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

Article

Transfer of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century Muslim Ethiopia: The Library of al-Šayḫ al-Ḥāǧǧ Habīb from Wållo

Aethiopica 20 (2017), 106–128
ISSN: 1430-1938

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

by Alessandro Bausi
in cooperation with
Bairu Tafla, Ulrich Braukämper, Ludwig Gerhardt,
Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg and Siegbert Uhlig
Transfer of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century Muslim Ethiopia: The Library of al-Šayḥ al-Ḥāǧǧ Ḥabīb from Wällo

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

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

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

---

1 Trimingham 1952; Cuoq 1981.
3 On the bibliography of works concerning Islam in Ethiopia produced from 1952 to 2002, see Hussein Ahmed 2005c. An overview of more recent publications up to 2009 was presented in Hussein Ahmed 2009.
of Africa: A Comparative Literary Approach (IslHornAfr). The aim of this project is to locate and catalogue Islamic manuscripts copied between the late eighteenth and the early twentieth century in diverse parts of the Horn of Africa.

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

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

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

Fig. 1 Ownership statement of IES05517 (‘This is property of al-Šayḥ Ḥabīb who lives in Amuma agar’).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9 Mohammed Hassen 1992, 82–86.
CE), however, could indicate that he was an akbarī, that is to say that he followed al-Šayḫ al-Akbar Ibn ʿArabī in the field of metaphysics.11

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

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

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

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

11 I would like to thank Michele Petrone for his advice in this respect.
14 Abdul Sheriff 2010; Bang 2014.
15 Loimeier 2009.
ized in the teaching of this work, and he even completed the copying of the text several times. This kind of specialization was typical of the traditional system of education in the Islamic world, in which knowledge of a subject was acquired through learning a specific text. Students used to obtain permission (iǧāza) from their masters to teach a text or part of a text instead of a whole discipline.16 However, Ḥabīb’s interest in al-Haytamī was not limited to the Fatḥ al-ǧawād, since he refers to other works composed by al-Haytamī as well as to those of related scholars—for example al-Haytamī’s disciple, Zayn al-Dīn b. Ghazzāl al-Malibārī, and the above-mentioned ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī, with whom he engaged in various polemics.17 However, it is not possible to determine whether Ḥabīb refers to these scholars because of their relation with al-Haytamī.

Several of the main texts (ummahāt) of the Šāfiʿī school of law, as well as their commentaries and glosses, are frequently quoted as marginal notes in Ḥabīb’s copies of Fatḥ al-ǧawād. That is also the case of the commentaries on Yahyā b. Šaraf al-Nawawī’s (d.676 H/1277 CE) Minhāǧ al-tālibīn,18 mainly al-Haytamī’s Tubfāt al-muhbūb bi-šarb al-Minhāǧ, and the glosses of al-Buḫayrīn (d.1221 H/1806 CE) on al-Šīrbinī’s Iqna’ fī ḥall alfāẓ Abī Šuǧā (Tuḥfat al-habīb ‘alā šarb al-Ḥatīb) among others.

In addition to Islamic law, Ḥabīb’s preferred subjects were Sufism and theology, but in spite of his knowledge of these three fields, his manuscripts contain no texts authored by him. In relation to theology (uṣūl al-dīn), Ḥabīb tries to put together perceptions on theological matters of diverse Sufi authors from opposite ends of the Islamic world, probably following ‘Abd al-Ḡānī l-Nābulusī’s (d.1143 H/1730 CE) model of merging western influences from al-Andalus and Maghreb with eastern influences from Persia and Anatolia.19 For this purpose, he refers both to Andalusi/Maghribi and to Eastern scholars such as al-Ḥaskafī and al-Nawawī l-Ǧāwī l-Bantanī (d.1316 H/1898 CE), a Malay scholar whose works were widespread in other regions of the eastern coast of Africa.20 Nevertheless, his acceptance of al-Nābulusī’s unifying efforts...
does not explain why Ḥabīb is one of the few scholars in our corpus who refers to ʿulamāʾ from al-Andalus and North Africa.

