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# Traces of the Medieval Islamic West in Modern East Africa: Andalusi and Maghribi Works in the Horn of Africa

While the main vehicle for the spread of Andalusi and Maghribi intellectual production in space and time was the circulation of books and the mobility of scholars, scholars outside the Maghrib also played an important role by commenting on, expanding or refuting works produced in the Islamic West. In this paper I will concentrate on the presence of this sort of intellectual production in the Horn of Africa, using the materials catalogued for the project *Islam in the Horn of Africa: A Comparative Literary Approach*.<sup>1</sup> Thousands of Arabic manuscripts and other types of writings from different locations, mainly produced between the 18th century and the 20th century in the Horn, were catalogued between 2014 and 2018, and have been classified according to genre, content, author, title, place of creation, etc.<sup>2</sup> I already discussed the presence of Andalusi and Maghribi works in the region in a 2015 paper on the Andalusi texts and authors found in the Arabic collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies.<sup>3</sup> Two years later, I came across a commentary to the work of the Andalusi author Ibn Farḥ/Faraḥ (d. 699 H/1300 CE), *Qaṣīda ghazaliyya fī alqāb al-ḥadīth*. The commentary, entitled *Zawāl al-taraḥ*, was written by Ibn Jamā‘a (d. 819 H/1416 CE), but in the Ethiopian manuscript it was attributed to an Ethiopian author.<sup>4</sup> Since then I have been able to locate many more scholars and works from the medieval Islamic West after examining other

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1 IslHornAfr, European Research Council Advanced Grant no. 322849, 2013–2018, PI Alessandro Gori, <http://www.islhornafr.eu/index.html>.

2 The information has been entered into a relational database created by the project’s IT manager, Orhan Toy. At <http://islhornafr.tors.sc.ku.dk/> the database can be freely accessed, and can be searched by author, text or manuscript in order to retrieve all the associated data.

3 Hernández 2015–16, 10–19. The Institute of Ethiopian Studies belongs to Addis Ababa University, and its manuscripts have been digitized by the project EMIP (Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project) directed by professor Steve Delamarter.

4 Hernández 2019, 153–173.

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**Note:** This paper was presented at the international conference “The Maghrib in the Mashriq”, which took place on 20–21 December 2018. English revision by Nicholas Callaway.

collections of manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> My aim in this paper is to expand and revise the information given in previous publications, asking what the particular conditions were that fostered the spread of such texts, and why they aroused interest within the Horn of Africa.

## 1 Transmitters

The main collector of Andalusī texts that I initially found was Shaykh Ḥabīb (d. 1373 H/1953 CE), from Amum Agar, in Wallo,<sup>6</sup> who copied Ṣūfī texts originating from different places across the Islamic world. The jurisprudence-related texts, in turn, were in many cases found in the Zabī Molla collection, owing to the personal interest in this genre of its compiler, Badr al-Dīn al-Ubbī (d. 1401 H/1981 CE). This collection contains *fiqh* works from the different *madhāhib* in both manuscript and printed form.

Despite the relevance of these two individuals' collections, the bulk of Andalusī and Maghribī works are spread across a number of other private collections that require a short introduction.

Several fieldwork missions were carried out at different sites in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somaliland<sup>7</sup> in order to locate collections and digitize them. Due to a popular uprising,<sup>8</sup> the team had to change the original plans of some of its missions in Ethiopia, and the new collections digitized were related to the *ṭarīqa Tijāniyya*. This Ṣūfī order was founded by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Tijānī (d. 1230 H/1815 CE) in 'Ayn Māḍī, Fez. Soon after its founding, it spread throughout sub-Saharan Africa and was introduced in Ethiopia beginning in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>9</sup> This order emerged as a reaction against Ottoman cultural influence<sup>10</sup> and subsequently was keen to preserve its traditions, cutting itself off from other Ṣūfī orders,<sup>11</sup> which explains why they have

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5 There are around 32 different collections from different provenances. Some of them were already available, while others have been collected during the course of the project.

6 Hernández 2017, 106–128.

7 The information on the different missions can be found on the project website.

8 In November 2015 there was an uprising in different areas of Ethiopia led by the Oromo ethnic group, who are not represented in the country's ruling coalition.

9 For more information about the introduction and spread of the order in Ethiopia see Ishihara 1997, 391–402; Ishihara 2010a, 248–259; Ishihara 2010b; Petrone 2016, 165–187; Seifedin 2006.

