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The Sālim Bin Yaʻqūb Ibāḍī Manuscript Library in Jerba, Tunisia

A Preliminary Survey & Inventory*

Paul M. Love, Jr.

Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, Morocco
p.love@aui.ma

Abstract

This article offers a summary of a recent project aimed at the conservation and preliminary inventory of the Bin Yaʻqūb (Ben Yaqoub) family library in the village of Guīzin (Guezin) on the island of Jerba, Tunisia. The inventory, carried out from September to December 2015 with generous funding from a Collection Care and Emergency Response Grant from *The Islamic Manuscript Association* (TIMA), sought to insure the long-term protection of this collection as well as to compile a preliminary inventory of its contents. This article provides an overview of the survey, including its stated goals and the extent to which it realized those objectives. The second half of the article provides a preliminary inventory of the library's contents.

Keywords

Ibāḍī – Ibāḍiyya – Ibaḍite – Jerba – Djerba – Tunisia – private library – conservation – inventory

Introduction

Maghribi Ibāḍī manuscript libraries represent rich archives for both the history of the Ibāḍī Muslim community and broader history of Northern Africa. Alongside the better-known manuscript collections of the Mzab valley in Algeria, a

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handful of family libraries on the Tunisian island of Jerba also house important collections of Ibāḍī manuscripts.¹ Compared to their Algerian counterparts, however, most of the island's collections remain unknown outside a small circle of specialists and far less effort has gone into documenting their holdings.

I offer here a summary of a recent project aimed at the conservation and preliminary inventory of one such collection in Jerba: the Bin Yaʻqūb (Ben Yaqoub) family library in the village of Guīzin (Guezin). The inventory, carried out from September to December 2015 with generous funding from a Collection Care and Emergency Response Grant from *The Islamic Manuscript Association* (TIMA), sought to insure the long-term protection of this collection as well as to compile a preliminary inventory of its contents. This article provides an overview of the survey, including its stated goals and the extent to which it realized those objectives. The second half of the article provides a preliminary inventory of the library's contents.²

The Sālim b. Yaʻqūb Library

The eponymous founder of the Bin Yaʻqūb library, Shaykh Sālim b. Muḥammad b. Yaʻqūb (d. 1991), was born on the island of Jerba in Tunisia in 1903 (Figure 1). His education eventually brought him to Tunis, where he studied at the Zaytūna Mosque before continuing his studies in Cairo.³ Ibādī scholars,

¹ On the history of the Ibāḍī communities of Jerba see: Farhat Djaabiri, *Nizām al-ʿazzāba ʿind al-ibāḍiyya bi-Jarba* (*L'Organisation des azzaba chez les ibadhites de Jerba*) (Tunis: Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art, 1975); Virginie Prévost, "La renaissance des ibadites wahbites à Djerba au xe siècle," *Folia Orientalia XL*, 2004, 171–191; Muḥammad Maryamī, *Ibāḍiyyat Jarba khilāl al-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth* (Tunis: Kullīyat al-ādāb wa-l funūn wa-l insāniyyāt bi-Manūba, 2005); Paul M. Love, "Djerba and the Limits of Rustamid Power. Considering the Ibāḍī Community of Djerba under the Rustamid Imāms of Tāhert (779–909 CE)," *Al-Qantara* 33, no. 2 (2012): 297–323.

² The research for this article was made possible thanks to the generous funding of a Collection Care and Emergency Response Grant from The Islamic Manuscript Association (TIMA) in 2015. The views, opinions, findings and conclusions of the author(s) expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not state or reflect the views or policies of The Islamic Manuscript Association Ltd. ('The Association') or its members and employees. The Association disclaims any liability or responsibility arising from or in connection with errors and omissions, as well as for the accuracy, legality, and reliability of any information contained herein.

³ On the life of Sālim b. Ya'qūb, see 'Alī al-Būjadīdī, "Al-Shaykh Sālim b. Ya'qūb: ḥayāt rajul watajribat jīl," Majallat al-hayāt 12 (2012): 170–182.



FIGURE 1
Shaykh Sālim b. Yaʻqūb in his library in 1983
PHOTO BY DR. WERNER SCHWARTZ,
PROVIDED BY THE OWNER AND USED
WITH HIS PERMISSION)

students, and traders had been making Cairo their home since the late-16th century when a waqf endowment created the $Wik\bar{a}lat~al$ - $j\bar{a}m\bar{u}s$ (the 'Buffalo Agency'), an Ibāḍī traders' lodge, library, and school in the Ibn Ṭūlūn district.⁴ While in Cairo, Sālim studied at both al-Azhar Mosque and in the $Wik\bar{a}la$, counting among his teachers its director $(n\bar{a}zir)$ the Algerian reformer, journalist, and political activist Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish (1886-1965).⁵

Sālim spent his five years in Cairo collecting and copying manuscripts and printed books. By the time he returned to Jerba in 1939, he had amassed an impressive collection of both printed and manuscript materials that today makes up the core of the Bin Yaʻqūb library. Shaykh Sālim's book, *The History of Jerba (Tārīkh jazīrat Jarba)*, republished and reedited posthumously in three different editions, reflects the richness of the sources he collected for his

⁴ The only historical monograph to date on the history of the Wikālat al-jāmūs is that by Aḥmad Muṣlaḥ, al-Waqf al-jarbīfī miṣr wa-dawruhu fī l-tanmiya al-iqtiṣādiyya wa-l-ijtimā'iyya wa-l-thaqāfiyya min al-qarn al-'āshir ilā al-qarn al-rābi' 'ashar al-hijrīyayn (wikālat al-jāmūs namūdhajan) (Kuwait: al-Amāna al-'āmma lil-awqāf, 2012).

⁵ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Nāṣir Bābā'ammī, ed., *Mu'jam a'lām al-ibāḍiyya* (*Dictionnaire des hommes illustres de l'Ibadisme, les hommes du Maghreb*), vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000), 24–26.

library.⁶ Throughout the latter half of the 20th century, he shared the contents of his collection with Northern African and European researchers and the bibliographies and footnotes of many studies attest to his generosity.

