

Makale Türü / Article Type:

Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Gönderilme Tarihi / Submission Date:

22/02/2023

Kabul Tarihi / Accepted Date:

20/05/2023

Introduction to early Quran manuscripts in west Africa

Jibril Swalleh MAWEJJE¹

Abstract

This is a short introduction to the manuscripts of the Quran in West Africa. It aims to shed light on how the early Quran manuscripts were compiled and disseminated in those areas. The paper begins by articulating the first introduction of Muhammadan Islam to Africa as a continent, dating back to the prophet's time. Following the migrations of his companions to the continent. As per the early manuscripts, the paper demonstrates how Muslims used to write the Quranic Arabic scripts juxtaposed with their Ajami or local scripts to demystify the meanings of the Quran. Scanning through the previous works of literature and direct contact with some Muslim scholars from West Africa for the benefit of compiling this humble work, we can therefore make an inference that learning more about the early manuscripts of the Quran means learning more about the Ajami and the local scripts, which were used in the early time alongside the Quran text. Ajami in this context means the use of Arabic script to write their local languages – non-Arabic language. The paper, therefore, introduced some indigenous scripts and different Ajami approaches that were used in the manuscripts of the Classical period in some regions of West Africa.

Keywords: Early Quran, Quran manuscripts, Ajami, African scripts

¹ Ph.D. Candidate; Ibn Haldun University, Faculty of Divinity, İstanbul, Türkiye

E-mail: sealsealt@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0003-4376-2622

Atf İçin / For Citation: MAWEJJE, J., S. (2023). Introduction to early Quran manuscripts in West Africa. *Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler ve Eğitim Dergisi – USBED* 5(9), 371-396.

<https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/usbed>

Introduction

Early Quran manuscripts played a seminal role in demystifying much of the work done in the early ages to compile and disseminate the Quranic texts. Right back to early Islam, some men among the prophet's companions were writing down the revelation as it was being revealed to the prophet, peace and blessings be upon him by the angel Gabriel from God. To the last grand Quran edition of the Caliph Uthman to date (Abdullayev, 2021 & Nöldeke). Throughout all those ages, Quran has gone through extensive editions, compilation styles, and the development of different Arabic scripts, including the formation of Arabic diacritics (Von Denffer, 2015). Many prevalent Quran scripts gained fame by the end of the Abbasid caliphate. During this time, Islam spread to almost half of the world (O'Brien, 2002). Therefore, there were many Muslims converts outside the Arabic race. Given the obscurity of understanding Arabic as a script and language, these non-Arabic communities forged a different methodology to ease grasping, understanding and interpreting the Quranic texts. Therefore, this paper's relevance is to give an overview of some methodologies employed by the Muslims of west Africa to demystify the Arabic texts to fit into their style of understanding. Here two different approaches came into our focus.

The first is the exposition of some West African scripts utilized to disseminate, understand, and interpret the Quran. I give an overview in this line of the N'ko and the Bamun script. The second is the exposition of the Ajami, which is also one of the famous approaches used to code the Quran texts (Ngom, 2016). In collecting information concerning this concept, the approach employed was looking at the primary sources and literature previously related to the topic. Also, orally and directly talking to some Shaykhs from this region. Since only a little literature was available when writing this paper, the research aims to combine different pieces of literature that treat different concepts that might be related to this study. By the end of the study, an overview of how the early Quran manuscripts in west Africa and how they used the mentioned two approaches, among other approaches, helped to shape the way of reading, understanding, interpreting, and disseminating the Arabic Quran text.

Quran enters Africa

Islam spread so early in Africa that it was introduced to the African continent nearly seven years before it was introduced officially to the holy city of Medina of current-day Saudi Arabia. The above makes the land of current-day Ethiopia the first respected-sacred land in Islam, albeit it's underrated by some Muslim fraternities due to some reasons. There is no race of people outside the peoples of Mecca that were introduced to Islam before the blacks. It happened when the Prophet, in the year 616, instructed close to one hundred (100) Muslims who had embraced Islam to seek protection. When the early Muslims have exposed to all sorts of torture, their lives were in danger (al-Azhari, 2012). The non-Muslim Arabs in Mecca were determined to exterminate every adherent of Muhammadan Islam. There was any place to hide, nowhere to go. The possibly strong just Kingdom where they could seek protection was in the land of Blacks in Ethiopia, under the King of Negus (Suyuti, 2004).

Moreover, Islam's spread to Africa was one of the most distinctive approaches. Given Africa's extensive civilization and exposure to other cultures, it is not surprising that the companions were dispatched to seek sanctuary in Africa, the African leaders they encountered were already aware of and knew what had been read before them from the Quran. The Prophet through an envoy was tasked to make an official application to King Negus. He explained their condition and why they needed his favor. He maintained that they were not criminals or army deserters running away. Instead, they were persecuted by their people in Mecca. Their religion did not teach except ethics, goodness, modesty, and belief, he stressed. When the leaders in Mecca learned about their fleeing to present-day Ethiopia, they were irritated. They immediately sent a delegation to stop the emigrants and persuade the King to reject the companions in their homeland. The delegation had explained that these were criminals whom they asked the King to reject and return them to serve their punishment, arguing that they were also insulting the religion of the King, a Christian at the time (Hassan. 2012). Having learned about this, therefore, when the King had from Jafari submission – emigrants' leader and prophet's envoy, he was prompted to ask them their perspective about Christianity, the mother, and son, Mary, and Jesus, respectively. Jaffar recited some verses in chapter 19 (Surat