10 Diego 2018, 70.

11 Petrone 2016, 165.

preserved their Maghribi heritage. The Tijānī collections are held in Tije, Warukko, Agaro, Toba, Haro and Jimata.<sup>12</sup>

## 2 Paths of transmission

The main routes for the transmission of Western Islamic works to the Horn of Africa passed through Mecca or Mecca–Yemen, and Egypt or Egypt–Sudan. Until now there was no evidence of direct contact between East and West Africa, but the material analyzed in the last stage of our project has brought to light new information in this sense that requires further analysis. In his study on the Ethiopian branch of the Tijāniyya, Michele Petrone states that although at the outset the Tijāniyya was a localized foreign order whose main representatives entered the *ṭarīqa* in Mecca, the manuscripts analyzed show ongoing relations between the Ethiopian Tijānī scholars and other Tijānī ‘*ulamā*’ from North and West Africa:

The case of the Tiḡāniyya in Ethiopia, as presented in previous studies, appears to be analysed mainly as a localized foreign order, following an inward path: Aḥmad b. ‘Umar was from Bornu and apparently entered the *ṭarīqa* while he was in Ḥiḡāz to perform Pilgrimage, as al-Ḥāḡḡ Yūsuf also did. This perfectly represents the beginnings of the order in Ethiopia. Nonetheless manuscripts collections digitized during recent missions bear evidence that there have been ongoing relations between Ethiopian masters and other exponents of the Tiḡāniyya, mainly from North and West Africa.<sup>13</sup>

That is the case of al-Sharīf al-Fāsī, who the Ethiopian Abbā Jamāl b. Ḥājj Yūsuf (d. 1406 H/1985 CE), compiler of one of the collections digitized in 2016 in Jimata, names in a poem as one of his masters.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> For more information see the report of the Second Mission of the Islam in the Horn of Africa Project (30 January–4 March 2016), [www.islhornafr.eu/Report\\_Mission\\_2016\\_Ethiopia.pdf](http://www.islhornafr.eu/Report_Mission_2016_Ethiopia.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> Petrone 2016, 171.

<sup>14</sup> Michele Petrone will examine the links between the Ethiopian and North African branches of the Tijāniyya order in the project *The Islamic Literary Tradition in Sub-Saharan Africa: A New Academic Network*. This project is a collaboration between Alessandro Gori (University of Copenhagen) and Shamil Jeppie (Cape Town University), funded by the Danish Ministry of Higher Education and Science. For more information on the relations between East and West Africa see Birks 1978; Lecocq 2015, 23–36; Miran 2015, 389–408; Yamba 1995.

### 3 Classification according to the content of the texts

If we classify the texts in the corpus written by Andalusī and Maghribī scholars according to genre, two main categories emerge. The first consists of Ṣūfī poems and other Ṣūfī works such as collections of prayers. The second includes other types of texts which can be subdivided into linguistics or grammar, Qur'ānic sciences, and jurisprudence.

#### 3.1 Ṣūfism and theology

Most of the authors from the Islamic West that I first studied (Abū Madyan, al-Fāzāzī, Ibn 'Arabī, Ibn Masdī al-Muhallabī, Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Maqqarī, Ibn Jābir, and 'Īsā b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Lakhmī) could be included in this category, made up mainly of devotional literature.<sup>15</sup> Since that time, we have located many other texts and scholars from both al-Andalus and the Maghrib that can be added to this list.

The two most popular works in relation to Ṣūfī devotional literature were written by 'ulamā' from North Africa, and consist of collections of prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad. The first is *Tanbīh al-anām*, attributed to 'Abd al-Jalīl b. 'Azzūm al-Qayrawānī (d. 960 H/1552 CE) and copied in more than 90 manuscripts distributed among nearly all of the catalogued collections.

The second is *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, written by the Moroccan Ṣūfī scholar Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abī Bakr al-Samlālī, known as al-Jazūlī (d. 869 H/1465 CE), founder of the Jazūliyya, a sub-order of the Shādhiliyya. This is a work that spread all across the Islamic world<sup>16</sup> and is included in at least 21 manuscripts belonging to multiple collections throughout the Horn. It is divided into parts to be recited during the different days of the week. A commentary by Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī (d. 1109 H/1697 CE), the *Maṭāli' al-masarrāt bi-jalā' Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, is also quoted in six manuscripts. Thanks to a note that appears in one of the manuscripts, we know exactly how *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* entered Ethiopia.<sup>17</sup> According to the note, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* was transmitted by al-Jazūlī

<sup>15</sup> Hernández 2015–16, 12–15.

<sup>16</sup> On this work see Witkam 2002; Witkam 2007; Daub 2016.

<sup>17</sup> This note of transmission appears in a manuscript held in Leiden (MS Drewes - Stroomer DWL00001, fol. 58v). It belongs to the collection gathered by Abraham J. Drewes. The collection

to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tabbā‘ (d. 914 H/1508 CE), his successor as the head of the Jazūliyya; from al-Tabbā‘ it was transmitted to Aḥmad b. Abī al-‘Abbās al-Ṣam‘ī (d. ca. 1050 H/1640 CE); from him to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1091 H/1680 CE); then to Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (d. 1041 H/1631 CE),<sup>18</sup> Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj (d. ca. 1080 H/1669 CE), Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muthannā (d. ca. 1120 H/1708 CE), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Madgharī al-Ḥasanī (d. ca. 1160 H/1747 CE), and, finally, to ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Madanī (d. ca. 1200 H/1785 CE), who was the one who transmitted it to an Ethiopian, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hararī (d. ca. 1240 H/1824 CE). From there, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān transmitted it to Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Tajrāwī al-Hararī, who in 1261 H/1845 CE gave the *ijāza* for this text to his pupil ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad ‘Uthmān.