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

One example of the few mentions of authors from al-Andalus/Maghreb is the reference to the scholar al-Maqqarī (= Ahmad b. Muhammad Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Andaluṣī l-Tilimsānī, d.1041 H/1631 CE). I suggested elsewhere that Ḥabīb could have had access to a copy of al-Maqqarī’s Naṣḥ al-tib,22 and the present study confirms that he was aware of al-Maqqarī’s production, since one of his manuscripts features al-Nabulusī’s commentary on a second work by al-Maqqarī, Idāʾat al-duǧūnuma. It is also possible that he only knew of al-Maqqarī’s works through compilations or commentaries composed by other scholars such as al-Nabulusī.

Regarding references in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts to local production in Arabic, Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar b. ʿAlī l-Šonkī (d.1356 H/1937 CE) is the author whose works are most frequently mentioned. Ibn Ḥaydar was initiated into the Sufi order Qādiriyya by the famous Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Anī (d.1299 H/1882 CE), and into the Sammāniyya by a grandson of the Sudanese mystic, Ḥamad al-Ṭayyib b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-ʿAbbās (d.1239 H/1824 CE); his master Sayyid Buṣrā ʿAlī Muḥammad was a disciple of the aforementioned Ğāḥǧ Dāwūd.21 Ḥabīb did not copy any of the works of Ğawhar b. Ḥaydar found in his manuscripts, but he seemed interested in acquiring the texts and commenting on them by quoting fragments from well-known Islamic works in the margins—which could be interpreted as an attempt to place Ethiopian Islamic literature in the context of the Islamic literary mainstream. This was a common practice in

21 The Islamic Literary Tradition in Sub-Saharan Africa: A New Academic Network is a recently established collaboration between Alessandro Gori (University of Copenha- gen) and Shamil Jeppie (Cape Town University), funded by the Danish Ministry of Higher Education and Science. The aim of the network is the identification and analy- sis of this type of contact. For more information on contact between East and West Africa see Yamba 1995; Birks 1978; Lecocq 2015; Miran 2015.
23 Hussein Ahmed’s article on Ğawhar b. Haydar is the most complete extant source of information on this person, see Hussein Ahmed 2005a, 45–56. A shorter biography of Ibn Ḥaydar can be found in O’Fahey 2003, 52; Muḥammad b. Ḥamad 2005, 260–266.
shrines, which were also teaching centres that promoted a tradition of conformity to Sunnī Islam.  

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

Some of the works quoted by Ḥabīb are occasionally found in the corpus of manuscripts which is being analysed within the IslHornAfr project, such as al-Nawawī l-Gawtī’s al-Ṭimār al-yānī’a; al-Haskafi’s (d.1088 H/1677 CE) al-Durr al-muḫṭār and its commentary by Ibn ʿAbīdīn (d.1258 H/1842 CE), which is considered to be a central reference for legal opinion (fatwā) in the Ḥanafī school of law; ʿAẓīm b. ʿAbd al-Maḡīd al-Bahlūwarūʾī’s (n.d.) Taḏkira al-maḏāhib; Ibn ʿArabī’s al-Salāt al-muṭalsama; Ibn Saqqāf’s Taršīḥ al-mustafīdīn. However, only future inquiries into other libraries of Ethiopian ʿulamāʾ will give us an idea of the degree of exceptionality of Ḥabīb’s manuscripts.

2 The Manuscripts of al-Šayh Ḥabīb

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

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

---

24 See Hussein Ahmed 2001, 94.
Vademecum, Gacek mentions this type of quotation system in the glosses that use 'either a catch-title (including the word šarb, often in the form of a logograph) or catch name or sigla.'

