



Aethiopia 20 (2017)

International Journal of Ethiopian and
Eritrean Studies

ADDAY HERNÁNDEZ LÓPEZ, Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional
Studies, University of Copenhagen

Article

*Transfer of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century Muslim Ethiopia: The Li-
brary of al-Šayḥ al-Ḥāğğ Ḥabīb from Wällo*

Aethiopia 20 (2017), 106–128

ISSN: 1430-1938

Edited in the Asien-Afrika-Institut
Hiob Ludolf Zentrum für Äthiopistik
der Universität Hamburg
Abteilung für Afrikanistik und Äthiopistik

by Alessandro Bausi

in cooperation with

Bairu Tafla, Ulrich Braukämper, Ludwig Gerhardt,
Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg and Siegbert Uhlig

Transfer of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century Muslim Ethiopia: The Library of *al-Šayḥ al-Ḥāğğ Ḥabīb* from Wällo*

ADDAY HERNÁNDEZ LÓPEZ, Department of Cross-Cultural and
Regional Studies, University of Copenhagen

Introduction

The introduction and spread of Islam in Ethiopia has been studied in general terms by scholars such as J. Spencer Trimingham and Joseph Cuoq,¹ but since then other scholars have focused on analysing the diffusion of the traditionally marginalized Muslim heritage in Ethiopia through the study of specific aspects. This is the case of Hussein Ahmed, whose contributions are essential for an understanding of Islamic culture in Ethiopia.² In the last decades, research on Muslim culture in Ethiopia carried out by both indigenous and foreign scholars has increased, as demonstrated by the numerous contributions in Arabic and in other languages and by the growing number of theses on Islamic texts defended at Addis Ababa University.³

Until now, only a small group of Arabists and Ethiopianists such as Enrico Cerulli and Ewald Wagner have employed Ethiopian Islamic written production as a source for the study of Ethiopian Islam.⁴ Over the last few years, the academic community has paid more attention to this kind of material. For example, Alessandro Gori has worked extensively on Ethiopian Islamic texts and his interest in them sparked the project Islam in the Horn

* This article presents the results of research carried out as part of the project Islam in the Horn of Africa: A Comparative Literary Approach (IslHornAfr), funded by the European Research Council Advanced Grant no. 322849, 2013–2018, PI Alessandro Gori. For more information on the project see <http://www.islhornafr.eu/>.

¹ Trimingham 1952; Cuoq 1981.

² See for instance Hussein Ahmed 2001, 2005a, 2005b.

³ On the bibliography of works concerning Islam in Ethiopia produced from 1952 to 2002, see Hussein Ahmed 2005c. An overview of more recent publications up to 2009 was presented in Hussein Ahmed 2009.

⁴ See Cerulli 1971; Wagner 1983, 1989.

of Africa: A Comparative Literary Approach (IslHornAfr).⁵ The aim of this project is to locate and catalogue Islamic manuscripts copied between the late eighteenth and the early twentieth century in diverse parts of the Horn of Africa.

The elaboration of the present contribution was motivated by the discovery of certain data during the cataloguing of Arabic manuscripts kept in the collections of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) in Addis Abāba. The cataloguing was done within the project IslHornAfr.

According to some of the ownership statements found in these codices, seven manuscripts in this collection were owned by the same scholar, a certain *ṣayḥ* named Ḥabīb, who studied and commented on them.⁶

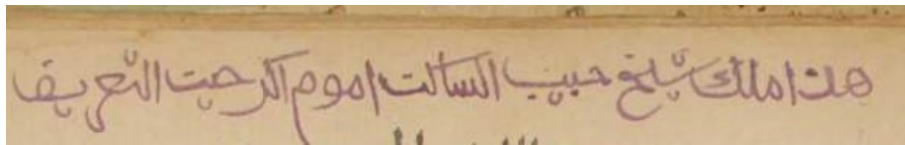


Fig. 1 Ownership statement of IES05517 ('This is property of *al-Ṣayḥ* Ḥabīb who lives in Amuma *agär*').

I will use the case of this particular scholar (*al-Ṣayḥ* Ḥabīb) to draw conclusions about the Islamic educational and academic curriculum in Ethiopia at the beginning of the twentieth century. Ḥabīb's manuscripts provide us with information about the texts and influences in his own scholarly background, and can shed new light on the cultural and intellectual traditions of Muslim Ethiopia in general. In the first part of this article I will describe *al-Ṣayḥ al-Hāḡḡ* Ḥabīb and his literary 'universe' following the information found in his manuscripts. The description of these manuscripts will be addressed in a second section, followed by two appendices that contain the titles included in Ḥabīb's codices.

⁵ See for instance Gori 2008, 2010. For further contributions within the project see Gori 2015a, 2015b.

⁶ Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University, Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Arabic collection, 5517, 4624, 4667, 4668, 4672, 4674, and 5506, respectively IES05517, IES04624, IES04667, IES04668, IES04672, IES04674, and IES05506 in the IslHornAfr catalogue. This collection (IES) has been digitized by the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project directed by Steve Delamarter. The general content of these manuscripts and their physical description can be found in Gori et al. 2014, 70–74. The images in this article appear courtesy of Professor Steve Delamarter.

1 *Al-Šayḥ al-Ḥāğğ Ḥabīb*

The only initial clue about the identity of this scholar is his name, Muḥammad Ḥabīb, and his hometown, a place called Amuma. Ḥabīb's biography in *Kitāb Īqāz Himam al-Ağbiyā* reveals additional information: he was a Sufi *walī* (friend of God, saint, mystic) from Amuma *agär*, a village located in Qallu.⁷ Qallu is an extensive principality in southern Wällo, whose main activity was long-distance trade.⁸ A death record in one of his manuscripts indicates that he passed away on 15 Šafar 1373 H/24 October 1953 CE.

Wällo is a historical province in north-eastern Ethiopia, where individuals and families from Ḥiğāz and Yemen settled between the seventh and eleventh centuries CE. Among them were traders and preachers who contributed to the spread of Islam in the area. The name 'Wällo' comes from one of the Oromo groups who settled in the region around the sixteenth century and who assimilated into the Amhara population by adopting the language. However, some scholars maintain that the Oromo kept part of their own identity by following Islam, which was seen as an ideology of resistance against the Christian state.⁹ After cycles of expansion, consolidation, and decline of Islam, Wällo, like other provinces of Ethiopia, underwent a revival of this religion thanks to the expansion of the mystical orders during the first half of the nineteenth century,¹⁰ during which Muslims actively produced manuscripts. *Al-Šayḥ Ḥabīb*'s manuscripts constitute a valuable source of information about Islamic works circulating in this region after the Islamic revival.

Al-Walī al-Šayḥ al-Ḥāğğ Muḥammad Ḥabīb was considered to be a pious and righteous Muslim, respected by both the common people and the elite. Ḥabīb is said to have possessed some of the divine gifts often attributed to Muslim saints, such as the disclosure of the extra-phenomenal world (*kašf*), as well as physiognomic vision (*firāsa*), a technique of divination that employs physical indications to foretell moral conditions and psychological behaviours. He is also said to have cultivated and spread the Islamic sciences by teaching and copying books.

Ḥabīb was a Sufi, possibly a *qādirī*, since the authors he refers to are often affiliated to this Sufi order (*tarīqa*). His interest in Ibn ʿArabī (d.638 H/1240

⁷ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 2005, 297–298. *Kitāb Īqāz Himam al-Ağbiyā* is a work on biographies of Ethiopian ʿulamāʾ and *awliyāʾ*; for more information on this work and its author, see Hussein Ahmed 2005b, 175–179; 'Muḥammad Walī b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar', *EAE*, III (2007), 1061b–1062b (Hussein Ahmed).

⁸ See Hussein Ahmed 2001, 126.

⁹ Mohammed Hassen 1992, 82–86.

¹⁰ Hussein Ahmed 2001, 30, 58–59.