A third popular work is *Umm al-barāhīn*, by the Maghribi Ṣūfī theologian al-Sanūsī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar b. Shu‘ayb (d. 895 H/1490 CE). His text, also known as *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā* or the *Sanūsiyya*, is a text that was traditionally employed in Fez for the basic teaching of theology, and spread in the 11th/17th century through West Africa to the Niger, after which numerous commentaries and glosses began to appear.<sup>19</sup> It is found in five manuscripts held in four different Ethiopian collections. Apart from the main text by al-Sanūsī, four works based on the *Umm al-barāhīn* have been also found in the corpus:

- *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn*: al-Sanūsī, two printed books in Ethiopia.
- *Sharḥ al-Ṣuḡhrā*: Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Burnusī al-Fāsī known as Zarrūq (d. 899 H/1494 CE), one manuscript in Ethiopia.<sup>20</sup>
- *Sharḥ al-Hudhudī ‘alā al-Sanūsiyya*: Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Hudhudī, one printed book in Ethiopia.
- *Ḥāshiyat al-Sharqāwī ‘alā sharḥ al-Hudhudī ‘alā al-Sanūsiyya*: the same printed book.
- *Ta‘līq ‘alā Muqaddīmat al-Sanūsī*: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Akaddāwī al-Qināwī al-Miṣrī, known as al-Muḍawwī (d. 1095 H/1684 CE), a Sudanese scholar; one manuscript in Ethiopia.<sup>21</sup>

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is now preserved by Prof. Harry Stroomer, and it was digitized by Dr. Michele Petrone and Prof. Alessandro Gori in September 2016.

**18** This transmission is theoretically possible, yet the dates indicate that there could be a mistake in the chain, since al-Maqqarī appears to have died fifty years before his alleged pupil, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī. There could also be a mistake in the order of the names.

**19** Bencheneb, “al-Sanūsī”, *EF*.

**20** Limmu Ghannat, MS Limmu - Muḥammad b. Abbā Ruksī LMG00012, fols. 4r–49r.

**21** Warukko, MS Warukko WRK00009, fols. 1v–42v.

- *Al-Durr al-thamīn fī naẓm Umm al-barāhīn* (versification): Qāsim b. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Qādirī al-Barāwī (d. 1340 H/1922 CE), a renowned scholar from Hargeisa; one manuscript in Hargeisa, Somaliland.<sup>22</sup>

Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675 H/1276 CE), the founder of another Ṣūfī order, the Badawiyya, who was also from the Maghrib, is mentioned in several manuscripts, and we find two poems dedicated to him, one of them in ‘Afar ‘*ajamī*.<sup>23</sup> However, his own writing appears in just one manuscript, via a single fragment of one of his works.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from these works, various poems attributed to Andalusī and Maghribī scholars have been found, such as Ibn Shihāb al-Andalusī’s (d. 393 H/1003 CE) *Qaṣīda li-arba‘a ḥaqq ‘alā al-ghayr lāzīm*; a poem attributed to Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Izm b. Arqam al-Numayrī al-Wādī Āshī (d. 749 H/1348 CE);<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Naḥwī’s (d. 513 H/1119 CE) *al-Qaṣīda al-munfarija*;<sup>26</sup> al-Suhaylī’s (d. 581 H/1185 CE) *al-Qaṣīda al-‘ayniyya fī al-munājāt*;<sup>27</sup> and *al-Ḥazīra fī naẓm muḥimm al-sīra*, by ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī al-Fāsī (d. 1110 H/1698 CE), who was a pupil of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ma‘n al-Andalusī al-Fāsī (d. 1120 H/1708 CE). In addition to these texts, one of the most widespread poems for the celebration of the *mawlid* found in the Ethiopian collections is the poem starting with the verse “*Mā arsala al-Raḥmān*”, which is attributed to two different authors: one of them is Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (d. 994 H/1586 CE), from Egypt, and the other is Muḥammad al-Fāṭimī al-Idrīsī (d. 1295 H/1878 CE), from the Maghrib.

<sup>22</sup> MS Hargeisa Cultural Center - Jama Musse Jama HCC00021, fols. 1v–8v.

<sup>23</sup> This means that it is written in the local ‘Afar language but employing the Arabic script: *Ta-wassul bi-l-‘Afarīyya “Yā Rabb irḥamhu raḥmat al-abrār*”, by Ḥājj Ḥamza b. Maḥmūd b. Kabīr Ḥamza b. Kabīr Maḥmūd (d. 1341 H/1923 CE). Found on a loose folio in a manuscript from Balbala, Djibouti (MS Kabirto - ‘Alawī b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ḥājj Ḥamza DJKH00022).

<sup>24</sup> *Ṣiḡhat kayfiyyat al-ṣalāt*. Kept in a manuscript in Pavia (Biblioteca civica “Carlo Bonetta” MS Pavia - Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti PAV00003, fol. 72r).

<sup>25</sup> A quotation from his *naẓm* “*Ta‘ālū nu‘āṭī-hā muqaddasa ṣirfā*” appears on a loose folio inside the manuscript at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, MS Arabic collection IES05517, fols. 138r–141v.

<sup>26</sup> This poem is found in three manuscripts, and its commentary, *Faṭḥ mufarrij al-kurūb*, by the famous Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī (d. 926 H/1520 CE), is found in two more. The complete references can be found in the database of the project IslHornAfr.

