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## **The Cult Of Muslim Saints In Harar: Religious Dimension**

**Emile Foucher**

Within the walls of Harar and its close vicinity, there is such a remarkable concentration of shrines that the old city well deserves to be called "the town of the Saints". Harar is well known as such in the Muslim world; for example, in Azerbaijan a Harari was asked many questions about Harar, his birth-place. Harar is designated as "Madinat al-*Awliya* ", *Awliya* being the plural of *wali*, a saint, a friend of God, as in "The friends of *Allah*, *awliya* Allah".

### **Origin of this Designation**

There is a story that Mohammed, the Prophet, in his "Mi 'radj", his nocturnal ascension to Heaven, saw a very luminous spot shining from the earth. He then asked the angel Gabriel (Jibril) who was accompanying him what this spot was. The latter replied that it was coming from the "Mount of the Saints", "Jebel al-*Awliya* ". According to a Harari interpretation this could but mean the city of Harar. In fact, Harar, is located in the midst of hills strewn with hillocks such as "Dini Gobena" (the knoll of religion) also called "Dini Agobara" (the shining religion). It is a large rock whence one can see everywhere, the place where according to a legend where the first conversion to Islam took place (Qur'an X, 62).[1]

One could go on elaborating about this local tradition or reject it, not without reason, considering it is not based on any known "hadith".

### **Islam and the Cult of the Saints**

Wishing to put an end to polytheism and pagan practices, Islam at the beginning took a firm stand against erecting tombstones or mausoleums on the grave of the dead, as was the custom in pre-Islamic times. However, quite early in Islam, one notes that requests and supplications were addressed by the believers to their dead. Thus, according to Alfred Bell [2], whose Arabian source I could not ascertain, a drought occurred in Medina soon after the Prophet's death. 'Aisha, one of the Prophet's wives, ordered that an opening facing upwards to the sky be made on the tomb of the Prophet. That being done, the rain followed.

As time went on and with the help of popular stories narrating miraculous interventions which struck the imagination, the first four Caliphs, the Prophet's companions, other famous persons honoured in earlier Islam, some "sufis", local saints canonized by popular choice, numerous holy women, and even common people became powerful intercessors and benefactors.

Periodically, the political or religious Islamic power reacted against these popular practices. They opposed "the cult of the saints" which, was believed to mediate between God and the believers. In Saudi Arabia, the *Wahhabite* authorities ruthlessly suppressed the practices and tore down the tombs and mausoleums where saints were venerated. It was to avoid equating the *Wali* to God, that

the mere mention of it was forbidden. At Jeddah, which means grandmother, in the Ammariah district, there are no more remnants of the former mausoleum, dedicated to "Eva", the Grandmother. But in spite of this, the site remains alive in the memory of the old folks and many more *qubbi* which were destroyed remain alive, the cult being practiced in secret.

*How to explain this phenomenon* which persists in the Arab and Muslim world, in the Maghrib more so than in Harar?

In Islam, as in Christianity, one can distinguish two levels: pure Islam and popular and traditional Islam[3]. However, one should not oppose the two: Faith and religion, Koran and religious practices. The *Wali* are figures and religious models suitable for adapting the religion to the culture. They facilitate the integration of religious values, and avoid the stumbling block of a "pure" faith. It is a well known fact that the cult of the saints helps in deepening and strengthening one's religious feelings. People are strongly inclined to this way of expressing their religious feelings by giving them a certain experience of divine reality. The "initial message" has always a critical function in regard to certain religious representations, which are inconsistent with faith. Ibn' Arabi, one of the Sufis dear to Islam, trusted this popular Islam. He himself never gave up his popular roots. He wanted instead to transform them without, in the meantime, cutting loose his ties with earthly and human values [4]

It does not seem that the *religious sense* of the Muslim derives only from his religion. This religious sense has deeper roots buried in the collective unconscious of mankind. The primitive conscience of man has an innate craving for representing primordial thoughts or archetypes. These thoughts dwell in the collective memory through the use of symbols such as trees, rocks, and incense offerings. A symbol is a language, a media which is used to express the mystery of man, the mystery of divinity, eventually the "Totally Other" whose attributes are thus revealed, felt, sensed through these symbols.

