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'I Heard it from my Teacher': Reflections on the Transmission of Knowledge in Islamic Manuscripts from Senegambia and Mali

Abstract: This article is concerned with Islamic manuscripts from the wider Senegambia region in which the main text is in Arabic and the annotations are in Arabic and in one or more local languages. By examining these annotations closely, it becomes evident that local scholars developed an elaborate system of explaining and commenting on the texts. This included making references to the sources from which the information was obtained, such as the names of local scholars. Analysis of these annotations containing references allows researchers to explore the actors and sources involved in the educational process and the ways in which knowledge was transmitted.

1 Introduction

There are several features that indicate a manuscript's origin from an educational environment. As Dmitry Bondarev has demonstrated, one of the features indicative of teaching practices is a specific layout characterised by wide spacing between the lines and wide margins, which are intended to accommodate annotations. The Arabic texts in West African manuscripts correlate with the titles of the 'core curriculum' identified by Bruce Hall and Charles Stewart² and also to a great extent with the scholarly curriculum of intermediary and

¹ Bondarev 2017.

² See Hall and Stewart 2011. The notion of a 'core curriculum' applies to a group of texts that are widely circulated and studied in West Africa, and it is established on the frequent basis with which these texts appear in individual manuscripts and are mentioned in chronicles and biographies of local scholars.

advanced phases of traditional Islamic³ learning, which Tal Tamari has described for several West African countries.4

An analysis of interlinear and marginal annotations in Arabic and Soninke, written in Arabic script, can provide additional evidence of the educational nature of manuscripts in the wider Senegambia region spanning the late eighteenth to the twentieth century.5 Visual characteristics such as the linkage between the source text and annotations reveal that a careful, systematic approach was taken by readers who worked with the Arabic texts. Glosses in Soninke represent translational practices that were used in order to explain the meaning and grammatical structure of the source text.⁶

The majority of annotations - glosses and commentaries - added to the main text do not specify who the annotators were. In some instances, however, the annotations contain references which indicate (1) the source of the information (a person or a textual source) and (2) who recorded it in the manuscript. This reference system includes the names of local scholars and students and

³ I use the term 'traditional' in the sense of classical Islamic epistemology based on memorisation and hearing as opposed to modern Western and reformist Islamic rationalistic approaches to schooling. Launay 2016, 3 and Launay and Ware 2016 argue that what is commonly called 'traditional education in Africa' in literature on the subject is, in fact, a classical Islamic episteme representing a historical continuity of learning practices characteristic of the whole Muslim world. Seesemann 2015 provides a nuanced discussion of 'traditional' and 'modern' Islamic epistemology.

⁴ Tal Tamari has made an in-depth study of traditional Islamic education and the role that local languages play(ed) in it in various works of hers: see Tamari 2002, 2006 and 2016, for example. A list of texts frequently attested in manuscripts with annotations in Soninke is provided in Bondarev 2017.

⁵ Soninke is one of the Mande languages and is spoken primarily in Mauritania, Mali, Senegal and The Gambia. Mandinka (which will be mentioned again later), belongs to the Manding group, a language and dialect continuum within the larger Mande family that is spoken in The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and southern Senegal.

⁶ Ogorodnikova 2017. On local African languages used for interpreting the Qur'an and other texts in Arabic, see Tamari and Bondarev 2013. For exegetical practices in Manding, see Tamari 1996, 2005 and 2013, for example.

⁷ Following the approach developed by Bondarev, I distinguish between glosses and commentaries on the basis of their content, function and placement on the page. Interlinear glosses mainly represent translational activities and are largely written in the vernacular. More voluminous commentaries appear in the margins and explore the meaning of the main text; see Bondarev 2017, 119-120. A comprehensive study of marginalia in Malian/West African manuscripts has also been conducted by Susana Molins Lliteras 2015 and 2017, who has produced a preliminary typology.

thus provides interesting insights into the production and purpose of the manuscripts.8 Approximately thirty such manuscripts were the focus of the present study.9 Many of them are kept in public libraries in Europe, but others are in private collections that I examined during my field trips to southern and northeastern Senegal and western Mali in 2013–2017. ¹⁰ Images of several manuscripts from Senegambia became available as part of the digital preservation initiative concerning Mandinka Ajami and Arabic manuscripts in Casamance, Senegal.¹¹

Although Soninke appears to be the principal language into which the main Arabic text was translated in all the manuscripts, it was not necessarily the scribes' first language. The expression fi kalāminā ('in our words', 'in our language'), which accompanies some of the glosses, is a clear indication of which language the scribes considered to be their native tongue.¹² In the manuscripts I collected in Mali (in the region of Kayes) and in north-eastern Senegal (in the region of Bakel), the main translational language and that of the scribe is the same, namely Soninke. The scribes who wrote the manuscripts from southern Senegal (Casamance), The Gambia and Guinea were speakers of Western Manding languages (in particular, Mandinka), but used Soninke to interpret

⁸ A similar practice of indicating the name of a scholar from whom the information was obtained has also been attested in manuscripts from Ilorin, Nigeria. See Reichmuth 2017, 95–96.

⁹ The corpus of manuscripts with annotations in Soninke Ajami exceeds a hundred items. Their geographical origin and a preliminary analysis of annotations in local languages have been discussed in Ogorodnikova 2016 and 2017. New material is also coming to light now thanks to activities concerned with the DFG-funded project called 'African Voices in the Islamic Manuscripts from Mali', which is led by Dmitry Bondarev. See <www.manuscript-cultures.unihamburg.de/ajami/index_e.html> (accessed on 1 Sept. 2019).

¹⁰ In particular, I looked at manuscripts from the collections of libraries in Paris, France: the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations (BULAC) and the former Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (MAAO) (now in Musée du Quai Branly), and London, UK: British Library (BL). The manuscripts from private collections have provisional codes I assigned myself. The first letter of the code stands for the place where the manuscripts are currently located: Adéane (A) and Ziguinchor (Z) in southern Senegal, Diawara (D) and Dembancané (Db) in north-eastern Senegal, and Kunjur (K) in western Mali. The initials of the respective owners come next. Wherever I provide examples from the manuscripts, I state the shelf mark or code and folio or page number. As for manuscripts without any foliation, I have marked the number of the corresponding digital image ('di'). See the list of manuscripts at the end of this article for an overview.

