نبيك عن الله من شئ فتقرئه على فقال نعم وتلا من أول سورة مريم الى قوله تعالى ويوم ابعث حيا، فلما سمع البطارقة هذا القول وعلموا [وعلموا] أنه جاء مصدقا لما فى الأنجيل أخذوا فقال النجاشى ان هذا الذى جاء به عيسى ليخرج من مشكاة واحدة ثم أخذ عودا من الارض وقال لجعفر ما عدا عيسى ما قلت هذا العود [40] فنخرت بطارقتة فقال وإن نخرتم وقال لعمرو ورفيقه انطلقا والله لا اسلمهم اليكما ورد عليهما الهدايا وقال للمهاجرين اذهبوا فأنهم آمنون فأقام المسلمون فى جواره

رغم إرادة البطارقة حتى بعث النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في طلبهم فعادوا الى المدينة فتكون مدة اقامتهم بأرض الحبشة نحو ستة عشر سنة وذا لك في سنة 8 . قال المؤرخ إن النجاشي أصحمة مات أبوه وهو صبي فظلمته البطارقة في عرش ابيه وطردوه الى بلاد العرب فوصل على نصارى العرب وتعلم الأ [41] نجيل والتوراة ولغة العرب ثم إن الحبشة أجلست في على [على] عرش النجاشي غير بيت المملكة وبينما هم كذلك كثر الظلم في بلاد الحبشية وقل الأمان فأجمعت البطارقة ان يطلبوا من له حق العرش وهو الصبي فوجدوا [فوجدوه] مستقيماً فجاءوه به واجلسوا [واجلسوا] على عرش أبيه فحلف أن يعدل في الرعية ويزيل الظلم فأمنت الحبشة واطمئنت زمنه فأعانه على قبول السعادة سعادته الأول فعرف معنى القرآن إذا قرء عليه جعفر وكان مؤمناً ببشارة عيسى بظهور ركب الجمل فأمن به أول ما سمعه من قول [42] الصحابة وصلى عليه النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأمر الصحابة بالصلاة عليه (أى صلاة الغائب) قال العارف الصاوي في حاشيته على الجلالين ثم لما رجعت المهاجرون [المهاجرون] الى المدينة رجع معهم من اهل الحبشة سبعون نفراً فوصلوا على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فأكرمهم وقام بنفسه على خدمتهم فقال إن ملكهم النجاشي أكرم أصحابي ثم اسمعهم سورة يس ففاضت اعينهم فأسلموا وبهم نزل قوله تعالى "وإذا سمعوا ما انزل الى الرسول ترى اعينهم تفيض من الدمع مما عرفوا من الحق" وبهذه الرواية [43] حصل من أهل الحبشة سبعون صحابياً فالمهاجرون [فالمهاجرون] زرعوا هذه البذرة الإسلامية وما رجعوا الى بلادهم بغير أثر ودلنا ذلك على أن مسلمي الحبشة الباقية بعد المهاجرين كانت مسيحية فاعتنقت الإسلام لما نظرت محاسنه ثم لم يزل الإسلام ينبت من هذه البذور شيئاً فشيئاً انتهى بما تقدم كلامنا عن علاقة الحبشة بالعرب في الجاهلية وما حدث في هجرة بعض الصحابة رضى الله عنهم الى الحبشة وعودتهم منها جميعاً الى المدينة ولكن مات في الحبشة من المهاجرين اثنان [44] من غير الصبيان وقبرهما جانب قبر النجاشي في تجرى.

([31]) The second migration

As the Qurayši did not stop troubling the Muslims, a large number of those who had converted to Islam, numbering 80 men, besides women and children, gathered and headed for Ḥabaša again. [32] Nājaši welcomed

them and gave them living quarters together to perform their religious observances, and he himself became a Muslim at the hands of Ja‘far bin ‘Abi Ṭālib who was with the immigrants at this time. And it is said that his conversion to Islam was kept secret for fear that the patriarchs would depose him. Hence the histories written by both Ḥabaša and *faranj* do not corroborate his conversion to Islam. Then the unbeliever Qurayši feared that such a large number of immigrants would be a force for preaching Islam in Ḥabaša, and if they succeeded in that, they would return (to Qurayš) with a large army of Ḥabaša for their war and in support of the Messenger of Allah, Peace and Blessings be upon him; for their mind was still stuck on the Ḥabaša invasion of Yemen and Mecca. [33] When the army of Ḥabaša comes this time, it will be in support of the religion of Allah; Allah will not turn it aside from Mecca as he turned aside the army of ‘Abrāha which was aiming at the destruction of His House, and He destroyed him. According to another account the Qurayši wanted them (the immigrants) sent back to Mecca to kill them (in revenge) for those who were killed at the battle of Badr. And the Qurayši collected precious gifts to present to the Nājaši and other gifts to present to the patriarchs, and they sent them (the gifts) with ‘Amr bin ‘Āṣī and ‘Abdallāh bin ‘Abi Rabī‘a. And they instructed those two to make an agreement with the patriarchs to support them in sending back the immigrants to their own people. When the two of them arrived at Ḥabaša they presented their gifts to the patriarchs and told them [34] why they had come, and asked them to intervene between the immigrants and the Nājaši so that he would not listen to their (the immigrants’) words and would not be affected by their eloquence and the beauty of their words. And then they presented to them the gifts that were for the Nājaši, and the patriarchs forwarded them (the gifts) to him. Then he (the Nājaši) summoned ‘Amr and ‘Ubaydullāh

[‘Abdallāh], thanked them and asked them about their business. ‘Amr said, “O king, foolish young men from among us have entered your country and they have departed from the religion of their own people but have not entered into your religion, and they come with a religion that they have invented which neither we nor you know. We have been sent to you in their regard by the nobles of their people, by their fathers and uncles and kinsfolk, that you may send them (the immigrants) back to them (to their people). [35] And they (their people) are superior to them (the immigrants). Help us and know for what reason they have censured and blamed them.” When he kept silent, the patriarchs spoke up to try to convince the Nājaši of the necessity of sending them back (the immigrants) to their people and expelling them from his country. And they saw in the coming of ‘Amr and ‘Abdallāh a valuable opportunity to get rid of these guests (the immigrants) whose religion differed from theirs. Now, the Nājaši had converted to Islam as you know and kept his Islam hidden from his people; and it would have been in his power to send the Qurayš delegates back without hearing the argument of the immigrants, but he wanted to have his companions listen to the call of Islam, wishing to soften the hearts of some of them towards it. For this reason he refused to issue a decision in the case before hearing [36] the speech of the immigrants, who were the other party. And so he sent for the immigrants and when they appeared at his council he said to them, “What is this religion for whose sake you have separated yourselves from your people and do not enter into my religion nor any of the (established) faiths?” And Ja‘far bin ‘Abī Ṭālib spoke, describing the virtues of Islam; he was the spokesman for the people and the bravest of them. He said, “O king, we were a people of ignorance, worshipping idols, eating carrion (improperly slaughtered meat), committing adultery, breaking ties with our kinsfolk, doing evil to our neighbours, the stronger among us devouring the weaker. We were in this condition until Allah sent to us a messenger from among us. [37] We know his lineage and sincerity and honesty and integrity and

he called us to Allah to declare His unity and to worship Him and to renounce the stones and idols that we and our fathers used to worship instead of Him. And He commanded us to speak the truth and to maintain faithfulness and to keep ties with kinsfolk and to do good to our neighbours and to cease from forbidden (deeds) and murder and to stop committing adultery and telling lies and eating the money of orphans and slandering virtuous women. And he commanded us to worship Allah and not to join any partner with Him, and he commanded us to observe prayer and alms and fasting”; and he enumerated to him the precepts of Islam. Then he continued, “And we saw the truth of his words, and we believed in him and followed him in what he brought from Allah, and we worship Allah and only Him, and we do not join any partner with Him, [38] and we have forbidden what He forbade us and have made lawful what He made lawful for us. And our own people made us their enemy and they punished us and they tempted us away from our religion, to make us return from the worship of Allah to the worship of idols and to make us again countenance the wickedness that we used to countenance. And when they overpowered us and oppressed us and made (conditions) tight for us and came between us and our religion, we left to (come to) your country. And we prefer you over anyone else, and we sought out your company and we hope there is no oppression with you.” And the Nājaši believed them and reassured them and refused to hand them over to ‘Amr and ‘Abdallāh. Then ‘Amr took the patriarchs aside and said to them, “I will go to the Nājaši tomorrow concerning the matter that they (the Qurayši) are urging upon him, namely to expel them (the Muslims) from your land. Truly, what they say about [39] Jesus the son of Mary is different from what you say. So be with me and support me.” And they promised him good. He went to the Nājaši the next morning and said to him, “Truly, what those people (the Muslims) say about Jesus is not what you believe.” And he (the Nājaši) summoned the immigrants and he said to Ja‘far, “Do you have anything with you that your Prophet brought from Allah, and can you read

it to me?” And he said yes, and recited from the beginning of the Sura of Mary (Sura 19) up to the words of the Most High “And the day that I shall be raised up to life again” (19:33). And when the patriarchs heard these words they knew that it confirmed what is in the Gospel. They were caught, and the Nājaši said, “Truly, both this and what Jesus said come from the same source.” Then he picked up a stick from the ground and said to Ja‘far, “Jesus did not go beyond what you have said (even by as much as) this stick.” [40] And his patriarchs grumbled and he (the Nājaši) said “If you grumble!” and he said to ‘Amr and his friend, “Leave! I swear by Allah that I will not hand them over to you.” And he returned their gifts and said to the immigrants, “Go, you are safe.” The Muslims lived under his protection in spite of the desire of the patriarchs until the Prophet, Peace and Blessings be upon him, sent for them and they went back to Medina. And the period of their sojourn in the land of Ḥabaša was about sixteen years; this was in the eighth year AH. The historian says that the father of the Nājaši ‘Aṣḥama died when he (‘Aṣḥama) was a boy and the patriarchs wronged him in regard to his father’s throne and drove him away to the country of the Arabs; he reached the Christian Arabs and learned [41] the Gospel, Torah and the Arabic language. Now the Ḥabaša had placed someone on the throne of the Nājaši who was not from the house of the monarchy. In the meanwhile, injustice was increasing in Ḥabaša and security was decreasing. And the patriarchs met to seek the right person to take over the throne, and that was the boy (‘Aṣḥama); they found him to be righteous and brought him and placed him on the throne of his father. He swore to treat his subjects justly and to eliminate oppression. And the Ḥabaša were secure and tranquil during his reign. And what helped him receive (this?) good fortune was his first (earlier?) good fortune. Indeed, he (immediately) understood the meaning of the Qur’ān when Ja‘far recited it to him. And he believed in the prophecy of

