

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

MISK AL-ʾAḌFAR: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF A TEXT ABOUT ŠAYḤ JAʿFAR BUKKO (1793 - 1860)

BY

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Philology

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Abstract

This thesis presents a philological and content analysis of the Arabic manuscript *Misk al-Aḏfar fi Manāqib Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko* (The Pungent Musk on the deeds of Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko, the sword of truth) written by Faqīh Muḥammad, the youngest son of Šayḫ Jaʿfar. The manuscript and the thesis deal with the life and times of an outstanding 19th-century Sufi cleric, scholar and religious revivalist of Wällo, Šayḫ Jaʿfar Bukko. *Misk al-Aḏfar* is a hagiographical work dealing with Šayḫ Jaʿfar and his contemporaries, along with many other associated events that happened at that time in and around the region where the Šayḫ lived. Moreover, this research investigates Šayḫ Jaʿfar's religious reform activities directed against the traditional religious and secular authorities of the region. To this end, Šayḫ Jaʿfar fought against Emperor Tewodros II who ravaged Wallo in the second half of the 19th century.

Accordingly, this study describes the philological and content feature of the manuscript, *Misk al-Aḏfar*, including translation and analysis of selected portions of the ms that deal with the social and political history of 19th century Wallo.

Abbreviations

AH	After Hijra
F (fl.)	Folio
IRCC	Islamic Research and Cultural Center
Ms(s)	Manuscript(s)
R	Recto
V	Verso

Transliteration

Arabic Consonants

Consonant	Symbol	Example	Transliteration	Gloss
أ	ʾ	أمر	ʾamr	'order'
ب	b	بعض	baʿḍ	'some'
ت	t	تحت	taḥt	'below'
ث	ṯ	ثاني	ṯānī	'second '
ج	J	جاء	jāʾa	'come'
ح	ḥ	حق	ḥaqq	'truth'
خ	ḫ	خيل	ḫayl	'horse'
د	d	دليل	dalīl	'evidence'
ذ	ḏ	ذهب	ḏahaba	'leave'
ر	r	رجع	rajaʿa	'return'
ز	z	زكاة	zakāt	'alms'
س	s	سماء	samāʾ	'sky'
ش	š	شمس	šams	'sun'
ص	ṣ	صلاة	ṣalāt	'prayer'
ض	ḍ	ضبع	ḍabʿ	'hyena'
ط	ṭ	طين	ṭīn	'mud'
ظ	ẓ	ظلم	ẓulm	'wrong'
ع	ʿ	عرش	ʿarš	'throne'

غ	ġ	غريب	ġarīb	‘strange’
ف	f	فتح	fataḥa	‘open’
ق	q	قتل	qatala	‘kill’
ك	k	كلام	kalām	‘speech’
ل	l	لقب	laqab	‘title’
م	m	ملك	malik	‘king’
ن	n	نفس	nafs	‘soul’
ه	h	هرب	haraba	‘escape’
و	w	وسط	wasaṭ	‘middle’
ى	y	يوم	yawm	‘day’

Arabic Vowels

Short Vowels

Vowel	Symbol	Example	Transliteration	Gloss
ـَـ	a	مرض	maraḍ	‘illness’
ـُـ	u	كتب	kutub	‘books’
ـِـ	I	مفتاح	miftāḥ	‘key’

As is common in many western sources, I have everywhere transcribed the definite article as *al-* (ignoring the difference between *šamsiyya* and *qamariyya*).

Long Vowels

Vowel	Symbol	Example	Transliteration	Gloss
ا ـَـ	ā	عارف	ʿārif	'informed'
ي ـِـ	ī	طين	ṭīn	'mud'
و ـُـ	ū	مؤمنون	muʾminūn	'believers'

Amharic Consonants

Consonant	Symbol	Ajami letter	Example	Gloss
ቸ	č	ش	ča	'sound to discourage horse'
ጭ	č'	ششّ	č'āt	'chʾat'
ኘ	ň	ني	zäbäňň	'guard'
ገ	g	ڭ	abagār	'ritual man'
ቀ	q	ق	qes	'priest'

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Chapter One

1.1 Background

Ethiopia and the South Arabian world have experienced a strong historical and cultural interdependence since ancient times. The introduction of Islam into the Ethiopian region resulted in a substantial and diversified literary culture. Despite the clear political and cultural dominance of Christianity, Islam has left its mark on Ethiopian culture.

Related to Islam and Muslims a clear gap is observed in the area of Ethiopian studies (Hussein Ahmed 2001: xiii). In Ethiopia Islam played a significant socio-historical role starting from its introduction to the region. Intentionally or unintentionally or because of other factors Ethiopian Muslim history in Ethiopian studies has been ignored or paid little attention to until recently. The consequence of this omission has led to erroneous misconceptions about Muslims and Islam in Ethiopia. Scholars agree that Arabic as a literary language has had a distinguished position in both Islamic and Christian Ethiopian culture (Gori 2006:1; Ullendorff 1965:137; Leslau 1990: ix).

Islam, in spite of its long history in Ethiopia since 615 A.D, has always been given a secondary status and its contribution was marginalized. Abraham Demoz stated that it is hard to believe that Islam after its long presence in Ethiopia has not left any more positive literary influence on Ethiopian culture (1972:10). It should be noted that the Arabic influence on (Christian) literature in Ethiopia had nothing to do with Islam, in contrast to the influence of Arabic on local literatures in other parts of the world.

The impact of Arabic on Ge'ez was due to the simple fact that Ethiopian Christian theology had a strong tie with the Coptic Church of Egypt. As a result of this contact many Arabic words were borrowed by many Ethiopian languages, especially Semitic. It is an accepted fact that Ge'ez speakers had a

continuous contact either with Arabic speakers or Muslims of the region (Leslau 1990: ix). In fact the importance of Arabic was not only for Islam and Muslims, but the language also had a special position in the literature of Ethiopian Christianity. Extensive amount of Christian religious texts in Arabic were brought from Coptic Egypt and were translated into Geʿez like *Wuddase Māryām, Ḥaymānot ʾAbaw, Gadla Ḥawāryāt* and *Fetḥa Nagast* (Ullendorff 1965: 139 ff.). Emperor Zar'a Ya'kob in his reform ordered numerous theological works to be translated from Arabic.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of Ethiopian history and culture a philological study of Arabic manuscripts is essential. Without assigning an appropriate position to Islam and Muslims it is unthinkable to have complete and reliable historical and cultural evidence about Ethiopia (Nuraddīn 2007:1). Arabic manuscripts have been written by Muslim scholars from the time that Arabic language domination began.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Because Ethiopia is the home of diversified ethnic and religious groups, it is necessary to give due attention to each of them for the reconstruction of a full picture of Ethiopian history. In this respect collecting, preserving, analysing and describing cultural, socio-economical and historical contributions of individual Muslim scholars is one step forward. This thesis thus tries to bring to light the life and times of *Šayḫ* Jaʿfar Bukko of Gāttirā by examining his hagiography.

1.3 Research Questions

The research is aimed at answering the following questions:

- Who is *Šayḫ* Jaʿfar Bukko?
- What was his cultural and intellectual legacy?
- How can we use the hagiographical ms about him in order to study his contribution?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

- To introduce a new documented source (*Misk al-Aḏfar*) for the documentation of Ethiopian philology and history.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- To investigate the life and times of Šayḫ Jaʿfar Bukko by examining the ms, which gives his biography (*manāqib*).

1.5 Methodology

A variety of methods have been undertaken to attain an effective text description and analysis of the manuscript. The main source was the ms itself, which was studied using standard philological methods. Oral sources included interviews with people who knew something about the *Šayḫ*. A general field study was conducted at Gāttirā and the surrounding areas in South Wallo. Through the field study I discovered the manuscript in the possession of Šayḫ Jaʿfar Bukko's family, and filmed it with digital camera. Moreover, written secondary sources were used for background.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This research deals primarily with the manuscript about Šayḫ Jaʿfar Bukko of Gāttirā written by his youngest son, Faqīh Muḥammad, entitled *Misk al-Aḏfar fi manāqib Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko* (The pungent Musk on the deeds of Šayḫ Jaʿfar, the sword of truth). I have focused on the text description and content analysis, giving lengthy excerpts from the ms but with no attempt at a complete text edition.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

Some practical problems that were faced were the difficulty to look for the original manuscript, due to the distance and inaccessibility of the research area

where the manuscript was found, and the lack of trust from the owners of the manuscript (Šayḫ Jaʿfar's descendants). On the other hand, (not surprisingly) I found no informants who had eyewitness information about Šayḫ Jaʿfar, since the time was a century and half ago. I had to rely exclusively on the information from the manuscript, because whatever anybody told me about the Šayḫ was based on the manuscript. Finally, the manuscript is difficult in its writing style; it is a long prose narrative without any clear demarcation between topics and a jumble of stories and events. This situation made the ms hard to understand; it consumed much time and energy, and made the study slower than it would otherwise have been.

1.8 Review of Literature

In recent decades the study of Islam and Muslim history in Ethiopia has gained increasing attention. The Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University has collected and continues to collect a number of manuscripts from the well-known Muslim regions of Harar and Wallo. The history of Muslim clerics has been dealt with by both native and foreign academic scholars and by learned Ethiopian Muslim šayḫs in both published and unpublished works.

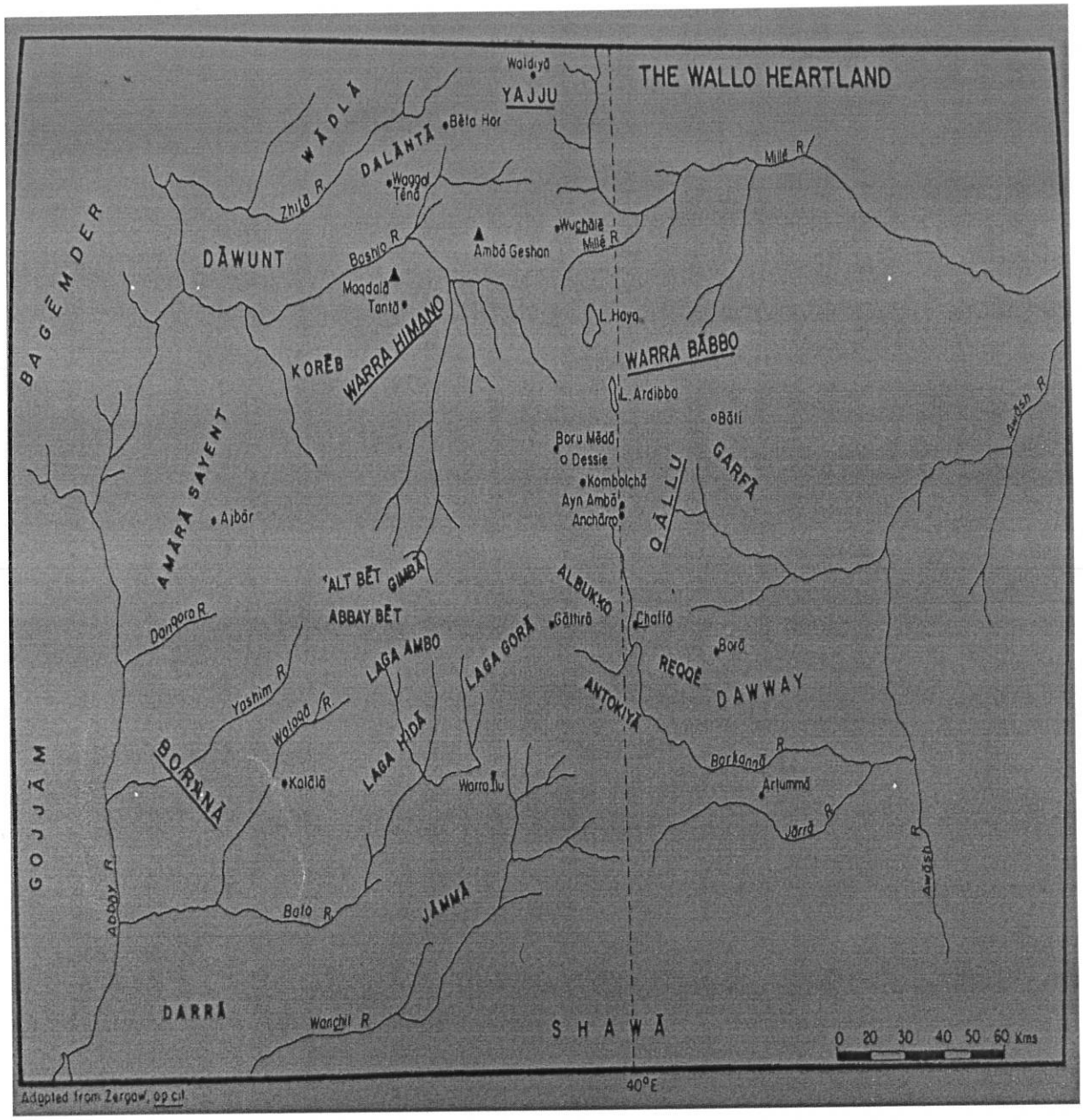
Cerulli did the pioneering work in the collecting of Arabic manuscripts of Ethiopia, especially from Harar. A series of articles from his collection were published in the 1930's and 1940's (Gori 2006:3). Other scholars have studied both Arabic and non-Arabic (ajami) Muslim mss in Ethiopia, such as Conti Rossini, Wagner, and more recently Gori. The work of Rex O'Fahey, Hussein Ahmed and Ewald Wagner has further enriched our knowledge of Arabic and non-Arabic writings related to Islam (O'Fahey 2003).

Trimingham's book *Islam in Ethiopia* (1952) has maintained its distinguished position as a seminal comprehensive monograph concerning Islam. After Trimingham's study research on Islam in Ethiopia remained relatively sparse up to the 1990's. An article entitled 'Muslim and Islam in Ethiopic Literature' by

Abraham Demoz in 1972 may be mentioned here in this regard. The more recent progress of research and publication on Islam in Ethiopia was surveyed by Hussein Ahmed in his paper (2009) entitled 'The Coming of Age of Islamic Studies in Ethiopia: The Present State of Research and Publication.' Other works relevant to the subject are a growing number of BA and MA theses.

Because of absence or problems of publication it is difficult to bring to light the works of Ethiopian '*ulamā*'s. Few works by the scholars have been printed in Ethiopian periodicals. Recently biographical works about '*ulamā*' have been written e.g. by authors like Ḥāji Muḥammad Wale (2005), Ḥāji Bašīr Dāwūd (2010) and Ḥāji Muḥammad Tājuddin (unpublished ms). The opening of the philology program at Addis Ababa University in 2005 has opened up an enormous prospect to advance the study. Over the last seven years there have been more than 20 MA theses in philology based on Arabic and ajami manuscripts. In a bird's eye view all of the theses could be categorized into two broad divisions: some of them have focused on the historical legacy and contribution of the '*ulamā*'s, while others have worked on individual manuscripts in light of philological analysis and description.

Regarding Šayḫ Jaʿfar Bukko I have seen only three works. (There is no article about him in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica.*) The first, written by the late professor Hussein Ahmed, is a short hagiographic description of the Šayḫ's work and reform efforts (1984; see also 2001: 101-104, 194-197). The second is a published biographical collection of Ethiopian Muslim scholars by Ḥājī Muḥammad Wale. The third is an unpublished hagiographical account of Ethiopian Muslim scholars by Šayḫ Muḥammad Tājuddin. But there has been no explicitly philological work done on the manuscript of *Misk al-Aḏfar*, which is devoted to the šayḫ's biography. In this thesis I investigate this manuscript from a philological point of view.



Map: Central and Southern Wallo (source: Hussein Ahmed 2001: 7)

Chapter Two

Biography of Sayf al-Ḥaqq Šayḫ Jaʿfar bin Ṣiddīq Bukko

2.1 Family Background and Early Life

The main source for Šayḫ Jaʿfar's biography is the manuscript under study, written by his son, Faqīh Muḥammad ibn Sayf al-Ḥaqq, *Misk al-Aḍfar fi Manāqib Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko* (The pungent Musk on the virtues of Šayḫ Jaʿfar, the sword of truth)[1]. I also made use of interviews with the Šayḫ's family (especially his great-granddaughter's husband)[2], students of his grandson (Muḥammad Sulṭān ibn Faqīh Muḥammad) and others who know about him. I also used written hagiographical accounts of Ethiopian Muslim scholars and academic research works. The first is a published compendium of Ethiopian Muslim scholars by Ḥajī Muḥammad Wale[3]. The second is an unpublished hagiographical account of Ethiopian Muslim scholars by Šayḫ Muḥammad Tājuddin[4]. Other academic works are a published book and an article by Hussein Ahmed[5].

Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar bin Ṣiddīq Bukko al-Gāttiri al-Garādowuyi was born in 1208 A.H./1793 A.D. in south Wallo in Qāllu, district of Garādo,[6] in the village of Gadāmu. His father, Šayḫ Ṣiddīq Bukko, was a highly respected person who can be mentioned among the chains of this scholarly family. It is

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[1] The biography of Šayḫ Ja'far is highly dependent on the manuscript (*Misk al-Aḍfar*) since he lived about four generations back. Whenever I found anyone from his family, his students of students or others they told me that they didn't know anything about him beyond the information written in the manuscript.

[2] Šayḫ Sayfu Aḥmad: currently he is the šayḫ in Gāttirā where Šayḫ Ja'far lived. He was my principal informant.

[3] *Ḥājī* Muḥammad Wale, *Kitāb ʾĪqāẓ himam al-ʾAġbiyāʾ*

[4] Šayḫ Muḥammad Tajuddīn , *Iʿlām al-ʾAġbiyāʾ bi-ḥayāt ʿuẓamāʾ Ityūbiyā min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-ʾawliyāʾ wa-salāṭīn al-ʾaṣfiyāʾ*

[5] Hussein Ahmed, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Reform, Revival and Reaction* and 'Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wallo'.

[6] Garādo is found in south Wallo, 5 km south of Dessie.

also mentioned in the manuscript that Ṣiddīq Bukko met Šayḫ Ṣābir (according to Šayḫ Šaraf al-Dīn of Dagar, Šayḫ Ṣābir was one of Imām Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm's (*Grāñ's*) companions in the 16th century).[7] Ṣiddīq Bukko saw *Ḫaḍir* (*al-ḫaḍir*)[8] who ordered him to perform some rituals and prophesied that he would have an important child. Šayḫ Ṣiddīq Bukko did many miracles and he used to say:

أدنى الكرامات التي أعطانى ربي أن أسمع كلام الملائكة في السموات[9]

ʾadnā al-karāmāti ʾallatī ʾaʿaṭānī rabbī ʾan ʾasmaʿa kalāma al-malāʾikati fī al-samāwāti

'The lowest of the miracles my Lord gave me is to hear the speech of the angels in heaven'

As the author describes, he was uneducated (*wa-kāna ʾummiyan* وكان اميا) but nevertheless he could read and perform miracles.[10] He said to his children:

ما يظهر عليكم فإنما هو من كراماتي وما كان منكم فا نظروه على أولادكم[11]

mā yaẓharu ʿalaykum fa-ʾinnamā huwa min karāmātī wa-mā kāna minkum fa-nẓurū-hu ʿalā ʾawlādikum

'Whatever appears to you is from my miracles (*karāmāt*), and whatever miracles you may have, look for them in your children'.

---

[7] There is a chronological discrepancy of some two or three centuries here; the manuscript addresses the problem by saying that Šayḫ Ṣiddīq Bukko lived an extremely long life.

[8] A.J. Wensinck. (1987). Al-Khaḍir. In *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936.* (Vol. 4, pp. 861-865): "Al-Khaḍir, the name of a popular figure, who plays a prominent part in legend and story. Al-Khaḍir is properly an epithet ('the green man'); this was in time forgotten and this explains the secondary form Khiḍr (about 'the green'), which in many places has displaced the primary form. Legends and stories regarding al-Khaḍir are primarly associated with the Kur'anic story in sūra xviii 59-81."

[9] *Misk*, pp. 9-10.

[10] It is hard to understand how someone could be both illiterate and able to read.

[11] *Misk*, p. 9.

His heroism was revealed while confronting the local ruler of Hibanu, Abba Matu the Sultan of Qāllu and Sultan Birru. When a soldier of Hibanu plundered his village the local residents ran away and left their homes and property but Ṣiddīq Bukko determined to confront the robbers. Ṣiddīq Bukko had nine children, five sons and four daughters. The sons are Yāsīn, Jaʿfar, Qāsim, Mūsā and ʿAlī. His genealogy shows his Oromo background beginning with an Arab origin[12]. It is believed that Ṣiddīq Bukko lived a long life. He died in 1215 A.H./1801 A.D. and was buried in Garādo.

Šayḫ Jaʿfar was raised and lived until adulthood in Garādo. He married his first wife, ʿĀʾišā, in Garādo. Inspired by *Ḫaḍir* (*al-Ḫaḍir*) and *Abbā* Muḥammad[13] (a local mystic) he left his farming occupation and became a full-time *ʿalim*. At that time he was recommended to move southward to the *Dagā* (highland) region of Wallo, to the district of Lagā Gorā. He settled in Addis Ambā for ten years where he married his second wife, ʾAbabāya. Abba Dāgat, the local chief, granted him land there on which he settled. He had seven children with his second wife, ʾAbabāya. Because of the local shortage of firewood[14] he moved from Addis Ambā to Gāttirā where he stayed for twenty-five years and established a mosque. He finally moved to Jāmmā where he lived for about one year until his death. He had five sons and four daughters.[15] They are: Šayḫ Bušrā, Šayḫ Ṭahir, Šayḫ Muḥammad Faqīh (the author of *Misk al-Aḏfar*), Šayḫ Maḥmūd, Šayḫ Bašīr and Taqiyya, Marḍiyya, Asiya, and Muntahā, sons and daughters respectively. All of his sons were *ʿulamāʾ* (scholars).

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[12] According to an oral account his recent genealogy includes people called *Didu*, *Funnti* and *Galabo*. These are Oromiffa names which mean disobedience, flat nose and evening respectively. It is believed that their forefather Ḥummad came from the Arab world.

[13] Informant: Šayḫ Sayfu Aḥmad.

[14] Informant: Šayḫ Sayfu Aḥmad.

[15] I found a reference that the Šayḫ had two other children from a "secret wife".

2.2 His Education

At an early age he learned Qur'an from Šayḫ Dāwūd al-Gadāmi. He learned *al-Jalālayn* 'book of Qur'an exegesis' from Šayḫ 'Ukkāšā al-Gadāmi (father of Šayḫ Dāwūd al-Gadāmi), a student of Mufti al-Anām,[16] and from the celebrated Šayḫ Al-Hāji Mujāhid.[17] Šayḫ Ja'far used to say, I am the judgment and destiny of Allah.[18] Referring to this statement, Al-Hāji Mujāhid named Ja'far Bukko as Sayf al-Ḥaqq/Sayf al-Qaḍā'. Šayḫ Ja'far was called *Abba Qundāl* as *kunya* (agnomen).[19] The *qundāl* as a mark of reputation was also used by some of his very prominent friends like *Sayyid Aba* Muḥammad Nūr.[20]

He learned *fiqh* in his youth from the book *Abi Šujā' matn al-ġāya wa-l-taqrīb* (the book of purpose and familiarization) by Aḥmad bin Ḥussein bin Aḥmad Al-'Iṣfahānī (d. 1172); his teacher was Muftī al-Anām (Muftī Dāwūd d. 1819). He then learned the commentary to *Abi Šuja'* and *'Umdat Al-Sālik wa-'Uddat Al-nāsik* 'support for the traveller and preparation for the pious' from the same Šayḫ. He would say, I (subsequently) learned *Minhāj Al-Ṭālibīn* 'the method for questioners' by Al-Nawawī (d. 1277) from Šayḫ Aḥmad *Atti* (Muftī al-Anām's student) in just eight months.[21] All of these are *fiqh* texts. He also studied *al-I'rāb al-'Ajurrumiyya* '(morphology) parse of the book of *'Ajurrumiyya*' and

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[16] Muḥammad Sa'īd (2007). This title is given to the well-known scholar of the 18th-19th century Muftī Dāwūd (1743-1819). Literally, *Muftī al-Anām* means jurist of the entire Muslim nation. The title was given by his contemporaries in recognition of his excellent learning, high moral qualities and intellectual prominence.

[17] His name was Muḥammad ibn Faqīh Aḥmad from Ifat.

[18] *Misk,* p. 68.

