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Editorial

The present issue of AETHIOPICA, like the preceding one, is partly monographic, with a section containing the proceedings of the Panel on Islamic Literature in Ethiopia: New Perspectives of Research, from the '19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies', held in Warsaw, Poland, on 24–28 August 2015.

Starting from this issue, the annual bibliography on Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic linguistics held from its inception in 1998 for eighteen years by Rainer Voigt is handed over, on Voigt's own will, to a pool of younger scholars, with the substantial support of the AETHIOPICA editorial team. I would like on this occasion to express the deep gratitude of the editorial board of AETHIOPICA and of all scholars in Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic linguistics to Rainer Voigt for his fundamental and valuable contribution.

Bibliographical abbreviations used in this volume

AÉ — *Annales d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1955ff.

ÄthFor — Äthiopistische Forschungen, 1–35, ed. by E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, 36–40, ed. by S. UHLIG (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (1–34), 1977–1992; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (35–40), 1994–1995).

AethFor — Aethiopistische Forschungen, 41–73, ed. by S. UHLIG (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2011); 74–75, ed. by A. BAUSI and S. UHLIG (*ibid*., 2011f.); 76ff. ed. by A. BAUSI (*ibid*., 2012ff.).

AION — *Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale'*, Napoli: Università di Napoli 'L'Orientale' (former Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli), 1929ff.

CSCO — Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1903ff.

EAe — S. UHLIG, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, I: *A–C*; II: *D–Ha*; III: *He–N*; in cooperation with A. BAUSI, eds, IV: *O–X* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010); A. BAUSI in cooperation with S. UHLIG, eds, V: *Y–Z*, *Supplementa*, *Addenda et Corrigenda*, *Maps*, *Index* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).

EI^2 — *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I–XII (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960–2005).

EMML — Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa.

JES — *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1963ff.

JSS — *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester 1956ff.

NEASt — *Northeast African Studies*, East Lansing, MI 1979ff.

OrChr — *Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig–Roma–Wiesbaden 1901ff.

PICES 9 — A.A. GROMYKO, ed., 1988, *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies*, *Moscow, 26–29 August 1986*, I–VI (Moscow: Nauka Publishers, Central Department of Oriental Literature, 1988).

RSE — *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Roma, 1941–1981, Roma–Napoli 1983ff.

ZDMG — *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig–Wiesbaden–Stuttgart 1847ff.

Arabic Grammar Traditions in Gibe and Harär: Regional Continuity vs Specificity of Scholarship[1]

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The Arabic language entered the very complex Ethiopian linguistic environment by different channels playing a significant role in the religious and social sphere of Muslim Ethiopians' lives as well as in their literary production. Its presence is historically related to the commercial and political networks which existed between the northeast African coast and the western coast of the Arabian peninsula. Arabic was originally spoken in different contexts by native Arab-speakers settled in the Horn of Africa, such as the Yemeni migrant communities and by groups of traders, both Christian and Muslim, coming from Arab or Arab-speaking countries.

It was however the new religious identity of the region that gave a major impulse to the transmission and teaching of written and spoken Arabic language within the native population of the Horn of Africa. Ignoring the use of Arabic in the Christian context, which would lead us away from the aim of the present contribution,[2] it is worth pointing out that the most crucial role in the spread of Arabic in the Horn was played by the conversion to Islam of people in different areas of the region. As in the other Islamic contexts, Arabic in Ethiopia, beyond being the language of the Revelation, is also an important factor of unity and identity of the *umma* (Islamic community), even more effective and necessary if we consider that Ethiopian Muslims represent a minority in the country and that Ethiopian Muslims speak different native languages.[3]

[1] This paper was presented at the 19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (University of Warsaw, Faculty of Oriental Studies, 24th–28th August 2015), *Ethiopia: Diversity and Interconnections through Space and Time* within the panel devoted to 'Islamic literature in Ethiopia: new perspectives of research'. The original title was *Textual Traditions of Arabic Grammars in Jimma: Regional Continuity and Specificity of Scholarship*; for this publication the title has been slightly changed in order to include of new manuscript material collected during the second field mission to Gibe region of the project *Islam in the Horn of Africa* (see *infra*).

[2] On the Christian Arabic context see: 'Arabic: Arabic in Ethiopia', *EAe*, I (2003), 301b–304a (A. Gori), in particular 302a and Lusini 2010, 137–147.

[3] For a general sketch of Arabic in Ethiopia, see 'Arabic: Arabic in Ethiopia', *EAe*, I (2003), 301b–304a (A. Gori), in particular 302b–304a and the related bibliography. It is worthwhile pointing out that the hypothesis according to which Arabic would have been used as a common second language, or *lingua franca*, for trade has not found any

According to a somewhat simplified assumption, Islam basically entered the region of the Horn of Africa along the trade routes thanks to the more or less intentional proselytizing actions of merchants. This supposition, largely and uncritically accepted so far, often hides a prejudice according to which conversions in the region were encouraged by mere economic advantage or by the acquisition of social prestige; this assumption implies that the level and sophistication of Islam perceived and accepted by the population was actually quite superficial.[4] This perception has finally been reinterpreted by both Western and Ethiopian scholars who offer a more complete picture of the cultural and intellectual life of Islam in the region: while the role of merchants is undeniable, especially for the initial spread of Islam, it is nevertheless well attested that *ʿulamāʾ*, *šuyūḫ*, *mudarrisūn* (teachers) and *duʿāʾ* (preachers) moved together with merchants and traders' caravans, bringing also accurate and refined contents of the religious message. In the course of time, Islam in the region acquired its own characteristics thanks to an original intellectual elaboration which definitely contradicts the idea of passive reception and of the superimposition of a rigid and strict doctrine on the local religious dimension and the traditional social organization.

Two main commercial routes linked Ethiopia to regions to the north, along the River Nile and to the east, across the Red Sea to Arabia and even to India.[5] The networks between the Horn and these two important surrounding regions are well attested since ancient times and long before the arrival of Islam,[6] which eventually penetrated the Horn along the very same routes.[7] Another route, towards West Africa was also well established, passing through the re-

confirmation from the data collected in the field, including the areas with a considerable Muslim population (see Cooper and Carpenter 1976 and Drewes 1976, 175–176 *contra* Ferguson 1971).

4 The prejudice behind this theory is that the supposed elementary dimension of the Islamic message and doctrine, being limited to the exterior aspects of the creed, would have allowed local ancestral belief to survive and, for this reason, would have been more easily accepted by the local population (for a more detailed exposition of the subject see Hussein Ahmed 2001, 39–58).

5 The Red Sea also served as a favourable passage to the southern regions of East Africa.

6 For relations with Arabia see 'Arabia: Relations in ancient times', *EAe*, I (2003), 294a–300a (S. Munro-Hay), in particular 294a–298a; 'Red Sea: II. Red Sea in Antiquity', *EAe*, IV (2010), 346a–347b (A. Bausi and G. Fiaccadori); for the north-south networks see 'Punt', *EAe*, IV (2010), 239a–242b (F. Breyer) and 'Egypt, relations with: Cultural and political relations in early times', *EAe*, II (2005), 240a–241a (H. Erlich and G. Fiaccadori).