Jesus regarding the coming of the Rider of the Camel (Muḥammad), and he believed it the moment he heard it from [42] the companions (of the Prophet). (And when he died years later) the Prophet, Peace and Blessings be upon him, prayed for him (Näjaši) and ordered his companions to pray for him, as the learned Al-Şāwiyy says in his marginal notes to (the book) *Al-Jalālayn*. Now, when the immigrants returned to Medina, seventy Ḥabaša persons went back with them. When they arrived to the Prophet, Peace and Blessings be upon him, he did them honour and personally attended to them, saying “Truly, your king the Nājaši did honour to my followers” and recited the Chapter *Yā Sīn* (sura 36); and their eyes overflowed with tears and they embraced Islam. And concerning them the word of the Most High was revealed: “And when they listen to the revelation received by the Messenger, thou wilt see their eyes overflowing with tears, for they recognize the truth” (sura 5:83). And in this account [43], seventy of the (Prophet’s) followers were of Ḥabaša origin. And so the immigrants planted this Islamic seed, and they did not return to their country (Arabia) without having left a trace behind. This shows us that the Ḥabaša Muslims who were left behind after the immigrants (left) were (originally) Christians who had embraced Islam when they saw its merits. Then Islam continued to grow from these seeds step by step. And the preceding remarks conclude our discussion of the relationship between Ḥabaša and the Arabs during pre-Islamic times and what happened in the migration to Ḥabaša of some of the companions, may Allah be well pleased with them, and their return, all of them, to Medina except the two boys who died in Ḥabaša [44] and were buried beside the grave of the Nājaši in Tigray.

Large parts of the above account are taken directly (quoted or near-quoted) from Ibn Hišām's *Sīra*. Elsewhere in the same work (V. 2, pp. 25-26), Ibn Hišām expressed how Nājaši kept his religion secret from his own Christian bishops and the people, as follows:

وقال زياد عن محمد بن إسحق: حدثني جعفر بن محمد عن أبيه قال: اجتمعت الحبشة فقالوا للنجاشي: إنك فارقت ديننا وخرجوا عليه.
فأرسل إلى جعفر وأصحابه فهياً لهم سفنا وقال: اركبوا فيها وكونوا كما أنتم، فإن هُزمت فامضوا حتى تلحقوا بحيث شئتم، وإن ظفرت فثبتوا.
ثم عمد إلى كتاب فكتب فيه: هو يشهد أن لا إله إلا الله و يشهد أن عيسى عبده ورسوله وروحه وكلمته ألقاها إلى مريم. ثم جعله في قبائه عند المنكب الأيمن.
وخرج إلى الحبشة و صُفوا له فقال: يا معشر الحبشة، الست أحق الناس بكم؟ قالوا: بلى.
قال: فكيف انتم بسيرتي فيكم؟ قالوا: خير سيرة.
قال: فما بكم؟ قالوا: فارقت ديننا وزعمت أن عيسى عبده ورسوله.
قال: فما تقولون انتم في عيسى؟ قالوا: نقول هو ابن الله.
فقال النجاشي ووضع يده على قبائه: وهو يشهد ان عيسى بن مريم لم يزد على هذا: وإنما يعنى ما كتب.
فرضوا وانصرفوا.
فبلغ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فلما مات النجاشي صلى عليه واستغفر له.

Ziyād narrated from Muḥammad bin 'Ishāq: Ja'far bin Muḥammad told me from his father, who related that the Ḥabaša met and said to Nājaši, "Truly, you have left our religion" and they rose up against him.

And he (Näjaši) sent to Ja‘far and his friends and made ready boats for them and said: “Get into them but remain (here) as you are. If I am defeated, leave and go wherever you like; if I win, stay here.”

Then he took up a book and wrote in it. He testified that there is no god but Allah, and he testified that Jesus is His servant and His messenger and His spirit and His word which He delivered to Mary (cf. Qur’ān 4:171). Then he put it in his outer garment on the right side.

And he went out to the Ḥabaša and they drew themselves up in ranks before him and he said:

You, the Ḥabaša community! Am I not the worthiest man among you?

They said: Certainly.

He said: How does my reputation stand with you?

They said: The best reputation.

He said: Then what is it with you?

They said: You have left our religion, and claim that Jesus is [merely] His servant and His messenger.

He said: What do you say about Jesus?

They said: He is the son of God.

Putting his hand on his outer garment, Näjaši testified that Jesus is the son of Mary. He didn’t add anything to that, but what he meant was what he had written.

And they were content and departed.

And it (the news) reached the Messenger of Allah, Peace and Blessings be upon him; and when Näjaši died he prayed for him and asked pardon for him.

In the chapter “The Reign of ‘Armāḥ” (pp. 270-274) of his book *The History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia*, E.A.W. Budge discusses the two migrations of the followers of Muḥammad to Ethiopia and all the events that happened at that time. He says (p. 273):

When we remember the ardent and fanatical character of Abyssinian Christianity it must come as a surprise that 'Armāḥ and his bishops accepted Islam, and that the Nagāshī regretted that he could not go in person to Muḥammad and testify to the holiness of his mission. As Muḥammad only put forward in his letter to the Nagāshī his views about Christ, and concealed his ambition to conquer the East and West as known to him, and as these views resembled the Abyssinian teaching about Christ, he subscribed to them and readily admitted that Muḥammad was the Apostle of God. But there was another good reason for his submission to the Apostle of God, and that was undoubtedly political in character. The Nagāshī knew by report the nature of Muḥammad's conquests, and that the peoples he had attacked in Arabia were obliged to accept Islām or the sword. The Nagāshī was in no position to fight, and he had no wish to see his people slain and his country drenched in blood; hence his acceptance of Islām, and his diplomatic answer and his gifts to the Prophet. He had no reason to fear that hordes of Muslims would fill his country as a result of his submission, for he would have a shrewd idea that 'Amr, the conqueror of Egypt, had reported to his master the geographical situation of Aksūm, and the difficulties that would have to be encountered in passing over the mountains that lie between it and the sea coast. The Nagāshī saved his country from an Arab invasion by his submission, and this is what his acceptance of Islam was intended by him to effect. Of all the countries of the Middle East Abyssinia alone preserved her Christianity undisturbed for several centuries after the reign of 'Armāḥ.

Thus, according to Budge, Nājaši embraced Islam to keep his country safe, while Šayḥ 'Abdallāh and Ibn Hišām agree that he kept his conversion secret from the bishops. All three agree that he embraced Islam.

The names of the Muslim immigrants to Ḥabaša are listed by many writers like Muḥammad bin 'Iṣḥāq in his biographical book on page 205-210, Ibn Hišām in his biographical book, V.1, pp. 234-242, Ibn Kaṭīr in his book *Al-Bidāya wa-al-Nihāya* V.2, pp. 67-69, Ibn Jawziyy in his book *Tanwīr al-Ġayṣ*, pp. 68-72, Ibn Sayyid al-Nās in his book *'Uyūn al-'Aṭar*, V.1, p. 142, 'Abdurraḥmān al-Suyūṭi in his book *Raf' Ša'n al-Ḥubšān*, pp. 165-176, Sayyid bin Muḥammad Ṣādiq in his book *Manhal al-'aṣṣān*, pp. 165-220, and others.

4.15 ([44]) أول سرية اسلامية للحبشة

أراد أمير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه لينشر فى الحبشة دعوة الإسلام فوجه إليها سرية من المسلمين فى سنة 20 بقيادة علقمة بن مجزر [= مجزر] المدلجى فلم توفق الى شئ وأصيبت فجعل عمر (أى حلف) على نفسه ان لا يحمل فى البحر أحدا للغزو.

([44]) The first Islamic military expedition to Ḥabaša

The leader of the believers 'Umar bin al-Ḥaṭṭāb, may Allah be pleased with him, desired to spread the call of Islam in Ḥabaša and sent a military detachment to it from the Muslims in the year 20 AH under the leadership of 'Alqama bin Mujazziz al-Mudlijyy. It didn't achieve anything but was beaten; and 'Umar made an oath not to send anyone across the sea (again) on (military) campaign.