[19] The ms does not explain the word *qundāl*, which is perhaps an Oromo word, but it does say that the *qundāl* was something Šayḫ Ja'far would put on his head as a mark of identity; no one used it before him.

[20] *Misk,* p. 22.

[21] Atti is the name of a place near Warababoo in north Wallo. As my informant *Šayḫ* Jamāl said, *Šayḫ* Ja'far's completion of *Minhāj* in only eight months indicates his remarkable intelligence, as it is a voluminous text and normally requires much time.

Mulḥa al-iʿrāb 'witticism in parsing Arabic grammar' under Šayḫ 'Umar Dālatti, a student of Muftī al-Anām.

Šayḫ Jaʿfar specialized in *ʿIlm al-Tawḥīd* 'theology', *Fiqh al-Šāfiʿi'* 'jurisprudence based on *Šāfiʿi'* school of thought', *Tafsīr* 'Qur'an exegesis', *taṣawwuf* 'Sufism' and *ḏikr*. He taught in these fields of specialization.

He was an outstanding reader. If he had spare time he read and wrote. Especially he wrote at night because in most cases his daytime hours were engaged by social responsibilities like settling disputes in his community.[22] Since he was fond of reading he would open and read several books at the same time. He used to say:

إذا التفت العالم عن النظر فى الكتاب لحظة فكأنما انصب جامّ من سمن على الأرض[23]

ʾiḏā ltafata al-ʿālimu ʿan al-naẓar fī al-kitāb laḥẓatan fa-ka-ʾannamā ʾinṣabba jām min saminin ʿalā al-ʾarḍ

'If a scholar (*ʿālim*) turns his attention from a book (even) for a moment it is as if a cup of (melted) butter were poured out onto the ground.'

If anyone brought him a book he either copied or bought it. On a certain occasion he wanted to buy a book and asked the owner how much it cost. He replied, eight or ten *amole*.[24] Šayḫ Jaʿfar said, it is shameful to buy and sell

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[22] *Misk*, pp. 36 – 37. In this section of the manuscript it indicates that Šayḫ Jaʿfar was himself an author but I could not found any written text by him. Future students of the Šayḫ's life and times could well devote serious attention to looking for this undiscovered work.

[23] *Misk*, p. 37.

[24] Tesgay B. Gebrelibanos. *The Ethiopian Salt Trading System in the 20th Century: A View from Mäqdäla, Northern Ethiopia.* Amole was a salt bar used as a medium of exchange, mode of tax/tribute payments, and form of salary, capital, and luxury gift to social elites. Amole was principally used as primitive money from the late 19th through the 20th centuries. As mentioned in *Misk al-Aḏfar*, one birr was equivalent to forty to fifty amoles.

books for such a cheap price, and he bought it for one *Riyal*.[25] He also exchanged for one horse ten books, some of which had several volumes.[26]

Among his famous students are the following: Šayḫ Ibrāhīm al-Harṭumi his son-in-law (husband of Taqiyya), Šayḫ ʻAlī Abū Maryam, Šayḫ Ḥasan ibn al-Šayḫ Muḥammad, Šayḫ Ḥasan Dagā.

2.3 His Virtues (*manāqib*)

As a scholar, mystic and religious reformer Šayḫ Jaʿfar Bukko had many virtues. After being inspired by *al-Ḫaḍir* to serve Islam full-time, he devoted his time to learning, teaching, praying and reform activities. Even if he was tied up during the daytime by social responsibilities he used the night hours for reading, writing and praying. He spent a couple of months in uninterrupted prayer, consuming *qāt (č'āt)* and not speaking.[27] He used to recite Qur'an and read *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt* 'guidance to good things' between *Ẓuhur* 'midday prayer' and '*Aṣr* 'afternoon prayer'. His piousness can be seen in the following panegyric poem he composed (quoted in the ms):

ʾIlāhī ʾilāhī ʾajib sāʾilan, kaṯīr al-ḏunūb qalīl al-ʿamal	الهى الهى أجب سائلا، كثير الذنوب قليل العمل
ʾIlāhī fa-lā taqṭaʿu ʿannā al-rajāʾ, fa-ʾanta ġiyāṯ lanā lam tazal	الهى فلا تقطع عنا الرجاء، فأنت غياث لنا لم تزل
ʾIlāhī bi-ḫayri al-warā aḥmad, nabiyy karīm saʾīd al-ʾazal	الهى بخير الورى أحمد ، نبى كريم سعيد الأزل
ʾIlāhī bi-kulli nabiyy daʿā, wa-kull waliyyin bakā wa-btahala	الهى بكل نبي دعا، وكل ولي بكى وابتهل

[25] A Maria Theresa dollar was sometimes called a *riyal* (Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, s.v. '*riyāl*').
[26] *Misk*, p. 37.
[27] *Misk*, p. 44.

ʾIlāhī bi-kulli ʾamlāk al-samā, bi-sirri al-ʾamīn bi-waḥyin nazal الهى بكل أملاك السما ، بسر الأمين بوحي نزل

ʾIlāhī ḥāšā ʾan tarudda al-kasīr, wa-ʿindaka mā yuġnī sāʾil[an] الهى حاشا أن ترد الكسير، وعندك ما يغني سأل [سائلا]

ʾIlāhī ʿabduka ḍaʿīf al-quwā, qalil al-falāḥ kaṯīr al-zalal الهى عبدك ضعيف القوى ، قليل الفلاح كثير الزلل

ʾIlāhī ʿabduka ʿalā bābika, faqīrun ḥaqīrun ʿalayka ttakal الهى عبدك على بابك ، فقير حقير عليك اتكل

ʾIlāhī ʿabduka yarūmu al-najā, fa-lā lahu ẓahīr wa-lā muḥtamil الهى عبدك يروم النجا ، فلا له ظهير ولا محتمل

ʾIlāhī Muḥammad lahu nūbatun, fa-minhā yaḥāfu wa-fīhā ḏahlun الهى محمد له نوبة ، فمنها يخاف وفيها ذهل

ʾIlāhī ṣalli ʿalā al-Muṣṭafā, nabiyy karīm saʿīd al-ʾazal الهى صل على المصطفى ، نبى كريم سعيد الأزل[28]

Translation:

My God, my God, answer the supplicant, who commits many sins and accomplishes little

My God, do not cut us off from hope, You are our continual help

My God, by the best creature Aḥmad, [by the] noble Prophet, happy for all eternity

My God, by every prophet he called, by all the saints he wept and prayed

[28] *Misk*, pp. 43- 44.

My God, by all the angels of heaven, by the secret of the faithful and the revelation that has descended

My God, heaven forbid that You should turn back the broken, and You can prosper anyone who asks

My God, Your servant is weak in power, unsuccessful, full of error

My God, Your servant is at Your doorstep, a poor, miserable (person) who depends on You

My God, Your servant wants salvation, he has no possible supporter

My God, Muhammad has a heavy misfortune, and he fears it and it stupefies him

My God, blessings upon the chosen one, noble Prophet and happy for all eternity

Šayḫ Jaʿfar was praised by his contemporary šayḫs, friends and students. Šayḫ ʾAmān al-Gisri praised him for his level of knowledge.

أخفى الله فى الحبشة مفتياً[29]

ʾaḫfā Allāhu fi-l-ḥabašati muftiyan

'Allāh has concealed a *muftī* in Abyssinia'

Šayḫ ʿAbdulkarīm Salmāni admired his purity and selflessness:

ما رأيت أحدا يعمل لله خالصا مثله[30]

mā raʾaytu ʾaḥadan yaʿmalu lillāhi ḫāliṣan miṯlahu

[29] Ibid, p .3.
[30] Ibid, p. 3.

I never saw anyone who served Allah with such purity as he did'

Šayḫ Sayyid Faqīh Muḥammadnūr al-Negusi glorified Šayḫ Jaʿfar after he died when he guided the funeral prayer; he cried and shouted and was even unable to stand. He said:

شمس الحبشة عماد الدين[31]

Šamsu al-ḥabaša ʿimād al-dīn

'Sun of Abyssinia, pillar of the religion [Islam]'

Šayḫ Muḥammad Abba Toybā witnessed his integrity as:

والله قولك وفعلك عبادة[32]

wa-llāhi qawluka wa-fiʾluka ʿibādah

'I swear by Allāh, your very speech and actions are worship'

Al-'Ārif al-Bā' expressed his affection for him:

يا جعفر أنت مني وأنا منك[33]

yā Jaʿfar ʾanta minnī wa-ʾanā minka

'O Jaʿfar, you are from me and I am from you'

Šayḫ al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥaj Muḥammad ʾAmān al-Falāni celebrated him as follows:

في وللو رجل واحد قال لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله[34]

fī wallo rajulun wāḥidun qāla lā-ʾilāha illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūlu Allāh

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[31] *Misk*, p. 3.
[32] Ibid, p. 3.
[33] Ibid, p. 4.
[34] Ibid.

'In Wallo there is one man who (truly) says: There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his messenger'

Šayḫ Sayyid Yaḥyā al-Nūri stated his courage:

قالت الأولياء فيك لا يصادمك أحد إلا تكسر وكان كزجاج صادم الحجر[35]

qālat al-ʾawliyāʾ fika lā yuṣādimuka ʾaḥadun ʾillā takassara wa-kāna ka-zujājin ṣādama al-ḥajar

'The saints said about you: anyone who quarrels with you will be broken and will be like a glass which a stone breaks'

Another virtue of the Šayḫ was his spiritual rank and God-fearing nature. Šayḫ Sirāj al-Dīn ibn Šarafaddīn al-Yajjuyi describes:

إنه كان صاحب الخلوة الكبرى في وقته ولكن كان قد ستره الله تعالى[36]

ʾinnahu kāna ṣāḥiba al-ḫalwa al-kubrā fī waqtihi wa-lākin kāna qad satarahu Allāhu taʿālā

'He was the owner of the greatest *ḫalwa* (place of privacy for worship) of his time, but he was hidden by Allah'

Among his virtues there is a fascinating reference to his international prominence in the Muslim world.

إن أباكم لا يعرفه أهل هذه النواحي وإنما اشتهر في بغداد كأنه ولد فيها[37]

ʾinna ʾabākum lā yaʿrifuhu ahlu hāḏihi al-nawāḥī wa-ʾinnamā ʾuštuhira fī bāġdād ka-ʾannahu wulida fīhā

'Your father is not known to the people of this region, but he is well-known in Baghdad as if he had been born there'

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[35] Ibid, pp. 4 and 110.
[36] Ibid, p. 4.
[37] *Misk*, p. 5.

وجاء بعد وفاته رجل من اهل بصرة فوجده قد مات فانتحب على قبره قائلا السلام عليك يا شيخ جعفر أسمعنا خبرك ببصرة أنت تأمر بالمعروف وتنهى عن المنكر[38]

wa-jāʾa baʿda wafātihi rajulun min ʾahl baṣra fa-wajadahu qad māta fa-ntaḥabaʿalā qabrihi qāʾilan al-salāmu ʿalaykum yā Šayḫ Jaʿfar ʾasmiʿnā ḫabaraka bi-baṣra ʾanta taʾmuru bi-l-maʿrūf wa-tanhā ʿan al-munkar

'A man from Basra (Iraq) came after his death and when he found him dead he wept on his grave saying, "Peace upon you, Šayḫ Jaʿfar; did we (not) hear of you in Basra? You command what is lawful and forbid the unlawful"'

Šayḫ Maḥmūda bin al-Sayyid Abi Muḥammad described his eloquence while preaching and speaking as:

وان الشيخ جعفر اذا هو يعظ ويتكلم فى العلوم تكون كل سمة وشعرة من شعور جميع جسده ومسامه سمعا وبصرا[39]

wa-ʾinna al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar ʾiḏā huwa yaʿiẓu wa-yatakallamu fi l-ʿulūm takūnu kullu sima wa-šiʿra min šuʿūr jamīʿi jasadihi wa-masāmmihi samʿan wa-baṣaran

'When Šayḫ Jaʿfar is preaching and speaking about knowledge, every feature and every hair of all his body and pores become (all) hearing and looking.'

Among his preaching he used to teach that the human heart (soul) is categorized into three. As he says:

1- قلب صحيح (the true heart) – it is the believer's heart which hears and heeds.

2- قلب منكسر (the broken heart) – it is the hypocrite's heart which hears but pours out (what it heard).

[38] *Misk*, p. 5.
[39] *Misk*, p. 39.

3- قلب مقلوب (the inverted heart) – it is the infidel's heart which does not hear and does not heed.

2.4 Reform Activities

The reform activities of Šayḫ Ja'far had three principal targets. These are:

1- Against traditional rituals associated with chewing *č'āt*

2- Religious figures (judge and *Qurrā'*/ Quran reciter)

3- Secular governors

His first reform undertakings were against the *qāmāti* and *abagār*.[40] These groups of people had a leading role in traditional ritual practices involving *č'āt*. The hagiographer describes why Šayḫ Ja'far started to wage war against them.

Šayḫ Maḥmūda ibn Faqīh Zubayr said: Šayḫ Ja'far chewed *č'āt* for two months in the house asking for permission [to wage war against the *qāmāti* and *abagār*] from the Almighty. He got the permission for that; therefore, what he did was done with permission.[41]

The main complaint of Šayḫ Ja'far against the *qāmāti* and *'abagār* was that they considered the chewing of *č'āt* and related traditional rituals as a fundamental of faith and highly revered *č'āt* as if it could bring benefit and harm. As the hagiographer reported Šayḫ Ja'far consider the extreme reverence of *č'āt* and all the associated traditional ritual practices were open infidelity committed against sharia law. They also performed the *wadājā* ritual gathering for women called *refū*. The women's ritual, *refū,* was highly revered even by the Sultans and their prayers were considered even more acceptable than the men's prayers. Šayḫ

[40] See page 32.
[41] *Misk*, p. 55.

Ja'far condemned these traditional rituals because men and women mixed with each other which violates Muslim norms for proper social behaviour.

Šayḫ Ja'far's opposition to *č'āt* and related rituals were supported by his contemporaries like *Sayyid al-Bā'*,[42] who said:

يقول في شأن تعظيم القات والبن كل ما عبد من دون الله فهو طاغوت [43]

yaqūlu fī ša'n ta'ẓīm al-qāt wa-al-bunn kullu mā 'ubida min dūni Allāh fa-huwa ṭāġūt

He would say about the veneration of *č'āt* and coffee, "Everything that is worshiped except Allah is idolatry"

Šayḫ *Sayyid* al-Ḥaji Muḥammad 'Amān al-Falāni passed legal judgment (*fatwā*) that venerating *č'āt* is illicit (*ḥarām*).[44] There were forty '*abagār*s against whom Šayḫ Ja'far openly waged war. Thirty-eight of them were defeated and their house was burned by the Šayḫ.[45] They asked assistance from Sultan 'Adarā but the Sultan refused to help either side. The other two '*abagār*s repented and renounced their unIslamic rituals and became friends of Šayḫ Ja'far.

His second target of reform activity was the judges (*al-Quḍā*) and Qur'anic reciters (*al-Qurrā'*).[46] It was usual that when a person died animals were slaughtered for the funeral ceremony. The *Quḍā* and *Qurrā'* took the hide, breast, kidneys and fat of the animal for themselves without the permission of the owner. The amount taken by one of them was enough for thirty individuals

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[42] Hussein Ahmed, in his article entitled: "Al-Ḥāj Bušrā Ay Muhammad: Muslim reformer, scholar and saint…" writes that his name is Bushra and was called *bā'* by Šayḫ Ibrahim who taught him Qur'an at the age of eight. When he taught him the Arabic letters starting from *alif*, the young boy Bushra spoke the second letter *bā'*. Because of this incident he was later termed Sayyid al-Bā'.

[43] *Misk*, p. 60.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Teacher of the Qur'an without deep religious knowledge.

under normal circumstances.[47] There is a brief description about the similarity of judgment on many issues between the (unjust) *Quḍā/Qurrā'* and the Oromo. Among these customs, barring women from the right of inheritance and dowry were mentioned. They also commonly limited the right of inheritance to the oldest son only. They also neglecte the Prophet's commands and favour their forefathers' customs even if it went against Islam. The succession to the office of judiciary was through the hereditary line even if the one who came to the post was ignorant of the least requirements. In the absence of a son inheritor of the *Qāḍi*, his daughter might come to the post.[48] The *Quḍā/Qurrā'* and the Sultan were leading a comfortable life at the expense of the subject masses. Šayḫ Jaʿfar used to urge them to follow the Qur'an and *Ḥadīṯ*. He says:

أنا المحتسب عليهم إنهم ياكلون الزكوات ويمنعون الفقراء والمساكين ويظلمون ويقولون إن النكاح لا ينعقد إلا بنا اى ولو مع وجود الأولياء[49]

ʾanā al-muḥtasib ʿalayhim ʾinnahum yaʾkulūna al-zakāt wa-yamnaʿūna al-fuqarāʾ wa-l-masākīn wa-yaẓlimūna wa-yaqūlūna ʾinna al-nikāḥa lā yanʿaqidu ʾillā binā ʾay wa-law maʿa wujūd al-ʾawliyāʾ

'I charge them that they eat up alms and deprive the poor and the needy and do evil, and they say that marriage cannot be contracted except through us, not even if the (bride's legal) representative is present.'

If nonviolence did not work, he would take forceful measures.

إذا ما أبوا الكتاب فالناصح الحديد وأخذ على مقبض سيفه[50]

ʾiḏā mā ʾabaw al-kitāb fa-l-nāsiḥu al-ḥadīd wa-ʾaḫaḏa ʿalā miqbaḍ sayfihi

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[47] *Misk*, p. 69.
[48] Ibid, p. 71.
[49] Ibid, p. 91.
[50] Ibid.

'"If they reject the Qur'an, the iron will be their advisor"; and he seized the handle of his sword.'

The third reform activity of Šayḫ Jaʿfar was directed against the local administrative system. His reform attempt was aimed at replacing the existing secular administrative system, which was full of injustice for its subjects, by Sharia law. Because of this demand he was constantly on the offensive against local governors. We read an account in which he challenged the capability of judges. He used to say, I am not appointed to the judiciary by princes and kings, but I am nominated by the greatest judge [Allah]; you say "We are appointed by sultans and kings"; but you are not able to compete with me.[51]

وكان خشينا على السلاطين والظلمة[52]

wa-kāna ḫašīnan ʿalā al-salāṭīn wa-l-ẓalama

'He was rough with sultans and oppressors'

He was always attacking the sultans for their injustice. If an oppressed person complained, he persisted until he defeated the oppressor. He used to say to the *ʿulamās*: We are at war '*jiḥād*' as long as the sultans continue to trouble their subjects. Do not engage with them. If you do not accept this you will be considered a bad person. Keep your integrity in order to be honoured by Allah. We read an account in which Šayḫ Jaʿfar expressed his anger against Sultan ʾAdarā, when he saw his fortress. He described: they do things that were not done by Pharaoh; they do evil and hide behind a curtain, select (the best portions) during eating, and commit much adultery. Recitation of the Qur'an and saluting the Prophet by going into their home is forbidden. The anti-Islamic practices and the arrogance of the rulers forced him to the conclusion that *Ḥabašā* was a land of injustice (*dār al-ẓulm*). While he was still a young student

[51] Ibid, p. 69.
[52] Ibid, p. 20.

in Warra Bābbo Šayḫ Jaʿfar had a verbal confrontation with Sultan Guji of Yajju at a ceremony to which he was invited. Šayḫ Jaʿfar, angered by the practices of the sultan, prophesied his death, whereupon the sultan died within a week. On another occasion while he was staying in Dāwunt for one year with his eminent teacher *al-Ḥāj* Mujāḥid, he issued a fierce challenge to the local chief because of his unjust rule.

In his journey to Boranā Šayḫ Jaʿfar urged Sultan ʾAdarā[53] to follow the Qur'an and to rule the region, most of whose people were polytheists, according to Sharia law. On this occasion the sultan accepted the Šayḫ's advice. He says: سمعا وطاعة *samʿan wa-ṭāʿatan* 'I hear and obey!'. After the death of ʾAdarā Šayḫ Jaʿfar waged war on the judges of Lagā Gorā. He defeated all of them, dismissed them and appointed new judges in their place who would serve the people fairly. Thus Šayḫ Jaʿfar's long-term reform efforts were successful in his final year, but only for a short period of time; his success was smashed by the incursion into the region by Tewodros II (at the end of the 1850s).

2.5 Šayḫ Jaʿfar and Tewodros II

Before the conquest of Wallo by Tewodros II we find a reference to a prophecy (dream) by Šayḫ Jaʿfar, where the Prophet told him he would be victorious even when the country (Wallo) was devastated by Tewodros II.[54] There is a brief insight of a *walīy* 'Saint' called *ʾAnabi waliyā* about the incursion of Tewodros II as reported by Šayḫ Jaʿfar. He says:

سيجيئ حرب من الكفار من نحو كَندر يقتلوني بالنار مع أني لا تأكلني النار في الدنيا والآخرة فجاء حرب تدروس[55]

Sa-yajīʾu ḥarbun min al-kuffār min naḥw Gondar yaqtulūnī bi-l-nār maʿa ʾannī lā taʾkulunī al-nār fī l-dunyā wa-l-ʾāḫira fa-jāʾa ḥarb Tedros

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[53] Muslim leaders are commonly given the title "sultan", even if they are only local chiefs.
[54] *Misk*, pp. 19 - 20.
[55] Ibid, p. 24.

'"A war will come from the infidels from Gondar. They will try to kill me by fire even though fire cannot consume me in this world and the hereafter." The war of Tewodros broke out'.

When the forces of Tewodros destroyed Lagā Gorā Šayḫ Jaʿfar decided to face him and said, "If he kills me I will enter paradise with my family." When war broke out between them Šayḫ Jaʿfar ordered his sons to abandon their horses in order not to use them to retreat from the front.

Šayḫ Jaʿfar was captured after fighting for a half day with Tewodros around his home. He fought without the protection of his shield; when his disciples tried to give him the shield he did not accept it. He boasted and said in Ajami (mixed Arabic and Amharic):

يباقي لولي يواحد القهار أشكر

ya-bāqī lolle ya-wāḥidu al-qahhār ʾaškar

የባቂ ሎሌ የዋሂዱ አል- ቀሐር አሽከር

'The faithful servant of the Survivor, the One and the Conqueror [Allah]'

In the fight he was wounded seven times. When he was captured and detained in the fortress he clashed with the soldiers and grabbed for his sword as if he were not captive. As this moment he was injured on his hand. Šayḫ Jaʿfar's bravery was witnessed when they brought him to the military camp; his morale was high. When they tried to give him gifts, he objected and replied to them that what they were giving him was the Muslims' looted property.

Emperor Tewodros sent a priest to Šayḫ Jaʿfar to open debate on religious issues between Islam and Christianity. Šayḫ Jaʿfar took a logical approach to the discussion and said to the priest 'Let me ask you':

إن عيسى الذي نقول نحن أنه نبي هل يأكل فقال نعم وهل يشرب فقال نعم --- ثم قال ان الذى فطر الخلق هل يأكل ويشرب --- فقال اندت ادرگو[56]

ʾinna ʿīsā allaḏī naqūlu naḥnu ʾannahu nabīy hal yaʾkulu fa-qāla naʿam wa-hal yašrabu fa-qāla naʿam --- ṯumma qāla ʾinna allaḏī faṭara al-ḫalqa hal yaʾkulu wa-yašrabu --- fa-qāla ʾindet ʾadrgo

ʿĪsā (Jesus), who we say is a prophet, does he eat? He said yes. Does he drink? He said yes. ... Then he said, He who made (all) creation, does He eat and drink? He said, "*ʾ ʾindat ʾAdrgo*" 'እንዴት አድርጎ' 'That could not be.'

The priest was annoyed and said from where he came to deny the fundamentals of faith [Christianity]. Emperor Tewodros himself decided to defend his faith after he knew that the priest was defeated, but he was not successful. Šayḫ Jaʿfar's disapproval towards the priest and the king is indicated as:

"ممري أمان أدريشال"

mamre ʾamān ʾadrašāl

መምሬ አማን አድረሻል

'How have you been, O priestess?'

كيف أصبحت أيتها القسيسة ... على خطاب المرءة

kayfa ʾaṣbaḥti ʾayatuhā al-qisīsati ... ʿalā ḫiṭāb al-marʾati

"How have you been, O priestess?" addressing him in the feminine form.

On another occasion when the king [Tewodros] greeted his soldiers and servants all of them prostrated to him except Šayḫ Jaʿfar, who responded simply:

[56] *Misk*, p. 142.