<sup>27</sup> Among the texts there is an anonymous *takhmīs* of this poem which is copied in at least six manuscripts and a printed book. Another of al-Suhaylī’s works, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf fī sharḥ al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, is mentioned in a manuscript from Haro (MS Abbā Durā HRDVar03, fol. 2r).

The text *Ghayth al-mawāhib al-‘aliyya bi-sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-‘Aṭā’iyya*, by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī (d. 792 H/1390 CE), is a commentary to *al-Ḥikam*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī al-Shādhili (d. 709 H/1309 CE). A copy of this work is found in a manuscript of the ‘Abd Allāh Sharif collection in Harar,<sup>28</sup> and two printed books of the same work were found in Zabī Molla, probably because of the presence of the *ṭarīqa Shādhiliyya* at both sites.

Another Maghribi author is Ibrāhīm b. Idrīs al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī al-Fāsī (d. 1304 H/1887 CE). His *Sayf al-Naṣr bi-l-Sāda al-Kirām Ahl Badr* is copied in a manuscript from Warukko,<sup>29</sup> one of the Tijānī collections. The presence of this text reflects modern Ethiopian scholars’ active involvement in the reception and transmission of the texts, and shows they stayed abreast of the latest works written in the Maghrib.

The list of Maghribi authors is completed with two scholars from Kairouan, for whom we have neither dates nor any other information. They are ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Qayrawānī,<sup>30</sup> author of the *qaṣīda* “‘*Aqīdat al-tawḥīd*”,<sup>31</sup> and al-Shihāb Aḥmad b. Khalūf al-Qayrawānī, who wrote a poem in praise of the Prophet (*madḥ al-Nabī*).<sup>32</sup>

## 3.2 Linguistics

In a previous paper, I already indicated that grammar is a widely cultivated genre in the Horn.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Mālik’s (d. 672 H/1273 CE) *Alfiyya* is known all over the Islamic world and is also found in one of the manuscripts analyzed here. It is also represented in three printed books, and four different commentaries are to be found as well. The commentary that appears most frequently is *Sharḥ Ibn ‘Aqīl ‘alā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, of which we find three manuscripts and six printed books, followed by

<sup>28</sup> Museum of Harar MS Abdallah Sharif ASH00217, fols. 46r–103v.

<sup>29</sup> MS Warukko WRK00041, fols. 1v–28r.

<sup>30</sup> He could plausibly be identified with ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Šālīh b. ‘Isā al-Qayrawānī al-Qurašī (known as Sayyidī ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Qayrawānī), whose *zāwiya* is located in the Tunisian village of *Ḥidā’ wādī al-‘abid*.

<sup>31</sup> There is no available information on this author. His *Aqīda* is found in three manuscripts from different collections (Warukko, MS Warukko WRK00022, fols. 6r–7r; Suuse, MS Suuse SSE00032, fols. 27v–29r; Balbala, MS Kabirto - ‘Alawī b. ‘Abd al-Šamad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ḥājj Ḥamza DJKH00021, fols. Ar-Bv).

<sup>32</sup> Institute of Ethiopian Studies MS Arabic collection IES05517, fols. 158v–158v.

<sup>33</sup> Hernández 2015–16, 11–12.

*Sharḥ al-Ushmūnī li-Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, found in five printed books. We also find quotations from two other texts based on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*: al-Azharī's (d. 905 H/1499 CE) *Tamrīn al-ṭullāb fī ṣinā'at al-i'rāb*, and *al-Faṭḥ al-wudūdī 'alā sharḥ al-Makkūdi 'alā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, by the aforementioned Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj, pupil of al-Maqqarī and transmitter of *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*.

In addition, two new manuscripts containing Ibn Mālik's other work, *Lāmiyyat al-af'āl*, must be added to the manuscript from Suuse that I previously identified in another paper.<sup>34</sup> Also to be added are two commentaries by the Ethiopian scholar Muḥammad al-Amin b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Hararī al-Buwayṭī (alive in 1398 H/1978 CE), *Taḥnīk al-atfāl 'alā Lāmiyyat al-af'āl*, and *Manāhil al-rijāl wamarādi' al-atfāl bi-libān ma'ānī Lāmiyyat al-af'āl*, both in printed form.

The other noteworthy presence is that of the Moroccan grammarian Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723 H/1323 CE). His work *al-Muqaddīma al-Ājurrūmiyya* is well known in the Horn of Africa. Until now we have found six manuscripts and three printed books, but the number of commentaries is far more abundant than the commentaries to Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, with at least 11 texts in the corpus deriving from the *Ājurrūmiyya*:<sup>35</sup>

- *Sharḥ al-Azharī 'alā al-Muqaddīma al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Azharī (d. 905 H/1499 CE).
- *Ḥāshiyat Abī al-Najā 'alā Sharḥ al-Azharī li-l-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Abū al-Najā Muḥammad Mujāhid al-Ṭantidā'ī (d. 1270 H/1853 CE).
- *Mutammimat al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ru'aynī al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 954 H/1547 CE).
- *Al-Fawākih al-janiyya 'alā Mutammimat al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī (d. 972 H/1564 CE).
- *Al-Kawākib al-durriyya sharḥ Mutammimat al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Bārī al-Ahdal (d. 1298 H/1880 CE).
- *Al-Kharīda al-bahiyya fī i'rāb alfāz al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad al-'Ujaymī (d. 1307 H/1889 CE).
- *Hidāyat al-ṭālibiyya*, unknown author.
- *I'rāb al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kafrāwī (d. 1202 H/1787 CE).
- *Sharḥ al-Ājurrūmiyya fī al-naḥw*, by Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304 H/1886 CE).
- *Ḥāshiyat al-Ājurrūmiyya*, unknown author.

