

A Historiographical Study of Four Works

of al-Ḥājj 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr

of Kete-Krachi

(ca 1850 - 1934)

by

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Abstract

Modern African historians have agreed that the use of indigenous African Muslim historical writings is an important tool for modern interpretation of African history because the majority of source materials that have been previously relied on for the interpretation of African history are for the most part inadequate in giving Africa's view point of its past.

This thesis is basically concerned with a study of one representative of the indigenous African Muslim historians in the context of general historiographical studies on Africa. Four works of the author are translated and studied in an attempt to assess their value for the understanding of African history of the times and places mentioned by the author in his works.

THE STUDY OF THE WORKS OF ALHĀJJ 'UMAR OF KETE-KRACHI

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A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF FOUR WORKS
OF AL-HAJJ 'UMAR IBN ABI BAKR
OF KETE-KRACHI

by

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I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study in historiographical methodology in the sense that an attempt is made to translate, to study and to analyse four historical poems written in Hausa and Arabic by an indigenous African Muslim historian. The author is al-Ḥājj 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr of Kete-Krachi, a Ghanaian Muslim of Northern Nigerian descent who lived in Salaga and Kete-Krachi in Ghana in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The aim of this study is to understand the forms of literary expression which the author used to present historical material.

The four poems are one in Hausa entitled Lābārin Nasāra and three poems in Arabic entitled Mashrā' mā' al-Khabar li wārid wāriduhā bil-nazar; Naẓm al la'ālī bi akhbār wa tanbīh al Kirām and 'A Mayya Shāqatka hatta sirta ḥayrāna.

The authenticity of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's poems has been established by Professors Hodgkin, Martin and Wilks.¹ More information on the four poems has been gathered from the manuscripts used, from the works of Wilks, Martin and Hodgkin and from brief description provided on the Arabic Collections of the Institute of African Studies, (University of Ghana, serial numbers IAS/AR) given by I. Wilks and J.J. Holden.²

In all the Arabic manuscripts used, the author used the maghribi abjad system to provide the dates of their composition. He gives the date of Mashrā' as 1317 A.H., 9th Muḥarram / May 1899; that of Nazm as 1318 A.H. / 1900-1 and that of 'A Mayya as 1326 A.H. / February 4th, 1908. There is no indication that the author provided any date for the Lābāri, but in a version of this poem, serial number IAS/AR 370, the copyist Yaḥya ibn 'Abdal-Mu'min attributes the authorship to al-Ḥājj 'Umar and gives the date of composition as 1321 A.H. / 1903.

All our external sources confirm the authenticity of the four poems.³ The Nazm is classified as IAS/AR 139, Mashrā' as IAS/AR 417, 'A Mayya as IAS/AR 117 and Lābāri as IAS/AR 370. Other copies of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works (University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies Numbers) IAS/AR 43 and IAS/AR 109 (vi) which I have examined indicated that these are to all intents and purposes identical to manuscript IAS/AR 370. In this thesis however, I used IAS/AR 43 simply because it provides clearer copy. The other manuscripts were used to confirm the text of IAS/AR 43.

The reliability of all the manuscripts used appears good. With regard to the Lābāri for example, each of the manuscripts numbers 43, 370, and 109 (vi) seems to have been copied by a different scribe yet variations in the text are only of minor significance and there is no discernible

corruption in the text. For the rest, ¹A Mayya is apparently a unique copy. Thus one may infer that this manuscript is in the script of the author, especially since its calligraphy resembles that of number 43 version of the Lābāri. The copy of Nazm used in this study seems to have been made by a scribe, likewise the version of Mashrā'. This particular manuscript which according to Wilks and Holden was collected from Mallam Shahāb of Nsawam, Ghana could be a copy of the original work made by this man. The original copies of Nazm and Mashrā' have not been available to me.

In all the manuscripts used, there is no system of punctuation and in Nazm and Lābāri there is no indication of paragraphs. Some form of division is discernible in ¹A Mayya and Mashrā'. In the main therefore any punctuation or division, such as have appeared in the translation, excepting those mentioned have been provided by me.

All the manuscripts used are heavily vowelled; this is particularly necessary in the case of the Hausa work where no standardized form of transliteration has been established but the author has provided vowels in the Arabic manuscripts also; this was necessary to indicate the pronunciation of proper names. The problem of transliteration is one to which there is no entirely satisfactory answer. The method followed in this work is to retain the scribe's spelling in the Arabic or Hausa as the case may be. Where an accepted spelling exists

or where a modern name exists these have been provided. The system of transliteration followed is that usually adopted in the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. Any deviations are due to unnoticed errata on my part.

I should mention that in undertaking this study and in selecting the four poems for translation I took into account previous research on the author which indicated that his works are important for the study of West African history. I noted for example Hodgkin's assertion that al-Ḥājj 'Umar's major contribution "might be described as making poetry the vehicle of social commentary, social criticism and reflections on the history of his time"⁴. I noted also Martin's remark on Nazm and Mashrā' that "They are important as literary evidence of the feelings and views of West African Muslims towards Europeans in the colonial period and as such merit translation and publication"⁵. Thus when I decided to study al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works, I aimed at using only those poems which revealed some aspects of the History of West Africa of his times. Thus I chose also apart from Nazm and Mashrā', the Hausa poem, Lābāri and the other Arabic work, 'A Mayya. I considered Lābāri important because it deals with the same theme as Nazm and Mashrā' and yet appears to be more detailed than these two. I also considered it necessary to translate it because this work has been wrongly described elsewhere as a poem dealing with the harmful effects of the European conquests of West

Africa.⁶ In actual fact this poem presents a contrary view to that expressed in the Mashrā' and Nazm; thus it also merits translation since it expresses the change of attitude taken later by West African Muslims towards the Europeans during the colonial period. I chose 'A Mayya mainly on account of the information given on the political situation in Gambaga in Northern Ghana which I considered interesting for historical analysis.

Another factor that influenced my choice of the four poems is that I wanted to translate those works of al-Ḥājj 'Umar whose full translations have not yet appeared in any published works. When I began my study I was aware of the major researches on the author by Hodgkin, Martin and Wilks. I was also aware of Martin's translation of two historical poems of the author the Tal Manāfi'a fī dhikr al munāza'a and Tanbīh al ikhwān fī dhikr al ahzān and his part translation of Nazm, all of which appeared in Salaga: The Struggle for power by J.A. Brimah and J.R. Goody. I was not aware, however, until after completing my full translation of Nazm that a previous translation of this poem has been made by Sallah Ibrahim of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.⁷ Nevertheless, since this work has not been available to me and since there is bound to be differences in any case, I have included this poem also in my translation and study.

My perusal of the researches by Wilks, Hodgkin and Martin led me to the conclusion that while Wilks and Hodgkin studied al-Ḥājj 'Umar in the context of the development of the tradition of Muslim historical writing in Ghana, Martin's first work⁸ dealt with the general category of Arabic materials relevant for Ghanaian history and that his later work was concerned with a specific problem, namely the Salaga Civil war of 1892, which necessitated his translations of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's two works dealing with that subject.

This thesis takes a different line of approach in that an attempt is made to study al-Ḥājj 'Umar's historical method. The selection of the works translated in this thesis has therefore been guided by two principles, (1) historical importance and (2) previous translation. Thus no translation has been made of the two equally important historical poems of the author which deal with the Salaga Civil war because they have already been translated in full and published elsewhere.⁹ Also since the present study aims at studying al-Ḥājj 'Umar's historical method, out of the fifteen works I have examined, I chose for English translation only those four which lend themselves to historical analysis. Excepting the translations mentioned above, none of the remaining works chosen for this study has been translated in any published work, to the best of my knowledge.

As a study in modern African Historiography, this

thesis will first attempt to give a general background to the reasons and situations in the past which gave rise to new approach to African history. With this aim in view, therefore, the first chapter deals with the rationale underlying modern approaches to African history: it then attempts to evaluate the various techniques used by modern African historians and places the present study in the context of those techniques. The second chapter connects al-Ḥājj 'Umar's writings with one of those techniques, namely the use of indigenous African Muslim Sources. As the poems of al-Ḥājj 'Umar are the sources used for this study, the author's life and accomplishments are outlined in this chapter to provide a background for the analysis of his four poems in the third chapter. The third chapter presents a critical analysis of the poems, in terms of contents, style and methodology and draws conclusions about the author's contribution or lack of contribution to history and historiography. All this is done in the context of indigenous African Muslim historical writings, the general category of Muslim historical writings and the general discipline of historical studies. In an appendix facsimile copies and translations of the poems are attached.

At the risk of being repetitious, I would stress that my aims are two, 1) to evaluate the contribution of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works to our knowledge of African history and

2) to illustrate the historical use that can be made of works such as al-Ḥājj ʿUmar's. It is hoped that however fragmentary this study will indicate the value of and the use of similar materials for future research on African history and will serve the purpose also of bringing to the open a wisdom that has hitherto been lying dormant. As the Akan people of Ghana would say. "Wisdom is not a treasure to be tied down and hidden."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN AFRICAN HIST^oRIOGRAPHY

In the main, modern African hist^oriography has been motivated by a sincere desire on the part of scholars to appreciate some aspects of Africa's past which they consider to have been neglected or misrepresented. The main impetus for their approach has, however, been provided by the political consciousness that has characterized modern African states for the last decade. As many Africans became independent of their colonial "masters" they began to re-examine and re-evaluate aspects of their culture which has formerly been dominated by the colonial cultures. They sought to revive their past to provide a national consciousness and an inspiration for the future and hence the establishment in many African un^versities, centres for African studies and research which have in turn provided the main backbone for modern African hist^oriography. Without the devotion of the scholars in these research centres modern African hist^oriography would not have made the significant strides of the last decade; yet it is the new political consciousness which made the modern hist^oriographer aware of the necessity of a new approach to African history.

Prior to this new approach the majority of the sources that were relied on for the interpretation of African history of the period before the first European voyages

of discovery and exploration came mainly from medieval Arab chroniclers. Yet during their long association with Africa since their conquest of Egypt in 639 A.D., the Arabs tended to ignore the uniqueness of the African. He was interesting to them only as a Muslim. Thus for example in the late tenth century Ibn Hawqal who was one of the only medieval Arab writers whose work had survived to visit the Sudan, remarked inter alia that:

I have not described the country of the blacks and other peoples of the torrid zone because naturally loving wisdom, ingenuity, religion, justice and regular government, how could I notice such people as these or magnify them by inserting account of their countries?"¹⁰

The assumption underlying Ibn Hawqal's statement is that the people he visited had none of the qualities and institutions he claimed to love. His attitude was typical of other Arab chroniclers as Cornevin observed when he remarked on their chronicles that "their value comes mainly from their diversity. But since they were written by educated Muslims who were often fanatics, their judgements are coloured by their faith: the good rulers were the good Muslims and the bad rulers those who like Soumi Ali in the fifteenth century persecuted educated Muslims".¹¹

In spite however of their biased nature such chronicles formed the basis of historical works on Africa until the journals of discovery and exploration took precedence

over them. Henceforward historical works on Africa relied on these journals but almost the same attitude continued to prevail. Trimingham for example testifies their similarity to the Arab chronicles when he observed that both the journalists and the chroniclers "were impressed by the bizarre and extravagant, the pomp of the Negro courts, the crudities of the people; they were interested in trade and commerce; they list names of many peoples and villages; but the life even of those they saw tell us little."¹² Thus it is not surprising that as late as the 1930's a remark similar to Ibn Hawqal's if not exactly the same is echoed by none other than Coupland who has himself written a book on African history¹³ and was sometime ago a distinguished Oxford professor of colonial history. According to Coupland, "the main body of Africans . . . had stayed for untold centuries, sunk in barbarism, . . . stagnant, neither going forward nor going back."¹⁴ Hence the remark of Roland Oliver, himself a member of the class of historians that could be considered as modern African historians is an apt description of the state of historiography on Africa prior to the modern approach. According to Roland Oliver "before about 1945 there was very little interest in African history. In America, Buell's *The Native Problem in Africa* stands out as a lonely exception, even as regards to the colonial period. And in the Universities of Western Europe, the only kind of history that bore

upon Africa was colonial history, in which Africa had only a meagre part. In most universities colonial history meant the colonial outreach of only one European nation-state, so that British, Frenchmen, Belgians, Portuguese, Germans and Italians all studied different small portions of Africa and were generally content to remain largely ignorant about the rest. Even within these narrow geographical spheres, study was centred upon the history of European activities in exploration, trade, government and missionary work."¹⁵

Viewed thus from this perspective, historiography on Africa made little development from the era of the Arab chroniclers until recent times. This raises an interesting problem: given the inadequacies of earlier writings on African history, what can the modern African historian use to reconstruct the past? An attempt will be made in the succeeding sections to evaluate the whole range of source materials including oral traditions, archaeology, linguistics and ethnography as a general background and justification for the use of written documents such as have been utilized for the purpose of the present study.

EVALUATION OF SOME TECHNIQUES IN MODERN AFRICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

(i) Oral Traditions

Modern approach to African historiography has found it necessary to utilize African oral traditions because it was realized that oral traditions could help to confirm the findings of the Ethnographers, the Linguistics, the Archaeologists as well as clarify points in indigenous African Muslim writings. In this later case it has been found that the authors also used oral traditions and employed some methods which had recently been developed by modern historians. Levtzion for example informs us in his discussion of the earliest indigenous African Muslim writings, the Tārīkh et Fattāsh of Ka'ti and Tārīkh el-Sūdān of Al-Sa'dī that "two elements are prominent in these Tārīkhs: (a) recording of contemporary events, and (b) extensive usage of oral traditions. In their treatment of oral traditions, the authors of the Tārīkhs had already used some methods which have recently been developed by modern historians. They questioned the authority of those who transmitted the traditions, tried to compare different versions of the same tradition, and enquired of people from different parts of the Western Sudan. They investigated linguistic data, and interpreted the traditions on the background of the existing socio-political system and current customs.¹⁶ In the same article Levtzion

informs us that later indigenous African Muslim historians of Northern parts of Ghana and Nigeria also followed the same pattern of combining oral traditions with contemporary record of events.¹⁷ It is necessary therefore to examine the nature of oral tradition itself as understood by the African people and assess its use as a source for modern African historiography.

In an essay on oral tradition Biobaku once remarked that "it is a truism to say that all people live their history; but those who do not write it down live it more consciously than those who do".¹⁸ This statement is true if one considers the fact that for the majority of non-literate Africans, oral traditions are part and parcel of their daily life. It is the basis of their politico-social as well as religious life. In what is called ancestor worship, ancestors are invoked to give succor to their family descendants, to bring abundance of health and children. They are considered as guardians of this life and their mystical qualities invoked to serve as examples for the living and the yet unborn. When a man achieves success in life or acquits himself well in accordance with the ethics of the society he is said to be worthy of his ancestors and in the moments of failure is considered to be unworthy of them. Thus the mystical invocation of the ancestors is not confined to the great ones of the society, the humble folks likewise do invoke the qualities of their ancestors and the permanence of this lineage is thus

also a method of family archive.

