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HANS WOLFF MEMORIAL LECTURE

ISLAMIC LITERATURE OF SOMALIA

B. W. Andrzejewski

African Studies Program
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HANS WOLFF
1920-1967

Hans Wolff was born on April 6, 1920 in Mainz, Germany. In 1934 his family went to Spain where he remained until 1937 when he immigrated to the United States. He attended Queens College, New York, from 1939-1941 and then transferred to Indiana University. From 1942-1946 he served with the Military Intelligence Corps. After the war he returned to Indiana and in 1946 obtained the B.A. magna cum laude in Linguistics and in 1949 a double doctorate in Anthropology and Linguistics (one of the first to be given by that department). In 1949 he was appointed to the faculty of the University of Puerto Rico where he taught for eleven years. His early work was in Amerindian languages, especially in Siouan studies, and in the teaching of English as a second language. While still at the University of Puerto Rico, he was invited in 1953 to visit Nigeria as a UNESCO expert on orthographies. He spent a year in Nigeria, and from that time his interest in Africa and African languages grew. He published widely on the languages and language problems of Nigeria and at the time of his death was one of the leading authorities on Yoruba. In 1960 he accepted an appointment at Michigan State University in the African Studies Center where he taught for three years. While at Michigan State he helped to found and to edit the Journal of African Languages. He also assisted in the early development of the West African Language Conference and for several years served as Chairman of the African Linguistics Committee of the African Studies Association. At the time of his death in September 1967, he was Professor of Linguistics at Northwestern University.

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ISLAMIC LITERATURE OF SOMALIA

B. W. Andrzejewski

Even a casual visitor to Somalia cannot but observe that he is in a Muslim country with a long tradition. In the towns he will see mosques and minarets, some of them new but others bearing signs of centuries of use. And everywhere, even in the most remote country districts, he will come across small buildings, usually with domed roofs and sometimes crowned with the sign of the crescent moon. Fixed to their walls, or somewhere nearby, there are likely to be flags fluttering in the wind that seems to blow constantly in Somalia - flags which add color to these otherwise sober and unadorned structures. These buildings are shrines which usually house the tombs of sheekhs, that is, greatly respected men of religion who have achieved a high level of learning in the field of Muslim theology and law.⁽¹⁾ Some of these sheekhs have become renowned for their virtues and for such great piety and so many works of kindness and mercy to those in need that they are venerated as saints after their death and their tombs receive visits from pilgrims.

I use the word "saint" here as the translation of the Arabic walī which is also used in the Somali language as a loanword with the same meaning. For lack of space I cannot go into detailed discussion of what sainthood is in Islam, but briefly speaking, saints are persons who are believed to be especially chosen by God, whom they serve with supreme devotion through prayer, meditation, vigils, fasting, secluded retreats and good works. Their main aim in life is ultimate union with God, and

this is well expressed in a poem attributed to Sheekh Cabdur-axmaan Ismaaciil who is said to have died in 1491/92.⁽²⁾

Even though its authorship still remains uncertain the poem faithfully reflects the view of sainthood held by many pious Somalis.

"A house does not shelter a saint of God:
He finds it detestable to possess buildings or land.
He flees from the desert to the mountains
And the desert weeps when it is deprived of his presence.
He is most patient in keeping night vigils
And in fasting at the break of day.
He says to himself, 'This is my zeal and my labor
And there is no shame in serving the Merciful One.'
He communes with his Lord, his tears flowing,
'My God, my heart is shattered and dispersed;
My God, what I ask from you is not a house
Made of rubies, where celestial maidens dwell
And not the gardens of Paradise, O my God,
And not the trees adorned with fruit,
But it is your Eternal Presence, my hope.
Grant it, for in it is glory!'"

The original version of this poem was written in Arabic, from which I have translated it. In Somalia, as in other Muslim countries, Arabic is the main language of worship and theology. It is used when the muezzins call the faithful to prayers and during the communal services and pilgrimages when the walls of Somali mosques and shrines reverberate with words of prayer

and spiritual readings either chanted or recited in plain voice. For the most part the texts originate from Arab religious literature, shared by the whole Muslim world. But there are numerous texts which are local in origin: although the language is Arabic their authors are Somali sheekhs.

The majority of the Somali people may not have much more than a rudimentary knowledge of Arabic but they always treat it with great reverence as the sacred language of Islam and find it particularly appropriate for worship and prayers of petition. Their sheekhs and other clerics, however, all have a reasonable competence in it and some have very much more than this as a result of prolonged study, residence in Arab countries or close contact with Arabs living in Somalia. Some, in fact, reach a point of bilinguality in Arabic and Somali. Nowadays, too, there are many among the educated laity who know Arabic well and the number of people able to enjoy reading Arabic is sufficiently large to make it worthwhile for any author to use it as his artistic medium. It offers the added attraction of being accessible not only to his compatriots but to many readers anywhere in the Muslim world.

The art of poetry enjoys high prestige in Somali society⁽³⁾ and it is not surprising that the religious authors writing in Arabic favor this mode of artistic communication above others. They imitate the models of scansion and rhyming patterns used in Arab literature as well as its style and diction, naturally enough, since Arabic religious classics are widely read in Somalia.⁽⁴⁾ Arabic religious poetry by Somali authors is

preserved and disseminated mainly in manuscript form. Both the originals and handmade copies are treated with great reverence, especially after the death of the author, and are jealously guarded by his descendants or by the members of the religious brotherhood of which he was a member. While such an attitude can be well understood it seriously impedes scholarly research, since the owners of the manuscripts tend to regard photographing or even perusal by strangers as a form of profanation, and are excessively suspicious about the possibility of loss or theft.

Fortunately, however, some of the manuscripts have been published and the available collections are thoroughly representative of this art. Most of the poems are composed as prayers, in which praise and supplication are the main themes, with occasional exhortations to readers or listeners. Some poems have remained only in their written form, but many are used as hymns and are sung during religious services, especially the Service of Recollection held by the Muslim brotherhoods.⁽⁵⁾

The poems, or perhaps prayer-poems would be a better description, usually consist of sequences of lines which are only loosely connected and do not have any elaborate unifying structure or narrative theme. Their aesthetic appeal lies in the highly developed panegyric epithets which are interspersed throughout the poems and provide, as it were, recurrent points of prominence. I will illustrate this by a passage from a well-known poem by Cabduraxmaan Seylici, a Somali sheekh who died in 1882. The title of the poem is "Ḥādiyāt al-Arwāḥ",

which presents some problems of translation. The first word of the title denotes a song sung by a herder or a caravan driver to urge his camels forward on a journey. The remaining words mean "of the souls" and refer to the souls of the people on their journey through life. The poem is in praise of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, and this gives the title its metaphoric significance, since he is thus presented as a good camel-herder, while the souls which he guides are seen as the she-camels in his benevolent care.

"For as long as the public crier utters his calls
May the blessing of God be upon him who is the best of
creation
And is the leader of humanity.
Truly do hearts and mouths delight
When they commemorate Muhammad, the fountainhead of purpose.
He is distinguished and comely in all his qualities,
He is the intercessor of mankind on the Day of Resurrection.
Majestic in power, beautiful to encounter,
He is the paragon of existence throughout the ages.
Gentle he is, lordly, kind in his compassion and generous.
His liberality is my treasure and my store of provisions.
His noble virtues stretch out to all mankind
And exalted is his rank in every respect.
O how much he has given! How much profit he has bestowed!
O how many people he has helped to advance
And guided to the paths of righteousness!
O glad tidings to all people! All beauty and authority

Are encompassed in the radiance of his countenance.
God has extolled him in a mighty book
And his light shines in all quarters.
Through him every community is filled with happiness
And woeful is the lot of idolaters in their iniquity.
His gracious birthday is transformed into fragrance -
It diffuses the aroma of musk through every land.
My heart has reached the ecstasy of longing
To the height of fever. O my healer,
It is you who are my best guide!
O beloved friend of God, except for you
I have no refuge against my enemies.
Grant that I may be near you, O my beloved friend,
And that I may be united with you who are my support.
Help me, sincere friend of God, sustain your bounty to me.
It is through you that the heart is healed.
Convey my salutations to the herder of she-camels
Which have now settled among friendly neighbors
In admirable companionship!"⁽⁶⁾

The passage also illustrates another noteworthy feature of these poems: the abrupt and unannounced changes in the person to whom the words are directed. The poet at first speaks to his audience but then, without any warning, he addresses Muhammad, the object of his eulogy. In the last three lines of the passage there is a change again. The words "Convey my salutations to the herder of she-camels/ Which have now settled among friendly neighbors/ In admirable companionship"

are not addressed to Muhammad but, by implication, to an angel who is to take the poet's message to him.