<sup>34</sup> Hernández 2015–16, 12.

<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, numerous commentaries and glosses to these 11 texts based on the *Ājurrūmiyya* have been found in their margins.

- *Al-Maqāṣid al-wafīyya fī sharḥ al-muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Ethiopian author Muḥammad Amān, from Dawway, in Wallo.
- *Al-Bākūra al-janniyya min qaṭāf I'rāb al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad al-Amīn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī al-Shāfi'ī al-Urumī al-'Alawī (b. 1348 H/1930 CE), who commented on Ibn Mālik's *Lāmiyyat al-af'āl* as well.
- *Al-Durar al-bahiyya fī i'rāb amthilat al-Ājurrūmiyya wa-fakk ma'ānihā wa-bayā ḍawābiḥihā wa-'ilalihā*, by Muḥammad al-Amīn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī.
- *Al-Futūḥāt al-Qayyūmiyya fī ḥall wa-fakk ma'ānī wa-mabānī matn al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad al-Amīn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī.

As can be seen, Muḥammad al-Amīn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī, who lived in the 20th century, is the most prolific Ethiopian commentator, and thus transmitter, of Maghribi works on Arabic Grammar.<sup>36</sup> His production has been mainly found in printed books, and he has also commented on other famous grammar works such as al-Ḥarārī's *Mulḥat al-i'rāb*.

### 3.3 Qur'ānic sciences

In general, the Qur'ānic sciences are not as well represented as writings in praise of the prophet Muḥammad, grammar books or Shāfi'ī jurisprudence. However, some Andalusī works that are well known throughout the Islamic world are also represented in the Ethiopian manuscripts. For example, we find the exegetical work of Ibn Farḥ al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 H/1273 CE), but only as a pair of references in the marginal notes to manuscripts from different collections. An edition of the abridgement by al-Sha'rānī (d. 973 H/1565 CE) to Ibn Farḥ al-Qurṭubī's eschatological treatise *Tadhkira bi-aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhirā* can be also found.<sup>37</sup>

In the latest collections analyzed, *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* – a versification of al-Dānī's *al-Taysīr fī al-qirā'āt al-sab'*, also known as *al-Shāṭibiyya* in reference to its author, Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibi (d. 590 H/1193 CE) – has been found in four different collections: Agaro-Shaykh Kemal, Jimata-Mukhtār, Haro,

<sup>36</sup> I have no information about his date of death.

<sup>37</sup> Collection Jimata-Mukhtār (Jimata, MS Jimata - Mukhtār b. Abbā Jihād JMK00174).

and Zabī Molla.<sup>38</sup> In addition, three printed commentaries to al-Shāṭibī's work can be found in Zabī Molla:

- *Kanz al-ma'ānī fī sharḥ Ḥirz al-amānī*, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī al-Ḥanbalī, known as Shu'la (d. 656 H/1258 CE).
- *Ibrāz al-ma'ānī min Ḥirz al-amānī*, by Abū Shāma 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl (d. 665 H/1268 CE).
- *Irshād al-murīd ilā maqṣūd al-qaṣīd*, by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḍabbā' (d. 781 H/1380 CE).

Another work by al-Shāṭibī, *Matn 'aqīlat atrāb al-qāṣa'id fī al-rasm*, is found in a printed book held in the Jimata-Mukhtār collection.

### 3.4 Jurisprudence

The predominant school of law in the Horn is the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, but the Ḥanafī school is also well represented. While the Mālikī doctrine also boasts some followers, especially in the areas of Ethiopia bordering on Sudan, our study does not include any manuscripts from this area. As such, owing to the predominance of the Mālikī doctrine in the Islamic West, few works of *fiqh* from al-Andalus and the Maghrib are found in the corpus. However, in spite of this general lack of interest in the Mālikī intellectual tradition, some of its most representative works are indeed represented. This is the case of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī's (d. 386 H/996 CE) *Risāla fī al-fiqh*,<sup>39</sup> and *Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa-nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Rushd (d. 595 H/1198 CE).<sup>40</sup> The edition of another work by a famous Andalusī Mālikī scholar, *al-I'tiṣām*, by Naṣrid jurist Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Lakhmī al-Shāṭibī (d. 790 H/1388 CE), is found in the collection preserved in Zabī Molla. The only complete Mālikī work copied in manuscript form is *al-Murshid al-mu'in 'alā al-ḍarūri min 'ulūm al-dīn*, by 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-'Āshir (alive in 1008–1040 H/1599–1630 CE).<sup>41</sup>

There is also a reference to *Kitāb al-Bida'*, by Muḥammad b. Waḍḍaḥ al-Qurṭubī al-Andalusī (d. 289 H/902 CE), in a quotation extracted from al-

<sup>38</sup> This is the only non-Tijānī collection of the four containing the *Shāṭibiyya*.

