



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

ŠAYḤ 'IBRĀHĪM 'AFFŪŠO
HIS MANUSCRIPTS HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND THE HALABA
[ALAABA] SOCIETY HE LIVED IN

BY
FATHALBĀRĪ MUḤAMMAD NŪR AWWAL

March 2012

ADDIS ABABA – ETHIOPIA



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Professor Orin Gensler

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

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

Addis Ababa University

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

By

Fathalbārī Muḥammad Nūr Awwal

March 2012

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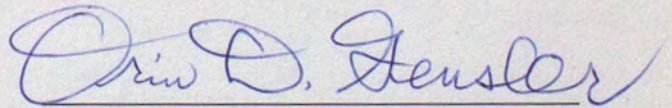
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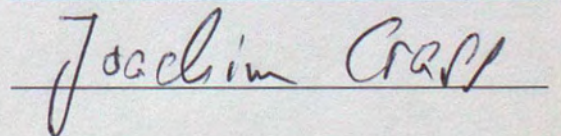
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Acknowledgements

Thanks to almighty Allāh for his unutterable graces! I extend my deep thanks to my parents, and to my wife Na'ima Rāggasa. Many special thanks go to my advisor, Professor Orin Gensler, for his valuable advice and constructive comments, and for helping with translations from German. Without his full support this thesis would have been much less successful.

I am also grateful to the team of the Governmental Communication, Cultural and Tourism Bureau (GCCT) in Halaba for their enthusiastic support, particularly the head of department Mr. Badru 'Isā.

I am also indebted to: Hāj Yūsūf Husayn, Hāj Muḥammad Nāṣr and his son Riyāḍ, Muḥammad Sa'īd, director of Arabic unit in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Addis Ababa University, and Wulč'afo Jamāl for the rich information they provided. Thanks also to Yānīya Sayyid Makkiyye for her help with the Halaba Ajami.

My thanks also go to Professor Ulrich Braukämper (Institute of Ethnology, University of Göttingen, Germany) for sending me highly useful references of his own researches which were crucial to my paper. The informants are worth jewels of appreciation. I thank them all. My thanks are also due to many others who were connected with this work. In thanking all of the above I follow the teaching of the Prophet Muḥammad who said:

من لا يشكر الناس لا يشكر الله

Man lā yaškuru al-nāsa lā yaškuru Allāha

"Those who don't show gratitude to people don't show gratitude to Allāh!"

(Ḥadiṯ as narrated by Abū-Hurayra in Tirmīḍī 3/228)

Transliteration

1. Ethiopic

A) Consonants

| | | | | | | |
|---------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| ሀ/ሃ ha | ለ lä | ሐ ha | መ mä | ሠ sa | ረ rä | ሰ sä |
| ሸ šä | ቀ qä | በ bä | ተ tä | ቸ čä | ነ nä | ኸ ḥä |
| አ'a | ከ kä | ኸ ḥä | ወ wä | ዐ 'a | ዘ zä | ዠ žä |
| የ yä | ደ dä | ጀ jä | ገ gä | ጠ ṭä | ጨ č'ä | ጸ p'ä |
| ጸ/ፀ s'ä | ፈ fä | ፐ pä | ቨ vä | | | |

B) Vowels

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 st order | 2 nd order | 3 rd order | 4 th order | 5 th order | 6 th order | 7 th order |
| በ bä | ቡ bu | ቢ bi | ባ ba | ቤ be | ብ bə | ቦ bo |

2. Arabic

A) Consonants

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

B) Vowels

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| َ | A | ُ | u | ِ | I |
| ا | Ā | و | ū | ي | ī |

C) Diphthongs

| | | | |
|----|----|----|----|
| أي | Ay | أو | aw |
|----|----|----|----|

3. Numerals

| Latin | Geez | Arabic | Latin | Geez | Arabic |
|-------|------|--------|-------|------|--------|
| 1 | ፩ | ١ | 30 | ፳ | ٣٠ |
| 2 | ፪ | ٢ | 40 | ፴ | ٤٠ |
| 3 | ፫ | ٣ | 50 | ፵ | ٥٠ |
| 4 | ፬ | ٤ | 60 | ፶ | ٦٠ |
| 5 | ፭ | ٥ | 70 | ፷ | ٧٠ |
| 6 | ፮ | ٦ | 80 | ፸ | ٨٠ |
| 7 | ፯ | ٧ | 90 | ፹ | ٩٠ |
| 8 | ፰ | ٨ | 100 | ፷፬ | ١٠٠ |
| 9 | ፱ | ٩ | 1000 | ፷፻ | ١٠٠٠ |
| 10 | ፳ | ١٠ | 10000 | ፷፻፹፻ | ١٠٠٠٠ |
| 20 | ፳፬ | ٢٠ | | | |

Abbreviations

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

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father

Šayḥ Muḥammad Nūr Awwal,

may Allāh have mercy upon him.

Abstract

This thesis sheds light on Halaba society and culture, especially as reflected in the contribution of its scholars and Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo in particular. The main aim is to emphasize their role in maintaining, improving and teaching the society.

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

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Chapter One – Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

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

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

1.2 Statement of the problem

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

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

1.3 Purpose of the study

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

1.4 Significance of the Study

- Beyond the primary stage of finding and presenting the texts of the mss. by Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo and his Halaba contemporaries, the thesis studies them philologically, i.e., determining who wrote them and why, what they can tell us about the educational tradition, and what topics were focused on.
- The mss. are found in private collections and hence have never been studied, either by local or foreign researchers.
- It shows the contributions of 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo for the preservation of Halaba culture and for the growth of Arabic works in Ethiopia.

- It will also serve as a starting point for future research and will bring the hitherto unknown works of 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo to the attention of scholars and interested readers.
- It will provide the first introduction to Halaba Ajami literature.

1.5 Sources of data and data presentation

I made use of the following sources:

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

Chapter two - Review of literature

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

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

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

The first written mention of Halaba is apparently in the chronicle of Zär'a Ya'qob (rl. 1434-68), as given by Perruchon (1893:18), ... ወሀለብ ገራድ እሉ ኩሉሙ እለ ሀለው ምሳሌሁ:: *wähaläb gärad 'älu kwälomu 'älä haläw məsalehu*. 'Halab garad must be an example for all', where "Halab garad" is listed among the leaders of groups defeated by Zär'a Ya'qob.

According to Nägga Wälädäsällase (1993), the Halaba of the Bəlatte valley are mentioned in 1614 in a report of the Portuguese missionary Antonio Fernandez¹ (d. 1642). On a projected trip from the Ethiopian dependency Kāmbata to the coast of the Indian Ocean, this traveler was forced by Aliko, the king of the Halaba, to return northwards via Šäwa to Gojjam. Aliko was at that time independent of the Christian state and on hostile terms with Emperor Susənyos (r. 1607-32). The oral traditions indicate that Aliko was the son of the famous Hājī ‘Aliyye and a half-brother of Oyäta, who married King Hāmälmal, who founded the Kāmbata dynasty around 1600. In the book *The Oromo of Ethiopia* by Mohammed Hassen (1994: 61), he states that Aliko was an ambitious man, who wanted to expand his territory, and that he was deposed by his own cousin in 1615.

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

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

¹He joined a secret diplomatic mission with Fəqurä Əgəzi, appointed ambassador to the holy see of Rome and King Philip III of Spain (II of Portugal) by Susənyos. They had to avoid the Red Sea harbors and the land-route to Cairo which were all controlled by Ottoman powers, and traveled southwards through Ennarya, expecting to reach Malindi and open a long-sought new route to the Ethiopia plateau. They went as far as the lands of Kāmbata and Gängero and returned after one year and seven months. (*Encyclopedia Aethiopica* V.2 p. 530)

Some traditional texts as well as English-Halaba and Halaba-English word lists complete this work. There is also a B.A. thesis entitled *Yä Alabəña yä kämbatəña zäyənät* "The Halaba and Kämbata dialects" by Sälämon Laggiso (1976 E.C. / 1984). His work focuses on comparing Halaba and Kämbata phonetically and morphologically, with numerous examples. The two dialects have considerable mutual intelligibility and they have much shared vocabulary. In addition, a few pages are devoted to geographical and cultural characteristics. Geographically, the two are neighbors. They follow two different religions, but their funeral practices are similar, including slapping the chest, self-flagellation and putting off the funeral for two or three days after death. This traditional funeral culture is decreasing under the influence of both Muslim and Christian preachers and of education. Another practice is circumcision. The traditional belief is that it should be done in early childhood, to help prevent possible diseases or stunted growth later in life. The preferred days for this ceremony are Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday; other days are considered inauspicious. The preferred months are December and January, when the farming is already completed.

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

The above researchers all discuss different aspects of Halaba society, but none of them mentions the Halaba Ajami literature either in its linguistic or philological perspective, although it is richly attested in the province. This literature is used as a tool to teach the community, transferring oral tradition to

written tradition, and to preach through composing poems that explain the fundamentals of Islam and give the biography of the Prophet Muhammad.

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

Chapter three – Halaba society and history

3.1 Area sketch

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

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

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

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

For administrative purposes the *wäräda* is divided into the city of Qullito (with two sub-cities) and 76 rural *qäbäles*. New towns in the Halaba *wäräda* are Guba, Aläm Gäbäya and Bäšäno. Qullito is the only city, the administrative center, and an important marketing and communication center, connected by a paved road to Addis Abäba and other cities like Šašämänä and Arba Minč', and

by gravel road to Hosa'na. It has five gates: one in the east towards Šašämänä which is 65 km. away, one in the west towards Hosa'na which is 76 km. away, a third gate in the north towards Wärobe which is 67 km. from it, another in the south towards Wolayta, 74 km. away, and one in the southeast towards Roppi, 28 km. away. The weekly market at Qullito is held on Thursdays, and is known as one of the largest open markets in Ethiopia.

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

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

According to 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo (Wulč'afo 1984), the word Qullito was originally the name of a man of the *Side* clan, who was lived around today's Water Resource Development Office quarter. He used a particular pathway to take his cattle to the Blatte River. When the Halaba people, who lived around that area and who had been using a much longer and more difficult route to the same river, became aware of this, they started to use this same path. In time, they started settling around this man's house and finally named the location after him. Originally, the route was called Gate of Qullito "*Qullito Urro*", but it became shortened to Qullito. (I know of no other suggested etymology for this name.)

Qullito lay on a major caravan route. On this route salt was transported from El-Qärä in Ogaden through Robe (in Bale) and Kofale (in Arsi) to Wolayta. There was also a large slave trade between Wolayta and Šäwa, of which Qullito was a market, around the end of the 19th century. The trade route at that time was insecure (Braukämper 1980: 183).

Today, the *wäräda* includes many different ethnic groups, mainly Amhara, Oromo, Tigre, Gurage, Kämbata, Hadiyya, Silṭe and others.

3.2 The term Halaba

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

- 1) The ancestors of the Halaba people came either from the Syrian Ḥalab (Aleppo) or an alleged Libyan Halaba.
- 2) When Ḥajī 'Aliyye, a leader of the Silṭe ethnic group, came to the area, the other ethnic groups gave him gifts but not the people currently known as the Halaba. So he said to his followers in the Silṭe language "Alə 'Aba" which means "they didn't give". So the name Halaba might have been taken from the Silṭe language.
- 3) The name comes from the question of 'Imām Aḥmad bin 'Ibrāhīm [nicknamed *Grañ*-the left handed fl. 1506-43], when he asked his supporters who had come to the area before him, "Did they refuse?" i.e., in Arabic, "هل أبى" *hal 'abā* (literally "did he refuse"). This indicates that they were people who had refused to convert to Islam.
- 4) It is taken from the name of one of the ancestors of the people, Halaba Mänčäno.

- 5) Between Bale and Sidama, there is a mountain called by the name of Alabo, where the Halaba people lived for many years.
- 6) The Halaba people used to graze their cattle and drink milk in Doda/Bale. As a result they were named after this occupation, which in Arabic is حلاب *Hallāb* or in Harari, *Halabäta*, meaning milker.

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

3.3 Movement and settlement according to the oral traditions

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

According to Muḥammad Nāṣr (2000), after crossing the Red Sea via Bāb Al-Mandab from their alleged homeland in Ḥalab or Tripoli (Lebanon), they first settled near the Red Sea to the east of Ethiopia, and moved to the north of Ethiopia searching for a good environment for their cattle. There they lived for a number of years. The period when they were in the North was during the time of Amhara rule and the Amharas levied a yearly tribute of one Halaba girl, which they agreed to give. But when they gave this girl of theirs, they washed and shrouded her – rites that are performed over the dead – to show how

grievous it was to give one of their daughters away and to show how they would consider the girl from then on. The Halaba paid this tribute for a while, but then stopped and moved back to the southeast from where they had come, not only because of the tribute but also because of their religious differences with the Amhara.

Ibrāhīm 'Affuṣo indicates that the Halaba are of *šarīf*² origin, who came to Ethiopia from Tripoli and then Yemen. They migrated from Yemen because of trade, and their population increased in the regions surrounding Zayla' and Jabarta on the Somali coast. Then they moved to Harar, where they stayed for 10 years, and then to Č'ärč'är for five years. He also states that before the war of 'Imām 'Aḥmad bin 'Ibrāhīm 'Al-Ġāzi, the Halaba inhabited the east of the present-day Arsi area, mainly in Guna (Arba-Gugu) and Šärka Gädäb for sixty years. When the war of 'Imām Aḥmad started, Ḥaji 'Aliye, with twelve men, went to Käfa in the west of Ethiopia to support him. The rest of the Halaba left Šärka Gädäb and moved to Doda in Bale, where they shifted from trading to grazing, and then went from Doda to Mount Alabo which is between Bale and Sidamo. There they grazed their cattle for a long time and then moved on to Sidama for about ten years (Wulč'afu 1984).

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

² The terms *šarīf*, *sayyid* and *ḥabīb* are for the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn bin 'Alī. Both are grandchildren of Prophet Muhammad, through the marriage of his cousin 'Alī and his daughter Faṭīma.

migrations among the peoples of that area that the whole ethnic situation was radically affected” (Braukämper 2004: 63).

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

In Sidama, two of the ancestors of the Halaba were born. Muḥammad Nāṣr explains (2000) that, “Here [in Sidama] the ancestor ..., Muḥammad Mänčäno, begot two of his blessed progeny who were the forefathers of today's Qabäna and Alaba ethnic groups.”

“As can be seen from a study of their genealogies and historical traditions, some Alaba and Qabena segments again left Sidamaland in the eighteenth century and migrated up the Bəlatte to the vicinity of Ṭəmbaro and Kambata” (Braukämper 2004:63). And, “because of the process of *Jihād* they moved their living area to the south of Gadab, and a part of the people migrated to the east, to the edge of the Gurage Mountain at the time of Amīr Nūr. And for unknown reasons, the Halaba left their homes in Sidamaland about 1720 A.D., crossed the Bəlatte and settled in the vicinity of Kambata-Ṭəmbaro in a place called ʾIlgära [between Wālayta and Kāmbata], where they lived for 12 years” (Braukämper 2003:206). As Wulč'afo reports in his ms. (1984), drawing on

'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo, the reason was that when the elderly Hasan Mānčāno became blind and advanced in years, he stayed with his three sons: Yəbale, Mälge and Yənase. His other sons and his brother's sons migrated as mentioned above to 'Ilgära. Muḥammad Nāṣr makes it clear (2000) that it was Hasan's brother Bukkana who migrated. He adds, "The place where Hasan Mānčāno died was Šārka Gädäb and the place of his tomb is still well-known. It is visited by more than twenty thousand of his Halaba progeny each year, who make the visit because they want to keep in touch and stay connected with each other because they are so numerous and widely dispersed." According to the report of GCCT (2007), the reason for the sons' migration was because of a battle that took place with the 'Innariya clan in Guguma.

From 'Ilgära they moved to Ṭāmbaro where they lived for 15 years, according to Sayyid Makkiye in the notes of Maḥdī (1996), but 16 years according to 'Ibrahim 'Affūšo as recorded by Wulč'afo (1984). Muḥammad Nāṣr (2000) adds here that "a number of the Halaba in Ṭāmbaro left the place. But to this day, they meet ...when it is deemed reasonable by their leaders. Their language is basically still the same, with some rare words sometimes appearing."

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

Both narrators ('Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo and Sayyid Makkiye) agree that the people divided into three: one group stayed in Mafida, a second group migrated toward

what we now call Halaba, and the third to Qäbena. This last group moved to 'Abbalte in the Jimma region.

Braukämper notes (2003:206) that in “about 1815, they were chased from there (Mafida) by the immigration of the Leemo-Hadiyya. In this area, they joined another group of their kinsmen, the so-called Uulla 'Alaba (derived from

Uulla 'earth'), i.e., a homesteading people who had occupied this territory in the second part of the 16th century. In contrast to them, the newcomers were called Hasan Alaba after an ancestor. The final ethnogenesis of the Halaba was achieved by the fusion of these two groups.” He also records (1980:177) that the Leemo came from the north in search of grazing land, and that they were a strong people. Due to their attack a separation took place between the Halaba and the Qäbena; the latter moved to Gurageland in the north, where they still live today.

The Halaba lived with the Leemo in tension, until the warrior Šänqu, the son of war-leader Lilato – from the Side clan ³ – quarreled with a Leemo man, Saṭṭamo – who was blind ⁴ – and killed him. The Leemo threatened war and asked the Halaba for 300 cows ⁵ as blood-price for Saṭṭamo. The Halaba paid 100 cattle in order to have peace and the Leemo demanded the same number for the next two years. In the fourth year, the Halaba refused to pay the tribute. The Leemo decided to wage war against them. 'Ibrahīm 'Affūšo mentions that “the Halaba had agreed to pay 100 cows each year, which would have brought the total number of cows paid to the Leemo to 300 at the end of three years. However, the Leemo demanded a further 100 cows in the fourth year, which

³ According to 'Ibrahīm 'Affūšo (Mahdī 1996).

⁴ According to 'Ibrahīm 'Affūšo (Mahdī 1996 and Wulč'afo 1984).

⁵ According to 'Ibrahīm 'Affūšo (Mahdī 1996 and Wulč'afo 1984).

was not in the agreement. The Halaba told the Leemo that the blood penalty was fulfilled and that no extra cows would be added. At this time the relationship between the two groups became sour and the Halaba looked on the Leemo with suspicion. Because they (the Halaba) were not the first to settle there, they were expecting the Leemo to attack them and try to conquer them'' (Wulč'afo 1984).

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

After their defeat by the Leemo, the Halaba at first moved eastward to Yədäräq in Hulbarag, some time between 1810 and 1820; there they remained for less than 10 years (3 years, according 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo (Wulč'afo 1984)). They were at first welcomed by the eastern Gurage Hulbarag as allies against the Leemo. But when the Hulbarag recognized that the Halaba could become a new enemy, they forced them to leave the country (Braukämper 1980:179). 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo (Wulč'afo 1984) and Muḥammad Nāṣr (2000) give the details of the story. When the Halaba were living together in Bufdäna with the Hulbarags, who spoke the Səlṭi language, they shared some similar religious and cultural features, as well as intermarrying with them. But the cattle and power of the Halaba increased and as a result of certain activities which demonstrated their power, the Hulbarags decided to take action against them. The Hulbarag called for a meeting, open only to those of Hulbarag ethnicity, to discuss the case of the Halaba, i.e., how dangerous they had become and what action should be

taken to secure the Hulbarag future. Finally, they came to a decision to attack the Halaba, not telling those who were in touch with the Halaba in order to keep it secret. A part of the decision was as follows (in the Səlti language):

ህተት ሺፎ ነውተቶን ሺቃሶታ ...

hətät šifo gəwtäton šiqasota ...

“Before they increase let’s finish them off...”

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

Following their assimilation with the Wayyo of the Oromo tribe, the Halaba and the Oromos decided to attack the Hulbarags, and did so more than once. The Hulbarags made a punning proverb about these attacks, which says:

ያሌቁይ አላባ

Yalequy 'Alaba

ልሌቁም አላባ

Ləlequm 'Alba

The 'Alaba whom I raised (lit. grew up) Did not let me grow up.

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

The Halaba arrived at Arsi guided by eight of their clan leaders *Abägaz*: Šəräko from the Side clan, Amo from the Säfato clan, Abägaz Kotto from the Ṭoronbora clan, Game from the Darimo clan, Boyämbabiso from the Wäšärminä clan, Wädä (Hamdä) from the Wäšira clan, Hawalnä (Hato) from the Kolmine clan and Ṭaso from the Azobado clan (GCCT 2007).

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

- 1) When a Halaba was returning from Lake Šala with his cattle, he was suddenly met by an Oromo. The Oromo had seen a big ox among the Halaba's cattle and took it from the Halaba by mixing his own cattle with the Halaba's. But the Halaba noticed it and told the Oromo that the ox was his. The Oromo returned the ox. But the issue escalated into a fight, the result of which was the death of the Oromo. The Oromos became very angry and surrounded the Halaba, demanding that the killer be surrendered to them. The Halaba knew that to refuse the Oromos' request was impossible, so they came to an agreement, whereby in return for safe passage out of Oromo land, they would point out the killer's place. The killer in turn accepted martyrdom in order to save his people. The Oromos agreed to this, and the Halaba left Mito for

Alage. The Oromos went to the place indicated by the Halaba and began searching for the killer. One of the Oromos saw something which looked like discarded furniture in a corner, but as he started to go through it the Halaba, who had been hiding behind it, suddenly came out of hiding and killed him. Then the Oromos killed the Halaba with their lances. This additional killing of another of their own doubled the anger of the Oromo towards the Halaba. So they pursued them all the way to Ṭəbbamä and engaged in a battle in which many people died on both sides. The Halaba lost many people, particularly from the Darimo clan. After this war, they settled in Alage after collecting their wounded soldiers, elders, women, children and cattle.

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

determined to kill the thief. Hence the Halaba decided to flee to 'Ilgära.

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

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

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

After the expansion of Wolayta state in the second half of the 19th century, the Badawačo clan of the Kämбата were pushed little by little to the north, which in turn put pressure on their northern neighbors; and in time they drove the Halaba from their territory west of the Bəlatte. The Halaba were able to hold a small bridge-head on the other side of the Bəlatte River, because the Badawačo were forced to concentrate their strength against the powerful Wolayta. During

the civil war at the time of Ləj 'Iyasu, the Halaba lost this area to the Badawačo. The Badawačo pushed the Halaba back from the Dato mountain area, which had previously served as grazing land for their cattle (Braukämper 1980:181).

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

3.4 Composition of the Halaba clans

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

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

the name Mogomanna they also held an important position among the Čäha-Gurage.

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

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

As for the Šamana clan, they claim that their ancestor is Ḥaji Nāšir, probably the same person as 'Abdul Nāšr, a commander of 'Imām Ahmad bin 'Ibrāhīm Grañ's army (Braukämper 2004:158).

Currently the clans are distributed all over the Halaba territory (GCCT 2007).

They are as follows:

| | | | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|-----------|---------|
| Ajja | Ćalmänä | Känasa | Korjo | Nägada | Ṭoroda | Zebada |
| Anäšaço | Darimo | Känčä | Kučä | Säfato | Ṭoronbora | Zizanča |
| Awda | Gänza | Kitabo | Mälga | Side | Wäšarminä | |
| Azobada | Haqulä | Kolminä | Mänola | Toqqo | Wäšira | |

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

| Location | Clan | Families and Sub-Families |
|----------|---------|--|
| Halaba | Darimo | Wačamo, Fučare, Amano, Azmaro, Sṭäñe, Dəlap'a, Abečo, Ajamo Lenča and Ašläba |
| | Gänza | Hagago, Bučäče, Ratose, Šifäta and Dulala |
| | Känasa | Bulamo, Atalo, Kätäma, Burase, Susa, Grja and Arago |
| | Kitabo | <i>Family 1:</i> Yänä'ute and his sons Bulänčo, Ribana, Zatwalämo, Gumagäna, Riččäna, Bade, Barsäba, Gisa and Abte <i>Family 2:</i> Yäkuče and his sons Qulunbo, Guzube, Läkko, Daru, Luta and Asqäläta |
| | Kolmine | Däqino, Maltano, Hamida, Dagero and Säminčo |
| | Mälga | Awlänäba, Gudär, Jafar, Halo, Abubäkär and Kälifa |
| | Säfato | Abite, Aurago, Gidano, Fifato, Čno (Anäšaço), Auma, Lanko (Manolä), Tämamo and Toqqo |
| | Side | Wom-dəlap'a and subjacent Wom-'urägo, Wom- |

| | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|---|
| | | Sṭāñe, Wom-Mändäda, Zogo, Hano and Mäqäse, Wom-Nure, Wom-Sulṭano, Gongina, Mundäqa, Jgäna |
| Qäbena and Ajamu | Qäbena and Ajamu | Tible, Därgəfo, Bubala, Jämato, Lärebo and Hetlo |
| | Toqqo | Qedamo and Tämamo |
| | Ṭoroda | Mayto, 'O'ifäro, Dare and Bučo |
| | Ṭoronbora | Garino, Damota, Jäwaro, Alero, Loke and Mänola |
| | Wäšira | Aleko (Waččamo) Ṭiyaro, Zärao, Murado, 'Umnano, 'äläsa, Nure, Ajuka and Muqada |
| | Zebada | Hanqädino |

Table 1: Clans of Halaba

As a final point, clan identity is seen in Halaba as the prime determinant of social identity. Exogamy being the common practice in Halaba culture, clan identity is very important in defining permitted and prohibited marriage partners: intermarriage of Wäšira to Wäšira, Side to Side and so on is not favored. It is also important in determining rights to resources such as land, cattle and even inheritance, as well as indicating the rights to duties in central rituals and in conflict resolution. For example, whenever there is an assembly of the Halaba, the Sides must preside. If no Side is present, then another clan may preside.

3.5 Society and culture

According to the travel report of Fernandez (d. 1642), at the beginning of the 17th century a small Muslim principality existed in Halaba whose leader, Aliko,

was evidently the son of the famous Haji 'Aliyye (Braukämper 1980:176, 2004:64). This report shows that the ancestral Halaba ('Uull-'Alaba) living in the area east of Kämбата at the beginning of the 17th century were still Muslims.

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

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

Halaba women composed a song which is still sung at wedding ceremonies today. It says:

ሻላ በዳትኖ ዳሮ በዳትኖ

Šala bādatno daro bādatno

Near to Lake Šala the medicine is near

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

Language

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

“It is uncertain whether the ‘old’ Halaba settlers Ulla-Alaba still spoke the Semitic language of their East Gurage clan relatives and were only Cushiticized by the new settlers, or whether already before, as neighbors of the Kāmbata,

they had taken over their Cushitic language [i.e. Kāmbata]” (Braukämper 1980:179).

Socio-Political formation

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

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

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

- 7 The Arabic title *'Imām* means leader or master. In Halaba, the title was first applied to *'Imām* Nunnade and is also sometimes used as a proper name: *'Imama*.
- 8 Other means of addressing people include *'Abba 'əbālu*, i.e., 'father of ...', and *'Abalu 'Amma* 'mother of....'
- 9 *Azma* was formerly a traditional title for a war leader.
- 10 *Wom* was formerly a traditional title for a clan leader.

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

Muḥammad Nāṣr (2000) provides extra detail for the story. Nunnade the son of Wadello had only a little education but he was brave, smart and broad-minded. He organized the Halaba group, making Qullito their center and dividing the surrounding areas among the clans. The Halaba had never succeeded in establishing an independent rule before Nunnade. They remained, like most of the other ethnic groups, nominally subject to the powerful rulers of the day: the emperor and the Italian colonialists. Nunnade started to think about how to transform the Halaba people from nomads, whose lives were dependent on the milk of cows and the exchange of this milk and its derivatives with other tribes, to a settled people. This was the case even though their neighbors, the Kāmbatas and the Wolaytas, were already agriculturalists. He decided to bring

wheat and pumpkins from Wolayta and Kāmbata. However, the people refused to plough, believing that the ground should be used only for grazing. They threatened that if he tried to split their ground, that they would split his stomach. But he ignored them, inviting their women for a ceremony where the food that he was trying to get the people to adopt was served. The women returned to their homes and succeeded in getting their husbands to reassess their position on farming.

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

As Qullito expanded, the number of Muslims residing in the city also increased. In the Derg period, some of the community's prominent elders took

the initiative to erect a large mosque. Firstly, a committee went through Halaba, collecting contributions for the building of this mosque. The committee also flew to Saudi Arabia to collect money from the émigré Halaba who lived there. After collecting these contributions, including a large donation from Sayyid Makkiye's personal funds, enough money was raised to build the current mosque. In addition, some of the money went into building shops around the mosque. Two shops were constructed and the income from the rental of these shops was donated as an endowment to the mosque. The endowment was not only used to cover the mosque's expenses but was also used to build additional shops. Additionally, the monthly salaries of the *'Imām* 'A person who leads the prayer ...', the *Mu'azzin* 'The man who calls loudly before each obligatory ṣalāt, calling the people to prayer' and the guards were (and still are) covered by it. The *'Imāms* were successively the Yemeni Šayḥ Qāsim 'Abdu who was succeeded by Šayḥ 'Uṭmān Labbiso; the current incumbent is Šayḥ 'Aḥmaddīn Uṭmān, with Šayḥ Šifā Muḥammad and Šayḥ Maḥdī Ḥusayn as co-*'Imāms*.

Islam in Halaba

The process of Islamization in Halaba occurred through Sufi scholars, learned men, and traders, usually Ethiopians but sometimes of foreign origin. In the middle of the 19th century, around 1850, a campaign for re-Islamization started in the area of Qullito under the leadership of missionaries from outside Halaba. One such missionary was Šayḥ Šālih/Wälle, who came from Yifāt to Halaba after an intermediate stay in Silṭe. He did not stay with the Halaba for long, choosing to return to the eastern Gurage area. The missionary activity of Šayḥ Hanna from Bale was more important. He belonged to the famous Nur Ḥusayn line. During his preaching, he is said to have informed the Halaba of their

genealogy and origin at the Dato Mountains west of the River Bəlatte, telling them that they were Muslims and that their clan fathers such as Ḥasan and Side had made major contributions to the religion. He exhorted them with great conviction to return to the religion of their fathers and the Halaba immediately reaffirmed their identity as Muslims. The activity of Šayḥ Hanna established a permanent institutional base of Islam among the Halaba by building Quran schools and organizing pilgrimages to the tomb of Šayḥ Ḥusayn. He died in the Halaba area west of the Bəlatte and was buried in the favorite place of his missionary activity, the Dato Mountains. Additional Islamization impulses in the 19th century came from Ḥasan 'Ənjamo of Qäbena, with his fanatical desire for religion which impressed not only the Qäbena but also the neighboring peoples such as the Halaba (Moreno 1941:52-53, Braukämper 1980:182). In the 1940s, a sanctuary was established in honor of Nurullah 'Aḥmad, the eldest son of Šayḥ Ḥusayn, on the banks of the Bəlatte River near Qullito (Braukämper 2004:159).

As Muslims, the Halabas observe the three holydays: (Ar. *'Īd Al-Fiṭr*, *'Īd Al-'Aḏḥa* or *'Arafa*, and *Mawlid*). *'Īd Al-Fiṭr* comes at the end of the Ramaḏān fast, which is one of the five pillars of Islam prescribed by Islamic law and which is obligatory for all adult Muslims. In Halaba, the regular observance of the *'Īd* is on the eighth of *Šawwāl*, the month after Ramaḏān, because the pious among them continue to fast for six days at the beginning of this month prior to the *'Īd* (2-7 *Šawwāl*, the so-called *Šawwāla*). *'Īd al-'aḏḥa* or *'Arafa*, a popular Muslim festival which is held all over the Islamic world, takes place on the 10th day of the month of *ḏū al-hijja*. In this festival, those who are able will

slaughter an animal. In both festivals, children are given new clothes and after the prayers, some coins by their parents and relatives.

Another major social festival is *Mawlid*, the name by which the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad on 12 *Rabi' al-'Awwal* is commonly known in the Islamic world. It is an important means for strengthening the devotion and spiritual awareness of the faithful. It is observed through feeding the poor, reading the Quran, and reciting the circumstances of the Prophet's life. In Halaba, the celebration takes place in the Bāddene district where all the local Šayḥs gather. It starts on the eve of the actual birthday (Ar. *muqaddima*). Famous classical Arabic works like *Burda* are recited, as well as the works of local Muslim scholars, who have composed a large number of poems both in Arabic and in Halaba Ajami. During festivals, many Halaba may chew *č'at*. In earlier generations, the leaves were chewed primarily on special occasions either by those engaged in religious studies and worship, or by groups consisting mainly of older men socializing with each other, for increased alertness, energy and capacity for concentration. Unfortunately, today most people have become habitual chewers, irrespective of gender, age, religion or ethnic affiliation.

Participants in the Mawlid festival perform (Ar. *ḍikr* and *ṣalawāt*). The term *ḍikr* is from the verb *ḍakara* 'to remember', an exercise of religious piety, consisting in the recollection of God through repetition of his names or laudatory formulas. It can be practiced both solitarily and in a whisper, especially in a spiritual retreat (Ar. *ḥalwa*), or collectively and aloud during the weekly ritual gathering (Ar. *ḥaḍra*), according to the preferences of each Sufi order (Ar. *ṭarīqa*). *Ḍikr* is performed in a specific ritual order, with peculiar breathings and physical movements. In the *ḥaḍra* ritual, *ḍikr* is usually

associated with the recitation of litanies (Ar. *awrād*, pl. of *wird* sg.) and spiritual poems (Ar. *manzūma*). The term *Ṣalawāt* has several related meanings. In the first place, it refers to a brief fixed phrase that is to be uttered repeatedly after saying or hearing the name of the Prophet Muḥammad. Second, it can refer to a similar but somewhat longer formula which serves as *mašrab* (semi-regular refrain) to a *manzūma* poem. Third, it refers to a genre of Sufi poetry which is built up on these phrases as the "backbone" of the poem. There are (at least) four *Ṣalawāt* formulas that are in common use in this genre:

1. صلى الله عليه وسلم *Ṣallā Allahu 'alayhi wa-sallam* 'May Allah bless him and grant him peace.'
2. عليه الصلاة والسلام *'alayhi al-Ṣalāt wa-l-salām* 'Blessing and peace be upon him.'
3. اللهم صل وسلم على سيدنا محمد *allahumma Ṣalli wa-sallim 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad* 'O Allah, bless and bestow peace upon our master Muḥammad!'
4. اللهم صل وسلم على سيدنا ومولانا محمد *allahumma Ṣalli wa-sallim 'alā sayyidinā wa-mawlānā Muḥammad* 'O Allah, bless and bestow peace upon our master and patron Muḥammad!'

Calendar

According to Halaba oral tradition, the eight Halaba clan leaders met at Mitto many years ago to develop and establish the system of (Hl. *Sera*),⁶ a system of socio-cultural regulation of the society, which consists of complex rules for marriage, circumcision, meetings and so on. The name *sera* is also given to an annual festival celebrating these socio-cultural values. This festival takes place

⁶ This term exists also in Qabeena, Silṭe, and Wolane cultures.

each two years in one of the selected place. In this year it held in Qullito city between 7-8 January 2012, for the fifth time.

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

| European | Ethiopian | Halaba |
|------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| A) Seasons | | |
| Summer | <i>Bäga በጋ</i> | <i>Hago</i> |
| Winter | <i>Kärämt ክረምት</i> | <i>Kärmi</i> |
| Autumn | <i>Bälæg በልግ</i> | <i>Lamuṭa</i> |
| Spring | <i>S'ädäy ጸደይ</i> | <i>Maräta</i> |
| B) Days | | |
| Sunday | <i>'Əhud ኧሁድ</i> | <i>'Abbata</i> |
| Monday | <i>Sännö ሰኞ</i> | <i>Woṭata</i> |
| Tuesday | <i>Maksännö ማክሰኞ</i> | <i>Magärgeba</i> |
| Wednesday | <i>Räbu' ረቡዕ</i> | <i>Harp'a</i> |
| Thursday | <i>Hamus ሐሙስ</i> | <i>Kämsa</i> |
| Friday | <i>'Arb ኧርብ</i> | <i>Jəm atäta</i> |
| Saturday | <i>Qədame ቅዳሜ</i> | <i>Hoffəčuta</i> |
| C) Months | | |
| September | <i>Mäskäräm መስከረም</i> | <i>'Idara ☆</i> |

⁷ The Halaba names are from the GCCT report (2007), and hence are given there in fideጢ. My transcription here reflects the fideጢ.

| | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| October | <i>Ṭəqəmt</i> ጥቅምት | <i>Mäšeta</i> |
| November | <i>Hədar</i> ህዳር | <i>'Intongota</i> |
| December | <i>Tahsas</i> ታህሳስ | <i>Mängäsa</i> |
| January | <i>Ṭər</i> ጥር | <i>Wätot</i> |
| February | <i>Yäkkatit</i> የካቲት | <i>Mazze</i> ☆ |
| March | <i>Mäggabit</i> መጋቢት | <i>'Asəre</i> |
| April | <i>Miyazya</i> ሚያዝያ | <i>Säñeta</i> ☆ |
| May | <i>Gənbət</i> ግንቦት | <i>Ḥamleta</i> ☆ |
| June | <i>Säne</i> ሰኔ | <i>Naseta</i> ☆ |
| July | <i>Ḥamle</i> ሐምሌ | <i>Mäsäro</i> |
| August | <i>Nähase</i> ነሐሴ | <i>Ṭəqəmta</i> ☆ |
| Intercalated month | <i>P'agume</i> ጳጉሜ | <i>Q^waqumäta</i> |

Table 2: Halaba names for seasons, days and months

Some notes on the above table:

- ❖ Halaba uses its own names for five of the seven days of the week. Exceptions are *Ḥarp'a* ‘Wednesday’, *Kämsa* ‘Thursday’ and *Jəm atäta* ‘Friday’, which are loanwords taken either directly or indirectly from Arabic (Schneider-Blum 2007: 466, 483; for Arabic ḥ > k, see Leslau 1990: 7).
- ❖ The names for the seasons come from the habitual activity of the season, which in turn is named after it. They are: *ḥago* ‘dry’, *kärmi* ‘rainy’, *lamuṭa* ‘greenness’ and *maräta* ‘harvesting’.
- ❖ As usual in Ethiopia, the year has 13 months, including an intercalated month countaining 5 or in leap year 6 days.

- ❖ It is interesting to note that six of the Halaba month-names (marked with ★ in the table above) are (almost) the same as the general Ethiopian names, but occur two months earlier. This is quite puzzling and I cannot explain it.
- ❖ Of the other six month-names, these traditional names sometimes come from seasonal changes that happen at the given time of year. Some of them are analyzed by the Halaba people as follows: October *mäšeta* 'production', November *'intongota* 'wealthy' (traditionally in Halaba they say that everyone gains from the production), December *mängäsa* 'the end of the year' (this time is considered as the last month of farming), January *wätot* 'drought' (it is drought because the month is hot and dry).