Such changes in the mode of communication can create some difficulty in interpretation particularly for a translator whose audience is not familiar with this kind of poetic idiom. In my view the best solution is to treat the poem as if it were the text of a play and to supply it with dialogue directions as will be done in the passage which I shall quote next. It comes from a poem by Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Sheekh Cabdalla Shaashi, popularly known as "Sheekh Suufi", who died in 1905. The poem is concerned with Divine Praises, a frequent theme in Islamic poetry, and some of its lines are addressed to God and some to the human audience.

[To the audience]

"I call to God and pray to him for the fulfillment of
my wishes.

Through his ninety-nine attributes I ask him for shelter.
I say that he is God and that except for him there is
no other god.

He is merciful and compassionate in affliction.

[To God]

O King, you have stretched your sovereignty over me,
Over my soul and over my love.

[To the audience]

He is holy and he has sanctified the secrets of my heart
And purified it.

He is peace and the guarantor of belief.

He is a vigilant guardian.

[To God]

You are my refuge and my safety, you are the destroyer
of that which overwhelms.

[To the audience]

He is powerful, overpowering to his enemies.

He is proud, he has made us and he is the creator.

I call to him who shapes all.

In his clemency he is always ready to forgive us and
those who approach him.

He is victorious, he is the distributor of the shares
of destiny,

The producer of abundance.

He is the provider of generous and wholesome sustenance.

He is the opener of the locks of cognition, the revealer
Of what is beneficial in knowledge.

[To God]

O you who are all-knowing in your graciousness, O captor
of souls,

You are their enlarger who resurrect them!

O diminisher of enemies! O raiser of the devout!

[To the audience]

He is the strengthener or the humiliator of whomever he will.

He is the listener to our complaints, the observer."⁽⁷⁾

The majority of the Somali authors of this religious poetry
are members of Muslim brotherhoods, of which the Qādiriyah
and the Ṣālihiyah are particularly prominent in Somalia.⁽⁸⁾

It is customary in such brotherhoods to offer lavish praises
to their founders. How this is done can be illustrated by a
passage from a poem in praise of ^CAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, who
is believed to have founded the Qādiriyah brotherhood in Bagh-
dad in the 12th century. The original version of the poem was
composed by Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici but it was later ex-
panded into a larger poem by Sheekh Qaasim Muxyadiin Baraawi.⁽⁹⁾
In the translation the lines which correspond to the parts of
the poem added by Sheekh Qaasim are marked by a colon placed
on their margins.

: "O how many souls he has revived! Truly he raised
: Even thieves to the Stage of Mystic Closeness!⁽¹⁰⁾
: It is through him that we hope for the attainment which
is free from wretchedness.
He is the very magnet for the people of truth,
Their elixir in every circumstance.
: He is their refuge in every anguish,
: A shelter for all who are stained by faults.
: He is the secret metal of the masters of the hidden things,
He is the chief of the masters of the hearts,
He is indisputably their healing ointment.
: He is their stay, the ornament of those who worship,
: Their lord, gracious among ascetics,
: Who brings them to the rank of leaders.
His watering places are pure for those who come to them.
O how many Pivot Saints have given him cool water to drink!
: Time and time again he revived piety by leading it to

pasture.

: He was called the Reviver of Piety, the Reviver

: Of Sciences and even of the dead, through revelation.

O how many people he has led out of all error!

O how many he has raised to the highest perfection!"⁽¹¹⁾

A recent survey of Somali literature in Arabic⁽¹²⁾ demonstrates that Somali poets are influenced to a very large extent by Arab models. Nevertheless it would not be justified to regard their poetry as an alien development unrelated to the mainstream of the national life, since there are aspects which bind it closely to the people of Somalia and their land. Some of the most prominent Somali religious poets who wrote in Arabic, such as Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici, Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Cabdalla ("Sheekh Suufi") and Sheekh Uweys Maxamed⁽¹³⁾ are now venerated as major saints side by side with those of earlier times such as Sheekh Yuusuf Kowneyn,⁽¹⁴⁾ Sheekh Xuseen of Baale⁽¹⁵⁾ or Sheekh Isaaq Axmed.⁽¹⁶⁾ Their tombs have become national shrines and draw pilgrims even from very distant regions of the Somali speaking territories. On their annual commemoration feasts large crowds gather at the tombs and the religious ceremonies include the singing of hymns whose texts had been composed by the venerated sheekhs themselves. Some of these hymns had become popular already in their lifetime and some acquired the reputation of being particularly efficacious as prayers in situations of need or danger.⁽¹⁷⁾

The pilgrimages which take place on the annual commemoration feasts are not only religious occasions; they bring

people together in an atmosphere of joy and conviviality reminiscent of Italian or Spanish fiestas. Thus there is a link in the national consciousness between the poetry of the saintly sheekhs and the visual images of the buildings which house their tombs, the surrounding scenery, the flags and lanterns of the pilgrims, the smell of incense and perfume and the melodies of the hymns chanted solo by cantors and in chorus by the congregation.⁽¹⁸⁾ All this is set within the context of well-known places in Somalia and the familiar roads and caravan tracks which lead to them.

The Somali sheekhs who are venerated as saints are often praised in poems composed by other Somalis. Such poems are almost as numerous as those devoted to Divine Praises or as eulogies for Muhammad or the founders of religious brotherhoods. In them the element of local pride can often be discerned, thus providing another link with the Somali national culture. Good examples of this are the following passages from a poem by Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Sheekh Cumar⁽¹⁹⁾ in praise of Sheekh Uweys Maxamed whom he calls "our sheekh" and "our Uweys" thus stressing the local connection. "His peers" mentioned in the poem are, no doubt, Sheekh Uweys's Somali countrymen, while "our Helper" is a customary epithet applied to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādiriyah brotherhood. The author of the poem was himself a prominent member of that brotherhood.

"O God, we turn to you through the intercession of
our sheekh,

Our Uweys, beloved by the Qādiriyah disciples.
In his name I invoke help in every calamity.
Through his worthiness bring us relief in our concerns,
Through his mysteries grant me success in my pursuits
In this world and the world to come, and cure the disease
of our hearts.

* * *

He went into secluded retreats to worship God in Sanctuaries
Serving our Lord God through prayer tasks⁽²⁰⁾ and meditation.
He moved near to God his Lord and was held aloft by
closeness to him.

He surpassed his peers in the discipleship of our Helper.
Sagacious he was and he kept God, his Master, in his mind
Day and night, in solitude and in company.

He was compassionate like a parent to anyone who came to
him

From among the Qādiriyah postulants in his care.

To make pilgrimage to him is our duty because

He is one of the virtuous brotherhood leaders, our sheekhs.

The peace of God, which has no bounds, like life itself,
Remains upon him morning and night."⁽²¹⁾

I turn now from poetry to prose. Somali religious prose
in Arabic consists mainly of hagiographical narratives which
combine straightforward biography with accounts of miraculous
events.⁽²²⁾ These hagiographical narratives are short self-
contained units which, when presented in a collection, follow
no chronological order and are not arranged into a structured

sequence. The name of this narrative prose genre is manqabah⁽²³⁾
which in the context of Somali religious literature could be
described as "a record of noble deeds and virtues".

Manqabahs are even more closely integrated into Somali
life and culture than is the religious poetry. Their heroes
are always Somalis, or at least Arabs settled in Somalia, and
most of the episodes take place in the Somali-speaking terri-
tories. Like the poetry, the manqabahs are preserved and
disseminated as manuscripts, though some of them have appeared
in published form. They are read aloud at meetings of the
brotherhoods but are not normally used as part of the liturgy
proper.