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

2.1 Juridical Works

2.1.1 Complete Texts

Among the complete works on jurisprudence included in Ḥabīb’s codices in manuscript IES04624, we find the work Naṣīḥat al-atfāl wa-bugyat al-rīqāl and its abridgement, Hāليسat al-aqwāl fī ḥall nasīḥat al-atfāl, both by Ǧawhar b. Ḥaydar b. Alt l-Ṣonkt. In these works, the relevance of the concept of intention (niyya) is highlighted, and the author recommends not punishing someone who has done something wrong due to ignorance or without intending to.

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

Manuscript IES04674 includes the section on the rituals of Muslim law (ʿibādāt), comprising the chapters from the beginning of the work to the end of the chapter on the pilgrimage (bāb fī l-ḥaǧǧ). Codex IES04667 features text from the chapter on sales (bāb fī l-bayʿ) to the end of the chapter on property found (bāb fī l-luqṭ)—and kept by the person who found it because the owner is unknown. Manuscript IES05506 features the third section, from the

---

27 The complete references of these works and their location in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts have been included in Appendix I.
29 Manuscript IES04568, which does not belong to al-Šayḥ Ḥabīb as far as we know, includes this section as well, and it is the only other copy of an entire section of Ḥaṭḥ al-ǧawād in the corpus. However, there are some fragments, quotations and references to this work in the margins of other fiqh-related works.
chapter devoted to inheritance (bāb fī l-fārāʾid) to the one concerning expenses (bāb fī l-nafaqa). Manuscript IES04672 includes the beginning of the chapter on crimes/offences (bāb fī l-ǧināyāt) to the end of the work.

The fourth complete work found in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts is the Iʿānat al-ṭālibīn ʿalā ḥall alfāẓ Fatḥ al-muʿīn, namely ‘Uṭmān al-Bakrī’s (d.1310 H/1892 CE) glosses on Zayn al-Dīn b. Ghazzāl al-Malībārī’s (d.974 H/1567 CE)30 Fatḥ al-muʿīn bi-šarb Qurrat al-ʿaṣr. In folium 94v, al-Ṣayḥ Ḥabīb added a summarized fragment of a further glossary of the Fatḥ al-muʿīn, Ibn Saqqāf’s Taršīḥ al-mustafīdīn.

2.1.2 Notes in the Margins and on Loose Slips of Paper
In Ḥabīb’s manuscripts, some of the notes relating to Islamic law are marked as having been extracted from basic works such as al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr fī ġarīb al-šarḥ al-kabīr, which is a dictionary for jurisprudence (usūl al-fiqh) and for certain terms related to the prophetic traditions (hadīt) written by Ahmad al-Muqrī l-Fayyūmī (d.770 H/1368 CE),31 as well as from renowned Šāfiʿī juridical works (listed in Appendix I). Among these, probably the most important is Minhāǧ al-ṭālibīn and some of its commentaries. In addition to Fatḥ al-ĝawādīd, four other works by al-Haytamī are also quoted by Ḥabīb: Al-Imdād bi-šarḥ al-Iršād, Al-Durr al-mandūd fī l-ṣalāt wa-l-salām ʿalā sahīb al-maqām al-maḥmūd, Al-Zawāǧir ʿan iqtirāf al-kabāʾir, and Tuḥfat al-muḥtāṯ bi-šarb al-Minhāǧ.

The most quoted work is Tuḥfat al-muḥtāṯ bi-šarb al-Minhāǧ and the references to it are marked as ‘Tuḥfa’, not only in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts, but also in many fiqh-related codices found in several collections and copied by different scribes. In the same way, the quotations from Asnā l-μaṭālib ʿarb Rawd al-ṭālīb, for example, are marked as ‘Asnā’. In cases where the catch title, name or sigla could lead to confusion, there is often more than a single word, as in the case of excerpts from Tuḥfat al-habīb ʿalā šarb al-Ḥaṭīb, which are marked as ‘Tuḥfat al-habīb’, so as to not to be confused with those taken from the former ‘Tuḥfa’. Figures 2 and 3 present two examples of notes in the margins in al-Ṣayḥ Ḥabīb’s manuscripts: the former is marked as ‘Asnā’ and the latter as ‘Tuḥfa’.

