

“The Historic ‘Core Curriculum,’ and the Book Market in Islamic West Africa”

Bruce Hall and Charles Stewart

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I – Introduction:

Much work has been done to map out the contours of Islamic intellectual production in West Africa before the twentieth century.¹ However, we still do not understand very well the process by which ideas and texts circulated in the region. Lists of specific books imported by West Africans during the nineteenth century are rare (although one such compilation helps frame this paper),² and the particular books memorized and/or copied by individual students on particular subjects usually fail to tell us much about their mentors' libraries. As a result, the reconstruction of a trans-Saharan, much less the east-west Sahelian book trade, if these existed in any formal sense, must be subject to some speculation. Clearly, there was a steady demand in West Africa for Arabic texts; libraries and literary capital have long been understood as an important component of religious authority. But our knowledge of what might have been the actual texts sought in a book trade, is limited. We can deduce something about the distribution of books in West Africa from the authors and subjects studied in

¹ For example, John Hunwick et al. have filled two volumes with the annotated titles of works written by West African scholars: Arabic Literature of Africa: vol.II, The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa (Leiden, 1995) and Hunwick et al., Arabic Literature of Africa: vol.IV, The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa (Leiden, 2003).

² One of the few definitive lists of book purchases made by a West African scholar is analyzed in C.C. Stewart, “A New Source on the Book Market in Morocco in 1830 and Islamic Scholarship in West Africa,” Hesperis Tamuda XI, (1970), 209-250.

particular venues,³ and from analyses of the citations used in particular scholarly works written by West Africans.⁴ But both the works studied and the analysis of citations tell us about books that were known to individual scholars rather than works that were actually in demand.⁵ This paper seeks to describe the books—by author and title—that were in heaviest demand by doing an inventory of the contents of a cross-section of West African libraries. Our working assumption is that the extant copies of manuscripts that appear in the largest numbers across representative libraries from the Atlantic to northern Nigeria are a good indication of the most widely studied subjects and texts across the Sahel. We are calling

³ Examples of such studies include Ivor Wilks, “The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan” in Jack Goody (ed.), *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1968), 161-197; Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi: The Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal* (London, 2005), 74-6; Stephan Reichmuth, “Islamic Education in Sub-Saharan Africa,” in Nehemiah Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels (eds.), *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens, OH, 2000), 427-28; Lamin Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim clerics: a religious and historical study of Islam in Senegambia* (Lanham, MD, 1989), 149,158; Ousmane Kane, “Intellectuels non Europhone,” CODESRA, 2003.

⁴ Examples include M. Hiskett, “Material relating to the state of learning among the Fulani before their Jihad” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* [hereafter BSOAS] XIX (1957), 550-578; F.H. El Masri, “The Life of Shehu Usman dan Fodio before the jihad,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* II, 4 (1963), 435-448; Sidi Mohamed Mahibou and Jean-Louis Triaud, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé, Bayân mâ waqa’a d’al-Hâgġ ‘Umar al-Fûtî* (Paris, 1983); Jean Schmitz, “Introduction”, Shaykh Muusa Kamara, *Florilège au jardin de l’histoire des Noirs. Zuhûr al-basâfîn. L’Aristocratie peule et le révolution des clercs musulmans (Vallée du Sénégal)*, vol.1, (Paris, 1998), 11-22; Chouki el Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain (XVIè-XIXè siècles). Une étude sociale de l’enseignement islamique en Mauritanie et au Nord du Mali (XVIè-XIXè siècles) et traduction annotée de Fath ash-shakûr d’al-Bartilî al-Walâfî (mort en 1805)* (Paris, 2002); John Hunwick, *Shari’a in Songhay: the replies of al-Maghîlî to the questions of Askia al-Hâjj Muḥammad* (London, 1985).

⁵ The handful of (generally incomplete) published compilations of individual libraries deserve mention as among the few samplings of books that individuals or lineages had managed to acquire and that give us a glimpse of what resources actually were available at some centers of scholarly activity. For an example see L. Massignon, “Une Bibliothèque Saharienne; la bibliothèque du Cheikh Sidi au Sahara,” *Revue du Monde Musulman* VIII (1909), pp.409-418.

these works the “core curriculum” and we suggest that they were likely at the center of any regional book market.⁶

In a provocative and somewhat speculative recent article on “The Book in the Sokoto Caliphate,” Murray Last has posed wide-ranging questions about the periodization, merchandizing, and production of books in the Central Sudan.⁷ He proposes four phases for our understanding of the Central Sudanic book market that may bear relation to the wider Sahelian region: an early period in which books were imported at high prices, a second period spanning the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when a local copying industry dependent upon paper imported from North Africa was chiefly responsible for the dissemination of texts, a third phase in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when copyists attempted partial monopolies over others’ access to manuscripts and when “the trade in rare and recent books was ‘privatized,’” which triggered a fourth, eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries phase marked by local scholars composing original works themselves. The elegance and logic of this periodization founders on sketchy empirical evidence. But what Last’s work does provide is a call for us to look carefully at what we know about the extant manuscripts in the Sahel, to see what can be deduced from them about the importation of texts, education, original scholarship and the copying industry.

⁶ In the discussion here and below we will combine notions of a book market, book copying and book trading to and across West Africa. The copying industry was driven by the preservation of previously acquired and valued books and/or by the duplication of popular works for study and possibly trade. Work needs to be done to distinguish between local copying activity and book ‘imports’ to West Africa.

⁷ Murray Last, “The Book in the Sokoto Caliphate,” *Studia Africana* 17 (October 2006), pp.39-52.

This has been our point of departure in the analysis that follows. We have had the advantage of drawing on empirical data from the contents of over 80 private manuscript libraries that stretch from Mauritania to Nigeria⁸ that have been entered in the Arabic Manuscript Management System (AMMS) database, which is now open-access and available on the internet.⁹ This sampling encompasses at least half (and possibly a good deal more) of the West African book market, intellectually as well as geographically.¹⁰ For this exercise we have grouped together six clusters of the Islamic sciences that reappear with regularity in accounts of subjects studied across the breadth of the Sahel and over several hundred years: Qur'anic studies (recitation, abrogation, exegesis), Arabic language (lexicons, lexicology, morphology, syntax, rhetoric and prosody), the Prophet Muḥammad (biography, devotional poetry, ḥadīth and history), theology

⁸ It includes bibliographic material from the Institut Mauritanien de Recherche Scientifique in Nouakchott which contains material from 72 libraries largely from southwestern Mauritania, the Institut des Hautes Etudes et de la Recherche Islamique – Ahmed Baba (IHERIAB), in Timbuktu, Mali that has material from a number of libraries in Northern Mali, the personal libraries of al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall at Segou, the Ahl Sidiyya in Boutilimit, the Northwestern University collection that contains the Umar Falke Library from Kano, and a dozen collections in Shinqit and Wadan.

⁹ The Arabic Manuscript Management System (AMMS) is a new bilingual bibliographic tool containing over 23,000 West African Arabic manuscript citations drawn from eight major collections across the Sahel. Under a current contract with al-Furqan Foundation for the addition of their hardcopy West African catalogues we expect that number to nearly double again during the next year. Although the citations vary in accuracy, for the first time the literary heritage of Islamic West Africa can be surveyed across multiple individual collections and on a scale that may well be statistically representative of that heritage. The AMMS database, now available as an open-access Internet resource, permits us to move beyond piecemeal snapshots of literary activity, text transmittal, and knowledge transfer in the Islamic sciences. It can be accessed at: <http://www.westafricanmanuscripts.org/>

¹⁰ This assertion is based on the fact that the subject categories that make up the clusters of Islamic sciences used here also constitute about half of the total manuscripts in the AMMS database. The database also includes a wide range of correspondence, licenses, literary work, devotional material, etc. which, if discounted, would make the subject categories used here a much larger percentage of the total. Interestingly, 80% of the book purchases brought to West Africa from Morocco in the one account we have of the book trade in the 1830s, noted in fn. 2, fall in these same categories.

(tawhīd), mysticism (taṣawwuf) and law (sources, schools, didactic texts, legal precepts and legal cases/opinions). In all, we will be surveying about 21,000 extant manuscript records from libraries distributed across the Sahel. We will be comparing the multiple copies of works in these 80-odd libraries that have also been described by representative West African authors as part of their own education or cited in their writings.¹¹ We believe the results are an accurate indicator of the actual books in greatest demand (as well as authors most widely “collected”). We will argue that the frequency of citations of particular texts has implications for the movement of manuscripts across the Sahara as well as across the Sahel, and for the Sahelian copying industry. While this data does confirm (and provide detailed documentation on) many of the descriptions that have previously been made of Islamic learning in West Africa, it also offers a useful corrective to some of the more elaborate claims made about Islamic scholarship in the region. AMMS data also reveals the specific subjects in which the popularity of local writers appears to have eclipsed external scholars (who otherwise dominate most fields), and we are able to show the sub-fields of Islamic knowledge that held greater and lesser levels of interest for West African scholars. This data strongly suggests that levels of training and scholarship varied from one region to another, which was presumably a reflection of the

¹¹ It is important to stress that the prevalence of certain texts, and the absence of others, does not in itself demonstrate the existence of a trade in some books and not others. What we are arguing in this paper is that a ‘core curriculum’ in the Islamic sciences based on multiple copies of extant manuscripts in a large and representative selection of West African libraries gives us empirical evidence of the common texts that formed the basis of Islamic education. It is not clear from our evidence that there was a commercial ‘market’ for these texts, although there may have been. We will return to the issue of the nature of the market in the conclusion.

books that were available. In consequence, it also points to the likely evolution of distinctive intellectual traditions across centers of learning in West Africa during a (somewhat arbitrarily defined) three hundred year period, ca. 1625-1925.¹² At the same time it permits us to compare education in West Africa with what was taking place in contemporary North Africa and the wider Islamic world. Finally, taking issue with Last's projections of book production and consumption in the Central Sudan, the data suggests that there may have been a rather more modest book market supporting advanced studies in the Islamic sciences than he has suggested, but we do concur with his skepticism about the existence of an actual book trade on any scale.

II – The Sahelian “Core Curriculum” in the Islamic Sciences

The presence of certain texts in multiple West African libraries, and conversely, the absence of others, suggests to us an important empirical basis for determining the actual texts that were studied by students and scholars. This “core curriculum” includes a wide range of material: at one end are the texts available to advanced scholars and described in their own writings, and at the

¹² This 300-year frame corresponds, roughly, to two generations of the paper upon which most manuscripts were copied. The modern baseline is the 1920s, the moment at which we can date the erosion of the copying-industry due to widespread importation of Arabic print material. The earliest lithograph book in southern Mauritania arrived there in 1861, a dictionary bearing the imprint of 1262/1846. However, widespread importation of printed texts did not take place until after the First World War. The very oldest surviving copies of manuscripts in the 1920s rarely dated back more than about 150 years (to ca. 1775) due to the high bleach content in imported papers in the 18th century. This same paper chemistry-based chronology would tell us that the oldest manuscript copies extant at the end of the 18th century would be unlikely to predate the early 1600s – thus our time frame of 1625-1925.

other, the core didactic texts studied by all aspiring students. This latter group of titles is easily traced by their widespread distribution across the Sahel. Our criteria for including a text in our “core curriculum” therefore includes manuscripts for which there are multiple (at least four) extant copies in a minimum of three different locations. In almost all cases these are also texts that are confirmed by West African authorities writing about their own studies. Not included are a number of clearly influential locally-authored works that have not appeared in libraries outside their region of origin.¹³

Western-based scholarship describing Islamic learning in West Africa generally identifies the classical texts, but we are rarely given any details on the actual form or profundity of study. For example, Ivor Wilks tells us that in order to achieve the status of scholar, students in the Dyula tradition were required to study Mālik b. Anas’ *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, the fundamental reference work of Mālikī law.¹⁴ Such a statement is undoubtedly true but it begs the question of the form of the work that was studied; the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* cannot be understood as a single discrete text. There is of course a book entitled *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of which there are numerous

¹³ Admittedly, this methodology devalues the very substantial emphasis upon memorization of texts as part of learning in this region and, as a result, the multiplication factor attached to each book as a result of students committing it to memory. Our methodology also sets aside single copies of particular books that may be of great significance. But we have reasoned that the existence of a single copy of a particular text somewhere in West Africa, however instructive to the movement of books and ideas, does not necessarily mean that this text was widely read, or that it can be considered part of a widely-shared ‘curriculum’ of Islamic learning. As additional copies of particular works, now thought to be unique or only available at one or two sites, are uncovered, we anticipate this curriculum to expand beyond the 150-odd works cited below. The one exception to this methodology for inclusion of only works numbering four or more that are found in three or more sites is for a small number of texts numbering six or more in two sites with other works by the same author well distributed across other collections.

¹⁴ Wilks, “The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan,” p.168.

extant copies in the West African libraries that we have surveyed, but the number of copies is not the only criterion that indicates the circulation of a particular text. In addition to the original text, there are many, many more copies of abridgements and commentaries, exegeses and versifications of the work that were clearly in wider circulation. The *Muwaṭṭaʿ* is best regarded as a foundational text (even if parts of it are copied, committed to memory by students and explained by teachers) that was transformed across time by its abridgements and versifications, and further by the exegeses of these abridgements and versifications. To fully appreciate the level of sophistication of study of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* by students in the Dyula tradition, for instance, we need to know the derivative forms of the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* that were studied.¹⁵ This kind of imprecision in our knowledge of what was studied reappears in most generic descriptions of traditional Islamic education in West Africa and it little advances our understanding of the actual curriculum studied, much less what might have been a market for particular books. Our purpose in this paper is to provide an empirically-based overview of the texts that are most widely distributed (and we assume used) in the region, and thereby provide a solid basis for mapping the Islamic intellectual field and the demand for books.

¹⁵ The simplest analogue in Western scholarship is the distinction made between studying a primary source, a monograph based on such a source, a text that is a synthesis of such a monograph, and a schoolbook that is derivative of such texts. It was this last, most general level of study of the great authorities that, judging from the frequency of derivative works across West African collections, was most commonly studied.

What follows is a survey of manuscripts in six clusters of the Islamic sciences, manuscripts that constituted the greatest part of the West African book acquisitions. The criteria for including a text in our “core curriculum” are two: the distribution and number of copies held in the libraries documented in AMMS, and/or its citation among foundational works by a chronological and geographical cross-section of four West African literatai. This information is detailed in the appendix. The four bibliographic annotations by prominent West African scholars that have been correlated with the libraries’ actual contents are:

- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa’dī (d. after 1655/56), *Ta’rīkh al-sūdān*,¹⁶ which discusses many of the texts studied in Timbuktu. He borrows heavily from the work of Aḥmad Bāba, thus providing us with a snapshot of what we might call the classical, 17th century Sudanese tradition of Islamic learning.
- al-Ṭālib Muḥammad al-Bartilī (d.1805), *Fath al-shakūr fī ma’rifat āyān ‘ulamā al-Takrūr*,¹⁷ which is a biographical dictionary of the scholars of the region of Walata up to the beginning of the 19th century contains summaries of their qualifications (their works studied) and offers us a survey of Sahelian scholarly credentials during the 17th and 18th centuries.
- Abdallahi dan Fodio (d.1829), *Idā al-nusūkh man akhadhtu ‘anhu min al-shuyūkh*,¹⁸ in which the author describes his own training. This is the scholarly autobiography of one of the most illustrious intellectuals of the Central Sudan at the turn of the 19th century and, as indicated in this survey, one of the most frequently-cited West African contributors to our “core curriculum.”

¹⁶ al-Sa’dī draws much of his bibliographic information from Ahmad Baba’s *Nayl al-ibtihāj*. The *Ta’rīkh al-sūdān* is translated and analyzed by John Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al-Sa’dī’s Ta’rīkh al-sūdān down to 1613 and other Contemporary Documents* (Leiden, 1999). We will refer to the text hereafter as “TS.”

¹⁷ Translated and analyzed by el Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain*. We will refer to the text hereafter as “Fath.”

¹⁸ Written in 1227/1812-3 and translated and analyzed by Hiskett, “Material relating to the state of learning among the Fulani before their Jihad.” We will refer to the text hereafter as “Idā.”

- al-Hājj ‘Umar Tall (d.1864), *Bayān mā waqā’a baynanā wa-bayn amīr Māsina Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Lobbo*,¹⁹ a work that reflects the scholarly apparatus available to a Western Sudanese intellectual in 1862. His own library ranked among the most comprehensive in West Africa (by comparison to others in this database).

These texts are not an exhaustive survey of Islamic scholarship and training across 300 years, but together they do provide a good chronological and geographical slice of West African bibliographic accounts. They were used in the first stage of our methodology to generate lists of authors and titles that were then compared to the extant manuscripts in regional libraries that make up the AMMS data base. As will be apparent in what follows, not all titles mentioned in these West African sources are widely distributed in libraries today, and conversely, there are many works that are widely attested in the AMMS data that are not mentioned by these West African authors. We have indicated these correlations in the appendix.

The texts included in the “core curriculum” are identified by AMMS geographic categories that roughly indicate their region of origin: Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Shinqit, Wadan, Segou, Timbuktu and Kano. AMMS also includes collections from Niamey, Ibadan and Ghana that have not been incorporated in this survey due to the less than complete documentation on individual manuscripts in those collections or, in the case of Ibadan citations, their high overlap with the “Kano” listings.

¹⁹ Translated and analyzed by Mahibou and Triaud, Voilà ce qui est arrivé. We will refer to the text hereafter as “Bayān.”

- Nouakchott and Boutilimit: The Nouakchott citation refers to the national collection at the Institut Mauritanien de Recherche Scientifique (IMRS) which, at the time it was entered into the AMMS database in 1992 included manuscripts from 72 small libraries (totaling about 4600 items) mainly from the south-east quadrant of Mauritania. Boutilimit refers to the private library of the Ould Sidiyya family in Boutilimit, Mauritania, acquired largely during the 19th century (about 2100 items), and catalogued in 1990.
- Shinqit and Wadan: These two sites refer to twelve private libraries—six at each site—containing about 1100 manuscripts and catalogued and published by al-Furqan Foundation in 1997.
- Segou: This is the library originally belonging to al-Ḥājj ‘Umar Tall and his sons at Segou, now held at the Bibliothèque nationale in France, with about 4100 items, catalogued by C.N.R.S. in 1985.
- Timbuktu: The first 5640 items from the collection at the Institut des Hautes Etudes et de la Recherche Islamique – Ahmed Baba (IHERIAB) in Timbuktu, Mali drawn from Northern Malian libraries, especially from the Bou ‘I-Araf library in Timbuktu, entered from their handlist in 1992. These roughly correspond to the first four volumes printed by the al-Furqan Foundation in 1995 of the Institut’s collection (known under the name CEDRAB).
- Kano: This is a composite of the ‘Umar Falke library from Kano (3030 items) and the Paden collection (330 records) from Northern Nigeria with about 500 items from the Hunwick acquisitions of market editions and published works housed at Northwestern University. “Kano” has been used here as a convenience to incorporate approximately 4200 records largely from Northern Nigeria.

Roughly, based on numbers of manuscripts surveyed for this analysis, about 35% come from Mauritania, 45% from the Niger Bend/Middle Niger region, and 20% from Northern Nigeria. Unless otherwise noted, we have only cited manuscripts in this “core curriculum” that appear in at least four copies

distributed across at least three of these five collections.²⁰ But we have also noted a few works that have been noted by one of our four authorities as being of particular importance when it or its commentaries, exegeses, abridgements, or versifications do not appear at all or are recorded in only one of the collections.