CE), however, could indicate that he was an *akbarī*, that is to say that he followed *al-Šayḥ al-Akbar* Ibn ʿArabī in the field of metaphysics.¹¹

Islamic jurisprudence was Ḥabīb’s main concern. Six of his seven manuscripts contain *fiqh* (Islamic law) works, and even in the only manuscript that features theology-related works, it is possible to find some quotations from juridical texts. The preference for Islamic law may be a general trend in the Ethiopian Islamic literary tradition, as *fiqh*-related disciplines seem to play a more prominent role than prophetic traditions or Qurʾanic exegesis, at least in the general corpus of manuscripts catalogued within the project IslHornAfr.

Ḥabīb’s occasional references to works of the Ḥanafī school of law, together with the predominance of the quoted texts of the Šāfiʿī school, might have the aim of reinforcing the prevalence of the Šāfiʿī over the Ḥanafī doctrine. That would fit the historical reality of the area, since the Ḥanafī school had been predominant in Qallu until the spread of Šāfiʿism fostered by the Sufi orders.¹² Thus, it is perhaps significant that Ḥabīb quotes legal opinions (*fatāwā*) issued by *al-Ḥāğğ* Dāwūd b. Abī Bakr (d.1234 H/1818 or 1819 CE), a Šāfiʿī jurist (*faqīh*) and propagator of the Šāfiʿī doctrine in the district of Dāwway (Qallu, Wällo) at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He is said to have travelled to Zabid to learn Šāfiʿī law. After that, he established a well-known teaching centre in a village named Gaddo.¹³

These references in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts are evidence of the Yemeni influence in Ethiopian Islamic literary production, especially in relation to Islamic jurisprudence, since he quite often refers to Šāfiʿī jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) who either trained or settled in Zabid (Yemen), such as *al-Ḥāğğ* Dāwūd, Sulaymān al-Ahdal (d.1197 H/1783 CE) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī (d.975 H/1567 CE). The migration of Sufi scholars from Yemen to other coastal areas of the Indian Ocean—such as the East African coast and the west coast of India—created transnational scholarly networks which have been studied by several scholars such as Abdul Sheriff and Anne Bang.¹⁴ Roman Loimeier’s book, *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills*, reveals that numerous works that we find in our Ethiopian codices were also found in early-twentieth-century Zanzibar.¹⁵

The fact that Ḥabīb acquired manuscripts containing separate sections of Ibn Ḥağar al-Haytamī’s *Fath al-ğawād* probably means that he was special-

¹¹ I would like to thank Michele Petrone for his advice in this respect.

¹² Hussein Ahmed 2001, 67.

¹³ See Hussein Ahmed 2001, 67, 82, 91, 106, 108, 136, 145.

¹⁴ Abdul Sheriff 2010; Bang 2014.

¹⁵ Loimeier 2009.

ized in the teaching of this work, and he even completed the copying of the text several times. This kind of specialization was typical of the traditional system of education in the Islamic world, in which knowledge of a subject was acquired through learning a specific text. Students used to obtain permission (*iğāza*) from their masters to teach a text or part of a text instead of a whole discipline.¹⁶ However, Ḥabīb's interest in al-Haytamī was not limited to the *Fath al-ğawād*, since he refers to other works composed by al-Haytamī as well as to those of related scholars—for example al-Haytamī's disciple, Zayn al-Dīn b. Ghazzāl al-Malībārī, and the above-mentioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī, with whom he engaged in various polemics.¹⁷ However, it is not possible to determine whether Ḥabīb refers to these scholars because of their relation with al-Haytamī.

Several of the main texts (*ummahāt*) of the Šāfiʿī school of law, as well as their commentaries and glosses, are frequently quoted as marginal notes in Ḥabīb's copies of *Fath al-ğawād*. That is also the case of the commentaries on Yahyā b. Šaraf al-Nawāwī's (d.676 H/1277 CE) *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn*,¹⁸ mainly al-Haytamī's *Tuhfat al-muḥtāğ bi-šarḥ al-Minhāğ*, and the glosses of al-Buğayrimī (d.1221 H/1806 CE) on al-Širbinī's *Iqnāʿ fī ḥall alfāz Abī Šuğāʿ* (*Tuhfat al-ḥabīb ʿalā šarḥ al-Ḥaṭīb*) among others.

In addition to Islamic law, Ḥabīb's preferred subjects were Sufism and theology, but in spite of his knowledge of these three fields, his manuscripts contain no texts authored by him. In relation to theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), Ḥabīb tries to put together perceptions on theological matters of diverse Sufi authors from opposite ends of the Islamic world, probably following ʿAbd al-Ġānī l-Nābulusī's (d.1143 H/1730 CE) model of merging western influences from al-Andalus and Maghreb with eastern influences from Persia and Anatolia.¹⁹ For this purpose, he refers both to Andalusi/Maghribi and to Eastern scholars such as al-Ḥaskafī and al-Nawāwī l-Ġāwī l-Bantanī (d.1316 H/1898 CE), a Malay scholar whose works were widespread in other regions of the eastern coast of Africa.²⁰ Nevertheless, his acceptance of al-Nābulusī's unifying efforts

¹⁶ See Loimeier 2009, 150.

¹⁷ See 'Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī', *EI*² online (2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3179 (C. van Arendonk and J. Schacht), accessed on 14 July 2016.

¹⁸ According to Loimeier, the *Minhāğ al-ṭālibīn* and the commentaries on that central treatise (mainly the *Tuhfa* and the *Nihāya*) are 'the major texts for Šāfiʿī law since the 16th century in most parts of the Indian Ocean'. See Loimeier 2009, 179.

¹⁹ ʿAbd al-Ġānī, *EI*² online (2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0084 (W. A. S. Khalidi), accessed on 4 July 2016.

²⁰ Loimeier 2009, 175, 176, 194, 195, 197.

does not explain why Ḥabīb is one of the few scholars in our corpus who refers to *‘ulamā’* from al-Andalus and North Africa.

There were direct contacts between East and West Africa that could explain the Andalusī/Maghribī influence in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts but in this instance it is more plausible that Ḥabīb came to know this Islamic literary tradition during his stay in Mecca, where he possibly had a teacher from West or North Africa.²¹

One example of the few mentions of authors from al-Andalus/Maghreb is the reference to the scholar al-Maqqarī (= Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū l-‘Abbās al-Andalusī l-Tilimsānī, d.1041 H/1631 CE). I suggested elsewhere that Ḥabīb could have had access to a copy of al-Maqqarī’s *Nafḥ al-tīb*,²² and the present study confirms that he was aware of al-Maqqarī’s production, since one of his manuscripts features al-Nabulūsī’s commentary on a second work by al-Maqqarī, *Idā‘at al-duḡunna*. It is also possible that he only knew of al-Maqqarī’s works through compilations or commentaries composed by other scholars such as al-Nabulūsī.

Regarding references in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts to local production in Arabic, Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar b. ‘Alī l-Šonkī (d.1356 H/1937 CE) is the author whose works are most frequently mentioned. Ibn Ḥaydar was initiated into the Sufi order Qādiriyya by the famous Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī (d.1299 H/1882 CE), and into the Sammāniyya by a grandson of the Sudanese mystic, Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bašīr (d.1239 H/1824 CE); his master *Sayyid* Bušrā Ay Muḥammad was a disciple of the aforementioned *al-Ḥāḡḡ* Dāwūd.²³ Ḥabīb did not copy any of the works of Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar found in his manuscripts, but he seemed interested in acquiring the texts and commenting on them by quoting fragments from well-known Islamic works in the margins—which could be interpreted as an attempt to place Ethiopian Islamic literature in the context of the Islamic literary mainstream. This was a common practice in

²¹ The Islamic Literary Tradition in Sub-Saharan Africa: A New Academic Network is a recently established collaboration between Alessandro Gori (University of Copenhagen) and Shamil Jeppie (Cape Town University), funded by the Danish Ministry of Higher Education and Science. The aim of the network is the identification and analysis of this type of contact. For more information on contact between East and West Africa see Yamba 1995; Birks 1978; Lecocq 2015; Miran 2015.