The Conservation Project

Following Shaykh Sālim's death in 1991, the library remained closed to researchers and students. In the spring of 2015, I met with the current owner of the library, the founder's grandson Dr. Nājī Bin Ya'qūb to discuss the possibility of developing a conservation strategy for the manuscript holdings in the library. As we talked about the potential future of the collection, he told me that his goal would be to relocate the contents of the library from his family farm in Guezin to the town of Houmt Souk, where researchers could use them. Lacking professional training in manuscripts, he had at that time not yet taken steps to survey the collection or take stock of its condition. As a preliminary step in the long-term conservation of the manuscripts in the library, I developed a proposal for a project that would allow for an assessment the current condition of the manuscripts and the total number of titles. The second part of the project would then be an inventory of those titles and the purchase of acid-free archival boxes for the manuscripts to protect them from the elements in the library. A third component of the project aimed at minor repairs to the library structure (e.g., broken windows, cracked ceilings).

With the financial support of a Collection Care and Emergency Response Grant from *The Islamic Manuscript Association* (TIMA), I returned to Jerba in September 2015 to take a closer look at the collection and record the total number of titles and a range of measurements for the storage boxes. At the start of the project I had understood from Dr. Nājī that the collection numbered some 100–150 titles. After an initial survey, however, it quickly became clear that the number of titles was much larger. In addition, I discovered that the bindings of many of the manuscripts had been removed since the last time a photograph of the collection had been taken in 2013 (Figure 2). Dr. Nājī explained he had removed the bindings because of pest damage and had unfortunately not taken any photographs or made any notes regarding the

⁶ Sālim Bin Yaʻqūb, *Tārīkh jazīrat Jarba wa-masājidihā al-ʻilmiyya*, ed. Farhat Djaabiri, 2nd ed. (Tunis: Cérès Editions, 2006); Sālim Bin Yaʻqūb, *Tārīkh Jarba wa-ʻulamā'ihā al-ibāḍiyya* (Houmt Souk: [Independently published], 2009). Another self-published edition appeared in 2013 under the abbreviated title *Tārīkh Jarba wa-ʻulamā'ihā*.



FIGURE 2
Photograph of (most of) the manuscript
collection in the library of Shaykh Sālim b.
Ya'qūb in January 2015. By this point, most of
the bindings had been removed and
manuscripts had been placed in brown
paper sleeves.
PHOTO BY AUTHOR

original bindings. Thankfully, he had not yet removed all the bindings and I could stop the process from continuing.

After taking some initial measurements of both bound manuscripts and fragments, we drew up a list of storage box measurements for purchase. Although I had initially planned to purchase the archival boxes from a local company in Tunisia, import restrictions proved much stricter than I had anticipated. In the end, it proved easier for me to fly to Paris and purchase the boxes and folders directly from *Art Doctor*, a company specializing in conservation equipment.⁷ I then returned to Jerba with the materials, where we began the inventory (Figure 3).

Inventory Summary

The preparations and inventory took place over several sessions in October, November, and December 2015. The caretaker of the library declined to allow me to carry out the inventory on site inside the library for reasons of propriety,

⁷ Information on the company is available on their website: http:///www.artdoctor.fr/en/.



FIGURE 3 Manuscript fragments being sorted during the inventory
PHOTO BY AUTHOR

which necessitated the transfer of the manuscript collection to the town of Houmt Souk in cardboard boxes. Having moved the manuscripts to the waiting room of his dental clinic in the center of the town, we worked from there for the remainder of the project (Figure 4). I was also told by Dr. Nājī in advance of our beginning the inventory that I was not permitted to share any images of the manuscripts since he has the intention of selling digital images of the manuscripts to researchers in the future. This is, I suspect, following the model used by the other major Ibāḍī library on the island, the El Barounia library, which sells digital images at 1EU per page.⁸

⁸ The El Barounia library belongs to the well-known Al-Bārūnī family and recently opened a new library facility in the main town of Houmt Souk, complete with a reading room, lecture hall, and accompanying printed books library. It appears to have inspired a number of



FIGURE 4 Photograph of the author writing out inventory labels for fragments in the salon of the dental clinic

PHOTO BY NĀJĪ B. YA'QŪB

As a first step, we assigned inventory numbers to each title or bound volume according to the following system:

- 1. The letter $s\bar{i}n$ (\smile) followed by a number was assigned to each bound volume with a binding cover, whether consisting of a single or multiple titles.
- 2. The letter $k\bar{a}f$ ($\stackrel{\checkmark}{=}$) followed by a number was assigned to each title that was either complete or near complete but lacked a binding cover. Some titles were groups of unsewn quires while others were still loosely sewn together.
- 3. The letter $q\bar{a}f$ (\mathfrak{S}) followed by a number was assigned to each fragment that bore a written heading identifying the text.
- 4. The letters $d\bar{a}l$ 'ayn ($\epsilon \beta$) followed by a number were assigned to each unidentified fragment.

other families on the island to attempt similar projects. See: http://elbarounia.com/ [accessed 7 June 2017], or https://www.facebook.com/elbarounia/.

The preliminary inventory resulted in the following numerical breakdown:

Bound volumes: 14 (containing some 20–30 titles) Complete/Near Complete Manuscripts: 23 gatherings of quires (comprising 34 titles)

Fragments with Headings: 296 Unidentified Fragments: 381

This system evolved out of discussions regarding the history of the collection. According to Dr. Nājī, most of the bound volumes of the first category (labelled sīn) were bound by a Jewish bookbinder on the island following Shaykh Sālim's return from Cairo in 1939. Many of the texts of the second category (labelled $k\bar{a}f$) were also bound but Dr. Nājī had recently (2014) removed them due to pest damage. As for the third category of texts (labelled $q\bar{a}f$), I was told by Dr. Nājī that he and his brothers had written these headings on many of the fragments many years ago at the direction of their grandfather. Later in his life, Shaykh Sālim lost his eyesight and had instructed his grandsons to recite the first few lines of each text and then write the heading that he dictated to them in its top margin. At times, these headings correspond to specific titles of texts while at other times they refer simply to the genre of the text. The inventory below reproduces only the original headings with no reference to their contents. Any additions or clarifications to those headings not original to the manuscripts appear in brackets ([]). Manuscripts of the fourth category (labelled *dāl 'ayn*) bear no heading or other immediate indication as to their contents. Many of these fragments may very well belong to manuscripts in other categories. As I was neither given time to study these fragments in detail nor allowed to photograph them, no information on them appears in the inventory below.

