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ARABIC SOURCES ON SOMALIA

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I

In recent years scholars of different nationalities (including Somalis) have devoted much time and effort to acquiring information about the Somali past using different means and through the available sources on the region. However, the Arabic written sources of information on Somalia have long been neglected and remain so. The purpose of this paper is to call attention to the need for a more comprehensive reading of Arabic sources, and to show that Arabic sources have much to contribute to knowledge about Somalia. I will try to trace these sources and list them in a chronological manner, starting with the early Arab sources, especially from the period which followed the emergence of Islam on the Arabian peninsula when Islam made its way into the Horn of Africa.

Secondly, I will look at sources from medieval Islam in Somalia, when Islam spread from the coastal centers on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean into the hinterlands of the Horn, the period which marked the struggle between Islam and Christianity. Thirdly, I will look at the period after the collapse of Muslim power in the late sixteenth century, almost two centuries when the Muslims of the Horn (the Somalis) were surrounded by Ethio-Portuguese alliances both to the north and in the Indian Ocean to the south. This period marked a time when the condition of the Somali Muslims became similar to that formerly endured by the Ethiopians, who had been surrounded by Muslims on all sides. The Muslims in Somalia became like an island in an ocean of non-believers, and during this period there is a lack of Arab sources about the region. Only at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century do we start seeing once again traces of Arab sources on the people of the region. My special emphasis will be on the Arab sources written by Somalis, and I will also indicate some articles which are necessary for scholars of Somalia, as well as unpublished dissertations, theses, and other studies not normally cited.

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II

Early Arab Accounts

In one way or another it is clear that the Arabs have had contact with the Horn of Africa for centuries. However, we know little at present of the Arab sources dealing with the Horn in particular, and with east Africa in general, during the pre-Islamic period. It is very possible that new evidence will appear on how far the relations and contacts extended. This would help reveal many neglected aspects of the ancient history of this part of Africa. Perhaps the earliest account regarding the Arabs and their activities in the Horn of Africa is the guide-book called *Periplus Maris Erythrae*, written by an unknown Greek traveler, and translated into English by W.H. Schoff under the title *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.*[1]

After the emergence of Islam, Arab geographers and historians gave much attention to writing and visiting the Muslim world. Al-Masʿūdī (915-957) is the author of one of the most important sources on the Horn and East Africa. His book *Murūj al-Dhahab Wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar*[2] contains good accounts on the history of the east African coast, particularly the Somali coasts facing both the Indian Ocean (Baḥr al-Zinj) and the Gulf of Aden (al-Khalīj al-Barbarī).

Substantial information on the inhabitants of the Somali region are in Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, which makes a clear differentiation between the Berbers of the Maghreb and those of east Africa, and also between the Somalis and the Abyssinians. To Yāqūt the Somalis were "black-faced people who have their own language. . .carrying on their heads."

The Arab materials which contribute considerably towards our understanding of the Somali coasts and the emergence of the coastal commercial centers are well described in al-Idrisi's (1100-1166) account *Kitāb Nuzhat al Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*, (the book of the travels of one who could not travel himself). Idrisi mentioned that Mogadishu was a significant port in the region, and among others, its role was as intermediary between the east and west trading centers for Indian Ocean products. The Arabic text of this book, to my knowledge, remains unpublished.[3]

More details about the Somali city states and their economic and political role are found in Ibn Saʿīd's (1213-1286) account *Kitāb Basṭ al-Arḍ fī al-Ṭūl wa-al-ʿArḍ* (The Book of the extension of the land on longitudes and latitudes). He considered Mogadishu as the biggest Islamic center in the early Islamic era, and calls it: Madīnat al-islām, the city or center of Islam.[4] The commercial relations and trade between the Somali city states and India, the Gulf, and the Southern Arabian Peninsula are mentioned in numerous Arab sources of the period.

In addition, Ibn al-Mujāwir showed the interrelation between Aden, Mogadishu, Kilwa, and Madagascar (Qumur): "from Aden to Mogadishu there is one Mawsim (Monsoon), from Mogadishu to Kilwa is a second Mawsim, and from Kilwa to al-Qumur is a third

Mawsim."[5] Al-Dimashqī in his *Tuḥfat al-Dhahab fī ʿAjā'ib al-Bar wa al-Baḥr* says: "among the islands of Iba [the Maldives] there is an island which produces Banana and Sugar Cane. . .and it is the target of merchants on their way to Hurmuz, India, Yemen, and Mogadishu al-Zinj and Abyssinia."[6]

III

The Formation of Islamic Centers

If the immigration to Abyssinia in the very early years of Islam represented the first contact of Muslims with the Horn of Africa, Ibn Hishām's *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyyah* is a first-hand source on this issue. The Somaliland forming a part of the Arab world is very clear in Ibn Ḥawqal's map of Diyār al-ʿArab (the Arab Homeland). Besides the above-mentioned map of Diyār al-ʿArab Ibn Ḥawqal also drew other different maps of the Muslim World, and also a map of the World in his *Kitāb Sūrat al-Arḍ* (the Shape of the Earth). This work was printed in Leiden in 1938.

Al-Maqdisī (d. 990) in his *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm* (on World Regional Geography), pointed very clearly to the existence of Muslim centers along the coastal strip of Somalia, and mentioned Zeila as the biggest Muslim center in the Autal (Awdal) land. As well, al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 905) in his *al-Buldān* (The Countries) was the first Arabic writer to mention Zeila as a Muslim center in the Berber coast.

From the thirteenth century onwards Muslim scholars began writing on the history, geography, and issues related to the Muslim world using a new and different approach. They started putting all the information that they had witnessed, had been told to them, or had been collected from other written sources into huge books called "Al-Mawsūʿah" (the Encyclopaedias). Most Muslim writings of that style contained some information about Somaliland and Muslims of the Horn of Africa. But the most important of the Mawsuʿah to mention Somalia was the one written by Ibn Fadl al-ʿUmarī (1301-1349). Entitled *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, this Mawsūʿah gives us detailed information about the formation of early Muslim centers in the hinterland of the Horn of Africa. Unfortunately this work remains unpublished. A copy of it is available as Ms. in Oxford University Library (Ms. Pococke 191, Bod.).

Then Ibn Khaldun,[7] recalling Ibn Saʿīd and Abū al-Fida's accounts,[8] provided additional information about the early days of Muslim rulers of the region.