²² Hernández 2015–2016, 14.

²³ Hussein Ahmed’s article on Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar is the most complete extant source of information on this person, see Hussein Ahmed 2005a, 45–56. A shorter biography of Ibn Ḥaydar can be found in O’Fahey 2003, 52; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 2005, 260–266.

shrines, which were also teaching centres that promoted a tradition of conformity to Sunnī Islam.²⁴

Summarizing, Ḥabīb's codices provide us with an example of Ethiopian Islamic erudition in which works traditionally transmitted in the Horn of Africa are combined with samples of local production in Arabic and rare texts composed in various parts of the Islamic world. Ḥabīb could have gained access to these latter works in Mecca during his pilgrimage.

Some of the works quoted by Ḥabīb are occasionally found in the corpus of manuscripts which is being analysed within the IslHornAfr project, such as al-Nawāwī l-Ġāwī's *al-Timār al-yāni'a*; al-Ḥaṣkafī's (d.1088 H/1677 CE) *al-Durr al-muḥtār* and its commentary by Ibn ʿĀbidīn (d.1258 H/1842 CE), which is considered to be a central reference for legal opinion (*fatwā*) in the Hanafī school of law;²⁵ ʿAzīm b. ʿAbd al-Mağīd al-Bahluwarūʿī's (n.d.) *Tadkirat al-madāhib*; Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Ṣalāt al-muṭalsama*; Ibn Saqqāf's *Tarṣīb al-mustafidīn*. However, only future inquiries into other libraries of Ethiopian ʿulamāʾ will give us an idea of the degree of exceptionality of Ḥabīb's manuscripts.

2 The Manuscripts of *al-Ṣayḥ* Ḥabīb

In the following sections, I will provide a description of the main works copied in Ḥabīb's manuscripts, classifying them according to their content. Each part will be subdivided into 'complete texts' and 'notes in the margins and on loose slips of paper'. Contrary to what is found in the marginalia, the complete texts were largely not copied by Ḥabīb personally, with the exception of IES04672, where he copied the fourth section of *Fatḥ al-ğawād*. He also completed the writing of the second section of the same work in IES04667 (fols 33r–199v).

Ḥabīb's peculiar handwriting eases the identification of the excerpts that he added to the main texts, although it is difficult to ascertain whether he personally chose the quotations, or copied them from the notes in the margins of other manuscripts or printed books. Usually, these notes are marked at the end by the name of the author, or with a word taken from the title of the work from which they have been extracted. Although some markers are just loose letters that are difficult to understand, in most instances the markers help to identify the source. However, not all the sources have been identified. In his

²⁴ See Hussein Ahmed 2001, 94.

²⁵ He studied first Šāfiʿī and later Ḥanafī law. See 'Ibn ʿĀbidīn', *EF*² online (2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3062 (Ed.), accessed on 11 July 2016.

Vademecum, Gacek mentions this type of quotation system in the glosses that use ‘either a catch-title (including the word *šarḥ*, often in the form of a logograph) or catch name or *sigla*.’²⁶

Unfortunately, it is still not known where such systems originated, and it would be necessary to take a look at the marginalia in Islamic manuscripts from other places in order to ascertain whether the same markers are used to quote the same works.

2.1 Juridical Works²⁷

2.1.1 Complete Texts

Among the complete works on jurisprudence included in Ḥabīb’s codices in manuscript IES04624, we find the work *Naṣīḥat al-atfāl wa-buḡyat al-riḡāl* and its abridgement, *Ḥālīṣat al-aqwāl fi ḥall naṣīḥat al-atfāl*, both by Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar b. °Alī l-Šonkī. In these works, the relevance of the concept of intention (*niyya*) is highlighted, and the author recommends not punishing someone who has done something wrong due to ignorance or without intending to.

In Ḥabīb’s codices, we also find a copy of al-Haytamī’s *Faṭḥ al-ḡawād bi-šarḥ al-iršād*, divided into four different parts. Loimeier attributes the authorship of this work to Šihāb al-Dīn b. Ḥamza al-Ramlī l-Anṣārī, but it should be ascribed to Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī (d.973 H/1566 CE). Al-Ramlī wrote another work with the title *Faṭḥ al-ḡawād*, but apparently the latter was a commentary on a *manzūma* composed by Ibn al-°Imād.²⁸

Manuscript IES04674 includes the section on the rituals of Muslim law (*°ibādāt*), comprising the chapters from the beginning of the work to the end of the chapter on the pilgrimage (*bāb fi l-ḥaḡḡ*). Codex IES04667 features text from the chapter on sales (*bāb fi l-bay°*) to the end of the chapter on property found (*bāb fi l-luqta*)—and kept by the person who found it because the owner is unknown.²⁹ Manuscript IES05506 features the third section, from the

²⁶ See Gacek 2009, 116–117.

²⁷ The complete references of these works and their location in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts have been included in Appendix I.

²⁸ See Loimeier 2009, 182; Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 389; Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 679.

²⁹ Manuscript IES04568, which does not belong to *al-Šayḥ* Ḥabīb as far as we know, includes this section as well, and it is the only other copy of an entire section of *Faṭḥ al-ḡawād* in the corpus. However, there are some fragments, quotations and references to this work in the margins of other *fiqh*-related works.

chapter devoted to inheritance (*bāb fi l-farā'id*) to the one concerning expenses (*bāb fi l-nafaqa*). Manuscript IES04672 includes the beginning of the chapter on crimes/offences (*bāb fi l-ḡināyāt*) to the end of the work.

The fourth complete work found in Ḥabīb's manuscripts is the *Fānat al-ṭālibīn 'alā ḥall al-fāz Fatḥ al-mu'in*, namely 'Uṭmān al-Bakrī's (d.1310 H/1892 CE) glosses on Zayn al-Dīn b. Ghazzāl al-Malibārī's (d.974 H/1567 CE)³⁰ *Fatḥ al-mu'in bi-ṣarḥ Qurrat al-'ayn*. In folium 94v, *al-Šayḥ Ḥabīb* added a summarized fragment of a further glossary of the *Fatḥ al-mu'in*, Ibn Saqqāf's *Tarṣīḥ al-mustafīdīn*.

2.1.2 Notes in the Margins and on Loose Slips of Paper

In Ḥabīb's manuscripts, some of the notes relating to Islamic law are marked as having been extracted from basic works such as *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr fi ḡarīb al-ṣarḥ al-kabīr*, which is a dictionary for jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and for certain terms related to the prophetic traditions (*ḥadīṯ*) written by Aḥmad al-Muqrī l-Fayyūmī (d.770 H/1368 CE),³¹ as well as from renowned Šāfi'ī juridical works (listed in Appendix I). Among these, probably the most important is *Minḥāḡ al-ṭālibīn* and some of its commentaries. In addition to *Fatḥ al-ḡawād*, four other works by al-Haytamī are also quoted by Ḥabīb: *Al-Imdād bi-ṣarḥ al-Irṣād*, *Al-Durr al-mandūd fi l-ṣalāt wa-l-salām 'alā ṣāḥib al-maqām al-maḥmūd*, *Al-Zarwāḡir 'an iqtirāf al-kabā'ir*, and *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāḡ bi-ṣarḥ al-Minḥāḡ*.

The most quoted work is *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāḡ bi-ṣarḥ al-Minḥāḡ* and the references to it are marked as '*Tuḥfa*', not only in Ḥabīb's manuscripts, but also in many *fiqh*-related codices found in several collections and copied by different scribes. In the same way, the quotations from *Asnā l-maṭālib ṣarḥ Rawḍ al-ṭālib*, for example, are marked as '*Asnā*'. In cases where the catch title, name or sigla could lead to confusion, there is often more than a single word, as in the case of excerpts from *Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb 'alā ṣarḥ al-Ḥaṭīb*, which are marked as '*Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb*', so as to not to be confused with those taken from the former '*Tuḥfa*'. Figures 2 and 3 present two examples of notes in the margins in *al-Šayḥ Ḥabīb*'s manuscripts: the former is marked as '*Asnā*' and the latter as '*Tuḥfa*'.