7 See 'Arabia: Relation in medieval and modern times', *EAe*, I (2003), 300a–301b (H. Erlich); 'Red Sea: III. The Red Sea and Ethiopian Islam', *EAe*, IV (2010), 348a–349a (A. Gori); 'Egypt, relations with: Modern Egyptian–Ethiopian relations', *EAe*, II (2005), 241a–243b (H. Erlich).

gion of Sinnār, and has been used and travelled by West-African Muslims of the Sub-Saharan region for both their ritual pilgrimage and their trading.[8]

Arabic language learning in Ethiopia

Movements of people obviously entail movements of books and many Arabic texts have in fact entered the region along the same caravan routes as goods to be traded. However, they were primarily educational and 'intellectual equipment' for the scholars who brought the Islamic message, to be studied, taught, or exchanged. The subjects of these texts were not limited to religious sciences; they included those related to the Arabic language, such as grammar and syntax, morphology, orthography and, at a later stage, also rhetoric, eloquence, prosody etc. The study of these subjects, when competently taught, not only enables access to and knowledge of the Arab literary heritage, but also allows Ethiopian Muslims to express their intellectual and devotional life in written Classical Arabic. Of the many centres of learning, those located in the more remote rural areas, tended to specialize in specific subjects,[9] forcing the students who wanted to proceed in their Islamic education to move from one place to another, if not abroad to Arab countries; this also contributed to the circulation of written materials. Movements of people and the consequent circulation of texts are basically related to the more advanced levels of learning. From the educational point of view, the organization and pedagogical methods in Ethiopian Islamic schools do not seem to differ from the rest of the Islamic world. The basic aim of the traditional centres of learning is to create a Muslim subjectivity through the acquisition of the doctrinal, moral, and behavioural precepts of Islam, developing common ethical and legal norms and impacting on the relations between the different social classes, and with Muslim communities outside the country.[10] They are organized into

[8] 'Sinnār', *EAe*, IV (2010), 665b–667a (W. Smidt), in particular 666a.

[9] The *ʿulamāʾ* of Wällo, for example, have a good reputation as masters in *fiqh* and Arabic grammar and syntax (Hussein Ahmed 1988, 98). This was confirmed by our informant *šayḫ* Kamāl (interviewed in Agaro, February 2016), who moved to Wällo for his education in Arabic grammar. Wällo, in fact, seems to have played a particularly prominent role as a centre of Islamic scholarship since the eighteenth century in a multidisciplinary perspective. The region was probably Islamized as early as the neighbouring state of Yīfāt, but one important impetus for the development of Islamic education is certainly the introduction of the Qādiriyya *ṣūfī* order from Harär which favoured the establishment of local intellectual centres (Hussein Ahmed 2001, 68–69).

[10] In his study on the perception of traditional Islamic learning in Mali, Louis Brenner underlines how, in the first phase of learning, Muslim subjectivity is fostered by the 'specific postures of submissiveness', describing an educational *iter* similar to that of other Islamic societies including the Ethiopian one; he describes traditional Islamic

different levels, the first of which is the Qurʾānic school:[11] there, Muslim Ethiopian children start to learn the Arabic alphabet, read and write it, and memorisie the Qurʾān, even if most of them cannot really use Arabic language when they leave school.[12] It is only the higher levels of education that require a deeper knowledge of Arabic and imply a different pedagogical method: the student (*darasā* or *qāllichā*[13]) reads classical Arabic works which are then interpreted and translated by the schoolmaster in the native language of the student; finally the student has to interpret or paraphrase the same passage by himself.[14] The need to teach the students in their native languages also gave rise to a rich Islamic literary production in several Ethiopian languages (such as Harari, Oromo, Amharic, Argobba etc.) written in Arabic alphabet (*ʿağamī* literature).[15] The higher levels of learning focus on different branches of the Islamic tradition usually starting with *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tawḥīd* (theology), *manṭiq* (logic), *ḥadīṯ* (Prophetic traditions) and *tafsīr* (Qurʾānic exegesis); this assumes that the student is acquired a sound knowledge of classical Arabic.[16]

knowledge both within the context of an esoteric *episteme*, according to Michel Foucault's categories, as 'hierarchical knowledge' and in its *ṣūfī* dimension (Brenner 2000, 6–8,19–20).

11 In Harari region, children start to attend at the age of five (Leslau 1965, 173).

12 This elementary level of education has different regional names: *kʾurān gey* (Abdurahman Garad and Wagner 1998, 69) or *gē qurān gē* (Leslau 1965, 172) in Harär; in Wällo it is called *tahağği* (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1976, 350 who also includes Ifāt; see also Hussein Ahmed 1998, 100 who does not agree with the use of this term in Wällo), *meğilis Qurʾān* in Harär, Ğimma and Arsi, or also *šayḫi* in urban areas (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1976, 350). For a description of this educational institution in Ethiopia, see *ibid*. 350–353; Hussein Ahmed 1988, 98–100; Leslau 1965, 172–188.

13 Hussein Ahmed 1988, 98; Ahmed Hassen Omer 2006, 13.

14 Cf. Haile Gabriel Dagne 1976, 353, where this stage is named *ilm* (i.e. Arab. *ʿilm*) with reference to Wällo; in Harär the same institution is called *kabīrgār* ('Education. Islamic traditional education', *EAe*, II, 230b (A. Gori)).

15 'Ethiopia. 4. Islamic Literature: Ajäm', *EALL*, II, 53–54 (A. Wetter).

16 Arabic grammar, expressed by the word *naḥw* in Arabic, is usually mentioned in the consulted bibliography as an advanced learning sector at the same level as *fiqh* or *tafsīr* (Hussein Ahmed 2001, 93; Ahmed Hassen Omer 2006, 17; Kebreab, W. Giorgis 1981, 79); the same sources always emphasize that the first level of learning, the Qurʾānic school, is not enough to practice Arabic language at a good level. It is thus conceivable that an intermediate level in which Arabic language is taught to the students precedes all the higher levels of *ʿilm* in which a more complex and specialized approach to linguistics also represents an independent sector (including for example rhetoric, prosody etc.). What is not completely clear is whether a specific set of classical texts on grammar is used in this hypothetical preliminary stage of Arabic learning, or if it is completed orally and without the support of the classical literary texts related to the subject. The relatively small number of exercise books on Arabic language in the collections seems to

These schools are generally attached to a mosque or are part of a devotional/ educational centre, like *zāwiya*s or *ḥaḍrā*s, found in both rural and urban contexts. Within nomadic communities itinerant schools only developed with local learned men or after the arrival of *šuyūḫ* from outside.[17] As stated by Hussein Ahmed, the two main features of rural education in Wällo— a fact which might also be true of other Ethiopian regions—are the lack of economic resources and institutional support, as well as localization.[18] According to Haile Gabriel Dagne, the limited access to economic resources in rural areas (*badiya*), in contrast to urban areas (*megala*), can be found in different perceptions of the Arabic language: in rural areas the learning of Arabic, fundamental in any field of Islamic knowledge, is limited to its religious and cultural purpose; in the urban context however, the language is also useful for commerce and is thus more attractive.[19] It is thus undeniable that the particular Ethiopian multi-religious and multi-linguistic environment implies a specific role and status for the Arabic language, as it was taught, and still is, in non-Government institutions, and to non-native speakers.

