

# **Soninke Ajami Manuscripts and Islamic Education: A Reconstruction of Scribal Practices**

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Darya Ogorodnikova

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Examination Committee: Prof. Dr Roland Kießling

Dr Dmitry Bondarev

Prof. Dr Alessandro Bausi

Prof. Dr Nikolay Dobronravin

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## Note on transliteration.

The transliteration of Arabic is in accordance with the guidelines of the *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* (JQS).

The table below summarises the transliteration convention for Ajami (para)texts. The transliteration of Ajami elements is given in angle brackets>.

Name	Character	Transliteration
<b>Vowels</b>		
<i>fathā</i>	◌َ	a
<i>kasra</i>	◌ِ	i
<i>ḍamma</i>	◌ُ	u
<i>imāla</i>	◌ِ◌َ	e
<i>sukūn</i>	◌ْ	0
<i>tanwīn</i>	◌◌◌◌	u <sup>n</sup> i <sup>n</sup> a <sup>n</sup>
<b>Semi-vowels and Consonants</b>		
<i>alīf</i>	ا	'
<i>bā'</i>	ب	b
<i>tā'</i>	ت	t
<i>thā'</i>	ث	th
<i>jīm</i>	ج	j
<i>ḥā'</i>	ح	h
<i>khā'</i>	خ	kh
<i>dāl</i>	د	d
<i>dhāl</i>	ذ	dh
<i>rā'</i>	ر	r
<i>zā'</i>	ز	z
<i>sīn</i>	س	s
<i>shīn</i>	ش	sh
<i>ṣād</i>	ص	ṣ
<i>ḍād</i>	ض	ḍ
<i>ṭā'</i>	ط	ṭ
<i>ẓā'</i>	ظ	ẓ
<i>ʿayn</i>	ع	'
<i>ghayn</i>	غ	gh
<i>fā'</i>	ف	f
<i>qāf</i>	ق	q
<i>kāf</i>	ك (ك)	k
<i>lām</i>	ل	l
<i>mīm</i>	م	m
<i>nūn</i>	ن	n
<i>ḥā'</i>	ه	h
<i>ṭā' marbūṭa</i>	ة	ṭ̣
<i>wāw</i>	و	w
<i>yā'</i>	ي	y
<i>hamza</i>	ء	'
<i>tashdīd</i>	◌ّ◌	2

## List of Abbreviations

Libraries, manuscript databases, and reference works

ALA	Arabic Literature of Africa
AMMS	Arabic Manuscript Management System
BmT	Bibliothèque Municipale de Tours
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France
BL	British Library
BU	Boston University
BULAC	Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations
CSMC	Center for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
GAL	Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur
GAL S	Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Supplement
IFAN	Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire
IRHT	Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes
JRL	John Rylands Library
MAAO	Musée national des Arts d’Afrique et d’Océanie
MLG	Maurische Literaturgeschichte
MQB	Musée du quai Branly
MS	Manuscript
OMRN	Old Mande Research Network
PGL	Palace Green Library
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
Ubl	Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden
WAAMD	West African Arabic Manuscripts Database

Chronicles (*tārīkhs*)

<i>TKB</i>	<i>Tārīkh Karamokho Ba</i>
<i>TMS</i>	<i>Tārīkh Mama Sanbu</i>

Morphological glossing

AG	agentive suffix
ANTP	antipassive
AUX	auxiliary
COPL	locational copula
CPL	completive
D	definite determiner
DEM	demonstrative
FOC	focalization marker
ICPL	incompletive
GER	gerundive
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PP	postposition

PROH	prohibitive
RECP	reciprocal pronoun
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative
SG	singular
SUB	subordinator
SBJV	subjunctive
TOP	topicalisation
TR	transitive



## Introduction

A large number of manuscripts examined in the present study are kept in European libraries, with their acquisition dating to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscripts are mainly classified as ‘Arabic’ or ‘Oriental’, less commonly as ‘Sudanic’ or ‘West African’.<sup>1</sup> In the catalog descriptions, emphasis is placed on the main content of these manuscripts– Arabic texts belonging to classical Islamic disciplines. Yet, it is the written material around the main texts that constitutes these manuscripts’ ‘hidden treasures’. Their marginal and interlinear annotations bear witness to the long historical tradition of writing the Soninke language in the Arabic alphabet.

The writing of languages other than Arabic in Arabic-based script is known under the term Ajami, derived from Arabic *‘ajam* (‘non-Arab’). The term Ajami is used both in Western scholarship and in the self-designation of local written traditions. The word *‘ajam* or *‘ajamī* often marks the annotations in vernacular languages in West African Islamic manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Several Ajami traditions for West African languages, such as Old Kanembu, Hausa, Tamashek, Songhay, Fulfulde, Wolof, and Mandinka, are well-attested. However, the Soninke Ajami tradition, as will be discussed in the following sections, was considered to be hypothetical until recently.

Dmitry Bondarev has distinguished five types of Ajami manuscripts depending on the interrelation between the languages and the layout: (Type 1) primary text in Ajami; (Type 2) intralinear Ajami – the alternating Arabic and Ajami phrases within the same line; (Type 3) interlinear Ajami – Ajami glosses added systematically between the lines of the main Arabic text; (Type 4) occasional Ajami – sporadic glosses added to main Arabic texts written in tight lines; (Type 5) Ajami words and phrases in manuscripts of esoteric content.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscripts in the focus of the present study are Ajami Type 3. The Ajami annotations represent translations of the main text in Arabic into vernacular languages. In addition to the linguistic material, the manuscripts of Ajami Type 3 offer clues into the educational domain from which they originated. The Soninke Ajami manuscripts of the present corpus are, therefore, a valuable source for the study of the intellectual traditions of time and territory defined by their geographical and temporal origins.

The manuscripts were produced sometime between the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. While catalogue entries and acquisition notes give little to no information about their provenance, a recent analysis of the colophons and annotations has revealed the vast geographical span of their origin,<sup>4</sup> including present-day Mali, Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and Guinea (this area is known as the Greater Senegambia region).<sup>5</sup> Although the primary language of annotations is Soninke, many manuscripts contain other Mande languages in glosses or colophons.

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<sup>1</sup> The French term *Soudanais* ‘Sudanic’ is used to refer to the area of West Africa and not to the state in northeast Africa.

<sup>2</sup> For a definition of Ajami, see, for example, Bondarev 2014, 114 n3; Mumin and Versteegh 2014, 1; Souag 2010, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Bondarev [blogpost] 2019.

<sup>4</sup> The first attempt to establish the provenance of thirty Soninke Ajami manuscripts is Ogorodnikova 2016; for the preliminary analysis of the Soninke and Manding glosses, see Ogorodnikova 2017.

<sup>5</sup> According to the definition suggested by Boubacar Barry (Barry 1998, p. ix).

## Soninke, Manding, and Mande

Soninke (also known as Sarakhulle/Sarakollé) belongs to the Mande language family.<sup>6</sup> The number of Soninke speakers exceeds 2 million, mainly in Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, and The Gambia.

Based on phonological criteria, the Soninke is subdivided into two main dialect groups: eastern and western. The speakers of the western Soninke dialects inhabit (north)east Senegal (Bakel, Gidimaxa) and west Mali (Gajaaga). The speakers of eastern dialects inhabit (north)west Mali (Kuingi and Jaahunu) and the border area between Senegal and Mauritania (Kaédi).

The Mande language family also encompasses the Manding group – a language and dialect continuum, which includes Bamana (Mali), Maninka (Guinea), Jula (Burkina Faso and Ghana), and Mandinka (The Gambia, southern Senegal, and Guinea-Bissau).<sup>7</sup>

## Soninke, Jakhanke, and Mandinka

Soninke people are identified with the ancient Ghana (Wagadu) of the 7<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and Soninke is considered the language of its ruling elite.<sup>8</sup> They were among the first devotees to Islam in the region, spreading it to the other areas in West Africa.<sup>9</sup> For instance, they established several scholarly towns in the provinces of Gajaaga and Xaaso/Khasso, such as Kunjur (Gunjur or Goundiourou).<sup>10</sup>

Soninke origin is attributed to the Jakhanke (Diakhanke) clerical, and trading lineages.<sup>11</sup> The Jakhanke communities connect themselves through the (spiritual) ancestry to al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware.<sup>12</sup> The exact dates of al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware's lifespan are not known. Historians place him in the 13<sup>th</sup> century or later in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> to early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, based on various pieces of evidence.<sup>13</sup> This intellectual figure is believed to have begun a learning tradition, referred to as 'Suwarian', which spread to many areas across West Africa and is continuing until the present day.<sup>14</sup>

The early periods of al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware's life are associated with the city of Ja (Dia) or Jagha (Diakha), or else *Zā* and *Zāgha* in Arabic(-script) sources.<sup>15</sup> This toponym is often included in the *nisbas* of the Jakhanke scholars; the appellation 'Jakhanke' itself derives from it. Jagha was a

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<sup>6</sup> The Mande language family comprises more than 70 languages (Vydrin 2016, 109).

<sup>7</sup> Vydrin 2017, 17–9.

<sup>8</sup> Vydrin 2017, 22.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Trimmingham 1962, 31.

<sup>10</sup> See, Bathily 1989, 104–113; Curtin 1975, 72–74.

<sup>11</sup> However, Sanneh (1981ab; 1989) argues that the involvement of the Jakhanke in trade was only marginal.

<sup>12</sup> On how various clans relate to al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware, see Smith 1965b, 265.

<sup>13</sup> Thus, Sanneh opts for an earlier date, in conformity with local chronicles locating al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries (see, e.g., Sanneh 1989, 30, and 2016, 81). Wilks and Hunter consider him a 15<sup>th</sup>-century scholar, calculating his floruit based on the genealogies and teaching chains (see Wilks 1968, 176–81, and 2011, 45; Hunter 1977, 33–4). Curtin accepts the chronology suggested by Wilks (Curtin 1975, 76).

<sup>14</sup> See Wilks 1968, 179, and 2000, 97.

<sup>15</sup> Wilks 2000, 96.

reputed centre of learning in Masina (present-day Mali)<sup>16</sup> and the point of dispersion of the Jakhanke to the west and southwards.

The earliest resettlement of the Jakhanke communities, still during the lifetime of al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware, was to Jaghaba in Bambukhu (Bamboukhou, Bambuhu or Bambuk in eastern Senegal).<sup>17</sup> Later in time, the Jakhanke communities settled in Bundu (east Senegal), Kédougou (Senegal), The Gambia, Southern Senegal, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, and Sierra Leone.<sup>18</sup> There are also Suwarian communities, ultimately stemming from Ja, in Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Ghana. The eastern branch of the Suwarian tradition is better known as the Jula (or Juula).<sup>19</sup>

Touba (Tuba, or else Futa-Touba), located in what is now Guinea, is one of the region's most prominent centres of scholarly activities, connected with other centres through scholarly networks. It was founded in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century by the Jakhanke scholar al-Ḥājj Salīm Kassama (1730–1824/29/36), widely referred to in secondary literature by his honorific nickname Karamokhoba (Manding for 'great teacher').<sup>20</sup> His son and successor Muḥammad Kassama, nicknamed Taslīmī (1776–1829 or 1800–1848/52), and his grandson 'Abd al-Qādir, known as Quṭb (1830–1905), were also esteemed intellectuals of their time.<sup>21</sup>

The scholarly centre of Touba attracted Mandinka Muslims from areas encompassing today's southern Senegal, The Gambia, and Guinea Bissau. For instance, there is evidence that scholars from Pakao (south Senegal) travelled to Touba in search of knowledge.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, a strong connection existed between the Mandinka confederation of Kaabu (Guinea-Bissau) and Touba.<sup>23</sup> Also, some Mandinka clans of Pakao trace their origins to Soninke and Jakhanke.<sup>24</sup>

In conclusion, the difference between the Soninke and Jakhanke communities may be summarized in the words of Curtin:

The [Soninke] clerics of Gajaaga, on the other hand [i.e., contrary to the Jakhanke], trace a different course from Wagadu to their present location, they belong to a different set of lineages, and their home base remained in Soninke-speaking territory.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Smith 1965a, 234; Curtin 1971, 187.

<sup>17</sup> Due to the uncertain chronology of al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware's lifetime, there is no agreement in the sources whether he was the founder of Jaghaba or whether this town already existed upon his arrival.

<sup>18</sup> For the chronology and stages of the Jakhanke expansion and dispersion, see, e.g., Smith 1965a, 245–51; Curtin 1975, 76–7. On Jakhanke centres in Sierra Leone, see Marty 1921, Smith 1965a, 232. Skinner notes that Muslim communities in Sierra Leone and southern coastal Guinea developed from Soninke and Manding immigrants (Skinner 1978, 34–6).

<sup>19</sup> See Wilks 1968, 2000, and 2011.

<sup>20</sup> Sanneh estimates that Touba was founded around 1815 (Sanneh 1974, 90).

<sup>21</sup> For more details on Kassama scholars, see, for example, Hunter 1977, 243–290; Salvaing and Hunwick 2003, 522–5; Marty 1921, 104–111 and annexe xx; Sanneh 1974, 79, 89, and 2016, 140–3.

<sup>22</sup> Schaffer and Cooper 1980, 76. The area of Pakao is located in southern Senegal, on the upper reaches of the Casamance River. It is an important hub of Islamic scholarship in the region (Schaffer and Cooper 1980, 4–5).

<sup>23</sup> Giesing and Vydrin 2007, 184–6. Kaabu – Mandinka confederation (also referred to as empire or kingdom) – existed on the territory of present-day Guinea-Bissau, as well as parts of Senegal, and The Gambia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century – 1876 (Giesing and Vydrin 2007, 4).

<sup>24</sup> Schaffer and Cooper 1980, 27.

<sup>25</sup> Curtin 1975, 75–6.

Studies on Jakhanke from West Africa's various regions identify it as either the language on their own, being a 'dialect of Manding', or as a 'dialect of Malinké', or else as a 'mixture of Soninke and Malinké'.<sup>26</sup> There are also unpublished reports that Jakhanke communities are linguistically diverse and speak various dialects of Western Manding.<sup>27</sup>

Most sources agree that the Jakhanke kept their original Soninke language for religious exegesis, the language of transmission of Islamic knowledge.<sup>28</sup> Also, at least until the 19<sup>th</sup> century in, the subjects of the Islamic curriculum were taught in Soninke to Mandinka-speaking students by Soninke and Mandinka-speaking teachers.<sup>29</sup>

### **Classical Islamic Education**

Classical (also called 'traditional') education in Africa builds upon classical Islamic epistemology based on memorisation and spoken instruction, as opposed to modern Western and reformist Islamic rationalistic approaches to schooling.<sup>30</sup> Thus, classical Islamic education in Africa represents a historical continuity of learning practices characteristic of the whole Muslim world.

Islamic teaching in West Africa can be traced back as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century in ancient Ghana.<sup>31</sup> The reconstruction of Islamic scholarship, especially from the past, was primarily based on manuscript sources. For instance, (auto)biographies of scholars helped to pinpoint the centres of knowledge and eminent scholars, the details of their lives, curriculum and literary compositions.<sup>32</sup> The major work surveying the literary production of authors in Sub-Saharan Africa is the Arabic literature of African (ALA) series.<sup>33</sup> Each of the five volumes is dedicated to a particular region, documenting local authors, their biographies and their works in Arabic and African languages in Arabic script (Ajami).

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<sup>26</sup> Quinn wrote on the Jakhanke of The Gambia and Touba (Guinea) that they spoke their own Manding dialect 'different from their neighbours in the Gambian states' (Quinn 1972, 172). Hunter calls this dialect 'Jahanka' and notes that it 'most closely resembles Xassonka, then Gambian Mandinka and then Maninka of Guinea' (Hunter 1977, 148). Smith, researching the Jakhanke around Kédougou (south-eastern Senegal, close to the Guinean border), asserts that they have adopted the 'dialect of Malinké', spoken in the region of Jakhaba in Bambuhu (Smith 1965b, 265). Curtin reports the Malinké dialect as the language of Jakhanke (Curtin 1971, 187; 1975, 79). Bathily characterises the language of Jakhanke as a 'mixture of Soninke and Malinké' (Bathily 1969, 49). Finally, Sanneh argues that the Jakhanke did not have any language of their own and spoke the languages of the neighbouring population, such as Manding, Susu, Fula, and Wolof (Sanneh 1981a, 39, and 1989, 16).

<sup>27</sup> This information was communicated to me by Valentin Vydrin (email 15 April 2014). Also, Tal Tamari at several OMRN meetings underlined the linguistic diversity of the Jakhanke.

<sup>28</sup> See, Bathily 1696, 50; Curtin 1971, 193; Sanneh 1989, 16; Sylla 2012, 42. In contrast, Marty (1921, 130) and Hunter (1977, 331) assert that the Jakhanke used their own dialect to explain and interpret sacred texts in Arabic.

<sup>29</sup> See Diagana 1995, 19; Tamari and Bondarev 2013a, 18; Tamari 2016, 45. I received similar information from my field informants in Casamance, who said that Mandinka-speaking students had to acquire Soninke to follow their teachers' instruction. However, according to Hunter, the Mandinka students used 'Jahanka' as an exegetical and educational language (Hunter 1977, 294).

<sup>30</sup> Launay 2016, 3, and Launay and Ware 2016. Seesemann provides a nuanced discussion of 'traditional' and 'modern' Islamic epistemology (Seesemann 2015).

<sup>31</sup> See e.g., Hunwick 2003b, xxvii; El Hamel 1999, 67.

<sup>32</sup> For example, Hunwick 1964 on Aḥmad Bāba of Timbuktu.

<sup>33</sup> On the conception of the ALA project, the content and overview of the volumes, see Hunwick 2005, 2008.

Further, the biographies of scholars, as well as local chronicles, supplied details on the organization of the educational process, methods, and tools of learning. They gave data for tracing teacher-student connections, as well as broader networks of scholars, for instance, in Moorish societies (El Hamel 1999, 2002, based on the bibliographical dictionary *Fath al-shakūr*); among the Fulani (Hiskett 1957 based on the biographies of ‘Abd Allāh b. Fūdī and ‘Uthmān b. Fūdī, or dan Fodio); Timbuktu scholarly tradition (Saad 1983, especially Chapter 3, 58–94, derived from *tārīkhs* of Timbuktu); for Jula of Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and northern Ghana (Wilks 1968, 2000, based on certificates (*ijāzas*) and chains (*silsilas*) of transmission).

Moreover, information from bibliographical sources and chronicles combined with a survey of manuscript libraries allowed for a reconstruction of the scholarly curriculum representative of West Africa (Hall and Stewart 2011).

Classical Islamic education has been the subject of anthropological research in several regions of West Africa, including Guinea (Marty 1921, Chapter 8, pp 337–63); Mali, The Gambia, and Guinea (Tamari 2002, 2006, 2009, 2016); Sierra Leone (Skinner 1976); Mandinka of Casamance (Dramé 2011); Djenné in Mali (Mommersteeg 2012); Mauritania (Fortier 2016); Senegal, The Gambia, and Mauritania (Ware 2014); Nigeria (Reichmuth 1998). Furthermore, a few studies deal with classical Islamic education among the Jakhanke (Hunter 1977; Sanneh 1989, especially Chapter 7, 143–180; Sylla 2012, 301–325). The research represented in these works covers a wide range of issues, such as places and institutions, stages of classical Islamic education, subjects and texts studied, strategies and means of knowledge transmission, social organization of the educational process, as well as the history of the scholarly tradition(s).

The only work which concerns the Soninke educational system is, to my knowledge, a master thesis of Tidiane Diagana.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, I was not able to access this work. Nevertheless, I collected some preliminary data on teaching and learning among the Soninke during my field trips to Senegal and Mali (see further sections). Combining the information from the works mentioned above and my field trips, the educational system in West Africa in general, and among the Soninke and Jakhanke in particular, is sketched out in the following passages.

As elsewhere in West Africa, classical Islamic education of the Soninke and Jakhanke communities consists of two main stages/levels: the elementary and intermediate-advanced.<sup>35</sup> The elementary stage, or Qur’anic school, is called in Soninke **xàrà-n-yìnbé** and **kàrà-n-táa** in Mandinka (both terms literally mean ‘the fire for studies’).<sup>36</sup> During this stage, the pupils (S. **xàrà-lénmè** / M. **kàrà-ndíj**) acquire basic knowledge of the Islamic religion, as well as the ability to read and recite the Qur’an from memory. By copying the passages of the Qur’an on wooden tablets, the pupils also acquire the writing skills.

The higher stage, usually referred to as *‘Ilm* school or else the ‘study of books’, is designated by the Soninke word **máyisì** or by Mandinka **màjilìisì** (from Arabic *majlis* ‘learning assembly’). The

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<sup>34</sup> For instance, Andrea Brigaglia refers to this work in his study on Qur’anic tablets (Brigaglia 2017).

<sup>35</sup> On stages of education in various parts of West Africa, see, for example, Tamari and Bondarev 2013a, 7–8; Mommersteeg 2012, 48; Tamari 2016, 30; Reichmuth 1998, 114–44, and 2011, 215–8; see Sanneh 1989, 153–9; Skinner 1976, 503–505.

<sup>36</sup> See Creissels 2012, 114, for Mandinka term. The Qur’anic school is named so because the studies take place around an open-air fire in the early morning or late evening.

students at the intermediate and advanced levels are called **táalibè** (from Arabic *ṭālib* ‘seeker, student’). The education in *majlis* includes studying with the teacher (Soninke **xàrànmóxo** or Mandinka **kàrà móo**) the texts on various Islamic disciplines.

As demonstrated in several studies, the texts and subjects of the scholarly curriculum in West Africa are studied in a particular order: from introductory to more advanced. The study usually begins with one or a few texts on theology (*tawḥīd*) or Islamic law (*fiqh*). More advanced levels include devotional texts (*madḥ*), Arabic language and grammar (*luḡha* and *naḥw*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*).<sup>37</sup> The ultimate stage is the study of Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*).<sup>38</sup>

The Arabic texts were circulated and studied in the form of manuscripts (when printed books were not available).<sup>39</sup> According to my informants, in the Soninke *majlis* the books had to be copied by hand; sometimes, the labour of copying was done by more advanced students (S. **táalibè xírísè**) for the beginners (S. **nàabáxà**).<sup>40</sup> Some of my informants also said that several generations of one family may have used the same manuscripts.

The reading of texts is accompanied by teachers’ translations into local languages.<sup>41</sup> More precisely, the text is divided into meaningful segments, each of which is supplied with an equivalent in the local language.<sup>42</sup> The students memorised their teachers’ translations of the parsed Arabic texts.<sup>43</sup>

The language of exegetical practices or translation represents a specific scholarly variety, characterised by lexicon and syntactic structures adapted to better render the meaning and grammar of the source Arabic text.<sup>44</sup> Several works investigate oral exegesis in several West African languages.<sup>45</sup> For the Mande languages (especially Bamana), the most substantial research was carried out by Tal Tamari.<sup>46</sup> However, the written domain of exegetical practices received much less attention in scholarship. The notable exception is the case of Old Kanembu in Bornu manuscripts and, more recently, of the Wolofal *tafsīr*.<sup>47</sup>

As mentioned in the previous section, Soninke was the language of educational instruction in the Soninke and Jakhanke *majālis*.<sup>48</sup> Supposedly, the Manding and Soninke oral exegeses might have

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<sup>37</sup> See, e.g. Hunter 1977, 329–34; Reichmuth 2011, 217; Tamari 2002, 104–111.

<sup>38</sup> Hunter 1977, 301; Tamari 2016, 44; Launay and Ware 2016, 256.

<sup>39</sup> On the practices of hand-copying books at intermediate stages of learning see, e.g., Hunter 1977, 333; Reichmuth 2011, 218; Tamari 2016. On the role and writing of manuscripts in West African Islamic scholarship, see Last 2011 (esp. 183–8).

<sup>40</sup> Field research notes February 2014.

<sup>41</sup> Eguchi 1975; Brenner and Last 1985; Mommersteeg 2012; Reichmuth 1998, 2011; Tamari 2002, 2006, 2016, 2019.

<sup>42</sup> Tamari and Bondarev 2013a, 8–9.

<sup>43</sup> Tamari 2016, 45–6. As Dmitry Bondarev notes, the students first wrote the teacher’s comments on a wooden board in order to memorise them (Bondarev 2017, 136 n22).

<sup>44</sup> Tamari and Bondarev 2013a, 16.

<sup>45</sup> For Fulfulde in Cameroon, see Eguchi 1975; for Fulfulde and Hausa in Nigeria, see Brenner and Last 1985; for Hausa, see also Dobronravin 2013; for Songhay in Niger, see Hassane 2013; for Jula in Burkina Faso, see Donaldson [presentation].

<sup>46</sup> Tamari 1996, 2005, 2013, 2019.

<sup>47</sup> Bondarev 2013ab, 2014, 2022; Bondarev and Tijani 2014. On *tafsīr* in Wolof, see Dell 2018.

<sup>48</sup> Most sources agree that Soninke was the language of knowledge transmission among the Jakhanke. Yet, according to Hunter’s field research, the teacher read texts and translated each phrase into ‘Jahanka’ (Hunter 1977, 331).

developed as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup> However, heretofore, there have been no studies on either oral or written Soninke exegetical practices.

The main aims of classical Islamic education are the study and understanding of religious doctrine and the Arabic language, as well as the proper performance of one's religious duties.<sup>50</sup> Even though it is generally accepted that the ability to write in local languages in Arabic script stems from literacy in Arabic, the study of Ajami writing and Ajami manuscripts has mainly been disconnected from the study of classical Islamic education. The exception is the research by Dmitry Bondarev, who has established connections between the texts, layout, Ajami annotations and stages of Islamic education.<sup>51</sup>

The unique aspect of Bondarev's research is that he examines the marginal and interlinear material in West African Islamic manuscripts in order to reconstruct learning practices. Likewise, Susana Molins Lliteras has addressed the topic of marginal notes and the preliminary typology of marginalia in some Malian manuscripts.<sup>52</sup>

### **West African Ajami and Mande Ajami**

The Ajami practices were examined in regard to the writing systems (interactions of language and the script), the adaptation of the Arabic script and the creation of standards, both in the past and present across the African continent (Mumin and Versteegh 2014); in West Africa (Dobronravin 1999, Souag 2010); cross-culturally from twelve manuscript cultures in Africa, China, Spain, and the Ottoman Empire (Bondarev et al. 2019).<sup>53</sup>

The usage of Arabic characters for writing West African languages was well-known for some, such as Old Kanembu / Kanuri, Hausa, Fulfulde, Wolof.<sup>54</sup> The significance of the Mande Ajami tradition was considered less prominent.<sup>55</sup> However, research of the recent decades has changed our understanding in terms of Mande Ajami chronology, linguistic span, and extent/scope of the written evidence. They revealed that the earliest mention of Manding Ajami is from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whereas the earliest manuscript evidence is from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Soninke Ajami annotated manuscripts under study here). In terms of scope, more manuscript material came into

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However, his observations may have taken place during a time when Soninke was no longer used as the language of instruction in educational institutions, and the teachers translated Arabic texts into their native tongues.

<sup>49</sup> Tamari and Bondarev 2013a, 15.

<sup>50</sup> See, e.g., Launay 1992, 153, Hunter 1977, 335.

<sup>51</sup> Bondarev 2017.

<sup>52</sup> Molins Lliteras 2017.

<sup>53</sup> Manuscript culture is a culture 'in which at least some types of knowledge and actions are preserved, transmitted, organised and performed by means of manuscripts' (Wimmer et al. 2015, 1).

<sup>54</sup> The Old Kanembu / Kanuri is among the oldest Ajami traditions, the written evidence dated by the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. See Bondarev 2006, 2014, 2017. Ajami written tradition in Hausa was studied extensively by Dobronravin 1999, 2013, 2014; Hiskett 1975. For Fulfulde Ajami, see, among others, Brenner 2008; Bobboyi 2008, Salvaing 2004. On writing Wolof in Arabic script (Wolofal), see Ngom 2010, 2016; Lüpke and Diop 2014; Mc Laughlin 2017. For the periodisation of Ajami in West Africa, see, for example, Bondarev 2014, 115; Lüpke and Diop 90–1.

<sup>55</sup> For instance, there is no mention of compositions in Mande languages in the ALA. Moreover, Mande languages are usually not included among the West African languages with a well-established tradition of writing in Arabic characters (see, e.g., Trimmingham 1959; Hassane 2008).

light for previously documented Ajami traditions in Mandinka and Jula, as well as previously unexplored traditions, such as Soninke and Maninka.

A survey of the Ajami tradition for the Mande languages is offered by Valentin Vydrin. He has recorded the extant written evidence, analysed the orthographical conventions and reinterpreted some of the previously published Ajami samples.<sup>56</sup> More recently, Tal Tamari outlined the Manding Ajami tradition in its historical context.<sup>57</sup>

The earliest reference to the usage of Arabic characters for writing in a Manding language is from La Courbe's travel account to Senegambia in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>58</sup> The Ajami tradition of the territories in today's southern Senegal, The Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau is also well documented. For instance, the grammar books by MacBrair (1842), Hamlyn (1935), and Rowlands (1959) contain mentions of writing Mandinka in Arabic script.<sup>59</sup> Hamlyn even dedicated an entire chapter to the study of the writing system, both in terms of visual appearance and phonetic values.<sup>60</sup> The Ajami script, as he notes, was mainly used for personal correspondence and court records and much less for literary compositions.<sup>61</sup> There is even a work by Addis (1963) specifically meant as a guide or a manual to Mandinka Ajami. The latter builds on a corpus of manuscript letters and court documents from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62</sup>

Earlier Mandinka Ajami specimens include the two important historical accounts, written in Arabic and Mandinka Ajami sometime in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>63</sup> One of them is the so-called 'Pakao Book', recording the early history of this area.<sup>64</sup> The second chronicle, known as *Tārīkh Mandinka* (History of Mandinka), concerns the history of the Kaabu confederation.<sup>65</sup> Both the 'Pakao Book' and *Tārīkh Mandinka* of Bijini are rich in Mandinka personal and place names.

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<sup>56</sup> Vydrine 1998, Vydrin 2014.

<sup>57</sup> Tamari 2017, 209–12.

<sup>58</sup> Tamari 2017, 210. La Courbe, charged with a mission by the Senegal Company (Compagnie du Sénégal) in 1685, travelled to the territory of modern-day The Gambia. His description of the 'Mandin' people includes the usage of Arabic letters for writing their language; see La Courbe's published manuscript (Cultru 1913, 191). Schaffer and Cooper refer to the testimony of the English explorer of the river Gambia – Richard Jobson, who, in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (1623), attested to the 'ability of seventeenth-century *marabouts* to write Arabic script' (Schaffer and Cooper 1980, 72). However, it is unclear whether this observation concerns writing in the local language.

<sup>59</sup> MacBrair (1842, vi).

<sup>60</sup> Hamlyn 1935 101–6 (Chapter xvi).

<sup>61</sup> Hamlyn 1935, 101.

<sup>62</sup> Addis 1963, 1. His manual also contains short sample text.

<sup>63</sup> In both cases, the dating is estimated based on textual rather than material evidence.

<sup>64</sup> The manuscript of the 'Pakao Book' was first published by Schaffer (1975) and was later reanalysed by Vydrin (1998). The text of the 'Pakao Book' is divided into three parts and was probably composed by more than one author sometime before the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Part I of the manuscript is dedicated to the first twenty-five villages in Pakao to have mosques, recording the names of their imams and village founders. The other two parts are, in fact, lists: Part II is a genealogy of one of the village founders, and Part III is the list of 'circumcision queens' (Schaffer 1975, 97–9).

<sup>65</sup> The text of the manuscript, accompanied by linguistic analysis and provided with historical context, is published by Cornelia Giesing and Valentin Vydrin (2007). The study of the orthographic system of Mandinka Ajami of the chronicle is further summarised in Vydrin 2014. The *Tārīkh Mandinka* covers the period of 150 years and was composed by successive generations of authors (Giesing and Vydrine 2007, 5). The text appears in two manuscripts, which are not mere copies but rather different versions of the chronicle. The dating of the older manuscript is not known. The more recent manuscript was written in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The content of the chronicle consists of three



More handwritten Mandinka Ajami material exists in the form of poetic texts, manuals on healing and divination, hunters' incantations, as well as in the form of interlinear glosses on Arabic religious texts. So far, only a few of these artefacts have been analysed and published.<sup>66</sup> Other manuscripts were digitised and provided with preliminary descriptions.<sup>67</sup>

The Eastern Manding languages also have a tradition of writing in Arabic characters. The texts published so far were written in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>68</sup> One of the Bamana Ajami texts on traditional rituals in San (Mali) and on religious and healing practices is of particular interest because of its coherent orthographic system.<sup>69</sup> The research on manuscript collections in Mali has shed light on many documents with Bamana Ajami words for plants, animals and ingredients for medicinal healing, incorporated into Arabic texts.<sup>70</sup>

The Jula Ajami material is represented by the medicinal treatment and recipe manuscripts collected in Burkina Faso.<sup>71</sup> Jula was also used for writing interlinear glosses to Arabic texts.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Maninka Ajami glosses were identified in a few manuscripts from the collection of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.<sup>73</sup>

The available evidence for Ajami in other Mande languages, including Soninke, until recently has been scarce.<sup>74</sup> Although manuscripts written in Soninke in Arabic characters are sometimes mentioned in the literature,<sup>75</sup> the actual material in these previous studies is limited to a handful of manuscripts with single words in Soninke Ajami in magical recipes from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and a list of children of the Prophet Muḥammad from 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>76</sup> Thus, the tradition of writing Soninke in Arabic script was only briefly mentioned in a few surveys on Ajami and was not studied in any depth.<sup>77</sup>

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parts. Only Part II is written in Mandinka Ajami, while parts II and III are in Arabic with some proper names, single words and phrases in Mandinka (*Idem.*, 21–3).

<sup>66</sup> Vydrine 1998; Vydrin and Dumestre 2014. Vydrin also mentions several (Mandinka) Ajami manuscripts identified and collected by Giesing and Costa-Dias, but yet unpublished (Vydrin 2014, 205).

<sup>67</sup> Ngom 2010, 2015, 2017; Ngom and Castro 2019.

<sup>68</sup> See Vydrine 1998.

<sup>69</sup> Tamari 2017. Interestingly, as Tal Tamari uncovered, the Bamana Ajami text was, in fact, written by a Fulbe scholar. This 7-page manuscript was subject to previous studies (Tamari 1994; Vydrin and Dumestre 2014).

<sup>70</sup> As reported by Ismaila Zangou Barazi at the OMRN meeting, 24–25 October 2016, Hamburg.

<sup>71</sup> Donaldson 2013.

<sup>72</sup> The manuscripts with interlinear glosses in Jula were mentioned by Delafosse (1904, 259). A few examples of Jula Ajami glosses are given in Ogorodnikova 2017, 139–40.

<sup>73</sup> For example, the Maninka Ajami glosses in MSS BnF Arabe 5299, and 5609 are briefly presented in Ogorodnikova 2017, 140–1. Tal Tamari carried out an analysis of Maninka Ajami glosses in MS BnF Arabe 5670, which she presented at the OMRN meeting, 9–10 May 2016, Hamburg.

<sup>74</sup> For instance, Vydrine 1998 provides samples of Susu and Mogofin Ajami. In addition, Skinner (1976, 503 n8) mentions the usage of the Arabic alphabet for writing several local languages, including Susu and 'Mandingo'.

<sup>75</sup> See Smith 1965a, 233; Hunter 1977, 148.

<sup>76</sup> Hamès 1987. The manuscript with a list of Messenger's daughters, examined by Dobronravin and Konadu [unpublished], was found at the Bahamas national archive.

<sup>77</sup> See Dobronravin 1999; Vydrin 2014, 200.

In 2012, Nikolay Dobronravin, in the collection of the Trinity College Library, Dublin, discovered a considerable number of manuscripts annotated in a language, which he identified as ‘close to modern-day Soninke or Jakhanka’, and, hence, labelled it ‘Old Mande’.<sup>78</sup>

The present research builds on this crucial discovery. As I demonstrated further, the glosses in the manuscripts are written in a scholarly variety of the Soninke language, which does not have linguistic features that could be considered archaic. Therefore, I refer to the manuscripts as the *Soninke Ajami manuscripts*.<sup>79</sup>

The present work uncovers a ‘backstory’ of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts and the practices that underpinned their production. Despite Soninke being the primary language of the glosses, the manuscripts were produced by the scribes of different identities and linguistic backgrounds, connected through scholarly networks. Indeed, linguistic features of the Soninke glosses and orthographic conventions reflect the scribes’ diverse origins. This diversity underlines the essential role Soninke played as the language of educational instruction.

## **Presentation of the thesis**

### Research aims and objectives

The brief overview of classical Islamic education in previous paragraphs showed that the production of manuscripts was part of a learning process. Ajami annotations were probably the written counterpart to oral instruction in local languages. As such, the Soninke annotated manuscripts, written mainly before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, represent a unique (and so far, unexplored) source for the reconstruction of the Soninke and Jakhanke scholarly tradition from the past.

This thesis is thus the first comprehensive study of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts and Soninke writing in Arabic script. The aim of the present research is twofold: (1) to investigate the role the Soninke Ajami manuscripts played in the classical Islamic educational tradition; and (2) to reconstruct the context of teaching and learning from the manuscript evidence. This study will advance our understanding of the written medium of knowledge transmission among Soninke and Jakhanke and (from a comparative perspective) in West Africa.

The present research pursues the following objectives:

- Define the geographical and temporal reach of the Soninke and Jakhanke written tradition / manuscript culture by identifying and documenting the extant Soninke Ajami annotated manuscripts and establishing their dating and origin.
- Identify the texts contained in the manuscripts and the educational curriculum.
- Analyse the nature and content of scholarly instruction and the backgrounds of the teachers.
- Investigate the teaching methods/modes of knowledge transmission and the interplay between the oral and written realms.
- Analyse the role of the Soninke and its interrelation with Manding languages in the domain of educational instruction.

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<sup>78</sup> Dobronravin and Gittins 2013, Dobronravin [unpublished].

<sup>79</sup> I used the label ‘Old Mande manuscripts’ in my earlier work (Ogorodnikova 2016).

My research is based on the following sources:

- a) Soninke Ajami manuscripts.
- b) Chronicles, genealogies, and teaching chains (*silsilas*) in Arabic (however, they are only accessible as microfilms or photocopies).
- c) Colonial administration and travellers' accounts.
- d) Library catalogues and handlists.
- e) Fieldwork data on manuscripts, scholarly family histories and teaching and learning processes gathered from semi-structured interviews with teachers, students, manuscript owners, as well as observation of a few teaching sessions.

### Identification of manuscripts in West African private collections

In order to collect information on classical Islamic education and research manuscripts in private collections, I conducted five field trips in the years 2013–2017. The duration of the fieldwork ranged from two weeks to three months. The research sites included several localities in Senegal, Mali, and Burkina Faso. The choice of these localities was mainly motivated by the information given by local people. Pending the consent of several field informants and manuscript owners to reveal their identities, I only indicate their initials when referring to them in the thesis.

Following the recommendations of my informants, in the region of Casamance (southern Senegal), I visited its main city Ziguinchor and the villages of Marsassoum, Kaour, Niaguis, Adéane, Tambakoumba, Diagon, as well as Karantaba, Sédhiou and Tanaf. The identification of potential manuscript owners was made with the assistance of Dr Daman Cissokho, who also was of great help in negotiating access to their collections. The search for manuscripts in the last three villages was mediated and facilitated by Souleymane (Ousmane) Ngom.

In eastern Senegal, the research was undertaken in Bakel and the nearby villages Kounghany (Kougani, Kougeni), Diawara, and Dembanané, which are reputed for the advanced classical Islamic education.<sup>80</sup> In this area, my main guides were Ousman Djiméra and his son Mamadou Djiméra, as well as Idrissa Soukhouna, and Siré Wassa.

In Mali, scholarly fame surrounds Tafasirga, Daramané, and Kunjuru, to mention just a few. However, to date, I have only briefly visited Kunjuru.

In Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, I examined some private collections with the help of Sanou Moumouni.

With the owners' permission, I have digitised the Ajami manuscripts in their collections.

### Manuscript Corpus

The quantity of Ajami material in different manuscripts varies considerably, with the frequency of annotations ranging from occasional to systematic. In the present corpus, I included manuscripts

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<sup>80</sup> According to the explanations I received, the reputation of the scholarly families in these regions attracts students from other areas of Senegal and from neighbouring countries, such as The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau.

with at least one Soninke Ajami gloss.<sup>81</sup> Even though I sometimes considered in my analysis some manuscripts without Ajami or with Ajami in languages other than Soninke, I excluded them from the total count.

The current corpus comprises about 180 manuscript items hitherto identified in European and American libraries and West African private collections. The decision to include all these manuscripts in my analysis is conditioned by the necessity to preliminarily map the extent of the Soninke Ajami written tradition. The representative number of manuscripts allows for a fuller picture of Soninke manuscript culture and, specifically, for identifying general tendencies and idiosyncrasies in scribal practices. To investigate particular topics, such as the analysis of watermarks or the study of colophons and annotations, I focus on sub-sets of manuscripts from the corpus.

For quantitative assessment of Ajami manuscripts, it is important to define a unit of count. The manuscripts are loose-leaf, except for those which were bound in European libraries upon acquisition. They are usually assembled in binding holders, such as wrappers made of leather or cloth. Such codicological units are assigned with a shelf mark in the libraries. However, most of these manuscripts are composite; that is, they consist of formerly independent units (as evidenced, for example, by colophons).<sup>82</sup> Thus, within composite manuscripts, I count each unit separately, even if it is a fragment or a single leaf.

It is not rare that the division of composite manuscript volumes is already represented in catalogues by adding numbers or letters referring to separate texts between brackets after the shelf mark. In such cases, I follow the system introduced in the catalogues to avoid potential confusion. If the numbering is not done by the library, I count each unit separately and refer to it by indicating its respective folio numbers.<sup>83</sup>

Establishing items for the representation of private libraries without any systematic cataloguing is equally important. To each manuscript in private collections, I assign provisional codes consisting of three letters and a digit. The first letter of the code stands for the place name where a manuscript is currently located. The following two letters are the initials of the owner. The digit signifies the manuscript's sequential number. For example, nine Ajami manuscripts from the collection of Muḥammad (Lamine) Cissé from Ziguinchor received codes ZMC1–ZMC9.

When referring to manuscripts, I provide the shelf mark or code and the folio or page number. When no pagination is done, I refer to the corresponding digital image(s).

### ***Soninke Ajami corpus***

The material in my corpus for studying Soninke Ajami writing practices can roughly be distributed into two sets. The first set of data is represented by the Soninke Ajami glosses I have systematically recorded. This set includes more than 500 glosses from seven manuscripts.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> The frequency of glossing for each manuscript item is indicated in Appendix I.

<sup>82</sup> On the terminology of composite manuscripts, see Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 16.

<sup>83</sup> It should be noted that I only number the units with Ajami rather than all units within a composite manuscript.

<sup>84</sup> I have analysed and recorded all Ajami annotations in two manuscripts TCD MS 2179, BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 1a–12b. This analysis was presented at the Old Mande Research Network meeting held in Hamburg in May 2016.

The translational glosses in local languages may relate to one or few (function and content) words of the main text in Arabic and consist of single words (Mandinka Ajami glosses) or phrases and full sentences (Soninke glosses). Therefore, as a unit of count, I consider a translational unit linked to a particular source unit and which represents a minimally meaningful phrase or constituent. Independent/autonomous translational units attached to the same source unit are counted separately.

The second set is material without any systematic arrangement. It comprises glosses from the rest of the manuscript corpus, some of which I have only read and interpreted without any recording, and others which I have noted in handwritten or typed documents/drafts. In the present thesis, examples from both data sets are included.

### Analysis of manuscripts: Methodology and terminology

Taking the line of research developed within the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, my analysis of manuscripts is twofold: it concerns a manuscript's physical (material and visual) characteristics and content.<sup>85</sup> The material study includes examining the writing support and visual organization of the pages (layout).<sup>86</sup> The manuscript's content can be distinguished into *core-content* and *paracontent*.<sup>87</sup> In the context of the present work, the core-content relates to the main Arabic texts.<sup>88</sup> The *paracontent*, or *paratexts*, bearing information on the core-content and/or manuscript, comprise Arabic and Ajami annotations, colophons, and ownership statements. The term *paracontent* refers to all visual signs, including writing, images, and marks, found in a manuscript in addition to its core-content.<sup>89</sup> Since my analysis concerns the textual elements only, I prefer to use the term *paratext*.<sup>90</sup>

As already mentioned, the manuscripts kept in European and American libraries were examined and documented in catalogues or handlists. The description mainly concerns the core-content of the manuscripts but may also include some of their physical characteristics. Although I consider the information from previous sources, I nevertheless carry out my own examination. Therefore, in some cases, my identification of texts, authors, and vernacular languages in manuscripts may differ from those recorded in catalogues.

Yet there is no previous research on manuscripts from private West African collections. The codicological and content data used in the present study draw on my own analysis.

I do not study Arabic texts from the point of view of philology or textual criticism. Instead, I look at how the texts are represented in manuscripts to identify the most popular titles, thus,

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Furthermore, I have partially analysed and transcribed the glosses of manuscripts BmT MS 2234, pp 833–845, UBL Or. 14.052(8), PGL ORI 11/2, MS AAN1, and MS DNN2.

<sup>85</sup> Wimmer et al. 2015.

<sup>86</sup> However, I do not discuss the paleographical features in the manuscripts under examination in any depth.

<sup>87</sup> Ciotti et al. 2018.

<sup>88</sup> Manuscripts of esoteric content may also incorporate some graphic symbols or sequences of letter-like signs.

<sup>89</sup> Ciotti et al. 2018, 1.

<sup>90</sup> The definition of this term is provided in Ciotti and Lin 2016, vii.

investigating on curriculum,<sup>91</sup> while at the same time examining the correlations of texts and textual genres, layout and annotations for identifying the stages of learning.<sup>92</sup>

In my analysis of manuscripts from public libraries and private collections, I focus significantly on paratextual elements. I pay particular attention to colophons – paratexts having a documenting function – to extract data on manuscripts’ temporal and spatial origins, scribes, and owners.

Further, I investigate annotations – paratexts commenting on and interpreting the core-content. I adopt the approach suggested by Dmitry Bondarev and distinguish the annotations into two categories: *glosses* and *commentaries*, depending on their function, language, and placement on the page.<sup>93</sup> In the present corpus, the interlinear *glosses* mainly represent translational activities, and thus in their majority, they are written in Soninke and Manding. More extensive commentaries appear in the margins and explore the meaning of the main text, and they are mainly written in Arabic.

Annotations occupy the intermediary position between the users and the manuscripts’ core-content. They are, thus, in the centre of my study for reconstructing the usages of manuscripts in educational practices. In the current corpus, the scribes sometimes provide annotations with references to scholars from whom the information was obtained or who wrote it down. I regard these references as ‘documentary sources’,<sup>94</sup> which, despite their fragmentary nature, may offer insights into the Soninke and Jakhanke scholarly traditions. By combining the data from the references in various manuscripts and other primary and secondary sources, I piece together the data on local scholars and their networks, as well as on methods and lines of knowledge transmission.

The Ajami glosses in manuscripts reflect translation practices and the role of local languages in classical Islamic education. Following the scholarship on Qur’anic exegesis in African languages,<sup>95</sup> I investigate how the Soninke and Manding glosses render the structures of Arabic texts, as well as the specific nature of the Soninke of the glosses as the language of educational instruction.

Deciphering Ajami writing can be a challenging task. During the initial stages of working with the glosses, Shuaybu Tanjogoora, Sanou Diallo, and Ousmane Djiméra guided me through several pages of a theological poem by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī.<sup>96</sup> This allowed for establishing some correspondences in grammatical and lexical items between Arabic and Soninke and gave clues for further interpretations.

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<sup>91</sup> On methods of reconstruction of texts and subjects studied, see, for example, Hall and Stewart 2011; Ciotti 2021.

<sup>92</sup> This approach is developed in Bondarev 2017.

<sup>93</sup> Bondarev 2017, 119–20.

<sup>94</sup> According to Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler’s definition, documentary sources, such as letters, tombstone inscriptions, pilgrimage certificates, and manuscript notes, are opposed to narrative sources such as chronicles, biographical dictionaries, autobiographies, by their ‘less developed narrative structure’ (Görke and Hirschler 2011, 11).

<sup>95</sup> Bondarev 2014, 2017, 2022; Tamari and Bondarev 2013a; Tamari 2005, 2013, 2019.

<sup>96</sup> This text is contained in BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 1a-12b.

## Outline of the chapters

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Each chapter focuses on various aspects of the manuscripts' materiality and (para)content.

One of the main aspects of this research is the identification of manuscripts with Soninke Ajami materials. Chapter 1 overviews the discovery of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts and the development of the corpus. The first part of the chapter concerns the collections of European libraries. It provides information on the provenance and acquisition of manuscripts, as well as available catalogues and descriptions. The second part is dedicated to fieldwork and working with private manuscript owners in Senegal, Mali, and Burkina Faso. Thus, Chapter 1 defines the scope of the studied manuscripts while giving preliminary information on their codicological properties (binding, formats, layout), contents, origin, and linguistic configurations.

Chapter 2 examines the physical aspects of manuscripts, in particular, the writing support. It attempts to date the manuscripts through watermarks. The watermarks in examined manuscripts evidence predominantly British but also French and Italian manufacture. The concluding section of Chapter 2 assumes a certain distribution between the origin of paper and the origin of the manuscripts and suggests possible channels of paper supply.

Chapter 3 develops around the manuscripts' core-content. The chapter studies the distribution of Arabic texts in manuscripts, grouping them according to subject matters and describing their authors, main themes, and frequency in manuscripts. Thus, the chapter established the popular teaching texts of the Soninke manuscript culture. Through the comparative analysis of manuscripts from different regions of West Africa, it also identifies common grounds and differences in teaching. Further, Chapter 3 explores the correlations between textual genres, texts, and layout, which gives insights into the functional domain of manuscripts and the levels of education.

Chapters 4 to 7 examine paratextual elements in manuscripts. Several case studies in the first section of Chapter 4 show how identifying individuals may help to date the manuscripts (the temporal information otherwise is not included in colophons). The following section is concerned with toponyms and the location of places of manuscript production. Lastly, Chapter 4 analyses colophons written in vernacular language (Mandinka) indicative of scribal linguistic identities and (implicitly) their places of origin.

Chapters 5 and 6 approach marginal annotations (mainly commentaries in Arabic), which contain references to textual sources and local scholars. Chapter 5 brings together information about the mentioned scholars collected from the studied manuscripts and external sources. This data on scholars includes their origins, floruits, merits (e.g., texts taught or authored) and scholarly connections. Chapter 5 reconstructs chains of knowledge transmission and scholarly networks behind manuscript production. The connections between the distinct network identified are further established.

The references at the end of some annotations indicate that they were written down by the hands of students after their teachers' instruction. Chapter 6 aims to reconstruct teaching and learning practices. Based on the referenced annotations, the chapter identifies some of the textual sources employed in education and determines what information was transmitted from teachers to their students. The references testify that the annotations were written down from spoken words and

copied from written sources. Chapter 6 investigates whether the formulaic expressions in the references are to be taken at their face value. It also probes the possibility that the annotations were copied together with the main text by comparing several manuscripts with the same core-content. The last section of Chapter 6 shows what information can be obtained from references about students.

Keeping in view the origin of manuscripts in time and space and within the scholarly networks, Chapter 7 proceeds to analyse vernacular glosses. The chapter starts with detecting the labels used by the scribes for the glosses in local languages. The following part outlines the scribal strategies for writing Soninke in Arabic script. It demonstrates that orthographic conventions were most likely conditioned by the linguistic background of the scribes. The translational techniques, both in the Soninke glosses and the additional Manding layer, are addressed next. This part describes the patterns of syntactic and lexical correspondences between Arabic and vernaculars. The interactions between various languages in the glosses evidence the multilingual nature of instruction and reflect the distribution of the languages in educational practices.

The concluding part of the thesis summarises its main findings, discusses its limitations, and lays out questions for further research.

In addition to the main chapters, the thesis contains four appendices. Appendix I lists examined manuscripts with Soninke and Manding Ajami materials. Each manuscript item is described as to its writing support, content, dating, origin, and languages.

Appendix II summarises the data on watermarks in paper, establishing, when possible, the dates and places of paper production.

Appendix III schematically represents the networks of scholars from the manuscripts of the two groups: Jakhanke and Soninke. The schemes reflect the teacher-student and kin relation between scholars and indicate the manuscripts with the texts they have taught/studied or authored.

Appendix IV provides translations of Arabic and Ajami annotations referring to local (mainly Jakhanke) scholars.



## Chapter 1. Collections

### Introduction

The present chapter outlines the discovery of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts and the creation of the corpus under discussion.<sup>97</sup> It overviews the manuscript collections examined to date at various locations and previous research on them (when available). The chapter summarises the information on manuscripts as to their dating, origin, and content based on catalogues data and the preliminary examination of paper and paratexts.<sup>98</sup>

This chapter consists of two main parts. The first part focuses on Soninke Ajami manuscripts in public libraries in Europe and the USA and these countries' initiatives to preserve private collections in Africa. The second part concerns private collections identified during my field trips to Senegal, Mali, and Burkina Faso.

### Manuscript collections in public institutions in Europe and the USA

The first discovery of manuscripts with Soninke Ajami annotations was made by Nikolay Dobronravin at Trinity College library in Dublin in 2012. Furthermore, he pointed out other European and American collections and even specific manuscripts within those collections, which were worth exploring for Mande language materials. More indications came from Dmitry Bondarev, who examined manuscripts in libraries in England and the Netherlands.

The annotated Soninke Ajami manuscripts in European collections are usually scattered among 'Arabic' or 'Oriental' manuscripts. Catalogues and inventories described them with varying degrees of precision. However, their West African origin and the presence of non-Arabic glosses remained largely unrecognised. While several catalogues did flag Ajami materials, the language identification was sometimes imprecise or inaccurate. For example, the glosses in Soninke were labelled as either Hausa or Fulfulde – the languages well-known for their Ajami writing traditions. Consequently, in order to detect West African manuscripts in the broader array of Arabic (script) manuscripts, it was necessary to look for indirect clues in catalogue descriptions, such as script style (e.g., *sudānī*) or binding (e.g., loose-leaf, leather or cloth binding holders). It was further necessary to examine every page of the manuscripts picked in this manner for the presence of Ajami.

It should be noted that for various reasons, I could not examine manuscripts in several collections as actual objects. In such cases, my analysis draws on studying their digital images, catalogue sources and notes, kindly shared with me by Nikolay Dobronravin and Dmitry Bondarev.

The overview begins with manuscripts held at Trinity College, Dublin, which was the first significant collection of Soninke Ajami materials to be discovered. Yet, I introduce the other libraries' collections according to their geographical location rather than the chronology of manuscripts' identification.

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<sup>97</sup> For a general survey of West African manuscript collections and research initiatives, see, for example, Nobili 2012–3; Krätli 2015.

<sup>98</sup> Chapters 2–4 explore these aspects in greater detail.

Several collections discussed below contain manuscripts from various West African cultures. This survey, however, is primarily concerned with manuscripts with Ajami in Soninke or other Mande languages. While I occasionally mention Ajami materials in other languages (beyond the scope of this research), I did not study these manuscripts in detail, nor did I attempt to compile a comprehensive list of them.

Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland

First mentioned by Jan Knappert, West African manuscripts from the library of Trinity College, Dublin (TCD) are described as Hausa.<sup>99</sup> Later on, as Nikolay Dobronravin notes, the manuscripts were studied by Brad Martin.<sup>100</sup> Dobronravin's examination revealed that even though some of the manuscripts did contain words and phrases in Hausa, the whole collection was much more diverse and covered at least three different regions. Dobronravin describes the manuscripts of interest for the current study as of "Suwarian" scribal culture of Senegambia and adjacent Mande-speaking areas' with glosses in a Mande language 'close to either Soninke of Jaxanka'.<sup>101</sup> The subsequent analyses of these manuscripts by each scholar are reflected in the TCD online catalogue.<sup>102</sup> Digital images of the manuscripts are also accessible on the TCD website.

The manuscript TCD MS 2179 was gifted to TCD in 1934. However, it was acquired in Africa much earlier, around 1805.<sup>103</sup> It is a single text manuscript, with legal manual *al-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996).<sup>104</sup> Ajami glosses appear only at the beginning, up to the folio 34a. The remaining text (from f. 40a) is written in different handwriting and ends with a colophon indicating the place of production, but not the time.

Another copy of *al-Risāla* with glosses makes part of TCD MS 2689, ff 15a–107a; it is acephalous and incomplete at the end. The same composite manuscript, ff 108a–138b, has a poem on Arabic grammar *Mir'āt al-ṭullāb* 'Looking glass of the students' composed by the eminent Jakhanke scholar Al-Hājj Sālim Kassama (1730–1824/29/36) in 1803.<sup>105</sup> This date means, that the composite TCD MS 2689, the time of acquisition of which is unknown, is unlikely to have been compiled before the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Two other manuscripts, MS 3499 and MS 3500, entered the TCD collection in 1898.<sup>106</sup> Each consists of several units assembled in leather binding holders. TCD MS 3499 comprises four units, produced by the same person. Of them, two contain texts with glosses: a theological text *Tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawhīd* by al-Ghazalī (d. 517/1123) and the largest creed *al-Kubrā* by al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486). Similarly, TCD MS 3500 predominantly contains works on theology, including three by al-Sanūsī and two by certain Muḥammad b. 'Umar.<sup>107</sup> The last folios (*ca.* ff 155–214) are of

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<sup>99</sup> Jan Knappert's paper focuses on a manuscript with a Swahili Ajami poem. Unfortunately, he only mentions other manuscripts briefly, without giving shelf marks or further details. See Knappert 1969.

<sup>100</sup> Dobronravin [unpublished].

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> None of the manuscripts described in the following section, regardless of their acquisition dates, is mentioned among the Arabic manuscripts in Tomas Abbott's catalogue compiled for Trinity College in 1900.

<sup>103</sup> The exact provenance within Africa is unknown. Dobronravin [unpublished].

<sup>104</sup> The references to GAL and ALA are provided in Appendix I.

<sup>105</sup> See Chapter 3 for details on the poem.

<sup>106</sup> Dobronravin [unpublished].

<sup>107</sup> See the discussion on this author in Chapter 3.

various formats and different hands. They contain healing or protective instructions, for example, a recipe against eye pain (f. 195b) or an amulet protecting from a knife and gun/rifle (f. 204b). They are written in Arabic with some words and phrases in Mandinka Ajami.

Nikolay Dobronravin has also identified several short texts in Manding Ajami as part of TCD MS 2686. They are, however, not included in the current research.

John Rylands Library, Manchester, UK

Composite manuscript 780[825] from the John Ryland Library (JRL) consists of 128 folios kept in a leather binder. This manuscript, along with others, was collected by Alphonse Mingana during his travels to Egypt, Syria, and Iraq in 1924–1929.<sup>108</sup> Mingana’s catalogue classifies MS 780[825], consisting of eighteen units, among manuscripts of mixed content. Each unit is assigned with a letter placed between brackets. The description includes texts and authors, transcription of colophons, and dating. For instance, unit (A), dated in the catalogue by 1640,<sup>109</sup> is written on paper with watermarks of the early 19th century. Similarly, the catalogue date for the unit (E) is 1670,<sup>110</sup> although it contains a poem authored by *al-Ḥājj b. Muḥammad al-Zaghāwiyu al-Kasanmā al-Maghribī*. As well as in the case of TCD MS 2689, the author may be identified with al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama, whose floruit falls in the second half 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The catalogue description does not mention the presence of Soninke Ajami annotations in nine units of JRL MS 780[825]. In addition, some glosses (e.g., f. 1a) and colophons (e.g., f. 44a) are in Mandinka.

Other manuscripts from West Africa entered the JRL collections as gifts from different individuals and institutions.<sup>111</sup> Of potential interest is MS 835[847], acquired in The Gambia. It comprises about two hundred loose folios with prayers, invocations, and charms.<sup>112</sup> Some words and phrases could be in local languages, as often occurs with manuscripts that contain such material. However, it has yet to be verified.

Palace Green Library, Durham, UK

Among the manuscripts of the Palace Green Library (PGL), ORI/Arab 11 has Ajami materials. According to the acquisition note, it was captured as a trophy during the seizure of Sabagee (modern-day The Gambia) in 1853. It consists of about 240 unbound leaves, kept together in a leather case. The note describes the manuscript as a copy of the Qur’an.<sup>113</sup> The manuscript’s folios actually contain three works on theology, two of which are versions of al-Sanūsī’s creed: intermediate (*al-‘Aqīda al-wuṣṭā*) and the smallest (*Ṣaghīra al-ṣughrā*).<sup>114</sup> Towards its end, this latter text incorporates some lines in alternating phrases in Arabic and Soninke. The third text is a

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<sup>108</sup> Mingana 1934, xi and 1055.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 1048.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 1050. Unit (F) is another copy of the same poem.

<sup>111</sup> Bosworth 1973–4, 63.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>113</sup> Nikolay Dobronravin’s notes.

<sup>114</sup> My identification of these two texts differs from the PGL’s inventory list.

work by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Abī Maḥallī, quoting authoritative authors on theology and legal matters. All three manuscript units have Arabic-Mandinka colophons, indicating the same owner.

British Library, London, UK

Two composite manuscripts, Or. 4897 and Or. 6473, from the collections of the British Library (BL), are of interest for the current research. Each consists of several units, with works on different subjects, such as theology, Islamic law, and Sufism. Yet, the first description by Ellis and Edwards (1912) is only generic. It does, however, recognise the West African origin of the manuscripts, and mentions glosses in a local language in MS Or. 4987.<sup>115</sup>

Recently, Paul J. Naylor has examined the manuscripts in detail. His analysis covers the identification of texts and authors, as well as names of scribes and places in colophons, watermarks, and annotations. The description is available online in the British Library’s catalogue.

Of about 286 folios, the BL MS Or. 6473 contains thirty-four separate works, eleven are annotated in Soninke Ajami.<sup>116</sup> One of the pages (f. 284a) is an amulet/charm against back pain written in Arabic and Mandinka. The manuscript was presented to the British Museum (and later transferred to the BL) by Julius Bertram in 1903. No further information is available about where the latter obtained the manuscript. Yet, the acquisition may be used as a limit date to estimate when the composite manuscript was assembled. The *terminus post quem* are watermark date ‘1819’ (e.g., ff 126a–133b). Furthermore, the text on ff 105a–106a is the obituary of al-Ḥājj Salīm Kassama, who lived in Touba in Futa [Jallon] (Guinea)<sup>117</sup> and died in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The other composite manuscript, BL MS Or. 4897, was acquired in 1895 from Sir Henry Rawlinson (1810–1895).<sup>118</sup> It includes about twenty works, about a half of them being annotated. It also contains several folios of healing and protective content written in Mandinka Ajami (e.g., ff 303–307).

According to Paul Naylor, BL MS Or. 6473 and MS Or. 4897 are linked since they have manuscript units written by the Suware lineage members.<sup>119</sup> Consequently, they are also likely associated with TCD MS 2689, also produced by Suware scribes.<sup>120</sup>

Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (Leiden University Library), Leiden, Netherlands

In 1973, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (UvL) acquired a collection of Arabic manuscripts of René Basset (1855–1924), a famous orientalist who, since 1880, lived and worked in Algiers.<sup>121</sup> Presumably, the manuscripts were collected at that time.

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<sup>115</sup> Ellis and Edwards 1912, 15–6.

<sup>116</sup> See the description in the British Library’s online catalogue.

<sup>117</sup> Naylor [blogpost] 2016.

<sup>118</sup> Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson was an officer of the British army and Orientalist. See <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-Creswicke-Rawlinson>> (last accessed May 2020).

<sup>119</sup> Naylor [presentation] 2015.

<sup>120</sup> Dobronravin [unpublished].

<sup>121</sup> The library acquired the collection from Brill Booksellers, who, in turn, bought the manuscripts in 1958. See van Koningsveld 1973, 370; Witkam 1983, 1.

Within this collection, there are a few manuscripts originating from West Africa.<sup>122</sup> For instance, MS Or. 14.045 is a Qur'an, written on loose leaves watermarked with arms of Amsterdam.<sup>123</sup> The same binding also held fragments of several other theological and legal works, which received the shelf mark Or. 14.052.<sup>124</sup> Van Koningsveld's inventory distinguishes four parts in this composite manuscript.<sup>125</sup> The catalogue and inventory compiled by Witkam divide the manuscript into eleven units, with a number for each of them placed between brackets.<sup>126</sup> The current work retains this reference system. However, it is worth noting that units (1) and (8) with fragments of *al-Risāla* probably belong together, even though there are lacunae in between. Similarly, unit (4) and ff 1–2 of unit (9) contain fragments of the same text by al-Sanūsī on attributes of God.

Several manuscript units of Or. 14.052 contain annotations in Ajami. As for their language, Van Koningsveld identified it as Hausa.<sup>127</sup> Witkam used a broader definition of 'one or more West African languages'.<sup>128</sup> Lameen Souag's preliminary analysis pointed towards a language of Voltaic region.<sup>129</sup> In turn I identify the language of Ajami annotations as Soninke, despite their somewhat peculiar spelling (discussed in more detail in Chapter 7).

The time and place of production of the manuscript remain uncertain. Besides the acquisition dates in the late 19th century, the watermarks suggest its production in the second half 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Bibliothèque nationale de France (National Library of France), Paris, France

One of the most important collections of West African manuscripts in Europe kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) is known as 'Bibliothèque 'Umarienne de Ségo', 'Bibliothèque d'Ahmadou' or 'Fonds Archinard'.<sup>130</sup> The manuscripts previously belonged to the library of al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall (d. 1864) and his son and successor Amadu Sheku (Aḥmad al-Kabīr, d. 1897).<sup>131</sup> They were captured as part of war booty by Colonel Archinard (1850–1932) in Segou

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<sup>122</sup> Other than the two manuscripts discussed further in this section, there is Or. 15.050 originating from Mauritania, Or. 15.055E written in Hassaniya Arabic (Senegal) and Or. 14.063 from Sokoto. See: Souag [presentation] 2013.

<sup>123</sup> Witkam 1983, 71.

<sup>124</sup> The photographs of the manuscript are accessible in the Digital collections of UBL.

<sup>125</sup> Van Koningsveld 1973, 382.

<sup>126</sup> Catalogue entries include information about copyists, scripts, marginal annotations and watermarks. A description, omitting their codicological details, is available along with the catalogue: <<http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html>> (last accessed April 2020).

<sup>127</sup> Van Koningsveld 1973, 382.

<sup>128</sup> Witkam 1983, 96–98.

<sup>129</sup> Souag [presentation] 2013.

<sup>130</sup> English appellations include 'Umarienne library' or 'Library of Amadu Seku'.

<sup>131</sup> See Robinson (Encyclopaedia of Islam online).

(Mali) in 1890 and entered the BnF two years later in 1892.<sup>132</sup> Between 1898 and 1901, they were taken out of the chests and bound by personnel of the BnF to form 518 volumes.<sup>133</sup>

The first inventory of the manuscripts was done by French orientalist Edgard Blochet (1870–1937) in 1925. However, he omitted several volumes in his description.<sup>134</sup> Later on, the manuscripts were fully inventoried by the Arabist and Hebraist George Vajda (1908–1981), who also published a survey of the collection’s content.<sup>135</sup> Finally, a comprehensive inventory was compiled by Ghali, Mahibou and Brenner.<sup>136</sup> The description of the manuscripts is also provided in the BnF online catalogue.

As for the writings in local languages, Vajda’s survey mentioned some texts in ‘one of the languages of Sudan’.<sup>137</sup> Ghali, Mahibou and Brenner identify about fifteen manuscripts with texts written in Fulfulde. However, the glosses in non-Arabic languages remained without attention, with one notable exception of BnF MS Arabe 5685 (f. 56ab). Soninke annotations are erroneously labelled as ‘Fulfulde’ in the inventory’s entry.<sup>138</sup>

The manuscripts of the ‘Fonds Archinard’ are accessible for viewing and downloading on the BnF website in the form of digitised microfilms. The accessibility of digital copies allowed searching for Ajami annotations in a targeted and systematic way, working through the totality of five hundred odd volumes instead of randomly picking manuscripts. I then examined the selected manuscript originals in the BnF reading room.<sup>139</sup>

Such a systematic search led me to identify fifty manuscript units annotated in Soninke, many of which are part of composites. The units are of various volumes, mostly not exceeding a hundred folios. The amount of Ajami material also differs. Aside from that, some manuscripts have annotations in Soninke and another Mande language in the same manuscript.

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<sup>132</sup> In the introduction to his catalogue, Blochet gives the date of seizure as 1894 (Blochet 1925, ii). This same date is later quoted by Vajda (Vajda 1950, 229). In contrast, according to the library’s donation register, the manuscripts were received in October 1892 (Guide de Source de l’Histoire de l’Afrique 1976). In the introduction to their inventory, Ghali, Mahibou and Brenner retain 1890 for Segou’s capture and 1892 for the manuscripts’ acquisition at the BnF. They also suggest a provisional chronology of the Umarian library formation. The first two stages are linked to the activities of Al-Ḥājj ‘Umar Tall in Futa Jallon between 1840 and his death in 1864. The final stage is related to the reign of Amadu Sheku in Niuro, from 1864 to 1884. These dates may serve as a further reference point for approximate dating of some individual manuscripts. See Ghali, Mahibou and Brenner 1985, vii–ix.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. The number 511 is suggested by Vajda (1950, 229).

<sup>134</sup> From MS Arabe 5506 onwards, the manuscripts are only described as ‘miscellanies of different fragments and opuscules’ (Blochet 1925, 106).

<sup>135</sup> A preliminary inventory by Vajda was published in the Guide to the Sources of the History of Africa (1976). In addition, his typewritten notes were digitised and are accessible on the BnF website. For the analysis of the content of the collection, see Vajda 1950.

<sup>136</sup> Ghali, Mahibou and Brenner 1985. Another work worth mentioning is the article by Smith (1959) which sums up the his analysis of the collection (Ghali, Mahibou and Brenner 1985, vii; Krätli 2015, 43). Unfortunately, I was not yet able to access this publication.

<sup>137</sup> Vajda 1950, 230 n1.

<sup>138</sup> Ghali, Mahibou and Brenner 1985, 236.

<sup>139</sup> My gratitude goes to Marie-Geneviève Guesdon for her kind assistance in accessing the manuscripts and providing me with information about the collection.

Several manuscripts in the collection of the BnF, not included in the current study, have annotations in Mande languages. In addition, Mande Ajami manuscripts contain single words and phrases with the names of plants, animals or tools and instructions on producing healing remedies and amulets.<sup>140</sup>

Musée du quai Branly (Quai Branly Museum), Paris, France

Since 2006, the Musée du quai Branly (MQB) hosts a collection of West African manuscripts transferred from the Musée nationale des Arts d’Afrique et Océanie (MAAO), which ceased to exist in 2003.<sup>141</sup> The collection was donated to this latter museum (called at the time Musée de la France d’outre mer) in 1946 by General Réquin, the nephew of Colonel Archinard. Presumably, the manuscripts were captured from the library of Amadu in Bandiagara in 1893.<sup>142</sup> The collection is known as ‘Fonds Réquin’, or else ‘petit fonds Archinard’.

This collection’s manuscripts were examined by Jilali El Adnani (2000–1). Of interest for the present study AF 14722(87),<sup>143</sup> he describes as a loose-leaf manuscript kept in a leather cover written by *Sa’īd b. Muḥammad Kayi*, whose name appears in the colophon on f. 217b, and containing a theological work *Kitāb al-tawhīd* with annotations in Fulani/Fulfulde.<sup>144</sup> The manuscript, however, appears to consist of several units written by more than one scribe, as suggested by varying handwriting and support. Moreover, on f. 114b and f. 174a, there are an ownership mark and a colophon by a certain ‘*Uthmanā Dābu*’ (‘Uthmān Daaboo).

In addition, more than one text appears in this composite manuscript. The preface on the first folios corresponds to the intermediate version of al-Sanūsī’s creed (*al-‘Aqīda al-wuṣṭā*), whereas the concluding lines on f. 217ab are from its shorter version (*al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā*). The pages in between are in disorder. The foliation in pencil, done by librarians, disregards text sequence on many occasions, and appears inversely.<sup>145</sup> The combination of codicological, palaeographic, and textual evidence allows distinguishing in MS AF14722(87) between at least six units as follows:<sup>146</sup>

- (1) The beginning of al-Sanūsī’s *al-‘Aqīda al-wuṣṭā*.
- (2) A shorter version of al-Sanūsī’s, *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā*, missing the beginning and with lacunae, ending with the colophon on f. 217b.
- (3) Another copy of *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā*, possibly lacking one folio at the beginning. The text is unfinished, without a colophon or any ownership marks.

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<sup>140</sup> For example, healing recipes are found in MS Arabe 5474, f. 153a (Ajami parts are not vocalised), MS Arabe 5442, f. 49b; names of plants in MS Arabe 5687, ff 75b–67a, MS Arabe 5713, f. 82ab and f. 84a; names of solar months in MS Arabe 5724, f. 132a.

<sup>141</sup> Originally founded in 1931 as ‘Musée de Colonie’, the museum has changed its name several times, most recently in 1991 (BnF data website). The manuscripts – original or microfilms – are available for consultation at the Cabinet de Fonds Précieux upon request. The microfilms are also accessible at Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes (IRHT).

<sup>142</sup> Adnani 2000–1, 154–5; Krätli 2015, 44.

<sup>143</sup> Several objects were first inventoried under one shelf mark 14722. The numbers in brackets (from 16 to 184) were added later to indicate individual manuscripts (Adnani 2000–1, 154).

<sup>144</sup> Adnani 2000–1, 165.

<sup>145</sup> The text goes from the verso to the recto side of one folio, then continues from the verso to the recto of the previous folio, and so on (e.g., 20b–20a, 19b–19a, 18b–18a).

<sup>146</sup> There are also two single leaves that do not seem to belong to any of the identified texts.

- (4) Unidentified poem on *tawhīd*
- (5) A poem on theological matters *Dalīl al-qā'id li-kashf asrār šifāt al-Wāḥid* by Muḥammad al-Šāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjilī, known as Ibn Sulaym.
- (6) A fragment of theological work by Muḥammad b. 'Umar.

Each of the units identified above (except for units 4 and 5) is written on similar paper types and in similar handwriting, different from those in other units. Thus, all manuscript units appear to have been produced by different scribes, two of whom are mentioned in colophons, while others remain unknown. The dates in watermarks suggest different times of production: the early and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century for units (1) and (4) and mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> century for (2).<sup>147</sup>

Within the composite MS AF 14722, manuscripts numbered (41), (56), and (90) also have some Soninke Ajami materials. Only MS AF 14722(41) contains a complete text praising the Prophet with frequent annotations. The text finishes with a colophon written in Mandinka. The manuscript AF 14722(56) is a single leaf with a text on marriage with few glosses. Finally, MS AF 14722(90) is a copy of *al-Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā* by al-Sanūsī of five folios, missing the end. The following f. 6b has some lines in Arabic and Mandinka Ajami. The presence of Ajami is not signalled in Adnani's description in any of these instances.

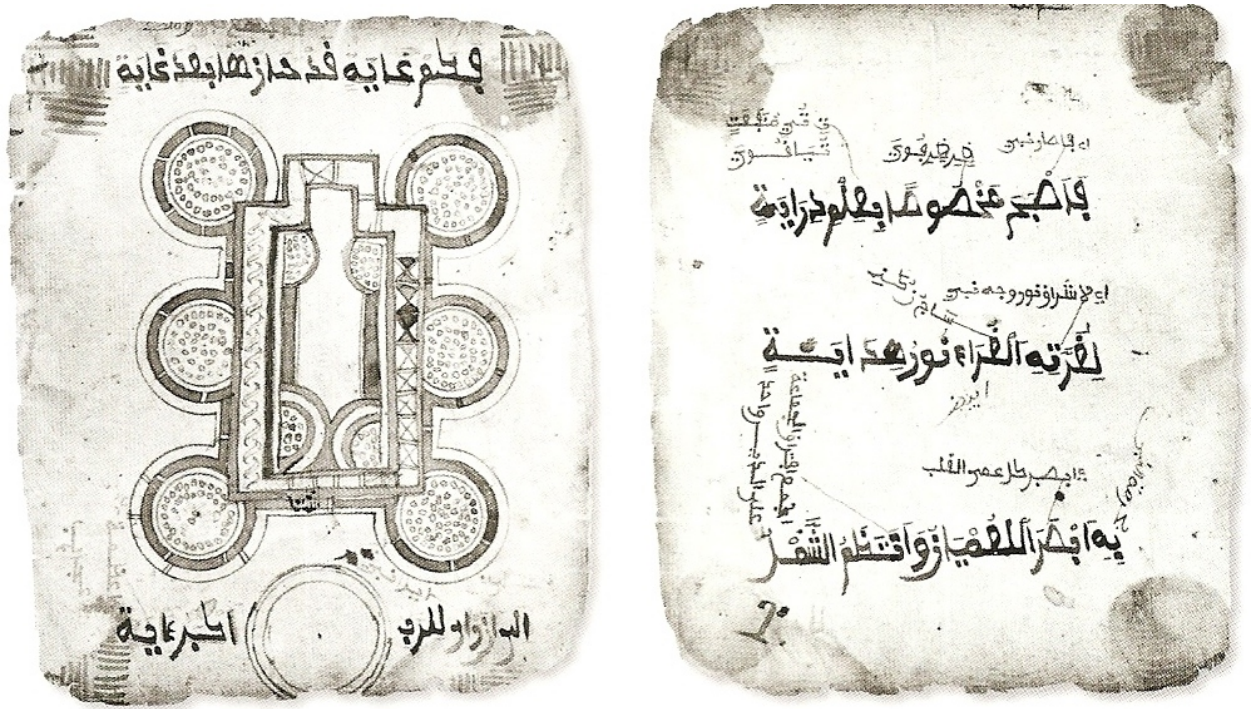
The storerooms of MQB accommodate some more manuscripts from the ex-MAAO collections.<sup>148</sup> Unfortunately, the online guide does not indicate their provenance. One of the objects (inventory number 74.1962.0.1577) is a single leaf with an elaborated decoration and some lines of an Arabic text. The 1962 MAAO inventory classified this folio as an amulet. The current online catalogue entry emphasises the aesthetic qualities of the manuscript. However, it does also include the transcription of the lines on the verso side. The text may be identified as Ibn Mahīb's *takhmīs* of *'Ishrīnīyyāt* by al-Fāzāzī.

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<sup>147</sup> See Chapter 2 for specification of watermarks.

<sup>148</sup> Access to manuscripts requires authorization, which may take one to three months.





**Figure 1.** A microfilmed copy of the single leaf from the collection of ex-MAAO with the lines of Ibn Mahīb’s poem annotated in Soninke.

The verso side of the decorated page contains a few Soninke glosses, as can be seen on microfilm (Fig. 1), shared with me by Nikolay Dobronravin. The illumination indicates that the poem has reached its middle. In other manuscripts with Ibn Mahīb’s poem, this exact verse is also accompanied by short phrases marking its half inscribed in decorated frames.<sup>149</sup>

Furthermore, there is a manuscript with the inventory number 73.2012.0.877, consisting of loose leaves, possibly of some hundred folios. Unfortunately, the online catalogue only gives the picture of the first page, making it difficult to guess the content of the entire manuscript. Other manuscripts of the former Musée de l’Homme held at the MQB are also worth exploring for the presence of Ajami material.

Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations (University Library of Languages and Civilisations), Paris, France

The Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations (BULAC) holds the second most important collection of Islamic manuscripts in France. It comprises more than two thousand items, including West African manuscripts.<sup>150</sup> The collection is formed in several stages and from various sources.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>149</sup> For example, *kamala niṣf hunā* ‘half [of the poem] ended here’ (EAP 1042/1/1, p.183); *hunā niṣf Ibn Mahīb* ‘here a half of [the poem] by Ibn Mahīb’ (MS AAN3, di 1301). Similar phrases and decorations also appear in MS ZMC1, di 5536, and MS ZAC1, di 2952.

<sup>150</sup> This number only concerns Arabic manuscripts, the majority of which come from the Maghreb (see Richard 2013). The collections of the BULAC encompass Persian and Turkish manuscripts.

<sup>151</sup> A manuscript’s acquisition reference is essential in understanding its provenance. Unfortunately, however, such references are absent from some manuscripts (Zouhour Chaabane, personal communication, December 2018).

My exploration of the collection was based on two main sources. First, the catalogue of Abraham Danon (1857–1925) includes descriptions of about six hundred manuscripts arranged according to their subject matter.<sup>152</sup> Equally helpful was an inventory compiled by Francis Richard.<sup>153</sup> So far, six Soninke Ajami annotated manuscripts have been identified based on indirect evidence.<sup>154</sup>

The first manuscript identified with the abundant Soninke Ajami annotation in the collection of BULAC, MS.ARA.219bis on ff 1–8, was examined on microfilm.<sup>155</sup> Upon checking the original in the library, it turned out that MS.ARA.219bis comprises several manuscript units kept together in a leather wrapper with a strap (Fig. 3, right). Eleven of them, mainly with texts on theology, are annotated.<sup>156</sup> It is worth noting that units on ff. 22a–38b and ff 307a–320a have the same text and almost identical annotations with minor differences in spelling and arrangement on the page.<sup>157</sup> The composite manuscript also includes several pages of esoteric content with words and phrases written in Ajami Mandinka. The descriptive note by Octave Houdas, dated November 1895, enclosed with the manuscript, serves as a *terminus ante quem* for MS.ARA.219bis.<sup>158</sup>

A similar note by Houdas, also from 1895, describes MS.ARA.165a, as well. As per its description, the manuscript contains a collection of *ḥadīth* works and originates from ‘Soudan’.<sup>159</sup> The loose folios of the manuscript are of thick paper without watermarks. They are in disorder and without pagination. According to my assessment, the manuscript contains the biography of the Prophet entitled *Kitāb al-shifā’ bi-ta’rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* by al-Qaḍī ‘Iyād (d. 544/1149).<sup>160</sup> One page within this text incorporates talismanic symbols, accompanied by instructions in Mandinka Ajami.<sup>161</sup> The last four folios of MS.ARA.165a, written by a different hand, contain a poem on

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<sup>152</sup> The catalogue is unpublished, but a photocopy of Danon’s manuscript is available for consultation in BULAC’s reading room.

<sup>153</sup> This inventory can be downloaded from the following link: <[https://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1617/files/2013/10/Manuscrits-arabes\\_Francis-Richard.pdf](https://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1617/files/2013/10/Manuscrits-arabes_Francis-Richard.pdf)> (last accessed May 2020). Currently, the description of manuscripts of BULAC is published as part of an online electronic catalogue “Calames”, which is a collective catalogue for the manuscript collections kept at French universities’ libraries (Richard 2013). The entries in the online catalogue include occasional references to non-Arabic languages in manuscripts.

<sup>154</sup> I owe my profound gratitude to Khaled Breiche, who helped me with the digitisation of three of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts: MS.ARA.112b, MS.ARA.165a, and MS.ARA.219bis. In addition, the collection of BULAC holds numerous manuscripts with texts and annotations in Fulfulde, such as MS.ARA.95a, MS.ARA.378, MS.ARA.381, MS.ARA.723, MS.ARA.742, MS.ARA.783, MS.ARA.873, MS.ARA.884, MS.ARA.1029, MS.ARA.1063, and MS.ARA.610bis. The latter is digitised and available for download on the library’s website.

<sup>155</sup> I thank Nikolay Dobronravin for sharing the microfilm.

<sup>156</sup> The manuscript lacked foliations when I examined it in 2013; it was, however, added sometime in 2018. Also, the leaves with healing and protective recipes, previously scattered among other texts, were gathered at the end of the manuscript.

<sup>157</sup> The manuscript unit (3) of ff 22a–38b ends with a colophon. However, the unit (11) discontinues on f. 320a.

<sup>158</sup> Octave Houdas (1840–1916) was a professor of Arabic at the School of oriental languages in Paris. See <[https://data.bnf.fr/en/11907770/octave\\_houdas/](https://data.bnf.fr/en/11907770/octave_houdas/)> (last accessed May 2020).

<sup>159</sup> Most likely, Houdas employs the term Soudan to designate the area in West Africa. The note’s content is reproduced in Danon’s catalogue on p. 80.

<sup>160</sup> For instance, the title *Kitāb al-shifā’ bi-ta’rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* appears in a frame marking a fourth part (*juz’ al-rābi’*) of the book (di 1639). The term *juz’* designates a section of a text, or, in this case, more specifically, it may refer to the small collection of *ḥadīth* (Gacek 2001, 23).

<sup>161</sup> MS.ARA.165a, di 1656.

morphology *al-Maqṣūr wa-al-mamdūd* by Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933). This manuscript unit lacks a few folios at the beginning and finishes with a colophon in Mandinka.

Another manuscript with Ajami annotations, MS.ARA.112b, was discovered thanks to its binding wrapper, described by Francis Richard in his inventory as ‘African’ (Fig. 2).



**Figure 2.** The binding wrapper made of striped cloth and protective boards of stiff leather. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.112b.

The manuscript (ff 20a–402b) contains the Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥalli (d. 864/1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), from sura 19 to 114. Interestingly, the first part of the same *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, suras 1–18, is found in MS.ARA.112a. As evident from the shelf marks, Danon concluded that the two manuscripts were related and written by the same scribe. However, even though the content of the two manuscripts matches, their colophons reveal different producers. According to the colophons, MS.ARA.112a (f. 241b) was written by *Abū Bakr Jabawiyu* (Abū Bakr Jaba) and owned by *Mālik Fūfanawiyu* (Mālik Fofana), while MS.ARA.112b (f. 402b) was written by *al-Ḥājj Darāmī* (al-Ḥājj Dramé). Thus, the two parts of the *Tafsīr* are unlikely to constitute complementary volumes, even though they might have originated from the same area.

Danon’s catalogue description highlighted the similar handwriting of MS.ARA.112a to that of MS.ARA.359, thus leading to the identification of another Soninke Ajami manuscript. This latter manuscript is an incomplete copy of the commentary to *Mukhtaṣar* by Khalīl b. Iṣḥāq al-Jundī. It is written on six hundred forty-three folios of a relatively small format (17×14,5 cm), kept in a decorated leather folder (Fig. 3, left). The paper has several watermark designs, most of which are royal coats of arms, but without a date.





**Figure**

**3.** Leather wrapper bindings. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.359 (right) and MS.ARA.219bis (left).

The manuscript MS.ARA.359 entered the library in 1893 as part of the legacy of Henri Duveyrier (1840–1892), a French geographer and explorer of the Sahara and North Africa.<sup>162</sup> The manuscript fell into his possession from his friend Charles Davillier in Avignon twenty years earlier.<sup>163</sup> There is no information on the manuscript's history before that date. Danon, however, notes that the manuscript appeared worn out when he first examined it. This may indicate that the manuscript was in active use before it reached France and was produced earlier than 1873.

Another composite manuscript wrapped in a leather binder containing Soninke and Manding Ajami materials which is MS.ARA.273. It was identified thanks to the scribe's name *al-Muṣṭafa al-Jawārawiyu* (al-Muṣṭafa Jawara) indicated in Danon's catalogue.<sup>164</sup> The colophons also allow establishing the connections between the three annotated units of the composite manuscript since they were written by scribes who studied under the same teacher *Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Silāwiyu* (Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Silla).<sup>165</sup>

Bibliothèque municipale de Tours (Municipal Library of Tours), Tours, France

Fonds patrimoniaux (Patrimony Funds) of the Bibliothèque municipale de Tours (BmT) have four manuscripts of West African origin with the shelf marks 2231, 2232, 2233 and 2234.<sup>166</sup> They were

<sup>162</sup> See biographical notice: <<https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb12109796k>> (last accessed May 2020).

<sup>163</sup> The transmission of the manuscript is recorded in the accompanying note. Charles Devillier (1823–1883) was an art collector, writer, and traveller. See: <<https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb12390858b>> (last accessed May 2020).

<sup>164</sup> Danon [Catalogue], 160–161.

<sup>165</sup> See details in Chapter 4.

<sup>166</sup> The microfilms of these manuscripts are available at IRHT. I am grateful to Muriel Roiland for drawing my attention to the BmT Arabic script manuscripts during my first visit to the library in 2013. These manuscripts are not mentioned in the survey by al-Furqan among the five Islamic manuscripts of BmT (Vol 1, p. 303).

donated to the library in 1957 by Paul Caron (1918–1988), a private collector.<sup>167</sup> Yet it is unclear when and from where the manuscripts in question came into his holdings.

Except for MS 2233, all manuscripts consist of several units, kept in their original leather bindings, some also together with ruling boards (*mistara*). A handlist with details on these manuscripts by Jean-Louis Triaud and Saïd Bousbina (1989) is available at the BmT. The library of IRHT keeps a more detailed (unfortunately unpublished) description of the content of manuscripts 2231, 2232, and 2234 by Saïd Bousbina. The document mentions that some texts within the composite manuscripts have interlinear translations in a West African language.<sup>168</sup>

Soninke Ajami material, in the form of interlinear annotations, is prevalent in MS 2234. At the same time, within this composite manuscript, as well as MS 2232, another Mande language is used in recipes and talismanic manuals. Personal names of scribes and owners suggest that MS 2232 and MS 2234 were once in possession of the same individual or family. Several areas mentioned in the colophons are located in what is now Guinea and Sierra Leone. Units in both manuscripts were written on paper that dates predominately from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The manuscript 2233, with a commentary on the legal treatise *Mukhtaṣar* by Khalīl b. Iṣhāq (ff 1–249), has occasional glosses in Fulfulde Ajami, which can be guessed from peculiar diacritical vowel signs, such as *ḍamma* with a small dot placed above.<sup>169</sup> The colophon (f. 235) mentions a certain *Tibnu*, which likely stands for Timbo, a prominent political and scholarly centre in Futa Jallon, Guinea.

Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire (Fundamental Institute for Black Africa), Dakar, Senegal

The Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire (IFAN) contains a wealth of handwritten material in Arabic script, amounting to over a thousand manuscripts.<sup>170</sup> The manuscripts were collected by colonial officials and by researchers at IFAN and divided into eight collections, or ‘*fonds*’, accordingly. The subjects include history, ethnology, theology, and law. Fulfulde, Pulaar, and Wolofal in Arabic script represent the Ajami materials.<sup>171</sup> These are texts written entirely in Ajami (Ajami 1) and in the form of annotations to texts in Arabic (Ajami 3 and 4).

The only manuscript of twenty-eight folios with the main text in Arabic and annotations in Soninke makes part of the ‘Fonds Vincent Monteil’, Cahier N3.<sup>172</sup> According to a note accompanying the

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<sup>167</sup> Paul Caron was a wallpaper merchant and later became a radio producer. From a young age, he began purchasing books, manuscripts, postcards, and other objects he considered threatened with disappearance but worth preserving. In 1955, his collection contained about 47 000 items (Thévenot 1955, 124–128). From his collection, he donated generously to the BnF and BmT.

<sup>168</sup> However, there is no mention of single words or phrases in Ajami present in amulets, medicinal recipes, etc.

<sup>169</sup> See the description of various Ajami writing systems by Souag 2010 (paragraph 18).

<sup>170</sup> Souleymane Gaye, a conservator at the Documentation Centre, communicated that the IFAN’s library holds more than a thousand manuscripts (p.c., December 2013). I would like to express my gratitude for his kind assistance and advice during my work in the library of Laboratoire d’Islamologie (Laboratory of Islamic Studies). The total number of manuscripts reported by the Al-Furqan is 867 (Al-Furqan survey Vol 3, p. 54).

<sup>171</sup> See, for example, the catalogue by Thierno Diallo, Mame Bara M’Backé, Mirjana Trifkovic and Boubacar Barry.

<sup>172</sup> Based on my observations, the text seems written in two different hands. Alternatively, the manuscript in question might be a composite and consists of two individual units that contain the same text. Unfortunately, I only briefly

manuscript, it was offered in 1968 by the Brooklyn Children’s Museum, New York. The circumstances of acquisitions by the latter remain unknown. Another note attached to the manuscript identifies the text as *takhmīs* of *al-Burda* by al-Būṣirī and interprets one of the glosses as being in Manding. However, it is equally possible to interpret this same gloss and most others in the manuscript as Soninke.<sup>173</sup>

El-Hadji Mbaye and Babacar Mbaye’s supplementary catalogue entry corresponds to this last note’s text and language identification. In addition, the entry states that the manuscript was copied in 1820 Nigeria.<sup>174</sup> However, given that the glosses are in the Soninke, the manuscript seems unlikely to originate from Nigeria. Moreover, I could not find any clues of date and place of production in the manuscript. The watermarked dates in the paper suggest a *terminus post quem* in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, it can be applied to only some folios, as the writing support changes throughout the manuscript.

African Ajami Library: Boston University / British Library, EAP 1042

Manuscripts from private collections of local scholars of Senegambia were photographed and made accessible for research as part of the project ‘Digital Preservation of Mandinka Ajami Materials of Casamance, Senegal’ coordinated by Eleni Castro and Fallou Ngom, Boston University.<sup>175</sup> Photographs include binding wrappers and watermarks (when encountered), thus giving glimpses on codicological aspects of manuscripts. Further, they are accompanied by the description of (para)contents (texts, authors, languages). In addition, the data about collections and their owners are recorded as video interviews in Mandinka and questionnaires in English.

Within the corpus, several manuscripts are identified with popular didactic texts in Arabic and annotations in Ajami.<sup>176</sup> Most annotations are written in Soninke, but there are also a few Mandinka translations. Other manuscript texts in the digital corpus relate to healing, divination, interpretation of dreams and amulet production and are written in Arabic and Mandinka.

## Other collections

Apart from the collections described in the previous sections, a few more in and outside Europe deserve mention. They can be roughly divided into two groups: (1) collections with Soninke (or

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examined this manuscript in 2013/4, and no digital images are available. Therefore, these assumptions will need to be verified on the next visit to IFAN.

<sup>173</sup> The note says: ‘J’ai vu Monsieur Laye Kamara qui parle cette langue et qui m’a traduit entre autre phrases celle-ci: **a ko i ka dinke sanu don** “il dit que ton fils c’est de l’or”’ (I saw Mr. Laye Kamara who speaks the language and who translated one of the phrases: ‘he says that your son is gold’). Possibly, it is the phrase <’a kuw yi ka di ki sa ni du> linked to the Arabic *sāḥatuhu* ‘his courtyard’. Considering the meaning of the Arabic segment, it can be interpreted as Soninke à **kūyi kàndéngesànen dí** ‘in his *kuyi*? courtyard’.

<sup>174</sup> Mbaye and Mbaye 1975, 895. As a hypothesis, the information about producing the manuscript in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Nigeria might have been adopted from earlier descriptions of the Children’s Museum.

<sup>175</sup> The project (in progress) aims at digitising about 15 000 manuscript pages in Arabic and Mandinka Ajami. See Ngom and Castro 2019. See also <<https://open.bu.edu/handle/2144/31635>> (last consulted February 2019). I have only included in my analysis the manuscripts published on the website before the summer of 2019.

<sup>176</sup> There is also a facsimile of a famous legal manual known as *al-Akhḍarī* with intralinear translations (Ajami Type 2) in Mandinka Ajami, kept by Abdou Khadre Cissé.

other Mande) Ajami materials requiring further investigation and hence not included in the corpus, and (2) collections with manuscripts annotated in languages other than Soninke.

Nikolay Dobronravin identified several manuscript pages with Soninke and Mandinka Ajami in the private collection of Paulo Farah, a professor at the University of São Paulo, Brazil.<sup>177</sup> The temporal and geographical origin of these manuscripts is unknown. The Soninke Ajami in them is represented by interlinear glosses to Arabic texts, such as al-Sanūsī's creed, a poem by Abū Madiyan, and others. Mandinka Ajami is attested in short texts relating to healing and problem-solving.<sup>178</sup> In addition, Dobronravin's private collection hosts a Soninke annotated manuscript with the text *Sharḥ 'alā 'l-Mukhtaṣar li-Khalīl* by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Kharashī al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī (d. 1101/1690).<sup>179</sup>

New material in Soninke Ajami is coming to light thanks to the project 'African voices in the Islamic manuscripts from Mali' led by Dmitry Bondarev.<sup>180</sup> Namely, Djibril Dramé had identified and photographed dozens of annotated manuscripts in several localities in Mali. They are analysed as part of Dramé's PhD thesis 'Mapping dialectal variations in Soninke Manuscripts'.<sup>181</sup>

In North America, one manuscript, possibly with Mande Ajami annotations, is kept in the Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division. This manuscript is mentioned in the Illustrated Guide to African Collections as produced in The Gambia sometime before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>182</sup> The manuscript is wrapped in goat skin leather and contains a text with a poem dedicated to the Prophet (*Takhmīs* on al-Fāzāzī's *'Ishrīnīyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb). The text is arranged in sparse lines with interlinear glosses, some of which, according to the description, are written in a local language. However, a picture of the manuscript page published in the guide displays glosses in Arabic only.

The Ghana collection at the Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies at Northwestern University consists of about 500 items. These are photocopies of manuscripts collected as part of a project by the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana in the 1960s. The original manuscripts remained with their owners, and the photocopies were donated to the Herskovits library by Ivor Wilks in 1993.<sup>183</sup> This collection's Ajami materials, possibly in Jula, include interlinear annotations to the Arabic texts, for example, in IASAR 304, 326, 330, 360.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Dobronravin 2014, 169 and 2016, 188.

<sup>178</sup> *Idem.*, 189.

<sup>179</sup> Dobronravin [presentation] 2015.

<sup>180</sup> The project 'African voices in Islamic manuscripts from Mali: A study of African languages written in Arabic-based script (Ajami)', funded by the German Research Foundation, started in 2017. See <[https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/ajami/project\\_e.html](https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/ajami/project_e.html)> (last accessed April 2020).

<sup>181</sup> See the abstract on <[https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/gradschool\\_e.html](https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/gradschool_e.html)>.

<sup>182</sup> The online version of the illustrated guide is available at <<https://www.loc.gov/rr/amed/guide/afr-creative.html>>. The manuscript is accessible via the African and Middle Eastern Reading Room at the Library of Congress.

<sup>183</sup> See the collection description on the library's website: <<https://www.library.northwestern.edu/libraries-collections/herskovits-library/collection/arabic-manuscripts.html>>.

<sup>184</sup> Since I explored this collection only partially, the list of manuscripts with annotations in Jula is not comprehensive. Most glosses are single words. In addition, the language material is further restricted because only selected manuscript pages have been photocopied. Hence, language identification is only tentative.

Last but not least, two West African manuscripts (none with Soninke Ajami) were identified at the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg (National and University Library of Strasbourg). The manuscript with the shelf mark Ms.4.327 is a copy of the Qur'an kept in a leather case, written on loose leaves sometime in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>185</sup> Judging from the script style, it might have been produced in Senegambia region. However, lacking a colophon or any other paratextual elements, there is no further evidence confirming this assumption.

The second manuscript, Ms.5.152, is composed of loose folios held in a leather folder. The acquisition note on the cover states that the manuscript was taken in Segou on April 6, 1870.<sup>186</sup> It consists of several units with texts by various authors and subjects. One of them is authored by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Baghayogho. Another unit, according to the colophon, was written in Futa Jallon by *Ayub J-l-j-l* (Ayuba Julujulī?). A colophon of another unit mentions a certain 'Abu Bakr b. *Mūd* (Moodi?) *Jāj* (Djadjé?). Several glosses in these units are marked as 'ajam; their language is yet to be identified.

Mande Ajami materials are also found in the collection of manuscripts in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. These manuscripts with the names of plants in Ajami were preliminary examined by Nikolay Dobronravin. He also indicated the presence of Ajami in the Ms. Cod. in scrin. 227a in Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (State and University Library of Hamburg).<sup>187</sup> The manuscript contains several pages with the names of plants (e.g., f. 6b, ff 12a–13b) and instructions on amulet production (e.g., f. 113a, f. 114b) in the Mande language. Place names in colophons point toward Futa Jallon in Guinea, and watermarks suggest approximate dating to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### Manuscripts in private collections in Senegal, Mali, and Burkina Faso

Search for private collections of manuscripts involved enquiring with local people. These enquiries also revealed some emic terms for referring to manuscripts and glosses. For instance, no local term seems to be specifically designating a manuscript. It was usually referred to as **kitàabè** (Soninke) or **kitàabú** (Mandinka), from the Arabic *kitāb*, 'writing' or 'book'.<sup>188</sup> In order to distinguish it from modern printed editions, my respondents used the combination **kitàabè xàsé** (S) or **kitàabú kòtó** (M) 'old book'. The word 'old' could be repeated several times to emphasize the remoteness of the past when people wrote books by hand. A different way of referring to a manuscript was the descriptive **kitàabe sáfánté kítottè ñá** (S) or **kitàaboo n'á sáfétá ì búlloo lá** (M) 'book written by hand', or else, **kèebáalú yé mên sáfé** (M) 'written by the ancestors'. Another word used in this connection is **sáféeroo** (M) 'writing'.

A particular manuscript may be referred to according to its content, that is, by the text's title or the author's name (e.g., *al-Risāla* for the treatise on Mailikī law by Abū Zayd al-Qayrawānī or *Buni* for the devotional poem by Ibn Mahīb).

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<sup>185</sup> See the description in the online catalogue accessible on the library's website or in the online catalogue 'Calames'.

<sup>186</sup> The text of this inscription provided in the online catalogue spells the place name as 'Légou'. However, it is undoubtedly a misreading due to unclear handwriting.

<sup>187</sup> The former shelf mark is Cod. Orient. 97b. It is briefly described in Brockelman's catalogue on p. 327.

<sup>188</sup> The Arabic word *makhṭūṭ* 'manuscript' was sometimes also employed.



The glosses in local languages were called **fácarè/fásári** (S/M) ‘explanation, translation’.<sup>189</sup> In Bobo-Dioulasso, one of the manuscript owners, listening to me explaining the subject of my research, suddenly exclaimed: ‘Ajami!’.<sup>190</sup> Although other manuscript owners rarely used this term for writings in local languages, none expressed confusion about its meaning. Some owners believed the manuscripts in their possession did not contain any Ajami material. Nevertheless, they allowed me to look at the manuscripts they considered to be written in Arabic only. As it turned out, some of these manuscripts did have Soninke annotations. In the opposite situation, I was shown manuscripts supposedly with Ajami, but they only contained Arabic texts. However, to resolve this issue, the owners suggested that they could annotate the text immediately in any local language of my choice.

Language identification was also problematic in some instances. In Casamance, I was often told that glosses in manuscripts were written in Mandinka,<sup>191</sup> even though I identified them as Soninke. Another interesting observation concerns the layout of the glosses. According to some traditional scholars, adding vernacular translations above the text in Arabic was common among Soninke. However, Mandinka scholars wrote interpretations within the same line as the Arabic text; that is, they were alternating portions of Arabic texts with the corresponding Mandinka translations.<sup>192</sup>

Even though some private collections have rich manuscript material, I only mention manuscripts with Ajami. I provide personal and place names (or initials), as well as some basic information about the background of the owners. It is often the case that family histories are related to the history of their collections. However, I prefer to leave such data out of the present study since the data I collected are only preliminary and require further examination.

#### Private collection of OC, Ziguinchor, Senegal

OC is the imam of one of the mosques in Ziguinchor. The only manuscript in his possession is a copy of the Malikī law manual – *Risāla al-Qayrawānīyya*. The manuscript is well preserved and kept between two pieces of stiff leather, which probably constituted part of its original binding holder. As the owner said, his great grandfather (AC), who lived in Bijini in Guinea-Bissau, wrote the manuscript some two hundred years ago, and passed down through generations.<sup>193</sup> OC identified the language of the glosses as Mandinka. Despite the presence of a few Mandinka glosses in the manuscript (some written at the same time as the main text and some added later in ballpoint pen), most Ajami glosses are in Soninke. Unfortunately, the faded ink makes the colophon on the last page unreadable.

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<sup>189</sup> See discussion in Chapter 5.

<sup>190</sup> Interview with HT, Bobo-Dioulasso, October 2014.

<sup>191</sup> They were referring to the language of the glosses as **Màndinkakáŋ** ‘the language of Manidnka’, while the Soninke language is **Soninkakáŋ** or **Sàrakullekáŋ**.

<sup>192</sup> Interview with AC, Ziguinchor, January 2014.

<sup>193</sup> Interview with the owner, Ziguinchor, January 2014. Bijini is a town on the territory of the Kaabu kingdom (16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries). A commercial and clerical centre founded at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it had strong ties to Touba in Futa Jallon (see Giesing and Vydrin 2007, 4–5; 184–5).

Private collections of Mamadou Lamine Cissé and Abdoul Kader Cissé, Ziguinchor, Senegal

The material in Mandinka Ajami in the Mamadou Lamine Cissé (MC) collection was already brought to attention by Fallou Ngom. The most famous example is a Mandinka poem cursing Hitler written during World War II.<sup>194</sup> Also, as discovered during my research visit in January 2014, the collection of MC included several annotated manuscripts. The current owner inherited the manuscripts, including some written by his grandfather.<sup>195</sup>

Eight manuscripts with popular texts on theology, Sufism, Arabic grammar, and in praise of the Prophet have annotations in Soninke. Some manuscripts include recent translations in Mandinka added with a ballpoint pen, suggesting that the manuscripts are still being studied. However, there are also two manuscripts where Mandinka served as the primary language for annotating. Of those, one with the text of *Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarānīya* was produced, as recorded in the colophon, in 1337/1918.<sup>196</sup> Abdoul Kader Cissé (AC), MC's son, showed me three more manuscripts. As it appears, each (father and son) owned a manuscript copy of Ibn Mahīb's devotional poem. However, despite having the same core content, the manuscripts differ in their paratexts.

Private collection of AS, Tanaf, Senegal

AS is an imam, and he also runs a Qur'anic school.<sup>197</sup> He owns a manuscript with the verses of *Bānat su'ād* by Ka'ab Zuhayr (fl. 7<sup>th</sup> cent.) accompanied by extensive commentary in Arabic. The text also has some occasional glosses in Soninke and Mandinka. Another manuscript worth interest is a single-folio wordlist in Arabic and Mandinka. The words are organised into semantic categories, such as names of some housewares, birds, aquatic animals and fish, wild animals, and insects. The colophon refers to the manuscript's content as *al-Lughat al-'Arabiyya* 'the Arabic language'.

Private collection of Aliou Ndiaye, Adéane, Senegal

Aliou Ndiaye (AN) is a traditional scholar and healer in Adéane. When asked about annotated manuscripts, he first showed a Xerox copy of a handwritten *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. The photocopied pages were bound together in a solid book-like cover. Upon my request and after a brief consultation with family members, he allowed me to examine the original manuscript.