Maryam), which tackled the core precepts of Christianity. On hearing the recitation, King realized that it conformed with the tenets of his religion. Not very long after, he converted to Islam. It can be argued that Jaafar's recitation of the Quran in front of the King and other African leaders marked the first official introduction of the Quran to the black land of Africa. Albeit, the African Christians were already aware of the fundamental principles and teachings of the Quran before the Muslim delegation from Mecca even arrived in Ethiopia. Thus, we can stress that exposure to the Quran and its teaching to Africans predates the Islamic calendar. We can use this as a cornerstone and grasp the idea of classic Quran science in Africa (Sanni, 2021). As Africans learned about Islam decades before, the codification of the Quran could commence during the Caliph Abubakar and centuries before the Quranic script could be developed to its readable format following the development of the Arabic diacritics and vowels. All the above would presumably help stress some narrations that Othman sent a copy of Quran to Africa after the compilation of it by Zaid bin Thabit and his committee (Muhammad, 1870; al-Jibouri, 2013 & Shibily, 1983). We can, therefore, suggest the incoherence of the notion that Islam was introduced to Africa through wars or traders. Given that its introduction was by the emigrant prophets' companions and his honorable members who were the first teachers of the Quranic message before it could even traverse the Arabic peninsula. Unsurprisingly, many great dynasties in Africa ruled under Islam, and the conversion of Africans to Islam dates back as early as the inception period of Muhammadan Islam itself, more especially when King Negus of Ethiopia converted to Islam after its introduction to him by the emigrants from Mecca that had fled from persecution as explained in the above paragraphs. The above might explain the presence of Islamic notions in the core precepts of some African cultures like Buganda. It also explains the availability of different Muslim Arabic book commentaries in different parts of Africa, in addition to the presence of different scripts of writing in Ancient Africa as demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

Furthermore, this is where we learn of the Ajam slogans in Africa. Versions like Fulani Ajam, and Soninke Ajam², among other versions of Ajam, were very prominent in the early ages. The Ajam, which meant foreign, meant the writing of their local languages by adopting Arabic letters to make concise commentaries on the copies of the Quran. This Ajam was also used to write explanations on some Islamic books which were being written in those areas (Mumi & Versteegh, 2014). However, more classic Quranic text was written in Arabic juxtaposed with ancient African scripts like the N'ko³, and Vai⁴, among others (Donaldson, 2020 & Unseth, (2011). Given the vastness of the Quranic manuscripts in Africa, this paper's primary focus will be mainly on the West of Africa.

² Ajami in this context means writing local language using Arabic script. For that matter therefore, Fulani Ajami means Fulani language written in Arabic scripts. So as the Soninke and so on

³ N'ko script is a writing system used for the Manding languages of West Africa, particularly for the Maninka language spoken in Guinea, Mali, Ivory Coast, and other countries in the region

⁴ Vai script is a writing system used for the Vai language, which is spoken by approximately 100,000 people in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

African Scripts and The Quran

N'Ko: 𞤅𞤆𞤇

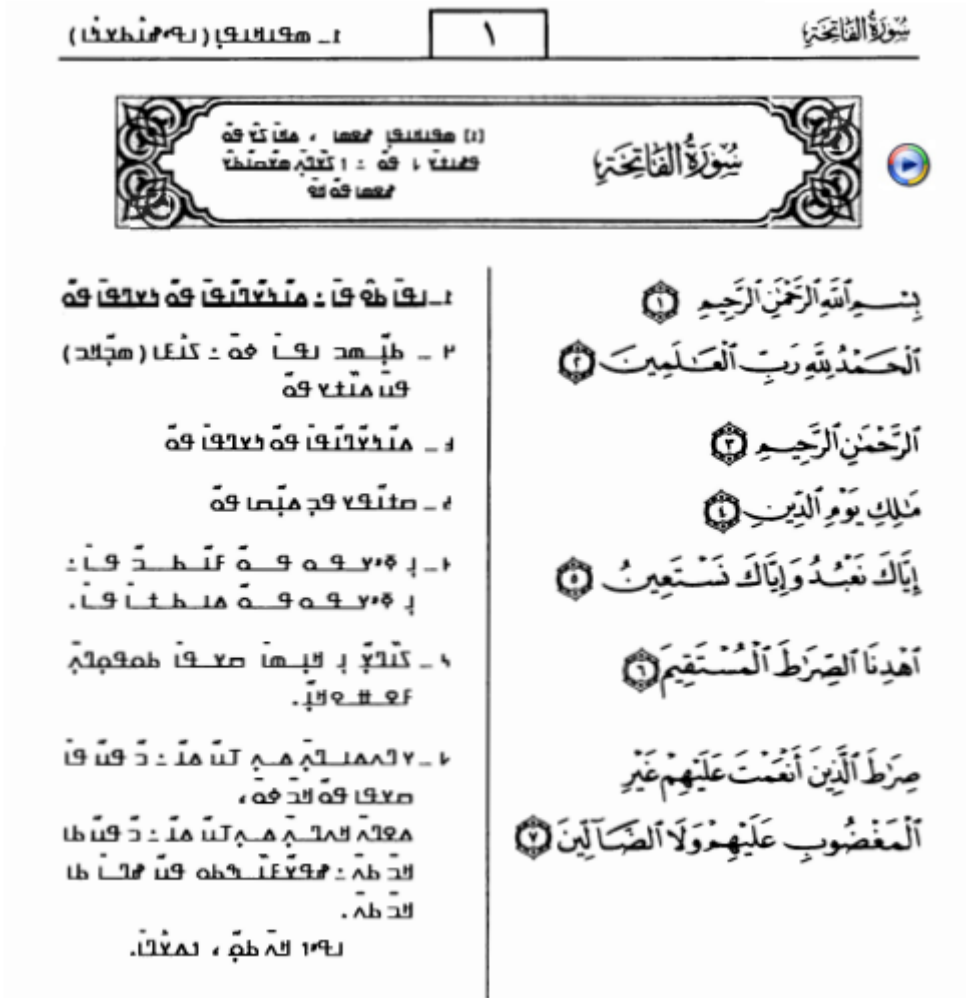


Figure 1. Screenshot displaying Quranic text juxtaposed alongside N'ko script. The shot was taken by the author from the digital print of the N'ko Quran published at <https://islamhouse.com> at 11-10-2020

