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Collecting Books in Eighteenth-Century Morocco: The Bannānī Library in Fez

Abstract: A recently found *waqf* deed with a list of books documents the contents of a part of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī’s library. This Moroccan scholar from Fez, who died in 1163 AH/1750 CE, wrote and collected books; he established a *zāwiya* close to the Qarawiyyin mosque where his collection of manuscripts was kept. The deed is published in this paper. It is the starting point of a research into Muḥammad Bannānī’s library: with the documentation at hand, it is possible to identify eighty-three titles that once belonged to him, but also to study the strategies of a Moroccan scholar in the eleventh AH/eighteenth CE century to collect books and to organize the survival of his library for his children. An effort to defend the prestige of the family is also apparent since the collection helped to preserve the successive contributions of various generations of scholars related by kin.

The Qarawiyyin library in Fez keeps, besides its collection of manuscripts which has been the subject of a series of catalogues, a deposit of manuscripts and papers in a state that does not allow to have them kept with the rest of the collection. One of us (FD) was allowed to look at these documents and was able to identify a list of manuscripts that had been presented as a *waqf*: it has been the starting point for a wider research (Fig. 1). The deed had been written on a sheet of paper that has been folded in six. Its left side has been torn away, as well as the bottom of the sheet, so that the texts that were in these places have either been partially mutilated or completely lost. Its current dimensions are c. 220 × 140 to 150 mm.

1 The *waqf* deed

The layout immediately helps identifying the different parts of the document: at the top and bottom is the text of the *waqf* itself; between the two, the list of the books has been arranged in six columns and ten rows, according to a familiar arrangement for this kind of information. Reference can be made here to the *waqf* of *Shaykh* Khālid al-Shahrazūrī of 1242 AH/1827 CE¹ or to the catalogues of

1 See de Jong and Witkam 1987, 76.

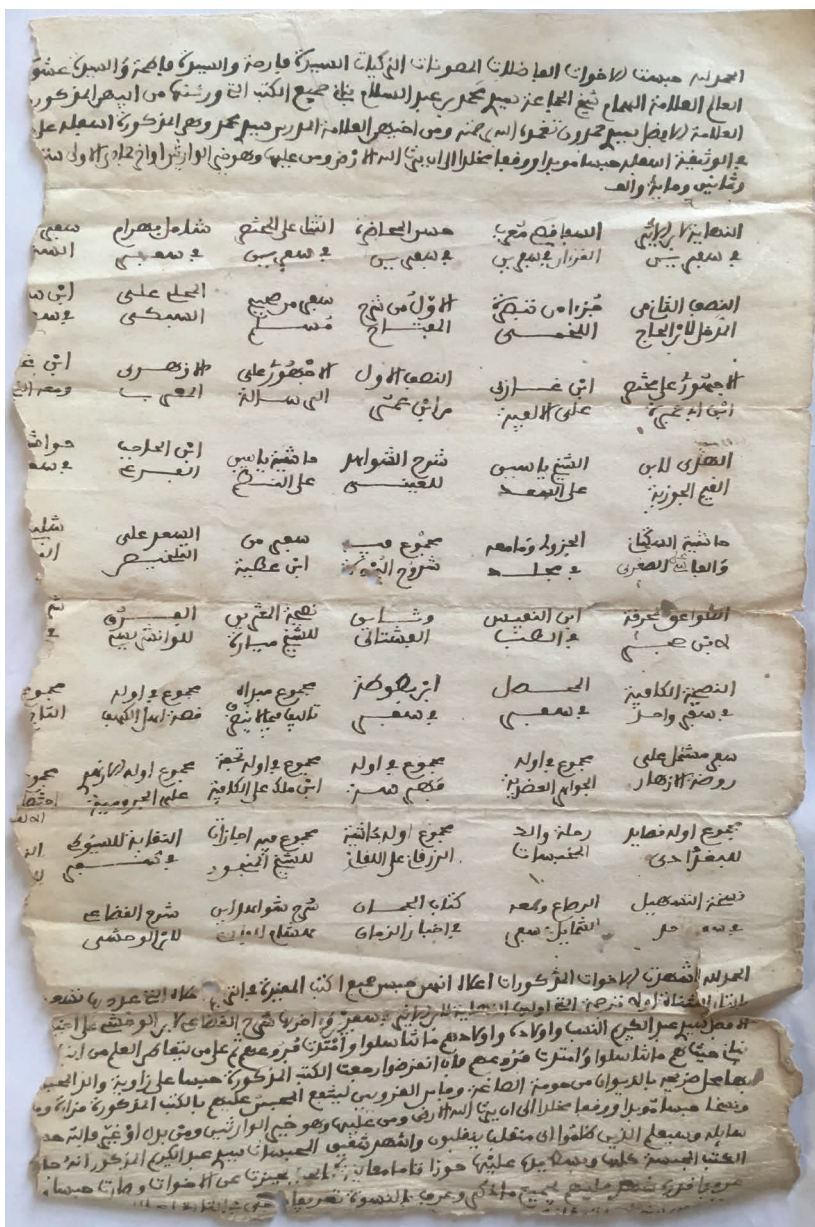


Fig. 1: Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 10-29, without no. The *waqf* deed of the three sisters.
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Ottoman libraries. The identification of the works concerned is facilitated by a lay out intended to make its reading easier: in each case one finds either the title, often followed by the name of the author, or the name of the latter only; relatively frequently, an indication about the nature of the manuscript (*majmūʿ*, for instance) or the number of volumes is also found. The whole document has been written by the same scribe who used a script Muḥammad al-Manūnī suggested to call *al-musnad al-zimāmī* in his classification of Maghribi scripts² and where appear some peculiarities, like the way of writing ‘Sīdī’ or a heart-like shape of *ṭāʾ* when the letter is inside a word (Fig. 1, lines 2 in Part 1 of the deed and 2 in item 22 respectively). The text of the *waqfs* is as follows:

Part 1:

١. الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ. حَبَسَتْ الْأَخَوَاتُ الْفَاضِلَاتُ الْمُصُونَاتُ الزَّكِيَّاتُ; السَّيِّدَةُ فَارْحَةُ، وَالسَّيِّدَةُ فَاطِمَةُ، وَالسَّيِّدَةُ عَشْوَةُ [٥]
٢. بَنَاتُ الْعَالِمِ الْعَلَامَةِ الْهُمَامِ شَيْخِ الْجَمَاعَةِ سَيِّدِي مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ السَّلَامِ بَنَانِي جَمِيعِ الْكُتُبِ الَّتِي وَرَثَتْهَا مِنْ أَبِيهِنَّ الْمَذْكُورِ [وَمِنْ أَخِيهِنَّ]
٣. الْعَلَامَةِ الْأَفْضَلِ سَيِّدِي حَمْدُونِ تَعَمَّدَهُ اللَّهُ بِرَحْمَتِهِ، وَمِنْ أَخِيهِنَّ الْعَلَامَةِ الْمُدَرِّسِ سَيِّدِي مُحَمَّدٍ، وَهِيَ الْمَذْكُورَةُ أَسْفَلَ، عَلَى [أَخِيهِنَّ الْمَذْكُورِ]
٤. فِي الْوَثِيقَةِ أَسْفَلَهُ؛ حَيْسًا مُؤَبَّدًا، وَوَقْفًا مُخْلَدًا إِلَى أَنْ يَرِثَ اللَّهُ الْأَرْضَ وَمَنْ عَلَيْهَا، وَهُوَ خَيْرُ الْوَارِثِينَ. أَوَاخِرَ جُمَادَى الْأُولَى سَنَةِ [سِتٍّ]
٥. وَتَمَانِينَ وَمِائَةً وَأَلْف.

1. Praise be to God! Have formed in good hands the virtuous, protected and generous sisters, the ladies Fāriḥa, Fāṭima and ‘Ashw[a],³
2. daughters of the learned, erudite and excellent *shaykh* of the community, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī, all the books they had inherited from their father – already mentioned – [and from their brother]
3. the wise and good Sīdī Ḥamdūn, may God cover him with His grace, and from their brother, the learned professor Sīdī Muḥammad; these are the books mentioned below, in favor of [their brother ‘Abd al-Karīm]

² al-Manūnī 1991, 14.

³ ‘Ashwa is an affectionate form of the name ‘Aysha, especially in Fez. Various sources in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries document this: see al-Fāsī al-Fihri, *al-Mawrid*, ed. al-Ṣiqillī 2008, 83; al-Manālī al-Zabādī, *Sulūk al-ṭariq*, ed. ‘al-Ḥayy al-Yamlāḥī 2012, 408; Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Kattānī, *Sulwat al-anfās*, ed. al-Kāmil al-Kattānī 2004–2006, II, 211.

4. mentioned in the deed below; a perpetual legacy and an eternal *waqf* until God ‘inherits the earth and those who are there’ (Q. 19: 40) because he is ‘the best of those who give inheritance’ (Q. 21: 89). End of *Jumādā I*

5. 118 [6]/August 28, 1772.⁴

Part 2:

١. الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ. شَهِدَتِ الْأَخَوَاتُ الْمَذْكُورَاتُ أَعْلَاهُ أَنَّهُنَّ حَبَسْنَ الْكُتُبَ الْمُقَيَّدَةَ فِي التَّرَاجِمِ أَعْلَاهُ الَّتِي عَدَّدَهَا تِسْعَةً [وَحَمْسُونَ تَرْجَمَةً]؛
٢. بِالتَّاءِ الْمُتَّعَةِ أَوَّلَ: ”تَرْجَمَةً“، الَّتِي أَوَّلُهَا: النَّهَائِيَةُ لِابْنِ الْأَثِيرِ فِي سِفَرَيْنِ، وَأَخْرَجَهَا: شَرْحُ الْقَضَاعِيِّ لِابْنِ الْوَحْشِيِّ؛ عَلَى أَحْيٍ [هِنَّ الْعَلَامَةُ]
٣. الْأَفْضَلُ سَيِّدِي عَبْدِ الْكَرِيمِ [الْبَنَانِيُّ] النَّسَبِ، وَأَوَّلَادِهِ، وَأَوَّلَادِهِمْ، مَا تَنَاسَلُوا، وَامْتَدَّتْ فُرُوعُهُمْ، ثُمَّ عَلَى مَنْ يَتَعَاطَى الْعِلْمَ مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ [عَمِّهِ...]
٤. بَنَانِي، حَيْثُ هُمْ، مَا تَنَاسَلُوا، وَامْتَدَّتْ فُرُوعُهُمْ. فَإِنْ هُمْ انْفَرَضُوا رَجَعَتِ الْكُتُبُ الْمَذْكُورَةُ حَبْسًا عَلَى زَاوِيَةِ وَالِدِ الْمُحَبِّ [سَاتِ الَّتِي]
٥. بِهَا مَحَلَّ ضَرْيَجِهِ، بِالذَّيْوَانِ مِنْ حَوْمَةِ الصَّاعَةِ وَقَاسَ الْقُرُوبَيْنِ، لِيَنْتَفِعَ الْمُحَبِّسُ عَلَيْهِمْ بِالْكَتُبِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ قِرَاءَةً وَمُ [قَابِلَةً]
٦. وَتَسْخَا؛ حَبْسًا مُؤَبَّدًا، وَوَقْفًا مُخْلَدًا إِلَى أَنْ يَرِثَ اللَّهُ الْأَرْضَ وَمَنْ عَلَيْهَا، وَهُوَ خَيْرُ الْوَارِثِينَ. وَمَنْ يَدَّلْ أَوْ غَيَّرَ فَاللَّهُ حَ [سِبِيهِ] وَ
٧. سَابِلُهُ. وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيْ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ. وَأَشْهَدُ شَقِيقَ الْمُحَبِّسَاتِ سَيِّدِي عَبْدِ الْكَرِيمِ الْمَذْكُورَ أَنَّهُ حَ [ز]
٨. الْكُتُبَ الْمُحَبَّسَةَ كُلَّهَا، وَبَسَطَ يَدَهُ عَلَيْهَا؛ حُوزًا تَامًا، مُعَايِنَةً كَمَا يَجِبُ، فَحَبِزْتُ عَنْ الْأَخَوَاتِ، وَصَارَتْ حَبْسًا مُؤَبَّدًا]
٩. عَرَفُوا قَدْرَهُ. شَهِدَ عَلَيْهِمْ بِجَمِيعِ مَا ذَكَرَ، وَعَرَفَ بِالنِّسْوََةِ تَعْرِيفًا [تَامًا]، وَفِي التَّارِيخِ أَعْلَاهُ [...].

1. Praise be to God! The sisters mentioned above attest to bequeath all the books registered in the descriptions (*tarājim*) above, the number of which is [5] 9, [description (*tarjama*)]
2. with a double pointed *tā*’ at the beginning of ‘*tarjama*’, the first of which is *al-Nihāya* of Ibn al-Athīr in two volumes and the last the *Sharḥ al-Quḍā’* of Ibn al-Waḥshī to [their brother the learned],
3. the excellent Sīdī ‘Abd al-Karīm, descendant of [Bannānī], to his children and the children of the latter as long as they reproduce themselves and their [genealogical] branches spread, then to those who devote themselves to knowledge among the sons [of their paternal uncle...]

⁴ The date is partly missing; if the number of the units is not 6 and the *sīn* is the first letter of *sana* instead, the date is then comprised between 1183 AH, year of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannanī’s death (10 *Ramaḍān* 1182 AH/18 January 1769 CE) and 1189 AH, i.e. between 1st October 1769 and 28 July 1775.