Oral traditions are used also for settling land disputes, for succession to the office of chieftaincy as well as other methods of transition of power. When conflicting claims are made for certain portions of land the people often narrated the ancestry history and the movement and migrations of the tribes to determine which particular tribe has the rightful claim to the land. Oral tradition is thus an important aspect of African traditional life. In various African societies there are certain class of people who specialize in traditional history. Among the Akan of Ghana for example where different chiefs are elected to cater for certain specialisms, it is the chief of recitation Akyeamehene who is responsible for keeping the records of the nation. "There were songs of praise about the exploits of past men, the battles they have won, the people they have conquered and their outstanding characteristics. He supervised persons who were specially trained in the preservation of such details and had much exercise in their composition in literary form. Moral and didactic pieces were also preserved and handed down from singer to singer."¹⁹

Among the Yorubas of Nigeria it is the custom that the Obas (chiefs) retain professional oral historians, the palace drummers and ballad singers - the Arokin and the Onirara - who chant praise poems and recite dynastic lists

with consummate skill, are usually carefully trained and their office is nearly always hereditary.²⁰

The Hausa tribes of Northern Nigeria have also their specialists in oral traditions. It is rather strange that the epithet used to describe them is not commensurate with the functions of their office. They are known generally as the Marōka (sing - Marōki) litt - beggars. For the purpose of their function we may call them "praise singers" also since this is what they do in fact and are also specialists in the details of ancestor history as is common among many other African people.

The place of oral tradition seen in the role it plays in the socio-political and religious life of the African people and in the specialisms of the praise singers is significant in that it forms part of the thought of living men and hence part of their social life which the modern historian can observe and utilize.

There are however some difficulties in the very nature of oral traditions and in the changes of society which have frustrated the modern historian's dependance on oral tradition. Biobaku's description is apt and illustrative of multiplicity of the problems inherent in oral tradition:

"The problem of traditional history is manifold, there is difficulty of obtaining evidence by one who wishes to fashion history out of traditional accounts. As these accounts depend upon memories and memory, being imperfect, often ignores unpleasant facts when it makes its inevitable selection of events."²¹

Situations like these led Fage to the observation that "much oral tradition cannot be history of the kind that is elsewhere revealed from a study of contemporary documents. Oral tradition, (Fage observes), is often in reality an explanation, in quasi-historical or legendary terms, of existing or currently relevant past social or socio-political relationships."²² Thus also at the Conference of the Fourth International African Seminar held at Dakar in 1961 it was noted that:

"The analysis of the functions and roles which traditional organizations still play in modern society and of the changes they undergo as a result of social deformation and organization shows how far traditions can be influenced, even degraded, by the changes in the surroundings in which they are transmitted."²³

Nevertheless since the modern African historiographer has found it relevant to utilize oral traditions a device had to be evolved to make them useful. Accordingly the Africanist conference at Dakar suggested that "the usual rules of historical method and critique may be applied to oral as well as to written sources."²⁴ These include external criticism such as the modes of transmission and the internal criticism of the contents of the traditions themselves. All these require the cooperation of other disciplines such as linguistics, archaeology, ethnography and the use of written documents. It is only through the comparison of data in these fields that the modern African historian can make full use of the African oral traditions.

(ii) Ethnology

In the field of ethnology the main postulate is that by the observation of the life and custom of the contemporary Africans, the historian can make comparisons and deduce some historical facts. This is true in a sense, since there are in Africa many areas that have not been affected very much by the changes in society during the colonial period. In this field therefore the co-operation of the ethnographer with the historian is very essential. This fact has been recognized by the modern African historians who have argued that "no historian can effectively explore the past of a culture without knowing it as it is, and it is precisely the task of the ethnographer to provide this description and analysis."²⁵ Vansina in an essay on the use of ethnographic data as source for history, noted that "every feature of culture has a relation to a total which can be expressed with regard to its role in maintaining or altering the cohesion of the culture. One way then of analysing cultural data is to investigate their structural-functional relationship to the whole, and the analysis is one of the techniques historians can use".²⁶ He points out further in the same essay that "it would be impossible for a society to reject suddenly half of the ways of its ancestors and take over half from another culture, because the minimum of cohesion without which people cannot live would not be maintained. Even

during so-called revolutionary periods, when the nature of the cohesion changes rapidly there is still minimal cohesion at every point as the historically known examples show empirically. Thus it can be said that every culture has one ancestor and one ancestor only at its core, its way of being cohesive is derived from one former core and former cohesion. If this is granted it follows that cultures like languages have ancestor cultures in common with other cultures and that it may be possible from a common list of features present in the daughter cultures to infer some of the characteristics of their ascendant."²⁷ Viewed from this perspective ethnographical data can be very useful for modern reconstruction of African past. There are instances however when over estimation of functional ethnography has prevented the testing of basic assumption on which the field itself has long rested. The use of entities like "structure" and "society" are for example analogous to their use in biological sciences and these entities, though they have been found useful in the past have also proved to be highly dangerous.²⁸ Then also there is the fact that over emphasis on generalization leads ethnographers to make certain judgements of historical nature which are difficult to back by historical facts. An example is the observation of Eva Meyerovitz who tried to compare the ideas about divine kingship, religious, political and social institutions among the Akan people of

Ghana with those of Ancient Egyptians. Although her researches were not backed by any historical evidence she came to the conclusion that the Akans traced these ideas to ancient Egyptians.²⁹ In this case Eva Meyerovitz does not seem to have taken into account the wide geographical distance between Egypt and Ghana. Nevertheless when ethnographical researches take into account this geographical factor and restrict their conclusions to the situations with which they are dealing, some points of historical importance could be concluded as for example Vansina's observation that the examination of the Benin bronze plaques could give some information about Benin culture especially of its technology at the time of fabrication.³⁰

Despite the pitfalls therefore if ethnologists could redefine their terms to fit contemporary situations and restrict their generalizations, their findings could be useful as coordinating sources for use in modern African historiography.

Suggestions advanced for ethnology for it to be useful in this context include the following; namely that its enquiry should be diversified, since the probability in favour of a given hypothesis increases with the degree of of data stemming from different sources or relating to different aspects of culture. The ethnologist should therefore include in his researches an allowance for the geographical range of data in question, the examination of complexity, the importance and number of similarities and the

estimation of the probability of the spread or the importance of a postulated cultural complex with reference to the totality of cultures.³¹

(iii) Archaeology

The importance of archaeology for African history lies in the fact that it is about the only source of information concerning the remote past. The field of archaeology concerns itself with the interpretation of non-literary, tangible movements of ancient civilizations but its wider aim is the explanation of a movement or an object through historical method and for historical purposes. The movements of the past studied by the archaeologists are not merely genuine but concrete tangible documents that frequently prevent one from being led astray by the rhetoric or inexactitude of the literary texts. At the same time they may shed light upon certain features of the African civilization neglected in literature.³²

The contribution of archaeology to African history since the last decade has been immense: Among its discoveries in tropical Africa are the ruins in Nubia, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Gao, Es-Suk, Garamoumelé and Ngarzargam_u. It has also led to our knowledge of the artistic productions of pre-colonial Africa in the Yoruba art of Ife and numerous pottery from Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Chad and Mali.³³ Concomitant however with such discoveries are some limitations both in the nature of the discipline itself and the nature of the discovered materials which tend to limit the value of archaeological studies to modern African historiography.

In tropical Africa archaeologists have been limited in their researches both by the acidity of the soil and by termites. Then also even when discoveries are made the problem of dating the materials also becomes difficult. The fact of the discipline being in its elementary stages in tropical Africa where laboratories for studying the discovered materials are inadequate makes any detail study here an impossibility.³⁴ Archaeological studies have thus been limited to generalizing points about their discoveries. One could thus sum up their plight in Merrick Posnansky's statement that:

"There is an inherent danger of asking questions which cannot be answered and then answering them by inferences to conclusions which were never intended for wider application. Archaeology at best provides material information on technology of a people, their basic economy, possibly rough size of their social units, their burial practices and to a certain extent their artistic achievements. It cannot detail their social organizations, their language, religion or culture".³⁵

Despite Merrick Posnansky's statement however archaeology alone remains about the only source the historian has concerning Africa's remote past and in the more recent periods also it provides first rate information which must be verified by facts suggested by other sources.

(iv) Linguistics

The field of linguistics helps to discover Africa's past by language comparisons. It is the belief of the linguists that such comparisons could serve to portray aspects of Africa's past like the movement of peoples, borrowing of culture of one people by another, the extent of such cultural borrowings and the like. There is a justification then for the use of linguistic data for modern approach to African history as Vansina has observed that "it is the nature of cultural features that they are linked with linguistic expressions and it is often possible to evaluate linguistic data on their own and compare the conclusions with the result of the ethnographic study."³⁶ But linguistic research like ethnography if it should be useful should take into account the extent of geographical distance in drawing any conclusions from its data. Where for example a linguist is confronted with the study of "languages" like Twi, Fanti and Akim of Ghana which are not different as languages as such but only as dialectical differences a linguistic analysis could yield some points of historical significance as to the time when these languages or dialects separated from their original Akan form. But in a case where isolated vocabularies are encountered in one which are not found in another if the linguist should draw any conclusion that seeks to imply that the language with those isolated vocabularies is different

and does not therefore have common ancestor language with the others, this judgement would be tentative and at best could only be of general nature. Another example that could be cited is the apparent resemblance of certain words in common usage in Hausa and Swahili, both of which have thousands of words borrowed from Arabic and both languages of which have been immensely influenced by the Arabic culture. Here the only conclusion the linguist could draw is that these languages have been influenced by Arabic. He cannot make any other conclusions, judging from the geographical distances between the Swahili speaking people and the Hausas. If the linguist by virtue of the fact that he finds words in similar usage in both languages and as a result concludes that both Swahili and Hausa are related, his conclusions can be judged wrong. Happily none of the linguists have made such claims. At best therefore we could learn from the linguists the extent of cultural borrowing of one language to another but to say even that because certain groups of people speak the same language and therefore are homogenous will be a conclusion which needs to be supported by other evidence. Linguistic studies if co-ordinated properly with the findings of other disciplines could be useful for the modern approach to African history.

(v) Written Documents

Whatever may be the value of the findings of archaeology, ethnography and linguistics, oral traditions and written documents remain the most fundamental elements for the knowledge of Africa's past, especially since the latter is important for confirming the findings of the former. The value and the limitations of oral traditions as have previously been noted make written documents stand out as the only permanent resources which the modern historian has at his disposal.

As previously noted, however, the modern African historian has tended to be suspicious of written documents like the medieval Arab chronicles and the journals of discoveries and explorations; as a result and in reaction to which an approach has been evolved which seeks to utilize all other sources for better interpretation of African history. If this approach is distrustful of the Arab chronicles and the journals of the explorers, the only alternative left is the writings of the indigenous African historians which as we are told date back to the mid-sixteenth century,³⁷ and which are written in both Arabic and the local African languages. The importance with which the modern African historian views these sources stems from the fact that their writers though Muslim, were nonetheless Africans and as such as the events and situations they reported were immediately relevant

to them as Africans, their sources could be of great use in assessing how Africans saw their own history. Then also there is the contention that their use of oral tradition coupled with their written material could both be useful in critical historiography.

Since this research itself is concerned with a critical analysis of some works of one representative of such writers, the assessment of the value of the indigenous African Muslim historiography will be reserved for the conclusion in the third chapter where not only Al Ḥājj 'Umar's works but also the whole category of indigenous Muslim source material is assessed in the context of Muslim historiography and historiographical studies in general.

We have in the preceeding sections to this thesis noted the rationale underlying modern approach to African history. We have also noted the various techniques used by the modern African historian in his attempt to achieve objectivity and completeness in African history. In the succeeding chapters we shall attempt to evaluate the use of the indigenous African source materials by studying four poems written by one of the indigenous African Muslim historians, al-Ḥājj 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr of Kete-Krachi. In order to provide a background for our analysis of his four historical poems however we shall attempt in the next chapter to give a brief biography of the author, outlining his education and training, the role he played among his community and discuss also his major literary accomplishments in their chronological order.

NOTES ON CHAPTER I

1. Vide I.G. Wilks, "The Growth of Islamic Learning in Ghana" Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria Vol 2, No. 4, 1964. Thomas Hodgkin, "The Islamic Literary Tradition in Ghana" Islam in Tropical Africa ed. I.M. Lewis, International African Institute, Oxford, 1966 pp. 442-457. B.G. Martin, "Arabic Materials for Ghanaian History" Research Review, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Vol 2, No. 1, Michaelmas Term, 1965 pp. 74-83. B.G. Martin "Translations, Commentary and Introduction to Two Poems of al-Ḥājj 'Umar" in J.A. Brimah and J.R. Goody, Salaga: The Struggle for Power Longmans 1967, pp. 189-209.
2. I.G. Wilks and J.J. Holden, "Arabic Collections" Research Review Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana Vol 2, Lent Term, 1966 pp. 8-22; vol. 2, No. 3, Trinity Term, 1966 pp. 8-19.
3. Vide Wilks, Hodgkin and Martin, Supra.
4. Hodgkin, op.cit. p. 454
5. Martin, "Translations . . ." op.cit. p. 192.
6. Wilks and Holden, op.cit. Vol 2, No. 3, p. 18.

7. Information on this work was gathered from the Research Review, Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan, vol I, No. 1, July 1964, p. 9.
8. Martin, "Arabic Materials . . ." op.cit.
9. Ibid; "Translations . . ." op.cit; p. 191.
10. E.W. Bovill, (Quote), Caravans of the Old Sahara International Institute of African Languages and Culture, London, 1968 p. 84.
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16. N. Levtzion, "Reflections on Muslim Historiography in Africa" in "Emerging Themes . . ."; op. cit. p. 24.
17. Ibid; p. 25.
18. S.O. Biobaku, "The Problem of Traditional History with Special Reference to Yoruba Traditions" Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria; Vol I, Dec, 1956, p.43.
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20. Biobaku, op.cit; idem.
21. Ibid; p. 45.
22. J.D. Fage, "Some Notes on a Scheme for the Investigation of Oral Tradition in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast", Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol I, December 1956 p. 16.
23. J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L.V. Thomas (ed) The Historian in Tropical Africa; International African Institute, Oxford, 1964, p. 62.
24. Ibid; p. 60.
25. Ibid; p. 69.
26. J. Vansina "The Use of Ethnographic Data as Source for History" in "Emerging Themes . . ." op.cit. p. 102.

27. Ibid; p. 103.
28. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Anthropology and History, A Lecture, Manchester University Press, 1961, p.10.
29. Abraham, op.cit.; p. 40 (Quote).
30. Vansina, "The Use of Ethnographic Data . . ." op.cit. p. 99.
31. Vansina et al. op.cit.;pp. 69-72.
32. Jean Sauvaget, Introduction to the History of the Muslim East. University of California, Berkely 1965 pp. 57-58.
33. Vansina et al, pp. 65-69
34. Ibid;
35. Merrick Posnansky, "Archaeology: Its Use and Abuses" in Emerging Themes . . . op.cit.; p. 63.
36. Vansina, "The Use of Ethnographic Data . . ." in Emerging Themes . . . op.cit. p. 10.
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II

LIFE AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AL-ḤAJJ 'UMAR

Al-Ḥājj 'Umar, whose full name was Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn 'Uthmān, al-Kabbāwī, al-Kanawī, was according to his own account a Kebbi by origin and a native of Kano by birth and residence.¹ From this it is clear that his early life was spent in Kano and that he was by culture and upbringing a Hausa. It is not known exactly when he was born but his date of birth has been fixed around 1850 and he is said to have left Kano and settled at Salaga in the year 1876 and to have departed thence around 1894 on account of the civil war in that city around that time. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar settled at Kete-Krachi after his departure from Salaga and made a pilgrimage to Mecca about 1917. For the rest of his life he remained at Kete-Krachi where he made his permanent residence, dying there at an advanced age in 1934.