Ibn Baṭūṭa (1304-1377) is unique among the travelers of his time. His descriptions are more accurate and his analyses more plausible. From his account we learn that Somali Muslim centers were giving great importance to education. Students from far places were given lodgings and food, and Ibn Batuta himself was lodged in the students' house in Mogadishu during his visit to Somalia, which took place in 1331. His eyewitness accounts are recorded in his book, *Tuḥfat al-Naẓẓār fī Gharā'b al-Amṣār Wa-*

ʿAjāʾb al-Asfār, known as "*Riḥlat Ibn Baṭūṭa*" (Voyages of Ibn Batuta).[9]

IV

The Struggle Between Islam and Christianity in the Horn

As we have already seen, Islam was spreading inland from the coast along the main rivers, the Shabelle and the Juba, using the Zeila-Harar trade route into the highlands of Abyssinia and, from the sixth century of Islam, founding kingdoms known as "Mamālik al-Ṭirāz al-Islāmī" (the edge of Muslim kingdoms). Al-Maqrīzī (1364-1442) provided one of the authoritative accounts of the struggle between the Muslim sultanates and Christian kingdoms in his *Al-Ilmām man bi Arḍ al-Ḥabashah Min Mulūk al-Islām*, (a survey of the Moslem Princes in Abyssinia). It is also very important to mention another book by the same author called *Al-Dhahab al-Masbūk fī Dhikr man Ḥajja min al-Khulafāʾ wa-al-Mulūk* (a book on those caliphs and kings who went on the Pilgrimage during 1435-1437). This book contains interviews, collected by the author over these three years of his own stay in Mecca, with pilgrims from many parts of the Muslim world and especially Africa. Ḥāmid ʿImārah is another scholar who has studied this issue and his book *ʿAlāqāt al-Dawlah al-Mamlūkiyah bi al-Duwal al-Ifrīqiyah* (the relations between the Mamluk state of Egypt and the African States), covers the relations between Egypt and Abyssinia during the Mamluk Dynasty.

No less important as a source is the encyclopaedic type of book by al-Qalqashandī (1355-1481) known as *Ṣubḥī al-Aʿshā fī Ṣināʿat al- Inshāʾ*. This book is in fourteen volumes, and the major part of volumes 5, 6, and 8 deals with the Muslim Sultanates of the Horn of Africa and their struggle with Christian Kingdoms of Abyssinia. Although Muslim historians and geographers devoted much attention to the Muslims of east Africa and the Horn, the most significant account of the relations between Islam and Christianity in the region is *Tuḥfat al-Zamān*, known as *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* (the conquest of Abyssinia). The importance of this book is that Shihāb al-Dīn, the writer, was an eyewitness to many of the events which he recorded, as he accompanied the Imām (Aḥmad Gurey) in his conquests in Abyssinia between 1506 and 1542.[10]

After the defeat of the Muslim Sultanates by the Ethiopians and the Protuguese, the history of the region enters into a new epoch, the epoch of Portuguese domination. The writings of Ibn Mājid[11] and Sulaymān al-Maharī[12] are considered the best Arabic accounts on the history of seafaring in the Indian Ocean as well as on the history of Portuguese expansion. Al-Nahrawāli's book, *Al-Barq al-Yamānī fī al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, is another important source on the expansion of both powers of the age, the Ottomans and the Portuguese, and their interests in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. This book was published first under the title *Ghazawāt al-Jarākisah wa-al-Atrāk fī Junūb Bilād al-Jazīrah*

(Jarkish and Turkish conquests in the southern Arabian Peninsula).[13]

Ethiopian resentment against the Portuguese Catholic Church, and their desire for an alliance with the Yemenis who were struggling against the Ottomans, are well described in al-Ḥaymi's (1609-1659) *Sīrat al-Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥasan Bin ʿAlī Bin al-Ḥasan fī Dukhūlihi Arḍ al-Habashah*, known as *Sīrat al-Ḥabashah* (Sharaf al-Din's Report from Abyssinia). Zayn al-Dīn's book called *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn fī Baʿḍ Aḥwāl al-Burtuqāliyyīn* (Resistance against Portuguese Expansion) is another important Arab source on Portuguese activities during the sixteenth century. Al-Salīmī wrote a book called *Tuḥfāt al-Aʿyān bi-Sīrat Al-ʿUmmān* (The history and life of Omani dynasties). This comprises two volumes. The first volume is exclusively devoted to the history of ʿUman and provides an account of the Portuguese there as well as the history of the Bū Saʿīd dynasty in both ʿUmān and east Africa.[14]

V

Egyptian Sources

Egypt has always had a special interest in the Horn of Africa. In addition to the economic and strategic importance of the Horn to Etypt to the Somalis Egypt was always the nearest powerful Muslim state to help them defend Islam and ot offer support against any dangerous attack from Ethiopia. On the other hand Egypt not only had a significant Coptic minority but the nomination of the Abuna of the Ethiopian Church was traditionally conducted from Egypt, and very often the Abuna himself was Egyptian. Therefore Egypt's relations with the people of the Horn was and still remains very sensitive and fragile. Egypt used enormous effort to maintain a balance between its economic (the Nile and the Sudan) and its strategic interests (southern entrance of Red Sea and the Indian Ocean), and its religious interests (Muslims of Somalia and Eritrea and the Copts of Ethiopia).

Egyptians, as well as Egyptologists, have paid significant attention in their writings to the Horn of Africa in general and to Somalia in particular. In this paper we are not interested in all Egyptian writings, but specifically those in Arabic.[15] From the seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century, Arabic sources related to Somalia were limited, owing partly to the downfall of the Muslim kingdoms of the region, and partly because the Portuguese disconnected the maritime trade between Somalia and Muslim World when they changed the route from the Red Sea to the Cape. The Somalis were overpowered by Ethiopians from the north and Portuguese from the south. There were also other factors which contributed to this such as the colonial competition in the Indian Ocean, especially by Portugal, the Netherlands, and France, while the Ottomans, as the strongest Muslim power of the time, were focusing their interests on

Europe, leaving the Indian Ocean to Portugal.

But with the beginning of the nineteenth century new stirrings were evident in the life of the Muslim world. These stirrings showed themselves in two ways: first, the emergence of religious movements calling for the renaissance of Islam. The most significant of these were the Wahabis and Sanusis, which were militant, and the Qadiriyyah and Ahmadiyyah, which were passive. The second was the remarkable renaissance of Egyptian power under Muhammad Ali, with his ambition to create a powerful Muslim Egypt.