Aims of the research

Among the most renowned centres of traditional Islamic learning, Harär, with its literary production, is by far the most studied;[20] Wällo has been the object

support the idea that this preliminary phase of linguistic education was not part of the higher level of education and that it was probably studied at a different location, and/or with different teaching methods, or mainly orally.

17 Yassin Mohamed 1979–1980, 127.

18 The lessons are usually held in remote areas, lacking modern comforts and teaching materials, and it is not infrequent to see teaching sessions under the trees in the open air. The schoolmasters (*mudarris* or *muᶜallim*) are few in number, they do not receive a regular income, but only occasional support from the students' families or from the farm labour of the students themselves; they usually reside in one place, thus contributing to specialization in a specific field of Islamic sciences in the local education (Hussein Ahmed 1988, 98). In Wällo the place where the schoolmaster teaches is known as *dāḫil*, the meaning of which in Arabic seems to hint only at the indoor space (*ibid*. 99; cfr. Ahmed Hassen Omer 2006, 17).

19 Haile Gabriel Dagne 1976, 350; this is confirmed by Hussein Ahmed who also stresses the difference with church education, preparing students for service in both church and state, while trade seems to be the only possible occupation for Muslim students (Hussein Ahmed 1988, 97). As regards the reputation of urban educational centres, the towns of Harär and Ǧimma were mentioned by foreign travellers in the nineteenth century because of the quality of their teaching (Pankhurst 1976, 310).

20 In particular by Ewald Wagner from the 1970s; for an overview on Harari literature see Banti 2010. A thesis specifically devoted to the traditional Islamic centre of learning in

of a well documented study by Hussein Ahmed;[21] Yīfāt, Därra and Southern Wällo have been treated by Ahmed Hassen Omer and seem to have attracted Muslim students especially from Southern Šäwa and Gurage.[22] The pioneering work of Rex S. O'Fahey on the Arabic literature of Northeastern Africa, deserves special mention for the identification of original works compiled by local authors.[23] A specific study of the teaching of Arabic grammar concerning the local traditional *curriculum* and the literary production of two Ethiopian grammarians, from Wällo and Harär, was published as an article written by Alessandro Gori in which the work of the two contemporary learned men is particularly highlighted.[24] With the exception of a few studies by local scholars on specific works or manuscript collections other regions remained almost unexplored until now.

New manuscript material has been collected and described within the framework of the project *Islam in the Horn of Africa*. The prosopographic perspective of the project allows to trace the intellectual relations among local *ᶜulamāᵓ* or *šuyūḫ* through the documentary contents of some locally produced texts, from paratextual annotations on the manuscripts, or from oral communications by local informants; at the same time, the presence and diffusion of specific texts in the collections represents in itself the first reflection of these intellectual networks and discipleships among the Muslims of the Horn and also of the relations with other regions of the Muslim world. In the relational data-base of the project, references to specific Arabic works, their being mentioned in notes about book loans, or in quotations in the margins are scrupulously described, since they indicate the presence and knowledge of those texts in that cultural context.[25] This represents what Charles Stewart and Bruce Hall have defined as *core curriculum* in relation to the West African literary tradition with the intention of identifying the most popular texts in the

Harär (unpublished) was discussed in Addis Ababa University in 1992 (Abdunasir Edris 1992) [not seen].

[21] Hussein Ahmed 2001.

[22] Ahmed Hassen Omer 2006.

[23] *ALA3*.

[24] Gori 2008. A restricted list of the most read texts on Arabic grammar is also given in Hussein Ahmed 1988, 100–101, but much more attention is devoted to works on *fiqh*; the same can be said of the study on northern Šäwa published by Ahmed Hassen Omer (2006) with no mention of specific grammar texts. Generally speaking, our informants during the missions of the *IslaHornAfr* project—and the present custodians of the manuscript collections—only mention *al-Ağurrūmiyya* by Ibn Ağurrūm, *al-Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik and (less often) *Mulḥat al-iᶜrāb* by al-Ḥarīrī.

[25] For a presentation of the project see Gori 2015b and the website of the project at *http://islhornafr.eu/index.html*.

region.[26] Starting from the same assumption, some remarks are necessary to differenciate between the approach of the present analysis and the study of the two academics. The specific aim of this contribution is limited for different reasons, among which the first is the scarcity of material, already gathered and identified: more than 80 private libraries from Mauritania to Nigeria have been analysed for West Africa,[27] while, in the case of the Horn, only 24 collections from Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somaliland, Europe and the Unites States are at present available;[28] a lot of material *in situ* still remains to be analysed, so that any general analysis of the whole region would be extremely temporary and not definite. Fot this reason, this inquiry is intended to be a preliminary survey related only to two well-represented regions of the Horn, that is the central-west Ethiopian region (in particular Gibe region) and the region of Harär (central-eastern Ethiopia); the intention is to compare the manuscript traditions of these two zones and to point out the possible existence of specific regional textual traditions; or, alternatively, of common traditions attesting intellectual relations between scholars of these different areas; or, finally, possible relations with specific areas outside the country. At the same time the location of these two zones, being at the extreme longitudinal borders of the region, suggests the possibility of different external literary influences, in particular from the Yemen and the Arabian Peninsula and from West Africa.

The analysis will be limited to the Arabic grammar tradition for a twofold reason. Firstly, in fact, the localization of the educational centres and their specialization in particular fields of the Islamic learning[29] would lead to non-representative results, and secondly, since Arabic language teaching is the basis of the other fields of study, it is presumably well-attested in any educational centre, thus in any collection. In addition to the classical Arabic works, attention will also be devoted to original local production, but not limited to it.

[26] Hall and Stewart 2011; in their essay they stress the direct relation between the most studied texts, thus the most represented in the collections, and the most popular in the markets, thus the most traded along the caravan routes (*ibid.* 110).

[27] *Ibid.* 111.

[28] For this reason the criteria of inclusion of a text in the so-called ‘core curriculum’ cannot be limited to the four witnesses in three different collections, as proposed in Hall and Stewart’s analysis (meaning in that case ‘three different regions’, *ibid.* 113); given the scarcity of material at our disposal, any extant copy or direct quotation of the texts have been taken into account, fully aware of the possibility that the results might have to be revised in the future. Moreover, for Ethiopia no bibliographic reliable text written by prominent local scholars that testify the presence and/or knowledge of texts in the two regions, has been considered (see *ibid.* 115–116), but only documentary notes such as notes about book loans or trade.