This campaign had neither political nor religious effect on Ethiopia, and thus almost none of the indigenous or the western historians wrote about it. Most of them do not even seem to have known of the event. However, some Arab writers do mention this event, such as

Ibn al-'Aṭīr in his book *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīḥ* (commonly called *Tārīḥ Ibn al-'Aṭīr*) on page 348 in the single-volume edition and on page 567 (volume II) in the multi-volume edition as follows:

بعث عمر علقمة بن مجرز المدلجي الى الحبشة، وكانت تطرقت بلاد الإسلام فأصيب المسلمون، فجعل عمر على نفسه أن لا يحمل في البحر أحدا أبدا، يعني للغزو، وقيل سنة إحد وثلاثين. (مجزز بجيم وزايين الأولى مكسورة مشددة)

'Umar sent 'Alqama bin Mujazziz al-Mudlijy to Ḥabaša, which had been seeking to penetrate into the Islamic countries, and the Muslims were beaten. And 'Umar made an oath never again to send anyone across the sea, I mean on campaign. This was said in the year thirty-one (AH).

Ibn 'Asākir al-Dimašqiy also recorded this event in his book *Tārīḥ Dimašq*, volume 41 on page 196, adding that the cause of sending the Muslim detachment was the incursion of the Ethiopian army to the coastal territory of the Arabs.

4.16 [44] إحتلال السواحل الحبشية اقتصاديا

تركت الحبشة وشأنها بعد سرية علقمة ولم يرسل إليها المسلمون [المسلمون] حملات للفتح بقوة السيف ولكن أخذوا إحتلالها اقتصاديا [45] فتدفق سيل التجار المسلمين على سواحل الحبشة واستوطنواها [واستوطنوها] وجعلوا يحتلونها [يحتلونها] شيئا فشيئا فأخذوا جزيرة دهلك (وهي ادال) ثم مصوعا والزليع ودأبوا على ذلك حتى اصبحت سواحل الحبشة في قبضة يدهم وأدخلوا في الإسلام كثيرا من القبائل الوثنية. كانت مملكة الحبشة قبل الأسلام وعاصمتها مدينة أكسوم على جانب عظيم من القوة والسطوة قوية الشكيمة وحسبنا دليلا على قوتها تمكنها من احتلال اليمن مدة 70 سنة تقريبا وقد زاد في سطوتها متاعة أرضها وما وهبها الله تعالى من الحواجز [46] الطبيعية التي جعلها بعيدة المنال عن الفاتحين فإن تلك الجنة الفيحاء التي تشمل الهضبة الحبشية محصنة بطبيعتها بجبال شاهقة وأودية سحيقة ومسالك وعرة وصحار قاحلة

وأجواء مختلفة من أجل ذلك لم يحاول الخلفاء الراشدون ولا من جاء بعدهم من ملوك الأسلام فتحها عنوة فى الوقت الذى اكتسحت فيه جنودهم بلاد الشام والعراق ومصر وجاوزت بلاد فارس ولكن شاء الله ان ينشر فيها دينه عن طريق السلم.

([44]) Economic occupation of the coastal area of Ḥabaša

Ḥabaša and its affairs were left alone after the detachment of 'Alqama, and the Muslims did not send a military expedition to conquer it by the sword. Rather, they undertook to occupy it economically. [45] A flood of Muslim traders streamed into the coastal area of Ḥabaša, and step by step they began to settle there. They took the island of Dahlak (i.e. 'Adāl) then Musuwwa'ā [Massawa] and Zayla' and persisted in this way until (all) the coastal area of Ḥabaša was in their hands. They converted many of the pagan tribes to Islam. Before Islam the kingdom of Ḥabaša, with its capital at 'Aksum, was of great power, strength and vigour. In our view, an indication of its strength is the fact that it was able to occupy Yemen for about seventy years. What increased its clout is its topography and the natural barriers that Allah the Most High gave it [46] which place it beyond the reach of (would-be) conquerors. And this fragrant garden which encompasses the Ḥabaša plateau is naturally fortified by high mountains, deep valleys, rugged trackless pathways, arid deserts, and unpredictable weather. For this reason the Caliphs and the Islamic rulers who came after them did not try to conquer it by force at the time when their armies overran Syria, Iraq and Egypt and surpassed Persia; rather, it was Allah's will to spread Islam in it (Ḥabaša) in a peaceful way.

Let us recall the title of the manuscript “Lamp in the darkness: The peaceful entry of Islamic religion into the kingdoms of Ethiopia”. The details of this theme are what is discussed in this part “Economic occupation of the coastal area of Habaša”.

4.17 [46] انتشار الإسلام فى الحبشة

إننا وان كنا لا نستطيع نذكر بالتفصيل [47] كيف كان احتلال المسلمين لسواحل الحبشة سلما بغير حرب وجعلها اسلامية ونشرهم فيها الدين الحنيف بين القبائل المتوحشة حتى مصرواهم [مصرواهم] واوجدوا منهم جنودا اشداء كونوا بهم قوة اسلامية ذات شأن على جانب عظيم من مكارم الأخلاق والصفات إلا أننا نستطيع أن نبرهن على قيام دولة إسلامية عظيمة فى الحبشة نشرت سلطانها على جميع ارجائها زمنا غير قليل كان ممن نزل الحبشة مع التجار الذين نزلوا إليها من اليمن والحجاز جماعة من قريش من ولد عقيل بن ابى طالب وسكنوا فى ناحية تسمى جبرت من أراضى [48] زيلع وسمو بعد ذلك الجبرتية, ولا يزال هذا الأسم لشعب كبير من المسلمين فى الحبشة كما سيأتى ولما وهب الله قريشا من الحزم والقوة والحكمة وعلو الهمة ولأنهم اهل الشرف والسيادة أينما حلوا قام هؤلاء الأبطال بإنشاء أول دولة إسلامية فى الحبشة وجعلوا قاعدتها وفات، وهى جبرت ونظمو [ونظمو] إدارتها وأحكموا امرها فأطاعهم اهلها واخذ سلطانهم يقوى ونفوذهم يمتد وملكهم يتسع وكلما كونوا مملكة مهدوا السبيل لتكوين غيرها حتى اذا دخل القرن [49] الثامن الهجرى الرابع عشر الميلاى تم لهم فى الحبشة سبع ممالك زاهرة مزدهرة وسميت الطراز الإسلامى لأنها كانت كا الطراز على سواحل الحبشة وهى

الاول 1 مملكة وفات وتسمى إفات

الثانى 2 مملكة دوارو وتسمى أدال

الثالث 3 مملكة أرابينى تحت ادال

الرابع 4 مملكة هديا وهى جانب شرعا

الخامس 5 مملكة شرعا وهى فوق بالى

السادس 6 مملكة بالى

السابع 7 مملكة داره

([46]) Expansion of Islam in Ḥabaša

We cannot relate in detail [47] how the occupation of the coastal areas of Ḥabaša by the Muslims proceeded peacefully without war and made it Islamic, and how they spread the true religion among the barbarian tribes until they civilized them and made them into a strong army with which they founded an Islamic power having a nobility of character and qualities to a very high degree. However, we can demonstrate how a great Muslim nation arose in Ḥabaša which extended its rule over all its parts for a not inconsiderable time. Among those who came down to Ḥabaša with the traders from Yemen and Hijaz was a group of Qurayši descended from the son of 'Aqil bin 'Abi Ṭālib. They settled in the region called Jabart in the territory of [48] Zayla' and were called after that Jabartiyya, which is still the name of a large tribe of Muslims in Ḥabaša as we shall see. Since Allah had given the Qurayši resoluteness and strength, wisdom and high-mindedness, and since they were people of honour and mastery wherever they settled, it was these heroic pioneers who undertook the founding of the first Islamic state in Ḥabaša. They established its seat at Wafāt, that is Jabart, and they organized its administration and strengthened it. And its people submitted to them, and their rule increased in power, and their authority grew and their dominion expanded. And whenever they founded one kingdom it smoothed the way to founding another one, until by the beginning of the [49] eighth century AH, fourteenth AD, they had achieved seven shining and flourishing kingdoms in Ḥabaša, which were called the Islamic "embroidery" because they were like an embroidery on the coastal areas of Ḥabaša. These were:

First, the kingdom of Wafāt, also called 'Ifāt;

Second, the kingdom of Dawāro, also called 'Adāl;

Third, the kingdom of 'Arābīnī ['Arabāb(i)ni], below 'Adāl;

Fourth, the kingdom of Hadya, beside Šarḥā;

Fifth, the kingdom of Šarḥā, above Bale;

Sixth, the kingdom of Bale;

Seventh, the kingdom of Dāra.

On pages 50-51, 54-56 of the manuscript, the following points are mentioned: [N.B.: The numbering of the pages in the manuscript has a mistake: the numbering jumps from 51 to 54, i.e. pages 52-53 are missing, but there is no omission in the text.]

Drawing upon the writer of *Šubḥ al-'a šā fi šin 'a al-'inšā'*, Ibn al-'Abbās 'Aḥmad bin 'Aliyy al-Qalqašandi, he mentions Wafāt (Jabart) and says:

The people there are very beautiful; they look like Egyptians and Yemenites. It is located in eastern Šāwa.