Each of the subject classifications in the AMMS database, of course, contains far more citations than those noted here. For example, the data base notes 303 records on exegesis/*tafsīr* of the Holy Qur'an, but only 76 of the most-frequently cited are annotated in the following summary. The remaining 227 records contain 98 unidentified authors or titles, and 129 unique references and/or multiple references to regional and local authors whose work is not found in more than one or two of these collections, leading us to conclude they did not figure in a West Africa-wide book market. A sampling of other sub-sets of the Islamic disciplines treated here suggest a similar ratio (25:75) of records analysed here to incomplete citations or authors and works of essentially local impact, lacking in copies outside their region of origin. For more detail on the contents of the database, readers are referred to the AMMS website.

III – The “Core Curriculum”

a) Qur'anic Sciences:

²⁰ There are a few exceptions. The distribution and provenence of the texts is noted in the “core curriculum” list in the appendix.

Although the Qur'an was the starting point of Islamic education, the texts that we discuss here are works that would have been studied by relatively advanced students, after they acquired the necessary linguistic skills in Arabic. We have divided the sub-fields of Qur'anic sciences into three parts: Qur'anic recitation (*tajwīd*); the closely related fields of revelation (*tanzīl*) and abrogation (*naskh*); and exegesis (*tafsīr*).

1. Qur'an recitation (*tajwīd*):

The field of *tajwīd* refers to the art of reciting the Qur'an. Among the most widespread texts in this domain are Ibn al-Barī's (d.1330) popular poem entitled *al-Durar al-lawāmi*, which is mentioned in the *Fath al-shakūr* and in Abdallahi dan Fodio's *Idā al-nusūkh*. There are more than two dozen commentaries on this poem by authors from both outside and within West Africa.²¹ Oddly, neither the poem nor its commentaries appear in current AMMS records from Nigeria. Another poem on *tajwīd* found in Kano and Shinqit is al-Shāṭibī's (d.1194) *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* which is also mentioned in the *Fath al-shakūr* and in Abdallahi dan Fodio's *Idā al-nusūkh*. The other widely attested text is Ibn al-Jazarī's (d.1429) *al-Muqaddima*.

2. Qur'anic revelation (*tanzīl*) and abrogation (*naskh*):

The most widely known work on abrogation is Ibn Juzay's (d.1340) *al-Tashīl li-ʿulūm al-tanzīl*. Copies of al-Suyūṭī's (d.1505) *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* are also found in most of the collections used in our sample.

²¹ See Appendix C for the geographical distribution of copies.

3. Exegesis (*tafsīr*):

By far the most widely distributed and most numerous *tafsīr* in these collections is Abdallahi dan Fodio's (d. 1829) *Ḍiyā al-tāwīl fī ma'ānī 'l-tanzīl*, which is found even in the Mauritanian collections. The next most popular text is the so-called *Jalālayn*, the "Two Jalāls," so named because of the shared first name of its two Egyptian authors, al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) and al-Maḥallī (d.1459). This text is as widespread as another well-known exegetical title, the *tafsīr* of 'Alī b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khāzin al-Baghdādī (d.1340), which is based on an earlier work that is less well distributed in West Africa by Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd b. Muhammad al-Baghawī (d.1117). The Mauritanian Muhammad al-Yadālī's (d.1753) *tafsīr*, written in the western Sahel in 1738, is mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio as part of his studies seventy-four years later at the eastern extreme of the same region.²² This is the second most popular West African *tafsīr* title judging from its distribution in the region's libraries. The other major source for Qur'anic exegesis is that of al-Jazā'irī (d.1468), which is found across all collections except for those in Nigeria. Not accurately reflected in our methodology are the numerous West African authors of *tafsīr* who achieved considerable regional popularity, judging from the numbers of copies of their

²² al-Ḥājj 'Umar says that he read al-Baydāwī's (d.c.1300), *Anwār al-tanzīl*. There are no manuscript copies of this work recorded in the AMMS data base. He also says that he studied the muftī of Iṣtambul, Ahmad b. Isma'īl al-Kurānī's (d.1488) *Ghāyat al-amānī*. There are no manuscript copies of this in the database. He also mentions al-Nasafī's (d.1310) *Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaḳā'ik al-tāwīl*, as does the *Faṭḥ al-shakūr*, although the only copy of this text in the database is in Nouakchott. Bayān 200, 203, 205.

work within individual collections in the data base; this one subject seems to have attracted more West African scholars than any other surveyed.

b) Arabic Language:

Under the rubric of Arabic Language we have grouped the linguistic sciences of lexicons and lexicology, morphology, syntax, rhetoric and prosody. For any serious student aspiring to advance in the Islamic sciences, mastering the various branches of Arabic linguistics was essential. The texts in this field were central building blocks to the core curriculum; many of those in widest circulation in West Africa were didactic texts, in verse, meant for memorization. Copies of the large, major treatises in these fields are rare. The texts that were in wide use in West Africa indicate that Arabic language was considered a practical field, not a domain likely to support detailed investigations. That said, we also know that regional figures like Abdallahi dan Fodio and al-Mukhtār Būnah (d.1805/6) were extremely sophisticated masters of the Arabic language; other West African scholars also appear among the “core curriculum” authors of works on grammar, morphology and rhetoric.

1. Lexicons and Lexicology:

Dictionaries are large and valuable texts. They are also rarely found in their entirety. Al-Fīrūzābādī's (d.1415) *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* is by far the best-known dictionary in West Africa. It is mentioned in the *Ta'riḫ al-fattāsh*,²³ and there are dozens of copies (or fragments) of it across the database (although

²³ Hunwick, Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire, lxi.

there are none in Nigeria). Two commentaries on the dictionary, both by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Hilālī al-Sijilmāsī (d.1659), are widely available although they are not mentioned by the West African writers consulted for this paper (and again, there are no copies in Nigeria). The Andalusian Ibn Sīda's (d.1066) dictionary entitled *al-Muḥkam* is mentioned by scholars in Timbuktu, and there is a record of it having been copied there,²⁴ but it does not appear in the database in manuscript form (the first print edition, from Egypt, is in Boutilimit). There is, however, a copy of al-Jawharī's (d. d. c. 1007-8) important dictionary, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī ʿl-luḡha*, in all the collections in the database except Nigeria, although it is not mentioned by the West African authorities consulted for this paper.

2. Lexicology:

Among the better-known works of lexicology is the *Muthallath Quṭrub*, a short text written in the eighth century in Basra by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr Quṭrub (d. 821). This is a book about words with the same consonant-skeleton that have different meanings according to the vowels that they take.²⁵ There are many copies of this text in the database, as well as numerous copies of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Fāsī al-Miknāsī's (d.1557) versified commentary on it. Another very well known work is al-Ḥarīrī's (d.1122) *al-Maqāmāt*, a series of dialogues, meant to be memorized, that introduces difficult

²⁴ Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire*, lxi, 353-55. Ibn Sīda [Alī b. Ismāʿīl b. Sīda al-Andalusī] (d. 1066), *Kitāb al-muḥkam wa-ʿl-luḡha*. GAL I 309, SI 542.

²⁵ G. Troupeau, "Quṭrub, the cognomen of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr," *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Second Edition.

and rare vocabulary. This text is mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio and in the *Fath al-shakūr*.

3. Morphology:

Ibn Mālik's (d.1274) *Lāmiyyat al-af āl* was a very popular didactic poem on morphology, written as a complement to his more famous *Alfiyya* on syntax (see below). It is mentioned in the *Fath al-shakūr*, and there are many copies of it in the database. Ibn Mālik is also the author of a poem listing all the words that end in *alif maqṣūra* and *alif mamdūda*.²⁶ Ibn Durayd's (d.933) poem, also on this topic, appears to have been important outside of Mauritania. The two other main works on morphology that were evidently studied in West Africa outside of Nigeria are Ibn Ḥājjib's (d.1249), *al-Shāfiya* and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makkūdī al-Fāsī's (d.1405), *al-Baṣṭ wa-l-tā'rīf fī 'ilm al-taṣrīf*, which is mentioned in the *Fath al-shakūr*.

4. Syntax:

The two most widely used works of syntax in West Africa were Ibn Mālik's poem known as the *Alfiyya*, and Ibn Ājurrūm's (d.1223) concise treatise known as *al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrumiyya*. These texts are mentioned frequently in West African sources and they are widespread in the database. Among the commentaries on the *Alfiyya* that are most widespread (except in Nigeria) are those of al-Ushmūnī (d.1467), al-Suyūfī, and that of the Mauritanian scholar al-Mukhtār Būnah (d.1805/6). Numerous copies of Ibn Hishām's (d.1360)

²⁶ H. Fleisch, "Ibn Mālik," *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Second Edition.

commentary on Ibn Mālik appear in Nouakchott, Shinqit and Segou, and there are also copies of a commentary on Ibn Hishām by Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī (d.1499) that are found in Mauritania and Mali. Ibn Mālik’s very concise manual on grammar, *Tashīl al-fawā'id wa-takmīl al-maqāṣid*, appears to have been much less popular than its commentaries. There are a number of West African commentaries and versifications of Ibn Ājurrūm’s *Muqaddima*, but the only widespread commentaries are by Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī, and the Boutilimit scholar Sidiyya b. al-Mukhtār al-Ntishaiṭī (d.1868).

Abdallahi dan Fodio mentions that he studied two manuals on grammar by Ibn Hishām (d.1360). These are *Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā*, of which there are five copies in the database,²⁷ and the *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī ma'rifat kalām al-‘arab*, of which there are seven copies and five commentaries. Abdallahi does not mention Ibn Hishām’s great treatise on grammar, the *Mughnī ‘l-labīb ‘an kutub al-‘arīb*. This is not a didactic text like the aforementioned titles, but there are copies of it in Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Segou, which suggests that it must have been known in areas further west.

Al-Ḥarīrī’s didactic *urjūza* poem on grammar entitled *Mulḥat al-īrāb* is another text mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio. There are more than a dozen copies of this across the database, as well as eight copies of Suyūṭī’s

²⁷ Abdallahi mentions a commentary by Muhammad b. Muhammad Sibṭ al-Māridīnī (d.1506), but the only copy of this is in the Segou collection in the database; Idā’ 570; the *Faṭḥ al-shakūr* mentions a different commentary by Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d.1704) entitled *Takmīl al-marām fī sharḥ Shawāhid Ibn Hishām*, of which there are single copies in Boutilimit and Segou only; Faṭḥ 336.

commentary on it. Abdallahi dan Fodio also mentions Ibn Wardī's (d.1349) *al-Tuḥfa al-wardiya fī mushkilāt al-ī rāb*, an *urjūza* poem on grammar of which there are about a dozen copies in the database, although none in the Mauritanian collections.²⁸ In addition, Abdallahi dan Fodio mentions al-Suyūṭī's didactic text on grammar called *al-Farīda*, of which there are six copies in the database.

An important Moroccan text on grammar that was studied in West Africa is the grammatical poem by Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Salāwī al-Mijrādī's (d.1376-7) called the *Lāmiyya*, also known as the *Naẓm al-jumal*.²⁹ In the database, this text only appears in the form of its commentary by al-Rasmūkī (d.1639) and Muhammad Mayyāra's (d.1662) commentary on al-Rasmūkī.³⁰ Finally, Ibn Ḥājjib's (d.1249) famous work on syntax called *al-Kāfiya* is not mentioned by our West African authorities, but it is extant in the database, mainly through commentaries and versifications albeit not among the Nigerian records.

Two additional West African authors, Muḥammad Bāba al-Tinbukṭī (d.1606) and Sīdi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d.1812) achieved the distinction of their works on grammar spreading well beyond the Timbuktu region; the former from Wadan to Nigeria and the latter from Timbuktu to southwestern Mauritania.

5. Rhetoric:

²⁸ Abdallahi also mentions that he studied a West African commentary on Ibn Wardī by Muhammad al-Wālī b. Sulaymān b. Abī Muhammad al-Wālī al-Fulānī (fl. 1688-9) entitled *Mu'īn al-ṭālib wa-mu'īd al-rāghib*, Hunwick, ALA II 36. There are copies of this text in northern Nigeria, but not in the other collections in the database.

²⁹ El Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain*, 116.

³⁰ There is only a single copy of Muhammad Mayyāra's commentary in the database, in Timbuktu.

The main books in the field of rhetoric derive from Yūsuf b. Abū Bakr al-Sakkākī's (d.1229) *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, which does not appear to have been read in West Africa. However, the Syrian al-Qazwīnī's (d.1338) *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* is mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio, al-Saʿdī, and in the *Fath al-shakūr*.³¹ There is only one copy of this work according to the database, in Segou, but we know a second was among the books purchased by Shaykh Sidiyya in Morocco in the 1830s and brought back to Boutilimit.³² Commentaries on it are found in the Timbuktu, Nouakchott, Shinqit and Kano collections.

6. Literature/Prosody:

The following texts are explicitly about prosody, or more general works of poetry that can best be understood as models for poetic composition. Serious studies in this field generally began with collections of pre-Islamic poetry, which are widespread in the database. One poem in particular, al-Shanfarā's *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab*, is mentioned in the *Fath al-shakūr*, and appears itself or with commentaries frequently in the database. This is a famous poem of the so-called "brigand-poets" genre, in which the hero-outcast describes his trials and tribulations.³³ Another famous poem mentioned in the *Fath al-shakūr* is al-Ṭughrā's (d.1121) *Lāmiyyat al-ʿajam*, of which there are many copies and commentaries in the database. In this poem, the speaker complains about the corruption of Baghdad and how his younger contemporaries in that city ill-treat him.³⁴

³¹ Idā' 566; TS 65-66; Fath 161, 169, 322, 355, 366.

³² Stewart, "A New Source on the Book Market in Morocco in 1830 and Islamic Scholarship in West Africa," 230.

³³ R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1969), 79-81.

³⁴ F.C. de Blois, "al-Ṭughrā," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 326.

Another popular poem was Ibn Durayd's eulogy, *al-Maqṣūra*. Abdallahi dan Fodio and al-Sa'dī both mention al-Khazrajī's (fl. 13th century) poem on prosody, of which there are five copies in the database.³⁵

c) Prophet Muḥammad

The fields of knowledge associated with the life and actions of the Prophet Muḥammad are obviously important for devotional reasons, but they also played an important role as sources of positive law and as a model for personal behavior and social and political organization. We have divided our treatment of this field into five sections: biography of the Prophet Muhammad (*sīra*), devotional poetry, ḥadīth collections and sciences of ḥadīth, and history.

1. Biography of the Prophet Muhammad (*sīra*):

In the West African Islamic tradition, as in other areas of the Muslim world after the classical period, the genre of biography of the Prophet Muhammad was suffused with devotional literature. As such, there appears to have been less interest in the earliest, longer, and more sober historical accounts of the life of the Prophet such as that of Ibn Hishām (d.835). There is only a single copy of his *sīra* in the database (in Boutilimit).³⁶ The biography of the Prophet that was most popular in West Africa was the later, more devotional recension of the Andalusian Mālikī scholar al-Qaḍī 'Iyāḍ (d.1149) in his *Kitāb al-shifā bi-tā'rīf*

³⁵ Abdallahi dan Fodio (Idā' 569) and the Faṭḥ al-shakūr (169, 366) mention a commentary on this poem by Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Sahrīf al-Ḥasanī al-Gharnāṭī al-Sabtī (d.1359), *Sharḥ al-khazrajiyya*. There are no copies in the database.

³⁶ The *Faṭḥ al-shakūr* mentions the Moroccan Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Sūsī al-Būsa'īdī al-Hashtūkī al-Ṣanhājī's (d.1637), *Ishrāq al-badr 'alā 'adad ahl badr*, on the fighters at the Battle of Badr. El Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain*, 200. The only manuscript copy of this work is in the Segou collection.

ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafa.³⁷ This work is mentioned in many West African writings as the central work of *sīra*, and there are dozens of copies of the work across the database. The only commentary of note is that of the Egyptian al-Khafājī (d.1659).

Another text that can be broadly classified under the category of biography of the Prophet is the work on the Prophet's attributes by the great *ḥadīth* collector al-Tirmidhī (d.892). There are six copies of this work in the database (none recorded in Segou or Nigeria), but also a number of West African compositions based on the information in this work.

Al-Qaṣṭallānī (d.1517), the Egyptian commentator on Bukhārī, is best known in West Africa not for his long *ḥadīth* commentaries,³⁸ but for his biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya fī 'l-minaḥ al-Muḥammadiyya*. This is a work that attained popularity across the Muslim world,³⁹ although we find only a handful of copies in the database (in Segou, Timbuktu and Boutilimit).

One of the most popular West African compositions about the Prophet's life, and about devotion to the Prophet, is Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī's (d.1811) *Naḥḥ al-ṭīb fī 'l-ṣalāt 'alā 'l-nabī al-ḥabīb*, of which there are more than a dozen copies in all the collections (except in northern Nigeria).

2. Devotional poetry:

³⁷ Wilks points to this as one of the three central works studied to be a scholar in Dyula tradition. "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan."

³⁸ There is one copy of his *Irshād al-sārī fī sharḥ Bukhārī* in Timbuktu.

³⁹ C. Brockelmann, "al-Qaṣṭallānī," Encyclopedia of Islam. Second Edition.

The field of Islamic devotional poetry is vast and begins with the 7th-century Ka'b b. Zuhayr's *Bānat sū'ād*, a poem written after Ka'b b. Zuhayr's conversion to Islam at the Prophet's Madina. This poem is well known around the Muslim world and in West Africa. There are several West African commentaries on this poem but none are widespread across the whole region.

A number of popular poems devoted to aspects of the Prophet Muhammad's character, or events in his life, achieved wide popularity. One of the most popular was al-Fāzāzī's (d.1230) *al-ʿIshrīnīyāt*, a collection of poems in praise of the Prophet, each with twenty verses. These poems are mentioned in many of the West African sources we have consulted, and there are many copies in the database from every collection.⁴⁰ From the thirteenth century, it became popular amongst those interested in poetry, to add additional material to existing poems, especially religious devotional verse. One popular format for adding to poems was called "*takhmīs*," which involved adding three hemistichs to each "*bayt*" (or "line," which consists of two hemistichs each) of a poem, thus creating a block of five hemistichs from the original two.⁴¹ Such additions to poems could act as commentaries, adding information to explain the original poem. One popular example of this form in West Africa was the *Takhmīs* on al-Fāzāzī's *ʿIshrīnīyāt* by Ibn Mahīb (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb). It is mentioned in al-Saʿdī's *Taʾrīkh al-sūdān* and in the *Fath al-shakūr*. There are dozens of copies in

⁴⁰ There are large numbers in the northern Nigerian material suggesting that this was a especially popular work in this region.

⁴¹ P.F. Kennedy, "Takhmīs," Encyclopedia of Islam. Second Edition.

the database. Among the most popular West African commentaries on the ‘*Ishrīnīyāt*’ was al-Kashnāwī’s (d.1667), *al-Nafḥa al-‘anbariyya*, although there are only a few copies in the database.

Perhaps the most popular devotional poem in the Muslim world is al-Būṣīrī’s (d.1295/6) poem named after the Prophet’s mantle, known as *al-Burda*.⁴² This poem also carries a longer title, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*, and it owes much of its popularity to the medicinal value that its verses are believed to hold. The database contains dozens of copies of the poem, as well as commentaries and other writings about this poem, but the only one that seems to have been moderately widespread was that written by the Egyptian Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī. Al-Būṣīrī is also the author of another poem in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad known as *al-Qaṣīda al-hamziyya*, which is also widely available. Extant commentaries on this work include one by al-Naẓīfī,⁴³ and another by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytāmī (d.1567).