³⁰ Not to be confused with Zayn al-Dīn 'A. b. 'A. al-Malibārī (d.928 H/1522 CE).

³¹ It is described by Loimeier for Zanzibar as one of the 'basic works that were not often used and some were practically forgotten after 1964.' Loimeier 2009, 184–185.

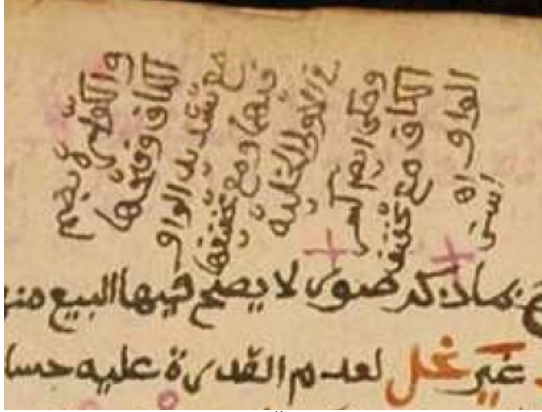


Fig. 2 Marginalia in *al-Šayḥ Ḥabīb's* manuscript IES04667 (fol. 14r). Fragment of *Asnā l-maṭālib šarḥ Rawd al-tālib*.

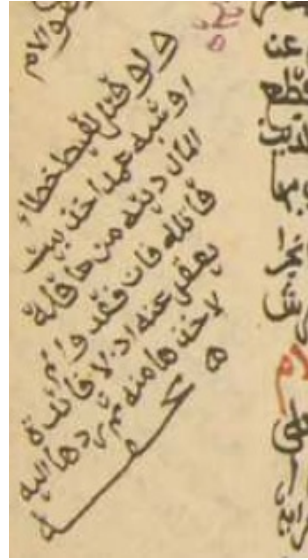


Fig. 3 Marginalia in IES04672 (fol. 44r). Fragment of *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāḡ bi-šarḥ al-Minhāḡ*.

Figures 4 and 5 show examples of fragments of *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāḡ bi-šarḥ al-Minhāḡ* in manuscripts from other collections.³²

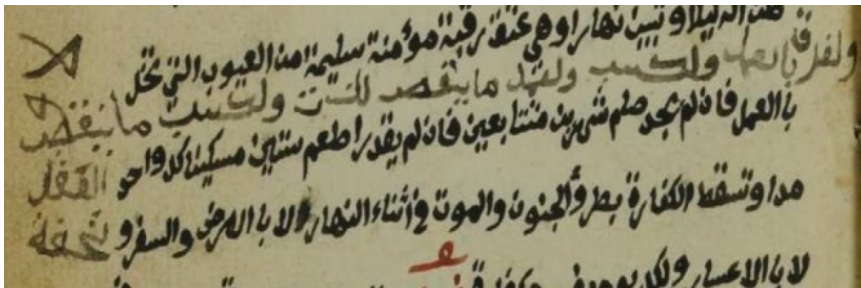


Fig. 4 Fragment of *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāḡ bi-šarḥ al-Minhāḡ* in WEINER00179 (fol. 31r).

³² Picture no. 4 belongs in manuscript California, LA, Library of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, Gerald and Barbara Weiner collection of Ethiopic manuscripts (Arabic section), WEINER00179; it is part of the collection of Gerald and Barbara Weiner, who kindly gave their permission to use it here. It was catalogued by IslHornAfr as WEINER00179. Picture no. 5 is taken from manuscript Limmu, Limmū Ghannat collection, LMG00126 collected and digitized by the IslHornAfr project in Limmu (Ġimma).



Fig. 5 Fragment of *Tuhfat al-muhtāg bi-šarḥ al-Minhāg* in LMG00126 (fol. 1r).

Interestingly, on several occasions, Ḥabīb also refers to Ḥanafī works such as al-Ḥaškafī's *al-Durr al-muhtār šarḥ tanwīr al-abṣār wa-ḡāmi' al-abḥār*, and to a commentary on the work by another at least partially Ḥanafī author, Ibn ʿĀbidīn, entitled *Radd al-muhtār ʿalā l-Durr al-muhtār*. So far no other manuscript of the corpus contains references to these two works. Furthermore, Ḥabīb also mentions Ibn ʿĀbidīn in manuscript IES05517.³³ He also refers to a commentary on the juridical questions (*masā'il*) gathered by Abū l-Layṭ, found in *Qaṭr al-Ġayṭ fī šarḥ masā'il Abī l-Layṭ al-Samarqandī* by al-Nawāwī l-Ġāwī.

Thus, the notes in the marginalia contain references not just to manuals on theoretical jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), but also to legal opinions (*fatāwā*)—a field in which Ḥabīb seems to have been much influenced by Yemeni scholarship, as suggested in the first section of this paper. Some of the notes are extracted from the *Buḡyat al-mustaršidīn fī talḥīṣ fatāwā ba'd al-a'imma min al-ʿulamā' al-muta'abḥirīn*, a collection of legal opinions compiled by the mufti of Ḥaḍramawt, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Bā

³³The note in folium 102r says that a collection of manuscripts in Maghribi script containing this and other poems of the same author was sent to Abū l-Ḥayr ʿĀbidīn al-Dimašqī, a nephew of Ibn ʿĀbidīn.

°Alawī (d.1320 H/1902 CE).³⁴ In addition, Ḥabīb includes some *fatāwā* of Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī, Sulaymān al-Ahdal, °Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī, and the Ethiopian *al-Ḥāḡḡ* Dāwūd,³⁵ all muftis with connections to Zabid (Yemen).

Some references to juridical works also appear in manuscript IES04668, even if the content of this codex is related to theological matters. Some of the quotations that we find here are from Ibn al-Muqrī's *Rawd al-ṭālib fī l-fiqh* and its commentary by Zakariyyā° al-Anṣārī (d.926 H/1520 CE), and from al-Haytamī's *Fatāwā*, among others.

2.2 Sufism

Manuscript IES05517 contains most of the Sufi works copied, mentioned or commented by Ḥabīb.

2.2.1 Complete Texts

Among the Sufi works in codex IES05517, there is yet another by Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar, the *Muḥtaṣar Ḥilyat al-sāmī'in*, copied by a certain Ṭayyib b. °Alī. It is a summary of *al-Ḥilyat al-sāmī'in fī dīker šay° min aḥbār mabdā° sayyid al-šāfi'in*, also composed by Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar. Ḥabīb was not the scribe of this part, but he added notes from other works in the margins. Accompanying this text, we find diverse Sufi poems in praise of the Prophet ascribed to a great variety of Sufi scholars from different places and times and copied by Ḥabīb. The scholars identified are from various important cultural centres of the Islamic world, such as Kairouan, Cordoba, Granada, Almeria, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Cairo, Alexandria, and Ḥaḍramawt.³⁶

³⁴ Bā °Alawī 1994.

³⁵ This is an example of locally produced *fatwa*. See Hussein Ahmed 2001, 67, 82, 91, 106, 108, 136, 145.