¹¹ The project 'EAP 1042: Digital Preservation of Mandinka Ajami Materials' is co-ordinated by Fallou Ngom and Eleni Castro. See <eap.bl.uk/project/EAP1042> (accessed on 1 Sept. 2019).

¹² Another label, marking annotations in local languages, is the word 'ağamī or 'ağam, which literally means 'non-Arabic'. See Ogorodnikova 2017, 122-126.

religious texts. Thus, the manuscripts can be provisionally divided into two distinct groups, which I shall tentatively call 'northern' and 'southern'. 13

My article aims at analysing how and to what extent the internal information from the manuscripts can help us understand and reconstruct educational practices and identify the individuals and working methods involved. It also attempts to answer the question of how the manuscripts mediated learning processes. The article is structured as follows: two initial sections (2 and 3) deal with the sources used by annotators; section 2 presents some examples of the Arabic authors and titles of their works quoted in the margins of the manuscripts, while section 3 is a detailed analysis of references to the names of local scholars, which are essential for reconstructing the educational context in which the manuscripts were used. In section 4, links are made between the references to scholars and particular texts represented in manuscripts in an attempt to identify the curriculum taught by the scholars. The scribes (or students who presumably wrote the manuscripts during their studies) are dealt with in section 5. The concluding section summarises how and to what extent educational practices can be reconstructed on the basis of evidence found in manuscripts.

2 References to textual sources

Marginal commentaries in Arabic, which are represented by quotations of excerpts of texts (usually on a similar subject), can mention the name of the author or the title of his work. They usually appear in a shortened form and follow the quoted text directly or are separated from it by three small dots arranged in a triangle. For example, manuscripts with an Arabic commentary on the Qur'an like *Tafsīr al-Ğalālayn* by Ğalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mahallī (d. 864 AH / 1459 CE) and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr as-Suyūtī (d. 911 AH / 1505 CE)¹⁴ contain marginal commentaries referred to as Baġawī.¹⁵ This probably stands for another Qur'anic exegetical text (tafsīr), namely

¹³ In the present article, most of the examples are taken from the manuscripts of the 'southern' group, which I have studied in more detail.

¹⁴ GAL II 114, 145, S II 179.

¹⁵ E.g. BULAC, MS.ARA.112a fol. 115a; MS.ARA.112b fols 22b, 24a. The practice of citing tafsīr sources, including al-Baġawī, is observed in Old Kanembu Qur'an manuscripts (Bondarev 2019, 36-37).

Ma'alim at-tanzīl, which was composed by Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Baġawī (d. 510 AH / 1117 CE or 516 AH / 1122 CE).16

In manuscripts containing the text of ar-Risāla – a popular manual on Mālikī law – by Ibn Abī Zavd al-Oavrawānī (d. 386 AH / 996 CE). To one finds in the margins excerpts from a commentary to this text, which are marked as Fawākih, the short title of al-Fawākih ad-dawānī 'alā risālat Ibn Abī Zayd by Aḥmad b. Ġunaym an-Nafrāwī (d. 1207 AH / 1792 CE).18 Numerous annotations in manuscripts containing ar-Risāla are also referenced with al-Muhtasar, another widespread legal manual that was written by Halīl b. Ishāq al-Ğundī (d. 767 AH / 1365 CE or 776 AH / 1374 CE).19

Problematic words are provided with a definition and grammatical details from a dictionary entitled *Qāmūs al-muhīt*, compiled by Muhammad b. Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817 AH / 1415 CE).20 As in the aforementioned cases, the references are a concise form of 'Oāmūs'.21

3 Scholars

The references added by the scribes after certain annotations can also include personal names of West African scholars. Some scholars are readily identifiable, as they have already been the subject of several studies and are therefore familiar.²² In other cases, information on the scholars is scarce in the secondary

¹⁶ GAL I 363–364.

¹⁷ GAL I 177-178, S I 301-302.

¹⁸ GAL I 178, S I 301 and S II 439. In the first two entries in GAL, the name is spelt as al-Nahzāwī and the year of his death is given as 1125 AH / 1713 CE. The references to this commentary occur, for example, in manuscript ZOC1 di 5140 and 5143.

¹⁹ GAL II 84, S II 96. The references to Muḥtaṣar are found on several folios in DbLT1.

²⁰ GAL II 182-183, S II 234. Quotations from al-Qāmūs, to mention just a few, are found in manuscripts BL, Or. 6473 fol. 111a; EAP 1042, Adbou_Thiam_M001 p. 34; ZAKC2 di 4198.

²¹ The term *Qāmūs*, which literally means 'ocean', has become a current word for 'dictionary' owing to the popularity of Fīrūzābādī's lexicographical work (Versteegh 2014, 123). This book is reported to be 'by far the best-known dictionary in West Africa' (Hall and Stewart 2011, 120). Mentions of *Qāmūs* are also found in the margins of some annotated manuscripts from Mamma Haïdara Library in Timbuktu, Mali (Molins Lliteras 2017, 161) and in manuscripts from Ilorin, Nigeria (Reichmuth 2011, 233). In Arabic manuscript tradition, an abbreviated reference to this work is rendered by the letter $q\bar{a}f$ (Gacek 2009, 117).

²² For instance, those who are most easily recognisable in these references are members of the Kasama (Gassama) scholarly lineage from Futa Jallon, Guinea. The largest number of manu-

sources. However, as we will see, the references themselves may provide enough clues to locate the people in time and space and in the context of their scholarly networks.

Mostly the longer marginal commentaries in Arabic bear attributions to local scholars. Only a small proportion of the Soninke translations contain such references.²³ In terms of content, the referenced annotations can roughly be put into the following groups: (a) clarification of words in the main text by interpreting and paraphrasing or by removing ambiguities; (b) providing contextual and/or additional information on concepts, events or persons mentioned in the main text;²⁴ (c) explanations on grammatical matters (e.g. how to vocalise particular words); (d) frequency information about the text (e.g. the number of verses it contains or the number of times a certain notion or word is encountered); and (e) esoteric use of certain passages of the text.