The writers of the manqabahs obtain their information from
oral testimonies. In the preamble to each manqabah they usually
record the name, and often also the clan of their informant.
If that person is not the ultimate source they also add the name
of the person or persons from whom the informant obtained the
knowledge of the event that is being described. This careful
stating of sources obviously aims at establishing the cred-
ibility of the narrative and even gives the reader the oppor-
tunity of checking the sources if the informants are still
alive or if their descendants or disciples still remember the
event.

The manqabah characteristically lacks stylistic orna-
mentation and is often explicit in the presentation of concrete
factual detail. Consider, for example, a passage from a
manqabah about the visit of Sheekh Uweys Maxamed to the head

of the Qādiriyah brotherhood in Baghdad. Sheekh Uweys received from him the documents authorizing him to become a branch leader of the brotherhood in Somalia, and also a flag of the brotherhood, which is described as follows:

"It was green and had red borders. On the side where the white pole was inserted into it were written the words 'In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.' Then there was on it the Verse of the Throne⁽²⁴⁾ and in the middle were the words 'There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Prophet of God.' Under these words there was a crescent moon and a star, and below them were the words, 'O holy man of God, ʿAbd al-Qādir! O helper, ʿAbd al-Qādir!'"⁽²⁵⁾

A good example of the maṅqabah genre is the following one, which concerns a visit of Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici to Harar. The sultan who appears in the story is the Muslim ruler of Harar who reigned before it was conquered by Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia in 1887.

"This is the thirty-first maṅqabah concerning the sheekh's charismatic gifts, as reported to me by our sheikh Abubakar, son of Sheekh Axmed Xaaji Mahad. Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici went with his many students - there were thirty of them - on a journey to the famous city of Harar. When he got near it he felt uncertain about entering, on account of his students, for they had no connections there and no possibility of getting hospitality. But after some hesitation he put his trust in God and went towards the city. As he reached the gate he saw that a man was there with his arms stretched out spanning it,

as if he was forbidding anyone to enter. On the sheekh's approach he greeted him and said, 'Peace be on you, you who are good!' And the sheekh in turn said, 'Peace be on you, you who are good!' The man went into the city and the sheekh and his students followed him until they reached the gate of one of the mosques of the city. The man disappeared immediately and the sheekh and his students entered the mosque. There were students in the mosque who were reading aloud, studying the sacred knowledge,⁽²⁶⁾ and the sheekh listened to them and corrected anyone who made a mistake in substance or in the pronunciation of a letter. Seeing that he was a learned man they asked him to give them lessons in inflectional grammar as expounded in the book Durrat al-La'la, 'The Pearl of Brilliance', which is known among us as Faʿalala,⁽²⁷⁾ and he began at once, complying with their request. Now there was among them the sultan of the city, Emir ʿAbd Allāh, and it was his custom when he listened to the knowledge of the teachers to sit in a place which was raised above the floor and was something like a throne. On the day the sheekh began to teach the sultan sat in his usual place, as was his custom, and listened to him. When the sheekh finished his lesson the sultan came to him and said, 'Sheekh Cabduraxmaan, I understood nothing of what you said!' As he was the sultan of the city people were afraid of him and no one dared to enter into dispute with him, but the sheekh said to him, 'Sultan, you are a proud man and knowledge does not enter the heart of the proud. It was all because you sat in a place which was raised above others while you listened to the knowledge.' The sultan acted with humility: he

accepted the words of the sheekh and his sincere advice and submitted to his reproof. He sat down with the students and listened humbly and meekly to the knowledge which came from the sheekh. He learned what was in the book on inflectional grammar, going through it only once, because of the blessing which came from his humility towards knowledge and towards learned men. He became a sincere student of the sheekh and the sheekh loved him and was loved by him in return. The people of Harar treated Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici and his students hospitably and they attained to what they wished through the blessing of the sheekh. May we profit from God through him. Amen." (28)

In many manqabahs this kind of straightforward narrative style stands in sharp contrast with the unusual nature of the events which they describe. We find in them accounts of miracles, visions and ecstatic states which take us into the dream-like world of Sufi mysticism. One manqabah describes how a disciple of Sheekh Uweys went with him to Medina to visit the tomb of Muḥammad. They were accompanied by other clerics, one of whom, called Sayid Abubakar, apparently provided spiritual guidance to the group. When they were in a place known as the "Illustrious Garden", this happened according to the narrator:

"Sayid Abubakar commanded us to recite one thousand times this formula 'O God bless our Master, the Prophet, as much as there is in Divine Knowledge, with a blessing as enduring as God's perpetual sovereignty!' When Sheekh Uweys had recited these words ten times he uttered a loud cry and reached a state

of ecstasy, as was customary with him whenever he saw the Prophet - the blessing and peace of God be upon him! Then he composed a poem entitled 'The Spirit of Joy' which begins with these words:

'O Lord God, bless Muḥammad, the Best of Mankind,
I saw the Chosen One in a dream in his garden,
The most illustrious of all places.'" (29)

In another manqabah we have an account, narrated by Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Yarow, of what he saw in a vision. It concerned ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici, for whom he was working at the time as a servant.

"I saw an assembly gathered together in which there were many saints and among them was the Most Mighty Helper, Lord ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and others, may God be pleased with them. They sat on thrones and by the side of the Most Mighty Helper sat our Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici - he was on a throne near to the Helper. I was delighted on account of this and I said to the Helper, 'I see that none of the saints in attendance is nearer to you, my lord, than my sheekh, Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici. How has he attained that exalted rank?' The Helper replied, 'The sheekh has reached this rank on account of a line in his poem entitled "The Spirit of Those Who Love", in which he praised me. That line was:

"He is Jīlānī, the glorious Jīlānī, the Pillar of Faith,
the Paragon of Men."

It is for that reason that I gave him a seat beside me.'" (30)
It is not only visions that constitute the miraculous

element in manqabahs, for it is an essential qualification for sainthood to have compassion for people in distress and to help them. There are many accounts in manqabahs of aid speedily provided in situations of danger, hunger, thirst or disease. In fact by studying them closely one could compile a list of all the awesome things which can happen to people, and would as well gain some insight into the realities of Somali life. A few examples will illustrate this point. The first is concerned with Sheekh Ismaaciil Jabarti, the father of Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Ismaaciil, and the assistance he is said to have given to some voyagers in the notoriously dangerous waters of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The narrator begins his story with an account of the strange behavior of the sheekh during a recital of hymns and prayers:

"Suddenly he shouted several times and ran across the floor crying, 'The boat! The boat!' Then he stopped and made gestures as if he were gripping something. He stood, doing this, as God willed. Then he returned to the recital. A few nights later Sheekh Yacquubi Makhaa'i arrived from a journey and reported that while they were at sea a violent storm arose, the sea became stormy and they reached a point near to perishing. Sheekh Yacquubi then said, 'I cried, "O Sheekh Ismaaciil! We are in distress! O people of Yā Sīn!"⁽³¹⁾ Then I saw the sheekh with my own eyes as he approached, flying over the surface of the water, and as he gripped the boat until it steadied. Thus God brought us to safety through the charismatic power of the sheekh.' Sheekh Yacquubi was known for his many travels and

whenever he faced the perils of the sea he sent cries for help to the sheekh. The sheekh told him that if anything should happen to him he should say 'O people of Yā Sīn!' Whenever anything like that happened to him God protected him through the words which the sheekh instructed him to say."⁽³²⁾

Somalia has often been devastated by drought which brings death by hunger and thirst to humans and animals alike. In the following passage from a manqabah a disciple of Sheekh Uweys describes how during a drought people came to the sheekh asking him for help.

