



Adam Nieuważny  
Civil Status  
Documents from  
Harar under  
Egyptian  
Administration

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Civil status documents from Harar 1875-1885

Studia Arabistyczne i Islamistyczne.  
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tom VI

Adam Nieuważny

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Administration  
1875-1885



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## Table of Contents

1. Introduction .....	7
1.1 The purpose .....	7
1.2 The rules of transcription.....	8
2. Current state of research .....	9
3. The establishment of the Egyptian administration of Harar —historical background .....	14
4. The codices .....	23
4.1 Physical description of the codices.....	24
4.2 The contents of the codices—introductory remarks .....	24
4.3 IES 961 .....	26
4.4 IES 962 .....	28
4.6 IES 959 .....	29
4.7 Remarks on dating, structure and pagination of the codices .....	30
4.8 Authorship .....	32
4.9 Language .....	33
4.9.1 Vocabulary .....	34
a) Egyptian Arabic vocabulary of Ottoman Turkish origin .....	34
b) Harari vocabulary .....	44
4.9.2 Orthography .....	45
a) Spelling .....	47
b) Ligatures .....	55
d) Possible <i>‘alāmāt al-ihmāl</i> .....	58
e) Instances of local scribal practices .....	60
5. The structure of the civil status records .....	62
6. The contents of the civil status records .....	65
6.1 Marriage contract records .....	65
6.1.1 The male party .....	65
6.1.2 The female party .....	66
6.1.3 <i>Mahr</i> .....	66
6.1.4 Witnesses .....	68

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6.2 Divorces .....	69
6.3 Manumissions .....	69
6.3.1 The problem of slavery in Harar under Egyptian administration .....	70
Conclusion .....	72
Appendix .....	74
Bibliography .....	78

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 The purpose

The purpose of the present work is twofold. Its primary aim is to study the language, composition, structure and orthographical features of civil status documents issued in Harar during the Egyptian administration in order to facilitate research of these documents, which include records of marriage contracts, divorces and manumissions. Secondly, a preliminary presentation of the documents' contents is also the objective of this study, appreciating their value as a historical source meriting a future edition and translation.

In general, the language of the documents researched in this study is literary Arabic but it is neither standard nor uniform, owing to the documents' multiple authors and their various backgrounds within the Turco-Egyptian framework as well as a significant component of local vocabulary incorporated into the language of the Egyptian administration of Harar. In order to fully take advantage of these documents' value as a historical source, apart from the obvious requirement of a sufficient command of the Arabic language, the researcher must familiarise themselves with the peculiarities of the language used in the documents and its graphic representation. These include the use of vocabulary of Ottoman Turkish origin which through its use in the Egyptian army entered the country's colloquial language, some orthographical conventions such as Egyptian spelling of Arabic, ligatures and abbreviations, several hands using different scripts of Arabic calligraphy as well as proper names and vocabulary from local languages whose Arabic transcription is often not uniform. These and other linguistic features of the documents are analysed in detail, which, it is my hope, will prove helpful for future research of the documents.

I wish to state that I fully recognise all the shortcomings of the present study which in no way aspires to be a comprehensive work. I also wish to acknowledge that these shortcomings are only in small part due to the nature



and limitations of a master's thesis, the greater part being due to my own limitations.

## 1.2 The rules of transcription

For transcribing literary Arabic, the system used in Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Arabic* was applied, with the exception of the letter  $\text{ح}$  which is transcribed as  $h$  and not as  $\underline{h}$ . In references to entries from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* as well as the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* their respective systems of transcription were retained. For transcribing Harari words, the transcription from Wolf Leslau's *Etymological dictionary of Harari* was employed. For transcribing Egyptian Arabic, the system used in Said Badawi's and Martin Hinds' *Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* was used, since it seems to be the most accurate of those found in dictionaries of Egyptian Arabic.

## 2. Current state of research

Sharia court records, or *sijills*, have been a major source for the history of various provinces of the Ottoman Empire even before it ceased to exist. The Ottoman court records from Sofia were appreciated as a historical source by Bulgarian and Polish scholars since at least the beginning of the 20th century, attracting scholarly attention as early as 1904<sup>1</sup> and translations of *sijills* being published by Diamandi Ihchiev in Bulgarian in 1905-06<sup>2</sup> and by Jan Grzegorzewski in Polish together with the Turkish original in 1912<sup>3</sup>. This pioneering and important input predated the western works based on Ottoman *sijills* by over half a century but, it does not seem to be fully appreciated by western academia. Even though scholars from Slavic countries continued their studies of the Ottoman *sijills* as a primary source of history throughout the first half of the 20th century and informed about the growing bibliography of their findings in articles written in French and published in local<sup>4</sup> and western journals<sup>5</sup>, it was Jon E. Mandaville's 1966 article on Syrian and Jordanian court records<sup>6</sup>, which seems to have drawn western scholars' interest to the object of study of their eastern European colleagues. A bibliography of published Ottoman Turkish documents including studies on *sijills* was presented

<sup>1</sup> Georgi Balashev, *Турските архивни тефтери в София и значението им за нашето минало*, "Пряпорец", vol. 23, 22.06.1904, pp. 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> Diamandi Ihchiev, *Материяли за историята ни под турското робство*, "Известия на Историческото дружество в София", vol. 1 pp. 61-130, Sofia 1905 vol. 2 pp. 91-208.

<sup>3</sup> Jan Grzegorzewski, *Z siedzylatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej akta tureckie*, Lvov 1912

<sup>4</sup> Josef Kabrda, *Les anciens registres turcs des cadis de Sofia et de Vidin et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Bulgarie*, "Archiv orientální", 19, 1951, pp. 329-392 and 642-643.

<sup>5</sup> Bistra Cvetkova, *Bibliographie des ouvrages parus dans les pays slaves sur les aspects économiques et sociaux de la domination ottomane*, "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient", vol. 6, no. 3, 1963, pp. 319-326, eadem, *Sources et travaux de l'orientalisme bulgare*, in: "Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations", 18<sup>e</sup> année, no. 6, 1963, pp. 1158-1182.

<sup>6</sup> Jon E. Mandaville, *The Ottoman Court Records of Syria and Jordan*, "Journal of the American Oriental Society", vol. 86, no. 3, 1966, pp. 311-319.

by Polish turkologists Ananiasz Zajączkowski and Jan Reychman in their handbook of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics published in 1955<sup>7</sup> an English translation and reedition of which was published in 1968.<sup>8</sup> Since the 1970s and the works of Ronald C. Jennings<sup>9</sup>, Abdul Karim Rafeq<sup>10</sup> and André Raymond the study of *sijills* as a source of history of various provinces of the Ottoman Empire gathered momentum in the West. Egyptian court records were among those consulted, with Raymond's groundbreaking book *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*<sup>11</sup> using Cairo's court records extensively. Numerous works based on court records have been published since then and Egyptian *sijills* have remained a crucial source of historical knowledge. The studies published include works using the *sijills* as a source for the history of family and the socio-economic role of women<sup>12</sup> and it appears that the documents analysed in this study could very well serve as a source for future research in this field.

Even though khedival Egypt during the conquest of Harar was still officially within the orbit of the Ottoman Empire, the documents with which the

<sup>7</sup> Ananiasz Zajączkowski and Jan Reychman, *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej*, Warszawa, 1955.

<sup>8</sup> Ananiasz Zajączkowski and Jan Reychman, *Handbook Of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*, revised and expanded translation by Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, The Hague and Paris 1968.

<sup>9</sup> Ronald C. Jennings, "The Judicial Registers (Serî Mahkeme Sicilleri) of Kayseri (1590-1630) as a Source for Ottoman History", 1972, PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, idem, *Loans and Credit in early 17th-Century Ottoman Judicial Records – the Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri*, "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient", 16, 1973, pp. 168-216, idem, *Women in early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records – the Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri*, "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient", 18, 1975, pp. 53-114, idem, *The Office of Vekil (Wakil) in the 17th Century Ottoman Sharia Courts*, "Studia Islamica", 42, 1975, pp. 147-169, idem, *Zimmis (non-Muslims) in early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records. The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri*, "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient", 21, 1978, pp. 225-293.

<sup>10</sup> Abdul Karim Rafeq, *Les Registres des tribunaux de Damas comme source pour l'histoire de la Syrie*, "Bulletin d'Études Orientales", Vol. 26., 1973, 219–231, idem, *The Law-Court Registers of Damascus with Special Reference to Craft-Corporations during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*, in: *Les Arabes par leurs archives (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, eds. Jacques Berque and Dominique Chevallier. Paris, 1976, pp. 141–59, idem, *The Law Court Registers and Their Importance for a Socio-economic and Urban Study of Ottoman Syria* in: *L'Espace social de la ville arabe*, ed. Dominique Chevallier, Paris, 1979, pp. 51–58.

<sup>11</sup> André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, Damascus, 1973.

<sup>12</sup> A list of those is provided in note 2 on p. 36 of Dror Ze'evi, *The use of Ottoman Shari'a court records as a source for Middle Eastern social history: a reappraisal*, "Islamic Law and Society", vol. 5, no. 1, 1998, pp. 35-56. Another list of such studies containing also more recent works based both on Ottoman and East African court records is provided in notes 3 and 4 on p. 135 of Lidwien Kapteijns and Alessandra Vianello, *Women's Legal Agency and Property in the Court Records of Late Nineteenth-Century Brava*, "History in Africa", vol. 44, 2017, pp. 133-197.

present thesis is concerned have not, to the best of my knowledge, been studied by researchers of *sijills*. This is probably due to the fact that Harar was at the periphery of the Egyptian dominion and even that only for ten years. As the city was conquered by Ethiopia shortly after the Egyptians left, its heritage has not traditionally been the object of interest for Arabic or Islamic studies in the West, together with the rest of Ethiopia's Islamic heritage. Nonetheless, "Thanks to the painstaking activities of a few exceptional and isolated Arabists and Ethiopianists like Enrico Cerulli and Ewald Wagner, a certain number of Islamic texts in Arabic and in the so-called Old Harari (a Semitic language used in the town of Harar traditionally written in Arabic script) have been published."<sup>13</sup> as was rightly pointed out by one of the leading scholars in the field of Islamic written heritage of Ethiopia, Alessandro Gori. These texts, however, were a product of the Harari culture from before the city lost its independence. One of the first scholars to study the Harari *sijills* as a source of socioeconomic history of the city was Volker Stitz, who managed to publish only an introductory assessment of their contents before his untimely death.<sup>14</sup> Another extensive study in this field based on Harari *sijills* was undertaken by Abdurahman Yahya Garad, who researched the manuscripts held under the shelfmarks IES 955-958 by the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at the Univeristy of Addis Ababa.<sup>15</sup> The same manuscripts, this time as a source for the history of women, were studied by Muna Abubeker<sup>16</sup> who translated sample records into English and prepared an index of the names appearing in the sample records. However, all of these studies based on court records also focused on documents from the period preceding the Egyptian conquest of the city.

The Egyptian conquest and occupation of Harar was the subject of Jonathan Miran's master's thesis<sup>17</sup>. Even though Miran focused on the Egyptian administration of Harar, it seems that at the time he wrote his thesis, he

<sup>13</sup> Alessandro Gori, *Introduction to the IES Collection of Arabic Materials*, in: A. Gori (ed.), *A Handlist of the Manuscripts in the Institute of Ehiopian Studies*, vol. 2, Eugene 2014, p. xxxv.

<sup>14</sup> Volker Stitz, "Arabic town records and the economic and population history of Harar during the 19th Century", a paper prepared for the Conference on Harari studies organized by the Historical Society of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 1975.

<sup>15</sup> Abdurahman Garad, *Harar: Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825-75)*, Frankfurt am Main, 1990.

<sup>16</sup> Muna Abubeker, "Gender Issues in the Diwan (Court) and Sijil (Register) of the City of Harar during the 19th Century", MA thesis, Institute of Language Studies, Addis Ababa University 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Jonathan Miran, "L'occupation égyptienne de Harar (1875-1885)", master's thesis submitted at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations, Paris 1993.

had no access to the documents produced by this administration since his manuscript sources only include the letters of Louis Taurin-Cahagne<sup>18</sup>, a French Capuchin monk who established the order's mission in Harar. What is important for the subject of this study, Miran acknowledges that many Egyptian soldiers married local women.<sup>19</sup>

The period with which the present study is concerned, was also studied in detail by Avishai Ben-Dror, whose doctoral thesis<sup>20</sup> deals with the period between 1875 and 1887 encompassing the *ḥikmdāriyya* of Harar as well as the short period of the restored emirate ended by the invasion of Menelik, negus of Shewa in 1887. In another, more recent work of his<sup>21</sup>, Ben-Dror wrote about the same period analysing the Egyptian conquest and rule of Harar as a case of intra-African colonialism on the broader background of European colonialism in Africa.

Ben-Dror mentions the question of Harari-Egyptian intermarriage a number of times. He takes note of the fact that the Egyptian conqueror of Harar, Muḥammad Ra'ūf Pasha encouraged his soldiers to marry local women<sup>22</sup> and that Charles Gordon<sup>23</sup> even offered economic support from the government for Harari-Egyptian married couples. He also cites instructions issued by the British regarding the evacuation of women and children when the Egyptian forces were leaving Harar. Additionally, he makes a reference to a decision of the khedival government, by which each soldier was allowed to evacuate only two of the children he had from marriage with local women.<sup>24</sup> Finally, Ben-Dror refers also to some testimonies claiming that more than a hundred Egyptian soldiers stayed in Harar due to their marriages with local women, but Phillip Paulitschke's direct statement (see note 19 above) that such marriages did occur and were numerous seems to have been left out in Ben-Dror's reasoning, even though he refers to Paulitschke's works on numerous occasions.

<sup>18</sup> Éloi Ficquet, "Cahagne, Taurin" in: Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 664-665.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 80, Miran quotes Philipp Paulitschke's *Le Harrar sous l'administration Egyptienne (1875-1885)*, "Bulletin de la Société khédiviale de géographie du Caire", vol. 2, 1887.

<sup>20</sup> Avishai Ben-Dror, "The Egyptian Hikimdāriya of Harar and its Hinterland – Historical Aspects, 1875-1887", doctoral dissertation in Hebrew, submitted to the School of History, Tel Aviv University 2008.

<sup>21</sup> A. Ben-Dror, *Emirate, Egyptian, Ethiopian: Colonial Experiences in Late Nineteenth-Century Harar*, Syracuse 2018.

<sup>22</sup> *Šawqī al-Ğamal, Al-waṭā'iq at-ta'rīḥiyya li-siyāsat Miṣr fī al-baḥr al-aḥmar (1863-1879)*, Cairo 1959, p. 302.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 320.

<sup>24</sup> Here, however, perhaps by mistake, Ben-Dror in *Emirate...*, op. cit., p. 197 cited Š. al-Ğamal, op. cit., p. 333, and this source only states that families were evacuated with the garrison but it does not contain any information on children.

Nevertheless, Ben-Dror's assumption is that what he calls Ra'ūf Pasha's "marriage project"<sup>25</sup> did take place. However, he makes that assumption after having stated that there are no written records of such marriages:

There are no written records of marriages between Egyptian soldiers and the daughters of Harar, but one can assume from what is written that different types of personal relations did occur between the Egyptians and the local women. It would seem that ties were institutionalized as a result. In the economic report submitted to the khedival government in 1878, Charles Gordon, governor of Sudan and the Red Sea at that time, mentioned offering economic incentives to encourage marriages between Egyptian soldiers and the women of Harar.<sup>26</sup>

While Ben-Dror's work is the most recent, comprehensive and detailed study on the Egyptian occupation of Harar, the range of research he conducted for it is extensive and its vast bibliography includes manuscripts from the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University, he did not refer to the documents with which this study is concerned. Basing on what has been stated above, it would seem that the present thesis deals with previously unresearched sources.

<sup>25</sup> A. Ben-Dror, *Emirate...*, op. cit., Syracuse 2018, p. 82.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 73.

### 3. The establishment of the Egyptian administration of Harar —historical background

The Egyptian conquest of Harar took place on a wider background of khedive Ismā'īl's imperial ambitions towards the Nile Valley which he wished to unify under his reign, continuing the enterprise of his grandfather Muḥammad 'Alī<sup>27</sup>. The expedition which captured Harar was the only successful part of the Egyptian expansion campaign in the Horn of Africa initiated in 1875 in order to encircle Ethiopia<sup>28</sup> with whom Egypt was at war at the time. Apart from being the only expedition which did not suffer a defeat, the force which took Harar was the only one whose commander was not a European mercenary. In command of the Harar expedition was Muḥammad Ra'ūf Pasha<sup>29</sup> who, although raised in Egypt, was variously reported to be of Berber<sup>30</sup> or Nubian<sup>31</sup> origin on his father's side. More interestingly, Ra'ūf Pasha had an Ethiopian mother whom he reportedly both loved dearly and called "a poor Abyssinian and formerly a slave"<sup>32</sup>. Nevertheless, he was an Egyptian officer who spoke Arabic and rose through the ranks of the country's military in contrast to the foreign mercenaries recruited by the khedive.

Having received an order from the khedive in mid-July 1875<sup>33</sup> Muḥammad Ra'ūf Pasha arrived at Zayla' in August 1875<sup>34</sup> to assume the post

<sup>27</sup> Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim, "The Egyptian Empire" in: M. W. Daly (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Volume 2: *Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the end of the twentieth century*, Cambridge 1998, p. 210.

<sup>28</sup> J. Miran, "Harär under Egyptian occupation 1875-1885" in: Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 1019-1020.

<sup>29</sup> J. Miran, "Muḥammad Ra'ūf" in: Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 1056-1057.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Leslie Hill, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, London 1967, p. 270.

<sup>31</sup> Dominic Green, *Three Empires on the Nile: The Victorian Jihad 1869-1899*, New York, 2007, p. 87.

<sup>32</sup> Rudolf Carl Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan; a personal narrative of fighting and serving the dervishes, 1879-1895*, London 1896, p. 100.

<sup>33</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 237.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, p. 240.

of its governor and prepare for the expedition to Harar. Since the preparations were due to attract the attention of the British intelligence, the true nature of the expedition and its purpose were to be kept in secret. The military expedition meant to conquer Harar and annex the city with its surroundings to Egyptian territory was organised in the guise of a scientific expedition meant to find the sources of the river Tekeze.<sup>35-36</sup> In Harar, there exists a traditional version of events according to which the townsmen pleaded with the khedive to take over the city, to rid themselves of their despotic emir, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd aš-Šakūr,<sup>37</sup> who rose to power thanks to a marriage alliance and adoption by the Abado clan of the Alla Oromo tribe neighbouring Harar and imposed new taxes to satisfy the demands of his tribal protectors.<sup>38</sup> The letter to the khedive was supposedly authored by ‘Alī Abū Bakr, a relative of the emir, imprisoned because of their political rivalry. The message was then to be carried by Harari pilgrims to Mecca who conveyed it to pilgrims from Egypt who in turn relayed it to their khedive who supposedly reacted by sending the military expedition. This story seems less credible than the khedive’s own imperial plans as the reason for the invasion.<sup>39</sup>

It took Ra’ūf Pasha several weeks to gather the means of transport necessary for the expedition. Despite many attempts<sup>40</sup> to gather the number of camels necessary for the mission, Ra’ūf Pasha was finally left with no choice but to rent camels from the Isa Somalis<sup>41</sup> on their conditions which were very difficult to meet. The members of the tribe believed that a camel, once mounted, dies in a few days and thus refused to rent camels for riding. In addition to a fee higher by half of the normal price, they demanded that no one rides their camels, that the maximum load carried by a single animal does not

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, p. 239.

<sup>36</sup> The Tekeze river is also known as Setit in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea which it separates from each other but the river Sobat given by Georges Douin in *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaël*, vol. 3, part 3, Cairo, 1941, p. 602 in his French rendition of the khedive’s orders is a different river, now located in its entirety in South Sudan.

<sup>37</sup> Ewald Wagner, “Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdaššakūr”, in: Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 1049-1051.

<sup>38</sup> Richard Alan Caulk, *Harär Town and Its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century*, “The Journal of African History”, vol. 18, no. 3 (1977), Cambridge 1977, pp. 369-386.

<sup>39</sup> Since the traditions emphasising the role of the rivalry between the emir and ‘Alī Abū Bakr are oral ones, it is difficult to establish their veracity as the facts differ from version to version, beginning with the exact kinship relation of the two rivals but also whether or not ‘Alī Abū Bakr was imprisoned before the conquest and what was his role in the city’s surrender, the death of the emir and the later administration of the city.

<sup>40</sup> Muḥammad Muḥtār, *Notes sur le pays de Harrar*, “Bulletin de la Société khédiviale de géographie du Caire”, vol. 1, Cairo 1876, pp. 351-397.

<sup>41</sup> G. Douin, op. cit., p. 604.



exceed 12 *frasilas*<sup>42</sup> and that the camel drivers be given rations of rice, dates and tobacco during the whole journey.<sup>43</sup>

The expedition set out from Zayla<sup>ʿ</sup> towards Harar on 18 September 1875<sup>44</sup>. Having left Zayla<sup>ʿ</sup>, the Egyptian party was crossing the territory of the Isa Somalis but no fighting took place since on 23 September, the *ugas* or leader of the Isa, Roble<sup>45</sup> Farah<sup>46</sup> accepted the Egyptian authority<sup>47</sup>. Alfred

<sup>42</sup> Frasila (Ar. فراسلة pl. فراسل) is a unit of weight used in the Hadramawt, East Africa and Zanzibar. In Zanzibar it was usually equal to 35 pounds or under 16 kilograms, cf. Richard Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration*, vol. 1, London 1860, p. 17, Henry Morton Stanley, *How I found Livingstone. Travels Adventures and Discoveries in Central Africa*, London, 1872, p. 8, Raymond Beachy, *The East African Ivory Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, “The Journal of African History”, vol. 8 issue 2, 1967, pp. 269-290. However, in Muḥammad Muḥtār, op. cit. p. 357 it is said that the 12 *frasilas* allowed by the Somalis equalled 106,5 kg, which makes the unit nearly half its usual weight at 8,875 kg. Also the number of rats to the *frasila* given by Muḥtār is 22 which is different to that of 60 rats given by Burton cf. Richard Burton, *The Lake Regions...*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 391. Burton mentions there that the units are non-standard and differ regionally. According to F. M. Hunter, who would supervise the evacuation of the Egyptian garrison from Harar in 1884, there was 35 rats to the *frasila* of Zeyla<sup>ʿ</sup> and Harar which would make it 15,875 kg because the rat given by Hunter equalled one pound cf. Frederick Mercer Hunter, *An Account Of The British Settlement Of Aden In Arabia*, London 1877, p.73. Paulitschke in turn gives the weight of the Harari *frasila* at 16,24 kg, Philipp Paulitschke, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somäl und Gallaländern, Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig, 1888. p. 259. Another slightly different weight of the Harari *frasila* is given by Gabriel Ferran, *Le Çomal*, “Bulletin de correspondance africaine”, 1884, p. 288. Weights of goods quoted in the Harari *frasila* are to be found alongside other Harari weights and measures in the codices analysed in the present study but no equivalent in other measurement systems is given.