At Harar, one believes that this religious sense sprung from the pre-Islamic religion practiced by the Harla people before they were converted to Islam most probably by Ismael Jeberti[5]. This was well understood by Harari Islam when its missionaries set forth to Islamicise the south and the west of Ethiopia. These "Asmadina", as they were called, were natives of the "quarter" of the Shoagate [6]. They crossed the "Asmadin Ber" (our present Shoa Ber) to go and spread Islam to the region as far as the "kingdoms beyond the Gibe[7]".

According to Braukamper [8], Islamic missionaries started their activities in the vicinity of pagan sanctuaries by a slow process of transformation of traditional religious practices and beliefs and integrating them into an Islamic framework. The veneration of saints fits into patterns of pre-Islamic beliefs and practices. By stressing the intermediating position of the "*awliya*" it helps to bridge the gap between man and God. It provides the believers with a more concrete access to Allah. The deeply-rooted ancestor cult can smoothly be substituted by a kind of veneration which is acceptable to Islam. What had formerly been offered to the ancestors at holy places of the pagan past, such as holy trees (*oda bultum*), are now considered votives, given in fulfillment of a vow to Islamic saints. Many sanctuaries of the old folk religion have thus been transformed into Muslim ones.

In a more down-to-earth manner, conversions to Islam occurred often through matrimonial or marital alliances. In this regard Trimmingham[9] states: "A Muslim saint of noble Arab ancestry settles among a pagan tribe and is told by the Prophet in a dream that he is the chosen instrument of its conversion. Inspired by this vision he proves the power of Allah through the miracles he performs and gains the recognition of the chief and of the people. He marries the daughter of the

chief and his son inherits the chieftainship of the tribe. Thus by peaceful means the whole tribe goes over to Islam". We should bear in mind that some *awliya* established themselves in this way.

### ***Awliya***

The *Awliya* are numerous in Harar. One does not know their exact number, nobody having ever counted them, this being an arduous and time-consuming undertaking. Once in a while, written or oral folkloric legends (songs, *zikri*) speak about their deeds, but, most of the time, only their names are remembered. If their names are unknown they are referred to as *aw Huddun (khuddun)*, meaning hidden or covered. A *wali* unwilling to give his name used to say, "I am covered". The late Sheikh Gatur knew a thousand of them from the Harar region. Abdul Mumein Nasser's grandmother - women are the ones keeping most faithfully Harari memory - said that in town there were as many saints as the number of days in the year. In the known registered listing one counts at least about fifteen women (Ai).

To ask for the protection of a *wali* is not in principle contrary to Islam. A *wali* must be honoured and respected during his lifetime and after his death as well except, it goes without saying, in Saudi Arabia.

The saints are men believed to have been especially favoured by God during their earthly lives and who continue after death to provide a link between God and the material world. Once dead they become more fully endowed with supernatural power and the local centre or focus of that power are the tombs, which the dead are believed to inhabit. They are the holders of a mysterious power called *baraka* used for the benefit of the faithful. Of course this force springs from Allah and does not stand against the monotheist faith.

The dead visit other places where they make their presence known by appearing to the believer in a dream or a vision. This is called *maqam* (place of standing). It is a memorial built in order not to forget the place where they made themselves known. Furthermore, the saint could be seen at once in many places. This explains why in Harar and its vicinity one finds numerous fictitious tombs, or *qubbi*, such as that in honour of 'Abd el-Qadir Jilani, called the sultan of the *awliya*. He possessed 40 lives and stayed in many different places without needing any nourishment[10] Kabir Khalil, who lived in Harar in the last century, was seen at the same time by the believers in 30 different mosques while he was ,presiding over prayers.