"They said to the sheekh, 'We shall not honor you nor be generous to you unless you pray to God to give us rain.' The sheekh called me to a place which was some kind of a dry river bed. Then he prayed to God in the form of a poem, which I wrote down as he dictated it to me. And a drop of rain fell from the sky on to the writing. The sheekh said, 'This is joyous news!' And the sky became clouded and rain fell upon their land in good measure and not in excess. They rejoiced and came to the sheekh bringing him two oxen, and they gave him five hundred riyals and other things besides."⁽³³⁾

The same sheekh's power of intercession is the subject of a manqabah about an outbreak of smallpox among the inhabitants of Upper Shabeelle region. They send messengers to the sheikh and ask him for help. The narrator of the manqabah, a disciple of the sheekh, describes the scene in detail:

"They came to Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici and said to him, 'O our sheekh, the disease of smallpox has come upon us and some

of us have been stricken by it. We want you to pray to God that he should take from us this dreaded disease and cure us of it.' The sheekh sent one of his students and said to him, 'Go to Busley, their main town, and shout at the top of your voice, "O smallpox! Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici says to you, 'Leave the land of the Shabeelle this very hour!'"' The student arrived in the town of Busley in the afternoon and shouted at the top of his voice as the sheekh ordered him to do, 'O smallpox! Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici says to you, "Leave the land of the Shabeele this very hour!"' In the morning all those people who were sick were recovering already through the healing power of God, who is exalted, because of the prayer of the sheekh. And the people who were outside the town on account of their sickness entered it that night as they were recovering. Their bodies were as free from the disease as they were before it struck them. The disease stopped in their land through the charismatic power of Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici, may God be pleased with him and make us profit from his knowledge and his mysteries."⁽³⁴⁾

I am not in a position to generalize on the question as to how many people in Somalia believe in the supernatural element in the manqabahs, or to what extent, since no systematic sociological research has been done in this highly sensitive area. Objections are raised against such beliefs on the grounds that they are contrary to the doctrine of strict Islamic monotheism⁽³⁵⁾ and many Somalis regard stories about miracles as quaint superstitions inherited from the prescientific age.

Nevertheless the cult of those sheekhs who are believed to have miraculous powers is widespread and does not lack support among clerics and many members of the laity, including some who have received a modern type of education at school or at university. At pilgrimages to the shrines one can meet, in fact, a whole cross-section of Somali society. Generous gifts are offered there to the attendants of the shrines, who re-distribute them among the poor and the needy, retaining only a part for their own maintenance and the upkeep of the buildings.

The enduring popularity of the literary works which the cult has inspired seems to be related, at least to some extent, to the attachment which the people of Somalia have for their cultural and historical heritage. Some manqabahs are set against the background of places and buildings familiar and dear to their readers. An example of this is one in which a description is given of the arrival of Sheekh Uweys in Mogadishu from Baghdad after his visit to the head of the Qādiriyyah brotherhood from whom he received the license to become its branch leader in Somalia. Till then he had been little known, but before his arrival in Mogadishu some prominent clerics of the town had dreams in which they saw him and his disciples marching in a procession, carrying the Qādiriyyah flag which they brought with them from Baghdad. The route of the procession took them to the ancient parts of Mogadishu whose mosques and houses date back to the early centuries of Islam and are a source of pride to the whole nation.

"Sheekh Suufi informed the people of Mogadishu that he

had seen in a dream a man entering Mogadishu by the Massawa Road, accompanied by his disciples, five or six men. They had a flag and they were reciting the Service of Recollection and they were saying 'O man of God, 'Abd al-Qādir!' Then they came to Arbaca Rukun, the Mosque of the Four Corners."⁽³⁶⁾

After this, the maṅqabah reports, some other sheekhs had similar visions. One was Sheekh Xasan Barre who dreamt that he "came out of the Mosque of Maxamed Taani and walked towards the Shangaani quarter. When he reached the two pillars by Buur Xaafa he saw a man accompanied by a group of six or seven disciples who were chanting, 'O man of God, 'Abd al-Qādir!'"

Seven days later the dreams were fulfilled and Sheekh Xasan Barre reports in the same maṅqabah what he witnessed, this time in reality and not in a dream:

"I saw a man of that description together with his disciples. I came out of the Mosque of Maxamed Taani and walked towards Shangaani, and followed him until they all entered Arbaca Rukun, the Mosque of the Four Corners."

Finally the new arrivals celebrate the Service of Divine Recollection, according to the rite of the Qādiriyyah brotherhood, at the Jaamic, the main city mosque.

All that I have said so far refers exclusively to works by Somalis written in Arabic. In the Islamic literature of Somalia the Somali language plays only a marginal role, in contrast with their secular literature where it is dominant.⁽³⁷⁾ There are no published collections of religious poetry or prose in Somali, and as far as I have been able to ascertain there is no

circulation or dissemination of manuscripts by copying comparable to what happens in the case of manuscripts in Arabic. The only published documentation of religious literature in Somali is found outside Somalia, and is limited to the texts of two poems, one by Sheekh Uweys⁽³⁸⁾ and another by Sheekh Ismaaciil Faarax.⁽³⁹⁾

The paucity of religious literature in Somali can be ascribed to two factors. Firstly, most Somali clerics would regard Arabic as much the more appropriate medium, and secondly, until 1972 the Somali language had no official orthography. Although several private systems of writing existed, none of them had won general acceptance throughout the country. Some systems used entirely new, invented scripts, others employed the letters of the Latin alphabet, and still others tried to adapt the Arabic alphabet for Somali. Many men of religion regarded this latter as the only acceptable script for Somali, but at the same time they were reluctant to modify it by adding new signs or by changing the existing pronunciation rules attached to the letters and diacritics in Arabic. They did not wish to tamper with a script which they regarded as sacred, but without any modification the Arabic alphabet is ill-fitted to cope with the sound system of Somali. The difficulty of using it for Somali could be compared to having to write English or Spanish without ever using the letters e and o.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Some Somali sheekhs, including Sheekh Uweys, nevertheless wrote down their religious poems using the Arabic alphabet, but as far as I have been able to ascertain these manuscripts

served rather as an aid to memory than as a means of literary communication. The manuscripts were used by the writers themselves or their immediate entourage and the texts which they contained reached the general public only in oral form as they were recited or chanted at religious meetings. Some of the invented scripts were occasionally used by religious poets, but again only as aids to memory, since these scripts were not widely known.

When the official orthography in Latin script was introduced in 1972 some of the poems which were originally written in the private scripts were transcribed into it, though none has been published in that form. However, at least one collection of religious poems written in the new orthography is available in typescript form in Mogadishu and in London. It consists of poems by a leading modern poet, Sheekh Caaqib Cabdullaahi Jaamac. They were originally written in an entirely new script of his own invention which he used before the introduction of the official orthography.⁽⁴¹⁾

The formal characteristics of the religious poetry written in Somali are not uniform. Sheekh Uweys aimed at imitating Arab poets in their patterns of scansion and rhyme. In contrast, the poems of Sheekh Ismaaciil Faarax and Sheekh Caaqib Cabdullaahi Jaamac follow the Somali system of scansion and alliteration which is used in secular poetry.⁽⁴²⁾ The latter of these two poets, however, employs in some of his poems a device which is not found in secular poetry. It consists of changing the alliterative sound in every line

or every two lines and arranging them in an order which imitates that of the Arabic alphabet.⁽⁴³⁾

In content, as opposed to form, this poetry closely resembles the poetry written in Arabic by Somali authors. It relies heavily on the use of panegyric epithets as will be seen in a translation of a poem by Sheekh Caaqib in praise of Sheekh Yuusuf Kowneyn⁽⁴⁴⁾ who is much revered in Somalia and whose shrine is a popular place of pilgrimage. He is believed to have invented a mnemonic system of formulae in Somali by which one can learn with speed and efficiency the intricacies of the Arabic alphabet and its diacritics. The formulae are to this day chanted in Koranic schools and Sheekh Yuusuf Kowneyn is for that reason regarded as the great pioneer of education. Sheekh Caaqib thus praises him:

"O holy man of God! O noble Yuusuf, the blessed! O
sheekh of Islam!

O you who exerted yourself for us and whose directions
proved profitable!

Through the Somali language you made it easy for us
to learn the letters of the alphabet.

Your labors were many and you were the radiant light of
the country.

Through you we received blessings and you expounded the
Holy Law in great measure.

You enacted counsels from God and were always perfect.
People who go on a pilgrimage to his shrine receive a
rich reward!