³⁶ The scholars identified include the following: (1) Kairouan: Al-Šihāb Aḥmad b. Ḥalūf al-Qayrawānī (n.d.), fol. 158v; (2) Cordoba: Al-Fāzāzī l-Andalusī (d.627 H/1230 CE), fols 151r–152r; (3) Granada: Ibn al-Ġayyāb al-Ġarnāṭī (d.749 H/1348 CE), fols 102r–104v; and Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb (d.776 H/1374 CE), fol. 120v; (4) Almeria: Ibn Ğābir al-Andalusī (d.780 H/ 1378 CE), fols 127r, 129r, 147r–148v; (5) Damascus: Ibn Mālik al-Ḥamwī (d.917 H/1511 CE), fol. 148r; (6) Aleppo: Al-Šihāb Maḥmūd b. Salmān al-Ḥalabī (d.725 H/1325 CE), fols 130v, 145r; (7) Baghdad: Al-Šarsarī, Abū Zakariyyā° Yahyā b. Yūsuf al-Baḡdādī (d.656 H/1258 CE), fols 79r–83v, 95r–101v, 132r; and al-Witrī, Maḡd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Rušayd al-Wā°iz al-Baḡdādī (d.662 H/1264 CE), fols 63r–75r, 120r, 133v, 134r, 137v, 143v, 144r, 152v, 153r; (8) Cairo: Al-Šāḡilī, Muḥammad b. Wafā° al-Miṣrī (d.761 H/1360 CE), fols 51v–59r; Šams al-Dīn al-Nawāḡī l-Qāhirī (d.859 H/1455 CE), fol. 138r; Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d.952 H/1545

Codex IES05517 contains three other texts copied by Ḥabīb together with the above-mentioned Sufi poems. The first is a text by Ibn ʿArabī entitled *al-Ṣalāt al-muṭalsama* (‘The prayer of the talisman in praise of the Prophet’), the commentary of which was copied by Ḥabīb in another manuscript, IES04667 (fols 3v–4r). A different scribe added a note in the margin of this commentary (fol. 3v) indicating that the author could be either ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī (d.561 H/1166 CE) or al-Ṣāḡilī’s student, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mašīš al-Ḥasanī (d.625 H/1228 CE), but it is not clear whether the note refers to *al-Ṣalāt al-muṭalsama* or to its commentary.

The other two texts are attributed to the Sufi *faqīh* and poet from Ḥayfā, Yūsuf al-Nabahānī (d.1350 H/1932 CE), namely the *Faṭḥ al-baṣāʾir bi-madh ḡadāʾ al-akābir* and *al-Naẓm al-badīʿ fī mawlid al-nabī l-ṣafīʿ*.³⁷

The whole manuscript seems to have been used for the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday (*mawlid*).³⁸

2.2.2 Notes in the Margins and on Loose Slips of Paper

The most usual marker in the quotations of manuscript IES05517 is the letter ʿ*ayn*, but unfortunately this is not enough to identify the source. Other marginal notes are excerpts from different types of sources, namely dictionaries such as al-Rāfiʿī’s *Miṣbāḥ al-munīr* and al-Rāzī’s *Muḥtār al-ṣiḥāḥ*; theological works such as al-Nawawī’s *Nūr al-zalām*, *Faṭḥ al-maḡīd*, and *Madāriḡ al-suʿūd*; juridical works such as al-Fašnī’s *Mawāhib al-ṣamad* and al-Bakrī’s *Iʿānat al-tālibīn*; and other devotional works such as al-Nabhānī’s *al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiyya min al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*.

2.3 Theology

Manuscript IES04668 contains works related to theology (ʿ*aqīda*) and dogmatic theology (*tawḥīd*).

CE), fols 130r, 137r; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī (d.852 H/1422 CE), fol. 128r; (9) Alexandria: Al-Damāmīnī l-Iskandarī (d.827 H/1424 CE), fol. 135r; (10) Ḥaḡramawt: Al-Burʿī (= ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḡmad al-Yamānī, d.803 H/1401 CE), fols 75v–78v. We do not know for certain that *al-Ṣayḥ* Ḥabīb gathered the poems himself. He could have copied them from a previously compiled collection.

³⁷ Al-Nabahānī’s collection of poems in praise of the Prophet (*Dīwān al-Wasāʾil al-mutaḡabbala fī madḥ al-Nabī*) was published around 1904, and therefore *al-Ṣayḥ* Ḥabīb could have copied the texts from already printed books.

³⁸ For more information on Muḡammad’s birthday festival see Kaptein 1993.

2.3.1 Complete Texts

The *Rā'ihāt al-ğanna bi-šarḥ idā'at al-duğunna*, by al-Nābulusī, is the main work in the codex. It was copied by someone else, but some of the missing fragments of the text were completed by Ḥabīb. The work is a commentary on *Idā'at al-duğunna fī i'tiqād ahl al-Sunna* by al-Maqqarī – who, as noted previously, was the author of the *Nafḥ al-tīb*, the work from which some of the Andalusī Sufi poems copied by Ḥabīb in manuscript IES05517 were extracted.

Three other fragments were added by Ḥabīb. One is a fragment of *Tadkirat al-madāhib* by °Azīm b. °Abd al-Mağīd al-Bahluwarū'i, which is an Eastern sample of heresiography and, according to Lewinstein, a work with a clear 'Ḥanafite-Māturīdite structure'.³⁹ The other two are fragments of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Dardīrī's (d.1201 H/1786 CE) *Šarḥ al-ḥarīda al-bahiyya fī °ilm al-tawḥīd*, and a fragment of *Faṭḥ al-mağīd bi-šarḥ al-Durr al-farīd* by al-Nawāwī l-Ġāwī.⁴⁰ This work is a commentary on *al-Durr al-farīd fī °aqā'id ahl al-tawḥīd*, composed by al-Nawāwī's teacher, Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naḥrāwī (d.1210 H/1795 CE). Al-Nawāwī was specialized in theological matters and another four works attributed to him are found in Ḥabīb's manuscripts as well as in other manuscripts in the corpus.⁴¹

2.3.2 Notes in the Margins and on Loose Slips of Paper

In the marginalia, several famous works are quoted by Ḥabīb, such as Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Laḡānī's (d.1041 H/1632 CE) *Ğawḥarat al-tawḥīd*; *al-Kanz al-madfūn wa-l-fulk al-mašḥūn*, a collection of anecdotes and ethical sayings compiled by Yūnus al-Mālikī, possibly at the end of the fourteenth century CE;⁴² Ḥālīd b. °Abd Allāh al-Azharī's (d.904 H/1499 CE) *Muwašṣil al-tullāb ilā qawā'id al-irāb*, a work on Arabic syntax; Muḥammad b. Mūsā l-Damīrī's (d.808 H/1405 CE) *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*

³⁹ It is described as a clearly Sunnī work and a late manuscript of Indian provenance; it is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. See Lewinstein 1994, 587–589, n. 59.

⁴⁰ This work is also found in the marginalia of manuscript IES05517 (fol. 66r).

⁴¹ The titles are listed in Appendix II.

⁴² The authorship of this work is not clear. It has been attributed to al-Suyūṭī (d.911 H/1505 CE) due to a mention of the title in a list of his works that circulated while he was still alive. But according to some scholars, he probably wrote another work entitled *al-Kanz al-madfūn* which is not the one preserved. See Canova 2004, 93–94; Petrone 2013, 94, 304.

al-kubrā;⁴³ al-Dardīrī's *Šarḥ al-Ḥarīda al-Bahiyya fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd*,⁴⁴ and the glosses on it by al-Šāwī l-Mālikī (d.1241 H/1825 CE); a commentary on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Aḥḍarī's (d.950 H/1543 CE) *al-Sullam al-murawnaq fī fann al-mantiq*.⁴⁵ As explained above, some other references are marked with the name of the author and not with a title. Some of the authors referred to are al-Samarqandī (d.393 H/1003 CE), al-Širāzī (d.476 H/1083 CE), al-Zarkašī (d.794 H/1392 CE), al-Munāwī (d.1031 H/1622 CE), al-Qalyūbī (d.1069 H/1659 CE), al-Kurdī (d.1194 H/1780 CE), al-Siḡāʿī (d.1197 H/1783 CE), al-Ġamal (d.1202 H/1788 CE), and al-Šarqāwī (d.1227 H/1812 CE).⁴⁶

Appendix I: List of Juridical Texts

In the hierarchical list below, the works in the sublevels are based on the texts which immediately precede them. The works enclosed in square brackets are not found in the manuscripts, but have been listed in order to indicate the origin of the works included in the codices.