### **The Cult Sites: Monuments and Practices**

#### ***Qubbi and Tombs***

Most of the cult sites are plain-looking tombs. Some are better built, either out of stone or cement. They can be identified by incense burners (*girgira*) set at their bases, such as Sherif Hussein's. Some *qubbi* are conical in shape, white washed or green painted mausoleums, cupola-shaped stone buildings. There are about 30 of them within as well as without the ramparts. Arnir Nur's *qubbi*, near Jogla hospital, is a remarkable and impressive one.

Inside the building a pall-covered catafalque rises above the saint's tomb. Some tombs contain the buried remains of a *wali* while others, empty fictive graves, recall just the memories of Ahmed Gagn, Muhaz Bin-Jebel known in Harar as Geshangesh, the famous mystic buried in Gagdad or elsewhere such as 'Abd el-Qadir Jilani, Abu Yazid, Ibrahim Atham Sham Negashi and so on ... Some buildings have no cupolas, the saint having expressed the wish not to have any.

The cupola erected against his will tumbled down at night having been blown away by the wind. Sheikh Mohammed Halef at Aw Izzin's graveyard near Fellana Ber has no roof, allowing the *wali* to communicate directly with heaven, as someone told me.

### **Rocks**

A dozen rocks, large or small, recall the memory of a *Wali* who lived nearby or passed by the place. Incense is constantly burning at Sherif Huddun rock (Sanga Ber). At Jinfugala rock (Budda Ber) the *wali* used to put his walking stick against it. Some rocks keep the trace of the foot-steps of a saint, such as Aw Negus near Kombolcha. On Mount Hakim, "Barcuma Abadir" (Abadir's seat) is a stool-shaped stone. It is believed that Abadir used to sit there whenever he was travelling by.

### **Trees**

The tree symbolizes life. A score of them recall the memory of a saint. These are mostly shola (*ficus* tree), oda (*ficus* tree), kurkura (*lote* tree, lotus of mi 'rad} ), *wenza*, *dembi* (Adare, *zibi*, Amh. *zemat*). Some are multicentarian. They often remind us the action of a *wali* - he might have sat under the tree to rest or to pray. If the grave has disappeared the tree recalls its former location. Trees were planted near a saint's tomb to offer needed shade to believers. Some trees are so old that their roots entwine the tomb itself, as is the case at Aw Multan, Aw Ansar Ahmed, and Ai Abida. Sometimes people will refrain from felling the tree or cutting its branches out of respect for a saint, as seen at Aw Sufi.

### **Incense**

Incense plays an important part in the veneration of the saints. Incense burners (earthen pot, *girgira*) are laid down at the foot of trees, tombs and rocks. I noticed incense sticks (*agerbetti*) burning to honour Sherif Musa (Budda Ber).

Most religions make use of incense with the same symbolic meaning - to associate man's plea or prayers to the Divinity.

In Harar, incense is believed to keep away and dissipate bad influences and attract good ones. When a woman drops incense in the burner she utters the following invocation, "Oh, Allah through the goodness of this *wali*, grant me such a favour or keep away this calamity. May the blessing and mercy of Allah rest on this *wali* and may He be favourable to him". Wherever an important *wali* is venerated people make sure that incense is consistently burning there. Many women through devotion burn incense at home every evening. If they forget, strange noises will be heard until they resume their daily activities - a *wali* is claiming his due.

### **Vows**

The purpose of visiting *awliya* is to seek the saint's favour or help. For example, a childless woman will visit Aw Multan, also called Abba Duberti (woman), in order to get a child; an unmarried girl will visit his tomb under an old *wenza* tree near Babile Bottling plant to obtain a husband. Sometimes people tie rags around the branches or trunk of the tree to keep the saint mindful of the devotee's request, as in Ai Abida. If women honour the grave of Ai Imaj (Erer Ber), they will receive better clothes and better bread.