The text of the *Tafsīr* is distributed in two manuscript volumes: one includes the first eighteen suras, and the second includes suras from the nineteenth (*Maryam*) until the end. This latter volume is kept in a decorated leather case with two protective boards of stiff leather. In contrast, the first volume is kept between two pieces of cardboard, which probably serves as a replacement for the original cover. Both manuscripts are written on thick paper without watermarks, measuring about 19×23 cm. The owner had marked the upper margins of pages with European numbers. The

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<sup>194</sup> See Ngom 2015, 335, n18. In addition, Ngom provides weblinks to the image and audio file with the recitation of the poem. See also the interview with Ngom <<https://www.pri.org/stories/2010-09-17/africas-ajami-writing-system>> (last accessed March 2019).

<sup>195</sup> Interview with MC, Ziguinchor, January 2014.

<sup>196</sup> ZMC9, di 7447.

<sup>197</sup> The Qur'anic school is called **kārāntāa** in Mandinka (see Introduction).

pagination of the second volume contains mistakes.<sup>198</sup> The owner asserted that the manuscript was written by one of his ancestors while living in Bijini (present-day Guinea-Bissau).<sup>199</sup>

Another manuscript held by AN is an exemplar of Ibn Mahīb's devotional poem. The paper is without watermarks and of a small format (9,5×13 cm). Despite being complete, the manuscript does not have a colophon.

Private collection of Mamadou Samba 'Lassana' Traoré, Dembanané, Senegal

Mamadou Samba Traoré, known as Lassana (henceforth LT), studied in the majlis held by the Marega lineage of Dembanané; however, his current occupation is related to agriculture. He obtained the two manuscripts under his care from distant family members, who, as he explained, lost interest in them. One manuscript contains the text by Ibn Mahīb. According to LT, it was written in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Congo (Belgian), where its first owner (originally from Dembanané) moved for business. It is written on loose pages, apparently plucked from a notebook,<sup>200</sup> placed between two pieces of cardboard. Perhaps these features were influenced by tradition. Nonetheless, the scribe used modern ink (Fig. 4). An ornate colophon appears on the last page.



**Figure 4.** Photographs of the same manuscript page taken in January 2016 (left) and January 2017 (right). Senegal, Dembanané, private collection of Lassana Traoré, DLT2.

The second manuscript in LT's possession is a copy of *al-Risāla* that was probably produced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript is notable for its decorative elements, such as the chapter dividers (*bāb*, *faṣl*), designed using elaborate geometric patterns and coloured inks (Fig. 5).

<sup>198</sup> The pagination runs from 1 to 609 and then from 700 to 709. It is erroneous numbering that explains the lacuna rather than missing folios. The first volume contains pages from 1 to 412.

<sup>199</sup> Interview with Aliou Ndiaye, February 2016.

<sup>200</sup> It consists of about 150 double sheets of lined paper. The pages measure approximately 17×21 cm.

It also has copious marginal commentaries, quoting relevant passages from the *Mukhtaṣar* and other texts. Yet, the glosses in Soninke are infrequent. I photographed the manuscripts in 2016. Upon returning to the village one year later, I observed that termites severely damaged the manuscripts.



**Figure 5.** Geometrical pattern standing for the word *bāb* (chapter divider). Senegal, Dembanané, private collection of Lassana Traoré, DLT1.

LT negotiated with other manuscript owners to grant me access to their holdings. In the possession of one of them, who did not wish to reveal his name (henceforth NN), was a composite manuscript inherited from his father. The manuscript is kept between sheets of cardboard and tied together by a cord. Most manuscript units are fragmentary, and contain various versions of al-Sanūsī’s creed. Only the smallest (*al-Ṣaghīra al-ṣuḡhrā*) is complete and systematically annotated. Some Mandinka translations appear alongside Soninke glosses, and Mandinka is also used in colophons. There is also a text on theology with alternating segments of Arabic text and Mandinka written on the same line (Ajami 2). These manuscripts, according to the colophons, once belonged to the same owner. Of different ownership, but part of the same composite manuscript is a text by Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī entitled *Ta’līm al-muta’allim* annotated in Soninke. Mandinka glosses and place names in colophons imply the manuscripts’ origin from Mande-speaking areas in present-day Guinea-Bissau.<sup>201</sup> It is unclear how they got to their present location in east Senegal.

In a neighbouring village, Manaél, LT mediated the permission for me to photograph Ibn Mahīb’s poem with abundant annotations in Soninke. One of the peculiarities of this manuscript, kept by ID, is purple ink highlighting several words and phrases.

Private collection of AD, Diawara, Senegal

AD holds a *majlis*. There are two manuscripts in his collection, with the commentary to *Mukhtaṣar* by Khalīl b. Iṣhāq, one being a copy of the other. According to the owner, the older manuscript

<sup>201</sup> See Chapter 4 for details on the origin of the manuscripts.

was copied in 1890, and the more recent dates by 1973.<sup>202</sup> The older manuscript is placed between the leather sheets and wrapped in traditional white fabric, which appears recent. Unfortunately, the manuscript lacks a colophon, and I could not find any confirmation about the suggested dating.

Private collections of Tahir Djombera and Barke Djombera, Kunjuru, Mali

Barke Djombera, known as Sidiki Sakho (SS),<sup>203</sup> started teaching in a Qur'anic school and *majlis* after his father – Tahir Djombera (TD, b. 1941) – retired.<sup>204</sup> The family moved to Kunjuru (near Kayes) from Tafasirga.<sup>205</sup> SS presented me with several annotated manuscripts, among which there are manuals on Islamic law: *al-Risāla* and *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar*. The manuscript with the commentary on *Mukhtaṣar* does not have a colophon, but the scribe mentions his name in several instances in the margins. As I was told, it was TD's father who wrote it at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The collection includes two manuscripts, one of which is a copy of the other, with Ibn Mahīb's devotional poem. TD keeps the older manuscript, which is said to have been produced by his great-grandfather in Tafasirga in the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The more recent manuscript was written by TD's brother and is now held by SS. There is also a manuscript with *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* by Ibn 'Āṣim (d. 829/1427), written by the hand of TD himself. The paper used for the more recent manuscript is modern, kept loose between pieces of cardboard. Yet the ink seems to have been prepared following traditional recipes.

Other private collections

The manuscripts kept by AB in Niaguis are merely fragments.<sup>206</sup> These several dozen folios contain various texts. Two of them *al-Risāla* and *takhmīs* on *Qaṣīda al-munfarija* by Ibn al-Naḥwī (d. 505/1113) included glosses in Soninke. The owner claims that they were produced when his grandfather studied at one of the educational centres in present-day Guinea-Bissau.<sup>207</sup> AB also had an exemplar of the poem by Ibn Mahīb written on modern paper and annotated in Mandinka.

The Ibn Mahīb's *takhmīs* seems to have enjoyed particular popularity since the recent manuscripts with this text glossed in Mandinka were found in Niaguis, Diagon, and Tambacoumba. Similarly, in east Senegal, I came across an exemplar of Ibn Mahīb's poem annotated in Soninke and dated 2001. It was written on white office paper but using a reed pen and traditional ink. Yet again, the diacritics were added in a red ball pen. Also, there was an annotated manuscript with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* produced in the early 2000s.

In many private collections, I found manuscripts with content intended for solving problems or curing diseases.<sup>208</sup> With a few exceptions, they are copied from older manuscripts facing

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<sup>202</sup> I analyse only the older manuscript for the present study.

<sup>203</sup> The clan name Djombera is also spelt as Djiméra. It is the equivalent of Sakho.

<sup>204</sup> The respective Soninke terms are *xàrà-n-yìnbé* and *máyìsì* (see Introduction).

<sup>205</sup> Interview with SS, January 2017. See also ALA IV, p. 256. The alternative name for Kunjuru, widely used by locals, is Duguba/Dougouba.

<sup>206</sup> Due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts, I do not include them in the current study.

<sup>207</sup> Interview with AB, Niaguis, February 2016.

<sup>208</sup> I collected about three hundred photographs of such manuscripts. In addition, similar material was identified and published by the project EAP 1042.

disappearance due to fading ink or degrading paper.<sup>209</sup> Recent handwritten copies tend to follow the layout of the original models. Instead of copying by hand, some older manuscripts were photocopied or laminated.

### Inaccessible collections

Many queries ended without any tangible proof of the manuscripts' existence. For instance, I was often redirected to different places where the manuscript tradition was considered to be solid and well-represented (e.g., Timbuktu in Mali and Murid Touba in Senegal).<sup>210</sup> Sometimes, scholars, who lived in urban areas, mentioned their native villages as a place for their collections.<sup>211</sup>

Others claimed that the type of manuscripts I was looking for were once in their possession but lost due to a variety of reasons, such as fire, water damage, insects, and poor storage conditions.<sup>212</sup> Several of my consultants in southern Senegal attested that their collections ended up missing or perished because of the Casamance conflict.<sup>213</sup> In east Senegal, ST explained, manuscript owners hid (walled up or buried) their manuscripts from French colonials during the armed resistance of Mamadou Lamine Dramé. Some collections perished because the owners could no longer find places where they hid their manuscripts.<sup>214</sup> Finally, some owners also claimed that manuscript collections kept in wooden or metallic chests were stolen, mistakenly taken by thieves for goods of high value.<sup>215</sup>

Several people testified that manuscripts were sometimes destroyed on purpose. This happens when they are no longer in use, for example, when they are replaced with printed copies. Printed texts are much easier to obtain and read than handwritten texts. The manuscripts are then buried or burned. Another common reason is when younger generations in scholarly families pursue other professions than traditional Islamic education. As a result, manuscripts inherited from previous generations can be given or sold away or destroyed.

Finally, some manuscript owners restrict access to their manuscripts. For instance, in Kounghany, a member of the Tanjigoora scholarly family browsed with me through several pages of a manuscript with *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar*.<sup>216</sup> However, he was reluctant to allow me to examine the manuscript on my own or photograph it. Nevertheless, I was invited to observe a few *majlis* sessions. Similarly, scholars from two families in Bakel gladly provided me with information

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<sup>209</sup> Nevertheless, some of my consultants asserted that some of the recipes/formulae they composed, adapting to the realities of modern life. A few examples are amulets intended to help the holder enter an aircraft without a ticket or smuggle goods to avoid customs hassles. In other cases, it was to acquire a motor vehicle, whether a motorcycle or a car.

<sup>210</sup> Interview with ID and SK Dakar, January 2014.

<sup>211</sup> Interview with ST, Dakar, and IY, Ziguinchor, January 2014.

<sup>212</sup> Interview with ST, Dakar, January 2014, and AT, Karantaba, January 2015.

<sup>213</sup> Interviews in Kaour, Tambacoumba, Diagon, in 2015 and 2016. The Casamance conflict broke out in 1982. It opposed the government forces against the separatist Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC). From 1982 the conflict manifested itself in periods of violent clashes. Numerous ceasefire agreements have been signed (in 1991, 1996, 1999, 2004). In recent years, this conflict has been considered a low-level conflict.

<sup>214</sup> Interview with ST, Dakar, January 2014.

<sup>215</sup> Interview with Cissé, Diagon, February 2016.

<sup>216</sup> I was told that there are more manuscripts in the family's collection – interviews with Ousmane Djiméra, Dakar, January 2014, and Zacharia Tanjigoora, Kounghany, January 2016.



about traditional Islamic education and practices of explaining Arabic texts in Soninke but were evading answering more precise questions about their manuscript collections.

### Private collections in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso

Field research in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, was carried out in September-October 2014. Within about two weeks, I examined and took photographs of manuscripts in the private collections of seven people.<sup>217</sup> All of them were active as either teachers or marabouts (or both). In addition, some identified themselves as descendants of influential scholarly families in the region.

The most extensive collection of the Saganogo family was arranged in two wooden chests.<sup>218</sup> A part of the collection that I was able to briefly examine included about forty separate works on different subjects, among them the well-known *al-Risāla* by Abū Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Dalīl al-qā'id li-kashf asrār šifāt al-Wāḥid* by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī, *al-'Aqīda al-Kubrā* by al-Sanūsī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (from sura nineteen *Maryam*), to mention just a few. Of them, about two-thirds include annotations in Jula. Other private owners had one to several manuscripts, some with annotated popular works in Arabic, but also texts with healing or protective content, with names of plants and ingredients in Jula.

The dating of most manuscripts, lacking any indications in colophons, can only be estimated approximately and ranges from the early to late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. There is, however, an example of a recent manuscript with the text of *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* by al-Buṣīrī and annotations in Jula. The main text is written in black ink (possibly with a felt-tip pen), the diacritics are red, and the glosses are in pencil. The manuscript was bound in a book-like cover with a title. According to the colophon, it was written in 1451/1995 in Bobo-Dioulasso. The manuscript also contains three illustrations representing the manuscript's scribe and owner (AT) sitting in front of the central mosque.

The Jula Ajami manuscripts are beyond the scope of the present study.<sup>219</sup> However, I occasionally refer to some of them for the sake of comparison. Of interest here is a manuscript from the collection of HT containing the self-commentary by al-Sanūsī to his *'Aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-suḡhrā*. The text is accompanied by occasional glosses in Arabic and Ajami, which include a few Soninke glosses. Similarly, a manuscript in the collection of Saganogo with the text *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* by al-Samarqandī, mainly annotated in Jula, has a few glosses which can be interpreted as Soninke.

### Concluding remarks

This chapter shows how Soninke and Mandinka Ajami manuscripts, until recently, remained unnoticed among the larger collections of West African or Arabic manuscripts in European and American libraries and private collections of West African scholars. In manuscript catalogues, the Soninke Ajami elements are elements have either been overlooked or erroneously labeled as

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<sup>217</sup> These owners are as follows: LO, AT, AK, HT, MS, MT and Saganogo.

<sup>218</sup> Possibly, it is the same collection already documented by al-Furqan (Vol. XX).

<sup>219</sup> A preliminary analysis of Jula glosses is presented in Ogorodnikova 2017.

Fulfulde or Hausa. Even though new Ajami materials have emerged through systematic search, the possibility of further discoveries remains.

Most Soninke and Mandinka Ajami manuscripts in European public libraries are devoid of contextual information. The acquisition information, in some cases, may contain hints at the origin of manuscripts within West Africa and may serve as a *terminus ante quem* for dating. This is crucial since most of the manuscripts from the corpus do not contain indications of dates of production by the scribes. In private collections, the dating may be estimated based on family histories.

The preliminary overview of texts in manuscripts shows that they belong to the major subjects of classical Islamic education, such as theology, Islamic law, and Qur'anic exegesis. Most of the titles belong to the so-called West African 'core curriculum' described by Hall and Stewart (2011) based on the frequency of texts found in the libraries of scholars in Sub-Saharan Africa. Several such titles may be found as constituting units of composite manuscripts. It is possible to suggest that it is not random that they are united within one binding holder.

A few of the examined composite manuscripts contain units that are linked since they once belonged to the same person or family (e.g., PGL MS ORI/Arab 11, TCD MS 3499 and Ms 3500, BL MS Or. 4897 and Ms Or. 6473, BmT Ms 2234) or were produced by students of the same teacher (e.g., BULAC MS.ARA.273). Hence, it appears that these composite manuscripts were assembled by West African scholars (i.e., before the manuscripts reached Europe). Consequently, they can provide insight into local scholars' personal libraries or curricula.

An examination of collections and manuscripts, even at a cursory level, can reveal some connections between manuscripts that are currently held at various locations. For example, TCD MS 2689, BL Ms Or. 4897 and MS Or. 6473, are linked through the Suware scholars featuring the colophons. These manuscripts are further linked to JRL MS 780[825], as they contain texts authored by or referring to al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama of Touba. Therefore, not only are these manuscripts united by their common language of annotations, but they also seem to have come from distinct intellectual tradition(s).



## Chapter 2: Material aspect of manuscripts

### Introduction

The present chapter deals with the material aspects of manuscripts with Soninke Ajami annotations. The material examination offers insight into the technical background of traditional scholarship. It also helps determine the timeframe of manuscripts since most of them were left undated by their scribes. Thus, this chapter concentrates on watermarks in paper, particularly how and if they can be used to date manuscripts.

### Writing tools

Local materials are traditionally used to make writing instruments and substances.<sup>220</sup> For instance, the pen (**xálibè**) is made from a reed (**xoge**). The inks (**dáwà**) of black-brownish colour, depending on their usage, were produced following different recipes.<sup>221</sup> The one for writing on paper is made by boiling the leaves of certain plants, with the addition of gum arabic (**kánbàré**).<sup>222</sup> The preparation is a long process, and it may take several days to produce a durable ink of saturated colour. According to my field consultants, each scribe produces his own ink. For writing on wooden tablets (**wáláhà**), a simple ink is prepared by a student using burned groundnuts peals (**tigá kórómè**) or soot from the bottom of cooking pots (**finpi**) combined with water and sugar or honey (**yáagè**). Such a mixture is easily erasable. I have no information about the composition or manufacturing methods of red, purple, yellow or blue inks. These are used in some manuscripts for highlighting several words and passages and other decorative elements.

### Writing support

The manuscripts in the present corpus are written on paper. My field consultants call paper **káayítí** (Soninke) or **káyítí/-á** (Mandinka).<sup>223</sup> Diagana's dictionary suggests that this word comes from French (possibly *cahier* 'notebook').<sup>224</sup> However, it is plausible that it derives from the Arabic *kāghīṭ* 'paper', just as Lydon suggests for the Wolof *keyīt*.<sup>225</sup>

One of the rare instances of a manuscript scribe referring to paper supplies is found in EAP 1042/1/1. On the verso side of the last folio, the scribe records: *Subḥāna 'llāh anā katabtu hadhā 'l-kitāb fī thamāniya wa thalāthīn qirtāsān* 'Praise the Lord! I have written this book on thirty-eight sheets of paper'.<sup>226</sup> The manuscript in question is written on laid paper of European origin, as suggested by the watermark (Britannia with the date 1822). The 152 manuscript leaves,

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<sup>220</sup> The information in the following paragraph is based on interviews with Ousmane and Mamadou Djiméra, Dakar, January 2014; BC, LC, and Lassana Traoré, Dembanané, January 2016. The terms in brackets are in Soninke unless stated otherwise.

<sup>221</sup> See also Sanneh 1974, 254.

<sup>222</sup> According to LC, the leaves are taken from the tree called **jónbà** '*Diospyros mespiliformis*' (see the dictionary Diagana 2013, 92). MD said that the tree in question is **táfè** '*Combretum glutinosum*' (Diagana 2013, 205), and the leaves can be substituted for the bark of a tree called **xánbà** '*Terminalia laxiflora*'.

<sup>223</sup> A single leaf of paper can be designated as **káayítí dére** (S) and (**káyiti**) **léera** (M). Sanneh also mentions the Mandinka word **léerà** for 'paper leaf' (Sanneh 1974, 251).

<sup>224</sup> Diagana 2013, 98.

<sup>225</sup> Lydon 2011, 52.

<sup>226</sup> Interestingly, the scribe also indicated the plural form *qarāṭīs* in a gloss.

measuring 18×22 cm in *quarto* format, make up precisely 38 sheets (bifolios), mentioned in the scribal note. Thus, the scribe possibly cut the paper acquired in large format to prepare the manuscript.<sup>227</sup>

The manuscript EAP 1042/1/1 is not an exception; other manuscripts from the corpus were also written on European paper, locally available through import. However, according to several accounts, paper was a scarce commodity. As an example, English explorer Richard Jobson in the 17th century noted that paper was only imported in territories along the Gambia river through trade routes and that, lacking paper, pupils wrote their lessons on wooden boards.<sup>228</sup>

Because it was such a precious material, paper was only employed at higher levels of education. It was demonstrated, among others, by Dmitry Bondarev for Old Kanembu manuscript culture, Andrea Brigaglia for Hausa in Nigeria, and Chouki El Hamel for Mauritania.<sup>229</sup> Concerning Mande-speaking communities in Mali, Guinea and The Gambia, Tal Tamari notes: '[o]nly very advanced students and full-fledged scholars write on paper'.<sup>230</sup> In his study of the Jakhanke, Lamin Sanneh also underlines the scarcity and high price of paper. He observes that pupils of the Qur'anic school used wooden tablets, whereas advanced 'go directly to the written text'.<sup>231</sup> Also, the full-fledged scholars preferred paper, which they purchased with French trading posts and the Portuguese in Georgetown.<sup>232</sup> Based on these studies – and similar information gathered during my fieldwork – writing is practiced first on the surface of a wooden tablet.

Many of the manuscripts in the corpus are written in calligraphic handwriting. Many, as discussed in Chapter 1, incorporate decorative patterns and illuminations. Therefore, they are likely to be produced during the intermediate or advanced stages of education. Since the scribes of the manuscripts in the present corpus rarely dated their creations, examination of writing support and analysis of watermarks are essential for chronological identification. Paper in about sixty manuscript units bears watermarks.<sup>233</sup> Other manuscripts are written on either laid or wove paper with no visible identification signs.

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<sup>227</sup> In contrast, the analysis of paper formats of some selective manuscript in the collection of BnF carried out by Natalia Viola suggests that it might well be that paper arriving in Africa was already cut (Voila 2015, 362).

<sup>228</sup> Jobson 1623, 61–82 (part v).

<sup>229</sup> Bondarev 2017, 136; Brigaglia 2017, 76 and 86; El Hamel 1999, 69.

<sup>230</sup> Tamari 2016, 38.

<sup>231</sup> Sanneh 1974, 254.

<sup>232</sup> *Idem.*, 251–2.

<sup>233</sup> As mentioned previously, I was not able to examine all the original manuscripts in the corpus. Nevertheless, watermark descriptions are sometimes included in catalogue entries, such as in the case of UbL MS Or. 14.052 and BL MS Or. 6473. The transparency/transmitted light photographs of several folios of the former manuscript were kindly taken at my request by Liyana Taha during her research stay in Leiden. Outlines of watermarks are sometimes discernible in digital images of manuscripts. In order to enhance visibility, the Contrast Limited Adaptive Histogram Equalization (CLAHE) algorithm can be used. I am grateful to Hussein Adnan Muhammad and Ivan Shevchuk for processing the images. While this method is in no way comparable to examining the paper directly, it nevertheless allowed us to detect watermarks in TCD MS 3499 and BL MS Or. 4897 and MS Or. 6473. The sketches of watermarks in the manuscript JRL MS 780[825] were generously shared with me by Dmitry Bondarev. As yet, no details are available on paper in PGL MS ORI 11/1–3, and BnF Arabe 5436, Arabe 5450, Arabe 5462, Arabe 5501, Arabe 5513, Arabe 5531, Arabe 5586, Arabe 5613, Arabe 5690.

## Sources

Several catalogues and watermark collections of paper from the 17th century onwards proved to be helpful for identifying watermarks for the current study. These include Churchill (1935), Heawood (1950), Gravell and Miller (1983) and Gravell's online Watermark Archive. Gaudreault (1995)'s work provides a comparative list of French paper makers in addition to watermark tracings. In addition, Laurentinus (2018) published photographs of watermarks in south-east French paper.

Moreover, several studies were conducted on paper in manuscripts of West Africa. Natalia Viola (2015) undertook systematic research on watermarked papers in about 150 manuscripts from the collections of the BnF. Michael Biddle (2017) conducted an extensive study of paper production and dating methods using samples of several thousand manuscripts of northern Nigeria, some of which are currently held in their place of origin and others in libraries in the USA and the UK. The routes of paper trade and consumption are elucidated in works by Terence Walz (2011) and Ghislaine Lydon (2009 and 2011). An overview of the paper in Sudanic Africa is also provided by Bloom (2008).

## Watermarks in paper

### Frequent watermark motifs

#### *Royal coat of Arms / Arms of England*

Among the manuscripts examined, the most common motif is the so-called royal coat of arms of the United Kingdom, or the Arms of England. This motif appears in several varieties. One of them is a quartered shield with royal symbols encircled by a band/garter (sometimes with the depiction of a buckle), which may incorporate the motto 'HONI SOIT | MAL Y PENSE' (Fig. 6, left).<sup>234</sup> Alternatively, the frame could remain plain round with no inscriptions (Fig. 6, right). Both of these frame varieties (with a garter or plain) are surmounted by a crown. The upper quarters of the inner shield usually contain depictions of three *fleur-de-lys* (or trefoils) and/or one or several lions (with or without faces), and lower quarters – a harp and lion(s) or horse.

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<sup>234</sup> The phrase 'Honi soit qui mal y pense' ('Shame on him who thinks evil of it') is a motto of the Order of the Garter, one of the oldest orders of knighthood in England. See, for example, <<https://www.royal.uk/coats-arms?page=6>> (last accessed May 2020).



**Figure 6.** A watermark of Arms of England in two varieties: with a garter and motto (left, upper part reversed) and a simple round frame (right). France, Paris, BnF Abare 5725, f. 309 and f. 310, and Netherlands, Leiden, UbL Or. 14052 (5).

As a rule, the Arms of England watermark is accompanied by a royal cypher, which in the present corpus is the initials GR. The letters of the cypher are topped by a crown. Furthermore, they may be surrounded by a wreath and encircled by a line. The shape and details of the crown and wreath may vary in different watermarks.

Such variation in details makes it more difficult to find an identical match, either within the present corpus or in published sources. For instance, even though most papers in BULAC MS.ARA.359 carries the Arms of England watermark, the details distinguish at least three distinct types. Some of the Arms of England watermarks with garter and motto found in this corpus share similarities with samples from published sources. Documents containing such watermarks date from 1730 to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>235</sup> It also seems that the variation without a buckle and a motto is from a later period. For instance, in the present corpus in JRL MS 780[825], ff 1a-12b, a watermark of this kind appears with the date ‘1804’. In catalogues records, the Arms of England varieties without buckle or motto were found in documents dating from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>236</sup>

Another variety of the royal coat of arms watermark (referred to here as ‘coat of arms’) is a crowned heater-shaped shield divided into four parts with royal symbols, but unlike the previously described varieties, without any outer framing. There is no royal cypher associated with such watermark design.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Heawood n. 441, 443 444, 448 and 450 dated 1731, 1735, ca. 1750, 1736, and 1760, respectively.

<sup>236</sup> Such watermarks are found in Gravell’s database under ARMS.203.1, ARMS.207.1, ARMS.238.1, dated 1789, 1790, and 1793, respectively. In Heawood’s catalogue, similar watermarks are listed as n. 446 (dated 1780–7) and n. 447 (undated).

Interestingly, in four instances in the present corpus, this motif occurs together with a watermarked date. The papermaker's name appears thrice out of these four, including two instances with the same maker but different dates. The earliest date, '1808', without the manufacturer's name, is attested in JRL MS 780[825], ff 1–5. In MQB MS AF14722(87), the coat of arms design appears with a countermark 'W Brookman' and the date '1819' (Fig. 7). Churchill lists Brookman and Skeats among the British papermakers of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>237</sup>



**Figure 7.** Royal coat of arms watermark and countermark 'W Brookman 1819'. France, Paris, MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 1–2 and 90–91.

Paper by British manufacturers Gilling & Allford in the manuscripts BnF Arabe 5504, ff 101–155, and Arabe 5657, ff 110a–151b, dated with '1827' and '1814' respectively (Fig. 8), also bears the watermark of the royal coat of arms.<sup>238</sup> Other examples, however, without any countermark, appear further in the manuscript units BnF Arabe 5502, and Arabe 5657, ff 1a–28b, and BL MS Or. 6743, ff 198a–226b.<sup>239</sup> Unfortunately, no identical matches were found for these watermarks.

<sup>237</sup> Churchill 1935, 48. However, the current manuscript's watermark is from a later period (from 1818 onwards) when William Brookman replaced John Skeats & Company at the Test mill in Romsey, Hampshire (Shorter 1993, 204). The paper marked with 'W Brookman' was also found in the manuscript BnF Arabe 5481, f. 25 and f. 48 (Viola 2015, 361). Within the same unit, f. 22 and f. 23 bear the date '1822' and a partial depiction of a shield with a crown. These depictions are probably also part of Brookman's watermark. The manuscript is dated 1216/1801-2, which is too early, given the dating of its writing support.

<sup>238</sup> See Churchill 1935, 50. Shorter mentions John Gilling and Co. working at paper mill N9 in Cheddar, Somerset, in 1816. The records from 1832 state that the mill was occupied by John Gilling and Robert Alford (Shorter 1993, 163). According to the notice in *The London Gazette*, the co-partnership of these paper manufacturers was dissolved in January 1834 (*London Gazette* 1834, vol. 1, 254).

<sup>239</sup> BL MS Or. 6473, ff. It is written on the paper with the coat of arms and the date '1818'. The manufacturer's name appears on f. 123. Unfortunately, it is not easily legible in the images that I have, and it is not mentioned in the catalogue description. Since this manuscript unit contains no Soninke glosses, I excluded it from the detailed analysis. Nevertheless, it can be used as a reference for dating other units written by the same scribe within the same composite manuscript.





**Figure 8.** Royal coat of Arms watermark and countermark ‘Gilling & Allford 1814’. France, Paris, BnF Arabe 5657, ff 110–111, f. 121, and f. 125.

The motif of the royal arms on the heater-shaped shield seems absent from Heawood’s and Churchill’s catalogues. Yet, Gravell’s online database contains at least five such specimens, with their dates ranging from 1791 to 1807.<sup>240</sup> Thus, given the evidence from the present corpus and the watermark database, it is possible to suggest an estimated date for the paper in the three units in question to the early/first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, it is worth mentioning that manuscript units 5657, ff 1a–28b (with an undated coat of arms watermark), and ff 110a–151b (dated 1814), were owned and perhaps also produced by the same person.<sup>241</sup> The manuscript BnF Arabe 5502 is written on paper with various watermarks, including the coat of arms and others, some of which can be dated to 1796 (see further in this chapter).

### *Britannia*

The second frequently attested watermark motif is the so-called Britannia. It represents a seated female figure holding a sceptre (or spear) and an orb (or flower/sprig of leaves) with a shield at her side. These details may vary to a great extent. Likewise, the outline may be round or oval and may incorporate a motto ‘PRO REGE ET PATRIA’, as, for example, in the manuscripts BnF Arabe 5575, ff 177a–183b, and Arabe 5725, ff 351a–361. The royal monogram ‘GR’ accompanies some of the Britannia watermarks. In this regard, a peculiar mark is attested in BnF Arabe 5725, ff 283a–285b and ff 321a–329b, as it occurs with the initials ‘IO’ in a rhombus. Even though not identical, it shows strong similarities with Heawood’s n. 204 or Churchill’s n. 229, dated 1776. Other papers within the same manuscript unit carry the watermark of Arms of England with garter and motto, which, as suggested earlier, can also be provisionally dated by the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Dated Britannia watermarks are found in BL MS Or. 6473, ff 126a–133b, and EAP 1042/1/1. In the first manuscript, the female figure appears in a round frame and with the year ‘1819’. In the

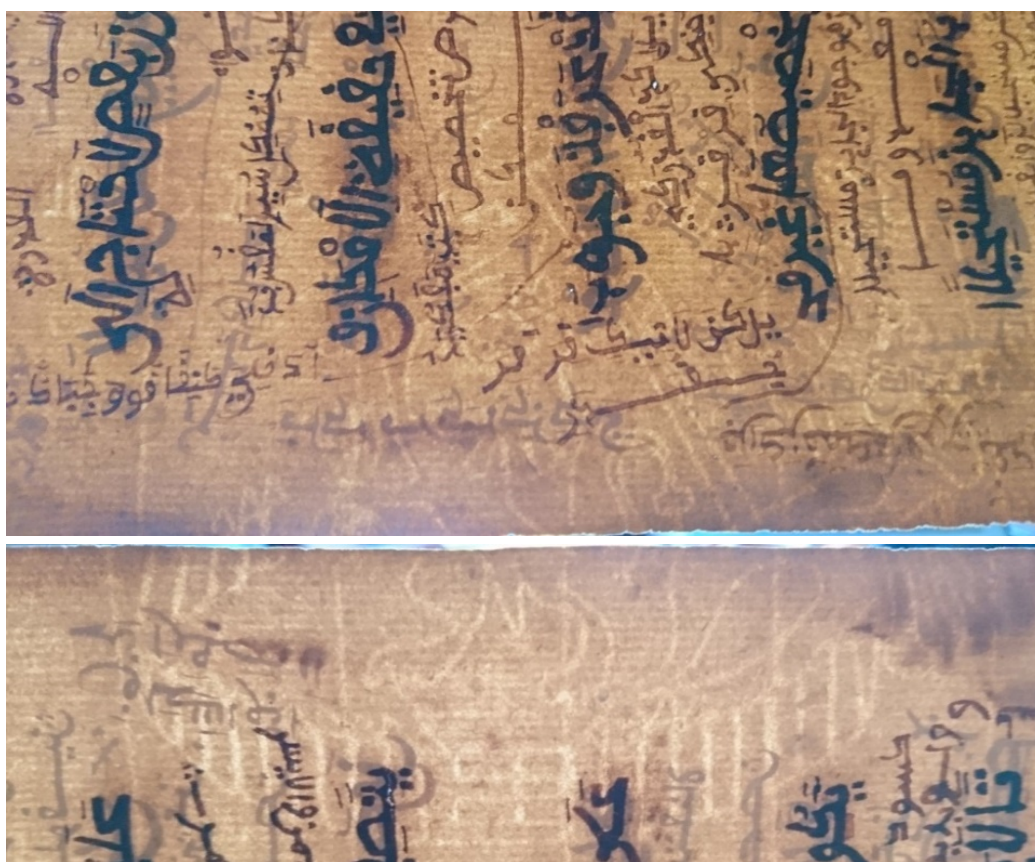
<sup>240</sup> Those have reference numbers ARMS.208.1, SLD.394.1, ARMS.218.1 (Gravell TJ 349), AMRS.222.1 (Gravell TJ 390), and ARMS.242.1 with respective dates 1791, 1804, 1802, 1802, and 1807.

<sup>241</sup> See Chapter 4 for details.

second manuscript, Britannia is depicted in an oval frame and has a countermark ‘B&B’ and the date 1822. Other samples of paper with oval-framed Britannia seem to date to a later period, as discussed in the following sections.

### *Dutch watermark motifs*

Two watermark motifs in the current corpus can be recognized as Dutch. One of them – the Made of Dort – features a female figure sitting at the side of a fence (or palisade) with a lion in its middle. The woman is holding a stick with a hat on top of it. The words ‘Pro Partia’ are written in the upper left corner. This kind of watermark appears in different versions, in UbL MS Or. 14052(8), and Bnf Arabe, 5657 ff 86a–108b (Fig. 9). Unfortunately, both cases remain problematic when it comes to dating.



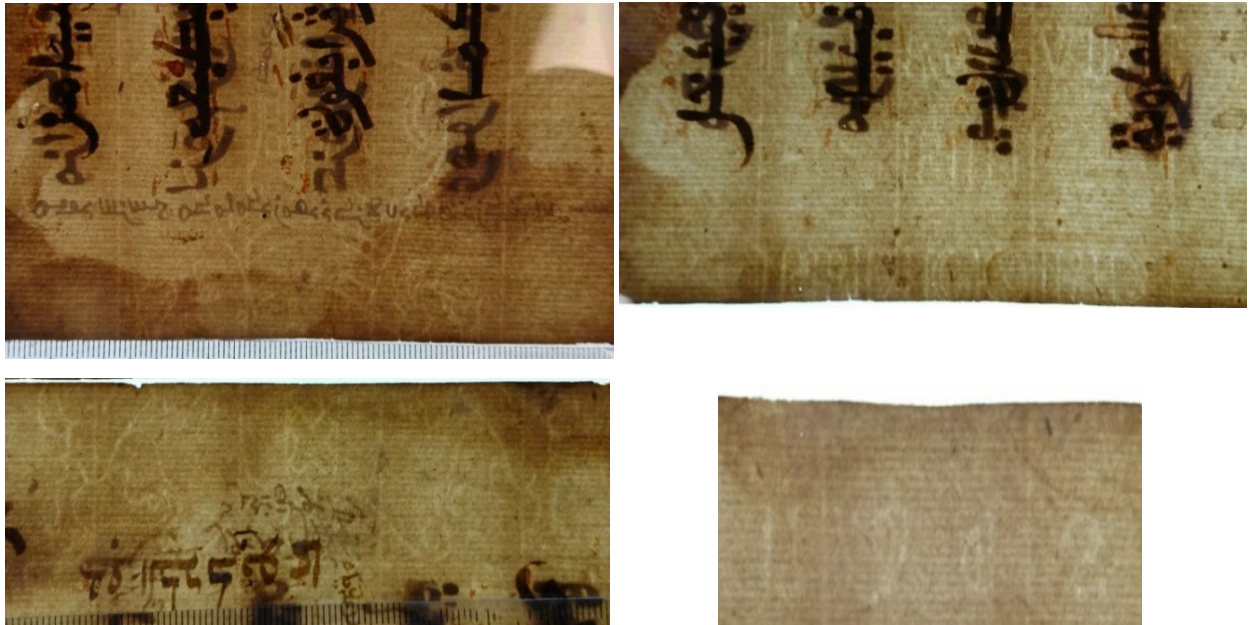
**Figure 9.** The Maid of Dort watermark. France, Paris, BnF Arabe 5657, f. 96 and f. 99.

The second Dutch motif encountered is the Arms of Amsterdam, with lions standing on both sides of a shield with three diagonal crosses and a crown on top. It is found in MQB MS AF14722(87) ff 6a–24b and 217ab.<sup>242</sup> The countermark indicates the maker’s name, the paper’s quality, the place of manufacturing, and the date: ‘A BASSVET | FIN| PERIGORD | 1742’ (Fig. 10). It thus reveals the French origin of the paper.<sup>243</sup> However, 1742 does not necessarily stand for the year of

<sup>242</sup> The identical watermark is Heawood n. 407. However, he catalogued it without a date since it was found on a blank paper leaf. Two other watermarks, Heawood n. 408 and Churchill n. 56, have the same design, place name, and year, but different manufacturer names.

<sup>243</sup> French papermakers imitated Dutch watermark patterns during the 18th century. Paper with such watermarks was intended for export to the Dutch and, to a lesser extent, the English market (Churchill 1935, 28; Heawood 1950, 24).

production.<sup>244</sup> Yet, in this instance, the papermaker's name compensates for approximate dating: Gaudriault (referring to the work by Nicolaï) pinpoints the activities of Antoine Bassuet around 1772.<sup>245</sup>



**Figure 10.** Arms of Amsterdam watermark and countermark 'A BASSVET | FIN | PERIGORD | 1742'. France, Paris, MQB MS AF 14722(87), f. 12, f. 10, f. 4, and f. 15.

The same manuscript unit has another kind of paper watermarked with a post-horn on a shield (Fig. 11, left). A similar motif appears further within the same composite MQB MS AF14722(87) but in another unit, ff 194a–216b, produced by a different scribe (Fig. 11, right). Both watermarks resemble Heawood's 'horn in an ornamental border'.<sup>246</sup> The initials 'JD' are associated with the mark in the latter manuscript unit. Another variation of a post-horn in a crowned shield is found in BmT MS 2234, pp 818–820. The post-horn design enjoyed significant popularity with various producers and epochs.<sup>247</sup> The available catalogues document several varieties, none of which correspond exactly to those in the present corpus. It is, therefore, difficult to determine a precise date for the manuscript units discussed above.

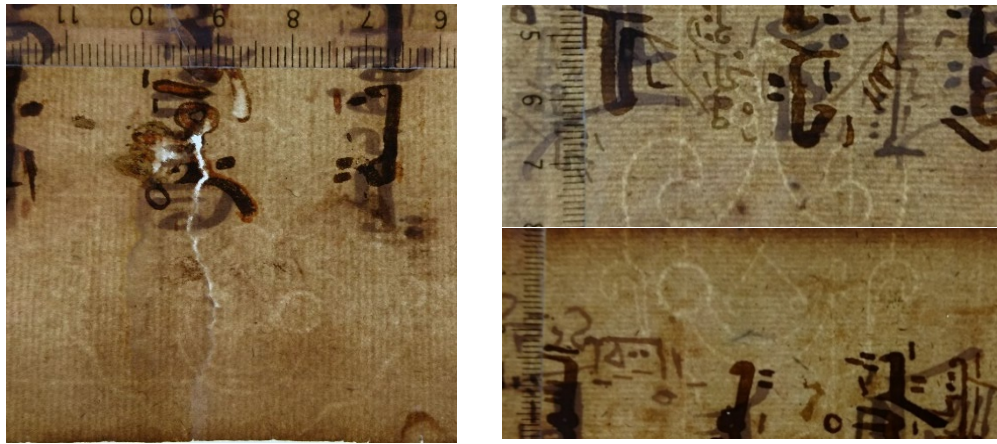
<sup>244</sup> In 1741, French law required the inclusion of a date on watermarks. This practice became commonplace by 1742, and some manufacturers continued indicating this year in their watermarks for the few following decades (Churchill 1935, 58).

<sup>245</sup> Gaudreault 1995, 171.

<sup>246</sup> Heawood 1930, 283.

<sup>247</sup> See, for example, Churchill 1935, 44; Gaudreault 1995, 111.

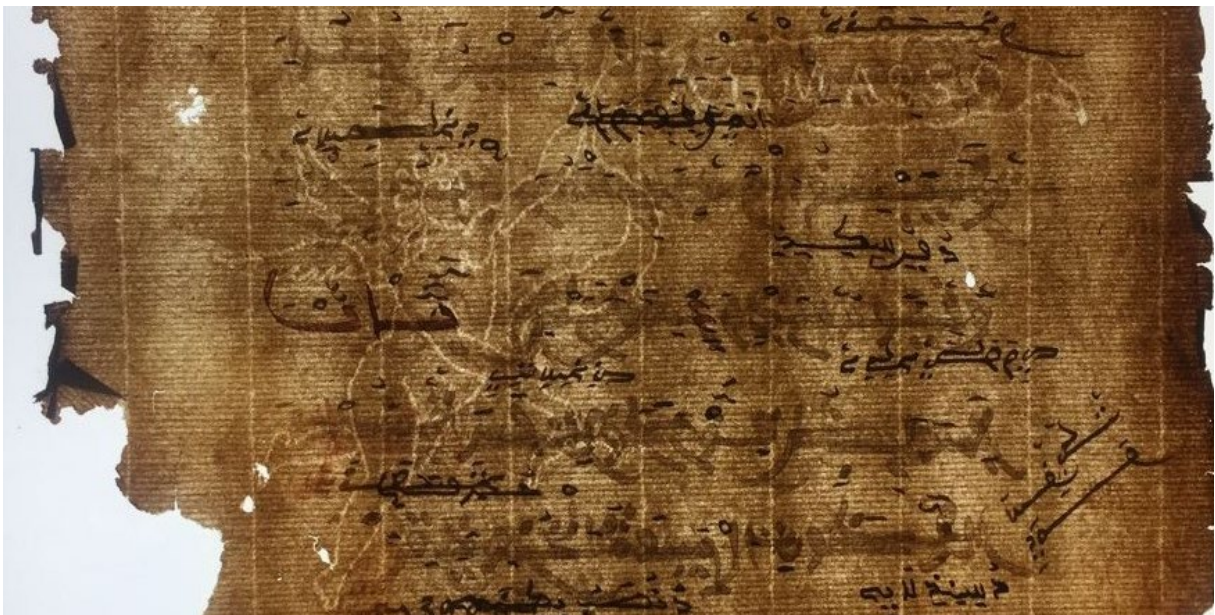




**Figure 11.** Watermarks Post-horn on shield. France, Paris, MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 21b, f. 190, and f. 212.

### Identified watermarks

Only three watermarks of this corpus can be matched to dated samples from catalogues. One of them, for instance, is a watermark of a winged boy holding a banner with the inscription ‘AL MASSO’ (Fig. 12), found in UbL MS Or. 14.052(10). The identical watermark motif is listed in Gravell and Miller under n. 287 (referred to as ‘Cherub’). It is found in a document dated 1803. Furthermore, the paper with the ‘winged nude’ watermark is attested in letters written mainly between 1818 and 1821.<sup>248</sup>



**Figure 12.** Watermark of a ‘winged nude’ or ‘Cherub’ with a banner ‘AL MASSO’. Netherlands, Leiden, UbL MS Or.14.052(10), f. 2.

Watermarks of this type were used by the Italian manufacturer Giorgio Magnani, as also confirmed by the initials GM on the countermark. Giorgio Magnani started paper production in 1783 in a

<sup>248</sup> Barker-Benifeld 2002, 63–64.

factory called ‘Al Masso’ in Pescia, Tuscany.<sup>249</sup> The latter date supports the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as the *terminus post quem* for the manufacture of the paper in question.<sup>250</sup>

A second watermark, for which an exact match was found in the catalogues, appears in the manuscript BnF Arabe 5502, ff 1a–207b, which, as previously mentioned, is written on a variety of papers. Due to the large size of the manuscript pages (ca. 30×19 cm), the watermark appears fully. It depicts an armor or a scroll with three six-pointed stars and an animal (goat?). The letters ‘GL’ are positioned underneath. The countermark in the sheet’s middle indicates the name ‘LEVERATTO’. Equivalent to this is Heawood’s ‘scroll-work’ (n.3739), found in paper used in 1796, Spain, and in 1810, Italy.

Finally, the third matched watermark is found in the manuscript unit BnF Arabe 5651, ff 285a–308b. It represents a shield with a zigzag stripe running across, a crown on top, and the initials ‘GM’ underneath.<sup>251</sup> This watermark corresponds to Gravell’s online database INIT. 4271 with the date 1804.<sup>252</sup> Also, it fits the description of one of the watermarks documented by Stefan Reichmuth in Nigerian manuscripts, belonging to an emir who lived in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>253</sup>

#### Other watermarks

A watermarked a shield with a zigzag and the monogram ‘GL| G’ is attested in BnF Arabe 5497, ff 96a–143b. No identical matches were found in catalogues or databases. To the groups of unidentified marks belong those attested further in the same manuscript unit: quadrupeds of different kinds, and fragmentary watermark of a horse or horseman (picador), accompanied by a (partly legible) name.

Varieties of a bell watermark appear twice in the present corpus, in JRL MS 780[825], ff 45a–47b, and BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 249a–291b. They differ from each other, but also from catalogue samples. The same applies to the sun face watermark (Fig. 13, left) in BnF Arabe 5657, ff 86a–108b. Perhaps it is paired with a moon face found in the same manuscript unit (Fig. 13, right). A

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<sup>249</sup> This factory was built in cooperation with Antonio Arrigoni to replace an older mill. It was one of several paper factories owned by the Magnani family. See: *Cartiere e archeologia industriale*, 77–79, <<http://www.svizzera-pesciatina.it/it/pdf/Cartiere%20e%20archeologia%20industriale.pdf>> (last accessed April 2020).

<sup>250</sup> The paper watermarked with ‘Al Masso’, ‘Il Gran Masso’, or else Gior[gio] Magnani, was identified by Natalia Viola in manuscripts of the ‘Fonds Archinard’. Unfortunately, none is dated (see Viola 2015, 358 and the table on pp. 368–375). Terence Walz reports the ‘Almasso’ paper manufactured by the Magnani Brothers in several manuscripts from Nigeria, two of which have dates 1264/1847 and 1279/1862 (see Walz 2011, 99–100, especially n65). However, Walz does not provide any description of the watermark motif. Finally, a paper with a partial watermark of a shield incorporating a tower and the name Gior Magnani is found in the Hamburg MS Cod. Scrin 227a on ff 45–6. It is similar to Heawood’s N 3748, which was attested in paper used in North Africa in 1822–3. Other close matches are TJ 371 and TJ 791 in Gravell’s online database; the paper was used in the United States in 1803 and 1804, respectively.

<sup>251</sup> The pages of this manuscript are heavily damaged. Therefore, on some pages, the watermarks are only partially visible. While the watermark design is quite similar on all folios of the manuscript, it differs slightly in detail. In one case, a chain line runs through the shield’s centre, and two other lines run along its sides. Each of the letters ‘GM’ appears between two chain lines. In the other case, the chain lines run only on the sides of the shield and through the middle of each letter of the initials. It might be surmised that ‘GM’ refers to Giorgio Magnani, previously mentioned. In other instances, however, Magnani’s paper is also watermarked with ‘Al Masso’, while the manuscript in question does not bear this marking.

<sup>252</sup> The same shield design with the initials ‘AP’ is recorded in Gravell’s database as TJ 327. It was used in 1803 Italy.

<sup>253</sup> Reichmuth 2011, 219.

depiction of a vase (or pot), unattested in catalogues, marks the paper in JRL MS 780[825], ff 102b–117b. As of yet, I could not identify these watermarks’ origins.



**Figure 13.** Watermarks moon and sun faces. France, Paris, BnF Arabe 5657, f. 92 and f. 104.

Another watermark motif, found in two manuscripts BnF Arabe 5507, ff 10b–110b, and BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 377a–386b, is three plain crescents of decreasing sizes, arranged side by side. The three crescents, or *tre lune*, are typical of Italian-made paper and were also used by French manufacturers.<sup>254</sup> The peculiarity of the discussed watermarks is that they are positioned perpendicular to the chain lines (Fig. 14), unlike watermarks recorded in catalogues that run parallel to chain lines.<sup>255</sup>



**Figure 14.** Three crescents aligned horizontally in relation to the chain lines. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 380, and BnF Arabe 5507, f. 13 and f. 12 (reversed).

One last example of an unidentified watermark, which, nevertheless, has sufficient information about the date and place of the paper’s origin, is from IFAN, Fonds Vincent Monteil. The watermark depicts three flowers in a pot (Fig. 15). It is accompanied by the year of production ‘1788’ and an indication of the paper quality ‘FIN’ (‘fine’), which hints at French manufacture.<sup>256</sup>

<sup>254</sup> Gaudriault 115-6; Walz 2011, 83.

<sup>255</sup> See, for example, Biddle 2017, Heawood 1950, Love 2016, Viola 2015.

<sup>256</sup> In France, following the decree of 1739, the indication of paper quality was obligatory for inclusion in watermarks (Churchill 1935).





**Figure 15.** Watermark of three flowers in a pot (reversed) and date ‘1788’. IFAN, Fonds Vincent Monteil, Cahier n.3, Dakar, Senegal.

### Indications of the place of production

The centres of paper production, or the names of mills, may also be included in watermarks. One example is the paper in BnF Arabe 5675, ff 63a–81a, which bears the words ‘FIN LIMOUZIN’ spelt out in large letters. It is unclear whether it should be associated with the Arms of England watermark found in other folios of this manuscript unit.

Another example is the paper in BnF Arabe 5725, ff 336a–350a, produced as suggested by the countermark, in ‘NORMANDIE’. The quality of the paper is marked as ‘MOYENE’ (i.e., *moyen*, ‘medium’), and the name of the paper maker is indistinguishable. Partial watermarks scattered across several folios represent a bunch of grapes – a design typical of French makers.<sup>257</sup>

One folio of BULAC MS.ARA.359 displays the name ‘PERIGORD’, although only its lower part can be discerned in the outer margin. It is unclear to which specific watermark, appearing within the few hundred of manuscript folios, this countermark relates. Perhaps, it is similar to the earlier examined watermark of the Arms of Amsterdam in MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 6a–24b and 217ab.

Limousin, Normandy, and Périgord are all major paper-producing regions in France. French manufacture can also be assumed when paper quality is included in the watermark. In addition to the cases already mentioned, the word ‘FIN’ is also present in the paper of BnF Arabe 5575, ff 185a–191b. It could be related to the (hardly legible) date ‘1773’.

### Names of papermakers

The current study findings showed that makers’ names in watermarks provided valuable details about the place and date of paper manufacture. For instance, it was demonstrated above, with the example of Antoine Bassuet, how information about the papermaker enabled the detection of a significant gap between the date in the watermark and the potential time of paper production. The name ‘A Gbasset’, which may be the same maker, also occurs in the paper of the BnF Arabe 5657,

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<sup>257</sup> This watermark design was widely used in France from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Laurentius 2018, 6).

ff 35b–84b. Furthermore, the name ‘J Fourestier’, appearing in the paper in BnF Arabe 5532, ff 294b–323a, refers to a papermaker, active around 1755 in the vicinity of Nancy, France.<sup>258</sup>

British manufacturers’ names of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century are frequent in papers of the composites BmT MS 2232 and MS 2234.<sup>259</sup> The manuscript unit MS 2234, pp 480–610, is written on several types of paper, laid and wove, some of which are blue-coloured. The watermark on this blue paper shows a lion and a shield and reads ‘C MILLINGTON LONDON 1870’. The latter stands for the brand name of Charles S Millington (or Millington & Sons), a stationary manufacturer and exporter in London.<sup>260</sup> Another kind of paper within this unit has a watermark of Britannia in an oval frame and ‘E TOWGOOD | FINE’ (Fig. 16). A certain Towgood appears in Churchill’s list in the year 1851. According to other sources, Edward Towgood began operating at the Sawston paper mill in 1836. The mill was run by his sons until one of them died in 1889. In 1917, the company was sold, and its name changed to ‘Towgood & Sons’.<sup>261</sup> These dates are compatible with the year 1870, appearing in Millington’s paper, which could also be retained as an approximate *terminus post quem* for the composite manuscript in question.

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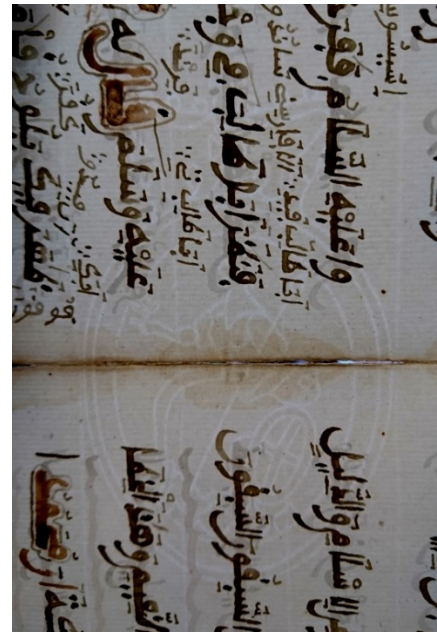
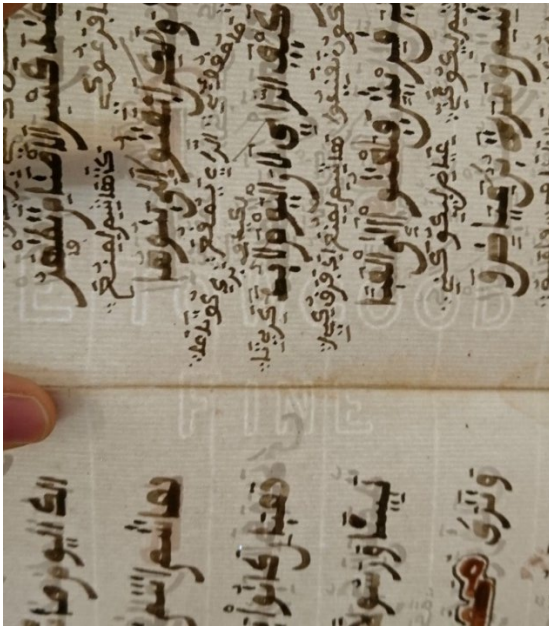
<sup>258</sup> See the list of French paper makers in Gaudriault 1995, 209. The paper with the watermark ‘J. Fouresti[er]’ is found in the manuscript BnF Arabe 5481, f. 188, dated 1057/1647–8 (Viola 2015, 359 and 370). However, the later date seems unrealistic, as the activities of J. Forestier fall in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>259</sup> In the composite manuscript BmT MS 2232, p. 45 is a laid paper of bluish colour with the date 1861 and possibly a name not discernible. Further, the name ‘[Tur] ners’ and the date ‘[1]831’ are partially visible on page 103, which could be part of a Ruse & Turners watermark. Another manuscript unit, pp 108–113, has papers with a part of Britannia in an oval frame, the date ‘1830’ and the name ‘R Tuner’. Also, in MS 2232, pages 121–122 are bluish paper watermarked with TH Saunders. Lastly, in BmT 2234, page 676/7, inscribed with talismanic symbols and instructions, appears to have been torn out of an agenda notebook or calendar with the date printed – February 1860.

<sup>260</sup> The World’s Paper Trade Review, Vol. 65, 574. Paper from the same manufacturer appears later in the same composite manuscript, pp 942–949. This unit has no Ajami glosses but contains one local scholar’s genealogy. The pages bear a watermark of Britannia in an oval frame topped with a crown and large stylized letters M & S underneath. The countermark is ‘Budge Row Foolscap 31 & 32’. Interestingly, London’s Budge Row, numbers 31 & 32, is the address of Millington & Sons. See Post office London 1891, p. 1192.

<sup>261</sup> See, for example, Page 1938, 160, and Cambridgeshire Archives:

<<https://calm.cambridgeshire.gov.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=K669>>.



**Figure 16.** Paper with Britannia watermark manufactured by E Towgood. France, Tours, BmT MS 2234, p. 575 and p. 578.

The unit BmT MS 2234, pp 784–817, is written on bluish, wove paper with the watermarked name ‘TH SAUNDERS’. The latter is Thomas Harry Saunders, a British papermaker, who operated in the late 1830s.<sup>262</sup> In addition, Churchill’s catalogue lists a certain I.H. Saunder, dating from 1848.<sup>263</sup> Also, some Nigerian manuscripts contain paper of T.H. Saunders’s manufacture but from a later period. For example, the paper in one manuscript has the watermarked ‘1914’, and another manuscript has the scribe’s date 1334/1916.<sup>264</sup>

The pages of another unit, pp 989–1004, are of a small format (10,5×16,4 cm), leaving only fragments of a watermark visible. Yet, one can reconstruct the maker’s name ‘T OOWTHWAITE’ and the date ‘1860’. It may refer to Thomas Outhwaite Hutton, a wholesale stationer and a partner of Charles Millington, mentioned earlier.<sup>265</sup>

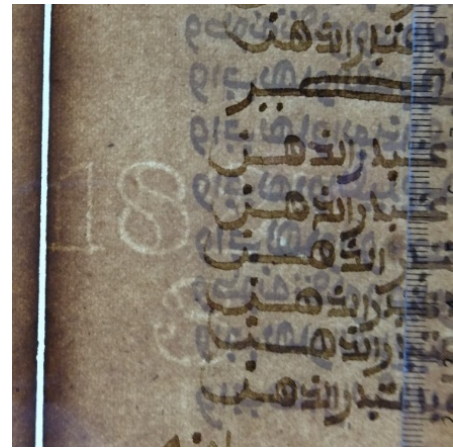
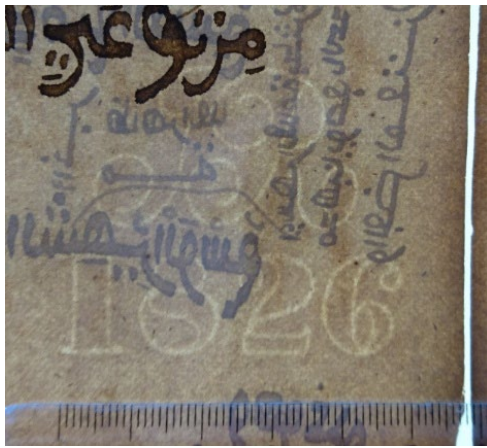
The examples above show that watermarked names of paper makers make identification a relatively easy task. Unfortunately, finding papermakers was not possible in many cases when watermarks are initials only (alone or in combination with a design). Some examples are the letters ‘JB’ in the paper of BnF Arabe 5500, ff 111b–118b, or cursive letters ‘FC’ (‘JC?’) with two crossing laurel branches beneath in BnF Arabe 5502, ff 1a–207b. In wove paper, the folios 51a–303a of BULAC MS.ARA.273 bear the letters C. SKP & C<sup>A</sup>. Further, cursive ‘IR’ (or ‘JR’) with the date ‘1826’ (Fig. 17, left) appears in MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 102a–189a. The latter manuscript unit has another watermarked date, ‘182| 3’ (Fig. 17, right).

<sup>262</sup> Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37937>>. See also Shorter 1993, 177, who reports that Rye Mill n.411 in Buckinghamshire was occupied by T. H. Saunders.

<sup>263</sup> Churchill 1935, 53.

<sup>264</sup> Walz 2011, 102.

<sup>265</sup> Hertfordshire Archive and local studies 1998, 10, <<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>> (last accessed May 2020).



**Figure 17.** Wove paper with watermarked dates. France, Paris, MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 165 and f. 186.

### Watermarked dates

A number of examples of watermark motifs with dates were discussed in the previous sections. Yet, there are instances in which only dates (without corresponding designs) appear as watermarks, such as in manuscript units JRL MS 780[825], ff 13a–35b, and BmT MS 2234, pp 53–4, with dates of ‘1800’ (or ‘1806’?), and ‘1833’, respectively.

That the year included in the watermark is not necessarily the year of paper production is illustrated by the example of ‘1742’ in a French paper in MQB MS AF14722(87). Other watermarked dates from the corpus, however, seem reliable. In addition, watermarked dates from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century associated with British designs (coat of arms or Britannia), such as those in JRL MS 780[825], ff 1a–12a, and BL MS Or. 6473, ff 126a–133b, may suggest English manufacture due to the requirement in this period to include the year of production in watermarks.<sup>266</sup>

### Dating manuscripts based on watermarks in paper

Based on the watermarks from the present corpus, it is possible to estimate the dates of papers and manuscripts. At the same time, it is only allowed for what Michaelle Biddle calls ‘fuzzy matching – matching that is approximate rather than fixed and exact’.<sup>267</sup> Multiple details in complex designs make it a challenging task to find an exact match in the published dated references. To further complicate the issue, watermarks often appear split into portions, insufficient for identification. In addition, the visibility of the watermarks can be hampered by the text covering, paper damage, or bindings consuming the gutter area.

Nevertheless, some watermarks do seem chronologically informative, even without finding an exact match. For example, it is possible to draw a rough periodisation based on the design and details of the Royal Arms of England. Thus, the Arms of England in a round frame with a buckle and motto would likely date around the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Varieties in a round frame without a

<sup>266</sup> The regulation to indicate the year of papers’ production in watermarks was introduced in 1794 and repealed in 1811 (Oldman 1944, 70–1). Nevertheless, many papermakers continued to include the date in watermarks up to the 1870s (Gravell and Miller 1983, xv).

<sup>267</sup> Biddle 2017, 28.



motto could date from the late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The production of paper with heater-shaped coast of arms can be traced back to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In fifteen manuscript units, watermarked dates serve as a direct indication of the paper's production year. Historical records about paper manufacturers also helped identify or adjust some dating. Even though dates can be established for writing support, they do not necessarily correspond with the date the manuscripts were created. The estimated interval between these two events ranges from seven to fifteen years or more.<sup>268</sup>

Another constraint is that different kinds of paper can be used in the same manuscript (especially those of large volume). Thus, the dating available/established for one paper type may not necessarily equate to that of the other types. One such example is JRL MS 780[825], ff 1a–12b, different papers, with one four years older than the other, as suggested by watermarked dates '1804' and '1808'.

Even if the dating of manuscripts based on watermarks is tentative, in combination with other evidence, such as the acquisition date, it may allow one to locate the temporal origin of some manuscripts within a plausible range of thirty to seventy years.

### **Paper supply**

Soninke Ajami manuscripts under study bear English, French, Dutch, and Italian watermark. Natalia Viola (2015) and Ghislaine Lydon (2009 and 2011) have already shown the importance of paper coming from northern European countries (alongside Italian paper) to the West African market. Michaëlle Biddle's examination of the manuscripts from the library in Djenné also reveals a high percentage of non-Italian papers.<sup>269</sup>

English and Dutch paper is attested by Nehemia Levtzion in Arabic manuscripts from Kumasi (modern-day Ghana), presently kept in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.<sup>270</sup> However, as he notes, such paper is a minority compared to the paper of Italian origin, and it also dates from a later period.<sup>271</sup> Similarly, in Nigeria, names of English papermakers appear in manuscripts of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which corresponds to the time of formal British occupation, as Walz observes.<sup>272</sup> However, most of the paper in Nigerian manuscripts was from Italy, with characteristic watermarks, such as 'three crescents' (*tree lune*), 'three hats' (*the cappelli*), as demonstrated by Terence Walz, Michaëlle Biddle, and Stefan Reichmuth.<sup>273</sup> Paper from Italy also circulated in

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<sup>268</sup> Heawood estimates a three-year interval for European documents and six- to seven-year intervals for papers travelled abroad (Heawood 1950, 31). Déroche et al., referring to Briquet and other experts, give ten to fifteen years between the dates of manufacture and use of the paper; however, they admit these delays could have been longer for remote areas (Déroche 2006, 50).

<sup>269</sup> Dmitry Bondarev, personal communication.

<sup>270</sup> Levtzion 1965. I am grateful to Mahir Şaul for drawing my attention to this study.

<sup>271</sup> The English watermarks have dates from 1803 to 1818. The Italian paper is from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Levtzion 1965, 118).

<sup>272</sup> Walz 2011, 102.

<sup>273</sup> Walz's research shows that seventy or more per cent of the manuscripts in three libraries (Kaduna, Ibadan, Jos) in Nigeria bears *tree lune* watermark (Walz 2011, 101). Michaëlle Biddle's profound investigation shows that more than 90 per cent of paper in Nigerian manuscripts is of Italian manufacture, with dates ranging from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Biddle 2017). On paper in manuscripts from Ilorin, see Reichmuth 2011, 218–9 and 2017, 87 and 89.



Mauritania, as reported by Ghislaine Lydon.<sup>274</sup> Furthermore, the watermarks indicative to Italian manufacture were attested in manuscripts I have examined in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso.<sup>275</sup>

The paper in the present corpus (see Appendix II) is predominantly British with frequent watermarks, such as the English Royal Arms and Britannia,<sup>276</sup> as well as French. In terms of temporal distribution, the French paper seems somewhat earlier, that is, of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In comparison, the dated specimens of Italian paper are from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The production dates for British paper can be placed between the beginning and second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The current data set also reveals an interesting correlation between the origin of paper and the origin of some manuscripts. For instance, paper in manuscripts written in areas of modern-day The Gambia and southern and north-eastern Senegal mainly has British watermarks.<sup>277</sup> This correlation can be explained by routes of Atlantic trade, as described by Lydon, which involved importing paper through ports such as Saint-Louis (Ndar) and Bathurst (Banjul) and distribution by commercial intermediaries along the rivers Senegal and Gambia.<sup>278</sup> The paper of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century from Britain attested in the manuscript BmT MS 2234, and its origin may probably be associated with British colonies in present-day Sierra Leone.<sup>279</sup> Two manuscripts with their origin identified as areas of present-day central Guinea and south-western Burkina Faso have Italian papers,<sup>280</sup> probably brought by trans-Saharan trade routes. Possibly, the paper reached these places through the trans-Saharan trade routes. Unfortunately, it is somewhat difficult to trace such a distribution for the rest of the manuscripts. Also, as the example of BnF Arabe 5502 shows, a single manuscript can contain papers of different origins.

While the ways of paper supplies can be approximately inferred for the larger regions, on a smaller scale it is unclear how individual scribes procured the paper. Oral testimonies I collected in Eastern Senegal and western Mali assert that in the time of their grandfathers the paper was purchased (for unknown prices) in centres such as Bakel and Kayes.<sup>281</sup> The colophons in the manuscripts under study are also uninformative in regard of paper costs.

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<sup>274</sup> Lydon 2011, 49.

<sup>275</sup> For instance, a manuscript from the private collection of LO is written on paper watermarked with three hats and the initials BG. Three crescent watermarks appear three times: 1) without countermark; 2) together with the initials FP; 3) in wove paper countermarked with cursive NB.

<sup>276</sup> While these watermark motifs do not necessarily prove the paper was manufactured in Britain, they strongly suggest that it was intended for the British market (Heawood 1950, 27).

<sup>277</sup> These are, for example, manuscripts TCD MS 3499, ff 43b–130b, and 160b–296a written in Kombo, JRL MS 780[825], ff 1a–12b, written in Baddibu, BnF Arabe 5657, ff 1a–28b, from Mamakono, Pakao. Further, BnF Arabe 5657, ff 110a–151b, and MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 1a–4b, 25ab, 43a–75b, 82a–101b can be attributed to Mandinka-speaking areas in The Gambia and Senegal because of several glosses, written in this language. The manuscript BULAC MS.ARA.359 was possibly written in Soninke-speaking areas of today's north-east Senegal or west Mali, as evidenced by the names of local scholars in annotations. For further details, see Ogorodnikova 2016 and Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis.

<sup>278</sup> See Lydon 2009, 103 and 2011, 47.

<sup>279</sup> Even though it was not possible to determine the exact origin of the manuscript units containing British watermarks, other units in the same composite manuscript included in their colophons place names from the areas in what is now western Guinea and Sierra Leone. See Chapter 4 for details.

<sup>280</sup> Colophons of the manuscripts BnF Arabe 5651, ff 285a–308b, and Arabe 5497, 96a–143b, mention Timbo in Futa Jallon (Guinea) and Dierisso (Burkina Faso), respectively.

<sup>281</sup> Interviews with SS, Kunjur, December 2016; AD, Diawara, and ID, Bakel, January 2017.

## **Concluding remarks**

Soninke Ajami manuscripts are written on paper in careful handwriting, suggesting they were produced by scholars at the intermediate or advanced stages of their education. Except for some recent manuscripts, where modern inks and pens are employed, the writing tools have been produced locally from readily available ingredients. On the other hand, paper was imported mainly through the Atlantic trade and Trans-Saharan trade routes. In the present chapter, I have made the first attempt to document and analyse the watermarks found in the paper of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts. About one-third of manuscripts in the corpus can be tentatively dated thanks to watermarks: ten manuscripts (that is about five per cent of the corpus) by the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> century; thirty-two manuscripts (about seventeen per cent) by the early to first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; five manuscripts (about two per cent) are by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The current results on dating and establishing the origin of the paper are summarised in Appendix II. Future research will undoubtedly update the dating.

## Chapter 3. Content and Layout

### Introduction

Soninke Ajami material appears in the examined manuscripts as systematic and occasional interlinear and marginal glosses added to the main texts in Arabic (Ajami Type 3 and 4). This study assumes that these vernacular annotations resulted from educational activities at intermediate and advanced stages of classical Islamic education. The purpose of this chapter is then to examine the manuscripts' content in order to determine which authors and works were circulated and studied by Mande-speaking scholars.

The results of this analysis will be compared with existing data on curriculum-based and anthropological research or analysis of primary historical sources, such as chronicles. For instance, Tal Tamari offers an in-depth study of the subjects, texts, and the order in which they were studied as part of classical Islamic education in Mali, Guinea, and The Gambia. Hunter itemises a curriculum of the two contemporary *majālis* in The Gambia, which, as he states, is virtually identical to that taught in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Touba.<sup>282</sup> Information on the curriculum among the Jakhanke is available in Lamin Sanneh's and Abdoul Kader Sylla's works.<sup>283</sup> More specific details on subjects and texts studied by al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama can be drawn from the chronicles in Arabic.<sup>284</sup>

After identifying texts in manuscripts, the chapter will investigate whether the manuscripts' origin in educational settings might have conditioned by their specific layout.<sup>285</sup> The last section of this chapter is dedicated to the examination of healing and talismanic recipes often found together with or even on the margins of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts. Instruction of this kind appears to be part of the teaching and learning process (even if highly specialised).

#### *Identification of texts and authors*

Several sources were of substantial utility in collecting information about texts and their authors (especially those from Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa). They include the Arabic Literature of Africa (ALA) series, specifically Volume IV, surveying the writing of Western Sudanic authors, edited by John Hunwick, and Volume V, concerning the literary tradition of Mauritania and Western Sahara, compiled by Charles Stewart.<sup>286</sup> Another comprehensive work on Mauritanian authors of the 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries is *Maurische Literaturgeschichte* (MLG) by Ulrich Rebstock.<sup>287</sup> The primary reference work for Arabic literature in general is the fundamental *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (GAL) by Carl Brockelmann.

Equally useful were the manuscripts' databases, such West African Arabic Manuscripts Database (WAAMD), which contains descriptions of manuscripts from nine major collections originating

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<sup>282</sup> Hunter 1977, 303–8.

<sup>283</sup> Sanneh 1989, 157–8; Sylla 2012, 309–10.

<sup>284</sup> Hunter 1976, Sanneh 1981.

<sup>285</sup> Dmitry Bondarev developed an approach to analysing the relationship between the types of texts, layout, and annotations (Bondarev 2017).

<sup>286</sup> Hunwick 2003a, Stewart 2015.

<sup>287</sup> Rebstock 2001.

from Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, and Ghana.<sup>288</sup> The WAAMD incorporates information on West African manuscripts from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). However, the BnF website, in addition to metadata, gives access to digitised microfilms.<sup>289</sup> The Oriental Manuscripts Resource (OMAR) database of about 2500 Mauritanian manuscripts also provides their digital reproductions.<sup>290</sup>

Bruce Hall and Charles Stewart (2011) collected information on fundamental texts and disciplines studied in West Africa, the so-called historical core curriculum, which they define from a survey of manuscripts from Mauritania, Niger Bend / Middle Niger, and Northern Nigeria. The texts and authors circulating in Nigeria, namely in Ilorin, are examined in detail in several works by Stefan Reichmuth (1998, 2011, 2017). Information about the Jula libraries is available in Marty's report on Islam in Ivory Coast (Marty 1922, annexe iii–ix). The lists of the Jula scholars mainly contain short titles of works in their possessions. In a few instances, the names of authors are also mentioned. Well-known titles are easy to identify; however, it is much harder for rare or unknown works. The first attempt at identification of the titles was carried out by Jean-Louis Triaud (2013) for the libraries in Mankono, Ivory Coast (annexe ix).

## Curriculum

This section describes the distribution of subject matters and texts in manuscripts. The Soninke Ajami annotated manuscripts contain texts covering the main topics of classical Islamic education as follows (from more to less represented): belief (*tawhīd*), Islamic law or jurisprudence (*fiqh*), works on the Prophet, Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), ethics (*adab*), and Arabic language. Each subsection of this chapter overviews texts and authors in every field and assesses their frequency of occurrence in manuscripts.

### Belief/Theology (*tawhīd*)

The works on theology/belief (*tawhīd*) prevail compared to the works in other disciplines, constituting almost forty per cent of the corpus. Nearly one-third of them are texts by Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486). His creed (*al-ʿAqīda*) is represented in the corpus by four main versions, which differ by their size and level of complexity.<sup>291</sup> The most widespread (8 MSS) is the short version known under the title *ʿAqīda (ahl al-tawhīd) al-ṣuḡhrā* or *Umm al-barāhīn*.<sup>292</sup> Almost as popular (5 MSS) was the smallest creed, known as *ʿAqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣuḡhrā*.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> The WAAMD's former title is Arabic Manuscripts Management System (AMMS). For details on database and collections and search in the database, see the website <<https://waamd.lib.berkeley.edu/home>> (last accessed May 2020). See also Stewart 2008.

<sup>289</sup> Weblink <<https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/pageCollections.html?col=1>> (last accessed May 2020).

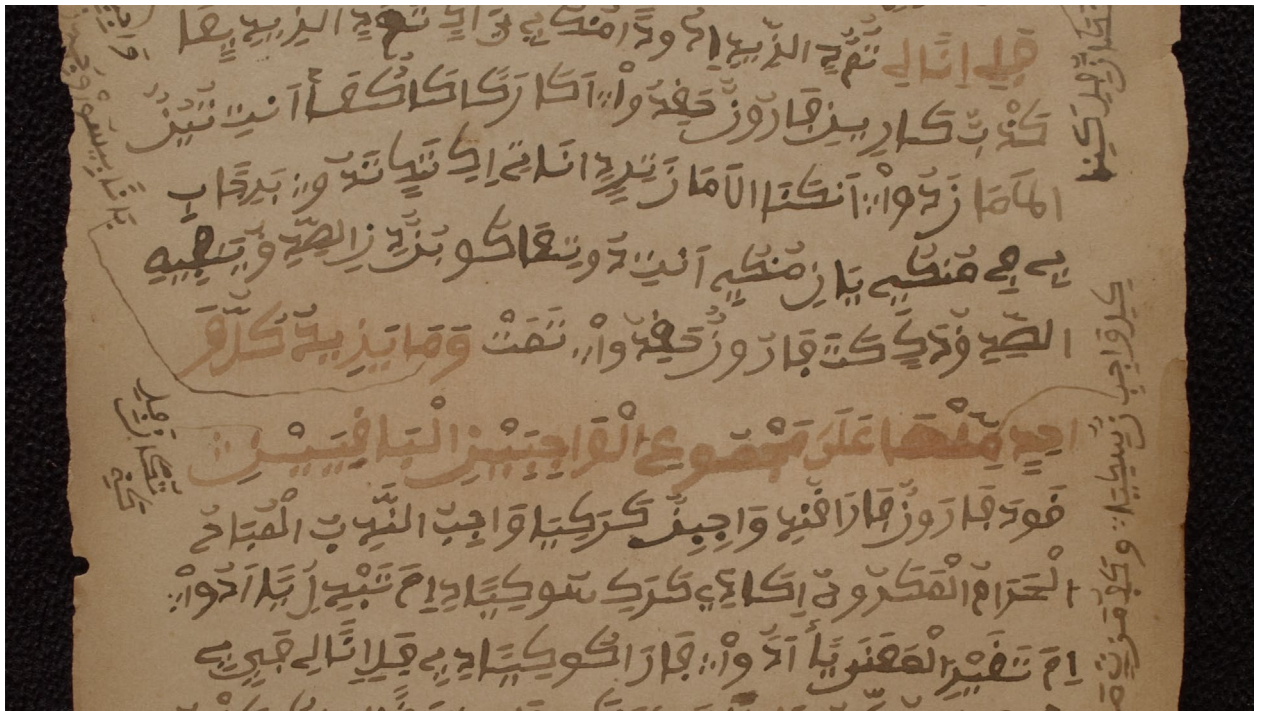
<sup>290</sup> The OMAR database can be accessed at <<http://omar.ub.uni-freiburg.de/index.php?id=homepage>> (last accessed May 2020).

<sup>291</sup> To distinguish between different versions of the creed in manuscripts, I have compared them cursorily with the editions in Daub 2010, Kenny 1970, and Sobieroj 2016.

<sup>292</sup> BL MS Or. 6473, ff 198a–226b; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 22a–38b; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, 307a–320a; JRL MS 780[825], ff 13a–35b; TCD MS 3500, ff 1a–32b; MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 6a–24b and 217ab; MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 26a–40b; MQB MS AF1722(90), ff 1a–5b.

<sup>293</sup> BnF Arabe 5320, ff 9a–18b, 19b; MS DNN2; JRL MS 780[825], ff 94a–100b; PGL ORI 11/2 ff, 1a–27a; TCD MS 3500, ff 126a–143a.

Interestingly, in three manuscripts, the text of the *'Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣuḡhrā* incorporates a sequence of Arabic or alternating Arabic and Soninke phrases (Fig. 18).<sup>294</sup> They are written in a smaller script and denser lines. This addition is unlikely to be a commentary, as it does not provide any explanation of the main text, and thus its purpose is unclear.



**Figure 18.** The text of al-Sanūsī’s *'Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣuḡhrā* incorporating alternating phrases in Arabic (red inks) and Soninke (brown ink). Senegal, Dembanané, MS DNN2, di 0025.

More comprehensive creeds such as the intermediate *al-'Aqīda al-wuṣṭā* (3 MSS), and the larger *al-Kubrā* (1 MS) are rarer.<sup>295</sup> The single exemplar of the *Kubrā* also incorporates an Arabic commentary. Along with the creeds, the corpus includes *al-Muqaddima* (3 MSS).<sup>296</sup> This work was ‘meant to explain terms and presuppositions of the *Ṣuḡhrā*’.<sup>297</sup>

The colophons in the present corpus indicate that the same person could own (and therefore study) manuscripts with different versions of the creed. Indeed, local sources, such as Bartilī’s *Faḥ al-shakūr*, report some eminent scholars studying all five texts of al-Sanūsī.<sup>298</sup>

Another text (4 MSS) mentions al-Sanūsī as the author in the preface, but it differs from his ‘standard’ creeds.<sup>299</sup> The text sets out the attributes of God and his messengers. The scribe of one

<sup>294</sup> BnF Arabe 5542, ff 90a–102b; PGL ORI 11/2; MS DNN2. This particular version of the smallest creed is also found in JRL MS 780[825], ff 59b–71b. There are no Ajami glosses, but several annotations in Arabic, one of which (f. 61a) is referenced as *sami'atu min shaykh al-Hājj al-Kasanmā* ‘I heard [it] from the shaykh al-Hājj Kassama’.

<sup>295</sup> BnF Arabe 5657, ff 85a, 86a–108b; PGL ORI 11/1, ff 1a–87b; MQB MS AF 14722(87), ff 1a–4a, 25ab, 43a–75b, 82a–101b; TCD MS 3499, ff 160b–296a, respectively.

<sup>296</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 377a–386b; TCD MS 3500, ff 39b–46a; BL MS Or. 4897, ff 77b–88b.

<sup>297</sup> Kenny 1970, 38.

<sup>298</sup> El Hamel 2002, 312 and 322.

<sup>299</sup> JRL MS 780[825], ff 45a–47a; UbL MS 14.052(2) and (9), ff 1 and 2; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 323a–328b (di 1328–1333); BmT MS 2234, pp 19–25. A similar but not identical text exists in BULAC MS.ARA.273, ff 18a–21a.

of the manuscripts refers to this text in the colophon as ‘Twenty attributes’ (*‘Ashrūna ṣifa*).<sup>300</sup> The title provisionally given to this text by Mingana is *Risāla al-Wujūd*.<sup>301</sup>

The titles of the shorter creeds used by the scribes in colophons are noteworthy. The name *Kitāb burhān* ‘Book of proof’ labels the text of the *Ṣughrā*.<sup>302</sup> It most likely alludes to the title *Umm al-barāhīn* ‘The source of proofs’. The *Ṣaghīra al-ṣughrā*, or smallest of the creeds, is designated in the manuscripts as *al-Kitāb sughrā* ‘small book’.<sup>303</sup> No particularities in naming are encountered for Sanūsī’s other works: corresponding Arabic names *al-Wuṣṭā*, *al-Kubrā*, and *al-Kitāb al-Mukadama* (*sic.*) are marked in the colophons or margins of manuscripts with respective texts.<sup>304</sup>

Particular popularity was gained by Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjilī, known as Ibn Sulaym.<sup>305</sup> Two poems are credited to him, both of which occur within the present corpus: *Jawāhir min al-kalām* (5 MSS) and *Dalīl al-qā‘id li-kashf asrār ṣifāt al-wāḥid* (2 MSS).<sup>306</sup> The former poem is sometimes referred to in the colophons as (*Ibn*) *Sulaym al-Ṣughrā* and the latter as *Kubrā*.<sup>307</sup> During my fieldwork, several consultants called *Jawāhir min al-kalām* simply ‘Awjalī’ or ‘Awjalīyu’. Also, it is worth mentioning that the last part of *Dalīl al-qā‘id*, concerning the declaration of the oneness of God (*shahāda*), in the examined manuscripts, incorporates some additional lines.<sup>308</sup> They consist of two hemistichs, the second ending consistently with the words *subḥanāhu subḥānan* ‘the Glorious’. Unlike the main text, these lines remain without vocalic diacritics and glosses.

Interestingly, the Jakhanke scholar al-Ḥājj Salīm Kassama took inspiration from Sanūsī’s and al-Awjilī’s works for his own composition, found in BnF Arabe 5647, ff 86a–88b.<sup>309</sup>

Several works by certain Muḥammad b. ‘Umar frequently appear in the current corpus.<sup>310</sup> The author’s complete name is Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Mālik

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<sup>300</sup> JRL MS 780[825], f. 47a.

<sup>301</sup> Mingana 1934, 1050.

<sup>302</sup> In the colophons of TCD MS 3500, f. 32b, and MQB |MS AF14722(87), f. 217b.

<sup>303</sup> This title appears in colophons in BnF Arabe 5320, f. 19b, and JRL MS 780[825], f. 100b, as well as in a decorated frame marking half of the text in MS DNN2, di 0016.

<sup>304</sup> PGL ORI 11/1, f. 87b, TCD MS 3499, f. 235a, and BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 386b, respectively.

<sup>305</sup> As indicated by his *nisba*, this author might have originated from Awjila in Libya (ALA II 51–2); also El Hamel 2002, 133 n4. In the manuscripts under study, the *jīm* is vocalised with *fatha*; thus, the *nisba* reads as ‘Awjalī’.

<sup>306</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, ff 259a–268b; BmT MS 2234, pp 833–845; BnF Arabe 5575, ff 172a–176a; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 1a–12b; JRL MS 780[825], ff 1a–12b, BnF Arabe 5657, ff 1a–28b; MQB AF 14722(87), ff 5ab, 102a–189a, 191a–193b respectively. Interestingly, *Jawāhir min al-kalām* is absent from the core curriculum (Hall and Stewart 2011, 137–9 and 170–2).

<sup>307</sup> BmT MS 2234, p. 845, and AF MS 14722(87), f. 174a. The colophon of BULAC MS.219bis, f. 12b, uses the Mandinka name for the text – **Sulayma dōomà** ‘Sulaym small’. See the discussion in Ogorodnikova 2016, 10. Soninke scribes were not the only ones to use these alternative titles for Ibn Sulaym’s poems. For instance, Trimmingham quotes the works *Ṣughrā* and *Kubrā* by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī from the Fulfulde curriculum of Futa Jallon (Trimingham 1959, 81–2). See also Marty 1921, annexe xiv and xxi.

<sup>308</sup> Interestingly, other manuscripts with this poem from the ‘Fonds Archinard’ do not have these additional lines: BnF Arabe 5462, Arabe 5493, Arabe 5500, Arabe 5602, Arabe 5623, Arabe 5670, Arabe 5673, Arabe 5720 and Arabe 6108.

<sup>309</sup> The manuscript contains no Ajami glosses. For more information on the author, see Chapter 5.

<sup>310</sup> Composite manuscripts BL MS Or. 4897, MS Or. 6473, and BULAC MS.ARA.219bis contain several texts by this author but without Soninke glosses. In total, I could trace about thirty manuscripts with eight texts (not all mentioned here) by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar, distributed in six collections in BL, BnF, BULAC, MQB, PGL, and TCD. Furthermore,

b. Alī b. Abī Maḥālī.<sup>311</sup> Only scant information is available about him, and his origin is connected to 19<sup>th</sup>-century West Africa.<sup>312</sup>

One of the rare mentions of Ibn ‘Umar appears in Abdoul Kader Sylla’s account of the Jakhanke curriculum. He notes that *majlis* students start with the *tawḥīd* texts, including *Al Borhan* (‘The Proof’) by *Abi Abdellah Mohamed Ben Omar*.<sup>313</sup> However, while it confirms that Jakhanke scholars studied Ibn ‘Umar’s texts, it offers no details regarding this author’s identity. The present corpus contains eight manuscripts with at least three of Ibn Umar’s texts that can probably be regarded as different versions:<sup>314</sup>

1. Text on forms of infidelity/disbelief, starting with *I‘lam annā wajadnā min anwā‘ al-kufr al-mujma‘ alayhi faḍlan ‘an al-mukhtalaf fīhi* (4 MSS).<sup>315</sup> Further, I will refer to this text by the title *Risāla fī anwā‘ al-kufr*.
2. Text starting with *I‘lam annahu ḡahara al-kufr al-mujama‘u ‘alayhi wa fī al-‘amma wa al-nisā‘* (2 MSS).<sup>316</sup> The colophon of one of the manuscripts gives the title *al-Kitāb al-tawḥīd yusammī al-Kubrā* ‘the book of *tawḥīd* entitled *al-Kubrā*’. I will use the provisional title *Risāla fī al-kufr wa al-īmān*.
3. Text beginning with *qāla Ibn Khalīl fī ta‘līf lahu ‘alā mā yaḡdur min ‘awāmm jamānihi* (2 MSS).<sup>317</sup> The author makes numerous references to the creeds of al-Sanūsī, as well as to

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copies of his texts are among the manuscripts in Niamey and Timbuktu (ALA IV). Further, Muḥammad b. ‘Umar’s works are also listed among several libraries of the Jula scholars of the Ivory Coast (Marty 1922). For instance, they mention *Kitāb Burhān faḡl* by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar (Annexe iii); *kitāb Muḥammad b. ‘Umar* (Annexe v), etc. See further annexe vi, vii, ix.

<sup>311</sup> The prefaces of some texts record the author’s name as Muḥammad b. ‘Umar, while marginal glosses supplement it with b. ‘Abd al-Mālik b. Abī Maḥālī (e.g., BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 67a, and BnF Arabe 5683, f. 152b). In the colophons, his name is mainly recorded as Ibn ‘Umar.

<sup>312</sup> Geroge Vajda suggests Muḥammad b. ‘Umar being a 19<sup>th</sup>-century West African author based on the frequent appearance of his texts in the Segou collection of the BnF (Vajda 1950, 237). Hunwick mentions the author twice: among the writers of central Mali in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and again as an unassigned author (ALA IV 269 and 661, respectively). Jean-Louis Triaud traced and connected several manuscripts with Muḥammad b. ‘Umar’s texts in PGL, BnF, BL, and the library of scholars in Mankono, Ivory Coast (Triaud 2013). In the WAAMD database, this author is recorded with an alternative *nisba* Tilimsānī and the date of death 1096/1684–5 (WAAMD ID 3074). There is also an entry on him in MLG 4442.

<sup>313</sup> I kept the spelling of the original; see Sylla 2012, 309.

<sup>314</sup> Vajda distinguishes between two texts with corresponding titles: *Risāla fī al-kufr wa al-īmān* (1 and 2 here) and *Risāla fī al-īmān wa al-kufr* (corresponding to 3). See Vajda 1950, 237, *Guide* 1976. In ALA IV, all these texts (1–3) are provided with the title *Risāla fī ‘l-kufr wa ‘l-īmān* (ALA IV, 661). However, text (1) has an alternative title *Risāla fī anwā‘ al-kufr* (ALA IV 269).

<sup>315</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, ff 119a–168b; BL MS Or. 4897, ff 179a–196b; BL MS Or. 6473, ff 78b–93b; MQB AF 14722(87), ff 194a–216b. There are also several copies, however, without glosses: BL MS Or. 4897, ff 102–118; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 39a–66a; BnF Arabe 5442, ff 29–38, Arabe 5647, ff 18b–28a, Arabe 5687, ff 29b–43b (130a–116a).

<sup>316</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 67a–130a, and TCD MS 3500, ff 51a–104a. Other manuscripts with this text but no Soninke glosses are BnF Arabe 5497, ff 1a–20b, Arabe 5504, ff 58b–73b, Arabe 5683, ff 152a–165b, Arabe 5383, ff 207a–229b, and one folio with the beginning of the text in TCD MS 3500, ff 168ab.

<sup>317</sup> PGL MS ORI 11/3, ff 1–127, and BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 131a–238a. Other copies are BL MS Or. 6473, ff 227a–253b (fragment); BnF Arabe 5428, ff 1b–47b (with glosses in Jula or other Manding), Arabe 5473, ff 117a–156b, Arabe 5500, ff 119a–136b. This work is also mentioned in manuscripts’ list of Said Karamoko of Mankono (Triaud 2013).

several other authors. The colophons of both manuscripts refer to this text as *Kitāb Ibn 'Umar Kubrā*. I will retain this title in the present thesis.

Ibn Umar may also have authored a poem concerning matters of the Muslim faith found in TCD MS 3500, ff 33a–38a. The name of the author in the preface is Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar, and the poem begins with *Al-ḥamdu li- 'llāh al- 'alī dhī al-ghanī // al-mut 'āla 'an 'awaziḍ al-fanā*'.<sup>318</sup>

Other works on *tawḥīd* encountered among the analysed manuscripts are *Manzūmat al-Jazā'iriyya fī 'l-tawḥīd* by Aḥmad b. 'Adb Allāh al-Jazā'irī (d. 898/1497).<sup>319</sup> Aslo, there are (2 MSS each) *Tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawḥīd* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 517/1123)<sup>320</sup> and *Manzūmat Idā'at al-dujunna fī 'aqā'id ahl al-sunna* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqārī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1041/1631–2).<sup>321</sup> Two units of the composite manuscript BnF Arabe 5657 with each of these texts belonged to the same owner, who also had a copy of *Dalīl al-qā'id* of Awjilī.

Less frequent texts include that of Abī 'Imrān al-Jawrā'ī/Jurādī entitled *'Aqīda jayyida fī 'l-tawḥīd* (2 MSS).<sup>322</sup> This text 'once apparently popular but long discarded' expresses 'strict Ash'arite positions'.<sup>323</sup>

A rare find in the present corpus is the didactic poem entitled *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya fī 'l-tawḥīd*, also known as *Bad' al-amālī*.<sup>324</sup> It is composed by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Ūshī (fl. ca. 569/1173), from Osh in present-day Kirgizstan.<sup>325</sup> The author belonged to the Māturīdiyya theological school. Finding such a work is unusual since most West African scholars generally adhered to Ash'arite doctrine.<sup>326</sup>

One manuscript with Soninke Ajami annotations contains the text *al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī taḥqīq ma'rifat arkān al-īmān* by the author from the eastern Bilād al-Sūdān Arbāb b. 'Alī b. 'Awn b. 'Āmir al-Kharṭūmī, known as Arbāba al-Kharṭūmī (d. 1102/1690–1).<sup>327</sup> In addition, this corpus

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<sup>318</sup> This poem differs from the two others listed in ALA IV 661, one rhyming in *rā'* and another in *'ayn* (BnF Arabe 5442, ff 39a–40b; Arabe 5569, ff 1a–2b; Arabe 5601, ff 116a–117b; Arabe 5671, ff 35a–36b, and BnF Arabe 5406, ff 115b–119b, respectively).

<sup>319</sup> BnF Arabe 5521, ff 170b–219b; JRL MS 780[825], ff 102b–117b; MS ZMC5, di 6930–7034.

<sup>320</sup> BnF Arabe 5657, ff 110a–125a, 126b–151b and TCD MS 3499, 43b–130b

<sup>321</sup> BnF Arabe 5657, ff 35b–84b and BnF Arabe 5725, ff 282a–285b, 297b, 298a–320b.

<sup>322</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, ff 201–208b, and BnF Arabe 5566, ff 141a–144b. The text is also known as *'Aqīdat al-muwahḥidīn* (Reichmuth 2017, 90) or *'Aqīda al-Jūrādī* (GAL S II 992 n27). The name of the author in the catalogues is recorded as Jurādī. However, manuscripts spell his name differently, resulting in ambiguities in reading (see discussion in Reichmuth 2017, 92). In both manuscripts under examination, the name is written as al-Jawrā'ī. Despite this, the texts differ in some details. For instance, the copy in the BnF has a long preface, including the title, which is absent from the BL manuscript. This one closely resembles the one from the Nigerian Gbodofu collection analysed by Reichmuth (Reichmuth 2017, 91 Fig.5). According to the WAAMD database, Jawrā'ī / Jurādī died in 1048/1638–9. Reichmuth, however, places his floruit in ca. 700/1300.

<sup>323</sup> Reichmuth 2017, 92.

<sup>324</sup> MS EAP 1042/4/6, pp 168–177.

<sup>325</sup> Daub 2012–3, 52; Sobieroj 2016, 126–9.

<sup>326</sup> Reichmuth 2017, 90. This text is also found in a private collection of a Nupe scholarly family in Nigeria (Ibid; Reichmuth 1998, 359).

<sup>327</sup> BnF Arabe 5504, ff 101a–155a. This text is also found in BnF Arabe 5459 ff 133b–192a with only one Ajami gloss. However, the manuscript's colophon mentions the owner, who possessed several other manuscripts with Soninke Ajami annotations.



also includes authors from Western Sudanic Africa. One of them is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Inālbash al-Ṭughūghī [al-Sūqī], known as Ibn al-Būsh. In his poem *Shāfiya al-qulūb* (1 MS) he discusses life, death, judgment, angels, as well as the importance of studying.<sup>328</sup> The poem's 360 verses were composed in 1125/1713 as indicated in the explicit. The other author is Khālid b. 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Sūqī. His poem, beginning with *al-Ḥamdu li-'llāh 'lladhī qad arsalā // Rasūlahu ṣallā 'alayhi dhū 'l-'ulā*, is devoted to the description of divine attributes (1 MS).<sup>329</sup>

Standing out from the mass of dogmatic texts, there is one text of eschatological content.<sup>330</sup> It details the questions asked by the two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, to test the faith of the deceased at his grave. Last but not least, there is an anonymous short 'aqīda text in alternating Arabic and Mandinka phrases written within one line (Ajami Type 2).<sup>331</sup> There is also an author of uncertain origin – Muḥammad b. 'Umar Fulālī – who wrote a poem relating to the doctrine of faith, called *al-Durraṭ 'l-manṣūna* and written presumably in 1102/1690.<sup>332</sup> Finally, several manuscripts contain prose and poetry texts that have not yet been identified.

### Islamic law / Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

Works pertaining to Islamic law range from elementary to advanced. For instance, two manuscripts contain a basic text on religious duties *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-'ibādāt 'alā madhhab al-imām Mālik* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Akhḍarī (d. 983/1585).<sup>333</sup> There is also one copy of an elementary text for students entitled *al-Muqaddima (al-'Aqīda) al-Waghlīsiyya*.<sup>334</sup>

Texts of intermediate level include *al-Muqaddima al-'izziyya li-'l-jamā'a al-Azhariyya* by the Egyptian 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Manūfī al-Shādhilī (d. 939/1532). Only one copy occurs in the present corpus.<sup>335</sup> The most prevalent is the manual of Maliki law (8 MSS), the famous *al-Risāla*, written by Ibn Abī Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996).<sup>336</sup> Commentaries to this text are also found. One is *Kifāyat al-ṭālib al-rabbānī li-Risālat Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī* by the above-mentioned 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shādhilī and the second yet remains unidentified.<sup>337</sup> Another commentary to *al-Risāla* named *al-Fawākih* by the Egyptian Aḥmad b. Ghunaym al-

<sup>328</sup> BL MS Or. 6473, ff 126a–133b (beginning) and ff 155a–163b (end).

<sup>329</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.273, ff 304a–308b.

<sup>330</sup> BmT MS 2234, pp 818–820.

<sup>331</sup> MS DNN6.

<sup>332</sup> JRL MS 780[825], ff 83a–90a. The title appears on f. 83b and the year of completion in the poem's last verses on f. 90a.

<sup>333</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, ff. 169a–178b, and BnF Arabe 5299, ff 103a–117a. Hall and Stewart call it 'the most important didactic text' in West Africa (Hall and Stewart 2011, 134). It is also frequently found with Old Kanembu annotations (Bondarev 2017, 130). Two Mandinka translations of this text exist: an intralinear phrase-by-phrase (Ajami Type 2) translation by Bashiru Daabo from Dar Salam in Baddibu, The Gambia, in 1978 (MS EAP 1042/1/2 <<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1042-1-2>>) and a complete translation by Fode Salimou Darmé from Njama in Pakao (southern Senegal). Fode Salimou's manuscript images, along with the transliteration and French translation, are published in Sharawy 2005, Chapter 6, 443–484.

<sup>334</sup> BnF Arabe 5675, ff 63a–81a. On this text, see Triaud 2013.

<sup>335</sup> BnF Arabe 5497, ff 96a–143b. This work seems to have been especially popular in Northern Nigeria (Hall and Stewart 2011, 134). See also Reichmuth 1998, 127.

<sup>336</sup> BL MS Or. 6473, ff 261a–262b; BnF Arabe 5586, ff 1a–177a; MS DLT1; MS KSS2; TCD MS 2179, ff 1a–274b; TCD MS 2689, ff 15a–107a; UBL MS 14.052(1) and (8); MS ZOC1.

<sup>337</sup> BnF Arabe 5502, ff 1a–207b, and BULAC MS.ARA.273, 51a–303a, respectively.

Nafrāwī (d. 1207/1792)<sup>338</sup> in examined manuscripts appears only in the form of quotations in the margins.<sup>339</sup>

The advanced legal texts include a commentary (3MSS) to the manual *al-Mukhtaṣar* by Shaykh Sīdī Khalīl al-Ishāq (d. 776/1374–5).<sup>340</sup> The text of *al-Mukhtaṣar* is considered ‘a work so terse that it is almost incomprehensible without a detailed commentary’.<sup>341</sup> Further, there is a work in verse on *Mālikī* law written for judges (2 MSS) *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nakt al-‘uqūd wa-’l-aḥkām* by Ibn ‘Āṣim al-Mālikī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 829/1426–7).<sup>342</sup> This didactic poem touches upon ‘court procedure, contracts, partnership, market and land laws’.<sup>343</sup> Tal Tamari mentions that this work is ‘studied by only a few’.<sup>344</sup>

Some texts in this corpus deal with more specific topics of *fiqh*. An example would be a poem that deals with questions of conjugal relations (2 MSS).<sup>345</sup> It is entitled *Tuḥfat al-falāḥ fī ādāb al-jimā’ wa-al-nikāḥ* and written by Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ al-Tadghī / Tadaghī / Tandaghī.<sup>346</sup> The poem’s last lines provide the date of its composition, which is 1029/1619.

On the topic of permissible food, one of the Jakhanke scholars – Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware who lived in Touba in the mid-19th century – composed a ‘treatise on the forbidden nature of butchering and eating animals that have died of natural causes’ with the provisional title *Qiṣṣat al-dhabḥ li-’l-mayt wa taḥrīm aklihi* (1 MS).<sup>347</sup> There is also a poem called *’Ilm al-dhakāt* treats the slaughtering of an animal in a manner prescribed by the law (1 MS).<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> GAL I 178, S I 301, and S II 439. In the first two references, the name is spelt as al-Nahzāwī and the year of death is given as 1125/1713.

<sup>339</sup> The quotations are found in TCD MS 2689 and MS ZOC1.

<sup>340</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.359; MS DAD1; MS KSS1.

<sup>341</sup> Hunwick 1999, ix.

<sup>342</sup> MS ZAC2 and MS KSS4. The latter manuscript was written in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>343</sup> Saad 1983, 77.

<sup>344</sup> Tamari 2016, 42.

<sup>345</sup> JRL MS 780[825], ff 72a–82b, and BmT MS 2234, pp 101–160.

<sup>346</sup> There are at least five more copies of this poem among the manuscripts of ‘Fonds Archinard’: BnF Arabe 5440, ff 146a–147b; Arabe 5478, ff 23a–29b; Arabe 5600, ff 16a–27b; Arabe 5679, 94a–102b; Arabe 5715, ff 152a–160b. The author’s name in these manuscripts is vocalised as al-Tadgī. Brockelmann reads the name as al-Tadaghī and classifies this work as ‘eroticism’ (S II 1032). WAAMD (ID 1322) database lists the author as al-Tandaghī with the year of death 1202/1787–8. In several instances in manuscripts, the author’s *nisba* is accompanied by the explanatory glosses: *ism al-balad* ‘name of the country’ (BmT MS 2234, p. 101), *ay waṭanān* ‘i.e. homeland’ (BnF Arabe 5440, f. 146a, and Arabe 5600, f. 16a), *ay balad wa qabīla* ‘i.e. country and tribe’ (BnF Arabe 5600, f. 16a). This suggests that the author might have originated from Tandagha (present-day southwest Mauritania). Intriguingly, the date 1202/1787–8 corresponds to the one in the colophon in BnF Arabe 5478, f 29b. Thus, this year is unlikely to be the author’s year of death as it contradicts the date when the poem was composed, 1029/1619.

<sup>347</sup> BL MS Or. 6743, ff. 188a–189b. I give the title and description in accordance with Paul J. Naylor’s handouts for the 3rd OMRN meeting in April 2015. See Chapter 5 for details on Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware.

<sup>348</sup> BULAC MS.ARA 219bis, ff 242a–248b. This text differs from the *Manzūma al-dhakāt* by Moroccan Muḥammad al-‘Arabī Yūsuf al-Fāsī (d. 1052/1642), mentioned in *Faṭḥ al-shakūr* (El Hamel 2002, 115). However, based on its incipit and explicit, it may be identified with *Manzumat al-Raqa’ fī ’ilm al-dhakāt* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Raqa’ [al-Fāsī] al-Malīkī, catalogued by University Aḥmed Draia of Adrar, Algeria: <<https://pam.univ-adrar.dz/manudetail/?manuid=1310>> (last consulted May 2020). This latter author appears in WAAMD (ID 138). At least two more copies of this text are BnF Arabe 5647, ff 89a–93a, and 5560, ff 195a–198a (no Ajami glosses). The libraries of the Jula scholars of the Ivory Coast also included the title *’Ilm al-dhakāt*; see Marty 1922, annexe ix. The list of manuscripts from Férentela (annexe vii) contains also *’Ilm al-zakāt* authored by a certain ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad

One fragmentary manuscript has a text summarising the duties (*farā'id*) and customary practices (*sunan*) regarding the five pillars of Islam.<sup>349</sup> Another text, which could be connected to matters of duties, is a poem about five daily prayers.<sup>350</sup> It can perhaps be identified as a composition by a certain Jakhanke scholar Ibn Sa'īd al-Dugharī al-Falakī (d. 1204/1789–90).<sup>351</sup> The poem comprises five chapters (*bāb*), each dedicated to one prayer and its respective time. The first two sections (*al-zuhr* 'midday' and *al-'aṣr* 'afternoon' prayers) include names of the months of the Gregorian calendar.

### Works on the Prophet

Most manuscripts containing works on the Prophet are devotional poems (*madḥ*). Among them, *Takhmīs* on al-Fāzāzī's *Ishrīnīyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb is by far the most popular (9 MSS).<sup>352</sup> The author's name (although not the poem's title) appears in the preface, which is absent, however, from many manuscripts. My fieldwork respondents referred to the poem by its author's name, i.e., 'bun Mahīb' or 'Buni'.<sup>353</sup> Noteworthy, the original poem by al-Fāzāzī does not appear even once in my corpus.

Similarly, other famous devotional poems *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1295–6) and *Bānat su'ād* by Ka'ab Zuhayr (fl. 7th cent.) are also represented by their versifications. The former (4 MSS) was developed in *Takhmīs al-kawākib al-durriyya* by Muḥammad b. Abū Zayd al-Marrākushī (b. 739/1338).<sup>354</sup> The latter – *Bānat su'ād* – is found in the form of anonymous *takhmīs* (1 MS), but also with a commentary (1 MS).<sup>355</sup> The commentary by the Mauritanian author 'Ubayda b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. Anbūja al-Alawī al-Tishītī (d. 1284/1867) appears in a manuscript written in Baddibu (today's The Gambia), most probably in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Single copies include the famous *al-Qaṣīda al-hamziyya* by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1295–6), *Qaṣīda (takhmīs) al-Badamāṣiyya fī madḥ al-nabi*, also known as *Qaṣīda ṭā'iyya*.<sup>356</sup> The latter poem is authored by Abū 'Abdallāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Badamāṣī al-Mālikī.<sup>357</sup> Further, there is a poem rhyming in *mīm* by Mauritanian Muḥammad al-Yadālī (d. 1166/1752–3).<sup>358</sup> It bears the

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b. Dawūd. Assuming the title is misspelled, it may refer to the discussed text on ritual slaughtering (*al-dhakāt*) rather than one on the alms distribution (*al-zakāt*).