<sup>43</sup> M. Muḥtār, op. cit. p. 357.

<sup>44</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 271.

<sup>45</sup> Roble is a Somali name given to boys born in the rainy season. Burton interpreted it as being more of a title of the *ugas* and hence called him “prince rainy” cf. Richard Burton, *First footsteps in East Africa or an exploration of Harar*, vol. 1, London 1894, p. 122.

<sup>46</sup> The name and title of the *ugas* is mentioned twice in Šawqī al-Ġamal, op. cit., first on p. 271 as الأوجاد رويلى فار [sic] and then on p. 295 as الأوجاس رديلى فارح. Both mentions seem to contain typographical errors, given that the title of Isa chiefs is certainly not *ugad* and that the name of the chief at that time was most probably Roble Farah cf. Philipp Paulitschke, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somäl und Gallaländern, Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig, 1888. p. 161 and 229 and Paulitschke's photograph of the *ugas* available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b77022583/f51.item>, cf. also the notes to Menilek's letter to the *ugas* in Sven Rubenson (ed.), *Acta Aethiopica* vol. III: *Internal Rivalries and Foreign Threats 1869-1879*, Addis Ababa, 2000, p. 287. In his description of the *ugas*'s submission, Douin renders his name as “l'ougass Roueili Karah”, which seems to be a combination of the two erroneous mentions from al-Ġamal with an additional alteration of the first letter of the last name. Similarly, Ben-Dror renders the name of *ugas* Roble once as Rolia and another time as Radilah Farih (cf. A. Ben-Dror, *Emirate...*, op. cit., pp. 36 and 67, respectively). Both transcriptions reproduce the mistakes from their source, the two mentions in al-Ġamal cited in this note.

<sup>47</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 271.

Bardey mentions in his *Notes sur le Harar* that the Isa were later exempt from taxes and that the *ugaas* was in charge of ensuring that the road from Harar to Zayla<sup>48</sup> was safe. On 1 October, while the expedition was still in the land of the Isa Somalis, a letter of surrender came from Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd aš-Šakūr, the emir of Harar to which Ra’ūf Pasha sent a response<sup>49</sup>. The last stopping place in the territory of the Somalis was Jaldessa on 4 October, which was later to become an Egyptian outpost and the seat of the *ugaas* Roble Farah.<sup>50</sup> Leaving Jaldessa, the Egyptian forces entered lands inhabited by the Nole Oromo. In an exchange of letters which followed Ra’ūf’s response, the emir accepted the sovereignty of khedive Ismā’īl but requested to be issued a *firman* granting the emirate to him and his descendants, one of whom, his son Yūsuf, was his emissary to Ra’ūf Pasha.<sup>51</sup>

The expedition continued onwards and on October 8, a large group of Nole and Alla Oromo warriors barred the road. After attempts at negotiation failed, a skirmish ensued, lasting 2 hours and 43 minutes as was scrupulously reported by Ra’ūf Pasha. The Egyptians put their opponents under heavy fire, won the battle and distributed khedival standards to be hoisted in the villages of the defeated Oromo commanders. The following day, October 9, an army of 37 000 cavalry and infantry awaited the Egyptians at Abgou. The Oromo, armed with javelins, bows and arrows lost the battle against the overwhelming Egyptian firepower. It is claimed in the Egyptian report, that after seven hours and ten minutes of fighting, the Oromo sent their women to announce their surrender, whom the Egyptian instructed to send them the tribal leaders, whose functions are rendered in Arabic as البوكو روى *al-būkū RWY* and البوكو راي *al-būkū rāyā*.<sup>52-53</sup> The following day, October 10, two leaders of the Nole Oromo

<sup>48</sup> Alfred Bardey, *Notes sur le Harar*, “Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive”, no. 1, 1897, Paris, p. 157

<sup>49</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 272.

<sup>50</sup> P. Paulitschke, *Harar*, op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. documents number 133 and 134 in S. Rubenson (ed.), op. cit. pp. 188-191. The emir’s request was to be later declined by khedive Ismā’īl who only granted to the deposed ruler of Harar a symbolic muḥāfiḫ title, cf. Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 279 with notes. However, the khedive’s response came only after the emir had already died in unclear circumstances, see below.

<sup>52</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 273.

<sup>53</sup> While the first part of these names is clearly the Oromo word bokkuu, denoting both the tribal chief and the symbols of his power, a wooden or iron sceptre, I was not able to establish what Oromo words were rendered in the second component of both titles cf. George Huntingford, *The Galla of Ethiopia*, London 1955, p. 54, Mohammed Hassen, *The Egyptian Occupation of Harer and Its Impact on the Oromo of Harerge*, “The Journal of Oromo Studies”, vol. 15, no. 2, 2008, pp. 33-60.

whose names were reported as عثمان ياور ‘Uṭmān YĀWR and علي كارو ‘Alī KĀRW<sup>54</sup> approached the Egyptian forces and asked for mercy.

On the following day, 11 October 1875, when the Egyptian army was on the outskirts of Harar, Ra’ūf Pasha was informed that the emir wanted to meet him. He decided to stop the troops and wait for the emir, to whom he sent two officers with two flags of the Khedivate. At one o’clock in the afternoon these were hoisted above one of the city gates and on the emir’s house and afterwards the emir and his retinue joined the two Egyptian officers on their way back to the Egyptian camp to meet the commander of the invading army. Ra’ūf Pasha reported that he received the emir and his party with generosity and hospitality and presented the emir and the chief qāḍī with luxurious robes in the name of the khedive. After the meeting, the Egyptian troops entered the city in the company of the emir.<sup>55</sup>

Apparently, there exists another version of the events leading to the surrender of the city, according to which ‘Alī Abū Bakr was at the head of the first Harari delegation to the approaching Egyptian forces. He supposedly offered to betray the emir and submit to Egyptian authority. Since the emir submitted himself to the khedive’s authority and did so in the letter quoted above, this version seems highly improbable.<sup>56</sup> Yet another version of the events is related by Frank Linsly James who writes that Ra’ūf Pasha entered the city without fighting by way of deception – he reportedly claimed that the Egyptian party is bound for Abyssinia and would only make a stop in the city.<sup>57</sup>

One of the first decisions made by Ra’ūf Pasha after taking over the city was the abolition of the *mahallaq*, the Harari currency, said by the Egyptians to have been counterfeited by the emir,<sup>58</sup> which is confirmed by Gustav Adolf Haggmacher and Alfred Bardey reports of the time<sup>59</sup>. Instead, the Maria

<sup>54</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 273 I rendered the first names in transcription since they are clear but since it is difficult to establish what Oromo names were rendered in Arabic script, I chose to transliterate them.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>56</sup> This version is given by John Dunn in *Khedive Ismail's Army*, London and New York 2005, p. 108 but the sources he quotes do not seem to contain any confirmation of this narrative. See also note 23 supra.

<sup>57</sup> Frank Linsly James, *The Unknown Horn of Africa*, London 1888, p. 333. James mentioned that the story was related by a man named Caro (sic) who drew up and published a map of Harar in Turin in 1876, which leads me to believe that this is a mistake in the name of Guido Cora, the publisher of the “Cosmos” journal, since the January 1877 issue of Cosmos contained a map of the region drawn up by Cora in 1876 and accompanying his article on Italian exploration of East Africa cf. Guido Cora, *Spedizione Italiana nell’Africa Equatoriale*, “Cosmos”, vol. 4 no 1 January 1877, Turin, pp. 27-31.

<sup>58</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 274.

<sup>59</sup> Gustav Adolf Haggmacher, *G. A. Haggmacher's Reise im Somali-lande 1874*, Gotha 1876, p. 43, A. Bardey, *Notes...*, op. cit., p. 155.

Theresa thaler was instituted as official currency. This coin had been present in the region for decades, and Harar was no exception. Even though emir Aḥmad, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī’s predecessor, punished the use of currencies other than the one struck in the city, he himself supposedly gathered large numbers of the Maria Theresa thaler.<sup>60</sup> The same was true for Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī – he gathered and melted down the Maria Theresa thalers and issued a *mahallaq* coin of lead mixed with silver for which he forced an exchange rate of 22 *mahallaqs* per thaler according to Bardey and Muḥtār.<sup>61</sup> The intrinsic value of that coin with regard to its silver content was far below the imposed exchange rate mentioned by Bardey or even that of 66 *mahallaqs* given by Haggenmacher.<sup>62</sup> Ra’ūf Pasha initially set an exchange rate of 300 *mahallaqs* to the thaler,<sup>63</sup> which was later corrected to 321 after a sample of the Harari coins sent to Egypt was examined at the Cairo mint. Due to the halt of trade because of the lack of smaller coinage, the circulation of the *mahallaq* was temporarily allowed, which was encouraged by the khedive even though he sent a transport of coinage of smaller denominations to increase the circulation of Egyptian money in Harar.<sup>64</sup> After his currency was first abolished, the emir himself was given 800 thalers, his son received 200 and his wives and the rest of his family were given a hundred. Soon afterwards, the emir was killed. While it is generally accepted that he died at the hands of the Egyptians, it is not clear what were the exact circumstances of his death.

Paulitschke claims that the emir was strangled during the evening prayer by a bashi-bazouk named “Schublak”, apparently for no reason.<sup>65</sup> Other contemporary European reports mention different versions of what happened. In his *Notes sur le Harar*, Bardey reports that the emir was executed by decapitation<sup>66</sup> but in *Barr-Adjam* he gives three possible ways of the emir’s execution: decapitation, hanging in the central square or strangulation in prison.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Burton, *First...*, op. cit., vol. 2 p. 22.

<sup>61</sup> Muḥammad Muḥtār, op. cit. p. 393.

<sup>62</sup> G. A. Haggenmacher, op. cit., p. 43

<sup>63</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., pp. 274 and 275

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, p. 286, the text states that 100 000 *qirš* in silver and 300 000 *ġirš* in copper were sent, and that since a *qirš* is worth 3 *ġirš*, the total sum amounted to 900 000 thousand (sic) *ġirš* which appears to be a mistake since the correct calculation would be 600 000 *ġirš*. While the khedive encouraged a gradual introduction of the Egyptian currency, in his final remarks, he gave Ra’ūf Pasha the permission to act as he saw fit in this matter Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., pp. 288 and 289.

<sup>65</sup> P. Paulitschke, op. cit. *Harar*, p. 231, (the name given by Paulitschke is probably شبلق Šublāq)

<sup>66</sup> A. Bardey, op. cit. “Notes...”, p. 155.

<sup>67</sup> A. Bardey, *Barr Adjam: souvenirs d’Afrique orientale, 1880-1887*, Paris 1981, p. 167 (quoted in J. Miran, op. cit., p. 68).

Regardless of its exact manner, Bardey states that the cause of the execution was the emir's conspiracy to regain power. Frank James, in his narrative quoted above, relates that when the Egyptians entered the city under false pretenses, a power struggle took place between Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd aš-Šakūr and Ra'ūf Pasha. The emir supposedly refused to come and see Ra'ūf Pasha on his request, since he felt that it is below him and it is the Egyptian who should come to him. Ra'ūf Pasha sent soldiers after him and the emir was strangled in the ensuing struggle.<sup>68</sup> Harari informants claim that, again, 'Alī Abū Bakr conspired against the deposed emir and treacherously convinced the Egyptians that the emir and his loyalists were planning to open the city gates to Oromo warriors during the night of 27 Ramaḍān or *laylat-al qadr*, a Muslim festival. It was the Harari tradition that on that festival drums were played and 'Alī Abū Bakr supposedly deceived the Egyptians that on the sign of a drumbeat, the Oromo were supposed to attack them in their sleep. The Egyptians thus awaited the signal and killed the emir as soon as the drums sounded. Whatever was the true cause and exact manner of the emir's death, it is rather clear that it was not planned by the khedival government, since khedive Ismā'īl, oblivious of the emir's recent death, appointed him to a *muḥaḡiẓ* post in the city's administration.<sup>69</sup> While the post was admittedly only symbolic, it seems unlikely that the khedive would have secretly ordered the emir's execution and then sent the letter of appointment to cover up his true intentions. Gordon reported that upon learning about the deposed ruler's death, Ismā'īl was furious but no consequences followed.<sup>70</sup> Al-Ġamal claims that the emir's deposition and planned sidetracking in the new administration caused him to instigate the Oromo tribes against the Egyptians and that this "continued until the emir's death". Al-Ġamal's making no mention of the causes of the emir's death seems to be an implicit admission that the deposed ruler was killed. This event fit neither the Egyptian colonial narrative of the civilising mission in the city of Harar nor Al-Ġamal's modern national narrative and was thus passed over in silence both in the source material and Al-Ġamal's commentary. This is not to say that what actually happened was not known in Egypt or that no one voiced concerns. The case seems to have been known among the Egyptian and Ottoman elite and the country's internal tensions which ultimately resulted in the 'Urābī Revolution caused some to bring the matter forward. The interrogation minutes for the trial of the Urabists contain Aḥmad Rif'at Bey's<sup>71</sup> testimony that Aḥmad 'Urābī stated on record that what he did

<sup>68</sup> F. L. James, op. cit., p. 333 (see also note 39).

<sup>69</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., pp. 279 with notes and 284.

<sup>70</sup> George B. Hill, *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa 1874-1879*, London 1881, p. 313.

<sup>71</sup> Aḥmad Rif'at Bey was the son of Mehmed Kani Pasha, who served twice as the Ottoman minister of finance. A Turk educated in France, in Egypt he became the Director of the

to the Circassian elite is a trivial matter compared to the things which took place during khedive Ismā'īl's reign, such as the killing of "the sultan of Harar", as 'Urābī referred to the emir. He further noted that the Sublime State intervened in the case of the Circassians but it did not intervene in the case of the "sultan of Harar" even though it was a far more important issue.<sup>72</sup>

Regardless of the later narratives of the events, it is the change of currency and the killing of the emir which marked the beginning of Muḥammad Ra'ūf Pasha's colonisation of the city of Harar. By erasing the two strongest symbols of the emirate – the emir himself and the currency which would otherwise be a constant reminder of the city's history of self-governance, the Egyptian governor embarked on a campaign aimed at making Harar a model Egyptian city. He claimed that it is possible to make Harar one of the foremost cities in the East, second only to Cairo.<sup>73</sup> Apart from symbolic steps such as renaming the city gates after those of Damascus (*Bāb as-salām*), Jerusalem (*Bāb ar-raḥma*) and Cairo (*Bāb al-futūḥ* and *Bāb an-naṣr*), Ra'ūf Pasha also began large scale construction works in the city. At the time, the Egyptian perspective on creating modern cities in the East was that of khedive Ismā'īl's who rebuilt Cairo and Alexandria in a European fashion and famously stated towards the end of his reign: "My country is no longer in Africa, we are now part of Europe. It is therefore natural for us to let go of the past mistakes and move forward in a new system compatible with the condition of our society. And soon, important changes will take place more easily than expected".<sup>74</sup> Although the khedive said these words in August 1878, after Ra'ūf Pasha had already been deposed from his post in Harar, the philosophy of this statement is well applicable to his activities as governor of Harar. In addition to rebuilding the physical landscape of the city, Ra'ūf Pasha initiated changes in its social landscape. Having noticed the reportedly favourable approach of the Hararis towards the Egyptians, the governor encouraged his soldiers to marry local women. In the Egyptian narrative, for a Harari to marry off his daughter to an Egyptian soldier is presented as a desirable thing or even some sort of privilege.<sup>75</sup> Whether this was true is disputable but such marriages certainly did take place and were

Press Office and secretary of the Council of Ministers under Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Barūdī cf. Alexander Meyrick Broadley, *How We Defended Arābi and His Friends: A Story of Egypt and the Egyptians*, London 1884, p. 147 et passim cf. also Alexander Schölch, *Egypt for the Egyptians! The Socio-political Crisis in Egypt 1878-1882*, London 1981, p. 127 with note et passim.

<sup>72</sup> Salīm Ḥalīl Naqqāš, *Miṣr lil-Miṣriyyīn: muḥākamat al-'Urābiyyīn*, vol. 7, Alexandria 1884AD/1302AH, pp. 169-170.

<sup>73</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>74</sup> 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ar-Rāfi'ī, *Aṣr Ismā'īl*, pt. 2, Cairo 1987 (4th edition), p. 81.

<sup>75</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 302.

not uncommon. While Ra'ūf Pasha might have been the first to endorse such marriages, his deposition by Gordon in late April 1878 did not stop the mixed marriages from taking place. As mentioned above, Gordon himself encouraged the marriages and the subsequent Egyptian governors who filled Ra'ūf Pasha's post could not have been against it, which follows from the dating of the marriage contract records analysed in the present study.



## 4. The codices

The documents with which the present study is concerned come from the late 19th-century are handwritten in Arabic and bound in three paper codices belonging to the collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University. These codices are held by the Institute's library under the shelf-marks IES 959, IES 961 and IES 962<sup>76</sup> and were digitised as part of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project using a grant from the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme. The digital images of the manuscripts are available via the Programme's website and these were used for the research I carried out for this thesis. These codices seem to be only a portion of a larger archive of the Egyptian administration of Harar, which was reportedly kept by Coptic clerks and needed forty seven large chests to be dispatched to Egypt during the city's evacuation.<sup>77</sup> Raḍwān Pasha, who succeeded Muḥammad Ra'ūf Pasha as the second Egyptian governor of Harar in the years 1878-1880 and was later reappointed and put in charge of the Egyptian side of the 1884-1885 evacuation of the city, reported that an inventory of the official registers and documents was made and that the archives up to the year 1883 were sent to the administration of the Sudan affairs.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> A. Gori (ed.), *A Handlist of the Manuscripts in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, vol. 2, Eugene, 2014, p. 20. The library of IES also holds another register of marriage contracts, shelf-mark IES 960, which unfortunately is not available for research on the Endangered Archives Programme's website, even though it was digitised by the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project. That register is earlier than the one researched in this study as it covers the two months of Muḥarram and Šafar 1297 AH a period corresponding to December 1879 and January 1880 AD.

<sup>77</sup> Francis Reginald Wingate, *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan: Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahdism, and of Subsequent Events in the Sudan to the Present Time*, London 1891, p. 153.

<sup>78</sup> Š. al-Ğamal, op. cit., p. 333.



## 4.1 Physical description of the codices

Since I used the digital copies, my ability to examine the paper and quire structure was rather limited but studying the pagination and dating I arrived at some conclusions regarding the changes made to the structure of codices IES 961 and IES 962, which can be found below in this chapter together with some remarks about ruling.

The physical features of the codices I was able to establish from the digital copies and with the help of Alessandro Gori's handlist<sup>79</sup> are as follows:

**IES 961:** 450x315x15 mm, 33 folios of yellowed paper bound with string or twine, there are traces of water/humidity damage and some minor insect damage but only on the margins, there is no loss of text, the covers are detached from the spine and both damaged by insects, the back cover has no top left corner and has damage revealing the last folio along the spine.

**IES 962:** 458x315x15 mm, 61 folios of yellowed paper bound with string or twine, the binding is damaged, there is minor insect damage on the margins, the last quire of the codex (originally a part of the IES 961 codex, see below for details) has more visible water/humidity damage on the margins, there is no loss of text, the covers are slightly damaged by insects, the back cover has no top right corner, the damage reveals the page numbering of the last folio.

**IES 959:** 385x251x18 mm, 55 folios of yellowed paper bound with string or twine, ff. 42-46 appear to be detached from the binding and have frayed edges, there is water/humidity damage of the bottom outside corner of the folios, the covers are damaged, the back cover is detached from the spine.

## 4.2 The contents of the codices – introductory remarks

Each of the codices contains records of one of three types of civil status documents, namely marriage contracts, divorce certificates and manumissions. All three types of records are interesting sources documenting the social interactions and the changes they went through in this time and place. All three types are interconnected and each single type is interesting for its specific reasons. The interconnection between the three types of documents is best ex-

<sup>79</sup> A. Gori (ed.), *A Handlist...*, op. cit.

emplified by the case of a marriage between a soldier and a manumitted slave of another soldier who previously married her, divorced her and then, acting as her legal guardian, married her off to his colleague. If we add that the witnesses to this marriage included a high-ranking Harari official and an Egyptian officer by the name of Abāza<sup>80</sup>, we obtain a representation of the stratified social landscape of Harar under the Turko-Egyptian occupation.

As for the singular importance of each type of documents, it so happens that each of the three types of documents sheds new light on issues which shaped everyday life in the city. While the marriage contract records confirm irrefutably that marriages between Egyptian soldiers and local women did take place, the divorce records and their considerable number, confirm that these marriages often did not last. This was not customary in Harari culture – Muḥammad Muḥtār<sup>81</sup> mentioned in his “Notes sur le pays de Harrar” that divorce was very uncommon among the Hararis and that during his year-long stay in the city of 35 000 he heard about only one divorce case<sup>82</sup>. While the court register in IES 959 contains a few instances of Hararis divorcing their wives, the disproportionate rate of divorces among the soldiers is noticeable. It then seems understandable that the Egyptian soldiers frequently divorcing local women made the Hararis consider the marriages with Egyptian soldiers immoral.<sup>83</sup>

The manumission records in turn draw attention to the issue of slavery, slave trade and Egypt’s declared commitment to its suppression. While the fact that slave trafficking continued in the Red Sea ports under Egyptian rule was known at the time it happened<sup>84</sup>, the documents show that slave ownership on territory under Egyptian jurisdiction was not restricted only to the governor of Zayla‘ Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm and his clan<sup>85</sup> but that it was widespread among the Egyptian military from the officers down to enlisted personnel. Manumission records dated after the year 1877 when the *Convention between the British and Egyptian Governments for the Suppression of the Slave Trade*<sup>86</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Quite probably a member of the influential Abāza family, a clan of Abazin origin, which was a constitutive part of the Turko-Circassian elite of Egypt.

<sup>81</sup> J. Miran, “Muḥammad Muḥtār” in: Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 1054.