O Blessed Path, loved among the jinns and the people
of Islam!

O sheekh, zealous for the truth, whose words said 'Abandon
evil deeds!'

You preached to people and the Almighty granted you
blessings.

O saint who erected a fence for the protection of schools
which teach the Koranic faith!

We are zealous in the Service of Recollection in your
memory, O saint who illumined houses with your
radiance!

You prayed to God and routed the enemy.⁽⁴⁵⁾

O Inexhaustible Water of Zamzam, through whom our love
grew more abundant!⁽⁴⁶⁾

You were upright in keeping the Holy Law and your name
became famous among people.

O Sufi of God, patient and watchful that the words of the
Koran were enunciated rightly!

Anyone who follows your path will find shade under your
canopy.

O Full Moon, abundant in light, pour for us water from
the trough of Paradise at the appointed time!"⁽⁴⁷⁾

The religious literature in Somali requires a great deal
of further research and documentation, and particularly urgent
is the need to locate and copy manuscripts held by the poets
or by their descendants and disciples. For lack of space I
have not touched on the matter of religious oral literature

which exists in the Somali language and on which, again,
very little research has been done.⁽⁴⁸⁾ However, it must be
said that, like the written works, this plays only a marginal
role and is very limited in comparison with the religious
literature in Arabic.

In the religious literature of Somalia Arabic thus plays
a dominant role and Somali a marginal one, while in the secular
literature that situation is reversed. The assignment of
different roles to the two languages corresponds to one of the
traditional patterns of thought in Somali society which divides
men into wadaad and waranle, "cleric" and "spear-bearer" (i.e.
layman).⁽⁴⁹⁾ Clerics have spiritual power and their main
language of liturgy, learning and literature is Arabic, while
laymen have undisputed power over secular affairs and their
principal medium of communication is Somali, the language of
everyday life and of the public forum. In Somali history there
is a marked tendency for the separation of spiritual and secular
powers, with the exception of the brief interlude of the Dervish
movement of Maxamed Cabdille Xasan.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It seems possible that
the origin of this pattern of thought lies in the way Islam
was introduced in Somalia. The evidence of both oral traditions
and documentary sources strongly suggests that Somalis were
Islamized by peaceful means, that is by persuasion, example
and intermarriage and not by a military conquest.⁽⁵¹⁾

One might also venture to say that most probably the love
of poetry and reverence for poets which characterize the
Somali people existed already in pre-Islamic times. Perhaps

the beauty of Islamic texts in Arabic which were brought to Somalia by early Muslim immigrants had a special appeal for Somalis and their feeling for language as an artistic medium and for a poetic vision of life might have contributed in some measure to a smooth and uncoerced acceptance of Islam.

REFERENCES

The way in which bibliographical information is presented here departs from the usual practice and requires explanation. This is provided in Appendices I, II and III. The use of codes, such as AAY or ABR2, is explained in Appendix III. The abbreviation An. means "Annotation".

AAY: ʿAbd Allāh bin Muʿallim Yūsuf al-Qutbī, al-Shaykh. Al-majmūʿat al-mubārakat al-mushtamilah ʿalā kutub khamsah: (Al-awal) ʿAqīdat ahl al-Sunnah wa-al-Jamāʿah. (Al-thānī) Sirāj al-ḡalām fī silsilat al-sādat al-kirām. (Al-thālith) Taḥdīrāt al-balīghah tusammā bil-sikkīn al-dhābiḥah ʿalā al-kilāb al-nābiḥah. (Al-rābiʿ) Naṣr al-muʾminīn ʿalā al-maraddat al-mulḥidīn maʿa baqīyat aḥkām al-dīn. (Al-khāmis) Anīsāt al-ʿāshiqīn fī tadhkīrat al-muḥibbīn. Mogadishu: Al-Maktabat al-Islāmiyah, printed by Maṭbaʿat al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī in Cairo. N.d. In two parts with separate pagination, bound in one volume. An. /The Blessed Collection Encompassing Five Books: (The First) The Creed of the People of the Tradition and of the Community. (The Second) A Lantern Shedding Light on the Spiritual Lineage of the Noble Masters. (The Third) Profound Warnings Entitled "The Knife to Butcher the Barking Dogs" together with the Remaining Legal Judgments of the Faith. (The Fourth) The Victory of the Believers Over the Gains of the Apostates. (The Fifth) An Amiable Discourse of Those Who Are Enraptured in the Recollection of Those Who Love./ This book is a miscellany of religious treatises and poems. The treatises, all of which are written by al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh, deal with a variety of subjects in the field of Islamic theology, law, morals and customs and some of them contain information on events and personalities of the time. As shown in Cerulli 1923-25 and Martin 1976, they are of interest as sources for the history of Islamic movements in the Horn of Africa but it is the poems which provide the book with its literary appeal. Some of the poems were written by al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh and some by other

prominent clerics such as al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Shāshī, popularly known as Ḥājj Ṣūfī or Shaykh Ṣūfī, al-Shaykh Qāsim bin Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Barāwī and al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Aḥmad al-Zaylaʿī. The "five books" mentioned in the title do not constitute consecutive chapters but are incorporated into the various parts of the miscellany. There is no date on the title page but a commendation of the book on p. 194 of Part II, signed by Yūsuf Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī and dated as "the last days of the month Shawwāl 1338" suggests that the manuscript was ready for printing in 1920. The edition used here appears to be a reprint of an earlier edition published in Cairo by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, described in Cerulli 1923-25. It was published at the expense of al-Shaykh Faqīh bin Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Bakr, the owner of the bookshop Al-Maktabat al-Islāmiyah, probably some time after the Second World War.

ABD1: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Shaykh ʿUmar, al-Shaykh, ed. Jalāʾ al-ʿaynayn fī manāqib al-shaykhayn al-Shaykh al-Walī Ḥājj Uways al-Qādirī wa-al-shaykh al-kāmil al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī. N.p.: al-Shaykh Maḥmūd Aḥmad and Partners, printed by Maṭbaʿat al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī in Cairo. N.d. In two parts with separate pagination, bound in one volume. An. /A Clear Perception through One's Eyes of the Wondrous Deeds of the Two Sheekhs: the Saint, al-Shaykh Ḥājj Uways al-Qādirī and the Accomplished Sheekh, al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaʿī./ The first part of this book contains a collection of biographical and hagiographical narratives (manqabahs) about al-Shaykh Uways bin Muḥammad compiled by his disciple, al-Shaykh Qāsim Muḥyī al-Dīn. This is followed by a number of religious poems by al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin al-Shaykh ʿUmar (the editor of the book), al-Shaykh Qāsim bin Muḥyī al-Dīn, al-Shaykh Uways bin Muḥammad and al-Shaykh Yūsuf Muʿallim Muḥammad al-Bakrī. The second

part of the book contains a collection of biographical and hagiographical narratives about al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad al-Zaylaʿī compiled by al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Shaykh ʿUmar. A number of poems follows, written by al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh bin Muʿallim Yūsuf, al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Majīd bin al-Shaykh Muḥammad bin al-Shaykh Ṣūfī, popularly known as al-Shaykh ʿAtā, and al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin al-Shaykh ʿUmar, who is also the author of a pentastichic expansion of a poem by al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Muḥammad al-Zaylaʿī included in this collection. After these poems the editor provides his own autobiography. The book ends with commendations from several clerics in poetic form who praise it and invoke blessings upon it. No date is given on the title page, but on p. 87, Part I, a statement is made by the editor that he finished his work on the 13th of the month Shawwāl 1373, which falls within the year 1954. The title page states that the book was checked by al-Shaykh Muḥammad Muḥyasin of the Arabic Language College of Al-Azhar University in Cairo, but it is not clear what kind of checking was involved. In the translation of the title of the book "one's eyes" corresponds to al-ʿaynayn lit. "the two eyes", used probably for the sake of rhyme.