The events of this period are well documented in reports of Egyptian expeditions to Somalia, and then in the papers of the later Egyptian Governors, military men, and civil servants in Somaliland from 1822 to 1885. These are kept in the Archives of various Egyptian historical and geographical associations. The major parts of these documents were made known by Egyptian scholars of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries such as Muḥamad Ṣabrī in his *Al-Imbrāṭūriyah al-Sūdāniyah fī al-Qarn al-Tāsiᶜ ᶜAshar* (on the Sudanese Empire of the nineteenth century). This work was published in Cairo in 1948 and covers the Egyptian expansion in Sudan which reached central Africa, the Red Sea regions, and Somliland down to Port Ismaᶜil (now Kismayo). Ṣabrī wrote another book on Somaliland called *Miṣr fī Ifrīqiya al-Sharqiyyah -Harar, Zdilaᶜ, Barbara-* (Egypt in East Africa - Harar, Zeila, Berbera) focusing on the Egyptian administration in the three major cities of northern Somalia.[16]

The nineteenth-century Egyptian expansion was also documented by Shawqī al-Jamal in *Miṣr wa-al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī al-Nisf al-Thānī Min al-Qarn al-Tāsiᶜ ᶜAshar* (Egypt and The Red Sea in the second half of the nineteenth century). *Tārīkh Kashf Ifrīqiya wa-Istiᶜmārahā* (The History of the Exploration and Colonization of Africa) is another important work by al-Jamal. The former was specifically on the Red Sea region whereas the latter covers all Egyptian activities in Africa on the one hand, and the European colonial activities on the continent on the other.

The partition of Somaliland is well studied by Jalal Yahya. His *al Tanāfus al-Istiᶜmārī fī Sharq Ifrīqiya* (The Scramble for East Africa) represents a thorough analysis of the scramble for the eastern part of Africa. A separate study by the same author on the partition of Somaliland is his *al-Tanāfus al-Dawlī fī Bilād al-Ṣūmāl* (The international competition for Somaliland). As the reign of Khedive Ismāᶜīl was marked by the Egyptian expansion of the nineteenth century, ᶜAbdal-Raḥmān al Rāfᶜī's book on that epoch *ᶜAṣr Ismāᶜīl* (The Era of Ismail) is a detailed account of Egyptian administration in Somalia, as well as in other parts of occupied Africa.[17]

The trend towards writing on specific cases or issues on Somalia appears in Rajab Ḥarrāz's book *al-Tawassuᶜ al-Īṭālī fī Sharq Ifrīqiya wa-Ta'sīs Mustaᶜmaratay Eritrya wa-al-Ṣūmāl* (Italian Expansion in East Africa and the Foundation of its Colonies: Eritrea and Somalia). Here, although the author mentions the early relations of the two colonies with Egypt, his major concern was to focus on Italian colonialism in the Horn of

Africa. On the issue of colonial history Ḥarrāz also studied British Somaliland in another study, *Ifrīqiya al-Sharquiyya wa-al-Istiʿmār al-Urubbī* (East Africa and European Colonization).

The Arabic sources seem to some extent limited regarding the economic, geographic, and social aspects of Somalia, but these issues were never excluded from the political and historical writings. Nevertheless, most history books did not specifically cover economics or geography. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Hindī's *Jughrāfiyat al-Ṣūmāl* (Geography of Somalia), is one of the best books in this field. In addition, Hindi published another book on Somali history called *Tārīkh al-Ṣūmāl fī al-ʿUṣūr al-Qadīmah* (The Early History of Somaliland) which remains one of the best accounts on early Somali history, and especially on Somali/Egyptian relations.

Along the same lines ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm wrote a comprehensive study treating both the history and geography of Somalia, and published them together as *al-Jumhūriyyah al-Ṣūmāliyyah "al-Iqlīm al-Junūbī"* (The Somali Republic's "southern region"). ʿAbd al-Munʿim gives us detailed information and a very accurate account of the geography and history of Somalia, with abundant illustrations, maps, sketches, tables, and graphs. His geographic emphasis was on the former Italian Somaliland. ʿAbd al-Halīm published anotehr book called *al-Ṣūmāl* (Somalia) which gives us general information about Somalia as a whole. The author then gained his M.A. in history with a thesis entitled *Dirāsah li-ʿAlāqat Miṣrah al-Qadīmah bi-Bilād Bunt* (A Study on the Ancient Egyptian Relations with Puntland). A similar work followed by ʿAbd al-Munʿim Yūnus called *al-Ṣūmāl* (Somalia), which deals with the geopolitics of Somaliland and its importance in world politics.

Regarding the economics of Somalia, Rāshid al-Barrāwī wrote two significant studies of the Somali economy. The first was *al-Ṣūmāl al-Kabīr Ḥaqīqah wa-Hadaf* (The Greater Somalia, End and Reality). Al-Barrāwī intended this study to describe the economic resources of Somalia, and the future possibilities of the Somali economy after independence. The second was *al-Ṣūmāl al-Jadīd Falsafah wa-Amal* (The New Somali, Prosperity and Philosophy). The importance of this study is that it appeared a decade after the first, at a time which marked the end of an era of Somali history: the end of a democratic capitalist economy and the beginning of a military socialist-oriented era.

Concerning the religious aspects of Somalia,[18] Shaykh ʿAbd Allah al-Mushid's report known as *Taqrīr ʿAn Aḥwāl Al Muslimin fī Biläd al-Ṣūmāl wa-Eritrya wa-al-Ḥabasha* (Report on the Condition of Muslims in Somalia, Eritrea and Abyssinia), was the outcome of eyewitness information and interviews conducted by an Al-Azhar University commission which reported on Islamic conditions in the Horn of Africa in 1948. Shaykh ʿAbd Allah al-Mushid was the head of the commission.

