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Article

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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).

EI²   *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.

Some Observations on the Text of *šayḫ* Hāšim's *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*[*]

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1. *Šayḫ* Hāšim al-Hararī: a biographical sketch

Šayḫ Hāšim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. *amīr* Hāšim al-Muḥammadī al-Šāfiʿī al-Ašʿarī al-Qādirī al-Hararī (*c*.1711–1765)[1] is a well-known author in the history of the literature of Harär in both the Arabic and Harari languages. According to local tradition he is the grandson of *amīr* Hāšim b. ʿAlī b. Dawūd (d. 1671).[2] Apparently he preferred learning to politics and power: he was initiated into the *Qādiriyya* brotherhood,[3] becoming an outstanding *šayḫ* of the *ṭarīqa*,[4] a

[1] 'Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz', *EAe*, II (2005), 1044a–b (E. Wagner). The *nisba*-s he is traditionally given, that he was a member of the Šāfiʿī law school, of the Ašʿarī theological stream and of the *qādirī* mystical brotherhood.

[2] 'Hāšim b. ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd', *EAe*, II (2005), 1044a (E. Wagner). *Šayḫ* Hāšim is said to have had an elder brother called ʿUmar who in 1737 allegedly finished copying a manuscript of the *Ibkār al-afkār fī madḥ al-nabī al-muḫtār* by Ǧamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Dirǧām al-Ṭarāʾifī photomechanically published in Addis Abäba in 1967 by the Harari learned man *al-ḥāǧǧ* Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see Gori 2015, 79 note 26).

[3] His spiritual genealogy can be found in the manuscript Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Hs. Or. 10472 (Wagner 1997, 10–11). Apart from minor details, the succession of the names in the Berlin *silsila* is practically the same as in the spiritual genealogy of the *Qādiriyya* of Wällo I analysed in Gori 2012. The only relevant difference is that the Berlin document counts 16 generations between *šayḫ* Hāšim and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlānī, while the other text has only 15 names of masters between the founder of the *Qādiriyya* and the Harari *šayḫ* (*sayyid* ʿAbd al-Razzāq is missing at the fifteenth place, between *sayyid* Ibrāhīm and *sayyid* Musāfir the spiritual mentor of *šayḫ* Hāšim). According to the Berlin *silsila*, *šayḫ* Hāšim in his turn initiated his own son ʿAbdallah and *sayyid* Aḥmad b. Sālim into the *Qādiriyya*. *Šayḫ* Hāšim's disciple, Aḥmad b. Sālim, is possibly Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, mentioned in the *silsila* I studied and in Hussein Ahmed 2001, 69. I will carry out a more in-depth discussion of these two *silsila*-s (and other spiritual genealogies of the Ethiopian *Qādiriyya*) in another article.

[4] He has occasionally been confused with the Harari saint *walī* Hāšim: see Wagner 1988, 203, note 2 and 'Hāšim' *EAe*, II (2005), 1043b–1044a (E. Wagner).

teacher and a prominent representative of the traditional Islamic culture of the city of Harär.[5]

Šayḫ Hāšim was a prolific writer. Besides the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* which I am dealing with in this paper, he authored the *Muṣṭafā* (in both a longer and a shorter version) a devotional text in the Harari language in Arabic script to be read on the occasion of the *Mawlid* (birthday) of the Prophet Muḥammad and during other religious ceremonies[6] and at least 6 different invocations of the Prophet as well as a supplication to God (see below for the detail).[7]

He died around 1765 and was buried in the Āw ʿIzzīn cemetery in the Assum Bari quarter of Harär. After his death his fame as a holy man spread and deepened:[8] devotees flock to his tomb and a *galma* (a congregational house where the adepts of the *šayḫ* gather to recite devotional poems and supplications on different religious occasions) has been erected in his name in the area of Argob Bari.[9]

2. Šayḫ Hāšim's al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī

Al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī is by far the most renowned work of *šayḫ* Hāšim. It is often read and recited in Harär and also has spread in Wällo[10] and among the Harari communities in Ethiopia and abroad. A *Muḫtaṣar* (abridged

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[5] It is believed that, in 1737, he finished copying of a manuscript of the *al-Qaṣīda al-witriyya fī madḥ ḫayr al-bariyya* by Maǧd al-Dīn b. Abī Bakr al-Wāʿiẓ al-Baġdādī with the *taḫmīs* by Maǧd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Warrāq al-Iskandarānī al-Laḥmī: the codex was photmechanically published in 1967 in Addis Ababa by Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see Gori 2015, 73 and 79 note 26).

[6] The text of the shorter version was printed in Addis Ababa in AH 1394/1974 CE at the Maṭbaʿat Addīs, thanks to the efforts of the Harari learned man *al-ḥāǧǧ* Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (see also Drewes 1976, 176–177; O'Fahey 2003, 31). The longer version was critically edited by Wagner 1983, 21–52 on the basis of five manuscripts.

[7] Drewes 1983, 71 and 73 attributes two other works to *šayḫ* Hāšim: the *Rasāʾil al-yaqī niyya* and the *Yanābīʿ al-ḥukm*; he mentions the existence of manuscripts without however giving any precise reference. The famous *Bun fataḥ* invocation recited in Harär before the serving of coffee is also sometimes attributed to *šayḫ* Hāšim.