4. Bannānī⁵ where they are, as long as they reproduce themselves and their [genealogical] branches spread. And if they disappear, the books mentioned will be bequeathed to the *zāwiya*⁶ of the father of the don[ors, where is]
5. the location of his mausoleum, in the *dīwān* of the jewellers district and of Fez al-Qarawiyyin so that the beneficiaries benefit from these books in terms of reading, [collation]
6. and copy, in perpetual bequest and eternal *waqf* until God ‘inherits the earth and those who are there’ [Q. 19: 40] because he is ‘the best of those who give inheritance’ [Q. 21: 89]. Whoever destroys or transforms [this *ḥabūs*], God [will chastise him]
7. and question him and ‘those who are unjust will know to what destiny they turn’ [Q. 26: 227]. The brother of the donors, the aforesaid Sidi ‘Abd al-Karīm declared that he [got]
8. all the books made *waqf* and that he has laid his hand on these as a whole pre-emption and that he has verified them properly. As a result, the sisters strip themselves of books that have become a legacy [in perpetuity]
9. which is recognized at its true value. All of the aforesaid has been attested by oath and the women were exhaustively identified on the date indicated above [by...].⁷
- [...]

The deed involves various members of the Bannānī family (see Appendix II):⁸ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām in the first place, and his children, three daughters, Fāriḥa, Fāṭima and ‘Ashwa, and their three brothers Ḥamdūn, Muḥammad and ‘Abd al-Karīm. Sources agree that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām had actually six children. The books in the possession of the three sisters came partly from their father, partly from their brothers Ḥamdūn and Muḥammad. It is a family *waqf*, the beneficiary being the only surviving brother at the time of the deed, ‘Abd al-Karīm. However, the clauses provide that it will remain in the family or pass to the *zāwiya* the construction of which was started by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām.

⁵ We suppose that a paternal uncle was named here, perhaps Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-‘Arabī b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī (see below) who could be the father of the cousin Abū Ḥamid ‘Amm al-‘Arabī (d. 1182 AH/1768 CE). Al-Manālī al-Zabādī mentions the latter as a servant of the shaykh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī and his children, in charge of his uncle’s *zāwiya*, but does not provide his own father’s name (al-Manālī al-Zabādī, *Sulūk al-ṭariq*, ed. ‘al-Ḥayy al-Yamlāḥī 2012, 295; see also Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kattānī, *Sulwat al-anfās*, ed. al-Kāmil al-Kattānī 2004–2006, I, 158).

⁶ The *zāwiya* was close to his home and located in the *al-Qaṭṭān* alleyway. The construction was started when Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī was still alive and finished after his death in order to include his tomb (see al-Manālī al-Zabādī, *Sulūk al-ṭariq*, ed. ‘al-Ḥayy al-Yamlāḥī 2012, 294).

⁷ The names of the witnesses should have been written on the lower part of the document, now missing.

⁸ This family, of Jewish descent, belongs in J. Schacht’s words to the Fasi aristocracy of Islamic studies (Schacht 1960, 1019).

2 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī

The latter was a prominent representative of the Bannānī family. He was born in 1082 AH/1671 CE to a learned scholar, ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 1136 AH/1723 CE), and Fāṭima, the daughter of a notary of Fez, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad, known as Ḥaddū, a son of Maḥammad Mayyāra al-Fāsī (d. 1072/1662), a prominent scholar of the Saadian period.⁹ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥamdūn Bannānī has left a *fahrasa* that his son ‘Abd al-Karīm has integrated into his *Tuḥfat al-fuḍalā’* and where he enumerates the list of his father’s twenty-two masters among whom the figure of Ḥasan b. Mas‘ūd al-Yūsī (d. 1102 AH/1690 CE) stands out.¹⁰ The Law seems to have been the area where he excelled, since he later taught the *Mukhtaṣar* at the Qarawiyyin mosque and Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī’s *Risāla* as well as Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* at the Madrasa al-Miṣbāḥiyya.¹¹ Forced to leave Fez during the famine of 1150 AH/1737 CE, he continued to teach in Tetouan where he had taken refuge.¹² He taught at al-Azhar in 1141 ah/1729 CE on his way back from the pilgrimage to Mekka and he may have returned there shortly thereafter.¹³ He died in 1163 ah/1750 CE.

He left behind an imposing body of work that confirms the importance of this scholar from the beginning of the Alawite dynasty. However, it should be noted that his writings remain unpublished, which prompted us to publish a list drawn up by one of us (LT).

⁹ al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ed. Ḥajjī and al-Tawfiq 1982–1986, III, 136; ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī, *Tuḥfat al-fuḍalā’ al-a‘lām fī al-ta’rif bi al-shaykh abī ‘Abd Allāh Maḥammad al-Bannānī ibn ‘Abd al-salām*, autograph copy, Rabat, Ḥasaniyya Library, 13900, fol. 5v. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī was considered the last great figure of the old Fāsī school (Schacht 1960, 1019). On Maḥammad b. Aḥmad Mayyāra, see Pellat 1990, 932.

¹⁰ ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fols 8r–27r. On al-Yūsī, see for instance Hajji 1976, *passim*; also El-Rouahyeb 2015, 207–212, 217–229.

¹¹ al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ed. Ḥajjī and al-Tawfiq 1982–1986, IV, 81. An evaluation of his expertise in legal matters is found in Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kattānī, *Sulwat al-anfās*, ed. al-Kāmil al-Kattānī 2004–2006, I, 156.

¹² al-Ḍu‘ayyif al-Ribāṭī, *Tārīkh al-Ḍu‘ayyif*, ed. al-Būzidi al-Shikhī 2007, II, 218; al-Rahūnī, *‘Umdat al-rāwīn*, ed. al-Ḥajj al-Sulamī 2001–2015, IV, 130; al-Manālī al-Zabādī, *Sulūk al-ṭariq*, ed. ‘al-Ḥayy al-Yamlāḥī 2012, 294. See also Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kattānī, *Sulwat al-anfās*, ed. al-Kāmil al-Kattānī 2004–2006, II, 157; Muḥammad Dāwud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān*, ed. Dāwud 2013, II, 183.

¹³ Maḥammad al-Fāsī al-Fihri, *al-Mawrid*, ed. al-Ṣiqillī, 91.

Works of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥamdūn Bannānī

1. *Faḍā’il al-Ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn* – Religion.¹⁴
2. *Ifādāt wa Inshādāt wa Muqayyadāt*.¹⁵
3. *Laḡṭ nadā al-ḥiyaḍ min azhār nasīm al-riyāḍ fī sharḥ Shifā’ al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ* – Religion.¹⁶
4. *Maghānī al-wafā’ li-sharḥ ma‘ānī al-Iktifā’* – History.¹⁷
5. *Mukhtaṣar risālat al-Tājūrī fī ma‘rifat waḍ‘ bayt al-ibra ‘alā al-jihāt al-arba’* – Astrology.¹⁸
6. *Rihla wa manāsik kubrā* – Travel.¹⁹
7. *Rihla wa manāsik ṣuġrā* – Travel.²⁰
8. *Risāla fī faḍl al-niṣf min Ṣa‘bān* – Religion.²¹
9. *Sharḥ ‘alā nazm ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī fī al-uṣṭurlāb* – Astronomy.²²
10. *Sharḥ al-ḥikam of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh* – Sufism.²³
11. *Sharḥ al-Ḥizb al-kabīr li al-Shādhilī* – Sufism.²⁴
12. *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-Naṣr* – Sufism.²⁵
13. *Sharḥ Khuṭbat al-Mukhtaṣar* – Law.²⁶
14. *Sharḥ Kubrā al-Sanūsī* – Religion.²⁷
15. *Sharḥ al-Kulliyāt al-Fiqhiyya* – Law.²⁸

14 Mentioned by ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fahris*, ed. ‘Abbās 1982, I, 225. The titles are listed alphabetically, except for the *fahrasa* listed at the end.

15 ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fahris*, ed. ‘Abbās 1982, I, 225, these notes are the basis for Chaps 6 and 7 of ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fols 8r–27r.

16 Manuscripts Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, 840; Rabat, National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco (now: BNRM), 1456 K.

17 Manuscripts Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, 275; Rabat, BNRM, 162 K (*majmū’*), part of vol. I. It is Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām’s major work, a commentary of al-Kalā’i’s *K. al-Iktifā’* on the expeditions of Prophet and the first three caliphs.

18 Manuscript Rabat, BNRM, 1/2188 D.

19 ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fol. 21r.

20 ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fol. 21r.

21 Manuscript Rabat, BNRM, 16 K (text no. 11), see below.

22 Manuscripts Wazzān, Library of the Great Mosque, 4/1217 and 1/1214; Rabat, BNRM, 1/2237 D, 1411 D and 1469 D.

23 ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fol. 8r–27r.

24 Manuscripts Rabat, BNRM, 470 D and 1599 D; Rabat, Ḥasaniyya Library, 29 copies.

25 Manuscript Rabat, Ḥasaniyya Library, 50 JK (autograph copy).

26 Mentioned by al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ed. Ḥajjī and al-Tawfiq 1982–1986, IV, 81.

27 ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, 40; al-Fihri al-Fāsī, *al-Mawrid*, ed. al-Ṣiqillī 2008, 90.

28 ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, 40; mentioned by al-Fihri al-Fāsī, *al-Mawrid*, ed. al-Ṣiqillī 2008, 91.

16. *Sharḥ lāmiyat al-Zaqqāq* – Law.²⁹
17. *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Sa‘d* – Rhetoric.³⁰
18. *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn Nāṣir* – Religion.³¹
19. *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-rā‘iyya al-lughziyya fī al-Naḥw* – Grammar.³²
20. *Sharḥ al-Ṣalāt al-Mashishiyya* – Religion.³³
21. *Sharḥ al-Tanwīr fī isqāṭ al-tadbīr* – Sufism.³⁴
22. *Sharḥ Urjūzat al-Shātībī fī iltiqā’ al-Sākinayn* – Religion.³⁵
23. *Takmil Sharḥ Ḥudūd Ibn ‘Arafa* – Law.³⁶
24. *Ta’lif fī mā lā yanṣarif min al-Asmā’* – Grammar.³⁷
25. A collection of poems – Poetry.
26. *Fahrāsāt Aḥmad b. al-‘Arabī b. al-Ḥājj* – Bio-bibliography.³⁸
27. *al-Fahrāsāt al-kubrā* – Bio-bibliography.³⁹
28. *al-Fahrāsāt al-ṣuġrā* – Bio-bibliography.⁴⁰

His three sons are mentioned in the deed: by the date of the *waqf*, two of them, Ḥamdūn and Muḥammad, had already died. Due to the disparition of the units, we only know that it was written between 11 *Ramaḍān* 1182 AH/19 January 1769 CE, the day following Muḥammad’s demise, and 28 July 1775. Ḥamdūn, died in Mekka on 1st *Ṣafar* 1170 AH/26 October 1756 CE.⁴¹ He had made the pilgrimage a first time with his father in 1141 AH/1729 CE and returned to the Holy City toward 1167 AH/1753–1754 CE and settled there definitely. Like his father, he was a specialist of the Law, both in teaching and

²⁹ Manuscripts Rabat, ‘Allāl al-Fāsī Library, 276; Wazzān, Library of the Great Mosque, 1155 (partial copy).

³⁰ Mentioned by al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ed. Ḥajjī and al-Tawfiq 1982–1986, IV, 81.

³¹ ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, 40; mentioned by al-Fihri al-Fāsī, *al-Mawrid*, ed. al-Ṣiqillī 2008, 91. The *qaṣīda* is known as *Sayf al-naṣr*.

³² ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, 40; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ed. Ḥajjī and al-Tawfiq 1982–1986, IV, 81.

³³ Manuscripts Fez, al-Qarawiyyin Library, 1512; Rabat, BNRM, 245 D and 1599 D.

³⁴ Mentioned by al-Fihri al-Fāsī, *al-Mawrid*, ed. al-Ṣiqillī 2008, 91.

³⁵ ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fol. 21r; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ed. Ḥajjī and al-Tawfiq 1982–1986, IV, 81.

³⁶ ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fol. 21r; al-Fihri al-Fāsī, *al-Mawrid*, ed. al-Ṣiqillī 2008, 90.

³⁷ Manuscript Rabat, BNRM, 16 K (text no. 1), see below.

³⁸ Manuscripts Rabat, BNRM, 425 D; Rabat, Ḥasaniyya Library, 6778; Casablanca, King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Institute, 330.

³⁹ Mentioned by ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fol. 8r–27r.

⁴⁰ In Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥuḍayjī, al-Kunnāsha, MS Rabat, Ḥasaniyya Library, 13003, 339–364.

⁴¹ al-Qādirī (1982–1986), IV, 201; al-Manālī al-Zabādī (2012), 295.

in practice. He was also the author of an abstract of a treatise on grammar, *al-Anwār al-saniyya wa al-azhār al-badī'a al-bahiyya fī sharḥ khuṭbat al-Alfiyya li Ibn Mālik*, composed by his maternal uncle, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdūn Bannānī, known as al-Muḥawjab (d. 1140 AH/1728 CE).⁴² He was also a copyist, as attested by a manuscript written in his hand, the *Muntakhab kanz al-'Ummāl fī sunan al-aqwāl wa-l-af'āl* by 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-dīn al-Muttaqī al-Hindī.⁴³ Muḥammad (d. 10 Ramaḍān 1182 AH/18 January 1769 CE) was noted for his interest in Sufism. His training had been provided by his father and his brother Ḥamdūn, but he seems to have limited himself to transcribing works as evidenced in particular by the manuscript Rabat, National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco, 16 K which will be discussed later.⁴⁴

The third brother, 'Abd al-Karīm, is mostly mentioned in passing within biographical entries devoted to his father or to his two other brothers;⁴⁵ however, 'Abd al-Salām b. Sūda wrote a few lines about him and preserved the date of his death on 16 *Dhū al-Qa'da* 1196 AH/23 October 1782 CE.⁴⁶ He acquired a sound knowledge of legal matters, but his work is limited to the *Tuḥfat al-fuḍalā' al-a'lām bi al-ta'rīf bi al-shayḥ Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Bannānī ibn 'Abd al-Salām*: as indicated by the title, it referred to his father. We were hoping to find some information on the latter's life in a copy of the text kept at the Ḥasaniyya Library, but one of us (LT) who was able to consult it found that although a chapter on this subject is announced in the introduction, this part of the text was missing in the manuscript.⁴⁷ When the deed was written, 'Abd al-Karīm was the only survivor of the three brothers.