In the early 1960s Muhammad al-Muʿtasim Sayyid published a biography of Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAbd Allah Ḥassan, the hero of the Somali Dervish movement, entitled *Mahdī al-Ṣūmāl* (The Mahdi of Somalia). Al-Muʿtasim also published *Duwal Islāmiyyah fī Sharq*

Ifrīqiya - Harar wa-al-Ṣūmāl (Muslim States in East Africa - Harar and Somalia), in which his theme was that Harar and Somalia were historically the two most powerful Muslim states in the region. ʿAbd al-Ṣabbūr Marzūq's *Thā'ir Min al-Ṣūmāl* (A Guerrilla from Somalia) examines the Dervish movement as a religious movement rather than as a nationalistic one. About Christian missionaries in Somalia and the role of al-Azhar in the region, Shayk ʿAb al-Raḥmān al-Najjār's "al-Islām fī al-Sumal" is a good account on the subject.[19]

Egypt was a member of the U.N.'s Advisory Council for Somalia[20] and the role of the Egyptian representatives and their relations with Somalia are discussed in Aḥmad Bahā' al-Dīn's *Muʿāmarah fī Ifrīqiya* (Plot in Africa), which focuses on the assassination of Kamāl al-Dīn Ṣālaḥ, the Egyptian representative to the U.N. Advisory Council in Mogadishu from 1954 to 1957. The biography of Mr. Kamāl al-Dīn, and his activities in Somalia are collected in *Al-Shahīd Kamāl al-Dīn Sālah* (The Martyr Kamal al-Din Salah) written by Abū al-Ḥajjāj Ḥāfiẓ. Nasir's role in Somalia, and generally in Africa, is well documented in Muhammad Fā'iq's *ʿAbdi Nāsir wa-al-Thawrah al-Ifrīqiyya* (Abdi Nasir and the African Revolution).

Regarding Somali literature, many Egyptian scholars have given attention to it, but the relation between Somali literature and Arabic is especially well examined by Ḥāmid Zuhayr al-Bābilī in his *fī Rubūʿ al-Ṣūmāl* (Across Somalia). A book by Shalabī, *Aqāṣīṣ Min al-Ṣūmāl* (Stories from Somalia) is one of the best collections of Somali stories which have been translated into Arabic.

VI

The Role of Somalis in Writing Their Heritage

The Somalis share with the Arabs common ancestors, common physical features, a common geographical region, a common nomadic heritage, and above all a common religion. Islam is considered the most important factor in the close links between Somalis and Arabs. Since the adoption of Islam, Somalis began recording their affairs in the Arabic language, and for centuries Arabic was the only language that Somalis could write. This is very clear from Somali business contracts, inheritances, waqfis, and the like.

The "Duksi" (Koranic schools) prepared many *maʿallimis* (Qur'anic teachers) who played a significant role in diminishing the levels of illiteracy, as ell as in the diffusion of Islam throughout the region. The development of the schools was followed by the gradual formation of many Somali Muslim centers, such as Mogadishu, Merca, Barawa, Bardhera, Bali, and Harar. Islam has a strong belief in education, supported by many *hadiths* where the Prophet enjoined the faithful to search for knowledge from the cradle to the grave, even if it entails traveling to the furthest places imaginable. Following this tradition, Somalis often traveled considerable distances from one Islamic center to another, and even joined a "Hir" for immigrant students in centers outside Somalia, such as those in Mecca, Medina,

Baghdad, and Damascus. A *riwāq* (portico) in Al-Azhar mosque and a section of the mosque of the ᶜUmayyads at Damascus were reserved specifically for students from Zeila.[21]

Knowledge in Somalia was obtained largely in the context of Islamic studies--subjects such as theology, philosophy, Arabic grammar, the traditions of the Prophet, and history. The sole authoritative book on the Hanafi school of thought of Islam, called *Tabyīn al-Ḥaqā'iq li-Sharḥ Kanz al-Daqā'iq* (On the Hanafi Theology) is a work written by the well-known Somali theologian Shaykh ᶜUthman bin ᶜAlī al-Zaylaᶜī (d. 1342).[22]

Of the traditions of the Prophet Mohamed, called *hadiths*, ᶜAbd Allāh bin Yūsuf bin Muḥammad al-Zaylaᶜī is one of the best editors. He was a Somali student of the above-mentioned Shaykh Uthmān bin ᶜAlī al-Zaylaᶜī. His *Nasb al-Rāyah fī Takhrīj Aḥādīth al-Hidāyah* (On the Traditions of the Prophet), comprises four volumes.[23]

"Jabartī" was a nickname given to the students from east Africa, and among those who left outstanding works are Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Jabartī (d. 1492 A.D.), who served the Egyptian Mamluk government in different administrative and religious positions, and also Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, the great-grandfather of the famous Egyptian historian al-Jabartī, who served as a judge in Cairo, and was also the President of the "Riwāq al-Jabartī" in al-Azhar.[24]

In the field of lieterature Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaᶜī was considered the man of his age (d. 1882).[25] His works were numerous but unfortunately most of them have been lost. The few which have been published concern Arabic language, grammar, syntax, and morphology. *Fatḥ al-Laṭīf Sharḥ Hadīqat al-Taṣrīf* (The Syntax of Arabic Language) is one of the best books in this field. In addition, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān was a poet, and has numerous collections on Islamic issues, most of which have been put together into one volume, *Majmūᶜah Mushtamalah* (A Complete Collection).

The writings of Shaykh ᶜAbd Allāh al-Quṭbī (1879-1952), are well known in the fields of theology and philosophy. His *al-Majmūᶜah al-Mubārakah*, known as *Naṣr al-Mu'minīn fī al-Raddi ᶜAlā al-Maradah wa-al-Mulḥidīn* (Victory of the Believers over the Rebellion of the Heretics), was written in response to the appearance of new Western ideologies, and new religious orders and sects within the Muslim world, among them the Wahhābiyyah and Ṣāliḥiyyah.