[8] Three of his miracles were collected in Harär by De Santis 1940, 396-7. In those orally transmitted texts, *šayḫ* Hāšim is given a son called Aḥmad and an unspecified number of (envious) unnamed brothers.

[9] Manuscripts and photocopies of a collection of devotional poems, prayers and invocations circulate in Harär under the title *Awrād maqām al-ʿārif bi-llāh sayyidī Abī ʿAbdallāh Hāšim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Qādirī*. They contain the texts recited at the *galma* of *šayḫ* Hāšim during the congregational ceremonies.

[10] This was affirmed by Hussein Ahmed 2010, 115.

version) realized by the famous (and controversial) *šayḫ* ʿAbdallāh al-Hararī points to the exceptionally high position and respect that the *Fatḥ* enjoys.[11]

In the following I first give an analysis of the last Ethiopian printed version, since it is the one most widely circulating in the country. Then I offer a general description of the manuscript tradition of the *Fatḥ* as is known up to the present day and propose a first hypothesis concerning the development of the constellation of texts associated with it.

The complete title of the work as it appears in the printed versions is: [*Kitāb*] *al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*[12] *fī ḏikr al-ṣalāt ʿalā ašraf al-ḫalāʾiq* [var. al-nawʿ] *al-insānī Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā al-ʿAdnānī* ('[The book] the Inspiration of the Merciful about performing the prayer[13] on the noblest of the human creatures [of the human kind] Muhammad the Chosen descendant of ʿAdnān').[14]

As one of the earliest ever Ethiopian Islamic books to be printed, the *Fatḥ* was published in Cairo[15] at the famous Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī printing press in AH 1368/1949 CE.[16] In Ethiopia the work was published in

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[11] The *Muḫtaṣar al-fatḥ al-raḥmānī*, was published in 2014 in Beirut at the Dār al-Mašārī, the publishing house of the *Aḥbāš* movement. On *šayḫ* ʿAbdallāh al-Hararī (d. 2008) and his group, see 'ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Hararī', *EAe*, V (2014), 210b–211a (H. Erlich).

[12] The long *ī* at the end of the divine name al-Raḥmān was probably suggested by the exigency of rhyming but it has to be noted that the adjectival-*nisba* form Raḥmānī is not unattested especially in the mystic and pietistic language register. It appears also in the title of books (e.g. in *al-Fatḥ al-rabbānī wa-al-fayḍ al-raḥmānī* by the very famous mystic author and holy man ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlānī, d. AH 1166 and in *al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī šarḥ kanz al-maʿānī bi-taḥrīr ḥirz al-amānī* by *šayḫ* Sulaymān b. Ḥusayn b. al-Ǧamzūrī al-Afandī, *fl.* 1770ies).

[13] Thus the text belongs both to the genre of the *taṣliya* (prayers on the Prophet) and, at the same time, in that of the *ḏikr* (pious remembrance of the names of God and his bountifulness).

[14] ʿAdnān b. Adad is the eponymous common ancestor of the Northern Arab tribes (*al-ʿArab al-ʿadnāniyyūn*) and a forefather of the Prophet Muḥammad.

[15] The reference given in Gori 2015, 73 is unfortunately imprecise.

[16] The practice of having books printed in Egypt characterizes the very first phase of the history of Islamic printing in Ethiopia which continued into the 1960s (see Gori 2015, 67–72). On p. 119 of the book a quite puzzling colophon gives 1 *rabīʿ al-awwal* AH 1323/6 May 1905 CE as the date of the completion of the book (*al-farāǧ min hāḏā al-kitāb al-mubārak*), possibly referring to the typesetting of a previous edition. As a matter of fact, an Egyptian edition of the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* at al-Maṭbaʿa al-Maymaniyya had already been published in AH 1331/1912–13 CE (according to the on-line catalogue of the Imam Reza Network *http://www.imamreza.net/arb/imamreza.php?id=1550*; last accessed Juli 12, 2016) The circumstances in which this Egyptian edition of *šayḫ* Hāšim's *Fatḥ* was realized are so far completely unknown. On p. 128 the names of the director of the printing press (Rustam Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī) and the supervisor of the printing press (Muḥammad Amīn ʿImrān) are mentioned.

Addis Ababa at Maṭbaʿat Addīs AH 1386/1966 CE by Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and subsequently at the Maṭbaʿat Šimbir in AH 1401/1980 CE by Ibrāhīm ʿUmar Sulaymān.[17] This second Ethiopian edition has now become the standard reference book of the *Fatḥ*.

The book is a photomechanichal reproduction of a manuscript copied by ʿUmar Sulaymān who finished it according to the colophon (p. 154) on the 7 *šawwāl* 1386 (19 January 1967). The copy was allegedly collated with the autograph of *šayḫ* Hāšim himself, kept at the *maqām* of the *šayḫ* in the custody of the *murīd šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Ǧawād *kabīr* Ismāʿīl b. al-Muqrī and dated (p. 90) Thursday 19 *šaʿbān* 1171 (28 April 1758). The contents of this book can be summarized as follows.

