NEW ARABIC DOCUMENTS FROM SOMALIA

B.W. ANDRZEJEWSKI AND I.M. LEWIS

Origin of the collection

While carrying out social anthropological research among the northern, largely pastoralist Somali in what was then the Somaliland Protectorate between 1955 and 1957, one of us\(^1\) attempted to discover and collect as much written, mainly religious, material as possible. The aim was to illuminate and to document the literate Islamic tradition which in an important sense underpins this essentially oral culture.\(^2\)

As Lewis soon discovered, much of the Arabic manuscript material he could locate in the private libraries of shaykhs, could not be directly acquired or photocopied. Nor, indeed, would it have been ethically appropriate to seek to persuade their possessors to part with such treasured items even for a few hours. Accordingly, Lewis adopted the device of employing Somali research assistants literate in Arabic to copy such material as he could discover in the course of his researches in North-Western Somalia.

Relevance of the documents as research materials

Although the material is not in any sense comprehensive, or statistically representative, we believe it contains important new


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evidence for understanding Somali Islam and contributes to a fuller documentation of this vital aspect of Somali culture and history. The tragic conflicts and chaos of the late 1980s in northern Somalia (now the self-declared ‘Somaliland Republic’) make this material all the more precious. Particularly in these circumstances, it seems high time to make these documents available to other scholars by depositing copies in several appropriate libraries. As a prelude to this, it has seemed logical for us to prepare the catalogue, which is given in this paper, for the benefit of our colleagues. The originals are now in the Manuscript Section of the Library of London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London.

Content characteristics of the documents

As will be apparent, the bulk of our texts reflects the strong emphasis on Sufism in Somali Islam and consists of hagiographical qaṣīdas in praise of the founders of tariqās followed by Somalis (mainly the Qādiriyyya and Ṣāliḥiyya) of local Somali saints connected with tariqās, and of the clan ancestors whom Somali venerate as saints. As illuminating particular aspects of Somali culture, we would draw attention specially to the prayers composed and sung by women (MS 5), the critical discussion and letter concerning the Somali Dervish leader Sayyid Muhammad ʿAbd Allāḥ Ḥasan (MS 18), his biography (MS 22/a), the accounts of Somali tariqās (MS 21) and the important, perhaps unique, historical material on the Ṣāliḥiyya tariqa and its founder (MS 22/b), the records of the Dervish War (MS 25), the very rare documentation in MS 26 on the cult of the lineage ancestor of the Midgan occupational caste and finally two printed pamphlets, the first extolling the religious power of Shaykh Ismāʿil Jabarti, the putative ancestor of the Darod clan family, and the second praising Shaykh Iṣḥāq, founder of the clan-family named after him.

Place of the documents within Somali literary culture

The documents in the present collection, with the exception of MS 5 and Item (j) in MS 26 and of those items marked with the abbreviation ‘Extr. m.’ (Extraneous matter) belong to the Somali literature in Arabic. While most of it consists of manuscripts, a small proportion has appeared in printed books and pamphlets and information concerning this literature is provided in Cerulli, Somalia, I, Andrzejewski, ‘Veneration of Sufi Saints’ and Islamic Literature of Somalia, Mohamed Haji Mukhtar, ‘Arabic Sources on Somalia’, Alawi Ali Adan, ‘General Review’, Martin, Muslim Brotherhoods and ‘Shaykh Zayla’i’, and Said S. Samatar, ‘Sheikh Uweys Muhammad’.

MS 5 and Item (j) in MS 26 represent literature written in Somali but using Arabic characters. This branch of Somali literature is much less extensive but has received attention in Cerulli, Somalia, III, Moreno, Il somalo della Somalia, Abdusalam Yassin Mohamed, Sufi Poetry in Somali and Banti ‘Scrittura’.

Items marked as ‘Extr. m.’ found themselves in the collection by accident, the copyists or their friends having used the paper of the manuscripts for drafting letters or making personal notes. This is not surprising if we take into account the cost of paper when the documents were copied.