Al-Ḥājj 'Umar's background indicates that he was brought up in the tradition of the nineteenth century Muslim reformist movement of Northern Nigeria³ and that he was a descendant of the class of Kola traders from Northern Nigeria who since the mid-fifteenth century had lived from time to time in Salaga.⁴ The fact is confirmed by Wilks who informs us that al-Ḥājj 'Umar's father was engaged in the Kola trade between Kano and Salaga.⁵ We are told by Levzion that the

Fulani reformist movement was carried to Northern Ghana by the Hausa traders from Northern Nigeria in the nineteenth century. According to Levztzion,

"The influence of the Fulani Jihad, led by Uthman dan Fodio, was carried to this area by Hausa traders and Mallams. It is represented by al-ḥājj 'Umar of Salaga and Kete-Krachi. Al-ḥājj 'Umar himself came to Salaga after he had completed his studies in Hausa land. At Salaga, and then at Kete-Krachi he was surrounded by students, who now rank among leading personalities in communities throughout Ghana."⁶

Though we are here informed of Al-ḥājj 'Umar's background in a general sort of way, there is no information whatsoever in the sources examined, including al-ḥājj 'Umar's own writings which refer directly to the sort of education he had or even mention the teachers who taught him.

Though al-ḥājj 'Umar's biographers have noted among other things that he was not a great literary figure,⁷ examination of his works indicates that within the limit at least of his cultural environment he was a man of deep learning. He seems to have been well versed in ancient Arabic poetry,⁸ in Quranic Sciences, in Islamic laws, in philosophy and in geography. His knowledge of Arabic poetry is for example indicated throughout his writings by his use of infrequent and archaic Arabic words as will be seen in the facsimile copies of his works appended to this thesis. An even more convincing example is the way he stuck to the ancient Arabic mode of poetical expression as he himself says

in some of his works:

"Poetry begins with amatory words.
or praise of women or flattery and
this is an old custom with Arab poets
of the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic period -
this is the method every learned man follows
and our own work begins with that tradition."⁹

His interest in Quranic Sciences is exemplified by his many quotations from the Qur'^{ān},¹⁰ and especially by his references to the Egyptian Qur'^{ān}ic commentator 'Abdul-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505), whose works al-Ḥājj 'Umar seems to have been thoroughly familiar with.¹¹ He was conversant also with Islamic laws as shown in his mention of notable authors of Islamic laws like Bukhārī and Ibn Ḥanbal.¹² He was also at home with the ancient Greek as well as the Islamic philosophers. In one of his poems,¹³ he mentions the names of Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Ptolemy and Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), all of whom he recognized as people who saw the truth. Thus to realize this fact in spite of the fact of his orthodox Muslim upbringing and despite the fact that the ancient Greek philosophers were not Muslims, is in itself an element which goes to illustrate his depth of understanding. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar's geographical knowledge whether acquired through his readings, travelling or by means of oral tradition was immense. Most of his works, especially those examined for the purpose of this research, are not limited to the area of his settlement but consist of towns and cities from North Africa right through to places in Northern and Southern Nigeria

and Northern, Central as well as Southern Ghana. He furnishes further evidence of his acquaintance with the outside world by including such names as Paris, London, Bilbis (in Egypt) in one of his poems.¹⁴ Yet despite such vast accumulation of knowledge this man was very humble and his humility is evident throughout his works. He often refers to himself as the little student "who is drowning in the bottomless sea of folly and passion, unmindful to His Lord and even merits expulsion from the company of men of learning to the day of his death."¹⁵ He says of himself that he is an ignorant person, nothing to be hated and that he is not bothered by anyone who finds fault with him since he is aware of the fact that he only follows the examples of those who have favored truth as a source of their knowledge.¹⁶ In another poem al-Ḥājj 'Umar confesses that -

"I am a blind and unintelligent man
I do not know poetry but I am learning,
whoever sees any defect in this poem
should correct it without shame".¹⁷

Nevertheless al-Ḥājj 'Umar's intellectual achievements were widely recognized both among the Muslims of Ghana and in many parts of West Africa. The examination of his works indicates that he enjoyed a wide popularity from the time of his settlement at Salaga until his death: In an elegy to his son al-Ḥājj Labbu,¹⁸ the author gives illustration of his wide popularity when he informs us that among

those who attended his son's funeral were people from all over the Western Sudan; from Tuareg, Zerma, Kano, Zegzeg, Kebbi, Gobir and Dawra. According to al-Ḥājj 'Umar, "there came from every corner, letters and messages of condolence from noblemen and some of the messages were sent along with money and praise".¹⁹ We are told by Martin²⁰ that "al-Ḥājj 'Umar operated schools at various times in his life and was greatly respected and admired by his students." According to the same source a student of al-Ḥājj 'Umar by the name of Baraw al-Salghawi wrote a poem in honour of his master a partial translation of which is quoted below:

"Effusive thanks are due from 'Ali to his Shaykh
 He's the support of students, Ibn Abī Bakr
 my longing is for him, as long as night and day
 alternate
 There's no end to him, until the Day of Judgement;
 He's a sea of knowledge, unrivalled in his time . . .
 The Shaykh of Shaykhs, Abu Muhammad, the patient,
 We sip from the ocean of his learning,
 There we slake our thirst."²¹

In an untitled poem²², which the author composed in praise of some people who were generous to him, the author gives us some idea about his general popularity among the Ghanaian Muslim communities. Among the people he mentioned are Bāwa, Ibrāhīm, Mallam Barraw, Yūsūf the son of Imām, Ankara Kojo, al-Ḥājj 'Uthmān, Mubarrak, "our son, grandson and disciple", Abūbakr, etc. etc. There is also in the same poem a portion dedicated to Sallaw,²³ the Sarki (chief) of the Hausa people in Kumasi. This chief seems to have been

particularly favoured by al-Ḥājj 'Umar on account of his qualities of 'respect, generosity, taciturnity, handsomeness, elegance, humanity, flexibility and piety'.²⁴ Al-Ḥājj 'Umar dedicated two other poems especially to Sallaw.²⁵ It is however in the untitled poem referred above that the author himself gives some information about his disciples.

We are informed elsewhere that al-Ḥājj 'Umar was also influential in the circles of the Ghanaian mystical order of the Tijānniya and that he was even a muqqadam (local leader) of this order.²⁶ The same source indicates further that al-Ḥājj 'Umar was formerly a Qādārī prior to his pilgrimage to Mecca but that he returned to Ghana after his pilgrimage as a Tijāni, having been initiated into that order by Alfā Ḥashim, a nephew of al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal (1794-1864), the Segun reformer who gave strong resistance to the French colonialists.²⁷

Al-Ḥājj 'Umar's "conversion" from Qādārī order to the Tijāni raises certain problems about his motives, since both orders are recognized by Muslims. In the first place the fact that he was converted by a nephew of al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal may imply that our author was impressed by the strong resistance given by al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal to the French colonialists. Then also when we consider the author's own expressed reactions towards the colonialists in two of his works Nazm and Mashrā' (to be examined in detail in Chapter III), the implications may appear justified, yet there are

strong reasons that lead us to conclude otherwise. We see for example in another work of al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Lābārin Nasāra (also studied in detail in Chapter III) an attitude which is expressive of the author's appreciation of the colonialists. Judging from the fact that works expressing reactions to the colonialists were composed between 1899 and 1900-1 when the colonial rule was in the process of being instituted, the fact that the Lābārin Nasāra was composed in 1903 and the fact that al-Ḥājj 'Umar's conversion to the Tijāni order happened at the time of his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1917, during which time the colonial rule was already a fait accompli, we would not be reasonable if we attributed any political motivation to al-Ḥājj 'Umar's conversion. Moreover it has been noted elsewhere that in Ghana "The Tijāniyya has remained for the most part apolitical The Tijāniyya was introduced in the Gold Coast very much divorced from its militant tradition under al-Ḥājj 'Umar (Tal). Popularized by the Hausas, little was known of the Segu reformer, and the form it took was remarkably close to the pacific role intended by Aḥmad al-Tijāni for his ṭarīqa. Likewise it was accepted by a cross section of mallams and elders who were in no way alienated from their followers and who had no cause to take on the militancy or secrecy that has been attractive elsewhere among the family of al-Ḥājj 'Umar (Tal) or in the area of his old empire. Secondly the number of

the Muslims in Ghana and the percentage of Tijānis among them has never been great. Their concentration in the north where they have been undisturbed or ignored, the only recent (past generation) widespread acceptance of the tarīqa and the many languages involved have all militated against the organization and the need for it."²⁸

What then, one is tempted to ask is the real reason behind al-Ḥājj 'Umar's conversion. Our source seeks to attribute it to the quest of wealth and cites as a testimony a certain Abdulahi Tānu who is said to have dropped his affiliations to the Tijāni order after finding that al-Ḥājj 'Umar was involved in it only for its monetary rewards.²⁹ From our own experiences with the order as it functions in Ghana, there does not seem to be any evidence to prove that adherents to the Tijāni order necessarily contributed monies to their leader. Thus despite the fact that although al-Ḥājj 'Umar composed panegyrics in honour of his benefactors, we disagree with the view that such mundane considerations like money had anything to do with al-Ḥājj 'Umar's conversion. Moreover there are evidences in the author's works to refute the contention that he was interested in monetary acquisition as for example in the Mashrā' where the author warns Muslims thus:

"O Muslims do not be foolish
among yourselves, nor savages unto each other:
Rather stick to the rightful sunna
and do not be inclined to the quest of wealth"

Thus in trying to find the real reason for al-Ḥājj 'Umar's conversion there is no suitable explanation than in the reply given by the founder of the order in Western Sudan, al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal to a person who asked him how a saint who came later, namely Tijāni could be superior to other saints who came before him, to which question al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal replied that just as the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad was favoured by God over Abraham, Moses and Jesus so is Tijāni favoured over other saints.³¹ The implication here being that just as Islam is considered by Muslims as God's final answer to man's religious quest so should the Tijāni order be considered God's final answer to man's mystical quest. Thus we may conclude that al-Ḥājj 'Umar's conversion can only be attributable to his religious conviction that it was by joining this order that he could better perfect his faith as a Muslim mystic.

Whatever may be said of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's activities in the Tijāniyya mystical order, it still is a fact that he enjoyed a wide popularity among the Ghanaian Muslim communities. Stewart tells us that "his contacts in Ghana were wide-spread as his travelling and today men speak proudly of knowing or studying under al-Ḥājj 'Umar of Kete-Krachi, in Tamale, Dodowa, Kumasi and Cape Coast . . . He's known in Tamale and in consequence war, (fight?) for his part in the controversy of the 1930's between the orthodox and the Ahma-

diyya, as the new sect was being established.³¹ Thus taking account of his popularity and the fact that most of his writings, ranging from about 1877 to 1932 reflect the history of the early period of the colonial era from an African Muslim view point, al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works could be considered an important source for modern interpretation of West African history of that era. The succeeding chapter will study four representative works of the author to find out the extent to which they help or do not help our knowledge of that period. Before this however, we shall end this chapter with a discussion of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's literary accomplishments from the time of his settlement at Salaga until his death at Kete-Krachi.

There is no definite knowledge about al-Ḥājj 'Umar's total literary output,³² but we are told by Martin that about forty compositions in Arabic and Hausa are known, and that most of these can be found in the collection of Arabic manuscripts at the University of Ghana, Legon; at the University of Idaban Library; in the Arabic collection of the Jos Museum, Jos Northern Nigeria and the National Archives at Kaduna.³³

All our external sources agree that al-Ḥājj 'Umar's first literary works are some two religious poems modelled from their classical authors by the author; these works are entitled Kitāb Zuhud wal Wasīya and Tarbī' al-Burda. A third work also composed about the same period was that on the art

of letter writing entitled Kitāb sarḥat al warīqa fī'ilm al wathīqa.³⁴ All the three works according to our sources were composed by the author in the year 1877, that is a year after his arrival at Salaga. This fact raises some problems about the author's original intention when he came to Salaga. We are told by Martin that al-Ḥājj 'Umar's work on the art of letter writing is one of the few examples of its kind from Western Sudan, which therefore suggests that he may have acted at some point in his career as a secretary to some local ruler.³⁵ If this is true we may infer that it was in this early period of his settlement that he acted as a secretary and that he came to Salaga with the intention of finding himself a patron in his capacity as a religious teacher since two of his earliest works were concerned with religious matters and since in one of the poems 'A Mayya Shāqatka examined in the next chapter he also informs us that he is a man with guidance for people and that his sole aim was to guide people to their obligations. For the next fifteen years after his first compositions al-Ḥājj 'Umar did not produce any literary work. The next time we hear of other works is in 1892 when he composed Tal al munāfi'a fī dhikr al munāza'a and Tanbīh al ikhwan fī dhikr al aḥzān which dealt with the theme of Salaga Civil war about that time. In these poems the author attributes the causes of the war to the ruling chief's perfidy on his person, his licentiousness and

the general moral decrepitude of the people which according to the author led to the civil war and the subsequent annihilation of Salaga city. We are told that as a result of the civil war al-Ḥājj 'Umar left Salaga for Kete-Krachi where he made his permanent residence. From the evidence gathered from our sources and from al-Ḥājj 'Umar's own works we are inclined to the view that his failure to further his career and the frustrations he encountered were all factors that weighed with his decision to leave Salaga and the subsequent views expressed in his two works on the civil war.

Briefly, the immediate cause of the civil war at Salaga was a dispute surrounding the succession to the Gonja divisional chieftaincy after the death of Kpemb-wura Bambanga of Sumbung. The chieftaincy which had hitherto rotated among three families known as "gates": Lepo, Sumbung and Kanyase had for sometime prior to the war been restricted to the Lepo and Sumbung families. After the death of Bambanga the choice fell on Muhammad Napo of the Lepo "gate" but his nomination was contested by the Kanyase faction. This claim led to the war and the eventual installation of the Kanyase claimant Yissifa (Yūsuf). The Salaga Muslims including al-Ḥājj 'Umar who had supported the Lepo claimant Muhammad, thus realized that the only alternative left to them was to withdraw from Salaga and they were even more pressed to do so on account of the fact that by the time of the war,

Salaga had ceased to be an important commercial centre as a result of both the wars between the Ashantis and the British which prevented the flow of trade to the interior and of the fact that a series of politicking between the colonial powers had finally resulted in the sacking and the final annihilation of Salaga and the emergence of more commercially important places like Kete-Krachi, Kintampo and Yeji. Thus as traders interested in peaceful atmosphere which was a necessary prerequisite for trade, the bulk of the Salaga Muslims could do nothing but to migrate to these places.³⁶ Yet despite such reasons, we see also from al-Ḥājj 'Umar's writings both his personal reaction to the situation as well as the attitude of a rather moralistic Muslim; a view point which seems to attribute the cause of the war and the subsequent annihilation of Salaga to the faults of the chiefs and the moral decrepitude of the inhabitants of Salaga.