In the field of *tarājum* (biographies), Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān bin Shaykh ᶜUmar is a major author, with his biographies of the Qādiriyah saints. He collected the *sīrah* (life) of Shaykh Aways al-Qādirī in a book called *al-Jawhar al-Nafīs fī Khawāṣ al-Shaykh Aways* (The Precious Jewel about the Distinctive Characters of Shaykh Aways). This not only describes the life and times of Shaykh Aways, but gives detailed accounts of how Qādiriyyah spread throughout Somalia, as well as into other parts of east Africa. A similar collection of information, written as a biography of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaᶜī was compiled by Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān under the title *Rāḥat al-Qalb al-Mutawalliᶜ fī*

Manāqib al-Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Rahmān bin Ahmad al-Zaylaᶜī (On the Biography of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Rahman al-Zaylaᶜi). His collections on two prominent Shaykhs of Qadiriyyah, Shaykh Aways al-Barawi and Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Rahman al-Zaylaᶜi come together in one volume *Jalā'u al-ᶜAynayn fī Manāqib al-Shaykhayn; al-Shaykh al-Waliyyi Ḥāji Aways al-Qādirī wa-al-Shaykh al-Kāmil ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zaylaᶜī* (On the Deeds of the Two Shaykhs: Shaykh Aways al-Qadiri and Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Rahman al-Zaylaᶜi).[26]

Shaykh Aways' life and poems are also treated in a valuable book called *Majmūᶜat al-Qaṣā'id* (a collection of poems) in praise of Allah, of the prophets, and of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jilani, by Shaykh Aways al-Qadiri, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Rahman al-Shashi, and Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Rahman al-Zaylaᶜī. Besides the poems that Shaykh Aways wrote in Arabic, he also composed many poems in the Mai dialect of the Somali language, five of which were written with an Arabic script.[27]

Kifāh al-Ḥayāt (The Struggle), by Ibrāhim Ḥāshi Maḥamūd (d. 1973), is an account of the author's life and his own views on the vital issues of pre-independence Somalia, for example, how to put the Somali language into a written form, the idea of a Greater Somalia, and the power struggle in the Horn. Hashi also published another book called *al-Ṣūmāliyah bi-Lughat al-Qur'ān* (Somali in the Language of Quran) in which he advocated the possibility of writing Somali using an Arabic script. A collection of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Sūfī's (1829-1905) poems in Arabic on many different issues and covering his life story have been gathered by his grandson Muḥammad Ṣūfī in a book known as *Dalīl al-ᶜIbād Ilā Sabīl al-Rashād* (The Guide to the Straight Path) or *Murshid al-Aḥbāb Ilā Rab al-Arbāb* (The Guide to Allah). The biography of Shaykh Nur Husayn, known as "Shaykh Husayn Baliyal" has been collected and edited by Ḥāj Yūsuf ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān in a volume called *Kitāb Rabīᶜ al-Qulūb fī Dhikr Manāqib wa-Radā'il Sayyidnā al-Shaykh Nūr Ḥusayn* (The Life Story of Shaykh Nur Husayn). This book is bound together with another book entitled *Nuzhat al-Asrār wa-Ṭaharat al-Aqdār fī Manāqibihi wa-Faḍā'ilihi* (On the Miracles of Shaykh Nur Husayn).

A remarkable discussion of the possibilities of writing the Somali language using an Arabic script was produced by al-Sheikh Muḥammad ᶜAbdi Makāhīl in a book entitled *Inshā' al-Mukātabāt al-ᶜAsriyah fī al-Lughah al-Sūmāliyah* (Somali Correspondence Through Arabic Script). A similar study was undertaken by Saᶜīd ᶜUthmān Gūlayd in *Alfāz ᶜArabiyah fī al-Lughah al-Ṣūmāliyyah Baḥth Maydanī* (Arabic Words in the Somali Language: A Field Study). In addition, Saᶜīd has written another work entitled *Yawmiyyāt Sūmāliyah* (A Somali Diary) in which he discusses the crucial problems facing the Somali people, such as tribalism, which he felt was a major obstacle to development.

In the field of history there is Sharīf ᶜAydarūs (1894-1960), the author of *Bughyat al-Āmāl fī Tārīkh al-Ṣūmāl* (The History of Somalia), which contains information about early Somali kingdoms and institutions. Aw Jamaᶜ ᶜUmar ᶜIssā then published a book entitled *Tārīkh al-Ṣūmāl fī al-ᶜUṣūr al-Wustā wa-al-Ḥadīthah* (The Medieval and Modern History of Somalia). It is a fine

book on the general history of Somalia with a special emphasis on the history of the Dervish movement. Aw Jama[c] published another book called *Tārīkh Zuʿamā' al-Harakah al-Siyāsiyah fī al-Ṣūmāl* (History of the Founders of the Somali Political Movements: The SYL Case). In 1966 he published a book on the life of General Daud Abdulla Hirsi, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Somali army, who died in 1964, entitled *Tārīkh al-Liwā' Dā'ūd*. After the military took over in 1969 he wrote a book entitled *Thawrat 21 Oktobar, Asbābuhā, Ahdāfuhā wa-Munjazātuhā* (Causes, Objectives and Achievements of the October 21 Revolution). Aw Jama[c]'s most recent work on Somali history is *Madīnat Muqdishu Mādīhā wa-Ḥāḍirihā* (History of Mogadishu).

On the historical background of the Somali-Ethiopian dispute there is a detailed account by [c]Alī Aḥmad Nūr, who was known as "Ṭrābulsī," entitled *al-Nizāʿ al-Ṣūmālī al-Ithyūbī al-Judhūr al-Tārīkhiyah* (The Historical Background of the Somali-Ethiopian Dispute). The most important part of this study is that which deals with the 1977/78 Ogaden War.

Muhamūd [c]Alī, known as "Tūryare," has published a book, *Qadiyyat al Qarn al Ifrīqī* (The Case of the Horn of Africa), which looks at the Somali-Ethiopian boundary problems as well as the Somali-Kenya dispute from the legal side.[28] In 1974 the Somali government published a book by Shaykh Aḥmad [c]Abd Allāh Rīrāsh called *Kashf al-Sudūl ʿAn Tārīkh al-Ṣūmāl wa-Mamālikihim al-Sabʿah* (A History of Somalia and its Seven Kingdoms) which discusses the medieval Muslim kingdoms of the Horn, and especially those in the interior of the region. Another good record of the 1977/78 Ogaden War is presented by Ibrahim [c]Abd Allah Muḥammad, nicknamed "Māh," in his book called *al-Hazīmah al-Thālithah al-Kifāh al-Tārīkhī li al-Ṣūmāl al-Gharbī* (The Third Defeat: The Historical Struggle of Western Somalia).

The writings of Ahmad Shaykh Mūsā are very important for the economic issues in Somalia. In his *al-Tharwāt al Ḍāyiʿah fī al-Ṣūmāl* (Livestock in Somalia) he discusses the great potential of livestock for the Somali economy. Another book by the same author, *al-Quṭn fī al-Sūmāl* (Cotton in Somalia) focuses on agriculture as another significant resource, and puts special emphasis on the potential of cotton as a principal product. In the field of politics Ahmed Shaykh Musa also left us a valuable book with his *Ḥizb Allāh Am Ḥizb al-Shayṭān* (The Party of God or of the Devil).