Having assigned a number to each of the volumes and titles, we then began the boxing process. We placed three or four bound volumes per large box, creating separators from acid-free board to ensure that the volumes would not shift when the boxes moved. We first placed fragments in acid-free folders before grouping them into batches inside boxes. We labelled each manuscript with thin sheets of paper bearing an inventory number. We did not write inventory numbers directly on any of the manuscripts because we anticipate a full catalog (with a corresponding new system of inventory) to be made in the future.

It is important to note finally that the items listed in the inventory do not include the equally valuable personal archive of Shaykh Sālim b. Yaʻqūb himself. Unfortunately, the current owner of the library did not allow me to include those manuscripts in the project. The archive comprises hundreds of papers,

notebooks, and copies of manuscripts in Shaykh Sālim's hand and it is regrettable that these items were not included in the survey.

Preliminary Collection Inventory

The following preliminary inventory consists of the first three categories of manuscripts described above. I would like to emphasize that the titles below are those carried by the manuscripts themselves. Various factors—chiefly, time—prevented me from confirming the relationship between these headings and the contents of the manuscripts. I have also attempted to preserve the orthography of the headings original to the manuscripts (e.g. the presence or absence of a *hamza*, dots under a $y\bar{a}$, or the presence of a *shadda*). Any additions or clarifications appear between square brackets [] or in the footnotes. Any errors in transcription are my own.

Category One (س): Bound Manuscript Volumes (with Binding Covers)

Inventory

⁹ Possibly a portion of the well-known work of *tafsīr* by the Persian Muʻtazilī theologian Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144–1145) entitled *al-Khashshāf ʻan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-taʾwīl* (Beirut: Dār al-Maʻrifa, 2009).

A well-known hāshiya attributed to the Jerban scholar Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Sitta al-Qaṣbī al-Sidwīkishī (d. 1088/1677). Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad composed so many commentaries that he earned the moniker "al-Muḥashshī", the glossator. The commentary is a hāshiya of the mukhtaṣar by Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522) of the Kitāb al-'adl wa'l-inṣāf fī uṣūl al-fiqh by Abū Yaʻqūb Yūsuf al-Sadrātī al-Warjalānī (d. 570/1174–1175). On the hāshiya, see Martin H. Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya: A Bibliography (Vol. 2: Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib), 2nd edition, vol. 2 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2016), 372; 376–377.

¹¹ This composite manuscript contains several fragments bound together but lack of time prevented me from identifying their titles.

س 4 [مجموع فيه:]¹²

[الجزء الأول من] كتاب الموجز في أصول الدين لابي عمار عبد الكافي الوارجلاني¹³ الجزء الثالث من كتاب الايضاح في المعاملات المتوفي اخر القرن الخامس الهجري [كذا]¹⁴

أصول العلامة تبغورين بن عيسى الملشوطي وعليه تعليقات للشيخ يوسف ين محمد المصعبي الجربي المتوفى ١١٧٨ هـ¹⁵

شرح مقدمة متن كتاب النيل للشيخ عمر بن يحيى الباروني 16

س 5 كتاب السؤلات لأبي عمرو عثمان بن خليفة المارغني السوفي الإباضي المتوفي في اخر القرن الخامس هـ¹⁷

س 6 شرح الجهالات [فيه أجزاء من شرحَيْ الملشوطي وأبو عمار عبد الكافي التناوتي]¹⁸

س 7 [شرح الارجوزة]¹⁹

The titles given here are listed on f. 1^a of the composite manuscript labelled $s\bar{i}n$ 4.

¹³ Abū 'Ammār 'Abd al-Kāfī b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Ismā'īl al-Tanāwutī al-Warjalānī (d. before 570/1174), *Kitāb al-mūjaz fī taḥṣīl al-su'āl wa-takhlīṣ al-ḍalāl*. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:479–480.

¹⁴ Presumably the third volume of the famous work of fiqh by Abū Sākin 'Āmir b. 'Alī b. 'Āmir b. Isfāw al-Shammākhī (d. 792/1390), *Kitāb al-īḍāh*. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:406–411. It could also refer to a different work given that the date in the title (5th century *hijrī*) is much earlier.

¹⁵ Abū Yaʻqūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Muṣʻabī (d. 1187/1773), Ḥāshiyat al-Muṣʻabī ʻalā uṣūl Tibghūrīn. See Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya, 2:341.

According to the title, the text is a *sharḥ* of the *Kitāb al-nīl wa-shifā' al-'alīl* by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Thamīnī (d. 1223/1808), on which see Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:452–454. While several commentaries have been written on this book, I have failed to find reference elsewhere to this particular *sharḥ* attributed to this author.

¹⁷ The *Kitāb al-su'ālāt* is normally attributed to Abu 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Khalīfa al-Mārighnī al-Sūfī (d. 6th/12th c.) but some have instead attributed it to his teacher, Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān b. Yakhlaf al-Mazātī (d. 471/1079). See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:433–435.

The attribution of the *Kitāb al-jahālāt* is uncertain. It has long been regarded as a work of Tibghūrīn b. 'Īsā al-Malshūṭī (d. 6th/12th c.), on whom see Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:295—297. It is often accompanied, as it is in this manuscript, by a commentary by Abū 'Ammār 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Tanāwutī (d. before 570/1174). Notes from the inventory suggest this copy is accompanied by a *commentary* attributed to Tibghūrīn al-Malshūṭī. On similar anonymous (i.e. unattributed) manuscript copies of this work, see "Anonymous: *K. al-Jahālāt*" in Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:63.

