



# The Pilot Project for the Library Mohamed Tahar in Timbuktu

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## The Pilot Project for the Library Mohamed Tahar in Timbuktu

On the fringe of the Saharan desert, nestled in the elbow of the Niger River, Timbuktu is one of Africa's most fabled cities. A myth envelopes the city of Timbuktu. In his historical work *Tārīkh al-Sūdān*, a local scholar in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, al-Sa'dī, speaks of an "exquisite city, pure, delicious and illustrious". In the Middle Ages, for Arabs and then for Europeans, Timbuktu was a fascinating city. The Arabs knew the richness of the Songhai Empire (1464-1492) and the Askiya Dynasty (1493-1595). Europeans spoke of the treasures transported in caravans toward the city in the midst of the sands. Timbutch and the name of the emperor Mansa Musa were inscribed on a Catalan atlas made in the 14<sup>th</sup> century for King Charles V of France.

The Muslim Africans have a completely different image of Timbuktu. They speak first of a center for the transmission of knowledge. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century there was in the city a "virtual industry for the copying of works coming from the North".<sup>1</sup> It was also a center of diffusion for Muslim mysticism. Timbuktu was the city of 333 saints, 333 being a symbolic and magical number.

At the beginning of Islam, from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, sub-Saharan Africa was first considered as a territory with a many riches: gold, ivory, precious species of wood, and slaves. Ibadite Berbers from the Maghreb developed commerce along the caravan routes, but few traces remain of the Islamization at that time.<sup>2</sup> In the 13<sup>th</sup> century Timbuktu became a way-station at the heart of Saharan commerce.

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<sup>1</sup> J.-L. Triaud, « La fabrication du savoir » in J.-M. Dijan, *Les manuscrits de Tombouctou. Secrets, mythes et réalités* (Paris: éditions Jean-Claude Lattès, 2002), 117.

<sup>2</sup> The 300 epigraphic inscriptions in Arabic and Tifinagh, deciphered in the work of Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias, attest to the ancient Arabization and Islamization, but none of the inscriptions come from the area of Timbuktu: *Arabic Medieval Inscriptions from the Republic of Mali. Epigraphy, Chronicles and Songhay-Tuareg History* (London: British Academy, 2004). See also J.-L. Triaud, "L'éveil à l'écriture: un nouveau Moyen Âge sahélien" *Afrique et histoire* 4 (2005), 185-241.

In 1352, when Ibn Baṭṭūta undertook his voyage in the *Bilād al-Sūdān*, he described the city of Timbuktu.<sup>3</sup> He knew the story about the emperor of Mali, Mansa Musa, whose caravan passed through Cairo in 1324 on the pilgrimage route to Mecca.<sup>4</sup> This is the emperor who built the main mosque and the University of Djingareyber and made Timbuktu a center of cultural influence, both Islamic and economic. The historian Ibn Khallikān tells us that the emperor brought back many manuscripts on the return trip. Thus, as of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, tradesmen and scholars who visited Fez, Cairo, and the Hejaz in Arabia took with them manuscripts that were used for teaching in Timbuktu and were also recopied there.

According to Leo the African (d. 1552), “it was here that various manuscripts and written books were brought from the Barbary Coast, and were sold at a higher price than any other merchandise”.<sup>5</sup>

When the city fell into the hands of the pasha Jouder of Morocco in 1591, Timbuktu was a major center of Islamic learning. Ahmed Baba al-Timbukti (d. 1627), the most highly regarded scholar in the city,<sup>6</sup> tells us that there were more than 20,000 students. They attended universities attached to three mosques in Timbuktu, Sankoré, Sidi Yahya and Djingareyber.<sup>7</sup> It is at this time that Moulay Ibrahim, the ancestor of Abdoulwahid Haidara, collected the first manuscripts for the future Mohamed Tahar Library.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūta recounts that in the house of an emir near Timbuktu he read a copy of the work of Ibn al-Jawzī (the famous Hanbalite from Bagdad who died in 1200) on the lexical difficulties in the Koran (*Gharīb al-Qur’ān*).