The opening preface (pp. 6–8) contains 1) the description of God's inspiration bestowed on the author (*ilhām*) who started to write his text; 2) a series of visions of the Prophet;[18] 3) the prophecy of *šayḫ* Hāšim in paradise drinking from the *tasnīm* fountain and enjoying intercessory power (*šafāʿa*) for his devotees. A final remark in the introductory section highlights the exceptional value of the text which can fully replace the guidance of a master when a novice cannot join a *šayḫ*.[19]

There follows (p. 8) a description of the way the faithful should pray to the Prophet (*niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī*) directly taken from the much renowned devotional manual *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt* of the Moroccan author Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ǧazūlī (d. 1465).[20] The main core of the *Fatḥ* is made up of five chapters[21] (pp. 10–90) which consist of a long, practically uninterrupted series

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[17] Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Sulaymān also publisher the *Ǧawāhir al-durar* in 1969, a collection of texts on mysticism, supplications and poems in honour of the Prophet Muḥammad written by *šayḫ* ʿUmar b. ʿAlī of Galaamso, one of the most outstanding representatives of the *Qādiriyya* in Hararge (see Gori 2015, 73).

[18] In one of them *šayḫ* Hāšim drinks the sweat from the Prophet's forehead.

[19] This extravagant claim is partially mitigated by the acknowledgment that the exceptional value of the work is actually a direct consequence of the divine grace bestowed on the author. Presenting one's own writing (especially if it has an autobiographical content) as a description of the gifts that God gave to the author is a pious literary topos modeled on Quran 93:11 and made extremely famous by Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's (d. 1505) *Kitāb al-taḥadduṯ bi-niʿmat allāh* and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Šaʿrānī's (d. 1565) *Laṭāʾif al-minan*.

[20] On al-Ǧazūlī and his *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt* the available bibliography is extremely abundant: see at least *al-Djazūlī*, *EI²* *s.v.* (M. Ben Cheneb). The work is widespread among Ethiopian Muslims, just as it is in Western Africa (on the *Dalāil al-ḫayrāt* in Western Africa see Johnson 2010).

[21] The chapters are actually numbered only from the second in the Ethiopian printed version, p. 24.

of prayers to the Prophet (*taṣliya*), invocations and supplications: the general literary model is clearly, once again, the *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*.[22]

The Ethiopian printed edition includes, beside what one could call the basic text of the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*, a selection of texts belonging to the same devotional/supplicational genre. Here is the list of other invocations: 1) *daʿwa* (i.e. *duʿāʾ*) *al-Dimyāṭiyya* with an anonymous *taḫmīs*;[23] 2) *duʿāʾ* of Ibn Zarrūq al-Burnusīʾ (d. 1493);[24] 3) an anonymous *taḫmis* on *al-Qaṣīda al-muḍariyya*;[25] 4) *taḫmis ʿalā al-Wasīla al-ʿaẓīma*;[26] 5) *ʿAyniyyat al-Suhaylī* (with *taḫmis*);[27] 6) *qaṣīda* with *taḫmīs Ilzam bāba rabbika*;[28] 7) *duʿāʾ niṣf šaʿbān*;[29] 8) *duʿāʾ šahr ramaḍān*;[30] 9) *tawassul bi-al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*;[31] 10) *Rātib al-saʿāda*;[32] 11) invocations and pious texts attributed to al-Šāfiʿī and to the Prophet.[33]

Finally, the Ethiopian printed version of the *Fatḥ* also includes other works of *šayḫ* Hāšim: 1) *kitāb ḥizb al-abrār* (pp. 133–135); 2) *kayfiyyat al-ḏikr* (pp. 136–148); 3) *al-ṣalāt al-kubrā* (pp. 149–154).[34]

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[22] This central section of the work is closed by an invocation (*duʿāʾ*) to be read after *ṣalāwāt* which is partially based on *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt* pp. 91–94.

[23] Pp. 95–104: attributed to Nūr al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī (d. AH 921/1515 CE); also printed on pp. 105–117 of the Cairo ed.

[24] Pp. 105-106 (pp. 117-119 in the Cairo ed.).

[25] Pp. 106-111 (pp. 96-103 in the Cairo ed.). The *Qaṣīda al-muḍariyya* is one of the most famous works by Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Buṣīrī (d. 1294), author of the panegyrics in praise of the Prophet *al-Burda* and the *al-Hamziyya* both very much cherished by Ethiopian Muslims.

[26] Pp. 112–116 (pp. 90–96 in the Cairo ed.). The text is attributed to the Yemeni author Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ṣiddīq b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (d. AH 903/1497–1498 CE).

[27] Pp. 116–118 (pp. 103–105 in the Cairo ed.): the text is attributed to *al-imām* al-Suhaylī (1185–1114).

[28] Pp. 118–120 (pp. 88–90 in the Cairo ed.); the text is attributed to the famous Yemeni mystic master, Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1720)

[29] Pp. 120–121 (p. 130 in the Cairo ed.); the text of this very famous invocation is anonymous.

[30] Pp. 121–122 (p. 129 in the Cairo ed.); this anonymous invocation is very wide spread in Ethiopia.

[31] Pp. 122–123 (pp. 119–120 in the Cairo ed.).