Al-Ḥājj 'Umar's personal reaction which is indicative also of the chief's treachery to him is expressed in the following quote from Tal al munāfi'a

"We wished them only well,
But they wished us ill. God is our protector:
If one of our people came to us from among them.
We asked them the condition of our people,
Wishing them good things and remembrance.
This we did for love and longing
Not knowing that they spoke with two tongues,
Unaware that they intended harm to us
We acted by an old covenant,
But they employed a new one, twisting
What was between us"³⁷

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The fact also that al-Ḥājj 'Umar saw the whole cause of the war to be attributable to the irreligion of the people and the profligacy of their chief is also expressed in the two quotations below from the Tanbīh al ikhwān:

"
 They opposed their Lord, God, for
 They had rebelled against Him
 Disowned His ways, forgotten (them)
 To them His religion was a neglected thing
 They followed their whims, became corrupt and were
 Overproud . . ."38

Al-Ḥājj 'Umar says of the chief that when he was installed -

"
 He did just as he liked in full freedom
 He said: I'll collect women
 In fact, I'll do just as I like,
 I shall dance just as I want
 I'll do exactly what I please,
 Bad turns of fortune don't trouble me:
 In fact, I am destiny's favorite"39

From the moralistic Muslim point of view and from their inherited reformist tradition as expressed in 'Uthman dan Fodio's Bayān wujūb al-Hijra there was nothing to do but to withdraw from a place they considered to be morally depraved.

According to the view expressed by dan Fodio's book, "withdrawal from towns of the heathen is an essential duty both in the Koran and the Traditions, and in the consensus of the learned,"40 and so al-Ḥājj 'Umar and the Muslims withdrew but the fact remains that the gradual decline of the importance of Salaga as a commercial entrepot and the attendant anxiety, uncertainties and frustrations created by the Ashanti-British

wars during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the diversion of trade routes to the forest area centres like Kete-Krachi and Kintampo were also important aspects of the general situation that went with the "migration". The report of the leader of the German troops whose politicking with the British led to the final devastation of Salaga would at least seem to confirm this view:

"When Kabaki had fled, all the traders in Salaga came to me and begged to be allowed to migrate to Kete where they would be sure of the protection of the German government as they were tired of the uncertainties in Salaga"⁴¹

The details of Salaga civil war is a topic by itself that merits a complete thesis. The brief facts of the war have merely been provided in the attempt to give a general chronological order of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works according to their historical setting. From the time of his compositions on the Salaga civil war to about 1899 there was nothing written by the author. However, from this time onwards until two years before his death he produced works ranging from historical compositions expressing his reaction to European conquests of Western Sudan and some satirical as well as panegyric poems addressed to certain individuals. In the first decade of the twentieth century works composed by the author include the Mashrā' mā' al-khabar li wāridin wāriduha bi'l nazar, Naẓm al la'ālī bi akhbār wa tanbīh al Kirām, Lābārin Nasāra and 'A Mayya shāqatka hatta ẓirta ḥayrana, all of which are examined

detail in the next chapter. Other works composed about the same period are Yā khalilayya fa ajaba idh ra'yta al-ajāba⁴² and Wa mā ḥadatha 'indana in kunnā fī madrasati ma' jam'i⁴³ both of which are satirical poems which the author directed against certain individuals. We are told that in 1918 the author composed a poem on influenza entitled and rhyming with the word tunkuyawa (Hausa word for influenza). Apart however from its illustration of the medicinal interests of the author, this poem is important in the sense of the historical context of its composition, since an influenza epidemic occurred in Northern Ghana around the time it was composed. The rest of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works composed between 1923 to 1932, that is two years before his death are mostly praise poems; they include such poems as Sul'al rāthi⁴⁴, which the author dedicated to al-Ḥājj Salih of Jenne,⁴⁵ Bahr al Haqq,⁴⁶ addressed to his son 'Umar ibn abī Bakr and composed in the form of a reply to a letter written to him by his son. In this poem the author advises that Muslims should not allow racial or geographical differences to destroy their unity. There were other poems like Gādarat Salmā diyāran⁴⁷ and Bushrā man atāka bashīr,⁴⁸ both of which were addressed to the Sarki (chief of Zongo-Hausa merchant quarters) of Kumasi in the late 1920's. Finally there was Mā bālu hind na'at 'anna bi ghayr qila,⁴⁹ an elegy addressed to his son Labbu, with some accounts of the various parts of West Africa who attended the son's funeral.

These are by no means the total number of al-Hājj 'Umar's works so far known to exist but the above named works fairly represent the author's literary output from the chronological view point. Most of the poems cited above have already been referred to in our earlier discussion of the author's life history. The poems selected for the purpose of our study have however been left to the next chapter. We have in our discussion of the author's literary accomplishments dealt in some measure with the poems on Salaga civil war mainly on account of their historical significance and on account of the fact that they are not part of the poems dealt with in the next chapter.

We have in this particular chapter noted among other things the author's personal history, his education, his religious activities, his popularity among the Ghanaian Muslim communities and the extent of his literary accomplishments. It will remain to see in the next chapter the extent to which his four historical poems representing the indigenous African Muslim view point do help or do not help us to understand Africa's past as conceived by their author. The historical method pursued by al-Hajj 'Umar, namely the forms of literary expression he used to present historical material will thus be the main concern of the succeeding chapter.

NOTES ON CHAPTER II

1. Vide in this context, the opening lines of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's Tabīh al ikhwān al munāza'a IAS/AR 27 p. 1, where the author informs us that he is a Kabbawi by origin and a native of Kano by birth and residence et B.G. Martin; op.cit.; cf note 2 of chapter one. Some information on the Kebbi people is also provided in O. Temple's Notes on the Tribes of Northern Nigeria, ed. by C.L. Temple, Frank Cass & Co., 1965 p. 557. According to this source, "The Kebbawa are a large tribe inhabiting the territory west of Sokoto and Gando, situated on both sides of Gub-lin Rima (i.e. Rima River) . . . The Kebbawa all speak Hausa, and though not generally included when a native speaks of Haussawa, yet they claim that they are the original Hausa speaking people from whom other tribes acquired the language."
2. For more information on al-Ḥājj 'Umar's biography, vide Martin, op.cit.
3. Martin, "Translations . . ." op.cit. Martin informs us that al-Ḥājj 'Umar's great grandfather was associated with 'Uthman dan Fodio at Gobir, where according to Martin al-Ḥājj 'Umar's great grandfather originated.

4. The Kola trade between Kano in Northern Nigeria and Salaga in Northern Ghana dates back to the early C15th. For more information, vide Jack Goody and T. Mustapha, "The Caravan Trade from Kano to Salaga" Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, vol II, 4, June 1967.
5. Wilks, op.cit.; c.f. note 1 Chapter one.
6. N. Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968.
7. In a letter written to me by Professor Martin, dated 20/11/67 and 13/2/68, Martin observed that al-Ḥājj 'Umar was not a great literary figure but that he was influential and honest.
8. Hodgkin, op.cit; p. 453 n. 56. Hodgkin quotes a statement from R.S. Rattray's "Essays Presented to C.G. Seligmann" (1934) p. 255, which indicates that al-Ḥājj 'Umar was famous throughout West Africa where Hausa is spoken and that al-Ḥājj 'Umar's library collections included the works of Imru al Qays (the famous pre-Islamic Arab poet) whose works al-Ḥājj 'Umar had critically examined and translated into Hausa.
9. al-Ḥājj 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr, Bushrā man atāka Bashīr IAS/AR 127 p. 1.

10. For examples of such quotations, vide al-Ḥājj 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr; Nazm al la'ālī bi akhbār wa tanbīh al Kirām IAS/AR 139, whose full translation is appended to this thesis. Note especially lines 25 and 182.
11. Vide, al-Ḥājj 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr, Ya khalīlayya fa ajāba idh ra'ya al ajāba, IAS/AR 135; note especially lines 127-131 where his enumeration and even the mention of some books by al Suyūti testify to our point.
12. Ibid; lines 133-135.
13. Vide al-Ḥājj 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr, Wa mā ḥadatha 'indana in kunnā fī madrasati ma'a jam'i; IAS/AR 121. Note especially lines 30-32; this poem by al-Ḥājj 'Umar was meant to be a satire on a pupil of a certain Hausa ālim (teacher) who criticised the author's manner of saying al-hamdu li'llah (praise be to God) and adding ta'ālā (the Glorious) after it. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar's critic was supposed to have said that the addition of "the Glorious" was not customary. As a refutation to this criticism, al-Ḥājj 'Umar composed his poem and points out that even the ancient Greek philosophers as well as the Muslim philosophers added the Glorious in reference to God. What the author meant here is that truth is truth in any given context; that this was the author's prime objective is seen also in line 14 of the same poem ... (Continued)

where he points out that in searching for truth one has to consider by one's own intelligence that truth is definite and that one should not try to confuse those that are religious.

14. Vide IAS/AR 121; op.cit. Lines 21 and 28.
15. Vide, Martin, "Translations . . ." op.cit. p. 193. cf note 2 Chapter I.
16. Vide, al-Ḥājj 'Umar, IAS/AR 135 op.cit. line 138-139.
17. ibid; IAS/AR 127 lines 148-149.
18. ibid; Mā bālu Hind-na'at 'anna bi ghayr gila IAS/AR 138.
19. ibid; note especially lines 63-64.
20. Martin, "Translations . . ." op.cit. p. 192.
21. ibid;
22. This is an untitled poem attributed to al-Ḥājj 'Umar, which the author composed in praise of friends, students, and admirers who gave him money and presents. The poem is classified as IAS/AR 161.
23. This man Sallaw was "the son of the famous Khālid of Yendi. He was named Sarki (chief) of Zongo (merchant quarters of Hausa people) in Kumasi in the ... (Continued)

late 1920's and soon rose to an authority that was unequalled in Ashanti history for a non royal office holder. He is said to have placed the late Asantehene Prempeh II in his jail (though only for a few hours) in reprimand for petty offence In 1934 the British government deported him (assisted his escape) to Nigeria over problems arising from his political power within the Zongo as well as Ashanti. He was returned in 1953 to Accra at the request of Prime Minister Nkrumah and was allowed to return to Kumasi shortly after independence, two years prior to his death." vide C.C. Stewart, Tijānniya in Ghana, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies, 1965.

24. Vide, al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Gādarat Salmā Diyāran IAS/AR 133, lines 27-29.
25. These poems are IAS/AR 27, IAS/AR 133. cf notes 10 and 25 Supra.
26. Stewart; op.cit.; p. 34.
27. ibid;
28. Stewart; op.cit; p. 50.
29. ibid; p. 35.

30. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Mashrā' mā al Khabar li wārid wāriduha bil-nazar, IAS/AR 417 lines 79-80.
31. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal, Rīma Hizb al-Rāhīm 'ala Nuḥūr al-Hizb al Rajīm, Mustāfa Muḥammad, Cairo 1329/1911 Vol 2, p.21ff.
32. Hodgkin; op.cit; p. 453. Hodgkin thinks that although only forty works of al-Ḥājj 'Umar are so far known, his total output was much greater.
33. Martin, "Translations . . ." op.cit.; p. 190.
34. ibid; pp. 190, 192. We are told by Martin that all three compositions exist in published works, that the Kitāb sarḥat al warīqa was printed in Cairo in the Majmu'a tahtawi ala'l-gasā'id, Isa al-Bābi al Halabi ca. 1950, and that the two religious poems were also published in Al-Qasa'id al ash'ariyat, Cairo, 1367/1947-8.
35. ibid; p. 192.
36. For more details on the Salaga civil war, vide, Jack Goody and T. Mustapha, "Salaga in 1874", Research Review University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies, Vol 2, No. 2, Lent Term, 1966, pp. 23-27. et Marion Johnson "The wider Background of the Salaga Civil War" Research Review op.cit.; idem. et Martin, "Translations . . ." op.cit. et Jack Goody, "Salaga 1892" Research Review University of Ghana, Institute of African ... (Continued)

Studies, vol. 2, No. 3, Trinity Term, 1966, pp. 41-53 et
 Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs . . . op.cit.; p. 41-45 et
 J.A. Brimah and J.R. Goody, Salaga: Struggle for Power,
 Longmans, 1967, omnes.

37. Translations by Martin, vide Martin, "Translations . . ." op. cit. p. 193.
38. ibid; p. 200.
39. ibid; p. 203.
40. M.G. Smith (quote), "The Jihad of Shehu dan Fodio: Some Problems" in Islam in Tropical Africa, op.cit; p. 413.
41. Levtzion, (quote) Muslims and Chiefs . . . op. cit.; p. 46.
42. This poem was directed by the author to a certain Musa who was active in Northern Ghana at the turn of the century and who claimed to be a Mahdi. For full details of this poem vide note 11, supra.
43. Vide supra note 13.
44. I have not had access to this poem but according to the information gathered from Martin, "Translations . . ." op.cit; p. 191, it could be found in the Arabic Collections of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Serial number IAS/AR 76.

45. Al-Ḥājj Salih was a Tijāni Maqqadam (local leader) of Jenne who died in 1932, vide, Hodgkin, op.cit; et Paul Marty, Etudes sur Islam en Cote d'Ivoire, Editions Ernest Leroux, 1922, p. 224.
46. Vide, al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Bahr al Haqq, IAS/AR 132.
47. Cf. note 24 supra.
48. Cf. note 9 supra.
49. Cf. note 18 supra.

III

EVALUATION OF AL-HAJJ 'UMAR'S HISTORICAL METHOD

Our evaluation of the historical method of al-Ḥājj 'Umar follows the procedure of a systematic analysis of his four poems in their chronological order of composition. The guiding lines in the analysis are the discussion of the contents, style and methodology of each poem, followed by a conclusion drawn about the contribution, if any of al-Ḥājj 'Umar to the history of historiography.

The first poem, Mashrā' mā'al khabar li wārid wāriduha, composed in Muḥarram 1317/May 1899 is a qasida rhyming in *rā*, composed of eighty-seven verses and divided by the author himself into six sections. The first section which runs from lines 1-32, can be divided further into two sections, in that the first five lines consist of praise of God and Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam. From lines 6 to 32 the author enumerates the names of towns conquered by the Europeans during the institution of the colonial rule in the mid nineteenth century. The towns mentioned range from North Africa right through to the Southern parts of modern Ghana and Nigeria. In the second section, entitled "Submission to God", the author takes a fatalistic attitude to European conquests. He rationalizes the situation by saying that -

"If you ponder carefully about my narrative
 You will say Our Lord is God and go no further
 All this power is from His own judgement
 His power, wisdom and knowledge"¹

Thereafter he cautions that people should not seek a way out of the situation through their own power but rather they should submit their affairs to God because whether they chose to escape (migrate?) or stay to face the colonial rule they would still be subject to oppression.² He had previously hinted in the first section that "the event had swallowed the whole black Africa from all sides and spread to every country, even the remotest area."³ In the third section which is entitled "Decision making", the author entreats Muslims to submit themselves outwardly, conceal their affairs and use stratagem. He further implores his co-religionists to be enduring even if the colonialists should go astray.⁴ In the fourth section, entitled "Admonition" the author reflects on the situation and consoles his confrères that they should have no doubts about God's religion, i.e. Islam because the colonialists cannot destroy it.⁵ In the fifth section entitled "Completion" the author proceeds to enumerate other towns conquered by the Europeans and ends his enumeration with a prayer to God to provide a way out of all that He has made difficult.⁶ The last part of the poem, entitled "Dialogue", appears to be a reply given by the author to someone who enquired of his private and public intentions, to wit, whether he intended to settle at Salaga, in Hausaland, at Iko (Lagos) or Macina. To this

question he replied in the tone of a person who seems to have been really taken in by the events of his time:

"I said to him "do you not realize what has happened
With all our dwelling places unsafe for us?"
Rather the whole world is unsettled,
It is unstable or destroyed as soon as it is built,
This matter confuses me
I am at a loss what to do in this world,
I cannot say I am staying here
Nor can I say I am going there"⁷

The question further leads al-Ḥājj 'Umar to launch a rather caustic attack on Salaga. We noted earlier in this thesis that the author together with the Muslim merchants of Salaga migrated to Kete-Krachi after the Salaga civil war.⁸ Now he is at Kete-Krachi, where presumably he composed his poem and says of this town that "if there were only five people he would be their sixth".⁹ As for Salaga, even if it were clothed with silk, he would be frank with her in his pessimism and would never be among its sojourners.¹⁰ After his sarcasm on Salaga, the author caps his poem with an admonition to Muslims not to be foolish nor savages among themselves but rather to stick to their religious practices and endure their calamities, haply so God may alleviate the situation. Finally he ends the composition by prayers to the Prophet Muḥammad and praise of God.