The N'ko script is one of the scripts used to demystify the meanings of the holy Quran in Western Africa by different groups, including the Bambara-speaking people in Mali. Because the script has also been written from right to left, it resembles the Arabic language in terms of writing style and diacritical marks. Recently it gained popularity in usage in the Ivory Coast and Guinea; Solomona Kante devised this script after the second world war in 1949 (Wyrod, 2008; Oyler, 1997 & Davydov, 2010). Furthermore, it has

been used hand in hand with Quran manuscripts. Additionally, traditional religious publications, including Quran publications in the Yoruba and Fon languages of Benin and southwest Nigeria, have been seen using N'Ko with additional diacritics (Agelobagan).

Bamum Quran script

The following are some of the pictures of the classic Quran, possibly taken between 1910-1946, written along with the Bamum script of Cameroon. This script comprises six scripts developed over time by Ibrahim Njoya, king of Bamum, for the Bamum language. They were developed in the course of fourteen years, from 1896 to 1910, from a pictographic system to a semi-syllabary (Riesenberg & Kaneshiro 1960; Galitzine-Loumpet, 2016 & Halirou, M. 2017).



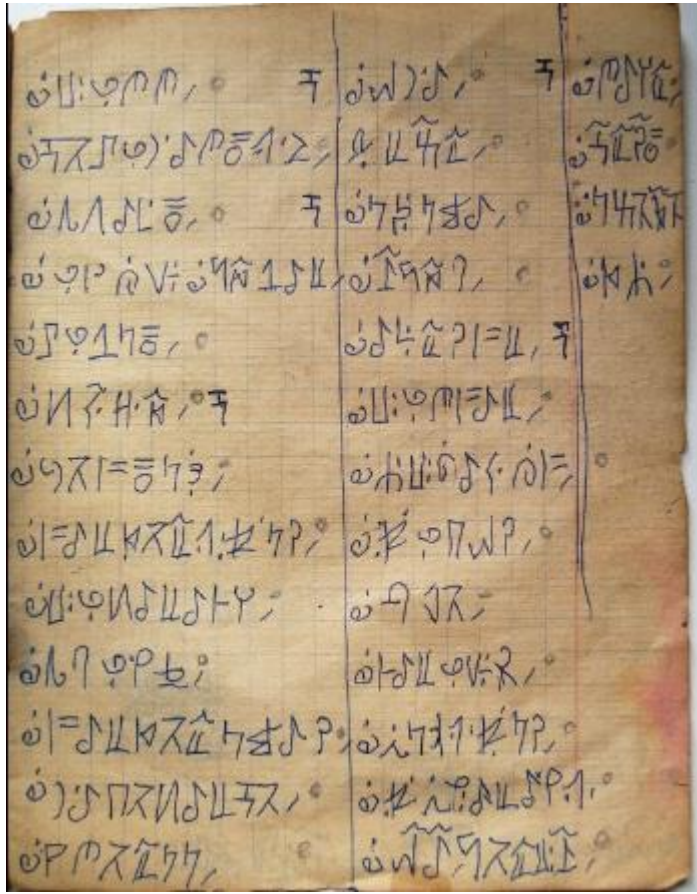
Reference: British Library, EAP051/1/1/12/114, <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP051-1-1-12-114>, 1910-1946

Origin: Cameroon, Africa

Digitized by: St John's University, New York

Description: Measurements: 11.2cm x 8.5cm; Dates Unknown; Script: Akauku Mfemfe and Arabic script in pencil; Condition: Good

Figure 2. The above is a digital image of a verse from the *Qur'an* describing a treatment for eye disorders below is text in Bamum script.



Origin: Cameroon, Africa

Reference: British Library, EAP051/1/1/9/108, <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP051-1-1-9-108>

Measurements: 22cm x 16.8cm; Dates Unknown; Script: Akauku mfemfe in pencil and blue ink (ball point pen); Condition: Good; **Comments:** Written on paper from a school exercise book

Digitized by: St John's University, New York

Figure 3. Another figure depicting the Bamun script it is comprising of names of individuals and The Verse of the Throne from the Holy Quran



Figure 4 & 5. The above (figure4) is the famously known Ayat al-Kursi with the corresponding meaning in Bamun script in figure 5

For both this and preceding figure

Origin: Cameroon, Africa

Reference: British Library, EAP051/1/1/12/130, <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP051-1-1-12-130>, 1910-1946

Digitized by

St John's University, New York

Description: Leaves: 1; Pages: 2; Measurements: 18cm x 11.5cm; Dates Unknown; Script: Akauku Mfemfe in pencil and Arabic script in black ink; Condition: Good

Quran Manuscripts and The Ajamis

We learn about many classical Quranic manuscripts by scanning through the African manuscripts written to demystify the meanings of the holy Quran. There was interlinear, synchronous, and juxtaposed Quranic text with the local languages, as we shall demonstrate in the coming illustration—these commentaries, or translations, were either written in Arabic or local scripts of the respective tribes (Westley, 2014). Arabic script, also known as Ajami, was adopted by many other communities in West Africa independently of the linguistic affiliation of their languages (Donaldson, 2013 & Mamadou, Sokhna, Fall, & Koule, 2020; Easton, 1999). There are many local traditions, each with its distinct features of writing Arabic script, including the Fulani Ajami (Humery, 2014 & Sadiq, 2019) for the Fulani people of West Sudan Arabic, Soninke Ajami (Vydrin, & Solly, 2019 & Dianko, 2019.) for people in different parts of West Africa, including southern Mauritania, Eastern Senegal, and Guinea, among others, Wolof Ajami (Ngom, 2010) for the Gambia and other African people, Ajami script among the Susu and Manding⁵ people of Burkina Faso among other west African countries, Ajami script among the Asante people, the Ajami among the Songhay and Zarma people⁶, Ajami of Kanem and Bornu⁷, Ajami of Sokoto and Adamawa⁸, mainly in Hausa and eastern dialects of Fula (Bondarev, 2006 & Souag, 2011)

⁵ The Susu and Manding people are two distinct ethnic groups in Burkina Faso, with the Susu primarily found in the southwest, and the Manding spread across several countries in West Africa. They each have their own unique language, cultural traditions, and economic activities, with the Susu being known for farming and craftsmanship, and the Manding for trade and the arts.