ABD2: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Shaykh ʿUmar, al-Shaykh. Jawhar al-nafīs fī khawāṣṣ al-Shaykh Uways. Cairo: Maktabat al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī published at the expense of al-Ḥājj ʿAbbās ibn al-Shaykh Muḥammad Faqīh Yūsuf and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn. 1964. An. /The Precious Jewel Regarding the Distinctive Qualities of al-Shaykh Uways./ This book is divided into an introduction, four chapters and an epilogue. The introduction and the first chapter provide biographical information about al-Shaykh Uways bin Muḥammad al-Barāwī and give a description of the prayer tasks recommended by him for his disciples. The second chapter contains instructions and liturgical formularies

for the Service of Recollection (Dhikr) as set by al-Shaykh Uways, and it includes a number of his poems used as texts of hymns for that service. The third chapter consists of a collection of biographical and hagiographical narratives (manqabahs) about al-Shaykh Uways compiled for the author of the book by al-Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn bin Ḥājj Yūsuf bin ʿAlī bin Aḥmad. In the fourth chapter a detailed account is given of a journey undertaken by the author and a group of friends in 1960-61 to visit the shrine of al-Shaykh Uways at Biyoole. The epilogue contains poems in praise of al-Shaykh Uways written by the author and two other sheekhs, al-Shaykh Qāsim bin Muḥyī al-Dīn and al-Shaykh Ḥusayn bin al-Shaykh Muḥammad bin Faqīh Yūsuf. The book ends with commendations from several clerics who praise it and invoke blessings upon it. The title page states that the book was checked by al-Shaykh Maḥmūd bin Aḥmad al-Qādirī al-Kalamāḥī at the request of the author, but it is not clear what was involved in this work. Note that there is a slight difference in the form of the name of the author on the title pages of ABD1 and ABD2, but both variants refer to the same person.

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AHM: Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad, al-Shaykh., ed. and comp. Manāqib al-ʿArif bi-Allāh wa-al-dāll ʿalayhi, imām al-sharīʿah wa-fakhr al-ḥaqīqah, al-ustādh al-Shaykh Ismāʿīl bin Ibrāhīm al-Jabartī. Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī and Sons, 1945. An. /The Wondrous Deeds of the Man Who Had Knowledge of God and was the Leader of Others to Him, the Imam of the Holy Law, the Glory of Truth, the Teacher, al-Shaykh Ismāʿīl bin Ibrāhīm al-Jabartī./ This is a very short work which contains a few biographical and

hagiographical narratives (manqabahs) about al-Shaykh Ismāʿīl and his son al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān. The narratives are followed by some religious exhortations and three poems attributed to al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān.

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al-kirām: al-shaykh al-walī al-ḥājj Uways bin Muḥammad al-Qādirī wa-al-samīyayn al-taw'amayn fī al-faḍl wa-al-'ilm, al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Shāshī al-Qādirī wa-al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin Aḥmad al-Zayla'ī al-Qādirī. 2nd ed. Cairo: Al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī and Sons, 1949. An. /A Collection of Poems in Praise of the Lord of the Prophets (Blessing and Peace Be upon Him) and Invoking the Intercession of the Crown of the Saints, My Lord 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (May God Be Pleased with Him), Composed by the Following Noble Sheekhs: the Sheekh and Saint al-Ḥājj Uways bin Muḥammad al-Qādirī, and the Two Namesakes and Twins in Knowledge and Merit, al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Shāshī al-Qādirī and al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zayla'ī al-Qādirī./ A collection of poems by the three sheekhs named in the title expanded into pentastichs by al-Shaykh ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn. Each expanded poem is provided with an introductory note on the background of the original. Some of these notes contain biographical and hagiographical information. Note that the usual form of the name of the editor and author of the expansions is al-Shaykh Qāsim bin Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Barāwī.

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al-Raḥmān bin al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣūmālī al-maʿrūf bi-Shaykh Ḥājj Ṣūfī raḍī Allāh ʿanhu. N.p.: Maṭbaʿat al-Kīlānī al-Ṣaghīr, n.d. An. /A Sign for Mankind Pointing to the Path of Righteousness - A Guide for Those Who Love, Leading Them to the Lord of Lords: A Blessed Collection of Poems and Verses, Encompassing Those Concerned with the Glorifying of God (Who is Exalted), with the Miracles of His Most Mighty Prophet, Our Master and Lord Muḥammad (May God Bless and Preserve Him), with the Story of the Prophet's Life and the Blessing Invoked on Him, and in Particular with the Science of Divine Unity, the Science of Sufism, Eulogies of the Prophet (May God Bless and Preserve Him) and Prayers Channelled through Him and His Noble Saints (May God Be Pleased with Them). All Are from the Abundant Authorship of the Greatest Imām, the Learned, the Most Erudite, His Grace the Late al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh, the Somali Who Was Known as Shaykh Ḥājj Ṣūfī (May God Be Pleased with Him). / A collection of poems by al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh known as Shaykh Ḥājj Ṣūfī, with an introduction by the editor which includes a brief biography of the author. The date and the place of publication are not given. The back cover of the book, however, gives the street address of the publishers (22, Shāriʿ Ghayṭ al-ʿUddah). Although the town is not stated the name of the street shows that it is Cairo.

Qāsim bin Muhyī al-Dīn al Barāwī, see IMQ.

Said S. Samatar. Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Maḥammad ʿAbdille Ḥasan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. The Sufi Orders in Islam. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

APPENDIX I

The Spelling of Somali Names

In Somalia a national orthography, introduced in 1972, is now used in almost all aspects of public life and in view of this I have used it for all Somali names in the main part of my text. In the References, however, names of Somali authors are written exactly as on the title pages of their works and the same applies to Somali names which are included in the text of these works and are mentioned in annotations to the References.

When the language used by a Somali author is Arabic, a Latin alphabet transliteration is used in the References, which conforms to the rules adopted by the Library of Congress. In English publications of Somali authors no changes, of course, are required.

The divergences in the spelling of the same names resulting from a different treatment of them in the main part of the text and the References are not so great as to interfere seriously with their identification. It is essential, however, to take cognizance of the different systems of spelling which underly them.

The Somali orthography uses the Latin alphabet and its most salient characteristics are as follows:

- (a) It represents the voiced pharyngeal fricative consonant by the letter c and the corresponding voiceless consonant by the letter x.
- (b) It doubles the vowel letters to represent long vowels.

Somali names when they are written in the Arabic alphabet suffer relatively little distortion, since the phonologies of the two languages are in many ways similar, as can be seen from the examples below. In the transliteration the pharyngeal consonants are represented by ^c and ^h and the long vowels are indicated by macrons.

Axmed	Aḥmad	Seylici	Zayla ^c ī
Baraawi	Barāwī	Suufi	Ṣūfī

Cumar	^c Umar	Uweys	Uways
Maxamed	Muḥammad	Xuseen	Ḥusayn
Qaasim	Qāsīm	Yuusuf	Yūsuf

Some Somali names are composite in their structure but are written as one word. In Arabic, however, they are divided and written as two words, and thus instead of Cabdalla we have ^cAbd Allāh.

It should be noted in this connection that such composite names, when they occur in their Arabic form, often contain the definite article al-, and according to the conventions of Arabic orthography the -l- of the article is not pronounced as l when the word to which it is prefixed begins with ḍ, ḍ, dh, n, r, s, ṣ, sh, t, ṭ, th, z or ẓ. When this happens the -l- of the article is assimilated to the consonant which follows it, i.e. is pronounced in the same way. Thus instead of ^cAbd al-Raḥmān and Muḥyī al-Dīn we have ^cAbd ar-Raḥmān and Muḥyī ad-Dīn.

When Somali names are Anglicized only a rough approximation to the original pronunciation is aimed at. The consonant c is usually omitted since it is not perceived as a speech sound by most English speakers, the consonant x is represented by h and the length of vowels is not marked. Thus the Somali names such as Cabdullaahi, Xuseen and Yuusuf would appear as Abdullahi, Hussein and Yusuf in their Anglicized forms.