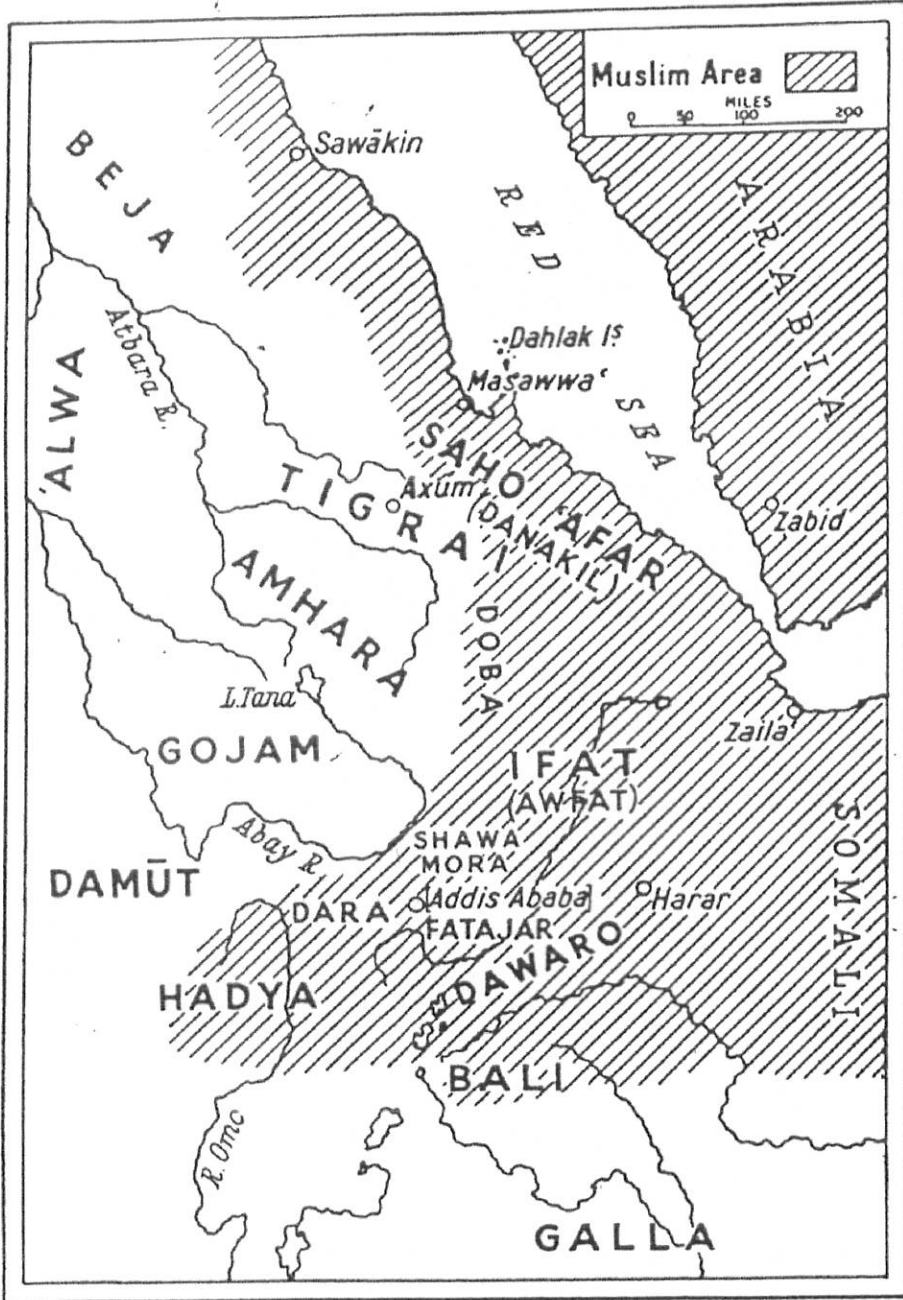
He also cites the writer of *Al-Badr al-Ṭāli' bi-Maḥāsin min ba'd al-Qarn al-Sābi'*, Muḥammad bin 'Aliyy bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdallah al-Šawkāni, who discusses various points:

- The first leader of Wafāt was Muḥammad bin 'Abi Baraka(t) bin 'Aḥmad bin 'Aliyy bin Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Jabarti. He said that this leader took power in 828 AH and died in 835 AH.
- He was succeeded by his brother.
- Dawaro (also called 'Adāl) followed Wafāt in time; it is located at the border of Harar.
- Hadya is located south of Wafāt.
- The people of 'Arābīnī are said to be strong.

- Bale is located south of Šäwa, next to Šarḥā.
- Dāra is next to Bale; its people are said to be weak.
- According to him, the Islamic kingdoms were dependent on the (Christian) highlanders.

Most historians mention the above seven Islamic states, but an eighth Islamic state, Šäwa, is also mentioned by some of them—for example, Rajab Muḥammad Abdulḥalim in his book *Al-‘alāqāt al-siyāsiyya bayna Muslimiy al-Zayla‘ wa-naṣārā al-Ḥabaša fī al-‘uṣūr al-wasaḩī* (pages 23-25).

The geographical location of the Muslim states at the time of ‘Amda S’iyon (1314-44) looked like the following (from *Islam in Ethiopia* by J. Spencer Trimingham, p. 64)



MUSLIM STATES IN THE TIME OF 'AMDA SYŌN I
(A.D. 1314-44)

4.18 [56] غموض تاريخ الاسلام فى الحبشة قبل القرن الثامن

قال يوسف بن احمد فى مؤلفه فى تاريخ الاسلام فى الحبشة يسوءنا مع الأسف أننا لم نوفق الى [57] العثور على وثائق نعتمد عليها ونعرف منها ما كان يجرى بين المسيحية والمسلمين قبل القرن الثامن وما قاساه هؤلاء من المشاق فى سبيل تكوين الممالك السبع التى أنشأوها ولكن المسلم به أن علاقة الحبشة بمصر لم تنقطع وتلك العلاقة دينية مسيحية محضة لأن تولية الأساقفة للكنيسة الحبشية تصدر من غبطة بطريرك الكراز المرقسية بمصر وذلك من وقت دخول الديانة المسيحية الى بلاد الحبشة فى اوائل القرن الرابع الميلادى على يد الأسقف فرومنسيوس الذى عينه بطرك الاسكندرية [58] أسقفا على الحبشة اعنى أبون وهو ابو الروح وقد عثرنا على وثيقة قليلة الكلمات كبيرة المغزى رواها الطبرى وغيره تدل على قسوة الحبشة وسوء جوارهم للمسلمين وهذا نصها قال لما قتل مروان بن محمد اخر الخلفاء الأمويين ببلدة بوصير من اعمال جيزة مصر فى سنة 132 هـ 750 م هرب ولداه عبدالله وعبيدالله الى ارض الحبشة فلقوا من الحبشة بلاء قاتلتهم الحبشة فقتلوا عبد الله وأفلت عبيد الله عدة ممن معه فانظر الى هذا الشعب الوحشى [59] كيف يقا تل ضيوفا دخلوا ارضه يتخذون فى جواره حمى وأمنا من عدوهم فيقابلهم بالسيف يقتل بعضهم ويشرد البعض الآخر وقد وصل الينا ايضا كتابة ظريفة نقلنا عن كتاب لباب الآداب للامير أسامة بن منقذ ننقلها بحروفها وان كانت لا تتعلق بموضوع كتابنا الا أنها تدل على شئ من جبروت ملوك الحبشة قال وصل رسول ملك الحبشة وكتابه فى سنة 547 هـ 1152 م الى الملك العادل أبى الحسن بن على بن السلال فسأله أن يأمر البطرك بمصر أن يعزل بطرك الحبشة وتلك البلاد كلها مردودة [60] إلى نظر بطرك مصر فأمر الملك العادل بأحضار البطرك فحضر وأنا عنده فقيل له قد شكنا ملك الحبشة من البطرك الذى يتولى بلاده وسألنى فى التقدم إليك بعزله فقال يا مولاي ما وليته حتى أختبرته ورأيتة يصلح للناموس الذى هو فيه وما ظهر لى من أمره ما يوجب عزله ولا يسعنى فى دينى أن اعمل فيه بغير الواجب ولا يجوز ان اعزله فاغتاظ الملك العادل من قوله وأمر بحبسه فاحتبس يومين ثم انفذ اليه وأنا حاضر يقول له لا بد من عزل هذا [61] [من عزل هذ: (sic) repeated] البطرك لأجل سؤال ملك الحبشة فى ذلك فقال يا مولاي ما عندى جواب غير ما قلته لك وحكمك وقدرتك إنما هى على الجسم

الضعيف الذى بين يديك وأما دينى فما لك عليه من سبيل ثم قال والله ما أعزله ولو نالنى كل مكروه فأطلقه العادل واعتذر الى ملك الحبشة نقول إن شهادة بطرك مصر لبطرك الحبشة الذى عينه بنفسه بأنه اختبره ووجده بصلح لما ولاه شهادة لا يمكن أن تشاب بشئ غير الحق فيما ترى أي شئ ينقم ملك الحبشة منه الا أن يكون الملك جبارا يأتي المظالم المخالفة [62] للتعليم المسيحي والبطرك ينهأ عنها ويرشده الى اتباع العدل فتوسل ملك الحبشة الى ملك مصر فى الرجاء الى البطرك لعزله حتى يستريح من مضايقته إذ لا سبيل له الى مسه بسوء قال الراوى وقد عثرت فى كتاب الأعتبار للأمير بن منقذ ايضا على وثيقة نفيسة يستدل منها على ان المسيحية كانت تشن الغارة على البلاد المصرية ألمجاورة لها وتتعرض لأهلها بالسوء وأن الملك الصالح طلائع اراد ان يعين ابن منقذ واليا [63] على أسوان ويمده بالمال والرجال ليتقوى على حرب الحبشة وكان ذلك فى سنة 550 هجره 1155 م وهذا نصها ثم اتصلت بخدمة الملك العادل نورالدين وكاتب الملك الصالح فى تسيير اهلى وأولادى الذين تخلفوا بمصر وكان محسنا اليهم فرد الرسول واعتذر بأنه يخاف عليهم من الافرنج وكتب يقول ترجع إلى مصر وانت تعرف ما بيني وبينك وان كنت مستوحشا من اهل القصر فتصل الى مكة وأنفذ لك كتابا بتسليم مدينة اسوان اليك وامدك بما تتقوى به على محاربة الحبشة فأسوان ثغر من ثغور المسلمين (اي من السودانى الجانب للحبشة) واسير اليك اهلك واولادك.