¹⁹ The *urjūza* referred to in the title is more widely known as *al-Luʾluʾa*. The manuscript

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س 8 [مجموع فيه:]
[جزء من] كتاب الديانات للشيخ عامر الشماخي<sup>20</sup>
[جزء من] كتاب الوضع<sup>11</sup>
[جزء من] كتاب الجامع الصحيح في الحديث<sup>22</sup>
س 9 الجزء الثاني من تفسير هود<sup>23</sup>
س 10 كتاب في النحو
س 11 [مجموع فيه:]
قصيدة بخط والد الشيخ سالم بن الحاج محمد بن سعيد بن داود بن يعقوب<sup>25</sup>
[جزء من] بيان الشم ع<sup>26</sup>
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appears to be a copy of the *Sharḥ al-luʾlaʾa* by Abū l-Fāḍl Qāsim b. Abī al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān al-Shāmmākhī (d. 1265/1848). See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:400-402. The title itself appears here in brackets because I was unable to compare my notes with an image of the first folio of this manuscript.

A part of larger work known simply as *al-'Aqīda*, this is a part of the *Kitāb al-diyānāt* by Abū Sākin 'Āmir al-Shammākhī (d. 792/1390). See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:404.

Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā b. al-Khayr b. Abī al-Khayr al-Jannāwanī (6th/12th c.), *Kitāb al-waḍ* [sometimes, *Kitāb al-waḍ* fī uṣūl al-fiqh or *Kitāb al-waḍ* mukhtaṣar fī l-uṣūl wa-l-fiqh]. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:249–252.

The title would suggest this is the *Kitāb al-jāmi*' *al-ṣaḥīḥ* or *al-Musnad* attributed to the early Ibāḍī Imam of Basra al-Rabīʿ b. al-Ḥabīb b. 'Umar al-Azdī (d. 2nd/8th c.), on whom see Martin H. Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya: A Bibliography.* (Vol. 1: *Ibāḍīs of the Mashriq*), 2nd edition, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2016), 427. However, the first folio of this part of the manuscript introduces it as "al-juz' al-awwal min *Kitāb al-tartīb*," which is the standard recension of this earlier work arranged by the famous Maghribi scholar of the 6th/12th c., Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī al-Warjalānī known by variant titles of the *Kitāb al-tartīb fī l-ṣaḥīḥ*, on which see Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:497–500.

²³ An early work of Ibāḍī *tafṣū*r attributed to Hūd b. Muḥakkim al-Hawwārī (d. 3rd/9th c.?) known as the *Tafṣū*r kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz li-Hūd b. Muḥakkam al-Hawwārī [also al-Huwwārī]. See Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya, 2:161–162.

Abū [l-]'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Yaḥyā Zakarīyā al-Bārūnī (d. 746/1345–1346), *Kitāb al-luqaṭ*. Also known as the *Luqaṭ Abī l-'Azīz*. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:112–113. Several variants of the title *Kitāb al-luqaṭ* appear on the 'title page.'

According to the title, the text is in the hand of Shaykh Sālim's father, Muḥammad b. Saʿīd (d. early 20th c.?).

²⁶ Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kindī (d. 508/1115), Bayān al-shar'. Given that

س 12 كتابان مختصر العدل وشرحه للامام الكبير الشيخ أحمد بن سعيد الشماخي المتوفي في احدى الجمادين ٩٦٧ رحمه الله 27

س 13 ووضـ[ة] المشتاق لزهرة الإشراق للشيخ عمر التلاتي²⁸

س 14 الجزء الثاني من كتاب الطبقات²⁹

Category Two (᠘): Complete or Near Complete Titles (without Binding Covers)

Inventory

Heading(s)

ك 1 من المدونة الكبرى مدونة ابي غانم الخراساني³⁰

ك 2 من كتاب قواعد الإسلام للشيخ إسماعيل الجيطالي في الفقه 31

ك 3 الضمانات من الديوان نسخ أحمد بن رمضان [الغول؟] سنة 1200هـ³²

ك 4 السير للشماخي³³

this work includes some 73 volumes, this is no doubt a very short excerpt! See Custers, *Al-Ibādiyya*, 1:323–326.

Both this abridgement of and accompanying commentary on the famous work of Ibāḍī fiqh entitled the *Kitāb al-ʿadl wa-l-inṣāf* by Abū Yaʻqūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī (d. 6th/12th c.) are attributed to Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʻīd al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522).

²⁸ Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Ramaḍān al-Jarbī al-Tulātī (d. 13th/19th c.), *Kitāb rawḍat al-mushtāq li-zuhrat al-ishrāq*. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:469.

Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Darjīnī (d. 670/1271), *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh bi-l-maghrib*. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:137–138. This manuscript is written in the hand of Shaykh Sālim himself, copied while he was living in Cairo in the 1930s. The colophon [f. 119^a] gives the date of 11 Ramaḍān 1357 (3 November 1938).

³⁰ Abū Ghānim Bishr al-Khurāsānī (d. early 3rd/9th c.), *al-Mudawwana*. See Custers, *Al-Ibādiyya*, 1:207–211.

³¹ Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Jayṭālī (d. mid-8th/14th c.), *Qawāʿid al-islām*. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:267–270.

³² The *Kitāb al-ḍamānāt* from either of two collective works: the *Diwān al-ashyākh* or *Diwān al-ʿazzāba*. Considerable confusion persists among specialists regarding these two works. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:52–59.

³³ Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522), Kitāb al-siyar. See Custers, Al-Ibādiyya, 2:397–400.

A commentary mostly likely by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad 'Umar b. Abī Sitta al-Sidwīki-shī, known as "al-Muḥashshī." (d. 1088/1677) on the *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* of Abū Sākin 'Āmir al-Shammākhī (d. 792/1390).

This title appears many times throughout the inventory list and at least in some instances refers to the *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* by Tibghūrīn b. Īsā al-Malshūṭī (d. 6th/12th c.), also known as the 'Aqīdat Tibghūrīn b. 'Īsā. An additional fragment of this text is included in the composite manuscript sīn 4 listed above. See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:297–299. The top right margin has the following added in a different hand: "fī al-shuf'a."