While most of the manuscripts are clearly written and conform well to the norms of Arabic grammar, syntax and calligraphy, some deviate so substantially as to be extremely difficult to decipher. In this connection we acknowledge our indebtedness to Mohamed Dahir Afrah and Mohamoud Sheikh Dalmar for their most valuable help. We also gratefully acknowledge the

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5 See References at end.
financial assistance given to us during the preparation of this paper by the Staff Research Fund of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Methods used in cataloguing the collection

The catalogue is not arranged according to any thematic or genre classification, since it would have been difficult to do so on account of great variety of items in some manuscripts. The term *qasīda*, abbreviated to the single capital letter Q, is restricted here to religious poems, in accordance with the usage prevalent among Somalis, and the term *poem* is applied to compositions which fall outside that definition. The title *Shaykh*, which is abbreviated here to Sh., refers to learned men of religion and not to any secular leaders.

By the expression ‘Q. to’ is meant that the main theme of praise and supplication is addressed to a particular holy person or to God. Thus, for example, ‘Q. to Sh. Ishāq’ should be interpreted as ‘Qasīda of praise and supplication addressed to Sh. Ishāq’. It should be noted that in addition the opening and closing lines of all poems normally contain praises and supplications addressed to God. They also contain salutations to Muḥammad, by which religious poets greet their beloved Prophet.

When no authorship is given for a particular item this merely means that it is not stated in the manuscript and does not necessarily imply that it circulated among Somalis as an anonymous work. When two persons are named as authors it is not certain which is the author and which the copyist.

Most manuscripts have no titles and it is very difficult to identify them individually without a considerable amount of elaboration which is beyond the scope of this catalogue. *Qasidas* in this collection, even if they are addressed to the same person, all have different individual texts. Some set common phrases and images, however, are frequently shared in them.

The sizes of the documents are given in centimetres.

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Manuscripts

**MS 1**
6 pp. 16.3 x 20.5
A group of short *qasīdas* which are sung at religious meetings, in part with the accompaniment of drumming.
(a) Q. to Sh. Iṣḥāq b. Ahmad.
(b) Q. as in (a).
(c) Q. as in (a).
(d) Q. the wording of which does not make clear to whom it is addressed (probably: as in (a)).
(e) Q. to Muḥammad.

The *qasīdas* in this group use intoxication with wine as their imagery for ecstatic states.

**MS 2**
22 pp. 16.3 x 20.5
(a) Iṣḥāq b. Ahmad.
(b) Sh. Ahmad Bilah Darār and Sh. Ahmad Rūblah: Q. as in (a).
(c) Sh. Iṣḥāq b. Ahmad.
(d) Sh. Iṣḥāq b. Ahmad.
(e) Sh. Iṣḥāq b. Ahmad.
(f) Sh. Ahmad b. Rūblah: Q. as in (a) and in praise of his progeny.
(g) Sh. Ahmad b. Rūblah: Q. as in (a).
(h) Sh. Ahmad b. Rūblah: Q. as in (a).
(i) Sh. Ahmad b. Rūblah: Q. as in (a).
MS 3
19 pp. 16.3 x 20.5
(a) Sh. Muhammad b. 'Ali (probably only the copyist): Q. to Muhammad (fragment).
(b) Sh. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Zayla‘ī: Q. to Muhammad.
(c) Sh. Yūsuf al-Bahr: Q. to Sh. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.
(d) Q. to Sh. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.
(e) Sh.  Muḥammad Warsamah: Q. as in (b).
(f) Sh. 'Abdī Hirūs (or Hiraws): Q. to Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnayn (also known as Sh. Yūsuf al-Akwān and Aw Barkhadlaḥ).
(g) Sh. Muḥammad Warsamah: Q. as in (b).
(h) Names of shaykhs venerated as saints and the locations of their activities.

MS 4
13 pp. 16.3 x 20.5
(a) Q. to Sh. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.
(b) List of shaykhs venerated as saints, identical with that in MS 3, item (h).
(c) Q. to Sh. Ṣāḥib b. Ahmad.
(d) Q. as in (e).
(e) Q. as in (c).
(f) Q. to Sh. Nūr ʿUthmān.