The second poem, Nazm al la'ālī bi akhbār wa tanbīh al kirām, written the following year after the Mashrā' in 1318/1900-1 is a qasīda rhyming in mīm, comprising of 219 verses without any division. It is the longest of the poems

examined for this study and in it the author enumerates more than two hundred places on the coasts and in the interior of West Africa conquered by the Europeans. The poem develops the fatalistic theme previously taken in the Mashrā' and starts likewise with praise of God and the Prophet Muḥammad. Thereafter without mincing words he sets down the purpose of his poem which he says is "to inform and warn noblemen"¹¹. By noblemen the author of course meant Muslims. He elaborates on this point in the last section of the poem in which he says that -

"My poem is nothing but an admonition,
It must not be seen as a versified folly
Nor is it due to my love for the
People of the Book (Christians)
God forbid such a thing to happen
I did not compose my poem out of zeal
Rather I composed it out of grief."¹²

Thus lamenting on the European conquests, the author proceeds to draw the attention of "noblemen" as he himself puts it, to the methods adopted by the colonialists in their "scramble" for Africa and the concomittant changes in the indigenous societal structure that came with it:

"A sun of disaster has arisen in the West
Sweeping both populated and unpopulated places:
I mean by this the calamity of the Christians,
Whose misfortune came to us like raining clouds.
At the beginning they came in peace,
With soft words, beautifully couched.
They said, we've come to trade
To improve the roads in the area,
To prevent oppression and theft in the world,
To perform good deeds and put an end to ignorance.
We did not realize their intentions at all
And thus we became like tools before them
As they deceived us with little gifts
And gave us sweet morsels of food.

We did not realize their intention was to dominate
 As rulers do when they pitch their camps.
 So they built barracks all over the land,
 Decorated with marble stones.
 A little later they changed their tone
 As God said in the Qur'an.
 They became masters in every city
 Whose people became like servants to them.
 They said - "there should be no slave trade
 and no slavery
 No confinement with fetters or ropes
 No beating with painful punishments".
 The freeborn became a slave to them
 And slaves became noblemen.
 We said "this is not what you brought to us -
 are you not violating your contract"?
 Really I have never seen a judgement like this,
 A nobleman becoming despised and reviled?
 A despicable person becoming a nobleman with honour?
 What a woe unto noblemen!
 There is no remedy to this judgement
 Save patience and reticence.
 I see no remedy in escaping them,
 Even if we intend fleeing to safety
 Do you not see they've occupied all the lands
 Surrounding them like clouds."13

After discussing the procedure followed by the
 colonialists in their "grab" for Africa, the author proceeds
 to enumerate the towns conquered by them. Such enumerations
 occupy the whole of lines 36-61. Excepting certain isolated
 interpolations, there does not seem to be any attempt by the
 author to provide detailed information either of the people he
 mentions or the manner of their acceptance of the colonial
 rule. Taking cue however that his poem is an admonition to
 noblemen, he offers in lines 62-69 an example of the fortitude
 and intrepidity he considered worthy of emulation by all noble-
 men. This was the incident surrounding the circumstances of
 the acceptance of colonial rule by the people of Gurma, where

the author recounts it in the following description:

"As for the land of Gurma they (The Christians)
 Surrounded it
 With total occupation and the people became like
 servants.
 We never heard of anyone who fought or resisted in
 words
 Except Garju who repudiated shame
 And died and was burried.
 And the noble people should act that way.
 If they come, let them die without sickness.
 Life of humiliation is no life.
 Death in honour is like sleep.
 But few are they that respond to the call of death,
 Except the noble ones.
 We love Garju and lament him in truth."14

Thenceforward the author reverts to his usual method of enumerating towns conquered by the Europeans as he had previously done. He however takes every chance to extol fortitude as he had done in his account concerning Garju. He also ridicules cowardice with the same vivid description he uses to extol fortitude. In his description of the encounter between the people of Borgu and the colonialists, for example, the author makes fun of the juju concoctions which the tribesmen made with the hope of warding off the colonialist attacks:

"We thought there were men in Borgu
 Who were no doubt leaders of war.
 We saw a big bowl bearing a head
 And bows with poisoned arrows
 And some instruments with drugs
 And various kinds of poisons.
 All these are but lies and cheats
 For they ran away like lost beasts."15

One notices also that whenever a Muslim warrior is encountered and defeated by the Europeans, the author takes the opportunity to pray for the safety of the Muslim nation:

"May God save the Muslim ^{Umma}
May God save us from dismal calamities"16

This was the author's prayer after the conquest of Taghaza and Salahe. A further evidence of his sympathy for Muslim fortunes is clear from his account about Samori whom he says the colonialists captured in pretence and flight as they did both with the nobles and common people alike.¹⁷ Two interesting incidents evident from the author's account however are the reports concerning Rabbeh and Mukhtara, both of which seem contradictory to the purpose which the author purports to deal with. We noticed previously that he claimed his poetry was composed with the intention of warning noblemen of the dismal calamities of the time. We noticed also his exhortatory statements that noblemen should take up arms and brave the situations of their time. Yet in his account of Rabbeh's defeat by the Europeans the author expresses a sigh of relief. According to the author's account, when Rabbeh was captured,

"Matters began to change
From this to that and that to this without an end,
Every event has an end,
When it reaches its final stage.
Every calamity, even if it lasts long finishes as
it started,
Just like an ephemeral action.
Calamities emerge like clouds
They happen and pass away like flock of animals"18

Such were the terms the author chooses to describe the defeat of Rabbeh, although he had professed to extol bravery shown by Muslim warriors to the colonialists. Again in his report about Mukhtara, he says of this man that he was adamant

and resolute; he never slept the night but performed prayers throughout the night; the colonialists came to him in this situation, he did not fear them, for he made peace with them and became one of the nobles.¹⁹ Evidently these two accounts seem to be contradictory to the author's previous exhortations for resistance to the colonial rule. These together with his other contradictory statements that Muslims should endure their dismal situation and not seek a way out of their own power²¹ seem irreconcilable to his exhortations of resistance. They nevertheless appear significant for historical analysis.

Al-Hājj 'Umar's Nazm al la'ālī, whatever may be said about it, views the whole European conquests in terms of threat to Muslim sphere of influence; he says of the Europeans that -

"Their intention was to fight Muslims
and they came with quarrels".²¹

After enumerating the towns conquered by the Europeans the author reverts to the fatalistic attitude he had previously taken in the Mashrā' and developed further in the earlier parts of the Nazm. He resigns himself to the fact of the colonial conquests, rationalizing in the tone of one who appears to be apprehensive of pointing out exactly what he set out to say. Thus we read towards the ending sections of the Nazm his assertion that _

"There is nothing to say in this time of ours,
Nothing but patience with evil speech.
Whoever says the truth about this affair
Will regret and will be blamed
Truth is not acceptable in this time of ours.

Whoever says the truth will have nothing but
 contempt and insults.
 Truth has this time become bitter
 and its sweetness increases with betrayal"22

Thereafter the remaining sections of the poem are devoted to an apologia by the author in defence of the sincerity with which he composed this work and this he does in a tone which is reminiscent of one crying in the wilderness who is cogniscent of the fact that some learned men may ridicule his poem as a joke. The author nevertheless consoles himself with the fact that such an attitude is to be expected because even "the recitation of the Sermons, (i.e. the Qur'ān) are truth but the envious envy them in their works."23 Finally he ends the poem with prayers for salvation and a peaceful end to the calamities of the time and invokes the name of a Muslim saint, the names of certain Qur'ānic chapters, the names of the Jewish and Christian religious books and finally caps his poem with prayers to the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions.

The third poem of the author according to the chronological order of composition is Lābārin Nasāra a qasīda written in Hausa rhyming in rā-alif and rā-ya, composed in 1903. The poem was probably written in Hausa in order to reach wider audience; judging from its tone of conciliation one would think that the author wanted to draw the attention of Muslims that despite their apprehensions, the colonialists after all meant good. The poem consists of 209 verses and like the Nazm there is no apparent division. The poem begins with the praise

of God and the prophet Muḥammad and proceeds immediately to recount the institution of colonial rule in the interior regions of modern Ghana and Nigeria. The report in the Lābārin Nasāra covers some of the areas mentioned in the Nazm but differs from the Nazm in the sense that here the author sets out with the main intention of laying emphasis on the might of the European power, the superiority of their arms as compared with the indigenous African military accoutrements, the futility of offering resistance to the colonialists and the praising of the benefits that come with their rule. Despite this attitude however the author's sympathy for Muslim causes which he had previously shown in the Nazm and the Mashrā' is also evident here. Furthermore the account given in the Lābāri appears to be more detailed and more informative than either the Nazm or the Mashrā'. All the three poems however are similar in the sense that the author jumps from one report to another without giving any indication of time sequence or even geographical contiguity. Though there is no discernible division in the poem, one can see that lines 6-173 are devoted to the manner which the various parts of the hinterlands of Ghana and Nigeria came under the colonial rule and that line 174 to the end are devoted to the praise of the colonial rule.

What one gathers from the Lābārin Nasāra about the circumstances of the institution of colonial rule in the hinterlands of Ghana come from lines 7-10, 16, 25-30, and 50-70.

The author tells us that as a result of the Ashanti-British wars Kola nuts became scarce.²⁴ He says also that Prempeh I, the king of Ashanti sent envoys to make enquiries from the Europeans and the latter captured him on account of treachery.²⁵ The author refers to the routing of the Zabermas of Northern Ghana by the combined forces of the Europeans and one of their own leaders, Amariya who betrayed them and fought on the side of the Europeans.²⁶ Thereafter he reports on the defeat of the Dagombas at Yendi and returns again to the events in Ashanti and gives an account of the Yaa Asantewa war: here he says that during this war the Ashantis surrounded the European station and starved its inmates to death and that the Europeans were only saved by reinforcement brought by a certain Majmūra who succeeded in routing the Ashantis and that with the defeat of the Ashantis the whole of the Ghanaian hinterlands came under European rule.²⁷

The report on Nigeria indicates that here the institution of colonial rule suffered from many incidents of resistance. We are told for example of Abū Bakr, the chief of Nupe who fought five battles with the Europeans,²⁸ of Magāji of Keffi who killed a clerk of high rank²⁹ and of the strong resistance offered especially in Kano and Sokoto and we are told that with the conquest of Kano the rule of the Europeans was established in the land and none questioned their authority.³⁰

Although the majority of the reports in the Lābārin

Nasāra cover the hinterlands of Ghana and Nigeria, the author also gives some report about some of the Muslim warriors who prowled the Western Sudan in the mid nineteenth century and offered resistance to the colonialists: In this category those mentioned are Samori, Ahmadu Sequ and Rabbeh. We are informed of Samori's devastations,³¹ Ahmadu Sequ's betrayal by his brother and his eventual expulsion from his empire, his wanderings that took him to Northern Nigeria where he died³² and finally we are informed of Rabbeh's annihilation of Bornu and his eventual capture by the Europeans.³³

Apart from the incidents of resistance to the colonial rule reported in the Lābārin Nasāra it is evident throughout the poem that the author set out to stress the might of the European power and the futility of opposing them. Thus for example the author compares the indigenous African military weapons with those of the Europeans, pointing out their insignificance in face of the European weapons:

"(our weapons), the kuri, baka and the spear
Are but trifles to the Christians.
Warwatse, kanbari and harga
Are mere joke to the Christians.
Kunkeli, kutfani and lifdi
Are but playthings to the Christians.
As for digging materials
They are no match to the Christians.
And the black iron weapons,
They (the Christians) have many of these."³⁴

The same attitude is also evident in such remarks as "but it is difficult to defeat the Christians"³⁵; "it is senseless to clash with the Christians"³⁶ and "who is there to

challenge the rule of the Christians. As for us we have agreed to their rule . . . whoever wrangles with the Christian administration we are not with him."³⁷

Either from the recognition of this might of the Europeans or from genuine appreciation of the benefits of colonialism, the author devotes the ending sections of his poem in praise of the European rule. Among the benefits enumerated are the building of roads, renewal of ceilings of houses, building of bridges, provision of cemeteries for the dead and the administration of European justice which the author examines in detail and which leads him to indicate his preference for European justice to Muslim justice, although not without qualifications, for he reminds one that even this European justice has its faults:

"But do not overglorify them: they could be foolish
And none could predict their judgements"³⁸

Despite his praise for the Europeans, the author continues in this poem also to show his sympathies to Muslim causes. Thus for example when he describes the expulsion and eventual death of Ahmadu Sequ, he says of this man that he was a "believing man and a grateful servant of God". Again he prays for another conquered Muslim chief that "God may grant him peace and let him drink the flowing water."⁴⁰ Finally when the King of Muslims (Sarkin Musulmī) Aṭṭahiru died, the author prays that "God have mercy on him for he was a grateful servant of God."⁴¹

The report in the Lābārin Nasāra like the previous poems, ends with the praise of God and the Prophet but here with a reconciliatory attitude, the author includes the Christians also in his prayers:

"Now our poem is complete and finished
By the will of He who created us and the Christians"⁴²

This suggests that by the time of the composition of this poem a line of communication had begun to be established between the Muslims and the Europeans and probably the author's expressed hope that the Christians could not destroy the Islamic religion had been realized.⁴³

The fourth and the last poem of al-Ḥājj 'Umar discussed in this study is 'A Mayya shāqatka batta sirta bayrāna. This poem composed in 1908 is one of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's Arabic works; it is a typical example of the classical qasīda and the principles of the method are followed literally by the author. The poem consists of 80 verses divided into three sections by the author himself. Like the other three poems, it begins with the usual praise of God and the Prophet Muḥammad but unlike those poems the author devotes a large part to the qasīda principles properly. He begins the poem in the tradition of the ancient Arabic writers and laments his lost love. After starting with this amatory prelude he abruptly interposes his poem with a description of some cultured lover who is skilled in clipping birds.⁴⁴ Thereafter he makes brief reference to an incident in Islamic history and shifts to his second

section which he entitles "Salutations" This section is merely an opening greeting, a preliminary to his main subject which is the third section and which he entitles "An Account of What Happened". In this section the author gives an account of his intended pilgrimage to Mecca, an intention which led him to visit towns like Gambaga, Tamale and Salaga in Northern Ghana, with the hope of getting some financial assistance. The failure of his journey makes him return to Kete-Krachi, still determined however to carry out his intention of going to Mecca. Although the poem was mainly written by the author to convey his intentions of making pilgrimage, his observations about Gambaga's political situation appears interesting for historical analysis. The author notes about Gambaga that this town,