³⁶ A commentary by "al-Muḥashshī" (see sīn 1 above) on this 'Aqīdat al-tawḥīd, attributed to Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Jamī' (d. 7th/13th c.), who is traditionally thought to have translated the work into Berber. See Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya, 2:368; Bābā'ammī, Mu'jam a'lām al-ibāḍiyya, 2:317–318. The words "uṣūl al-dīn" are written in a different hand in between the words "al-muḥashshī" and "'alā" in the title.

A commentary by al-Muḥashshī (see sīn 4 above) on al-Jayṭālī's *Qawāʿid al-islām* (see kāf 2 above). Below the larger heading in a different hand: "fī-ʿibādāt."

³⁸ An anonymous commentary on the work known as al-Manzūma al-Jāduwiyya attributed to Abū ʿAfīf Ṣāliḥ b. Zakarīyā b. ʿĪsa (d. 12th/18th c.). See Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya, 2:240–241.

³⁹ *Ajwiba* (*responsa*) attributed to Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522). See Custers, *Al-Ibāḍiyya*, 2:389–391.

Presumably Kitāb al-jumān fī mukhtaṣar akhbār al-zamān attributed to Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Shāṭibī (d. 9th/15th c.), on which see "Ḥawl ta'līf Kitāb al-jumān fī mukhtaṣar akhbār al-zamān (li-Abī 'Abdallāh al-Shaṭībī)," Da'wat al-ḥaqq: majalla shahriyya tu'nā bi-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 83. Available online at: http://www.habous.gov.ma/daouat-alhaq/item/1880 (accessed on June 3, 2017).

تقريرات وتعليقات على مقدمة متن كتاب النيل للشيخ عمر بن يحيى الباروني للمسيخ عمر الباروني للسيخ عمر الباروني الله سؤال الشيخ عمر الباروني الله الشيخ سعيد بن عيسى الباروني لا كتاب الله أنه الشيخ أبي عزيز إبراهيم الباروني لا كتاب الرد على من زعم أن اسماء الله مخلوقه [كذا] للإمام أبي خزر بن زلتاف الإباطي كتاب الرحكام من الديوان لله عليه المحاد القرن الرابع هه المحدد المحدد على على المحدد الموادي المحدد المحد

شرح العلامة الشيخ قاسم الويراني الجربي على نونية ابي نصر⁴⁸ شرح للقصيدة المذكوره للعلامة الويراني ايضا مكررا

كتاب الديانات للشيخ عامر الشماخي وشرحها [كذا]⁴⁹

ك 18 الجزء السادس من معارج الآمال على مدارج الكمال في الجنائز 50

ك 19 كتاب طبقات في المشائخ⁵¹

ك 20 كتاب مفتاح العلوم للعلامة سكاكي وشرحه 52

See the fourth text in composite manuscript $s\bar{i}n$ 4 above.

Correspondence between the commentator on the previous text in the same composite manuscript and Abū 'Uthmān Saʿīd b. 'Īsā al-Bārūnī (d. 1284/1868), on whom see Bābā'ammī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-ibādiyya*, 2:184.

⁴³ Cf. sīn 11 above.

⁴⁴ Abū Khazar Yaghlā b. Zaltāf al-Wisyānī (d. 380/990), *K. al-radd 'alā man za'ama anna asmā' allāh makhlūqa*. See Custers, *Al-Ibādiyya*, 2:506.

⁴⁵ Another book from either the *Diwān al-ʿazzāba* or *Dīwān al-ashyākh*. See *kāf* 3 above.

⁴⁶ The following titles appear on a summary of the manuscript's contents in blue ink on f.i.a.

⁴⁷ Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Īsā Iṭfayyish (d. 1132/1914), Ḥāshiyat sharḥ al-nūniyya. See Custers, Al-Ibādiyya, 2:188.

⁴⁸ Qāsim b. Yahyā al-Jarbī al-Wīrānī, Sharh al-nūniyya. Custers, Al-Ibādiyya, 2:504.

⁴⁹ See sīn 8 above.

⁵⁰ Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayyid al-Sālimi (d. 1132/1914), Ma'ārij al-āmāl 'alā madārij al-kamāl bi-nazm mukhtaṣar al-khiṣāl. See Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya: A Bibliography, 1:520–522.

See $s\bar{i}n$ 14 above.

⁵² A non-Ibāḍī work by Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), Miftāḥ al-'ulūm. See Heinrichs, W.P., "al-Sakkākī", in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edi-

ئ 21 حواشي نفيسة على شباك ابن الهائم في المناسخات⁵³

ك 22 [مجموع فيه:]⁵⁴

ا كتاب ابي خزر⁵⁵ يغلا بن زلتاف الحامي الإباضي في الرد على من خالفه في اسماء الله ⁵⁶
 ٢ جوابات الائمة عبد الوهاب بن عبد الرحمن الرستمي وابنه الامام أفلح⁵⁷

٣ كتاب [الجهالات] في أصول*⁵⁸ الدين للشيخ تبغورين بن عيسى الملشوطي من علماء اوائل القرن الخامس الهجري⁵⁹

٤ رسالة الشيخ يعيش الزواغي الجربي الى اهل أريغ من جهة قسنطينة في اواسط القرن السابع الهجري⁶⁰

ك 23 [مجموع فيه:]⁶¹

شرح عقيدة التوحيد للشيخ عمر التلاتي 62

رفع التراخي شرح عمر التلاتي على مختصر الشماخي في العدل والإنصاف أصول الفقه⁶³

tion. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 09 June 2017 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6509.

A commentary by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Ramaḍān al-Jarbī al-Tulātī (d. 13th/19th c.) on the Shubbāk al-munāsakhāt by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿImād al-dīn b. ʿAlī, known as Ibn al-Hāʾim (d. 815/1412). On al-Tulātī see Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya, 2:461.

⁵⁴ The following titles appear on a summary of the manuscript's contents on f.1.a.

These first three words of the title were written in pencil, while the remainder of the title and the other titles in the list of contents are in blue ink.

⁵⁶ See sīn 15 above.

