

## THE HISTORIC "CORE CURRICULUM" AND THE BOOK MARKET IN ISLAMIC WEST AFRICA

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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.<sup>1</sup> 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),<sup>2</sup> 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 particular venues,<sup>3</sup> and from analyses of the citations used in particular

<sup>1</sup> 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: Brill, 1995) [hereafter ALA II] and Hunwick et al. *Arabic Literature of Africa*, Vol. IV: *The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) [hereafter ALA IV].

<sup>2</sup> 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* 11 (1970): 209-50.

<sup>3</sup> Examples of such studies include Ivor Wilks, "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan," in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. J. Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 161-97; Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi: The Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Tial* (London, 2005), 74-6; Stephan Reichmuth, "Islamic Education in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. N. Levtzion and R.L. Pouwels (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000), 427-8; Lamin Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia* (Lanham, MD: University Press

scholarly works written by West Africans.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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 these works the “core curriculum” and we suggest that they were likely at the center of any regional book market.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup> 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

of America, 1989), 149, 158; Ousmane Kane, “Intellectuels non Européones,” CODESRIA (2003).

<sup>4</sup> Examples include Mervyn Hiskett, “Material Relating to the State of Learning among the Fulani before Their Jihad,” *Bulletin of SOAS* 19 (1957): 550–78; F.H. El Masri, “The life of Shehu Usman dan Fodio before the Jihad,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2, no. 4 (1963): 435–48; Sidi Mohammed Mahibou and Jean-Louis Triand, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé, Bayân mâ waqa'a dal-Haġġ Umar al-Fiti, Plaidoyer pour une guerre sainte en Afrique de l'Ouest au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1983); Jean Schmitz, “Introduction,” Shaykh Muusa Kamara, *Florilège au jardin de l'histoire des Noirs. Zuhar al-basâtin. L'aristocratie peule et la révolution des clercs musulmans (Vallée du Sénégal)*, vol. 1, (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1998), 11–22; Chouki el Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain (XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002); John Hurwicz, *Shari'a in Songhay: The Replies of al-Maghiti to the Questions of Askia al-Hajj Muhammad* (London: British Academy, 1985).

<sup>5</sup> 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 Saharèenne: la bibliothèque du Cheikh Sida au Sahara,” *Revue du Monde Musulman* 8 (1909): 409–18.

<sup>6</sup> 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 still needs to be done to distinguish between local copying activity and book “imports” to West Africa.

<sup>7</sup> Murray Last, “The Book in the Sokoto Caliphate,” *Studia Africana* 17 (2006): 39–52.

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.

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 Nigeria<sup>8</sup> that have been entered in the Arabic Manuscript Management System (AMMS) database, which is now open-access and available on the internet.<sup>9</sup> This sampling encompasses at least half (and possibly a good deal more) of the West African book market, intellectually as well as geographically.<sup>10</sup> 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

<sup>8</sup> 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 (IHERI-AB), in Timbuktu, Mali that has material from a number of libraries in Northern Mali, the personal libraries of al-Hajj Umar Tall at Segou, the Ahl Sidiyya in Boutimint, the Northwestern University collection that contains the Umar Falke Library from Kano, and a dozen collections in Shinguiti and Wâdan. Where relevant copies of a few works appear in collections from Niamey, Ibadan and Ghana, these are noted.

<sup>9</sup> 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 transmission, and knowledge transfer in the Islamic sciences. It can be accessed at: <http://www.westafrikanmanuscripts.org/>

<sup>10</sup> 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

the Sahel and over several hundred years: Qur'anic studies (recitation, abrogation, exegesis), Arabic language (lexicons, lexicology, morphology, syntax, rhetoric and prosody), the Prophet Muhammad (biography, devotional poetry, hadith and history), theology (tawhid), mysticism (tasawwuf) 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 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.

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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 footnote 2, fall in these same categories.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

1625-1925.<sup>12</sup> 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 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 of these regions: (1) south-western Mauritania (Nouakchott [IMRS] and Boutlimit [Ahl Sidiyya library]); (2) northern Mauritania (Shingit and Wādan); (3) the Niger Bend (Timbuktu [IHRI-AB]); (4) the middle Niger (Ségou [al-Hājī 'Umar library]); and (5) northern Nigeria (Kano). 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.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> 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, a dictionary bearing the imprint of 1262/1846, arrived there in 1861. 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.

<sup>13</sup> Admittedly, this methodology devalues the very substantial emphasis upon memorization of texts as part of learning in this region and, as a result, the

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' *Muwatta'*, the fundamental reference work of Mālikī law.<sup>14</sup> Such a statement is undoubtedly true but it begs the question of the form of the work that was studied: the *Muwatta'* cannot be understood as a single discrete text. There is of course a book entitled *al-Muwatta'* of which there are numerous 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 *Muwatta'* 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 *Muwatta'* by students in the Dyula tradition, for instance, we need to know the derivative forms of the *Muwatta'* that were studied.<sup>15</sup> 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

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 that this curriculum will expand beyond the 150-odd works cited below. The one exception to this methodology that includes 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.

<sup>14</sup> Wilks, "The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan," 168.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

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.

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 in foundational works written by four West African literati that have been chosen to represent a chronological and geographical cross-section of Sahelian scholarship. 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-Rahmān al-Sa'dī's (died after 1655/56) *Ta'rikh al-sūdān*,<sup>16</sup> which discusses many of the texts studied in Timbuktu. He borrows heavily from the work of Ahmad Bābā, thus providing us with a snapshot of what we might call the classical, 17th century Sudanese tradition of Islamic learning.

— al-Tālib Muḥammad al-Bartilī's (d. 1805) *Fath al-shakūr fī ma'rifa't al-yan 'ulamā' al-Takrūr*,<sup>17</sup> which is a biographical dictionary of the scholars of the region of Walata up to the beginning of the 19th century. It contains summaries of their qualifications (the works that they studied) and offers us a survey of Sahelian scholarly credentials during the 17th and 18th centuries.

— Abdallahi dan Fodio's (d. 1829) *Idā' al-nusūkh man akhāthi 'an-thu min al-shuyūkh*,<sup>18</sup> in which the author describes his own training. This is the scholarly autobiography of one of the most illustrious

<sup>16</sup> al-Sa'dī draws much of his bibliographic information from Ahmad Bābā's *Nayl al-ibrahīn*. The *Ta'rikh al-sūdān* is translated and analyzed by John Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al-Sa'dī's Ta'rikh al-sūdān down to 1613 and other Contemporary Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). Hereafter we will refer to the text as "TS."

<sup>17</sup> Translated and analyzed by el Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain*. Hereafter we will refer to the text as "Fath."

<sup>18</sup> Written in 1227/1812-3 and translated and analyzed by Hiskett, "Material Relating to the State of Learning among the Fulani before Their Jihad." Hereafter we will refer to the text as "Idā'."

intellectuals of the Central Sudan at the dawn of the 19th century and, as indicated in this survey, one of the most frequently-cited West African contributors to our "core curriculum."

- al-Hājj 'Umar Tall's (d. 1864) *Bayān mā waqā'a baynanā wa-bayn amīr Māsīna Ahmad b. Ahmad b. al-Shaykh Ahmad b. Muḥammad Lobbo*,<sup>19</sup> 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, Boutlimit, Shinqīṭī (Chinguetti), Wādān (Ouadane), Ségou, 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.

- Nouakchott and Boutlimit: 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. Boutlimit refers to the private library of the Ould

Sidiyya family in Boutlimit, Mauritania, acquired largely during the 19th century (about 2100 items), and catalogued in 1990.

- Shinqīṭī and Wādān: 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.

- Ségou: This is the library originally belonging to al-Hājj 'Umar Tall and his sons at Ségou, 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 (IHERI-AB) in Timbuktu, Mali drawn from Northern Malian libraries, especially from the Būlā'rāf 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 regions.<sup>20</sup> But we have also noted a few works that were mentioned 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'ān, but

<sup>19</sup> Translated and analyzed by Mahibou and Triaud, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé*. Hereafter we will refer to the text as "Bayān."

<sup>20</sup> There are a few exceptions. The distribution and provenance of the texts is noted in the "core curriculum" list in the appendix.

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 regions, 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*

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'anic 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-Barrī's (d. 1330) popular poem entitled *al-Durr al-lawānī*, which is mentioned in the *Faṭḥ al-shakūr* and in Abdallāhī 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.<sup>21</sup> Oddly, neither the poem nor its commentaries appear in current AMMS records from Nigeria. Another poem on *tajwīd* found in Kano and Shinqū is al-Shāḫīb's (d. 1194) *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* which is also mentioned in the *Faṭḥ al-shakūr* and in Abdallāhī dan Fodio's *Idā' al-nusūkh*. The other widely attested text is Ibn al-Jazarī's (d. 1429) *al-Muqaddīma*.

<sup>21</sup> See Appendix C for the geographical distribution of copies.

##### 2. *Qur'anic Revelation* (*tanzīl*) and *Abrogation* (*naskh*)

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

##### 3. *Exegesis* (*tafsīr*)

By far the most widely distributed and most numerous *tafsīr* in these collections is Abdallāhī dan Fodio's (d. 1829) *Ḍiyā' al-ta'wīl 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-Mahallī (d. 1459). This text is as widespread as another well-known exegetical title, the *tafsīr* of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khazīn 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. Muḥammad al-Baghawī (d. 1117). The Mauritanian Muḥammad al-Yadā'īs (d. 1753) *tafsīr*, written in the western Sahel in 1738, is mentioned by Abdallāhī dan Fodio as part of his studies seventy-four years later at the eastern extreme of the same region.<sup>22</sup> 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 works 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

<sup>22</sup> al-Ḥāḫī Umar says that he read al-Bayḍāwī'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 mufti of Istanbul, Ahmad b. Ismā'īl al-Kurānī's (d. 1488) *Ghayat al-amānī*. There are no manuscript copies of this in the database. He also mentions al-Nasafī's (d. 1310) *Madarik al-tanzīl wa-haqiqat al-ta'wīl*, as does the *Faṭḥ al-shakūr*, although the only copy of this text in the database is in Nonakchott (Bayān 200, 203, 205).

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-Firzābādī's (d. 1415) *al-Qānūs al-muḥīṭ* is by far the best-known dictionary in West Africa. It is mentioned in the *Ta'rikh al-fatāsh*,<sup>23</sup> and there are dozens of copies (or fragments) of it across the database (although there are none in Nigeria). Two commentaries on the dictionary, both by Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī al-Sijilmāsi (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 Sīdās (d. 1066) dictionary entitled *al-Muḥkam* is mentioned by scholars in Timbuktu, and there is a record of it having been copied there,<sup>24</sup> 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. c.1007-8) important dictionary, *al-Sihāḥ fī 'l-lughah*, 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 *Muḥallath Qutrūb*, a short text written in the eighth century in Basra by Abū 'Alī

Muḥammad b. al-Mustanir Qutrūb (d. 821). This is a book about words with the same consonant-skeleton that have different meanings according to the vowels that they take.<sup>25</sup> There are many copies of this text in the database, as well as numerous copies of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Fāsi 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 introduce difficult and rare vocabulary. This text is mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio and in the *Faḥḥ al-shakūr*.

### 3. *Morphology*

Ibn Mālik's (d. 1274) *Lamīyyat al-af'āl* was a very popular didactic poem on morphology, written as a complement to his more famous *Alfyya* on syntax (see below). It is mentioned in the *Faḥḥ 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 mandūda*.<sup>26</sup> 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 Hātib's (d. 1249), *al-Shaḥīyya* and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī b. Sālih al-Makkūdi al-Fāsī's (d. 1405), *al-Basī wa-'l-ta'rif fī 'ilm al-tasrīf*, which is mentioned in the *Faḥḥ al-shakūr*.

### 4. *Syntax*

The two most widely used works of syntax in West Africa were Ibn Mālik's poem known as the *Alfyya*, and Ibn 'Āyurrūmī's (d. 1223) concise treatise known as *al-Muqaddima al-Āyurrūmiyya*. These texts are mentioned frequently in West African sources and they are widespread in the database. Among the commentaries on the *Alfyya* 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) commentary on Ibn Mālik appear in Nouakchott, Shingit and Ségou, and there are also copies of a commentary on Ibn Hishām by Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī (d. 1499) that are found in Mauritania

<sup>23</sup> Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire*, lxii.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., lxi, 353-5. Ibn Sīdā [Alī b. Ismā'īl b. Sīdā al-Andalusī] (d. 1066), *Kitāb al-muḥkam wa-'l-muḥīṭ al-a-zam* (GAL I 309, SI 542).

<sup>25</sup> G. Troupeau, "Qutrūb, the Cognomen of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanir," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition [hereafter EI2].

<sup>26</sup> H. Fleisch, "Ibn Mālik," EI2.

and Mali. Ibn Mālik's very concise manual on grammar, *Tashīl al-fawā'id wa-takmil al-maqasid*, appears to have been much less popular than its commentaries. There are a number of West African commentaries and versifications of Ibn Ājurūmī's *Muqadima*, but the only widespread commentaries are by Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jirāwī al-Azhari, and the Bouilimit scholar Sidiyya b. al-Mukhār al-Nishā'i (d. 1868).

Abdallahi dan Fodio mentions that he studied two manuals on grammar by Ibn Hishām (d. 1360). These are *Qatr al-nadā wa-ball al-sadā*, of which there are five copies in the database,<sup>27</sup> and the *Shuḥūr al-dhahab fī ma'rifaṭ kalām al-'arab*, of which there are seven copies and five commentaries. Abdallahi does not mention Ibn Hishām's great treatise on grammar, the *Mughni '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 Ségou, which suggest that it must have been known in areas further west.

Al-Ḥariri's didactic *urjiḏa* poem on grammar entitled *Mulḥat al-i'rāb* 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 Suyūṭi's commentary on it. Abdallahi dan Fodio also mentions Ibn Wardī's (d. 1349) *al-Tuljā al-wardiyya fī mushkilāt al-i'rāb*, an *urjiḏa* poem on grammar of which there are about a dozen copies in the database, although none in the Mauritanian collections.<sup>28</sup> In addition, Abdallahi dan Fodio mentions al-Suyūṭi's didactic text on grammar called *al-Farida*, 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 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Salāwī al-Mijrādī's (d. 1376–7) called the *Lāmiyya*, also known as the *Nazm al-jumal*.<sup>29</sup> In the database, this text only appears in the form of its commentary by al-Rasmūkī (d. 1639) and Muḥammad Mayyārās

<sup>27</sup> Abdallahi mentions a commentary by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Mārīdī (d. 1506), but the only three copies are in the Ségou collection in the database (Idā' 570); the *Faḥī al-shakūr* mentions a different commentary by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṣī (d. 1704) entitled *Takmil al-marām fī sharḥ shawāhid Ibn Hishām*, of which there are single copies in Bouilimit, Shingit and Ségou (*Faḥī*, 336).

<sup>28</sup> Abdallahi also mentions that he studied a West African commentary on Ibn Wardī by Muḥammad al-Wālī b. Sulaymān b. Abī Muḥammad al-Wālī al-Fulāni (fl. 1688–9) entitled *Mā'in al-tālib wa-nuḡfā al-rāghib* (ALA II, 36). There are copies of this text in northern Nigeria, Timbuktu and Ségou.

<sup>29</sup> El Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle*, 116.

(d. 1662) commentary on al-Rasmūkī.<sup>30</sup> Finally, Ibn Ḥājib's (d. 1249) famous work on syntax called *al-Kafīyya* 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 Bābā al-Timbukū (d. 1606) and Sidi al-Mukhār al-Kuntī (d. 1812) achieved the distinction of their works on grammar spreading well beyond the Timbuktu region; the former from Wādān to Nigeria and the latter from Timbuktu to southwestern Mauritania.