The names of the three sisters are known to us by the deed we publish: Fāriḥa, Faṭīma and 'Ashwa. Were it not for this document, we would not know them. At most do we know that one of them married 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Unṣurī al-Gānnūnī al-Ḥasanī: he came to Fez in order to study at the madrasa al-'Aṭṭārīn and became the son-in-law of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām Bannānī. Three boys were born from this marriage, Muḥammad, Aḥmad and 'Alī, who are at the origin of all the *Fasi* families named Gānnūn, but we do not know which of the three sisters was their mother.⁴⁸

⁴² Manuscripts Rabat, BNRM, 1780 D/1, 2048 D/1, 2217 D/6, etc.; Riyadh, King Sa'ūd University Library, 7036 (autograph copy completed on 12 Ramaḍān 1145 AH/26 February 1733 CE).

⁴³ al-Sibā'i 2017, II, 103.

⁴⁴ al-Sibā'i 2017, II, 132.

⁴⁵ al-Manālī al-Zabādī, *Sulūk al-ṭarīq*, ed. 'al-Ḥayy al-Yamlāḥī 2012, 295; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *al-Tanwīh*, ed. al-Majīd Khayālī 2012, I, 226; Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Kattānī, *Sulwat al-anfās*, ed. al-Kāmil al-Kattānī 2004–2006, I, 157; Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr*, ed. al-Majīd Khayālī 2003, I, 508.

⁴⁶ Abd al-Salām b. Sūda, *Ithāf al-muṭālī*, ed. Ḥajjī 1997, 53.

⁴⁷ Manuscript Rabat, Ḥasaniyya Library, 13900.

⁴⁸ al-Rahūnī, *Umdat al-rāwīn*, ed. al-Ḥāj al-Sulamī 2001–2015, IX, 94.

3 The books

Now let us turn to the list of the books that were collectively deposited by the three sisters and represented their share of the inheritance with regard to these items. In the table below with a transcription of the list, an identification number has been added in order to make cross-references easier (see Table 1).

Table 1: List of the books according to the presentation of the *waqf* deed (we have added numbers for reference's sake).

-
1. *Al-Nihāya* li-Ibn al-Athīr fī sifrayn
 2. *Al-Safāquṣī: Mu'rab al-Qur'ān*, fī sifrayn
 3. *Husn al-Muḥāḍara*, fī sifrayn
 4. *Al-Tatā'ī 'alā al-Mukhtaṣar*, fī sifrayn
 5. *Shāmil Bahrām* fī sifr
 6. Sifr [...] al-s[...]
 7. *Al-niṣf al-thānī min al-Madkhal* li-Ibn al-Ḥājj
 8. *Juz' min Tabṣirat al-Lakhmī*
 9. *Al-awwal min sharḥ al-Miftāḥ*
 10. Sifr min *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*
 11. *Al-Maḥallī 'alā al-Subkī*
 12. *Ibn Sa[yyid al-nās] fī si(frayn)*
 13. *Al-Ujhūrī 'alā Mukhtaṣar Ibn abī Jamra*
 14. *Ibn Ghāzī 'alā al-Alfiyya*
 15. *Al-Niṣf al-awwal min Ibn 'Umar*
 16. *Al-Ujhūrī 'alā al-Risāla*
 17. *Al-Azharī, al-Mu'rib*
 18. *Ibn 'A[rafa] wa ma'ahu al- [...]*
 19. *Al-Hadī* li-Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya
 20. *Al-Shaykh Yāsīn 'alā al-Sa'd*
 21. *Sharḥ al-Shawāhid* li-l-'Aynī
 22. *Ḥāshiyat Yāsīn 'alā al-Nāẓm*
 23. *Ibn al-Ḥājib, al-Farī*
 24. *Ḥawāshī [...] fī sif[r].*
 25. *Ḥāshiyat al-Saktānī wa-l-Fāsī 'alā al-Ṣughrā*
 26. *Al-Jazūlī wa mā ma'ahu fī mujallad*
 27. *Majmū' fīhi shurūḥ al-Burda*
 28. Sifr min Ibn 'Aṭiyya
-

-
29. Al-Sa'd 'alā *al-Talkhīṣ*
 30. Shal[...] al- [...]
 31. *Al-Ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa* li-Ibn Ḥajar
 32. Ibn al-Nafīs *fī al-ṭibb*
 33. *Wathā'iq* al-Fashtālī
 34. *Naṣīḥat al-mughtarrīn* li-l-shaykh Mayyāra
 35. *Al-Furūq* li-l-Wansharīsī
 36. *Shar[h...]* fī [...]
 37. *Al-Naṣīḥa al-kāfiya* fī sifr wāḥid
 38. *Al-Muḥaṣṣal* fī sifr
 39. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa fī sifr
 40. Majmū' mabda' uhu *Ta'līf fī mā lā yanṣarīf*
 41. Majmū' fī awwalihi *Qīṣṣat ahl al-kahf*
 42. Majm[ū' fī awwalihi] *al-Tāj* [al-Subkī]
 43. Sifr mushtamil 'alā *Rawḍat al-azhār*
 44. Majmū' fī awwalihi *al-Jawāhīr al-'aḍudiyya*
 45. Majmū' fī awwalihi *Fahrasa*
 46. Majmū' fī awwalihi *Tuḥfat* Ibn Mālik 'alā *al-Kāfiya*
 47. Majmū' fī awwalihi al-Azharī 'alā *al-Jurrūmiyya*
 48. Majmū['] fī awwalihi *Ikhtīṣā[r Sharḥ khuṭbat] al-Alfī[yya]*
 49. Majmū' fī awwalihi *Qaṣā'id* li-l-Baghdādī
 50. *Riḥlat* wālid al-muḥabbisāt
 51. Majmū' awwaluhu *Ḥāshiyat* al-Zarqānī 'alā al-Luqānī
 52. Majmū' fīhi *l-jāzāt* li-l-shaykh al-Manjūr
 53. *Al-Niqāya* li-l-Suyūṭī fī sifr
 54. al- [...] li- [...]
 55. Nuskhāt *al-Tashīl* fī sifr wāḥid
 56. Al-Raṣṣā' wa ma'ahu *al-Shamā'il* fī sifr
 57. Kitāb *al-Jumān fī akhbār al-zamān*
 58. *Sharḥ Shawāhid* Ibn Hishām li-l-Fāsī
 59. *Sharḥ* al-Quḍā'ī li-Ibn al-Waḥshī
-

The list of books includes fifty-nine entries, but the number of volumes and works is slightly higher. With regard to the former, it should be noted that, on the first row, four works are in two volumes, bringing the total to 63 items. When one or two volumes contain the whole text of a work (see for instance nos 1, a two volume set, or 55 and 56, a single volume), the description sometimes notes the fact. On the other hand, several texts are only part of a work in two volumes or more: the first title of the second row (no. 7) is thus the second half of a treatise by Ibn al-Ḥājj and an isolated tome of Ibn

‘Atiyya’s *tafsīr* (no. 28) is mentioned in the fourth column of the fifth row. Six texts seem to be in this situation. At first glance, it is quite reminiscent of Nicolas Clénard’s description of the book trade in Fez toward the middle of the sixteenth century: the offer was then limited and often consisted of pieces of manuscripts, ‘so much so that one is often forced to buy the same thing several times if he wants to get the entire work and spend several years at that’.⁴⁹ But, as we shall see below, other reasons may explain this point.

The titles are given in an abbreviated form by the person who drew up the *waqf* deed. He may have been inspired (at least partially) by the short indications that are usually written on the edge of the manuscripts according to a widespread habit in the Muslim world. As we cannot check with the manuscripts themselves, the identification of the works is sometimes complex; the list given below is only a tentative one.

Texts mentioned in the three sisters’ *waqf*

1. Majd al-dīn al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606 AH/1209 CE), *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa al-athar*.⁵⁰
2. Burhān al-dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Safāquṣī (d. 743 AH/1342 CE), *al-Muǧīd fī i’rāb al-Qur’ān al-maǧīd*.⁵¹
3. Jalāl al-dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH/1505 CE), *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī tā’rīkh Miṣr wa al-Qāhira*.⁵²
4. Shams al-dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Tatā’ī (d. 942 AH/1535 CE), *Fath al-Jalīl ‘alā Mukhtaṣar al-shayḥ Khalīl*.⁵³
5. Tāj al-dīn Bahrām b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Damīrī al-Dimyāṭī (d. 805 AH/1402 CE), *al-Shāmīl fī fiqh al-imām Mālik*.⁵⁴
7. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj al-‘Abdarī al-Fāsī (d. 737 AH/1336 CE), *al-Madkhal*.⁵⁵
8. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Rabā’ī al-Lakhmī (d. 478 AH/1085 CE), *al-Tabṣira*.
9. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816 AH/1413 CE), *al-Miṣbāḥ fī Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ*.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Le Tourneau 1934, 58.

⁵⁰ GAL I 387; S I 609, II.

⁵¹ GAL I 249; S II 350, no. 3.

⁵² GAL II 157, no. 279; S II 196.

⁵³ Commentary of the *Mukhtaṣar* by Khalīl b. Iṣḥāq al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī (d. 767 AH/1365 CE). GAL II 84, 1e and 316. Also see below, manuscript Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, 1060.

⁵⁴ GAL II 84, 1a.

⁵⁵ S II 95, no. 1-1.

⁵⁶ Commentary of the *Miftāḥ al-‘ulūm* by Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf al-Sakkāki (d. 626 AH/1229 CE).

10. Abū al-Ḥasan Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Muslim (d. 261 AH/875 CE), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.⁵⁷
11. Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 864 AH/1459 CE), *al-Badr al-lāmi' fī ḥall Jam' al-jawāmi'*.⁵⁸
12. Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Sayyid al-nās al-Ya'murī al-Ishbīlī (d. 734 AH/1333 CE), *Uyūn al-athar fī funūn al-Maghāzī wa al-shamā'il wa al-siyar*.
13. Nūr al-dīn Abū al-Irshād 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ujhūrī (d. 1066 AH/1655 CE), *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.⁵⁹
14. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Ghāzī al-Miknāsī (d. 919 AH/1513 CE), *Ithāf dhawī al-istiḥqāq bi ba'di murād al-Murādī wa Zawā'id Abī Ishāq*.⁶⁰
15. Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Anfāsī al-Salāsī al-Fāsī (d. 761 AH/1359 CE), *Sharḥ al-Risāla*.⁶¹
16. Nūr al-dīn Abū al-Irshād 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ujhūrī (d. 1066 AH/1655 CE), *Sharḥ al-Risāla*.⁶²
17. Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azhārī (d. 905 AH/1499 CE), *Tamrīn al-Ṭullāb fī ṣinā'at al-i'rāb: I'rāb Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik*.⁶³
18. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Arafa al-Warghamī al-Tūnūsī (d. 803 AH/1400 CE), *al-Ḥudūd fī al-ta'rīfāt al-fiqhiyya*.⁶⁴
19. Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Zur'ī Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751 AH/1350 CE), *Zād al-ma'ād fī hady khayr al-'ibād*.⁶⁵
20. Yāsīn b. Zayn al-dīn b. 'Ulaym al-Ḥimṣī al-'Ulaymī (d. 1061 AH/1651 CE), *Ḥāshiya 'alā Mukhtaṣar sharḥ Talkhiṣ al-Miftāḥ*.⁶⁶
21. Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-'Aynī (d. 855 AH/1451 CE), *al-Maqāṣid al-naḥwiyya, Sharḥ shawāhid shurūḥ al-Alfiyya*.⁶⁷
22. Yāsīn b. Zayn al-dīn b. 'Ulaym al-Ḥimṣī al-'Ulaymī (d. 1061 AH/1651 CE), *Ḥāshiya 'alā Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik*.⁶⁸

⁵⁷ GAL I 160.

⁵⁸ Commentary of the *Jam' al-jawāmi'* by Tāj al-dīn al-Subkī (d. 771 AH/1369 CE). GAL II 89, 1c; S II 105.

⁵⁹ Commentary of the *Mukhtaṣar Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Jamra al-Mursī (d. 599 AH/1203 CE). Also Hajji 1976, 30, 303–305, 369.

⁶⁰ Commentary of the *Alfiyya* by Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik al-Ṭā'i al-Jayyānī (d. 672/1273), see GAL I 299; S II 337; Hajji (1976), *passim*.

⁶¹ Commentary of the *Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 AH/996 CE).

⁶² As above, GAL I 178, 1k.

⁶³ Commentary of the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik, see GAL I 299; II 27, no. 5.

⁶⁴ GAL I 384, 5i; S II 347, no. 6, 3.

⁶⁵ GAL II 106, no. 12; S II 126, no. 12.

⁶⁶ Commentary of the *Mukhtaṣar sharḥ Talkhiṣ al-Miftāḥ* by Sa'd al-dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 792 AH/1389 CE), see GAL I 295.

⁶⁷ Commentary of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, see GAL I 299, II.11

⁶⁸ Commentary of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*.