When a prayer has been fulfilled, votive offerings must be made, otherwise the blessing will recoil on the votary as a curse. Animals, oxen most of the time, are the objects of offerings. The sacrificial victim, a male as a rule, is slaughtered by the offerer at the doorstep of the shrine. However, at Sherif Dabana's shrine it is the custom to sacrifice a she-camel, more valuable than an ox because it is a sign of fertility (abundance). This type of sacrifice is to ask for abundant rain during the sowing-time whenever the rain is lacking.

### **Saints and Wild Animals**

Saints - Francis of Assisi to mention one - have power over animals. This is true also for some *walis* in Harar. The saint who has achieved complete self control over his passions, his emotions, his desires gains purity of heart. He restores the primitive harmony between himself and nature. A sufi was reported to have said with honour, "When I sin, I notice it in the mode and behaviour of my donkey"[11].

A *wali* who lived near the Erer Ber disappeared one day. Was he dead or alive, nobody knew for certain. After a while, he reappeared on the eve of Ashura, mounted on a hyena, thence his nickname *waraba* (in Adare, hyena) Sheikh.

Sheikh Hashim went up to the mountain to split some wood. He loaded it on an elephant and tied up the wood with a snake and a python[12]. 'Umer Din rode on the back of an old lion, while his son Prince Ishak rode a young one.[13].

### **Patronymic Saints**

The saints lived in their own times, each of them endowed with special charisma granted to them, not according to personal merit but out of God's beneficent favour. They were helping and protecting those who were imploring them in such and such circumstances. Their "Baraka" is not only different with respect to its intensity, but also to a specialization of competences and functions.

Popular belief has tended to specialize the various saints, some having the power of performing particular miracles, such as curing diseases. Thus Aw Faries had the gift of curing broken limbs. Some saints are notably powerful in granting rain (*istika*), others in ameliorating the fertility of women, herds, crops, still others in protecting enterprises, such as journeys, commercial activities, etc.

Some saints are honoured in two locations, and others in more than two. There are mobile saints who are always on the move and are present wherever and whenever believers need their help. Examples are Aw Khazeer, the saint of the day, and Aw Lailylas (Laily Iiyas); the saint of the night.

There are *stationary saints*. It is customary to invoke the help of the 36 or 16 saints whose names we give in Appendix I before sowing. Here are some other examples.

If you wish to get *meat*, to pray Aw Debena,

If you wish to get *chat* call on Aw Werika or Aw Zekeгна (Zelkernayien, two horns, a legendary king of Harar).

Garad Abogn is the patron of water, springs, rivers.

Sheikh Aslah-din, of mashilla (Sorghum.)

Sheikh Sazali, of coffee etc.

Sheikh Amin, of the shepherds.

Kaftchor sheikh of *locusts* or grasshoppers.

Nijat sheikh, of honey, bees etc ...

Each gate has its own saint.

Each day of the week, as well, has its own saint Ahmed Abu Taj for Tuesday etc. When something is lost one prays to Aw Rukhub, or more likely to Badi Abadir, between the Harar gate and Berbere gate.

If theft has been committed, one goes to Sheikh Finina near Amaressa. His intervention seems efficacious. The thief fears him for he is cursed until death if he does not return the stolen property.

## **Annual "Pilgrimages" in Honour of the Awliya**

### **Sefer Fetah**

Every year, during the month of *sefer*, the second month of the Islamic year, women meet around many *awliya*. These meetings generally take place on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays - sometimes three consecutive Mondays as at Sheikh Habid. On Tuesdays and Wednesdays they stay until noon, on Thursdays until the evening when they have a meal. [A basket is at hand to receive coins, another one for grain.] They sing the *zikri*. Some women roast *dura.fendisha* (a kind of popcorn), they boil *nufro* (grain), they prepare *ashara* (decoction of coffee shells), *qutti* (decoction of coffee leaves) while men recite some ten chapters of the Qur'an in the nearby mosque or in its vicinity.