<sup>82</sup> M. Muḥtār, op. cit., p. 366.

<sup>83</sup> A. Ben-Dror, *Emirate...*, op. cit., p. 82 with a reference to Mahdi Gadid, “Feudalism in the Emirate of Harar up to 1887”, BA thesis, Addis Ababa University 1979, p. 55.

<sup>84</sup> Paul Soleillet, *Voyages en Ethiopie (janvier 1882-octobre 1884): Notes, Lettres & Documents Divers*, Rouen 1886.

<sup>85</sup> For more details on this issue see chapter 6.3.1 of the present thesis.

<sup>86</sup> For the text of the convention and its annexes in Arabic: As-Sayyid Yūsuf Naṣr, *Al-waṭā‘iq at-ta’rīḥiyya li’ assiyāsa al-miṣriyya fī Ifrīqiyyā fī al-qarn 19*, Cairo, 1980, pp. 144-151, for the text in English and French: Reda Mowafi, *Slavery, Slave Trade and Abolition Attempts in Egypt and the Sudan 1820-1882*, Stockholm 1981, pp. 125-132.

was signed show, that Harar was no exception to the general tendency and that Egyptian soldiers and officers who were meant to suppress the slave trade likely took part in it since there is no other plausible explanation of how they came to possess the slaves whose manumissions are evidenced by the documents.

### 4.3 IES 961

The codex held under the IES 961 shelfmark is a register of marriage contracts signed between the Egyptian soldiers stationed in the Ethiopian city of Harar and the local women. The in-side of the cover bears an annotation indicating its contents, reading: *هذا سجل عقود نكاح عسكرية هرر سنة ٩٩* or “This is a register of marriage contracts of the military, Harar year 99”. It is followed by a more elaborate version on the first page reading: *هذا سجل يحتوي على عقود النكاح العسكرية الموجودة بهرر سنة ٩٩* or “This is a register containing marriage contracts of the military present in Harar, year 99”.

What follows is nearly sixty pages of handwritten marriage contract records from the hijri years 1298-99 corresponding to the Gregorian years 1881-82. The register opens on 7 Šawwāl 1298/2 September 1881 and the records until the one dated 16 Dhū al-qa‘da 1298/10 October 1881 (which is the last one from 1298 AH) have a more elaborate form than the subsequent ones. These records are often either signed or sealed by the witnesses of the marriages, but this is not a rule. As a rule the names of the witnesses mentioned in the main body of a particular record are separately written below in the same hand as the record and are often authenticated by the personal name seals of the witnesses. On some occasions the phrase “witnessed by” is written by the scribe and witnesses’ signatures are placed below. Soldiers generally used their personal seals while witnesses from among the locals used signatures. However, in many cases the soldiers did not place their seal next to their name written by the scribe which, in some of these cases, is explained by a comment stating that the seal was lost. Arguably, this is not a way of authentication, because both the name of the witness and the comment is written by the scribe who drew up a particular record. The lack of authentication was probably due to the fact that the Egyptian enlisted ranks were largely illiterate and if they did not have a seal they were often not able to verify the document in any other way than placing a tick next to their name written by the scribe. Some of those who did not use a seal but signed their names, soldiers and locals alike, did so with noticeably large and clumsy letters (e.g. f. 3a) showing that signing their name was probably one of the rare occasions they used handwriting. A good example of all of the variants mentioned above is the record

at the top of f. 2b which mentions four witnesses to the marriage contract, all of whom are listed below the record in separate columns. Among them are:

1. Rustam Marḡān from the governorate of Qalyūbiya, court usher or sergeant at arms in the court of Harar, who placed his seal next to his name which was written by the scribe

2. Aḥmad Šano al-Hararī, the brother of the bride, who signed his name

3. Ibrāhīm al-Mašrī from the governorate of Qīnā, a private from the 2nd battalion's 4th company, whose name was written by the scribe with the comment that his seal was lost

4. Fāriḥ Nūr, a Somali whose name was written by the scribe with the comment that his seal was lost

Thus we have two Egyptians and two locals, and all variants of authentication or the lack thereof in a single record.

Starting from the beginning of the hijri year 1299, that is on Muḥarram 1st, the records' formula changes substantially. There are no more signatures nor seals of witnesses and the records have a visibly more concise form—a single page contains up to fifteen records, whereas a single page of the initial, more elaborate part of the register contains no more than six records. Apart from differences in wording, this space economy is probably also due to the usage of ruling—the concise records are handwritten in ruled lines and the dates and court reference numbers are set in columns drawn inside the margin boundaries within which the text is confined. In the headers of the columns are the words “number” and “date” which allowed the clerk to write only once the full sentence stating the date and number of the contract and then simply fill in the date and number for documents drawn up on the same day. While the skipping of the full date is not a rule, occasionally the conciseness reaches the point of the word “marriage” not being mentioned in a marriage contract record! The sixth record on folio 23a merely identifies the spouses, states the legal fitness of the woman and the name of her legal guardian, specifies the sum of the *mahr* and the names of the witnesses, which is the bare minimum for the document to be legally valid.

This part of the codex ends with a list of payments for clerical costs and costs of representation received for the marriage contracts signed from 12 Jumāda al-ʿāḥar 1299 (30 April 1882) entitled: *عن بيان الرسوم المتحصلة من عقود النكحة من ابتدئ ١٢ شهر جماد الآخر سنة ١٢٩٩ كما الوارد بالقسيمة* “A list of payments received for marriage contracts beginning with 12 Jumāda al-ʿāḥar 1299 as stated in the receipts”.

The list ends with a statement summing up the received fees and confirming their transfer to the court on 22 Jumāda al-ʿāḥar 1299 corresponding to 10 May 1882.

The reverse side of the same folio contains another such list entitled: عنبيان الرسوم المتحصلة من عقود الانكحه وتمن القسايم (...) يوم ١١ مايو سنة ٨٢ “A list of payments received for marriage contracts and the sum of the receipts (...) 11 May year 82”

This list is shorter and also ends with a statement summing up the received fees and confirming their transfer to the court which was acknowledged on receipt by the seal of the Grand Mufti of the *mudīriyya*.

Since the title of the register expressly states that it contains records of marriage contracts of the military, it is surprising that both lists contain a number of entries on marriage contracts to which the male party were not Egyptian soldiers but men from Harar. These lists of clerical costs are the only place in the whole register, where such marriages are mentioned. Interestingly, the list of payments is followed by a single record of a marriage contract signed on Ramaḍān 21st 1299/August 6th 1882, and then an annotation on the next folio reading: انه لضرورة عدم وجود دفتر وسابق قد استلزم الحال لقيد العقود الانكحة في هذا الدفتر or: مؤقتا لحين حضور دفتر وسابق اعتبارا من تاريخ ١٨ شعبان سنة ٩٩ موفى ٥ يولييه سنة ٨٢ “Because of the lack of a register book, the necessity arose to register the marriage contracts in this book temporarily until a register book is available, beginning on Ša‘bān 18th year 99 corresponding to July 5th year 82”.

What then follows are another two pages of marriage contract records on both sides of the very last folio of the codex. Oddly enough, the above annotation gives the date Ša‘bān 18th as the beginning of the temporary register and the first contract underneath it is dated Ša‘bān 15th. Considering the fact that the single record of a marriage contract signed on Ramadan 21st mentioned above precedes in the register these two pages of records which in turn predate it, this final part of the register seems rather haphazard. What seems organised better than the register itself is the system of payments – every contract recorded following the two lists of payments has an annotation at the end stating that the due payments were received by the *mudīriyya* or the *ḥikimdāriyya*.

What is more, the annotation cited above expressly states that this somewhat chaotic way of keeping the register is a temporary solution which is an indicator that the remainder of this register is to be found somewhere else. It is indeed so – the remaining part of the register was placed at the end of the IES 962 codex.

#### 4.4 IES 962

The IES 962 codex opens with a court register from a period overlapping with that of IES 961, spanning from 11th Šafar 1299 until 25th Ġumāda al-

aḥir 1302<sup>87</sup>. After the last record of the court register several pages were left blank and then follows the remainder of the marriage contract register, picking up with a record dated Šaʿbān 22nd 1299 – exactly the same date on which IES 961 ends. It then continues until Šawwāl 12th 1299, a full year after the first contract from IES 961 was signed. For the purpose of this study, the two parts, although bound in two separate codices, will be treated as a single entity, since they are two parts of the same register as indicated by consistent dating and court reference numbering. Originally, this marriage contract register was probably bound in a single codex in its entirety as indicated by page numbering and other features discussed in greater detail further in this chapter.

The court register which opens the IES 962 codex contains records of court rulings with regard to inheritance disputes, sale agreements but also criminal cases such as murder and theft. These do not pertain to civil status and thus are not within the main scope of this study. However, I read this court register selectively to establish its contents and acquaint myself with the wider context in which the civil status documents were drawn up. Since the time spans of this court register and the marriage contract register are partially overlapping, selected records from the former were consulted to provide context for the analysis of the latter.

#### 4.6 IES 959

The last codex out of the three analysed in the present study, shelfmark IES 959, contains another court register, earlier than the other documents, with records dated from 11th Ġumāda al-awwal 1295 until 18 Muḥarram 1297. Albeit not exactly contemporaneous with the other two, this register provides information of great interest, since apart from criminal cases and inheritance disputes, it contains records of divorces and manumissions. It also contains information clarifying the administrative structure of the region, since the first page bears an annotation indicating its contents from which I was able to read the following:

هذا الدفتر يحتوي على (ستون فرع؟) فيه أوراق (الدي؟) الواردة للمديرية سنة ٧٧ منمر بنمرة (دايرة) من نمرة ١ لغاية نمرة ٢٢٨ مختوم بختم حكمدارية هرر (لزوم؟) فيه الدعاوي (التي نظر؟) محكمة مديريةية هرر على حسب النصوص الشرعية ولإعتماد جريان العمل به تحرر هنا لمناسبة عدم ورود دفاتر سنة ٧٨ لغاية تاريخه جأ ٩٥

“This register book contains (sixty sections?) containing the documents received by the *mudīriyya* in the year 77 marked with (consecutive?) numbers from 1 to 228 and stamped with the seal of the *ḥikimdāriya* of Harar (manda-

<sup>87</sup> A. Gori, op. cit., p. 20, has Ġumāda al-awwal 1302, perhaps by mistake.

torily?). It contains the cases (adjudicated?) by the court of the *mudīriyya* of Harar in accordance with the provisions of the law. In accordance with the course of proceedings they were recorded here because of the lack of register books for the year 78 until the present day in Ġ(umāda) (al-)a(wwal) 95”

This annotation is followed by what seems to read وكيل عموم مديرية هرر والقاضي حسام صالح. “The deputy *mudīr* of the Harar *mudīriyya* and the *qāḍī* Ḥusām Šālīḥ” but different readings are equally plausible.

Next to it is the phrase مدير هرر *mudīr Harar* and underneath the seal of the *mudīr*, Yūsuf Bey Aḥmad who is mentioned as the defendant in many cases in the register in which the plaintiff laid a claim against the administration.

The very fact that the *mudīriyya* of Harar is mentioned alongside the *ḥikimdāriyya* of Harar in a document from the year 1878 shows that even before khedive Tawfīq’s new administrative partition of the Sudan in 1882<sup>88</sup>, the city of Harar was a *mudīriyya* which was one of the constituents of the *ḥikimdāriyya* of Harar. This might explain why marriage contract records signed on the same date use the names *mudīriyya* and *ḥikimdāriyya* interchangeably when mentioning the receipt of clerical costs.

#### 4.7 Remarks on dating, structure and pagination of the codices

The earliest divorce record in IES 959 is from 17 Dhū al-qa‘da 1295 AH or 13 November 1878 AD, when Ra‘ūf Pasha’s successor Raḍwān Pasha was the governor of Harar. The marriage contract register divided between IES 961 and IES 962 comes from the years 1881-82 during the governorship of Nādī Pasha<sup>89</sup>. The last record concerning Egyptian soldiers in the court register in IES 962 is an inheritance claim laid by a soldier’s widow against his commander dated 19 Ġumāda al-awwal 1302 or 7 March 1885 when the evacuation of the Egyptian garrison was already in full fledge and its final wave was imminent. The time span of these documents shows that mixed marriages were an integral part of the Egyptians’ presence in Harar until its very end.

The practice of placing marriage contract records at the end of court registers and the phenomenon of records cutting off abruptly and resuming in another place without any notice is to be found in other Egyptian *sijills*. In his *Observations on the Use of Shari‘a Court Records as a Source of Social His-*

<sup>88</sup> As-Sayyid Yūsuf Naṣr, *Al-waṭā‘iq at-ta’rīḥiyya li-as-siyāsa al-miṣriyya fī Ifrīqiyā fī al-qarn 19*, Cairo, 1980, p. 380.

<sup>89</sup> J. Miran, “Muḥammad Nādī” in: Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 1054-1055.



tory Ramadan al-Khowli mentions similar cases in the registers of Damietta and Alexandria<sup>90</sup>. He also mentions the problem of multiple page numbering systems applied to the same codex over time which is also the case with the Egyptian registers from Harar but here it did not have a negative effect on research, on the contrary – it helped to trace back the changes made to the structure of the codices.

The IES 961 codex has duplicated pagination in Eastern Arabic digits – each page is numbered once in its top outside corner and a second time in the top outside corner of the frame of margin boundaries within which the text is confined. The second numbering might have been placed in order to keep the page numbers intact in case the margins got damaged. This pattern of page numbering is also present in the part of the marriage contract register which is now placed at the end of IES 962 but the rest of IES 962 does not have such duplicated pagination. Instead, page numbers in Eastern Arabic digits are present only in the top outside corner of each page apart from the first and the last one which are left blank and unnumbered. What is more, the last but one page of the court register bears the number 78 while the first page of the marriage contract register following it is numbered 60. The last page of the marriage contract register from IES 961 bears the number 59 which seems to confirm that the part of IES 962 containing the marriage contract was originally part of IES 961. If we consider the marriage contract register as one codex separated into two parts its total page count is 78 and the page count of IES 962 understood as the court register alone is 80, just one leaf more. With the covers and dimensions of the two codices being nearly identical, we can assume that we are looking at what was manufactured as two identical record books. That one missing leaf could have been lost, which is not improbable considering the fact that the back cover of IES 961 is damaged and not bound with the spine which has largely disintegrated. Furthermore, each page of the court register from IES 962 is stamped with the Harar *ḥikimdāriyya* seal in blue ink and both parts of the marriage contract register are stamped in green ink, most probably with the same seal, although it is illegible on many pages. Additionally, the ruled lines and columns which appear in the marriage contract register in IES 961 are also present in the marriage contract register in IES 962. Considering all of the above, it is reasonably safe to assume that both parts of the marriage contract register are drawn up on what was originally one codex which was later split into two parts.

<sup>90</sup> Ramadan al-Khowli, *Observations on the Use of Shari'a Court Records as a Source of Social History*, in: Amira el-Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies*, Cairo 2006, pp. 139-151.



Apart from the Eastern Arabic page numbers which follow the standard direction of reading a codex in a right-to-left writing system, in all three codices, there is also pagination in Western Arabic digits probably applied by someone ignorant of the direction of the text, since it follows a reversed order – the last page of the codex is numbered “1” etc. In the case of IES 962, this reversed pagination seems to have been applied after the marriage contract part was annexed to it, since all pages are numbered consistently. The same is true for the IES 961 – the reversed pagination starts on the last page and continues consistently until the first. In both cases this pagination is probably relatively recent since it seems that a ballpoint pen was used.

The IES 959 codex, apart from Eastern Arabic page numbers and Western Arabic page numbers in reversed order has also Western Arabic pagination in the correct direction but starting from the title page which in the case of the remaining two codices is left without pagination.

The registers seem to be the product of a system of administrative and legal institutions present in the city of Harar itself and the province during the period of the Egyptian occupation. Indicative of this are cross-references to administrative decisions such as permissions bearing numbers (probably permissions for marriage issued to soldiers<sup>91</sup> e.g. f. 22b) and references to other courts (the court in Zaylaʿ 2nd record from the bottom on f. 44a IES 962).

#### 4.8 Authorship

Quite naturally for such documents, no author is mentioned on the title pages of the registers and those who registered the contracts generally chose to remain anonymous but on a few occasions the author of a particular record mentions his name or at least function. Since the records mentioning the author are drawn up in particular hands easily distinguishable from other hands appearing throughout the register, it was therefore possible to attribute the records drawn up in a particular style of handwriting to a given name, function or both.

A certain ʿAbduh al-Ġaʿfarāwī registered the majority of the contracts in the period from Šawwāl 7th 1298/September 2nd 1881 until Dhū al-qaʿda 16th 1298. He appears to have been the *wāʿiẓ* (chaplain) of the 1st battalion stationed in Harar and to have held the post of the qāḍī's deputy in charge of marriage contracts of the military. It was possible to ascribe to him nearly all the records from that period because in one of the records he identified himself by name and function as the scribe of the record and the same function appears under numerous other records written in the same hand. Only four records

<sup>91</sup> cf. Ehud Toledano, *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth Century Egypt*, Cambridge 2003, p. 182.

from the same period were drawn up by two other individuals, both of them officers, in two distinct hands. Three of those records are signed by a certain ‘Afīfī Šālih, a صول قول اغاسي [*sool quul ʿaraasi*] or first warrant officer and one is signed by Ḥasan Niyazī أول ملازم *mulāzim awwal* or lieutenant in the 1st battalion.

The majority of the records drawn up from Muḥarram 1st 1299 AH onwards until the end of IES 961 and in the second part of the marriage contract register bound in IES 962 are drawn up in the same hand, by far the clearest and easiest to read in the codices. Two records in this hand (the 7th and 9th on f. 21a) bear a note identifying the author as a certain *ṣayḥ* ‘Īsa, who is most probably *ṣayḥ* ‘Īsa Dyāb, the Grand Mufti of Harar and deputy of the *qāḍī*. His full name and function are mentioned twice in IES 961 (ff. 3b and 23b, the first and last records respectively). Additionally, there are mentions of *ṣayḥ* ‘Īsa Dyāb, the Grand Mufti (f. 19a) and one mention of العلامة الشيخ عيسى *al-‘allāma ṣayḥ* ‘Īsa (the learned scholar *ṣayḥ* ‘Īsa).

Another hand possible to identify by name and function is that of *ṣayḥ* Ḥasanayn Nadā, who mentioned his name in the third record from the top on f. 15b in IES 961. In two records from IES 962 regarding the purchase of a house on 29th Ġumāda al-awwal and 2nd Šaḥār 1300, *ṣayḥ* Ḥasanayn Nadā’s function is mentioned as the chaplain of the 2nd battalion and the *qāḍī*’s deputy in charge of marriage contracts.

## 4.9 Language

Although the language of the documents is literary Arabic, it displays non-standard features. These include the use of vocabulary from local languages, namely Harari, Oromo and Somali written in Arabic script as well as some Egyptian Arabic dialectal vocabulary, mostly of Ottoman Turkish origin. Quite logically, the vocabulary of Ottoman Turkish origin pertains to the Egyptian military, which at the time was using Ottoman nomenclature.

The words from the local languages, in turn, are names of those administrative functions and divisions which the Egyptians adopted as well as proper names of Oromo and Somali clans. The Harari words are local honorific titles and names of official functions preserved in the Egyptian administration. The Oromo and Somali vocabulary is limited to the names of tribes and clans rendered in Arabic script, with varying spelling which is dealt with in a separate subsection of this chapter’s section on orthography (4.9.2 a). Apart from spelling, the section on orthography also includes remarks on the scripts used by the scribes, ligatures and abbreviations they employed as well as non-standard symbols (possibly *‘alāmāt al-ihmāt*) and other local peculiarities of the Arabic script.

### 4.9.1 Vocabulary

Since the Egyptian dialect of Arabic incorporated a large body of Ottoman Turkish vocabulary it is not an easy task to establish whether particular words used in the text were still Ottoman Turkish or already Egyptian Arabic as the boundary between the two classifications often seems elusive. In this study, spelling was treated as an indicator but even Egyptian Arabic which is notable among the dialects for its widespread use in written form, has no standard spelling to date and was all the further from having one in the late 19th century. We are therefore unable to establish with total certainty whether words present both in Ottoman Turkish and Egyptian Arabic were indeed Turkish words used within the Arabic text or rather a representation of colloquial Egyptian Arabic in writing.

However, since Socrates Spiro's 1895 vocabulary of colloquial Egyptian Arabic<sup>92</sup> includes all but one of the words of Ottoman origin found in the analysed documents, it is safe to assume this vocabulary was already considered an integral part of Egyptian Arabic during the Egyptian rule in Harar between 1875 and 1885. The words of Ottoman Turkish origin found in the documents are generally spelled in the way attested in Spiro's vocabulary as well as in the *Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*<sup>93</sup>. Notable exceptions indicate that the scribes who kept the original Ottoman Turkish spelling either treated these words as Ottoman Turkish within an otherwise Arabic text or, perhaps, that they felt more at home with Turkish than with Arabic. Egyptian Arabic vocabulary items other than the military nomenclature are small in number but show that dialectal vocabulary in the written language of the administration was not limited to military nomenclature.

#### a) Egyptian Arabic vocabulary of Ottoman Turkish origin

Since, for the reasons stated above, the vocabulary listed below is treated as Egyptian Arabic vocabulary, the transcription system used is that found in Badawi's and Hinds' *Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*<sup>94</sup>.

سوارى – [sawaari] cavalry

طوبجى – [tubgi] artillerist and its plural form طوبجية [tubgiyya]

<sup>92</sup> Socrates Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, Cairo and London 1895.

<sup>93</sup> El-Said Badawi and Martin Hinds, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic – Arabic-English*, Beirut 1986.

<sup>94</sup> Ibidem, p. XVII.