<sup>4</sup> Many chronicles, like that of al-‘Umarī (m. 1384), *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* tell of his encounter with the Mameluke sultan of Egypt, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalā’ūn. One also finds the story of his voyage in the works of Abū Sa‘īd ‘Uthmān al-Dukkālī, Ibn Khaldūn, and Ibn Baṭṭūta, then in the *Tarikh es-Soudan* of al-Sa’dī (translated by O. Houdas, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964).

<sup>5</sup> Léon l’Africain, *Description de l’Afrique*, transl. A. Epaulard (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1956), 468-69.

<sup>6</sup> He is the author of fifty works. Copies of some of his texts are found in the Mohamed Tahar library and his name is often cited in the margins of manuscripts.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Tarikh el-fettach*, Maḥmūd Katī recounts that there were also between 150 and 180 Koranic schools for young boys (ed. M. Delafosse, trad. O. Houdas, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1913-14, reed. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964), 316.

## The history of the library “Mohamed Tahar”

The Mohamed Tahar library is a reflection of the history of the region of Timbuktu since the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Today there still exist thirty-six private libraries in the city. The Ahmed Baba public library is the most important and is presently in Bamako, because the manuscripts were moved there in 2012 during the occupation of the Islamic fundamentalists.<sup>8</sup>

Abdoulwahid Haidara has been the owner of the Mohamed Tahar library since 2003. The library is situated in the Sankoré quarter, which was formerly one of the three teaching centers in Timbuktu. At present it is being rehabilitated by UNESCO.

According to the family tree found in one of the manuscripts,<sup>9</sup> the ancestor of the family, Moulay Ibrahim, came from Yanbū‘ and settled in Arawan in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Situated six days by camel to the north of Timbuktu, Arawan was founded in 1385. Already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century it was a crossroads for caravans transporting salt and was also the birthplace of many famous scholars, among whom was Ahmed Baba.

Moulay Ibrahim acquired the first manuscripts now found in the library. At that time, in addition to the Koran, scholars owned manuscripts on grammar, theology, Islamic law (*fiqh*) and sometimes on medicine and astrology. In the library of Mohamed Tahar, as in other private libraries in Timbuktu, the oldest books date from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest manuscript in the city is a Koran dating from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, copied in al-Andalus and kept in the Fondo Kati library.

Another eminent member of the family, known by the name of Baba Chirfī, lived in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the library proper was founded by one of his sons. Since that time, it has been entrusted to the member of the family who knows Arabic best and who is committed to

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<sup>8</sup> The 38,000 manuscripts and most of the material in the library were exfiltrated by members of the Institute for Higher Learning and Islamic Research (IHERI-AB).

<sup>9</sup> An entry concerning the family of Abdoulwahid Haidara is found in a local chronicle entitled *Kitāb al-turjumān fī tārikh al-saḥrā’ wa-l-sūdān wa-balad timbuktu wa-shinjīt wa-arawān* (ms. 762 in the library of the IHERI-AB). The author is Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. al-shaykh al-Arawānī. See the family tree at the end of this article.

preserving the family patrimony. Today the library bears the name of Mohamed Tahar, a family scholar who left Arawan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and settled in Timbuktu. He was a well-known jurist and one of the best calligraphers in the region. He taught grammar and religious science in Timbuktu.

### **A few remarks concerning the collection and particularities of the manuscripts**

The Mohamed Tahar library contains about 2,000 manuscripts kept in iron trunks. As in Chinguetti in Mauritania, the private libraries in Timbuktu hold a large number of manuscripts: between 1000 books for the smallest, and up to 8,000 in the Fondo Kati Library.

The great majority of the texts are in Arabic, but in Timbuktu there are many ethnic groups and languages. One finds Peuls, Touaregs, Songhai, and Haoussa. Some manuscripts are written in Hasaniya Arabic, a dialect found in the Sahara, and in Songhay, and more rarely in Hausa dialect.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes these different languages are still written in Arabic letters.

Certain manuscripts are voluminous more than three hundred folios, but many others contain only a few leaves. This is the case of contracts, short treatises on Islamic law, Sufi prayers, poems and magic recipes, for example.