<sup>349</sup> UbL MS 14.052 (10). The fragment in question comprises four of them: prayer, charity, fasting and pilgrimage to Mecca. Given the text's conciseness, the manuscript likely lacks only a few folios.

<sup>350</sup> MS ZMC6.

<sup>351</sup> See ALA IV 527.

<sup>352</sup> MS AAN3; BnF Arabe 5507, ff 10b–110b; MS DLT2; MS EAP 1042/1/1; MS KSS1; MS KTD1; MS MID1; MS ZAC1; MS ZMC1.

<sup>353</sup> Likewise, Djibril Dramé (p.c.) encountered this latter appellation during his field work in Mali.

<sup>354</sup> BnF Arabe 5322, ff. 294b–323a; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 249a–291b; MS EAP 1042/4/6, pp 4–166 and 182–4; IFAN, Fonds Vincent Monteil, Cahier n.3, ff 1a–28b.

<sup>355</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 298a–306a and ff. 357b–363b, and TAS1, respectively.

<sup>356</sup> BnF Arabe 5694, ff 105a–128a, and Arabe 5450, ff 127a–135b, respectively.

<sup>357</sup> This poem seems to have been popular in Nigeria. For instance, Stefan Reichmuth cites this title among the most popular devotional poems in Ilorin (Reichmuth 2011, 219). Murray Last reports to have identified fifty-one manuscripts in the National Archives of Kaduna (Last 2011, 189). The author was possibly from Egypt (ALA II 50). The copy of his text in BnF Arabe 6965, ff 1b–5a, is dated 1159/1746, which can serve as a relative date for the author.

<sup>358</sup> BmT MS 2234, pp 670–673. See the biography of this author in El Hamel 2002, 297–9.

title *Ṣalat rabbi* or *Qaṣīda fī madḥ al-nabī*. Despite appearing only once in the examined manuscripts, this composition appears to have been well-known. For instance, the Jakhanke scholar from Touba Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware rendered it in five verses (*takhmīs*).<sup>359</sup>

One manuscript contains a composition by a writer from Futa Jallon, named Muḥammad b. Sa'īd [al-Sīlī].<sup>360</sup> It is a versification of the poem *Lāmiyya al-mutarannimī* by another famous scholar Sa'ad b. Ibrāhīm [al-Sīlī al-Fūtī].<sup>361</sup> Both writers apparently lived until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, the manuscript in question, written on paper with a watermarked 1860, originates from areas in what is now southern Guinea or Sierra Leone. This suggests a rapid exchange of texts between scholars from different regions.

There is also a manuscript with selected verses (on each letter of the alphabet) of the *takhmīs* on Baghdādī's *Qaṣīda al-witriyyāt* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Al-'Azīz al-Warrāq al-Lakhmī (d. 680/1281).<sup>362</sup> Several other texts praising the Prophet remain unidentified.

Only two works (in 3 MSS) treat the biography of the Prophet (*sīra*). One of them is the poem *Qurrat al-abṣār fī sīrat al-Nābī al-mukhtār* by Moroccan author 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Lamṭī al-Miknāsī (d. 880/1474–5).<sup>363</sup> Another text (1 MS) is *Kitāb al-shifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* by al-Qaḍī Iyād (d. 544/1149).<sup>364</sup> This text, together with *Muwaṭṭa'* (jurisprudence) of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) was studied by the Jakhanke scholars at the advanced stages of classical Islamic education before studying *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*.<sup>365</sup> However, a complete copy of *al-Shifā'* was difficult to find.<sup>366</sup>

One more text, probably pertaining to the life of the Prophet, is the story of his birth – *Dhikr fī maulid Muḥammad* authored by a certain Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Salām al-Ghafārī / Ghifārī.<sup>367</sup> The BnF catalogue describes this text as a 'legend' ('histoire légendaire').<sup>368</sup>

Finally, some short texts starting with *qāla Ibn 'Abbās* 'or *qāla 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* 'Ibn 'Abbās / 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said' possibly relate to *ḥadīth* (3 MSS).<sup>369</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> Hunter lists this poem as part of the Jakhanke scholarly curriculum (Hunter 1977, 307). One copy of this text (however, without Soninke annotations) is found in BnF Arabe 5707, ff 120a–128b. See details in Chapter 5.

<sup>360</sup> BmT MS 2234, pp 989–1004.

<sup>361</sup> I found this author's *takhmīs* on *mīmīya* by Muḥammad al-Yadālī, MS DNN5, once owned by a scholar from Maana in Kaabu (present-day Guinea-Bissau). Unlike a few other manuscripts in his possession, this poem has no Soninke Ajami annotations. See Chapter 4 for details.

<sup>362</sup> BnF Arabe 5633, ff 86a–101b.

<sup>363</sup> BL MS Or. 6473, ff 134a–154b, and BULAC MS.ARA.273, ff 22a–29a and 30a–50b.

<sup>364</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.165a.

<sup>365</sup> Hunter 1977, 320.

<sup>366</sup> *Idem.*, 296.

<sup>367</sup> WAAMD has records of this text in the collections of Segou, Timbuktu, and Ghana. I found one in SB Saganogo's collection in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso.

<sup>368</sup> See online catalogue for BnF Arabe 5667, ff 219a–227b.

<sup>369</sup> BnF Arabe 5640, ff 117a–118a, and BnF Arabe 5685, f. 56ab.

## Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)

Among the works on Sufism, one of the most often found is *Qaṣīda tā'iyya* of which the first words serve as the title – *Tafūtu fu'ādak* (3 MSS).<sup>370</sup> The author is Andalusian Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī (d. 459–60/1067–8), who, as follows from the introduction, addresses his son, Abū Bakr. The poem contains advice and aphorisms encouraging the pursuit of knowledge (*'ilm*), practice (*'amal*), and asceticism (*zuhd*).

*Kitāb Zayn al-Ābidīn* is another text on asceticism (2 MSS).<sup>371</sup> Zayn al-Ābidīn, as the marginal annotations explain, stands for 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 92/710). Every five verses of the poem rhyme with each letter of the Arabic alphabet. Its alternative titles include *Kitāb al-zuhd* (*wa-'l-waṣīyyat / wa-'l-mawa'iz*).

One more text found in a few copies (2 MSS) is a poem rhyming in *mīm* entitled *Malḥama*.<sup>372</sup> It contains spiritual counsel attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The well-known *Dāliyyat al-Yūsī* by Moroccan Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d. 1102/1691) in honour of his teacher Ibn Nāṣir occurs only once.<sup>373</sup> Further, there is a poetic text with verses rhyming in *sīn* by Ḥasan b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Bādīs (d. 787/1385) called *al-Nafahāt al-Qudsiyya*.<sup>374</sup> This text is associated with the Qādiriyya order since it is dedicated to its founder 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilāni. One manuscript contains *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya fī 'l-maqāmāt al-Aḥmadiyya* by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī al-Fāsī (d. 1120/1708).<sup>375</sup>

There are also several fragments of varying lengths. One of them includes the commentary by Aḥmad b. Zarrūq (d. 899/1493) to *al-Ḥikam al-'Aṭā'iyya*.<sup>376</sup> The latter is a collection of Sufi aphorisms by Ibn 'Aṭā'illāh al-Iskandari (d. 709/1309).<sup>377</sup> By the same author one finds *Taj al-'arūs wa-qam' al-nufūs* which, as its title indicates, speaks of the refinement of the soul.<sup>378</sup> There is also a text referred to as *Fath al-Jalīl* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Madyūnī al-Ruqā'i, an author which I could not identify.<sup>379</sup>

## Arabic language

This corpus comprises manuscripts with texts on various branches of the study of the Arabic language. The works on Arabic grammar (2 MSS) include a concise treatise *Al-Muqaddima* by Ibn

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<sup>370</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, ff 269a–273b; BnF Arabe 5609, ff 123a–128a; BnF Arabe 5697, ff 1a–6a.

<sup>371</sup> BnF Abare 5566, ff 113a–116b and MS ZMC3. There is also MS ZMC8, however, with glosses in a Western Manding variety. This work is absent from the West African core curriculum. However, it seems to have been popular in Nigeria: Murray Last encountered twenty-five copies at the National Archives at Kaduna (Last 2011, 189).

<sup>372</sup> BmT MS 2234, pp 442–479; BnF Arabe 6110, ff 130a–134b. This text often occurs in Jula manuscripts. For instance, I identified three copies in the possession of SB Saganogo, Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. See also Marty 19922, annexe vii.

<sup>373</sup> MS EAP 1042/4/1, pp 2–97.

<sup>374</sup> MS ZMC7.

<sup>375</sup> BnF Arabe 5531, ff 11b–68b.

<sup>376</sup> BnF Arabe 5462, ff 109a–118b, and 120a–127b.

<sup>377</sup> Triaud 2013 §255.

<sup>378</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, ff 231a–238b.

<sup>379</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, ff 253a–254b; BL MS Or. 4897, ff 255a–256b.

Ājurrūm (d. 723/1323).<sup>380</sup> Another is a didactic poem (1 MS) *Mulḥat al-i-rāb fī al-naḥw* by Abū Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d. 516/1122).<sup>381</sup>

From the same author, there is his famous work (2 MSS) called *al-Maqāmāt*, introducing ‘difficult and rare vocabulary’ and studied at advanced levels of education.<sup>382</sup> It is ‘a collection of fifty rhymed-prose narrations interspersed with verse’.<sup>383</sup> In the same field, there is a poem (1 MSS) of thirty-five verses named *Marmūz al-Ṭanṭarānī* or *Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarānīya* after its author Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭarānī (fl. ca. 480/1087).<sup>384</sup>

Morphology is represented by the work *al-Maqṣūr wa-’l-mamdūd* (1 MS).<sup>385</sup> It is composed by the Iraqi philologist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdī, known as Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933). His other poem on literature/prosody entitled *al-Maqṣūra* is also present (1 MS).<sup>386</sup>

As Stefan Reichmuth notes, ‘[p]re-Islamic poetry has belonged to the literary canon of higher Arabic studies in West Africa for a long time’.<sup>387</sup> In the present corpus, there are two such works (1 MS each): a *Qaṣīda* by ‘Alqama al-Faḥl (ca. 6<sup>th</sup> cent.) and an anonymous commentary on *Lāmmiyat al-‘arab* by al-Shanfarā.<sup>388</sup>

A poem on morphology and conjugation of a thousand hundred and fifty verses (*abyāt*) was composed by the Jakhanke al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama (d. 1824/29/36) (1 MS).<sup>389</sup> It is entitled *Mirā’at al-ṭūllab ‘alā al-lughāt wa ma’anī al-nukhāb* ‘Looking Glass of the Students upon the Languages and Best Meanings’. In the introduction, the author stresses the importance of learning Arabic. Further, he explores specific topics, such as words (verbs and nouns) of four radical letters. The poem’s last verses date the composition to 1217/1803.<sup>390</sup>

Lastly, this group of works on the language include sources explaining or translating Arabic words and terms. Worth of interest is a single folio word list in Arabic and Mandinka, referred to as *al-Lughat al-‘Arabiyya* (‘the Arabic language’) in the colophon.<sup>391</sup> The words are arranged according to semantic categories, such as the names of housewares, birds, aquatic animals, and fish, wild animals and insects. In addition, several manuscript margins include definitions and grammatical details from the dictionary *Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* by Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415). Consequently, it may also have been present in local scholars’ libraries.

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<sup>380</sup> BnF Arabe 5626, ff 37b–55b; MS ZMC2.

<sup>381</sup> MS EAP 1042/4/1, pp 98–164.

<sup>382</sup> Hall and Stewart 2011, 121. BnF Arabe 5299, ff 245a–365b; BnF Arabe 5513, ff 1a–138b.

<sup>383</sup> Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature, Vol. 1, 272.

<sup>384</sup> BnF Arabe 6110, ff 127a–129a. In MS ZMC9 this text is annotated in a Western Manding language.

<sup>385</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.165a.

<sup>386</sup> BnF Arabe 5725, ff 336a–350a.

<sup>387</sup> Reichmuth 2017, 94.

<sup>388</sup> BL MS Or. 6473, ff 107b–116a, and BnF Arabe 5501, ff 242a–250b, respectively.

<sup>389</sup> TCD MS 2689, ff 108b–138b. The number of verses is indicated in an annotation on f. 109b. This poem appears in four libraries of the Jula scholars of Ivory Coast. See Marty 1922, annexe v, vi, vii, and ix. See Chapter 5 for further details.

<sup>390</sup> In fact, the author states precisely when he finished writing the poem: on Friday 15<sup>th</sup> *Dhū al-Hijja*, after the afternoon prayer. The chronogram *zāy-yā’-rā’-shīn* (7-10-200-1000) written in red ink encodes the year. The sum of the numerical values of these letters equals 1217. Thus, this date corresponds to 8 April 1803.

<sup>391</sup> MS TAS2.

## Ethics/manners (*adab*)

This section groups texts discussing the ‘matters of ethics, morals, behavior, and custom, in addition to those of learning’ – the definition Rosenthal gives to the term *adab*.<sup>392</sup> The most frequent in the present corpus (3 MSS) is *Qaṣīdat al-jawhar / Maqṣūrat al-jawhara* by Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb al-Andalusī al-Tilimsānī (d. 598/1193).<sup>393</sup> Then comes *Ta‘līm al-muta‘allim* by al-Zarnujī (ca. 600/1203), a text on knowledge and learning for students (2 MSS).<sup>394</sup> According to Reichmuth, this this influential work has been known in West Africa since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>395</sup>

Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Abī Mahalī, whose *tawhīd* texts are abundant in this corpus, also wrote an essay on ethics discussing the qualities of believers and referring to authorities, such as al-Jazā‘iri, al-Sanūsī, al-Ghazālī. This text has a provisional title *Ta‘līq fī ‘akhlāq* (1 MS).<sup>396</sup> A *Qaṣīda* on ethics was composed by West African Yero b. *al-faqīh* Sanba b. Būdi [al-Fulānī al-Māsinī] (1 MS).<sup>397</sup> The stanzas consist of five hemistichs, each fifth rhyming in *rā’*.

Several texts on ethics and religious advice, representing collections of aphorisms, are anonymous. These are *al-Durr al-maknūn* (1 MS), which contains ‘sayings attributed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib arranged in alphabetical order’,<sup>398</sup> *Kitāb al-mawa‘iz* (1 MS);<sup>399</sup> *Ma‘din al-dhahab fī ijlā’ qulūb al-‘ābidīn* (2 MSS).<sup>400</sup> By an unknown author, there is *Dhikr al-khamsīn farīda ‘alā kull muslim wa-muslimāt* ‘Reminder of the fifty duties obligatory upon all Muslims’ (1 MS),<sup>401</sup> covering issues, such as religious duties (e.g. prayer, obedience) and morality (e.g. veracity, modesty). Each duty is numbered and supported by the relevant Qur’anic verses.

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<sup>392</sup> Rosenthal 1970, 252.

<sup>393</sup> BnF 5500, ff 111b–118b; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 13a–21b; MS ZMC4.

<sup>394</sup> BnF 5651, ff 285a–308b, and MS DNN1.

<sup>395</sup> Reichmuth 1998, 125.

<sup>396</sup> BL MS Or. 6473, ff 98–104. Another copy of the text (no glosses) is BnF Arabe 5541, ff 60a–63b. The title is drawn from ALA IV 661.

<sup>397</sup> JRL MS MS 780 [825], ff 36b–44a. On the author, see Hunwick 2003, 664. The author also wrote a *takhmīs* on the devotional poem by ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr al-Shaqrātīsī (d. 466/1073), found in BnF Arabe 5623, ff 118b–136a, and Arabe 5699, ff 19a–27b. The manuscript BnF Arabe 5623, f. 118b spells the author’s name as *Buwī*. A marginal gloss further explains his nisba *al-Fulānī al-Māsinī* as ‘the name of the country [is] Futa’. This latter manuscript was probably written by a Jula scholar (see Chapter 5 for details). In addition, the holdings of Jula scholars include *Kitāb Sanba b. Bud* (Marty 1922, annexe vii).

<sup>398</sup> Reichmuth 1998, 370. BnF Arabe 5725, ff 280b, 283a–285b, 321a–329b. Further copies are found in the Jula libraries (Marty 1922, Annexe vii, ix), and in the collection of SB Saganogo, Burkina Faso.

<sup>399</sup> MS ZAC3, which is only a fragment of this text. The title *Kitāb al-mawa‘iz* attributed to Abī Ṭālib appears in Marty 1922, Annexe iv, vii.

<sup>400</sup> BnF Arabe 5436, ff 1a–104b and BnF Arabe 5613, ff 48a–99b. The title *Ma‘din al-dhahab* appears in Marty 1922, annexe iii, v, vi, ix. Hunwick records that a text with such a title was written by Muḥammad al-Sharīf from Kankan at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (ALA IV 527–8).

<sup>401</sup> BnF Arabe 5575, ff 177a–183b. The same title is indicated in the manuscript collection of Said Karamoko from Mankono in northern Ivory Coast (Marty 1922, annexe ix; Triaud, 2013).

## Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)

The commentary on the Qur'an is studied at the most advanced stage of classical Islamic education.<sup>402</sup> The present corpus only has four manuscripts with the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by the two Egyptian authors al-Maḥalli (d. 864/1459) and al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505).<sup>403</sup> Their margins, however, contain excerpts from other exegeses, such as *Ma'alim al-tanzīl* by Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī (d. 510/1117 or 516/1122),<sup>404</sup> and *Anwār al-tanzīl* by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286 or 716/1316).<sup>405</sup>

### Curriculum: overview

Work on theology (*tawḥīd*) dominate the present corpus, comprising around thirty-five per cent of the manuscripts. The rest of the corpus is distributed among six disciplines. Works on Islamic law and the Prophet make up around fourteen and thirteen per cent. Further, nine per cent of the manuscripts contain texts on Sufism, seven per cent on ethics, and five per cent on the Arabic language. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* is the only Qur'anic exegesis, occurring in four manuscripts, which is less than three per cent of the total number of manuscripts. The table below summarizes the distribution of subjects and texts in manuscripts.

Some texts on a given subject appear in more copies than others within each group. The frequency of occurrence allows the identification of the so-called core-node texts 'implying both their central role and embeddedness in a larger curriculum'.<sup>406</sup> The central column of Table 1 lists the present corpus' core-node titles and authors.

This corpus contains many texts that are not part of the West African core curriculum. One conspicuous example are theological works by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Maḥalī, an author possibly of West African origin. Other sub-Saharan authors identified here include writers of Western Sahara/Mauritania (3), Kel al-Sūq (2), Futa Jallon (2) and Futa Toro (1), Jakhanke (3).

The margins of the manuscripts provide further insights into the texts that comprise the curriculum of the Soninke and Jakhanke scholars, which often contain quotations from various texts, including the commentary to *al-Risāla* called *al-Fawakih*, the Arabic dictionary *Qamūs*, and Qur'anic commentary by *al-Baghawī*.

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<sup>402</sup> For the Jakhanke of the Gambia, see Hunter 1977; for wider Senegambia, Guinea and Mali, see Tamari 2016, 44; for Nigeria, see Reichmuth 1998, 116; for classical Arabic education, see Launay and Ware 2016, 256. According to some accounts, the Jakhanke believe that *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* was first introduced for teaching by al-Hājj Sālim Suware (Hunter 1977, 57).

<sup>403</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, two manuscripts BULAC ARA.112a (*Tafsīr* suras 1–18) and ARA.112b (suras 19–114) most likely were written by different scribes. In contrast, two other manuscripts from a private collection in Adéane are complementary volumes produced by the same person. One more manuscript with *tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (from sura 19 onwards) and occasional glosses in Jula makes part of the private collection of SB Saganogo, Bobo-Dioulasso.

<sup>404</sup> GAL I 363–4. The popular *tafsīr* texts of the historic core curriculum do not include this title (Hall and Stewart 2011, 119).

<sup>405</sup> GAL I 417, S I 738. Quotations found in e.g., MS AAN2, p. 97; BULAC MS.112b, ff 29b-30a.

<sup>406</sup> This term is introduced by Dmitry Bondarev for the SFB 950 project A05 'Islamic Manuscripts with a Wide Spaced Layout as Mediators of Teaching Practices in West Africa'.



**Table 1. Subject matters and texts in Soninke Ajami manuscripts.**

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Texts</b>	<b>MSS</b>
Theology	<i>al-‘Aqīda al-ṣughrā</i> by al-Sanūsī	8
	<i>al-‘Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣughrā</i> by al-Sanūsī	5
	Other texts by al-Sanūsī	11
	<i>Risāla fī anwā‘ al-kufr</i> and its versions by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar	8
	<i>Jawāhir min al-kalām</i> by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī	5
	Other texts	30
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>67</b>
Islamic law	<i>Risāla</i> by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī	8
	<i>Sharḥ Mukhataṣar</i>	3
	Other texts	19
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>30</b>
Devotional	<i>Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyāt</i> by Ibn Mahīb	9
	<i>Takhmīs al-Budrā</i> by al-Marrākushī	4
	Other texts	10
Prophet	Various texts	7
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>30</b>
Sufism	<i>Tafūtu fu‘ādak</i> by Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī	3
	<i>Kitāb al-zuhd</i> by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn	2
	Other texts	10
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>15</b>
Ethics	<i>Qaṣīda al-jawhar</i> by Abū Madyan	3
	<i>Ta‘līm al-muta‘allim</i> by al-Zarnujī	2
	Other texts	7
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>12</b>
Arabic language	<i>Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya</i> by Ibn Ājurrūm	2
	<i>al-Maqāmāt</i> by al-Ḥarīrī	2
	Other texts	6
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>9</b>
Quranic Exegesis	<i>Tafsīr al-Jalālayn</i>	4
Unidentified		12
<b>Total</b>		<b>179</b>

## Layout

This chapter’s first part established the subjects and texts studied and commented on in Arabic and vernacular languages. The second part looks at the visual organization of manuscripts in order to examine the relationship between texts, types of layouts, and stages of learning.<sup>407</sup>

The layout is understood here as the arrangement of various elements (main text, margins, decorations) on a page and the relationship between them.<sup>408</sup> Many manuscripts bear traces of ruling, delimitating the writing area and marking individual lines. Ruling boards (*masaṭīr*, sg.

<sup>407</sup> Dmitry Bondarev conducted the first study of such a correlation in the Soninke Ajami manuscripts (Bondarev 2017, 130–1).

<sup>408</sup> Déroche 2006, 167.

*mistara*) used for this purpose, are found inside some manuscripts' covers.<sup>409</sup> They are typically made of stiff leather or cardboard sheets, with strings stretched across and along the perimeter. The ruling implies that the scribe followed a preliminary plan rather than being spontaneous.<sup>410</sup>

In general, texts on the main Islamic disciplines appear written on paper with an average size of 14–18×18–22cm, corresponding approximately to the quarto format. However, the correlation between the writing space and margins and the space between the lines may vary. Dmitry Bondarev distinguishes three main types of layout for Sub-Saharan manuscripts.<sup>411</sup> Ample marginal and interlinear space characterises the first type. The second type combines dense lines and wide margins. These first two types allow enough room to incorporate supplementary (para)texts, such as interlinear glosses and marginal commentaries. In the third type, interlinear and marginal spaces are narrow, making them unsuitable for annotating. Nevertheless, manuscripts with such a layout may contain occasional annotations.

Following Dmitry Bondarev's approach, it is possible to draw correlations between certain texts with and the specific layout of the examined manuscripts. The manuscripts with wide line spacing most frequently contain the *'Aqā'id* and *Muqaddima* by al-Sanūsī, the texts by Muḥammad b. 'Umar, *Tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawḥīd* by al-Ghazālī in the field of *tawḥīd*; the *Risāla* by al-Qayrawānī in the field of *fiqh*; *al-Ājurrūmiyya* in the field of *naḥw*.

Some observations are necessary on the layout of poetic texts, which account for about forty per cent of the corpus. Most often, their layout is typical of Arabic poems: the hemistichs of one verse are written in one line with a space between them, thus forming two columns.<sup>412</sup> Nevertheless, the text should be read in lines and not in columns. Decorative elements, sometimes in coloured ink, such as dots, circles or three circles or dots arranged in a triangle (Fig. 19, left), may fill the space between the hemistichs. The arrangement of poems into two (pseudo-)columns emphasises their binary structure and rhyme.<sup>413</sup>

Another possible layout is when each hemistich occupies the entire line, and each line is justified so that it looks like one column (Fig. 19, right). The number of lines generally ranges from four to eight per page in different manuscripts or within the same manuscript. Although Frederieke Daub encountered such a layout, it seems to have been rather unusual. However, it is frequent in the manuscripts under study. For instance, *Jawahīr min al-kalām* by Awjilī tends to be written in one column, as well as *Manzūmat al-Jazā'iriyya*. Several manuscripts feature a mixture of both layouts, with one column of text at the beginning and two towards the end (Fig. 19).<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> E.g., BmT MS 2234; TCD MS 3499, image available at <[https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/file\\_sets/kp78gp04f?locale=en](https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/file_sets/kp78gp04f?locale=en)> (last accessed March 2023).

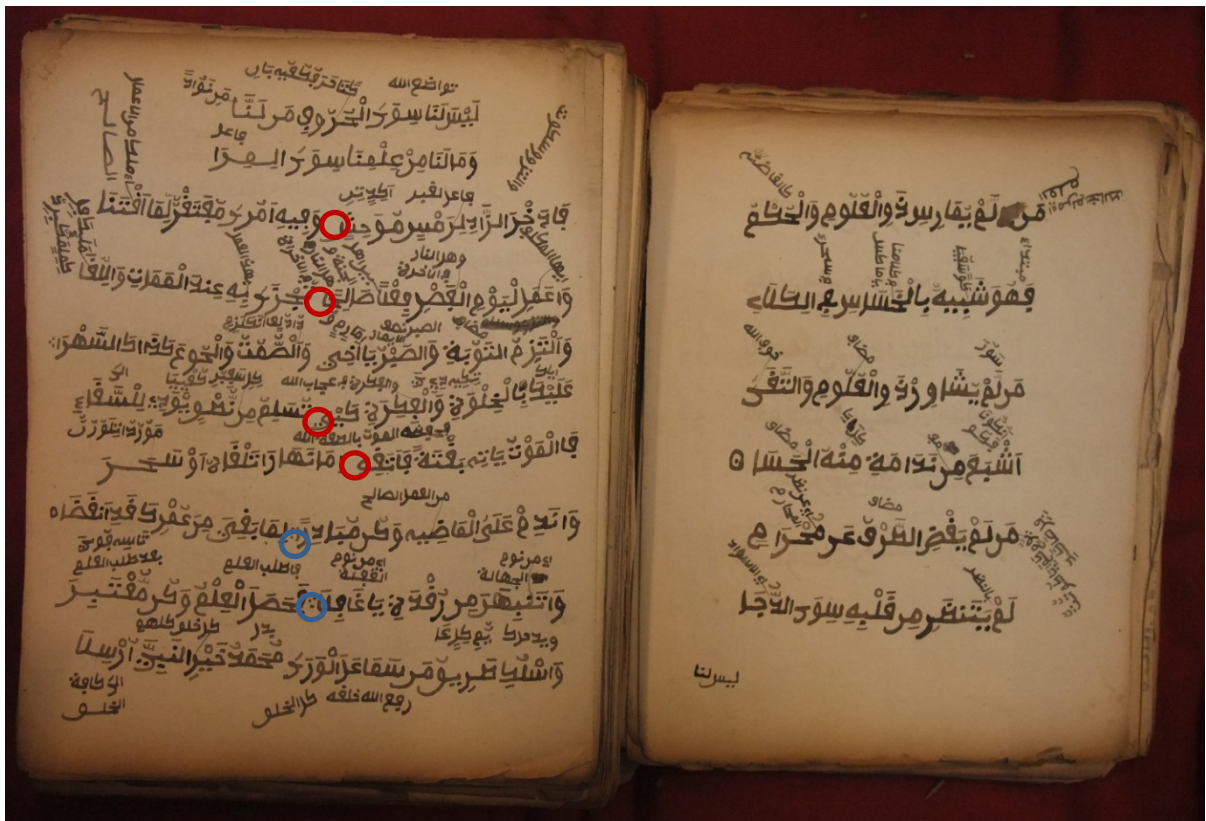
<sup>410</sup> See, for example, Déroche 2006, 159.

<sup>411</sup> Bondarev 2017, 110.

<sup>412</sup> Daub 2012–3, 53.

<sup>413</sup> Déroche 2006, 173; Daub 2012–3, 52.

<sup>414</sup> E.g., BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 13a–21b, and BmT 2234, pp 833–845.



**Figure 19.** A didactic poem by Abū Madyan in one- and two-columns layouts. The two columns are divided by blank spaces or three dots arranged in a triangle. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 13b–14a.

Similarly, the *takhmīs* poems display various layouts. One type of layout shows two lines of four hemistichs in two columns, the fifth hemistich centred below. The other type involves each. With such an arrangement, one stanza takes up the entire page (i.e. five lines per page). Often, *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīniyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb is found in this layout, as well as the *Takhmīs* on *al-Burda* of al-Būṣīrī by al-Marrākushī.

Both ways of arranging a poem into one or two columns appear in older and more recent manuscripts. Even with ample interlinear space, the two-column arrangement allows for more text on a page and hence spares paper consumption. The layout with one hemistich per line and five lines per page permits larger interlinear spacing, wider margins, and bigger text letters. As a result, more room is available for annotations above or near each word. These are only some possible reasons for preferring one layout to another.

Long texts studied at the advanced stages of learning, such as *Kitāb al-shifā’*, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, and *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Khalīl* are written in tight lines but with large margins, which accommodate annotations. The two later texts are, in fact, commentaries. Other commentaries, for example, to *al-Risāla*, or poems *Bānat su‘ād* and *Lāmmiyat al-‘Arab*, also display dense interlinear and wide marginal spaces. The scribes used large letters or red ink for the main text and small letters or brown ink for the commentary to distinguish the two. Even smaller characters are then used for annotations.

Evidently, the scribes planned ample space between the lines and in the margins for annotations.<sup>415</sup> The main text, laid out first, was gradually supplemented with annotations, resulting from teaching and learning activities. According to my field consultants, each student prepared or acquired copies of texts on various subjects studied at *mayisi* before instruction took place. More advanced students (*táalibè xírísè*) could copy texts for newcomers (*nàabáxà*).<sup>416</sup>

The stages of preparing and working with texts can be observed in some manuscripts. The most glaring manifestation is that some pages of a manuscript display the main text furnished with vocalic diacritics, annotations, and highlights in coloured inks, whereas on its other pages, the main text remains plain, devoid of paratexts or colour (Fig. 20).



**Figure 20.** Poem *‘Ilm al-dhakāt* arranged in two columns separated by circle-shaped dividers. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 243a–244b.

It should be noted in conclusion that handwriting in manuscripts is often neat and calligraphic. The annotations in smaller letters tend to imitate the style of the main text. Simple geometric patterns serve as text dividers. Red, purple or, more rarely, blue inks are used for ornamentation and highlighting certain words in the main text. All this again shows that the manuscripts resulted from a well-planned process.

### Manuscripts with healing and talismanic content

As mentioned in Chapter 1, composite manuscripts may incorporate single leaves with short texts on healing and amulet and talisman production. Such recipes occur in manuscripts’ margins or

<sup>415</sup> Bondarev 2017, 106; Déroche 2006, 178.

<sup>416</sup> Interview with OD, Dakar, February 2014, and LT, Dembancale, January 2016.

blank spaces near colophons. Some are in Arabic; however, many are bilingual Arabic-Ajami (Ajami Type 5).<sup>417</sup> The non-Arabic part of such texts is in Mandinka or other Mande languages. These manuscripts thus have the same ethno-geographic attribution as some of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts. This section briefly describes the esoteric Mande Ajami manuscripts (Ajami Type 5) and offers some possible explanations of how they are related to the Soninke Ajami annotated manuscripts.

The Ajami Type 5 are usually scattered single-leaf manuscripts rather than structured collections, although one page may contain more than one recipe. Some are written on folios in *quarto* format, whereas others appear on smaller pieces of paper or even on paper scraps. They do not feature extra space between the lines or in the margins. Even though some are written in careful hands, many appear in hasty or sloppy handwriting. The use of coloured ink is rare. The texts in them are without authors, and the names of owners or scribes of manuscripts are seldom marked.

Similar to what Constant Hamès remarked about the Soninke esoteric texts, the examined recipes usually begin or include words, such as *fā'ida* 'utility', 'benefit', *bāb* 'chapter', *hirz* 'amulet' or *hifz* 'protection'.<sup>418</sup> In most cases, however, there is no specific designation, and after the *basmala* come quotations from the Qur'an or other texts (yet to be identified), instructions for preparation and use, magic squares, geometric shapes and sequences of letter-like symbols.

The Mandinka Ajami part of the esoteric manuscripts is introduced by the Arabic word *ismuhu* 'its name'. It is usually written following similar models, summarising the instructions in Arabic (when given); however, more often just labelling the function and usage of the charm.<sup>419</sup> Typically, one to few sentences are written in Ajami indicating the (a) intended action of the charm, (b) composition/production, (c) application, as well as (d) its expected results, sometimes accompanied by the phrase *in shā'a Allāh* 'God willing' or 'it is to be hoped'.<sup>420</sup>

Ajami terms, depending on the kind of the charm, most frequently include **bóorí** 'remedy', 'medication'<sup>421</sup>, **sáfé** 'amulet'<sup>422</sup>, **bálándánj** 'protective amulet against knife or rifle'<sup>423</sup>. Other names derive from verbs **jàará** 'cure', 'treat'; **sòtó** 'find', 'acquire'; **tànká** 'protect' to mention just a few, by attaching the instrumental suffix **-raŋ**.

The recipes in Ajami 5 manuscripts under study are mainly meant for:

- cure (pain, diseases, parasites, etc.);
- protect (against knife, gun, animal bites, enemies, malicious spirits, evil eye, etc.);
- improve (mental power, etc.);

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<sup>417</sup> For a general description of Ajami manuscripts of this type, see Bondarev [blog post]. For the analysis of Arabic–Soninke Ajami healing texts, see Hamès 1987; for Mandinka Ajami esoteric texts, see Vydrine and Dumestre 2014; for Mandinka amulets in Brazilian manuscripts, see Dobronravin 2016, 188; for Jula Ajami healing practices, see Donaldson 2013. For magical texts and practices in Islam, see Hamès 2007.

<sup>418</sup> Hamès 1987, 308.

<sup>419</sup> As Bondarev notes, the Ajami in such manuscripts provide 'metadata about the uses and benefits of the texts written in Arabic' (Bondarev [blogpost]).

<sup>420</sup> The structure resembles to a large extent that of the Soninke esoteric texts. See Hamès 1987, 322.

<sup>421</sup> E.g., BL MS Or. 4897, f. 304a; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, di 1012; TCD Ms 3500, f. 195a.

<sup>422</sup> E.g., BL MS Or. 4897, f. 306a; BL MS Or. 6473, f. 284a; TCD MS 3500, f. 190a.

<sup>423</sup> E.g., BL MS Or. 4897, f. 303a; TCD MS 3500, ff 185a, 202b, 204b.

- get/acquire (affection, children (of the desired gender), fortune, fame, etc.).

The production of a charm mainly includes writing (**sáfé**) on paper or other surfaces a certain amount of times, preparing water (**násí**) by washing the inks off the wooden tablet.

The use may require reading (**kàráŋ**), external application, such as washing (**kǔu**) or rubbing (**mǔu**, **mòosí**) or ingestion by drinking (**mǐŋ**) or eating (**dómó**). The object may also be attached to one's body (**sítí**), buried (**sàaréé**) in a specific place, etc.

The previous can be demonstrated with the example of a healing recipe.<sup>424</sup> The first part in Arabic (non-vocalised) is a Quranic quotation (Q21:30). The second part in Mandinka Ajami (vowels marked) reads: *Ismuhu kónódímiŋ bóorí mù. Í s'à násí. Í s'à mǐŋ*. 'Its name is the remedy against stomachache. You prepare the *nasi*. You drink it'.

The Ajami elements in the healing and protective texts may be limited to single words only. For instance, when they are used to designate the ingredients, such as roots (**sùlu** or **díli / lílin**) and leaves (**jàmbá** and **fíta / fúra**) of certain plants.<sup>425</sup> Most often they are introduced by the Arabic words *fi kalāminā* 'in our words/ language'.

According to several studies, religious healing and amulet production is an important aspect of Islamic education among Jakhanke.<sup>426</sup> However, it belongs to the so-called *bāṭin*, or esoteric and private, education, as opposed to *zahir*, or exoteric and public, and is thus detached from studies in *majlis*.<sup>427</sup> The training is initiated at the advanced stages of the student's education, that is when he has firm knowledge of other branches of Islamic disciplines<sup>428</sup> or completed the reading of the *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*.<sup>429</sup>

Hunter notes that manuals for esoteric instructions among Jakhanke scholars existed exclusively in manuscript form, usually written in what he calls the 'Jahanka' language. The most comprehensive collections included up to three hundred folios. Selected pieces were copied by teachers for their students, enabling them to create their own collections.<sup>430</sup>

My field data appears to be in line with what was suggested in earlier research on Jakhanke. The passing on knowledge of esoteric subjects is private between the teacher and his student, chosen among the members of the family or trusted disciples. Students who devote themselves to esoteric training are called **móodíntáalibè**.<sup>431</sup> The instructions are revealed gradually, so that the student

<sup>424</sup> TCD MS 3500, f. 176a.

<sup>425</sup> E.g., BmT MS 2234, p. 754; TCD MS 3500, f. 164b.

<sup>426</sup> Hunter 1977, 348; Marty 1921, 131; Sanneh 1974, 273.

<sup>427</sup> Hunter 1977, 340. Similarly, among the Jula of Ivory Coast, there is a distinction between *bayani karamogoya* and *siru karamogoya*, or between 'public' and 'private' forms of knowledge. The latter encompasses various techniques of amulet manufacture (Launay 1992, 152–4).

<sup>428</sup> Sanneh 1974, 274.

<sup>429</sup> Hunter 1977, 345.

<sup>430</sup> Hunter 1977, 346–8. Launay also underlines the 'piecemeal' character of secret knowledge acquisition. Individuals collected their knowledge unsystematically and from different teachers (Launay 1992, 154–5).

<sup>431</sup> Interview with OD, January 2014, Dakar, Senegal.



has to stay with his teacher for long periods, sometimes decades.<sup>432</sup> The recipes collected in the form of manuscripts are then kept away from prying eyes and serve as reminders when put into practice.

### **Concluding remarks**

The chapter examined the content of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts produced in the context of educational practices. It identified the main subject matters and popular texts in the manuscript corpus. Further, regarding the manuscript's visual organisation, it found that core-node texts appear in two distinct types of layout: (1) wide spacing between the lines and (2) dense lines and wide margins. Thus, extra space was planned to accommodate Ajami annotations. The core-node texts of the intermediate level have an ample-spaced layout. In turn, manuscripts with tight lines contain texts from the advanced curriculum. They are less represented in the corpus, suggesting that only a minority of scholars reached this higher level of their studies.

The healing and talismanic manuals and manuscripts, often found alongside annotated manuscripts, were probably created as part of an educational interactions. Interestingly, in manuscripts from non-Soninke speaking areas, one finds Soninke annotations to Arabic texts accompanied by additional layers of glosses or esoteric recipes in Mandinka or other Mande/Manding languages. On the other hand, within the examined materials, there are no manuscripts of esoteric content written in the Soninke language. Thus, it appears that Soninke served as the language of exoteric learning for interpreting Arabic religious texts, whilst Mandinka or other Manding was used for instructions on healing and charm production.

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<sup>432</sup> Interview with Cissé, Seidhou, January 2015; OD and SD, Dakar, January 2014; ID, Bakel, ZT, Koungani, January 2016.



## Chapter 4. Colophons in Soninke Ajami manuscripts

### Introduction

This chapter turns to the paratextual elements in manuscripts. In particular, it analyses colophons since, as paratexts with a documenting function, they have the potential to reveal who, when, where, and for what purpose a manuscript was produced and used. The main aim of the chapter is thus to locate the manuscripts and the individuals who wrote them in time and space.

Not all manuscripts in this corpus have colophons. In some cases, the manuscripts are fragmented or incomplete. In other instances, the scribes did not write colophons. Yet, even if the colophon is present (about 100 MSS), it may not necessarily be informative.<sup>433</sup> Some colophons are unintelligible due to unclear writing, paper damage and stains. Finally, some are challenging to interpret, especially if they include writings in Ajami.

The chapter starts with general information about colophons in Soninke Ajami manuscripts, particularly their visual organisation and content. Special attention is given to Ajami words and phrases, sometimes used by the scribes, as they hint at scribes' linguistic and (implicitly) geographical identities. Further sections are dedicated to identifying individuals and places recorded in colophons.

General description followed by selected case studies, selected case studies, for which I provide transliteration and interpretation, and translation of the colophons (complete or partial). The interpreting includes discussing specific terms used by the scribes, as well as ambiguities in reading caused by lack of vocalisation, inaccuracies, or scribal lapses.

### Visual organisation of colophons

Typically, colophons start after words such as *tammāt* 'finished', *kamula* 'completed' or *intahā* 'ended', signalling the end of the main text. Visual signs distinguishing colophons from the main text are three dots arranged in a triangle or the smaller size of the letters. The lines' lengths of the main text and the colophon may remain equal. However, the colophons are often arranged in text blocks in the shape of a rectangle or an inverted truncated triangle. The triangular shape is rare.<sup>434</sup> A simple or decorative line may frame a colophon. Coloured inks (red) are sometimes used. Some colophons feature complex ornamentations of geometric or floral designs.<sup>435</sup> Table 2 below schematically represents the most common patterns common patterns of arranging colophons.

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<sup>433</sup> A preliminary study of about thirty colophons in seventy Soninke Ajami manuscripts is presented in Ogorodnikova 2016.

<sup>434</sup> For instance, the triangular shape is more common for the colophons in the manuscripts with annotations in Jula. However, a more in-depth study is needed to establish which factors condition the visual organisation of colophons.

<sup>435</sup> E.g., BnF Arabe 5322, f. 323a; Arabe 5675, f. 81a; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 248b; MS DLT2.

**Table 2: Various colophon layouts**

ووووووو	ووووووو	ووووووو	ووووووو
ووووووو	ووووووو	ووووووو	ووووووو
ووووووو	ووووووو	ووووووو	ووووووو
ووووووو	ووووووو	ووووووو	ووووووو
ووووووو	ووووووووووو	ووووو	ووووو
	ووووووووووو	ووووو	ووووو
		ووووو	ووو

**Content**

Colophons provide information about two aspects: the manuscript’s main content and its production. Thus, colophons may mention the author of the main text and its title, usually in a shortened form. Since most Soninke Ajami manuscripts contain well-known Arabic text, their scribes are not the texts’ authors. One notable exception is a legal text on slaughtering animals composed and written down by the same person.<sup>436</sup>

*Time of completion*

On occasion, scribes will record the time when they have completed copying to their manuscripts. However, in most cases, this information is limited to the days of the week and time of the day, as *ft waqat al-duhan min yaum al-jum’a* ‘on a Friday forenoon’ or *inda al-ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* ‘at the time of afternoon prayer’.<sup>437</sup>

*Scribes and owners*

The word *kātib* ‘writer’, ‘scribe’, introduces the name of a person who did the labour of copying a text and producing a manuscript. However, the colophons under study mainly record the names of manuscripts owners following the Arabic word *ṣāhib* ‘owner’. Some colophons specify whether the person who wrote the manuscript also owns it with expressions, such as *kātibuhu ṣāhibuhu sawā* ‘its scribe is equally its owner’ or *kātibuhu ṣāhibuhu wāhid* ‘its scribe and its owner are one [and the same person]’.<sup>438</sup> A possible interpretation of such wording is that the scribe wrote the manuscript for his own use. The opposite is expressed with phrases, such as *kātibuhu ṣāhibuhu laysa biwahdin* ‘the scribe and the owner are not the same’ or *kātibuhu laysa ṣāhibuhu* ‘the scribe is not the owner’.<sup>439</sup> However, only the owners’ names are typically mentioned in such instances.

Added colophons or ownership marks (sometimes by crossing out the earlier owners’ names), which hint at the change of ownership, are not frequent in the present corpus. Therefore, possibly most manuscripts remained in individual possession and use.

<sup>436</sup> BL MS Or. 6473, ff 188a–189b.

<sup>437</sup> TCD MS 3500, f. 32b, and TCD MS 3499, f. 296a.

<sup>438</sup> BnF Arabe 5609, f. 128a, and BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 402a.

<sup>439</sup> BnF Arabe 5657, f. 28b, and BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 238a.

### Genealogical information

The names of individuals may be accompanied by their parents' names, following the words *abuhu* 'his father' and *ummuhu* 'his mother'.<sup>440</sup> Both parents' names can also be mentioned with the word *ibn* 'the son of', as in the following: *ṣāhib hadhā 'l-kitāb Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Abū Bakr b. Faṭuma* 'owner of this book Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Abū Bakr b. Faṭuma'.<sup>441</sup> Alternatively, the father's name appears as patronymic (indicated by *ibn* 'son of'), and the mother's name directly follows the person's name without any connecting element, as in '*Amadu Fida* 'Amadu [the son of] Penda'. Rarely the name of the grandfather can also be introduced by *ibn*, as in *Sa'id b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Ky* 'Sa'id b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Kayi', or by the word *jaddahu* 'his grandfather'.<sup>442</sup> Scribes' and owners' genealogical information increases the chances of their identification.

### Scholarly titles

Scholarly (honorific) titles may occur with the names of individuals. One of such titles, usually spelt as *f-w-d-y*, is Soninke **fódiyè** or Mandinka **fóodée**. This title is given to scholars who have mastered the Qur'anic exegesis, the ultimate subject of the curriculum.<sup>443</sup> Mastering meant not only knowing perfectly the Qur'an, but also being able to translate it into a local language.<sup>444</sup> Scholars of intermediate and advanced levels of classical Islamic education who have not yet reached the level of **fódiyè/fóodée** are referred to with the Soninke honorific **arfaxa** or Mandinka **àrfāṅ/àrfāṅ**.<sup>445</sup> However, both Foode and Arfaṅ could be personal names and not titles. The title of teachers is Soninke **xàrànmóxò** or Mandinka **kàràmmóo**.<sup>446</sup> Some sources point that this title pertains to teachers at advanced levels.<sup>447</sup>

### Geographical information

Colophons may indicate the residence of the owner or scribe, introduced by the Arabic verbs, *sakana* 'he lived', or participles, such as *kā'in* 'living'. In one instance, the scribe recorded his

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<sup>440</sup> A mother's name is not typically mentioned in the Arabic manuscript tradition. However, it was common in West African manuscripts, especially before the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Dobronravin 2012, 92).

<sup>441</sup> BnF Arabe 5690, f. 52a.

<sup>442</sup> MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 217b, and BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 402a. In comparison, in manuscripts with annotations in Jula Ajami, the genealogical chain might comprise up to six generations (see Chapter 5).

<sup>443</sup> See, e.g. Creissels 2012, 72; Diagana 2013, 57; Hunter 1977, 149; Sylla 2012, 311. Scholars wishing to receive the title of **fódiyè** / **fóodée** were expected to study all the texts in the curriculum preceding the Qur'anic exegesis. The most widely used exegetical text was *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (see Chapter 3).

<sup>444</sup> Skinner 1976, 505.

<sup>445</sup> See Sylla 2012, 312. My field consultants in southern and eastern Senegal gave me similar explanations. However, some sources say the title **àrfāṅ** applies to a person who completed the initial stage of his studies (Gamble 2000, 61) or Qur'anic school (Creissels 2012, 5).

<sup>446</sup> The usual interpretations of the Manding word *karamoko* include, e.g., 'the one who can read' (Wilks 1968, 167), 'someone who can read' (Mommersteeg 2012, 30), or 'learned man' (Skinner 1978, 42), from *kara* 'to read' and *moko* 'person'. My field consultants suggested another understanding of the Soninke word: **xàrà-ń-mòxò** (lit. 'learn-I-manner') 'learn the way I am'. Such an interpretation suggests that a teacher is a model for his students not only in terms of his knowledge but also in his way of presenting himself, acting, dressing, moving, etc.

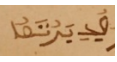

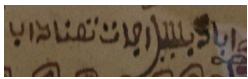


<sup>447</sup> Launay 1992, 149–50. Although he notes that this term might also be used more loosely. Wilks mentions three advanced works in Arabic *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (exegesis), *al-Shifā'* (biography of the Prophet), and *Muwaṭṭa'* (jurisprudence) which a person has to study in order to receive the title of *Karamoko* (Wilks 1968, 167).

location as follows: *hadhā al-ṣabā yajlisu fī balad Mandawiyu* ‘this youth *sits* in the place [named] Manda (present-day northern Guinea)’.<sup>448</sup> The place names most often follow the Arabic word *balad* ‘place, country’, which usually refers to villages or towns in examined manuscripts. In contrast, broader areas are designated by the phrase *ism zamān*. When two toponyms are juxtaposed, the first denotes a region and the second a locality within it, as, for instance, *Baqā’ Balmadū* ‘Balmadu of Pakao (southern Senegal)’ or *Baqā’u Maka* ‘Makka of Pakao’ are two villages located in the area of Pakao in south Senegal.<sup>449</sup>

### *Purpose of production*

The colophons may also contain hints about the purpose of writing a manuscript. Thus, one may find records like *katabahu li-naḥsihi wa al-awlādihi* ‘he wrote it for himself and his children’.<sup>450</sup> In a handful of manuscripts (see this chapter for more information), mentions of teachers or institutions imply the production and use of manuscripts in educational contexts.

### *Words and phrases in vernacular languages*

In about ten manuscripts, the colophons incorporate words and phrases in Mandinka – a language native to scribes.<sup>451</sup> Most frequent is the Mandinka phrase **táa mù** ‘that of’, ‘property of’ placed after a person’s name, as in  <fudi baru tamu> Foodee Baro **táa mù** ‘[the manuscript] belongs to Foodee Baro’.<sup>452</sup> Parents’ names are introduced with the words **à fàa** ‘his father’ and **à báa** ‘his mother’, as, for example, in  <’ fma’ fd ft> **à fàamàa Foodee Faati** ‘his father [is] Foodee Faati’ and  <’ ba’ d basyl’ fa’ t tmna’ d’ b> **à báa Diba Silla, à fàa tóo T-m-na(?) Daaboo** ‘his mother [is] Diba Silla, his father’s name [is] T-m-na(?) Daaboo’.<sup>453</sup> Scribes may mark the completion of writing a manuscript by using the **tímmá** ‘complete, finish’ or **dádáa** ‘create’.<sup>454</sup> The days of the week may also be written in Mandinka, such as  <’ ra misalu<sup>n</sup>> **àràamísá lún** ‘Thursday’, and  <talatalu<sup>n</sup>> **táláata lún** ‘Tuesday’.<sup>455</sup>

<sup>448</sup> BnF Arabe 5633, f. 101b. Giesing and Vydrine mention a village named Manda, founded by Soninke traders on the road between Futa Jallon and Kaabu (Giesing and Vydrine 2007, 377). The manuscript’s scribe likely used the Arabic verb *jalasa* ‘sit’ in the meaning of to ‘live, reside’, is a calque from the scribe’s native language. For instance, the Manding verb **sigi** has both these meanings. Also, the colophon of the manuscript KSS2, di 0258, features similar use of the verb *jalasa*.

<sup>449</sup> MS ZMC3, di 6890, and MS ZMC7, di 7433.

<sup>450</sup> JRL MS 780[825], f. 12b.

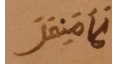
<sup>451</sup> The number is slightly higher since there are several manuscripts without Ajami glosses, but with Ajami colophons. On the native languages of scribes, see discussion in Chapter 7.

<sup>452</sup> JRL MS 780[825], f. 44a.

<sup>453</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1747, and MQB MS AF 14722(87), f. 174a.

<sup>454</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, di 1042 (this manuscript unit does not have Ajami glosses), and f. 12b. The manuscript unit BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 1a–12b, originates from Madina Findi Feetoo / Findifeto in Pakao (see Ogorodnikova 2016, 8–11).

<sup>455</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 42b, and f. 130b. Both manuscript units are written by the same scribe. The first, however, has no Ajami glosses.

A few colophons contain longer phrases in Mandinka, such as pious invocations:  <la' manimala> **Ála màa néem' à lá** 'May God grant him [his] grace'.<sup>456</sup> Yet, Ajami in colophons may be difficult to understand in some cases.

### Summary

Table 3 summarises the information found in colophons and discussed in previous passages. In addition to information on texts and manuscripts, colophons commonly contain eulogies, self-abasement and other formulae asking for forgiveness of the scribes and their families.

**Table 3. Information the scribes include in colophons.**

Type of information	Observations
Name of the author	Usually given in a shortened form
Title of the text	
Time of completion	Typically, the day and the time of the day
Name of the owner	<i>sāhib</i> or <b>táa mù</b>
Name of the scribe	<i>kātib</i>
Genealogical information	Names of parents ( <i>abuhu</i> or <b>à fàa, à fàamàa</b> , and <i>ummuhu</i> or <b>à báa</b> ) and rarely of a male grandparent ( <i>jadd</i> )
Geographical information	Names of villages ( <i>balad</i> ) and greater areas ( <i>ism zamān</i> )

### Space near colophons

Blank spaces near colophons may also be inscribed with various notes, such as formulae, protecting manuscripts from damage. An example is the 'word' *n-k-n-k-kh*, meant to make a manuscript fireproof.<sup>457</sup> However, there are also various recipes in Mandinka, similar to those described in Chapter 3. For example, one manuscript contains a cure for toothache <dhi<sup>n</sup> dimin buw ri mu> **jíndimiŋ bóori mù** 'a remedy against toothache'.<sup>458</sup> Another offers a solution to improving one's mind <ḥaqili di ya' buw ri mu> **hákili díyaa bóori mù** 'a medicine for intelligence' or protection against snake bites.<sup>459</sup>

In a few manuscripts, the blank space on the last page was inscribed with a sequence of syllables without any clear meaning, starting with *barun buru bururubā*.<sup>460</sup> Each of the 'words' in this sequence is provided with an Arabic gloss. This note is labelled as *fā'ida* 'benefit'; however, its actual purpose is unclear.

<sup>456</sup> MS DNN, di 0181. This manuscript only has a colophon in Mandinka but no glosses.

<sup>457</sup> The purpose of the formula is explained in BL MS Or. 6743, f. 189b. The formula *n-k-n-k-kh* is also found in BnF Arabe 5657, f. 28b.

<sup>458</sup> PGL MS ORI 11/1, f. 87.

<sup>459</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, f. 76b, and PGL MS ORI 11/3, f. 127b.

<sup>460</sup> MS DNN1, di 0158, MS AAN3, di 1597. A similar inscription, although not near the colophon, appears in TCD MS 2179, f. 244b.

## Identification of individuals

Often, there is no information about manuscripts' scribes and owners other than what they record about themselves in colophons. However, occasionally, other sources may contain details about the mentioned individuals, such as the dates of their lives and places of their activities. These data may further serve as references for locating manuscripts in time and space. The following section offers three case studies.

### Case study 1

The scribe of a manuscript with an unidentified poem recorded his name in the colophon as follows:<sup>461</sup>

[...] *kātibuhā dhāka Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad S-r b. al-Ḥājj Salim al-Kansamiyu barrada Allāh ḍarīḥahumā amīn katabtuhā li-abūnā huwa shaykhunā dhāka Muḥammad al-Bukhārī Ṭāla Allāh 'umr linā [...]*

[...] its (the manuscript's) scribe is Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad Sire b. al-Ḥājj Sālīm Kassama. May God cool their (dual) graves. Amen! I write it for our father and our shaykh Muḥammad al-Bukhārī. May God prolong his life for our sake [...]

Easily identifiable in this colophon is the grandparent of the scribe – al-Ḥājj Sālīm Kassama, the famous Jakhanke scholar and the founder of the scholarly centre of Touba (present-day Guinea). The scribe also mentions two of al-Ḥājj Sālīm's sons. One of them, – Muḥammad Siré – was the scribe's actual (biological) father, while another – Muḥammad al-Bukhārī – as suggested by the word *abūnā* 'our father', was his spiritual father and mentor, under whom he apparently studied and wrote the manuscript.<sup>462</sup>

The scribe's father and grandfather were deceased at the time of writing the manuscript, as implied by the invocations he added after their names. On the contrary, his uncle was still living. Unfortunately, only the dates for al-Ḥājj Sālīm's lifespan are known. The date of his death ranges from 1824 to 1836 in different sources.<sup>463</sup> These dates can serve as *terminus post quem* for the manuscript's production. The *terminus ante quem* is the acquisition date, which is the year 1890. The place of production can tentatively be identified as Touba.

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<sup>461</sup> BnF Arabe 5566, f. 138b.

<sup>462</sup> Muḥammad al-Bukhārī features at least two other manuscripts in the collection of BnF. One manuscript, BnF Arabe 5640, ff 123a-124b, was in Bukhārī's possession, as its colophon reads: *ṣawaiḥibuhu (ṣaḥībuhu) Muḥammad al-Bukhārī b. al-Ḥājj al-Kasanmī wa umuhu Salima [...]* 'Its owner [is] Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, the son of al-Ḥājj Kassama, and his mother [is] Salima [...]'. Genealogical details in the colophon match those in the chronicles (see Sanneh 1981, 122). The other manuscript, BnF Arabe 6637, f. 108, contains a reference: 'I heard [it from] our shaykh Muḥammad al-Bukhārī' (*anā sami 'tu[hu min] shaykihnā Muḥammad al-Bukhārī*).

<sup>463</sup> See Chapter 5 for details.

## Case study 2

The colophon of the examined manuscript also concerns the grandson of al-Ḥājj Kassama – ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama, – who is mentioned as a teacher.<sup>464</sup> The colophon also specifies the title of a poem written for judges (the manuscript’s main content) and details of the scribe (Fig. 21):

*Intahat hunā kitāb Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nakt al-‘uqūd wa-’a-ahkām yaum al-jum‘a waqt ḍuḥan fī shahr al-ḥajj(?) ‘alā yad al-‘abd al-ḥaqīr al-mudhnib muḥṣṣalhu li-nafsihi uḍturra ‘ibād Allāh ilā ‘afwihi wa ghufrānihi ‘Abd al-Qādir b. al-‘ālim al-‘āllāmah al-‘ārif bi-’llāh ta‘alā al-fāri‘ al-zāhid Maḥmūd al-Sīs b. wālīy Allāh ta‘alā al-murshid al-rashīd Muḥammad Sirrin raḥimahu ‘llāh ta‘alā āmīn. Wa khatamtuhu fī dihliḥ shaykh al-shuyūkh al-bāri‘ alladhī futiḥa lahu qufl al-khuyūr wa bu‘ida(?) ‘anhu aqbaḥ al-shurūr Maḥmūd tāla Allāh ‘umrinā wa ‘umrihi amīn bi-ḥurma ushtādhuhu (ustādhuhu) walīy Allāh al-kamāl kāshif ‘alaynā al-karūb bi-du‘ā’hu al-mujīb ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Kasanmā wa bi-jāh al-jiyalī Quṭb awliyāh Allāh ta‘alā fī al-dārīn wa bi-jāh al-ra‘ūf āmīn. Wa bārak Allāh fī silsilat ahl al-Qādiriyya āmīn.*

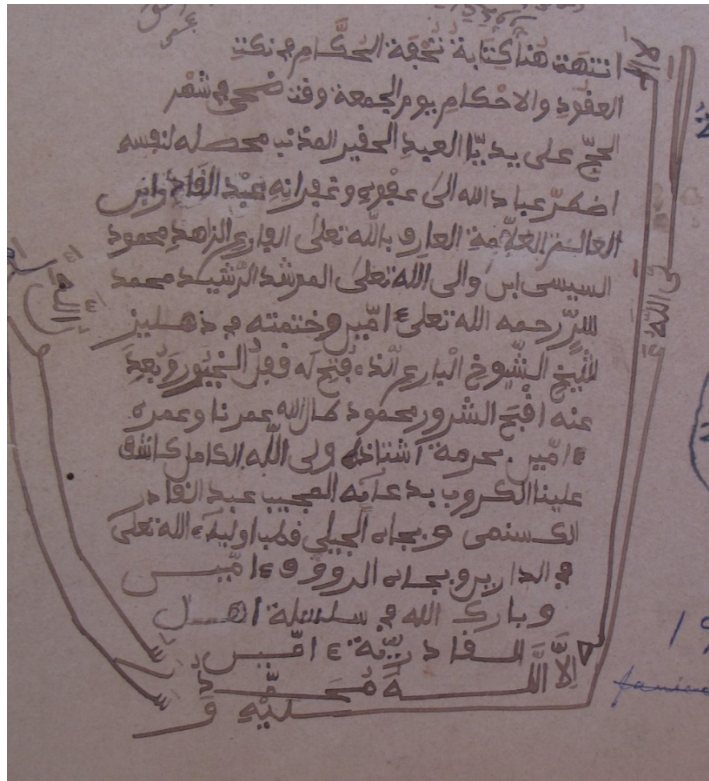
‘Here finished the book [entitled] *Gift for judges dealing with delicate points of contracts and judgements*<sup>465</sup> on Friday at the forenoon in the month of the Hajj(?).<sup>466</sup> [It was written] by the hand of the servant, the despicable, the sinner, produced/acquired for himself, the servants of God are in need of his pardon and forgiveness, ‘Abd al-Qādir, son of the most erudite scholar, the connoisseur of God, the beautiful ascetic Maḥmūd al-Cissé, son of the Friend of God Most High, the guiding master [who is] Muḥammad Siré. May God Most High have mercy on him. Amen! I completed [the writing] in the vestibule of the shaykh of shaykhs, the outstanding, the one who opened the lock of goodness, who is far from the most despicable of evil, [namely] Maḥmūd. May God prolong our lives and his life. Amen! With esteem/sacredness his teacher, Friend of God, the perfection, the supervisor on us, the cherub, the answerer of the invocations [who is] ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama and the axis of Friends of God Most High in the two houses, for the sake of the merciful. Blessing of God among the people of Qādiriyya. Amen!’

<sup>464</sup> MS ZAC2, di 4562.

<sup>465</sup> According to the French translation by Léon Bercher *Le Présent fait aux Juges touchant les ponots délicats des Contrats et de Jugements* (Bercher 1958).

<sup>466</sup> The ‘month of the Hajj’ possibly is a distorted *Dhū al-hijjah*, the twelfth month of the Islamic calendar when the pilgrimage is performed.





**Figure 21.** Colophon mentioning ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama. Senegal, Ziguinchor, MS ZAC2, di 4562.

As the colophon informs, the scribe, ‘Abd al-Qādir, wrote the manuscript in the vestibule (*dihlīz*) of his father, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Siré Cissé. This phrase could be interpreted that the scribe studied under his father,<sup>467</sup> and the vestibule was a room where teaching took place (Soninke *túgù*), usually located at the entrance to the teacher’s compound. The scribe also included the name of another eminent scholar – ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama, known as Quṭb. However, from the wording, it is not entirely clear whether Quṭb taught the scribe or his father.<sup>468</sup> ‘Abd al-Qādir Quṭb lived from 1830 to 1905, and from 1885 to his death, he headed the Kassama *majlis* at Touba.<sup>469</sup> The years of his life can help estimate the manuscript’s production date. It also follows from the colophon that the scribe, his family, and teachers affiliated with the Qādiriyya Sufi order.

### Case study 3

The third case study involves two manuscript units held together in the same leather binding holder.<sup>470</sup> While different scribes wrote these manuscripts, they were instructed by the same teacher. The colophon of the first manuscript is written in a mixture of Arabic and Mandinka (Fig. 22). It reads:

*Tammat kitāb Ibrahīm (Ibrāhīm) Tūrī à fàa abīhu fòodée Bākar Tūrī ummuhu Umm Kl(?) táa mù sī Badibu Kjdhr(?) à kàrammóo al-siīh(?) à kàrammóo Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Silā Bani Israil Silākunda.*

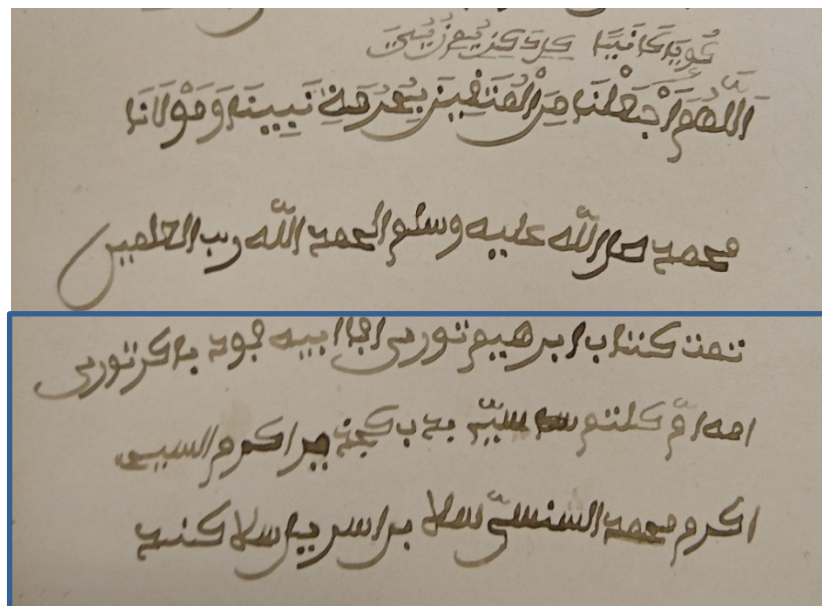
<sup>467</sup> See Chapter 5 for further details.

<sup>468</sup> The scribe used the 1sg form of the verb *khatamtuhu* ‘I completed it’. However, the word *ustādhu-hu* ‘his teacher’ attaches the 3sg pronoun *-hu* ‘his’.

<sup>469</sup> Sanneh 2016, 159.

<sup>470</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.273, ff 18a–21a and ff 304a–308b.

‘Finished the book. It belongs to Ibrāhīm Touré, his father **fóodée** Abū Bakr Touré, his mother Makalé(?). He lives(?) in *Kjrr*(?) in Badibu (Baddibu). His teacher [is] shaykh(?) Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Silla [from] Sillakundaa in Bani Isra’ila.’



**Figure 22.** Colophon in a manuscript written by a student of Muḥammad Sanūsī Silla. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.273, f. 21a.

The interpretation of the colophon causes some difficulties. The place, which the scribe names <bdb kjdh yr>, most likely stands for a village in Badibu (today’s The Gambia). Unfortunately, I could not find any locality matching the letters *K-j-dh-y-r*. However, the scribe’s teacher Muḥammad Sanūsī Silla (name introduced with the Mandinka <’ krm> à **kàrammóo**) was from Bundu (Eastern Senegal). Indeed, the Silla lineage is known for its teaching activities in Bani Isra’ila. Muḥammad Sanūsī can be identified as a son Ibrāhīm Maryam Silla (d. 1855 or 1857–8), known as Marang Burema,<sup>471</sup> who, according to various sources, was a student of al-Hājj Kassama or Muḥammad Taslīmī of Touba.<sup>472</sup>

Muḥammad Sanūsī Silla is also referred to as a teacher (*ustādh*) in a manuscript written by a certain ‘**arfaxa** al-Muṣṭafā Jawara b. Muḥammad Jawara’ (*arfaqa al-Muṣṭafā Jawara b. Muḥammad Jawarawiyu*).<sup>473</sup>

Thus, both manuscript units can be roughly dated to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It may also be suggested that they were written at the teacher’s residence in Bani Isra’ila, where one of the students travelled from Badibu. Also, considering Sillas’ connections to the Kassama scholars of Touba, these manuscripts can be grouped with those from case studies 1 and 2.

### Indications on educational context

The colophons in manuscripts from the case studies above imply an educational context. The scribes refer to distinguished teachers whose dates of life and places of activities are known. Some

<sup>471</sup> See Hunter 1977, 158; Sanneh 1974, 349; Sylla 2012, 204.

<sup>472</sup> Hunter 1977, 290.

<sup>473</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.273, f. 308b.

other manuscripts were also produced by students during their studies, although there is no further information about their mentors.

#### Case study 4

The scribe of a manuscript with the theological poem *Jawahīr min al-kalām* by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī, recorded in the colophon the day and time of completion, as well as the details about himself and his parents.<sup>474</sup>

*Tammāt hunā al-kitāb al-musammā bi-Sulaym al-Ṣuḡhrā. Qad khatamtu yaum al-khamīs bayna al-ḍuḥan wa al-zuḥr lākin tuktabu(?) bi-yaum wāḥid. Ism kātibuhu Fūdī Yula wa ummuhu Mākale wa abihu Dāwūd b. Shaykh Dunbā Fude Dunbuyājiyi nisban [...]*<sup>475</sup>

‘Finished the book named *al-Ṣuḡhrā* by Ibn Sulaym.<sup>476</sup> I completed [writing it] on Thursday between the forenoon and noon, but [it] was written(?) in one day. The name of its scribe [is] Foodee Yula, his mother [is] Makalé, and his father [is] Dāwūd b. Shaykh Dunba Foodee Doumbiya [is] his *nisba* [...]

In an added note in the left margin, he specified that he wrote the manuscript while staying with his teacher (Fig. 23):

*Ḥīna qad sakana(?) fī faṭn (waṭan) Muri Kanuyā ma‘a ustādhī.*  
‘When he lived(?) in the homeland(?) Morekaniya with my teacher.’

The word *faṭn* is possibly the misspelt *waṭan* ‘home, residence’ or also ‘homeland, fatherland’. The place name, which the scribe records as *Muri Kanuyā*, can be identified with Mori Kania / Morekaniya – a province in the valley of the Mellacorée (Melakhore) river in present-day Guinea.<sup>477</sup> According to Marty, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the population of this province included the Jakhanke Qādiriyya groups connected to the scholars of Touba.<sup>478</sup>

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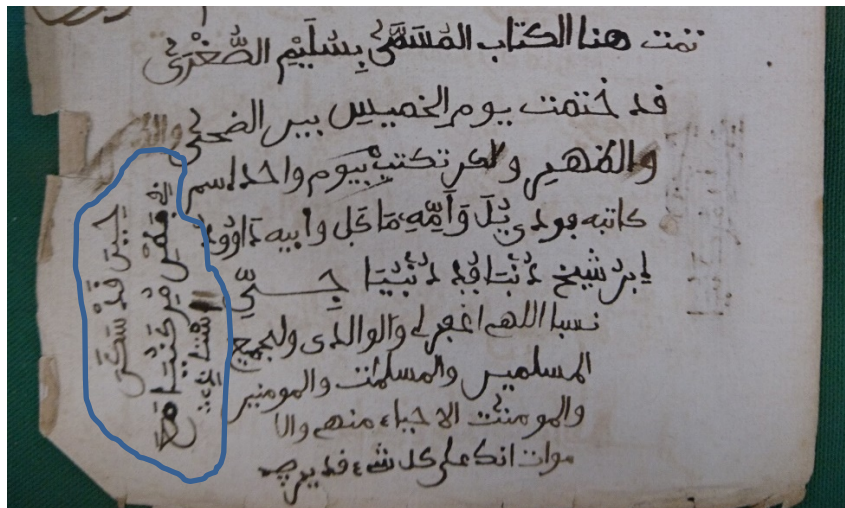
<sup>474</sup> BmT MS 2234, pp 830–845.

<sup>475</sup> The scribe uses additional diacritic (*imāla*) for /e/. The *-jiyu* in the lineage name *Dunbuyājiyi* has probably the same meaning as the *nisba* suffix *-wiyu* or *-yiyu*, indicating a person’s affiliation to a certain social category or group of people.

<sup>476</sup> The title *al-Ṣuḡhrā* designates the shorter version of Ibn Sulaym’s poem on *tawḥīd*. See Chapter 3 for details.

<sup>477</sup> Variant spellings include Morécania, Mauricania, Mauricania, and Morekania.

<sup>478</sup> Marty, 1921, 138.



**Figure 23.** Colophon of a manuscript written by the scribe during his studies. France, Tours, BMT MS 2234, p. 845.

Even though nothing is known about the manuscript's scribe Foodee Yula b. Dāwūd, his clanic name Doumbiya is informative. The Doumbiya (Dumbuya or Dunbuya) are Manding lineages of trading (*jula / yula*) and clerical vocation that migrated to the south coastal areas (in present-day Guinea) from Bambukhu/Bambouk (modern-day eastern Senegal and western Mali) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>479</sup>

Two other manuscript units within the same binding holder written by Foodee Yula Doumbiya offer more information about him.<sup>480</sup> Thus, one of them with a text on Sufism, annotated in Soninke Ajami, implies Foodee Yula's affiliation with one of the Sufi orders. Another one with a list of roots of various plants he wrote in a Manding language reveals his linguistic identity.

Other manuscript units written by different scribes indirectly support the geographical location of Foodee Yula in southern coastal areas. For instance, some were written in Bake Loko (*Bakaluku*)<sup>481</sup> – a kingdom in Sierra Leone with a centre in Port Loko;<sup>482</sup> in Forekariya (*Furikariya*)<sup>483</sup> – a locality founded by Muslim immigrants in southwest Guinea;<sup>484</sup> in Kisi Kisi (*Kisikisi*)<sup>485</sup> – a 'Muslim-dominated state' in Sierra Leone.<sup>486</sup> The clanic names of some scribes, such as Suware and Cissé,<sup>487</sup> are associated with Manding/Jakhanke migrants establishing centres of Islamic education in Guinea and Sierra Leone.<sup>488</sup>

### Case study 5

Even though the manuscript with *al-Risāla* is incomplete and misses the colophon page, the scribe left several notes throughout the manuscript. These notes are comparable to colophons in their

<sup>479</sup> Skinner 1978, 45–8.

<sup>480</sup> BmT MS 2234, pp 442–479, and p. 745.

<sup>481</sup> BmT MS 2234, p. 183.

<sup>482</sup> Howard 1997, 47.

<sup>483</sup> BmT MS 2234, p. 184.

<sup>484</sup> Giesing and Vydrin 2007, 367.

<sup>485</sup> BmT MS 2234, p. 199.

<sup>486</sup> Skinner 1976, 501.

<sup>487</sup> BmT MS 2234, p. 854 and 54, respectively.

<sup>488</sup> Skinner 1976, 509.

content since they record who and where wrote the manuscript. However, they refer to a particular part rather than the entire manuscript, as in: *kutiba bāb fī balad Bakilī fī majlīs Fudiyi Jaki* ‘the chapter is written in Bakel, in *majlīs* of **fódiyè Jaki** (Jakho/Diakho?)’.<sup>489</sup> The term *majlīs* ‘learning assembly’ gives evidence of the scribe’s studies at the higher stages of classical Islamic education with his teacher in Bakel.

## Identifications of place names

The first step in identifying the place of the manuscript’s production is finding the toponym in the colophon. The scribes use several words and expressions to introduce place names. The most common is *balad*, meaning ‘place’, ‘town’, appearing in various forms *ism al-balad* ‘name of the town’, *fī-l-balad* ‘in the town’, or *baladahu* ‘his village’. Another Arabic expression is (*ism*) *zamān* with the literal meaning ‘(name of) time, epoch’, but which is to be understood as ‘(name of) realm’ or simply as ‘province’ or ‘region’.<sup>490</sup> In the current manuscripts’ set, the word *balad* is used with the names of smaller localities, such as towns and villages,<sup>491</sup> while *zamān* designates broader areas. As an example, one of the scribes recorded his provenance as follows *al-kā’in fī qariya Debankāni fī zamān Hayrī* ‘resident of the village Dembanané in the province Hayre’.<sup>492</sup>

### Case study 6

The following example demonstrates the interplay between the terms *zamān* and *balad*:<sup>493</sup>

*Tamma wa kamula ‘alā yad kātibihi wa šāhibihi dhāka Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Kā’i al-Baqā’ wiyu zamānan Badu ‘āwiyu baladan wa dāran.*

‘Finished and completed by the hand of its scribe and its owner who is Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Kaayi/Kaaji,<sup>494</sup> the dweller of the village Badunga in the region of Pakao.’

The scribe’s place of origin *al-Baqā’ wiyu*, to which he applies the word *zamān*, is the region (country or area) of Pakao in south Senegal inhabited by Mandinka people. The word *Badu ‘āwiyu* stands for Baduṅa/Badunga – the scribe’s home village (*baladan wa dāran*). It was one of the first villages of Pakao,<sup>495</sup> founded most likely sometime before the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>496</sup>

<sup>489</sup> MS DLT1, di 8894. Chapter 8 of *al-Risāla* on the daily prayers.

<sup>490</sup> See the discussion on this phrase in Ogorodnikova 2016, 22–25, especially Tal Tamari’s interpretation of the term in footnote 47.

<sup>491</sup> For instance, the Arabic *balad* in one of the texts (PGL MS ORI/3) was translated in a gloss by the Soninke word **dèbé** ‘village’.

<sup>492</sup> MS DLT2, di 0612. Hayre is a Soninke province encompassing parts of today’s Senegal and Mauritania.

<sup>493</sup> MS ZMC2, di 6583.

<sup>494</sup> It is a common convention in the Soninke Ajami manuscripts that the Arabic letter *yā*’ (alone or with the preceding *tanwīn*) represents the palatal nasal /j/ (see Chapter 7).

<sup>495</sup> Schaffer 2003, 131. Oral tradition interprets the village’s name as a Mandinka **bāa dúwaa** ‘mother’s blessing’, later transformed into Badunga (Schaffer 2003, 131).

<sup>496</sup> According to Schaffer’s estimation based on written sources and historical accounts, the expansion of Pakao, including the core twenty-five villages, was most likely completed by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Schaffer 1975, 100).

Interestingly, the Pakao Book records a certain **fóodée** al-Amīn Kaayi/Kanyi (*Kāyi*) as the first imam of Badunga.<sup>497</sup> Conceivably, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Kaayi, the scribe of the manuscript in question, is related to the village's imam lineage.

#### *Case study 7*

The present case study concerns the homonymous place names encountered in the colophons of two manuscripts written by different scribes. The terms *zamān* and *balad* allow distinguishing between smaller and larger localities.

In one of the colophons, the personal and place names are vocalised, which facilitates the reading:

*Tammāt ay kamula al-kitāb fī yaum al-aḥad bayn al-ḍuḥan wa al-ẓuhr. Kātibuhu wa ṣāhibuhu fard ismuhu Sulaymāna Jādama. Ism ummihi Bannā Sānyān. Ism balad Badibu. Allāhuma aḡfar lī wa 'l-wālidīn wa liman sabaqanā bi-al-īmān al-ḥamdu li-llāh rabb al-'ālamīn.*

‘Finished, *i.e.*, completed the book on Sunday between the forenoon and noon. Its scribe and its owner are one [and the same person], his name is Sulayman Jaadama. The name of his mother is Banna Saḡnaa. The name of the town is Badibu. May God forgive him and his parents and everyone who preceded us in faith. Praise be to God, the Master of the worlds.’

The toponym Badibu refers to an area on the north bank of the river Gambia. However, Badibu may apply to both the so-called Mandinka kingdom (or chiefdom) or a town within this kingdom. Since the scribe Sulayman Jaadama used the word *balad*, he probably referred more specifically to his hometown. Badibu, a king's town, was already listed on Leach's map of 1732.<sup>498</sup> The scribe's clanic name Jaadama suggests that he belonged to the Badibu ruling elite.<sup>499</sup>

The scribe of the second manuscript, however, lived in another village on the territory of the Badibu kingdom (*ism zamān Bādubu*):<sup>500</sup>

*Tammāt kitāb bi-ḥamdu li-llāh tammāt al-kitāb 'alā yad 'abd Allāh dhāka Muḥammad Kt b. al-Ḥājj ummuhu Hwr katabahu li-naḡsihi wa al-awlādihi ism bilad Ktknd ism zamān Bādubu.*

‘The book is completed; praise be to God. The book is completed by the hand of God's servant, that is, Muhammad *Kt* b. al-Ḥājj, his mother *Hwr*, written for himself and his children. The place's name is *Ktknd*, [and the] name of the realm is Badibu.’

The scribe's village, spelt as *Kt-knd*, and his clanic name *Kt*, are not easily understood without vocalic diacritics. However, the last three consonants of the toponym *-knd*, most likely stand for **kúndáa**, a word (or suffixed word), indicating a neighbourhood, village or region. It is usually attached to clanic names, socio-professional categories, or ethnic groups.

<sup>497</sup> Schaffer 1975, 107. In his earlier publication, Schaffer transcribed the lineage name as Kanji (Schaffer 1975). However, in his later work, probably based on oral narratives, he changed the spelling to Kanyi (Schaffer 2003).

<sup>498</sup> Gamble 1999, 93.

<sup>499</sup> Quinn reports the Jaadama being one of the ruling lineages of Badibu (Quinn 1972).

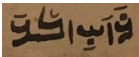
<sup>500</sup> JRL 780[825], f. 12b.

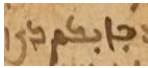


As seen in Case study 3, one of the scribes noted his teacher's residence as Bani Isra'ila Sillakunda, where Sillakunda is a neighbourhood of Bani Isra'ila inhabited by members of Silla teaching lineage. In the present case study, *balad Kt-knd* most likely is a town within the kingdom of Badibu. The consonantal base matches at least two possible places: Kintehkunda (lower Badibu) or Kontekunda (upper Badibu).<sup>501</sup>

### Vocalisation and spelling

Case study 7 illustrates how the absence of vocalic notation makes it difficult to interpret toponyms. Vocalisation partly eliminates the ambiguities. Some scribes marked the vowels with the Arabic long vowel graphemes, as in *baladuhu Kū tī knd*, which can be interpreted as 'his village is Kontekunda'.<sup>502</sup>

Unstable orthographies across the corpus of manuscripts but also in manuscripts written by the same scribe create another challenge in identifying toponyms. An illustration would be 

<dha' bi' kuda> and  <ja' bkm dy>, a place name recorded by two different scribes,<sup>503</sup> both of which, however, apparently referred to Jaabikunda, a Jakhanke village in Kusara (present-day Guinea Bissau).<sup>504</sup>

### Case study 8

This case study concerns three manuscript units of the PGL MS ORI 11/1–3, which, judging by the handwriting, were written by the same scribe, and belonged to the same owner. Even though the colophons have a similar structure and content, they are not identical:

*Kamala wustā (wustā) tammāt al-sāhib (sāhib) al-kitāb Abū Bakr Qubā tāa mù Qubū Yu<sup>n</sup>du mu.*<sup>505</sup>

'Completed [*al-'Aqīda*] *al-Wustā*. Finished. [It] belongs to the owner of the book Abū Bakar Kumba / Kooba [from] Yundumu in Kombo.'

*Tammāt Abū Bakr Kunba tāa mù ism al-balad Kunbu Yundumu [...]*<sup>506</sup>

'Finished. [It is] property of Abū Bakr Kumba Kooba. Name of the place Yundumu in Kombo [...]

*Tammāt kitāb Ibn 'Umar Kubrā wa Abū Bakr Qubā Shuqu ism al-balad Qubū Yūndumu.*

'Finished the book Ibn 'Umar Kubrā. [Its owner is] Abū Bakr Kumba/Kooba Sonko from the town Yundumu in Kombo.'

<sup>501</sup> Gamble 1999, 111 and 126, respectively.

<sup>502</sup> JRL MS 780[825], f. 47b.

<sup>503</sup> BULAC.MS.ARA.219bis, f. 38b, and JRL MS 780[825], f. 100b. The colophon of the first manuscript records the place name as <kusara dhabikuda> 'Jaabikunda of Kusara'.

<sup>504</sup> See Giesing and Vydrine 2007, 369.

<sup>505</sup> The scribe spells the words *al-wustā* 'middle', 'medium' and *sāhib* 'owner' with *tā* and *sīn*, instead of emphatic *tā'* and *šād*.

<sup>506</sup> The rest of the colophon is unclear.

The colophons vary in language, spelling and some content details. For example, two of the three colophons combine Arabic and Mandinka. Interestingly, the Mandinka expression *táa mù* ‘property of’ following the Arabic *al-ṣāhib al-kitāb* ‘owner of the book’ in the first colophon seems somewhat redundant. In terms of content, the first and third colophons include the text titles, which are absent from the second colophon. The owner’s name is recorded as Abū Bakr <quba>, <ku<sup>n</sup>ba> and <quba’>, with the second element either to be interpreted as the man’s honorific name Koobaa or as a female (owner’s mother) name Kumba. His clan name <shuqu>, occurring in the third colophon only, supposedly is Sonko.

The place name <qubu yudumu>, <ku<sup>n</sup>bu yu<sup>n</sup>du mu> and <qubu’ yu<sup>n</sup>’ du mu> consists of two juxtaposed elements. The first element – Kombo – designates the Mandinka kingdom in today’s The Gambia, while Yundumu is one of its villages.<sup>507</sup>

### Finding places

Even if the place names appear in colophons, and it is possible to read them, pinpointing their location is still not always easy. For instance, it remains unclear to which of several sites the scribe refers in the absence of an explicit indication. One such example is a manuscript written in a place called Dar Salam or Dar Silame (*ism balad Dahr Salām*).<sup>508</sup> Considering the manuscript has a few Mandinka glosses, its origin can be sought in Mandinka-speaking areas. Yet, there are at least two possible locations corresponding to these criteria: one village named Dar Silame is in Pakao (southern Senegal), and another one is in central Kombo (The Gambia).<sup>509</sup>

A manuscript’s origin can sometimes only be traced to a broader region. For example, the manuscript with *Ta’līm al-muta’allim* by al-Zarnūjī is owned by Muḥammad Faadera (*Muḥammad*

*Fadira táa mù*) from a village named  <kanadu mandi<sup>n</sup>> ‘*Madin* (Manden?) of Kanaduu’.

While a place *Madin* is yet to identify, it is apparently located on the territory of Kanaduu, which once made part of the Kaabu empire (Guinea-Bissau).<sup>510</sup>

### Connecting manuscripts, collecting information

Names in colophons allow tracing manuscripts produced by or belonging to the same individual or family, currently kept under different shelf marks, libraries or even different locations.<sup>511</sup> In addition, grouping manuscripts from the same owner gives an idea about the texts in his private library and the texts he studied. Finally, combining the content and paracontent information from various manuscripts sometimes helps reconstruct a more detailed background of scholars.

<sup>507</sup> Innes 1974, 127.

<sup>508</sup> TCD MS 2179.

<sup>509</sup> See Ogorodnikova 2016, 20–2.

<sup>510</sup> See Giesing and Vydrine 2007, 371.

<sup>511</sup> For example, BnF Arabe 5575 and 5725 hold several manuscript units that once belonged to Shu’ayb b. Muḥammad Kassama. Similarly, the library of Ibrāhīm Sharif is dispersed among BnF Arabe 5542, Arabe 5640, Arabe 5697, and Arabe 6610 (to mention just the manuscript with Soninke annotations); see Appendix I.

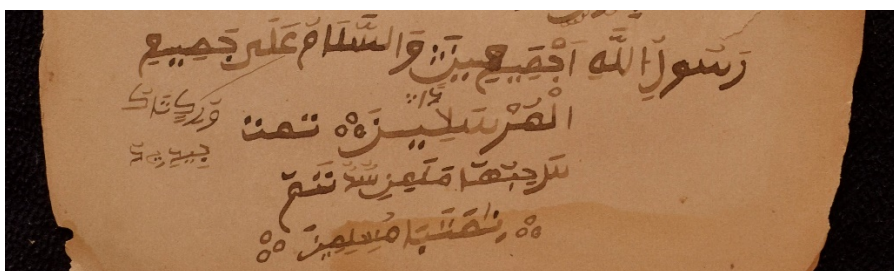


### Case study 9

Comparing colophons in five manuscript units written and owned by the same person allows for finding their spatial and temporal origins and gathering details about the scribe's genealogy. Four manuscripts contain texts on *tawhīd*, including three versions of al-Sanūsī's creed (from the smallest to intermediate) and a bilingual text with alternating Arabic and Mandinka phrases. The scribe also wrote the colophons in Mandinka. One of the colophons added to the manuscript with Sanūsī *al-Ṣuḡhrā* annotated in Soninke reads (Fig. 24):<sup>512</sup>

*Tammat sa ḥibuhā (ṣāḥibuhu) Malamini Sundun táa mù Nīmatabā musulimina (al-muslimīn?).*

Finished. [It] belongs to its owner Malamin (Muḥammad al-Amīn) Sundum [among the Muslims of?] Neemataba.



**Figure 24.** A colophon in Arabic and Mandinka written by a scribe from Neemataba of Maana (Guinea-Bissau). Senegal, Dembanané, MS DNN2, di 0029.

Similar to what was discussed above, the place name Neemantaba corresponds to several places in Senegal, the Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau,<sup>513</sup> all three being Mandinka-speaking areas. Although the Mandinka Ajami words in the colophons support such geographical attribution, they do not eliminate further ambiguities. The solution comes from comparing colophons in other manuscript units, in which the toponym is recorded as <ma' 'ana ni 'i mataba> Manaa Neemataba.<sup>514</sup> Maana is a territory in present-day Guinea-Bissau, which used to be the eastern province of Kaabu.<sup>515</sup>

Since the production of all five units is the work of one person, knowing his approximate lifetime allows us to estimate manuscripts' dating. The fifth manuscript in Malamin Sundum Jafunu's possession contains a devotional poem, a pentastich rendition (*takhmīs*) of Yadālī's *Ṣalāt rabī*.<sup>516</sup> Its author is among the most famous authors of Futa Jallon – Sa'īd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh al-Fullānī al-Labawī al-Juljulī al-Sīlī al-Futī, who lived around 1272/1855–6.<sup>517</sup> Thus, Malamin Sundum Jafunu, who copied his composition, probably lived around the same time or later.

<sup>512</sup> MS DNN2, di 0029.

<sup>513</sup> The toponyms ending in *-taba* are widespread in the Senegambia region, as *tábá* is a tree variety (Giesing and Vydrine 2007, 383).

<sup>514</sup> E.g., MS DNN5, di 0127.

<sup>515</sup> Giesing and Vydrine 2007, 376.

<sup>516</sup> MS DNN5.

<sup>517</sup> See ALA IV 496, 507 and 510.

### Case study 10

Three manuscript units once owned by a certain Abū Bakr Tunkara b. ‘Alī Tunkara (and his mother Fāṭuma) are now kept under different shelf marks.<sup>518</sup> Only one of the manuscripts, with Ibn Mahīb’s devotional poem, has Soninke and Manding glosses. Its colophon, however, only mentions the name of the scribe.<sup>519</sup> The identification of the scribe’s village is possible thanks to another colophon of a manuscript with *al-Risāla*, written in ‘the town Koumbia’ (*fī balad Kunbiya*).<sup>520</sup> A place named Koumbia is located in Futa Jallon. According to Marty, it was populated by the Jakhanke, maintaining strong connections with the scholarly centre of Touba.<sup>521</sup>

Abū Bakr Tunkara’s possible association with the scholars of Touba finds further confirmation in his third manuscript with *al-Muqaddima* by al-Sanūsī. One of the marginal annotations the scribe received ‘from the mouth of shaykh al-Ḥājj Sālim’ (*min fam shaykh al-Ḥājj Sālim*).<sup>522</sup> This mention of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama (d. 1824/29/36) gives a reference point for locating the scribe and his manuscripts in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

### Case study 11

This case study presents two more examples when comparing several colophons reveals information that can be applied to other manuscripts produced by the same person. The first example is four manuscript units with *tawḥīd* texts owned by Muḥammad al-Shaykh Jaaju b. Abū Bakr.<sup>523</sup> His living place appears in two colophons: first as *ism al-balad Sttā* and second as *ism zamānuhu Qunbu*.<sup>524</sup> I was not able to find a village named *Sttā*. However, *Qunbu* suggests that it was located in the Mandinka kingdom of Kombo. Mandinka words in colophons and glosses support the origin of his manuscripts from Mandinka-speaking areas and reveal the scribe’s native language.

In the second example, only one of the two manuscript units with the small and smallest versions of al-Sanūsī’s creed owned by **fóodée** Suy‘ayb Jakite (*fūd Shu‘ayb Jakiti*) indicates the name of his village, which is Sika in Noomi (*ism baladihi Yūmi Shik*).<sup>525</sup> Noomi is the Mandinka kingdom that once existed in what is now The Gambia).

### Concluding remarks

This chapter sought to identify the actors and places of manuscripts’ production and dating based on data from colophons. Many colophons record information about the owners and scribes in simple phrases. The colophons one scribe wrote in his several manuscripts may contain varying information. The spelling of personal and place names may also vary. Such variation may show that colophons were unlikely copied, but rather composed individually for each manuscript.

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<sup>518</sup> BnF Arabe 5461, ff 1b – 13a; Arabe 5495, ff 1b–96a; Arabe 5507, ff 10a–110b.

<sup>519</sup> BnF Arabe 5507, f. 110b.

<sup>520</sup> BnF Arabe 5495, f. 96a.

<sup>521</sup> Marty 1921, 214.

<sup>522</sup> BnF Arabe 5461, f. 2a.

<sup>523</sup> TCD MS 3499.

<sup>524</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 130b and 296a, respectively. See Ogorodnikova 2016, 23–25.

<sup>525</sup> TCD MS 3500, ff 1a–32b, and ff 126a–143a. Interestingly, two different scribes wrote the two manuscript units for the same owner. The place name is indicated on f. 32b.

Comparing colophons in several manuscripts written by, or held by, the same individuals permit to gather details about their backgrounds and scholarly interests.

Scribes of six manuscripts specify in colophons that they wrote their manuscripts while studying, sometimes providing their teachers' names and places of instruction. Three of the mentioned teachers are Jakhanke scholars of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, belonging to the Touba network. Teachers' life dates may serve as references for manuscripts' dating since most colophons lack the year of writing.

Some of the place names indicated by the scribes are readily readable and recognisable. Yet, identification is problematic in other instances due to the lack of vocalisation. Further complications arise when the location in the colophon corresponds to several places on modern maps.

Among the examined manuscripts, the majority were produced in the Mandinka kingdoms of today's The Gambia, southern Senegal, and Guinea-Bissau. Most of these manuscripts also have a colophon or an additional layer of glosses in Mandinka. Table 4 summarises the geographical origin of manuscripts identified based on the colophons.

**Table 4. Geographical origin of Soninke Ajami manuscripts.**

<b>Greater region</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>MSS</b>
Southwest	Badibu, Kombo, Noomi (The Gambia)	12
	Kusara, Maana, Kanaduu (Guinea-Bissau)	3
	Pakao, Yacine (Southern Senegal)	8
	Mandinka-speaking areas (Mandinka in colophons)	3
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>26</b>
Eastern and southern coastal areas	Bundu (Eastern Senegal)	3
	Manda, Koumbia, Touba (Guinea)	4
	Fougoumba (Central Guinea)	1
	Morékania (Southern Guinea)	2
	Baka Loko (Sierra Leone)	1
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>11</b>
Other	Tafasirga, Toubacané (western Mali)	3
	Dembancané (east Senegal, the scribe wrote his manuscript in Congo)	1
	Bakel (east Senegal)	1
<b>Sub-total</b>		<b>5</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>42</b>

## Chapter 5: Manuscripts and Scholarly networks

### Introduction

References at the end of some marginal annotations are another source of information about the scholars behind the manuscripts' production and use. They document the names of teachers who supplied explanations to texts and students who recorded them in manuscripts. Such references may consist of several elements. First comes an indication of the transmission's mode (spoken word or written source) followed by a person's name, honorifics, or self-abasement. Next, the references may mention places of residence or teaching activities, whether localities or institutions (*majlis* 'learning assemblies', the higher stages of classical Islamic education). The last element is pious invocations, asking God for forgiveness or mercy for alive or deceased scholars. The information from the referenced or personalised annotations, combined with data from other paratexts and external sources, allows for tracing connections between manuscripts, teachers and students and reconstructing teaching and learning practices.

This chapter identifies scholars and links between individuals, places, and manuscripts. It comprises three sections that group the scholars into networks active in a particular centres or regions: (1) the Jakhanke network centred around Touba, Fouta Jallon (today's Guinea); (2) the Soninke network, encompassing centres, such as Kunjuru, Tafasirga, Bakel, etc. (present-day Mali and Senegal); (3) yet unidentified scholars active in Mandinka-speaking areas (today's The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and southern Senegal).

The chapter's subsections are organised around scholarly figures providing full names, alternative or abbreviated appellations, nicknames, and honorific titles and listing manuscripts and texts they taught and authored. Additionally, they may include the time and place of the scholar's activities, religious affiliations, family, and scholarly interactions. The subsections are arranged chronologically, whenever possible or otherwise, in an order that most clearly illustrates the scholars' interconnections. One subsection may combine information about several interconnected scholars.

Each section (or subsections in the case of Jakhanke scholars) start with a list of manuscripts mentioning them. The works' titles are listed in a shortened form, followed by the authors' names and year of death (in brackets), and the texts' subject matters (after a colon). As one text may appear in several manuscripts, their shelf marks or codes are listed separately, along with the number of references to scholars. Specific details about manuscripts, such as scribes' names, toponyms, and production dates, are included in the entries when necessary; however, they are otherwise found in Appendix I.

The identities of several scholars in the marginal references are easily discernible due to earlier research. Rather than reconstructing their entire biographies, the chapter compares how the current study's findings support or contradict available sources. In the absence of external data, the chapter presents scholars' profiles based on the present manuscript corpus data.

### Jakhanke scholarly network

#### *Earlier studies*

The Jakhanke lineages connected to Touba received considerable attention in Western research. Paul Marty in his study of Islam in Guinea described the scholarly tradition of Touba, including lists of the texts authored by the Kassama/Gassama scholars (Marty 1921). In 1970, Suret-Canale published a brief historical survey on Touba, which is based on written chronicles (*tārīkh*), supplied to him by scholars of Guinea and complemented by oral commentaries of his informants.

The documents of Fonds Curtin contain similar chronicles, existing in several copies from the first half of the 20th century.<sup>526</sup> Specifically, two texts from Fonds Curtin on the history of the Jakhanke scholarly lineages,<sup>527</sup> and the Kassama lineage,<sup>528</sup> were translated and published.<sup>529</sup> For instance, in 1975, Lucy G. Quimby presented a collated version of each of these texts.<sup>530</sup> One year later in 1976, Thomas Hunter also published a ‘schematised presentation’ of these texts, to which he refers as *Ta`rīkh al-`ulamā` Zāgha*, and the latter as *Ta`rīkh Mama Sanbu (TMS)*.<sup>531</sup> He also incorporated excerpts from what he calls *Ta`rīkh al-Jabi*, otherwise known as *Ta`rīkh al-Madaniyya*. This latter chronicle was identified by Ivor Wilks in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso.<sup>532</sup>

Another account entitled *Ta`rīkh Karamokho Ba (TKB)*, is translated with much precision by Sanneh.<sup>533</sup> In addition to the history of the Kassama lineage, this text supplies the names of wives and descendants of several of its members.<sup>534</sup>

Jakhanke clerical tradition and educational activities, particularly those associated with the Kassama, Suware, and Silla lineages discussed in this chapter, were explored in great depth by Thomas Hunter (1977) and Lamin Sanneh (1974, 1979, 1981, 1989, 2016). Their respective studies relied on written sources in Arabic, as well as rich fieldwork information.

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<sup>526</sup> Curtin collected the photographed copies from different owners in the department of Bakel, Senegal, in 1966 and deposited the copies in IFAN, University of Dakar Senegal. The microfilms are accessible in the Camp collection of the Center for Research Libraries, Indiana University, Bloomington (Hunter 1976, 435), in the library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and in the library of the Hill Museum, Minnesota.

<sup>527</sup> Fonds Curtin n.3, n.21, n.23 and n.26. The documents n.3 and 23. are dated 1344/1925 and 1331/1912, respectively, while n.26 is undated (Quimby 1975, 605).

<sup>528</sup> Fonds Curtin n.1, n.11, n.27, and n.29. Based on the documents’ descriptions, they were copied by different people at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As told by the owner, n.27 was derived from a longer text, initially written in Touba, and was transcribed in the current document by Yūsūf b. Fode Fofana. The colophon of n.29 provides the date of copying 1348/1928. However, as Quimby points out, the original text could have been dated even earlier since the last event it mentioned took place in 1909 (Quimby 1975, 605). In addition, the four documents show minor differences in content (e.g., some names omitted) and spelling conventions. For instance, document n.1 features some modified symbols for non-Arabic sounds: palatal nasal /j/ is written as *yā`* with three dots below, and *imāla* for /e/.

<sup>529</sup> Other documents from Fonds Curtin, so far unpublished, concern with the history of genealogies of scholarly families, such as Suware, Silla, and Kaba. In his dissertation, Hunter refers to manuscripts with similar content which he found during his fieldwork (Hunter 1977).

<sup>530</sup> However, Quimby only considered three versions of each text: n.3, n.23, n.26, for the first and n. 1, n. 27, n. 29, for the second.

<sup>531</sup> Hunter 1976, 435-6.

<sup>532</sup> Copy of this text is kept at Northwestern University Herskovits Library, Ghana collection, IASAR 451.

<sup>533</sup> The translation was first published by Sanneh in 1981. An amended version, including the facsimile of the manuscript appears in Sanneh 1989. The colophon of the manuscripts indicates the year 1328/1915.

<sup>534</sup> This additional part, as Sanneh suggests, was added after the completion of the main historical part, judging by the handwriting, even though the paper on which it was written is of the same type as the rest of the manuscript (Sanneh 1981, 108–9).

*Jakhanke scholars: evidence from the current manuscript corpus*

Al-Ḥājj Salīm b. Muḥammad Fāṭim Kassama (1730–1824/29/36)

1. *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb: devotional poetry

MS ZMC1: 1; MS ZAC1: 3; MS EAP 10421/1/1: 3; MS KTD1: 1

2. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505): Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)

MSS AAN1–2: 4; BULAC MS.ARA.112b: 1

3. *al-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996): jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

MS ZOC1: 1

4. *Kitāb al-zuhd* by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d. 92/710): Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)

MS ZMC3: 1

5. *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā* by al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486): theology (*tawḥīd*)

BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 22–38: 1.

6. *al-Ājurrūmiyya* by Ibn Ājurrūm (d.1223): grammar (*naḥw*)

BnF Arabe 5626, ff 37b–55b: 1

7. *al-Muqaddima* by al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486): theology (*tawḥīd*)

BL MS Or. 6473, ff 117a–215b: 1<sup>535</sup>; BnF Arabe 5461, ff 1b–13a: 1<sup>536</sup>

8. *al-‘Aqīda ṣaḡhīra al-ṣuḡhrā* by al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486): theology (*tawḥīd*)

JRL MS 780[825], ff 59b–71a: 1<sup>537</sup>

References to *shaykhunā/-ī al-Ḥājj al-Kasama* ‘our/my shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama’ appear in the highest number of examined manuscripts with a variety of texts. The lineage name appears in different spellings, such as (*al-*)*Kasanmā*, *Kansamā*, and *Kasamanī*, often attaching the definite article. In several instances, the references are abbreviated to *shaykhunā al-Ḥājj* ‘our shaykh al-Ḥājj’. Evidently, it concerns al-Ḥājj Sālīm Kassama (1730–1824/29/36), commonly referred to in primary and secondary sources by his honorific nickname Karamokhoba ‘great teacher’.<sup>538</sup>

<sup>535</sup> The reference to al-Ḥājj Kassama appears on f. 119b. The manuscript’s paper has the ‘1818’ watermarked.

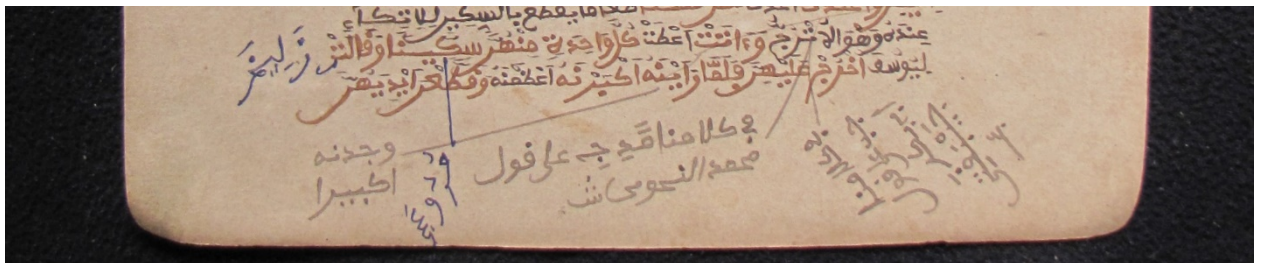
<sup>536</sup> This manuscript has about ten annotations sourced ‘from the mouth of shaykh’ (*min fam shaykh*), including one on f. 2a referring to al-Ḥājj Sālīm.

<sup>537</sup> This manuscript does not have Ajami glosses.

<sup>538</sup> The son of Muḥammad Fāṭim Kassama, he was named after al-Ḥājj Sālīm Suware. Hence, al-Ḥājj is more likely his proper name than a pilgrim’s title. Chronicles also refer to him as *Sālīm al-Kabīr* ‘Salim the Great’ or *al-Ḥājj Zagha / Zaghun al-Ḥājj*, meaning either ‘al-Ḥājj of Jakha’ (i.e., the locality in Masina) or ‘al-Hajj [the son] of Jaghun’ (since his mother’s name was Jahgun Ba). See e.g., Sanneh 1974, 139; Sanneh 1981, 116, 122; Sanneh 1989, 278. He received the nickname Karamokhoba from the people of Fouta Jallon in recognition of his knowledge and merits as a teacher (Sanneh 1974, 169). Interestingly, this honorific does not appear in the marginal references. The dates of al-Ḥājj Sālīm Kassama’s life differ between the sources. For instance, Lamin Sanneh suggests the dates 1730–1824 (Sanneh 1974, 1981, and 2016). Marty’s account of Islam in Guinea gives his year of death as 1829 (Marty 1921, 547). Both estimations rely on chronicles reporting that al-Ḥājj Sālīm died at age 99. A five-year difference results

The chronicles pay significant attention to al-Ḥājj Kassama’s travels in pursuit of knowledge.<sup>539</sup> Other sources, including marginal references and teaching chains, also bear traces of the scholarly connections developed during these travels. For instance, an obituary of *al-Ḥājj Ṭūbā al-Zaghāwiyyu al-Kasamī* mentions among those grieving his death a certain *Alfa ‘a Nūḥu fī zamān Zinā*.<sup>540</sup> The person in question is undoubtedly Nūḥ al-Fulānī of Djenné, one of al-Ḥājj Kassama’s influential teachers and contacts.<sup>541</sup> Allegedly, he spent seven years with Nūḥ al-Fulānī and received from him permission to teach (*ijāza*) and a litany (*wird*) of the Qādiriyya Sufi order.<sup>542</sup>

While in Djenné, al-Ḥājj Kassama studied linguistic subjects (grammar and conjugation) under Muḥammad al-Naḥwī (literally: ‘Muḥammad the grammarian’) and the works of al-Sanūsī under Abū Bakr Jabaghate of Bakhunu.<sup>543</sup> Both these names appear at the end of annotations in a manuscript with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (TQ12:31), suggesting interpretations of the word *al-utruj* ‘citron’ (Fig. 25).<sup>544</sup> This same manuscript contains references to al-Ḥājj, which allows inferring that he incorporated the explanations of the two scholars from Djenné into his own teachings.<sup>545</sup> It also implies that al-Ḥājj Kassama had studied Qur’anic exegesis in Djenné, a detail not mentioned in the chronicles.



**Figure 25.** Interpretations of the same word given two teachers of al-Ḥājj Kassama. Senegal, Adéane, MS AAN1, p. 331 (di 0898).

from Sanneh’s adjustment to the lunar calendar. Thomas Hunter estimates 1836 as the date of al-Ḥājj Sālim’s death (Hunter 1977, 261).

<sup>539</sup> According to chronicles, al-Ḥājj Sālim’s educational pilgrimage began after his father’s death. Marty and Sanneh date Muḥammad Fāṭim’s death (and hence the beginning of al-Ḥājj Sālim’s journey) by 1750 (Marty 1921, 107; Sanneh 1974, 170). Hunter opts for a later date – around 1770 (Hunter 1977, 248). See also Suret-Canale 1970, 57. Al-Ḥājj Sālim first travelled to Kounti/Kunting (north bank of the middle Gambia), to study the *tafsīr* with one of his father’s students. He then returned to Didécoto (Bundu) before setting off north, to Kunjuru (Gajaaga/Khaso); see, for example, Hunter 1977, 248–252.

<sup>540</sup> BL Or. 6473, ff 105a–106a. The long *alif* at the end of the word *Zinā* ‘Djenné’ is likely due to rhyme.

<sup>541</sup> The full name is Nūḥ b. al-Ṭāhir Balkū b. Abī Bakr b. Mūsa al-Fulānī. He was an influential figure in the scholarly landscape of 19<sup>th</sup>-century West Africa (Nobili 2016).

<sup>542</sup> Hunter 1977, 251–2; Salvaing 2003, 523.

<sup>543</sup> Muḥammad al-Naḥwī is absent from Hunter’s translation, as well as from the Fonds Curtin documents n.1 and n.27. These documents spell the name of the second scholar as *Jaybaqatī* (Jabaghate), the same way as in the *Tafsīr* manuscript in question (MS AAN1). However, in two other versions, documents n.11 and n.29, the name is spelt as *Jaqabnti* and *Jāqati*, respectively.

<sup>544</sup> MS AAN1 di 0898. The passage of the *Tafsīr* concerns a certain type of repast which requires cutting with a knife.

<sup>545</sup> See Chapter 6 for more details.

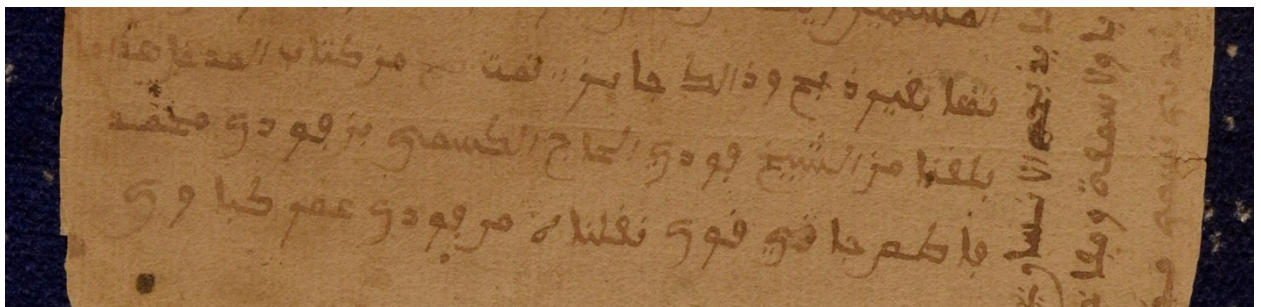


## Mentions of al-Ḥājj Kassama in Soninke manuscripts

A reference to Ḥājj Kassama appears in a manuscript written in Soninke-speaking areas of today's Mali and northeast Senegal.<sup>546</sup> The principal part contains a devotional poem by Ibn Mahīb copied by a certain Makhan *Miki*. The smaller units are various fragments; their paper and the hand seem different from the main part of the manuscript. The unit of interest has two lines of the main text with extensive commentaries in Arabic, one of which has a following reference (Fig. 26):<sup>547</sup>

*Tammat ṣaḥḥ min kitāb al-Madkhal hādihā mā balaghna min al-shaykh fūdī al-Ḥājj al-Kasamā b. fūdī Muḥammad Fāṭim Jā qā q-w-y*<sup>548</sup> *naqalanā min fudī 'Umar Kabāwiyu.*

‘Finished. Correct from the book *al-Madkhal*,<sup>549</sup> this is what we learned from the shaykh **fōdīyè** al-Ḥājj Kassama b. Muḥammad Fāṭim of Jakhanke (?), transmitted to us through **fōdīyè** ‘Umar Kaba.’



**Figure 26.** A reference mentioning that the passage was copied from the book of al-Ḥājj Kassama b. Muḥammad Fāṭim. Mali, Kunjuru, MS KTD1, di 0025.

Muḥammad Fāṭim, the patronym of al-Ḥājj Kassama in the reference, enables identification with the renowned Jakhanke scholar. The word *Jāqawiyu* further confirms his affiliation with this clerical network.

The reverse of the folio has a similar chain of scholars through which the annotation was transmitted, starting with ‘Amara Touré and ending with ‘Umar Kaba, the shaykh of the manuscript’s scribe. It creates another link to al-Ḥājj Kassama since ‘Amara Touré, according to the chronicles, was one of his teachers in the region. The reference to three scholars may also imply that they were contemporaneous and may serve as evidence of scholarly exchange between them.

<sup>546</sup> MS KTD1.

<sup>547</sup> MS KTD1, di 0025.

<sup>548</sup> The word *j-’-q-y-q-w-y*, following the name of Muḥammad Fāṭim, is not entirely clear and does not seem to be the family name. However, since it ends with *wāw* and *yā’*, it might be a *nisba*. One possible reading is *Jaqaṅqawiyu*, assuming that the final letter of the second syllable *q-y* is *alīf maqṣūra*. An alternative reading is *Jāqawiyu*, considering that the second syllable *q-y*, disconnected from the next one and bearing traces of erasure, was misspelt and should thus be omitted. Both interpretations may be understood as ‘of Jakha’ or ‘Jakhanke’, i.e. belonging to the Jakhanke clerical network. Interestingly, in the manuscripts written by Jakhanke scholars, such affiliation is typically spelt with the initial *zāy* and following *ghayn*, i.e., *Zāghāwiyu* and *Zāghā*. However, in the manuscripts from areas in today’s east Senegal and Mali, it is written with *jīm* and *qāf*, i.e., *Jāqa*.

<sup>549</sup> Possibly, it is *Madhkal* of Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Fāsī (d. 737/1336), a ‘work on Islamic morality and praxis’ (Hunwick 2003b, 67).



In the manuscripts' following folios, one of the glosses in the *takhmīs* by Ibn Mahīb is referenced as '*ajamī min fam al-Ḥājj Kassama* 'non-Arabic from the mouth of al-Ḥājj Kassama'.<sup>550</sup> In this case, identification with the Jakhanke scholar in question is possible, although problematic, without any further evidence.

Finally, a manuscript with the text on jurisprudence, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar*, has one annotation sourced as *sami'atu min shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama* 'I heard it from the shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama'.<sup>551</sup> Despite this text being absent from the Jakhanke curriculum, the chronicles record that al-Ḥājj Kassama studied it under the scholars of Kunjuru. Perhaps this explains why he is mentioned in a manuscript produced in the area.<sup>552</sup> However, it is also reasonable to assume that the reference concerns another al-Ḥājj Kassama.

### *Mentions of al-Ḥājj Kassama in Jula manuscripts*

Al-Ḥājj Sālīm Kassama's connections also extended to Jula scholars of the eastern branch of the Suwarian tradition. Potential evidence comes from a manuscript identified in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. It contains an unidentified poem with occasional annotations in Jula Ajami and Arabic. One Arabic annotation, providing information on Anas b. Mālīk, ends with *sami'nā li-shaykhinā ismuhu al-Ḥājj (al-Ḥājj) Kassama nisbā* 'we listened to / we heard [it] from our shaykh, his name is al-Ḥājj, and Kassama is his lineage'.<sup>553</sup>

According to the colophon, this manuscript's owner was Faramori, said Bakarakara, b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Ṣadīq b. Sa'īd b. al-Muṣṭafa Saghanogho. Further, Sa'īd b. al-Muṣṭafa from this sequence appears in the genealogy of another person who wrote and owned a manuscript annotated in Jula Ajami, al-Ḥājjība b. Sa'īd b. al-Muṣṭafa b. 'Abbas b. al-Muṣṭafa b. al-Ḥājj 'Uthmān Saghanogho.<sup>554</sup> Each owner's genealogy in the colophons comprises five preceding generations, implying that Faramori Saganogho one lived later than Al-Ḥājjība. Yet both evidently descend from the same Sa'īd, the son of al-Muṣṭafa b. 'Abbas b. al-Muṣṭafa.

While nothing is known of the manuscripts owners, Sa'īd b. al-Muṣṭafa from these genealogies features several Jula teaching chains ascending to al-Ḥājj Sālīm Suware.<sup>555</sup> His grandfather 'Abbas b. al-Muṣṭafa was a highly revered scholar among Jula, and features thirty-four teaching chain lists (*isnād*).<sup>556</sup> He was born in Boron, Ivory Coast and died in ca. 1776.<sup>557</sup> In turn, the son of the latter and Sa'īd Saghanogho's father, al-Muṣṭafa b. 'Abbas, was an imam and teacher in Bobo-Dioulasso

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<sup>550</sup> MS KTD1, di 0534.

<sup>551</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.359, f. 445b.

<sup>552</sup> Also, the timeline seems plausible: as discussed above, al-Ḥājj Sālīm travelled in the pursuit of knowledge around the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the manuscript in question was likely produced around the same time.

<sup>553</sup> MS BF, di 4475.

<sup>554</sup> BnF Arabe 5623, ff 118b–136a. This manuscript can be dated to the late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>555</sup> E.g., IASAR 175, a photocopy kept at the Northwestern University Herskovits library.

<sup>556</sup> Wilks 2000, 109 and 1968, 173.

<sup>557</sup> Wilks 1968, 173.

in around 1746.<sup>558</sup> He was thus contemporary to al-Ḥājj Kassama and, according to some chronicles, went teaching to Samatiguila at the invitation of Kassama scholars.<sup>559</sup>

The scholarly connections between the two lineages lend credibility to the reference to al-Ḥājj Kassama in Faramori Saghanogo's manuscript. Yet, this commentary in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript could not have directly received from the Jakhanke scholar. However, there is still a possibility is that it was copied from an earlier manuscript.

### *Works authored by al-Ḥājj Kassama*

There is some ambiguous evidence about al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama's literary production. For instance, Thomas Hunter notes that the Jakhanke sources do not mention any texts by al-Ḥājj Kassama. He nevertheless credits him with a poem, *Mar'a al-ṭullāb* 'Wife of the Students', found in the manuscripts of the Jula libraries of the Ivory Coast.<sup>560</sup> The libraries' description lists record its author as either *al-Ḥājj Sālim* or *al-Ḥājj Kasamanī*.<sup>561</sup> In addition, these lists mention *Futūḥ al-ribāniyya* 'Triumph of the divine' by *al-Ḥājj b. Muḥammad al-Zaghawiyi al-Kasamānī*;<sup>562</sup> This devotional poem also appears among the manuscripts presently kept in Niamey, Niger.<sup>563</sup>

On the contrary, Abdoul Kader Sylla attests that some of al-Ḥājj Kassama's biographies do provide titles of his compositions. Unfortunately, Sylla only quotes three of them: *Aqīdā al-marḍiyat*, *Mir'āt al-ṭullāb* and *Ṣalāt al-nuraniyya*.<sup>564</sup>

In the current corpus, the manuscript unit TCD 2689, ff 108a–138b, produced probably in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, is a copy of *Mir'āt al-ṭullāb* 'Looking Glass of the Students' composed by *al-Ḥājj Sālim al-Zāghāwiyi al-Kasanmiyu al-Maghribī* in 1217/1803.<sup>565</sup> The complete name in the preface leaves virtually no doubts about the author's identity. The manuscript contains numerous glosses in Soninke and some in Mandinka. Another copy of this text written in 1908 with abundant annotations in Arabic and sporadic glosses in Manding is among manuscripts of Mamma Haïdara library, Timbuktu, Mali.<sup>566</sup> Glosses imply that *Mar'a/Mir'ā al-ṭullāb* was introduced into the scholarly curriculum. Numerous copies and their diverse geographical and temporal origins testify to this text's spread and popularity.

Furthermore, one manuscript of this corpus contains a text by *al-Ḥājj Sālim b. Muḥammad al-Kasamaniyu* which, as stated in the preface, was based on two theological works by al-Sanūsī (d.

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<sup>558</sup> Wilks 1968, 174, 181–2.

<sup>559</sup> Wilks 1968, 174.

<sup>560</sup> Hunter 1977, 261.

<sup>561</sup> Paul Marty provides reproductions of manuscripts, itemizing libraries from several localities in the Ivory Coast: Samatiguila, Touba and Férentela (Marty 1922, annexe v, vi, and vii). The Samatiguila manuscript mentions only the title, *Mir'ā' al-ṭullāb*, but not the author. The manuscripts from Touba and Férentela record the author's name as *al-Ḥājj Sālim* and *al-Ḥājj Kasamanī*, respectively.

<sup>562</sup> Hunter 1977, 261, and Marty 1922, annexe viii (Guentéguela).

<sup>563</sup> ALA IV 48.

<sup>564</sup> Sylla 2012, 367. For instance, he refers to a biography by Cheikh Mballo Fodé Diaby-Gassama, the grand-son of 'Abd al-Qādir Quṭb Kassama.

<sup>565</sup> See Chapter 3 for details.

<sup>566</sup> MS SAV MH 036003. See the inventory list <[https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/timbuktu/handlists\\_e.html](https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/timbuktu/handlists_e.html)> (last consulted June 2020). I thank Dr Banzoumana Traoré for drawing my attention to this manuscript and providing me with pictures.

892/1486) and Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī.<sup>567</sup> This text could probably be *‘Aqīdā al-marḍiya* mentioned by Sylla.

Finally, al-Ḥājj Sālīm Kassama might deserve credit for a praise poem. The poem, which has no title, is authored by *Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj b. Muḥammad al-Zaghawiyi al-Kasanmā al-Maghribī*.<sup>568</sup> It consists of groups of five verses where each hemistich ends with *‘(lam) najri’*.

Muḥammad Fāṭim Kassama (d. 1750, 1770 or 1795)<sup>569</sup>

1. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)

BULAC MS.ARA.112b: 1

The name Muḥammad Fāṭim, al-Ḥājj Kassama’s father, appears only once in this corpus after a comment to *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* suggesting a possible name for the ant who spoke to Solomon (TQ27:18).<sup>570</sup> Muḥammad Fāṭim’s comment must have passed through a chain of transmission before reaching the manuscript’s scribe, who lived in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This transmission chain most likely included al-Ḥājj Kassama, also mentioned in the same manuscript.

Both scholars feature the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* teaching chain ascending to al-Ḥājj Salim Suware, as eleventh and thirteenth transmissions, respectively.<sup>571</sup> The chronicles also record that Muḥammad Fāṭim (d. 1750/1770 or 1795) from Didécoto in Bundu, taught ‘Uthmān Derri, or Gharī, from Niyani, who in turn instructed al-Ḥājj Sālīm.<sup>572</sup> It appears from the *Tafsīr* manuscript, however, that he was familiar with his father’s teachings even without studying directly with him.

‘Uthman Kaba (d. 1890)

1. *Kitāb al-shifā’ bi-ta’rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* by al-Qaḍī ‘Iyād (d. 544/1149): biography of the prophet (*sīra*)

BULAC MS.ARA.165a: 2

2. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)

BULAC MS.ARA.112b: 1

The references *sami’ tuhu min shaykhī ‘Uthmān Kabāwiyu* ‘I heard it from my shaykh ‘Uthmān Kaba’ are found in the same manuscript with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, which mentions the two Kassama scholars. His comments (Arabic and Soninke) are found in a manuscript with *Kitāb al-shifā’* by al-Qaḍī ‘Iyād. This text of the advanced curriculum was only studied (and taught) by a few scholars, which testifies to ‘Uthmān Kaba’s high qualification. He was most likely a student of al-Ḥājj Sālīm

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<sup>567</sup> BnF Arabe 5647, ff 86a–88b.

<sup>568</sup> Two copies of the poem are JRL MS 780[825], ff 48–49 and 50–51. The second manuscript, however, spells the clan name as *al-Kasamā*.

<sup>569</sup> The earlier and later years of Muḥammad Faṭim’s death are according to Sanneh 1974, 170, and Hunter 1977, 195, respectively.

<sup>570</sup> See detailed discussion in Chapter 6.

<sup>571</sup> Fonds Curtin, document n.22 is the microfilm of *silsila tafsīr al-Qur’ān*. Hunter also discovered several similar manuscripts in the private collections of scholars in The Gambia (Hunter 1977, 24).

<sup>572</sup> Hunter 1977, 195.

Kassama.<sup>573</sup> Hunter traces his teaching activity to Medina Kuta and Diakha in Niokolo (Eastern Senegal).<sup>574</sup> However, according to its colophon, the *Tafsīr* manuscript mentioning Uthmān Kaba, was written in Bani Isra'ila, in Bundu (Eastern Senegal).<sup>575</sup>

Muḥammad Khayrabā Kassama (*fl.* ca. mid-18<sup>th</sup>–first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> cent.)

1. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*: Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)

MSS AAN2: 1

2. *al-Risāla al-Qayrawānīyya*: jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

MS ZOC1: 1

Mentions of Muḥammad Khayraba (Manding for 'great peace') are less frequent than other Kassama scholars. This scholar's nickname allows for two possible identifications. One Muḥammad Khayraba was al-Ḥājj Kassama's senior student, who, despite sharing the same clanic name, had no kinship connection with him.<sup>576</sup> On the contrary, the second person with such a name was al-Ḥājj Kassama's brother and the son of Muḥammad Fāṭim. He reportedly founded a separate branch of the Kassama lineage in Touba, named after him *Khayrabaya*.<sup>577</sup>

Two other individuals named Muḥammad Khayraba are al-Ḥājj Sālim's grandson, born from Muḥammad al-Kabir, and his great-grandson, born from 'Abd al-Qādir Quṭb b Taslīmī.<sup>578</sup> However, their lifetimes seem too late for the manuscripts in question. For instance, the *Tafsīr* manuscript contains references to Muḥammad Khayraba, al-Ḥājj Kassama, as well as Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware.<sup>579</sup> The expression *barrada Allāh ḍarīḥahu* 'May God cool his grave' follows the names of the first two scholars, indicating that they were deceased when the scribe wrote the annotations. Lacking a similar invocation for Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, who lived around the mid-/second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, one may infer that the annotations were added while he was still alive. According to this chronology, we can estimate Muhammad Khayraba's death and the manuscript's production.

Muḥammad Kassama (*fl.* ca. second half of the 18<sup>th</sup>–mid-19<sup>th</sup> century)

1. *Takhmīs al- 'Ishrīnīyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb: devotional poetry

MS EAP 1042/1/1: 3

MS ZAC1: 1

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<sup>573</sup> Sanneh provides a list of the students who accompanied al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama in his travels which includes the name Fode 'Utmān Kaba (Sanneh 1974, 177). Hunter probably referred to the same scholar in his reconstruction of the dissemination of Touba's teachings (Hunter 1977, 292).

<sup>574</sup> Hunter 1977, 292. Further, he mentions 'Uthmān Kaba as a famous teacher in Pakao (*Idem.*, 472).

<sup>575</sup> See Ogorodnikova 2016, 18–20.

<sup>576</sup> Hunter 1977, 254 and 261. See also Touba's learning dissemination lines on p. 292.

<sup>577</sup> The branch of al-Ḥājj Sālim was named *Karambaya*, and collaborated closely with *Khayrabaya* (Sanneh 1974, 130 n3, 373).

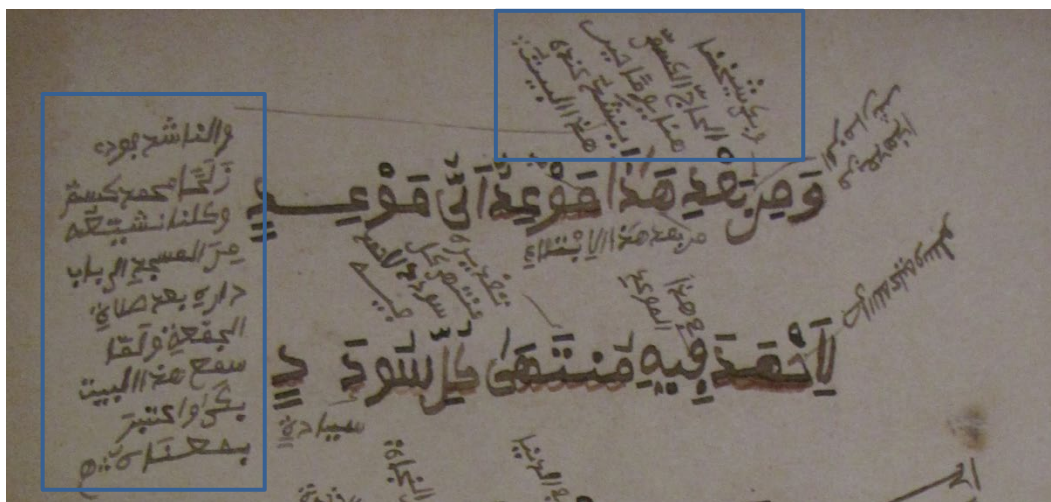
<sup>578</sup> Marty 1921, 546 and 111; Sanneh 1981, 123.

<sup>579</sup> MS AAN1, p. 130, p. 50, and p. 186, respectively. The annotations in question are written in the same hand as the main text. There is another layer of annotations written in different ink and at a later time referring to al-Ḥājj Sālim, Muḥammad Taslīmī, and 'Abd al-Qādir Quṭb Kassama.

2. *al-Ājurrūmiyya* by Ibn Ājurrūm (d.1223): grammar (*nahw*)  
MS ZMC2: 3

There are a number of individuals named Muḥammad Kassama, making identification problematic. Al-Ḥājj Sālīm's sons were all named Muḥammad with different nicknames, these nicknames being often mentioned in the manuscript's references.<sup>580</sup> Another possibility is that Muḥammad Kassama might have been an alternative appellation of Muḥammad Khayraba (Kassama).

Annotations labelled as *sami'anāhu min* 'we heard it from' and *min fam* 'from the mouth [of]' *shaykhinā Muḥammad al-Kasanmiyu* 'our shaykh Muḥammad Kassama' appear in a manuscript approximately dated to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>581</sup> These opening phrases suggest that the annotations were derived directly from Kassama's spoken words and direct interactions with the manuscript's scribe. Yet, in another manuscript, perhaps a later 19<sup>th</sup>-century copy, his name is followed by a supplication for a deceased person.<sup>582</sup> Therefore, Muḥammad Kassama's floruit can be tentatively estimated between the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.



**Figure 27.** Marginal annotation reflecting scholarly interactions between al-Ḥājj Kassama and Muḥammad Kassama. Senegal, Ziguinchor, MS ZAC1, di 3077.

Some marginal notes suggest that Muammad Kassama was contemporary to al-Ḥājj Sālīm. The note is attached to the verse *wa min ba'da hadhā [al-ibtīlā'] mau'id ilā mau'id li-Aḥmad fīhi muntahā kull sūdad* 'and after this [affliction/tribulation, there is] a promise of a time of the utmost glory/supremacy for Aḥmad', and it reads (Fig. 27):

*Wa bakā shaykhunā al-Ḥājj al-Kasammā hunā yaumān ḥīna yunshadu 'indahu hadhā-l-bayt.*

<sup>580</sup> For instance, the obituary in BL MS Or. 6473, f. 105b, mentions four of al-Ḥājj Sālīm's sons: *Muḥammad Bā* (i.e., Muḥammad al-Kabīr), *Muḥammad Taslīmān* (i.e., Muḥammad Taslīmī), *Muḥammad Za'aka* (i.e., Muḥammad Jakha) and *Muḥammad Bukhārā* (i.e., Muḥammad Bukharī). The latter appears also in the colophon in BnF Arabe 5566, f. 138, and in a few other manuscripts (see Chapter 4).

<sup>581</sup> MS EAP 1042/1/1. The paper of the manuscript has a watermarked date '1822'.

<sup>582</sup> MS ZMC2, e.g., di 6805. See Appendix IV.

‘Our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama sighed/cried, the day this verse was recited in his presence.’

*Wa al-nāshid fūdī zalaḥān(?) Muḥammad Kasamma wa kullnā nushayyi ‘uhu mina al-masjid ilā bāb dārihi ba ‘da ṣalāt al-jum‘a wa lammā sami ‘a hādhā-’l-bayt bakā wa i ‘tabara bi-ma ‘nāhu.*

‘And the one reciting [was] **fóodée** Muḥammad Kassama. All of us escorted him (i.e., al-Ḥājj Kassama) from the mosque to the door of his house after the Friday prayer. And when he heard this verse, he sighed and pondered on / drew a lesson from its meaning.’

Muḥammad Kassama is not mentioned again in this manuscript, unless he is also referred to as Muḥammad Taslīmī.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Kassama, known as Taslīmī (1776–1829 or 1800–1848/52/55)

1. *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb: devotional poetry  
MS ZAC1: 4

2. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)  
MSS AAN1–2: 2

3. *Risāla fī anwā‘ al-kufr* by Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar: theology (*tawḥīd*)  
BL MS Or. 6374, ff 78b–93b: 1

4. *Kitāb al-zuhd* by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
MS ZMC8: 1

Marginal references to one of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama’s sons, known as Taslīmī, usually occur without mentioning his lineage name. Possibly his honorific nickname was enough to identify him. Some references include Taslīmī’s genealogical details, helping confirm the identification: *min fam shaykhinā Muḥammad al-Taslīmī b. al-faqīh al-Ḥā[jj]* ‘from the mouth of our shaykh Muḥammad Taslīmī, son of the jurist al-Ḥājj’ or *kadh naqalahu min fam shaykhī ‘urifa bi-Quṭb b. Taslīmī* ‘thus I have transferred it from the mouth of my shaykh known as Quṭb’.<sup>583</sup>

Manuscript references suggest that some of Muhammad Taslīmī’s disciples were his own children. One example is as follows:<sup>584</sup>

*Qāla shaykhunā jāmi‘ al-funūn Nūḥ al-Fulānī sami ‘tuhu min shaykhī ‘urifa bi-Quṭb b. Muḥammad al-Taslīmī annahu sami ‘ahu min wālidīhi.*

<sup>583</sup> MS ZMC8, di 7298, and MS AAN1, p. 7 (di 0566).

<sup>584</sup> AAN2 p. 15 (di 1635). A reference on AAN1 p. 11 (0570) is phrased similarly: *sami ‘tuhu min shaykhī ‘Abd al-Qadīr wa huwa sami ‘ahu min wālidīhi Muḥammad ‘urifa bi Taslīmī* ‘I heard it from my shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadīr, and he heard it from his father Muḥammad, known as Taslīmī’.

‘Said our shaykh, the gatherer of scientific disciplines, Nūḥ al-Fulānī. I heard it from my shaykh, known as Quṭb, son of Taslīmī, that he heard it from his parent’.<sup>585</sup>

Marty’s account of scholars in Touba confirms that ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama (1830–1905) studied under his father, Taslīmī.<sup>586</sup> However, some ambiguities in dating Taslīmī’s lifespan make it unclear whether the verb *sami‘a* ‘he heard’ actually describes immediate (oral/aural) transmission from Taslīmī to ‘Abd al-Qādir.<sup>587</sup>

The proposed chronologies imply that ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama was either relatively young (18/22/25 years old) or not even born when his father died.<sup>588</sup> As for the first case, Hunter notes that members of prominent scholarly families could complete the text of *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* before the age of thirty.<sup>589</sup> Hence, direct oral transmission from father to son is not improbable. In fact, the reference in question may support later dates of Taslīmī’s death.

The commentary in question might also uncover connections that existed between Alfa Nūḥ and Muḥammad Taslīmī not documented in other sources.<sup>590</sup> Alternatively, the transmission sequence in the reference is incomplete, as it might have included al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama as an intermediate link between Nuḥ al-Fulānī to and Muḥammad Taslīmī.<sup>591</sup>

The following is another reference to Muḥammad Taslīmī (Fig. 28): *sami‘tuhu min wālidi Muḥammad Taslīmī* ‘I heard it from my parent Muḥammad Taslīmī’.<sup>592</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> The praising phrase *jāmi‘ al-funūn* ‘gatherer of scientific disciplines’ is probably used to underline his proficiency in all major religious sciences, which, according to the chronicles, he mastered in the amount of forty (*ḥafīz ‘arba‘ina fanna min funūn*), see Sanneh 2016, 133.

<sup>586</sup> Marty 1921, 130.

<sup>587</sup> Hirschler (2013, 13) underlines that in the context of the medieval Arabic manuscript tradition, the term *sami‘a* might be more indicative of the authorised transmission of the text rather than of the mode of reception. This term might refer to purely aural but also to visual mode such as, for instance, individual reading. See also the discussion in Chapter 6.

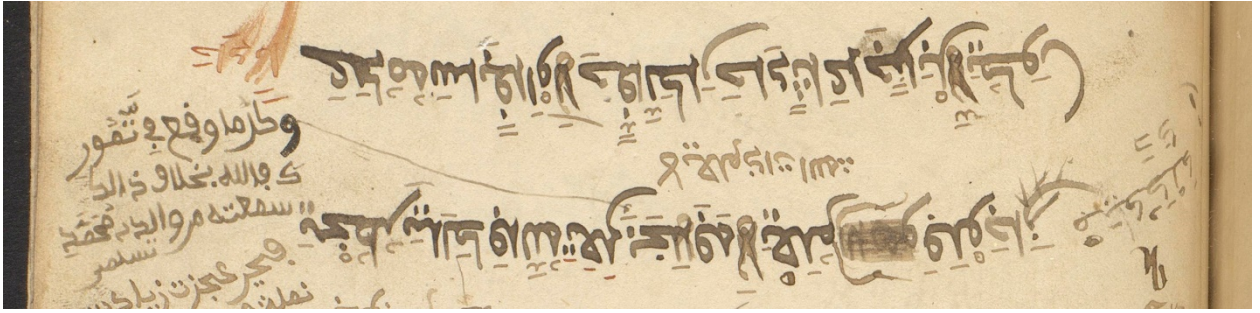
<sup>588</sup> Secondary sources generally agree on the ‘Abd al-Qādir’s life dates: 1830 to 1905. The dates of life of Muḥammad Taslīmī differ in various sources. Arabic chronicles mention that Muḥammad Taslīmī’s age at death was fifty-five years (Hunter 1976, 445; Sanneh 1981, 120). Marty calculates the year of birth as 1800 and death as 1848 (Marty 1921, 547). Hunter places Taslīmī’s passing even further in 1852 (Hunter 1977, 261). In his earlier work, Sanneh suggests that Taslīmī was born in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (i.e., around 1800) and died by 1855 (Sanneh 1974, 178 and 201). However, his later calculations shifted this timeline to 1776–1829 (Sanneh 2016, 272).

<sup>589</sup> Hunter 1977, 325.

<sup>590</sup> The oral accounts mention that Muḥammad Taslīmī travelled to Mauritania to reaffirm the *wird* he originally received from his father (Hunter 1977, 263). See also Marty 1921, 108, 130.

<sup>591</sup> As mentioned previously, there is written evidence that Alfa Nūḥ was one of the most influential teachers of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama.

<sup>592</sup> BL MS Or. 6374, f. 82b.



**Figure 28.** Marginal comment written by one of the sons of Muḥammad Taslīmī. UK, London, BL MS Or. 6374. f. 82b.

The hand is the same for annotation and the main text of *Risāla fī anwāʿ al-kufr*, suggesting that this manuscript unit (ff 78b–93b) resulted from the learning activity of one of Muḥammad Taslīmī’s sons.<sup>593</sup> Unfortunately, no further information on the scribe’s identity can be obtained from the manuscript because it is incomplete and lacks a colophon.

In a few instances, the name of Muḥammad Taslīmī is accompanied by the honorific *walī*, marking advanced master status in standard Sufī terminology.<sup>594</sup> The term is used in the Jakhanke milieu to describe a well-known scholar who also possesses significant spiritual powers.<sup>595</sup> In addition, as Skinner notes, most of the *walīs* were highly literate in Arabic and other religious disciplines.<sup>596</sup>

ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad Taslīmī Kassama, known as Quṭb (1830–1905)

1. *Takhmīs al-ʿIshrīnīyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb: devotional poetry

MS ZAC1: 3

2. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)

MSS AAN1–2: 5

3. *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* by Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 829/1427): jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

MS ZAC2: 2

4. *Nafaḥāt al-qudsiyya* by Ibn Bāsdīs (d. 787/1385): Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)

MS ZMC7: 1

5. *Dāliyyat al-Yūsī* by Ḥasan b. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d. 1102/1691): Sufism (*taṣawwuf*).

MS EAP 1042/4/1: 5

Secondary sources stressed ʿAbd al-Qādir Kassama’s reputation as an esteemed scholar and teacher. His prominence is evident from the large number of references distributed among five manuscripts of this corpus (the second highest number after al-Ḥājj Sālīm). The activities of ʿAbd al-Qādir Quṭb took place in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and were mainly associated with

<sup>593</sup> Marty lists fifteen names (Marty 1921, 547).

<sup>594</sup> E.g., MS ZAC1, di 2850. The word *walīy* is primarily translated as a ‘Friend of God’ or a ‘saint’. See, for example, Chittick 1989; Green 2012; Knysch 2000.

<sup>595</sup> Hunter 1977, 384.

<sup>596</sup> Skinner 1976, 506.



the scholarly centre of Touba.<sup>597</sup> According to Sanneh, he received his education there.<sup>598</sup> As seen in the previous section, he probably studied under his father, Taslīmī.

‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama’s honorific name *Qutb* (Qutubo), which serves as his reference name, points to his affiliation with the Sufi tradition. He belonged to the Qādiriyya order and received confirmation of the *wird* during his travel to Mauritania in about 1868 from Sīdī Muḥammad b. Shaykh Sīdiyya al-Kabīr.<sup>599</sup> This affiliation is reflected in the curriculum of texts he taught, which includes a poem by Ibn Bāsūdīs (d. 787/1385) called *Nafaḥāt al-qudsiyya* is dedicated to the founder of Qādiriyya – ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (d. 561/1166) – and his followers.

Title *Qutb* evidences the prolificity of ‘Abd al-Qādir in esoteric sciences. In Sufi terminology, *qutb* ‘(spiritual) pole, axis’ represents the summit in the hierarchy of saints (*awlīya*).<sup>600</sup> Van Hoven notes that the Jakhanke distinguish seven categories according to the various grades of sanctity.<sup>601</sup> Yet, Hunter notes that, while the Jakhanke use the term *qutb* to distinguish shaykhs of higher spiritual power, it may sometimes deviate from its original meaning, and may be used interchangeably with *walī*, in a broader sense of a well-known shaykh.<sup>602</sup>

‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama is reported to have authored some fifteen works on different subject matters.<sup>603</sup> However, no manuscripts with these texts have been found so far.

Maḥmud Cissé b. Muḥammad Siré Cissé (mid-19<sup>th</sup> century)

1. *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* by Ibn ‘Āṣim: jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
MS ZAC2: 21<sup>604</sup>

There is no mention of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Siré Cissé in secondary sources. From this corpus, it follows that he was proficient in Islamic law since he instructed on *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* by Ibn ‘Āṣim.<sup>605</sup> As implied by the kinship term *wālīdī* ‘my father’ preceding his name in the marginal references, his student and manuscript’s scribe was his son, ‘Abd al-Qādir Cissé. The scribe further confirms his kinship to his teacher in the colophon. Also, he refers to his ascendants with Sufi honorifics and explicitly states their affiliation with the Qādiriyya order.<sup>606</sup>

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<sup>597</sup> However, is said to have travelled to several places in Niani, Jarra, Badibu (present-day The Gambia), Pakao and Bundu (southern and eastern Senegal) Senegal; see Sanneh 1974, 203.

<sup>598</sup> Sanneh 2016, 159.

<sup>599</sup> Hunter 1977, 267–8.

<sup>600</sup> See, for example, Chittick 1989; Green 2012; Knysch 2000.

<sup>601</sup> Van Hoven 2003, 298.

<sup>602</sup> Hunter 1977, 384.

<sup>603</sup> Marty 1921, 110.

<sup>604</sup> Some references do not mention Maḥmūd Cissé explicitly. However, since he was the father of the manuscript’s scribe, I included in the count all mentions *shaykhī wālīdī* ‘my shaykh [and] my parent’. There are five more references to *shaykhī* ‘my shaykh’, which are ambiguous and therefore not considered.

<sup>605</sup> This text is studied at the advanced stages of classical Islamic education and by only a minority of scholars (Tamari 2016, 41–2).

<sup>606</sup> Honorifics, such as *al-‘ālim al-‘āllāma* ‘most erudite scholar’, *al-‘ārif bi-‘llāh ta‘alā* ‘cognizant of God Most High’, *al-zāhid* ‘ascetic’, etc. The title *‘ārif [bi-‘llāh]* has the same root as *ma‘rifa [bi-‘llāh]*, various translations of which include ‘knowledge of God’, ‘gnosticism’, ‘intuitive knowledge’, ‘special knowledge’. Chittick, with reference to al-‘Arabī, notes that some Sufi scholars distinguish between two types of knowledge *ma‘rifa* and *‘ilm*: the former can

The Cissé scholars seem associated with the Touba scholarly tradition, as the colophon mentions ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama as a teacher. The quotations of Kassama scholars are found further in the manuscript’s margins, received from oral instruction and copied from handwriting.<sup>607</sup>

One more manuscript from the corpus could add details to the Cissé scholarly lineage.<sup>608</sup> According to the colophon, it was written and owned by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad / b. al-Ḥājj b. Sālim Cissé, honourably nicknamed Muḥammad Siré.<sup>609</sup> This manuscript from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century has references to al-Ḥājj (Kassama) and shaykh Muḥammad Kassama. Muḥammad Siré can potentially be identified as the father of Maḥmūd and grandfather of ‘Abd al-Qādir Cissé. If so, the two manuscripts discussed here witness several generations of the Cissé family studying under Kassama scholars of Touba. In addition, Maḥmūd Cissé’s teaching activities can be located more reliably in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

‘Umar Cissé

1. *Kitāb al-zuhd* by Zayn Abidīn: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
MS ZMC3: 1

‘Umar Cissé is probably associated with the Jakhanke scholarly network of Touba. Inferring these links is possible from the references to ‘Umar Cissé and al-Ḥājj (Kassama) in the margins of the same manuscript.<sup>610</sup> The colophon records the manuscript’s production in the village of Balmadu in Pakao (south Senegal). While the scribe’s name is absent from the colophon, it appears at the end of one annotation penned ‘by the hand of Foodee Kassama’ (*min yad Fudi Qasamā*).<sup>611</sup> Jakhanke chronicles record a person named Foodee Kassama from Laminkoto in Niani (The Gambia) among the disciples of al-Ḥājj Kassama.<sup>612</sup> However, precise identification requires more evidence.

Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm Suware (*fl.* ca. early 19<sup>th</sup>–second half/late 19<sup>th</sup>)

1. *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb: devotional poetry  
MS ZAC1: 26  
MS AAN3: 2

2. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)  
MSS AAN1–2: 6

3. *al-Risāla Qayrawānīyya*: jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

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only be achieved through spiritual practice (Chittick 1989, 148–9). The title thus denotes the highest rank of Sufi masters.

<sup>607</sup> MS ZAC2, di 3918, and di 4056. The reference says *min khaṭṭ shaykhī ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Kasanmā* ‘from handwriting of my shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama’.

<sup>608</sup> MS EAP 1042/1/1.

<sup>609</sup> The colophon records the name as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sālim Cissé, but the patronym apparently should be either replaced or complemented by al-Ḥājj, which is inserted in the margins and marked as *ṣahḥ* ‘correct’.

<sup>610</sup> MS ZMC3, di 6867 and 6889, respectively.

<sup>611</sup> Interestingly, the colophon, which states that the owner and scribe are different, only refers to the former. MS ZMC3, di 6875.

<sup>612</sup> Sanneh 1974, 177.

Mentions of Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware appear in four manuscripts, three of which refer to members of the Kassama lineage as well. Hence, it is possible to assume Muḥammad al-Amīn's connections to the scholarly network of Touba. His alleged residence in Touba is further confirmed in one of the references: *qālahu shaykhī wa abī wa mu'allimī wa ustādhi Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāriwiyu Ṭūbāwī Fūtī zamanā* 'said my shaykh and my father, my teacher and my master Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware in the country of Touba, in Futa [Jallon]'.<sup>613</sup> In another instance, the scholar's residence is attached to his name: *Muḥammad al-Amīn Ṭūbā* 'Muḥammad al-Amīn of Touba'.<sup>614</sup>

Two manuscripts contain texts of his authorship (without Ajami glosses). One of them is a 'treatise on the forbidden nature of butchering and eating animals that have died of natural causes' (*Qiṣṣat al-dhabḥ li-'l-mayt wa taḥrīm aklihi*).<sup>615</sup> The name of the author, provided in the concluding lines, reads: *Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware fī Ṭūbā* 'Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware in Touba'. The margins contain the name of his father added in smaller letters: *Fūdī Ibrāhīm Suware Zagḥāwiyu* 'fòodée Ibrāhīm Suware of Jakhanke'. It is also likely that Muḥammad al-Amīn wrote this manuscript himself.<sup>616</sup>

Furthermore, Thomas Hunter mentions a poem, which is included in the Jakhanke scholarly curriculum, entitled *Ṣalāt rabbī / Wasīla al-malhūf* authored by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan Sillā and Muḥammad Yadālī Sillā / Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri.<sup>617</sup> Possibly this composition is to be equated with a *takhmīs* on *Qaṣīda mimiyya fī madḥ al-nabī* by Mauritanian author Muḥammad al-Yadālī' (d. 1166/1752–3).<sup>618</sup> According to its preface, it is composed by *Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Qādirī al-Suwārī al-Zāghawī al-Mālikī*. The colophon provides the author's name and poem's title once more:

*Kumila takhmīs ṣalāt rabbī min madḥ al-nabī ṣalla-'llāh 'alayhi wa sallama wa mukhammasuhu Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Zāghāwī wa al-Ṭūbāwī waṭanān al-Suwārī nisbān al-Fūta Jalī baladān al-Mālikī madhhabān.*

'Finished *takhmīs* [entitled] *Ṣalāt rabbī min madḥ al-nabī*, may God honour him and grant him peace, composed by Muḥammad b. Ibrahim b. 'Abd al-Qādir of Jakhanke,

<sup>613</sup> MS ZAC1, di 3029.

<sup>614</sup> MS ZAC1, di 3165.

<sup>615</sup> BL Or. MS 6473, ff 188a–189b. The title and description were provided by Paul J. Naylor in his handouts for the third OMRN meeting in April 2015. As discussed previously, one of the manuscript units of the composite BL MS Or. 6473 has a text concerning the death of al-Ḥājj Kassama, as well as a few other units with references to Kassama scholars.

<sup>616</sup> The colophon does not contain any indications about the scribe or the owner; however, the name Lamin (al-Amīn) Suware occurs on the very last line, in a smaller script and without vocalisation (*L-m-n S-w-r-y*).

<sup>617</sup> See Hunter 1977, 307. This record seems ambiguous whether it concerns a single poem or two different: one written by Silla scholars and the other by Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan Sillā, otherwise known as Ibrāhīm Maryam (d. 1855), is reported to have written a *takhmīs* on Mauritanian Muḥammad al-Yadālī's poem (Sylla 2012, 208). However, it is unclear whether in Hunter's entry, there is a confusion, which resulted in naming the second author Muḥammad Yadālī Sillā. Or, this latter might have been a real scholar since some Silla link ascend themselves to a certain Muḥammad al-Yadālī of Morocco (*Idem.*, 166).

<sup>618</sup> BnF Arabe 5707, ff 120a–128b. On the Mauritanian Muḥammad al-Yadālī and his poem, see Hall and Stewart 2011, 163.

resident of Touba and Suware by descent, [from the] region of Futa Jallon, and belonging to the Māliki law school.’

Hunwick’s survey classifies this author among the scholars of Masina.<sup>619</sup> This is certainly correct if one assumes *al-Zāghāwī* as a geographical indication, i.e., from the town of Jakha in Masina. However, the scribe clearly states the author’s origin from Touba in Fouta Jallon.<sup>620</sup> Thus, *al-Zāghāwī* should rather be understood in the sense of affiliation to the Jakhanke clerical community.

Genealogical data from the preface and colophon confirm that it is the same Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware referred to in other manuscripts discussed above. Moreover, it allows us to complement Muḥammad al-Amīn’s genealogy for one generation, up to his grandfather: Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Qādir. This sequence corresponds to the genealogical line of the Suware lineage – the fifth to seventh entries after al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware.<sup>621</sup> The time span of Muhammad al-Amin’s lifespan can therefore be estimated from early to second the half/late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Such a chronology might also explain mentions of him appearing alongside those of Muḥammad Taslīmī and ‘Adb al-Qādir Quṭb.

Oral accounts collected by Sanneh and Hunter corroborate the estimations based on manuscript sources. According to these accounts, Muḥammad al-Amīn’s father – Ibrāhīm Suware – moved to Touba from Silla Kunda / Medina Kuta in Niokolo (Eastern Senegal) to study with al-Ḥājj Kassama. In turn, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware studied under Muḥammad Taslīmī.<sup>622</sup> Some of Hunter’s informants testify that he even rivalled his teacher with his knowledge.<sup>623</sup> Several honorific epithets accompany his name in manuscript references, such as *al-naḥwī* ‘grammarian’, *al-qawiyi* ‘all-strong’, *al-Qur’ānī* ‘connoisseur of the Qur’an’.<sup>624</sup> These titles emphasise the wide range of his expertise. In another instance, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri is referred to as *shaykh ahl al-taṣawwuf* ‘shaykh of the Sufis’, meaning that he was a Sufi and possessed esoteric knowledge.<sup>625</sup>

The Suware family established their own *majlis* in Touba, independent of the one held by Kassama. Muḥammad al-Amīn’s son, named Muḥammad Sanūsī, was a prominent scholar in Touba until about the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when he moved to Sumbundu in Pakao with his students.<sup>626</sup> The manuscripts examined suggest that Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware had at least two more children. First, the chronicles of the Suware lineage (*Tarīkh Suwāri*) record a certain Maḥmūd in the following generation after Muḥammad al-Amīn. However, no further information about him

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<sup>619</sup> ALA IV 49

<sup>620</sup> The manuscript BnF Arabe 5707, ff 120a–128b, was written in <si’ nu balel>, which probably can be interpreted as Seno Palel in Futa Toro (Senegal). The poem by Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware is arranged in a wide-spaced layout and contains numerous annotations in Arabic, potentially indicating its use in the educational context.

<sup>621</sup> Fonds Curtin, document n.14. Hunter provides a similar list in Table 3 (Hunter 1977, 33).

<sup>622</sup> Sanneh 1974, 357; Hunter 1977, 286.

<sup>623</sup> It should be noted, however, that Hunter collected oral accounts from members of the Suware lineage.

<sup>624</sup> MS ZAC1, di 2994.

<sup>625</sup> MS ZAC1, di 3237.

<sup>626</sup> Hunter 1977, 286.

is available. Second, there is a letter which Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware in Touba addressed to his son, Arafan Bakari *Kala* in Suwarekunda.<sup>627</sup>

This latter person can probably be identified as the scribe of a manuscript with *al-Risāla*. The manuscript's margins have quotations of Muḥammad al-Amīn and multiple annotations written by hand (*min yad*) of Abū Bakr Ṣadīq b. Muḥammad Suware. The scribe's *nasab* suggests kinship to his teacher, but no other evidence is found elsewhere in this manuscript.

Further, the scribes of two manuscripts with the devotional poem by Ibn Mahīb refer to Muḥammad al-Amīn as *ustādhī*, *mu'allimī* 'my teacher', and also *abī* 'my father' or *wālidī* 'my parent'.<sup>628</sup> Unfortunately, lacking any information on the scribes or the places of production, suggestions about which of Muḥammad al-Amīn's sons wrote these manuscripts would only be guesswork.

The manuscripts written by Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware's son(s) abound in quotations from Kassama teachers, signalling the continuous interconnection between the two lineages across at least three scholarly generations.

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Silla

1. *al-Risāla al-Qayrawānīyya*: jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

MS ZOC1: 3

Abū Bakr Suware, who studied the text of *al-Risāla* with his father, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, apparently had another teacher for this text to whom he refers as *ustādhī wa shaykhī Ibrāhīm Sīla b. Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm* 'my master and my shaykh Ibrāhīm Silla b. Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm'.<sup>629</sup>

The identification of this scholar remains problematic. There are named Ibrāhīm from the Silla family of Bani Isra'ila in Bundu, both studied under al-Ḥājj Kassama. These are Ibrāhīm Amina Silla (d. 1837) and Ibrāhīm Maryam b. al-Ḥassan Silla (d. 1855).<sup>630</sup> However, the patronyms do not match. Further, Hunter also provides Silla's genealogical list in which one finds a certain Ibrāhīm Silla b. Muḥammad Sanūsī b. Ibrāhīm (Maryam).<sup>631</sup> However, the floruit of this person corresponds to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The scribe of the manuscript produced sometime in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was unlikely to refer to this person as a teacher.

Another possible match is a certain Ibrāhīm Silla from Janna/Diana in Pakao, whom Sanneh lists as a student of al-Ḥājj Kassama.<sup>632</sup> He comes from a Silla lineage different from that of Bani Isra'ila. Finally, the scribe of the manuscript with a praise poem by al-Amīn Suware was a certain

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<sup>627</sup> Paul Naylor presented this letter in BL MS Or. 6374, f. 190, at one of the OMRN meetings in April 2015. The name Bakari is a local variant of Abū Bakr. The meaning of *Kala* is unclear, but it could be a nickname or the name of Abū Bakr's mother. The place is most likely Suwarekunda in Badibu, The Gambia.

<sup>628</sup> MS ZAC1 and MS AAN3. However, MS AAN3 has only two annotations ascribed to Muḥammad al-Amīn, and one of them is almost identical to an annotation in MS ZAC1.

<sup>629</sup> MS ZOC1, di 5345, and di 5448.

<sup>630</sup> Hunter 1977, 292.

<sup>631</sup> *Idem.*, 158.

<sup>632</sup> Sanneh 1974, 177.

Rashīd b. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn wrote it for the shaykh Ibrāhīm Silla from Fougoumba in Futa Jallon.<sup>633</sup> It might be that it was the same Ibrāhīm Silla as discussed in this section.

### Scholarly network of Touba: Overview

Approximately twenty manuscripts can be connected, as they contain references to al-Ḥājj Kassama, his descendants or students. The manuscripts were, thus, produced within a distinct scholarly tradition which covers a vast geographical area. The origin of several manuscripts is likely to be located in Touba since they resulted from learning activities with teachers at this scholarly centre. For instance, according to the marginal annotation in one manuscript, it was written at the *madrassa* ('school') of 'Abd al-Qādir Quṭb.<sup>634</sup> A few more manuscripts were produced by the offspring of Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware and Muḥammad Taslīmī, who both resided and taught in Touba.<sup>635</sup> Some other manuscripts originate historical region of Pakao (present-day southern Senegal),<sup>636</sup> Bundu (eastern Senegal),<sup>637</sup> and Koumbia (northern areas of Guinea).<sup>638</sup> The correlations between Jakhanke scholars and manuscripts are summarised in Appendix III.

References to local scholars appear in the manuscripts with texts from the core curriculum discussed in Chapter 3. Further, it is possible to better understand each scholar's specialization by establishing the sets of texts they taught.<sup>639</sup> Several texts from the examined curriculum imply the affiliation to Sufism, particularly the Qādiriyya order. In addition, this connection may be confirmed in the scholar's *nisbas* (*al-Qādirī*), honorific titles (*walī*, *quṭb*), or through some scholarly connections reflected in references (e.g., Nūḥ al-Fulānī).

Many scholars discussed here taught several texts on different subject matters.<sup>640</sup> In addition, many are quoted in manuscripts with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, the 'ultimate subject of the curriculum' and 'only studied by a minority of erudite scholars'.<sup>641</sup> Accordingly, these instructors were highly accomplished and probably mastered all the texts in the curriculum preceding the study of the Qur'anic exegesis.<sup>642</sup>

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<sup>633</sup> BnF Arabe 5707, f. 123b.

<sup>634</sup> MS EAP 1042/4/1.

<sup>635</sup> MS AAN3, MS ZOC1, MS ZAC1, and BL MS Or. 6473, respectively.

<sup>636</sup> MS ZMC3, MS ZMC9, and MS ZMC2.

<sup>637</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.112b.

<sup>638</sup> BnF Arabe 5461. Despite the absence of geographical indications, this manuscript's origin can tentatively be attributed to the northern areas of what is now Guinea, given that another manuscript by the same scribe was written in Koumbia (Guinea). See Chapter 4.

<sup>639</sup> However, the available evidence does not permit determining a teacher's overall expertise since the manuscripts are student copies.

<sup>640</sup> As Hunter notes, with reference to Goody 1968, at the time of al-Ḥājj Sālīm, 'even the best teachers were competent in only a few texts [...]' (Hunter 1977, 296).

<sup>641</sup> Tamari 2016, 44. Interestingly, the number of *tafsīr* manuscripts (and thus the number of people who studied this text) – only four (three) in the whole corpus – may be representative of this consideration.

<sup>642</sup> Hunter's study among Jakhanke shows that the standard set of texts included twenty-three to twenty-eight texts, covering different subject matters preceding the study of the *tafsīr* (Hunter 1977, 301–8). Tamari has demonstrated that the study usually begins with one of few texts on Islamic law or theology. More advanced levels include Arabic grammar, devotional texts, mysticism, etc. (Tamari 2002, 104–11).

The frequency of a scholar's mentions in manuscripts could reflect his authority and renown. Based on the present set, al-Ḥājj Kassama's name appears most often in manuscripts dating from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. 'Abd al-Qādir Quṭb, Muḥammad Taslīmī and Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware also recurrently referred to in the Jakhanke manuscripts. The latter, however, is mainly quoted in manuscripts written by his descendants (three of five).

Some manuscripts accumulate references from various scholars, possibly indicating that one text was studied under several teachers. In turn, frequent comments from one scholar could mean that he was the primary teacher of the manuscript's scribe. For instance, the sons (and students) of Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware and Maḥmūd Cissé mention their fathers (and teachers) twenty-six times and twenty-one times in their respective manuscripts.

### **Soninke scholarly network**<sup>643</sup>

The manuscripts originating from several scholarly centres, such as Tafasirga (present-day southwest Mali) and Bakel (east Senegal), are less represented in the corpus. The current section analyses five of them with the texts as follows:<sup>644</sup>

1. *Sharkh Mukhtaṣar*: jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

MS KSS1

MS DAD1

BULAC MS.ARA.359

2. *Takhmīs al-Ishrīnīyyāt* by Ibn Mahīb: devotional poetry

MS KTD1

3. *al-Risāla al-Qayrawānīyya*: jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

MS DLT1

These manuscripts show similar approaches to assigning annotations to local scholars and teaching centres. Secondary sources do not provide sufficient documentation for the scholars referred. However, some of them can be recognised as teachers of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama during his travels in search of knowledge (to the areas of today's Mali). Thus, the chronicles on al-Ḥājj Kassama's allow for setting up an approximate chronology for the Soninke scholars, as well as providing a sense of their scholarly specialisation by listing the texts and subjects they taught. Within the present manuscript group, four of the five manuscripts contain texts on Mālikī jurisprudence.

Apart from the chronicles, marginal notes help trace the links between the Jakhanke and Soninke scholars. As seen previously, the manuscripts collected in Mali have some references to al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama. Likewise, the names of Soninke scholars appear in manuscripts of the Jakhanke network. For instance, one of them with a poem for judges *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām*, near its colophon, has the sequence of teachers passing on the text of *Mukhtaṣar* by Shaykh Khalīl to al-Ḥājj Kassama.

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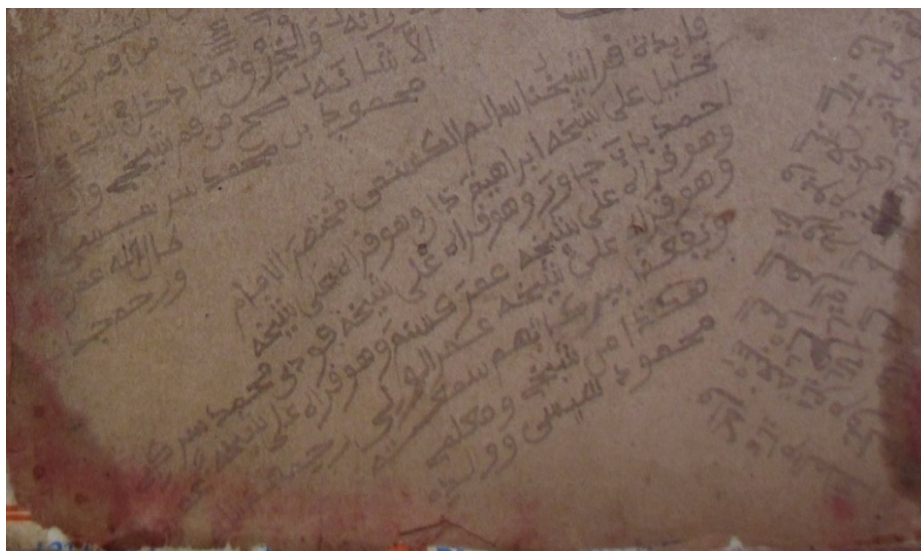
<sup>643</sup> This section focuses on scholars about whom at least some minimal information is available, either from manuscript references or other sources. Future works will provide a complete list of scholarly names appearing in the manuscripts.

<sup>644</sup> The manuscript BULAC MS.ARA.359 was identified at the later stages of my work. Consequently, I could not analyse it in much detail and often excluded it from the main discussion.

The scribe labelled this note as *fā`ida* (lit. ‘benefit, utility’) and stated that he received it from his father and teacher, Maḥmūd Cissé (Fig. 29):<sup>645</sup>

*Qara`a shaykhunā Sālim al-Kasanmā Mukhtaṣar al-imām Khalīl `alā shaykhihi Ibrāhīm Dhāni wa huwa qara`ahu `alā shaykhihi Aḥmad Bāba Jāwara huwa qara`ahu `alā shaykhihi Muḥammad Siri Kiby wa huwa qara`ahu `alā shaykhihi `Amara Kasanma (wa huwa qara`ahu `alā shaykhihi `Amara Wa [...]) wa huwa qara`ahu `alā shaykhihi `Amara al-Walī raḥimahu-llāh wa nafa`anā bi-barakātihum (sic.) sami`tuhu hākadhā min shaykhī wa mu`allimī Maḥmūd Sīsī wa wālidī.*<sup>646</sup>

‘Our shaykh Sālim Kassama studied *Mukhtaṣar* by Imām Khalīl under his shaykh Ibrāhīm Jaane, and he studied it under his shaykh Aḥmad Bāba Jawara, and he studied it under his shaykh Muḥammad Siré Kebe, and he studied it under his shaykh `Amara Kassama, and he studied it under his shaykh `Amara al-Walī, may God have mercy upon them and grant us with their blessings. I heard so from my shaykh and my teacher and my father Maḥmūd Cissé.’



**Figure 29.** A chain of transmission of *Mukhtaṣar* by Imām Khalīl appearing on the recto side of the first page with *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām*. Senegal, Ziguinchor, MS ZAC2, di 3908.

Interestingly, although the chronicles confirm that al-Ḥājj Kassama studied *Mukhtaṣar*, with no manuscript copy found so far, it appears absent from the Jakhanke curriculum. On the contrary, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar* seems to have gained some popularity among the Soninke scholars, as evidenced by several copies in this corpus.<sup>647</sup> These manuscripts refer to all the teachers who preceded al-Ḥājj Kassama in the *Mukhtaṣar* transmission chain.

The sequence of scholars from `Amara al-Walī to Muḥammad Bāba Jawara before Ibrāhīm Jaane and al-Ḥājj Kassama also appears in another chain of transmission – that of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*.<sup>648</sup>

<sup>645</sup> This sequence of scholars is unlikely a conventional teaching licence (*ijāza*) since it does not trace back to the text’s original author.

<sup>646</sup> The part of the note in brackets seems to appear again on the following line. This rewrite was possibly due to insufficient margin space for the scholar’s name.

<sup>647</sup> In addition to the three manuscripts analysed in this chapter, there are at least three more manuscripts identified in private collections of scholars in the northeast.

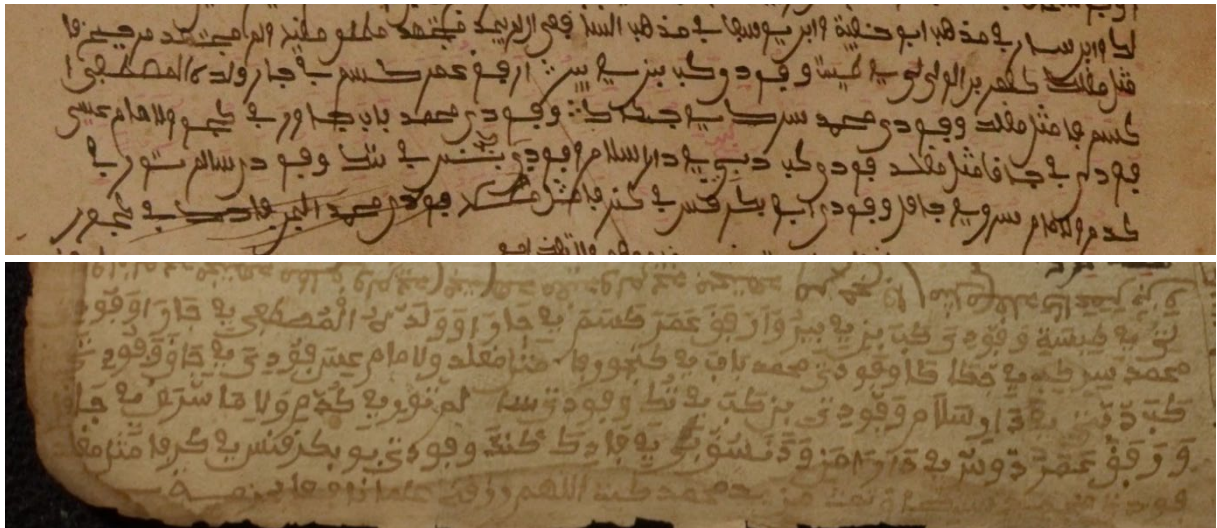
<sup>648</sup> Hunter 1977, 514.



Hunter provides its reconstruction from a manuscript *Silsila Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* which he identified in the Gambia in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Table 5).<sup>649</sup> The manuscript is said to be owned by al-Ḥājj Abū Bakr Kaba-Jaghatī and Abū Bakr Kuntī, the latter appearing in the last entry of this chain.<sup>650</sup>

Noteworthy, this chain passes through Aḥmad Bāba of Timbuktu, in contrast to the Jakhanke chains that go through al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware. As the dates of Aḥmad Bāba’s life are well-established, they supply a further reference point for the chronology of the discussed Soninke scholars. Peculiarly, the transmission chain, presented in Hunter’s thesis, also records the scholars’ geographical affiliations.

In addition, two manuscripts with *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar* have in their margins lists of scholars (traditionists) and their locations (Fig. 30). Both lists start with *fā-mithal muqallid kā- ‘Amara b. Walī ft Ṭīsatī* (or *Ṭīsat*) ‘and examples of traditionists, such as ‘Amara Walī from Tichit (present-day Mauritania)’.<sup>651</sup>



**Figure 30.** Lists of scholars and their locations. Mali, Kunjuru, MS KKS1, di 0688, and Senegal, Diawara, MS DAD1, di 0269(II).

Unlike the transmission chains of *Mukhtaṣar* and *Tafsīr*, the scholarly names in the lists of traditionists appear in chronological order (from earlier to more recent) without implying succession from one scholar to another. Despite their high similarity, the two lists differ in spelling and length. For example, the one in KSS1 includes more names. The other in DAD1 ends with the teacher of the scribe, who also identifies himself with the closing phrase ‘from the hand of Muḥammad Koyta’ (*min yad Mḥmd Kyt*).<sup>652</sup>

Marginal notes and the references that the scribes added after annotations offer substantial detail on their teachers, supplying their full names, scholarly connections, and localities where they

<sup>649</sup> Hunter does not provide a date, but assumingly he collected it during his field trip to The Gambia in 1974–75 (Hunter 1977, 23). This date can serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript.

<sup>650</sup> Hunter 1977, 514.

<sup>651</sup> MS KSS1, di 0688, and MS DAD1, di 0269(II). The term *muqallid* ‘traditionist’ refers to adherents of *taqlīd*, that is, following the doctrine in the way it is recorded in the authoritative legal manuals.

<sup>652</sup> In other references, the scribe identifies also his location – Tafasirga (today’s Mali).

dwelled or taught. The following entries present a synthesis of data on scholars gathered from various sources discussed above.

Ibrāhīm Jaane, ‘Amara Touré, Ḥassan Gakou

The three scholars discussed in this subsection can be identified as teachers of al-Ḥājj Kassama. Chronicles record, for instance, that al-Ḥājj Kassama studied the text of *Mukhtaṣar* by Imām Khalīl under Ibrāhīm Jaane of Kunjuru (today’s Mali).<sup>653</sup> The transmission chain (*fā’ida*) in the manuscripts with *Tuhfat al-ḥukkām* reflects this fact as well. In addition, examined manuscripts with the text *sharḥ Mukhtaṣar* have several references which read *qālahu Ibrāhīm Jāni* ‘saying of Ibrāhīm Jaane’.<sup>654</sup>

His other teacher in Kunjuru, from whom al-Ḥājj Kassama received instruction on *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥārīrī (a text on the Arabic language), is mentioned in manuscripts with legal texts as well: *hadhā tafsīr Fūdī Qasu Kaku* ‘this is the interpretation of **fodiye** Ḥassan Gakou’.<sup>655</sup>

As the chronicles report, ‘Amara (‘Umar) Touré taught al-Ḥājj Kassama *naḥw* (grammar) and *taṣrīf* (conjugation) in Diombokho.<sup>656</sup> The list of traditionists (*muqallids*), however, mentions him as a scholar from Kunjuru (*Fūdiyyi ‘Amara Ṭuri fī Kunjūr*).<sup>657</sup> Yet, both localities lie within the same region (Khasso) of contemporary Mali. ‘Amara Touré was only mentioned once more in a manuscript with a devotional poem.<sup>658</sup>

In addition to the texts and disciplines mentioned in the chronicles and established on the basis of the present corpus, the title **fódiyè** preceding the names of Ḥassan Gakou and ‘Amara Touré certifies their mastery of the Qur’anic exegesis.

Since all three scholars interacted with al-Ḥājj Kassama during his quests for knowledge, it may be safe to assume that they were active in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>659</sup>

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<sup>653</sup> See Sanneh 1981, 116; Hunter 1976, 400.

<sup>654</sup> MS KSS1, di 0236 (II), and MS DAD1, di 0131, di 0135 and di 0753. His name also appears in several instances in BULAC MS.ARA.359.

<sup>655</sup> MS DAD1, di 0156 (II). Here I keep the reading of this person’s name as Ḥassan Gakou, suggested by Sanneh (Sanneh 1981, 116). In comparison, Marty recorded the name Khassane Kakou, while Hunter interpreted it as Khasaqaka or Ḥassan Khasaqaka (Marty 1921, 107; Hunter 1976, 166, and Hunter 1977, 249, respectively). In fact, various versions of the chronicles transcribe this name differently. For instance, the version analysed by Sanneh reads *Khsā Qk* (Sanneh 1989, 271). Fonds Curtin document n.27 shows identical spelling. Documents n.11 and n.29 record the given name in the same way; however, n.11’s family name is either *Qk* or *Mk*. A scribal error when copying from another manuscript might have caused this ambiguity if the scribe mistook *qāf* (especially if the dot was not marked or not visible) with *mīm*. In document n.29, the family name appears as *Qā*, probably also resulting from an accidental omission of the last letter. Finally, in Fonds Curtin document n.1, the scholar’s name is recorded as *Qasān Qakū*, the spelling that closely matches the one in the discussed reference in MS DAD1.

<sup>656</sup> Sanneh 1981, 116; Hunter 1976, 440.

<sup>657</sup> MS KSS1, di 0688. However, this name does not appear in the respective marginal note in MS DAD1.

<sup>658</sup> MS KTD1, di 0024. See section on al-Ḥājj Kassama. It is likely that ‘Amara Touré’s competence in Arabic language, documented in the chronicles, explains why he is rarely mentioned in manuscripts with legal texts prevailing the present corpus.

<sup>659</sup> As discussed earlier in this chapter, al-Ḥājj Kassama travelled to Kunjuru and other scholarly centres on the territory of contemporary Mali after 1750–70.

The transmission chain for *Mukhtaṣar* of Shaykh Khalīl indicates that Ibrāhīm Jaane, who instructed al-Ḥājj Kassama, had himself studied under Aḥmad Bāba Jawara. The manuscripts with *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar* from the present corpus frequently contain commentaries by this latter scholar. The references may mention his personal name as well as his clan name, such as *qālahu Aḥmad Bāba* ‘Aḥmad Bāba said’, *min Ḥamad Bāba* ‘from Hamad Baba’;<sup>660</sup> or *qaūlihu Aḥmad Bāba Jāwara* ‘words of Ahmad Baba Jawara’. Some references may also indicate his location, as in *hadhā mithal Aḥmad Bāba Jāwara fī Kunjūr* ‘this is the example of Aḥmad Bāba Jawara in Kunjur’.<sup>661</sup>

The same manuscripts mention a certain *Muḥammad Bāba Jāwara* ‘Muḥammad Bāba Jawara’ *fī Kunjur* ‘in Kunjuru’.<sup>662</sup> Unless there were two contemporary scholars in Kunjuru nicknamed Bāba, one might suggest that Aḥmad Bāba Jawara is the same person as Muḥammad Bāba Jawara but referred to in different ways.

In connection to this, there is also an annotation relating to the esoteric use of some verses as a charm for protecting one’s field from thieves:<sup>663</sup>

*Qāla shaykhunā Maḥmūd Bāba wa anā (?) su’ila shaykh Muḥammad S-r K-b fīman (sic.) kataba āya wa t’lq? aw dafana fī zar’ kull man saraqā minhu yamūt wa qāla shaykh wa anā lā ḥabbahu (sic.) wa su’ila ‘anhu shaykhinā Muḥammad Kāt Marika qāla lā ba’s bi-hi li’annahū lam yakun li-rajul mu’ayyan lā yaḍmanu shay’an naqala min kitāb Bkr Baskili.*

‘Our shaykh Maḥmūd Bāba said: Shaykh Muḥammad Siré Kebe was asked: What if someone wrote a verse and attached or hid it in a field so that anyone who steals from it would die? The shaykh replied: I dislike it. Then our shaykh Muḥammad Gaata Marega was asked about it. He replied: There is no harm in it since it is not intended for any concrete person, [therefore] there is no responsibility for anything. [It was] copied from [the] book of Abū Bakr *Basakili*.’

Muḥammad Siré Kebe replying to the question of Maḥmūd Bāba from this annotation, is undoubtedly the same scholar who, according to transmission chains for *Mukhtaṣar* and *Tafsīr*,

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<sup>660</sup> MS KSS1, di 0353, di 0569, and di 0729, respectively. Despite the initial *alīf* omitted, the name Ḥamad appears to designate the same individual otherwise referred to as Aḥmad Bāba. This person’s name spelling varies in MS DAD1 as well. For instance, in MS DAD1, di 0312(II) and di 0529(II), one finds references, such as *min Aḥmad Bāba* ‘from Aḥmad Bāba’, and also *qālahu Aḥmad Bāba* ‘Aḥmad Bāba said’ and *min Ḥamad Bāba* ‘from Ḥamad Bāba’ both written by the same scribe and on the same page on the same page, di 0348(II). Other references to *qālahu Aḥmad Bāba* ‘Aḥmad Bāba said this’ appear on di 0555(II), 0620(II), and 0690(II). The name Aḥmad Bāba evokes associations with Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī (d. 1627), the famous Maliki jurist of Timbuktu. However, this scholar is unlikely to be concerned by the references since neither of them mentions a nisba or any other Timbuktu-related identifier.

<sup>661</sup> MS DAD1, di 0197.

<sup>662</sup> MS KSS1, di 0508, di 0032, and MS DAD1, di 0168, 0627. In MS KSS1, di 0508, the family name is spelt *Zawara*, while in MS DAD1, di 0627, it appears as *Jāra*, possibly with the middle *wāw* mistakenly omitted.

<sup>663</sup> MS DAD1, di 0605(II).

taught these texts to Muḥammad Bāba Jawara. Maḥmūd Bāba, in turn, could be equated with Muḥammad Bāba, or else Aḥmad Bāba, Jawara from Kunjuru.<sup>664</sup>

This scholar can further be identified as a teacher of al-Ḥājj Kassama in Kunjuru, who taught him *Mukhtaṣar* and *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* and whom the chronicles record under the name Maḥmūd Jawara.<sup>665</sup>

Other analysed sources allow finding two other Jawara's disciples: Ibrāhīm Jaane (*silsila Mukhtaṣar*) and Abū Bakr Darame (*silsila Tafsīr*). All three of them were accomplished scholars and active teachers on their own, as evidenced by marginal references and external accounts.

Muḥammad Siré Kebe, 'Amara Kassama, 'Amara al-Walī

Muḥammad Siré Kebe was a student of 'Amara Kassama. *Silsila Tafsīr* collected by Hunter, places both scholars in Jongaga.<sup>666</sup> However, marginal annotations in the manuscripts from the present corpus testify differently: *wa Arafaqa 'Amara Kasama fī Jārā (...)* *wa Fūdiyyi Muḥammad Siri Kibi fī Jukākā* 'and **àrfáxà** 'Amara Kassama in Jaara (...) and **fódiyè** Muḥammad Siré Kebe in Jongaga'.<sup>667</sup> Furthermore, a manuscript with *al-Risāla* written in Bakel has an inscription *siqunā (shaykhunā) 'Amara Kasamā al-Zr* 'our shaykh 'Amara Kassama of *al-Zr*'.<sup>668</sup> The *al-Zr* possibly stands for *al-Zara* and designates one from Jaara, a locality in the region of Kingui.<sup>669</sup> References to both scholars occasionally appear in manuscripts with *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar*.<sup>670</sup>

According to the Mukhtaṣar transmission chain, the person who transferred his knowledge to 'Amara Kassama was 'Amara Walī. His name and location *'Amara b. Walī fī Ṭīsātī* 'Amara b. Walī of Tichit' appear at the beginning of the two lists of traditionists (*muqallids*). However, another annotation associates this scholar with Biro/Walata, another locality in modern-day

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<sup>664</sup> It is worth noting that all three names, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, and Maḥmūd, derive from the Arabic root *ḥamida* 'to praise'.

<sup>665</sup> Sanneh 1981, 116; Hunter 1976, 440. However, in his other works, Sanneh referred to this scholar as Muḥammad Jawara without indicating the chronicles' version on which this spelling is based (Sanneh 1974, 172; 1989, 96; 2016, 133). For instance, the text of *TKB* he provided in one of his publications records the scholar's name as Maḥmūd (Sanneh 1989). The same name is cited in the text of *TMS* and Fonds Curtin documents n.1, n.27, and n.29. However, there is no mention of either Muḥammad or Maḥmūd Jawara in Fonds Curtin document n.11, and in Marty's account of al-Ḥājj Kassama's studies (Marty 1921, 107). Djibril Dramé's fieldwork data confirm that this scholar from Kunjuru is known under different appellations, including Aḥmad, Muḥammad, and Maḥmūd Bāba Jawara (Djibril Dramé, personal communication).

<sup>666</sup> A locality near Kayes in today's Mali, also spelt Diongaga.

<sup>667</sup> MS KSS1 and MS DAD1. These marginal notes also mention *wa waladuhu al-Muṣṭafā fī Jārā* 'and his son al-Muṣṭafā Kassama in Jaara'.

<sup>668</sup> MS DLT1, di 9014.

<sup>669</sup> Other spellings include Diara or Jarra. Alternatively, this name also refers to the province of Jarra in present-day The Gambia. The latter is, however, less probable.

<sup>670</sup> For instance, the reference in MS KSS1, di 0485, reads *min lafẓ fūdī Muḥammad S-r K-b* 'from the enunciation of **fódiyè** Muḥammad Siré Kebe'. The same manuscript (di 0022 and di 0499) contains references *qaūluhu 'Amara Kassama* 'words of 'Amara Kassama'. This scholar appears also in MS DAD1, di 0371 and di 0383, where two Soninke interpretations are added to the same word of the main text, as if for comparison, each with references as follows: *hadhā qaūl 'Amara Kasama* 'these are words of 'Amara Kassama' and *hadhā qaūl Muḥammad Siri Dukuri* 'these are words of Muḥammad Siré Dukure', respectively.

Mauritania.<sup>671</sup> This person could be identified with ‘Umar al-Wālī b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Mahjūbī al-Walātī (b. 1595–6, d. 1659–60), also known as ‘Amara al-Walīy or ‘Amar Lūlī. A reputed scholar, he authored several works on theology, jurisprudence, and Sufism.<sup>672</sup>

#### Abū Bakr Xanso Dramé / Abū Bakr Dramé

Numerous annotations in four manuscripts with texts on jurisprudence refer to a certain *Abū Bakr Qs* or *Qns*, which probably stands for Abū Bakr Xanso.<sup>673</sup> For example, the part of *al-Risāla* dealing with the alms tax (*zakāt*) due on silver is accompanied in the manuscript’s margins by three calculation techniques, each illustrated by groups of graphic symbols.<sup>674</sup> One of these figures has the following reference: *ṭarīq Bn (Abū) Bkr Qs* ‘method of Abū Bakr Xanso’.

Interestingly, the mentions of this scholar usually lack his clan name, although, in a few instances, they indicate his location. Thus, in the *muqallids* lists, this scholar is recorded as *fūdī Bakar Qns fī Kr* and in one reference as *shaykhunā Fūdī Baraki Qansu fī Kuri* ‘our shaykh **fódiyè** Abū Bakr Xanso of Gory (in Jaahunu, today’s Mali)’.<sup>675</sup> Given this data, Abū Bakr Xanso may be equated with Abū Bakr Dramé of Gory from the Soninke *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* teaching chain succeeding Muḥammad Bāba Jawara of Kunjuru.<sup>676</sup>

Manuscripts’ margins offer further evidence connecting Abū Bakr Xanso Dramé to Muḥammad Bāba Jawara and the scholarly centre of Kunjuru. For instance, a marginal note in the *al-Risāla* manuscript concerning the chapter on the prayer for rain reads:<sup>677</sup>

*Wa qāla shaykhunā fūdī Abū Bakr Dārām wa man y-r-m-q wa akhadha fūdī Abū Bakr Qs wa istasqawā fī Kunjūr thalātha ‘ashar yaum mutawāliyāt wa ḥaḍara shaykhunā Ḥamad Bāba al-qaḍī (sic.) ‘Uthmān [wa] al-imām Muḥammad Kāta hāna (sic.) tammat.*

‘Our shaykh **fódiyè** Abū Bakr Dramé: and whoever (?) *y-r-m-k*?. And he took (?) **fódiyè** Abū Bakr Xanso, and they prayed for rain in Kunjuru for thirteen consecutive days. And he was in the presence of our shaykh Aḥmad Bāba, [and] the judge ‘Uthmān, and the imam Muḥammad Gaata. Here is the end.’<sup>678</sup>

<sup>671</sup> MS DAD1, di 0390. Interestingly, in the same manuscript, di 0217, there are two glosses marked as *fī kalāminā* ‘in our language’ and *fī kalām Biru* ‘in the language of Biro’, perhaps referring to the dialects used in different locations for instruction. See also Chapter 7.

<sup>672</sup> MGL 123 (p. 39); Stewart 2015, 1562. See also his biography (N 178) in *Faṭh al-shakūr* compiled by al-Bartilī (El Hamel 2002, 375–9) and a note on him in Saad 1983, 130.

<sup>673</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.359, MS DAD1, MS DLT1, MS KSS1. Xanso is a Soninke female personal name; in this case, probably the name of the scholar’s mother.

<sup>674</sup> MS DLT1, di 9230.

<sup>675</sup> MS DAD1, di 0269(II) and di 0273(II), respectively.

<sup>676</sup> Djibril Dramé’s fieldwork data confirms the existence of Abū Bakr Xanso Dramé, a famous scholar of Gory. The oral accounts collected in Kunjuru corroborate the assumption that he studied under Muḥammad Bāba Jawara (Djibril Dramé, personal communication).

<sup>677</sup> MS DLT1, di 9140, chapter 19 of *al-Risāla*.

<sup>678</sup> An alternative interpretation of the final sentence would be ‘and Aḥmad Bāba joined [them], and the judge ‘Uthmān, and imam Muḥammad Gaata.’ Possibly the last phrase *hāna tammat* is a distorted *hunā tammat* ‘here the

A similar story involving Abū Bakr Xanso and Muḥammad Bāba Jawara appears in the form of an annotation, suggesting clarifications about payment for people performing burial rituals.<sup>679</sup> It starts as follows:

*Qāla shaykhūnā fūdī Muḥammad Sīṣāqu fūdī Abū Bakr Qns qāla fūdī Abū Bakr Qns wa su'ila shaykhūnā Muḥammad Bāba Jāwara fī huḍūrihim 'an [...]*  
'Said our shaykh **fódiyè** Muhammad Sissakho [about] **fódiyè** Abū Bakr Xanso: "Said our shaykh Abū Bakr Xanso [that] our shaykh Muḥammad Bāba Jawara was asked in their presence about [...].'

The annotation ends with a statement that the information was obtained from Muḥammad Sissakho and written by the hand (*min yad*) of Muḥammad Koyta. There is also a second annotation on the same page, evidently written in a different handwriting, which specifies the location of the scholar: *qāla shaykhunā Fūdiya Abū Bakr Drām fī Kunjūr* 'said our shaykh **fódiyè** Abū Bakr Dramé in Kunjuru'.

Despite some difficulties in interpreting the above annotations, it seems likely that Abū Bakr Xanso was contemporary with Muḥammad Bāba Jawara and was perhaps among his students. Furthermore, it could be argued that Abū Bakr (Xanso) Dramé of Gory is the same individual, otherwise referred to as Abū Bakr Dramé of Kunjur.

#### Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Sissakho

Muḥammad Sissakho, who, as seen previously, transmitted the discussion between Muḥammad Bāba Jawara and Abū Bakr Dramé, was himself a student of the latter scholar, as follows from *silsila Tafṣīr*. The *silsila* locates him in Aroundou. Yet, one of Muhammad Sissakho's students reported in several marginal notes that the teaching location was Tafasirga (both villages located in Gajaaga): *min yad Muḥammad Kyt kataba fī majlis Fūdī Muḥammad Sīṣāqu* 'by the hand of Muḥammad Koyta, written in *majlis* of **fódiyè** Muḥammad Sissakho' *fī baladihi Tafasirka* 'in his country Tafasirga'.<sup>680</sup> He also recorded the ancestry of his master: *qālahu Muḥammad Sīṣāqu b. Abū Bakr Sīṣāqu* 'Muḥammad Sissakho, son of Abū Bakr Sissakho said this'.

References to Muḥammad Sissakho appear in at least one more manuscript from Tafasirga, namely a copy of *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar* written by Maḥmūd Djombéra in the *majlis* of Shaykh Dramé.<sup>681</sup>

#### Soninke scholarly network: overview

A tentative chronology for the above-discussed Soninke scholars can be suggested based on the *Tafṣīr al-Qur'ān* transmission chain identified by Hunter. For instance, the dates are available Aḥmad Bāba of Timbuktu and 'Amara al-Walī of Biro/Walata: the former died in 1627 and the

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end' or '[it] ends here'. The last person mentioned in the commentary might be Muḥammad Gaata Marega, mentioned above.

<sup>679</sup> MS DAD1, di 0789 (II). Another annotation, evidencing contacts between Abū Bakr Xanso and Muḥammad Jawara, is found in MS DAD1, di 0627.

<sup>680</sup> MS DAD1, di 0080 and di 0206.

<sup>681</sup> For example, one annotation in KSS1 di 0684 ends with the following: *min yad al-danīy yusammī Muḥammad Jbīr kā`in fī T-f-s-r-k fī majlis T-f-s-r-k Shaykh Daramī* 'from the hand of the despicable named Maḥmūd Djombéra, living in Tafasirga, in Tafasirga *majlis* of Shaykh Dramé'.

latter in 1659. Thus, the teacher-student generation can be estimated at fifteen years, considering two transmissions between these scholars. The following person whose life span can be estimated is Muḥammad Bāba Jawara. He was one of al-Ḥājj Kassama’s teachers and hence apparently active around the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Accordingly, over a hundred years separate ‘Amara al-Walī and Muḥammad Bāba Jawara. This age gap covers three transmissions, implying more than thirty-five years between teaching generations.

Counting from more recent to earlier scholars within this transmission chain yields similar results. The owner and the last link in the *Tafsir al-Qur’ān* transmission chain, Abū Bakr Kuntī of Gambissara, lived nearly two centuries after Muḥammad Bāba Jawara.<sup>682</sup> The six transmissions occurring within this time interval resulted in thirty to thirty-five years per scholarly generation.

Table 5 right column shows the outcomes of these estimations. The left column cites selected entries of *silsila Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* collected by Hunter.<sup>683</sup> The middle column presents alternative information gleaned from the references to scholars in the current manuscript corpus.

**Table 5. List of selected Soninke scholars with locations and approximate dates.**

Soninke <i>silsila</i> for <i>Tafsīr</i>	Marginal references & notes	Dates
Aḥmad Bāba of Timbuktu	-	d. 1627
al-Walī Ṣāliḥ of Tichit	-	ca. 1643
‘Umar al-Walī of Biru (Walata)	‘Amara al-Walī of Biru/Walata or Tichit	d. 1659–60
‘Amr Kasama of Jongaga	‘Amara Kassama of Jaara (Kingui)	ca. 1695
Muḥammad Siriyān Kibi of Jongaga	Muḥammad Siré Kebe of Jongaga	ca. 1730
Muḥammad Bāba Jāwara of Kunjur	Muḥammad/Aḥmad/Maḥmūd Bāba Jawara of Kunjuru	ca. 1770
Abū Bakr Darami of Guri (Diaffunu)	Abū Bakr Xanso Dramé of Gory (Jaahunu)	ca. 1805
Muḥammad Sīsākhu of Arundu (Gajaaga)	Muḥammad Sissakho of Tafasirga	ca. 1840

Five manuscripts in the present corpus produced between the late 18<sup>th</sup> (BULAC MS.ARA.359), mid-/late-19<sup>th</sup> centuries (MS DAD1, MS KTD1, MS DLT1) and early 20<sup>th</sup> century (MS KSS1) have references to a number of Soninke scholars. They belonged to the same network that extended from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to the mid- and late 19<sup>th</sup> century and encompassed several scholarly centres and regions, such as Tichit and Biro (present-day Mauritania), Kunjuru, Gory, Tafasirga, and Aroundou (today’s south-west Mali and east Senegal). As suggested by various sources, the scholars of this network were experts in several Islamic disciplines and texts. In addition, the current manuscript evidence highlights the importance of Shaykh Khalil’s legal treatise.

Several Soninke network scholars interacted with the Jakhanke al-Ḥājj Sālīm Kassama. These exchanges were recorded in the chronicles and reflected in manuscripts from both groups.

<sup>682</sup> Thomas Hunter consulted Abū Bakr Kuntī’s manuscript in the 1970s.

<sup>683</sup> The spelling of the original is retained.

## Mandinka scholarly network

1. Commentary to *al-‘Aqīda al-kubrā*: theology (*tawhīd*)  
TCD MS 3499, ff 160b–296a
2. *‘Aqīda al-ṣughrā*: theology (*tawhīd*)  
MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 26a–40b
3. *Dalīl al-qā’id* by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī: theology (*tawhīd*)  
MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 172a–189b, and 191a–193b
4. Unidentified poem by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar: theology (*tawhīd*)  
TCD MS 3500, ff 33a–38a

The names of the supposed Mandinka scholarly network appear in three manuscripts. These manuscripts originated from the Mandinka-speaking areas of today’s The Gambia and south Senegal, as evidenced by Mandinka words in glosses and colophons. They are written on early 19<sup>th</sup>-century paper,<sup>684</sup> which, at this point, is the main available reference for the relative dating of the manuscripts and scholars they mention.

All four scholarly names are found in the manuscript with a commentary to al-Sanūsī’s *al-Kubrā* written and owned by shaykh Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Jaaju. On several occasions, the scribe recorded interpretations given by different scholars of the same unit in the main text. Each interpretation is marked with the Arabic word *ṭarīq* ‘way, method’, followed by the scholar’s name. For example, one such pair of annotations is referenced as (1) *ṭarīq Muḥammad Jāwr* ‘method of Muḥammad Jawara’ and (2) *ṭarīq Būbakari Dābu* ‘method of Abū Bakr Daaboo’.<sup>685</sup> Similarly, a commentary by the latter scholar (the name spelt as *Būbakari Dūb*) is compared to the one by *Muḥammad Tūr* ‘Muḥammad Touré’.<sup>686</sup> Finally, there is also an annotation attributed to *Muḥammad Sīs* ‘Muḥammad Cissé’.<sup>687</sup>

Three scholars from the manuscript with *al-Kubrā* are found in two more manuscripts with other texts. For instance, a reference *sami‘tuhu min shaykhinā Muḥammad Sīs* ‘I heard it from our shaykh Muḥammad Cissé’ appears in a manuscript with al-Sanūsī’s *al-Ṣughrā*.<sup>688</sup>

Thus, the margins of a manuscript with Awjalī’s *tawhīd* poem have an Arabic annotation and a Soninke gloss, which the scribe marked as *ṭarīq Būbakari Dābu* ‘method of Abū Bakr Daaboo’ and *ṭarīq Muḥammad Tūr* ‘method of Muḥammad Touré’.<sup>689</sup>

As seen above, three manuscripts presently kept in different European libraries, and their respective scribes are related since they mention the same scholarly names. There is, however, one more manuscript, which may also be provisionally included in this group. This manuscript was

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<sup>684</sup> See Chapter 2 and Appendix II.

<sup>685</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 289a.

<sup>686</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 282a. Another mention of Muḥammad Touré appears earlier in this manuscript on f. 170a.

<sup>687</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 286a. <[https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/file\\_sets/c247dz827?locale=en](https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/file_sets/c247dz827?locale=en)> (last accessed March 2023).

<sup>688</sup> MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 33b.

<sup>689</sup> MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 175b.



once in the possession of *Abū Bakr al-Ṣadīq Jāj* ‘Abū Bakr Sadīq Jaaju’. He has the same clan name (and possibly belonged to the same lineage) as the scribe of the manuscript with *al-Kubrā*, that is Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Jaaju.

One annotation in Abū Bakr Sadīq’s manuscript is referenced as *min al-sīḥbā (shaykhinā) Muḥammad Sān* ‘from our shaykh Muḥammad Saane’.<sup>690</sup> While no mentions of this scholar appear in other manuscripts, the possibility remains that he also belonged to the Mandinka network.

Identification of scholars within this network requires further research. As yet, they can be associated with Mandinka communities of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century based on the dating and origin of the manuscripts. However, as suggested by the glosses, the scholars instructed their students in the Soninke language. Also, as follows from the current manuscripts’ main content, they probably specialised in theology.

### Concluding remarks

This chapter examined scholarly names mentioned in the margins of about thirty manuscripts. By comparing references and consulting other internal and external sources, I attempted to identify these scholars, establishing their various names, places of teaching, and their most relevant intellectual connections.

The terms the scribes used in the references reflect their teacher-student (*ustādhi* ‘my master’, *mu’allimī* ‘my teacher’) or kin relation (*abī* ‘my father’, *wālidī* ‘my parent’) to the scholar in question. In addition, the chains of transmissions (*silsilas*), chronicles (*tarīkhs*), marginal annotations, and oral accounts serve as the source to find or confirm such connections.

Based on the names attested in the margins and geographical origin, the scholarly networks and the manuscripts produced within them have been divided into three networks: Jakhanke, Soninke, and (provisionally) Mandinka.

One of the most notable distinctions between the scholars of the first two scholarly networks stems from the transmission lines, for example, that of the *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, which ascend through different scholars. The teaching chain of al-Ḥājj Salīm Kassama (and hence of his students and heirs) from the first network ascends to al-Ḥājj Salīm Suware, the Jakhanke spiritual leader.<sup>691</sup> Suware family members in Touba have not only spiritual but also kinship ties to the latter; notably, Muhammad al-Amīn is his descendant in the seventh generation.<sup>692</sup> The *nisbas* of these scholars, encountered in the prefaces to their compositions or other manuscript sources, include *al-Zaghawiyu*, alluding to Zagha/Jakha in Masina – the place of origin of al-Ḥājj Sālīm Suware, and thus indicating a spiritual succession from him.

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<sup>690</sup> TCD MS 3500, f. 36b. Probably, the word *al-s-y-h-b-ā* (which has no meaning) is, in fact, the word *al-shaykhunā* ‘our shaykh’ with the dots misplaced or omitted. Thus, three dots are missing above the letter *sīn* for *shīn*; one dot is missing above the letter *hā*’ for *khā*’; the dot below the letter *bā*’ would need to be above it for *nūn*.

<sup>691</sup> Fonds Curtin document n.22, Hunter 1977, 24.

<sup>692</sup> Fonds Curtin document n.14, Hunter 1977, 33.

In contrast, the Soninke *tafsīr* transmission chains don not include Sālim Suware. They, however, mention Aḥmad Bāba of Timbuktu. So far, it is not clear whether the scholars of the Mandinka network were connected to al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware.

The interconnections between the scholars and the manuscripts of the Jakhanke and Soninke networks are tentatively depicted in two schemes in Appendix III.

Beyond placing the manuscripts in the context of scholarly networks, indications of local individuals and places have potential for pinpointing the spatial and temporal origin of the manuscripts. However, such a method should be applied with caution since the scholars mentioned in the margins might not be contemporary to the production of the manuscript, or the place of production may differ from the place of teaching. Yet, even an approximate estimation is of importance, especially in cases where the origin of manuscripts cannot be established on other grounds.

Finally, marginal references are a good source for reconstructing teaching and learning practices, which will be investigated in detail in the following chapters.

## Chapter 6: Teaching and Learning

### Introduction

This chapter continues the analysis of interlinear and marginal annotations, particularly those attributed to local scholars. As manifestations of learning processes, they have the potential to reveal the sources, actors, and methods involved. Previous chapters have established the learning curriculum, identified individuals mentioned in the margins or colophons, and pinpointed the places of manuscript production. This information enhances our understanding of the sources, causes, and methods of annotating the main Arabic texts.

Referencing scholars is part of a broader system used by scribes to frame annotations. The first section of this chapter examines the various types of comments in Arabic and how scribes tag them. The following section discusses annotations that refer to specific individuals and the issue of the reliability of such references as proof of student-teacher interactions. The analysis focuses on three aspects: (1) choice of terms and formulaic expressions in the references (e.g. opening formulas, kinship terms and eulogies accompanying the names of scholars); (2) chronological considerations; (3) manuscripts' material evidence. The chapter then examines whether the commentaries were written down after the teachers' spoken words or copied from their writings.

### Framing the annotations

The scribes added various markers to indicate the type of annotations (corrections, variant readings, comments), their source (textual sources and names of scholars) or their language (Arabic and vernacular).<sup>693</sup> Most such markers are no different from those found in manuscripts from other West African or even broader Arabic traditions.<sup>694</sup> This 'metadata' appears at the end of annotations after three dots arranged in a triangle or the words *tammāt* 'ended' or *intahā* 'finished'. Labelling consistency ranges in manuscripts from meticulous (each annotation labelled) to sporadic (a few or no annotations labelled) and seems to depend on individual scribal choices.

Typical markers include Arabic letters, which are evidently abbreviations. Thus, the letter *shīn* mainly accompanies explanatory glosses and commentaries in Arabic. This abbreviation presumably signifies *sharḥ* 'commentary'.<sup>695</sup> Occasionally, the letter *hā* appears as well,<sup>696</sup> which may either stand for *hāmish* 'gloss, commentary, remark' or, more likely, for *intahā* 'it is finished'.<sup>697</sup> The letter *khā* for *nuskah* marks variant reading.<sup>698</sup> Other markers are associated with corrections to the main text: *bayān* 'correction, clarification' (mostly clarifying words or phrases in unclear or erroneous writing), *ṣaḥḥ* 'correct'.

Varying or alternative interpretations of a word or passage in the main text, either differing in word choice or making a different point, tend to be written as separate annotations. Each annotation, in

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<sup>693</sup> Strategies for labelling annotations in local languages will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

<sup>694</sup> See Gacek 2009 (esp. 2–6 and Appendix I). On the typology of marginal annotations in West African manuscripts, see Mollins Lliteras 2017.

<sup>695</sup> Gacek 2009, 2, and 115. Occasionally, the letter *shīn* appeared with Ajami glosses as well.

<sup>696</sup> E.g., MS ZAC1, di 3307; MS AAN1, p. 247 (di 0812).

<sup>697</sup> Gacek 2009, 115.

<sup>698</sup> Examples include TCD MS 2689, f. 108a; BnF Arabe 5626, f. 50a; EAP 1042/1/, p. 170.

Arabic or Soninke, is marked at the end by the Arabic *ṭarīq* ‘way, method’. Different *ṭarīqs* may be numbered with Arabic ordinal numbers: *al-awwal*, *al-thānī*, *al-thālith*, etc.,<sup>699</sup> or attributed to scholars by indicating their names.

For instance, in the manuscript TCD MS 3499, f. 289a, with a commentary on al-Sanūsī’s *al-Kubrā*, the words *min ulā’ika* ‘from these (people)’ were explained differently by two scholars: Muḥammad Jawara and Abū Bakr Daaboo. The scribe recorded their respective opinions as follows:<sup>700</sup>

***Tarīq* Muḥammad Jawara**

<kili kuw siri tumi ya’>

**gèllí kú sèré tùmúyá**

from DEM.PLperson six PP

‘from six of these people’

***Tarīq* Abū Bakr Daaboo**

<kili kuw siri tumi ya’>

**gèllí kú sèré jérú yá**

from DEM.PLperson seven PP

‘from seven of these people’

Another example found in the manuscript with *al-Risāla* MS DLT1, di 9230, concerns counting the alms tax (*zakāt*) on silver.<sup>701</sup> The margins host three illustrations explaining various calculation techniques, each referenced as follows: *tarīq Bn (Abū) Bkr Qs* ‘method of Abū Bakr Xanso’; (2) *tarīq al-’ulamā* ‘method of scholars’; (3) *tarīq al-fulānī fī kalāminā fúllù* ‘method of Fulanis in our language [called] **fúllù** (Fulanis)’.

### Quotations from textual sources

Quotations or excerpts from relevant textual sources often fill manuscripts’ margins. The references at the end of such excerpts, which the scribes included, make it possible to identify the quoted texts.<sup>702</sup> For example, manuscripts with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* contain, among others, annotations referring to al-Baghawī.<sup>703</sup> In this case, the name of the author Ḥusayn b. Mas’ūd b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī stands for his commentary on the Qur’an entitled *Ma’alim al-tanzīl*.<sup>704</sup>

The text of Qayrawānī’s *al-Risāla* in manuscripts may be complemented by excerpts marked with *Mukhtaṣar* for *al-Mukhtaṣar fī-’l-furū* by Khalīl b. Iṣḥāq al-Jundī (d. 767/1365).<sup>705</sup> Some

<sup>699</sup> E.g., MQB MS AF 14722(87), f. 103b; PGL MS ORI 11/1. For lack of space (or other reasons), the word *tarīq* ‘method’ may be omitted, leaving the numbering only.

<sup>700</sup> <[https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/file\\_sets/bz60d363v?locale=en](https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/file_sets/bz60d363v?locale=en)> (last accessed March 2023).

<sup>701</sup> Chapter 25 of *al-Risāla*.

<sup>702</sup> Generally, the scribes consistently indicate the sources at the end of quoted passages. There are also many marginal annotations that are, in fact, quotations without their authors being mentioned.

<sup>703</sup> E.g., BULAC MS.ARA.112a, f. 115a; MS.ARA.112b, f. 22b, f. 24a. In terms of comparison, Dmitry Bondarev observed the practice of citing various *tafsīr* sources, including al-Baghawī, in Old Kanembu Qur’an manuscripts (Bondarev 2019).

<sup>704</sup> GAL I 363–4.

<sup>705</sup> E.g., MS DLT1, written in Bakel (northeast Senegal). Interestingly, the margins of manuscripts with *al-Risāla* from south Senegambia region do not contain mentions of *Mukhtaṣar* which may suggest some geographical distribution of this text.

manuscripts with *al-Risāla* also contain citations from its commentary *al-Fawākih al-dawānī ‘alā risālat Ibn Abī Zayd* by Aḥmad b. Ghunaym al-Nafrāwī (d. 1207/1792) referenced as *Fawākih*.<sup>706</sup>

A more generic way to refer to any text’s commentary, without mentioning its exact title or author, is by using (*ṣaḥḥ min*) *sharḥahu* ‘(correct from) its commentary’.<sup>707</sup> The scribes also supplied the texts with passages from these texts’ versifications, as suggested by references *ṣaḥḥ min al-Kubrā* found in the margins with al-Sanūsī’s *al-Ṣuḡhrā*, or *min Ibn ‘Umar al-Kubrā* supplementing the text of *Risāla fī anwā ‘al-kufr* by the same author.<sup>708</sup>

Definitions and grammar details accompanying problematic words in the main text are referenced with *Qāmūs*.<sup>709</sup> It stands for Arabic lexicon *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* by Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415).<sup>710</sup>

The few examples of referenced quotations mentioned here show that working with texts included consulting other sources, such as commentaries, works on similar topics or lexicons. However, several of the mentioned texts are found only as citations and not in individual manuscripts.<sup>711</sup> It raises the question of whether some marginal annotations were copied together with the main text.

### **Commentaries by local scholars: content of transmitted knowledge**

Most examples in this section are taken from the so-called Jakhanke manuscripts since I have studied them in more detail. This group contains seventeen manuscripts (about ten per cent of the corpus) and comprises more than a hundred referenced annotations.<sup>712</sup> The scribes of these manuscripts refer to twelve scholars, the majority of whom, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, are identifiable. The established chronology of these scholars’ lives and activities, as well as available historical and anthropological information about them, makes it pertinent to focus on manuscripts from this group.

Local scholars were the source of some annotations in Arabic and Soninke, as the references indicate. An initial assessment of the referenced annotations shows that they are mainly intended to clarify the text and provide additional information. The clarifications may concern the meaning

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<sup>706</sup> GAL I 178, S I 301, and S II 439. The first two GAL entries record the name as al-Nahzāwī and the year of his death as 1125/1713. The TCD MS 2689, f. 75a, and MS ZOC1, di 5140–3 contain references to this 18<sup>th</sup>-century commentary, indicating their production after that date, i.e., in the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries at the earliest.

<sup>707</sup> E.g., JRL MS 780[825], f. 14a, with al-Sanūsī’s *al-Ṣuḡhrā* and MS ZMC2, di 6779, with *al-Ājurrūmiyya*.

<sup>708</sup> JRL MS 780[825], f. 17b, and BL MS Or. 6473, f. 89a, respectively.

<sup>709</sup> Quotations from *al-Qāmūs* are found in BL MS Or. 6473, f. 111a; TCD MS 2698, f. 108ab; EAP 1042/4/1, p. 34; MS ZAC2, di 4198, to mention just a few examples.

<sup>710</sup> GAL II 182–3, S II 234. The title *Qāmūs* (literally meaning ‘ocean’) has become a current word for ‘dictionary’ owing to the popularity of Fīrūzābādī’s work (Versteegh 2014, 123). It is also ‘by far the best-known dictionary in West Africa’ (Hall & Stewart 2011, 120). For instance, references to *Qāmūs* were attested in the margins of manuscripts from Mamma Haïdara Library in Timbuktu, Mali (Molins Lliteras 2017, 161), as well as manuscripts from Ilorin, Nigeria (Reichmuth 2011, 233). The abbreviated reference to Fīrūzābādī’s work in the Arabic manuscript is the letter *qāf* (Gacek 2009, 117).

<sup>711</sup> See Chapter 3 for details.

<sup>712</sup> Despite having quotations from al-Hājj Kassama, three manuscripts were excluded from the analysis because they have no Ajami annotations. These are BL MS Or. 6473, ff 117a–125b, BnF MS Arabe 5461, ff 1b–13a, and JRL MS 780[825], ff 59b–71a.

of words or their grammatical aspects. Additional information may relate to individuals and events mentioned in the texts or the esoteric usage of some passages. In the following paragraphs, I examine and illustrate with selected examples what kind of knowledge the annotations transmit. Appendix IV provides a complete listing of the referenced annotations from seventeen manuscripts.

### Clarifications on semantics

Difficult words are clarified by providing definitions and synonyms and explaining the nuances of their meaning. One example to illustrate this is the word *‘ūn* ‘middle aged’ encountered in the text of *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*. An annotation in the margin provides the following explanation by Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware:<sup>713</sup>

*Wa al-‘ūn huwa al-mar’a al-kabīra allatī taqūl li-zawjahā kathīrān ‘u‘u idhā ḥaqarat amrahu. Qālahu Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri. Ṭāla Allāh ‘umr linā.*<sup>714</sup>  
 ‘[The word] *al-‘ūn* ‘middle-aged (pl.)’ [means] a senior woman who howls/barks a lot at her husband when she disrespected his commands/instruction. Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said that. May God prolong his life for our sake.’

According to the second commentary, the word has a figurative meaning in the context given:

*Al-mar’a al-kabīra wa huwa hunā ākhir fikruhu fī ākhir ‘umr. Qālahu Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri.*  
 ‘A senior woman. And [the meaning] is here: last thoughts/reflections at advancing/declining age. Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said that.’

### Clarifications on grammatical aspects

The explanations also relate to grammatical aspects. For instance, in the same manuscript, the commentary to *rakā’ibunā* ‘our riding camels’ touches upon both grammar and semantics:<sup>715</sup>

*Wa al-rakā’ib jam ‘wikāb (rikāb) wa huwa al-ibil khāṣṣa. Qālahu shaykh al-walī Muḥammad al-Taslīmī.*  
 ‘And the [word] *al-rakā’ib* is a plural for *rikāb* ‘riding camel’. This is a particular type of camel. Shaykh *walī* Muḥammad Taslīmī said that.’

The commentaries may also instruct on vowel notation, as in the word (*man*) *yuhakkamu* ‘(the one) appointed as a judge’:<sup>716</sup>

*Bi-fathḥa al-kāf al-mushaddada mabniyyā li-’l-maf’ūl. Yuj’alu ḥākīmān wa huwa al-abu. Hākadhā ḍabaṭnāhu ‘an wālidī Maḥmūd[d] b. Muḥammad b. Siri.*  
 ‘The geminated *kāf* [of the verb *yuhakkamu*] is [vocalized] with *fathḥa*, [because it is in] passive voice. That is, [the one] appointed as a judge (*ḥākīm*), and it is the father.

<sup>713</sup> MS ZAC1, di 3179.

<sup>714</sup> The word *‘u‘u* possibly derives from the roots *‘auya* ‘bark’ or ‘whine’.

<sup>715</sup> MS ZAC1, di 2850.

<sup>716</sup> MS ZAC2, di 4076. Other examples are ZAC1, di 2721 and di 323; ZMC2, p. 21 (di 6805).

We marked the vowels like that under [the instruction] of my father Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Sire.’

In their explanations, scholars may draw on various textual sources. Here is an example of how a Qur’anic verse (words marked in bold) clarifies the vocalization of *bi-mablagħ* ‘with an amount, sum’:<sup>717</sup>

*Wa al-mablagħ bi-faṭḥa al-mīm wa sukūn al-bā’ wa faṭḥa al-lām. Kamā qāla ta’ālī fī sūrat al-naǧm **dhālika mablagħuhum min al-’ilm** al-āya hākadha jazama ‘alayhi al-shaykhunā Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Suwārī al-naḥwī al-qawīyi al-Qur’ānī [...].*

‘And in the [word] *mablagħ* ‘sum’ *mīm* is [vocalised] with *faṭḥa*, and *bā’* with *sukūn*, and *lām* with *faṭḥa*. Like the Exalted said in the sura *al-Naǧm* ‘The Star’: “That is their sum of knowledge (Q53:30)”.<sup>718</sup> Thus is the verse, he asserted it, our shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware the grammarian, all-strong, the connoisseur of the Qur’an. [...].’

Interestingly, the scribe added honorific epithets to his teacher’s name to underline his proficiency in the Arabic language and the Qur’an, which is evidenced by his commentary.

The annotations in manuscripts sometimes suggest altering word order or paraphrasing a sentence or verse. In such cases, the word *taqdīr* appears at either the beginning or end of the annotation.<sup>719</sup> The term *taqdīr* applies to a ‘form of linguistic analysis’ in which one phrase is replaced by another one ‘taken to be a better representation of what the speaker or writer had in mind’.<sup>720</sup> In other words, *taqdīr* is a ‘procedure, which leads to an interpretative paraphrase of sentences.’<sup>721</sup>

### Supplying additional information

The scholars provide additional details on the notions and ideas, events, and individuals discussed in the texts. For example, the passage in *al-Risāla*, chapter 28 on Pilgrimage, tells us that a pilgrim should kiss the black stone of the Kaaba if he can. An annotation added to the word [*al-ḥajar*] *al-aswad* ‘the black [stone]’ accounts for why the stone became black:<sup>722</sup>

*Qad kanāt abyad fī-’l-zaman al-awwal wa lā kana aswadhā dhunūb al-khalq wa qabā’ih af’ ālhum. Min fam ustādhi Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Silāwīyi.*

‘It was white at first and was not black. It is [because of] the sins of people and [their] shameful deeds [that it had changed its colour]. From the mouth of my master Ibrāhīm Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Silla.’

<sup>717</sup> MS ZAC1, di 2994. In another commentary in the same manuscript on di 2681, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware cites a passage from *al-Risāla*.

<sup>718</sup> Here and further in this chapter, the translations of the verses are quoted from Sahih International.

<sup>719</sup> E.g., MS ZAC1, di 2613, and MS ZAC2, di 3915.

<sup>720</sup> Giolfo and Vertseeg 2019, 173.

<sup>721</sup> Versteegh 1993, 99.

<sup>722</sup> MS ZOC1, di 5448.

Another illustration is a marginal commentary on the passage in *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn - walahum fihā azwājun* ‘for them therein spouses’ (Q2:25). The commentator elaborates on what awaits believers in paradise:<sup>723</sup>

*Yuzawwaju kull rajul arba ‘a ālāf bikr wa thamāniya ālāf ayyim wa mi ‘a jawārin.  
Sami ‘tuhu min shaykhī ‘Abd al-Qadīr wa huwa sami ‘ahu min wālidīhi Muḥammad  
‘urifa bi Taslīmī.*

‘And every man will marry four thousand maidens, eight thousand widows, and a hundred servants. I heard it from my shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadīr, and he heard it from his father, known as Taslīmī.’

Full names or biographical details may be supplied for the individuals featured in the texts. For instance, a marginal annotation specifies the name of a scholar Abū al-Wafā (d. 513/1119), mentioned in a poem on Sufism *Nafahāt al-qudsiyya*:<sup>724</sup>

*Ismuhu ‘Alī. Min fam shaykhinā ‘Abd al-Qadīr b. Taslīmī.  
‘His name is ‘Alī. From the mouth of my shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadīr b. Taslīmī.’*

Scholars may also provide frequency information on texts and indicate the number of times certain words or notions appear or the number of verses within a text.<sup>725</sup>

#### Indicating texts’ esoteric qualities

Annotations may reveal esoteric meanings and applications of specific text passages. One example is in *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*, the verse *yuriḥu min al-balwā yuziḥu ‘an al-radan* ‘he releases from distress; he removes the devastation’:<sup>726</sup>

*Qīl hādhā-’l-bayt fī hādhā-’l-kitāb huwa sulṭān al-abyāt fī hadhā-’l-kitāb wa fihā  
‘ashr yā’āt min ḥurūf muḍāra ‘a wa man ḥafīzahā wa dāma ‘alā qirā’ tihā yajidu  
shāfa ‘a rasūl ṣalla Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam yaum al-qiyāma. Hākadhā qālahu abī wa  
wālidī wa mu ‘allimī wa ustādhī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri [...]*

‘It is said that this verse in this poem is the most powerful of [all] the verses in this composition. And in it, [there are] ten [letters] *yā’* of *ḥurūf al-muḍāra ‘a* (the prefixes of the imperfective verb). Whoever memorised it and persisted in reciting it will obtain the intercession of the Prophet (peace be upon him) on the day of the final judgment. So said my father, my teacher, and my master Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri [...]

Further, according to an annotation in a manuscript with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, copying the sura *al-Munāfiqūn* (TQ63:1) brings the following benefits:<sup>727</sup>

*Wa man kataba hadhā-’l-sūra wa ‘allīqa ‘alayhi yajud al-‘umr wa yakūnu shaykhā  
kabīr in shā’ Allāh. Sami ‘ahu min shaykhī ya ‘nī ‘annā fūdī.*

<sup>723</sup> MS AAN1, p. 11 (di 0570).

<sup>724</sup> MS ZMC7, di 7413. Other examples include MS ZAC1, di 3003; MS ZMC8, di 7298.

<sup>725</sup> MS AAN1, p. 12 (di 0571); MS AAN2, p. 100 (di 1724).

<sup>726</sup> MS ZAC1, di 3231.

<sup>727</sup> MS AAN2, p. 444 (di 2073).



‘Whoever writes this sura and comments on it will prosper in life and become an esteemed shaykh, God willing. I heard it from my shaykh, meaning among us **fōdiyé**.’

As seen in the examples above, commentaries by local intellectuals demonstrate knowledge from various domains, such as lexicology, grammar, and religious matters. They shared their expertise in at least two languages: Arabic and Soninke. In contrast to Arabic commentaries, Soninke glosses representing translations of the words in the main text are less frequently attributed to their sources.<sup>728</sup>

The names of scholars are also sometimes written in the margins and attached directly to the main text words.<sup>729</sup> Unlike in other instances, the references are not preceded by any commentary or gloss, making it unclear why the scholars are mentioned.

### References to scholars: modes of knowledge transmission

Commentaries by local scholars are unlikely to be excerpts from any extensive text sources. There is no evidence that either of the scholars mentioned in the references wrote explanatory treatises or translated any texts on which they commented. Perhaps they noted some of their comments in their manuscript’s margins. Further pass-down of this knowledge may have gone through oral instruction during teaching sessions or through transferring the commentaries from their personal copies. The references at the end of the annotations support both possibilities.

Irrespective of the language of annotations (Arabic or Ajami), the references are always written in Arabic. They have a formulaic structure, including several elements: (1) an opening/introductory phrase; (2) the title of the scholar; (3) his name and/or nickname; (4) geographical attribution; (5) an invocation or eulogy.

In their literal meanings, the introductory or opening phrases in the references suggest two transmission and reception modes: aural/oral and visual. The first is expressed by terms, such as *qālahu* ‘he said it’,<sup>730</sup> *sami ‘tuhu min* ‘I heard it from’, *min fam* ‘from the mouth [of so-and-so]’. The second, visual mode, is reflected in phrases (*naqaltuhu*) *min khaṭṭ* or ‘(I copied it) from the handwriting’ or ‘from writings/records’, or else *ra ‘āyтахu fī kitāb* ‘I saw it in writings/records’. However, the issue of whether these terms are reliable at face value deserves consideration. This section examines the usage of the keywords in the references in the current corpus while also comparing them to the broader Islamic manuscript tradition.

Opening phrase *sami ‘tuhu min* ‘I heard it from [so-and-so]’

One of the terms closely associated with the idea of aural/oral transmission mode is the verb *sami ‘a* ‘to hear’. It occurs at the beginning of certificates of audition (*ijāzat al-samā* ‘). It documents the authorised transmission of a text and implies a learning situation in which the student listens to his teacher’s recitation (from memory or a book).<sup>731</sup> It is distinct from *qirā ‘a*, with the student reading

<sup>728</sup> One exception is MS ZAC2, where most referenced annotations are in Soninke.

<sup>729</sup> MS ZOC1, di 5345 and di 5543.

<sup>730</sup> The expression *qālahu* ‘he said it’ might also stand for *qālah* ‘speech, talk’, assuming that the last character is a *tā* ‘ *marbūṭa* with omitted dots.

<sup>731</sup> See e.g. Vajda 1975, 2; Schoeler 2006, 167.

the text in the teacher's presence.<sup>732</sup> However, there are also instances of applying the term *sami 'a* to individual reading.<sup>733</sup> Thus, the term refers primarily to the authorised transmission of the text than to the mode of reception.

In the Soninke Ajami manuscripts, the forms of the verbs 'hear' *sami 'tu/sami 'anā* 'I/we heard it' are frequently found in references to scholars. However, these references have no further similarities with audition certificates beyond documenting the transmitting authority.

In the references, various combinations of the verb *sami 'a* 'to hear' with other introductory words or closing formulas call for different interpretations of its possible meanings. One such example is found in the manuscript with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, MS AAN1, p. 12 (di 0571). The page in question contains an annotation, quoting three instances in the Qur'an where God condemns cutting kinship ties (*qāṭ 'a al-rahim*).<sup>734</sup> The reference at the end reads as follows:

*Hākadhā sami 'tu min khaṭṭ man qāla qālahu shaykhunā al-Ḥājj barrada Allāh ḍarīḥahumā wa nafa 'anā bi-barakatihumā ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad wa sallam.*

'Thus, I learned (heard) from the handwriting which said [that] our shaykh al-Ḥājj said so. May God cool their (dual) graves and provides us with the benefits of their (dual) blessings. Blessing and peace be upon Muḥammad.'

The beginning of the phrase *sami 'tu min khaṭṭ* 'I heard it from the handwriting' seems contradictory unless the verb *sami 'tu* is interpreted in a more general sense of 'read' or 'learn'. The following *khaṭṭ man qāla qālahu shaykhunā al-Ḥājj* 'handwriting, which said [that] our shaykh al-Ḥājj said so' probably implies an intermediary transmitter (whose name, for some reason, is not mentioned) between al-Ḥājj and the manuscript scribe. The invocation at the end of the reference hints that both al-Ḥājj and the anonymous transmitter were no longer living when the scribe committed the annotation to writing.

There are a few more examples of references with the verb *sami 'tu* introducing the names of deceased scholars.<sup>735</sup> There are two possible explanations: either the information was not obtained through direct oral communication with the scholar in question, or it was not recorded immediately but after a delay.

By contrast, in some cases, material evidence supports the contemporaneity of teachers and scribes. For instance, the scribe of the BULAC MS.ARA.165a with *al-Shifā'* by al-Qaḍī 'Iyād (d. 544/1149) refers to 'Uthmān Kaba (*sami 'tuhu min* 'I heard it from').<sup>736</sup> This Jakhanke scholar was active until around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Considering the manuscript's acquisition by the library in

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<sup>732</sup> Schoeler 2006, 167.

<sup>733</sup> Hirschler 2013, 13.

<sup>734</sup> The text on the page corresponds to Q2:27, which is one of the instances mentioned in the marginal commentary. Two other quotations are Qur'anic verses Q13:25 and Q47:22–23.

<sup>735</sup> E.g., MS AAN1, p. 50 (di 1671); MS AAN2, p. 130 (di 1754); MS ZMC2, di 6805. Similar to the preceding example, the invocations accompanying the names of scholars in the references suggest that they died before the annotations were written down in the manuscripts.

<sup>736</sup> Hunter 1977, 292. See also Chapter 5. One more example is a manuscript unit BL MS Or. 6473, ff. 117a–125b, with *Muqaddima* by al-Sanūsī. It does not contain any Ajami glosses but there is a commentary in Arabic with a reference 'I heard it from (*sami 'atuhu min*) al-Ḥājj Kassama'. The paper is watermarked with the Royal coat of arms and a date 1818, implying that the manuscript might have been written before al-Ḥājj Sālim's death.

1895, it must have been written before then. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the manuscript was written by a scribe who lived in the same period as the scholar whose name appears in the margins.

The aural reception by way of speech is expressed in the phrase *sami 'tu min / 'inda fam* 'I heard it from the mouth'.<sup>737</sup> In two instances, in MS ZAC2, di 3915, and MS ZAC1, di 3170, such a phrase might actually reflect direct contact between the recipient and the speaker since both scribes indicated kinship with their teachers. In the second manuscript, the scribe also added a supplication *ṭāla Allāh baqā'ahu* 'May God grant him long life', meaning that he wrote the annotation during the lifetime of his master.

#### Opening phrase *min fam* 'from the mouth [of so-and-so]'

The words *min fam* 'from the mouth' is another frequent introductory phrase. Interestingly, it may be complemented by verbs evoking the receiver as well. For instance, at the end of the commentary, one may find *naqaltuhu min fam shaykhī* 'I transcribed it from the mouth of my shaykh' or *arrakhtuhu min fam* 'I had written it down from the mouth [of so-and-so]'.<sup>738</sup> Such wording suggests that students noted down information from their teachers' spoken words in the margins and between the lines of texts they studied.

In the Arabic manuscript tradition, the expression *min fam al-muṣannif* 'from the mouth of the author' an oral component indeed, as it marks the commentaries in the margins, which represent authorial additions to his text when it was read back to him.<sup>739</sup>

The manuscripts under examination typically lack any precise context of their production. However, in some of them, the expression *min fam* seems to mark the commentaries from scholars contemporaneous with the scribes. For instance, the manuscript MS EAP 1042/1/1 with the *madḥ* poem by Ibn Mahīb has commentaries 'from the mouth' (*min fam*) of al-Ḥājj Kassama (d. 1824/29/36). The manuscript might have been written during his lifetime since the paper is watermarked with the date '1822'.

Another example is MS ZAC1. It has annotations ascribed to scholars from several generations spanning at least a hundred years: from al-Ḥājj Salīm Kassama (d. 1824/29/36) to his grand-son 'Abd al-Qādir Kassama, known as Quṭb (d. 1905). The references indicate that the scribe's other teacher (and his father) was Muhammed al-Amīn Suware, who lived around the time of Quṭb. Interestingly, only the comments from these last two scholars have references indicating aural

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<sup>737</sup> E.g., MS AAN2, p. 345 (di 1974).

<sup>738</sup> MS AAN1, p. 7 (di 5566), and MS ZOC1, di 5448 and di 5461, respectively. The verb *arrakha* means 'to date' or 'to inscribe the writing with the date' but can also be interpreted as 'to write history'.

<sup>739</sup> Witkam 1988, 95–96; Gacek 2009, 271. The expression *min fam* 'from the mouth' can be compared to the Greek *apo phones* (ἀπὸ φωνῆς) 'from the voice [of so-and-so]'. In certain contexts, this Greek phrase may be regarded as clear evidence of oral teaching (Brockmann, Lorusso, Martinelli 2017, 262). In other cases, it is irrelevant to the mode of transmission, only pointing to the author (Richard 1950, 222). I am grateful to Christian Brockmann for pointing to this similarity between the two expressions in different traditions, as well as for providing me with references to the above two articles.

reception ‘from the mouth’ (*min fam*).<sup>740</sup> Also, their names are accompanied by prayer requests asking God to prolong their lives.<sup>741</sup> The commentaries attributed to al-Ḥājj Kassama – who died before his grandson was born or before the latter acquired his own students – presumably were copied from a written source (*min khatt*).<sup>742</sup>

Similarly, in MS ZAC2, most annotations are referenced with *min fam shaykhī (wālidī)* ‘from the mouth of my shaykh (and my father)’. In this manuscript, however, only two scholars are mentioned, both of whom were the scribe’s contemporaries, according to the colophon.<sup>743</sup>

Finally, in MS ZOC1, the expression *min fam* occurs with the names of four scholars, one of which – Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware – as suggested by the scribe’s *nisba*, was also his father. The lifespans of three other scholars are unknown as of yet.

In other manuscripts, missing information on either scholars or scribes makes it problematic to discern whether these individuals were in direct contact. Noteworthy, many references to scholars that open with the phrase *min fam shaykhī* ‘from the mouth of my shaykh’ or *min fam abī/wālidī* ‘from the mouth of father/parent’ do not actually specify their names. Nevertheless, names appear after the introductory words *sami‘tu min* ‘I heard it from’ or *qāla* ‘so-and-so said’ in the same manuscripts.

Opening phrases *qāla/alā qaul* ‘[so-and-so] said / according to the words [of so-and-so]’

The term *qāla* or *qaul* is common in Arabic manuscripts to indicate quotations derived either from oral or written sources.<sup>744</sup> This sense of attribution to authority, regardless of the transmission method, seems to be valid for references to West African scholars as well. The words *qālahu* ‘he said’ or *fī/alā qaul* ‘in/according to the words/saying [of so-and-so]’ introduce the names of scholars whether or not they were coeval with the scribe. There is also a noteworthy interplay between these and other terms when recording a transmission from one scholar to the other.<sup>745</sup> For instance, the manuscript MS ZAC2, di 3918, has a commentary clarifying the meaning of the word *al-wara* ‘piety’ or ‘abstinence from unlawful things’:

*Qāla shaykunā al-Ḥājj al-Kasanmā wa al-wara‘ tarak mā lā ya’s (ba’s) fīhi ḥidhrān limā fīhi ba’s.*<sup>746</sup> *Ṣaḥḥ min fam Quṭb.*

<sup>740</sup> E.g., MS ZAC1, di 2821, di 3165, di 3177. However, *min fam* is not the only opening phrase that occurs with their names.

<sup>741</sup> Earlier examples discussed such a formula. The other of such type is *tāla Allāh ‘umrahu linā* ‘May God prolong his life for our sake’, found in MS ZAC1, di 2648. However, in other instances (e.g., MS ZAC1, di 2994, di 3003), the same scholarly names are followed by *raḥimahu ‘llāh* ‘May God have mercy upon him’, the supplication generally reserved for a deceased person (see Gacek 2009, 116).

<sup>742</sup> E.g., MS ZAC1, di 2685.

<sup>743</sup> See Chapters 4 and 5 for details.

<sup>744</sup> This expression is indicative of the oral nature of instructions in the context of early Islamic manuscripts (Schoeler 2009, 88). Rosenthal also notes, that *qāla* indicated the end of a quotation which ‘was derived from an oral source, or was considered as such’ (Rosenthal 1947, 39). However, it was also used to introduce quotations from literary works (*Ibid.*, 43.).

<sup>745</sup> For one such example, see also Chapter 5.

<sup>746</sup> Possibly, this is a paraphrase of a Hadith saying *yada‘ mā lā ba’s bihi ḥidhran limā bihi ba’s* ‘[No one will attain complete righteousness] until he abandons (certain) unobjectionable (but doubtful) things so as to remain on his guard against something objectionable.’ <<https://sunnah.com/riyadussalihin:595>> (last accessed November 2022).

‘Our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama said: “And piety [means] abandoning/avoiding what is harmless in it, being cautious of what is harmful in it”. Correct from the mouth of Quṭb.’

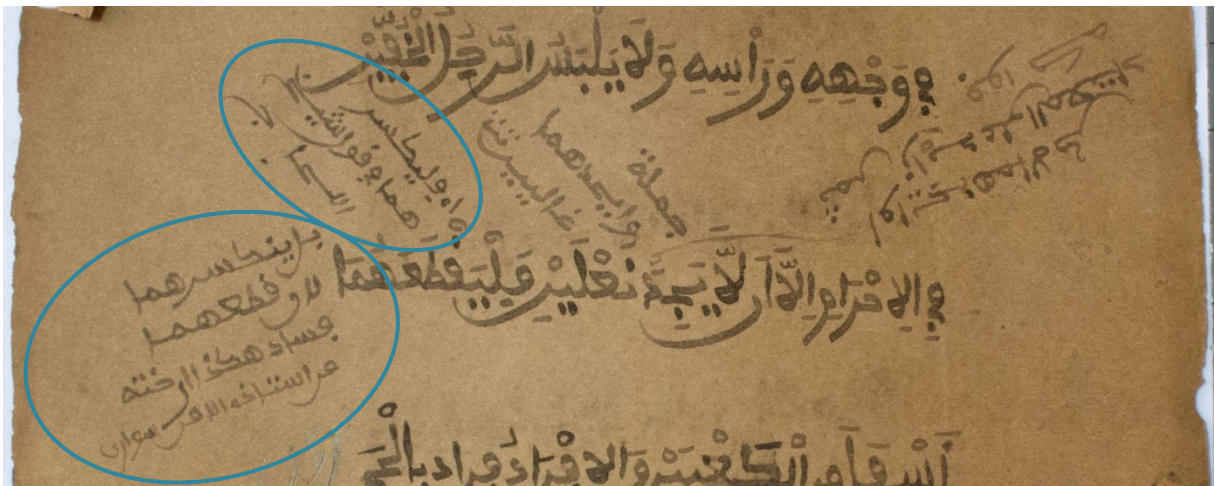
In this reference, the term *qāla* ‘said’ introduces the words of al-Ḥājj Kassama, which his grandson ‘Abd al-Qādir Quṭb used in order to explain the word *al-wara* ‘piety’. In turn, the phrase *min fam* ‘from the mouth of’ refers to Quṭb’s (oral) transmission of this quotation to his student(s).

A similar example of the interplay between various opening phrases is found in the manuscript with *al-Risāla*, MS ZOC1, di 5461. The passage in the main text discusses clothing requirements for pilgrims. According to the text, if a pilgrim wears shoes covering his ankles, ‘he should cut them short’ (*faliyaqṭa ‘ahumā*). This passage is accompanied by two commentaries (Fig. 31). The first refers to the words of shaykh al-Ḥājj (*fī qaul shaykh al-Ḥājj*) that clarifies what the pilgrim should do as follows: *ay fa-li-yaksirahumā* ‘he should tuck/fold them’. The second commentary apparently elaborates on the opinion of al-Ḥājj Kassama:

*Bal yankasiruhumā (yaksirahumā) li-anna qaṭ ‘uhumā fasād. Hākadhā arrakhtuhu min fam ustādhī al-Amīn Suwarī.*

‘But rather he should tuck/fold them because cutting them is corruption/loss. I had written it down from the mouth of my teacher al-Amīn Suware.’

In the two above-discussed examples (MS ZAC2 and MS ZOC1), the words *qāla* ‘[so-and-so] said’ or *qaul* ‘words [of so-and-so]’ attribute a saying or quote to a particular scholar. In contrast, the phrase *min fam* ‘from the mouth’ seems to describe gaining knowledge through personal interaction with a teacher.



**Figure 31.** Commentaries by al-Ḥājj Kassama and Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware. Senegal, Ziguinchor, MS ZOC1, di 5461.

Another phrase evoking in-person instruction is *ajābanī* ‘he replied to me’, which frames an annotation in MS ZAC1, di 2672. This annotation explains that the suffixed pronoun ‘his’ in the phrase [*qad ‘aẓumat*] *fī khalqi-hi barakātu-hu* ‘his blessings [became great] in his creation’ has two possible interpretations and refers either to God or to Aḥmad. The annotation ends with the following reference:

*Kamā ajābanī bihi shaykhī Muḥammad al-Taslīmī ‘alayhi raḥmatu ‘llāh wa riḍwāna.*

‘This is what my shaykh Muḥammad al-Taslīmī replied to me. May God have mercy upon him and be pleased with him.’<sup>747</sup>

The wording of the reference allows for envisioning a dialogue between the student (asking) and the teacher (explaining) during a teaching session.

Opening phrase *min khaṭṭ* ‘from the handwriting [of so-and-so]’

Several references indicate that the scribes copied annotations from written sources. For example, some identify the scribes’ teachers’ records as sources of annotations: *naqaltuhu min kitāb mu‘allimī* ‘I copied it from the writings/records of my teacher’, or *ra‘aytuhu fī ba‘aḍ kutub mu‘īn ‘Abd al-Qādir Quṭb* ‘I saw it in some records by ‘Abd al-Qādir Quṭb’.<sup>748</sup> Another example is the reference *min khaṭṭ* ‘from the handwriting [of so-and-so]’,<sup>749</sup> which in a manuscript may appear alongside the names of various scholars. Despite being attributed to different authorities, the annotations are written in the same handwriting – that of the scribe.<sup>750</sup> Hence, with the phrase *min khaṭṭ*, students introduced the names of scholars whose relevant records they copied into their own manuscripts. It then differs from the expression *min/alā yad* ‘from/by the hand [of so-and-so]’, which indicates a person who had done the actual labour of copying/writing.

One example of the reference *min khaṭṭ Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri* ‘from the handwriting of Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware’ appears in the manuscript with *Takhmīs al-Ishrīnīyyāt*, MS ZAC1, di 2921. This reference accompanies a marginal commentary on the word *taqaddumuḥu* ‘his precedence’. The commentary includes a quotation from another text, the title of which is indicated as follows: *unzurhu fī Maṭāli‘ al-musirrāt [fī] sharḥ Dalā‘il al-khayrāt*, ‘for it, see *Maṭāli‘ al-musirrāt [fī] sharḥ Dalā‘il al-khayrāt*’<sup>751</sup>. It is conceivable that Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware initially noted down the quote from the designated text, and his son, who was the scribe of the manuscript under discussion, subsequently copied it along with the source title.

To summarise, this section discussed framing annotations as the scribes’ means of documenting how and from which sources they obtained particular annotations. The opening phrases in the references indicate whether the annotations were transcribed from oral sources or copied from written sources using semantically distinct expressions. Of the expressions that indicate oral/aural transmission, only *min fam* ‘from the mouths of [so-and-so]’ appears to correspond to its literal meaning. The verb *sami‘-tu/-anā* ‘I/we heard it from [so-and-so]’ could designate authorised transmission either from a spoken or written source. The words *qāla* ‘[so-and-so] said’ or *qaul*

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<sup>747</sup> The eulogy *rahmatu ‘llāh* in this manuscript appears alongside the names of scholars, contemporary with the scribe.

<sup>748</sup> In MS DAD1, di 0315(II), and MS ZAC1, di 2617, respectively.

<sup>749</sup> As a comparison, in Arabic manuscripts, the phrase *min / bi-khaṭṭihi* ‘from / by his handwriting’ marks marginal comments that can be traced to the text’s author (i.e. written in the author’s handwriting); see Gacek 2009, 115–6.

<sup>750</sup> For example, the phrase *min khaṭṭ* attributes several annotations to various scholars, including al-Ḥājj Kassama, Muḥammad al-Taslīmī, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, and Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Suware (MS ZAC1, di 2685, di 2721, di 2921, and di 3245, respectively). The annotations and main text are penned by the same scribe who, as discussed in Chapter 5, was the son of Muḥammad al-Amīn (al-Sanūsī) Suware.

<sup>751</sup> The text is authored by ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī (d. 1063/1653), GAL II 253, SII 360.



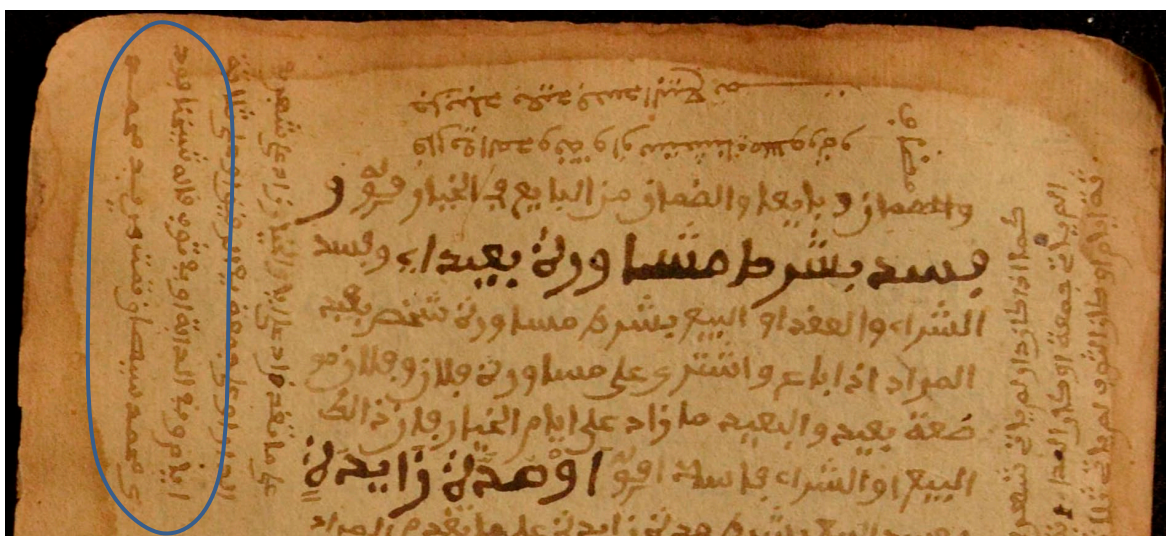
‘words [of so-and-so]’ refer broadly to quotations and are used for attribution of authority irrespective of the actual way of transmission.

### Scribes and Students

The expression *min yad* ‘from the hand [of so-and-so]’ introduced the individuals who wrote the annotations. Most often, it precedes personal and family names some of which may also include the name(s) of the parent(s). Although the same scribes appear to have written much of the annotations and main text in most manuscripts, they tend to sign their names after more extensive Arabic commentaries. In addition, such scribal self-identifications are more frequent in the so-called Soninke manuscript group, rather than in Jakhanke and Mandinka manuscript groups.<sup>752</sup> Occasionally, the scribes’ names immediately follow references to textual sources or local scholars. One such example can be found in MS DAD1, di 0221 (Fig. 32):

*Qālahu fudiyi Muḥammad Sīṣāq tammat min yad Muḥammad.*

‘Said **fódiyè** Muḥammad Sissakho. Ended. [Written] by the hand of Muḥammad [Koyta].’



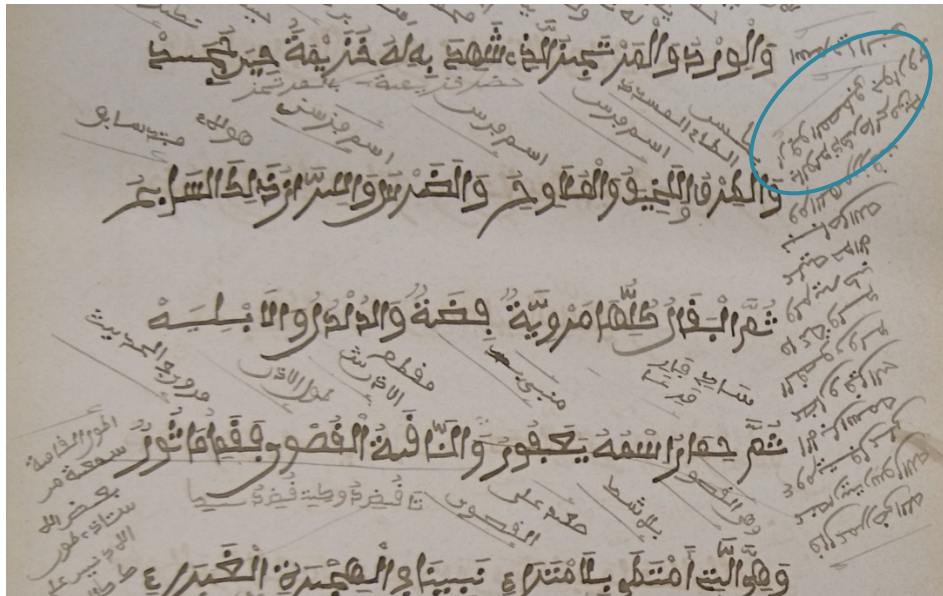
**Figure 32.** Scribe’s and his teacher’s names at the end of a marginal annotation in a manuscript with a commentary to *Mukhtaṣar* by Shaykh Khalīl. Senegal, Diawara, MS DAD1, di 0221.

Scribes often added to their names expressions of humility, such as *al-mudhniḥ* ‘sinner’, *al-danī* ‘despicable’, or appealed to God to grant them knowledge.<sup>753</sup> In one instance, however, the scribe’s name is preceded by the title of an advanced scholar – **ārḫāxà** (Fig. 33).<sup>754</sup>

<sup>752</sup> The few instances of scribes’ names added after annotations in the Jakhanke manuscripts are MS ZOC1, MS ZMC3, and BULAC MS.ARA.273.

<sup>753</sup> E.g., MS KSS1, di 0187; MS DLT1, di 9170.

<sup>754</sup> MS.ARA.273 f. 37a. Diagana’s dictionary defines the word as an honorific title for a Muslim scholar. According to Sylla the term **ārḫāḡ/āḫāḡ** signifies an advanced scholar who has not yet reached the highest level of his studies, i.e., the Qur’anic exegesis (Sylla, 2012, 312). See the discussion on scholarly titles in Chapter 4.



**Figure 33.** A mention of the scribe's name at the end of a marginal annotation. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.273, f. 37a.

Some references explicitly state that the scribes took part in the learning sessions in *majālis*, indicating their locations, as well as the names of their leaders:

*Min yad al-danī yusammī Maḥmūd Jumīra kā'in fī Tafasirka fī majlis shaykh Daramī.*  
 'From the hand of the despicable named Maḥmūd Jomera (Djimbéra) living in Tafasirga in *majlis* of shaykh Darame.'<sup>755</sup>

The scribes, therefore, may be identified as students (**tāalibe**) at higher levels of education.

Several students (e.g., scribes) identified their kinship relationship with their teachers, using terms like *abī* 'my father' or *wālidī* 'my parent'. Absent explicit mention, a scribe's genealogical information, sometimes included in the references or colophons, helps to deduce his kinship connections. The teacher's kinship with his student(s) suggests that the educational process occurred within a family. It may also be surmised that the students were of a younger generation than their teachers. However, their actual age is difficult to estimate.

### Identical commentaries

According to my field consultants, annotations are not copied together with the main text. Instead, students added explanations delivered by the teacher during learning sessions to their own copies of the text they studied. Accordingly, students of the same teacher supposedly could not produce identical manuscripts since each decided, according to their comprehension and challenges, as to which clarifications to note down.

Within this corpus, no entirely identical manuscripts were found; however, a few manuscripts have identical annotations. This case calls for examining references to scholars from a different perspective. Namely, one may assume that the scribes copied annotations alongside references to

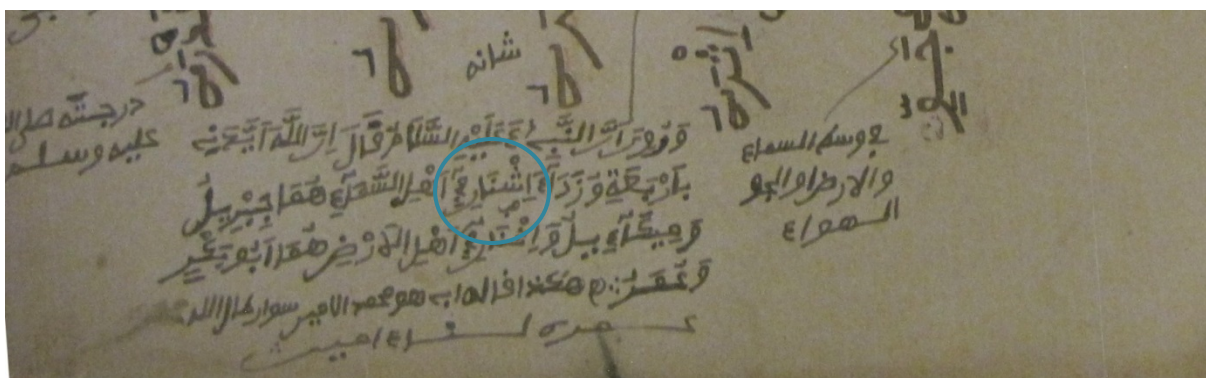
<sup>755</sup> MS KSS1, di 0684. Similar statements of annotations recorded while studying at *majlis* appear also in MS DAD1, di 0080, and MS DLT1, di 9194.



their sources, thus making them unreliable for tracing actual transmissions. In order to examine this assumption, the following section provides a few case studies by comparing similar commentaries in manuscripts with the same texts.

The first case is two almost identical manuscript units: BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 22a–38b and ff 307a–320a.<sup>756</sup> The main text - al-Sanūsī's *al-'Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā* - is accompanied by the exact same annotations, including those with references to scholars: *min fam shaykhī* 'from the mouth of my shaykh' and *min fam shaykhī raḥmatu 'llāh ta 'āla* 'from the mouth of my shaykh, the mercy of God the most high be upon him'.<sup>757</sup> Interestingly, in one reference, both manuscripts misspelt the scholar's personal name: *sami 'anā min shaykhinā al-Ḥbāḥ (al-Ḥājj)* 'we heard it from our shaykh al-Ḥājj'.<sup>758</sup> However, there is a difference in how his lineage name is spelt: *al-Kasamā* and *al-Kasamanī*, respectively. It appears that in the case of the two manuscript units, the annotations were copied together with their references. Judging from the handwriting, both units were written by the hand of the same scribe.<sup>759</sup> Thus, one could imagine that the scribe produced a second copy because, for some reason, the first (or one) copy was not deemed acceptable (or sufficient). Since the same scribe produced the two units, the identical references to al-Ḥājj Kassama may still be reliable in reflecting the scribe's connection to this scholar.

Further examples of similar or identical annotations are taken from four manuscripts with a devotional poem by Ibn Mahīb. Two of these manuscripts – MS ZAC1 and MS AAN3 – contain the same commentary attached to the names of angels Jibra'il and Mika'il and ascribed to Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware (Fig. 34).

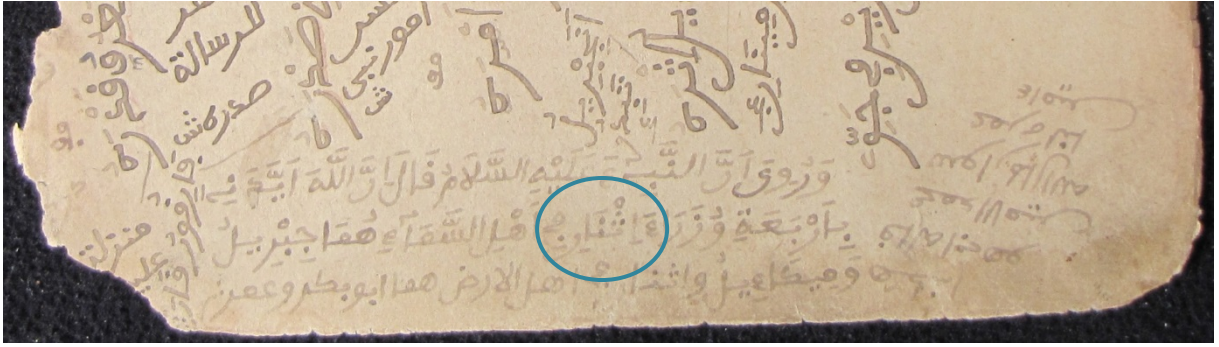


<sup>756</sup> See Chapter 1 for details.

<sup>757</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 22b-23b and 308a-308b, respectively.

<sup>758</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 28a and f. 314a.

<sup>759</sup> The colophon of the unit on ff 22a–38b only identifies the manuscript's owner. There is no information about the scribe or owner of the second unit on ff 307a–320a since it is incomplete. Consequently, one can only guess that the same individual produced both items based on similar handwriting.



**Figure 34.** A pair of almost identical annotations: with and without a spelling error (upper and lower images, respectively). Senegal, Ziguinchor, MS ZAC1, di 3196, and Adéane, MS AAN3, di 1547.

*Wa ruwiya ‘an al-nabīy ‘alayhi al-salām qāla inna Allāh ayyadanī bi-‘arb ‘a wuzarā’ ithnāni fī ahl al-samā’i humā Jibrīl wa Mīkā’il ithnāni fī ahl al-arḍ humā Abū Bakr wa ‘Umar. Hākadhā qālahu abī huwa Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri ṭāla Allāhu ‘umr linā amīn.*

‘It was told about the Prophet (peace be upon him) [that] he said: “Indeed, God supported me with four viziers: two among the people of the heaven, these are Jibra’il and Mika’il, and two among the people of the earth, these are Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.”.’

There is only one difference between the annotations in the two manuscripts: the word *ithnāni* ‘two’ is misspelt as *ishnāni* in MS ZAC1. Both scribes use the word *abī* ‘my father’ to refer to Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware. However, kinship is not relevant, assuming the references were copied together with the commentaries from elsewhere. Yet, it is conceivable that the scribe of MS ZAC1 was in close contact with Muḥammad al-Amīn since he cited him another twenty-five times. MS AAN3 has only two commentaries that refer to scholars, namely to Muḥammad Al-Amīn Suware. One (examined above) has a matching pair in MS ZAC1, but the other does not.

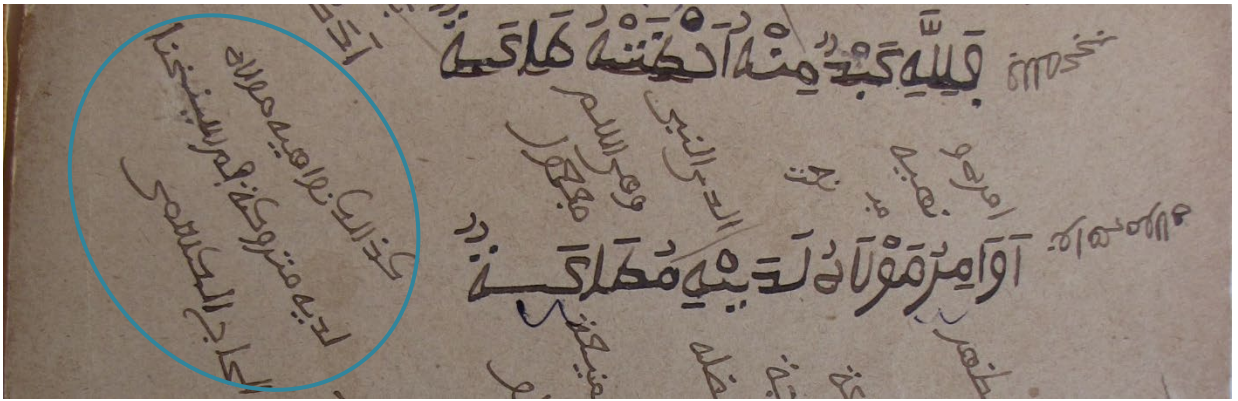
Three manuscripts, MS ZAC1, MS ZMC1, and MS EAP1042/1/1, all have quotations attributed to al-Ḥājj Kassama. These quotations, however, refer to different passages of the Arabic text. Yet, one of al-Ḥājj’s comments appears in the last two manuscripts to the same verse *awāmīr maulāhu ladayhi muṭā’a* ‘commands of his master, he has obeyed’ (Fig. 35).<sup>760</sup> Yet, the annotations in the two manuscripts are not identical, as they display some differences in wording:<sup>761</sup>

*Kadhālika nawāhī-hu maulāhu ladayhi matrūka [min] fam shaynkhinā (shaykhinā) al-Ḥājj al-Kasamā.*

‘Likewise, his prohibitions of his master, he has abandoned/renounced. [From] the mouth of our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama.’

<sup>760</sup> See also the commentary in MS EAP1042/1/1 (upper left corner): <<https://cap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1042-1-1/#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=92&xywh=-836%2C603%2C4934%2C2982>> (last accessed November 2022).

<sup>761</sup> The current transcription combines annotations from the two manuscripts. Words underlined appear in MS ZMC1 but not in MS EAP 1042/1/1. Words in square brackets are missing from the first manuscript but present in the second.



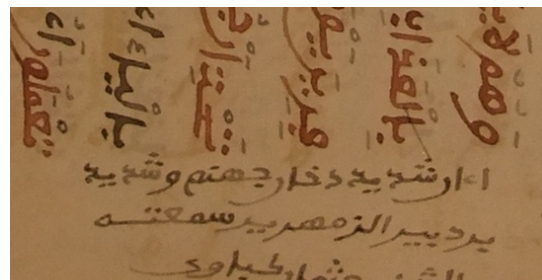
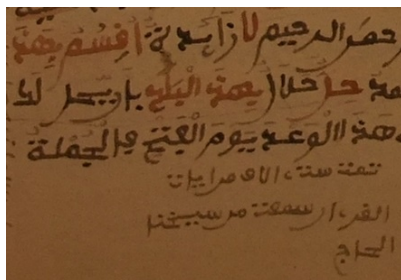
**Figure 35.** A comment by al-Ḥājj Kassama. Senegal, Ziguinchor, MS ZMC1, di 5203.

Intresentigly, based on material evidence, MS EAP 1042/1/1 was potentially written during the time of al-Ḥājj Kassama. However, contemporaneity cannot be confirmed for MS ZMC1, so it is possible that its scribe copied the annotation and the reference from an earlier manuscript.

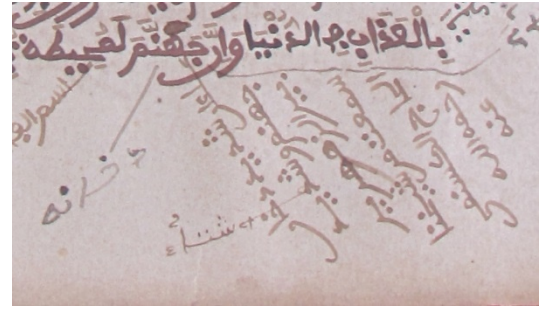
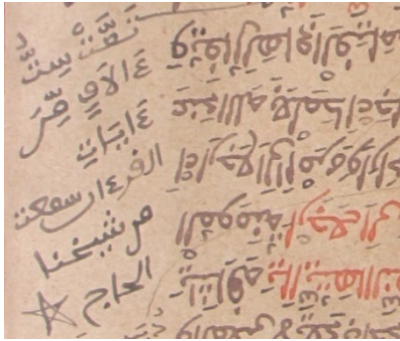
The last case study deals with two manuscripts, BULAC MS.ARA.112b and MS AAN2, with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. The manuscripts have two pairs of corresponding annotations. Noteworthy, in MS AAN2, two hands wrote the annotations in question: one was the main text’s hand, the other someone else’s. The first pair is identical in the two manuscripts (Fig. 36, left top & bottom) but linked to different verses: to the last verse of the sura *al-Fajr* ‘the Dawn’ (Q89:30) in one manuscript, and to the first verse of the sura *al-Balad* ‘the City’ (Q90:1):

*Tammat sitt ālāf min āyāt al-Qur’ān. Sami ‘tuhu min shaykhinā al-Ḥājj.*  
 ‘End of 6000 of the Qur’an verses. I heard it from our shaykh al-Ḥājj.’

Both scribes quote al-Ḥājj Kassama (d. 1824/29/36) as the source of this commentary. However, the scribe of the annotation in MS AAN2 lived much later than this scholar since, elsewhere in the manuscript, he refers to al-Ḥājj’s grandson Quṭb (1830–1905). Therefore, the reference *sami ‘tuhu min al-Ḥājj* ‘I heard it from al-Ḥājj’ is not literal but instead refers to consulting and possibly copying from another (written) source.







**Figure 36.** Pairs of identical annotations. Top: France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 391a and f. 158b. Bottom: Senegal, Adéane, MS AAN2, p. 568 (di 2200) and p. 130 (di 1754).

The second pair of annotations (Fig. 36, right top & bottom), explain the word ‘*adhāb*’ ‘punishment’ (TQ29:54). However, despite the same content of the two annotations, each refers to a different source:

*Ay inna shadīd dukhān jahannam wa shadīd bard bīr (?) zamharīr.*<sup>762</sup>  
 ‘I.e., intense smoke of Hell and intense cold, hurting cold (*zamharīr*).’

BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 158b:

*Sami ‘tuhu min shaykhī ‘Uthmān Kabāwiyu.*

‘I heard it from my shaykh  
 ‘Uthmān Kaba.’

MS AAN2, p. 130 (di 1754):

*Sami ‘tuhu min shaykhinā al-Ḥājj al-Kasanmā raḥimahu ‘llāh ‘anhu.*

‘I heard it from our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama.  
 May God have mercy upon him.’

The references in these instances likely reflect transmission rather than authorship since they indicate different sources for the exact quotation. ‘Uthmān Kaba, who, as seen previously, studied under al-Ḥājj Kassama, conceivably received the interpretation of the word ‘punishment’ from the latter. He then passed this comment on to the scribe of the manuscript, as recorded in the reference in BULAC.MS.ARA.112b. In contrast, the reference in MS AAN2 suggests transmission from al-Ḥājj Kassama, although it was unlikely a direct transmission, since elsewhere in this manuscript the scribe’s reference implies that the manuscript was written after al-Ḥājj death.<sup>763</sup>

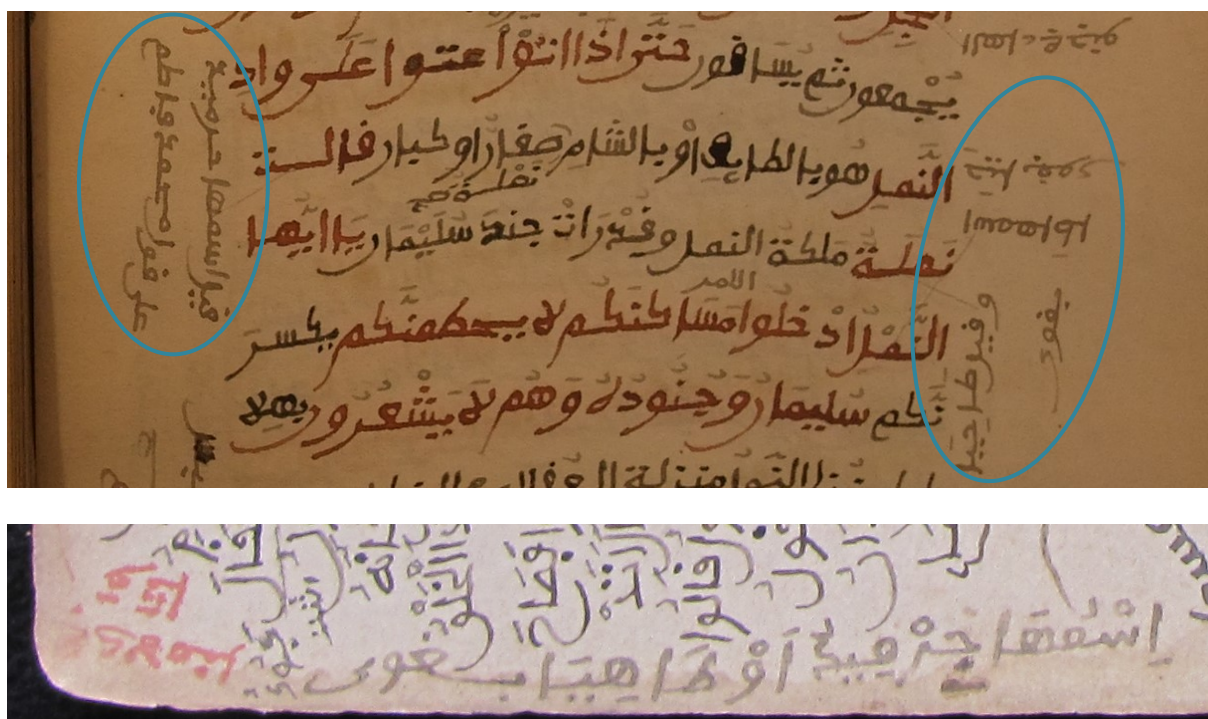
These two manuscripts have more annotations similar in content but attributed to different sources (Fig. 37) which relate to the passage about Solomon and an ant (TQ27:18). In the manuscript BULAC MS.ARA.112b, the possible names for the ant, *Ṭāḥiyā* and *Ḥirmīd*, are written as two separate annotations.<sup>764</sup> The references cite al-Baghawī’s *tafsīr* as the source for the first name and the words of Muḥammad Fāṭim (‘*alā qaūl Muḥammad Fāṭim*’) as the source for the second. In

<sup>762</sup> The Underlined word is missing from the commentary in MS AAN2.

<sup>763</sup> See the discussion earlier in this chapter. In addition, it appears that this scribe only used prayers with the names of deceased scholars.

<sup>764</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 122b. The current reading *Ḥirmīd* is tentative since the vowels are unmarked in the annotation. I could not find any exegetical source suggesting such a name. For various ant’s names, including *Ṭāḥiya*, see, e.g., Versteegh 2011, 289.

contrast, in MS AAN2, these same ant's names are cited in a single commentary assigned to al-Baghawī.<sup>765</sup>



**Figure 37.** Annotations suggesting names for the talking ant. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 122b, and Senegal, Adéane, MS AAN2, p. 93 (di 1716).

To summarise, identical annotations occur in twelve manuscripts with corresponding texts out of a total of eighteen manuscripts (Table 6). All annotations are identical in the two units of the composite BULAC MS.ARA.219bis. However, these units should probably be excluded from consideration since they appear to have been produced by the same scribe. Among the rest, five annotations have an exact counterpart in another manuscript. Three of them also have identical references.

**Table 6. Identical annotations in manuscripts.**

Text	Manuscripts	Identical annotations	Identical references
<i>Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyāt</i>	2	1	1
	2	1	1
<i>Tafsīr al-Jalālayn</i> (suras 19–114)	2	1	1
		1	0
		1	0
<i>al-Ājurrūmiyya</i>	2	0	0
<i>Kitāb al-zuhd</i>	2	0	0
<i>al-Ṣuḡhrā</i>	2	all	all
Other texts	6	–	–
<b>Total:</b>	<b>10/18</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>

<sup>765</sup> MS AAN2, p. 93 (di 1716). The first name starts with *jīm*, i.e., *Jirmīd* (and not *Ḥirmīd*, like in BULAC MS.ARA.112b).

The commentaries may match exactly or display minor differences, such as errors, omissions, and vowel notations. Similarly, their references may be entirely identical and use the same introductory words (*sami' tuhu min* 'I heard it from', *min fam* 'from the mouth') and kinship terms (*abī* 'my father'). It is possible that such 'fixed' references were reproduced along with annotations from previous sources. In contrast, references to different authorities after annotations of the same content potentially indicate different transmissions.

### Tracing transmissions

The previous section shows that some commentaries were transmitted – through writing or speech – nearly unchanged in form or content. Few references mention whether the information passed through more than one scholar.<sup>766</sup> Whenever the references do not explicitly reflect the chain of transmission, it may be possible to reconstruct it by understanding the scholarly networks behind manuscript production.

In addition to the cases analysed above, another noteworthy example is found in the two manuscripts BULAC MS.ARA.112b and MS AAN2 with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (suras 19–114). Both manuscripts contain almost identical annotations where the word in the main text (TQ36:80) is explained in the Songhay language of Djenné.<sup>767</sup> The choice of Songhay for interpretation appears peculiar, considering that the first manuscript was written in Bani Isra'ila of Bundu (present-day eastern Senegal) and the second probably in Touba (today's Guinea).

Yet, scribes and users of both manuscripts refer to al-Ḥājj Kassama and his disciples. As the chronicles report, the former travelled to Djenné for his studies. In fact, one of his Djenné teachers – Muḥammad al-Naḥwī – is referred to in the margins of MS AAN1 (*Tafsīr* suras 1–18),<sup>768</sup> written by the same scribe as MS AAN2. It is conceivable that al-Ḥājj Kassama incorporated the comments of the Djenné scholars into his own teachings. Based on these considerations and the mentions of other scholars in the two manuscripts, the transmission chains for the Songhay annotations can be reconstructed as follows:

<b>BULAC MS.ARA.112b</b>	<b>MS AAN2</b>
Scholars of Djenné	Scholars of Djenné (Muḥammad al-Naḥwī)
al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama (d. 1824/29/36)	al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama (d. 1824/29/36)
‘Utmān Kaba (d. 1890)	Muḥammad Taslīmī (d. 1829/48/52)
Manuscript's scribe	Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware (ca. 19 <sup>th</sup> cent.)
al-Ḥājj b. al-Ḥājj b. Muḥammad Maryam	
Dramé	Manuscript's scribe (unknown)

<sup>766</sup> For example, MS AAN1, p. 11 (di 0570); MS AAN2, p. 15 (di 1635); MS DAD1, di 627(II) and 789(II); MS ZAC2, di 3918.

<sup>767</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 211a, and MS AAN2, p. 190 (di 1814). See Chapters 5 and 7 for further details.

<sup>768</sup> MS AAN1, p. 331 (di 0898). See also Chapters 3 and 5.

## **Concluding remarks**

The references at the end of the annotations record the scribes' identities and their sources of knowledge. The scribes appear to be students at the higher stages of classical Islamic education. The annotations they add to the studied texts draw on well-known Arabic texts, as well as the teachings of West African scholars. The teachers' commentaries on texts clarify their content and provide additional information on various matters.

A manuscript may accumulate citations from multiple generations of scholars. However, at least one of them lived during the time of the manuscript's scribe. As demonstrated in this chapter, material evidence, chronological considerations, and eulogies in the references, either for deceased or living scholars, help establish the contemporaneity of scholars and scribes.

From the analysis of the formulaic expressions that the scribes used in the references, it appears that the annotations were recorded from a teacher's oral instruction or copied from other manuscripts.

Copying annotations from written sources may explain identical annotations found in manuscripts written by different scribes at different times. However, none of the manuscripts in the present corpus, even though they all belong to the same scholarly tradition, display a full match in the referenced annotations. Thus, from the current data set, it appears that the scribes tended to copy only some selected commentaries rather than reproduce the model manuscript's content and paracontent in its entirety.

Annotations attributed to scholars who were not the scribes' contemporaries may have been copied from written sources. Alternatively, their comments could have passed through transmission chains. Reconstruction of such chains of successive teacher-student transmissions from 'original' sources to actual scribes has been possible in some cases.

Since the margins of the same manuscript may sometimes incorporate annotations recorded from speech and copied from written sources, learning may have involved both live sessions with scholars and consulting their manuscripts. Neat handwriting, using inks of different colours, and the arrangement in blocks of extensive commentaries with elaborate references suggest that the annotations resulted from a well-planned process requiring time and concentration. However, there are still questions about how and when verbal comments were committed to the paper and what were possible intermediary steps. For instance, did the students note their teachers' explanations in the margins of their manuscripts in class, or did they write them later after memorizing the material?

## Chapter 7. Ajami annotations and local languages in traditional Islamic education

### Introduction

As discussed in previous chapters, the manuscripts of the corpus originate from several regions across Greater Senegambia. The scribes and their teachers associated themselves with various scholarly networks. Soninke glosses are what connect all the current corpus of manuscripts. Yet, about forty per cent of the manuscripts have paratexts in another Mande/Manding language. In addition, manuscript glosses show different spelling approaches.

The present chapter aims to establish correlations between manuscripts' geography and scholarly networks on the one hand and languages and orthographic conventions on the other. Furthermore, it examines the interaction of languages within manuscripts with a view to understanding the distribution of languages in educational practices. Finally, this chapter also focuses on the Soninke glosses as a tool implemented by local scholars to interpret Arabic texts.

Several studies focus on the issue of local languages used in translation.<sup>769</sup> For instance, Tal Tamari developed an elaborate typology of translational strategies in the oral translations of religious texts in Manding (Bamana).<sup>770</sup> Further, Dmitry Bondarev analysed in depth the written exegesis in the Old Kanembu manuscripts.<sup>771</sup> Their research explores working methods with Arabic texts, including parsing them into translational units, marking the grammatical categories, and translating or interpreting them into the target language. Based on a comparative study of exegeses in several West African languages, Tal Tamari and Dmitry Bondarev identified several features characterising the scholarly varieties of languages. These features include 'specific lexical, syntactic, and sometimes morphosyntactic traits.' The present chapter offers an analysis of Ajami glosses from the current corpus building on the above approaches.

The chapter starts with introducing the scribes' system for marking glosses in various languages. These markers give clues as to what the native languages of the manuscripts' users were. Then, individual parts of this chapter describe glosses in different languages. The first part discusses Soninke glosses, and the second part looks at glosses in the scribes' native languages and other languages used for interpreting Arabic texts. The analysis of vernacular glosses involves grapheme-phoneme correspondences, emphasizing the particularities of orthographic conventions in manuscripts from various regions. It also concerns translational strategies based on a system of grammatical and lexical correspondences between the source and target language(s).

Presenting examples of vernacular glosses in this chapter include the transliteration of Ajami given in angular brackets followed by an interpretation (in bold) and translation into English (in inverted commas). Morphological glossing is provided when deemed necessary. Lexical tones of the words

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<sup>769</sup> See the Introduction for relevant references. See especially Tamari and Bondarev 2013b.

<sup>770</sup> Tamari 1996, 2013, 2019.

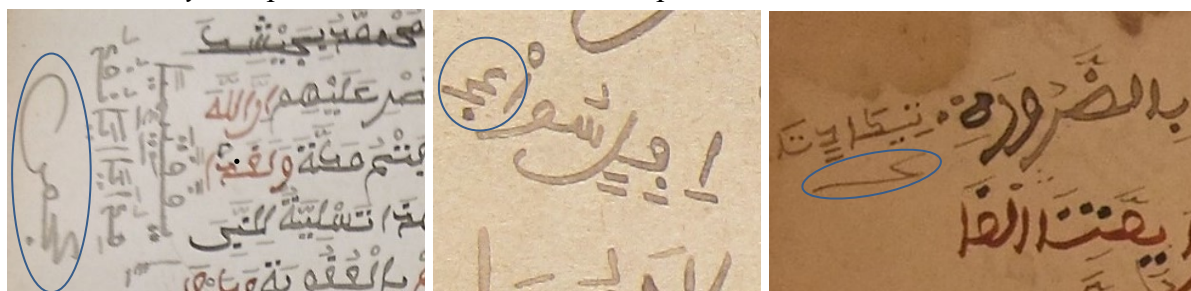
<sup>771</sup> Bondarev 2006, 2013ab, 2014, forthcoming.



and morphological categories are marked according to works dealing with several dialects of Soninke, and Mandinka.<sup>772</sup>

### Marking the annotations in local languages

The manuscripts' scribes may distinguish annotations in local languages by using specific markers, such as 'ajamī' non-Arabic' and *fi kalāminā* 'in our words/language'.<sup>773</sup> As will be demonstrated in the following, they're not equivalent. The first marker, 'ajamī, for non-Arabic writings is usually added at the end of annotations (Fig. 38, left). It may also be written as 'ajam, although the spelling with the final -yā' is predominant in the current corpus.



**Figure 38.** The word 'ajamī (also abbreviated) marking non-Arabic glosses. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.112a, f. 199a (left) and BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1726 (right); Senegal, Adéane, MS AAN3, di 1580 (centre).

Abbreviated forms of the word 'ajamī are also frequent. Typically, the scribes write only the first two letters 'ayn-jīm (Fig. 38, middle), sometimes omitting the dot under the jīm. Other letter combinations also occur in abbreviations, such as 'ayn-(jīm)-yā' or only the letter 'ayn in its initial position (Fig. 38, right).

The scribes marked vernacular glosses as 'ajamī with a varying degree of consistency, from sporadic to systematic. That is, some manuscripts scribes and users only labelled one or few out of several or many non-Arabic writings, whereas others label each of such glosses in a particular manuscript. Yet, most manuscripts with glosses in local languages do not feature the use of 'ajamī marker at all.

The earliest manuscript in the current corpus having Soninke glosses marked with 'ajamī dates to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>774</sup> Several manuscripts produced before this date do not label vernacular glosses.<sup>775</sup> Yet, later manuscripts also do not always feature the usage of this label.<sup>776</sup>

<sup>772</sup> Creissels 2016 and Diagona 2013 for Soninke; Creissels 2012, 2017 for Mandinka.

<sup>773</sup> The marker 'ajam(i) is also attested in other Ajami manuscript traditions. For instance, it accompanies interpretations of Arabic texts into Hausa, Nupe, and Jula (see Dobronravin 2013, 91, Reihmuth 2017, 95, and Ogorodnikova 2017, 123, respectively). However, marking non-Arabic glosses in Old Kanembu manuscripts does not seem widespread, with only one occurrence of the mark 'ajam for a vernacular gloss (Bondarev 2019 [blog post]).

<sup>774</sup> The earliest manuscripts, dated through watermarks in paper, with occurrences of 'ajamī are, for example, JRL MS 780[825], ff 13a–35b, BL MS Or. 6743, ff 126a–133b, and 155a–163b, BULAC MS.ARA.359, and MS EAP 1042/1/1 (see Chapter 2 and Appendix I). In terms of comparison, the earliest and the only Old Kanembu gloss marked with 'ajamī is attested in a Qur'an manuscript written in 1080/1669. This marker occurs with Hausa Ajami glosses in manuscripts from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> or first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Bondarev, 2019 [blog post]).

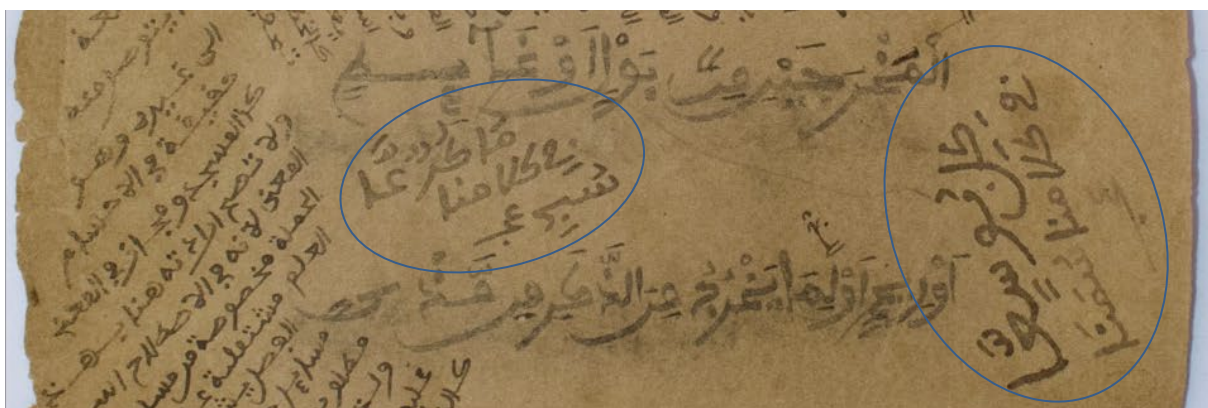
<sup>775</sup> E.g., MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 6a–24b, 217ab, and BnF MS Arabe 5322, ff 294b–323a.

<sup>776</sup> For instance, several manuscript units of the composite manuscript BmT MS 2234 written in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century do not have any glosses marked with 'ajamī.

It means that chronology cannot fully account for the presence or absence of marking the glosses, and other factors, such as individual scribal practices/choices, may play a role.<sup>777</sup>

The second marker for vernacular glosses is the Arabic phrase *fī kalāminā* ‘in our words’ or ‘in our language’,<sup>778</sup> revealing the scribes’ linguistic background. Scribes marked with this phrase glosses written in their ‘native’ language, which differs from Soninke in many manuscripts. Written mainly in a Manding/Mande language, these glosses may stand alone or run parallel to Soninke glosses.

Thus, in multilingual manuscripts, distinct labels are used by the scribes for different languages. The Soninke glosses are marked with *‘ajamī* or not marked at all, while the glosses in an additional/alternative language are invariably preceded by *fī kalāminā* and sometimes also followed by *‘ajamī* (Fig. 39).



**Figure 39.** Different markers used for Soninke and Manding glosses. Senegal, Ziguinchor, and MS ZOC1, di 5171.

The phrase *fī kalāminā* with Manding glosses already occurred in manuscripts from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which predominant Soninke glosses remained unmarked.<sup>779</sup> Hence, this label, independently from *‘ajamī*, has a long tradition of being employed for marking the vernacular glosses.

Although both *‘ajamī* and *fī kalāminā* label the language of the glosses as different from Arabic, neither makes it clear in which actual language they were written. This information might be

<sup>777</sup> A pertinent example might be the three units, ff 18a–21a, ff 22a–50b, and 304a–308b, of the composite manuscript BULAC MS.ARA.273, written by two different scribes. According to the colophons, both scribes studied under the same teacher active in Bundu (eastern Senegal) in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Chapter 4 for details). However, the scribe of the first manuscript unit left the non-Arabic glosses unmarked. In contrast, the scribe of the other two units randomly marked glosses in local languages *‘ajamī* or *fī kalāminā*.

<sup>778</sup> In contrast to the word *‘ajamī*, the phrase *fī kalāminā* rarely gets shortened or abbreviated. In a few cases, it appears written as *fī kalā*, most likely because of lacking space. This label’s rare variations include *min kalāminā* ‘from our words/language’ and *qīl fī kalāminā* ‘said in our words/language’. The phrase *fī kalāminā* also occurs with Jula glosses in manuscripts from private collections in Burkina Faso (Ogorodnikova 2017, 123). Besides, it accompanies Soninke words encountered in manuscripts with magical recipes in Arabic (Hamès 1987, 322).

<sup>779</sup> The earliest manuscript with *fī kalāminā* marking Mandinka glosses is TCD MS 2179, purportedly acquired in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and thus produced before that date. This label also appears in some more manuscripts from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century: BnF MS Arabe 5504, ff 101a–155b, Arabe 5657, ff 110a–151b; MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 5ab, 102a–189a, 191a–193b; TCD MS 3499, ff 43b–130b.

evident to scribes, but not to external readers. However, in rare instances, the scribes marked the languages more precisely by indicating toponyms or ethnonyms (see further in this chapter).<sup>780</sup>

To sum up, the various markers applied to glosses in different languages evidence (but also help to unravel) the linguistic complexity of interpretational practices. The following sections examine in more detail glosses and languages found in manuscripts.

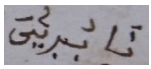
## Orthographic conventions

This section describes scribal strategies for writing Soninke in Arabic characters in the glosses.<sup>781</sup> A shared orthographic principle across the current manuscript corpus is to use the existing inventory without introducing supplementary graphemes. In this way, some graphemes receive an additional reading to represent Soninke-specific sounds (both consonants and vowels). The choice of respective graphemes is usually determined by the phonological proximity between Soninke and Arabic. However, as will be demonstrated further, other linguistic factors may also have an impact.

### Vowels

Soninke has five short vowel phonemes and a set of corresponding long vowels.<sup>782</sup> The standard Arabic vocalic diacritics mainly represent short vowels. The *fatha* almost invariably corresponds to /a/.<sup>783</sup> The *kasra* seems to have a double value for close and middle front vowels /i/ and /e/. Similarly, the *damma* represents close and middle back vowels /u/ and /o/.

The scribes of a few manuscripts, with some consistency, graphically distinguish the middle front /e/ by placing a dot below the letter (*imāla*).<sup>784</sup> Another and more complex way of representing an

/e/ is *imāla* or *kasra*, followed by *yā* with a vertical tilde on top, like in  <na' bure y'ya> **nàabùré yá** 'richness'.<sup>785</sup> Interestingly, the few manuscripts from this corpus that feature the use of *imāla* diacritic share a geographical origin in the southeast of Greater Senegambia.<sup>786</sup>

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<sup>780</sup> One of the rare instances where marking does not concern local languages is a definition of an Arabic word in the same language, beginning with the phrase *fī kalām al-‘arab* 'in words / language of Arabs' (MS ZMC1, di 5189).

<sup>781</sup> The following section only outlines some general tendencies, drawing on the correspondences between the graphic representation of the glosses in manuscripts and the tentative interpretations in Modern Soninke. These interpretations (which are still work in progress) are not intended to reconstruct the phonemic values of the graphemes in individual manuscripts, the latter requiring separate dedicated research.



<sup>782</sup> See, for example, Creissels 2016, 7–8.

<sup>783</sup> In several instances, *fatha* in the glosses corresponds to /e/ in Modern Soninke.

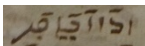
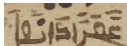

<sup>784</sup> This diacritic is attested in the 'Qur'anic Arabic of the Warsh variety' (Bondarev and Dobronravin 2019, 250). The trait of representing the front middle vowels with a lower dot is shared by several Ajami traditions, including Kanuri and Hausa (*Ibid.*, 250, 257), as well as Mogofin, Susu, Fulfulde of Futa Jallon and Bamana, which Valentin Vydrin groups as 'South-eastern' (Vydrin 2014, 222).



<sup>785</sup> MS BmT 2234 p. 85. The vertical tilde possibly represents the superposed *alif*.

<sup>786</sup> The colophons of several units of BMT MS 2234, pp 83–98, 173–183, 431–438, 442–479, 818–820, 827–830, and 833–845, indicate places located in present-day southern Guinea and Sierra Leone (see Chapter 4). It is also likely that the manuscript BnF Arabe 5299, ff 245a–365b, was created in what is now eastern Guinea since the language of the scribe was eastern Maninka, as evidenced by the additional layer of glosses (see further sections of this chapter). In addition, two manuscripts, BnF Arabe 5586, ff 1a–177a, and Arabe 5651, ff 285a–308b, feature the usage of *imāla* in owners' names and localities in colophons but not in the glosses. The former manuscript was written in Fougoumba in Futa Jallon, present-day Guinea (see Ogorodnikova 2016, 6–8).

The *ḍamma* followed by *wāw* and *alīf* (optionally with *sukūn* on top) in some instances may correspond to /o/ in the final position, like in  <ruw<sup>0</sup>> **ró** ‘[he] entered’.<sup>787</sup> Such spelling is also frequent in a locative postposition  <duw<sup>0</sup>>, possibly to be read as **dó**, corresponding to **dí** in Modern Soninke and used for translating the Arabic preposition *fī* ‘in’.<sup>788</sup>

In some cases, each of the short vowels corresponds to *sukūn*, which reading / value may vary even within one manuscript.<sup>789</sup> For example, *sukūn* corresponds to /i/ <k<sup>0</sup>tabi> **kitáabè** ‘book’, to /e/ in <s<sup>0</sup>fi> **sèfé** ‘word, speech’, and to /u/ in <faham<sup>0</sup> yi> **fàamúye** ‘understanding’. In addition, the imperfective auxiliary **wó** or **wá** is fairly often graphically represented as <w<sup>0</sup>>.<sup>790</sup> However, with its original function of marking the absence of a vowel, *sukūn* mainly occurs in Arabic loanwords / borrowings and names: <dun<sup>0</sup>ya > *dunyā* ‘world’, <taw<sup>0</sup>hīd> *tawhīd* ‘oneness’, <’ib<sup>0</sup>līs> *Iblīs* ‘devil’, <mar<sup>0</sup>yama> *Maryam* ‘Mary’.<sup>791</sup>

Word-initial vowels or vowel-only words, are also written as diacritics with a supporting character. In most cases, it is an *alīf*, like, for example, in  <’i d’ ’a ya’ mari> **ì dà à yàamàrì** ‘they have commanded it’.<sup>792</sup> The letter ‘*ayn* may also serve as support for an independent or initial vowel:  <’a<sup>n</sup>maran’ da’ na’a> **án màràndáanà ḡá** ‘your master’.<sup>793</sup> Yet, for writing the first person plural pronoun **ó** ‘we, us’, the scribes typically chose the combination of *wāw* with *ḍamma*, as in  <wu da<sup>n</sup>> **ó dà** ‘for us’.<sup>794</sup>

Similar to the Arabic writing tradition, the ‘weak’ letters *alīf*, *yā*, and *wāw*, with the respective vocalic signs, may express vowel length in Soninke Ajami. Thus, *fatha* and *alīf* represent /aa/, such as <fa’ ri> **fàaré** ‘prophet’ or  <ya’ kiy> **yáagè** ‘honey’.<sup>795</sup> The long vowels /ii/ in <tiy kayi> **tiigáye** ‘praise’ and /ee/ in  <siyniy> **seene** ‘tree (variety)’ are rendered by *kasra* and *yā*.<sup>796</sup> The *ḍamma* followed by *wāw* stand for /uu/ in <muw ru> **mùurú** ‘search’ and for /oo/ in <kuw t> **kòotá** ‘day’.<sup>797</sup>

However, vocalic length may be underrepresented in the glosses. Furthermore, long vowel graphs may have other functions, such as marking tones. Yet, the preliminary analysis did not reveal any systematic correlation.

<sup>787</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 3a. Same graphemic representation of /o/ is also typical in Old Kanembu manuscripts (Bondarev and Dobronravin 2019, 251).

<sup>788</sup> MS AAN1, p. 102. See also BmT MS 2234, p. 84–98, and from a different scribe, pp 480–610. However, in the same manuscript, on p. 484, the ending <-uw’0> more likely represents /u/, as in <’a bakuw’> **à bágú** ‘he left / went out’.

<sup>789</sup> JRL MS 780[825], ff 104b and 105a.

<sup>790</sup> Although spellings of imperfective auxiliary **wó/wá** with *ḍamma* <wu> and *fatha* <wa> are also frequent.

<sup>791</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 160b, BULAC MS.ARA.273, f.19a, BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 8a, and MS AAN1, p. 111, respectively.

<sup>792</sup> MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 198b.

<sup>793</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 62b.

<sup>794</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 377a.

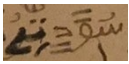
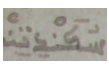
<sup>795</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 2b, and TCD MS 2179, f. 23a. See other examples in the previous paragraphs.

<sup>796</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 7a, and MS DAD1, di 0120.

<sup>797</sup> TCD MS 2179, 7b, and BmT MS 2234, p. 444.




Borrowings or phonetically adapted Arabic words, which in modern Soninke have a long vowel, can retain the original consonants in writing, such as ‘ayn in <ni<sup>0</sup>ma> **néemà** ‘grace’ and <la‘ada> **láadà** ‘custom, tradition’ or medial *hā*’ in <fahamu> **fàamú** ‘understand’.

Vocalic nasalisation is generally indicated by *tanwīn* or rarer by the *nūn* either free of any diacritics or surmounted by *sukūn*, like in  <suwa<sup>n</sup> di<sup>n</sup> t<sup>2</sup>iy><sup>798</sup> and  <sukan<sup>0</sup> di tin<sup>0</sup>> **sùgàndintén** ‘chosen’.<sup>799</sup> The prenasalised consonant clusters /NC/, of the imperfective negative marker **ntá** or suffixes **-ndí**, **-ndè**, and **-ntè** are encoded by the same means. However, it is also common for such clusters to be graphemically unmarked.



## Consonants

Most of the Soninke consonant phonemes have close equivalents in Classical Arabic. Thus, choosing suitable graphemes from the existing inventory seems straightforward. In the analysed material, however, grapheme-phoneme correspondences are often complex, with the same sound represented by several graphemes and the same grapheme designating several phonemes.

The most easily identifiable condition for selecting Arabic letters is the retention of etymological spelling. As an illustration of this tendency, consider the sound /s/, which is regularly represented by the letter *sīn* in Soninke words. Words of Arabic origin, having /s/ in Modern Soninke, in the glosses may also be written with *sīn*. Alternatively, their original consonants, such as *ṣād*, *thā*’, and *shīn*, may be retained, betraying the influence of the spelling of the source language. For

example, *ṣād* in <ṣa’ ḥa<sup>n</sup> ti> **sàhanté** ‘healthy’ (<Ar. *ṣaḥḥa* ‘to be healthy’) or in  <naqasi yi> **nàxásiyè** ‘reduction’ (<Ar. *naqasa* ‘decrease’); *thā*’ in <thabatiyi> **sàbàtìyè** ‘stability’ (<Ar. *thabata* ‘to stay firm’), and *shīn* in <shughula> **súxùlà** ‘bother’ (<Ar. *shaghala* ‘to occupy’).<sup>800</sup>

Occasionally, these three letters appear in Soninke words as well; one example would be  <tha’ qi> **sàagè** ‘then’.<sup>801</sup>

In the same manner, the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ is predominantly represented by the Arabic letter *tā*’, except for borrowings, such as <ṭa’libinu> **táalibènù** ‘students’.<sup>802</sup> Interestingly, in a word’s last syllable, the scribes may spell /t/ with *tā*’ *marbūṭa*, like in  <qiri kiri ti> **xèrènxèrènte** ‘determined with precision’ or  <bakaṭi> **bákànte** ‘apparent, visible’.<sup>803</sup>

The phoneme /j/ may correspond to four characters: *jīm*, *dhāl*, *zāy*, and *yā*’. The first two seem to be in free variation both in Soninke and Arabic words, like in pairs <ji> – <dhi> **jí** ‘water’ or <wajabi> – <wadhabi> **wàajabí** ‘obligation’ (<Ar. *wajaba* ‘to be necessary’).<sup>804</sup> In contrast, the

<sup>798</sup> The form **súwandi** is attested in Maninka-Mori.

<sup>799</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 5a, and IFAN Monteil, Cahier n.3.

<sup>800</sup> BnF MS Arabe 5507, f. 26a, UBL MS Or.14052(8), f.58a, BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 7a, and MS AAN1, p. 179 (di 0742), respectively.

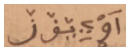
<sup>801</sup> TCD MS 2179, f. 22b. Also MS AAN1, p. 116 (di 0677).

<sup>802</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 2a.

<sup>803</sup> MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 100b, and MS DLT1, di 8833.

<sup>804</sup> BnF Arabe 5675, f. 69a and f. 70b; TCD MS 2179, ff 20ab, ff 23ab.

letter *zāy* appear mainly in borrowings, like in <miyza> **míjì** ‘scales’ (<Ar. *al-mīzān* ‘scales’).<sup>805</sup> However, not always etymological consonant is retained, and other graphemes representing /j/ are used instead, , e.g. <ziydi> – <dhidi> – <jiydi> **jíidì** ‘increase’ (<Ar. *zāda* ‘increase’).<sup>806</sup>

In a small number of manuscripts, the /j/ occasionally correspondences to grapheme *yā*’, like in the phrase  <a w<sup>0</sup> yi yuqunu> **à wó jí jòxúnú** ‘he pours water’.<sup>807</sup> On the other hand, the palatal glide /y/ in these manuscripts corresponds to *yā*’, but also to *dhāl*.<sup>808</sup> Retention of Arabic orthography is unlikely to explain such variances in notation. Instead, this lack of differentiation between /j/ and /y/ in writing might be due to some regional spelling conventions, a specific Soninke dialect, or perhaps the influence of the scribes’ native language(s) on Soninke in the glosses.

The usage of the graphemes *hā*’ and *hā*’, which conceivably could be used for representing the Soninke glottal fricative /h/, is also informative. In the present corpus, they only occur in Arabic borrowings, either with correct spellings, e.g. <’a ḥata’ ji yi<sup>n</sup>> **à hatajiye** ‘his need’ (<Ar. *al-iḥtiyāj* ‘need’) and <jahanama> **jāhānnābā** ‘hell’ (<Ar. *jahannam* ‘hell’), or corrupted spellings, e.g. <ḥaqili> **hāqqile** ‘mind’ (<Ar. *al-’aql* ‘mind’).<sup>809</sup> The grapheme *fā*’ in the Soninke words, such as <fuw> **fó** ‘thing’ or <sifi> **séfé** ‘speech’, may be evidence in favour of western dialects, in which /h/ regularly corresponds to /f/, both in word-initial and word-internal positions.<sup>810</sup> According to Ousmane Moussa Diagana, because of intellectual migration, the /f/ is predominant in the language of exegesis, even in the eastern dialect of Kaédi.<sup>811</sup>

A few manuscripts display a peculiar correspondence between *lām* in the glosses and /d/ in Modern Soninke words, like <yiti<sup>n</sup>liyra> **yítìnlérè** (vs. **yítì déré**) ‘tree leaf’, <lurumi> **lórónmè** (vs. **dórónmè**) ‘finger’.<sup>812</sup> Still, the general tendencies are to represent /d/ with *dāl* and /l/ with *lām*, or rarely with *dād*, e.g. <’ari n baḍa ku> **ḥàrìnbalaaxu** ‘absence of vision, blindness’.<sup>813</sup>

Five of the Soninke consonants do not have analogous sounds in Arabic. Yet, the choice of corresponding Arabic graphemes for most of them appears to be consistent throughout the manuscript corpus.

Such is the case with voiceless palatal affricate /c/ and voiceless labial plosive /p/. Either of the two Arabic graphemes, *dhāl* and *jīm*, may be used for the former, like in <kadhi<sup>n</sup>> or <kaji> **káccèn** ‘rope’.<sup>814</sup> Also, the grapheme *sīn* after a nasal can be interpreted as either /s/ or /c/, like in <ta’

<sup>805</sup> TCD MS 2179 f. 14b.

<sup>806</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 2a and 5a, TCD MS 2179, f. 16a.

<sup>807</sup> UbL MS Or. 14.052(8), f. 19a. For comparison, *dhāl* for /j/ is used in the exact phrase <’i wu dhi dhukunu<sup>n</sup>> **à wó jí jòxúnú** ‘he pours water’ in TCD MS 2179, f. 32b.

<sup>808</sup> The latter spelling tendency is characteristic of UbL MS Or. 14.052 units (1), (5), (8) and (10), several units of BmT MS 2234, and BnF Arabe 5586, ff 1a–177a.

<sup>809</sup> MS DNN2, di 0101, TCD MS 2179, f. 15b, and BnF Arabe 5657, f. 42a.

<sup>810</sup> See Creissels 2016, 13.


<sup>811</sup> Diagana 1991, 19.

<sup>812</sup> TCD MS 2179, f. 9b, 31a, and UbL MS Or. 14.052(8). f. 17b, f. 19a. However <durumi> **dórónmè** ‘finger’ is written with *dāl* in MS DLT1, di 8841.

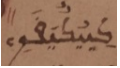
<sup>813</sup> JRL MS 780[825], f. 5a.

<sup>814</sup> TCD MS 2179, f. 9b, and BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, di 1131.


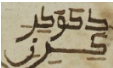
ghumansiy> **tàagùmànsé** ~ **tàagùmàncé** ‘mark, symbol’.<sup>815</sup> The /p/ corresponds to *bā*, e.g. <ki<sup>n</sup>biy> **xénpé** ‘limit’, <sabi> **sáppé** ‘salt’, or also to *fā*, e.g. <bafuw ri> **bàppóorè** ‘Nile perch’ and <kafa’ li<sup>n</sup> mi> **kàppàlénmà** ‘friend, companion’.<sup>816</sup> Both phonemes /c/ and /p/ seldom occur in a word-initial position.<sup>817</sup> In the intervocalic position, not preceded by a nasal, they are invariably geminated. However, gemination is generally underspecified in the graphemic representation, and only occasionally is it marked with *tashdīd*.

Velar nasal /ŋ/ regularly corresponds to the Arabic *‘ayn*, like in <tu’u> **tònnú** ‘truth’ and  <‘iyi> **ñipé** ‘earth, soil’.<sup>818</sup> The latter example also illustrates the usage of the grapheme *yā* for palatal nasal /ɲ/. Interestingly, some scribes write /ɲ/ with other graphemes, which otherwise stand for palatal glide /y/, such as *dhāl* or *jīm*: <ma’ ju yaqari> and <madhu yaqari> **màapù yàxàré** ‘bride’.<sup>819</sup>

The manuscripts throughout the corpus display various approaches to writing voiced velar /g/ and voiceless uvular /q/ (or its allophone [χ]).<sup>820</sup> The following paragraphs summarise sets of possible phoneme-grapheme correspondences. One set, which creates fewer ambiguities, distinguishes

between velar and uvular by noting them with *kāf* and *qāf*, respectively, as in  <kiyyuku<sup>n</sup>yaqari y> **ké ñógónyàxàré** ‘this she-camel’ or <kila yaqukuruw mu fuw bakati<sup>n</sup> ‘a> **gèll’ à yàaxón kórómù fó báagántè ñá** ‘from the outer part of his eyelids’.<sup>821</sup> This orthographic approach is common in manuscripts written by Soninke-speaking scribes of northeast Senegambia.<sup>822</sup> A specific grapheme for /g/ – *kāf* with three dots above – appears only in one manuscript from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>823</sup>

Notation of the consonants /k/, /g/, and /q/ is less consistent in Mandinka and Jakhanke manuscripts from the southwestern areas of Senegambia.<sup>824</sup> All three may correspond to graphemes *kāf* or *qāf*,

with the preference given to the former, like in  <kani<sup>n</sup> ka’ ku<sup>n</sup>> **gánnínkáaxù** ‘ancientness’ or  <ki kawa kiri kiri ni> **ké gà w’ à xèrèxèrèné** ‘this specifies it’.<sup>825</sup> The graphemes

<sup>815</sup> MS AAN1, p. 111 (di 0672).

<sup>816</sup> MS ZOC1, di 5194; TCD MS 2179, f. 23b; BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 219a; BmT MS 2234, p. 93.

<sup>817</sup> Creissels 2016, 14–15.

<sup>818</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 8b, and TCD MS 2179, f. 9a.

<sup>819</sup> BMT MS 2234, p. 138 and 143, respectively.

<sup>820</sup> Creissels proposes that the phonetic realisation of the phoneme /q/ depends on the context. Thus, it is realised as [q] when geminated or preceded by nasal and as [χ] or [ɣ] in the intervocalic position. In the word-initial position, its realisation varies from [χ] in western dialects to [q] in eastern (Creissels 2016, 12–14). I follow Creissels by using *x* as a graphemic (rather than an IPA) sign for the uvular allophones ([χ] or [ɣ]) of the phoneme /q/.


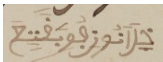
<sup>821</sup> MS KTD1, di 0546, and MS DLT1, di 8832.

<sup>822</sup> These are BULAC MS.ARA.359, MS DAD1, MSS DLT1–2, MSS KSS1–4, MS KTD1. BnF Arabe 5575, ff 177a–183b, and Arabe 5725 are other manuscripts displaying such an orthographic convention. However, they remain unidentified as to their place of origin or the native language of their scribes.

<sup>823</sup> MS DLT2.

<sup>824</sup> Their origin is evident from toponyms indicated in colophons and the Mandinka words in an additional layer of the glosses and/or in colophons (see Chapter 4 and the following sections in this chapter). Also, affiliation to the Jakhanke network can be guessed from the names of scholars mentioned in the margins (see Chapter 5).

<sup>825</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 4a, and PGL MS ORI 11/2, f. 9b. Other manuscripts with a similar orthographic convention, to mention just a few, are BL MS Or. 6473; BnF Arabe 5657, ff 1a–28b, ff 35b–84b, and ff 110a–125a–

*ghayn* and *khā'* may also be infrequently used mainly for /q/ but also for /k/ or /g/, like in the following examples:  <laghi tikhiyi<sup>n</sup>niy<sup>n</sup>> **lāxè téxéyè ní** 'it is a door lock' and  <khali 'a nuw ni fuw ba<sup>n</sup>qa<sup>n</sup>ti<sup>n</sup> 'a> **gèllí à núxúnnè fó báagántèn ǵá** 'from the apparent part of his nose'.<sup>826</sup> Interpreting such irregular correspondences requires a great deal of effort.

In a handful of manuscripts, all written by the same scribe for southwest (coastal Guinea), the voiceless velar /k/, written with *kāf*, is quite consistently distinguished from voiced velar /g/, written with *qāf*: <dhi<sup>n</sup> qi<sup>n</sup> da' na' kaniy kum<sup>2</sup>unu<sup>n</sup> qu<sup>n</sup>du<sup>n</sup> magha'> **yingindaana gà ní kòmónún gùndó màxá** '[who] is a seer for the secrets of [his] servants'.<sup>827</sup> The uvular /q/ frequently corresponds to *qāf*, *khā'*, and *ghayn*.

Notation of an **x** between two (identical) vowels requires special consideration. While **x** in the intervocalic position frequently corresponds to the same graphemes as the initial **x** (that is, *kāf*, *qāf*, *khā'*, and *ghayn*), it may also correspond to 'ayn. Furthermore, the consonantal grapheme may not be used at all (*i.e.*, omitted in writing), resulting in spellings with a long or short vowel.

Table 7 lists the most common graphic representations of words with an intervocalic **x** in two manuscript groups: written by Soninke- and non-Soninke speaking scribes (MSG1 and MSG2, respectively). It also provides Modern Soninke interpretations and equivalent words in Mandinka. The left-hand column indicates the corresponding words from the source texts in Arabic.

**Table 7. Grampemic representations of uvular and velar in intervocali position.**

151b, Arabe 5675, ff 63a–81a; BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, ff 1a–12b, and ff 377a–386b; MQB MS AF14722(87), ff 6a–24b, 217ab and ff 5ab, 102a–189a, 191a–193b; TCD MS 3499, ff 43b–130b, MS 3500, ff 1a–32b, and ff 33a–38a; MS AAN1–3; MS ZAC2, MS ZOC1.

<sup>826</sup> MS ZAC2, di 3988, and TCD MS 2179, f. 30b.

<sup>827</sup> BmT MS 2234, p. 843.





Arabic	Translation	Soninke	Spelling MSG1	Spelling MSG2	Mandinka
<i>'alā</i>	at, with	<b>màxá</b>	<maqa>	<maqa> <ma'> <ma>	<b>mà</b>
<i>lā</i>	do not	<b>(nàn) máxà</b>		<maqa> <ma>	<b>kánà</b>
<i>ṣifa</i>	quality, property, attribute	<b>màxankútò</b>	<maqakutu> <maqa <sup>n</sup> kutu>	<maqakutu> <ma'ankutu> <ma <sup>n</sup> kutu>	<b>màṅkútú</b>
<i>imkān</i>	possibility, capability	<b>màxàfógú</b>	-	<ma' faku> <ma'afaku>	
<i>wafiqa muṭābiqat</i>	be suitable agreement	<b>màxàgènmé</b>	<maqakima>	<maqakimu> <ma'kimu> <ma <sup>n</sup> kimu>	
<i>bayna</i>	between, among	<b>nàxàané</b>	<naqa' ni> <naqani>	<na' ni> <na'ni> <nani>	<b>nàané</b> 'boundary, limit'
<i>arba'a</i>	four	<b>nàxàtí</b>	<naqati>	<naqati> <na' ti> <na' ni>	<b>náaní</b>
<i>naqaṣa</i>	diminish, be deficient	<b>nàqásì</b>	<naqaṣi>	<naqaṣi> <na'asi> <na' si>	<b>náasí</b>
<i>shawb khālaṭa</i>	mixing mix, blend	<b>ṗaxami</b>	<ya' mi>	<ya' mi>	<b>ṗáamí</b>
<i>qism</i>	part, division	<b>táxándé</b>	<taqandi>	<ta'adi> <ta' di>	<b>táa</b>
<i>imra'a</i>	woman	<b>yàxàré</b>	<yaqari>	<ya' ri> <yakari> <yari>	<b>mùsù</b>
<i>waqt</i>	time, moment	<b>wáxàtí</b>	-	<wa' ti> <waqati> <wakati>	<b>wáatí</b>
<i>shawāghil shaghala</i>	preoccupation, bother	<b>suxulà</b>	<suqula>	<suw la>	<b>sùulá</b>
<i>anf</i>	nose	<b>núxúnnè</b>	<nuquni>	<nuw ni> <mukuni>	<b>núnj</b>
<i>al-akhīr</i>	last	<b>làgàré</b>	<lakari>	<la' ri> <la' ri>	<b>lábánj</b>
<i>nāqa baḥīra</i>	she-camel	<b>ṗògòmé</b>	<yukumi>	<yuqumi> <yuw mi>	<b>ṗòṅkómé</b> <sup>828</sup>
<i>rams wasm</i>	trace, sign characteristic, mark	<b>tàagùmànsé</b>	-	<ta' kuma <sup>n</sup> si> <ta' ma <sup>n</sup> si> <tama <sup>n</sup> siy>	<b>tàamànsée</b>

As the table shows, in none of the manuscripts, the intervocalic [χ] is systematically underrepresented in writing (*i.e.* zero graphemic representation).<sup>829</sup> The intervocalic uvular [χ] consistently corresponds to *qāf* in manuscripts from the first group (MSG1). In contrast, the

<sup>828</sup> In the glosses, this word is written without the intervocalic consonant: <yuw mi musu> /ṗoome musu/ for **ṗòṅkómé** **mùsú** 'female camel' MS AAN1, p. 212 (di 0076).

<sup>829</sup> One exception is the word **ṗaxami** 'to mix'.

spellings of the same word often vary within one manuscript and throughout the manuscripts of the second group (MSG2), displaying spellings with and without the intervocalic consonant.

However, some spellings tend to be stable and may also be characteristic of specific regions or written traditions. In manuscripts from Mandinka-speaking areas, it is common to find the spelling of the uvular between two identical vowels with *ʿayn*, for example,  <maʿkutu> **màxànkútò** ‘attribute’ and  <taʿadi> **táxándé** ‘part’.<sup>830</sup> At the same time, in manuscripts originating from areas more to the southeast, the postposition or the homonymic prefix **màxà-** tend to be written with the short vowel (*i.e.* without the uvular), as <ma> **màxá** ‘on, upon’ and <makimu> **màxàgènmé** ‘agreement’.

The spelling of the uvular consonants with *ʿayn*, long or short vowel, is most likely evidence of deletion of [χ] in the position between two vowels. As shown above, the consonant deletion often occurs between two /a/ and in several Soninke content and function words, which are cognate with Manding. Importantly, the etymological spelling is also sometimes abandoned in Arabic loans, such as *naqasa* ‘diminish’, *waqt* ‘time’, and *shaghala* ‘bother’. This could mean that scribal orthographic choices were not only conditioned by the relation between Soninke and Arabic but also between Soninke and their native language.

### Translation techniques / approaches

Vernacular glosses are only one component of the elaborate system of scribes working with Arabic texts. They appear alongside Arabic glosses and commentaries, briefly described in Chapter 6. There are two levels of Arabic glossing. The morphosyntactic glossing marks grammatical constituents in the sentences, such as *mubtadā* ‘subject’, *fiʿl* ‘verb’, *fāʿil* ‘agent’, *khabr* ‘predicate’, *naʿt* ‘adjective’, *muḍāf* ‘construct state. This terminology is most likely borrowed from Arabic grammar treatises, as, for example, *al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya* by Ibn Ājjurūm al- al-Ṣanhājī (d. 723/1323).<sup>831</sup> On the level of semantics, the Arabic glosses clarify the text by providing synonyms.

Vernacular glosses represent renditions of the main text in Arabic into syntactic and lexical forms familiar to scribes. The density of glossing may vary across the corpus and even within one text. The combination of languages used in translation may also vary. The following section analyses the grammatical structures and vocabulary of vernacular glosses in their relation to the main text and other (para)texts.

<sup>830</sup> In such instances, the *ʿayn* is unlikely to represent [χ]. As discussed above, this grapheme is typically either used as support for vowels (the phonetic value and length depend on the accompanying vowel diacritics) or for nasal velar /ŋ/. Thus, possible interpretations may include /maakuto/ or /maŋkuto/ and /taadi/ or /taŋdi/, respectively. Interestingly, my consultants from north-eastern Senegal, unfamiliar with such a spelling approach, had difficulties interpreting the glosses. They suggested that the inconsistency in noting velar and uvular sounds was caused by the manuscript scribes not being native Soninke speakers.

<sup>831</sup> A few manuscripts with this text make part of the present corpus. See Chapter 3 and Appendix I.

## Soninke Glosses

As a first step of the analysis, it is necessary to figure out to which part of the Arabic text the glosses relate. For instance, they tend to be written next to a word they explain. When placed at a distance from the source word, they are connected to it by a line.<sup>832</sup> The systematic glossing pattern makes it easier to understand how the main texts are broken down into segments: one gloss, written at the beginning of the corresponding unit, covers all the words and grammatical markers until the following gloss. Therefore, translation units may consist of one or a few words.<sup>833</sup> Occasional glosses, on the other hand, translate only some selected text units parsed in the same manner.

### Syntactic structures

The segments of the parsed Arabic text can be provisionally divided into three groups: (i) single words, the noun phrases and adjectival phrases; (ii) preposition phrases; (iii) verbs and verb phrases. Each of these groups determines a particular way of rendering them into Soninke, as discussed below.

(i) Single words, be it nouns, adjectives, numerals, words with attributive meaning, proper names, or noun-adjective phrases and genitive constructions, are mainly rendered into vernacular phrases with an equational/identificational copula **ní** ‘it is’, ‘this is’:

- (1) Gloss to *thalātha* ‘three’<sup>834</sup>  
<sikuw ní>  
**sikkó ní**  
three is  
‘it is three’

Its negative counterpart **fé** ‘it is not’ is determined by the source text and corresponds to *lā* ‘no/not/do not’, *laysa* ‘do not’, or *ghayr* ‘no, without’:

- (2) Gloss to *ghayr mubtasim* ‘not smiling’<sup>835</sup>  
<’a mudhi ti ka’ fi<sup>n</sup>>  
**à mùupénté gà fé**  
3SG smile-RES SUB is.not  
‘he is not smiling’

Soninke translations reflect number and suffixed pronouns. However, grammatical gender in Arabic is not marked in any way in Soninke, the latter not having such a grammatical category:

- (3) Gloss to *mablulatayni* ‘moist, wet (dual feminine)’<sup>836</sup>  
<i fili safaditini>  
**ì fillí sàfindíntè ní**

<sup>832</sup> On linking techniques, see Ogorodnikova 2017, 16–17.

<sup>833</sup> On practices of parsing Arabic texts in oral translations, see Tamari and Bondarev 2013a; Tamari 2013, 126 and 2019; in manuscripts – Bondarev 2014, and 2022.

<sup>834</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 377a.

<sup>835</sup> UbL MS Or. 14.052(5), f. 4b.

<sup>836</sup> UbL MS Or. 14.052(8), f. 19a.

3PL two to.be.soaked-CAUS-RES is  
 ‘they are both moistened, wettened’

- (4) Gloss to *ṣifāt maulā-nā* ‘attributes of our Lord’<sup>837</sup>

<wu ka ma<sup>n</sup> makutu niy>

**ó kámá màxànkútú ní**

1PL master attribute.PL is

‘these are attributes of our master’

Noteworthy, the plural nouns in the Soninke in the studied manuscripts are typically formed with the plural suffix **-nú**, rather than changing the words’ final vowels:<sup>838</sup> <yagharuw nu<sup>n</sup>> **yàxàrú-nú-n** ‘women’ vs. **yàxàré** ‘woman’ → pl. **yàxàrú**; <suru w nu<sup>n</sup>> **sòró-nú** ‘people’ vs. **sèré** ‘person’ → pl. **sòró**.<sup>839</sup>

Personal names, such as those of the authors, may sometimes also receive interpretations, for example by elucidating their literal meanings:

- (5) Gloss to *Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān* ‘b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (lit. son of the servant of the all-merciful)’<sup>840</sup>

<niyma’ n da’ na’ kunmi liyikunni>

**néemàndáanà kómé lénýugò ní**

give.grace-CAUS-AG slave son is

‘it is a son of a servant of the all-merciful’

The text units which are rendered in Soninke phrases using the copula **ní** may even include function words, such as interrogative pronouns and adverbs. For instance, the interrogative *mā* ‘what’ in the glosses is often glossed as <mani fuw ni>, which can tentatively be interpreted as **màní fó ní** ‘it is a “what”’ (lit. what-thing-is).<sup>841</sup> The Arabic *kayfa* ‘how’ is rendered with <ka<sup>n</sup> muqu du niy> **kán mòxó dú ní** ‘it is “in which manner”’ or ‘it is a “how”’ (lit. which-manner-in-is).<sup>842</sup> In contrast, the Soninke identification copula is not used when translating Arabic function words with their related words in a larger parsed segment.

(ii) If the Arabic unit includes a conjunction or preposition, it is translated into a Soninke phrase with the corresponding conjunctions, prepositions, or postpositions, without the word order of the source being carried over to the target translation:

- (6) Gloss to *wa al-bukht* ‘and Bactrian / two-humped camels’<sup>843</sup>

<du w ju<sup>n</sup>kufiliy yuqumiy>

**dó jùngú fillí jògòmé**

<sup>837</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis di 1232.

<sup>838</sup> Soninke plurals can be formed in two ways: by changing the final vowel or by attaching a plural suffix (Creissels 2016, 10).

<sup>839</sup> MS AAN1, p. 112 (di 0673), and MS ZAC2, di 4416.

<sup>840</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 1b.

<sup>841</sup> E.g., BmT MS 2234, p. 507.

<sup>842</sup> E.g., TCD MS 3500, f. 35b.

<sup>843</sup> MS ZOC1, di 5432.

and hump.PL two camel  
 ‘and camel with two humps’

- (7) Gloss to *ilā Makka* ‘towards Mecca’<sup>844</sup>

<kata maka dibi ‘a>

<b>káttà</b>	<b>Makka</b>	<b>dèbén</b>	<b>ṅà</b>
towards	Mecca	town-D	PP

‘towards the town of Mecca’

The Soninke translation of a prepositional phrase may also take the form of a complete sentence with the locative copula **wá/nà**:

- (8) Gloss to *mā fī qalbihi* ‘what [is] in his heart’<sup>845</sup>

<‘a kawa su<sup>n</sup>du mi<sup>n</sup> du<sup>n</sup>>

<b>à</b>	<b>gà</b>	<b>wó</b>	<b>à</b>	<b>sòndònmén</b>	<b>dí</b>
3SG	SUB	COPL	3SG	heart-D	in

‘that which is in his heart’

(iii) The Soninke translations of verb forms or verb phrases reflect the source Arabic text's person, number, tense, aspect, and mood. At the same time, the interpretations strictly adhere to the grammar rules of the target language, particularly the rigid Soninke word order, which is Subject – (direct Object) – Verb – (indirect Object/Oblique)<sup>846</sup> as opposed to the Arabic verb-initial word order.

Just like the previously described syntactic structures, translations of verb phrases follow certain patterns. For instance, Arabic imperfective verb forms (such as *yaqūlu* ‘he says’ and *lā yanzurūna* ‘they do not see’ in the examples below), are typically rendered in the glosses with the Soninke incompletive aspect formed by auxiliary **wá (wó)** or negative **ntá** and gerundive:

- (9) Gloss to *wa yaqūlu lā illāha illa ‘llāh* ‘he says “There is no god but God”’<sup>847</sup>

<‘a wu la ilaha sifi<sup>n</sup> ku ‘unu>

<b>à</b>	<b>wó</b>	<b>lā illāha</b>	<b>sèfén</b>	<b>kònnó</b>
3SG	ICPL	there is no god	words-D	say-GER

‘he utters the words “There is no god”’

- (10) Gloss to *lā yanzurūna* ‘they do not see/look’<sup>848</sup>

<‘i nti fa’ yini>

<b>ì</b>	<b>ntá</b>	<b>fáyíní</b>
3PL	ICPL.NEG	look-GER

‘they do not look’

<sup>844</sup> BmT MS 2234, p. 505.

<sup>845</sup> BL MS Or. 6473 f. 225a.

<sup>846</sup> See, for example, Creissels 2018, 2.

<sup>847</sup> MQB MS AF1422(91), f. 1b.

<sup>848</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 55.

One interesting detail is that some verbs, that ordinarily form gerundive by gemination, in the glosses attach the gerundive suffix **-nV**:<sup>849</sup> <'a wa' 'arini> **án w'á ñàrí-ní** vs. **ñàllí** 'you see it', <a wa dhi wutunu> **à wá jí wùtú-nú** vs. **wùttú** 'he takes water', <'a ti kiri ni> **à ntá girí-ní** vs. **gillí** 'he does not leave'.<sup>850</sup>

Two Soninke constructions correspond to the Arabic perfective. A perfective phrase with transitive verbs is formed with the marker **dà**:

- (11) Gloss to *khalafa kull shay'* 'he created all things'<sup>851</sup>  
 <'a da fuw biy suw taka>  
**à dà fó béesù tàgá**  
 3SG CPL.TR thing all create  
 'the created all things'

In contrast, perfective constructions with intransitive verbs do not require any predicative marker:

- (12) Gloss to *šādāfnā* 'we met / encountered'<sup>852</sup>  
 <wu kimu>  
**ò gè mú**  
 3PL meet  
 'we met'

The Arabic perfective negative verb form preceded by *mā* 'not' is translated by the Soninke negative completive marked with **mà** (for both transitive and intransitive verbs):

- (13) Gloss to *mā khaṭṭa* 'he did not write'  
 <fa' ri masafadi>  
**fáarè mà sáfándì**  
 prophet CPL.NEG write  
 'Prophet did not write'

The Soninke completive negative **mà** may also correspond to the Arabic past tense negative particle *lam* followed by a verb in imperfective:

- (14) Gloss to *lam yafrihā* 'he did not slit it'<sup>853</sup>  
 <'a ma' kutu>  
**à m(à) à kútú**  
 3SG CPL.NEG 3SG cut

<sup>849</sup> Gerundives are formed using two models: (1) by attaching the  $-nV$ , where V is an unspecified vowel that copies the features of the preceding vowel; (2) by gemination of the medial consonant. The set of verbs from which the gerund is formed by consonant gemination varies dialectally (Criessels 2016, 20–22).

<sup>850</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 7a; TCD MS 2179, f. 30a, and UBL MS Or. 14,052(8), f. 17a; JRL MS 780[825], f. 1b.

<sup>851</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, f. 139a.

<sup>852</sup> BnF Arabe 5299, f. 259a.

<sup>853</sup> EAP 1042 Abdou\_Thiam\_M001, p. 66.

‘he did not cut it’

The subjunctive in Soninke corresponds to subjunctive and imperative mood in Arabic:

- (15) Gloss to *faliyadhkura bi-qalbihi al-ṣalā* ‘he should recite the prayer [silently] in his heart’<sup>854</sup>

<’a na’ salasi<sup>n</sup>ma>

**à      nà      sállèn      sínmà**

3SG   SBJV   prayer-D   think

‘he should recite the prayer in his mind’

The following example shows that the Soninke subjunctive marker is also used with perfect form of the verb that expresses a subjunctive meaning:

- (16) Gloss to *tarakat al-ṣalā* ‘she is to omit the prayer’<sup>855</sup>

<’a na’ ṣanlin tuku>

**à      nà      sállèn      tóxó**

3SG   SBJV   prayer-D   leave, abandon

‘she should abandon the prayer’

The Arabic negative imperative with the particle *lā* may be rendered with the Soninke prohibitive **máxà**:

- (17) Gloss to *wa lā tansā* ‘and do not (you) forget’<sup>856</sup>

<’a na<sup>n</sup> makamuku>

**án      nà      máxà      mùngú**

2SG   SBJV   PROH   forget

‘do not forget’

The Arabic conditional clauses with particles *in* and *idhā* ‘if’ are mostly translated in the glosses with Soninke phrases beginning with **yélli** ‘if’:

- (18) Gloss to *in nasīnā* ‘if we have forgotten’<sup>857</sup>

<yila wu kamunku>

**yélli   ó      gà      mùngú**

if   1PL   SUB   forget

‘if we forgot’

- (19) Gloss to *idhā aw’aba rasāhu* ‘and if he did (wipe) his entire head’<sup>858</sup>

<yalakada ‘a yimu<sup>n</sup>luw ku>

**yéll(i)   à      gà      dà      à      yímnèn      lóogò**

if   3SG   SUB   TR   3SG   head-D   cover

‘if he covered all of his head’

<sup>854</sup> BnF Arabe 5657, f. 74a.

<sup>855</sup> TCD MS 2179, f. 21b.

<sup>856</sup> PGL MS ORI 11/3.

<sup>857</sup> MS AAN1, p. 101 (di 0062).

<sup>858</sup> TCD MS 2179, f. 32b.



As the previous examples demonstrate, the Soninke glosses translate and clarify the grammatical and lexical properties of the Arabic units to which they refer. However, although some translations are complete sentences, they only partially cover the source sentence. Most translations are thus incomplete phrases, which are not necessarily meant to (syntactically) complement each other to form a continuous coherent reading. Therefore, it is usually not possible to construct a well-formed sentence by attaching successive vernacular units. In other words, the translation from Arabic to Soninke is unlikely meant to represent the source text at the sentential level.<sup>859</sup>

### Intertextual translation

Sometimes, the glosses deviate from the Arabic text. Rather than being exact translations, they represent explanations or interpretations. In order to clarify the meaning, some words may be altered or added to the target phrases. Most commonly, the (suffixed) pronouns in the Arabic text are rendered into corresponding nouns in the translations.

(20) Gloss to *'alay-hi* 'on it'<sup>860</sup>

<'a la' fa' ri batuyi maqa>

**Állà fàaré bātúyè màxá**  
 God prophet worship-NMLZ at  
 'on worship of the Prophet of God'

(21) Gloss to *lam yuḥibba-hu* 'he did not love him'<sup>861</sup>

<'a ma 'a la' fa' ri<sup>n</sup> kanu>

**à mà Állà fàarén xànú**  
 3SG CPL.NEG God prophet-D love  
 'he did not love the Prophet of God'

(22) Gloss to *hiya* 'she'<sup>862</sup>

<'a ki yaqari 'a>

**à ké yàxàren ḡà**  
 3SG DEM woman-D FOC  
 'this woman'

Usually, the antecedents of pronouns are easy to infer from the context. However, in some instances, along with Soninke translations, the scribes add explanatory glosses in Arabic as prompts. As illustrated by the following example, the Soninke translation follows precisely the intermediary Arabic gloss as opposed to translating the main text itself. Glosses in both languages replace the pronouns in the main text with the relevant nouns:

(23) Glosses to *bi-hi* 'with it':

<sup>859</sup> In terms of comparison, the Old Kanembu manuscripts do feature sentential translations, written in the margins, in addition to phrasal translations, mainly written between the lines (Bondarev 2017, 117–8, and forthcoming).

<sup>860</sup> MS MID1, di 0076.

<sup>861</sup> MS AAN3, di 1427.

<sup>862</sup> BmT MS 2234, p. 125.

Arabic gloss	Soninke gloss
	<tiki kita' 'a>
<i>bi hadā 'l-kitāb</i>	<b>tí ké kítáa[bèn] ɲà</b> <sup>863</sup>
	with DEM book-D PP
'with this <i>book</i> '	'with this <i>book</i> '

Another example concerns two manuscripts with the theological text by al-Sanūsī. By adding glosses to the same unit in the main text, both manuscripts explicitly specify that the object pronoun suffix in the phrase *min-hā* 'from *them*' is related to the 'four attributes' (power, will, knowledge, and life). However, in one manuscript, the gloss is in Arabic (24), while in the other, it is in Soninke (25):

(24) Gloss to *min-hā* 'from them'<sup>864</sup>  
*min sifāt al-maanī al-arba 'a*  
 'from four essential attributes'

(25) Gloss to *min-hā* 'from them':<sup>865</sup>  
 <kil<sup>0</sup> kw ma 'akutuna<sup>n</sup> na' nidu>  
**gèllí kú màxánkùtónún náani**<sup>866</sup> **dí**  
 from DEM.PL attribute-PL-D four PP  
 'from these four attributes'

As seen in examples (23–25), Soninke renderings may have more complex correlations with main text units than straightforward translations. Soninke glosses may, in such cases, be based on Arabic models other than the main text, even if they are not necessarily on the (same) page.

The next set of examples, (26–28), illustrates how vernacular glosses may represent interpretations based on external sources rather than the texts on which they comment. For instance, the Soninke glosses (26) and (27) are directly linked to the Qur'anic text. However, they interpret it according to the Arabic commentary of *al-Jalālayn*, which appears on the same page and follows the Qur'anic segments (cf. angular brackets).

(26) Gloss to *wa mā kafara Sulaymān* 'Solomon did not disbelieve [*i.e.* he did not work magic] (TQ2:102)'<sup>867</sup>  
 <sulayma' na masiriy ba' ni ya' mari tikur<sup>0</sup>ti kuw luyi ya>  
**Sulaymān mà sèré báané yàamári**  
 Solomon PFV.NEG person one authorise  
**tí kòròté góoliyè yá**  
 with charm leather.work PP  
 'Solomon did not authorised anyone to make charms'

<sup>863</sup> BULAC MS.ARA219bis, f. 2a. The missing final *bā'* of the word *kitab* 'book' is probably a scribal lapse.

<sup>864</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, di 1003.

<sup>865</sup> TCD MS 3500, f.14b.

<sup>866</sup> In place of Soninke **nàxàtí** 'four', the scribe probably used the Mandinka numeral **náani**.

<sup>867</sup> MS AAN1, p. 38 (di 0597).

- (27) Gloss to *faṣurhunna ilāka* ‘and twist them to you [*i.e.* turn them towards you cut them up and mix together their flesh and feathers] (TQ2:260)<sup>868</sup>

<a n<sup>2</sup>a’ a yi<sup>n</sup>munu<sup>n</sup>kutu a n<sup>2</sup>a’ a tiyuw nu<sup>n</sup> ya’ mi>

**án ná à yínmùnún kútu**  
2SG SBJV 3SG head.PL-PL-D cut

**án ná á tíyónún ɲaxami**  
2SG SBJV 3SG meat.PL-PL-D mix

‘You should cut their heads; you should mix their flesh’

The Soninke gloss in example (28) may also be considered an intertextual reference. While the main text only gives approximate numbers, the Soninke gloss specifies the exact count of the prophets of Islam, equal to 124 000. This exact figure is also reported in some *hadīths*.

- (28) Gloss to *mi’ a alf nabīy wa nayyif wa ‘ashrīn alf nabīy* ‘a hundred thousand and twenty odd thousand prophets’<sup>869</sup>

<’anabi yu<sup>n</sup>mi<sup>n</sup> wudhini ta fili du natu taki<sup>n</sup>ni>

**ànnábiyémmè-n wùjínè tánpillé dó nàxàtó táqqè ní**  
prophet-d thousand twenty and four part is

‘this is a part of [hundred] twenty-four thousand prophets’<sup>870</sup>

To sum up, Soninke glosses may range from direct translations of Arabic segments to explanations and interpretations. Their syntax and lexicon reveal that they may draw on various sources other than the main text itself. This includes explanatory glosses in Arabic, textual commentaries, or other texts.

### Variant translations

One unit of the main Arabic text may receive more than one translation. The Soninke coordinating conjunction **mà** ‘or’ precedes each subsequent explanation, regardless of whether it appears in one gloss or on successive lines. Variant translations usually provide synonyms for the core words of the source units but otherwise follow the same patterns described above for nouns, prepositional and verb phrases:

- (29) Glosses to *li-’azzahu* ‘for his power/greatness’.<sup>871</sup>

<’a dara kuda<sup>n</sup>>

**à dàràaxú dà**  
‘for his greatness’

<ma’ ’a la’ niyida<sup>n</sup>>

**mà à ràníyè dà**  
‘or for his power’

<sup>868</sup> MS AAN1, p. 92 (di 0652).

<sup>869</sup> TCD MS 3499, f. 45a.

<sup>870</sup> Probably, the scribe had accidentally omitted the word ‘hundred’.

<sup>871</sup> BnF Arabe 5657, f. 54b.

(30) Glosses to *wa sīqa alladhīna* ‘and [will] be driven those [who feared their Lord to Paradise]’ (TQ39:73):<sup>872</sup>

<’i da yu <sup>n</sup> m <sup>2</sup> inu tu <sup>n</sup> si <sup>n</sup> di>	<’i da yu <sup>n</sup> m <sup>2</sup> inu quyulu <sup>n</sup> di>	<’i da yu <sup>n</sup> m <sup>2</sup> inu kimu <sup>n</sup> di>
<b>ì dà yénmènú tùnsindí</b>	<b>ì dà yénmènú quyulindí?</b>	<b>dà yénmènú gèmundí</b>
‘they accompanied the believers’	‘they ? the believers’	‘they welcomed the believers’

The variant translations appear also in the form of separate glosses. In such cases, the variant(s) may be attributed to scholar(s), as discussed in Chapter 6. The alternative conjunction **mà** ‘or’ is not used, and references to scholars appear at the end of a gloss. Consider, for example the following three glosses reflecting the nuances in the meaning of the verb *khadira* ‘to be numb, to become limp’:

(31) Glosses to *khadirat [rijluhu]* ‘[his leg/foot] got numb, paralised’:<sup>873</sup>

<’a ta’ kha’ si>	<’a ta’ muru qu>	<’a ta’ yuqi>
<b>à tá xaasi</b>	<b>à tá mùrùxú</b>	<b>à tá jóqqì</b>
‘his leg cramped’	‘his leg got paralised’	‘his leg got pinched’
		<i>Sami ‘tu min shaykhinā ‘Uthmān Kabāwiyu ‘I heard it from our shaykh ‘Uthmān Kaba’</i>

As the above examples (29–31) show, variation in translation most often concerns vocabulary rather than grammatical structures.

### Lexical choices

This section analyses the scribal choices of the lexical items used in translating texts. In particular, it discusses four main points: (1) use of Arabic borrowings; (2) choice of Soninke equivalents; (3) use of words from the religious domain and honorifics; and (4) traces of the scribes’ native languages in the glosses.

Glosses often render Arabic terms with words that are themselves Arabic borrowings. The borrowing may be the same Arabic word as in the source unit, such as <wa’ jabi> **wáajíbì** for *wajab* ‘obligation’, <jurumu> /jurumu/ for *jurm* ‘body, mass’ or <dha’ ti> /jaati/ for *dhāt* ‘essence’. Or else, the borrowing explains another (synonymous) Arabic word, e.g. **sàfáarè** (< Ar. *shifā* ‘cure’) for *dawā* ‘medicine’ or **dáliilè** (< Ar. *dalīl* ‘proof’) for *burhān* ‘proof’.

Although many Arabic words are incorporated into the Soninke vocabulary, some are unlikely to be used in contexts other than religious exegesis. As discussed previously, Arabic borrowings often retain the original spelling and the Arabic definite article *al-*. However, the ‘adapted’ spellings also occur, e.g., <niyma> vs. <ni’ma> (the latter identical to Arabic) for **néemà** ‘grace’. Frequently, the borrowings may produce derivatives by attaching Soninke suffixes: **hubusi-ndí-yè** (**hubusi** from < Ar. *ḥabasa* ‘withhold, detain’ or *ḥubus* ‘habous, inalienable possession’) –

<sup>872</sup> MS AAN2, p. 230 (di 1854)

<sup>873</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1531.

CAUS – NMLZ, lit. ‘the (act) of withholding, detaining’ or ‘keeping as habous’) used for translating *tawaqīf* ‘sequestration’ or ‘detention, arrestation’.<sup>874</sup>

The retention of Arabic terms might be preferred when the target language lacks an exact equivalent, for example, when translating the names of plants or animals.<sup>875</sup> Still, some scribes use Arabic borrowings when semantically compatible words are available in Soninke. For example, as the comparison of several manuscripts shows, there is a variation in translating the Arabic *ṣāhib* (pl. *ṣaḥb*) with either **ṣaḥib-a/-unu** or **kàppàlénm-à/-unu** ‘companion/s’.<sup>876</sup> Similarly, the testimony *kalimāt al-shahāda* (designating the creed of Islamic) is either explained in the glosses by just repeating the Arabic phrase or by translating it into Soninke <siyda sif<sup>n</sup>> **séedà** (ultimately from Arabic) **séfén** ‘the words of the testimony’, where the word.<sup>877</sup>

Words in Soninke may be assigned additional meanings to correspond with Arabic terms. For example, the word **tèyinné** ‘co-wife’ is used for the Arabic *naẓīr* ‘equal’ or ‘opposite’, as well as *ḍidd* ‘contrary’, ‘opposite’.<sup>878</sup> Similarly, the word <sulumi> **súrùnmé** ‘chain, ankle bracelet’, sharing the concrete meaning with the Arabic *tasalsul* ‘chain’, in religious context receives its abstract interpretation ‘sequence’.<sup>879</sup>

Word derivation frequently occurs in Soninke glosses of Islamic manuscripts. The base for derivation is generally selected depending on the concrete meaning of the Arabic roots. For example, the Arabic *‘aqīdat* ‘creed’ formed from the root *‘aqada* ‘to knot’ or ‘to tie’ is rendered as Soninke **yètàadé** (lit. ‘attachment’, ‘knot’), derived from the verb **yètú** ‘attach’ with an instrumental suffix **-aadé**. Or else, the verb **kítá** ‘obtain, receive’ with the nominalising suffix **-yè** (**kítáyè** ‘possession’) in the glosses stands for Arabic *wujūd* ‘existence’, whose root *wajada* means ‘get, obtain’ (among the other senses). Such an approach of following the concrete meaning of the source word creates a certain stability in correspondences between various Arabic and Soninke wordforms. However, the resultant abstract meaning of Soninke words formed in this manner appears challenging to grasp without knowing the meaning of their Arabic counterparts.

The stability of translation is especially conspicuous in function words. Table 8 below lists the most common items.<sup>880</sup>

**Table 8. Arabic – Soninke function words correspondences.**

Arabic	Translation	Soninke	Soninke Glosses
<i>wa</i>	and	<b>dó</b>	<duw>
<i>bi-</i>	with	<b>tí</b>	<ti>
<i>ma ‘a</i>	with	<b>kàfini</b>	<kafunu>
<i>li-</i>	for (the reason)	<b>(sáabù) dà/dànná</b>	<da <sup>n</sup> >
<i>ka-</i>	like	<b>xóò</b>	<ku> <qu>

<sup>874</sup> MS ZAC2, di 3988.

<sup>875</sup> See this chapter for further details.

<sup>876</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 2b, and BmT MS 2234, p. 93.

<sup>877</sup> TCD MS 3500, f. 30a, and BmT MS, p. 835.

<sup>878</sup> E.g., BL MS Or. 4897, f. 259b, BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, f. 2a, and PGL MS ORI 11/2.

<sup>879</sup> MQB MS AF 14722(87), f. 47b, and TCD MS 3500, f.12a.

<sup>880</sup> See also Soninke Ajami identification tool developed in the frame of the project ‘African Voices in Islamic Manuscripts from Mali’: <<https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/ajami/files/Ajami%20Identification%20Table%20for%20Soninke.pdf>> (last accessed March 2023).

<i>kull</i>	all, each	<b>sú</b>	<suw>
<i>‘alā</i>	on, upon	<b>màxá</b>	<maqa>
<i>‘an</i>	on	<b>màxá</b>	<maqa>
<i>fī</i>	in	<b>dí</b>	<du>
<i>min</i>	from, since	<b>gèllí</b>	<kili>
<i>ilā</i>	towards	<b>káttà</b>	<kata>
<i>tahta</i>	under, below	<b>wùré</b>	<wuriy ra duw>
<i>fauqa</i>	above, over	<b>kànmá</b>	<kamara duw>
<i>ba‘da</i>	behind, after	<b>fállé</b>	<fala‘ du>
<i>bayna</i>	between	<b>(mé) nàxáanè</b>	<miy naqa‘ ni>
<i>thumma</i>	then, again	<b>sàagé</b>	<sa‘ ki>
<i>hattā</i>	up to, even	<b>hàri</b>	<hali>
<i>matā</i>	when	<b>bírè bé</b>	<bira biy>
<i>hal</i>	whether	<b>yáalá</b>	<yala>
<i>mā</i>	what	<b>màní</b>	<mani fuw ni>
<i>aw</i>	or	<b>mà</b>	<ma‘>
<i>kadhālika</i>	so, thus	<b>kén mòxó dí</b>	<ki <sup>n</sup> muku <sup>n</sup> du>

Some of the function words may attach the 3rd person singular pronoun **à**, for example, (**à**) **dó** ‘(it) and’, (**à**) **mà** ‘(it) or’, (**à nà**) **gèllí** ‘(it is) from’. The spelling of these items may vary. On the other hand, there is almost no variation in their correspondence to the respective Arabic counterparts. For instance, the grammatical words with similar semantics **tí** and **kàfīnī** ‘with’ regularly correspond to Arabic *bi* and *ma‘a* respectively, and are rarely used interchangeably. One exception is the Soninke postposition **màxá** ‘at’ which translates two prepositions *‘alā* ‘on, upon’ and *‘an* ‘on, about’.

Few locative postpositions in the glosses differ from modern Soninke. For instance, the postposition **dí** ‘in’ in the glosses is written as <du>, possibly for /du/ or /do/.<sup>881</sup> The same <du> appears at the end of three other postpositions: <falli du>, <wuri ra du>, <kanma ra du>, which correspond to modern Soninke **fállé** ‘after’, **wùré** ‘under’, and **kànmá** ‘above’ respectively. The element <ra> in the second and third examples most likely is the so-called localisation marker **rá**.<sup>882</sup> The discrepancies between modern Soninke postpositions and those in the glosses are yet to be explained.

Interestingly, the usage of **sàagé** as a conjunction ‘then’ and **gèllí** as a locative preposition ‘from’ which systematically render the Arabic *thumma* ‘then’ and *min* ‘from’, respectively, is limited to the religious exegetical domain.<sup>883</sup>

Prefix **ra-** further reveals the specific nature of the Soninke language in the glosses. Diagona states that this prefix occurs in Qur’anic exegesis without adding semantic value.<sup>884</sup> Below is a list of several frequently encountered words prefixed with **ra-** (commonly spelt as <la->) and their Arabic correspondences. The nominalising suffix **-yé** after the slash indicates alternative noun forms.

<sup>881</sup> See the section on vowels in this chapter.

<sup>882</sup> As Diagona (2013, 168) suggests, it is a contracted form of the word **ràxè** ‘place’.

<sup>883</sup> The first is a grammaticalised form of the verb **sàagé** ‘return’, and the second, **gèllí** ‘since, if’, receives an additional locational (source) meaning (Diagona 2013, 174, and Diagona 1995, 485).

<sup>884</sup> Diagona 2013, 168.

- **rà-mùurú/-yè** ‘look for’, ‘search’ translating the derivatives of the root *rāda* ‘to look for, search’, especially *irādat* ‘will’;<sup>885</sup>
- **rà-ní/-yè** ‘be able’, ‘ability’ rendering *qadara* ‘to possess strength, power, ability’;<sup>886</sup>
- **rà-kútò/-yè** ‘destiny’, ‘God’s will’ also corresponding to *qadara* in the sense of ‘decree, ordain’ or ‘divine predestination’;<sup>887</sup>
- **rà-jànbá** ‘betray’;
- **rà-sàagá/-yè** ‘return’ rendering derivatives from *radda* ‘to return’, for example *mardūd* ‘yield, return’;<sup>888</sup>
- **rà-bàtó/-yè** corresponds to words derived from the root *q-r-w*, and in particular to *istiqrā* ‘follow’, ‘respect’;<sup>889</sup>
- **rà-gábùntàaxú** ‘multiplicity’ mainly found in connection to *takthīr* ‘increase, accumulation’, and to *al-iṭnāb* ‘exaggeration’.<sup>890</sup>

Several terms in the glosses belong to the honorific vocabulary.<sup>891</sup> Diagana presents a list of honorifics used in the religious domain.<sup>892</sup> The first group of words relates to the act of speech, expressed by the Arabic roots *qāla* ‘say’ and *kalam* ‘speak, talk’. The neutral Soninke translations include **tí** ‘say’, **kó** ‘say’ (used in transitive constructions), and **sèfé** ‘say, speak’. However, when referring to God, the honorific **dáalè** ‘word of God’ is used:

(32) Gloss to *kalāmuhu* ‘his (God) words’<sup>893</sup>

<’al<sup>2</sup>ahu da’ li<sup>n</sup> ‘a>

**Állà dáalèn ṅà**

God word-D FOC

‘the words of God’

The verb **máaxù** ‘say, declare’ applies to the saying of the Prophet:

(33) Gloss to *li-qaūlihi* ‘because of his (Prophet) words’<sup>894</sup>

<fari maquyisabuda<sup>n</sup>>

**fàaré máaxùyè sáabù dá**

Prophet say-NMLZ reason for

‘because of the Prophet’s words’

<sup>885</sup> BnF Arabe 5657, f. 46a, 55b, and 123b; MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 216b, 104b; PGL MS ORI 11/2, f. 14a; BmT MS 2234, p. 480.

<sup>886</sup> BnF Arabe 5657, f. 54b, and MS ZAC2, di 3982.

<sup>887</sup> BnF Arabe 5299, f. 287a, and TCD MS 2179, f. 11ab.

<sup>888</sup> MS ZOC1, di 5432, and BnF Arabe 5657, f. 45a.

<sup>889</sup> MS ZAC2, di 3982.

<sup>890</sup> JRL MS 780[825], f. 41a, and MS ZMC1, di 5307.

<sup>891</sup> According to Vydrin’s definition, ‘[t]hose words are intended to replace “usual” words when one is addressing elders, teachers, Muslim clerics, or when speaking about objects regarded as sacral.’ (Vydrine 2008, 216).

<sup>892</sup> See Diagana 1995, 485–497.

<sup>893</sup> BL MS Or. 4897, f. 141a. Other occurrences are, for example, MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 204ab, 206b, PGL MS ORI 11/2, f. 12b.

<sup>894</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, di 1065.



This honorific verb can also be used to cite texts' authors: <sikhusanuw si maqu> **shaykh Sanūsī máaxù** 'shaykh al-Sanūsī said'.<sup>895</sup>

Second group of honorific terms include body parts. Among those encountered in the glosses, the word **sàanú** designate the eyes of the Prophet, as opposed to the neutral **yàaxó**. The honorific term **sóoxè** is used for the 'hand' as well, instead of **kittè**:

- (34) Gloss to *bi-yadihi* 'with his hand':<sup>896</sup>  
 <ta' 'a suw ki<sup>n</sup> al-bara<sup>n</sup> ' ka<sup>n</sup>ti'a>  
**t' à sóoxè barakantè ñá**  
 with 3SG hand bless-ADJ PP  
 'with his blessed hand'

Also, in passages of *fiqh* texts related to ritual purity or marriage obligations, the male (*dhakar*) and female (*farj*) private parts are translated with terms of respect **jákárù** 'penis' (ultimately from Arabic) and **kàané** 'front'.<sup>897</sup>

A final point to make about translational techniques is about the scribes' native language(s). Their influence is evident not only in the orthography but also in word choice, and in some glosses, Manding words appear within Soninke phrases. Thus, the phrase in example (22) has the Mandinka numeral **náani** used instead of the Soninke **nàxàtó** 'four'.

Another example is the gloss explaining the Arabic *maqbara al-mushrikūn* 'cemetery of polytheists', where the last element is a Mandinka copula **mù** in place of the Soninke **ní** 'is':

- (35) Gloss to *maqbara al-mushrikūn* 'cemetery of polytheists':<sup>898</sup>  
 <filankafunu buru dikira mu>  
**fillànkápponú búrú ðigira mù**  
 polytheist.PL-PL bury place is  
 'this is the graveyard of polytheists'

Also, as my consultants pointed out, the word **jòosí** 'rub, scrub' found in several manuscripts is a Manding loan word, and the correct Soninke word would be **sùusá**.<sup>899</sup>

- (36) Gloss to *wa yukhalilu ašabi'u yadihi* 'he rubs in between the fingers'<sup>900</sup>  
 <a wa kiti fili lurumi naqani yusuni>  
**à w(á) à kittén fillí nàxáané jòosíní**  
 3SG ICPL 3SG hand-D two middle rub-GER  
 'her rubs in between the fingers of his both hands'

<sup>895</sup> JRL MS 780[825], f. 18a.

<sup>896</sup> MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 208a.

<sup>897</sup> E.g., TCD MS 2179, f. 19ab, f. 20b; BmT MS 2234, p. 124, p. 128, p. 131.

<sup>898</sup> TCD MS 2179, f. 26a.

<sup>899</sup> E.g., TCD MS 2179, f. 31a; UbL MS Or. 14.052(8), f.17b; BmT MS 2344, p. 124; BnF Arabe 5675, f. 77b. These manuscripts were supposedly written by non-Soninke speakers. Unfortunately, I could not find which word for 'rub' is used in manuscripts from Soninke-speaking areas. The word **jòosí** is only listed in Bathily's Soninke-French dictionary with the meaning 'to wash the dishes with a sponge' (Bathily 2008, 132).

<sup>900</sup> UbL MS Or. 14.052(8), f. 17b.

## Glosses in native languages (*fī kalāminā*) of scribes

The Arabic phrase *fī kalāminā* ‘in our words / language’ reveals which language the scribes consider their native. This label, however, may refer to various languages, and those identified in the current corpus include Soninke, Mandinka, and an Eastern Manding variety. As a result, the manuscripts can be divided into two main groups based on scribal language: (1) written by Soninke native speakers and (2) written by non-Soninke native speakers.

### Manuscripts Group 1

In manuscripts of group 1, originating from Soninke-speaking areas in east Senegal and west Mali, the language of the teachers and that of the scribes is Soninke. Inferring this language is possible from several glosses passed down to the scribes by their teachers. In the example below this concerns defining various kinds of dairy products and spices:

(37) Glosses to (a) *wa jubn* ‘and cheese’ and (b) *wa aqiṭ* ‘cottage cheese’:<sup>901</sup>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(a) &lt;duw qatikara&gt; <i>qāla shaykhunā</i> &lt;duw fiini&gt;<br/> <b>dó xátì kara?</b> ‘and ?? milk, our shaykh said [it is] <b>dó fèené</b> ‘and milk cream’</p> | <p>(b) <i>qāla shaykhunā fī kalāminā</i> &lt;bandu&gt;<br/> ‘Our shaykh said in our words/language [it is]’ <b>bàndó</b> first milk’</p> |
|--|--|

(38) Glosses to *wa ḥulba* ‘and fenugreek (*Trigonella foenum-graecum*)’:<sup>902</sup>

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><i>Qāla ba ‘ad al-‘ulamā’ ḥulba</i><br/> ‘Some scholars say [it is] <i>ḥulba</i> ‘fenugreek’.’</p> | <p><i>fī kalāminā</i> &lt;siyni&gt; <i>qāla shaykhūnā lays mashhūr</i><br/> ‘In our words/language [it is] <b>seene</b> (Tallow wood or yellow plum, <i>Ximenia americana</i>). Our shaykh said [that it is] not well-known.’</p> |
|---|---|

The above examples illustrate two approaches to explaining problematic words. The first way is to use Arabic borrowings. The second way is to find an equivalent in the local context based on function or visual appearance similarities. Such equivalent translations are often labelled with *fī kalāmīnā* and especially frequent with words designating plants, animals, foodstuff and spices, houseware and tools, and the like (see Table 9).

**Table 9. Soninke glosses marked with *fī kalāminā*.**

	Arabic	Soninke	MS
		<b>Plants</b>	
1.	<i>al-tūt</i> ‘berries’	<furu li <sup>n</sup> > <b>fúrúlé</b> ‘ <i>Terminalia macroptera</i> ’	KSS1, di 0228
2.	<i>al-ḥalāwa</i> ‘sweets’	<bima <sup>n</sup> > <b>bínmà</b> ‘plant with black fruits ( <i>Vitex cienkowski</i> )’	DAD1, di 0347

<sup>901</sup> MS DAD1, di 0126.

<sup>902</sup> MS DAD1, di 0120.

3.		<wa nqari <sup>n</sup> > <b>wanqare</b> ‘ <i>Cordyla pinnata/africana</i> (a tree with sweet fruits, wild mango)’	DAD1, di 0347
4.	<i>al-juljul</i> ‘hibiscus’	<sa <sup>n</sup> kumi> <b>sàngumé</b> ‘sorrel’	KTD1, di 0402.
<b>Animals</b>			
5.	<i>al-ashhab</i> ‘grey horse’	<da fi> <b>dàfé</b> ‘white horse’	DAD1, di 0385; KSS1, di 0253
6.	<i>al-ablaq</i> ‘black and white spotted horse’	<wa ru wa ru> <b>waruwaru</b> ‘horse with black and white markings’	DAD1, di 0385; KSS1, di 0253
<b>Foodstuffs</b>			
7.	<i>ka-filfil</i> ‘like pepper’	<du furun tu> <b>dó fòròntó</b> ‘and pepper’	DAD1, di 0121
8.	<i>wa kuzbura</i> ‘and coriander’	<du muyuqu> <b>dó mójóxó</b> ‘and a pungent substance’	DAD1, di 0121
9.	<i>al-aṭriya</i> ‘threads made of flour’	<shuw ri> <b>sùuré</b> ‘millet porridge’	BULAC MS.ARA.359, f. 432a
<b>Houseware and tools</b>			
10.	<i>wa al-qullat</i> ‘and jar’	<du dumi> <b>dó òmè</b> ‘jar, vessel’	BULAC MS.ARA.359, f. 34a
11.	<i>wa al-kūz</i> ‘and jug’	<du kubu> <b>dó gùbó</b> ‘receptient made of calabash’	BULAC MS.ARA.359, f. 34a
12.	<i>wa silsila</i> ‘and chain’	<suru <sup>n</sup> mi> <b>súrùnmé</b> ‘chain’	DAD1, di 0777(II)
<b>Diseases</b>			
13.	<i>al-karmiya</i> ‘a bacterial infection’	<miysiyni> <b>mèsèèné</b> ‘measles’	MS DAD1, di 0466

The glosses marked with *fī kalāminā* differ from other glosses in that they rarely follow the translation models outlined above. For example, nouns and noun phrases are mostly rendered in single word equivalents without identificational copula. However, sometimes, conjunctions are included in translations, like in examples T7–8 and T10–11.

## Manuscripts Group 2

In manuscripts from group 2 the glosses marked with *fī kalāminā* are written in languages other than Soninke. However, they are written in the same hands as the Soninke glosses and follow the same orthographical principles.<sup>903</sup>

Scribal languages might be challenging to identify precisely.<sup>904</sup> Yet it is possible to distinguish between the speakers of western and eastern Manding varieties.<sup>905</sup> Furthermore, the manuscripts

<sup>903</sup> In terms of comparison, Madninka glosses added to some manuscripts by later hands in modern ink or pencil feature additional characters. For example, the letter *yā* ‘ with three dots below corresponds to palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the ‘*ayn* with three dots above to velar nasal /ŋ/. In addition, the recent glosses generally do not bear any labels (i.e., neither ‘*ajamī* nor *fī kalāminā*).

<sup>904</sup> Language identification is often hampered by a lack of comprehensive material: in some cases, it may consist of a few (single word) glosses. However, more material may sometimes be sourced from colophons and talismanic recipes.

<sup>905</sup> One key phonological feature distinguishing the two Manding branches is the number of vowels: 5 in the western and 7 in the eastern. On Manding dialectology see, inter alia, Galtier 1990; Derive 1990; Davydov 2012.

written by scribes of different linguistic backgrounds also show differences in translational approaches associated with the glosses of the *fī kalāminā* type.

### Sub-group 1: Mandinka

This sub-group predominantly comprises manuscripts written in Mandinka kingdoms in present-day Gambia and Guinea-Bissau and the historical region of Pakao in southern Senegal, as well as manuscripts from the Jakhanke networks in Futa Jallon (Guinea) and Bundu (East Senegal). The glosses in the scribes' language in these manuscripts share several phonological features allowing for the identification of the language as western Manding:<sup>906</sup>

- The initial /l/ (corresponding to /d/ in Bamana): e.g. in **lāa** 'to lie down' (47);
- /l/ in the intervocalic position (corresponding to /r/ in Bamana): e.g. **silāŋ** 'fear' (T67), **jùlú** 'rope' (T39);<sup>907</sup>
- /t/ in the intervocalic position (corresponding to /r/ in Bamana and /d/ in Maninka): e.g. **nètè** 'acacia' (T1), **kòtó** 'old' (T62).

Several glosses show the absence of velar in the intervocalic position, a feature that is typical of Mandinka (vs Maninka of Niokolo): e.g. (T5) **súlúu** vs. **súluyu** 'hyena', (42) **tòotóo** vs. **tóyotoyo** 'cough', (T21) **sàajüidindīŋ** vs **sáayajiyidindīŋ** 'lamb', (T15 and 39) **séeliŋ** vs. **sèyeliŋ** 'hawk'.

One of the peculiar characteristics of the scribal language in manuscripts from southwest Guinea is the palatal glide /y/ corresponding to /j/ in Soninke and Mandinka glosses, like in the pair <yi> **yí** – <dhi> **jí** 'water' (cf. T50 and T40).<sup>908</sup> The scribal language, however, cannot be accurately identified based on the available linguistic evidence in this and several other manuscripts.<sup>909</sup>

Despite the variation in languages, the glosses marked with *fī kalāminā* in manuscripts from this sub-group have several common aspects. First, they are less numerous than the Soninke glosses. Second, even though some of them stand alone as translations, for the most part they complement the Soninke glosses. As such, they may be considered supplementary or additional layers of glosses. They are, nevertheless, not mere translations of the Soninke into another local language. Unlike the main layer of glosses, the additional translations tend to leave out the text's grammatical properties. As demonstrated below, they omit numbers, suffixed pronouns, or function words.

<sup>906</sup> Several of my field consultants in southern Senegal mentioned that Jakhanke scholars, connected to al-Hājj Sālim Kassama of Touba, spoke Mandinka. Others, however, referred to their language as 'Jakhanke'. The main distinctive feature of this language from Mandinka is the retention of the intervocalic velar **y**. One of my consultants illustrated this difference with an example: 'if Mandinka say "**mōo**" ('man, person'), we [Jakhanke] say "**moyo**" (Interview with SG, Marsassoum, December 2016). According to information shared with me by Valentin Vydrin (email 17 April 2015), the Jakhanke clerics spoke western Manding dialects, some of which resemble Maninka of Niokolo (see, for example, Creissels 2013). Considering that they lived dispersedly, it is also possible that depending on their location, they spoke different idioms.

<sup>907</sup> Examples with T are cited from Table 10 (at the end of this chapter).

<sup>908</sup> The absence of phonological status for /j/ in the scribe's language could explain the ambiguities between /j/ and /y/ (see the section on orthographies).

<sup>909</sup> BnF Arabe 5504, ff 101a–155a; Arabe 5507, ff 10b–110b; Arabe 5566, ff 141a–144b; Arabe 5575, ff 185a–191b; Arabe 5586, ff 1a–177a.

(39) Glosses to *ma‘a al-‘iqbān wa al-rakham* ‘with eagles and Egyptian vultures’:<sup>910</sup>

**Soninke**

<kafunu<sup>n</sup> kubinu<sup>n</sup>‘a>

**kafunu      gòppé-nu-n      ɲà**

with      eagle-PL-D      PP

‘with the eagles’

<du luw qubi<sup>n</sup>ninu<sup>n</sup>>

**dó      lúuxò-bìnné-nú-n**

and      eagle-black-PL-D

‘and black eagles’

**Mandinka**

<siyli<sup>n</sup>>

**séelɲ**

eagle

‘eagle’

<wa ta’>

**wátáa**

martial eagle

‘martial eagle’

The *fī kalāminā* glosses mainly address nouns and prepositional phrases (see Table 10). Furthermore, in several examples where the Arabic source units contain verbs, Mandinka translation may address the noun elements only:

(40) Glosses to *intafakhat awdājuhu* ‘his jugular veins swelled’:<sup>911</sup>

**Soninke**

<‘a kanninyimun yiti>

**à      xànnéñpiimú-n      yítí**

3SG      jugular.vein.PL-D      swell

‘his jugular veins swelled’

**Mandinka**

<kanfasa>

**káɲfasa**

jugular.vein

‘jugular vein’

(41) Glosses to *fā-akhadhathu fīhā al-akla* ‘they/it/she took meal in it’:<sup>912</sup>

**Soninke**

<kiri bida ‘a raka>

**girìbé      dà      à      rágà**

large.dripper      CPL.TR 3SG      take

‘dripper took it’

**Mandinka**

<tili qutuw>

**tìlí      kóntóɲ**

day      lunch

‘midday meal’

Unlike the primary layer of the Soninke glosses, reflective of the TAM aspects of the Arabic verb forms, the *fī kalāminā* glosses render them with bare root forms of Mandinka verbs:

(42) Glosses to *tha ‘a* ‘he vomited’:<sup>913</sup>

**Soninke**

<‘a tiqu>

**à      téxù**

3SG      cough

‘he coughed’

**Mandinka**

<tuw tuw>

**tòotóo**

cough

‘cough’

<sup>910</sup> MS EAP 1042/4/6, p. 126.

<sup>911</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1560.

<sup>912</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1622.

<sup>913</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1674.

(43) Glosses to *thumma yalighuhu* ‘then he licks it’:<sup>914</sup>

**Soninke**

<sa’ kiy ’i wa ta’ ra na>

**sàagé ì w’ à tàra-ná**  
 them 3PL ICPL 3SG lick-GER  
 ‘then they lick it’

**Mandinka**

<niwu ‘u>

**néwúŋ**  
 lick  
 ‘lick’

(44) Glosses to *taghlī* ‘she boils’:<sup>915</sup>

**Soninke**

<a wa wir<sup>0</sup> ni>

**à wá wàrí-ní**  
 3SG ICPL boil-GER  
 ‘she boils’

**Mandinka**

<faji>

**fájí**  
 boil  
 ‘boil’

Alternatively, the Mandinka translation of the Arabic verb forms may be the so-called event denoting nouns formed with the antipassive suffix **-ri**<sup>916</sup>:

(45) Glosses to *yaklabu* ‘[but if a horse put in *hubus*] becomes mad’:<sup>917</sup>  
 (intermediate Arabic gloss: *yamalluka* ‘it becomes impatient with you’)<sup>918</sup>

**Soninke**

<a wu kiyidi ni>

**à wó xípíndí-ní**  
 3SG ICPL bite-GER  
 ‘it bites’

**Mandinka**

<kindi ri>

**kíndírí**  
 bite-ANTP  
 ‘biting’

(46) Glosses to *dahanat (ras zawjihā)* ‘she anointed (her husband’s head)’:<sup>919</sup>

**Soninke**

<’a ka’ da’ rin di>

**à gà dáaríndí**  
 3SG SUB rub.oil  
 ‘she anointed’

**Mandinka**

<muw ri>

**mùu-rí**  
 rub-ANTP  
 ‘rubbing, smearing’

As shown above, the additional layer of Mandinka glosses consists primarily of single-word translations. Only a handful of the glosses are complete phrases, as follows:

(47) Glosses to *tajimi* ‘they are despondent/submissive’ (intermediate Arabic gloss: *taddaji ‘u* ‘they lie down’):<sup>920</sup>

**Soninke**

**Mandinka**

<sup>914</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, di 1050.

<sup>915</sup> MS AAN2, p. 286 (di 1914).

<sup>916</sup> Creissels 2017, 10–11.

<sup>917</sup> Translation of the fragment is from Kenny 1992.

<sup>918</sup> MS ZOC1, di 5647.

<sup>919</sup> MS ZAC3, di 4581.

<sup>920</sup> BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, di 1289.

<'a sakutiyyaniy>

<b>à</b>	<b>sáxú-ntè</b>	<b>gà</b>	<b>ní</b>
3SG	lie-AG	SUB	is
'he is lying down'			

<'a biy la' ri<sup>n</sup>>

<b>à</b>	<b>bé</b>	<b>lāa-riŋ</b>
3SG	COPL	lie-RES
'he is lying down'		

(48) Glosses to *wa nafnā* 'we perished / passed away/ came to an end':<sup>921</sup>

**Soninke**

<'i wa yimi>

<b>ì</b>	<b>wá</b>	<b>yínmè</b>
3PL	COPL	extremity
'they are at the end'		

**Mandinka**

<'a ba<sup>n</sup>ta>

<b>à</b>	<b>bán-ta</b>
3SG	finish/die-CPL
'it's done/he's dead'	

The Mandinka glosses marked with *fī kalāminā* mainly translate words for flora and fauna, natural phenomena, tools and household ware, emotional states, etc. However, they seem not to address religious abstractions or the like. Besides, unlike the main layer of the glosses, the supplementary layer does not employ Arabic borrowings, instead using words from the native vocabulary (e.g., T20, T57, T82).

In a few instances, Arabic words representing animals, body parts, household items, etc., have identical Manding translations in more than one manuscript, regardless of whether they contain different or the same text (e.g., T17–19, T52–53, T54–55, T64–65). Such identical Manding translations may also appear as a group of glosses referring to the same unit in the main text. For example, in two manuscripts, the Arabic *dhī al-kalālīb* 'having hooks' is explained in the glosses with similar sets of Mandinka words for hook-shaped tools, such as sickle or fishing hook (see T31–37).

Another example of matching glosses (T7–14) is found in two manuscripts with *Tafsīr al-Jalānlayn*. The glosses provide Soninke and Manding equivalents for species of fish and aquatic animals that allegedly swallowed Yunūs. They are attached to the intermediate Arabic commentary which in turn is attached to the passage on the main text *fal-taqamahu al-ḥut* 'and the fish swallowed him (Yunūs)' (TQ37:142).<sup>922</sup>

There is a level of consistency regarding the glosses in the scribes' language in manuscripts from this sub-group, both in terms of what words they explain and how they explain them. Consequently, incorporating supplementary vernacular glosses unlikely resulted from haphazard decisions by scribes but rather from well-planned practices that adhered to teachers' instructions.

<sup>921</sup> MS ZMC1, di 5631.

<sup>922</sup> The commentary reads *wa-fī ba 'd al-riwāya asmā' li-ḥītān alladhīna ibtal 'ūhu* 'and in some accounts, the names of fish that swallowed him'. Interestingly, the same commentary appears in two other manuscripts, BULAC MS.ARA.219bis, di 1274, and BnF Arabe 5439, f. 37a, with a different text, *Takhmīs al-Burda* by al-Marrākushī. In both cases, the commentary is linked to the same source word, *multaham* 'devoured'. However, while in the first manuscript their local equivalents are given in Soninke, in the second manuscript, they are in Manding. Interestingly, the various fish types (including those mentioned in the comments in question) are listed in the Arabic – Mandinka wordlist, MS TAS2.

## Sub-groups 2: Eastern Manding

In two manuscripts from this sub-group, the scribal language can be identified as Eastern Manding, namely the Maninka variety of Guinea-Conakry and Mali (Manding region).<sup>923</sup> Therefore, their possible origin is in the southeast of the Greater Senegambia region.

The distinctive phonological characteristics of the scribal language in manuscripts from this sub-group are:

- /k/ or /t/- in the initial position (as opposed to /c/ in Bamana or Jula): e.g., <kimu ku> **kè̀mò̀gò̀** corresponding to *al-shaykh* ‘elder’, <kiyya> **kè̀pà** for *al-jamāl* ‘beauty’, <tema> **témà** for *bayna* ‘between’;<sup>924</sup>
- /d/ in the position between two vowels (corresponding to /r/ in Bamana and /t/ in Mandinka): e.g., <kudaquda> **kúdakúda** for *jadda* ‘renew’, <tudu> **túdu** for *gharasa* ‘plant’, <fada> **fádá** ‘separate’ for *nahā* ‘restrain’;<sup>925</sup>
- The velar /g/ (or /k/) is retained in the intervocalic position: <da bari muku> **dàbàrimógó** ‘treacherous person’ for *al-muhtāl* ‘deceitful, cunning’, <suluku> **súlúkú** ‘hyena’ gloss to *al-sarhān* ‘wolf’, <tiki> **tigè** for *qaṭa* ‘a ‘cut’.<sup>926</sup>

The intervocalic velar distinguishes the language of the glosses from Maninka-Mori of Kankan (without the velar between the vowels). The scribe of one of the manuscripts uses an extra vowel diacritic dot *imāla*.<sup>927</sup> In the Soninke layer of the glosses, *imāla* irregularly corresponds to /e/, the phoneme otherwise encoded by *karsa*. However, in the glosses written in the scribe’s language, assuming that it has seven vowels, the *imāla* may be interpreted as an open /ɛ/ (e.g. <key> **ké** ‘do’, <tema> **témà** ‘middle, between’).

In their majority, the glosses in manuscripts from this sub-group are well-formed phrases. They offer enough material to identify some grammatical traits characteristic of the Maninka language:

- predicate markers **kà** and **bádá** used for perfective affirmative: see below e.g., (49, 51, 52) and (50, 53);
- the plural is formed with **-lu/-nu**: e.g., the 2nd person plural pronoun **álú** (54).

In addition, the Maninka glosses are mainly written separately from the Soninke ones. They regularly reflect the function words, number, and TAM characteristics of Arabic units (examples 49–54).

- (49) Gloss to *fa-in a ‘raḍta* ‘for if you turned away’:<sup>928</sup>  
<nidu ka’ ’i kuw du>

<sup>923</sup> BnF Arabe 5299, ff 245a–365b, and Arabe 5609, ff 123a–128a. In the latter manuscript, the Soninke translations accompany the text until f. 125b. From f. 126a onwards, it only contains Maninka glosses. They are occasionally marked with *‘ajamī*, but not with *fī kalāminā*. Nevertheless, the similarities in handwriting allow assuming that the same scribe wrote glosses in both languages.

<sup>924</sup> BnF Arabe, f. 239b, f. 293a, and f. 305a, respectively.

<sup>925</sup> BnF Arabe 5529, f. 293b, and Arabe 5609, f. 127b.

<sup>926</sup> BnF Arabe 5299, f. 293b, and f. 296b, Arabe 5609, f. 126a and f. 127b.

<sup>927</sup> This diacritic is only used in BnF Arabe 5299, ff 245a–365b.

<sup>928</sup> MS BnF Arabe 5609, f. 125a.



**n' í dòn kà í kóḍòn**  
 if 2SG TOP CPL.TR REFL turn.back  
 'if you turned your back'

- (50) Gloss to *qad satartā* 'you have hidden':<sup>929</sup>  
 <'i bada 'u sutura>

**í bádá ò sùtùrà**  
 2SG TR this hide  
 'you have hidden it'

- (51) Gloss to *fī-mā qad gharasta* 'what you have sowed':<sup>930</sup>  
 <'i ka' mitudu>

**í kà mén túdú**  
 2SG CPL.TR REL plant  
 'what you have planted'

- (52) Gloss to gloss to *jaddada al-shaykh* 'the sheikh renewed':<sup>931</sup>  
 <kimu kukaqudaquda yali key>

**kèḿògò kà kúdákúdayá lí ké**  
 elder CPL.TR renew-NMLZ do  
 'the elder made the renovation'

- (53) Gloss to *athinahu* 'he listened to him':<sup>932</sup>  
 <'a bada 'a tulu malu>

**à bádá à tólomalo**  
 3SG TR 3SG listen  
 'he listened to it/him'

- (54) Gloss to *fa-lā taghḍabna* 'you (fem. dual.) should not become angry':<sup>933</sup>  
 <'al<sup>0</sup> kana di miya ma>

**álú káná dí mí à mà**  
 2PL PROH upset 3SG at  
 'you (pl.) should not become angry with him'

The Soninke and Maninka translations in manuscripts of this sub-group follow regular correspondences, be it tense/aspect of verbal phrases or function items of prepositional phrases. Thus, for instance, Arabic *wa* 'and' and *in* 'if' correspond in Maninka to <'a ni> **àní** 'and' and <ni> **ní** 'if' and the preposition *fī* 'in' and *alā* 'on' correspond to postpositions <du> **ḍó** 'in' and <ma> **mà** 'on, upon, at', respectively.

<sup>929</sup> MS BnF Arabe 5609, f. 127a

<sup>930</sup> MS BnF Arabe 5609, f. 127b.

<sup>931</sup> MS BnF Arabe 5299, f. 293b.

<sup>932</sup> MS BnF Arabe 5299, f. 304b.

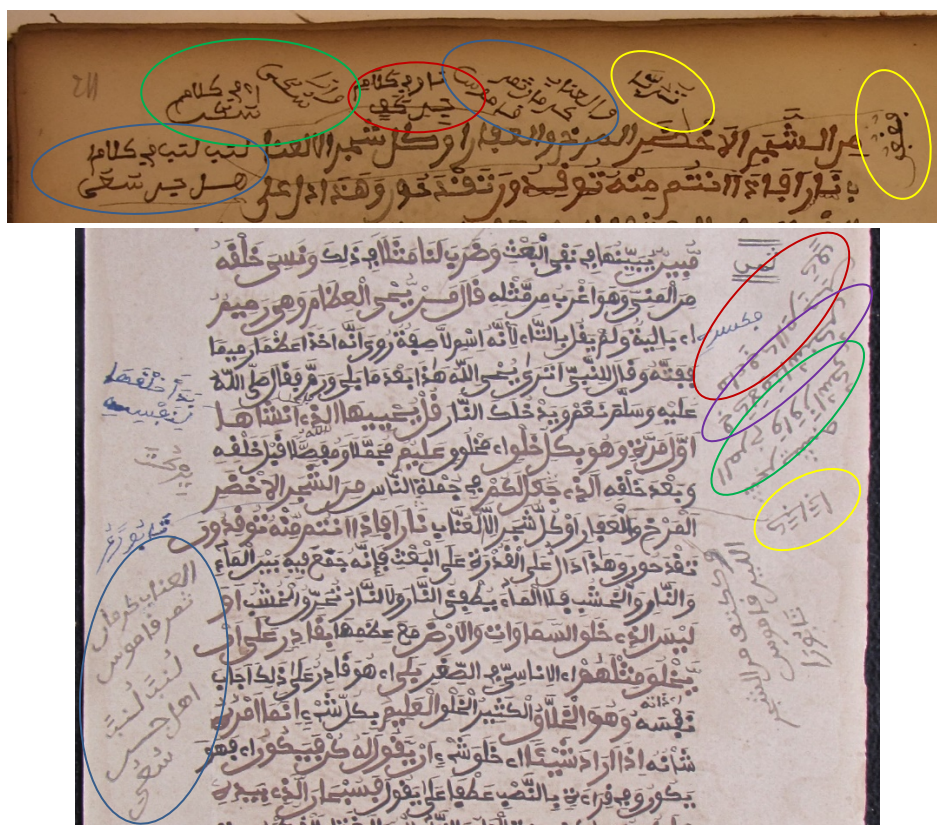
<sup>933</sup> MS BnF Arabe 5299, f. 338a.

## Other languages in glosses

In addition to Soninke and Manding, the manuscripts sometimes contain glosses in other West African languages. One such instance is found in two manuscripts – BULAC MS.ARA.112b and MS AAN2 – with the *al-Jalālayn* commentary to the Qur’anic verse (TQ36:80):

‘He Who has made for you, and for all human beings, fire from the green tree, namely, [from] the *markh* and ‘*afār* [variety], or [from] all trees, except for the jujube (‘*unnāb*), and, behold, from it you kindle’, [from it] you strike fire.’<sup>934</sup>

The scribes used several languages to specify the plants in this passage. For example, they supplied the word *al-‘unnāb* with a definition from the monolingual Arabic lexicon: *al-‘unnāb ka-rummān thamar Qāmūs* ‘jujube, like pomegranate, [is] a fruit. [Quoted from] *Qāmūs*.’. Another annotation, linked to the *Qāmūs* definition, is in a local language, and it reads: *lunbalunba fī kalām ahl jn su‘uy* (Fig 40., blue).<sup>935</sup> Considering that this annotation draws on a comparison, just like the explanation from the *Qāmūs*, the word <lunba<sup>n</sup> lunba<sup>n</sup>> may designate a local plant. As the scribe notes further, it is written in the <su‘uy> **Sognoy** / Songhay language of the people of Djenné. Indeed, there is a Songhay word **lumbalumba** for ‘liana sp. with suckable orange-red fruits (*Momordica* sp.)’.<sup>936</sup>



**Figure 40.** Two manuscripts with *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* with similar annotations suggesting the names of local plants in several West African languages. France, Paris, BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 211a, and Senegal, Adéane, MS AAN2, p. 190 (di 1814).

<sup>934</sup> Translation by Feras Hamza: <<https://www.altafsir.com/>> (last accessed March 2023).

<sup>935</sup> In BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 221a, the word *l-n-b l-n-b* is not vocalised. The underlined words *fī kalām* ‘in words / language’ are absent from the annotation in MS AAN2, p. 190 (di 1814).

<sup>936</sup> The word **lumbalumba** is listed in Heath 1998b, 14.

Other glosses on the same folios also appear to be Songhay plant names. The first word – <wa' za'> – is labelled as (*fī kalām*) *Sukuy* ‘(in words / language of) Songoy’ (Fig. 40, green).<sup>937</sup> Possibly, it stands for **waa-paa** ‘shrub species with latex’, such as *Calotropis procera*, also known as the apple of Sodom.<sup>938</sup> This plant is used for producing charcoal and kindling fire. In fact, the same plant species is mentioned twice more in BULAC MS.ARA.112b, explaining the Arabic *al-shajar al-akhḍar* ‘the green tree’ in Soninke <туру b<sup>2</sup>a’> **tùrubá / tùrunbá** and in Manding <fuqufuqu> **fógónfógón** (Fig. 40, upper image, yellow).<sup>939</sup> In MS AAN2, the Mandinka <kiba<sup>n</sup> ba<sup>n</sup>> **kípámpáj** for *Calotropis procera* appears as a gloss to *al-‘afār* ‘tree used for striking fire’ (Fig. 40, lower image, yellow).<sup>940</sup>

Another Songhay word – <kafi<sup>n</sup>> – in both manuscripts is marked with *fī kalām Jini* ‘in the language of Djenné’ (Fig. 40, red). Admittedly, it stands for the plant **kahi** ‘*Khaya senegalensis*’.<sup>941</sup> Right above this gloss, the scribe of MS AAN2 added one more equivalent plant in his native tongue (*fī kalāminā*) named <sunkun> **sùŋkúŋ** ‘*Annona senegalensis*’ (Fig. 40, purple).

The examples above show that out of many glosses in various languages, those in Songhay receive the most explicit attribution by way of referring to people (Songhay) or locality (Djenné) where it is spoken. The presence of Songhay words, even though unusual in manuscripts with the majority of glosses in Soninke and written by native speakers of Manding languages (Mandinka for MS AAN2), might have an explanation. Both manuscripts are produced within the Jakhanke scholarly networks and contain mentions of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama, who studied under the scholars of Djenné where Songhay is one of the city’s languages.<sup>942</sup> Therefore, it is conceivable that he included the explanatory comments of Songhay-speaking scholars into his own teachings.

Similar comparisons or complementary explanations in languages / dialects from different localities are also found in MS DAD1, di 0217(II). The scribe explained the Arabic *walad al-bint* ‘child of the daughter’ with two words brought together in one gloss. One word <kuw ru mi> *kuurimi* (?), according to the scribal indications *fī kalām Bīr*, is written in the language of Biro/Walata (Fig. 41, red).<sup>943</sup>

<sup>937</sup> The words in brackets appear in the form of a separate annotation *ay fī kalām Sukuy* in BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 211a.

<sup>938</sup> The plant is listed in Heath 1998b, 193. The scribe of the MS AAN2 spelt the plant name as <wa' wa za'> **waa-waa-paa**, which could be a variant name of the same plant (both **waa** and **waa-waa** designate ‘milk’ or ‘latex’, the latter also has the meaning of milky latex (in plants), see Heath 1998a, 248 and 252). The letter *zāy*, in both spellings, is an unusual rendering of the palatal nasal /ɲ/.

<sup>939</sup> For the Soninke word, See Dantioko 2003, 215, and Diagona 2013, 218; for Bamana, see Bailleul 2000, 141.

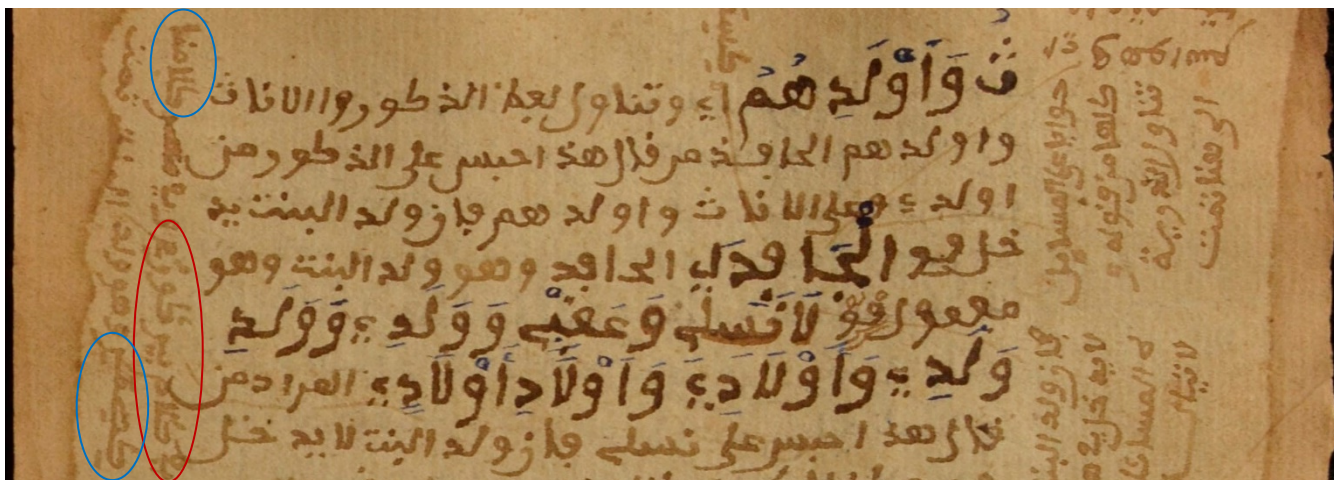
<sup>940</sup> Also, in EAP MS 1042/4/1, p. 53, with *Dāliyyat al-Yūsī* the ‘afār tree is likened to *Calotropis procera* by two glosses <туру<sup>n</sup> ba’> **tùrùnbá** in Soninke and <kiba<sup>n</sup> ba<sup>n</sup>> **kípámpáj** in Mandinka (see Table 10, 3).

<sup>941</sup> According to Heath’s dictionary, the word **kahi** is a borrowing from Fula (Heath 1998a, 153).

<sup>942</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>943</sup> Nikolay Dobronravin presented at the OMRN meeting in April 2015 another instance of multilingual glosses in a manuscript with *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar*. In particular, the manuscript’s scribe compared three dialects of Soninke: his own (*fī kalāminā*), that of Biro / Walata (*fī kalām Bīru*), that of Tichit (*fī kalām ahl Tisiti*). The explanation of the word *wa iḥtazāma* ‘and girded’ in the language of the scribe <qitu> can be interpreted as **xètéó** ‘loincloth’, listed, for example, in Diagona’s dictionary of the Kaédi dialect (Diagona 2013, 231).

The term that follows <kišimari>, is written in the scribe's native dialect (*fī kalāminā*) and can be interpreted as the Soninke *kisimàré* grandchild (Fix. 41, blue). Interestingly, the manuscript DAD1 contains few mentions of the scholars of Biro, which allows us to assume that the two terms might result from a comparison between teachings in different localities.<sup>944</sup>



**Figure 41.** A gloss in Soninke and in the language of Biro/Walata. Senegal, Diawara, MS DAD1, di 0217(II).

### Concluding remarks

The Soninke glosses in the manuscripts under study show uniformity in their translational approaches, cutting across a large territory for more than a hundred years, from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The Soninke translations depend on Arabic source elements. However, in some cases, the basis for translation may not necessarily be a unit from the main text but additional Arabic glosses or commentaries. The Soninke glosses are never single words, and they are represented by different grammatical constructions, each of which is adapted to translate noun, prepositional, or verb phrases. At the same time, the target translations remain unaffected by the Arabic syntactical structuring rules, retaining the word order inherent to Soninke.

Glosses incorporate numerous borrowings, newly created words, as well as words from the religious domain and respectful honorific terms. The fixed correspondence between the source and target languages in grammar, lexicon, and specific vocabulary allows us to consider the Soninke of the glosses as a scholarly variety.

The specific nature of the Soninke language, the predominance of Soninke glosses in most manuscripts, and the references to teachers after some of them confirm its status as the language of educational instruction. The language probably had to be formally acquired by some scholars as they were speakers of other Mande varieties. The native languages of the scribes are marked with *fī kalāminā* ‘in our words/language’. In the present corpus, they appear as a secondary layer of glosses, which are usually single-word equivalents of words, such as plants, animals, and tools. Most likely, these words from native vocabulary were meant to enhance the understanding of texts

<sup>944</sup> See Chapter 5 for details.



by using the concepts and languages from the scribes’/students’ realities, and thus, were also intended as part of educational instruction.

In the present corpus, Soninke appeared as the first language of the scribes and teachers of Soninke polities, such as Gajaaga, Jaahunu, and Hayre. Varieties of Western and Eastern Manding represent the scribal languages other than Soninke. Manuscripts’ linguistic diversity matches their origin within Greater Senegambia and within the scholarly networks. Thus, predictably, the manuscripts written in the Mandinka kingdoms and provinces, such as Badibu, Noomi, Kombo, Kusara, and Pakao often have a supplementary layer of glosses in this language. Mandinka is also found in some manuscripts produced by Jakhanke scholars. However, a distinct (Western Manding) language or dialect is featured in the Jakhanke manuscripts of Bundu, and in manuscripts produced by the Jakhanke migrants to coastal areas (Guinea and Sierra Leone). The manuscripts with Eastern Manding (Maninka) lack any geographical identification. However, in this case, it is the language of the glosses which may serve as an indication of their origin in areas of southeast Senegambia.

The diversity of manuscripts also manifests itself in the approaches to encoding local languages in Arabic script. Even though some individual manuscripts may show inconsistencies in spellings, there are, however, some general orthographic conventions shared with other manuscripts. Thus, manuscripts can also be provisionally grouped according to their orthographies. Other factors, such as geography and linguistic background, support these groupings. For example, manuscripts produced by Soninke-speaking scribes use the most transparent orthography, where the velar and uvular are systematically distinguished by using different graphemes. In contrast, the Jakhanke and Mandinka manuscripts exhibit more ambiguity in representing these consonants. In addition, the intervocalic uvular in these latter manuscripts is sporadically dropped. The scribes of the Eastern Manding manuscripts and the manuscripts from southern coastal Guinea and Sierra Leone use the *imāla* for /e/. Finally, a group of manuscripts show underspecification of /j/ and /y/; however, the factors that condition such orthography are still to be understood.

### Table 10: Manding glosses in manuscripts.

The table represents selected glosses, grouped into several semantic categories, in the native languages of scribes (tagged with *fi kalāminā*) other than Soninke. I use Manding as a cover term: although most glosses appear to be Mandinka, there are few written in another Manding variety. Most of the Manding glosses stand parallel to Soninke ones, recorded in the column ‘Soninke’. Blank cells indicate that no Soninke gloss was present. The column ‘Arabic’ lists the source unit in the main text.

	Arabic	Soninke	Manding	MS
	<b>Flora, Fauna</b>			
1.	<i>al-gharqad</i> ‘a tree species, flowering plant’		<niti> <b>nèté</b> ‘locus bean ( <i>Parkia</i> <i>biglobosa</i> )’	EAP1042/4/1, p. 43
2.	<i>al-marḥ</i> ‘a tree for kindling fire’	<duw kir <sup>0</sup> juw mi> <b>dó g̀irj̀òomé</b> ‘and silk cotton tree ( <i>Bombax buonopozense</i> )’	<bu <sup>n</sup> ku <sup>n</sup> > <b>b̀úḡk̀úḡ</b> kapok	EAP1042/4/1, p. 52

3.	<i>ka-`afār</i> ‘a tree for kindling fire’	<туру <sup>n</sup> ba’> <b>tùrùnbá</b> ‘apple of Sodom ( <i>Calotropis procera</i> )’	<kiba <sup>n</sup> ba <sup>n</sup> > <b>kìpámpánj</b> ‘apple of Sodom ( <i>Calotropis procera</i> )’	EAP1042/4/1, p. 52
4.	<i>ukl khamṭ</i> ‘bitter fruits’	<bakiya’ ni> <b>bàgé yá ní</b> ‘this is a variety of acacia ( <i>Acacia raddiana</i> )’	<ba’ furu ma’>	AAN2, p. 167 (di 1791)
5.	<i>wa athl</i> ‘and tamarisk’	<duw turu <sup>n</sup> fay> <b>túrúnfá</b> ‘bitter jujube ( <i>Ziziphus mucronata</i> )’	<suluw tu <sup>n</sup> buru <sup>n</sup> > <b>súlúu tómbóróŋ</b> ‘lit. jujube of hyena ( <i>Ziziphus mucronata</i> )’	AAN2, p. 167 (di 1791)
6.	<i>min yaqtīn</i> ‘[a plant] of gourd / squash’	<kili siy ri <sup>n</sup> da ri yay> <b>gèlli síirèn dàré yá</b> ‘from the big gourd’	<dhi <sup>n</sup> > <b>ŋjèn</b> ‘squash’	AAN2, p. 201 (di 1825)
7.	<i>wa-`l-timsāh</i> ‘and alligator’	<duw kiniy> <b>dó kìnè</b> ‘and crocodile’	<banba> <b>bàmbá</b> ‘crocodile’	AAN2, p. 201 (di 1825)
8.	<i>wa-akhāk</i> ‘and hippopotamus?’	<duw wuka’ mi> <b>dó wùngáamè</b> ‘and hippopotamus’	<mali> <b>màlí</b> ‘hippopotamus’	AAN2, p. 201 (di 1825)
9.	<i>al-b-n-b</i> ‘?’	<du bafuw ri> <b>dó bàppóorè</b> ‘and Nile perch’	<sa’ li <sup>n</sup> > <b>sáalén</b> ‘Nile perch’	AAN2, p. 201 (di 1825)
10.	<i>al-m-rbūk</i> ( <i>al-burbūt</i> ) ‘burbot’	<yikhibi <sup>n</sup> ni> <b>ŋéxénbinné</b> ‘African catfish ( <i>Heterobranchus bidorsalis</i> )’	<ka <sup>n</sup> nda <sup>n</sup> >	AAN2, p. 201 (di 1825)
11.	<i>wa-`l-timsāh</i> ‘and alligator’	<duw kiniy> <b>dó kìnè</b> ‘and crocodile’	<banba> <b>bàmbá</b> ‘crocodile’	BULAC MS.ARA.122b, f. 219a
12.	<i>wa-akhākhāk</i> ‘and hippopotamus?’	<d wu ka’ mi> <b>dó wùngáamè</b> ‘and hippopotamus’	<mali> <b>màlí</b> ‘hippopotamus’	BULAC MS.ARA.122b, f. 219a
13.	<i>al-burbūt</i> ‘burbot’	<yakhibini> <b>ŋéxénbinné</b> ‘African catfish ( <i>Heterobranchus bidorsalis</i> )’	<kanda>	BULAC MS.ARA.122b, f. 219a
14.	<i>al-b-n-y</i> ‘?’	<duw bafuw ri> <b>dó bàppóorè</b> ‘and Nile perch’	<sa’ li <sup>n</sup> > <b>sáalén</b> ‘Nile perch’	BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 219a
15.	<i>al-buzāt</i> ‘falcons’	<ta’ na’ ni> <b>taanaa? ní</b> ‘it is?’	<siyli <sup>n</sup> > <b>séelīŋ</b> ‘eagle’	EAP1042/4/1, p. 51
16.	<i>ka-`l-khafāfish</i> ‘like bats’		<tushu> <b>tònsó</b> ‘bat’	BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1747

17.	<i>zallaṭ khafāfīsh</i> <i>ahl al-shirk</i> 'bats of polytheists became'	<kirifuna' ni> <b>kèréfùné ní</b> 'this is a bat'	<tusu> <b>tònsó</b> 'bat'	ZAkC1, di 2783
18.		<fila' <sup>n</sup> kafu du' <sup>n</sup> kuw nu' <sup>n</sup> kiri funiy nu' <sup>n</sup> la' riy> <b>filànkáppónú</b> <b>kèréfùnénú làgàrí</b> 'bats of polytheists ended up'	<tu' <sup>n</sup> su> <b>tònsó</b> 'bat'	ZMC1, di 5209
19.	<i>qaṣarat abṣār</i> <i>al-khafāfīsh</i> 'bats became shorth-sighted'	<kiri fuw nu ya' kuri di fu> <b>kèréfùnú yáaxò rí dèfó</b> 'eyes of bats became short'	<tuw su> <b>tònsó</b> 'bat'	BnF Arabe 5657, f. 137b
20.	<i>wa- 'l-jawāmīs</i> 'and the buffaloes'	<duw ja' musa' nu' <sup>n</sup> > <b>dó jaamusanú</b> 'and buffaloes'	<kubiru> <b>kóobúró</b> 'humped buffalo'	ZOC1, di 5432
21.	<i>wa- 'l-bahma</i> 'and lamb, sheep'	<duw ja' kili' <sup>n</sup> mi> <b>dó jàxérenmè</b> 'and lamb'	<sa' jiydi' <sup>n</sup> di> <b>sàajiidíndíj</b> 'lamb'	BULAC MS.ARA.219b is, (di 1288)
22.	<i>al-ghazāl</i> 'gazelle'		<subu' <sup>n</sup> di> <b>sùbúndíj</b> 'small animal'	ZMC1, di 5659
23.	<i>dīkuhu</i> 'his rooster'	<fa' ri kama'a> <b>fàaré gánmàn ná</b> 'Prophet's rooster'	<du' <sup>n</sup> w tu> <b>dùntúj</b> 'rooster'	BULAC MS.ARA.273, f. 32b
24.	<i>al-qamla</i> 'lice'		<duw ya'> <b>dúpá</b> 'lice'	BULAC MS.ARA.273, f. 161a
25.	<i>ka- 'l-sūs</i> 'like the woodworm'	<'i kubutu' <sup>n</sup> buta'> <b>ì xòò butunbutaa[na]</b> 'like a hole piercer'	<du' <sup>n</sup> > <b>dúj</b> 'wood eating insect'	ZAC2, di 4268
<b>Armours, Tools, Houseware</b>				
26.	<i>fī 'l-manjāniq</i> 'in catapult'	<fi yrami du> <b>pii[te] yiraamé dú</b> 'in a cloth for throwing'	<dafura' <sup>n</sup> > <b>dàmpùráj</b> 'slingshot'	BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1654
27.	<i>tijfāf</i> 'protective armor'	<kula' di ya> <b>kúlàadé yá</b> 'a piece of wrapped cloth used to carry load'	<fiyi' <sup>n</sup> ki> <b>fipiñkí</b> 'a piece of wrapped cloth used to carry load on the head'	BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1524
28.	<i>wa-sahm</i> 'and arrow'	<bu' <sup>n</sup> ni' <sup>n</sup> a> <b>búnnèn ná</b> 'arrow'	<biyi' <sup>n</sup> > <b>bèjé</b> 'arrow'	ZMC1, di 5245
29.	<i>wa-maqīṣ (?)</i> <i>muqawwas?</i> 'bent, crooked, curved'	<du qidu> <b>dó xédò</b> 'and sickle'	<wu ru tu> <b>wòròtó</b> 'sickle'	ZOC1, di 5607
30.	<i>wa-mihrāth</i> 'and plow'	<du tunki> <b>dó tóngè</b> 'and plow'	<da ba> <b>dàbá</b> 'hoe'	ZOC1 di 5607

31.		<kudi du <sup>n</sup> kiy ni> <b>xédòdunke ní</b> 'having sickle'	<wu ru tu> <b>wòròtó</b> 'sickle'	BnF Arabe, f. 69b
32.	<i>dhī al-kalālīb</i> 'having hooks'	<ka <sup>n</sup> ba' i du <sup>n</sup> kiy ni > <b>xànpájédunke ní</b> 'having pincers'	<ba' ya <sup>n</sup> > <b>bàayáj</b> 'pincers, nippers'	BnF Arabe, f. 69b
33.		<kuri dunki ni> <b>gòrédunke ní</b> 'having fishing hook'	<duw li <sup>n</sup> > <b>dóolínj</b> 'fishing line'	BnF Arabe, f. 69b
34.		<kidi du <sup>n</sup> kaniy> <b>xédòdunke gà ní</b> 'having sickle'	<wu ru tu> <b>wòròtó</b> 'sickle'	MQB AF14722(87), f. 123b
35.		<duw kuri> <b>dó gòré</b> 'and fishing hook'	<duw li <sup>n</sup> > <b>dóolínj</b> 'fishing line'	MQB AF14722(87), f. 124b
36.	<i>dhī al-kalālīb</i> 'having hooks'	<du qidu> <b>dó xédò</b> 'and sickle'	<wu ru tu> <b>wòròtó</b> 'sickle'	MQB AF14722(87), f. 124b
37.		<duw qr <sup>0</sup> yl> <b>dó ?</b> 'and ?'	<dun ti <sup>n</sup> > <b>dòntínj</b> 'hook-shaped stick for picking fruits'	MQB AF14722(87), f. 124b
38.	<i>dithāraka</i> 'your covers'	<'ankufa' rifuyi> <b>án xùfáadèn fó yi</b> 'your coverage'	<bitira> <b>bítíránj</b> 'coverage/blanket'	TCD 3499, f. 62b
39.	<i>bi- 'l-dalw</i> 'with bucket'	<tika' yiya> <b>tí gàayé yá</b> 'with rope and container for drawing water'	<dhu lu mira <sup>n</sup> 'u> <b>jùlú miráño</b> 'calabash bowl with rope'	ZMC1, di 6026
40.	<i>fī- 'l-mā' al- inā'</i> 'in the water of the vessel'	<kulin ji' du> <b>xollen jí dú</b> 'in the water of the receptacle'	<jitara <sup>n</sup> > <b>jítáaránj</b> 'cup, jar, drinking cup'	BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1745
41.	<i>ka-qudūr al- nuḥās</i> 'like a copper cooking pot'	<'a nughu jaqa <sup>n</sup> wa li kini> <b>à nà xòò jàxànwàllè giné</b> 'it is like a copper pot'	<danya' da ka> <b>dàpà dàgá</b> 'copper pot'	BnF Arabe 5504, f.137a
42.	<i>sawwa al- mushṭ</i> 'he he		<sa <sup>n</sup> tira <sup>n</sup> > <b>sántíránj</b> 'comb'	AAN3, di 1242
43.	made equal [the teeth of] the comb'	<siw ta' d <sup>0</sup> kaw <sup>0</sup> yuru w nu> <b>séntàadé gà wá pórònó</b> 'comb is adjusted'	<sa <sup>n</sup> tira <sup>n</sup> > <b>sántíránj</b> 'comb'	ZMC1, di 5419
44.	<i>al-ma 'āzif</i> 'stringed instruments'		<bala> <b>bálá</b> 'xylophone'	ZMC3, di 6869
45.	<i>zimāmahu</i> 'his bridle'		<karafi> <b>kàràfè</b> 'bridle'	BnF Arabe 5507, f. 19b



**Foodstuffs, spices**

46.			<wusu> <b>wósó</b> 'sweet potato'	
	<i>al-jazar</i> 'carrot(s)'		<k'a <sup>n</sup> dha <sup>n</sup> > <b>kánjá</b> 'okra, gumbo'	
48.	<i>wa al-kuzbura</i> 'and coriander'	<du furutu> <b>dó fòròntó</b> 'and pepper'	<da' tu> <b>dàtu</b> 'strong-smelling condiment'	BMT 2234, p. 138
49.	<i>al-tuffāḥ</i> 'apples'	<du sara limi> <b>dó saralémmè</b> 'and small watermelon'	<sara' di yi> <b>nsáradén</b> 'small watermelon'	BMT 2234, p. 138
50.	<i>bi-mā' al- ḥummus</i> 'with hummus water'	<timuli dhi 'a'> <b>tí mòllé jí ṅà</b> 'with bean water'	<suw suw yi 'i> <b>sòsó yí</b> 'bean water'	BMT 2234, p. 146

**Substances**

51.	<i>al-qār</i> 'tar, pitch'	<mana> <b>mánà</b> 'viscous substance'	<mana> <b>máná</b> 'viscous substance'	BULAC MS.ARA.112b, f. 378a
52.	<i>wa- 'l-dawā'</i> 'and for the remedy'	<safa' ri y da <sup>n</sup> > <b>sáfàré dà</b> 'for remedy'	<bw r> <b>bóori</b> 'medicine'	MQB MS AF14722(87), f. 214b
53.	<i>al-dawā'</i> 'the remedy'		<buri> <b>bóori</b> 'medicine'	TCD 3500, f. 34a
54.	<i>al-sham</i> 'the wax'	<mali <sup>n</sup> > <b>málèn</b> 'the wax'	<ka' ya> <b>kàapí</b> 'wax'	ZAC1, di 3061
55.			<kaya> <b>kàapí</b> 'wax'	ZMC1, di 5751
56.	<i>bi- 'l-hinnā'</i> 'with henna'		<buluwu> <b>bùlúwo</b> 'washing blue'	ZOC1, di 5795
57.	<i>aw jīr</i> 'or lime'	<ma' kiyru> <b>mà kiiru</b> 'or lime'	<butuw> <b>bùutú</b> 'ashes, dust'	ZOC1, di 5311

**Buildings and structures**

58.	<i>kull radha</i> 'all large (entrance) halls'	<takati kiyluw bisuya> <b>tàgántè gíló béésù yá</b> 'all tall buildings'	<tata'> <b>tátá</b> 'fortress'	ZMC1, di 5247
59.	<i>min al-uṭm</i> 'from the blockhouse'	<ki li kata <sup>n</sup> ka' ya'> <b>gèllí kátàngá yá</b> 'from a protected house'	<sa <sup>n</sup> sa'> <b>sànsán</b> 'fencing'	BULAC MS.ARA.219b is, di 1275
60.	<i>sūrahā</i> 'its wall'		<bu <sup>n</sup> kubuw> <b>búṅkabo</b>	ZAC1, di 3987

			'adobe wall'	
61.	<i>labbannā</i> 'we made bricks'		<tuw fa> <b>tùfà</b> 'birck'	BnF Arabe 5566, f.140a
62.	<i>aṭlāl</i> 'ruins'	<tuw bu 'a> <b>tónbóngè</b> 'ruins'	<tu <sup>n</sup> bu <sup>n</sup> kutuw> <b>túmbúṅ kòtó</b> 'ancient ruins'	ZMC1, di 5637
<b>Body related</b>				
63.	<i>khawāšir</i> 'waists'		<kuw kili> <b>kóokílí</b> 'kidney'	TAS, di 3360
64.	<i>bi-akbād</i> 'with livers'	<ti <sup>n</sup> buti <sup>n</sup> 'a> <b>tì búttèn ḡá</b> 'with the liver'	<dhusu> <b>jùsù</b> 'liver, heart'	ZMC1, di 5845
65.	<i>akbādahum</i> 'their livers'	<'i buti <sup>n</sup> buyi tiyni> <b>ì búttèn búyíntè ní</b> 'they are angry'	<jusu> <b>jùsù</b> 'liver, heart'	ZAC3, di 4572
<b>Abstract nouns, emotional states</b>				
66.	<i>muthla</i> 'exemplary punishment'	<sundun buna' quw ya ma' nuqudubura' quw ya> <b>sòndònbùráaxù mà nòxòndùnbúráaxù</b> 'evil heart or wickedness'	<kunutu kuya'> <b>konotokuyaa</b> 'evil, cruelty, meanness'	ZOC1, di 5631
67.	<i>al-faza</i> 'fear'		<s <sup>0</sup> la <sup>n</sup> 'uw> <b>síláño</b> 'fear'	ZMC1, di 5132
68.	<i>bi-'l-sa'd</i> 'with the good luck'	<ti wu lili <sup>n</sup> 'a' kuw ya> <b>tí wùlálìṅḡáaxù yá</b> 'with fortune'	<kuna' diya'> <b>kùnnàdíyáa</b> 'luck, good fortune'	ZMC1, di 5525
69.	<i>fa-kam anna</i> 'how many moans'	<kuw tumayi' na <sup>n</sup> kabā> <b>ḡùutúmèye nàṅ ḡàbé</b> 'groans are many'	<'uta <sup>n</sup> > <b>ḡúntaṅ</b> 'groan'	ZMC1, di 5247
70.	<i>wa-'l-ḡirṣ</i> 'and the desire, eagerness'	<du sa' nu muya' kuw ya> <b>dó ??? 'and ???'</b>	<kuru tu di ya'> <b>kóróntóndíyáa</b> 'haste'	ZMC1, di 5667
71.	<i>ṭa'a</i> 'obedience'		<sabari <sup>n</sup> > <b>sábárí</b> 'patience, tolerance'	TCD 3499, f. 62b
<b>Other</b>				
72.	<i>wa-'l-sarāb</i> 'and mirage'	<duw miri liqidi 'a> <b>dó ??? ḡá</b> 'and ???'	<kulu <sup>n</sup> biy ta'> <b>kúlúmbítáa</b> 'fog, haze'	PGL ORI 11/3, f. 91
73.	<i>al-thalj</i> 'snow'	<mara mili ya> <b>màràmallé yá</b> 'hail'	<sakiyi> <b>sáṅ kèpé</b> 'hail'	BmT 2234, p. 494
74.	<i>'adūw abīka</i> 'enemy of your father'	<'a fa' ba ku <sup>n</sup> ni <sup>n</sup> nī> <b>án fàabá xónnèn ní</b> 'it is the enemy of your father'	<' f' dhw> <b>í fàa jáwú</b> 'enemy of your father'	TCD 3499, f. 52a

75.	<i>al-ṣadīka</i> 'friend'		<tiy ri diy ma'> <b>téeri diimá</b> 'good friend'	TAS1, di 3381
76.	<i>al-wird</i> 'wird (prayer)'		<nafila> <b>náfilá</b> 'supplementary prayer'	BnF Arabe 5299, f. 109a
77.	<i>'alā al-</i> <i>barnāmaj</i> 'towards the programme, schedule'		<banakuluma> <b>? mà</b> '? at'	BnF Arabe 5586, f. 124b
78.	<i>al-riḥ</i> 'profit'		<tn> <b>tònò</b> 'gain, profit'	BnF Arabe 5575, f. 186b
79.	<i>wa-'l-qirḍ</i> 'loan'	<du sumu <sup>n</sup> di yi> <b>dó sùmúndiyé</b> 'and loan'	<du <sup>n</sup> turi> <b>dóntóri</b> 'loan'	ZMC1, di 5711
80.	<i>al-raqṣu nisa'</i> 'dance of women'	<du yaqari <sup>n</sup> rikiy> <b>dó yàxàrén régé</b> 'and dance of woman'	<bulu kosi <sup>n</sup> > <b>búlú kòsì</b> 'clapping hands'	PGL ORI 11/3, f. 88
81.	<i>zādaka</i> 'your provision, supply'	<'a <sup>n</sup> di 'i <sup>n</sup> fa> <b>án dènṅéfo</b> 'your provision'	<silá fada> <b>síláfándá</b> 'provision'	TCD 3499, f. 62b
82.	<i>wa-ashar al-</i> <i>muḥarram</i> 'and tenth of Muharram'	<'a l <sup>0</sup> muḥarami kasuw tanmu 'a> <b>al-Muharram xásò</b> <b>tánmú ḡà</b> 'tenth of the month of Muharram'	<musu kutu> <b>mùsukótoo</b> '1st month of the lunar year'	ZAC3, di 4602
83.	<i>(kaman ṣāma</i> <i>sittatu) alafi</i> <i>sanat</i> '(like someone who fasted for) six thousand years'	<'a kada sini wu dhini tumi suw mu> <b>à gá dà sīnè wùjiné</b> <b>tùnmú sùumù</b> 'he fasted for six thousand years'	<ji wu li wuru> <b>[sán]jii wúli wóoro</b> 'six thousand years'	ZAC3, di 4587

## **Concluding remarks and further questions**

The main aim of the current study was to investigate how the practices of teaching and learning in classical Islamic education can be reconstructed from manuscript material, other than historical accounts and (auto)biographies of West African scholars.

The manuscript evidence was examined from various perspectives and from the point of view of several disciplines, such as codicology, linguistics, and the history of scholarly traditions in West Africa. The present work shows that a comprehensive approach to the analysis of manuscripts allows for the retrieval of important information on scholars, their networks, and their intellectual/scholarly traditions. The manuscripts produced by members of the scholarly networks offer an internal perspective on educational and scribal practices.

Certainly, scholarly connections and networks are better understood in conjunction with historical data from the chronicles and secondary sources. That said, information reconstructed from manuscript evidence does not contradict, and sometimes even complements, historical and anthropological knowledge. The picture of classical Islamic education reconstructed from the Soninke Ajami manuscripts is summarised in the following paragraphs.

### **The extant manuscripts**

As a result of the current research, I collected substantial evidence for the tradition of writing the Soninke language in Arabic script. The number of identified Soninke Ajami annotated manuscripts now totals about 180 items, kept in ten public libraries in Europe, the Americas, and Africa, as well as in about a dozen private collections in Senegal and Mali. In addition, I located about thirty (mostly single-leaf) Mandinka Ajami healing and talismanic manuals.

The manuscripts in the present corpus constitute only a fraction of the Soninke and Mande Ajami manuscript cultures. More material not included here has been discovered by manuscript preservation projects.

### **Chronological and geographic scope**

The earliest available manuscript evidence allows us to date the Soninke Ajami tradition back to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Analysis of the watermarks suggests that approximately five percent of the manuscript corpus was produced in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and twenty percent in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of manuscripts are from the mid- to late- 19<sup>th</sup> century, as attested by acquisition dates or names of scholars in the margins. A small fraction of the corpus (less than five percent) was written in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Soninke Ajami manuscripts come from various places across Greater Senegambia. Approximately twenty-five percent of the corpus was written in Mandinka kingdoms in what is now The Gambia, southern Senegal, and Guinea-Bissau, as evidenced by colophons and an additional layer of glosses in Mandinka. The origin of about another twenty percent, based on toponyms, glosses in Eastern Manding, and mentions of the scholars of Touba in Futa Jallon, can be located in areas including parts of today's Guinea, Sierra Leone, and eastern Senegal. The manuscripts from the Soninke traditional provinces in the areas of present-day northwest Mali and eastern Senegal represent only about five percent of the current corpus. The remaining half of the

manuscripts under study, lacking colophons and other clues as to their places of production, remain without any precise geographical attribution.

### **Scholars and Scholarly networks**

A significant aspect of the manuscripts is their origin within networks of scholars. These networks can be reconstructed from colophons and marginal annotations where the scribes explicitly marked the channels of knowledge transmission. Analysis of these paratexts shows that scribes did not refer to scholars at random. Typically, a teacher-student or kin connection can be found between them. I have reconstructed these links from marginal references, and also with the help of other sources, such as local chronicles in Arabic, teaching or genealogical chains, and oral accounts.

The manuscripts produced within the Jakhanke scholarly network are most prominently represented in the corpus, including about thirty manuscripts presently kept in European libraries and private collections in West Africa. The scribes of these manuscripts were related to the Jakhanke network branch that is associated with Ḥājj Sālim Kassama, mentioned in the largest number of manuscripts in the current set. Other scholars referred to in the manuscripts can be identified as his offspring, disciples, and teachers. These scholar's affiliation with the Jakhanke clerics is expressed through their *nisbas*, *Zāghāwiyu* ('of Jakha') and *Ṭuḥawiyu* ('of Touba'), or through the teaching chains tracing back to al-Ḥājj Sālim Suware.

The temporal and spatial distribution of manuscripts reveals interesting correlations with the mapping of scholarly networks. For instance, the Jakhanke manuscripts in the corpus were written between the early 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, including several manuscripts produced by members of the Kassama and Suware scholarly lineages of Touba. However, the places of production also include Bani Isra'ila (Bundu, east Senegal), a few villages in Pakao (southern Senegal), in the Mandinka polities (The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau) and other regions (northern Guinea). The geographical distribution of the manuscripts is thus indicative the dispersed nature of the Jakhanke communities, as well as the dissemination of teachings through al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama and his followers from the scholarly centre of Touba to various regions in Greater Senegambia.

The Soninke scholarly network is represented in five manuscripts dating from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The geographical span of this network includes learning centres, such as Kunjuru, Tafasirga, and Bakel in Gajaaga (west Mali and east Senegal) and Gory in Jaahunu (west Mali). In addition, the Soninke scholars trace their connections to important intellectual figures of Tichit and Biro (Mauritania) and Timbuktu (Mali). However, unlike the Jakhanke, the Soninke scholars do not link themselves to al-Ḥājj Salīm Suware.

Manuscripts under investigation reflect intellectual exchanges between the Soninke and Jakhanke scholars through mutual citations and references. Indeed, four scholars of the Soninke network were teachers of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama during his travels in pursuit of knowledge to educational hubs, such as Kunjuru and Djenné.

Five more scholars can be linked, given that their names are mentioned in four manuscripts of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century from the Mandinka-speaking areas (The Gambia and southern Senegal). Heretofore, this scholarly network could only be tentatively identified based on the temporal, spatial and linguistic origin of the manuscripts it connects. Further research and consultation with

manuscripts, historical sources, as well as anthropological research in the Mandinka region will be needed to discover more about these scholars.

Identifying other manuscripts in the corpus with a particular scholarly network is not yet possible. Hopefully, collecting more details about the manuscripts' scribes and owners, script styles and translation techniques will further clarify how the manuscripts are linked to broader networks.

### **Manuscripts within the educational domain**

References to teachers and educational institutions in the margins and colophons of manuscripts show that they served as teaching and learning tools. Although not all manuscripts have such direct indications, there are several other characteristics that the manuscripts share that point to educational practices. These specific characteristics include the visual organisation of manuscripts, their content and paracontent (vernacular glosses).

#### **Texts in education**

By examining the content of individual manuscripts and how certain texts are distributed in the manuscript, I defined the texts and groups of subjects studied by Mande-speaking scholars.

The texts are distributed among seven Islamic disciplines (arranged here from more to less represented: belief/theology (*tawḥīd*); Islamic law (*fiqh*); works on the Prophet, in particular, devotional poetry (*madḥ*); Sufism (*taṣawwuf*); Arabic language and grammar (*lugha* and *naḥw*); ethics/manner (*adab*); and Quranic exegesis (*tafsīr*), represented exclusively by *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*.

In their majority, the titles and subject matter represented in the manuscripts correspond to the common West African curriculum of classical Islamic education. One particularity of the present corpus is the high importance of texts on *tawḥīd*. Among them are the works of Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Maḥalī, which are outside of the known core-curriculum.

In addition to the classic texts, several works by Western Sudanic authors (from present day Mauritania, Guinea, and Mali), are found with annotations in Soninke. One example is *Mir'āt al-ṭūllab*, a poem teaching about the Arabic language composed by the Jakhanke al-Ḥājj Sālim Kassama.

Anthropological research on classical Islamic education suggests that its higher stages, known as *ʿIlm* school or the study of books, are further divided into intermediate and advanced levels. At each level, particular texts and subject matters are studied. The study of Old Kanembu manuscripts by Dmitry Bondarev suggests that different layouts reflect different learning stages. The present material confirms this.

In the manuscripts, the most significantly represented titles are from the intermediate curriculum. These include, for example, the creeds by al-Sanūsī and Ibn Sulaym, the legal treatise *al-Risāla al-Qayrawānīyya*, and a devotional poem by Ibn Maḥīb. They are written in sparse lines on the page, often in a large script. The manuscript's interlinear and marginal space helps accommodate numerous glosses in Arabic and vernacular languages.

On the other hand, the texts studied at advanced stages, such as the manual for judges *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām*, the biography of the Prophet *Kitāb al-shifā'*, and exegesis of the Qur'an, *Tafsīr al-Jalalāyn*, are only found in a few manuscripts. Moreover, they tend to be written in tight lines and have infrequent annotations in local languages.

It should be noted that analysis of the distribution of texts in manuscripts only gives a general picture of commonly studied texts. However, that does not necessarily mean all these texts were set for a student to learn.

I attempted to partially reconstruct the manuscript libraries of individuals based on ownership marks and colophons. Also, the analysis of references in manuscripts has allowed me to identify a group of texts representative of the Jakhanke curriculum, stable for at least a hundred years. I have also identified several manuscripts (with and without Soninke annotations) with original compositions by Suware and Kassama scholars.

### Teaching and learning practices through manuscripts

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century in West Africa, Arabic texts which were part of the educational curriculum had to be hand-copied. However, the present work contains only cursory information about education practices on the material level. For instance, it collected a few local names for ingredients for producing inks and pens. In addition, the analysis of writing support concurs with earlier studies, suggesting that the writing paper was imported from Europe. Although, paper manufactured in France and Great Britain, rather than Italy, predominates in the samples examined.

The scribes of the manuscripts in my corpus did not leave any accounts about the process of copying or the sources from which they copied. However, according to my informants in the field, the main Arabic texts were copied by each student from the teacher's exemplar (sometimes more advanced students prepared copies for less advanced students). Students reproduced only the main texts and not the annotations. They were written following the teacher's explanation of the text. In some cases, according to my informants, the same manuscript was used by several members or generations within one family.

The visual appearance of manuscripts generally confirms oral accounts. The presence of pages both with and without annotations within a single manuscript suggests that the main text was written first, and the annotations were added later. At the same time, the deliberate wide spacing between the lines of the main text and in the margins suggests that adding annotations was a planned activity.

In many manuscripts, the main text and annotations are written in the same hand, and the scribes mentioned in the colophons that they copied the manuscripts for their own use. There are also cases of contradictory evidence, where the scribes clearly stated that they were not the owners of the manuscripts, and yet the main text and the glosses were written in the same hand. Layers of annotations in different hands that appear in a single manuscript may confirm the transfer or exchange of manuscripts between scholars.

Several terms, such as *majlis* 'learning assembly', *madrassa* 'school', as well as *ustādhī* 'my master' and *mu'allimī* 'my teacher', used by the scribes in colophons or marginal references, allude to learning situations at higher levels of classical Islamic education, as well as personal contacts



between mentors and their disciples. Moreover, the marginal references reveal the sources of annotations, which could be written literary texts or explanations by local scholars.

The introductory phrases in the references, *min fam* ‘from the mouth’, *sami ‘tuhu* ‘I heard it’ on the one side and *min khatt* ‘from handwriting’ on the other, imply that the information was transmitted and received in two different modes: oral/aural and visual/written.

The importance of oral teaching in classical Islamic education in the Arabic world and West Africa is well-known. However, it is unlikely that the annotations were added by the scribes directly during the learning sessions and at dictation. The length and visual organisation of some annotations, such as their layout (arrangement in blocks), neat handwriting (often even calligraphic hands) and alternation of inks, would require careful attention, making spontaneous production and an immediate transition from oral to written highly improbable. There must have been some intermediate stages between a student learning the text with the teacher and his putting the knowledge down in writing, such as, for instance, a stage of memorisation.

That students may have selectively copied some commentaries from teachers’ or fellow students’ books is less doubtful, and also confirmed by the scribal references, such as *naqaltuhu min kitāb* ‘I copied it from the writing [of so-and-so]’. However, it was probably not customary, as suggested by the current evidence, to transfer the entirety of annotations from one manuscript to another since no completely identical manuscripts have been found.

The margins of some manuscripts contain annotations with references to various scholars. The scholars may be contemporary to each other, as well as to the scribes. In such cases, it might be surmised that the student studied the same text under several teachers. However, it is not rare that the scholars referred to in the same manuscript lived in different periods of time (the difference may reach a hundred years!). One possible explanation would be that selected comments by earlier scholars were integrated into the teachings of later generations.

Yet, it is unclear to what extent this assumed model of teaching and learning might be applied to all the manuscripts under study. If indeed the references added to the annotations document the actual transfer of knowledge from a teacher to a student encoded in the form of annotation, it remains unclear why they occur only occasionally in the manuscripts, as opposed to the predominantly anonymous annotations.

### **Local languages in teaching and learning**

The manuscripts with Soninke Ajami annotations originate from various locations across the Greater Senegambia region, spreading beyond the Soninke-speaking areas. In fact, about forty percent of manuscripts in the corpus can be considered multilingual because, in addition to the main text in Arabic and annotations in Soninke, they contain paratextual elements written in another local language.

Often, local languages other than Soninke appear in a supplementary layer of glosses, written individually or together with translations into Soninke. In addition, Ajami words and phrases, such as the days of the week, ownership statements, and genealogical details of the owners and scribes,

are incorporated into colophons in Arabic. Also, the manuscripts' margins or blank spaces near colophons may be inscribed with healing recipes or talismanic formulae.

The native language of the scribes can be identified thanks to the labels after Ajami annotations. A common way of labelling annotations is with the word '*ajamī*' 'non-Arabic'. The glosses in the language that the scribes considered to be native are marked with the Arabic *fī kalāminā* 'in our words' or 'in our language'. The scribes of manuscripts in the corpus were speakers of Soninke, Western Manding (Mandinka) and Eastern Manding (Maninka).

The scholars (scribes and also their teachers) of the Soninke network define this same language as their native. Their manuscripts, as mentioned before, were produced between the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Soninke provinces of present-day west Mali and east Senegal.

The manuscripts with additional layer of the glosses in Mandinka and date back as the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Soninke annotations continued to prevail in manuscripts of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century from the Mandinka-speaking regions (The Gambia, southern Senegal, Guinea-Bissau), the Jakhanke communities in Fouta Jallon (Guinea), Bundu (east Senegal), as well as coastal areas in today's Guinea and Sierra Leone.

The specific status of Soninke as the language of teaching and learning is reflected in their directed use in paratexts and in specialised genres of texts. For instance, in bilingual Ajami manuscripts, Soninke is only used in explanatory glosses, while the information about scribes and owners of manuscripts and talismanic manuals are written in Mandinka.

The manuscript evidence largely supports the anthropological research that Soninke was used as an educational medium among the Jakhanke and Mandinka scholars. Indeed, the Soninke glosses with references to Jakhanke scholars of Touba in Futa Jallon, such as 'Abd al-Qādir Qutb Kassama and Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, testify that these scholars instructed their students in Soninke. However, the nature of the additional translations in Manding, added to the specific categories of words, and the stability of translational techniques, suggests that teachers were supplementing their explanations with words and concepts in their native languages. Moreover, the marginal references demonstrate that Arabic was extensively used when commenting on texts.

Thus, the uses of the various languages in education are as follows. The Ajami annotations relate mainly to the translation and clarification of the structures of Arabic texts (Soninke), and to providing texts with the closest local equivalent (Manding). Clarification on semantics and other linguistic aspects of texts is provided exclusively in Arabic, as is information on the esoteric usages of the texts.

#### Soninke language of the glosses in Islamic manuscripts

In Soninke Ajami manuscripts, the glosses render the units of the segmented main Arabic text into equivalent Soninke phrases, reflecting the source text's semantics and grammatical aspects without violating the target language's rules. Glosses in the manuscripts under study demonstrate stability in translation techniques (both in terms of grammar and vocabulary) despite their vast geographical and temporal span.

The Soninke language of the glosses in Islamic manuscripts can be recognised as a scholarly variety, characterised by specific syntactic constructions and specialised vocabulary (such as

honorifics and words used only in religious domains). Another characteristic is the regular correspondence between the grammatical and lexical elements of Arabic and Soninke.

Despite the uniformity of translational techniques across the corpus, the scribes followed different orthographic approaches to writing Soninke in Arabic script. However, spelling variation mainly concerns certain non-Arabic phonemes. The most conspicuous case of the uvular /q/ and its allophone [χ] in the position between two identical vowels. A sporadic drop of the intervocalic uvular is one of the distinctive traits in Mandinka and in some Jakhanke manuscripts. Such elision most likely resulted from a complex interaction between the two languages, Mandinka and Soninke, the former being the scribes' first language and thus having an influence on how the latter was written. At the same time, the linguistic peculiarities of Soninke serve as evidence that it was formally acquired by non-Soninke speakers and was used as a language of educational instruction.

### **Further questions**

It is hoped that the preliminary insights gathered in this work will stimulate more detailed investigations in the future. Continuing the current research line and exploring further scholarly networks and the West African intellectual tradition, might include assembling even a larger manuscript corpus and gathering further information about the scribes and scholars mentioned in colophons and manuscripts' margins. Future studies could involve researching into the linguistic properties of Soninke Ajami material, especially which of its characteristics resulted from scribal multilingualism. Comparison of the language of the glosses in manuscripts with oral Soninke exegesis from fieldwork will shed light on the scholarly register. Lastly, an interesting topic for future study would be the changes in the role of the Soninke as a language of educational instruction and the production of Soninke Ajami annotated manuscripts in recent times.

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## **Appendix I: Manuscript corpus**

Appendix I summarises the information on each manuscript unit according to the main axes of my analysis: content (texts, authors, subject matters); materiality (writing support and substance, format); paracontent (Ajami annotations and colophons).

The titles of works and the names of authors in the fields ‘Title’ and ‘Author’ are given following the reference works (references provided in footnotes at first mention), or, if not available, as they are cited within the manuscripts.

For the Ajami glosses, the language and frequency (‘Glosses’) with which the glosses appear in manuscripts: (i) systematic: every word or several words on the same page receive translation; (ii) frequent: Ajami glosses appear regularly on the pages of a manuscript; (iii) occasional: only some words of the main text are provided with the glosses; (iv) solitary glosses: the number of occurrences is indicated.

The names of local scholars referred to in the margins or colophon are supplied in the entries under ‘Scholars’, however, without specifying the number of references.

The field ‘Colophon’ supplies the names of individuals and places as I interpret them. The transliterated forms (in italics) are kept for the titles of texts and authors and in case of doubt or lack of interpretation for personal and place names. The N/A ‘not available’ mark refers to fragments of manuscripts. ‘None’ indicates cases where colophons were not written by the scribes.

The fields ‘Origin’ and ‘Date’ indicate geographical and temporal information (approximately) established on the basis of material and paracontent evidence.

The entries are organised according to manuscript collections, starting with libraries in Europe. Each entry is numbered. The entries marked with an asterisk (\*) are excluded from the total account and concern manuscripts without Soninke Ajami or with Ajami in other Mande languages.

## European Libraries

### Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland

**TCD MS 2179:** Leather binding holder with a flap and string. Acquired in 1934.

<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/9593v169f?locale=en>

1. TCD MS 2179 ff 1a–274b, 274ff  
Title: *al-Risāla*<sup>945</sup>  
Author: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Ibn Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Frequent / Systematic  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Scholars: [f. 9a] maginal annotation written in the hand of Almāmi b. Abū Bakr Ṣadīq Diakho? (*al-Māmi Yāqu b. Abū Bakr Ṣadīq Yāqu*)  
Colophon: [f. 274b] Owner is Ibrahīm Diba from Dar Salam.  
Material: Paper. Black-greyish ink.  
Size:  
Origin: Jokaduu (The Gambia)  
Date: Acquisition date before 1805?

**TCD MS 2689:** Composite manuscript. Leather binding holder with a string.

<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/parent/wp988r28x/works/bv73c5845>

2. TCD MS 2689 ff 15a–107a, 92ff (fragment)  
Title: *al-Risāla*  
Author: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Ibn Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:
3. TCD MS 2689 ff 108b–138b, 30ff  
Title: *Mir’āt al-ṭullāb ‘alā al-lughāt wa-al-ma’ānī al-nukhāb*  
Author: al-Ḥājj Sālim al-Zaghawī al-Kasamā al-Maghribī  
Subject: Arabic language  
Glosses: Occasional (only the beginning of the text is annotated)  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 138b]: al-Muṣṭafa Suware b. Muḥammad b. Fode Yiramaghan Suware, his mother Bā Maryam Jaane.  
Material: Paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size:

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<sup>945</sup> GAL I 177.

Origin: Suwarekunda in Badibu (The Gambia)<sup>946</sup>  
Date: mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

**TCD MS 3499:** Composite manuscript. Leather binding holder, with *mištara* kept inside. Acquired in 1898.

<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/parent/wp988r28x/works/br86b9224>

4. TCD MS 3499 43b–130b, 87ff  
Title: *Tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawhīd*<sup>947</sup>  
Author: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 517/1123)  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent/Systematic (no glosses towards the end of the text)  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses, colophon)  
Colophon: [f. 130b] Written in *Sttā*. Its owner is Muḥammad al-Shaykh Jaaju, his father Abū Bakr, his mother Jane Kani(?).  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: Arms of England in a circle frame and crowned GR with wreath in a circle [e.g., ff. 53 & 58]. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 20×15,5cm  
Origin: Kombo (The Gambia)  
Date: first half 19<sup>th</sup> century
5. TCD MS 3499 ff 160b–296a, 136ff  
Title: *al-‘Aqīda al-kubrā* with commentary  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486).  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*).  
Glosses: Frequent/Systematic.  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses).  
Scholars: Muḥammad Jawara [f. 289a], Abū Bakr Daaboo [f. 289a], Muḥammad Touré [f. 282a], Muḥammad Cissé [f. 286a].  
Colophon: [f. 296b] Written in Kombo (*Qunbu*). Owner Shaykh Jaaju.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: Arms of England in a circle frame and crowned GR with wreath in a circle. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 20×15cm  
Origin: Kombo (The Gambia)  
Date: first half 19<sup>th</sup> century

**MS 3500:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1898.

6. TCD MS 3500 ff 1a–32b, 32ff  
Title: *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 32b] The book named *Burhān*. Its scribe is Sālim Fadiga. Owner is **fóodée** Shu‘ayb Jakhite in Noomi Sika. His father is ‘Uthmān.  
Material: Paper. Light black inks.  
Size: 21,5×16,5cm  
Origin: Noomi (The Gambia)

<sup>946</sup> This manuscript appears to be scribed by the same person as another unit within the same composite on ff 1a–6a, written in Suwarekunda in Badibu. See Ogorodnikova 2016, pp 11–13.

<sup>947</sup> GAL SI 756.

- Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
7. TCD MS 3500 ff 33a–38a, 5ff  
 Title: Unidentified. Poem starting with *Al-ḥamdu li-llāhi al-‘alī dhī al-ghanī // al-mut‘āla ‘an ‘awaziḍ al-fanā’*  
 Author: Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Abī Maḥali  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
 Scholars: Muḥammad Saane (*Sān*) [f. 36b].  
 Colophon: [f. 38a] Owner is Abū Bakr Ṣadiq Jaaju  
 Material: Laid paper. Brown ink.  
 Size: 20×15,5cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
8. TCD MS 3500 ff 39b–46a, 7ff  
 Title: *al-Muqaddima*<sup>948</sup>  
 Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: None  
 Material: Paper. Black ink.  
 Size: 20,5×17cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
9. TCD MS 3500 ff 51a–104a, 53ff  
 Title: *Risāla fī ‘l-kufr wa ‘l-īmān*  
 Author: Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Abī Maḥali  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional (in the beginning only)  
 Language: Soninke.  
 Colophon: [f. 104a] Completed the book on *tawḥīd* named *al-Kubrā*.  
 Material: Paper. Black ink.  
 Size: 21×17cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
10. TCD MS 3500 ff 126a–143a, 17ff  
 Title: *al-‘Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣughra*<sup>949</sup>  
 Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 143a] owner is **fóodeé** [Shu‘ayb] Jakhite, scribe Ibrāhīm Jabagate.  
 Material: Paper. Black ink.  
 Size: 20,5×17cm  
 Origin: The Gambia?

<sup>948</sup> GAL II 251, SII 355.

<sup>949</sup> GAL S II 355.

Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

**John Rylands Library, Manchester, United Kingdom**

**MS 780[825]:** Composite manuscript. Leather holder. Acquired in 1924–1929.

11. JRL 780[825] (A) ff 1a–12b, 12ff  
Title: *Jawahīr min al-kalām*  
Author: Muḥammad al-Sāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjilī, known as Ibn Sulaym<sup>950</sup>  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 12b] Scribe Muḥammad *Kt* (Konte), his father al-Ḥājj, his mother *Hwr*. Written in *Ktknd* (Kontekunda) in Badibu  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) coat of arms and date 1808 [e.g., ff 1–5]; (2) arms of England, GR and date 1804 [e.g., ff 9–10]. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 18,5×14,5cm  
Origin: Bdibu (The Gambia)  
Date: early 19<sup>th</sup> century
12. JRL 780[825] (B) ff 13a–35b, 22 ff (incomplete)  
Title: *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā / Umm al-barāhīn*<sup>951</sup>  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarked date 1800 or 1806. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 18,5×14cm  
Origin:  
Date: early 19<sup>th</sup> century
13. JRL 780[825] (C) ff 36b–44a, 8 ff  
Title: *Qaṣīda*  
Author: Yero b. *al-faqīh* Sanba b. Būdu / Buwī al-Fullānī al-Māsini<sup>952</sup>  
Subject: Ethics (*adab*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (colophon)  
Colophon: [f. 44a] The book named Sanba b. Buḍu. Its owner is Foodee Baro.  
Material: Paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 19,5×15,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:
14. JRL 780[825] (D) ff 45a–47b, 2 ff  
Title: *‘Ashrūna ṣifa*<sup>953</sup>  
Author: [attributed to] Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)

<sup>950</sup> ALA II 51; author WAAMD ID 2854; MLG 4403.

<sup>951</sup> GAL II 250, SII 353.

<sup>952</sup> ALA IV 664.

<sup>953</sup> The title is assigned provisionally based on the manuscript’s colophon. The title, according to Mingana’s catalogue, is *Risāla al-Wujūd* (Mingana 1934, 1052).

- Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 47b] Owner and scribe Mūsā Touré from *Kūtīkd* (possibly Kontekunda in Badibu).  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermark: bell? Brown and red inks.  
 Size: 19×15,5cm  
 Origin: Badibu, (The Gambia)?  
 Date:
15. JRL 780[825] (G) ff 52a–58b, 6 ff.  
 Title: Unidentified  
 Author: Unidentified  
 Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: None. Decoration.  
 Material: Paper. Brown and red inks.  
 Size: 20×17cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:
16. JRL 780[825] (I) ff 72a–82b, 10ff  
 Title: *Tuḥfat al-falāh fī ādāb al-jimā‘ wa-al-nikāḥ*<sup>954</sup>  
 Author: Abū Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Tadaghī/Tandaghī  
 Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: None  
 Material: Paper. Brown inks.  
 Size: 20,5×17,5cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:
17. JRL 780[825] (J) ff 83a–90a, 7ff  
 Title: Unidentified poem  
 Author: Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Fulālī<sup>955</sup>  
 Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: None  
 Material: Paper. Light brown and red-orange ink.  
 Size: 20,5×16cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:
18. JRL 780[825] (L) ff 94a–100b, 6ff  
 Title: *al-‘Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣughrā*  
 Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
 Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)

<sup>954</sup> S II 1032; WAAMD ID 1322.

<sup>955</sup> As indicated in the preface.

Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 100b] The book named *al-Ṣuḡhrā*. Scribe Foodee Faati, his mother ‘Aysha, his father Muḥammad al-Amīn. Place name Jaabikundaa (*Jābkm dā*).  
Material: Paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 20,5×15,5cm  
Origin: Kusaara (Guinea-Bissau)  
Date:

19. JRL 780[825] (N) ff 102b–117b, 15ff (incomplete)  
Title: *Manzūmat al-Jazā’iriyya fī ’l-tawḥīd*<sup>956</sup>  
Author: Aḥmad b. ‘Adb Allāh al-Jazā’irī (d. 898/1497)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) pot with feathers? [ff 102–5]; (2) wove paper [ff 106–7]. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 21×16,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Palace Green Library, Durham, United Kingdom**

**PGL ORI 11/1–3** (ca. 241ff): Composite manuscript. Leather case. Acquired in 1853 in Sabagee, The Gambia).

20. PGL ORI 11/1 ff 1–87, 87ff  
Title: *al-‘Aqīda al-wuṣṭā*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses, colophon)  
Colophon: [f. 87] Finished the book [named] *Wuṣṭā*. Its owner is Abū Bakr Kumba/Koobaa (*Quba*). Yundum in Kombo.  
Material: Laid paper. Dark brown ink  
Size: 18×15cm  
Origin: Kombo (The Gambia)  
Date: Early 19<sup>th</sup> century

\* PGL ORI 11/1 f. 87  
<dhi<sup>n</sup> dimin buw ri mu> **jíndimiṅ bóori mù** ‘the remedy against toothache’

21. PGL ORI 11/2 ff 1a–27a, 27ff<sup>957</sup>  
Title: *al-‘Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣuḡhra*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (colophon)  
Colophon: [f. 27a] Owner is Abū Bakr Kumba/Koobaa (*Kunba*). Yundum in Kombo.

<sup>956</sup> GAL II 252, SII 356-7.

<sup>957</sup> There is a lacuna (between ff. 1 and 2, not reflected in pagination), probably equal to one or two folios, containing several lines of the introductory part.



Material: Laid paper. Dark brown and red ink  
Size: 18×15,5cm  
Origin: Kombo (The Gambia)  
Date: Early 19<sup>th</sup> century

22. PGL ORI 11/3 ff 1b–127a, 127ff  
Title: *Risāla fī 'l-īmān wa 'l-kufr*  
Author: Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. b. 'Abd al-Azīz Abī Maḥallī<sup>958</sup>  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 127a] The book named *Ibn 'Umar Kubrā*. [The owner is] Abū Bakr Kumba / Koobaa (*Qubā*) Sonko. Yundum in Kombo.  
Material: Laid paper. Black, light brown, and red inks  
Size: 18×15cm  
Origin: Kombo (The Gambia)  
Date: Early 19<sup>th</sup> century

- \* PGL ORI 11/3 f. 127b  
Recipes in Mandinka: (1) **í s' à nási í s' à mìn súṅkáro** [...] 'You make it a *nasi*, you drink it in the month of Ramadan [...]'. (2) **Baqu filiran mù. I s' a safe. I ya' a saare jèè** '(...). You write it. You bury it there.'

#### British Library, London, United Kingdom

**Or. 4897:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1895. Bound after acquisition.

[https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or\\_4897&index=0](https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_4897&index=0)

23. BL Or. 4897 ff 60a–76b, 4ff  
Title: Unidentified. Text starts *qāla al-shaykh al-Sanūsī al-tawḥīd ashraf min al-fiqh wa al-taṣawwuf*  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)?  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 76b] owner: Foodee b. Jāmi' u Fofana.  
Material: Wove and laid paper with no visible watermarks. Brown and red-orange ink.  
Size: 17,5×13cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

- \* BL Or. 4897 f. 76b  
<ḥaqili di ya' buw ri mu> **hákili díyaa bóori mù** 'remedy for intelligence'

24. BL Or. 4897 ff 77b–88b, 11ff.  
Title: *al-Muqaddima*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke

<sup>958</sup> ALA IV 269, 661; WAAMD ID 3074; MLG 4442.

- Colophon: [f. 88b] Owner is Abū Bakr Fadiga, his mother Hā Suware, his father Fabakari Fadiga [b.] Muḥammad Fadika.
- Material: Laid paper. Brown ink.
- Size: 17,5×13cm
- Origin:
- Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
25. BL Or. 4897 ff 119a–168b, 49 ff (incomplete)
- Title: *Risāla fī anwāʿ al-kufr*
- Author: Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Alī b. Abī Maḥalī
- Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)
- Glosses: Frequent (some pages are not annotated)
- Language: Soninke
- Colophon: N/A
- Material: Laid paper. Watermark: arms of England in a round frame? [e.g., ff 130, 147–8]. Brown and red ink
- Size: 17×14cm
- Origin:
- Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
26. BL Or. 4897 ff 169a–178b, 9ff (incomplete)
- Title: *Muktaṣar fī ʿibādāt ʿalā madhhab al-imām Mālik*<sup>959</sup>
- Author: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Akhdarī al-Bunṭuyūsī al-Mālikī (d. 953/1546 or 983/1575)
- Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)
- Glosses: Occasional
- Language: Soninke
- Colophon: N/A
- Material: Laid paper. Brown and red ink.
- Size: 17×14cm
- Origin:
- Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
27. BL Or. 4897 ff 179a–196b, 18ff (fragment)
- Title: *Risāla fī anwāʿ al-kufr*
- Author: Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Alī b. Abī Maḥalī
- Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)
- Glosses: Frequent
- Language: Soninke
- Colophon: N/A
- Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Britannia in a round frame [e.g., ff. 182–3]. Brown and red ink.
- Size: 17×14cm
- Origin:
- Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
28. BL Or. 4897 ff 201a–206b, 6ff (incomplete)
- Title: *ʿAqīda jayyida fī ʿl-tawḥīd*<sup>960</sup>
- Author: Abī ʿImrān al-Jawrāʾī/Jurādi
- Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)

<sup>959</sup> GAL SII 705.

<sup>960</sup> The name of the author in the manuscript is recorded as *al-Jawarānī*.

Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Brown and black inks.  
Size: 17×14cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

29. BL Or. 4897 ff 207a–208b, 2ff  
Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Unidentified  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: None  
Material: Laid paper. Brown ink.  
Size: 17×14cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
30. BL Or. 4897 ff 217a–219b, 2ff  
Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Unidentified  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars: [f. 219b] Muḥammad Dramé b. al-Ḥājj.  
Colophon: None  
Material: Laid paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 18,5×14,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
31. BL Or. 4897 ff 231a–238b 7ff (fragment)  
Title: *Taj al-‘arūs wa-qam‘ al-nufūs*<sup>961</sup>  
Author: Tāj al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Atā‘allāh al-Iskandarī al-Shādhili  
(d. 709/1309)  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 17,5×15cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
32. BL Or. 4897 ff 249a–252a, 4ff  
Title: *Ṣifa rasūl*. Unidentified text on the qualities of the Prophet.  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Works on the Prophet  
Glosses: Frequent

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<sup>961</sup> GAL II 118, S II 146.

Language: Soninke, Mandninka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 252a] The book named *Şifa rasūl*. Scribe and Owner is 'Uthmān Maşari.  
Material: Laid paper. Light brown and red inks.  
Size: 17×14cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

33. BL Or. 4897 ff 253a–254b, 2ff  
Title: *Faṭḥ al-Jalīl*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Madyūnī al-Ruqā'ī<sup>962</sup>  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 254a] Form the book of *Faṭḥ al-Jalīl shaykh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Madyūnī*. Owner Muḥammad Suware b. 'Abdallāh, his mother Fāṭuma.  
Material: Paper. Brown ink.  
Size: 18×15cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
34. BL Or. 4897 ff 255a–256b, 2ff (incomplete)  
Title: *Faṭḥ al-Jalīl*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Madyūnī al-Ruqā'ī  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Brown ink.  
Size: 18×15cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
35. BL Or. 4897 ff 259a–268b, 10ff  
Title: *Jawahīr min al-kalām*  
Author: Muḥammad al-Şāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjilī  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Occasional (some pages are not annotated)  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 268b] Owner Abū Bakr *Kanu*.  
Material: Laid paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 16×13cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
36. BL Or. 4897 ff 269a–273b, 4ff  
Title: *Tafūtu fu 'ādak (Qaṣīda tā'iyya)*<sup>963</sup>  
Author: Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī (d. 459–60/1067–8)  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Occasional [e.g., f. 271b names of fishes who swallowed Yunus]

<sup>962</sup> The name of the author is indicated in the colophon.

<sup>963</sup> GAL S I 479.

Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 273b] Owner and scribe Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Suwārī, his mother Fāṭuma Fadiga bint Muḥammad Fadiga.  
Material: Laid paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 17,5×14cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

37. BL Or. 4897 f. 274a, 1f. (last page)  
Title: *Tuḥfat al-muṣallī*<sup>964</sup>  
Author: Abu al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Manufī al-Miṣrī al- Shādhilī (d. 939/1532)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 274a] The name of the book kitāb *Tuḥfat al-muṣallī*. Scribe’s name Sika *Qūmāra* b. Muḥammad Siré, owner’s name (crossed out) Abū Bakr Suware b. al-Ḥājj Suware.  
Material: Laid paper. Brown ink.  
Size: 18×13,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

38. BL Or. 4897 ff 280a–283b, 3ff  
Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Unidentified  
Glosses: Occasional [e.g., f. 281b].  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 283b] name of the owner ‘Uthmān Jata (*D-ht*), scribe al-Muṣṭafā Suware, his name *Muḥammad K-y-ta*.  
Material: Laid paper. Brown and red ink. Black ink for glosses.  
Size: 16×13,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

- \* BL Or. 4897 f. 294a  
Page with a colophon naming *Kitāb Burhān* (possibly *al-Ṣuḡhrā* by al-Sanūsī) with the name of the scribe *Maḥmūd Ṭuri b. Abū Bakr*, his mother ‘*Āyṣa Kanāy*. In a different hand and ink, there is a recipe in Mandinka: <sidimi safi mu> **sēḡdímínj sáfé mù** ‘charm against leg pain’.
- \* BL Or. 4897 f. 295b.  
Qur’anic verse a recipe against parasitic worms with the name of medicinal roots in Mandinka <kaliya’ buri y mu da’ fi sulu fura du rin sulu> **kálíyáa bóorí mù**.
- \* BL Or. 4897 ff. 303ab.  
Recipes in Mandinka **kídí bálándánj mù** ‘protection against gun or rifle’
- \* BL Or. 4897 f. 304a  
Recipe in Mandinka: **náa jáwó bóorí mù** ‘remedy against evil eye’, moo jawo boori mu ‘protection against evil person’

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<sup>964</sup> GAL II 316.

- \* BL Or. 4897 f. 305.  
Recipe in Mandinka: **kóritée** ‘magic poison’, **bàakótó bíná** ‘horn of an old goat’.
- \* BL Or. 4897 f. 306a.  
Recipe in Mandinka for getting pregnant
- \* BL Or. 4897 f. 307b.  
Recipe in Mandinka

**Or. 6473:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1903. Bound by the library.

[https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or\\_6473](https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_6473)

39. BL Or. 6473 ff 78b–93b, 15ff (incomplete)  
 Title: *Risāla fī anwāʿ al-kufr*  
 Author: Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Abī Maḥallī  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Scholars: [f. 82b] Muḥammad Taslīmī Kassama (d. 1829/48/52)  
 Colophon: N/A  
 Material: Paper. Black-greyish and red-orange ink.  
 Size: 22×17cm  
 Origin: Touba in Futa Jallon (Guinea)?  
 Date: first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
40. BL Or. 6473 ff 98a–104b, 6ff  
 Title: *Taʿlīq fī ʾakhlāq*  
 Author: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Maḥallī  
 Subject: Ethics (*adab*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: Owner Ibrāhīm Suware b. Muḥammad Suware, his mother Fāṭuma Darame<sup>965</sup>  
 Material: Laid bluish green paper. No visible watermark. Brown ink.  
 Size: 20×16cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century
41. BL Or. 6473 ff 107b–116a, 11 ff (incomplete)  
 Title: *Qasīda*. A poem in praise of Hārith b. b. Jabala b. Abī Shimr al-Ghasānī.  
 Author: ʿAlqama b. ʿAbada b. Nuʿmān, known as ʿAlqama al-Faḥl (ca. 6<sup>th</sup> cent.)<sup>966</sup>  
 Subject: Literature, pre-Islamic poetry  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke. Mandinka? (glosses)  
 Colophon: N/A  
 Material: Laid paper. Light brown and red-orange ink.

<sup>965</sup> Another manuscript in this Composite manuscript, which belonged to the same owner is on ff. 117a–125b. It contains *al-Muqaddima* by al-Sanūsī with numerous annotations in Arabic, but no glosses in Soninke. There is a mention of al-Ḥājj Kassama on f. 119b. The paper has coat of arms (lions, harp, horse) watermark and date ‘1818’ underneath. Similar, manuscript unit on ff. 267a–275a contain an unidentified work on *fiqh* written by Ibrahim b. Muḥammad Suware. Interestingly, on the verso side it has a short text written in different hand and a reference to al-Ḥājj Kasama.

<sup>966</sup>. GAL S I 48.

Size: 22×17,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

42. BL Or. 6473 ff 126a–133b and 155a–163b, 16 ff

Title: *Shāfiya al-qulūb*<sup>967</sup>  
Author: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Inālbash al-Ṭughūghī [al-Sūqī], known as Ibn al-Būsh (fl. 1125/1713)  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 163b] Finished praised be to God.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Britannia in a round frame and date ‘1819’.  
Size: 20×17cm  
Origin:  
Date: first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

43. BL Or. 6473 ff 134a–154b, 20ff

Title: *Qurrat al-abṣār fī sīrat al-Nābī al-mukhtār*<sup>968</sup>  
Author: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Lamṭī al-Miknāsī (d. 880/1475)  
Subject: Prophet, biography (*sīra*).  
Glosses: Three glosses.  
Language: Soninke.  
Colophon: [f. 154b] Left blank  
Material: Paper. Brown and red-orange ink.  
Size: 22×17,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

44. BL Or. 6473 ff 188a–189b, 2ff

Title: *Qiṣṣat al-dhabḥ li-’l-mayt wa taḥrīm aklihi / Qiṣṣa dhabḥ al-bahīma*  
Author: Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware of Touba  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: One  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 189b] Scribe is al-Amīn Suware (*Lamīn Suwar*, possibly an autograph)  
Material: Paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 22×17,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

45. BL Or. 6473 ff 198a–226b, 31ff (acephalous, with about one folio missing at the beginning)

Title: *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣughrā*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 226b] Owner is al-Ḥājj Kassama b. ‘Amara Kassama, his mother Maryam Faati

<sup>967</sup> ALA IV 175–6. Author’s WAAMD ID 2898.

<sup>968</sup> Hall & Stewart 2011, 125, 161. Author’s WAAMD ID 11.

Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) coat or arms [e.g., ff 198, 217]; (2) arms of England in a round frame [e.g., ff 200, 218] (3) GR [e.g., f. 215]. Brown ink.  
Size: 18×14,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

46. BL Or. 6473 ff 254a–256b, 3ff  
Title: Unidentified poem on divine attributes. *Kitāb Muḥammad Kuntī*<sup>969</sup>  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 256b] Finished the book [named] *Muḥammad Kuntī*.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Britannia in a round frame. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 20×16 cm.  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

47. BL Or. 6473 ff 261a–262b, 2ff (fragment)  
Title: *al-Risāla*  
Author: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Ibn Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: coat of arms.  
Size: 20×16cm  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

\* BL Or. 6473 f. 284a, 1f  
Amulet, Mandinka, non-vocalised <kd m sfm> **kóodímíŋ sáfè mù** ‘charm against back pain’.

\* BL Or. 6473 ff 285a–286a  
Short text on *tawḥīd* with Mandinka Ajami glosses. Owner Muḥammad *Dathuwiyu*.

### Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden, Leiden, Netherlands

**Or. 14.052:** Fragments of several texts found within a Qur’an manuscript Or. 14.045.

[https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/search/Or%20.14.052?type=edismax&cp=collectio n%3Aubl\\_manuscripts](https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/search/Or%20.14.052?type=edismax&cp=collectio n%3Aubl_manuscripts)

48. UbL Or. 14.052(1), 5ff, and 14.052(8), 100ff (fragment)  
Title: *al-Risāla*  
Author: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Ibn Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*).  
Glosses: Frequent (some parts of the text only)  
Language: Soninke

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<sup>969</sup> The title is taken from the colophon.



Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks (1): arms of England and GR in a circle; (2) *Pro patria*/Maid of Dort (lower part) [f. 9]. (3): Britannia.<sup>970</sup> Brown ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

49. UbL Or. 14.052(2), 4ff (incomplete and in disorder), and Or. 14.052(9) ff 1a–2b, 2ff (fragment)  
Title: *‘Ashrūna ṣifa*  
Author: [attributed to] Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Brown ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:
50. UbL Or. 14.052(4), 1f (beginning)  
Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Ethics (*adab*) / Eschatology  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars: [f. 1a] Aḥmad al-Tinbuktī.  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Brown ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:
51. UbL Or. 14.052(5), 9ff (incomplete and in disorder)  
Title: Unidentified. Poem rhyming in *mīm* divided into sections *‘dhikr’*  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Unidentified  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Arms of England in a round frame. Countermark B? M [e.g., ff 3–4]. Brown and red inks. Decorations.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century
52. UbL Or. 14.052(7), 10ff (fragment)  
Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Ethics (*adab*) / Eschatology  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke

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<sup>970</sup> Watermarks are found in paper of 14.052(8), see Witkam 1983, 96.

Colophon: [f. 10b] Its owner and scribe is ‘Umar Suwane b. Nūḥ Suwane, his mother ‘Āysha Fadika.  
Material: Laid paper. Brown ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:

53. UbL 14.052(10) 2ff (fragment)  
Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: ‘winged nude’, GM. Brown and red inks, vocalisation and glosses in black ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date: first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

#### **Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France**

**Arabe 5299:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

54. BnF Arabe 5299 ff 103a–117a, 14ff  
Title: *Mukhtaṣar fī ‘l-‘ibādāt ‘alā madhhab al-imām Mālik*  
Author: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Akhḍarī [al-Buntuyūsī al-Mālikī] (d. 983/1585)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 117a] Owner and scribe is Mālik b. Abū Bakr, his mother Fāṭuma Suwane.<sup>971</sup>  
Material: Paper. Light brown and red-orange ink.  
Size: 21×15,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:
55. BnF Arabe 5299 ff 245a–365b, 120ff (acephalous, incomplete)  
Title: *al-Maqāmāt li-‘l-Ḥarīrī*<sup>972</sup>  
Author: Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d. 516/1122)  
Subject: Lexicography  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Maninka (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 22×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5320:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

<sup>971</sup> Another manuscript owned by the same person is BnF Arabe 5459, ff 133b–192a.

<sup>972</sup> GAL I 276, S I 486–7.

56. BnF Arabe 5320 ff 9a–18b, 19b, 10ff  
 Title: *al-‘Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣughra*  
 Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 19b] The book *al-Sanūsī Suqura* (possibly for *ṣughrā*) scribe and owner is *Ḥasan Nimuqu*.  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermark: arms of England, garter and motto; countermark crowned GR with wreath in a circle. Brown and red ink.  
 Size: 17,5×14cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Arabe 5322:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

57. BnF Arabe 5322 ff. 294b–323a, 29ff  
 Title: *Takhmīs al-kawākib al-durriyya al-saniyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*<sup>973</sup>  
 Author: Muḥammad b. Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghumārī al-Marrākushī (b. 739/1338)  
 Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 323a] Scribe and owner is Maḥama Sylla.  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermark: J. Fourestier. Brown and red ink. Decorations (colophon).  
 Size: 20,5×15cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century

**Ms Arabe 5436:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

58. BnF Arabe 5436 ff 1a–104b, 104ff  
 Title: *Ma‘dīn al-dhahab fī ijlā‘ qulūb al-‘ābidīn*  
 Author: Unidentified  
 Subject: Ethics (*adab*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Manding (glosses).  
 Colophon: [f. 104ab] The book *ma‘dīn al-dhahab*. Owner Maḥmūd Saghanogho? (*Sakanu[ku]*), his mother Waditu Cissé.  
 Material: Paper.  
 Size: 23×17,5cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:

**Arabe 5450:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

59. BnF Arabe 5450 ff 127a–135b, 8ff  
 Title: *Qaṣīda (takhmīs) al-Badamāṣiyya fī madḥ al-nabī*<sup>974</sup>  
 Author: Abū ‘Abdallāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Badamāṣī al-Mālīkī<sup>975</sup>

<sup>973</sup> GAL I 266, II 247, S II 347.

<sup>974</sup> Here, I use the title from ALA II 50. Alternative titles for this poem from the BnF catalogue *Madīḥ fī al-shukr ‘alā Muḥammad* (Arabe 6965) and *Qaṣīda muḥammasa fī madḥ al-nabī* (Arabe 7146). This poem is also called *takhmīs* on *Qasīda ṭā‘iyya* (Reichmuth 2011, 219).

<sup>975</sup> ALA II 50.

Subject: Devotional (*madh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 135b] ‘*Abdallāh Yrī* (??)  
Material: Paper  
Size: 20×17cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Ms. Arabe 5462:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

60. BnF Arabe 5462 ff 106a–118b and 120a–127b, 16ff (fragment)  
Title: *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-‘Aṭā’ iyya*<sup>976</sup>  
Author: Abū ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. b. Muḥammad b. Zarrūq al-Burnusī al-Fāsī (d. 899/1493)  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper.  
Size: 22×17cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Ms. Arabe 5497:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

61. BnF Arabe 5497 ff 96a–143b, 47ff  
Title: *al-Muqaddima al-‘izziyya li-‘l-jamā‘a al-azhariyya*<sup>977</sup>  
Author: ‘Abū al-Ḥasan Alī b. Muḥammad Al-Manūfī al-Shādhilī (d. 939/1532)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke, Juula? (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 143b] Owner is Mūsā Sissakho in Dierisso.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: (1) quadruped and initials underneath (not clear) [e.g., ff 98–9]; (2) quadruped with a crown (?) and initials TG [e.g., ff 110–1]; (3) producer’s name (cut into half, not readable); (4) bend (shield) with zigzag line running diagonally (partial watermark) and monogram GLG [f. 140]; (5) partial watermark of a horse or horseman and letters [...]RADO underneath [f. 142].  
Size: 21,5×15cm  
Origin: Dierisso (south-western Burkina Faso)  
Date:

**Arabe 5500:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

62. BnF Arabe 5500 ff 111b–118b, 7ff  
Title: *Qaṣīdat al-jawhar / Maqṣūrat al-jawhara*<sup>978</sup>  
Author: al-Ghawth Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb b. al-Ḥasan al-Maghribī al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī al-Tilimsānī (d. 598/1193)  
Subject: Ethics *wa‘z* (dedicated to the pious exhortation)  
Glosses: Occasional

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<sup>976</sup> GAL II 253–4, S II 360–2.

<sup>977</sup> GAL II 316, S I 805, SII 435.

<sup>978</sup> GAL I 438, S I 784–85.

Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 118b] Pious invocations  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: initials JB [e.g., ff 112–3]  
Size: 20,5×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5501:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

63. BnF Arabe 5501 ff 242a–250b, 8ff (incomplete)

Title: *Sharḥ Lāmmiyat al-‘arab*<sup>979</sup>  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Literature / Pre-Islamic poetry  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke?, Manding (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper  
Size: 21×16,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5502:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

64. BnF Arabe 5502 ff 1a–207b, 207 ff

Title: *Kifāyat al-tālib al-rabbānī li-‘l-Risālat Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī*<sup>980</sup>  
Author: Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Manūfī al-Shādhilī [al-Mālikī] (939/1532)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Manding, Fulfulde? (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 207b] Scribe Sa‘īd, owner Muḥammad *Wulu*.  
Material: Laid and wove paper. Watermarks: (1) shield (scroll-work) with goat and three stars, letters GL underneath; countermark LEVERATTO [e.g., ff 5–31] (cf. Heawood 3739); (2) Britannia in a round frame [e.g., f. 80]; (3) coat of arms (lions, horse, harp) [e.g., f. 130]; (4) letters JC or FC in cursive (?) in a wreath [e.g., f. 132]; (5) coat of arms (lions, horse with cursive letter *A* ? underneath, harp) [e.g., f. 169]; (6) Britannia in oval frame [e.g., 194]. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 30×19cm  
Origin:  
Date: early 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Arabe 5504:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

65. BnF Arabe 5504 ff 101a–155a, 54ff

Title: *al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī taḥqīq ma‘rifat arkān al-īmān*<sup>981</sup>  
Author: Arbāb b. ‘Alī b. ‘Awn b. ‘Āmir al-Khartūmī, known as Arbāba al-Khartūmī or Arbāb al-‘Aqā’id (d. 1102/1690–1)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke, Manding (glosses)

<sup>979</sup> The original poem is composed by al-Shanfarā ‘Amr b. Mālik al-Azdī (5–6th cent). GAL I 25, S I 53.

<sup>980</sup> GAL I 178, S I 302, II 435.

<sup>981</sup> ALA I 13-4, WAAMD ID 1686.

Colophon: [f. 155a] Owner is ‘Alī Fofana; scribe is al-Muṣṭafā b. Abū Bakr.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: Coat of arms, crowned; Gilling & [Allford] ‘1827’.  
Brown and red ink.  
Size: 18,5×15cm  
Origin:  
Date: first half or the 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Arabe 5507:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

66. BnF Arabe 5507 ff 10b–110b, 100ff  
Title: *Takhmīs* on al-Fāzāzī’s *‘Ishrīnīyyāt*<sup>982</sup>  
Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb  
Subject: Devotional (*madh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Manding (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 110b] The book [named] Ibn Mahīb. Owner Abū Bakr Tunkara b. ‘Alī Tunkara, his mother Fāṭuma *Māt.q.q.*  
Material: Laid paper. Three horizontal crescents of decreasing sizes. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 20×15cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5513:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

67. BnF Arabe 5513 ff 1a–138b, 138ff (in disorder)  
Title: *al-Maqāmāt li-’l Ḥarīrī*  
Author: Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d. 516/1122)  
Subject: Lexicology  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke, another Mande  
Colophon: None  
Material: Paper  
Size: 18×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5521:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

68. BnF Arabe 5521 ff 170b–219b, 49ff (incomplete)  
Title: *Manzūmat al-Jazā’iriyya fī al-tawḥīd*  
Author: Aḥmad b. ‘Adb Allāh al-Jazā’irī (d. 898/1497)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. No visible watermarks.  
Size: 18,7×14cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5531:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

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<sup>982</sup> GAL S I 483.

69. BnF Arabe 5531 ff 11b–68b, 57ff (incomplete)  
 Title: *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya fī al-maqāmāt al-Aḥmadiyya*<sup>983</sup>  
 Author: Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī al-Fāsī (d. 1120/1708)  
 Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*).  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: N/A  
 Material: Laid paper. No visible watermarks.  
 Size:  
 Origin:  
 Date:

**Arabe 5542:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

70. BnF Arabe 5542 ff 90a–102b, 12ff  
 Title: *‘Aqīda al-ṣaghīra al-ṣuḡhrā* (with commentary?)  
 Author: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 102b] Owner Ibrahīm Sharif.  
 Material: Bluish paper. Black and red ink.  
 Size: 20,5×15,5cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:

**Arabe 5566:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

71. BnF Abare 5566 ff 113a–116b, 3ff (incomplete)  
 Title: *Kitāb al-zuhd wa-’l-waṣiyya / Kitāb al-zuhd wa-’l-mawa’iz*<sup>984</sup>  
 Author: Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjād b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 92/710)  
 Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: N/A  
 Material: Paper. Brown and red ink.  
 Size: 21×15,5cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:

72. BnF Abare 5566 ff 128b–138b, 10ff  
 Title: Unidentified poem. A *takhmīs* with every fifth line rhyming in *nūn*. Begins with *Ḥamiadtu ilāhī al-’amtanānī // Bi-ḥamdu yuwaffī al-ayādin al-ḥisān*.  
 Author: Unidentified  
 Subject: Devotional: prayer  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 138b] Scribe is Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad Siré b. al-Ḥājj Sālīm al-Kassama written for Muḥammad al-Bukhārī.  
 Material: Paper. Light brown red-orange ink.

<sup>983</sup> GAL S II 683.

<sup>984</sup> GAL S I 76, 483.

Size: 21×16cm  
Origin: Touba in Futa Jallon (Guinea)?  
Date: mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

73. BnF Abare 5566 ff 141a–144b, 4ff (incomplete)

Title: *‘Aqīda jayyida fī al-tawhīd tukhriju qāri`ahā min ḡulumāt al-taqlīd*  
Author: Abī `Imrān al-Jawrā`ī/Jurādi  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*).  
Glosses: Occasional.  
Language: Soninke, Manding(?) (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 21 x 16,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5575:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

74. BnF Arabe 5575 ff 172a–176a, 4ff

Title: *Jawahīr min al-kalām*  
Author: Muḡammad al-Ṣāliḡ b. `Abd al-Raḡmān al-Awjilī  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 176a] Name of the owner unclear  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark (partial): garter, motto? Dark brown ink.  
Size: 16,6×14cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> -early 19<sup>th</sup> century

75. BnF Arabe 5575 ff 177a–183b, 6ff

Title: *Dhikr al-khamsīn fariḡa `alā kull muslim*<sup>985</sup>  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 183b] Shu`ayb Kassama b. Muḡammad Kassama b. `Aysha Cissé  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Britannia in a round frame, motto `PRO REGE ET PATRIA`.  
Dark brown ink.  
Size: 18×14,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> -early 19<sup>th</sup> century

76. BnF Arabe 5575 ff 185a–191b, 6ff

Title: Unidentified poem. A *takhmīs* with every fifth line rhyming in *nūn*.  
*Ḥamiadtu ilāhī al-`amtanānī / Bi-ḡamdu yuwaffī al-ayādin al-ḡisān*  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Devotional: prayer  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke. Manding? (glosses) [f. 186b]  
Colophon: [f. 191b] Not visible

<sup>985</sup> As indicated in the preface.



Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) Arms of England in round frame [e.g., f. 177, f. 190] and crowned GR [f. 187] (cf Heawood 447, but no countermark); (2) FIN. '1773'? [f. 185]  
Size: 18,5×14,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> -early 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Arabe 5586:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

77. BnF Arabe 5586 ff 1a–177a, 177ff  
Title: *al-Risāla*  
Author: ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawanī (d. 386/996)  
Subject: Furisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke, Manding? (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 177] Scribe is ʿAbdallāh b. Shaykh Mālik. Owner is Arafan b. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, his father Arafan, his mother Fāṭuma Cissé. Written in Fougoumba Seriyanke.  
Material: Paper  
Size: 22×17cm.  
Origin: Fougoumba (Guinea)  
Date:

**Arabe 5609:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

78. BnF Arabe 5609 ff 123a–128a, 5ff  
Title: *Tafūtu fu ʿādak (qaṣīda tāʿiyya)*  
Author: Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd al-Ilbīrī al-Tujībī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 459–60/1067–8)  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Maninka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 128a] Owner and scribe is ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm Made b. Maryam Siré Touré.  
Material: Paper. Bluish paper [f. 128]. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 21×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**BnF Arabe 5613** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

79. BnF Arabe 5613 ff 48a–99b, 55ff (incomplete)  
Title: *Ma ʿdīn al-dhahab fī ijlā qulūb al-ʿābidīn*  
Author: Unidentified.  
Subject: Ethics (*adab*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5626:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

80. BnF Arabe 5626 ff 37b–55b, 18ff (incomplete)

Title: *al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ṣanhājī (d. 723/1323)<sup>986</sup>  
Subject: Grammar / syntax (*naḥw*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars: shaykh al-Ḥājī (Kassama?) [f. 42b].  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5633:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

81. BnF Arabe 5633 ff 86a–101b, 51ff

Title: Selected verses (on each letter of the alphabet) of the *takhmīs* on Baghdādī's *Qaṣīda al-witriyyāt* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz al-Warrāq al-Lakhmī al-Qurṭubī al-Iskandaṛnī (d. 680/1281)<sup>987</sup>  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
Glosses: Frequent/Systematic (some pages without annotations)  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 101b] Owner Abū Bakr al-Ṣadīq Sharīf, his father Muḥammad Sharīf, his mother Faṭumata Saganogo, place name is Manda (M-n-d-w-y).  
Material: Blue paper [ff 86–93] and thin white wove paper with traces of zigzag. Brown-greyish ink.  
Size: 18,5×15cm  
Origin: Manda (Guinea)  
Date:

**Arabe 5637:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

82. BnF Arabe 5637 ff 215ba, 1ff

Title: Unidentified poem  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Unidentified  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: None  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Britannia in a round frame outlined with zigzag line; PRO PATRIA (cf. Churchill 236).  
Size: 18×14,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5640:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

83. BnF Arabe 5640 ff 117a–118a, 2ff

Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified

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<sup>986</sup> AMMS ID 3566.

<sup>987</sup> GAL SII 252–3.

Subject: Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 118a] Ibrāhīm Sharīf b. Muḥammad Sharīf  
Material: Paper. Light brown ink.  
Size: 21×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

- \* BnF Arabe 5640 ff 123a–124b, 2ff  
Unidentified text on resemblance between humans and animals with two glosses in Soninke or another Mande language. Colophon on f. 124b indicates the owner as *Muḥammad al-Bukhārī b. al-Ḥājj al-Kasanmā wa ummuhu Ṣalima*. This person can be identified with the son of al-Ḥājj Salīm Kassama.

**Arabe 5651:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

84. BnF Arabe 5651 ff 285a–308b, 23ff  
Title: *Ta'lim al-muta'allim li-ta'allum ṭarīq al-t'ilm*<sup>988</sup>  
Author: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (ca. 600/1203)  
Subject: Ethics (*adab*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 308b] Scribe is al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Aḥmad Timbonke. The book was written for Moodi Muḥammad Foodee.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: (1) bend with a diagonal stripe and zigzag motif on it, crown on top and initials GM underneath [e.g., ff 291–2, 298–9]; (2) (partial) initials IS/ JS/ LS [e.g., f. 293]. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 20×14cm  
Origin: Timbo (Guinea)  
Date: early 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Arabe 5657:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

85. BnF Arabe 5657 ff 1a–28b, 28ff  
Title: *Dalīl al-qā'id li-kashf asrār ṣifāt al-Wāḥid*<sup>989</sup>  
Author: Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjalī  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f28b] Owner is Abū Bakr Saapaan b. 'Uthmān *Maranquli* from Mamakono.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: coat of arms. Brown and red ink.  
Size:  
Origin: Mankono in Pakao (Southern Senegal)  
Date: first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century
86. BnF Arabe 5657 ff 35b–84b, 49ff  
Title: *Iḍā'at al-dujunna fī 'aqā'id ahl al-sunna*  
Author: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqārī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1041/1631–2)<sup>990</sup>

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<sup>988</sup> GAL I 462, S I 837.

<sup>989</sup> ALA II 51.

<sup>990</sup> GAL II 296, S II 407.

Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent/Systematic  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 84b] Owner is Abū Bakr b. ʿUthmān Saḥḥaan  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) half circle and crown [f. 42 and f. 43]; (2) A G? BASSET [f. 84]  
Size: 20×15,5cm  
Origin: Pakao (Southern Senegal Pakao)  
Date: first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

87. BnF Arabe 5657 ff 85a, 86a–108b, 23ff (incomplete, in disorder)

Title: *al-ʿAqīda al-wuṣṭā*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) sun and moon faces [f. 92 and f. 104]; (2) maid of Dort, PRO PATRIA [f. 96 and f. 99]; (3) partial watermark of Arms of England or Britannia? [f. 105] and countermark GR with wreath in a circle [f. 106].  
Size: 18×15cm  
Origin:  
Date:

88. BnF Arabe 5657 ff 110a–125a, 126b–151b, 30ff (in disorder)

Title: *Kitāb al-Tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawhīd*  
Author: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 517/1123)  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 125a] Owner is Abū Bakr b. ʿUthmān *Maran Quli* Saḥḥaan from Mamakono.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Coat of arms (lions, horse, harp); Gilling & Allford 1814. Brown and red-orange ink.  
Size: 17,5×15cm  
Origin: Mankono in Pakao (Southern Senegal).  
Date: first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Arabe 5675:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

89. BnF Arabe 5675 ff 17a–18b, 2ff

Title: Unidentified poem (*lāmiyya*)<sup>991</sup>  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 18b] The book *Shadīd*. The scribe is Mūsā, owner is Ibrāhīm.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: GR with wreath in a circle.  
Size: 18,5×15,5cm  
Origin:

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<sup>991</sup> The text, for the exception of the first and last two lines, seems to be an excerpt from *Qasīda Umm Hānī* (e.g., in MS Arabe 5519, f. 1ab). Even though the colophon indicates it as a theological text (*ʿtawhīd shadīd* f. 18b), it is a poem in the praise of the Prophet. On the potential author Umm Hānī bt. ʿUmar, see ALA IV 663.

Date:

90. BnF Arabe 5675 ff 63a–81a, 18ff  
Title: *Kitāb (al-‘Aqīda) al-Waghlišiyya* or *al-Muqaddimat al-fiqhiyya*  
Author: Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Waghlišī al-Maghribī (d. 786/1384)<sup>992</sup>  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 81a] Sisa‘u Jaaju, his mother Fāṭuma *Masi*, his father Ibrāhīm.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) Arms of England in a round frame and countermark GR with wreath in a circle part of a circle and initials D&C (or G) underneath [f. 65] [e.g., f. 65, f. 71, f. 76]; (3) FIN. LIMOUZIN [f. 81]. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 18×15cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Ms. Arabe 5685:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

91. BnF Arabe 5685 f. 56ab, 1f  
Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Prophet (*ḥadīth*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 56b] *Kitāb ḥadīth*. Owner is Mori Mūsā Keeta (*Mūri Mūsā Ki`ta*).  
Material: Laid paper. No visible watermark. Brown ink.  
Size: 18×15cm  
Origin:  
Date:
92. BnF Arabe 5685 ff 57a–60b, 3ff  
Title: Unidentified *‘Aqīda*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Sulaymān<sup>993</sup>  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: One  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 60b] The book *tawḥīd*.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks (partial): Britannia in a round frame. Brown ink.  
Size: 17,5×14cm  
Origin:  
Date:
93. BnF Arabe 5685 ff 65a–67a, 2ff  
Title: Unidentified *‘Aqīda*.<sup>994</sup>  
Author: [attributed to] ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 67a] The book *‘Aqīda sayyidinā ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*.

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<sup>992</sup> GAL II 250, S II 351.

<sup>993</sup> As indicated in the preface.

<sup>994</sup> As indicated in the preface and colophon.

Material: Laid paper. Watermarks (partial): Arms of England, grater with motto; crowned GR wreath in a circle (cf. Heawood 441 & 448). Brown ink.  
Size: 18×14,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: Acquired in 1890

**Arabe 5690:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

94. BnF Arabe 5690 ff 36b–52a, 16ff  
Title: Unidentified  
Author: ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥājj al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥājj b. Sulayman al-Zaghawī<sup>995</sup>  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 52a] Owner is Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Abū Bakr b. Fāṭuma.  
Material: Paper  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5694:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

95. BnF Arabe 5694 ff 105a–128a, 23ff  
Title: *al-Qaṣīda al-hamziyya fī ‘l-madā’ih al-nabawiyya*<sup>996</sup>  
Author: Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Būṣīrī, (d. 694/1295–6)  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 128a] Scribe is Sunna b. Moodi Muḥammad *Jam* (Thiam?).  
Material: Paper. Brown and red ink  
Size: 21×15cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Ms. Arabe 5697:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

96. BnF Arabe ff 1a– 6a, 6ff.  
Title: *Tafūtu fu ‘ādak (qaṣīda tā’iyya)*  
Author: Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mas‘ūd al-Ilbīrī al-Tujībī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 459– 60/1067–8)  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 6a] Owner is Ibrāhīm Sharīf b. Muḥammad Sharīf  
Material: Paper. Light brown and red ink.  
Size: 21×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Arabe 5725:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

97. BnF Arabe 5725 ff 280b, 283a–285b, 321a–329b, 11 ff.

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<sup>995</sup> ALA IV 49.

<sup>996</sup> GAL I 264, S I 467.

Title: *al-Durr al-maknūn*  
 Author: [attributed to] ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib  
 Subject: Ethics (*adab*)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 329b] owner is Shu’ayb Kassama b. Muhammad Kassama, his mother ‘Āysha Cissé.  
 Size: 17×14cm  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Britannia in a round frame [e.g., ff 321–2], letter IO in a rhomb (or ‘diamond’) [e.g., ff 280, 325] and crown on top [e.g., ff 285, 326] (cf. Heawood 204). Brown ink.  
 Origin:  
 Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> century

98. BnF Arabe 5725 ff 281a–282b, 297b, 298a–320b, 21 ff (in disorder)

Title: *Iḍā’at al-dujunna fī ‘aqā’id ahl al-sunna*  
 Author: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqārī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1041/1631–2)  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 281a] Owner is Shu’ayb Kassama his father Bāba Kassama, his true name is Muḥammad, his mother ‘Āysha Cissé.  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermark: arms of England, garter, with motto [e.g., ff 309–10, ff 313–4, ff 319–20] and countermark GR with wreath in a circle [e.g., f. 282, ff 303–4, ff 307–8] (cf. Heawood 441, 448). Brown and red ink.  
 Size: 17×14cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> century

99. BnF Arabe 5725 ff 330a–335a, 6ff

Title: *Manhaj al-uṣūl wa-mahya ‘al-sālik li-’l-wuṣūl*  
 Author: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Fāsī (ca. 941/1535)<sup>997</sup>  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 335a] Owner and scribe is al-Amīn Kassama b. Muḥammad, his mother Fāṭuma Kaba.  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Arms of England in round frame with motto [e.g., f. 330], GR with wreath in a circle [e.g., f. 331].  
 Size: 17,5×15cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> century

100. BnF Arabe 5725 ff 336a–350a, 14ff

Title: *al-Maqṣūra*  
 Author: Ibn Durayd [Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdī] (d. 321/933)  
 Subject: Literature/prosody  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 350a] Shu’ayb Kasama b. Muhammad Kassama, his mother ‘Āysha Cissé.

<sup>997</sup> The date is indicated in the last lines of the poem.

Material: Laid paper. Watermark: (1) grapes [e.g., f. 336, f. 346] and [undistinguishable] [e.g., f. 345, f. 347] and countermark NORMANDIE. MOYENE [e.g., f. 345]; (2) Britannia in a round frame. Dark brown and red ink.  
Size: 18,5×15cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> century

101. BnF Arabe 5725 ff 351a–361b, 10ff

Title: *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*<sup>998</sup>  
Author: Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Laḡānī al-Mālikī (d. 1041/1631)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: Owner is Shu'ayb Kasama b. Muḥammad Kassama, his mother 'Āysha Cissé  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) Arms of England, garter with motto [e.g., ff 353–4] GR with wreath in a circle; (2) Britannia in a round frame with motto 'PRO REGE ET PATRIA' (cf. BnF Arabe 5575 f. 177). Black-brownish and red ink.  
Size: 18,5×15,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> century

**Ms. Arabe 6110:** Composite manuscript. Acquired in 1890. Bound by the library.

102. BnF Arabe 6110 ff 127a–129a, 2ff

Title: *Marmūz al-Ṭanṭarānī / Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarānīya*  
Author: Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al- Ṭanṭarānī (fl. ca. 480/1087)<sup>999</sup>  
Subject: Lexicology  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 129a] Scribe al-Ḥājj, owner is Ibrāhīm Sharīf.  
Material: Paper. Light greyish and red ink  
Size: 21,5×17cm  
Origin:  
Date:

103. BnF Arabe 6110 ff 130a–134b, 4ff

Title: *Malḥama*. Poem rhyming in *mīm*.  
Author: [attributed to] 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke, Manding (glosses)  
Colophon: [f. 134b] Finished at dawn on Thursday.  
Material: Paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 22×16 cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**Bibliothèque Universitaire de Langues et Civilisations, Paris, France**

**MS.ARA.112a:** Leather binding holder.

<sup>998</sup> G II 316, S II 436.

<sup>999</sup> GAL I 252, S I 446. This poem is not listed among his works.



104. BULAC MS.ARA 112a ff 1a–214b, 214ff  
 Title: *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (suras 1–18)  
 Author: Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)<sup>1000</sup>  
 Subject: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 214b] Finished *al-Qur’ān* on Sunday. Scribe is Abū Bakr *Jabawī*. Owner is Fode Mālīk Fofana (*Fūfanāwī*).  
 Material: Paper of at least two types  
 Size: 35×23cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:

**MS.ARA.112b:** Binding holder made of striped cloth with a string.

105. BULAC MS.ARA 112b ff 20a–402b, 380ff  
 Title: *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*(suras 19–114)  
 Author: Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)<sup>1001</sup>  
 Subject: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Manding, Songhay (glosses)  
 Scholars: Muḥammad Fāṭim [f. 122b], al-Ḥājj Kassama [f. 391b], ‘Uthmān Kaba [f. 158b].  
 Colophon: [f. 402] Finished on Sunday. Scribe and al-Ḥājj Dramé b. al-Ḥājj Dramé from Bani Isra’ila  
 Material: Thick paper  
 Size: 20×15cm  
 Origin: Bani Isra’ila in Bundu (eastern Senegal)  
 Date: Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

**MS.ARA.165a:** Composite manuscript. Leather binding holder. Acquired before 1895.

106. BULAC MS.ARA.165a, 240 ff (incomplete, in disorder)  
 Title: *Kitāb al-shifā’ bi-ta’rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā*  
 Author: Abū al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣībī al-Sabtī al-Mālīkī (d. 544/1149)<sup>1002</sup>  
 Subject: Prophet, biography (*sīra*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Manding (glosses)  
 Scholars: ‘Uthmān Kaba  
 Colophon: N/A  
 Material: Thick stiff paper. Brown and red ink.  
 Size: 23×19cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

\* BULAC MS.ARA.165a, di 1656

Recipe in Mandinka **mùso bóorí mù** ‘woman’s remedy’.

107. BULAC MS.ARA.165a, (di 1743–1747) (incomplete in the beginning of 1f.)

<sup>1000</sup> GAL II 114, 145, S II 179.

<sup>1001</sup> GAL II 114, 145, S II 179.

<sup>1002</sup> GAL I 455, S I 630.

Title: *al-Maqṣūr wa-al-mamdūd*  
 Author: Ibn Durayd [Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdī] (d. 321/933)<sup>1003</sup>  
 Subject: Morphology  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses, colophon)  
 Colophon: [di 1747] Owner and scribe is Ibrāhīm Faati b. Foodee Faati. The place name is unclear (possibly Tumanna?).  
 Material: Paper  
 Size: 23×19 cm  
 Origin: Tumanna (The Gambia or Guinea-Bissau)?  
 Date:

**Ms.ARA.219bis:** Composite manuscript. Leather binding holder with a strap. Acquired before 1895.

108. BULAC Ms.ARA.219bis ff 1a–12b, 12ff

Title: *Jawahīr min al-kalām*  
 Author: Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjilī  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Systematic  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (colophon)  
 Colophon: [f. 12b] The book [named] **Silayma doomaa** (‘Sulaym small’). Owner Muḥammad Bajaka from Madina Findifeto (Pakao). Owner Majinka Saamura, scribe Arafan Ibrāhīm Jaawara. Finished on Thursday.  
 Material: Thick paper. Black ink.  
 Size: 22×17,5cm  
 Origin: Pakao (Southern Senegal)  
 Date:

109. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 13a–21b (di 1047–1055), 8ff

Title: *Qaṣīda maqṣura al-jawhara*  
 Author: Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb b. al-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī al-Tilimsānī (d.598/1193)  
 Subject: Ethics (dedicated to the pious exhortation)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
 Colophon: [f. 21b] Finished the book [named] Abū Madyan on Sunday.  
 Material: Paper. Brown ink.  
 Size: 21,5×17cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:

110. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 22a–38b (di 0994–1011), 16ff

Title: *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣughrā*  
 Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke  
 Scholars: [f. 28a] al-Ḥājj Kassama (d. 1824/29/36)  
 Colophon: [f. 38b] Owner is Faamara Sila of Jaabikunda of Kusara  
 Material: Paper. Black ink.  
 Size: 21,5×17,5cm

<sup>1003</sup> GAL I 112–3 (111), S II 172–3.

Origin: Kusara (Guinea-Bissau)

Date:

111. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 67a–130a (di 1055–1116), 63ff

Title: *Risāla fī al-kufr wa al-īmān*

Author: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Abī Maḥallī

Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)

Glosses: Frequent

Language: Soninke

Colophon: None

Material: Paper (folded). Black and red inks.

Size: 21,5×17,5cm

Origin:

Date:

112. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 131a–238a (di 1117–1223), 54ff

Title: *Kitāb Ibn ʿUmar Kubrā*

Author: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Ābī Maḥallī

Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)

Glosses: Frequent

Language: Soninke. Mandinka (glosses)

Colophon: [f. 238a]: The book [named] *Ibn ʿUmar Kubrā*. Scribe is not the owner. Owner is al-Ḥājǰ, his mother Maryam, his father ʿUthmān.

Material: White paper, folded in the middle.

Size: 22×17,5cm

Origin:

Date:

113. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 242a–248b (di 1247–1254), 7ff

Title: *Manẓumat al-Raqa ʿaī fī ʿilm al-dhakāt*

Author: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Raqa ʿaī al-Malīkī (d. 853/1449)<sup>1004</sup>

Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)

Glosses: Frequent (on first three folios, other pages without annotations)

Language: Soninke

Colophon: [f. 248b] Finished the book [named] *ʿIlm al-dhakāt*.

Material: Thick paper. Black and red ink.

Size: 22,5×18,5cm

Origin:

Date:

114. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 249a–291b (1258–1295), 36ff (incomplete)

Title: *Takhmīs al-Durriyya al-saniyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*

Author: Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marrākushī (b. 739/1338)

Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)

Glosses: Frequent

Language: Soninke. Mandinka (glosses)

Colophon: N/A

Material: Laid paper (folded). Watermark: bell? [e.g., ff 257–8], letters (cursive) *IB* or *RB* [e.g., ff 259–60]. Brown ink.

Size: 22×17cm

Origin:

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<sup>1004</sup> WAAMD ID 138.

Date:

115. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 298a–306a (di 1301–1308) and ff 357b–363b (di 1310–1314), 11 ff (incomplete)

Title: *Takhmīs* on *Bānat Su‘ād* of Ka‘b b. Zuhayr [b. Ābī Sulma]  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Devotional (*madh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper. Black ink.  
Size: 23×18cm  
Origin:  
Date:

116. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 307a–320a (di 1314–1323), 14ff (incomplete)

Title: *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣughrā*  
Author: by Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Scholars: [f. 314a] al-Hājj Kasama  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper. Black and red inks.  
Size: 22×17,5cm  
Origin: Kusara (Guinea-Bissau)  
Date:

117. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 323a–328a (di 1328–1333), 5 ff

Title: *‘Ashrūna ṣifa*  
Author: [attributed to] Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon:  
Material: Blue-greenish paper.  
Size: 22×17,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

118. BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 377a–386b (di 1226–1235), 9ff (acephalous)

Title: *al-Muqaddima*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent/Systematic  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 386b] Owner is Arafan Foodee, scribe’s name Ṣālīḥ  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: three crescents (horizontal).  
Size: 21,5×15,5cm

Origin:

Date:

- \* BULAC MS.ARA.219bis f. 398b  
Talisman in Mandinka *ismuhu neke bóori mù, kidi bálándáj mù* ‘its name remedy against iron, protection against rifle’.
- \* BULAC MS.ARA.219bis f. 399a  
Recipe in Mandinka
- \* BULAC MS.ARA.219bis f. 399b  
Recipe in Mandinka *fáyí bóorí mù* ‘remedy against the illness which provokes abscesses’.
- \* BULAC MS.ARA.219bis f. 401a  
Reipe in Mandinka *í s’á násí àràbá lúŋ ná* ‘you make a *nasi* on Wednesday’.
- \* BULAC MS.ARA.219bis f. 403a  
**neke bóorí mù** ‘protection against knife’
- \* BULAC MS.ARA.219bis di 1245  
Recipe in Mandinka, a protective charm against the demon (Shaytan).
- \* BULAC MS.ARA.219bis di 1246  
Recipe in Mandinka meant to improve one’s mental power.

**MS.ARA.273:** Composite manuscript. Leather binding holder with a flap.

119. BULAC MS.ARA.273 ff 18a–21a, 3ff

Title: Unidentified. Possibly a very short version of *al-‘Aqīda* by Sanūsī  
Author: [attributed to] Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Systematic  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (colophon)  
Colophon: [f. 21a] owner and scribe Ibrāhīm Touré b. fódée Abū Bakr Touré from Badibu. His teacher Muḥammad Sanūsī Silla from Sillakundaa in Bani Israel.  
Material: Thick paper.  
Size: 23×18cm  
Origin: Badibu (The Gambia) or Bundu (East Senegal)  
Date: Second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

120. BULAC MS.ARA.273 22a–29a and 30a–50b, 27ff (incomplete)

Title: *Qurrat al-abṣār fī sīrat al-Nābī al-mukhtār*  
Author: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Lamṭī al-Miknāsī (d. 880/1474–5)  
Subject: Prophet, biography (*sīra*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Manding (glosses)  
Scholars: [f. 37a] annotation written by the hand of **arfaxa** al-Muṣṭafa Jawāra  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Thick paper.  
Size:  
Origin: Bundu (East Senegal)  
Date: Second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

121. BULAC MS.ARA.273 ff 51a–303a, (fragment)

Title: *al-Risāla Qayrawaniyya* with a commentary  
 Author: Unidentified  
 Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Manding (glosses)  
 Colophon: N/A  
 Material: Thick white paper. Thin wove paper with watermark C. SKP & C<sup>A</sup> [e.g., f. 278, f. 281, f. 287]. Black, blue and red inks.  
 Size: 23×18cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

122. BULAC MS.ARA.273 ff 304a–308b, 4ff

Title: *Manzūma / Nazm fī- 'l-tawḥīd*<sup>1005</sup>  
 Author: Khālīd b. 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Sūqī  
 Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
 Glosses: One  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [f. 308b] *Intahat Kitāb* [?] *al-tawḥīd*. Scribe is **arfaxa** al-Muṣṭafa Jawara b. Muḥammad Jawara. His teacher Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Silla.  
 Material: Thick paper. Black ink.  
 Size:  
 Origin: Bundu (East Senegal)  
 Date: Second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

**MS.ARA.359:** Decorated leather holder. Acquired in 1873.

123. BULAC MS.ARA.359 ff 1a–642b, 642ff

Title: *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*  
 Author: Unidentified  
 Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Scholars: Muḥammad Bāba Jawara [e.g., 8b, 14b], Ibrāhīm Jaane [f. 417b, f. 527], Abū Bakr Xanso (Dramé) [f. 306b], al-Ḥājj Kassama [f. 445b], 'Umar Kassama [f. 25a, 104b], Sālim Dramé [f. 401b, f. 466a]  
 Colophon: N/A. The annotations are written by the hand of Abū Bakr Tunkara [e.g., f. 15b, 194b].  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) arms of England in a round frame with motto and GR with wreath in a circle (cf. Heawood 444 (after 1750)); (2) arms of England in a round frame with motto; (3) arms of England, garter, motto and GR with wreath in a circle; (4) PERIGORD? (partial); (5) Arms of London. Brown, red and yellow/'golden' ink.  
 Size: 17×14,5cm  
 Origin: Soninke provinces in western Mali and east Senegal  
 Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1005</sup> The first line of the poem corresponds to that found in Timbuktu IHERIAB 1271; see ALA IV, 175, and WAAMD ID 16667.

**Musée du quai Branly, collections of the ex-Musée nationale d'Art d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Paris, France**

**AF 14722(87):** Composite manuscript. Leather binding holder (kept separately). Acquired in 1893.

124. AF 14722(87) ff 1a–4b, 25ab, 43a–75b, 82a–101b, 58ff (incomplete, in disorder)

Title: *al- 'Aqīda al-wuṣṭā*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke. Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: (1) coat of arms (lions, horse, harp), maker's mark and date 'Brookman 1819'; (2) A partial watermark of a bell [f. 57].  
Size: 18×15cm  
Origin:  
Date: mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

125. AF 14722(87) ff 6a – 24b, 217ab, 19ff (acephalous, in disorder)<sup>1006</sup>

Title: *al- 'Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [f. 217b] *Kitāb burhān*. Scribe Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Kayi/Kanyi  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: (1) Arms of Amsterdam, A BASSVET. FIN. PÉRIGORD. 1742 [e.g., ff 13–15]; (2) a post-horn on a shield [e.g., f. 19]. Brown and red inks. Decorations.  
Size: 19,5×15,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> century

126. AF 14722(87) ff 26a–40b, 14ff (fragment, in disorder)<sup>1007</sup>

Title: *al- 'Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars: Muḥammad Cissé [f. 33b]  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: initials A&G [f. 39] and a head of an animal or a bird with a crown [f. 40].  
Size:  
Origin: Mandinka-speaking areas of The Gambia or southern Senegal  
Date:

<sup>1006</sup> The text is acephalous. The order of the folios was reconstructed as follows: 23ba, 22ba, (lacunae), 21a–21b, 20ba–19ba, 18ba, 17ba, 16ba, 15ba, 14ba, 13ba, 12ba, 11ba, 6ab, 8–10b, 24ab, 7ab, 217ab.

<sup>1007</sup> The text lacks indication of the name of the author (probably only one folio missing) and then goes without interruption and in right order from f. 32a until f. 40b. The next portion is to be found on ff. 26a–31b. The manuscript is incomplete.

127. AF 14722(87) ff 5ab, 102a–171b (fragment, in disorder)

Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars:  
Colophon:  
Material: Wove paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 19,5×13,5cm  
Origin: Mandinka-speaking areas of The Gambia or southern Senegal  
Date:

128. AF 14722(87) ff 172a – 189a, 191a–193b (acephalous, in disorder)

Title: *Dalīl al-qā'id li-kashf asrār šifāt al-Wāhid*  
Author: Muḥammad al-Šāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awjalī  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses, colophon)  
Scholars: [f. 175b] Muḥammad Ture, Abū Bakr Daaboo  
Colophon: [f. 174a] The book [named] *Sulaym Kubrā*. 'Uthmān Daaboo. Ownership mark [f. 114b]  
Material: Wove paper. Watermarked dates 1826 and 1823 with the initials *JR* (cursive letters). Brown and red inks.  
Size: 19,5×13,5cm  
Origin: Mandinka-speaking areas of The Gambia or southern Senegal  
Date: mid 19<sup>th</sup> century

129. AF 14722(87) 194a–216b, 22ff (fragment, in disorder)

Title: *Risāla fī anwā' al-kufr*  
Author: Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Alī b. Abī Maḥalī  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Systematic  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: shield with a post-horn and a countermark JD [e.g., f. 196].  
Size: 19,6×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

130. AF 14722(87) f. 190ab, 1f. (fragment)

Title: Unidentified (each line finishes with the declaration of oneness of God)  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: (partial) Arms of England in a round frame. Brown and red ink.



Size: 19×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

131. AF 14722(41) ff 18a–20b, 2ff

Title: Unidentified text in praise of the Prophet  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (colophon)  
Colophon: [f. 20b] Owner Sabajan Si?, his father al-Amīn  
Material: Wove paper, white. Brown ink.  
Size: 20,3×16cm  
Origin:  
Date: Acquired in 1893

132. AF 14722(91) ff 1a–5b, 5ff (incomplete)

Title: *al-ʿAqīda al-ṣuḡhrā*  
Author: Muḥammad b. Yusūf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1496)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent (only on f. 1b and f. 2b)  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Wove paper  
Size: 19×15,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: Acquired in 1893

\* AF 14722(91) f. 6b  
An amulet in Mandinka

\* AF 14722 (56) f 4ab, 1ff (fragment)  
Unidentified text concerning marriage with few Soninke glosses. Paper has partial watermark of possibly Arms of England or Britannia in round frame.

\* AF 14722 (180(6)) f. 7a  
Amulet in Mandinka

**Bibliothèque Municipale de Tours**

**Ms 2234:** Leather binding holder with a flap and a strap. The *mistara* is kept inside. Acquired in 1956

133. BmT 2234 pp 19–25, 3ff

Title: *ʿAshrūna ṣifa*  
Author: [attributed to] Muḥammad b. Yusūf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [p. 25] Ended *tawḥīd*. Thanks to Muḥammad and my master ʿUmar b. Muḥammad.  
Material: Thick paper, folded. Black ink

Size: 21×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

134. BmT 2234 pp 83–98, 8ff (incomplete)

Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Unidentified  
Glosses: Systematic (some pages are not annotated)  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Laid paper. No visible watermarks. Black and purple ink.  
Size: 20,5×16,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

135. BmT 2234 pp 101–160, 30ff.

Title: *Tuhfat al-falāh fī ādāb al-jimāʿ wa-al-nikāh*  
Author: Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ al-Tadaghī/Tandaghī  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, another Mande? [gloss p. 104]  
Colophon: [ p. 160] owner ʿAbdu Daramani Daaboo  
Material: Thick paper  
Size: 23,5×16cm  
Origin:  
Date:

136. BmT 2234 pp 173–183, 5ff

Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [p. 183] *Tamat Sāʿir al-ʿAqaʿid*. Written on Sunday at dawn in a place *Bakaluku* (Bakaloko). On the verso side [p. 184] there is a colophon in different ink: written by *Mur* (Mori?) Foodee said *Kūyā* Foodee Yūlā in the house Forekariya, owner: al-Ḥājj Moodii, said *Siralaj*.  
Material: Laid paper. No visible watermarks.  
Size:  
Origin: Bakaloko/Port Loko (Sierra Leone) or Forekariya (coastal Guinea)  
Date:

137. BmT 2234 pp 431–438, 4ff

Title: Unidentified poem  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Grammar (*naḥw*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon:

Material: Paper. Greyish ink.  
Size: 10×16,3cm  
Origin:  
Date:

138. BmT 2234 pp 442–479, 18ff

Title: *Malḥama*. Poem rhyming in *mīm*.  
Author: Attributed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Frequent/Systematic. Some pages have no annotations  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [p. 479] Foodee Yūlā  
Material: Thick paper. Greyish ink  
Size: 16×19,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

139. BmT 2234 pp 480–610, 65ff (incomplete)

Title: *Dhikr fī maulid Muḥammad*  
Author: Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Salām al-Ghafārī<sup>1008</sup>  
Subject: Prophet: birth  
Glosses: Systematic, some pages with no glosses  
Language: Soninke, and another Mande (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: (1) thick paper [pp 480–503]; (2) blue-greenish laid paper [pp 480–503], watermark with a shield? merchant’s mark ‘C. Millington, London. 1870’; (3) white paper [pp 511–558]; (4) thick white paper [pp 559–562]; (5) thick blue paper [pp 563–566]; (6) laid paper, no visible watermarks [pp 567–574]; (7) laid paper, watermarked with Britannia in an oval frame and ‘E. Towgood. Fine’. [pp 575–578], (8) laid paper, no visible watermarks [pp 579–588]; white paper [pp 583–590]. Black ink, some words written in red ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date: late 19<sup>th</sup> century

140. BmT 2234 pp 670–673, 2ff

Title: *Qaṣīda fī madḥ al-nabī*. A poem rhyming in *mīm*.  
Author: Muḥammad al-Yadālī b. al-Mukhtār b. Muḥḥam Sa‘īd al-Yadālī al-Daymānī (d. 1166/1752–3)<sup>1009</sup>  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
Glosses: Solitary  
Language: Soninke?  
Colophon: [p. 673] Owner is Mūdi (Moodi) Ibrāhīm; scribe Ḥāmid b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān *Bantiqil*.  
Material: Paper. Light brown ink.  
Size:  
Origin:

<sup>1008</sup> The title and the name of the author are taken from the preface to the text in the manuscript.

<sup>1009</sup> ALA V 1576.

Date:

141. BmT 2234 pp 784–817, 17ff (acephalous)

Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Religious advice  
Glosses: Systematic  
Language: Soninke and another Mande (glosses)  
Colophon: [p. 817] Finished *Kitāb ḥadīth* on the third day at dawn name of the owner *al-Ḥṣr Kl Muḥammad* in the country *Lkl Muḥammad*.  
Material: Bluish wove paper. Watermark: ‘TH Saunders’ [e.g., p. 785]. Light brown ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date: second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

142. BmT 2234 pp 818–820, 2ff

Title: *Fī ṣīfat suʿal al-malākayni*<sup>1010</sup>  
Author: Unidentified.  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Systematic.  
Language: Soninke.  
Colophon: [p. 820] Finished *Masaʿalat*.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermark: post horn on a shield with crown on top and fleur-de-lys underneath. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 21×16,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

143. BmT 2234 pp 827–830, 2ff (incomplete)

Title: Text on the attributes of God an the Prophet (unidentified)  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [p. 830] Finished here *al-ʿAqāʿid*.  
Material: Paper  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:

144. BmT 2234 pp 833–845, 6ff

Title: *Jawahīr min al-kalām*  
Author: Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Awjilī  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Systematic in the beginning. No glosses towards the end  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [p. 845] the book called *Suleyman al-Ṣuḡhrā*. Scribe Foodee Yūlā, his mother Makalé, his father Dāwūd b. Shaykh Dunba Doumbiya. Written in Morekaniya.

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<sup>1010</sup> As given in the preface.

Material: Paper. (1) Thin wove paper [p. 833]; (2) laid paper, no visible watermarks. Brown ink.  
Size: 21×16,5cm  
Origin: Morekaniya (southern Guinea)  
Date:

145. BmT 2234 pp 853–854, 1ff

Title: *Kitāb qiṣṣat (?) Yūsuf*.<sup>1011</sup> Unidentified poem (*yā'iyya*) starting with: *Shakaytu li-rabbī al-'alāmīn qaḍiyyatay*  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Unidentified  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [p. 854] Scribe (?) is Yūsūf Suware, his father al-Amīn Suware.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarked date '1833'. Light brown ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date: mid 19<sup>th</sup> century

146. BmT 2234 pp 886–892, 3ff (incomplete)

Title: Unidentified  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject: Unidentified  
Glosses: Solitary  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Thin white paper. Brown and purple inks.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:

147. BmT 2234 pp 989–1004, 8ff (incomplete)

Title: *Takhmīs* on the poem *Lāmiyya al-mutarannimī* by S'ad b. Ibrāhīm [al-Sīlī al-Fūtī] (*fl.* 1272/1885–6)<sup>1012</sup>  
Author: Muḥammad b. Sa'id [al-Sīlī] (*fl. ca.* 1755–1852 or 1788–1854)<sup>1013</sup>  
Subject: Devotional (*madh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Bluish laid paper. Watermark: 'T Owthwaite. 1860'. Light brown and red-orange inks.  
Size: 16,4×10,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 19<sup>th</sup> century

\* BmT 2234 p. 26  
An amulet *fī kalāminā buntali* 'in our language - a scorpio'

<sup>1011</sup> The title is indicated in the colophon. The word in the middle is not entirely clear.

<sup>1012</sup> ALA IV 508. The second date is suggested in Diallo Lélouma and Salvaing 2017, 71 n4.

<sup>1013</sup> ALA IV 512, 238.

- \* BmT 2234 pp 742–745, 3ff  
Recipes for curing illnesses. There is [p. 745] a list of medicinal plants (e.g. **lemunumesen liilin** ‘lime root’) and roots written in a Mande language. The colophon on the same page gives the name Foodee Yūlā.
- \* Bmt 2234 p. 858  
A recipe in Ajami (non-vocalised)

### **Institut Fondamentale d’Afrique Noire**

148. IFAN, fonds Vincent Monteil, Cahier n.3 ff 1a–28b, 28ff (fragment)

Title: *Takhmīs al-Durriyya al-saniyya fi madh khayr al-bariyya*  
 Author: Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marrākushī (b. 739/1338)  
 Subject: Devotional (*madh*)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: N/A  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: pot with three flowers and date 1788. Another type of paper with Britannia and GR, and countermark WD.  
 Size: 20×17cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century

### **Boston University Digital Archive: EAP 1024**

149. EAP, Abdou Khadre Cissé, 1042/1/1, 152 ff  
<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1042-1-1>

Title: *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*  
 Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb  
 Subject: Devotional (*madh*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
 Scholars: Al-Ḥājj Kassama [p. 39, p.93/354], Muḥammad Kassama [p. 69, p. 98/354]  
 Colophon: [p. 339/354] Muḥammad b. [al-Ḥājj] Muḥammab b. Sālim Cissé, nicknamed Muḥammad Siré.  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermark: Britannia in oval frame. B&B 1822.  
 Size: 22×18cm  
 Origin:  
 Date: first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

150. EAP 1042, Adbou Karim Thiam, EAP1042/4/1, pp 2–97, 47ff (acepahlous)  
<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1042-4-1>

Title: *Dāliyyat al-Yūsī*  
 Author: Ḥasan b. Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d. 1102/1691)  
 Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
 Colophon: [p. 3] Muḥammad al-Amīn *Jnbātwy*  
 Material: Paper. Brown ink.  
 Size: 20×17cm

Origin:

Date:

151. EAP 1042, Adbou Karim Thiam, EAP1042/4/1, pp 98–164, 34ff

Title: *Mulḥat al-i 'rāb fi al-naḥw*

Author: Abū Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d. 516/1122)

Subject: Syntax

Glosses: Occasional

Language: Soninke

Colophon: [p. 134] Scribe: **arfaxa** Muḥammad Sire b. Abū Bakr Kassama, his mother Fāṭuma *Ql* bint Foodee Muḥammad Kaba

Material: Paper. Brown ink.

Size: 20×17,5cm

Origin:

Date:

152. EAP 1042, Adbou Karim Thiam, EAP1042/4/6, pp 4–166 and 182–4, 82ff  
<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1042-4-6>

Title: *Takhmīs al-Durriyya al-saniyya fi madḥ khayr al-bariyya*

Author: Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marrākushī (b. 739/1338)

Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)

Glosses: Frequent

Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)

Colophon:

Material: Paper. Light brown and red ink.

Size: 21×17,5cm

Origin:

Date:

153. EAP 1042, Adbou Karim Thiam, EAP1042/4/6, pp 168–177, 5ff (incomplete)

Title: *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya fi- 'l-tawḥīd*, also known as *Bad' al-amālī*

Author: Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Ūshī (*fl. ca.* 569/1173)<sup>1014</sup>

Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)

Glosses: Frequent

Language: Soninke

Colophon: N/A

Material: Paper. Brown ink.

Size: 22×17cm

Origin:

## Private collections in West Africa

### OC, Ziguinchor, Senegal: ZOC

154. ZOC1, di 5137–5848, 355ff. Kept between two pieces of stiff leather.

Title: *al-Risāla*

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<sup>1014</sup> GAL I 552.

Author: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Ibn Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996)  
 Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
 Scholars: al-Ḥājj Kassama, Muḥammad Khayraba, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, Ibrāhīm Silla, Ibrāhīm Jawara  
 Colophon: Illegible. The annotations are written by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Suware.  
 Material: Thick paper. Black and red inks.  
 Size: 19,5×16cm  
 Origin: Touba?  
 Date: mid- to late 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Muhammad Lamine Cissé, Ziguinchor, Senegal: ZMC**

155. ZMC1 di 4922–6126, (incomplete)<sup>1015</sup>

Title: *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*  
 Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb  
 Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
 Scholars: al-Ḥājj al-Kasamā  
 Colophon: N/A  
 Material: Thick paper. Brown and red inks.  
 Size: 21×17cm  
 Origin:  
 Date:

156. ZMC2 di 6762–6853, 22ff

Title: *al-Muqaddima al-ājurrūmiyya*  
 Author: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dā’ūd al-Ṣanhājī b. Ājurrūm known as Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723/1323)<sup>1016</sup>  
 Subject: Grammar/Syntax (*naḥw*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
 Scholars: al-Ḥājj Kassama, Muḥammad Kassama  
 Colophon: [di 6853] Owner is Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Kayi/Kanyi in Badunga (Pakao)  
 Material: Paper. Black and brownish-red inks.  
 Size: 21×16,5cm  
 Origin: Pakao (southern Senegal)  
 Date:

157. ZMC3 di 6857–6890, 8ff

Title: *Kitāb al-zuhd wa ’l-waṣīyyat / Kitāb al-zuhd wa ’l-mawa’iz*  
 Author: ‘Alī b. Ḥusain b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib known as Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d. 92/710)  
 Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)

<sup>1015</sup> The text is incomplete by few verses. Last page of the manuscript seems to have been replaced. It is written by with black felt-tip pen. It also goes not contain Soninke glosses. There are several glosses in Mandinka added later in blue ballpoint pen.

<sup>1016</sup> GAL II 237, S II 332.



Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Scholars: al-Ḥājj Kassama, 'Umar Cissé  
Colophon: [di 6890] *kitāb Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn*. Owner is Ibrāhīm Kamara b. Sulayman, from Pakao Balmadu. Some annotations written by Foodee Kassama.  
Material: Laid paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 21×17cm  
Origin: Pakao (southern Senegal)  
Date:

158. ZMC4 di 6893–6926, 8ff

Title: *Qaṣīda maqṣura al-jawhara*  
Author: Abū Madyan Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī al-Tilimsānī (d. 598/1193)  
Subject: Ethics (*adab*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [di 6926] Finished the book [named] *Abū Madyan*. Owner is the same as scribe.  
Material: Paper. Black ink.  
Size: 21,5×17cm  
Origin:  
Date:

159. ZMC5 di 6931–7034, 26ff

Title: *Manzūmat al-Jazāʿ iriyya fī ʿl-tawḥīd*  
Author: Aḥmad b. ʿAdb Allāh al-Jazāʿirī (d. 898/1497)  
Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: Owner and scribe Ibrāhīm Saama, his father Muḥammad Saama, in Ndiamankunda (Ndiama-Yacine?), his mother Wadi *Kansuwarin*, her father Suleyman Faati.  
Material: Paper. Brown ink.  
Size: 21×18cm  
Origin: Yacine (Southern Senegal)  
Date:

160. ZMC6 di 7277–7293, 5ff

Title: A poem on the time and benefits of prayers. Beginning with *al-Ḥamdu li-ʿllāh ʿalā ʿl-taʿlīmī // Wa-afḍal al-ṣalātī wa-ʿl-taslīm*  
Author: Ibn Saʿīd al-Dughāf al-Falakī (d. 1204/1789–90)<sup>1017</sup>  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: One gloss  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars: The verso side of the last folio contains a short text with a reference *samiʿatu min al-Ḥājj Kasamā* 'I heard [it] from al-Ḥājj Kasama'.  
Colophon: [di 7293] Finished  
Material: Paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 20×17cm  
Origin:

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<sup>1017</sup> ALA IV 527. I identify the texts based on its first line since it does not mention the author's name.

Date: Second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

161. ZMC7 7408–7433, 7ff

Title: *al-Nafahāt al-Qudsiyya (al-Qaṣīda al-sīnīyya)*  
Author: Ḥasan b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Bādīs known as Ibn Bādīs (d. 787/1385)<sup>1018</sup>  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Scholars: [di 7413] ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama (d. 1905)  
Colophon: [di] Muḥammad b. Almāmi b. ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm Cissé from Maka in Pakao. Written in Farafiyi/Farafenyi (Badibu).  
Material: Paper. Brown ink.  
Size: 22×18cm  
Origin: Pakao (Southe Senegal) or Badibu (The Gambia)  
Date: Late 19<sup>th</sup> or beginning 20<sup>th</sup> century

\* ZMC8 di 7298–7345

Title: *Kitāb al-zuhd wa ‘l-waṣīyyat / Kitāb al-zuhd wa ‘l-mawa‘iz*  
Author: ‘Alī b. Ḥusain b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib known as Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d. 92/710)  
Subject: Sufism (*taṣawwuf*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Mandinka(?)  
Scholars: [di 7298] Muḥammad Taslimī b. *al-faqih* al-Ḥā[jj]  
Colophon: [DI 7345] owner and scribe is Muḥammad al-Amīn (Malaamin) Kamara b. Abū Bakr Kamara in the place [unreadable].  
Material: Paper. Dark brown ink.  
Size: 22×17,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

\* ZMC9 di 7439–7447, 2ff

Title: *Marmūz al-Ṭanṭarānī (Qaṣīda al-Ṭanṭarānīya)*  
Author: Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al- Ṭanṭarānī (fl. ca. 480/1087)  
Subject: Lexicology  
Glosses: Systematic  
Language: Mandinka(?)  
Colophon: [di 7447] Scribe Abū Yunūs b. Muḥammad al-Amīne Seyidi, written in the year 1337/1918.  
Material: Paper. Brown ink.  
Size: 17×22cm  
Origin:  
Date: Written in 1918

\* ZMC di 6929

Recipe of a potion in Mandinka

**Abdoul Kader Cissé, Ziguinchor, Senegal: ZAC**

162. ZAC1 di 2610–3245, 159ff

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<sup>1018</sup> GAL II 166, S II 214.

Title: *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*  
Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Scholars: al-Ḥājj Kassama, Muḥammad Kassama. Muḥammad Taslīmī, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama  
Colophon: None  
Material: Paper. Brown ink, red inks for highlights.  
Size: 22×17,5cm  
Origin: Touba?  
Date: Mid- to late-19<sup>th</sup> century

163. ZAC2 di 3911–4563

Title: *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nakt al-‘uqūd wa-’l-aḥkām [al-‘aṣimiyya]*<sup>1019</sup>  
Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṣim al-Qaysī al-Malikī al-Gharnāṭī, known as by Ibn ‘Aṣim (d. 829/1427)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars: Maḥmūd Cissé, ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama (d. 1905)  
Colophon: [di 4563] Owner and scribe: ‘Abd al-Qadir Cissé b. Maḥmūd Cissé b. Muḥammad Siré, teacher ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama.  
Material: Paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 21×17cm  
Origin: Touba?  
Date: second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – early 20<sup>th</sup> century

164. ZAC3 di 4570–4787 (fragment)

Title: *Kitāb al-mawā‘iz*<sup>1020</sup>  
Author: Unidentified  
Subject:  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Colophon: N/A  
Material: Paper. Brown ink.  
Size: 21×17,5cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**AS, Tanaf, Senegal: TAS**

165. TAS1 di 3330–3407, 25 ff

Title: *Sharḥ Bānat su ‘ād*<sup>1021</sup>  
Author: ‘Ubayda b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. Anbūja al-Alawī al-Tishitī (d. 1284/1867)<sup>1022</sup>  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)

<sup>1019</sup> GAL II 264, S II 375.

<sup>1020</sup> The title appears on di 4754, marking completion of the half of the book.

<sup>1021</sup> The text is similar to OMAR 302.

<sup>1022</sup> ALA V 278.

Glosses: Ocassional  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Scholars: [di 3407] Shaykh Kaba  
Colophon: [di 3407] Sulayman Jaadama, his mother Banna Saapaa from Badibu.  
Material: Laid paper. Watermarks: Flower buds.  
Size: 20,5×17,5cm  
Origin: Badibu (The Gambia)  
Date: 19<sup>th</sup> century

- \* TAS2 di 3325–3327, 1f  
Arabic–Mandinka wordlist, entitled in the colophon as *al-Lughat al-‘Arabiyya*. The owner is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, his mother Fāṭuma. It is written on paper 20×16,5cm in light brown ink.

**Aliou Ndiaye, Adéane, Senegal: AAN.**

166. AAN1 pp 1–412 (di 0561–0983)

Title: *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (suras 1–18)  
Author: Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)  
Subject: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Scholars: al-Ḥājj Kassama, Muḥammad Taslīmī, ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware  
Colophon: [p. 412] Finished the book *Tafsīr* on a Sunday in mid-month of Sha’ban.  
Material: Thick paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 21×16,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 19<sup>th</sup> century

167. AAN2 pp 1–709 (di 1620–2252)

Title: *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (suras 19–114)  
Author: Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)  
Subject: Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka, Songhay (glosses)  
Scholars: al-Ḥājj Kassama, Muḥammad Taslīmī, ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama, Nūḥ al-Fulānī, Muḥammad Khayraba  
Colophon: [p. 709] Finished.  
Material: Thick paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 23×18,5cm  
Origin:  
Date: late 19<sup>th</sup> century

168. AAN3 di 0988–1597, 304ff

Title: *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*  
Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)

Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (glosses)  
Scholars: Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware  
Colophon: None  
Material: Paper. Brown and red inks.  
Size: 17×11,5cm  
Origin: Touba?  
Date: late 19<sup>th</sup> century

**LT, Dembancane, Senegal: DLT**

169. DLT1 di 8711–9752, 520 ff

Title: *al-Risāla*  
Author: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Ibn Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars: ‘Amara Kassama, Abū Bakr Xanso Dramé, Muḥammad Bāba Jawara, Muḥammad *Quli* Dramé  
Colophon: Written by the scribe Masaba Silla in the *majlis* of Fodiye *Jaki* (Jakho?) in Bakel.  
Material: Thick paper. Brown, blue inks.  
Size: 23×17cm  
Origin: Bakel (eastern Senegal)  
Date:

170. DLT2, di 0001–0612, 306ff (complete)

Title: *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*  
Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb  
Subject: Devotional (*madh*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [di 0612] Silli Sumare from Dembancané. The manuscript written in Congo (Belgian).  
Material: Lined paper, folded pages (possibly from notebooks). Blue, black and red inks.  
Size: 17×21cm  
Origin: Congo  
Date: Mid-20<sup>th</sup> century

**NN, Dembancane, Senegal: DNN**

171. DNN1 di 0005–0077 and 0156–0158, 38ff

Title: *Ta‘līm al-muta‘allim li-ta‘allum ṭarīq al-t‘ilm*  
Author: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (ca. 600/1203)  
Subject: Ethics (*adab*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke, Mandinka (colophon)  
Colophon: [di 0158] Owner is Muḥammad Fadeera from Mande(?) in Kanaduu  
Material: Paper. Brown and red ink.  
Size: 20×17cm

Origin: Kanaduu (Guinea-Bissau)

Date:

172. DNN2 di 0001–0029, 15ff

Title: *al-‘Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣughrā*

Author: Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)

Subject: Theology (*tawḥīd*)

Glosses: Frequent

Language: Soninke

Colophon: [di 0029] Owner is Malamin (Muḥammad al-Amīn) Sundum from Nemantaba

Material: Paper. Brown and red ink

Size: 22×17,5cm

Origin: Maana (Guinea-Bissau)

Date: Second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

- \* DNN3 di 0131–0130–0173–0172–0174–0175–0094–0095; 0183–0182–0181, 6ff  
Fragments of *Al-ṣughrā* and *al-Wuṣṭā* (with a few glosses). Colophons in Mandinka written by Malamin Sundum.
- \* DNN4 di 0113–0108, 2ff.  
A poem on *tawḥīd* [title] by Mauritanian author Awali,<sup>1023</sup> 3ff. With only one gloss in Soninke. Owner Malamin Sundum.
- \* DNN5 di 0114–0127, 4ff.  
A *takhmīs* on Yadālī’s *Ṣalāt rabī* (the same as texts in BnF Arabe 5461 96a–99a, 99b–104, 129a–135b; Arabe 5486, 397b–405b).
- \* DNN6 di (0142–0155), 7ff.  
A creed (*‘aqīda*) written in alternating Arabic and Mandinka phrases.

### **ID, Manael, Senegal**

173. MID1, di 0011–0448

Title: *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*

Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb

Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)

Glosses: Frequent

Language: Soninke

Colophon: None. Manuscript written in Manael.

Material: Paper. Brown and purple ink.

Size: 23×18cm

Origin: Manael (eastern Senegal)

Date:

### **AD, Diawara, Senegal**

174. DAD1 di 0004–0818, 0009–0831(II), 0001–0040(III), 838ff (incomplete?)

Title: *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar*

Author: Unidentified

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<sup>1023</sup> ALA V p. 246.

Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Scholars: ‘Amara al-Walī, Ibrāhīm Jane, ‘Amara Kassama, Hassan Gakou, Muḥammad Bāba Jawara, Muḥammad Sire Kebe, Muḥammad Gaata Marega, Abū Bakr Xanso Dramé, Muḥammad Sissakho  
 Colophon: N/A. Written by Muḥammad Koyta in *majlis* of Muḥammad Sissakho in Tafasirga.  
 Material: Laid paper. Watermark (partial): crown, initials BF(?).  
 Size: 19×15,5cm  
 Origin: Tafasirga in Gajaaga (western Mali)  
 Date: mid- to late 19<sup>th</sup> century

**Sidiki Sakho (Barke Djombera), Kunjuru, Mali: KSS**

175. KSS1 di 0004–0786, 0001–0272, 527ff

Title: *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar*  
 Author: Unidentified  
 Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
 Glosses: Occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Scholars: ‘Amara al-Walī, Ibrāhīm Jane, ‘Amara Kassama, ‘Amara Touré, Muḥammad Bāba Jawara, Muḥammad Sire Kebe, Abū Bakr Xanso Dramé, Muḥammad Sissakho, Shaykh Dramé  
 Colophon: N/A. Written by Muḥammad Djombera in *majlis* of Shaykh Dramé in Tafasirga  
 Material: Thick paper.  
 Size: 20,5×16,5cm  
 Origin: Tafasirga in Gajaaga (western Mali)  
 Date: early 20<sup>th</sup> century

176. KSS2 di 0005–0845, 420ff

Title: *al-Risāla*  
 Author: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Ibn Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996)  
 Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
 Glosses: occasional  
 Language: Soninke  
 Colophon: [di 0844] the book written by Ibrāhīm Touré. Owner is Muḥammad Cissé b. **fódiyè** ‘Umar, his mother *Qadhija* ‘Āysha Dramé.  
 Material: Thick paper.  
 Size: 23,5×17,5cm  
 Origin: Toubacané, Mali  
 Date:

177. KSS3 di 0006–0618, 306ff

Title: *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*  
 Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb  
 Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
 Glosses: Frequent  
 Language: Soninke

Colophon: [di 0618] scribe al-Ḥājj Djobmera b. **fódiyè** Maḥmūd Djobmera b. **fódiyè** Bakr Djoméra b. **fódiyè** Makhan Djoméra  
Material: Paper.  
Size: 25×16cm  
Origine: western Mali  
Date: Mid-20<sup>th</sup> century

178. KSS4 di 0707–1004, 148ff

Title: *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām*  
Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Āṣim al-Qaysī al-Maikī al-Gharanāṭī, known as by Ibn ‘Āṣim (d. 829/1427)  
Subject: Jurisprudence (*fiqh*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Soninke  
Colophon: [di 1004] Owner Ṭāhir b. Maḥmūd Djobmera  
Material: Paper.  
Size: 21×15,6cm  
Origin: western Mali  
Date: Second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

**Ṭāhir Djobmera, Kunjuru, Mali: KTD<sup>1024</sup>**

179. KTD1 di 0019, 0028–0629, 300ff

Title: *Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt*  
Author: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb  
Subject: Devotional (*madḥ*)  
Glosses: Frequent  
Language: Soninke  
Scholars: al-Ḥājj Kassama, al-Ḥājj Fadiga, Muḥammad Siré Dramé, Fodiye Kaba Doumbiya.  
Colophon: [di 0629] Scribe and owner Makhan *Miki* b. Muḥammad Gaata b. Muḥammad *Khajija*, living in Tafasirga, his mother Masita Koyta.  
Material: Paper.  
Size: 20×17cm  
Origin: Tafasirga in Gajaaga (western Mali)  
Date: early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

**B Saganogo, Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso: BBS**

BBS1 di 4944–5978, 517ff.

Title: *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*  
Author: Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad d. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī (d. 373/983)<sup>1025</sup>  
Subject:  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Juula, Soninke(?)  
Colophon: [di 5976] Ownership mark: ‘Sa‘īd b. Faramori Saganogo *Kitāb al-Samarqandī* written for himself  
Material: Paper

<sup>1024</sup> See the biographical note in ALA IV, p. 256.

<sup>1025</sup> GAL I 196, S I 347.



Size: 20×15cm  
Origin:  
Date:

**HT, Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso: BHT**

BHT1 di 0750–0850, 50ff

Title: *Tawhīd ahl al-ʿirfān wa-maʿrifat allāh wa-rasūlihi wa al-burhān*  
Author: Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Umar al-Ḥasanī al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486)  
Subject: Theology (*tawhīd*)  
Glosses: Occasional  
Language: Jula, Soninke  
Colophon: [di 0850] written in the hand of Muḥammad Niyouma? (*Muḥammad Yuma*) b. Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Saganogo (*Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Saqanuquwiyu*) the name of his mother *Khudhījata Biriti* (Khadija Berete) resident in the place (*al-muqīm fī zamān*) *Bimaqiyafara*.  
Material: Laid paper. Dark brown ink.  
Size:  
Origin:  
Date:

## Appendix II: Watermarks

Appendix II summarises information on watermarks. Brief descriptions of watermark motifs are gathered in the central column. Folio numbers are indicated according to manuscript units. Whenever different types of paper are used, each kind is described in a separate line. For easier searching, dates in watermarks are shown in bold in a separate column. The same column also indicated dates established based on matching watermarks and information about paper manufacturers; they are written in regular font. The references for such dating are provided in the adjacent column, where ‘n.’ stands for the matching watermark number in the catalogue, and ‘p.’ stands for the source’s page number. The right-hand column lists the place of production when known.

Shelf mark	Folio	Watermark & countermark	Date	Ref.	Prod.
<b>TCD</b>					
3499	43b–130b	Arms of England in a round frame Crowned GR with wreath in a circle			
	160b–296a	Arms of England in a round frame Crowned GR with wreath in a circle			
<b>JRL</b>					
780[825]	1a–12b	Coat of arms	<b>1808</b>		GB?
		Arms of England in a round frame	<b>1804</b>		GB?
	13a–35b		<b>1800/ 1806?</b>		
	45a–47b	Bell?			
	102b-117b	Pot			
<b>BL</b>					
Or. 4897	119a–168b	Arms of England in a round frame			
	179a–196b	Britannia in a round frame			
Or. 6473	126a–133b	Britannia in a round frame	<b>1819</b>		GB?
	198a–226b	Coat of arms			
		Arms of England in a round frame			
254a–256b	Britannia in a round frame				
<b>Ubl</b>					
Or. 14.052(1)		Britannia			
Or. 14.052(2)		Arms of England			
Or. 14.052(5)		Arms of England in a round frame B? M			
Or. 14.052(8)		Arms of England in a round frame Crowned GR in a circle			
		Maid of Dort			
Or. 14.052(10)	1–2	Cherub, banner AL MASSO GM	1803	GRA n. 287	IT
<b>BnF</b>					
Arabe 5320	9a–19b	Arms of England, garter, motto Crowned GR with wreath in a circle			
Arabe 5322	294b–323a	J. Fourestier	ca. 1755	GAU p. 209	FR
Arabe 5497	96a–143b	Quadruped and initials underneath			

		Quadruped and initials TG underneath			
		Shield with diagonal zigzag motif Monogram GL G			IT?
		Horse or horseman? and letters [...] RADO? underneath			
Arabe 5500	111b–118b	JB			
Arabe 5502	1a–207b	Scroll-work with goat and stars Initials GL underneath LEVERATTO	1796-1810	HEA n. 3739	IT?
		Britannia in a round frame			
		Coat of arms			
		Cursive letters FC/ JC? in a wreath			
		Britannia in an oval frame			
Arabe 5504	101–155	Coat of arms GILLING & [ALLFORD]	<b>1827</b>		GB
Arabe 5507	10b–110b	Three crescents			
Arabe 5575	172a–176a	(partial) garter, motto?			
	177a–183b	Britannia in a round frame, motto.			
	185a–191b	Arms of England in a round frame Crowned GR.			
		FIN	<b>1773?</b>		FR
Arabe 5637	215ab, 216a	Britannia in a frame BRITANIA		CHU n. 236	
Arabe 5651	285a–308b	Shield with diagonal zigzag, crown on top and GM underneath (partial watermark) I/J/L? S	1804	GRA online	IT?
Arabe 5657	1a–28b	Coat of arms			
	35b–84b	watermark of a crown (partial) A GBASSET			FR?
	86a–108b	Sun and moon faces Maid of Dort Arms of England? GR with wreath in a circle			
	110a–151b	Coat of arms GILLING & ALLFORD	<b>1814</b>		GB
Arabe 5675	17a–18b	(partial) GR with wreath in a circle			
	63a–81a	Arms of England in a round frame GR with wreath in a circle initials D&C/ G? underneath FIN LIMOUZIN			FR
Arabe 5685	57a–60b	Britannia in a round frame			
	65a–67a	Arms of England, garter, motto			
Arabe 5725	280a, 283a–285b, 321a–329b	Britannia in a round frame. Crowned IO in a rhombus	1776	HEA n. 204	
	281a–282b, 297b, 298a–320b	Arms of England, garter, motto Crowned GR with wreath in a circle			

	330a–335a	Arms of England, garter, motto Crowned GR with wreath in a circle			
	336a–350a	Grapes NORMANDIE MOYENE Britannia in a round frame			FR
	351a–361b	Arms of England, garter, motto Crowned GR with wreath in a circle Britannia in a round frame, motto			
<b>MQB</b>					
AF14722 (87)	1a–4b, 25ab, 43a– 75b, 82a– 101b	Coat of arms W BROOKMAN	<b>1819</b>		GB
	6a–24b, 217ab	Arms of Amsterdam A BASSVET FIN PERIGORD Post-horn on a shield	<b>1742/</b> ca. <b>1772</b>		FR
	5ab, 102a– 189a, 191a–193b	(wove paper) JR or IR (wove paper) JR or IR	<b>1823?</b> <b>1826</b>		
	190ab	Arms of England in a round frame			
	194a–216b	Post-horn on a shield JD			
AF14722 (56)	4ab	Arms of England of Britannia in a round frame			
<b>BULAC</b>					
MS.ARA. 219bis	249a–291b 377a–386b	bell? Three crescents			
MS.ARA.273	51a–303a	(wove paper) C. SKP & C <sup>A</sup>			
MS.ARA.359	1a–642b	Arms of England in a round frame, motto. Crowned GR with wreath in a circle Arms of England in a round frame, motto Arms of England, garter, motto Crowned GR with wreath in a circle (partial) PERIGORD? Arms of London	after 1750	HEA n. 444	FR
<b>BmT</b>					
2234	480–610	Lion with a shield? C MILLINGTON LONDON Britannia in oval frame E TOWGOOD FINE	<b>1870</b>		GB
	784–817	(wove bluish paper) T H SAUNDERS			GB
	818–820	Post-horn on a crowned shield			
	853–854		<b>1833</b>		
	989–1004	T OTHWAITE	<b>1860</b>		GB
<b>IFAN</b>					
Vincent Monteil, cahier N3		Three flowers in a pot FIN Britannia in a round frame WD in a circle	<b>1788</b>		FR

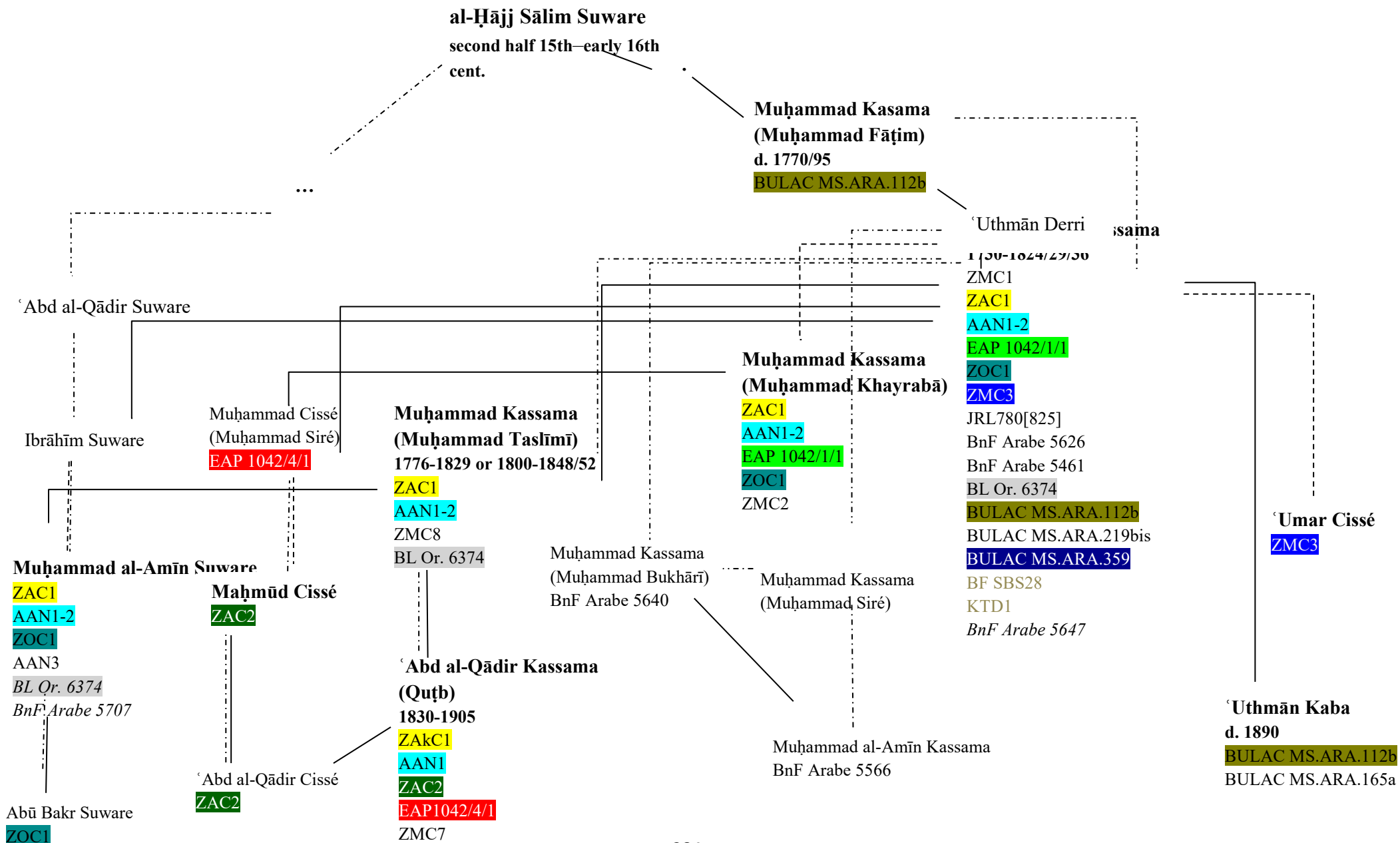
<b>EAP 1042</b>					
1042/1/1	1-152	Britannia in an oval frame B&B	<b>1822</b>		GB?
<b>Private collections</b>					
TAS1		Flower heads			
DAD1		B? F			

### **Appendix III: Jahkanke and Soninke scholarly networks and manuscripts**

The two schemes, for the Jakhanke and Soninke networks, illustrate links between scholars and manuscripts addressed in Chapter 5. The solid lines represent connections between scholars, confirmed by manuscript references, teaching chains, or data from secondary sources. Dotted lines show kin relations and point to the transmission within a family when running parallel to the other lines. The omission of scholarly names in the transmission lines is represented by suspension dots.