The references to the scholars may consist of several elements: (1) an opening/introductory phrase (a set formula); (2) a title; (3) a name; (4) a geographical attribution; (5) an invocation or a eulogy. These elements appear in various combinations, but are frequently limited to an introductory expression and a title or kinship term and/or the name of the scholar. We shall now look at each of these aspects in more detail.

3.1 Opening formulas

Optionally, the introductory part may start with words such as $h\bar{a}kad\bar{a}$ and $kad\bar{a}$ ('thus'), 'sic' or sahh ('true, correct'), which possibly indicate the annotator's

scripts from the corpus with a variety of texts on different subjects contain references to šayḫunā ('our shaykh') al-Ḥāǧǧ al-Kasama or šayḫunā al-Ḥāǧǧ. These variants most likely refer to one and the same person - a Jakhanke scholar called al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama (1730-1824/1829/1836), widely mentioned in the secondary literature by his honorific nickname, Karamokhoba (Manding for 'great teacher'). Besides his fame as a prominent intellectual of the time, he is particularly renowned as the founder of Touba, which became an important centre of scholarly activity in the region. His son and successor Muḥammad Kasama, nicknamed Taslīmī (1776-1829 or 1800-1848/1852), and his grandson 'Abd al-Qādir, known as Qutb (1830-1905), are also frequently referred to in the margins of manuscripts. For more details on Kasama scholars, see Hunter 1977, 243-290; Salvaing and Hunwick 2003, 522-525; Marty 1921, 104-111 and Annexe XX; and Sanneh 1974, 1979 and 1989 and 2016, 140-143.

²³ One exception is ZAKC2, where most of referenced annotations are in Soninke.

²⁴ Some of the annotations credited to local scholars actually appear to be paraphrasing of hadīt or tafsīr texts, but they do not mention the primary source on which they drew.

affirmation that a particular commentary was transmitted accurately. The formula is then followed by an expression introducing the name of a scholar. One of the most typical phrases is (fi/'alā) qaul ('in [the] words [of]) or qālahu ('he said it'). The expressions fi/min kalām ('in/from the words') and min lafz ('from words/speech/enunciation') also occur, but these are quite rare.26

Another common phrase that refers to a scholar is *min fam* ('from the mouth [of so-and-so]') (enclosed in a blue ring in Fig. 1).²⁷ If it can be taken literally, this suggests that the information was passed on by word of mouth.²⁸ Interestingly, the phrase may be complemented by verbs evoking the recipient as well; at the end of a commentary, for instance, it may say nagaltuhu min fam šayhī (literally, 'I transcribed it from the mouth of my shaykh') or arrahtuhu min fam (literally, 'I wrote it down [as heard] from the mouth [of so-and-so]').²⁹ Such wording implies that the information was obtained from the verbal utterance of a teacher and that it was recorded by a student (who made notes in the margins and between the lines of the text). However, the length and visual organisation of some of the annotations, such as their layout (arrangement in blocks), the neat handwriting employed and (in some instances) the alternating use of dif-

²⁵ These introductory phrases are very common and are attested in many existing manuscripts, such as BULAC, MS.ARA.112b fol. 122b; AAN1 p. 323; ZAKC1 di 2613; and ZMC7 di 7413. The expression $q\bar{a}lahu$ ('he said it') may also stand for $q\bar{a}lat$ ('speech, talk'), assuming that the last character is a $t\bar{a}$ ' marbūta with the dots omitted. These opening formulae can be compared to the terms used in Arabic manuscript tradition, where the words qaul ('words, saying') or $q\bar{a}la$ ('he said') are used for quotations (Gacek 2001, 120). In the context of early Islamic manuscripts, these expressions can be taken as evidence of the oral nature of instructions (Schoeler 2009, 88).

²⁶ The first expression is attested in manuscripts KSS1 di 0026 and DAD1 di 0509, while the second one appears in the same manuscripts in di 0485 and di 0205 and in BULAC, MS.ARA.359 fols 369b and 370a.

²⁷ This is found in manuscripts BnF, Arabe 5626 fol. 42b and EAP 1042, Abdou_Cisse_M001 pp. 69 and 71; ZAKC2 di 3915, 3978, 3982; and ZOC1 di 5345, 5409, for example.

²⁸ In Arabic manuscript tradition, the expression min fam al-musannif is indeed indicative of the oral mode of transmission. It is found after the marginal commentaries which the author himself made when his text was read back to him (Witkam 1988, 95-96; Gacek 2009, 271). The expression min fam ('from the mouth') can be compared to the Greek apo fōnēs (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 and 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 out this similarity between the two expressions in different traditions and for providing me with references to the two articles mentioned.

²⁹ Manuscripts AAN1 p. 7, and ZOC1 di 5448 and 5461 respectively.

ferent inks, would have required careful attention, making spontaneous production and the immediate transition from speech to writing highly improbable.

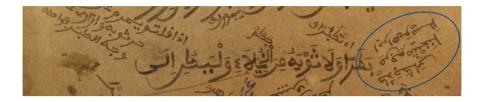


Fig. 1: Reference at the end of a Soninke gloss (circled in the blue ring) indicating that it was received 'from the mouth of our shaykh Ibrāhīm Sylla'. Al-Risāla by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, Ziguinchor, Senegal, private collection, ZOC1 di 5797; Photo by the author.

Aural reception is also implied in such expressions as hākadā sami'nā min fam wālidī ('thus we heard from the mouth of my father').30 Since the verb is in the plural form ('we heard'), this may suggest that the scribe belonged to a group of people who were assisting the teacher during the lesson. However, unlike the audition certificates (samā') known in Arabic manuscript tradition, no information is provided about any other participants.³¹

The chain of transmission, even though present in some instances, only goes back one or two generations at most. Some of the annotations in a manuscript with *Tafsīr al-Ğalālayn* are attributed as follows: sami'tuhu min šayhī 'Abd al-Qādir wa-huwa sami'ahu min wālidihi Muhammad 'urifa bi-Taslīmī ('I heard it from my shaykh, 'Abd al-Qādir, and he heard it from his father, Muḥammad,

³⁰ ZAKC1 di 3170. Other references starting with sami'nā or sami'tuhu ('we' or 'I heard it [from]') were found in BULAC, MS.ARA.112b fols 138b and 391b; MS.ARA.165a di 1531 and 1642, MS.ARA.219bis fol. 28a; MAAO, AF 14722(87) fol. 33b; and EAP 1042, Abdou_Cisse_M001 p. 98, for example.