[29] See *supra.*

Another important remark about the object of this contribution is that the analysis will focus only on the manuscript heritage: this choice has been determined by the complete lack of printed books in some of the book collections at our disposal. It has to be underlined that the printing culture in Muslim Ethiopia developed much later than in neighbouring Muslim regions, in particular Egypt, as well as in the Ethiopian Christian milieu. In addition to the cultural reluctance to accept printing as a new means for the transmission of knowledge, the lack of economic support and infrastructure, together with the general obstructionism the Christian government, definitely affected the local Muslim production of printed books.[30] As Alessandro Gori highlights, the predilection for written manuscripts is reflected in two different aspects of the relationship between people and books: on the one hand, the use of handwritten books continued up to the present as a common means of learning and teaching; on the other hand, the cultural value and allegedly superior reliability of written manuscripts assigns them more prestige, so that they become the favourites in every collection.[31] This is possibly the reason why nowadays, in collections that are preserved as a cultural and intellectual heritage and for the prestige of the families, printed books have been removed.[32] This does not mean that printed books have not circulated at all in the country: locally produced texts have been printed in Egypt and foreign Arabic texts printed outside the country were carried by itinerant scholars as personal learning instruments or were imported to be sold. The preference for handwritten books, common to the entire *umma*, at least until modern times, is also reflected in the birth of a particular kind of edition, i.e. the photocopied reproduction of handwritten originals; this preference also defines a particular perception of printed books which are actually used as manuscripts: it is not infrequent to find printed editions showing manuscript commentaries, glosses, or quotations of other works in the margins, exactly as found in manuscript *codices*. Thus, in the analysis of the intellectual heritage, both printed and handwritten *media* are significant. The fact that printed material is not represented in some of the collections most probably depends on conservative

[30] For an accurate overview of the development of Islamic printing culture in Ethiopia see Gori 2015. In general it can be said that, for different reasons, the only periods in which printing culture was somehow fostered or at least not prevented by the government in Ethiopia, were the Italian Colonial period (1936–1941), and the post-*Därg* period (1991–present).

[31] *Ibid*. 65–66.

[32] Another important factor which can be seen as a cause of the absence of this kind of material in the collections is that industrial paper, more rich in lignin, is generally speaking of worse quality and is less durable than handmade paper; it was largely used in printed editions since the middle of the nineteenth century.

factors and/or on the choice of the owners who do not consider this *medium* worthy of being included in the heritage of their families.[33] In those educational centres in which Arabic and Islamic studies in general are still vivaciously practised, it has become common in the last decades to find printed books, produced both in Ethiopia and in other regions of the Islamic world.[34] Among the Ethiopian publications traditional grammar texts can also be found: they of course corroborate the general importance of the subject for the *curriculum studiorum* of Muslim scholars, and also the interest for specific texts which have traditionally become a part of it.[35]

Finally, no lexicographic works have been included in this analysis because they are not pedagogical texts and because they have no didactic structure in themselves, rather they are additional instruments to be consulted constantly for the enrichment of one's vocabulary. Moreover, frequent quotations in *marginalia* of this kind of work would have affected the result of this survey.

The manuscript collections investigated

The aim of this preliminary survey is thus to identify the most common works on Arabic grammar in the two regions mentioned above, through their identification in the book collections related to those areas.

The Islamization of these two regions dates back to different periods: to the thirteenth century for eastern Ethiopia, with the old city of Harär as its cultural centre and as capital of the Adal Sultanate from 1520, and to the first half of the nineteenth century for Gibe area.[36] The latter includes the five ancient kingdoms of Gibe, i.e. Gomma, Guummaa, Limmu Ǝnnarya, Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar and Geeraa.[37] As regards the Oromo region in the south-west, around the city of Ǧimma, five Islamic educational centres were visited during the first mission (November–December 2014) of the *IslHornAfr* project and their manuscript heritage investigated:[38]

[33] See also Drewes 1976, 172.

[34] Gori 2015, 75–76.

[35] Gori 2008, 136 and Appendix 5.

[36] In this perspective, a future diachronic comparison with material from different regions of the Horn will be extremely interesting.

[37] See Mohammed Hassen 1994; Abir 1965; Aman Seifedin 2006.

[38] A description of the sites can be found on the project *IslHornAfr* website (*http://islhornafr.eu/IslHornAfr_mission1.pdf*); additional historical remarks related to the collections will be soon published on the same site by Michele Petrone with the title 'Notes on the History of some Manuscript Collections in Gibe Region'.

- Warukko (WRK, 52 manuscripts[39]), about 65 km northeast from Ǧimma. The *zāwiya* was allegedly founded in the eighteenth century by a local saint, Warukko, who is associated with the Islamisation of the kingdoms of Gomma and Guummaa. There the tomb of the founder and his descendants is located. The *zāwiya* is still in use for devotional rituals and part of the manuscript collection is in fact represented by local devotional poems and songs which are available *in situ* for believers.
- Tije (TIJE, about 1300 fragments of manuscripts, parts of an undefined number of codicological units, possibly around 100), about 50 km north east from Ǧimma. The place where the collection was previously kept includes the mosque and tomb (*qubba*) of the religious centre's eponymous founder, Shekhota Tije al-Qurārī (d. 1917). He was a *tiǧānī* master who married Abbaa Ǧifaar II's sister (Muslim king of the Gibe Kingdom of Ǧimma, r. 1878–1932)[40] and moved to Tije after 15 years where he founded an Islamic intellectual centre. The manuscripts have been kept for decades in an outer part of the mosque in an iron box and are now reduced to fragments.
- Suuse (SSE, 39 manuscripts), about 45 km from Ǧimma on the road to Agaro. The eponymous founder of this Muslim intellectual centre is *šayḫ* Yūnus b. Sufyān; he was a member of the Rašādiyya *ṣūfī* order that he obtained from Aḥmad al-Ḥawī at the end of the 1950s. In Suuse the manuscripts are no longer used and the place where they are preserved is no longer a centre of Islamic cultural formation nor a devotional place. The texts transmitted in the Suuse manuscripts are mainly devotional poems locally produced and dedicated to the local saints. Among the manuscripts of this collection there are also linguistic works or scientific works in addition to the better known juridical works common in the region.

Two other sites, one located in the neighbouring Kʾabena area of Wälqiṭe, the other in the Gibe Valley, were visited during the mission and have been included in this comparative analysis because of the well-established intellecttual relationships of the local learned men with representative scholars of the Ǧimma region.