[56] Obscurity of Islamic history in Ḥabaša before the eighth century [AH]

Yusuf bin 'Aḥmad in his book *Tārīḥ al-'Islām fī al-Ḥabaša* said: “It troubles us grievously that we have not succeeded in [57] discovering any documents which we might rely on and from which we could learn what happened between the Christians and the Muslims before the eighth century [AH] and what hardships those people faced in the creation of the seven kingdoms which they founded. But it is uncontested that the relationship between Ḥabaša and Egypt was never interrupted. This relationship was a purely Christian religious one, inasmuch as the appointment of the bishops of the Ḥabaša Church was issued by the Coptic

Patriarchate of Egypt (the province of St. Mark), going back to the time when Christianity was brought to Ḥabaša in the early fourth century AD by the bishop Frumentius who was appointed by the patriarch of Alexandria [58] as bishop over Ḥabaša – I mean the *abun(a)*, who is a spiritual father. We have come across a document of few words but of great significance, transmitted by Al-Ṭabari and others, which shows the cruelty of Ḥabaša to the Muslims and the misfortune of having them as neighbours. The text reads: When Marwān bin Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyad caliphs, was killed at Būṣīr [...] in Egypt in 132 AH/750 AD, his two sons ‘Abdallāh and ‘Ubaydullāh fled to Ḥabaša. And they met with misfortune at the hands of the Ḥabaša: the Ḥabaša attacked them and killed ‘Abdallāh, while ‘Ubaydullāh managed to escape with some of those who were with him. Look at this barbarous people, [59] how they attacked guests who had come to their country to take refuge among them and to find security from their enemies, and they received them with the sword and killed some of them and drove away the rest. And there has also come to us an elegantly written text which draws upon *Lubāb al-‘ādāb* by ‘Amīr ‘Usāma bin Munqid; we quote literally from it, even though it is not relevant to our subject except that it indicates something about the tyranny of the kings of Ḥabaša. The text says: In the year 547 AH/1152 AD a messenger from the king of Ḥabaša arrived (in Egypt) with a letter to the just king ‘Abu al-Ḥasan bin ‘Aliyy bin al-Sallār, asking him to order the Egyptian patriarch to depose the patriarch of Ḥabaša and to return the entire country [60] to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Egypt. The just king summoned the patriarch and he came, I (‘Amīr ‘Usāma) was with him, and he (the king) said to him (the patriarch): “The king of

Ḥabaša has complained about the patriarch who is assigned to his country and he asked me to order you to depose him.” And he (the patriarch) said: “My lord, I didn’t appoint him until I had tested him and saw that he was worthy of the faith that he belongs to. There appears to be nothing in his case that would require his dismissal. According to my religion I cannot do anything to him except what is required. Thus it is not permissible to depose him.” The just king got angry at his words and ordered him to be imprisoned, and he was imprisoned for two days. Then he sent for him (the patriarch) in my (’Amīr ’Usāma’s) presence and said to him: “There is no choice but to depose this [61] patriarch, in light of the request of the king of Ḥabaša in this matter.” He (the patriarch) said: “My lord, I have no answer except what I have already said to you. And your judgment and your power extend only to the weak physical body which is before you, whereas over my religion you have no power.” Then (the king) said, “By Allah, I would not depose him even if all detestable things beset me.” Thus the just (king) released him and made his excuses to the king of Ḥabaša as follows: “We say that the testimony of the patriarch of Egypt concerning the patriarch of Ḥabaša, whom he appointed personally after testing him and finding him worthy of his appointment, is a testimony which it is impossible to consider as tarnished with anything untrue.” And you see what sort of vengeance the king of Ḥabaša meant to take against him (the patriarch of Ḥabaša), simply because the king was a tyrant who committed injustices that offended [62] against Christian teaching and the patriarch prohibited him from it and instructed him to pursue justice; and the king of Ḥabaša appealed to the king of Egypt hoping to depose the patriarch so as to get relief from his strictures, since it was not possible to ill-treat him. Thus the narrator related. And I discovered in *Kitāb al-I’tibār*, also by ’Amīr bin Munqid, a valuable document from which it can

be inferred that the Christians were launching raids on the neighbouring Egyptian territory and mistreating its people. And the virtuous king Ṭalā'i' (of Egypt) wanted to appoint bin Munqid̲ governor [63] over 'Uswān (Aswan?) and to provide him with money and manpower to strengthen him to fight against the Ḥabaša. That was in the year 550 AH/1155 AD, and this is the text: "Then I (bin Munqid̲) joined the service of the just king Nūrid̲dīn (of Syria); and he wrote to the virtuous king (of Egypt) to send for my family and my children who had stayed behind in Egypt, and he was benevolent to them. And he sent back the messenger and apologized that he was afraid for them (my family) because of the *Ifran̲j* (westerners). (The king) wrote saying: 'Come back to Egypt, and you know what is (the understanding) between you and me. And if you feel a dislike for the people at the palace, then contact Mecca and I will write you a letter handing over to you the town of 'Uswān and I will provide you (with help) to strengthen you in fighting against Ḥabaša. (And 'Uswān is one of the Muslim ports, i.e. in Sudan next to Ḥabaša.) And I will send you your family and your children'".

4.19 [64] ما كانت تضر المسيحية للمسلمين

كانت ملوك الحبشة تنظر الى هذه الدويلات المسالمة بعين الحسد والحقد لإرتقائها مدنيا واقتصاديا فضلا عما كانت تضره من العداوة للمسلمين من قديم لاذلك لم يحل لها ما بلغته [من] البلاد التي احتلها المسلمون واصلحواها من الرفاهية كأنهم خافوا عاقبة رقيها فأخذوا يتحينون الفرص للفتك بالمسلمين وابداتهم واحتلال ممالكهم وظهر ذلك بما كتبه المؤرخون في القرن الثامن الهجرى كما سنبينه.

[64] [The feelings] the Christians harboured toward the Muslims

The kings of Habaša looked at these small peaceloving kingdoms with eyes of envy and hatred because of their civil and economic development, to say nothing of the long-standing enmity they harboured toward the Muslims. For this reason they didn't acknowledge the land which the Muslims had occupied and improved for a comfortable life, as if they feared the consequences of their progress. And they began to watch for opportunities to kill and destroy the Muslims and occupy their kingdoms. This appears clearly in what the historians wrote in the eighth century AH, as we shall explain.

4.20

[64] الإسلام والمسيحية في القرن الثامن

[65] لما دخل القرن الثامن الهجرى بدء المؤرخون فى تدوين أخبار الحبشة وقد وضع المقرئزى كتابه الألام وذكرو فيه النجاشى اسحق ابن دود الذى تولى على الحبشة سنة 812 هجرى 1409 م فقال وهذا الملك قوى أمره بقوم من الجراكسة (وهم قوم من السودانين) الى بلاده أنشأوا فيها مصنعا للسلاح كالسيوف والرماح والخناجر بعد أن كانت الحراب والنشاب عماد سلاحهم وكذلك انتظمت مالية دولته بوجود رجل قبلى من مصر ولاءه أمر اموال المملكة فأحسن ضبطها وأنماها فعمها اليسر والرخاء فعند ذلك طغى النجاشى وبغى واتفق مع رجال دولته [66] على انتزاع ممالك المسلمين من أيديهم وإجلاتهم عن البلاد وإبادتهم قال المقرئزى فلما تحضرت دولته وقويت شوكتة سولت له شياطينه أن يأخذ ممالك الإسلام فأوقع بمن تحت يده فى مملكة الحبشة من المسلمين وقائع شنيعة طويلة قتل فيها وسبى واسترق عالما لا يحصيه الا خالقه سبحانه ثم كتب الى ملوك الأفرنج يحثهم على ملاقاته لأزالة دولة الإسلام وواعدهم على ذلك وأخذ فى تمهيد الطرق واصلاحها ما بينه وبين البلاد الإسلامية واستجلاب العربان اليه فعاجله الله [67] تعالى بنقمة سنة 833 هـ 1429 م او 1430 م فهذه شهادة مؤرخ معاصر للحوادث التى كانت تجرى بين ملوك الحبشة والمسلمين تظهر للقارئ ما جبلت عليه ملوك الحبشة وشعوبها من العداوة للمسلمين فإنهم لم يرعوا حق جوارهم بعد ان قضوا على الوثنية فى بلادهم ومصرها وأقاموا

ففيها شعائر الأسلام الحنيف ولهذا لم يجد المسلمون بعد ذلك بدا من اعداد العدة لمقاومة أعدائهم ولا شك أن نهوض الأسلام فى تلك البلاد كان كوسيلة لازمة لدفاع المسلمين عن أنفسهم وحريتهم.