MS 5
4 pp. 15.8 x 20.4
The texts in this MS are in Somali written in Arabic characters. They consist of four prayers sung by women in the Somali poetic genre called buraanbur. The transcription is very inadequate since it ignores the essential sound distinctions of Somali phonology. It is not certain whether the women who dictated the texts were authors or merely reciters.
(a) Indhadeeq (transcriber ʿAlī Mūsā): Prayer to Fāṭima.
(b) Prayer to Muhammad.
(c) Bugir (or Bugyar): A prayerful meditation.
(d) Kāḥa Shaykh: Prayer to Hawwāʾ (Eve).

MS 6
30 pp. 18 x 26
(a) Short pious invocation to Muhammad.
(b) Extr. m.: Draft of a private letter the subject of which is difficult to ascertain since its context is unknown.
(c) Q. to Sh. Ṣāḥib b. Ahmad.
(d) Q. as in (c).
(e) Q. welcoming the arrival of the month of Ramadān.
(f) Q. to Sh. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.
(g) Q. to Muhammad.
(h) Short pious invocation.
(i) Q. as in (e).
(j) Q. as in (e).
(k) Q. as in (g).
(l) Q. as in (g).
(m) Short pious invocation.
(n) Q. to Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnayn.
(o) Short pious invocation to Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnayn.
(p) Q. as in (e).
(q) Q. as in (e).
(r) Extr. m.: Draft of a private letter the subject of which is difficult to ascertain since its context is unknown.
(s) Extr. m.: Draft of a legal testimony the subject of which is difficult to ascertain owing to partly illegible writing.
t Extr. m.: Numerological calculations the nature of which is difficult to ascertain.

MS 7
2 pp. 16.3 x 20.5
(a) Sh. ʿAwat Waʿays: Q. to Sh. Ḥūṣayn, who is most probably the ancestor of the Somali clan family named after him.
(b) Sh. ʿAwat Waʿays: Q. as in (a).

MS 8
1 p. 20.5 x 33.2
It is difficult to establish what the subject of this MS is. The text, which is illegible at several points, contains unconnected pious invocations, such as might be used in leather pouches.
worn as philacteries on arm or neck to protect against harm.

**MS 9**
2 pp. 20.5 x 33
Sh. 'Umar al-'Ayt. Q. to Sh. Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd.

An introductory note states that the author resides in Medina, while Sh. Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd resides in Mecca. Probably both of them were either Arabs or Somalis settled in Arabia.

**MS 10**
2 pp. 20.5 x 33
(a) Sh. Mu'allim 'Abdī: Q. to Sh. Quṭub (fragment).
(b) Sh. Mu'allim 'Abdī: Q. as in (a).

**MS 11**
1 p. 20.5 x 33.2
A handwritten copy of the title page of *Majmūʿat qaṣā'id*, a printed work by Ibn Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Qāsim al-Barāwī (editor and co-author). The second edition of this book was published in Cairo in 1949. The date of the first edition is not known.

**MS 12**
1 p. 20.5 x 33.2
A sequence of pious invocations which may be such as are used in leather pouches worn as philacteries on arm or neck.

**MS 13**
1 p. 21 x 33.5
A poem composed in honour of I.M. Lewis's visit to Widhaidh.

**MS 14**
1 p. 20 x 33.2
A list of books in MS form written by Sh. 'Ali Ibrāhīm. The books listed are collections of qaṣīdas and prose works on religious subjects.

**MS 15**
2 pp. 16.3 x 20.5
(a) Sh. Aw Mūsā: Q. to Sayyid Ibrāhīm b. Šālih.
(b) Extr. m.: An exercise in penmanship, consisting of groups of isolated words.

**MS 16**
1 p. 20.5 x 33
Q. in praise of the Qādiriyya ṭarīqa. The introductory note states that the poem contains a condemnation of the Šāliḥiyya ṭarīqa but that part of the text is missing.