APPENDIX II

The Naming Systems Used by Somali Authors

Somali authors use two naming systems, one an exact replica of the old traditional Arab system and the other a Somali one. The traditional Arab system is used by most Somali religious authors and in it a person is identified by his given name followed by that of his father and then sometimes also by that of his grandfather or even great-grandfather. In such a genealogical sequence the given name and the names of the ancestors are linked to each other by the word bin or ibn both of which mean "son". Thus a sequence like Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad means "Ahmad, the son of Ḥusayn, the son of Muḥammad". Some

names are composite and they are normally written as two separate words, e.g. ^cAbd Allāh "The Servant of God", ^cAbd al-Qādir "The Servant of the Almighty", ^cAbd al-Raḥmān "The Servant of the Merciful One", Muḥyī al-Dīn "The Reviver of the Faith".

Honorific titles are commonly used and always precede the given names of their holders. The following titles are particularly favored in Somalia: faqīh "jurist", ḥājj "pilgrim" i.e. a man who has performed a pilgrimage to Mecca, mu^callim "teacher", sayyid "master", "lord" and shaykh "learned man of religion".

Sometimes attributive appellations are added to names; these normally end in -ī and normally indicate either a place from which the person or his ancestors originated, or membership of a Muslim brotherhood, e.g. Barāwī "he who originates from Barāwah", Qādirī "he who belongs to the Qādiriyah brotherhood". An exception to this is the appellation Qutbī which is applied to an outstanding spiritual leader or saint. It is derived from the word qutb "pivot", "axis" or "pole"; an account of this Sufi term is given in Trimmingham 1971.

Both the honorific titles and attributive appellations normally occur with the definite article al-, e.g. al-Barāwī, al-shaykh.

The Somali naming system does not differ substantially from the traditional Arab one but one important difference is that in a genealogical sequence which identifies the bearer of the given name the names are not linked by the word "son". This meaning is conveyed simply by the order of the names. Axmed Xuseen Maxamed, for example, means "Axmed the son of Xuseen, the grandson of Maxamed" and is the exact equivalent of Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn bin Muḥammad in the traditional Arab system. Another characteristic of the Somali naming system is that in it composite names are usually written as one word, e.g. Cabdalla, Cabdulqaadir, Cabduraxmaan and Muxyadiin, instead of ^cAbd al-Allāh, ^cAbd al-Qādir, ^cAbd al-Raḥmān and Muḥyī al-Dīn mentioned earlier.

In the Somali system honorific titles and attributive

appellations occur without the definite article al- or its Somali equivalent -ka or -kii. Thus we have fiqi, xaaji, macallin, sayid and sheekh instead of al-faqīh, al-ḥajj, al-mu^callim, al-sayyid and al-shaykh, and Baraawi Seylici, Qaadiri, Qudbi instead of al-Barawī, al-Zayla^cī, al-Qādirī and al-Qutbī.

Sometimes initial letters are used instead of full names and forms like Axmed X. Maxamed instead of Axmed Xuseen Maxamed are by no means rare in the Somali system, but entirely absent from the traditional Arab one.

In view of the importance of the order of names in genealogical sequences names of Somali authors are not inverted in the bibliographical entries in the References and are given exactly as they appear on the title pages. The honorific titles, such as al-shaykh or sheekh are, however, put after the whole sequence of names and attributive appellations, and are preceded by a comma.

It is important to note that names of Somali authors are sometimes listed in library and publishers' catalogues as if they conformed to naming conventions used in Europe and America. The names are then inverted and the last item in the sequence is treated as if it were a family name.

APPENDIX III

Note on Bibliographical Entries for Works in Arabic and Somali

Although in Somalia the rights of authors are fully respected, some of the conventions of recognizing authorship differ from those applied in Europe and America. It is normal for a writer to incorporate in his work materials taken from other authors, with permission from them or their heirs, and he thus plays the double role of author and editor. This convention extends to writings of other authors even if they have not been previously published. Authorship credits are always given but usually not on the title page, even if the amount of incorporated material is very substantial. The usual place for them is in the text of the work immediately preceding the materials concerned.

Even more unusual for anyone accustomed to the European and American way of acknowledging authorship is the convention of expanding a poem written by another author by adding new lines to it. This again is done with the permission of the author of the original poem or his heirs. The convention applies only to poems written in Arabic and is based on models brought from Arab religious literature.

Arabic prosody recognizes a unit of metre called shaṭr "portion" which is shorter than a line and longer than a foot. Normally each line of verse is composed of two such units, divided by a caesura. It is customary among the disciples of a prominent man of religion to expand some of his poems by adding three shaṭr units to the existing two of each line, matching them with such precision in matters of metre and sense that they give the impression of a unitary composition. The original poem is thus transformed into a sequence of pentastichic stanzas which are referred to as the takhmīs of the original poem, a term derived from the verb khammasa which has the meaning "to turn [something] into five". To compose such a pentastichic expansion of a poem of one's master is regarded as a form of showing him one's devotion and admiration. Somalis favor a type of expansion in which the added units precede the original ones.

The conventions concerning title pages also diverge at times from those in Europe and America. Titles can be very long and couched in poetic language, while such information as the place and date of publication may be lacking altogether or be provided somewhere in the body of the text.

The practices described in this appendix and the nature of the naming systems outlined in Appendix II would make it difficult to use in the References and in the Notes any of the usual European and American methods of presenting bibliographical information. Instead of attempting to do this I have resorted to two devices: codes and annotations. In the References each bibliographical entry which refers to a work in Arabic or Somali is preceded by a code consisting of capital letters, e.g. AHM,

MQS etc., and in two cases the codes are augmented by the figures 1 and 2. These codes are then used in the Notes to identify the entry in the References.

Each entry in the References which is given a code is also provided with an annotation (abbreviated to An.), which begins with the translation of the title, placed between oblique strokes. Then follows the information about the contents of the work and, whenever necessary, about the authors whose names are not on the title page but whose contributions form part of that work and are acknowledged in the body of the text.

NOTES

1. Sheekh is a Somali loanword from Arabic, where shaykh "sheik" is used for both religious and secular leaders.
2. AHM, p. 7. The date is contradicted, however, by the oral traditions, discussed in Ali Abdirahman Hersi 1977, p. 121, which place it somewhere between the 7th and the 11th century. For AHM and similar codes see the References and Appendix III.
3. Information about the prestige and importance of poetry in Somali society can be found in Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964, Johnson 1974 and Said S. Samatar 1982. When works of Somali authors who write in English are referred to in the Notes they are given in full, as on their title pages, for reasons explained in Appendix II.
4. The titles of several of these classics are mentioned in biographical and hagiographical narratives concerning Somali sheekhs when their studies or their spiritual readings are described.
5. This service is called dhikr in Arabic and dikri in Somali. It consists of hymn singing and repetitive invocation of God's names, accompanied by rhythmical body movements. For further information about this service see Trimmingham 1971.
6. The original text of the translation given here is found in AAY, Part II, p. 111 and in IMQ, pp. 8-11 where it is expanded into pentastichic stanzas. This and all the remaining translations in the text of this lecture are mine.
7. Original text: AAY, Part II, p. 74. Other poems of this author are published on pp. 86-99 of the same book and in MQS.
8. For information about Muslim brotherhoods in Somalia see Martin 1976.
9. One of the disciples of Sheekh Uweys and Sheekh Suufi.

9. (continued) He died at an advanced age probably some time between 1949 and 1954. For an account of the custom of expanding poems see Appendix III.
10. "The Stage of Mystic Closeness" (Maqām al-Qurb) i.e. the stage of closeness to God in the spiritual journey of a mystic.
11. Original text: IMQ, p. 16.
12. Alawi Ali Adan 1984.
13. Information about this outstanding religious leader and poet can be found in Cassanelli 1982 and Martin 1969 and 1976. Detailed accounts of his life are provided in ABD1, Part I, and ABD2, where the years of his birth and death are given as 1869-1905. Both ABD1 and ABD2 are important sources of historical information, if the miraculous element in them is sifted from the straightforward recording of events. They are treated as such in Martin 1969 and 1976.
14. For information about this sheekh, who lived probably sometime in the 12th century, see Ali Abdiraham Hersi 1977, pp. 124-130 and Lewis 1966.
15. As can be ascertained from the genealogies kept by his descendants in Somalia, Sheekh Xuseen lived twenty-nine generations ago. His shrine in the Baale (Bale) province of Ethiopia attracts pilgrims from all parts of the Horn of Africa. According to Somali oral traditions he was a poet and a Muslim missionary. For a bibliography of works relating to the cult of Sheekh Xuseen see Andrzejewski 1975.
16. Sheekh Isaaq Axmed probably belongs to the same period as Sheekh Yuusuf Kowneyn (Note 14). A poem in his praise by Cabdullaahi Xaashi incorporates some of the oral traditions concerning his life and deeds. The text, together with a translation, is provided in Andrzejewski and Lewis 1964, pp. 153-158 and 163-167.