"Had an ignorant chief
Who was negligent and dirty.
He excelled in craftiness
And worshipped idols and gods

His accomplices in deception are many
I witnessed much treachery and animosity.
Remember there are some pious men in Gambaga
But their leader was Hamama the imam

He conspired with the chief and claimed that
I meant to dominate the land;
Thus many became envious and behaved like devils"⁴⁵

This is the sum of information gathered from this poem for as the author himself indicates, the main purpose of the poem is about his intended pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴⁶

From our examination of the four poems we noted that the 'A Mayyya' stands distinct from the other three poems, in that

its theme, content, style and methodology are all different. Points of historical significance gathered here are merely side issues from the intended theme of the poem and the method and style by which this work proceeds also leaves it very little scope for detailed historical information. The other three poems, although have the same theme, namely the institution of colonial rule, their contents, style and methodology have some dissimilarities. In the first place Mashrā' and Nazm express a reaction to colonialism, while Lābāri accepts it. Secondly, the first two merely appear to enumerate towns conquered by the Europeans and give us little information on the details of the conquests. The Lābāri appears to be more detailed but has the faults of Mashrā' and Nazm in that reports are given without any indication of any connection between one account and another, in terms of time or geographical contiguity. The names of towns and peoples mentioned are not always the same in all the three poems. At times names are given with different spelling in each poem as for example Garju in the Nazm who is identified as Garjaga in the Lābāri and Sama in Lābāri who is identified in Nazm as Ismā'il. Although instances of such nature tend to confuse the reader as to the right one to choose, it is nevertheless necessary to take into account the contents of all the poems since there are in some poems names of places and peoples that are not mentioned in others. Such apparent differences and difficulties encountered in the works lead one to question the aims which the author set out to accomplish by his

compositions. The importance with which Muslims attach to historical studies as lessons for believers is a fact recognized by scholars of Islamic Studies: According to Gibb, "in sunni doctrine it was the Islamic community, the Ummat Allah, with which the continuation of divine plan on earth was bound up; consequently the study of its history was a necessary supplement to the study of divine revelation in Koran and Hadith".⁴⁷ Furthermore according to Siddiqi, the Qur'[']ān points out certain stable facts of human nature in its collective aspects and lays particular stress on those moral and social factors which lead to corruption of human motives and the springs of human actions resulting eventually in the disintegration of the corrupt society.⁴⁸ With these points in view therefore "the purpose which Muslim historians sought to accomplish was to produce works which would be useful and improve social position of the individual which was acquainted with them. The knowledge of historical works, they contended, brought with it political wisdom and conversational skill which assured blessedness in the world".⁴⁹ Thus although al-Hajj was basically a poet who tried a hand in historical matters, his poems nevertheless show evidence of the didactic purpose intended by Muslim historical writers. Thus also the didactic purpose tended to be given more emphasis at the expense of purely historical information. An apt illustration of this is the author's report in the Nazm about a disaster which he attributes to the shortcomings of the

people involved:

"One day they took refuge in Dagomba
 And Biwafuri where the rope market was
 When the Ashantis were deceived by the devil
 Or by trees with dark shades
 Or by idols or money or gold
 Or lust or by wine drinking.
 They were certainly deceived by lies and falsities,
 By ignorance, stupidity and despondency.
 The outcome of this was dreadful death
 And only those that were saved were the claws of
 fate"⁵⁰

That such writings with didactic purpose limited one's grasp of detailed historical information is pointed out by Von Grunebaum who criticised that aspect in Arabic historiography by saying that "the weakness of Arabic historiography is its concentration on personalities and on military cabals. The work of war attract incomparably more attention than those of peace. For the most, happenings are explained as results of intrigues and ambitions of kings, generals and politicians. The forces which these leaders represent frequently go unnoticed. The public came to be interested in the lesson history taught. But the lesson learned was entirely one of morality, insight into human character, and the vagaries of fate".⁵¹ Apart from the limitations imposed on Muslim historical writings by their didactic aspects, there is also the problem of style in general which limits one's attempt to grasp the meaning of their intended messages. This is especially true when a writer uses poetry as does our author. It is trite but yet worthy of note that poetry generally is rather a difficult medium of expression

to understand. Winifred Nowottny for example noted that "in poems set on communicating a strikingly new vision, the words in the dictionary and all the words one might make up are nothing without their relation to the structure designed by the poet as a whole, with the meaning residing in or emanating from the whole".⁵² As it can be seen from the examination of the contents of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's four poems, the author was dealing with a new theme and this fact leads one to the confrontation with certain words of doubtful origin whose meanings are only discernible with a use of ingenuity. Then also the rajaz metre as used for example by Muslim historians like Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi⁵⁴ and which is also the metre used in al-Ḥājj 'Umar's poems, designed as it is as a memoria technica or summary of events easier to remember than a prose narrative, presents in itself certain difficulties: One gets the impression in our author's works that most of the words that end each line are rather fixed for their rhyme only and as such tend to obscure rather than elicit one's understanding of the poems. The Hausa work, Lābāri especially, presents its own peculiar difficulties. The Hausa used is highly Arabicised; almost all the rhyming words are Arabic and only a few are Hausa. The poem moreover is composed of many Arabic words, sentences and phrases used directly, as for example in lines 4, 76, 78, 139, 145 and 206. Furthermore this poem has many words also which though Hausa are nevertheless highly Arabicised as for example in lines 3,

6, 24, 40, 49, 72, 87, 89, 93, 97, 111, 121, 145, 146 and 160. Even when allowance has been made for heavy borrowings of Hausa vocabulary from Arabic, this still represents a high proportion. Delving into the intricacies of such historical poems despite the interesting linguistic material they provide is thus in itself an aspect of the problems they impose on historical research.

We notice also in al-Ḥājj 'Umar's 'A Mayya that his strict adherence to the classical qasīda method leads him to devote little space for historical information; "the ode has a strictly prescribed sequence of ideas and subjects, unless it be a lamentation over the dead, or deals with some equally serious topic, it must begin with the mention of women and the constantly shifted habitations of the wandering tribesmen seeking pasture throughout the winter and spring; the poet must tell of his love and its troubles and if he likes, may describe the beauty of his mistress. From this theme he turns to the main object of his poem, either abruptly or by interposing the description of his horse or camel, by means of which he escapes from the burdens of memory when it grows too hard for him; the swiftness of the beast he rides is compared to that of wild kine of the desert, the wild ass, or the ostrich, in drawing which he displays his skill and intimate acquaintance with their habits. The main object thus reached at last, may be a panegyric on his tribe, himself, or revelry, a satire, a pleading,

or a warning to the foolish. Having said what he had to say, he brings his poem to an end without any elaborate device, sometimes by some precepts of gnomic wisdom, often by the description of a far-reaching storm, the sweep of which carries his thoughts to distant lands, or to pastures whence he started, where its rain will revive again the freshness of many upland meadows."55

As the intentions of the Mashrāʿ, Nāẓm and Lābārī are however different from that of A Mayya we see that in the former poems the author uses the khābar method which he casts in verse. The khābar which is the oldest element of Muslim historiography is the well rounded description of a single event, usually of no more than a few pages. "One of its basic features is that it does not admit of the establishment of a causal nexus between two or more events. If a historical work is made up of more than one khābar as in practice it needs must be, the juxtaposition of the individual khābars (as much as they are not different versions of the same story) may occasionally indicate a transfer of historical locale from one geographical origin to another but as a rule it indicates a progress in time. The time intervals, in this case can be of undetermined length, although a kind of chronological continuity is frequently intended. It is obvious that no deeper historical penetration of whatever kind can be achieved in this manner. It is also obvious that in writing the history of a long period of time, the khābar form

becomes quite unmanageable with regard to its size, since a khavar, unless it is to lose its true character, can be compressed only to a certain degree and no more".⁵⁶ There is then also the fact of khavar's preference for situation and colour as against sober facts. This aspect of it leaves the historical analysis to the reader and finally as a continuation of battle day narratives and artistic form of expression the khavar history form required the presence of poetical insertions which have but loose connection with the events to which they belong.⁵⁷

A close look at the Nazm, Mashrā' and Lābāri reveals that the khavar method was strictly adhered to by the author; and example from each of the three works would be appropriate to illustrate our view:

From the Mashrā' one encounters the following:

"Rather the whole Fantiland was occupied
And their kings became but humiliated slaves.
Their rule reached Awunaland, Agashe
Dahomey, Iko (Lagos) and Dina (Elmina)"⁵⁸

As it can be seen in this report, Fantiland occupies the coastal areas of modern Ghana from the South central and extends some ninety miles westward; it is neither continuous to Awunaland which occupies the area of modern Togo and South-eastern parts of Ghana. Awunaland, Dahomey and Lagos are nevertheless contiguous with each other but not Elmina which falls properly within the region of Fantiland; besides this, the dates of the institution of colonial rule in each of these areas was different in each case yet they are here put together.

by the author and there is no evidence of any time sequence between them. It may be argued here that this is due to faulty sense of time and geography on the part of the author but the reason can be found also in the use of the khābar method.

Again from the Naẓm we encounter the following:

"They came to Ismā'il the chief of Kebbi
With peaceful proposals without quarrel.
Yes, they went to Taghaza, Asben
To Salahe, may peace be upon them"⁵⁹

Here also the wide geographical barrier between Taghaza, Asben and Kebbi is evident and only a careful examination would enable the historian to make any reasonable historical analysis of such a report.

We see also in the Lābārin Nasāra, the khābar method's preference for colour and situation as against sober facts as for example in the following report on Yaa Asantewa war:

"The land of Yaa Asantewa cried havoc:
She said she would repulse the Christians.
She summoned the people and they responded
And gathered to attack the Christians.
They surrounded the Christian stations and the
Governor
Together with the Hausa troops who had come with
them.
Soon the men and their women
Were starved to death.
The situation worsened for the Christians
This was the struggle between the Ashantis and the
Christians.
However Majmūra set out with soldiers
To reinforce the Christians
He struggled and with difficulty reached Kumasi.
O the Christians could be nice and persistent.
He turned round fighting
And managed with difficulty to reach the Christian
Captain
Who continued to struggle until he escaped.

Salutations to you, thou illustrious Christian!
Thereafter the war was intensified from Europe
And many soldiers joined the Christians
Thus the gathering of the Ashantis dispersed
And the Christians captured Asantewa.
Many men and women were killed
And the hinterlands came under Christian rule."⁶⁰

The sober facts of Yaa Asantewa war according to the account given by Ward which is also concurred by most books on Ghanaian history is that the struggle between the Ashantis and the British which began about 1873 led gradually to the decline of the Ashanti empire and the consequent declaration of independence by some member states of the Ashanti kingdom. When a new king Kwaku Dua III, popularly known as Prempeh I was elected to the Ashanti stool, he sought to assert his authority over the Ashanti confederacy. The internal policy resulting from this checked the flow of trade between the interior and the coast and brought Prempeh into disfavour with the Gold Coast Government. In 1894, the latter called upon Prempeh to accept a British Resident in the Ashanti capital. In a bid to maintain his independence, the king refused and instead despatched envoys to England to plead his cause before the British monarch. Both the Gold Coast Government and the colonial office in London disapproved of Prempeh's diplomatic move and in January 1896 the British sent expedition to Kumasi to enforce certain indemnities from the king. The failure to pay these indemnities later led to the arrest and the exile of Prempeh. Thereafter Sir Frederick Hodgson, the then Governor of the Gold Coast visited Kumasi with

the intention of taking possession of the Ashanti Golden Stool and held a meeting with the Ashanti chiefs in March 1900, declaring his intentions. This demand for the stool in addition to the demands made previously culminated at this point into a casus belli and Kumasi chiefs under the inspiration of Yaa Asantewa, the Queen Mother of Ejisu declared war on the British. The Ashanti forces surrounded the British fort at Kumasi with all its armies including its Hausa troops, many of whom consequently died of starvation. Between July and September of the same year, a reinforcement sent under Colonel Wilcox however succeeded in defeating the Ashantis, capturing Yaa Asantewa herself and most of the insurgent leaders. Thereafter on the first of January 1902 by Orders in Council the Ashanti kingdom was formally annexed and placed under the authority of a chief commissioner responsible to the Governor of the Gold Coast.⁶¹

Despite its colourful description therefore the only points of historical importance evident from the Lābārin Nasāra is the reference to the presence of Hausa troops among the forces of the invaders and the incident of the starvation, both of which are confirmed by other sources. A disturbing aspect of the report is evident from the author's wrong identification of the leader of the reinforcing troops who subjugated the Ashantis.

From the above discussion, it is evident that as a Muslim historian al-Ḥājj 'Umar was susceptible to the influence of the Muslim historians who employed the khābar method which is

the method he also followed despite the fact that he casts his khabars in verse form. The problem arises then as to the reasons why despite these shortcomings his works should be considered necessary for the interpretation of African history. For one thing it could be argued that although he was not a chronicler as such as we noticed in the case of al Sadi or Ka'ti, yet he is still in the category of indigenous African Muslim historians and as the examination of his poems indicates, he reflected and commented on events of his time. Thus the historian who is interested in those events about which al-Ḥājj 'Umar reflected and commented, might as well use those writings for that purpose since in historical studies all available sources are necessary in any given context when one has it as his aim to reach completeness, and this in a sense is the aim of the modern African historian.

We have no means of assessing al-Ḥājj 'Umar's contribution to history from his own works by internal criticism so we shall take selections of his reports from each of the four works and try to determine whether they contribute to our knowledge of the events described. The method which Collingwood calls "scissors and paste" proceeds "is first to decide what we want to know about and then go in search of statements about it, oral or written, purporting to be made by eyewitness of them, or by persons repeating what actors or eyewitness of them have told them or have told their informants. Having found in such a

statement something relevant to his purpose, the historian excerpts it and incorporates it, translated if necessary and recast in what he considers a suitable style, in his own history."⁶² In applying this method however we also take into consideration Collingwood's condemnation of the method and particularly his assertion that, "if the scientific historian gets his conclusion not from the statement that he finds ready made, but from his own autonomous statement of the fact that such statements are made he can get conclusions even, when statements are not made to him."⁶³ It is with reservation then that we proceed to assess al-Ḥājj 'Umar's contribution to history.