- Zabbi Molla (ZM, 30 manuscripts), just outside the town of Wälqiṭe. The site is represented by the mosque and *zāwiya* established by *šayḫ* Muḥammad Rašād al-Qaqī (founder of the Rašādiyya ṣūfī order) and *šayḫ* Kamal al-Dīn al-Ubbī. The *ḥaḍra* is still actively frequented as a religious centre and is still used as a Qurʾānic school.
- Säddäqa (SDQ, 46 manuscripts), about 65 km southwest from Wälqiṭe. This *zāwiya* and intellectual centre, situated in a very remote area of the Gibe Valley, developed thanks to the activity of its eponymous founder, *šayḫ* ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Fataḥ, born in Arsi in *c.* 1887; he resided in Säddäqa in the years 1925–1935 having studied in Arsi, Harär, Wällo (where he was initiated into the Qādiriyya order), Zabbi Molla (where he joined the Rašādiyya order) and Širo. Under his guidance Säddäqa became a major centre of Islamic teaching in eastern Ǧimma attracting many students from different

[39] After the name of the collection, usually corresponding to the toponym of the place where the collection is kept, the initials of the shelf marks used in *IslHornAfr* data-base and the number of codicological unities digitized will be indicated. Each codicological unit usually hosts more than one text (and also different production units).

[40] See Lewis 1965.

regions of Ethiopia. Some 60 % of the original collection was destroyed by fire in the last decades. Most of the surviving texts were produced by the *šayḫ* himself.[41]

In addition to the sites just mentioned, new ones were visited during the second mission of the project *IslHornAfr* (February-March 2016). They are mainly located around the town of Agaro and some of them are closely connected with the Tīǧāniyya ṣūfī order, quite widespread in the region thanks to the activity of Tiǧānī masters.[42]

- Bulado (AGL, 4 manuscripts), 4 km directly northeast of Agaro; here the manuscript and printed book collection of Abbaa Gulli, a disciple of Shekhota Tije al-Qurārī, is preserved in the house of his son, Abbaa Saalam.
- Haro (HDR, 22 manuscripts), 30 km north of Ǧimma; the collection of Abba Jamaal, a Tiǧānī master who died in 1992; it was preserved and enlarged by his disciple Abbaa Dura.
- Jimmate (JMT, 40 manuscripts), 13 km straight line northwest of Agaro; the collection of Abbaa Jihaad (d. late 1990s), Abba Jamaal's brother; the present custodian of the corpus is his son Mukhtar. As attested by Michele Petrone, there is clear evidence in the *corpus* of a connection between Abba Jihaad and the intellectual and religious traditions of the western regions of Sub Saharan Africa and Maghreb.[43]

Other sites not directly linked to the Tiǧāniyya were visited during the same mission, specifically:

- Limmu Gannat, Suntu (LMG, 137 manuscripts), 35 km directly northeast of Ǧimma; the manuscript collection of Shekhota Gena, descendant of the last king of Limmu, Abbaa Bagiboo II (b. 1867, r. 1882–1886), which is now kept by the former's son, Abba Karam, together with several boxes of documents relating to political relations among the local political authorities.
- Toba (SGU, 9 manuscripts), 20 km directly northwest of Agaro; the collections of Shekhota Guummaa Hajj Adam are now kept in the house of his grand-grand son, Abba Raya Abbaa Jamal.
- Agaro town, Shaykh Kemal's collection (SKA, 52 manuscripts) also includes books of his father, a *faqīh*. Sheykh Kemal studied Arabic grammar in Wällo and came back to Agaro to teach.
- Agaro (5 km south from the town), the collection of Abbaa Biya Abbaa Nuura (ABI, 17 manuscripts), one of the three custodians of the book heritage of Shekhota Tije;[44] the collection is now in the care of one of his descendants, the young Muḥammad Sayf.
- Ǧimma Museum, the collection of Abbaa Ǧifaar II, King of Ǧimma (r. 1878–1932) (AJI, 12 manuscripts).

[41] The manuscripts and history of this collection were first described by Kemal Ibrahim in his MA thesis (Kemal Ibrahim 2012).

[42] For a detailed historical description of these collections and of the religious and learned men related to them, see the contribution by Michele Petrone in this volume. A description of the mission and of the sites visited will also be available on the project web-site (*http://islhornafr.eu/publ.html*).

[43] See Petrone in this volume. This is also attested by writing styles specific to these regions, such as in manuscripts JMT0169 and JMT0116).

[44] *Ibid.*

With the exception of the last collection, the manuscript *corpora* identified here are now kept in private houses or *zāwiya*s; the present owners and custodians are the descendants of learned men and sometimes founders of Islamic educational centres around which the collections developed by gathering books of various provenance, copying them *in situ*, collecting the works of local scholars or composing new works themselves.

As regards the city of Harär, manuscripts coming from that area can now be found in established Ethiopian collections (public and private) as well as in European collections. Specifically the *corpora* taken into account are:

- The manuscript collection of the ᶜAbdallāh Šarīf Museum in Harär (HRAS, around 500 manuscripts), a publicly accessible private collection which continues to grow through donations and purchases mainly from the area of Hararge.[45]
- The Library of Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-Šakūr, last Sulṭān of Harär (1272–1292/1856–1875) (SHA, 99 manuscripts). The reconstruction of his library is based on a document listing the properties belonging to the estate of the ruler of Harär, including his books.[46]
- The manuscripts of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies of Addis Ababa evidently related to the city of Harär (IES, 50 manuscripts not including documentary texts). They constitute the beginnings of the collection and some of them are still identified by an old shelf mark 'Harär …' on an adhesive label.[47]
- Gerald Weiner's manuscript collection, in Chicago, IL, USA (USWE, around 200 manuscripts which probably come from Harär).[48]
- Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti's (1855–1926) collection in the Biblioteca Pubblica di Pavia, Italy (ROB, 12 manuscripts); a small group of manuscripts brought from his expedition in the region of Harär (1888–1889).[49]
- The manuscripts collected by Enrico Cerulli and left to the Vatican Library (CER, 8 manuscripts from Harär).[50]

It has to be emphasized that this analysis refers both to the material already described in the literary data-base of the project *IslHornAfr*, as well as to material not yet included and elaborated, thus, any consideration at this stage of the work can only represent a direction or trend, which may or may not eventually be integrated, depending on the addition of further material from this or from other regions.[51]

[45] The web-site of the museum was not accessible at the time when this contribution was reviewed: *http://everythingharar.com/AS-Museum/*; last access: March 06, 2017.

[46] See Drewes 1983.

[47] See Gori *et al.* 2014, xl–xli.

[48] The manuscripts are believed to come from Harär (*ibid.* xxxvii), but there is evidence that some of them come from Wällo.

[49] See Traini 1974, 1–19.

[50] Levi Dalla Vida 1965, 150–159 (MSS Vat.Ar. 1787–1796); Cerulli 2004, 232–237 (MSS Cerulli Etiopici 325–328).