I.1 Šāfiʿī *fiqh*

- A) *Kitāb al-Wasīt al-muḥīṭ bi-āṭār al-Basīt*: based on the *Kitāb al-Basīt* composed by al-Ġazzālī before 478 H/1085 CE. IES04667, 2r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 424.⁴⁷
- I) [*Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn wa-ʿumdat al-muḥṭiyīn*]: commentary on al-Ġazzālī's *Kitāb al-Waḡīz* composed by al-Nawawī c.676 H/1278 CE. This *Kitāb al-Waḡīz* is based on the above *Wasīt*. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 424; Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 753.
- 1) *Rawḍ al-ṭālib fī l-fiqh*: abridgement of the *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn* composed by Ibn al-Muqrī c.837 H/1433 CE. Marginalia IES04667, IES04672, IES05506; IES04668, fols 5v, 8r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 191.

⁴³This is an encyclopaedia of animals which includes linguistic information on their names along with their physical description, juridical questions on their usage, proverbs, interpretation of dreams, medical properties, etc.

⁴⁴This is al-Dardīrī's explanation of his own *nazm*.

⁴⁵Although the author of this commentary is not mentioned in the note, it could be al-Mullawī (d.1181 H/1767 CE). See Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 519.

⁴⁶I would like to thank Alessandro Gori, Irmeli Perho and the peer-reviewers of *Aethiopia* for their kind advice.

⁴⁷Most dates of composition are based on the date of the author's death.

- a) *Asnā l-maṭālib šarḥ Rawḍ al-ṭālib*: commentary on the *Rawḍ al-ṭālib* composed by Zakariyyā³ al-Anṣārī before 926 H/1520 CE. Marginalia IES05506; IES04667, fols 5v, 8r; IES04668, fols 5v, 7r–7v; IES04672, fols 2v, 189v, 190v. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 118, 254.
- i) *Ḥāšiyat Asnā l-maṭālib li-l-Ramlī*: glosses on the *Asnā l-maṭālib* composed by al-Ramlī c.1004/1596. Marginalia IES05506.⁴⁸
- B) *Fath al-ḡawād bi-šarḥ al-iršād*: commentary on Ibn al-Muqrī³'s *al-Iršād al-ḡawāwī ilā masālik al-ḥāwī*, composed by al-Haytamī c.973 H/1566 CE. IES04667, fols 8v–199v; IES04672, fols 8v–189r; IES04674, fols 1v–289v; IES05506, fols 3r–178v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 388; Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 679.
- C) *Al-Imdād bi-šarḥ al-Iršād*: another commentary on the *Iršād* by al-Haytamī. Marginalia IES04674, IES05506. Ḥayr al-Dīn Ziriklī 2002, I, 234.
- D) *Al-Iqnā^c fī ḥall alfāz Abī Šuḡā^c or al-Ḥaṭīb*: commentary on Abū Šuḡā^c's *Gāyat al-iḥtišār (Muḥtaṣar)* composed by al-Širbīnī c.977 H/1569 CE. Marginalia IES04674. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 392.
- I) *Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb^c alā šarḥ al-Ḥaṭīb*: glosses on *al-Iqnā^c* composed by al-Buḡayrimī before 1221 H/1806 CE. Marginalia IES04668, IES04674. Ḥayr al-Dīn Ziriklī 2002, III, 133.
- E) *Šarḥ al-Muḥarrar li-l-Zayyādī*: commentary by al-Zayyādī on al-Rāfi^c's *Kitāb al-Muḥarrar*, sixteenth century CE. IES04674, fol. 22r. ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla 1961, VII, 260.
- I) [*Minḥāḡ al-ṭālibīn*]: excerpt from the *Muḥarrar* composed by al-Nawawī in 669 H/1270 CE. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 393, 395–396; Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 680–682.
- 1) [*Manḥāḡ al-ṭullāb*]: commentary on the *Minḥāḡ* composed by Zakariyyā³ al-Anṣārī before 926 H/1520 CE. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 395; Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 99; Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 682.
- a) *Fath al-Wahḥāb*: commentary on the *Manḥāḡ* composed by Zakariyyā³ al-Anṣārī before 926 H/1520 CE. IES04667, fol. 1r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 395–396; Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 681, 682, 843.

⁴⁸ I have not found any reference to this work in the bibliographical sources, but it has been edited in the margins of the *Asnā l-maṭālib*, see Zakariyyā³ al-Anṣārī 1895.

- 2) *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāğ bi-šarḥ al-Minhāğ*: commentary on the *Minhāğ* composed by al-Haytamī c.973 H/1566 CE. Marginalia IES04624, IES04667, IES04672, IES04674, IES05506. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 395; Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 681.
- a) *Hāšiyat ‘alā Tuḥfat al-muḥtāğ*: glosses on the *Tuḥfa* composed by al-Širwānī c.1289 H/1872 CE. IES04667, fol. 2r. *al-Mawsū‘a* 1983, I, 356.
- 3) *Nihāyat al-muḥtāğ*: commentary on the *Minhāğ* composed by al-Ramlī between 963 H/1556 CE and 973 H/1566 CE. Marginalia IES04667, IES04674. Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 681.
- 4) *Muğnī l-muḥtāğ ilā ma‘rifat ma‘ānī alfāz al-Minhāğ*: commentary on the *Minhāğ* composed by al-Širbīnī c.977 H/1569 CE. Marginalia IES05506. Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 681.
- F) *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr fī ġarīb al-šarḥ al-kabīr*: composed by al-Rāfi‘ī c.623 H/1226 CE. IES04667, fols 1r, 2r; IES04672, fols 2v, 3r; IES05517, fol. 68v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 25.
- G) *Maḡāhib al-šamad fī ḥall alfāz al-Zubad*: commentary on Ibn Raslān al-Ramlī’s *Matn al-Zubad* composed by al-Fašnī c.978 H/1570 CE. Marginalia IES05517; IES04672, fol. 190r. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 113.
- H) *Fatāwā l-Haytamī*: composed c.973 H/1565 CE. IES04667, fol. 5r; IES05668, fol. 6v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 388.
- I) *Faṭḥ al-mu‘īn bi-šarḥ Qurraṭ al-‘ayn bi-muḥimmāt al-dīn*: commentary on the *Qurraṭ al-‘ayn* composed by al-Malībārī c.974 H/1567 CE. Marginalia IES05506; IES04667, fol. 201v; IES04672, fols 2r, 8r, 190r; IES04674, fols 290v–291r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 549; Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 604, 946.
- I) *I‘ānat al-ṭālibīn ‘alā ḥall alfāz Faṭḥ al-mu‘īn*: glosses on the *Faṭḥ al-mu‘īn* composed by ‘Uṭmān b. Muḡammad al-Bakrī before 1310 H/1892 CE. Marginalia IES05506, IES04672; IES05517, fols 4r–7v; IES04667, fol. 201v; IES04674, fols 19r, 19v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 500.
- II) *Taršīḥ al-mustafīdīn ḥāšiya ‘alā Faṭḥ al-mu‘īn*: glosses on the *Faṭḥ al-mu‘īn* composed by Ibn al-Saqqāf c.1335 H/1917 CE. Marginalia IES05506; IES04672, fols 2r, 190r; IES04674, fol. 290r; IES05517, fol. 94v. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 604, 743.
- J) *Buğyat al-mustaršīdīn fī talḥīš fatāwā ba‘ḍ al-‘imma min al-‘ulamā’ al-muta‘abḥirīn*: composed by Bā ‘Alawī (= ‘Abd al-Raḡmān b. Muḡammad b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Umar) between 1317 H/1900 CE and 1369 H/1950 CE. Marginalia IES04672; IES04667, fol. 5r; IES05506, fol. 177v. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 817.

- K) *Naṣīḥat al-atfāl wa-buḡyat al-riḡāl*: composed by Ġawhar b. Ḥaydar in 1326 H/1908 CE. IES04624, fols 11r–50v.⁴⁹
I) *Ḥālīṣat al-aqwāl fi ḥall naṣīḥat al-atfāl*: abridgement of the *Naṣīḥat al-atfāl* composed by Ġawhar b. Ḥaydar between 1326 H/1908 CE and 1356 H/1937 CE. IES04624, fols 1v–6r.