### **Serf Qur'an**

During the month of August when the *serfi* Qur'an takes place (*serfi* corresponds to a lunar cycle), a group of men to whom the poor will join to be fed, go from *wali* to *wali*. This is performed in a well-defined star pattern. It starts at Sheikh Abadir where the Qur'an will be read during three consecutive days, and will end at Sheikh Hashim. At each station a chapter of the Qur'an is recited. In four *awliya* only Chapter 30 is recited, for the other chapters have already been read by the neighbours.

It is worth mentioning as a characteristic of Harari life that the 114 surats of the Qur'an are divided into 30 chapters, each chapter comes as a separate booklet.

While on the *awliya* the whole chapter is read, at Aw Hakim and at Aw Khalid only half of the 22nd chapter is recited, because these two *awliya* declared, one says, that they would be satisfied with half a chapter (cf. Appendix II).

### **Serfi Mawlid**

*Serfi* Mawlid occurs at Mawlid, the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed. First of all people meet at Sheikh Abadir where the whole text is read, followed by the names of the 114 *awliya*, which must be visited. 114 is the number of the surah of the Qur'an. The same procedure takes place in each *wali*. It takes about two hours and half to read the Mawlid. This book praises the life of the Prophet. Most Harari families own a copy of it. Then people go to Ali Hamdogn at the Magala Guddo. There, people divide into two groups of 6 to 7 members each, namely the one of the "Lower Town" and the one of the "Upper Town". The visits to the *awliya* take place on Mondays and Thursdays of each week during a period of 6 to 7 months. In some *awliya*, the visits take place, instead of on Mondays, on Wednesdays 8 times, or on Saturdays, once or on Sundays 6 times. In

any case the visits should be completed at the latest before the beginning of Ramadan. On the site of the *awliya* people share food brought by neighbours. The left-over is taken home.

The yearly "pilgrimages" of Sefer Fetah, Serfi Qur'an, and Serfi Mawlid have been observed in Harar since time immemorial, the origin being unknown. People feel obliged to observe these practices lest calamities such as drought, famine etc. occur (cf. APPENDIX III A-B).

### Conclusion

Supplications concerning earthly, materialistic problems by far exceed those of spiritual character. Harari Islam, in its popular expression of venerating its saints and rendering a cult to their shrines, is, it seems to me, at the heart and an integral part of the culture and history of the walled city of Harar. The cult of the saints with its numerous shrines and religious traditions is certainly one of the major factors, which raises the pride of the Harari people for its own cultural values. An important part of Harari's self-identity derives from a rich historical and religious past commemorated and actualized by the presence of and the respect for its *awliya*, the city's fathers, or *awach*, as they are called.

Although the cult of saints may not be acceptable to a strict and fundamentalist orthodoxy it is, on the whole, generally regarded as a relevant means for Islamization, as well as for the strengthening of the Islamic faith.

### Notes

1. S. Waldron, Social organisation and social control of the walled city of Harar (Columbia, 1975), p.19.
2. A. Bel, Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de secheresse, (Alger, 1905), p. 29.
3. C. Guillot, Culle des sainres, (Paris, 1989); Vie Spirituelle, Mars - Avril 1989.
4. Chodkiewicz, Le sceau des saines, Ibn Arabi, Paris 1986; in L 'Express, 14 mars 1986.
5. U. Braukamper, [Islamicization and Muslim Shrines of the Harar Plateau, Addis Ababa University, mimeo, 1980, p. 5.
6. Abdullahi Mohammed, Gates and Walls of Harar, MS 1990.
7. J.S. Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia (London, 1965), p. 206.
8. Braukamper, op.cit., p. 9.
9. Trimingham, op, cit, p. 149.
10. Braukamper, op.cit, p. 19.
11. E Damenghem, Le culte des saints dans l' Islam maghrebin, (Paris, 1954), p. 77.
12. W. Leslau, Ethiopians Speak, Harari (Berkeley ,1965), p. 188.
13. E. Wagner, Legend und Gesehichte der Fath Madinat Harar (ZDMG, 1978), p. 74.