[51] The data-base of the project is constantly expanding and includes new text descriptions, both from collections already known, and from the new sites visited during the field mis-

The Arabic linguistics tradition in context

Didactic grammars emerged in the Arabic literary tradition in the late fourth/tenth century, with the establishment of the *madrasa*, i.e. the institution in which the rigid educational system was transmitted: knowledge had to be packaged for the *curriculum*, requiring not only a sound theoretical basis, but also a style of presentation suitable for classroom teaching at different levels. Some works composed in such a cultural environment eventually gave birth to a sort of 'literary filiation' made up of commentaries, glosses, versifications, rewriting, abridged versions etc. which, as along with the primary works, spread throughout Muslim countries and are included in the *curriculum studiorum* of every learned man until the present.

Among Arabic grammars in Ethiopian manuscript collections it is possible to identify some main works with their relative literary filiations.

– The first pedagogical grammars – fifth/eleventh century:

Few witnesses among the Arabic manuscripts of the Gibe region transmit examples of the most ancient texts of this genre. One such text at least has to be mentioned: a copy of Ibn Bābašāḏ's (d. 1077 CE) *al-Mufīd fī al-naḥw* (IES 0289, copied in the nineteenth century). Another text of the twelfth century is well attested in Ethiopian collections: the long poem *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb* by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. AH 516/1122 CE). Sections of the text can be found in manuscripts in both the Harär and Gibe collections, and copies of its commentary, *Kašf al-niqāb ʿan muḫaddarāt Mulḥat al-iʿrāb* by al-Fākihī from Mecca (d. AH 972/1565 CE) are also well represented in the two regions. Other derivative works of the *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*, including the autocommentary of al-Ḥarīrī, seem to be more common in Harär collections, even if there are only a few copies; there is also a copy of the *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb* by the Yemeni Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Mubārak Baḥraq (d. AH 930/1524 CE).

– The apogee of pedagogical grammars was reached in the seventh/thirtenth century with the works of two great masters whose works came to be the best known and the most widely used in the Islamic world: of the two main works by the Egyptian Ǧamal al-Dīn ʿUṯmān b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr Ibn al-Ḥāǧib (d. AH 646/1249 CE), known as *al-Kāfiyya*, on syntax, and *al-Šāfiya*, on morphology, only the first one is attested among the manuscripts of Gibe region, not in its primary redaction, but in several derivative works, including a strophic commentary; these are not attested in the Harär collections. It

sions. The author has undertaken a preliminary overview of the manuscripts not already described in the data-base; published catalogues and inventories have also been consulted.

should be stressed that the rich literary filiation of the work is attested in only one *codex* in the Zabbi Molla collection, through fragments and quotations, around the two main works *al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya* by the Persian al-Ǧāmī (d. AH 898/1492 CE) and the anonymous glosses referring to it (*Ḥāšiya fī ḫātimat al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya*). Only one copy of *al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya* has been identified in the Harär collections although it is mentioned in an unidentified commentary in the library of sultan Muḥammad Ibn ᶜAbd al-Šakūr. No copies of the *Šāfiya* nor literary filiations of the work have been identified yet in the two regions investigated, nor in other collections.

Only one copy of another widespread masterpiece, the *al-Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik (d. AH 672/1274 CE, born in al-Andalus but eventually settled in Syria) with all its further literary elaborations, has so far been found in Gibe region collections; this copy is found in the Shekhota Guummaa collection. In contrast, this textual family is widely attested in Harär region in particular in the original work by Ibn Mālik and the comment by Ibn ᶜAqīl (d. AH 769/1367 CE, after spending his life in Cairo); other commentaries on the text attested in Harär are those of Ibn Hišām (d. AH 761/1360 CE), al-Azharī (d. AH 905/1499 CE) and al-Suyūṭī (d. AH 911/1505 CE).

Furthermore it should be pointed out that another grammatical poem of the same author, *Lāmiyyat al-afᶜāl*, is well attested in manuscripts from Gibe region, including a copy of a seldom found commentary by the Yemeni Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Šāfiᶜī al-Ḥimyarī al-Ḥaḍramī (d. AH 930/1523 CE), while just one witness is found in the Harär collections.

– To the following century belongs the famous grammarian Ibn Hišām (d. AH 761/1360 CE): his *Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā* is known in both regions in particular through the commentary *Muǧīb al-nidāʾ fī šarḥ Qaṭr al-nadā* of al-Fākihī, while other derivative works are only attested in Harär, where another work of Ibn Hišām is also attested, *al-Iᶜrāb ᶜan qawāʾid al-iᶜrāb*, specifically in the commentary of al-Azharī (d. AH 904/1499 CE), *Muwaṣṣil al-ṭullāb ilà qawāʾid al-iᶜrāb*. No copy of the *Qaṭr al-nadā* is found in central-west Ethiopian collections and only one witness of a commentary by al-Damāmīnī on another famous work by Ibn Ḥišām, the *Muġnī al-labīb ᶜan kutub al-aᶜrīb*, has been identified in Harär.

But the most famous author of the fourteenth century is of course the Moroccan schoolmaster Ibn Āǧurrūm al-Ṣanhāǧī (d. AH 723/1327 CE) who reduced the syntax of Arabic to a dozen pages easy enough to be memorized even by children. His masterpiece is *al-Muqaddima al-Āǧurrūmiyya* which has inspired more than 60 commentaries and, together with *al-Kāfiya*, was printed at the end of the sixteenth century in Rome, thus becoming one of the most wide-spread linguistic instruments for the first 'orientalists'. These con-

siderations seem to be confirmed by the presence of witnesses of the text and of derivative texts in the central-west Ethiopian collections, while fewer witnesses have also survived in the Harär collections.

Conclusions

For a sound proportional reading of the present survey a preliminary consideration has to be done regarding the amount of material taken into account: the total number of codicological units from Gibe region is 560, including the assumed number of codicological units from Tije. The number of manuscripts from Harär is 869, thus 50 % more than the number of western manuscripts. As a general consideration it can be stated that the Harär collections seem to stand out for the variety of texts on Arabic linguistics: a total of 32 titles versus 27 titles in Gibe area. Nevertheless, taking into account the proportion of the codicological units investigated, the number of different grammar texts in Harär is not much higher than that of Gibe (even if we consider that at least 10 texts in Gibe are quoted in only a single manuscript from Zabbi Molla). But to understand the real level of study and of knowledge of any text, it is necessary to point out the typology and number of the derivative forms studied as well as their spread in each region. Thus, an analysis based on the different literary filiations of each text seems to be more productive. In this respect, two or three cases should be highlighted: the literary derivations of the *Kāfiyya* are well attested in Gibe area (10 witnesses, 10 different texts) while only 2 such texts are present in the Harär collections; the literary filiation of the *Āǧurrūmiyya* is represented in Gibe area by 13 witnesses (3 in Harär) and by 5 different texts (2 in Harär); the relative distributions indicate a wider spread of both works in the western region of Ethiopia and seem to confirm the cultural projection of that region towards the regions of origin of these two texts, i.e. to North and West Africa. On the other hand, the literary family of the *Alfiyya* is much more widely diffused in Harär (5 texts, 12 witnesses) than in Gibe (only 1 witness), while in Gibe the other famous work by Ibn Mālik, the *Lāmiyya*, is relatively more widely spread (4 witnesses, 2 titles) than in the eastern region.