تيمرجي [*timargi*]—male nursing assistant

تفكشي [*tufakši*]—armourer, this spelling reflects the Egyptian pronunciation based on the vulgar Turkish pronunciation of the word تفكجي given by Redhouse.<sup>95</sup> Dictionaries of Egyptian Arabic have the same pronunciation but retain a spelling closer to the Turkish source: Spiro has توفكشي<sup>96</sup>, Badawi and Hinds—تفكجي.<sup>97</sup>

بروجي [*buruugi*]—bugler

اورطه [*ʔurṭa*]—battalion

بلوك [*buluk*]—company

بكباشا [*binbaaʃa*] or [*bimbaaʃi*] with its spelling variant بکباشا or [*bimbaaʃa*] (fol. 3b in IES 959)—lieutenant colonel. The ك in the spelling is a simplified representation of the Ottoman Turkish ك nef pronounced [ŋ] in the word بيك [*biŋ*] meaning “thousand” resulting in the pronunciation [*bimbaaʃi*] with *m* as a result of assimilation. When the Ottoman Turkish origin of the spelling and its right pronunciation was ignored, the pronunciation was [*bikbaaʃi* or *bakbaaʃi*]. The spelling variant بکباشا [*binbaaʃa*] or [*bimbaaʃa*] reflects the confusion of the title of pasha (spelt باشا with ب *b* instead of پ *p*) with the Turkish word باش *baş* meaning “head” both literally and figuratively in the sense of “chief, commander” present in a number of military ranks and added as a suffix or prefix to various job titles and functions to indicate seniority. When added as a suffix, the form of the word is باشي sometimes spelled باشى and pronounced [*baaʃa*] the same as باشا. Interestingly, in the documents from Harar, ranks lower than بکباشا but also containing this suffix were not spelled with باشا at the end and have a variant with باشه instead. This is perhaps due to the scribes’ reluctance to spell ranks as low as corporal in the same way as the title used by the highest officials, including the khedive (see باشا).

صغ قول اغاسي [*ṣax quul ʕaraasi*] – major

يوزباشه [*yuzbaaʃa*] or [*yuzbaaʃi*] with its spelling variant يوزباشي (see the remarks on spelling under اونیباشي and یاکباشي)—captain

صول قول اغاسي [*sool quul ʕaraasi*]—first warrant officer

بلوك أمین [*buluk ʕamiin*]—warrant officer/company quartermaster sergeant

چاوش [*ʕawiiʃ*] with the orthographical variant شلایش (IES 962) and چاوش (fol. 54a IES 959)—sergeant. The first two spellings شلایش and چاوش were adopted in Egyptian Arabic but the last چاوش is the Ottoman spelling with *plene* representation of vowels and includes the letter چ *ç* which is used in the Perso-Arabic script to represent the [tʃ] sound, absent in both literary Arabic and Egypt-

<sup>95</sup> J. W. Redhouse, op. cit., p. 574.

<sup>96</sup> S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary...*, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>97</sup> S. Badawi and M. Hinds, op. cit., p. 130.

ian Arabic. Apparently, the Egyptian realisation of the Turkish spelling was with a [ʃ] sound which, with time, resulted in the change of spelling – Spiro gives جاوليش and شاوليش as optional spellings, both pronounced [ʃawiiʃ]. Amery, in turn has چاوليش and شاوليش as options, again both pronounced [ʃawiiʃ]<sup>98</sup> but Badawi and Hinds included only شاوليش. Hans Wehr, on the other hand, makes a distinction in pronunciation between جاوليش *čāwīš* and شاوليش *šāwīš*<sup>99</sup>

بتشاوليش [*bitšawiiʃ*] with its orthographical variants باشجاوليش [*baffawiiʃ*] (IES 961) بتشاوليش (IES 962) and بتجاوش (fol. 53a in IES 959)—first sergeant. The standard spelling of the prefix in both Ottoman Turkish and Egyptian Arabic is باش and the prefix بت is specifically Egyptian and Sudanese and attested in the *Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*<sup>100</sup> and works on the history of Sudan<sup>101</sup>. The remarks on spelling and pronunciation of جاوليش also apply here – despite the spelling with ج or چ, the pronunciation in the dictionaries of the Egyptian dialect is with a [ʃ]. Wehr has باشچاوليش with its variant باشجاوليش both pronounced *bāščāwīš*.<sup>102</sup>

اونباشي [*ʃumbaaʃi*] or [*ʃunbaaʃi*] also pronounced [*ʃumbaaʃa*] or [*ʃunbaaʃa*] probably due to the Egyptian spelling with unpointed *yā* pronounced as *alif maqṣūra* which, in turn, probably caused the appearance of the orthographical variant اونباشه [*ʃumbaaʃa*] or [*ʃunbaaʃa*]<sup>103</sup>—corporal.

باش بوزق [*baaʃibuzuq*]<sup>104</sup>—a contracted spelling of the Ottoman Turkish باشي بوزق *bashi-bazouk*, irregular soldier. As is the case with many Ottoman Turkish loanwords, various spelling of the term exist.

قواس probably a variant or erroneous spelling of قواس [*qawwaas*]<sup>105</sup>—while this word is originally Arabic قواس *qawwās* “*bowman*”, in Ottoman Turkish it meant a guard in attendance on a dignitary, official etc. The full name of the function appearing in IES 962 (3rd record on fol. 27a) is قواس اغاصي الحکمدرية is which possibly indicates a commander of some sentry detachment.

اغا [*ʃara*] or [*ʃara*] – *agha*, a honorific title accorded to civil servants and illiterate military officers up to the rank of اگباشي<sup>106</sup> In the Egyptian military it was characteristic of commanders of Turkish irregular units.

افندي [*ʃafandi*] – *effendi*, a honorific title added to the name, lower than

<sup>98</sup> Harold François Saphir Amery, *English-Arabic Vocabulary for the Use of Officials in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Cairo 1905, p. 319.

<sup>99</sup> Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (edited by John Milton Cowan), Beirut, 1980, pp. 110 and 451, respectively

<sup>100</sup> S. Badawi and M. Hinds, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>101</sup> ‘Abd Allah Ḥusayn, *As-Sūdān min at-ta’rīḥ al-qadīm ilā riḥlat al-ba’ṭha al-miṣriyya*, vol. 2, Cairo 2013, p. 152. ‘Umar Šāliḥ Abū Bakr, *Ta’rīḥ aš-šurṭa fī as-Sūdān 1898-1956*, Khar-toum 1990, p. 76.

<sup>102</sup> H. Wehr, op. cit., p. 39.

*bey* accorded to educated people and in the military to literate officers ranking up to بكباشي.

بيك [*beeh*]*—*A honorific title added to the name higher than *effendi* and lower than *pasha*, in the army accorded to officers in the rank of قائمقام and ميرآلي. Romanised as *bey* or *beg* which reflected the Ottoman Turkish pronunciation and spelling, respectively. The spelling present in the documents has the *plene* representation of vowels. The Egyptian spelling later changed the Ottoman spelling with ك to بيه reflecting the pronunciation.

باشا [*baaṣa*]*—**pasha* honorific title above *bey* accorded to high-ranking officials, including the khedive himself and in the military to general ranks.

عظمتلو [*ʕuṭuṭlu*]*—*an Ottoman honorific title literally meaning “benevolently inclined” which was used when addressing the Minister of War and civil functionaries of the highest class. In the 2nd record on f. 33a in IES 962 it is used referring to the *ḥikimdaṛ* Raḍwān Pasha, which seems to have been customary, since in the protest against the Egyptian evacuation addressed to Raḍwān Pasha by the Harari elite this title is also used.<sup>104</sup>

Among other names of professions, there also appears the word قندقلي [*qundaqli*] (in the compound اوسطه قندقلي) with the spelling variant غندقلي [*ḡundaqli*] in the meaning of manufacturer of gun stocks or gun carriages or more generally armourer, gunsmith. The form of the words is non-standard and appears to be a mistake—instead of the Ottoman Turkish occupational suffix جي the scribes used the formative suffix لي.<sup>105</sup> The name of the occupation attested in dictionaries of Ottoman Turkish is فونداقجي<sup>106</sup> or فونداقچي<sup>106-107</sup> and the form in Egyptian Arabic is غندقجي<sup>108</sup>.

The Egyptian dialectal vocabulary found in the documents other than the military nomenclature includes:

دول [*dool*]*—*the Egyptian Arabic 3rd person plural demonstrative pronoun appears in the last record on fol. 8a in IES 961 in a sentence naming three witnesses to a marriage contract, all of whom hail from the same tribe or region named after the tribe: بشهادة نوح شردون وعلي سعيد وعلي عيسى دول جميع من البرسوب “as testified by Nūḥ Šardūn and ‘Alī Sa‘īd and ‘Alī ‘Īsā all of whom are from the Al-Barsūb<sup>109</sup>”.

اوسطه [*uṣṭa*] and its variant spelling variant اوسطه [*uṣṭa*]*—*a word of Per-

<sup>103</sup> Harold Bowen, “Agha”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, vol. 1, Leiden 1986, pp. 245-246.

<sup>104</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 329.

<sup>105</sup> K. Buğday, op. cit., pp. 25 and 59.

<sup>106</sup> J. W. Redhouse, op. cit., p. 1499.

<sup>107</sup> Julius Theodor Zenker, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Handwörterbuch*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1866, p. 723.

<sup>108</sup> S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary...*, op. cit., p. 436.

sian-Ottoman origin used as the title and form of address to a trained craftsman e.g. tailor, blacksmith etc. or other skilled professional e.g. coachman (and later driver)<sup>110</sup>. It appears in the records mentioning the various Egyptian craftsmen who came to Harar as part of the military.

جزمه جي [gazmagi] – a word of Turkish origin meaning a bootmaker, shoemaker or a cobbler. The spelling found in the documents is actually the original Ottoman Turkish spelling<sup>111</sup>, the Egyptian spelling being جزمجي<sup>112</sup>.

One word appearing in the documents several times drew my special attention, since initially I was not able to determine its exact meaning and carried out research in order to establish it.

اردی/وردی 'ūrdī/'urdī – a loanword from Ottoman Turkish in which it is also spelled اردو/اوردو and اوردا<sup>113</sup> and means 1. army 2. army camp 3. army corps<sup>114</sup>. In Ottoman Turkish, words of Turkic origin often did not have a fixed spelling<sup>115</sup> and when they entered Arabic as loanwords, their spelling remained unfixed, which would explain the defective and *plene* representation of vowels shown above. Apart from that, two different spelling variants of the word's consonants exist in Arabic, namely اردی 'ūrdī and عرضی 'urḍī,<sup>116</sup> and sometimes in a single text both variants were used interchangeably in the word's meaning of "army camp" as evidenced by an anonymous account of Ibrāhīm Pasha's conquest of Syria<sup>117</sup>. Another instance of the word spelled اردی 'ūrdī and meaning "army" appears in an 1262 AH/1846 AD document published in a selection of Ottoman documents pertaining to Lebanon<sup>118</sup>. In *Taqwīm an-Nīl*, the عرضی 'urḍī spelling meaning "army camp" is to be found in the de-

<sup>109</sup> The Bersub are a Somali tribe whose territory lies in the vicinity of Harar. It is also the name of this region which seems to also be inhabited by the Oromo cf. R. A. Caulk "Between the Jaws of Hyenas": *A Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876-1896)*, Wiesbaden 2002, p. 292.

<sup>110</sup> S. Badawi and M. Hinds, op. cit., p. 21, S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary...*, p. 102.

<sup>111</sup> James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Beirut, 1987, p. 720.

<sup>112</sup> S. Badawi and M. Hinds, op. cit., p. 160; H. F. S. Amery, op. cit., p. 41, S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary...*, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>113</sup> J. T. Zenker, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 117.

<sup>114</sup> J. W. Redhouse, op. cit., pp. 65 and 245; cf. Alexandre Handjéri, *Dictionnaire français-arabe-persan et turc*, vol. 1, Moscow 1840, "armée" on p. 144 and "camp" p. 324 and vol. 3, Moscow 1841 "quartier" on p. 259 all have اردو.

<sup>115</sup> Korkut Buğday, *The Routledge Introduction to Literary Ottoman*, Abingdon and New York 2009, p. 11.

<sup>116</sup> Ibrāhīm al-ʿAwra, *Taʾrīḥ wilāyat Sulaymān bāšā al-ʿādīl*, Sidon 1936, note 2 on p. 10.

<sup>117</sup> Johann Büssow and Khaled Safi, *Damascus Affairs – Egyptian Rule in Syria through the Eyes of an Anonymous Damascene Chronicler, 1831-1841*. Translation and Parallel Edition of Two Manuscripts, Würzburg 2013.

<sup>118</sup> ʿIsām Kamāl Ḥalīfa, *Waṭāʾiq lubnāniyya min al-aršif al-ʿuṭmānī*, Beirut 2008, p. 78. There is a note to the word اردی indicating that it is an old term used by the Mongols and that



scription of the French invasion of Egypt<sup>119</sup> and the اوردی 'ūrdī spelling is used in the meaning of “army” or “army corps” for the Egyptian army in Najd اوردی<sup>120</sup> and the phrase الاوردی المنصور *al- 'ūrdī al-manṣūr* (the victorious army) is used interchangeably with the synonymous phrase العسكر المنصور *al- 'askar al-manṣūr* but also *al-mu 'askar al-manṣūr* (the victorious camp).<sup>121</sup> The question why the word was arabised in two different spellings with slightly different meanings is not clear. One proposed explanation is that the عرضي 'urḏī spelling might in fact either be a loanword from Ottoman Turkish or come from the Arabic عرض *rd* root in the meaning of “tribe”.<sup>122</sup> Authors of dictionaries of Arabic historical terminology either ascribe Mongolic origin to اوردو and Turkish origin to عرضي (vocalised 'arḏī)<sup>123</sup>, ascribe Turkish origin to both words<sup>124</sup> or claim that both اوردی 'ūrdī and عرضي 'urḏī are two different arabisations of the word اوردو which is Turkish.<sup>125</sup>

The عرضي 'urḏī spelling in the meaning of “army camp” was present in Egyptian colloquial Arabic at least as early as 1828 since it is included in the French-Arabic dictionary of Ellious Boethor based on colloquial Egyptian Arabic published in 1828 but compiled several years prior.<sup>126</sup> This spelling of the word retained the meaning of “camp” until the end of the 19th century as evidenced by entries in Socrates Spiro's vocabularies of Egyptian Arabic of that time<sup>127</sup> but it is no longer used in modern colloquial Egyptian Arabic and absent from the dictionary of Badawi and Hinds as well as from a more recent dictionary of egyptianised loanwords in Egyptian Arabic.<sup>128</sup> Studies of Egypt-

apart from the meaning of “army” it came to be used as a name for various military units but no examples or references are given.

<sup>119</sup> Amīn Sāmī, *Taqwīm an-Nīl*, vol. 2, Cairo 1928, p. 143.

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem, p. 505.

<sup>121</sup> Ibidem, pp. 402 and 404 et passim.

<sup>122</sup> Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, vol. 2, Leiden 1881, p. 113.

<sup>123</sup> Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, *Mu 'ḡam al-alfāz at-ta' rīḥiyya fī al- 'aṣr al-mamlūkī*, Damascus 1990, pp. 14 and 113.

<sup>124</sup> Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥaṭīb, *Mu 'ḡam al-muṣṭalahāt wa-al-alqāb at-ta' rīḥiyya*, Beirut 1996, pp. 23-24 and 320. Interestingly, in the entry on باشبورق the author uses the plural form of اوردی, namely ارادي but there is no explanation of the term.

<sup>125</sup> Ḥassān Ḥallāq and 'Abbās Ṣabbāḡ, *Al-Mu 'ḡam al-ḡāmi ' fī al-muṣṭalahāt al- 'uṣmāniyya ḡāt al-uṣūl al- 'arabiyya wa-al-fārisiyya wa-at-turkiyya wa-al-ayyūbiyya wa-al- al-mamlūkiyya*, Beirut 2009, p. 30.

<sup>126</sup> Ellious Boethor, *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, Paris 1828, pp. 123-124.

<sup>127</sup> S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary...*, op. cit., p. 392.

<sup>128</sup> 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Allūb, *Mu 'ḡam ad-daḥīl fī al- 'āmmiyya al-miṣriyya: al-alfāz wa-asmā' al-a' lām wa-al-alqāb almumaṣṣara*, Cairo, 2014.



ian Arabic loanwords from Turkish by Enno Littmann<sup>129</sup> and Erich Prokosch<sup>130</sup> in the case of اوردی 'urđī/عرضی 'urđī are based on Spiro's revised dictionary<sup>131</sup> and hence ascribe to it the meaning given in that dictionary, the difference between the two being that اوردی 'urđī means "army corps; camp" and عرضی 'urđī means simply "camp". These two meanings for عرضی 'urđī alone are also present in Egyptian and Lebanese<sup>132</sup> as well as European dictionaries of Modern Standard Arabic<sup>133</sup> of which Baranov's Arabic-Russian dictionary also has the original Turkish spelling of اوردو in the meaning of "army corps, unit"<sup>134</sup>. Another meaning of the word اوردی 'urđī is given by Harold Amery in his vocabulary—under the entry "field gun", apart from مدفع میدان *madfa' mīdān*, there is also مدفع اوردی *madfa' 'urđī*.<sup>135</sup> This usage of the word is attested in the published primary sources.<sup>136</sup>

However, in the documents analysed in the present study the word's spelling is اوردی 'urđī with its variant اردی *urđī* and the context in which it appears e.g. on f. 20a of IES 961 نفرمن عساکر الاوردی *naḡar min 'asākīr al-urđī* (a private from the *urđī* soldiers) shows that it denotes some specific sort of military unit. Also the context in which the word appears in an order from khedive Ismā'īl to the *muḡaḡīz* of Zayla<sup>137</sup> points quite clearly at some type of military unit but it does not specify what type of unit exactly, because, quite obviously, the khedive did not need to explain the meaning of the term.

An exhaustive explanation as to what an اوردی 'urđī was in the period of the Egyptian occupation of Harar is provided by Muḡammad Maḡmūd as-Sarūḡī in his history of the Egyptian military in the 19th century. The chapter on irregular troops explains that that اوردی is the name for a unit of bashi-

<sup>129</sup> Enno Littmann, *Türkisches Sprachgut im Ägyptisch-Arabischen*, in: Fritz Meier (ed.) *Westöstliche Abhandlungen Rudolf Tschudi zum 70. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, Wiesbaden, 1954, p. 111.

<sup>130</sup> Erich Prokosch, *Osmanisches Wortgut im Ägyptisch-Arabischen*, Berlin 1983, pp. 43 and 46.

<sup>131</sup> S. Spiro, *Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt*, Cairo 1923.

<sup>132</sup> Salim Kassab and Gīrgis Hammam, *Arabic and English Dictionary*, Beirut 1888, p. 419 "camp", Joseph G. Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary for the Use of Students*, Beirut 1899 p. 457 "army corps", Elias Anton Elias, *Elias' Modern Dictionary English-Arabic*, Cairo 1929 (3rd edition, entirely recast and enlarged), p. 145 the English entry "army corps" has عرضی.

<sup>133</sup> Francis Joseph Steingass, *The Student's Arabic-English Dictionary*, London, 1884, p. 686 "camp", H. Wehr, op. cit., p. 605 "military encampment, army camp", Jean-Baptiste Belot, *Dictionnaire al-Faraid Arabe-Français*, Beirut 1964, p. 486 "camp", Kharlampiy Karpovich Baranov, *Арабско-Русский Словарь*, Moscow 1976, p. 509 "camp; army".

<sup>134</sup> Kh. K. Baranov, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>135</sup> H. F. S. Amery, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>136</sup> 'Abd al-'Azīm Ramaḡān, *Ġayṣ Ismā'īl fī ḡaw' waṭīqa ḡadīda lam tunṣar*, "Al-Maḡalla at-ta' rīḡiyya al-miṣriyya", vol. 26, 1979, pp. 85-101 (مدفع اوردی *madfa' 'urđī* on p. 96).

<sup>137</sup> Š. al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 248.

bazouks and provides detailed information on their administrative subordination, internal structure and territorial distribution.<sup>138</sup> While I was not able to consult the archival sources quoted by as-Sarūḡī, I found similar information as to the nature of the units in published primary sources such as the report on the administrative organisation of the Sudanese dependencies of Egypt<sup>139</sup> submitted on 14th January 1880/2nd Šafar 1297 to the Cabinet of Ministers by Ismā‘īl Pasha Ayyūb, the former Governor General of the Sudan<sup>140</sup>. The report describes in detail the organisation of the Egyptian army in the Sudan and specifies that there were eight ارادي باش بوزق ترك *arādī bāšibūzuq Turk* (ارادي *arādī* is the plural form of اوردي *‘ūrdī*) and that each اوردي *‘ūrdī* was made up of five hundred soldiers.

Ismā‘īl Pasha Ayyūb’s report confirms that *‘ūrdī* was used as a name for bashi-bazouk units and that those stationed in the Sudan were Turks. The report also mentions that the commanders of bashi-bazouk units had the function of سر بيادة or commander of infantry, which indicates that these particular ارادي *arādī* were infantry units. In contrast, as-Sarūḡī claims that an اوردي *‘ūrdī* soldier had to possess a horse as such units were headed by a سر سوارى [*sir-sawaari*] or commander of a cavalry squadron<sup>141</sup>, a function held by commanders of irregular cavalry<sup>142</sup>, which is confirmed by the published primary sources I was able to consult. One of these is الفتاوى المهدية في الوقائع المصرية *Al-fatāwā al-mahdiyya fī al-waqā‘i ‘al-miṣriyya* which contains the record of a criminal case from 1st of Muḥarram 1277/20 July 1860 from Kordofan against a certain سر سوارى [*sirsawaari*] Ibrāhīm Aḡā, commander of an اوردي *‘ūrdī* unit on whose orders his subordinates caned another soldier to death<sup>143</sup>. Another source providing similar information is a document almost contemporaneous with these analysed in the present study, published by the Al-Ahrām portal. The document is a military discharge note issued in 1886 when Barātī ‘Abidīn Aḡā ibn ‘Umar fled to Egypt after two years of captivity in the hands of the Mahdiyya and was subsequently discharged from military service. The

<sup>138</sup> Muḥammad Maḥmūd as-Sarūḡī, *Al-Ġayš al-miṣrī fī al-qarn at-tāsi ‘aṣar*, Cairo 1967 pp. 387-392.

<sup>139</sup> As-Sayyid Yūsuf Naṣr, op. cit., pp. 349-359.

<sup>140</sup> Arthur E. Robinson, *The Rulers of the Sudan since the Turkish Occupation until the Evacuation by Order of the Khedive*, “Journal of the Royal African Society”, vol. 24, no. 93 (Oct., 1924), pp. 39-49, R. L. Hill, *Rulers of the Sudan 1820-1885*, “Sudan Notes and Records”, vol. 32, no. 1 (June 1951), pp. 85-95.

<sup>141</sup> M. M. as-Sarūḡī, op. cit., p. 389.

<sup>142</sup> R. L. Hill (ed.), *The Sudan Memoirs of Carl Christian Giegler Pasha*, London 1984, p. 189.