[(64)] Islam and Christianity in the eighth century [AH]

[65] Historians began recording the events of the Ḥabaša at the beginning of the eighth century AH. In his book *Al-'Ilmām*, Maqriziyy mentioned the king 'Ishāq bin Dāwud who came to power over Ḥabaša in the year 812 AH/1409 AD, saying: This king strengthened his position by inviting people from *Al-Jarākisa* (they are a Sudanese people) to his country, where they initiated the production of weapons like swords, spears and daggers, whereas arrows and spears had been the mainstay of their weaponry till then. And the finances of his country were also in good order due to the presence of a Copt from Egypt whom he put in charge of the wealth of the kingdom (as minister of finance). And he kept it under good control and promoted its growth, and it was filled with abundance and prosperity. But he was also a tyrant and an oppressor, and he agreed with his state counselors [66] to take the kingdoms of the Muslims out of their hands and to expel them from the country and exterminate them. This is what Maqriziyy said. And when his country became civilized and his power increased, his evil spirits tempted him that he should seize the Islamic kingdoms. And he fell upon all the Muslims who were in his power in the kingdom of Ḥabaša in atrocious and protracted battles, during which he killed and took captive and enslaved a quantity that only his Almighty Creator can calculate. Then he wrote to the kings of the *Ifranj*, urging them to meet with him to eliminate the Muslim state [i.e. kingdoms]. And he arranged a meeting with them for this, and began smoothing and improving the roads between him and the Muslims' lands and summoning the Bedouins [i.e. the nomads] to him. But Allah [67] the

Most High forestalled him by His vengeance in the year 833 AH/1429 or 1430 AD [the year of his death]. This is according to the testimony of a historian [probably Maqriziyy] who was a contemporary of the events that occurred between the kings of Ḥabaša and the Muslims. It will be clear to the reader what kind of enmity the kings of Ḥabaša and their people had to the Muslims, and they did not respect the rights of their (Muslim) neighbours (even) after they (the Muslims) had gotten rid of paganism in their country and civilized it and established in it the practices of orthodox Islam. And thus the Muslims found no alternative but to prepare for resistance against their enemies. There is no doubt that the rising of Islam in this country occurred as a means necessary to defend the Muslims themselves and their freedom.

Regarding this topic, Taddesse Tamrat in his book *Church and State in Ethiopia* writes:

Maqrizi accuses King Yishaq of writing to Europe proposing a grand Christian alliance against Islam. According to Taghri Birdi (1409-70), Yishaq sent his envoys on the occasion of the Mamluke conquest of the kingdom of Cyprus... Yishaq also had at his court a former Mamluke official in Upper Egypt and an Egyptian Christian with whose help he was reorganizing his army and the administration of his kingdom. (p. 258)

The precise period of King Yishaq's reign varies with writers. Thus:

Taddesse Tamrat in *Church and State* says 1413-1430,

Maqriziyy in *Kitāb al-'ilmām* says 1412-1427,

J.S. Trimmingham in *Islam in Ethiopia* says 1414-1429, and

Šayḥ 'Abdallāh in his manuscript says 1409-1429/1430.

حصرت المملكة الحبشة ذلك الوقت بين شوا وأمحرا و تجرى وكان الشعب يعانى التعب والشقاء من الحكام وسوء ادارتهم وكان نفوذ دولة المماليك يمتد إلى شمالى الحبشة فقام رجل اسمه يكونه أملاك واسس دولة حبشية وهى الأسرة السليمانية وأخذ يشن الغارات على المسلمين فى الجنوب والجنوب الشرقى فنهض المسلمون لدفع تعدى الأحباش وحمى وطيس الحرب بينهم ودامت هذه الحروب الفظيعة نحو ثلاثة قرون وبلغت اشدها فى القرن العاشر [69] الهجرى السادس عشر الميلادى حين تولى النجاشى لبندانجل، وولده كلاوديوس من بعده وقد عانى المسلمون فى أيامهما شدة عظيمة وضعفت دولتهم التى جعلوا عاصمتها هرر 926 هـ 1520 م وكادت تنهار ويقضى عليها لولا أن قام من المسلمين شاب مقدم جسور اسمه أحمد بن ابراهيم وجمع كلمة المسلمين وتولى أمرهم حتى لقبوه الأمام والغازى وصاحب الفتح لفتح الحبشة والاستيلاء عليها وسماه الأحباش جرانى اى أعسر فقد حمل على الحبشة حملات شديدة بمؤازرة الأتراك [70] الذين كانت جدة واليمن فى قبضتهم وتوغل فى البلاد حتى انتهى الى الأقاليم الشمالية من تجرى وبلغت حروبه مع الحبشة أقصى حد من الحماسة والأقدام لأن المسلمين اعتبرواها [اعتبروها] جهادا وغدوا يحاربون حرب المستميت باسم الدين حتى نفذت قوتهم المادية والمعنوية وقد وصفت هذه الوقائع التى تشيب لهولها الأطفال فى كتاب العلامة الشهاب احمد بن عبد القادر الجيزانى المدعو عرب فقيه والذى سماه فتوح الحبشة ومن يطالع هذا الكتاب يجد فيه من ذكر اعمال الفروسية والبطولة وهول الوقائع [71] التى قام بها المسلمون ما ليس له نظير فى الاخبار المتداولة عن الفتوحات الإسلامية الأولى وانظر ما قاله المؤلف فى وصف واقعة صمير كورى فى بلاد شوى.

[68] Boundaries of Ḥabaša at that time

The kingdom of Ḥabaša at that time encompassed Šäwa and 'Amhara and Tigray; and the people were suffering from fatigue and misery due to the rulers and the mismanagement of their administration. And the authority of the Mameluke state extended to northern Ḥabaša. Then a man named

Yäkunnu 'Amlak set about to establish a Ḥabaša state, and this was the Solomonic dynasty. And he began to mount raids on the Muslims in the south and southeast, and the Muslims set about to repel the Ḥabaša aggression, and there was fierce fighting in the war between them. These terrible wars continued for some three centuries and reached fever pitch in the tenth century [69] AH/ sixteenth century AD when king Lībnā Dingīl came to power, and his son Gälawdewos after him. And the Muslims suffered great hardships under them, and their state, whose capital was established at Harär in the year 926 AH/1520 AD, was weakened and nearly collapsed. And it would have been doomed, but for a daring and brave young man who arose from the Muslims and whose name was 'Aḥmad bin 'Ibrāhīm. He united the Muslims and took over their command and they nicknamed him *al-'imām* and *al-ġāzī* (warlord) and *ṣāḥib al-faḥ* (victorious) because of his victory and mastery over Ḥabaša. And the Ḥabaša called him *Grañ*, the left-handed. And he launched powerful campaigns against Ḥabaša with the support of the Turks, [70] who controlled Judda and Yemen. And he advanced deep into the country until he reached the northern parts of Tigray. And his wars with Ḥabaša reached the utmost extreme of fervour and courage because the Muslims considered them a *Jihad* (holy war) and set out to fight a war of martyrdom in the name of their religion, so that their physical and moral strength prevailed. And these battles, at whose horrors little children's hair turns white, are described in the book *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, by the scholar Al-Šihāb 'Aḥmad bin 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīzāniyy, called 'Arab Faqīh. And whoever reads this book will find in it mention of deeds of chivalry and heroism and the appalling power of the battles [71] that the Muslims fought, things which have no parallel (even) in familiar accounts of the

earliest victories of Islam. Now see what the writer said in describing the battle of Şumbar Kure in the region of Şäwa. [Note that the author, who is clearly drawing here upon *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, has made minor changes in wording in a few places, probably inadvertently. In the Arabic text below, “FH” refers to the original text of *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*.]

4.22 (71) واقعة صمبر كورى

هذه الواقعة حدثت فى مستهل رجب من عام 935 هـ وهى إحداه سلسله وقائع استحر فيها القتل فى المسلمين وكادت الحبشان تقضى عليهم حتى إن كثيرا من الجهلة الضعيفى الأيمان من المسلمين ارتدوا الى الكفر طلبا للنجاة من القتل والاضطهاد واقعة بادقى وقد سبق واقعة صمبر كورى واقعة بادقى كادت تذهب بجيش المسلمين لولا أن [72] تداركهم الله بنصر من عنده وكان المسلمون زاحفين اليها بقيادة الامام احمد فأخلى امامهم الجيش الحبشى الطريق وكانوا كلما سألوا واحدا من الأهالى عن الجيش أنكر وجوده او قوة هناك وكانت بادقى هذه موضع بيوت الملك وخزائنه فسار المسلمون اليها من غير ترتيب ولا تعبئة فلما اقتربوا منها صدمتهم عساكر الكفرة الذين اقبلوا كالجراد المنتشر وصدوا المسلمين عن دخول القرية وكان بين العسكرين نهر يسمى سمرما فبقى المسلمون فى [73] أماكنهم الى الصباح ثم عبر النهر منهم طائفة والتقت بالعدو واشتبكوا فى معركة فوق الرعب فى قلب رجلين من المسلمين فانهزما وانهزمت بانهزامهما جميع الفرقة وعبر النهر على غير هدى فغرق منها جماعة عند ذلك وقف الامام فى وجه الهازمين وصاح قائلا أين تفروان أتفرون من الجنة وما هو إلا أجل قد كتب فقال له احد أعوانه إضرب خيمتك هنا ونحن نقاتل دونك قتال العرب يشير بذلك الى واقعة أحد فضرب خيمته واجتمع المسلمون حوله وثبتوا فى أماكنهم وقد خسروا بعض رجالهم ثم رأى [= رأى] [74] الامام احمد أن هذه البقعة ضيقة ولا تصلح للقتال فرحل بعسكره متقهقرا وتبعهم العدو حتى لحقوا بهم عند صمبر كورى فلما رأى المسلمون أن الكفار لاحقون بهم إستشار الإمام أصحاب الرءى [= رأى] فى عسكره فقالوا اما نحن فالقتال بغيتنا ومانا ولا نزال نضر بهم [نصبر لهم: FH] على الضرب والطعن والقتال حتى يحكم الله بيننا وهو خير الحاكمين, ففرح بهم الامام ودعا لهم وباتوا