Among the different collections, four emerge with the highest incidence of grammar texts: Zabbi Molla (17 texts from 30 manuscripts), the Susse collection (8 from 39), the collection of Abbaa Biya Abbaa Nura in Agaro (4 from 17) and IES collection (11 from 50); but the general proportion between the two areas is not so different: 44 grammar texts from 560 manuscripts for Gibe and 56 from 869 for Harär.

So far in Gibe area there is no evidence of grammar texts produced locally; they are however attested in other regions.[52] Two such authors are worthy of

[52] The anonymous works mentioned in the appendix cannot of course be considered as locally produced without valid clues.

mention: *šayḫ* ᶜAbd al-Basīṭ b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Mināsī (Wällo AH 1308/1908 CE–AH 1413/1991–1992 CE) and *šayḫ* Muḥammad Amīn b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Yusūf (born in in Harär region AH 1348/1929–1930 CE).[53] Part of their literary production on grammar has been published in Addis Ababa, as is the case with a few classical grammars, but it is significant that no trace of their work has been found so far in the local manuscript tradition. On the one hand this might be explained by the loss of manuscript material, but at the same time, it confirms the idea that to have a sound idea of the literary heritage of this region, information transmitted by paratexts and notes of different kinds reveals to be crucial.

As already stated, all the comparative considerations proposed above have to be regarded as preliminary and provisional: only the investigation of further collections of manuscripts from the same areas and from other so far underestimated regions can lead to more conclusive results and can contribute to a more precise definition of the Ethiopian Islamic literary tradition.

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[53] Gori 2010.

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Appendix

Arabic grammar literary tradition in context

Ibn Bābašāḏ, Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ǧawharī (Egitto d. 1077)
al-Mufīd fī al-naḥw [MTTIMA 3571/3 (edited)]
1 Harär: IES00289

Mulḥat al-iᶜrāb

al-Ḥarīrī, Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Qāsim b. ᶜAlī (Iraq, 1054–1122 CE)
Mulḥat al-iᶜrāb [GAL I, 277; GAL S I, 488]
3 Harär: IES0309; USWE0074; USWE0147
5 Gibe: SSE0026; SSE0038; ZM0011; LMG0003; SKA0052

Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī
Šarḥ mulḥat al-iᶜrāb [GAL I, 277, S I, 488]
1 Harär: HRAS0165

Zayn al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī al-Fākihī al-Makkī
Kašf al-niqāb ᶜan muḫaddarāt Mulḥat al-iᶜrāb [GAL SII, 334; II, 238, 389]
2 Harär: USWE0028; HRAS0196
4 Gibe: SDQ0042; ABI0003; ABI0016; SKA0065;

Baḥraq al-Yamanī al-Ḥimyarī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Mubārak (Yemen AH 869–930)
Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb
1 Harär: USWE0028

Idrīs b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ṣaᶜmadī al-Mukannā al-Šāfiᶜī
Iᶜrāb Mulḥat al-iᶜrāb li-l-Ḥarīrī
1 Harär: USWE0181

Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Miḥlawī al-Ṣabiyāʿī
Miftāḥ al-albāb li-aqbal Iʿrāb mulḥat al-iʿrāb
1 Harär: HRAS0164

Anonym
Ḥāšiyat Mulḥat al-iʿrāb
1 Harär: USWE0054

Kāfiya

Ibn al-Ḥāǧib, Ǧamāl al-Dīn ʿUṯmān b. ʿUmar b. A. Bakr (d. AH 646/1249 CE)
Al-*Muqaddima al-Kāfiyya fī ʿilm al-naḥū/Kāfiya ḏawī al-adab fī ʿilm kalām al-ʿarab* [GAL I, 303; S I, 531]

ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Muftī b. Ṣalāḥ b. Ḥasan b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Muʾayyadī
Miṣbāḥ al-rāǧib wa-miftāḥ ḥaqāʾiq al-maʿārib/Ḥāšiya ʿalā al-Kāfiya [GAL I 304:19/370; S I 534]
1 Gibe: ZM0020

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ǧāmī (d. AH 898/1492 CE)
al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya [GAL I, 304:13/369 II, 207:8/267:11 S I, 533]
1 Harär: HRAS0393
1 Gibe: ZM 0020

Waǧīh al-Dīn al-Arzanǧānī, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin (d. AH 700)
Ḥāšiyat ʿalā al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya lil-Mullā ǧāmī [al-Aʿlām, V, 53]
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Waǧīh al-Dīn b. Nāṣir al-ʿAlawī al-Guǧarātī (AH 911–998)
Ḥāšiyat Waǧīh al-Din al-ʿAlawī ʿalā al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya
1 Gibe: ZM0020

ʿIṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarāʾinī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ʿArab Šāh (AH 873–945)
Ḥāšiyat ʿIṣām al-Dīn ʿalā al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Anonym
Ḥāšiya fī ḫātimat al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Naṣīr al-Dīn b. Niẓām al-Dīn (al-Hindī)
Ġāyat al-taḥqīq [GAL S I, 534:20]
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Dawwānī al-Dawlatabādī (d. AH 849)
Šarḥ al-Hindī [GAL I, 304]
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Rukn al-dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Šaraf Šāh al-Astarābādī
al-Mutawassiṭ fī al-naḥw/al-Wāfiya fī šarḥ al-kāfiya
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḫabīṣī (d. AH 801/1398 CE)
al-Muwaššaḥ ʿalā al-Kāfiya [GAL I, 304]
[strofic comment]
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Anonym
Šarḥ al-Kāfiya li-Ibn Ḥāǧib
1 Harär: SHA0049

Alfiyya

Ibn Mālik, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭāʾī al-Ǧayyānī (AH 600–672/1204–1274 CE)
Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik fī al-ʿarabiyya/al-Alfiyya al-naḥwiyya/al-Ḫulāṣa fī al-naḥw [GAL I, 298–300; S I, 521–527]
4 Harär: IES0309; HRAS0159; HRAS0161; SHA0082

Ibn ʿAqīl, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bahāʾal-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Hāšimī (Cairo 1294–1367)
Šarḥ Alfiyya Ibn Mālik/al-Kawkab al-muḍiʾa [GAL II, 88; SII, 104]
[commentary]
5 Harär: IES266; IES303; HRAS0400; USWE0028; SHA0050
1 Gibe: SGU0002

Ibn Hišām (d. AH 761/1360 CE)
Awḍaḥ al-masālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik [GAL I, 298]
[comment]
1 Harär: SHA0080

al-Azharī, Ḫālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr (1434–1499 CE)
al-Taṣrīḥ bi-maḍmūn al-tawḍīḥ
[comment of *Awḍaḥ*]
1 Harär: SHA0020