⁶ The Songhay and Zarma people are distinct ethnic groups primarily found in Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso. The Songhay are known for their historical influence and the Zarma for their agricultural practices.

⁷ Kanem and Bornu were two medieval African kingdoms located in the region that is now modern-day Chad, Nigeria, and Niger. They were known for their powerful empires, trade networks, and Islamic scholarship.

⁸ Sokoto and Adamawa were two pre-colonial Islamic states located in what is now modern-day Nigeria. Sokoto was known for its strong leadership under Usman dan Fodio, while Adamawa was known for its diverse ethnic groups and trade connections

Ajamis and the Quran.

Description: Old Kanembu Islamic Manuscripts, Digital Collections, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) University, London, MS.2ShK, Dates: Not Stated

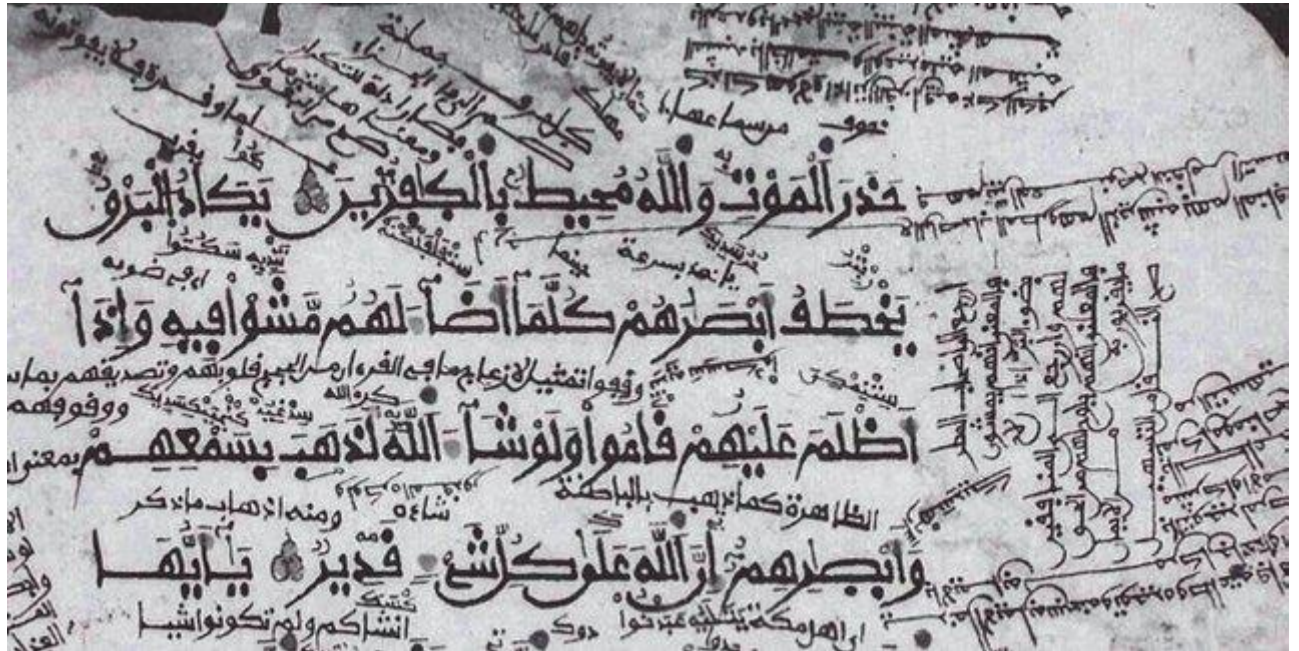


Figure 6. The picture shows a piece from the Quran manuscript with different annotations called Ajami. This is one of the Old Kanembu's richness and riches remains.

Occasional Ajami (Type 4)

The inclusion of some Arabic words in the text's margins is known as the Ajam Type 4 or the Occasional Ajami (Bondarev & Quenzer, 2021). It is typically found in manuscripts from more advanced periods of Islamic learning when Arabic served as the only language of scholarship. There is no need to supplement Arabic with local languages as there are earlier learning stages. Because of their methodical structure, rare Ajami manuscripts are less linguistically complex than Type 3 Ajami manuscripts elaborated below. However, they could shed light on why local languages were still necessary even at this late stage in education. Because this Ajami writing is considerably less conspicuous than in the other forms, its manuscripts are exceedingly challenging to distinguish from other types. The above helps to understand why the manuscripts that constitute this type of Ajami have received so little attention.

The following is an illustration and picture demonstrating how Ajami was utilized in compiling the Quran and its meaning. In this case, this methodology was used to write the famous *Tafseer al-Jalalayn*⁹.



Figure 7. A shot displaying *Tafseer Al-Jalalayn* Page displaying Arabic annotations in brown ink on chapter 34, verse 16 in Sokoto in Waziri Junaidu Bureau. c. mid-nineteenth century. SOAS Digital Collections.