ʾal-ḥamdu li-llāhi kayfa ʾaṣbaḥta

'Praise be to Allah, how have you been?

Tewodros was impressed by his courage and asked him for his daughter in marriage but Šayḫ Jaʿfar refused. We also come across an interesting description how Tewodros asked Šayḫ Jaʿfar to oppose his enemy. Tewodros proposed to give Šayḫ Jaʿfar five hundred rifles to fight against *ʾAmade* Bašir but Šayḫ Jaʿfar replied that if he got 100 guns he would open war on Tewodros himself. After four days imprisonment Tewodros released Šayḫ Jaʿfar with his disciples and allowed them to follow their faith freely. He said:

تمسك بالذى أخذته يعني الله تعالى ثم قال لسائر الناس خذوا الله مثله[57]

tamassak bi-llaḏī ʾaḫaḏtahu yaʿnī ʾAllāhu Taʿālā ṯumma qāla li-sāʾiri al-nāsi ḫuḏū ʾAllāh miṯlahu

'"Stick fast to the One you follow, i.e. Allah" and then he said to the other people, "Follow Allah as he does"'

2.6 His Death

After he was released from Tewodros's detention he traveled to Ḥalbukko where his close friend Šayḫ ʿAbdulkarīm was living and after a while moved his seat from Gāttirā to Jāmmā, where he stayed for less than a year until his death. When Šayḫ Jaʿfar was sick he ceased from everything except glorifying Allah and reciting *Sūrat al-Iḫlāṣ* (sura 112). He died on Monday 7 *Jumādu al-Āḫir* 1276 A.H. corresponding to 1 January 1860 A.D. in Jāmmā at the age of 68. His funeral prayer was led by Šayḫ Sayyid Faqīh Muḥammadnūr ibn Sayyid Muḥammad Šāfi. Besides the ordinary people his funeral was attended by venerable *šayḫs* like Šayḫ Muḥammad ʿArab al-Gannati, Šayḫ Ḥajī ʿUmar al-

[57] *Misk*, p. 146.

Gannati, Šayḫ Ḥajī Yūsuf al-Ḥanafī al-Gannati and others. One of his daughters, Taqiyya, was later buried near his grave. His burial place is in the village of ʾAlay and his grave is considered as a shrine and is visited by many people.

Chapter Three

Philological and Content Description of Misk al-ʾAḏfar

In both its content and writing style, *Misk al-ʾAḏfar* differs from most Arabic mss produced in Ethiopia. The majority of such mss are poetic texts, *manẓūmāt* or *ḏikr*, devoted to Islamic topics like the life of the Prophet Muḥammad or genres of prayers that are typical of Sufism. By contrast *Misk al-ʾAḏfar* is a straight narrative prose text about the life and times of a Wallo personality, Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko. It is a very long and highly illustrious text of its kind. The stories of local Šayḫs that are recounted in *Misk al-ʾAḏfar* are recited during religious ritual gatherings, *wadājā*, especially in Wallo. The main problem which anyone can feel while reading this manuscript is the confusion of its writing style. Hussein Ahmed clearly states this problem when he introduces the ms. He says:

> As to the prose narrative, the changes from one topic to the next are not clearly marked, except in the introduction. The arrangement of anecdotes and sections does not follow a strict chronological and thematic sequence and the entire text reads like a disorderly catalogue of episodes in the lives of the author's father and of his contemporaries, together with related events in and around the region in which they lived.[58]

In this chapter the basic philological feature of the ms of *Misk al-ʾAḏfar* will be described together with its content description.

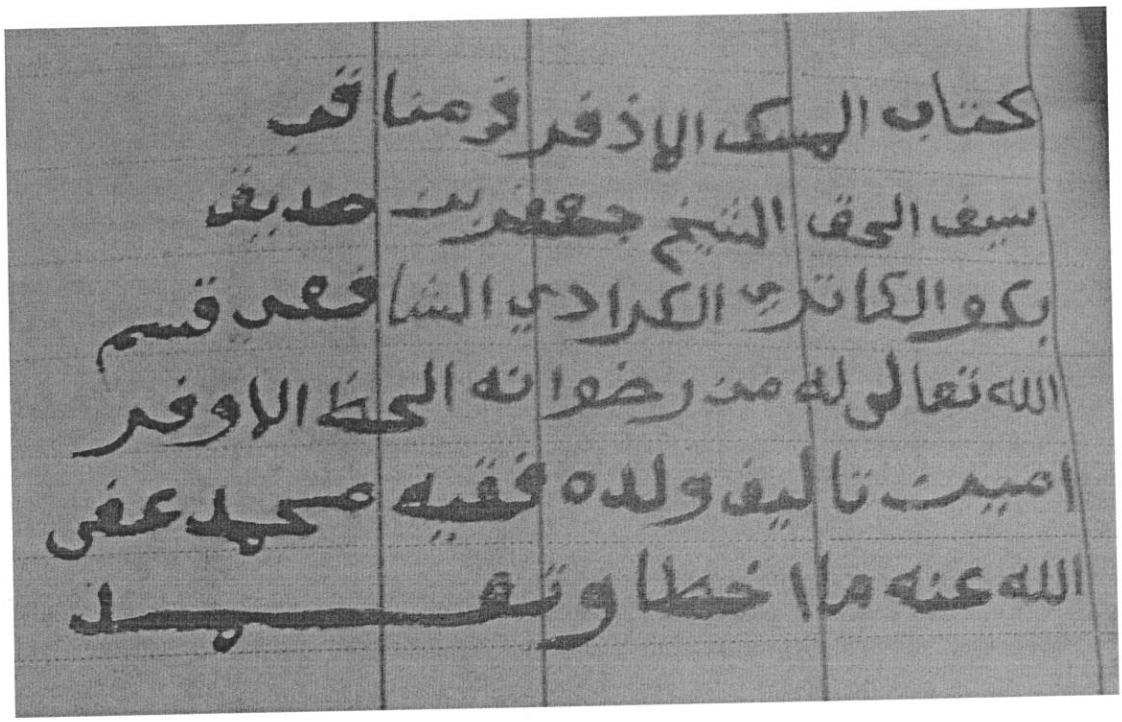
3.1 General features of *Misk al-ʾAḏfar*

3.1.1 Title

The title of the ms is *Misk al-Aḏfar fi manāqib Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko* (The Pungent Musk on the deeds of Šayḫ Jaʿfar, the sword of truth). It is shortened to *Misk al-ʾAḏfar* of *Sayf al-Ḥaqq* by many Šayḫs in

[58] *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, pp. 185 – 186.

written and oral forms. It is a hagiography (*manāqīb*) of Šayḫ Jaʿfar. The full title of the ms is written (f.1r and f.5r).



folio 1r

The author of the ms is Faqīh Muḥammad, the youngest son of Šayḫ Jaʿfar. According to several respected elders, the ms in my hand is indeed the original, which I found in the course of my field work in south Wallo district of Gāttirā, about 75 km south of Dessie. No date of completion is given; but as the author says, he began to write in 1302 A.H. / 1885 A.D. (f.3v). This is 25 years after the death of Šayḫ Jaʿfar. If we assume the author finished the writing of the ms in a short time, the ms would be about one-hundred and twenty-seven years old.

3.1.2 Number of Copies Available

In addition to the original, I found three copies of the ms. One was copied by the son of the author, Šayḫ Muḥammad Sirāj ibn Faqīh Muḥammad, on 22 Jumada al-Awwal 1377/ 14 December 1957 A.D. The second (undated) copy was collected by Hussein Ahmed in 1982/83 from his informant Šayḫ Muḥammad Nūr ʿUmar and is deposited in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at

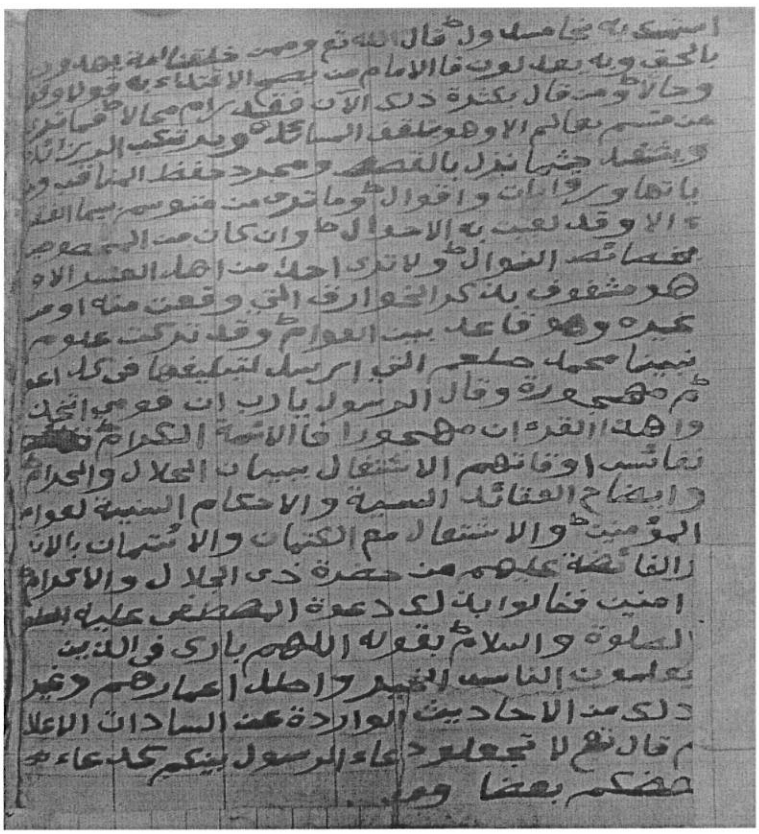
Addis Ababa University; it was copied by Šayḫ Muḥammad Nūr ʿUmar's father, as explained by Hussein Ahmed. The third was copied by Šayḫ Muḥammad Awwal in Rabi al-Awwal 1421/ June 2000 A.D. The second copy [by Šayḫ Muḥammad Nūr ʿUmar's father] is not a full copy, but only goes up to page 109 out of 200 pages of the original; it ends on f.55v:

ولم يزل السلطان ينهض ليغير[59]...

Walam yazal al-Sulṭānu yanhaḍu li-yuġayyira...

'The Sultan is still undertaking to change...'

The original ms (as we have it) stop without any sign of completion such as a final date or colophon or other concluding statement. It ends on f.100v as shown below:



folio 100v

[59] *Misk*, p. 109.

The last line of the last folio verso is simply a single Qur'anic verse, not as a sign of completion but as textual support for the issue just discussed in the text.

لا تجعلوا دعاء الرسول بينكم كدعاء بعضكم بعضا[60]

Lā taj'alū du'ā'a al-rasūli baynakum ka-du'ā'i ba'aḍikum ba'aḍan

'Deem not the summons of the messenger among yourselves like the summons of one of you to another' (Qur'an 24:63)

This raises the question of whether the "original" ms really gives the šayḫ's full intended text, or breaks off in the middle. I cannot definitively answer this, although one of my informants (Šayḫ Sayfu Aḥmad) told me that the ms is indeed the complete text. Unfortunately the last page of the original ms is cut off (apparently with a scissors) before the bottom and glued onto a "backing" page, so we do not know if there was a catchword or not which might point to a possible continuation.

The copy by Šayḫ Muḥammad Sirāj ends with the colophon:

قد تم هذ الكتاب بيد حافده [حفيده] محمد سراج فى شهر جماد الأول 22 1377

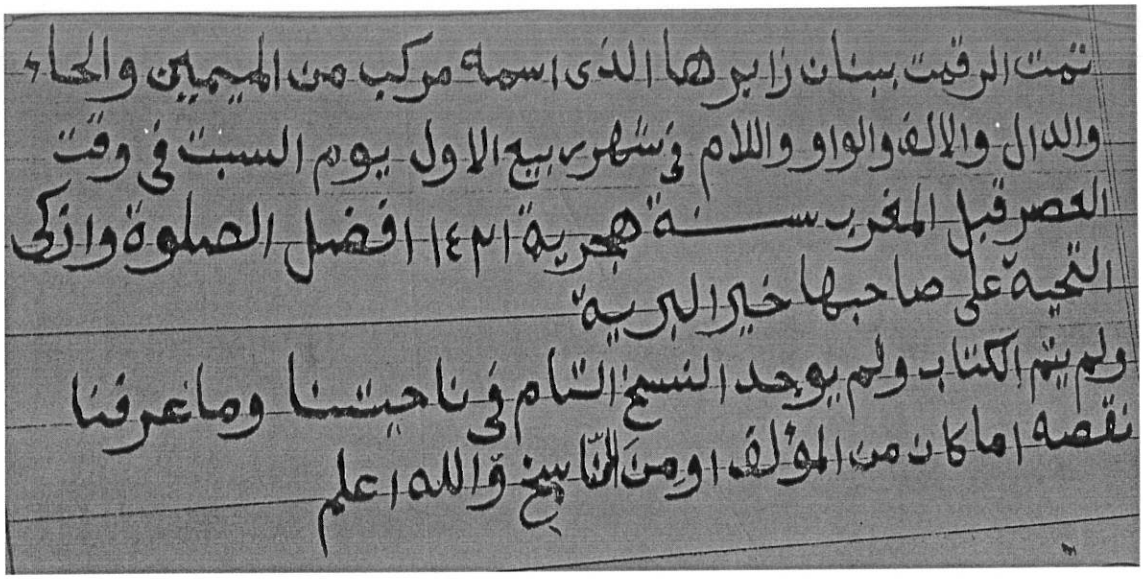
Qad tamma hāḏā al-kitāb bi-yad ḥāfidihi [ḥafīdihi] Muḥammad Sirāj fī šahr Jumād al-'Awwal 22/1377

'This book was completed by his grandson Muḥammad Sirāj on 22 Jumada al-Awwal 1377 [1957 A.D.]'

But this only tells us that the copy was completed, not whether the original was itself the complete text.

The copy by Šayḫ Muḥammad Awwal ends as follow:

[60] Misk, p. 200.



ولم يتم الكتاب ولم يوجد النسخ التام فى ناحيتنا وماعرفنا نقصه اما كان من المؤلف او من الناسخ والله اعلم

Walam yatimm al-kitāb walam yūjad al-nasḫ al-tāmm fī nāḥiyatinā wamā ʿarafnā naqṣahu ʾamā kāna mina al-muʾallif ʾaw mina al-nāsiḫ wa-Allahu ʾaʿlamu

'The book is not complete and the complete version could not be found in our vicinity and we do not know whether the omission is due to the author or to the copyist, and Allah only knows'

This seems to refer to the original book, not the copy, because the copy is a complete copy of the original (which may itself have been an uncompleted text).

Probably (as Šayḫ Muḥammad Awwal says) the original text as we have it may not the šayḫ's full intended text. Either he never finished it, or (more likely) some of the text was lost. This is indicated by the format and content of the last page: it is physically cut off at the bottom, and it ends without a proper ending.

3.1.3 Language

The body of *Misk al-ʾAḏfar* is written in Arabic with some loan words from Amharic and Oromo. The following are some examples:

A. Amharic *ʾəññа* 'we' (p. 7), *bärräññа* 'gatekeeper' (p. 7), *qolläññа* 'a person who lives in lowland area' (p. 7), *galä* 'became warm' (p. 7), *ləgwam* 'bridle' (p. 7), *mäṭṭu* 'they came' (p. 47), *jäba* 'used when presenting gift' (p. 51); also the Amharic plural *–oč* to form the plural *fuqroč* 'swindlers, fake scholars' (p. 47), re-formed from the Arabic broken plural *fuqarāʾ*.

B. Oromiffa *ʾAbagār* 'ritual person' (p. 2), *ʾAbā* (*abba* 'father'; when it is followed by a proper or common noun it refers to a man politely) (p. 35), *gobadan* 'a place where traditional ritual practices are done' (p. 47), *wadājā* 'overnight praying session accompanied by chewing chat' (p. 47), *ʾainājī* 'a person who distributes *čʾāt* in the *wadājā* session' (p. 47), *ʾawrāčʾā* 'a person who brings *čʾāt*' (p. 47), *soressa* 'become wealthy' (p. 48) .

3.1.4 Author

The author of the ms is Šayḫ Faqīh Muḥammad ibn Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar bin Ṣiddīq Bukko (f. 1r).

3.1.5 Owner

The ms is in the possession of Šayḫ Sayfu Aḥmad, who lives in South Wallo zone Warraillu Warada, Gāttirā about 75 km southwest of Dessie. He is the current šayḫ in Gāttirā and the son-in-law of the author's son.

3.1.6 Binding

The volume is bound with two blue cardboards (22 x 14 cm) stitched with white thread to attach the cover and the page together. In addition old white cloth is attached over the spine to fasten the covers together. The bottom and the upper edges of the cardboard covers have begun to tear.

3.1.7 Date

Unlike some other Islamic mss *Misk al-ʾAḏfar* has the date when the author began to write, which is 1302 A.H./ 1885 A.D., but no colophon or date of completion is indicated. The text must have been completed within a few years of its initial date.

3.1.8 Dimensions

The size of the paper is 21 x 13.5 cm. The text area covers 17.5 x 11.5 cm.

3.1.9 Lines Per Page

The majority of the pages have 26 – 28 lines. Exceptions are: page 1 (f.1r) 6 lines; pages 43 (f.22v) and 198 (f.99v) 13 lines; pages 38 (f.19r), 183 (f.92r), 191 (f.95r) and 200 (f.100r) 23 lines; pages 192 (f.95v) and 197 (f.99r) 24 lines; page 189 (f.94r) 29 lines; pages 186 (f.93v) and 188 (f.94v) 32 lines; page 185 (f.93r) 34 lines.

3.1.10 Number of Folios

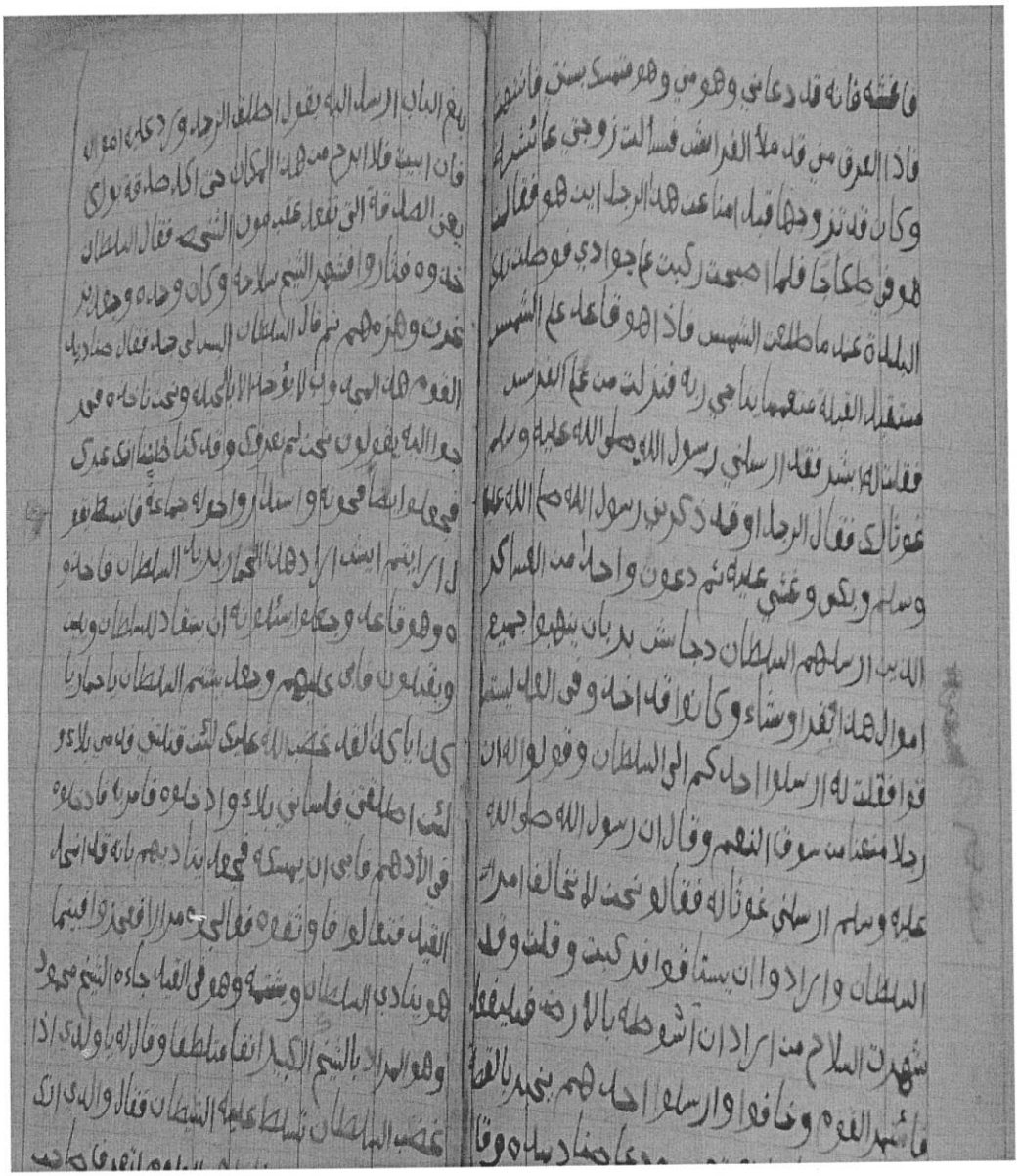
The number of folios of *Misk al-ʾAḏfar* is 100. But folios 96 and 99 are (respectively) copies of folios 97 and 100. I will discuss this below. Also, page 184 is blank, for no clear reason; its recto (page 183) is not blank.

3.1.11 Paper

The entire ms is written on four types of paper:

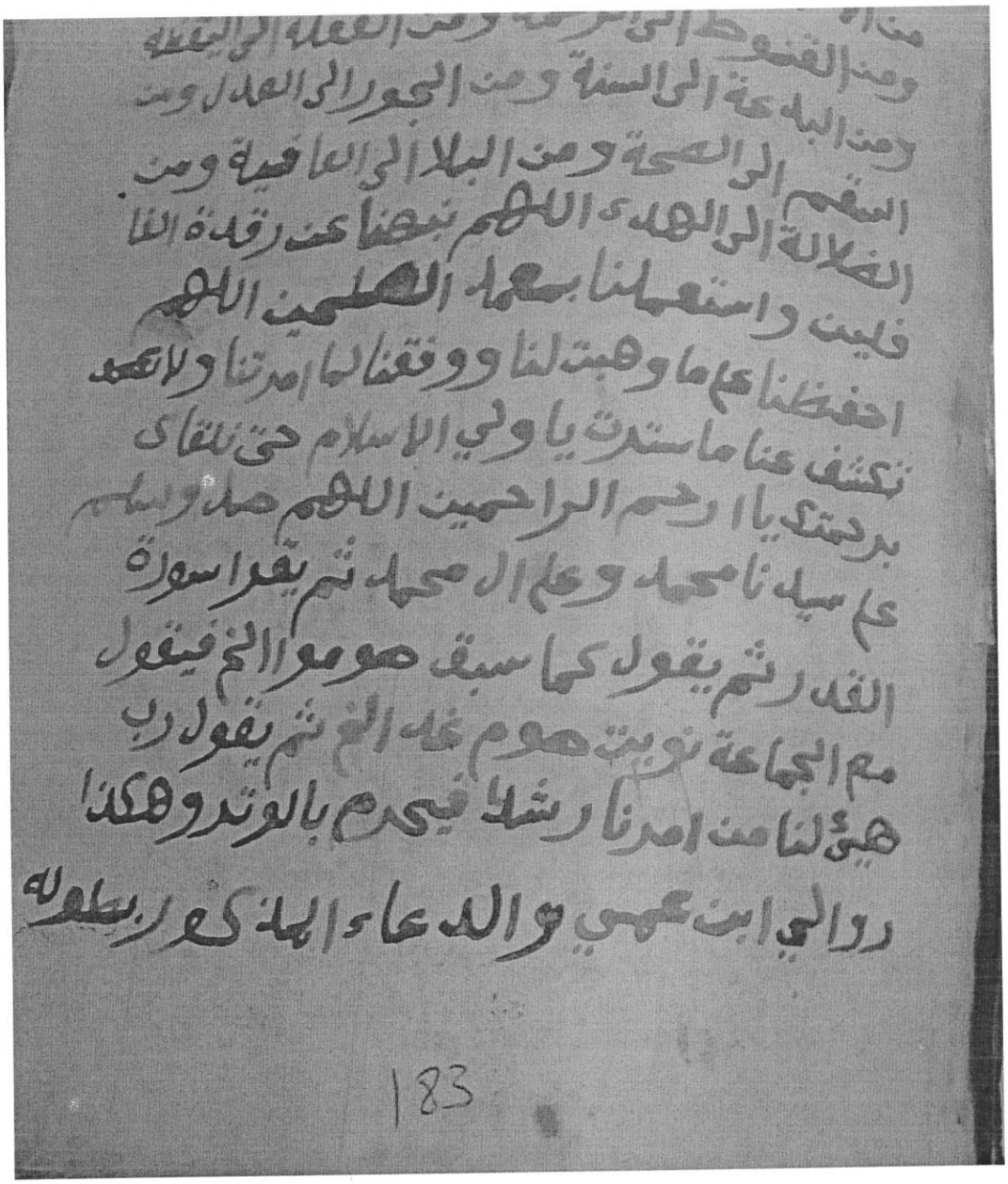
A. Dull white notebook paper: the majority section of the ms, which is from page 1 – 182 and f. 95, 98 and 100 written on this paper which has 28 ruled lines. There are 4 - 5 ruled columns running from top to bottom of all pages of this paper.