23. Jamāl al-dīn ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Umar Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646 AH/1248 CE), *Jāmi‘ al-Ummahāt aw al-Mukhtaṣar al-far‘ī*.⁶⁹
25. Abū Mahdī ‘Isā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saktānī al-Ragrāgī (d. 1062 AH/1651 CE), *Ḥāshiya ‘alā Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn: al-‘Aqida al-ṣuḡhrā*.⁷⁰
- 25 bis. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-‘ārif al-Qaṣrī al-Fāsī (d. 1036/1626), *Ḥāshiya ‘alā Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn: al-‘Aqida al-ṣuḡhrā*.⁷¹
26. Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Iffān al-Jazūlī (d. 741 AH/1340 CE), *Sharḥ al-Risāla*.⁷²
27. The reference is too imprecise to identify properly the commentaries of the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* by Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Būṣīrī (d. 696 AH/1296 CE) described in the deed.⁷³
28. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Ghālīb Ibn ‘Aṭīyya al-Andalusī (d. 542 AH/1147 CE), *al-Muḥarrar al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-‘azīz*.⁷⁴
29. Sa‘īd al-dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 792 AH/1390 CE), *al-Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar known as Talkhīṣ al-ma‘ānī*.⁷⁵
31. Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973 AH/1565 CE), *al-Ṣawā‘iq al-muḥriqa ‘alā ahli al-rafd wa al-ḍalāl wa al-zandaqa*.⁷⁶
32. ‘Alā’ al-dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥazm al-Qurashī al-Dimashqī Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687 AH/1288 CE), *al-Mūjiz fī al-ṭibb*.⁷⁷
33. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fishtālī (d. 777 AH/1376 CE), *al-Fā‘iq fī aḥkām al-wathā‘iq*.
34. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Mayyāra al-Fāsī (d. 1072 AH/1661 CE), *Naṣīhat al-muḡtarrīn wa kifāyat al-muḡtarrīn fī al-tafriq bayna al-muslimīn bi mā lam yunzilhu rabb al-‘ālamīn wa lā jā’a bihi al-rasūl al-amīn wa lā thabata ‘an al-khulafā’ al-mahdiyyīn*.⁷⁸
35. Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wansharīsī (d. 914 AH/1508 CE), *‘Uddat al-burūq fī jam‘ mā fī al-madhhab min al-jumū‘ wa al-furūq*.

69 GAL I 306, VIII.

70 Super-commentary of the *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn*, commentary by the author, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1489), of his *‘Aqida al-ṣuḡhrā* (GAL II 251, IIb).

71 As above. Hajji (1976), 165, 287, 308, etc.

72 We surmise that it is a commentary of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī’s *Risāla*, see nos 15-6 above. See GAL I 178.

73 Or *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*.

74 GAL I 412, 9; S I 732, no. 9.

75 Commentary of the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* by Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 739 AH/1338 CE).

76 GAL II 388, no. 4.

77 GAL I 493, 37; S I 900.

78 See Hajji 1976, 209, 210 and 333.

37. Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Burnusī al-Fāsī Zarrūq (d. 899 AH/1493 CE), *al-Naṣīḥa al-kāfiya li man khaṣṣahu Allāh bi al-‘āfiya*.⁷⁹
38. Fakhr al-dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 606 AH/1209 CE), *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa al-muta’akhhirīn min al-‘ulamā’ wa al-ḥukamā’ wa-l-mutakallimīn*.⁸⁰
39. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Lawwātī al-Ṭanjī Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779 AH/1377 CE), *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharā’ib al-amṣār wa ‘ajā’ib al-asfār*.⁸¹
40. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī (d. 1163 AH/1749 CE), *Ta’līf fī mā lā yanṣarif min al-asmā’*.
41. *Qīṣṣat Ahl al-kahf*: it might be an extract from the *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya* by Abū al-Fidā’ Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH/1373 CE).⁸²
42. We surmise that it might be the *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘ fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Tāj al-dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Alī al-Subkī (d. 771 AH/1369 CE).⁸³
43. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Jādirī (d. after 818 AH/1415 CE), *Rawḍat al-azhār fī ‘ilm waqt al-layl wa al-nahār*.⁸⁴
44. ‘Aḍud al-dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī (d. 756 AH/1355 CE), *Jawāhir al-kalām*.⁸⁵
45. *Fahrāsa*: it might be the *Fahrāsa* of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī (d. 1163 AH/1749 CE).
46. Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Mālīk (d. 672 AH/1273 CE), *al-Tuḥfa ‘alā Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥāḥib*.⁸⁶
47. Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Azhārī (d. 905 AH/1499 CE), *Sharḥ al-Ajurrūmiyya fī uṣūl ‘ilm al-‘arabiyya*.⁸⁷
48. Ḥamdūn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī (d. 1170 AH/1756 CE), *Ikhtisār Sharḥ khuṭbat al-Alfiyya*.⁸⁸

79 GAL II 253, no. 7; S II 361; Hajji 1976, 31, 280, 501, 562.

80 GAL I 507, no. 22; S I 923, no. 22.

81 GAL II 256.

82 GAL II 49, no. 1; S II 48.

83 GAL II 89, no. 1; S II 105, 1.

84 GAL II 169; S II 217.

85 GAL II 209, no. VI; S II 291, no. VI.

86 Commentary of the *Kāfiya* by Ibn al-Ḥāḥib (d. 646 AH/1249 CE).

87 Commentary of the *Kāfiya* by Ibn al-Ḥāḥib (d. 646 AH/1249 CE). Commentary of the *Ajurrūmiyya* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dā‘ūd al-Ṣanhāji b. Ajurrūm (d. 723 AH/1323 CE), see GAL II 238, 6.

88 Abbreviated version of Ibn Mālīk’s *Alfiyya*.

49. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Ibn al-Rashīd al-Baghdādī (d. 662 AH/1263 CE), *al-Qaṣā'id al-witriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*.⁸⁹
50. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām Bannānī (d. 1163 AH/1749 CE), *al-Riḥla al-ḥijāziyya*.
51. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Yūsuf al-Zarqānī (d. 1099 AH/1687 CE), *Ḥāshiya al-Zarqānī 'alā Sharḥ al-Luqānī 'alā khuṭbat Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*.⁹⁰
52. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Manjūr al-Fāsī (d. 995 AH/1586 CE), *Fahrasat al-Manjūr*.
53. Jalāl al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH/1505 CE), *al-Nuqāya fī arba'ata 'ashara 'ilman*.⁹¹
55. Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik (d. 672 AH/1273 CE), *Tashīl al-fawā'id wa takmīl al-maqāsid*.⁹²
56. Muḥammad b. Abī al-faḍl b. Qāsim al-Raṣṣā' al-Tilimsānī (d. 894 AH/1488 CE), *al-Hidāya al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya li-bayān ḥaqā'iq Ibn 'Arafa al-wāfiya*.⁹³
- 56 bis. Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH/892 CE), *al-Shamā'il al-Muḥammadiyya wa al-khaṣā'il al-muṣṭafawiyya*.⁹⁴
57. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Burjī al-Ḥājj al-Shuṭaybī (d. 963 AH/1555 CE), *Kitāb al-Jumān fī mukhtaṣar akhbār al-zamān*.⁹⁵
58. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1116 AH/1704 CE), *Takmīl al-marām bi Sharḥ shawāhid Ibn Hishām*.⁹⁶
59. 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī Ibn al-Waḥshī (d. 502 AH/1108 CE), *Sharḥ Musnad al-Shihāb fī al-Ḥadīth* by Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍā'i (d. 454 AH/1062 CE).⁹⁷

⁸⁹ GAL I 250; S I 443.

⁹⁰ Super-commentary by al-Luqānī (d. 958 AH/1551 CE), see GAL II 84, 1h.

⁹¹ GAL II 156, no. 268.

⁹² GAL I 298, I.

⁹³ S II 737, no. 1, 7.

⁹⁴ GAL I 162, no. 2; S I 268.

⁹⁵ Hajji 1976, 146, 185, 189, 518, 533, 534-6, 614.

⁹⁶ Commentary of the verses used as examples by Ibn Ḥishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761 AH/1360 CE) in his *Awḍaḥ al-masālik*, a commentary of the *Alfiyya*.

⁹⁷ Commentary of the *Musnad al-Shihāb fī al-Ḥadīth* by Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍā'i (d. 454 AH/1062 CE).

Here again, the total number of titles is slightly higher than 59: they are 61 since, twice, two titles are indicated in the same entry (nos 25 and 56), which explains the presence in the above list of nos 25 bis and 56 bis. No. 18 exhibited a similar situation, but as the text is damaged in this place it is not possible to read the title (or the author's name) of the second work.

A glance at the list suggests that it does not adhere to a classification principle decided beforehand. The books were obviously not put into order according to their subject matter. On the other hand, a material principle seems to have been followed loosely: the person or persons in charge of the operation placed the works in two volumes (nos 1 to 4 and then no. 12) at the beginning, then a little further the isolated volumes from series of two or more volumes (nos 7 to 10, then 15 and 28). Multiple texts manuscripts with more than two texts are found between nos 45 and 52, with the exception of no. 50; the wording used is similar and one of these manuscripts has survived, thus confirming their typology.⁹⁸ The volumes containing only two texts were seen in a different way and are scattered throughout the inventory: nos 18, 25 and 56 are in this case. No. 26 is slightly problematic: the wording used is unique in the inventory and does not allow to decide whether this manuscript contained only two texts, which would be the most likely because of its place, or if it was a miscellany. Sixteen items contain from two to more texts, and are either multiple-text manuscripts (MTM) or composite volumes. In other words, they represent together a good quarter of the books that were made *waqf*. As an indication, a similar proportion of manuscripts of the same type is found among the poetry manuscripts in Mūlāy Zaydān's library.⁹⁹

It is difficult to detect the intentions behind the three sisters' move: why did they decide to favor their brother 'Abd al-Karīm rather than their own children, in fact relinquishing to him a portion of the inheritance? The situation of the lineage at this time can explain it: 'Abd al-Karīm was then the only son of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām still alive and a form of family solidarity could have played. However, it is possible to go a step further on the basis of the data we have, the *waqf* deed itself, but also other documents.

⁹⁸ See below, MS Rabat, BNRM, 16 K.

⁹⁹ See de Castilla in this volume.

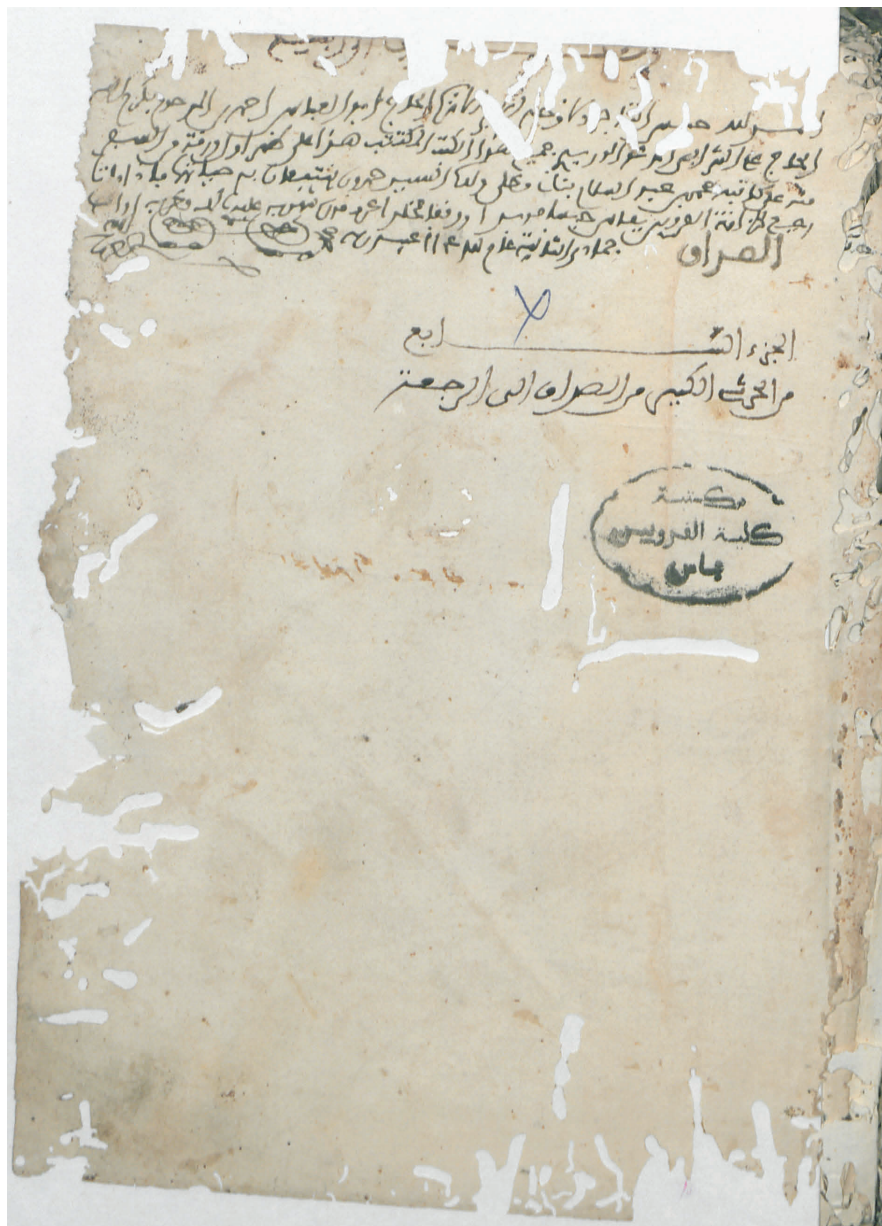


Fig. 2: Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 5-49-626. Detail of the ownership statements.
© F. Déroche.