I.2 Ḥanafī *fiqh*

- A) *Qaṭr al-Ġayṭ fi šarḥ masā'il Abī l-Layṭ al-Samarqandī*: commentary on al-Samarqandī's *Uyūn al-masā'il fi l-furū' al-Ḥanafīyya* composed by al-Nawāwī l-Bantanī l-Tanārī before 1305 H/1888 CE. IES04668, fol. 88v. Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 348; Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 814.
B) *Al-Durr al-muḥtār šarḥ tanwīr al-abṣār wa-ḡāmi' al-abḥār*: composed by al-Ḥaṣkafī before 1088 H/1677 CE. IES04667, fols 202v, 203r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 311; Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 428.
I) *Radd al-muḥtār 'alā l-Durr al-muḥtār*: glosses on *al-Durr al-muḥtār* composed by Ibn 'Ābidīn c.1258 H/1842 CE. IES04667, fols 202v, 203r. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 428, 773.

Appendix II: List of Sufi and Theology-Related Texts

- A) Devotional Sufi poems in praise of the Prophet: composed between 627 H/1230 CE and 952 H/1545 CE. IES05517, fols 1v–158v.⁵⁰
I) *Al-Ṣalāt al-muṭalsama*: composed by Ibn 'Arabī before 625 H/1228 CE. IES05517, fols 129v–130r.
1) *Ṣarḥ al-Ṣalāt al-muṭalsama*: unknown author. IES04667, fols 3v–4r.
B) *Tadkīrat al-madāhib*: composed by 'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Maḡīd al-Bahluwarū'ī l-Azīmbādī l-Bihārī l-Qādirī. IES04668, fols 1v–3r. Lewinstein 1994, 589.
C) *Ṣarḥ al-Sullam al-murawnaq*: commentary on al-Aḥḍarī's *al-Sullam al-murawnaq* (IES05506, fol. 177v), which is a versification of al-Abḥarī's *Isāḡūḡī*. The author of this commentary is not identified, but it could be the same work as *al-Ṣarḥ al-ṣaḡīr 'alā Sullam*

⁴⁹To date, no specific study has been made of Ġawhar b. Ḥaydar's works.

⁵⁰The individual poems mentioned in the article are not listed in this Appendix; only the titles of the works from which some of them were extracted are listed—when identification was possible.

- al-murawniq*, which was composed by al-Mullawī in 1125 H/1713 CE. Qara Bulūt 2006, 306, 830/13.
- D) *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*: composed by al-Damīrī in 773 H/1371 CE. IES04667, fol. 200v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 138; Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 171.
- E) *Al-Kanz al madfūn wa-l-fulk al-mašhūn*: compiled by Yūnus al-Mālikī at the end of the fourteenth century CE. IES04672, fol. 5r; IES04668, fols 3v, 4r, 4v; IES05506, fol. 180v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 75; Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 81.
- F) *Abkār al-afkār fī madḥ al-Nabī l-muḥtār*: composed by Al-Ṭarāʿifi before 853 H/1449 CE. IES05517, fol. 151v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 17.
- G) *Nafḥ al-tīb min ḡuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*: composed by al-Maqqarī before 1041 H/1631 CE. IES05517, fol. 102r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 296.
- H) *Rāʾiḥat al-ḡanna bi-šarḥ Idāʾat al-duḡunna*: commentary on al-Maqqarī's *Idāʾat al-duḡunna* composed by ʿAbd al-Ġanī l-Nābulusī in 1107 H/1696 CE. IES04668, fols 10r–87r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 408.
- I) *Ġawharat al-tawḥīd*: composed by Ibrāhīm al-Laḡānī's before 1041 H/1632 CE. IES04668, fol. 1r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 316; Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 436.
- J) *Šarḥ al-ḥarīda al-bahiyya fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd*: composed by al-Dardīrī before 1200 H/1786 CE. IES04668, fols 3v–4v; IES04674, fols 290v–291r. Qara Bulūt 2006, 525, 1299/25.
- I) *Ḥāšiyat al-Šāwī ʿalā l-Ḥarīda al-bahiyya*: composed by al-Šāwī l-Mālikī before 1241 H/1825 CE. IES04668, fols 3v, 4r, 4v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 353; Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 479–480.
- K) *Al-Durr al-farīd fī ʿaqāʾid abl al-tawḥīd*: composed by Aḥmad b ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naḥrāwī before 1210 H/1795 CE. IES04668, fols 8r–9v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 501.
- I) *Faṭḥ al-maḡīd bi-šarḥ al-Durr al-farīd*: composed by al-Nawāwī Abū ʿAbd al-Muʿtī Muḥammad Nūrī b. ʿUmar al-Ġāwī l-Bantanī l-Tanārī before 1305 H/1888 CE. IES04668, fols 8r–9v; IES05517, fol. 66r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 501; Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 813–814.
- L) *Nūr al-zalām šarḥ manzūmat ʿAqīdat al-Awamm li-l-Marzūqī*: commentary on al-Marzūqī's *Manzūmat ʿAqīdat al-Awamm*, composed by al-Nawāwī l-Bantanī l-Tanārī between 1255 H/1839 CE and 1316 H/1898 CE. IES05517, fol. 49v. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 814.

- M) *Al-Ṭimār al-yāni‘a šarḥ Riyāḍ al-badi‘a*: commentary on al-Makkī’s *Riyāḍ al-badi‘a* composed by al-Nawāwī l-Bantanī l-Tanārī before 1316 H/1898 CE. IES04668, fols 48r, 48v. Brockelmann 1898–1902, II, 501.
- N) *Madāriğ al-šu‘ūd ilā iktisā’ al-burūd*: composed by al-Nawāwī l-Bantanī l-Tanārī before 1316 H/1898 CE. Marginalia IES05517. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 517.
- O) *Al-Nazm al-badi‘a fi mawlid al-nabī l-šafi‘*: composed by al-Nabahānī in 1312 H/1894 CE. IES05517, fols 84r–93v. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 764.
- P) *Faḥ al-baṣā’ir bi-madhğ ġadā’ al-akābir*: composed by Yūsuf b. Ismā‘il al-Nabahānī before 1350 H/1932 CE. IES05517, fols 113r–118r.⁵¹
- Q) *Al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiyya min al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*: composed by al-Nabahānī before 1350 H/1932 CE. IES05517, fols 1r, 8r, 49v, 78r, 84r. Brockelmann 1937–1942, II, 764.
- R) *Muḥtaṣar Ḥilyat al-sāmi‘in fi dīk šay’ min aḥbār mabdā’ sayyid al-šafi‘in*: abridgement of Ġawhar b. Ḥaydar’s *al-Ḥilyat al-sāmi‘in* also composed by him c.1353 H/1935 CE. IES05517, fols 8r–49r.

References

- Abdul Sheriff 2010. *Dhow Cultures of the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism, Commerce and Islam* (London: Hurst, 2010).
- Anon. 1983. *Al-Mawsū‘a al-fiqhiyya*, I–XLV (Kuwait: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-šu‘ūn al-islāmiyya, 1403 H = 1983 CE).
- Bā ‘Alawī 1994. *Buğyat al-mustaršidin fi talḥiṣ fatāwā ba‘d al-a‘imma min al-‘ulamā’ al-muta‘aḥḥirīn* (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1414 H = 1994 CE).
- Bang, A. K. 2014. *Islamic Sufi Networks in the Western Indian Ocean (c.1880–1940). Ripples of Reform* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014).
- Birks, J. S. 1978. *Across the Savannas to Mecca: the Overland Pilgrimage Route from West Africa* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1978).
- Brockelmann, C. 1898–1902. *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, I–II (Weimar: E. Felber, 1898–1902).
- Brockelmann, C. 1937–1942. *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur. Supplementband*, I–III (Leiden: Brill, 1937–1942).

⁵¹ The colophon of this *nazm* only indicates the name Yūsuf, but the inclusion of this text in the manuscript, together with other works by al-Nabahānī, leads us to think that, in spite of not being mentioned by Brockelmann, it could also have been composed by al-Nabahānī.