30 Not to be confused with Zayn al-Dīn ʿA. b. ʿA. al-Malībārī (d.928 H/1522 CE).
31 It is described by Loimeier for Zanzibar as one of the ‘basic works that were not often used and some were practically forgotten after 1964.’ Loimeier 2009, 184–185.
Figures 4 and 5 show examples of fragments of *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāǧ bi-ṣarḥ al-Minhāǧ* in manuscripts from other collections.\(^{32}\)

\(^{32}\) Picture no. 4 belongs in manuscript California, LA, Library of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, Gerald and Barbara Weiner collection of Ethiopic manuscripts (Arabic section), WEINER00179; it is part of the collection of Gerald and Barbara Weiner, who kindly gave their permission to use it here. It was catalogued by IslHornAfr as WEINER00179. Picture no. 5 is taken from manuscript Limmu, Limmū Ghannat collection, LMG00126 collected and digitized by the IslHornAfr project in Limmu (Ǧimma).
Interestingly, on several occasions, Ḥabīb also refers to Ḥanafī works such as al-Ḥaṣkaf’s *al-Durr al-muḥtār sharḥ tanwīr al-ḥabs wa-ḡāmī al-ḥabīr,* and to a commentary on the work by another at least partially Ḥanafī author, Ibn ʿĀbidīn, entitled *Radd al-muḥtār al-Durr al-muḥtār.* So far no other manuscript of the corpus contains references to these two works. Furthermore, Ḥabīb also mentions Ibn ʿĀbidīn in manuscript IES05517. He also refers to a commentary on the juridical questions (*masāʾil*) gathered by Abū l-Layṯ, found in *Qatr al-Gayt fi sharḥ masāʾil Abī l-Layṯ al-Samarqandi* by al-Nawāwī l-Ġāwī.

Thus, the notes in the marginalia contain references not just to manuals on theoretical jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), but also to legal opinions (*fatāwā*)—a field in which Ḥabīb seems to have been much influenced by Yemeni scholarship, as suggested in the first section of this paper. Some of the notes are extracted from the *Buġyat al-mustaršidīn fi talḥīṣ fatāwā baʿd al-aʾīmma min al-ʿulamāʾ al-mutaʾābhirīn,* a collection of legal opinions compiled by the mufti of Ḥadramawt, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Bā

---

33 The note in folium 102r says that a collection of manuscripts in Maghribi script containing this and other poems of the same author was sent to Abū l-Ḥayr ʿAbidīn al-Dimāqṣ, a nephew of Ibn ʿAbidīn.
ʿAlawī (d.1320 H/1902 CE). In addition, Habīb includes some fatāwā of Ibn Ḥāǧār al-Haytamī, Sulaymān al-Ahdal, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī, and the Ethiopian al-Ḥāǧǧ Dāwūd, all muftis with connections to Zabīd (Yemen).

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

2.2 Sufism

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

2.2.1 Complete Texts

Among the Sufi works in codex IES05517, there is yet another by Ǧawhar b. Ḥaydar, the Muḫtaṣar Ḥilyat al-sāmiʿīn, copied by a certain Tayyib b. ʿAlī. It is a summary of al-Ḥilyat al-sāmiʿīn fī dīkr šayʾ min aḫ bār mabdāʿ sayyid al-sāfiʿīn, also composed by Ǧawhar b. Haydar. Habīb was not the scribe of this part, but he added notes from other works in the margins. Accompanying this text, we find diverse Sufi poems in praise of the Prophet ascribed to a great variety of Sufi scholars from different places and times and copied by Habīb. The scholars identified are from various important cultural centres of the Islamic world, such as Kairouan, Cordoba, Granada, Almeria, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Cairo, Alexandria, and Ḥaḍramawt.