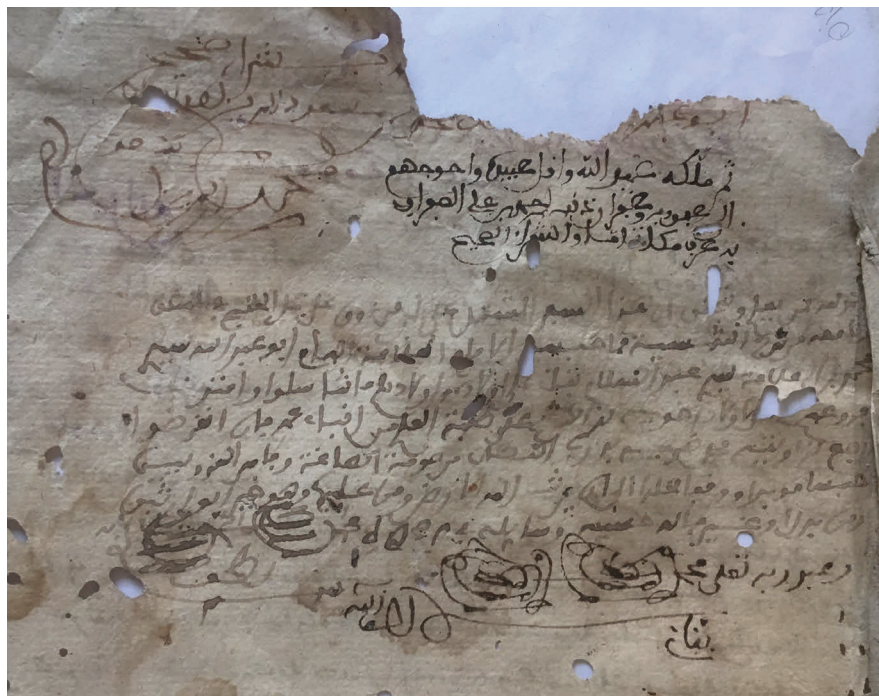


Fig. 3: Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 10-43-2. Detail of the waqf deed. © F. Déroche.

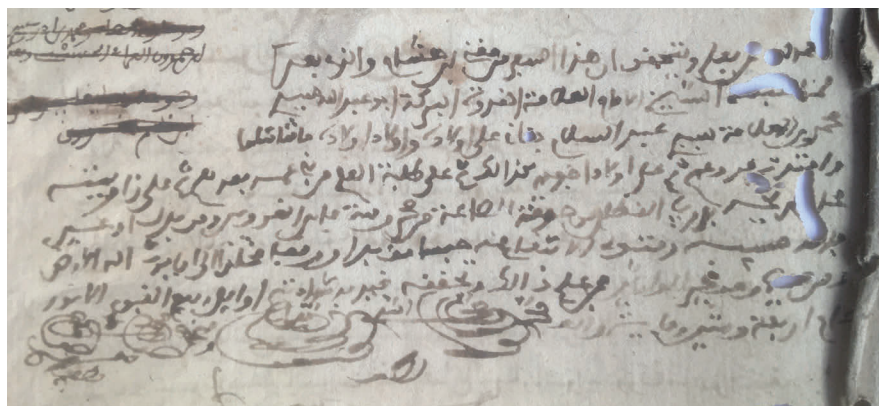


Fig. 4: Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 5-49-626. Waqf deed. © F. Déroche.

4 Collecting books

For a scholar, a common way of getting a text for personal use was to make a copy. The Bannānī have not failed in this tradition and sources report that ‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥamdūn had transcribed Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* in eight volumes and then made them a *waqf* in favour of his son Muḥammad.¹⁰⁰ The latter had then carefully collated this manuscript with the copy which was then kept at the al-Qarawīyyin mosque, that of Ibn Sa‘ada al-Andalusī (d. 522 AH/1128 CE), even writing a note on the latter to commemorate his work.¹⁰¹ The grandson of ‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥamdūn, ‘Abd al-Karīm, reports that his grandfather had also executed a copy of al-Tirmidhī’s *Shamā’il al-Muḥammadiyya*, on which his father had subsequently added his own glosses;¹⁰² it is highly probable that it is no. 56bis on the list accompanying the *waqf* deed. This example highlights the importance of notes and glosses in the hand of a scholar, written in the margins of a book that one has either been copying himself or bought on the market: they increased significantly the value of the copy. In addition to the transcription of texts as a means of increasing a personal collection, the composition of works the autograph of which remains in the possession of the author within his own library can also contribute to its growth.

In addition to the sources already mentioned, we have a very remarkable factual testimony of this copy activity. A multiple-text manuscript currently kept at the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco, manuscript 16 K, contains two marks of possession of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī.¹⁰³ It includes at the beginning a table of contents which is similar in its presentation to the inventory accompanying the *waqf* of the three sisters – each title introduced by a number in *Fāsi* numerals. Thirteen titles are indicated there, but the manuscript contains seventeen texts in its current state. However, two of the works mentioned in the table of contents are no longer part of the manuscript – a point we shall discuss later. The name of the former owner, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī, also appears in the colophon of three texts: he transcribed the *Ta’līf fī mā lā yanṣarīf* (no. 1) and the *Sharḥ khuṭbat Mūkhtaṣar al-Sa‘d al-Taftāzānī li Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (no. 2),¹⁰⁴ both composed by his father,

¹⁰⁰ ‘Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fol. 6r.

¹⁰¹ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *al-Tanwīh*, ed. al-Majīd Khīyālī 2012, 61.

¹⁰² ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *al-Tanwīh*, ed. al-Majīd Khīyālī 2012, 3.

¹⁰³ Manuscript Rabat, BNRM, 16 K, unnumbered folio at the beginning of the volume and unnumbered folio before p. 426.

¹⁰⁴ According to his own statement, he collected in these folios the notes he wrote in the margins of his own copy of Taftāzānī’s *Mūkhtaṣar* – another example of the importance of such notes (see above).

and the *Manāsik ‘Alī Baraka al-Tiṭwānī* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Baraka al-Tiṭwānī (d. 1120 AH/1708 CE, no. 16). The copying of the texts was respectively completed on 4 and 12 *Rabī’ I* 1182 AH/18 and 26 July 1768 CE (nos 1 and 2), and on Saturday 28 *Shawwāl* 1151 AH/7 February 1739 CE (no. 16). The interest of this volume lies not only in the fact that it was copied by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī, but also because it is one of the very few volumes that match an entry of the inventory of the three sisters’ contribution to the family library. No. 40 is actually described as a multiple-text manuscript that began with the *Ta’līf fī mā lā yanṣarif*: this is the case of manuscript 16 K, which also confirms that manuscripts of this type were described in this way in the inventory.

But it is still more important for us because it contains a series of texts related to the father of the copyist, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī. The latter probably transcribed himself various texts included in the manuscript: he could have completed the beginning of the *Intiqā’ Mi’at Ḥadīth fī al-targhib fī iṣṭinā’ al-ma’rūf* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī (d. 1094 AH/1683 CE; no. 10), the end of which in an Oriental hand is presumably what remains of an original but mutilated copy. He may also have copied both the *Ta’līf al-imām Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr fī al-Basmala hal hiya āya min al-Fātiḥa am lā* by Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr al-Numayrī (d. 463 AH/1071 CE; no. 14) and the *Izālat al-labs ‘an al-masā’il al-khams* by Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Sijilmāssī (d. 1156 AH/1743 CE; no. 15). He is the author of various texts related to the transmission of knowledge, first of all his own *Fahrasa* (no. 3),¹⁰⁵ then an incomplete *Fahris asānīd* where he mentions the *isnād* he could claim in the field of ḥadīth (no. 8),¹⁰⁶ as well as two *ijāza* given one to a Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajjāj al-Mālikī, residing in Egypt, during their meeting in Rosetta on 15 *Jumādā I* 1143 AH/25 November 1730 CE (no. 4),¹⁰⁷ the other to a person whose name has disappeared (no. 5).

Texts nos 7, 9 and 11 are short treatises composed by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī: the *Sharḥ al-Ḥizb al-Kabīr li Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*,¹⁰⁸ the *Sharḥ al-Ṣalāt al-Mashīhiyya*¹⁰⁹ and the *Risāla fī faḍl al-niṣf min Sha‘bān*.¹¹⁰ We

105 It is a short version akin to the *Fahrasa ṣuġrā* (no. 28 in the list of his works), but with a final addition – an *ijāza* given to his master Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Shahrazūri (d. 1101 AH/1690 CE).

106 The text was prepared in Mekka during the author’s pilgrimage in 1141 AH/1729 CE.

107 It concerns mainly Bukhārī’s *Thulāthiyyāt* and the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* by al-Jazūlī (d. 870 AH/1465 CE).

108 Manuscript Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, 1512 (no. 11 in the list of the author’s works).

109 Manuscript Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, 1512 (no. 20 in the list of the author’s works).

110 No. 8 in the list of the author’s works. The copy is partly in Maghribi script, partly in eastern script.

also owe to him the notes on various subjects which constitute text no. 6 in the collection. As stated above, two texts which had been included in the table of contents (probably by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī) are no longer found in manuscript 16 K: the first one, no. 8, was another treatise by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām, the *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat sayyidī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī fī ‘ilm al-uṣṭulāb* which seems to be an abridged version of text no. 9 in the list given above, and the second, originally no. 9 in the manuscript’s table of contents, was the *Ta’zīm al-aimma al-arba’a* by the owner’s grandfather, ‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥamdūn Bannānī.

The three texts that have not been described so far are a collection of excerpts (*Majmū’ fihī aḥādīth fī makārim al-akhlāq, Uṣūl al-Ṭarīqa al-Nāṣiriyya* and *Mudāwāt ‘uyūb al-nafs*; no. 12), an Eastern copy of the *Ḥāshiya Kamāl Bāshā ‘alā al-Bayḍāwī* by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Kamāl Bāshā (940 AH/1534 CE; no. 13) and the *Raw‘iq al-ḥulal fī alqāb al-ziḥaf wa al-‘ilal* of Muḥammad b. Ubb b. Aḥmīd al-Muzzammari al-Tuwātī (1160 AH/1747 CE; no. 17); the last two could be a later addition. Manuscript 16 K provides us with a valuable insight into the double contribution that family members could make to the family library, as authors and as copyists.

A scholar wishing to enrich his own library could also buy books on the market. The commentary by N. Clénard, cited above, highlights the difficulty encountered by potential buyers to acquire a manuscript. Five initial folios found by one of us (FD) next to the three sisters’ *waqf* deed in the Qarawiyyin library bear witness to this in the case of the Bannānī library. The notes recording the purchase of the manuscripts are frequently inscribed on the upper left corner of the folios: a first one concerns a copy of the *Mi‘yār al-mu‘rib wa al-jāmi‘ al-mughrib ‘an fatāwā ahl Ifrīqiya wa al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib* by Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wansharīsī (d. 914 AH/1508 CE).¹¹¹ A second note records the acquisition of the *Mudkhal ilā tanmiyat al-amāl bi taḥsīn al-niyyāt* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Abdarī al-Fāsī, known as Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336), on *Rajab* 1st, 1142 AH/19 January 1730 CE.¹¹² Another example is found on a copy of the famous grammar treatise, the *Mughnī al-labīb ‘an kutub al-a‘arīb* by ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Hishām (Fig. 2), that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām bought from his teacher, Muḥammad al-Irāqī (d. 1142 AH/1729–1730 CE).¹¹³ A copy of the *Iḥkām al-dalāla ‘alā taḥrīr al-Risāla* bears a list of three persons who

¹¹¹ Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 6, see the equivalence in the bibliography (copy in Maghribi script, 28 × 20 cm). *GAL* II 248; S II 348.

¹¹² Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 4 (copy in Maghribi script, 28,5 × 21,5 cm). *GAL* S I 95.

¹¹³ Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 7 (copy in Maghribi script, 24 × 16,5 cm). *GAL* II 23; S I 17.

owned the book before it became Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām’s property.¹¹⁴ The last example deals with the purchase of a copy of the *Qawā’id al-aḥkām fī iṣlāḥ al-anām* by ‘Izz al-dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām Sulāmī (d. 660 AH/1261 CE); it was concluded in Mekka, perhaps in 1141 AH/1729 CE.¹¹⁵ The latter recalls the importance of the travels to the East for Moroccan scholars looking for manuscripts.¹¹⁶

The *waqf* was a third way to enrich a library; it also had the advantage of offering a solution to stabilize it in a sustainable way (so was it hoped). The Bannānī, experts in the Law, resorted to it in two ways. The first, illustrated by the three sisters’ *waqf*, was implemented by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām’s father in favor of his own son, as we have seen, for the eight volumes of Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. With the same legal tool, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām and later his children expanded the family library. A deed is found on eleven fragments in the Qarawiyyin Library, for instance on a multiple-text manuscript.¹¹⁷ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām names as beneficiaries in the first place his own children, then the children of the latter; if their lineage were to die out, the children of his two brothers would become the beneficiaries (see Appendix II),¹¹⁸ then, failing these, his cousins, who would be devoting themselves to study (Fig. 3).¹¹⁹ As a last resort, if all disappeared, the *waqf* would return to his *zāwiya* – which has already been mentioned above. This deed was written in 1164 AH/1750–1751 CE, in the year following the death of the settler. A son of the deceased was therefore responsible for registering the will

114 Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 1 (copy in eastern script, 28,5 × 17,5 cm).

115 Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 8 (copy in eastern script, 25 × 17 cm). GAL I 430-1; S I 766.

116 M. al-Manūnī underlines Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī’s activity in this respect (al-Manūnī 2005, 32). The example of the Saadian library goes in the same direction (see de Castilla in this volume).

117 Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, Fgmt 9. The manuscript contains two treatises on logic, the *Sharḥ al-Jumal fī al-mantiq li al-Khūnājī* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Marzūq al-ḥafīd al-‘Ajīsī al-Tilimsānī (d. 842 /1439) and the *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* by al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, Quṭb al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 766/1364).