[32] Pp. 124-128 (pp. 120–125 in the Cairo ed.). The text is by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karim al-Sammān (1719–1775) founder of the Sammāniyya branch of the Ḫalwatiyya brotherhood whose presence in Ethiopia has, up to the present, hardly been studied (Hussein Ahmed 2001, 70, 107, 108). On this *ṭarīqa* and its presence in Batavia, see Drewes 1992, in Sudan and Zanzibar, see O'Fahey 2004.

[33] Pp. 128-131 (pp. 125–128).

[34] None of these texts is included in the Cairo edition of the *Fatḥ*. Of these works of *šayḫ* Hāšim, only the *Ḥizb al-abrār* is mentioned by Drewes 1983, and in 'Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz', *EAe*, II (2005), 1044a–b (E. Wagner).

3. *Al-Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī*: a glance at the manuscript tradition

The *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* is relatively well attested in the Ethiopian Islamic manuscript tradition. So far 13 manuscripts of the work have been identified.

Here is a quick checklist of these codices.

Three testimonies of the *Fatḥ* are kept in Addis Abäba at the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies of Addis Ababa University:

> IES 282 (twentieth century; probably originally from Harär)[35] contains (ff. 4v–68r) *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* and the *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt*.

> IES 2670 (twentieth century; probably originally from Harär)[36] contains the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* and the *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt* (ff. 35r–100r); on f. 100v only the title page of the *Wasīla al-aʿẓam wa-al-kimiyāʾ al-afḫar fī al-ṣalawāt ʿalā al-nabī al-akram* by *šayḫ* Hāšim.[37]

> IES 2671 (twentieth century; probably originally from Harär)[38] contains (f. 4v) the introduction to the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* (exactly as in the Ethiopian printed version); on f. 6v the *Niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* (from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 7r–52r the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* followed by the *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt*; ff. 52v–54r *al-duʿāʾ al-Damyaṭiyya*; 54v–55r *duʿāʾ Aḥmad al-Zarrūq(ī)*; f. 55r *Tawassul bi-al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*; ff. 55v–58r the *taḫmīs* on the *Muḍariyya* poem by al-Būṣīrī.[39]

Eight more codices are preserved in Harär in the ʿAbdallāh Šarīf Collection (Abdallah Sharif's Private Museum). They are the following:

> EMIP 1444 Abdulahi Collection 102[40] (colophon of the *Fatḥ* on f. 169v; *ṣafar* AH 1168/November–December 1754 CE): ff. 98v–101v. *duʿāʾ* for every day of the week attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; ff. 102r–107r *duʿāʾ* for every day of the week attributed to ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlānī; ff. 116v–118v *Wird al-saḥar* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; f. 120v *Niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* (taken from al-Ǧazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 121r–178r *Fatḥ Rahmānī* and *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt*; ff. 178v–

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[35] For a more detailed description of the manuscript, see Gori 2014, 10.

[36] See *ibid*. 43.

[37] This manuscript also contains the *taḫmīs* on the *Muḍariyya* poem by al-Būṣīrī (ff. 24r–28v) and the *Taḫmis ʿalā al-Wasīla al-ʿaẓīma* by Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ṣiddīq b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (ff. 28v–33r) which, in the printed Ethiopian edition, follow the *Fatḥ*.

[38] See *ibid*.

[39] This manuscript is thus a collection of texts which comes close to that contained in the Ethiopian printed version.

[40] The numbering here is the one used by the team of the *Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project* (Prof. Steve Delamarter and Dr. Jeremy R. Brown) digitized the items in 2011.

179r *taṣliya* attributed to al-Ġazzālī; 180r–v excerpt from al-Ṣafūrī's (d. 1488-89) *Nuzhat al-maǧālis*; ff. 180v–181r excerpts from al-Šāfiʿī; f. 181r anonymous *Kayfiyyat ṣalāt al-tasbīḥ*; f. 181r *duʿāʾ ṣalāt al-tasbīḥ*; ff. 181v-186r *Ḥizb al-barr* by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Šāḏilī;[41] ff. 186r–189v *wird* to be read after *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād; 199v-201v *duʿāʾ Ḥizb al-barr* attributed to Ibn ʿArabī;[42] 202v–203r *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Šāḏilī.

EMIP 1446 Abdulahi Collection 104 (colophon 40v 18 ǧumada al-awwal AH 1329/17 May 1911 CE;[43] somewhat disorderly): ff. 1v–2r the introduction to the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* (exactly as in the Ethiopian printed version) and *niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* (from al-Ġazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 2r–7v introduction and the first chapter of the *Fatḥ*; f. 8r; ff. 8r–43r *al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* and *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalawāt*; ff. 43–44r *šayḫ* Hāšim's *al-wasīla al-aʿẓam wa-al-kimiyāʾ al-afḫar fī al-ṣalawāt ʿalā al-nabī al-akram*; 45r–54v anonymous *taḫmīs* on al-Buṣīrī's *al-Qaṣīda al-Muḍariyya*; 54r–56r *al-Duʿāʾ al-Damyāṭiyya* without *taḫmīs*; ff. 56r–57r *duʿā Aḥmad al-Zarrūq(ī)*.

