

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

THE SANŪSĪ LETTERS A CHECKLIST

KNUT S. VIKØR

The obvious importance of the Sanūsī order has made it one of the better studied movements of nineteenth-century Islam. Traditionally, however, the movement has been known mostly from external sources, in particular French colonial observers, and from overviews such as those of E.E. Evans-Pritchard and Nicola Ziadeh.

There exists, however, a rich body of material from inside the order. They include the scholarly works of its masters, but also non-literary material such as letters of various types. In recent years, more and more of these have been published in various works on the Sanūsīyya. They are, however, spread throughout many publications and it may be hard to obtain an overview of them.

The present list is a survey of known letters to and from the Sanūsī order. The majority of them are published, in facsimile (of an original or a copy), reprinted or in translation. We do, however, know of some archival sources for unpublished letters. The general status of Sanūsī studies makes it unrealistic to attempt a complete survey of archival material. It is probable that much material, in particular letters, still exists inside Libya in what remains of the former Sanūsī lodges. There may also be material in the Sanūsī centre in Mecca, and possibly in Chad, although reports from there say that very little has survived the many military actions between 1913 and today. The major source for new material on the British-Sanūsī conflict, and perhaps also of the wider Sanūsī wars, may be the parts of Aḥmad al-Sharīf's archives that ended up in the Sanūsī family centre in Mersa Matruh in Egypt. I have not consulted this archive, but in 1987 they were reported to be in a 'deplorable condition' by a member of the Sanūsī family, who was taking steps to preserve them.

We must thus expect non-literary material to continue to appear as and when the conditions for collecting them change. The present survey is thus presented as preliminary checklist, to be corrected and added to as research progresses.

The time period covered is that of the three first leaders of the order; the founder Muḥammad b. °Alī (1202-76/1787-1859); his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī (1260-1320/1844-1902) and grandson Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf (1284-1351/1867-8—1933, head of the order until 1916). This covers the period from the time when the order was established as a Sufi order in Cyrenaica, its expansion into the Sahara and across to Kanem and central Sudan, and the confrontation between the order and French forces in Kanem.

Some letters include pastoral admonitions to the Brethren, in particular the early letters of the founder, which are repeated in various versions without addressees and may thus have been 'circulars' directed to the brethren in general. Later letters discuss diplomatic and political relations, as well as practical information concerning the running of the lodges, and in some cases, trade relations. Here I have concentrated on letters to or from the Sanūsī leadership or major lodges, but it should be further noted that Jean-Louis Triaud in his thesis, *Les relations entre la France et la Sanūsīyya (1840-1930)*, includes a large number of letters concerning the Sanūsī-inspired revolt in Air in 1916.

The number of letters found from such relatively marginal areas of Sanūsī interest as Dar Fur and Air, would indicate that the letters collected and published so far represent only a small fraction of the material that existed and may still exist in the Sanūsī areas, making it hopeful that this checklist will soon be obsolete.

1. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Aḥmad b. Idrīs, n.d. [1828-1837]. Šāliḥ al-Ja°farī (ed.), *A°ṭār azhār aghṣān ḥaẓīrat al-taqdīs fī al-°ālim ... al-sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, Cairo, 1974, 73-79. Text and translation in Knut S. Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge, Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī*, Thesis, Bergen 1991, 296-305.

2. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī, addressee unknown, 1253 / 1837-8. Ja°farī, *A°tār*, 84-88; partly reprinted in Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī, *al-Anwār al-quḏsiyya fī muqaddimat al-ṭarīqa al-Sanūsīyya*, Istanbul, 1339-42 / 1920-24, 6-7 and Muḥammad al-Yamanī b. °Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs, *Risālat al-awrād al-Idrīsīyya*, Cairo, 1398/1978, 18. Text and translation in *Sufi and Scholar*, 306-14.
3. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī, addressee unknown, n.d. Ja°farī, *A°tār*, 89-91; Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib Idrīs al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*. °Arḍ wa-tahlīl li-dī°āmat ḥarakat al-iṣlāḥ al-Sanūsī, Cairo n.d. (1956?), 88-9, and *idem*, *Al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, Tripoli n.d. (1956), 149. Text and translation in *Sufi and Scholar*, 315-19. See also a variant in Louis Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan. Étude sur l'Islam en Algérie*. Alger, 1884, 498-9.
4. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī, addressee unknown, n.d. *A°tār*, 91-2, al-Ashhab, *Sanūsī*, 87, 90 and *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 149 (first part). Text and translation in *Sufi and Scholar*, 320-2. Al-Ashhab treats it as two separate letters, one of them being directed to Al-Sanūsī's son Muḥammad al-Mahdī. This would put the date between 1846 and 1859; most probably towards the end of that period.
5. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Muḥammad Amīn Pāshā, wālī of Tripoli, n.d. [1842-6]. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 139-40; facsimile and text in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 148-9.
6. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd, n.d. [1264/1848?]. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 145-9.
7. °Alī °Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Qūṣī to Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī (*qaṣīda*), n.d. [1264/1848?]. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 149-50.
8. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to °Abd Allāh al-Tuwātī [extracts], 29 Sha°bān 1264 / 31 July 1848. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 154.
9. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to °Abd Allāh al-Tuwātī, 28 Ṣafar 1265 / 23 January 1849. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 152-3.

10. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Faraj al-Janqāwī and the Waḥanqa community, 4 Muḥarram 1266 / 20 October 1849. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 150-2.
11. [Unclear, Turkish official] to Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī, 19 [Muḥarra]m 1270 / 22 October 1853. Facsimile in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*.
12. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā b. °Abd al-Wahhāb al-Maḥjūb, 3 Jumādā I, 1271 / 22 January 1855, Aḥmad Ṣidqī al-Dajjānī, *Al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsiyya. Nash'atuhā wa-numūwuhā fī 'l-qarn al-tāsi° ashār*. Beirut, 1967, 1988, 289. Text and translation in Helmut Klopfer, *Aspekte der Bewegung des Muḥammad ben °Alī as-Sanūsī*. Wiesbaden, 1967, 70-1.
13. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā Pāshā, qā°im-maqām of Fazzān, 3 Shawwāl 1273 / 27 May 1857. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 141; *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 151-2.
14. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā Pāshā, n.d. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 142-3; *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 152-3.
15. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Pāshā, governor of Bēghāzī, n.d. Al-Ashhab, *Al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 143-4; *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 153-4.
16. A group of Sanūsī notables [in the hand of °Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-Maḥbūb] to Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī, n.d. Facsimile and text in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 147-8.
17. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā al-Maḥjūb, 13 Muḥarram 1275 / 24 August 1858. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsiyya*, 122.
18. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā al-Maḥjūb, Muḥarram 1276 / January 1859. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsiyya*, 290-1. Text and translation in Klopfer, *Aspekte*, 74-5.
19. Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā al-Maḥjūb, 1 Sha°bān 1275 / 7 March 1859. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsiyya*, 290. Text and translation in Klopfer, *Aspekte*, 72-3.

20. Muḥammad al-Asma^c, a Sanūsī brother, to an ^cālīm of Tripoli, 15 Muḥarram 1276 / 15 August 1859. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsīyya*, 298-9.
21. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghumārī, Ismā^cīl b. Ramaḍān and Wahba, 1 Sha^cbān 1276 / 24 February 1860. Al-Ashhab, *al-Sanūsī al-kabīr*, 127-8.
22. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā al-Maḥjūb, 27 Jumādā I 1284 / 26 September 1867. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsīyya*, 291-2.
23. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to ^cAlī al-Laythī, a leading Sanūsī intellectual in Egypt, 25 Jumādā II 1293 / 18 July 1876. Facsimile and text in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 155-6.
24. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā al-Maḥjūb, 15 Ṣafar 1294 / 1 March 1877. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsīyya*, 293.
25. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Khedive Ismā^cīl, 9. Shawwāl 1294 / 17 October 1877. Facsimile and text in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 154.
26. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī to Muṣṭafā al-Maḥjūb, 14 Rabī^c II 1295 / 17 April 1878. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsīyya*, 294.
27. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to ^cAlī al-Laythī, 17 Dhū al-qa^cda 1297 / 21 October 1880. Facsimile and text in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 156.
28. Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ^cAbd Allāh, the Sudanese Mahdī, to Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī, 5 Rajab 1300 / 12 May 1883. M.I. Abū Salīm (ed.), *al-Athār al-kāmila li'l-imām al-Mahdī*, Khartoum 1990, i, 334-9. Text and translation also in Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Diyāb, 'The relations between the Mahdiyyah and the Sanussiyah / al-^cAlāqāt bayna al-Mahdiyya wa'l-Sanūsīyya'. *Addarah / al-Dāra*, Riyad, vii, 2, 1981, 1-13.
29. Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ^cAbd Allāh, the Sudanese Mahdī, to Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī, 5 Rajab 1300 / 12 May 1883. Abū Salīm, *Athār*, i, 340-2.
30. Aḥmad Rāsīm Pāshā, *wālī* of Tripoli, to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 17 Ṣafar 1303 / 25 November 1885. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsīyya*, 297-8.

31. The *wālī* of Tripoli to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 17 Ṣafar 1303 / 25 November 1885. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsiyya*, 333-4.
32. Aḥmad al-Rīfī in name of the council of brethren at Jaghbūb to °Umar Pāshā al-Muntaṣir, *qā'im-maqām* of Syrte, 6 Shawwāl 1310 / 23 April 1893. Al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 158.
33. Ibrāhīm Darwīsh Pāshā, adjutant to Sultan °Abd al-Ḥamīd, to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 18 Jumādā I, 1313 / 6 November 1895. Facsimile in Muḥammad Fu'ād al-Shukrī, *Al-Sanūsiyya, dīn wa-dawla*, Cairo, 1948, 418.
34. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Sulaymān Nāmiq, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1312 / 12 June 1895. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsiyya*, 299-300. Text and translation in Klopfer, *Aspekte*, 86-90.
35. Bāshkātib Sarāy Yaldaz to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 2 Rabī° II, 1313 / 22 September 1895. Facsimile in Shukrī, *Sanūsiyya*, Cairo, 1948, 419.
36. Khedive °Abbās Pāshā Ḥilmī to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, Dhū al-ḥijja 1314 / May-June 1897. Facsimile and text in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 157.
37. Maḥmūd °Izmī, commissioner of Siwa, to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 26 Muḥarram 1315 / 27 June 1897. Facsimile and text in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 159.
38. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to shaykh Muḥammad al-Barrānī of Bīr Allālī lodge, 18. Dhū al-Ḥijja 1315 / 10 May 1898. Facsimile and translation in Jean-Louis Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902—Une guerre franco-libyenne oubliée? Une confrérie musulmane, la Sanūsiyya face à la France*. Paris, 1987, 84-5.
39. Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ashhab to al-Sanūsī b. Ḥāmid Ghānim, head of the Sanūsī reform council at Mecca, 1 Ramaḍān 1316 / 13 January 1899. Facsimile and text in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*, 160-1.
40. The *mutaṣarrif* of Bēghāzī to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 6 Dhū al-qa°da 1316 / 17 April 1899. Facsimile in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*.

41. °Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad (Tuareg shaykh) to Sīdī Sulaymān, Sanūsī representative, 1318 (1900-1). Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 87-8.
42. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Muḥammad b. al-Faqīh Ḥasan, 29 Shawwāl 1318 / 19 February 1901. Dajjānī, *al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsīyya*, 337.
43. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to al-Barrānī, 22 Rabī° I 1318 / 20 July 1900. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 89-91.
44. Muḥammad °Abīd al-Sharīf to al-Barrānī, 25 Rabī° I 1318 / 23 July 1900. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 92-4.
45. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to al-Barrānī, 25 Rabī° I 1318 / 23 July 1900. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 95-6.
46. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to al-Barrānī, 7 Jumādā II 1318 / 2 October 1900. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 97-8.
47. Miftāḥ al-Namr, Sanūsī leader, to al-Barrānī, 14 Jumādā II 1318 / 9 October 1900. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 99-101.
48. Aḥmad al-Rīfī, Sanūsī leader, to al-Barrānī, 15 Jumādā II 1318 / 10 October 1900. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 102-4.
49. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to al-Barrānī, 3 Dhū al-qa°da 1318 / 22 February 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 105-6.
50. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to al-Barrānī, Dhū al-qa°da 1318 / February-March 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 107-9.
51. Aḥmad al-Rīfī, Sanūsī leader, to al-Barrānī, 12 Dhū al-ḥijja 1318 / 2 April 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 110-2.
52. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to al-Barrānī, 3 Dhū al-ḥijja 1318 / 24 March 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 113-5.

53. *Aqīd al-baḥr* [title-holder to the Wadai Sultanate] Ḥaqār to al-Barrānī, 1318 / 1900-1. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 116-7.
54. Aḥmad al-Rifī to al-Barrānī, 24 Ṣafar 1319 / 12 June 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 118-20.
55. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to al-Barrānī, 1 Rabī° II 1319 / 18 July 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 121-2.
56. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Biskrī to al-Barrānī, 1 Rabī° II 1319 / 18 July 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 123-5.
57. °Alwī, shaykh of Gulfey (Ghulfāy) village to al-Barrānī, Rabī° II 1319 / July-August 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 126-7.
58. Notables of Miyāsh (Miyā°isa), Awlād Sulaymān fraction, to al-Barrānī, 1319 / 1901-2. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 128-9.
59. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to al-Barrānī, 15 Jumādā I 1319 / 30 August 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 130-1.
60. Ḥabīb al-Tarqī to al-Barrānī, 3 Jumādā II 1319 / 17 September 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 132-3.
61. Aḥmad al-Rifī to Ibrāhīm al-Gharbī, 27 Jumādā II 1319 / 11 October 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 134-6.
62. Aḥmad al-Rifī to °Abd al-Qādir b. Muṣṭafā al-Abyad, Tuareg shaykh, 15 Sha°bān 1319 / 27 November 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 137-8.
63. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to °Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad and Kumalī b. Ḥamid, 15 Sha°bān 1319 / 27 November 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 139-40.
64. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Ḥaydar b. Ḥudu, Lamin b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. al-ḥājj Ibrāhīm, 15

- Sha[°]bān 1319 / 27 November 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 141-2.
65. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Hārūn b. al-Muṣṭafā, 15 Sha[°]bān 1319 / 27 November 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 143.
66. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Kalīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Barwī, 15 Sha[°]bān 1319 / 27 November 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 144-5.
67. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Ibrāhīm al-Gharbī, 17 Sha[°]bān 1319 / 29 November 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 146-7.
68. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to Ghawth b. °Abd al-Jalīl, leader of the Awlād Sulaymān, 19 Sha[°]bān 1319 / 1 December 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 148-9.
69. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Jalīl, 23 Sha[°]bān 1319 / 5 December 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 150-1.
70. Muḥammad al-Mahdī to °Alī b. *al-ḥājj* Muḥammad al-Ḥarāthī al-Tarabulsī, 25 Sha[°]bān 1319 / 7 December 1901. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 152-3.
71. Al-Barrānī and *al-ḥājj* Muḥammad al-Thānī to °Abd al-Qādir b. Muṣṭafā al-Abyaḍ, °Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad and Khanjarūt b. Ṭalḥa, Tuareg shaykhs, 1 Ramaḍān [Shawwāl] 1319 / 11 January 1902. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 157-9.
72. Muḥammad °Abd al-Raḥmān Qawran [Gawrang], sultan of Baguirmi, to al-Barrānī, 1319 / 1901-2. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 171-2.
73. Muḥammad °Abd al-Raḥmān Qawran to al-Barrānī, n.d. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 173-5.
74. Aḥmad al-Sharīf, general letter concerning al-Mahdī's death, 3 Rabī[°] I 1320 / 10 June 1902, *A[°]ṭār*, 104-5 [which incorrectly dates it to 1 Muḥarram], *Dajjānī, al-Ḥaraka al-Sanūsiyya*, 345-6, text and translation by J. Spaulding in *SAJHS*, 2, 113-25.

75. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to Muḥammad al-Mawhūb and °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shinqīṭī, 12 R[amaḍā]n 1320 / 13 December 1902. Facsimile in al-Ashhab, *al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī*.
76. Muḥammad °Abd al-Raḥmān Qawrān to Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ and al-Barrānī, n.d. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Tchad 1900-1902*, 176-7.
77. Unknown sender to Muḥammad al-Mahdī. n.d. Text and translation in Jay Spaulding and Lidwien Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance. °Alī Dīnār and the Sanūsīyya, 1906-1916*, ms (Doc. 1).
78. Muḥammad °Ābid b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf to °Alī Dīnār, 23 Ramaḍān 1326 / 19 October 1908. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 2).
79. Muḥammad °Ābid al-Sanūsī to °Alī Dīnār, 27 Ramaḍān 1326 / 23 October 1908 [9 Shawwāl 1326 / 4 November 1908]. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 3).
80. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to °Alī Dīnār, 29 Dhū al-qa°da 1326 / 23 December 1908. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 4).
81. °Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf to °Alī Dīnār, 1 Dhū al-ḥijja 1326 / 25 December 1908. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 5).
82. Muḥammad °Ābid al-Sanūsī to °Alī Dīnār, 7 Dhū al-ḥijja 1326 / 31 December 1908. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 6).
83. Muḥammad °Ābid al-Sanūsī, addressee unknown (probably Dar Fur Sanūsī lodge), 7 Dhū al-ḥijja 1326 / 31 December 1908. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 7).
84. Muḥammad °Ābid al-Sanūsī to °Alī Dīnār, n.d. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 8).
85. Aḥmad al-Rīfī to °Alī Dīnār, 17 Shawwāl 1327 / 1 November 1909. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 9).

86. Muḥammad °Ābid to °Alī Dīnār, 29 Jumādā I 1328 / 8 June 1910. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 12).
87. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to °Alī Dīnār, 8 Sha°bān 1328 / 15 August 1910. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 10).
88. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to °Alī Dīnār, 15 Rabī° I 1329 / 16 March 1911. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 13).
89. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to *al-ḥājj* °Abd Allāh al-Kaḥḥāl, 2 Shawwāl 1329 / 26 September 1911. Facsimile and translation in Jean-Louis Triaud, *Les relations entre la France et la Sanūsīyya (1840-1930): Histoire d'une mythologie coloniale. Découverte d'une confrérie saharienne*, Thèse pour le doctorat d'état, Paris 1991, 1589, 1619-24.
90. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to Bonnel de Mézières, 10 Dhū al-qa°da 1329 / 2 November 1911. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Relations*, 1590-1, 1625-34.
91. Aḥmad al-Sharīf to °Alī Dīnār, 25 Muḥarram 1330 / 15 January 1912. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 14).
92. Muḥammad °Ābid to °Alī Dīnār, 27 Muḥarram 1330 / 17 January 1912. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 15).
93. Muḥammad °Ābid to °Alī Dīnār, 27 Muḥarram 1330 / 17 January 1912. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 16).
94. °Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī to °Alī Dīnār, 1 Ṣafar 1330 / 21 January 1912. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 17).
95. Muḥammad Idrīs b. al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī to °Alī Dīnār, 10 Shawwāl 1330 / 22 September 1912. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 18).
96. Muḥammad Hilāl b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf to [°Alī Dīnār], n.d. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 20).

97. Muḥammad Makkī b. °Abd Allāh Šāliḥ Ruz to °Alī Dīnār, n.d. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 21)
98. °Abd Allāh b. al-Fāḍil, shaykh of the Sanūsī lodge and *qā'im-maqām* of Borku, to the French Commander in Wadday. Translation of 23 October 1912 in BIF, 6004 MS (2), Glauco Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français au Tchad (1897-1914). La Confrérie senoussie et le commerce trans-saharien*. Paris, 1987, 156-7.
99. Al-Titiwa, *qā'im-maqām* of Sanūsī Borku to the French Government representative in Wadday, 15 Dhū al-qa'da 1330 / 26 October 1912. Translation of 4 November 1912 in BIF, 6004 MS (2), Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français*, 158-9.
- 100 Muḥammad al-Bey, Sanūsī representative in Borku, to the French Government representative in Wadday. Translation of 4 November 1912 in BIF, 6004 MS (2), Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français*, 159-60.
- 101 °Abd al-Raḥīm b. Šāliḥ Abū Maṭārī, of Fezzan, to °Alī Dīnār, 2 Muḥarram 1333 / 20 November 1914. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 22).
- 102 The *qā'im-maqām* of Borku to the French *chef de bataillon* in Wadday, 8 Muḥarram 1331 / 18 December 1912. Translation of 13 January 1913 in BIF, 6004 MS (2), Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français*, 162-3.
- 103 The *qā'im-maqām* of Borku to General Hirtzman, French commander of Chad, etc., 30 Muḥarram 1331 / 9 March 1913. Translation of 15 March 1913 in BIF, 6004 MS (2), Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français*, 163-5.
- 104 Muḥammad al-Bay, Sanūsī *wakīl* of Borku, and Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir, Ottoman Governor, to Lieutenant d'Arada, representative of the French Government, 4 Rabī' I 1331 / 11 February 1913. Translation of 18 February 1913 in BIF, 600 MS (2), Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français*, 167-8.
- 105 Muḥammad Idrīs b. al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī to French Minister of Colonies, 11 Jumādā I 1331 / 18 April 1913.