Throughout history Somalia's official contact with the outside world was long conducted in the Arabic language. Foreigners were able to contact Somalia solely through the use of Arabic. The best example of this can be found in the fact that all colonial agreements between Somalis and foreigners had an Arabic text beside the colonial language, be it Italian, English, or French. Somali officials or leaders either signed or put their seal on the Arabic version, and this was considered as the original if any misunderstanding later occurred regarding any clause of the Agreement.[29] In addition, Arabic was the language of correspondence between the leaders of the Somali militant movements fighting colonial occupation, and the colonial

officials (civil or military), as well as between the Somali shaykhs of the different *ṭarīqa* orders.[30] And until three decades ago all normal family or social correspondence between Somalis were conducted almost exclusively in Arabic, and the trees of Somali genealogy, births and deaths as well as any other significant dates or issues were all recorded in Arabic. The official colonial period newspapers such as *Corriere della Somalia* and *Il Popolo* in the former Italian colony always used both Italian and Arabic, as did *Akhbār al-ṣūmāl* (the Somaliland News) in British Somaliland, where both English and Arabic were used.

Arabic was also used in the records of the Somali political parties. Their constitutions, by-laws, and petitions were written in Arabic, and even their emblems and names were associated with Arab political organizations and Muslim movements. The Young Somali Movement (SYC) which emerged in Somalia during the early 1940s developed along the same lines as the emergence of the young Arabs' Al Fatat during the 1920s. The sword, crescent, and star used in the Hizbiyah (H.D.M.S.) flag are also typical emblems of Arab and Muslim movements. Both the Somali Muslim League and the Somali National League were political movements drawing on Muslim reformists ideology all over the Muslim world reacting against colonialism and Christianization.[31] Moreover, the party anthems of these groups were all sung in Arabic, such as "Yā Ayyuhā Ṣūmāliyun" of the Somali Youth League (SYL), and "Salām ᶜAlaykum Yā Sayfu al-Islām" of the HDMS.

The newspapers of the Somali political parties were also in Arabic, e.g. *al-Wahdah* of the SYL, *al-Shaᶜb* of the SDU, and *al-Qarn al-Ifrīqī* of the SNL. Almost all of these papers were popular and appeared regularly until political parties were banned in 1969 by the Supreme Revolutionary Council after the military takeover. Many of the private papers in Somalia were also in Arabic, for example, *al-Ṭaliᶜah*, *Ittiḥād al-Shaᶜb*, and *al-Ḥaqīqah*.

When the Somalis of the former Italian Somaliland were first consulted about the future of their official language and the medium of instruction in their schools they overwhelmingly chose Arabic.[32] During the colonial period official documents came to be written in both Arabic and the colonial language, and even after independence the tradition continued, with both Arabic and Italian being used in all official documents. The use of Arabic as an official language gradually diminished and it was overtaken by English for a period, though it was used together with English until 1972. But once again it has come back to being the only other official language in Somalia today.[33]

In general, most Somali government publications (if not all) appear in Arabic and in one, or sometimes more, European language as well as in Somali since the advent of a Somali script in 1972. Therefore, if a Somali wrote anything, whether privately or officially, it was normally written in Arabic. Only in the late 1970s did Somali writings in non-Arabic languages begin to appear in any number.[34]

NOTES

1. For details of Greco-Roman sources see N. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade* (London, 1981), 55-96. Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (London, 1912). Publishing details on works cited in the ntext (and some in the notes) are provided in the bibliography at the end of this paper.
2. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī bin al-Husayn al-Masʿūdī, born in 913, traveled over many parts of the Muslim world, to Persia, India and China. It is believed that on his way back to Arabia from the Far East he returned via east Africa.
3. See G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast, Select Documents From the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1962), 19. The Italian Institute of Oriental Studies were arranging to publish the sections related to the history of Yemen and the adjacent areas. See also Ayman Fu'ād, *Maṣādir Tārīkh al-Yaman fī al-ʿAsr al-Islāmī* (Sources of the History of Yemen during the Islamic Era) (Cairo: Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale, 1974, 324.
4. See J. Spencer Trimingham, "The Arab Geographers and the East African Coast" in *East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-Colonial Times,* ed. Neville Chittick and Robert I. Rotberg (New York, 1975), 126-27.
5. Ibn al-Mujawir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir.* This book is included with others in *Kitāb Tārīkh Thaghr ʿAdan* (The History of Aden) by Abī Makhramah, Abī Muhammad ʿAbd Allah al-Tayyib bin ʿAbd Allah bin Aḥmad, ed. Oscar von Löfgren (Leiden: Brill, 1936), 1:36.
6. Muhammad Hajī Mukhtār, "Al-Tārīkh al-Ṣūmālī min Maṣadira ʿArabiyah," *ALESCO Monthly Journal of Arabic Culture* [Mogadishu] 14 (16 April 1982).
7. Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406), *al-ʿIbar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa-al-Khabar fī Ayyām al-ʿArab wa-al-ʿAjam wa-al-Barbar wa-man ʿAṣarahum min Dhawī al-Sulṭān al-Akbar.* H.C. Kay published the portions relating to the history of Yemen and the southern Red Sea region (London, 1892). It was then reprinted by Hasan Sulaymān Maḥamūd (Cairo, 1957). Ibn Khaldun's famous *Muqaddimah* (An Introduction to World History) has also been printed many times and in many languages. In 1972 the Egyptian Dar al-Kutub published a list of his writings and those who wrote on him.
8. Ismāʿīl bin ʿAlī Abū al-Fidā'(1273-1339), *al-Mukhtasar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (A Short History of Mankind) known as *Tārīkh Abī al-Fidā'* (History of Abu al-Fida) (Lahai, 1789). In 1907 it was reprinted in Cairo, in four volumes.
9. Enrico Cerulli, the Italian Orientalist, discovered a new Arabic manuscript which revealed new evidence about the Muslim Sultanates in the interland of Somalia. See his "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII, secondo un nuovo documento storico," *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici,* 1 (1941), 3-36.

10. For details about the methodology of his writings and his reliability see Shakīb Arsalān, *Ḥādir al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī* (The Muslim World Today) (4 vols.: Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-ʿArabi, 1971), 3:80-82, as well as Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān, "Al Islām wa-al-Mamālik al-Islāmiyah bi-al-Ḥabashah," *Majallat al-Jamʿiyyah al-Miṣriyah li-al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhiyah*, 8 (1959), 35-37.
11. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Mājid was a famous navigator at the time of the Portuguese appearance on the east African Coasts in 1499. He wrote many books about seafaring and oceanography, which have been lost. Gabriel Ferrand discovered some of Ibn Majid's best writings, which were then edited and published under *Instructions Nautiques Arabes* (Paris, 1923). Since 1860 these manuscripts have been kept in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (No. 2292). One of Ibn Majid's important works, *al-Fawāʾid fī Uṣūl ʿIlm al-Baḥr wa-al-Qawāʿid*, was finally edited by Ibrāhīm Khūrī and ʿAzza Ḥasan, and published in Damascus by Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyah in 1971. For useful information about Ibn Majid's activities and writings see Anwar ʿAbd al-Halīm, *Ibn Mājid al-Mallāḥ* (Ibn Majid the Navigator) [Series No. 63 of Aʿlām al-ʿArab] (Cairo, Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī li-al-Tibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, 1967). The Russian orientalist Krachkovski discovered new documents on Ibn Majid and published them under *The History of Arab Geographic Literature* (Leningrad, 1957). This book was translated into Arabic as *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrāfī al-ʿArabī*, by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthmān Hāshim in two volumes (Cairo, 1961). Ibn Majid was the guide for da Gama's expedition from Malindi to India.
12. Sulaymān Ibn Ahmad was a veteran navigator under Ibn Mājid. His major works were edited by Ibrāhīm Khūrī and published by Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyah as follows:
    (i) *Kitāb al-ʿUmdah al-Mahariyah fī Dabt al-ʿUlūm al-Bahriyah* (Guide to the Science of Oceanography) (Damascus, 1970).
    (ii) *Al-Minhāj al-Fākhir fī ʿIlm al-Bahr al-Zākhir* (Guide to Seafaring) (Damascus, 1970).
    (iii) a *Risālat Qilādat al-Shumūs wa-Istikhrāj Qawāʿid al-Usūs.*
    b *Tuḥfat al-Fuḥūl fī Tamhīd al-Uṣūl fī Uṣūl ʿIlm al-Baḥr.*
    c *Kitāb Sharh Tuḥfat al-Fuḥūl fī Tamhīd al-Uṣūl fī Uṣūl ʿIlm al-Baḥr* (Guide to Navigation), with introduction in French (Damascus, 1972).
13. For more information about seafaring in the Indian Ocean and the competition between the Portuguese and Ottomans see G.F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean* (Princeton, 1952), translated into Arabic by Sayyid Yaʿqūb Bakr as *al-ʿArab Wa-al-Milāḥah fī al-Muḥīt al-Hindī* (Cairo, 1958).
14. Further information about the struggle between the two powers in the region and the local resistance are presented

in al-Shāṭir Buṣaylī ʿAlī "al-Ṣirāʿ Bayna al-Dawlah al-ʿUthmāniyah wa-Ḥukūmat al-Burtuqāl (The Rivalry Between the Ottomans and the Portuguese)," *Majallat al-Jamʿiyyah al-Miṣriyah li-al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhiyah*, 12 (1964/65), and al-Ṣanʿānī, Yaḥyā ibn al-Husayn al-Yamanī (1035/1625), *Inbāʾu Anbāʾi al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Yaman* (On Yemen History), M.S. No. 1347 (Tarikh), (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah).

15. For more information about the non-Arabic Egyptian sources related to Somali issues see: ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿAbd al-Halīm, *Dirāsah li ʿAlaqat Misrah al-Qadīmah bi Bilād Bunt* (Study on the Early Egyptian Relations with Puntland), (M.A. thesis, Institute of African Studies, Cairo, 1968), and Fawzī Makkāwī, "al Ṣūmāl fī al-ʿUṣūr al-Qadīmah" (Somalia in the Early Times) in *al-Masḥ al-Shāmil li-Jumhūriyat al-Ṣūmāl al-Dīmuqrāṭiyah* (Complete Survey on the Somali Democratic Republic) (Baghdad: Maʿhad al-Buhuth wa-al-Dirāsāt al-ʿArabiyah, 1982), 31-50. Detailed sources about the issue are also presented in Jalāl Yaḥyā, *Tārīkh al-ʿAlāqāt al-Miṣriyah al-Ṣūmāliyah* (History of the Egypto-Somali relations), (Cairo: Lujnat al-Dirāsāt al-Ifrīqiyah, 1960).
16. Significant information about Egypt in Africa is recorded in Muḥammad Fuʾād Shukrī, *Miṣr wa-al-Sūdān, Tārīkh Wahdat Wādī al-Nīl al-Siyāsiyyah fī al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ ʿAshar 1820-1885* (Egypt and Sudan, The Political Integration of the Nile Valley Region, 1820-1885) (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1957), and Naʿūm Shuqayr, *Tārīkh al-Sūdān* (History of Sudan) (Cairo, 1904). Just as the word "Abyssinia" was used by the early Arab writers for all inhabitants of the Horn of Africa, including Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, and sometimes for the east African Region in general, the word "Sudan" is used by Egyptian scholars to indicate the Nile Valley region, which covers again not only the Sudan of today, but also the Horn of Africa, as well as east Africa in general.
17. About advances in these areas during Ismāʿīl's reign see also *Ismāʿīl bi-munāsabat Khamsīn ʿĀmam ʿAlá Wafātih* (The 50th Anniversary of Ismaʿil's Death), a collection of papers presented for that occasion (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyah, 1945), and Jalāl Yaḥyā, *Miṣr al-Ifrīqiyah wa-al-Aṭmāʿ al-Istiʿmāriyah fī al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ ʿAshar* (African Egypt) (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1967).
18. Here we treat books and studies which deal specifically with religious matters during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries since all books and studies which treat Somali history usually give significant coverage to Islam.
19. Al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Najjār served in Somalia as president of the al-Azhar Mission from 1958-1967. Since then he has served as director of the Bureau of Mosques in Egypt.
20. It is an organ to aid and advise the administering authority (Italy 1950-1960) on all matters relating to the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of

the inhabitants of the Somali territory, and consisted of representatives from Colombia, Egypt, and from the Philippines.

21. Muslim scholars use "Zeilais" sometimes to refer to all the Muslims of east Africa, just as they used "Abyssinia" for the same region or "Sudan" for all of black Africa. However, since the majority of Muslims in the region are Somalis and the city of Zeila itself is located in the Somali territory, the majority of "Zeilai" students would be Somalis. One might ask about the difference between the Zeila of Somalia and that of Yemen and why the "Zeilais" are not from Yemen instead. Geographically the locations of the two cities are well defined. In addition to that, Yemeni students had their separate Riwaq (Portico) in al-Azhar and elsewhere. For these Riwaqs see Muhammad Haji Mukhtar, "Methodology of Writing History - The Case of Somalia" (unpublished, Lafoole College, 1978), 50-51.

22. Details about the biography of Shaykh ᶜUthmān al-Zaylaᶜī are well preserved in Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqallānī's *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Akhbār al-Miyah al-Thāminah* (A Biographical Dictionary of the Noted Men of the Eighth Century of Islam) (4 vols.: Ḥaydar Abād: Maṭbaᶜat Dā'irat al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmāniyah bi-al-Hind, 1929), 3: 61-62, and Muhammad ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyah fī Tarājum al-Ḥanafiyah* (The Biographies of Hanafi Shaykhs) (Cairo: Matba'at al-Saᶜadah, 1906), 115-16. For more specific accounts on Zeilai figures see Shaykh Abī Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib bin ᶜAbd Allāh, *Qilādat al-Nahr fī Wafayāt Aᶜyān al-Dahr* (The Remembrance of Noted Men) (6 vols.: MS. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, No. 167 [Tārikh]).

23. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:310-11; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādarah*, 1: 151; and Taqiyyu al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Sunniyyah* (The Biography of Sunni Men), (4 vols.: Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah MS. No. 540 [Tārikh]).

24. For more details about Jabartis see Maḥammad Qandīl, *Tārīkh al-Jabartī* (The History of al-Jabarti) (Cairo: Maṭābiᶜ al-Shaᶜb, 1958), and Muḥammad Muḥamūd Al-Sayid, *Jabrah Wa Jabart* (Article on the Life of Abdurahman al-Jabarti the Historian) (Cairo: ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī Dirāsat wa-Buḥūth, 1976). It seems that Riwaq al-Jabarti was exclusively for the Somali students rather than Riwaq al-Zaglai, for they represented the majority. Or possibly the two Riwaqs were integrated some time before the nineteenth century under Riwaq al-Jabarti, as the Jabarti family dominated the presidency of this Riwaq. For further details see ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *ᶜAjā'ib al-Athār fī al-Tarājum wa-al-Akhbār*, known as *Tārīkh al-Jabartī* (History of Jabarti) (Cairo, 1905). The name of this Riwaq was then changed to "Riwaq al-Ṣūmāliyyīn" and its chairmanship eventually was given to a Somali national at the beginning of this century. For further details about this matter see *Dā'irat al-Maᶜārif al-Islāmiyah* (Encyclopaedia of Islam),

6: 278-80; Enrico Cerulli, "Somaliland," *EI*[1], 4:483-88; and David Ayalon, "al-Djabarti," *EI*[2], 2: 355-57.

25. Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad al-Zaylaᶜī, born at Godle in the region of Bakool (formerly Alta Giuba), Somalia. On pilgrimage he went to and from Hijaz via Harar. He remained at Harar teaching Islam, and moved to the southwest preaching and teaching, making his headquarters at Qulunquul, where he died in 1882. His students and followers continued spreading his gospel for the Qadiriyah Order under a branch named after him: *al-Zaylaᶜiyah*.
26. See Shaykh ᶜAbdi ᶜIli, *Rāḥat al-Qalb al-Mutawalliᶜ*, 87.
27. Cerulli, "Somaliland," 487.
28. Tūryare has published another valuable book, *al-Ṣūmāl wa-al-Ḥiyād al-Ījābī* (Somalia and the Non-Aligned Movement).
29. For further information and models of these agreements see Muḥammad Ḥāji Mukhtar, "Tārīkh al-Istiᶜmār al-Ītālī fī al-Ṣūmāl Hattā 1908 (Italian Colonialism in Somalia until 1908)" (M.A., University of al-Azhar, 1973).
30. See F.S. Caroselli, *Ferro e Fuoco in Somalia* (Rome, 1931); Douglas Jardine, *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland* (New York, 1969), 43, and Enrico Cerulli, *Somalia: Scritti vari editi ed inediti* (3 vols.: Rome, 1957), 3: 117-51.
31. The Rabiṭah movements are well known in many parts of the Muslim World, including India, Pakistan, and Eritrea. About the formation of early Somali social and cultural associations see Muhammad Ḥāji Mukhtar, "al-Ṣūmāl al-Īṭālī fī Fatrat al-Wiṣāyah Ḥattā al-Istiqlāl (Italian Somaliland from the Trusteeship to Independence)" (Ph.D., University of al-Azhar, 1983), 87-106, as well as the official records of U.N. Trusteeship Council. One finds that most petitions and presentations from the Trust Territory of Somalia were presented to the United Nations in Arabic.
32. The first Somali Territorial Council, the Council adopted a resolution in February 1951 that Arabic should be the official language of the territory as well as the media of instruction in the schools. For details about this see Mukhtar, "al-Ṣūmāl," 222.
33. On 14 February 1974, the Somali Democratic Republic joined the Arab League. As a result the revised Somali Constitution completed after the military takeover clarified that both Somali and Arabic are the official languages of the Republic.
34. Again literary writings dominate. Mohamed Said Samatar compiled a collection of poems in Italian and French under the title *La Pioggia e Caduta: Il a Plu!* (Rome, 1973). Nuruddin Farah brought out the following novels: *From a Crooked Rib* (London, 1970) and *A Naked Needle* (London, 1976). These were followed by his trilogy *Sweet and Sour Milk, Sardines, Close Sesame*, and *Maps* published in 1979, 1981, 1983, and 1986 respectively. William Siad's collections of poems in French are also significant: there are *Khamsine* (Paris, 1959), *Cantiques* (Dakar, 1976), and *Harmoniques* (Dakar, 1976). Then there are Said Sh. Samatar's

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