Establishing family

When a young Halaba man decides to set up a conjugal home, he builds his own traditional house separately. The house is of the "wattle and daub" type, made of mud and grass applied to a skeleton of branches. The structure is circular, with an average diameter of approximately 8m. This distance is traditionally measured by pacing off 7 Halaba "feet" from the planned center of the house. A Halaba "foot" is equal to the length of two human feet, so the radius of the house will be $2 \times 7 = 14$ feet, and the diameter 28 feet (roughly 8 meters). The interior is divided into three rooms by hanging straw mats as partitions. The main front room contains the fireplace and an earthen sleeping platform; the second (in back on the right) is used as a bedroom for the husband and wife; the third (in back on the left) is divided into an upper room for storing kitchen utensils and foodstuffs, and a lower room for a night-shelter for the cattle (if they are not too many). A strong tree-trunk is used as a pillar to

support the steep thatched roof, with additional buttresses fixed at its upper part for additional support; the roof is normally 14 arm lengths in height plus one additional arm length for the buttresses. The front room is the domicile for humans, whereas the animals — cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys, and chickens — are kept in back in the left part of the hut behind a wooden barrier. Small windows, approximately 30x30 cm., are fixed into the hut. The kitchen, where food is both prepared and eaten, is centered on the hearth, which has the form of an earthen oven or fireplace. The interior of the house has multicolored decorations which depict Islamic architecture, mosques, minarets, and words like “Allāh” and “Muhammad”. The process of building is a group undertaking. A group of men lay the foundation stones, circling it with vertical branches measuring up to 8 arm lengths in height for the basic wall, plus one arm length implanted into the ground. The women are then given the task of plastering these walls with mud and grass (wattle and daub). This is done twice, first roughly and then smoothly. They also have the task of preparing coffee and supper for the men as they work.

Marriage represents a fusion of Islamic and traditional practice. It is the one of the cornerstones of social organization. The Halaba are exogamous. Traditional marriage takes place after the male reaches the age of 18, and the woman the age of 15. Pre-marriage practices begin when a man’s parents tell him to go and look for a bird; this is known as (Hl. *č’ič’ú lä’î*) which literally means “to see a bird”.⁸ If the man sees a woman at the same time he sees a bird, he will take it as a good omen that she is the one he will marry. Next comes the day of the payment of the dowry, which is known as (Hl. *gäbbära*). Then there is (Hl. *zänu*), which is when the actual marriage date is determined. And then there is (Hl. *dora*), the period of engagement.

⁸ According to Joachim crass: This kind of practice exists also among the Mareqo/Cibida

There are seven ways that marriage can occur. (the names given below all are of Halaba).

- 1) *Mä'isiso*, i.e., direct marriage, which occurs in the usual lengthy and traditional way.
- 2) *Burän Assu* is the shortest process. It is almost totally informal: the man just paints a symbol on the woman's clothing and she becomes his wife. Under this custom, the woman's opinion will not be requested.
- 3) *Heräna* is based on the agreement of a man and woman who are in love with each other. The woman goes to her lover's home without telling her family; if there is a problem it can be solved later through the elders.
- 4) In *Agga*, if the woman falls in love with the man, she will go to his hut and embrace the central pillar and will not leave the house.
- 5) *Gosu* is when the man abducts the woman with neither her nor her family's consent. In this case the problem can also be solved as in the case of *Heräna*.
- 6) In *Rebuta*, if a man has lost his fiancée, he will go across to another family without asking them or going through the normal procedure and will abruptly tie his whip to the pillar of their hut.
- 7) In *Rägta*, in case the husband dies, the wife marries a member of her husband's family, usually the husband's brother. In this case she cannot refuse because she is part of the man's inheritance which is divided among his family.

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

The marriage ceremony takes place after the agreement of the families. The ceremony typically symbolizes the values of both families, masculinity,

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

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

Kids

When a Halaba woman gives birth, she is taken care of by her family and neighbours. On the third day after she delivers, she is washed in a traditional medicine known as (Hl. *Hoboṭa*). On the fifteenth day after the birth, the baby is taken out into the sunshine and a ceremony follows. It is believed that if this is not done, the child will be negatively affected. At the age of eight years, both boys and girls must pass through the rite of (Hl. *ṭurkāmī*) or circumcision. It is believed that if circumcision takes place before this age, the child may be affected either by weakness or stunted growth. It marks the point at which a child becomes ritually pure and eligible for marriage. Before the circumcision takes place, the family and relatives meet with each other and promise to give (Hl. *arifo*), i.e., gifts. After the operation the child is kept in seclusion, (Hl. *Hanšāro*), until the wound heals. Then, the circumcised of both sexes gather together under a large tree in a ceremony known as (Hl. *Nāqāta*), and take

circumcision names for themselves. Preferred names for males are: Wäma, Adla, Fätto, Burägo, Suluba, etc., and for females: Həggame, Bara, Mältäbara, Kubila, Lokku, etc. The circumcised children meet with each other and play cultural games each Tuesday, Friday and Sunday for four weeks. At the end, they all have a farewell party, known as (Hl. *Hulloqa*), taking a trip to the biggest market in Qullito. They are then entitled to join the society and become a part of it. This is known as (Hl. *Gädamoje*).

Judiciary

Traditionally, problems that arise in the society are dealt with through a special meeting known as (Hl. *Ogätä*), which is held under a tree. The leader of such a meeting is called (Hl. *Dabo Muriče*). If the problem is within a specific clan, the *Dabo Muriče* will be the clan leader. But sometimes, if a problem is too difficult for the clan leader to solve on his own, he can ask for the help and support of the other clans and the problem will be solved in the presence of the leader of the entire Halaba people, who has the title of (Hl. *Bok Muriče*). Two judges, having the traditional title of (Hl. *Qorto Anaketu*), will be selected at the meeting to hear the issues regarding the problem from those involved. If the accounts conflict with each other, i.e., *Qorto*, they can be joined or re-pieced together to get a more accurate version of what happened, an action known as *Gumgumä*, i.e. to arrive at a solution. Subsequently, the leaders come to a decision of punishment, *murte*, for the person who is considered to be at fault. Punishments can range from forgiving each other (the litigants) or paying a small sum of money, to the giving of a bull or a jar of honey, etc. Anyone who refuses to carry out the leader's decisions will be isolated from the society until he changes his mind.

Hospitality

The society is warm but reserved. This can be seen clearly in their way of greeting and receiving guests. In greetings, they are polite and show consideration and respect for each other. When people meet on the road, they will inquire after each other's health, followed by inquiries after other members of the family. The exchange of the formula of greeting may take some minutes. When relatives or friends of either sex meet after a long separation, they usually kiss each other on both cheeks repeatedly, the older or superior in status kissing first. Another kind of greeting is to first shake hands and then kiss the back of each other's hand. This is usual for all except those who are older or superior, who do not kiss the hand of one who is younger or of lower rank. When people are sitting together, they usually greet an incoming person by rising from their seats. The formula *hatti gota* is the general traditional expression of greeting or welcome and of parting, and may also be also used anytime for any person. The word *Fäyyanoota* is also used as a substitute for *Wägärätä indo*. In receiving guests, the head of the family receives them by saying, "*Ahəribu*", a word apparently borrowed from Arabic *Arħibu*, meaning 'welcome'. The guests respond by saying "*Dä'iyye*", 'be healthy'. Traditional foods and drinks are served such as *Märqa* 'porridge', *Bukko* 'traditional bread prepared by mixing maize and wheat', or *Ṭorošo Borata* 'barley bread with butter'.

Foods and drinks

The basic grains utilized in the society are *tef*, maize, sorghum, barley, wheat, and millet. There are two main meals, the midday meal (Hl. *hošu*) and the evening meal (Hl. *horbaate*). In the morning food is taken informally called

(Hl. *afo fäntänto* 'opening the mouth'). Snacks, such as boiled, roasted or toasted peas or beans, are eaten when people are out in the fields or pasture, or during a trip. Indigenous non-alcoholic drinks which are prepared locally are (Hl. *qaribo*) which is made from maize and barley, (Hl. *šamita*) from barley and (Hl. *buluto*) from maize and sorghum.

Female

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

Hairstyle

Hairstyling is one of the main traditions of the Halaba people. There are a large variety of designs, which are done using oil and are accentuated with a variety of objects including wooden combs, beads, and head cloths that frame the head and the face. The style of hair indicates a lot about a person's age, gender, and

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

Folk art

In Halaba, traditional dances and plays are done on different occasions. For example, during circumcision, a play called *huwe gāda* is performed; for weddings, another play, *Alla da'imo*, is performed; in the springtime, *lonohoyte*, a type of dance, is done. When a person wants to boast or praise somebody, usually during a special occasion, he will perform the *geraro*, or the

qala kora korenoga which are specific dance movements associated with boasting and praising, respectively. These dances are accompanied by instruments such as the *käräbo* tambourine, the *däbbe* kettle drum or the *hululätä* flute. In addition, plays can take the form of *gugs*, which is the name for mock warfare on horseback, carried out partly for amusement, and partly as training for real fighting. Moreover, riding and wrestling are practiced widely.

Mourning

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

Islamic education

Traditionally, education among the Halaba means Islamic education. The basic purpose of Islamic education is the trans-generational transmission of its religious, moral and behavioral precepts, as well as the strengthening of the knowledge and practice of Islamic tenets within the community, such as the concepts of what is licit (*halāl*) and illicit (*harām*) and the Islamic legal framework of the *şari'a*, within which all the day-to-day relationships among the faithful are conceived. The training of teachers and scholars is another

object of traditional Islamic education. A major role of scholars is the development and dissemination of Islamic learning throughout the region.

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

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

⁹ I do not know what these four words mean. A similar practice is apparently found among the Silṭi and Harari.

- *safīna al-najā* (the boat of salvation) by Sālim bin Samīr Al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 1850).
- *matn al-ġāya wa-l-taqrīb* (the book of purpose and familiarization) by Abū Šujā' Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn bin Aḥmad Al-'Iṣfahānī (d. 1172).
- *minhāj Al-ṭālibīn* (the method for questioners) by Al-Nawawī (d. 1277).

Islam among the Halaba almost always means Sufism, and therefore advanced students also study Islamic mysticism. Books on mysticism include *Dalā'il Al-ḥayrāt* (guidance to good things) by Al-Jazūlī (d. 1465) and *Kitāb Al-aḍkār* (the book of *ḍikr*) by Al-Nawawī. In the genres of *Madḥ Al-Nabī* (eulogy of the Prophet), *Šalawāt alā al-Nabī*, and other pious poetry, we find works like the renowned *Qaṣīdat Al-burda*, by the well-known poet Muḥammad bin Sa'īd Al-Buṣayrī (d. 1298) and *Tanbīh Al-Anām fī Bayān 'Uluw Maqām Nabīyyina Muḥammad* (a reminder for people explaining the elevated position of our Prophet Muḥammad) by Al-Qayrawānī (d. 1539). At the Prophet's annual birthday anniversary celebration *Mawlid*, the book *Šaraf Al-Anām* by Barzanj and Munāwī is recited, alongside Halaba Ajami poems composed by local Halaba scholars. Among these Ajami poets are Šayḥ Šālīh Habule, nicknamed *Bärräšakka* (chief of the jungle), Šayḥ Muḥammad Jadāñña (struggler) who lived in 'Udana and later the Kutto district, and today Ḥajī Muḥammad Adam Al-Hullagabbī from Hullagäbba district, and others as well.

For Islamic theology (*Tawḥīd*), the book *Jawharatu Al-Tawḥīd* (the jewel of monotheism) by Burhānuddīn Al-Liqānī (d. 1620) is studied. For Arabic grammar (*Naḥw*), the basic text is the *Alfiyya* (one thousand verses) of Bin Mālik with its commentary by Bin 'Aqil (d. 1348). In Quran exegesis (*Tafsīr*) the students study *Al-Jalālayn* by Al-Suyyūṭī (d. 1490), and for the sayings of the Prophet (*Ḥadīṯ*) the *Šaḥīḥ* by Buḥārī (d. 835) is the text.

Only a small number of books are used as texts. This is for economic reasons: there are a great many students, limited funds for buying books, and a serious shortage of writing materials. Even the teachers are not regularly paid for their work, for which they usually receive only symbolic rewards, and they have to earn their living mostly from other activities, such as commerce and farming.

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

The first central Islamic school in Halaba was founded by the saint Sayyid 'Alī

Umar (d. 1964), who studied under the scholar Ḥāji Surūr nicknamed Obiyyu in Zabbimola (Qäbena). After his graduation, he returned home and in 1919 established a new mosque and the above-mentioned school in it, in Bädäne district. This soon became a focal point for *ḥaḍra* and Mawlid among all the Halaba. Later he established a second school in the Qärrenso district.

In Halaba, modern Islamic education has involved widening of the curriculum to include non-traditional secular subjects like Amharic, English, mathematics and science. A typical example is the Dar Al-Ḥadīṭ Islamic school in Qullito (est. 1970), which teaches Islamic education alongside secular academic courses. According to 'Abdurahmān 'Ibrāhīm, in the last half-century the

province has had many scholars in all the districts. Some of them are Adam Şommono at 'Udana, Yūsuf Abbadāne at Mäqqala, Sa'īd Rājato and later his son Yāsīn at Mäja, Kamāl 'Abdussalām at Aşoka, and 'Abdulla Ḥabīb and earlier his father Ḥabīb at Qerrenso. Currently, Aḥmaddīn 'Uṭmān, Muḥammad Nūr Awwal and 'Abdulla Ḥusayn at Qullito, and Sulaymān Sirāj at Hanša, are some of the leading scholars.

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

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

According to Trimingham (2006: 137), in the Italian period Islam was given official recognition in Ethiopia, and in Halaba as part of Ethiopia. The Muslims had formerly had no-well built mosques, but the Italians built them wherever there were Muslims, whether in the majority or in a minority. *Qāḍis* (judges) were appointed to deal with matters coming under *şari'a* law, and Arabic was

introduced into all Muslim schools. An important historical note is recorded at that time by an Ethiopian cleric, Abū Aḥmad Al-'Ityopī, who wrote a book entitled *Al-'Islām Al-jarīh fī Al-Habaša* 'the injured Islam in Abyssinia/Ethiopia'. In a paragraph about the Italian occupation he writes as follows:

ليكن معلوما أنني لست أحبذ الإستعمار الفاشي ، ولا أرضاه حكما مفضلا على أمة إسلامية ، غير أنني أعطي للتاريخ حقه ، وأسجل الواقع الذي شهدته بنفسي وشهدته البلاد ، فقد كان المسلمون الإثيوبيون في عهد الإحتلال الإيطالي يسافرون إلى الخارج بكل حرية للتجارة والسياحة ولطلب العلم إلى الأقطار الإسلامية وينتقلون إلى حيث شاؤوا دون رقابة عليهم. وكان الوعاظ والمرشدون والبعثات الإسلامية والصحفية يدخلون إلى الحبشة لتفقد المسلمين ودراسة أحوالهم . فلم تكن الحكومة الإيطالية تحول دون ذلك ، بل كانت تبذل كل مساعدة وكل التسهيلات بالمسلمين وعقدت الاجتماعات معهم كما كان عدد الحجاج الحبشيين إلى مكة المكرمة يزداد سنة بعد أخرى في عهد الإيطاليين عكس ما كان عليه الحال في الحكم الإثيوبي القديم وفي الوقت الحاضر. كما أخذ عدد المسلمون يرتفع حتى أصبحوا أغلبية كبيرة جدا في خلال خمسة أعوام كما وزعت بينهم الوظائف الحكومية من عسكرية ومدنية .

Let it be known that I do not approve of fascist colonialism, and I do not prefer it as a good form of government for an Islamic nation; but I am giving a true account of history, and I am recording what I myself have seen and what the country has seen. At the time of the Italian occupation, Ethiopian muslims could travel abroad with full freedom to muslim nations, wherever they wanted and without any controls, for trade, tourism and education. Preachers, religious leaders, Islamic delegations

and journalists could enter Ethiopia in order to study the muslims and their situation. The Italian government did not interfere with this, but rather made every effort to help the Muslims, to facilitate things for them, and to hold meetings with them. The number of Ethiopian pilgrims to Mecca increased from year to year in the Italian period in contrast to the situation under the Ethiopian government before and after.¹⁰ The muslim population increased, even becoming a very large majority [!] over the course of 5 years, and government positions, both military and civil, were distributed among them. (pp. 85-86)

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

Customs

There are various traditional Halaba socio-cultural practices and institutions, although today many are decreasing or disappearing. Some of these are *'əbāda*, *buzāna*, *gəstə*, *faṭuma*, *dadoo*, *magarāga*, all related with belief. Certain days of the week are allotted to the cult of particular saints: Tuesday is devoted to

¹⁰ In 1936 the number of Ethiopian pilgrims reached somewhere between 1600 and 1900, whereas after the restoration of the monarchy, the number plunged to only 57 (Erlich 2007: 73-73).

Šayḥ Nūr Husayn, Wednesday to ‘Abdul Qādir al-Jaylanī, and Saturday to Ḥiḍir. These days are celebrated by chewing *Č’āt*, drinking coffee and reciting *ḍikr*. Amulets (*ḥijāb ṭalsam*) play an important role in traditional Halaba society. They are believed to help the wearer to recover from illness, to give birth to a healthy child, to have an official request granted, to get relief from distress and so on. They are worn around the neck or inside the clothes. The amulet contains a text, traditionally written on parchment and today on paper, which includes a geometrical figure (magic square, or *jadwal*) containing magical texts taken from the Quran or other sources. Recently, a better knowledge of the basic teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and his way (*Sunna*) has led the Halaba to make less use of such amulets. Other traditional practices that had been adopted by Sufism are also increasingly condemned. To seek blessing through a tree, a stone or the like, or to seek help from other than Allah, or to make vows or sacrifices to other than Allah, is polytheism (*širk*).

Chapter Four – Overview of Halaba mss.

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

1. Introduction

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

Ethiopian Arabic and Ge'ez mss. often show philological and thematic resemblances. I will mention two points. Thematically, we can note first that Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo, regarding Saint Sayyid 'Abdussalām Al-'Asmar, says that he died 151 times and finally departed from his grave forever. A similar case is that of the Christian Saint Abiyä Egzi. "When he was at his monastery of Däbrä Mädhānit, he heard that his spiritual daughter, Burekt Maryam, had died. He prayed saying, 'O my lord Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, you have raised Lazarus from the tomb after four days...' While praying this he heard that she was raised. She lived on for many years as an abbess of the monastery" (Asfaw 2007:76-77).

The second point is purely philological. The standard order of Ge'ez *fidäl* and the standard order of the Arabic alphabet are completely different. But both Ge'ez and Arabic have an alternative order which preserves the old Semitic alphabetical order (Ge'ez *abugida*, Arabic *abjad*), and these are identical in the two languages. However, the Ge'ez *abugida* (unlike Arabic *abjad*) is not used for numbers. The *abugida* and *abjad* are given together in the following table (written from right to left):

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ሐ | በ | ገ | ገ | ደ | ሀ | ወ | ዘ | ሐ | ጠ | የ |
| ከ | ሀ | መ | ሀ | ሀ | ሀ | ሀ | ሀ | ሀ | ሀ | ሀ |
| ሀ | ተ | | | | | | | | | |

2. Form

The manuscripts have come to us in the following forms:

- a) **Codex:** This is book-format, and is overwhelmingly the most common. Pages are combined to form quires and the quires are bound together to form a book.
- b) **Scroll:** This format is rare among the Halaba, and is used almost entirely for short magical texts that are kept in amulets.

3. Writing Materials

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

- a) **Parchment (vellum):** Sheepskin has long been used for writing mss. The skin is tanned and dried until fit to be written upon. This format is

characterized by one smooth face, the flesh side, and a rough one, the hair side.

- b) **Wooden Tablets:** Some writings have been preserved on small wooden boards, on which pupils of traditional schools write Quranic verses. These tablets are much more common than parchment.
- c) **European Paper:** Imported technology and materials started to appear widely in the 20th century. Some Halaba scholars began to use it even at that time. Today most writers use paper.

4. Writing Tools

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

- a) **Ink:** The ink used on the mss. was prepared from local materials, mainly soot and vegetable substances. The best ink should be black and lustrous.
- b) **Pens:** Wooden reeds were used in writing. They were properly cut, scraped and sharpened, sometimes at both ends.
- c) **Ink-pots:** The copyists used small clay pots to store the different inks.

5. Binding

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

length as the spine, but wider; it could be made of cloth, paper (often marbled), or leather.

6. Format

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

- a) **Writer:** The name of the author or the scribe (or both) is written either on the title page or in the colophon (or both). The writer's name traditionally includes a *nisba* (ending *-iyy*), denoting the country or Islamic order (*maḏhab*) or lineage with which the person is associated. A person's name can include several nisbas in succession.
- b) **Tamalluk** 'right of possession' is given at the beginning of the manuscript. There are two main types:
 - 1) *Širā'* 'purchase'. The owner states that he bought the book from a certain person for a certain sum of money.
 - 2) *Waqf* 'endowment'. This happens when the original owner decides to make a book endowment, i.e. to make a book which he owns available either for specific scholars and students or generally for all users.
- c) **Rubrics:** These are used for headings or titles in mss. and are written in a distinguishing red color. In addition certain important words in the texts (Allāh, Muḥammad, and praising and blessing upon him) are also typically highlighted in red ink. Rubrics are often written in large, bold and decorated letters.

- d) **Colors:** Two colors of ink are used in the mss., red for rubrics and black for the general textual material. Other colors are used occasionally for decoration.
- e) **Columns:** The mss. are written either in one or two columns. The one-column format is for normal text, while two columns are used for poetry.
- f) **Language and script:** All the mss. are written in Arabic script, either in the Arabic language or in a local language with Arabic script (*Ajami*).
- g) **Pagination:** Pages are not numbered, but the method of catchwords (*Ar. ta'qība*) is used. A catchword is a word written in the margin at the bottom of a page that repeats the first word of the following page. Usually the catchword is written on the verso (not recto) page. Its purpose is not to indicate the (unseen) first word of the other side of the folio, but just to indicate the sequence-order of the folios.
- h) **Ruling:** To insure that the written lines would be parallel and straight, a ruling frame called *mistara* was used; it was made of wood with cords placed across it at regular intervals. Each folio of paper was pressed over this frame, whose strings would then leave an impression on the paper which could serve as guidelines.
- i) **Colophon:** A statement written at the end of a text, in which the copyist records the date on which he completed the copy and sometimes also his name and the place. Other information is sometimes included in a colophon, such as the fact that the copyist compared the copy with another important copy to get the best readings.
- j) **Overlinings:** In Arabic texts, single words or phrases are frequently highlighted by placing a line over (not under) the word or phrase. This overlining is sometimes written in red ink or another color to accentuate it.

- k) **Re-inking:** The ink in a ms. often fades or is damaged by water to the extent that the writing becomes quite faint and difficult to read. Occasionally a later reader will write over a faint passage in new ink so as to make it easier for others to read. This rewriting of lines or passages by a later reader is called "re-inking".
- l) **Marginalia:** The Latin word for "things in the margin," marginalia refers to any annotations, corrections, glosses, or diagrams that have been written in the margins. They can be written by the copyist himself, but more often they are annotations made by later owners and readers.
- m) **Title:** The title of the book is given on the first cover page, usually in decorative calligraphy, bold and clear. One line below the title, the author's name and his date of death appear. The title can also re-appear at the bottom of the second page, in the introduction and at the end of the text.
- The title of a new chapter or sub-chapter is indicated by leaving a blank line, writing the new title in a different calligraphy, and/or rubricating it.
- n) **Opening:** The book opens with the *Basmalah* followed by thanks to almighty Allah for helping the writer to write the book. This traditional way is called *dībāja* (preamble). Then the author explains why he wrote the book, indicating the title by saying: "and I named it", *wasammaytuhu*. Finally, he mentions the contents.
- o) **Punctuation marks:** Western-style punctuation does not appear. But the writer uses certain symbols — an O shape, three dots ∴ (triangular) or a dash — to highlight a rare or very important concept. This symbol appears above, below, or between the relevant words.

p) **Abbreviations:** The writer uses standard Arabic abbreviations for well-known scholars, books and terminology. He explains his use of abbreviations in the introduction. In addition corrections and additions which were done by the author, the copyist, the reader, or the owner can be indicated by abbreviations and symbols. Such are: *Ḥa* and *Ḥaṭa'* for 'wrong', *Ḥaff* for 'light' (not geminated), *'Ayn* for *la'allahu kaḍā* 'it might be like this', *Ṣāḍ*, *Ṣahh*, *kaf* or *kaḍā* for 'right', *nūn* for *bayān* 'clarification', ^ or ¬ to mark the place of the error. A word which is wrong in the original ms. is often copied exactly as is, but with the annotation *ḫ* or a long *—* over the word to show that it is an error; this practice is known as *tamrīḍ* (nursing) or *taḍbīb* (door bolt).

7. Decoration

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

- a) **Opening:** There is sometimes a decorated panel in Arabic calligraphy above the start of a treatise, called *Al-'unwān*. Thus the *Basmala* (*Bismi Allāhi Ar-raḥmān Ar-raḥīm*) 'In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful', which almost always begins a treatise, is sometimes written in illuminated calligraphy.
- b) **Decorations:** Pictures sometimes appear as decoration in the ms., typically on the first and the last folios, and sometimes in the blank space between one chapter and the next. The picture might be of a crescent, mosque, minaret, dome, stars or other motifs.

8. Dating

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

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

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|
| ا | ب | ج | د | هـ | و | ز | ح | ط | ي |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| ك | ل | م | ن | س | ع | ف | ص | ق | ر |
| 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 | 100 | 200 |
| ش | ت | ث | خ | ذ | ض | ظ | غ | | |
| 300 | 400 | 500 | 600 | 700 | 800 | 900 | 1000 | | |

9. Handwriting

The handwriting seen in the Halaba mss. is mostly *Nasḥ* (from Arabic *nasaha*, *nasḥ* 'to copy'), which is the most common style of Arabic script in Ethiopia, and less frequently (Ar. *Ruq'a*), one of the modern types of handwriting, known for its clipped letters composed of short, straight lines and simple curves, as well as its straight and even lines of text. In general, the shape of

letters is clear and large with almost no extension-lines at the end of the line. Words are often divided across lines, as is common in Ethiopian Arabic writing.

10. Folio

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

11. Circumstances of copying and forms of authentication

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

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

same words each time he teaches. From the rough draft, the student then makes a second, fair copy, called (Ar. *mubyaḍḍa* from the root b-y-ḍ ‘white’). This is the final form of the manuscript.

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

1. *Al-riwāya*: oral transferring. The student simply writes a phrase like *qāla šayḥunā* ‘our sheikh said’. The master’s approval is implicitly assumed.
2. *Al-samā’*: the student who heard his master teaching writes the word *samiḥtu* ‘I heard’. Again, the master has implicitly authorized this.
3. *Al-qirā’a*: reading; the student reads his copy to his master, who in turn gives him permission. This is the most reliable form of *’ijāza*.
4. *Al-nasḥ*: copying; the master gives open permission to any reader to legally quote and copy from his book.

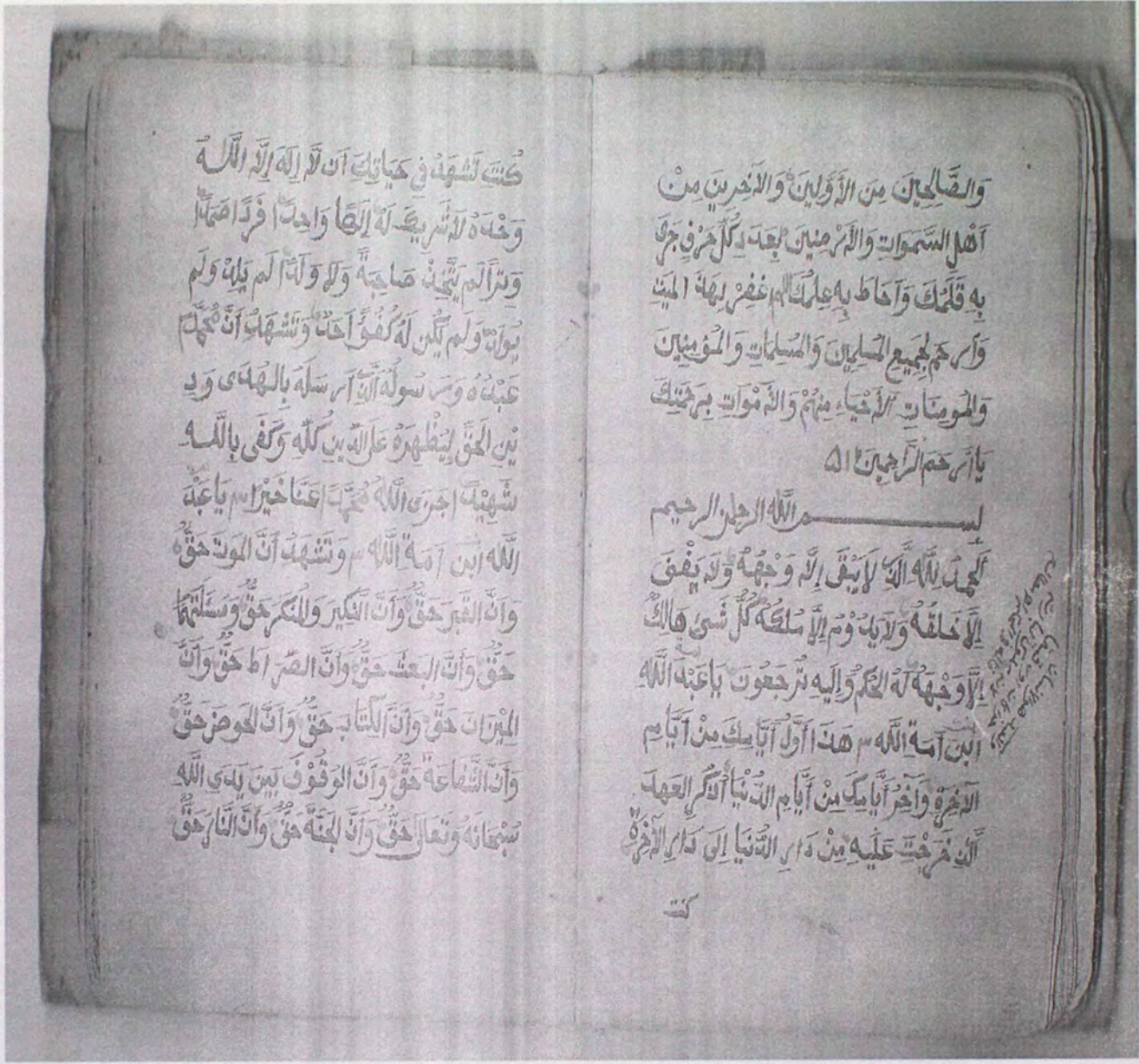


Fig. 1. Rubrication: *Allahumma*, Muhammad, the repetition number 3 (indicating that the previous word or phrase should be read 3 times), the change from masculine to feminine (interlinear), and some decorations. Catchword: at the end of the verso *kunta* 'you were' is written, which is the first word of the recto. Symbols: At the end of the sixth line verso ٥, an abbreviation of *intahā* 'completed', is written.

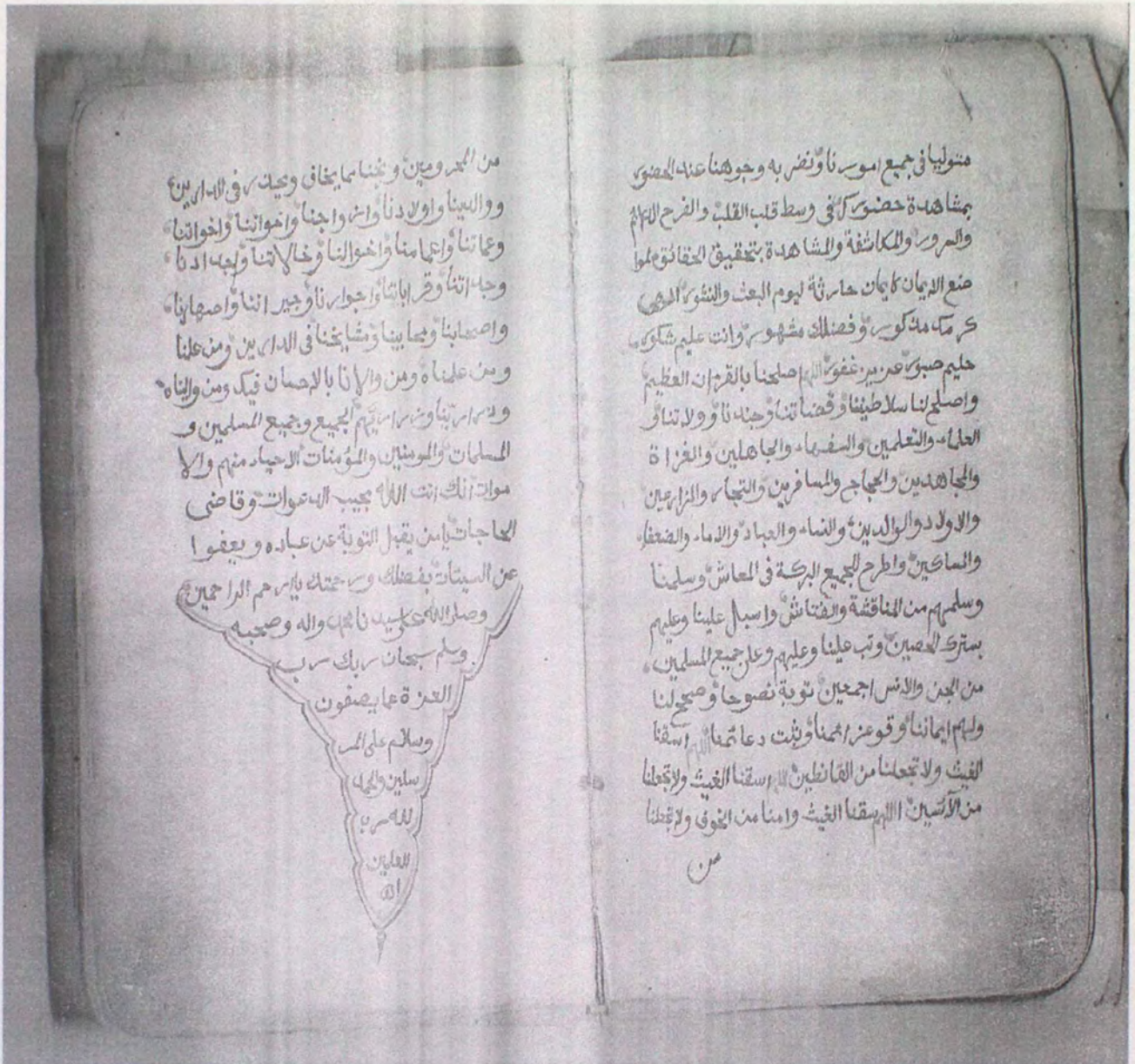


Fig. 2. The ending of the chapter, written inside an ornamental triangle, contains standard concluding sentences – peace and blessing be upon our master Muhammad, his family and his companions. Glorified is your lord, the lord of power! (He is free) from what they attribute to him! And peace be upon the messengers. And all praise to Allah, the lord of creation.