### 5. Rhetoric

The main books in the field of rhetoric derive from Yūsuf b. Abū Bakr al-Sakkākī's (d. 1229) *Mifḥāḥ al-'ulūm*, which does not appear to have been read in West Africa. However, the Syrian al-Qazwīnī's (d. 1338) *Talkhīṣ al-mifḥāḥ* is mentioned by Abdallahi dan Fodio, al-Sa'dī, and in the *Faḥī al-shakūr*.<sup>31</sup> There are two copies of this work according to the database, in Ségou, and we know a third was among the books purchased by Shaykh Sidiyya in Morocco in the 1830s and brought back to Bouilimit.<sup>32</sup> Commentaries on it are found in the Timbuktu, Nouakchott, Shingit 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-Shanfarās *Lāmiyyat al-'arab*, is mentioned in the *Faḥī 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.<sup>33</sup> Another famous poem mentioned in the *Faḥī al-shakūr* is al-Tughrā'īs (d. 1121) *Lāmiyyat al-'ajam*, of which there are many copies and commentaries in the database. In this poem, the speaker complains

<sup>30</sup> There is only a single copy of Muḥammad Mayyārās' commentary in the database, in Timbuktu.

<sup>31</sup> Idā' 566; TS 65–6; *Faḥī* 161, 169, 322, 355, 366.

<sup>32</sup> Stewart, "A New Source," 230.

<sup>33</sup> R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 79–81.



about the corruption of Baghdad and how his younger contemporaries in that city ill-treat him.<sup>34</sup> Another popular poem was Ibn Durayd's eulogy, *al-Maḡsūra*. Abdallāhi 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.<sup>35</sup>

### c) Prophet Muhammad

The fields of knowledge associated with the life and actions of the Prophet Muhammad 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 (*ṣīra*), devotional poetry, ḥadīth collections and sciences of ḥadīth, and history.

#### 1. Biography of the Prophet Muhammad (*ṣīra*)

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 *ṣīra* in the database (in Boutlimnit).<sup>36</sup> The biography of the Prophet that was most popular in West Africa was the later, more devotional recension of the Andalusian Maliki scholar al-Qaḍī 'Iyād (d. 1149) in his *Kiṭāb al-shifā' bi-ta'rif huḡiq al-muṣṭafā'*.<sup>37</sup> This work is mentioned in many West African writings as the central work of *ṣīra*, and there are dozens of copies of the work across the database.

Another text that can be broadly classified under the category of biography of the Prophet is the work on the Prophet's attributes by

<sup>34</sup> F. C. de Blois, "al-Tughā'i", E12, Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 326.

<sup>35</sup> Abdallāhi dan Fodio (d. 569) and the *Faḥī al-shakar* (169, 366) mention a commentary on this poem by Muḡammad b. Ahmad al-Sharī al-Ḥasani al-Gharrāfi al-Sabīḥ (d. 1359), *Sharḥ al-khazrajīyya*. There may be a copy in Timbuktu in the database.

<sup>36</sup> The *Faḥī al-shakar* mentions the Moroccan Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Sūsi al-Būsaḥī al-Ḥashūki al-Sanḥajī's (d. 1637), *Ishraq al-badr ala' adad ahl badr*, on the fighters at the Battle of Badr (El Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle*, 200). The only manuscript copy of this work is in the Ségou collection.

<sup>37</sup> 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."

the great *ḥadīth* collector al-Tirmidhī (d. 892). There are six copies of this work in the database (none recorded in Ségou or Nigeria), but also a number of West African compositions based on the information in this work.

Al-Qasṭallāni (d. 1517), the Egyptian commentator on al-Bukhārī, is best known in West Africa not for his long *ḥadīth* commentaries,<sup>38</sup> but for his biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya fi'l-minah al-muḡammadiyya*. This is a work that attained popularity across the Muslim world,<sup>39</sup> although we find only a handful of copies in the database (in Ségou, Timbuktu and Boutlimnit).

One of the most popular West African compositions about the Prophet's life, and about devotion to the Prophet, is Sidi al-Mukhār al-Kuntī's (d. 1811) *Naḡm al-ṭib fi'l-salāt 'alā 'i-Nabī 'i-ḥabīb*, of which there are more than a dozen copies in the database (in Ségou, Timbuktu and Boutlimnit). By contrast nineteen copies of the Maghribi scholar 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Lamī al-Miknāsī's (d. 1475) *Qurraṭ al-abṣār fi ṣīrat al-Nabī al-mukhṭār* are found throughout the collections.

#### 2. Devotional Poetry

The field of Islamic devotional poetry is vast and begins with the 7th century Ka'b b. Zuhayr's *Bānat ṣu'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-Fazāzī's (d. 1230) *al-Ishrinīyat*, 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 region.<sup>40</sup> 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

<sup>38</sup> There are two copies of his *Ishād al-ṣarī fi sharḥ Bukhārī* in Timbuktu and Niamey.

<sup>39</sup> C. Brockelmann, "al-Kasṭallāni", E12.

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

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.<sup>41</sup> 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-Fazāzī's *Ishrīyāt* by Ibn Mahīb (Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Mahīb). It is mentioned in al-Sa'īd's *Ta'rikh al-sūdān* and in the *Fath al-shakūr*. There are dozens of copies in the database. Among the most popular West African commentaries on the *Ishrīyāt* was al-Kashnāwīs (d. 1667), *al-Nafīha al-'anbarīyya*, although there are only a few copies in the database.

Perhaps the most popular devotional poem in the Muslim world is al-Būsīrī's (d. 1295/6) poem named after the Prophet's mantle, known as *al-Burda*.<sup>42</sup> This poem also carries a longer title, *al-Kawākib al-durrīyya fī madhī 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 it, but the only one that seems to have been moderately widespread was that written by the Egyptian Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī. Al-Būsīrī is also the author of another poem in praise of the Prophet Muhammad known as *al-Qasīda al-hanzliyya*, which is also widely available. Extant commentaries on this work include one by al-Nazīfī,<sup>43</sup> and another by Ibn Ḥajar al-Hayāmī (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 database from all across the region. The most popular commentary is that of Ibn Sulaym al-Awjīlī (d. 1801/2).<sup>44</sup>

Other popular poems in praise of the Prophet include al-Shaqrātīsī's (d. 1073), *al-Qasīda al-lamīyya*, which is also mentioned in the *Fath*

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*al-shakūr*. The Moroccan Ibn Marzūq's (d. 1439) *al-Qasīda al-minīyya* which praises the Prophets and saints is also widespread. The *Fath al-shakūr* also mentions al-Tawzarī's (d. 1113) *al-Qasīda al-munfarjiya* 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 *Hillat al-siyār fī madhī khayr al-warā'*. This is the title of a commentary on a poem by Ibn Jābir (d. 1378) called *Badīyyat al-'imyān*. The commentary was written by the poet's friend and colleague Ahmad al-Gharnāī al-Ru'aynī (d. 1377). Both were from Andalusia, both went to Egypt to pursue their studies, and both finally settled in Syria.<sup>45</sup> 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. Three authors there, Muhammad al-Yadālī (d. 1753), 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ṭālib Ahmad b. al-Ḥājī Ḥamā Allāh al-Ghallāwī al-Ṭishīfī (d. 1794) and Sīdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (d. 1818) wrote works that spread as far as Timbuktu and Ségou.

### 3. *Hadith collections*

We include *hadith* in this section out of convenience rather than logical division of the Islamic sciences. Not surprisingly, the most important *hadith* 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), *Bahyat al-nuḥus* and Ḥasan b. Muhammad al-Saghānī (d. 1252), *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīyya fī 'l-shāh al-akhbār al-mustafawīyya*.

Aside from the canonical collections, one finds a number of texts in the tradition of the "forty *hadiths*," in which a selection of the Prophet's *hadiths* on a particular subject, or the most "representative" *hadiths*, are brought together in a smaller collection. There are two examples in the database, the collection of Ibn Wādān (d. 1101) which are found

<sup>41</sup> P.F. Kennedy, "Takhmīs," E12.

<sup>42</sup> A bilingual Arabic-English version of this poem is published in Stefan Speer, "Al-Būsīrī (d. c. 1296): The *Burda* in praise of the Prophet Muhammad," in Speer and Christopher Shackle ed., *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 388–411.

<sup>43</sup> GAL SI 471.

<sup>44</sup> 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), 170–7. On Ibn Sulaym al-Awjīlī, see ALA II, 51.

<sup>45</sup> S.A. Bonebakker, "al-Ru'aynī, Abū Ja'far Ahmad al-Gharnāī (or al-Ibrī) al-Maliki, d. 779/1377," E12.

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,<sup>46</sup> but they do not appear to have been widespread. Another popular collection of *hadīth* was Ibn al-Jazarī's (d. 1429), *Ḥisr al-ḥaṣn*, which is a collection used for prayers.<sup>47</sup>

#### 4. Sciences of *hadīth* ('Ulum al-ḥadīth)

In the field of the sciences of *hadīth*, some of the most important medieval authorities such Ibn Ṣalāh (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.<sup>48</sup> However, al-'Irāqī's verification of Ibn Ṣalāh's work on the sciences of *hadīth*, called the *Alfyyat al-'Irāqī*, 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 Sidi 'Abd Allāh b. Sidi Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (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

<sup>46</sup> Bayān 179; Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaytamī [Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-Ḥaytamī] (d. 1567), *al-Fath al-mubīn fī sharḥ al-arba' in al-naḥwawīyya* (GAL II 387–88, SII 527). The only manuscript copy of this in the database is in Timbuktu.

<sup>47</sup> This was part of the curriculum in Fez according to G. Delphin, *Fas son université et l'enseignement supérieur musulman* (Paris: Ouhallamel, 1889), 31.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī [Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī] (d. 1449), *Nukḥbat al-fikr*, which is a commentary on Taqī al-Dīn Abū Amr 'Uthmān b. al-Ṣalāh al-Shahrastūrī's (d. 1243) *ʿUlum al-ḥadīth*, mentioned by al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall (Bayān 210) and in the *Fath al-shakr* (253). The only manuscript copy is in Boutlimit. There is a verification of Ibn Ḥajar's *Nukḥbat al-fikr* by the Mauritanian author al-Ḥasan b. Aghbuddī al-Zaydī al-'Tishnī (d. 1711), *Rawḍat al-azhar*. It is mentioned in the *Fath al-shakr* (253), but the only manuscript copy of this title in the database is one copy in Timbuktu.

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 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 Ahmad Bābā quote Ibn Khaldūn in his *Mi'rāj al-sū'ūd*,<sup>49</sup> 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 *hadīth*. 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 verifications by local authors. The other main historical text found in the database, and also mentioned in the *Fath al-shakr*, 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 Ségou and Timbuktu as well as in Nigeria.<sup>50</sup> 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-sahāba*.

#### d) Jurisprudence (fiqh)

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*)

<sup>49</sup> Ahmad Bābā, *Mi'rāj al-sū'ūd: Ahmad Bābā's Replies on Slavery*, ed. John Hunwick and Fatima Harrak, (Rabat: Institute of African Studies, 2000), 24–6.

<sup>50</sup> Murray Last suggests this absence of "secular" writing may be an artifact of the high cost of paper ("The Book in the Sokoto Caliphate," 44), although this evidently did not inhibit the spread of Abdullahī's account of events in the Sokoto region.

including foundational texts and manuals, didactic texts, legal precepts/maxims (*qawā'id*), and legal cases/opinions.

1. *Usūl al-fiqh* ("sources of jurisprudence") is devoted to the theoretical *Usūl al-fiqh* ("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 *usūl al-fiqh* in West Africa closely mirror those studied in Fez.<sup>51</sup> The foundational text studied in Fez was al-Subkī's (d. 1370) *Jam' al-jawāmi'*.<sup>52</sup> There are copies of this text in Timbuktu and in the Mauritanian collections, but al-Mahallī'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.

According to A. Samb, al-Juwaynī's (d. 1085) *Waraqāt* was a fundamental work of *usūl al-fiqh* in Islamic education in West Africa.<sup>53</sup> Oddly, there are only two copies of the *Warqāt* 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 *Warqāt* is a short but

difficult text that incorporates certain Ash'ari notions into juridical methodology,<sup>54</sup> it should not surprise us that its study was accompanied by commentaries and versifications. The most widespread commentary in the database is Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Hatīb al-Mālikī al-Ru'aynī al-Tarābluṣī's (d. 1540/1), *Qurrat al-'ayn*. The most widespread versification of this work was written by the Egyptian Yahyā b. Nūr al-Dīn al-Imrīnī (d. 1581).

Another important Mālikī legal writer was al-Qarāfi (d. 1285). There are seven copies in the database of his commentary on al-Rāzī's (d. 1209) *al-Maḥṣūl fī usūl al-fiqh* entitled *Tanqīḥ al-fuṣūl fī 'ilm al-usūl*.<sup>55</sup> The only copy of al-Rāzī's original appears to be in Timbuktu. Al-Qarāfi was also the author of a large work on *furu' al-fiqh* entitled *al-Dhakkira*, of which only one copy appears in the database (in Boutlimnit), and another work of *qawā'id* noted below.

Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah argues in his work on the history of Mālikī writing in Mauritania that the field of *usūl 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.<sup>56</sup> Local authors did, however, produce a number of commentaries and versifications of *usūl al-fiqh* texts, presumably for didactic purposes. For example, the Mauritanian Sidi Abd Allāh b. al-Hajj Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī wrote a poem entitled *Maraqā' al-su'ūd* in which he condensed all the essential elements of *usūl al-fiqh* into 20–30 manuscript pages.<sup>57</sup> Al-'Alawī 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. *Furu' al-fiqh*

The parallel sub-field to *usūl al-fiqh* is known as *furu' 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.

<sup>51</sup> On the curriculum at Fez, see Delphin, *Fes*, 169–70.

<sup>52</sup> The *Jam' al-jawāmi'* is itself a work based on commentaries on Ibn Hājib's *Mukhtasar al-far'i* and Abd Allāh b. Umar al-Baydawī's (d. 1316) *Minhaj al-wasul ilā 'ilm al-usūl* (GAL SI 741). In his *Bayān mā waqa'a al-Hājī 'Umar Tall* mentions a commentary on Ibn Hājib's *Mukhtasar* by Muhammad b. Abd al-Salām b. Yusuf al-Hawwari al-Tunisi (d. 1348–9) (Bayan 210), but there is no manuscript copy of this text in the database. Copies of Ibn Hājib's *Mukhtasar* are in Boutlimnit, Nouakchott and possibly Segou and Niamey but there are no copies of al-Baydawī's *Minhaj*. So, it appears that as in Fez, West African students began with the *Jam' al-jawāmi'*.

<sup>53</sup> Amar Samb, *Essai sur la contribution du Sénégal à la littérature d'expression arabe* (Dakar: IFAN, 1972), 27.

<sup>54</sup> Brockelmann, "Al-Djawaynī" E2.  
<sup>55</sup> GAL SI 921.

<sup>56</sup> Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Bah, *La littérature juridique et l'évolution du Malikisme en Mauritanie* (Tunis: Université de Tunis, 1981), 177.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 187–8.

## 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 *Muwatī'a* 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 not found in Kano, in its place are four copies of the Andalusian Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bajī's (d. 1081) commentary, also found in Ségou (and Ghana). Sahnūn's (d. 854) *Mudawwana* is complementary to the *Muwatī'a* as a presentation of Mālik's views, with additional materials not found in the *Muwatī'a*. 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.<sup>58</sup> Both the *Muwatī'a* 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 Mālikī school, but they are not strictly speaking theorized in the same way as the later *uṣūl* genre.<sup>59</sup> These texts were especially important as sources of positive law as it developed in the Mālikī school. Al-'Uṭbī's (d. 869) *al-Mustakhrāja* was a foundational work of Mālikī jurisprudence in Andalusia, and it is mentioned by al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall in his *Bayān*,<sup>60</sup> 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 *Mukhtasar* of Khalīl b. Ishāq (d. 1374). Ibn Abī Zayd's

<sup>58</sup> Abū 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zarwānī (d. 1319), *Sharḥ al-mudawwana* is mentioned in the Fath (170), and TS (67), but there is no copy of it in the database. For reference to this work, see F. Krenkow, "Sahnūn," *EJ2*.

<sup>59</sup> On the difference and relationship between *ḥurūf al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* as genres of legal literature, see Wael Hallaq, "Uṣūl al-fiqh: beyond tradition," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, no. 2 (1992): 181–4.