This can be seen in the following photo:



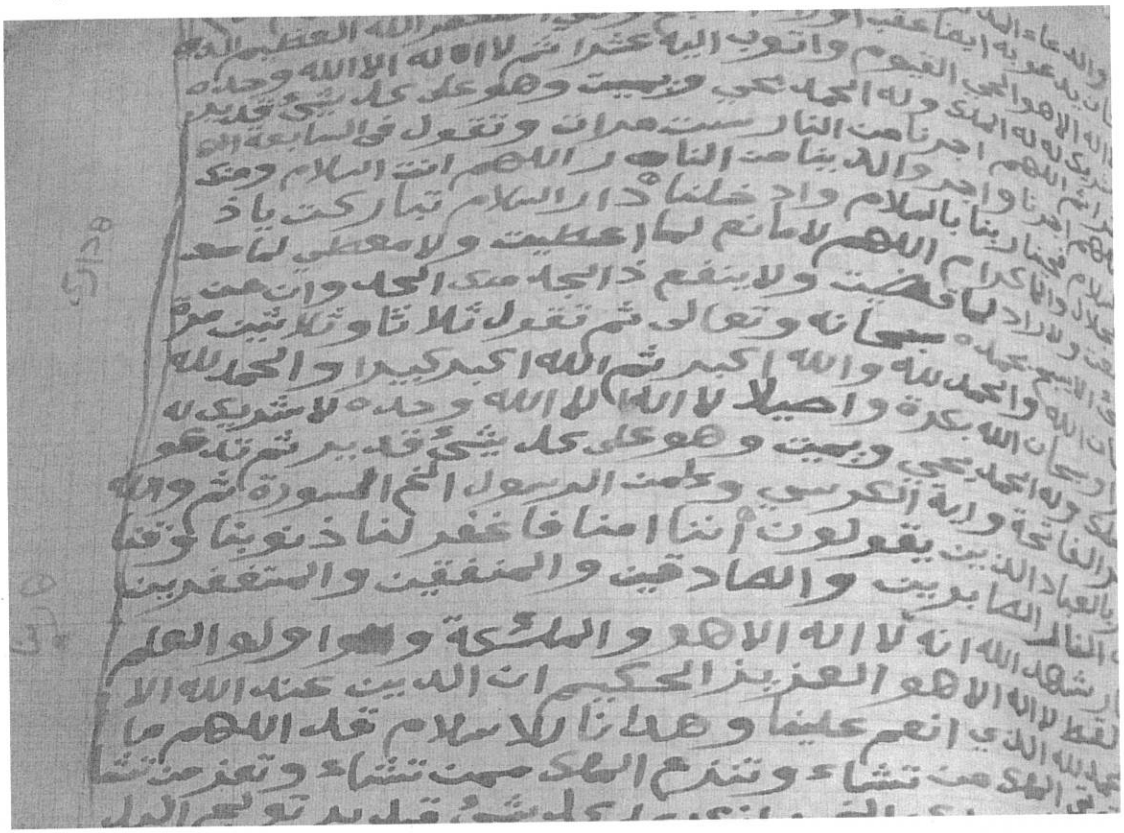
B. White grey flat paper: three pages which are ff. 92 and 97 are written on this paper. No rows and columns.

It can be seen as follows:



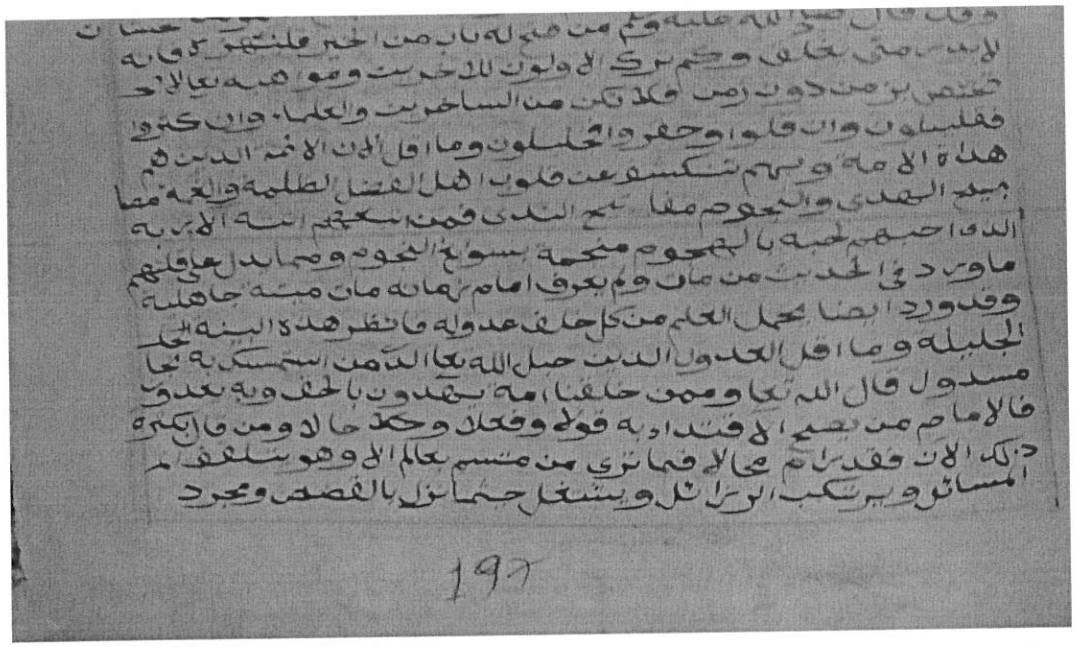
folio 92r

C. Grey white square paper: ff. 93 and 94 are written on this paper.



Folio 93r

D. White flat blue-framed unlined paper: pages f. 96 and f. 99 are written on this paper as can be seen below:



folio 99r

3.1.12 Margins

The pages have margins on all four sides, though often the sewing has removed the margin at the spine. Many but not all pages have marginal notes, sometimes filling the whole margin.

3.1.13 The Ink

The ms was written using the thick traditional pen called *Madd* (fountain pen). Red and black inks are used. The majority of the text is written in black; red ink is used rarely and with no clear pattern.

3.1.14 Handwriting

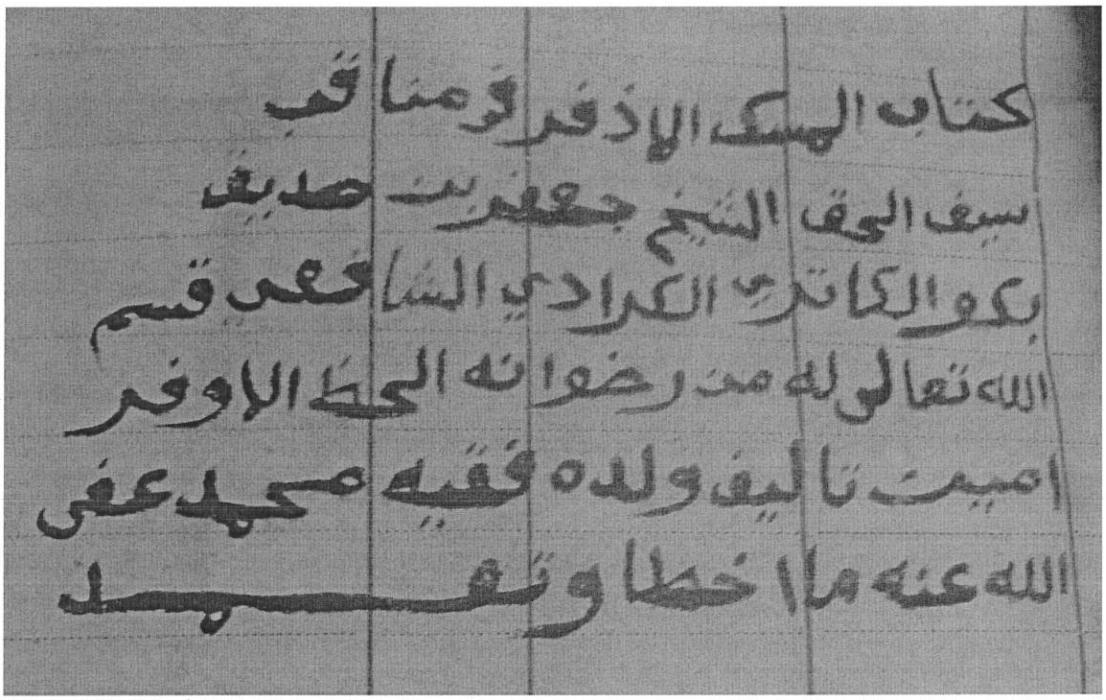
The ms is written in *Naskh* handwriting, not elegant but clear and readable, with medium-size letters.

3.1.15 Pagination and Catchwords

The page sequence is given by writing catchwords on the bottom of each verso page. Two recto pages (3 and 81) also have a catchword, which correctly gives the first word of the verso of that folio. Additionally, page numbers are written in Arabic numerals on the bottom of each page (recto and verso) in blue ink, apparently a recent addition by an unknown person. In the ms as we now have it, the pages with the numbers 145-164 are bound out of order; but the numbering agrees with the catchwords. This shows that the book must have been paginated first, and then rebound incorrectly.

3.1.16 Colophon (Title Page)

The title of the ms and the author's name are written in the middle of the recto of the first folio. There is no decoration. The ms has no colophon at the end.



folio 1r

3.2 Content Description

3.2.1 Organization of the ms

According to my careful investigation of the ms, it is divided into thirteen text divisions called *Bāb* and *Faṣl* [chapters], which are not numbered as such but which are marked by the word *Bāb* or *Faṣl*. I will follow the order of these chapters in my presentation. The author uses both *Bāb* and *Faṣl* in the text to refer to the chapters. Of the thirteen chapters only four are named *Bāb* (chapters 1, 3, 11, 13); the rest are termed *Faṣl*. It is also noteworthy that the headers of the first three chapters appear only in the left margin (in the same handwriting as the main text), whereas the other chapter titles appear inside the text. Evidently the writer added these first three titles later. Although the ms is divided into chapters, these do not seem to follow any coherent sequence according to their themes or chronological order of events (recall Hussein Ahmed's remarks, quoted at the beginning of this chapter).

3.2.2 Title and Preface

The title of the ms is *Misk al-Aḏfar fi manāqib Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko*, "The Pungent Musk on the Deeds of Šayḫ Jaʿfar, the Sword of Truth." After the title page, most of page 2 is devoted to a brief preface. The author (Faqīh Muḥammad) gives thanks to Allah for being the son of such a blessed and illustrious father (Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko). He apologizes for his limitations in writing the vast and splendid *manāqib* of his father. He also quotes a line by his father which gave him the inspiration to write the *manāqib*, even when he was a boy. Šayḫ Jaʿfar said:

سيظهر ما فى سرى على هذا الصبى

sa-yuẓharu mā fī sirrī ʿalā haḏā al-ṣabīy

'My secret will be explained by this boy'

3.2.3. The Introduction (*muqaddimah*)

The introduction begins near the bottom of page 2 and continues for a few lines on page 3. It explains what impelled him to write his father's hagiography (*manāqib*). One day while he was travelling with a *qāri'* (reader)[61], the *qāri'* associated his own grandfather with Šayḫ *Ja'far*, referring to both of them as *'abagār*. The author (Faqīh Muḥammad) was shocked how his father's eminence was ignored and that he was being considered as an *'abagār*, although he was in fact among the great scholars and saints.

3.2.4 Chapter by Chapter Summary

3.2.4.1 First Chapter: Praise of Šayḫs for Šayḫ Ja'far

This chapter has six pages (pages 3 – 8 of the ms). It deals with two major themes. These are:

1- Praise of contemporary scholars for Šayḫ Ja'far

2- The guiding principles (*mabādi'*) of the manuscript

In the first part of this chapter the author seeks to distinguish Šayḫ Ja'far from traditional ritual leaders by cataloguing the praises of many scholars for him. He quotes a proverb summarizing all the tributes paid to him by his contemporaries, which indicate his mystical and virtuous importance:

فلا يعرف العارفين الا العارفون

fa-lā ya'rifu al-'ārifīn 'illā al-'ārifūn

'No one knows the knowledgeable except the knowledgeable'

Among the leading Šayḫs of his time who attest to his piety and virtue, the following are mentioned:

---

[61] Elsewhere in the ms this word appears in its plural form as *qurrā'*. It refers to a person with only very basic Islamic education (who is only able to read according to local usage).

Šayḫ ʾAmān al-Gisri, Šayḫ ʿAbdul Karīm Salmāni, Šayḫ Sayyid Faqīh Muḥammadnūr al-Negusi, Sayyid al-Bāʾ, Šayḫ Muḥammad ʾAbba Ṭoybā, Šayḫ al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥaj Muḥammad ʾAmān al-Fallāni, Šayḫ Sayyid Yaḥyā al-Nūri, Šayḫ Sirāj al-Dīn ibn Šarafaddīn al-Yajjuyi, Šayḫ Maḥmūdah bin al-Sayyid Abi Muḥammad, Šayḫ Muḥammad Šāfi of Negus.[62] It is in this section that the author specifies the beginning date of the writing of the ms which is 1302 A.H. / 1885 A.D.

The second portion of this chapter explains the fundamental principles (*mabādʾ*) of the ms (*Misk al-Aḏfar*). Just like any modern book the author presents the guiding principles of how he wrote and organized the ms. There are ten principles; the first eight are stated consecutively while the ninth and tenth are inserted in later section of the ms. The principles may be briefly described as follows:

3.2.4.1.1 Principles of the Book

3.2.4.1.1.1. Principle One: Source

The author states from where he collected the sources to write his fathers' hagiography. He asserts that unlike theology (*ʿilm al-ʿaqāʾaid*) and law (*ʿilm al-ḥukm*), relatively weak evidence can be used to write about a person's virtues (*faḍāʾil*) and hagiography (*manāqib*). He also uses oral information from Šayḫ Jaʿfar's family and others because he (the author) was just a child when his father was alive.

3.2.4.1.1.2 Principle Two: Personal Names as Possessed Nouns

The author represents some personal names by possessed nouns. For example, instead of Šayḫ ʿAbdul Karīm Salmāni, he uses *Šayḫunā* 'our sheikh'; instead of Šayḫ Ibrāhim Harṭumi he uses *Šayḫī* 'my sheikh', etc.

---

[62] Most of these people's testimonials are given in Chapter 2 under the sub-title "Virtues of Šayḫ Jaʿfar".

3.2.4.1.1.3 Principle Three: Agnomens (*kunya*)

The author often names a person by putting the word *Abba* 'father' or *Aṭṭa* 'mother' before his/her child's name – for example, *Abba* Muḥammad, *Abba* ʾAsyā etc. The use of the word *Abba/Aṭṭa* in this type of naming (agnomen) is specifically Ethiopian.

3.2.4.1.1.4 Principle Four: Amharic-Arabic Transcription

In this section the author advances his own innovations to solve the Amharic-Arabic transliteration problem. He explains that there are some Arabic letters that are absent in Amharic (e.g. *ṯā', ḥā', ḫā', ṣād, ḍāl, ḍād, ṭā', ʿayn, ġayn*) and some Amharic letters that are absent in Arabic (e.g. *ga, ča, č'a, ňa*). He proposes a transliteration convention for such letters. For example, for *ča'* he suggests four dots over the Arabic letter *šin*, and for *g* three dots over the Arabic letter *kāf*. (For thorough discussion, see Hussein Ahmed 2006)

3.2.4.1.1.5 Principle Five: Stories of the Pious (*ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*)

The author notes the great value of recounting "stories of the pious". These stories are like an army of Allah; they inspire their hearers to virtue and bring tears to the eyes. He supports his argument with Qur'anic verses, Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīṯ*) and the sayings of great scholars.

3.2.4.1.1.6 Principle Six: Spiritual Status of Saints

The special spiritual status of saints (*waliy*) is described as a gift from Allah and is inherited from the prophets.

3.2.4.1.1.7 Principle Seven: Scope of the Work

The author says that the scope of his work will include not only his father's life but also that of his contemporaries and friends who were associated with him.

He also expresses his wish to write a book about the history of the *šayḫs* in the surrounding region (Wallo).[63]

3.2.4.1.1.8 Principle Eight: Title of the Manuscript

The author states the title of the ms: *Misk al-ʾAḏfar fi manāqib Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko* (The pungent Musk on the Deeds of Šayḫ Jaʿfar, the sword of truth).

3.2.4.1.1.9 Principle Nine: Prerequisites for Writing Hagiography

The charge (*ḥukm*) of hagiography is to appoint (someone) for writing and reciting (it) etc. (?). The author says that to properly write hagiography, one must have knowledge of *fiqh* (dogmatic theology), *taṣawwuf* (mysticism) and *tawḥīd* (theology).

3.2.4.1.1.10 Principle Ten: Prerequisites for Reciting the Manuscript

The author says that anyone who wants to read this manuscript should be filled with the divine presence (*sakīna*), should recite the *Fātiḥa* in his (the author's) father's memory, and should refrain from noise, irrelevant and worldly things.

3.2.4.2 Second Chapter: The Status of Šayḫ Ṣiddīq Bukko

This chapter covers nine pages (9 - 17). In this section the author gives an account of the father of Šayḫ Jaʿfar Bukko (Šayḫ Ṣiddīq Bukko) to elaborate Šayḫ Jaʿfar's pious family background.

3.2.4.3 Third Chapter: Šayḫ Jaʿfar from Birth to Adolescence

This chapter covers thirty-nine pages (17 - 55). In this section several issues are raised that go beyond the title of the chapter. Unlike many other Arabic hagiographical accounts, Šayḫ Jaʿfar's date and place of birth, date of death and

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[63] Informant: Šayḫ Sayfu Ahmed told me while I was searching for the original ms in Gāttirā that the author (Faqīh Muḥammad) did write a ms about the hagiography of the Wallo Šayḫs. The title of the ms as he told me is *Ḏikr al-ʾAnsāb*. But he did not know where this book is to be found.

place of burial are clearly stated. The author presents Šayḫ Jaʿfar's educational career starting from its early stages. We encounter lists and descriptions of the lives of Šayḫ Jaʿfar's teachers, friends and contemporaries, and their testimonials to his virtue are given. Additionally, the importance of sainthood in an Islamic perspective is discussed, and Šayḫ Jaʿfar's piousness is praised. The Šayḫ's reform activities are discussed, in which he opposed local chiefs, sultans and *qāmāt* [venerators of *č'āt*].

3.2.4.4 Fourth Chapter: What happened between Šayḫ Jaʿfar and the *Qāmāt* and *ʾAbagār*

This chapter covers eighteen pages (55 - 72). As the title indicates this chapter concentrates on Šayḫ Jaʿfar's reform struggle against the traditional un-Islamic ritual activities of the *Qāmāt* and *ʾAbagār*. He took up arms against local chiefs, sultans, *Qurrāʾ*, *Quḍā*, *Qāmāt* and *ʾAbagār* for their injustices against society. We encounter a lengthy account of Šayḫ Jaʿfar's battle with forty *ʾAbagār*, where he burned their houses and defeated the majority of them in spite of their appeal for assistance to Sultan ʾAdarā. Concerning this, the author mentions Šayḫ Jaʿfar's animosity against the fervent enthusiasm and veneration for the leaf of *č'āt*. The prime target of the Šayḫ's attack against the traditional ritual practices of those groups is their conviction that the chewing of *č'āt* is a fundamental of Islamic faith. The author also explains all the ritual practices and preliminary activities associated with the chewing of *č'āt*. He associates the traditional ritual practices of the *Qurrāʾ* and *Quḍāt* with the customary practices of Oromo society, like those of marriage and inheritance, which were prevalent at that time.

The author presents an interesting perspective on the defeat and death of Imām Aḥmad Ibrāhīm (*Grāñ*): according to him, it was not just outside forces but also internal adversaries who led to his "assassination" [*iġtiyāl*]. As he reports, Šayḫ Jaʿfar after his long struggle to reform the religious and social circumstances

came to the conclusion that *Ḥabašā* (Ethiopia) is a country of injustice and he could not imagine a just ruler except the Mahdi.[64]

3.2.4.5 Fifth Chapter: Permission for Chewing of *Č'āt* and Drinking of Coffee

This chapter covers eight pages (72 - 79). The author (Faqīh Muḥammad) tries to justify the chewing of *č'āt* and drinking of coffee, drawing on passages from Ḥadīṯ. He argues that *č'āt* is not forbidden unless otherwise venerated as an article of faith. He explains the importance of *č'āt* and coffee as a way of avoiding depression and lack of concentration. There is an interesting statement that the consumption of coffee began in the late 18th century and was widespread in the Arabian Peninsula by the early 19th century. The man who introduced the drinking of coffee was Sheikh ʿAli bin Omar Ḫālidī.[65] The hagiographer (although not Šayḫ Jaʿfar) strongly associates the consumption of *č'āt* and the drinking of coffee with sainthood and worship.

3.2.4.6 Sixth Chapter: Šayḫ Jaʿfar and Sultans, Judges and Other Arrogant Authorities

This chapter covers fifty-one pages (79 – 129). In this section Šayḫ Jaʿfar's reform efforts are described in detail. The hagiographer says:

'He [Šayḫ Jaʿfar] was always devoted to the victory of truth and to helping the oppressed and he did not tolerate the injustice of the oppressor towards the poor.

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[64] Wikipedia.org /Mahdi. In Islamic eschatology, the Mahdi (Guided One) is the prophesied redeemer of Islam who will rule for seven, nine or nineteen years (according to various traditions) before the Day of Judgment and will rid the world of injustice and tyranny.

[65] Mekete Belachew. (2003). Coffee. In *Encyclopaedia of Aethiopica*. (Vol. 1, pp. 763-764). "The history of coffee the origin of coffee has been still is a topic of great controversy among scientists. Many argue that coffee originated in Africa and identify four majof species, namely: *Coffea arabica*, *Coffea rubusta*, Coffea liberica and *Coffea esliaca*. This species are all found and grown in the natural forests of Africa. *Coffea arabica* is believed to have originated in the south-western forests of Ethiopia."

As ʿUmar al-Fāruq said about himself 'I am gentle to one whose heart is gentle, but I attack one whose heart is hard and unyielding…'[66]

Šayḫ Jaʿfar defended the rights of people from all layers of society. He was always against the oppressive rule of arrogant sultans. The hagiography mentions numerous incidents, for example, his confrontation with Sultan Guji, the ruler of Yajju. It is also described that while Šayḫ Jaʿfar was travelling to Dāwunt he criticized and challenged the local ruler. He went four times to Boranā (South Wallo) where he urged all the rulers he met to govern their society according to Šariʿa law. While traveling in North Wallo in the district of Habru, he compelled the oppressive local ruler (Sultan Šibaši) to allocate land as an endowment (*waqf*) to his friend Šayḫ Muḥammad Abba Toybā. Šayḫ Jaʿfar repeatedly, and ultimately successfully, demanded that Sultan ʾAdarā administer the region according to Šariʿa law. We read that after the death of Sultan ʾAdarā, Šayḫ Jaʿfar forcibly replaced the *Qāḍi*s (judges) of Lago Gorā because of their fraudulent behavior; some of the judges appealed to Queen 'Sultana' Warqit, but she did not repeal the change. There is a remarkable reference to the invasion of Wallo by Emperor Tewodros II, when ʿAli ibn ʾAdarā and ʾAmadye bin Berru of the royal family were detained by the emperor. Šayḫ Jaʿfar was appointed *Qāḍi* by Sultan Dajjāch Berru of Qāllu. He persuaded Sultan Ḥassan of Jāmmā to rule according to the Qur'an. When he went to a sultan he would take up all his weapons and put his hand on the handle of his sword, saying "You hypocrite, donkey!"; he was a burning fire upon them, and he used to say "I regard them as flies". The author quotes a reference that shows how Šayḫ Jaʿfar could inspire fear: Sultan ṢiddīqKatamā, when he saw Šayḫ Jaʿfar, said "ʿAzrāʾīl [the Angel of Death] is coming". Many miracles of the Šayḫ are also reported.