<sup>143</sup> Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-‘Abbāsī, *Al-Fatāwā al-mahdiyya fī al-waqā‘i ‘al-miṣriyya*, vol. 6, Cairo 1301 Hijri (1883/1884 AD), p. 69.

note says that he was a lieutenant colonel *bashi-bazouk* and served in the *اوردي* 'ūrdī of Sulaymān Aḡā Islām, who also had the function of *سرسواري* [sir-sawaari]. Both of the *اوردي* 'ūrdī commanders mentioned above had the title of *aḡā* and the function of *سرسواري* [sir-sawaari], two features characteristic of irregular cavalry squadron commanders in the Egyptian army.<sup>144</sup> This is also confirmed by the documents from Harar, since the court register in IES 962 contains a contract regarding the purchase of a house listing *اوردي* *السرسواري* [sir-sawaari] *الـ* 'ūrdī 'Umar Aḡā Faḍlī as one of the witnesses to the contract.

This evidence allows to arrive at the conclusion that in the the documents from Harar, the word *اوردي* 'ūrdī denotes *bashi-bazouk* cavalry units, apart from one instance in the documents from Harar (f. 4b in IES 959) where two soldiers are called *الاورديين* *al-urdiyayn* (or *al-al-urdiyyīn* if the scribe used the plural instead of the dual), in which case *اوردي* 'ūrdī is treated as a substantiated adjective meaning a *bashi-bazouk* soldier and not the unit he belongs to.

The phrases *عسكري باشيزوق الذين صار رفتهم على الجهادية* “one of the *bashi-bazouk* soldiers who were discharged by the Ministry of War” (IES 961 f. 3a) and *من عساكر الاوردي سابقا* “formerly from the soldiers of the 'ūrdī” (IES 961 f. 15b) correspond with the fact that *bashi-bazouk* units were reformed by Gordon in 1877. Their number reduced by half, they were reorganised into coherent units so that their commanders, who were given army ranks despite their lack of training, would be answerable before their superiors.<sup>145</sup>

While it was mentioned in contemporaneous European writings on Harar under Egyptian rule that a unit of *bashi-bazouk* cavalry was part of the Egyptian force in Harar, none of these referred to it by the name of *اوردي* 'ūrdī. Bardey mentions that *bashi-bazouk* cavalry was a part of the force which conquered Harar and that its commander Yaya Bey (probably Yaḥyā Bey *يحيى بك*) had the rank of *sanjaq*<sup>146</sup> that is commander of a troop of irregular cavalry.<sup>147</sup> Major Frederick Mercer Hunter's report from 1884 confirms that *bashi-bazouk* cavalymen were part of the city's garrison until its evacuation and they were charged with tasks such as delivering post.

Of all the non-Arabic sources mentioning *bashi-bazouk* units I have been able to access, only two used the word 'ūrdī in a simplified transcription in the form of “ordi”—Francis Reginald Wingate's “The siege and fall of Khar-

<sup>144</sup> Reuven Aharoni, *The Pasha's Bedouin: Tribes and state in the Egypt of Mehemet Ali 1805-1848*, London and New York 2007, p. 150.

<sup>145</sup> Alice Moore-Harell, *Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya*, London and New York 2013, p. 182.

<sup>146</sup> A. Bardey, *Barr Adjam...*, op. cit., p. 147.

<sup>147</sup> R. L. Hill (ed.), *The Sudan...*, op. cit., p. 193, cf. F. R. Wingate, *Mahdism...*, op. cit., p. 145 note 1.

toum”<sup>148</sup> and the last part of George Douin’s *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaël*. Interestingly, both Wingate and Douin only use the word “ordi” in these specific works but employ other terms in their remaining works. In “The siege and fall of Khartoum” Wingate consistently calls bashi-bazouks units “ordis” but in *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan* he uses European unit names such as company (p. 21) and squadron (p. 79) when speaking of the same type of units under commanders in the same rank or function (sandjak and sirsawari). Similarly, Douin uses “ordi” only in the 3rd and final part of the 3rd volume of his monumental work, where it is the only term by which he refers to bashi-bazouk units, probably adopting it from the source documents on which he largely based his work. By contrast, in the two preceding parts of volume three as well as in volumes one and two, when speaking of bashi-bazouks units, Douin uses French versions of European military units nomenclature, such as “compagnie” and “bataillon”. It is not clear why Douin changed this nomenclature to the “ordi” loanword only in the final part of volume 3, since he offers no explanation either of the word or why he adopted its usage and neither does Wingate. However, both Wingate’s and Douin’s usage of “ordi” is consistent with the meaning of the word in the primary sources, including the documents from Harar studied in the present thesis. Douin uses the name for both cavalry and infantry bashi-bazouk units and explains the difference between the names of the commanders of the two types of forces.<sup>149</sup>

What merits a mention as an aside is that both of the spellings described above اوردی *’urdī* and عرضي *’urḍī* were used in the past as a proper name for the Sudanese city of New Dongola. Its previous name was coined when the few Mamluks who avoided being killed by Muḥammad ‘Alī fled Egypt for the Sudan in 1811 and established their new headquarters in what is currently New Dongola in Sudan. The initial military encampment was simply called “the camp” (وردو) by the Mamluks and in later writings both Arabic spellings variants described above with the addition of the Arabic definite article, namely العرضي *al-’urḍī* and الوردی *al-’urdī* were used to write New Dongola’s former name<sup>150</sup> which was also incorporated into the spoken language of the

<sup>148</sup> F. R. Wingate, *The siege and fall of Khartoum*, “Sudan Notes and Records”, vol. 13, vo. 1 (1930), pp. 1-82.

<sup>149</sup> G. Douin, op. cit., p. 448.

<sup>150</sup> العرضي was given as Mahdī’s birthplace in Ibrāhīm Fawzī, *As-Sūdān bayn yaday Gūrdūn wa-Kitān*, Cairo 1901, p. 70, the transcription al-’Urḍī in Peter Malcolm Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881-1898: a study of its origins, development and overthrow*, Oxford 1970, p. 6 with a note on its etymology cf. Haim Shaked, *The Life of the Sudanese Mahdi*, New Brunswick 1978, p. 174. Shaked’s transcription is al-Urdī, reflecting the الأرضي spelling variant, R. L. Hill (ed.), *The Sudan...*, op. cit., p. 10, note 11, has a combination of the two: “al-Urdī”.

local Nubian people.<sup>151</sup> Thus, in certain contexts عسكر الاردي *‘asākir al-‘urđī* might pertain to Dongolawi *bashi-bazouks*, since inhabitants of the Dongola region such as Dongolawis and Šāyqiyya Arabs were frequently recruited as irregular soldiers but this meaning of the word الاردي *al-‘urđī* is not to be confused with the one described above.

Apart from these words, also Ottoman Turkish ordinal numerals appear when the units and ranks of particular soldiers are mentioned in the contracts. Using Ottoman Turkish numerals with regard to military units and ranks was a standard practice in Egypt in that period and was e.g. “رقي إلى رتبة ملازم أول” or “he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant of the 1st battalion’s 8th company”.

The word برنجي [*biringi*] or “first” was incorporated into Egyptian Arabic and was thus written in full but the higher ordinal numerals were written using the Ottoman Turkish suffix “جي” attached to numbers written in Eastern Arabic digits. Such ordinal numerals designating unit numbers appear quite regularly in records drawn up by šayḥ Ḥasanayn Nadā and occasionally also in records in other hands. This allowed me to decipher the meaning of another, more frequent, way of defining the soldiers’ membership in a particular unit – a ligature of the Arabic letters “ك” and “ط” which is dealt with in this chapter’s section on orthography (see subsection 4.9.2 b) Ligatures).

## b) Harari vocabulary

The Harari words used in the documents are listed below in Arabic script as they appear in the records and transcribed according to the system found in Wolf Leslau’s *Etymological dictionary of Harari*<sup>153</sup>:

أو *āw* – literally meaning father. Apart from its literal sense it is used as an honorific title when referring to locally venerated holy men, respected sheikhs and elders.

دوجن also spelled دجين *dogīn*—dogin, the highest Harari administrative function. Dogins were the superiors of *dāmīns* (see below). The Egyptians appointed 45 dogins, all of whom were Harari and the title was hereditary.<sup>154</sup>

جراد *gārād*—a tribal chief lower than *dāmīn*. It is a Cushitic loanword, probably from Oromo or Somali.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>151</sup> This name of today’s New Dongola present in the Dongolawi Nubian language, cf. Charles Hubert Armbruster, *Dongolese Nubian: A lexicon*, Cambridge 1965, p. 211.

<sup>152</sup> Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Masīh, *Dalīl Wādī an-Nīl li-‘āmay 1891 wa-1892*, Cairo, p. 403.

<sup>153</sup> Wolf Leslau, *Etymological dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963

<sup>154</sup> Mohammed Hassen, *The Egyptian Occupation of Harer and Its Impact on the Oromo of Harerge*, “The Journal of Oromo Studies”, vol. 15, no. 2, 2008, pp. 33-60.

<sup>155</sup> W. Leslau, *Etymological dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 75.

ملاق *mālāq* – traditionally the title of an official who was in charge of any of the five districts of the city of Harar. The Egyptian administration changed the meaning of the title, granting it to heads of villages outside of the city.

ضمين *dāmīn*—an official in charge of gathering taxes from a certain tribal area, superior to *gārād* and *mālāq*, reporting to dogins. A loanword from Arabic with a shift in its meaning from “guarantor” to “tribal chief”(f. 25b), also used in Oromo.

جندة *gānda*—a loanword from Oromo meaning a village, the head of which is a *gārād* or a *mālāq*.

كبير *kabīr*—a Harari honorific title of religious teachers and native doctors, although spelled the same as the Arabic word *kabīr*, it is not a simple loanword. It was recorded by Burton, who was well aware of the fundamental differences between the two languages and provided a comparison of the word’s meaning in Harari to its Arabic homograph but stopped short of explaining it since he was unable to study Harari<sup>156</sup>. Seeing to the fact that a senior teacher is called *gidīr kabīr*; literally “big teacher” it is clear that “*kabīr*” cannot have the same meaning it has in Arabic, because this would render the name *gidīr kabīr* a nonsensical repetition of synonymous adjectives. Cerulli rejected Arabic as its source altogether and claims that it is derived from the Semitic root *kbr*<sup>157</sup>, whose semantic range is wider than its basic meaning in Arabic and in the case of other Semitic languages of Ethiopia, Amharic and Ge’ez, its principal meaning is “honour” or “to honour”<sup>158</sup>, which matches the meaning of the Harari word. While this seems a plausible etymology, Wolf Leslau claims that the word is indeed a loanword from Arabic but that it actually comes from the root *ḥbr*, *ḥabīr* due to the replacement of the initial *ḥ* with a *k*.<sup>159</sup>

#### 4.9.2 Orthography

The different hands appearing in the documents differ greatly from each other in penmanship, the scripts they use and the scribal conventions they tend to follow. Some of them are easily legible while others are more challenging,

<sup>156</sup> R. Burton, *First...*, op. cit.

<sup>157</sup> Enrico Cerulli, *Studi etiopici: la lingua e la storia di Harar*, Rome, 1936, p. 41.

<sup>158</sup> cf. W. Leslau, *A concise dictionary of Ge’ez (Classical Ethiopic)*, Wiesbaden 1989, p. 153 and idem, *Concise Amharic dictionary*, Wiesbaden, 1976, p. 160.

<sup>159</sup> W. Leslau, *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 276, idem, *Fifty years of research: Selection of Articles on Semitic, Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic*, Wiesbaden 1988, p. 184, idem, *Etymological dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963, p. 90, idem, *An analysis of the Harari Vocabulary*, “Annales d’Éthiopie”, vol. 3, 1959, pp. 275-298.



however, owing to the repetitive and structured nature of the documents, many otherwise illegible words are discernible by way of deduction. In order to easier differentiate between the hands appearing in the records I shall make use of the fact that it was possible to identify some of the scribes by name as shown above in this chapter's section on authorship.

The scripts used to draw up most of the records are not uniform and can be tentatively described as a blend of *nash*, *ruq'a* and *tulṭ* displaying varying proportions of these scripts' features depending on the scribe of a particular document. However, a number of records from the marriage contract register in IES 961 and IES 962 are drawn up using more uniform scripts distinctly different from the rest.<sup>160</sup> These include records drawn up by 'Afīfī Šālīḥ and Ḥasanayn Nadā in a script displaying what Adam Gacek calls "the salient features"<sup>161</sup> of *šekaste nasta'liq* such as the free use of ligatures, assimilation and contraction of letters, the use of logographs, misplacement of diacritical points and the characteristic inverted final *nūn* and the long, uncurved final *yā'*, both of which are used inconsistently. This script is probably in its Turkish variety which is less complicated than the Persian one.<sup>162</sup>

Also visible is the fact that the documents studied were produced at a time when the *ruq'a* script was spreading from Turkey, its place of origin, soon to become the standard script used for handwriting across the eastern part of the Arab world.<sup>163</sup> Two marriage contract records from IES 961 as well as several records from the court register in IES 959 authored by Ḥasan Niyazī are drawn up in what seems to resemble the specific form of *ruq'a* script, which was developed by Mumtaz Effendi for the use in Ottoman government offices.

Another interesting phenomenon regarding scripts employed in the documents is the presence of remnants of the so-called *qirma*<sup>164</sup> script. In Ottoman Turkish قيرمه means "broken, fractured, folded"<sup>165</sup> and in Ottoman Turkey this

<sup>160</sup> Interestingly a similar tendency regarding scripts was observed in the late 17th/early 18th century documents from Qaṣr Ibrīm—either a blend of three scripts: *nash*, *tulṭ* and *ruq'a* (here the name is used tentatively since the *ruq'a* script as we know it now did not exist at the time) or uniform *fārisī* cf. Martin Hinds and Hamdi Sakkout, *Arabic Documents from the Ottoman Period from Qaṣr Ibrīm*, London, 1986, p. 5.

<sup>161</sup> Adam Gacek, "Nasta'liq" in: *The Encyclopedia of the Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Leiden and Boston 2006, p. 336-339

<sup>162</sup> Ali Alparslan, "Khatt – iii. – In Turkey" in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, vol. 4, Leiden 1997, pp. 1125-1126.

<sup>163</sup> Adam Gacek, "Ruq'a" in: *The Encyclopedia of the Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Leiden and Boston 2006, pp. 98-100.

<sup>164</sup> In Arabic it is either spelled قيرمه *qirma* or قيرمه following the original Ottoman Turkish spelling. In modern Turkish, the word is spelled *kırma*, hence the spelling in some works.

<sup>165</sup> James Redhouse, op. cit., p. 1506.

word was added to the name of any style of script written rapidly and against the rules<sup>166</sup>. In the Ottoman province of Egypt *qirma* became the name of an unpointed cursive script as well as a system of numerals, both used almost exclusively for financial documentation. The difficulty *qirma* script poses to the reader brought about the theory of its purported invention as a secret script and numeral system by the Coptic bookkeepers anxious to keep their posts and social position after the Arab conquest of Egypt. A scholarly theory of *qirma*'s Coptic origin was proposed by Murad Kamil<sup>167</sup> against earlier findings to the contrary of other scholars<sup>168</sup> and seems not to have been accepted.<sup>169</sup> In fact, *qirma* script is the Egyptian variant of an Ottoman Turkish script called *siyāqat*<sup>170</sup> which in turn was a development of a similar earlier script used by the administration of the Seljuk Sultanate of Anatolia<sup>171</sup> but the doubtful theory of the script's Coptic origin seems to still have some currency in academia.<sup>172</sup>

Nonetheless, after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt the *qirma* script was certainly used by and associated with Coptic tax collectors until it began to decline in use towards the end of Muḥammad 'Alī's reign<sup>173</sup> finally to fall out of use completely during khedive Isma'īl's reign.<sup>174</sup> The documents from the Harar archives apparently contain elements of the *qirma* script which survived its decline and these are dealt with in the subsections on ligatures and abbreviations below.

## a) Spelling

The orthographical peculiarities occurring in the documents are partly attributable to the Egyptian spelling and orthographical conventions. Unpointed *yā'* in the final and isolated forms sometimes comes with a reversed phenom-

<sup>166</sup> Ali Alparslan, op. cit.

<sup>167</sup> Murad Kamil, *Die Qirma-Schrift in Ägypten*, in: Wilhelm Hoenerbach (ed.) *Der Orient in der Forschung: Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966*, Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 395-408.

<sup>168</sup> Ibrahim El-Mouelhy, "Le Qirmeh en Égypte", *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 1948, pp. 51-82, Muḥammad Muḥammad Tawfīq, "Al-ḥalaqa al-mafqūda fī waṭā'iq ta' rīḥ miṣr al-ḥadīṡ", *Al-Hilāl*, year 49, no 4, (June 1941), Cairo, pp. 585-594.

<sup>169</sup> George Krotkoff, Review: *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966* by Wilhelm Hoenerbach, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. 63/64 (1972), pp. 338-339.

<sup>170</sup> Colin Heywood, "Siyāqat" in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, vol. 9, Leiden 1997, pp. 692-693.

<sup>171</sup> A. Alparslan, op. cit., p. 1125.

<sup>172</sup> Zeinab Abul-Magd, *Imagined Empires: A History of Revolt in Egypt*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2013, p. 61.

<sup>173</sup> Muḥammad Muḥammad Tawfīq, op. cit., p. 594.

<sup>174</sup> I. El-Mouelhy, op. cit., p. 80.



enon of pointed *alif maqṣūra* e.g. *علي* \**alī* instead of *على* *alā* or *مصطفى* \**Muṣṭafī* instead of *مصطفى* *Muṣṭafā*. Another pointing issue characteristic of the documents is the Egyptian *tā' marbūṭa* without points which appears interchangeably with the pointed version of the letter. There seems to be no rule governing this practice since the same words written in the same hand on the same page and in the same grammatical context appear in both the pointed and unpointed version e.g. *من* *بشهادة كل من* *bi-šahādat kullin min* beside *بشهادة كل من* *bi-šahādah kullin min* or *من قبيلة الجارسو* *min qabīlat al-ğārsū* beside *قبيلة الجارسو* *min qabīlah al-ğārsū*. Pointing or the lack thereof fluctuates even within a single record with the phrases *بشهادة عدلين* *bi-šahādah 'adlayn* and *بشهادة ابراهيم* *bi-šahādat Ibrāhīm* appearing just one line apart (fol. 9a, last record).

Where *hamza* on *yā'* would be the standard spelling, four variants occur: the standard spelling e.g. *عائشة* *Ā'īša* or *نائب* *nā'ib*, substitution of the *hamza* with a *yā'* e.g. *عائشة* *Āyiša* or *نائب* *nāyib*, a third variant with neither the *hamza* symbol above the *yā'* nor points underneath i.e. *عائشة* or *سائر* and a less common variant with both the *hamza* and the points in the word *سئل* *su'ila*.

Words normally spelled with *hamza* on a *wāw* also have various spellings in the documents, depending on the scribe. The records penned by 'Abduh al-Ğa'farāwī have the standard spelling e. g. *مؤخر* *mu'aḥḥar* (fol. 1B IES 961<sup>175</sup>) or *سؤال* *su'āl* (fol. 2a) or *مؤجلة* *mu'ağğalatan* (fol. 3a). Of the three records penned by 'Afīfī Šāliḥ each has a different spelling, namely *مأخر* (fol. 2b), *مؤخر* (fol. 2b) and *موخر* (fol. 3a) all read *mu'aḥḥar*. The only record signed by Ḥasan Niyazī does not have any instance of a word showing the spelling of *hamza* on *wāw*, but another unsigned record in his hand (fol. 9a) has the standard spelling. Of the records drawn up after Muḥarrām 1st those penned by šayḥ 'Īsa Dyāb have the spelling of *wāw* without *hamza* (combined with unpointed *tā' marbūṭa*) i.e. *موجله* for *mu'ağğalatan* or *موخره* for *mu'aḥḥaratan*. Those drawn up by šayḥ Ḥasanayn Nadā have varying spelling, including the standard one e.g. *موجل* *mu'ağğal* (fol. 8b) or *مؤمنة* *mu'mina* (fol. 27a), one instance of *hamza* on *alif* instead of *wāw* i.e. *مأخر* for *mu'aḥḥar* (fol. 27a) and the most prevalent *wāw* with no *hamza* e.g. *موجل* for *mu'ağğal* (fol. 8b) or *موخر* for *mu'aḥḥar* (fol. 28a).

In words which have a final *hamza* on the line, apart from the standard spelling, the documents also display non-standard spelling with *hamza* above *alif* i.e. *انقصاً* (instead of *إنقصاء inqidā'*) or *بالأقراء* (instead of *بالأقراء bil-aqrā'*) or with a *madda* above the *alif* e.g. *ورثاً* (instead of *ورثاء wuraṭā'*) *الغراً* (instead of *الغراء al-ğarrā'*) *شراً* (instead of *شراء širā'*) etc. Sometimes the final *hamza* is

<sup>175</sup> In this subsection, all the references to spelling on specific folios are to the IES 961 codex.176 S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary...*, op. cit., p. 585.

dropped altogether e.g. انقضا (instead of إنقضاء *inqiḏāʾ*) or ولا (instead of ولاء *wulāʾ*) or امانا (instead of أمانة *umanāʾ*) or شي (instead of شيء *šayʾ*).