<sup>60</sup> GAL SI 300; Bayān 213.

*Risāla* is a synopsis of Mālikī law, whereas the *Mukhtasar* of Khalīl is an abridgement of Ibn Ḥājib's (d. 1249) *Mukhtasar al-far'i*, and is almost incomprehensible without the aid of commentaries. There are a large number of copies of the *Risāla* and Khalīl's *Mukhtasar* 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 Ḥājib's *Mukhtasar al-far'i* is mentioned by al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall in the *Bayān*, and by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Saḍī in the *Ta'rīkh al-sūdān*,<sup>61</sup> but there is only a single copy of it in the database (in Nouakchott). Al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall also mentions a commentary on this work by al-Hawwārī,<sup>62</sup> 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 *Mukhtasar*, 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-Taḥā'īs (d. 1535) commentaries appear to have been in wide circulation, as was al-'Abdarī's (d. 1492) *al-Tāj wa-'l-ikhlā' il-mukhtasar Khalīlī*. Among West African authors, there are two dozen copies of the Mauritanian Maḥand Babā b. Ubayd al-Daymānī's (d. 1860) commentary entitled *al-Miyassar al-ijlī' alā mukhtasar Khalīlī*. 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 sayant Ahmad Babā. It is striking that none of these works have yet appeared in AMMS entries from Nigeria.

Ibn 'Āshim's (d. 1427) *Tuhfat 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 Mayyār's commentary was widespread. Ibn 'Askar's (d. 1332) *Iṣṣḥād 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 is only one reported copy outside of northern Nigeria (in Timbuktu). Another

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Ḥājib [Uḥmān b. 'Umar b. Abī Bakr al-Mālikī] (d.1249) (Bayān 207–8, TS 67).

<sup>62</sup> Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Yusuf al-Hawwārī al-Tūnisi (d. 1348–9), *Sharḥ Ibn al-Ḥājib* (Bayān 210).

work that appears to have been especially popular in northern Nigeria is al-Manūfī al-Shadhilī's (d. 1532) *al-Muqaddima al-izzīyya*. 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 Ségou, Timbuktu and Shinqitī.

Finally, al-Zaqqaq's (1506) two poems on jurisprudence are both mentioned in the *Fatḥ al-shakīr* and are widely distributed in the database. The *Manhaj* is an *urjuza* poem in which al-Zaqqaq explains the principles of the Maliki *madhhab*; the *Lāmiyya* is a poem in which al-Zaqqaq 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*.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup>

### 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 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) *Mukhtasar fi'l-ibādāt*, an elementary textbook on ritual duties according to the Maliki *madhhab*.<sup>65</sup> 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. However, 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-shakīr*. There are copies of this title across the database (although not in northern Nigeria). A number of West African commentaries on this work are found in the database, 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 Ségou, Timbuktu, and in Nigeria.

Finally, we have included in this section the *Durrat al-ghawwās* by Ibn Farḥūn (d. 1397), a Maliki scholar from Madina. This is a compilation of a thousand conundrums or riddles (*alghāz*) in jurisprudence.<sup>66</sup>

### 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 *usūl al-fiqh*. Although similar in form, the *qawā'id* are understood to be a completely separate branch of juridical literature from the *usūl al-fiqh*.<sup>67</sup> The *qawā'id* manuals appeared after the full development of the *madhabs* and are internal to each school. This type of literature blossomed only beginning in the thirteenth century.<sup>68</sup>

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 *Kiṭāb 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 Boutlimit, Ségou and Shinqitī) and another copy of a commentary

<sup>63</sup> Delphin, *Fas*, 32.

<sup>64</sup> 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 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Sunbāwī al-Amrī al-Kabir al-Malikī's (d. 1817), *Majmū' al-Amrī [al-Majmū' fi'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.

<sup>65</sup> J. Schacht, "al-Akhḍārī" *EJZ*.

<sup>66</sup> Ahmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ithnā'ī bi-tarīz al-ātibā*, in the margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj al-madhhab* *fi a'yān ulamā' al-madhhab* (Cairo, 1932/3), 32.

<sup>67</sup> Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7.

<sup>68</sup> W.P. Heinrichs "Kawā'id Fiqhiyya" *EJZ*. See also Heinrichs "Qawā'id as a genre of legal literature," in *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, ed. Bernard Weiss (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 365–84.

on this work (in Timbuktu). The other three works are al-Wansharisī's (d. 1508) work on *qawā'id* which is not mentioned by the West African authorities consulted for this paper; the *Kulliyāt* of Ibn Ghazī (d. 1513), which is a short work on legal questions and judgments in the Maliki *madhhab*,<sup>69</sup> and Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Juzay al-Kalbi al-Gharnāṭī's (d. 1340), *Qawā'im al-ahkām al-shar'iyya*.

##### 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-Wansharisī's *al-Mi'yār al-mu'rib* 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 consists of lithographed volumes. Even these appear to be but a fraction of the complete work. We find a similar pattern with the other important Maliki *fatwa* collections. The Egyptian al-Ujhūrī's (d. 1656) *fatwa* collection is mentioned by Abdallahī dan Fodio, and there are single copies in Ségou and Timbuktu. There are several West African versions of al-Warzāzī's (d. 1752/3) collection of *nawāzil* mentioned in the *Fath al-shakūr*, but none appear to have been especially widespread across the whole region.

There are also some smaller works devoted to particular issues. For example, Ahmad Bābās *Mir'āj al-sū'ūd*, which is a discussion of the illegitimacy of enslaving West African Muslims, is relatively widespread.

Ibn Salmūn's (d. 1365) *al-'Iqd 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 formulas for particular types of legal documents such as contracts and sales (the *shurūḥ*).<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> There are copies of this lengthy work in Boutlimit, Ségou, Timbuktu and Shingiti. Al-Dimashqī's (fl. 14th century) *Rahmat 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-Sharānī (d. 1565), perhaps because of the length of these texts which run more than three hundred manuscript pages.

##### e) *Belief (tawhid)*

The most important works of *tawhid* in West Africa, as in the Muslim West more generally, are the creeds written by Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (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 in the most elementary of these creeds, called the *Aqīdat ahl al-tawhid al-sughra*.<sup>72</sup> There are dozens of copies of this work across our sample. Several West African commentaries and versifications of this text exist, including one that discusses Fulfulde commentaries on the *Sughra* by Muḥammad al-Wālī b. Sulaymān b. Abi Muḥammad al-Fulānī (d. 1688/9),<sup>73</sup> and another that is a versification by Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Mahmūd b. Abi Bakr b. Baghayogho al-Wangarī (d. 1655), who was the nephew of the Timbuktu scholar Muḥammad Baghayogho (d. 1594).<sup>74</sup> There are also copies of al-Sanūsī's own more advanced creeds, including *al-Aqīdat al-wusṭā* and *al-Aqīdat al-kubrā*. These texts are not nearly as widely distributed as the *Sughra*, and we have omitted the *Wusṭā* from our list

<sup>69</sup> E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfes. Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Larose, 1922), 231 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Wael Hallaq, "Model Shari' Works and the Dialectic of Doctrine and Practice," *Islamic Law and Society* 2, no. 2 (1995): 114, 116.

<sup>71</sup> Hallaq, *Authority, Continuity, and Change in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 125. J. Schacht, "Khilāf" *ELI*.

<sup>72</sup> 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*, 79–86.

<sup>73</sup> ALA II, 35.

<sup>74</sup> ALA IV, 33.

because, despite suggestions to the contrary, the text does not appear to be widespread,<sup>75</sup> at least in a format that would result in it being catalogued as a distinct title.<sup>76</sup>

Another popular didactic text, especially in Nigeria, is the Andalusian al-Qurtubī's (d. 1171) *Urijizat al-wilādn*, also known as *Manzūmat al-Qurtubī*, which summarizes the five "pillars" of Islam in rhyming verse designed to be easy for children to memorize, although not simplified in content.<sup>77</sup> Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jazā'irī's (d. 1479/80), *Manzūmat al-jazā'iriyya* is another widely attested and well-known versification of the Islamic creed. Ibrahim b. Ibrahim b. Hasan 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-tawhīd*. The Moroccan al-Maqqārī's (d. 1632) versification of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī's (d. 1142) *'Aqāda* is a popular text.<sup>78</sup> 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 'Ashrī's (d. 1630) theological poem *al-Murshīd al-mu'īn 'alā l-ḡartarī min 'ulūm al-dīn* is widely distributed, as is the commentary on this poem by Muḥammad Mayyāra (d. 1662) entitled *al-Durr al-ḥammī wa-l-mawrīd al-mu'īn fī sharḥ al-Murshīd al-mu'īn*.<sup>79</sup>

A popular text from Sudan is *al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī taḥqīq ma'rifaṭ arḳān al-īmān*, which was written by someone known in West Africa as Arbāb al-Khartūmī. This is the Sudanese scholar Arbāb b. 'Alī b. 'Awn b. 'Amīr b. Aṣḡab (d. 1690/1), from Wad Madani. His *nisba* identifying him with Khartoum must be a later West African appellation, since the city of Khartoum was not founded until the nineteenth century, long after Arbāb's lifetime. We also include al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111), *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* in this section on *tawhīd* (it is the one text we cite twice, also including it in the section on Sufism), as well as the work on *tawhīd* by al-Ghazālī's brother, Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1123) entitled *Tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawhīd*.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> The *Wusṭa* is also known as *al-Jumal* and as *al-Murshīda*. It is widely attested in Nigerian libraries, but except for a copy in Bountlīmī, not elsewhere in our sample. See ALA IV, xix.

<sup>76</sup> H. Benchehneb, "Sanūsī," E12.

<sup>77</sup> R. Y. Ebied, "Kurtubī," E12.

<sup>78</sup> Majīd Fakhrī, *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, 3rd edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 333.

<sup>79</sup> Ch. Pellat, "Mayyāra," E12.

<sup>80</sup> H. Ritter, "Ghazālī," E12.

Among the West African works on *tawhīd* that are well represented in our sample, Ibn Sulaym's (d. 1801/2) poem on the attributes of God entitled *Dalīl al-ḡā'id ḥ-kashf asrar sifāt al-wāhid*, along with the author's own commentary called *al-Mazīd al-'aḡā'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 Awjīla, 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 *tawhīd*. An additional 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-'aḡā'id* on his own short work called *al-Qawā'id al-'aḡā'id*. According to F. Leconte, this work includes more than just a treatment of *tawhīd*, but also the problem of the validation of saints, Aristotelian notions of astrology, and the esoteric sciences.<sup>81</sup>

#### 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 Sufism is thought to be in West African Islamic practice. This suggests that it is not very useful to think of Sufism as a discrete 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 *furuq*, 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 region 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-ḡulīb*, upon which parts of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* is based, and there are no copies of al-Qushayrī's (d. 1015) *al-Risāla*. There are also no copies of the great Persian Sufi poets such as Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī, or Suhrawardī, and only a couple of copies

<sup>81</sup> F. Leconte, "al-Yadālī (1096–1166/1685–1753)," E12.



of the poetry of Egyptian Sufis such as Ibn al-Fārid (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.<sup>82</sup> Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salama al-Ḥabashī's (d. 1380), *Kitāb al-Nurayn fi islah al-darayn* is widely attested. This is an admontory work on *taqwa* and related issues. It contains a large number of supplications.

The influence of important later Sufis such as Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240) or the Egyptian 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ahmad al-Sharānī (d. 1565) is difficult to measure using our bibliographic data. There are copies of their works in the collections, but there is not a single title that is widely attested. These authors are mentioned by West African writers as authors that they read,<sup>83</sup> but the impression that our data leaves is that insofar as the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi 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 'Atā'illah al-Iskandarī (d. 1309) or the Moroccan Ahmad Zarrūq (d. 1493). These two writers are the most popular Sufī writers in our sample of libraries. Ibn 'Atā'illah's *al-Hikam al-ata'iyya*, which is a very well-known collection of Sufī maxims derived from the teachings of Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258), is mentioned many times in the *Fath al-shakir* and there are copies of it almost everywhere. Ahmad Zarrūq's commentary on this work is also widely attested. There are also a number of copies of Ibn 'Atā'illah's *Miftāḥ al-flāḥ wa-misbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, which is a manual of Sufī devotional practice that includes an extensive discussion of *dhikr*.<sup>84</sup> Ahmad Zarrūq's Shādhilī *wazifa*, which he claimed was dictated to him by the Prophet Muḥammad while sitting on his tomb at Madina,<sup>85</sup> is widely distributed, as are a number of other works by the same author. Among the best known are his *Qawā'id al-tasawwuf* which is also known as *Qawā'id al-Zarrūq*, a poem presenting the

main tenets of Sufism and two hundred brief rules intended for novices.<sup>86</sup> Muḥammad al-Yadāli's (d. 1753), *Khatimat al-tasawwuf* is patterned after Ahmad Zarrūq's poem, and is often found together with it. The *Khatima* is a 19-line poem.<sup>87</sup>

Ahmad Zarrūq's *al-Nasīḥa al-kāfiyya* 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.<sup>88</sup> We should not be surprised at the popularity of Ahmad 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. Ahmad Zarrūq famously said, "Be a legist first and a Sufī second, not a Sufī first and a legist second."<sup>89</sup> Another popular Shādhilī text is the Moroccan al-Yūsī's (d. 1691), *Dā'iyyat al-Yūsī*, which is a poem rhyming in the Arabic letter *dāl*, about al-Yūsī's Sufī master Ibn Nāsir (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*.<sup>90</sup> There are more than thirty copies of this text in our sample.

The Tijāni-Qādiri 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 Qādiriyya camp are a number of works by Sidi al-Mukhār al-Kunī (d. 1811), who established a prominent *fariqa* in the Azawād region north of the Niger Bend at the end of the eighteenth century. His son Sidi Muḥammad also wrote a number of works that are relatively widespread. But other well-known Kunta writers such as Ahmad al-Bakāy al-Kunī (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 Ahmad al-Tijāni by the Moroccan 'Alī Ḥarāzīm (d. 1856) entitled *Jawāhir al-ma'ānī* is the only non-West African text widely attested. There are a dozen copies of al-Ḥājī Umar Tall's (d. 1863), *Rimāḥ hizb al-raḥīm*, but only three

<sup>82</sup> On this last work, see W. Montgomery Watt, "Ghazālī," E12.

<sup>83</sup> On Ibn al-'Arabi, see Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Sheikh Usman dan Fodio* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 60. On al-Sharānī, see B. G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 32, 95, 147.

<sup>84</sup> Richard J. A. McGregor, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Waḡāf Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 30.

<sup>85</sup> C. E. Bosworth and F. de Jong, "Wazifa," E12.

<sup>86</sup> 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), 64.

<sup>87</sup> F. Leconte, "al-Yadāli (1096–1166/1685–1753)," E12.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>89</sup> Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 197.

<sup>90</sup> Jacques Berque, *Al-Yousi: Problèmes de la culture marocaine au XVIIIème siècle* (Paris-La Haye: Mouton, 1958), 25.

copies of his well-known *Bayān mā waqā'a* which we have not included in our list.<sup>91</sup> The only other widely attested Tijāni title is by al-Hājj 'Umar Tall's companion Yarkī Tallf (d. 1863), and his anti-Qādiri polemic entitled *Tabkiyat al-Bakkā'i*.

#### 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 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 Nonakchot, 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.<sup>92</sup> 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 regions. 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 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 that the numbers and distribution of texts might hold for a book market. We will conclude by returning to some of Las'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 *hadith*. 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

<sup>91</sup> On al-Hājjī 'Umar's oeuvre, see Mahbou and Triand, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé*.