- Translation Archives d'Outre-Mêr, Aix-en-Provence, 5 D 20, Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français*, 170-1.
- 106 Sanūsī Shitawī, *qā'im-maqām* of Borku to the French Colonel of Borku, commander of Wadday, 20 April 1913. Free translation of 12 May 1913 in BIF, 6004 MS (3), Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français*, 174-6.
- 107 Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī to Colonel Largeau, 29 Rajab 1332 / 23 June 1914. Translation of 21 November 1914 in BIF, 6004 MS (5), Ciammaichella, *Libyens et Français*, 179-80.
- 108 Unknown, to Aḥmad al-Sharīf, 1333/1915. Translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 23).
- 109 Unknown, in Kufra, to °Alī Dīnār, 23 Jumādā I 1333 / 8 April 1915. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 24).
- 110 Ḥamād al-Qadhāfī, °Umar b. °Abd al-Sayyid, Muḥammad Bū °Abd Allāh Muftāḥ Bū Karīm of Kufra to °Alī Dīnār, 23 Jumādā I 1333 / 8 April 1915. Text and translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 25).
- 111 Mehmet V, Ottoman sultan to Aḥmad al-Sharīf, 21 Jumādā II 1333 / 6 May 1915. Facsimile and translation in Triaud, *Relations*, 1593-4, 1635-8.
- 112 Muḥammad °Ābid to °Alī Dīnār, 27 Dhū al-ḥijja 1333 / 5 November 1915. Translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 27).
- 113 Unknown (°Alī Dīnār) to Aḥmad al-Sharīf, 23 Rabī° I 1334 / 29 January 1916. Translation in Spaulding and Kapteijns, *An Islamic Alliance*, ms (Doc. 30).

In addition, we know of some archival sources for Sanūsī letters.:

- School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London, Arab mss. 42783: *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī; Rasā'il li'l-Sanūsī*.
- Markaz buḥūth wa-dirāsāt al-Jihād al-Lībī, Tripoli, manuscript collection: A collection of eleven letters to and from Muḥammad b. °Alī al-Sanūsī and Muḥammad al-

Mahdī, originally from the Ghadames library (Remko ter Laan, *Plaatsbepaling van de Sanūsiyya-orde in de 19e eeuwse islam. Ideologie en praktijk van de oprichter der orde, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī*, Amsterdam, 1981).

The Archivio Storico del Ministero dell’Africa Italiana, Roma, contains a number of letters taken from Sanūsīs during the war.

A quick survey has located these:

- 134/6: Aḥmad al-Sharīf to Ibrāhīm Pāshā, after 1323/1905
- 137/1: Aḥmad al-Sharīf to the Italians, 1911.
- 146/1: Anonymous to Aḥmad al-Sharīf, 1323/1905.
- 146/1: ʿAlī al-Maḥjūb to Ḥasan al-Biskrī, 1326/1908.

In the Bergen Photographic collection there are two letters from a later period,

- NI 146. 13/8: Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī to Majdhūb Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Majdhūb, 25 Rajab 1350 / 16 March 1932, with reply in the margin.
- NI 147. 13/9: Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī to Muḥammad Majdhūb b. Jalāl al-Dīn, 18 Dhū al-ḥijja [year missing].