36 The scholars identified include the following: (1) Kairouan: Al-Šīḥāb Aḥmad b. Ḥalūf al-Qayrawānī (n.d.), fol. 158v; (2) Cordoba: Al-Fāzāzī l-Andalusī (d.627 H/1230 CE), fols 151r–152r; (3) Granada: Ibn Ǧābir al-Ǧarnāṭī (d.749 H/1348 CE), fols 102r–104v; and Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb (d.776 H/1374 CE), fol. 120v; (4) Almeria: Ibn Gābir al-Andalusī (d.780 H/1378 CE), fols 127r, 129r, 147r–148v; (5) Damascus: Ibn Mālik al-Hamwī (d.917 H/1511 CE), fol. 148r; (6) Aleppo: Al-Šīḥāb Maḥmūd b. Salmān al-Ḫalabī (d.725 H/1325 CE), fols 130v, 145r; (7) Baghdad: Al-Šarsarī, Abū Zakartyāʾ Yahyā b. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī (d.656/1258 CE), fols 79r–83v, 95r–101v, 132r; and al-Wiṭrī, Maǧd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Ruṣayd al-Waʿīz al-Baghdādī (d.662 H/1264 CE), fols 63r–75r, 120r, 133v, 134r, 137v, 143v, 144r, 152v, 153r; (8) Cairo: Al-Ṣāḏilī, Muḥammad b. Wafāʾ al-Miṣrī (d.761 H/1360 CE), fols 51v–59r; Sams al-Dīn al-Nawāǧī l-Qāhirī (d.859 H/1455 CE), fol. 138r; Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d.952 H/1545 CE), fols 83v–145. Aethiopica 20 (2017)
Codex IES05517 contains three other texts copied by Ḥabīb together with the above-mentioned Sufi poems. The first is a text by Ibn ʿArabī entitled al-Ṣalāt al-muṭalsama (‘The prayer of the talisman in praise of the Prophet’), the commentary of which was copied by Ḥabīb in another manuscript, IES04667 (fols 3v–4r). A different scribe added a note in the margin of this commentary (fol. 3v) indicating that the author could be either ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧilānī (d.561 H/1166 CE) or al-Šāḍīlī’s student, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mašī al-Hasānī (d.625 H/1228 CE), but it is not clear whether the note refers to al-Ṣalāt al-muṭalsama or to its commentary.

The other two texts are attributed to the Sufi faqīh and poet from Hayfā, Yūsuf al-Nabahānī (d.1350 H/1932 CE), namely the Fatḥ al-baṣaʾir bi-madh gadaʾ al-akābir and al-Naẓm al-badiʾ fī mawlid al-nabi l-ṣaft. The whole manuscript seems to have been used for the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday (mawlid).

2.2.2 Notes in the Margins and on Loose Slips of Paper

The most usual marker in the quotations of manuscript IES05517 is the letter ʿayn, but unfortunately this is not enough to identify the source. Other marginal notes are excerpts from different types of sources, namely dictionaries such as al-Rāfiʿī’s Miṣbāḥ al-munīr and al-Rāzī’s Muḫṭār al-ṣiḥḥā; theological works such as al-Nawawī’s Nūr al-ẓalām, Fatḥ al-maǧīd, and Madāriǧ al-suʿūd; juridical works such as al-Fašnī’s Mawāhib al-ṣamad and al-Bakrī’s Tāḥāt al-ṭalibīn; and other devotional works such as al-Nabāhīnī’s al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiyya min al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya.

2.3 Theology

Manuscript IES04668 contains works related to theology (ʿaqīda) and dogmatic theology (tawḥīd).

37 Al-Nabahānī’s collection of poems in praise of the Prophet (Dirwān al-Waṣāʾil al-mutaqabbala fī madḥ al-Nabi) was published around 1904, and therefore al-Šayḥ Ḥabīb could have copied the texts from already printed books.