<sup>92</sup> 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, Murray 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."

instructive to see how many more multiple-copy clusters emerge and/or how representative our current 21,000 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 "Arma" 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 Saadian 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 authors based in North Africa and Egypt. The interrelationships between intellectual activities in West Africa and Morocco have long been known. Biographical materials from centers such as Timbuktu or Walāta underscore the similar nature of educational systems in North and West Africa, well documented in

Aḥmad Bābās *Nayl al-ibṭihāj*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sa'dīs *Ta'rikh al-sūdān*, and al-Ṭālib Maḥammad al-Bartilī's *Faḥḥ al-shakūr*. Chouki el Hamel's excellent translation and annotation of the *Faḥḥ al-shakūr* demonstrates quite conclusively the virtually identical Islamic intellectual cultures in Morocco and the southwestern Sahara and high Sahel.<sup>93</sup>

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).<sup>94</sup> 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 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) is clear in a number of ways: there was a record of direct correspondence in letters between al-Suyūṭī and West African scholars in Tagadda;<sup>95</sup> in a number of West African sources al-Suyūṭī is an especially important Islamic authority for local figures;<sup>96</sup> and his writings are widespread in

<sup>93</sup> El Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle*, 112.

<sup>94</sup> See Appendix A for a summary of author provenance, arranged by subject matter, for the period 1250–1700.

<sup>95</sup> E.M. Sartain, "Jalal ad-Din As-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takur" *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16, no. 2 (1971): 193–8; id., *Jalal al-din al-Suyūṭī: Biography and background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 50–1; H.T. Norris, *The Tuaregs: Their Islamic Legacy and Its Diffusion in the Sahel* (Warmminster: Aris & Phillips, 1975), 45–7; Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh, *Éléments d'histoire de la Mauritanie* (Nouakchott: IMRS, 1988), 23–39.

<sup>96</sup> For example, the Kunia 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: Longman, 1986), 227–41; Bruce S. Hall, "The Question of 'Race' in the Pre-colonial Southern Sahara," *Journal of North African Studies* 10, 3–4 (2005): 359.

the region (there are 219 copies of different works attributed to al-Suyuti in the AMMS data base). The importance of a number of al-Suyuti's works, and those of other Egyptian writers, may also be connected to pilgrims returning to West Africa from the *hajj*, 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 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 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 *ʿjami* 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 covariant with our "core curriculum," and his *tafsīr* is the one work of West African authorship that

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found the most widespread distribution across the Sahel, in addition to its audience in 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.<sup>97</sup>

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-Hajj 'Umar Tall, Sidi al-Mukhār al-Kunti 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 Ahmad Bābā (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 individual collections in the pre-print years,<sup>98</sup> 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 regions. 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

<sup>97</sup> 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.

<sup>98</sup> To reiterate, we believe this sampling does have statistical validity in its base of 21,000 citations, and in its geographic range of 80-odd libraries from southern and northern Mauritania, the Niger Bend and Northern Nigeria.

southwestern Mauritania (averaging 60-odd books each),<sup>99</sup> 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 Boutlimit, 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 an area 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. 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.<sup>100</sup>

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

<sup>99</sup> The size of private libraries may be placed in perspective by reference to North Africa. Roger Le Tourneau, in *Fes avant le protectorat. Etude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'Occident musulman* (Casablanca: Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, 1949), 376–7, 473, 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. 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.

<sup>100</sup> Shaykh Sidiyya's Moroccan trip in the 1830s to purchase books has been noted above; Last likewise notes book-buying travels from the central Sudan (“The Book in the Sokoto Caliphate,” 44). The most famous book-buying episode is that reported by the Mauritanian traveler Ahmad b. T'wayr al-Jana who, by one account, imported 400 volumes acquired in Mecca. When he passed through Marrakech about 1834, he purchased still more books, despite resistance there from book sellers, on his way back to Wādan. See H.T. Norris, *The Pilgrimage of Ahmad, Son of the Little Bird of Paradise* (Warrminster: Artis & Phillips, 1977), 102, 105–6.

manufacture resulted in the survival of very little paper that predates 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 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 21,000 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 C.E. (58% of all books): Summary of subject matter in the "core curriculum" and author death dates (the notes explain discrepancies between numbers and authors, and numbers of titles summarized)

Period	Region	Qur'an	Arabic	Prophet	Law	Belief	Sufism	Total
1250-1400	Maghrib	2	2	2	4		1	11
(18% total texts)	Egypt		5	3	2		2	12
1400-1550	Maghrib	3	3	1	10	4	4	25
(26% total texts)	Egypt	2	11	9	7			29
1550-1700	Maghrib		5	1	6	3	2	17
(14% total texts)	Egypt		1		6	2		9

## APPENDIX B

Summary of author death dates for subject matter in "core curriculum" (the notes explain discrepancies caused by authors of multiple titles)

Period	# titles	Qur'an	Arabic	Prophet	Law	Belief	Sufism	# authors
Pre-Islamic	6		6					5 <sup>101</sup>
700-800	5		2	2	2		1	3
800-900	5		2	2	2		1	5
900-1000	4		2	2		1	1	3 <sup>102</sup>
1000-1050	2		1	1		1	1	2
1050-1100	4		1	1	1	2		4
1100-1150	9		3	3		1	2	7 <sup>103</sup>
1150-1200	3	1			1	1		3
1200-1250	4		2	2				4
1250-1300	13		5	6	2			7 <sup>104</sup>
1300-1350	12	4	2	1	3	3	2	11 <sup>105</sup>
1350-1400	15		8	2	3	3	2	12 <sup>106</sup>
1400-1450	11	1	4	3	3	3	4	9 <sup>107</sup>
1450-1500	20	2	3	3	3	5	4	12 <sup>108</sup>
1500-1550	28	3	6	4	14	1		12 <sup>109</sup>
1550-1600	6		3	3	3			5 <sup>110</sup>
1600-1650	8		2	2	2	4		7 <sup>111</sup>
1650-1700	18		2	2	8	4	2	14 <sup>112</sup>
1700-1750	3				2	1		3
1750-1800	10	2		1	5	1	1	7 <sup>113</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Imru' al-Qays appears as an author in two works of pre-Islamic poetry.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Durayd authored one work in Arabic and one in poetry.

<sup>103</sup> al-Chazāfi (authored works in belief, Sufism) and al-Hariri (two works in Arabic).

<sup>104</sup> Ibn Mālik (Arabic); Shihab al-Din al-Qarāfi (law) and Buṣṭirī (Prophet).

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Aṭā'illah (Sufism) & Ibn Juzayy (Qur'an, law).

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Hishām (Arabic).

<sup>107</sup> al-Makkūdi (Arabic) & Ibn al-Jazarī (Qur'an, hadith).

<sup>108</sup> al-Sanūsī (belief) & Ahmad Zarrūq (Sufism) & Khalid al-Azharī (Arabic, Prophet).

<sup>109</sup> al-Suyūṭī (Qur'an, Arabic, Prophet, law); al-Zaqāqāq (law); Ibn Ghāzi (law);

Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī (Qur'an, law); al-Manūfī al-Shādhilī (law), and al-Tatāri (law).

<sup>110</sup> al-Akhdārī (law, Arabic).

<sup>111</sup> al-Laḡānī (belief).

<sup>112</sup> al-Saylmasī (Arabic) and Muhammad Mayyāra (law, belief).

<sup>113</sup> Muhammad al-Yadāfi (Qur'an, Prophet, belief, Sufism) and Abd Allāh al-Tishīrī

(Qur'an, law).

## APPENDIX B (cont.)

Period	# titles	Qur'an	Arabic	Prophet	Law	Belief	Sufism	# authors
1800-1850	28	2	3	8	5	3	7	9 <sup>114</sup>
1850-1900	7		2		1		4	4 <sup>115</sup>
Unidentified	2		1	1				2 <sup>116</sup>
Totals	223*	15	60	41	61	22	24	150

\* one work cited twice

## APPENDIX C

## Works cited in "Core Curriculum"

- Summary of Abbreviations
- ALA I *Arabic Literature of Africa*, Vol I: *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, compiled by R.S. O'Fahay et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1994).
- ALA II *Arabic Literature of Africa*, Vol. II: *The Writings of Central Africa*, compiled by J.O. Hunwick et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1995).
- ALA IV *Arabic Literature of Africa*, Vol. IV: *The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa*, compiled by J.O. Hunwick et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
- Bayān al-Hājjī Umar Tall (d. 1864), *Bayān mā waqa'a baynanā wa-bayn amir Māsina Ahmad b. Ahmad b. al-Shaykh Ahmad b. Muhammad Lobbo*, trans. Sidi Mohamed Mahbou and Jean-Louis Triand, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé, Bayān mā waqa'a d'al-Hājjī 'Umar al-Fūtī* (Paris: Centre regional de publication de Paris, Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1983).
- Fath al-Tālib Muhammad al-Bartilī, *Fath al-shakūr fī ma'rifaṭ a'yān ulamā' al-Takrūr*, trans. Chouki el Hamel, *La vie intellectuelle islamique dans le Sahel Ouest-Africain (XVIIe-XIXe siècles). Une étude sociale de l'enseignement islamique en Mauritanie et au Nord du Mali (XVIIe-XIXe siècles) et traduction annotée de Fath ash-shakūr d'al-Bartilī al-Walāṭī (mort en 1805)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002).
- GAL Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1943-9).
- GAL S Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Supplementbande, I-III. (Leiden: Brill, 1937-42).
- Idā' Abdallah dan Fodio, *Idā' al-nusūkh man akhāṭhu anhu min al-shuyūkh*, trans. Hiskett in "Material relating to the state of learning among the Fulani before their Jihad," *Bulletin of SOAS* 19, no. 3 (1957): 550-78.
- Kaḥḥāla 'Umar Ridā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin: Tarājim musammif al-*kitāb al-'arabiya**. 4 volumes (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-riṣāla, 1993).
- Last Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (London: Longman, 1967).
- Makhrouṭ *Makhrouṭ Mauritania* electronic data base created by the IMRS and Union nationale des associations des détenteurs de manuscrits under World Bank financing to inventory approximately 34,000 manuscripts in 675 libraries across Mauritania.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn Sulaym, al-Mukhtār Būnah, Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kunfi, Sidi Muḥammad al-Kunfi, Usman dan Fodio, Sidi Abd Allāh al-'Alawī, Abdallāhī dan Fodio.<sup>115</sup> al-Hājjī 'Umar Tall (Sufism) & Shaykh Sidiyā (Arabic).<sup>116</sup> al-Tuwāṭī and Ibn Mahb.

- MLG Ulrich Rebstock, *Maurische Literaturgeschichte*. 3 vols (Würzburg: Ergon, 2001).
- OMAR Oriental Manuscript Resource, University of Fribourg (<http://omar.ub.uni-freiburg.de>)
- TS al-Sa'di, *Ta'rikh al-sūdān*, trans. John Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al-Sa'di's Ta'rikh al-sūdān down to 1613 and other Contemporary Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).  
 "The Writings of al-Hājj Umar al-Futū and Shaykh Mukhtār b. Wadī at Allāh: Literary Themes, Sources, and Influences" in *Studies in West African Islamic History*, Vol. 1: *The Cultivators of Islam*, ed. John Ralph Willis (London: Frank Cass, 1979).  
 Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirikli, *al-ʿAlam: qāmus tarǧūm li-ash'har al-rijāl wa-l-misā min al-ʿArab wa-l-musīta riṭm wa-l-mustashriqīn*. 8 vols., 7th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-ʿilm li-l-Malāyīn, 1986).
- Zirikli
- Qur'anic Sciences*
1. Qur'anic Recitation (*tajwid*)
    - Ibn al-Barrī [Ali b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ribāʿī] (d. 1330), *al-Durar al-lawāmi fī aṣl maqra' al-imān Naǧfī*<sup>117</sup>
    - Derivative texts:
      - Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Karāmi al-Simlāli (d. 1495), *Takṣīl al-munāǧfī min kitāb al-durar al-lawāmi*<sup>118</sup>
      - ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭālib Ahmad b. al-Hājj Hamā Allāh al-Ghallāwī al-Ṭishīrī (d. 1794), *Sharḥ al-durar al-lawāmi*<sup>119</sup>
      - Ahmad b. al-Ṭālib Maḥmūd b. A'mar al-Idaw 'ayshī (d. 1841), *Iṣṣhād al-qārī wa-l-sāmi li-kitāb al-durar al-lawāmi*<sup>120</sup>
      - Abū ʿI-Qāsim b. Firruḥ b. Khalaf al-Ru'aynī al-Shāhibī (d. 1194), *Ḥīrẓ al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī [Qasīdat al-shāṭibīyya]*<sup>121</sup>
    - Derivative text:
      - Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Ja'barī (d. 1332), *Kunz al-mā'ānī fī sharḥ ḥīrẓ al-amānī*<sup>122</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 248, SII 350; Idā' 571; Fath 241; OMAR 930, 2509; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutlimit, Timbuktu; commentary in Ségou.

<sup>118</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 248, SII 350; OMAR 1791, 2202; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Ségou.

<sup>119</sup> West African: Fath 362-6; MLG 707; mss found in Nouakchott, Niamey and Timbuktu.

<sup>120</sup> West African: MLG 741; OMAR 2578; mss found in Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>121</sup> Andalusian: lived adult life in Egypt, GAL I 407, SI 725; Idā' 571; Fath 241; the mss or its derivative texts are found in Ségou, Kano and Shingit.

<sup>122</sup> GAL II 1 64, SI 725, SII 134; OMAR 2560; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Shingit.

- Ibn al-Jazarī [Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿI-Khayr al-Dīn Dimashqī al-Jazarī] (d. 1429), *al-Muqaddima al-jazarīyya fī ʿilm al-tajwīd*<sup>123</sup>
- Derivative text:
  - Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Anṣārī (d. 1520), *al-Daqāʿiq al-muhakkima fī sharḥ al-muqaddima*<sup>124</sup>
- 2. Qur'anic revelation (*tanzīl*) and abrogation (*naskh*)
  - ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abi Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*<sup>125</sup>
  - Ibn Juzay [Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Juzay al-Kalbi al-Gharnāṭī] (d. 1340), *al-Tashīl li-ʿulūm al-tanzīl*<sup>126</sup>
- 3. Exegesis (*tafsīr*)
  1. Exegesis (*tafsīr*)
    - ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abi Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) and Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Mahallī (d. 1459), *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*<sup>127</sup>
    - Muḥammad al-Yadālī b. al-Mukhtār b. Maḥm Sa'īd al-Daymānī [Muḥammad b. Sa'īd] (d. 1753), *al-Dihāb al-ibrīẓ fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-ʿazīz*<sup>128</sup>
    - ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khāzin al-Baghādātī (d. 1340), *Lubāb al-ta'wīl fī mā'ānī ʿI-tanzīl*<sup>129</sup>
    - ʿAbdallāhī dan Fodio [ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Fūdī] (d. 1829), *Ḍiyāʿ al-ta'wīl fī mā'ānī ʿI-tanzīl*<sup>130</sup>
    - ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Tha'ālibī al-Jazā'irī (d. 1468), *Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*<sup>131</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Syrian: GAL II 202, SII 275; mss found in Ségou, Kano and Nouakchott; Ibn al-Jazarī's commentary on his own work entitled *al-Muqaddima al-jazarīyya fī ʿilm al-tajwīd* appears only in Boutlimit.

<sup>124</sup> Egyptian: GAL SII 276; OMAR 1957; mss found in Ségou, Shingit and Timbuktu.

<sup>125</sup> Egyptian: GAL SII 179; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu, Nouakchott, Boutlimit and Shingit.

<sup>126</sup> Andalusian: GAL II 265, SII 377; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu and Nouakchott.

<sup>127</sup> Egyptians: GAL II 114, 145, SII 589; Bayān 212; mss found everywhere except Kano.

<sup>128</sup> West African: MLG 334; Fath 297-9; Bayān 201; OMAR 198, 199; mss found in Nouakchott and Ségou; commentary in Timbuktu.

<sup>129</sup> Iraqi: 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 *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*; GAL SI 622. Two texts are sometimes confused but it is Baghdādī's text which is found most frequently in the database.

<sup>130</sup> West African: ALA II 93; Last 241; mis-attributed to Usman dan Fodio in MLG 623; OMAR 1012, 1013; mss found in all collections. This is the most widely found *tafsīr*.

<sup>131</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 249, SII 351; OMAR 2559; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutlimit and Ségou; commentary in Timbuktu.