Sometimes the orthography of the hamza or rather the lack thereof points to a possible influence of the Egyptian dialect pronunciation on the form of the written language e.g. نايب [*naayib*] or وسايق [*wasaaqi*] (instead of وثائق *waṭāʾiq*). The second example also shows the dialectal pronunciation of ث *t* written down as س *s*, another example of which is سابيت [*saabit*] (instead of ثابت *tābit*). Another instance of non-standard spelling influenced by dialectal pronunciation is طقم الموزيقي *iḏāfa* (“musical band” translated word for word as “band [of] the music”) it is not to be understood as the *nisba* adjective موسيقي *mūsīqī* (musical) but rather as a spelling of the noun موسيقى *mūsīqa* (music) with a dialectal ز *z* and an *alif maqṣūra* with otiose points and should be read [*taqam il-muziqa*]. Another spelling of the word present in the text is موسيقيه *mūsīqa*. Neither of these is found in the dictionaries of Egyptian Arabic and they appear to be a mix of the two spellings attested in Spiro, namely موسيقى and موزيقه, both pronounced with a *z*.<sup>176</sup>

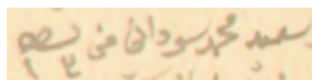
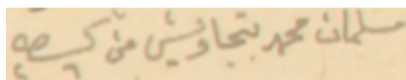
Some of the varying orthography is likely due to the lack of orthographic standards at the time the documents were drawn up. Examples are two spelling variants of Somalia namely صومال *šūmāl* and سومال *sūmāl*. The reports sent from Harar to Egypt as well as maps drawn up as late as 1925 have the spelling with س *s*, which shows that the standard of spelling the word with ص *ṣ* was not set until long after the period the documents were drawn up. The lack of standard spelling seems an even more probable cause for various spellings of the names of local Oromo and Somali clans. The best example of this is the name of the Nole Oromo, which appears in four different spelling variants i.e. نولا *Nūla* beside نولā *Nūlā* and نولī *Nūlā* which also appears in the pointed variant نولي *Nūlī*, which in this case is not necessarily another case *alif maqṣūra* with otiose points since *yāʾ* could have been used deliberately to convey the [eh] sound it sometimes represents in Egyptian Arabic. All the other spellings also appear to be attempts at conveying the [e] sound. Other names of clans and ethnic groups not spelled uniformly are the name of Alla Oromos with لا *Allā* beside الله *Alla* and الی *Allā*, the Argobba people with ارجبا *Argobbā* beside ارجبه *Argobba*<sup>177</sup> and the Somali clan *Habar Awal* هبر اول *Habar Awal* beside اول *Habar Awal*.

<sup>176</sup> S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary...*, op. cit. p. 585.

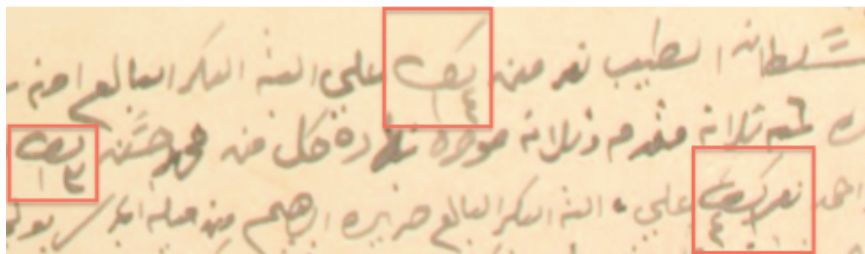
<sup>177</sup> Both of these spellings reflect the Egyptian pronunciation of ج as *g* and not *ǧ*, the Argobba people's demonym is spelled ارغوبا in literary Arabic and this form is attested as early as 1877 in Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Kitāb dāʾirat al-maʾārif*, vol. 2, Beirut 1877, p. 533.

## b) Ligatures

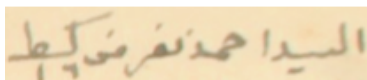
The most notable graphic feature appearing in nearly all of the records which name the rank and unit of a soldier is the ligature of the letters ط and ك which are used as abbreviations of the words بلوك [*buluk*] or “company” and اورطه [*ṣurṭa*] or “battalion”. Underneath it appear Eastern Arabic digits denoting the number of the battalion and the company the soldier served in. The form of the graphemes joined in the ligature varies greatly between the various hands and is not consistent even within records drawn up in the same hand. The *kāf* is written both with and without the diagonal stroke on its ascender as illustrated by these two examples in the same hand, namely ‘Abduh al-Ġa‘farāwī’s, just lines away from each other in the text (IES 961 f. 1b):



Also Ḥasanayn Nadā used the ligature with two forms of *kāf* occurring alternatively in the same record in three consecutive lines (IES 961 f. 24b):



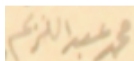
The *ṭā* is written both with and without its ascender. In the latter case, instead of an ascender, there appears a second loop on the line, roughly symmetrical to the standard one, or a larger open loop, both illustrated in the examples above. Where the ascender is present, the *ṭā* is noted with the standard grapheme:



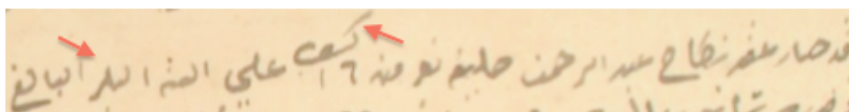
Deciphering the meaning of this ligature was a twofold problem. First, it was necessary to establish what letters it consists of, then – to determine what the letters denote.

The first question was possible to resolve thanks to the fact that in one of the hands, the graphemes forming the ligature appear in their standard, un-

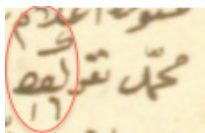
equivocally clear form. The correspondence between the standard variant of the ligature and those in the hands using non-standard graphemes is confirmed by other words from the documents containing the same non-standard graphemes in unambiguous context showing what letter they are a variant of. As for the *kāf* with no diagonal stroke on its ascender, or *kāf mu‘arra* as it was referred to by scholars<sup>178</sup>, an instance of the proper name عبد الكريم written with no diagonal stroke on the *kāf* seems to confirm that the same grapheme appearing in the ligatures written in the same hand is indeed *kāf mu‘arra*



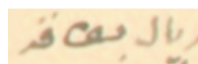
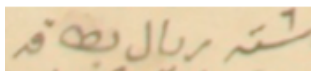
Further evidence is provided by another instance of the grapheme in the phrase البنت البكر *al-bint al-bikr* (the virgin) as it appears in IES 961 f. 21b. shown below on the left (*nota bene* beside the ligature with a standard *kāf* shown below in the centre



Finally, the occurrence of the ligature in IES 959 f. 41a with a small *kāf*<sup>179</sup> added above the *kāf mu‘arra* as shown below seems to confirm the above reasoning.



The non-standard variant of *ṭā*’, in turn, appears in numerous instances of the expression رِیَال بِطَاقَة *riyāl bi-ṭāqa* (e. g. IES 961 ff. 27a, 25b) the meaning of which is elaborated upon in the chapter on the contents of records (see the subsection 6.1.3) on *mahr*.

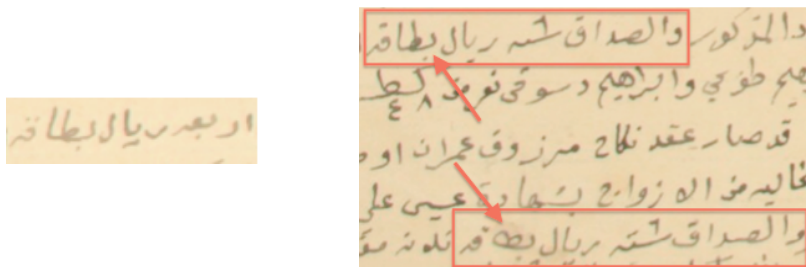


Just as the forms of the ligature vary within the same hand or even within a single record, the usage of standard and non-standard graphemes in other

<sup>178</sup> Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘šā fī šinā‘at al-inšā’*, vol. III, Cairo 1914, pp. 84–85, 159.

<sup>179</sup> For more on the small *kāf*, see below—subsection e) Instances of local scribal practices.

contexts also appears to be inconsistent – the examples above occur alongside other instances of the same expression written in the same hand with perfectly standard graphemes (IES 961 ff. 9b, 27a, 30b).



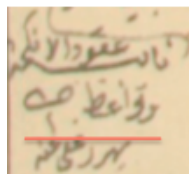
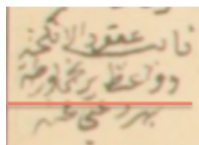
Apart from that phrase, the non-standard ط appears in the isolated form in a handful of records where instead of the ligature, the soldiers' battalion is denoted by a separate abbreviation, namely ط e.g. the last record on folio 4a of IES 961, which contains the ligature in the main body (below. on the left) but in the line underneath the record reiterating the name, rank and unit of the witness, the letters appear in their isolated form (below, on the right). It is noteworthy that while the ط remains non-standard both in the ligature and in the isolated form, the *kāf* in the ligature is the non-standard grapheme but the one appearing separately already has its diagonal stroke.



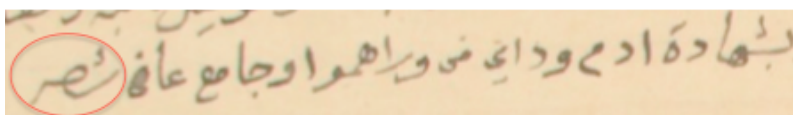
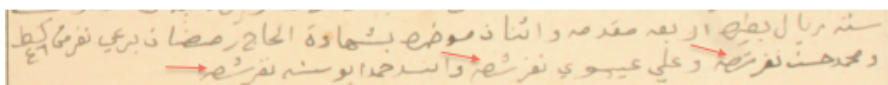
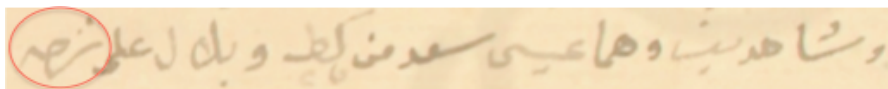
After establishing that the ligature consists of two letters – ط and ك, it was necessary to determine what these letters signify. The context in which the ligatures appear in the text strongly suggested that the letters are abbreviated names of military units to which particular soldiers belonged. Indicative of this are the numbers appearing below the ligature and that it generally occurs after the name and rank of a soldier are specified. What helped to confirm these conjectures is the fact that Ḥasanayn Nadā occasionally uses the full names of the units with Ottoman Turkish numerals instead of the ligature (e.g. IES 961 f. 8b, 5th record from top: ٣ جي اورطه “a private from the third battalion’s first company”) and one one occasion (IES 961 f. 15b, 3rd record from top) he used the abbreviation ك followed by the full word اورطه [*ṣurṭa*], which hints at the fact that ك stands for بلوك [*buluk*].

A final indicator of what ط stands for is the fact that the chaplain of the first battalion, ‘Abduḥ al-Ġa‘farāwī, once names his function as نايب عقود الأنكة وواعظ برنجي اورطه ([the *qādī*’s] deputy in charge of marriage contracts and the chaplain of the first battalion) and in the remaining cases he uses the

abbreviation ط واعظ ۱ (both illustrated below with examples from f. 4a):

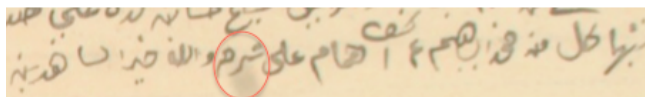


Another ligature appearing prominently in the records is a compressed version of the expression شرحه *šarḥuhu* which is an abbreviation from ما قبله *ma qabluhu* and is used as a *ditto* mark in order to avoid repetition when a witness of a given contract comes from the same military unit or tribe as the witness preceding him in the text.

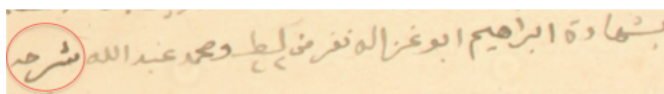


It was possible for me to determine the words of the ligature because the expression شرحه *šarḥuhu* appears in its standard form on two separate occasions, one for each of the hands normally using the ligature: 4th record from the top on folio 21b in IES 961 for Ḥasanayn Nadā and the 4th record from the bottom on folio 44b of IES 962 for ʿĪsa Dyāb. In both instances the context where the expression is written in full exactly matches that in which the ligature is used:

f. 21b in IES 961:

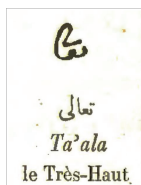


f. 44b in IES 962:



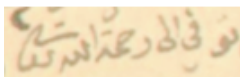
The verb تعالى *ta ʿālā* meaning “exalted be He” (referring to God) appears a few times in ligature form which bears strong resemblance to the ligature used for the same verb in the *qirma* script, which is shown below for comparison with the instances from the records:



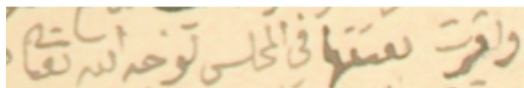


The *qirma* ligature for تعالى *ta'ālā* as it appears in Ibrahim El-Mouelhy, op. cit., p. 57

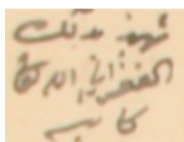
The instances of the ligature from the records in IES 961:



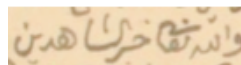
f. 1b توفي إلى رحمة الله تعالى  
he passed away to the mercy  
of God Almighty



f. 1b وأقرت بعقدها في المجلس لوجه الله تعالى  
she confirmed her manumission before  
the council and God Almighty



f. 4a شهد بذلك الفقير إلى الله تعالى كاتبه  
it was witnessed by its scribe  
who is poor before God  
Almighty



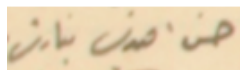
f. 3a والله تعالى خير الشاهدين and God  
Almighty is the best of witnesses

Also the word افندي [*ʕafandi*] is occasionally written in ligature form which appears only in the records drawn up in the *šekaste nasta'īq* and *ruq'a* hands. The letters are joined together against the normal rules and the divergence from the orthographic norms is large enough for the word to be misread but the context as well as a study of a larger sample of records in different hands as well as other documents from the same period allows to ascertain that it is indeed افندي [*ʕafandi*].

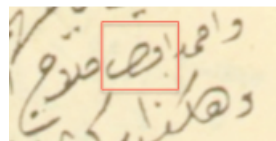
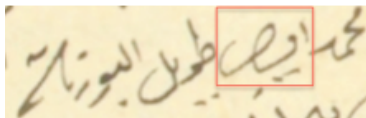
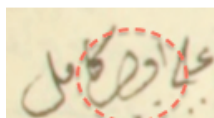
A sample of the ligature in the name 'Afīfī *effendi* Šāliḥ written in his own hand in IES 961 f. 2b:



A comparison of the name Ḥasan *effendi* Niyazī in his own hand using the ligature (left, f. 7b, IES 961) using regular letters (right, f. 9a, IES 961):



Underneath from left to right are the names:



‘Alī *effendi* Kāmil, Muḥammad *effendi* Ṭawīl al-yūzbāšī and Aḥmad *effendi* Ḥallāḡ all written using the *effendi* ligature in the same record from IES 959 f. 6a.

### c) Abbreviations

A typical abbreviation used in the registers is the stylised dotless letter ش for قرش *qirš* (piastre) which in the documents is spelled غرش *ḡirš*. When sums are quoted in the fractional unit of currency, namely the پاره *pāra* (which in the documents is called فضة *fiḍḍa*<sup>180</sup>), the symbol used has three variants: either two dots or a horizontal line with or without a dot which stand for the isolated form of the letter پ *p* present on the *para* coinage.<sup>181</sup> The *qirš* symbol’s similarity to the so called *yā’ rāḡi* ‘a that is the form of the final letter *yā’* in some scripts, namely ع , caused some to take it for this letter but the various denominations of the *qirš* coinage bore the last letter of the word قرش *qirš*, that is ش as an abbreviation<sup>182</sup>, which proves that the name was indeed abbreviated by its last letter and the true origin of the symbol was identified by Ibrahim El-Mouelhy as a remnant of the *qirma* script.<sup>183</sup>

The symbols in all their variants are present in the headers and footers of the columns in the two lists of payments received for marriage contracts in IES 961 on both sides of folio 29.

<sup>180</sup> فضة *fiḍḍa* the Arabic word for silver which in Egypt was used to denote the para cf. S. Spiro, op. cit., p.459, since the 10 and 20 para coins were made of silver. The silver 20 para coin was worth half a piastre and was called نصف فضة *niṣf fiḍḍa* (silver half).

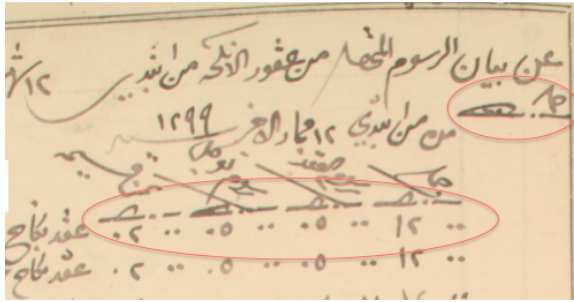
<sup>181</sup> George S. Cuhaj and Thomas Michael, *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, Iola 2012, p. 290-301.

<sup>182</sup> Ibidem.

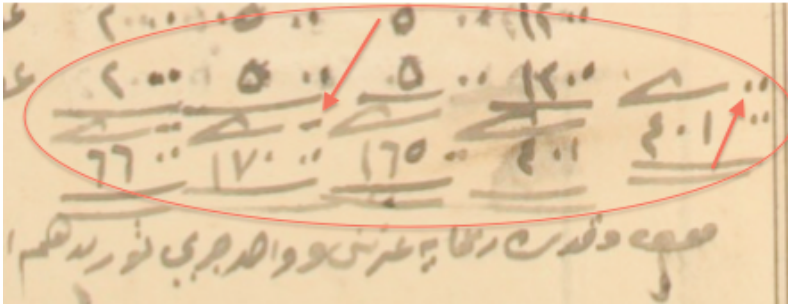
<sup>183</sup> I. El-Mouelhy, op. cit., p. 65.



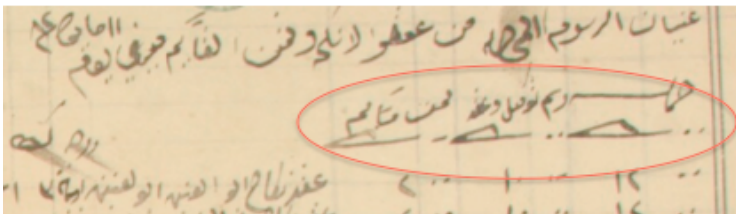
Header from f. 29a:



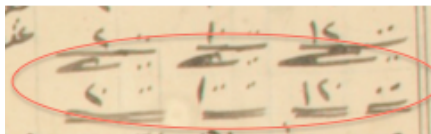
Footer from f. 29a:



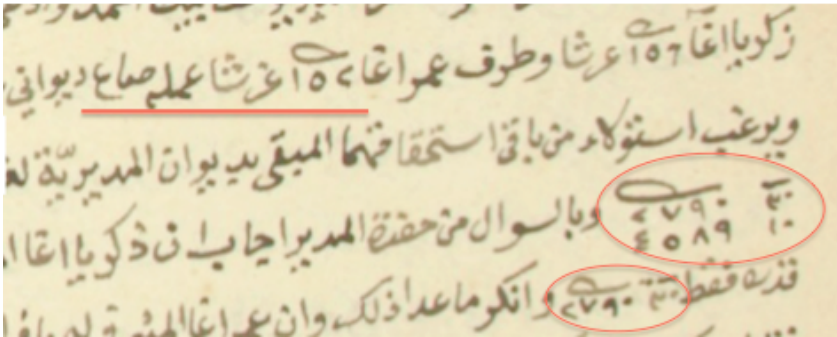
Header from f. 29b:



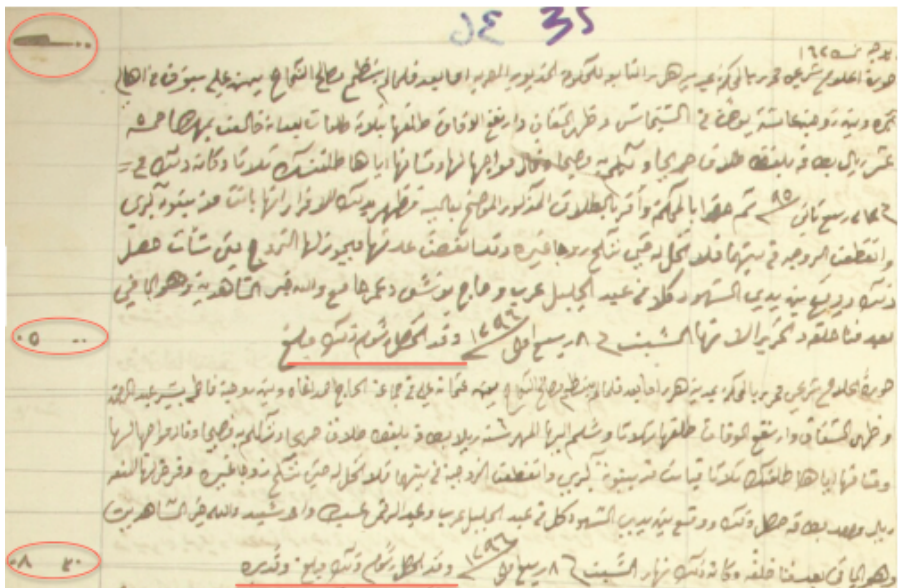
Footer from f. 29b:



In the 3rd record on f. 3b in IES 959 the symbol for *ḡirš* is used together with the full word (underlined) but when sums in *ḡirš* and *para* are quoted in the following lines, only the symbols are used (encircled).

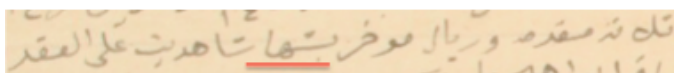
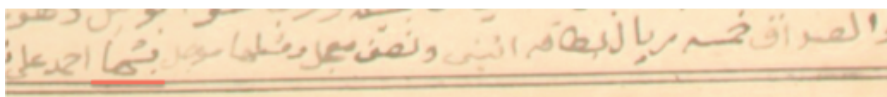
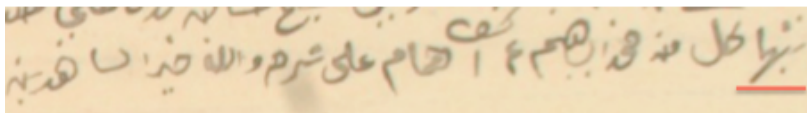


When the clerical costs received by the treasury are listed in a separate column on the margin of the page, the symbol for *ḡirš* and *para* occasionally appear at some point of the column as headers indicating what is the denomination of the sums of clerical costs given next to each record as in IES 959 f. 19a shown below. The *ḡirš* and *para* symbols in the header of the column on the margin are encircled in the top left corner together with the sums below. The formulations stating the receipt of due costs amounting to what is indicated in the margin are underlined in the main body of the records.