## **APPENDIX I**

In the field, before starting sowing, the recitation of Al Fatiha (Surah I) is then followed by the invocation of the following saints: (I have two lists of names),

### **A - 1. From Haji Ibrahim Sherif**

- Faqih Yonis
- Aw Hassen al Basri
- Aw Arawacia
- Imam Ahmed
- Aw Sheikh Ahmid
- Shreif 'Umer
- Aw Taifu
- Ai Ashasha Sheikh
- Aw Jimo
- Aw Gidaya
- Aw Ali Baal
- Aw Mujahid
- Sheikh Ahmed bin Alwan
- Ai Sheikh (?) Zenab
- Sheikh Abdul Menen
- Aw Shreif 'Umer
- Sheikh Osman Sebros
- Aw Hassen
- Sheikh Berkhedly
- Sheikh Ahmid bin Mekka
- Aw Abdosh Sheikh
- Sheikh Abdel Qadir
- Sheikh Abdul Karim
- Sheikh Ahmid
- Sheikh Aboker
- Aw Sherif Abdi Nur
- Sheikh Batu
- Aw Garad Nasir
- Sheikh Abdurahman
- Sheikh Haji Faj
- Aw Debelugn
- Ai Gistiash
- Sheikh Shibli
- Aw Ahmed Negash
- Aw Ahmed Assed

### **B-2. From Abdussamed Yusuf**

- Aw Digdig Suleiman
- Sheikh Abadir
- Khadir Ahmed
- Sherif Maltan
- Ai Sultan

- Aw Hassen Mohammed
- Ai Fatuma Mahumud
- Sherif Ja'afer
- Nur Hussein
- Aw Arabi Nur
- Sherif' Abas
- Aw Ali Musa
- Sherif Zerbita
- Aw May 'Umer Shekh
- Aw Faqih Mohammed
- Ahmed Mohammed Jinfugala

## APPENDIX II (SERFI QUR' AN)

### Reading

Sheikh Abadir	the whole Qur'an
Ali Hamdogn	chapter 1
Aw Said Ali	chapter 2
Amir Nur	chapter 3
Sofi Salah	chapter 4
Aw Ahmed Izzin	chapter 5
Aw Rallez	chapter 6
Saram Bara	chapter 7
Amir Ali	chapter 8
Amir Abdullahi	chapter 9
Gisti Kurnsama	chapter 10
Amir Abu Beker	chapter 11
Aw Baal Sheikh	chapter 12
Aw Dumbulal	chapter 13
Aw Sheikh Halef	chapter 14
Aw khadir Abogn	chapter 15
Aw Hamid	chapter 16
Aw Abadir Sheikh Osman	chapter 17

### Reading

Aw Bezah	chapter 18
Aw Sherif Yonis	chapter 19
Aw Hakim	chapter 20 ( ½ )
Aw Khalid Sheikh	chapter 20 ( ½ )
Imam Ahmed	chapter 21
Aw Shullum Ahmed	chapter 22
Aw Abdal	chapter 23
Aw Werika	chapter 24
Ai Abida	chapter 25
Aw Sherif Sheikh	chapter 26

Imam 'Umerdin	chapter 27
Aw Billalij	chapter 28
Aw Barsor	chapter 29
Aw Mashad 'Umer	chapter 30
Sheikh Buba Abramo	chapter 30
Aw <i>Wali</i> Wersemo	chapter 30
Aw Negus	chapter 30
Sheikh Hashim	the whole Qur'an