<sup>39</sup> A printed book in the collection Jimata-Mukhtār.

<sup>40</sup> Two fragments copied in two manuscripts from Zabī Molla and a printed book in the collection Jimata-Mukhtār.

<sup>41</sup> Copied in a manuscript from the collection Jimata-Mukhtār (Jimata, MS Mukhtār b. Abbā Jihād JMK00169, fols.1v–11v).

Ghumārī's *Muṭābaqa*,<sup>42</sup> but upon closer examination of the note we find that it is related to Judgment Day, not to legal issues. The quotation appears in a marginal note to a codex preserved in the Jimata-Mukhtār collection that contains Tijānī texts such as *Shurūṭ al-tarbiya bi-l-ṭarīqa al-tijāniyya*, by Muḥammad al-Fāsi (alive after 1193 H/1780 CE), and *Bulūgh al-amānī bi-l-ijāza li-murīd al-wird al-tijānī*, by Moroccan Tijānī Aḥmad Sukayrij (d. 1363 H/1944 CE).<sup>43</sup>

Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's *Kitāb al-Bida'* is one of the few extant Andalusī works composed in the 3rd/9th century. It is a religious treatise against innovations based on Prophetic traditions that reflects Muslim ascetic concerns in the first period of Islam, and continues to appeal to Muslim audiences today:

*Kitāb al-Bida'* ... by Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī, is one of the few works written in al-Andalus in the 3rd/9th century that has come down to us. But this is not the only reason it deserves to be brought back into focus, as it constitutes an interesting document on medieval misoneism from an Islamic perspective (it is the oldest preserved treatise against innovation). It also sheds light on the formation of Muslim practices of ritual and devotion, reflecting the ascetic concerns of the period and the fear that the End was fast approaching. Likewise, it is representative of one of the periods in the introduction of the traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*) in al-Andalus. ... For non-specialists, the translation of Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's work is an occasion to enter into contact with an example of early Islamic religious literature, whose content continues to resonate with Muslim believers today.<sup>44</sup>

Al-Ghumārī was a late *ḥadīth* scholar from Morocco and leader of the Ṣiddīqiyya Ṣūfī order<sup>45</sup> who was very critical with the eastern Ṣūfī orders, especially the Naqshbandiyya, so it is not unusual to find references to his work in the Tijānī manuscripts. Al-Ghumārī studied at al-Azhar, and his *Muṭābaqa* could have been discovered there by a Tijānī scholar from Jimata, since in the collection digitized at this site, we also find an edition of the *Muṭābaqa* printed in Cairo.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, there are also two works by al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (Abū al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. 'Iyāḍ b. 'Amrūn al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī, d. 544 H/1149 CE), considered a central figure of Mālikism in the Islamic West,<sup>47</sup> although the works in question are not strictly related to legal matters.<sup>48</sup> *Al-Shifā' bi-ta'rif ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* and

42 *Muṭābaqat al-ikhtirā'āt al-'aṣriyya li-mā akhbara bi-hi sayyid al-barriyya*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Ḥasanī al-Ghumārī (d. 1381 H/1962 CE).

43 Jimata, MS Mukhtār b. Abbā Jihād JMK00164, fol. 17v.

44 See Fierro 1998, 7; translation mine.

45 It is a branch of the Shādhiliyya.

46 Al-Ghumārī 1960.

47 Talbi, "'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā", *EF*.

48 *Al-Shifā'*, whose full title could be translated as "Healing by the Recognition of the Rights of the Chosen One", is a work on the Prophet, and *Mashāriq al-anwār* deals with *ḥadīth*.

*Mashāriq al-anwār* ‘*alā ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār*’ are both quoted in marginal notes to other manuscripts. Considering that more manuscripts of *al-Shifā’* have been preserved than of over any other work by an author linked to al-Andalus,<sup>49</sup> one might expect to find more copies in these Tijānī collections, but only two printed books were found, and no manuscripts.<sup>50</sup>

In the traditional Islamic schools, a common practice was to compare the Shāfi’ī *fiqh* texts with others produced by Ḥanafī or Mālīkī scholars, and this could explain the existence of mixed texts from the three schools of law. However, it is more likely that the presence of Mālīkī works among the Tijānī manuscripts has to do with the fact that Aḥmad al-Tijānī, founder of the *ṭariqa*, was himself a Mālīkī.