EMIP 1447 Abdulahi Collection 105 (possibly nineteenth century): f. 2v *al-Qaṣīda al-Munfariǧa* by Ibn al-Naḥwī (d. 1098); f. 3r poem attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; ff. 3v–4r the introduction to the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* (exactly as in the Ethiopian printed version) and *niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* (from al-Ġazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 4v–51r the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* and *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt* (partially from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 51v–53r *al-Wasīla al-aʿẓam wa-al-kimiyāʾ al-afḫar fī al-ṣalawāt ʿalā al-nabī al-akram*;[44] f. 53r–v *Ḥizb al-ʿahd wa-al-mīṯāq* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; f. 54r–v anonymous *šarḥ al-taṣliya*; ff. 54v–55v anonymous *taṣliya: yā rabbī ṣallī ʿala man sammaytahu al-anbiyāʾ bašīr*; ff. 55v–57r: *taṣliya fī raʾs rasūl allāh arbaʿa*; ff. 57v–58r prose introduction to a

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[41] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Šāḏilī is a renowned mystic master of Maghribi origin (see 'al-Shāḏhilī', *EI²* s.v. [P. Lory]) initiator of the *Šāḏiliyya* brotherhood ('Shādhiliyya' *EI²* s.v. [P. Lory]) whose history, presence and diffusion in Ethiopia have still to be investigated.

[42] The text is actually known as *Ḥizb al-wiqāya* (or *duʿāʾ al-Durr al-aʿlā*) and is attributed to the famous and controversial mystic master and theologian Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1220). The *Ḥizb al-barr* is the name of a pious invocation composed by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Šāḏilī.

[43] The copyist is *al-ḥāǧǧ* ʿAbd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. *ḥāǧǧ* ʿĀmid b. *qāṭ* Ibrāhīm b. *qāṭ* ʿAlī; concerning the title *qāṭ* see 'Qaṭ', *EAe*, IV (2010), 264a–b (A. Gori). The name of this scribe apparently proves the existence of the title as far as the seventeenth century in Harär.

[44] An interesting note is contained in the text copied in this manuscript: the author affirms that this work of his is an abridged version of the *taṣliya* by the famous mystic master Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240).

collection of *ṣalawāt*; ff. 58v–62v *tasliya*; f. 63r–v *duʿāʾ al-iʿtiqād wa-al-yaqīn* attributed to the Prophet transmitted by Anas b. Mālik; 63v–64v: seven short invocations (*sabaʿat wasāʾil*);[45] ff 65r–66v *al-Daʿwa al-Dimyāṭiyya* (without *taḥmīs*); f. 67r–v anonymous *duʿāʾ a lam našrah* (*duʿāʾ ǧalb al-rizq*); f. 67v *duʿāʾ ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlānī*; ff. 68r–72r *taḥmīs al-Qaṣīda al-muḍariyya*; ff. 72v–76r *Taḥmis ʿalā al-Wasīla al-ʿaẓīma* by Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ṣiddīq b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (d. 1497–1498); ff. 76r–77v *ʿAyniyyat al-Suhaylī* (with *taḥmīs*) by *al-imām* al-Suhaylī (1185–1114); f. 78r–v *al-Ṣalāt al-kubrā* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; ff. 79r–82v *taḥmīs al-Daʿwa al-Dimyāṭiyya*; f. 83r *Tawassul bi-al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*; 83v–84r *duʿāʾ Aḥmad al-Zarrūq(ī)*; f. 84r *qaṣīda* with *taḥmīs Ilzam bāba rabbika* by the famous Yemenite mystic master Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1720).

EMIP 1448 Abdulahi Collection 106 (imperfect colophon f. 60; possibly late eighteenth century);[46] f. 6r–v anonymous poem: *hāḏā al-nabī Muḥammad ḫayr al-warā wa-nabiyuhum ḫayr wa-nabiyuhum wa-bihi taṣarrafa ādam*; f. 7v excerpt from *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1038); f. 8r–v *duʿāʾ al-istīǧāb*; ff. 9r–62v *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*[47] and the *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalawāt*; f. 63r–v *Ṭuf bi-ḥālī* by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlānī;[48] ff. 64v–65v excerpt from al-*Ǧawāhir al-muḍiʾa fī ḥilyat ḫayr al-bariyya* by Fāḍil b. ʿĀrif al-Safīdānī (d. 1738–1739); ff. 72v–85r *taḥmīs* of the *qaṣīda yā Ṭayyib al-asmāʾ*; ff. 84r–86v *Rātib al-Saʿāda*; ff. 86v–90r *taḥmīs* of the *istiǧfār* of the famous Andalusian and North African holy man Abū Madyan Šuʿayb (d. 1198); ff. 90r–94r *Taḥmis ʿalā al-Wasīla al-ʿaẓīma* by Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ṣiddīq b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (d. 1497–1498); ff. 94r–95v *Ǧāliyat al-kurab wa-munīlat al-arab* by Muḥammad al-Sammmān (d. 1775); 96r–100r *al-Daʿwa al-Dimyāṭiyya*; ff. 100r–103r anonymous poem in praise of the prophet *Ilā Marwā qad badat subul al-rašād*.