A glance at the West African political scene prior to the "scramble" for Africa would seem to indicate that both the Nazm and Mashrā' were keyed to the situations of the time by their author and are expressive of the changed relation between the Europeans vis à vis the African people. European activities in West Africa prior to the "scramble" in the mid nineteenth century were briefly as follows: Britain had no more than a shadow of sovereignty over any part of the Coast, though the Portugese at Luanda and the French at St. Louis had tiny enclaves. Elsewhere relations between the African political authorities and European trading on the coast were generally those of equal partners in commercial transaction. The question of political sovereignty was seldom raised in the technical sense of the European usage. There were some trading forts on

the shore but the relative power of the European traders and African states was roughly in balance. A trading fort did not necessarily imply a sphere of influence over its hinterland. In most places, the forts were allowed by the Africans as a mutual convenience for African and European merchants alike; and the Europeans paid for the privilege of trade, either in the form of ground rent for the land occupied by the fort or as a gift in return for good will.⁶⁴

In contradistinction, Muslim influence which had since the tenth century been building up gradually from North Africa had by the beginning of the nineteenth century gathered momentum with the creation of Muslim theocratic states in the interior regions of West Africa like Futa Jalon 1776, Futa Toro 1776, Masina 1818 and Sokoto 1802. Although all these states later degenerated, most of them were later conquered by al-Ḥājj 'Umar (Tal). The contribution of the theocratic state builders including those before al-Ḥājj 'Umar and those after him was that they led to conversion of a large number of people who even though their attachment to Islam was nominal in many cases, nevertheless acquired Islamic outlook.⁶⁵ Thus the institution of colonial rule in West Africa in the mid nineteenth century might well be described as the period of Muslim resistance to European penetration into its sphere of influence. The century itself began with the great explorations to open up the interior regions in an effort to find a legitimate trade to substitute

for the outlawed trans-Atlantic slave trade. In the middle of the century however "a new period began and the years from 1885 to 1905 saw the rapid occupation of the whole West Africa"⁶⁶

It is an awareness of this fact that led Trimingham to assert that "the nineteenth century was the most revolutionary in West African history for it was characterized by the letting loose of two great forces - militant Islam and European expansion. No other period had seen the impact of comparable forces and in the end it came to a contest between the two, a contest which was first seen as such by al-Hājj 'Umar (Tal)."⁶⁷

It is against this background that one must needs understand al-Hājj 'Umar's contribution to historiography for his poems reflect the changed relation between the indigenous African people on the one hand and the Europeans on the other during colonial rule. The four poems give us an insight into the changes in the indigenous African societal structure which were concomitant with the institution of the colonial rule and give us a general view of the Muslim reactions at various times of the institution of the colonial rule. The fact that prior to the "grab" for Africa there existed a cordial relation between the indigenous people and the Europeans is evident for example in the section of al-Hājj 'Umar's Nazm which deal with the methods adopted by the Europeans during the early period of their contact: "At the beginning", says the author, "they came in peace with soft words beautifully couched"⁶⁸. Even though it is apparent

that this is a sarcasm, it nevertheless indicates that good relations formerly existed. However with the institution of the colonial rule, "They became masters in every city whose people became like servants to them".⁶⁹ This is illustrative of the changed relation that came with the colonial rule.

That the colonial rule also led to significant changes in the indigenous societal structure is evident from the author's remark that "the freeborn became a slave to them and the slaves became noblemen".⁷⁰ Here what the author is referring to is presumably the situation of Muslims after the institution of the colonial rule. It is a common knowledge in West Africa particularly that before the institution of colonial rule, Muslims enjoyed a position of prominence among the people in virtue of their knowledge of Arabic and their ability to write and read that language. Often this language was surrounded with aura of mystery and magical potents and Muslims were accordingly patronized by pagan kings and served both as talisman manufacturers and as scribes in commercial transactions. Bowdich observations about the prominence which the families of the Prophet Muhammad enjoyed in the court of the Ashanti king in the nineteenth century is illustrative of this fact. According to Bowdich,

"These descendants of the prophet's family are received at Ashantee with hospitality unlimited in its scope; they became the honoured guests of kings and ministers, while the population in bulk venerated them as demi-gods, and looked for an increase of wealth in proportion as they compete in tendering respect and offers of service to their visitors."⁷¹

After the institution of colonial rule however Muslims waned in importance owing to their aloofness and their refusal to have anything to do with Western educational system brought by the colonialists. The consequence of this attitude as Joseph Schacht observed in Northern Nigeria, was the relegation of the noble born to the position of servants and the elevation of former slaves to the position of nobility. According to Schacht's observation, there was originally a strong reluctance on the part of the leading Muslim families to send their children to British sponsored schools. The consequence of this in the words of Schacht himself is indicative of the idea conveyed by al-Ḥājj 'Umar. Thus Schacht says: "I know for example, of the son of a former notable and the son of his former slave. This last, having nothing better to do, went to the modern elementary school whereas the son of the notable naturally could not go to the same school as the sons of slaves. Today, thanks to his elementary education, the son of the slave owns half his village, whereas the son of the notable is the servant of an European official."⁷²

From the chronological order of their composition three of the poems examined for this study, namely the Mashrā', Naẓm and Lābāri give us an insight about the reactions of Muslims at various stages of the institution of the European colonial rule. Thus for example at the beginning when the Muslims conceived colonialism as a direct intervention into their

sphere of influence and a threat to their religion, the author says of the colonialists that their intention was to fight Muslims.⁷³ This attitude is understandable from the fact that most of the forces the colonialists had to encounter were Muslim led. Nevertheless as it appeared from subsequent events that the colonialists had no intention of destroying Islam, we see in al-Ḥājj 'Umar's later work the Lābārīn Nasāra, a conciliatory attitude which is indicative of the fact that some form of peaceful co-existence had been worked out between the colonialists and the Muslim. This view is confirmed by the fact that colonialism was later found to have given impetus to the propagation of Islam "through the social revolution brought about by the impact of the West upon animist structures and through factors which facilitated the work of Islamic agents".⁷⁴

Al-Ḥājj 'Umar's contribution to the historiography of the colonial period can thus be seen in his commentaries on the changed relations between Europeans and the African people, his observations on the changes in the societal structure and his expressions of Muslim attitudes at various times of the institution of colonial rule. His contribution to history however as we have remarked earlier must be assessed by the application of Collingwood's "scissors and paste" historical method on selections of his reports in each of the four works.

At first glance al-Ḥājj 'Umar's poems appear to be merely enumerating towns conquered by the Europeans and may not

seem significant as historical source but as Collingwood has noted, "the historian's data consists of what he is able to perceive; and if he can perceive little no one but himself is to blame. The better historian he is, the more his sources mean to him and an infinitely good historian would have at his disposal an infinite quantity of reliable evidence on any given point."⁷⁵

Thus for example when one attempts to make a historical analysis of some of the contradictory statements of al-Ḥājj 'Umar in his works, one gets some facts of historical importance. We noticed that the author expressed sympathy for Muslim causes and that in many cases when Muslim warriors were conquered by the Europeans he lamented their fall. This does not apply to his report about the defeat of Rabbeh.⁷⁶ It becomes necessary therefore to find reasons for this attitude. We are told in another source that when Rabbeh conquered Bornu he let loose his troops for two days to indulge in an orgy of murder, rapine and pillage and that over one thousand people are said to have been slaughtered and so thorough was his devastation of the city of Kuka that it was never again rebuilt.⁷⁷

Thus it appears that despite its apparent lack of importance al-Ḥājj 'Umar's account would seem to be significant for our understanding of Rabbeh's character. Again in the Lābārin Nasāra we come across the following report:

Ahmadu Sequ was a nobleman
But the Christians pursued him
When his ambitious brother Aqibu
Invited the Christians
So it was that Ahmadu was driven out of his lands
And went in flight to Kebbi, Dendi and Yawuri⁷⁸

This report by itself appears to be insignificant but a meaning becomes clear when one adapts it to the "scissors and paste" method. In the first place the same Aqibu is mentioned also in Nazm al la'ālī where he is described as the blameworthy.⁷⁹ Thus all the information we gather from al-Ḥājj 'Umar's account is that Aqibu betrayed Ahmadu Sequ to the Europeans and that Ahmadu Sequ was driven out of his lands and that he fled to some areas in Northern Nigeria. The fact of Aqibu's conspiracy with the Europeans is confirmed in other sources. Aqibu or Ajib as Trimingham identifies him is said to be a brother of Ahmadu Sequ and both he and Ahmadu Sequ are said to be the sons of al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal and that the struggles and quarrels between them after their father's death speeded up the conquest of their father's empire by the French.⁸⁰ Jamil Abun-Nasr who identifies Aqibu as Aguibu confirms the fact of the betrayal mentioned by al-Ḥājj 'Umar. According to Abun-Nasr, after the defeat of Ahmadu Sequ his younger brother Aguibu (sic) was installed as king under French protectorate.⁸¹ A more detailed account however is provided by Johnson who informs us that after his expulsion Ahmadu Sequ came with about 10,000 followers and that for a while their arrival in Northern Nigeria stiffened the Muslim resistance to the British penetration into the interior but the fact that they were militant Tijānis did not commend them to the Sultan and his advisors who were still faithful to the Qādārī and so they stayed there for some time during which time Ahmadu died.⁸²

This report by itself appears to be insignificant but a meaning becomes clear when one adapts it to the "scissors and paste" method. In the first place the same Āqibu is mentioned also in Nazm al la'ālī where he is described as the blameworthy.⁷⁹ Thus all the information we gather from al-Ḥājj 'Umar's account is that Āqibu betrayed Ahmadu Sequ to the Europeans and that Ahmadu Sequ was driven out of his lands and that he fled to some areas in Northern Nigeria. The fact of Āqibu's conspiracy with the Europeans is confirmed in other sources. Āqibu or Ajib as Trimingham identifies him is said to be a brother of Ahmadu Sequ and both he and Ahmadu Sequ are said to be the sons of al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal and that the struggles and quarrels between them after their father's death speeded up the conquest of their father's empire by the French.⁸⁰ Jamil Abun-Nasr who identifies Āqibu as Aguibu confirms the fact of the betrayal mentioned by al-Ḥājj 'Umar. According to Abun-Nasr, after the defeat of Ahmadu Sequ his younger brother Aguibu (sic) was installed as king under French protectorate.⁸¹ A more detailed account however is provided by Johnson who informs us that after his expulsion Ahmadu Sequ came with about 10,000 followers and that for a while their arrival in Northern Nigeria stiffened the Muslim resistance to the British penetration into the interior but the fact that they were militant Tijānis did not commend them to the Sultan and his advisors who were still faithful to the Qādārī and so they stayed there for some time during which time Ahmadu died.⁸²

We are also informed rather casually in the Lābārin Nasāra that as a result of the wars between the Ashantis and the Christians Kola nuts became scarce.⁸³ The fact that political disturbances in Ashanti were likely to disturb the flow of trade into the interior is confirmed for example by Henry Barth who observed that "three points were considered essential to the business of the kola trade; the first, that the people of Mosi bring their asses; secondly, that Tonawa, or natives of Ashanti bring the nut in sufficient quantities; and thirdly that the state is such as not to prevent the Hausa people from arriving. If one of these conditions is wanting, the trade is not flourishing."⁸⁴

Other points of historical significance evident in al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works which give us some idea about the dates of the establishment of colonial rule in the hinterlands of Ghana and Nigeria are his reference to the fact that with the conquest of Ashanti the hinterlands of Ghana come under colonial rule⁸⁵ and again his statement after the conquest of Kano that "thereafter the rule of the Europeans was established in that land and none questioned their authority".⁸⁶ These facts are confirmed by external sources. We are informed by Ward for example that in the same year that Ashanti was annexed both the colony and the Northern Territories were also annexed.⁸⁷ The defeat of Kano also marked the beginning of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria for according to Johnson, Kano being the greatest city in Northern

Nigeria its defeat by the British shook the empire and led to the eventual institution of colonial rule there.⁸⁸

Besides such points of historical significance there are certain isolated interpolations in al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works as for example in the Nazm al la'ālī which seem to be important especially for modern interpretation of African history as for example in line 72 where he informs us that Yalu was a land of salt and food, in line 112 where he refers to the people of Dabir as base, in lines 130-131 where he says of the Guronshi people that they were non believers and finally in line 131 where he says that the people of Isala, Dagarti, Kashir, Kafarshi and Kanjaga were hypocrites. Such references which may appear insignificant on the face value may with the coordination of ethnographical researches yield significant historical information.

We notice also from the author's account on the political situation in Gambaga⁸⁹ some points of historical significance. In this account, the main facts gathered are 1) treachery and politicking in Gambaga court; 2) the fact of the chief's negligence and stupidity and 3) the extent of power wielded by the imam of the town. Although viewed in isolation these points appear to be of no historical significance yet when compared with other sources they become meaningful. We gather from Levtzion for example who discussed in some detail the political situation of Gambaga, the fact that Gambaga or Mamprusi state as it is generally known was divided into four large divisions: Nalerigu

Wurgu, Janga and Pasinke, that succession to the chiefly state was confined to each division of these four and not from paramount chief's court as we noted for example in the case of Gonja state.⁹⁰ As a result of this division and the wide power consequently built up by the various sections and the fact that some neighbouring tribes were also drawn into the Mamprusi political system who often took part in internal disputes over paramountcy, the imam of the town, as leader of the Muslim community emerged as the most influential power. A near contemporary account with that of al-Ḥājj 'Umar confirms our author's report:

"The King of Gambaga is a fetish king and must remain in his town called Nalerigu. The inhabitants are partly fetish and partly Mohammedans. As always the case the Mohammedans are the leading party. The headman is the imam of Gambaga, Baba. He is virtually the ruling power though he always makes a great point of referring matters to the King"⁹¹

Another report written about the same time as al-Ḥājj 'Umar's 'A Mayya also confirms our author's report; it says that "Mamprusi is ruled nominally by King who lives at a small town near Gambaga, but in reality by the Limam (imām) of Gambaga a patriarchal looking Muhammadan".⁹²

From our analysis therefore it appears that although one does not get a clear picture of history as such from the information given by al-Ḥājj 'Umar, nevertheless some points of historical significance emerge which no doubt need to be

supplemented by findings from other sources.

Al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works like others of its kind as we have noticed are often lacking in continuity and historical perspective so that at times the narratives that it begins are left unfinished while on others, major events are passed over in silence but trivial episodes are set down in unnecessary detail. Nevertheless for all its faults it does give us a general picture of the events. One sees for example a clear picture of how the Muslim populace viewed the colonial rule at various times of its institution, one is shown the colour of some indigenous African combat methods, one watches with interest the author's belief in divine intervention of historical process and one learns of the court intrigues that led to the fall of many a mighty prince and one notices finally with some sympathy the author's comments on the turns of Muslim fortune that resulted with the institution of colonial rule.

By reading his works in their original languages of composition one is able to work oneself into the situations reported by the author and with each conquest by the colonialists one gets a vivid picture of the "sweep" even where the description given is merely a single line. Although al-Ḥājj 'Umar's works are rather simple in form, content and even style as compared with those of some Muslim historians and even some indigenous African Muslim historical writers, it is evident from our examination that his contributions to historiography and history

are significant. They are by no means adequate by themselves but their use in co-ordination with other findings in historiographical studies would yield interesting points; as Rosenthal observed "works of great importance as historical sources are often unimportant as examples of historical writings".⁹³

In this thesis we set out to evaluate the use that can be made of works like al-Ḥājj 'Umar's for modern interpretation of African history. It is our hope that through our study we have been able to achieve a measure of progress in this direction.

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

1. al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Mashrā' mā al khabar . . . op.cit. lines 33-34.
2. ibid; lines 35-39.
3. ibid; line 9.
4. ibid; lines 39-40.
5. ibid; lines 41-44.
6. ibid; lines 45-48.
7. ibid; lines 52-55.
8. vide supra p. 43.
9. al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Mashrā' mā al khabar . . . op.cit. line 72.
10. ibid; lines 57-71.
11. ibid; Nazm al la'ālī . . . op.cit.; line 12.
12. ibid; lines 183-185.
13. ibid; lines 16-35.
14. ibid; lines 62-69.
15. ibid; lines 86-89.
16. ibid; lines 95-96.