يعدون العدة للصباح فلما أصبحوا خطب فيهم الفقيه أبو بكر، المكنى أبا رشونه [بأرشونه: FH] وبشرهم بالجنة، وحذرهم من النار، وتلى عليهم قوله تعالى [75] يا أيها الذين آمنوا اصبروا وصابروا ورابطوا واتقوا الله لعلكم تفلحون، فعند ذلك عبأهم الأمام احمد وصفهم ورتبهم واصطفت الحبشة فكانوا سبعة صفوف فهابهم المسلمون لكثرة عددهم فأقبل الأمام يثبتهم بدعائه ويقول اللهم أجعل كلا منا صابرا، ولديك ناصرًا ثم قال لعسكره أذكروا الله ولا تنظروا اليهم وانظروا إلى الأرض واستعينوا بالله عليهم واصبروا والله معكم وناصركم فلما اقترب الكفار منهم كانت سحابة من فوقهم تظلمهم والمسلمون في حر الشمس فتضرع الأمام ودعا وقال في دعائه يا الله يا حي [76] يا قيوم يا بديع السموات والأرض يا ذا الجلال والإكرام إن هؤلاء أعداء نبيك وأعداء رسلك يأكلون رزقك ويعبدون غيرك فتظلمهم ونحن المسلمون في حر الشمس فما استتم الأمام كلامه حتى زالت تلك السحابة عن رؤس الكفرة الى رؤس المسلمين، والى تعبتهم فكانت تظلمهم ثم حمل الكفار على المسلمين فاقتتلوا وحمى الوطيس بينهم الى وقت العصر وخطب الفقيه أبو بكر فيهم وقرأ [= وقرأ] عليهم قوله تعالى أن الله اشترى من المؤمنين أنفسهم وأموالهم بأن لهم الجنة يقاتلون في سبيل الله فيقتلون [77] ويقتلون واعداء [= وعدا] عليه حقا في التوراة والأنجيل والقرآن ومن أوفى بعهده من الله فاستبشروا ببيعكم الذي بايعتم به وذلك هو الفوز العظيم فضج المسلمون بالتهليل والتكبير فالقى الله الرعب في قلوب الكفار، فولوا الأدبار وتبعهم المسلمون يقتلون ويأسرون حتى اختلط الظلام وتم النصر للأمام أحمد وجيشه. نقول من يتصفح هذا الكتاب من الناس يدرك هول هذه الحروب التي كانت الحبشة تشنها على المسلمين في كل وقت وناحية ليخرجوهم من بلادهم واستعانوا عليهم بالبرتغاليين [=بالبرتغاليين] (جنس من انجليز: in margin) الذين احتلوا جزء من افريقيا الشرقية فأمدهم بمدافع وجنود مدربين على استعمالها، [78] وما نعموا منهم إلا أن يؤمنوا بالله العزيز الحميد، وجاء في هذا الكتاب أيضا أن الامام أحمد بقى يقاتل الحبشة بجيش البالغ عدد رجاله عشرة آلاف مدة 12 سنة من 937 الى سنة 950 هـ - 1531 م ثم استشهد في إحدى المعارك وقد خلفه ابن اخته الأمير نور بن مجاهد على قيادة المجاهدين وسلطنة هرر فكان من خيرة القواد وسماه المسلمون صاحب الفتح الثاني وهو الذي قتل النجاشي كلاوديوس سنة 966 هـ في إحدى المعارك وما زال قائما بالأمر حتى لقي ربه سنة 975 هـ - 1568.

([71]) The battle of Şumbar Kure

This battle occurred at the new moon of Rajab in the year 935 AH/1529 AD, and it was one of a series of battles with heavy losses among the Muslims, and the Ḥabaša almost wiped them out, so that many ignorant Muslims of weak faith reverted to unbelief in order to escape the killing and the persecution. In the battle of Bādaqe, which preceded the battle of Şumbar Kure, the Muslim army was almost destroyed, but [72] Allah set things right for them and gave them victory. The Muslims were advancing under the leadership of 'Imām 'Aḥmad, and the army of Ḥabaša left the way open before them. Whenever they asked any of the local people about the army of Ḥabaša, they denied the presence of any force there. And this Bādaqe was the location of the houses and the treasury of the king, and the Muslims advanced towards it without any order and arrangement. When they approached it, they clashed with the army of the infidels who were like swarming locusts, and they prevented the Muslims from entering the town. There was a river called Samarmā between the two armies, and the Muslims stayed [73] in their place until the (next) morning. Then a group of them crossed the river and met with the enemy and joined in battle. And fear struck the hearts of two of the Muslims and they fled, and at their flight the entire group fled, and they crossed the river in disorder and a group of them drowned. And the 'Imām confronted the deserters and shouted, "Where are you fleeing!? Do you flee from Paradise? What is this but the appointed time that was written?" And one of his aides said to him, "Pitch your tent here; we will fight before you the fighting of the Arabs", and he was alluding to the battle of 'Uḥud. He (al-'Imām) pitched his tent, and the Muslims gathered around him and stood firm in their places; and they had already lost some of their men. Then [74] 'Imām 'Aḥmad saw that this spot was narrow and not suitable for fighting, and he

retreated with his army; and the enemy followed them until they overtook them at Şumbar Kure. And when the Muslims saw that the infidels were overtaking them, al-'Imām took counsel with men of judgment from his army and they said, “As for us, fighting is our wish and our desire and we will never cease pressing them with (sword) blows and (spear) thrusts and battle ‘until Allah judges between us, for He is the best of judges’ (Qur’ān 7:87)”. Al-'Imām rejoiced for them and prayed for them, and they passed the night in preparing for the morning. When the day broke, Al-faqīh 'Abubakar known as 'Abā Rašūnah ['Aršūnah] preached to them, and he brought them the good news of Paradise and warned them against Hell-Fire, and he recited to them the words of the Most High: [75] “Ye who believe! Preserve in patience and constancy; vie in such perseverance; strengthen each other; and fear Allah; that ye may prosper” (Qur’ān 3:200). At that time 'Imām 'Aḥmad drew them up and arranged them in ranks. And the Ḥabaša (also) fell into ranks, and they comprised seven ranks. And the Muslims were afraid because of the greatness of their numbers. And Al-'Imām set about to strengthen them by his prayer, saying “O Allah! Make us all patient and victorious for your religion.” Then he said to his army, “Remember Allah; don't look at them, but look at the ground; ask help from Allah against them, be patient, and Allah will be with you and Allah will be your supporter.” As the infidels drew near to them, there was a cloud above them that shaded them, while the Muslims were exposed to the (full) heat of the sun. 'Imām 'Aḥmad abased himself and prayed, and in his prayer he said: “O Allah, O Living One, [76] O Eternal One, O Creator of the heaven and the earth, O Glorious and Gracious One, these are the enemies of Your prophet and the enemies of Your Messengers. They eat the nourishment You give them but they worship other than You. Yet You give them shade and we Muslims are in the heat of the sun.” Hardly had 'Imām 'Aḥmad finished speaking when

the cloud moved from above the heads of the infidels to above the heads of the Muslims and their ranks, and it gave them shade. Then the infidels attacked the Muslims and they fought, and there was fierce fighting between them until the time of the afternoon prayer. And Al-faqīh 'Abubakar preached to them and recited the words of the Most High: "Allah hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods; for theirs (in return) is the Garden (of Paradise): they fight in His Cause and slay [77] and are slain: a promise binding on Him in Truth, through the Torah, the Gospel and the Qur'ān: and who is more faithful to his Covenant than Allah? Then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded: that is the achievement supreme" (Qur'ān 9:111). Then the Muslims raised a great noise, saying *lā 'ilāha 'illā Allāh* and *Allāhu 'akbar*, and Allah struck fear into the hearts of the infidels and they turned their backs and fled. The Muslims followed, killing and capturing them until it became night. Thus 'Imām 'Aḥmad and his army achieved victory. And we say, whoever looks into this book will realize the enormity of these wars that the Ḥabaša waged against the Muslims at all times and places to expel them (the Muslims) from their territories. They (the Ḥabaša) turned for help against them to the Portuguese [added in margin: a kind of English race] who had occupied part of East Africa, and they supported them with guns and soldiers who were trained to operate them; [78] "And they ill-treated them for no other reason than that they believed in Allah, Exalted in Power, Worthy of all praise" (Qur'ān 85:8). And it is also mentioned in this book that 'Imām 'Aḥmad continued to fight the Ḥabaša with an army numbering ten thousand men for twelve years, from the year 937-950 AH/1531-1543 AD; then he was killed on one of the battlefields. His nephew, Al-'Amīr Nūr bin Mujāhid, succeeded him to the leadership of the *Mujahidīn* and the sultanate of Harar. And he was the best of leaders, and the Muslims called him "*Ṣāhib al-fatḥ* the second" and

it was he who killed the king Gälawdewos in the year 966 AH on one of the battlefields. And he continued in his leadership until he met with his Lord in the year 975 AH/1568 AD.

Special note should be taken of the author's marginal note (above) identifying the Portuguese as "a kind of English race".

4.23 [79] ضعف السلطنة الإسلامية بعد ذلك

انتهى بموت الأمير نور بن مجاهد مجد سلطنة هرر الإسلامية فعادت الحبشة الى عنتها وإلقاء الأذى على المسلمين الذين عجزوا بعد تلك الحروب الطاحنة عن مقاومة تعدى الحبشة عليهم بأعانة الفرنج فأما التركيون الذين كانوا [=كانوا] يعينون المسلمين فاشتغلوا بحرب العرب إياهم وزادت حالة المسلمين تأخرا في بدء القرن الحادى عشر الهجرى حينما اخترق حدود الحبشة من جنوب نهر وابى شعوب بعالا الوثنيين فإنهم كادوا يقضون على الإسلام فى تلك البلاد وقد انتزعوا من أيدى المسلمين مملكتي بالى [80] وهديا وتوغلوا فى هضبة الحبشة وجعلوا عاصمتهم ما بين هرر وشوى وامحرا وانتشروا فى بلاد كثيرة أما مسلمو شرقى الحبشة فتجمعوا فى اوسة و اتخذوها مقرا للإمام عوضا عن هرر.

[79] The weakness of the Islamic sultanate after that

The glory of the Islamic sultanate of Harar terminated with the death of Al-'Amīr Nūr bin Mujāhid. The Ḥabaša returned to distress and inflict harm on the Muslims, who were weakened after the crushing wars of resistance to the aggression of Ḥabaša against them, assisted by the *fār'anj*. And as for the Turks who had been supporting the Muslims, they were preoccupied by the war that the Arabs were fighting against them. And at the beginning of the eleventh century AH the situation of the Muslims continued to regress, while the borders of Ḥabaša were penetrated from

south of the Wabe River by the pagan Galla (Oromo), and indeed they came close to destroying Islam in that area. And the kingdoms of Bale [80] and Hadya were wrested from the hands of the Muslims, and they (the Oromo) penetrated deep into the highlands of Ḥabaša and made their capital between Harar and Šäwa and 'Amhara, and they spread out over a large territory. As for the Muslims of eastern Ḥabaša, they gathered in 'Awsa and made it the seat of the 'Imām instead of Harar.

There is a numerical discrepancy in the manuscript. On page 75, line 4 of the manuscript, the author says that the number of lines in the Ḥabaša army in the battle of Şumbar Kure was seven, whereas 'Arab Faqīh in his book *Futūḥ al-Habaša* on page 67, lines 3-4 or in its translation *The Conquest of Abyssinia* on pages 78-79 says that "Each of the infidel lines was five times bigger than that of the Muslims who were like a white birth-mark on the hide of a black bull."

4.24 [80] الدولة العثمانية فى الحبشة

أما فى الجهة الشمالية فبقيت نار الحرب مستعرة بين المسلمين والأحباش حتى استولى العثمانيون على مصوع فى سنة 964 هـ / 1557 م وبدءوا [= بدؤوا] يتدخلون فى شؤون [= شؤون] الحبشة ويشدون أزر المسلمين فى المقاطعة التى تسمى الآن إلتريا فأثار ذلك [81] نائرة الحبشة وانتهى الأمر بحرب عنيفة بينهم وبين العثمانيين سنة 986 هـ / 1578 م كان الظفر فيها للحبشة بقياده ملك صاجاد، الذى قضى على مطامع العثمانيين بفتح الحبشة مستعينا بالإيطالية ثم إن الحملة الإسلامية التى قام بها الأمام احمد بن ابراهيم ومن بعده ابن اخته الامير نور بن مجاهد لم تذهب سدى فقد كانت سببا فى انتشار الإسلام فى الهضبة حتى قلب الحبشة فى دمبيا وكونو ولما قدم سفراء أمام اليمن الى الحبشة فى سنة 1058 هـ / 1648 م وجدوا بقرب عندار مدينة عامرة بالمسلمين لأن قسما كبيرا من قبائل جالا الوثنيين [82] الذين سكنوا الهضبة الحبشية اعتنقوا [اعتنقوا] الإسلام لما وجدوا فيه من الفضائل.

([80]) The Ottoman Empire in Ḥabaša

In the north the flames of war continued to burn between the Muslims and Ḥabaša until the Ottomans took possession of Muṣuwwa‘ [Massawa] in the year 964 AH/1557 AD. They began to intervene in the affairs of Ḥabaša and supported the Muslims in the region now called Eritrea. And this excited [81] the fury of the Ḥabaša, resulting in a violent war between them and the Ottomans in the year 986 AH/1578 AD. The victors in this war were the Ḥabaša under the leadership of Malāk Şāgād (Särs’ä Dīngil), who put an end to the ambitions of the Ottomans with the victory of the Ḥabaša supported by Italy [sic]. But the Islamic campaign led by ’Imām ’Aḥmad ibn ’Ibrāhim and after him his nephew al-’Amīr Nūr bin Mujāhid did not go in vain; it was a cause of the spread of Islam into the highlands and even into the heart of Ḥabaša, in Dāmbya and Wäkkänno. And when ambassadors of the *’imām* of Yemen reached Ḥabaša in the year 1058 AH/1648 AD, they came upon a town near Gondär full of Muslims, because a large portion of the pagan Galla (Oromo) tribes [82] living in the Ḥabaša plateau had embraced Islam because of the virtues they found in it.

The reference to “Italy” above is an anachronism.

CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Summary and Conclusions

Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ, the model rustic Muslim cleric from the remote countryside, of a poor peasant family, having no academic education and no access to authentic reading materials in Ethiopia, crossed the sea to Saudi Arabia and observed from the foreign sources how the lingua-political policy of the Christian ruling class had caused the wholesale destruction of Arabic written materials in Ethiopia. The consequence was not only that Muslim ethnicities lost a cherished part of their national heritage and Arabic literary background, but also that Ethiopian Muslim clerics were unable to get sources to write their own historiography. The result was a decline in writing interest and skill as a whole. History documents written by Ethiopians, particularly in Amharic, do not focus on Islam and do not address the reading interests of Ethiopian Muslims.

This situation motivated the Šayḥ to try to preserve the lost mental and spiritual achievements of Ethiopian Muslim society by writing this model manuscript, which can be used as a history textbook and teaches political, geographical, economic, social and religious history from ancient times up to the modern period, including how to be a historian and indirectly how to be a good history reader. We can also learn from this work and from the author’s own life the national and religious patriotism of some Muslim figures; how to continue to be a productive citizen while studying religious subjects; the importance of formal (academic) education in understanding the world; the political, religious and social virtues of being diplomatic to the public, the government, etc. For centuries, especially in the Middle Ages, almost nothing was done for the development of the country due to civil war between the royal families, wars between Ethiopia and other nations, and religious strife, in addition to repeated natural disasters like drought and famine.

The central concern of this study has been a historical and philological analysis of Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh’s history manuscript, which is a reconstruction in miniature of Ethiopian Muslim history including their Arabic written heritage. It focuses in particular on illuminating the hitherto obscure history of Islam in Ethiopia, the genealogical lineage of Ethiopian Muslim ethnicities, the relations between the Christian leaders and the Muslim sultans, and the main historical events that occurred in the country up to the reign of Haile Selassie.

It cannot really be said that the author, Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh bin Šālīḥ, was a “good” historian in the academic sense of the word. He sometimes telescopes several centuries into one or two sentences, for example on ms pages 68-69, where the three centuries between Yākunnu ‘Amlak and Lībnä Dīngīl are covered in some three sentences. Sometimes several pages are taken over from other writers (as quotations or near-quotations, with or without attribution) –thus with *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* or Ibn Hišām’s *Sīra*. The author prefers to dwell on dramatic events or stories. This is clear, for example, in his portrayal of the wars of ‘Imām ‘Aḥmad, which is mostly a collection of pious and colourful scenes taken from *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*.

Rather, the manuscript is interesting chiefly for what it reveals about the author and his way of viewing history, which surely was typical for the time and place he lived in.

5.2. Recommendation

Many of the issues raised in Šayḥ ‘Abdallāh’s works are still timely today. They should be discussed as the Šayḥ himself did, in a way that is conducive to developing a culture of religious tolerance; the warrior mentality and superiority complex should be replaced by productivity, thoughtfulness and a spirit of cooperation. Secondly, much of Ethiopian written heritage is held by the uneducated descendants of the clerics; hence the more

educated part of society, particularly the institutions of higher education, should teach the rural community the importance of these documents so that they can work together in gathering and giving information. Thirdly, such investigations should be publicized through the media, especially to the rural population among whom the manuscripts are mostly to be found. Fourthly, researchers should be provided with sufficient funds and resources. Finally, the Department of Linguistics and Philology should pay special attention to preserving the results of the philological investigations undertaken by its students.

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