⁹ *Tafseer al-Jalalayn* is a classical Arabic commentary on the Quran, written by two Islamic scholars, Jalaluddin al-Mahalli and his student, Jalaluddin al-Suyuti, in the 15th century. It is one of the most widely used and respected commentaries in the African Islamic world, known for its concise explanations and accessible language.

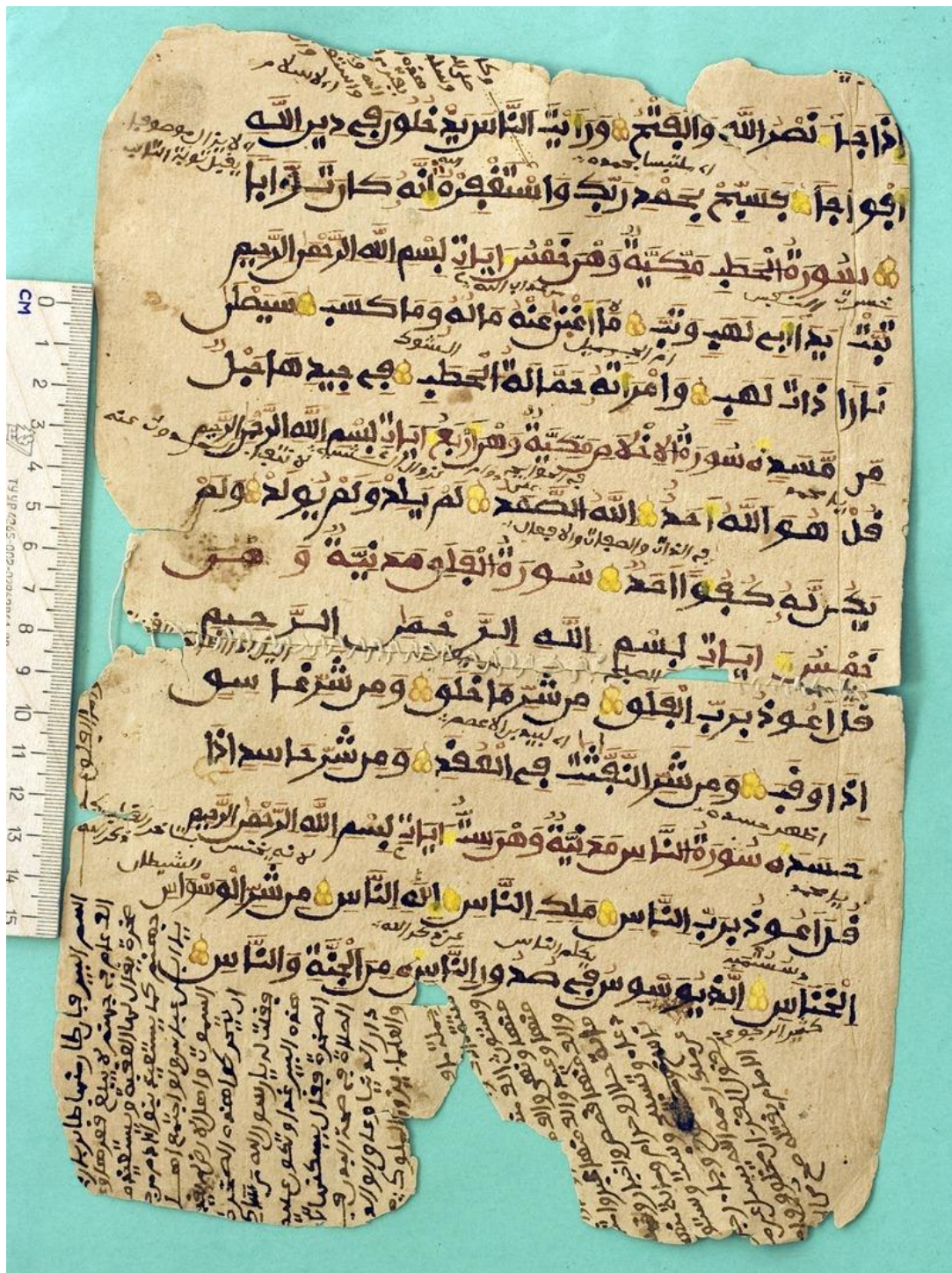


Figure 8. This is also from the school of oriental and African studies university's digital collection in London, United Kingdom. It illustrates juxtaposition of Arabic commentary and commentary with Ajami from Chapter 110-114 of the Holy Quran

Systematic Interlinear Glosses - Type 3 Ajami

Under this type of Ajami, Ajami phrases are written above or below their Arabic counterparts in the available empty spaces.



Figure 9. From Imam Yousouf's collection in Nguigmi¹⁰, Niger, the figure depicts segments of an abridged version of "Aqida ahl al-tawhid al-sughra" by al-Sanusi. This manuscript is part of

¹⁰ Imam Yousouf was a prominent Islamic scholar and religious leader who lived in Nguigmi, a town located in the Diffa Region of southeastern Niger. He is known for his collection of Islamic manuscripts, which includes works on various subjects such as Quranic exegesis, hadith, jurisprudence, theology, and Sufism. Imam Yousouf's collection is considered to be one of the most significant collections of Islamic manuscripts in West Africa, and it has been studied and referenced by scholars and researchers from around the world.

the Old Kanembu Islamic Manuscripts, which have been digitized and made available online through the SOAS Digital Collections in London.

Annotations of Ajami are often added to the Arabic source text under interlinear Ajami-type manuscripts to clarify its grammatical structures and provide precise translations. The annotations are systematic in the sense that they are carefully written above (or occasionally below) the portions of the Arabic text rather than being arbitrary written text translations. The output translations show a high degree of consistency in their lexical and grammatical properties across manuscripts.