^{&#}x27;Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam (d. 208/823–824) and Aflaḥ b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb second and third Imams of the Rustamid dynasty based in Tahert. See Custers, *Al-Ibādiyya*, 2:3 & 39; Cyrille Aillet and Muḥammad Ḥasan, "The Legal Responsa Attributed to Aflaḥ B. 'Abd Al-Wahhāb (208–258/823–72). A Preliminary Study," in *Ibadi Jurisprudence: Origins, Developments, and Cases*, ed. Barbara Michalak-Pikulska and Reinhard Eisener (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015), 137–146.

The original hand listed the work as a copy of the *Kitāb al-jahālāt* but this was crossed out by a later hand and replaced with the words "fī uṣūl al-dīn."

See $k\bar{a}f$ 6 above.

Yaʿīsh b. Mūsā al-Khayrī al-Jarbī al-Zawwāghī (d. 787/1385). Cf. Risālah ilā ṭalabat Arīgh, Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya, 2:542.

⁶¹ The following titles appear on a summary of the manuscript's contents on f.i.a.

⁶² Commentary by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Ramaḍān al-Jarbī al-Tulātī (d. 12th/18th c.). See Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya, 2:461–462.

⁶³ Another commentary by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Tulātī, Rafʿ al-tarākhī fī sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Shammākhī. Custers, Al-Ibāḍiyya, 2:468–469.

Category Three (ق): Manuscript Fragments with Headings

ق 21	كتاب ما طهر وما نجس	entory	Inv
ق 22	التوبة والموت والوصية		Heading(s)
ق 23	الطلاق	ق 1	أصول الدين
ق 24	فتاوي [كذا] من المواريث	ق 2	كتاب في أصول الدين
ق 25	الإمامة	ق 3	فتوى
ق 26	من الحج	ق 4	في الحساب
ق 27	من الجزء الاول من الايضاح	ق 5	من الديوان
ق 28	سبب رجوع الأشعري	ق 6	عقيدة التوحيد
ق 29	رؤية الله مستحيلة	ق 7	من حاشية المحشي على صحيح الربيع
ق 30	في الدعاء		[بن حبيب]
ق 31	اقوال البرادي	ق 8	من جامع الصحيح في الحديث
ق 32	من كتاب الوضع	ق 9	من الجامع الصحيح
ق 33	من اخر كتاب الوضع	ق 10	جامع الربيع
ق 34	من كتاب الوضع	ق 11	جامع الربيع
ق 35	من كتاب الرهن من الايضاح	ق 12	كتاب الجامع الصحيح بالحديث
ق 36	في الوصايا من كتاب الايضاح	ق 13	متن صحيح الربيع
ق 37	من ج 4 من [كتاب] الترتيب	ق 14	أسئلة وفتاوى
ق 38	مسائل تحض الحج	ق 15	النكاح
ق 39	قال جا بر بن زید	ق 16	من كتاب الوضع
ق 40	فتاوى في النذور	ق 17	قصيدة الذمياتي
ق 41	السير	ق 18	في الخشوع في الصلاة
ق 42	كتاب الدليل والبرهان	ق 19	المفقود
ق 43	من كتاب الجواهر للبرادي ⁶⁴	ق 20	أحاديث

An additional heading was crossed out that appears to read: "Kitāb al-jawāhir li-l-shaykh Qāsim al-Barrādī al-Jarbī fī-l-tārīkh."

ق 64	تاريخ	ق 44	حاشية لابي عبد الله محمد بن عمر ابي
ق 65	تاريخ		ستة شرح العقيدة
ق 66	تاريخ	ق 45	رسالة في اصول الدين
ق 67	فقه 66	ق 46	أصول الدين
ق 68	فقه	ق 47	من اصول الدين
ق 69	فقه	ق 48	الديانات اصول الدين
ق 70	فقه	ق 49	فتاوي ـ عقيدة
ق 71	فقه	ق 50	صلاة
ق 72	فقه	ق 51	مسائل [؟] في الصلاة
ق 73	فقه	ق 52	صلاة
ق 74	الصوم	ق 53	صلاة
ق 75	فقه	ق 54	صلاة [مكتوب في الهامش الأيسر:
ق 76	مبادئ الصوم		فقه محشي]
ق 77	من كتاب الايضاح	ق 55	صلاة
ق 78	محشي	ق 56	صلاة
ق 79	ذكر الفرق الاسلامية للشيخ [كذا]	ق 57	الطهارات
ق 80	شرح السؤالات	ق 58	الصلاة
ق 81	الهبة والبيوع	ق 59	الدعائم
ق 82	فتوى	ق 60	من كتاب العدل والانصاف لابي
ق 83	فتوى		يعقوب في اصول الدين
ق 84	أصول الدين أجوبة على سؤالات	ق 61	رسالة الشيخ عامر الشماخي رحمه الله
ق 85	أصول كتاب على عقيدة التوحيد لابي		في الديانات ⁶⁵
	سليمان التلاتي	ق 62	تاريخ
ق 86	النونية للتلاتي	ق 63	تاریخ

Below this main title in a different hand: "matn al-diyānāt."

Top left margin in different hand: "mas \bar{a} 'il mukhtalifa."

شرح النونية	ق 87	كتاب اصول الدين للشيخ تبغورين بن	ق 107
اسلاميات	ق 88	عيسى الملشوطي الاباضي رحمه الله	
مسند الربيع بن حبيب	ق 89	وهو من علماء أوائل القرن السادس	
الزواج	ق 90	الهجري	
الحيض	ق 91	من كتاب الجهالات	ق 108
الجزء الثالث في البيوع	ق 92	كلام الشيخ تبغورين في اصول	ق 109
هذه كرارس مفترقة من حاشية المحشي	ق 93	جزء من كتاب الجهالات	ق 110
الشيخ محمد بن ابي ستة على الجامع		أصول الدين	ق 111
الصحيح للامام بن حبيب رحمه الله		أصول الدين	ق 112
في الولاية والبراءة	ق 94	أصول الدين	ق 113
في اعمال الحج	ق 95	أصول	ق 114
في موت الغايب [/] في الصلح [/]	ق 96	كتاب مقاييس الجروح للشيخ	ق 115
في الاستدراج [/] في القسمة		إسماعيل الجيطاني رحمه الله	
كتاب السؤالات	ق 97	في الزكاة	ق 116
من السؤالات	ق 98	من شرح كتاب الدينات للتلاتي	ق 117
من كتاب السؤالات	ق 99	من شرح الدينات	ق 118
كتاب السؤالات	ق 100	من شرح الدينات	ق 119
كتاب السير ناقص ٢٤ صفحة من أوله	ق 101	من كتاب المولف في التاريخ بلوغ	ق 120
من سير الشماخي	ق 102	المعاني [كذا]	
من كتاب سير الشماخي ⁶⁷	ق 103	منظومة في فن البحث وشرحها	ق 121
الرؤية	ق 104	الجزء الثاني من كتاب شرح الاصول	ق 122
من متن المنظومة الجادوية	ق 105	الدينية مشتملا على تلخيص معاني	
من المنظومة الجادوية	ق 106	النونية ⁶⁸	

⁶⁷ Additional crossed out heading: "fī uṣūl al-fiqh."

⁶⁸ This title comes from the incipit as the fragment has no heading in the margin.

مسائل مفيدة لأبي خزر	ق 123	أصول الدين	ق 140
للشيخ أحمد الشماخي في الرد على	ق 124	أصول الدين	ق 141
الغدامسي		أصول الدين	ق 142
رد الشيخ قاسم الشماخي على الشيخ	ق 125	أصول الدين	ق 143
سليمان الجادوي		أصول الدين	ق 144
أحمد بن قاسم الشماخي	ق 126	أصول الدين	ق 145
الجزء الثاني من كتاب الايضاح ⁶⁹	ق 127	أصول الدين	ق 146
رسائل للشيخ أحمد بن سعيد الشماخي	ق 128	أصول الدين	ق 147
المتوفي ٩٢٨		في صفات الله أصول الدين	ق 148
من آثار الشيخ أحمد بن سعيد الشماخي	ق 129	أصول الدين	ق 149
جواب الشيخ ابي العباس أحمد بن	ق 130	في اصول الدين	ق 150
سعيد الشماخي في الحبس ⁷⁰		أصول الدين	ق 151
رسائل الشيخ احمد الشماخي في		أصول الدين	ق 152
صفات الله تعالى		اصول الدين	ق 153
من در الشماخي على الغدامسي	ق 132	الرؤيا عند الاشعرية	ق 154
للشيخ أحمد الشماخي	ق 133	أصول الدين	ق 155
اعراب القران (للشماخي الشيخ	ق 134	اصول الدين	ق 156
احمد)		أصول الدين	ق 157
من اصول الدين	ق 135	من كتاب الوضع أصول الدين	ق 158
اصول الدين	ق 136	اصول الدين [/] الأشعرية وتناقض	ق 159
مقدمة التوحيد اصول الدين (حاشية	ق 137	اقوالهم	
للمحشي)		من أصول الدين	ق 160
أصول الدين	ق 138	أوراق هامة في اصول الدين	ق 161
أصول الدين	ق 139	أصول الدين	ق 162

⁶⁹ This title comes from the colophon as the fragment has no heading in the margin.

 $^{70\,}$ $\,$ This title comes from the incipit as the fragment has no heading in the margin.

ق 186	کتاب مفید	ق 163	اصول الدين
ق 187	على الاثار فتاوى ⁷¹	ق 164	أصول الدين
ق 188	في المواريث	ق 165	اصول الدين
ق 189	فرائض أبي عمار	ق 166	أصول الدين
ق 190	الورثة والبيع	ق 167	اصول الدين
ق 191	الهبة	ق 168	سيرة ابن عبد السلام
ق 192	في الميراث	ق 169	منقول من اخر كتاب الوضع في
ق 193	في الميراث		الكفارات
ق 194	في الميراث	ق 170	من حاشية كتاب الوضع
ق 195	الميراث	ق 171	من كتاب القناطر
ق 196	في الميراث	ق 172	احكام الصيد
	في الميراث	ق 173	مسائل من شيخ سليمان بن ابي بكر
ق 198	القسمه [كذا]		الشماخي سنة 1112هـ فتاوى
		ق 174	مجهول / آثار وروايات قديمة
	من متن الرحبية في فرائض الميراث	ق 175	فقه
	من المنظومة الرحبية في الميراث	ق 176	القسمة
	من كتاب الوضع		أصول الدين
	من كتاب الموجز لابي عمار عبد الكافي		في توثيق في عقود البيع
	1-		فوائد مختلفة
-	فقه	_	فقه
	من كتاب قواعد الاسلام	ق 181	فقه
ق 207		ق 182	فقه
	من كتاب الطبقات للدرجيني	ق 183	اجسام الأنبياء لا تنحل بعد موتهم
	في الرهن وكيفيته		من كتاب القناطر
ق 210	من كتاب تبيين أفعال العباد	ق 185	الوصايا

⁷¹ Additional heading in a different hand: "al-mawārīth l-Abī 'Ammār."