### 3.5 Other references

There are a number of texts that do not fit easily into any of the other sections. For example, in the Agaro-Shaykh Kemal collection we found a printed copy of ‘*Ayn al-adab wa-l-siyāsa wa-zayn al-ḥasab wa-l-riyāsa*’ written by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Hudhayl al-Fazārī (d. after 812 H/1409 CE), an Andalusī man of letters, poet, and *faqīh* who, according to Francisco Vidal Castro, wrote several miscellaneous works of “moralizing entertainment”.<sup>51</sup>

Two texts on medicine have appeared in the Ethiopian manuscripts of the Bruce collection, held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The codices containing these texts constitute the only example to date of Islamic manuscripts written on parchment.<sup>52</sup> Both manuscripts look very similar, and thanks to the information provided in one of them, we know that they were copied around 1770 CE. One of them is *Faṣl min al-dawā wa-l-ṭibb*. According to Sara Fani, cataloguer of these items, the name of the author is given sometimes as al-Ḥakīm Hirmūs and other times as Hirmīs b. al-Bayṭār, apparently a mixture between the Andalusī botanist Ibn al-Bayṭār (Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Mālaqī, d. 646 H/1248 CE) – whose work is one of the most widespread Andalusī texts in the Islamic

<sup>49</sup> *Al-Shifā’* is the most widely disseminated Andalusī text, as measured by the number of preserved manuscripts worldwide. See Fierro (in press).

<sup>50</sup> One of them in the Jimata-Mukhtār collection and the other in the Agaro-Muḥammad Sayf collection.

<sup>51</sup> Vidal-Castro, “Ibn Hudhayl al-Fazārī”, *EP*.

<sup>52</sup> Anne Regourd has studied the physical features of the manuscripts in Gori 2014, xlvi–xcii.

world<sup>53</sup> – and Hermes Trismegistus, who is often invoked for magical and occult medical remedies.<sup>54</sup>

The other text is a compound of fragments on medicine attributed to Cordoban scholar Ibn ‘Azrūn (Abū Mūsā Hārūn b. Ishāq al-Isrā’īlī, alive in 494 H/1101 CE).<sup>55</sup>

An edition of *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, by Andalusī author Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE),<sup>56</sup> is held in the collection digitized at the Tijānī site in Haro.<sup>57</sup> While it is not a Ṣūfī work, the reason behind its inclusion must respond to its analysis of love, and the importance given by Ṣūfī scholars to this concept in its divine form. Preserved in a *codex unicus*, Ibn Ḥazm’s *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* was not a popular work in the pre-modern period. Rather, it was the attention devoted to it by modern Western scholars, who translated it into different European languages, that has made it famous today, in turn generating interest in the text in the Arab world as well.

## 4 Concluding remarks

In my previous piece on this subject, I concluded that specific local ‘*ulamā*’ who were interested in certain subjects, such as jurisprudence or Ṣūfī poetry in praise of the Prophet, collected Andalusī and Maghribī works on account of their fame in the broader Islamic world. Although in general terms the genres remain the same – that is, mainly grammar and Ṣūfī texts – the examination of the Tijānī collections has revealed more titles and authors, especially in light of the collection compiled by Abbā Jihād al-Tijānī (alive in 1382 H/1962 CE) in Jimata, and preserved today by his son, Mukhtār b. Abbā Jihād. The main vehicle for the transmission of the Western Islamic production has thus been Ṣūfism, especially the Tijāniyya, and the main channels through which the transmission took place are still Mecca–Yemen and secondly Egypt–Sudan. However, it has now been proven that direct scholarly relations between Western and Eastern Africa did in-

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53 Maribel Fierro has found that Ibn al-Bayṭār’s *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-l-agh-dhiya* is the fourth most widely disseminated Andalusī work. See Fierro (in press).

54 Bodleian MS Bruce 50.

55 Bodleian MS Bruce 45.

56 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* (n.d.).

57 MS Abbā Durā HRD00046.

deed exist. Šūfī networks and practices are behind the choice not only of devotional texts, but also of texts such as Ibn Farḥ's poem on *'ilm al-ḥadīth*, written in the form of a Šūfī love poem, and perhaps also of the *Shāṭibiyya*.<sup>58</sup>

An additional reason for the presence of some of the works seems to be the Ethiopian Muslim communities' need for basic summarized and easy-to-memorize texts on a range of Islamic subjects. For instance, Ibn Farḥ's poem, the *Shāṭibiyya*, or Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, are all versified didactic works, which – together with the migration of their authors to the East – has certainly been a decisive factor in their spread not only in the Horn of Africa, but throughout the whole Islamic world as well.<sup>59</sup> Another example of the usage of works intended for basic-level teaching is *Umm al-barāhīn*.<sup>60</sup>

The two most popular works throughout the Horn, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* and *Tanbīh al-anām*, are of Maghribi origin. The case of *Tanbīh al-anām* is of special interest. It probably travelled from Mecca to Yemen and from there to both the Horn and Southwest Asia, where it is also extremely popular,<sup>61</sup> in contrast to its relative lack of popularity in the Arab world. Likewise, *Umm al-barāhīn* also spread to Malaysia and Indonesia, becoming the most popular of the “works explaining the Ash'arī doctrine on the divine and prophetic attributes (*ṣifāt*)”.<sup>62</sup>

Although as compared to the situation in West Africa<sup>63</sup> the percentage of works originating from the Islamic West is small, it is nonetheless significant, as they represent around ten percent of the catalogued manuscripts, that is some 200 codices out of the more than 2000 analyzed.

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**58** Zohra Azgal discusses the legend of holiness developed around this work and its author in her contribution to this volume.