The oldest books in the Mohamed Tahar Library are fragments of the Koran and religious texts. There are three mystic Muslim texts (*taṣawwuf*) by the same Maghrebin author, ‘Alī Ibn Maymūn al-Fāsī (d. 1511), which are assembled in a single manuscript. Several works by that author are still unpublished and surviving witnesses are rare. The author is a scholar from Fez who lived in Cairo, then in Damascus where he wrote ten treatises on Muslim mysticism. Only two texts have been published in recent years. Abdoulwahid Haidara agreed to photograph one of these texts, the *al-Risāla l-Maymūniyya fī tawḥīd al-Ājurrūmiyya*, and an edition and French translation are now being made by Clara Murner as

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<sup>10</sup> This language is spoken essentially in Niger and Nigeria.

part of a doctoral thesis. It is an esoteric commentary on one of the most famous treatises on Arabic grammar, *al-Ājurrūmiyya*.<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to date the phenomenon of the arrival of the first manuscripts in Arabic in western Sudan. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa speaks already of children learning Arabic in Koranic schools in Timbuktu in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. He reports that the children used wooden tablets (*lawḥa*) and that they made their own pens and ink, just as they do today.

The manuscripts that arrived by caravan from the Orient or the Maghreb could be very expensive. Such is the case of the Korans, for example. A copy of the famous *Shifā'* by Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d. 1149) was sold for 45 mithqals of gold in 1486.<sup>12</sup> But when teaching developed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century at the Sankoré University, Timbuktu became the most important center in Africa for copying manuscripts. The number of local scribes increased and the price varied according to the reputation of the scribe, the quality of the paper, and the type of transcription. Most of the manuscripts in the Mohamed Tahar Library were copied in Timbuktu or in the region during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, but sometimes they are the only witnesses to medieval texts, as is the case of the treatises by Ibn Maymūn.

Additions often found in the manuscripts are a source of precise information on textual transmission. The first or last leaf of the manuscripts in Timbuktu occasionally contains the contract made between the scribe and his client with a mention of the price of the copy and the signature of two witnesses, as required by Muslim law.<sup>13</sup> The Library kept a volume concerning the life of the Prophet Mohammed, *al-Sīrat al-Kalā'iyya*. It was written by Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Kalā'ī (d. 1237), a 13<sup>th</sup> century Andalusian scholar who lived at the time of Averroes. This is the only work by that author found in manuscript. The others are lost. Perhaps we will find others in Timbuktu. At the end of the last leaf, an addition in a hand

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<sup>11</sup> The other copies are in Cairo, Rabat, and Berlin. The esoteric commentary on grammar is an important literary genre in Arabic, which was initiated by Qushayrī in the 10<sup>th</sup> century with his treatise *Naḥw al-qulūb*: the grammar of the hearts. See. F. Chiabotti, "Naḥw al-qulūb al-ṣaḡīr: La 'grammaire des cœurs' de 'Abd al-Karīm al-Quṣayrī", *BEO*, LVIII (2009): 385-402.

<sup>12</sup> A mithqal equals about 3 ½ grams. This is reported by al-Bakrī. This work on the merits of the prophet continued to be read and taught in Sankoré Mosque in the 16<sup>th</sup> century according to al-Sa'dī (*Tarikh es-Soudan*)

<sup>13</sup> The price can also be stated in bartered merchandise or animals.

other than that of the scribe tells us that the transcription was bought for 3 ryal on behalf of Ahmed Baba from the Sufi brotherhood of Aḥmad al-Bakkāy ibn Yaḥyā and that the sale was made according to the rules. The copy was thus made at the latest at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Many copies contain numerous additions in the blank spaces, grouped around beautiful central decorations that are typical of manuscripts from Timbuktu. Others was reused in order to copy completely unrelated texts.