**MS 17**
27 pp. 16.3 x 20.3
(a) Extr. m.: List of names without any indication of its purpose.
(b) Genealogy of Sh. Išāq b. Aḥmad.
(c) Extr. m.: Names of persons, numbers, isolated letters and a diagram which are probably concerned with some form of numerological divination.
(d) Q. to a saint not identified by name. A description of the splendour of his annual pilgrimage feast suggests that it must be either Sh. Išāq b. Aḥmad or Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnayn.
(e) Q. to Sh. Mahmūd Yāsin.
(f) Q. to Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnayn.
(g) Sh. 'Abd Khalīf b. Sh. Aḥmad Nūr al-Dīn: Q. to Muḥammad.
(h) Extr. m.: Sheep trade accounts.

**MS 18**
2 pp. 21.5 x 31.7
(a) An account of a discussion between Sh. 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'allim Yūsuf al-Qubī and Bogor Qūthmān Mahmūd about Sayyid Muhammad 'Abd Allāh Ḥasan. During it the shaykh strongly attacks the Sayyid's fatwā that those Somalis who had not joined him in the holy war against the Christians governing Somalia committed an act of apostasy.
and that it was then lawful to kill them.

(b) Sh. ʿAbd Allāh Muʿallim Yūsuf: A letter in poetic form addressed to the Sayyid. It was written after the Boqor had received a letter from the Sayyid seeking his friendship and alliance. Sh. ʿAbd Allāh’s letter to the Sayyid fiercely condemns his deeds and doctrines and accuses him of flagrant violations of Islamic Law and of apostasy.

MS 19
135 pp. 13.5 x 20
A handbook of Arabic grammar. The author is not stated but it was most probably composed by al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ahmad al-Zaylaʿī.

MS 20
47 pp. 20.5 x 32.5
(a) Sh. ʿAli Sh. Ibrāhīm: Detailed hagiography of Sh. Ishāq b. Ahmad. It covers his life and deeds in the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa from his birth until the foundation of Mayt town. The year of his death there is given as 727 AH [1326-27 AD]. This hagiography contains an insert consisting of an eulogy of Sh. Ishāq by Ādam b. ʿĪsā.
(b) Ahmad Nūḥ (copied by ʿAli Jāmaʿ Ibrāhīm): Q. to Sh. Ishāq b. Ahmad. It contains a poetic description of a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sh. Ishāq at Mayt.
(c) Sh. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Mārisi (or Mārsi?): Q. to Sh. Ishāq.
(d) Sh. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Mārisi (or Mārsi?): Q. as in (c).
(e) ʿUmar b. ʿAskar: Q. as in (c).
(f) ʿAli b. Ḥūjj Ibrāhīm: Q. as in (c).
(g) ʿAli b. Ḥūjj Ibrāhīm: Q. as in (c).

MS 21
21 pp. 20.5 x 32.5
(a) Ahmad b. Ὺablāh: Q. to Sh. ʿUthmān b. Nūr.
(b) Tāhir Ahmad ʿAbdi: Hagiography of Sh. ʿUthmān b. Nūr.

(c) Ahmad b. Ὺablāh: Q. as in (a).
(d) Ahmad b. Ὺablāh: Q. as in (a).
(e) Hagiography of Sh. ʿUthmān b. Nūr, continued.
(f) Hagiographical note on an episode in the life of Sh. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Dankali.
(g) Sh. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Dankali: Q. to Muhammad, composed on the occasion of the poet’s miraculous release from an Ethiopian jail.
(h) Hagiographical notes on an episode in the life of Sh. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Dankali.
(i) Sh. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Dankali: Q. to Muhammad composed on the occasion of the poet’s miraculous cure from an illness.
(j) Hagiographical note on episodes in the life of Sh. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Dankali.
(k) Hagiography of Sh. Ibrāhīm Ahmad ʿKabūlaʿ.
(l) Sh. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Dankali: Q. to Sh. Ibrāhīm Ahmad ʿKabūlaʿ.
(m) Hagiography of Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnayn.
(n) Yūsuf Muḥammad b. al-Bakrī: Q. as to Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnayn.
(o) Hagiography of Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnayn, continued.
(p) General note on Somali Sufi ṭariqa and the veneration of saints.
(q) Hagiography of Sh. Muḥammad b. Shirah, popularly known as Sh. Muḥammad Yarrah.
(r) Account of the state of Somali ṭariqa and the rise and disappearance of new ṭariqa, led by shaykhs who deviated from Islamic orthodoxy or were downright fraudulent, in the period from 1940 to the first years after the end of the Second World War.