Another popular devotional work is al-Jazūlī’s (d.1465) book of prayers in honor of the Prophet entitled *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*. This is frequently mentioned by the West African authors consulted here, and there are dozens of copies in the

⁴² A bilingual Arabic-English version of this poem is published in Stefan Sperl “Al-Būṣīrī (d.c.1296): The *Burda* in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad” in Sperl and Christopher Shackle eds., *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, vol.II (Leiden, 1996), 388-411.

⁴³ GAL SI 471

database from all across the region. The most popular commentary is that of Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī (d.1801/2).⁴⁴

Other popular poems in praise of the Prophet include al-Shaqrāṭīsī's (d.1073), *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya*, which is also mentioned in the *Faṭḥ al-shakūr*. The Moroccan Ibn Marzūq's (d.1439) *al-Qaṣīda al-mīmiyya* which praises the Prophets and saints is also widespread. The *Faṭḥ al-shakūr* also mentions al-Tawzarī's (d.1113) *al-Qaṣīda al-munfarija* which is also known as *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*; there are seven copies in the database.

Some of the imprecision in the AMMS cataloguing (which was dependent upon the original cataloguing of individual collections) is evident in the case of a poem in praise of the Prophet and its commentary entitled *Ḥullat al-siyārī fī madḥ khayr al-warā*. This is the title of a commentary on a poem by Ibn Jābir (d.1378) called *Bad'īyyat al-ʿimyān*. The commentary was written by the poet's friend and colleague Aḥmad al-Gharnāṭī al-Ruʿaynī (d.1377). Both were from Andalusia, both went to Egypt to pursue their studies, and both finally settled in Syria.⁴⁵ According to the database records, the text and commentary are both attributed to Ibn Jābir. There are about a dozen copies in the database, but none in Mauritania.

3. Hadīth collections:

⁴⁴ On the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, see Vincent Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1998), pp.170-77. On Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī, see Hunwick, *ALA II*, 51.

⁴⁵ S.A. Bonebakker, "al-Ruʿaynī, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Gharnāṭī (or al-Ilbīrī) al-Mālikī, d. 779/1377," *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Second Edition.

We include *ḥadīth* in this section out of convenience rather than logical division of the Islamic sciences. Not surprisingly, the most important *ḥadīth* collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim are mentioned by almost all of the West African authorities on Islamic education consulted for this chapter. There are also many copies of these works in all the collections of the database. There are also several widespread derivative texts such as ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd b. Abī Jamra al-Azdī al-Andalusī’s (d.1296), *Bahjat al-nufūs* and Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d.1252), *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīya fī l-siḥāḥ al-akhbār al-Muṣṭafawīya*.

Aside from the canonical collections, one finds a number of texts in the tradition of the “forty *ḥadīths*,” in which a selection of the Prophet’s *ḥadīths* on a particular subject, or the most “representative” *ḥadīths*, are brought together in a smaller collection. There are two examples in the database, the collection of Ibn Wad‘ān (d.1101) which are found only in Mauritanian libraries, and the more famous collection by the Syrian al-Nawawī (d.1277), which is more widely distributed. There are commentaries on al-Nawawī mentioned in our written sources, notably that of Ibn Ḥajar, mentioned by al-Ḥājj ‘Umar Tall,⁴⁶ but they do not appear to have been widespread. Another popular collection of *ḥadīth* was Ibn al-Jazarī’s (d.1429), *Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*, which is a collection used for prayers.⁴⁷

4. Sciences of ḥadīth (‘*Ulūm al-ḥadīth*):

⁴⁶ Bayān 179; Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaytamī [Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ḥajar al-Ḥaytamī] (d.1567), *al-Fath al-mubīn fī sharḥ al-arbā‘īn al-nawawīyya*, GAL II 387-88, SII 527. The only manuscript copy of this in the database is in Timbuktu.

⁴⁷ This was part of the curriculum in Fez according to G. Delphin, *Fas, son université et l’enseignement supérieur musulman* (Paris, 1889), 31.

In the field of the sciences of *ḥadīth*, some of the most important medieval authorities such Ibn Ṣalāḥ (d.1245) and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d.1449) are mentioned by our West African authorities, but they do not appear widely in the database.⁴⁸ However, al-ʿIrāqī's versification of Ibn Ṣalāḥ's work on the sciences of *ḥadīth*, called the *Alfiyat al-ʿIrāqī*, is mentioned among the works studied in West Africa, and it appears across all the collections in the database. There are also copies of the Egyptian Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's (d.1520) commentary on it. The only other works of any distribution in this field are by the Mauritanian scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī (d.1818), whose works are found in the Mauritanian and Malian collections.

5. History:

We have inserted history here as a matter of convenience and acknowledgement of likely interest, although the subject was not one of widespread study judging from the contents of West African libraries. By this we do not mean that West African library owners had no interest in history; rather, that the histories we find tend to be local or regional works, and even these are not widespread. There is evidence in a number of texts written by West African authors that they were aware of some of the classical historical works in the Islamic tradition. However, these texts were not mentioned by our authorities on

⁴⁸ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī [Ahmad b. ʿAlī b. Muhammad b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī] (d.1449), *Nukhbat al-fikr*, which is a commentary on Taqī al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī's (d.1243) *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, mentioned by al-Ḥājj ʿUmar Tall (Bayān 210) and in the *Fatḥ al-shakūr* (253). The only manuscript copy is in Boutilimit. There is a versification of Ibn Ḥajar's *Nukhbat al-fikr* by the Mauritanian author al-Ḥasan b. Aghbuddi al-Zaydī al-Tishīṭī (d.1711), *Rawḍat al-azhār*. It is mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-shakūr* (253), but the only manuscript copy of this title in the database is one copy in Timbuktu.

Islamic education nor do they appear in the database. Except for the history of the first four caliphs, the study of history as we think of it today appears to have been only of secondary interest. Despite the fact that writers such as Aḥmad Bāba quote Ibn Khaldūn in his *Mir'āj al-ṣū'ūd*,⁴⁹ there are no copies of Ibn Khaldūn's great history in the database. What we see instead are shorter works that are more focused on early Islamic history, presumably because such works concerned important sources of Islamic knowledge, as well as the early transmitters of *ḥadīth*. The principal source of wider Islamic historical information about the early Islamic period for West Africa seems to have been al-Suyūṭī's *Tārīkh al-khulafā*, which appears under this title and in various abridgements and versifications by local authors. The other main historical text found in the database, and also mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-shakūr*, is al-Himyarī's (d.1237) account of the campaigns of the Prophet and the first four caliphs. The one local historian who was collected well beyond his home region was 'Abdullahi dan Fodio whose history of the *jihād* is found in Segou and Timbuktu as well as in Nigeria.⁵⁰ There are only five copies in our sample of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's (d.1449) biographical dictionary of the companions of the Prophet, *al-Iṣāba fī'l-tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*.

d) Jurisprudence (*fiqh*):

⁴⁹ Ahmad Baba, *Mir'āj al-Ṣū'ūd: Aḥmad Bābā's Replies on Slavery*, John Hunwick and Fatima Harrak (eds. and trans.), (Rabat, 2000), pp.24-26.

⁵⁰ Murray Last suggests this absence of 'secular' writing may be an artifact of the high cost of paper (p. 44), although this evidently did not inhibit the spread of 'Abdullahi's account of events in the Sokoto region.

By following the Mālikī school (*madhhab*) of jurisprudence, West Africa is part of the dominant legal tradition in the western Muslim world, including the vast majority of North Africa and formerly Islamic Spain (Andalusia). The core Mālikī texts were central to the core curriculum across West Africa.

Islamic law is a vast and complicated field divided into many sub-disciplines. We have presented the texts used in West Africa according to five broad sub-divisions that are roughly consistent with the major categories of legal materials: sources (*uṣūl*), schools (*madhhab*) including foundational texts and manuals, didactic texts, legal precepts/maxims (*qawā'id*), and legal cases/opinions.

1. *Uṣūl al-fiqh*:

Uṣūl al-fiqh (“sources of jurisprudence”) is devoted to the theoretical issues about the sources of substantive law, and the rules of interpretation by which legal principles were extrapolated from different sources. It is, broadly speaking, a sub-field devoted to understanding the reasoning behind existing legal norms, and at least in theory, to the methodology required to arrive at new interpretations. Because West African Muslims participated in a wider Mālikī tradition in common with the majority of North African Muslim scholars, we would expect to find significant parallels in the curriculum of these two regions. Indeed, as with the foundational texts of the Mālikī school, the extant works of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in West Africa closely mirror those studied in Fez.⁵¹ The foundational text studied

⁵¹ On the curriculum at Fez, see Delphin, *Fas*, 169-70.

in Fez was al-Subkī's (d.1370) *Jamī al-jawāmi'*.⁵² There are copies of this text in Timbuktu and in the Mauritanian collections, but al-Maḥallī's commentary on it and al-Suyūṭī's versification of it are even more widespread. This confirms what we would expect: the text would normally be studied with one of these aids. We will return to the possible implications of the apparent paucity of supporting glosses of this critical work.⁵³

According to A. Samb, al-Juwaynī's (d.1085) *Waraqāt* was a fundamental work of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in Islamic education in West Africa.⁵⁴ Oddly, there are only two copies of the *Waraqāt* itself in the database, but like al-Subkī's text, there are numerous copies of commentaries and five different versifications in circulation by various authors, many of whom are West African. Because the *Waraqāt* is a short but difficult text that incorporates certain Ash'arī notions into juridical methodology,⁵⁵ it should not surprise us that its study was accompanied by commentaries and versifications. The most widespread commentary in the database is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Mālikī al-Ru'aynī al-

⁵² The *Jamī al-jawāmi'* is itself a work based on commentaries on Ibn Ḥājj's *Mukhtaṣar al-far'ī* and 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar al-Baydāwī's (d.1316) *Minhāj al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl* (GAL SI 741). In his *Bayān mā waqā'a*, al-Ḥajj 'Umar Tall mentions a commentary on Ibn Ḥājj's *Mukhtaṣar* by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Yūsūf al-Hawwārī al-Tūnisī (d.1348-9) (Bayān, 210), but there is no manuscript copy of this text in the database. In fact, there is only a single copy of Ibn Ḥājj's *Mukhtaṣar* (in Nouakchott) and no copies of al-Baydāwī's *Minhāj*. So, it appears that as in Fes, West African students began with the *Jamī al-jawāmi'*.

⁵³ There is only one copy of Abī Sharīf's gloss (Kamāl al-Dīn Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Abī Sharīf al-Kawrānī, *al-Durar al-lawāmi'*, GAL SII 105) (in Segou) and no copies of al-Banānī's (d.1780) gloss (Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bannānī al-Fāsī (d.1780), GAL SII 105). There is one copy of a gloss by Zakariyyā' b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Anṣārī (d.1520) in Nouakchott.

⁵⁴ A. Samb, *Essai sur la contribution du Sénégal à la littérature d'expression arabe* (Dakar, 1972), 27.

⁵⁵ Brockelmann, "Al-Djuwaynī," *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Second Edition.

Ṭarāblusī's (d.1540/1), *Qurrat al-ʿayn*. The most widespread versification of this work was written by the Egyptian Yaḥyā b. Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿImrīṭī (d.1581).

Another important Mālikī legal writer was al-Qarāfī (d.1285). There are seven copies in the database of his commentary on al-Rāzī's (d.1209) *al-Maḥṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh* entitled *Tanqīḥ al-fuṣūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*.⁵⁶ The only copy of al-Rāzī's original appears to be in Timbuktu. Al-Qarāfī was also the author of a large work on *furū al-fiqh* entitled *al-Dhakhīra*, of which only one copy appears in the database (in Boutilimit), and another work of *qawāʿid* noted below.

Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah argues in his work on the history of Mālikī writing in Mauritania that the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh* was an area in which West African scholars produced little original work, but followed closely the lead of outside authorities. It was a sub-discipline, according to Ould Bah, of secondary importance in the West African legal field.⁵⁷ Local authors did, however, produce a number of commentaries and versifications of *uṣūl al-fiqh* texts, presumably for didactic purposes. For example, the Mauritanian ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī wrote a poem entitled *Marāqī al-sūʾūd* in which he condensed all the essential elements of *uṣūl al-fiqh* into 20-30 manuscript pages.⁵⁸ Al-ʿAlawī also wrote a commentary on this poem which runs to over two hundred manuscript pages. Both the poem and the commentary are well represented in the database.

2. Furū al-fiqh:

⁵⁶ GAL SI 921

⁵⁷ Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah, La littérature juridique et l'évolution du Malikisme en Mauritanie (Tunis, 1981), 177.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 187-88.

The parallel sub-field to *uṣūl al-fiqh* is known as *furū al-fiqh* (“the branches of jurisprudence”) which refers to the corpus of positive law. For reasons of clarity, we divide this field into sub-sections of foundational texts and manuals.

2a. Foundational texts

In the Mālikī *madhhab*, the foundational texts are ascribed to the jurist after whom the school is named, Mālik b. Anas (d.796). It is clear from our West African sources that Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭaʿ* was studied. There are ten copies of the book in the database, and eight copies of al-Zarqānī’s (d.1710) commentary on it (although no copy in Kano which is where we find the only four copies of the Andalusian Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī’s (d.1081) commentary). Saḥnūn’s (d.854) *Mudawwana* is complementary to the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* as a presentation of Mālik’s views, with additional materials not found in the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*. The *Mudawwana* was an important text in the original spread of the Mālikī *madhhab* in the Muslim West and it is mentioned in many West African sources, yet there is only a single copy of this text in our database, possible due to its extreme length. There are however numerous copies of al-Barādhī’s abridgement and it seems likely that this was the means by which many students encountered the work.⁵⁹ Both the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* and the *Mudawwana*, and their commentaries and/or abridgements, can be understood as standing in close relation to the later works of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in that they report the earliest principles of what would become the

⁵⁹ Abu ʿI-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muhammad al-Zarwīlī (d.1319), *Sharḥ al-Mudawwana* is mentioned in the Faḥ (170), and TS (67), but there is no copy of it in the database. For reference to this work see F. Krenkow, “Saḥnūn,” Encyclopedia of Islam. Second Edition.

Mālikī school, but they are not strictly speaking theorized in the same way as the later *uṣūl* genre.⁶⁰ These texts were especially important as sources of positive law as it developed in the Mālikī school. Al-ʿUtbī's (d.869) *al-Mustakhraja* was a foundational work of Mālikī jurisprudence in Andalusia, and it is mentioned by al-Ḥājj ʿUmar Tall in his *Bayān*,⁶¹ but it lost its importance over time and there are no manuscript copies of it in the database.

2b. Fiqh manuals

It is evident that the later manuals of Mālikī law were much more widely studied than the foundational works discussed above. Two texts, in particular, dominated the field: the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd (d.996) and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Ishāq (d.1374). Ibn Abī Zayd's *Risāla* is a synopsis of Mālikī law, whereas the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl is an abridgement of Ibn Ḥājj's (d.1249) *Mukhtaṣar al-faʿī*, and is almost incomprehensible without the aid of commentaries. There are a large number of copies of the *Risāla* and Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar* in the database, and these represent among the most widely copied texts in West Africa. The number of copies of some of its commentaries and glosses gives some indication of their popularity. Ibn Ḥājj's *Mukhtaṣar al-faʿī* is mentioned by al-Ḥājj ʿUmar Tall in the *Bayān*, and by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī in the *Taʾrīkh al-sūdān*,⁶² but there is only a single copy of it in the database (in

⁶⁰ On the difference and relationship between *furūʿ al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* as genres of legal literature, see Wael Hallaq, "Uṣūl al-fiqh: beyond tradition," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, 2 (1992), 181-84.

⁶¹ GAL SI 300; *Bayān*, 213.

⁶² Ibn Ḥājj [ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr al-Mālikī] (d.1249). *Bayān* 207-8, TS 67.

Nouakchott). Al-Ḥājj ‘Umar Tall also mentions a commentary on this work by al-Hawwārī,⁶³ but there is no manuscript copy of this in the database.

We have little to add to the list of commentaries on the *Risāla*. For Khalīl’s *Mukhtaṣar*, al-Zurqānī’s (d.1688) commentary was among the most popular, as was al-Bannānī’s (d.1780) gloss on it. There are also numerous copies of al-Kharashī’s (d.1690) commentary and of Dardīr’s (1786) two commentaries. Both of al-Tatāṭī’s (d.1535) commentaries appear to have been in wide circulation, as was al-‘Abdarī’s (d.1492) *al-Tāj wa-’l-iklāl li-mukhtaṣar Khalīl*. Among West African authors, there are two dozen copies of the Mauritanian Maḥand Bāba b. Ubayd al-Daymānī’s (d.1860) commentary entitled *al-Muyassar al-jalīl ‘alā mukhtaṣar Khalīl*. However, all the copies are in Mauritanian libraries suggesting that the influence of this commentary was regionally limited; more widespread was the commentary by the Timbuktu savant Aḥmad Bāba. It is striking that none of these works have yet appeared in AMMS entries from Nigeria.

Ibn ‘Āṣim’s (d.1427) *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* is another fundamental manual of Mālikī jurisprudence often mentioned by West African writers; there are dozens of copies mentioned in the database. What is less well known, because this title goes unmentioned by the West African authorities consulted here, is that Muḥammad Mayyāra’s commentary was widespread. Ibn ‘Askar’s (d.1332) *Irshād al-sālik* was an important *fiqh* manual in northern Nigeria and in the Dyula areas, but it does not appear to have held the same popularity elsewhere. There

⁶³ Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Yūsūf al-Hawwārī al-Tūnisī (d.1348-9), *Sharḥ Ibn al-Hājib*. Bayān 210.

is only one reported copy outside of northern Nigeria (in Timbuktu). Another work that appears to have been especially popular in northern Nigeria is al-Manūfī al-Shadhilī's (d.1532) *al-Muqaddima al-'izziya*. This is a *fiqh* manual that is not mentioned in our West African sources despite the fact that there are more than a dozen copies, mostly in northern Nigeria but also in Segou, Timbuktu and Shinqit.

Finally, al-Zaqqāq's (1506) two poems on jurisprudence are both mentioned in the *Fath al-shakūr* and are widely distributed in the database. The *Manhaj* is an *urjūza* poem in which al-Zaqqāq explains the principles of the Mālikī *madhhab*; the *Lāmiyya* is a poem in which al-Zaqqāq provides solutions to legal problems using the judicial practice of Fez, where he lived. Delphin mentions that the *Lāmiyya* was taught in Fez, but makes no mention of the *Manhaj*.⁶⁴ Works such as these document the direct influence of Moroccan legal training on the West African legal curriculum; a second influence, from Egypt is also evident, although less obvious in the database.⁶⁵

3. Didactic texts:

Didactic texts include works that were composed to be teaching tools and were often used in relatively elementary levels of education. Some of these are poems that focus on particular legal issues relevant to ritual practice; others, like

⁶⁴ Delphin, *Fas*, 32.

⁶⁵ As we have suggested above, the direct Egyptian influence may have been stronger in areas further east such as northern Nigeria. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall mentions the influential Egyptian jurist Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Sunbāwī al-Amīr al-Kabīr al-Malikī (d.1817), *Majmū al-Amīr [al-Majmū fī 'l-fiqh]* (GAL II 486; SII 738), but there is no evidence of this text in the database. The Bayān also mentions the Tunisian Qāsim b. 'Isā al-Nājī's (d.1433), *Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Abī Zayd*, but there are no copies in the database.

the treatise by Ibn al-Ḥājj (d.1336), are sophisticated, theoretical, but admonitory works, aimed at correcting what are perceived to be shortcomings in applications of the law. In this sense, some of these texts might be categorized as polemical.

Perhaps the most important didactic text is al-Akhḍārī's (d.1585) *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ibādāt*, an elementary textbook on ritual duties according to the Mālikī *madhhab*.⁶⁶ It is not clear that all the copies of al-Akhḍārī's legal texts in the database are the same, because they are often referred to by the author's name in the place of a title. It is obvious that this was an important didactic text for beginners in West Africa; the popular derivative texts, according to the database, were versifications of this work that helped students in committing it to memory. Another popular text is 'Abd al-Bārī al-Rifā'ī al-'Ashmāwī's (fl. 16th century) *al-Muqaddima*, which is mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio and in the *Fatḥ al-shakūr*. There are copies in this title across the database (although not in northern Nigeria). There are a number of West African commentaries on this work, but none appears to have achieved widespread popularity.

There are certainly shorter works devoted to particular ritual practices that are not as obvious in the database, nor mentioned by our West African authorities. Some shorter works by West African authors appear to have achieved some popularity, including two short texts by Usman dan Fodio that were known in Segou, Timbuktu, and in Nigeria.

⁶⁶ J. Schacht, "al-Akhḍārī," Encyclopedia of Islam. Second Edition.

Finally, we have included in this section the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* by Ibn Farḥūn (d.1397), a Mālikī scholar from Madina. This is a compilation of a thousand conundrums or riddles (*alghāz*) in jurisprudence.⁶⁷

4. *al-Qawā'id al-fiqhiyya*.

The *qawā'id* are the legal precepts or maxims of jurisprudence derived from the different areas or branches of substantive law. As such, they consist of theoretical guidelines in the different areas of *fiqh* such as evidence, transactions, civil law, etc. They are derived from the body of substantive law, rather than from the sources or methodology used in deriving the *fiqh* in the first place, as was the case with *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Although similar in form, the *qawā'id* are understood to be a completely separate branch of juridical literature from the *uṣūl al-fiqh*.⁶⁸ The *qawā'id* manuals appeared after the full development of the *madhhabs* and are internal to each school. This type of literature blossomed only beginning in the thirteenth century.⁶⁹

We have listed four works here, three of which appear to be widespread. The one that is not is Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī's (d.1295) long and important work on *qawā'id* entitled *Kitāb anwār al-burūq*. It is mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio and al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall as a work that they had studied, but there are only three copies in the database (in Boutilimit, Segou and Shinqit) and another copy of a

⁶⁷ Ahmad Baba, *Nayl al-ibtihāj bi-taṭrīz al-dībāj*, in the margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj al-mudhahhab fī a'yān 'ulamā' al-madhhab* (Cairo, 1932/3), 32.

⁶⁸ Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Cambridge, 2003), p.7.

⁶⁹ W.P. Heinrichs, "Qawā'id Fiqhiyya," *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Second Edition. See also Heinrichs "Qawā'id as a genre of legal literature," Bernard Weiss ed., *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 365-84.

commentary on this work (in Timbuktu). The other three works are al-Wansharīsī's (d.1508) work on *qawā'id* which is not mentioned by the West African authorities consulted for this paper; the *Kulliyāt* of Ibn Ghāzī (d.1513), which is a short work on legal questions and judgments in the Mālikī *madhhab*;⁷⁰ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Juzay al-Kalbī al-Gharnāṭī's (d.1340), *Qawānīn al-aḥkām al-shar'īya*.

5. Legal Cases/Opinions:

Finally, we include a section on compilations of legal rulings. There are a number of *fatwa/nāzila* collections, and some works, which should be classified separately, on advice to judges (*adab al-qādī*). None of these works have yet been identified as being in circulation in northern Nigeria.

Al-Wansharīsī's *al-Mīyār al-murīb* is a massive collection of *fatwas* from North Africa and Andalusia issued between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries C.E. As we should expect, a work of this size was rare; there are only two copies (both in Mauritania) and in one case it is a lithographed copy. Even these appear to be but a fraction of the complete work. We find a similar pattern with the other important Mālikī *fatwa* collections. The Egyptian al-Ujhūrī's (d.1656) *fatwa* collection is mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio, and there are single copies in Segou and Timbuktu. There are several West African versifications of al-Warzāzī's (d.1752/3) collection of *nawāzil* mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-shakūr*, but none appear to have been especially widespread across the whole region.

⁷⁰ E. Lévi-Provençal, Les historiens des Chorfas. Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIe au XXe siècle (Paris, 1922), 231ff

There are also some smaller works devoted to particular issues. For example, Aḥmad Bāba's *Mir'āj al-ṣū'ūd*, in which he discusses the illegitimacy of enslaving West African Muslims is relatively widespread.

Ibn Salmūn's (d.1365) *al-'lqđ al-munazzam* is a substantive manual in the *adab al-qādī* genre of legal literature, meant to be a practical guide to judges. Included in this work is a chapter on the formularies for particular types of legal documents such as contracts and sales (the *shurūṭ*).⁷¹ Perhaps because of its practical nature, the text is not mentioned by the West African authorities we have consulted. There are copies in the libraries in Mauritania and in Timbuktu.

Finally, we have included here Ibn Rushd's (d.1198) *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, which appears to be the most important work in what became an important legal sub-field, known as *khilāf*, on the differences in legal opinions of various legal authorities.⁷² There are copies of this lengthy work in Boutilimit, Segou, Timbuktu and Shinqit. Al-Dimashqī's (fl. 14th century) *Raḥmat al-umma* is another important work in this sub-field, but there are only a few copies of this work in the database, and four copies of a work derived from it by al-Sha'ranī (d.1565), perhaps because of the length of these texts which run more than three hundred manuscript pages.

e) Belief (*tawhīd*):

⁷¹ Wael Hallaq, "Model Shurūṭ Works and the Dialectic of Doctrine and Practice," *Islamic Law and Society* 2,2 (1995), pp.114,116.

⁷² Hallaq, *Authority, Continuity, and Change in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 125. J. Schacht, "Ikhtilāf," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition.

The most important works of *tawḥīd* in West Africa, as in the Muslim West more generally, are the creeds written by Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī's (d.1486). Al-Sanūsī wrote a number of creeds meant for different levels of readers. These works give an exposition of the essentials of faith and the nature of God. By far the most common text in our collection is the most elementary of these creeds, called the '*Aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣuḡhrā*'.⁷³ There are dozens of copies of this work across our sample. There are several West African commentaries and versifications of this text, including one that discusses Fulfulde commentaries on the *Ṣuḡhrā* by Muḥammad al-Wālī b. Sulaymān b. Abī Muḥammad al-Fulānī (d.1688/9),⁷⁴ and another that is a versification by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr b. Baghayogho al-Wangarī (d. 1655), who was the nephew of the Timbuktu scholar Muḥammad Baghayogho (d.1594).⁷⁵ There are also copies of al-Sanūsī's own more advanced creeds, including *al-ʿAqīda al-wuṣṭā* and *al-ʿAqīda al-kubrā*. These texts are not nearly as widely distributed as the *Ṣuḡhrā*, and we have omitted the *Wuṣṭā* from our list because, despite suggestions to the contrary, the text does not appear to be widespread,⁷⁶ at least in a format that would result in it being catalogued as a distinct title.⁷⁷

⁷³ For a discussion of how this text was used as the basis of other didactic texts in West Africa, see Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi*, pp.79-86.

⁷⁴ John Hunwick et al., ALA II, p.35

⁷⁵ John Hunwick et al, ALA IV, p.33.

⁷⁶ The *Wuṣṭā* is also known as *al-Jumal* and as *al-Murshida*. It is widely attested in Nigerian libraries, but except for a copy in Boutilimit, not elsewhere in our sample. See Hunwick, ALA IV p.xix.

⁷⁷ H. Bencheneb, "Sanūsī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Another popular didactic text, especially in Nigeria, is the Andalusian al-Qurṭubī's (d.1171) *Urjūzat al-wildān*, also known as *Manẓūmat al-Qurṭubī*, which summarizes the five "pillars" of Islam in rhyming verse designed to be easy for children to memorize, although not simplified in content.⁷⁸ Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jazāʾirī's (d.1479/80), *Manẓūmat al-Jazāʾiriyya* is another widely attested and well-known versification of the Islamic creed. Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Laḡānī's (d.1631) commentary, *Faṭḥ al-majīd bi-kifāyat al-murīd*, is well represented, as is his didactic commentary on his own *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*. The Moroccan al-Maqqārī's (d.1632) versification of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī's (d.1142) ʿ*Aqīda* is a popular text.⁷⁹ There is only one copy of al-Nasafī's creed in our sample (in Timbuktu), but more than forty copies of al-Maqqārī's versification. Ibn ʿĀshir's (d.1630) theological poem *al-Murshid al-muʾīn ʿalā ʿl-ḡarūrī min ʿulūm al-dīn* is widely distributed, as is the commentary on this poem by Muhammad Mayyāra (d.1662) entitled *al-Durr al-thamīn wa-ʿl-mawrid al-muʾīn fī sharḥ al-Murshid al-muʾīn*⁸⁰

A popular text from Sudan is *al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī taḥqīq mā rifat arkān al-imām*, which was written by someone known in West Africa as Arbāba al-Kharṭūmī. This is the Sudanese scholar Arbāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAwn b. ʿĀmir b. Aṣḡaḥ (d.1690/1), from Wad Madanī. His *nisba* identifying him with Khartoum must be a later West African appellation, since the city of Khartoum was not founded until

⁷⁸ R.Y. Ebied, "Qurṭubī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second Edition.

⁷⁹ Majid Fakhry, *A History of Islamic Philosophy*. Third edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p.333.

⁸⁰ Ch. Pellat, "Mayyāra" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.

the nineteenth century, long after Arbāb's lifetime. We also include al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111), *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* in this section on *tawḥīd* (it is the one text we cite twice, also including it in the section on Sufism), as well as the work on *tawḥīd* by al-Ghazālī's brother, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d.1123) entitled *Tajrīd fī kalamat al-tawḥīd*.⁸¹

Among the West African works on *tawḥīd* that are well represented in our sample, Ibn Sulaym's (d.1801/2) poem on the attributes of God entitled *Dalīl al-qā'id li-kashf asrār ṣifāt al-wāhid*, along with the author's own commentary called *al-Mazīd al-'aqā'id* are very popular texts, especially in Nigeria. Little is known about this author; his *nisba* indicates that he is from the Libyan oasis of Awjila, but his writings appear to have been known primarily in sub-Saharan Africa. The Mauritanian al-Mukhtār Būnah's (d.1805/6), *Wasīlat al-sā'ada* is another well-known West African poem on *tawḥīd*. Another Mauritanian work of some significance is Muḥammad al-Yadālī's (d.1753) long commentary entitled *Farā'id al-fawā'id fī sharḥ qawā'id al-'aqā'id* on his own short work called *al-Qawā'id al-'aqā'id*. According to F. Leconte, this work includes more than just a treatment of *tawḥīd*, but also the problem of the validation of saints, Aristotlian notions of astrology, and the esoteric sciences.⁸²

f) Sufism (*tasawwuf*)

Even more than other fields of knowledge, the works of Sufism extant in the West African libraries are surprisingly limited considering just how important

⁸¹ H. Ritter, "Ghazālī" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition.

⁸² F. Leconte, "al-Yadālī (1096-1166/1685-1753)" *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

Sufism is thought to be in West African Islamic practice. This suggests that it is not very useful to think of Sufism as a discreet field of knowledge in West African Islam, at least not until more recent times, and that it may be useful to distinguish between *tasawwuf*, the study of Sufism, and literature relating to the *turuq*, the sufi brotherhoods, themselves.

There are very few copies of the classical works of Sufism. The exception is al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, which is found in every library in our sample. This work, which is a manual on religious practice that goes beyond issues related to Sufism, is also one of the foundational works of Sufism around the world. While there are a few copies of classical Sufi texts written before al-Ghazālī, they are not widespread. For example, there is only one copy of al-Makkī's (d. 998) Sufi manual entitled *Qūt al-qulūb*, upon which parts of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* is derived, and there are no copies of al-Qushayrī's (d. 1015) *al-Risāla*. There are no copies of the great Persian Sufi poets such as Fārid al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī, or Suhrawardī, and only a couple of copies of the poetry of Egyptian Sufis such as Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235). There are a limited number of copies of al-Ghazālī's brief work entitled *Bidāyat al-hidāya* which outlines the rules of daily life for the devout and advice for avoiding sin.⁸³ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salama al-Ḥabashī's (d.1380), *Kitāb al-Nūrayn fī iṣlāḥ al-dārayn* is widely attested. This is an admonitory work on "taqwa" and related issues. It contains a large number of supplications.

⁸³ On this last work, see W. Montgomery Watt, "Ghazālī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

The influence of important later Sufis such as Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) or the Egyptian ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Shaʿrānī (d. 1565) is difficult to measure using our bibliographic data. There are copies of their works in the libraries, but there is not a single title that is widely attested. These authors are mentioned by West African writers as authors that they read,⁸⁴ but the impression that our data leaves is that insofar as the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī were influential in West Africa, they were not transmitted by his major writings but through the filter of Shādhilī authors such as the Egyptian Ibn ʿAṭāʾillāh al-Iskandarī (d.1309) or the Moroccan Aḥmad Zarrūq (d.1493). These two writers are the most popular Sufi writers in our sample of libraries. Ibn ʿAṭāʾillāh's *al-Ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya*, which is very well-known collection of Sufi maxims derived from the teachings of Abū ʿl-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d.1258), is mentioned many times in the *Fath al-shakūr* and there are copies of it almost everywhere. Aḥmad Zurrūq's commentary on this work is also widely attested. There are also a number of copies of Ibn ʿAṭāʾillāh's *Miftah al-filāḥ wa-miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, which is a manual of Sufi devotional practice that includes an extensive discussion of *dhikr*.⁸⁵ Aḥmad Zarrūq's Shādhilī *wazīfa*, which he claimed was dictated to him by the Prophet Muḥammad while sitting on his tomb at Madina,⁸⁶ is widely distributed, as are a number of other works by the same author. Among the best known are his *Qawāʾid al-taṣawwuf* which is also

⁸⁴ On Ibn al-ʿArabī, see Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usman dan Fodio* (London and New York: Oxford University Press; 1973) , 60; on al-Shaʿrānī, see B.G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 32, 95, 147.

⁸⁵ Richard J.A. McGregor, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafāʾ Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn ʿArabī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), p.30.

⁸⁶ C.E. Bosworth and F. de Jong, "Wazīfa" *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Second Edition.

known as *Qawā'id al-Zarrūq*, a poem presenting the main tenets of Sufism and two hundred brief rules intended for novices.⁸⁷ Muḥammad al-Yadālī's (d.1753), *Khatimat al-taṣawwuf* is patterned after Aḥmad Zarrūq's poem, and is often found together with it. The *Khatima* is a 19-line poem.⁸⁸

Aḥmad Zarrūq's *al-Naṣīḥa al-kāfiyyā* is a more substantive work in which he connects the different branches of the religious sciences to Sufism. This work also appears to have been popular, although it is less well distributed and there are only six copies in our sample.⁸⁹ We should not be surprised at the popularity of Aḥmad Zarrūq who is in some ways, a figure not unlike al-Ghazālī, in that he is understood as a proponent of a very sober form of Sufism. Aḥmad Zarrūq famously said, "Be a legist first and a Sufi second, not a Sufi first and a legist second."⁹⁰ Another popular Shādhilī text is the Moroccan al-Yūsī's (d.1691), *Dāliyyat al-Yusī*, which is a poem rhyming in the Arabic letter *dāl*, about al-Yūsī's Sufi master Ibn Nāṣir (d. 1674) and his teachings. The poem was composed in 1666 and it is usually accompanied by the author's own commentary entitled *Nayl al-amānī*.⁹¹ There are more than thirty copies of this text in our sample.

The Tijānī-Qādirī debates that students of West African Islam will expect to see reflected in an exercise of reconstructing a "core curriculum" are not as extensive as might be expected. The only texts that are widely distributed in the

⁸⁷ On this poem see Ali Fahmi Khushaim, *Zarrūq the Sufi: A Guide in the Way and a Leader to the Truth* (Tripoli: General Company for Publication, 1976), p.64.

⁸⁸ F. Leconte, "al-Yadālī (1096-1166/1685-1753)," *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Second Edition.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.60.

⁹⁰ Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, p.197.

⁹¹ Jacques Berque, *Al-Yousi: Problèmes de la culture marocaine au XVIIème siècle* (Paris : Mouton & Co., 1958), p.25.

Qādiriyya camp are a number of works by Sīdi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d.1811), who established a prominent *tarīqa* in the Azawad region north of the Niger Bend in the second half of the eighteenth century. His son Sīdi Muḥammad also wrote a number of works that are relatively widespread. But other well-known Kunta writers such as Aḥmad al-Bakkāy al-Kuntī (d.1865) do not figure prominently across the libraries of our database. On the Tijāniyya side, the order's foundational text about the life of Aḥmad al-Tijānī by the Moroccan 'Alī Ḥarāzīm (d.1856) entitled *Jawāhir al-mā'ānī* is the only non-West African text widely attested. There are a dozen copies of al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall's (d.1863), *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm*, but only three copies of his well-known *Bayān mā waqā'a* which we have not included in our list.⁹² The only other widely attested Tijānī title is by al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall's companion Yerkoḳ Talfi (d.1863), and his anti-Qādirī polemic entitled *Tabkiyat al-Bakkā'ī*.

IV – Conclusions

An exercise such as this is fraught with methodological challenges: the AMMS data base is only as accurate as the original input of records in a wide variety of catalogues employing, themselves, separate criteria for annotation. Some of these collections have been published and expanded since the data in AMMS was entered; others are currently being revised. AMMS editing has corrected some of the more obvious errors but we are aware that misidentified

⁹² On al-Ḥājj 'Umar's œuvre see Sidi Mohamed Mahibou and Jean-Louis Triaud, Voilà ce qui est arrivé

and “under-identified” items remain in the database; the data used in this account are drawn only from citations that we are reasonably confident are correctly identified manuscripts. We are also held hostage to the manuscript acquisition and cataloguing practice in the collections included in AMMS. Although whole libraries were acquired in national collections such as the one in Nouakchott, cataloguing there seems to have favored classical texts and their derivatives over “ephemera” including locally-written poetry, correspondence and the like. By contrast, material identified here as “Kano” in origin seems to emphasize local authorship over classical works. Although the libraries or library clusters included in this analysis have each included the principle collections in their regions, there remain unexpected lacunae in each when compared with the contents of other libraries across West Africa.⁹³ Finally, in this list of caveats, is our own somewhat arbitrary decision to focus on works that number at least four copies appearing in at least three collections. At a minimum this formula signifies books that potentially had some currency in two of the three geographic regions of these 80-odd libraries - the Central Sudan, the Niger Bend and the western Sahara. But the bar for inclusion of a book has been purposely set very low in acknowledgement of the amount of memorization that was part of the culture of

⁹³ These lacunae permit us to construct a checklist of manuscripts – authors and titles - we are likely to uncover in particular regions (and hopefully integrate into the AMMS database). Similarly, the search for additional copies of items that are in the database now but not in sufficient number or distribution to be mentioned on these lists provides an agenda for on-going research. Clearly, the region least well-served by this analysis is Nigeria where we need to elaborate our knowledge about books available there. In his chapter in this volume Murry Last summarizes his own assessment of the manuscript collection at the Kaduna National Archives which confirms the importance there of a dozen authors and titles that also appear in the “Kano” listings and in our ‘core curriculum.’

learning, as well as the multiplier effect of particularly influential works that were then extracted and abridged and commented upon in local scholarship but that might not have been caught in our distribution formula for inclusion in this “core curriculum.”