### **APPENDIX III A - (SERFI MAWILD)**

#### **A - The Upper Town's (badda) group.**

Monday, Sheikh Abadir  
 Thursday, Ali Hamdogh  
 Monday, Umar Ziad  
 Wednesday, Arnir Atham  
 Thursday, Wali Hashim  
 Monday, Aw Izzin  
 Thursday, Garawle  
 Monday, Arnir Nur  
 Thursday, Imam Ahmed  
 Monday, Aw Idal  
 Thursday, Sofi Saleh  
 Sunday, Said Ali Hamdogh  
 Monday, Kadir Abogn  
 Thursday, Aw Khalid  
 Monday, Sherif Sheikh  
 Thursday, Sherif Sheikh Tawil  
 Monday, Sheikh Hashim  
 Thursday, Said Mohammed  
 Monday, Sheikh Finin  
 Sunday, Sheikh Sadiq  
 Wednesday, Aw Watley  
 Thursday, Aw Assosum  
 Saturday, Aba Yonis  
 Thursday - 12<sup>th</sup> Muslim month - Sheikh Jimjim  
 Monday - 1<sup>st</sup> Muslim month - Sheikh 'Umer Almerdih  
 Wednesday - 11<sup>th</sup> Muslim month - Sheikh Negus  
 Monday, Faqih Ahrnid  
 Thursday, Sitti Abida  
 Monday, Billal Lij  
 Thursday, Sheikh Halef  
 Sunday, Adem Hussei  
 Monday, Aw Arawacia  
 Thursday, Abadir Sheikh Osman  
 Monday, Ahmed Negash  
 Thursday, Imam 'Umerdin  
 Monday, Aw Barsor

Thursday, Sheikh Buba Abraham  
Monday, Mashad Sherif Thursday, Baal Sheikh  
Sunday, Sa'adadin  
Monday, Aw Aboker  
Thursday, Mahi Sheikh  
Monday, Aw Mohammed  
Wednesday, Aw Abelal  
Thursday, Aw Anis  
Sunday, Garad Abogn  
Monday, Sheikh 'Umer  
Thursday, Sehikh Ibrahim  
Monday, Said Hakim  
Thursday, Abu Yazid el-Bistami  
Monday, Haj Faj  
Wednesday, Badi Abadir  
Thursday, Shillia  
Monday, Sofi Yahya  
Thursday, Berkhadley  
Ali Monday, Abdel Qadir Jilani  
Thursday, Arab Lij  
Monday, Aw Sabra  
Thursday, Aw Osman Hordahum

**APPENDIX III B - (SERFI MAWLID)**  
**B- The Lower Town's (qalla) group.**

Sheikh Abadir  
Sheikh Ali Hadogn  
Thursday Sofi Yahya  
Monday Abu Hureira  
Thursday Abdel Qadir Jilani  
Monday Aw Limay  
Thursday Aw Digdig  
Monday Ali Afeef  
Thursday Sherif Debana  
Monday Aw Beshir  
Thursday Aw 'Umer Ziad  
Monday Sheikh Abdurahman  
Wednesday Aw Musa  
Thursday Aw Abdal  
Monday Shullum Ahmed  
Wednesday Aw Abur  
Thursday Aw Arsamey  
Monday Aw Zerita  
Thursday Aw Ahmed Izzin  
Monday Ai Abida  
Sheikh Thursday Anmir Nur  
Sunday Said Ali

Monday Aw Sherir' Nur  
Thursday Aw Meshad  
Monday Aw Imam 'Umerdin  
Wednesday Aw Ahmed Negash  
Thursday Aw Multan .  
Monday Aw Mujahidin  
Thursday Aw Hakim  
Monday Arabi Nur  
Wednesday Abadir Sheikh Osman  
Thursday Sherif Halef  
Monday Aw Maya Umer Sheikh .  
Aw Sebro  
Aw Debana  
Aw Abdul Rahim  
Negus Habib  
Hadir Ahmed  
Aw Sherif Sheikh  
Aw Sherif Halef  
Aw Sherif Sheikh  
Amir Atham  
Sheikh Hashim  
Amir Abdal  
Aw Beshir  
Sheikh Hussein  
Aw Yassin  
Aw Wali Naser  
Aw Salihin  
Aw Ahhal  
Aw Fersha Ham  
Aw Qalehet  
Aw Mohammed  
(two names are missing)