Although this is not explicitly stated it can be inferred from a note at the end of this MS that items (p) and (r) were written by Tāhir Ahmad, whose nickname was ‘Filsan’, especially for this collection.
MS 22
21 pp. 20.5 x 32.5
(a) Biography of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥasan.
(b) Description of the Sāliḥiya tariqa and a hagiography of its founder, Sayyid Muḥammad Sāliḥ.

MS 23
14 pp. 20.5 x 32.5
(a) List of works of Sh. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd al-Zaylaʿi.
(b) Sh. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd al-Zaylaʿi: Hagiography of Sh. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.

MS 24
60 pp. 20.5 x 32.5
(a) Sh. Muḥammad Hūrūn: Q. to Sh. Ishaq b. Ahmad.
(b) Sh. Muḥammad Hūrūn: Q. as in (a).
(c) Sh. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh: Q. as in (a).
(d) Q. to Muhammad.
(e) Q. as in (a).
(d) Q. as in (a).

MS 25
16 pp. 20.5 x 32.5
(a) The story of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥasan and the Dervish War.
(b) Brief note on Somali poets.
(c) Brief notes on the Midjān (Midgān), Tumāl and Yibir occupational castes.
(d) Muḥammad Ṣāḥib: Account of the Egyptian penetration of the Horn of Africa (this is most probably based on a published work by an Arab writer).
(e) Brief note about Somali star lore.
(f) Brief note on Somali traditional veterinary, medical and divinatory practices.
(g) Description of Somali tariqas.
(h) Brief note on pastoralism as the main concern of the Somali people.

MS 26
20 pp. 20.5 x 32.5
(a) Brief invocation to Sh. Muḥammad, popularly known as Sh. Madībān, venerated by the people of the Midgān occupational caste as one of their Muslim saints. The symbol ʿ in Madībān indicates that the Arabic letter dāl in the original is written with three superscript dots corresponding to the diagraph dh in Somali orthography.
(b) Extr. m.: Probably: Draft of an invitation to a fund-raising party.
(c) Q. to Sh. Muḥammad (Sh. Madībān).
(d) Q. as in (c).
(e) Q. as in (c).
(f) Q. as in (c), but characterized by its deviation from the rules of Arabic versification.
(g) Sh. Ibn Abāʾi: Q. to Sh. Mūsā, venerated by the people of the Midgān occupational caste as one of their Muslim saints.
(h) Q. to Muḥammad.
(i) Q. as in (f). In parts the text is identical with that of item (f).
(j) Sh. Diriyah Bahar: Q. as in (c), but written in Somali in Arabic characters. The transcription is very inadequate since it ignores the essential sound distinctions of Somali phonology.

MS 27
13 pp. 20.5 x 32.5
A legendary account of the wars conducted against the invasions of Muslim territories in the Horn of Africa by the Portuguese, Italians and Ethiopians. Sh. Abādīr, Sh. Yūsuf al-Kawnaṇy, Sh. Nūr Husayn of Bale and the sultan of Mogadishu are principal figures in the narration. The account contains some anachronisms, such as putting Italian and Portuguese soldiers side by side and implying that they all arrived in a steamship.
MS 28
8 pp. 15 x 20
The pages are loose and come from a larger unidentified work. They are severely damaged, probably by termites. The contents are in prose and consist of prayers, exhortations and affirmations of Islamic doctrine. It is difficult to ascertain what the unifying theme of the complete work was.

MS 29
1 p. 14.5 x 18.5 (a piece of cardboard)
This is an inscription of eight lines, found on the cover of a copy of the Qur'an in Berbera. It states that in 1319 AH a man called Mahad 'Abd Ismā'il donated a gift to the 'Abd al-Qādir Mosque. The gift appears to be a portion [of his land] and there are some explanations concerning the gift and the occasion for giving it but the text deviates so much from Standard Arabic that it is difficult to establish its meaning with any certainty.