## Arabic Language

## 1. Lexicons and Lexicology

– Muḥammad b. Ya'qub al-Firuzābādī (d. 1415), *al-Qānūs al-muḥīṭ*<sup>132</sup>

## Derivative texts:

• Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī al-Sijilmāsi (d. 1659), *Idā'at al-adnūs wa-riyādat al-shamūs fi isfīlāh al-qānūs*<sup>133</sup>

• Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī al-Sijilmāsi (d. 1659), *Faḥḥ al-quddūs fi sharḥ khūṭbat al-qānūs*<sup>134</sup>

– Ismā'īl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. c. 1007–8), *al-Shāḥ fi l-luḡta*<sup>135</sup>

## 2. Lexicology:

– Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanir [Qutrūb] (d. 821), *Muthallath Qutrūb*<sup>136</sup>

## Derivative texts:

• 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Fāsi al-Miknāsī (d. 1557), *al-Murīḥ li-shakl al-muthallath*<sup>137</sup>

• Ibn Mālik [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī] (d. 1274), *Muthallath Ibn Mālik* [a.k.a. *al-Ḥām bi-thalāth kalām* or *Ujūza fi l-muthallath*]<sup>138</sup>

– al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī al-Basrī (d. 1122), *al-Maqāmāt li-l-Ḥarīrī*<sup>139</sup>

## 3. Morphology

– Ibn Mālik [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī] (d. 1274), *Lāmiyyat al-af'āl [al-Mifḥāh fi abriyyat al-af'āl]*<sup>140</sup>

## Derivative texts:

• Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Bahraq al-Ḥadramī (d. 1524), *Sharḥ lāmiyyat al-af'āl [Faḥḥ al-aqḍā' wa-darb al-amthāl bi-sharḥ lāmiyyat al-af'āl]*<sup>141</sup>

• Sidiyya b. al-Mukhtār b. al-Ḥayba al-Niṣhāi i (d. 1868), *al-Tuhfa al-otfāl fi ḥal 'uqūd lāmiyyat al-af'āl*<sup>142</sup>

– Ibn Mālik [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī] (d. 1274), *Tuḥfat al-mawḍū'at fi l-maḡṣūr wa-l-mamḍū'āt*<sup>143</sup>

## Derivative text:

• Sidi al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad b. Abi Bakr al-Kunī (d. 1811), *Faḥḥ al-waḍū'āt alā al-maḡṣūra wa-l-mamḍū'āt*<sup>144</sup>

– Ibn Durayd [Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdi] (d. 933), *al-Maḡṣūr wa-l-mamḍū'āt*<sup>145</sup>

– Ibn Ḥajīb [Uṭṭman b. 'Umar al-Mālikī] (d. 1249), *al-Shāfiyya*<sup>146</sup>

– 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makkū'atī al-Fāsi (d. 1405), *al-Basī wa-l-tarīf fi 'ilm al-tasrīf*<sup>147</sup>

## 4. Syntax

– Ibn Mālik [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī] (d. 1274), *al-Aḥfiyya [al-Khulāsa al-aḥfiyya]*<sup>148</sup>

## Derivative texts:

• al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim al-Murā'idi (d. 1348), *al-Tawāfiḥ*<sup>149</sup>

• 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makkū'atī al-Fāsi (d. 1405), *Sharḥ 'alā aḥfiyya Ibn Mālik*<sup>150</sup>

• Ibn Hishām [Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām al-Anṣārī] (d. 1360), *Awḍāḥ al-masālik ilā aḥfiyyat Ibn Mālik*<sup>151</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Yemeni: GAL I 300, SI 526, SII 555; OMAr 55, 1031; mss found in Nouakchott, Séguu, Timbuktu and Shinqūi.

<sup>142</sup> West African: MLG 935; OMAr 223, 746; mss found in Nouakchott, Bouilimit and Timbuktu.

<sup>143</sup> Andalusian: lived in Syria: GAL I 300, SI 526; OMAr 707; mss found in Kano, Séguu, Timbuktu and Nouakchott.

<sup>144</sup> West African: ALA IV 68; Faḥ 339; MLG 552; OMAr 1133; mss found in Bouilimit, Séguu, Timbuktu and Nouakchott.

<sup>145</sup> Iraqi: GAL I 111, II 14, SI 173; mss found in Kano, Séguu and Timbuktu.

<sup>146</sup> Egyptian: GAL I 305, SI 535; mss found in Nouakchott, 12 commentaries in Nouakchott, Séguu, Shinqūi and Timbuktu.

<sup>147</sup> Maghribi: GAL SII 336; Faḥ 318; mss found in Nouakchott and Shinqūi; commentary in Timbuktu.

<sup>148</sup> Andalusian: lived in Syria: GAL I 298, SI 522; TS 54, 67; Idā' 570; Faḥ 146, *passim*; mss found in all collections.

<sup>149</sup> Lived in Egypt: GAL SI 522; mss found in Séguu, Nouakchott and Bouilimit.

<sup>150</sup> Maghribi: GAL I 299, SI 524, SII 336; el Hamel (Faḥ) 116; mss found in Séguu, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Shinqūi and Wādan.

<sup>151</sup> Egyptian: GAL I 298, II 25, SI 523; mss found in Nouakchott, Séguu and Shinqūi.

<sup>132</sup> Persian: active in the Arab East: GAL II 183, SII 234; mss found in Séguu, Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Bouilimit.

<sup>133</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 183, SII 234; mss found in Bouilimit, Nouakchott and Séguu; verification in Timbuktu.

<sup>134</sup> Maghribi: GAL SII 235; mss found in Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Séguu.

<sup>135</sup> Turkish: active in Iraq and Arabia: GAL I 128, SI 196; mss found in Nouakchott, Bouilimit, Séguu and Timbuktu.

<sup>136</sup> Iraqi: GAL I 103, SI 161; OMAr 1640; mss (or mss of its commentaries) found in all collections.

<sup>137</sup> Maghribi: GAL SI 161, title variation *al-Murīḥ li-mushkil al-muthallath*; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu and Séguu.

<sup>138</sup> Andalusian: lived in Syria: GAL I 300, SI 526; mss found in Nouakchott, Bouilimit, Timbuktu, and Séguu.

<sup>139</sup> Iraqi: GAL I 276, SI 487; Idā' 571; Faḥ 168 and *passim*; mss found in Kano, Nouakchott, Bouilimit, Séguu and Timbuktu.

<sup>140</sup> Andalusian: lived in Syria: GAL I 300, SI 526; Faḥ 239; mss found in all collections.

- Derivative text:
- Khalid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azhari (d. 1499), *al-Tasrīh bi-maḥmūn al-tawāḥīḥ*<sup>152</sup>
  - 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *al-Bahja [al-Nahja] al-murāḍiya fī sharḥ al-afḥyā*<sup>153</sup>
  - 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ushmūnī (d. 1467), *Manhaj al-sāikh 'alā afḥyā Ibn Mālik*<sup>154</sup>
  - al-Mukhtār b. Sa'īd b. Būnah al-Jakānī (d. 1805/6), *Turra 'alā afḥyā Ibn Mālik*<sup>155</sup>
  - Ibn Mālik [Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Jayyānī] (d. 1274), *Tashīl al-fawā'id wa-takmil al-maḡāṣid*<sup>156</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- Ibn 'Aqīl ['Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qurashi al-Hashimī] (d. 1367), *al-Masā'id 'alā al-tashīl al-fawā'id*<sup>157</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Umar al-Damāmīnī al-Iškandarī (d. 1424), *Sharḥ tahsīl Ibn Mālik*<sup>158</sup>
  - Ibn 'Ajurrūm [Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ṣanhājī] (d. 1223), *al-Muḡaddīma al-ajurrūmiyya*<sup>159</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- Khalid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azhari (d. 1499), *Sharḥ al-Azhari 'alā al-muḡaddīma al-ajurrūmiyya*<sup>160</sup>
  - Sīdiyya b. al-Mukhtār b. al-Hayba al-Niṣhāī, (d. 1868), *al-Naḡya al-ḡayyumiyya bi-taḡīr al-ajurrūmiyya*<sup>161</sup>
  - Ibn Hishām ['Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām al-Anṣārī] (d. 1360), *Qaṭr al-nada wa-ball al-sada*<sup>162</sup>
  - Ibn Hishām ['Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām al-Anṣārī] (d. 1360), *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī ma'rifa kalam al-'arab*<sup>163</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 27, SI 523, SII 23; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Shinqitī.

<sup>153</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 199, SI 524; Idā' 570; mss found in Ségou, Kano, Timbuktu and Shinqitī.

<sup>154</sup> Egyptian; GAL SI 524; Idā' 570; MIG 956; OMAR 2470; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Shinqitī.

<sup>155</sup> West African; GAL SI 525; Fath 321–23; MIG 587; OMAR 2122; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilmit, Timbuktu, Shinqitī and Wādan.

<sup>156</sup> Andalusian; lived in Syria; GAL I 298, SI 522; OMAR 1767; mss found in Ségou, Boutilmit, Shinqitī; commentary in Nouakchott. This title appears in 10 additional works on grammar.

<sup>157</sup> Syrian; lived in Egypt; GAL SI 522, SII 104; mss found in Nouakchott and Boutilmit; author is cited in mss held in Kano and Timbuktu.

<sup>158</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 32–33, SII 21; mss found in Boutilmit, Shinqitī and Ségou.

<sup>159</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 237, SII 332; Idā' 570; Fath 154 and *passim*; mss found in Boutilmit, Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Shinqitī.

<sup>160</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 27, 238, SII 23, 333; mss found in all collections.

<sup>161</sup> West African; MIG 935; mss found in Boutilmit, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>162</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 23, SII 16; Idā' 570; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Shinqitī.

<sup>163</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 24, SII 19; Idā' 570; mss found in Ségou and Nouakchott; commentary in Timbuktu.

- Ibn Hishām ['Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām al-Anṣārī] (d. 1360), *Muḡni 'l-labīb 'an kutub al-'arāb*<sup>164</sup>
  - al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Harīrī al-Basrī (d. 1122), *Muḥlat al-'irāb*<sup>165</sup>
- Derivative text:
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *Sharḥ muḥlat al-'irāb*<sup>166</sup>
  - Ibn al-Wardī ['Umar b. al-Muzaḡfar b. 'Umar al-Qurashī] (d. 1349)], *al-Tiḡfa al-wardīya fī mushkilat al-'irāb*<sup>167</sup>
  - 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *al-Farīda fī 'l-nahw*<sup>168</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Muḥammad Baba b. Muḥammad al-Amin b. Habīb al-Mukhtār al-Timbukī (d. 1606), *al-Minhāḡ al-hamīda fī sharḥ al-farīda*<sup>169</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Salāwī al-Mijrādī (d. 1376–7), *Lāmiyya [Nazm al-jumal]*<sup>170</sup>
- Derivative text:
- 'Alī b. Ahmād b. Muḥammad al-Rasmūkī (d. 1639), *Mibrāz al-ḡawā'id al-nahwiyya*<sup>171</sup>

## 5. Rhetoric

- Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 1338), *Talkhīs al-miḡfāḡ*<sup>172</sup>

Derivative texts:

- Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390), *Sharḥ talkhīs al-miḡfāḡ*<sup>173</sup>
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Saḡhīr al-Akhḡarī al-Bunḡyūsī al-Mālikī (d. 1585), *al-Jawhar al-maknūn*<sup>174</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 23, SII 17; mss found in Ségou, Shinqitī, and Nouakchott; commentary in Timbuktu.

<sup>165</sup> Iraqi; GAL I 277, SI 488; Idā' 570; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Nouakchott, and Timbuktu.

<sup>166</sup> Egyptian; GAL SI 488, SII 195; mss found in Ségou, Niamey and Timbuktu.

<sup>167</sup> Syrian; GAL II 140, SII 175; Idā' 570; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>168</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 155, SII 193; Idā' 570; mss found in Ségou; commentaries in Kano, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>169</sup> West African; ALA IV 34; Fath 282; MIG 85; OMAR 56, 1024; mss found in Timbuktu, Ségou, Kano and Wādan.

<sup>170</sup> Maghribī; GAL I 497, SII 336; Fath 116; mss found only in form of commentaries by al-Rasmūkī (see following note) in Nouakchott and Ségou, and by Muḥammad b. Ahmād b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d. 1662) in Timbuktu (MIG 124; OMAR 1438).

<sup>171</sup> Maghribī; GAL SII 336, 676; mss found in Ségou, Shinqitī and Nouakchott.

<sup>172</sup> Syrian; GAL I 295, SI 516; Idā' 570; TS 65–66; Fath 161; mss found in Ségou and Boutilmit; commentaries in Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Shinqitī.

<sup>173</sup> Iranian; GAL I 295, II 216, SI 516, II 304; TS 66; OMAR 1606; mss found in Nouakchott, Shinqitī and Timbuktu.

<sup>174</sup> Maghribī; GAL SI 519, SII 706; Idā' 570; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Kano.

- Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *Uḡud al-jumān fī 'ilm al-mā'ānī wa-l-bayānī*<sup>175</sup>
- 'Abd al-Rahīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qāhīr al-'Abbāsī (d. 1556), *Mā'āhid al-tanzīs fī sharḥ shawāhid al-talkhīs*<sup>176</sup>
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *al-Nuqḍā*<sup>177</sup>
- Sīdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (d. 1818), *al-Fatāh 'alā nūr al-Aqāh*<sup>178</sup>

## 6. Literature/Prosody: pre-Islamic and Muslim poetry

- *Diwān al-shū'arā' al-sitta*<sup>179</sup>
  - 'Antara b. Shaddād al-'Absī, *Diwān 'Antara b. Shaddād*<sup>180</sup>
  - Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī (d. c. 550), *Diwān Imru' al-Qays*<sup>181</sup>
  - Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī (d. c. 550), *Bānat su'ād*<sup>182</sup>
  - Zuhayr b. Abī Sulma al-Muzānī, *Diwān Zuhayr b. Abī Sulma*<sup>183</sup>
  - Nābigha [Ziyād b. Mu'āwiyā] al-Dhubayānī, *Diwān Nābigha Dhubyānī*<sup>184</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā al-Shantamārī (d. 1083), *Sharḥ asḥī'ār al-shū'arā' al-sitta al-jāhilyīn*<sup>185</sup>
  - al-Shanfarā' 'Amr b. Mālik al-'Azdī, *Lāmiyyat al-'arab*<sup>186</sup>
  - al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-'Iṣfahānī al-'Tuḡhrā'ī (d. 1121), *Lāmiyyat al-'ajam*<sup>187</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Muḥammad b. 'Abb b. 'Ahmad b. 'Uḥmān al-Mizmārī al-'Tuwāṭī, *Naḡh al-qalam bi-sharḥ lāmiyyat al-'ajam*<sup>188</sup>

<sup>175</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 296, II 156, SI 519; Idā' 570; mss found in Ségou, Boutilmit, Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Wādān.

<sup>176</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 296, SI 519; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu, Shinqīfī and Nouakchott.

<sup>177</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 377, II 156, SII 195; Idā' 566; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Nouakchott; al-Suyūṭī's own commentary entitled *Imām al-dīnāya bi-sharḥ al-nuqḍā* is found in Ségou and Nouakchott.

<sup>178</sup> West African; Fath 367-69; MIG 624; OMAR 175; mss found in Timbuktu, Shinqīfī and Nouakchott.

<sup>179</sup> Arabian; collection of pre-Islamic poetry; mss found in Boutilmit, Kano, Nouakchott, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>180</sup> Arabian; GAL I 22, SI 45; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>181</sup> Arabian; GAL I 24, SI 48; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu and Nouakchott.

<sup>182</sup> Arabian; GAL I 24, SI 48; Fath 241, 365; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>183</sup> Arabian; GAL I 38, SI 68; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>184</sup> Arabian; GAL I 22, SI 45; mss found in Timbuktu, Kano, Ségou and Nouakchott.

<sup>185</sup> Andalusian; GAL SI 542; mss found Nouakchott, Shinqīfī, Wādān and Iḥḍān.

<sup>186</sup> Arabian; GAL I 25, 248, SI 53; Fath 243; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Boutilmit; commentary in Nouakchott and Niamey.