38 For more information on Muḥammad’s birthday festival see Kaptein 1993.
2.3.1 Complete Texts

The Rāʾiḥat al-ǧanna bi-ṣarb idāʾat al-duǧunna, by al-Nābulusī, is the main work in the codex. It was copied by someone else, but some of the missing fragments of the text were completed by Ḥabīb. The work is a commentary on Idāʾat al-duǧunna fī iʿtiqād ahl al-Sunna by al-Maqārī—who, as noted previously, was the author of the Naṣb al-ṭib, the work from which some of the Andalusī Sufi poems copied by Ḥabīb in manuscript IES05517 were extracted.

Three other fragments were added by Ḥabīb. One is a fragment of Taḏkirat al-ʾmaḏāhib by ʿAẓīm b. ʿAbd al-Maḡīd al-Bahlulwarī, which is an Eastern sample of heresiography and, according to Lewinstein, a work with a clear ‘Ḥanafite-Māturīdite structure’. The other two are fragments of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Dardīrī’s (d.1201 H/1786 CE) Ṣarb al-ḥarīda al-babiyya fī ʿilm al-tawḥīd, and a fragment of Fath al-maḡīd bi-ṣarb al-Durr al-farīd by al-Nawāwī l-Ḡawārī. This work is a commentary on al-Durr al-farīd fī ʿaqāʾid abl al-tawḥīd, composed by al-Nawāwī’s teacher, Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Nahrwārī (d.1210 H/1795 CE). Al-Nawāwī was specialized in theological matters and another four works attributed to him are found in Ḥabīb’s manuscripts as well as in other manuscripts in the corpus.

2.3.2 Notes in the Margins and on Loose Slips of Paper

In the marginalia, several famous works are quoted by Ḥabīb, such as Ib ārīḥm b. Ibrāḥīm al-Laqānt’s (d.1041 H/1632 CE) Gawaharat al-tawḥīd; al-Kanz al madfūn wa-l-fulk al-mašūn, a collection of anecdotes and ethical sayings compiled by Yūnus al-Mālikī, possibly at the end of the fourteenth century CE; Ḥālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azharī’s (d.904 H/1499 CE) Muwaṣṣil al-ṭullāb ilā qawāʾid al-ʿirāb, a work on Arabic syntax; Muḥammad b. Mūsā l-Damīrī’s (d.808 H/1405 CE) Hayāt al-bayāwān

---

39 It is described as a clearly Sunnī work and a late manuscript of Indian provenance; it is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. See Lewinstein 1994, 587–589, n. 59.
40 This work is also found in the marginalia of manuscript IES05517 (fol. 66r).
41 The titles are listed in Appendix II.
42 The authorship of this work is not clear. It has been attributed to al-Suyūṭī (d.911 H/1505 CE) due to a mention of the title in a list of his works that circulated while he was still alive. But according to some scholars, he probably wrote another work entitled al-Kanz al-madīn which is not the one preserved. See Canova 2004, 93–94; Petrone 2013, 94, 304.
Adday Hernández López

al-kubrā;\textsuperscript{43} al-Dardīrī’s Šārḥ al-Hārida al-Babiyya fi ʿilm al-tawḥīd,\textsuperscript{44} and the glosses on it by al-Ṣāwī l-Mālikī (d.1241 H/1825 CE); a commentary on ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muhammad al-Aḥḍarī’s (d.950 H/1543 CE) al-Sullam al-murawnaq fi fann al-mantiq.\textsuperscript{45} As explained above, some other references are marked with the name of the author and not with a title. Some of the authors referred to are al-Samarqandī (d.393 H/1003 CE), al-Širāzī (d.476 H/1083 CE), al-Zarkašī (d.794 H/1392 CE), al-Munāwī (d.1031 H/1622 CE), al-Qalyūbī (d.1069 H/1659 CE), al-Kurdī (d.1194 H/1780 CE), al-Sīgāṭī (d.1197 H/1783 CE), al-Ǧamal (d.1202 H/1788 CE), and al-Šarqāwī (d.1227 H/1812 CE).\textsuperscript{46}