These qualifications aside, the pattern of text distribution cited above does allow us to suggest some tentative conclusions about (i) external geographical milieus and chronological periods that apparently had the greatest influence on West African scholarship (and possibly the movement of books); (ii) the differential access across the Sahel to certain authors or types of literature and therefore the authority of scholarship on particular topics likely to emanate from different centers; and (iii) the implications the numbers and distribution of texts might hold for a book market. We will conclude by returning to some of Last’s hypotheses, as a mechanism for stimulating discussion about the trans-Saharan book trade.

First, a few summary numbers from the texts cited here and what they represent. Because the grouping of subject matter for this exercise does not map directly on to the subject classifications in AMMS we cannot report with precision the slice of fully-identified AMMS records that have been summarized here. But we can do this for particular subjects which may convey a sense of the significance of this sampling in relation to the total records in AMMS. For instance, 42% of the AMMS records on Qur’anic recitation have been cited on our lists ; 31% of the records on Qur’anic exegesis; 26% of AMMS records

identified as lexicons; 36% of what we have combined as morphology and syntax; 40% of the records on the science of *ḥadīth*. The converse of these percentages, of course, is to specify those works that are too few in number, according to the methodology we have employed, to claim an impact outside of the particular library/region in which they have been recorded. These also may include some unidentified or misidentified works, but their lack of multiple copies has led us to assume that they were not part of a widely-shared Sahelian “core curriculum” and therefore not a focus of the book trade or copying industry. As additional records are added to the AMMS database it will be instructive to see how many more multiple-copy clusters emerge and/or how representative our current 24,000 records may be. Based on the percentages of particular subject matter captured in this analysis, it is our working assumption that the books summarized here do represent the vast majority of the multicopied books and therefore the “core curriculum” across the Sahel.

A second observation on these 150 separate author citations has to do with what their chronological spread tells us about influences on Islamic learning in West Africa. Over one-third of the authors cited (37%) died in the 250 year period between 1300 and 1550, and the number of authors who predate the eleventh century (and therefore produced works that were in demand at the beginning of the period covered by this volume) is small (10%). Clearly, it is scholarship written between 1300 and 1700 that formed the core of the core curriculum (nearly 50%). This might be explained in a variety of ways, from an

artifact of the quality and quantity of paper on which manuscripts were copied (and therefore which ones survive the longest and/or were most frequently recopied), to the impact of the Songhay Pashalik in launching “modern” Islamic teaching and scholarship in West Africa, or to the geographic proximity of Egyptian and/or Moroccan authorities to centers of learning in the Sahel. According to Last’s speculation, the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries was a period when a local copying industry flourished, even attempted to assert monopolies over book production, and was chiefly responsible for disseminating texts, at least in the Central Sudan. But the empirical evidence from the death dates of the most widely extant authors suggests that their works would have only just been arriving in West Africa at this time. Muslim education and Islamic scholarship in West Africa clearly reflected Moroccan influence but it drew on both Egyptian and Moroccan authorities who lived at the height of the Sa‘adian hegemony over the western Sahara and Sudan. Whatever the book market may have been before the 15th century, there is very limited contemporary evidence that its impact was lasting.

The most widely circulating texts across the whole of West Africa remained overwhelmingly texts from outside the region, and those texts were largely written by North African and Egyptian authors. The interrelationships between intellectual activities in West Africa and Morocco have long been known. Biographical materials from centers such as Timbuktu or Walata underscore the similar nature of educational systems in North and West Africa, well documented

in Aḥmad Bāba's *Nayl al-ibtihāj*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Saʿdī's *Tārīkh al-sūdān*, and al-Ṭālib Muhammad al-Bartilī's *Fatḥ al-shakūr*. Chouki el Hamel's excellent translation and annotation of the *Fatḥ al-shakūr* demonstrates quite conclusively the virtually identical Islamic intellectual cultures in Morocco and the southwestern Sahara and high Sahel.⁹⁴

Therefore, the prominence of Egyptian authors in this West African core curriculum is somewhat surprising. Among post-classical works (for our purposes, books written during or after the fourteenth century), there are actually slightly more Egyptian-authored texts in our curriculum than the combined output of Maghribi and Andalusian writers (see appendix A).⁹⁵ Part of the reason for this is the historical prominence of Egypt generally as an intellectual center in the medieval Muslim world, and as a center for Mālikī scholarship. Certainly, many Egyptian authors were considered to be prominent authorities by scholars in the Maghrib, and thus, it is not surprising that they would also be held in high esteem in West Africa. However, the extent of the Egyptian presence in our curriculum suggests that when the West African region is considered as a whole, the direct influence of Morocco is less dominant than one is led to believe in an area like Mauritania alone. In areas further to the east, the relationship with Egypt is well attested historically. In particular, the importance of the great Egyptian polymath ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūfī (d.1505) is clear in a number of ways: there was a

⁹⁴ El Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain*, 112.

⁹⁵ See Appendix A for a summary of author provenance, arranged by subject matter, for the period 1250-1700.

record of direct correspondence in letters between al-Suyūṭī and West African scholars in Tagedda;⁹⁶ in a number of West African sources al-Suyūṭī is an especially important Islamic authority for local figures;⁹⁷ and his writings are widespread in West Africa (there are 219 copies of different works attributed to al-Suyūṭī in the AMMS data base). The importance of a number of al-Suyūṭī's works, and those of other Egyptian writers, may also be connected to pilgrims returning to West Africa from the *ḥajj*, although the exact historical mechanisms responsible for the introduction and circulation of certain Egyptian works remains an area requiring further research.

This brings us to what appears as a differential access across the Sahel to certain authorities or types of literature that logically would have impacted the kinds of scholarship likely to emanate from different centers. If the main resources for Islamic scholarship and training were, as this analysis suggests, somewhat recent (post-16th century), and the main conduit for texts came via Morocco, this might also explain why those West African centers most remote from the Far Maghrib, e.g., northern Nigeria, seem to not register the same range of authorities typical of the Niger Bend, the Middle Niger and the Mauritanian

⁹⁶ E.M. Sertain, "Jalal ad-Din As-Suyuti's relations with the people of Takrur" Journal of Semitic Studies 16, 2 (1971), 193-98; idem, Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and background (Cambridge, 1975), 50-51; H.T. Norris, The Tuaregs: their Islamic legacy and its Diffusion in the Sahel (Warminster, 1975), 45-47; Abdel Wedoud ould Cheikh, Eléments d'histoire de la Mauritanie (Nouakchott, 1988), 23-39.

⁹⁷ For example, the Kunta claim an authority bestowed upon one of their ancestors by al-Suyūṭī. See Norris, The Arab Conquest of the Western Sahara. Studies of the historical events, religious beliefs and social customs which made the remotest Sahara a part of the Arab world (London, 1986), 227-41; Bruce S. Hall, "The Question of 'Race' in the Pre-colonial Southern Sahara," Journal of North African Studies 10, No. 3-4 (2005), p.359.

libraries. This needs to be confirmed by additional comparisons of library resources in Nigeria with some of these other centers, but it is difficult to escape the observation from this sampling that Nigerian scholarship labored under resource handicaps not found further west. This evidence points to the distinct possibility that Islamic learning in the Central Sudan, as a consequence, followed a slightly different (more original?) trajectory, perhaps compensatory for its more modest resource base. This might explain the relatively prolific 'Ajami literary production as well as a spur to the production there of didactic texts in Arabic and vernacular languages. Perhaps Last's suggestion that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were moments of originality in the scholarship of the Central Sudan can also be read as a reaction there to a certain isolation from the main flow of books that is evident in the Middle Niger libraries. If so, the "market" for this original writing and/or demographic demand in the area of contemporary Northern Nigeria would have been a factor. This train of thought also invites a reprise of the critics of the Sokoto jihad who argued that the quality of Islamic learning there was not commensurate with the scholarly apparatus needed to justify holy war. Clearly, more information about the library resources in Northern Nigeria is needed. The great intellectual of that movement, the Shehu's brother Abdullahi dan Fodio, was clearly conversant with our "core curriculum," and his *tafsīr* is the one work of West African authorship that found the most widespread distribution across the Sahel as well as North Africa. But the absence of a

number of our core curriculum texts from the “Kano” sample does make additional surveys of Nigerian libraries an imperative.⁹⁸

The distribution of Abdullahi dan Fodio’s *tafsīr* brings up another feature of the “core curriculum”: its’ robust but relatively late (nineteenth century) representation of West African scholars. In addition to Abdullahi dan Fodio, three others - al-Ḥājj ‘Umar Tall, Sīdi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and Shaykh Sidiyya - all authored works that found distribution and, presumably, study across at least four of these centers of learning. Not even the fabled Aḥmad Bāba (d. 1627) is so distinguished. Obviously, the chronological proximity of these authors to our survey end point has some bearing, but this is also suggestive of an emergence of a nineteenth-century West African scholarly tradition that can be regionally defined and that was reproducing itself at the beginning of the colonial occupation. Our methodology masks yet another nineteenth-century development within West African scholarship, obvious in these library collections: the clear emergence of regional authorities in particular subject matter whose work – found in numerous copies – did not stretch beyond their home region.

Any sample such as this one will invite critical appraisal of the data base itself. But if we accept these libraries as an approximate cross section of

⁹⁸ The al-Furqan Foundation catalogues of the Arabic manuscript collection at Ibadan University, and the Kaduna National Archives collection, both recently edited for inclusion in the AMMS database, do exhibit a bias similar to the Northwestern “Kano” collection insofar as there is a distribution of fewer classical authorities than typical in collections from the Niger Bend and further west.

individual collections in the pre-print years,⁹⁹ some deductions can be hazarded about book acquisition and/or the book market. Our arbitrary cut-off point in deciding whether a book should be included in this survey was the presence of at least four copies across three or more collections. If less, the reason for the book's inclusion has been explained (usually in the case of a work upon which there are multiple commentaries which normally include the original text). That is four copies stretched across 80-odd libraries, themselves distributed across 2000 miles. Admittedly, many of these libraries were small ones in southwestern Mauritania (averaging 60-odd books each),¹⁰⁰ and they were in a region with nomadic patterns that put scholars in regular and easy contact with southern Morocco. But to achieve "core curriculum" mention in this study, the particular work had to be also found in two other regional collections – in the case of southwestern Mauritania, the library in Boutilimit, one of the two Middle Niger/Niger Bend collections or the composite "Kano" collections. Still, four copies of a book is not a very large number for works in a core curriculum in a region as vast as the West African Sahel. These numbers have to raise questions about the volume of book commerce and/or the book market itself.

⁹⁹ To reiterate, we believe this sampling does have statistical validity in its base of 24,000 citations, and in its geographic range of 80-odd libraries from southern and northern Mauritania, the Niger Bend and Northern Nigeria.

¹⁰⁰ The size of private libraries may be placed in perspective by reference to North Africa. Le Tourneau notes that the personal libraries of individuals in Fes, one of the great centers of book commerce from the sixteenth century – although down to only ten book sellers by 1900 – was several dozen books, rarely more than 100 items (*Fes Avant le Protectorate* (Paris, 1949) 376-7; 473). It would seem unlikely that a large number of West African personal collections would exceed this range, as is indicated by the 72 southwestern Mauritanian libraries consolidated in the national collection in Nouakchott.

Perhaps in another 80 libraries we would uncover dramatically larger numbers of these central texts, but we think this unlikely. In brief, this data suggests the commerce in books was modest for the authors and titles that were central to training students and for documenting scholarship. In this, we concur with Last's skepticism over whether there was much of a book trade at all. The accounts of book-buying expeditions to North Africa imply that serious bibliophiles went abroad to seek books, an unlikely custom if there was a regular West African commerce in manuscripts.¹⁰¹

Finally, we have estimated that the extant works recorded here were, if not original themselves, copies of books composed or copied in the period between roughly 1625 and 1775. This is based on experience working with manuscripts in West Africa where, as noted above, the use of bleach to utilize non-white rag in its European paper manufacture resulted in the survival of very few papers that predate the last quarter of the 18th century. Books written prior to that time were subject to the same paper chemistry-chronology (unless the paper was made with white rags) and thus required re-copying at the very least at 150-200 year intervals if they were to remain extant. A glance at the authors' death dates across the centuries of book production cited here (see appendix B) provides a rough sense of how many times, at a minimum, individual works from

¹⁰¹ Shaikh Sidiyya's Moroccan trip in the 1830s to purchase books has been noted above; Last likewise notes book-buying travels from the central Sudan (p. 44); the most famous book-buying episode is that reported by the Mauritanian traveler Aḥmad b. T'wayr al-Janna who, by one account, imported 400 volumes acquired in Mecca and, when he passed through Marrakesh about 1834, purchased still more books, despite resistance there from book sellers, on his way back to Wadan. See H.T. Norris, *The Pilgrimage of Ahmad, Son of the Little Bird of Paradise* (Aris & Phillips, 1977), pp. 102, 105-6.

particular periods would have had to be copied to survive into the late 20th century. Exactly half of all the authors cited above wrote their treatises after 1450, which means a minimum of two cycles of recopying were likely necessary for the work to survive into the mid-19th century, probably three re-copyings to be among the extant works we have identified above. These approximate dates for paper survival may be problematical, but the obligatory act of recopying older works that appear in this core curriculum does reaffirm the centrality of particular texts to the scholarship and teaching of West Africa. It also explains how some texts literally fell out of use through inattention to their recopying. Further analysis of the copies of these manuscripts (unfortunately not commonly dated nor frequently with copiest named) can be done within the AMMS data base where this information is generally noted when it is available.

In sum, the AMMS database of extant manuscripts allows us to identify a “core curriculum” common to the southern Sahara and West Africa that likely overlapped in large part with the books in greatest demand. The modest numbers of extant manuscripts from this “core” based on a sampling of 23,000 records leads us to question whether, in fact, there was a book trade in any real sense. But this survey does allow us to compare scholarly training in West Africa, as evidenced by extant libraries, which compares favorably with what was being taught in contemporary centers of learning in Egypt and Morocco. It also allows us to identify the main authorities studied in West Africa which included a greater Egyptian influence than we expected, the dominance of a relatively recent

(post-sixteenth-century) cohort of scholars, and a vibrant emerging, local West African scholarly output in the nineteenth century. As the AMMS database is enlarged we anticipate that increasingly authoritative surveys of this nature will be possible, and we encourage colleagues to join other data sets to this database.

Appendix A

Texts by author provenance written between 1250 and 1700 (59% of all books)

period		QUR'AN	ARABIC	PROPHET	LAW	BELIEF	SUFISM
1250-1400	Maghrib	2	2	2	4		1
(18% total texts)	Egypt		5	3	2		2
1400-1550	Maghrib	3	3	1	10	4	4
(26% total texts)	Egypt	2	11	9	7		
1550-1700	Maghrib		5	1	6	3	2
(14% total texts)	Egypt		1		6	2	

Appendix B

Summary of author death dates for subject matter in “core curriculum”

period	# titles	QUR'AN	ARABIC	PROPHET	LAW	BELIEF	SUFISM	# authors
preIslamic	6		6					5 ¹⁰²
700-800	5		2	2	1			3
800-900	5		2	2	1			5
900-1000	4		2		1	1		3 ¹⁰³
1000-1050	2		1		1			2
1050-1100	4		1	1	2			4
1100-1150	9		3	3		1	2	7 ¹⁰⁴
1150-1200	3	1			1	1		3
1200-1250	4		2	2				4
1250-1300	13		5	6	2			7 ¹⁰⁵
1300-1350	12	4	2	1	3		2	11 ¹⁰⁶
1350-1400	15		8	2	3		2	12 ¹⁰⁷
1400-1450	11	1	4	3	3			9 ¹⁰⁸
1450-1500	20	2	3	3	3	5	4	12 ¹⁰⁹
1500-1550	28	3	6	4	14	1		12 ¹¹⁰
1550-1600	6		3		3			5 ¹¹¹
1600-1650	8		2		2	4		7 ¹¹²
1650-1700	18		2	2	8	4	2	14 ¹¹³
1700-1750	3				2	1		3
1750-1800	10	2		1	5	1	1	7 ¹¹⁴

¹⁰² Imru' al-Qays appears as an author in two works of pre-Islamic poetry

¹⁰³ Ibn Durayd (authored one work in Arabic and one in poetry)

¹⁰⁴ al-Ghazālī (authored works in belief, Sufism) and al-Harīrī (two works in Arabic)

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Mālik (Arabic); Shihab al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (law) and Busīrī (Prophet)

¹⁰⁶ Ibn 'Aṭā'illāh (Sufism) & Ibn Juzay (Qur'an, law)

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Hishām (Arabic)

¹⁰⁸ al-Makkūdī (Arabic) & Ibn al-Jazarī (Qur'an, hadith)

¹⁰⁹ al-Sanūsī (belief) & Aḥmad Zarrūq (Sufism) & Khālīd al-Azharī (Arabic, Prophet)

¹¹⁰ al-Suyūṭī (Qur'an, Arabic, Prophet, law); al-Zaqqāq (law); Ibn Ghāzī (law); Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī (Qur'an, law); al-Manūfī al-Shādhilī (law), and al-Tatā'ī (law)

¹¹¹ al-Akhḍārī (law, Arabic)

¹¹² al-Laḡānī (belief)

¹¹³ al-Sijilmāsī (Arabic) and Muḥammad Mayyara (law, belief)

1800-1850	28	2	3	8	5	3	7	9 ¹¹⁵
1850-1900	7		2		1		4	4 ¹¹⁶
unidentified	2		1	1				2 ¹¹⁷
totals	223*	15	60	41	61	22	24	150
* one work								
cited twice								

¹¹⁴ Muḥammad al-Yadālī (Qurʿan, Prophet, belief, Sufism) and ʿAbd Allāh al-Tīshītī (Qurʿan, law)

¹¹⁵ Ibn Sulaym, al-Mukhtār Būnah, Sīdi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, Sīdi Muḥammad al-Kuntī, Usman dan Fodio, Sīdi ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī, Abdallahi dan Fodio

¹¹⁶ al-Hājj ʿUmar Tall (Sufism) & Shaykh Sidiyya (Arabic)

¹¹⁷ al-Tuwatī and Ibn Mahib

Appendix C: Works cited in Core Curriculum

Qur'anic Sciences

1. Qur'anic recitation (tajwīd):

- Ibn al-Barrī [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ribāʿī] (d.1330), *al-Durar al-lawāmī fī aṣl maqrʾ al-imām Nāfi*¹¹⁸

Derivative text:

- Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Karāmī al-Simlālī (d.1495), *Taḥṣīl al-manāfi min kitāb al-durar al-lawāmī*¹¹⁹
- ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj Ḥamā Allāh al-Ghallāwī al-Tishīṭī (d.1794), *Sharḥ al-durar al-lawāmī*¹²⁰
- Aḥmad b. al-Ṭālib Maḥmūd b. Aʿmar al-Idawʿayshī (d.1841), *Irshād al-qārī wa-l-sāmī li-kitāb al-durar al-lawāmī*¹²¹
- Abū ʿI-Qāsim b. Firruh b. Khalaf al-Ruʿaynī al-Shāṭibī (d.1194), *Hirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī [Qaṣīdat al-shāṭibiyya]*¹²²

Derivative text:

- Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Jaʿbarī (d.1332), *Kunz al-māʾānī fī sharḥ hirz al-amānī*¹²³
- Ibn al-Jazarī [Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿI-Khayr al-Dimashqī al-Jazarī] (d.1429), *al-Muqaddima al-Jazariyya fī ʿilm al-tajwīd*¹²⁴

Derivative text:

- Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī (d.1520), *al-Daqāʾiq al-muḥkama fī sharḥ al-muqaddima*¹²⁵

2. Qur'anic revelation (tanzīl) and abrogation (naskh)

¹¹⁸ Maghribi; GAL II 248, SII 350, Idāʿ 571, Fath 241; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Timbuktu; commentary in Segou.