17. Some of the hymns are associated with beliefs about the miracle-working powers of their authors. In ABD1 for example, we find an account of one of Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Seylici's disciples being brought back to life after he had been decapitated by an Ethiopian in Jigjiga (Part II, p. 19). The sheekh recites over his body a line from his poem Hādiyāt al-arwāḥ and this brings about the miracle.
18. The close connection between religious poetry and vocal music is stressed in Alawi Ali Adan 1984.
19. A devoted disciple of Sheekh Uweys, poet and scholar. He was born in 1896 and I have been told that he died around 1982.
20. "Prayer tasks" (awrād) consist of various types of Divine Office recited by members of religious brotherhoods. For further information see Trimmingham 1971.
21. Original text: ABD2, pp. 186 and 187.
22. In this lecture I have limited myself to the discussion of creative literature only and I have not taken into account writings of Somali authors in the field of theology, Islamic law and politico-religious polemics. Information about this literature is available in Alawi Ali Adan 1984, Andrzejewski 1974, Cerulli 1923-25 and Martin 1976.
23. The Arabic plural of manqabah is manaqīb.
24. The name given to Verse 255 of Sūrah (i.e. chapter) II of the Koran, which refers to God's throne.
25. Original text: ABD2, p. 118.
26. The term ʿilm translated here as "sacred knowledge" refers in this context not only to Muslim theology and law but also the study of the grammar of Classical Arabic, the universal language of Islam.
27. I have not been able to trace this work. Faʿalala appears to be a newly coined word which brings to mind the model forms constructed from the consonants f, ʿ and l in various permutations with root vowels

27. (continued) and affixes, used by Arab scholars in describing the inflectional grammar of their language.
28. Original text: ABD1, Part II, pp. 17-18.
29. Original text: ABD1, Part I, p. 19. The poem entitled Rūḥ al-masarrah "The Spirit of Joy" referred to in this text is found in IMQ, pp. 64-66.
30. Original text: ABD1, Part II, p. 22. The poem entitled Rūḥ al-^cashiḡān "The Spirit of Those Who Love", referred to in this text is found in IMQ, pp. 15-20.
31. Yā Sīn are the names of the two letters of the Arabic alphabet which form the title of Sūrah XXXVI of the Koran. Its recitation is particularly favored at times of danger or imminent death. The expression "People of Yā Sīn" is used here as a eulogistic epithet for saints who are believed to be always ready to come to the rescue of those who invoke them.
32. Original text: AHM, p. 3.
33. Original text: ABD1, Part I, p. 15.
34. Original text: ABD1, Part II, p. 40.
35. Information about polemics on this subject is available in Andrzejewski 1974 and Martin 1976.
36. Original text: ABD1, Part I, pp. 11-12. Photographs of the Arbaca Rukun and the Jaamic mosques can be found in Cerulli 1957, Plates I-IV and XIX.
37. Information about Somali secular literature can be found in Andrzejewski 1979 and 1984 and Gérard 1981.
38. This is a prayer-poem interspersed with pious exhortations and doctrinal pronouncements. The manuscript, written in Arabic script, was edited and provided with translation and notes in Cerulli 1964, pp. 127-138.
39. A poem well known in Somalia, particularly for one of its lines which runs as follows: Quruxdii Nebigeenna yaa qiyaasi kara? "Who can gauge the beauty of our Prophet?". The manuscript of the poem, written in a newly invented script, was edited with a translation and notes in Lewis 1958. Sheekh Ismaaciil died ca. 1910

39. (continued) and the text is probably derived from an oral source. The poem is also provided in Abdisalam Yassin Mohamed 1977, pp. 125-128 together with a translation and notes.
40. The choice of script for Somali was preceded by long and sometimes very acrimonious debates, which are described in Labahn 1982 and Laitin 1977.
41. See CAA in the References. Some biographical information about this sheekh, who was born, ca. 1920, is provided in Andrzejewski 1970.
42. For information about the Somali system of scansion see Johnson 1979.
43. How this is done is explained in detail in Andrzejewski 1970.
44. See Note 14.
45. According to oral traditions Sheekh Yuusuf Kowneyn had miraculous powers which he used in the defense of Islam.
46. Zamzam is the name of a sacred well near Mecca which is visited by pilgrims.
47. Original text: CAA, p. 11 and Abdisalam Yassin Mohamed 1977, pp. 174-175, followed by a translation on pp. 176-177.
48. Information about religious oral literature can be found in Abdisalam Yassin Mohamed 1977 and Andrzejewski 1974. The first of these works includes a section on religious poetry composed by women.
49. This dichotomy is described in detail in Lewis 1961 and 1963.
50. Maxamed Cabdille Xasan (1856-1920) was a spiritual leader as well as a military commander and politician. He was also a great oral poet in Somali and wrote poems in Arabic. An extensive account of his life, deeds and poetry is provided in Said. S. Samatar 1982.
51. An extensive critical survey of sources relating to the history of Islam in Somalia is available in Ali Abdiraham Hersi 1977.

HANS WOLFF MEMORIAL LECTURES

1968 - Present

- 1968-69 David Dalby, University of London. United Kingdom Linguistics. "Black Through White: Patterns of Communication." (24 March 1969).
- 1969-70 Emile Snyder, University of Wisconsin. United States. African Literature. "Tradition and Modernism in African Literature." (4 March 1970).
- 1971-72 Wilfred H. Whiteley. University of London. United Kingdom. Linguistics and Anthropology. "To Plan is to Choose: The Rationale and Consequences of Language Choice in Eastern Africa." (7 April 1972).
- 1972-73 Anthony H. M. Kirk-Greene, St. Antony's College, Oxford University. United Kingdom. French, Political Science, and Anthropology. "Mutumin Kirkii: The Concept of the Good Man in Hausa." (11 April 1973).
- 1973-74 A. E. Meeussen. University of Leiden and Royal Museum of Brussels. Belgium. Linguistics. "Africanisms." (18 April 1974).
- 1974-75 Sembene, Ousmane. Senegal. Novelist and film-maker. "Man is Culture." (5 March 1975).
- 1975-76 A. Teixeira Da Mota. Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Lisbon. Portugal. History, Geography. "Some Aspects of Portuguese Colonization and Maritime Trade in West Africa in the 15th and 16th Centuries." (5 March 1976).
- 1976-77 Nathan M. Shamuyarira, University of Dar es Salaam. Zimbabwe. Political Science and Journalism. "The Political and Economic Crisis in Southern Africa." (14 April 1977).
- 1977-78 Batourou Sekou Kouyate, National Ensemble of Republic of Mali. Mali. Kora soloist. A concert of Mande poetry and song. (19 April 1978).
- 1978-79 L. Adele Jinadu, University of Lagos. Nigeria. Political Science. "Structure and Choice in African Politics." (5 April 1979).
- 1979-80 Keo Kuper, University of California-Los Angeles. South Africa. Sociology. "South Africa: Human Rights and Genocide: (18 April 1980).

Hilda Kuper, University of California-Los Angeles. South Africa. Anthropology. "Biography as Interpretation." (21 April 1980).

- 1980-81 Ruth Finnegan. Open University, Milton Keynes. United Kingdom. Folklore and Anthropology. "Short Time to Stay: Comments on Time, Literature and Oral Performance." (1 April 1981).
- 1981-82 Francis M. Deng, Ambassador from Sudan to Canada. Sudan. Law, Jurisprudence, and Anthropology. "Security Problems: an African Predicament." (23 October 1981).

ERRATUM

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The words "When he reached the two pillars of Buur Xaafa..." should be replaced by "When he reached the hill of the Camuudi District".