### **Codicological elements**

Most of the manuscripts in the Mohammed Tahar Library are copied on paper with a watermark, usually composed of three crescents. This paper began to be used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Made in Venice and Genoa in Italy, it progressively replaced the papers with watermarks representing the cross or angels. Until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it was at Fez that one found the largest number of paper-makers in the western Maghreb. So-called Arabic paper has no watermark. Thereafter non-watermarked paper was made in Cairo and arrived in Timbuktu with the caravans, but was not as popular as Italian paper.<sup>14</sup>

The manuscripts of Timbuktu are not made of quires, but of loose leaves, often unnumbered and without catchwords, which complicates the re-composition of the texts when the leaves are in disorder. This is unfortunately frequently the case.

Conservation conditions in the Mohammed Tahar Library are precarious. The manuscripts are kept in iron trunks that are often moved about and sometimes buried in the sand during conflicts. They were hidden for a year during the last occupation of the city in 2012. The bindings when they exist are generally made of goat or sheep skin. The leather also arrived by caravan, but there was also an important local production in the city of Gao. The

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<sup>14</sup> J.M. Blood, "Paper in Sudanic Africa", in *The Meaning of Timbuktu*, ed. Shamil Jeppie et Suleyman Bachir Diagne (Cape Town: HSRC Press in association with CODESRIA, 2008), 45-55. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, goods were transported via Tripoli.

bindings may or may not have a flap, and sometimes there are leather ties for keeping the book closed. Many books have no binding. In Timbuktu, the books suffer from dryness, but also rainstorms because homes are not watertight and flooding is frequent. The paper is often fragile and brittle, and the insects that nibble the leaves are voracious.

The different types of writing in the Saharan manuscripts have been little studied. The calligraphy was originally adopted from that used in Muslim Andalusia and the medieval Maghreb, with the same particularities for the writing of certain letters. According to Malians, a type of writing called *sūdānī* was created in Timbuktu in the 16<sup>th</sup> century before spreading to the Sahara. This writing then evolved with different ethnic groups: *hausawī* (from the name of the Hausa people), *al-takrūnī* (adopted by the Toucouleurs), or *al-sūqī* (from the name attributed to the *tamasheq* Kel as-suq ethnic group in the region of Adrar, and finally the Sahrawi writing (in the Sahara). One book that is frequently read in Abdoulwahid Haydaira's family contains a poem by Ibn Wāhib, an author from the region of Timbuktu, written in *khatt al-sūqī*. The people of Timbuktu recite the poem for several days before the feast of the birth of the Prophet.

### **Representative manuscripts**

All the disciplines taught during the golden age of Timbuktu are present in the Mohamed Tahar Library: religion, grammar, history, literature, science. Certain texts are found in all the libraries in the Muslim world, but others are unusual. The authors of the oldest manuscripts are essentially from the western Maghreb, and from the region of Timbuktu from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onward. They also attest to the notoriety of certain texts in the Saharan world.

**Religion (*dīn*)** is understandably the first to be represented with five Korans and a large number of fragments. A manuscript, *Naẓm ṣuḡhrā al-Sanūsī*, is written by a local author,



Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wankarī, who died in 1066/1655. Al-Wankarī comments in verse on the theological work of al-Sanūsī who lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> century at Tlemcen and rejuvenated the Ash‘arite religious doctrine. His works were taught in Timbuktu in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century universities.<sup>15</sup>

### **The occult sciences**

The treatises on magic are numerous in the library, and this is the case throughout the Muslim world. Few comparative studies exist of the texts on magic in Africa and elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> We find many recipes for the reconciliation of the spouses, religious formulas, invocations to angels, and magic squares. One manuscript contains an astrological treatise by Muḥammad Baghayogho (d. 1593), a well-known scholar in Timbuktu in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Baghayogho, imam at the Sidi Yahya Mosque, was one of the rare scholars who was not deported to Morocco after the city of Timbuktu was taken and the Songhai Empire fell in 1592. The manuscript is the only copy known of this text in Timbuktu.