Appendix I: List of Juridical Texts

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

I.1 Šāfīʿi fiqh

A) Kitāb al-Wasīṭ al-muḥīṭ bi-āṯār al-Basīṭ composed by al-Gazzālī before 478 H/1085 CE. IES04667, 2r. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 424.\textsuperscript{47}

I) [Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn wa-ʿumdat al-muftīyyīn]: commentary on al-Gazzālī’s Kitāb al-Waǧīz composed by al-Nawawī c.676 H/1278 CE. This Kitāb al-Waǧīz is based on the above Wasīṭ. Brockelmann 1898–1902, I, 424; Brockelmann 1937–1942, I, 753.


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

\textsuperscript{44} This is al-Dardīrī’s explanation of his own naẓm.

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

\textsuperscript{46} I would like to thank Alessandro Gori, Irmeli Perho and the peer-reviewers of Aethiopica for their kind advice.

\textsuperscript{47} Most dates of composition are based on the date of the author’s death.
Transfer of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century Muslim Ethiopia


i) Ḥāšiyat Asnā l-maṭālib li-l-Ramlī: glosses on the Asnā l-maṭālib composed by al-Ramlī c. 1004/1596. Marginalia IES05506.48


---

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


K) Naṣīḥat al-ʾatfāl wa-ḥayrat al-riḡāl: composed by Ǧawhar b. Ḥaydar in 1326 H/1908 CE. IES04624, fols 11r–50v.⁴⁹
  l) Ḥaliṣat al-aʾqāl fī ḥall naṣīḥat al-ʾatfāl: abridgement of the Naṣīḥat al-ʾatfāl composed by Ǧawhar b. Ḥaydar between 1326 H/1908 CE and 1356 H/1937 CE. IES04624, fols 1v–6r.

I.2 Ḥanafī fiqh


Appendix II: List of Sufi and Theology-Related Texts
A) Devotional Sufi poems in praise of the Prophet: composed between 627 H/1230 CE and 952 H/1545 CE. IES05517, fols 1v–158v.⁵⁰
  l) Šarḥ al-Ṣalāt al-muṭalsama: unknown author. IES04667, fols 3v–4r.


C) Šarḥ al-Sullam al-murawnaq: commentary on al-Aḥḍarī’s al-Sullam al-murawnaq (IES05506, fol. 177v), which is a versification of al-Abhartī’s Ḥaḡaḥa. The author of this commentary is not identified, but it could be the same work as al-Šarḥ al-sagīr ʿalā Sullam

⁴⁹To date, no specific study has been made of Ǧawhar b. Ḥaydar’s works.
⁵⁰The individual poems mentioned in the article are not listed in this Appendix; only the titles of the works from which some of them were extracted are listed—when identification was possible.
al-murawniq, which was composed by al-Mullawi in 1125 H/1713 CE. Qara Bulūt 2006, 306, 830/13.


Transfer of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century Muslim Ethiopia


P) Fatḥ al-baṣā‘ir bi-madḥ ḡadā’ al-akābir: composed by Yūsuf b. Ismā‘īl al-Nabahānī before 1350 H/1932 CE. IES05517, fols 113r–118r.51


R) Muḫtaṣar Ḥilyat al-sāmi‘īn fī ḏikr šay’ min aḫbār sayyid al-ṣaḥīf: abridgement of Ǧawhar b. Ḥaydar’s Ḥilyat al-sāmi‘īn also composed by him c.1353 H/1935 CE. IES05517, fols 8r–49r.

References


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


Transfer of Knowledge in Twentieth-Century Muslim Ethiopia


Adday Hernández López


Summary

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