EMIP 1449 Abdulahi Collection 107 (colophon f. *ǧumāda al-ṯānī* AH 1392/July–August 1972 CE);[49] ff. 1v–11r *al-Muṣṭafā* by *šayḫ* Hāšim, 11v–12v: anonymous *duʿāʾ*; f. 12v title page *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*; ff. 13v–14v *asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*; ff. 15v–16r *Niyat al-ṣalāt*; ff. 16v–17v *duʿāʾ yā man yuǧīb duʿāʾ al-muḍtarr* (from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 18r–105v

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[45] The incipit of the first invocation is identical with a *duʿāʾ* contained in the renowned *Ṣaḥīfa al-saǧǧādiyya* by the fourth Shia imam ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (d. 713–714).
[46] Copyist, f. 59v, Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh.
[47] The title page is on f. 7r and reads: *Kitāb Fatḥ al-raḥmān*; the *ī* was clearly added later.
[48] This poem is also copied in the Mawlid collection circulating in Harär (see Gori 2010).
[49] Copyist *ḥāǧǧ* Tawfiq ʿUmar Baraso.

Fatḥ al-raḥmānī and *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt* (partially from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 106r–111v *taḥmīs al-Qaṣīda al-Muḍariyya*.

EMIP 1450 Abdulahi Collection 108 (twentieth century) ff. 2r–51v *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* (f. 2r title page) ff. 52r–54v *Duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt* (partially from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*) ff. 54v–57v al-*Daʿwa al-Dimyāṭiyya* (incomplete) f. 57v incipit of the *taḥmīs al-Qaṣīda al-Muḍariyya* (incomplete).

EMIP 1451 Abdulahi Collection 109 (twentieth century); *Niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* (taken from al-Ġazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*) 2r–3v *duʿāʾ yā man yuǧīb duʿāʾ al-muḍtarr* (taken from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*) ff. 5v–69r *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* and *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt* (partially from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*).

EMIP 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221 (possibly nineteenth century); f. 2r–v the introduction to the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* (exactly as in the Ethiopian printed version) and *niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* (from al-Ġazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 2v–50v *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* and *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalāwāt* (partially from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 51v–55v *Ḥizb al-tawba wa-al-istiqāma* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; ff. 55v–57v *Ḥizb al-wadīʿa al-maḥmiya wa-al-ḏaḫīra al-maḥfiyya wa-al-ibtihāl ʿalā al-daʿwat al-qudsiyya* completed by *šayḫ* Hāšim on 24 raǧab 1176 (8 February 1763); ff. 57v–61 *Ḥizb al-fāʾiq fī tanzīh al-ḫāliq* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; f. 61r *duʿāʾ* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; ff. 62v–64v; al-*Wasīla al-aʿẓam wa-al-kimiyāʾ al-afham fī al-salām ʿalā al-nabī al-akram* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; ff. 64v–65v *Ḥizb al-aʿhd wa-al-mīṯāq* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; f. 65v *duʿāʾ* by *šayḫ* Hāšim.

One manuscript of the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* originating from Harär is kept in Pavia at the Biblioteca Civica 'C. Bonetta' (MS Robecchi Bricchetti 5, eighteenth century):[50]

ff. 1v–3r *Ḥizb al-fāʾiq fī tanzīh al-ḫāliq* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; f. 3r the introduction to the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* (exactly as in the Ethiopian printed version) and *niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* (from al-Ġazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 3v–57r *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*; f. 7v *qaṣīda ilā mā wa-qad badat subul al-rašād* (attributed to ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Šayḫ b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAydarūs, d. 1628);[51] f. 10r–v *qaṣīda* with *taḥmīs Ilzam bāba rabbika* by Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1720); ff. 58r–60r *duʿāʾ* to be read

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[50] The codex is part of a collection of 12 items acquired by the Italian traveller and engineer Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti in Harär in 1888: 'Robecchi Bricchetti, Luigi', *EAe*, IV (2010), 395b–396b (M. Bonati). The collecion was catalogued by Traini 1973.

[51] On this outstanding representative of the ʿAydarūs clan family see Gori 2015b and Peskes 2005.

after *ṣalāwāt* (partially from *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); ff. 60v–63v *Ḥizb al-wadīʿa al-maḥmiya wa-al-ḏaḫīra al-maḥfiyya wa-al-ibtihāl ʿalā al-daʿwat al-qudsiyya* terminated by *šayḫ* Hāšim on 24 *raǧab* 1176 (8 February 1763); ff. 63v–65r *Ḥizb al-tawba wa-al-istiqāma* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; f. 65r–v *Ḥizb al-aʿhd wa-al-mīṯāq* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; ff. 65v–66v *al-Wasīla al-aʿẓam wa-al-kimiyāʾ al-afham fī al-salām ʿalā al-nabī al-akram* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; ff. 67r–68v *Ḥizb al-nūr* by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Šāḏilī (d. 1258); ff. 68v–70v *Ḥizb al-baḥr* by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Šāḏilī; f. 70r–v *Ṣīġat kayfiyyat al-ṣalāt* by the renowned Egyptian holy man *sayyid* Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 1276); ff. 70v–71v about the *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* with *duʿāʾ* to be recited on that occasion; f. 71v spiritual genealogy of *šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlānī; 72r incipit of *ʿAyniyyat al-Suhaylī* with *taḫmīs*; ff. 74v–80v *taḫmīs al-Daʿwa al-dimyāṭiyya*; ff. 81r–v *duʿāʾ* Aḥmad al-Zarrūq; ff. 81r–85r *taḫmīs* on *al-Qaṣīda al-Muḍariyya*; ff. 88v–90r *Taḫmis ʿalā al-Wasīla al-ʿaẓīma* by Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ṣiddīq b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (d. 1497–1498); ff. 88v–90r *Manẓūma fī asmā Allāh al-ḥusnā* by the famous Egyptian scholar and mystic master of the *Ḫalwatiyya* brotherhood Aḥmad Dardīr (d. 1786).