118 One of the brothers is Muḥammad al-‘Arabī b. ‘Abd al-Salām (see Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥijāziyya*, ed. al-dīn Shūbad and Būtwādī 2018, II, 464 and 483) who could be the father of ‘Amm al-‘Arabī (see above).

119 We know three cousins, all sons of al-Ḥasan Bannānī: Maḥammad (sic!), ‘Alī and Muḥammad (d. 1194 AH/1780 CE). The latter is the most prominent of these three brothers: a jurisconsult, he was imam of Mawlāy Idrīs mosque where he taught Mālikī law and tradition (see al-Shafshāwnī, *Thamrat unsi*, ed. al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥimar 1996, 84; al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, ed. Ḥajjī and al-Tawfiq 1982–1986, IV, 214; al-Manālī al-Zabādī, *Sulūk al-ṭariq*, ed. ‘al-Ḥayy al-Yamlāḥī 2012, 255).

of his father in the presence of two witnesses as is clearly stated in one of those deeds: ‘this book in its entirety has been made a *waqf* by our father’.¹²⁰

On these eleven manuscripts, the deed is repeated with small variants. On Fragment 7, the beginning of a copy of the *Mughnī al-labīb ‘an kutub al-a’ārīb* by ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Hishām (d. 761 AH/1360 CE), one reads for instance the following text (Fig. 4):

١. الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ. يُعْلَمُ وَيَتَحَقَّقُ أَنَّ هَذَا السَّفَرُ مِنْ مُعْنِي ابْنِ هِشَامٍ وَالَّذِي بَعْدَهُ،
٢. مِمَّا حَبَسَهُ الشَّيْخُ الْإِمَامُ الْعَلَامَةُ الْفُتُوَّةُ الْبَرَكَةُ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ سَيِّدِي مُحَمَّدٌ
٣. بْنُ الْعَلَامَةِ سَيِّدِي عَبْدِ السَّلَامِ بَنَانِي عَلَى أَوْلَادِهِ وَأَوْلَادِ أَوْلَادِهِ مَا تَنَاسَلُوا
٤. وَأَمْتَدَّتْ فُرُوعُهُمْ ثُمَّ عَلَى أَوْلَادِ أَخَوَيْهِ كَذَلِكَ، ثُمَّ عَلَى طَلَبَةِ الْعِلْمِ مِنْ بَنِي عَمِّهِ بَعْدَهُمْ، ثُمَّ عَلَى زَاوِيَتِهِ
٥. مَحَلِّ ضَرْجِهِ بِدَرْبِ الْقَطَانِ مِنْ حَوْمَةِ الصَّاعَةِ مِنْ مَحْرُوسَةِ فَاسَ الْفَرَوِيِّينَ. وَمَنْ يَدُلَّ أَوْ غَيْرَ
٦. فَإِنَّهُ حَسِبِيهِ وَمُتَوَلَّى الْإِنْتِقَامِ مِنْهُ؛ حَبْسًا مُؤَبَّدًا وَوَقْفًا مُخَلَّدًا إِلَى أَنْ يَرِثَ اللَّهُ الْأَرْضَ
٧. وَمَنْ عَلَيْهَا وَهُوَ خَيْرُ الْوَارِثِينَ. فَمَنْ عَلِمَ ذَلِكَ وَحَقَّقَهُ قَيَّدَ بِهِ شَهَادَتَهُ أَوْ أَمَّلَ رَبِيعَ النَّبَوِيِّ الْأَنْوَرِ
٨. عَامَ أَرْبَعَةٍ وَسِتِّينَ وَمِائَةٍ وَأَلْفٍ.

1. Praise be to God! It should be known and approved that this volume containing the *Mughnī* of Ibn Hishām and what follows
 2. is constituted in *waqf* by the erudite imam, model and blessed, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Sīdī Muḥammad,
 3. son of the scholar Sīdī ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī, in favour of his children and the children of his children, as long as they reproduce themselves
 4. and their [genealogical] branches spread. Then, likewise, in favour of the children of his two brothers and the students among his cousins after them, then of the *zāwiya*
 5. which contains his mausoleum in the alleyway of al-Qaṭṭān in the jewellers’ district of Fās al-Qarawīyyin the protected. Whoever destroys or transforms [it],
 6. God will hold him to account and take revenge on him; a perpetual legacy until God ‘inherits the earth
 7. and those who are there’ (Q. 19: 40) because he is ‘the best of those who give inheritance’ (Q. 21: 89). He acquainted himself with this and approved it by recording his testimony at the beginning of *Rabī‘* I
 8. in the year 1164.
- [Signatures of the witnesses]

On the copy of the *Qawā‘id al-aḥkām* by Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 660 AH/1261 CE), the children of his two brothers are not mentioned and the beneficiaries are suc-

¹²⁰ See above, n. 114.

cessively his own children, their descendants and, in case of extinction, those of their cousins, who dedicate themselves to science; in the last resort, the book would come back to Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām’s *zāwiya*.¹²¹ A different formulation, similar to that of the second document, appears on the manuscript with al-Wansharīsi’s *Nawāzil*, that is to say his *Mi’yār*.¹²² The beneficiaries are designated in more general terms: the settler speaks of descendants (*dhurriyya*) and posterity (*‘aqib*). A new category, those of his relatives (*aqāribuhu*) who dedicate themselves to science, is mentioned: it appears before the cousins and, as in the previous cases, the *zāwiya*.

After Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām, his children followed the same path. On the initial folio of the already mentioned copy of the *Madkhal* by Ibn al-Ḥājj,¹²³ a deed has been written, stating that the daughters of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī, in other words the three sisters, constituted the book as a *waqf* in 1164 AH/1750–1751 CE; they did so in favour of those who dedicate themselves to the study among their relatives (*aqāribuhunna*) and among the children of their paternal uncle, or finally in favour of the *zāwiya* of *Darb al-Qaṭṭān*. As indicated on the first line of the deed, the book comes from their share in their father’s inheritance. It must be the first half of the work, the second one joining it afterwards: it is actually the no. 7 of the *waqf* in favour of their brother ‘Abd al-Karīm.¹²⁴ It thus appears that the inheritance of the three sisters was divided into two parts: the first one came directly from their father and included the first half of the *Madkhal*; it was partly turned into a *waqf* one year after the death of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām. According to the deed in favour of their brother ‘Abd al-Karīm, there were still books that had come to them in this way and to which had been added those which they had inherited from their two brothers Ḥamdūn and Muḥammad. Among the 59 works included in the *waqf* published above was the second part of the *Madkhal*.

Another modality of *waqf* has also been used in this strategy of book accumulation. In this case, donors foreign to the family constituted books as a *waqf* in favour of either the father, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī, or of his sons. One of us (LT) found two examples of this kind in the Qarawīyyin library collection. Both involve a certain Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Maghribī al-Fāsī, known as al-Sharāybi al-Wuraydī al-Khawāja, a merchant born in Fez

¹²¹ See above and n. 115.

¹²² See above and n. 111.

¹²³ See n. 112.

¹²⁴ The beneficiaries are not the same and it would have been legally difficult to have the same book presented as a *waqf* for two different beneficiaries.

whom Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī met during a trip to the Near East. The first work is a fifteen-volume copy of a commentary on Khalīl’s *Mukhtaṣar*, the *Mawāhib al-jalīla al-mustanbaṭa min kalām kull jalīl li yatayassara bihā ḥall alfāz Mukhtaṣar Khalīl* (known as *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*) by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kharshī (d. 1101 AH/1690 CE).¹²⁵ The deed of *waqf*, written by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī, is dated to the middle of *Jumādā* II 1143 AH/end of December 1730 CE; it stipulates that Muḥammad and his son Ḥamdūn are the beneficiaries for the duration of their existence, after which the work will pass on to the Qarawiyyin mosque library – which seems to have actually occurred on 2 Rabi’ II 1201 AH/21 January 1787 CE.¹²⁶

The second manuscript is a six-volume autograph copy of the *Faṭḥ al-qarīb al-Mujīb ‘alā Sharḥ al-Targhīb wa al-tarhīb* by ‘Abdallāh b. Bahā’ al-dīn al-Shinshawrī (d. 999 AH/1590 CE).¹²⁷ The same al-Wuraydī states that he makes the manuscripts a *waqf* in favour of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī and his son Ḥamdūn, then of all his descendants (fig. 5); ‘And if they disappear, the book will go to the illustrious library in front of al-Qarawiyyin Mosque’. The deed was written in an Eastern script. The date is partly illegible: we distinguish the month, *Jumādā* II, and the number of the units: three, which suggests a reading: *Jumādā* II 1143 AH/December 1730 CE, the same date as that of the other deed. We know that, at this moment, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī was in Egypt. The two preceding deeds call for some remarks. The list of the beneficiaries is more limited than in the previous examples, especially with regard to the commentary of Khalīl’s *Mukhtaṣar* for which only Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī and his son are concerned. It should be noted that the eventual ultimate return is to the Qarawiyyin – perhaps because the construction of the *zāwiya* was not yet started at that time.

The various documents found so far provide a few hints about the contents of a Moroccan scholar’s library in the first half of the eighteenth century. A study of the actual contents of the books can only be partial because we only know the title of the first text of the multiple-text manuscripts, except, apparently, when they contained only two, a situation observed in nos 25 and 56, and probably also in no. 18, judging by the parallel wording of no. 56 description.¹²⁸ With this

¹²⁵ Manuscript Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, 1060. GAL S II, 84.

¹²⁶ al-Ribāṭī, *Muqaddimat al-faṭḥ*, ed. Najīb 2008, 123. The author states that each volume bears a statement by two eyewitnesses, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Fāsī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Gharnāṭī (see ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī 2002, I, 152).

¹²⁷ Manuscript Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, 1013, fol. 370. GAL S II, 442.

¹²⁸ The first title is obviously not a basis for a thematic evaluation of the contents of a multiple text manuscript.

proviso, we observe that among the 83 texts identified so far, with the exception of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām Bannānī’s own compositions, there is an almost equal distribution of the original compositions on the one hand and the commentaries and super-commentaries on the other.¹²⁹

5 The Bannānī library

When examining more closely the constitution of the library, or more exactly of the books that are known to us, one notices a relatively high number of recent works: nineteen of them date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sixteen of them being composed by Moroccan authors.¹³⁰ On this last point, the trend is confirmed at a more general level: among the 83 texts identified so far, 28 (a third of the total) are authored by Moroccans.¹³¹ If we take into account together the names of the authors originating from North Africa and al-Andalus, it turns out that the Muslim West is well represented: its share amounts to a half (38 titles, against 39 for the rest of the Muslim world). This leaves aside the question of the place of copy since only a few manuscripts can be analysed on this point.¹³² Among the twelve fragments, those written in a Maghribi hand are six; and the two manuscripts of the Qarawiyyin as well as manuscript 16 K of the National Library are also in Maghribi script.

In terms of contents and on the basis of the texts that could be identified, the books can be divided into three major groups of roughly equivalent size: the largest one comprises the books with religious content, 23 in total,¹³³ followed by those of law (20),¹³⁴ then grammar and philology (17).¹³⁵ In the first category, we can note a comparatively high number of works (6) on the *sīra*: they may reflect Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām’s interest for this field, since his major work is a commentary of al-Kalā’ī’s *K. al-Iktifā’* on the expeditions of the Prophet and the first three caliphs. Among the remaining texts, two smaller groups can be suggested. The scientific component is reduced to two texts, one on medicine (no. 32) and the other

¹²⁹ Nos 24 and 36 are included into this group, even if the full title is not known.

¹³⁰ Nos 25, 25 bis, 34, 40, 45, 48, 50 and 58; Fgmt 5 and 16 K₁, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17.

¹³¹ Nos 14, 15, 26, 33, 35, 37, 39, 43, 44, 52 and 57, as well as Fgmt 6 in addition to the texts listed in n. 130.

¹³² Texts 7, 40 and perhaps also 56 bis of the list above. See below.

¹³³ Nos 1, 2, 10, 12, 13, 19, 25, 25 bis, 27, 28, 31, 34, 38, 44, 49, 56 bis and 59. We did not include nos 7 and 37 (Sufism) or no. 41 (unidentified *Qīṣṣat Ahl al-kahf*).

¹³⁴ Nos 4, 5, 8, 11, 15, 16, 18, 23, 26, 33, 35, 42, 51 and 56.

¹³⁵ Nos 9, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22, 29, 40, 46 à 48, 55 and 58.



Fig. 5: Fez, Qarawiyyin Library, MS 1013, fol. 370. Waqf deed. © F. Déroche.

on astronomy (no. 43): it should be noted that the latter is included in a multiple texts manuscript without being apparently the first work: however, it has benefited from an exception to the rule prevailing for other manuscripts of this type of which only the first text is indicated.¹³⁶ History and geography are better represented with four volumes¹³⁷ to which could be added the two *fahrasa*¹³⁸ and the bibliography by Suyūṭī, *al-Nuqāya fī arbaʿata ʿāshara ʿilman*.¹³⁹ Poetry, with the exception of religious poetry (nos 27, with commentaries, and 49), *belles lettres* and philosophy are absent, but the texts related to these fields may have been included in multiple texts manuscripts of which only the first text was identified in the inventory. It cannot be ruled out either that works of these genres were among the books specifically inherited by their brother ʿAbd al-Karīm. A manuscript with two texts on logic, one by Quṭb al-dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī and the other by Ibn Marzūq al-ḥafīd al-Tilimsānī, was also part of this library.¹⁴⁰ Regarding religious poetry, it may be noted in passing that the multiple text manuscript no. 49 begins with a composition of this kind, al-Baghdādī's *Qaṣā'id al-witriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*, a situation parallel to that observed in the collection of the Escorial (manuscripts RBME 270, 304, 361, 362, 363, 384, 399, 404, 436, 442, 470 and 487).¹⁴¹

There is little evidence available about the readers' interest in Morocco during the period. It is however possible to make a parallel with the contents of a princely manuscript kept in the Escorial. According to a note found on fol. 385a, RBME 248 was prepared for the library of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī and completed on 23 *Rabīʿ* II 969 AH/31 December 1561 CE, according to the colophon on fol. 281a.¹⁴² The date and the name of this Abū ʿAbd Allāh who had these miscellany prepared for himself invite us to identify him with a nephew of the Saadian Sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib who had him killed in 975/1567.¹⁴³ The list of the manuscript contents is as follows.