[66] *Misk*, p. 79.

3.2.4.7 Seventh Chapter: Šayḫ Jaʿfar's Veneration of Šariʿa

This chapter covers ten pages (129 - 138). In this part the hagiographer describes Šayḫ Jaʿfar's great enthusiasm and esteem for the practice of Šariʿa law. He was enraged when he saw anybody fail to act according to Šariʿa even if he/she had a legitimate excuse. According to an account narrated by Šayḫ ʿAliyy, Šayḫ Jaʿfar said, "When I was bothered about the disobedience of the *Qurrāʾ* Allah gathered their souls and gave me the power to take measures against them". Šayḫ Jaʿfar's friends and contemporaries agreed on his noble personality, describing him as a scholarly saint (*walīy*), hero and knight. The author also makes mention of Šayḫ Dāwud al-Gadāmi, a firm and lifelong friend of Šayḫ Jaʿfar, from his childhood in Garādo, then in Gāttarā; he was buried beside Šayḫ Jaʿfar's grave in Jāmmā.

We encounter an explanation that indicates Šayḫ Jaʿfar's fearless commitment to safeguarding the rule and conduct of Šariʿa. He says:

كيف أخاف والمحى والمميت معى

kayfa ʾaḫāfu wa-l-muḥyī wa-l-mumītau maʿī

'How shall I fear, when the giver of life and death [Allah] is with me?'

Using miracles, he was victorious all the battles he fought. He steadfastly applied Šariʿa in his home, showing that he was strict on his own family to act accordingly. The author mentions an important prophecy about the Wallo incursion of Tewodros II. Then follow stories of miracles which Šayḫ Jaʿfar performed on many occasions.

3.2.4.8 Eighth Chapter: Šayḫ Jaʿfar's Respect for Others

This section covers two pages (138 - 139). As the title indicates this section concentrates on explaining about the respect and reverence of Šayḫ Jaʿfar towards others people.

3.2.4.9 Ninth Chapter: Šayḫ Jaʿfar's Asceticism (*zuhd*)[67]

This chapter covers three pages (from page 139 - 141). His asceticism is shown by his rejection of endowment land (*waqf*) when kings wanted to allocate it to him. For example, the ruler of Boranā wanted to endow for Šayḫ Jaʿfar a vast region called *Tartar* but he refused to accept. Another account that shows his ascetic character is when Sultan ʿAdarā wanted to grant him the land of Gāttirā, he refused it as a personal endowment but agreed to be *nāẓir* (overseer) of the land for the society. The following statement by the Šayḫ shows his dismissive attitude toward land endowments:

إن الله تعالى إذا رؤى من عالم انه لا يصلح لحضرته اعطاه ارضا [68]

ʾinna Allah taʿālā ʾiḏā raʾā min ʿālim ʾannahu lā yaṣliḥu li-ḥaḍratihi ʾaʿṭāhu ʾarḍan

'If Allah the Almighty sees that a scholar is not fitted for His presence, he gives him land' [69]

He condemns the scholar who prefers material benefit and is appointed as a leader by the king. The hagiographer quotes a comment that Sayyid al-Bā' said to Šayḫ Jaʿfar:

الرياسة عين النجاسة [70]

al-riyāsah ʿaynu al-najāsah

'Excessive ambition to power is the source of impurity'

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[67] D.B. Macdonald. (1987). *Zuhd.* In *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936.* (Vol. 8, p. 1239). "A technical term in Muslim mysticism, the virtue of a *zāhid*: abstinence at first from sin, from what is superfluous, from all that estrange from God (this is the extreme that the Hanbalis admit); then absence from all perishable things by detachment of the heart (and here we enter into the mystic), complete asceticism, renunciation of all that is created."

[68] *Misk*, p. 139

[69] He is arguing that a scholar must not be engaged fully in agricultural activities; this is tantamount to professional suicide.

[70] Ibid.

Šayḫ Jaʿfar was truly an ascetic. He did not ask anything of any sultan for his own benefit, and did not even order his students to provide for his needs.

3.2.4.10 Tenth Chapter: More of His Miracles

This chapter covers eight pages (141 -148). The hagiographer mentions the miraculous performance of Šayḫ Jaʿfar at his birth (Faqīh Muḥammad) and also that of his brother (Muḥammad Ṣādiq) in which Šayḫ Jaʿfar ordered the foetus to come out and the baby was born immediately. Another important event occurred at the time of the invasion of Wallo by Tewodros II. When Šayḫ Jaʿfar decided to oppose the forces of Tewodros, he said that if he was killed he would enter Paradise with his family. His courage was witnessed by the fact that he threw away his own shield during the battle. In the course of the battle Šayḫ Jaʿfar was captured by Tewodros. His high morale was reflected by the challenging questions he raised in the religious discussion and debate with priests that occurred after his capture. Tewodros was attracted by the Šayḫ's courage and proposed to enlist him to fight against *ʾAmade* Bašir (of the Wallo royal family); but Šayḫ Jaʿfar replied that if he got 100 guns he would instead open war on Tewodros. After detaining the Šayḫ for four days, Tewodros released him with his disciples and allowed them to practice their religion without restrictions. Šayḫ Jaʿfar always used to motivate his disciples for *jihād.* He said:

من لا يأخذ السلاح فهو إمرأة [71]

man lā yaʾaḫuḏu al-silāḥa fa-huwa ʾimraʾatun

'Whoever does not take up arms, he is a woman'

Then we read a long series of Šayḫ Jaʿfar's miracles.

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[71] Ibid, p. 45

3.2.4.11 Eleventh Chapter: Šayḫ Jaʿfar's Personality

This chapter covers four pages (148 - 151). The author describes Šayḫ Jaʿfar's personal charm, which was seen when he would converse with men and women, elders and children. The hagiographer gives an important statement about the origin of black people (*zanj*) attributed to a person called Mūsā: they are of the seed of Adam and he respected them highly. The author contrasts this attitude to the common prejudice against black people.[72] The author talks about two important virtues of scholars which are refinement (*ʾadab*) and depth of knowledge. He explained the danger to ordinary people of not recognizing the importance of saints (*walīy*), and in this connection he quotes a basic principle of *fiqh*:

إذا إتسع الأمر ضاق وإذا ضاق إتسع[73]

ʾiḏā ittasaʿa al-ʾamru ḍāqa wa-ʾiḏā ḍāqa ittasaʿa

'If the matter has widened it has narrowed, and if it has narrowed it has widened'. That is to say if the matter is widely known it becomes less problematic; when it is less known it creates lots of problems.

3.2.4.12 Twelfth Chapter: Do Not Emulate the *ʾArbāb al-ʾAḥwāl* (i.e. Persons Who Feel Themselves to Be in a Special Spiritual Condition but) Whose State, Deeds, and Words Are Disordered

This long section covers thirty-six pages (from pages 151 – 186). In fact, the author says nothing about the subject announced in the title. Rather, we

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[72] Zanj (زنج). (n.d.). In Wikipedia. Retrieved April 25, 2213, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zanj. "Land of the Blacks or "Land of the Negroes" was a name used by medieval Arab geographers to refer to both a certain portion of the coast of East Africa and its inhabitants, Bantu-speaking peoples called the Zanj. The term 'shenzi' used on the East African coast and derived from Swahili "zanji" referred in a derogatory way to anything associated with rural blacks. The Zanj were for centuries shipped as slaves by Arab traders to all the countries bordering the Indian Ocean."

[73] *Misk*, p. 149.

encounter a variety of unrelated themes and issues. The author gives an account of the virtue of saints (*walīy*), on whom the jurisprudence of other scholars is not binding. He elaborates on the distinguishing criteria between true scholars who have deep and stable knowledge and others who lack deep knowledge. The author also differentiates scholars according to their knowledge of the transparent or definitive meanings (*muḥkam*) and the metaphorical (ambiguous) meanings (*mutašābih*) of verses from the Qur'an. True scholars and saints (*walīy*), he says, are those who understand the metaphorical meaning as well as the transparent meaning. He considers them as *ʾaʿimmat al-hudā* (imams of guidance) and quotes a saying:

من لم يعرف إمام زمانه مات ميتة جاهلية[74]

man lam yaʿrif ʾimāma zamānihi māta mītatan jāhiliyyatan

'Whoever does not know the Imam of his time dies a death of ignorance'

A substantial part of this section is devoted to a description of the elevated personal character of Šayḫ Jaʿfar. He was always eager to help others regardless of his own personal desires. We also are told about Šayḫ Jaʿfar's selflessness: he did not defend himself against personal attacks or seek to satisfy his individual pleasure. Rather, he defended and safeguarded his religion, Islam. He would not tolerate an anti-Islamic action even for a moment. We read an important reference that indicates his diligence in adhering to the rules and regulations of Sharia: he forbade excessive weeping when his beloved daughter, Taqyah, died. The Šayḫ gave no outward sign of being disturbed by her death, but continued his normal routines as if nothing had happened. At Taqyah's burial Šayḫ Jaʿfar remarked to Sultan ʾAdarā:

إنى لا أبكى لها وإنما أبكى لك قد وعظتك كذا وكذا من السنين فبقيت كطبخ حجر نفد عليه الماء والحطب وقد التقينا بالسواد فوصلنا الى البياض يعنى الشيب

[74] Ibid, p. 153.

ʾinnī lā ʾabkī lahā wa-ʾinnamā ʾabkī laka qad waʿaẓtuka kaḏā wa-kaḏā min al-sinīn fa-baqīta ka-ṭabḫi ḥajarin nafada ʿalayhi al-māʾ wa-l-ḥaṭab wa-qad iltaqaynā bi-l-sawād fa-waṣalnā ʾilā al-bayāḍ yaʿnī al-šayb

'I do not weep for her but I weep for you, I have been giving you such and such advice for years, but you remain (as unchanged as) a cooked stone when the water and firewood are used up. We (first) met in black but now we have arrived at whiteness [old age].'

There is also a brief description of Šayḫ Jaʿfar's righteousness and his complete obedience to Allah in his worship, especially the obligatory times of prayer. He made many remembrances of Allah, both day and night. The final long portion, up to the end of the chapter, talks about the praise and prayers of Šayḫ Jaʿfar on the Prophet.

3.2.4.13 Thirteenth Chapter: Miscellaneous[75]

This chapter covers fifteen pages (186 – 200). The first section of this chapter talks about leading Sufi scholars, both international and local. Among the well recognized Sufi mystics the following are mentioned:

1. Al-Ġazālī – Imām al-Ġazāli was born in 450 A.H. and died 550 A.H. / 1058 – 1155 A.D.[76], having lived for one century.

2. Al-Jaylānī – Abdulqādir al-Jaylānī was born in 471 A.H. and died in 561 A.H.[77]

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[75] The author does not give any title to this *Bāb*. Rather; he continues presenting fragmentary topics one after the other, so that I have entitled this section Miscellaneous.

[76]D.B. Macdonald. (1987). Al-Ghazālī. In *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936.* (Vol. 3, pp. 146-149). "Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Tūsī was the most original thinker that Islam has produced and greatest theologian. He was born at Tūsī in A.H. 450 (1058 A.D.) and was educated there and at Naisābūr especially under the Imām al-Ḥaramain."

3. Al-Quṭb al-Badawī – al-Badawī.[78]

4. Al-Imam al-Jazūlī was born at the beginning of the ninth century. He died in 870 16 Rabiʿ al-Awwal. After spending fourteen years in isolated worship he began to teach.[79]

5. Al-ʿĀrif al-ʾĀnī, died in 1299 A.H. and was buried in a place called *Karamī* in the region of *Gafarah* in North Wallo. As the author mentions, al-ʾĀnī wrote about fifty works covering almost all fields of study.

6. Al-ʿĀrif al-Bāʾ- he died in 1279 A.H. Among the works of al-Bāʾ the author mentions especially the collection of his panegyric poems (*manẓūmah*).

7. Mufti ʾAnam [Mufti Dāwud], the 13th-century A.H. revivalist who introduced *ṭarīqah*[80] into Ethiopia from al-Quṭb Sayyid Muḥammad al-Salmānī of Zabid in Yemen.

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[77]. D.S. Margoliouth. (1987). ʿAbd al-Kadir (Gīlānī). In *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936.* (Vol. 1, pp. 192-195). "ʿAbd al-Kadir (Gīlānī) Muḥyi ʾl-din Muhammed b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, preacher and Ṣūfī, after whom the Kādirī order is named, born in 470 (1077-1078) died in 561 (1165)."

[78] K. Vollers. (1987). Aḥmed Al-Badawī. In *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936.* (Vol. 1, pp. 192-195). "Aḥmad Al-Badawī, *Sīdī*, one who has for centuries been considered the greatest saint in Egypt, said to have been a descendant of ʿAlī. His forefathers are said to have emigrated to Fez about the year 73(692) in consequence of the troubles in Arabia. Aḥmad was born at Fez in the *zuḳāḳ* al-Haḍjar, probably in the year 596(1199-1200), and he seems to have been the youngest of seven or eight children. Aḥmad Al-Badawī, came from *Maghrib*, but had settled down in Egypt. The followers of al-Badawī are called *Aḥmedīya* are found all over Egypt and beyond."

[79] Muhammad al-Jazuli. (n.d.). In *Wikipedia.* Retrieved April 24, 2013, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al-Jazuli. "Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Jazuli al-Simlali (died 1465), often known as "Imam al-Jazuli", was a Moroccan Sufi leader of the Berber tribe of the Jazulah. He is best known for compiling the Dala'il al-Khayrat, an extremely popular Muslim prayer book. Many Moroccans consider al-Jazuli to be one [of] the seven saints of Marrakesh."

The hagiographer also mentions a number of other great scholars of Ḥabašā, including their achievements, character and date of birth and death.

The author now abruptly changes the topic, quoting ibn Abbas who gives the time gap between the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Prophet ʿĪsā [Jesus] as 596 years. He also quotes a Qur'anic verse that refers to the number of prophets between the Prophet Muḥammad and ʿĪsā:

اذ ارسلنا اليهم اثنين فكذبوهما فعززنا بثالث

'When we (first) sent to them two messengers, they rejected them: but we strengthened them with a third' (Qur'an 36:14)

This is three prophets, all from the children of Israel; but the author also mentions a fourth prophet, Ḫālid bin Sinān, not from the Israelites, about whom the Prophet said 'a prophet lost by his own people'. The author also gives a reference that states the time gap between the prophet ʿĪsā and Mūsā (Moses) to be 1700 years.

Additionally, there is an important discussion of the introduction of diacritical signs into the ʿUṯmāniyah Qur'an text.[81] The author discusses why the (written)

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[80]Tariqa. (n.d.). In *Wikipedia.* Retrieved April 24, 2013, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tariqa. "A tariqa (or *tariqah*; Arabic: طريقة *ṭarīqah*, plural طرق *ṭuruq*, from طريق 'way, path') ... is the term for a school or order of Sufism, or especially for the mystical teaching and spiritual practices of such an order with the aim of seeking *ḥaqīqah* 'ultimate truth'."

[81] The Osman's Koran [The Osman Koran]: Famous Muslim Relic, http://www.orexca.com/osman_koran.shtml (25 April 2013). "In Islamic history it is believed that the original and uncreated Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad by Allah through Archangel Gabriel. In Muhammad's life time there was no urgent need to have the written text of the Qur'an, since it was always possible to get oral clarifications on any issue from Muhammad. But already at the time of [the] true caliphs the Muslim community started to have disagreements and delusions. The creation of the unified text of the Qur'an was one of Uthman's important services to Islam. Having collected the texts of Muhammad's sermons from his disciples and associates Uthman compiled a consolidated text with the help of Zaid

Qur'an text originally had no diacritics. The Qur'an was revealed to an Arab society in which (the author says) there was no problem of reading. The author says that the first man to introduce vowel signs was Abu al-ʾAswad al-Duʾalī, as follows: for the *fatḥa* he used one dot above the letter, for the *ḍamma* he used one dot in front of the letter and for the *kasra* he used one dot below the letter. It is also mentioned that Duʾalī's innovation was transformed into the present system of vowel marks by al-Ḫalil bin Aḥmad al-Farāhidī. Another important innovation that the author mentions is the use of dots to distinguish similar Arabic letters. This was introduced by ʾAšraf Naṣr bin ʿĀṣim al-Layṯī by the order of the governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf.

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ibn Sabit. All the other texts and records were destroyed and, as Muslims believe… [,] five copies of the unified Qur'an were made and sent to Mekka, Medina, Damascus, Kufa and Basra. Uthman kept the original. Now it is kept in the Museum of History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan in Tashkent."

Chapter Four

Text, Translation and Analysis (Excerpts)

In this chapter, the researcher gives text, translation and analysis of selected portions from the ms. In fact, the long manuscript of *Misk al-Aḏfar fi manāqib Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko* has 200 pages and thirteen sections, which deal with a variety of issues. I select, focus on and give analysis only to historical events that involve the 19th-century Wallo Muslim scholar's reform endeavours and his contacts with Emperor Tewodros II. The thematic issues I selected from the manuscript are the following:

4.1 Attempt of Šayḫ Jaʿfar to abolish traditional ritual practices associated with chewing of *č'āt.*

4.2 Šayḫ Jaʿfar's reform efforts vis-a-vis *Qāḍi*s (judges) and *Qurrā'* (reciters of Qur'an).

4.3 Šayḫ Jaʿfar and local secular authorities (sultans).

4.4 Šayḫ Jaʿfar and the Wallo campaign of Tewodros.

For each theme I will present and analyze selected texts from the manuscript. Each part is presented in three sections: Arabic text, English translation and my analysis.

4.1 Attempt of Šayḫ Jaʿfar to Abolish Traditional Ritual Practices Associated with Chewing of *Č'āt*

In this regard the author argues that it is not the chewing of *č'āt* by itself that is a blameworthy act but its extreme veneration and considering it as an article of faith. In the ms we come across discussion of how, when and why the chewing of *č'āt* and related rituals are either allowed or condemned. Here, the author emphasizes that the chewing of *č'āt* and drinking of coffee are not only allowed but also mentions their advantages.

ان قماحة القات ليست مذمومة لذاتها. فقد ذكر الفقهاء أنها تدخلها[82] [في] الأحكام الخمسة حيث قالوا للوسائل حكم المقاصد وكذلك شرب القهوة. قلت هما فى حد ذاتهما مباحتان كما ذكره الفقهاء عن أبي ثعلبة الخشني رضى الله عنه أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال إن الله تعالى فرض فرائض فلا تضيعوها وحد حدودا فلا تعتدوها وحرم أشياء فلا تنتهكوها وسكت عن أشياء رحمة لكم غير نسيان فلا تبحثوا عنها.[83]

> Chewing of *č'āt* is not blameworthy by itself. Indeed the jurists mention it and enter it into the five (kinds of) rulings of Sharia,[84] where they said that the means rule the purposes, and similarly the drinking of coffee. I say that both in themselves are permissible, as mentioned by jurists referring to Abu Ṯa'laba al-Ḫušanī, may Allah be pleased with him: the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said "Almighty Allah imposes obligations so do not neglect them, and He puts limits so do not transgress them; He prohibits things, so do not disobey them. And some things He kept quiet about, in mercy to you and not out of forgetfulness; then do not inquire into them."

In the above extract the author argues that neither the chewing of *č'āt* nor the drinking of coffee is an evil act. As stated by him both acts come under the umbrella of the five kinds of rulings of the Šharia according to their purpose.

إن قماحة القات وشرب القهوة سنتان إذ كونهما دواء مشاهد [و] مجرب إذ هما يفتحان عين العبد وأذنه وقلبه ويزيلان الغفلة ويذهبان الأثقال عن القلب والجسد [85]

> The chewing of *č'āt* and drinking of coffee are *sunnatān* '(two) approved things' since both are seen as evident and proven medicine. Both of them open the servant's eye, ear, and heart and eliminate negligence and drive out burdens from the heart and the body.

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[82] Error for تدخل
[83] *Misk*, p. 72.
[84] The five kinds of rulings of Sharia are: obligation (*wājib*), desirable (*mustaḥabb*), permissible (*mubāḥ*), disliked (*makrūh*) and forbidden (*ḥarām*).
[85] *Misk*, p. 73.

In this account the author lists the advantages of chewing *č'āt* and drinking coffee as a drug to get rid of depression from spirit and body. He supports his stand by appeal to common experience (*tajribā*).

إن سنيتهما لمن يستعين بهما الطاعة كالدعاء بغير ما نهى عنه ، وقد يجبان وذلك فيما إذا توقف عليهما أداء واجب. وقد يكرهان وذلك فيما إذا كان يستعان بهما على المكروه. وقد يحرمان وذلك فيما إذا كان يستعان بهما على الحرام.[86]

> I approve of them (i.e. chewing of *č'āt* and drinking of coffee) to someone who will use them for obedience such as for prayer, though not what is forbidden; and they are obligatory if they are involved in the performance of a duty; and they are disliked if someone uses them for a disliked purpose; and they are forbidden if someone would use them for a forbidden purpose.

This also indicates that the problem is not chewing of *č'āt* or drinking of coffee by itself but what matters is how it is performed and for what purpose. As stated above the chewing of *č'āt* is not outlawed for its own sake but the problem is related to its veneration and the practices associated to anti-Islamic rituals. In the following extract the author discusses how Šayḫ Jaʿfar was against the veneration of *č'āt* and associated rituals.

حدثني في سبب ابتدائه في إقامة الحرب عليهم الشيخ العارف سيدي محمود بن السيد أبي محمد بن الشيخ فقيه زبير رضي الله عنهم وعنا بهم آمين. قال فى كلام طويل ما حصله أن والدك قمح فى مجلس شهرين يستأذن الحق تعالى فوجد الإذن في ذلك فأن ما فعل [ما] فعل بالإذن[87]

> Šayḫ al-ʿĀrif Sayyidi Maḥmūd bin al-Sayyid Abu Muḥammad bin Šayḫ Faqīh Zubayr, may Allah be pleased with them and with us through them, amen! spoke to me regarding the beginning of his waging war on them [*Qāmāt* "*č'āt* user" and *ʾAbagār* "ritual leader"]; in a long speech he said

[86] *Misk*, p. 73.
[87] Ibid, p. 55.

what happened to him: "Your father [Šayḫ Jaʿfar] chewed *č'āt* for two months in the house asking for permission [to wage war] from the Almighty. He got the permission for that; therefore, what he did was done with permission."

This indicates that Šayḫ Jaʿfar, as a religious cleric and reformer, thought about the anti-Islamic ritual practices of *Qāmāt* and *ʾAbagār* and sought permission from Allah to take measures against them.

وقمات [والقامات] طائفة دينها قماحة القات وتعظيمها تضيف إليها الآثار وتزعم النفع والضرر بقماحتها[88].

Qāmāt (persons who chew *č'āt*) are a group of people whose religion is chewing of *č'āt,* and venerating it adds to its effects, and they claim to get both benefit and harm from chewing it.

As the author explains, this implies that the main factors motivating Šayḫ Jaʿfar to stand against practitioners of these traditional rituals and their anti-Islamic practices were considering the chewing of *č'āt* as a faith and believing it as a cause of good or bad destiny.

والرئيس منهم يسمى أبكارا وقاسم القات بينهم يسمى اناى ... ولهم بيت يقال كُبدن ... يعظمونه غاية التعظيم يبنونه فى الصحراء تحت الأشجار الكبيرة يجتمعون فيه أحيانا للدعاء. وكانوا يجلبون القات من بلاد بعيدة مع وجدانها قريبا يزعمون نفعا فى ذلك. والجالبون لها يقال لهم اوراشا ... ويعظمونها حين يحملو غاية التعظيم. إذا أحدثوا استنجوا بالماء لأجل حملها ولا يعرفون الوضوء وإذا أجنبوا اغتسلوا لأجلها ولا يبالون للصلوات الخمس. ويزعمون أن القات تخبرهم بما كان ويكون من الحوادث. وإذا قمحوها بكوا بكاء هائلا بل منهم من يبكى برؤيتها فقط. والحامل لها لا يتكلم مع أحد وإنما يناجي ربه ولا يلتفتون إلى جهة غير جهة مقصد. ويمشون بسكينة وإذا كانت الطريق واسعة بأن كانت فى فضاء صفوا فى مشيهم كصفوف الصلوة. لا يجاوز عقب أحد على أحد وإذا كانت ضيقة مشوا فيها واحدا بعد واحد.