### **Islamic law (*fiqh*)**

The library contains many tracts by Malikite authors and commentaries on Malikite treatises. Malikism is the school of law adopted in the Maghreb and Sahara. It is the largest subject represented in the Mohamed Tahar Library. Law was fundamental in university teaching and all scholars were required to study it. The large number of manuscripts is also explained by the fact that the ancestors of Abdoulwahid Haidara were jurists (*fuqahā*). Consequently, besides the law treatises, we find many contracts. Certain of these texts are

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<sup>15</sup> According to Khassim Diakate, “Al-Sanūsī, un africain ash’rite au 15<sup>ème</sup> siècle”, *Ethiopiques*, 66-67 (2001). <http://ethiopiques.refer.sn/spip.php?article1279#nb36>

<sup>16</sup> In the Middle Ages, the opinions of jurists and scholars are often divided on this subject, between condemnation and acceptance: accepted by a famous Malikite jurist named Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (m. 996), condemned by a Malikite scholar al-Maghīlī (m. ca. 1500), advisor to sovereigns in western Africa, such as Askya Muḥammad Toure. See C. Hamès, “Problématiques de la magie-sorcellerie en islam et perspectives africaines”, *Cahiers d’études africaines*, 189-190 (2008): 81-99.

little known, for example a beautiful manuscript containing a commentary by a local author, ‘Alī al-Ḥarīshī, on the foundation text of Malikism: *Irshādāt al-sālik fī sharḥ Muwaṭṭa’ Mālik*. The Maghrebin jurists of the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, authors of works that are found in the library, are for the most part Sufis. Muslim mysticism is another major strength of the library.

### ***Taṣawwuf***

The library contains texts by Shadhili authors, including works by ‘Alī Ibn Maymūn. The Sufi order of Sunni Islam known as Shadhili was very present in the Maghreb and Sahara in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There are also texts by authors of the Sufi order known as Qadiri, which established itself in Timbuktu in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and texts of the Tijaniyya, which developed in the Sahara in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Today the family of Abdoulwahid Haidara is in the Tijani order. According to him, the library attests to the harmony that exists between the Sufi confraternities in the city. Among many manuscripts, we can mention: 1/ a copy of the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 1465). It is a major work of Sufism which one finds throughout the Muslim world. At Timbuktu it is read on the feast days or at ceremonies organized to ward off war or drought. 2/ a copy of the famous poem in 103 verses by Sīdī Abū Madyan al-Andalusī (died at Tlemcen in 1197). This poem, *al-Ra’iyya* is well known to the Maghrebin Sufis and exists only in manuscript form.