136 No. 52 may also be an exception. No. 27 is a different case as it contains various commentaries on the Burda.

137 Nos 3, 39, 50 and 57. The two geographical works are travel accounts, one being the famous work by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (no. 39), the other one being by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām Bannānī (no. 50).

138 Nos 45 and 52.

139 No. 53.

140 See n. 117.

141 See de Castilla in this volume. *GAL* S I, 443.

142 Déroche 2019.

143 See Fagnan 1924, 388 (= 'Anonyme sur la dynastie saʿdienne'); Le Tourneau 1977, 26. Another date for the death of this Saadian prince is given there (Le Tourneau 1977, 25, n. 71).

Contents of the Escorial manuscript, RBME 248

1. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Ṣanhājī al-Būṣīrī (d. 694 AH/1294 CE), *al-Burda*.¹⁴⁴
2. Ṣafī al-dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Sarāyā al-Ḥillī (d. 750 AH/1349 CE), *Kāfiyya al-badī‘iyya*.¹⁴⁵
3. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-ḥasanī al-Sanūsī (d. 892 AH/1486 CE), *‘Aqīda ahl al-tawḥīd* also called *al-‘Aqīda al-kubrā*.¹⁴⁶
4. al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhin* also known as *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣugrā*.¹⁴⁷
5. al-Sanūsī, treatises on the same topics.¹⁴⁸
6. al-Sanūsī, *al-Isāghugī*.¹⁴⁹
7. al-Sanūsī, theological treatises.¹⁵⁰
8. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 AH/996 CE), *K. al-risāla*.¹⁵¹
9. Khalīl b. Iṣḥāq b. Mūsā al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī (d. 767 AH/1365 CE), *al-Mukhtaṣar*.¹⁵²
10. Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn Mālik al-Ṭā‘ī al-Jayyānī (d. 672 AH/1273 CE), *al-Alfiyya* (part).¹⁵³
11. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ṣanhājī b. Ajurrūm (d. 723 AH/1323 CE), *Ajurrūmiyya*.¹⁵⁴
12. Ibn Mālik, *Lāmiyya al-af‘āl* (or *al-Miftāḥ fi abniyat al-af‘āl*).¹⁵⁵
13. Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Azdī al-Maghribī, known as Ibn al-Bannā (d. 721 AH/1321 CE), *Talkhiṣ a‘māl al-ḥisāb*.¹⁵⁶
14. Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Tilimsānī, *urjuza* about rhetoric and style.

144 See GAL I, 264; S I, 467.

145 See GAL II, 160; S II, 199.

146 See GAL II, 250 (I).

147 GAL II, 250 (II).

148 This text could not be identified in the list of al-Sanūsī’s works published by C. Brockelmann (S II, 356).

149 See GAL II, 252 (XVII); also GAL I, 465²¹.

150 This text could not be identified in the list of al-Sanūsī’s works published by C. Brockelmann (S II, 356).

151 See GAL I, 177; S I, 301.

152 GAL II, 84; S II, 96.

153 GAL I, 298/4-ii; S I, 522.

154 See GAL II, 237; S II, 332.

155 See GAL I, 300; S I, 256.

156 GAL I, 255/1; S I, 363.

15. Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 739 AH/1338 CE), *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*.¹⁵⁷
16. Ḍiyā’ al-dīn abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān al-Khazrajī (fl. c. 650 AH/1252 CE), *al-Rāmiza al-shāfiyya fī ‘ilm al-‘arūḍ*.¹⁵⁸
17. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Jādirī (d. 818 AH/1416 CE), *Rawḍat al-azhār fī ‘ilm waqt al-layl wa-l-nahār*.¹⁵⁹

Eight of the seventeen texts of this miscellany, which represent in a way the basis of the knowledge of an *honnête homme* in the Saadian period, coincide in some way with some of the contents of the books the three sisters presented as a *waqf* two centuries later.

Miscellany	The three sisters' <i>waqf</i>
No. 1	27
No. 4	25, 25 bis
No. 8	15, 16, 26
No. 9	4
No. 10	17, 21, 22, 48, 16 K ₁₆
No. 11	47
No. 15	20, 29 ?, 16 K ₂
No. 17	43

It is, of course, out of the question to put on the same footing a library in one volume, a sort of compendium of fundamental texts in the education of the elites, and the various volumes which were belonging to scholars. However, finding either the same texts or commentaries of texts present in miscellany RBME 248 tells much about the permanence of a body of knowledge, or more particularly of works that have reached the status of classics. In RBME 248, the most recent text is the *‘Aqida al-ṣugrā* by al-Sanūsī; among the works presented as a *waqf* by the three sisters, some of those which are related to the contents of the Escorial princely miscellany date from the seventeenth century, for instance nos 16, 20, 22 or 25 and 25 bis, but they are all commen-

¹⁵⁷ GAL I, 295; S I, 516.

¹⁵⁸ GAL I, 312/10; S I, 545.

¹⁵⁹ See Bencheekroun 1974, 247–250.

taries. Is it a choice or the consequence of the availability on the market? As noted above, commentaries represent half of all books.

6 Conclusion

The three sisters' *waqf* constitutes in itself an interesting document on the way books circulated in Morocco during the second half of the eighteenth century. Put in the context provided by the different documents we have found, it takes on another meaning and reflects a deliberate policy to build a library and avoid the dispersion of books accumulated over two or more generations. The stakes are very clear: the various actors are the members of a family of scholars for whom access to books was of particular importance.

When did the Bannānīs start collecting books? There is little doubt that the grandfather, 'Abd al-Salām, had already begun to work in this direction by making a copy of Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* in eight volumes a *waqf* in favour of his son. This example and the documents we have found make clear that the three sisters therefore did not take an initiative but acted according to what was already a family policy: after the death of their brother Muḥammad, they did again what they had done previously after their father's death or followed a tradition established by their grandfather.

To what extent Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām's personal experience when he was preparing his *Maghānī al-wafā' li ma'ānī al-Iktifā'* induced him to implement a more ambitious approach of acquisition then of stabilization, even of hoarding of books? We are indeed told that the composition of this work has spread over sixteen years, mainly due to the lack of sources the author finally managed to find during his trip to the Near East – and we saw that a manuscript of the library had been actually bought in Mekka.¹⁶⁰ His intellectual stature was an asset in his collecting business, as the *waqf* of both Qarawiyyin Library manuscripts 1013 and 1060 suggests: the merchant al-Wuraydī had agreed to make Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām and his son Ḥamdūn the beneficiaries of two *waqfs* that provided them with two series of books totalling 21 volumes. It seems that only the extinction of the lineage after the death of his son 'Abd al-Karīm allowed the ultimate beneficiary, the library of the Qarawiyyin Mosque, to come into possession of these books on 2 *Rabi'* II 1201 AH/21 January 1787 CE – and not, as was stipulated, after that of Ḥamdūn's demise in 1170 AH/1756 CE.¹⁶¹ Such a procedure was a clever way to increase the

¹⁶⁰ See above and n. 115. Also 'Abd al-Karīm Bannānī, MS Ḥasaniyya 13900, fol. 21r; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fahris*, ed. 'Abbās 1982, I, 225.

¹⁶¹ al-Ribāṭī, *Muqaddimat al-faṭḥ*, ed. Najīb 2008, 123.

library size, which was also possible through purchases. The importance of the travel to the East to make acquisitions has to be stressed again here.

As shown by items nos 27 and 28 in the list of his works as well as by the incomplete *Fahris asānīd* found in manuscript 16 K, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām was keen on following the traditional forms in the acquisition of knowledge from masters whose names he recorded carefully. Next to this model of aural transmission, his activity in the accumulation of books leaves no doubt about the importance of the latter in his own intellectual pursuits and for his scholarly status. His children tried to maintain and increase the library they inherited from him. There was a collective and coherent effort by the Bannānīs at building up by accumulation a patrimonial library as well as at keeping it together. Despite the demises, the divisions among the heirs and the necessary adaptations that they entailed, the Bannānī library developed during the second half of the eighteenth century. The construction of the *zāwiya* was certainly not only intended to receive the library as a last resort, but could give it a more formal dimension. Were the three sisters encouraged by their brother ‘Abd al-Karīm to give up their share of inheritance or had their father left his recommendations? Nothing allows to decide. According to the data currently available to us, we are able to list 83 titles in this collection (see Appendix I), but the number was of course higher: the exact contents of the multiple-text manuscripts escape us, except for the manuscript 16 K, and we do not know what was in ‘Abd al-Karīm’s possession and the exact number of manuscripts involved in the 1164 AH/1750 CE operation. It was anyhow a library of a respectable size for the standards of the time.

Accumulating essential books to support the intellectual activity of the Bannānīs was probably not the only objective. Obviously, as suggested by the contents of manuscript 16 K, a copy of the works of the scholars belonging to this family (including their maternal ancestor Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Mayyāra al-Fāsī and perhaps others) was part of the collection: the latter defended the prestige of the family since it helped to preserve the successive contributions of various generations. It was therefore working *ad maiorem familiæ gloriam*. Did the *waqf* guarantee its durability? We can doubt it. The presence of these manuscripts in the Qarawiyyin Library shows that the volumes were partly scattered and that the *zāwiya* did not fulfil its function of ultimate stronghold. But this is not, after all, an exceptional situation: two manuscripts that the great Saadian scholar Aḥmad al-Manjūr had established as a family *waqf* in 1572–1573 passed to Mūlāy Zaydān’s library and are nowadays in El Escorial.¹⁶² It is however quite exceptional to have the possibility to reconstruct, even partially, the contents of a private Moroccan library of the eighteenth century.

162 RBME 1032, fol. 1a (980 CE/1572 AH) and 1072, fol. 3a (981 CE/1573 AH).

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Abbreviations

El2 = P. Bearman, T. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Online*, Leiden: Brill <referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>.

GAL = Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, I–II, Weimar: Felber, 1898 and 1902.

GAL S = Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur. Supplementbände*, I–III, Leiden: Brill, 1937, 1938 and 1942.

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Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥuḍaygī محمد بن أحمد الحضيكى *al-Kunnāsha* الكناشة, MS Rabat, Ḥasaniyya Library, 13003.

From the *khurūm* collection of the Qarawiyyin Library in Fez:

Fgmt 1= 8-9-1667, Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣarī زكريا الأنصاري (d. 926 AH/1520 CE), *Iḥkām al-dalāla ‘alā taḥrīr al-Risāla* إحكام الدلالة على تحرير الرسالة.

Fgmt 2= 2-6-367, Abū al-Su‘ūd Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Imādī أبو السعود محمد بن محمد العمادي (d. 982 AH/1574 CE), *Irshād al-‘aql al-salīm ilā mazāyā al-Qur’ān al-karīm* إرشاد العقل السليم إلى مزايا القرآن الكريم.

Fgmt 3= 17-5-473, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī ابن حجر العسقلاني (d. 852 AH/1449 CE), *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* الإصابة في تمييز الصحابة.

Fgmt 4= 1-4-110, Ibn al-Ḥājj ابن الحاج (d. 737 AH/1336 CE), *al-Madkhal* المنخل.

Fgmt 5= 16-17-1663, 16-11-2400, 16-24-170, Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī أبو زيد عبد الرحمن بن عبد القادر الفاسي (d. 1096 AH/1685 CE), *Miftāḥ al-shifā fī muḥādḥāt al-Shifā* مفتاح الشفا في محاذاة الشفا.

- Fgmt 6= 1-21-589, al-Wansharīsī النونشريسي (d. 914 AH/1508 CE), *al-Miyyār al-mu'rib wa al-jāmi'* *al-muḡrib 'an fatāwā ahl Ifrīqiya wa al-Andalus wa al-Maḡrib* عن المعيار المعرب والجامع المغرب عن فتاوى أهل إفريقية والأندلس والمغرب.
- Fgmt 7= 5-49-626, 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Hishām بن عبد الله بن يوسف بن عبد الله بن هشام (d. 761 AH/1360 CE), *Mughnī al-labīb 'an kutub al-a'arīb* مغني اللبيب عن كتب الأعراب.
- Fgmt 8= 6-8-624, 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Sulamī عبد العزيز بن عبد السلام السلمي (d. 660 AH/1261 CE), *Qawā'id al-aḥkām fī iṣlāḥ al-anām* قواعد الأحكام في إصلاح الأنام.
- Fgmt 9= 10-43-2, Ibn Marzūq al-ḥafīd al-Tilimsānī ابن مرزوق الحفيد التلمساني (d. 842 AH/1438 CE), *Sharḥ al-Jumal fī al-manṭiq li al-Khūnajī* شرح الجمل في المنطق للخونجي.
- Fgmt 10= 16-2-270–280 and 16-7-658, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī محمد بن يوسف الصالحي الشامي (d. 942 AH/1536 CE), *Subul al-hudā wa-l-rashād fī sirat khayr al-'ibād* سبل الهدى والرشاد في سيرة خير العباد.
- Fgmt 11= 16-10-684, Ibn Sayyid al-nās ابن سيد الناس (d. 734 AH/1333 CE), *Uyūn al-athar fī funūn al-Maghāzī wa al-shamā'il wa al-siyar* عيون الأثر في فنون المغازي والشمائل والسير.
- Fgmt 12= 17-4-685, Ibn Khallikān ابن خلكان (d. 681 AH/1282 CE), *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān* وفيات الأعيان وأنباء أبناء الزمان.