Finally, a manuscript containing the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* is kept in Riyadh at the library of the King Saud University. It is numbered 7480 (number of the category—*raqm al-ṣinf*—218 *fāʾ hāʾ*) and approximately dated to the thirteenth century of the *hiǧra* (eighteenth–nineteenth century).[52] No information is available as to the origin of the item, possibly acquired in Ethiopia. The following is a brief description of its contents:

f. 1r the introduction to the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* (exactly as in the Ethiopian printed version; disrupted, final part missing); ff. 1v–49r *al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* (incipit and initial part missing); ff. 49v–53r *Ḥizb al-wadīʿa al-maḥmiya wa-al-ḏaḫīra al-maḥfiyya wa-al-ibtihāl ʿalā al-daʿwat al-qudsiyya* completed by *šayḫ* Hāšim on 24 *raǧab* 1176 (8 February 1763); ff. 53r–55r *Ḥizb al-tawba wa-al-istiqāma* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; ff. 55r–56v *al-Wasīla al-aʿẓam wa-al-kimiyāʾ al-afham fī al-salām ʿalā al-nabī al-akram* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; 56v–59r *Ḥizb al-fāʾiq fī tanzīh al-ḫāliq* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; f. 59r–v *duʿāʾ* by *šayḫ* Hāšim;[53] ff. 59v–60r *Ḥizb al-aʿhd wa-al-mīṯāq* by *šayḫ* Hāšim; f. 60v *duʿāʾ* by *šayḫ* Hāšim.[54]

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[52] The manuscript has not yet been catalogued but its digitized images are accessible online under *http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/makhtota/8142/1#.V4Umkvl97rc* (last accessed 12 July 2016). The pdf of the entire codex can also be downloaded under *http://www.al-mostafa.info/data/arabic/depot/gap.php?file=m012776.pdf* (last accessed 12 July 2016) The bibliographic record of the King Saud University is also available online and can be printed out in pdf format.

[53] The same text as in EMIP 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221 f. 65v.

[54] The same text as in EMIP 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221 f. 61r.

4. The tradition of *Al-Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī*: some first observations

The manuscript tradition as known up to the present day in Harär confirms that *šayḫ* Hāšim's works hold an outstanding position in the literary production of that walled city.

The oldest testimony of the *Fatḥ* (Harar EMIP 1444 Abdulahi Collection 102) is dated (colophon 174v) to *ṣafar* 1168/November–December 1754, a time when *šayḫ* Hāšim was still alive. This manuscript is also almost four years older than the version older than the presumed autograph of the *šayḫ* kept in Harär, with which the version printed in Addis Abäba was allegedly collated.

Two further manuscripts (EMIP 1448 Abdulahi Collection 106 and Pavia Biblioteca Civica 'C. Bonetta' MS Robecchi Bricchetti 5) also indicate an early diffusion of the works of the *šayḫ* and can possibly be dated to the eighteenth century; three other manuscripts (EMIP 1447 Abdulahi Collection 105; EMIP 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221 and Riyadh, library of the King Saud University 7480) were probably copied during the nineteenth century.

Interest in the literary production of *šayḫ* Hāšim continued well into modern times: seven manuscripts containing the *Fatḥ* were copied during the twentieth century, until at least as late as 1972: IES 282; IES 2670; IES 2671; EMIP 1450 Abdulahi Collection 108; EMIP 1451 Abdulahi Collection 109; EMIP 1446 Abdulahi Collection 104, colophon 40v 18 *ǧumada al-awwal* 1329/17 May 1911; EMIP 1449 Abdulahi Collection 107, colophon f. *ǧumāda al-ṯānī* 1392/July–August 1972. Unfortunately no manuscript has so far been located outside of Harär. It is thus impossible to confirm the spread of the *Fatḥ* from its area of origin, especially in Wällo where the name of *šayḫ* Hāšim appears in the *silsila*s of the Qādiriyya brotherhood.

Analysis of the manuscripts seems to indicate the absence of a more or less coherent and standardized constellation of texts around the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*. Texts by *šayḫ* Hāšim are sometimes copied together with his main work but without following any apparent structured list or order. Some manuscripts include only a few devotional texts attributed to different mystical authors together with the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*, while other codices contain a large amount of selected invocations and prayers copied together with the *Fatḥ*.

The first well-defined collection of texts is the 1980 Ethiopian printed edition which is apparently a creation of ʿUmar Sulaymān, the copyist of the manuscript on which the edition is based, and of Ibrāhīm ʿUmar Sulaymān (his son?), the editor of the book.