<sup>187</sup> Iraqi; GAL I 247, II 17, 191, SI 439; Fath 243; mss found in all collections.

<sup>188</sup> Maghribi/Saharan; MIG 1301 (#200) cites a didactic poem on Ibn Ajurrūm by al-Mizmārī; mss found in Nouakchott, Ségou and Timbuktu.

- Ibn Durayd [Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd] (d. 933), *al-Maḡṣū'a*<sup>189</sup>
- 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uḥmān al-Khazrajī (fl. 13th century), *al-Rāmiza al-shajfiya fī 'ilm al-'arūd wa-l-kāfiya [al-Qasīda al-khazrajīya]*<sup>190</sup>
- Abū Tammām [Ḥabīb b. Aws al-'Iṭī] (d. 845), *Diwān al-Ḥamāsa*<sup>191</sup>
- Dhū 'l-Rumma [Ḡhalyān b. 'Uḡba al-'Adawī] (d. 735), *Diwān Ḡhalyān*<sup>192</sup>

*Prophet Muḥammad*

1. Biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (sīra)
  - al-Qāḍī 'Yād b. Mūsā al-Yahsubī al-Sabī' al-Andalusī (d. 1149), *Kitāb al-shifā' bi-ta'rīf Ḥuqūq al-musīfā*<sup>193</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Sawra al-'Iṭmīdhī (d. 892), *Kitāb sharmā'il al-rasūl*<sup>194</sup>
  - Muḡhalīṭay b. Qilīj b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bakrī al-Ḥikrī al-'Hanafī (d. 1361), *Khasā'is al-musīfā* [a.k.a. *al-Khasā'is*]<sup>195</sup>
  - 'Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Shāfī' al-Qastallānī (d. 1517), *al-Mawāhib al-laduriyya fī l-minah al-muḥammadiyya*<sup>196</sup>
  - 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *Ummūḥajj al-labīb fī khasā'is al-ḥabīb*<sup>197</sup>
  - Sīdī al-Mukḥār b. 'Ahmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kunī (d. 1811), *Naḡh al-ṭīb fī l-salāt 'alā l-Nabī l-ḥabīb*<sup>198</sup>
  - 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Lamī' al-Miknāsī (d. 1475), *Qurraṭ al-abṣār fī sīrat al-Nabī al-mukḥtār*<sup>199</sup>
2. Devotional poetry
  - Kab' b. Zuhayr (fl. 7th century), *Bānat su'ād*<sup>200</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Iraqi; GAL I 111, II SI 173; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>190</sup> Maghribi; GAL I 312, SI 545; Idā' 565; TS 66; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu; commentaries in Boutilmit, Nouakchott and Ségou.

<sup>191</sup> Syrian; GAL I 83, SI 134; mss found in Boutilmit, Nouakchott and Shinqīfī.

<sup>192</sup> Arabian; lived in Iraq; GAL I 58, SI 87; mss found in Timbuktu, Boutilmit and Nouakchott.

<sup>193</sup> Andalusian; GAL I 455-6, S I 630-2; TS *passim*; Fath *passim*; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu and Nouakchott.

<sup>194</sup> Khurasanian; GAL I 162, SI 268; mss found in Boutilmit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Shinqīfī; commentaries in Ségou.

<sup>195</sup> Egyptian; also known as al-'Turkī; GAL SII 48; mss found in Nouakchott, Ségou and Kano.

<sup>196</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 73, SII 78; mss found in Ségou and Boutilmit and Timbuktu.

<sup>197</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 146, SII 181; mss found in Timbuktu, Boutilmit and Shinqīfī.

<sup>198</sup> West African; ALA IV 78; MIG 552; OMAR 114; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu, Boutilmit, Nouakchott and Shinqīfī.

<sup>199</sup> Maghribi; Zīrkhī IV 21; OMAR 2524; mss found in Boutilmit, Nouakchott, Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu and Shinqīfī.

<sup>200</sup> Arabian; GAL I 39, TS 68; Fath 241, 365; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Boutilmit.

- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yakhlafān b. Ahmād al-Fazāzī (d. 1230), *al-'Ishrīṭīyāt*<sup>200</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- Ibn Maḥbūb [Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb], *Takhlīs al-'ishrīṭīyāt*<sup>202</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Masanīb b. 'Umar al-Kashnawī (d. 1667), *al-Naḥḥa al-'arḥarīyā fi ḥall al-fāz al-'ishrīṭīyā*<sup>203</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Būsīrī, (d. 1295/6), *al-Burda* [al-Kawākib al-durrīyā fi maḥḥ khayr al-barrīyā]<sup>204</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Khalīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jirjāwī al-Azhārī (d. 1499), *Sharḥ al-burda*<sup>205</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Būsīrī, (d. 1295/6), *al-Qasīda al-hamzīyā fi l-madā'ih al-nabawīyā* [Umm al-qurā fi maḥḥ khayr al-warā'<sup>206</sup>
  - Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abū Bakr al-Jazūlī al-Simlālī (d. 1465), *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*<sup>207</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Yūsuf al-Fasī (d. 1653), *Maḥāḥil al-musīrāt fi sharḥ dalā'il al-khayrāt*<sup>208</sup>
  - Ibn Sulaym [Muḥammad al-Sāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Awjlī] (d. 1801/2), *Dalīl al-qā'id li-kashf asrār sifāt al-Wāḥid*<sup>209</sup>
  - Derivative text:
    - Ibn Sulaym [Muḥammad al-Sāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Awjlī] (d. 1801/2), *Mazā'id al-'aḡā'id 'alā dalīl al-qā'id*<sup>210</sup>
  - 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Shaqrātīsī (d. 1073), *al-Qasīda al-lāmīyā al-shaqrātīsīyā*<sup>211</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Shabbā' al-Tawzarī (d. 1282), *Sīmt al-ḥadī' fi l-fakhr al-muḥammadī*<sup>212</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Maghribī; GAL SI 482, Idā' 570; TS 61, 81; Bayān 204; Faḥḥ 164; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu and Nouakchott.

<sup>202</sup> GAL SI 483; Faḥḥ 172; TS 61; author found in all collections.

<sup>203</sup> West African; ALA II 30; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>204</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 264, SI 467; mss found in all collections.

<sup>205</sup> Egyptian; GAL SI 468, SII 23; mss found in Ségou, Shingqītī and Nouakchott.

<sup>206</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 266; SI 470; Faḥḥ 242, 248; mss found in all collections.

<sup>207</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 252, S II 359; Faḥḥ 192, *passim*; TS 79; mss found in all collections.

<sup>208</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 253, SII 360; Faḥḥ 116; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu and Nouakchott.

<sup>209</sup> Libyan; ALA II 51; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>210</sup> Libyan; ALA II 51; OMAR 1442, 1755; mss found in Kano, Ibadan, Timbuktu, Ségou and Nouakchott.

<sup>211</sup> Maghribī; GAL I 268, SI 473; Faḥḥ 242-3; OMAR 279, 280; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu and Boutlimīt.

<sup>212</sup> Egyptian; also known by the nisba of Tūzūrī and Tūzī (GAL SI 473); this is a takhlīs of *al-Shaqrātīsīyā*; mss found in Kano and Ségou. It appears to be one

- Abū l-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Naḥwī al-Tawzarī (d. 1113), *al-Qasīda al-munyarīya* [al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddāq]<sup>213</sup>
  - Ibn Jābir [Muḥammad b. Ahmād b. 'Alī b. Jābir al-Hawwārī al-Andalusī] (d. 1378), *Ḥillat al-siyārī fi maḥḥ khayr al-warā'* [Badī'yyat al-'imyān]<sup>214</sup>
  - Muḥammad al-Yadā'ilī b. al-Mukhtār b. Maham Sa'īd al-Daymānī (d. 1753), *Qasīda fi maḥḥ al-nabī*<sup>215</sup>
  - Muḥammad al-Nābigha b. A'mar al-Ghallawī (d. 1825), *Faḥḥ al-murabbī 'alā ḥal al-fāz salāt rabī*<sup>216</sup>
  - Sīdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (d. 1818), *Rawā' al-nisrīn*<sup>217</sup>
3. Hadīth collections
- Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī (d. 870), *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*<sup>218</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd b. Abī Jamra al-Azdī al-Andalusī (d. 1296), *Bahjat al-nuḥās*<sup>219</sup>
  - Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Saghānī (d. 1252), *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīyā fi l-sīrah al-akhbar al-musīfawīyā*<sup>220</sup>
  - Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 875), *al-Tamī al-saḥīḥ*<sup>221</sup>
  - Ibn Wādān [Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mawṣilī] (d. 1101), *Arba'ūn ḥadīthān*<sup>222</sup>
  - Yāḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī al-Shāfī'ī (d. 1277), *Arba'ūn ḥadīthān*<sup>223</sup>
  - Ibn al-Jazarī [Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Khayr al-Dīnashqī al-Jazarī] (d. 1429), *Ḥīsn al-ḥasīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn*<sup>224</sup>

of only two works cited in this appendix that do not appear in the Makhtout Mauritania data base of 34,000 mss in Mauritanian private libraries.

<sup>213</sup> Maghribī; GAL I 268, SI 473; Faḥḥ 243; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu, Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Shingqītī.

<sup>214</sup> Andalusian; GAL I 341, SI 581; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>215</sup> West African; MLG 587; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>216</sup> West African; MLG 713; OMAR 559; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>217</sup> West African; Faḥḥ 367-9; MLG 624; OMAR 1615, 2231; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>218</sup> Central Asian; GAL I 157, SI 260; mentioned many times in Faḥḥ, Idā', Bayān, TS; mss found in Kano, Ibadan, Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, Ségou, Timbuktu, Shingqītī and Wādān.

<sup>219</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 372; OMAR 2585; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott, Boutlimīt and Shingqītī.

<sup>220</sup> Indian; GAL SI 613; OMAR 831. This is based on the hadīth collections of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott and Shingqītī.

<sup>221</sup> Iranian; GAL I 160, SI 265; mentioned many times in Faḥḥ, Idā', Bayān, TS; (multivolume) mss found in Kano, Timbuktu and Shingqītī.

<sup>222</sup> Iraqi; GAL I 355, SI 602; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, and Shingqītī.

<sup>223</sup> Syrian; GAL I 396, SI 682; mss found in all collections.

<sup>224</sup> Syrian; lived in Egypt; GAL II 203, SII 277; mss found in Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Shingqītī.

## 4. Sciences of hadith ('Ulüm al-ḥadīth):

- 'Abd al-Rahīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Irāqī (d. 1404), *Aḥḥyāt al-'Irāqī*<sup>225</sup>

Derivative text:

• Zakariyyā' b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Anṣārī (d. 1520), *Faḥ al-bāqī bi-sharḥ aḥḥyāt al-'Irāqī*<sup>226</sup>

- Sīdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (d. 1818), *Ghurraṭ al-sabāḥ fi isṭilāḥ al-Bukhārī*<sup>227</sup>

- Sīdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (d. 1818), *Tal'at al-anwār*<sup>228</sup>

## 5. History:

- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'*<sup>229</sup>

- Ibn Ḥajar [Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī] (d. 1449), *al-Isāba fi 'l-kamīyāt al-sāhiba*<sup>230</sup>

- Sulaymān b. Mūsā b. Salīm al-Kilā'i al-Himyarī (d. 1237), *al-Ikṭifā' bimā tadammannahu min maḥḥāzī al-Musiḥāfa wa-'l-thalātha al-khulafā'*<sup>231</sup>

- Ibn Sayyīd al-Nās [Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yāmarī al-Andalusī] (d. 1334), *'Uyūn al-Aḥḥar fi funūn al-Maḥḥāzī wa-'l-shamā' il wa-'l-siyar*<sup>232</sup>

- Abdallāhī dan Fodīo [Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Fadī] (d. 1829), *Diya' uli 'l-amr wa-'l-mujāhidīn fi srat al-nabī wa-'l-khulafā' al-rashīdīn*<sup>233</sup>

## Jurisprudence (fiqh)

## 1. Uṣūl al-fiqh

- 'Abd al-Wahḥab b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfi Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1370), *Jam' al-jawāmi' fi 'l-uṣūl*<sup>234</sup>

Derivative texts:

• Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Mahallī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 1459), *al-Baḥr al-tāi' fi ḥall jam' al-jawāmi'*<sup>235</sup>

<sup>225</sup> Egyptian: GAL I 359, SI 612; Idā' 570; TS 66; Faḥ 169; mss found in all collections.

<sup>226</sup> Egyptian: GAL SI 612; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu and Shingiti.

<sup>227</sup> West African: Faḥ 37-69; M/G 624; OMAR 334, 836, 951, 1776; mss found in Boutlimit, Timbuktu and Ségou.

<sup>228</sup> West African: Faḥ 37-69; M/G 624; OMAR 1062; mss found in Boutlimit, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>229</sup> Egyptian: GAL II 157, SII 196; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott and Timbuktu; possibly Kano.

<sup>230</sup> Egyptian: GAL II 68, SII 73; mss found in in Boutlimit, Shingiti and Ségou.

<sup>231</sup> Andalusian: GAL I 371, SII 634; Faḥ 176; mss found in Boutlimit, Nouakchott, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>232</sup> Egyptian: GAL II 71, SII 77; mss found in Nouakchott, Ségou, Boutlimit, Shingiti and Wādān.

<sup>233</sup> West African: ALA II 93; Last 241; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu and Kano.

<sup>234</sup> Egyptian: GAL II 89, SII 105; Idā' 570; TS 65; Bayān 203; Faḥ 173; *passim*; mss found in Nouakchott, Ségou, Timbuktu and Shingiti.

<sup>235</sup> Egyptian: GAL SII 105; Idā'; TS 66; Bayān; mss found in Nouakchott, Ségou, Timbuktu and Shingiti.

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• 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *al-Kawkab al-sāfi*<sup>236</sup>

- 'Abd al-Mālik al-Juwaynī (Imām al-Ḥaramayn) (d. 1085), *Warraqat Imām al-Ḥaramayn [Kitāb al-warraqat fi uṣūl al-fiqh]*<sup>237</sup>

Derivative texts:

• Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḥḥāb al-Mālikī al-Ru'aynī al-Ṭarābluṣī (d. 1540/1), *Qurraṭ al-ayn [al-'aynayn] li-sharḥ al-warraqat*<sup>238</sup>

• Yahyā b. Nūr al-Dīn al-Imrīṭī (d. 1581), *Nazm warraqat Imām al-Ḥaramayn [Tashīl al-turraqat fi nazm al-warraqat]*<sup>239</sup>

- Shḥāb al-Dīn Ahmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāṭī al-Ṣanḥājī al-Mālikī (d. 1285), *Tanqīḥ al-fuṣūl fi 'ilm al-uṣūl*<sup>240</sup>

- Sīdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (d. 1818), *Marrāqī al-su'ūd li-mubṭighi 'l-raqī wa-'l-su'ūd*<sup>241</sup>

Derivative text:

• Sīdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (d. 1818), *Nashr al-bunnūd alā marrāqī 'l-su'ūd*<sup>242</sup>

## 2a. Furū' al-fiqh: Foundational texts

- Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣḥabī (d. 796), *al-Muwatta'a*<sup>243</sup>

Derivative texts:

• Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Zarqānī (d. 1710), *Nahy al-masālik bi-maḥḥ muwatta'a al-imām Mālik*<sup>244</sup>

• Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī (d. 1081), *al-Muntaqā sharḥ al-muwatta'a*<sup>245</sup>

- Ṣāḥnūn (d. 854), *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā*<sup>246</sup>

<sup>236</sup> Egyptian: GAL I 89, SII 106; Idā'; OMAR 2465; mss found Boutlimit, Nouakchott and Kano.

<sup>237</sup> Kurasanian: GAL I 389, II 218, SI 671; Idā'; mss found in Boutlimit and Ségou.

<sup>238</sup> Maghribī: GAL I 389; OMAR 1283; mss found in Nouakchott, Ségou, Timbuktu and Wādān.

<sup>239</sup> Egyptian: GAL SII 441; mss found in Timbuktu, Nouakchott, Kano and Boutlimit.