The names of scholars are in the bold font when they are referred to in manuscripts as teachers. The regular script is used for scribes and students. Alternative appellations or nicknames for scholars are given in brackets. Dates and places are supplied if known.

The shelf marks and codes of the manuscripts featuring each scholar are written under their respective names. Same (composite) manuscripts are marked in the same colour. The italic font marks the shelf marks of manuscripts containing texts (with or without Ajami glosses) authored by a particular scholar.



**Aḥmad Baba al-Tinbukṭī**  
Timbuktu  
1556-1627

al-Wālī Ṣāliḥ  
Tishit

‘Amara al-Wālī  
Biro/Walata  
d. 1659-60

DAD1  
KSS1  
ZAC2

‘Amara Kassama  
Jaara (Kingui)

DAD1  
KSS1  
DLT1  
ZAC2

Muḥammad Siré Kebe  
Diongaga

DAD1  
KSS1  
ZAC2

Muḥammad Bāba Jawara  
(Aḥmad/Maḥmūd Bāba)

Kunjuru

DAD1  
KSS1  
DLT1  
ZAC2  
BULAC MS.ARA.359

Abū Bakr Dramé  
(Abūbakar Xanso)  
Gori (Jaahunu)

DAD1  
KSS1  
DLT1  
BULAC MS.ARA.359

Ḥassan Gakou  
Kunjuru

DAD1

‘Amara Touré  
Kunjuru

KTD1

Ibrāhīm Jane  
Kunjuru

DAD1  
KSS1  
ZAC2  
BULAC MS.ARA.359

al-Ḥājj Saḥīm Kassama  
Touba

1730-1824/29/36

KTD1  
ZAC2  
BULAC MS.ARA.359

Shaykh Dramé

Tafasirga  
KSS1

Maḥmūd Jombira  
Tafasirga

KSS1

Muḥammad Sissakho

DAD1  
KSS1

Muḥammad Dukure

Muḥammad Koyta  
Tafasirga

DAD1



## **Manuscripts and scholars of Touba**

The Table below presents frequency data on references to Jakhanke scholars in manuscripts. The manuscripts are grouped according to their subject matters, indicated in the left-hand column. Prophetic tradition (*hadīth*) and devotional poetry (*madh*) are combined into one category. Frames outline manuscripts containing the same texts.

The Table also allows for correlating places of manuscript production (listed below shelfmarks or codes) and educational centres (indicated below the scholarly names).



## Appendix IV: Referenced annotations

Appendix IV collects annotations with references to local scholars. The annotations are listed manuscript-by-manuscript; folio or page numbers specify the sequence of the annotations within each manuscript, while the manuscript's shelf marks/codes and text titles are given in the header. The line 'Main text' reproduces the segment of the text to which annotations are attached (by a line). The column 'Annotation | Reference' provides the transliteration/interpretation of Arabic and Ajami annotations followed by a translation. The transliteration of Ajami glosses is given in angle brackets. The column 'Scribal hand' helps distinguish commentaries penned by various manuscript users. Each hand has a number assigned to it. The marking S1 stands for the same scribal hand as that of the main text.

<b>f./p./di number</b>	<b>Main text: <i>transliteration</i> 'translation'</b>
<b>Scribal hand</b>	<b>Annotation   Reference</b>  <b><i>Transliteration</i>   <b>Translation</b></b>

**MS AAN1: Tafsīr al-Jalālayn (Suras 1-18)**

p. 7 di 0566	<i>al-munāfiqīn</i> ‘the hypocrites’ (TQ2:8)	
S2	<i>Al-munāfiqūn min al-rijāli fī-’l-madīna thalātha mi’a wa sittūn min al-nisā’ sab’ūna.</i> <i>Kadha naqalahu min fam shaykhī ‘urifa bi-Quṭb b. Taslīmī.</i>	The hypocrites among the men of Medina - 360; among women - 70.  Thus, he wrote down [what he heard] from the mouth of my shaykh, known as Quṭb b. Taslīmī.
p. 9 di 0568	<i>yakādu</i> ‘almost’ (TQ2:20)	
S1	<i>Kull mā fī al-Qur’ān anna min yakādu lam yakuni wa mā fīhā min kāda fa-huwa kāna.</i>  <i>Min fam skaykhī.</i>	All [occurrences] in the Qur’an of <i>yakādu</i> ‘almost/nearly’ [imply] not happening, and that of <i>kāda</i> ‘almost/nearly’ [imply] happening.  From the mouth of my shaykh.
p. 10 di 0569	<i>yāayyuhā al-nās</i> ‘o people’ (TQ2:21)	
S2	<i>Kull mā fī al-Qur’ān anna min yāayyuhā al-nās rāja ‘a li-ahl makka illā hunā fa-an hadhā rāja ‘a li-jamī’ al-mukallaḥīn.</i>  <i>Min khaṭṭ Muḥammad Taslīmī.</i>	Everywhere in the Qur’an, the [phrase] <i>yāayyuhā al-nās</i> ‘O people’ refers to the people of Mecca, except here, where it addresses all righteous believers/religiously responsible people ( <i>mukallaḥīn</i> ). From the handwriting of Muḥammad Taslīmī.
p. 11 di 0570	<i>(wa-lāhum fīhā) azwājūn</i> ‘(and for them there are) spouses’ (TQ2:25)	
S2	<i>Yuzawwiju kull rajul arba ‘a ālāf bikr wa thamāniya ālāf ayyim wa mi’a jawārin.</i> <i>Sami’tuhu min shaykhī ‘Abd al-Qādir wa huwa sami’ahu min wālidihī Muḥammad ‘urifa bi-Taslīmī.</i>	Every man will marry 4000 maidens, 8000 widows, and 100 servants. I heard it from my shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir, and he heard it from his father Muḥammad, known as Taslīmī.
p. 12 di 0571	<i>wa-yaqṭa ‘ūna</i> ‘and they cut’ (TQ2:27)	
S1	<i>La’ana Allāh qāṭa’a al-rahīm fī thālath mawāḍi’ fī al-Qur’ān wa fī al-Taurā wa fī-’l-Linjīl wa fī al-Zabūr hadhā awwalhā fī al-Qur’ān <b>alladhīn yanquḍūna ‘ahda Allāh min ba’da mīthāqihī wa yaqṭa ‘ūna mā amara Allāh bihī an yūṣala wa yuḥsidūna fī-’l-arḍ ulāika humu l-khāsirūna.</b></i>	God’s cursing [of those who] cut off ties [appears] in three places in the Qur’an, Torah, Gospel, and Psalter. The first of these [instances] in the Qur’an: ‘Who break the covenant of Allah after contracting it and sever that which Allah has ordered to be joined and cause corruption on earth. It is those who are the losers’ (Q2:27). <sup>1026</sup>

<sup>1026</sup> Here and below, the translation of the Quranic verses is is quoted from Sahih International.

	<p><i>Al-thānī alladhī unzila wa alladhīna yanquḍūna ‘ahda Allāh min ba‘da mīthāqihī wa yaqṭa‘ūna mā amara Allāh bihi an yūšala wa yufsidūna fī-’l-ard̄ ulāika lahumu al-la‘natu walahum sūu al-dāri.</i></p> <p><i>Wa al-thālith fī alladhīna kafarū fahal ‘asaytum in tawallaytum an tufsidū fī-’l-ard̄ wa tuqṭṭi‘ū arḥāmakum ulāika alladhīna la‘anahumu ‘llāhu fa-‘aşammahum wa-a‘mā absārahum.<sup>1027</sup></i></p> <p><i>Hākadhā sami‘tu min khaṭṭ man qāla qālahu shaykhunā al-Ḥājj barrada Allāh ḍarīḥahumā wa nafa‘anā bi-barakatihumā ṣalli ‘alā Muḥammad wa sallam.</i></p>	<p>The second, in that which was revealed, [is Q13:25]: ‘But those who break the covenant of Allah after contracting it and sever that which Allah has ordered to be joined and spread corruption on earth – for them is the curse, and they will have the worst home’.</p> <p>And the third [is Q47:22–23], about those who disbelieved: ‘So would you perhaps, if you turned away, cause corruption on earth and sever your [ties of] relationship? Those [who do so] are the ones that Allah has cursed, so He deafened them and blinded their vision.’</p> <p>I learned so from a handwriting that said [that these are] words of our shaykh al-Ḥājj. May God cool their graves and provide us with the benefits of their blessings. Blessings and peace be upon Muḥammad.</p>
p. 54 di 0614	<i>fī al-ḥadīth ‘an Allāh ‘in a ḥadīth about God’ (TQ2:152)</i>	
S2	<i>Hadhā min al-ḥadīth al-rabbānī huwa alladhī sami‘ahu al-nabīy min Allāh ‘azza wa jall wa lam yakuni min al-Qur‘ān. Min fam shaykh.</i>	This is from the Divine <i>Ḥadīth</i> , which the Prophet heard from God the Exalted, and not from the Qur‘an. From the mouth of a shaykh.
p. 75 di 0635	<i>wa al-sā‘il ‘Amr b. al-Jamūḥ ‘the question was posed by ‘Amr b. al-Jamūḥ’ (TQ2:215)</i>	
S2	<i>Qīl māta yaum aḥad wa makatha fī qabrihi thamānin ashara sana lam yataghayyar launuhu taḥta al-ard̄.</i>  <i>Qālahu shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwārī.</i>	And it was said [that] he died on a Sunday and stayed in his grave for eighteen years, and his colour/externality did not change beneath the earth. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said it.
p. 167 di 0730	<i>ḥattā yuhājirū ‘until they emigrate’ (TQ4:89)</i>	
S1	<i>Qāla al-nabīy man kāna (kānat) hijratuhu ilā Allāh wa rasūlihi fahijratuhu ilā mā ḥājara ilayhi man kāna (kānat) hijratuhu</i>	The Prophet said: ‘Whoever emigrated for God and His Prophet, then his emigration will be [assessed] according to what he emigrated for. Whoever emigrated in search of fortune and women, then his

<sup>1027</sup> The commentary concerns the seventh greater sin *Qat‘a al-Raḥm*, cutting off kinship ties. The three mentions of it in the Qur‘an are reported, for instance, by Imam Ja‘far al-Sādiq.

	<i>ilā māla aw imra'a fa-hijratuhu ilā mā hājara ilayhi.</i> <sup>1028</sup> <i>Min fam shaykhī.</i>	emigration will be [assessed] according to what he emigrated for.' From the mouth of my shaykh.
p. 186 di 0749	<i>sāqita</i> '[beas] fallen [from a height to its death]' (TQ5:3)	
S1	<i>Wa lammā nuzzilat hadhahi al-āya qāla 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb yā 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abās hādhā fīhi i'tibār li-'l'āqil.</i>  <i>Min khaṭṭ Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Suwarī nafa'anā bi-barakatīhi wa bi-baraka 'ulūmhi. Ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad wa sallam.</i>	And when this verse was revealed, said 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: 'O 'Abdallah b. Abbas, this is a reasonable consideration.' From the handwriting of Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, may God provide us with the bounty of his blessings and the benefits of his knowledge. Blessings and peace be upon Muḥammad.
p. 237 di 0802	<i>[mā ūtiya] rusulu 'llāh</i> '[which was given to] the Messengers of Allah' (TQ6:124)	
S2	<i>Hunā maūḍi' al-du'ā' qāla shaykhunā man da'ā bayna ismān Allāh yustajāba rusulu 'llāh wa Allāh.</i>	<i>Here is a place for prayer. Our shaykh said, [that] whoever prays between the two names of God will have his prayers accepted by God and his prophets.</i>
p. 247 di 0812	(TQ6:130)	
S3	<i>Qifnā (waqafnā?) hāhunā ma'a ustādhinā yaum rujū'nā.</i>	We stopped here with our teacher the day of our return.
p. 275 di 0840	<i>[wa ittaqū] fitna</i> '[and fear] a trial' (TQ8:25)	
S2	<i>Wa al-fitna hunā 'adima qirā'at-al-tawḥīd.</i>  <i>Qālahu shaykhunā Muḥammad Taslīmī.</i>	And the trial here [means] being devoid of reciting the profession of the unity of God ( <i>tawḥīd</i> ). Our shaykh Muḥammad al-Taslīmī said this.
p. 323 di 0890	<i>Ibrāhīm</i> 'Ibrāhīm' (TQ11:74)	
S2	<i>Awwal man qātala 'aduwā Ibrāhīm ḥaythu asara al-Rūm Lūṭā ḥattā istanqadhahu minhum li-qātala al-rūm huwa ayḍan awwal man 'amila al-qusīy</i>	Ibrāhīm [was] the first to fight the enemy when the Romans captured Lūṭ and until he rescued him from them, fighting the Romans. He was also the

<sup>1028</sup> The commentary seems to paraphrase a *hadīth*: *man kānat hijratuhu ilā allahu wa rasūlihi fahijratuhu ilā ilā allahu wa rasūlihi wa man kānat hijratuhu ilā yuṣībuhā aw imra-a yatazawajuhā fahijratuhu ilā mā hājara ilayhi* 'So whoever emigrated for the sake of Allah and His Apostle, then his emigration will be considered to be for Allah and His Apostle, and whoever emigrated for the sake of worldly gain or for a woman to marry, then his emigration will be considered to be for what he emigrated for.' (Sahih al-Bukhari 6689, Book 83, Hadith 66; <<https://sunnah.com/bukhari/83/66>>).

	<i>wa huwa awwal man zahara al-shaib fi rāsīhi wa awwal man ahyā lahu al-mawtā bi-qaulīhi rabbi arinī kayfa tuhyī al-mawtā wa awwal man ittakhadhaza Allāh khalīl.</i>  <i>Kadhā qālahu shaykhī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār wa Allāh a lam.</i>	first to make a bow. And he was the first to see grey hair on his head. And the first to whom the dead was revived by saying: ‘My Lord, show me how You give life to the dead (Q2:260).’ And the first whom God took as a friend ( <i>khalīl</i> ).  My shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so. God knows best.
p. 324 di 0891	<i>al-samā</i> ‘the sky’ (TQ11:82)	
S2	<i>Ḥattā sami‘a ahl al- samā’i nubāḥ kilābihim wa ṣiyāḥ duyūkihim wa khuwār baqarihim.</i>  <i>Kadhā qālahu shaykhī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār wa Allāh a lam.</i>	Until the people of Heaven heard their dogs barking, their roosters crying, and their cows mooing.  My shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so. God knows best.
p. 353 di 0920	‘and the example of a bad word’ (TQ14:26)	
S2	<i>Ka-kalima ittakhadha al-rahmān waladān li-’l-kuffār wa lā kalima akhbath min dhālika wa lā kalima atyāb min qaūl lā ilāha li-’l-mu’mnīna fa-’i tabarahumā yā ‘āqil.</i>  <i>Kadhā qālahu shaykhī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri.</i>	Like the infidels’ words: ‘The Most Merciful has taken a son’. There are no words worse than that. And there are no words better than the believers’ saying: ‘There is no deity [but God]’. Consider the two wisely.  My shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so.
p. 354 di 0921	<i>waladī</i> ‘my son’ (TQ14:41)	
S2	<i>Wa Ismā‘īl min surrīya Hājar wa huwa akbar min Ishāq wa huwa abū ‘arab al-Ḥijāz kulluhum alladhīna minhum al-nabīy ṣall’Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam wa ba‘ad al-Yaman wa ikhtalafa fi al-dhabīḥ minhumā.</i>  <i>Kadhā qaulahu shaykhī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i>	Ismā‘īl [was born to] the concubine Hājar. He is older than Ishāq. And he is the forefather of all Arabs of Hejaz, among them the Prophet (peace and blessings of God be upon him), and some of Yemen. Their [opinions] differed as to which of the two was [intended for] sacrifice.  So are the words of my shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware

## AAN2: Tafṣīr al-Jalālayn (Suras 11-114).

p. 15 di 1635	<i>al-sāḥīru</i> ‘the magician’ (TQ20:69)	
S2	<i>Wa lau kāna ‘ālim.</i> <sup>1029</sup> <i>Qālahu shaykhunā jāmi‘ al-funūn Nūḥ al-Fulānī sami‘tuhu min shaykhī ‘urifa bi-</i>	Even if he is learned.  Said our shaykh, the gatherer of scientific disciplines, Nūḥ al-Fulānī. I

<sup>1029</sup> The commentary appears to be part of a saying *lā khayr fi al-ḥaddād wa lau kāna ‘ālim* ‘There is no good in a blacksmith, no matter if he is learned / highly educated.’

	<i>Qutb b. Muḥammad al-Taslīmī annahu samiahu min wālidihī.</i>	heard it from my shaykh, known as Qutb b. Muḥammad al-Taslīmī, who heard it from his father.
p. 50 di 1671	<i>hayhāta hayhāta</i> ‘how far, how far’ (TQ23:36)	
S1	<i>Hayhāti manṣūb bi-isqāṭ al-khāfiḍ taqdīruhu fī hayhāta.</i>  <i>Hayhāta manṣūb bi-fī l muḍmar taqdīruhu a ‘nī hayhāta.</i>  <i>Hayhātu maḥdhuf taqdīruhu wa huwa hayhāt.</i>  <i>Sami ‘tuhu min Muḥammad Khayrabā barrada Allāh ḍarīḥahu ma ‘a amwāt al-muslimīn wa- ‘l-muslimāt.</i>	<i>Hayhāti</i> – accusative case with the subtraction of the preposition; its underlying/virtually reconstructed form ( <i>taqdīr</i> ) is <i>fī hayhata</i> ‘in a far’. <i>Hayhāta</i> – accusative case with an implicit verb; its underlying/virtually reconstructed form ( <i>taqdīr</i> ) is <i>a ‘nī hayhata</i> ‘I mean far’. <i>Hayhātu</i> – omitted element; its underlying/virtually reconstructed form ( <i>taqdīr</i> ) is <i>wa huwa hayhāt</i> ‘It is far’. I heard it from Muḥammad Khayraba. May God cool his grave and the graves of all deceased Muslims.
p. 100 di 1724	<i>dhāta bahjatin</i> ‘of joyful beauty’ (TQ27:60)	
S2	<i>dhāta fī al-qur’ān khamsa dhāta baynikum wa dhāta al-yamīn wa dhāta al-shimāl wa dhāta bahjat wa dhāta lahab.</i>  <i>Ṣaḥḥ min fam abī.</i>	There are five [occurrences of the word] <i>dhāta</i> in the Qur’an: <i>dhāta baynikum</i> ‘that which is between you’ (Q8:1); and <i>dhāta al-yamīn and dhāta al-shimāl</i> ‘on the right and on the left’ (Q18:17-18); <i>dhāta bahjatin</i> ‘of joyful beauty’ (27:60); and <i>dhāta lahab</i> ‘of [blazing] flame’ (Q111:3). It is correct, from the mouth of my father.
p. 130 di 1754	<i>jahannama</i> [ <i>la-muḥīṭa bi- ‘l-kāfirīn</i> ] ‘Hell [will be encompassing of the disbelievers]’ (TQ29:54)	
S1	<i>Ay ‘alā shadīd dukhān jahannam wa shadīd bīr zamharīr.</i> <i>Sami ‘tuhu min shaykhinā al-Ḥājj al-Kasanmā raḥimahu ‘llāh ‘anhu.</i>	I.e., intense smoke of Hell and intense cold, bitter cold. I heard it from our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama. May God have mercy upon him.
p. 161 di 1785	<i>buhtānān</i> ‘a slander’ (TQ33:58)	
S1	<i>Ay buhtānān athqal mimā bayna al-arḍ wa al-samā ‘i.</i>  <i>Ṣaḥḥ min fam shaykhinā Allāhum aghfar lī bi-ḥurma al-Qurā ‘n al- ‘aẓīm.</i>	I.e., a false accusation [that] burdens heavier than anything between heaven and earth. It is correct, from the mouth of our shaykh. Forgive me, Lord, by the sanctity of the great Qur’an.
p. 289	<i>wayl</i> ‘Woe’ (TQ45:7)	



di 1917		
S2	<i>wād fī jahannam yanzilūna ahl al-nār fī arba ʿīn sana mā yaşiluna muntahā bīr (biʿr) lisabab ʿul al-bīr (biʿr).</i> <sup>1030</sup>  <i>Sami ʿtuhu min shaykhinā al-Ḥājj al-Kasanmā.</i>	[It is] a valley in Hell. The Hell-dwellers shall descend for forty years to reach the bottom of the pit due to its depth. I heard it from from our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama.
p. 345 di 1974	<i>wa al-dhāriyāt</i> ‘by those scattering’ (Q51:1)	
S2	<i>Waw al-qasam bi-maʿnā maḥall muḍāriʿ hiya.</i>  <i>Sami ʿtuhu ʿinda fam shaykhī Muḥammad ʿalā ṣāhib al-funūn.</i>	[Wāw here is a] <i>wāw al-qasam</i> (particle of adjuration), with the meaning of the present tense. I heard it from the mouth of my shaykh Muḥammad, the master of sciententific disciplines.
p. 444 di 2073	<i>idhā jāaka al-munāfiqūna</i> ‘when the hypocrites come to you’ (Q63:1)	
S2	<i>Wa man kataba hadhā al-sūra wa ʿalliqa ʿalayhi yajud al-ʿumr wa yakūnu shaykhā kabīr in shāʾ Allāh.</i>  <i>Sami ʿahu (sami ʿtuhu?) min shaykhī ya ʿnī ʿannā fūdī.</i>	Whoever writes this sura and comments on it will prosper in life and become an esteemed shaykh, God willing. I heard it from my shaykh, meaning among us <b>fōdiyé</b> .
p. 568 di 2200	<i>wa udkhulī jannatī</i> ‘And enter My Paradise’ (Q89:30)	
S2	<i>Tammat sitta ālāf min āyāt al-Qurāʾn.</i> <i>Sami ʿtuhu min shaykhinā al-Ḥājj.</i>	End 6000 of the Quran verses. I heard it from our shaykh al-Ḥājj.
p. 603 di 2235	<i>rabb al-ʿālamīn</i> ‘the Lord of the worlds’	
S3	<taqifuw nu <sup>n</sup> kaʿ maqaniy> <b>tegefonun kà má gà ní</b>  <maʿ taqifuw nu <sup>n</sup> m <sup>2</sup> ara <sup>n</sup> daʿ naʿ qaniy> <b>mà tegefonun màràndáana gà ní</b>  <maʿ taqifuw nu <sup>n</sup> fiy yaʿ ghinu <sup>n</sup> siru <sup>n</sup> daʿ naʿ qaniy> <b>mà tegefonun fí-yáaxènu? síródáana gà ní</b>  <i>Ṣaḥḥ min fam shaykhī Quṭb raḍi Allāh ʿanhu.</i>	‘master of the created/creatures’  ‘or the ruler of the created/creatures’  ‘or reliever of burdens? for creatures’  It is correct, from the mouth of my shaykh Quṭb. May God be pleased with him.

<sup>1030</sup> This commentary is apparently based on a *ḥadīth*. See, for exaple, *Jamiʿ al-Tirmidhi: al-wayl wad fī jahannam yahwī fīhi al-kāfir arba ʿīn kharīfan qabla an yablughu qaʿrahu* ‘Woe is the valley of Jahannam, the disbeliever shall drop into it for forty autumns before he reaches its bottom.’ <<https://sunnah.com/urn/641870>>.

	<p><i>Awwala al-darajāt al-insānīyat al-nutfat thumma al-‘alqat thumma al-mudghat thumma al-‘azm thumma al-laḥm thumma al-jism thumma al-raḍī‘ thumma al-faṭīm thumma al-ghulām thumma al-murāhiq thumma al-bāligh thumma al-fatan thumma al-shaykh thumma al-harim.</i></p> <p><i>Min fam shaykh al-kull wa ustādh al-jull ‘Abd al-Qādir dama ‘azuhu (dāma ‘azuhu) Allāh fī al-dārayn amīn.</i></p>	<p>The first stages of human development: the sperm-drop, then the clinging substance (embryo), then the lump [of flesh], then the bone, then the flesh, then the body, then the infant, then the weaned, then the kid, then the adolescent, then the mature, then the young man, then the elder, then the old man.</p> <p>From the mouth of the shaykh of all and master of the most, ‘Abd al-Qādir. May his glory last in the two houses [i.e, this world and the afterlife]. Amen.</p>
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**BULAC MS.ARA.112b: Tafsīr al-Jalālayn (Suras 19-114).**

f. 20a	<i>shaqiyyan</i> ‘unhappy’ (TQ19:48)	
S1	<p>&lt;fuya’ na’ ya ’a mura di ‘a&gt;  <b>fúuyàana ya à mùràndén ɲa</b>  <i>Min fam shaykhī.</i></p>	<p>‘devoid of (his) satisfaction’  From the mouth of my shaykh.</p>
f. 26b	[not linked to the main text]	
S1	<p>&lt;kut’a&gt;  ???  <i>Min fam shaykhī.</i></p>	From the mouth of my shaykh.
f. 122b	<i>qālat namla</i> ‘an ant said’ (TQ27:18)	
S1	<p><i>Qīl imsuhā Hurmīd.</i>  <i>‘Alā qaūl Muḥammad Faṭīm.</i></p>	<p>It is said her name is Ḥurmīd.  According to Muḥammad Faṭīm’s words.</p>
f. 158b	<i>bi-’l-’adhāb</i> ‘with chastisement’ (TQ29:54)	
S1	<p><i>Ay shadīd dukhān jahannam wa shadīd bard bīr zamharīr.</i>  <i>Sami ‘tuhu min shaykhī ‘Uthmān Kabāwiyu.</i></p>	<p>I.e., intense smoke of Hell and intense cold, bitter cold.  I heard it from my shaykh ‘Uthmān Kaba.</p>
f. 391a	<i>lā uqsimu</i> ‘I swear’ (TQ90:1)	
S1	<p><i>Tammāt sitta ālāf min āyāt al-Qurā’n.</i>  <i>Sami ‘tuhu min shaykhinā al-Ḥājj.</i></p>	<p>End 6000 of the Quran verses.  I heard it from our shaykh al-Ḥājj.</p>

**AAN3: Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt.**

di 1171	[ <i>wa nābadha</i> ] ‘ <i>usharā</i> ’ [ <i>yurīdūna al-khamrhā</i> ] ‘[he separated from] companions [who craved alcohol]’	
S1	<i>Qāla makhlūq ‘usharā’ laysat bi-nāqa hāmīl fa-al-ṣawāb annahā al-aqribā’ minhu wa andhir ‘ashīrataka’ l-aqribāna ay aṭṭaraha ṣallā-‘llahu ‘alayhi wa sallama aqāribhu al-dhīna yurīdūna al-khamr wa yashrabūhā intahā.</i> <sup>1031</sup>  <i>Hākadhā qālahu al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwārewiyu.</i>	He said the created being ‘ <i>usharā</i> ’ [here] is not a [ten-month] pregnant she-camel. The correct [meaning] is that of the closest relatives, as in, ‘And warn, [O Muḥammad], your closest kindred (‘ <i>ashīrataka</i> .’) (Q26:214) I.e., the Prophet (blessings of God and peace be upon him) rejected his relatives, who craved alcohol and drank it. Finished. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so.
di 1547	<i>Jibrīl wa Mīkā’il</i> ‘Jibra’il and Mika’il’	
S1	<i>Wa ruwiya ‘an al-nabīy ‘alayhi al-salām qāla inna Allāh ayyadanī bi-‘arb ‘a wuzarā’ ithnāni fī ahl al-samā’ humā Jibrīl wa Mīkā’il ithnāni fī ahl al-arḍ humā Abū Bakr wa ‘Umar.</i>  <i>Hākadhā qālahu abī huwa Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri tāla Allāh ‘umr linā amīn.</i>	It was told about the Prophet (peace be upon him) [that] he said: ‘Indeed, God supported me with four viziers: two among the people of the heaven, these are Jibra’il and Mika’il, and two among the people of the earth, these are Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.’ My father, who is Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, said so. May God prolong his life for our sake. Amen.

**ZAC1: Takhmīs al-‘Ishrīnīyyāt.**

di 2613	<i>ṭiflan</i> ‘infant, baby’	
S1	<i>Wa ghāyat al-ṭifūliya sana wāhida fa-aqall min dhālikā wa ‘ind al-fuqahā yuṭlaqu alā man taḥta bulūgh.</i>  <i>Qālahu wālidī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i>	The [age] limit of childhood is one year or less than that. According to jurists, it applies to those under [the stage] of maturity.  My father Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said it.
di 2617	<i>lahu al-madh yujlā al-shafā’ at tukhbā</i> ‘for him are praises laid open and intercessions hidden’	
S1	<i>Taqdīruhu lahu al-madh yujlā al-shafā’ at tukhbā aw taqdīruhu al-madh yujlā lahu al-shafā’ at tukhbā aw taqdīruhu yujlā al-madh lahu wa tukhbā al-shafā’ at lahu.</i>	Its underlying/virtually reconstructed form ( <i>taqdīr</i> ) is ‘for him is praise laid open and intercessions hidden’, or its underlying/virtually reconstructed form ( <i>taqdīr</i> ) is ‘praise laid open is for him

<sup>1031</sup> The passage in bold is a Qur’anic citation. The ten-month pregnant she-camel ‘*usharā*’ is mentioned in Q81:4-5.

	<i>Hākadhā qālahu wālidī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār ṭāla Allāh ‘umri li-nā āmīn.</i>	and intercession hidden’, or its underlying/virtually reconstructed form ( <i>taqdīr</i> ) is ‘laid open praise is for him and hidden intercession is for him’. My father Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so. May God prolong his life for our sake. Amen.
di 2617	<i>al-shafā ‘at ‘mediation, intercession’</i>	
S1	<i>Wa lahu ṣallā-‘llahu ‘alayhi wa sallama shafā ‘āt ‘azamuhā fī ta‘jīl al-ḥisāb wa al-irāḥa min ṭūl al-mauqif wa hiya mukhtaṣṣa bihi al-thāniya fī idkhāl qaum al-janna bi-ghayr ḥisāb qāla al-nawawī wa hiya mukhtaṣṣ bihi wa taraddada fī dhālika Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd wa al-ski ‘i? (al-subkī?) al-thālitha fīman istahaqqa al-nār falā yadkhulhā al-rāba ‘a fī ziyāda al-darajāt fī al-janna li-ahlhā al-khāmisa fī ikhrāj man dakhala al-nār min al-mūjidīn.</i>  <i>Ra ‘āyṭahu fī ba ‘d kutub mu ‘tin ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Kasamā.</i>	He (peace be upon him) has several ways of interceding. The greatest of them is expediting the reckoning and relieving the long wait. It is particular to him. The second is leading the people of Paradise in Paradise without being held to account. Al-Nawawī said [that] it is particular to him, [but] Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd was hesitant about this, and al-Sabkī(?). The third relates to someone who deserves Hell but may not enter it. The fourth is to increase the rank of people in Paradise. The fifth is to bring out those who have entered Hell.  I saw it in some writings given by ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama.
di 2648	<i>bi-yathrib ‘with Yathrib’</i>	
S1	<i>b-th-r-b (Yathrib) b. Qaḥṭān ism bānī al-madīna.</i> <i>bin (min) fam shaykhinā Quṭb ṭāla Allāh ‘umri li-nā yḥāh (bi-jāh?) al-rasūl ‘alayhi al-salām.</i>	Yathrib b. Qaḥṭān is the name of the founder of Medina. From the mouth of our shaykh Quṭb. May God prolong his life for our sake and fo the sake of the Prophet, peace be upon him.
di 2672	<i>[qad ‘azumat] fī khalqihī barakātuḥu ‘his blessings [became great] in his creation’</i>	
S1	<i>Wa al-ḍamīr fī khalqihī wa barakātuḥu yuḥṭamilu an ya ‘ūda ‘alā Allāh ‘azza wa jall wa ‘alā Aḥmad ‘alayhi al-ṣalā wa al-salām.</i> <i>Kamā ajābanī bihi shaykhī Muḥammad al-Taslīmī ‘alayhi raḥmatu’llāh wa riḍwāna.</i>	And the pronoun in ‘his creation’ and ‘his blessings’ may possibly refer to God almighty and to Aḥmad (peace and blessings be upon him). As my shaykh Muḥammad al-Taslīmī responded to me with this. May God have mercy upon him and be pleased with him.
di 2681	<i>man labbā ‘who pronounced talbiya’</i>	
	<i>Wa fī al-Risāla lā yazālu al-majbūr wa al-hājj aw al-mu ‘tamir yulabba dubura</i>	In [the text] of <i>al-Risāla</i> , [it is said that] the compelled, and the pilgrim, and [the

S1	<b><i>al-ṣalawāt al-mafrūdāt wa al-nawāfil wa 'inda kull sharaf ay makān 'ālin fī buṭūn al-awdiya wa 'inda mulāqāt al-rafāq yaqūlu labbayka allahum labbayka lā sharīka laka labbayka inna al-ḥamdu wa al-na'ma wa al-mulka lā sharīka laka.</i></b> <sup>1032</sup>	one] performing the 'umra 'should continue to say <i>talbiya</i> after doing' the obligatory and additional 'prayers, when [coming over] any hill', i.e., elevated area inside the valleys, 'and when meeting other companies.' 'He says: "At your service, O God, at your service. You have no associate; at your service. Praise, granting favours, and authority belong to you; you have no associate'.
	<i>Min fam shaykhinā wa mu'alliminā Muḥammad Sanūsī Suwāri.</i>	From the mouth of our shaykh and our teacher Muḥammad Sanūsī Suware.
di 2681	<i>zārahu</i> 'he visited it (the Prophet's tomb)'	
S1	<i>Yajiba 'alā zā'ir an yā'tī fī ziyā[ra]tihi khalf al-nabīy faqaṭ wa la yāti jiha rāsīhi wa lā min jiha al-rijlayhi fa-aḥrā min amāmihi hādḥā min khaṣā'is bi-khilāf sā'ir al-nās fa-ziyāratuhum kaifa mā amkana.</i>	It is obligatory for a visitor on his visit to approach the Prophet from behind / the side of his back only. He should neither come from the side of his head nor from the side of his feet, and even less from in front of him / facing him. These are peculiarities, different from visiting [tombs of] other people, however possible.
	<i>Hākadhā qālahu abī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwā[r].</i>	My father Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so.
di 2865	<i>fa-istaqallat</i> 'and they exalted/became independent'	
S1	<i>Wa ma'nāhu irtafa'at al-ayāt. Min khaṭṭ shaykhī al-Ḥājj al-Kasamā.</i>	Its meaning is that the verses exalted. From the handwriting of my shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama.
S1	<i>Ay qāmat maqāmuhā wa aghnat 'anhā. Min khaṭṭ shaykhī al-Ḥājj al-Kasamā.</i>	I.e., they rose in their standing and became self-sufficient. From the handwriting of my shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama.
di 2705	<i>Muḥammad</i> 'Muḥammad'	
S1	<i>Al-ṣādiq al-maṣdūq al-mab'ūth dhū mu'jizāt. Yāni? 'alā qaul shaykhunā Muḥammad Taslīmī.</i>	The truthful, the trustworthy, delegated with miracles. According to the words of our shaykh Muḥammad Taslīmī.
di 2721	<i>yarfuthu</i> 'he behaves obscenely'	

<sup>1032</sup> The commentary cites passages from *al-Risāla*, Chapter on Pilgrimage section on *Ihrām* (in bold), interspersed with clarifications. The translation of the excerpts from *al-Risāla* (enclosed in quotation marks) is from Kenny 1992.

S1	<i>Muthallath al-fā</i> .  <i>Min khaṭṭ shaykhī Muḥammad al-Taslīmī.</i>	The [letter] <i>fā</i> ' have any of the three vowels (i.e., <i>yarfuthu</i> , <i>yarfathu</i> , <i>yarfithu</i> ). From the handwriting of my shaykh Muḥammad Taslīmī.
di 2816	<i>aṭī</i> 'hu [ <i>fa-inna al-shams fī tau</i> 'ihi jarat] 'obey him [for the sun follows his course in obedience to him]'	
S1	<i>Wa maḥall al-shams fī falak al-arābi</i> ' wa ruwiya 'an rajulan li-ibn 'Abbas raḍiya Allāh 'anhu kam ṭūl al-shams wa kam 'arduḥā qāla tis ' mi-ata farasakh wa farasakh al-wāḥid thalātha al-amyāl wa ṭūl al-kawākib ithnā 'ashara farasakhā.  <i>Kadhā qālahu al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i>	The location of the sun is in the fourth celestial sphere. It was told that a man of Ibn 'Abbas (may God be pleased with him) [asked] what is the sun's length and its width. He said: nine hundred <i>parasangs</i> . And one <i>parasang</i> is equal to three miles. And the length of the stars is twelve <i>parasangs</i> . Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so.
di 2821	<i>ḥaqqara amrahā</i> 'he despises/depreciated (wordly) matters'	
S1	<i>Ja</i> 'ala umūr al-dunyā ashya' muḥaqqara <i>fa-iqtadi bihi</i> 'alayhi salām fī dhālikā.  <i>Min fam shaykhī Quṭb.</i>	He made worldly matters something despicable. So follow his (peace be upon him) example in this. From the mouth of my shaykh Quṭb.
di 2850	<i>rakā</i> 'ibunā 'our riding camels'	
S1	<i>Wa al-rakā</i> 'ib jam ' wikāb (rikāb) wa huwa al-ibil khāṣṣa.  <i>Qālahu shaykh al-walī Muḥammad al-Taslīmī.</i>	The [word] <i>al-rakā</i> 'ib is plural of <i>rikāb</i> 'riding camel'. And this is a particular type of camel. Shaykh the friend of God Muḥammad al-Taslīmī said it.
di 2921	<i>taqaddumuhu</i> [li- 'l-anbiyā' bilā shakk] 'his precedence [before the prophets is without doubt]'	
S1	<i>Idh hūwa ṣalla Allāh alayhi wa slaam shafi</i> 'hum wa shāfi ' al-malā'ika wa sā'ir al-khalq 'inda Allāh li-anna min 'ādat-al-shāfi ' taqaddumuhu yashfa ' lahu.  <i>Fa-unzurhu maṭāli</i> ' al-musirrāt [fī] sharḥ dalā' il al-khayrāt min khaṭṭ Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.	For he (may the blessings of God and peace be upon him) is their intercessor and the intercessor of the angels and the rest of the creatures with God; because it is customary for the intercessor to give precedence to the one who intercedes on his behalf. For it, see the [text entitled] <i>Maṭāli</i> ' al-musirrāt [fī] sharḥ dalā' il al-khayrāt. From the handwriting of Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware.
di 2933	<i>al-turk</i> 'the Turks'	
	<i>Qaum min al-mashriq wa kull man ja</i> 'alūhu malikā yuqālu lahu khākān.	People from the east and whoever they appoint to reigning is called <i>khaqan</i> .



S1	<i>Qālahu Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i>	Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said it.
di 2964	<i>wa mashhadān</i> ‘and a place of presence’	
S1	<p><i>Ay wa ḥāla kaunuhum mushāhadīn wa ḥāṣarīn (ḥaḍarīn) ma’anā fī al-ḥiyāt fī ḥādḥā al-dunyā wa huwa arba’a al-anbiyā’ ‘Isā b. Maryam ‘alayhumā al-salām kāna fī al-samā’ al-thāniya ma’a nabīy Allāh Yaḥyā Yaḥyā wa kāna ‘Isā lā yā’kulu wa lā yashrabu wa lā yanāmu wa ‘alā jasaduhu al-karīm shu’ūr ṭawīl ka-ḥāl al-malā’ka wa ‘umrahu thalāla thalathūn sanat ‘alā qaul wa yanzilu ‘inda qurb al-sā’at li-tajdīd hadhāhi al-sana al-muḥammadiyya ma’a al-mahdīy ‘alayhi al-salām wa yaqtulu al-masīḥ al-dajjāl ‘alayhi la’ana Allāh.</i></p> <p><i>Thumma al-Khiḍr b. Malkān ‘alayhi al-salām wa ḥaqīqa ismuhu Balyā’ b. Malkān summiya al-Khiḍr li-anna idhā jalasa ‘alā farwa arḍ ikhḍarat ‘ushbuhā wa kana maskanuhu mutlaqa al-baḥr al-Rūm wa Fāris wa huwa al-dhī dhahaba ilaihi nabīy Allāh Mūsā ‘alayhi al-salām li-qirā’a ‘ilm al-bāṭin fa-wajadahu hunāka.</i></p> <p><i>Thumma Idrīs ‘alayhi al-salām fī al-samā’ al-rabi’a [...].<sup>1033</sup></i>  <i>[...]yadhhabu bihi fī ayy makān shā’a min al-samā’ wa al-arḍ wa yamīn wa shimāl wa mashriq wa maghrib wa fakull man māta fī al-ṣaḥārā min al-muslimīn min shiddat al-‘aṭash wa al-jū’ wa lam yajid man yukaffinuhu wa yughassiluhu wa yuṣallī ‘alayhi wa yadfinuhu fa-inna Ilyās yaghsiluhu wa yakaffinuhu wa yuṣallī ‘alayhi wa yadfinuhi.</i></p> <p><i>Hākadhā qālahu wālidī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i></p>	<p><i>I.e., in the state of being visible and present, meaning alive, in this world. And they are the four prophets. ‘Isā b. Maryam (peace be upon them) was in the second heaven with prophet Yaḥyā (peace be upon him). And ‘Isā was not eating and was not drinking and was not sleeping. And upon his noble body was long hair, like that of an angel. His age was thirty-three, as said. He will descend with Mahdīy (peace be upon him) at the approach of the end of time to renew this Mohammedan year. And he will defeat al-Masih a-Dajjal ‘the Antichrist’ ((May God curse him).</i></p> <p><i>Then [there is] Khiḍr b. Malkān (peace be upon him). And his real name is Balyā’ b. Malkān, so named al-Khiḍr ‘the Green’ because if he sat on herbless soil, it became green with grass. And his place of residence was at the junction of the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf. He was the one to whom God’s prophet Mūsā (peace be upon him) went to learn secret knowledge, and he found him/it there.</i></p> <p><i>Then [there is] Idrīs (peace be upon him) in the fourth heaven [...].</i>  <i>[...] he goes with him to any place in heaven or on earth, to the right and the left, to the East and the West. All those who died in the deserts from thirst or hunger found no one to cover them, wash them, pray for them, and bury them. And so Ilyās washed them, and covered them, and prayed for them, and buried them.</i></p> <p><i>My parent Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so.</i></p>
di 2967	<i>lahu al-kaff tahmā [ka-al-ḥayā al-mutadaffiqi]</i> ‘he has / for him is the palm flowing [like pouring rain]’	

<sup>1033</sup> The rest is difficult to read because the folio margin is ripped.

S1	<p><i>Taqdīruhu lahu al-kaff tahmiā al-ṭarīq al-awwal al-kaff lahu tahmā al-ṭarīq al-thānī al-kaff tahmā lahu al-ṭarīq al-thālith tahmā al-kaff lahu al-ṭarīq al-arba`a.</i></p> <p><i>taqdīr li- Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i></p>	<p>Its underlying/virtually reconstructed form (<i>taqdīr</i>) is ‘for him is the palm flowing’, the first way; the second way is ‘palm is for him flowing’; the third way ‘palm flowing is for him’; fourth way ‘flowing palm is for him’.</p> <p>The underlying structure according to Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware.</p>
di 2994	<i>bi-mablagh</i> ‘with amount/sum’	
S1	<p><i>Wa al-mablagh bi-faṭḥa al-mīm wa sukūn al-bā` wa faṭḥa al-lām kamā qāla ta`ālī fī sūra al-najm <b>dhālika mablaghuhum min al-`ilm.</b></i></p> <p><i>Al-āya hākadhā jazama `alayhi al-shaykhunā Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwārī al-naḥwī al-qawiyi al-Qur`ānī raḥmatu`llāh ta`ālā.</i></p>	<p>And in the [word] <i>mablagh</i> ‘sum’ <i>mīm</i> is [vocalised] with <i>faṭḥa</i>, and <i>bā`</i> with <i>sukūn</i>, and <i>lām</i> with <i>faṭḥa</i>. Like the Exalted said in the sura <i>al-Najm</i> ‘The Star’: ‘That is their sum of knowledge’ (Q53:30).</p> <p>Thus is the verse, he asserted it, our shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware the grammarian, all-strong, the connoisseur of the Qur’an. May God the exalted have mercy upon him.</p>
di 3003	<i>Hāshim</i> ‘Hashim’	
S1	<p><i>Wa Hāshim ismuhu `Amr ibn `Abd Manaf yusimma bi-Hāshim li-anna hāshim al-tharīd ay kasaraha wa `ajanaḥā li-ahl Makka fī sana jū`i wa aṭ`amahum bi-dhālikā al-tharīd fa-shakara Allāh lahu dhālika `amal fa-razaqahu bi-khayr al-khalq Muḥammad ḥāfidan.</i></p> <p><i>Hākadhā ifṭānī bihi al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār raḥmatu`llāh wa jaza`ahu `anī.</i></p>	<p>The name of Hāshim is ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Manaf. He was nicknamed Hāshim because of the broth (<i>hāshim</i>). I.e., he crushed it and kneaded it for the people of Mecca during a year of famine and fed them with this broth. Then God thanked him for this deed and bestowed him with the highest of all creations, [his] grandson Muḥammad.</p> <p>Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware explained it to me in this way. May God have mercy upon him and requite him in my stead.</p>
di 3022	<i>yaum bi-dāra juljul</i> ‘day at the <i>Dāra Juljul</i> ’	
S1	<p><i>Yaum ma`lūm `indahum yajtami`u fihī al-nās wa yunshidūna al-ash`ār wa ghayrahā.</i></p> <p><i>Qālahu Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i></p>	<p>A known day when people gather and songs are sung, etc.</p> <p>Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said it.</p>
di 3029	<i>waqār</i> ‘calmness/greatness/dignity’	



S1	<p><i>Ay lahu waqār qīl ma'nāhu lahu thabāt wa ṣabr wa muhlat 'alā jahl al-jāhūl idh lā yuḥarrīkuhu jahl al-jāhūl wa lā jafā' al-jāf kamā lā tuḥarrīku al-jabal al-'azīm nafkhat al-ba'ūda.</i></p> <p><i>Aw ma'nāhu lahu waqār lahu thabāt fī baytihi 'an mukhālaṭa al-nās wa huwa lāzīm sukūt kamā al-khabar inna al-zaman al-akhir zaman al-sukūt wa luzūm al-buyut wa riḍaan bi-al-qūt ilā an tamūt wa hādhā kalā saj' lā shi'r.</i></p> <p><i>Kadhā qālahu shaykhī wa abī wa mu'allimī wa ustādhi Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāriwiyu Tūbāwī Fūti zamanā.</i></p>	<p><i>I.e., he has calmness. The meaning [of it], as said, is that he has tranquility and patience, and softness towards the ignorance of the ignorant. The ignorance of the ignorant does not move him, nor [does] the roughness of the rough. Just like a massive mountain cannot be moved by a gnat's breath.</i></p> <p><i>Or the meaning of 'he has calmness' could be that he has stability at home, in the company of people. And it is necessary to remain silent, just as in the narrative that the end of time is the time of silence and necessity to stay at home and be content with the nourishment until you die. This is neither rhymed prose nor poetry.</i></p> <p><i>So said my Shaykh and my father, and my teacher, and my master Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, of Touba in Futa.</i></p>
di 3074	ghazā 'he conquered'	
S1	<p><i>Thamānīn fī mudda ithnā 'ashara sana. Min fam shaykhī.</i></p> <p><i>Ka-ghazwat Badr wa ghazwat Uḥud wa ghazwa Qurayzat wa ghazwa Banī Liḥyān wa ghazwa al-Khandaq wa ghazwa Kudra (al-Kudr) wa ghazwa Waddān wa ghazwa Ṭā'if wa ghazwat al-'īr (al-'īṣ?) wa ghazwa dhī Amr wa ghazwa Naḍīr wa ghazwa Qaynuqā' wa ghazwa Sawīq wa ghazwa al-Ghaba wa ghazwa Anmār wa ghazwa Jandal wa ghazwat al-Srḥa(?) wa ghazwa Dhāt al-Riqā' wa ghazwa Khaybar wa ghazwa Tabūk wa ghazwa Banī al-Muṣṭaliq wa ghazwa Ḥunayn wa ghazwa al-Ḥudaybiyyat wa ghazwa Buwāt wa ghazwa Qiṣyat? wa ghazwa al-Baḥrayn wa ghazwa Dhī Qarad wa ghazwat al-Wādī wa ghazwa Banī 'Ulayyat wa ghazwa al-Muraysī' wa a'zamuhā Faṭḥ Makkat wa lahu sittūn bu'ūthan thumma sarāyā kathīra wa ghayrahā. Wa Allāh a'lam.</i></p>	<p><i>Eighty over the period of twelve years. From the mouth of of my shaykh.</i></p> <p><i>Like the battle of Badr, and the battle of Uḥud, and the invasion of [Banu] Qurayza, and the battle of Banu Liḥyān, and the battle of the Trench, and the invasion of al-Kudr(?), and the patrol of Waddān, and the siege of Ṭā'if, and the battle of al-'īr(?), and the raid of Dhu Amarr, and the invasion of [Banu al-] Naḍīr, and the invasion of [Banu] Qaynuqā', and the invasion of Sawīq, and the expedition of al-Ghaba, and the battle of Anmār, and the expedition of [al-]Jandal, and the battle of al-Srḥa(?), and the Expedition of Dhāt al-Riqā', and the battle of Khaybar, and the battle of Tabūk, and the battle of Banu al-Muṣṭaliq, and the battle of Hunayn, and the battle of al-Ḥudaybiyyat, and the patrol of Buwāt, and the battle of Qiṣyat?, and the battle of al-Baḥrayn, and the expedition of Dhu Qarad, and the expedition of al-Wādī, and the battle of Banu 'Ulayyat, and the expedition of al-Muraysī'. The greatest [is] the conquest of Mecca. And [there are]</i></p>

	<i>Hākadhā qālahu abī wa ustādhī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār Ṭāla Allāh ‘umri li-nā āmīn.</i>	sixty missions and many military companies. And God knows best. My father and my master Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so. May God prolong his life for our sake. Amen.
di 3092	[ <i>wa yundhiru bi-l-nīrān</i> ] <i>ḥalfan</i> [ <i>aḍā ‘ahā</i> ] successors [who neglected it]’	‘[he warned with Hellfire] the
S1	<i>Al-dhī takhallafa ‘anhā aw man khālfahā wa minhu qauluhu ta ‘ālā fa-khalafa min ba ‘dihim khalfun aḍā ū al-ṣalāt wa ittāba ū al-shahawāt fa-sawfa yalqawna ghayyan wa ghayr dhālikā.</i>  <i>Hākadhā qālahu wālidī huwa Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār Ṭāla Allāh ‘umri linā āmīn.</i>	The one who stayed away from it or who opposed it. As in the saying of the Almighty: ‘But there came after them successors who neglected prayer and pursued desires; so they are going to meet evil’ (Q19:59), etc. My father, he is Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware, said so. May God prolong his life for our sake. Amen.
di 3165	<i>fī al-na ‘sh</i> ‘in the bier/coffin’	
S1	<ba’ diy siy li <sup>n</sup> mi <sup>n</sup> di> <b>báadè sii linnī? dú</b> <i>‘Ajamī min fam Muḥammad al-Amīn Ṭūbā.</i>	‘in the grave ??’. Non-Arabic from the mouth of Muḥammad al-Amīn of Touba.
di 3170	<i>hiḍāb</i> ‘hills, mountains’ ( <i>hiḍāb mulūk al-arḍ dukkat li-baathuhu</i> ‘and the mountains of the earthly kings were demolished for his resurrection’)	
S1	<i>Wa al-murād hunā al-aṣnām al-mushabbahūn fa- ‘l-hiḍāb fī al-shidda wa- ‘l-ṣalāba.</i> <i>Hākadhā sami ‘nāhu min fam wālidī huwa Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār ṭāla Allāh baqā ‘hu.</i>	And the intended meaning here [are] the idols resembling the mountains in the severity and solidity/hardness. We heard it from the mouth of my father who is Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware. May God prolong his stay.
di 3177	[ <i>al-turāb</i> ] <i>al-mufawwah</i> ‘perfumed [dust]’	
S1	<i>Ay al-mufawwah wa al-hā’ wa al-hā’ yatawārathān fī mathal hādhā.</i>  <i>Min fam wālidī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i>	I.e., <i>al-mufawwah</i> ‘fragrant’. [The letters] <i>hā’</i> and <i>ḥā’</i> are interchangeable in this example. From the mouth of my father Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware.
di 3179	<i>abkār</i> [ <i>fīkr wa ‘ūnahu</i> ] ‘the first [thoughts and the last]’	
S1	<i>Jam ‘ bīkr wa huwa hunā awal fikri fī shabāb.</i> <i>Qālahu ustādhī wa wālidī wa mu ‘allimī huwa Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i>	Plural of <i>bīkr</i> ‘virgin’. It [means] here first thoughts in youth.’ My master and my father and my teacher Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said it.
di 3179	[ <i>abkār fikr</i> ] <i>wa ‘ūnahu</i> ‘[the first thoughts] and the last’	

S1	<p><i>Wa al- 'ūn huwa al-mar`a al-kabīra allatī taqūl li-zawjahā katīrān `uw`uw idhā ḥaqarat amrahu.</i></p> <p><i>Qālahu Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i></p>	<p>[The word] <i>al- 'ūn</i> ‘middle-aged (pl.)’ [means] a senior woman who howls/ barks a lot at her husband when she disrespected his commands.</p> <p>Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said it.</p>
	<p><i>Al-mar`a al-kabīra wa huwa hunā ākhir fikruhu fī ākhir `umr.</i></p> <p><i>Qālahu Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i></p>	<p>A senior woman. And [the meaning] is here: last thoughts/reflections at advancing/declining age.</p> <p>Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said it.</p>
di 3196	<i>Jibrīl wa Mīkā`il</i> ‘Jibra`il and Mika`il’	
S1	<p><i>Wa ruwiya `an al-nabīy `alayhi al-salām qāla inna Allāh ayyadanī bi-`arb`a wuzarā` ishnān (ithnān) fī ahl al-samā`i humā Jibrīl wa Mīkā`il ithnāni fī ahl al-ardḥ humā Abū Bakr wa `Umar.</i></p> <p><i>Hākadhā qālahu abī huwa Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār ṭāla Allāh `umr linā amīn.</i></p>	<p>It was told about the Prophet (peace be upon him) [that] he said: ‘Indeed, God supported me with four viziers: two among the people of the heaven, these are Jibra`il and Mika`il, and two among the people of the earth, these are Abū Bakr and `Umar.’</p> <p>My father who is Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware. May God prolong his life for our sake. Amen.</p>
di 3206	<i>wa minhum</i> ‘and from them’	
S1	<p><i>Qīl atā hunā bi-`l-wāw li-wazn wa li-ḍarūra al-shi`r wa innahā ṣāqiṭa fī al-`aṣl wa zāyida (ziyāda).</i></p> <p><i>Qālahu shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār</i></p>	<p>It is said that it appears here with <i>wāw</i> ‘and’ due to the poetic meter and poetic license. That is a lapsus linguae in the original/source and a servile letter (redundancy).</p> <p>Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so.</p>
di 3215	<i>ṭiflān</i> ‘child’	
S1	<p><i>Qīl wa ghāya al-ṭufūlīya sana wāhida aw aqall min dhālikā wa `ind al-ḥaqāhā yuṭlaqu alā man dūn bulūgh wa Allāh a`lam.</i></p> <p><i>Qālahu hākadhā wālidī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwārwiyyu.</i></p>	<p>It is said that the limit of childhood is one year or less than that. And according to jurists, it applies to those who are immature. God knows best.</p> <p>My father Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so.</p>
di 3215	<i>kahlān</i> ‘middle-aged’	
S1	<p><i>Wa al-kahl min arba`īna sana ilā sab`īna sana wa qīl ghayr dhālika.</i></p>	<p>And middle-age is from forty to seventy years [of age], and it was said otherwise.</p>

	<i>Hākadhā qālahu ustādhi wa mu'allimī wa abī Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār.</i>	My master and my teacher and my father Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware said so.
di 3231	<i>yuriḥu min al-balwā yuziḥu 'an al-radan</i>	'he releases from distress; he removes the devastation'
S1	<i>Qīl hādhā-'l-bayt fī hādhā-'l-kitāb huwa sulṭān al-abyāt fī hadhā-'l-kitāb wa fihā 'ashr yā'āt min ḥurūf muḍāra'a wa man ḥafīzahā wa dāma 'alā qirā'tihā yajidu shāfa'a rasūl ṣalla Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam yaum al-qiyāma.</i>  <i>Hākadhā qālahu abī wa wālidī wa mu'allimī wa ustādhi Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri ṭāla Allāh 'umr linā amīn.</i>	It is said that this verse in this composition is the most powerful of [all] the verses. And in it, [there are] ten [letters] yā' of ḥurūf al-muḍāra'a (the prefixes of the imperfective verb). Whoever memorised it and persisted in reciting it will obtain the intercession of the Prophet (peace be upon him) on the day of the final judgment. So said my father, my teacher, and my master Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware. May God prolong his life for our sake. Amen.
di 3237	<i>min āl Hāshim</i>	'from the famili of Hāshim'
S1	<i>Min banī Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣay wa ism Hāshim 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf yusimma bi-Hāshim li-annahu hashama al-tharīd li-ahl Makka fī sana majā'a fa-shakara Allāh lahu dhālika 'amal fa-razaqahu bi-aḍḍal al-barīya Muḥammad ṣalla Allāh 'alayhi wa sallama qīl ma'anān Hāshim ay Hāshim al-usūd kāsiruhum wa dāmaghahum.</i>  <i>Min khaṭṭ wālidī.</i>	From the clan of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣay. The name of Hāshim is 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf, nicknamed Hāshim because of the broth (hāshim) for the people of Mecca during a year of famine and fed them with this broth. Then God thanked him for this deed and bestowed him with the best of creations, Muḥammad (peace and blessing of God be upon him). It is said the meaning of Hāshim is i.e., the destroyer ( <i>hāshim</i> ) of lions, i.e. [the one] crushing their bones and skulls. From the handwriting of my parent.
di 3237	<i>Abnā' Adami</i> <sup>1034</sup>	'sons of Adam'
S1	<i>Wa-kusira al-mīm hunā li-darūra al-shi'r wa-innahā mabniy 'alā al-faṭḥa li-annahu ism lā yanṣarifu.</i>  <i>Qālahu Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwār shaykh ahl al-taṣawwuf riqaba (?) al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ ṭāla Allāh baqā'hu li-nā fī dīn al-islām amīn.</i>	The <i>mīm</i> is vocalised with <i>kasra</i> due to poetic license. [The name Adam] ends indeclinably with <i>faṭḥa</i> because it is a name that cannot be inflected. Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware shaykh of people of Sufism, person of the venerable forefathers. May God extend his stay for our sake under the Islamic faith. Amen.

<sup>1034</sup> The word Adami(i) is marked with two vocalic diacritics – *kasra* and *faṭḥa*, the latter is written in red ink.

di 3245	[ <i>idha al-dīn la yakmal</i> ] <i>fā-lā kānat al-dunyā</i> ‘[if religion was not perfected,] the world would not exist.’	
S1	<i>Ay fā-lā kānat al-dunyā maujūda fa-ahrā nakūn nahnu maujūdīn fīhā.</i>  <i>Min khaṭṭ ustādhī shaykh Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Suwār Aṭala Allāh naf`uhu li-`l-muslimīn.</i>	The world would not be in existence, and even more so, we would not be existing in it. From the handwriting of my master shaykh Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Suware. May God extend his benefit to Muslims.

**EAP 1042/1/1: *Takhmīs al-`Ishrīnīyyāt.***

p. 23 /354	<i>min khayr</i> ‘from good one’	
S1	<i>Wa huwa rasūl rabb al-`ālamīn.</i>  <i>Ṣaḥḥ min fam shaykinā.</i>	This is the messenger of the Lord of the worlds. Correct from the mouth of our shaykh.
p. 38 /354	<i>li-`l-mursalīn</i> ‘for the messengers’	
S1	<i>li-Ibrāhīm alayhi `al-salām</i> <i>Min shaykhinā.</i>	For Ibrāhīm (peace be upon him). From our shaykh.
p. 39 /354	<i>uḥibbu</i> ‘I love’	
S1	<i>Anā sha`ir anā maḥkīy.</i> <i>Al-qaūl shaykhunā</i> the words of our shaykh	I am a poet, I am cited?. <i>al-Ḥājj</i> al-Ḥājj.
p. 69 /354	<i>‘alā ṭīb aṣlihi</i> ‘on its noble origin’	
S1	<i>ma`a ṭīb aṣlihi.</i> <i>Min fam shaykhinā Muḥammad Kasanmā.</i>	With its noble origin. From the mouth of our shaykh Muḥammad Kassama.
p. 71 /354	<i>‘alā karr al-jadīdayn</i> ‘upon the return of the two new’	
S1	<i>‘alā rujū` al-layl wa al-nahār</i>  <i>Min fam shaykhinā Muḥammad Kasanmā.</i>	Upon the return of the night and of the day. From the mouth of our shaykh Muḥammad Kassama.
p. 87 /354	<i>ata` rifuhu [dhāka al-nabīy Muḥammad]</i> ‘you know him [the Prophet Muḥammad]’	
S1	<ya` la` a <sup>n</sup> wu ba` ni <sup>n</sup> tira` na` tuyunu> <b>yéllì án wó baane? teeraana? tuyunu</b> <i>‘Ajāmī min shaykhinā.</i>	‘whether you know leader? of the one?’ Non-Arabic from our shaykh.
p. 93/ 354	<i>awāmīr maulāhu ladayhi muṭā`a</i> ‘commands of his master, he has obeyed’	

S1	<i>Nawāhī maulāhu ladayhi matrūka.</i> <i>Min fam al-Ḥājj.</i>	Prohibitions of his master, he has abandoned/renounced. From the mouth of al-Ḥājj.
p. 93/ 354	<i>yuwa 'rrikh [al-dunūw]</i> '[the approach] is dated'	
S1	<i>Yu'rafu waqat qaruba minhu.</i> <i>Min fam shaykhinā.</i>	The time when he comes near him is known. From the mouth of our shaykh.
p. 98/ 354	<i>shafi'uhum</i> 'their intercessor'	
S1	<i>Idha qām al-awwalūn wa al-akhirūn yaumān kāna miqdāruhu khamsīn alf sana lā manja wa lā malja'a huwa shafi'u al-warā.</i> <i>Sami'nāhu min shaykhinā Muḥammad al-Kasanmiyu.</i>	The day the firsts and the lasts are resurrected will last fifty thousand years. There is no rescue and no resort. He is the intercessor for humanity. We heard it from our shaykh Muḥammad Kassama.
p. 111 /354	<i>[maḥabbatuhu fauz kabīr] wa magnam</i> '[His love is a great victory] and a wealthy gain'	
S1	<i>Bilā-alsīf ma'ahu wa bilā rumḥ ma'ahu wa lā naftiyy ma'ahu.</i> <i>Min fam shaykhinā.</i>	Without a sword, nor a spear, nor gunpowder. From the mouth of our shaykh.
p. 124 /354	<i>laqad sadda min dun fawāḥish</i> 'he put a barrier up against immoralities/abomination'	
S1	<i>Ay baynanā wa bayna al-fawāḥish.</i> <i>Min shaykhinā.</i>	I.e., between us and between the immoralities/abomination. From our shaykh.
p. 130 /354	<i>li-irsakh ahl al-arḍ [ilman bi-rabbihī]</i> 'for the firmness of the people of the earth [in knowledge of his Lord]'	
S1	<i>Ḥanīhā ilā arsakh ahl al-arḍ.</i> <i>Min fam shaykhinā al-Ḥājj.</i>	Our inclination/yearning towards the firmness of the people of the earth. From the mouth of our shaykh al-Ḥājj.

**ZMC1: Takhmīs al-'Ishrīniyyāt.**

di 5203	<i>awāmīr maulāhu ladayhi muṭā'a</i> 'commands of his master, he has obeyed'	
S1	<i>Kadhālika nawāhīhu maulāhu ladayhi matrūka.</i> <i>[min] fam shaykhinā (shaykhinā) al-Ḥājj al-Kasamā.</i>	Likewise, his prohibitions of his master, he has abandoned/renounced. [From] the mouth of our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama.

**BULAC MS.ARA.165a: Kitāb al-shifā'.**

di 1531	<i>khadirat rijluhu</i> 'his foot/leg got numb'	
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S1	<'a ta' yuqi> <b>à tá jóqqì</b> <i>Sami 'tu min shaykhinā 'Uthmān Kabāwiyu.</i>	'his leg got pinched'  I heard it from our shaykh 'Uthmān Kaba.
di 1642	<i>aḥtajja [alā al-mushrikīn]</i> 'he argued [against polytheists]'	
S1	<i>Wa huwa Shaddād b. 'Ād annahu yaqūlu inna Allāh yuḥayya wa yumit fā-annī aḥyā(?) wa umīt fa-qāla lahu Ibrāhīm kayfa taf'alu [...]</i> <sup>1035</sup> <i>Sami 'tu min shaykhinā huwa 'Uthmān Kabāwiyu nafa 'anā Allāh bi-barakatīhi.</i>	It was Shaddād b. 'Ād who said: 'Indeed, God grants long life and kills, so that I grant life and kill.' And Ibrāhīm said to him: 'How do you do [...]' I heard it from our shaykh, who is 'Uthmān Kaba. May got benefit us with his blessings.

### ZAC2: Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām.

di 3909	<i>al-faqīh</i> 'juresprudent'	
S1	<i>Ay fāhim bi-'l-fiqh.</i> <i>Ṣaḥḥ min shaykhī.</i>	I.e., knowing/understanding in the domain of religious law. Correct from the mouth of my shaykh.
di 3915	<i>fī nukat (al-'uqūd)</i> 'delicate points (of contracts)'	
S1	<i>Fawā'id.</i> <i>Min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	Benefits. From the mouth of my shaykh and my parent.
di 3915	<i>Naẓamtuhu tadhkira wa ḥīn tamma bimā bihi al-balwā ta'ummu qad ālam sammaytuhu [...]</i> 'I composed these verses as a memory aid/reminder, and when it was finished, after discussing the general necessities (essential issues?), I called it [...]'	
S1	<i>Taqdīr al-bayt naẓamtuhu tadhkira qad ālammu bimā ta'ummu al-balwā bihi wa ḥīn tamma samaytuhu [...]</i>  <i>Sami 'tuhu min fam shaykh wālidī.</i>	Word order/underlying structure ( <i>taqdīr</i> ) is: I composed these verses as a memory aid, having discussed the general necessities (essential issues?), and, when finished, I called it [...] I heard it from the mouth of [my] shaykh and my parent.
di 3918	<i>wa istuḥsinat (fī ḥaqqīhi al-jazālahu)</i> 'it is advisable [for the judge] to exercise intelligence/prudence'	
S1	<'i di barakata' ku siru di ma' 'i di ḥaqīla' ta' ghu <sup>n</sup> siru <sup>n</sup> di> <b>ì d'ì barakantaaxu sírondi mà ì d'ì ḥaqilantaaxu sírondini</b> <i>'Ajāmī min fam shaykh.</i>	they have improved their power, or they have improved their intelligence  Non-Arabic from the mouth of shaykh.

<sup>1035</sup> The commentary is partly illegible due to paper damage.

di 3918	<i>al-wara</i> ‘piety, abstinence from unlawful things’	
S1	<i>Qāla shaykunā al-Ḥājj al-Kasanmā wa al-wara tarak mā lā ya’s (ba’s) fīhi ḥidhrān limā fīhi ba’s.</i> <i>Ṣaḥḥ min fam Qutb.</i>	Our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kasama said: ‘Piety [means] leaving/avoiding what is harmless in it, being cautious of what is harmful in it.’ Correct from the mouth of Qutb.
di 3936	<i>faltat</i> ‘slip/error’	
S1	<fitikh <sup>2</sup> i ‘a’> <i>‘Aj[amī] min fam shaykh.</i>	Non-Arabic from the mouth of the shaykh.
di 3939	<i>dūn yamīn aw bihā</i> ‘without the oath, or with it’	
S1	<i>Li-qaul al-nabīy ‘alayhi al-salām kull muṣaddaqa fī-’l-shar’ lā budda min yamīnuhu illā fī ashyā’.</i> <i>Ṣaḥḥ min fam shaykhī.</i>	According to the Prophet (peace be upon him), everything reliable (trustworthy) in canonical law requires an oath, except for some things. Correct from the mouth of my shaykh.
di 3978	<i>(wa ’l-ḥubs) inna yaqdam</i> ‘(and habous) which is old’	
S1	<yala a kana’ kasu> <b>yéllì à gà na xáso</b> <i>Min fam wālidī.</i>	if it became old From the mouth of my parent.
di 3982	<i>bi-’l-istiqrā’</i> ‘by extrapolation/induction’	
S1	<timiyabituyiya> <b>tí mèerabatuyé yá</b> <sup>1036</sup> <i>‘Aj[amī] min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	with succession/following Non-Arabic from the mouth of shaykh and my parent.
di 3988	<i>tawaqīf</i> ‘sequestration’	
S1	<ḥubusindi yiya> <b>hubusindiye yá</b> <i>Min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	detention, arrestation From the mouth of my shaykh and parent.
di 3988	<i>qufl</i> ‘lock/padlock’	
	<laghi tikhiyi <sup>n</sup> i> <b>lāxè téxéyè ní</b>	it is a door lock

<sup>1036</sup> The verb *istiqrā’* include the meanings of ‘to follow’, ‘to pursue’, which apparently served for the Soninke translation **mèerabatuyé** ‘following, succeeding’.



S1	<i>Min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	From the mouth of shaykh and my parent.
di 3988	<i>tawqīf al-kharāj</i> ‘seizure of the income’	
S1	<musuw ḥubusi <sup>n</sup> di yi <sup>n</sup> ‘a’ <sup>n</sup> > <b>mùsò hubusundiye ḡà</b> <i>‘Ajāmī min fam shaykh wālid Maḥmūd b. al-‘arīf bi-Allāh ta‘alā.</i>	arrestation of the retribution Non-Arabic from the mouth of [my] shaykh and parent Maḥmūd b. cognizant of God.
di 3992	<i>lā al-uṣūl</i> ‘not the real property / landed property’	
S1	<la’ ṣ <sup>0</sup> li <sup>n</sup> duw ru <sup>n</sup> ya’ qanufi> <b>lāsīlī duwrunya qanu? fé</b> <i>‘Ajāmī min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	it is not ? asset Non-Arabic from the mouth of my shaykh and parent.
di 3992	<i>al-nishdān</i> ‘the one who claims’	
S1	<kanku <sup>n</sup> di yi <sup>n</sup> ‘a’ <sup>n</sup> > <b>ḡágúndiyen ḡà</b> <i>‘ajāmī min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	calling/ (public) announcement Non-Arabic from the mouth of my shaykh and parent.
di 3996	<i>idh yudayyanu</i> ‘when he is left to act according to his beliefs’	
S1	<‘a wu’ a tu’ u <sup>n</sup> di <sup>n</sup> di niy> <b>à wo à tònḡóndindini</b> <i>‘Ajāmī min fam shaykhinā wālidinā.</i>	he is acting faithful Non-Arabic from the mouth of our shaykh and parent.
di 4012	<i>min al-tabarru</i> ‘from [the moment of] donation’	
S1	<qili bara’ jiy muw ru yiya> <b>ḡèllī bārājī mùurúyè yá</b> <i>‘Ajāmī min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	from the search of blessing Non-Arabic from the mouth of my shaykh and parent.
di 4028	<i>taḡāmūn</i> ‘mutual guarantee/assurance’	
S1	<miy sa’ ka’ ku <sup>n</sup> ‘a’> <b>mé sàagàaxún ḡà</b> <i>‘Ajāmī min fam wālidī.</i>	mutual reimbursement Non-Arabic from the mouth of my parent.
di 4032	<i>maḡmūn</i> ‘warranted/ensured’	
S1	<i>Wa maḡmūn hunā al-mudda’an ‘alayhi. Min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	The ensured here is the defendant. From the mouth of my shaykh and parent.

di 4054	<i>tarikāt</i> ‘heritage’	
S1	<kiyu <sup>n</sup> ‘a’> <b>xéyèn nà</b> <i>Min fam wālidī.</i>	heritage  From the mouth of my parent.
di 4056	<i>qabla dharwihi</i> ‘before winnowing it’	
S1	<‘a siru <sup>n</sup> di yi <sup>n</sup> ka’ nidu ma’ ’a wa yi <sup>n</sup> di yi <sup>n</sup> ka’ nidu> <b>à siróniyen káanèn dú mà à wàyindíyé káanèn dú</b> <i>‘Ajamī min fam shaykhī.</i>	‘before refinement or before winnowing’  Non-Arabic from the mouth of my shaykh.
di 4056	<i>fī al-kālī</i> ‘in the postponed debt (concerning the dowry)’	
S1	<futa’ n fuw du <sup>n</sup> ku <sup>n</sup> di <sup>n</sup> da’ na’ <sup>n</sup> fiydu> <b>fútánfódùnkón dindaana fī dú</b> <i>Min fam shaykhī.</i>	in the matter of those postponing the payment of the dowry From the mouth of my shaykh.
di 4056	<i>Bāb fī nikāh</i> ‘Chapter on marriage’	
S1	<i>‘Uqida al-nikāh kullhum fī al-arḍ al-asb‘a (al-sab‘a?) bayna Adama wa Ḥawwā’ wa bayna Mūsā wa Ṣafūrā’ wa bayna Sulaymān wa Bilqīs wa bayna Yūsuf wa Zalīkhā (Zulaykha) wa bayna Muḥammad wa ‘Āyisha wa bayna Muḥammad wa Khadīja wa bayna ‘Alī wa Fāṭuma</i> <i>Min khaṭṭ shaykhī ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Kasanmā.</i>	All their marriages were concluded in seven earths (?) between Adam and Hawwā’, Mūsā and Ṣafūrā’, Sulaymān and Bilqīs, Yūsuf and Zulaykha, Muḥammad and ‘Āyisha, Muḥammad and Khadīja, ‘Alī and Fāṭuma.  From the handwriting of my shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama.
di 4076	<i>(man) yuḥakkamu</i> ‘(the one) appointed as a judge’	
S1	<i>Bi-faṭḥa al-kāf al-mushaddada mabniyyā li-’l-maf‘ūl.</i>  <i>Ay yuj‘alu ḥākimān wa huwa al-abu.</i>  <i>Hākadhā ḍabaṭnāhu ‘an wālidī Maḥmūd [d] b. Muḥammad b. Siri.</i>	The geminated <i>kāf</i> [of the verb <i>yuḥakkamu</i> ] is [vocalized] with <i>faṭḥa</i> , [because it is in] passive voice.  That is, [the one] appointed as a judge ( <i>ḥākim</i> ), and it is the father. We marked the vowels like that under [the instruction] of my father Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Sire.
di 4220	<i>wa al-muqāṣṣat</i> ‘and / compensation’	

S1	<duw miybtun <sup>n</sup> di yi <sup>n</sup> 'a'> <b>dó mé betundiyeŋ ɲà</b> ' <i>Ajamī min fam wālidī Maḥmūd.</i>	and mutual compensation (lit. cutting or clearing) <sup>1037</sup> Non-Arabic from the mouth of my father Maḥmūd.
di 4414	<i>wa dallāl</i> 'and middleman'	
S1	<duw ka' ka' <sup>n</sup> da' nu <sup>n</sup> 'a'> <b>Dó gáagàndaanun ɲà</b> ' <i>Ajamī min fam wālidī.</i>	And sellers Non-Arabic from the mouth of my parent.
di 4416	<i>mā 'adā la-jawārī</i> 'except for female slaves'	
S1	<ka' <sup>n</sup> ta' fu <sup>n</sup> dikiyi yaḡaruw nu <sup>n</sup> 'a'> <b>ganta fundikiyi? yàxàrónún ɲà</b> ' <i>Ajamī min fam shaykhī wālidī.</i>	except ? women Non-Arabic from the mouth of my shaykh and my parent.
di 4521	<i>fī al-muḍiḥah</i> 'in the woun wound that exposes the bones'	
S1	<yi <sup>n</sup> m <sup>2</sup> u kuti <sup>n</sup> kura' <sup>n</sup> da' na' fiydu> <b>yínmùnxóttèn xúrándaana fí dú</b> ' <i>Ajamī min fam wālidī Maḥmūd.</i>	in the thing that makes visible the skull bones Non-Arabic from the mouth of my father.

**ZOC1: *al-Risāla Qayrawānīyya.***

di 5143	[not linked to the main text]	
S1	<i>Wa al-mar'ā 'alā thalātha aqṣām ammā al-awwal laka abadī hiya al-bikr wa al-thānihā laka tāratan laka tāratan 'alayka hiya thayyib bilā walad al-thalāthahā 'alayka abad hiya al-tayyib lahā walad.</i>  <i>Sami'tu min shaykhī Abū Bakr [...]</i> <i>sami'tuhu min shaykhī Muḥa[mmad]</i> <i>Khayrabā al-Kasamā.</i>	And women can be divided into three categories. As for the first, always for you, is a maiden/virgin. The second, sometimes for you, sometimes against you, is a divorcee/widow, without kids. The third, always against you, is a divorcee/widow with a child. I heard from my shaykh abū Bakr [...] I heard it from my shaykh Muḥa[mmad] Khaybara Kassama.
di 5345	[not linked to the main text]	
	<i>Min fam ustādhī wa shaykhī Ibrāhīm Silāwiyi b. Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm.</i>	From the mouth of my teacher and my shaykh Ibrāhīm Sylla b. Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm.
di 5409	<i>al-dukhn</i> 'millet'	

<sup>1037</sup> The Soninke verb **betu** 'cut' may correspond to the Arabic *qaṣṣa* 'to cut', the stem of the word *muqaṣṣat* 'compensation'. Alternatively, another verb **betu** 'to be full' is used. The gloss **dó me betundiyeŋ ɲà** thus can also be interpreted as 'and mutual filling/fulfilment'.

S1	<p><i>Mūdikāta ‘alā qaūl kānkāri.</i>  <i>Wārāndunbi (?) ‘alā qaūl darāmanni.</i></p> <p><i>Tāfasūta (?) ‘alā qaūl kidi kakān (?).</i></p> <p><i>Arrakhtu min fam Muḥammad al-Amīn Suwāri.</i></p>	<p><i>Mūdikāta?</i> to say <i>kānkāri?</i>.  <i>Wārāndunbi (?)</i> to say <b>daramanni</b> ‘millet/wheat’.</p> <p><i>Tāfasūta (?)</i> to say <i>kidi kakān (?)</i>.  I wrote it down [as heard] from the mouth of Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware.</p>
di 5448	[ <i>al-ḥajar</i> ] <i>al-aswad</i> ‘the black [stone]’	
S1	<p><i>Qad kanāt abyad fī-l-zamān al-awwal wa-lā kana aswadhā dhunūb al-khalq wa-qabā’ih af‘ ālhum.</i></p> <p><i>Min fam ustādhī Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Silāwiyi.</i></p>	<p>It was white at first and was not black. It is [because of] the sins of people and [their] shameful deeds [that it had changed its colour].</p> <p>From the mouth of my teacher Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Silla.</p>
di 5461	<i>faliyaqta ‘ahumā</i> ‘he should cut them short’	
S1	<p><i>Ay fa-li-yaksirahumā.</i>  <i>Fī qaul shaykh al-Ḥājj.</i></p> <p><i>Bal yankasiruhumā (yaksirahumā) li-anna qaṭ’uhumā fasād.</i></p> <p><i>Hākadhā arrakhtuhu min fam ustādhī al-Amīn Suwarī.</i></p>	<p>He should tuck/fold them.  In the words of shaykh al-Ḥājj.</p> <p>But rather he should tuck/fold them because cutting them is corruption/loss.</p> <p>I had written it down from the mouth of my teacher al-Amīn Suware.</p>
di 5488	<i>bi-shā</i> ‘[the immolation] of a sheep’	
S1	<p><i>Wa in kānā al-taw’āmīn yu’aqu ‘an kull wāḥid minhumā bi-shātaīn wa imma in kānā dhakarān wa unthā fa-yu’aqu ‘an al-dhakarī bi-shātaīn wa ‘an al-uthnā bi-shā wāḥida.</i></p> <p><i>Min fam ustādhī.</i></p>	<p>And if they are twins (boys), two sheep are immolated for each of them. Or if they are a boy and a girl, two sheep are immolated for a boy and one for a girl.</p> <p>From the mouth of my teacher.</p>
di 5516	<i>Bāb fī al-nikāḥ wa al-ṭalāq</i> ‘Chapter on marriage and divorce’	
S1	<p>&lt;du ra<sup>n</sup> buni ḥaliyli duw<sup>’0</sup> qu<sup>n</sup>muqu<sup>n</sup>ma<sup>n</sup>qa’ du ra<sup>n</sup> kita’ buniy muda wara duw<sup>’0</sup>&gt;</p> <p><i>Min fam sh[aykh].</i></p>	From the mouth of sh[aykh].
di 5534	<i>wa in banā bihā</i> ‘if he has consummated it [and dies]’	
S1	<p><i>Wa man kāna yu’minu bi-llāh wa al-yaum al-akhar lā yadkhulu wārithan.</i></p>	And the one who believes in God and the day of Judgement will not

		consummate marriage with the inheritor. I wrote it down from the mouth of my maternal uncle Muḥammad.
di 5543	<i>Arrakhtu min fam khālī Muḥammad.</i>	
	<i>wa yu 'ajjalu</i> <sup>1038</sup> ‘it should be given a delay	
	<i>Arrakhtu min fa' (fam) Ibrāhīm Jāwara.</i> <sup>1039</sup>	I wrote it down from the mouth of Ibrāhīm Jawara.
di 5641	[ <i>wa lā yashtari mā</i> ] <i>taṣaddaqa bihi</i> ‘[yet he may not buy back anything] he gave in alms’	
S1	<i>Wa law jarā fī yad sab'ina rajulān.</i> <i>Arrakhtu min fam Muḥammad.</i>	Even passed through the hands of seventy men. I wrote it down from the mouth of Muḥammad.
di 5797	<i>baṭar</i> ‘ostentatiously’	
S1	<ki <sup>n</sup> du ja' ka ya> <i>Min fam shaykhinā Ibrāhīm Sillā.</i>	From the mouth of our shaykh Ibrāhīm Sylla.
di 5358	[Marginal commentary]	
S1	<i>Min yad Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥd (Muḥammad) Suwārī.</i>	From the hand of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Suware.
di 5361	[Marginal commentary]	
S1	<i>Min yad Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Suwārī.</i>	From the hand of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Suware.
di 5365	[Marginal commentary]	
S1	<i>Min yad Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad.</i>	From the hand of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad.
di 5370	[Marginal commentary]	
S1	<i>Min yad Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Suwārī.</i>	From the hand of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Suware.
di 5376	[Marginal commentary]	
S1	<i>Min yad Abū Bakr Ṣadīq Muḥammad al-Amīn.</i>	From the hand of Abū Bakr Ṣadīq [b.] Muḥammad al-Amīn.
di 5476	[Marginal commentary]	
S1	<i>Min yad Abū Bakr Suwārī.</i>	From the hand of Abū Bakr Suware.
di 5486	[Marginal commentary]	

<sup>1038</sup> The texts of the *Risāla* published by Kenny reads *wa yu 'akhhharu* ‘he should be given’ (‘If a man is impotent a year [to see if he gets better]’; Kenny 1992, 103).

<sup>1039</sup> The commentary is linked directly to the main text.

S1	<i>Min yad Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Suwārī.</i>	From the hand of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Suware.
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**EAP 1042/4/1: Dāliyyat al-Yūsī.**

p. 37 /165	[ <i>bi-laylat</i> ] <i>anqad</i> ‘sleepless night’ (lit. night of a hedgehog)	
S1	<i>Anqad ʔir ʃaghīr kathīr kalāmuhā fī kalāminā kūṭī.</i> <sup>1040</sup>  <i>ʃahḥ min fam abī.</i>	<i>Anqad</i> is a small bird, which talks a lot. In our language [it is] <b>kòotée</b> ‘magpie’. Correct from the mouth of my father.
p. 40 /165	[illegible] <sup>1041</sup>	
S1	<ba’ niykn <sup>2</sup> i> <i>ʿAjamī min shaykhinā ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kasamā.</i>	‘?’ Non-Arabic from our shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir Kassama.
p. 52 /165	<i>al-buzāt</i> ‘falcons’	
S1	<i>Wa al-buzāt [...]</i> <sup>1042</sup> <i>Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir.</i>	The falcons [...] Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir.
p. 64 /165	<i>(wa al-qurd) al-ʿukā li-muqarrid</i> ‘louse of the hairless base of the tail of the lice-infected [animal/camel]’	
S1	<duw yuqumi kuk <sup>2</sup> iy fiti <sup>n</sup> t <sup>2</sup> iy kuw ru yimu <sup>n</sup> q <sup>2</sup> u m <sup>2</sup> iyya> <b>dó pògòmé xóqqè féttèntè kúurúyé mòxó mè yí yá.</b> <i>Min ustadinā ʿAbd al-Qādir al-mulqqab bi-al-Quṭb nafa ʿanā Allāh bi-barakatihī amīn</i>	‘and similar to the quietude (lit. silent manner) of a lice-infested camel’s tail’  From our teacher ‘Abd al-Qādir, nicknamed Quṭb. May God benefit us with his blessing. Amen.
p. 73 /165	<i>al-ṣaqr</i> ‘falcon/ hawk’	
S1	<siqiniki <sup>n</sup> ʿ <sup>2</sup> a> <i>Min shaykhinā ʿAbd al-Qādir.</i>	‘?’ From our shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir.
p. 92 /165	<i>awwala maulid</i> ‘first birthday/birthplace’	
S1	<i>Wa ʿashāza (sic. Read: wa-ʿashāra) ilā qaūl ʿIsā ʿalayhi al-salām lan yaliya malakūt al-samawāt man lam yūlad marratayni wa madad al-yaqīn ʿalā al-</i>	It has been mentioned that ‘Īsā (peace be upon him) said: ‘One will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven [unless] he is born again (born two times).’ The

<sup>1040</sup> Another gloss attached to the same word reads: *fī kalāminā kī kiya* in our language (Mandinka) [it is] **kiikíya** ‘owl’. There is also a Soninke gloss <ḍi kibi<sup>n</sup>> to the words *bi-laylat* ‘with night’, which most likely stands for **gigippé** ‘night bird, owl’.

<sup>1041</sup> The main text and the gloss are not entirely legible due to the paper damage.

<sup>1042</sup> The commentary is illegible because of the paper damage.

	<p><i>kamāl yahşulu bi-hadhahi al-wilāda wa bi-hadhāhi al-wilāda tustahaqq mīrāth al-anbiyā`.</i></p> <p><i>Hakadhā bi-qaūlihi shaykhunā wa mu`alimunā `Abd al-Qādir `urifa bi-Quṭb fī madrasatihi baqā`nā fī ṭā`at Allāh wa ṭā`at rasūlahi khalq Allāh ḥ-l-f Allāh `alayhi wa sallam.</i></p>	<p>certainty extended to perfection. It is obtained through this birth and with this birth the inheritance of the prophets is deserved.</p> <p>So are the words our shaykh and our teacher `Abd al-Qādir, known as Quṭb, in his school (<i>madrasa</i>). May God prolong his stay and our stay in obedience to God and his prophet.</p>
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### ZMC2: *al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya.*

p. 5 di 6770	<i>Bāb al-i`rāb</i> ‘Chapter on inflection’	
S1	<p><i>Bāban mansūb bi-fi`l muḍmar maḥzūf taqdīruhu ya`nī bāban bāb makhfūd bi-isqāt ḥarf al-khaḍḍ maḥzūf taqdīruhu min bābi fī bābi ilā bābi `alā babi li-anna ḥuruf al-jarr yatawārathān ka-mā yarith Banī Adama.</i></p> <p><i>Sami`tuhu min shaykhī ya`ani al-Kasamā.</i></p>	<p><i>Baban</i> – accusative case with an omitted implicit verb; its underlying/virtually reconstructed form is <i>ya`nī bāban</i> ‘he means chapter’. <i>Bāb</i> noun in a genitive case with subtraction, the preposition is omitted; its underlying/virtually reconstructed form is <i>min bābi</i> ‘from a chapter’, <i>fī bābi</i> ‘in a chapter’, <i>ilā bābi</i> ‘towards a chapter’, <i>`alā babi</i> ‘on a chapter’ because prepositions are interchangeable, just like human beings.</p> <p>I heard it from my shaykh, meaning Kassama.</p>
p. 21 di 6805	<i>wa futiḥa (mā qabla akhirihi)</i> ‘the penultimate [letter] is vocalized with <i>fathā</i> ’	
S1	<p><i>Ay wa futiḥa al-rā` qabla al-bā` ay ba`da al-bā`.</i></p> <p><i>Sami`tuhu min shaykh Muḥammad al-Kasamā barrada Allāh ḍarīḥahu āmīn.</i></p>	<p>I.e., the letter <i>rā`</i> before the letter <i>bā`</i> [in the verb <i>yudrabu`?</i>] is vocalized with <i>fathā</i>. I.e., after the letter <i>bā`</i>.</p> <p>I heard it from shaykh Muḥammad Kassama. May God cool his grave. Amen.</p>
p. 24 di 6845	<i>Wa in takarrarat lā jāza i`māluhā wa lighā`ū`hā (ilghā`ū`hā)</i> ‘when <i>lā</i> is repeated, its action (upon the case), as well as its inaction are permitted’, <sup>1043</sup>	
S1	<p><i>Wa in takarrarat lā jāza isti`māluhu wa lighā`ū`hu (ilghā`ū`hā).</i></p>	<p>When <i>lā</i> is repeated, both its application and its abrogation/omission are permitted.</p>

<sup>1043</sup> Hamza Yusuf translated this passage as follows: ‘When it [*lā*] is repeated, it is permitted to either exercise its influence or simply negate without influence on the case of the negated’.  
<<https://ia800209.us.archive.org/8/items/al-ajurumiyah-hamzayusuf/al-ajurumiyah-hamzayusuf.pdf>> (last accessed January 2020).

	<i>Qālahu shaykhunā Muḥammad al-Kasamā barrada Allāh ḍarīḥahu ma ‘a kull al-awliyā’ āmīn.</i>	Our shaykh Muḥammad Kassama said it. May God cool down his grave with all the saints. Amen.
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**ZMC3: Kitāb al-zuhd.**

di 6867	<i>wa mu’aththir</i> ‘and moving/touching’	
S1	<i>al-muḥibb</i> <i>Min fam shaykh ḥafīzahu Allāh.</i>	loving From the mouth of shaykh. May God preserve him.
di 6867	<i>(wa ayna aẓamūn) nadan (wa ba’sān)</i> ‘(where are the greatest) in equality (and strenght)?’	
S1	<i>kā (ka) ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar</i> <i>Ṣaḥḥ min fam shaykhinā ‘Umar S-s-w-y.</i>	such as ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar Correct from the mouth of our shaykh ‘Umar Cissé.
di 6889	<i>inda ḥulūl ala’ā</i> ‘upon dissolving of hardship/misfortune’	
S1	<i>Allāh a’lam al-shadā’id.</i> <i>Min fam shaykhinā al-Ḥājj ashbqt</i> <i>(subiqtu?) mithāluhu.</i>	Hardship/misfortune, God knows best. From the mouth of our shaykh al-Ḥājj. I was preceded? by his example

**ZMC8: Kitāb al-zuhd.**

di 7298	<i>‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn</i> ‘‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn’	
S1	<i>Mu’allifuhu Zayn al-‘Abidīn ‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn walī b. Abi Ṭālib karram Allāh wajhahu ‘anhu amīn.</i> <i>Min fam shaykhinā Muḥammad al-Taslīmī b. al-faqīh al-Ḥājj[.]</i>	Its author Zayn al-‘Abidīn ‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn walī b. Abi Ṭālib. May God exalt his face. Amen. From the mouth of our shaykh Muḥammad Taslīmī b. al-Ḥājj[.] the jurispudent.

**ZMC7: al-Nafahāt al-qudsiyya.**

di 7413	<i>Abū al-Wafā</i> ‘Abū al-Wafā’	
S1	<i>Ismuhu ‘Alī.</i> <i>Min fam shaykhinā ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Taslīmī.</i>	His name is Ali. From the mouth of my shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Taslīmī.

**BULAC MS.ARA.219bis ff 22a–38b: al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā.**

f. 22b di 0995	[not connected to the main text]	
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S1	<i>An ya 'rifā ba 'ṣ (ba 'ḍ?) mā yajibu li-maulānā jalla wa azza fa-lā budda min taqddama yr (?) ba 'ṣ (ba 'ḍ?) al-yuwāfaq (?) mā ya 'atī fī qaulihi famimmā ay faman ba 'ṣ (ba 'ḍ?) mā.</i> <sup>1044</sup>  <i>Min fam shaykhī.</i>	'To know' – portion? – 'what is necessary for our Lord the great, the strongest', it is necessary yr? – portion? – the approved? what comes with his words 'and which' i.e., and who – portion? – 'what'. <sup>1045</sup> From the mouth of my shaykh.
f. 23b di 0996	[ <i>mukhālafatuhu</i> ] li- 'l-ḥawādith 'otherness from things that come into being' <sup>1046</sup>	
S1	<i>Yuqāl li-'l-maknaāt (makānāt) wa al-makhlūqāt wa al-kā'ināt wa al-'alām wa al-ansab (al-ansāb) hā al-ḥawādith (al-ḥawādith).</i> <sup>1047</sup> <i>Min fam shaykhī.</i>	To say from the places, creatures, living beings, and the world, and the origins, behold! from the things that come into being. From the mouth of my shaykh.
f. 28a di 1001	<i>aw al-tasalsul</i> 'or the sequence/chain'	
S1	<i>Ay al-tasalsul ithnāni tasalsul al-māḍī tasalsul al-mustaqbal tasalsul al-mākhī (al-māḍī) muḥāl.</i>  <i>Sami 'anā min al-Ḥbāḥ (al-Ḥājj) al-Kasamā.</i>	I.e., the sequences are two: sequence of the past and sequence of the future. The sequence of the past is impossible/inconceivable. We heard it from al-Ḥājj Kassama.

**BL MS Or. 6743 ff, 78b–93b: *Risāla fī anwā ' al-kufr.***

f. 82b	[ <i>kull mā yakhturu bi-bālika fa-Allāhu ta 'ālā</i> ] <i>bi-khilāfihi</i> '[everything that comes to your mind, God the Almighty] is different from it'	
S1	<i>Wa kull mā waqa 'a fī tamūrika (taṣawwurika) fa-Allāh bi-khilāfi dhālika.</i> <i>Sami 'tuhu min wālidī Muḥammad Taslimī.</i>	Everything that you can imagine, God is different from that.  I heard it from my parent Muḥammad Taslimī.

**Other manuscripts (commentaries yet to be translated)**

**BnF Arabe 5626, ff 37b–55b: *al-Muqaddīma al-Ājurrūmiyya.***

f. 40a	<i>Qāla wālidī shaykh al-Ḥājj.</i>	My parent shaykh al-Ḥājj said
f. 42b	<i>Ṣaḥḥ min fam shaykhinā al-Ḥājj.</i>	Correct from the mouth of our shaykh al-Ḥājj'

<sup>1044</sup> Similar commentary is found on f. 308a (di 1315).

<sup>1045</sup> The words in bold correspond to the passages from the text of al-Sanūsī. Similar commentary is found on f. 308a (di 1315).

<sup>1046</sup> Translation by Kenny 1970, 121.

<sup>1047</sup> Similar commentary is found on f. 308b (di 1316).

**BnF Arabe 5657, ff 1a–28b: *Dalīl al-qā'id*.**

f. 4b	<i>fī fam al-shaykhinā.</i>	In the mouth of our shaykh.
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**BnF Arabe 5461, ff 1b – 13a: *al-Muqaddima* by al-Sanūsī.**

f. 2a	<i>Min fam shaykh al-Ḥājj Sālim.</i>	From the mouth of shaykh al-Ḥājj Sālim.
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**BL MS Or. 6473, ff 117a–215b: *al-Muqaddima* by al-Sanūsī.**

f. 119b	<i>Sami'atu al-Ḥajj (al-Ḥājj) Kasamā.</i>	I heard [it from] al-Ḥājj Kassama.
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**BL MS Or. 6473**

f. 275b	<i>Sami'atu min shaykhinā al-Ḥadh (al-Ḥājj) al-Kasanmā.</i>	I heard it from our shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama.
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**JRL MS 780[825] ff 59b–71b: *al-'Aqīda ṣaghīra al-ṣughrā* (no Soninke glosses)**

f. 61b	<i>Sami'atu min shaykh al-Ḥājj al-Kasanmā</i>	I heard it from the shaykh al-Ḥājj Kassama.
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**JRL MS 780[825] ff 102b–117b: *Manzūmat al-Jazā'iriyya fī 'l-tawḥīd*.**

f. 114b	<i>Samī'atu (sami'atu) al-shaykh Abū Bakr Lūruyu.</i>	I heard [it from shaykh] Abū Bakr Lūruyu
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**MQB MS AF14722(87) ff 26a–40b: *al-'Aqīda al-ṣughrā*.**

f. 33a	<i>Sami'tuhu min shaykhinā Muḥammad Sīs. Allāhum aghfar.</i>	I heard it from our shaykh Muḥammad Cissé. God forgive
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**TAS1: *Sharḥ Bānat su 'ād*. '.**

di 3407	<i>rā'yatuhu fī kitāb Fūd Shaykh Kabā</i>	I saw it in the book of Foodee Shaykh Kaba.
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**TCD MS 3499: *al-'Aqīda al-kubrā* with a commentary.**

f. 162b	<i>Sami'atu shaykhinā Fūdu ?</i>	I heard it [from] the shaykh Foodee ?
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## Summary

This thesis is a first-time comprehensive study of the tradition of writing Soninke in Arabic script. The Soninke Ajami materials are represented in manuscripts in the form of interlinear and marginal glosses to Arabic texts on various religious subjects. The study draws on a corpus of digital images of Soninke Ajami manuscripts which were identified in various public and private libraries in Europe and West Africa.

Through a multidisciplinary approach to the corpus, it was possible to reconstruct the historical and cultural background of the Soninke Ajami manuscripts. As a result, the manuscripts have been transformed from anonymous carriers of texts into internal witnesses to educational actors and activities. The thus revealed manuscript evidence allowed us to investigate teaching and learning practices, from the procurement of writing materials and the choice of studied texts to the interplay of modes, languages, and channels of knowledge transmission.

The examination of material aspects of manuscripts, as well as their paracontent, revealed the origin of most manuscripts between the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in various locations across Greater Senegambia.

The study uncovered the scribal practices of recording diverse information in colophons and annotations, such as scribes' languages and cultural identities, their places of study and teachers. This not only brought to light the individuals involved, but also confirmed that manuscripts were used at intermediate to advanced stages of classical Islamic education. The identification of scholars referred to in the margins of manuscripts led to connecting them into at least three distinct (although intertwined) scholarly networks: the Soninke of the traditional Soninke provinces (northwest Mali and east Senegal), the Jakhanke centred around Touba, Futa Jallon (Guinea), and the Mandinka of the Mandinka-speaking areas (The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and south Senegal).

The analysis of references at the end of annotations in Arabic and Ajami shows that some of them were recorded by students from their teachers' oral explanations or copied from their manuscripts. It appears from the available evidence that writing down the annotations from a spoken word was not immediate but required some transitional steps.

The study demonstrates that a scholarly variety of Soninke used in the manuscripts was a language of educational instruction amongst both native Soninke speakers and non-native Soninke-speaking teachers and students.

## Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit ist eine erste umfassende Untersuchung zur Tradition, Soninke mit arabischen Buchstaben zu schreiben. Das hier analysierte Textmaterial des Soninke-Ajami findet sich in Interlinear- und Randglossen von Manuskripten, die arabische Texte zu verschiedenen religiösen Themen enthalten. Die Arbeit bedient sich eines Korpus von Digitalaufnahmen zahlreicher Soninke-Ajami-Handschriften, die in öffentlichen und privaten Bibliotheken in Europa und Westafrika ausfindig gemacht wurden.

Der multidisziplinäre Ansatz, der auf das Korpus angewendet wurde, ermöglichte es, den historischen und kulturellen Hintergrund dieser Soninke-Ajami-Manuskripte zu rekonstruieren. Dadurch wurden die Handschriften von anonymen Textträgern zu Zeugen, die selbst Bestandteil der Ausbildung waren und über die beteiligten Akteure sowie deren Aktivitäten Auskunft geben. Die so gewonnenen handschriftlichen Nachweise erlaubten es uns, Praktiken des Lehrens und Lernens zu untersuchen, die vom Erwerb des Schreibmaterials über die Wahl der zu lernenden Texte bis zum Zusammenspiel von Formen, Sprachen und Wegen der Wissensvermittlung reichen.

Die Analyse der materiellen Aspekte sowie des ‚Paracontent‘ ergab, dass die meisten Handschriften vom später 18. Jahrhundert an bis ins frühe 20. Jahrhundert hinein an verschiedenen Orten im Großraum Senegambia angefertigt wurden.

Die Arbeit zeigt zudem auf, mit welchen Praktiken die Schreiber unterschiedliche Informationen in Kolophonen und Anmerkungen festhielten, zu denen etwa ihre sprachlichen und kulturellen Identitäten, die Orte ihres Studiums und die Herkunft ihrer Lehrer gehören. Hierdurch traten nicht nur die beteiligten Personen zum Vorschein, sondern es bestätigte sich auch, dass die Handschriften bei der klassisch-islamischen Ausbildung für fortgeschrittene Anfänger und Fortgeschrittene zum Einsatz kamen. Da es möglich war, die in den Seitenrändern der Manuskripte erwähnten Gelehrten zu identifizieren, kann man sie mindestens drei verschiedenen, wenn auch miteinander verbundenen Bildungsnetzwerken zuordnen:

die Soninke in den traditionellen Soninke-Provinzen (Nordwest-Mali und Ost-Senegal), die Jakhanke rund um ihrem Zentrum in Touba, Futa Jallon (Guinea) und die Mandinka in den Mandinka-sprachigen Gebieten (Gambia, Guinea-Bissau und Süd-Senegal).

Die Untersuchung der Verweise, die am Ende von Anmerkungen in Arabisch oder Ajami stehen, zeigt deutlich, dass die Schüler einige von ihnen aus den mündlichen Erläuterungen ihrer Lehrer bezogen oder aus deren Manuskripten herauskopierten. Die vorhandenen Belege deuten darauf hin, dass Anmerkungen, die auf das gesprochene Wort zurückgehen, nicht umgehend notiert wurden, sondern einiger Zwischenschritte der Übertragung bedurften.

Die Arbeit veranschaulicht, dass Lehrer und Schüler, die Soninke sowohl muttersprachlich als auch nichtmuttersprachlich beherrschten, eine Fach- oder Bildungsvariante des Soninke als Unterrichtssprache nutzten, die in den Handschriften Verwendung fand.

## List of publications

- Ogorodnikova, Darya (2021), “I Heard it from my Teacher”: Reflections on Transmission of Knowledge in Islamic Manuscripts from Senegambia and Mali’, in Stefanie Brinkmann, Giovanni Ciotti, Martin Delhey, and Stefano Valente (eds), *Education Materialized: Reconstructing Teaching and Learning Contexts through Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures), Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 127–150.
- Ogorodnikova, Darya (2017), ‘*Ajamī* Annotations in Multilingual Manuscripts from Mande Speaking Areas: Visual and Linguistic Features’, in *Islamic Africa* 8: 111–143.
- Ogorodnikova, Darya (2016), ‘Exploring Paratexts in Old Mande Manuscripts’, in Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (eds), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 7), Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 1–33.

**Declaration on oath.**

I hereby declare, on oath, that I have written the present dissertation on my own and have not used other than the acknowledged resources and aids.

Darya Ogorodnikova