³¹ Except for using the keyword sami'nā ('we heard') or samā' ('he heard') and having the function of documenting the transmitting authority, these references have no other similarities to certificates of audition ($sam\bar{a}$). Schoeler notes that other than certification, in the early Islamic period the term $sam\bar{a}$ was also applicable to a 'method of transmission' or 'form of teaching' when the student was listening to his teacher reciting, as distinct from $qir\bar{a}'a$, where the student read the text in the teacher's presence (Schoeler 2006, 167). Hirschler points out that in the context of medieval Arabic manuscript tradition, the term sami'a might be more indicative of authorised transmission of the text rather than of the mode of reception. This term may imply a purely aural mode or a visual one as well, such as an individual reading of a text (Hirschler 2013, 13).

known as Taslīmī').32 Paul Marty's account on scholars in Touba confirms that 'Abd al-Qādir, known as Outb or Outubo (1830–1905), was a student of his own father, Taslīmī (1776–1829 or 1800–48/52).33 As Thomas Hunter has noted, the members of great scholarly families were usually able to complete the *Tafsīr* al-Qur'ān before the age of thirty.³⁴ Such considerations make it conceivable that the reference reflects the actual oral transmission from father to son.³⁵

In one instance, the name of a teacher appears after the phrase $kam\bar{a}$ ağābanī bihi ('just as he answered me this way').36 The literal meaning of this expression implies a dialogue between a student (asking) and teacher (explaining) and suggests direct communication during a teaching session.

Certain introductory formulas hint at visual modes of knowledge transmission. The expression *min hatt* ('from the handwriting') indicates a scholar whose holograph has been taken as a model and transferred to the student's own manuscript. The manuscript containing the legal manual *Tuhfat al-hukkām*³⁷ as its main text has numerous annotations written on it, including one labelled min hatt šayhī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kasanmā ('from the handwriting of my shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Kasama').38 All the annotation and the main text seems to be written in the hand of the same person. The colophon attests that the manuscript was written 'by the hand' ('alā yad) of a certain 'Abd al-Qādir Cissé b. Mahmūd b. Muhammad Siré. The scholar in this reference – 'Abd al-Qādir Kasama – is mentioned as a teacher (ustād). Hence, these two expressions, min hatt and 'alā/min yad, are not synonymous: the former points to the source, the latter to the person who did the work of writing or copying.

³² AAN1 p. 11. I have transcribed the names of the scholars and toponyms in Arabic according to the spelling of the source, which can vary within a manuscript or across the corpus. I have used consistent spelling in my English translation, however.

³³ Marty 1921, 130.

³⁴ Hunter 1977, 325. In his account, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* probably stands for *Tafsīr al-Ğalālayn*.

³⁵ Hunter gives 1852 as the year of Muḥammad Taslīmī's death (Hunter 1977, 261), which implies that his son 'Abd al-Qādir, who was born in 1830, would have been 22 years old at the time. According to Marty, Taslīmī died in 1848 (Marty 1921, 547) when his son would have been 18. Sanneh's chronology dates Taslīmī's death even earlier, in the year 1829, and the birth of 'Abd al-Qādir in 1830 (Sanneh 2016, 272). This last consideration would make any direct contacts between father and son impossible. However, it cannot be ruled out that Sanneh's estimations are incorrect.

³⁶ ZAKC1 di 2672.

³⁷ Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām (fī nakt al-'uqūd wa-'a-aḥkām [al-'aṣimiyya]) by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Āṣim al-Mālikī al-Ġarnāṭī (d. 829 AH / 1426-7 CE); GAL II 264, S II 375.

³⁸ ZAKC2 di 4056.

Other expressions attesting the copying of annotations from a written source include (nagaltuhu) min kitāb (mu'allimī) ('(I copied it) from a book [belonging to] (my teacher)' and ra'aytuhu fi ba'ad kutub ('I saw it in some records [of so-and-so's]').³⁹ These imply that the educational process and work with Arabic texts included scholars exchanging books with their students.⁴⁰

In rare cases, more specific terms may start the references which relate to the nature of the commentary in question rather than the mode of transmission. For example, the phrase hākadā dabaṭnāhu 'an wālidī ('thus we vocalised [the word according to my father') follows the annotation clarifying how to correctly mark the vowel diacritics in a word from the main text.⁴¹ The word tagdīr ('underlying structure') preceding the name of the scholar accompanies annotations suggesting the 'interpretive paraphrase' of certain sentences. 42

3.2 Titles

Denominations, which may precede the names of scholars, can provide further clues about the background of the individuals mentioned in the references. Possessive pronouns of the first person singular or plural, $-\bar{i}$ ('my') or $-n\bar{a}$ ('our'), attached to the titles hint at a type of relationship between the transmitter and recipient of the information. Although the labels discussed below are relative and not absolute (as in the case of the introductory expressions), they could still indicate the following aspects:

(a) Role. The title *šayh* encountered in most references may denote a respected and learned individual. In Sufism, this term has a more specific connotation of a spiritual master and guide. The scribes emphasised the mentoring role by using the terms $ust\bar{a}d(\bar{\imath})$ and $mu'allim(\bar{\imath})^{43}$ and in one instance the Soninke word $x aranmóx o^{44}$ as well, meaning '(my) master', 'teacher'.

³⁹ In manuscripts DAD1 di 0315 and ZAKC1 di 2617.

⁴⁰ As Tal Tamari has pointed out to me, '[s]cholars borrow books from each other; furthermore, there are explicit references to this practice in many manuscripts, as well as in preserved local correspondence. Students typically study from books in their teachers' libraries, and formerly, they generally copied them (subject to the availability of paper). Students still copy manuscripts and lithographs, more rarely printed books' (email dated 6 Dec. 2018).

⁴¹ ZAKC2 di 4076.

⁴² ZAKC1 di 4967. For the definition of the term *taqdīr*, see Versteegh 1993, 99.