[88] Ibid, p. 55.

ولهم شروط يوافق بعضها بعضا داب الشريعة يزعمون أنها شروط الوداجا. والوداجا جماعة يجتمعون للدعاء. لهم أركان ابكار, واناى, وصريسا, وماهسا المؤخر دخولا وخروجا وغير ذلك[89].

Their head is called *ʾAbagār*; the one who distributes *č'āt* among them is called *ʾInāyi*. They have a house called *Gobadan*, which they highly venerate and which they build in the desert under big trees where they sometimes gather to pray. They bring *č'āt* from distant lands even though it is found nearby, claiming benefit from that. The person who brings *č'āt* is called *ʾAwurāč'ā*. They extremely venerate *č'āt* when carrying it. If they are unclean they clean themselves with water (*istinjāʾ*) just for carrying the *č'āt*, not caring for the obligatory (ritual) ablutions. And if they are sexually impure, they wash, just because of it [the *č'āt*]. And they are not mindful of the five daily prayers. They claim that *č'āt* tells them what events happened and will happen. When they chew *č'āt* they cry terribly and some of them even cry just from looking at it. A person who carries *č'āt* does not speak with anyone, but only converses (secretly) with his Lord. And they do not turn in any direction except that of their destination. And they walk calmly and if the path is wide, being in a plain, they walk in rows like prayer rows; they must not follow (close) at each other's heels. If the road is narrow they walk one after the other. And they have conditions and rules which correspond, point for point, to Sharia with untiring persistence, which they claim are (also) the conditions and rules of *wadājā*. The *wadājā* is a group who meet for *duʿāʾ*. Their basic persons are: *ʾAbagār, ʾInāyi, Sorysā and Māhasā* (a person who enters and leaves the *wadājā* session last).

In this section the author deals with the traditional ritual leaders, *ʾAbagār, Qāmāti* and others, and their extreme veneration of *č'āt*. It is also explained that they would hold a traditional ritual session called *wadājā*. The *wadājā* session

[89] Ibid, pp. 55-56.

had rules and pre-conditions that must be respected by the attendants. The ritual leaders who participated in the sessions had their own status and responsibilities.

وأهل حامل القات أمروه بأن يقول لها قد أذنبت فاغفري لي أيتها القات. فيقول ذلك وهو حامل لها على رأسه. ولهم كفارات يفعلونها يسمونها تلفنا ... عند إساءة الأدب مع القات وعند التطير بشيء ويقولون عند القماحة رأينا كذا وكذا ويسمونها ياني ... وهي الفهوانية وهي حالة بين النوم واليقظة[90]

> And the *č'āt*-carrier's associates order him to speak to her (the *č'āt*) saying, "I have sinned. Forgive me, O *č'āt*." He says this while carrying her (*č'āt*) on his head. They have atonement rituals which they perform called *tolfanā,* violating good behaviour and seeing evil omens in things. While chewing *č'āt* they say "We saw such and such", and they call it *yāniy*. This is *al-fahwāniyyah*, a situation between sleep and wakening (trance or semi-consciousness).

Here the Šayḫ described the people's veneration of *č'āt*: they talk to it and even apologize to it, as if was a goddess. *Č'āt* sends them into a trance.

كان الباء رضي الله عنه يقول فى شأن تعظيم القات والبن كل ما عُبد من دون الله فهو طاغوت. وكان الشيخ سيدى الحاج محمد أمان الفلانى رضى الله عنه يفتي بتحريم القات فى حقهم فقط. وكانوا يرون بيوتهم المذكورة كنائس . وكان والدي رضي الله عنه يقول إنه المسجد الضرار ... وكان يقول إن من دخلها يكفرو [يكفر]. وكان قد سلطه الله عليهم احرق عليهم ثمانية وثلاثين بيتا من تلك البيوت. ولما أقام الحرب عليهم اجتمعوا إلى رؤساؤهم [رؤسائهم] وكانوا أربعين كما قيل وذهبوا الى السلطان أدرا وقالوا له قد سلطت علينا رجلا غريبا لأنه جاء من كُرادو. توعدوه بالدعاء عليه. [91]

> Al-Bāʾ (al-Ḥaji Bušrā, called Sayyid al-Bāʾ), may Allah be pleased with him, would say about the veneration of *č'āt* and coffee, "Everything that is worshiped except Allah is idolatry". Al-Šayḫ Sayyidī al-Ḥaji Muḥammad ʾAmān al-Fallānī, may Allah be pleased with him, issued a legal opinion

[90] Ibid, p. 57.
[91] Ibid, p. 60.

(*fatwā*) banning *č'āt* for them (i.e. the *č'āt*-venerators) only. They considered their houses [*Gobadan*] mentioned above as churches. My father [Šayḫ Jaʿfar], may Allah be pleased with him, says it [*Gobadan*] is the mosque of harm.[92] … He used to say that anyone who enters it [the mosque] becomes an infidel. Indeed Allah gave him authority over them and he burned down thirty-eight of those [ritual] houses [*Gobadan*]. When he [Šayḫ Jaʿfar] waged war on them, they met with their leaders - and they were forty in number, as it is said - and (then) they went to Sultan ʾAdarā and said to him, "You have given a strange man authority over us, because he is from Garādo." They threatened him [Šayḫ Jaʿfar] with a curse upon him.

We see here a report of a *fatwā* (legal judgment) aimed specifically at *č'āt* abusers and forbidding them (but not other people) from chewing the leaf It is also described how Šayḫ Jaʿfar not only condemned such un-Islamic ritual practices verbally, but also waged open war against them and got rid of their ritual houses.

4.2 Šayḫ Jaʿfar's Reform Efforts vis-a-vis *Qāḍis* (judges) and *Qurrāʾ* (reciters of Qur'an)

Šayḫ Jaʿfar as a reformer and religious cleric also vigorously opposed the *Qāḍis* and *Qurrā* regarding their unjust practices.

وكان حربا على القضاة والقراء الذين يأخذون الجلود والصدور ويجمعون الزكوات من النواحي ويأكلونها وحدهم ويمنعون المستحقين بالكلية. وكانت السلاطين تطعهم [تطيعهم] من النواحي لذلك فيأخذ الشخص الواحد منهم ما يكفى لنحو ثلاثين. ويتخذون الحب نبيذا يشربونه. وإذا مات شخص وذبحت له

[92] Cf. Qurʾān 9:107: والذين اتخذوا مسجدا ضرارا وكفرا "those who established a mosque by way of harm and unbelief".

البهائم للتصدق عنه فى أوقات مخصوصة عادة يأخذون الجلود والصدور والكلى والشحوم من غير رضى أصحابها المسلمين[93]

> He waged war on judges and reciters of Qur'an who would take the hides and breasts (of slaughtered animals) and collect *Zakāt* (alms) from the surrounding region. They consumed them themselves and prevented those who were entitled to the kidneys.[94] The sultans of the region were obedient to them and because of that the amount taken by just one of them could be enough for about thirty persons. They developed a love of drinking wine. When a person died animals would usually be slaughtered for him as a charity at specific times (when he was buried); (then) they would take the hides, breasts, kidneys and fat without the consent of their Muslim owners.

The above extract describes the greed of the judges and reciters of the Qur'an even in the name of giving divine service. Šayḫ Ja'far waged war against them.

ويوافقون قبيلة جالا فى غالب أحكامها وأفعالها الجاهلية ويتبعون العادات كمنع إرث النساء, ومهورهن, واختصاص الإرث بأكبر الأولاد, والحكم بغير السنة, واتباع الأباء والجدود فيما يخالف الشريعة الغراء, وتسمية زوجات العصبات زوجات فإن الجالا يستحلون فروج نساء العشائر ولا غيرة لهم فى ذلك وكراهة تزوج القريب لزوجة القريب إذا طلقها حمية كحمية الجاهلية. وكانوا يتولون القضاء مع الجهل وإذا مات قاض تولى الولد ولو جاهلا أو أميا بل ولو إمرأة حيث فقد ذكر من أبيها. فتراهم يقولون قاضى فلانة وذلك لأن الغرض أكل معلومه لا غير وكانوا يحملون الهدايا بسبب ما أقطفوه مما مر إلى السلاطين ويترددون إليهم للزيارة والدعاء لهم فى بيوتهم فى أيام معلومة من الأسبوع والسنة وكانو يتتبعون سيما الدهاقين والسلاطين فى اللباس والكلام والمركوب والمسكن وغير ذلك. أكثر القراء فى نواحينا مجمعون على ذلك وهم الآن على ذلك لا يزالون حسبما أمكنهم. فكان والدى يعظهم وينهاهم ويحثهم على اتباع الكتاب والسنة ولا يوافقونه بل يدعون عليه ويسعى بعضهم به الى السلطان أدرا بما هو بريئ منه فلا يلقى لهم بالا إلا أنه لما دنت دولته أن تزول أصغى إلى بعضها[95]

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[93] *Misk*, P.69.

[94] The Arabic has *kulya* "kidney"; but more plausibly this may be a non-standard *maṣdar* of *'akala* "eat". The meaning would then be "prevent those who were entitled (to them) from consuming (them)".

[95] *Misk*, pp. 69-70.

And they are like an Oromo ("*Gālla*"[96]) clan in the excessiveness of their ignorant judgments and deeds. They follow customs like preventing woman from the right to inheritance and from having a dowry, giving priority of inheritance to the oldest child and giving judgments outside the *Sunnah* (orthodox tradition based on the Prophet). The Oromo allow sexual intercourse with the women of their own near kin, and they feel no jealousy in this. And they have an aversion to a relative marrying the wife of (another) relative after he (the latter) has divorced her, out of passion like the passion of the time of Ignorance. They fill the position of *Qāḍi* (judge) ignorantly. When a *Qāḍi* died he would be succeeded by his son even if he was ignorant or illiterate, or even by a woman if her father had no male child. They call her *Qāḍi* so and so (Miss Judge) because their prime goal is to consume what was determined for him, and that is all. They bestow gifts to the sultans from what they get from what has occurred [e.g. the slaughtering mentioned above] and visit them repeatedly on determined days of the week and the year. They take after the important personages and the sultans in their way of life: in dress, speech, style of riding, housing etc. Most of the *Qurrā'* in our region are agreed upon that, and they are still doing this even today to the degree that they can. My father (Šayḫ Ja'far) would exhort them and forbid them and urge them to follow the Qur'an and *Sunnah.* But they did not agree with him but rather cursed him, and some of them slandered him to Sultan 'Adarā regarding things he was innocent of. He (Sultan 'Adarā) paid no attention to them, however, except that when his regime was approaching its end, he started to listen to some of it.

[96] The author of the ms uses the term "*Gālla*" to refer to the Oromo people. The Oromos perceive this term as pejorative and do not identify themselves by it. Because of this the English word Oromo is used here instead of "*Gālla*".

In the above paragraph it is described how Šayḫ Ja'far condemned the traditional customs of the nominally Muslim Oromo society. It again reflects how the social and justice system was abused by both the secular and religious authorities.

4.3 Šayḫ Ja'far and Local Secular Authorities (Sultans)

In this section we find an account of the struggle between Šayḫ Ja'far and the secular authorities, judges and other oppressive leaders.

وكان قد سلطه الله على الجبابرة وقد مر أنه وجد الإذن على القمحة والقراء وما يدل أنه وجد الإذن أيضا على الجبابرة[97]

> Indeed Allah gave him authority over the oppressors, and it happened that he got permission over the *Qamḥati* and *Qurra'* which indicates that he also got permission over the oppressors.

Moreover, we can understand that Šayḫ Ja'far's reform measures were accomplished by the will and permission of Allah.

وكان يقرأ المنهاج على الشيخ أحمد الاتى في نواحى وربابو ... فأرسل كّجى سلطان يجو وكان هناك بسبب الجلا الى شيخه المذكور أن أرسل لي المتعلمين يدعون لي فأرسله معهم وجعل عليهم رئيسا ابن عم والدي الشيخ عمر أبلى لأنه كان أكبر سنا منه. فدخلوا على السلطان فقرب إليهم الطعام فأبى والدي أن يأكل وقال أعطوني قاتا فأعطوه فلما فرغوا من الطعام قام السلطان على السرير ليقول قهوة جبا فقال له والدي ألا تنزل بصوت عنيف ففزع ونزل وكان فى المجلس مشايخ. وكان هو شابا فدعا هو مبادرا. فبينما هو فى الدعاء قال له شخص إنه لا يحب الريق. فأخذته حمية فقال اخ وتفل على وجهه فصاح السلطان ووثب. فباتوا مجلسا فلما كان آخر الليل قال للسلطان وجدنا لك الدخول فى بلادك على سرير فلم يفهم معنى كلامه فخرج من ساعته فأخذ شخص بيده حين خرج فلم يزل يمشى به حتى أوصله إلى باب زاوية الشيخ فلم يعرف ما هو وفقده فنبه السلطان لمعنى كلامه فأرسل إلى الشيخ أن أرسله يشفع في فأباه وقال إنما رحت لأجلك. فلم يجاوز الأسبوع حتى مات وحمل على السرير إلى بلده[98].

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[97] *Misk*, p. 79.
[98] Ibid, pp. 79-80.

He learned *Minhāj* [*Minhāj Al-ṭālibīn* 'method for questioners' by Al-Nawawī (d. 1277)] from Šayḫ Aḥmad Ātī in Warabābo … Sultan Gujji of Yajju asked Šayḫ Aḥmad Ātī to send him his students to pray for him. And he sent him (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) with them. And he appointed my father's cousin, Šayḫ ʿUmar ʾAbulyi, as their head over them, because he was older than him. They entered to the Sultan and he brought them food but my father (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) refused to eat. He asked them to give him *č'āt* and they gave it to him. After they finished eating, the sultan stood up on the bed to say *Qahwā jabā* (I present the coffee to your owner). In the presence of the assembled Šayḫs my father said to him in a harsh voice to come down from the bed. And he was frightened and came down. He (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) was (only) a young man and abruptly he began to pray. While he was praying, someone said to him that he did not like spittle.[99] And he flew into a passion, said *ʾAḫ* and spat in his face. The sultan cried out and jumped. After they spent the night in assembly, at the end of the night he (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) said to the sultan "We have found for you an entry to your country on a bed." He did not understand the meaning of his words. He (sultan) went out immediately and someone took him by the hand as he went out and he kept walking with him until he brought him to the gate of the Šayḫ's *zāwiya* (mosque) but he did not know what it was and he missed it. Then the Sultan was informed about the meaning of his words, and he sent to the Šayḫ, saying (to the messenger), and "Send him so he will do intercession for me". But Šayḫ Jaʿfar refused and said, "I only came for your sake." Not more than a week passed before he (sultan) died and was carried on his bed to his country.

[99] Spitting at the end of prayer is traditionally a part of Muslim prayer ritual.The statement in the text is an insult.

angry at him. And he said, "You are a hypocrite." "Yä-ʾənnatə-kə-n ʾəršo ʾaräkkaw" "Did you make the Sharia law to be your mother's yeast?" When the scholars were unable to implement judgment (according to the Sharia) - for the people of Wallo would not accept the ruling of the Qur'an unless it was for their benefit, and the scholars [of Wallo] were afraid of a judgment against them - then the sultans would send the two opposing parties to my father because they knew he did not fear anybody except Allah. They did not depart from him until he had implemented the rule of Sharia on them in defiance of them. ... When he would go to the sultans, he would enter to them armed and wearing his sword; the one who took his shield on his head would stand up and he would put his hand on the handle of his sword when speaking to the oppressors, and he would call out to whichever of them was talking to him, saying "O you hypocrite!" And he (the other one) would respond "At your service." No one, whoever he was, could refuse to respond to him.

This excerpt describes Šayḫ Jaʿfar's role as a judge and mediator in legal disputes. His rulings followed Sharia law. He boldly challenged the sultans if they opposed him.

4.4 Šayḫ Jaʿfar and the Wällo Campaign of Emperor Tewodros

In this section I will present and give analysis of all the texts in the ms that talk about Tewodros' campaign in Wallo and about Šayḫ Jaʿfar.

أخبرنى الشيخ على أحد أصحابه أنه جاءه يوما فوجده جالسا وحده فقال له تعال وادن مني أحدثك بشئ. قال فدنوت منه فقال "قال لي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ما يكفيك من العمر ما عشته." وقبلني ثم قال فهذا آخر لقائنا فلم أره بعد ذلك لأن حرب كاسا تدروس خرب البلاد حتى أسر الشيخ وأطلق ونزل إلى أرض جاما ومات ولم يلبث إلا نحو سنة[103]

[103] Ibid, p. 17.

Šayḫ ʿAlīy, one of his (Šayḫ Jaʿfar's) friends, told me that one day he came to him and found him sitting alone. And he (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) said "Come close to me, let me tell you something." He (Šayḫ ʿAlīy) said, "And I came close to him." And he (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) said, "The messenger of Allah, peace and blessing of Allah upon him, said, 'What you have lived of your life is enough,' and he kissed me." And then he (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) said [to Šayḫ ʿAlīy], "It is our last meeting." I did not see him (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) after that because the war of Tewodros destroyed the country; even the Šayḫ was arrested. After he was released he went down to the land of Jāmmā and died, delaying only about a year.

The above extract shows Šayḫ Jaʿfar as *waliy* (saint, holy man), and tells how he met the Prophet who revealed to him his destiny. Tewodros's brutal campaign against Wallo is mentioned briefly.[104] As a result, Šayḫ Jaʿfar was detained and forced to depart from his permanent seat, Gātirrā, to Jāmmā.

وأخبر قبيل حرب كاسا بأنه رأى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. قال فوقعت على رجليه أقبلهما فضرب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم على هذا وأشار إلى نحو كتفيه ثلاثا قائلا نصرك الله نصرا عزيزا ثلاثا. ثم قال دع حاج مدنى. وقد كنا تحاورنا معه فى تلك الرؤيا قال هو فلتخرب البلاد. فقلت أليس المسلمون يتضررون. فقال ألم تر الرطب يحترق مع اليابس. فجاءنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فوقعت الخ[105]

[Šayḫ Jaʿfar] related, shortly before the war of Kassa [Tewodros II], that he saw [in a dream] the messenger of Allah, peace and blessing of Allah be upon him. He [Šayḫ Jaʿfar] said, "I fell at his feet to kiss them." The messenger of Allah, peace and blessing of Allah be upon him, hit on this [sholder], pointed toward his shoulders three times, saying "May Allah give you victory_three times." Then he said "Leave Ḥaji Madanī." And we

[104] Hussein Ahmed, in his book, remarks: "The imperial troops pillaged the Wallo countryside and the resulting devastation was so thorough that it gave rise to a serious famine in the area." (2001: 163). Similarly Rubenson asserted that Tewodros was engaged in ruthless campaign in Wello and northern Shewa (*The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, p. 215).

[105] *Misk*, pp. 19 – 20.

were [i.e. I was] discussing the dream with him; he [Ḥaji Madanī] said, "Let the country be destroyed." I said, "Will not the Muslims be harmed?" He said, "Have you not seen that the wet burns with the dry?" The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, came to us and I fell etc. [i.e. at his feet to kiss them].

In addition to the prophecy and the dream we encounter here an important reference that shows the effects of Tewodros's campaign, which badly hurt Wallo. It is indicated that the Wallo Muslims would be targeted by this campaign and suffer much harm.[106]

وكان والدى يقول من الاولياء من لا ينسى ما كان من يوم الذر. ويقول ايضا سيجيئ حرب من الكفار من نحو كَندر يقتلونى بالنار مع أنى لا تأكلني النار في الدنيا والآخرة. فجاء حرب تدروس فترك فى بيت وكان مريضا فحرقت الكفار البيت فاحترق الدار إلا السرير الذي اضطجع عليه فلم يحترق ووجد هو وثيابه سالما ميتا فنفضوا الرماد من عليه ودفن[107]

My father [Šayḫ Ja'far] used to talk about one of the *'Awliyā'*[108] ['Anabiyi Walya] who will never be forgotten from time immemorial. He said, "A war will come from the infidels from Gondar. They will try to kill me by fire even though fire cannot consume me in this world and the hereafter." The war of Tewodros broke out while he ['Anabiyi Walya] was sick and left alone in a house. The infidels set fire to the house and it all burned down except the bed he was lying on. It was not burned, and he with his

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[106] Abir, *Ethiopia: The Era of the Princes*, p. 142. "Emperor Teodros did not rest very long on his laurels. Shortly after the battle of Deresge, he made public his intention once and for all to break the Galla threat, suppress Islam, abolish slavery and, above all, reunite Ethiopia as a Christian empire".

[107] *Misk*, pp.24 – 25.

[108] *Al-'Awliyā'* (الاولياء), singular *waliy* (ولي) "saint, holy man". Here Šayḫ Ja'far is referring, among his contemporaries, to one of the famous holy men in the highland region of Wallo named 'Anabiyi Walya.

clothes was found safely (peacefully) dead. They shook off the ash from upon him and buried him.

In this excerpt, in addition to the description of his miraculous death, we see that ʾAnabiyi Walya predicts that war will come to Wallo from Gondar. Indeed, shortly after his coronation Tewodros marched south from Gondar.[109]

أخبرني بخروج كاسا يعنى تدروس قبل ظهوره وبأنه يقتله أهل العرب. فكان كما أخبر. ومات فى أرض جلّى ود فن هناك رضى الله عنه وعنا به[110]

He [al-Ḥaji Madanī] told me about the (future) coming of Kassa, i.e. Tewodros, before his appearance and that he would be killed by Arabs. It happened as he said [Tewodros killed by Arabs?]. He [Ḥaji Madanī] died in the land of Jelya and was buried there, may Allah bless him and us.

We encounter here a prophecy by al-Ḥaji Madanī about the rise of Tewodros and his death. According to this prophecy his death would be by the hand "of Arabs". However, in the sentence (يقتله أهل العرب) *yaqtuluhu ʾAhl al-ʿArab*, more than one interpretation can be suggested for the word عرب.

1- In the ms it is clearly pointed as (يقتله أهل العرب) *yaqtuluhu ʾAhl l-ʿArab*. The author did not write (أهل الغرب) *ʾAhl l-Ġarb* 'people of the west', even though this would make good sense.
2- However, the original text might have been *ʾAhl l-Ġarb*, and the dot over the *ġayn* was omitted to become *ʿayn*.
3- If so, this would mean that Tewodros would be killed by westerners (Europeans), not by Ethiopians and not by Arabs.
4- In fact, Tewodros's death was caused by westerners and not by Arabs. Tewodros died during the British expedition to Abyssinia in 1868; he

[109] Abir, *Ethiopia: The Era of the Princes*, p. 143. "In April, 1855, Kassa's army was already advancing to the Wollo country on its way to Showa."
[110] Misk, p. 26.

committed suicide as the British troops attacked Maqdala and defeated his power.