Type 2 - Intralinear Ajami



Figure 10. This figure demonstrates Type 2 intralinear Ajami, Its from collection of Mamma Haidara – a renowned scholar and famous manuscript collector, Timbuktu, Mali

Arabic and Ajami phrases follow one another on the same line in manuscripts. These images were extracted from the *Umm al-Barahiin* manuscript. The red ink is the original Arabic script, and the black is the Ajami of old Kanembu. They are from the Mama Haidara library in Timbuktu.

With this methodology, the sentences are written in an African language after those in Arabic. These manuscripts offer translations of Arabic into the local vernacular. Short Arabic noun/verb phrases and their translation into the target language alternate in a strict rhythm.

Other Quran Scripts

For instance, when we traverse Northern and Eastern today's Nigeria, we find one of the most prominent and famous kingdoms of the Kanem, which was succeeded by the famous Borno empire around the 15th century. Under this empire, we can trace four versions of the Quran manuscripts mingled with the Tafsir to demystify the intended meanings further. Moreover, there had been strong connections between the author of *al-Itiqaan fi Uloom al-Quran* - Imam Suyuti¹¹ - with different dignitaries and prominent scholars of West Africa. Upon visiting the holy house of Kabah, many would take the time to visit him in Egypt to learn from him. The above can be evidenced by the early manuscripts of Tafsir al-Jalalayn in different parts of Africa, especially in the West, as we present in the illustrations below. Leaders like Ali Gaji of the 15th century, who himself was a great Quran commentator, are known to have close ties with Imam al-Suyuti. The above might explain the deepness of the Quran commentary discourses in these regions of Africa (Bondarev, 2013).

All of the preceding three manuscripts are extensively annotated in Old Kanembu. The fourth manuscript represents glosses in Old Kanembu Tarjumo written by Imam Habib of Maiduguri between the lines of the Qur'anic passages, which were prepared in electronic format and printed out with ample space between the lines to allow for Imam Habib's annotations (Bondarev, 2013).

¹¹ Imam Jalaluddin al-Suyuti was a prominent Islamic scholar and polymath who lived in the 15th and 16th centuries in Cairo, Egypt. He is known for his prolific writings on various subjects, including Quranic commentary, hadith, history, theology, and law. One of his most famous works is "al-Itqan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an," a comprehensive encyclopedia on the sciences of the Quran, which is still studied and revered today.

Yerima Mustafa Quran Manuscript

This Quran manuscript is preserved in the Geidam region in the Yobe state of Nigeria. The manuscript copy is preserved on microfilm, consisting of three 35 mm rolls with 35–37 frames each, for a total of 105 pages. Only a few of the frames were blurred, and a few were duplicated. The majority of the frames have good resolution. There are missing portions in this manuscript. Therefore, the Quran is not complete.



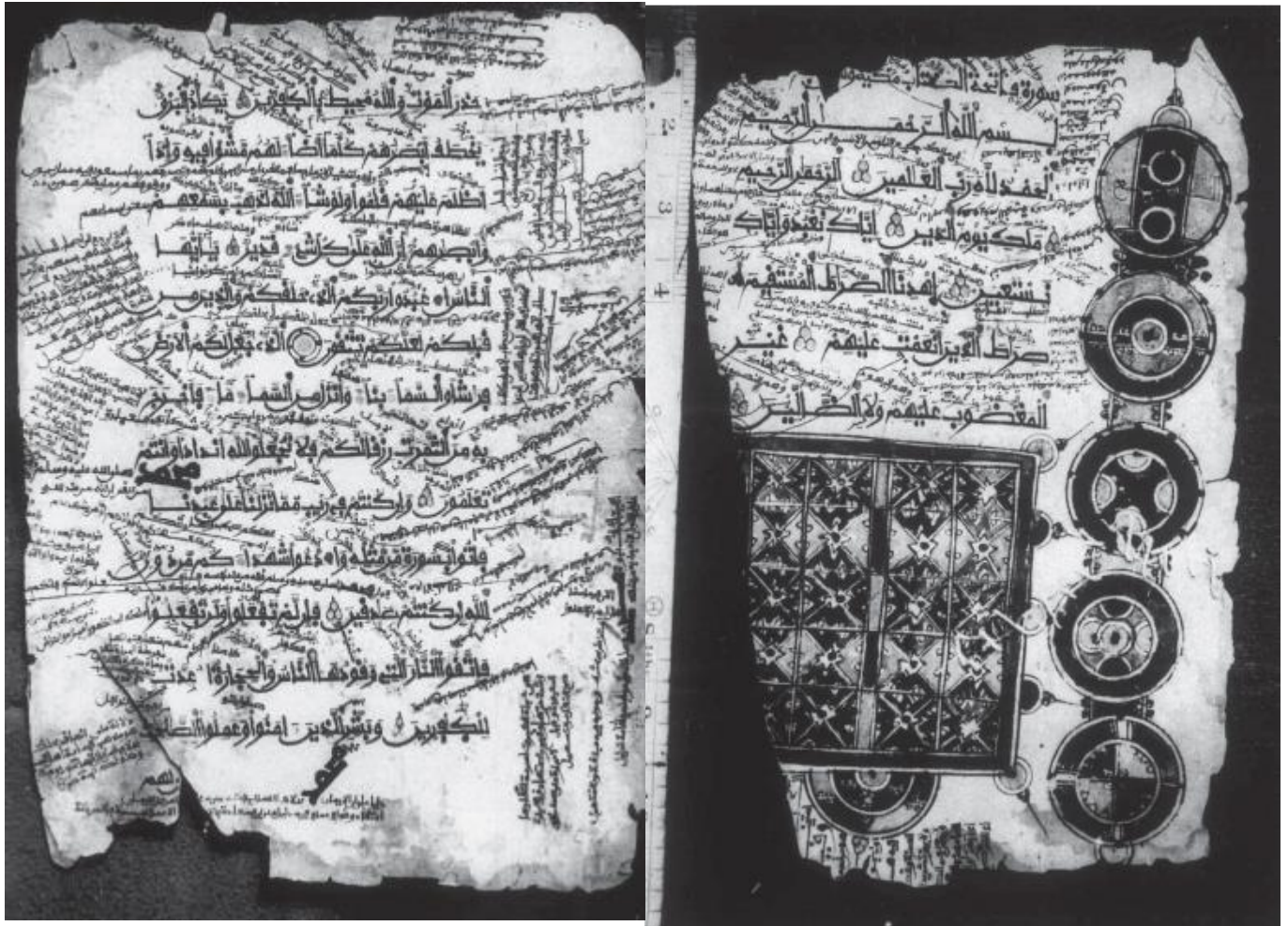
Figure 11. The illustration of surah al-Fatiha from the Geidam Quran (manuscript 1YM) along with some information on Surah al-Baqarah written along with the Ajami script.