⁴³ As in manuscripts ZAKC1 di 3215 and 3231, ZAKC2 di 3908 and EAP 1042, Abdou_Thiam_M001 p. 92. Concerning terms such as mu'allim, šayh and walī, Wilks noted that

(b) Family ties. The references may also include kinship terms such as $ab\bar{\imath}$ ('my father'), wālidī ('my parent/father') (Fig. 2), ahī ('my brother') or hālī ('my [maternal] uncle').45 As we saw in the previous section, kinship terms were used in their literal sense in the chain of transmission in the Kasama family.



Fig. 2: The scribe stated that he had heard the commentary from his father Muhammad Taslīmī (reference circled in the blue ring). Risāla fī anwā' al-kufr wa'l-īmā, London, British Library, Or. 6473, fol. 82b; © British Library Board.

In the manuscript written by 'Abd al-Qādir Cissé, he indicates that most of the annotations were received 'from the mouth of my shaykh [and] father' (min fam šayhī wālidī), sometimes specifying his name as well. 46 The genealogical information in the colophon confirms the family ties between the scribe and his mentor. Unfortunately, the genealogical information is missing in other manuscripts I have studied. Nevertheless, the scribes only applied the terms 'father' or 'parent' to the same individual, even though they referred to several teachers in the margins. This mere fact may support the literal use of kinship terms, although they may not necessarily relate to the actual scribe of the manuscript if annotations were copied together with the reference. What is more, it cannot be ruled out that such terms were employed in a broader sense of spiritual/clerical unity.

(c) Spheres of expertise. Honorific epithets and titles such as *faqīh* ('jurist') and nahwī ('grammarian') point to scholarly specialisations. The Soninke honorific

they are largely conventional and therefore of little use in assessing a scholar's worth (Wilks 1968, 172).

⁴⁴ DbLT1 di 9391.

⁴⁵ Attested in the manuscripts as follows: AAN2 p. 100; ZAKC2 di 3978; DAD1 di 0533(II); ZOC1 di 5534.

⁴⁶ E.g. ZAKC2 di 3908 and 4076. As mentioned earlier, only a few other commentaries in this manuscript refer to šayhī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kasamā.

title *fódívè* is applicable to a highly learned individual and particularly to a person capable of interpreting and commenting on the Our'an. 47

The title ğāmi' al-funūn (literally, 'gatherer of scientific disciplines') is followed by the name of Nūh al-Fulānī, probably to underline the breadth of his knowledge. 48 Several epithets may be combined for the same purpose, as in aš-šayhunā Muhammad al-Amīn Suwārī an-nahwī al-gawīy al-gur'ānī ('our shavkh Muhammad al-Amīn Suware, the grammarian, all-strong, the connoisseur of the Qur'an'). 49 Interestingly, this reference follows the commentary which contains explanations about Arabic grammar illustrated by a quotation from the Qur'an.⁵⁰

(d) Sufi affiliation. Some other honorific titles point to scholars' affiliation to the Sufi tradition. For instance, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware is referred to as šayh ahl at-tasawwuf ('shaykh of the Sufis').51 The name of Muhammad Taslīmī appears accompanied by the epithet wali,⁵² and his son 'Abd al-Qādir Kasama is known by the honorific term qutb.53 Both terms desig-

⁴⁷ The respective Mandinka title is fódé/fóodée. Regarding its meaning, see Hunter 1977, 516; Creissels 2012, 72; Diagana 2011, 57; Sylla 2012, 311-312. Sanneh notes that the title 'fode' is reserved for tafsīr scholars (Sanneh 1989, 155). However, in his later work, he interprets this term as an equivalent for the Arabic faqih ('jurist') (Sanneh 2016, 145 and 276). References to scholars bearing this title are attested in manuscripts DAD1 di 0019, 0168, 0332 and others in DbLT1 di 9170, 9460 and BULAC, MS.ARA.359 fol. 56b.

⁴⁸ AAN2 p. 15. According to Mauro Nobili, Nūḥ b. al-Ṭāhir Balkū b. Abī Bakr b. Mūsa al-Fulānī was 'a prominent figure in the intellectual landscape of nineteenth-century West Africa' (Nobili 2016). Local accounts claim he was 'a master of forty branches of learning (hāfiz 'arba'īna fanna min funūn)' (Sanneh 2016, 133). He was one of the teachers of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama, see Salvaing and Hunwick 2003, 523. He was also his contact among the members of the Qadiriyya Sufi order and initiated him into the wird ('litany'), see Sanneh 1974, 173; Hunter 1976, 441 n. 25.

⁴⁹ The combined information from manuscripts and secondary literature enables us to locate Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ibrāhīm Suware's life and activities in the nineteenth century Touba, Guinea. According to Hunter's fieldwork data, Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware was one of Muḥammad Taslīmī Kasama's students. The Suware family had their own educational centre (mağlis) in Touba, which was independent of the one run by the Kasama family (Hunter 1977, 286). Muḥammad al-Amīn Suware is also known as the author of a poem in praise of the Prophet (Hunter 1977, 306).

⁵⁰ ZAKC1 di 2994.

⁵¹ ZAKC1 di 3237.

⁵² ZAKC1 di 2850.

⁵³ AAN1 p. 7; EAP 1042, Abdou_Thiam_M001 pp. 64 and 92.

nate the high spiritual/charismatic status of the scholars.⁵⁴ Another appellation from Sufi vocabulary is 'anf [bi-'llah ta'ala] ('cognizant [of God])', 55 which denotes the highest rank among Sufi masters.

3.3 Names and nicknames

In the references, the scribes mention the same individual by different appellations, which include his personal name, family (or clan) name, genealogical information (name of the father) and nicknames. The latter is crucial to distinguish between homonyms. For example, the reference min fam šaykhinā Muhammad Kasamā ('from the mouth of our shaykh Muhammad Kasama') may potentially indicate any of the sons of al-Ḥājj Sālim (all named Muḥammad, but with different nicknames) or any other person with such a name outside this family.⁵⁶ However, even the nicknames can be identical, especially when given after a famous person (e.g. as-Sanūsī). For instance, the scholar mentioned in the reference sami'tuhu min šayhī Muhammad Hayrabā al-Kasamā ('I heard it from my shaykh Muhammad Khayraba Kasama') could be one of at least three different people.⁵⁷ In some cases, by comparing the references in different manuscripts, it is possible to clarify exactly which scholar is concerned. In other cases, however, the identity of the scholars remains ambiguous.