الجزء الثاني من حاشية الجرجاني على	ق 211	رسالة في الكلام على الصفات للشيخ	ق 232
الراز <i>ي</i> ⁷²		الامام الكافيجي	
المعاملات	ق 212	شرح التسمية في المنطق	ق 233
في المعاملات	ق 213	الشيخ يونس بن تعاريت	ق 234
فقه [/] حاشية	ق 214	الجزء الاول من كتاب الايضاح ⁷⁴	ق 235
الجزء 2 من البيوع من ديوان الأشياخ	ق 215	من كتاب الاحكام	ق 236
[الآ]		كتاب سير ابي الربيع سليمان المزاتي	ق 237
في البيوع من كتاب	ق 216	السير للشماخي	ق 238
في البيوع	ق 217	من كتاب سير ابي زكرياء بن ابي بكر	ق 239
البيوع	ق 218	الوارجلاني	
كتاب الطهارات	ق 219	من تاریخ ابی زکریا	ق 240
فتاوى	ق 220	الطبقات	ق 241
فتاوى	ق 221	من كتاب سير الشماخي نسخ ١٢٤٢ هـ	ق 242
لد[م؟]غيد هذه حواشي [لصيقة؟]	ق 222	من كتاب الجواهر للشيخ قاسم البرادي	ق 243
على عصام الدين		[كذا]	
الله تعالی لا یری دنیا واخری	ق 223	قسمة المحاصات	ق 244
حاشية للمحشي على كتاب الوضع	ق 224	من كتاب الاحكام للشيخ يحيى	ق 245
كتاب الجهالات	ق 225	الجناوني	
شرح الدينات	ق 226	زوات الإرحام	ق 246
كتاب الحقوق ⁷³	ق 227	من سير الوسياني	ق 247
حاشية الحفيد على عصام	ق 228	فتاوى على الوصـ[ية؟]	ق 248
الجزء الأول من الايضاح	ق 229	شرح النونية للشيخ اسماعيل الحيطاني	ق 249
استحالة رؤية الله	ق 230	[كذا]	
القضاء والقدر			

 $^{72\,}$ $\,$ This title comes from the colophon as the fragment has no heading in the margin.

⁷³ This title comes from the colophon as the fragment has no heading in the margin.

⁷⁴ This is one of multiple versions of the same title on the same folio.

من شرح القصيدة النونية	ق 251	التاريخ فتوى	ق 270
اصول الدين شرح النونية	ق 252	فتوى	ق 271
شرح النونية	ق 253	عذاب القبر [؟]	ق 272
شرح النونية أصول الدين	ق 254	فيه ما حل وما حرم	ق 273
الجزء الرابع من كتاب الايضاح في	ق 255	مسائل على راي الشافعي	ق 274
الهبة		مسائل مختلفة لعلماء مغاربة	ق 275
من كتاب قواعد الاسلام	ق 256	كتاب الفرايد والقلائد [كذا] ⁷⁵	ق 276
فقه	ق 257	من كتاب الطهارة ⁷⁶	ق 277
هذه حاشية على عقيدة التوحيد للشيخ	ق 258	احكام قرأة [كذا] القران	ق 278
أحمد الشماخي		مساجد الجزيرة جربة وعلماء تاريخ	ق 279
الصوم	ق 259	رد على من يقول ابوال البهايم	ق 280
فقه ما يتعلق بالصوم	ق 260	(نکار) ⁷⁷	ق 281
اصول الدين	ق 261	رسالة المارغني في الفرق الإباضية	ق 282
في الحقائق فتاوى	ق 262	مسائل تاریخیة فقهیه [كذا]	ق 283
الصلاة	ق 263	إعراب الشيخ قاسم بن سليمان	ق 284
مسائل من الصلاة	ق 264	الشماخي للبيتين في طهارات للايضاح	
اصول الدين	ق 265	رسالة ابي عمرو عثمان المارغني السوفي	ق 285
علماء الـ[؟]ة تاريخ	ق 266	في فرق الاباضيه [كذا]	
V.11 ·			
في النكاح	ق 267	متن اللؤلؤ وهمي منظومة الشيخ قاسم	ق 286
في النكاح في الميراث	ق 267	متن اللؤلؤ وهي منظومة الشيخ قاسم الشماخي في التوحيد وهنا غير تامه	ق 286
	ق 267 ق 268	'	ق 286

⁷⁵ This title comes from the colophon as the fragment has no heading in the margin.

 $^{\,76\,}$ $\,$ This title comes from the first few lines as the fragment has no heading in the margin.

Parenthesis are original to the manuscript. An additional heading appears next to this one but I was unable to decipher it.

Category Four: Unidentified Manuscripts

As noted above, the final category (labeled $d\bar{a}l$ 'ayn) includes the remaining 381 unidentified fragments (ranging from single folios to a few quires). Unfortunately, Dr. Nājī declined to allow me to spend more than a few seconds with each of these manuscripts, giving me only enough time to assign them an inventory number. He likewise declined to allow me to take photographs that might have permitted me to study them in more detail. As a result, I was unable to include more than their total number here in the inventory.

Conclusion

The project encountered unexpected difficulties, many of which stemmed not from technical or environmental challenges but rather from differences in the perceived value of the manuscript collection. Working with private manuscript libraries often requires finding a compromise between achieving the goals and interests of scholarship and respecting the wishes of the manuscripts' owner(s). In the case of the Bin Yaʻqūb library, the manuscripts carry scientific and sentimental value since they represent both an important collection of Ibadi texts and the life story and personal archive of the current proprietor's grandfather, Shaykh Sālim b. Yaʻqūb. Moreover, since the owner of this library sees the collection as a potential source of revenue in the future, he perceives the manuscripts as holding an additional monetary value. Throughout the project, he often limited my access to and time with the manuscripts and this required additional, lengthy discussions on the purpose of the project. Understanding and negotiating these competing perceptions of value is an important part of the ethical dimension of working with private manuscript

libraries. One must not forget, after all, that private libraries are just that: the *private* possessions of individuals.

Despite not being permitted to photograph the entire collection and having only limited time to study and analyze the manuscripts themselves, I believe that the project achieved its principal goals. Its purpose was twofold. First and foremost, the project was aimed at conserving the collection. All items in the library were assigned inventory numbers and placed in acid-free folders and boxes before being stored in a new aluminum storage cabinet. The project also achieved its second goal of offering an inventory list that provides researchers with a sense of the contents and state of the collection. In these ways, the project succeeded and marks a step forward in accumulating data on Ibadi manuscripts in the Maghrib.

Nevertheless, the project was from the very beginning only a preliminary step in the conservation of this important collection. Many additional family documents and perhaps even additional manuscripts remain in the library structure on the family estate. Identifying and cataloging the hundreds of fragments (both labeled and unlabeled) listed in the inventory will also require much time and effort. It is my hope that the doors of the library will be opened in the future to a team of researchers, who can work toward completing a full catalog of the manuscripts in the library and beyond these first steps described here.

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