MS 30
4 pp. 9 x 14
(a) Two pages which are severely damaged on the edges. The text is a fragment of qaṣīda but is too short to suggest what its unifying theme is.
(b) Two diagrams, probably connected with some divinatory practice.

MS 31
1 p. 20.5 x 33
Sh. 'Abd Allāh Majīrtayn and Muḥammad Ḥasan: A poem condemning the singing of love poems of the Somali balwo genre as offensive to Muslim morality and decorum.

Printed Pamphlets

PAM 1
8 pp. 11.5 x 15
Āḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, Manāqib al-'ārif bi'llāh wa'l-dāll 'alayhi, imām al-shari'a wa-fakhir al-ḥaqīqa, al-

ustādhi al-Shaykh Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Jabarti (The virtues and wondrous deeds of the man acquainted with Divine Knowledge and leader of others to God, imam of the shari'a, the pride of truth, Shaykh Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm al-Jabarti), Cairo: Sharikat Maktaba wa-Maṭba'a at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabi wa-awlādihi 1945.

PAM 2
11 pp. 11.5 x 15
Ḥusayn b. Āḥmad Darwīsh, al-Shaykh, Amjadi (Glorious praises). Aden: al-Maṭba'a al-ʿArabiyya bi-ʿAdan 1375 AH. [A hagiography of Sh. Ḥisāq b. Āḥmad].

References

Since in Somalia surnames are not normally used, names of Somali authors are not inverted and are kept in their traditional genealogical order in accordance with the recommendations put forward in International Cataloguing (xi, 2, 1982). Such names are also given in full in text references.


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**SOME NOTES ON B.W. ANDRZEJEWSKI AND I.M. LEWIS**

‘NEW ARABIC DOCUMENTS FROM SOMALIA’

The following are intended as a supplement to the article above.

**MS 9**

‘Q. to Sh. Ibrahīm al-Rashīd.’  
Ibrahīm al-Rashīd (1813-74) is almost certainly a Sudanese student of the Moroccan Sufi, Ahmad b. Idrīs (d. 1837). Al-Rashīd came from a northern Sudanese religious family settled among the Shāyqiyya people. In about 1830 he joined Ibn Idrīs, then living in ‘Asrī in ‘Asrī (now in Saudi Arabia), staying with him until the latter’s death. Thereafter he moved between the Sudan and the Hijāz propagating what became known as the Rashidīyya tariqa, a branch thus of the Idrīsī tradition. He died and was buried in Mecca.6

**MS 15**

‘(a) Sh. Aw Mūsā: Q. to Sayyid Ibrahīm b. Sālih.’  
This Q. may also be to Ibrahīm al-Rashīd, otherwise Ibrahīm b. Sālih.

**MS 22**

‘(b) Description of the Sālihiyya tariqa and a hagiography of its founder, Sayyid Muhammad Sālih.’7  
This is a unique source about an important figure about whom tantalizingly little has been recorded. The correct name of the subject of the manāqib is al-Shaykh b. Muhammad b. Sālih (c. 1854-1919)—‘al-Shaykh’ here being a name. He was the

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7 The present writer hopes to present a translation or précis of this source at a later date.
nephew of Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (see above). Al-Rashīd left no sons and after his death, it was his nephew who led the Rashidiyya. In about 1887, for reasons that remain obscure, the order became known as the Şâliḥiyya (in the Sudan, it continues to be known as Rashidiyya). As such the order spread to northern Somalia, where its most famous khalīfa was, of course Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Hasan, the author or subject of several of the manuscripts described in the preceding article. The order also spread to Malaysia.8

MS 25

'(d) Muḥammad Şabri: Account of the Egyptian penetration of the Horn of Africa (this is most probably based on a published work by an Arab writer).'

This is almost certainly extracted from one of Professor M. Sabry’s works. Professor Sabry, an Egyptian historian active in the 1930s and 40s, wrote numerous works in both Arabic and French on Egyptian imperialism in the Sudan and northeast Africa generally. Among his major French writings are L’empire égyptien sous Mohamed-Ali et la question d’orient, Paris 1930, and Le Soudan égyptien (1821–1898), Cairo 1947.

R.S. O’Fahey

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