⁵⁴ The term wali is usually translated as 'Friend of God' or 'saint' - a status attained by advanced Sufi masters. The word qutb has the meaning of the '(spiritual) pole, axis', which represents the summit in the hierarchy of saints (awliya"). See Chittick 1989, Green 2012 and Knysh 2000 on this terminology. As Hunter notes, the term qutb may sometimes be used interchangeably with walī among Jakhanke clerics. The latter title has a broader meaning, though, namely that of a well-known shaykh (Hunter 1977, 384).

⁵⁵ This occurs in ZAKC2 di 3988. The term has the same root as ma'rifa [bi-'llāh], various translations of which include 'knowledge of God', 'gnosticism', 'intuitive knowledge' and 'special knowledge'. With the reference to al-'Arabī, William Chittick notes that some Sufi scholars distinguished between two types of knowledge, ma'rifa and 'ilm; the former can only be achieved through spiritual practice (Chittick 1989, 148-149).

⁵⁶ EAP 1042, Abdou Cisse M001 pp. 69 and 71.

⁵⁷ E.g. ZOC1 di 5134. The word khayraba can be translated from Manding as 'great peace'. Muḥammad Khayraba Kasama may be identified as the older brother of al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama (Sanneh 1974, 130 n. 3 and 373). Alternatively, he can be identified with al-Ḥājj Sālim's oldest student (Hunter 1977, 261). Despite the shared lineage name, there was no kin relationship between the two scholars (Hunter 1977, 254). Finally, the great-grandson of al-Ḥājj Sālim, whose father was 'Abd al-Qādir Kasama, was also named Muḥammad Khayraba (Marty 1921, 111; Sanneh 1981, 123).

3.4 Geographical information

Indications of where a scholar lived or taught occasionally occur in the references, too, as in wa-su'ila šayhunā fūdī Muhammad Bāba Ğāwara fī Kunğūr [...] ('our shaykh fódívè Muhammad Baba Jawara in Kunjur was asked [...]'). Interestingly, this scholar from Kunjur is mentioned in the two manuscripts written in another place in Mali as well – Tafasirga – which could imply that scholars and students traveled for seeking knowledge to different places. Alternatively, it may mean that there was no direct contact between the scholar who is quoted and the student(s) who wrote the annotations.

The geographical affiliation may appear as a scholar's nisba, as in the following reference: aālahu šavhī wa-abī wa-mu'allimī wa-ustādī al-Amīn Suwāriwiyu Tūbāwī Fūtā zamānā ('said my shaykh and my father and my teacher and my master Muhammad al-Amīn Suware from Touba [in] Futa [Jallon]').59

3.5 Closing formulas

The closing phrases of references include pious invocations asking for forgiveness, blessings, mercy and suchlike. Expressions such as hafizahu'llāh ('May God preserve him')60 or tāla Allāh 'umra / baqā'ahu li-nā ('May God grant him long life / a long stay for our sake')61 were apparently meant for living scholars. In contrast, some invocations make it seem as if the scribe was referring to a scholar who had already died. The closing phrase sami'tuhu min šayh Muhammad al-Kasamā barrada'llāh darīhahu āmīn, for instance, means 'I heard it from shaykh Muhammad Kasama. May God cool his grave. Amen'.62 A literal reading of the phrase makes it appear as if the scribe received the information

⁵⁸ DAD1 di 0627(II). I found several references to Muḥammad Jawara in the manuscripts I collected during my field trip to Mali and in BULAC, MS.ARA.359. It is possibly the same person as Maḥmūd / Muḥammad Jawara, who the chronicles of the Kasama lineage say taught the texts of tafsīr and Mukhtaṣar by Shaykh Khalīl to al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama (Hunter 1976, 440; Sanneh 2016, 133). If this is the case, then 'Kunjur' (Goundiourou) in the reference is the locality in the region of Kayes, Mali.

⁵⁹ ZAKC1 di 3029.

⁶⁰ ZMC3 di 6867.

⁶¹ E.g. AAN3 di 1547; EAP 1042, Abdou Thiam M001 p. 92.

⁶² ZMC2 di 6805. Similar invocations are found in the same manuscript, di 6845, and in manuscripts AAN1 p. 12 and AAN2 p. 50.

aurally from the scholar in question (i.e. when he was still alive), but he only wrote it down sometime later (i.e. when the quoted scholar was dead).

Together with the dates of his life, the clues as to whether the quoted scholar was alive when the annotations were written may serve as a reference point in estimating the manuscript's date of production, provided that the referenced annotations were not just copies from earlier manuscripts.

4 Curriculum

If we consider the references to scholars as proof of their teaching activities, it is possible to reconstruct (at least in part) which texts constituted the curriculum they taught. This can be demonstrated by the example of the four scholars discussed in the previous sections, references to whom are attested in the manuscripts from the 'southern' group with the titles as follows:

- Devotional poetry (madh):
 - (1) Tahmīs on al-Fāzāzī's Išrīniyyāt by Ibn Mahīb;63
- Belief (tawhīd):
 - (2) Risāla fī anwā' al-kufr wa-l-īmān by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Mahallī;64
- Islamic law/jurisprudence (figh):
 - (3) ar-Risāla by Ibn Abī Zavd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 AH / 996 CE);65
 - (4) Tuhfat al-hukkām by Ibn 'Āsim (d. 829 AH / 1427 CE);66
- Sufism (tasawwuf):
 - (5) Dāliyya al-Yūsī by Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Yūsī (d. 1102 AH / 1691 CE):⁶⁷
 - (6) an-Nafahāt al-qudsivva by Hasan b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Bādīs (d. 787 AH / 1385 CE);68
- Syntax (nahw):
 - (7) al-Muqaddima al-āğurrūmiyya by Ibn Āğurrūm (d. 723 AH / 1323 CE);69

⁶³ GALS I 483.

⁶⁴ ALA IV 269, 661.

⁶⁵ GAL I 177–178, S I 301–302.

⁶⁶ GAL II 264, S II 375.

⁶⁷ GAL II 455–6, S II 675.

⁶⁸ GAL II 166, S II 214.

⁶⁹ GAL II 237, S II 332.