Figure 12. This is another illustration of the Yerima – Geidam Quran (manuscript 1YM) of Yobe state comprising of verses 20-25 from the second chapter of the Quran – Surah al-Baqarah.

Shetima Kawo Quran

Shetima of Maiduguri in northeastern Nigeria demonstrated the "Shetima Kawo Quran." A total of 104 pages from two microfilms on 35 mm rolls with 32 and 36 frames and 36 negative prints are used to represent this manuscript. The manuscript's pages have a large number of Arabic glosses that were derived from various tafsirs (which have not yet been recognized),



Figures 13 & 14. Demonstrates photo from Verse 19 -25 of Surah al-Baqarah and Surah al-Fatihah respectively - (manuscript 2ShK)

Imam Ibrahim Quran

This was in possession of Imam Ibrahim¹² of Maiduguri and is available in photographic copies comprising only four pages, three of which were published in 1960. These positive prints, in multiple reproductions, show Surah al-Fatiha, two initial pages of Surah al-

¹² Imam Ibrahim bin Muhammad al-Mahdi was a prominent religious leader in 18th-century Timbuktu, Mali, and a respected scholar of Islam and member of the Qadiriyya Sufi order. He played an important role in the intellectual and cultural life of Timbuktu, and was an active participant in the political and social affairs of his time, advocating for social justice and promoting education and literacy. The Imam Ibrahim Quran, a historic Quran manuscript named after him, is considered an important example of West African Islamic manuscript art, and is believed to have been owned by him or his family.

Baqarah, and the last page of the manuscript, with the colophon in Arabic carrying the date of completion of the tafsir.



Figure 15. The opening folio of manuscript 3ImI, known as the 'Imam Ibrahim Quran', displays the initial chapter 'surra al-fatiha', which was first published by Bivar in 1960.

Efforts to revive manuscripts



Many of the ancient African scripts and manuscripts were destroyed, burned, and banned due to the disruption, destruction, and distorting of African civilization by colonialists who entered the continent in the 1980s dressed as religious men of God, except for family manuscripts which were always passed down from generation to generation. Many of them had been hidden underground for fear of destruction. However, there is currently an ongoing effort to restore these manuscripts to help impede the demise of this precious knowledge. For example, the institute of Ethiopian studies is trying to digitize many Islamic and Arabic manuscripts of the 19th and 20th centuries of Riyadh college Mosque in Lamu, Kenya. There are also similar efforts to revive many precious manuscripts, which are presumed to reach one million from many private owners in Timbuktu and Djenne. This all-in wave of racial prejudices against black stereotyping is the absence of written materials. These prejudices have successfully curbed many developments and

revivals of ancient African works. These efforts intend to understand the ancient and classic Quranic manuscripts and call for understanding why many currently available manuscripts are juxtaposed with Arabic and local scripts. It drives us to understand something about Ancient African manuscripts. It sheds light on queries of the scarceness of these Ancient Quranic manuscripts, albeit the early introduction of Islam to Africa. These threats have slowed the digitization of these manuscripts, but more efforts are still ongoing, especially in the land of scholars in Timbuktu. Several efforts can be noticed. For instance, the director of the Haidar memorial library, Abdel Haidar, asserts that his library houses the oldest manuscripts in Timbuktu. The collections at this library comprise more than 400 manuscripts from different private collections. These collections were mostly from private owners to keep them safe from the French colonialists who would either destroy, confiscate or buy them off for display in the French museums. Other collections like the Mamma Haidara comprise more than 2000 manuscripts plus more than 8000 printed copies of the classic African work. The library comprises more than eight Quran copies, more than 200 Quranic commentaries, and more than three hundred (300) copies of manuscripts related to the Quranic sciences. These manuscripts have recently been under attack from terrorist groups in Mali, which has compelled people in charge of them to relocate them from Timbuktu to safer locations, sometimes at the risk of their lives (Hirji, 2019).

Conclusion

Scanning through earlier literature on Quran manuscripts, especially in the non-Arab demographics of Muslims, helps us understand the different approaches that were taken by the Muslim fraternity of those areas to digest the gospel of the Quran. The digesting, grasping, and understanding of this gospel called for the digestion of Arabic as a script and language. Given the very nature of the Arabic script and its foreign structure to the new Muslim converts, scholars of these people were challenged to forge approaches to demystify the obscurity of Arabic text to ease the reading and understanding of the Quran texts. In line with the objective mentioned above, this piece of work shed some light on the use of indigenous scripts like N'ko and Bamun script and different Ajami styles to digest and disseminate the Quran manuscript in west Africa as a non-Arabic Muslim

community. We can therefore assert that exposition of the nature of Quran manuscripts in West Africa draws much on making an understanding of the West African Ajami and their respective scripts. The paper also depicts that the concept of African scripts is not only a historical concept but an ongoing phenomenon and a continuation of the early African academic legacies. Therefore, bringing to live more Quranic manuscripts is an ongoing work more especially that some efforts have been put forward to revive many of what would rather have been lost manuscripts in Mali. Lastly but not least is the fact that the above piece work can be used as an introduction to the field of Quran localization.