The codex reproduced in print contains, along with the *Fatḥ*, other works of *šayḫ* Hāšim and a selection of devotional texts and pious supplications. The claim that the manuscript was collated with the autograph of the *šayḫ* clearly aims at giving more influence and prestige to the editorial operation whose background, however, remains obscure. In particular the existence of a

connection (or, on the contrary, of a rupture) with the previous Egyptian edition(s) of the same work still has to be assessed. It can be surmised that the production of a printed edition was aimed at helping the many devotees of *šayḫ* Hāšim in Harär and one has to admit that this aim was achieved: the book is now a well-established reference for anyone interested in *šayḫ* Hāšim and his literary work.

Appendix 1: works of *šayḫ* Hāšim copied or printed with his *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*

1) *Ḥizb al-fāʾiq fī tanzīh al-ḫāliq*: 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221, ff. 57v–61; Pavia Bonetta 5, ff. 1v–3r; Riyadh King Saud University 7480 ff. 56v–59r;

2) *Ḥizb al-wadīʿa al-maḥmiya wa-al-ḏaḫīra al-maḥfiyya wa-al-ibtihāl ʿalā al-daʿwat al-qudsiyya* completed on 24 *raǧab* 1176 (8 February 1763): EMIP 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221, ff. 55v–57v; Pavia Bonetta 5, ff. 60v–63v; Riyadh King Saud University 7480, ff. 49v–53r;

3) *Ḥizb al-tawba wa-al-istiqāma*: EMIP 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221, ff. 51v–55v; Pavia Bonetta 5, ff. 63v–65r; Riyadh King Saud University 7480, ff. 53r–55r;

4) *Ḥizb al-aʿhd wa-al-mīṯāq*: 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221, ff. 64v–65v, Pavia Bonetta 5, f. 65r–v; Riyadh King Saud University 7480, ff. 59v–60r;

5) *al-Wasīla al-aʿzam wa-al-kimiyāʾ al-afham fī al-salām ʿalā al-nabī al-akram*: IES 2670, f. 100v only the title page; EMIP 1446 Abdulahi Collection 104, ff. 43–44r; 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221, ff. 62v–64v, EMIP 1447 Abdulahi Collection 105, ff. 51v–53r (note: the author says it is an abridged version of *tasliyat* Ibn ʿArabi); Pavia Bonetta 5, ff. 65v–66v; Riyadh King Saud University 7480, ff. 55r–56v;

6) *Wird al-saḥar*: EMIP 1444 Abdulahi Collection 102, ff. 116v–118v;

7) *Duʿāʾ*: EMIP 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221, f. 61r; Riyadh King Saud University 7480, f. 60v;

8) *Duʿāʾ*: EMIP 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221, f. 65v; Riyadh King Saud University 7480, f. 59r–v;

9) *Kitāb ḥizb al-abrār*: pp. 133–135 of the Addis Abäba printed edition;

10) *Kayfiyyat al-ḏikr*: pp. 136–148 of the Addis Abäba printed edition;

11) *al-Ṣalāt al-kubrā*: pp. 149–154 of the Addis Abäba printed edition.

Appendix 2: *šāḏilī* texts copied with *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī*

Analysis of the manuscripts shows that the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī*, whose author was one of the most outstanding representatives of the *ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya* in Ethiopia, is copied together with some of the most representative texts of the *Šāḏiliyya* brotherhood.

Here is a list of these *šāḏilī* texts as they appear in the same manuscripts as the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī*:

1) *Ḥizb al-baḥr*: EMIP 1444 Abdulahi Collection 102, ff. 202v–203r and Pavia Biblioteca Civica 'C. Bonetta' MS Robecchi Bricchetti 5, ff. 68v–70v;
2) *Ḥizb al-barr*: EMIP 1444 Abdulahi Collection 102, ff. 181v–186r;
3) *Ḥizb al-nūr*: Pavia Biblioteca Civica 'C. Bonetta' MS Robecchi Bricchetti 5, ff. 67r–68v.

A further possible hint to the connection of *šayḫ* Hāšim with the *šāḏiliyya* brotherhood is the *nisba al-šāḏilī* attributed to him in EMIP MS 1563 Abdulahi Collection 221, f. 58r.

One more remark relevant in this connection is that, in a couple of manuscripts, the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* is copied and printed together with the *Rātib al-Saʿāda* (EMIP 1448 Abdulahi Collection 106, ff. 84r–86v; printed Ethiopian edition 1980) and with the *Ǧāliyat al-kurab wa-munīlat al-arab* (EMIP 1448 Abdulahi Collection 106, ff. 94r–95v) which clearly indicate a connection with the *ṭarīqa al-Ḫalwatiyya-Sammāniyya*.

The issue of a possible multi-affiliation of *šayḫ* Hāšim to different mystical brotherhoods (a quite common phenomenon in the Islamic world) has to be investigated more in depth, as soon as more material can be made available in the near future.

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Summary

The paper focuses on the text of *šayḫ* Hāšim's *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*, a famous work of the Arabic literature of Harär, analyzing its so far known manuscript tradition.