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505 CE)
al-Bahǧa al-marḍiyya bi-šarḥ Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik
1 Harär: HRAS0160

Lāmiyyat al-Afʿāl

Ibn Mālik, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭāʾī al-Ǧayyānī (AH 600–672/1204–1274 CE)
Lāmiyyat al-afʿāl / Al-miftāḥ fī abniyya al-afʿāl
1 Harär: USWE0152
3 Gibe: TIJE0002; SSE0014; SSE0005

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Mubārak Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Šāfiʿī al-Ḥimyarī al-Ḥaḍramī (d. AH 930/1523 CE)
Fatḥ al-iqfāl wa-ḍarb al-amṯāl fī šarḥ lāmiyya al-afʿāl [MTTIMA 8366/13]
1 Gibe: SKA0048

Qaṭr al-Nadā

Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf (d. 1360 CE)
Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā [GAL II, 23; MTTIMA 4098/31]
1 Harär: HRAS 160
1 Gibe: SDQ0042

al-Fākihī, ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad (d. 1564 CE)
Muǧīb al-nidāʾ fī šarḥ Qaṭr al-nadā [GAL II, 23, 380, S II, 17, 512]
[commentary]
4 Harär: SHA0042; IES0304; IES0305; USWE0070
2 Gibe: SSE0005; SKA0047

al-Širbīnī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḫaṭīb (d. AH 977)
Šarḥ šawāhid Qaṭr al-nadā [GAL S II, 441]
[commentary]
1 Harär: USWE0028

Anonym
Ḥāšiya ᶜalā Qaṭr al-nadā
1 Harär: USWE0049

Iᶜrāb ᶜan Qawāᵓid Al-Iᶜrāb

Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf (1309–1360)
al-Iᶜrāb ᶜan qawāᵓid al-iᶜrāb [GAL II, 24, 27; S II 18–19]

al-Azharī, Ḫālid b. ʻAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr (1434–1499 CE)
Muwaṣṣil al-ṭullāb ilà qawāᵓid al-iᶜrāb [GAL II, 24, 27; S II, 18–19]
[commentary on *al-Iᶜrāb*]
2 Harär: IES305; HRAS0162
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Āǧurrūmiyya

Ibn Āǧurrūm, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwud al-Ṣanhāǧī (thirteenth/fourteenth century)
al-Muqaddima al-Āǧurrūmiyya [GAL II 237–238; S II, 332–335]
2 Harär: USWE0149; USWE0147
4 Gibe: SSE0024; SSE0026; SDQ0042; ZM0011

al-Azharī, Ḫālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr (fifteenth century)
Iᶜrāb al-Āǧurrūmiyya
4 Gibe: ZM0011; JMT0133; LMG0105; SKA0052.I

al-Azharī, Ḫālid b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr (fifteenth century)
Šarḥ al-Azharī li-al-Āǧurrūmiyya / Nuzhat ḏawī al-qulūb [GAL II, 27:16.4/35, 238:6/308 S II 333]
1 Gibe: ABI0015

Abū al-Naǧā, Muḥammad
Ḥāšiyat ᶜalā Šarḥ al-Azharī li-al-Āǧurrumiyya
1 Harär: USWE0028

Anonym local author
al-Hidāyat al-ṭālibiyya šarḥ al-Muqaddima al-Āǧurrūmiyya
1 Gibe: JMT0199

Zayn al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī al-Fākihī al-Makkī (d. AH 982/1574 CE)
Šarḥ al-fawākih al-ǧaniyya ᶜalā Mutammimat al-Āǧurrūmiyya [GAL SII, 334; II, 238, 389]
3 Gibe: SHA0090; USWE0087; ABI0017

Others

Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf (AH 708–761)
Šarḥ Šuḏūr al-ḏahab fi maᶜrifat kalām al-ᶜarab
1 Harär: USWE0028

Zakariyyāᵓ al-Anṣārī, Abū Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāᵓ (d. 926)
Bulūġ al-arab bi-šarḥ Šuḏūr al-ḏahab [MTTIMA 1148, n. 3102/10]
1 Harär: IES0304

al-Damāmīnī, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ᶜUmar (ca. 1400 CE)
Tuḥfat al-ġarīb/Šarḥ Muġni al-labīb [GAL II, 26]
1 Harär: USWE0028

al-Fākihī, Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad
Ḥudūd al-naḥw
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Ibn Mālik
Tashīl al-qawāʾid wa-takmīl al-maqāṣid fī al-naḥw
1 Harär: HRAS0163

al-Bāǧūrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥāmmad (Egypt 1198–1276)
Fatḥ al-ḫabīr al-laṭīf bi-šarḥ matn al-tarṣīf [GAL SII 741]
[comment on *al-Tarṣīf fī ʿilm al-taṣrīf* by al-Muršidī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā (d. AH 1037)]
1 Harär: USWE0074

al-Ḫawāṣṣ, Aḥmad b. ʿAbbād b. Šaʿīb al-Qināʾī (Egitto, d. AH 858)
al-Kāfī fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa-l-qawāfī [Zirikli I, 142; GAL II, 27; S II, 22]
2 Gibe: SSE0014; SKA0116

Našwān b. Saʿīd b. Našwān al-Ḥimyārī al-Yamanī (d. AH 573)
Šams al-ʿulūm wa-dawāʾ kalām al-ʿArab min al-kulūm [GAL SI 528]
1 Gibe: ZM0020

Ibn al-Ǧinnī (tenth century)
Muḫtaṣar lumʿa fī al-naḥū
1 Harär: ROB0012

Anonym
Fawāʾid ǧalīla fī qawāʾid al-iʿrāb
1 Harär: IES0305

Anonym
al-Muḫtaṣar fī al-taṣrīf
1 Harär: IES0289

Anonym Arabic grammar in verses
1 Harär: IES0309

Anonym
Tables of verbal conjugation
1 Harär: IES0304

Anonym
Naṣṣ ʿalā al-iʿrāb
1 Gibe: ZM0007

Anonym
Urǧūza on grammar
1 Harär: ROB0010

Summary

The present study is based on the analysis of manuscript collections of two regions of Ethiopia in part collected during two field missions and in part already known. Gibe and Harär areas were chosen both for the interesting history of their Islamisation and for their location directed towards West and North Africa from the one side, and East Africa and the Arabian peninsula from the other. Among the different fields of Islamic education, Arabic grammar has been identified as a subject not specific to certain collections or areas, being Arabic learning at the base of every Islamic *curriculum studiorum*. The traditional core curriculum for Arabic learning has been determined according to the presence of traditional grammar works together with their comments, abridgements, glosses etc. in order to highlight possible specificities or common traditions between the two areas and between these and the surrounding regions through implicit intellectual networks along the historical trade routes.