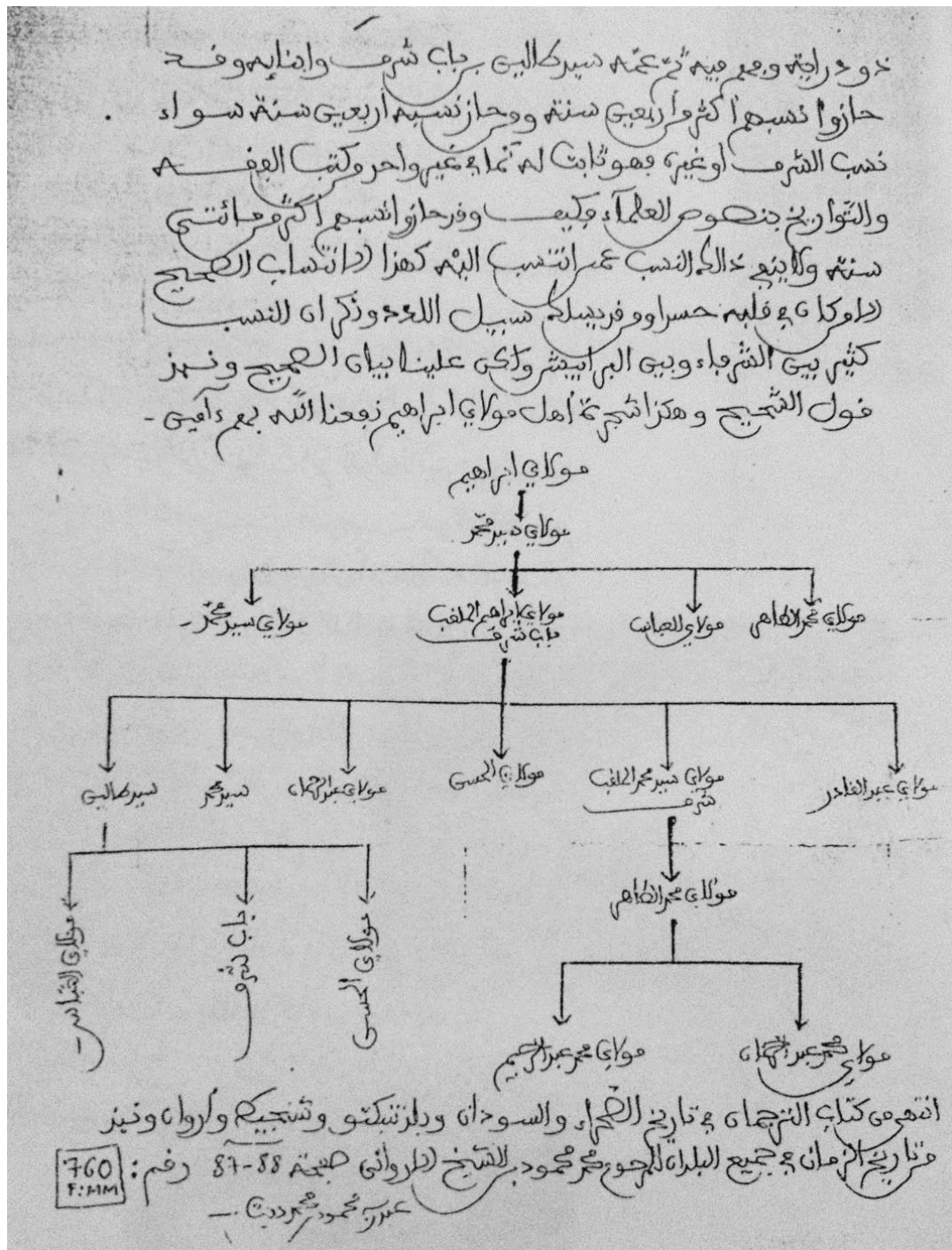
Many documents in the Mohamed Tahar Library complement those of the IHERI-AB documentation on the local history of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries: in particular, several letters written by Aḥmad al-Bakkāy al-Kuntī. Sheikh of the Qadiriya brotherhood and political leader, Ahmad al-Bakkāy is the author of a vast correspondence kept at IHERI-AB but also in Timbuktu and in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, in Paris. It would be very useful to collect, catalogue, and digitize these letters and documents in order to broaden our knowledge

of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Mali<sup>17</sup>. Many of them, kept in private libraries such as the Mohamed Tahar Library, are still unknown, and many texts by local authors are still unpublished. UNESCO has just finished work on restoring the building. An inventory and digitalization of the Mohamed Library is now in process in cooperation with the IRHT.