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Appendix I: The Bannānī library c. 1770 (list of holdings according to currently available sources)

Authors' names	
'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Hishām (d. 761 AH/1360 CE)	Fgmt 7 ¹⁶³
'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Sulamī (d. 660 AH/1261 CE)	Fgmt 8
'Abd al-Bāqī al-Zarqānī (d. 1099 AH/1687 CE)	51
'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1036 AH/1626 CE)	25 bis
'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jādīrī (d. after 818 AH/1415 CE)	43
'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jazūlī (d. 741 AH/1340 CE)	26
'Abd al-Salām b. Ḥamdūn Bannānī (d. 1136 AH/1723 CE)	(16 K)
Abū al-Fidā' Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH/1372 CE)	41 (?)
Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj (d. 311 AH/923 CE)	40
Abū al-Su'ūd Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Imādī (d. 982 AH/1574 CE)	Fgmt 2
Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1096 AH/1685 CE)	Fgmt 5
'Aḍud al-dīn al-Ṭijī (d. 756 AH/1355 CE)	44
Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Sijilmāssī (d. 1156 AH/1743 CE)	16 K ₁₅
Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Kamāl Bāshā (d. 940 AH/1534 CE)	16 K ₁₂ (?)
Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Wansharīsī (d. 914 AH/1508 CE)	35
Aḥmad Ibn Zarrūq (d. 899 AH/1493 CE)	37
'Alī b. Muḥammad Baraka al-Tiṭwānī (d. 1120 AH/1708 CE)	16 K ₁₆
Badr al-dīn al-'Aynī al-Bukhārī (d. 855 AH/1451 CE)	21
Burhān al-dīn al-Safāquṣī (d. 743 AH/1342 CE)	2
al-Damīrī (d. 805 AH/1402 CE)	5
Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 AH/1209 CE)	38
al-Ḥājj al-Shuṭaybī (d. 963 AH/1555 CE)	57
Ḥamdūn b. Muḥammad Bannānī (d. 1170 AH/1756 CE)	48
Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Numayrī (d. 463 AH/1071 CE)	16 K ₁₄
Ibn 'Arafa (d. 803 AH/1400 CE)	18
Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606 AH/1209 CE)	1
Ibn 'Aṭīyya (d. 542 AH/1147 CE)	28
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779 AH/1377 CE)	39
Ibn Ghāzī (d. 919 AH/1513 CE)	14
Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852 AH/1449 CE)	Fgmt 3
Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973 AH/1565 CE)	31
Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646 AH/1248 CE)	23
Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737 AH/1336 CE)	7, Fgmt 4

163 The numbers alone refer to the items listed in the three sisters' *waqf*; 'Q' designates a manuscript in the Qarawiyyin Library main collection, 'Fgmt' a fragment in the deposit of the same library (see the call number in the bibliography); '16 K' is the manuscript in the Royal Library of the Kingdom of Morocco. In some cases, the title may be followed by two references when it is known in a document and through the manuscript itself (for example *al-Madkhal*).

Authors' names

Ibn Khallikān (d. 681 AH/1282 CE)	Fgmt 12
Ibn Mālik (d. 672 AH/1273)	46, 55
Ibn Marzūq al-ḥafīd al-Tilimsānī (d. 842 AH/1438 CE)	Fgmt 9
Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687 AH/1288 CE)	32
Ibn Qayyīm al-Jawziyya (d. 751 AH/1350 CE)	19
Ibn al-Rashīd al-Baghdādī (d. 662 AH/1263 CE)	49
Ibn Sayyid al-nās (d. 734 AH/1333 CE)	12, Fgmt 11
Ibn 'Umar al-Anfāsī (d. 761 AH/1359 CE)	15
Ibn al-Waḥshī (d. 502 AH/1108 CE)	59
al-Jurjānī (d. 816 AH/1413 CE)	9 (?)
Khālid al-Azhārī (d. 905 AH/1499 CE)	17, 47
al-Kharshī (d. 1101 AH/1690 CE)	Q 1060
al-Lakhmī (d. 478 AH/1085 CE)	8
al-Maḥallī (d. 864 AH/1459 CE)	11
al-Manjūr (d. 995 AH/1586 CE)	52
Mayyāra al-Fāsī (d. 1072 AH/1661 CE)	34
Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1116 AH/1704)	58
Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām Bannānī (d. 1163 AH/1749 CE)	40, 45 (?), 50, 16 K ₁ , 3, 7, 8, 9, 11 and two missing texts
Muḥammad al-Fishtālī (d. 777 AH/1376 CE)	33
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām Bannānī (d. 1182 AH/1769 CE)	16 K ₂
Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī (d. 942 AH/1536 CE)	Fgmt 10
al-Mundhirī (d. 656 AH/1258 CE)	Q 1013
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261 AH/875 CE)	10
al-Raṣṣā' al-Tilimsānī (d. 894 AH/1488 CE)	56
al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, Quṭb al-dīn (d. 766 AH/1364 CE)	Fgmt 9
al-Rūdānī (d. 1094 AH/1683 CE)	16 K ₁₀
al-Saktānī (d. 1062 AH/1651 CE)	25
al-Subkī (d. 771 AH/1369 CE)	42 (?)
al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH/1505 CE)	3, 53
al-Taftāzānī (d. 792 AH/1390 CE)	29
al-Tatā'ī (d. 942 AH/1535 CE)	4
al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH/892 CE)	56 bis
al-Tuwātī (d. 1160 AH/1747 CE)	16 K ₁₇
al-Ujhūrī (d. 1066 AH/1655 CE)	13, 16
al-Wansharīsī (d. 914 AH/1508 CE)	Fgmt 6
Yāsīn al-'Ulaymī (d. 1061 AH/1651 CE)	20, 22
Zakariyyā' al-Anṣarī (d. 926 AH/1520 CE)	Fgmt 1

Titles

<i>al-Badr al-lāmi' fī ḥall Jam' al-jawāmi'</i>	11
<i>Fahrāsa d'al-Manjūr</i>	52
<i>Fahrāsa de Muḥammad Bannānī (?)</i>	45, 16 K ₃
<i>Fahrīs asānid</i>	16 K ₈
<i>al-Fā'iḳ fī aḥkām al-wathā'iḳ</i>	33
<i>Faṭḥ al-Jalīl 'alā Mukhtaṣar al-ṣaykh Khalīl</i>	4
<i>Faṭḥ al-qarīb al-Mujīb 'alā Sharḥ al-Targhīb wa al-tarhīb</i>	Q 1013
<i>Ḥāshiya 'alā Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik</i>	22
<i>Ḥāshiya 'alā Mukhtaṣar sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ</i>	20
<i>Ḥāshiya 'alā Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn: al-'Aqīda al-ṣughrā</i>	25, 25 bis
<i>Ḥāshiya Kamāl Bāshā 'alā al-Bayḍāwī</i>	16 K ₁₂ (?)
<i>Ḥāshiya al-Zarqānī 'alā Sharḥ al-Luqānī 'alā khuṭbat Mukhtaṣar Khalīl</i>	51
<i>al-Hidāya al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya li-bayān ḥaqā'iḳ Ibn 'Arafa al-wāfiya</i>	56
<i>al-Ḥudūd fī al-ta'rīfāt al-fiqhiyya</i>	18
<i>Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī tārikh Miṣr wa al-Qāhira</i>	3
<i>Iḥkām al-dalāla 'alā taḥrīr al-Risāla</i>	Fgmt 1
<i>Ikhtīṣār Sharḥ khuṭbat al-Alfiyya</i>	48
<i>Intiqā' Mi'at Ḥadīth fī al-targhīb fī iṣṭinā' al-ma'rūf</i>	16 K ₁₀
<i>Irshād al-'aql al-salīm ilā mazāyā al-Qur'ān al-karīm</i>	Fgmt 2
<i>al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba</i>	Fgmt 3
<i>Iṭṭāf dhawī al-istiḥqāq bi ba'di murād al-Murādī wa Zawa'id Abī Ishāq</i>	14
<i>Izālat al-labs 'an al-masā'il al-khams</i>	16 K ₁₅
<i>Jāmi' al-Ummahāt aw al-Mukhtaṣar al-farī</i>	23
<i>Jam' al-jawāmi' fī Uṣūl al-fiqh (?)</i>	42
<i>Jawāhir al-kalām</i>	44
<i>Kitāb al-Jumān fī mukhtaṣar akhbār al-zamān</i>	57
<i>al-Madkhal</i>	7, Fgmt 4
<i>Manāsik 'Alī Baraka al-Tiṭwānī</i>	16 K ₁₆
<i>al-Maqāṣid al-naḥwiyya, Sharḥ shawāhid shurūḥ al-Alfiyya</i>	21
<i>Mawāhib al-jalīla al-mustanbaṭa min kalām kull jalīl li yatayassara bihā</i>	Q 1060
<i>ḥall alfāz Mukhtaṣar Khalīl</i>	
<i>Miftāḥ al-shifā fī muḥādhāt al-Shifā</i>	Fgmt 5
<i>al-Miṣbāḥ fī Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ</i>	9
<i>al-Mi'yār al-mu'rīb wa al-jāmi' al-muḡrib 'an fatāwā ahl lfrīqiya wa al-Andalus wa al-Maḡrib</i>	Fgmt 6
<i>Mughnī al-labīb 'an kutub al-a'arīb</i>	Fgmt 7
<i>al-Muḥarrar al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-'azīz</i>	28
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<i>al-Mūjaz fī al-ṭibb</i>	32
<i>al-Mujīd fī i'rāb al-Qur'ān al-majīd</i>	2
<i>al-Naṣīḥa al-kāfiya li man khaṣṣahu Allāh bi al-'āfiya</i>	37
<i>Naṣīḥat al-muḡtarrīn wa kifāyat al-muḍṭarrīn fī al-tafrīq bayna</i>	34
<i>al-muslimīn bi mā lam yunzilhu rabb al-'ālamīn wa lā jā'a bihi al-rasūl</i>	
<i>al-amīn wa lā thabata 'an al-khulafā' al-mahdiyyīn</i>	

Titles

<i>al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa al-athar</i>	1
<i>al-Nuqāya fī arba'ata 'ashara 'ilman</i>	53
<i>al-Qaṣā'id al-witriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya</i>	49
<i>Qawā'id al-aḥkām fī iṣlāḥ al-anām</i>	Fgmt 8
<i>Qiṣṣat Ahl al-kahf</i>	41
<i>Rawā'iq al-ḥulal fī alqāb al-zihāf wa al-'ilal</i>	16 K ₁₇ (?)
<i>Rawḍat al-azhār fī 'ilm waqt al-layl wa al-nahār</i>	43
<i>al-Riḥla al-ḥijāziyya</i>	50
<i>Risāla fī faḍl al-niṣf min Sha'bān</i>	16 K ₁₁
<i>Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī</i>	
<i>Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>	10
<i>al-Ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa 'alā ahl al-rafd wa al-ḍalāl wa al-zandaqa</i>	31
<i>al-Shamā'il al-Muḥammadiyya wa al-khaṣā'il al-muṣṭafawiyya</i>	56 bis
<i>al-Shāmil fī fiqh al-imām Mālik</i>	5
<i>Sharḥ al-Ajurrūmiyya fī uṣūl 'ilm al-'arabiyya</i>	47
<i>Sharḥ al-Ḥizb al-Kabīr li Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī</i>	16 K ₇
<i>Sharḥ al-Jumal fī al-mantiq li al-Khūnaḡī</i>	Fgmt 9
<i>Sharḥ khuṭbat Mūkhtaṣar al-Sa'd al-Taftāzānī li Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ</i>	16 K ₂
<i>Sharḥ Mūkhtaṣar Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī</i>	13
<i>Sharḥ Musnad al-Shihāb fī al-Ḥadīth</i>	59
<i>Sharḥ Qaṣīdat sayyidī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī fī 'ilm al-uṣṭurlāb</i>	(16 K)
<i>Sharḥ al-Risāla</i>	15, 16, 26
<i>Sharḥ al-Ṣalāt al-Mashīshiyya</i>	16 K ₉
<i>Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya</i>	Fgmt 9
<i>Sharḥ al-Targhib wa al-tarhib</i>	Q 1013
<i>Subul al-hudā wa-l-irshād fī sirat khayr al-'ibād</i>	Fgmt 10
<i>al-Tabṣira</i>	8
<i>Takmil al-marām bi Sharḥ shawāhid Ibn Hishām</i>	58
<i>Ta'līf fī mā lā yanṣarif min al-asmā'</i>	40, 16 K ₁
<i>Ta'līf al-imām Ibn 'Abd al-Barr fī al-Basmala hal hiya āya min al-Fātiḥa am lā</i>	16 K ₁₄
<i>Tamrīn al-Ṭullāb fī ṣinā'at al-'irāb: l'rāb Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik</i>	17
<i>Tashīl al-fawā'id wa takmil al-maqāṣid</i>	55
<i>Taẓīm al-a'imma al-arba'a</i>	(16 K)
<i>al-Tuḥfa 'alā Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥājib</i>	46
<i>Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharā'ib al-amṣār wa 'ajā'ib al-asfār</i>	39
<i>'Uddat al-burūq fī jam' mā fī al-mathhab min al-jumū' wa al-furūq</i>	35
<i>'Uyūn al-athar fī funūn al-Maghāzī wa al-shamā'il wa al-athar</i>	12, Fgmt 11
<i>Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān</i>	Fgmt 12
<i>Zād al-ma'ād fī hady khayr al-'ibād</i>	19

Appendix II: The Bannānī family