- Our'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*):
 - (8) Tafsīr al-Ğalālayn by Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Mahallī (d. 864 AH / 1459 CE) and Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH / 1505 CE).70

Most texts represented in the manuscripts under my investigation appear in the intermediate and advanced level curriculum of traditional Islamic education found by anthropological studies. Hunter has carried out research on the Jakhanke *maǧālis* ('learning assemblies') in The Gambia, which follow a standard curriculum of 29 texts.⁷¹ As he notes, this curriculum is virtually identical to the one introduced by al-Ḥājj Sālim Kasama of Touba.⁷²

In her research on Islamic education in Mali, Guinea and The Gambia, Tal Tamari has demonstrated that the texts and subjects on the curriculum were studied in a specific order. The education usually began with one or more texts on Islamic law or theology. The more advanced levels included Arabic grammar, devotional texts and mysticism, among other things.⁷³ In each discipline, some texts were obviously considered to be more comprehensive and advanced than others, such as ar-Risāla Qayrawāniyya and Tuhfat al-hukkām in the field of *figh*;⁷⁴ the latter was not studied very frequently, it seems, as it does not occur very often in the manuscripts I viewed. The ultimate goal, however, was to study Qur'anic exegesis;⁷⁵ only a small number of erudite scholars reached this level.76

The marginal commentaries referred to Muhammad Taslīmī Kasama appear in manuscripts containing texts (1), (2) and (8). The name of his son 'Abd al-Qadīr Kasama, known as Qutb, is recorded in the margins of manuscripts containing texts (1), (4)–(6) and (8). Another frequently quoted scholar is Muhammad al-Amīn Suware. Commentaries attributed to him are especially frequent in manuscripts containing texts (1) and (8), but they also occur in text (3). Finally, manuscripts containing texts (1), (3), (7) and (8) contain annotations with references to Muhammad Kasama.⁷⁷ As may be presumed from these

⁷⁰ GAL II 114, 145, S II 179.

⁷¹ Hunter 1977, 301–308.

⁷² Hunter 1977, 301.

⁷³ Tamari 2002, 104–111.

⁷⁴ Tamari 2016, 41–42.

⁷⁵ Tamari 2016, 44. Also see Hunter 1977, 301; Launay and Ware 2016, 256.

⁷⁶ Tamari 2016, 44.

⁷⁷ The references in the manuscripts containing texts (1) and (3) concern a 'Muḥammad Khayraba Kasama', which I assume was an alternative appellation of Muhammad Kasama's.

examples, each scholar taught several texts, some of which went beyond the basic educational programme, and they covered a variety of subjects, which tells us that the teachers were well educated and versatile.

The same text can be found in several different manuscripts; text (1) appears in at least four manuscripts, for example. The scribes of two of them referred to Muhammad al-Amīn Suware as their teacher, which may mean that the manuscripts in question are students' copies.

It is often the case that the margins of a manuscript contain annotations that are attributed to various scholars. The number of references to each scholar may range from one to a few dozen, and some of the scholars may be referred to more frequently than others. It is tempting to surmise that students/scribes studied the same text with several teachers. Yet the annotations attributed to different scholars by the references are often written in the same handwriting and ink, neatly arranged in blocks next to one another. Because of the layout and handwriting, it is hard to imagine that a scribe/student studied the same text with different teachers at different times and added their commentaries to the same manuscript in successive stages. However, it also seems highly unlikely that all the scholars referred to actually commented on the text concurrently. Rather, the annotations, collected successively, were written down at once, possibly some time after the teaching session.

The accumulation of references to different scholars may not be indicative of the scribe's direct contact with them. The note-taker may have referred to those scholars who were authoritative in commenting on a particular text as sources of information rather than actual transmitters. The commentaries may either have been obtained from one scholar, who simply quoted others, or copied from another manuscript.

5 Scribes/students

Typically, the main text and the majority of annotations in a manuscript are written in one and the same hand. The information on the person who wrote the annotations in each manuscript is introduced by the expression min vad ('from the hand [of]'). It often consists of their personal and family name and can also include the names of their parents. These details mainly appear at the end of extensive marginal commentaries in Arabic. Only a few such references were added by the scribes of manuscripts from the 'southern' group; these are more frequent in manuscripts from the 'northern' group.

In some instances, the names of scribes immediately follow the references to textual sources or local scholars (as shown in Fig. 3).78 The scribal names introduced after min yad are often accompanied by an expression of selfabasement and humbleness such as al-mudnib ('sinner') or al-danī ('despicable') and are followed by supplications asking God to grant the student knowledge.79

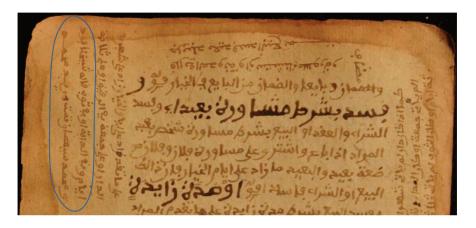


Fig. 3: Reference (in the blue ring) mentioning the name of the scholar who provided the explanation and the name of the student who wrote it down. Commentary on Muhtaşar by Šayh Halīl, Diawara, Senegal, private collection, MS DAD1 di 0221; Photo by the author.

Some references at the end of annotations explicitly state that the scribe attended the lessons held at a mağlis ('learning assembly') and indicate its location as well as the name of the person who ran it, as in min yad al-danī yusammī Mahmūd Ğumīra kā'in fī Tafasirka fī mağlis šayh Daramī ('from the hand of the despicable person named Mahmūd Jomera (Djimera/Djimbera) living in Tafasirga in the *mağlis* of shaykh Dramé').⁸⁰ The term *mağlis* (or *máyis*ì in Soninke) refers to the phase of traditional Islamic education consecutive to the Qur'anic school (xàràn-yìnbé).81 It involves the study of one or more works in

⁷⁸ E.g. KSS1 di 0441; DAD1 di 0221.

⁷⁹ E.g. KSS1 di 0187; DbLT1 di 9170.

⁸⁰ KSS1 di 0684. Similar references with indications of studies in mağlis are also found in DAD1 di 0080 and DbLT1 di 9194, for instance.

⁸¹ The Soninke word xàràn-yìnbé (or Mandinka kàràntáa) literally means 'fire lit for studying'.