**59** The origin and the reception of these didactic poems have been analyzed by Maribel Fierro. See Fierro (in press).

**60** Bencheneb points out that al-Sanūsī's three *'aqā'id* marked the grades of primary, middle and advanced studies, with the *Ṣuḡhrā al-ṣuḡhrā* sometimes replacing the *Ṣuḡhrā* in the first grade. See Bencheneb, “al-Sanūsī”, *EF*<sup>2</sup>.

**61** These transnational scholarly networks have been studied by Abdul Sheriff and Anne Bang. See Sheriff 2010; Bang 2014.

**62** See Bencheneb, “al-Sanūsī”, *EF*<sup>2</sup>.

**63** For the case of West Africa, see <http://digital.library.northwestern.edu/arbms/historical.html>.

## Appendix I: Chronological list of Andalusī scholars

- Muḥammad b. Waḍḍaḥ al-Qurṭubī al-Andalusī (d. 289 H/902 CE).
- Ibn Shihāb al-Andalusī, ‘Abd al-Mālik b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Shahīd al-Qurṭubī (d. 393 H/1003 CE).
- Al-Dānī, Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar al-Umawī al-Mālikī (d. 444 H/1053 CE).
- Ibn ‘Azrūn, Abū Mūsā Hārūn b. Ishāq al-Isrā‘īlī (alive in 494 H/1101 CE).
- ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. ‘Iyāḍ b. ‘Amrūn al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī, Abū al-Faḍl (d. 544 H/1149 CE).
- Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE).
- Al-Shāṭibī, Abū al-Qāsim b. Firruh b. Khalaf (d. 590 H/1193 CE).
- Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Andalusī (d. 590 H/1193 CE).
- Ibn Rushd, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 595 H/1198 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Yakhlaftan al-Fāzāzī (d. 627 H/1230 CE).
- Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-‘Arabī (d. 638 H/1240 CE).
- Ibn al-Bayṭār, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Mālaqī (d. 646 H/1248 CE).
- Al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ/Faraḥ al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī (d. 671 H/1273 CE).
- Ibn Mālik (d. 672 H/1273 CE).
- Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Masdī al-Muhallabī (d. 673 H/1274 CE).
- Aḥmad b. Faraḥ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Faraḥ, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ishbīlī al-Lakhmī al-Khawlānī al-Shāfi‘ī, Shihāb al-Dīn (d. 699 H/1300 CE).
- Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Iẓm b. Arqam al-Numayrī al-Andalusī al-Wādī Āshī (d. 749 H/1348 CE).
- Ibn al-Jayyāb ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 749 H/1348 CE).
- Ibn Hudhayl, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hudhayl al-Fazārī (alive in 763 H/1362 CE).
- Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776 H/1375 CE).
- Ibn Jābir al-Hawwārī al-A‘mā (d. 780 H/1378 CE).
- Al-Shāṭibī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Lakhmī (d. 790 H/1388 CE).
- Ibn ‘Abbād, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rundī (d. 792 H/1390 CE).

## Appendix II: Chronological list of Maghribi scholars

- Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 H/996 CE).
- Ibn al-Naḥwī, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Abū al-Faḍl al-Tawzarī (d. 513 H/1119 CE).
- ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭ al-Hārūshī al-Fāsī al-Tūnisī (d. 570 H/1175 CE).
- Al-Suhaylī, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 581 H/1185 CE).
- Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675 H/1277 CE).
- Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723 H/1323 CE).
- Al-Jazūlī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abī Bakr al-Samlālī (d. 869 H/1465 CE).
- Al-Sanūsī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar b. Shu‘ayb (d. 895 H/1490 CE).
- Zarrūq, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī (d. 899 H/1494 CE).
- Al-Tabbā‘, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 914 H/1508 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn ‘Azzūm al-Qayrawānī (d. 960 H/1552 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-‘Āshir (alive in 1008–1040 H/1599–1630 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (11th/17th c.): master of al-Maqqarī.
- Al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū al-‘Abbās al-Andalusī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1041 H/1631 CE).
- Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Fāsī (d. 1109 H/1697 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī al-Fāsī (d. 1110 H/1698 CE).
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ma‘n al-Andalusī al-Fāsī (d. 1120 H/1708 CE): master of ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī al-Fāsī.
- Aḥmad al-Tijānī, Abū al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār (d. 1230 H/1815 CE).
- Al-Idrisī, Muḥammad al-Fāṭimī (d. 1295 H/1878 CE).
- Muḥammad al-Fāsī (alive after 1193 H/1780 CE).
- Ibrāhīm b. Idrīs al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī al-Fāsī (d. 1304 H/1887 CE).
- Aḥmad Sukayrij (d. 1363 H/1944 CE).
- Al-Ghumārī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Ḥasanī (d. 1381 H/1962 CE).
- Al-Sharīf al-Fāsī (master of Abbā Jamāl b. Ḥājj Yūsuf, Aḥmad al-Nūr b. ‘Alī al-Faḍl al-Tijānī [d. 1406 H/1985 CE]).
- Al-Shihāb Aḥmad b. Khalīf al-Qayrawānī (n.d.).
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