- Canova, G. 2004. 'Una pagina di al-Kanz al-madfūn sugli uomini più illustri', in F. Bauden, ed., *Ultra mare: mélanges de langue arabe et d'islamologie offerts à Aubert Martin*, Association pour la Promotion de l'Histoire et de l'Archéologie Orientales: mémoires, 3 (Louvain: Peeters, 2004), 93–107.
- Cerulli, E. 1971. *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi* (Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1971).
- Cuoq, J. 1981. *L'Islam en Éthiopie. Des origines au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1981).
- EAE. S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: A–C; II: D–Ha; III: He–N; in cooperation with A. Bausi, ed., IV: O–X; A. Bausi in cooperation with S. Uhlig, ed., V: Y–Z. *Supplementa. Addenda et Corrigenda. Maps. Index* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).
- EP² (online encyclopaedia) <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>> accessed July 2016.
- Gacek, A. 2009. *Arabic Manuscripts. A Vademecum for Readers*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1: The Near and Middle East, 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
- Gori, A. 2008. 'The Study of Arabic Grammar in Ethiopia: The Case of two Contemporary Muslim Learned Men', *Aethiopica*, 11 (2008), 134–147.
- 2010. 'Text in the Mawlid collection in Harar: some first critical observations', *African Study Monographs*, 41 (2010), 51–62.
- 2015a. 'Languages and literatures of the Muslims of the Horn of Africa: some first general reflections', in P. Nicelli, ed., *L'Africa, l'Oriente mediterraneo e l'Europa. Tradizioni e culture a confronto*, Africana Ambrosiana, 1 (Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 2015), 119–126.
- 2015b. 'Waqf certificates of Qurʾāns from Harar: A first assessment', in A. Bausi, A. Gori, and D. Nosnitsin, eds, *Essays in Ethiopian Manuscript Studies. Proceedings of the International Conference Manuscripts and Texts, Languages and Contexts: the Transmission of Knowledge in the Horn of Africa, Hamburg, 17–19 July 2014*, Supplement to *Aethiopica*, 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 281–295.
- Gori, A., A. Regourd, J. R. Brown, and S. Delamarter 2014. *A Handlist of the Manuscripts in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, II: *The Arabic Materials of the Ethiopian Islamic Tradition*, Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies, 20 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014).
- Ḥayr al-Dīn Zirīklī 2002. *Al-A^clām: qāmus tarāğim*, I–VIII, 15th edn (Beirut: Dār al-ʿilm li-l-malāyīn, 2002).
- Hernández, A. 2015–2016. 'Andalusī Vestiges in the Ethiopian Islamic Literary Tradition', *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, 12–13 (2015–2016), 10–19.
- Hussein Ahmed 2001. *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia. Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Social, Economic, and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia, 74 (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2001).
- 2005a. 'Shaykh Jawhar b. Haydar b. ʿAlī: a Mystic and Scholar of Shonkē, Southeast Wallo, Ethiopia', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 20 (2005), 47–56.
- 2005b. Review of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (= Muḥammad Walī b. al-Ḥāğğ Aḥmad b. ʿUmar), *Kitāb Iqāz Himam al-Ağbiyā bi-šarḥ Qiṭra min Tarāğim al-ʿUlamā wa-l-Awliyā fi Gumburiyya Itiyubiyā* (Addis Abāba: Muʾassasat al-Nağğāšī

Transfer of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century Muslim Ethiopia

- li-l-Ṭibāʿāt wa-l-Našr wa-l-Tasḡilāt al-Islāmiyya, 1425 H = 2005 CE), *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 38/1–2 (2005), 175–179.
- 2005c. ‘Scholarly Research and Publications on Islam in Ethiopia (1952–2002: An Assessment)’, in W. Raunig and S. Wenig, eds, *Afrikas Horn. Akten der Ersten Internationalen Littmann-Konferenz, 2. bis 5. Mai 2002 in München*, Meroitica, 22 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 411–426.
 - 2009. ‘The Coming of Age of Islamic Studies in Ethiopia: The Present State of research and Publication’, in S. Ege, H. Aspen, Birhanu Teferra, and Shiferaw Bekele, eds, *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, II (Trondheim: Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 2009), 449–455.
- Kaptein, N. J. G. 1993. *Muḥammad’s Birthday Festival. Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century* (Leiden–New York–Köln: E. J. Brill, 1993).
- Lecocq, B. 2015. ‘Distant Shores: A Historiographic View on Trans-Saharan Space’, *The Journal of African History*, 56/1 (2015), 23–36.
- Lewinstein, K. 1994. ‘Notes on Eastern Ḥanafite Heresiography’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 114/4 (1994), 583–598.
- Loimeier, R. 2009. *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills. The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th century Zanzibar*, Islam in Africa, 10 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2009).
- Miran, J. 2015. “Stealing the Way” to Mecca: West African Pilgrims and illicit Red Sea Passages, 1920s–50s’, *The Journal of African History*, 56/3 (2015), 389–408.
- Mohammed Hassen 1992. ‘Islam as a Resistance Ideology among the Oromo of Ethiopia. The Wallo Case, 1700–1900’, in S. S. Samatar, ed., *In the Shadow of Conquest. Islam in Colonial Northeast Africa* (Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press, 1992), 75–101.
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (= Muḥammad Walī b. al-Ḥāḡḡ Aḥmad b. ʿUmar) 2005. *Kitāb Iqāz Himam al-Aḡbiyāʾ bi-šarḥ Qiṭra min Tarāḡim al-ʿUlamāʾ wa-l-Awliyāʾ fī Gumburiyya Itiyubyā* (Addis Abāba: Muʿassasat al-Naḡḡāšī li-l-Ṭibāʿāt wa-l-Našr wa-l-Tasḡilāt al-Islāmiyya, 1425 H = 2005 CE).
- O’Fahey, R. S. 2003. *Arabic Literature of Africa*, III/a: *The Writings of the Muslim Peoples of Northeastern Africa*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1: The Near and Middle East, 13 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003).
- Petrone, M. 2013. *L’opera di Ḡalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Autorialità e pratiche testuali alla fine dell’epoca mamelucca*, Tesi di Dottorato, Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale” (2013).
- Qara Bulūt 2006. *Muḡam al-taʾrīḥ al-turāt al-islāmiyya fī maktabāt al-ʿālam*, Ilmī eserler serizi, 3 (Qayşarī: Dār al-ʿAqāba, 2006).
- Trimingham, J. S. 1952. *Islam in Ethiopia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).
- Wagner, E. 1983. *Harari-Texte in Arabischer Schrift mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Äthiopistische Forschungen, 13 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983).
- 1989. ‘Bemerkungen zu zwei Handschriften des Kitāb al-Farāʿid’, in C. Müller-Kessler and B. G. Fragner, eds, *Ḥoḡmot bāntā bētāb: Studia Semitica necnon Iranica: Rudolpho Macuch septuagenario ab amici et discipulis dedicata* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 389–395.

Adday Hernández López

- Yamba, C. B. 1995. *Permanent Pilgrims: The Role of Pilgrimage in the Lives of West African Muslims in Sudan*, International African Library, 15 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).
- Zakariyā' al-Anṣārī 1895. *Asnā l-maṭālib fī šarḥ Rawḍ al-ṭālib wa-bi-hāmišī-hi ḥāšiyyat al-Ramlī wa-Tağrīd al-Šawbarī* (Yemen: al-Maṭba'a al-Yamaniyya, 1313 H = 1895 CE).
- Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla 1961. *Mu'ğam al-mu'allifīn. Tarāğim muṣanniḥī l-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, I–XIII (Damascus: Maṭba'a al-Turqī bi-Dimāšq, 1381 H = 1961 CE).

Summary

Although Muslims in Ethiopia are a large part of the total population, nevertheless, their literary tradition and their cultural heritage have, until the present, hardly been studied by the academic community. The present article aims to shed light on the Islamic manuscript tradition in Ethiopia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by focusing on several codices owned by *al-Šayḥ* Ḥabīb, a renowned scholar and respected *walī* from Wällo, in north-eastern Ethiopia.