REFERENCES

- Abdullayev, A. (2021). Primary Quran Mushafs and their characteristics. *ACADEMICIA: An International Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, 11(9), 831-841.
- Al-Azhari, A. (2005). *al-Jawahir al-Hasan fi Tarikh al-Habshan*. <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=z9HIDwAAQBAJ>
- Al-Jubouri, M. (2013). *Calligraphy, gilding, and decoration of the Holy Qur'an until the age of Ibn al-Bawab*. <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=-5CDgAAQBAJ>
- Bondarev, D. A Typology of West African Ajami Manuscripts: Languages, Layout and Research Perspectives.
- Davydov, A. (2010, May). Towards the Manding corpus: Texts selection principles and metatext markup. In *Proceedings of the Second Workshop on African Language Technology AfLaT* (pp. 59-62).
- Dianko, I. B. (2019). Biniiboo: Celebrating Prophet Muḥammad.
- Dobronravin, N. (2013). 'Classical Hausa'Glosses in a Nineteenth-Century Qur'anic Manuscript: A Case of 'Translational Reading's Sudanic Africa? *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 15(3), 84-122.
- Donaldson, C. (2013). Jula Ajami in Burkina Faso: A grassroots literacy in the former Kong Empire. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)*, 28(2), 2.

- Donaldson, C. (2020a). The Role of Islam, Ajami writings, and educational reform in Sulemaana Kantè's N'ko. *African Studies Review*, 63(3), 462-486.
- Donaldson, C. (2020b). The Role of Islam, Ajami writings, and educational reform in Sulemaana Kantè's N'ko. *African Studies Review*, 63, 1-25.
- Easton, P. (1999). Education and koranic literacy in West Africa.
- Galitzine-Loumpet, A. (2016). Reconsidering Patrimonialization in the Bamun Kingdom: Heritage, Image, and Politics from 1906 to the Present. *African Arts*, 49(2), 68-81.
- Halirou, M. (2017). Moodibbo Bello Aamadu Mohammadu and the Daada Maaje, a Handbook in an Indigenous Fulfulde Script. *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy: Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 12, 299.
- Heritage, M. Compilation of the Holy Quran into a text.
- Hind, S. (1983). Quran Readings in Africa from the conquest to the middle of the fifth century AH. <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=8I8XAAAAIAAJ>
- Humery, M. È. (2014). Fula and the Ajami writing system in the Haalpulaar society of Fuuta Tooro (Senegal and Mauritania): A specific 'restricted literacy'. In *The Arabic Script in Africa* (pp. 173-198). Brill.
- Linguistic Precision for Better Interpretation /Tafsir al-Quran bi al-Kanimiti al-Qadimah." *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 15, no. 3 (2013): 56–83. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24283579>
- Mamadou Nguer, E., Sokhna Bao, D., Fall, Y. A., & Khoule, M. (2020). Digraph of Senegal s local languages: issues, challenges and prospects of their transliteration. *arXiv e-prints*, arXiv-2005.
- Muhammad, B. (1870). *al-Halal al-Sandisiat fi al-Akhbar al-Tunisia*. <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=pDpbAAAAQAAJ>
- Mumin, M., & Versteegh, K. (2014). *The Arabic Script in Africa: Studies in the Use of a Writing System*. <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=7ALbAgAAQBAJ>

- Ngom, F. (2010). Ajami scripts in the Senegalese speech community. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 10, 1-23.
- Ngom, F. (2016). *Muslims beyond the Arab world: The Odyssey of Ajami and the Muridiyya*. Oxford University Press.
- Nöldeke, T. Compilation of the Holy Qur'an into a Text. *Holy Qur'an*, 36.
- O'Brien, P. (Ed.). (2002). *Atlas of world history*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Oyler, D. W. (1997). The N'ko Alphabet as a Vehicle of Indigenist Historiography¹. *History in Africa*, 24, 239-256.
- Quenzer, J. B. (Ed.). (2021). *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts* (Vol. 25). Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.
- Riesenberg, S. H., & Kaneshiro, S. (1960). A Caroline Islands Script. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*.
- Sadiq, T. (2019). Fulakaŋ Suukuwoo: Fula Ajami Poetry.
- Sanni, A. O. (2021). Approaches to the Qur'an in Sub-Saharan Africa Edited by Zulfikar Hirji. <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP051-1-1-12-130>
- Solly, A. (2019). Araabukaŋo aniŋ Soninkekaŋo Alkuraana Fasaro: The Quran with glosses in Arabic and Soninke.
- Souag, L. (2011). Ajami in West Africa. *Afrikanistik online*, 2010(7).
- Suyuti, A. (2004). *Kitab Rafu Shan al-Habshan*. <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=LLxsDwAAQBAJ>
- Unseth, P. (2011). Invention of scripts in West Africa for ethnic revitalization. *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity: The Success–Failure Continuum in Language and Ethnic Identity Efforts*, 2, 23-32.
- Von Denffer, A. (2015). *Ulum al Qur'an: An introduction to the sciences of the Qur'an (Koran)*. Kube Publishing Ltd.
- Vydrin, Valentin. "Ajami scripts for Mande languages." *The Arabic Script in Africa*. Brill, 2014. 199-224.

Westley, D. (2014). Kanuri Ajami Bibliography.

Wyrod, C. (2008). *A social orthography of identity: The N'ko literacy movement in West Africa.*