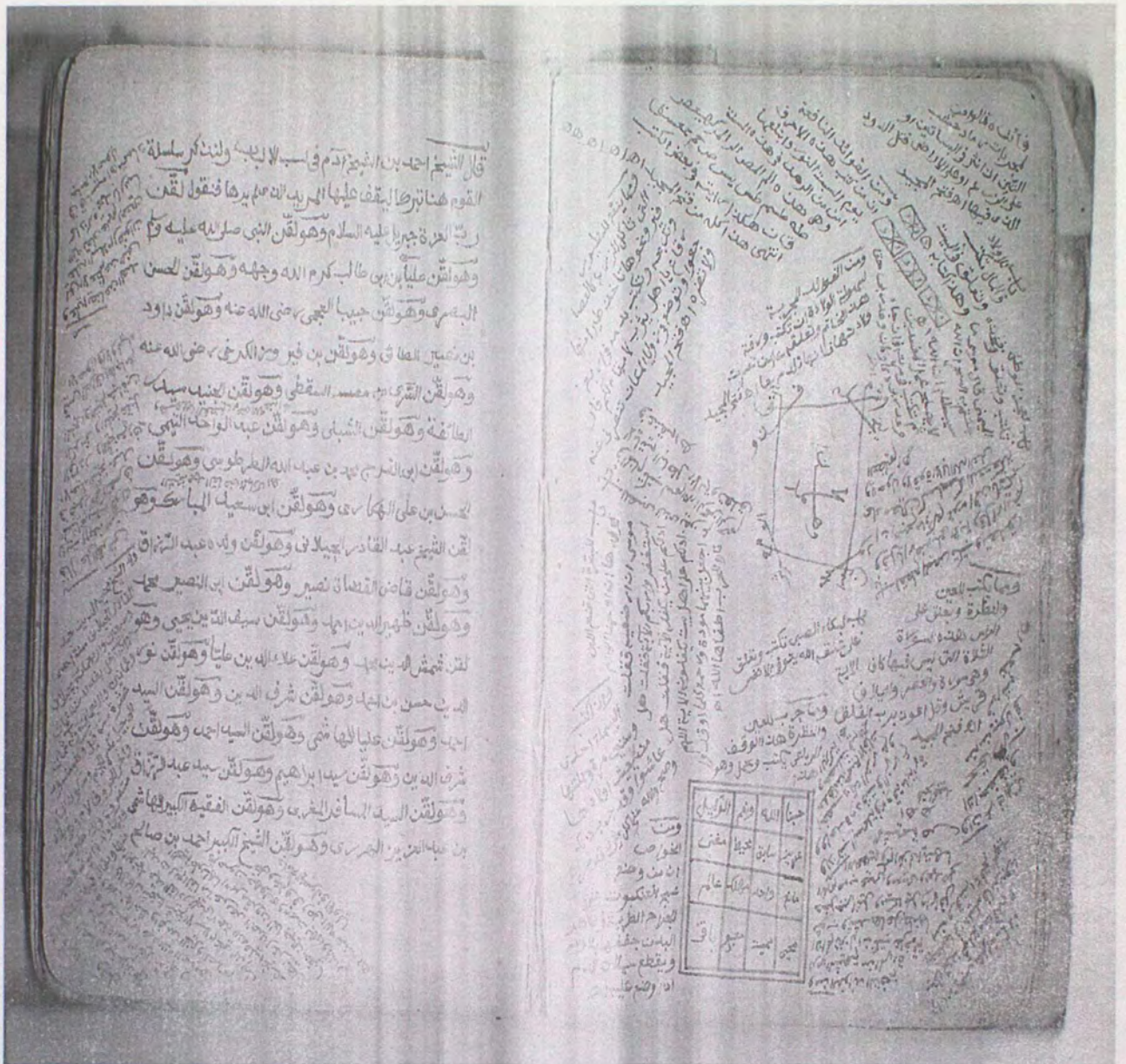
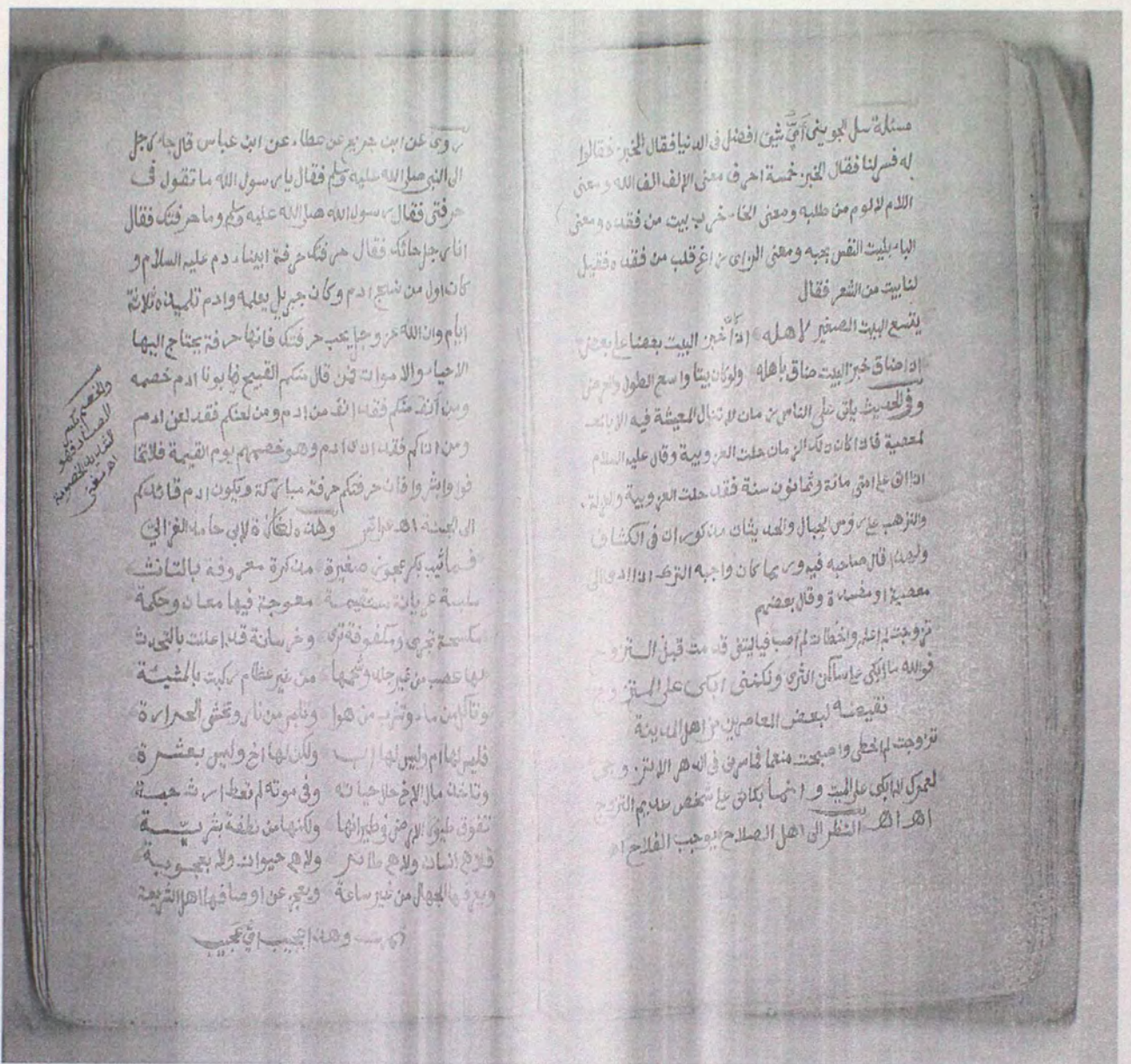


Fig. 3. The verso page, originally blank, contains nothing but notes, diagrams, and commentary; the recto page is full of notes in the margins. The notes are written in every direction and orientation. The symbol over a word indicates that this term is explained in the margin. The main text of the recto discusses the *silsila* (chain) of Sufism.



مسئلة سل الجويني آي شين افضل في الدنيا فقال الخير فقالوا
 له فسر لنا فقال الخير خمسة احرف في معنى الالف الف الله ومعنى
 اللام لا لوم من طلبه ومعنى الخاء خرب بيت من فقده ومعنى
 الباء بليت النفس بيبه ومعنى الراء راء غرق قلب من فقده وفضل
 لبايت من الشعر فقال
 يتسع البيت الصغير لاهله اذا سخن البيت بعضنا على بعض
 اذا ضاق خرب البيت من ابله ولو كان بيتا واسع الطول والعمق
 وفي الحديث ياتي على الناس من لان نال العيشة فيه الا يابس
 لمعصية فاذ كان ذلك لم يمان حلت العروبية وقال عليه السلام
 اذا ان غامق مائة وخمسون سنة فقد حلت العروبية والبرية
 والنزهب عروس لجمال ولقد يشاك من كور ان في الكشاف
 ولقد قال صاحب في ورساما كان واجبه التزهد والادب وال
 معصية او مفسدة وقال بعضهم
 تزوجت اعدى واخفا تلم اصب فيا ليتني قد مت قبل التزوج
 فوالله ما اكنى عاساكن التزوي ولكنني اكنى على التزوي
 فقيصة لبعض المعاصرين من اهل المدينة
 تزوجت لها خطي واصبحت منعا فاسرني في الله الا ان تزوجت
 لعمر ك لا اكنى على البيت وانما يكافى على تحضر سديم التزوج
 اهد لك النظر الى اهل الصلاح بوجوب الفلاح

روي عن ابن جرير عن عطاء عن ابن عباس قال جاء رجل
 الى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال يا رسول الله ما تقول في
 حرفتي فقال يا رسول الله هبل الله عليه ولم وما حرفتك فقال
 اناس رجل حائك فقال حرفتك في ايمان دم عليه السلام و
 كان اول من شاع ادم وكان جبريل بعليه وادم ثلثه ثلاثة
 ايام وان الله عز وجل يحب حرفتك فانها حرفه يحتاج اليها
 الاحياء والاموات ثم قال سلك الصبيح فابونا ادم خصمه
 ومن انتم سلك ففقدنا ادم ومن لعنكم فقد لعن ادم
 ومن اذام فقد اذام ادم وهو خصمهم يوم القيمة فلا تخافوا
 فوايشروا فان حرفتكم حرفه مباركة وتكون ادم قاتلكم
 الى الجنة اهدوا طرقا وهذه الحكاية لابي حامد الغزالي
 فما تيب لكر عيون صغيرة مذكورة معروفة بالثنا
 ساسة عن ابية مستقيمة معوجة فيها معان وحكمة
 مسحة تجري ومكشوفة تروي وخرسانة قد اعلمت بالتي
 لها عصب من غير جلد وشهما من غير عظام ركبت بالمشية
 وتاكن ما تشرب من هوا وتلم من نار وتخشى العرارة
 فليس لها ام وليس لها ابي ولكن لها اخ وليس بعشرة
 وتاخذ مال الاخر حيا حيا وفي مونة لم تقط اسر شحمة
 تفوق طيور الارض وطيرانها ولكنها من نطفة بشرية
 فلا فرق انسان ولا هو ملاخر ولا هو حيوان ولا بعجوبة
 ويرى في الجهال من غير ساعة ويجر عن اوصافها اهل التهمة
 وهذا عجيب في عجيب

والاعلى
 الصالح
 لئلا يتصور
 اهدى

Fig. 4. These two pages are a compilation of several brief pieces (both prose and poetry), all expressing various good activities (*faḍā il*) for people.

مَا لَا يَغْفِرُهُ إِلَّا أَنْتَ يَا رَحِيمًا يَا رَحِيمًا
 حَمِيمًا اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْ عَنَّا وَعَنْهُ وَارْحَمْ لَنَا وَلَهُ
 وَأَسْأَلُكَ فِي قَبْرِهِ وَهُوَ عَلَى حَسَابَةٍ وَتَقَرُّ
 حَبَّتُهُ وَضَاعِفُ حَسَنَاتِهِ وَأَمْرٌ سَيِّئَاتِهِ اللَّهُمَّ
 أَعِزَّهُ مِنْ هَوْلِ الْمَطْلَعِ وَمِنْ سَوْءِ الْعَسَا
 وَمِنْ فَرَجِ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ وَأَنْفَعَهُ بِدَعَائِنَا
 لَهُ اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْ بَيْتَنَا وَبَيْتَهُ فِي رُفْعَةٍ بَيْتَنَا
 مَحَلِّ صَلَاتِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَرْزُقْنَا وَجْهَهُ فِي
 جَنَّتِكَ وَأَسْرُرْنَا مِنْ يَدِ عَوْنِنَا إِذَا حَزَبْنَا
 إِلَى مَا صَارَ إِلَيْهِ كَنْ بِنَاوِيهِ تَرَوْفَارِ حَيْثَمَا
 يَرْتَحِلُ يَا رَحِيمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ **تَهْت**

١٦٥
 حَمِيمًا اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْ عَنَّا وَعَنْهُ وَارْحَمْ لَنَا وَلَهُ

اللَّهُمَّ بِحَقِّ مُحَمَّدٍ وَمَا لَمْ يَحْدِثْ لَكَ نَبِيٌّ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ إِلَّا وَجَدَ فِيهِ نَبِيًّا

لِيَسْمَعَهُ مِنْكَ يَا رَحِيمَ اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْ عَنَّا وَعَنْهُ وَارْحَمْ لَنَا وَلَهُ
 الْقُبُورِ وَبِحَقِّ السَّامِعِينَ اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْ عَنَّا وَعَنْهُ وَارْحَمْ لَنَا وَلَهُ
 عَنهُ وَالْكَرِيمِ مَنْزِلِهِ وَسِعَ مَا تَسْتَلِمْ وَأَغْلَسَ بِالْمَاءِ وَالسَّلْبِ
 وَالْبُرْدِ رَفَعَهُ مِنَ الرِّطَابِ بِحَقِّ نَفْسِ النَّوْبِ الْإِسْبَاطِ مِنَ النَّاسِ
 وَابْنِ لَدُنْهُ دَارِ الْخَيْرِ مِنْ دَارِهِ وَاهْلَاخِيرِ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ وَوَجَا
 خَيْرِ مِنْ زَوْجِهِ وَادْخُلْهُ الْهَيْئَةَ وَأَعَانَهُ مِنْ عَذَابِ الْقَبْرِ وَ
 عَنَّا يَا رَحِيمَ اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْ عَنَّا وَعَنْهُ وَارْحَمْ لَنَا وَلَهُ
 لِلْإِسْلَامِ وَأَنْتَ قَضَيْتَ مِنْ وَجْهِهِ وَأَنْتَ خَلَقْتَهُ وَأَنْتَ هَمَّ بَيْتِهِ
 شَفَعَا لَهُ فَأَغْفِرْ لَهُ اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْ عَنَّا وَعَنْهُ وَارْحَمْ لَنَا وَلَهُ
 فَفَقِهَ مِنْ فِئْتَةِ الْقَبْرِ وَعَنَّا يَا رَحِيمَ اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْ عَنَّا وَعَنْهُ
 اللَّهُمَّ فَاسْأَلْهُ وَارْحَمْهُ الْكَلِمَاتِ الْغَفُورِ الرَّحِيمِ
 اللَّهُمَّ هَذَا عِيَانُكَ وَأَنْتَ أَعْلَمُ بِهِ مِنَّا وَلَا نَعْلَمُ مِنْهُ إِلَّا بِمَا أَنْتَ بِقُدْرَتِكَ
 اجْلِسْتَهُ لِنَسْتَأْذِنُكَ اللَّهُمَّ بِحَقِّ نَفْسِ النَّوْبِ الْإِسْبَاطِ مِنَ النَّاسِ
 تَبَيَّنَتْ فِي السَّنْبَةِ اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْهُ وَارْحَمْهُ بِنَبِيِّهِ وَلَا تَضَلَّنَا بِعَدُوِّهِ
 وَلَا تَقْرُبْنَا أَجْرَهُ بِحَقِّكَ يَا رَحِيمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ **أه**

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 دَارِ اللَّهِ يَأْتِي دَارَ الْعَطَابِ وَالذَّبْرُ مَرَّحٌ دَارِ الْجَوَابِ
 وَالْأَخْرَجَةُ دَارِ الْعَطَابِ وَالنَّاسُ دَارِ الْعَطَابِ وَالْبَيْتَةُ
 دَارِ الشَّرَابِ وَجَمْعُ كُلِّ دَارٍ مَسْكَنٌ وَجَمْعُ مَسْكَنٍ
 الْأَمْوَالُ وَالنَّارُ وَاللَّذَائِرُ وَاللَّذَائِرُ وَاللَّذَائِرُ

Fig. 5 The writing on these pages is both large and small.



بِمَا جَمَعْتَ لَهْمَ الرَّحْمَةِ وَالْبِرِّ
 نَا وَالْمُعْجِبَاتِ وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ
 وَعَلَى آلِهِ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ
 وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَالذَّالِقِينَ إِيَّاكَ
 حَمِيدٌ مُبِيدٌ اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ
 وَآمِنْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ
 وَصَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلَى سَائِرِ النَّبِيِّينَ
 وَصَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلَى سَائِرِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ
 وَصَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلَى سَائِرِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ
 وَصَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلَى سَائِرِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
 وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
 وَعَلَى جَمِيعِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ

Fig. 6. The beginning of the chapter is fully decorated. Unfortunately, the recto is not the first page of the actual text; some pages are omitted, as is clear from the beginning of the recto page. The title page is a loose (unattached) sheet in the book, the binding is broken, and the recto starts a new sewn signature. Probably one or more signatures have been lost.

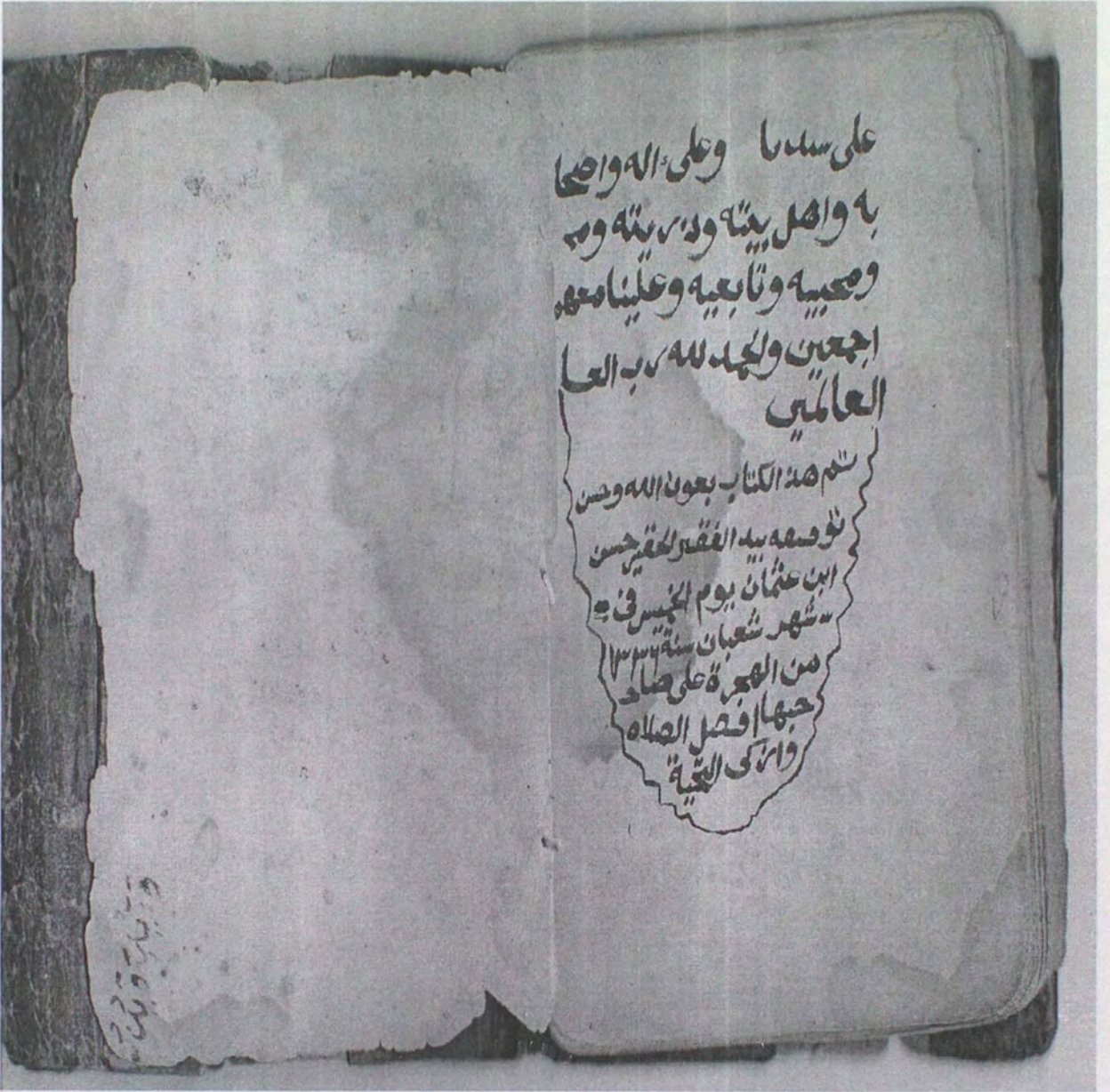


Fig. 7. The writing here, at the end of the chapter, is not well done and seems to have been written in a hurry. The copyist's name and the year of writing are recorded.

لئلا يسم به غيره ولو تعنتا في الكفر بخلاف الرجل على نزع
 فيه واصله الرحمن فت هي رة وعوض عنها ال وهو اسم جنس
 لكل معبود ثم استعمل في العبود بحق فقط فوصف ولم يوصف
 به وعليه مفهوم الجلالة بالنظر لاصله كلي وبالنظر اليه جزئي
 ومن ثم كان من الاعلام الخاصة من حيث ان لم يسم به غيره
 ومن الغالبة من حيث ان اصله الاله بالنظر لاستعماله في العبود
 بحق فقط وكان قول لا اله الا الله كلمة تزحيك اي لا معبود بحق
 الا ذلك الواحد الحق ومن ثم عمارة اسم لمفهوم الواجب الوجود
 لذاته او المشتمق للمعبودية وكل منهما كلي انحصر وفرد
 فلا يكون علما لان مفهوم العلم جزئي فقد سها ولزمه ان لا اله
 الا الله لا تقيد لتوحيد كما بيغته في شرح الاس شاد من اله بكس
 عينه اذا تغير لتغير الخلق في معرفته او بفتحها اذا عباد او من
 لاه التاير تفع او اذا احتجب وهذا الكونيه نظرا لاصله قبل
 العلية لا ينافي علميته وهو عربي وورد في غير العربية من
 توافق اللغات كما ان الحق وفاقا للشافعي والاكثرين ان كل
 ما قيل في القديان من غير الاعلام انه مغرب ليس حكا للقبلي عربي
 توافقت فيه اللغات ولا يدع ان يخفى على مثل بيت عباس كونه
 عربيا عما خفي عليه معنى فاطر وفاق وقد قال الشافعي رضي الله
 عنه

من اجتمع الي قول واصله الله المضافة
 العبادان وما على القول بانه علم بالوضع
 فانختلف فيه ايضا انه مقبول او موضع
 من اصل يتوقع تصرف قول الشيخ في
 الابدان المتفق في عباد او من الشيخ في
 الاعلام واصلا لا جناس من الابدان
 كان في وان القول ان المسمى في الوصف
 لا يصل اليه في حواشي المسمى في الوصف
 اذ علمه لذاته لا اشتقا قبل هو اسم موصوف
 الكسبي وورد في الاصل واليه ونسبه
 في حواشيه والشافعي في حواشيه
 المسمى في حواشيه

قول عربي
 ان اول من استعمله
 وخلق به العرب وليس
 المراد ان من وضعه
 هو عربي

Fig. 8. The whole page is full of marginalia.

قوله والرجل والرجم صفتان مشبهتان اي بحسب الوضع وقوله بيننا اي اشتقتا للمبالغة اي لاجل
 زيادة المبالغة اي بحسب الاستعمال ويجعل افعالها المبالغة بحسب الاستعمال لا بحسب الصيغة والوضع
 حيث فع ما قيل فجعل الرجلن الرحيم من صيغة المبالغة مع كونها صفتين مشبهتين تنافوا وايضا
 صيغة المبالغة محصورة في خمسة ورحمن ليس منها اهل بحسب قوله من رسم اي من مادته بعد
 جعله لا رجما ونقله الى فعل بالضم او تنزله منزلة اللارم كما في فلان يعطى عرش وقيل من مصدره
 وهذا اذا كان لفظا رسم مفتوح الاول مكسور الثاني فان جعل بمعنى موم الا اول ساكن الثاني مصدر
 لرحم بضم الحاء فلا شك ان قل تعالى واقرب شرحا اي سحمة وخيبت لاحاجة لتفزيل ولا النقل
 واشتقاقا من رحمت من رسم بالضم على غير قياس لان فعل المضموع العين لام الثاني منه الصفة
 المشبهة قياسا الا على وزنات فعل يسكون العين وفعل بكثرة وفعال وفعل بفتح العين اهـ
 قوله بلغة اي اريك في اللحن للملوك عليه بهما وهو الرحمة اي الرحمة المدلول عليها بالرحمن اريد من الرحمة
 المدلول عليها بالرحيم اي اعظم معنى من معنى الرحيم وليس المدلول به بشمل على معنى الرحيم ويريد علم كما هو القائل
 في افضل التفضيل وفيه بناء فعل التفضيل من الرباعي وهو بالذو وهو انما يصاغ من الثلاث اهـ بحسب قوله لوقوم
 صفة لهم على لفظ هو صفة في الاصل عبارة الصبان وكون الرجلن صفة هو ما ذهب اليه الجمهور لوقوعه نعتا
 فلان معناه الباقية والرحمة كناية النان الخصوصية ولان لو كان عاما لافاد لاله الا الرحمة التوحيدية صريحا كلاله الا الله
 ولا هي الا علم وابن مالك وابن هشام اذ اقول لهم اسجد والرجلن اهـ حكاه قوله ويجوز صرفه وعلم به هـ
 علم القراء ان قل ادعوا لله او ادعوا للرجلن وادعوا للرحمن والرحيم ان علم ان بالظنية كما وابن عبد الحق واستبدلوا بحججه غير تابع كما والرجلن
 قولان مع فن يقول ان شرط الالف التنون والصفة انتفاء فعلانية يمنع صرفه ومن يقول انه وجود فعلية يعرفه
 قال الصبان والتحقق الذي اختاره الجمهور والبيضاوي ان رحمت مجردا من ال ممنوع من الصرف لما قاله
 بالغالب في بابة قال السجوطي وهذه المسئلة مما تعارض في الاصل والقالج والخوصال السعد الرجولن
 صرفه وعلم به عملا بالامر من قال بعضهم فان قلت كيف اشتبهه حال سمعت على هو ماء الاعلام من علماء
 اللغة والخوصال والبيان حتى بنوا امرهم في علم العقول ولم يعثر احد منهم على المنقول وما كشف عن المعول عنه البلاغ
 قلت كانت لم يجدوه مستغلا فيما نقل عن العرب الا معرفة باللام او مضافا او منادى اهـ واقتا وانت غيب الوسي لايات
 من جانا فلاننا هـ في لانه يتحمل المنع فكون الفه للاطلاق والصرف فكون الفه بالامن التثنية اهـ حكاه قوله ولا يفارصه
 قوله فالرجلن بلغة الخ متفرع على اطلاق تفسير الرحيم وتقييدا لتفسير الرحمن بقوله جـ اهـ حكاه قوله ولا يفارصه
 المحديت الصحيح الخ اي لان استواءهما وتعلق كل منهما بالدارين لا ينافيان احد لهما بلغة وان يد معنى
 سم عبارة الصبان لا احتمال ان تكون اللفية الرحمن باعتبار الكيفية فقط وان تعالى من حيث انعامه بالنعمة
 العظيمة رحمت ومن حيث انعامه بما دونها رحمتهم وليؤيد هـ تفسير كثير من العلماء الرحمت بالنعمة بجلا مثل
 النعم والرحيم بالنعمة بد فابقها وبعضهم الرحمت بالنعم بما لا ينصق جنسه من العباد والرحيم بالمنعم بما ينصق
 جنسه منهم اهـ شرحه ولف

في قوله والرجلن الرحيم
 في قوله والرجلن الرحيم
 في قوله والرجلن الرحيم
 في قوله والرجلن الرحيم
 في قوله والرجلن الرحيم

Fig. 9. This is an additional sheet full of commentary. It was inserted into the text at the time of binding, and is bound into the book.

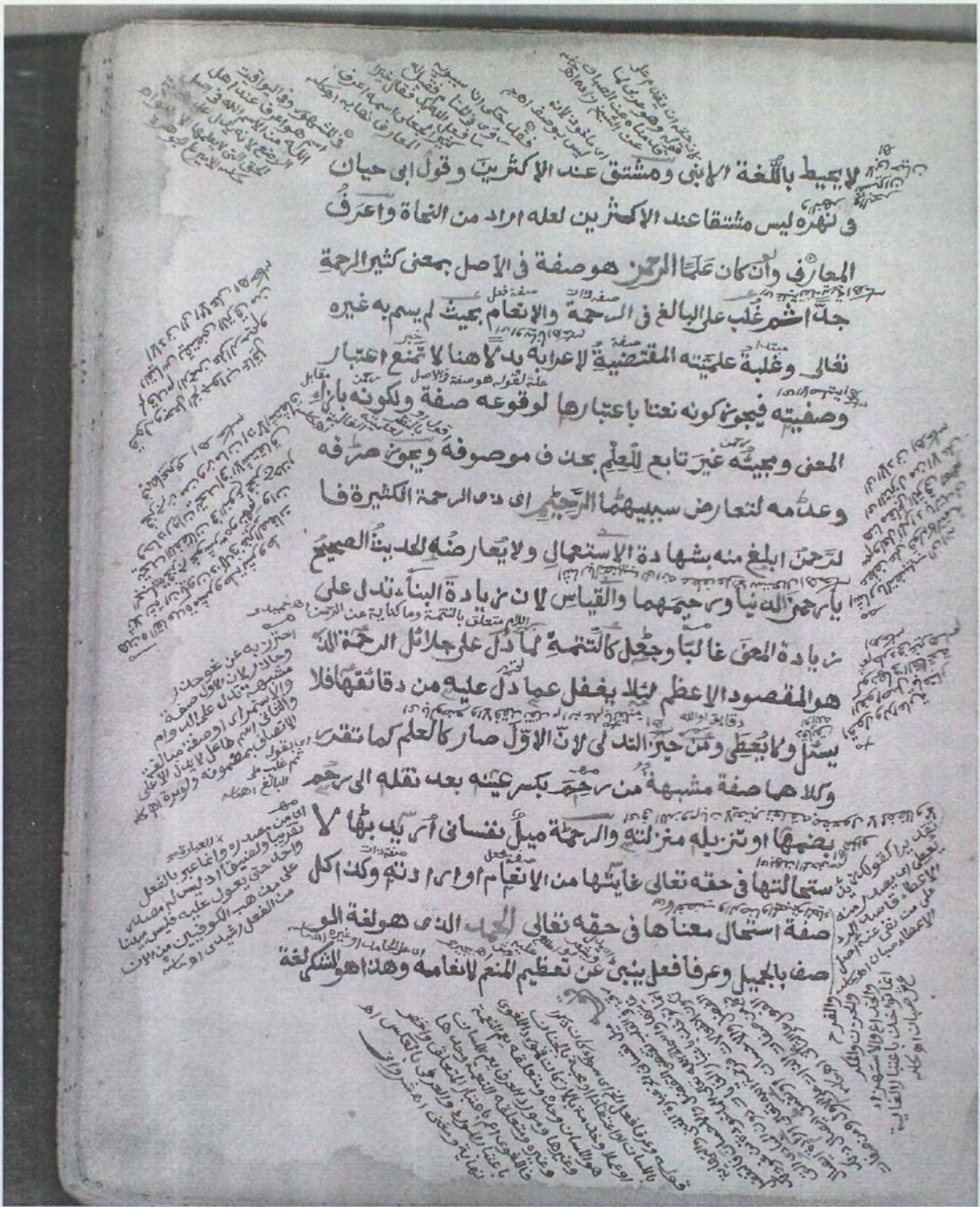


Fig. 10. On this page, the terms to be explained in the marginal notes are rubricated with symbols such as —

Chapter five – Literature of the Halaba

5.1 Arabs and Arabic in Halaba

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

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

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

The two brothers Šālih and Dahmān, the sons of 'Abdulla Bāšāmī, arrived two months before 'Umar Bāsikkīr. According to Dahmān's son, 'Abdurahmān Dahmān Bāšāmī, who was born in Halaba in 1956 E.C. (1964) and speaks Amharic and Halaba besides his native language Arabic, the tolerance and

kindness of the Halaba society cannot be described. As Muslims, the Halaba greatly respected the Arabs because of their close relation to the Prophet and their participation in Halaba society. His father Dahmān was born in Yemen in 1899 E.C. (1907), and passed away and was buried in Qullito, Halaba in 1974 E.C (1982). His uncle Ṣālih Bāšāmī passed away several years later in 1985 E.C. (1993). Currently, there are few Arabs living in Halaba.

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

Sufi terms

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

- 1 *'Abdāl* are a special class of *Awliyā'* whose identities are concealed. Their number is 40 and this figure remains constant: when one dies, Allah chooses another to replace him. They possess miraculous powers.
- 2 *Ārif* literally means a person who knows. Technically, it refers to a person who possesses deep insight into spiritual matters. Hidden knowledge of Allah is revealed to him by way of inspiration. His divine perception is vivid and alive, not a mere intellectual understanding.

- 3 *Faqīr* literally means a pauper, a destitute person. Technically, it refers to a poor and pious ascetic who does not beg but puts his trust in Allah.
- 4 *Haḍra* literally means honorable presence. Technically it refers to the presence of the Prophet at the time of making *ḍikr*.
- 5 *Ḥalwa*, literally solitude, is technically a spiritual retreat, a religious house or isolation from the world.
- 6 *Kašf*, literally meaning to open, and *ilhām*, literally meaning inspiration, are used technically to refer to divine messages inspired in the spirit of a saintly person.
- 7 *Murīd*, literally adherent, is technically a junior member of a Sufi order, one who is aspiring to reach the higher levels of spirituality granted to Allāh's beloved.
- 8 *Silsila*, literally chain, is technically a word used to describe the genealogical chain of spiritual masters in a Sufi *ṭarīqa*, starting from the Prophet Muḥammad down to the present head of the order.
- 9 *Waliyy* sg. (plural *Awliyā'*), literally 'near', refers technically to a saint or holy man.
- 10 *Zuhd*, literally asceticism, means renunciation of the world and abstaining from worldly pleasures and luxuries. *Zuhd* leads to a complete break with this world

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

5.2 Notes on Šayḥ Husayn bin 'Ibrāhīm and his book

5.2.1 Biography

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

5.2.2 His ms. on Islamic topics

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

The following, pointing out the owner of the book, appears on the recto of the sixth folio. (There are numerous mistakes, some of which will be noted in passing.)

هذا [الكتب] [كتاب] الصلاة ملك حسين بن ابراهيم ايكس بن حسن دنوب نسبه البربري بادر بوقف
 هذا [الكتب] [كتاب] الصلاة ان الدنيا وما فيها فانية والاخر [والآخرة] وما فيها باقية وقف هذا [ال]
 الكتب [كتاب] الصلاة وسبلت [وسبل] ولا يباع ولا يوهب ولا يرهن وجعل النظر لنفسه ثم
 لاولاده القارون [القارون] وان سفن [سفلوا] ثم لجميع المسلمين

*Haḍ[ā] l-kutubu [kitābu] aṣ-ṣalāt milku Husayn bin 'Ibrāhīm 'Iyaks bin
 Hasan Dannab, nasabuhu Al-Barbariyyu, bādara bi-waqf haḍ[ā] l-kutub
 [kitāb] aṣ-ṣalāt. 'Inna d-dunyā wa-mā fihā fāniya wa-l-'aḥir [l-'āḥira]
 wa-mā fihā bāqiya. Waqqafa haḍ[ā] l-kutubu [kitāb] aṣ-ṣalāt wa-subbilat
 [wa-subbila] wa-lā yubā' wa-lā yūhab wa-lā yurhan wa-ja'ala an-
 naẓara li-nafsihi ṭumma li-'awlādihi al-qāri'ūn wa-'in safilna [safilū]
 ṭumma li-jamī'i l-muslimīna.*

'The owner of this *Ṣalawāt* book is Husayn bin 'Ibrāhīm 'Iyaks bin Hasan Dannab, the Barbariyy. He has set out to make this book an endowment. For this world and what is in it are evanescent, and the hereafter and what is in it are permanent. He has donated this prayer book as a charitable endowment (*waqf*); it is not to be sold, not to be given away, and not to be pawned. He has assigned its supervision [i.e. of the *waqf*] to himself, then to his sons and their descendants, then to the readers, then to all Muslims.'

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

The work can be classified into four components:

- 1st- *Raqā'iq* 'relentings' (softening of the hearts) — ff. 2 - 5
- 2nd- *Ṣalawāt* 'praise and blessing upon the Prophet Muḥammad' — ff. 6 - 70
- 3rd- *Du'ā'* 'supplication' and *Tawassul* 'intercession' — ff. 70 - 78
- 4th- *Taḍarru'* 'entreaty' — ff. 78 - 79

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

Opening:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Bismillahi al-raḥmāni al-raḥīm

'In the name of Allah, the Gracious, the Merciful.'

الحمد لله مدبر القدر بقعقة المطر ومرسل الموت كمثل الرعد إذا حضر ...

*Al-ḥamdu li-llāhi mudabbiru l-qadara bi-qa'qa'ti l-maṭar wa-mursili l-mawti
ka-maṭali l-ra'di 'iḍā ḥaḍara...*

'Praised be Allāh, who ordains fate, the pattering of the rain, and who sends death like the thunder when it comes...'

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

Philological notes: The text consists of 3 and a half folios, each page containing 24 lines. The writing is clear and good and the letters are of medium size. The calligraphy is *nashḥ*. On the first page, the dot under the *bā'* in the opening *bismillah* is omitted, while in folio 6 in the same opening word the dot is present. At the end of the *raqā'iq* the formulaic word *sayyidinā* has no dots on the *yā'* and the *nūn*. The symbol for hamza (ء) is almost never written. The *alif al-madd* (آ) is not written, e.g. in *al-'ābā'* (the fathers). There are a few interlinear corrections, either by the author himself or someone else. Some corrections are simply added words: *ilā* 'to' in folio 5v. (line 2), *wa-ttaba'nāhu* 'and we followed him' (line 5), and *wa-'lamī yā āmata bint āmati llāh* 'and know, O you maidservant, daughter of the maidservant of Allah' (line 8). The

last example indicates explicitly that the text is directed at women as well as men. Similarly, several interlinear additions change a verb-ending or pronoun from masculine to feminine; the intention is to indicate the inclusion of women as well as men (while not excluding men). Thus *-lī* is written above *تقول taqūlu* ‘you say (masculine)’ to indicate *تقولي taqūlī* ‘you say (feminine)’ (f. 5r. line 3); *قولي qūlī* is written above *فقل fa-qul* to indicate *فقولي fa-qūlī* (f. 5r. line 4); *-hā* (3fsg) is written above *-hu* (3msg) in the words *وحدته waḥdatuhu*, *غربته ġurbatuhu*, *حجته ḥujjatuhu*, *بعده ba'dahu* and *له lahu* (folio 5v. lines 2-4).

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

| | | |
|--|--|------------------------------------|
| Their homes and palaces became empty | <i>Fa- 'aṣḥāhat</i> <i>buyūtuhum wa-</i> <i>quṣūruhum</i> <i>ḥāwiya</i> | فأصبحت بيوتهم وقصورهم خاوية |
| And their sons and wives crying | <i>Wa- 'awlādūhum</i> <i>wa- 'azwājūhum</i> <i>bākiya</i> | وأولادهم وأزواجهم باكية |
| And their sisters supplicating | <i>Wa- 'aḥwātūhum</i> <i>dā'iyā</i> | وأخواتهم داعيا |
| And their relatives and kin are calling | <i>Wa- qarībūhum</i> <i>wa-raḥimūhum</i> <i>munādiyā</i> | وقربهم ورحمهم مناديا |
| And their companions and friend(s) are desolate, far away | <i>Wa- 'aṣḥābūhum</i> <i>wa-rafiqūhum</i> <i>mustawḥiṣīna</i> <i>qāṣiyā</i> | وأصحابهم ورفيقهم مستوحشين قاصيا |

The second part contains quotations from the holy Qur'an which have to do with *Raqā'iq*. Examples:

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

*Kullu šay'in
hālikun 'illā
wajhahu lahu
al-ḥukmu wa-
'ilayhi turja 'ūn*

كل شئ هالك إلا وجهه
له الحكم وإليه ترجعون

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

*Kullu nafsin
ḏā'iqatu al-mawt
wa-'innamā
tuwaffawna
'ujūrakum yawma
al-qiyāma fa-man
zuḥziḥa 'an al-nār
wa-'udḥila al-
janna fa-qad fāza
wa-mā al-ḥayātu d-
dunyā 'illā matā'u
al-gurūr*

كل نفس ذائقة الموت وإنما
توفون أجوركم يوم القيامة
فمن زحزح عن النار
وأدخل الجنة فقد فاز
وما الحياة الدنيا إلا متاع
الغرور

Thereof (the earth) we created you, and unto it we shall return you, and from it we shall bring you out once again. (20:55)

*Minhā ḥalāqnākum
wa-fihā nu'īdukum
wa-minhā
nuḥrijukum tāratān
'uḥrā*

منها خلقناكم وفيها نعيدكم
ومنها نخرجكم تارة أخرى

2. *Ṣalawāt*: praise and blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad.

Opening:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Bismillāhi al-raḥmāni al-raḥīm

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

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَسَلَامٌ عَلَىٰ عِبَادِهِ الَّذِينَ اصْطَفَىٰ

Al-ḥamdu li-allāhi wa-salāmun ‘alā ‘ibādihi allaḏīna ṣṭafā

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

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

اللهم صل على محمد وعلى آل محمد كما صليت على إبراهيم إنك حميد مجيد . اللهم بارك على محمد وعلى آل محمد كما باركت على إبراهيم إنك حميد مجيد

Allahuma ṣalli ‘alā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ‘āli Muḥammad kamā ṣallayta ‘alā ‘Ibrāhīm ‘innaka ḥamīdun majīdun. Allahuma bārik ‘alā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ‘āli Muḥammad kamā bārakta ‘alā ‘Ibrāhīm ‘innaka ḥamīdun majīdun.

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

Philological notes: The *Ṣalawāt* start from the sixth folio recto and end at the 62nd, with a concluding supplement from ff. 63 – 70. They are divided into five

chapters, with an introduction describing how to make oneself ready to recite the *Ṣalawāt*. Using different phraseology each chapter eulogizes and praises the Prophet Muḥammad, his family, his companions, and his followers. The first chapter ends at the 20th folio, with one word running on to the next page. The second chapter extends from folio 20 until folio 36; the third chapter from 36-50; the fourth chapter from 50-55; the fifth chapter from 55-62. The beginning and end of all chapters except the first are rubricated. Example of a chapter ending (which is also a beginning):

انتهى الفصل الأول ويتلوه الفصل الثاني

Intahā al-faṣlu al-'awwal wa- yatlūhu al-faṣlu at-tānī

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

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

Each page (recto and verso) contains 10 lines. The text includes a few interlinear corrections, either by the author himself or someone else. Such are: In the eighth folio verso line 3, بרכת *bārakta*; in the 16th folio recto, line 5, الحق *al-ḥaqq*; verso line 7, main text has جين *jīna*: correction added is المحتا *al-muḥtā* to give المحتاجين *al-muḥtājīna* ‘those in need’; in the 17th folio recto, line 2, أربعا *'arba'an*, is added above main text ثلاثا to give a choice of either three or four repetitions; in the same folio verso in the final line the Prophet's name Muḥammad is inserted; the same name was already written in red between the words of the main text, but is illegible there due to lack of space. The latter case is also repeated in folio 21 recto, line 3. On folio 21 verso the word وسلم *wa-sallim* in the 1st line is added, and in the 9th line the Prophet's name Muhammad. In the 22nd folio recto, line 2, الذي *allaḏī* is added. On folio 22

verso, line 7, the main text has كلما ذكرك الذاكرون *kullamā dakaraka al-dākirūna* ‘when the mentioners make mention of you (Muḥammad)’; in the margin the continuation is added: وغفل عن ذكرهم الغافلون صح *wa-gafala ‘an dikrihim al-ġāfilūn ṣaḥḥ* ‘and the omitters omit mention of them (the other prophets)’, with the word صح *ṣaḥḥ* ‘correct’ added at the end to state that this continuation is the correct wording. An interesting case is folio 23 verso, last line; the main text has المقربين *al-muqarrabīna* ‘near (to Allah)’, and in the margin we see المتقين *al-muttaqīna*, with added *ḥa* meaning خطأ *ḥaṭā* ‘wrong’. This must mean that there is a familiar alternate reading المتقين *al-muttaqīna* ‘the pious’ which the writer considers incorrect. (This is not a "correction" but a comment.) The same kind of example appears in the next folio 24 recto, first line المحسنين *al-muḥsinīn* ‘charitable’; the main text has الرانسين *al-rā’isīn* ‘the chiefs’, while in the margin we see المحسنين *al-muḥsinīn ḥa* to indicate that *al-muḥsinīn* is the wrong version. In the 27th folio verso the two letters ا *Alif* and ر *rā* are added in the eighth line, to change the incorrect version الدين *al-dīna* ‘the religion’ in the main text to the correct الدارين *al-dārayni* ‘the two residences’ (the present life and the hereafter). On folio 28 recto, line 8, the word بحقه *bi-ḥaqqihi* ‘by (his) right’ in the main text is run into the next word, so that it is hard to read; hence the scribe has written this word بحقه *bi-ḥaqqihi* again in the margin for clarity. On folio 47 recto on the last line the word *Muḥammad* is added. On the 58th folio recto, line 10, the word ‘superiors’ appears as a correction to the main text *al-’a’layn*.

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

3. *Du'ā'* 'supplication' and *Tawassul* 'intercession'

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

3.1 Opening:

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

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ *Bismillāhi al-raḥmāni al-raḥīm*

'In the name of Allah, the Gracious, the Merciful'.

اللهم اشرح بالصلاة عليه صدورنا ويسر بها أمورنا ...

Allāhumma 'iṣraḥ bi-al-Ṣalāti 'alayhi Ṣudūranā wa-yassir bihā 'umūranā

'O Allah! Delight our breasts through prayer to him (Muḥammad) and make our tasks easy thereby'.

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

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

3.2 Opening:

This text is also *du'ā'*. It begins:

ايا هو ايا هو...

Ayā huwa ayā huwa

'O He (Allah)! O He (Allah)!'

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

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

3.3 Opening:

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

الهي الهي يا الهي يا ذا المنن

سلمنا من البلا ومن فتنت الزمن

'Ilāhī 'ilāhī yā 'ilāhī yā ḍā l-minani

Sallimnā mina l-balā wa-min fitnati al-zamani

'My God! My God! O my God! O He of blessings!

Make us safe from affliction, and from the temptation of time.'

And the opening of the second half (f. 73v., bottom):

الهي الهي يا الهي الهي يا

باسمائك الحسنى سلمنا من البلا

'Ilāhī 'ilahī yā 'ilāhī 'ilāhī yā

Bi-āsmā'ika al-ḥusnā sallimnā min al-balā

'My God! My God! O my God! My God! O

By your most beautiful names make us safe from affliction.'

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

Philological notes:

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

The writing is good and of medium size. Hamza is (almost?) never written. The opening lines (*mašrab*) of the two half-poems are written in red. At the end of the first half-poem the word *tammāt* 'completed' appears. Note that in the opening the word *fitna(t)* is written with a normal final *tā*: *فتنت*, not *tā'* *marbūṭa*: *فتنة*.

4. *Taḍarru* ‘entreaty’

Opening:

This text is *taḍarru*, a prayer which is similar to *du‘ā* but more powerful and more profound. It begins:

ندعوك مضطرين بالصفات

Nad'ūka muḍṭarīna bi-al-ṣifāti

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

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

Philological notes: Folio 79, the last folio of the ms., has several holes and is in bad condition, but is completely readable. The text is written throughout in black ink, and the handwriting is small but good. The poem is written in two irregularly aligned columns.

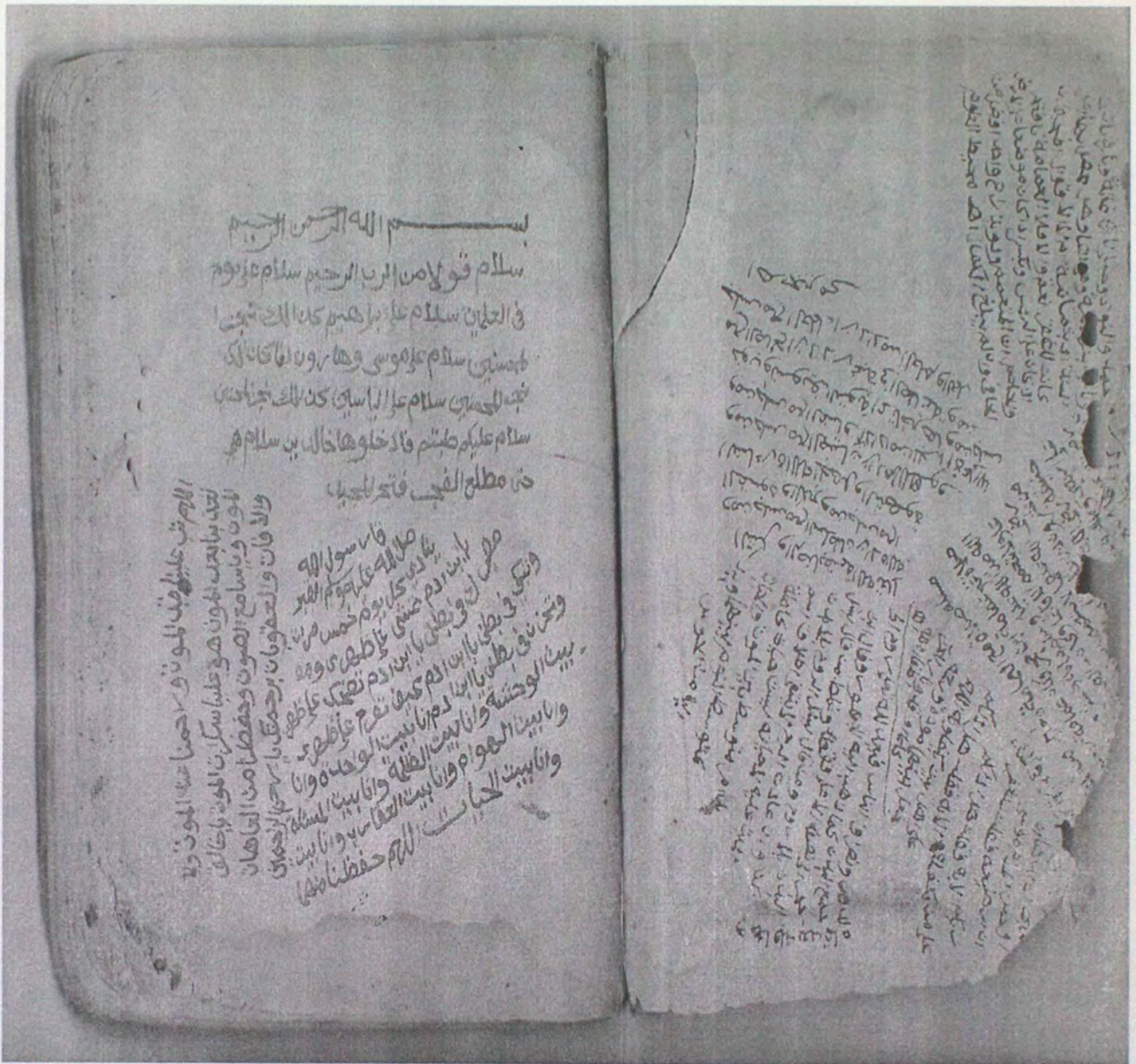
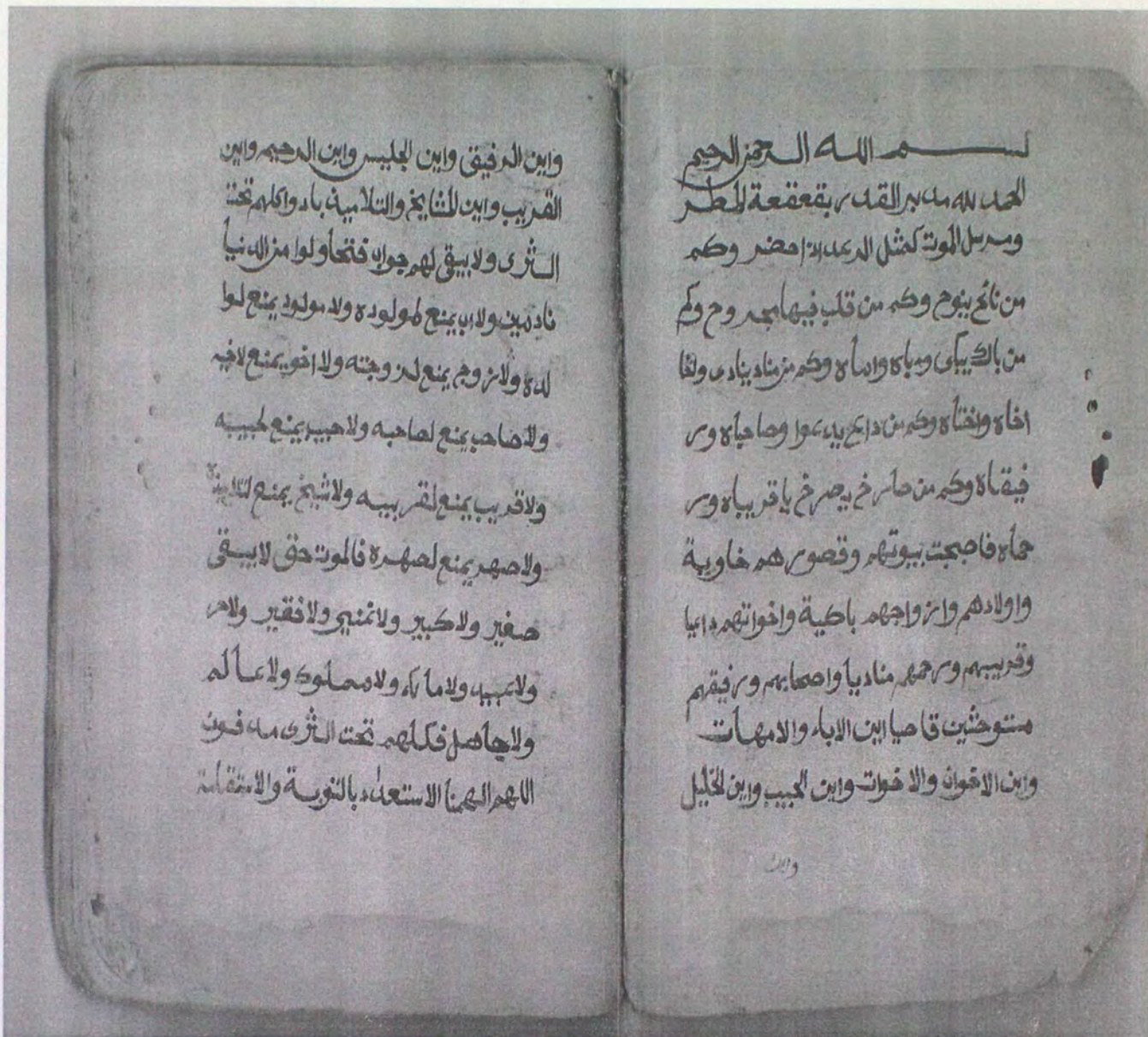


Fig. 11. It is usual to have a few originally blank pages at the beginning and at the end of the mss., which are then used for annotations.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله مدبر القدر بقعقة لاطر
 وميرسل الموت كمثل المد لا احضر وكم
 من نائح بنوح وكم من قلب فيها بحر وكم
 من بالك يباي وبياك واماك وكم من نادى ينادى ونفا
 اخاه ونفاة وكم من داحر يدعور وحا حياة ورس
 فيقاة وكم من حار فرح يصرفه يا قريباة ورس
 حاة فاصبحت بيوتهم وقصورهم غاوية
 واولادهم وازواجهم باكية واخوانهم اعياء
 وقريبهم ورحمهم ناديا واصحابهم ورفيقهم
 مستوحشين قاصيا بين الابد والامهات
 وابن الاخوان والاخوان وابن الحبيب وابن الخليل

و...

وابن الرفيق وابن العيسر وابن الرحيم وابن
 القريب وابن الشايع والتلاميذ باء واكلم تحت
 الثرى ولا يسبق لهم جواب فتحا ولوا من الدنيا
 ناديين ولا يبين منع مولودة ولا مولود يمنع لولا
 لدة ولا نوح يمنع لده وجنته ولا اخو يمنع لاجه
 ولا صاحب يمنع لصاحبه ولا هيب يمنع لجيبه
 ولا قريب يمنع لقريبه ولا شيع يمنع لتلاميذه
 ولا صهر يمنع لصهره فالمتحق لا يسبق
 صغير ولا كبير ولا غني ولا فقير ولا امر
 ولا نبي ولا ما باء ولا محلول ولا عالم
 ولا جاهل فكلهم تحت الثرى من دون
 اللهم الهيما الاستعداد بالنوبة والانتقام

Fig. 12. A page of *Raqā'iq* 'Relentings (softening of the hearts)

وعلو كما بركة ما ابراهيم انك
 حيث بعيت صل ما وعلو كما صليت
 على ابراهيم انك حيث بعيت وبارك
 ما وعلو كما بركة ما ابراهيم
 انك حيث بعيت انك حيث بعيت
 صل ما وعلو كما صليت
 على ابراهيم انك حيث بعيت وبارك
 ما وعلو كما بركة ما ابراهيم
 انك حيث بعيت انك حيث بعيت
 صل ما وعلو كما صليت

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله وسلام على عباده
 الذين اصطفى وخصوماتنا
 نبينا وسيدنا افضل ما صلوا
 سلم ما احسن من عباده ان
 بين اصطفى وعلو الذين انهم
 منهم الذين صل البيت وهم
 هم تطهروا صل ما وعلو
 كما صليت ما ابراهيم انك
 حيث بعيت بارك ما

Fig. 13. A page of *Salawāt*.

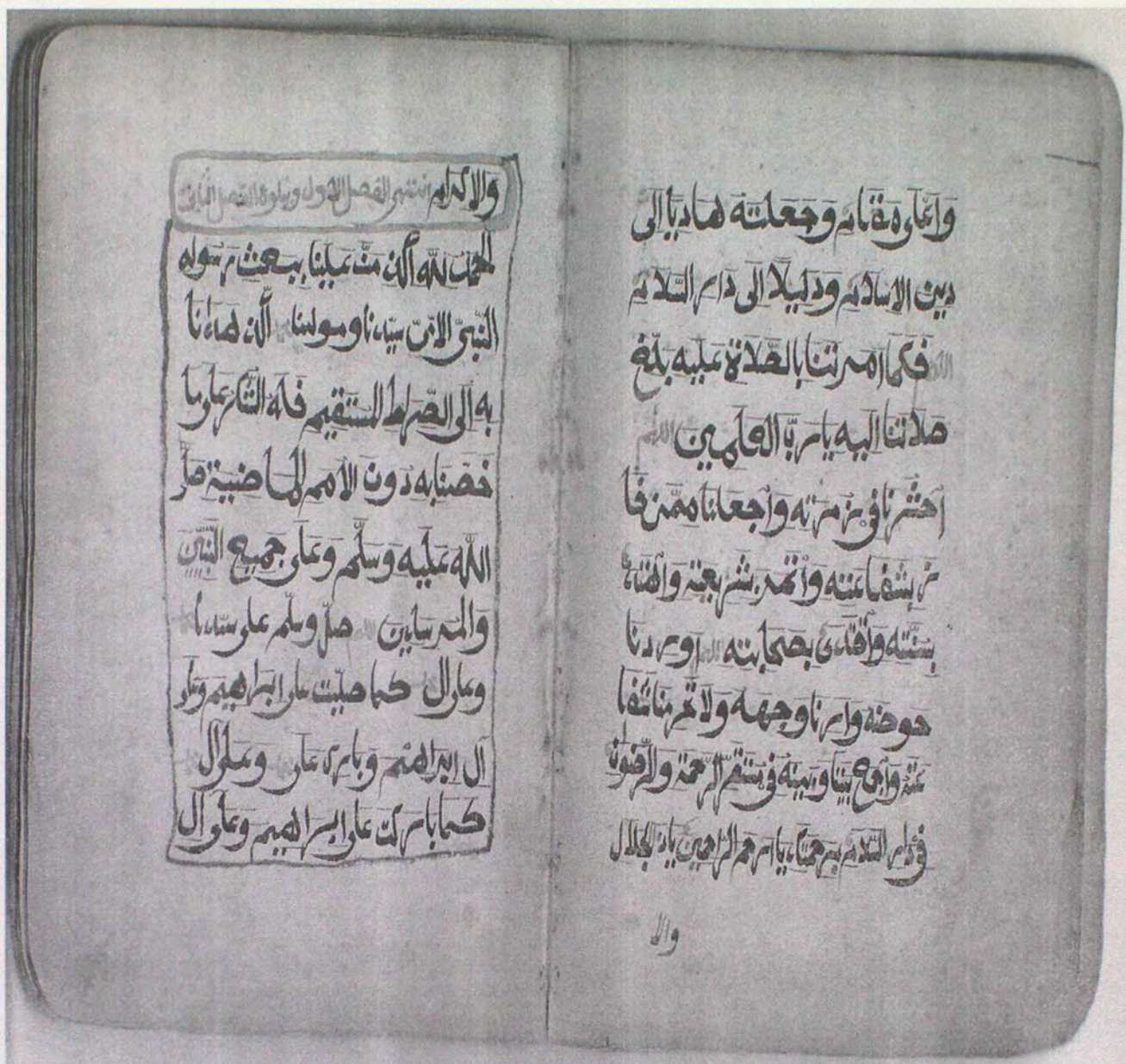


Fig. 14. An example of rubrication: In these folios, it marks the end of the first chapter and the beginning of the second chapter, as the copyist explicitly states.

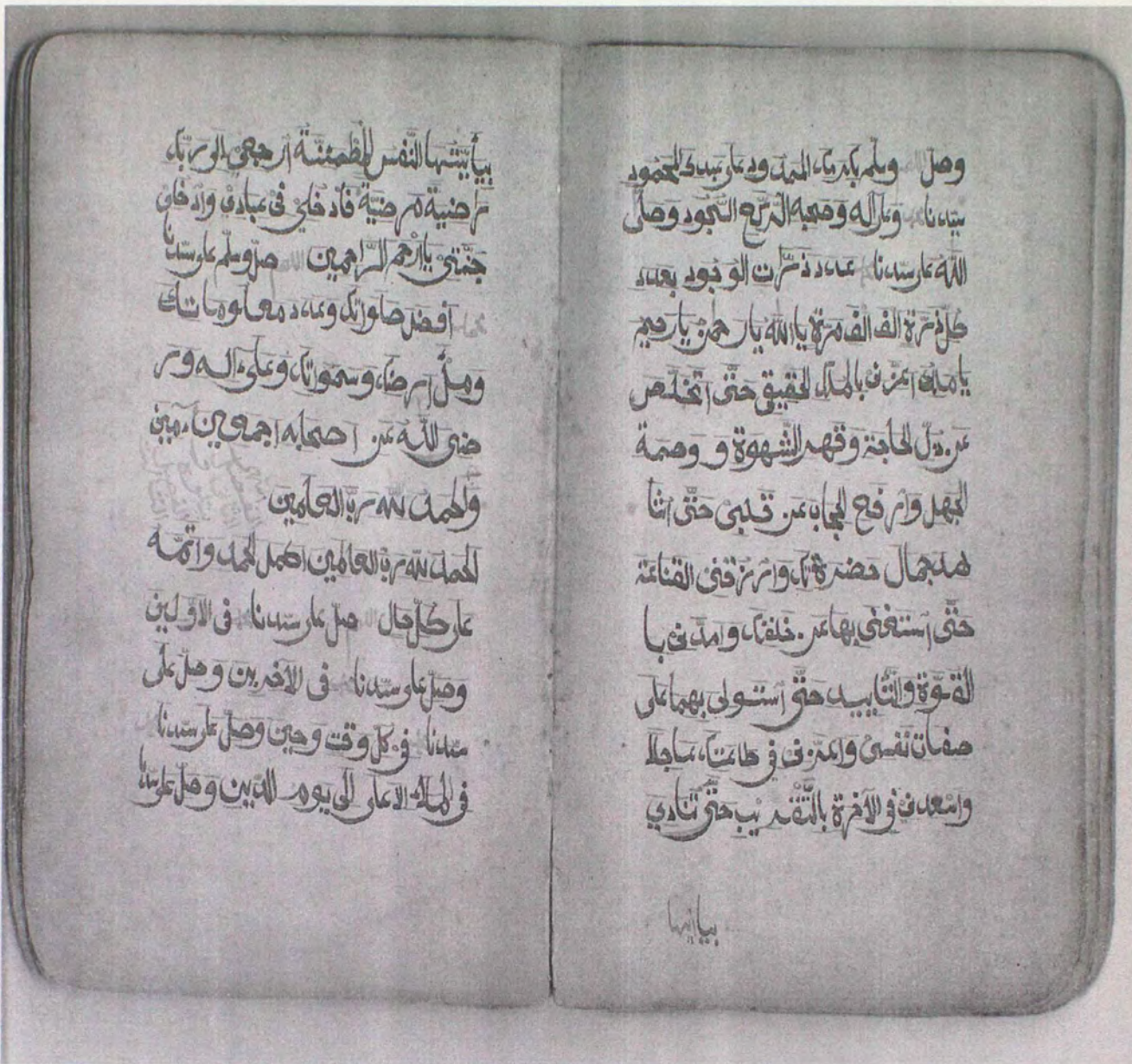


Fig. 15. The rubricated title which ends the second chapter and begins the third chapter is written diagonally. (There is insufficient space to write the title horizontally.)



Fig. 16 The catchword in the verso indicates that the first word in the recto should be *Allāhumma* 'O Allāh'; but this is not the first word of the recto. This means that there is/are omitted page(s) here. The binding also shows a kind of crack here, running the length of the spine, which could be another sign of missing pages.

البلاغ ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي
 العظيم سبحان ربك رب العزة
 عما يصفون وسلام على المرسلين
 والحمد لله رب العالمين
 وصل ياربنا وسلم بجلالك
 تار مقياس الكمال الانساني وطود
 التجاوى الرحمان ومظهر الشرفاني
 من ذاك حمدك وشكرك ولا نمره
 شهودك وذكرك حبيبك وصفيك
 وغيليك ونجيك وتبييك ورسولك
 ابن عبد الله بن عبد الملك
 وسار له الاطهار وصحابته

الاجناس

الاجناس وان واجهه قد سر بآية الابرار
 ما عداك لسانك في هذه
 النار وفي الآخرة التي هو دار
 القرار والحمد لله رب العالمين امين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

شرح الصلاة عليه صدورنا ويسر ما مورنا وفرح
 بها همونا وكشف ما غمونا ونفد بها ذنوبنا وصالح بها
 امورنا وبقنا بما آملنا ونقبل بها توبتنا ونسئل بها هويتنا
 ونعصر بها حجتنا واسمها عند ربنا وطهر بها الثننا وانسرها
 واحسنها واجعلها نورنا بين ايدينا وبين خلفنا وحبس ايماننا
 وامن شماننا وفي حياتنا وموتنا وفي قبورنا وحشرنا
 ونشرنا وظل يوم القيامة عارنا وسيننا ونقل بها بارنا
 من ابن حسبان اولاده يدعها كلها حتى نلقى ربنا وببها
 ونشفيها صلاتنا عليهم وسلم ونحتم مشورنا بطوبى
 قد حوت استنشرنا ولا نقر قلوبنا وببها حتى نلقى
 مدققه ونشور بيت الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم مع الذين انتمت

Fig. 17. The ending of the chapter is decorated. Another chapter then begins which is written in smaller script.

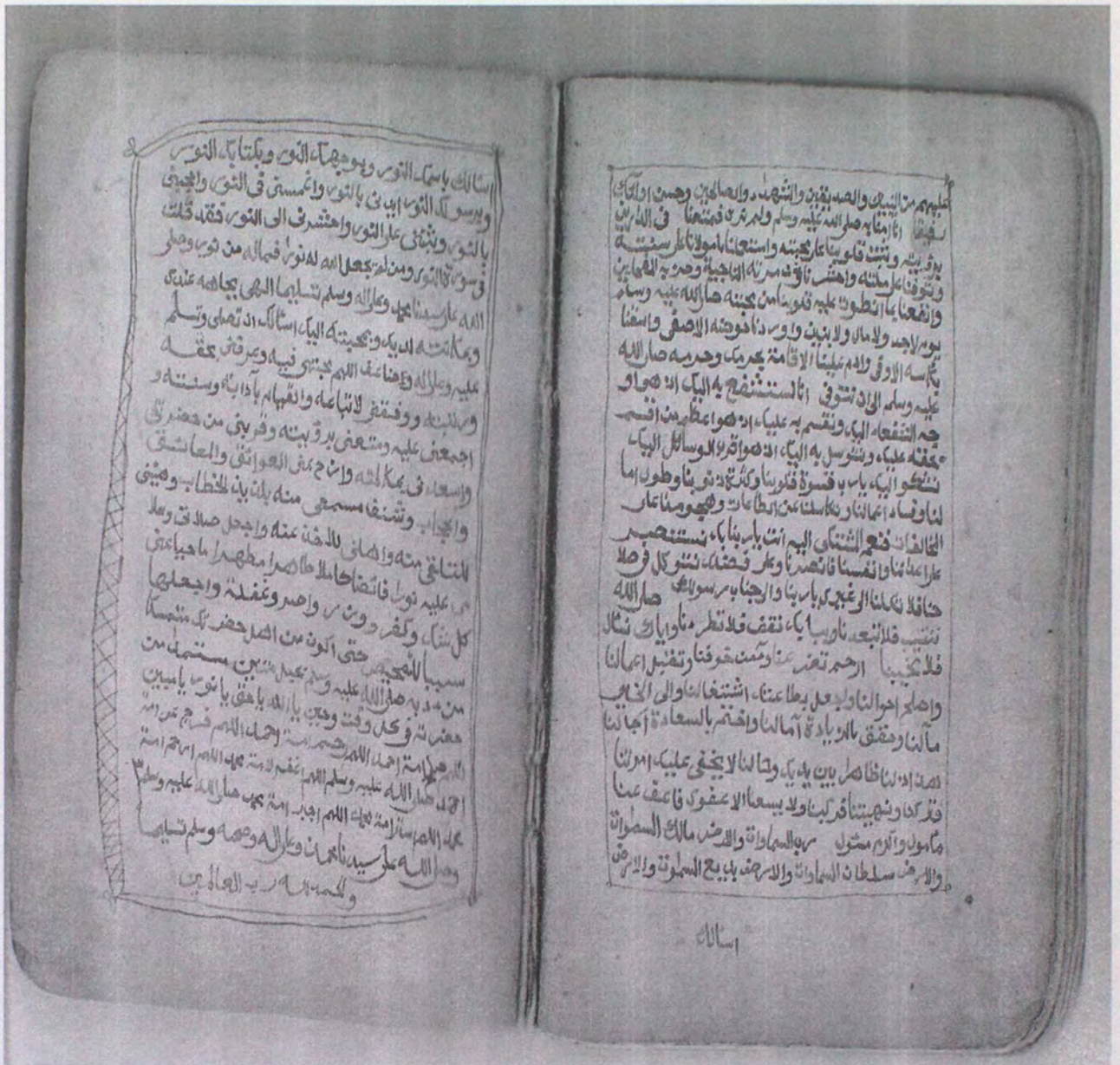


Fig. 18. These two pages are *Du ā'* (supplication), written inside page-border lines. These are the only ms. pages which have page-borders.

اياها يا هو يا بنو نوح ايا من ليس السراجي سواد
 سادك يا جيب دعاء نوح ويونس الادعاء يا دعاء
 وايوه اذ ناجاه يا ناجاه وانه الخليل دعاء ليا
 بما في الوجود من اسم خفي وبالله الحكيم ومن تلاه
 وبالعرش العظيم وحاميه وبالشر باللائين وينجيه
 وبالبيت العتيق ومن نواه وقال فيه يا سارة يا سارة
 وبالقبلة الشريف الفوق اذ الله مولانا علا
 وبالطابق في الدين القرم من استمسك به يبقى مناه
 والتبسم الجليل في العبادي واسباب وشياخ سواد
 والتبسم الشريف البادي وبالدم اللير وما حواه
 والتمروق الخمر في ساج عبيك قد اتى الى حماه
 يا شياخ لهم في كل وقت فمزيتهم يقبل دعاء

تقبل

تقبل ربنا منا دعانا انت جيب مضطر دعاء
 وعانت باطفاك ورفقتنا وكن منا كادنا ويطر لاه
 وصل لسانه واقطع يديه فمزق جباهه احرق خناه
 وصل عار نبينا ثم سلم كان الامم يا بنو نوح اياها
 ما قال قائل يصدق قلب اياها ليس السرور سواد

اسرى العمد والذات واللهم سرتهم
 فادس بصرف العمد في الفرض والسنه
 وانت نيل الخير والفضل والهنه

في العمد والذات
 في الفرض والسنه
 في الخير والفضل
 في الهنه

عليك بتقوى الله فالسر والعلت فقلبك تطفه من
 ونفسك من زعم العوايه ردها
 وسارح الى ما فيه ان جاح رشدها
 ومن ساد التفریط والجهل صفا
 وفالفهوى النفس التوليس قصدها سوى جمع الدنيا

Fig. 19. These two pages contain *Tawassul* (intercession) poems.

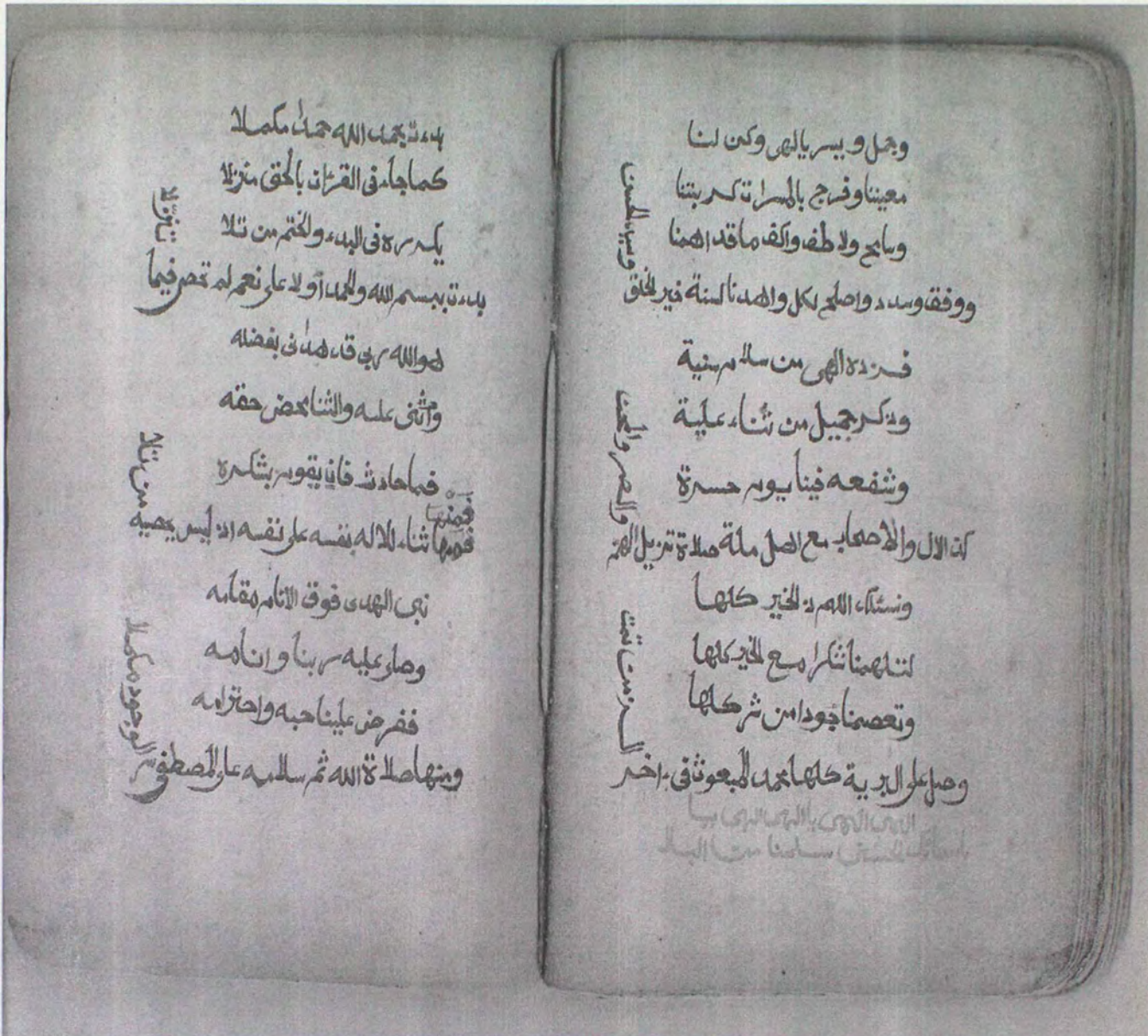
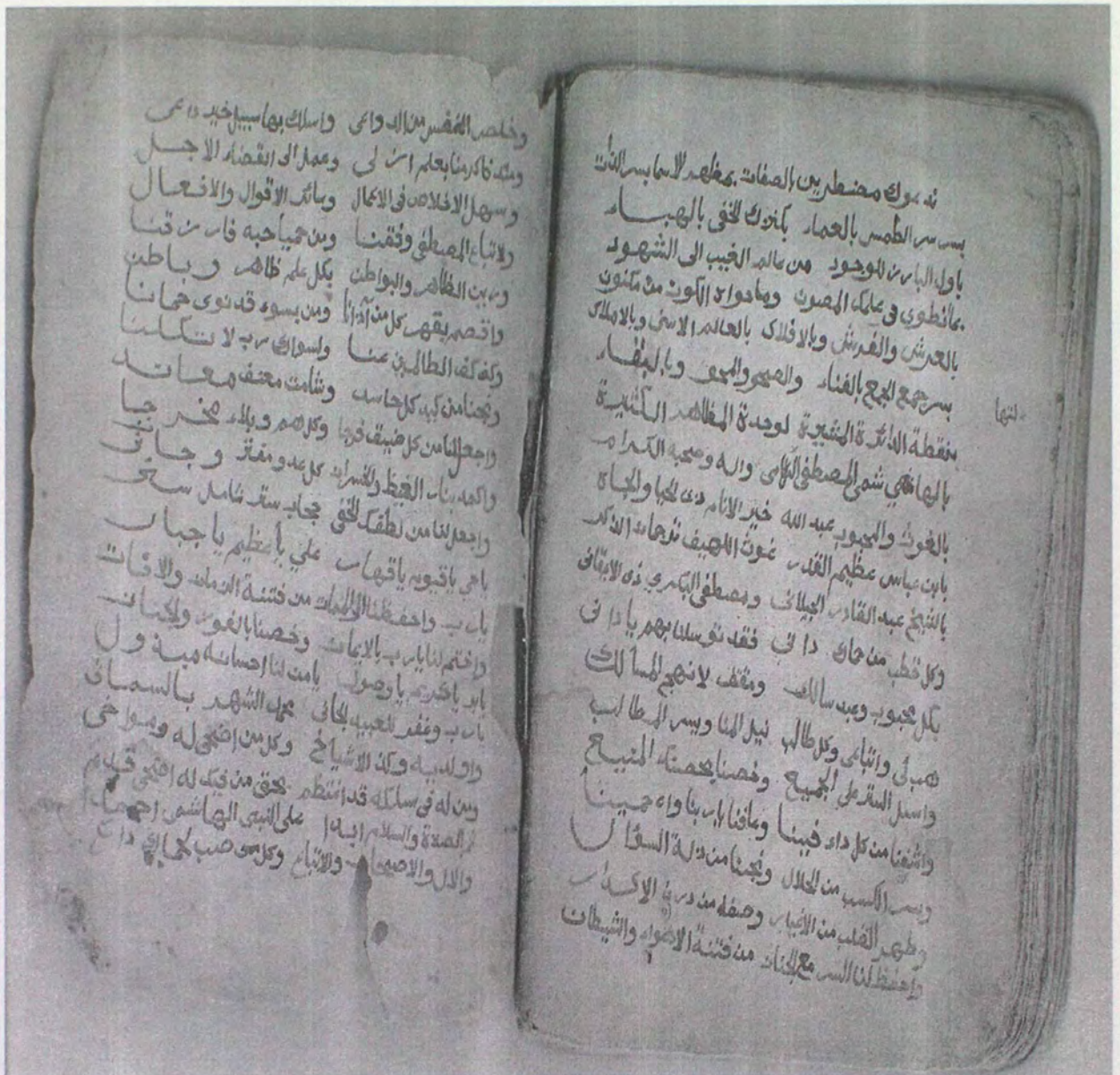


Fig. 20. A *Tawassul* poem, written in the *taṭṭita* form (3+1 lines). Note the upward-oriented vertical continuation of the long fourth lines in the left margin.



نه يموت مصطفي بين الصفات بمفهوم الاسما بس الثبات
 بس من الشمس بالعمار بكونك الخفي بالهيباء
 باول البار من الوجود من عالم الغيب الى الشهود
 بما نطوي في ملكه المصوت وما حواه الآتون من تكون
 بالعرش والفرش والافلاك بالعالم الاسمي والاملاك
 بس جمع العرج الفناء والمهر والهمم وباليقين
 منقطة الذئبة الشقية لوجدة المفاهيم الكثيرة
 بالهاهي شم المصطفى الكاشي والهدى وصحة التكرار
 بالغوث والنجوي عبد الله خير الانام في الدنيا والحياة
 باين عباس عظيم القدر غوث المهيف نورجانه الاله
 بالشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني ومصطفى التبري في الايمان
 وكل شئ من حان ذاتي فقد توسلنا بهم يا ذا
 بكل محبوب وبعد سالف ومثقف لانهم المسالك
 هبلي وانتهي وكل طالب نيل المنا ويسر المطالب
 واسئل الله على الجميع وخصنا بخصته المبيع
 وانفقنا من كل داء فينا وما لنا بارنا واه حيينا
 ويسر الكسب من الخلال ونجنا من دابة السؤل
 وطهر القلب من الاثام وحفظه من درية الاكدار
 وحفظنا من السر مع الجنات من قسمة الاضواء والشيطان

وخلص الفخر من الادي واسلك بها سبيل خيد
 ومثلكا كرمنا بعلم اسلي ومعدل انقضاء الاجل
 وسهل الاخلاص في الاعمال وباتت الاقوال والافعال
 ولاشع المصطفى وثقتنا ومن حياجه فار من قنا
 وبين الظاهر والبواطن بكل علم ظاهر وباطن
 واقصم يقهر كل من ادنا ومن يسوء قد نوى خيانا
 وكف كلف الطالين عنا واسواك سر لا تنكنا
 ونجنا من كيد كل حاسد وشامت محتفم عاتد
 واجعل لنا من كل ضيق فرجا وكل هم وبلاء فخر جا
 واكف بنا العجز والفساد كل عدو مقتر وجانف
 واجعل لنا من لطفك الخفي حجاب ستر شامل سحر
 يا حي يا قيوم يا قهار علي يا عظيم يا جبار
 يا رب واحفظنا من اللذات من قسمة الرمال والاقوات
 ورفتم لنا بار بالايام وخصنا بالغور والجنات
 يا رب يا خبير يا رسول يا من لنا احسانه مية ول
 يا رب وفقر للعبيد الخافي بمول الشهد بالسماق
 والديبة وكذا الاشياخ وكل من اضل له وسوخى
 ومن له في سلكه قد انظم بحق من يد له اهني قديم
 الرصدة والسلام ايها علي النبي الهاشمي ارحمنا
 والال والاصفياء والاتباع وكل من صب على ابي داع

Fig. 21. These are the last two pages in the ms.; they contain *taḍarru* 'entreaty'. Note the holes in the final folio.

5.3 Ajami literature

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

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

| Halaba consonants with no Arabic counterpart | Ajami letter | Example | Gloss |
|--|--------------|---------|-------------------------------|
| G | ḡ | ḡ | galut (line 1) thanks |
| Č | č̣ | č̣ | giračči (line 15) fire |
| Č' | č̣' | ط | č'iffita(line 16) garden |
| Ň | ṇ̌ | پ | Bätiňäha (line 19) calling |
| Ž | ẓ̌ | ژ | 'Azzažžani (line 51) ordering |

The vowels were a major problem. The text is fully voweled, including *šadda*; the problem concerns the interpretation of the vowel marks. The difficulty was especially serious because, although I know some Halaba, I am not a native speaker and not a linguist. To consistently transfer the Aajmi writing into the

vowel system presented by Schneider-Blum is more than I am able to do, especially as regards long and short vowels. (My thanks to Professor Orin Gensler for helping me to clarify these issues.)

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

One other point should be noted. We often see the Arabic sequence $\frac{\text{ك}}{\text{ا}}$ (i.e., *kasra* followed by *yä'* with *sukūn*). I often "heard" this sequence as ä, and transcribed it as ä; it may be Schneider-Blum's /e/, but I am not sure. (Occasionally something analogous happens with $\frac{\text{و}}{\text{ا}}$, i.e. *damma* followed by *wāw* with *sukūn*; this is probably /o/.)

The Halaba Ajami writings which I have found are all *Manzūma* poems in praise of the Prophet and the saints. These poems were and still are recited throughout the province. They are performed orally but are often written down beforehand in Ajami. A characteristic feature is the use of many Arabic loan words and phrases. The *Manzūmas* are recited during the month of *Ramaḍān* as well as on the occasion of religious feasts like *'Īd al-Fiṭr*, *'Īd al-'Aḍḥā*, and *Mawlid* celebrations, or whenever a group of Muslims wish to do so. The following topics are the most common:

1. Praise of God (*ṭanā' 'alā allāh*)
2. Biography of the Prophet (*mawlid al-nabī*)
3. Prayer and praise for the Prophet (*ṣalawāt* and *madh' 'alā al-nabī*).

During my recent fieldwork I collected three Halaba Ajami *Manzūmas*, bound together in one book. According to Šayḥ Sirāj Wärraqe 'Abdulla, who owns the book, the first of *Manzūma* is by Šayḥ Šālih Habule, the second by Šayḥ Muhammad Jadañña and the third by Šayḥ Hajī 'Ilyās, who were all leading Halaba writers in Ajami. Šayḥ Šālih Habule (d. 1985), nicknamed *bärrä-šakka* (chief of the jungle), was a very influential Halaba Sufi, who studied under Sayyid 'Alī 'Umar. For the purposes of study and analysis in this thesis I have selected the *Manzūma* by Šayḥ Šālih Habule, which is about prayer and praise for the Prophet Muhammad. It is composed of 92 verses.

5.3.1 Opening: The opening is in Arabic; it is a *Mašrab* (refrain):



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

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

5.3.2 Text, transliteration and free translation

The transliterations reflect, as much as possible, my own attempt to render actual spoken Halaba pronunciation.

1. Abbu galuṭ galu mäṭṭi mägäniha
 2. Assiyonni biččiha abba nabiyyaha
 3. Issäni hiruta tunsicčiminyha
 4. Abbata halličču qiyma arriha
 iyonnä nuriha aḥira minini

Thanks to almighty God

Who gave us the greatest Prophet

He (the Prophet) is an intercession for us on the Judgement Day

Under his protection on the Judgement Day

Let him be our shelter on that day

" - " -

اَبُو رَحْمَةٍ اَلِيْسَا اِيْوَاَسَا
 رَحْمَةٌ وَغَرِيْبٌ اِسْكَابَبُصَا
 اَللّٰهُ يَنْوِيْهَا اِلَيْسَانِيْنُ بَارْغُصَا
 دُوْدُو طَوَاوَانُو عَمَامُو جَزَا
 اَللّٰهُ يَنْوِيْهَا اِلَيْسَانِيْنُ بَارْغُصَا
 دُوْدُو طَوَاوَانُو عَمَامُو جَزَا

- 5 *Abbu raḥmatu alissa iwāssa*
- 6 *Raḥmatu wagāretu issakabbabussa*
- 7 *Issata yānoha issanin bārgussa*
- 8 *Dudu ṭāwa'ano guṃa mu'jizassa*
 guṃa hallāçussa bussanu 'arroni

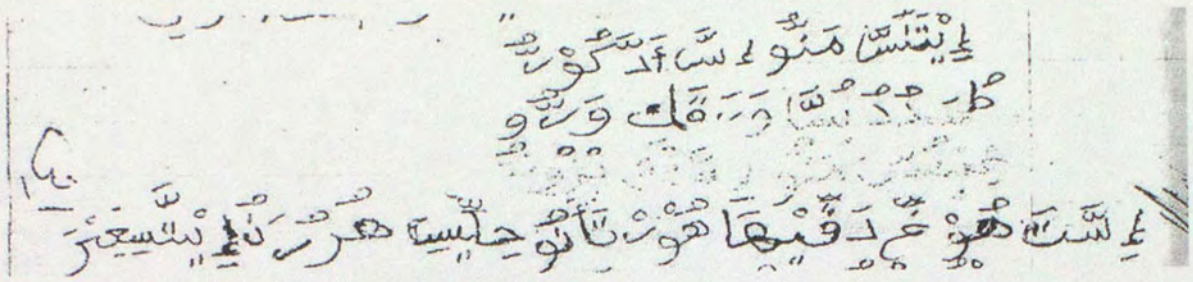
May Allah have mercy on him

Let peace and mercy surround him (the Prophet)

The one who remembers him (the Prophet), let him be with him

Even the mute speak of his (Prophet's) miracle

under the (fierce heat of the) sun his lovers are in his shade



- 9 *Ittänassa mannu 'issa 'addakurru*
 10 *Ṭumadudu bussa waraqani warro*
 11 *Gibänussa männu 'issani bororro*
 12 *Issata hoggä däqqiyha hort'ano*
hillässi hororäno ittasigirani

The one who loves him (the Prophet), his horse carries him and he goes toward him (the Prophet)

His lovers recorded his (Prophet's) beautiful speech on paper

The one who hates him (the Prophet) curses him

He who misses the Prophet strives to get to him

and his intestines are burned by his love

حِيلُوهُ طَوُّهُ ۞ بِسَامِرٍ اَنْتُو
 غَاسِ اُيْ نَشَاكَ هِرْتَا دَا نُو
 هَكَ اَبْ غَيْرِ اَلْحِجَابِ فُلْتُو
 جَنَّتِي طَفِئَتْ اَعْرَ بَرَّةً اَقْتَوَا ۞ نَشَاچِ طَبَّتُو نُو رَيْبِ اَعْنُو

13 *Hilwuhu ṭumuhu issa mir'anu*

14 *Gasi uriššata hiruta dā'anū*

15 *'Azabi giračči hijabi fulanu*

16 *Jannati č'iffita 'aggi burraqāno*

Oriššači ṭummanu nurini 'agānu

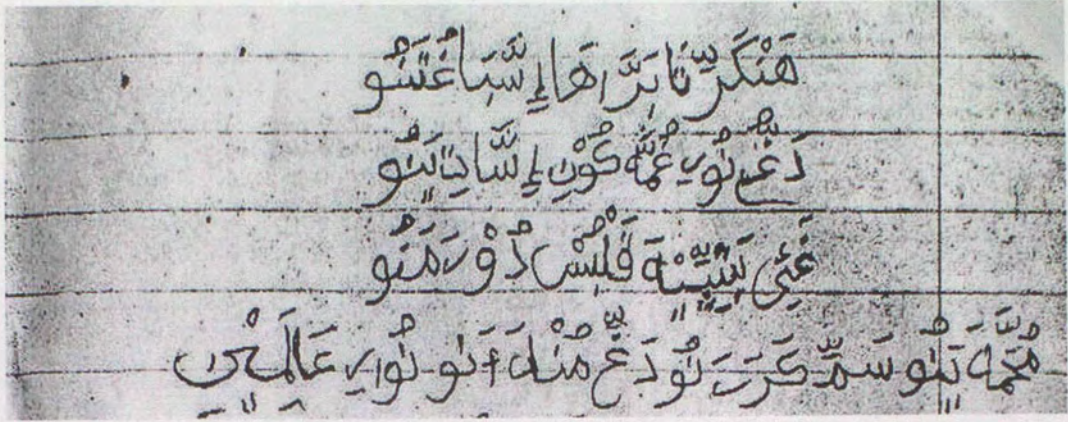
He (the Prophet) guides both the good and the bad

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

They will be saved from hell

They will have enjoyment in the garden (of Paradise)

They will be saved from trouble, and come into the light



- 17 *Hankärrita bärraha issabagotano*
 18 *Däggu nuri gummakuni issatiyano*
 19 *Gä'i bätiñäha qalbus duramano*
 20 *Muhammada yano sammi karrarano*
däggi munda'ano nuri 'alamini

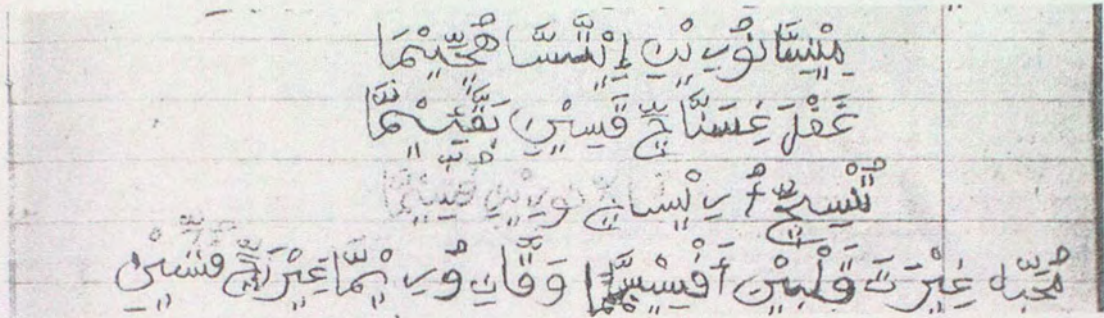
Day and night his lover goes toward him (the Prophet)

When he gets every light, he says, This is he (the Prophet)

The lover loses his heart in calling him (the Prophet)

He calls repeatedly, "O Muhammad!"

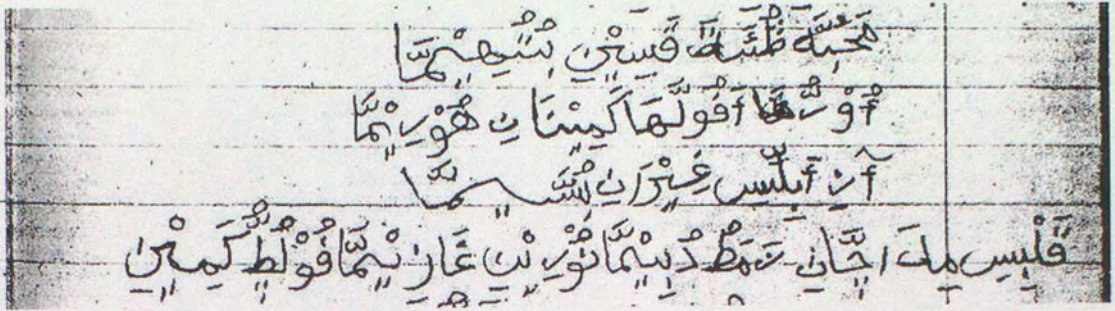
He is satisfied by the universal light (the Prophet)



- 21 *Minissa nurini ittassa hoččima*
- 22 *Gäfala gisännačči qasinə baqqä'imma*
- 23 *Tunsičči orišačči nurini fuššiyamma*
- 24 *Muhabba girata qalbin afsisämma*
waqqani worämma giračči fuššäni

The lover supplicates through his (Prophet's) light and love
 His love (Prophet's) refreshes the hearts of those who forget God
 He (the Prophet) takes us out from the darkness by his light
 His love is put on the hearts

He guides his lovers to the direct path and saves them from hell



- 25 *Maḥabba č'u'ata qasin butuhämma*
 26 *Orru afulläha kaminani hurämma*
 27 *'Azi abillisi girani bussämma*
 28 *Qaləbisi midaččani rämaču dubämma*
nuräni gazämma foloč'č'o kamäni

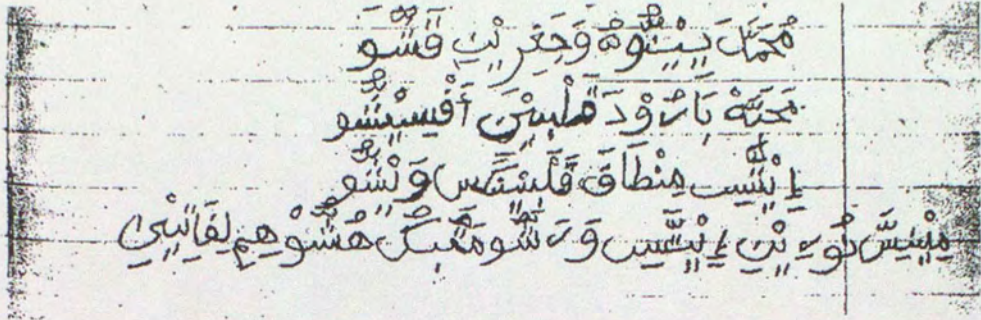
He removes filth from the hearts

He looks and calls him (the Prophet); he is neither standing nor sitting

His love (Prophet's) is burning both inside and outside

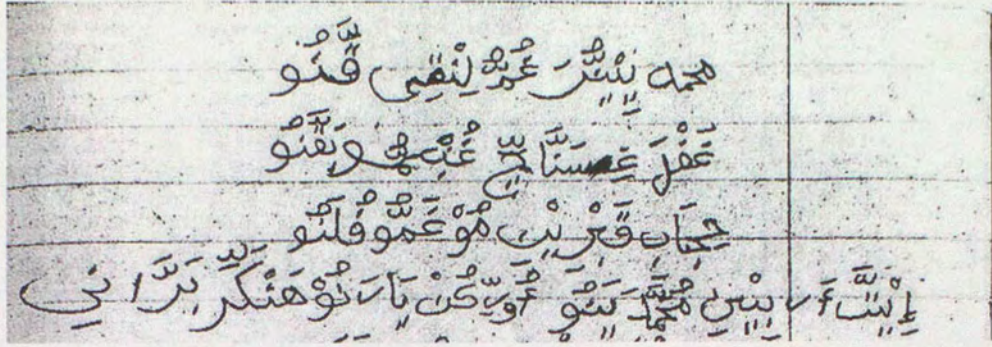
His passion (Prophet's) tied the lover's heart

his light gives his followers no rest



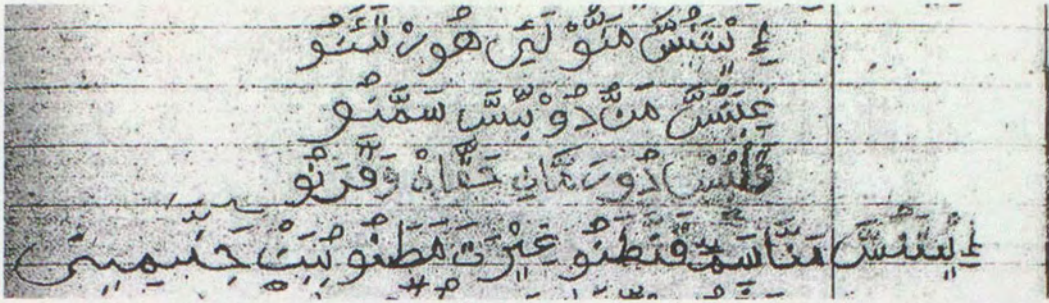
- 29 *Muḥammada yännohu wajagärä qaššo*
30 *Maḥabba baruda qaläbäyni afsiššo*
31 *Ittasi minṭafa qaläbinkasi wäššo*
32 *Minissa nurini 'iyättasi waraššo*
matubika hoššuhäma lifatäni

The one who is called Muhammad penetrates into the spirit
His love is mixed in the heart like gunpowder
The carpet of (his) love is unrolled in his heart.
The light of his face is beloved
the lovers live in his reflection



- 33 *Muhammad yännora gummu länqä qqäno*
 34 *Gafla gisannači gunbammu baqqanu*
 35 *Hijabi qabäräni mugammu fulanu*
 36 *Iyatta arabäni Muhammada yäno*
 'Orrikun yaränu hankarri barrani

All arise, as soon as the name of Muhammad is hailed
 The heedless, sleepy and weak are waking
 He is a screen (against hell) and the buried comes out from the grave
 He says, "O Muhammad!" with his loving tongue
 standing and crying all day and all night



- 37 *Etänussa mannu lä 'i horata 'ano*
- 38 *Gibanussa mannu dubbissa sammano*
- 39 *Qalbus dorämmani haqqanə waqqarano*
- 40 *Etänussa manna sämmi qannaṭano*
giräta maṭano bubän jannamini

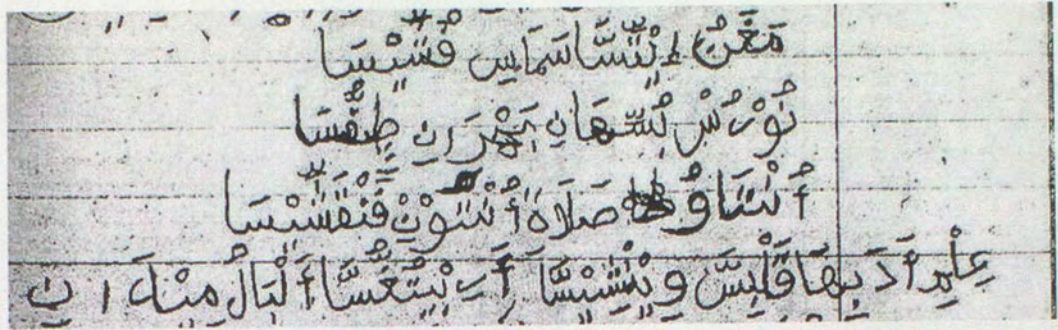
Those who love him (the Prophet) strive to see him

Even he who hates him (the Prophet) cannot say anything against him

Who hates the Prophet becomes insensible and beats his own body with
sticks

He mocks the lovers of the Prophet

He takes out the hellfire from his burning body while he is being burned



- 41 *Mägänu ittässa sämasi fuššäsa*
 42 *Nurus bussihani bahrani č'iffusa*
 43 *Ontawu şalati ontuni fanqaşşiyäsa*
 44 *'Ilmi adäbiha qaläbissa wänşşissa*
'aribitoggossa 'aläbalu midani

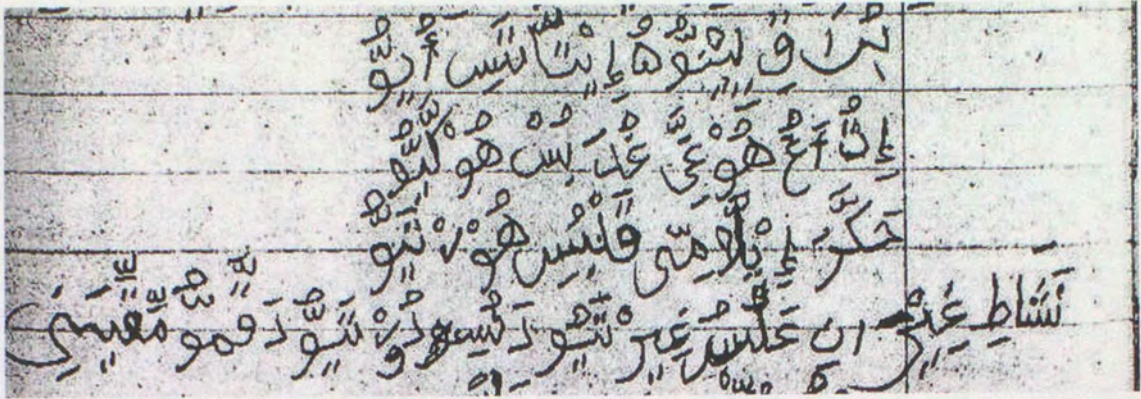
God loved him, and named him

His (Prophet's) light passed toward the sea

He was able to decrease the fifty *şaläts* (prayers) to five

His heart is filled with knowledge and decency

He (Allah) welcomed him (the Prophet) in his vast field



- 45 *Buraqi yännohu ittatasi 'oyyu*
 46 *'Itu 'agu hoggi gädabus hokkä 'yo*
 47 *Hakkara 'illammi qalbusi hortäyo*
 48 *Našaṭi giräni 'alusu girtäyo*
dänusi dortäyo däqqämmomiqiyani

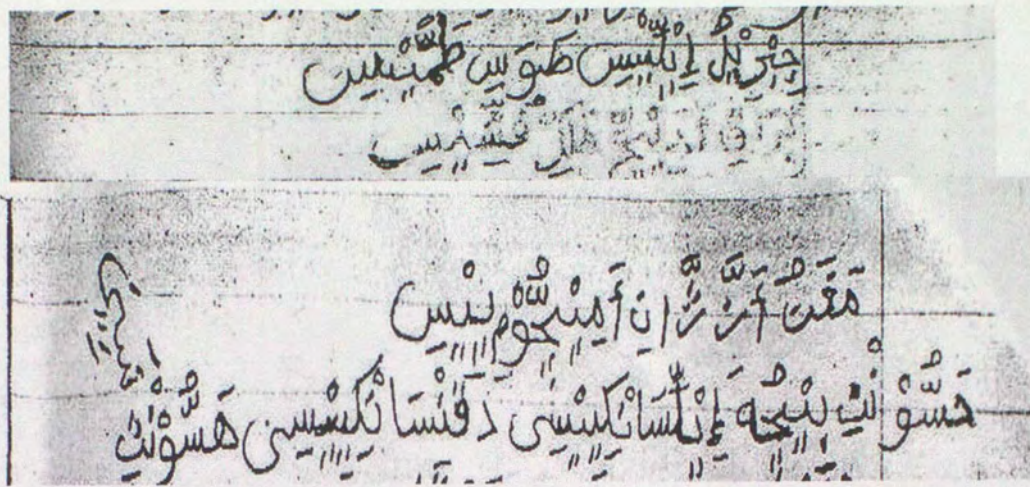
The *Burāq* (animal on which the Prophet began his ascent to the seven heavens) cried from happiness, that it served the Prophet

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

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

The lover's ardor burned his upper body

his appearance changed, saying, How can I get to him (the Prophet)?



- 49 *Jibrilu 'Illäysi tawasi ta'miyäsi*
 50 *Buraqi 'azäyäççi mäläli fuššäyäsü*
 51 *Mägänu 'azzažžani 'amiyäççomi yäsi*
 52 *Hassonti bäçoha 'illisankiyäsü*
daqqansan kiyäsü hassonti nabeni

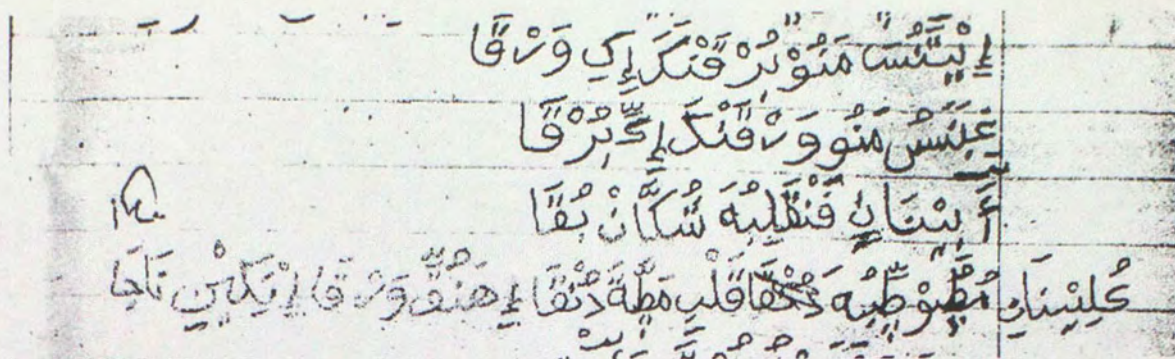
Jibril (Gabriel) asked about the news,

He asked Burāq about the Prophet:

"I am here because of God's command to take you (the Prophet)."

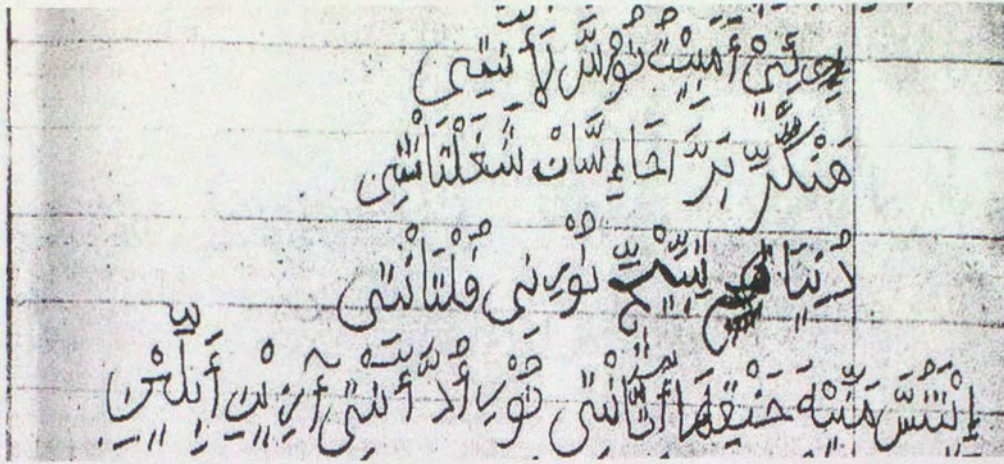
He (Jibrīl) told the Prophet that he will take him wherever he wants

He will put him in touch with any prophet he wishes



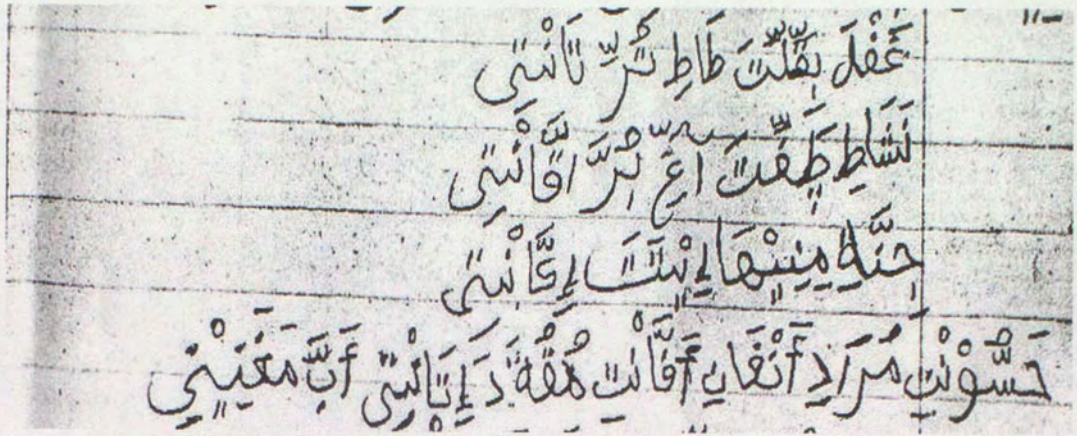
- 53 *'Itānusa mānu burqānka 'iki warqa*
 54 *Gibānāsu mānu warqanka 'ikki borqa*
 55 *'Abiyānani fanqalibuha šukkan boqa*
 56 *Kulyānāni moč'oč'č'ibo qālbi mač'č'a-t-dunqa*
'Thanuqqi warqa inkiyāni najani

Both purely good and partly good people love the Prophet
 The good or the bad person, is named by him (the Prophet)
 Even if he is given good advice he will not return (to the right path)
 He (person with a closed heart) never accepts advice
 he might be like gold if he had good knowledge



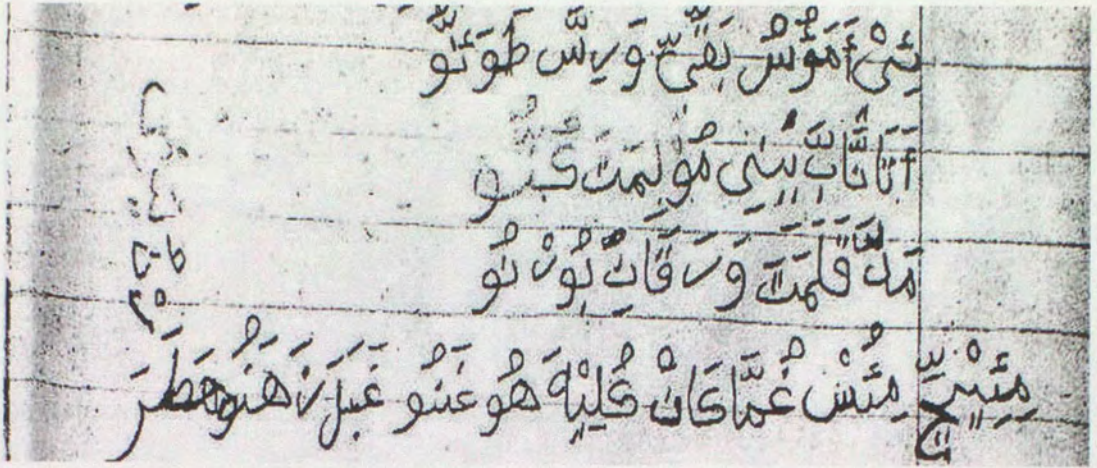
- 57 'T'a 'amabäto nurəssa la'anəti
 58 Hankarri barraha 'issan šagaltanti
 59 Duniya tibbiččə nuräni fulətanti
 60 Itanussa manniyəha hanəqiha attanəti
 nuri udda'anti azini abilläni

O my mother's son (brother), you can see and have the Prophet's light
 Day and night you will spend time with him (the Prophet)
 You will be freed from the present life by the Prophet's light
 Then you will say, He who loves the Prophet is on the correct path
 you will wear light both inside and outside



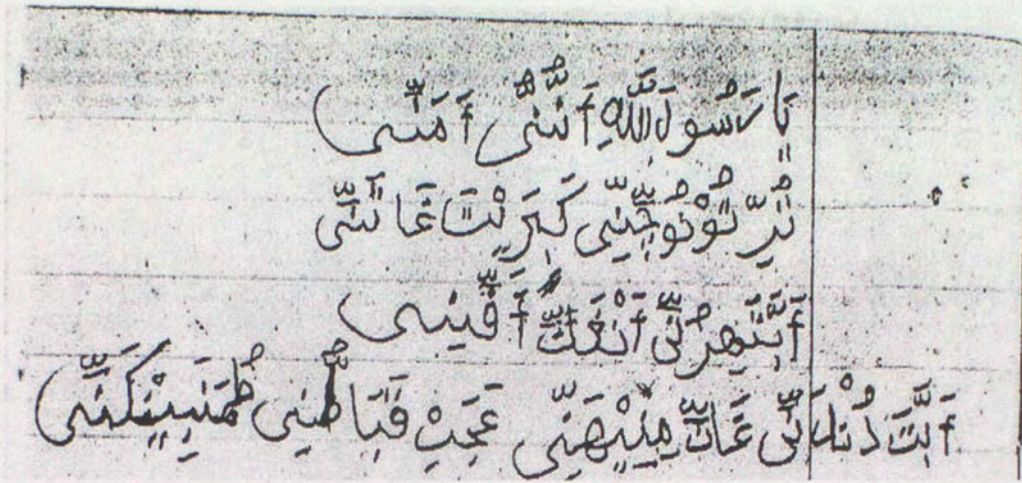
- 61 *Gäfəla biqqillita taṭi turritanəti*
 62 *Našaṭi č'affitā 'agi burraqqanti*
 63 *Jannati miniha 'itāta ikkanəti*
 64 *Hassonəti muradi anəgani anfanəti*
Moquta da 'itanti 'abba maganəni

You will roll up and throw out the mat of heedlessness
 You will run happily in your ardor
 On the Judgement Day you will be his lover in heaven
 Anything you need you will get it
 and even you will get advice from God



- 65 *Ayə ama'uso baqqiyyi warissa ʔawa'anno*
- 66 *Atannabba yänä molimäta kunno*
- 67 *Madda qalämata waräqani burno*
- 68 *Mä'iyäčči mi'us guṃakan kuliyaḥa hoganu*
gäbala zähanu haṭararänteni

O my mother's children, wake up and let us speak about the Prophet
 Let us tell them that we cannot live while the heart is dry
 Let us record it on paper with ink
 What should I tell and what should I say?
 he searches for words and tries to speak



69 *Ya rasula Allahi 'annuni amanni*

70 *Turritonoččinni kabareta gatanni*

71 *'Abbata häronni 'anganni 'affini*

72 *'Abbata dundanni ganni minihänni*

'ajab qabaṭṭuni ṭumanabiyänkänni

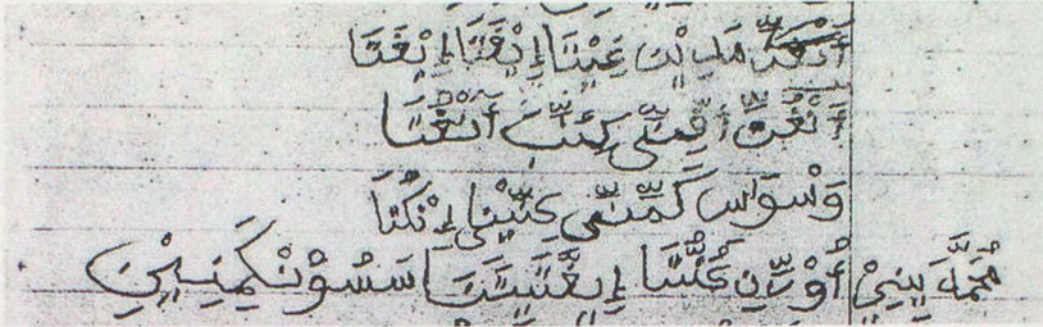
O Prophet! You are our father and our mother

Do not throw us out of tomorrow's home (Paradise)

Be our mediator on the Judgement Day

The broadest shade in tomorrow's home

How great is our richness with our good Prophet!



- 73 Medina gäta 'igäta 'igäta
 74 'Angunni 'affinni ki'anäba 'angota
 75 Wäswasi kämminni kä'nini 'inkuta
 76 Muḥammada yäni 'orreni konnota

iggatä yonätä sasunə käminini

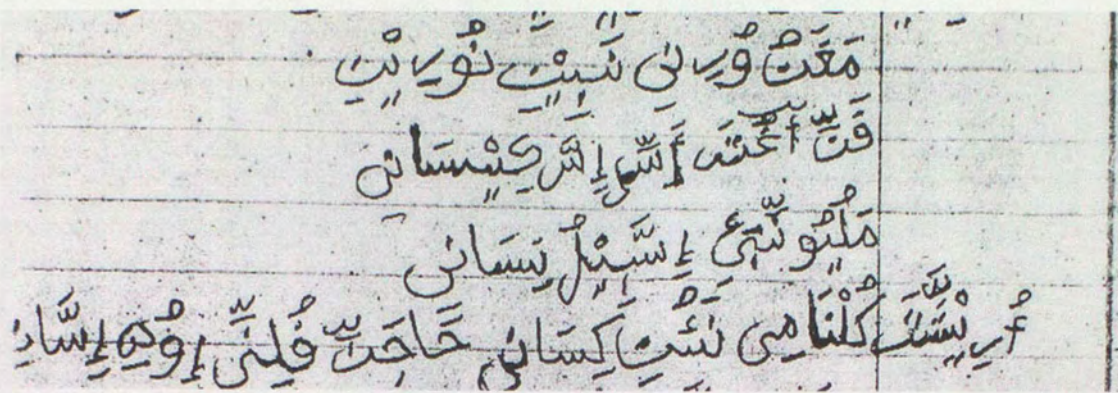
O Medina's leader, we beseech you!

Lead us, to enter and be with you

Keep away the whispers of the tempter from us

Let us say, Muhammad is our intercessor

we beseech him in our three homes (present life, grave and Judgement Day)



- 77 *Mägäno wurini näbiyäni nurini*
 78 *Fänni 'aguta 'assi 'issa kisani*
 79 *Malu yonibä 'i 'issabelu nisani*
 80 *'Oriššata kulənami na 'uni kisani*
hajanni fulinni 'iwähyi 'issani

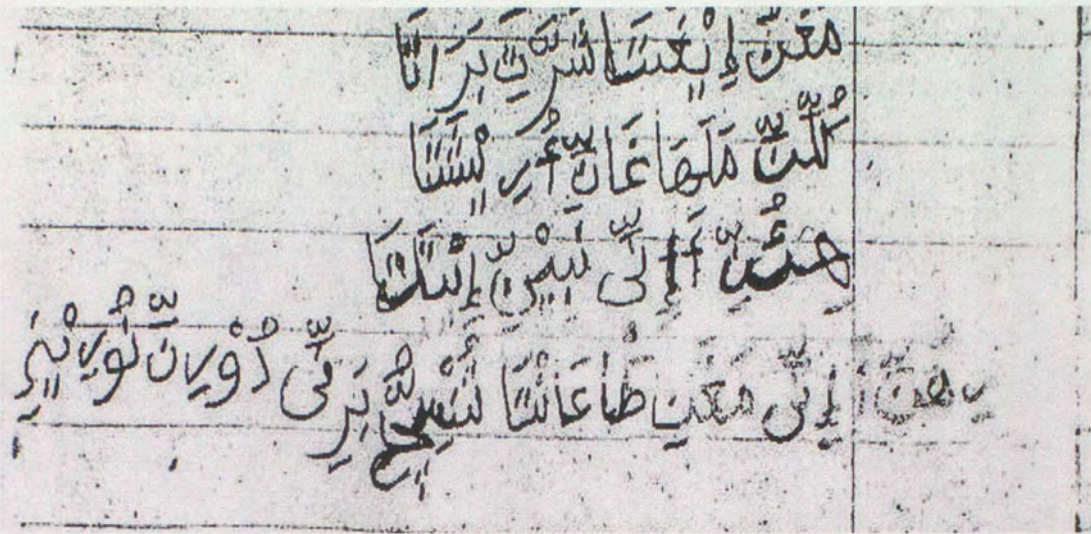
O Allah, guide us to the Prophet's light

Make us enter into his pocket (his way)

We have no solution except him

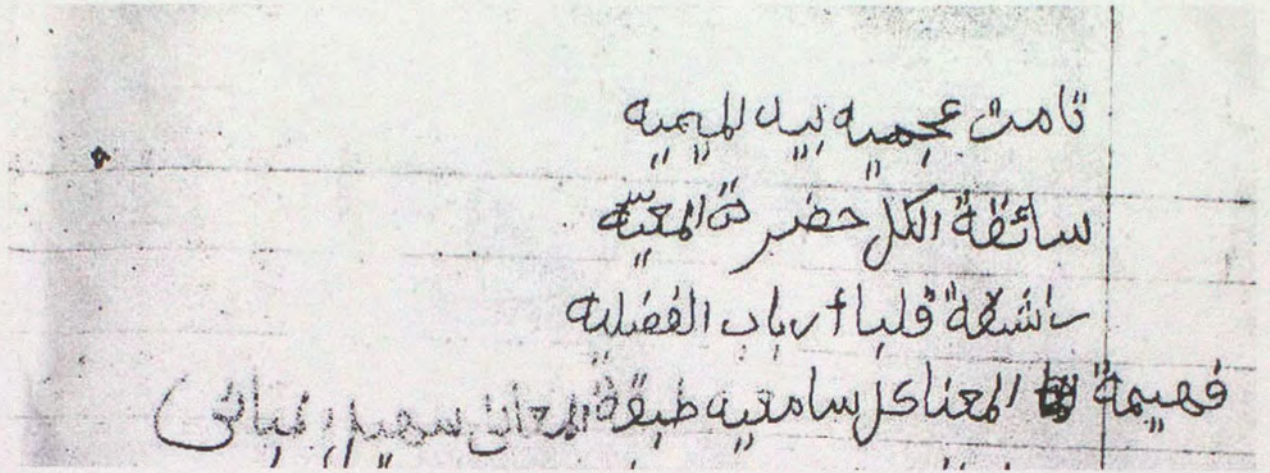
We are telling you our problem

our need will only be fulfilled through the Prophet



- 81 *Mägämu 'aggäta šarrati barata*
 82 *Kullani Malaha ganni 'orišäta*
 83 *Hi'unni 'ainni nabänni 'Itäta*
 84 *Rihunni 'a'inni mägäni řa'anäta*
tunäsiččo barinni dorinni noräni

O Allah! Protect us from bad things
 Tell us the solution for tomorrow's problem
 Make us live through the Prophet's love
 Make us die in obedience to God
 on the dark day replace it with light



85 *Tāmmat ajamiya bi-yad al-mīmiya*

[[text is now in Arabic]]

86 *Sā'iqatu l-kulli ḥaḍratu l-ma'iyya*

87 *Rāšiqatu qalban 'arbāb al-faḍliya*

88 *Fahīmatu l-ma'nā kullu sāmi'ī-hi*

ṭabaqatu l-ma'āni suhaylu al-mabāni

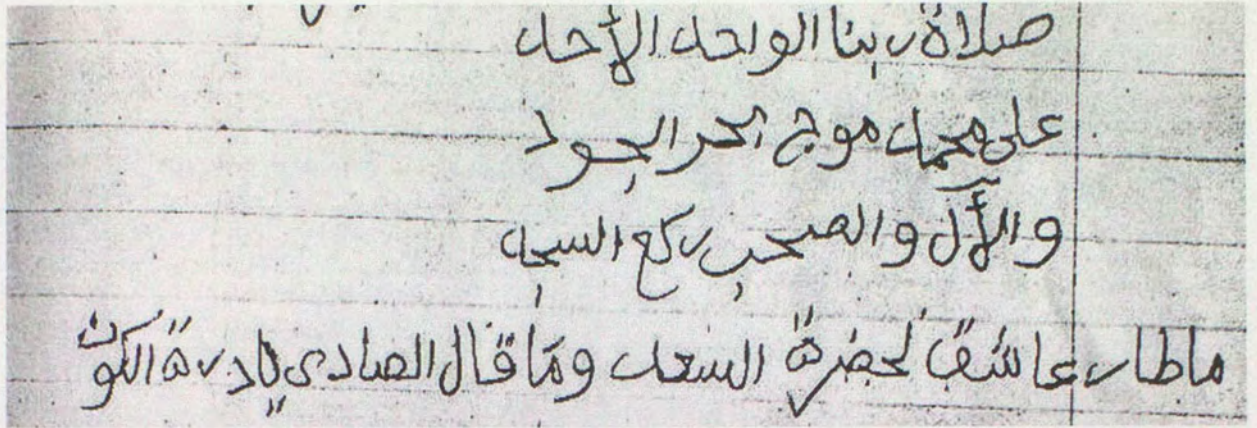
This Ajami poem is finished, written by the hand of *mīm*

Driving force of everything (to) the presence of togetherness

Graceful of heart, giver (master) of favor

Its meaning is understood by all who hear it

it has layers of meaning and easy structure



- 89 *Ṣalātu rabbinā l-wāḥid al-aḥadi*
 90 *'Alā Muḥammadin mawji bahri l-jūdi*
 91 *Wa-l-'āli wa-l-ṣaḥbi rukka'i l-sujjadi*
 92 *Mā ṭāra 'aṣiqun li-ḥaḍrati l-sa'd*
wa-mā qāla al-ṣādī yā durrata l-kawni

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

5.3.3 Some philological notes on the poem

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

| Arabic loanwords | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Word | Gloss | Word | Gloss | Word | Gloss |
| rahmätu رحمة raḥma | merciful | mujiza معجزة mu'jiza | miracle | 'azabí عذاب aḍāb | torture |
| hijabu حجاب ḥijāb | screen | jänna جنة janna | heaven | qiyama قيامة qiyāma | resurrection |
| muhabba محبة maḥabba | love | qalabí قلب qalb | heart | qabri قبر qabr | grave |
| jannama جهنم jahannam | hell | salata صلاة ṣalāt | prayer | ilma علم 'ilm | knowledge |
| 'adaba أدب 'adab | good manners | nasihata نصيحة naṣīḥa | advice | gafla غفلة gafla | inadvertence |
| waswasa وسواس waswās | whispers | haja حاجة ḥāja | need | baruda بارودة bārūda | gunpowder |
| bahrani بحران baḥrān | seas | šägelänti شغلت šägalat | to worry | mädda مد madd | ink |
| qäläma قلم qalam | pen | wäräqa ورقة waraqa | paper | ajäb عجب 'ajab | astonishment |
| ta'ata طاعة ṭā a | obedience | həlwuhu حلو ḥulwu | sweet (good) | najani نجاة najā | set free |
| Amharic loan words | | | | | |
| mätänú መጠን mätän | size | mäläha መላ mäla | solution | gädäbussá ገደብ gädäb | limitation |
| 'azzažžani ጎረቤት azzaazu | order | | | | |

Table no. 3: Loanwords in Halaba Ajami

- 2- The Ajami *manzūma* is written in *tallīta* form.
- 3- Catchwords appear on all pages (both recto and verso) of the poem.
- 4- The verses of the 12th, 52nd, 56th and 68th lines are all too long to fit onto a single line on the page; thus the last word(s) is/are written vertically in the left margin going upwards.
- 5- Ajami literature was one of the subjects well-known to Halaba scholars. They used and mentioned it. On the 74th line the author mentioned that this poem is Ajami literature *تامت عجمية tā[a]mmat 'Ajamiya* 'Ajami is finished'.
- 6- The last eight lines of the poem are fully in Arabic.
- 7- The colophon gives the year when the text was copied: 1431 H. – 2010 (note the very recent date).
- 8- The word *tammāt* at the end is written with a long vowel: *tāmmāt*. This is an error, done either by Šayḥ Šāliḥ Habule or by the copyist Šayḥ Sirāj Wārraqe 'Abdulla.
- 9- In the poem the phrase *bi-yad al-mimiya* occurs (line 85), which means by the hand of *mim* — Mr. *Mim*, whose name begins with the letter *mim*, e.g. Muḥammad, Malik, Manṣūr, Muṣṭafā, etc. This is puzzling, since neither the author nor the copyist has a name that starts with the letter *mim*.
- 10- On line 91, the word *wa-l-'āl* "and the family" is written strangely. Over the alif of *'āl* appears both a hamza and a *madda* (length mark). The correct spelling would have only *madda*, but no hamza.

11- Line 91 reads: *wa-l-'āl wa-l-ṣaḥb rukka' l-sujjad*. We would expect the two words *rukka*□ and *sujjad* to both be definite or both be indefinite; this is not the case, however, and the result is not good Arabic.

12- In line 16 of the poem (a long line), the line ends with the words *nurini 'aganu*. This is a mistake: it should be *'aganu nurini*, as indeed it was when I heard the poem recited orally. The reversal causes the line to end in *-anu*, which rhymes with the previous 3 lines (short lines); this, however, violates the standard rhyme scheme for *taḥiṭa*, whereby all the 4th lines (long lines) must have the same rhyme (here, *-nī*).

Chapter Six – Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo and his mss.

6.1 Brief biography

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

'Ibrāhīm was born around 1896; the exact date varies from informant to informant. His father 'Affūšo Guddammo was from the *Side* clan and lived in Lenda and Qullito. His mother Lādame 'Ənjabo descended from the Hulbārag clan in 'Amba district in the Kāmbata area. He states in his ms. 3 that his mother's lineage is: Lādame ← 'Ənjabo ← Gännäso ← Sibato ← Harrušo ← Gäyyamo ← 'Allo ← Qärrana ← Ğaḡo ← Zato.

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

1. 'Āsiyā Ḥabīb: she was his first wife, from the Zato clan. She had three children, two sons and one daughter. The two younger children died during his lifetime; his one surviving child is the eldest son 'Asmā, who kindly helped me and permitted me to use his father's mss.
2. Šamsiyya Buturo
3. Warqitte Šayḥ 'Aḥmad, widow of Fitāwrari Bušra. The two latter wives had no children.

Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm performed the *Hajj* 'pilgrimage' five times, the first in 1946; according to 'Aḥmaddīn 'Uṭmān who accompanied him in his last journey, and to Muḥammad Nūr 'Awwal who received them in Massawa where he was living, the Šayḥ's last *Hajj* was in 1970. He used to lead groups of *Hajj*

pilgrims who asked him to be their guide to the holy places because of his great knowledge of Islam as well as his general knowledge and his mastery of both Amharic and Arabic. As a result most of the Šayḥ's *Hajj* expenses were covered by the group which he led.

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

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

'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo used to assemble the elders and scholars every fifteen days in his home in Č'orroqo district for *Muḍākara* 'discussion' about the society in its religious, social and cultural aspects.

He was a well-known orator as a *ḥaṭīb* at the collective Friday prayers *Jum'a* and the two holy ceremonial days *'Īd Al-Fiṭr* and *'Īd Al-'Aḍḥā*. His powerful speeches had great influence on his hearers to the extent that some would cry out and even faint. His position in the society grew steadily and he became a leading intellectual. As such, King 'Abba Jifar of Jimma invited him to come to Jimma, along with his friends Fitāwrari Bušra, Hajī Husayn Fanqamo, Kamāl Gobāno, Hajī Husayn Badaro and 'Imām Bamud Waqqo, as representatives of the Halaba; the purpose was to build closer relations and to discuss how to develop bilateral issues.

During the period of Italian colonialism he was imprisoned by the Italians with his friend Fitäwrari Bušra for a few days, suspected of practicing magic. However, the Italians' true intention was to inquire about their activities toward the colonialists. They were soon released.

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

هذا قبر شيخ إبراهيم أفوسو 1984

Haḍā qabru Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo 1984

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

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

6.2 Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm's mss.

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

Ms. 1- صلوات *Ṣalawāt*

Basic description: it is about *Ṣalawāt*, peace and blessing upon the Prophet Muḥammad.

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

حق إبراهيم بن عبدالله بن غدمو بن دوي بن أبيين بن هوغن بن بايموت بن مندق بن سن بن
سمرالدين بن يش بن اسفاين بن اط زراقم

Haqq 'Ibrāhīm bin 'Abdulla bin Guddamo bin Dāwe bin 'Abiyān bin Hogän bin Baymot bin Māndaq bin San bin Samaraddīn bin Yaš bin 'Asfayn bin 'Iṭzeraqam

'Property of 'Ibrāhīm bin 'Abdulla bin Guddamo bin Dāwe bin 'Abiyān bin Hogän bin Baymot bin Māndaq bin San bin Samaraddīn bin Yaš bin 'Asfayn bin 'Iṭzeraqam'.

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

In the colophon the following statement appears:

تم هذا الكتاب بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بيد الفقير الحقيير حسن بن عثمان يوم الخميس في شهر شعبان سنة 1336 من الهجرة على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة وأزكى التحية

Tamma hādā al-kitāb bi-'awni Allāhi wa-ḥusni tawfīqihi bi-yadi al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr Hasan bin 'Uṭmān yawm al-ḥamīs fī šahr Ša'bān sana 1336 min al-hijra 'Alā ṣāhibihā 'afḍalu al-ṣalāt wa-'azkā al-taḥiyya

'This book has been completed with Allāh's help and his good fortune through the hand of the needy and humble Hasan the son of 'Uṭmān, on Thursday in the month of Ša'bān in the year 1336 Hijra [1915 A.D.]. Best blessing and purest peace be upon him'.

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

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

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

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

For folio 12 verso there are two remarks:

- 1) On the sixth line, the numerical symbol ٣ 'three' appears which means that this last sentence must be recited three times.

2) On line 8 the word *minnā* ‘from us’ is written in the right margin.

Folio 15 recto contains a correction on its third line. The word لا *lā* ‘do not’ was omitted, but the error was discovered and repaired by inserting the correct word in-line at the correct place.

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

On folio 18 verso on the first line *bihā* ‘by it’ is inserted between two words. From the 22nd folio until the 25th folio, the writing is of poorer quality than the previous pages. The ink is less black, and the two dots of the *yā*’ in *sayyidinā* ‘our master’ are absent. The catchwords on folio 25 verso (بأفضل) and 27 verso (أفضل) are written with no diacritic dots or hamza at all. These words are written correctly (i.e. with diacritics and hamza) in the top line of the next page. Similar cases where the catchword omits all or some of the consonantal diacritics (dots) are the following:

A- Folio 28 verso catchword خافض *ḥāfiḍ* ‘lower’, no dots.

B- Folio 31 verso catchword الثواب *Al-tawāb* ‘reward’, three dots are present over *tā*, no dots under *ba*.

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

D- Folio 33 verso catchword عليهم *alayhim* ‘upon them’, no dots.

- E- Folio 34 verso "catchword" و. Here only the first letter *waw* of the first word *wa-tab'aṭūhu* 'and you send him' appears as the catchword. (The same thing appears on at least one other folio.)
- F- Folio 35 verso catchword انسان *'insān* 'human being', no dots.
- G- Folio 36 verso "catchword" قنا, no dots. Here the word *tarzuqunā* 'you nourish us' is split over the page break: قنا – ترز *tarzu-qunā*; the "catchword" indicates only the second part of the word.
- H- Phenomena seen in examples A - G include:
- 1- Lack of consonantal dots (pure رسم *rasm* 'dotless consonantal skeleton').
 - 2- Catchword is only part of the word.
 - 3- Broken word, catchword is 2nd half.
 - 4- Catchword is not literally first word.
- I- Finally, the colophon states that the ms. was written "by the hand of" Hasan bin 'Uṭmān. Since I found this ms. in Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm Affūṣo's collection of mss., this must mean that either Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm in his old age asked Ḥasan 'Uṭmān to write down this book for him, or that he bought it from him, or that the book was borrowed from Ḥasan 'Uṭmān but not returned to the original owner.

Ms. 2- حَقِيبَةُ الْفَوَائِدِ وَجَامِعَةُ الْفَرَائِدِ *Ḥaqībatu al-fawā'id wa-jāmi'atu al-farā'id*

'The Kit-bag of Benefits and Collection of Unique Gems'.

Basic description: As is clear from the title, this book contains different subjects. The main topic is the fundamentals of the Qādiriyya Sufī order: *du'ā* 'supplication', *qirā'a* 'reading', *dikr* 'reciting', and the preparation and morals

involved in these activities. Linguistic themes like *al-'aḍḍād* 'opposites' and the book of *Muṭallat Quṭrub*, the "triplets" of the scholar Quṭrub, are included too, as are □ *Ilm al-Hadīṭ* 'science of *Hadīṭ*' and *fiqh* 'jurisprudence'. *Ṣalawāt* 'praising and blessing upon the Prophet Muḥammad', *wa'z* 'exhortation' and *fatāwā* 'legal opinions' of leading scholars are also mentioned.

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

حقيبة الفوائد وجامعة الفرائد

لجامعها الوالد الشيخ إبراهيم الماجد

Haqībatu al-fawā'id wa-jāmi'atu al-farā'id

Li-jāmi'ihā al-wālid al-šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm al-mājid

'The kit-bag of benefits and collection of unique gems

Compiled by the illustrious father Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm'.

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

As noted, the book includes discussion of various topics. The first three folios discuss the qualities of the Prophet, quoting from the Prophet's sayings, his companions' sayings, stories and poems. Folios four through ten contain supplication and entreaty. From folio 10 to 14 supplications are quoted from Šayḥ al-Annī, then from folio 15 to 18 further supplications appear. Folio 19 begins with an introduction about the supplication of the Qadiriyya saints, including the fundamental rules for the supplication, its preconditions, morals and time; it is divided into four brief sections. This topic ends on the fifth line

of the verso of the 22nd folio. The next two folios (23 and 24) discuss the benefits to be gained from visiting the graves of the saints and from writing the names of the prophets, as well as how to entreat in their name and specific formulas of supplication. The traditional Sufi genealogical chain *silsila* is presented, from Allāh to *Jibrīl* 'Gabriel' to the Prophet to the saints down to Šayḥ Dāni. This covers folios 25 and 26 recto.

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

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

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

animals, vegetables, fruits, and musical instruments, translated into their Amharic (Ajami) equivalents.

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

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

The marginal notes often include quotations which conclude with the standard abbreviations اه (انتهى) *intahā* = "completed") followed by an abbreviation indicating the source.

In the fifth folio at the bottom of the recto, three words are inserted: دنيا واخرى صح *dunyā wa-'uḥrā ṣaḥḥ* 'the present life and the hereafter: correct'. This indicates that the words *dunyā wa-'uḥrā* may be added to the text, and it is correct (*ṣaḥḥ*) to do so.

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

This ms. (starting from folio 23) contains a huge amount of information about religious values, historical events and other subjects. The following table no. 4 summarizes the contents from folio 23 onwards.

| Folios | Field | Remarks |
|--|---------------|--|
| Folio 23 recto, and half of the verso | Religious | The benefits of writing and rehearsing the names of the 313 prophets. |
| Folio 23 verso to folio 24, and folio 30 | Religious | Various modes of supplications for different purposes. |
| Folio 25 | Religious | Traditional method of the Qadiriyya Sufi mystical order in receiving and transferring the Qadiriyya tradition through the chain (<i>silsila</i>) beginning from the Prophet until the current saint. |
| Folio 25 verso – last six lines and folio 26 recto | Historical | <p>1- The death of Šayḥ Muḥammad Jamāluddīn Al-‘Ānniyy, on Monday morning, 25 <i>Rabi' al- Awwal</i> 1299 H. (1878), buried at Kārme village in the Yäjju area.</p> <p>2- The death of Šayḥ Aḥmad bin ‘Ādam Al-Danniyy, on the eve before Thursday, 26 <i>Du al-Qa'da</i> 1321 H. (1900), buried on Friday afternoon at Kakor village in the Yäjju area.</p> |
| Folio 26 verso to folio 29 recto | Linguistic | <p>Two types of linguistic categories are discussed:</p> <p>1- <i>Muṭallat</i> ‘triplet’: a word which can have three different meanings depending on its variant diacritical vowel-markings.</p> <p>2- <i>Aḍḍād</i> ‘opposites’: words which have two opposite meanings.</p> |
| Folio 29 verso to folio 31 verso | Miscellaneous | Notes, supplications and <i>Ilm Al-Ḥadīṭ</i> . |
| Folio 32 recto | Religious | <i>Fatwā</i> ‘legal opinion’ on the exact way of how to pray and recite praise upon the Prophet. |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|--|
| Folio 32 verso to folio 36 recto | Miscellaneous | Notes, supplications and <i>Ṣalawāt</i> |
| Folio 36 verso to folio 41 verso | Religious | <i>Wa'z</i> 'admonition' to be ready for the Day of Judgement and that this present life is only a bridge to the next one. |
| Folio 42 recto to folio 49 verso | Religious | Two <i>ḥuṭbas</i> 'sermons' for the two holydays, <i>'Īd Al-Fiṭr</i> and <i>'Īd Al-Aḏḥā</i> , are recorded. On <i>'Īd Al-Fiṭr</i> the <i>ḥaṭīb</i> 'preacher' has a duty to instruct the faithful congregation concerning <i>zakāt</i> 'almsgiving'. On <i>'Īd Al-Aḏḥā</i> he gives the rules for the holyday sacrifice. On both holydays the sermon is delivered in two parts, both delivered while the <i>ḥaṭīb</i> is standing; they are separated by a pause of a few minutes when the <i>ḥaṭīb</i> sits down (يقعد هنا قليلا <i>yaq'udu hunā qalīlan</i>). The sermon's first part opens with 9 <i>takbīrs</i> , saying <i>Allāhu Akbaru</i> 'Allāh is great' (يكبر <i>yukabbiru tis'a</i>), and the second part with 7 <i>takbīrs</i> . In the <i>'Īd</i> the <i>ṣalāt</i> 'praying' precedes the sermon, while in the regular <i>jum'a</i> 'Friday service' the <i>ṣalāt</i> comes after. |
| Folio 50 recto to folio 58 verso | Religious | <i>wa z</i> , explanations for <i>sūrat al-fātiḥa</i> "the 1 st chapter of Qur'ān' and the Šafi'i <i>fiqh</i> 'jurisprudence' skills and rules. The explanation is in the form of a poem with copious marginal notes, written horizontally, vertically, or even sometimes upside down or obliquely. |
| Folio 59 recto to folio 60 recto | Linguistic | Arabic terms are explained in Ajami Halaba. The only Ajami in any of Šayḥ Ibrahim Affūšo's mss. is on these limited three pages. When he writes Ajami, he uses the following conventions: |

| | | <u>Convention</u> | <u>Halaba</u> | <u>Arabic</u> | <u>English</u> |
|----------------|---|--|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | | ك or غ = g | غنط ginṭə | عقرب 'aqrab | scorpion |
| | | | اگردم 'agärdämä | يربوع yarbū' | jerboa |
| | | ظ = č' | قظ qač'č'í | سلحفاة sulḥafā | turtle |
| | | ي = ñ | تني tāniñ | بعوض ba'ūd | mosquito |
| | | (For a different Ajami transcription system, see section 5.3.) | | | |
| Folio 60 verso | Historical (brief notes in pencil or ballpoint pen) | <p>1- The emergence of Aḥmad Grañ in the year 693H. (1272). [the date given in the ms. is incorrect]</p> <p>2- The Italian army spread out in Ḥabaša in 1355 H. (1934).</p> <p>3- The English army attacked the Italians in 1360H. (1939).</p> <p>4- The birth of Šayḥ Ibrahim's son Al-Ḥusayn bin Ibrāhīm on 15 Rabī' al-Awwal 1357 H. (1937).</p> <p>5- The birth of Šayḥ Ibrahim's grandson Abdulqādir bin Asmā bin Ibrāhīm on 21 Rabī' al-ṭānī 1382 H. (1961).</p> | | | |

Table no. 4: Contents of ms. 2

Ms. 3- Untitled

Basic description: *Ṣalawāt*, and genealogical and historical texts.

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

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

- 1) *نعم* *ni'ma* 'what an excellent'; the *nun* is written with *kasra* to distinguish it from *نعم* *na'am* 'yes'.
- 2) A *šadda* 'gemination marker' appears in *'aliyy* *علي*, to distinguish this name from *'alā* *على* 'on'.

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

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

- The main diacritics found in the text are:
 - 1) — to indicate either a major change of subject, or the location in the main text of a marginal note.
 - 2) X to indicate that a word(s) has been omitted and is added in the margin.
- Two Halaba letters are innovated in the genealogies. Interestingly, the innovated letteres are different from ms. 2. The first is to indicate the sound [č'] by modifying the Arabic ط through putting three dots underneath. The word so written is طورابتتر *Č'urabutra*, the shrine of Sayyid 'Abdussalām's grave. The second is the letter for [g] which is written as غ with 3 dots over it, as in *genna* غينا, the name of a village in Innor area where the saint's grave is visited.
- The *mašrab* 'refrain' is written vertically in the right margin of p. 6, which is rare in Arabic mss. It seems the Šayḥ forgot to write the *mašrab* at the beginning, and later there was not enough space to write it in its proper place. So he had no other option but to write it in the above-mentioned form. In this *mašrab* the numerical ٣ is written, to mean "repeat three times"; this is a very common usage.
- Pages 6-17 contain two poems, preceded by an introduction on p. 5. The first poem, on pages 6 to 14, is an *Istiğfār* استغفار poem, which is the act of seeking forgiveness from Allāh, one of the essential parts of Muslim worship. This act is generally done by repeating the Arabic words '*Astagfiru llāh*, meaning "I seek forgiveness from Allāh". However, in Sufism it is done differently, through a poem recited by the master while the followers repeat the *mašrab* 'refrain'. The colophon on page 14 is dated on 27th *Rajab* 1358 H. /12 September 1939. The second poem, a *madh* 'eulogy poem', runs from page 14 sixth line to page 17 and is

dated two days after the first poem, on 29th *Rajab* 1358 H./14 September 1939.

- On page 22 the omitted word إلى *'ilā* 'to' is added between the lines.
- Pages 24 and 26 - 28 contain a list of three Muslim saints with their genealogies and historical background. The first saint mentioned is Al-Hājj Kabīr Ḥamīd whose genealogical line goes back to 'Alī bin 'Abī Ṭālib, the companion of the Prophet. The second saint is Sayyid 'Abdussalām Al-'Asmar. His origin, residence and family are mentioned. He too is descended from 'Alī bin 'Abī Ṭālib. These two saints have the rank of *šarīf* or *sayyid*, which means they are descended from the Prophet's family. The third is a widely celebrated saint in Ethiopia and in Harar particularly, the well-known Abādir. His family background, education, and origin are mentioned. Abādir is almost always known by his nickname (which is Abādir); his true name is 'Alī bin 'Umar. Abādir had one son named Muḥammad; Muḥammad went to Tigray, married there, and had a son 'Ismā'īl. From 'Ismā'īl the family tree started to spread. The family was known as *kābirā* 'the great', because of their descent from 'Alī bin 'Abī Ṭālib, like the above two saints.
- Page 25 interrupts the saints' genealogies with a one-page genealogy of the Halaba. Pages 18 – 23 similarly contain various genealogies, of the Halaba and of Ibrahīm Affuṣo himself. Page 29 is again a genealogy of the Halaba.
- Page 32 is a page of *Ṣalawāt* written with ballpoint pen in bad handwriting.
- A *Madḥ* 'eulogy' is found on pp. 34 to 43, with a rhyme in the letter *ta*' (either *-at* or *-āt*). The *Madḥ* starts with a *mašrab* praising the Prophet

Muhammad, describing him as *Yā šamsa(n) fī al-Madīna* ‘O sun in Medina’. A descriptive title of the *Madh* is written vertically in the right margin, preceded (in the margin) by a double line in red (||). It is written as follows:

هذه أنيس الأحاب بلا حجاب ونقاب شاهدوا شمس الطلعة

Hāḍiḥi 'anīsu al-'aḥbāb bilā ḥijāb wa-niqāb šāhadū Šamsu al-ṭal'a

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

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

باب في مدح الحبيب بصفاته العجيب

Bāb fī madh al-ḥabīb bi- ṣifātihi al-'ajīb

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

The second section starts on page 39, second line:

باب في شمائله وكمالات ذاته

Bāb fī šamā'ilihi wa-kamālāti ḍātihi

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

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

فصل في ذكر وجهه

faṣl fī ḍikri wajhihi

Section describing his face

- On the last line of the *madh* (page 43), an alternative reading is given just below the final text-line: instead of *mā lahu maṭl* ‘he is incomparable’

(main text), the alternative in the margin is *mā lahā sāhil* ‘they (the seas) have no coast’, i.e. no limit.

Ms. 4- تحفة المحتاج بشرح المنهاج *Tuḥfatu l-Muḥtāj bi-Šarḥ Al-Minhāj*

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

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

The ms. is divided into two sections. The first section (ff. 1-27r) is a copy (with commentary) of the introduction to the book *Tuḥfatu l-muḥtāj bi-šarḥ al-minhāj* ‘Paragon of the needful for the interpretation of the *Minhāj* [way, method]’, by Aḥmad bin Ḥajar Al-Hayṭamī (d. 1552). Folio 27 verso to folio 31 verso is almost all blank except for a few notes. The second section (ff. 32-72) is a copy of *Farā’id* ‘law of distribution of estate’ from the third part of *Muḡnī al-muḥtāj ‘ilā ma’rifati ma’ānī ‘alfāẓ al-minhāj* ‘Sufficiency of the needful for understanding of the terms (found) in the *Minhāj*’, by Muḥammad Al-Šarbīnī (d. 1556). The purpose of the author is to give clarification and detailed explanation of these two original texts, both of which are basic works of Šafi‘ī jurisprudence.

Philological analysis:

Some technical philological notes:

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

تذكرة في تاريخ موت فتوراري بشرى هدار خمسة أيام بعد الف وتسعمئة
 وخمسة وأربعين سنة

*Taḏkira fī mawti Fitāwrari Bušrā Həḏār ḥamsatu 'ayyām ba'da
'alf wa-tis 'a mi'a wa-ḥamsa wa-'arba 'īn sana.*

'Memorandum: on the death of Fitāwrari Bušrā, on 5 Həḏar 1945 [E.C.] / 14 November 1953.' (This has no connection with the rest of the book.)
- Folio 2 verso to folio 3 recto, line 8, contains the introduction to the book *Tuḥfatu l-muḥtāj bi-šarḥ Al-minhāj*.
- Folio 3 recto, line 8, to folio 27 recto gives a commentary to this introduction.
- Folios 7 and 8 are ripped out, but this does not seem to affect the contents of the ms.
- The marginal notes are written right side up, upside down, diagonally, vertically and horizontally. They contain linguistic explanations, further details, remarks and brief biographies of people referred to in the text.
- At the end of the colophon to the first part (folio 27r) the completion year is given as 1336H. /1915.
- On folio 68 the colophon states that this book was written by 'Ibrāhīm at the beginning of *šawwāl* 1332H. / August 1914 [possibly 1334? unclearly written].

- The date of the second section (1332 or 1334) is earlier than the date given for the first (1336). It seems that in binding the texts together in one volume the author did not pay attention to the order of the dates.
- Folios 69 verso to 72 are appendices to the second section of the ms. The final words the ms. are تقرير اه "completion of *Taqrīr*", indicating that at least part of this final section is quoted from the book *Taqrīr*.
- Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm in his marginal comments uses symbols in the main text which are keyed to the appropriate note in the margin. Some of these annotational symbols are: — ه — ع .
- The ms. contains only a small number of vowel-diacritics and *šadda*.

Ms. 5- عمدة السالك وعدة الناسك '*Umdat Al-Sālik wa-'Uddat Al-nāsik*.

Basic description: compiled by Šihābuddīn Abī al-'Abbās Aḥmad bin al-Naqīb Al-miṣriyyi [no year is mentioned]. This ms., '*Umdat 'Al-Sālik wa-'Uddat Al-nāsik* 'support for the travellers and preparation for the pious', discusses the Šāfi'ī *fiqh* 'jurisprudence' and is summarized from the opinions of two of the main 'Imāms of the Šāfi'ī school, Al-Nawawī (d. 1277) and Al-Rāfi'ī (d. 1157).

Technical description: This is a printed book, printed in Egypt in the month of *Jumādā al-'ulā* 1332 H. – March 1914. The publisher is *Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya al-Kubrā*. The book is divided into 11 major sections (*kitāb*), 75 chapters (*bāb*) and 55 sub-chapters (*faṣl*).

A large chunk of the entire book has been torn away or eaten away on the side of the book which is opposite the spine. This missing piece is in the form of a ragged semicircle about 17cm. high and 7cm. wide. Since the book has a 5cm. blank right margin, not much of the printed text has been lost, although many of the handwritten marginal notes are partly destroyed. Except for the missing

Ms. 6.1 Astronomy. This ms. deals with the science of Astronomy, which is an optional part of the curriculum for advanced Islamic students. Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo was one of those who attained this level of education. The teachings of Islam advise Muslims to find ways of using the stars. The Qur'ān says: "And it is He who has set the stars for you, so that you may guide your course with their help through the darkness of the land and the sea. We have indeed explained in detail our 'Āyāt [proofs, evidences, verses, lessons, signs, revelations] for people who know" (6:97). There is a distinction in Islamic studies between Astronomy and Astrology. Astronomy is the science which deals with the principles governing the behaviour of the planets, stars, galaxies and the universe in general. This science is licit (*ḥalāl*). Astrology is a pseudo-science that claims to predict the destinies and lives of people as a result of the movements or positions of the planets and so on. This science is illicit (*ḥarām*).

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

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

Technical description:

Ms. 6.1 Astronomy: The first few pages of the ms., including the title page, are missing, and apparently also the last few pages. It is unknown whether the ms. is complete or incomplete. All the ms. is written in black ink, except that in the first two folios some of the words are rubricated by being overwritten in red on top of the black ink, and the last page is a table written entirely in red. The ms. is written on pre-modern paper. The handwriting is thick, of good quality and of medium size. Some marginal notes are written in thinner script. There is no binding; the gatherings are (barely) held together by a worn purple thread.

Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo in this work compiled a new contribution based largely on previous works done by other scholars. The main objective was to carry out a comparative study of the Arabic-Islamic, Coptic, Gregorian and Ethiopic calendars.

Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm classified the year into two basic types: Arabic-Islamic and Coptic. The Arabic year is lunar, i.e. based on the new moon, and the Coptic is solar. The basic lunar year *basīṭ* is 354 days and "one fourth or one fifth of a day" (meaning unclear?), or it is a leap year *kabīs*, i.e. 355 days. The

(beginning of the) month is determined either through sighting (of the new moon) or through the calendar. Sighting occurs after sunset, which the Arabs count as the beginning of the day.

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

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

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

Philological analysis:

Ms. 6.1 Astronomy. Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo compiled the ms. from different sources, which he mentions in the margins.

➤ Folio 1 recto, line 3 ff., gives details on the significances of Astronomy based on testimony from the Qur'an and *Hadīṭ*. Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm enumerates a number of reasons, some of which are:

- 1- Muslims are expected to pray towards the *Ka'ba* in Mecca and orient their mosques in that direction. Thus they need to determine the direction of Mecca from a given location. This can be calculated using astronomy.
- 2- The time of *ṣalāt* 'prayer'. Muslims need to determine by the sun the proper times for the prayers at *fajr* 'sunrise', *ẓuhr* 'midday', '*aṣr* 'afternoon', *mağrib* 'sunset', and '*išā*' 'evening'.

Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm's first testimony from the Qur'an (sura 10:5) contains a minor misquote; the error is in adding the letter *wa* at the beginning of the verse. The correct verse reads:

هو الذي جعل الشمس ضياء والقمر نورا وقدره منازل لتعلموا عدد السنين والحساب

Huwa allaḏī ja'ala al-šamsa ḏiyā'an wa al-qamara nūran wa-qaddarahu manāzila li-ta'lamū 'adada al-sinīna wa al-ḥisāb.

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

- Folio 1 recto, 6th line, the two letters *fa'* and *alif* are written as joined together although they belong to different words. It is written: *تعر فأوقات*, but should be: *تعر فأوقات* *ta'arruf 'awqāt* 'knowledge of (the) times'.
- Folio 2 verso in the right margin a sub-title is added in pencil *al-'ayyām al-basīṭa* 'the basic days (in contrast to leap year)'.

- Folio 3 recto, first line, the *Abjad* technique of calculation is used. The pseudo-word that appears is *ğarsazu* غرسز for calculating the numerical value of the year 1267. In analyzing this term: *ğayn* غ = 1000, *ra'* ر = 200, *sin* س = 60, *zayn* ز = 7; in total, 1000+200+60+7= 1267.
- Folio 3 verso, sixth line, has a spelling mistake: *waw* appears instead of *ya'*. The word is written فطروق *fa-ṭarūq* but should be فطريق *fa-ṭarīq* 'and the way'.
- Folio 3 verso, 3rd line, has the nonsense words *bajhaw abdā hizāju*; and in folio 5 verso, 8th line, the meaningless verse appears:

وزاج ده وأب جد وزاي ده ❖ وريج ده دأب جد فتأملا

wazāju dah wa'ab jad wazāy dah ❖ warayj dah da'ab jad fata'ammalā

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

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

1- برمهاٲ بسكون الراء وفتح الميم

Burmahāt bi-sukūn al-rā' wa-fath al-mīm

(The month) *Burmahāt* is pronounced with *sukūn* of the *ra'* and *fathā* of the *mīm*.

2- بشنس بشين معجمة قبل النون الساكنة ومهملة بعدها

(The month) *Bišans bi-šīn mu'jama qabla al-nūn al-sākina wa-muhmala ba'dahā*

(The month) *Bišans* is pronounced with a dotted *šīn* ش before the vowelless *nūn* (*sākina*) and an undotted *sīn* س after it.

3- بؤنة بوزن فعولة

Ba'ūna bi-wazni fa'ūla

(The month) *Ba'ūna* is pronounced according to the pattern of *fa'ūla*.


- Folio 8 verso, 8th line, unnecessary repetition of the words '*Alā mā za'amahu ba'ḍu 'ulamā'i l-'Islām* 'As is alleged by some Muslim scholars':


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

*'Alā mā za'amahu ba'ḍu 'ulamā'i l-'Islām Al-falāsifa wa-huwa
Al-musammā bi l-'arš fī lisān aš-šar'* *'Alā mā za'amahu ba'ḍu
'ulamā'i l-'Islām*

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

- On folios 10–13, the names of many constellations are given and discussed. In most cases the description is accompanied by a schematic picture (rubricated) of the constellation, consisting of different arrangements of small and large circles and star-shapes. The list is as follows; the pictures reproduce approximately the shape given in the ms.

| Name | | Picture | Remarks |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---------|
| Arabic/ English | Gloss | | |
| <i>Aš-šarṭān/Sheratan</i> | The two signs | °○○ | |
| <i>Al-buṭayn/Botein</i> | The little belly | ○ ○○ | |
| <i>Aṭ-ṭurayyā</i> | Pleiades | ○○○ ○○○ ○○○ | |
| <i>Ad-dabrān/Aldebaran</i> | The followers (of the Pleiades) | ○○ ○○ ○ | |
| <i>Al-haq'a /Heka</i> | The white spot | ○○ ○ | |
| <i>Al-han'a /Alhena</i> | The mark of the brand | ○○ ○○○ | |
| <i>Aḍ-ḍirā'</i> | The arm (of the lion) |  ○○ ○○ | |

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| <i>An-naḡra</i> | ? |  | |
| <i>Aṭ-ṭaraf/Tarf</i> | The glance (of the lion) | Unpictured | |
| <i>Al-jabha /Algieba</i> | The forehead (of the lion) | oo oo | |
| <i>Al-ḥarātān</i> | ? | o o | Dictionary has <i>ḥarātān</i> |
| <i>Al-ṣarifa</i> | ? | ⊙ | |
| <i>Al-'awwā'/Auva</i> | The barker (one who barks) | o oooo | |
| <i>As-simāk</i> | ? | o o o | |
| <i>Al-ḡafr</i> | ? | oo o | |
| <i>Az-zubān/Acubens</i> | The claw | o o | |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>Al-'iklīl</i> | The corona | ○ ○ | |
| <i>Al-qalb</i> | The heart | ○○○ | |
| <i>Aš-šawla/Shaula</i> | The raised tail of the scorpion | ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ | |
| <i>An-na'ā'im</i> | The crux | ○○ ○○ | |
| <i>Al-balda</i> | ? | ○○ ○○ | |
| <i>Sa'd aḍ-ḍābiḥ/Dabiḥ</i> | The lucky (star) of the slaughterer | ○ 8 | |
| <i>Su'ad</i> | ? | ○°○ | |
| <i>Sa'd As-su'ūd/ Sadalsuud</i> | Luck of lucks | ○ ○ | |

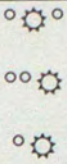


| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| <i>Sa'd Al-'aḥbiya/ Sadachbia</i> | Lucky (star) of the tent |  | |
| <i>Al-farḡ al-muqaddam</i> | ? |  | |
| <i>Ar-riṣā /Alrescha</i> | The rope |  | He says it looks like a fish |

Table no. 5: Shapes and forms of constellations and their Arabic names

- Folio 15 recto, 7th line, Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo explains that most of the names of the constellations are of animals. The reason is that, when they saw the constellations, the Arabs imagined them as animals.
- Last folio 19 verso, Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūṣo summarizes and compares the above astronomical text through different calendars. The table below shows this briefly. The meaning of a great deal in this table is not clear to me, especially the four columns that contain numbers; I simply give the table just as it appears in the manuscript. Words in [brackets] are my additions.
- In the margin, the comment appears: February in *kabīsa* –a full year without fraction — is 31. The month is here written correctly as فبراير , although in the table itself it is فياير . It is not clear why he says (apparently) that February has 31 days, which in the European calendar is never the case.

| The Arabic names for the Roman [= Syriac] months | | | Coptic months | Kabīsa [Ethiopian months] | | European months | [[Zodiac sign]] | Coptic days from Tūt |
|--|---|---|---------------|---------------------------|----|-------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 'Aylūl أيلول | 3 | 4 | Tūt | Mäskäräm መስከረም 21 | 21 | October | Mīzān ميزان Libra | 23 |
| Tišrīn 'Awwal تشرين أول | 3 | 4 | Bābih | Ṭəqəmt ጥቅምት 22 | 23 | Nofamir [November] | 'Aqrab عقرب Scorpio | 23 |
| Tišrīn t̄ānī تشرين ثاني | 4 | 5 | Hātūr | Hədar ዳር 22 | 23 | Destember [December] | Qaws قوس Bow (Sagittarius) | 13 |
| Kānūn 'Awwal كانون أول | 4 | 5 | Kīhak | Taḥsas ታሕሳሥ 23 | 24 | Yanāyir [January] | Jadiyy جدي Capricorn | 13 |
| Kānūn t̄ānī كانون ثاني | 5 | 6 | Tūba | Ṭərr ጥር 23 | 24 | Fayāyir [February] | Dalw دلو Aquarius | 12 |
| Šubāṭ شباط | 5 | 6 | Amšīr | Yäkkatit የካቲት 22 | 23 | March | Hūt حوت Pisces | 12 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|----------|---------------------------------|----|-------------------|--------------------------------|----|
| 'Āḍār آذار | 4 | 5 | Baramhāt | Mäggabit መጋብት 23 | 24 | April | Haml حمل Aries | 12 |
| Nīsān نيسان | 5 | 6 | Barmūda | Maziya [Miyazəya] ሚያዝያ 23 | 24 | May | Ṭawr ثور Taurus | 12 |
| 'Āyār أيار | 5 | 6 | Bišans | Gənbot ግንቦት 24 | 25 | June | Jawzā' جوزاء Gemini | 14 |
| Hazīrān حزيران | 6 | 7 | Ba'ūna | Säne ሰኔ 24 | 25 | July | Saraṭān سرطان Cancer | 15 |
| Tammūz تموز | 6 | 7 | Abīb | Amle [Hāmlē] ሐምሌ 25 | 26 | Aḡṭas [August] | 'Asad أسد Leo | 16 |
| 'Āb آب | 7 | 8 | Misrā | Nāse [Nāḥase] ነሐሴ 26 | 27 | September | Sunbula سنبله Spica (Virgo) | 17 |

Table no. 6: Month correspondences: ^{□□} Arabic ^{□□} (Syriac), Coptic, Ethiopian, European, and Zodiac.

Ms. 6.2 Madh.

- What I am calling Folio 1 is a loose sheet which I found on top of the rest of the ms. It contains 15 lines recto and 14 lines verso. About one-fifth of this page has been ripped off, and the ink on the recto is partly damaged by water. I assume that this sheet is the end of a *madh* poem which has otherwise been lost.
- Folio 2 recto begins with a *mašrab* and thus can be considered as the beginning of a section. The *mašrab* is rubricated (here and throughout) in red-purple ink and reads:

صلى الله على محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم

Ṣallā Allāhu 'alā Muḥammad Ṣallā allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam

‘May Allāh bring blessing upon Muḥammad. May Allāh bring blessing and peace upon him’.

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

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

صلاة وتسليم وأزكى تحية على المصطفى الهادي برايا محمد يا حبيب الله

Ṣalāt(un) wa-taslīm(un) wa-'azkā taḥiyyati 'alā al-muṣṭafā al-hādī barāyā Muḥammad ya ḥabība Allāhi

‘Blessing, peace and righteous salutation upon the chosen one, the guide of (all) creatures (?); O Muḥammad, O beloved of Allāh!’

- This poem is written in the *Taṭīṭa* ‘triplet’ form, consisting of three short lines followed by one long line. The *mašrab* is rubricated and the upward-oriented vertical continuation of the long fourth lines in the left margin is rubricated too, except for the first two stanzas.

- Folio 3 verso, 5th line; a line is omitted, which was then added in the right margin vertically, marked with a symbol (x).
- Folio 4 verso, a poem of *Ṣalawāt* appears. The poem contains 59 verses. It starts with a *mašrab*:

اواى سلام عليك ٣ صلوات الله عليك

'*Awāy salām 'alayka (3) Ṣalawātu Allāhi 'alayka*

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

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

- Folio 6 verso, another poem of *Ṣalawāt* appears. It begins with the *mašrab*:

يا مصطفى الأنام ٣ عليك السلام

yā muṣṭafā al-'anāmi (3) 'alayka al-salāmu

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

Again, the audience must repeat the *mašrab* three times.

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

اللهم صل على محمد ٢ يا امام الحرم كنز مطلسم

Allahumma Ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad (2) yā 'imām al-ḥarami kanz(un) muṭalsam(un)

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

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

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

محمد سلام عليكم سيدي سلام عليكم صلاة الله على خير البرية

*Muḥammad salām 'alaykum sayyidī salām 'alaykum Ṣalātu Allāhi
'alā ḥayri al-bariyyā*

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

This same *mašrab* occurs in two successive *madḥ* poems.

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

اواى نبي ٤ محمد نبي سلام عليكم

'Awāy nabiyy (4) Muḥammad nabiyy salām 'alaykum

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

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

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

صلى الله [على] محمد ٢ محمد علم الهدى محمد

*Ṣallā Allāhu [‘alā] Muḥammad (2) Muḥammad ‘alamu al-hudā
Muḥammad*

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

The expected word *على* □ *alā* is omitted.

- Folio 14 verso, first line; the *mašrab* is:

الصلاة والسلام ٢ على النبي خير الأنام

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

‘Blessing and peace upon the Prophet, the best of humankind’.

- Folio 15 recto, 3rd-to-last line; the *mašrab* is:

رب صل وسلم على النبي المبجل رب صل وسلم على النبي المبجل

rabbi ṣalli wa-sallim 'alā al-nabiyyi al-mubajjali rabbi ṣalli wa-sallim 'alā al-nabiyyi al-mubajjali

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

Note that the *mašrab*, which is repeated, is written out in full twice, instead of being written once with the number ٢ (two) in the middle as elsewhere.

- In folio 17 verso there is the *mašrab*:

زين نبي زين نبي زين نبي يا حبيبي سلام عليكم

zaynu nabī zaynu nabī zaynu nabī yā ḥabībī salāmu 'alaykum.

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

- Folio 18, line 6, has the *mašrab*:

اللهم صل على محمد ٢ نظام الوجود وسلم عليه

Allahumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad (2) niḏāmu al-wujūdi wa-sallim 'alayhi

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

- On folio 20 folio recto, written vertically in the right margin, the comment appears: اللهم أصلح المد والقرطاس *Allahumma 'aṣliḥ al-madda wa al-qirṭāsa*. ‘O Allāh! Make proper the ink and the paper’. Šayḥ Ibrāhīm is asking Allāh to enlist the ink and paper to help him write correctly.

- On folio 21 verso, we find the *mašrab*:

اللهم صل على محمد ٢ سيدي سلام عليكم

Allahumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad (2) sayyidī salām 'alaykum

‘O Allāh! Blessing upon Muḥammad (2), O my master! Peace be upon you’.

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

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

صلاة الله سلام على جمال العالم محمد واله وصحبه الاكارم

Ṣalātu Allāhi salām 'alā jamāl al-'ālam Muḥammad wa-'ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi al-'akārim

‘May Allah bring blessing and peace upon the beauty of the universe, Muḥammad, his family and his very honorable companions’.

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

زين نبي نبي زين نبي نبي زين محمد سلام عليكم

zaynu nabī nabī zaynu nabī nabī zaynu Muḥammad salāmu 'alaykum.

‘The graceful Prophet, O Prophet! The graceful Prophet, O Prophet! The graceful Muḥammad! Peace be upon you’.

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

صلى الله عليه وسلم تسليما من اوضح صراط مستقيما

Ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallamā taslīman man 'awḍaḥa ṣirāṭa mustaqīmā

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

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

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

اللهم صل وسلم على سيدنا محمد

'Allahumma Ṣalli wa-sallim 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad

‘O Allāh! Blessing and peace upon our master Muḥammad’.

Under this *Ṣalawāt*'s *mašrab* there appears a sub-*mašrab*:

زين كل زين زين كل زين زين كل زين زين

zaynu kullu zayni zaynu zaynu zaynu kullu zayni zaynu zaynu.

‘Graceful all graceful, graceful graceful graceful all graceful, graceful graceful’.

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

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

اللهم صل [على] محمد يمدينا شم يعرب دوام مجرب

'Allahumma Ṣalli [‘alā] Muḥammad yä-mädina šum yä-'arab dawām mujarrab

‘O Allāh! Blessing [upon] Muḥammad, leader of Medina, the

ever-proven one of the Arabs.’

Although the *mašrab* is Ajami, the poem itself is Arabic. The innovated Ajami phrase is: *yä-mädina šum የመዲና ሹም* ‘leader of Medina’, as well as the immediately following occurrence of *yä-*, both showing Amharic word order.

As once before the expected word ‘*alā*’ ‘upon’ was apparently omitted between *ṣalli* and Muḥammad.

- Folio 29 verso to folio 31 recto, a poem with the *mašrab*:

حياة العالم عليك ٢ الصلاة والسلام

ḥayātu al-‘ālam (2) ‘alayka al-ṣalātu wa al-salām

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

- Folio 31 recto to folio 32 recto, a poem with the *mašrab*:

صلى الله على ٢ محمد شمس الرسالة

ṣallā Allāhu ‘alā (2) Muḥammad šamsu al-risāla

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

- Folio 32 recto to folio 35 recto, two successive poems occur with identical *mašrab*'s:

اللهم صل وسلم على ٢ محمد وءاله

‘Allahumma ṣalli wa-sallim □ alā (2) Muḥammad wa-‘ālihi

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

In folio 35 line 7 a suggested change (or correction?) is added in the left margin in ballpoint pen and apparently in a different handwriting: the words *وغيض تغيض waḡayḍ(un) taḡīḍu* in the main text are emended to *وفيض تفيض waḡayḍ(un) taḡīḍu*.

In the same folio, 12th line, in the same (corrector's) handwriting, a serious error is corrected in the left margin: the omitted word غير *gayri* 'not' is added, with the symbol X indicating the location of the insertion.

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

اللهم صل على محمد ٢ وسلم وبارك وعلى ءاله

Allahumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad (2) wa-sallim wa-bārik wa-'alā 'ālihi

'O Allāh, blessing upon Muḥammad, (2) and peace and blessing, and upon his family'.

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

يا ذا الجلال ٤ صل وسلم على طلعة الجمال

ya ḍā al-jalāli (4) ṣalli wa-sallim 'alā ṭal'ati al-jamāli

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

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

صلى الله عليك يا زين الوجود اشرف الرسل

ṣallā Allāhu 'alayka yā zayna al-wujūd 'ašrafa al-rusulā

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

حبيب الودود طه صاحب المقام المحمود

Habība al-wadūdi Ṭāha ṣāhib al-maqām al-maḥmūd

'The beloved of the Affectionate One [Allah], Ṭāha, he of the Station of Praise.'

Ṭāha is one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad. The *alif* at the end of the word *al-rusulā* is surely a grammatical mistake; one would have expected *al-rusuli*.

➤ In folio 41 recto:

1) In line 9 a *mašrab* is found:

اللهم صل على محمد ٣ احمد المصطفى شراب الصفا

Allahumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad (3) 'aḥmad al-muṣṭafā šarābu al-ṣafā

'O Allāh, blessing upon Muḥammad! (3), 'Aḥmad, the chosen one, the purest of drinks.'

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

هذه والثلاثة بعدها لشيخنا شها [ب] الدين الداني رضي الله عنه وألفا [؟] ممزوجه
الشرط الأول من الأبيات للشيخ والشرط الثاني لتلميذه الشيخ حسين رضي الله عنه

*Hāḍiḥi wa-al-ṭalāṭa ba'dahā li-šayḥinā Šihā[b] al-Dīn al-Dānī
raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu wa-'allafā [?] mamzūja al-šaṭr al-'awwal
min al-'abyāt li al-šayḥ wa al-šaṭr al-ṭānī li-tilmīḍiḥi al-šayḥ
Ḥusayn raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu.*

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

Here the final letter *bā'* of *Šihāb* is accidentally omitted. The word which I have transcribed *wa-'allafā* is written as *والنا* which makes no sense "as is". I am not sure of the correct emendation.

- In folio 42 verso fifth line a *mašrab* appears:

صلى الله على ٢ محمد حبيب المولى

Ṣallā Allāhu 'alā (2) Muḥammad ḥabībi al-mawlā

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

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

اللهم صل على محمد ٢ محمد الهادي سر ذاك الوادي

'Allahumma Ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad (2) Muḥammad al-hādī sirru ḍāka al-wādī

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

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

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

اللهم صل على محمد مبارك السلام عليك

Allahumma Ṣalli 'alā Muḥammadin mubārakā al-salāmu 'alayka

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

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

- Folio 47 verso first line to folio 48 verso, the last poem of the ms. appears with a *mašrab*:



صلاة الله سلام ٢ عليك يا رسول الله

Ṣalātu Allāhi salāmun (2) 'alayka yā rasūla Allāhi

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

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

Linguistic and paleographical notes to text 6.2:

- Šayḥ Ibrāhīm in his writing mostly writes the connected 'ayn in a peculiar way:  not the usual .
- In the word 'ālihi 'his family', the spelling ءاله (f. 32, and f. 35) appears instead of the standard آله. Note the initial hamza with no written *alif*.

Ms. 6.3 *Madh*. The main philological notes are:

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

مرحبا بكم مرحبا بكم ٣ يا رسول الله سلام عليكم

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

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

The poem is in *tat̤īta* form, with 3 short lines and one long line; the continuation of the long fourth lines in the left margin is written upward-oriented vertically.

➤ Folio six verso, another *mašrab* appears:

اللهم صل على محمد حبيبي حبيبي شفائي نبي

Allahumma Ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad ḥabībī ḥabībī šifā'ī nabīyyī

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

➤ In folio 9 recto a *mašrab* occurs in the right margin vertically:

اللهم صل على محمد رحمة الأنام شفاء السقم صلى الله عليه وسلم

Allahumma Ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad raḥmatu al-'anāmi šifā'u al-suqmi Ṣalla Allahu 'alayhi wa-sallim

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

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

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

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

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

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

1) Folio 7 recto, third line, بالولي الكامل أعني شمس الدين *bi-l-waliyyi al-kāmil 'a'nī Šamsu al-Dīn* ‘by the perfect saint, I mean *Šamsu al-Dīn*’.

2) Folio 10 recto, fifth line, الله الله الله الله عجل فرج *Allāh, Allāh, Allāh, Allāh,* ‘*ajjil faraji* ‘O Allāh, O Allāh, O Allāh, O Allāh, hasten my relief.’ The scribe has mistakenly written فدرج (f-d-r-j) instead of فرج .

3) Folio 12 verso, 9th line:

من ألفه يسمى بشير فجد عليه رب بالتبشير

Man 'allafahu yusammā Bašīr fa-jud □alayhi rabbi bi al-tabšīr

‘The one who composed this is named Bašīr. O Allāh, be generous to him with glad tidings (*tabšīr*).’

4) Folio 12 verso, 12th line, يا رب صل *yā rabbi ṣalli* ‘O God! Pray’.

5) Folio 12 verso, 13th line, تمت سنة 1357 *tammāt sanat 1357* ‘completed in 1357 H./ 1936.

➤ In folio 12 verso, last line, the name of the copyist is spelled out: د ه ح ه د ا ب ن ه ح ه ا ح ه ك ا ت ب ه *kātibu hu 'A ħ ma d bi n Mu ħa mma d*. The copyist is: ‘Aḥmad bin Muḥammad. The letters are spelled out separately (not joined), and the *mim* is written like an isolated *hā* (ه). Note that the *dāl* (twice) is written with a connecting stroke to the right, even though the letter is not connected to anything.

7. Notes and letters

According to Šayḥ ‘Ibrāhīm's son ‘Asmā, his father’s position in society enabled him to meet the last governor of Jimma ‘Abba Jifar II (rl. 1878-1930), Emperor Haile Selassie (rl. 1930-1974) as well as all the regional authorities during the era of the Emperor and the *Dārg*. In his meetings with these authorities, Šayḥ ‘Ibrāhīm raised and discussed issues of the Halaba people. The different notes and letters found in his library highlight his personality, manner of communication, character and status.

Basic description

The basic content of these various papers is court affairs, cases of family disputes and general social relationships.

Technical description

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

Philological analysis

The content of the notes and letters of Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm can be classified as follows:

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

A. The case of 'Abdulla Ḥabīb in his petition written on ታሀሳስ ሺኔ/ግኔ ዓ.ም. *Tahsas* 16/1947 E.C. 25/12/1954.

B. A case numbered 163 dated on ሰኔ ሺኔ/ግኔ ዓ.ም. *Säne* 16/1947 E.C. 23/6/1955; the court wished to ask Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm አይነተኛ ጥያቄ 'Aynätäña *ṭəyaqe* 'a particular question'.

C. In another case he was summoned to make a presentation to the court on ጥር: ሺ፬/ግኔ ዓ.ም. ፓጅ 14/47 E.C. - 22/1/55, and again two months later on ማያረጃ: ሺ፪/ግኔ ዓ.ም. *Miyazəya* 12/47 E.C. - 20/4/55. These two summonses are identical in style, and the clerk's name, his signature, handwriting, and the seal of the court are also the same.

- D. A case which is dated on መጋቢት 12 ፵፰ *Mäggabit/12/38E.C.* – 21/3/46 contains the name of the disputants, the witnesses and the judge. An interesting thing is the method of signature: here and elsewhere it is a fingerprint surrounded by the name written in a circle.
- E. Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm and two companions went to Kāmbata 'Awrajja 'region' to talk with the administrative authorities about how to put an end to cattle theft in Halaba. This can be learned from a petition written on ታህሣስ ---/፵፯ *Tahsas---/40 E.C.* - --/12/45 (the day is omitted from the date).
- F. A problem between a husband and wife was resolved by Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm on ታህሣስ 2/38 *Tahsas/2/38 E.C.* - 11/12/45.
- G. A documented mediation dated on ፵፯፡፱፡፱፡ መስከረም፡፳፡ቀን፡ *Mäskäräm 20/47 E.C.* - 20/9/54, and written by Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm himself. He was thus both the writer and the mediator.
- H. A conciliation የርቅ፡ውል *yärq wäl* 'conciliation agreement' among disputing parties is dated on ግንቦት፡፳፯፡፵፯፡፱፡፱፡ *Gənbət 27/47E.C.* – 4/6/55. In standard Amharic, the first word would be የዕርቅ *yä-'ərq* 'of conciliation'; Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm wrote a contracted form of the word, reflecting his Wollo dialect of Amharic.
- I. A document dated on ሐምሌ፡ 29 ቀን 67 ዓ/ም *Hamle 29/67 E.C.* - 5/8/75, at the beginning of the *Därg* era, indicates that Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm was still continuing to serve his local society even after the fall of the Emperor. In the colophon the usual boasting is found: ኢትዮጵያ፡ትቅደም ሕብረተሰቦቹነት፡ይለምልም *'Ityop'iya*

- **Friendship and sociability:** Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm had a good and strong relation with his friends. His respect for his colleagues is shown in the way he addresses them, in high-quality eloquent language. The following can be taken as an example:

الى حضرة اسياىى وفخرى واعتماىى اعنى حضرة الفاضلىن الكاملىن ...

'*Ilā ḥaḍrat 'asyādī wa-faḥrī wa-'timādī 'a'nī ḥaḍrat al-fāḍilīna al-kāmilīna...*

'To my respectable masters, my pride and my support, I mean the respectable, excellent and perfect...'

Others showed their respect for Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm and their warm feeling for him in the salutation of their letters to him.

- 1- Šayḥ Sayyid Makkiyyi, in an undated short letter, begins his message by lauding: الى الولء العزىى ذى الجناىى الحرىى *'Ilā al-walad al-'azīz ḍī al-janāb al-ḥarīz* 'to the dearest son, he of the unassailable position'.
- 2- A letter written by 'Abdulla Šālīḥ dated 1368h. – 1947. He begins in the usual way of writing among Muslim scholars: the *basmalla* 'in the name of Allāh, the most gracious, the most merciful', *ḥamdalla* 'praising and thanking Allāh', *ṣalawāt* 'praising and blessing upon Muḥammad'. Then, he continues by expressing his eternal love and esteem for Šayḥ Ibrāhīm:

الى الجناىى المحترم 'والخلىل المعظم 'والحبىب المكرم 'اعنى به اخىنا فى الله ' ومحبنا لله ' الشىخ ابراهىم عبء الله فلا زالت محاسنه تتلى ' ومكارمه تملى ' هءىة سلام وءءىة ' على حباىكم العلىة ' وحضرتكم السنىة '

'*ilā al-janāb al-muḥtaram, wa al-ḥalīl al-mu'aẓẓam wa al-ḥabīb al-mukarram 'a'nī bihi 'aḥīnā fī allāhi wa-muḥibbinā li allāhi al-Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Abdulla fa-lā zālat maḥāsīnuhu tutlā wa-*

194? is missing; perhaps it was zero, which would be represented by a dot (small, hence easy to overlook), to give "1940".

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

ودخل الانجليز قليتو ضحوة يوم الاثنين لعشر بقيت من ربيع الثاني وضربوا
الايطا بالمدافع الشديدة ضربا عنيفا وقتلوا كثيرا منهم واسرو جما غفيرا من
جاءر لهم وكتباناتهم وسراجنتهم ... وراء لجر لي ولامو سنة ١٣٦٠

*wa-daḥala al-'injilīz Qullito ḍaḥwata yawmi al-'iṭṭayni li-'ašri
baqiyat min Rabi' al-ṭānī wa-ḍarabū al-'iṭṭā... bi-l-madāfi' al-
šadīda ḍarban 'anīfan wa-qatalū kaṭṭāran minhum wa-'asarū
jamman ḡafīran min jā'rālihim [?] wa-kabtānātihiḡ wa-
sirājinātihiḡ [...?] Walamo sana 1360.*

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

➤ Three comments on this historical note:

- 1- The distance between Halaba and Wolayta is only around 80 km. This means that when Wolayta was freed from the Italians in 1941, Halaba was freed too.
- 2- Two English loan words appear: *kabtānātihiḡ* 'their captains' and *sirājinātihiḡ* 'their sergeants'; possibly also *jānrālihiḡ* 'their generals', which may be what underlies the attested spelling *جاءر لهم jā'rālihiḡ*. The feminine plural ending on "captains" (-at) is puzzling; the word for "sergeants" is a broken plural.

*makārimuhu tumlā hadiyyatu salām wa-taḥiyya 'alā ḥibābikum al-
'aliyya wa-ḥaḍratikum al-saniyya ...*

'To his respected excellency, the glorified intimate friend, the honored and beloved, I mean our brother in Allāh, who loves us in Allāh, Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Abdulla whose good merits are always being recited and his noble qualities spoken of, a gift of peace and salutation, for your exalted friends and your resplendent excellency, ...'

- 4) **Guardianship:** Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm took the responsibility for looking after the *al-Nūr* mosque in Qullito. During the period of Italian colonialism the Italians were discussing whether to repair the mosque or to tear it down and rebuild it. The expenses for the two alternatives are recorded. The existing documents are two papers. An Italian signature is found at the bottom of both.
- 5) **Marriage official:** One of Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm's ways of serving his society was to supervise agreements of marriage between the bridegroom and the bride's representative.

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

B. Another marriage agreement is also written in Arabic but the dates, although written using Arabic numerals, are given according to the Ethiopian calendar as follows: ١٩٤ --- تاريخ هدار ٢٥ *tārīḥ ḥadar* 25 194--- [5 Dec. 194?]. The final digit in the year

3- It is strange that the word "Italians" is written only as الايطا *al-'itā*.
Several other words are either spelled strangely or are hard to decipher properly; see photo.

ولسيد ولد اربعة هواشي والير وغيرهن ولاقرى
 وغيرهن تزوج بنت مغيب الشهي فكثر هناك فله
 الحيد والير تزوج بنت انقامت العجري فكثر هناك فله
 الحيد واما اولاد الير وليهو كثير ون وهواشي ولد ثمردين
 وثمردين ولد سته عونيخنا وديايا ونوسا وسيلطانو
 تزوج بنت عثمان بن ابا فولان له بنتا سابعة تسمى بسا
 تزوج ابنتي ظالتو فولان له وم اسراغو وايتي عسري فولان
 منه هتو ومقسي وويرسا ايت دي ابريمو فولان له منديلا
 وريبو وجمانو وده تيبلي ثم بنتا محمد مطية فانت منه
 دارغيفو ويوبالان وعو وايتي بلقا فولان له سطينا اه
 وم لسيد ولد اربعة وهم تفكو ومنشلي
 وواتامو وديسو ومنشلي
 ابي ولد منشلي وواتامو وديسو وواتامو
 ولد تسعة اربعة ذكور واطسو وفتسة اناك
 سنه وغانو وسناكر واطس وديب وديب وديب
 وازاد ووصيله وطفاي وواتامو وواتامو وواتامو
 ولد هيشا وواتامو وواتامو وواتامو وواتامو
 وغبابا وواتامو وواتامو وواتامو وواتامو
 واباتا ولد نهلو ونيلو ونيلو ونيلو
 سيدى اه

Fig. 25. A page of Halaba genealogies. 194

واما سمعناه من الثقات الصالحين ان هلابا وقينا منسوبان
 الى الاشراف الذين جاؤ الى الحبشة من طرابلس ويمن ودالك
 الهمها جروهم اليمن بسبب تجارة ثم كثر وفوقمقامة
 شائع وجبرتي ونواحيهما ثم انتقلوا الى هرة واقاموا فيها
 عشر سنة ومنها طرظر خمس سنين ومنها الى شرك غداب
 ستين سنة ومنها الى سد امو عشر سنة ومنها الى الغيرا
 وهو ما بين ولا مو وكهياتا اثني عشر سنة ومنها الى
 واجوا ستة سنة ومنها الى ما فيد خمسة عشر سنة وهناك
 تفرق بعضهم ذهبوا الى قينا وبعضهم نزلوا الى هلابا وبعضهم
 ذهبوا من قين الى ناحية ابلغي من بلاد حما وكثر وافله
 الحما والشكر وسبب تفرقتهم في ما فيله ان رجلا واحدا
 من سيدي يسمى شفقو قتل رجلا من ليهو يسمى سظهو
 وهو اعلى يمشل شيئا فشيئا والتفرق بعد اداء الية تلاثمائة
 بقرة في ثلاث سنة الى وامن تيرهم فهداه البلاد مائة
 وثمانية عشر سنة الى ثم استقر واوا هلابا وقينا الى يومنا
 هذا فله الحما والشكر الى

Fig. 26. History of the Halaba and Qabeena.

واما جائق ولد اربعة بنين وهم ووظو ووظو ووظو ووظو ثم بنين ولد
 اربعة وهم دعويرين وكير شي ووميشو ثم دعويرين ولد غني
 وسامكو ولامو ونسيبا ثم ولد غني واسي وولد واسي طيني
 وولد تطيني مرصيه وهي في ليمو واما سامكو ولد ثلاثة
 هسسو وسهباي ونودنو واما هسسو ولد عبد الحكيم واما سهباي
 وهو وعروسي ونودو وما ولدت واما ليدمو ما ولد ونسيبا ولد
 هسسو وداكر وشرر ودمشي وكبان واما كير شي ولد ثلاثة
 شوي مو وسريغي وفينك واما شرمو ولد شامو وغنا انا وسيامو
 وغجلا وبلو وغولي وعحك وسريا وغجاقو وواسي ودمشي
 وقيبو وقماوتي وبنو ووابتي واما شامو ولد سرهبي وغنا
 ولد اعد وعخير وميرور واما سيامو ولد هرسيسو الخ
 وسريا ولد فاطمه وشي ومجد وعبد الله وصادق الخ واما
 وميشو ولد ياسو وواشو وهطسو وابشر الخ واما تمهو ولد
 عجلي وولد عجلي مالكي وبنو واولاسو وغشو وولد مالكي
 بنو وولد بنو مينه نو وولد مني نو سايب واما بنو ولد ابحو
 وولد ابحو نهمكو وكينغو الخ واما سريغي ولد بنتا وبنو
 وشي ووسوي ودمبوس وولد بنتا اغاو وكوتسو وسابو
 وولد بنو داداغو وصدنو وبنو اغو وساضي ووسوي ولدت
 اليه وولد اليه ابراهيم مغو الخ واما فينك ولدت شاشوغي وولدت
 شاشوغي لانغنو وولد لانغنو غرغرسا وسكوا الخ واما اولاسو
 ولد هتشو وهما ذو وضا فني وولدت هتشو سيبو الذي يكن بابي
 ماشيبو واما ضا فني ولدت بالامو ويا لامو ولافيبو وديبوطن وهو
 لاكلهم وبنات واما غنو ولدت سيبانو وولد سيبانو تمب وطي سو
 وادولا وديلو والبنو خاله اما

Fig. 27. A page of Halaba genealogies. 196

واما وظو تزوجت في هجر فوالده ماش وافيقو وولد
 وافيقو ابي عت اثالو وولد ابي عت اثالو ابي داما الخ الخ
 واما وم ماني تزوجت في كرجو فولدت ابراخو وولد
 هو بلا وولد هو عت انا وولد هو هو سا الخ الخ

نسب الشريف الحاج كير حيد بن الحاج شريف ابي بكر بن الحاج شريف
 فقيه احمد بن الحاج الشريف آدم بن الشريف احمد بن الشريف
 آدم بن الشريف احمد بن الشريف علي بن الشريف ابراهيم
 بن الشريف علي بن الشريف عثمان بن الشريف حسين
 بن الشريف محمد بن الشريف موسى بن الشريف يحيى بن
 الشريف عيسى بن الشريف علي بن الشريف محمد بن الشريف
 حسن بن الشريف جعفر بن الشريف علي بن الشريف موسى
 بن الشريف جعفر الصادق بن الشريف محمد الباقر بن الشريف
 علي بن الشريف الحسين بن الامام علي كرم الله وجهه الخ

ثم ان هلا يا بعد نزولهم من ما فيا سمانو في ساف
 ثلاث سنة ثم ذهبوا الى متو وادانا ودهنسا واندو وبقا
 وفي نسو شكانو فيها سبع عشر سنة ونيهم ثم بدو
 الحداثة واستوطنوها وجعلوها دارا قافتهم واقسموه
 ملكا ثم بعد سبع وعشرين اثار عليهم ايراش عوبنا
 ثم بعد سنة ستين اثار عليهم ثم بعد اربعين
 اثار عليهم دقير مايج ودايو وبعده ذلك استباحوه
 وصاروا ايتهم وملكهم وجملة سبعين وخمسين اربعة
 سنين فتح حكن منها ولاءه وجملة سبعين سنين
 ثم الى عابوا ومنه عابوا ودايو مناه صاعدا

Fig. 28. Genealogy of the Kabire family.

واعلم ان السيّد عبد السلام الاسمر كان منشأؤه
 ومسكنه بطرابلس الغرب ومات ودفن فيه وقبره
 مشهور بمزار وخلوته التي كان يسكن فيها لها
 خواص وله بساكنين كثيرة مضمرة الى الآن وولده
 في تلك البلدة خمسة اولاد السيّد عبد الله وهو البرهم
 والسيّد نصر الله والسيّد يونس والسيّد سليمان
 والسيّد عبد البرّ فاما السيّد عبد الله وعقبه فاعقب
 بطرابلس الغرب وذريته كثيرة تسمى اشراف المناجاة
 وبعضهم في القطر المصري بمكة بينة الرّفاقان يوق وامّا
 السيّد نصر الله فتوجه الى ارض اليمن الاقصى وهي
 الحبشة وله ذرية هناك ويقال انه توفي مائة و
 احدى وخمسين مرة وخرج من قبره كذا لك وقبره
 المشهور المراب الان في جهور البحر وقيل لك في
 اناس في قرية غينا واكثر ذريته في ملو واولاده
 خمسة السيّد ايوب وهو البرهم والسيّد محمود والسيّد
 هارون والسيّد عالى والسيّد عبد الرحمن وهو اصغرهم
 وليس له عقب لانه توفي قبل ان يتزوج واما السيّد
 يونس فهاجر من المغرب الى المدينة المنورة —

Fig. 29. From a brief biography of Saint 'Abdussalām Al- Asmar

ثم انتقل الى العراق واقام ببغية ام عبيدة وله ذرية
هناك واما السيد سليمان فهاجر الى الحجاز وسكن
جبل صبح وله ذرية هناك تسمى بنى صبح واما السيد
عبد البر فسكن جبل تونس وعقب ذرية بها وقيل
مات عقيما ومن ذرية نصر الله الهمام الاخي العلامة
السيد احمد الأبيتي وهو ابن السيد عثمان ابن
السيد أبتار يعني ابا الناس بن السيد يعقوب ابن
السيد معروف ابن السيد محمد بن ضي ابن السيد
ايوب بن الوليد الكبير الشهير السيد نصر الله بن السيد
عبد السلام الا سمير بن السيد فتح الله ابن السيد تسليم
بن السيد مسام بن السيد سالم بن السيد مسام بن السيد
سليم بن السيد مسام الحمد ابن بن السيد ايوب بن
السيد اسحاق بن السيد ابراهيم الحمد ابن ابن
السيد احمد بن السيد عباس بن السيد يوسف ابن
السيد عياض السلام بن السيد محمد بن السيد حسن
ابن السيد عبد الله الكامل بن السيد الحسن المثنى
ابن السيد حسن السبط ابن سيدنا الامام علي كرم الله
وجهه نقل هذه النسب من تاريخ النسب الواضح من الجزء
الثاني تأليف الامام عبد الله بن سليمان الجبائري اه

وهناك ما ذكره
اولا في
الجزء الثاني
من تاريخ النسب
الواضح من الجزء
الثاني تأليف
الامام عبد الله بن
سليمان الجبائري اه

Fig. 30. From a brief biography of Saint 'Abdussalām Al-'Asmar

ترجمته العارف ولي الله السيّد عابد ابادي رضي الله عنه
 ونفعنا به وهو من مشايخ هرب رضي الله عنه وله
 فمدينته محيا ونشأ بها ووقر العلوم القلبية والعقلية
 وكان شيخا في الشريعة والطريقة والحقيقة واخلت الطريقة
 القادرية من شيخه ابن الغيث بن جميل اليماني وسحل
 من مدينته محيا الى مدينته هرب واشتهر بلقبه ابادي
 وصار له علماء اذاته الشريف واما اسمه الذي سماه
 به والده فعلي وولد له ولد سماه الفقيه محيا وولد
 بين كر له ولد غيره والفقيه محيا هذا سحل من هرب
 الى اسكن تكري عاصمة النجاشي رضي الله عنه واستوطن
 اسوهي مدينته مشهورة وتزوج بالسيدة آمنه بنت
 الشريف احمد فانجبت له بول سماه الفقيه اسمعيل وله
 ولد اسمه الفقيه موسى وله اهل الفقيه موسى هذا عدة
 اولاد منهم الكبير مادح وكبير عثمان وكبير عبد
 الرحمن وله ذرية في غير اسكن تكري بعدت كبير تنفرع
 من اولاد الثلاثة كبير مادح وكبير عثمان وكبير عبد
 واما عبد الرحمن مات صغيرا قبل اوان الزواج وهو ابي
 الشيخ ابادي بن محمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان بن محمد الامين
 بن ناصر فهو الذي سحل من مكة المشرفة الى اليمن وينتمي
 نسبه الى السبط بن سيدنا علي بن ابي طالب رضي الله عنه

Fig. 31. Brief biography of Saint Abādir

الصلاة والسلام علينا وآلنا والتسابيح يا شمس والدينة
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله رب العالمين بالموافق فاتح كنز الرحمة
 صلاة معها التسليم على ذي الخلق العظيم مفتاح بلا
 وعلا الال الطاهرين والصحابه الاكبرين وعل خير الامم
 اقول من بعد الفتح فاستمع مني يا صاحب الصدق والحجة
 يا ودهج الحبيب بصفاته العجيب على اصطلاح الصفة
 بمعانيه القدسية صدرت نظم السكية ناطقا بالواردات
 جاتني ليلة الاثنين من حضرة بك ميامين مدحة خير السادات
 بعد مضي العشر من شهر ليلة ^{القدس} وبعض وقت العزلة
 فقلت شوقا وحباً ذكر الحبيب الجليل شفاء لك فتد
 وذكرني الكريم مفتاح ابواب النعيم من صلاة رب العزة
 وذكره بالسري ضياء قلب الكبري صفاء عين الحيا
 وصورته الكريمة مطبوع النفس السليمة مصباح القلب
 من تيسره في القلب تصوره ملحوظ بالعناينة
 سيدى بك جيب قريب حقا لا يغيب حق عن اهل الجفوة

هذه انيس الاجاب بلا حجاب وفتاوى شاهده وانتمس الطالع

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Fig. 33. A page of *Salawāt*.

استغفر الله العظيم

روحى حياتى وقولى طلبتى قسى
سمعى وفكرى ونطقى يقظتى حاسى
ذكرى انيسى افتاحى مبتدئى اكاسى
استغفر الله بجمع الفلك والظلم على عباب من التياس
اتيت اطلب غفرا انا تقرب به
عينى ويفرح قلبى فى تقربه
والعبد بالكذب ينئى عن تقربه
استغفر الله منبى المستجير به اذا الم به طيفامن
ولى الشباب وولى العمر منهن منامن
والقلب ما اذا الاظلمة وعمت
لكن اقول وادعو طالب بكر من
استغفر الله غفارا انت نوب لمن بالانكسار اتى والذل
قلبي من الذنب اضنى خائفا وجيلا
بين وق ماقر من تغيصه وحلا
لكن اتيت على مولاى متكلا
استغفر الله ستار العيوب على اهل الذنوب ونعيم

مبتدئى

الاسم

والاسم

ذات النعم

Fig. 34. A page of 'Istiḡfār manẓūma, with mašrab written vertically.

يا رب واغفر لك الاصل الذي نظما
 والخطايا ذنبا جرما عظيما
 وكاتب وتاليفها الذي اجترما
 كما انشدها والسامعين فما لئلا نبين سوى الغفران

٢٧
 رجب الفرو سنة
 ١٣٥١

الشمس ما حل بنا بحجل بالشر وبالفرج
 وبسر ذاتك يا سيد وينوس قسك البهجة
 بوحدة الذات التي ظهرت بشؤون مختلفا من ج
 وبسر اسمائك بخنا من كل ما يختش من هرج
 بحال الذوات القوية بغير وجلان قسك ذي زنج
 بلطف خفي وجر يانه وبسر النور ومن ياليج
 وبسر الباء وتقطته وبباق العرف من دلهاج
 وبسر كلامك يا سيد وبما فيه من العجج
 وبسر العمى وظلمته وبما هناك من كزياج
 وبما هناك من قسمة من غير تكييف ولا لجم
 وبسبب النور يا ملجئ احفظنا من كل ذي عوج
 بنقطة الكون احمدنا وبكل نبي ذي دس ج

وبكل

Fig. 35. The ending of *Istigfār manẓūma* and the beginning of *Taḍarru* .

وكنى آل واصحابه مع سلام ربي ما لباد نخج
 ما تلاتال يا ذى الفرج عجل بالنصر وبالفرج
 ما دعى داع يا ذى الفرج ب بنينا من الهرج
 ارجب دعانا ثم عاملنا برحمتك ذى المعارج
 بالكر وبيين كفى الحيلة وبالرؤسا ذوى العرج
 يعنى مختار واجبه اده وموشم فى ذى العرج
 ومن قال عند المجتبي فما الاخفاء من ذوى العوج
 ومن استجيب منه المصطفى هو من ارتقى اعلى السارج
 ومن قال به المصطفى هو من العلم اعلى السارج
 وفقنا بر حسن الخاتمه ثم بشرنا لى المسوج
 لا تواتنا بما اسانا وان جنينا مثل الحداج
 فاعف واصفح يا منزل العلى بحق النبى منك بالخرفج
 ثبتنا ربي على دينك بحرمته ذى العين الودعج

تمت
 ١٣٥١
 ٣٩

Fig.. 36. A page of Taḍarru'

Handwritten text in Ge'ez script, likely a legal document or note. The text is arranged in several lines across the page, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The document is dated Mäggabit 12/1938 E.C. - 21/03/1946.

Fig. 37. A note dated Mäggabit 12/1938 E.C. -21/03/1946 regarding a dispute between two parties. The judge was Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm.

وباع صا
وربعه انا صالح حسن
للسيد ابراهيم ابن عمه
يقولني الفخر ط يسوي
بها والولنا هدا على ولا
فانسم ابراهيم وحسن
الاسمك الله وقروا
باصبعي

Fig. 39. Bill of sale for a gray mule.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 بعد حمد الله العلام والصلاة والسلام على سيد الانام والارواح
 الكرام مادامت الايام وتواتت النعم الجمام
 الى الجناب المحترم والجميل المعظم والجميل المكرم اعز
 اخينا في الله ومحبنا الله الشيخ ابراهيم عبد الله فلات التمحانه
 تسلي ومكاره تلي هدي هدية سلام وتحيه على حيا بكم العليه
 وحضرتكم السنيه وكيف حالكم العالي وجاتكم العالي فان تفضلتم
 عنا فحن بخير وعافيه فله الحمد واخبرنا الحاج ببعض اوصافكم
 وسرنا عوالمكم واشغالكم ولكن بعد بختنا الذي نرجح للرسيح
 سمعنا سفر فتسولت من غير اختيار وسؤال الدعاء
 فاحرنا ودعونا جهرا وسرا فالمرجو من الله ان يرجع بالسلام
 فبلغوا سلامنا لكل من حضر من الاخوان كالشيخ يوسف والشيخ عمر
 هذا والسلام
 ١٣٦٨ هـ
 على صاحبها افضل الصلوات
 محمد بن عبد
 الله

Fig. 40. A letter written to Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm dated 1368h./1947.

تاریخ همدان ۱۲۵۰ هجرت ۱۹۳۷
محمد بشیر برصناها و سخی ایها بیوسفا
بن حسین از طیب و الشهور و شیخ عمر بن اندری
و الشیخ ابراهیم عسی آمنتو و بشیر هیاهو
و عبد الله فیتامو و ادم اسمو و فیتامو
و المهر مسته تصدق فیها بیاض
الله اعلم

Fig. 43. A marriage agreement.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a message or letter. The text is written on a piece of lined paper and includes several lines of text, some of which are circled or underlined. The script is cursive and appears to be from a historical or religious context.

Fig. 44. A message requesting help from Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo

دخل الا حار قلوب
لحوة يوم الاثنين
لحوة بقيت من
الثاني وضربوا الا
بالدافع الثاني
عن قلوب قلوب
والثاني
من الثاني
و
جنانهم وسراختهم
و...

Fig. 48. A historical note about the Italian conquest of Qullito.

واخل الا حيا في
كوة يوم الاثنين
لغير بقيت من
الثاني وضر بوالا
بالا افه الا با
كنا واولا وكنرا
وا - ه - با
من - ا - با
و
كنا انهم و
ضراء الا و

Fig. 48. A historical note about the Italian conquest of Qullito.

6.3 Analysis of collective genealogical mss.

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

Genealogical documents in Halaba are preserved in both oral and written form. A Halaba genealogy is chiefly patrilineal. It contains the names of all the sons of a certain distant forefather, especially if they are themselves founding fathers of settlements or played an important role in politics. In some cases, daughters are also included, particularly if through their marriages important genealogical links were established. The parts of existing documents of Muḥammad Nāṣr and Maḥdī Ḥusayn dealing with their parents' genealogy show clearly their descendants. Moreover Maḥdī Ḥusayn recorded the genealogical tree of 'Abdulqādir 'Abdulhakīm, drawing on written notes of Sayyid Makkiyyi.

Genealogical linkage may cross ethnic boundaries, resulting in inter-ethnic clan relations. For example, the Halaba and Qābena, who are today geographically far away from each other, are genealogically connected and consider themselves as full brothers. This genealogical connection establishes a strong

tie, which results in the quasi-impossibility of refusing mutual help. Elders, who are the keepers of customary law, may also preserve genealogical knowledge. Sayyid Makkiye's personal, private efforts in the field of genealogy, asking other elders about themselves and even cross-checking with similar ethnicities, succeeded in establishing the so-called شجرة هالبا *Šajaratu Halaba* 'Halaba genealogical tree'. According to Mahdī Ḥusayn, a meeting with elders from the Ṭāmbaro ethnicity was held in 1984E.C. – 1992. The aim of this meeting was to get to know each other better, to strengthen their bilateral relations and to assure a good future for the next generation. This was done in part through comparing their knowledge of their respective ancestors. The following works document the genealogies and biographies of several leading Halaba scholars. I give a great deal of detail; although I cannot personally verify all of the claims below, this can be useful raw material for future scholars.

1) Muḥammad Nāṣr

His biography is recorded by himself in an unpublished compilation *Al-Jawhara al-Dahabiyya fi Tārīḥ al-Šu'ūb Al-Ītyopiyya* 'the golden jewel about the history of the Ethiopian nations'. In the chapter "Biography of the Author", which in the ms. is dated 3/7/1421h.-20/1/1992, he states that he was born in 'Allolaqqa district in Halaba province a few years before the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. Two years after the occupation he moved with his family to Bobbissa, 25km. away. Four years later, as a young boy, he started to learn to recite the Qur'an under Šayḥ Taqiyyuddīn Bašīr. After that he travelled to the Hulbārag area to study under Šayḥ Sa'īd 'Uṭmān, then later he returned to Halaba to continue his studies. Under the local scholar 'Adam Sommono, he

studied jurisprudence *fiqh*; Arabic grammar *Naḥw*, under Mūsā Ḥasan; and *Ḥadīṭ* under Sayyid ‘Alī ‘Umar. On 1/1/1374h / 30-08-1954, he went to Addis Ababa to study with ‘Aḥmad Dalliti. In 1380h.-1960, as a young man, he got a scholarship from the Islamic university of Medina in Saudi Arabia. After he completed the pre-university preparatory program there, he returned home where he began his activities in the ‘Afar region, then going to Jimma, ‘Illubabur, Bāddāle and finally back to his birthplace Halaba. In 1391h.-1970 he established Dār Al-ḥadīṭ, which is generally considered the first public school not only in Halaba but also in the whole southern region of Ethiopia.

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

| No. | Father's lineage | Mother's lineage |
|-----|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Muḥammad Nāṣr | |
| 2 | Ḥamīd (‘Abdulḥakīm) | Zamzam |
| 3 | Šurāmo | Ḥasan |
| 4 | Māltano | ‘Azma Gibato |
| 5 | Ṭoṭiro | ‘Azma Qalbo |
| 6 | Wä’mə’otallo | ‘Azma Šula |
| 7 | Wä’məsāmo | ‘Azma Kašlab |
| 8 | Wä’məmaymoto | ‘Azma Jəgän |
| 9 | Ṭoroda | ‘Azma ‘Alläqero |
| 10 | Bukkanna | Haji ‘Alī |
| 11 | Mänčeno | Haji ‘Umar |
| 12 | ‘Umar | |

According to Muḥammad Nāṣr, a large number of southern Ethiopian ethnicities — Qäbena, Wälene, Gädäbano, Gurage, Silṭe, 'Innäqor, 'Azärnät Barbire, Limmo, 'Indägaññ, Soro, Ṭämbaro, Hadiyya, Kämbata, Hulbärag, Sidama and a part of Oromo, in addition to Halaba — have genealogies that come together in their 12th, 13th, or 14th generation. Muḥammad Nāṣr says this explicitly. He makes this as a general statement; but his work also includes a detailed genealogical comparison of the Halaba and six other similar and neighbouring ethnicities. These ethnicities' genealogies, according to his data, come together some 6 to 16 generations back.

The following table is a comparison done by him of these six other ethnicities alongside his own Halaba lineage. Ancestors marked here in **boldface** indicate where the genealogies meet.

| No. | Halaba | 'Azärnät Bärbär | Qäbena | Kämbata | Hadiyya | Hulbärag | Č'iro |
|-----|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | Muhammad Nāṣr (father's line) | Muhammad Nāṣr (mother's line) | Faḍlu | Jamāl | Yohannəs | Muṣṭafā | Muṣṭafā |
| 2 | Ḥamīd ('Abdulḥakīm) | Zamzam | 'Asfa | Ḥamīd | Loməbebo | 'Abdulwahhab | Maryam |
| 3 | Šurāmo | Ḥasan Takiso | Nigaš | Muḥammad Nūr | Dabbaro | 'Aḥmad Saki | 'Ibrāhīm Qalbato |
| 4 | Mältano | Azma Gibato | Nuru | Šafi Gājibo | Buba | Mando | Gändisu |
| 5 | Ṭoṭiro | Azma Qalbo | Dannäbo | Gəttaññä | Gannamo | Lälisso | Gäddisa |
| 6 | Wä'mə'otallo | Azma Šula | Bitossa | 'Ayyido | Ḥasan | Dullämo | 'Ajama Č'ibta |
| 7 | Wä'məsämo | Azma Dor | Č'äräfo | Molläde | Zuhiso | Gärad Č'ibbato | Kontam Kafəji |
| 8 | Wä'məmaymoto | Azma Kašlab | Marina | Bäddäne | Wä'mə'otallo | 'Ofri | Gəzäč'č'o |
| 9 | Ṭoroda | Azma Jigan | Muzayyin | Dagiro | Wä'məsämo | Ṭaso | Gibalu |
| 10 | Bukkanna | Azma Alliqaro | Sultān | Bašir | Wä'məmaymoto | 'Azzobada | 'Imoše |
| 11 | Mänčeno | Ḥāji 'Alī | Šaffata | Qaṭwiṭo | Ṭoroda | Bukkanna | Gurač'ro |
| 12 | 'Umar | 'Umar | Bukkanna | 'Imano | Bukkanna | Mänčeno | Wazäro |
| 13 | | | Mänčeno | Tiramo | Mänčeno | 'Umar | Mälga 'Egä'lo |
| 14 | | | 'Umar | Waširəmānəčo | 'Umar | | ??? |
| 15 | | | | Ḥan | | | |
| 16 | | | | Mänčeno | | | |

Table no. 7. Comparative genealogies of seven ethnicities.

Note: The maternal line of Muhammad Nāṣr appears twice in the source; there is a small discrepancy between the version given here in table 10 and that given just above in the main text.

As seen above, the genealogical lineage of Muḥammad Nāṣr (column 1) joins with that of Yohannəs of Hadiyya in the 6-8th generation (Wä'mə'otallo), and in the 10-12th generation with Faḍlu of Qäbena and Muṣṭafā of Hulbärag (Bukkanna). In the 12th generation his genealogy interlinks with that of 'Azärnät ('Umar) and in the 16th generation with Jamāl of Käm̄bata (Mänčeno). In the genealogy of Č'iro, I have put "???" at the bottom, because the author does not give any earlier generations. We can guess that "???" might be 'Umar, who is found as the ancestor in the other genealogies; recall that Muḥammad Nāṣr himself mentions (above) that all these ethnicities meet in the 12-14th generation. In the case of Käm̄bata, to be sure, the name of 'Umar is not mentioned explicitly; but he is already known as the father of Mänčeno, who does appear.

2) Mahdī Husayn

He spent the first five years of his life with his father Šayḥ Ḥusayn Nurī learning to recite Qur'an, then he continued with his elder brother Muḥammad. After that he continued studying with his cousin Šayḥ 'Abdurrahmān 'Isā for about a year, then with Šayḥ 'Ogaṭ'ana in 'Aymälle district. He studied with Šayḥ Yusūf 'Abbadanniyy for only one month, and finally with Šayḥ 'Adam Muṣṭafā Gäbäro until completing the whole Qur'an; with Šayḥ 'Adam he also started the fundamental beginner's text of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), *Safīna Al-najā*. He completed *Safīna Al-najā* with Šayḥ Sulaymān in Bärač'č'o district and started the second book of *fiqh*, by 'Abū Šuja', *Matn Al-ğāya wa-l-taqrīb*. He later travelled to Sadda district in the Silṭe area to study under Šayḥ Maḥmūd 'Aḥmad, continuing from where he had stopped in the last course, besides

reading all other Šāfi'ī books of *fiqh* over the next six years. After that he returned home, studying in Battie and Hanša. In addition, for short periods he studied in 'Azārnāt and Qābena. Finally, he travelled to the holy places Mecca and Medina on 25/11/1392h.- 1962 E.C. - 1970. He entered the Dār Al-ḥadiṭ secondary school in Mecca on 9/11/1392h.- 1970 and remained there for about seven years. He then studied eight years in Medina Islamic university, the first four to complete his secondary education, the latter four years for his Bachelor's degree in the faculty of ḥadiṭ and Islamic studies. He completed his academic courses in 1405h.-1406h./1985-1986. Finally, he returned home on 30/1/1407h.-24/1/1979 E.C. - 28/9/1986 and began teaching in the Dār Al-ḥadiṭ Islamic school in Qullito, where he is still working today.

Šayḥ Maḥdī Ḥusayn's lineage is given as a list in his personal diary as follows:

| No. | Father's lineage | Mother's lineage |
|-----|---------------------|------------------|
| 1 | Maḥdī Ḥusayn | |
| 2 | Ḥusayn | Ḥalīma |
| 3 | 'Irgāč'č'o | Rābbo |
| 4 | Dālkər | Šola |
| 5 | Ṭorašä | Dadäso |
| 6 | Gänno | Lemmosä |
| 7 | Mändino | Jigäna |
| 8 | Dillaba | Maqqe |
| 9 | Ṭamaraddīn | Bamo |
| 10 | Hawaše | Qač'č'ito |
| 11 | Side | Nūr Yusūf |
| 12 | 'Alloše | 'Aḥmad Al-Bārī |
| 13 | Naṣraddīn | |
| 14 | Mahmūd | |
| 15 | □Umar | |

Starting from the 10th generation of his mother's lineage Qač'č'ito, some details are given in prose discussion; the discussion partly disagrees with the above list. Qač'č'ito had four sons: Bamo, Gumbanna, Nabitta, and Duwätta. Bamo's son is stated to be Lemmosä, who in turn had two sons: Humam and Dadäso. Here, two ancestors (Maqqe and Jigäna) are skipped and unmentioned. Dadäso begot three children, two sons and one daughter: Tära, Šola and Jamīla. The middle son Šola had only one son, Rābbo, who was the grandfather of Maḥdī Husayn on his mother's side.

3) 'Abdulqādir 'Abdulhakīm

Alongside his own personal genealogy, Maḥdī Husayn also recorded the genealogy of Šayḥ 'Abdulqādir 'Abdulhakīm, quoting it from written notes by Sayyid Makkiyye.

Šayḥ 'Abdulqādir 'Abdulhakīm was born in Lenda district, Halaba province, in 1301h.-1880 and passed away on 15/4/1413h.- 1992 in Medina, Saudi Arabia.

His genealogical lineage is as follows:

'Abdulqādir → 'Abdulhakīm → Banata → Duwayy → 'Atalä → 'Abbiyu → Sulṭān → Ṭamaraddīn → 'Alī → Naṣraddīn → Maḥmūd → 'Umar.

In his field research in 1972-74, Ulrich Braukämper met three Halaba notables, 'Imām Kalto Gäraro, Balambāras 'Uṭmān Sittamo and Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo. He recorded their lineages in his book *Geschichte der Hadiya*, appendix II, pp. 414-423. Since my thesis focuses on Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo, I have given here his genealogy based on two sources, i.e. both Braukämper and the Šayḥ's own written records (the two sources do not agree completely). First I give the following lineages of Kalto Gäraro and 'Uṭmān Sittamo, as presented by Braukämper.

4) Kalto Gäraro

His lineage is as follows:

Kalto → Gäraro → Kibrammo → Woše → Lagä → 'Aibiddo → Ramso → Moč'č'ä → Hamdä → 'Azmaro → Darämu → 'Allošä → Našraddīn → 'Umar.

'*Imām* Kalto was born in Hulluqo district and lived at different places in the vicinity of Qullito. As to his title of '*Imām*', he did not have a high Islamic school education but rather bore his title as a *Gäriiba* 'a follower of Šayḥ Nūr Husayn' who made frequent pilgrimages to his mausoleum in 'Anajina district, Bale region. His ancestors lived in Qullito going back to Aibiddo. His 7th-generation ancestor Ramso lived in Womba south of the Dagossa River, and left because of the violent penetration of the Lemmo to Hulbärag. Ramso's father and grandfather, Moč'č'ä and Hamdä, stayed in present Lemmo. Going back further, 'Azmaro roamed as a nomad between 'Ilgära (at present Badawwaččo) and Waččamo. Darämu and 'Allošä lived in Sidama country. As for Našraddīn, people say that he and his ancestors were Qurayš Arabs who lived in Barigamma in Arabia.

5) 'Uṭmān Sittamo

His lineage is as follows:

'Uṭmān → Sittamo → Gugabo → 'Anəgago → Gallačo → Boltänno → 'Aibiddo → Galammo → Kormä → Ṭadde → Kalläl → Hamaddo → Šabbo → Šammaṇa → Sulto → Haji Nāšr → Šabarkallä.

'Uṭmān was from the sharific clan of Šammaṇa Hamado. He was born in about 1911 in Ṭuqqa district and later moved to the neighbouring Ṭeffo. He was a second-generation Muslim and was appointed by the government as *Balabbat*.

The Amharas gave this title first to his father Sittamo, who was born in the vicinity of Tikare on the west bank of the River Bəlatte.

6) 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo

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

'Ibrāhīm → 'Abdulla → 'Affūšo → Gäddamo → Duwayyi → Gänno (f) → Mändid → Dillaba → Tamaraddīn → Hawaše → Side → Halloše → Nāṣr → Maḥmūd → 'Umar.

His grandfather 'Affūšo spent his whole life in Lenda and Qullito whereas his wife originated from Hulbārag. Gäddamo was born in Yədāraq (Hulbārag) and died in Qullito. Duwayyi was born in the border area in Mafda between 'Innāmor and 'Indägaññ and died in Yədāraq. Gänno and Mändid spent their lives near Mafda. Dillaba moved from 'Ilgära (today Badawaččo) to Waččamo (today Leemo). Tamaraddīn and Hawaše wandered as nomads between the Sidama area and 'Ilgära-Ṭāmbaro. A shrine to *Side* existed in Dangāwura in 'Innāqor. Halloše and Nāṣr lived in Sidama. The ancestors before Nāṣr lived in Arabia. (As already noted, the above information follows Braukämper.)

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

'Umar → 'Uṭmān → 'Aḥmad 'Abādir → 'Uṭmān → 'Abd Al-Nāṣr → Nawfal → 'Ismā'il Al-Jabartī → 'Aḥmad Al-Badawī → 'Alī → 'Ibrāhīm → Zubayr → Muḥammad → 'Abd Al-Nūr → Hāšim → Mūsā → 'Abūbakar → 'Ismā'il →

'Umar → 'Alī → Nūr → Šāliḥ → Ya'qob → 'Abdul'azīz → 'Idrīs → 'Abdulla Kāmil → 'Ismā'īl → 'Umar → 'Alī → 'Uṭmān → Husayn → Muhammad → Mūsā → Yahyā → 'Isā → 'Alī → Muhammad → Hasan Al-Ḥālīš → 'Alī Al-Hādī → Muhammad Al-Jawād → Muḥammad Al-Bāqir → 'Alī Al-Riḍā → Mūsā Al-Kāzīm → Ja'far → Ja'far Al-Šādiq → Muhammad Al-Bāqir → 'Alī Zaynu l-'Ābidīn → Husayn → 'Ali bin 'Abī Ṭālib (the companion of the Prophet).

The following description gives the family background of Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo as he himself presents it. Note that there are small differences compared to Braukämper's account. In the following, the abbreviation "ḥ" = *ḥaji*, and "w" = *wom*, a traditional title for a leader. The symbol → means "going back in time"; thus x → y means "y is the father of x".

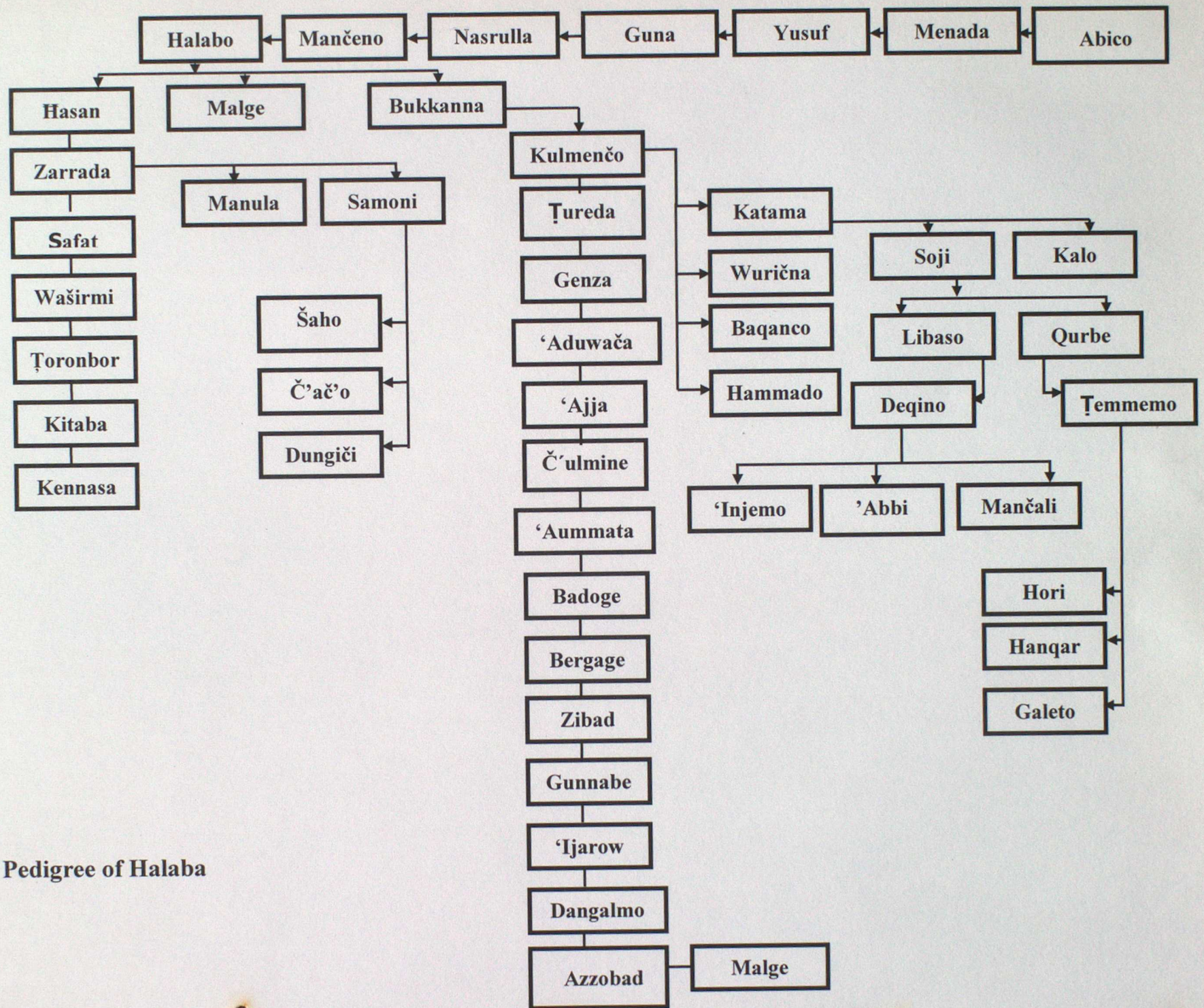
- 1 'Ibrāhīm → 'Abdullah Affūšo → Guddamo → Duwwayyi → Ginno (f).
- 2 Ginno (f) → Mandid → Dillaba → Ṭamaruddīn → Hawaši → Nāšr → ḥ.Maḥmūd → ḥ.'Umar → ḥ.Aḥmad → ḥ.'Uṭmān → Abdu Nāšr → Nawfal → Nuḥli → 'Ismā'īl Jabartī (there is a popular story that 'Ismā'īl's mother was a sister of Sayyid Aḥmad Al-Badawī, a popular saint of Harar).
- 3 Children of Affūšo ('Ibrāhīm's father): 'Ibrāhīm, Mešuri, Mesur, Ḥalīma (f), Zemzema (f), Sa'īd, 'Umar, Muḥammad, Ḥadīja (f) and Nurī.
- 4 Children of Guddamo ('Ibrāhīm Affūšo's grandfather): Affūšo, Māntoṇe (f), Qellaṭe (f), 'Igilli, Mandari (f), 'Edbe (f) and Fesase (f).
- 5 Duwwayyi ('Ibrāhīm Affūšo's great-grandfather) → w.'Ušāno (m) → w.Hogusso → w.Maymot → Mandiqa → Zogo → Samu → Baddala → Asfañ → As'e Zar'a Ya'qob. (Note the presence of Zar'a Ya'qob in this

list!).

- 6 Children of Duwayyi: Guddamo, Bardengo, Ajma (f) and Aršema (f).
- 7 Children of Bardengo: Zakiro and Anemo.
- 8 Children of Side (Ibrāhīm Affušo's 10th-generation ancestor): Hawaši, Allere (his sons are many in Leemo), 'Imirre (he married the daughter of Inniqamt Gummery) and Gebrehenne (he married the daughter of the Čäha Mägäñe).
- 9 Child of Hawaši: Tamaraddīn.
- 10 Children of Tamaraddīn: Dillaba, Gongina, Nurī, Silṭamo, Mandaqqa, Jigan and Bussa (f) (she married 'Uṭmān 'Abār and had nine children).
- 11 Wives of Dillaba:
 - 1) 'Ite Č'altu: child w.Arago.
 - 2) Gessere: children Hano and Maqase.
 - 3) Wayzera Dilli Abremo: children Mandida, Larebo, Jimato, Tebille, and Mač'et (f).
 - 4) 'Ite Belikka: child Seṭəñ.

6.4 Pedigree of Halaba

The Halaba ethnicity is mentioned briefly in ms. 3, page 29, of Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affušo. He mentions an eponymous ancestor named Halabo, and his descendants. Further detail can be found in notes written by Maḥdī, who takes his information from Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affušo. Sayyid Makkiyyi also drew the genealogical tree of the ethnicity based on study and discussion with the elders, specifically the educated and clan chiefs (see sec. 7.3 above). The following chart presents the pedigree of Halaba as is recorded by Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affušo in ms. 3, page 29.



Pedigree of Halaba

According to Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo, the Halaba are composed of three groups: the Hasan, the Bukkanna, and the Malge. He gives genealogical details for Hasan and Bukkanna but not for Malge; for Malge, he states only that Malge's descendants are numerous in Sidamo. Braukämper presents this somewhat differently: "Malge is supposed to be the location of the grave of Hasan, a leading personality who lived about 13 generations ago, i.e. about 1600, and who gave his name to the (tribal) division of the Hasan Alaba.¹¹ The descendants of Bukkanna, who goes back to another line originating in the common tribal ancestor Alābo (Halābo), are also included under this name. In the region of Malge a further part of the people split off and ethnically joined the Oromo-speaking Guji. The northern Guji, whose name for themselves is Hallo, are generally called by their neighbors as Alabdu or Aladdu, and by the Darassa also as Alabatta (sg. Alabicco), a circumstance due to their mixture with the Alabas" (Braukämper 1980:176-177). Note that for Braukämper, "Malge" is apparently a place-name, not a person or an ethnicity.

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

Chapter Seven – Epilogue

7.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

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

This work, I hope, has opened up new discoveries and information about Halaba Muslim culture and Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo. Further philological studies on other Halaba scholars are certainly desirable.

Some recommendations follow:

1. Collecting all locally distributed mss. found in private homes under one roof, to facilitate further study and protect them from deterioration.
2. Publishing the Arabic sources for the genealogy and history of the Halaba.
3. Last but not least, much more research needs to be done on the Southern Nations and Nationalities Region, and on Halaba in particular, in order to open up to scholarship the huge treasure of mss. in the region and province.

7.2 Informants

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

- 1 'Abdurrahmān 'Ibrāhīm 'Ənjajjo (Šayḥ), 72 years old, BA in Islamic studies from Islamic University, Medina, Saudi Arabia. Well-educated and active in teaching not only in his province but also in the region as a whole.
- 2 'Abdurrahmān Daḥmān Bā-Šāmī, 48 years old, an intelligent and honest businessman. He is of Arab origin, and speaks Arabic, Amharic and fluent Halaba.
- 3 'Abdulla Ḥusayn (Šayḥ), 65 years old, MA in Islamic studies from 'Ummu l-Qurā University, Mecca, Saudi Arabia. 'Imām and ḥaṭīb of the Al-Jabartī mosque in Halaba, director of Jabartī school.
- 4 'Aḥmaddīn 'Uṭmān (Šayḥ), 70 years old, MA in Islamic studies from 'Ummu l-Qurā University, Mecca, Saudi Arabia. 'Imām and ḥaṭīb of the Al-Nūr mosque, teacher in Jabartī school.
- 5 'Asmā 'Ibrāhīm 'Affūšo, 67 years old, the eldest son of Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm. He has gathered a great deal of information about his father. All of the present mss. are in his possession.
- 6 'Awwal □Uṭmān, 58 years old, BA in Islamic studies from Islamic University, Medina, Saudi Arabia. Schoolteacher, preacher and 'Imām in Bilāl mosque. He owns some mss. of his uncle Šayḥ Ḥusayn bin 'Ibrāhīm, which helped me in telling his story.
- 7 Maḥdī Ḥusayn (Šayḥ), 65 years old, teacher and co-'Imām. Close relative of Šayḥ 'Ibrāhīm. He was in close contact with him, and copied and heard from him much about Halaba history and genealogy.

- 8 Muḥammad Nāṣr 'Abdulhakīm (Šayḥ), 76 years old, teacher, cleric, researcher and author of unpublished book *Al-Jawhara Ad-dahabiyya fi Tāriḥ al-Šu'ūb al-Iṭyobiyya*.
- 9 Muḥammad Nūr 'Awwal Yusūf (Šayḥ), 80 years old, 'Imām and teacher. He was a contemporary of the leading Halaba scholars of the previous generation, and he also knows about earlier generations of scholars.
- 10 'Umar Bāsikkīr (Šayḥ), 90 years old, businessman. He has a good memory for narrating the early days of the Arabs in Halaba.
- 11 Sirāj Warraqe 'Abdulla (Šayḥ), 48 years old, a popular *Manzūma* reciter of the younger generation.
- 12 Wulč'afo Jamāl, 48 years old, well-educated researcher and local official.
- 13 Yusūf Ḥusayn (Šayḥ), 63 years old, MA in Islamic studies from 'Ummu l-Qurā University, Mecca, Saudi Arabia. 'Imām and *ḥaṭīb* in Dār Al-Ḥadīṭ mosque and director of Dār Al-Ḥadīṭ Islamic school.

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