<sup>240</sup> Maghribī: GAL I 506, SI 921; OMAR 244; this is a commentary on al-Rāzī's (d. 1209) *al-Maḥḥāḥil fi uṣūl al-fiqh*; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott and Boutlimit.

<sup>241</sup> West African: GAL SII 873; M/G 624; OMAR 1075; mss found in Boutlimit, Nouakchott, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>242</sup> West African: GAL S II 375, 873-84; M/G 624; OMAR 1075; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>243</sup> Arabian: GAL I 66, 175, SI 297; OMAR 2327; mss found in Boutlimit, Nouakchott, Ségou, Timbuktu and Kano.

<sup>244</sup> Egyptian: on author see GAL II 318, SII 439 although this title is not mentioned in GAL; mss found in Boutlimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Shingiti.

<sup>245</sup> Andalusian: GAL SI 298; TS 67; mss found in Kano and possibly Ségou and Ghana.

<sup>246</sup> Maghribī: GAL I 177, II 239, SI 299; Idā' 570; Bayān 206; TS 53; *passim*; Faḥ 157; *passim*; mss found in Timbuktu.

## Derivative text:

- Khalaf b. Abi 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Barādhī (d. 1039), *al-Tahdhīb fī ikhtisār al-mudawwana al-kubrā* [a.k.a. *Tahdhīb masā'ī al-mudawwana*]<sup>250</sup>

## 2b. Furū' al-fiqh: Fiqh manuals

– Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 996), *al-Risāla*<sup>258</sup>

## Derivative texts:

- Ahmad b. Ghunaym al-Nafrāwī (d. 1792), *al-Fawākih al-dawānī 'alā risālat Ibn Abi Zayd*<sup>259</sup>
  - 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mannūf al-Shādhīfī (d. 1532), *Kifāyat al-ītib al-rabbānī li-'l-risāla*<sup>250</sup>
  - Ahmad b. Muḥammad 'Abd Allah al-Qalashānī (d. 1459), *Tahṛīr al-maqāla fī sharḥ al-risāla*<sup>251</sup>
  - 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ṭālib Ahmad b. al-Ḥājī Ḥamā Allāh al-Ghallāwī al-Tishīfī (d. 1794), *Sharḥ alā al-risāla Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawānī*<sup>252</sup>
  - Khalīl b. Ishāq (d. 1374), *Mukhtasar al-shaykh Khalīf*<sup>253</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- Bahrām b. 'Alī al-Damīrī (d. 1412 or 1452), *Sharḥ mukhtasar Khalīf*<sup>254</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Marzūq al-Tilimsānī (d. 1438/9), *Sharḥ mukhtasar Khalīf*<sup>255</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-'Abdarī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 1492), *al-Taj wa-'l-iklīl li-mukhtasar Khalīf*<sup>256</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tarā'ī (d. 1535), *Fath al-jalīl fī sharḥ mukhtasar Khalīf*<sup>257</sup>

<sup>247</sup> Maghribī; GAL I 178, SI 302; TS 41; this is an abridgement of the *Mudawwana*; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>248</sup> Maghribī; GAL I 177-8; Idā' 570; Bayān 208; Fath 146; *passim*; TS 54; *passim*; mss found in all collections.

<sup>249</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 18, SI 302; Bayān 202; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Séguu.

<sup>250</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 178, SI 302, SII 435; mss found in Séguu and Timbuktu and Shinqūtī.

<sup>251</sup> Maghribī; GAL I 178; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Shinqūtī.

<sup>252</sup> West African; Fath 362-66; MLG 707; ALA IV 118; OMAR 1390; mss found in Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Séguu.

<sup>253</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 83-84, SII 96-9; Idā' 570; Fath *passim*; TS *passim*; Bayān 207; mss found in all collections.

<sup>254</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 97, 100; Bayān 170; OMAR 1457; there are three versions: "Kabīr," "Awsaṭ," "Ṣaghīr;" not indicated in the database; mss found in Séguu, Timbuktu and Shinqūtī.

<sup>255</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 84, SII 97, 345; Bayān 210; OMAR 1958; mss found in Séguu, Nouakchott and Boutlimīt.

<sup>256</sup> Andalusian/Maghribī; GAL II 84, SII 97, 376; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Shinqūtī.

<sup>257</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 97; TS 68; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, Séguu and Shinqūtī. The Bayān (203-4) mentions a *ḥashīya* by the North African Muṣṭafā

- Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tarā'ī (d. 1535), *Jawāhir al-durar*<sup>258</sup>
- 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ujhūrī al-Misrī (d. 1655/6), *Mawāhib al-jalīl fī sharḥ mukhtasar Khalīf*<sup>259</sup>
- 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Yūsuf al-Zurgānī (d. 1688), *Sharḥ 'Abd al-Bāqī li-mukhtasar Khalīl [Tawāḥīh]*<sup>260</sup>

## Derivative text:

- Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bannānī al-Fasī (d. 1780), *Fath al-rabbānī fī mā dhahala an-hu al-Zurgānī*<sup>261</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Ghāzī al-Miknāsī (d. 1513), *Shiṭā' al-ghalīl fī ḥal muqāḡal Khalīf*<sup>262</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kharashī al-Malikī al-Misrī (d. 1690), *Sharḥ 'alā 'l-mukhtasar li-Khalīf*<sup>263</sup>
  - Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Dardīr al-'Adawī (d. 1786), *Sharḥ al-dardīr li-mukhtasar Khalīf*<sup>264</sup>
  - Maḥmūd Bāba b. Ubayd al-Daymānī (d. 1860), *al-Mayassar al-jalīl 'alā mukhtasar Khalīf*<sup>265</sup>
  - Ibrāhīm b. Mar'ī al-Shabrakhīfī (d. 1694), *Sharḥ al-shabrakhīfī li-mukhtasar Khalīf*<sup>266</sup>
  - Ibn 'Asīm [Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Asīm al-Gharnāṭī] (d. 1427), *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī naḡ wa-'l-ahkām [al-'āsimīya]*<sup>267</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d. 1662), *al-Iḡān wa-'l-īḡām fī sharḥ tuḥfat al-ḥukkām*<sup>268</sup>

al-Rammāsī (d. 1723-24) entitled the *Ḥashīya al-musṭafā*, but the only collection in the database with an extant copy is Boutlimīt.

<sup>258</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 97; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>259</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 98; mss found in Boutlimīt, Shinqūtī and Timbuktu. The Bayān (203) mentions a derivative text by the Egyptian scholar Ibn Shās ('Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Shās) (d. 1219) entitled *al-Jawāhir al-thamīna fī maḥḥab 'ālim al-Madhīna* (Kaḥḥāla II 303). According to Willis 202, this text is based on al-Ujhūrī's commentary on the *Mukhtasar* of Khalīl. The only extant manuscript in the database by this author is a work called *Aḥkām Ibn Shās* held in Nouakchott.

<sup>260</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 97-8, 438; TS 67; Bayān 212; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, Séguu, Timbuktu, Shinqūtī and Wādān.

<sup>261</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 84, SII 98; Bayān 203; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Shinqūtī and Wādān.

<sup>262</sup> Maghribī; GAL SII 97; mss found in Boutlimīt, Shinqūtī and Séguu.

<sup>263</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 98; Idā' 570; a variation of the name is "al-Karāshī" in the Idā'; mss found in Nouakchott, Séguu, Timbuktu, Shinqūtī, Wādān and Boutlimīt.

<sup>264</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 353, SII 98, 480; mss found in Nouakchott, Séguu and Timbuktu.

<sup>265</sup> West African; MLG 900; mss found in Boutlimīt and Nouakchott.

<sup>266</sup> Egyptian; GAL II 84, SII 98; Kaḥḥāla I 72-3; mss found in Boutlimīt, Shinqūtī and Nouakchott.

<sup>267</sup> Andalusian; GAL 264, SII 375; TS 66; Fath 169; *passim*; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Séguu and Kano.

<sup>268</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 264, SII 375; mss found in Nouakchott, Séguu, Boutlimīt, Wādān and Timbuktu.

- Ibn 'Askar [Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Askar al-Baghdādī] (d. 1332)]. *Iṣḥād al-sālik ilā asḥraf al-masālik alā madhhab al-Imām Mālik*<sup>269</sup>
  - 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Manūfī al-Shādhilī (d. 1532), *al-Muqaddima al-'izzīya li-l-ḥamā'a al-azhariyya*<sup>270</sup>
  - 'Alī b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Tujībī al-Zaqqāq (d. 1506), *Lāmiyyat al-Zaqqāq*<sup>271</sup>
  - Derivative text:
    - Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d. 1662), *Sharḥ lāmiyyat al-Zaqqāq*<sup>272</sup>
  - 'Alī b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Tujībī al-Zaqqāq (d. 1506), *al-Manḥaj al-muntakhab fi qawā'id al-madhhab*<sup>273</sup>
  - Derivative texts:
    - Aḥmad b. 'Alā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Manjūrī (d. 1587), *Sharḥ al-manḥaj al-muntakhab*<sup>274</sup>
    - Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mayyāra (d. 1662), *Takmil al-manḥaj ilā usūl al-madhhab*<sup>275</sup>
3. Didactic texts
- 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Miknāsī al-'Uthmānī (d. 1618), *Silāt ahli al-Imān fi muḥāribat al-shayṭān*<sup>276</sup>
  - 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Saghir al-Akhdārī al-Bunrīyūsī al-Mālikī (d. 1585), *Mukhtasar fi l-'ibādāt alā madhhab al-Imām Mālik*<sup>277</sup>
  - Derivative text:
    - Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasani al-Sijilmāsī (d. 1712/3), *al-Rawq al-yani' al-azhari' alā dhyānat al-Akhdār*<sup>278</sup>
  - 'Abd al-Bārī al-Rifā'ī al-'Ashmāwī (fl. 16th century), *al-Muqaddima al-'ashmāwīya fi l-'ibādāt*<sup>279</sup>

<sup>269</sup> Iraqi; GAL II 163, S II 205; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu and Ibadan; commentary in Ghana.

<sup>270</sup> Egyptian; GAL I 449, S I 805, S II 434-5, 437; mss found in Kano, Ségué, Shinqūī and Timbuktu.

<sup>271</sup> Maghribī; GAL SII 376; Fath 232, 241; OMAR 2528; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu and Boutlimīt.

<sup>272</sup> Maghribī; GAL SII 376; OMAR 1438; mss found in Timbuktu, Ségué and Nouakchott.

<sup>273</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 264, SII 376; Fath 241-42; OMAR 2528; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, Ségué, Timbuktu and Shinqūī.

<sup>274</sup> Maghribī; GAL SII 376; OMAR 1165; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, Shinqūī and Ségué.

<sup>275</sup> Maghribī; GAL SII 376; mss found in Timbuktu, Boutlimīt and Nouakchott.

<sup>276</sup> Maghribī; Zirikī IV 97-8; OMAR 356, 1962; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Shinqūī.

<sup>277</sup> Maghribī; GAL SII 705; Idā 570; Fath 293; mss found in all collections.

<sup>278</sup> Maghribī; MIG 162; mss found in Nouakchott, Ségué and Timbuktu.

<sup>279</sup> GAL SII 435; Idā 570; Fath 308, 372; mss found in Kano, Ségué and Timbuktu.

- Usman dan Fodio [Uthmān b. Muḥammad Fūdī] (d. 1817), *'Umdat al-'abbāḥ*<sup>280</sup>
  - Usman dan Fodio [Uthmān b. Muḥammad Fūdī] (d. 1817), *Hidāyat al-tullāb*<sup>281</sup>
  - Ibn Farḥūn [Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Farḥūn al-Yamari al-Andalusī] (d. 1397), *Durrat al-ghawwās fi muḥādirat al-khawāṣṣ*<sup>282</sup>
4. al-Qawā'id al-fiqhiyya
- Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī al-Ṣanḥājī al-Mālikī (d. 1285), *Kitāb anwar al-burūq*<sup>283</sup>
  - Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Wansharīsi (d. 1508), *Idāh al-masālik ilā qawā'id al-Imām Mālik*<sup>284</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ghāzī al-Miknāsī (d. 1513), *Kulliyāt*<sup>285</sup>
  - Ibn Juzay [Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Juzay al-Kalbī al-Gharnāṭī] (d. 1340), *Qawā'in al-ahkām al-shar'iya wa-masā'il al-furū' al-fiqhiyya*<sup>286</sup>
5. Legal Cases/Opinions
- 'Alī b. Muḥammad Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ujhūrī (d. 1656), *al-Zahrat al-warāḍiyya min fatāwā al-Ujhūr*<sup>287</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Warzāzī al-Darī (d. 1752-53), *Nawāziḥ*<sup>288</sup>
  - Sīdī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (d. 1818), *Nawāzil fiqhīya*<sup>289</sup>
  - Aḥmad Bāḥā b. Aḥmad al-Timbuktī (d. 1627), *Mir'at al-su'ūd ilā nūyḥ hukm majlīb al-sūf*<sup>290</sup>

<sup>280</sup> West African; ALA II 77; MIG 623; Last 240; mss found in Kano, Ségué and Timbuktu.

<sup>281</sup> West African; ALA II 61; MIG 623; Last 237; mss found in Kano, Ségué and Timbuktu.

<sup>282</sup> Arabian; GAL I 277, SI 488, SII 226; mss found in Nouakchott, Ségué, Timbuktu; possibly in Boutlimīt.

<sup>283</sup> Maghribī; GAL I 385, SI 665; Idā 570; Bayān 205; mss found in Boutlimīt and Shinqūī; commentary in Timbuktu.

<sup>284</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 248, SII 348; mss found in Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>285</sup> Maghribī; GAL II 240, SII 338; OMAR 618, 682; mss found in Ségué, Boutlimīt, Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>286</sup> Andalusian/Maghribī; GAL SII 377; mss found in Timbuktu, Nouakchott and Ségué.

<sup>287</sup> Egyptian; GAL SII 437; Bayān 213; mss found in Ségué and Timbuktu.

<sup>288</sup> Maghribī; el Hamel (Fath) 364-5ff; mss found in Timbuktu; verifications in Nouakchott and Timbuktu. One Mauritanian verification of al-Warzāzī's collection of *nawāzil* is by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Tālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājī Ḥamā Allāh al-Ghallaṭī al-Tishī (d. 1785). MIG 470; OMAR 1025. It is mentioned in the Fath 364.

<sup>289</sup> West African; Fath 367-69; OMAR 787; mss found in Nouakchott, Shinqūī and Timbuktu.

<sup>290</sup> West African; ALA IV 26; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Ségué.

- Ibn Salmūn [ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Salmūn al-Kirānī al-Gharnāʾī] (d. 1365), *al-ʿIqd al-munazzam li-ʿl-hukkām fi-mā yajī baʿyn-hum min al-ahkām*<sup>291</sup>
- Ibn Rushd [Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Rushd al-Qurṭubī al-Andalusī] (d. 1198), *Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa-nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*<sup>292</sup>
- Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Dimashqī al-Sāʿidī (fl. 14th century), *Rahimat al-urmma fi khtilāf al-ʿimma*<sup>293</sup>

*Beṭeʿ (tawhīd)*

- Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 1486), *ʿAqīdat ahl al-tawhīd al-sughrā*<sup>294</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- Muḥammad al-Wālī b. Sulaymān b. Abī Muḥammad al-Fulānī (d. 1688/9), *al-Manḥāj al-farīd fi maʿrifat ʿilm al-tawhīd*<sup>295</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 1486), *al-ʿAqīda al-kubrā*<sup>296</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAlī al-Ḥawḍī (d. 1505), *Wāsiyat al-sūlik*<sup>297</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr b. Baḡhayoḡho al-Wangarī (d. 1655), *Nāzīm al-ʿaqīda al-sughrā*<sup>298</sup>
  - Yahyā b. ʿUmar al-Qurṭubī al-Azdī (d. 1171), *Manzūmat al-Qurṭubī [ʾUrṭuzat al-wildān]*<sup>299</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*<sup>300</sup>
  - Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1123), *Tajrīd fi kalimat al-tawhīd*<sup>301</sup>
  - Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Samargandī (d. 982/3), *Tanbih al-ghaflīn*<sup>302</sup>

<sup>291</sup> Andalusian: GAL II 264, SII 374; OMAR 2525; mss found in Nouakchott, possibly Boutlimit and Timbuktu.