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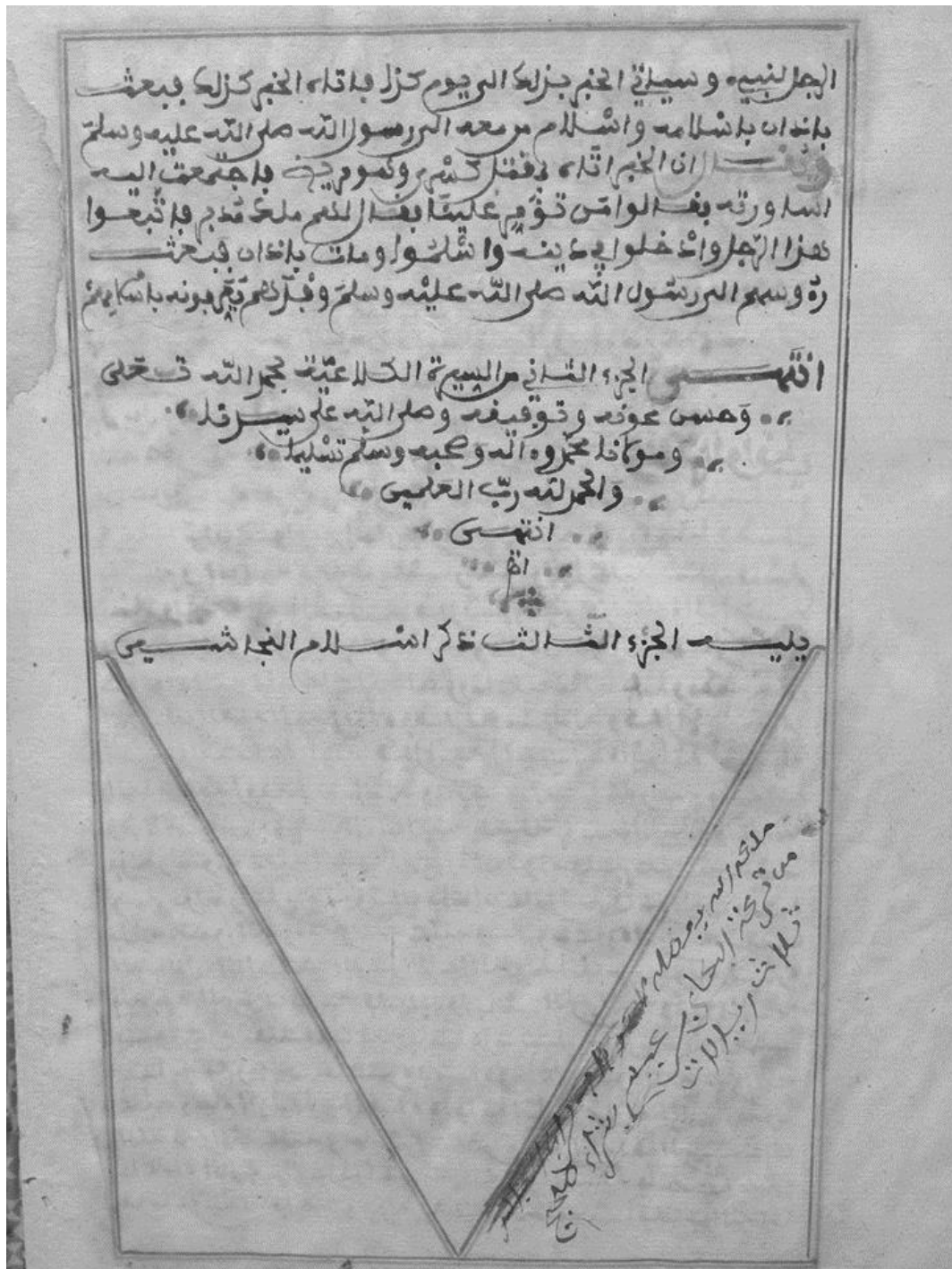
<sup>17</sup> This correspondence was partially studied in two doctoral theses: Abdelkader Zebadia, *The career and correspondence of Ahmad Al-Bakkay of Timbuctu: an historical study of his political and religious role from 1847 to 1866* (London, SOAS, 1974) and Ismail Traore, *Les relations épistolaires entre la famille Kunta de Tombouctou et la Dina du Macina (1818-1864)* (Université de Lyon, ENS, 2012).