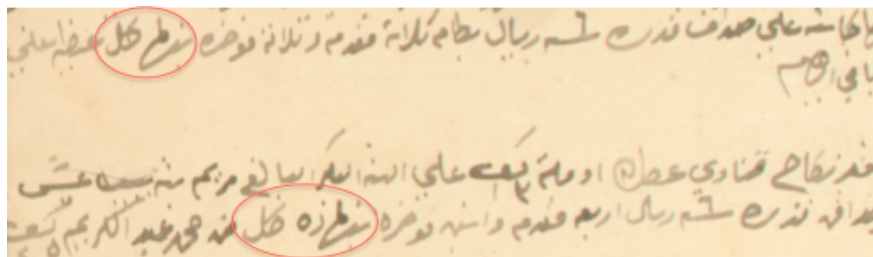


On several occasions in IES 961 the expression *bi-šahāda* (as witnessed [by]) is shortened to *bi-šahā*. It could be treated as an accidental omission but this seems unlikely as it occurs at least 11 times. Furthermore,

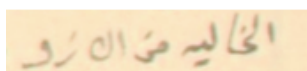
the expression *بشهادة* is a standard expression preceding the names of witnesses in the majority of the records and as such it is likely to be abbreviated. The abbreviation is most characteristic of one of the anonymous hands (e.g. f. 21b) but occasionally it also occurs also in records drawn up by ʿĪsa Dyāb (ff. 8b, 23a, 28a, 28b).



As is the case with the orthographic peculiarities described above, the abbreviation is used alongside the full expression with no apparent rule governing its employment.



Other words appearing in abbreviated forms in IES 961 are *صداق* *ṣadāq* (wedding gift) abbreviated to *صد* *ṣad* on folio 10b and *الازواج* *al-izwāḡ* (marrying off) abbreviated to *الازو* *al-izw* on folio 22b



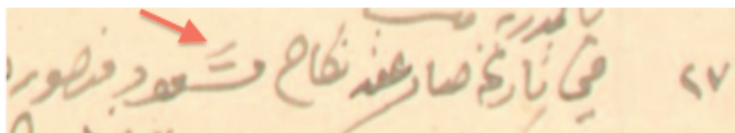
Since both of these abbreviations appear only once, they might be mistakes, but both words could also be abbreviated on purpose since *ṣadāq* is mentioned in nearly all of the marriage contract records (exceptions to this rule are mentioned in the subsection 6.1.3) and the expression *الخالية من الازواج* (not married) also appears in numerous records, which would justify the use of an abbreviated form.

#### d) Possible ‘*alāmāt al-ihmāl*’

‘*Alāmāt al-ihmāl*’ is the Arabic language term for the signs used by scribes in Arabic manuscripts indicating that an unpointed letter was meant to be unpointed and not left so by a scribal error.<sup>184</sup> Initially designed to avoid any ambiguity in cases where both the pointed and unpointed variant of a given letter would produce a plausible meaning, *ihmāl* signs grew to be used in a superfluous manner. An example of that is applying *ihmāl* signs to the *basmala* – the Islamic formula *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* “In the name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful”. It is very improbable that without *ihmāl* signs the words of this formula could be misread, yet some scribes applied these signs even where they were quite clearly redundant.

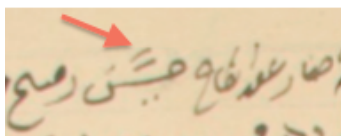
Records drawn up by Ḥasanayn Nadā display signs which could be interpreted as *ihmāl* signs. The signs in questions are two parallel horizontal lines above the letter س *sīn* in its medial and initial position. They seem to be redundant, appearing in personal names and words used repeatedly in the records where the letter س *sīn* is not likely to be taken for a ش *šīn* left unpointed by accident.

The symbol in the name مسعود



The

symbol in the name حسين



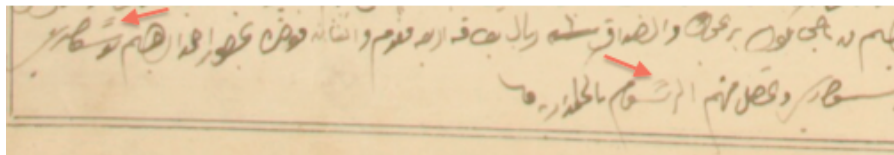
The sources available to me mention some alternative *ihmāl* signs denoting that a *sīn* is not a *šīn* accidentally left unpointed: three points below the letter written either in a row or in a triangle order<sup>185</sup> (or one point below if *šīn* is used in the variant with only one point above), a v-like sign or a single line above the letter<sup>186</sup>, the last of which is the closest to the double line found in

<sup>184</sup> Jan Just Witkam, *The neglect neglected. To Point or Not to Point, That is the Question*, “Journal of Islamic Manuscripts”, 6 (2015), pp. 376-408.

<sup>185</sup> Adam Gacek, “Technical practices and recommendations recorded by classical and post-classical Arabic scholars concerning the copying and correction of manuscripts”, *Manuscripts du Moyen-Orient*, 1989, pp. 51-60

<sup>186</sup> William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, vol. 1, Beirut 1996, p. 4.

the records. While, admittedly, no source known to me mentions a double horizontal line above *sīn* as a variant, an uncommon form of an *ihmāl* sign is a possible explanation for the meaning of the signs discussed. Curiously enough, they occur above *sīn* almost exclusively in personal names (as shown above) and only on two occasions above *sīn* in common nouns.



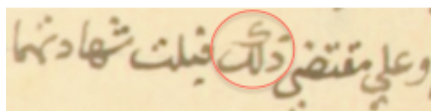
The personal names are as such unambiguous and even the two common nouns i.e. رسوم *rusūm* “fees” and سوري [sawaari] “cavalry”, appear repeatedly in the records and thus are not likely to be misread. Apart from being redundant, the signs are also used inconsistently—numerous proper names to which they were applied appear also without the signs as does the word سوري [sawaari] just one line below it occurs with the signs which is visible in the figure above. As mentioned above—the sole fact of their being redundant does not exclude the usage of *ihmāl* signs and neither does inconsistency of application but still – it is not clear whether the signs at hand are indeed *‘alāmāt al-ihmāl*.

### e) Instances of local scribal practices

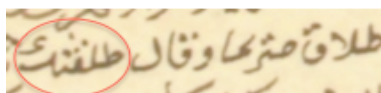
As shown in the paper by Sara Fani<sup>187</sup>, the Arabic script used in Harar tends to display some characteristic scribal practices. They are not unique to the region but seem to be of ancient origin and have been preserved due to a conservative scribal tradition in the region.

One of the features described by Fani is to be found in the IES 959 codex, namely the little *kaḥ* written on top of the *kāḥ mu‘arra* not only in the final position:

fol. 1b



fol. 36a

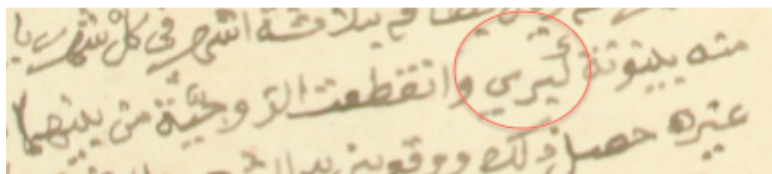


<sup>187</sup> Sara Fani, *Scribal Practices in Arabic Manuscripts from Ethiopia: The ‘Ajamization of Scribal Practices in Fuṣḥā and ‘Ajamī Manuscripts from Harar*, “Islamic Africa”, vol. 8, 2017, pp. 144-170.

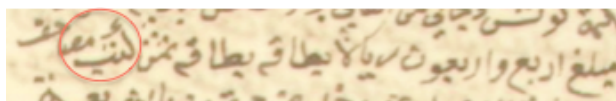


but also in the initial position:

fol. 55a

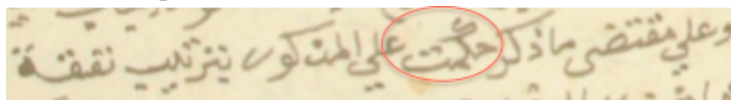


fol. 33b

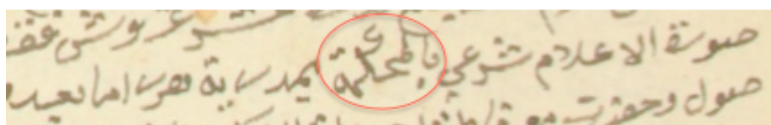


as well as in the medial position:

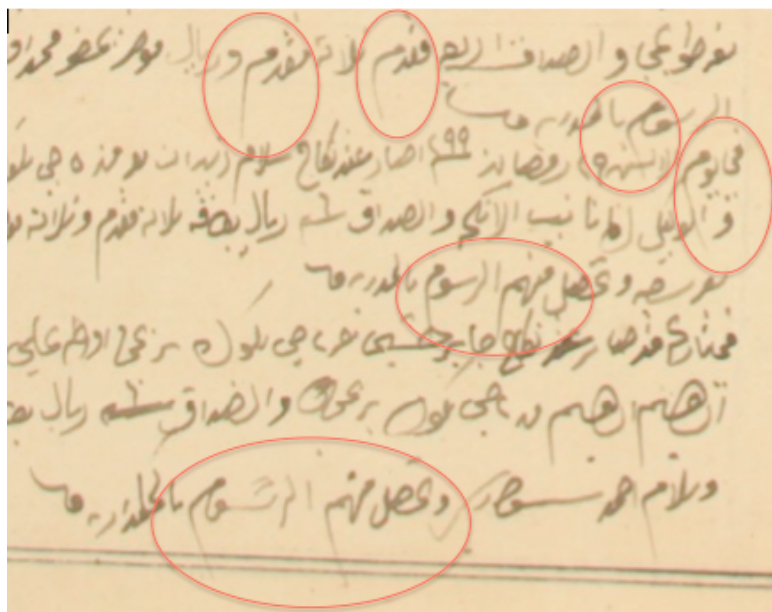
f. 54a



f. 53b



Apart from the above instances of the *kaṣ* grapheme found in IES 959, in IES 962 there are instances of *mīm* realised with its descender reaching the line below and in the bottom line outside the margin boundary as illustrated below (f. 47a):



## 5. The structure of the civil status records

All three types of records discussed in this thesis have a repetitive form and necessarily mention some elements, which are required by Islamic law in order for the recorded documents to be legally valid. Interestingly, while the wording and structure of marriage contract records varies within this legally necessary framework, the wording and structure of the two remaining record types, those of divorces and especially manumissions, is virtually the same in every case. While the divorce records still differ to some extent because of the various types of divorce in Islam as well as the varying settlements between the parties, the manumission records differ very little except for the part identifying the manumitter and the manumitted slave.

This uniformity is due to the use of standard templates for these documents. Such templates were provided by Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār in his *Kitāb inṣā’*<sup>188</sup> which is a manual on the art of creating written compositions ranging from Ottoman official state correspondence to love letters. More pertinently to the matter at hand, the final section of the book contains templates of legal documents, including those drawn up to certify a marriage, divorce and manumission. The ones found in the records are nearly identical with those provided in *Kitāb inṣā’*. Al-‘Aṭṭār wrote the book for the clerks of the military academies established by Muḥammad ‘Alī, to whom the work is dedicated. The exact date of its first publication is not known but it must have been between 1815 and 1835<sup>189</sup> when Al-‘Aṭṭār died<sup>190</sup>. The book marked a return to publishing such manuals in Egypt, where *inṣā’* literature flourished in the Mamluk era<sup>191</sup> but after the Ottoman conquest only one such manual in Arabic is known

<sup>188</sup> Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār, *Kitāb inṣā’*, Cairo 1250 AH/ 1834-35 AD.

<sup>189</sup> Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ġanī Ḥasan, *Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār*, Cairo 1993, p. 86.

<sup>190</sup> Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt*, Boulder and London 2000, p. 27

<sup>191</sup> Abdulrazzak Patel, *The Arab Nahdah The Making of the Intellectual and Humanist Movement*, Edinburgh 2013, p. 95.

to have been published in 1623<sup>192</sup> until the publication of Al-‘Aṭṭār’s *Kitāb inšā’* two centuries later. While it was Muḥammad ‘Alī’s reforms and new institutions which began the shift of Egypt’s bureaucracy from Ottoman Turkish to Arabic, it took several decades for it to happen. It ultimately resulted in Arabic becoming the preferred language of the Egyptian administration during khedive Isma‘īl’s reign but during Muḥammad ‘Alī’s reign government clerks and officials used Ottoman Turkish and the ruler’s own *divan efendisi* Meḥmet Ḥayret himself authored a book on *inšā’* in Ottoman which was published by the Būlāq press in 1242 AH/1826 AD, two years after his death.<sup>193</sup> Al-‘Aṭṭār’s work was published in the same period and he might have also influenced the re-issue of al-Karmī’s *Badī‘ al-inšā’* by the Būlāq press by 1827<sup>194</sup> but until at least 1840, the training curriculum of Egyptian government clerks was still Ottoman.<sup>195</sup> It was the gradual shift happening in the following decades which increased the demand for such a manual and consequently the work was in wide circulation for decades after Al-‘Aṭṭār’s death, with a number of subsequent editions published in Cairo by the Būlāq press, the Maymūniyya press and the Wahbiyya press in the years 1835, 1846, 1850, 1860, 1861, 1880 and even as late as 1902<sup>196</sup>. Moreover, it was also published outside of Egypt – namely in Constantinople by Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq’s Ġawā’ib Press in 1882<sup>197</sup> and in India.<sup>198</sup>

The basic structure and necessary elements of the marriage contract records which are the only ones not copied from the templates are largely defined by the requirements of marriage in Islamic law.

A concise definition of the necessary elements of an Islamic marriage contract, with additional reference to the legal conditions of Egypt was given by Hanan Kholoussy:

<sup>192</sup> *Badī‘ al-inšā’ w as-ṣifāt fī al-mukātabāt w al-murāsālāt*, a 1623/24 treatise on creating written compositions by Mir‘ī ibn Yūsif al-Karmī, a Ḥanbali religious scholar born in Ṭūlkarm, who later lived and worked in Cairo. Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition* (translated by Joep Lameer), vol. 2, Leiden and Boston 2016, p. 425 and 426.

<sup>193</sup> Meḥmet Ḥayret, *Riyāz ul-kūtebā ve hıyaz ul-üdebā/Riyāḍ al-kutabā’ wa-ḥiyāḍ al-udabā’*, Cairo 1826.

<sup>194</sup> Peter Gran, *Islamic Roots of Capitalism: Egypt, 1760-1840*, Syracuse 1998, p. 125, see note 40, a copy of this edition is held at the British Library.

<sup>195</sup> E. Toledano, op. cit., Cambridge 2003, note 24 on p. 256.

<sup>196</sup> Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition* (translated by Joep Lameer), vol. 2, Leiden and Boston 2016, p. 425 and 426.

<sup>197</sup> This edition was published in one book with Mir‘ī ibn Yūsif al-Karmī, *Badī‘ al-inšā’ w as-ṣifāt fī al-mukātabāt wa-al-murāsālāt as Inšā’ Mir‘ī wa inšā’ al-‘Aṭṭār*, Constantinople 1882.

<sup>198</sup> Hamilton Gibb, “al-‘Aṭṭār” in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, vol. 1, Leiden 1986, p. 755.



In Islamic law, marriage is a contractual relationship legalizing intercourse and procreation. A woman and a man are united by their agreement to a marriage in which the names and lineages of the bride and groom are given, an amount of *mahr* (dower) is stated, and two male witnesses are named. For a marriage contract to be considered legal, it must include the *mahr* that the groom pays to his bride in advanced (*muqaddam*) and delayed (*mu'ahhar*) forms, and the names of the bride, the bridegroom, their proxies, and the witnesses. Islamic law does not require any evidence of the union in writing, although it does recommend it to be in written form. Marriage contracts were not required to be registered in Egypt until 1931, but many couples chose to do so because the 1897 law required written marriage contracts in order to hear certain marriage, divorce, and inheritance claims.<sup>199</sup>

The elements listed above are indeed present in the contracts from Harar and are analysed in more detail in the following chapter.

<sup>199</sup> Hanan Kholoussy, *Interfaith unions and non-Muslim wives in early twentieth-century Alexandrian Islamic courts*, in: Amy Singer, Christoph K. Neumann and Selçuk Akşin Somel (eds.) *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering voices from the 19th and 20th centuries*, London and New York 2011, pp. 54-70.

## 6. The contents of the civil status records

### 6.1 Marriage contract records

The summary of the marriage contract records' contents is arranged by the constitutive elements of an Islamic marriage contract. When specific cases are given with folio number it is with reference to the IES 961 codex, unless indicated otherwise.

#### 6.1.1 The male party

As indicated by the title of the register, the male party to the contract is, as a rule, a member of the Egyptian military which means that they were either Egyptian, Sudanese or Turkish because these three main ethnic components formed the Egyptian armed forces in the Sudanese provinces.<sup>200</sup> Apart from their name, the servicemen are further identified by their rank and the unit and/or armed service they belong to. In the more elaborate records, occasionally also the soldiers' place of origin is given. Three types of regular armed services were stationed in Harar, namely infantry, cavalry and artillery and members of all of these services are present in the contract records. Some soldiers are not identified by their units but as members of the military orchestra which came to the city on the request of Ra'ūf Pasha<sup>201</sup> and remained there until the evacuation.<sup>202</sup> Apart from soldiers of the regular forces, also *bashi-bazouk* irregular cavalry soldiers appear in the records. In some of the contracts the male party is not a soldier but a member of a company of craftsmen which was part of the Egyptian forces.

<sup>200</sup> As-Sayyid Yūsuf Naṣr, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>201</sup> Šawqī al-Ġamal, op. cit., p. 277.

<sup>202</sup> A. Ben-Dror, *Emirate...*, op. cit., p. 179.

### 6.1.2 The female party

The women mentioned in the marriage contract records, come from a variety of social and ethnic backgrounds. Harari women are just one and not the most numerous group, with the records mentioning Oromo and Somali women from various clans inhabiting the Harar region, manumitted Ethiopian slaves, Egyptians on three occasions and, on one occasion each, women from: the Sudan (f. 5a), Berbera (f. 21b) and Zayla' (f. 16b). It is noticeable in the records, that if the female party to a particular marriage contract was a divorcee, her previous husband was usually also an Egyptian soldier. Only on a few occasions the divorced women were previously married to men other than members of the Egyptian forces. These include a divorcee of a Somali from the Šayḥāš tribe mentioned in the 3rd record on f. 4b, another woman divorced from a man of unspecified occupation and ethnicity mentioned in the 3rd record on f. 2b and a Somali woman divorced from a Harari named Ġāmi' Šayḥ before the marriage was consummated.

A special group among the women divorced by soldiers are their manumitted slaves who were the wives of their manumitters and were then divorced and married off to another soldier (e.g. the last record on f. 43a in IES 962). On one occasion (2nd record from the bottom f. 20a) a *bashi-bazouk* soldier married a manumitted Ethiopian slave woman who was a divorcee of another manumitted slave both of whom were formerly owned by an Egyptian colonel.

### 6.1.3 Mahr

*Mahr* or *šadāq*, being mandatory in Islam, is stipulated in each marriage contract record in the register save two, where it seems to have been omitted by mistake. The sums are generally quoted in *riyāl* and in most of the contracts the currency is further specified to be *riyāl bi-tāqa* or *riyāl bi-ṭira*<sup>203</sup>. Both of these names signify the Maria Theresa thaler which was adopted as the basis of Egypt's bimetallic standard in 1834<sup>204</sup> and was used for quotations. The Maria Theresa thaler was also widely accepted outside of Egypt since it served in the region as international trade money and was present in the Red Sea basin since the second half of the 18th century. The Arabic names of the coin used in the contracts are only two of a wider array including *abū nuqṭa*<sup>205</sup>, *abū*

<sup>203</sup> Na'ūm Šuqayr, *Ġuḡrāfiya wa ta'rīḥ as-Sūdān*, Beirut 1967, p. 181.

<sup>204</sup> Markus A. Denzel, *A Handbook of World Exchange Rates, 1590-1914*, Farnham and Burlington 2010, p. 599.

<sup>205</sup> Nicolas Perron, *Commerce et industrie dans le Soudan*, "Revue de l'Orient", vol. 7, nos. 25-28, Paris 1845, note 1 on p. 60. (The article consists of Perron's translations of extracts

*šūša*<sup>206</sup>, *abū rīš*, all of which referred to the popular perception of the symbols present on the coin. The name *riyāl bi-ṭāqa*<sup>207</sup> was a contracted variation of the popular name *riyāl abū ṭāqa* meaning “riyal with a window” referring to the escutcheon of the Habsburg coat of arms on the reverse side of the coin. *Riyāl bi-ṭīra*, in turn, is a shorter version of another popular name, *riyāl abū ṭīra*, literally “riyal with a bird”, which refers to the Habsburg double-headed eagle also present on the reverse side.

The sums of money stipulated as *ṣadāq* in the various contracts vary substantially, ranging from 2 to 120 thalers. There appears to exist a general rule that women from Harar were married off with a higher *ṣadāq* than those from the tribes neighbouring the city. However, even these higher *ṣadāqs*, together with the vast majority of all the *ṣadāq* sums found in the records, are considerably lower than those quoted as the standards of the time by Paulitschke, who reports that the wedding gift among middle-class Hararis was between 20 and 50 thalers in addition to a plot of land, an ox and a certain quantity of beer<sup>208</sup>. The only contract quoting a wedding gift exceeding 50 thalers is that of a lieutenant and a divorced woman, whose wedding gift was 120 thalers, which is clearly an exception, since it is thrice the sum of the second highest gift in the whole register. Not only the sum being higher by such a wide margin shows us that this is an exception, it is clear also from the status of the witnesses who are all higher Egyptian officers and religious scholars. I tried to verify the sum Paulitschke quotes as the standard but was able to do so only partially, owing to the scarcity of information regarding marriages to which both parties were Hararis. The court register in IES 962 happens to contain in the second record on f. 29b a claim laid by a certain Abū Bakr ibn Yūnis ibn ‘Abdallāh against an Ibrāhīm ibn Ġamālī ibn ‘Abdallāh, the brother of the woman he was engaged to. The plaintiff claims that he “got engaged to his [the defendant’s] sister and, as required by local custom, he made a payment in cash, qat<sup>209</sup> and garments, which amounted to the agreed sum of 10 Maria Theresa thalers and tailor made

from Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Tūnisī, *Tašhīd al-adhān bi-sīrat bilād al-‘arab w as-Sūdān*, later published by Perron in its entirety in Paris in 1850 under the title *Voyage au Darfour ou L’aiguinement de l’esprit par le voyage au Soudan et parmi les Arabes du centre de l’Afrique*).

<sup>206</sup> Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥatīb, op. cit., p. 215, Muḥammad ‘Imāra, *Qāmūs al-muṣṭalahāt al-iqtiṣādīyya fī al-ḥaqāra al-islāmiyya*, Beirut and Cairo 1994, p. 262.