¹¹⁹ Maghribi; GAL II 248, SII 350; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Segou.

¹²⁰ West African; Fath 362-66; mss found in Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

¹²¹ West African; mss found in Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

¹²² Andalusian, lived adult life in Egypt, GAL I 407, SI 725; Idāʿ, 571, Fath, 241; the mss or its derivative texts are found in Segou, Kano, and Shinqit.

¹²³ GAL II 1 64, SI 725, SII 134; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

¹²⁴ Syrian; GAL II 202, SII 275; mss found in Segou, Kano, and Nouakchott; Ibn al-Jazarī's commentary on his own work entitled *al-Muqaddima al-Jazariyya fī ʿilm al-tajwīd* appears only in Boutilimit.

¹²⁵ Egyptian; GAL SII 276; mss found in Segou, and Timbuktu.

- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *al-Itqān fī ‘ulūm al-Qur’ān* ¹²⁶
- Ibn Juzay [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Juzay al-Kalbī al-Gharnāṭī (d.1340), *al-Tashīl li-‘ulūm al-tanzīl* ¹²⁷

3. Exegesis (*tafsīr*)

- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505) and Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Maḥallī (d.1459), *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* ¹²⁸
- Muḥammad al-Yadālī b. al-Mukhtār b. Maḥam Sa‘īd al-Daymānī [Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd] (d.1753), *al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-‘azīz* ¹²⁹
- ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khāzin al-Baghdādī (d. 1340), *Lubāb al-tāwīl fī mā ‘ānī l-tanzīl* ¹³⁰
- Abdallahi dan Fodio [‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Fūdī] (d.1829), *Ḍiyā al-tāwīl fī mā ‘ānī l-tanzīl* ¹³¹
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Tha‘ālibī al-Jazā‘irī (d.1468), *Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān* ¹³²

Arabic Language

1. Lexicons and Lexicology

- Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d.1415), *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* ¹³³

Derivative texts:

- Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Hilālī al-Sijilmāsī (d.1659), *Idā‘at al-udmūs wa-riyāḍat al-shamūs fī iṣṭilāḥ al-qāmūs* ¹³⁴

¹²⁶ Egyptian; GAL SII 179; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu, Nouakchott, Boutilimit, and Shinqit.

¹²⁷ Andalusian; GAL II 265, SII 377; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, and Nouakchott.

¹²⁸ Egyptians; GAL II 114, 145, SII 589; Bayān 212; mss found everywhere except Kano.

¹²⁹ West African; F. Leconte, “al-Yadālī (1096-1166/1685-1753)” *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, pp.202-5; Fath 297-99, Bayān 201; mss found in Nouakchott and Segou; commentary in Timbuktu.

¹³⁰ Iraqī, GAL II 109, SII 135; Bayān, 205; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Kano. This is a work based on an earlier text written by Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī (d.1117) entitled *Mā‘ālim al-tanzīl*, GAL SI 622. The two texts are sometimes confused but it is Baghdādī’s text which is found most frequently in the database.

¹³¹ West African; ALA II, 93; mss found in all collections. This is the most widely found *tafsīr*.

¹³² Maghribi; GAL II 249, SII 351; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, and Segou; commentary in Timbuktu.

¹³³ Persian, active in Arab East; GAL II 183, SII 234; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Boutilimit.

- Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Hilālī al-Sijilmāsī (d.1659), *Faṭḥ al-quddūs fī sharḥ khuṭbat al-qāmūs* ¹³⁵
- Ismā‘īl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. c. 1007-8), *al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luḡa* ¹³⁶

2. Lexicology:

- Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr [Quṭrub] (d. 821), *Muthallath Quṭrub* ¹³⁷

Derivative text:

- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Fāsī al-Miknāsī (d.1557), *al-Mūrith li-shaḥl al-muthallath* ¹³⁸
- Ibn Mālīk [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mālīk al-Jayyānī] (d.1274), *Muthallath ibn Mālīk* [a.k.a. *al-lām bi-thalāth kalām* or *Urjūza fī l-muthallathā*] ¹³⁹
- al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d.1122), *al-Maqāmāt li-l-Ḥarīrī* ¹⁴⁰

3. Morphology

- Ibn Mālīk [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mālīk al-Jayyānī] (d.1274), *Lāmiyyat al-af āl* [*al-Miftāḥ fī abniyat al-af āl*] ¹⁴¹

Derivative text:

- Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Baḥraq al-Ḥaḍramī (d.1524), *Sharḥ lāmiyyat al-af āl* [*Faṭḥ al-aqfāl wa-ḍarb al-amthāl bi-sharḥ lāmiyyat al-af āl*] ¹⁴²

¹³⁴ Maghribi; GAL II 183, SII 234; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Segou; versification in Timbuktu.

¹³⁵ Maghribi; GAL SII 235; mss found in Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Segou.

¹³⁶ Turkish, active in Iraq and Arabia; GAL I 128, SI 196; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹³⁷ Iraqi; GAL I 103, S I 161; mss (or mss of its commentaries) found in all collections.

¹³⁸ Maghribi; GAL SI 161, title variation *al-Mūrith li-mushkil al-Muthallath*; mss found in Kano and Segou.

¹³⁹ Andalusian, lived in Syria; GAL I 300, SI 526; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Timbuktu, and Segou.

¹⁴⁰ Iraqi; GAL I 276, SI 487; Idā‘ 571, Faṭḥ 168 and passim; mss found in Kano, Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹⁴¹ Andalusian, lived in Syria; GAL I 300, SI 526; Faṭḥ, 239; mss found in all collections.

¹⁴² Yemeni; GAL I 300, SI 526, SII 555; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

- Sidiyya b. al-Mukhtār b. al-Hayba al-Ntishāiī (d.1868), *al-Tuḥfa al-aṭfāl fī ḥalʿuqūd lāmiyyat al-af āl* ¹⁴³
- Ibn Mālik [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī] (d.1274), *Tuḥfat al-mawdūd fī l-maqṣūr wa-ʿl-mamdūd* ¹⁴⁴
 - Derivative texts:
 - Sīdī al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d. 1811), *Faṭḥ al-wadūd ʿalā l-maqṣūra wa-ʿl-mamdūd* ¹⁴⁵
- Ibn Durayd [Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdī] (d.933), *al-Maqṣūr wa-ʿl-mamdūd* ¹⁴⁶
- Ibn Ḥājib [ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar al-Mālikī] (d.1249), *al-Shāfiya* ¹⁴⁷
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makkūdī al-Fāsī (d.1405), *al-Baṣṭ wa-ʿl-tā rīf fī ilm al-taṣrīf* ¹⁴⁸

4. Syntax

- Ibn Mālik [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī] (d.1274), *al-Alfiyya [al-Khulāṣa al-alfiyya]* ¹⁴⁹

Derivative texts:

- al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim al-Murādī (d.1348), *al-Tawḍīḥ* ¹⁵⁰
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makkūdī al-Fāsī (d.1405), *Sharḥ ʿalā alfiyya Ibn Mālik* ¹⁵¹

¹⁴³ West African; on his biography, see C.C. Stewart, *Islam and Social Order in Mauritania* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp.34-53; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, and Timbuktu.

¹⁴⁴ Andalusian, lived in Syria; GAL I 300, SI 526; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, and Nouakchott.

¹⁴⁵ West African; ALA IV 68; Faḥ 339; mss found in Boutilimit, Segou, Timbuktu, and Nouakchott.

¹⁴⁶ Iraqi; GAL I 111, II 14, SI 173; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹⁴⁷ Egyptian; GAL I 305, SI 535; mss found in Nouakchott, 12 commentaries in Nouakchott, Segou, Shinqit, and Timbuktu.

¹⁴⁸ Maghribi; GAL SII 336; Faḥ 318; mss found in Nouakchott and Shinqit; commentary in Timbuktu.

¹⁴⁹ Andalusian, lived in Syria; GAL I 298, SI 522; TS, 54, 67, Idāʿ, 570, Faḥ, 146, passim; mss found in all collections.

¹⁵⁰ lived in Egypt; GAL SI 522; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, and Boutilimit.

¹⁵¹ Maghribi, GAL I 299, SI 524, SII 336; el Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain*, p.116; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Shinqit, and Wadan.

- Ibn Hishām [ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām al-Anṣārī] (d.1360), *Awḍaḥ al-masālik ilā alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* ¹⁵²

Derivative text:

- Khālīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī (d.1499), *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-maḍmūn al-tawḍīḥ* ¹⁵³
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *al-Bahja* [*al-Nahja*] *al-marḍīya fī sharḥ al-alfiyya* ¹⁵⁴
- ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ushmūnī (d.1467), *Manhaj al-sālik ʿalā alfiyya Ibn Mālik* ¹⁵⁵
- al-Mukhtār b. Saʿīd b. Būnah al-Jakānī (d.1805/6), *Ṭurra ʿalā alfiyya Ibn Mālik* ¹⁵⁶
- Ibn Mālik [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī] (d.1274), *Tashīl al-fawā'id wa-takmil al-maqāsid* ¹⁵⁷

Derivative texts:

- Ibn ʿAqīl [ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī al-Hāshimī] (d.1367), *al-Masā'id ʿalā ʾl-tashīl al-fawā'id* ¹⁵⁸
- Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Damāmīnī al-Iskandarī (d.1424), *Sharḥ tahsīl Ibn Mālik* ¹⁵⁹
- Ibn ʿAjurrūm [Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ṣanhājī] (d.1223), *al-Muqaddima al-ʿajurrūmiyya* ¹⁶⁰

Derivative texts:

- Khālīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī (d.1499), *Sharḥ al-Azharī ʿalā ʾl-muqaddima al-ʿajurrūmiyya* ¹⁶¹

¹⁵² Egyptian; GAL I 298, II 25, SI 523; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, and Shinqit.

¹⁵³ Egyptian; GAL II 27, SI 523, SII 23; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

¹⁵⁴ Egyptian; GAL II 199, SI 524; Idāʿ 570; mss found in Segou, Kano, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

¹⁵⁵ Egyptian; GAL SI 524; Idāʿ 570; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

¹⁵⁶ West African; GAL SI 525; Fath 321-23; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit Timbuktu, Shinqit, and Wadan.

¹⁵⁷ Andalusian, lived in Syria; GAL I 298, SI 522; mss found in Segou, Boutilimit, Shinqit; commentary in Nouakchott. This title appears in 10 additional works on grammar.

¹⁵⁸ Syrian, lived in Egypt; GAL SI 522, SII 104; mss found in Nouakchott, and Boutilimit; author is cited in mss held in Kano and Timbuktu.

¹⁵⁹ Egyptian; GAL II 32-33, SII 21; mss found in Boutilimit, Shinqit, and Segou.

¹⁶⁰ Maghribi; GAL II 237, SII 332; Idāʿ 570, Fath 154 and passim; mss found in Boutilimit, Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

- Sīdiyya b. al-Mukhtār b. al-Hayba al-Ntishāiṭ, (d.1868), *al-Nafḥa al-qayyumiyya bi-taqrīr al-ājurrūmiyya* ¹⁶²
- Ibn Hishām [ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām al-Anṣārī] (d.1360), *Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā* ¹⁶³
- Ibn Hishām [ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām al-Anṣārī] (d.1360), *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī mā rifat kalām al-ʿarab* ¹⁶⁴
- Ibn Hishām [ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām al-Anṣārī] (d.1360), *Mughnīʾ l-labīb ʿan kutub al-ʿarīb* ¹⁶⁵
- al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d.1122), *Mulḥat al-ī rāb* ¹⁶⁶

Derivative text:

- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *Sharḥ mulḥat al-ī rāb* ¹⁶⁷
- Ibn al-Wardī [ʿUmar b. al-Muẓaffar b. ʿUmar al-Qurashī] (d.1349), *al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya fī mushkilāt al-ī rāb* ¹⁶⁸
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *al-Farīda fī l-naḥw* ¹⁶⁹

Derivative text:

- Muḥammad Bāba b. Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ḥabīb al-Mukhtār al-Tinbukṭī (d.1606), *al-Mināḥ al-ḥamīda fī sharḥ al-farīda* ¹⁷⁰
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Salāwī al-Mijrādī (d.1376-7), *Lāmiyya [Naẓm al-juma]* ¹⁷¹

¹⁶¹ Egyptian; GAL II 27, 238, SII 23, 333; mss found in all collections.

¹⁶² West African; on his biography, see Stewart, *Islam and Social Order in Mauritania*, pp.34-53; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

¹⁶³ Egyptian; GAL II 23, SII 16; Idāʿ 570; mss found in Kano, Segou, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

¹⁶⁴ Egyptian; GAL II 24, SII 19; Idāʿ 570; mss found in Segou and Nouakchott; commentary in Timbuktu.

¹⁶⁵ Egyptian; GAL II 23, SII 17; mss found in Segou, Shinqit, and Nouakchott; commentary in Timbuktu.

¹⁶⁶ Iraqi; GAL I 277, SI 488; Idāʿ 570; mss found in Kano, Segou, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

¹⁶⁷ Egyptian; GAL SI 488, SII 195; mss found in Segou and Timbuktu.

¹⁶⁸ Syrian; GAL II 140, SII 175; Idāʿ 570; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹⁶⁹ Egyptian; GAL II 155, SII 193; Idāʿ 570; mss found in Segou; commentaries in Kano, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

¹⁷⁰ West African; ALA IV 34; Faṭḥ 282; mss found in Timbuktu, Segou, Kano, and Wadan.

Derivative Text:

- ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rasmūkī (d.1639), *Mibrāz al-qawā id al-naḥwiyya* ¹⁷²

5. Rhetoric

- Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d.1338), *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* ¹⁷³

Derivative texts:

- Sa‘d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī (d.1390), *Sharḥ talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* ¹⁷⁴
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Akhḍārī al-Bunṭyūsī al-Mālikī (d.1585), *al-Jawhar al-maknūn* ¹⁷⁵
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *‘Uqūd al-jumān fī ‘ilm al-mā‘ānī wa-’l-bayān* ¹⁷⁶
- ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qāhirī al-‘Abbāsī (d. 1556), *Mā‘āhid al-tanṣīṣ fī sharḥ shawāhid al-talkhīṣ* ¹⁷⁷
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *al-Nuqāya* ¹⁷⁸
- Sīdī ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm al-‘Alawī (1818), *al-Fatāḥ ‘alā nūr al-aqāḥ* ¹⁷⁹

6. Literature/Prosody

a) pre-Islamic poetry:

¹⁷¹ Maghribi; GAL I 497, SII 336; Fath 116; mss found only in form of commentaries by al-Rasmūkī (see following note) in Nouakchott and Segou, and by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d.1662) in Timbuktu.

¹⁷² Maghribi; GAL SII 336, 676; mss found in Segou and Nouakchott.

¹⁷³ Syrian; GAL I 295, SI 516; Idā‘ 570, TS 65-66, Fath 161; mss found in Segou and Boutilimit; commentaries in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

¹⁷⁴ Iranian; GAL I 295, II 216, SI 516, II 304; TS 66; mss found in Nouakchott, Shinqit, and Timbuktu.

¹⁷⁵ Maghribi; GAL SI 519, SII 706; Idā‘ 570; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Kano.

¹⁷⁶ Egyptian; GAL I 296, II 156, SI 519, Idā‘ 570; mss found in Segou, Boutilimit, Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Wadan.

¹⁷⁷ Egyptian; GAL I 296, SI 519; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, Shinqit, and Nouakchott.

¹⁷⁸ Egyptian; GAL I 377, II 156, SII 195; Idā‘ 566; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Nouakchott; al-Suyūṭī’s own commentary entitled *Itmām al-dirāya bi-sharḥ al-Nuqāya* is found in Segou and Nouakchott.

¹⁷⁹ West African; biography in Fath, pp.367-69; mss found in Timbuktu, Shinqit, and Nouakchott.

- *Dīwān al-shū'arā al-sitta* ¹⁸⁰
- 'Antara b. Shaddād al-'Absī, *Diwan 'Antara b. Shaddād* ¹⁸¹
- Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī (d. c.550), *Diwān Imru' al-Qays* ¹⁸²
- Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī (d. c.550), *Bānat sū'ād* ¹⁸³
- Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā al-Muzānī, *Diwān Zuhayr b. Abī Sulma* ¹⁸⁴
- Nābiga [Ziyād b. Mu'āwiya] al-Dhubyānī, *Diwan Nābiga Dhubyānī* ¹⁸⁵

Derivative texts:

- Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. 'Īsā al-Shantamarī (d.1083), *Sharḥ ash'ār al-shū'arā al-sitta al-jāhiliyyīn* ¹⁸⁶

b) Muslim-era poetry:

- al-Shanfarā 'Amr b. Mālik al-Azdī, *Lāmiyyat al-'arab* ¹⁸⁷
- al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭughrāī (d.1121), *Lāmiyyat al-'ajam* ¹⁸⁸

Derivative text:

- Muḥammad b. Abb b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān al-Mazmarī al-Tuwātī, *Nafḥ al-qalam bi-sharḥ lāmiyyat al-'ajam* ¹⁸⁹
- Ibn Durayd [Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd] (d.933), *al-Maqṣūra* ¹⁹⁰
- 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān al-Khazrajī (fl. 13th century), *al-Rāmiza al-shāfiya fī 'ilm al-'arūd wa-'l-kāfiya [al-Qaṣīda al-Khazrajīyya]* ¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁰ Arabian; Collection of pre-Islamic poetry; mss found in Boutilimit, Kano, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹⁸¹ Arabian; GAL I 22, SI 45; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹⁸² Arabian; GAL I 24, SI 48; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, and Nouakchott.

¹⁸³ Arabian; GAL I 24, SI 48; Fath 241, 365; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹⁸⁴ Arabian; GAL I 38, SI 68; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹⁸⁵ Arabian; GAL I 22, SI 45; mss found in Timbuktu, Kano, Segou, and Nouakchott.

¹⁸⁶ Andalusian; GAL SI 542; mss Nouakchott, Shingit, Wadan, and Ibadan.

¹⁸⁷ Arabian; GAL I 25, 248, SI 53; Fath 243; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Boutilimit; commentary in Nouakchott.

¹⁸⁸ Iraqi; GAL I 247, II 17, 191, SI 439; Fath 243; mss found in all collections.