Arabic on one or a number of disciplines. Lessons are held in an auditorium (tùgú) usually constructed at the entrance to the teacher's (xàrànmóxò) compound. The scribes must therefore have been intermediate or advanced students (tálíbè).

As we saw previously, some students (i.e. scribes) indicated the kin relationship to their teachers by using terms such as abī or wālidī ('my father' or 'my parent'). The kin connection between the teacher and his student may imply that the lessons took place in a family environment. It may also be assumed that (some of) the students were of a younger generation than their teachers. Their actual age is hard to determine, however.

6 Concluding remarks

References to authors and work titles found in the margins of Soninke Ajami manuscripts can help us trace the learning/scholarly materials which were involved in the educational process. Personal and place names reveal who the agents were and where the scholarly centres of teaching and learning were located at the time.

Several terms used by the scribes in the references such as $ust\bar{a}d\bar{t}$ or mu'allimī ('my teacher') and mağlis allude to learning situations and personal contacts between mentors and their disciples. Hence it may be surmised that the manuscripts were written by students during their intermediate and advanced studies. The introductory phrases min fam ('from the mouth') and sami'tuhu min ('I heard it from') on the one hand and min hatt ('from handwriting') on the other imply that the information was transmitted and received in two different ways: oral/aural and visual (written).

Yet the formulaic nature of these expressions makes it problematic to rely on their literal meaning. The claim that annotations were copied from written sources is hard to refute, especially since some references are evidence of book exchanges that took place between scholars. Even though oral instructions by a teacher cannot be ruled out, there is more evidence that the annotations were not added to manuscripts immediately during the lessons. Therefore, there should have been some intermediary steps as well that still need to be understood.

Furthermore, it is unclear to what extent this assumed model of teaching and learning may be applied to all of the manuscripts under investigation here. If the references do, indeed, document the actual transfer of knowledge from a teacher to a student encoded in the form of annotations, it remains unclear why they only occur occasionally in the manuscripts compared to other annotations that are largely anonymous. How did these anonymous annotations get created? If, on the other hand, the referenced annotations represent quotations by authoritative scholars who were not in direct contact with the scribes, such annotations would be irrelevant in reconstructing the methods of transmission. Hence, a great deal of contextual information is needed for us to be able to draw broader meaningful conclusions.

Nonetheless, references in manuscripts allow us to establish connections between scholars, students and manuscripts, placing them in the context of scholarly networks. The manuscripts provisionally divided into 'southern' and 'northern' groups on the basis of their linguistic configurations can also be attributed to distinct networks of scholars and scholarly centres.

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Abbreviations

ALA IV John O. Hunwick (ed.), The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa. Arabic Literature

of Africa, vol. IV, Leiden: Brill, 2003.

BL British Library, London.

BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

BULAC Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, Paris.

GAI Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur (2. den Supplement-

bänden angepasste Auflage), 2 vols, Leiden: Brill, 1943/1949.

GAL S Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Supplementbände, 3

vols, Leiden: Brill, 1937/1942.

MAAO Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Paris.

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Appendix: Manuscript corpus in the present study

In libraries in Europe:

- London, British Library, Or. 6473, fols 78b-93b: Risāla fī anwā' al-kufr wa'l-īmān by Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Maḥallī.
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 5626, fols 37b-55b: al-Mugaddima al-Āğurrūmiyya by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Şanhāğī (d. 723 AH / 1323 CE), known as Ibn Ağurrūm. <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065664h>
- Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, MS.ARA.112b, fols 20a-402b: Tafsīr al-Ğalālayn by Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Maḥallī (d. 864 AH / 1459 CE) and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūtī (d. 911 AH / 1505 CE), suras 19-114.
- Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, MS.ARA.165a, 240 fols (no foliation): Kitāb aš-šifā' bi-ta'rīf huqūq al-mustafā by Abū al-Fadl b. Mūsā b. 'Iyād al-Yahsibī as-Sabtī al-Mālikī (d. 544 AH / 1149 CE).82
- Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, MS.ARA.359, fols 1a-642b: a commentary (šarḥ) on Muḥtaṣar by Ḥalīl b. Isḥāq al-Ğundī (d. 767 AH / 1365 CE).
- Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire de langues et civilisations, MS.ARA.219bis, fols 22a-38b: al-'Aqīda aş-şuğrā by Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892 AH / 1486 CE).83
- Paris, Musée du quai Branly (former collection of Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie), AF 14722(87), fols 26a-40b: al-'Aqīda as-suğrā by Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892 AH / 1486 CE).

⁸³ GAL II 250, S II 352.

In private collections:

EAP 1042, Abdou_Cisse_M001, pp. 16-340: Takhmīs al-'Ishrīnīyyāt by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mahīb, known as Ibn Mahīb. <open.bu.edu/handle/2144/28457>

EAP 1042, Abdou Thiam M001, pp. 2-97: Dāliyyat al-Yūsī by Hasan b. Mas'ūd b. Muhammad al-Yūsī (d. 1102 AH / 1691 CE). <open.bu.edu/handle/2144/28994>

AAN1, pp. 1-412: Tafsīr al-Ğalālayn, suras 1-18.

AAN2, pp. 1-609 and 700-705: Tafsīr al-Ğalālayn, suras 19-114.

AAN3 (no foliation): Takhmīs al-'Ishrīnīvvāt by Ibn Mahīb.

DbLT1 (no foliation): ar-Risāla by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 AH / 996 CE).

DAD1 (no foliation): Šarh Muhtasar. KSS1 (no foliation): Šarh Muhtasar.

ZAKC1 (no foliation): Takhmīs al-Ishrīnīyyāt by Ibn Mahīb.

ZAKC2 (no foliation): Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām by lbn 'Āṣim (d. 829 AH / 1427 CE).

ZMC2 (no foliation): al-Muqaddima al-Āğurrūmiyya by Ibn Āğurrūm.

ZMC3 (no foliation): Kitāb az-zuhd by 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, known as Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.

ZMC7 (no foliation): an-Nafaḥāt al-qudsiyya by Ḥasan b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Bādīs, known as Ibn Bādīs (d. 787 AH / 1385 CE).

ZOC1 (no foliation): ar-Risāla by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī.