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From mountain to mountain: exchange between Yemen and Ethiopia, Medieval to Modern

Edited by Anne Regourd (University of Copenhagen)
& Nancy Um (Binghamton University)

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From Mountain to Mountain: Exchange between Yemen and Ethiopia, Medieval to Modern

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Al-Malik al-Afḍal's 14th-century "Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary" as an Attempt at Language Documentation

Maria Bulakh
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Abstract

The article evaluates the aims and methods of creation of the so-called "Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary", a 14th-century word list compiled by order of the Yemenite Sultan of the Rasulid dynasty al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī. It claims that the Glossary was created with a purely scientific aim of recording a little-known language, that its compilers were likely unaware of the linguistic diversity of the recorded material (hence the name "Ethiopic" in the title), and that the informants were in all probability Ethiopian slaves who, as is well known, were present in South Arabia since Antiquity.

Résumé

Cet article examine les objectifs et les méthodes de la constitution du « Glossaire arabe-éthiopien », une liste de termes compilés au xix[e] s. par ordre du Sultan yéménite de la dynastie rassoulide al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī. Il cherche à montrer que ses compilateurs n'étaient vraisemblablement pas avertis de la diversité linguistique du matériel collecté – d'où le terme de « langages éthiopiens » dans le titre de l'article, et que les informateurs devaient être des esclaves originaires d'Éthiopie qui, comme on le sait, étaient présents en Arabie du Sud depuis l'Antiquité.

خلاصة

هذا المقال يناقش الاهداف والطرائق لخلق المعجم العربى الحبشى الذى أُلِّف بأمر من الملك الأفضل العبّاس بن علي وهو من ملوك الدولة الرسولية في اليمن وحكم في المائة الرابعة عشرة ميلادية. ويقول المقال إن هذا المعجم الّفه المؤلفون مع هدف علمي وكانوا يهدفون إلى تسجيل لغة غير معروفة ومن المحتمل أن ظنوا أن كانوا يسجلون لغة واحدة وفي الواقع كانوا يسجلون لغات إثيوبيا مختلفة. ومن المحتمل أن الناس الذين كانوا يخبرون المؤلفين بلغاتهم هم من العبيد الحبشيين والعبيد الحبشيين كانوا موجودين في اليمن منذ الزمان القديم.

Keywords

Arab-Ethiopian cross-cultural relations, Arabic lexicography, Medieval glossaries

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Mots-clés

échanges interculturels arabes-éthiopiens, lexicographie arabe, glossaire médiéval

تعبيرات رئيسية

الإتصالات الثقافية العربة الحبشية، الصناعة المعجمية العربية، المعاجم من القرون الوسطى

I. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to evaluate a unique Medieval multilingual vocabulary, henceforth referred to as the "Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary", as a piece of evidence of the interest of Yemenite scholars in their neighbour Ethiopia and its languages and culture.

The compilation of the Glossary was initiated by the Yemenite Sultan of the Rasulid dynasty al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī (r. 764–776/1363–1377[2]). The concept of the Glossary clearly demonstrates the broadness of this ruler's scientific interests, unusual even for a Medieval Arabian scholar. While Arabic lexicography has an extremely rich tradition, it concentrated on the Arabic language itself, and seldom produced multilingual dictionaries or vocabularies.[3] The Glossary is thus one rare example of the Arabs' attempts at collecting non-Arabic lexical data. It contains data on several languages of Ethiopia, and for most of these languages, it is the only source on their early stage. In fact, it predates other records of this type by around five hundred years.[4]

Furthermore, the Glossary is the earliest known piece of lexicographic work on the languages of Ethiopia. Other vocabularies—whether indigenous works or compilations by foreign scholars or travelers—date from later periods and are mostly restricted to Geez and Amharic. The Amharic-Latin glossary (a part of a list of Arabic and Amharic words and phrases) deciphered by Franz-Christoph Muth is not older than the 15th century.[5] The earliest traditional Geez-Amharic glossaries are dated to the 16th or 17th century.[6] Arabic glossaries of Ethiopian languages—Amharic, Tigrinya, or Geez—were sometimes produced in Ethiopia (with Arabic glosses written in Ethiopian script). However, the earliest known glossary of this type, published by

[2] See P.B. Golden, *The King's Dictionary. The Rasûlid Hexaglot. Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol*, 2000, pp. 23–24 with further references.

[3] Cf. J.A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography: Its History, and its Place in the General History of Lexicography*, 1960, p. 4.

[4] Cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal: An Annotated Edition with a Linguistic Introduction and a Lexical Index*, 2016, pp. 12–32.

[5] F.-Ch. Muth, "Eine arabisch-äthiopische Wort- und Satzliste aus Jerusalem vom 15. Jahrhundert", 2010.

[6] Cf. Meley Mulugetta, "Säwasəw", 2010, p. 563.

Geta[t]chew Haile, is likewise no older than the 16th century.[7] An Arabic-Amharic dictionary, with a collection of Amharic proverbs, penned by an Ethiopian, was published in Cairo in 1872.[8]

Therefore, the Glossary sponsored by al-Malik al-Afḍal is a priceless piece of evidence on the early stages of quite a number of Ethiopian languages. While its linguistic data has been analysed in detail by Maria Bulakh and Leonid Kogan,[9] the question of the aims and methods of its compilation remains open.

The aim of the present contribution is to sum up the results of a previous publication[10] which are relevant for the reconstruction of the circumstances of the creation of the Glossary, as well as to present some considerations on its goals and the methods of its compilation, on the nature of the communication between the compiler(s) and the informants, and on the ethnic and religious affiliation of the informants. Evidence is drawn entirely from the Glossary itself, as there are no external sources that shed light on these questions.

II. Previous research

The "Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary" is preserved in a 14th-century manuscript from the private library of al-Malik al-Afḍal. The present location of the manuscript is publicly unknown, but its facsimile has been published by Daniel Martin Varisco and Gerald Rex Smith.[11]

The Glossary occupies fols. 109r–110r of the manuscript, which are numbered in Varisco & Smith's 1998 edition as pages 217–219 (each page corresponding to one side of a folio). Each page contains a table with 6 pairs of columns. In each pair, the first column contains Arabic words, whereas the second column contains its equivalent(s) in one or several Ethiopian languages (written in Arabic letters).

Varisco & Smith's 1998 publication of the manuscript containing the Glossary remained unnoticed by Ethiopianists for more than a decade. Muth was the first to realise its high value for Ethiopian studies. In 2009, he made two presentations on the Glossary,[12] and in 2009–2010, his article "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)" appeared. In this work, Muth presented the results of his deciphering of the Glossary,

[7] E. Littmann, "Abessinische Glossen", 1908; Geta[t]chew Haile, "Archaic Amharic Forms", 1969–1970.

[8] M.Ǧ. al-Ḥabašī, *Al-mulḥa al-ǧalīya fī ma'rifat al-luġa al-ḥabašiyya*, 1872.

[9] M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016.

[10] M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016.

[11] D.M. Varisco & G.R. Smith, *The Manuscript of al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī Ibn Rasūl* (*d. 778/1377*), 1998.

[12] IV. Arbeitstreffen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Semitistik, Leipzig, 1 October 2009, and II. Äthiopistisches Forschungskolloquium, Berlin, 18 December 2009.

as well as a detailed description of its contents and structure, an evaluation of its linguistic material, and some considerations on the circumstances of its creation.

The importance of Muth's pioneering contribution, which brought to light this unique piece of evidence on Ethiopian languages in the 14th century, is indisputible. Muth was able to decipher the larger part of the Glossary, paying due attention to the vocabulary of (Old) Amharic, Harari, and various Gurage languages. He elaborated the system of reference to the separate entries of the Glossary, marking the Arabic-Ethiopic pairs of columns with Latin letters (A - F), and the lines with numbers. This useful system was adopted by Kogan and the present author in 2016,[13] and will be used in the present publication as well. Finally, his remarks on the thematic organization of the Glossary (with comparisons to another lexical list found in the same manuscript[14] and to some Arabic lexicographic works[15]) and on the probable origin and social status of the informant(s) laid the foundation for a full-scale evaluation of the evidence the Glossary provides on Yemenite-Ethiopian relationships in the 14th century.

Muth's deciphering of the Glossary, however, required further elaboration. This work was carried out by Kogan and the present author, who published their additions to Muth's readings in a series of special articles[16] and prepared a comprehensive edition of the Glossary, which contains both Muth's readings and their own findings.[17] Each entry of the Glossary is provided with a detailed linguistic discussion and a list of comparable terms in all Ethio-Semitic languages and, sometimes, in non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia. In the introduction, linguistic evaluation of the deciphered material is presented, with special attention to the possible source languages for the "Ethiopic" glosses.

The primary goal of Bulakh & Kogan's edition is to present the linguistic facts as preserved in the Glossary. Various cultural aspects which received attention in Muth 2009–2010 were barely mentioned by Bulakh & Kogan in 2016. However, in view of the fact that the discussion in Muth 2009–2010 is sometimes based on incomplete or erroneous data, an update is necessary.

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[13] See M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016.

[14] See P.B. Golden, *The King's Dictionary*, 2000.

[15] V. F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 90.

[16] M. Bulakh & L. Kogan "Towards a Comprehensive Edition of the Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary of al-Malik al-Afḍal. Part I: New Readings from the First Sheet", 2013; "Towards a Comprehensive Edition of the Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary of al-Malik al-Afḍal. Part II: New Readings from the Second Sheet", 2014; "Towards a Comprehensive Edition of the Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary of al-Malik al-Afḍal. Part III: New Readings from the Third Sheet", 2015.

[17] M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016.

III. Aims of compilation

It is rightly stressed in van Ess[18] that the texts collected in the manuscript deal mostly with subjects of practical utility, such as agriculture, medical science, and geography, at the expense of more abstract fields such as theology and philology.

The Rasulid ruler's keen interest in languages other than Arabic is demonstrated, apart from the Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary, by extensive multi-language lexical lists in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian, and Mongol, found in the same manuscript and published as *The King's Dictionary. The Rasûlid Hexaglot. Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol.*[19]

The Glossary and the vocabularies of the Hexaglot exhibit considerable differences in their structure and in the choice of the lexical material (which are only to be expected because the Glossary, unlike the Hexaglot, was a local Yemenite product created upon an order from al-Malik al-Afḍal), yet one cannot fail to observe certain similarities, apparently reflecting the similar tasks they fulfill. Both the Glossary and the word lists of the Hexaglot preserve words loosely arranged according to their meanings, and quite a number of semantic fields are shared by the Glossary and the Hexaglot (the arrangement is done more consistently in the Glossary, and with much less accuracy in the Hexaglot). Both the Glossary and the Hexaglot contain some information on the inflection of the recorded lexemes. In the Hexaglot, the grammatical information is given more space. For instance, one finds a rather extensive list with various forms of the verb "to do"[20] and some lists of pronouns and question words.[21] In the Glossary, the grammatical information is scanty, being restricted to several pairs of inflected verbs.[22] Another feature shared by the Hexaglot and the Glossary is the absence of greetings and other commonly used phrases.

Unlike the Hexaglot, which was composed by various compilers reliant on a number of different types of resources, the Glossary is definitely a single and coherently compiled work. It focuses on terms reflecting the culture of Ethiopians, ignoring any information which might be of practical use for travellers, such as terms for currency or measure units, for instance. The Glossary contains words belonging to the semantic fields pertaining to the human being and his life, to the surrounding world and its inhabitants, as well as numerals and some core adjectives and verbs (cf. the list in Section IV).

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[18] Van Ess, [Review of D.M. Varisco, G.R. Smith. *The Manuscript of al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī Ibn Rasūl* (*d. 778/1377*), Warminster, 1998], 2002, pp. 223–224. Cf. also F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 88.

[19] P.B. Golden, *The King's Dictionary*, 2000.

[20] P.B. Golden, *The King's Dictionary*, 2000, p. 188, cols. A-B.

[21] P.B. Golden, *The King's Dictionary*, 2000, p. 188, col. B.

[22] Cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 30–31.

The principle of semantic arrangement of the lexemes is well-known in Arabic lexicography, and many of the subdivisions of the Glossary find parallels in comprehensive Arabic lexicographic works.[23] The structure of the Glossary thus resembles a classified vocabulary,[24] but differs from classical works of this genre in two aspects: firstly, it is multilingual, and, secondly, it is extremely short (the largest section contains 71 terms, and the shortest only one term). In this respect, it resembles short thematic word lists compiled by modern linguists in the first stage of documentation of little-known languages. Many lexical fields prominent in such word lists and generally accepted as belonging to the core vocabulary, such as body parts, kinship terms, and flora and fauna,[25] form distinct sections of the Glossary. This similarity may result from the common purposes: the Glossary was probably conceived as an attempt to record the basic vocabulary of the "Ethiopic" language. Since the range of the thematic fields presented in the Glossary is quite wide, the compilation hardly followed any specific goal and rather was intended as a potential data source for future multipurpose research, as is, once again, the case with modern language documentation.

The compilation of the Glossary (unlike the Hexaglot) is attributed in its title to al-Malik al-Afḍal himself. Of course, this attribution should not be understood literally.[26] Rather, one should agree with Muth, who asserts that the Glossary was created on an order from al-Malik al-Afḍal, but the degree of his personal involvement is difficult to evaluate.[27] One may surmise that the Rasulid ruler initiated the compilation of the Glossary and perhaps even sketched the structure of the Glossary with some of its thematic sections, while the direct collection of the data was carried out by his subordinates. It is not to be excluded that the entire idea was inspired by the vocabularies of the Hexaglot which came into al-Malik al-Afḍal's possession, but were probably created outside Yemen.[28] The Il-Khanid state in Iran is proposed as the most likely place of compilation of the Hexaglot, and most languages represented in it were rather remote from Yemen. On the contrary, the Yemenite origin of the Glossary is confirmed by a considerable number of Yemenite dialectisms in its Arabic part.[29] Furthermore, the "Ethiopic" language (*al-ḥabašiyya*) was known in Yemen as the language of Ethiopian

[23] Cf. J.A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, 1960, pp. 111–114; cf. also F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 90.

[24] In terms of J.A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, 1960, p. 4.

[25] Cf. e.g. U. Mosel, "Fieldwork and community language work", 2006, pp. 75–76; Sh.L. Chellia & W.J. de Reuse, *Handbook of Descriptive Fieldwork*, 2011, p. 235.

[26] As in J. van Ess, [Review of D.M. Varisco, G.R. Smith. *The Manuscript of al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī Ibn Rasūl* (*d. 778/1377*), Warminster, 1998], 2002, p. 225.

[27] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 88.

[28] Cf. P.B. Golden, *The King's Dictionary*, 2000, p. 14.

[29] Cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 6–7.

slaves, present in South Arabia starting from pre-Islamic times.[30] The main stream of slaves into the Rasulid state was via Aden,[31] where the trade routes from southern Ethiopia led. It is therefore not an accident that among the languages reflected in the Glossary under the common label "Ethiopic", the Southern Ethio-Semitic lects are especially prominent. It is not implausible that the direct contact with the virtually unexplored "Ethiopic language" prompted al-Malik al-Afḍal, with his scientific mind, to make an attempt at its documentation. Besides, in spite of its association with slaves, the "Ethiopic language" must have garnered respect as the language that was known to the participants of the first *hiǧra* and to the Prophet himself, at least to some extent.[32] Its documentation was thus a worthy task in the eyes of an educated Muslim.

[30] Cf. R.K.P. Pankhurst, "Slave trade from ancient times to 19th century", 2010, p. 673.

[31] Cf. G.R. Smith, "Rasūlids", 1995, p. 457.

[32] Cf. A. Gori, "Muḥammad", 2007, p. 1043.

IV. Data collection

The organization of the Glossary is given a detailed description in Muth,[33] but for the convenience of the reader its 34 thematic sections are listed below (in the order of their appearance in the Glossary, but with the original titles replaced by more adequate descriptions of their content[34]):

Table 1. Thematic sections of the Glossary

Number of the section	Content of the section	Page, column, and line numbers (following Muth 2009–2010)	Number of "Ethiopic" terms contained in the section
1	man and human body parts	217 A 0A—217 B 24	62
2	names of wild animals	217 B 25 (title), 217 B 26—217 C 6	10
3	names of edible domestic animals	217 C 7 (title), 217 C 8—217 C 30	23
4	names of non-edible animals (domestic and wild)	217 D 1 (title), 217 D 2—217 D 13	12

[33] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010.

[34] As in M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 2–3.

5	names of cereals	217 D 14 (title), 217 D 15—217 E 3	19
6	names of vegetables	217 E 4 (title), 217 E 5—217 E 11	7
7	names of wild plants, trees and fruits	217 E 12 (title), 217 E 13—217 F 2	19
8	terms pertaining to the calendar and meteorological phenomena, numerals	217 F 3—6 (title), 217 F 7—218 A 23	47
9	names of primary elements	218 A 24 (title), 218 A 25—218 A 29	5
10	names of textiles and clothes	218 B 1—2 (title), 218 B 3—218 B 27	25
11	names of metals	218 B 28 (title), 218 B 29—218 C 2	3
12	names of agricultural and other tools	218 C 3 (title), 218 C 4—218 C 15	12
13	names of insects and small animals	218 C 16 (title), 218 C 17—218 D 9	22
14	names of pieces of jewelry	218 D 10 (title), 218 D 11—218 D 17	7
15	names of kitchenware	218 D 18 (title), 218 D 19—218 E 25	37
16	terms pertaining to fire and stone	218 E 26 (title), 218 E 27—218 F 2	6
17	names of foodstuffs and traditional dishes	218 F 3 (title), 218 F 4—218 F 14	13

18	names of drinks	218 F 15 (title), 218 F 16—218 F 23	8
19	names of weapons	218 F 24 (title), 218 F 25—219 A 7	12
20	kinship terms	219 A 8 (title), 219 A 9—219 A 18	12
21	names of diseases and related terms	219 A 19 (title), 219 A 20—219 A 26	7
22	terms pertaining to childbirth and related subjects	219 A 27—219 B 11	15
23	names of settlements and buildings	219 B 12—219 B 18	7
24	names of pieces of furniture and parts of a house	219 B 19—219 B 24	6
25	names of ropes	219 B 25—219 B 26	3
26	names of carpentry items	219 B 27—219 C 2	6
27	types of dung	219 C 3—219 C 4	2
28	color terms	219 C 5—219 C 9	5
29	designations of people possessing various types of knowledge or practicing sorcery	219 C 10 (title), 219 C 11—219 C 26	17
30	designations of craftsmen	219 C 27	1

31	names of dignitaries and officials	219 C 28—219 D 3	5
32	a list of basic verbs	219 D 4—219 F 10	71
33	types of earth and dust	219 F 11—219 F 15	5
34	names of musical instruments and terms pertaining to leisure and spiritual life	219 F 16—219 F 29	14

One can observe that the ordering of the sections does not always follow a fixed semantic principle. For instance, names of big edible and inedible animals appear in separate categories on page 217, whereas names of insects and small animals are on page 218. Types of earth and dust could go together with terms pertaining to fire and stone, but these two sections are placed in two different parts of the Glossary. Names of musical instruments first appear in the section dealing with agricultural and other tools on page 218, and then again in the final section on page 219.

Moreover, the consistency of the elements listed in each section is not standard. For instance, one section can cover more than one semantic field or can contain words that do not exactly fit its definition. Sections 217 F 3—6 (title) and 217 F 7—218 A 23 (which contains terms pertaining to the calendar and meteorological phenomena, and numerals) start with two names of feasts, which are followed with designations of "few" and "much"; the next lexemes are meteorological terms like "daybreak", "rain", "thunder", etc., names of luminaries, week-days, numerals in combination with the word "year" and, finally, independent numerals. The last section (219 F 16—219 F 29) starts with the names of musical instruments, and ends with such terms as "God", "soul", "heart", and "wine". The section on names of wild plants, trees and fruits (217 E 12 (title), 217 E 13—217 F 2) contains, unexpectedly, the term for "pastur-

age". In the section dealing with color terms (219 C 5—219 C 9), the final term has the meaning "new". Section 218 E 26 (title), 218 E 27—218 F 2 bears in the Glossary the title "Other names of inorganic things", but the word for "mountain" stands out as a landscape term rather than a designation of a substance. Its inclusion in this section may have been motivated by its association with "stone".

It seems thus likely that the general principle of semantic organization was sometimes broken, and the compiler(s) could sometimes be guided by secondary associations, which led to a spontaneous switch from the primary semantic field to another organizing principle within any single section. Furthermore, the titles of some sections are, as Muth[35] rightly points out, lists of keywords from the section rather than abstract cover terms for them. This implies that at least some sections of the Glossary were not planned from the beginning as such, but rather were provided with titles after their compilation.

The translation of most lexemes was undoubtedly made from Arabic into "Ethiopic" and not vice versa. Firstly, this is suggested by the fact that the Arabic column usually precedes the "Ethiopic" column in the table. Secondly and more importantly, the Glossary contains numerous multiple glosses, where one Arabic lexeme corresponds to several "Ethiopic" lexemes, written one under another in the same cell, or in two or three adjacent cells, or with additional glosses appearing in the margin.[36] The reverse situations are considerably rarer and in such cases, the

[35] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 93.

[36] Cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 1–2, 28.

"Ethiopic" lexemes appear twice in various sections of the Glossary, sometimes in a slightly different shape. These employments of the same "Ethiopic" term to render two different Arabic lexemes are likely purely accidental.[37]

However, one finds in the Glossary at least two designations of specific items and concepts which can hardly be translations from Arabic:[38]

Table 2. Entries of the Glossary which imply translation from "Ethiopic" to Arabic

Page, column, and line numbers (following Muth 2009–2010)	Arabic entry	Transliteration	Translation	"Ethiopic" gloss	Reconstruction	Translation
217 F 8	عيد الناقوس	*ʿīd al-nāqūs*	"feast of the church bell"	مِسْقَلْ	**məsḳäl*	"*mäsqäl*, Festival of the "Cross"
219 C 14	الصالح	*al-ṣāliḥ*	"virtuous"	مُلاَحِشْ	**molaḥʷəš*	"monk"

[37] Cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 28–30.

[38] The Arabic graphemes are given as they appear in the Glossary, often without diacritical dots or with some extra dots. The reconstruction and translation given for the "Ethiopic" terms throughout the paper are only tentative, based on the form and meaning of comparable lexemes attested in the languages of Ethiopia. In more dubious cases, brief comments on the possible solutions are given instead of direct translations.

In both cases, the Arabic terms seem to be explanations or imperfect translations of the "Ethiopic" equivalents. In 217 F 8, the "Ethiopic" term is a designation of one of the major Christian holidays in Ethiopia, the Feast of the Cross,[39] and it seems unlikely that the Yemenite compiler(s) was/were planning its inclusion into the Glossary beforehand or that the expression "feast of the church bell" was a common designation of any Christian feast in Arabic. Rather, the Arabic explains, somewhat imprecisely, the nature of the Ethiopian feast-day.

In 219 C 14, the semantic arrangement is more consistent in the "Ethiopic" column. The Ethiopic term for "monk" follows the term for "priest"; the semantic link between Arabic "*al-ṣāliḥ*", "good, incorrupt, right, just, righteous, virtuous, honest" and "*al-faqīh*", "one possessing knowledge" in the preceding line is less self-evident. One can therefore suspect the priority of the "Ethiopic" in this entry. The Arabic term is then its imprecise translation, or an attempt to explain a concept alien to the Muslim culture.

Thus, the direct translation from Arabic was probably the primary mode, although not the only method to elicit the information. In some—admittedly, very rare—cases, the informants ventured terms for this or that section, and the compiler(s) had to face the difficulty of clarifying their meanings and of looking for an appropriate Arabic equivalent.

[39] V. S. Kaplan, "Mäsqäl", 2007.

V. The informants

Muth assumes that the informant for the Glossary was a slave or freedman from southern Ethiopia.[40] The slave trade was indeed the main factor for the presence of Ethiopians in Yemen for many centuries,[41] and one has to agree that the language data for the Glossary was most probably obtained from Ethiopian slaves (or freedmen).

Muth is probably quite right in the suggestion that the data was elicited directly from an informant rather than gleaned from various written sources. It is of course not to be excluded that the "Ethiopic" lexemes mentioned in some writings on Ethiopia or in other works could have found their way into the Glossary, in addition to the primary data collected by the compilers. However, the consistent thematic structure of the Glossary and the wide scope of the covered semantic fields can hardly result from a random collection of terms dispersed throughout various works. Furthermore, if the quotations from other works (or from one work) constituted the principal source of the Glossary, this fact likely would have been reflected in the title, in accordance to well-established Arabic tradition.

However, it is unlikely that the Glossary was created on the basis of work with one informant only. Already Muth[42] has clearly demonstrated that the "Ethiopic" part of the Glossary is not linguistically homogeneous. He has discerned material from

[40] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 95.

[41] R.K.P. Pankhurst, "Slave trade from ancient times to 19th century", 2010, pp. 673–674.

[42] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010.

(Old) Amharic, Harari and various Gurage languages.[43] As is shown by Bulakh and Kogan, this list may be expanded: the Glossary also contains words traceable to Northern Ethio-Semitic languages, but also to Argobba, Gafat, and non-Semitic languages, such as Hadiya (Highland East Cushitic) and Kafa (North-Omotic).[44] It may well be that the number of non-Semitic glosses is higher: until now, the Glossary was analyzed by Semitists only, and one can expect that a specialist in Cushitic, Omotic, or Nilo-Saharan languages would be able to decipher some of the entries that have not yet been reliably interpreted.

As one can deduce from Bulakh and Kogan's work, the Glossary may contain data from fourteen different languages.[45] This number could be diminished if one takes into account the possibility of borrowings not reflected in modern dictionaries. At the same time, it could be increased if some new glosses are deciphered, with new languages as plausible sources.

The methods of establishing the source language(s), as described in Bulakh & Kogan,[46] allow an approximate evaluation only, and the probability of error in each particular case is rather high, based on the large number of possibilities for each entry.[47] However, this rough estimation demonstrates the linguistic diversity of the Glossary. It allows us to conclude that the data was drawn from all major branches

[43] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 89.

[44] M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 26–27.

[45] M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 26–27.

[46] M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, p. 25.

[47] Cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 27–28.

within Ethio-Semitic and even from non-Semitic language families. It shows also that various Arabic lexemes were rendered into various languages of Ethiopia, and no single language was consistently employed throughout the Glossary for each Arabic term.

Even if one takes into account that multilingualism is a common feature of modern Ethiopian society and in all probability was no less widespread in the Middle Ages, it is difficult to suppose that all "Ethiopic" terms were elicited from one and the same informant. The idea of a multilingual Ethiopian who used different Ethiopian languages at random seems unlikely: it remains then unclear why this person did not employ consistently one lect (his mother tongue or his main language of communication), adducing terms from other languages in addition to its data. The fact that even in the sections dealing with basic terms such as body parts, one finds terms clearly belonging to different language branches, suggests that the compiler(s) worked with several informants. It might well be that the compiler(s) did not realize that the glosses marked as "Ethiopic" belonged in fact to several distinct languages.

Within this approach, the fact that the Amharic glosses are clearly in the majority (as already noticed by Muth[48]) can be explained in two ways: either the main informant was an Amharic speaker, or, Amharic was the language of the majority of the informants. The second explanation seems more attractive, especially if one assumes that the spread of Amharic as a *lingua franca* started in the early 14th century,

[48] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 89; cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, p. 26.

with the Amharic expansion under ʿstar Ṣəyon.[49] It is then plausible that informants with different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds employed, besides their native languages, Amharic: this would explain why the number of Amharic lexemes by far exceeds the number of terms traceable to any other language.

Apart from the language attribution, one may seek in the Glossary information on the religion of the informants. Some of the Ethiopian languages represented in the Glossary[50] were, at the time of the creation of the Glossary, primarily associated with Christians: Amharic, Zay, Soddo, Muher, Tigrinya, Geez, and Tigre. The presence of Geez, a dead language in the 14th century, is significant insofar as it was in use as the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox church and, consequently, as the literary language of the Christian areas of Ethiopia.[51] As for Tigre-speaking people, their large-scale Islamization is usually dated to a later period,[52] although archeological evidence may indicate the presence of Islam in the area since the 9th–10th century A.D.[53]

The speakers of other languages found in the Glossary were solely or predominantly Muslims (Argobba, Harari, Selti, Wolane, Hadiyya). The speakers of Kafa followed local cults;[54] the same probably applies to the majority of Gafat speakers,

[49] Cf. D. Appleyard, "History and dialectology of Amharic", 2003, p. 233.

[50] Cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 26–27.

[51] Cf. e.g. J. Tropper, *Altäthiopisch. Grammatik des Geʿez mit Übungstexten und Glossar*, 2002, pp. 1–2.

[52] Cf. e.g. W. Smidt, "Təgre ethnography", 2010, p. 898.

[53] A. Manzo, "Between Nile Valley, Red Sea and Highlands: Remarks on the Archaeology of the Tigre Area", 2010, p. 27.

[54] J. Abbink, "Käfa ethnography", 2007, p. 328.

about whom little is known.[55] One could therefore expect that there were Christians and Muslims among the informants, as well as a few followers of traditional local cults.

However, if one seeks additional information on the religion of the informants in the content of the Glossary, the results are more definitive. The data of the Glossary clearly supports the Christian affiliation of at least some of the informants. As argued in Bulakh 2015, the Glossary contains six reliably reconstructed glosses belonging to the domain of Christian religious terms:

[55] M. Kleiner, "Gafat history", 2005, p. 652.

Table 3. Christian religious terms in the Glossary

Page, column, and line numbers (following Muth 2009–2010)	Arabic entry	Transliteration	Translation	"Ethiopic" gloss	Reconstruction	Translation
217 F 7	العِيْد	*al-ʿīd*	"feast-day"	فاشِحَهْ	**fašiḥa/*fašiga*	"Easter"
217 F 8	عيد الناقوس	*ʿīd al-nāqūs*	"feast of the church bell"	مِسْقَلْ	**məsḳäl*	"*mäsqäl*, Festival of the Cross"
219 B 13	المسحد	*al-masǧid*	"mosque, house of prayer"	بت حسسان	**betä ḥəstan/*betäḥsiyan*	"church"
219 C 13	الفقيه	*al-faqīh*	"one possessing knowledge"	قِسْ	**ḳes*	"priest"
219 C 14	الصالح	*al-ṣāliḥ*	"virtuous"	مُلاَحِشْ	**molaḥʷəš*	"monk"
219 F 24	الله	*Allāh*	"God"	جزى	**gəzi/*gəziʾ*	"God" (specifically in the Christian religion)

This list can be expanded with a seventh term, 218 D 15: Ar. مربط "*marbaṭ*", "kind of silver jewellery", where the "Ethiopic" part is connected by Muth[56] with the term "*matäb*", a designation of the silk cord worn by Ethiopians around the neck as a sign of being a Christian.[57]

On the contrary, terms unambiguously related to Islam have not been detected so far in the Glossary. Two inconclusive cases are as follows:

[56] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, p. 101, and, with less certainty, in M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, p. 191. For a more in-depth linguistic discussion, see M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, p. 191.

[57] Cf. C. Vanderhaeghe, "Matäb", 2007.

Table 4. Terms possibly related to Islam

Page, column, and line numbers (following Muth 2009–2010)	Arabic entry	Transliteration	Translation	"Ethiopic" gloss	Transliteration of the "Ethiopic" gloss	Comment
219 B 14	المدرسه	*al-madrasa*	"a place of reading, or study"	قرمان	*qrmān*	the "Ethiopic" gloss may be tentatively identified with the terms for the Qurʾan, since the designations of "schools" as "places where Qurʾan is studied" are common in Muslim Ethiopia
219 C 12	المعلم	*al-muʿallim*	"teacher"	دَاعْوَنهْ	*dāʿwanh*	the "Ethiopic" gloss may be a designation of a Muslim religious teacher, derived from a loanword going back to Arabic *duʿāʾ*, "prayer, supplication"

However, both identifications are far from certain.

As for the traditional beliefs, one finds two terms related to local Ethiopian cults:

Table 5. Terms related to local Ethiopian cults

Page, column, and line numbers (following Muth 2009–2010)	Arabic entry	Transliteration	Translation	"Ethiopic" gloss	Reconstruction	Comment
219 C 15	الساحر	*al-sāḥir*	"an enchanter"	حَبَالَى	**gädale*	the "Ethiopic" term is mentioned in Emperor Zär'a Yaʿḳob's writings (15th cent.) among names of pagan deities and their priests, and preserved in the Ethiopian magic literature as a designation of a demon[58]
219 C 23	الجن	*al-ǧinn*	"the genii"	زَارْ	**zar*	the well-known cult of *zār* is widespread in Ethiopia[59] and in Arab countries, including Yemen[60]

However, these terms, preserved in Christian Ethiopia into modern times, could well be used by a Christian or Muslim informant of the Glossary.

Thus, the data of the Glossary suggests that some of the informants were certainly Christians, while there is no pervasive evidence for the presence of Muslims or adherents of local Ethiopian religions among the informants.

[58] Cf. B. Burtea, "Demons", 2005, p. 131.

[59] Cf. S. Kaplan, "Mäsqäl", 2007.

[60] Cf. T. *Battain,* "Osservazioni sul Rito Zâr di Possessione degli Spiriti in Yemen", 1995, and R.J. Natvig, "Arabic Writings on Zār*"*, 1998, for further references.

VI. Communication between the compiler(s) and the informants

As is observed already by Muth, semantic discrepancy in some entries of the Glossary is at best explained by deficiencies of communication between the compiler(s) and the informants.[61] While some of Muth's examples are to be discarded (such as 217 C 4, 217 C 6[62]), one remains indisputable (217 C 1), and additional examples can be adduced:

[61] F.-Ch. Muth, "Frühe Zeugnisse des Amharischen und der Gurage-Sprachen in einer polyglotten Wortliste von Al-Malik Al-Afḍal (gest. 778/1377)", 2009–2010, pp. 91–92.

[62] Cf. M. Bulakh & L. Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal*, 2016, pp. 75–77.

Table 6. Entries of the Glossary with semantic discrepancies between the Arabic and "Ethiopic" lexemes

Page, column, and line numbers (following Muth 2009–2010)	Arabic entry	Transliteration	Translation	"Ethiopic" gloss	Reconstruction	Translation
217 C 1	الذئب	*al-ḏi'b*	"wolf"	زِبْ	**žəb/*zeb*	"hyena" (note that the Arabic term for "hyena" appears in the next line, 217 C 2)
217 C 18	الديك	*al-dīk*	"domestic cock"	دَرْنَقْ	**därnäḳ*	"quail"
218 F 27	السَيْف	*al-sayf*	"a sword"	وَرْمَتْ	**wärmät*	"spear"
219 A 3	التركاس	*al-tarkāš*	"quiver"	فِلاَطَهْ	**fəlaṣa/*fəlaṭa/ *fəlaṣṣa/*fəlaṭṭa*	"arrow"
219 E 25	تاَدَّبْ	*taʾaddaba*	"he was well-disciplined, well-bred"	تَعجَس	**taʿaggäsä*	"he was patient"
219 E 27	هِبَه	*hiba*	"gift"	شَقَطَ	**šäḳäṭä*	"merchandise, things sold at retail"

While some of these cases may be alternatively explained as indications of semantic shifts in the Ethiopian languages or in the Yemenite dialects of Arabic, it

seems rather improbable to reconstruct such a shift in each example. Besides, one can detect further signs of miscommunication in the Glossary, such as the appearance of the name of a river as a (second) gloss to "river" in Arabic (217 F 16), or of the word "small" as a gloss to "a small bowl" in Arabic (218 D 20, following "a big bowl" in 218 D 19).

Furthermore, a number of glosses differ from their Arabic correspondences in their morphological characteristics rather than the root semantics, as in the following cases:

Table 7. Entries of the Glossary with morphological discrepancies between the Arabic and "Ethiopic" wordforms

Page, column, and line numbers (following Muth 2009–2010)	Arabic entry	Transliteration	Translation	"Ethiopic" gloss	Reconstruction	Translation
219 A 28	الولاده	*al-wilāda*	"birth; childbirth, parturition"	حَرَاْسْ	**ḥaras*	"parturient woman"
219 B 8	القبله	*al-qubla*	"kiss"	اسعِمْ	**ʾəsəʿəm*	"I kiss"
219 E 3	تحيْ	*taǧīʾ*	"you (masc. sg.) come"	سَنْيَخْ	**sänʾaḫ*	"you (masc. sg.) came"
219 E 7 (2)	بال	*bāla*	"to urinate"	شدت	**šənt*	"urine"
219 F 6	ذَكَر	*ḏakara*	"he remembered"	فَقَدَتْ	**faḳdat*	"she remembered"

This evidence can be interpreted in different ways, but one cannot fail to see that it fits into the hypothesis of the compilation of the Glossary in Yemen, by the means of questioning Ethiopian slaves, and without deep inquiry into the grammar of the languages in question. Within this approach, the informants possessed some knowledge of Arabic, while the compiler(s) did not speak any Ethiopian language at all—a situation which could easily lead to quite a number of misunderstandings.

VII. Conclusions

The material of the "Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary" allows us to draw some conclusions concerning the circumstances of its creation and the methods employed by its compiler(s), without going beyond the text at hand.

The Glossary was most likely compiled in Yemen in compliance with an order from al-Malik al-Afḍal. It could hardly be based on a traveler's notes. Firstly, it lacks words and phrases of everyday speech that a visitor would have learned. Secondly, it indicates only a very superficial knowledge of the recorded languages (cf. Section VI), while a person interested in languages, who spent some time in a strange country, would be expected to learn more, and to make more accurate records.

The main goal was the recording of the basic lexemes, in the first place pertaining to the human being and his environment. The elicitation of the data must have been carried out mostly by asking the informants to translate Arabic words into "Ethiopic". The informants' knowledge of Arabic must have been rather poor, as evidenced by a considerable number of mistakes apparently arising from misunderstanding. The informants responded in different languages, but the compiler(s) may have been unaware of this. The lexemes must have been elicited from several informants of different ethnic backgrounds, although the majority was undoubtedly natives of southern Ethiopia. At least some of the informants were Christians.

All this seems to point to the situation of a slave market as the most likely place for the collection of the data. This is compatible with the fact that the informants were predominantly from southern Ethiopia, since this is the region from where the main route of the slave trade led to the Rasulid state.

The Glossary is thus an outcome of an early attempt to record what appeared to be a "little-studied language" (in fact, several languages), initiated by the Rasulid ruler al-Malik al-Afḍal. Even if the methods were far from perfect, the Glossary reveals a lot of linguistic information on quite a number of Ethiopian languages, most of them otherwise undocumented until much later in their history. The linguistic experiment by al-Malik al-Afḍal can therefore be regarded as successful, at least in some of its aspects.

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YEMEN'S RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA IN THE 17TH CENTURY AND THE SITUATION IN THE RED SEA[1]

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Abstract

In this article I have analyzed the passages published in *Yawmiyyāt Ṣan'ā'*, a selection of texts from *Bahǧat al-zamān* written by the historian Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, presented by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥibšī, that relate to 17th-century Yemeni-Ethiopian relations. In particular, I have surveyed changes in relations between the two countries in regard to the situation in the Red Sea during the same period. 17th-century Yemeni-Ethiopian relations ought not to be regarded merely as a bilateral issue, but rather should be considered as linked in a major way to the contemporary situation in the Red Sea, including the presence and moves of the Ottoman dynasty, which exerted a strong and overt political influence over the northern part of the Red Sea, but a much more latent one in its southern half.

Résumé

Dans cet article, j'ai analysé les changements affectant les relations entre le Yémen et l'Éthiopie au xvii[e] s. dans les passages relatifs de *Yawmiyyāt Ṣan'ā'* de ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥibšī, tirés du *Bahǧat al-zamān* de l'historien Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, ainsi que la situation dans la mer Rouge à la même période. Les relations entre les deux pays au xvii[e] s. méritent de ne pas être observées exclusivement dans leur dimension bilatérale, mais bien plutôt dans leur lien à la situation contemporaine de la mer Rouge, en tout premier lieu à la présence et aux mouvements des Ottomans, qui exerçaient une influence politique forte au nord de la mer Rouge, plus latente au sud.

خلاصة

تتناول هذه المقالة تطوّر العلاقات بين اليمن والحبشة في القرن السابع عشر ميلادي والوضع في البحر الأحمر في هذه الفترة كما وردت في كتاب *يوميّات صنعاء*، المحتوي على مقتطفات اختارها عبد الله الحبشي من كتاب *بهجة الزمن* للمؤرخ يحيى بن الحسين. كما انّه لا يجب أن تُدرس العلاقات الثنائيّة بين اليمن والحبشة في القرن السابع عشر

[1] This is an abridged version of an article first published in Japanese (Yasuyuki Kuriyama, "17 seiki no Yemen·Ethiopia kankei to koukai jyousei", *Chuo daigaku jinbunken kiyou* 58, 2006, pp. 27-54). Since the publication of the original article, new research on this topic has emerged, which is mentioned in footnotes that suggest new directions for study.

بمعزل عن الوضع العام في البحر الأحمر، آخذين بعين الاعتبار النفوذ السياسي للدولة العثمانيّة الذي كان قويًا شمال البحر الأحمر وضعيفًا جنوبه.

Keywords

Zaydī imamate, Yemen, Ethiopia, Red Sea, Ottomans, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*

Mots-clés

imamat zaydite, Yémen, Éthiopie, mer Rouge, Ottomans, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*

عبارات رئيسية

الإمامة الزيدية، اليمن، الحبشة، البحر الأحمر، الدولة العثمانيّة، يوميّات صنعاء

I. Introduction

In the 17th century, the Zaydī imamate, which had in A.H. 1045/A.D. 1636 succeeded in driving out the Ottomans who had invaded Yemen, set about extending its area of rule from its existing territory in the mountainous region of northern Yemen to the highlands and the plains of the south. Once al-Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (r. 1009–1054/1602–1644), who had led the fight against the Ottoman forces stationed in Yemen, restored the security and safety of the pilgrimage route to Mecca, which ran north along the Red Sea coastal plain in 1051/1641, he revived the large pilgrimage groups from Yemen that had been discontinued because of the Ottoman invasion. In addition, al-Muʾayyad's successor al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Ismāʿīl (r. 1054–1087/1644–1668) seized control of ports along the Red Sea such as al-Luḥayya, al-Muḫā, and Ḥudayda and stationed troops there to fortify their harbour facilities. He also implemented and bolstered inspections and surveillance of Muslim merchant vessels, as well as those of Bāniyān and other non-Muslim traders. By doing so, he endeavoured to extend his influence in both the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea.

Around the same time as this Zaydī imamate was prospering, there were to be seen in the 17th century some noteworthy moves in relations between Yemen and its neighbour Ethiopia (al-Ḥabaša) on the opposite shore of the Red Sea. That is to say, several letters were exchanged and diplomatic envoys were dispatched between the Ethiopian king Fāsiladas (r. 1632–1667) and the Zaydī imamate.

In his research on Ethiopia's foreign relations, Emeri Johannes Van Donzel, a specialist in Ethiopian history, has used this correspondence and the *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša*, written by Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī, al-Imam al-Mutawakkil's special envoy to Ethiopia, to survey diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Yemen,[2] and he has also

[2] E.J. Van Donzel, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642-1700 Documents relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murād*, 1979.

published detailed annotated translations of copies of several surviving letters among this correspondence and the *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša*.[3] As a result of these outstanding studies by E.J. Van Donzel, considerable progress was made in the study of Yemeni-Ethiopian relations during the 17th century. But since this is an area for which few historical sources are available, there have been no further major advances in the study of Yemeni-Ethiopian relations during this period.

However, since then Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā' fī al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿašar* was edited and published.[4] This chronicle may be regarded as an important source on the history of Yemen and South Arabia in the 17th century, and it has become evident that this work records some new facts about Yemeni-Ethiopian relations not found in the above correspondence or the *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša*.

Accordingly, in the following, I shall provide an overview of references to Yemeni-Ethiopian relations in the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, and by also considering the situation in the Red Sea during the same period, I wish to examine one aspect of Yemen's international relations in this arena during the 17th century.

II. The Author of the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'* and Its Contents

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, the author of the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, was born in 1035/1625. His father was al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, a renowned Yemeni scholar and a high-ranking officer in the Zaydī imamate,[5] while his grandfather was al-Imam al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh al-Qāsim (r. 1006–1029/1587–1619), who led the fight against the Ottoman forces.[6] But in spite of his family background, there is much that is unclear about Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's life. About all that is known is that after having made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1051/1641, he headed to Sanaa, the largest city in South Arabia, where he applied himself to the study of various disciplines under Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Šāmī, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Tihāmī, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAnsī, and other renowned Yemeni scholars, whereafter he authored more than one hundred works. Yet, even the date of his death is unknown.[7] But judging from the fact that the final section

[3] E.J. Van Donzel, *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia 1647-1649: al-Ḥaymī's Sīrat al-Ḥabaša*, 1986.

[4] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā' fī al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿašar*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī, 1996. The proper title of this work is *Bahǧat al-zamān fī ḥawādiṯ al-Yaman*, but the editor altered the title and published parts of it under this altered title (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, pp. 16-22). In view of the fact that it has been circulating under this altered title, in the following I have decided to use the title *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'* assigned by the editor.

[5] He was born in 999/1591. In addition to writing many works, in his capacity as Amīr of the Zaydī imamate's forces, he waged an intense campaign against Ottoman forces stationed in Yemen. He died in 1050/1640 in Ḍamār after the withdrawal of the Ottomans (al-Šawkānī (d. 1250/1834), *Al-badr al-ṭāliʿ*, n.d., vol. 1, pp. 226–227; Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 1147/1735), *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā wa-ṣiḥāf al-mann wa-al-salwā*, 1985, pp. 51, 78-79.

[6] On this Imām, see A.S. Tritton, *The rise of the imams of Sanaa*, 1925.

[7] For details on his career and writings, see al-Šawkānī, *Al-badr al-ṭāliʿ*, n.d., vol. 2, pp. 328–329.

of the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'* ends in 1099/1688, it may be assumed that he died after this date.

Among Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's many achievements, the greatest importance has been attached to his historical writings. *Ġāyat al-amānī fī aḫbār al-quṭr al-yamanī*, his representative historical work, is a chronicle of Yemen's history, starting with an account of the prophet Muḥammad and ending in 1045/1635, and it is well known as a basic source on Yemen and South Arabia.[8] In addition, the *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya*[9] is a collection of biographies of followers of the Zaydī sect of Shiʿa Islam, which spread over a wide area, chiefly in Yemen and the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, and it records the wide-ranging activities of Zaydīs, who were not only found in Yemen but were also widely scattered across West Asia.[10]

The *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'* is a historical work that was written as a sequel to *Ġāyat al-amānī*, and it records the history of about fifty years from 1046/1636 to 1099/1688. In content, it covers many subjects, including political affairs relating to Yemen (imams' orders, laws, military actions, influential forces within and without the Arabian Peninsula, foreign relations [including correspondence with other dynasties and the comings and goings of envoys], etc.), the economy (minting of coins, economic conditions, tax policies, commerce, trading activities, trade policies, etc.), culture (scholarly activities of renowned scholars, etc.), and natural disasters (droughts, floods, cold snaps, earthquakes, etc., and their effects on crops), and it also extensively records events that occurred both on the Arabian Peninsula and elsewhere, including Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Maghreb, Ethiopia, Turkey, Central Asia, Oman, Iran, and India. In particular, the wealth of material on the various relationships, both friendly and hostile, into which the Zaydī imamate entered with dynasties in that part of the maritime world of the Western Indian Ocean consisting of the Red Sea, Arabian Sea, and Persian Gulf—the Mughals of India, the Ṣafawids of Iran, the Yaʿrubids in Oman, and so on—provides noteworthy information for any examination of the contemporary Zaydī imamate's foreign relations. The references to relations with Ethiopia, to be analyzed below, are valuable sources for examining not only Yemeni-Ethiopian relations but also Yemen and the situation in the Red Sea during the 17th century.

III. Yemeni-Ethiopian relations as seen in the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*

First, I shall survey Yemeni-Ethiopian relations in the seventeenth century on the basis of E.J. Van Donzel's research.[11]

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[8] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ġāyat al-amānī fī aḫbār al-quṭr al-yamānī*, 1968.

[9] The work is known as *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-ṣuġrā* as opposed to *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya al-kubrā* by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's nephew Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim Ibn al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh al-Šahārī.

[10] This work is generally known as the *Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyya*, but its proper title is *Al-mustaṭāb fī tarīǧim riǧāl al-Zaydiyya al-aṭyāb* (see A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir taʾrīḫ al-Yaman fī al-ʿaṣr al-islāmī*, 1984, p. 248).

[11] E.J. van Donzel, *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia*, 1986, pp. 30–31, 52–53.

Envoys bearing a letter from the Ethiopian king Fāsiladas arrived in Yemen in 1052/1642. On meeting the Ethiopian envoys, the Zaydī Imam al-Muʾayyad received the king's letter from them, in which was expressed a wish to establish links between the port of Baylūl on the Ethiopian coast of the Red Sea and the Yemeni port of al-Muḫā. In response, al-Imam al-Muʾayyad gave the envoys a written reply in which he refrained from responding specifically to Fāsiladas's request and instead quoted numerous passages from the Qurʾān, and having also given them presents, he granted them permission to return home. Subsequently Fāsiladas entrusted an envoy with another letter, written in response to al-Imam al-Muʾayyad's letter, and sent him to Yemen. At that time, al-Imam al-Muʾayyad had died and a new administration under al-Imam al-Mutawakkil had been inaugurated, and so the envoy delivered Fāsiladas's letter to al-Mutawakkil. This letter requested a visit to Ethiopia by a high-ranking Yemenite official, and the Ethiopian envoy also informed al-Mutawakkil verbally and in strict confidentiality that Fāsiladas had an interest in Islam. Al-Imam al-Mutawakkil accordingly appointed Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī as special envoy and handed him two letters, whereupon he set out for Ethiopia in 1057/1647. Having arrived at Fāsiladas's palace and gained an audience with the king, al-Ḥaymī gave him one of al-Imam al-Mutawakkil's two letters. But during his sojourn he learnt that Fāsiladas had no interest in Islam, and so he burnt the other secret letter with which he had been entrusted by al-Mutawakkil and made his way back to Yemen.

According to this narrative, relations between Yemen and Ethiopia were unfolding in the above manner during the first half of the 17th century. But, according to *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, once al-Ḥaymī returned to Yemen there seems to have arisen within the Zaydī imamate a groundswell of sentiment in favour of embarking on a military expedition against Ethiopia. In the section on 1057, an account of al-Ḥaymī's visit to Ethiopia is first quoted, and then a *qaṣīda*, or poem, in which he urges the Imam and his supporters to launch a holy war for the sake of Allāh against the pitiful Christian non-believers, to exterminate these foolish people, to occupy all of Ethiopia, and to manifest the influence of Islam there.[12] It is evident from this account that this *qaṣīda* by al-Ḥaymī ended up shaping and rousing momentum within the Zaydī imamate for a military expedition against Ethiopia.

What sort of things, then, were written in the *qaṣīda* that prompted the Zaydī imamate to prepare plans for a military expedition against Ethiopia? Apparently, two *qaṣīda*s are included in the *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša*, both of which were written during al-Ḥaymī's return trip to Yemen after his audience with Fāsiladas, and it is the first that would appear to have inspired the Zaydī imamate to plan an expedition. In content, it criticizes the Christian Trinity and argues that Ethiopia ought to be attacked and con-

[12] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, p. 66.

quered.[13] According to the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, having been spurred by this *qaṣīda*, al-Imam al-Mutawakkil and other government leaders, as noted above, ended up considering a military expedition against Ethiopia. But it would seem too simplistic to assume that they would have made plans for such an expedition solely on account of the contents of this *qaṣīda*. It is probably more appropriate to regard it as the expression of a desire for revenge on the part of the Yemenites in reaction to the fact that it had become clear through al-Ḥaymī's visit to Ethiopia that Fāsiladas's supposed interest in Islam was untrue. It is, at any rate, certain that as a result of the failure of al-Ḥaymī's visit, views supportive of military action against Ethiopia arose within the Zaydī imamate.

While on the one hand support for a military expedition against Ethiopia was gaining momentum, there also existed views opposed to such an expedition. These are recorded as follows in the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*:

> (…) If the army of this al-Imām [al-Mutawakkil] were to head in that direction (i.e., Ethiopia), in Yemen people seeking still more would stir up the spirits of the Yemeni people and many of them would all together throw Yemen into confusion, and if they were to gain an opportunity, confusion, fighting, and devastation, and also the absence of harmony, would for that reason arise [in Yemen].[14]

This passage shows that there also existed within the administration misgivings that the launching of a military expedition might result in insurrections against the Zaydī imamate in various parts of Yemen. It is to be surmised that this passage probably reflects the delicate domestic situation at the time. At this moment, Imam al-Mutawakkil, having succeeded al-Imam al-Muʾayyad, who had died in 1054/1644, was directing his troops against powerful leaders in southern Yemen, centered on the Yāfiʿ tribe, who, based in the mountains to the north of Aden, possessed powerful military capacity and were prone to become disaffected, and he was endeavouring to extend the military and political influence of the Zaydī imamate. In view of this domestic situation, it may be supposed that it would have been difficult in practice to divert some of the military power that ought to have been concentrated on the mountain and highland region of southern Yemen and send troops on an expedition against Ethiopia. Consequently, the view opposed to a military expedition against Ethiopia took the following form:

> If the rulers of Yemen do not transport materials and camels needed by the army for reasons other than dishonour and difficulties for Muslims, [confusion] will not occur

[13] Another important passage from this lengthy *qaṣīda* was critical of the Trinity: "And they say: 'It [the Trinity] is the Lord (al-Rabb), the three together' …. But they also say: 'the Trinity is one'". A passage urging an attack against Ethiopia is the following: "I see unbelief with bared weapons, (…). So brace yourself, Commander of the Believers, to go to war against them—for they are inferior sheep of the desert, but you are an eagle." (E.J. van Donzel, *A Yemenite Embassy to Etiopia*, 1986, pp. 197, 199).

[14] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, p. 66.

> [in Yemen] in spite of Yemen's weakness regarding long-distance activities and various matters necessary in these activities.[15]

These lines from *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'* pointed out that an expedition against Ethiopia could inspire great confusion and chaos in Yemen's political affairs.

IV. Yemen and the situation in the Red Sea as seen in the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*

In addition to these possible domestic problems, there also existed among the opposing views the concern that a military expedition in Ethiopia would inspire serious problems on the external front. The *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'* states as follows:

> The coast of Ethiopia extends to the region of Sulṭān Ibn ʿUthmān [of the Ottoman empire],[16] and because at this time pashas (*bāšāt*) continue to govern there, one must not cross their territory without informing them and without exchanging information with them. (…) Therefore, something like this should not be carried out.[17]

To the north of the coastline of Ethiopia governed by Fāsiladas there lay the Red Sea trading port of Massawaʿ, controlled by the Ottomans. In 1557 the port of Suakin (Sawākin) had become the military and administrative base of Ottoman rule along the western coast of the Red Sea, and at the same time Massawaʿ had also been taken by the Ottomans. In the 17th century Massawaʿ still remained under Ottoman occupation, with Ethiopian products such as cereals, tallow, honey, wax, and cattle being exported from this port, and the Ottomans stationed in Ethiopia placed much importance on the enormous profits, starting with customs duties, that were being gained in Massawaʿ.[18]

The Zaydī imamate had succeeded in driving the Ottomans out of Yemen in 1045/1636. In 945/1538–1539 the Ottomans had sent a squadron to curb the domination of the Portuguese, who had appeared in the Indian Ocean, and Ottoman forces landed on Kamāran Island in the Red Sea. Having then landed in mainland Yemen the following year and occupied Taʿizz, the central city of the mountain and highland region of southern Yemen, they took Sanaa in 954/1547 and in effect seized control of all of Yemen and placed it under their rule. In the face of this Ottoman invasion, the Zaydī imamate was forced to retreat to the north of Sanaa for about fifty years. But then al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh al-Qāsim, who declared himself imam in 1006/1598, brought together the tribes of northern Yemen and rebuilt the Zaydī imamate, whereupon his son al-

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[15] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, p. 66.

[16] I believe that the Sultan recorded in the historical material is Sultan Mehmed IV, son of Ibrāhīm (r. 1058–99/1648–87), as listed by C.E. Bosworth, *The new Islamic dynasties: a chronological and genealogical manual*, 1996, p. 239.

[17] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, p. 66.

[18] E.J. Donzel, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia*, 1979, pp. 185–186.

Muʾayyad, who became the next Imam, revoked the cease-fire agreement with the Ottoman forces stationed in Yemen that had been renewed several times and made clear his intention to completely eliminate Ottoman influence from Yemen. Having deployed his forces in the coastal plains along the Red Sea and Arabian Sea and recovered almost this entire region apart from Zabīd, in 1038/1629 al-Imam al-Muʾayyad received from the supreme commander of the Ottoman troops garrisoned in Sanaa the key to the city's entrance, which symbolized rule of Sanaa, and then succeeded in retaking this key city. Further, in the same year he expelled the Ottoman troops remaining in the large city of Taʿizz in the mountain and highland region of southern Yemen, and then in 1045/1636 he drove the remaining Ottoman forces from the Red Sea port of al-Muḫā, which had been the last Ottoman base in Yemen. Thus was completed the retaking of Yemen by the Zaydī imamate.[19]

But even after the Ottoman withdrawal from Yemen, the Zaydī imamate continued to view the Ottomans as an external threat and remained on its guard against another invasion. The *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'* includes the following passage:

> Now, (the people of Aden and al-Muḫā) have during these two years continued to fear two regions (*ǧihatayn*). [One is] the region of Syria belonging to Sulṭān Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān[20] [of the hostile Ottomans], and this is because, as already mentioned, his interest lies in heading towards Yemen. And the other is the region of Sulṭān b. Sayf al-Yaʿrubī, the ruler of Oman (*Ṣāḥib ʿUmān*).[21]

This passage records events that were said to have occurred in 1085/1674, a slightly later period. Yet, it clearly shows that the Ottoman dynasty was regarded, along with the Yaʿrubids of neighbouring Oman, as a threat to Yemen at the time. Several more passages can be found in the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'* that indicate that the Zaydī imamate was wary of the Ottomans and was paying careful attention to their moves.[22] Another example of the Zaydī imamate's response to the Ottomans can be seen in the following passage in the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, concerning 1076/1666:

> (…) The reason for this activity directed at Iraq and al-Baṣra, already mentioned, was that, although this had been an important action this year in support of the Imām (i.e., al-Mutawakkil), he (i.e., the Imām) had given up on what he had been considering. Namely, he and his nephew Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn had previously been closely observing

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[19] R.B. Serjeant, "The Post-Medieval History and Modern History of Ṣanʿā' and the Yemen, ca. 953-1382/1515-1962", in: R.B. Serjeant & R. Lewcock (eds), *Ṣanʿā'. An Arabian Islamic City*, 1983, pp. 67-107.

[20] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, p. 66.

[21] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, p. 243.

[22] For example, information-gathering personnel were sent to Mecca to gather intelligence about the Ottomans, and a diplomatic envoy sent by the Mughals to the Ottomans was questioned about their relations with the Ottoman dynasty (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, pp. 90, 157, 226, etc.). Jane Hathaway has also highlighted the continuing concerns about the Ottomans in seventeenth-century Yemen. J. Hathaway, "The Mawzaʿ Exile at the Juncture of Zaydi and Ottoman Messianism", 2005, p. 117; J. Hathaway, "The Ottomans and The Yemeni Coffee Trade", 2006, pp. 161-171.

> their rear and planning to send their troops via the Naǧrān Road (Ṭarīq Naǧrān) to al-Ḥasā, al-Baḥrayn, and the land of Oman (*bilād ʿUmān*) or to al-Baṣra. But when there occurred Ottoman moves regarding the expulsion of the ruler of al-Baṣra, they realized that it would be difficult to overthrow [the Ottoman dynasty] and they would be unable to accomplish it.[23]

This passage describes details of a plan by the Zaydī imamate to dispatch troops to the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula via a land route. At the time when the plan was initially formed it had been proposed to cross the Arabian Peninsula to the Persian Gulf from the old city of Naǧrān in northern Yemen and attack the Yaʿrubids of Oman from the rear, but because the Ottomans had expelled the Afrasiyāb rulers of al-Baṣra[24] and were once again extending their influence to this region, the plan to send troops to the Persian Gulf was put on hold. While the passage quoted above concerns the region bordering the Persian Gulf, it may be assumed that behind the abandonment of this plan there lay a desire on the part of the Zaydī imamate to avoid as provoking, either militarily or politically, the Ottomans, who wielded influence in the north of the Arabian Peninsula, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf.

That being so, what sort of concrete measures did the Zaydī imamate take to deal with the Ottoman dynasty, which it regarded as an external threat? In the *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša* we find the following passage concerning al-Muḫā, where al-Ḥaymī had arrived in order to set sail for Baylūl:

> When we reached the port of al-Muḫā, our lord had already ordered his deputy there to make ready on the ships the greatest possible number of all the troops that were garrisoned in the port, because it was suspected that something might occur from the side of the Turks and that one might encounter them from the ports of Suakin and Massawaʿ.[25]

In addition to this passage, the *Sīrat al-Ḥabaša,* in another passage, describes how the Ethiopian envoy sent by Fāsiladas to Yemen, having had his audience with al-Imam al-Muʾayyad, arrived safely back in Baylūl from al-Muḫā under the protection of several of the imam's warships, which were equipped with cannons. It is clearly stated that the warships used on this occasion had been deployed in al-Muḫā "because of fear

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[23] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣanʿā'*, 1996, p. 136.

[24] Around 1021/1612 a person by the name of Afrasiyāb, of unknown racial origin, purchased the right to govern al-Baṣra, which was at the time under Ottoman rule. Having succeeded in preventing the capture of al-Baṣra by the Ṣafawids on two occasions in 1031/1621 and 1038/1629, the Afrasiyāb rulers consolidated their rule of al-Baṣra during the struggles between the Ottomans and Ṣafawids for control of Baghdad, siding with neither party. In 1062/1652 they opened their doors to Dutch, British, Indian, and other foreign merchants and experienced economic prosperity. Later, around 1075/1664, the Afrasiyāb rulers dispatched troops with a view to extending their influence to the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula. But this expansion of their sphere of influence led to a full-scale military expedition against them by the Ottomans stationed in Baghdad, and ultimately al-Baṣra reverted to Ottoman rule in 1078/1668. See H.A.R. Gibb, "Afrāsiyāb", *EI²*, pp. 236–237.

[25] E.J. Donzel, *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia*, 1986, p. 103.

of the Turks who were in Suakin and Massawa'".[26] In this fashion, the Zaydī imamate, wary of the Ottomans whom it regarded as an external threat, had prepared against an Ottoman advance down the Red Sea by permanently stationing warships at al-Muḫā and strengthening its defences.

There thus existed with regard to the launching of a military expedition against Ethiopia a view that was opposed to any such expedition on the grounds that it might spark insurrections within Yemen and provoke the Ottomans into invading Yemen again. It appears that this view ultimately made al-Imam al-Mutawakkil abandon any plans for a military expedition against Ethiopia, as is evident from the following passage in the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣan'ā'* concerning 1066/1656:

> In this year the Imām held talks with people who were thinking of dispatching the Imām's army and his warhorses to Ethiopia on account of the *qaṣīda* composed by al-Ḥaymī, who had previously entered Ethiopia... Subsequently the Imām gave up this (dispatch of troops to Ethiopia), for he thought about what prudent men among his retainers had suggested to him.[27]

Thus, while al-Imam al-Mutawakkil and others around him, spurred by a *qaṣīda* composed by al-Ḥaymī, showed an interest for a time in launching a military expedition against Ethiopia, as a result of recommendations made by "prudent" retainers opposed to it this military expedition was, in the end, not carried out.

V. By Way of Conclusion

In this article I have, through an analysis of passages in the *Yawmiyyāt Ṣan'ā'* relating to 17th-century Yemeni-Ethiopian relations, examined the various positions that Yemen weighed in regard to an invasion of Ethiopia during this period.

As a result of an unsuccessful visit to Ethiopia by the imam's special envoy, there surfaced within the Zaydī imamate plans for a military expedition aimed at conquering Ethiopia. But at the same time, opposing views not only stressed the difficulties associated with launching a military expedition in view of Yemen's domestic situation at the time, but also cited the presence of the Ottomans as an external issue. This was because the Zaydī imamate was trying to avoid provoking the Ottomans either politically or militarily on account of the fact that Ottoman troops were, at the time, stationed on the African coast of the Red Sea coast and were keeping a watchful eye on the area, and the Zaydī imamate regarded the Ottomans as an external threat. A military expedition was avoided on the grounds that it might provoke the Ottomans into invading Yemen again.

Thus, 17th-century Yemeni-Ethiopian relations ought not to be regarded merely as a bilateral issue and should be considered rather to have been linked in a major way

[26] E.J. Donzel, A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia, 1986, p. 91.

[27] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Yawmiyyāt Ṣan'ā'*, 1996, p. 90.

to the contemporary situation in the Red Sea, including the presence and moves of the Ottoman dynasty, which exerted a strong latent influence over the Red Sea.

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Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (b.1035/1625), *Ġāyat al-amānī fī aḫbār al-quṭr al-yamānī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀšūr, Cairo, Dār al-kātib al-ʿarabī, 1968, 2 vols.

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Exchanges and Mobility in the Western Indian Ocean: Indians between Yemen and Ethiopia, 19th-20th Centuries

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Abstract

In the late 19th century Ethiopia was the last country to join the global trading network known by scholars as the Indian Ocean system. This direct involvement actively supported by the Emperor Menelik II has received little attention although Ethiopia played a significant part in the strong growth of capitalism going on in the region at that time. This article looks at the 'human factor' represented by the new wealth of contacts and exchanges that put Ethiopia more directly in relation with Aden, then the pivotal point of the Red Sea system. The focus is on Indians, one of the most active foreign communities to settle in increasing numbers along the Somaliland coasts, in Djibouti, and in Ethiopia. The question of the sources is at the heart of the paper, as exchanges between Aden and Ethiopia only emerge though scattered written records. The approach adopted here started with rare primary written documents emanating from Indians settled in Ethiopia. Additional sets of historical documents were put together from oral interviews I conducted in 2015–2016 with Indian families from Ethiopia as well as non-textual material that functions as documentary evidence for the influence that Indian builders and craftsmen had on architecture. The evidence gathered suggests that exchanges with Aden had a crucial role in the creation of a shared cultural and commercial space in the Horn of Africa. Trans-localities were created especially by the diffusion of the culture of the large trading companies operating between India, Aden, and the Horn of Africa.

Résumé

L'Éthiopie ne rejoignit le réseau marchand international de l'océan Indien qu'à partir de la fin du xix[e] s. Cette insertion largement appuyée par l'Empereur Menelik II a peu attiré l'attention des chercheurs en dépit du rôle majeur que joua le royaume abyssin dans l'expansion du capitalisme observée dans la région à cette période. Un ensemble dynamique de contacts et d'échanges commerciaux et culturels mit l'Éthiopie en relation directe avec le port d'Aden qui était alors le pivot de l'économie de la mer Rouge. Le commerce alimenta ce boom économique et ces mouvements de population, notamment ceux des communautés indiennes qui vinrent s'installer à Aden, sur les côtes somaliennes, à Djibouti et en Éthiopie. La question des sources est au cœur de cet article, dans la mesure où ces échanges n'apparaissent que furtivement à travers les sources écrites. Quelques documents importants émanant de la communauté indienne en Éthiopie ont constitué un premier élément documentaire. L'approche

[1] I would like to thank the Centre français d'études éthiopiennes (CFEE), Addis Ababa, for its financial support of my field research in December 2016 in Ethiopia, as well as Kris Easter and David Kennedy for their generous hospitality in Addis Ababa. My deepest thanks go to the people interviewed in Ethiopia and India, who generously and readily shared their stories with me. I have done my best to accurately reflect the wealth of understanding they shared. They are listed at the end of this article.

adoptée s'est aussi portée sur la mobilisation de sources non-textuelles, celles issues d'entretiens menés en 2014-2016 avec des représentants de familles indiennes installées depuis plusieurs générations en Éthiopie et des traces matérielles laissées par les architectes et artisans indiens. L'ensemble documentaire ainsi réuni a permis de mettre en évidence qu'Aden eu un rôle crucial dans la création d'un espace culturel partagé dans la Corne de l'Afrique. Les trans-localités furent familiales mais aussi le fait de la diffusion de la culture des grandes maisons de commerce internationales opérant entre l'Inde, Aden et la Corne de l'Afrique.

خلاصة

في آواخر القرن التاسع عشر، كانت اثيوبيا آخر دولة تنضم الى شبكة التجارة العالمية المعروفة بمنظومة المحيط الهندي. لم ينل هذا التدخل المباشر، الذي كان بدعم من الامبراطور منليك الثاني، الاهتمام اللازم رغم الدور المهم الذي لعبته اثيوبيا في النمو القوي للرأسمالية في المنطقة آنذاك. تتناول هذه المقالة الدور البشري المتمثّل بكثرة العلاقات والتبادلات الجديدة التي أسهمت بالدور المباشر لاثيوبيا في عدن التي لعبت دورًا رئيسيًا في منظومة البحر الأحمر. سيكون التركيز على الهنود، إحدى الجاليات الأجنبية الأكثر نشاطًا والتي استوطنت في أعداد متزايدة على طول سواحل أرض الصومال، جيبوتي، واثيوبيا. قضية المصادر هي في صلب المقالة سيّما أن العلاقات بين عدن وأثيوبيا تظهر في وثائق مكتوبة متفرقة. النهج المتبع يبدأ بالوثائق النادرة الصادرة عن الهنود القاتنين في اثيوبيا. إضافة، هناك مصادر جمعتها من مقابلات شفهية أجريت في سنة 2015-2016 مع عائلات هندية من اثيوبيا ومادة غير نصية كأدلة توثيقية لتأثير المعماريين والحرفيين الهنود على العمارة. الأدلة المجموعة تشير الى أن التبادلات مع عدن لعبت دورًا رئيسيًا في ايجاد ثقافة وفضاء تجاري مشترك في القرن الأفريقي. ان نشر ثقافة الشركات التجارية الكبرى العاملة بين الهند، عدن، والقرن الأفريقي لعب دورًا رئيسيًا في نشأة شبكة من الجاليات القاطنة في أماكن متعددة.

Keywords

Ethiopia, Indians, Aden, Red Sea, capitalism, 20th century, material culture, architecture, trans-localities

Mots-clés

Éthiopie, Indiens, Aden, mer Rouge, capitalisme, xx^e s., culture matérielle, architecture, trans-localités

تعبيرات رائسية

أيثيوبيا، هنود، عدن، الرأسمالية في القرن الأفريقي، القرن العشرين، التراث المادي، عمارة، عبر-المحليات

I. Introduction

In the late 19th century, Ethiopia was the last country to join the global trading network known by scholars as the Indian Ocean/Red Sea system. This inclusion actively promoted by Emperor Menelik II (r. 1889–1913) has received little attention, if any, although this period corresponds to the strong growth of capitalism in the region in which Ethiopia played a significant part. What researchers particularly overlook is the 'human factor' represented by the movements of people and new patterns of relationships that emerged with the development of business and cities associated with this new era of economic expansion. Evidence gathered in this article suggests that, in this context, exchanges with Aden had a crucial role in the creation of a shared cultural and commercial space in the Horn of Africa. Business was the main purpose of these movements especially those of the active foreign communities who settled in increasing numbers along the Somaliland coasts, in Djibouti, and in Ethiopia.

Indians' long-term involvement in the Indian Ocean system allowed them to play an active part in the new patterns and the new wealth of contacts and exchanges that put Ethiopia in a more direct relationship with the city port of Aden, which was then the pivotal point of the Red Sea system. This was first brought to my attention through a rare family document presented by one of my Indian interlocutors in Ethiopia.[2] However, historical sources, or rather the lack thereof, appeared to be a real challenge to understanding these exchanges, which really only emerge through scattered written records. For various reasons that will be examined in the first section, the absence of a coherent corpus of manuscript sources—as per the author's present knowledge—obliges one to look for other types of sources. Those mobilized in this article are detailed in the first section after a brief reminder of the context of increased human circulation with Ethiopia subsequent to the rise of Aden during the 1850s.

The second section focuses on the role of Aden in the migratory trajectories of Indians,[3] who in the late 19th century were among the first foreigners to settle in the Horn of Africa. The specific case of the Dawoodi Bohras is presented too because of their historical links to Yemen. The last section explores the architecture and the business institutions that Indians and other foreigners brought with them as important features of the material culture associated with the Indian Ocean/Red Sea system. Although restricted in scope the approach helps fill the information gap on the participation of the Horn of Africa in the expansion of capitalism in the late 19th century into the 20th century. In doing so, it provides insights from a local perspective on a very special period of time of Indian Ocean history.[4]

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[2] For a description of this document, see D. Harre, "The Indian Firm", 2015, p. 288.

[3] The term 'Indian' refers here to the majority of migrants who carried British passports as British Subjects up to Indian independence in 1947 and Indian passports afterwards.

[4] See J. Miran's "Mapping Spaces" (2014, p. 205), in which he calls for studies looking at smaller local pictures, specific cultural groups, and tranches of times of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean systems.

II. The history of Ethiopia in the Red Sea boom

In the mid 19th century, the port city of Aden re-established itself as the main waypoint between Asia and Europe, an important base to capture and facilitate the rapidly growing trade in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea.[5] After 1839, the British occupation of Aden provided the port with definitive advantages for travelers and residents: good harbor infrastructure, a coaling station, an efficient postal service (in fact the only one in the area), large public markets, the status of a free port beginning in 1850, and the rupee as official currency.[6] From a small village of 100 houses and 600 people prior to the British occupation, Aden grew to be a city of 20,000 in 1872, regaining its Medieval role as "a 'central place' at the head of a web of important routes and commanding several satellite sites".[7] The "*magnifique horreur*" portrayed by Hughes Le Roux[8] on his way to Ethiopia in 1900 had also returned to its status as the "chief emporium for Arabian, African and Indian trade, the second world port for merchandises".[9]

New patterns in the Red Sea

The rise of Aden was above all concomitant to what Jonathan Miran[10] coined the "Red Sea boom" between 1840 and the 1910s: "The introduction of steamship navigation [1830s] and the opening of the Suez Canal [1869] precipitated commercial expansion characterized by the amplified trans-regional flow of goods, labor, commercial expertise, and services across the area… Competing Arab and Indian commercial shipping networks adapted expeditiously to the new Red Sea configuration, which promised new entrepreneurial fortunes. Traders and other commercial entrepreneurs migrated into Red Sea port towns and developed new, 'modern', socially and culturally complex cosmopolitan urban centers". In Ethiopia, the cities of Harar, in the 1870s, then under Egyptian occupation, and Addis Ababa, two decades later, emerged as two of these new cosmopolitan centers. In spite of their distance from the coast, both cities, although they were not trading ports *per se,* were true inland emporiums linked to the Indian Ocean coastal networks.

At the turn of the 20th century, according to Augustus Wylde, "Aden is a place… of first-class importance, not only in a naval and military point of view, but commercial as well".[11] The city-port had supplanted competing ports for the important trade

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[5] Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden*, 1981; Roxani Eleni Margariti, *Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade*, 2007; J. Miran, "Red Sea Translocals", 2012; R.K.P. Pankhurst, "Indian Trade", 1974.

[6] Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden,* 1981, pp. 21, 72; R.K.P. Pankhurst, "Indian Trade", 1974, p. 455; M.J. Esdail, *Aden and the End of Empire*, 2011, p. 44.

[7] Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden*, 1981, pp. 15, 51; R.E. Margariti, *Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade*, 2007, p. 73.

[8] H. Le Roux, *Ménélik et nous*, 1902, p. 16.

[9] Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden*, 1981, p. 17.

[10] J. Miran, "Red Sea Translocals", 2012, pp. 134-135.

[11] A.B. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, 1901, p. 67.

with Ethiopia. A. Wylde remembered that two decades before he had visited "the then very little known town of Jeddah, the seaport of Mecca, the then emporium for the majority of the trade, legitimate and illegitimate, of Abyssinia [Ethiopia] and the Sudan…"[12] Progressively several important trading companies based in Aden exported the sought-after coffee from Harar as Etienne de Felcourt[13] mentioned in his travelogue however without naming them. Then a major commercial shift from Harar to Addis Ababa occurred as the result of Menelik's conquest of Harar in 1887 and his desire to make his new capital, Addis Ababa, the trading center of the empire. His very large purchases of firearms and ammunition, plus those of the governor of Harar, Ras Makonnen, boosted Ethiopia's import-export trade too. Trade routes were reoriented: the triangle Harar–Massawa/Zeila/Djibouti–Aden was for the most part replaced by Addis Ababa–Djibouti–Aden, with a direct boat connection between Aden and Djibouti and a railway line between Djibouti, Dire Dawa (1902), and Addis Ababa (1917).

In Ethiopia, the establishment of foreign communities represented another essential change, as before the 1880s only a few French, Armenians, Greeks, and Indians in the service of Menelik had settled in what is modern-day Ethiopia.[14] For a long time Indian and Yemeni merchants would cross the Red Sea temporarily on trading campaigns, rather than settling there for extended periods of time. Caravans of merchants would visit the trade centers of Zeila and Harar once a year in accordance to the monsoon patterns.[15]

Increased human circulation with the Horn of Africa

This period of "rearrangement of port hierarchies, shipping networks, and trading patterns"[16] saw an increased and accelerated human circulation in the region. Merchants and businessmen left Mocha, Jeddah, or Muscat for Aden, joined by many new arrivals, among them Indians and Somalis, who were British subjects or British protected-persons. Foreign communities such as Yemenis, Indians, Greeks, Armenians, and a few Western Europeans settled in Massawa, Djibouti, Addis Ababa and other places in the interior of Ethiopia. Some of them came from Aden, as we shall see in the next section. Many were merchants, representatives and employees from trading companies settled in Aden, builders, craftsmen, and laborers. Ethiopian merchants, Muslims and Christians alike, were not only active in the country (primarily in the Ethiopian highlands) where they controlled much of the internal trade.[17] They too moved abroad to take

[12] A.B. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, 1901, p. 2.

[13] E. de Felcourt, *L'Abyssinie*, 1911, p. 104.

[14] R.K.P. Pankhurst, "Menilek and the Utilization", 1967.

[15] Oral interview with Husein H. Sardharwala, Addis Ababa, 04/2015; R.K.P. Pankhurst, "Indian Trade", 1974.

[16] J. Miran, "Red Sea Translocals", 2012, p. 135.

[17] P. Garretson, *A history of Addis Abäba,* 2000, p. 152.

part in the Red Sea boom as a few references suggest. A wide network of relationships stretching from Yemen, the Somaliland coasts, Djibouti, and Ethiopia was thus at the heart of the commercial expansion seen in the Horn of Africa at the end of the 19th century, an expansion that was mainly oriented towards the Ethiopian market. For Indian migrants—as for other communities—this geographical area formed a potential common space for exchanges of ideas, models, and 'traditions'. These new patterns born from the Red Sea boom came as a new phase in a long history of contacts between India and the Red Sea region where Indian merchants and businessmen were significant at various periods of time including in Ethiopia.[18]

Unfortunately, even if evidence suggests that both Aden and Indian migrants played pivotal roles in the formation of this shared space, the existing scant literature limits our understanding of these migrations to a general picture. While flows of merchandise and trade routes have been documented, the movements of people, ideas, and innovations that created and sustained the commerce, as well as other exchanges unrelated to trade, are largely unstudied. As Jonathan Miran observes:[19] "While Hadramis in Eastern Africa have received some scholarly attention, those in the Horn of Africa, namely, the Somali lands, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Djibouti, have been analyzed far less". A similar observation could be made about Indians who too are representative of these almost forgotten communities that flourished in the Horn of Africa at the end of the 19th century. It is also worth noticing that Indian communities in Aden, Somalia, Djibouti, and Ethiopia, are never mentioned in the wealth of recent studies related to East Africa. There is to my knowledge no study about Indians in Aden.

Yet, at the turn of the 20th century, Indians started to dominate Ethiopia's external trade, as evidenced mainly by complaints in the contemporary literature about the alleged unfair competition they represented to European trade. As one example, Percy Cotton-Powell[20] writes about the Indian firms in Addis Ababa: "Owing to their thrifty habits they are rapidly taking the trade from both French and Greeks, and are finding a ready sale for articles for which it was thought there would be no demand". It is true that this achievement could be credited to their efficiency and ability to yield higher profit margins,[21] but it may well be seen as an extension of their historic grip on the Aden economy. In 1872, the Indians of Aden, who had held the trade in their hands before the British occupation, dominated the international wholesale trade, as well as the banking and exchange business.[22]

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[18] Indians are credited with building the 17th-century castle of Emperor Fasiladas at Gondar; see Sh.L.V. Ranasinghe, *The Castle of Emperor Fasiladas*, 2001; for a discussion of this historical tradition and other possible contributions of Indian trade to Ethiopia in that period, see M.J. Ramos, "Gujuratis in 17th Gondar", 2011.

[19] J. Miran, "Red Sea Translocals", 2012, p. 130.

[20] P.H. Gordon Cotton-Powell, *A sporting trip through Abyssinia*, 1902, p. 118.

[21] P. Garretson, *A history of Addis Abäba*, 2000, p. 128.

[22] Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden*, 1981, pp. 15, 52.

The end of the 19th century saw an increasing number of Muslim Indians settling in the Indian Ocean and the Horn of Africa for reasons debated by scholars.[23] It is important to note that in Ethiopia Indian migrants came as free laborers—in contrast to the colonial system of indentured labor known in British East Africa. Most of them, whether Muslims, Hindus, or Jains, came from Gujarat, the primary origin of Indians overseas, others from Peshawar, and what a few Hararis of Indian origin call "Yupi", now Uttar Pradesh (UP).[24] Given its role as a waypoint from India to Africa, it is fair to assume that Aden was the transit point for many of these migrants. However, the exact role of the port city in the migration trajectories during the Red Sea boom is not easy to establish as will be seen below looking at sources available.

Dealing with scattered historical records

Only a small number of rare primary written sources substantiate the increased human circulation between Aden, Ethiopia, and the Horn of Africa at the end of the 19th century into the 20th (set 1 below). No corpus of coherent written documentation prompted the enquiry here, and no Indian community, family, or company archives in Ethiopia have been identified to serve as a base. Although a grandson would occasionally show an account book kept as family memorabilia, most letters, contracts, account books, and photographs were exposed to destruction and dispersal over the years. Most people were actually engaged in activities typically considered too mundane to be chronicled or not worth recording as family or community memories. Besides, humble people such as laborers, masons, carpenters, tailors, or shopkeepers who formed the bulk of the Indian migrants have left very faint traces, making their whereabouts between Aden and Ethiopia quite sketchy. So, as is often the case of research dealing with forgotten groups or "unacknowledged figures", as Lakshmi Subramanian[25] put it when trying to document 19th-century Bombay merchants, written sources are characterized by their fragmentation into small pieces of information dispersed in public archives, contemporary newspapers, travel accounts, mostly European, and occasional personal archives.

In this context, the exploration of potential sources took three directions: gathering scattered written records, making use of non-written evidence, and generating new sources based on contemporary oral interviews. Three specific sets of historical sources were then put together to explore the arguments developed in this article. Their respective merits are discussed below.

Set 1 is formed by two sub-sets of written sources. One of them is made up of several documents emanating in one way or another from Indians settled in Ethiopia. Initially, there was a letter brought to my attention by an Indian interlocutor in Addis

[23] Cl. Markovits, "Indian Merchant Networks", 1999, pp. 893–894.

[24] D. Harre, "Présence indienne à Harar", 2016, pp. 1–4.

[25] L. Subramanian, *Three Merchants of Bombay*, 2012, pp. xxviii–xxix.

Ababa; this letter sent in 1940 by Mohamedally Shaikh Sharafally relates the beginnings of his trading company active in Ethiopia in the early 20th century.[26] Two other documents, the report of the questioning of one of Sharafally's managers by the Italian police in 1937 and a letter written by the son of a well-known builder to the Ethiopian Emperor in 1941, both found in the diplomatic archives,[27] evoke relationships with Aden through personal history. These original written sources were complemented by an interesting passage in A. Wylde's 1902 travelogue recalling an encounter with Indian skilled laborers in early Addis Ababa. These written sources are invaluable as they made the voices of contemporary people heard. This is the case too of the second subset formed of contemporary advertisements posted by large trading companies in newspapers or trade directories: elevated to the status of historical sources, they provided valuable information on the firms' spatial organization.

Set 2 extends the notion of a historical source to include non-textual material that may function as documentary evidence for the influence Indian builders and craftsmen had on architecture. There are indeed dozens of residences, commercial buildings, and public edifices of that period still standing in Harar and Addis Ababa, two cities linked with the Indian Ocean/Red Sea networks.[28] The presence of this rich architectural heritage has not been explored previously from the point of view of people and links during the Red Sea boom, although it provides tangible evidence of the influence in Ethiopia of both Indians and a larger architectural tradition.

Set 3 is drawn from the oral interviews that I conducted in 2015 and 2016 for a larger study of the Indian community in Ethiopia, with long-term Indian residents and Ethiopians of Indian origin (in Addis Ababa, Harar, and Dire Dawa), and in India (Mumbai, Rajkot, Sidhpur). Although they yielded a lot of information about Indian families established in Ethiopia, oral interviews have their own shortcomings for the purpose of this article. When trying to mobilize inter-generational memories with descendants of the third or fourth generation, it was clear that migration trajectories of the late 19th–early 20th centuries were seldom preserved as family stories. Family trees were easier to reconstitute, including those of families of Indian origin still residing in Harar.[29] Another important topic covered by the oral interviews is the history of the Dawoodi Bohra community in Ethiopia as related by its long-time leader, a fifth-generation descendant of a merchant and builder. Pieced together, these three diverse sets propose an initial representation of the exchanges between Aden and Ethiopia where individual stories of people and businesses prevail.

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[26] D. Harre, "The Indian Firm", 2015.

[27] National Archives of India, External 481–X/40, pp. 85–86 and National Archives of the United Kingdom, Foreign Office 371/251.

[28] I am drawing here on D. Simonowitz's (*On the Cutting Edges*, 2004, Chapter 1) approach to Dawoodi Bohra and Nizari architecture in Western settings.

[29] D. Harre, "Présence indienne à Harar", 2016.

III. Indian migrants from Aden to Ethiopia

Indians travelled to the Red Sea area in various capacities, most of them as unskilled laborers, craftsmen, and future traders. Although there is nothing comprehensive for Ethiopia such as the migration stories collected by Cynthia Salvadori for Kenya,[30] oral interviews made clear that almost all of the Indians settled in Ethiopia came from the traditional Gujarati emigration areas (Rajkot, Sidhpur, Kutch, Jamnagar, Surat), where old families still have their 'headquarters' today. What family histories reveal too is that Aden was more than a simple transit point in migration paths; for a period of time the city functioned as a starting point in a multi-step migration trajectory for both individuals and trading companies. The few examples presented here support this assumption, but the extent of the phenomena cannot be measured to conclude a pattern. Trans-localities appear at various scales, maintained by families, trading firms, and communities, including long-lasting ties that made Indians settled in Ethiopia true "Red Sea Citizens".[31] Sources available so far have identified some of these links, although they mainly pertain to business (section IV). At the community level, the potential for trans-locality of the Dawoodi Bohras cannot be overlooked as this Indian Tayyebi thread of Ismaili Shia Muslims originally from Yemen took an active part in the early migration movement to Aden and the Horn of Africa.

Migration trajectories and trans-localities within the Red Sea area

Migration stories have great value. Beyond helping us understand the circumstances of migration, they also provide precious insights on the larger contexts in which new migration patterns evolved. Most family histories, as told by descendants of the early migrants, start with the initial travel from Bombay, the departure point for Gujaratis going overseas. Typically, Indian migrants arrived in Aden after an eight-day journey by steamer, and from there would eventually—sometimes much later—reach their final destination by "small boat" or dhow.[32] From the 1839 British occupation, Indians formed one of Aden's main population groups, their number growing from 50 to 3,586 to form 15% of Aden's total population in 1872.[33] At that time, the British census classified Indians in three groups: 2,611 Muslims, 854 Hindus, and 121 Parsis.[34] Occupations were wide-ranging, such as merchants involved in import-export, retailers, shopkeepers, bricklayers, masons, jewelers, tin-workers, tailors, domestic servants, administrative employees, blacksmiths, carpenters, sweepers, and mechanics.[35]

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[30] C. Salvadori, *We came in dhows*, 1996.

[31] A term coined by J. Miran, in the title of his 2009 book, *Red Sea Citizens*.

[32] Oral interview with Shanti T. Gopani, Addis Ababa, 20/07/2015.

[33] Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden*, 1981, pp. 21, 50–51.

[34] Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden*, 1981, p. 51.

[35] Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden*, 1981, p. 52. Circumstances were sometimes unplanned: "Most of the Indian Muslims came to be in Aden by force of circumstances" when abandoned by the ship captains who

At the turn of the 20th century, thanks to both its number and involvement in the regional economy, the Indian presence in Aden was strong enough to have developed family and religious-based networks, as well as institutions such as open kitchens and recruitment systems offered by the large trading companies. As incomplete as they are because of the "distance of time" the migration stories I collected in the oral interviews suggest that these amenities provided a starting point to new migrants before their dispersal in the Horn of Africa. This is the case of the young Kantilal Modha who in the early 20th century arrived in Aden through a trading firm whose founder was from his home town. According to his grandson, he worked in the company for a few years. His job was to cut the large silver bricks of 100kg that were imported from India and Europe. He later went back to India before moving out again, this time to Djibouti and Addis Ababa where he served as the priest of the Hindu community.[36]

On the business side, two large companies located in Addis Ababa—albeit one generation apart—seem to have their roots in the open kitchen of Menahem Messa, a famous Jewish businessman engaged in the Indian networks.[37] Mohamedally & Co whose story will be presented in section IV was probably one of them. The second one was J.J. Kothari & Co, founded by two brothers who, from Messa's kitchen, found employment in another trading company before setting up their first business in Aden. From Aden, they expanded their business to Somalia and Djibouti, then to Ethiopia. For one of the grandsons, his grandfather went to Aden because "Aden was part of India" as they used the same currency. He said: "going to Aden was so easy".[38] Implicitly indicated in this statement is the 'comfort' offered by colonial conditions similar to those experienced in India, such as administrative structures, legal protocols, and expected relations with colonial powers: Indians more or less knew what to expect in Aden. The enduring role of Aden in this space remained indisputable for business as will be examined in the section on material culture.

Documented family links are more elusive. A letter found in the Government of India Archives shows that the wife and children of the Dawoodi Bohra builder Haji Khawas Khan went to live in Aden after his death in the early 20th century. They were still residing there in 1941.[39] Unfortunately, the Ethiopian branch of the family from another marriage has no memory of this lady. It appears that she may have been Indian, Ethiopian, or Yemeni/Adeni. On the other hand, sketchy family memories of the Muslim Indians of Harar do point toward Aden too. Descendants of the fourth and fifth generations, who today consider themselves as Harari of Indian origin, recalled

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were supposed to take them back to India after the Hadj; "free passage to India was arranged" as much as possible and many found work as masons." Z.H. Kour, *History of Aden*, 1981, p. 47, 52.

[36] Oral interview with Mahindra K. Modha, Addis Ababa, 14/12/2016.

[37] R. Ahroni, "The Jews of the British Crown Colony of Aden", 1994, p. 47. A study of the relations Menahen Messa entertained with Indians in Aden would offer important additional perspective.

[38] Oral interview with Harishbai R. Kothari, Rajkot, Gujurat, 28/12/2016.

[39] NAI, Government of India, Ext. 481-X/40, pp. 85–86.

that their grandparents or great-grandparents had part of their families in Aden.[40] They apparently entertained various long-term relationships with Djibouti, Massawa, and Aden during the 20th century. As reconstituted with these descendants, family trees show that some married women from family segments that were located in Aden, married 'Arabs' from Yemen, and sometimes Ethiopians of Yemeni origin.[41] These marriages seem to have been as frequent as marriages with women from India, suggesting strong links with cities of the Red Sea. One illustration of these links is from the large Hadj Seif Hula family, a man from Uttar Pradesh who established himself in Harar in the late 1910s as a merchant and religious teacher. According to a granddaughter, one of Hadj Seif Hula's sons, a tailor in Harar, married a cousin from Aden, a daughter of one of the three brothers who had migrated with him. She also recalled that a wife, maybe Hadj Seif Hula's wife, took refuge in Aden during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936–1941) with her children. Although she could not give more details about the migration trajectory of her ancestor, it is possible that Hadj Seif Hula had stayed in Aden and was married into a family settled there, and that one brother had stayed in Aden.[42]

While such ties seem much weaker today, it is not uncommon for members of the Indian community, whether in Harar or Addis Ababa, to mention having relatives in Aden. This is the case of M.M.S.,[43] whose family is representative of trans-local Indians active in the Horn of Africa. His father and uncle had started a small business in Hargeisa, British Somalia in the late 1930s, before his father left a few years later to establish himself in Ethiopia. His own wife's parents were Hindu Indians settled in Aden, but the marriage was celebrated in India.

Incomplete as they are, these stories confirm that a lot remains to be understood about the relations between Aden and Ethiopia and their evolution over the 20th century. What is known so far is not adequate to fully understand the phenomenon of trans-locality or even its magnitude: for example, are these examples representative of the whole Indian community in the early 20th century or only segments of it? What appears more certain is that the role of Aden as a first-step migration base for newcomers probably declined or stopped when the Indian community in Addis Ababa had grown large and stable enough to provide welcoming institutions and first jobs to those without capital and in need of labor, which was a frequent situation. Among my interlocutors in Addis Ababa, only one elder could recall the case of a businessman who "in search of a second chance" moved from Aden to Addis Ababa in the 1950s.[44]

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[40] Oral interviews, Harar, 02&05/08/ 2015, see D. Harre, "Présence indienne à Harar", 2016.

[41] The frequency of these marriages is likely underestimated: women are very often forgotten from intergenerational memories, so their family origin is not always remembered, many classified as 'Ethiopian' could have been born to Indian, Yemeni, or Adeni families from Djibouti, Eritrea, or Aden.

[42] Oral interview with Ms. Ferial Mohamed, Harar, 02/08/2015.

[43] Oral interview with M.M.S., who wished anonymity, Addis Ababa, 04/12/2016.

[44] Oral interview with Harilal Shah, Addis Ababa 26/10/2015.

Family and business links with Aden certainly declined also with the massive departures of Indians from Yemen after 1962, the independence of Aden in 1967, and the establishment of direct flights between Ethiopia and India. However, generalizations are dangerous to make as the Dawoodi Bohra community surprisingly demonstrates.

Dawoodi Bohras between Yemen and Ethiopia

Among the early migrants to East Africa in the 19th century,[45] the Dawoodi Bohras have specific historical and religious ties with Yemen. As the head of the Ethiopian Dawoodi Bohra community, Husein H. Sardharwala, narrates:[46] "Bohras are mainly from Yemen, [the] Bohra community first started from Yemen… and the first person to start this … was known as Queen Arwa, Queen Arwa in Yemen… the appointment of every representative or the head of this community, which we call *dāʿī*, started from there on from Queen Arwa. Then slowly, the headquarters came to India, because of problems in Yemen, and since then for many years the headquarters have remained in India. And many Indians who are Hindus and others… accepted our faith and they became members of our community, the Bohra community… they were reverted in fact, reverted from their religion to Islam, and they became members of our community… so the community has now members from different places, especially from Yemen, from India, and different places of the world… holding different nationalities too, … our population may be around two million now". This narration evoked the fissures in the history of the Mustʿali Tayyibi Ismaili movement that in the 16th century eventually produced the Indian Dawoodi (Dāʾūdī) Bohras and the Yemeni Sulaymanis, sometimes known as the Yemeni Mustaʿli-Tayyibi faction.[47] The split between the Yemeni and Indian communities resulted in each naming their own line of *dāʿī* s and their own sphere of influence. The Indian group became known as "Bohra" because of their mercantile specialty—*bohra* being the corruption of a Gujarati (or Persian) word for trade.

It seems fair to assume that, at the end of the 19th century, Dawoodi Bohras involved in the Red Sea boom were Indians from Gujarat, although there was a small community of Yemeni Ismailis who were Bohra affiliated. Jean Moncelon[48] mentions that 5,000 Dawoodis still resided in the Haraz Mountains in the 1990s out of a total of 70,000 Ismailis who were mostly Sulaymani. In Yemen, the Indian Dawoodi Bohras formed a separate urban community, mainly engaged in trade and concentrated in Aden where they had their own mosque and a community hall located in Crater. It is not possible to tell to which extent these newcomers from India mixed with local Bohras, either Dawoodi or Sulaymani (there is no history, to my knowledge, of Bohras

[45] A. Hatim, "The Bohras in East Africa", 1975; C. Salvadori, *Through Open Doors*, 1989, pp. 254–256.

[46] Oral interview, Addis Ababa, 14/03/2015.

[47] On the history of Dawoodi Bohras, see J. Blank, *Mullahs on the Mainframe*, 2001; F. Daftary, *The Ismaʿilis*, 2007; A. Hatim, "The Bohras in East Africa", 1975; S. Traboulsi, "Sources for the History", 2014.

[48] J. Moncelon, "La Daʿwa fatimide au Yémen", 1995, p. 9.

in Aden). The Yemeni Ismailis were mainly living in around 50 rural villages of the Haraz Mountains, in northwest Yemen. Besides, one also imagines that the sense of community among Dawoodi Bohras from Yemen and India might have been somehow lessened by differences of language and traditions, such as the Indian incorporation of certain Hindu customs.[49]

In Ethiopia, the Dawoodi Bohra community has considerably evolved throughout the 20th century, as the head of the community points out:[50] "Many years before, we had more than six, seven hundred people, but now we have only 40 to 50 houses, this includes Yemenis and [people] from India too … there are also people who have taken Ethiopian nationality… The Bohra [community] was much bigger at that time, much bigger, than the Hindu community … we had several big companies established in this country". In the early 20th century, the Dawoodi Bohras were indeed well established in Menelik's empire with several important builders, trading companies with a large number of staff, and a wide geographical distribution of small traders in provincial cities and villages.[51] Along with other Muslims, they accounted for half of the Indians settled in Ethiopia in the 1930s,[52] i.e. around 1,500 to 2,000 people. Until the mid-1970s wave of departures caused by the DERG nationalization policy, community members were mostly Indian citizens. Today, the 'Indian' component is made up of a few Indian citizens, who are descendants of the first generations of settlers, and by Ethiopians of Indian origin, as well as a few Ethiopians married into Dawoodi Bohra families of Indian origin. Unlike more recently arrived Hindus and Jains, very few Indian Dawoodi Bohras moved to Ethiopia after the 1940s.

Arabic-speaking Yemeni Dawoodi Bohras were already present in Ethiopia in the 1950s–1970s. By contrast, no Indian Bohras from Yemen seem to have settled in Ethiopia during this time, unlike previous periods when Aden was the first migratory destination (section I). Religious affiliation allowed them to cross apparent cultural boundaries in Ethiopia. Yemenis and Indians shared religious events, communal meals, and celebrations,[53] and a few marriages occurred between Indian and Yemeni families. The language of communication was Arabic, then the language of business in Addis Ababa. Yet, Yemeni Dawoodi Bohras—as most individuals—putatively belong to several spheres of identity, including ones shaped by language, geographic origin, or citizenship. It appears thus difficult to ascertain whether or not their presence in Ethiopia could be wholly associated with the potential sphere of exchanges offered by 'being Dawoodi Bohra'. Yemeni Bohras were also part of a migration movement that

[49] F. Daftary, *The Isma'ilis*, 2007, p. 299.

[50] Oral interview with Husein H. Sardharwala, Addis Ababa, 14/03/2015.

[51] Oral interview with Husein H. Sardharwala, Addis Ababa, 14/03/2015.

[52] A. Zervos, *L'Empire d'Éthiopie*, 1936, p. 500.

[53] Dawoodi Bohras have their own religious establishments and traditions; for a detailed description in India and in Kenya, see J. Blank, *Mullahs on the Mainframe*, 2001, and C. Salvadori, *Through Open Doors*, 1989.

brought large numbers of Yemenis to Eritrea and Ethiopia in the context of the Red Sea boom.[54] In Ethiopia, where Yemenis were referred to as 'Arabs', nearly all of them were involved in trade, as cameleers, retailers, caravan drivers, merchants, and sometimes owners of large multi-branch companies. How Yemeni members of the Ethiopian Dawoodi Bohra community negotiated these identities is hard to say in this article.[55]

According to Husein H. Sardharwala,[56] the Yemenis who today form half of the Ethiopian Dawoodi Bohra congregation are Arabic speakers with a command of the religious Bohra form of Gujarati. The *ʿāmil,* the official representative of the *dāʿī*, is a Yemeni, who was appointed in Addis Ababa a few years ago after completing his religious studies at the Bohra University center of Surat in Gujarat. The other Yemenis, all involved in various ranges of business, seem to be coming as Dawoodi Bohras following the call of the *dāʿī* for investment in Ethiopia. There are also occasional visits or arrivals caused by the recent fights and air strikes that have hit the country since 2015.

The recent appointment of a Yemeni *ʿāmil* and new arrivals from Yemen may also be viewed within the large movement of reforms carried out worldwide by the Dawoodi Bohra headquarters in India. First a rapprochement initiated by the 51st *dāʿī* towards the Yemeni and East African congregations ended the relative independence/isolation that the diasporic communities in Africa seem to have experienced until the 1960s. The first time a *dāʿī* visited Yemen was in 1961 and Kenya in 1963.[57] Today, the *dāʿī* visits Ethiopia a couple times a year when on his way to Kenya. Reforms initiated by the 52nd *dāʿī* went towards a standard islamization of religious rituals and way of life, which involved the expunging of old Hindu references and practices that used to set Dawoodi Bohras apart from other Muslims.[58] This movement may have been driven by the desire to maintain community cohesion following the large geographic dispersal of the community after the mid 19th century. The production of norms regarding all aspects of daily and social life (personal appearance, model of dress, lan-

[54] J. Miran, "Red Sea Translocals", 2012; A. Hussein, "A Brief Note", 1997; S. Bezabeh, "Yemeni Families", 2011; L. Manger, *The Hadrami Diaspora*, 2010. Yemenis merchants moved to Ethiopia as early as 1880-1896 beside European traders (P. Garretson, *A history of Addis Abäba*, 2000, p. 126). According to E. de Felcourt (*L'Abyssinie*, 1911, p. 104), 'Arabs' from Yemen went to Harar to start coffee plantations. In Empress Zewditu's period (1916–1930), they were coming from Aden (A. Hussein, "A Brief Note", 1997, p. 341).

[55] I had no opportunity to arrange interviews with Yemenis in Ethiopia for this article, and there is no reference to Bohras in the embryonic literature about Yemenis in the Horn of Africa.

[56] Oral interview, Addis Ababa, 03/12/2016.

[57] D. Simonowitz, *On the Cutting Edges*, 2004, p. 355; C. Salvadori, *Through Open Doors*, 1989, p. 260. If remoteness from the Indian headquarters was probably felt too in Ethiopia, the community seems to have been faithful to the *dāʿī,* unlike in Kenya and Tanzania where according to C. Salvadori (*Through Open Doors*, 1989, pp. 265–266) isolation was partly the result of a strong movement of dissidence.

[58] For the Dawoodi Bohra reform movement, I am drawing on J. Blank, *Mullahs on the Mainframe*, 2001, Chap. 8; M. Boivin, "Institutions", 1998; Ch. Brun, "Mouvement religieux", 2007; N. Gomes, "Les Bohras", 2009; D. Simonowitz , *On the Cutting Edges*, 2004, Chapter 4.

guage, and architecture) and the importance given to the Gujarati culture would thus delineate new boundaries for the community to slowly establish a new transnational identity.[59]

IV. Material Culture

The regional space of exchanges took a concrete form through the material culture that spread to the cosmopolitan centers born from the Red Sea boom. Two aspects of this shared material culture are examined here as forms of documentary materials in their own right. One is the architecture and craftsmanship brought to Ethiopia largely via migrants from Aden, among them Indians who left a lasting mark in the city landscapes of Harar and Addis Ababa. In a similar way, new business institutions and practices should also be considered as exchanges at work in the Red Sea shared space.

Builders & craftsmen introduce new architectural styles

At various periods of times, areas around the Red Sea including Ethiopia have shared movements of people and cultures that were translated into the architecture. This was already the case around the first millennium B.C.[60] For more recent periods the term the "Red Sea style" was coined to describe a "non monumental building tradition that emerged at the southern edge of the Ottoman world in the sixteenth century and continued into the twentieth".[61] Following this line, I proposed in a 2015 paper that Addis Ababa's early architecture belongs to a new phase of the "Red Sea style", one typical of the late-19th-early-20th-century economies and representative of a new era of ongoing relationships in the region.[62] The examination of such an assumption goes well beyond the scope of this article and definitively requires further investigation.[63] As such, here, I will merely introduce a few considerations that associate the late-19th-century-early-20th-century architecture of Harar and Addis Ababa with the idea of the Red Sea style albeit with its own characteristics and historic specificity.

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[59] In Yemen, this movement of 'revival' opened a new period of relations with the Yemeni Tayyibi/Suleymanis. Indian pilgrims travel to the Haraz Mountains to visit the tomb of the 3rd *dāʿī* considered the founder of the Tayyibi Ismailis and honored by both Dawoodi Bohras and Yemeni Suleymanis. The Indian headquarters reinforced the Dawoodi Bohra presence in the Haraz Mountains with various initiatives, including a center promoting "cultural conversion" through the teaching of Gujarati language, food, and Bohra dress, the construction of schools and roads around community shrines, and a campaign for the replacement of *qat* with coffee bean production. See N. Syeed, "Entrepreneur", 2012, and "Learning Gujarati", 2012.

[60] J.-F. Breton, "Les bâtisseurs des deux rives de la mer Rouge", 2015.

[61] N. Um, *Reflections on the Red Sea Style*, 2012, pp. 243–244.

[62] D. Harre, "Trading ports' influences", 2015.

[63] This would include the regional architectural coherence and comparisons with similar buildings from other countries and national adaptations. A fascinating aspect of Addis Ababa's early architecture is the way builders and craftsmen mixed foreign influences with Ethiopian designs and construction methods.

The architecture displayed in Ethiopia indeed presents strong visual similarities with buildings of the same period seen in Djibouti, Zanzibar, Massawa, or Aden.[64] Buildings appear closely reminiscent of a style that could tentatively be called "British Indo-colonial". New to the Ethiopian tradition they evoke both the merchant houses of the Indian Ocean trading ports and the Indo-colonial bungalow, exhibiting two-tier roofs, open-porches, multi-glazed verandas, balconies, and richly decorated veranda posts.[65] As Nancy Um[66] points out in an article that discusses the features usually ascribed to the Red Sea style, this "visual consistency" raises questions about its origin, and is better understood when looking at the history of ports. It is thus interesting to observe that, much like the port architectures she examines,[67] the architecture typical of the late 19th–early 20th centuries in Harar and Addis Ababa emanated mainly from the merchant class and was greatly trans-cultural, marked by strong foreign influences. The "British Indo-colonial" domestic architecture became predominant in Addis Ababa and the merchant-house a model, even for the large houses of the Ethiopian dignitaries. The political context was crucial as the new style was introduced in Menelik's construction programs for private and public buildings (see below).

One must also look at the social history of these buildings rather than only their appearances. For instance, the functions of buildings and the identities of the builders, craftsmen, users and patrons, are key approaches to understand the influences and possible diffusion of styles and features. In the context of cultural diversity that characterized the birth of the Ethiopian capital, Indians, Armenians, Greeks, and Italians provided Addis Ababa with various flavors of imported architecture. Menelik seems to have let builders and engineers from various countries build in their own way, hence the "fusion style" that is the signature of early 20th century urban architecture in Addis Ababa up to the Italian occupation.

The presence of Indians was essential.[68] Several Muslim Indian architects were involved in the construction of Menelik's palace and early churches.[69] Among the specific contribution of Indian builders, laborers, and craftsmen are stone buildings and a specific package of wooden features that found their way into many Addis Ababa residences, villas and bungalows, and dignitary palaces built in the 'British Indo-colonial' style.[70] It seems that Indians—probably with Armenians—brought the important residence-store, a two-level structure whose ground floor was used for business and the

[64] D. Harre, "Trading ports' influences", 2015.

[65] D. Harre, "Trading ports' influences", 2015.

[66] N. Um, "Reflections on the Red Sea Style", 2012, pp. 244, 248.

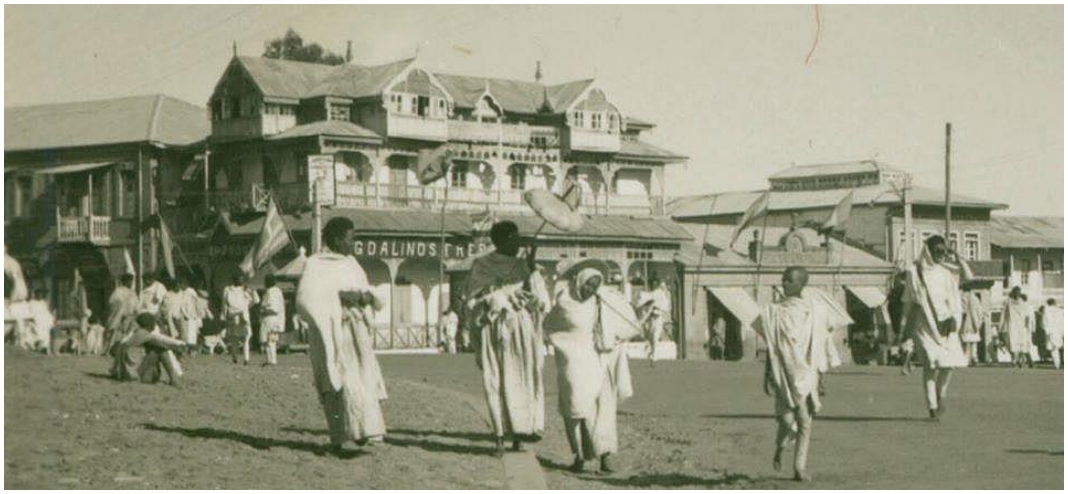
[67] N. Um, "Reflections on the Red Sea Style", 2012, pp. 248–249, 257.

[68] Indians had a strong influence on the architecture of Red Sea cities even inland from the coast, see P. Bonnenfant, "La marque de l'Inde", 2000, for the interesting case of Zabīd, in the Yemeni western coastal plain.

[69] R.K.P. Pankhurst, "The role of Indian craftsmen", 1995.

[70] D. Harre, "Trading ports' influences", 2015.

first floor was residential.[71] Found in all port-cities and commercial centers, the residence-store's design symbolized the city as the commercial center of Menelik's empire, and would pervade Addis Ababa's architecture. N. Um too notes that in most cases, the house in Red Sea ports: "doubled as a site for commercial activity", [72] which seems to constitute another important criterium to the existence of a shared Red Sea style.



Ill. 1. Magdalinos shop, Addis Ababa, early 20th century (Courtesy of Marc Vigano).

In the narrower perspective of this article, family histories and sporadic written evidence suggest that the introduction in Ethiopia of the shared architectural models and traditions of the late 19th–early 20th centuries may also hinge upon Aden, which was then the first stop in migration trajectories. For example, one of the first architect-builders to operate in Harar at the end of the 19th century was a Muslim Indian from Peshawar. According to two of his great-granddaughters, Kulam Khader was living in Aden or had spent a few years in Aden as an architect when he received Menelik's invitation to exercise his skills in Ethiopia.[73] He stayed in Harar for the rest of his life with his wife and children, and reputedly built the earliest public buildings of the city as well as private residences. These two ladies knew no more about their ancestor. Nothing more is known either of the personal trajectories of the Indian woodworkers, Hindus and Muslims, who carved the beautiful doors of Harar's houses, and introduced the woodwork that ornaments buildings with elaborate decorative features. These forgotten artisans appeared sometimes at the corner of a street, so to speak: In Harar I was shown a house reputed to be of "Indian style" to admire the carved entrance door [**Ill. 2.**] and the wooden indoor decorations. The date, 1911, and the name

[71] D. Harre,"Trading ports' influences", 2015.

[72] N. Um, "Reflections on the Red Sea Style", 2012, p. 257.

[73] Oral interview with Ms. Lezu Faizal, Harar, 3/08/2015.

of the Indian artisan, Hadj Nour, were the only details kept in the family memory, according to the Harari owner.

Ill. 2. Entrance door carving in Harar (D. Harre, 2015).

Even more forgotten, the many humble, subaltern people, such as laborers and craftsmen, seem to have left no traces other than a few sentences in travel accounts and archives. These 'traces' provide the foundation for a larger story. A record from A. Wylde recalls that, riding down the path to Menelik's palace on his first arrival to Addis around 1896, his party:

> halted at a stone quarry where some laborers were at work blasting a white limestone rock, and some Arabs and Indian masons were dressing stone. These men had come from Aden and were getting much higher wages than they could produce there. They told me that they also received rations from the king, and that they were saving nearly all their pay. The blocks of stone they were dressing were intended for the king's private dwellings…[74]

The conversation between the British diplomat and the workers signals the availability of Indian laborers and craftsmen from Aden at that time. Many of the hundreds of smiths, masons, and carpenters, who had migrated from India to Aden after the 1839 British occupation, had reputedly built most of the port infrastructure.[75] In the late 19th century into the early 20th century, Aden appears to have served as a reservoir of skilled labor for the Ethiopian Emperor. This is the case, for example, of the

[74] A. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, 1901, p. 416.

[75] R. Ahroni, "The Jews of the British Crown Colony of Aden", 1994, p. 45.

"*cheminots indiens*" who went to Ethiopia upon hearing that the railway company working on the line between Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa (1904–1917) was hiring; these recruits are mentioned in the archives of the company.[76] Other accounts[77] mention Indians working on contracts for Indian builders settled in Ethiopia and in charge of Menelik's construction works, but it is not always clear whether they were recruited from Bombay or Aden (both likely happened). It is thus difficult to estimate to what extent the many Indian craftsmen and workers who entered Ethiopia—temporarily or not—had migrated from Aden. Fortunately, interviews conducted with merchant families were more successful to help understand the role of Aden in bringing business practices and culture to Ethiopia.

Business practices & culture of the large trading companies

As much as builders and craftsmen, merchants contributed to the making of a shared space between Aden and the Horn of Africa. The image of the petty Indian trader who barely survived in order to rise above competition, typical of the early-20th-century Western literature, ignored the large contribution that major merchants made to the Ethiopian economy. Alongside the architecture of the residence-store, Indian merchants brought (with other foreign merchants) new commercial institutions such as import-export businesses and general stores, as well as the culture of the large trading companies operating between India, Jeddah, Muscat, and Aden. These institutions definitively incorporated Ethiopia within the Red Sea and Indian Ocean mercantile economy.

From the mid 19th century, as the port of entry for new migrants from Bombay, Aden was certainly a place of apprenticeship for future merchants. This was the case of Mohamedally Shaikh Sharafaly, born around 1860 in Sidhpur, Gujarat, whose trajectory took him to Aden for ten years before setting up his own business in Ethiopia. In a letter dated 17 May 1940 and written in Bombay, Sharafaly provides precious information about his beginnings to his partners; he wrote:

> In about 1885 when I was about 25 years old I left India for North Africa in search of fortune. Fortunately, I was able to secure employment with the well-known firm of Menahem Messa then carrying on business at Aden, Abyssinia and Somaliland and I remained in their employ for about 10 years. During that period... I acquired considerable business knowledge and experience. I also learned the local dialects and came in close contacts with the local residents.

Messa's company was surely the perfect place to get acquainted with the import-export business and to build the necessary networks to operate in the Red Sea system. It is thus tempting to imagine that during these years in Aden the young

[76] Pr. Shiferaw Bekele, personal communication, Addis Ababa, 16/12/2016.

[77] R.K.P. Pankhurst, "The role of Indian craftsmen", 1995, p. 17; H. Le Roux, *Chez la Reine de Saba*, 1914, pp. 106–107.

Sharafaly was inspired by the company's founder: Menahem Messa had humble origins, maintained ties with the British Government in Aden as a government supplier, opened multiple branches of business, and was a strong community leader, which corresponds to M. Shaikh Sharafaly's story.[78] Sharafaly was sent to Harar to replace the retiring company manager. At that time, all large trading companies with headquarters in Aden had branches in Harar, still the commercial center of the Abyssinian Empire. A few years later, Sharafaly, who is today considered the most important historical figure of the Dawoodi Bohra community, set up what was to become the largest commercial outfit in Ethiopia in the 1930s, G.M. Mohamedally & Co. After founding his own business in Harar, in partnership with five other Dawoodi Bohras, he moved to Addis Ababa as the capital was emerging as the new commercial hub of the Empire.

On a grand scale, this trajectory is exemplary in several ways. First, it echoes a number of interviews I conducted with descendants of traders who left India in the first part of the 20th century and spent a few formative years working in large trading companies in Aden. Some were later sent out of Aden to be a branch manager or accountant in another country. The more adventurous would start trans-local trading companies operating in the Horn of Africa. The story of M. Metha's grand-father[79] shows that trans-locality of business was carried out by smaller companies as well: He had arrived in Aden from Jamnagar, opened his first shop in Aden, then branches in Jijiga, Harar, and Zeila before his premature death. At the second generation, some time after Indian Independence, his sons went directly from India to Ethiopia where they started a business in Dire Dawa at a time when Aden was no longer a stopover for new migrants. In his study of early Ethiopian capitalism, Charles Schaefer[80] too evokes the testimony of an Indian businessman saying that his father spent his first year in Aden as an apprentice in his uncle's import business before setting off to Ethiopia to launch his own commercial company. This family company maintained relations between Bombay, where the grandfather was based, Aden, and Ethiopia.

From the early years, all the large trading companies had multiple locations, through which they sustained ongoing exchanges with Aden. In 1915, "The principal commercial houses in Aden had agents in the most important towns of Abyssinia… This has been a most lucrative business for a few firms" according to a U.S. Commerce Report of the same year.[81] At the same time, most trading companies present in Ethiopia had their headquarters, a branch, or an agent in Aden. Used here as documentary evidence, advertising pages posted by the large trading companies that operated in the area in the 20th century show their effective trans-locality [**Ill. 2**]. For more modest

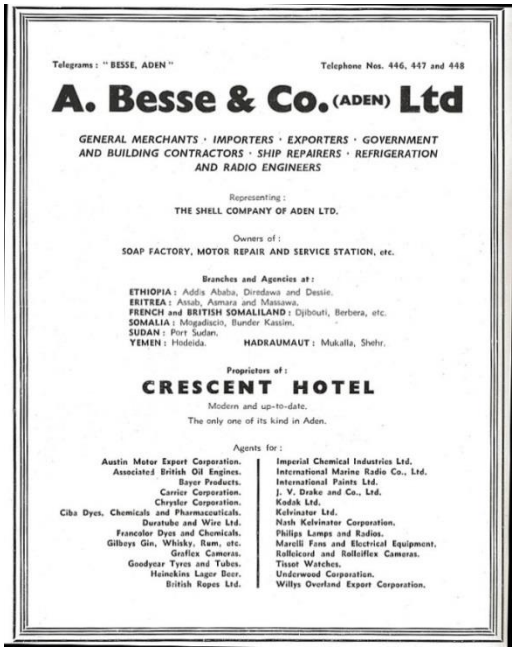
[78] R. Ahroni, "The Jews of the British Crown Colony of Aden", 1994, p. 47. For the history of G.M. Mohamedally & Co in Ethiopia, see D. Harre, "The Indian Firm", 2015.

[79] Oral interview with Makosh Metha, Addis Ababa 05/12/2016.

[80] Ch.G. Schaefer, *Enclavistic Capitalism*, 1990, p. 305.

[81] NARA, Annual Series No79b, June 1915, Abyssinia, p. 2.

firms, an agent in Aden would act as a branch, fulfilling the necessary intermediation with suppliers in India and Europe. In doing so, Indians were actually implementing a model adopted by all large businesses operating in the region during the Red Sea boom. The company founded by Antonin Besse is one illustration: in 1899 the Frenchman boarded a steamer to Aden to work for the coffee merchant Vianney Bardey & Co, where he stayed for a few years as a clerk before setting up his own company.[82] In 1950, A. Besse & Co. Ltd was based in Aden with branches in Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia, and Yemen. Besse's company was important for Indians, who formed the bulk of its managers, accountants, and clerks, something often mentioned by my Indian interlocutors. On the other hand, Indian employees were actually instrumental in the survival of the A. Besse & Co firm during the 1920s depression, as their skills and connections to Aden allowed the Addis Ababa branch to get credit from Indian firms.[83]



Ill. 3. Advertising posted in: Port of Aden, Annual Report 1951–1952.

The management of these trans-local companies spread out in several countries generated intense flows of communication through telegraphs and letters—services provided early on under the care of Menelik,[84] and the circulation of people, although evidences of these exchanges are difficult to trace today. On the human side, there was a large movement of firms' managers between Aden and the trading cities in the Horn

[82] D. Footman, *Antonin Besse of Aden*, 1986, pp. 11-18.

[83] Ch.G. Schaefer, *Enclavistic Capitalism*, 1990, p. 305.

[84] P. Garretson, *A history of Addis Abäba*, 2000, Chap. 2.

of Africa. The famous French poet Arthur Rimbaud, who went back and forth between Aden and Harar for Vianney Bardey & Co in the 1880s, was one of them. Half a century later, in a rare contemporary testimony, one of Mohamedally & Co's directors declared having spent forty years of his life traveling between Aden, Djibouti, and Ethiopia to oversee the various branches of the firm.[85] What is known about the consortium of firms that formed Mohamedally & Co suggests that the company based in Bombay after 1905 had a "Horn of Africa" section managed from Aden.[86] In a similar vein, one of my interlocutors in Addis Ababa recalled that during the length of his career at the firm of A. Besse & Co in the 1950s, his brother worked at the Aden headquarters, then at the Addis Ababa and Asmara branches. Settled himself in Aden with his parents, he joined his brother in Addis Ababa to form a family partnership in the 1960s.[87]

As much as employees, individual owners and firm partners also moved around to run their businesses. In the case of the J.J. Kothari firm introduced above, the spatial expansion of the business was realized in the first generation. From the original location in Aden, the founders opened a branch first in Djibouti, then moved to Addis Ababa, Hargeisa, and Jijiga. Kothari travelled a lot between these branches to supervise the business, as did other family members involved in the firm, and lived in all of the above-mentioned cities, sometimes with his family. At the next generation, his son was based both in Addis Ababa and Djibouti to oversee the business.[88] Similar dynamics were at work in the management of the large Dawoodi Bohra partnerships that contributed greatly to introduce the culture of the multi-branch firms. According to the head of the Bohra community in Addis Ababa, partners would not reside permanently in Addis Ababa with their families, but usually took turns coming from India or Aden for a period of two years to run the Addis Ababa office. An assistant manager, who was usually Indian but not necessarily Bohra, would stay permanently in Addis Ababa, with accommodations provided by the company.[89]

V. Conclusion: Fragmented diasporas?

This rapid look at exchanges and mobility between Yemen and Ethiopia illustrates some of the close ties that Indian communities settled in Ethiopia had maintained for a few decades with Aden. At the turn of the 20th century, the new Ethiopian capital was the last East African city to develop as an inland emporium, linked to the coastal networks and oriented towards the import-export commerce that connected Ethiopia with Yemen, Europe, and India. Although much weaker today these practices were important in the first part of the 20th century. These long-term transnational practices

[85] National Archives of the United Kingdom, Public Records – Foreign Office 371/251.

[86] D. Harre, "The Indian Firm", 2015, p. 287.

[87] Oral interview with Shanti T. Gopani, Addis Ababa, 20/07/2015.

[88] Oral interview with Harishbai R. Kothari, Rajkot, 28/12/2016.

[89] Oral interview with Husein H. Sardharwala, Addis Ababa, 10/12/2016.

had several dimensions. For a number of traders, builders, and craftsmen, Aden was the first stage of a phased migration that eventually took them to Harar, Addis Ababa, and provincial Ethiopian cities. Many of them brought to Ethiopia technical and commercial skills that were instrumental to the country's early development and architecture. Circulation and mobility were both cultural and commercial. Activities of family businesses and trading companies involved on-going communications and travels as they had either their headquarters or a branch in Aden.

Such interactions were nonetheless never restricted to the Ethiopia-Aden axis. Indeed trans-localities and the space of exchanges created have to be considered within the larger geographical spectrum of the Horn of Africa. Although not a subject developed in this article, my research on Indian communities in Ethiopia found that the range of exchanges at work also connected Ethiopia with Djibouti, Hargeisa, Massawa, and Asmara, especially in the business area. In the early 20th century, Hargeisa and Massawa were also initial settlement locations for Indian migrants disembarked from Aden, who would later or at the next generation settle in Jijiga or Dire Dawa, in Ethiopia. Connections between Djibouti and Addis Ababa were straight forward thanks to the train. Relations with Eritrea intensified when the country was federated with Ethiopia in 1950. It should be added that Armenian, Greek, and large European companies such as A. Besse & Co. also operated within a similar geographic span. The existence of an active "Horn of Africa space of exchanges" documented in this article substantiates J. Miran's argument that the Red Sea was not only a transit space, a sea connecting the Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean, but also a regional sphere of its own that included Arabian ports and coastal cities.[90] The evidence I gathered so far suggests this was largely due to the expansion of the Ethiopian market and the development of Addis Ababa in the early 20th century.

Second, and maybe curiously at first thought, the Horn of Africa linked to Aden formed an exclusive space of trans-localities. It seems that Indians who lived and circulated between Aden, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, and Eritrea formed a group different from Indians settled in the former British colonies of East Africa, this despite the common Gujarati origin of many of them. The geography of business up to the 1970s reveals that large trading companies operating in the Horn of Africa never developed in East Africa. Interviews with Indians from Ethiopia regarding marriages, business organization, religious links, and other cultural interactions confirmed the lack of relations with their fellow communities settled in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, or South Africa.[91] This important point was also made in conversations I had with long-term Indi-

[90] J. Miran, "Mapping Spaces", 2014, p. 202.

[91] To reinforce my observations, it seems that a similar spatial fragmentation applies to Massawa in the 20th century, as Erik Gilbert ("Book Review", 2011, p. 637) appropriately observes in his review of Miran's 2009 book: "Miran's book is full of examples of Sufi brotherhoods, family connections, and trade routes that link Massawa to the Mediterranean and to Southwest and South Asian parts of the Indian Ocean, but there is hardly a mention of any such linkages with the Swahili world".

an residents of Djibouti and Zanzibar in 2014. Even if Indians formed diasporas in the Horn of Africa—a vision that should be discussed—the high probability of "spatially fragmented diasporas" should then be seriously considered. Only in recent years have several Indian businessmen arrived from Kenya, but they are newcomers who do not belong to the old Indian community in Ethiopia. Their presence is part of new trends, such as the globalization of business, mainly manufacturing, and the southward orientation of the Ethiopian economy towards East Africa. Finally, the "space for exchanges" in the Horn of Africa seems to have been channeled through Aden, obviously because of the transportation and communication system and its direct relations with Europe and Asia. The question of Aden's "centrality" should thus be explored for the diasporic groups established in East Africa as well.

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Mr. Mahindra K. Modha, Addis Ababa, 14/12/2016.

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Mr. Harilal Shah, Addis Ababa, 26/10/2015.

Mr. Makosh Metha, Addis Ababa, 05/12/2016.

Mr. Harishbai R. Kothari, Rajkot, Gujurat, 28/12/2016.

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NOTES ON MIGRATION BETWEEN YEMEN AND NORTHEAST AFRICA DURING THE 13–15TH CENTURIES[1]

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Abstract

While historical materials on migration between Yemen and Northeast Africa are limited, the Rasūlid corpus includes several relevant passages. The corpus demonstrates that various types of people such as slaves, scholars, exiles, and even members of the Rasūlid elite, came and went between these two regions during the 13–15th centuries for a number of reasons. Some specifically intended to move to Yemen, while others could no longer remain there, and so migrated to Northeast Africa. The Gulf of Aden enabled ordinary people to move moderately between Yemen and Northeast Africa, although the records do not indicate more intense or sustained contacts. The picture of moderate migration drawn here is an important regional piece of the larger history of the Western Indian Ocean, which is known for facilitating more distant and dynamic maritime movements.

Résumé

Alors que le matériel sur les migrations entre Yémen et Afrique du Nord-Est est limité, le corpus rasūlide inclut de nombreux passages pertinents. Le corpus démontre des allées et venues entre les deux régions durant les xiii^e^ et xv^e^ s. de la part de nombreux types de population, tels qu'esclaves, savants, exilés, et même des membres de l'élite rasūlide, motivées par de nombreuses raisons. Certains avaient l'intention de s'installer spécifiquement au Yémen, tandis que d'autres, qui ne pouvaient y rester plus longtemps, migrèrent vers l'Afrique du Nord. Si le Golfe d'Aden permit à des personnes ordinaires de se déplacer entre le Yémen et l'Afrique du Nord, le flux demeura modéré et ces personnes ne semblent pas avoir noué de contacts intenses ou durables. Le tableau de ces mouvements de moyenne ampleur tracé ici est une part importante de l'histoire plus large de l'océan Indien Occidental, connu pour faciliter des déplacements maritimes dans des directions variées sur des distances plus considérables.

خلاصة

في حين أن المعلومات عن الهجرة بين اليمن وشمال شرق إفريقيا محدودة في الكتب التأريخية، فإن مجموعة بني رسول تشتمل على العديد من النصوص ذات الصلة بهذا الموضوع. ويوضح هذا المجموع الدليل على أن أنواعا مختلفة من الناس مثل العبيد، والعلماء، والمنفيين، وأعضاء النخبة الرسولية، تنقلوا بين هاتين المنطقتين خلال القرون 13 – 15 لأسباب عديدة. جعلت بعض الأشخاص ينتقلون إلى اليمن، بينما أرغمت الظروف بعض اليمنيين على الهجرة إلى شمال شرق إفريقيا، وأتاح خليج عدن للناس العاديين فرصة التحرك بشكل منتظم بين اليمن وشمال شرق إفريقيا، على الرغم من أن

[1] This work is based on an article published originally in Japanese with many revisions and augmentation (T. Baba, "Eastern Africa", 2017). This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 15H06464.

السجلات لا تشير إلى اتصالات أكثر عمقا واستمرارية. وصورة الهجرة المنتظمة التي تم رسمها هنا هي جزء إقليمي مهم من التأريخ الأوسع لمنطقة المحيط الهندي الغربي، المعروف بتيسير حركات بحرية أكثر ديناميكية.

Keywords

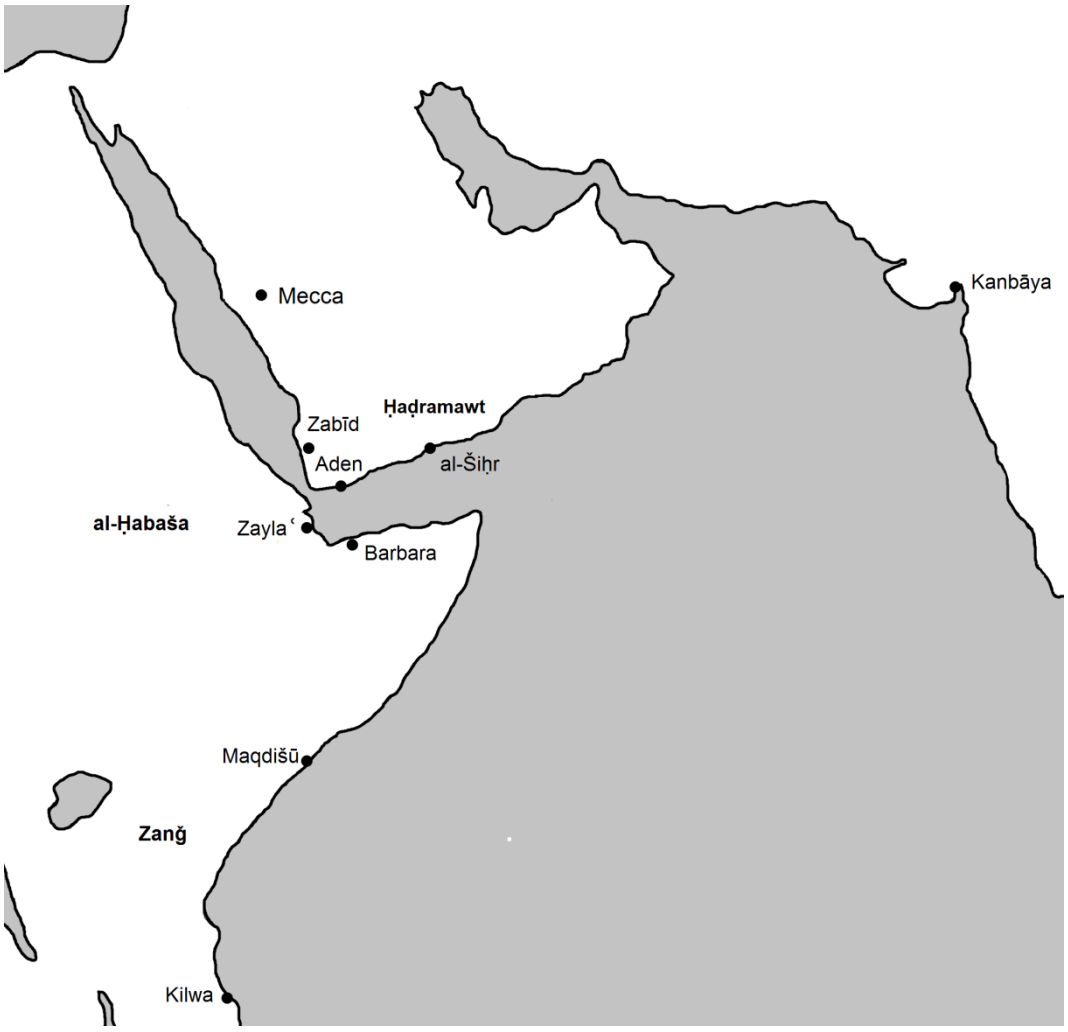
migration, Yemen, Northeast Africa, Western Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden, the Rasūlids, Aden, Zaylaʿ, al-Ḥabaša

Mots-clés

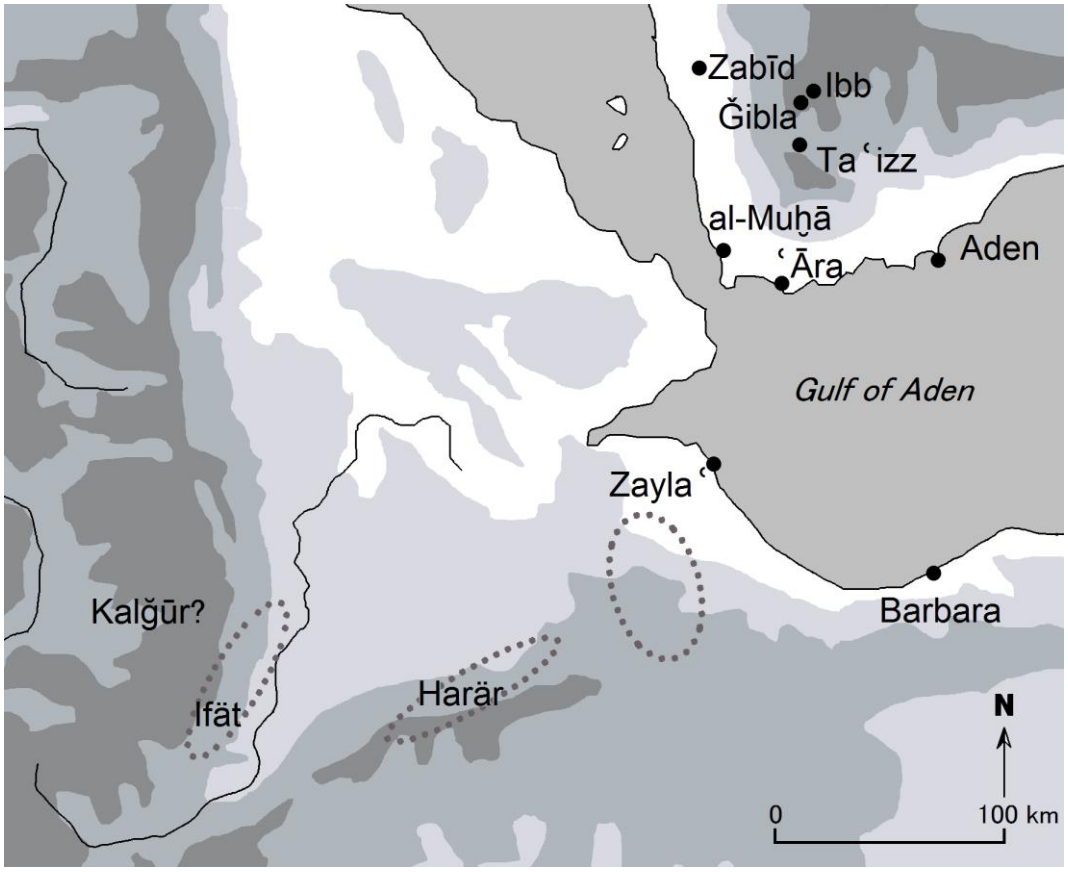
migration, Yémen, Afrique du Nord-Est, océan Indien Occidental, Golfe d'Aden, Rasūlides, Aden, Zaylaʿ, al-Ḥabaša

تعبيرات رئيسية

الهجرة، اليمن، شمال شرق إفريقيا، المحيط الهندي الغربي، خليج عدن، بنو رسول، عدن، زيلع، الحبشة



Map 1. Arabian Peninsula, Eastern Africa, and the Indian Ocean.



Map 2. Yemen and al-Ḥabaša (Based on T. Tamrat, "Ethiopia", 1977, pp. 99, 141; É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, p. 752).

I. Introduction

The Western Indian Ocean was a stage for various maritime and mobile actors from the Mediterranean, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, East Africa, the Persian Gulf, and India since antiquity. People went across the sea with their family, property, products, money, information and so on to migrate, trade, study and travel.[2] The history in this unique area has been studied well in recent years, and the diversity of dynamic movements of people has been clarified, particularly for later periods.[3]

Yet, more specific sub-regions in the Western Indian Ocean, which might represent distinct aspects of migration, remain to be studied. For example, the modern-day Gulf of Aden, across which people migrated between Yemen and Northeast Africa since ancient times, also constitutes a sector of Western Indian Ocean history. It is

[2] For an outline of Indian Ocean history, see E.A. Alpers, *The Indian Ocean in World History*, 2013.

[3] F.A. Bishara, *A Sea of Debt*, 2017; H. Suzuki (ed.), *Slave Trade Profiteers in the Western Indian Ocean*, 2017; N. Um, *Shipped but Not Sold*, 2017; D. Harre, "Exchanges and Mobility in the Western Indian Ocean", 2017.

well known that the Kingdom of Aksum (100–940), centered in al-Ḥabaša,[4] sent troops to Yemen and established rule there for a short period in the 6th century. The Naǧāhids (412/1022–553/1158) in Zabīd were slaves, with origins from al-Ḥabaša. As evidenced by tariffs on goods entering the port of Aden during the 12th–15th centuries, slaves from Northeast Africa, including al-Ḥabaša and Zanǧ (a region on the East African Coast), were brought into Yemen and traded there.[5]

With the exception of slaves and the military-political groups mentioned above, the movement of individuals from Northeast Africa to Yemen in the Middle Ages has not been fully considered. Furthermore, there is little research on the migration of individuals from Yemen to Northeast Africa. While historians Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿĀl Aḥmad and Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-Fīfī discussed the political relationships between Yemen and Northeast Africa and mentioned exiles and envoys,[6] and Éric Vallet outlined the commerce in al-Ḥabaša, Zaylaʿ (a port in modern-day Somalia), and the port of Aden in the Rasūlid era,[7] they did not address the movement of ordinary people in the Gulf of Aden. One reason for this lack of information is that few historical materials exist; the scant relevant passages that do pertain to this migration are scattered, making them difficult to analyze.

However, a relatively large number of Arabic texts was written shortly before, during, or after the Rasūlid period (626/1229–858/1454). This "Rasūlid corpus," which includes chronicles, biographies, and administrative documents relating to the Rasūlid dynasty,[8] incorporates several passages on the movement of people during this period. According to Vallet, the rapid increase of information on Northeast Africa during the latter half of the 14th century indicates that the exchange between Yemen and Northeast Africa became more active at this time.[9] Therefore, a study based on the Rasūlid

[4] The medieval Arabic geographical term "al-Ḥabaša" covers the wide region from the Indian Ocean to the desert separating it from Egypt. While its exact range is vague, al-Ḥabaša can include modern-day Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia. See C.F. Beckingham, "Ḥabash, Ḥabasha: iii. — Al-Ḥabash in Muslim Geographical Works", *EI²*.

[5] T. Baba, *Court Food*, 2017, pp. 151–188. The latest paper by Maria Bulakh suggests that the informants of so-called "Arabic Ethiopic Glossary" which was initiated by the Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās (r. 764/1363-776/1377) were several slaves of different ethnic backgrounds from southern Ethiopia (M. Bulakh, "Al-Malik al-Afḍal's 14th-Century 'Arabic Ethiopic Glossary'", 2017).

[6] M.ʿA. Aḥmad, *Banū Rasūl wa-Banū Ṭāhir*, 1980, pp. 440–443; M.Y. al-Fīfī, *Al-dawla al-rasūliyya fī al-Yaman*, 2005, pp. 175–180.

[7] É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, pp. 400–424, 557–561. Vallet introduced a merchant from Ḥadramawt settled in Kalǧūr in al-Ḥabaša and a eunuch from Northeast Africa who worked as an agent of this merchant (É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, p. 414; al-Ǧanadī, *Al-sulūk*, 1993–1995, vol. 2, pp. 422–423).

[8] É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, pp. 69–112.

[9] While Vallet studied merchants who moved between these two regions under the Rasūlids, he mentioned that only a few traveled from Yemen to Eastern Africa. É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, p. 407.

corpus can highlight undocumented aspects about the nature of migration across the Gulf of Aden during this period.

The purpose of this paper is to introduce several passages of the Rasūlid corpus that focus on individuals, primarily Muslims or converted Muslims, moving between Yemen and Northeast Africa and to use those passages to show the process and circumstances of migration in the Gulf of Aden. Although it is impossible to measure the number of individuals who moved between Yemen and Northeast Africa, and the frequency with which they traveled, this paper demonstrates that various types of people, for a number of reasons, crossed the Gulf of Aden during the 13–15th centuries, both voluntarily and under political pressure. This study contributes to understanding the movements of people in this part of the Western Indian Ocean in the Middle Ages using some specific samples.

II. The sources

In this paper, twelve Arabic sources from the Rasūlid corpus are used, as listed below.[10] Specific bibliographical information can be found at the end of the paper.

[10] The bibliographical information of the Rasūlid corpus is compiled in A.F. Sayyid, *Maṣādir ta'rīḫ al-Yaman*, 1974, pp. 136–141, 148, 150–151, 158, 162, 178–180, 186–187, 200–208, 246–249; É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, pp. 24–33, 69–112; T. Baba, *Court Food*, 2017, pp. 193–231. In addition to the sources mentioned in the text, the following biographies on Yemeni people might include relevant passages, but require further study:

- Al-Wuṭyūṭ (d. 801/1398–1399), *Kitāb Ta'rīḫ al-muʿallim Wuṭyūṭ*
  This biography deals with scholars in Wādī Sihām (the *wādī* that runs from the mountain near Sanaa to al-Ḥudayda nowadays) mainly and most of them are Sufis.
- Ibn al-Ahdal (d. 855/1451), *Tuḥfat al-zamān fī ta'rīḫ al-Yaman*
  Tuḥfat al-zamān includes virtuous people of Yemen during the 11th–15th centuries. He added new information to the previous works by al-Ǧanadī and al-Ḫazrağī.

The works listed below are also important sources for the Rasūlid period even though they do not provide information for the current paper:

- Idrīs al-Ḥamzī (d. 714/1314), *Kanz al-aḫyār fī maʿrifat al-siyar wa-al-aḫbār*
  In this work, the author compressed the chronicle *Al-kāmil fī al-ta'rīḫ* by Ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 633/1233) and added the history of Iraq, Egypt and Syria up to 713/1314 and the history of Yemen until 714/1314.
- Ibn ʿAbd al-Mağīd (d. 743/1343), *Bahğat al-zaman fī ta'rīḫ al-Yaman*
  This Rasūlid chronicle spans the Jahiliyya to 724/1324. The author served the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad.
- Al-Wuṣābī (d. 782/1380–1381), *Ta'rīḫ Wuṣāb*
  This biography deals with famous people who were from Wuṣāb, the mountainous region between Zabīd and Ḍamār.

Nūr al-maʿārif fī nuẓum wa-qawānīn wa-aʿrāf al-Yaman fī al-ʿahd al-muẓaffarī al-wārif

Nūr al-maʿārif is the corpus of certain Rasūlid administrative documents, dealing with matters such as products of Yemen, tariffs of the port of Aden, requisitions for court food and so on. The authors and the editors are unknown. This text was edited after the reign of the second sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (r. 647/1250–694/1295).

Ibn Ḥātim (d. after 702/1302), *Kitāb al-simṭ al-ġālī al-ṯaman fī aḫbār al-mulūk min al-ġuzz bi-al-Yaman*

The author, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, belonged to the Banū Ḥātim in South Arabia. As the author worked under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, he described detailed information about his reign in *Kitāb al-simṭ*. This text is a chronicle from 569/1173 (the Ayyūbid invasion of Yemen) to 694/1295 (the death of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar).

Irtifāʿ al-dawla al-muʾayyadiyya: Ǧibāyat bilād al-Yaman fī ʿahd al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Dāwūd b. Yūsuf al-Rasūlī al-mutawaffī sanat 721 h./1321 m.

Irtifāʿ is also a corpus of Rasūlid administrative records including tax documents from Yemen and geographical maps. While *Irtifāʿ* includes information from the reign of previous sultans, this text was edited in the reign of the fourth sultan al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Dāwūd (r. 696/1296–721/1321).

Al-Ǧanadī (d. 732/1332), *Al-sulūk fī ṭabaqāt al-ʿulamāʾ wa-al-mulūk*

Al-Ǧanadī was born in al-Ǧanad in the southern mountainous region in Yemen. *Al-sulūk* includes a biography of scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) and a political chronicle from the age of the Prophet Muḥammad to 730/1330. Many later historians such as al-Ḫazrağī and al-Burayhī quoted this text.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1368–9), *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*

The author is a famous North African traveller. After he visited Mecca, he went to Jeddah, al-Sawākin (a port in Sūdān), Ḥaly b. Yaʿqūb (a port between Mecca and Yemen), and al-Ahwāb (an outer port for Zabīd) by ship. Then, in 731/1331, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa landed and visited Zabīd, Ġassāna, Ǧibla, Taʿizz where he met the Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Muǧāhid ʿAlī (r. 721/1321–722/1322, 722/1322–778/1377), Sanaa, and Aden. He enjoyed several scholars' favors in Yemen.

Al-Afḍal (d. 778/1377), *Kitāb al-ʿaṭāyā al-sanniyya wa-al-mawāhib al-haniyya fī al-manāqib al-Yamaniyya*

This biography includes 972 people, such as scholars, jurists (sg. *faqīh*) and amīrs in Yemen from the age of the Prophet Muḥammad to 770/1368. The author is the Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās (r. 764/1363–778/1377).

Al-Ḫazrağī (d. 812/1410), *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya fī taʾrīḫ al-dawla al-rasūliyya*

This chronicle starts from the arrival of the Rasūlids in Yemen to 803/1400 (the death of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ašraf Ismāʿīl II (r. 778/1377–803/1400) with biographical information about famous people in Yemen listed by their death years. Other biographies and chronicles by the same author, such as *Ṭirāz aʿlām*

al-zaman fī ṭabaqāt aʿyān al-Yaman, *Al-ʿiqd al-fāḫir al-ḥasan fī ṭabaqāt akābir ahl al-Yaman*, and *Al-asǧad al-masbūk fī man waliya al-Yaman min al-mulūk,* are also important texts.

Al-Burayhī (d. 904/1499), *Ṭabaqāt ṣulaḥāʾ al-Yaman*

The author, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Burayhī, is a Yemeni scholar. He wrote this biography of Yemeni scholars, divided by region, in 867/1462-1463. He added new information based on texts, such as *Al-sulūk* by al-Ǧanadī and *Al-ʿuqūd* by al-Ḫazrağī.

Taʾrīḫ al-Yaman fī al-dawla al-rasūliyya

This chronicle, written by an anonymous author, starts in 439/1047–1048 and ends in 840/1436. The author might have lived during the reigns of al-Malik al-Ašraf II and al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Yaḥyā (r. 831/1428–842/1439), and served as al-Malik al-Ẓāhir's secretary (*kātib*).

Ibn al-Daybaʿ (d. 944/1537), *Buġyat al-mustafīd fī taʾrīḫ madīnat Zabīd*

Ibn al-Daybaʿ served the Tāhirids (858/1454–923/1517) and wrote some chronicles for them, though his texts also include unique information about the Rasūlid era. *Buġyat al-mustafīd* is a Zabīd chronicle from the age of the Prophet Muḥammad to 901/1495–1496. He also wrote *Al-faḍl al-mazīd ʿalā buġyat al-mustafīd fī aḫbār madīnat Zabīd*, the supplement of *Buġyat al-mustafīd,* and *Kitāb qurrat al-ʿuyūn fī aḫbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, the chronicle that spans early Islamic history to 923/1517. The author lived in Zabīd and witnessed the invasion by the army of the Mamluk Sultanate (648/1250–923/1517) and the collapse of the Tāhirids.

Bā Maḫrama (d. 947/1540), *Taʾrīḫ ṯaġr ʿAdan*

The author Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib, who worked as a jurist and a judge (*qāḍī*), belonged to the famous scholar family, Bā Maḫrama, based in Ḥaḍramawt and Aden. This text includes a brief history of and geographical information about Aden, and a biography of scholars, rulers, merchants and so on. His unfinished bibliography *Qilādat al-naḥr fī wafayāt aʿyān al-dahr* is also helpful.

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 1100/1689), *Ġāyat al-amānī fī aḫbār al-quṭr al-Yamānī*

Ġāyat al-amānī is a Yemeni chronicle from the age of the Prophet Muḥammad to 1045/1635 by a Zaydī scholar. While the author quoted works of al-Ḫazrağī and Ibn al-Daybaʿ, he also included several unique pieces of information from Zaydī works that other Sunni authors did not refer to frequently.

As discussed in the next sections, information about migrants between Yemen and Northeastern Africa provided in these sources was limited in amount generally. The authors only left occasional passages. Even when they mentioned the migrants, migration was not the center of attention; the character or career of migrants as Islam-

ic scholars, and the process of the events were more important to them. The migration itself does not appear to have been worthy of note or important for the authors.

III. From Yemen to Northeast Africa

The Rasūlid corpus mentions several individuals who moved from Yemen to Northeast Africa. For example, Ibn Ḥātim, who belonged to the Banū Ḥātim near Sanaa and served the second Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, wrote:

> In 636/1238–1239, our lord al-Šahīd[11] ordered the raid of al-Šiḥr, which was under the control of the Iqbāl family at that time. He appointed Baryaq, son of al-Šihāb al-Ǧazarī, as governor (*wālī*), and al-Aṣbaḥī as commander of the stationed troops (*naqīb*). After they had been in al-Šiḥr for some time, the commander attacked and killed the governor, then took the city's revenue. After that, he escaped to Maqdišū (in modern-day Somalia).[12]

At that time, al-Šiḥr, in Hadramawt, was the second major trade port after Aden and an important source of income for the Rasūlids. Based on later Rasūlid administrative documents, which record the revenue of Yemen in the years 1293–1296, the Rasūlids made 669,095 dīnār from Aden and 70,897 dīnār from al-Šiḥr.[13]

The passage indicates that al-Aṣbaḥī left al-Šiḥr and went to Maqdišū. He chose the route connecting al-Šiḥr and Maqdišū, recorded in a separate passage of the Rasūlid corpus, although the route from al-Šiḥr to India was also in use in this era.[14] He may have established relationships in Maqdišū, or it may have been that environmental factors prevented him from traveling to India. When a ship travels from Yemen to India, it requires the southwest seasonal wind that blows from April to September. From October to March, the northeastern seasonal wind enables the ship to leave Yemen for Northeast Africa.[15] The voyage time and the winds are different for each region and each year in the Indian Ocean. Departure times are set according to these conditions. Either al-Aṣbaḥī attacked Baryaq around a time that a ship happened to depart al-Šiḥr for Maqdišū, or al-Aṣbaḥī timed the raid in accordance with these established sailing timetables.

Ibn Ḥātim also mentioned a man exiled by his lord al-Malik al-Muẓaffar:

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[11] The first Rasūlid sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿUmar (r. 626/1229–647/1250).

[12] Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb simṭ al-ġālī*, 1974, pp. 217–218.

[13] *Irtifāʿ*, 2008, pp. 112–122, 128–136; M.ʿA. Jazim, "Un manuscrit administratif et fiscal du Yémen rassoulide", 2013; É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, pp. 165–194, 239–254.

[14] *Irtifāʿ*, 2008, p. 128; D.M. Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture*, 1994, p. 128.

[15] R.E. Margariti, *Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade*, 2007, pp. 35–43, 228 n. 23; É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, p. 402; D.M. Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture*, 1994, pp. 24, 41–42, 111–117, 220–231.

> (Around 650/1252–1253) Sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar left the jobs of supervising the mamluks and the court to al-Alfī (. . .). Then, al-Alfī responded with a joke (*nukta*). Our lord Sultan became angry and expelled him to al-Ḥabaša.[16]

Based on other passages by Ibn Ḥātim, it can be confirmed that al-Alfī was a high-ranking eunuch (*ṭawāšī*). There were many eunuchs serving in the Rasūlid court, some of whom received considerable salaries. The majority are believed to have come from Northeast Africa.[17] Considering the comfortable lifestyle they led, it is surprising that one would put that at risk by making an unnecessary joke.

However, not all movements from Yemen to Northeast Africa were due to political exigency or exile; Sultan al-Malik al-Afḍal and the famed Rasūlid chronicler al-Ḫazraǧī discussed one voluntary migrant who sought a more suitable home across the Red Sea:

> In this year (652/1254–1255), the shaykh, imam, and Ḥanafī jurist, Abū al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. al-Ǧawn al-Aškʿar died (. . .). He was known as a person who despised bad deeds (*al-munkar*). When "the Saturday" (*al-subūt*) was held in Zabīd and bad deeds happened, he left for al-Ḥabaša. He lived in the village called Rūn until he died in the year mentioned above.[18]

"The Saturday" that the author refers to is the festival held during the harvest of the date palm.[19] Men and women of all ages dressed up, went to the seaside mosque, drank, and went into the sea, all while acting silly, in a manner considered non-Islamic. Apparently, the pious Abū al-Rabīʿ was unable to tolerate such un-Islamic acts, and so he crossed the Gulf of Aden in search of a new home. It is not known why he chose al-Ḥabaša, however, he may have known someone there, or it may have been because al-Ḥabaša is relatively close to Yemen, particularly via the Tihāma coast, where he resided.

In another instance of voluntary mobility, the chronicler of Yemen's religious class al-Burayhī referenced a shaykh who wandered around Yemen and Northeast Africa:

> The shaykh Ṣārim al-Dīn Dāwūd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Muṣannaf is the one who died at al-Mušayraq, east of the Ḥadad citadel in Miḫrāf Ǧaʿfar (. . .). He was born in Ibb. (. . .) He learned Sufism in Mecca and went back to Ibb (. . .). After that, he left for al-Ḥabaša.

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[16] Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb simṭ al-ġālī*, 1974, p. 301.

[17] T. Baba, *Court Food*, 2017, pp. 173–176.

[18] Al-Afḍal, *Kitāb al-ʿaṭāyā al-sanniyya*, 2004, p. 3413; al-Ḫazraǧī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 1983 (1911–1914), vol. 1, p. 112.

[19] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travel Book*, transl. by H. Yajima, 1996–2002, vol. 3, p. 204 n. 43. See also Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ġāyat al-amānī*, 1968, p. 494.

> The slave of Allāh eats trees and drinks water (from trees) at the famous island there. Then, he went back to his hometown. (. . .) He died in 835/1431–1432.[20]

Like Abū al-Rabīʿ, it appears that Ṣārim al-Dīn migrated of his own volition. While Abū al-Rabīʿ chose to remain in al-Ḥabaša, for Ṣārim al-Dīn, the region, despite the indication that he viewed his time there favorably, was just one of a number of stops.

Šams al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Šāḏilī al-Quršī, the famous fifteenth-century saint (*wālī*) of al-Muḫā and a Sufi of the Šāḏiliyya,[21] went to al-Ḥabaša via Egypt and then returned to Yemen. According to al-Burayḫī,[22] he first moved to Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem (al-Quds), and finally devoted himself to the Šāḏiliyya. After he stayed in Egypt for three years, the leader of the Šāḏiliyya at that time said to him:

> "Go to where your heart will be opened" and allowed him to leave. Then, ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Šāḏilī moved to al-Ḥabaša and stayed there. He married the sister of the shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn, who is a sultan of Yemen in al-Ḥabaša. Three boys were born there. He moved with them and went across the sea to al-Muḫā (a port on the southern Red Sea coast of Yemen).[23]

Although it is not entirely clear, Saʿd al-Dīn seems to be the last sultan of Walāsmaʿ in Ifāt in al-Ḥabaša (d. 817/1415). In al-Muḫā, ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Šāḏilī conducted various miracles (*karāmāt*) and most of the scholars in Yemen praised him and visited him to receive blessings until he died in 828/1424–1425. After death, his tomb attracted many pilgrims. The case of ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Šāḏilī should also be discussed within the story of the Muslim scholar's dynamic movements and Sufi activities in the Islamic world. On more general terms, it is interesting that a Yemeni scholar had a strong connection with the Sultan in al-Ḥabaša, came back to Yemen across the Gulf of Aden, and flourished as a Sufi in Yemen. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Šāḏilī is also credited as the founder of al-Muḫā who introduced coffee drinking in Yemen.[24]

Finally, the exile of the Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Masʿūd Abū al-Qāsim (r. 851/1451–858/1454) also involved travel from Yemen to Northeast Africa.[25] Due to internal strife plaguing the Rasūlids and a rebellion by the Ṭāhirid family, al-Malik al-Masʿūd was compelled to escape from Aden. From there, he traveled to ʿĀra (a port on the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula), Ḥaqra (a place in the Tihāma near al-

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[20] Al-Burayhī, *Ṭabaqāt ṣulaḥā' al-Yaman*, 1983, pp. 64–66.

[21] The Šāḏiliyya is one of the most important currents of Sufism founded by Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Šāḏilī (d. 656/1258) from Morocco. See P. Lory, "Shādhiliyya", *EI²*.

[22] Al-Burayhī, *Ṭabaqāt ṣulaḥā' al-Yaman*, 1983, pp. 264–270.

[23] Al-Burayhī, *Ṭabaqāt ṣulaḥā' al-Yaman*, 1983, p. 266.

[24] N. Um, *The Merchant Houses of Mocha*, 2009, pp. 101–102. His tomb and the al-Šāḏilī mosque still stood in al-Muḫā before the recent war, although the al-Šāḏilī gate and wells are no longer present.

[25] H. Yajima, *The Civilization Created by the Ocean*, 1993, pp. 223–241. For more information about Yajima's works, see T. Baba, "Publications in Japanese Language on Yemen History", 2014, pp. 56–57.

Muḫā), al-Muḫā, Zaylaʿ and Barbara (a port located to the east of Zaylaʿ). Others who resisted the Ṭāhirid family had been forced to flee from Yemen to Zaylaʿ and Barbara, as well. The ruined sultan al-Malik al-Masʿūd met them there, and then went south to Kilwa (on the Swahili Coast in modern-day Tanzania) seeking support, due to the friendly relationship between the Rasūlids and Kilwa; however, he found little support in the city. Eventually he moved across the Arabian Sea to Kanbāya (Cambay) in India.

Whether forced or not, some of those mentioned above who went to Northeast Africa from Yemen did so because circumstances had made it nearly impossible to stay, although the religious scholar Ṣārim al-Dīn chose to move between the two sites and ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Šāḏilī finally came back to Yemen. As most of the authors of the Rasūlid corpus did not go to Northeast Africa or did not remain there for long, it is not clear what became of the migrants in their new world. The Rasūlids occasionally exerted limited political and military influence on Northeast Africa beyond the Gulf of Aden. For example, the Rasūlids planned to send military expeditions to Zaylaʿ in 673/1274 and Dahlaq Island in 750/1349, while Amīn al-Dīn Aḥyaf temporarily controlled certain cities, such as Zaylaʿ, from Zabīd.[26] Yet, this influence was limited to coastal towns, and was not long-term, continuous, or wide-reaching in scope.

IV. From Northeast Africa to Yemen

During the 13–15th centuries, the slave trade between Northeast Africa and Yemen increased, and slaves were sent to al-Ṯaʿbāt near Taʿizz via Aden.[27] According to the records of the port of Aden, several types of people came to Yemen from Northeast Africa as slaves, including male slaves (*ʿabd*), female slaves (*ǧāriya*), and eunuchs (*ḫādim*). They belonged to individuals, tribes and the Rasūlids, and often worked as domestic servants, although some could reach quite high-ranking positions, such as the high eunuch al-Alfī mentioned above. In addition, certain slaves were singled out for their fine character. For example, the historian Bā Maḫrama explained that a male slave, Rayḥān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAdanī, had been an excellent man, famous for his virtue.[28] It seems that he had also come from Northeast Africa and arrived at Aden, even if the author does not say so specifically.

In addition to slaves, the authors wrote about Northeast African natives who were considered scholars, and who were active in communities in Yemen. Al-Ḫazraǧī highlighted details of one such scholar, with the *nisba*[29] al-Zaylaʿī.

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[26] Al-Afḍal, *Kitāb al-ʿaṭāyā al-sanniyya*, 2004, p. 405; al-Ḫazraǧī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 1983 (1911–1914), vol. 2, p. 128; Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, *Al-rawḍ al-zāhir*, 1976, p. 431; É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, pp. 416–424.

[27] *Nūr al-maʿārif*, 2003–2005, vol. 1, pp. 362–366; É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, p. 415.

[28] Bā Maḫrama, *Taʾrīḫ ṭaġr ʿAdan*, 1991, vol. 2, p. 78.

[29] In Arabic, a *nisba* can indicate a person's ancestry, place of origin, or place where he or she lived; here it is likely that "al-Zaylaʿī" demonstrates that Abū al-Ḥasan al-Zaylaʿī had a connection with Zaylaʿ.

> In 729/1329, the jurist and pious man, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Zaylaʿī al-ʿUqaylī died. Al-ʿUqaylī originates from ʿUqayl b. Abī Ṭālib, who was the lord of the village of Salāma in Wādī Naḫla (this *wādī* runs from the north of Taʿizz to near al-Ḥūḫa on the Red Sea). The family was originally from the village of Biṭṭa in al-Ḥabaša. Therefore, they are called the al-Zaylaʿī family. The first to arrive at Salāma was Muḥammad, the grandfather. He married there and Abū Bakr was born. Abū Bakr married a woman from the al-ʿUqayl family and Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī and his brothers were born. They are a family (*bayt*) that exhibits fairness and knowledge. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī was a pious jurist and had served many foods. Like his father, he made the pilgrimage many times. In the end of Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa in the above-mentioned year, he died in Mecca.[30]

Although the *nisba*s of many figures that appear in the historical records could reveal the geographic origins of their families, this account is notable because it actually locates these movements historically and shows that a Muslim from al-Ḥabaša could become integrated into Yemeni society and, within a generation or two, join the celebrated class of Yemeni jurists.

In 731/1331, the famous North African traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who was guided by Abū al-Walīd, stated that he met Abū al-Ḥasan al-Zaylaʿī mentioned above in Ǧibla, Yemen:

> Then, we arrived in Ǧibla. This small but beautiful town has date palms and fruits, several rivers. When the jurist Abū al-Ḥasan al-Zaylaʿī knew that Abū al-Walīd had arrived, he welcomed him warmly, and invited him into his lodge (*zāwiya*). I greeted the jurist with him. We spent three very pleasant days there.[31]

As Yajima mentioned, Abū al-Ḥasan had died before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa came to Yemen; therefore, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa must have met another person, perhaps one of his relations.[32] Those from Northeast Africa were integrating into Yemen society and prospering, while keeping their identity through the *nisba* al-Zaylaʿī.

Another scholar from Northeast Africa was also entered into the biographical record:

> In this year (741/1340–1341), the fair-minded jurist and imam, Abū al-ʿAtīq Abū Bakr b. Ǧibrīl b. Awsām al-ʿAdalī died. He was a jurist, and fair-minded, generous, well educated, pious, and exalted. His family (*ahluhu*) in Sūdān, is considered faithful, and often performs good deeds.[33]

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[30] Al-Ḫazrağī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 1983 (1911–1914), vol. 2, pp. 53–54.

[31] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 2, p. 107; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travel Book*, transl. by H. Yajima, 1996–2002, vol. 3, p. 128.

[32] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travel Book*, transl. by H. Yajima, 1996–2002, vol. 3, pp. 205–206 n. 49.

[33] Al-Ḫazrağī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 1983 (1911–1914), vol. 2, p. 65. See also al-Afḍal, *Kitāb al-ʿaṭāyā al-sanniyya*, 2004, pp. 206–207; al-Ǧanadī, *Al-sulūk*, 1993–1995, vol. 2, p. 132.

According to al-Malik al-Afḍal, the *nisba* al-ʿAdalī originates from al-ʿAdal, a tribe in Sūdān.[34] However, in medieval Arabic sources, the region referred to as "Sūdān" ranges from the south of Morocco to the Red Sea,[35] so it is difficult to specify where his family lived. However, it could possibly refer to al-ʿAdal, ruled by the Walāsmaʿ dynasty, which was based in Harär after the 14th century,[36] so Abū al-ʿAtīq may have had family near this region. Even so, it is clear that he had connections in the Northeast African region.

Al-Burayḥī also mentioned another scholar family from Northeast Africa:

> Among the Taʿizz people, the pious shaykh Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ǧabartī al-ʿAqīlī al-Quršī is known. He is a member of the blessed family (. . .). Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the grandfather of Ǧamāl al-Dīn, had seven noble children. He left the place called M/s/k in al-Ḥabaša for Yemen. He lived there serving Allāh the Sublime. Then he stayed at Zabīd several days and died. ʿAlī, his son, also stayed there several days, then moved to Taʿizz and settled there. He is the first family member who lived in al-Mudāǧir (. . .). Ǧamāl al-Dīn headed for Mecca, made a pilgrimage, and visited the tomb of the Prophet. After that, he went back to Taʿizz and lied down in bed (. . .). In 830/1426–1427, he died due to illness.[37]

Al-Ǧabartī is a *nisba* that refers to the Ǧabart, a group of Muslims in al-Ḥabaša.[38] After ʿAbd al-Raḥmān arrived, likely from al-Ḥabaša, the family flourished in Taʿizz, setting down roots for several generations. As al-ʿAqīlī might be read as al-ʿUqaylī, it is possible that this family also had a connection with the al-ʿUqayl family mentioned previously. Al-Quršī is a *nisba* derived from the Qurayš tribe, which the Prophet belonged to,[39] or a member of al-Qurāšiyya tribe, which is part of the larger al-Ašāʿir tribe near Zabīd.[40] This family also strengthened themselves by establishing relationships with local Yemenis.

In addition to scholars, Bā Maḫrama wrote about one man who became a vizier (*wazīr*) during the reign of al-Malik al-Muǧāhid.

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[34] Al-Afḍal, *Kitāb al-ʿaṭāyā al-sanniyya*, 2004, p. 206.

[35] J.L. Triaud & A.S. Kaye, "Sūdān", *EI²*.

[36] For information on dynasties in al-Ḥabaša and their relationships with Yemen during this time, see M.ʿA. Aḥmad, *Banū Rasūl wa-Banū Ṭāhir*, 1980, pp. 440–443; U. Braukämper, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, 2002; M.Y. al-Fīfī, *Al-dawla al-rasūliyya fī al-Yaman*, 2005, pp. 175–180; J.S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952; É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, pp. 407–411. On Walāsmaʿ and its relationship with Zaylaʿ, see also F.-X. Frauvelle-Aymar & B. Hirsch (eds.), *Espaces musulmans de la corne de L'Afrique au Moyen Âge*, 2017 (2011).

[37] Al-Burayhī, *Ṭabaqāt ṣulaḥā' al-Yaman*, 1983, pp. 224–225.

[38] E. Ullendorff, "Djabart", *EI²*.

[39] *Irtifāʿ*, 2008, p. 75 n. 1.

[40] Al-Ḥaǧarī, *Maǧmūʿ buldān al-Yaman*, 2004, vol. 4, p. 648.

> Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muʾmin[41] was one of the viziers (*wuzarāʾ*) of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muǧāhid. He was from the town of Sūdān in the Zaylaʿ region (*nāḥiya*). He was a jurist who was elegant and well educated, had beautiful handwriting, was generous, and had high aspirations. He came to serve the Sultan because of his high ambition and was one of the most important members of his party.[42]

This man, who probably came from Zaylaʿ to Yemen, attained greatness under the Sultan al-Malik al-Muǧāhid because of his many abilities. As a judge, he likely had an excellent knowledge of Islamic law.[43]

Bā Maḫrama chronicled one episode about the lord (*ṣāḥib*) of ʿĀra, a port located across from Barbara, Saʿīd b. Muḥammad Mušammir al-Ašʿarī, whom he met in his childhood:

> Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Ḥaḍramī, one of those from Zaylaʿ, built a splendid mosque (in ʿĀra). When al-Ašʿarī (the governor of ʿĀra) left a number of books behind, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar and the merchants from Zaylaʿ bought most of them in order to obtain a blessing.[44]

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar may have worked in Zaylaʿ but had a connection to Ḥaḍramawt, as demonstrated by his *nisba* al-Ḥaḍramī. It seems that close relationships often developed between merchants from Zaylaʿ and ʿĀra. ʿĀra could have been a stopping point on the Aden–Zaylaʿ route.[45]

Finally, there are no incidences of Northeast African people invading Yemen during the Rasūlid period as in the Aksum era before the rise of Islam. Ḥaqq al-Dīn (d. 776/1374) and Ṣaʿd al-Dīn, brothers from the Walāsmaʿ family who ruled Ifät in al-Ḥabaša and moved to al-ʿAdal later, visited the Rasūlid sultan seeking support to fight the Solomonic dynasty (1270–1868).[46] As Ṣaʿd al-Dīn's sister married ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Šāḏilī (mentioned above) and then remained in Yemen, it can be assured that this family already had ties in the area and that he had a reason to choose the Rasūlid sultan as his patron.

Various types of people traveled along the Gulf of Aden from Northeast Africa, particularly al-Ḥabaša and Zaylaʿ, to Yemen during the 13th–15th centuries. Some

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[41] He appeared in many passages about the reign of Sultan al-Malik al-Muǧāhid, especially during the period 725–736 A.H., in the book of al-Ḫazraǧī. See al-Ḫazraǧī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 1983 (1911–1914), vol. 2, pp. 40, 45–61.

[42] Bā Maḫrama, *Taʾrīḫ ṭaġr ʿAdan*, 1991, vol. 2, p. 227.

[43] Al-Ḫazraǧī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, 1983 (1911–1914), vol. 2, p. 40.

[44] Bā Maḫrama, *Taʾrīḫ ṭaġr ʿAdan*, 1991, vol. 2, pp. 91–92.

[45] D.M. Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture*, 1994, pp. 24, 42.

[46] Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Buġyat al-mustafid*, 2006, p. 99; U. Braukämper, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, 2002, pp. 24–28; *Taʾrīḫ al-Yaman*, 1976, p. 81; J.S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952, pp. 74–75. The ruler in al-Ḥabaša is often referred to as the "Sultan of al-Ḥabaša" in the Rasūlid corpus; although the exact character of rule is not well understood. See É. Vallet, *L'Arabie marchande*, 2010, pp. 407–411.

among the Muslims who arrived from Northeast Africa assimilated into Yemeni society; they could rise up to obtain high ranks in the Rasūlid system and earn regard as excellent persons by the writers of the Rasūlid corpus. The fact that they often retained their *nisba*, indicating relationships with Northeast Africa, and their origins were mentioned in the Rasūlid corpus, suggests that their links with Northeast Africa continued to be acknowledged. On the other hand, the slaves or eunuchs transported to Yemen might have originally followed local cults or been Christians, and do not appear prominently in these sources. These "pagans" from Northeast Africa seemed to have met with much different fortunes than Muslims in their journeys.

IV. Conclusion

When some of the individuals mentioned above were unable to remain in Yemen, they migrated to Northeast Africa, while the religious scholars who moved to Yemen from Northeast Africa seemed to do so intentionally. There were also many who were transported to Yemen as slaves outside of their own volition though, they might have been Christians or followers of indigenous African religions.

Most of the individuals mentioned here did not play a significant role in Yemeni-Northeast African history; however, they were members of these regions' societies and their interactions reflect those that have occurred around the Gulf of Aden and the southern Red Sea since ancient times. It is obvious that Yemen and Northeast Africa are connected through the sea, which merges the two regions, allowing individuals to engage in moderate traffic but not necessarily continuous engagement. In fact, no passages in the Rasūlid corpus indicate that large-scale military conflicts, migrations, or frequent travels occurred in the Gulf of Aden in this period.

While the history of the Western Indian Ocean has been told with an emphasis on the dynamic movements of people, especially merchants, migration between Yemen and Northeast Africa during the 13th–15th centuries shows a different aspect; the migration appears to have been more moderate and less regular, though, various types of migrants beyond merchants set sail. These kinds of regional movements present particular regional facets of Western Indian Ocean history.

The migrants who appeared in this paper were all mentioned in the Rasūlid corpus, which represents a sampling of these human circulations. Yet, the list of references is not nearly exhaustive and a diachronic analysis of the conditions that characterize the links between the two regions through the Gulf of Aden based on additional historical materials is still needed.

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MISSION DAKAR-DJIBOUTI : LA BOÎTE OUBLIÉE
I.
UN INVENTAIRE DE LA MOSQUÉE DE GONDAR
(ms. BnF Ar. 7337 (7))[1]

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Résumé

Cet article donne l'édition d'un texte collecté durant le séjour à Gondar de la mission Dakar-Djibouti en 1932, décrivant la bibliothèque d'enseignement de la mosquée d'Addis Alam, et le commente en tentant de repérer les œuvres circulant dans la Corne de l'Afrique qui attestent de relations privilégiées avec le Yémen.

Abstract

This article provides an edition of a text collected during the Gondar segment of the Dakar-Djibouti mission of 1932, which describes the teaching library of the Mosque of Addis Alam. It aims to locate the types of Islamic texts that were circulating in the Horn of Africa which could provide evidence for privileged relations with Yemen.

خلاصة

تحتوي هذه المقالة على تحقيق لنصّ جُمع خلال رحلة إرساليّة داكار-جيبوتي إلى قوندر سنة 1932، الذي ينطوي على قائمة كتب للتعليم موجودة في مسجد أديس آلم. الدراسة تسعى للكشف عن نوعيّة النصوص الإسلاميّة المتداولة في القرن الأفريقي التي تشهد على العلاقات الوثيقة مع اليمن.

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Mots-clés

manuscrits, imprimés, bibliothèque d'enseignement religieux, Mosquée, Gondar, Mosquée de Gondar, Šāh Muḥammed Ṭayyib, Addis Alam, Addis Abeba, Corne de l'Afrique, Éthiopie, Djibouti, Somaliland, Yémen, Inde, papier SUDAN GOVERNMENT, mission Dakar-Djibouti, Marcel Griaule, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Keywords

manuscripts, printed books, books used for religious teaching, mosque, Gondar, Gondar's Mosque, Šāh Muḥammed Ṭayyib, Addis Alam, Addis Ababa, Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somaliland, Yemen, India, SUDAN GOVERNMENT paper, Dakar-Djibouti mission, Marcel Griaule, Bibliothèque nationale de France

تعابر رئيسية

مخطوطات، مطبوعات، كتب لتدريس العلوم الدينية، مسجد، قوندر، مسجد قوندر، شاه محمد طيب، أديس آلم، أديس ابابة، القرن الأفريقي، أثيوبيا، دجيبوتي، سوماليلاند، اليمن، الهند، نوع ورق SUDAN GOVERNMENT، إرساليّة داكار-جيبوتي، مارسيل جريول Marcel Griaule، المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسيّة

I. Introduction

À la Bibliothèque nationale de France, la cote Arabe 7337 a été attribuée à des textes réunis par la mission ethnographique et linguistique dirigée par Marcel Griaule (1898-1956), qui a traversé l'Afrique, de Dakar à Djibouti entre 1931 et 1933. Cette célèbre expédition de 20.000 km a préfiguré la création du musée de l'Homme. Elle est à l'origine de différentes collections, incluant des documents écrits[2].

Les manuscrits de la collection Marcel Griaule à la Bibliothèque nationale y ont fait leur entrée en 1933. Une vingtaine de manuscrits, dont certains ont été copiés par M. Griaule ou par des écrivains, sur place, rapportés d'Abyssinie en 1928-1929, les ont précédés. Mais, durant leur catalogage, une boîte contenant des documents en arabe a été laissée de côté. Ce n'est que très récemment, en 2017, que son contenu a rejoint le catalogue des manuscrits arabes en ligne, sous la cote générale Arabe 7337.

Le lot sous la cote Arabe 7337 comprend 9 sous-cotes, qui abritent un total de 11 manuscrits. Parmi eux, le texte du bifeuillet sous la cote Arabe 7337 (9) donne, au f. 1v, la liste des 8 autres sous-cotes, dans la cotation d'acquisition Griaule, sous le titre : « À transférer au fonds arabe de la collection éthiopienne Griaule (9 manuscrits) », avec la mention, pour le n° 314, de « 2 mss. sous la même cote ». Le tableau de correspon-

[2] M. Griaule, « Les résultats de la mission Dakar-Djibouti », 1933. Voir la fiche récapitulative sur le site de la BnF, http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc945949

dance entre les cotes d'acquisition Griaule et celles de la BnF, récemment attribuées, dans l'ordre de leur apparition dans le ms. Arabe 7337 (9), au f. 1v, est le suivant :

282 / 7337 (2)

286 / 7337 (4)

309 / 7337 (5)

310 / 7337 (6)

314 / 7337 (7)

270 / 7337 (1)

283 / 7337 (3)

315 (6) / 7337 (8)

Surtout, le ms. Arabe 7337 (9), au f. 2r, détaille les manuscrits portant les cotes Griaule n° 309 et 314. D'après ce document, les deux manuscrits sous la cote Griaule n°314 / Arabe 7337 (7), recueillent trois textes :

1. sur un premier bloc de cahiers, une Histoire des derviches écrite par Šāh Muḥammed Ṭayyib d'Addis-Alam (f. 1v-10v) ;
2. suivie d'un inventaire de la Mosquée d'Addis-Alam (f. 11r-v) ;
3. enfin, sur un bifeuillet séparé, folioté à la suite des deux premiers textes, un texte incomplet sur la force magique de l'iguane (12r-13v)[3].

C'est l'inventaire de la Mosquée qui est l'objet principal de cet article.

II. Description et date du manuscrit

A. Description

L'inventaire de la Mosquée a été mis par écrit sur un bloc de trois cahiers de quatre bifeuillets cousus ensemble, 210 x 170 mm. On compte 15 lignes à la page, pour une surface écrite de 165 x 120 mm (f. 1-11, le dernier feuillet n'est pas folioté)[4].

B. Date

Une date est mentionnée dans le corps du texte de l'Histoire des derviches, 1329/1911 (f. 10v). Il a été couché sur le papier par Muḥammad Ṭayyib Yūsuf à Gondar (« fi

[3] La fiche électronique de la BnF reprend la description au f. 2 d'Arabe 7337 (9) et donne l'*incipit* du premier texte, l'Histoire des derviches (f. 1v) :

الحمد لله الذي جعل أمة محمد خير الأمم وجعلهم مت متعصبين في الذين لا يضرهم مت تعدى وظلم

Voir : http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc945949/ca59816928361130

Le recueil est indexé sous « Al-Rūḥāniyyāt · Divination et magie ».

[4] Repris de la fiche BnF, http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc945949/ca59816928361130

Kūndar »), le 17 ǧumādā al-ṯānī 1351[5]/18 octobre 1932. Ces données, une fois rapprochées de la description du ms. 314 dans le document 7337 (9), qui indique, au f. 1v, que l'Histoire des derviches est écrite par Šāh Muḥammed Ṭayyib d'Addis-Alam, conduisent à conclure qu'il s'agit de la même personne.

Le texte arabe parle de la Mosquée de Gondar, tandis que la recension que la mission Dakar-Djibouti fait du recueil désormais sous la cote Ar. 7337 (7) parle de la Mosquée d'Addis-Alam. Il s'agit du même édifice, Addis Alam est le nom du quartier musulman de Gondar[6]. La mission Dakar-Djibouti a longuement séjourné à Gondar, du 1er juillet au 5 décembre 1932. Michel Leiris, dans son journal de voyage publié sous le titre *L'Afrique fantôme* (éd. 1996) évoque à plusieurs reprises le quartier d'Addis Alam et décrit sa mosquée[7].

La question de savoir si le texte manuscrit est un autographe est autrement épineuse. L'inventaire de la Mosquée de Gondar qui nous occupe et l'Histoire des derviches sont de la même main.

Le texte sur l'iguane a été folioté à la suite des deux premiers textes, f. 12 et 13, mais les spécifications matérielles du bifeuillet sur lequel il a été écrit, séparé, diffèrent du bloc de trois cahiers par ses dimensions, 210 x 170 mm[8], et ses 15 à 19 l. à la page. Il a aussi été rédigé par une main différente sur un papier différent de celui qui contient, de manière solidaire, l'Histoire des derviches et l'inventaire de la Mosquée.

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[5] Dans le texte arabe, la date est donnée selon la séquence suivante : l'année, le mois, enfin le jour du mois. Le mois est écrit « ǧumād », une manière d'écriture que l'on trouve fréquemment en Éthiopie, résultant d'une contraction avec l'*alif* de l'article du mot suivant.

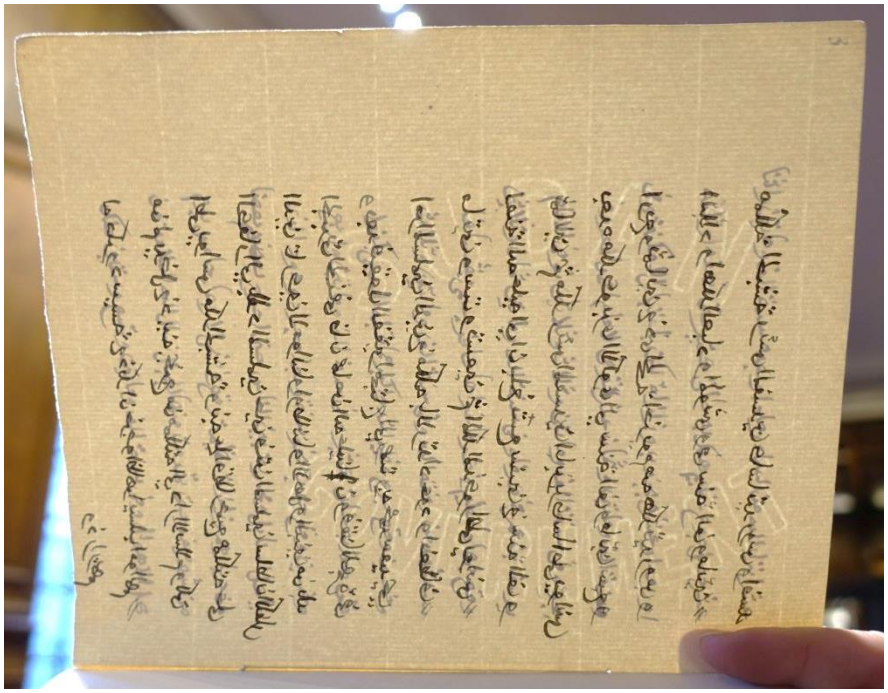
[6] La ville créée par l'Empereur Menelik II, en 1900, dans la région oromo, zone de Mirab Shewa, à l'ouest d'Addis Abeba, pour devenir la nouvelle capitale du pays et qui fût ensuite, dès 1903, sa résidence d'été, porte le même nom. Voir les nombreuses entrées dans H. Le Roux, *Ménélik et nous*, 1902.

[7] M. Leiris, *L'Afrique fantôme*, lettre du 9 septembre 1932, p. 631, où Addis Alam est mentionné comme « le quartier musulman » ; surtout, lettre du 30 septembre 1932, p. 685-686, où Leiris parle de sa visite dans ce quartier en compagnie d'Abba Jérôme, informateur au long cours de la mission, à Gondar : il en donne une courte description, ainsi que de « la » mosquée, une « case ronde » qui a une petite cour ; ils y rencontrent plusieurs personnes, dont le fils d'un marchand « que nous comptions aller voir pour demander nos renseignements ». Ailleurs dans son journal ou dans ses carnets, Leiris parle du village arabe de Gondar (11 juillet, p. 546), de la communauté musulmane (3 septembre, p. 619), des marchands musulmans d'Addis Alam (13-10-32, p. 727 ; 5 décembre, p. 801) ou de la « folle d'Addis Alam » (22 octobre, p. 742), une expression qui traduit une certaine familiarité avec le quartier. Sous la date du 13 août, p. 584, il est question d'un « petit clan musulman [qui] s'est formé », et du nom de ses membres, dont certains reviennent par la suite dans le journal, mais dont aucun ne correspond au copiste/informateur, qui nous intéresse ici.

[8] Nous reprenons ici encore la fiche électronique de la BnF.

Ce dernier papier porte la marque : SUDAN GOVERNMENT[9].

SUDAN (lettres capitales, convexe)
GOVERNMENT (lettres capitales, concave)



Ill. 1. Papier SUDAN GOVERNMENT, f. 5-6.

L SUDAN = 10,7 cm

L GOVERNMENT = 13,5 cm

Distance entre la base du « D » (SOUDAN) et le sommet du « R » (GOVERNMENT) = 6,7 cm

Distance entre le sommet du « D » et la base du « R » = 11,8 cm

Distance maximale entre l' « épaule » du « N » de SOUDAN et la base du « T » de GOVERNMENT = 8,2 cm.

III. Texte du document

A. Structure du texte

Le texte du document 7337 (7), comprend 15 l./page, aux f. 11r-v. Il se subdivise en quatre parties.

[9] T. Walz, « The Paper Trade of Egypt and the Sudan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries », 1985, p. 38, mentionne un papier portant la marque « GOUVERNEMENT EGYPTIEN » ; l'étude de Walz s'arrête à la date de 1880. Voir également J. M. Bloom, « Paper in Sudanic Africa », 2008.

Il donne d'abord un inventaire des livres de la Mosquée de Gondar (Masǧid Kūndar) et du mobilier (*firāš*) en différents cuirs, des tasses (*fanāǧīl*) et des rideaux (*sitār*) (f. 11r, l. 1-9). Puis il passe en revue les confréries soufies présentes en Abyssinie (« fī al-Ḥabaša »), la qādiriyya, la šāḏiliyya, la sammāniyya, la tiǧāniyya et la ḫatmiyya (f. 11r, l. 9-14), suivies des trois écoles sunnites qui y sont représentées, les écoles hanafite, shafiʿite – définies comme les deux dominantes, et malikite (f. 11r, l. 14-f. 11v, l. 3). Il s'achève sur une revue de livres de grammaire, hadith, prières, mystique, biographies (*tarāǧim*), qui vient en complément de l'inventaire de la Mosquée (f. 11v, l. 3-14), prolongée, après une marque de fin (*intihāʾ*) d'une addition de deux livres (f. 11v, l. 14-15), clôturée par une seconde marque de fin (*intihāʾ*).

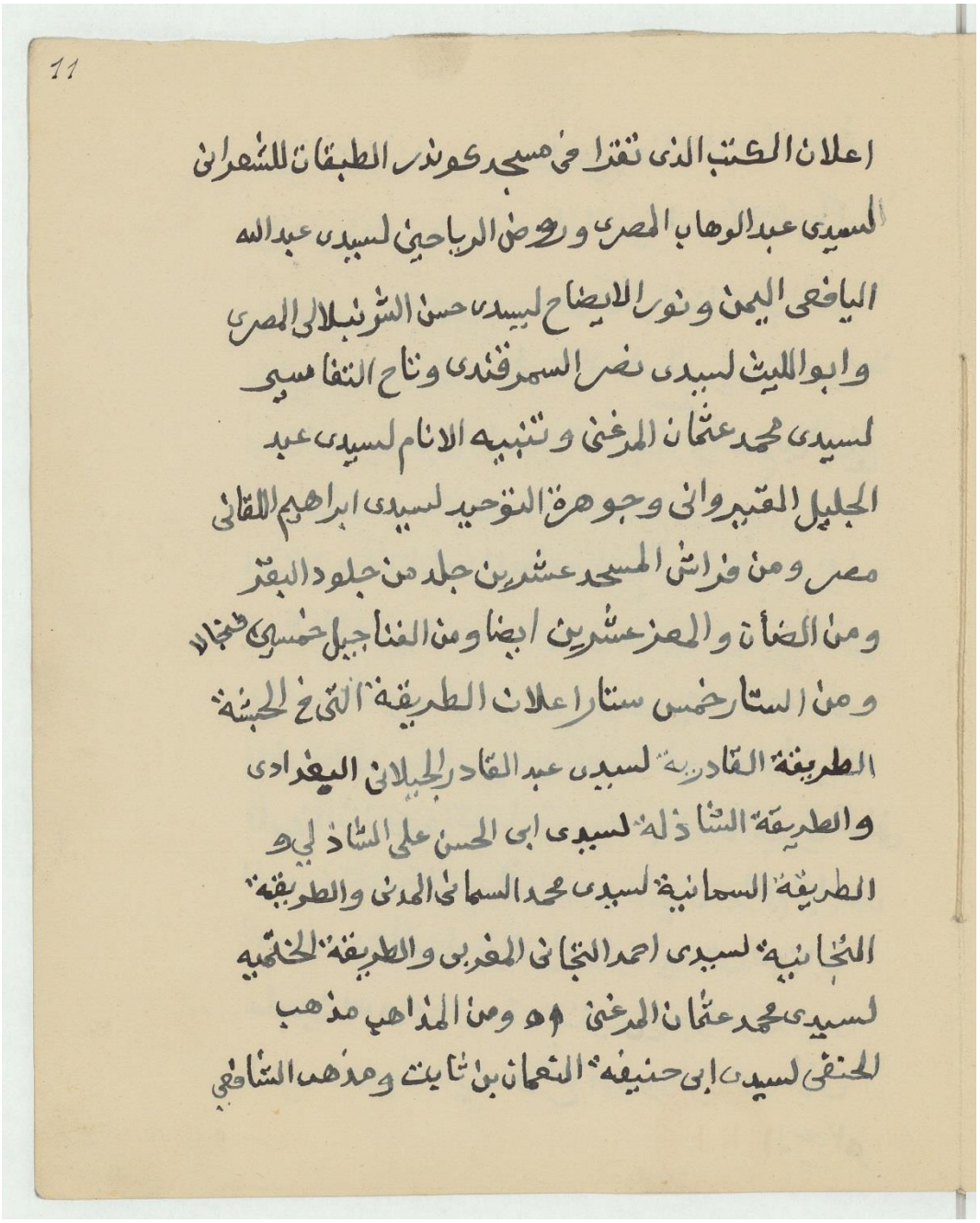
B. Édition du texte

(11 أ)

1. اعلان الكتب الذى تقرا فى مسجد كوندر الطبقات للشعرانى
2. لسيدى عبد الوهاب المصرى وروض الرياحين لسيدى عبد الله
3. اليافعى اليمن ونور الايضاح لسيدى حسن الشرنبلالى المصرى
4. وابو الليث لسيدى نصر السمرقندى وتاج التفاسير
5. لسيدى محمد عثمان المرغنى (هكذا) وتنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد
6. الجليل القيروانى وجوهرة التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم اللقانى
7. مصر ومن فراش المسجد[10] عشرين جلد من جلود البقر
8. ومن الضان والمعز عشرين ايضا ومن الفناجيل[11] خمسين افنجالا/
9. ومن الستار خمس ستار اعلان الطريقة التى فى الحبشة
10. الطريقة القادرية لسيدى عبد القادر الجيلانى البغدادى
11. والطريقة الشاذلة لسيدى ابى الحسن على الشاذلي و
12. الطريقة السمانية لسيدى محمد السمانى المدنى والطريقة
13. التجانية لسيدى احمد التجانى المغربى والطريقة الختميه
14. لسيدى محمد عثمان المرغني اهـ ومن المذاهب مذهب
15. الحنفى لسيدى ابن حنيفة النعمان بن ثابت ومذهب الشافعي

[10] المسجد

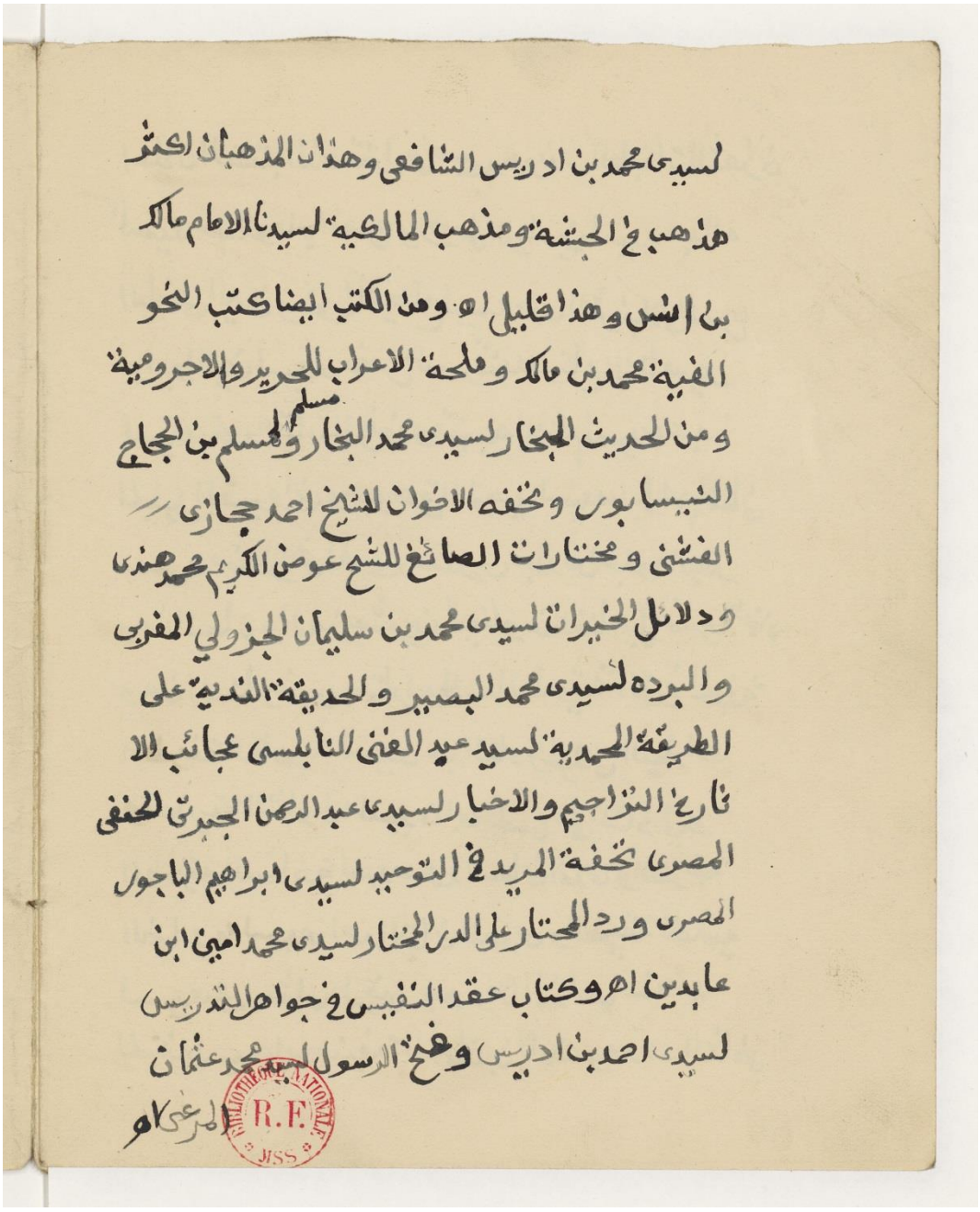
[11] H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 1974, p. 728 ; égyptianisme, voir : M. Hinds & El-S. Badawi, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic. Arabic-English*, 1986, p. 672b.


11

اعلان الكتب الذى تقرا فى مسجد كوندر الطبقات للشعرانى
لسيدى عبد الوهاب المصرى وروض الرياحين لسيدى عبد الله
اليافعى اليمنى ونور الايضاح لسيدى حسن الشرنبلالى المصرى
وابو الليث لسيدى نصر السمرقندى وتاج التفاسير
لسيدى محمد عثمان المرغنى وتنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد
الجليل القيروانى وجوهرة التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم اللقانى
مصرى ومن فراش المسجد عشرين جلد من جلود البقر
ومن الضأن والمعز عشرين ايضا ومن الفناجيل خمسة فنجان
ومن الستار خمس ستار اعلان الطريقة التى فى الحبشة
الطريقة القادرية لسيدى عبد القادر الجيلانى البغدادى
والطريقة الشاذلية لسيدى ابى الحسن على الشاذلى
الطريقة السمانية لسيدى محمد السمانى المدنى والطريقة
التجانية لسيدى احمد التجانى المغربى والطريقة الختمية
لسيدى محمد عثمان المرغنى هو ومن المذاهب مذهب
الحنفى لسيدنا ابى حنيفة النعمان بن ثابت ومذهب الشافعى

Ill. 2. Ms. BnF Arabe 7337 (7), f. 11r.

(11 ب)
1. لسيدى محمد بن ادريس الشافعي وهذان المذهبان اكثر
2. مذهب في الحبشة ومذهب المالكية لسيدنا الامام مالك
3. بن انس وهذا قليل اهـ ومن الكتب ايضا كتب النحو
4. الفية محمد بن مالك وملحة الاعراب للحرير والاجرومية
5. ومن الحديث البخار لسيدى محمد البخار وامسلم/ لمسلم بن الحجاج
6. النيسابور وتحفه الاخوان للشيخ احمد حجازى
7. الفشنى ومختارات الصائغ للشيخ عوض الكريم محمد هندى
8. ودلائل الخيرات لسيدى محمد بن سليمان الجزولي المغربى
9. والبرده لسيدى محمد البصير والحديقة الندية على
10. الطريقة المحمدية لسيد عبد الغنى النابلسى عجائب الا
11. ثار فى التراجيم (هكذا) والاخبار لسيدى عبد الرحمن الجبرتى الحنفى
12. المصرى تحفة المريد فى التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم الباجور
13. المصرى ورد المحتار على الدر المختار لسيدى محمد امين ابن
14. عابدين اهـ وكتاب عقد النفيس في جواهر التدريس
15. لسيدى احمد بن ادريس وفتح الرسول لسيد محمد عثمان االمرغني (هكذا) اهـ/



Ill. 2. Ms. BnF Arabe 7337 (7), f. 11v.

C. Datation du texte

Dans un article de 1929, Marcel Griaule décrit la méthodologie qu'il a suivie au cours de la mission qu'il a effectuée en Abyssinie dans les années 1928-1929[12]. Il explique qu'il

[12] M. Griaule, « Le Mariage et la Mort au Godjam (Abyssinie) », 1929, p. 102.

s'appuie sur des informateurs à qui il remet un carnet ainsi que des thèmes à renseigner, mais aussi qu'il leur laisse l'initiative d'y noter tout ce qu'ils trouvent digne d'intérêt. Deux numéros de la « boîte oubliée » abritent en effet des carnets annotés, les n° 7337 (5) et (6).

L'inventaire de la Mosquée de Gondar, écrit sur des cahiers fabriqués et cousus, qui s'ouvrent sur le texte manuscrit par/de (?) Šāh Muḥammed Ṭayyib d'Addis-Alam, peut relever de cette démarche : plutôt que de copier un manuscrit, la main note ce que l'œil voit autour de lui ou ce qu'on lui présente ou bien lui dit – les livres et les biens mobiliers de la Mosquée, puis ce que l'on sait – confréries, écoles juridiques sunnites. La main étant la même pour ces deux textes, Histoire des derviches et inventaire, le premier, couché par écrit en 1932, date le second.

Les œuvres collectées dans le manuscrit sont-elles contenues dans des livres physiquement là, s'agit-il de livres étudiés dans la Mosquée et apportés par les shaykhs (« al-kutub allaḏī tuqraʾu fī Masǧid Kūndar », f. 11r, l. 1) ? Et, singulièrement, celles notées en deux séries à partir du f. 11v, l. 3*sq*., représentent-elles un complément d'inventaire ou sont-elles simplement en mémoire ? C'est plus difficile à dire.

D. Particularité linguistique

Les *yā*'s finals ne sont généralement pas sous-ponctués, une manière d'écriture assez commune au Moyen-Orient, en particulier en Égypte. Plus intéressant est leur absence dans les cas de *nisba*s, par ex. al-Buḫār (pour al-Buḫārī, f. 11v, l. 5), al-Naysābūr (pour al-Naysābūrī, f. 11v, l. 6), al-Buṣīr (pour al-Buṣīrī, f. 11v, l. 9) et al-Bāǧūr (pour al-Bāǧūrī, f. 11v, l. 11) ; après ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī, on attendrait plutôt « al-Yamanī » que « al-Yaman » (f. 11r, l. 3). Enfin, un « Miṣr » est positionné comme une seconde *nisba* (f. 11r, l. 7).

Le renvoi à une localité ou à une entité géographique, sans maque finale *–ī*, apparaît ici comme une indication suffisante d'appartenance. Il semble qu'il existe d'autres cas, par ex. celui des Ǧabart (régions de Zaylaʿ, Ifat) selon Edward Ullendorff[13]. Sans compter le fait qu'on ne puisse pas éliminer l'hypothèse d'une dimension orale de ce texte, capturant peut-être un langage parlé.

IV. Identification et genre des livres

Pour chacune des œuvres dont le document donne la liste, nous tentons de voir ici si elle est connue dans la Corne de l'Afrique. Nous utilisons pour ce faire la base de données du projet ERC « Islam in the Horn of Africa » dont l'objectif est de mettre en évidence la circulation des textes sur la région. Certaines des notices ont été récemment rendues d'accès public, elles ont été mises en ligne postérieurement à cette étude : les

[13] E. Ullendorff, « Djabart », *EI*², vol. 2, p. 355a.

liens qui servent ici de référence, conservant la cote de l'œuvre dans la base de données, évitent de possibles ambivalences. La plupart des références de la base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa » sont à des livres manuscrits, mais comprennent aussi des impressions. C'est un point important, car le document Griaule parle de « livres » (*kutub*) sans autre précision.

Lorsque le nombre d'entrées dans la base de données du projet ERC « Islam in the Horn of Africa » est supérieur à 10, les cotes ne sont pas données, mais simplement, les bibliothèques dans lesquelles se trouvent les œuvres. Les cotes se décomposent en acronymes des bibliothèques, suivi du numéro de collection. La liste des acronymes se trouve ci-dessous, en section V.

La liste des œuvres suit l'ordre du texte manuscrit.

INVENTAIRE (f. 11r, l. 1-7)

1. MYSTIQUE + HISTOIRE, f. 11r, l. 1-2

Titre et auteur

الطبقات للشعرانى لسيدى عبد الوهاب المصرى

Titre

Al-ṭabaqāt

Ou : *Tabaqāt al-Šaʿrānī al-kubrā*

Ou : *Lawāqiḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-sādat al-aḫyār*

Ou : *Al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*

Impression

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Šaʿrānī, *Al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā al-musammā bi- Lawāqiḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-aḫyār wa-bi-al-hāmiš Al-anwār al-qudsiyya fī bayān ādāb al-ʿubūdiyya*, Le Caire, Šarikat maktabat wa-maṭbaʿat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-awlādihi, 1373/1954.

GAL II, p. 338.

Auteur

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Miṣrī (897-973/1492-1565)

Ou : ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Šaʿrānī[14].

[14] Soufi égyptien, *ʿālim*, historien du soufisme, sensible à l'éthique et à la littérature šāḏilī, associé à l'Aḥmadiyya ou Badawiyya, la *ṭarīqa* de Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī (m. 675/1276).

http://islhornafr.tors.sc.ku.dk/backend/people/167
GAL II, p. 335-338 ; M. Winter, *EI²* ; *Al-aʿlām*, p. 180-182.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »
(imprimés)
AGSK00086
WOZM00092

2. MYSTIQUE + HAGIOGRAPHIE ; f. 11r, l. 2-3

Titre et auteur

روض الرياحين لسيدى عبد الله اليافعى اليمن

Titre
Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn
Ou : *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*
Impression
nombreuses, dont : Le Caire, 1989 ; Chypre, s. d.
GAL II, p. 177 ; E. Geoffroy, *EI²*.

Auteur
ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī al-Yaman (698/1298-768/1367)
Ou : ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad b. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Yāfiʿī al-Šāfiʿī al-Tamīmī
Ou : Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī, Abū al-Saʿāda ʿAfīf al-Dīn
GAL II, p. 176-177 ; E. Geoffroy, *EI²*.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »
(imprimé)
AGSK00120

3. FIQH hanafite ; f. 11r, l. 3

Titre et auteur

نور الايضاح لسيدى حسن الشرنبلالى المصرى

Titre
Nūr al-īḍāḥ
Ou : *Nūr al-īḍāḥ wa-naǧāt al-arwāḥ*
GAL II, p. 313 ; *S* II, p. 430.

Impression

nombreuses, dont :

Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār al-Šurunbulālī, *Matn Nūr al-īḍāḥ fī al-fiqh ʿalā maḏhab Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān*, s. l., Al-maṭbaʿa al-ʿuṯmāniyya, 1926.

Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Šurunbulālī, *Nūr al-īḍāḥ*, Dehli, 1927.

Abū al-Iḫlāṣ Ḥasan al-Wafāʾī al-Šurunbulālī, *Nūr al-īḍāḥ wa-naǧāt al-arwāḥ*, Damas, Dār al-ḥikma, 1985.

Auteur

Ḥasan al-Šurunbulālī al-Miṣrī (m. 1068/1658)

Ou : Abū al-Iḫlāṣ Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār al-Wāfaʿī al-Šurunbulālī al-Ḥanafī

GAL II, p. 313 ; *S* II, p. 430-431.

4. KALĀM ou FIQH ou TAFSĪR ?, hanafite, f. 11r, l. 4

Titre et auteur ?

ابو الليث لسيدى نصر السمرقندى

Formulation indiquant apparemment une métonymie : « le Abū al-Layṯ », comme on dit « le Lagarde et Michard », pour le compendium de littérature française de référence dans l'enseignement secondaire en France.

GAL I, 196 ; *S* I, p. 347, p. 289, IV. 2.

Auteur

Abū al-Layṯ Naṣr al-Samarqandī (m. 373/983, pas ap. 375 ou 383 ou 393)

Ou : Abū al-Layṯ Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī

GAL I, p. 195-196 ; *S* I, p. 347, p. 289, IV. 2 ; J. Schacht, *EI²*.

5. TAFSĪR (MYSTIQUE ?), f. 11r, l. 4-5

Titre et auteur

تاج التفاسير لسيدى محمد عثمان المرغنى

Titre

Tāǧ al-tafāsīr li-kalām al-malik al-kabīr

GAL, *S* II, p. 810.

Auteur

Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mirġanī (1208/1793-1268/1852)

Ou : Muḥammad ʿUṯmān b. Muḥammad Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḫǧūb al-Mīrġanī

Ou : al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī al-Maḥbūbī

Père de Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad ʿUṯmān b. Muḥammad Abī Bakr al-Mīrġanī et grand-père de Muḥammad Abī Bakr b. Ǧaʿfar b. Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī

GAL, *S* II, p. 809-810 ; « Mīrghaniyya or Khatmiyya », *EI*² ; R. S. O. O'Fahey, *Arabic Literature of Africa*. Vol. 1: *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, 1994, p. 187 ; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952, p. 244*sq*.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(manuscrit, mention)

WOZM00358

6. LIVRE DE PRIÈRE, f. 11r, l. 5-6

Titre et auteur

تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى

Titre

Tanbīh al-anām

Impression

nombreuses, dont :

ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAẓẓūm, *Tanbīh al-anām fī bayān ʿulūw maqām nabiyyinā Muḥammad ʿalayhi al-ṣalāt wa-al-salām*, Le Caire, Al-maktaba al-tiǧāriyya al-kubrā, [1930?], 2 vol.

ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAẓẓūm, *Tanbīh al-anām fī bayān ʿulūw maqām nabiyyinā Muḥammad ʿalayhi al-ṣalāt wa-al-salām*, éd. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Inbābī, Addis Abeba, Maṭbaʿat Addīs, 1386H, 2 vol.

ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAẓẓūm, *Tanbīh al-anām fī bayān ʿulūw maqām nabiyyinā Muḥammad ʿalayhi al-ṣalāt wa-al-salām*, Le Caire, Maṭbaʿat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-awlāduhu, 1347-1348H, 2 vol.

ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAẓẓūm, *Tanbīh al-anām fī bayān ʿulūw maqām nabiyyinā Muḥammad ʿalayhi al-ṣalāt wa-al-salām*, éd. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Inbābī, Singapour, Sulaymān Marʿī, s. d., 2 vol.

GAL, *S* II, p. 691.

Auteur

ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl al-Qayrawānī (m. 960/1553)

Ou : ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn ʿAẓẓūm al-Qayrawānī al-Murādī

GAL, *S* II, p. 691.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

Très nombreux exemplaires dans : Institute for Ethiopian Studies (IES), coll. Abbaa Gulli (AGAG), Agaro Muḥammad Sayf (AGMS), Agaro Sheikh Kamal (SHK), Abdallah Sharif (HRAS), Muḫtār b. Abbā Ǧihād (JTMK), Limmū-Ghannat (LGLG), Hargeisa Cultural Center (SMHA), coll. Suuse (SUSU), Toba (TOBA), Waarukko/Warukko (WAWA)[15].

7. KALĀM, f. 11r, l. 6-7

Titre et auteur

جوهرة التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم اللقانى مصر

Titre

Ǧawharat al-tawḥīd

Impression

La Djaouhara, traité de théologie, par Ibrahim Laqani, avec notes d'Abdesselem et d'El Badjouri. Texte arabe et traduction française, par J.-D. Luciani, Alger, impr. de P. Fontana, 1907.

Auteur

Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (m. 1041/1631)

Ou : Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī

GAL II, p. 316-317 ; *S* II, p. 436-437.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(manuscrits)

AGAG00002

AGSK00045

AGSK00116

JTMK00053

LGLG00009

[15] Voir M. Petrone, « Devotional texts in Ethiopian Islam: a *munāǧah* invoking the intercession of prophets, male and female saints and *'ulamā'* », 2015.

ADDITION 1 (f. 11v, l. 4-14)

8. GRAMMAIRE (*naḥū*)[16], f. 11v, l. 4

Titre et auteur

الفية محمد بن مالك

Titre

Alfiyya

GAL I, p. 298-299, *S* I, p. 522-525 ; H. Fleisch, *EI²*, vol. 3, p. 861a.

Auteur

Muḥammad Ibn Mālik (m. 672/1274)

GAL I, p. 298-300, *S* I, p. 521-527 ; H. Fleisch, *EI²*.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

Connue par un *šarḥ, Šarḥ Ibn ʿAqīl ʿalā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* ou *Al-kawkab al-muḍīʾ šarḥ Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*

(manuscrits, imprimés)

AAIE00303

AAIE04670

AGSK00089

AGSK00102

JTMK00018

WOZM00094

WOZM00153

WOZM00225

9. GRAMMAIRE (*naḥū*), f. 11v, l. 4

Titre et auteur

ملحة الاعراب للحرير

[16] Pour les n° 8 à 10, voir S. Fani, « Arabic Grammar Traditions in Gibe and Harär: Regional Continuity vs Specificity of Scholarship », 2016. Pour une réflexion plus générale sur le rôle des traités de grammaire arabe, et singulièrement de l'*Alfiyya*, dans l'apprentissage de la langue arabe en Afrique, Asie du Sud et du Sud-Est, et pour une comparaison de la bibliothèque correspondante, voir K. Versteegh, « Learning Arabic in the Islamic World », 2018.

Titre

Mulḥat al-iʿrāb

Impression

nombreuses

GAL I, p. 277 ; *S* I, p. 488-489 ; D. S. Margoliouth [Charles Pellat], *EI²*, vol. 3, p. 222a.

Auteur

al-Ḥarīr (446/1054-516/1122)

al-Ḥarīrī, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUṯmān b. al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī

Ibn al-Ḥarīrī, l'auteur des *Maqāmāt*

GAL I, p. 276-277 ; *S* I, p. 486-489 ; D. S. Margoliouth [Charles Pellat], *EI²*.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(manuscrits)

AAIE00309

AAIE04627

AGSK00052

LGLG00003

SUSU0024

SUSU0026

SUSU0038

WOZM00011

10. GRAMMAIRE (*naḥū*), f. 11v, l. 4

Titre

الاجرومية

Al-ağurrūmiyya

Ou : *Matn Al-āğurrūmiyya*

Ou : *Al-muqaddima Al-āğurrūmiyya*

Impression

Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, *Šarḥ muḫtaṣar ğiddan ʿalā matn Al-āğurrūmiyya* (...) *wa-bi-hāmišihi al-matn al-maḏkūr maʿa baʿḍ fawāʾid al-Šayḫ wa-li-aḥad talāmīḏihi*, Le Caire, Dār iḥyāʾ al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya, s. d.

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ājurrūm, *Arab linguistics: an introductory classical text with translation and notes*, éd. & trad. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shirbīnī, M. G. Carter, Amsterdam, J. Benjamins, 1981.

GAL II, p. 237-238 ; *S* II, p. 332-335 ; G. Troupeau, *EI²*.

Auteur

Ibn Āǧurrūm, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwud al-Ṣanhāǧī (672/1273-723/1323)

GAL II, p. 237-238 ; *S* II, p. 332-335 ; G. Troupeau, *EI²*.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

Coll. Agaro Muḥammad Sayf (AGMS), Šayḫ Kamal, Agaro/Aggārō (AGSK), Muḥammad Abba Jamaal (JTMJ), Suuse (SUSU), Zabbi Molla Library (WOZM)

11. HADITH, f. 11v, l. 5

Titres et auteurs

الحديث البخار لسيدى محمد البخار

Titre

Al-ḥadīṯ al-Buḫār

Ou : *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī*

Impression

nombreuses

GAL I, p. 157-159 ; *S* I, p. 260-264 ; J. Robson, *EI²*, vol. 1, p. 1296b-1297b.

Auteur

Muḥammad al-Buḫār (194/810-256/870)

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Muġīra b. Bardizbah Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ǧuʿfī al-Buḫārī

GAL I, p. 157-160 ; *S* I, p. 260-265 ; J. Robson, *EI²*, vol. 1, p. 1296b-1297b.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(manuscrits, imprimés)

JTMK00020

JTMK00021

JTMK00022

WOZM00317

WOZM00318

WOZM00319

WOZM00372

WOZM00374

12. HADITH, f. 11v, l. 5-6

الحديث لمسلم بن الحجاج النيسابور

Titre

Al-ḥadīṯ li-Muslim b. al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ al-Naysābūr

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim

Impression

nombreuses

GAL I, p. 160-161 ; *S* I, p. 265-266 ; G. H. A. Juynboll, *EI²*, vol. 7, p. 691b-692b.

Auteur

Muslim b. al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ al-Naysābūr (202/817 (206/821 ?)-261/875)

Muslim b. al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ al-Naysābūrī

Muslim b. al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ al-Qušayrī

GAL I, p. 160-161 ; *S* I, p. 265-266 ; G. H. A. Juynboll, *EI²*.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(imprimés)

WOZM00173 (2 sections)

WOZM00210 (2 sections)

WOZM00211 (2 sections)

WOZM00212 (2 sections)

WOZM00375

13. LIVRE DE PRIÈRE, f. 11v, l. 6-7

Titre et auteur

تحفه الاخوان للشيخ احمد حجازى الفشنى

Titre

Tuḥfat al-iḫwān

Ou : *Tuḥfat al-iḫwān fī qirāʾat al-mīʿād fī raǧab wa-šaʿbān wa-ramaḍān*

Impression

Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥiǧāzī al-Fašnī, *Tuḥfat al-iḫwān fī qirāʾat al-mīʿād fī raǧab wa-šaʿbān*, Le Caire, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿĀdil al-ʿAbbādī, Maṭbaʿat al-šarq, 1357H.

GAL II, p. 305 ; *S* II, p. 416.

Auteur

Aḥmad Ḥiǧāzī al-Fašnī (m. 978/1570)

Ou : Aḥmad b. Ḥiǧāzī al-Fašnī

GAL II, p. 305 ; *S* II, p. 416 ; *Al-aʿlam*, I, p. 109.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(imprimé)

JTMK00076

14. LIVRE DE PRIÈRE, f. 11v, l. 7

Titre et auteur

مختارات الصائغ للشيخ عوض الكريم محمد هندى

Titre

Muḫtārāt al-ṣāʾiġ

GAL, *S* I, p. 462, note un livre intitulé : *Al-muḫtārāt al-ṣāʾiġ min dīwān b. al-Ṣāʾiġ*, mais d'un Égyptien, Muḥammad b. al-Maḥallī b. al-Ṣāʾiġ al-Ṭabīb qui vécut au vi^{e}/xii^{e} s.

Auteur

Al-shaykh ʿAwwaḍ al-Karīm Muḥammad Hindī

Non identifié

15. LIVRE DE PRIÈRE, f. 11v, l. 8

Titre et auteur

دلائل الخيرات لسيدى محمد بن سليمان الجزولي المغربى

Titre

Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt

Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt wa-šawāriq al-anwār fī ḏikr al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī al-mukḫtār

Impression

nombreuses

GAL II, p. 252-253 ; *S* II, p. 359-360 ; M. Bencheneb, *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, p. 527b-528a.

Auteur

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ǧazūlī al-Maġribī (m. 869/1465)

Ou : Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abī Bakr al-Samlālī al-Ǧazūlī

Faqīh, lié à la Šāḏiliyya.

GAL II, p. 252-253 ; *S* II, p. 359-360 ; M. Bencheneb, *EI²*.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

Institute for Ethiopian Studies (IES), Abdullah Sharif, Agaro Sheikh Kamal (SHK), Kabirto-Šayḫ Ayfaraḥ (DJK), et des coll. privées, espagnole (CPE) et américaine (Weiner).

16. LIVRE DE PRIÈRE, f. 11v, l. 9

Titre et auteur

البرده لسيدى محمد البصير

Titre

Al-burda

Ou : *Qaṣīdat Al-burda* li- al-Buṣīrī

Ou : *Al-kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ ḫayr al-bariyya*

Ou : *Burdat al-madīḥ*

GAL I, p. 264-266 ; *S* I, p. 467-472 ; R. Basset, *EI²*, vol. 1, p. 1314a-1315b.

Auteur

Muḥammad al-Buṣīr (608/1211-694/1294)[17]

Ou : Šaraf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥammād al-Ṣanhāǧī al-Būṣīrī

GAL I, p. 264-267 ; *S* I, p. 467-472 ; sous « Burda, 2. », R. Basset, *EI²*, vol. 1, p. 1314a-1315b.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

Dans les paratextes (dont citations).

17. MYSTIQUE ?, f. 11v, l. 9-10

Titre et auteur

الحديقة الندية على الطريقة المحمدية لسيد عبد الغنى النابلسى

[17] Il a suivi les cours du soufi Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Mursī (d. 686/1287) et participa aux premiers développements de la Šāḏiliyya.

Titre

Al-ḥadīqa al-naddiyya ʿalā al-ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya

Auteur

ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī (Damas, 1050/1641-1143/1731)

ʿAbd al-Ġanī b. Ismāʿīl al-Nābulusī

GAL II, p. 345-348 ; *S* II, p. 473-476 ; W. A. S. Khalidi, *EI²*.

18. HISTOIRE, *tarāǧim*, f. 11v, l. 10-12

Titre et auteur

عجائب الاثار في التراجيم (هكذا) والاخبار لسيدى عبد الرحمن الجبرتي الحنفى المصرى

Titre

ʿAǧāʾib al-aṯār fī al-tarāǧim wa-al-aḫbār

(3 premiers vol. composés en 1220-1221/1805-1806 et 4e vol. durant les années 1221-1236/1806-1821)

GAL II, p. 480 ; *S* II, p. 730-731 ; D. Ayalon, *EI²*, vol. 2, 355b-356a.

Auteur

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ǧabartī al-Ḥanafī al-Miṣrī (1167/1753-1241/1825 ou début 1826)[18]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Ǧabartī

GAL II, p. 480 ; *S* II, p. 730-731 ; D. Ayalon, *EI²*. ; E. Ullendorff, *EI²*.

19. KALĀM, f. 11v, l. 12-13

Titre et auteur

تحفة المريد فى التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم الباجور المصرى

Titre

Tuḥfat al-murīd fī al-tawḥīd

Ḥāšiyat al-Bāǧūrī ʿalā matn Ǧawharat al-tawḥīd

[18] Descendant d'une famille hanafite d'al-Ǧabart (ou : Ǧabara), une région située dans les territoires de Zaylaʿ et de l'Ifat. Dans la production importante de ce célèbre historien, le livre présent dans la Mosquée, *ʿAǧāʾib al-aṯār fī al-tarāǧim wa-al-aḫbār*, est très célèbre.

Impression

al-Bāǧūrī, *Ḥāšiyat al-Bāǧūrī ʿalā matn Al-ǧawharat al-tawḥīd*, Le Caire, Al-maṭbaʿa al-azhariyya, 1926.

al-Bāǧūrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, *Tuḥfat al-murīd*, éd. Laǧnat taḥqīq al-turāṯ, Le Caire, Al-maktaba al-azhariyya li-al-turāṯ, 2002.

GAL II, p. 487.

Auteur

Ibrāhīm al-Bāǧūr al-Miṣrī (1198/1783-1276/1860)[19]

Ou : Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bāǧūrī

Ou : al-Bayǧūrī

GAL II, p. 487 ; *S* II, p. 741 ; J. Jomier, *EI*[3], vol. 1, section V, p. 819, apparaît dans la liste des recteurs d'al-Azhar ; K. M. Cuno & A. Spevack, *EI*[3].

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(manuscrit)

AGSK00098

20. FIQH, f. 11v, l. 13-14

Titre et auteur

رد المحتار على الدر المختار لسيدى محمد امين ابن عابدين

Titre

Radd al-muḥtār ʿalā Al-durr al-muḫtār, commentaire d'*Al-durr al-muḫtār šarḥ tanwīr al-abṣār wa-ǧāmiʾ al-abḥār*

GAL, *S* II, p. 428, 773_{18}.

Auteur

Muḥammad Amīn Ibn ʿĀbidīn (1198/1783-1258/1842)[20]

Ou : Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn ʿĀbidīn al-Šāmī

[19] Il a étudié à al-Azhar; devenu fameux pour son enseignement, il fut proclamé Šayḫ al-Azhar en 1263/1846.

[20] Il a d'abord étudié le *fiqh* chafiite, puis hanafite, dont il devint l'un des savants les plus connus et appréciés de son époque.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(manuscrit)

Cité dans 2 mss IES, 4667, 4672

ADDITION 2 (f. 11v, l. 14-15)

21. ADAB / POÉSIE, f. 11v, l. 14-15

Titre et auteur

كتاب عقد النفيس في جواهر التدريس لسيدى احمد بن ادريس

Kitāb ʿiqd al-nafīs fī Ǧawāhir al-tadrīs

Ou : *Al-ʿiqd al-nafīs fī naẓm Ǧawāhir al-tadrīs*

http://worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n90624354/

Impression

nombreuses, dont :

Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ḥusaynī, *Al-ʿiqd al-nafīs fī naẓm Ǧawāhir al-tadrīs*, Le Caire, Al-maṭbaʿa al-kubrā al-amīriyya/Būlāq, 1315/1897.

Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Maġribī, *Al-ʿiqd al-nafīs fī naẓm Ǧawāhir al-tadrīs*, s. l., Maktabat Aḥmad ʿAlī al-Malīǧī al-Kutubī/Maṭbaʿat al-ʿāmira al-malīǧiyya, 1329H.

Auteur

Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1163/1749-1253/1837)

Ou : Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ḥusaynī

Al-aʿlām, vol. 1, p. 95 ; Section VI. M. b. M. Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, s. d., vol. 1, p. 314-318 ; R. S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic saint: Ahmad ibn Idris and the Idrisi tradition*, 1990.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

(imprimés)

JTMK00098
WOZM00273

22. MYSTIQUE, prières, f. 11v, l. 15

Titre et auteur

فتح الرسول لسيد محمد عثمان المرغني

Titre

Fatḥ al-Rasūl

Ou : *Fatḥ al-Rasūl wa-miftāḥ bāb al-duḫūl li-man arāda ilayhi al-wuṣūl*

GAL, *S* II, p. 810.

Auteur

Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mirġanī, soit : Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī (1208/1793-1268/1852)

Muḥammad ʿUṯmān b. Muḥammad Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Maḥğūb al-Mīrġanī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī al-Maḥbūbī

GAL, *S* II, p. 809-810 ; « Mīrghaniyya or Khatmiyya », *EI²* ; R. S. O. O'Fahey, *Arabic Literature of Africa.* Vol. 1: *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, 1994, p. 187 ; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952, p. 244*sq*.

Base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa »

Cité dans imprimé : AGSK00055

V. Présence des mêmes livres dans la Corne de l'Afrique

Les listes qui suivent croisent l'inventaire du manuscrit Griaule avec les collections telles que représentées dans la base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa ». Ces dernières nous apprennent l'existence de livres qui sont là aujourd'hui, pour ces bibliothèques, mais ne peuvent prétendre refléter l'ensemble de la zone définie, ni même à l'exhaustivité pour lesdites collections.

Pour un livre, appartenir à une bibliothèque privée, ne le rend pas inaccessible, ni ne signifie qu'il ne circule pas en dehors de la bibliothèque. Les livres sont prêtés lors de fêtes (*mawlid*s), de funérailles ou encore suivent les shaykhs dans leur enseignement.

A. Éthiopie

Addis Abeba

IES = Institute for Ethiopian Studies, Université d'Addis Abeba ; l'origine de la coll. de manuscrits arabes n'est pas totalement identifiée[21]

الفية محمد بن مالك، شرح ابن عقيل أو الكواكب المضيئة شرح الفية ابن مالك
تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى
دلائل الخيرات لسيدى محمد بن سليمان الجزولي المغربى
ملحة الاعراب للحرير

[21] A. Gori, & coll. *A Handlist of the Manuscripts in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, 2014, Introduction.

Harar

HRAS = Coll. privée de ʿAbdullah Sharif, d'accès public

تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى
دلائل الخيرات لسيدى محمد بن سليمان الجزولي المغربى

Oromo

Jimma

AGAG = Abbaa Gulli, coll. privée d'un Tiǧānī, près d'Agaro/Aggārō, pays oromo, zone de Jimma

تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى
جوهرة التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم اللقانى مصر

AGMS = Coll. privée Agaro Muḥammad Sayf, Agaro/Aggārō, pays oromo, zone de Jimma

الاجرومية
تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى

AGSK = Coll. privée Šayḫ Kamal, Agaro/Aggārō, pays oromo, zone de Jimma

الاجرومية
الفية محمد بن مالك، شرح ابن عقيل أو الكواكب المضيئة شرح الفية ابن مالك
تحفة المريد فى التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم الباجور المصرى
جوهرة التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم اللقانى مصر
روض الرياحين لسيدى عبد الله اليافعى اليمن
الطبقات للشعرانى لسيدى عبد الوهاب المصرى
فتح الرسول لسيد محمد عثمان المرغني
ملحة الاعراب للحرير

JTMJ = Coll. privée Muḥammad Abba Jamaal, Jimata, pays oromo, région de Jimma

الاجرومية

JTMK = Coll. privée Muḫtār b. Abbā Ǧihād, Jimata, Jimma

الفية محمد بن مالك، شرح ابن عقيل أو الكواكب المضيئة شرح الفية ابن مالك
تحفه الاخوان للشيخ احمد حجازى الفشنى
تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى
جوهرة التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم اللقانى مصر
الحديث البخار لسيدى محمد البخار
كتاب عقد النفيس في جواهر التدريس لسيدى احمد بن ادريس

LGLG = Coll. privée Limmū-Ghannat**,** Limmū Ghannat/Limmu Genet/Suntu, pays oromo, zone de Jimma

تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى
جوهرة التوحيد لسيدى ابراهيم اللقانى مصر
ملحة الاعراب للحرير

SHK = Coll. privée Agaro Sheikh Kamal

تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى
دلائل الخيرات لسيدى محمد بن سليمان الجزولي المغربى

TOBA = Coll. privée Toba, N.-O. d'Agaro

تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى

WAWA = Coll. privée, appartenant aux descendants de la famille Awalini/Awuliani, anciens souverains du règne de Gomma, Ḥaḍrā (*madrasa*), Waarukko/Warukko

تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى

Suuse

SUSU = Coll. privée ? Suuse

الاجرومية
تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى
ملحة الاعراب للحرير

Wolkite

WOZM = Zabbi Molla Library, située à Wulqiṭ, Wolkite, Wälqiṭe (Zabbi Molla). Bibliothèque des environs de Wolkite. L'ensemble comprend une mosquée et une *zāwiya* fondée par le šayḫ Muḥammad Rašād al-Qāqī, le fondateur de la confrérie soufie de la Rašādiyya, et Kamāl-Dīn al-Ubbī.

الاجرومية
الفية محمد بن مالك، شرح ابن عقيل أو الكواكب المضيئة شرح الفية ابن مالك
تاج التفاسير لسيدى محمد عثمان المرغنى
الحديث البخار لسيدى محمد البخار
الحديث لمسلم بن الحجاج النيسابور
الطبقات للشعرانى لسيدى عبد الوهاب المصرى
كتاب عقد النفيس في جواهر التدريس لسيدى احمد بن ادريس
ملحة الاعراب للحرير

B. Djibouti

DJK = Kabirto – Šayḫ Ayfaraḥ, Balbala, Djibouti, coll. familiale, issue de la lignée de Kabīr ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Dūrus de Ḥarallā (Kabirto, de l'arabe « kabīr », avec le sens de « lettré, expérimenté »). Les Kabirto représentent une branche maraboutique du groupe Ḥarallā. La partie de la coll. de manuscrits, gardée dans le pays Awsa jusqu'à il y a une vingtaine d'années par Ḥāğğ Šarīf, est conservée dans la maison de son petit-fils.

دلائل الخيرات لسيدى محمد بن سليمان الجزولي المغربى

C. Somaliland

SMHA = Hargeisa Cultural Center, Hargeisa/Hargeysa

تنبيه الانام لسيدى عبد الجليل القيروانى

Le document de la collection Griaule, datant de 1932, apporte une profondeur historique à notre connaissance du contenu d'une bibliothèque d'enseignement, telle qu'elle émerge de la base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa ». Là où les fonds appartenant à des shaykhs ou à leurs descendants sont bien documentés ou conservés ou encore non-dispersés, i. e. les collections AGSK et WOZM, on constate une « stabilité » des titres. Inversement, la collection privée JTMK répond à la même liste.

Grâce au document 7337 (7), cinq « nouveaux » titres entrent par ailleurs dans la base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa » :

عجائب الاثار في التراجيم والاخبار لسيدى عبد الرحمن الجبرتي الحنفى المصرى
ابو الليث لسيدى نصر السمرقندى
مختارات الصائغ للشيخ عوض الكريم محمد هندى
الحديقة الندية على الطريقة المحمدية لسيد عبد الغنى النابلسى

Le document Griaule apporte donc à notre connaissance du contenu de bibliothèques d'enseignement en mosquées, ainsi que des livres en circulation dans la Corne de l'Afrique, mais la prudence commande de ne pas commenter davantage.

VI. Corne de l'Afrique/Yémen

La bibliothèque d'enseignement, à la Mosquée de Gondar, possède un livre de ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī al-Yamanī, le *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*. ʿAfif al-Dīn ʿAl. b. Asʿad b. ʿA. b. S. al-Yāfiʿī al-Šāfiʿī al-Tamīmī est né en ca. 698/1298 au Yémen. Encore jeune, il est envoyé par son père étudier à ʿAden. C'est en 718/1319 qu'il gagne La Mecque, puis il vit entre les *ḥaramayn*s, La Mecque et Médine. De là, il effectue un voyage, d'après Carl Brockelmann en 724/1324, à Jérusalem, Damas et au Caire. Avant sa mort survenue à La Mecque, le 20 ǧumādā II 768/22 février 1367, il se rend pour un court séjour au Yémen en 738/1337, revoir son maître, le soufi ʿAlī al-Ṭawāšī. Ayant appartenu à la Qādiriyya, il en fonde une branche, la Yāfiʿiyya, toujours vivante au Yémen.

Son œuvre *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*, qui a connu de nombreuses impressions, ainsi qu'une forme abrégée présente en pays Oromo[22], est, avec *Našr al-maḥāsin al-ġāliyya fī faḍl al-mašā'iḥ al-sūfiyya* (Le Caire, 1961), également présente en pays oromo (Bibliothèque Zabbi Molla), la plus connue. Elle abrite une défense du soufisme comparable à l'effort d'al-Suyūṭī, et, surtout, des histoires de saints édifiantes qui servent de support à des éléments de doctrine mystique. Dès son époque, al-Yāfiʿī, a joui d'une notoriété s'étendant jusqu'au Caire et à Jérusalem, mais, sans doute, grâce à al-Suyūṭī, qui le cite souvent, le *Rawd* a été beaucoup utilisé par des auteurs plus tardifs qui ont rédigé des hagiographies de saints ou des récits sur eux[23]. Le texte du manuscrit Griaule dit « al-Yaman » (pour al-Yamanī), à son sujet : son appartenance au Yémen est ainsi rappelée par l'informateur, ou ceux qui l'entourent, dans le contexte de Gondar[24].

L'activité intense d'al-Yāfiʿī comme poète mystique a déjà été notée : ont été relevés en particulier des poèmes sur le Prophète, qu'il disait voir en rêve ou la nuit, en état de veille. Ils ont été très peu publiés à ce jour[25]. À Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt, à Sanaa, nous avons, pour notre part, relevé au catalogue, une *Qaṣīda fī al-ašhar al-rūmiyya*[26]. Son *Iʿānat al-ṭālibīn fī ḏikr madḥ mawlid Sayyid al-nabiyyin*, une anthologie de textes autour du *mawlid* (Bibliothèque Abbaa Gulli, pays oromo), est en prose.

Al-Yāfiʿī a inspiré la confrérie yéménite de la ʿAydarūsiyya, son *Našr al-maḥāsin al-ġāliyya* est une source du *K. al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* de ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs (m. 1509), saint et protecteur d'Aden[27]. Ce livre se trouve à la Bibliothèque al-Aḥqāf de Tarīm[28], ainsi que le *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* (n° 1627, 1737-1741)[29]. Mais avec d'autres titres soufis, son *Tuḥfat al-rāġibīn wa-taḏkirat al-sālikīn* (n° 1609)[30], le *Tārīḫ al-Yāfiʿī* ou *Mirāt al-ǧinān*

[22] Sous le titre: *ʿAǧā'ib al-āyāt wa-al-barāhīn wa-irdāf ġarā'ib ḥikāyāt Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, elle circule par la *Nuzhat al-sālikīn min aqwāl akābir a'immat al-ʿārifin* de Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Annī (m. 1299/1882).

[23] Largement inspiré de la *GAL* II, p. 177, et d'É. Geoffroy, *EI²*.

[24] Comparer avec les entrées des dictionnaires biographiques.

[25] É. Geoffroy, *EI²*. On relève à Tarīm, une *Qaṣīdat Šams al-īmān fī tawḥīd al-Raḥmān* (n° 5115, 5941), suivie d'une autre *qaṣīda* dans le genre *ġazal* d'Abū ʿAlawī , ʿAbd A. b. Ḥ. al-ʿAydarūs *et alii, Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf bi-Muḥāfaẓat Ḥadramawt, Al-ǧumhūriyya al-yamaniyya*, 2009, n° 5115, t. 3, p. 2100 ; n° 5941, t. 3, p. 2415 ; n° 4074, vol. 3, p. 1691.

[26] Maǧmūʿ 126, f. (p. ?) 86-87, M. S. al-Malīḥ & A. M. ʿIsawī, *Fihris maḫṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya bi-al-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr bi-Ṣanʿā'*, [s. d.], p. 773.

[27] E. Peskes, « Der Heilige und die Dimensionen seiner Macht. Abū Bakr al-ʿAidarūs (gest. 1509) und die Saiyid-Ṣūfis von Ḥaḍramaut », 1995, p. 58.

[28] ʿAbd A. b. Ḥ. al-ʿAydarūs *et alii, Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf*, 2009, n° 2048-2050, vol. 2, p. 876-877.

[29] ʿAbd A. b. Ḥ. al-ʿAydarūs *et alii, Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf*, 2009, vol. 1, p. 704, 750-752.

[30] ʿAbd A. b. Ḥ. al-ʿAydarūs *et alii, Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf*, 2009, vol. 1, p. 697.

wa-ʿibrat al-yaqẓān (n° 2131)[31], et sa *ʿAqīdat al-Yāfiʿī* (n° 3140)[32] et *šarḥ al-ʿaqīda* (*al-ʿaqīda al-sanniyya* li-Baḥraq) (n° 5089)[33].

Le fameux soufi d'origine marocaine Aḥmad b. Idrīs (m. 1253/1837), appartenant à la dynastie des Idrissides, réformateur de la confrérie de la Qādirīyya et fondateur de la branche de la Qādirīyya-Idrīsiyya, est une autre référence régionale, partagée des deux côtés de la mer Rouge ; l'un de ses descendants, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī, fonde, en 1910, l'Émirat idrīsside du ʿAsīr, dans la région de la Tihāma, annexé en 1934 par les Saoudiens[34]. Anti-Wahhabite, Aḥmad b. Idrīs est une figure bien connue et vivante en Tihāma yéménite par le texte de Ḥasan b. Aḥmad ʿĀkiš al-Ḍamadī (m. 1279/1862-1863), la *Munāẓarat Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Maġribī maʿa ʿulamāʾ* (ou : *fuqahāʾ*) *ʿAsīr al-wahhābiyya*[35]. Du côté des montagnes éthiopiennes, c'est, de même que dans un grand nombre de pays musulmans, par son activité d'enseignant à La Mecque, où une chaire d'enseignement lui assura un rayonnement considérable auprès d'étudiants venus de partout, qu'il est connu, ce que reflète ici le titre de son *Al-ʿiqd al-nafīs fī naẓm Ǧawāhir al-tadrīs*.

Le shaykh ʿAwwaḍ al-Karīm Muḥammad Hindī, auteur du *Muḫtārāt al-ṣāʾiġ*, n'a pu être identifié, l'enquête impliquant une recherche plus étoffée. Néanmoins, l'absence d'*ālat al-taʿrīf*, i. e. Hindī, et non al-Hindī (f. 11v, l. 7), dans le manuscrit Griaule, semble indiquer une origine indienne. Auteur d'un livre de prière qui n'est pas attesté par ailleurs – tout au moins dans la base de données « Islam in the Horn of Africa » – il est probable qu'il soit venu étudier dans la Corne de l'Afrique, peut-être en passant par le Yémen, et n'a peut-être ensuite acquis qu'une notoriété à Gondar et ses environs. Le *Muḫtārāt al-ṣāʾiġ* a été relevé en 1932, il est possible que son auteur, s'il n'a pas de réelle postérité, ait vécu à la fin du xix[e] ou au début du xx[e] s.

VII. Conclusion

Le texte du manuscrit BnF Arabe 7337 (7), f. 11r-v, collecté par la mission Dakar-Djibouti donne accès au contenu d'une bibliothèque d'enseignement dans une mosquée, à Gondar, en 1932. La liste des œuvres qui y sont présentes a été couchée sur le

[31] ʿAbd A. b. Ḥ. al-ʿAydarūs *et alii, Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf*, 2009, vol. 2, p. 912-913.

[32] ʿAbd A. b. Ḥ. al-ʿAydarūs *et alii, Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf*, 2009, vol. 2, p. 1323-1324.

[33] ʿAbd A. b. Ḥ. al-ʿAydarūs *et alii, Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-yamaniyya li-Maktabat al-Aḥqāf*, 2009, vol. 3, p. 2090.

[34] J. Reissner, « Die Idrīsīden in *ʿAsīr*. Ein historischer Überblick », 1981.

[35] Notons les deux copies de la Bibliothèque ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Hadhrami, m/ḥ 5/2, datée 1397/1977, et 7/11, s. d., A. Regourd (dir.), *Catalogue cumulé des Bibliothèques de manuscrits de Zabid*. I. *Bibliothèque ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Hadhrami*, fasc. 1, 2006. Publiée dans : Bernd Radtke *et alii*, *The Exoteric Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs: a Sufi's critique of the Madhāhib and the Wahhābīs: four Arabic texts with translation and commentary*, 2000.

papier par l'un des informateurs de Marcel Griaule, Šāh Muḥammed Ṭayyib « d'Addis-Alam ».

Ces livres font donc partie du bagage classique ou ordinaire d'un étudiant de *madrasa* ou apprenant sous la direction d'un shaykh, cad d'un niveau avancé (f. 11r, l. 1-9 et 11v, l. 3-13)[36]. Ils font écho aux confréries soufies importantes et aux écoles sunnites majeures d'Abyssinie, indiquées au centre du document (f. 11r, l. 9-11v, l. 3). Ils sont presque tous représentés ailleurs que dans la Mosquée de Gondar, dans d'autres bibliothèques de la Corne de l'Afrique. Un certain nombre est utilisé dans l'enseignement au-delà de la Corne de l'Afrique, dans le monde arabe.

Dans la bibliothèque du *ʿālim* en formation, on note la présence de ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī al-Yaman ou al-Yamanī, auteur du *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*, d'Aḥmad b. Idrīs et du shaykh ʿAwwaḍ al-Karīm Muḥammad Hindī, auteur du *Muḫtārāt al-ṣāʾiġ*. Le premier est un soufi qui a acquis une dimension régionale large de part et d'autre de la mer Rouge, mais dont l'origine yéménite semble être vivante dans la tradition orale[37]. Le second est également un soufi dont la dimension est régionale et s'étend des deux côtés de la mer Rouge : il n'est cependant pas connu par les mêmes œuvres au Yémen et à Gondar. Le cas du shaykh ʿAwwaḍ est potentiellement très intéressant pour illustrer la question de la circulation des personnes sur la zone de l'océan Indien.

Vu depuis cette bibliothèque d'enseignement religieux, les liens au Yémen sont donc peu denses et plutôt indirects. Les connexions sont plus larges, renvoyant à de nombreuses régions du monde arabe en général. Seul un manuscrit, celui d'al-Yāfiʿī, évoque une relation au Yémen. Sans vouloir sous-estimer les échanges entre soufis des deux côtés de la mer Rouge, ils sont davantage l'indice d'une relative intégration des musulmans éthiopiens à une communauté de savoir partagé plus vaste, s'étendant de l'Afrique du Nord à la mer Rouge.

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[36] K. Versteegh, « Learning Arabic in the Islamic World », 2018, p. 247-248, 263.

[37] Comparer avec la bibliothèque yéménite de Lamu, Kenya, décrite par Anne Bang, dans A. K. Bang, « The Riyadha Mosque Manuscript Collection in Lamu: A Ḥaḍramī Tradition in Kenya », 2014, riche en œuvres soufies du Hadramaout, ou mieux d'Érythrée, A. Hofheinz, « A Yemeni Library in Eritrea. Arabic Manuscripts in the Italian Foreign Ministry », 1995.

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Basset, René. 1986. « Burda, 2. », *EI²*, vol. 1, p. 1314a-1315b.

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YEMEN, ETHIOPIA, ERITREA AND ISRAEL: JEWISH IMMIGRATION IN 1962

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Summary

In recent years, Israel's secret activities in Ethiopia and Yemen have been examined. This article presents, for the first time, a covert operation in which Israel enabled Yemeni Jews to immigrate through British Aden, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. It demonstrates that the broader Israeli activity in Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular was associated with clandestine activity in Yemen. Because of the secrecy of the operation in the 1960s, these events were not known until now. This article reveals the identities of those who were involved in the operation, the background of the immigrants who set out on the difficult journey, and the Arab and Jewish emissaries who acted in secret to assure its success.

Résumé

Les activités souterraines d'Israël en Éthiopie et au Yémen ont fait l'objet d'études, ces dernières années. Pour la première fois, est présentée ici une opération sous couverture dans laquelle Israël a permis aux Juifs yéménites d'immigrer via l'Aden britannique et l'Éthiopie. Il y est montré que la stratégie israélienne en Afrique en général et en Éthiopie en particulier a été relayée par une aide clandestine au Yémen. Du fait du caractère secret de l'opération dans les années 1960, ces événements sont demeurés inconnus jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Cet article révèle l'identité de ceux qui participèrent à ces opérations, des immigrants qui entreprirent ce difficile périple et des émissaires arabes ou juifs qui agirent secrètement afin d'en assurer le succès.

خلاصة

في السنوات الأخيرة، تم التطرق لأنشطة إسرائيل السرية في كل من إثيوبيا واليمن. تكشف هذه المقالة، لأول مرة، عن عملية سرية تمكنت فيها إسرائيل من تهجير اليهود اليمنيين إلى إسرائيل عبر مدينة عدن ومنها إلى إثيوبيا، وتكشف عن أوجه النشاط الإسرائيلي الأوسع في أفريقيا بشكل عام، وفي إثيوبيا على وجه الخصوص، والمرتبط بعمليات وأنشطة سريه في اليمن. وبسبب سرية هذه العملية في الستينيات، لم يتم الإفصاح عن هذه الأحداث حتى الآن. وتكشف هذه

[1] I started this research project as a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Jewish History at Bar-Ilan University headed by Yaron Harel with the support of the Shʿarey Teman (Yemen Gates) Foundation headed by Michal Daḥōḥ. I completed the research as member of the I-CORE (The Israeli Centers for Research Excellence) "Da'at Hamakom": Center for the Study of Cultures of Place in the Modern Jewish World. The research was funded by the ISF (The Israel Science Foundation) I-CORE 1798/12. I thank all those who helped in spirit and by providing materials, and the editors who encouraged me to submit this article.

المقالة عن هوية أولئك الذين شاركوا في العملية، وخلفية اليهود المهاجرين الذين انطلقوا في تلك الرحلة الصعبة، وعن المبعوثين العرب واليهود الذين عملوا على إنجاح هذه المهمة وضمان سريتها.

Keywords

Yemenite Jews, Jewish immigration, 1962, Jewish Agency, Yemen, Taʿizz, Yarīm, Central Yemen, West of Sanaa, Ḥidān, Barat, Ṣaʿda, Aden, Africa, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Asmara, Massawa, Israel, Ethiopian Airlines, Imam Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1948–1962), El Al Airlines, Yemenite Diaspora

Mots-clés

Juifs yéménites, immigration juive, 1962, Agence juive, Yémen, Taez, Yarīm, moyens plateaux yéménites, Ouest de Sanaa, Ḥidān, Barat, Ṣaʿda, Aden, Afrique, Éthiopie, Érythrée, Asmara, Massawa, Israël, Ethiopian Airlines, Imam Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1948-1962), El Al Airlines, diaspora yéménite

تعبيرات رئيسية

اليهود اليمنيين، الهجرة اليهودية، 1962، الوكالة اليهودية، اليمن، تعز، يريم، المناطق الوسطى اليمنية، غرب صنعاء، حيدان، برط، صعدة، عدن، أفريقيا، إثيوبيا، إريتريا، أسمرة، مصوع، إسرائيل، الخطوط الجوية الإثيوبية، الإمام أحمد حميد الدين (حكم 1948-1962)، الخطوط الجوية الإسرائيلية العال، الهجرة اليمنية

I. Introduction

After the mass immigration of the Jews from Yemen to Israel was completed in September 1950, about 2,000 Jews remained in Imamic Yemen. They lived in a few small communities throughout the country under the rule of Imam Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn (r. 1948–1962). Additionally, there were about 1,000 Jews remaining in Aden under British rule until 1967.[2]

The major factors that influenced those to stay in Yemen were the economic situation and the difficulties that immigration entailed. Some Jews were opposed to the idea of emigrating for ideological and religious reasons: it meant forcing the end of the exile, and there were rumours coming from Israel claiming that women and children were harmed there, and that the religious observance of immigrants was poor.[3]

The remaining Jews were concentrated in three regions—central Yemen, near Taʿizz and Yarīm, the Sanaa region, primarily to the west of the city, and three regions in the North: Ḥidān, Baraṭ and Ṣaʿda. Most of them lived in small communities. But sometimes an individual or an entire family chose to stay in an Arab village.[4]

[2] On the Jews of Yemen, see for example: T. Parfitt, *The Road to Redemption*, 1996.

[3] See Ḥ. Zadok, *A Freight of Yemen,* 1985, pp. 223–224.

[4] See R. Ahroni, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen*, 2001.

In general, the communal and religious autonomy of Jews, as well as their established patronage relations as *ahl al-ḏimma*, were maintained in the 1950s.[5] Jews continued to observe religious laws and were able to pray and study in a few remaining synagogues. They paid the head tax, the *ǧizya*, to the regime and trade relations were generally normal. However, the decrease in the Jewish population in Yemen resulted in an increase in social rapprochement between Jews and Muslims. Muslims moved into the homes of the Jews who had left, which meant that Jews and Muslims lived in closer proximity to one another. Alongside displays of friendship, there were also economic, religious and social conflicts.[6] The most prominent example of this complex relationship pertained to the Jewish occupation in the liquor trade. In many cases, Jews sold alcohol to Muslims, despite prohibitions.[7] In the 1950s, the small remaining Jewish community continued to provide alcohol to Muslims although some Muslims prepared their own alcohol, while others imported drinks from Aden.[8] On the one hand, trade relations brought both communities closer together, and on the other, these relations were the source of tension between the government and the Jews. As a result of these conflicts and others, about ten percent of the Jews chose to convert to Islam, many of them in groups.[9]

In the years that followed, hundreds of Jews decided to immigrate to Israel. The Jewish Agency, which was the largest Jewish organization that fostered immigration of Jews to Israel, members of the Jewish community in Aden, and the Joint Distribution Committee (or JDC, an American Jewish charity that was dedicated to helping Jews around the world) assisted those who wished to immigrate. Jews left their places of residence and set out in the direction of Aden. After a long journey, they crossed the border of Imamic Yemen and entered the British colony of Aden and its environs. In Aden they were housed in a refugee camp, and after a short, or sometimes long stay, they boarded planes and flew to the State of Israel. The choice to fly from Aden directly to Israel was possible because British Aden maintained open relations with Israel through most of the 1950s.

Although Imam Aḥmad was not in official contact with Israel, it is clear that the organization of the immigration movement in the 1950's was partly based on the

[5] On the patronage relations, *ḏimma*, and the relationship between Jews and Muslims in Yemen, see for example: K. Abū-Jabel, *Yahūd al-Yaman,* 1999; I. Hollander, *Jews and Muslims in Lower Yemen*, 2005; M. Anzi, *The Jews of Ṣanʿā'*, 2011; and M.S. Wagner, *Jews and Islamic Law*, 2015.

[6] Interview with Seʿadyah and Yonah Daḥōḥ, December 2015.

[7] About this issue see M. Anzi, *The Jews of Ṣanʿā'*, 2011, pp. 38–40, 224–236.

[8] Hārūn Daḥyānī testimony, in: Goitein collection, Ben-Zvi Institute, box 14, notebook 91 and notebook 95 and Wahab al-Shāʿer testimony, in: Goitein collection, Ben-Zvi Institute, box 14, notebook 95 [Judeo-Arabic].

[9] M. Anzi, "*'Agunot* and Converts to Islam", 2016, pp. 135–149.

Imam's tacit permission to grant Jews the right to leave his territory and to immigrate to Israel.[10]

The most prominent cases of large-scale immigration involved the employment of Muslim emissaries in encouraging and facilitating the immigration.[11] The distance between the Jews living in Yemen and those in Aden, and the lack of direct communication made it very difficult to help those who wished to immigrate. To a great extent, the success of the immigration of the Jewish communities from Yemen to Israel was dependent on the ability to correspond with and meet these Muslim agents in person. At that time, outside Jews were forbidden from entering Yemen. Consequently, the Jewish Agency chose to employ Arab Muslim emissaries in this Zionist activity.[12]

For example, by 1953, the representatives of the Jewish Agency had contacted al-Shaykh Ḥamūd Muḥammad "al-Rubeydī"[13], an owner of a transportation company based in Aden, and signed an agreement with his company to bring Yemenite Jews to Aden for a substantial fee. Al-Rubeydī's assistants, al-Ḥāǧǧ al-Qarīṭī and Māniʿ al-ʿAwdī,[14] attempted to convince and assist Jews who wanted to leave Yemen for Israel.

In addition, letters were sent through indirect routes to Yemen to encourage immigration. For example, the Jewish Agency sent letters to the Jewish community of London or to the Israeli Ambassador in London, who forwarded these letters to Yemen. This correspondence, no matter how indirect, made it possible for them to eventually leave Yemen.[15]

Letters and money were sent through the Muslim emissaries to remote communities in order to facilitate this complex immigration project. Consequently, Jews travelled to Aden, and then were flown out to Israel.

This situation, which entailed a journey from Yemen to Aden, and from Aden, on direct flights or ships, to Israel had operated successfully for a decade. This changed in 1959. After that year, some caravans of immigrants from northern Yemen actually

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[10] N. Sayf al-Kumaym, *Muhandis tarḥīl Yahūd al-Yaman*, 2006.

[11] Reuben Ahroni discussed this phenomenon (R. Ahroni, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen*, 2001; and "Addressing the Plight of the Yemeni Agūnōt", 2000). It is interesting to compare the model of Muslim assistance in the immigration organization of the 1950s to the recent immigration from Yemen. For example, when a Jewish community from a small village left Yemen for Israel, they were helped by the Jewish Agency, and obviously by Muslims at Sanaa airport. News, *CmY* 23 (January 2017), <18–19 March 2016>, pp. 5–6 (http://www.cdmy.org/cmy/cmy23.pdf).

[12] I will expand on this issue in light of new discoveries elsewhere.

[13] In the documents, the name al-Rubaydī appears as "al-Rubeydī". In this article, I will use the latter spelling. The same holds for variations of some other names in Arabic. I will use the spellings that appear in the original, even though they diverge from the *CmY*'s standard transliteration conventions, and mark the first occurrence of such names by putting them between quotation marks. Also, some names are transcribed from Judeo-Arabic, others from Hebrew.

[14] In some documents, the name al-Qarīṭī appears as al-Qareiṭī, and the name al-ʿAwdī appears as "al-ʿUdī".

[15] I heard such stories in my interviews with Batyah and Seʿadyah Daḥōḥ, December 2015.

travelled to Israel by way of Asmara, which was ruled by the Federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea at that time. In this article, I will describe this new route and explain why the change in the route took place. I elaborate on the sequence of events from 1958 to 1962 and contextualize these events, which have not yet been adequately addressed in the research.[16] In order to disclose the affair, I used a variety of sources, among them: the Israeli press, memoirs of immigration activists, documents of the immigrants written in Judeo-Arabic and transcripts of interviews with them. Additionally, I used a very large collection of documents, primarily in Hebrew and other in English and Arabic sources from the Central Zionist Archives (CZA).

II. The Immigrant Operations from 1958 to 1960

In 1958, letters arrived in Aden stating that a group of Jews from northern Yemen wanted to leave and needed help organizing the journey to Aden.

Unfortunately, the relations with al-Rubeydī's transportation company, which had handled their transit for five years, had almost come to a complete end that year. Shaykh al-Rubeydī was arrested along with other merchants because of the suspicion that they were involved in the arms trade and apparently, also for their political activities in Aden. Although Meir Aharonee, a member of the Aden community and a Zionist activist, continued to maintain contact with al-Rubeydī, the handling of the Jews' departure was halted because of his imprisonment. Furthermore, al-Rubeydī's assistant, al-Qarīṭī, according to the Jewish community of Aden, "almost betrayed him [al-Rubeydī] and us". It turned out that al-Qarīṭī had stopped cooperating with the Jewish Agency. All the letters sent through him to Yemen since about 1957 had never reached their destination and were still in his possession.[17]

Members of the community in Aden contacted another transportation company under the direction of Ḥāǧǧ Ṣalīḥ Miftāḥ, a resident of Ṣaʿda, and his Yemeni representative, Aḥmad al-Qaṣūṣ, a resident of Taʿizz. The parties agreed that Miftāḥ and Qaṣūṣ's company would receive 180 riyals per head. The contract with them, written in Arabic, was signed on August 28, 1958. The company promised to protect the Jews and their property on the way to Aden, and their payment would be transferred only after the Jews arrived safely in Aden.[18]

Despite the signing of the agreement with the Miftāḥ company, it became clear that the departure from Ṣaʿda and its environs would be delayed. Initially it was de-

[16] Ahroni only briefly referred to these operations, but most were not even mentioned in his book. R. Ahroni, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen*, 2001.

[17] CZA S6\6189, Letter from the Aden Community Committee to the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency, dated September 2, 1958 [Hebrew]. Unless otherwise mentioned, all translations are mine.

[18] CZA S6\6189, "Immigration from Yemen 1958", dated September 2, 1958 [Hebrew]. The letter was attached to the agreement in Arabic and translated into English.

layed because of the holidays, and then because of an outbreak of smallpox. Conflicts within the Jewish communities of Ṣaʿda and the surrounding area also contributed to the delay. In one case, the conflicts led to a legal struggle and one of the parties sought to detain the Jews and even bribed the authorities for hundreds of riyāls.[19] The Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency in Israel heard about the delays and repeatedly wrote and urged the activists in Aden to take care of their immigration: "The truth is that we cannot conceal our deep concern and our great fear for the fate of the remnants of our Jewish brothers in the Yemenite exile."[20]

After the agreement with the Miftāḥ transportation company was made and al-Rubeydī became too ill to resume his activities, it was decided to sign a contract with another transport company to handle the emigration of the Jews living in central Yemen. The assumption was that there was a need for local Arab emissaries who knew the specific area where the Jews lived and who could be trusted by both Arabs and Jews there. Miftāḥ's company dealt with the emigration of Jews from northern Yemen in particular and the second company was supposed to replace al-Rubeydī's company to transport the Jews from the centre of Yemen to Aden. A contract was signed with Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ al-Saidī, a well-known and well-connected merchant in Yemen and Aden, to transport Yemenite Jews for a substantial fee.[21]

Following the reorganization of the Arab messengers, letters were sent to all of the remaining Jewish communities to try to convince them once again to leave Yemen. Finally, in February 1959, a group from north Yemen arrived in Aden, under the guidance of Miftāḥ, and stayed in "Bir al-Fadle", near Shaykh ʻUṯmān.[22] The newcomers wrote that they would not board the flight unless someone from Israel whom they knew arrived in Aden to confirm that the situation in Israel was favorable. Rabbi ʻOvadia Yaʿabeṣ from Rosh Haʿyin arrived in Aden at the beginning of April to make assurances to them. Shortly afterwards the plane took off from Aden with twenty-six Northern Yemeni families on board together with two families who had already been waiting for a year in Aden and a group of Adeni Jews.[23]

This was proof that the new company of Miftāḥ was indeed fulfilling its promises, and that the delay of the departure of the Jews, which had lasted two years, had come to an end and others might have the opportunity to leave. Apparently, the renewal of the immigration project undermined the British Authority, which was deal-

[19] A letter was sent by Sālim Chūbanī to his family in Israel on the 4th of Cheshvan 5721 (October 25, 1960) [Hebrew], the Yehuda Weiss collection, Rishon le-Tzion. I thank the Weiss family for allowing me to use the letter, and my brother Itiel Anzi, who sent me a photocopy of it.

[20] CZA S6\6189, "Immigration from Yemen 1958". The letter of Josef Fael of the Immigration Department to Salīm Banin, head of the Aden community, dated December 15, 1958 [Hebrew].

[21] CZA S6\6190, Letter from Salim Banin to Joseph Fael, dated January 12, 1959 [Hebrew].

[22] Compare to R. Ahroni, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen*, 2001, p. 74.

[23] CZA S6\6190 [Hebrew].

ing with a rising anti-colonial sentiment. For that reason, they demanded that henceforth the flights would not leave directly from Aden to Israel.[24]

Later that year, a group of twenty-six Jews from Ānis, headed by Issachar Yanai, received letters from Israel and decided to set out. The case of the Jews of Ānis was particularly interesting since three years earlier about seventy of them had chosen to convert to Islam under the pressure of the local shaykhs.[25] The fact that twenty-six Jews from Ānis had decided to go to Israel rather than remaining in Yemen with their new identity as Muslims raised expectations among the organizers of the immigration in Aden and Israel that more "new Muslims" would come to Aden and from there fly to Israel.

After a long journey of several months during which some were arrested and others died along the way, the Jews of Ānis managed to cross the border, and arrived on the eve of the Rosh Hashanah festival (September 28, 1959) in Aden and settled in one of the Jewish homes.[26] They stayed there for two months, and in November 1959 were flown to "Africa", that is, to Djibouti and from there to Athens and then to Israel.[27] This was the first case of indirect immigration through Africa.

III. The Immigrant Operations from 1961 to 1962

In 1960, more Jews arrived in Aden and were housed in the immigrants' camp at Bir al-Fadle. In 1961, the groups were flown to Israel.[28] Apparently, this immigration was also indirect, through Africa.

It seems that the first operation that was launched through Massawa involved thirteen immigrants who arrived in Aden in September 1961 and fourteen immigrants who arrived in January 1962. They were all housed in the Bir al-Fadle camp in Shaykh ʿUṯmān. The twenty-seven immigrants were transferred by plane to Asmara in Eritrea, which was at the time federated with Ethiopia, and from there, they travelled by bus to the Red Sea port of Massawa to board the ship to Israel.[29]

In March 1962, a convoy of approximately one hundred Jews left North Yemen for Aden. The members of the convoy travelled in three trucks, which were organized

[24] So far, I have not found direct evidence for the new order of the British.

[25] For now, see R. Ahroni, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen*, 2001, p. 12; N. Sayf al-Kumaym, *Muhandis tarḥīl Yahūd al-Yaman*, 2006; I. al-Maqḥafi, *Muʿaǧam al-buldān*, 2011, pp. 19–22.

[26] A small group arrived in July and the majority arrived in September.

[27] CZA S6\6191 [Hebrew], Y. Aviʿam, "The Heroism Journey in the Desert", 1959; S. Har-Gil, "The Adventures' Road of Immigrants from the Desert", 1959. Compare to R. Ahroni, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen*, 2001, p. 76.

[28] Unfortunately, so far, I have only been able to find incomplete information about these groups, and I hope that I will be able to elaborate on this issue in the future.

[29] CZA S6\10013, S1\4935 [Hebrew].

by Ṣalīḥ Miftāḥ and called, according to one letter, "Righteous Among the Nations".[30] Two weeks later, on April 11, 1962, they arrived in Aden and were housed in a refugee camp. About a month and a half later, they were taken by plane to Asmara, continued by bus to Massawa, and from there they sailed by ship and reached the port of Eilat in Israel.[31]

Finally, on July 31, 1962, a group of about one hundred people from Ǧabal ʿAmr and the surrounding area arrived in Aden under the supervision of the Arab emissaries Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ al-Saidī and Māniʿ al-ʿAwdī.[32] Like the previous groups, they were hosted in the Bir al-Fadle camp.[33] Ṣāliḥ ʿUmaysī, a Yemenite Jew who lived in Aden and worked for the Jewish Agency, took care of all of their needs.[34] The members of the group described his hospitality in a letter in Judeo-Arabic, "All we want from him is sent to us" ["ūma nurīd minho maṭlūb irsal lane"].[35] In mid-August, they were flown by plane to Asmara, and hosted for two weeks in that city.[36] They were then driven by bus to Massawa, and from there they sailed by ship to the port of Eilat in Israel.[37]

This was the last group of Jews who left Imamic Yemen. In August 1962, a revolution broke out in Yemen and for political reasons the gates were closed. The rest of the Jews remained in Yemen until 1990 and beyond. However, Jews from the city of Aden, which was under control of Britain, continued to leave the country. In November 1962, a group left Aden and immigrated to Israel via Asmara. A year later, another group of forty-seven immigrants came to Israel.[38]

In my opinion, three main factors led to the change in the situation and the decision to travel through Ethiopia and Eritrea: clearly, the situation had worsened in Aden making it an unsafe place for Jews to wait for transfer. Second, the availability of assistance from the Jewish community of Ethiopia and Eritrea had increased. Third, the relationship between Ethiopia and Israel had become stronger. The following sections explore these reasons in greater detail.

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[30] A letter sent by Sālim Chubanī to his family in Israel on the 4th of Cheshvan 5721 (October 25, 1960), the Yehuda Weiss Collection, Rishon le-Tzion [Hebrew].

[31] Based on Moshe Argi's description, see: http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4211673,00.html [Hebrew].

[32] Interview with Seʿadyah and Yonah Daḥōḥ, December 2015 and interview with Yiḥye Efraim Yaʿacov, February 2018.

[33] CZA S1\4935.

[34] CZA S1\4935.

[35] A letter from "Ǧamīaʿ al-Yahūd" ("All the Jews") to Avraham Yehudah, Private collection of Daḥōḥ family, Rishon le-Tzion [Judeo-Arabic].

[36] See for example CZA S1\4936, "Expenses in Asmara… from August 16th to August 31th 1962".

[37] Compare to R. Ahroni, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen*, 2001, pp. 77–78.

[38] CZA S65\197, Letter from Shalom Ḥamani to Shlomo Zalman Shragai, the head of Immigration Department at the Jewish Agency, dated September 30, 1963, "Immigration and Absorption 1961–1964" [Hebrew].

IV. The situation in Aden

In the first half of the twentieth century, Aden had become a central port in the British Empire, connected to the ports of India, the Persian Gulf, and Africa. The British made many efforts to maintain control of their overseas territories and exerted pressure on their opponents. During the 1950s, however, a local Yemenite resistance movement to the British developed in Aden and its environs.

The situation in Aden worsened in 1958 in the wake of growing conflicts between the British authorities, the local Adeni people, and Imamic Yemen.[39] One letter, dated May 3, 1958, reads, "A series of bombs against two restaurants in Steamer Point resulted in the injury of 12 persons".[40] Consequently, the British Governor declared a state of emergency in the area. This unrest was the background of the restrictions on direct immigration from Aden to Israel. As a result, in February 1958, a British Air flight transported fifty-eight Jews to Israel via Nicosia instead of directly to Tel-Aviv. An El-Al plane then flew the immigrants from Nicosia to Israel.[41] The personal effects of the immigrants were shipped from Aden to Genoa and then to Israel.[42]

In response, the Jewish Agency looked into opportunities to solve the problem of the prohibition of direct flights from Aden to Israel. One suggestion was the possibility of transporting immigrants on ships from Aden to Israel, but the owners of the ships made the conditions difficult. The ships were not suitable for children, and furthermore the captains did not agree to bring passengers. Another suggestion was to take the immigrants on ships to Djibouti, Massawa, or Italy and then to Israel.[43] In another letter, it was proposed to send the immigrants via Khartoum to Greece and from there to Israel on Ethiopian Airlines.[44]

The security situation in Aden became increasingly complicated in 1959, and as a result, the immigration project became more complex. There was a great fear of leaks concerning the secret operations. After the Ānis group immigrated to Israel in November 1959, the events were published (although without the names of the countries) in the Israeli press. In a letter to Baruch Duvdevani, the Director of the Immigration Department at the Jewish Agency, Salim Banin, the leader of the Jewish community in Aden, expressed his anger about this leak. He wrote that this would be brought

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[39] P. Dresch, *A History of Modern Yemen*, 2000, pp. 58–64, 71–77.

[40] CZA S6\6189, Reuters Daily Bulletin, Aden, May 3, 1958, "Immigration from Yemen 1958" [Hebrew].

[41] CZA S6\6189, Letter of Dr. Rosenzweig to El-Al, dated June 20, 1958, "Immigration from Yemen 1958" [Hebrew].

[42] CZA S1\4029, "Statement of Account for the month of February 1958".

[43] CZA S1\4029, Letter from Duvdevani, the Director of Immigration Department at the Jewish Agency, to Mr. Levavi, Deputy Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel, dated July 9, 1958 [Hebrew].

[44] CZA S6\6189, A letter from the community in Aden to Mr. Yakir in the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency, dated June 29, 1958, "Immigration from Yemen 1958" [Hebrew]. For more information, see CZA S1\4935.

to the attention of the Imam and that it would likely harm the success of the operation. Banin added: "Therefore, we cannot take responsibility ourselves for what will happen in the near future as a result of the irresponsible publication [...] We have always made serious promises to the [British] authorities here [in Aden] that the rescue work of our brothers would be carried out without any publicity or discussion. For their part, they warned us more than once to do the work quietly in order not to cause them trouble with the local Arabs".[45]

At that point, it was decided that the following operations should be carried out through Eritrea in total secrecy, and through the mobilization of Israeli organizations. The Jewish Agency (and Israel) decided to transport the immigrants via Asmara and Massawa, as opposed to another route, for several reasons. First, Yemen and Ethiopia are close to each other geographically and there are long-standing ties between the two countries, as expressed by the other articles in this special issue. Additionally, there were Jewish and Israeli communities in Ethiopia that would assist in organizing the clandestine operation. Finally, secret ties were strengthened in those years between Ethiopia and Israel.

V. The Jewish community of Ethiopia and Eritrea

There are three different Jewish communities in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The oldest community is the native community of Ethiopia, Beta Israel, who had lived in the country for hundreds of years. We have information about them from the 13th century onwards. Their ties with other Jewish communities were strengthened in the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, after a visit by Joseph Halévy. Halévy (1827–1917) was an Orientalist and linguist. He was the pioneer of the connection between the Beta Israel community and world Jewry in modern times. Later, Jacques Faitlovitch (1881–1955) also visited Ethiopia. He was also an Orientalist and a researcher of Beta Israel, and a leading activist for the Ethiopian Jews in the early 20th century. However, unfortunately at that time they were not considered as a "natural part" of the Jewish nation, or "halachic Jews".[46] Consequently, Israel did not make serious efforts to encourage their immigration to Israel. In addition, their economic and political situation was poor and therefore they would not be able to offer much help to any new arrivals from Yemen.

Aside from the native community, a new community of immigrants was established from Yemen. Beginning in the 19th century, Yemenite Jews established communities in many parts of the Red Sea region, including in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Egypt and, of course, Palestine. At least five different communities emerged around the Red Sea. Jewish merchants set up commercial branches across the Red Sea, which spearheaded the establishment of small Jewish communities in these areas. They were

[45] CZA S6\6191, A letter from Salim Banin to Baruch Duvdevani, dated December 17, 1959 [Hebrew].

[46] On the history of Beta Israel, see S.B. Kaplan, *The Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *in Ethiopia*, 1992.

joined by Jewish artisans who worked in crafts, as shoemakers and jewellers. Beside these commercial ties, other Jews passed through Ethiopia and Egypt on their way to Eretz Yisrael (Palestine), and settled there for a short or long duration.[47]

Although most of the community left in the 1950s, there were a few dozen who remained, and helped the later Yemenite immigrants on their way to Israel. Some of them worked at the "transition houses" in Asmara, like a certain Avraham Yehudah, who was briefly mentioned in the archives, although no more information is known about him.[48] More importantly, some Yemenite Jews living in Ethiopia and Eritrea continued to maintain good relations with Yemen. The following example will demonstrate the power of the Yemenite diaspora in Ethiopia and Eritrea to develop relations within Yemen.

In 1963, Shalom Ḥamani, a Jewish Agency emissary, met Ġālib Muẓhar Sayyid, a wealthy Yemenite merchant and a representative of Yemen Airlines that had just opened in Asmara. His cousin was Šayib Muḥammad Sayyid, who was called "the Yemeni foreign minister".[49] Through a local Jew, probably Yemenite, "who had commercial ties with the merchant [Ġālib Muẓhar Sayyid]", they succeeded in passing a proposal to the "Yemeni foreign minister" to send 400 Yemenite Jews in disguise to Jewish organizations in Europe that wanted to help them reunite with Jewish family members. The suggestion was to send the immigrants by the new air route with Yemen Airlines or by ship from al-Ḥudayda to Massawa. The Israeli Ambassador, Shmuel Dibon, told Ḥamani he believed that he could get the Ethiopians' consent to allow the Yemenite Jews to land there and to transfer them to Israel.[50] It seems that this later attempt at facilitation failed, but it indicates the strength of the relations between the Yemenite Jewish merchants in Asmara and Yemen, and the attempts that were made to help the Jews leave Yemen even after the Revolution had halted operations.

The Yemenite Jews of Asmara were joined by Israeli merchants and diplomats in the 1950s and especially in the 1960s. The Israeli colony in Ethiopia and Eritrea developed out of the good relations that Israel maintained with Ethiopia.

VI. The Israeli involvement in Ethiopia and Eritrea

Abel Jacob described Israel's policy toward Africa that also encompassed the approach to relations with Ethiopia and Eritrea: "During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Israel mounted an active campaign of aid to Africa, which took three main forms: technical

[47] About this community see B. Eraqi Klorman, "Yemen, Aden and Ethiopia", 2009, and recently M. Anzi, "Yemenite Jews in the Red Sea Trade", 2017, pp. 100–79.

[48] See, for instance, CZA S1\4935.

[49] I was unable to find any other reference to this person, but he was probably just a high official in the Foreign Ministry of Yemen, rather than the minister himself.

[50] CZA S65\197, Letter from Shalom Ḥamani to Shragai, dated September 30, 1959, under the "top secret" heading [Hebrew]. Shmuel Dibon was the first Israeli Ambassador to Ethiopia from 1962 to 1966.

help in agriculture, joint commercial ventures, and military assistance. Of the three, the military and quasi-military programmes made the most considerable mark in Africa; they were also an important part of Israel's overall foreign policy, in an attempt to gain political influence through military aid, and thus to help overcome her isolation in the Middle East".[51] It was part of the "periphery strategy" that was developed during the 1950s by Israel, and the aim was to "place a barrier between Arab countries and the newly de-colonized and independent African states".[52] It is important to be aware, in this context, of the political and military upheavals experienced by Ethiopia and Eritrea during this period that directly affected the migration of Jews to Israel. In 1941, Eritrea was liberated from Italian rule and came under British rule. In the same year, Emperor Hayla-Sellase I (r. 1930-1936, 1941-1974) returned to Ethiopia, and Ethiopia became a sovereign state. In 1952, the United Nations adopted a resolution that united Ethiopia and Eritrea and created the Federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea under Emperor Hayla-Sellase I, Emperor of Ethiopia. Some of the Eritreans, mainly the Muslims, opposed the federation and from 1958 began to organize an underground movement against Ethiopia. The rebellion won the support of some Arab countries. In 1961, an armed revolt broke out in Eritrea against Ethiopia, and in November 1962 Eritrea was annexed to Ethiopia. Under Emperor Hayla-Sellase I the federation was abolished.[53] The connection between Israel and Christian Ethiopia was bolstered in the face of Eritrea's deepening connection with Arab countries, based on its majority of Muslim inhabitants.[54] As a result, Israel trained military forces in Ethiopia and kept the programme secret. Israel also created commercial ventures in Ethiopia.[55]

In addition to these security concerns and the exchange of intelligence, scholars have given other explanations for the special relationship forged between Israel and Africa. Haim Yaacobi claimed that the Israeli settlement project in Africa was "a verifying laboratory for colonial spatial practices".[56] Haggai Erlich described the special ties that have always existed between the Jewish people and the Christians of Ethiopia as part of the rationale.[57]

Hundreds of Israeli military, agricultural, and industrial specialists went to Ethiopia and Eritrea in the 1960s. Between 1961 and the early 1970s, several Israeli

[51] A. Jacob, "Israel's Military Aid to Africa, 1960–66", 1971, p. 165.

[52] H. Yaacobi, *Israel and Africa*, 2016, p. 19.

[53] See, for example S. Haile, "The Origins and Demise of the Ethiopia-Eritrea Federation", 1987; B. Zewda, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, 2001, pp. 219-220.

[54] H. Erlich, *Alliance and Break*, 2013, pp. 80-83.

[55] A. Jacob, "Israel's Military Aid to Africa, 1960–66", 1971, pp. 175ff.

[56] H. Yaacobi, *Israel and Africa*, 2016, p. 21. This is consistent with the Zionist fantasy and the attraction of Africa, see E. Bar Yosef, "A Villa in the Jungle", 2007.

[57] H. Erlich, *Alliance and Break*, 2013.

fishing boats operated from the port of Massawa.[58] The best example of this is the canned meat factory, Incoda, that was established in Ethiopia and Eritrea by Israeli business representatives in 1952 and functioned until the 1970s. For a large part of the time, the State of Israel was a partner in the company.[59] Apparently, during the 1950s, Incoda and other Israeli companies tried to do business with Yemen, and especially with Aden.[60]

Sometimes there were connections between the two modes of aid—security and business. For example, Incoda cooperated with Israeli intelligence, and under its management were senior Mossad personnel in Addis Ababa, Massawa and Djibouti.[61] Israel Yeshayahu contended that the Israelis tended not to establish ties with the local Jewish community, Beta Israel.[62]

This broader context contributes to our understanding of the immigration operation from Yemen to Israel via Eritrea at a deeper level. Indeed, the indirect route allowed for the migrants to pass through territories that were deemed much safer for Israeli migrants.

Shalom Ḥamani, the Israeli emissary, wrote that the Israeli community in Ethiopia and Eritrea helped them arrange the operation. For example, the Enav brothers, who were involved in business in Asmara (the Incoda company and other businesses) organized the release of the immigrants' baggage in Asmara and its transfer to the Massawa port. Israeli sailors also helped Yemenite immigrants to board the ship in Massawa.[63] In his letter, Ḥamani also emphasizes that British soldiers and Indian officials in Aden assisted in the immigrant operation, without the knowledge of the local Arabs, and that the operation was carried out in strict secrecy. The need to launch the operation in secret was also a result of the British government's fear of a sharp response by the Muslims in Aden. "The Governor tried to explain to me that he has tens of thousands of workers in all kinds of factories, especially in fuel factories. Tomorrow everyone will strike and shut down the factories because he is cooperating with Israel".[64]

Yaacobi's argument regarding the connection between Israeli activity in Africa and the formation of Israeli national identity,[65] helps explain the importance of the Is-

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[58] See for this, see the memoirs of Yehuda Rotem: http://www.tapuz.co.il/forums2008/articles/article.aspx?forumid=467&aId=67414&frewrite=1 [Hebrew].

[59] H. Erlich, *Alliance and Break*, 2013, pp. 72–73.

[60] CZA S1\4256, Letter from Dr. Rosenzweig to Shragai, dated September 27, 1954 [Hebrew].

[61] See, for example, H. Erlich, *Alliance and Break*, 2013.

[62] I. Yeshayahu, *Single and Together*, 1990, pp. 262-266.

[63] CZA S6\10013, Letter of Ḥamani to the Immigration Depatment at the Jewish Agency, dated January 1962.

[64] The testimony of Shalom Ḥamani, in A. Kamon, *The Ropes of Genesis,* 2011, pp. 178–181.

[65] H. Yaacobi, *Israel and Africa*, 2016, pp. 38–39.

raeli mobilization in Ethiopia and Eritrea, especially in Asmara, for the success of the Jewish immigration project from Yemen.

On the other hand, it is possible to understand why the Adeni Jews operated in secrecy and did not communicate on a regular basis with the Jewish Agency. Ḥamani notes this both in a negative letter and in his memoirs. In both he describes the fear felt by the Adeni Jews when he came to visit the city.[66] It is important to remember that the details of the 1959 operation that were published in Israel had harmed the relations between Jews and Arabs and the British in Aden.

The secrecy of these operations can also explain why the immigrants were not permitted to take a tour of the city of Asmara while staying there. The new immigrants in August 1962, who were not aware of the secrecy, complained about this and claimed in their own words: "Now we arrived Asmara, and they put us in jail" ["Alan waṣalne ʿAsmarah [!] ḥabastūne"].[67] Those involved in the operation were fearful of public disclosure and were forced to maintain a "low profile". The desire to maintain the secrecy of the operation was also a result of the tension that existed between the Eritrean underground, the ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front), which was close to Egypt, and the Ethiopian regime, which maintained good relations with Israel.

VII. Conclusion

In 1962 about 230 new immigrants from Yemen arrived in Israel. In a series of clandestine and complicated operations, the immigrants were escorted by Arab emissaries from their Yemeni cities of residence to Aden. In Aden, they were hosted by the Jewish community, and from there, they were flown on Ethiopian Airlines to Asmara where they were taken by bus to the Massawa port, and from there they sailed to Israel.

These events were the last immigration operations from northern Yemen before the closing of the gates. The deteriorating situation in Yemen and in British Aden, on the one hand, and the close ties between Israel and Ethiopia, on the other, enabled these operations to take place. In addition, this article attributes the success of the operation to members of the Israeli community, and to the small Yemenite community living in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

These operations shed new light on the significance of the security and economic ties forged between Israel and Ethiopia and the possibilities that the security base in Ethiopia gave Israel in the entire Red Sea region.

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[66] CZA S6\10013, Letter of Ḥamani to the Immigration Department at the Jewish Agency, dated January 1962 [Hebrew], and the testimony of Shalom Ḥamani.

[67] Private collection of Daḥōḥ family, Rishon le-Tzion. A letter from "Ǧamīaʿ al-Yahūd" ("All the Jews"), to Avraham Yehudah [Judeo-Arabic]. In Yemen, sometimes, Asmara was written with an *ʿayn* at the beginning: ʿAsmara.

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"From Mountain to Mountain": An Epilogue

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The past fifteen years have witnessed a sharp rise in scholarly interest in the Red Sea arena. Drawing on the findings of numerous studies, such as those by Jonathan Miran, Alexis Wick, Timothy Power, Valeska Huber, John Meloy, Roxani Margariti, Nancy Um, Anne Regourd, and others, there should be no question that the Red Sea may be studied productively as a fluid and connected space that supersedes both national and continental boundaries, a premise that lines up effectively with recent developments in world history and maritime studies.[1] The present volume is certainly inspired by these new studies on the Red Sea and the compelling transregional methodologies that they suggest, while taking an approach that is slightly different from them. In this special issue, we zero in on more direct vectors of exchange and connection between Yemen and Ethiopia. And while many of the articles also include other parts of the Horn of Africa or highlight movements around and across the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, the intended goal is to offer a focused view toward these two specific regions, which are joined, as much as they are separated, by the waters of the Red Sea. By doing so, we endeavor to move beyond the coast, heading toward mountain interiors and landed centers.

It is necessary and worthwhile to delve deeper into the interior zones on both sides of the Red Sea in order to address the possible perception that inland Yemen represented a cloistered Muslim zone and Ethiopia an isolated Christian world, both distinct from their much more cosmopolitan coasts. This volume queries the seeming divide between coast and center and attempts to consider the deeper and more penetrating consequences of long-standing relationships that were generally conducted by sea.

Yet, as will be apparent to the readers of the essays in this volume, the studies at hand have been stymied by certain obstacles. Yemen and Ethiopia are always considered as separate entities. Scholars of the two areas are usually housed, respectively, in Middle Eastern and African Studies departments. These boundaries are difficult to override and few researchers claim expertise in both areas. Moreover, there is no ready archive or available dataset for the study of Yemeni-Ethiopian relations. For that reason, the authors that are featured here have relied upon very different bodies of

[1] For a useful list of recent and relevant titles and an excellent historiographical review, see Jonathan Miran, "The Red Sea," in: David Armitage, Alison Bashford & Sujit Siva Sundaram (eds.), *Oceanic Histories*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 164–166.

source material. Some have called upon classic written sources from Yemen, mostly historical chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and almanacs written in Arabic. But, others have sought out new and untapped materials from unexpected locations, including interviews with Indian migrants who moved from the subcontinent to Aden and then finally to Ethiopia, the research diaries left by the French researcher Marcel Griaule from his time in Africa, or records from the Central Zionist Archives in Israel.

Bolstered by these varied sources, the goal of this volume is to move beyond the general acknowledgement of an intertwined region or oft-repeated examples of certain exchanges, such as those mapped out by the shared cultures of coffee or the Sufi orders that bridged both areas. By probing deeper into the lives and trajectories of individuals and some of the concrete outcomes of their movements, we can better understand the ties that have long connected the two regions, even if they happened to be intermittent, tangential, strained, or provisional. Moreover, as much as we aim for a focus on Yemeni-Ethiopian relations, almost all of the authors in this volume present cases that require the reader to look far outside of the immediate region that we home in on. For instance, several of the authors suggest that the ties between Ethiopia and Yemen can only be understood amidst connections to other places, most of them much farther afield, such as Ottoman Istanbul, India, Britain, West Africa, or Israel. In this way, this volume suggests that even regional questions must be considered from a wider perspective. Put differently, localized concerns should always be integrated with views that are more global in orientation.

The first article in this volume, by Maria Bulakh, revisits the famous "Arabic-Ethiopic Glossary" of the Rasulid Sultan al-Malik al-Afḍal, dating to the eighth/fourteenth century, as the earliest attempt at a study of Ethiopic languages. But, because there are no external sources that describe its composition, the glossary itself must be read closely to understand its history. Building upon the work that she conducted with her colleague Leonid Kogan, Bulakh expertly examines this short, but important document.[2] Using the linguistic and structural clues that she has gleaned from it, she sets up the social context in which this glossary was produced and suggests who its informants may have been. As a result, she adds a missing human element to this important early attempt at linguistic documentation and brings to light the shaping role of unwritten traditions and oral communications in its creation. Bulakh's study illuminates the goals of al-Malik al-Afḍal, as author or patron of this compendium, who possessed a broad worldview and a deep curiosity toward research and documentation.

Historian Yasuyuki Kuriyama delves into the Ethiopian Negus Fasiladas's short-lived and ultimately unsuccessful attempts at diplomatic exchange with Qāsimī Yemen in the eleventh/seventeenth century. As Kuriyama describes, the exchanges that

[2] Maria Bulakh & Leonid Kogan, *The Arabic-Ethiopian Glossary by al-Malik al-Afḍal: An Annotated Edition with Linguistic Introduction and a Lexical Index*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2016.

took place between Fasiladas and two successive imams of Yemen have been understood mostly through the work of the Dutch historian Emeri van Donzel, who relied upon certain Arabic sources for his study.[3] Kuriyama expands the perspective by drawing from another chronicle, written by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, which provides details about the aftermath of the return embassy dispatched from Yemen in 1647. By doing so, he expands our understanding of these exchanges, while also adding a significant transregional dimension to them. Even if these attempts at diplomacy took place between Yemen's Qāsimī imams and the Negus in Gondar, it is clear that both sides were deeply concerned about the threats posed by the Ottomans with their strategic holding in Massawa. In this way, Yemeni-Ethiopian diplomatic connections should be considered as more triangular than linear. They also had a number of local consequences in Yemen that have not been previously acknowledged.

Turning to more recent history, Dominique Harre explores the role that the city of Aden played for Indian migrants, some of whom remained in that city and others who continued on to Ethiopia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By doing so, she sheds light on much-overlooked secondary migrations. In order to understand the impact of these movements, Harre considers their cross-cultural effects in architecture and transferred business practices, thereby showing how India, Yemen, and Ethiopia were tied together in this period. Harre was particularly creative in compiling a range of sources, including archival materials, newspaper advertisements, and interviews that she conducted in Ethiopia and India. Her core contention is that Aden served as a crucial lynchpin between these two areas. Thus, Yemen mediated wider patterns of movement between South Asia and Africa at this time.

In his article, Tamon Baba mines the rich Rasulid corpus in order to further elucidate the relations between Yemen and Northeast Africa. Admittedly, his sources are often cursory and their information is usually delivered in an offhand fashion. Yet, Baba meticulously culls and analyzes these references in order to compile an understanding of migration between these two areas. In response to the scholarship that sketches a more general awareness of patterns of mobility, Baba turns to individual itineraries, with a focus on the movement of Muslims and particularly religious scholars. By doing so, he shows how and under which circumstances one could move from Yemen to Northeast Africa and vice versa. He also suggests that many of these migrants gained a significant amount of social acceptance in their newly adopted homes. Baba's piece provides a sharp contrast to the world in which Bulakh's glossary was produced, likely a slave market. The two articles sketch very different facets of exchange and movement (including forced movement) between Yemen and Ethiopia during the Rasulid era.

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[3] Emeri Johannes van Donzel, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia (1642-1700): Documents Relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murad*, Istanbul, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1979; E.J. van Donzel, *A Yemenite Embassy to Ethiopia, 1647-1649: Al-Haymi's Sirat al-Habasha, newly introduced, translated, and annotated*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, ser. "Äthiopistische Forschungen", 21, 1986.

Anne Regourd delves into a box of Marcel Griaule's records that had been held in France for almost a century, but had been essentially forgotten. This study, which is part of a larger project about this forgotten crate of precious documents, deals with one of the Arabic manuscripts found within, which included an inventory of books in the Mosque of Addis Alam in Gondar. Regourd carefully reviews the titles listed in it to recreate the teaching library of that institution. Then, she correlates this list with collections of Arabic books found in other libraries in the Horn of Africa. By doing so, she recreates the apparent curriculum for mosque instruction in a part of Africa that is usually seen through a monolithic Christian lens. This new perspective opens up a little-known world of Muslim learning and also draws connections to and divergences from Yemeni libraries during the same era.

Menashe Anzi investigates the migration of Yemeni Jews to Israel in the late 1950s and early 1960s, following the first major wave of departure in 1950. His research, based on previously unstudied records that had long been held secret, shows how certain Yemeni Muslims were hired to guarantee safe passage from northern Yemen to British Aden for these migrants. From Aden, some were transported to Israel via Asmara and Massawa. This new information sheds light on indirect immigration to Israel, by way of Eritrea, while also providing further evidence of Aden's key role as a regional transportation hub, as Harre also described in her piece. Anzi lucidly shows how multiple actors facilitated immigration and how communication was strategically managed across Yemen, British Aden, Israel, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, in a tense time of rising anti-colonial sentiment and anti-monarchical revolution.

Published in three installments, the essays in this special issue are varied in their approaches, but they are enriched by being grouped together. Taken as a group, they reflect the interdisciplinary preoccupations of historians, linguists, anthropologists, and codicologists. They also reveal an international scope of research, with a global roster of authors. Regrettably, our colleagues based in Ethiopia or Yemen have not contributed to this volume, despite many invitations extended to colleagues from both areas. Undoubtedly, the tragic ongoing crisis in Yemen has made it difficult for local colleagues to participate. The editors duly note this significant gap in our volume's authorship, but hope that these essays will spur on more studies that will provide a platform for other essential voices to contribute in the future.

THE END