¹⁸⁹ Maghribi/Saharan; we have no information on this work; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

¹⁹⁰ Iraqi; GAL I 111, II SI 173; mss found in Kano, Segou, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

- Abū Tammām [Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭāʾī] (d.845), *Diwan al-Ḥamāsa* ¹⁹²
- Dhū 'l-Rumma [Ghaylān b. 'Uqba al-'Adawī] (d. 735), *Diwan Ghaylān* ¹⁹³

Prophet Muhammad

1. Biography of the Prophet Muhammad (sīra)

- al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī al-Andalusī (d.1149), *Kitāb al-shifā bi-tā rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* ¹⁹⁴
- Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Sawra al-Tirmidhī (d.892), *Kitāb shamā il al-rasūl* ¹⁹⁵
- Mughaltāy b. Qilīj b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bakjārī al-Ḥikrī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1361), *Khaṣā' is al-Muṣṭafā* [a.k.a. *al-Khaṣā' is*] ¹⁹⁶
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Shāfi'ī al-Qaṣṭallānī (d.1517), *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya fī l-minaḥ al-Muḥammadiyya* ¹⁹⁷
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *Unmūdḥaj al-labīb fī khaṣā' is al-ḥabīb* ¹⁹⁸
- Sīdī al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d.1811), *Nafḥ al-ṭīb fī l-ṣalāt 'alā' l-nabī al-ḥabīb* ¹⁹⁹
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Lamṭī al-Miknāsī (d.1475), *Qurrat al-abṣār fī sīrat al-Nabī al-mukhtār* ²⁰⁰

2. Devotional poetry

¹⁹¹ Maghribi; GAL I 312, SI 545; Idā' 565; TS 66; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu; commentaries in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Segou.

¹⁹² Syrian; GAL I 83, SI 134; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

¹⁹³ Arabian, lived in Iraq; GAL I 58, SI 87; mss found in Timbuktu, Boutilimit, and Nouakchott.

¹⁹⁴ Andalusian; GAL I, 455-6, S I, 630-2; TS passim; *Faṭḥ* passim; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, and Nouakchott.

¹⁹⁵ Khurasanian; GAL I 162, SI 268; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Shinqit; commentaries in Segou.

¹⁹⁶ Egyptian; also known as al-Turkī; GAL SII 48; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, and Kano.

¹⁹⁷ Egyptian; GAL II 73, SII 78; mss found in Segou and Boutilimit, and Timbuktu.

¹⁹⁸ Egyptian; GAL II 146, SII 181; mss found in Timbuktu, Boutilimit, and Shinqit.

¹⁹⁹ West African; ALA IV, 78; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

²⁰⁰ Maghribi; Ziriklī IV, 21; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

- Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (fl.7th century), *Bānat sūʿād* ²⁰¹
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yakhlaftān b. Aḥmad al-Fāzāzī (d.1230), *al-ʿIshrīnīyāt* ²⁰²

Derivative texts:

- Ibn Mahīb [Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb], *Takhmīs al-ʿishrīnīyāt* ²⁰³
- Muḥammad b. Masanih b. ʿUmar al-Kashnāwī (d.1667), *al-Nafḥa al-ʿanbarīyya fī ḥall al-fāz al-ʿishrīnīyya* ²⁰⁴
- Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Būṣīrī, (d.1295/6), *al-Burda* [*al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*] ²⁰⁵

Derivative text:

- Khālīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī (d.1499), *Sharḥ al-burda* ²⁰⁶
- Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Būṣīrī, (d.1295/6), *al-Qaṣīda al-hamziyya fī l-madā ih al-nabawīyya* [*Umm al-qurā fī madḥ khayr al-warā*] ²⁰⁷
- Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abū Bakr al-Jazūlī al-Simlālī (d.1465), *Dalā il al-khayrāt* ²⁰⁸

Derivative text:

- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī (d.1653), *Maṭālī al-musirrāt fī sharḥ dalā il al-khayrāt* ²⁰⁹
- Ibn Sulaym [Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Awjilī] (d.1801/2), *Dalīl al-qā id li-kashf asrār ṣifāt al-wāḥid* ²¹⁰
 - Ibn Sulaym [Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Awjilī] (d.1801/2), *Mazīd al-ʿaqā id ʿala dalīl al-qā id* ²¹¹

²⁰¹ Arabian; GAL I 39, TS 68; Fath 241, 365; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Boutilimit.

²⁰² Maghribi; GAL SI 482; Idāʿ 570, TS 61, 81, Bayān 204, Fath 164; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, and Nouakchott.

²⁰³ GAL SI 483; Fath 172, TS 61; author found in all collections.

²⁰⁴ West African; ALA II, 30; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁰⁵ Egyptian; GAL I 264, SI 467; mss found in all collections.

²⁰⁶ Egyptian; GAL SI 468, SII 23; mss found in Segou, and Nouakchott.

²⁰⁷ Egyptian; GAL I 266, SI 470; Fath 242, 248; mss found in all collections.

²⁰⁸ Maghribi; GAL II 252, S II 359; Fath 192, passim, TS 79; mss found in all collections.

²⁰⁹ Maghribi; GAL II 253, SII 360; Fath 116; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, and Nouakchott.

²¹⁰ Libyan; ALA II 51; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²¹¹ Libyan; this is a commentary by the author on his own *Dalīl al-qā id*, ALA II, 51; mss found in Kano, Ibadan, Timbuktu, Segou, and Nouakchott.

- ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Shaqrāṭīsī (d.1073), *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya al-shaqrāṭisiyya*²¹²

Derivative text:

- Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Shabbāt al-Tawzarī (d.1282), *Simṭ al-hadī fī l-fakhr al-muḥammadī*²¹³
- Abū ‘l-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Naḥwī al-Tawzarī (d.1113), *al-Qaṣīda al-munfarīja [al-Faraj ba’d al-shidda]*²¹⁴
- Ibn Jābir [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Jābir al-Hawwārī al-Andalusī] (d.1378), *Ḥullat al-siyārī fī madḥ khayr al-warā [Bad’iyyat al-‘imyān]*²¹⁵
- Muḥammad al-Yadālī b. al-Mukhtār b. Maḥam Sa’īd al-Daymānī (d.1753), *Qaṣīda fī madḥ al-nabī*²¹⁶
- Muḥammad al-Nābigha b. A’mar al-Ghallāwī (d.1825), *Faṭḥ al-murabbī’ alā ḥal’ al-fāz ṣalāt rabī*²¹⁷
- Sīdi ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-‘Alawī (d.1818), *Rawḍ al-Nisrīn*²¹⁸

3. Hadith collections

- Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī (d.870), *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*²¹⁹

Derivative texts:

- ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’īd b. Abī Jamra al-Azdī al-Andalusī (d.1296), *Bahjat al-nufūs*²²⁰

²¹² Maghribi; GAL I 268, SI 473; Faṭḥ 242-43; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, and Boutilimit.

²¹³ Egyptian; also known by the nisba of Tūzūrī and Tūzī; GAL SI 473; this is a takhmīs of *al-Shaqrāṭisiyya*; mss found in Kano and Segou.

²¹⁴ Maghribi; GAL I 268, SI 473; Faṭḥ 243; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

²¹⁵ Andalusian; GAL I 341, SI 581; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²¹⁶ West African; F. Leconte, “al-Yadālī (1096-1166/1685-1753)” *Encyclopedia of Islam*; See also Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, pp.202-5; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

²¹⁷ West African; see Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī, *al-Wasīṭ fī tarājim udabā’ Shinqīṭ* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānī, 1961), pp.93-4; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

²¹⁸ West African; Faṭḥ 367-69; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

²¹⁹ Central Asian; GAL I 157, SI 260; mentioned many times in Faṭḥ, Idā’, Bayān, TS; mss found in Kano, Ibadan, Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu. Shinqit, and Wadan.

²²⁰ Egyptian; GAL I 372; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, Boutilimit, and Shinqit.

- Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d.1252), *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīya fī l-siḥāḥ al-akhbār al-Muṣṭafawīya* ²²¹
- Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d.875), *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* ²²²
- Ibn Wadʿān [Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mawṣilī] (d.1101), *Arbaʿ ūn ḥadīthan* ²²³
- Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī al-Shāfiʿī (d.1277), *Arbaʿ ūn ḥadīthan* ²²⁴
- Ibn al-Jazarī [Shams al-dīn Abū ʿI-Khayr al-Dimashqī al-Jazarī] (d.1429), *Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn* ²²⁵

4. Sciences of ḥadīth (ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth):

- ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 1404), *Alfiyat al-ʿIrāqī* ²²⁶

Derivative text:

- Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī (d.1520), *Faṭḥ al-bāqī bi-sharḥ alfiyat al-ʿIrāqī* ²²⁷
- ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī (d.1818), *Gharraṭ al-ṣabāḥ fī iṣṭilāḥ al-Bukhārī* ²²⁸
- ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī (d.1818), *Ṭalāt al-anwār* ²²⁹

5. History:

- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *Tārīkh al-khulafā* ²³⁰
- Ibn Ḥajar [Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī] (d.1449), *al-Iṣāba fī l-tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* ²³¹

²²¹ Indian; GAL SI 613; This is based on the ḥadīth collections of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

²²² Iranian; GAL I 160, SI 265; mentioned many times in Faṭḥ, Idāʿ, Bayān, TS; (multivolume) mss found in Kano, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²²³ Iraqi; GAL I 355, SI 602; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

²²⁴ Syrian, GAL I 396, SI 682; mss found in all collections.

²²⁵ Syrian, lived in Egypt; GAL II 203, SII 277; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

²²⁶ Egyptian; GAL I 359, SI 612; Idāʿ 570, TS 66, Faṭḥ 169; mss found in all collections.

²²⁷ Egyptian; GAL SI 612; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²²⁸ West African; Faṭḥ 37-69; mss found in Boutilimit, Timbuktu, and Segou.

²²⁹ West African; Faṭḥ 37-69; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

²³⁰ Egyptian; GAL II 157, SII 196; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu; possibly Kano.

- Sulaymān b. Mūsā b. Sālim al-Kilāʾī al-Ḥimyarī (d.1237), *al-Iktifāʾ bimā taḍammanahu min maghāzī al-Muṣṭafā wa-l-thalātha al-khulafā* ²³²
- Ibn Sayyid al-Nās [Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yaʿmarī al-Andalusī] (d. 1334), *ʿUyūn al-Athar fī funūn al-Maghāzī wa-l-shamāʾ il wa-l-siyar* ²³³
- Abdallahi dan Fodio [ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Fūdī] (d.1829), *Ḍiyāʾ ūlīʾ l-amr wa-l-mujāhidīn fī sirat al-nabī wa-l-khulafā al-rashidīn* ²³⁴

Jurisprudence (fiqh)

1. Uṣūl al-fiqh

- ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Kāfī Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d.1370), *Jamʿ al-jawāmī fī l-uṣūl* ²³⁵

Derivative texts:

- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī al-Shāfiʿī (d.1459), *al-Badr al-ṭālī fī ḥall jamʿ al-jawāmī* ²³⁶
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d.1505), *al-Kawkab al-sāʾi* ²³⁷
- ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Juwaynī (Imām al-Ḥaramayn) (d.1085), *Waraqāt Imam al-Ḥaramayn [Kitāb al-waraqāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh]* ²³⁸

Derivative texts:

- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Mālikī al-Ruʿaynī al-Ṭarāblusī (d.1540/1), *Qurraṭ al-ʿayn [al-ʿaynayn] li-sharḥ al-waraqāt* ²³⁹
- Yahyā b. Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿImrīṭī (d.1581), *Naẓm waraqāt Imam Ḥaramayn [Tashīl al-ṭuruqāt fī naẓm al-waraqāt]* ²⁴⁰

²³¹ Egyptian; GAL II 68, SII 73; mss found in in Boutilimit, Shinqit, and Segou.

²³² Andalusian; GAL I 371, SII 634; Fath 176; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²³³ Egyptian; GAL II 71, SII 77; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, Boutilimit, Shinqit, and Wadan.

²³⁴ West African; ALA II, 93; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, and Kano.

²³⁵ Egyptian; GAL II 89, SII 105; Idāʾ 570, TS 65, Bayān 203; Fath 173, passim; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²³⁶ Egyptian; GAL SII 105; Idāʾ, TS 66, Bayān; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²³⁷ Egyptian; GAL I 89, SII 106; Idāʾ, mss found Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Kano.

²³⁸ Kurasanian; GAL I 389, II 218, SI 671; Idāʾ; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²³⁹ Maghribi; GAL I 389; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu, and Wadan.

²⁴⁰ Egyptian; GAL SII 441; mss found in Timbuktu, Nouakchott, Kano, and Boutilimit.

- Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī al-Ṣanḥājī al-Mālikī (d.1285), *Tanqīḥ al-fuṣūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl* ²⁴¹
- ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī (d.1818), *Marāqīʾ l-sūʾ ūd li-mubtaghīʾ l-raqīʾ wa-ʾ l-sūʾ ūd* ²⁴²

Derivative text:

- ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī (d.1818), *Nashr al-bunūd ʿalā marāqīʾ l-sūʾ ūd* ²⁴³

2a. Furūʿ al-fiqh: Foundational texts

- Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣḥabī (d.796), *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* ²⁴⁴

Derivative texts:

- Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Zarqānī (d.1710), *Nahj al-masālik bi-mazj muwaṭṭaʾ al-Imam Mālik* [*Abhaj al-masālik bi-sharḥ muwaṭṭaʾ al-Imam Mālik*] ²⁴⁵
- Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī (d.1081), *al-Muntaqā sharḥ al-muwaṭṭaʾ* ²⁴⁶
- Saḥnūn (d.854), *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā* ²⁴⁷

Derivative text:

- Khalaf b. Abī ʾl-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Barādhiʾ (d.1039), *al-Tahdhīb fī ʾkhtīṣār al-mudawwana al-kubrā* [a.k.a. *Tahdhīb masāʾl al-mudawwana*] ²⁴⁸

2b. Furūʿ al-fiqh: Fiqh manuals

- Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d.996), *al-Risāla* ²⁴⁹

²⁴¹ Maghribi; GAL I 506, SI 921; this is a commentary on al-Rāzīʾz (d.1209) *al-Maḥṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh*; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, and Boutilimit.

²⁴² West African; GAL SII 873; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁴³ West African; GAL S II 375, 873-84; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

²⁴⁴ Arabian; GAL I 66, 175, SI 297; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu, and Kano

²⁴⁵ Egyptian; this title is not mentioned in GAL, on author see GAL II 318, SII 439; EI art., “al-Zurkānī,” mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²⁴⁶ Andalusian; GAL SI 298; TS 67; mss found in Kano only.

²⁴⁷ Maghribi; GAL I 177, II 239, SI 299; Idāʿ 570, Bayān 206, TS 53, passim, Fath 157, passim; mss found in Timbuktu.

²⁴⁸ Maghribi; GAL I 178, SI 302; TS 41; this is an abridgement of the Mudawwana; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

Derivative texts:

- Aḥmad b. Ghunaym al-Nafrāwī (d.1792), *al-Fawākih al-dawānī‘ alā risālat Ibn Abī Zayd*²⁵⁰
- ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Manūfī al-Shādhilī (d.1532), *Kifāyat al-ṭālib al-rabbānī li-risāla*²⁵¹
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Qalashānī (d.1459), *Taḥrīr al-maqāla fī sharḥ al-risāla*²⁵²
- ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj Ḥamā Allāh al-Ghallāwī al-Tīshītī (d.1794), *Sharḥ ‘alā al-risāla Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī*²⁵³
- Khalīl b. Ishāq (d.1374), *Mukhtaṣar al-Shaykh Khalīl*²⁵⁴

Derivative texts:

- Bahrām b. ‘Alī al-Damīrī (d.1412 or 1452), *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar Khalīl*²⁵⁵
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Marzūq al-Tilimsānī (d.1438/9), *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar Khalīl*²⁵⁶
- Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-‘Abdarī al-Gharnāṭī (d.1492), *al-Tāj wa-’l-iklīl li-mukhtaṣar Khalīl*²⁵⁷
- Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tatā’ī (d.1535), *Fath al-jalīl fī sharḥ mukhtaṣar Khalīl*²⁵⁸
- Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tatā’ī (d.1535), *Jawāhir al-durar*²⁵⁹

²⁴⁹ Maghribi; GAL I 177-78; Idā‘ 570, Bayān 208, Fath 146, passim, TS 54, passim; mss found in all collections.

²⁵⁰ Egyptian; GAL I 18, SI 302; Bayān 202; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Segou.

²⁵¹ Egyptian; GAL I 178, SI 302, SII 435; mss found in Segou and Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²⁵² Maghribi; GAL I 178; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Shinqit.

²⁵³ West African; Fath 362-66; mss found in Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Segou.

²⁵⁴ Egyptian; GAL II 83-84, SII 96-99; Idā‘ 570, Fath passim, TS passim, Bayān 207; mss found in all collections.

²⁵⁵ Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 97, 100; Bayān 170; there are three versions: “Kabīr,” “Awsaṭ,” “Ṣaghīr;” not indicated in the database; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²⁵⁶ Maghribi; GAL II 84, SII 97, 345; Bayān 210; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, and Boutilimit.

²⁵⁷ Andalusian/Maghribi; GAL II 84, SII 97, 376; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²⁵⁸ Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 97; TS 68; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, and Shinqit. The Bayān (203-4) mentions a ḥāshiya by the North African Mustafa al-Rammāṣī (d.1723-24) entitled the *Ḥāshiya al-Muṣṭafa*, but the only collection in the database with an extant copy is Boutilimit.

- ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ujhūrī al-Miṣrī (d.1655/6), *Mawahib al-jalīl fī sharḥ mukhtaṣar Khalīl* ²⁶⁰
- ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. Yūsuf al-Zurqānī (d.1688), *Sharḥ ‘Abd al-Bāqī li-mukhtaṣar Khalīl [Tawḍīḥ]* ²⁶¹
- Derivative text:
 - Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bannānī al-Fāsī (d.1780), *Fath al-rabbānī fī mā dhahala ‘an-hu al-Zurqānī* ²⁶²
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ghāzī al-Miknāsī (d.1513), *Shifā al-ghalīl fī ḥall muqafal Khalīl* ²⁶³
- Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kharashī al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī (d.1690), *Sharḥ ‘alā’ l-mukhtaṣar li-Khalīl* ²⁶⁴
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dardīr al-‘Adawī (d.1786), *Sharḥ al-Dardīr li-mukhtaṣar Khalīl* ²⁶⁵
- Maḥand Bāba b. Ubayd al-Daymānī (d.1860), *al-Muyassar al-jalīl ‘alā Mukhtaṣar Khalīl* ²⁶⁶
- Ibrāhīm b. Marī al-Shabrakhītī (d.1694), *Sharḥ al-Shabrakhītī li-mukhtaṣar Khalīl* ²⁶⁷

²⁵⁹ Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 97; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

²⁶⁰ Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 98; mss found in Boutilimit, Shinqit, and Timbuktu. The Bayān (203) mentions a derivative text by Ibn Shās (d.1219) entitled *al-Jawāhir*. According to John Ralph Willis, this text is based on al-Ujhūrī’s commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl (“The Writings of al-Ḥājj ‘Umar al-Fūtī and Shaykh Mukhtār b. Wadī‘at Allāh: Literary Themes, Sources, and Influences” in Willis (ed.), *Studies in West African Islamic History*. vol.1, The Cultivators of Islam (London, 1979), 202). The only extant manuscript in the database by this author is a work called *Aḥkām Ibn Shās* held in Nouakchott.

²⁶¹ Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 97-98, 438; TS 67, Bayān 212, mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu, Shinqit and Wadan.

²⁶² Maghribi; GAL II 84, SII 98; Bayān 203; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Shinqit, and Wadan.

²⁶³ Maghribi; GAL SII 97; mss found in Boutilimit, Shinqit, and Segou.

²⁶⁴ Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 98; Idā‘ 570; a variation of the name is “al-Karāshī” in the Idā‘; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu, Shinqit, Wadan, and Boutilimit.