<sup>292</sup> Andalusian: GAL SI 836; mss found in Boutlimit, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>293</sup> Syrian: GAL II 91, 97, SII 107; mss found in Ségou, Shingiti and Timbuktu.

<sup>294</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 250, SII 353; OMAR 109, 2590; this text is mentioned in virtually every West African text about Islamic education; mss found in all the libraries in the sample.

<sup>295</sup> West African: ALA II 35; MLG 269; mss found in Kano, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>296</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 250, SII 353; mss found in Boutlimit, Kano and Shingiti.

<sup>297</sup> Maghribi: GAL SII 355; MLG 33; mss found in Boutlimit, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>298</sup> West African: ALA IV 33; MLG 78; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu and possibly in Nouakchott.

<sup>299</sup> Andalusian: GAL I 429, SI 763; TS 61; mss found in Kano, Timbuktu and Ségou.

<sup>300</sup> Iraqi: GAL I 422, SI 748; mss found in Boutlimit, Nouakchott, Ségou, Timbuktu, Kano, and Shingiti.

<sup>301</sup> Iraqi: GAL SI 756; 5 copies in Boutlimit, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>302</sup> Central Asian: GAL I 196, SI 348; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott, Kano and Shingiti.

- Ahmad b. Abd Allāh al-Jazāʾirī (d. 1479/80), *Manzūmat al-jazāʾiriyya fi ʿl-tawhīd*<sup>303</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 1486), *Sharḥ al-manzūmat al-jazāʾiriyya fi ʿl-tawhīd*<sup>304</sup>
  - Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Laḡānī (d. 1631), *Fath al-muʿjib bi-kifāyat al-murīd*<sup>305</sup>
  - Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Laḡānī (d. 1631), *Iḥāf al-murīd ʿalā jawharat al-tawhīd*<sup>306</sup>
  - Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqḡarī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1631), *Iḡāʾat al-dajūmma fi ʿaqāʾid ahl al-sunna*<sup>307</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Ibn al-ʿAʾmāsh [Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār b. al-ʿAʾmāsh al-ʿAlawī] (d. 1695-96), *Futūḡāt dhī al-raḡma fi sharḥ iḡāʾat al-dajūmma li-ʿl-Maqḡar*<sup>308</sup>
  - Arbāba al-Khartūmī [Arbāb b. ʿAlī b. ʿAwn b. ʿAmīr b. Aṣbah] (d. 1690/1), *al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān fi taḡyīq maʿrifat arkan al-imān*<sup>309</sup>
  - Ibn ʿAshīr [ʿAbd al-Wāhid b. Ahmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAshīr al-Anṣārī al-Faṣī] (d. 1630), *al-Murshīd al-muʾin ʿalā ʿl-dāruri min ʿulūm al-dīn*<sup>310</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad Maryyāra (d. 1662), *al-Durr al-thāmin wa-ʿl-mawrīd al-muʾin fi sharḥ al-murshīd al-muʾin*<sup>311</sup>

<sup>303</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 252, SII 357; TS 66; mss found in all the collections in the sample.

<sup>304</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 252, SII 357; mss found in Boutlimit, Ségou, Timbuktu and Shingiti.

<sup>305</sup> Egyptian: GAL SII 437; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutlimit, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>306</sup> Egyptian: GAL II 316, SII 436; this commentary and the work commented on (the *Jawharat al-tawhīd*) are often found together; mss found in Ségou, Nouakchott and Timbuktu. Al-Ḥājj Umar mentions another title of a commentary on the same text by al-Laḡānī called *ʾImdat al-murīd* (Bayān 213).

<sup>307</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 298, SII 408; OMAR 2516, 2591; mentioned many times in the Fath; mss found in Kano, Nouakchott, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>308</sup> West African: GAL SII 408; MLG 174; OMAR 1029, 1250, 1777; mss found in Ségou, Timbuktu and Nouakchott. Also known as *Bla mish* (Ghislaine Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails: Islamic Law, Trade Networks, and Cross-Cultural Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Western Africa* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009], 303). For a brief biography, see MLG I: 53-56; Fath 257; Rainer Oßwald, "Inequality in Islamic law" in *Law and the Islamic World Past and Present*, ed. Christopher Toll and Jakob Sloygaard-Petersen (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1995), 97-104.

<sup>309</sup> Sudanese: ALA I 13-14; mss found in Boutlimit, Nouakchott and Ségou.

<sup>310</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 461, SII 699. Mentioned in the Fath; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutlimit, Timbuktu, Ségou, Kano and Shingiti.

<sup>311</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 264, SII 375; mss found in Boutlimit, Nouakchott, Ségou and Timbuktu.



- Ibn Sulaym [Muhammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjalī] (d. 1801/2), *Dalīl al-qā'id il-kashf asrar sijāt al-wāhidīn*<sup>312</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Ibn Sulaym [Muhammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjalī] (d. 1801/2), *al-Mazīd al-aqā'id alā dalīl al-qā'idīn*<sup>313</sup>
- al-Mukhtār b. Būnah al-Jakani (d. 1805/6), *Wasīlat al-sā'ida fī nashr mā tadammun al-shahāda fī l-tawhīdīn*<sup>314</sup>
- Muhammad al-Yadāī b. al-Mukhtār b. Maḥam Sa'īd al-Daymānī (d. 1753), *Farā'id al-fawā'id fī sharḥ gawā'id al-aqā'id*<sup>315</sup>

*Sufism (tasawwuf)*

- Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Ḥiyā' ulm al-dīn*<sup>316</sup>
  - Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Bidāyat al-ḥidāya*<sup>317</sup>
  - Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salama al-Habashī (d. 1380), *Kitāb al-nirāyyn fī ṣlāḥ al-darayn*<sup>318</sup>
  - Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḡ'illah al-Iskandarī (d. 1309), *Mīyāḥ al-filāḥ wa-miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ*<sup>319</sup>
  - Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḡ'illah al-Iskandarī (d. 1309), *al-Ḥikam al-'aīa'iyā*<sup>320</sup>
- Derivative texts:
- Ahmad Zarrūq [Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isa al-Burnusī al-Fasī] (d. 1493), *Tamḥīn dhawī 'l-himam* [a.k.a. *Sharḥ al-ḥikam*]<sup>321</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī al-Sāhilī al-Malaqī (d. 1353), *Buḡiyat al-sālik fī ashrāf al-masālik*<sup>322</sup>

<sup>312</sup> Libyan: ALA II 51; mentioned many times in the Fatḥ; mss found in Kano, Nouakchott, Séguou and Timbuktu.

<sup>313</sup> Libyan: ALA II 51; OMAr 1442, 1755; mss found in Nouakchott, Séguou and Timbuktu.

<sup>314</sup> West African: Fatḥ 321-3; OMAr 510, 2593; mss found in Nouakchott, Boutilimit, Timbuktu and Séguou.

<sup>315</sup> West African: MLG 334; OMAr 702; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott and Séguou.

<sup>316</sup> Iraqi: GAL I 422, SI 748; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Séguou, Kano and Shinqūtī.

<sup>317</sup> Iraqi: GAL I 422, SI 749; mss found in Boutilimit, Timbuktu, Séguou and Shinqūtī.

<sup>318</sup> GAL II 189, SII 251; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Séguou and Kano.

<sup>319</sup> Egyptian: GAL II 118, SII 145; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Séguou and Shinqūtī.

<sup>320</sup> Egyptian: GAL II 118, SII 146; multiple mentions in the Fatḥ; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Séguou and Kano.

<sup>321</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 118, SII 146; multiple mentions in the Fatḥ; mss found in Boutilimit, Timbuktu and Séguou.

<sup>322</sup> Andalusian: GAL II 265, SII 378; OMAr 327, 2485; mss found in Nouakchott, Séguou and Wādān.

- Ahmad Zarrūq [Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isa al-Burnusī al-Fasī] (d. 1493), *al-Nasīḥa al-kāfiyya li-man khassa-hu ḥilāḥ [bi-'l-ḡfiyya]*<sup>323</sup>
  - Ahmad Zarrūq [Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isa al-Burnusī al-Fasī] (d. 1493), *Qawā'id al-tasawwuf* [*Qawā'id al-Zarrūq*]<sup>324</sup>
- Derivative text:
- Muḥammad al-Yadāī b. al-Mukhtār b. Maḥam Sa'īd al-Daymānī (d. 1753), *Khathimat al-tasawwuf*<sup>325</sup>
- Ahmad Zarrūq [Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isa al-Burnusī al-Fasī] (d. 1493), *al-Waḡifa al-zarrūqiyya*<sup>326</sup>
- Derivative text:
- 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAyyāshī (d. 1679), *al-Anwār al-sanīyya 'alā al-waḡifa al-zarrūqiyya*<sup>327</sup>
- Hasan b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d. 1691), *Dāliyyat al-Yūsī*<sup>328</sup>

*Qādirīyya Texts:*

- Sīdī al-Mukhtār b. Ahmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d. 1811), *Zawā' al-albās fī tarḥ al-shayḥān al-khannās*<sup>329</sup>
- Sīdī al-Mukhtār b. Ahmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d. 1811), *al-Kawkab al-waḡqād fī fadl dhīkr al-mashā'ih wa-ḥaḡā'iq al-awrāḥ*<sup>330</sup>
- Sīdī al-Mukhtār b. Ahmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d. 1811), *Jadhwat al-anwār fī l-dhabb 'an awliyā' Allāh al-akhyār*<sup>331</sup>
- Sīdī al-Mukhtār b. Ahmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kuntī (d. 1811), *Ḥizb al-isrā'*<sup>332</sup>
- Sīdī Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1826), *al-Tarā'if wa-'l-talā'id min karāmāt al-shaykhayn al-wāliḍa wa-'l-wāliḍās*<sup>333</sup>

<sup>323</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 253, SII 361; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Séguou and Shinqūtī.

<sup>324</sup> Maghribi: GAL SII 361; OMAr 188, 1105; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Ghana.

<sup>325</sup> West African: MLG 334; OMAr 531; this is a 19-line letter on Sufism, which was often accompanied by his own commentary. It is similar to Zarrūq's *Qawā'id al-tasawwuf*; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Séguou.

<sup>326</sup> Maghribi: GAL II 254, SII 361; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Kano.

<sup>327</sup> Maghribi: GAL SII 361; OMAr 1022; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Wādān and Shinqūtī.

<sup>328</sup> Maghribi: Zirikī II 223; GAL II 455, S II 675; mss founding Kano, Séguou and Timbuktu.

<sup>329</sup> West African: ALA IV 92; MLG 552; OMAr 388; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Timbuktu, Séguou and Shinqūtī.

<sup>330</sup> West African: ALA IV 77; MLG 552; OMAr 94, 711; mss found in Nouakchott, Timbuktu and Kano.

<sup>331</sup> West African: ALA IV 76; MLG 552; mss found in Séguou, Timbuktu and Shinqūtī.

<sup>332</sup> West African: ALA IV 97; MLG 552; OMAr 192; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott and Timbuktu; there is a long commentary on this text written by Sīdī Muḥammad b. Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1826) called: *Ḥsā' al-asrār ilā asrār ḥizb al-isrā'*; mss found in Nouakchott and Timbuktu.

<sup>333</sup> West African: ALA IV 113; MLG 775; OMAr 64, 162, 372; mss found in Boutilimit, Nouakchott, Séguou and Timbuktu.

- Sidi Muhammad b. Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1826), *Jumāt al-murīd dūna l-marīd*<sup>334</sup>
  - Sidi Muhammad b. Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1826), *Shuḥūr al-adhkār al-mahīya li-l-awzār*<sup>335</sup>
- Tijāniyya Texts:
- 'Alī Harāzīm b. al-'Arabi Barāda al-Fāsī (d. 1856), *Jawāhir al-ma'āni wa-bulūgh al-amāni fī fuyūḍ Sīdī Abī l-'Abbās al-Tijānī*<sup>336</sup>
  - 'Umar b. Sa'īd al-Fūtī (d. 1863), *Rimāh ḥizb al-raḥīm 'ala nuḥūr ḥizb al-raḥīm*<sup>337</sup>
  - 'Umar b. Sa'īd al-Fūtī (d. 1863), *Suryūf al-sa'īd al-mu'taqid fī ahlī Allāh ka-l-Tijāni 'ala raqabat al-tarīd al-fāni*<sup>338</sup>
  - Yarkī Talhī [al-Mukhtār b. Wadī'at Allāh al-Masīmī al-Fulānī] (d. 1863), *Ṭabkīyat al-Bakkā'*<sup>339</sup>

<sup>334</sup> West African: ALA IV 98; M/G 775; OMAR 208, 1046; mss found in Boutifimit, Nouackhot, Ségou and Timbuktu.

<sup>335</sup> West African: ALA IV 112; M/G 775; OMAR 1284; mss found in Boutifimit, Ségou and Timbuktu. This is a short work concerned with dhikr.

<sup>336</sup> Maghribi: GAL SII 876; mss found in Shinqūtī, Ségou, Timbuktu and Kano.

<sup>337</sup> West African: GAL SII 896; ALA IV 218; M/G 918; OMAR 282 mss found in Kano, Ségou, Timbuktu, Shinqūtī and Ibadan.

<sup>338</sup> West African: ALA IV 220; M/G 918; OMAR 281; mss found in Ségou, Ibadan and Shinqūtī.

<sup>339</sup> West African: ALA IV 235-6; M/G 1114; this is a Tijāni poem written in 1859 attacking the Qādiri shaykh Ahmad al-Bakkā'ī al-Kuntī; mss found in Kano, Nouackhot, Ségou and Timbuktu.

## THE BOOK AND THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE IN MUSLIM NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1457-2007

Murray Last

Book famines, it seems, are still a feature of northern Nigerian intellectual life. For the last 50 years, "Book Aid International" in Britain has tried to make up the shortfall, yet in 2008 it has removed Nigeria from its list of recipients as if Nigerian university libraries (there are 94 major ones now) were no longer in need of books from abroad. Over twenty years ago, in 1986, the late Michael Crowder could publish a passionate essay on the African book famine, but the underlying conditions have still not improved. Late in 2007 *The Economist* ran a story on how copies of Adlche's best-selling novel on the Biafran war could not find a distributor in Nigeria; even Doris Lessing for her Nobel Prize speech in December 2007, chose book hunger in Africa as her theme.<sup>1</sup> Any visitor to a university campus in Nigeria today will hunt in vain for a bookshop with the latest works: some universities now have no bookshop whatsoever—the University of Abuja site in Gwagwalada and Usman Danfodiyo University in Sokoto come to mind, but even the huge store in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, is remarkably bare (its branch in Arewa House, Kaduna, is much fuller, but very small; the core problem, the manager told me, is the demand abroad for pre-payment); the History shelf of Bayero University's bookshop in Kano has only four textbooks and nothing else.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Michael Crowder: "The Book Crisis: Africa's Other Famine," in Hector Blackhurst, *Africa Bibliography* 1985 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), xvi-xxi; cf. Carol Priestley, "The Book Famine: A Selective Directory for Book and Journal Assistance in Africa," *Africa* 60, no. 1 (1990), 135-48; *The Economist* (24th November, 2007), 74; Doris Lessing, "A Hunger for Books," her speech for the Nobel Foundation (2007), reprinted in *The Guardian* (London) 8th December 2007. Book Aid International started in 1954 as the Ranfurly Library Service; the name was changed in 1994.

<sup>2</sup> On the University of Abuja's new site there is now (2010) a bookshop. One of the rare distributors in northern Nigeria told me how bookshops do not pay up and how a Sokoto university librarian (now dead) had once demanded from him a bribe of 20,000 naira before he placed any order; by contrast, state Ministries were, he said, his best customers. Basic textbooks and religious books (for Muslims or Christians), however, are often found in smaller shops, where printers' agents or authors have taken

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