Family tree of Mohamed Tahar in the  
*Kitāb al-tarjūmān fī tārikh al-saḥrā' wa-l-sūdān wa-balad Timbuktū wa-shinjīt wa-arawān*,  
 Muḥammad Maḥmūd b. al-shaykh al-Arawānī (IHERI-AB, ms. 762)  
 Reproduced with the permission of the IHERI-AB, Bamako.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ هَلِ اللَّهُ عَلَى سِيرَتِهِ  
 وَسَلَّمَ كُنْزُ أَكْثَرِ الْأَشْيَاءِ وَالْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ الْعَبْدُ  
 سِوَاهُ تَنْظِيرُ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 الْمُنْشَأُ فِي الْأَوَّلِ الْكَلِمَةُ الَّتِي فِيهَا مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 كَالْجَمَاعِ مَعَ بَعْضِ الْعُقَرَاءِ مِنْ كُتُبِ الْأَخْوَانِ بِإِطْلَاقِ التَّوَكُّلِ فِي النَّصْبِ مَا خِمْ  
 مِنْ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْفَرْدِ سِتَّةَ خَمْسِ عَشْرَةَ وَتِسْعِينَ فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 الْخَيْرِ وَمِنْ جِهَةِ السُّورِ خَمْسٌ عَشْرَةَ النَّعْتِ تَابِعِ الْمَقْصُودِ فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 وَجْهٌ مِنَ الْأَخْرِ الْمُسْتَلْزِمِ وَأَجْرِي إِلَى مَنْ قَبْلَهُ عَلَى جَنَانِهِ مَا تَقَرَّرَ مِنْ أَسَانِ  
 مِنْ مَعْلُومَاتِ التَّوَكُّلِ وَهِيَ لَا تَقْتَضِي مَا قَبْلَهُ مِنْ مَعْلُومَاتِ هَذِهِ الْبَابِ وَحُكْمُ  
 بِمَا أَلْفَظَ مِنْ هَذَا الْكِتَابِ الْمَرْكُوبِ فِي قَوْلِهِ الْأَلْفَظُ هُوَ الْفِعْلُ الْفِعْلُ الْفِعْلُ  
 الْمَوْجِبُ بِالْوَضْعِ وَقَوْلُهُ الْمَنْعُ أَوَّلُ الْكَلِمِ وَالْمَوْجِبُ عِلَّةٌ وَإِنَّمَا عَلَى الْمَوْجِبِ  
 عِلَّةٌ لَكِنْ مَوْجِبُ الْبَابِ هَذَا الْكِتَابُ وَكَأَنَّكَ مِنْ مَعْلُومَاتِ التَّوَكُّلِ وَهِيَ  
 فِي الْجَمَاعَةِ مِنَ الْعُقَرَاءِ الْمَرْكُوبِ فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 مِنْ مَعْلُومَاتِ التَّوَكُّلِ أَعْلَى جَعَلَ عَلَى هَذَا الْكِتَابِ مَوْجِبُ هَذَا الْمَقْصُودِ  
 بِهِ عِلَّةٌ لَكِنْ كُنْتُ تَقْطَعُ بِتَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 كَالْأَخْرِ عِلَّةً لَكِنْ قُلْتُ لَهُ وَإِنَّا أَرَادْنَا بِهَذَا تَسْبِيحُ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ  
 عَلَيْهِ تَكُونُ قُلُوبُهُ بِالْوَجْهِ إِلَى الْوَجْهِ بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ وَقَدْ قَبِلَ الْوَجْهِ بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ  
 نَعَمْ وَمَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 وَالْمَوْجِبُ فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 السَّبْعِينَ وَثَلَاثِينَ عَشْرَةَ السَّبْعِينَ وَثَلَاثِينَ عَشْرَةَ السَّبْعِينَ وَثَلَاثِينَ عَشْرَةَ  
 بِإِطْلَاقِ هَذَا الْكَلِمَةِ الَّتِي فِيهَا مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 وَثَلَاثِينَ عَشْرَةَ السَّبْعِينَ وَثَلَاثِينَ عَشْرَةَ السَّبْعِينَ وَثَلَاثِينَ عَشْرَةَ  
 وَلَا يَكُونُ مَوْجِبُ هَذَا فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 الْأَسَانِ وَكَأَنَّكَ فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي  
 فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي فِي تَعْلِيلِ مَقْصُودِي

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الحمل . الاسد . القوس  
 السرطان . العقرب . الجوز  
 الثور . الممطر  
 الحوت . الدلو

نار  
 شرف  
 نور  
 سحر  
 موت  
 علاء  
 سحر  
 موت  
 علاء  
 سحر  
 موت  
 علاء

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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*Irshādāt al-sālik fī sharh Muwaṭṭa' Mālik*, 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarīshī, fol. 1.  
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