أخبرني أخي عن الشيخ بشير قبقب البورني قال جاء الشيخ عبدالله فاتحة إلى قرية انبرارا فزار قبر الشيخ سيدى بدر أحد أصحاب سيدي محمد شافي النكوسي رضي الله عنهم. فبات تلك الليلة فى المسجد فأضافه أهل البلد فلما صلينا العشاء الآخرة أمر الناس أن يناموا فناموا قال فقام الشيخ وجعل على رأسه المصحف ساكتا فى المحراب فلم أزل مستيقظا على جنبي حتى أنظر ماذا يكون الأمر فلما صاحت الديكة قال بشير إن الحق تعالى قال لي افتح ثنية ششه بحرب الكفار فقلت لا يا رب وأنا فى الحياة. فما زلت فى ذلك حتى أجابنى بأني لا أفتح ذلك الباب ما دمت فى الحياة فجلس الشيخ رضى الله عنه وششه بلدة على طريق الجائي من ناحية كَندر وكان الحرب حرب كاسا تدروس الذى خرب البلاد وكان بعد وفاة هذا الشيخ رضى الله عنه.[111]

My brother told me about Šayḫ Bašīr Qabqabi of Borna, who said that Šayḫ ʿAbdullah Fātiḥa came to the village of ʾAnbrārā and visited the tomb of Šayḫ Sayyidī Badr, one of the friends of Sayyidī Muḥammad Šāfi al-Negusi, may Allah bless them. He (Šayḫ ʿAbdullah Fātiḥa) spent that night in the mosque and the people of the country gave him hospitality. After we prayed the final night prayer, *ʿIšā*ʾ (the evening prayer), he ordered the people to sleep, and they slept. He (Šayḫ Bašīr) said that the Šayḫ (ʿAbdullah Fātiḥa) stood up silent in the *miḥrāb* 'prayer niche' and put the Qur'an on his head. I (Bašīr?) stayed awake (lying) on my side until I could see what would happen. When the cock crowed, Bašīr said, "The Almighty said to me, 'Open up (defeat) *Ṯanyah Šišah* (place name) in the war with the infidels.' I said, 'No my Lord, not so long as I am in life.' I did not stop until He told me that I would not have to open that door as long as I am in life." And then the Šayḫ (ʿAbdullah Fātiḥa) sat down, may Allah bless him. *Šišah* is a city on the way to Gondar. The war was the war of Kassa Tewodros that destroyed the country. And this happened after the death of this Šayḫ (Bašīr), may Allah bless him.

[111] *Misk*, pp. 46 – 47.

In the above section the author tells how one of the great mystics and scholars of the time, Šayḫ Bašīr Qabqabi al-Boranī, prayed to Allah that he should not have to bear the responsibility of trying to defeat the forces of Tewodros and to open up the place called *Ṯanyah Šišah.* This shows how very dangerous the author considered the threat represented by Tewodros's campaign against Wallo, and how much Tewodros's power was feared.[112]

إن سيف الحق أقام عليهم [القضاة] الحرب فلم يزالوا منهزمين ما شاء الله تعالى. ثم إن ذلك القاضى ذهب إلى السلطانة ورقت وقال لها قد عزلنى. فقالت له إيش أفعل لك إذا عزلك. هو فبقي معزولا حتى جاء إلى والدي واسترضاه. وهذا من عجيب ما يتفق له من تنفيذ الله مقالته من غير سعى بالاقدام ولا بالاقلام. فأن القاضي لو لم يرفع الأمر إلى السلطانة لما كان عليه بأس. ثم إن والدي رضي الله تعالى عنه نادى فى ذلك اليوم بأن قضاة كورى معزولون وولى فى كل قرية من ناحية كورى من يقسم الزكوات على المستحقين ممن توسم فيهم الخير فشفى الله تعالى حر قلبه وأقر عينه فى تلك الناحية وكان ما أخبر به من أن الله تعالى أذن له على القراء والقضاة حقا وصدقا. لكنه لم تكمل تلك السنة حتى خرب حرب كاسا تدروس البلاد وأخذ السلطان على ابن ادرا وقيده ومات فى القيد[113]

> Sayf al-Ḥaqq made war on them [the judges]. They were vanquished and continued to be vanquished, by Allah's will. And that judge went to Sultana Warqit and told her, he (Šayḫ Ja'far) has dismissed me from my post. She said to him, "What can I do for you if he has dismissed you?" He remained dismissed until he came to my father and tried (unsuccessfully) to conciliate him. And this is one of the wonderful accomplishments of Allah that happened to him, [that he achieved this simply] by speaking, with no effort or exertion on his part.If the judge had not raised the issue with the Sultana he (the judge) might not have had a problem. And my

[112] As Hussein Ahmed says (*Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia,* pp. 162 – 163), Tewodros conducted five campaigns against Wallo. The first was just after his coronation in April 1855 at which he defeated Amade Ali and then made him his ally. His second march took place in late 1855 tried to take revenge against Warqitu for her destruction of churches. The third campaign was conducted starting from 1857 at which he defeated all his contenders including his own appointees. The fourth took place from 1860 – 1862/63. The fifth and last was in 1865 following the escape of Menilek from Maqdala.

[113] *Misk*, p. 90.

father, may Allah Almighty bless him, proclaimed on that day that (all) the judges of Gorā were dismissed. He appointed in every village of Gorā [new judges] from those (candidates) who seemed promising, to divide the *zakāt* 'alms' among those who were entitled to them. Then Allah soothed his hot temper and cooled his eyes in that region. And it was true what he said, that Allah gave him power over the reciters of the Qur'an and the judges. But that year was not over before the war of Kassa Tewodros ruined the country, and he seized Sultan Aliy ibn ʾAdarā and bound him. Sultan Aliy died while incarceration.

The above extract describes the reform mission of Šayḫ Jaʿfar against local religious and secular authorities who oppressed the society. Šayḫ Jaʿfar was beginning to see the fruits of his struggle, but his success was jeopardized by the campaign of Tewodros. Tewodros not only attacked Šayḫ Jaʿfar but also the local rulers such as Sultan Aliy ibn ʾAdarā.[114]

ولما أغار حرب كاسا على نواحينا أبى أن يفر وقال أدخل الجنة مع أهل بيتى. وأرسل الخيول بعد ما أسرجت خوفا أن يهرب أولاده عليها. إذا اشتد الأمر فأخذها الكفار مطلقة. وقاتل راجلا مع أولاده فأخذ الكفار في رمي البنادق فقال *أباي بلات*[115] أي قل إنها كاذبة فلم تصب أحدا مع كثرة الرمي وقرب المكان. بل لم يصب شئ من السلاح شيئا من بدنه أي لم يأثر. وقاتل على باب داره من الظهر إلى قبيل الغروب ثم أسر. ولما أخذوه قعد خارج الحصن وقال إيتنى ببغلة ليركبها فأبى الاخذ وقال قم فقال هل تعرف القتل وشتمه فقال بعض من هناك من الكفار لا تسبه وناشده بملكهم تدروس. فأتى ببغلته وأعطاه وجعل يمشى بين يديه ثم قال له أحد فإنك لم تأسر أنثى فقال الكافر لا. فحدى سيف الحق حداء عجيبا كأنه الآسر. ولما

[114] After Tewodros defeated Amade Ali he marched towards Lagā Gorā where he captured and executed the governor of the region, Adarā Bille. Following the death of Adarā Bille his son Ali ibn Adarā became hereditary governor of Laga Gorā. According to the reference in the ms Ali ibn Adarā too was captured by Tewodros and was detained until his death.

[115] Here and in the following, Arabic text in italics is in ajami Amharic.

أسر وقعد كان قد نسي سيفه الذي فى خصره فبادر الآسر واخذ على مقبضه فذكره فأخذ على حده مبادرا أخذه فقطع راحته قطعا فاحشا.[116]

When the war of Kassa made incursions into our region, he (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) refused to flee. He said, I will enter paradise with my family. He sent off the horses after they they had been saddled, for fear that his sons would run away (mounted) on them. When the situation worsened, the infidels got hold of them (the horses) all in all. He and his sons fought on foot. When the infidels began firing guns he said [in Amharic] "*Abāy Balāt*" which means "Say it is false"; and they (the guns) did not hit anyone despite the heaviness of fire and the closeness of range. None of the weapons hit any part of his body, that is, they had no effect. He fought at the door of his house from noon to just before dusk and finally he was taken prisoner. When they captured him he sat down outside the fortress and said, "Give me a mule to ride." The captor refused and said "Get up"; and he said, "Do you know what killing is?" and he insulted and cursed him. One of the infidels there said, "Do not insult him" and appealed to him by their king Tewodros. He brought his mule and gave it to him and he began walking in front of him. And one of them said to him, "You did capture a woman." And the infidel said no. And Sayfu al-Ḥaqq began provoking him very much, as if he (Sayfu al-Ḥaqq) were the captor. When he was captured and sat down, he forgot his sword at his waist and his captor abruptly seized it by the handle. And this reminded him (of his sword), and he abruptly seized its cutting edge and he cut his palm very badly.

The above section shows how Šayḫ Jaʿfar faced the forces of Tewodros courageously. He uplifted the morale of his family; if they died while fighting they would be awarded paradise. He miraculously escaped the ememy's guns

[116] *Misk*, p. 142.

and fought a half-day battle around his house until he was defeated and taken captive. Even after his capture his high morale was observed, and he belittled the enemy.

وبلغني أنه حين يقاتل كان يلقي ترسه. فيردها عليه بعض من معه من أصحابه فحين ينكشف عنها لا يؤثر فيه شئ من الأسلحة التى تقع عليه. ويؤثر فيه شيئا قليلا كأنه الخدش ما نفذ من وراء الترس. فكان فى بدنه من ذلك مع ما قطعه سيفه مما ذكر آنفا سبعة جراح. وأنه حين يلقي الترس يقول جلد بلاء ويفتخر في الوقعة بقوله *يباقى للى يواحد القهار أشكر*. ولما أوصلوه إلى معسكرهم أخذت العساكر تجتمع عليه تنظر فى شأنه. وهو يمزح ويضحك ولم يتغير من أحواله التي كانت شيئ. وأخذوا يحملون إليه الهدايا وهو يردها عليهم لنهب أموال المسلمين. وأرسل إليه الملك القسيسين ليجادلوه. فلما جاؤا إليه بادرهم فى السؤال وقال للأسقف *تطيّق* فقال إيش فقال إن عيسى الذي نقول نحن أنه نبي هل يأكل؟ فقال نعم. وهل يشرب؟ فقال نعم. وسأله من هذا النمط شيئا كثيرا وهو يصدقه. ثم قال إن الذى فطر الخلق هل يأكل ويشرب وكيت وكيت؟ فقال *اندت اركواى* كيف ينبغى له ذلك. ثم بادر القس وقال من أي جهة جاءني ان هذا يبطل *الهيمانت* يعنى الإيمان بزعمه وهرب فلما سمع الملك تدروس ذلك أرسل إليه أسئلة وهي إن *القس* لا يعرف نعم عيسى نبي لكنه أكبر من محمد فنحن آمنا بالأكبر وأنتم بالأصغر ,ومحمد حبيب الله وعيسى روح الله. فهل الروح افضل أم الحبيب؟ فرد عليه هذا من الحماقة. ألم تكن أنت كذا وكذا وكان الملك لفلان فأعطاك الله الملك. فهزمت الجيوش وملكت وصرت على هذا القدر؟ ونبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم مع كونه جاء آخرا ساد جميع الأنبياء ونسخ شرايعهم. وأما تسميته روحا فلأنه خلق من غير أب وليس ذلك لفضله على محمد صلى الله على نبينا وعليه وسلم. فلما سمع ذلك وثب يفتخر ويقول نعم هزمت وفعلت وفعلت. وقوله ألم تكن أنت كذا وكذا يعني أنه لم يكن من أبناء العظماء والملوك وإنما أعطاه الله تعالى وقد يسود المرء من غير أب.[117]

> I heard that when he fought he would throw away his shield; some of his companions would return it to him. When he was exposed none of the weapons that fell upon him would affect him. And whatever penetrated behind the shield affected him (only) a little, like a scratch. Including the sword cut mentioned above he was wounded seven times in his body. While throwing away the shield he said 'worn-out skin' (i.e. damn useless shield!) and boasted, saying ya-bāqi lolyë ya-wāḥid al-Qahār ʾAškar.

[117] Ibid, pp. 142 -143.

When they brought him to their camp the soldiers gathered around him to see how he was. He joked and laughed, and the mood he was in did not change in any way. They set out to bring him gifts, which he gave back to them because it was the plundered wealth of the Muslims. The king sent priests to debate with him. When they came to him he took the initiative to ask questions and said to the bishop "taṭayaq" (ready to be asked). He (the bishop) said "ʾišši" (ok). He (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) said ʿĪsā (Jesus), who we say he is a prophet, does he eat? He said yes. Does he drink? He said yes. And he asked him in this manner many things which he (the bishop) confirmed to him. Then he said, He who made (all) creation, does He eat and drink and so on? He said, "ʾəndat ʾArgo" "That could not be." Then the priest took the initiative and said, "From what direction (i.e. where on earth) has it come to me that this (or he) invalidates "al-Haymānot?" - i.e. faith, as he claimed - and he ran off (in anger or frustration). When King Tewodros heard that, he sent him questions, since the priest did not know, (saying) "Yes, ʿĪsā is a prophet, but he is greater/older than Muḥammad; and we believe in the greater/older (بالأكبر) and you believe in the lesser/younger. Muḥammad is the beloved of Allah, whereas ʿĪsā is the spirit of Allah. Is the spirit to be preferred or the beloved?" He (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) responded to him, "That is foolishness. Were you not such and such? So-and-so had the kingship, but Allah gave the kingship to you. You defeated the army and took power and became (great) to such a degree. The Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon him, prevailed over all the prophets and superseded their Sharia, even though he came last. Calling him (Jesus) 'spirit' is because he was born with no father; but that is no reason to consider him superior over Muḥammad, peace upon our Prophet and upon him." When he (Tewodros) heard that, he jumped up boasting, saying "Yes, I defeated and I did (this) and did (that)." And his (Šayḫ Jaʿfar's) saying "Were you not thus and such?" means that he (Tewodros) was not of the sons of the great

and of kings, but Allah the almighty gave him (the kingship). Indeed a person may prevail (even) without a father.

The above section tells how Šayḫ Jaʿfar's situation, even after he was taken prisoner, was not affected by what had happened to him. He was defiant and laughed at the enemy. He defended the rights of Muslims when the enemy tried to give him wealth looted from the Muslims. Moreover there is a description of a religious debate between Šayḫ Jaʿfar and the priests who came with Tewodros. In the contention Šayḫ Jaʿfar defeated his counterpart with logical arguments about Jesus (ʿIsā): if he is God, how can he eat and drink? Tewodros himself was attracted by the Šayḫ's way of argument and, taking up the position of the priest, tried to challenge him, also in a logical way, about the prophethood of ʿIsā and Muḥammad. The Šayḫ refuted Tewodros's argument, in the process even casting aspersions on the way Tewodros had come to power.

وبلغني أنه لما جاء إليه الأسقف قال له "ممر أمان أدرشال" أي كيف أصبحت أيتها القسيسة على خطاب المرءة. فغضب ورجع هاربا فرده الناس. وهذا من شدة إذلاله الباطل وأهله. واجتمع على الملك مع كثير من الناس وهم قائمون بين يديه صفوفا. فقال على عادته حين يلقى الناس كيف أصبحتم يا اولادى فسجدوا وبقى سيف الحق وحده واقفا وقال فى جوابه الحمد لله كيف أصبحت. فتكلم الحاضرون في ذلك فأشار عليهم بالسكوت فسكتوا. فقعد تدروس على حجر فقعد سيف الحق على حجر والناس واقفون. فأخذ الملك يسأله عن اسمه وصفته فقال اسمى جعفر بكّو من العلماء. وسأله هل لك بنت؟ فقال ايش[118] تفعل بها فقال أتزوجها تلد لي رجلا مثلك. فقال الحطي أحمق إن ابنتي بلاء مثلي. تشق بطنك ليلا بسكين. فقال صدق وقال له إن أعطيتك خمسمائة بندقية هل تكفيني الذي هو كذا وكذا وذكره بسوء يعني السلطان أمدي بشير وكان يبغضه ويخاف منه كثيرا لما أنه تعذر عليه وقواعه في أحبولته مع ما يتفرس فيه من نوع شوكة. فقال إن وجدت مائة بندقية فلا أخليك تطلع من ثنية شّسشّه وحلف على ذلك فقال صدق. وقال له أيضا أرد عليك أموالك فاطلبها في العسكر فقال هل ترد للناس جميعا؟ فقال لا. فقال إن فعلت ذالك ضحكت عليّ ملائكة السبع سماو[ا]ت فأبى عن ذلك. وقال له جادل مع الأبن فقال أنا لا أفعل ذالك مع القنَ المشترى فارسل الاشتك فصدقه فارسله إليه قا فحمه [فا فحمه] كما سبق. وحاوره لما راء صلابته

[118] This word *ʾeš* 'what' is dialect; it is perplexing why it should appear in a text which is otherwise written in classical Arabic.

وشجاعته من هذا النمط كثيرا. ومما وقع له هناك أنه جاء إليه أشياخ من العلماء الأصدقاء عراتا لابسين خرقا. فلما راءهم ضحك ضحكا شديدا. فقيل له أتضحك اليوم؟ فقال إيش كنت اليوم؟ فغضبوا. فقال تحمدون حين كنتم فى كذا وكذا من الرفاهية. ولا تفعلون فى هذه الحالة. وهذا من عجيب شأنه. فإنه كان لا تغيره صروف الزمان. وبلغني إن الحطى المذكور قال له آخرا تمسك بالذي أخذته يعني الله تعالى ثم قال لسائر الناس خذوا الله مثله أيها الفقراء. وأطلقنا وخرجنا من أيديهم بعد أربع ليال ونزلنا الى أرض جاما[119].

I heard that when the bishop came to him, he [Šayḫ Jaʿfar] said to him "*mamre amān ʾadrəšal?*" meaning "How have you been, O priestess?" addressing him in the feminine form. He [priest] became angry and returned as a fugitive, but the people sent him back. This shows his scorn for falsehood and its followers. He met the king with a lot of people, standing before him in ranks. He [king] said, as usual when he met people, "How have you been, my children?" They prostrated but Sayf al-Ḥaqq alone kept standing and said by way of answer, "Praise Allah, how have you been?" The attendees were talking about that; but he [king] indicated to them to be silent and they fell silent. When Tewodros sat on a stone Sayf al-Ḥaqq also sat on a stone while the people were standing. The king started to ask him about his name and qualities. He said, "My name is Jaʿfar Bukko of the scholars." He (the king) asked him, "Do you have a daughter?" He (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) said, "What would you do with her?" He (Tewodros) said, "Marry her so she would bear to me a man like you." And he said, "The emperor is foolish. My daughter is just as much trouble as I am. She will split your stomach in the night with a knife." And he (Tewodros) said, Truly. And he said, "If I give you five hundred rifles, will you drive away from me the one who is so-and-so" - and he spoke of him disparagingly, i.e. Sultan ʾAmadā Bašīr - for he hated and feared him very much because he was in a difficult situation in his (ʾAmadā Bašīr's) trap, and he perceived in him a kind of sting. He (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) said, "If I got

[119] *Misk*, pp. 144 – 145.

(even) one hundred rifles I would not let you depart from *Ṭanyah Šišah* (place near Gondar)" and he swore to that. And he (Tewodros) said, Truly. He (Tewodros) also said to him, "I will return your property to you; I will look for it among the soldiers." And he said, "Will you return it to all the people?" And he (Tewodros) said no. And he (Šayḫ Jaʿfar) refused, saying, "If I did that the angels of the seven heavens would laugh at me." He (Tewodros) told him to debate with the *abun* (priest). Šayḫ Jaʿfar said, "I do not do that with *al-Qinn al-Muštarā* (the bought slave)." And he sent to the *Aštak* (??), and he confirmed him (confirmed his words), and he sent it/him to him, and he silenced him (with arguments) just like before. [sense very unclear] When he saw his firmness and courage he talked with him a great deal in this way. This is one of the things that happened to him there: there came to him some šayḫs of his *ʿulamāʾ* friends, naked or dressed in rags. When he saw them he laughed aloud. They said to him, "Do you laugh today?" He said, "What happened to you today?" They got angry. He said, "You used to praise (Allah) when you were (living) in such and such luxury. You do not do that (now) in this (present) condition." This shows his remarkable character. He was not altered by the vicissitudes of time. I heard that the above-mentioned emperor said to him, finally: "Stick fast to the One you follow, i.e. Allah" and then he said to the other people, "Follow Allah as he does, O you the poor." And we were released and came out of their hands after four nights and we went down to the land of Jāmmā.

In this section we are told that about Šayḫ Jaʿfar's firmness and confidence in his faith. He refused to prostrate to the king as was usually done by his subjects, since that is a mark of worship strictly forbidden according to Islam. Tewodros requested the daughter of Šayḫ Jaʿfar in marriage, wishing to have a son like his grandfather. But the Šayḫ rejected the marriage proposal, warning the king that if he did so his daughter would cut open his stomach. Tewodros's marriage

proposal with Šayḫ Jaʿfar would seem to be the usual political marriage meant to neutralize and pacify the animosity between them.[120] After Tewodros asked the Šayḫ to introduce and describe himself, he invited him to be his supporter against his strategic enemy in Wallo,[121] Amade Bashīr. Astonishingly, not only did Šayḫ Jaʿfar refuse to be his ally but also if he got arms he would fight against him. It is also related that Tewodros finally freed the Šayḫ and his disciples and allowed them to freely follow and practice their faith.

[120] Haran Serke-Brhan, *Marriage and Politics in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia*, states that "marriage among notable families has often been acknowledged as an important diplomatic and political tool of Ethiopian state."

[121] Hussein Ahmed, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia,* p. 162: "So by the time that Tēwodros came to the imperial throne, there were three local contenders for the control of Wallo: Liban Amadē, the representative of the Māmmadoch dynasty of Warra Himano; Warqitu, who was tutoring the young Amadē ʿAlī (whose father had died in 1852); and Amadē Bashīr, a son of Bashīr Liban, with his centre at Korēb, to the west of Warra Himano. Further south was Adarā Billē of Laga Gorā."

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

Ethiopia is the home of a diversified culture, history, languages and nationalities. Beyond their mere geographical proximity, Ethiopia and the South Arabian world have always been in a state of cultural and historical interdependence both before and after the advent of Islam. As a result, Ethiopia was the first place outside Arabia to experience Islam as a religion and a culture. It was not only Ethiopian Muslims who studied and used the Arabic language, but Arabic also had a special status in the theological writings of Ethiopian Christianity. *Misk al-Aḏfar fi manāqib Sayf al-Ḥaqq al-Šayḫ Jaʿfar Ṣiddīq Bukko* (The pungent Musk on the deeds of Šayḫ Jaʿfar, the sword of truth) is an Arabic hagiography of a local personality, telling of the life and times of Šayḫ Jaʿfar Bukko. As such it is a valuable contribution to the literary culture of the country. Indeed, this research is a modest contribution to introducing the significance of local Ethiopian Arabic mss as part and parcel of the national literary heritage.

The core of the thesis is dedicated to giving a philological description of this ms and a brief content summary of the issues raised in it. In fact, the ms is a jumble of themes in no clear order and does not have clear topics for each section; therefore I have tried to construct titles for each section and have divided the ms into thirteen chapters in their order of appearance in the ms. The author merely calls these sections (randomly) *bāb* or *faṣl*. Text excerpts (with translation and discussion) are given for 23 sections of the ms dealing with the *šayḫ*'s reform activities (as an opponent of *čʾat* and of injustice by both religious and secular authorities) and with his hostile contacts with Emperor Tewodros. Finally, as a kind of index, a list of 135 personal names mentioned in the ms is appended that were directly or indirectly connected with the life and times of Šayḫ Jaʿfar.

A significant part of the thesis is related to the religious reform activities of Šayḫ Ja'far. These were directed not only against traditional religious authorities like *'Abagār*, *Qurra'*, *Qāḍi*, *Qāmāt* and the like but also against secular authorities i.e. local sultans, chiefs etc. Moreover, as a reformer and religious leader of his society Šayḫ Ja'far tried to defend his relgion against Emperor Tewodros's incursion into Wallo in the late 1850s.

5.2 Recommendations

A number of recommendations have emerged from my study of *Misk al-Aḍfar*:

- Although Ethiopia has a rich literary heritage of manuscripts produced by local scholars, the society lacks awareness of the socio-economic and cultural importance of these manuscripts. Therefore, it is crucial to recommend that the government should enact policies and strategies to foster such awareness.

- The ms *Misk al-Aḍfar* states that, late at night, Šayḫ Ja'far used to write and had a written legacy of his own mss. No such texts, however, are heretofore known to me or my informants. So it is highly recommended to look for any texts written by the *šayḫ* himself for further study of his life and times.

- I would like to recommend further study of the manuscript *Misk al-Aḍfar*. It is a difficult text, and many issues and personalities arose in it which could not be covered in this study.

- Finally the researcher wants to recommend that the philology program should oblige students who conduct their theses to submit the manuscript(s) (photocopy or digital photos) to the department, the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, or related institutions.

Index of Personal Names in the Manuscript

No	Name in Arabic	Arabic Transliteration	Page number of ms
1	الشيخ عبد الكريم السالمنى	al-Šayḫ ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Salmānī	3,5,6,22,26,29,86,91,92,112,137,141, 158
2	الشيخ امان الگسرى	al-Šayḫ ʾAmān al-Gisrī	3,22,29,31,84,86,87,88,91,92, 96,97,112,127,137,158
3	الشيخ سيدى فقيه محمد نور ا لنكوسى	al-Šayḫ Sayyidī Faqīh Muḥammadnūr al-Negusī	3,5,17,78,83,84,85,113,136, 140,164,186
4	سيدى محمد شافى النكوسى	Sayyidī Muḥammad Šāfī al-Negusī	3,17,26,46,65,71,74,78,84, 106,113,130,163,178, 181
5	الشيخ محمد عرب الگنتى	al-Šayḫ Muḥammad ʿArab al-Ganatī	3, 18,97,113,
6	الشيخ محمودة بن الغوث ابى محمد	al-Šayḫ Maḥmūdah bin al-Ġawṯ Abī Muḥammad	3,64
7	الشيخ محمد ابا طيبة	al-Šayḫ Muḥammad ʾAbbā Ṭayba	3,86,87,88,188
8	السيد ا لعارف الشيخ محمود باشا	al-Sayyid al-ʿĀrif al-Šayḫ Maḥmūd Bāšā	4,125,130
9	سيدى شرف الدين الدگرى	Sayyidī Šarafaddin al-Dagarī	4,9,21,148
10	العارف الباء	al-ʿĀrif al-Bāʾ	4,5,7,21,22,23,26,27,60,84,106,131,139,151,164,166,188
11	الشيخ المحقق سيدى الحاج محمد امان الفلانى	al-Šayḫ al-Muḥaqqiq Sayyidī al-Ḥajji Muḥammad ʾAmān al-Fallānī	4,60,65,73,98 ,163,

12	الشيخ سيدى يحى الذووى	al-Šayḫ Sayyidī Yaḥyā al-Ḍawawī	4,109
13	العارف بالله تعالى سيدى فقيه محمد الآنى	al-ʿĀrif Billāhi Taʿālā Sayyidī Faqīh Muḥammad al-ʾĀnī	4,15,125,158,178,186
14	سراج الدين بن سيدى شرف الدين اليجى	Sirāj al-Dīn bin Sayyidī Šaraf al-Dīn al-Yajjuī	4,67
15	الشيخ أحمد الاتى	al-Šayḫ Aḥmad al-ʾAtuyī	4,79,132
16	مفتى الانام	Muftī al-ʾAnām	4,19,31, 35,65,107,130, 188
17	الشيخ ولى الله تعالى الحاج مدنى	al-Šayḫ Waliy Allāhi Taʿālā al-Ḥajji Madanī	4,20,21,23,25,36,141
18	الشيخ الكبير سيدى عبد القادر الحبرى	al-Šayḫ al-Kabīr Sayyidī ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥabruyī	4
19	والشيخ الكبير وللا من اهل يجو	al-Šayḫ al-Kabīr Walalā min ʾAhli Yajju	4
20	الاستاذ حاج مجاهد	al-ʾUstaḏ Ḥājji Mujāhid	4,35,40,68,81,100,104,118, 122,141
21	الحاج عمر الزاهد الكنتى	al- Ḥājji ʿUmar al-Zāhid al-Gannatī	4
22	العلامة الشيخ بصير القططائى	al-ʿAlāmah al-Šayḫ Buṣayr al-Qaṭaṭāʾī	4
23	الشيخ الكبير سيد موسى الطورسينى	al-Šayḫ al-Kabīr Sayyid Musā al-Ṭūrusīnī	4,46,65,126
24	السلطان ادرى	al- Sulṭān ʾAdarā	4,65,70,83,84,85,88,127,134, 135,140,164

25	الشيخ احمد زروق	al-Šayḫ ʾAḥmad Zarūq	4,5,78
26	الشيخ سليمان المكاشف	al-Šayḫ Sulaymān al-Mukāšif	5,19
27	الشيخ ابراهيم الهرطمى	al-Šayḫ ʾIbrāhīm al-Harṭumī	6,17,62
28	الشيخ محمد صادق	al-Šayḫ Muḥammad Ṣādiq	6
29	الشيخ قاسم	al-Šayḫ Qāsim	6,12,19
30	الشيخ محمد تاج	al-Šayḫ Muḥammad Tāj	6,12
31	ابى القاسم الجنيد	Ibn al-Qāsim al-Junayd	7
32	للشيخ عبد الرحمن الشافعى الطورى	al-Šayḫ ʿAbdurraḥmān al-Šāfiʿī al-Ṭūrī	8
33	الشيخ صابر	al-Šayḫ Ṣābir	9
34	هبنو	Hibanū	11
35	صديق بكو	Ṣiddīq Bukū (Bōkū)	11
36	سلطان برو	Sulṭān Birrū	12,27,90,120
37	ابا متو سلطان قالوا	ʾAbba Mattū Sulṭān Qāllū	12
38	القاضى الشيخ احمد اليجى الاتوى	al- Qāḍī al-Šayḫ ʾAḥmad al-Yajjī al- ʾAtuyī	14
39	كاسا تدروس	Kāsā Tewodros	17,19, 24,26,47,92,142,144
40	الشيخ داود ابو جعفر	al-Šayḫ Dāwūd ʾAbū Jaʿfar	17
41	الشيخ ابا عبد السلام	al-Šayḫ ʾAbbā ʿAbd al-Salām	17
42	الشيخ سيدى اسقارى عثمان	al-Šayḫ Sayyidī ʾAsqārī ʿUṯmān	17

43	الشيخ حاج عمر الزاهد الكُنتى	al-Šayḫ Ḥajji ʿUmar al-Zāhid al-Gannatī	18
44	الشيخ الحاج يوسف الحنفى الكُنتى	al-Šayḫ al- Ḥajji Yūsuf al- Ḥanafī al-Ganatī	18
45	الشيخ داود الكُدامي	al-Šayḫ Dāwūd al-Gadāmī	19
46	الشيخ عكاشة الكُدامي	al-Šayḫ ʿUkāša al-Gadāmī	19,101,102,103
47	السيدة فاطمة الكبرى	al-Sayyidah Fāṭimah al-Kubrā (Foreigner)	20,21
48	أنبيّ وليّ	ʾAnabiyya Waliyya	24,25
49	الشيخ احمد نورى	al-Šayḫ ʾAḥmad Nūrī	25
50	تقى الدين السبكى	Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (Foreigner)	27
51	الامام اليافعى	al-ʾImām al-Yāfiʿī (Foreigner)	28
52	ابو العباس الحرار	ʾAbū al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥarrār (Foreigner)	28
53	الشيخ حسن دكّا	al-Šayḫ Ḥasan Dagā	29
54	الشيخ الكبير سيد محمد أذان	al-Šayḫ al-Kabīr Sayyid Muḥammad ʾAḏān	31
55	الأمام محى الدين النووى	al-ʾImām Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Nawawī (Foreigner)	31,72
56	العلامة ابن حجر الهيتمى	al-ʿAlāma ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (Foreigner)	31
57	العارف أبو محمد خيار	al-ʿArif ʾAbū Muḥammad Ḫiyār	31
58	الحاج عبد الرحمن العقبطلى	al-Ḥajji ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAqbaṭalī	35

59	الشيخ زين الاديب الافاتى	al-Šayḫ Zayn al-ʾAdīb al-ʾIfātī	35
60	الشيخ بشير الارباظا مى	al-Šayḫ Bašīr al-ʾArbāčʾāmā	35
61	الشيخ محمد حوزا	al-Šayḫ Muḥammad Ḥawūzā	35
62	الشيخ حاج نورا بشا	al-Šayḫ Ḥajji Nūrā Bašā	35
63	سيدى كيلانى الشهيد المغربى	Sayyidī Kaylānī al-Šahīd al-Maġribī (Foreigner)	35
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65	السيد الغوث ابو محمد بن السيد فقيه زبير	al-Sayyid al-Ġawuṯ Abū Muḥammad bin al-Sayyid Faqīh Zubayr	38,55
66	الشيخ محمودة بن السيد ابى محمد	al-Šayḫ Maḥmūda bin al-Sayyid ʾAbī Muḥammad	39,78
67	الشيخ عبد الله فاتحة	al-Šayḫ ʿAbd Allāh Fātiḥa	44,45,46,83,92,93
68	الشيخ عمر بن الشيخ ابراهيم المقدلى	al-Šayḫ ʿUmar bin al-Šayḫ ʾIbrāhīm al-Maqdalī	46
69	الشيخ محمد نور المادح اليجى	al-Šayḫ Muḥammad Nūr al-Mādiḥ al-Yajjuī	46
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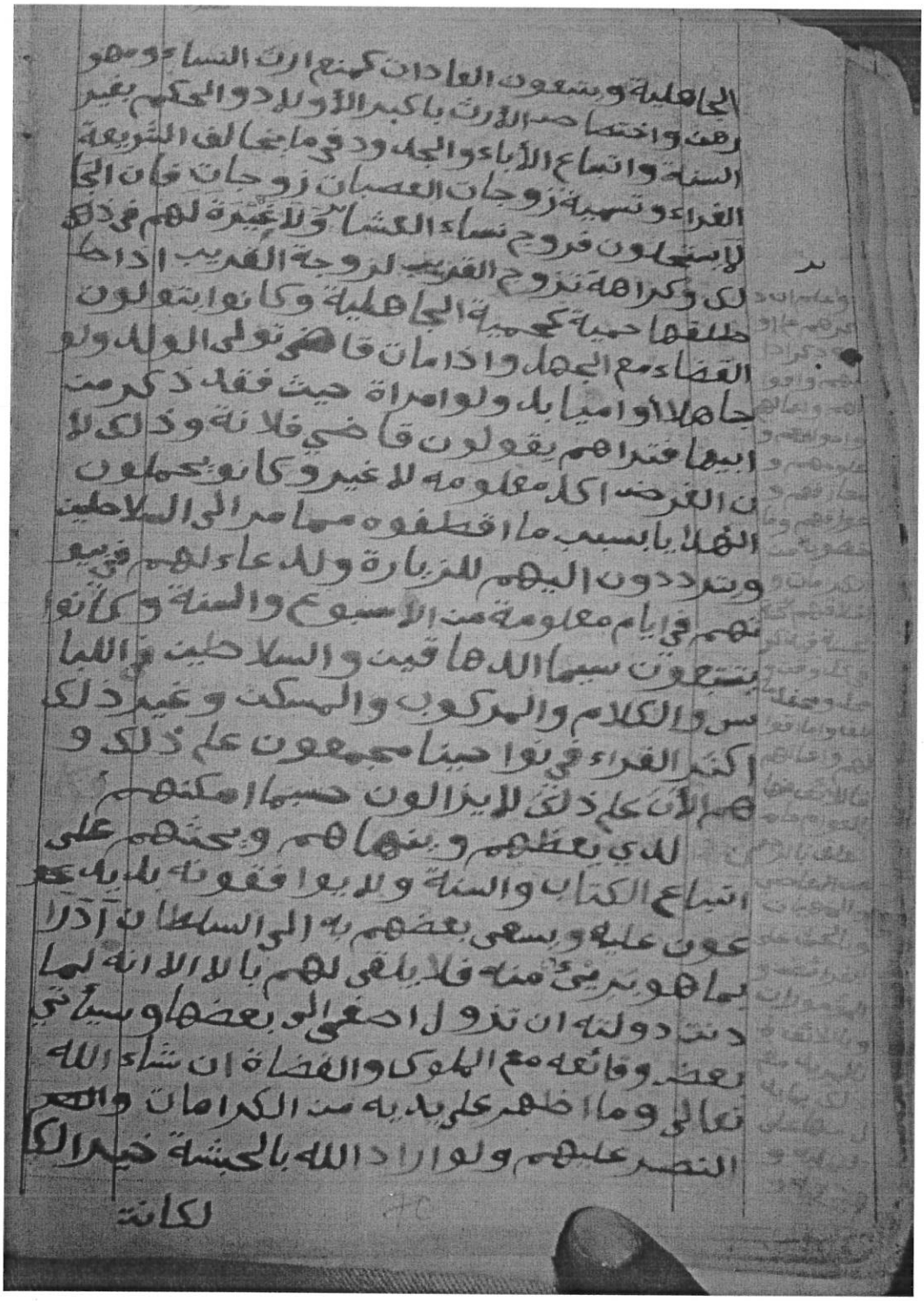
List of informants

No.	Name	Age	Place of interview	Occupation
1	Šayḫ ʾAbdullah ʾIndris	around 80	Addis Ababa	Muslim scholar
2	Šayḫ Sayfu ʾAḥmad	76	Gāttirā	Muslim scholar and Imam
3	Šayḫ Muḥammad Gatāwu	around 90	Dessie	Muslim scholar and traditional medical doctor
4	Šayḫ Muḥammad Jāmmā	around 65	Dessie	Muslim scholar and Imam
5	Šayḫ Muḥammad ʾAwwal	around 65	Dessie	Muslim scholar and Imam
6	Šayḫ Muḥammad ʾAwwal	40	Dessie	Darasā (student of Islamic religion)
7	Šayḫ Jemal Muḥammad	32	Addis Ababa	Darasā (student of Islamic religion)

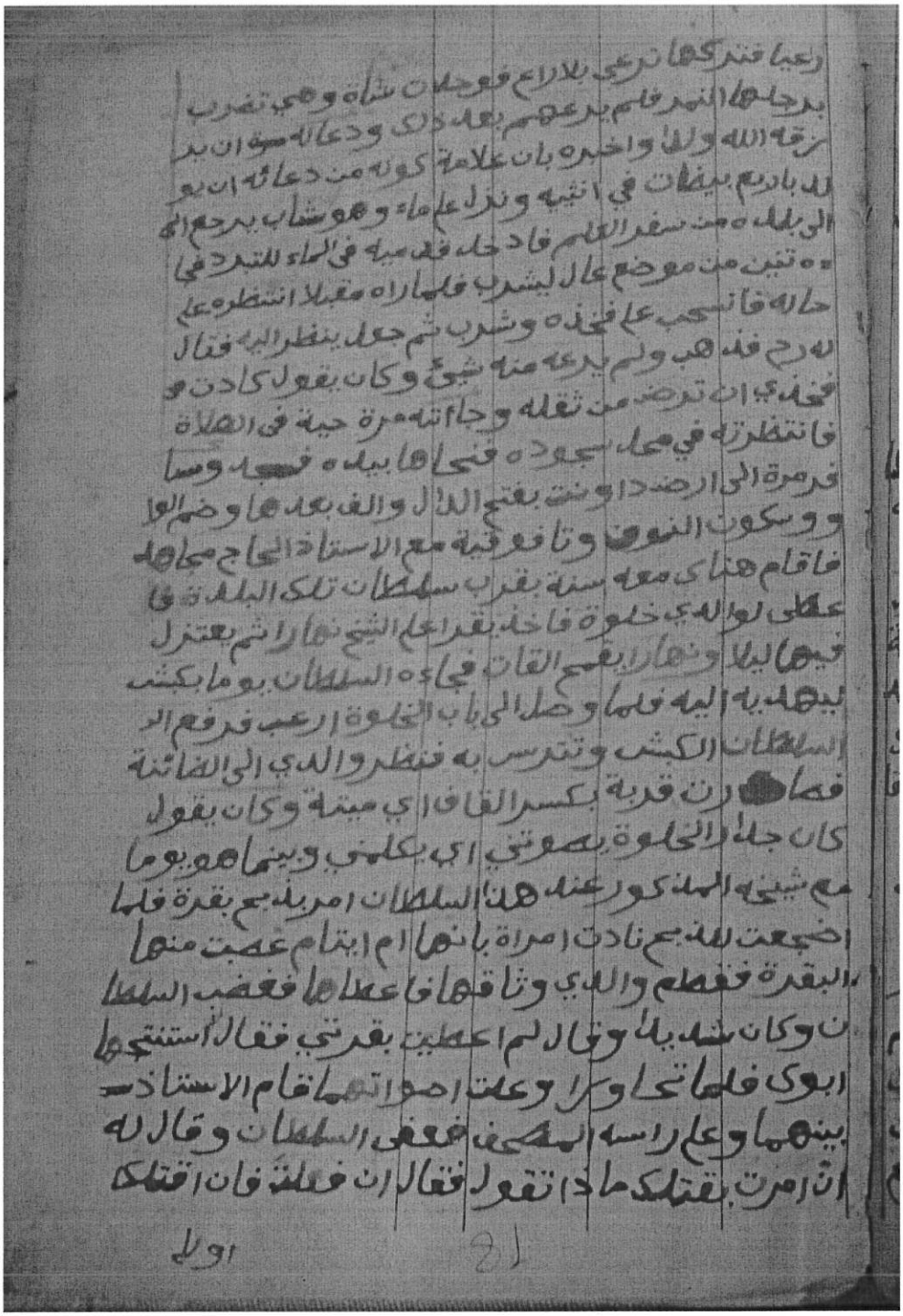
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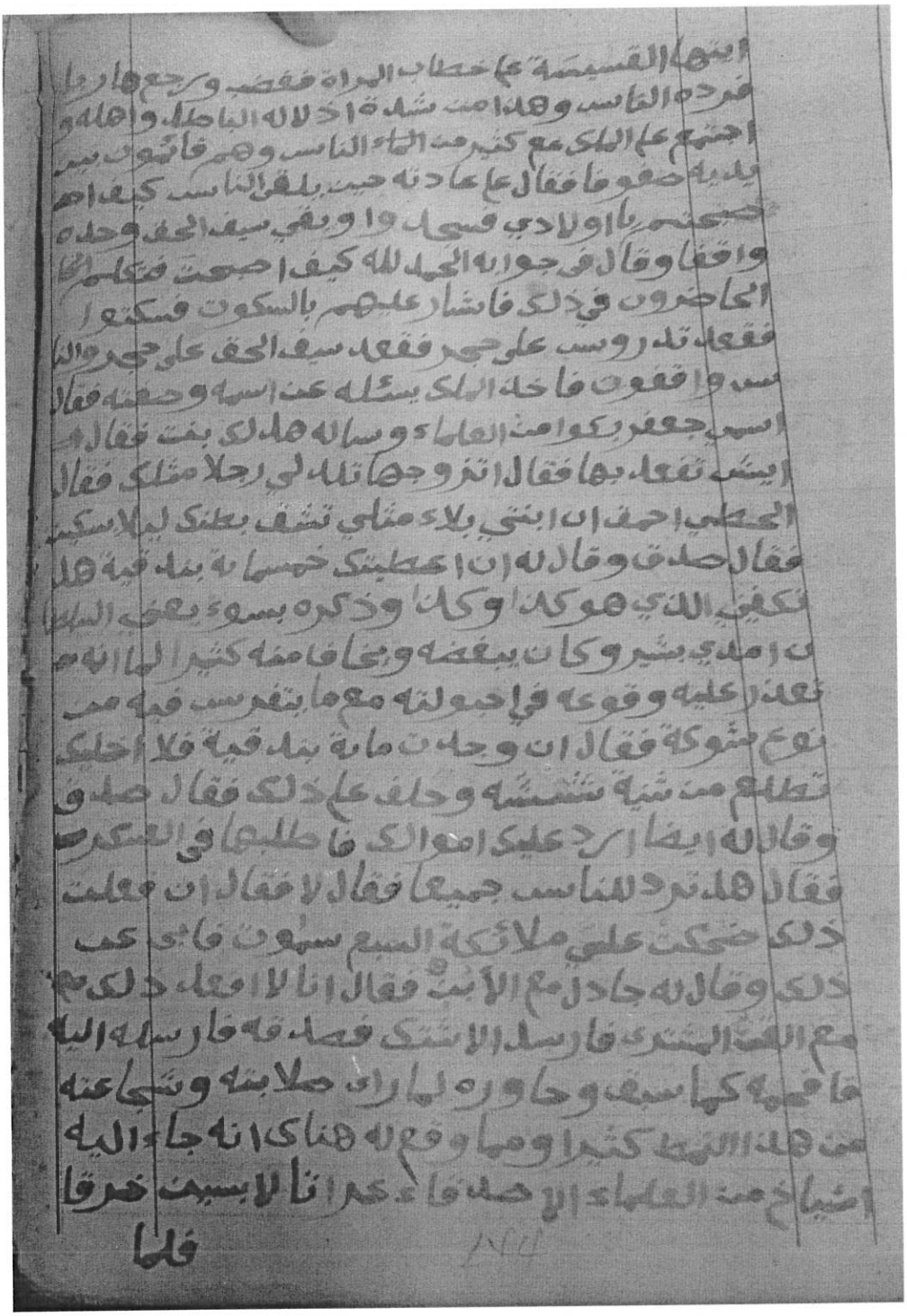
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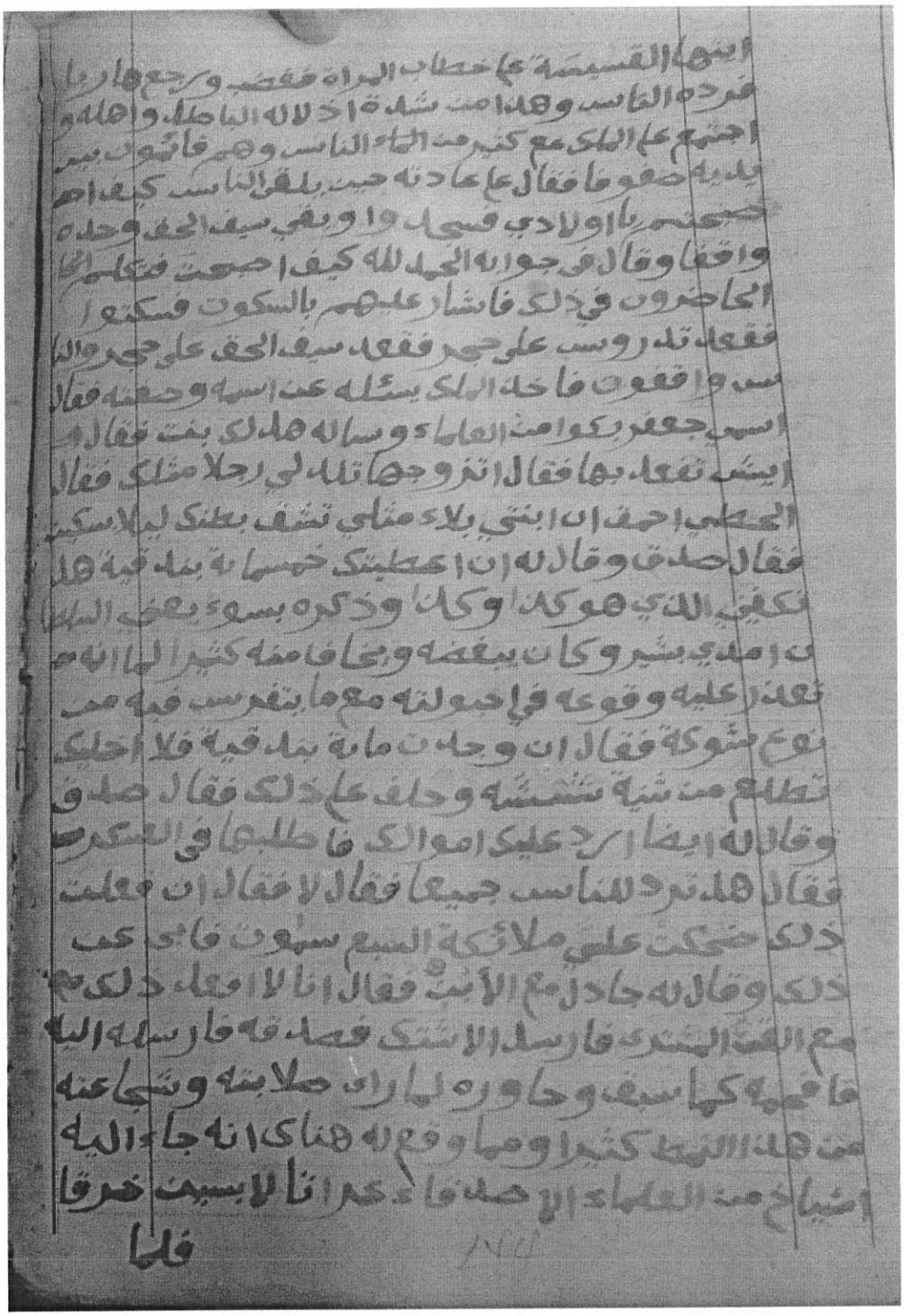
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Folio 40r



f. 72v



f. 72v

Declaration

I declare that the work presented here is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and the result of my own investigations, except as acknowledged, and has not been submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

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4.7.2013