<sup>207</sup> As for the right vocalisation of the initial *bā*’ it is unclear what vowel should be used. The most natural would be *u*, since it is a contracted form of *abū* and then *bū* but André Raymond, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 50 has *baṭāqa* and hence the French *pataque*, while Muḥammad ‘Imāra, op. cit., p. 262 makes it clear that the shortest form is *biṭāqa*.

<sup>208</sup> Philipp Paulitschke, op. cit. *Harar...*, p. 265

<sup>209</sup> *Catha edulis* or qat is a plant native to Ethiopia. Its leaves are traditionally chewed by men in the Horn of Africa and Yemen for their mild narcotic effect. The use of qat in Harar was banned by the Egyptians.

garments known as ‘*abdallahān*’<sup>210</sup>. While the sum of money in this wedding gift is lower than the standard quoted by Paulitschke it is still higher than that offered by the Egyptian soldiers in most of the recorded cases and additional gifts are mentioned. The records also contain other information on the possible Harari standards on wedding gifts, namely the records of Harari divorces from IES 959 quoting the *mahr* either paid by the husband upon divorce or relinquished by the wife. These include a garden worth 30 thalers, a garden worth 20 thalers and such sums as 20, 15 and 12 thalers in cash. This small sample of data seems to confirm that the customary wedding gifts in Harar were higher than those offered by the Egyptian soldiers.

In the case of the Oromo tribes converted to Islam, Paulitschke claims that the “bride price” was paid in kind and ranged between 8 and 16 cows in addition to some garments for the bride’s relatives<sup>211</sup> and states that the price of an ox on the market of Bubassa, was between 8 and 10 thalers.<sup>212</sup> If these prices are to be relied upon, then for a private’s monthly wages, which during Ismā’īl’s reign stood at 19 piasters (slightly below one thaler, which at the time was fixed at 20 piasters) livestock was not “inexpensive” as Paulitschke put it. However, after Ismā’īl’s deposition, Tawfīq raised the army’s wages considerably and the private’s wages returned to the 30 piasters from khedive Sa’īd’s reign. The wages of the rest of the enlisted personnel were also raised but did not reach the level from Sa’īd’s time. The officers’ wages, in turn, were raised above their level from that time.<sup>213</sup> These official figures aside, Egypt’s economic crisis caused delays in pay and the soldiers were not paid in cash, instead receiving wages in kind. The livestock which served as their salary in Harar was robbed from the population and one ox was given to a soldier in exchange for 1 thaler of wages owed in arrears which was a favourable exchange rate compared to the market price quoted by Paulitschke.

### 6.1.4 Witnesses

As prescribed by Islamic law there must be at least two male witnesses to a marriage contract. All of the records list two or more witnesses. At some point there must have emerged some quasi-official function of a designated

<sup>210</sup> The name of a Harari dress with a checkered bib, described by P. Klemm in *Fashioning History: Women’s Costumes from Eastern Hararghe, 1850-1886* in: Baye Yimam et al. (eds.) *Ethiopian Studies at the End of the Second Millennium: Proceedings of the XIV International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 195-214 with a reference to P. Paulitschke in *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somal, Galla und Harari*, Leipzig 1886, p. 69.

<sup>211</sup> Philipp Paulitschke, op. cit. *Harar...*, p. 287

<sup>212</sup> Ibidem, p. 326

<sup>213</sup> Carl Malortie, *Egypt: Native Rulers and Foreign Interference*, London 1882, p. 178.

witness corresponding to the official function of the *qāḍī*'s deputy in charge of marriage contracts of the soldiers, since a certain artillerist named 'Abd al-Bāqī Ibrāhīm appears as a witness in tens of records beginning with Muḥarram 1299 until the end of Ramaḍān 1299 with his own marriage record from 30th Ša'bān 1299 (the last record on f. 42a in IES 962) appearing in between the many ones in which he is listed as a witness.

## 6.2 Divorces

As was already mentioned in the introductory remarks on the contents of the codices, divorces were not customary in Harar and the number of divorces between Egyptian soldiers and local women was disproportionately high in comparison to the divorces between local married couples evidenced in the records analysed. Many of the divorces with the Egyptian soldiers seem to have been *ḥul'* whereby the wife agrees to return the *mahr* she received from her husband. This might indicate that in those cases it was the women who initiated the divorce, since in Islam *ḥul'* is the only acceptable way for a woman to divorce her husband. However, while the *ḥul'* divorces might indicate that it is the female party who was the factor behind the disproportionate number of mixed marriages dissolved, it is not impossible that the women were forced to use this legal instrument as a last resort to dissolve a dysfunctional marriage. That notwithstanding, the data available in the records does not allow us to draw decisive conclusions. The reasons for each single divorce might have been different, and it is hardly probable that every divorce of a mixed marriage was caused by the mistreatment of women. What is evidenced in the records is that occasionally the divorces were not *ḥul'* and the financial rights of the women and the offspring of the marriage were legally protected. What is more, the court records contain women's complaints against their divorced husbands who did not fulfill their obligation under Islamic law and failed to support their divorced wife and/or their children. The court rulings regarding these complaints seem to have been in compliance with Islamic law, that is in favour of the divorced wife.

## 6.3 Manumissions

As mentioned in the chapter on the structure of the records, the manumission records are composed using a template which limits the amount of data provided by these documents. However, what is included is the date of the manumission, the name, rank and unit of the manumitter as well as the name, ethnicity and skin colour of the manumitted slave. This data alone al-

lows us to draw some conclusions on the actual state of affairs regarding slavery and slave trade in the city and region of Harar under Egyptian administration.

### 6.3.1 The problem of slavery in Harar under Egyptian administration

Although all the slaves mentioned in the marriage contracts were formally manumitted and there is a whole body of manumission records to attest that slaves were actually set free by members of the Egyptian military, there arises doubt as to what was the actual state of affairs, with hints such as the fact that several manumitted slaves formerly owned and married off by one Egyptian colonel appear in the marriage contract records and that the divorce certificate of one of them was issued by the court of Zayla', a place notorious for its slave trade throughout the 19th century, including the time of its nominal suppression under Egyptian rule.<sup>214</sup> In fact, khedive Ismā'īl personally granted both the governorship of Zayla' and the rank of pasha to Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm,<sup>215</sup> a notorious slave trader, whose long rule in the Red Sea port was synonymous with slave trafficking, from which he and his entire family profited.<sup>216</sup> Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm was also supplying slaves to Ismā'īl and when in July 1879, the slaver wrote a letter of complaint to the newly enthroned Khedive Tawfīq, the latter informed Abū Bakr that he was aware of his slave dealing to Ismā'īl and that times had changed.<sup>217</sup> A few months after Tawfīq ascended to the throne, he admitted to Frank Lascelles, the British consul-general in Egypt, that he was not surprised that the convention for the suppression of the slave trade had not worked before "as his father had in reality no intention of its being seriously put into execution" and "it had frequently happened that secret orders had been given to the Authorities to admit convoys of slaves who were destined for the Palace"<sup>218</sup>. At the same time, Tawfīq made it very clear that he himself was determined to fulfill the provisions of the convention and had already given strict orders to that effect. It tells a lot about the situation in Harar, that half a year later, in an order to Nādī Pasha dated 9th Rabī' al-'āḥir 1297/31st March 1880, the new khedive deemed it necessary to write the following:

<sup>214</sup> Timothy Fernyhough, *Slavery and the Slave Trade in Southern Ethiopia in the 19th Century* in: William Gervase Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, London 1989, pp. 118 and 119.

<sup>215</sup> Marc Fontrier, "Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm", in: S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 2003, p. 52.

<sup>216</sup> Paul Soleillet, op. cit., p. 313.

<sup>217</sup> FO 141/124 Charles George Gordon, Notes on Abyssinia 1877-1879, 23rd September 1879.

<sup>218</sup> FO 84/1545 Lascelles to Salisbury, 12th September 1879.

It is known, that the question of prohibiting the slave trade is of utmost importance, because trading slaves is an issue against humanity and in contrariety to the respect of human beings ordained by the Book. We are obliged to fulfill the provisions of the convention signed between the Khedival Government and the English Government considering the abolition of slave trade. Even though there is no need to reassure you about our awareness and trust in your views on this issue and your determination to make praiseworthy efforts in order to eradicate the last traces of this reprehensible trade, we deemed it necessary for us to declare how strongly we feel about this issue in order for you to succeed in employing effective means and exercising necessary care to achieve that, so that from now on, no news is heard of anything to the contrary taking place in any of the lands and roads placed under your administration.<sup>219</sup>

<sup>219</sup> ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ar-Rāfi‘ī, *Miṣr wa-as-Sūdān fī awā’il ‘ahd al-iḥtilāl*, Cairo 1983 (4th edition), pp. 232-234 (the translation is mine).



## Conclusion

The present thesis is only an initial contribution to the study of the documents produced by the Egyptian administration of Harar. The documents with which the present thesis is concerned are a previously unedited rich primary source of data on a turbulent and crucial period in the history of not only Egypt and Harar but also, to some extent, the Oromo and the Somali of the region.

The objective of this study was to offer an analysis of the documents' language and its peculiarities facilitating their future translation and edition as well as an initial presentation of the documents' contents showing their value as a historical source. In the course of writing this thesis, the author gathered a substantial body of data not included in the present thesis. Thus, an edition and translation of the registers seems a natural next step.

A good example of how valuable a source such an edition and translation might prove, should it be published, is the court register from the Somali coastal city of Barawa published under the title *Servants of the Sharia: The Civil Register of the Qadis' Court of Brava, 1893-1900*.<sup>220</sup> In his favourable review of this voluminous work,<sup>221</sup> Jay Spaulding made several points which, in a striking manner, are equally valid in the case of the registers from Harar. What is similar between the registers from Barawa and those from Harar is that the Harari registers provide the researchers with a wealth of details on the social history of an East African merchant city-state which during centuries of interaction with its hostile surroundings managed to maintain a distinct cultural and linguistic identity but in the last decades of the nineteenth century, political entities and historical processes far more potent than the city and its surrounding opponents redefined the region's reality and placed the city within the context of the global rivalry between colonial powers.

<sup>220</sup> Alessandra Vianello and Mohammed M. Kassim, *Servants of the Sharia: The Civil Register of the Qadi's Court of Brava 1893-1900*, Leiden 2006.

<sup>221</sup> Jay Spaulding, Review: *Servants of the Sharia: The Civil Register of the Qadi's Court of Brava 1893-1900* by Alessandra Vianello; Mohamed M. Kassim, "The International Journal of African Historical Studies", vol. 39, No. 3 (2006), pp. 527-529.

Harar, however, differs from Barawa in that its independence did not end with European colonisation. Instead it was conquered by Egypt and after Egypt itself lost its independence to the British Empire which forced the Egyptian evacuation and sponsored a brief period of restored emirate in Harar, the city was annexed by another African power – the Ethiopian Empire. Unlike in the case of Barawa, whose published register is vast but covers only seven years and apparently is the only such surviving body of documents from the city,<sup>222</sup> the available Harari records are lesser in volume but wider in time span and scope. Those held by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and digitised for the Endangered Archives Programme alone include records from before the Egyptian invasion and occupation, together with the ones discussed in the present study issued by the Egyptian administration as well as documents issued after the Ethiopian conquest between 1311AH/1886EC/1894AD and 1318AH/1893EC/1901AD. As indicated in the second chapter of this study, a portion of the records from before the Egyptian invasion was already published and translated. Thus, an edition and translation of the ones analysed in the present study possibly including also the limited material available from the first two decades of the Ethiopian rule would allow the reader to observe how Harar changed under different sovereigns and how the city's residents from various social strata functioned in the changing realities.

Spaulding stated about the Barawa records:

These records offer unparalleled insight into the internal workings of the community of Brava on the eve of its final subordination to the outside world. (...) In addition to the Brava register's potential for vastly enriching East African social history, it also offers substantial new insight into the actual conduct of Islamic jurisprudence, a field of study often dominated by authoritative textbooks and unfortunately in many instances rather short on case law. (...) Assuredly, students of history, culture, religion, language and law will be mining the potential of these volumes for many years to come.<sup>223</sup>

All of the above holds true for Harar and its registers from the Egyptian period. Should they be edited and translated, I am convinced that they would be of great use to scholars in a number of fields.

<sup>222</sup> Another register from Barawa was lost during the Somali civil war, apart from a portion of its records translated by Vianello cf. A. Vianello and M. M. Kassim, op. cit., p. 2, note 1 and L. Kapteijns and A. Vianello, op. cit., p. 134, note 2.

<sup>223</sup> J. Spaulding, *ibidem*.

## Appendix

### Sample records and their translations

The three records chosen as a sample represent all three types of documents pertaining to civil state found in the registers analysed in the present study. Since the Arabic spelling is defective and does not represent all the vowels, some non-Arabic proper names are transliterated with capital letters. The transliteration uses the symbols used in this thesis for transcribing literary Arabic but treats all letters as representing consonants. Additional commentary is provided in the notes below each of the sample records.

#### Sample marriage contract record:

في يوم الجمعة ٧ شوال سنة ٩٨ الموافق ٢ اكتوبر {صحته سبتمبر} صار عقد نكاح  
تولى الثيب القاصر اليتيمة بنت المرحوم علي روبة من اهالي الجارسو من قبيلة وري سيو  
علي احمد محمد نفر من ٨ جي ك ط ٤ وكانت قبل ذلك تزوجت لعفيقي البنا من بلوك  
الصناعية وطلقها في اول شهر جماد آخر سنة ٩٨ وأعطاه ورقة طلاقها ولما سئل منها  
عنها ادعت أنها فقدت منها فكلفت بإقامة الأدلة على أنه طلقها في المدة المذكورة وعلى  
أنها لم تتزوج بعده فأحضرت المكرم محمد صيام زوج أمها نفر من ك ٨ ط ٤ والمكرم  
ابراهيم دسوقي السقا نفر من ك ٨ ط ٤ فشهدا لها بما ذكر وعلى عقد نكاحها المذكور  
وصارت المذكورة زوجة مقدمه المذكور و أعطيت لها ورقة مؤخر صداقها وقدره ريالان  
و أقرت هي وزوج أمها بقبض معجل صداقها وقدره ريالان أيضًا ولعدم وجود أختام  
معهما اكتفى الحال بخطنا (sic) في الورقة و الدفتر ونمرة الإفادة الواردة في شأن ذلك

On Friday 7 Šawwāl in the year 98 corresponding to 2 October {corrected to September} a marriage contract was concluded between the previously married orphaned minor daughter of the late ‘Alī RWBT [1] from the Jarso [2], the Warra Sayo [3] and ‘Alī Aḥmad Muḥammad a private from the 4th battalion’s 8th company. She was previously married to ‘Afifi al-Bannā [4] from the company of craftsmen [5], who divorced her on the first day of Ġumād ‘Āḥar (sic) of the year 98 and gave her a divorce letter. When questioned about the letter she claimed that it was lost, and she was therefore obliged to furnish

evidence confirming her divorce on the said date and that she did not marry afterwards. She brought the honourable Muḥammad Ṣayyām her mother's husband, a private from the 4th battalion's 8th company and the honourable Ibrāhīm Dasūqī as-Saqqā [6] a private from the 4th battalion's 8th company and they testified to the [afore]mentioned [facts] and witnessed her marriage contract with the [man] mentioned above and she thus became his wife. She was handed a document confirming the deferred portion of her *ṣadāq* amounting to two riyals. She and the husband of her mother confirmed the receipt of the prompt portion of her *ṣadāq* also amounting to two riyals. Due to them not having seals, their signatures [7] on the document and in the register book were deemed sufficient.

### Notes:

[1] Most probably the Oromo name Roba

[2] An Oromo tribe neighbouring the city of Harar

[3] Warra is the Oromo word for people or clan, hence the names of various sub-clans within the main tribes.

[4] البنا *al-bannā* might be treated as designating the profession of a builder, however, since in that case only his first name would be given, it is rather to be understood as his second name.

[5] a company of craftsmen of various trades, including masons, boot-makers, saddlers, tailors, farriers, potters etc. who came to Harar as part of the Egyptian forces and were employed in the construction works carried out in the city and provided the services necessary for the large garrison.

[6] السقا *as-saqqā* this word might either be treated as a family name or the name of the profession, namely a water carrier (also a function in the army), from which this family name is derived, written without the final *hamza*, which is common in the documents (see the subsection on spelling 4.9.2 a).

[7] the Arabic text has بخطا which I treated as بخطهما.

### Sample divorce record:

صورة اعلام شرعي محرر بالمحكمة بمدينة هرر التابعة للحكومة المصرية أما بعد فلما لم ينتظم لمصالح النكاح بين محمد افندي احمد من الاوردي وبين زوجته عائشة نور صياح حضرا بالمحكمة فطلقها بثلاث طلاقات صريحا فصيحيا مشافها وقال طلقك ثلاثا طلاقات فأنت منه بينونة كبرى وانقطعت الزوجية بينهما فلا تحل له حتى تتكح زوجا غيره وادالها مهرها ستة ريال بطاقة وسلم اليها ربايين لسكن المنزل لعدتها فتسلمت منه كله حصل ووقع ذلك بين يدي الشهود أحمد علي حمدت وأحمد افندي كاتب بالمحكمة والحاج خليفة يوسف وعبد الجليل عرب والله خير الشاهدين وكان ذلك نهار الإثنين غرة ذي الحجة سنة ٩٥ وتحرير هذه الاعلام نهار الثلاث ثاني الحجة سنة ألف ومائتين وخمسة وتسعين هـ وقد تحصل رسوم ذلك مبلغ قدره تسعة غروش

Copy of a legal notification/ruling issued by the court in the city of Harar subordinate to the Egyptian government

Since there was no benefits of marriage between Muḥammad *effendi* Aḥmad from the bashi-bazouk cavalry [1] and his wife 'Ā'īša Nūr Şayyāḥ, they appeared in court and he divorced her by three unambiguous, clear, oral declarations saying: I divorced you by three declarations therefore you are from now on divorced irrevocably. The marriage bond between them was severed and she is not lawful to him until she marries another husband. He gave her the *mahr* [amounting to] six *riyāls bi-tāqa* and handed to her two *riyāls* for the cost of accommodation during her waiting period and she received all of it from him. All of this happened in the presence of witnesses Aḥmad 'Alī Ḥamdat, Aḥmad *effendi* [employed as] a court clerk, the ḥāḡḡ Ḥalīfa Yūsuf and 'Abd al-Ġalīl 'Arab and God is the best of witnesses. This happened on Monday the first day of Dū al-ḥiġġa [in the] year 95 and the present copy was drawn up on Tuesday the second day of [Dū] al-ḥiġġa [in the] year one thousand two hundred and five. The clerical fees for this amounting to nine *ġirš* were collected.

### Notes:

[1] the Arabic text has *الاوردي* ('*urdī*) which in this case means a unit of mounted bashi-bazouks (see the explanation provided in the subsection on the vocabulary of Ottoman origin in chapter 4.9.1). While the title of *effendi* is commonplace among officers of the regular army, for a soldier from the '*urdī* it is rather exceptional, since the officers of these irregular forces usually lacked the education necessary to be called an *effendi* and had the title of *agha* instead.

### Sample manumission record:

١٤ الحجة سنة ٩٥ صورة اعلام شرعي فقد أعتق رمضان المرّ جاوبش من برنجي أورطة ٥ جي بلوك وفي حال صحة إعتاقه الشرعيّ جميع رقبة مملوكته حليم الحبشية بعد أن اعترفت برقيتها وحررها عن قيد عبوديتها عتقاً صريحاً منجزاً غير معلق ولا مؤقتة حسباً لله لا في مقابلة شيء تقريباً منه إلى الله تعالى فصارت حليمة الآن حرة كسائر الأحرار فيما لهم وعليهم خرجت عن الرقية ولم يبق للمعتق المذكور عليها حق إلا حق الولاء الثابت له عليهم شرعاً أثابه الله على خير الجزيل وكان ذلك نهار الأحد أربعة عشر ذي الحجة سنة ٩٥ بحضرة الشهود كل الحاج خليفة نشنبروا من هرر وعليّ أبو دواب من أحد برنجي أورطة ٥ جي بلوك والله خير الشاهدين وهو الباقي بعد فنا خلقه وتحرير هذا الاعلام نهار الأحد أربعة عشر الحجة سنة ألف ومائتين وخمسة وتسعين وقد تحصل رسوم ذلك مبلغ قدره خمسة غروش ٥

14 [Dū] al-ḥiḡḡa in the year 95

Copy of a legal ruling

Ramaḍān al-Murr a sergeant in the 1st battalion's 5th company being legally fit to do so, manumitted his Ethiopian slave Ḥalīma after she admitted to be his slave. He freed her from the shackles of slavery by an act of unambiguous, final, unconditional and permanent manumission, not in exchange for anything, seeking through this act the favour of God Almighty. Thus, Ḥalīma became free with the same rights and obligations as the rest of the free people. She left slavery and no power over her remains to her manumitter except for the power of guardianship guaranteed to him by law. May God reward him for his most generous deed. This happened on Sunday 14th Dū al-ḥiḡḡa [in the] year 95 in the presence of witnesses the ḥāḡḡ Ḥalīfa NŠNBRW' [1] from Harar and 'Alī Dawwāb from the 1st battalion's 5th company and God is the best of witnesses and he remains after his creations perish. The present copy was drawn up on Sunday 14th Dū al-ḥiḡḡa [in the] year one thousand two hundred and ninety five. The clerical fees for this amounting to five *ḡirš* were collected.

#### Notes:

[1] the ١ [W'] at the end of the name is most probably to be pronounced as a long *ū* since the *alif* at the end of the word is likely *alif al-wiqāyah*, which is purely orthographical.

## Bibliography

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Digital copies of manuscripts held by the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa digitised as part of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project using a grant from the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme and available for research via the Programme's website:

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IES 961, Records of marriage contracts signed in Harar during the Egyptian occupation available at: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP286-1-1-128>

IES 962, 1. Records of the *šarī'a* court of Harar during the Egyptian occupation 2. Records of marriage contracts signed in Harar during the Egyptian occupation available at: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP286-1-1-129>.

All of the illustrations used in this thesis are excerpts from the digital copies mentioned above.

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The documents studied in this book are a true treat for linguists, historians and researchers of culture. Provided with a carefully researched historical background, commentaries, notes and a large bibliography, they make for a very useful read – revealing and informative on the one hand and indicating new research possibilities on the other hand.

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The book *Civil status documents from Harar under Egyptian Administration 1875-1885* is the first study of the documents created during the Egyptian occupation of the city of Harar which are held by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University. The author continues his research on the documents and is currently preparing a full edition and translation into English.

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