²⁶⁵ Egyptian; GAL II 353, SII 98, 480; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁶⁶ West African; Ould Ba, *La littérature juridique et l’évolution du Malikisme en Mauritanie*, 52; mss found in Boutilimit, and Nouakchott.

²⁶⁷ Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 98; Kaḥḥāla I 72-3; mss found in Boutilimit and Nouakchott.

- Ibn ʿĀṣim [Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim al-Gharnāṭī] (d.1427), *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nakt wa-ʿl-aḥkām [al-ʿĀṣimiyya]* ²⁶⁸

Derivative text:

- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d.1662), *al-Itqān wa-ʿl-iḥkām fī sharḥ Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* ²⁶⁹
- Ibn ʿAskar [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAskar al-Baghdādī] (d.1332), *Irshād al-Sālik ilā ashraf al-masālik ʿalā madhhab al-Imam Mālik* ²⁷⁰
- ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Manūfī al-Shādhiḥī (d.1532), *al-Muqaddima al-ʿizziyya li-ʿl-jamāʿa al-Azhariyya* ²⁷¹
- ʿAlī b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Tujībī al-Zaqqāq (d.1506), *Lāmiyyat al-zaqqāq* ²⁷²

Derivative text:

- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d.1662), *Sharḥ lāmiyyat al-zaqqāq* ²⁷³
- ʿAlī b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Tujībī al-Zaqqāq (d.1506), *al-Manhaj al-muntakhab fī qawāʿid al-madhhab* ²⁷⁴

Derivative texts:

- Aḥmad b. ʿAlā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Manjūrī (d.1587), *Sharḥ al-manhaj al-muntakhab* ²⁷⁵
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d.1662), *Takmil al-manhaj ilā uṣūl al-madhhab* ²⁷⁶

3. Didactic texts

²⁶⁸ Andalusian; GAL 264, SII 375; TS 66, Fath 169, passim; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Segou, and Kano.

²⁶⁹ Maghribi; GAL II 264, SII 375; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, Boutilimit, Wadan, and Timbuktu.

²⁷⁰ Iraqi; GAL II 163, S II 205; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu, and Ibadan; commentary in Ghana.

²⁷¹ Egyptian; GAL I 449, S I 805, S II 434-5, 437; mss found in Kano, Segou, Shinqit, and Timbuktu.

²⁷² Maghribi; GAL SII 376; Fath 232, 241; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu, and Boutilimit.

²⁷³ Maghribi; GAL SII 376; mss found in Timbuktu, Segou, and Nouakchott.

²⁷⁴ Maghribi; GAL II 264, SII 376; Fath 241-42; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²⁷⁵ Maghribi; GAL SII 376; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Shinqit, and Segou.

²⁷⁶ Maghribi; GAL SII 376; mss found in Timbuktu, Boutilimit, and Nouakchott.

- ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Miknāsī al-‘Uthmānī (d. 1618), *Silāh ahl al-īmān fī muḥāribat al-shaytān* ²⁷⁷
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Akhḍārī al-Bunṭyūsī al-Mālikī (d.1585), *Mukhtaṣar fī l-‘ibādāt ‘alā madhhab al-imām Mālik* ²⁷⁸

Derivative text:

- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī (d.1712/3), *al-Rawḍ al-yānī al-azharī ‘alā diyānāt al-Akhḍārī* ²⁷⁹
- ‘Abd al-Bārī al-Rifā‘ī al-‘Ashmāwī (fl.16c), *al-Muqaddima al-‘ashmāwīya fī l-‘ibādāt* ²⁸⁰
- Usman dan Fodio [‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad Fūdī] (d.1817), *Umdat al-‘ubbād* ²⁸¹
- Usman dan Fodio [‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad Fūdī] (d.1817), *Hidāyat al-ṭullāb* ²⁸²
- Ibn Farḥūn [Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Farḥūn al-Ya‘marī al-Andalusī] (d. 1397), *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī muḥāḍirat al-khawāṣṣ* ²⁸³

4. al-Qawā‘id al-fiqhiyya

- Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī al-Ṣanḥājī al-Mālikī (d.1285), *Kitāb anwār al-burūq* ²⁸⁴
- Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wansharīsī (d.1508), *Īdāḥ al-masālik ilā qawā‘id al-imām Mālik* ²⁸⁵
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ghāzī al-Miknāsī (d.1513), *Kulliyāt* ²⁸⁶

²⁷⁷ Maghribi; Zirikli IV 97-8; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

²⁷⁸ Maghribi; GAL SII 705; Idā‘ 570, Fath 293; mss found in all collections.

²⁷⁹ Maghribi; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁸⁰ GAL SII 435; Idā‘ 570, Fath 308, 372; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁸¹ West African; ALA, II 77; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁸² West African; ALA II 61; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁸³ Madinan; GAL I 277, SI 488, SII 226; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu; possibly in Boutilimit.

²⁸⁴ Maghribi; GAL I 385, SI 665; Idā‘ 570, Bayān 205; mss found in Boutilimit; commentary in Timbuktu.

²⁸⁵ Maghribi; GAL II 248, SII 348; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

²⁸⁶ Maghribi; GAL II 240, SII 338; mss found in Segou, Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

- Ibn Juzay [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Juzay al-Kalbī al-Gharnāṭī] (d.1340), *Qawānīn al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyya wa-masāʾil al-furū al-fiqhiyya* ²⁸⁷

5. Legal Cases/Opinions

- ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ujhūrī (d.1656), *al-Zaharāt al-wardiyya min fatāwā al-Ujhūrī* ²⁸⁸
- Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Warzāzī al-Darī (d.1752-53), *Nawāzil* ²⁸⁹
- ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī (d.1818), *Nawāzil fiqhiyya* ²⁹⁰
- Aḥmad Baba b. Aḥmad al-Tinbukṭī (d.1627), *Mirʾāj al-ṣūʾūd ilā nayl ḥukm majlūb al-sūd* ²⁹¹
- Ibn Salmūn [ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Salmūn al-Kinānī al-Gharnāṭī] (d.1365), *al-ʿIqd al-munazzam lil-ḥukkām fī-mā yajrī bayn-hum min al-aḥkām* ²⁹²
- Ibn Rushd [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rushd al-Qurṭubī al-Andalusī] (d.1198), *Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa-nihāyat al-muqtaṣid* ²⁹³
- Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī al-Ṣafadī (fl.14c), *Raḥmat al-umma fī khtilāf al-ʿimma* ²⁹⁴

Belief (*tawhīd*)

- Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d.1486), *Aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣuḡhrā* ²⁹⁵

Derivative text:

- Muḥammad al-Wālī b. Sulaymān b. Abī Muḥammad al-Fulānī (d.1688/9), *al-Manḥāj al-farīd fī maʾrifat ʿilm al-tawḥīd* ²⁹⁶

²⁸⁷ Andalusian/Maghribi; GAL SII 377; mss found in Timbuktu, Nouakchott, and Segou.

²⁸⁸ Egyptian; GAL SII 437; Bayān 213; mss found in Segou and Timbuktu.

²⁸⁹ Maghribi; el Hamel, Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain*, 364-65ff; mss found in Timbuktu; versifications in Nouakchott and Timbuktu. One Mauritanian versifications of al-Warzāzī's collection of nawāzil is by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj Ḥamā Allāh al-Ghallāwī al-Tishīrī (d.1785). It is mentioned in the Fath (364).

²⁹⁰ West African; Fath 367-69; mss found in Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

²⁹¹ West African; ALA IV, 26; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Segou.

²⁹² Andalusian; GAL II 264, SII 374; mss found in Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

²⁹³ Andalusian; GAL SI 836; mss found in Boutilimit, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁹⁴ Syrian; GAL II 91, 97, SII 107; mss found in Segou, Shinqit, and Timbuktu.

²⁹⁵ Maghribi; GAL II, 250, SII 353; this text is mentioned in virtually every West African text about Islamic education; mss found in all the libraries in the sample.

²⁹⁶ West African; ALA II, 35; mss found in Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

- Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d.1486), *al-ʿAqīda al-kubrā*²⁹⁷
 - Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Ḥawḍī (d.1505), *Wāsiṭat al-sulūk*²⁹⁸
 - Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr b. Baghayogho al-Wangarī (d. 1655), *Nazim al-ʿaqida al-sughra*²⁹⁹
 - Yahyā b. ʿUmar al-Qurṭubī al-Azdī (d.1171), *Manẓūmat al-Qurṭubi* [*Urjūzat al-wildān*]³⁰⁰
 - Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Iḥyā ʿulūm al-dīn*³⁰¹
 - Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghāzalī (d. 1123), *Tajrīd fī kalamat al-tawḥīd*³⁰²
 - Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Samarqandī (d. 982/3), *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*³⁰³
 - Aḥmad b. Abd Allāh al-Jazāʾirī (d.1479/80), *Manẓūmat al-jazā iriyya fī l-tawḥīd*³⁰⁴
- Derivative text:
- Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d.1486), *Sharḥ al-manẓūmat al-jazā iriyya fī l-tawḥīd*³⁰⁵
 - Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Laḳānī (d.1631), *Fath al-majīd bi-kifāyat al-murīd*³⁰⁶
 - Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Laḳānī (d.1631), *Itḥaf al-murīd ʿalā Jawharat al-tawḥīd*³⁰⁷

²⁹⁷ Maghribi; GAL II 250, SII 353; mss found in Boutilimit, Kano, and Shinqit.

²⁹⁸ Unknown origin; GAL SII, 355; mss found in Boutilimit, Segou, and Timbuktu.

²⁹⁹ West African; ALA IV, p.33; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, and possibly in Nouakchott.

³⁰⁰ Andalusian; GAL I, 429, SI, 763; TS, 61; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu, and Segou.

³⁰¹ Iraqi; GAL I, 422, SI, 748; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, Timbuktu, Kano, and Shinqit.

³⁰² Iraqi, GAL SI, 756, 5 copies in Boutilimit, Segou, and Timbuktu.

³⁰³ Central Asian; GAL I, 196, SI, 348; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, Kano, and Shinqit.

³⁰⁴ Maghribi; GAL II 252, SII 357; TS 66; mss found in all the libraries in the sample.

³⁰⁵ Maghribi; GAL II 252, SII 357; mss found in Boutilimit, Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

³⁰⁶ Egyptian; GAL SII 437; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Segou, and Timbuktu.

- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqārī al-Tilimsānī (d.1631), *Idā at al-dujunna fī ‘aqā id ahl al-sunna* ³⁰⁸

Derivative texts:

- Ṭālib Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. al-A‘mash al-‘Alawī (d.1705), *Futūḥāt dhī l-rahma fī sharḥ Idā at al-dujunna lil-Maqqārī* ³⁰⁹
- Arbāba al-Kharṭūmī [Arbāb b. ‘Alī b. ‘Awn b. ‘Āmir b. Aṣbah] (d.1690/1), *al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī taḥqīq ma‘rifat arkān al-imām* ³¹⁰
- Ibn ‘Āshir [‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Āshir al-Anṣārī al-Fāsī] (d.1630), *al-Murshid al-mu‘īn ‘alā l-ḍarūrī min ‘ulūm al-dīn* ³¹¹

Derivative texts:

- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d.1662), *al-Durr al-thamīn wa l-mawrid al-mu‘īn fī sharḥ al-Murshid al-mu‘īn* ³¹²
- Ibn Sulaym [Muḥammad al-Ṣālih b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjalī] (d.1801/2), *Dalīl al-qā id li-kashf asrār ṣifāt al-wāḥid* ³¹³

Derivative texts:

- Ibn Sulaym [Muḥammad al-Ṣālih b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjalī] (d.1801/2), *al-Mazīd al-‘aqā id ‘alā dalīl al-qā id* ³¹⁴
- al-Mukhtār b. Būna al-Jakanī (d.1805/6), *Wasīlat al-sā āda fī nashr mā taḍammun al-shahāda fī al-tawḥīd* ³¹⁵
- Muḥammad al-Yadālī b. al-Mukhtār b. Maḥam Sa‘īd al-Daymānī (d.1753), *Farā id al-fawā id fī sharḥ qawā id al-‘aqā id* ³¹⁶

³⁰⁷ Egyptian; GAL II 316, SII 436; this commentary and the work commented on, *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, are often found together; mss found in Segou, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu. Al-Ḥajj ‘Umar mentions another title of a commentary on the same text by al-Laḳānī called *‘Umdat al-murīd*, Bayān 213.

³⁰⁸ Maghribi; GAL II 298, SII 408; mentioned many times in the Fath; mss found in Kano, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

³⁰⁹ West African; GAL SII 408; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, and Nouakchott.

³¹⁰ Sudanese; ALA, I, 13-14; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Segou.

³¹¹ Maghribi; GAL II 461, SII 699. Mentioned in the Fath; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Timbuktu, Segou, Kano, and Shinqit.

³¹² Maghribi; GAL II 264, SII 375; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

³¹³ Libyan; ALA II, 51; mentioned many times in the Fath; mss found in Kano, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

³¹⁴ Libyan; ALA II, 51; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

³¹⁵ West African; Fath, 321-23; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Timbuktu, and Segou.

Sufism (taṣawwuf)

- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* ³¹⁷
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Bidāyat al-hidāya* ³¹⁸
- Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Salama al-Ḥabashī (d.1380), *Kitāb al-Nūrayn fī iṣlāḥ al-dārayn* ³¹⁹
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAṭāʾillāh al-Iskandarī (d.1309), *Miftah al-filāḥ wa-miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* ³²⁰
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAṭāʾillāh al-Iskandarī (d.1309), *al-Hikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya* ³²¹

Derivative texts:

- Aḥmad Zarrūq [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī] (d.1493), *Tanbīh dhawī l-himam* [a.k.a. *Sharḥ al-hikam*] ³²²
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī al-Sāḥilī al-Mālaqī (d. 1353), *Bughyat al-sālik fī ashraf al-masālik* ³²³
- Aḥmad Zarrūq [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī] (d.1493), *al-Naṣīḥa al-kāfiyya li-man khaṣṣa-huʾ llāhu bi-l-ʿāfiya* ³²⁴
- Aḥmad Zarrūq [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī] (d.1493), *Qawāʾid al-taṣawwuf* [*Qawāʾid al-Zarrūq*] ³²⁵

³¹⁶ West African; F. Leconte, “al-Yadālī (1096-1166/1685-1753),” *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, pp.202-5; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Segou.

³¹⁷ Iraqi; GAL I 422, SI 748; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Segou Kano, and Shinqit.

³¹⁸ Iraqi; GAL I 422, SI 749; mss found in Boutilimit, Timbuktu, Segou, and Shinqit.

³¹⁹ GAL II 189, S II 251; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Segou, and Kano.

³²⁰ Egyptian; GAL II 118, SII 145; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Segou, and Shinqit.

³²¹ Egyptian; GAL II 118, SII 146; multiple mentions in the Faḥ; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Segou, and Kano.

³²² Maghribi; GAL II 118, SII 146; multiple mentions in the Faḥ; mss found in Boutilimit, Timbuktu, and Segou.

³²³ Andalusian; GAL II, 265, SII, 378; mss found in Nouakchott, Segou, and Wadan.

³²⁴ Maghribi; GAL II 253, SII 361; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Segou, and Shinqit.

Derivative texts:

- Muḥammad al-Yadālī b. al-Mukhtār b. Maḥam Saʿīd al-Daymānī (d.1753), *Khatimat al-taṣawwuf*³²⁶
- Aḥmad Zarrūq [Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī] (d.1493), *al-Waṣīfa al-zarrūqiyya*³²⁷

Derivative texts:

- ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāshī (d.1679), *al-Anwār al-Sanīya ʿala al-waṣīfa al-zarrūqiyya*³²⁸
- Ḥasan b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d.1691), *Dāliyyat al-Yusī*³²⁹

Qādiriyya Texts:

- Sīdi al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d.1811), *Zawāl al-albās fī ṭard al-shayṭān al-khannās*³³⁰
- Sīdi al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d.1811), *al-Kawkab al-waqqād fī faḍl dhikr al-mashā ikh wa-ḥaqqā iq al-awrād*³³¹
- Sīdi al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d.1811), *Jadhwat al-anwār fī l-dhabb ʿan awliyā Allāh al-akhyār*³³²
- Sīdi al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d.1811), *Ḥizb al-isrā*³³³
- Sīdi Muḥammad b. Sīdi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d.1826), *al-Ṭarā if wa-l-talā id min karāmāt al-shaykhayn al-wālida wa-l-wālīd*³³⁴

³²⁵ Maghribi; GAL SII 361; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Ghana.

³²⁶ West African; F. Leconte, “al-Yadālī (1096-1166/1685-1753)” *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, pp.202-5; This is a 19-line letter on Sufism, which was often accompanied by his own commentary. It is similar to Zarrūq’s *Qawā d al-taṣawwuf*, mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Segou.

³²⁷ Maghribi; GAL II 254, SII 361; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Kano.

³²⁸ Maghribi; GAL SII 361; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Wadan, and Shinqit.

³²⁹ Maghribi; Zirikli II 223; GAL II 455, S II 675; mss founding Kano, Segou, and Timbuktu.

³³⁰ West African; ALA IV 92; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Segou, and Shinqit.

³³¹ West African; ALA IV 77; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, and Kano.

³³² West African; ALA IV, 76; mss found in Segou, Timbuktu, and Shinqit.

³³³ West African; ALA IV 97; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu; there is a long commentary on this text written by Sīdi Muḥammad b. Sīdi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d.1826) called: *Irsā al-asrār ilā asrār ḥizb al-isrā*; mss found in Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

³³⁴ West African; ALA IV 113; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

- Sīdi Muḥammad b. Sīdi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d.1826), *Junnat al-murīd dūn al-marīd*³³⁵
- Sīdi Muḥammad b. Sīdi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d.1826), *Shudhūr al-adhkār al-maḥiya lil-awzār*³³⁶

Tijāniyya Texts:

- ‘Alī Ḥarāzim b. al-‘Arabī Barāda al-Fāsī (d.1856), *Jawāhir al-mā’ānī wa-bulūgh al-amānī fī fayḍ Sīdī Abī l-‘Abbās al-Tijānī*³³⁷
- ‘Umar b. Sa‘īd al-Fūtī (d.1863), *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm ‘alā nuḥūr ḥizb al-raḥīm*³³⁸
- ‘Umar b. Sa‘īd al-Fūtī (d.1863), *Suyūf al-sā‘īd al-mu’ taqīd fī ahl Allāh ka’ l-Tijānī ‘alā raqabat al-ṭarīd al-jānī*³³⁹
- Yerkoy Talfi [al-Mukhtār b. Wadī‘at Allāh al-Māsinī al-Fulānī] (d.1863), *Tabkiyat al-Bakkā’ī*³⁴⁰

³³⁵ West African; ALA IV 98; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.

³³⁶ West African; ALA IV 112; mss found in Boutilimit, Segou, and Timbuktu. This is a short work concerned with dhikr.

³³⁷ Maghribi; GAL SII 876; mss found in Shinqit, Segou, Timbuktu, and Kano.

³³⁸ West African; GAL SII 896; ALA IV 218; mss found in Kano, Segou, Timbuktu, Shinqit, and Ibadan.

³³⁹ West African; ALA IV 220; mss found in Segou, Ibadan, and Shinqit.

³⁴⁰ West African; ALA IV 235-6; this is a Tijānī poem written in 1859 attacking the Qādirī shaykh Aḥmad al-Bakkā’ī al-Kuntī; mss found in Kano, Nouakchott, Segou, and Timbuktu.