17. *ibid*; line 122.
18. *ibid*; lines 103-19.
19. *ibid*; lines 117-119.
20. *vide supra* note 2.
21. al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Nazm al la'ālī . . . *op.cit.*; line 167.
22. *ibid*; lines 174-176.
23. *ibid*; line 198.
24. *ibid*; Lābārin Nasāra *op.cit.*; line 7.
25. *ibid*; lines 15-16.
26. *ibid*; lines 26-30.
27. *ibid*; lines 59-70.
28. *ibid*; lines 41-47.
29. *ibid*; lines 71-75.
30. *ibid*; lines 124-169.
31. *ibid*; lines 11-14. 18-19.
32. *ibid*; lines 21-24.
33. *ibid*; lines 1-7-110.

34. *ibid*; lines 127-132.
35. *ibid*; line 41.
36. *ibid*; line 95.
37. *ibid*; lines 171, 173.
38. *ibid*; line 201.
39. *ibid*; line 24.
40. *ibid*; line 89.
41. *ibid*; line 145.
42. *ibid*; line 209.
43. *vide supra* note 5.
44. al-Hajj 'Umar, 'A Mayya shāqatka . . . *op.cit.*; line 18.
45. *ibid*; lines 32-51.
46. *ibid*; lines 57-58.
47. H.A.R. Gibb, "Tarikh" in Studies on the Civilization of Islam, *op.cit.*; p. 115.
48. M. Siddiqi, The Qur'ānic Concept of History, Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi, 1965, p. 197.
49. Franz Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1952, p. 57.

50. al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Nazm al la'ālī . . . op. cit.; lines 135-139.
51. G. E. Von-Grunebaum, "Literature and History" in Medieval Islam, Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1946, p.283.
52. Winifred Nowottny, The Language Poets Use, The Athlone Press, London, 1962, p. 166.
53. al-Ḥājj 'Umar Lābāri Nasāra, op. cit.; lines 147-150.
54. D.S. Margoliouth, Lectures on Arabic Historians, University of Calcuta, 1939, p. 81.
55. Sir Charles Lyall, Ancient Arabian Poetry, London, 1930, p. xix ff, quoted in M. Hiskett, ed. Tazyīn al Waraqāt by Abdullah ibn Muḥammad, Ibadan University Press, 1963, p. 9.
56. Rosenthal, op.cit.; pp. 59-60.
57. idem.
58. al-Ḥājj 'Umar Mashrā' mā' al khabār . . . op. cit.; lines 21-22.
59. ibid; Nazm al la'ālī, lines 94-95.
60. ibid; Lābāri Nasāra lines 59-70.
61. W.E. Ward, A History of Ghana, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1967, p. 287-312. W. Tordoff, "The Exile and Repatriation of Nana Prempeh I of Ashanti" Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, vol. IV, Part II, p. 33-35. David Kimble A Political History of Ghana, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1963 p.285-97.

62. R.G. Collingwood, The Idea of History, op.cit; p. 257.
63. ibid; p. 276.
64. Phillip Curtin, The Image of Africa, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1964, p. 7.
65. J.S. Trimingham, "The Phsases of Islamic Expansion and Islamic Culture Zones in Africa" Islam in Tropical Africa op.cit.; pp. 128-129.
66. Ibid; History of Islam in West Africa, Oxford, 1962, p. 222.
67. Ibid; p. 221.
68. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Nazm al la'ālī . . . op.cit.; line 18.
69. Ibid; line 26.
70. Ibid; line 29.
71. T.E. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, London, 1819, Quoted in Ivor Wilks, "The Position of Muslims in Metropolitan Ashanti in the Early 19th Century", in Islam in Tropical Africa, op.cit; p. 322.
72. Joseph Schacht, Islam in Northern Nigeria" Studia Islamica LaRose, Paris, vol. viii MCMLVII, p. 133.
73. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Nazm al la'ālī, op.cit.; line 167.

74. Trimingham, History of Islam in West Africa, op.cit.; p. 225.
75. R.G. Collingwood, "The Nature and Aims of Philosophy of History" in Essays in Philosophy of History, University of Texas, Houston, 1965, p. 52.
76. Cf. Note 19 supra.
77. H. A. S. Johnson, The Fulani Empire of Sokoto, London, Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 202.
78. al-Ḥājj 'Umar Lābāri Nasāra, op.cit; lines 21-23.
79. Ibid; Nazm al la'ālī . . . op.cit; line 43.
80. Trimingham, History of Islam in West Africa, op.cit; p. 163.
81. Jamil Abun-Nasr, The Tijāniyya, Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 137-138.
82. Johnson, op.cit.; p. 230.
83. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Lābāri Nasāra, op.cit.; line 7.
84. Henry Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, London, 1858, vol. v, p. 29.
85. Al-Ḥājj 'Umar, Lābārin Nasāra, op.cit.; line 70.
86. Ibid; line 169.

87. Ward, op.cit; p. 312.
88. Johnson, op.cit.; p. 247.
89. vide supra note 46.
90. vide supra note 9.
91. "Report on Mamprusi" by Captain D. Mackworth dated 30th May, 1898. quoted in Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs . . . op.cit.; p. 31.
92. A.M.C. Watherson, "The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast" Journal of African Studies, vii, 344-373, quoted in Levtzion, op.cit.; p. 131.
93. Rosenthal, op.cit.; p. 6.

APPENDIX ITRANSLATIONSMASHRA' MA' AKHABAR LI WARID WARIDUHA BIL-NAZAR

1. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Beneficient,
May God bless the one after whom there is no Prophet.
2. I begin this rajaz composition
By the praise of He that controls the universe,
3. He who decides the turns of events,
Who metes out fortune and misfortune alike.
4. May the best blessings be on the Prophet Muhammad,
Whose establishment cannot be destroyed.
5. Peace be on him, likewise his family,
His companions and wives till Judgement Day.
6. Thou that enquires of my heart's vision,
Tell thou the story I narrated from my own mind.
7. Remember these events took place
A long time ago as was reported.
8. Did you not see them happening, O my people
Did you not see them growing each day?
9. (The event) Has swallowed the whole of black Africa from
all sides
And spread to every country, even the remotest one.
10. It started from Futa Toro undoubtedly
And spread to Futa Jalon o my companion.
11. To Madina Mayo, say Yoro
To Futabundu, have we any place left.
12. Hence say to Timbuktu
And likewise its surrounding villages, as I was told.
13. To Sinqit, Tuba, say they are two
Great towns far from each other.

14. From Marakesh to Fez and following them
Banjakara and all they had in them.
15. Don't forget Macina which saw the signs
But whose people became subjected to them.
16. The misfortune, nay calamity
Affected both the city and its townsmen.
17. Be thou warned that there is no escape
Neither is there any harmony.
18. The calamity affected Samogo, Nugaru and Tumu,
It went as far as Marafiya, Asante and Akim.
19. This calamity affected Gilasso
Thereafter Guna, Bitugu and Gimginsu.
20. Neither did it leave any space in Gurunshi
Nor any settlement in Mossiland.
21. Rather the whole Fantiland was occupied
And their kings became but humiliated slaves.
22. Their rule reached Awunaland, Agashe,
Dahomey, Iko and Dina (Elmina).
23. Do you not see they have occupied Mango
As far as Barbashi and Segu?
24. The whole of Borgu infidels were conquered,
And their lords either fled or were killed.
25. Do not forget their extermination of Abeokuta
Which they annihilated both secretly and publicly.
26. They occupied this land as far as Ilorin
O Lord be thou our solace.
27. Add also that they conquered the land of Bono
To Alufa whose rulers submitted.
28. Do not forget Kokoko, Lafiya
To the last (end) of their villages.
29. All these (happened) by the will of God
Who no doubt does what he wills.
30. I heard they captured some people
Who tried to save it.

- 31. Did they occupy Bussa and the land of Yawuri?
They certainly occupied Gombe undoubtedly.
- 32. Do not forget that they were in Duri
Yagagalaji, Sayy and Sankori.

Submission to God

- 33. If you ponder carefully about my narrative
You will say our Lord is God and go no further.
- 34. All this is from his judgement
His power, wisdom and knowledge.
- 35. Do not seek a way out from your own power:
Rather submit your affairs to your Creator.
- 36. Be thou warned of the views
As to whether escape is better for us than staying.
- 37. There is no preference between them;
Rather both are oppressive.
- 38. O my people I implore you to stop gossiping
To be reticent and make a decision.

Decision Making

- 39. O fellow Muslims, submit yourselves outwardly,
Conceal your affairs and use stratagems.
- 40. I advise you to thank God if they come
And be patient in your hearts if they go astray.

Admonition

- 41. Have no doubts about God's religion,
They cannot destroy it for they are helpless.
- 42. Verily the house of Islam can never be destroyed
And whoever revolts against it will be destroyed.
- 43. God knows what they desire,
What they want and what they dislike.
- 44. The prophet had warned us of the events to come,
No matter how long it took.

Completion

45. Add Adamawa to this narrative
Also Keffi, Lafiya and Nasarawa.
46. Did you hear what they did to Nahawazaga?
Who else burnt it down even if they were in revolt?
47. Who is that intelligent man who knows
What I am talking about, who can grasp and understand?
48. We pray to God Almighty for prosperity
And a way out of all that he has made difficult.

Dialogue

49. A fellow enquired of my activities
Both privately and publicly.
50. He asked me whether it is Salaga I desire or here
Or Hausa or Iko or Macina.
51. He said to me "O learned man where would thou sojourn?"
Wherever you stay is our dwelling place.
52. I said to him "do you not realize what has happened
With all our dwelling places unsafe for us?"
53. Rather the whole world is unsettled,
It is unstable or destroyed as soon as it is built.
54. This matter confuses me.
I am at a loss what to do in this world.
55. I cannot say I am staying here
Nor can I say I am going there.
56. As for your question about my return to Salaga,
Even its love is gone out of my heart.
57. If Salaga is improved and it flourishes, that is good,
Or if it is endowed with goodness that is what befits her:
58. Either there are lots of sweet things at Salaga,
Whose prospects are bright,
59. Or its people are wealthy;
But as for me I have no hope for her.

Completion

45. Add Adamawa to this narrative
Also Keffi, Lafiya and Nasarawa.
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Who else burnt it down even if they were in revolt?
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55. I cannot say I am staying here
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56. As for your question about my return to Salaga,
Even its love is gone out of my heart.
57. If Salaga is improved and it flourishes, that is good,
Or if it is endowed with goodness that is what befits her:
58. Either there are lots of sweet things at Salaga,
Whose prospects are bright,
59. Or its people are wealthy;
But as for me I have no hope for her.

60. Nor do I desire her even though I stayed there for years;
Even if it were as nice as Toro Sina (Sinai desert),
61. I will never visit her for the rest of my life
With the intention of staying and this is well known.
62. Even if it is filled with niceties and happiness,
I shall never be among its sojourners.
63. Even if Salaga were clothed with silk,
I would be frank with her in my pessimism.
64. Do you realize that I have nothing against her
Nor do I have any quarrel with its dwellers?
65. It is only the heart that refuses to return there
Or hear anything about her.
66. As for those who have ambitions there,
Or those who have interest therein,
67. Or those for whom it is a garden,
Who consider it a paradise,
68. Their sayings are true as far as they are concerned,
For it is their abode and so it pleases them.
69. Do not think I have said my say
On account of envy or spite.
70. I am not envious of anyone on earth;
No matter whether they discover a settlement
(as beautiful as) a meadow.
71. I do not hate Salaga people
Nor do I love those who oppose them.
72. Rather I am in Kete where I dwell;
If there were only five people I should be their sixth.
73. Have no doubt that if I were to quit
I shall go to Sokoto.
74. Or if God wills that I die here in Kete
That is the mercy of God and a response to my quest.
75. O Lord, forgive the Muslim community,
Both those who obey and those who disobey.
76. I do not blame those that are influenced by lust
Nor do I blame those who consider it a garden.

77. Because it is their homeland to which they are accustomed
From their childhood, moreover they were born here.
78. O Muslims do not be foolish
Among yourselves nor savages unto each other.
79. Rather stick to the rightful sunna
And do not be inclined to the quest of wealth.
80. Hold fast the covenant of the merciful,
Namely the sunna of the Prophet and the Qur'ān.
81. Be patient in all calamities
That God may alleviate them.
82. So that God may take charge of your affairs.
Would you be patient or sad about this?
83. May You, our Lord, establish us in Islam
In every calamity or pain.
84. My poem ends with the praise of God
And may his best blessings be on the son of Abdullah
85. On his companions and wives
Whenever life changes over kings.
86. Its verses are eighty-seven
Composed on 9th Muharram 1326 = 4th February 1908.
87. I entitled it "the sources of the water
Of information for those who seek after it
And those who benefit it through persistence.

NAZM AL LA'ALI BI AKHBAR WA TANBIH AL KIRAM

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
May God bless our leader Muhammad and his family;
2. Upon his companions let there be perfect peace;
I seek help from God.
3. In the name of God I start this poem.
He is God, the One, Lord of mankind.
4. He allots fate as he wishes;
He is our Lord, Almighty, consecrator of great men.
5. He does what He wishes as He wishes.
Glory be to the Almighty, the most Honourable.
6. He sent His messengers with guidance and law
And signs to illuminate darkness.
7. He sealed them with the best of creatures,
The apostle of God, man of dignity.
8. He sent down his spirit as an inspiration to him
So he may guide him to the abode of peace.
9. He fought against infidels and the misguided
And established his religion on the skeletons.
10. Bless him, O Thou Everlasting One,
And give him peace till Judgement Day,
Thou Peace itself.
11. May the same apply to his people and all his companions
And his family, the Perfect ones.
12. Our purpose is a poem composed like gems
(with which) To inform and warn noble men.
13. I have composed my poem for the benefit of the intelligent
And I am not concerned with the niggardly,
14. Who by their calumnies and defamation injure.
My utmost intention is for God himself.
15. Whoever is intelligent will listen
And will understand what we mean here.

16. A sun of disaster has risen in the West
Sweeping both populated and unpopulated places.
17. I mean by this the calamity of the Christians
Whose misfortune came to us like raining clouds.
18. At the beginning they came in peace
With soft words, beautifully couched:
19. They said we have come to trade,
To improve the roads in the area,
20. To prevent oppression and theft in the world,
To perform good deeds and put an end to ignorance.
21. We did not realize their intentions at all
And thus we became like tools before them,
22. As they deceived us with their little gifts
And gave us sweet morsels of food.
23. We did not realize their intention was to dominate
As rulers do when they pitch their camps.
24. So they built barracks all over the land,
Decorated with marble stones.
25. A little later they changed their tone
As God said in the Qur'[']ān.
26. They became masters in every city,
whose people became like servants to them.
27. They said - "there should be no slave trade
And no slavery,
28. No confinement with fetters or ropes
No beating with painful punishments".
29. The freeborn became a slave to them
And slaves became noblemen.
30. We said "This is not what you brought us -
Are you violating your contract"?
31. Really I have never seen a judgement like this
A noble man becoming despised and reviled?
32. A despicable person becoming a nobleman with honour?
What a woe unto noblemen!

33. There is no remedy to this judgement
Save patience and reticence.
34. I see no remedy in escaping them
Even if we intend fleeing to safety.
35. Do you not see they've occupied all the lands,
Surrounding them like clouds?
36. From Sansading, Segu and Jenne,
And in Segu they fought great armies.
37. Concerning Delebe, Sankarya, Yaulabi.
38. As for Jenne they attacked it with an army
Whose commander was like skillful hell.
39. And from Delebe, Sankoro and Yaulabi
Also Bambara the prosperous land.
40. To Yoro, Futa Jalon and Futa Toro,
The city of Maya, all these are covered with disaster.
41. Sinqit, Timbuktu, Tuba
Macina, the land of nobles.
42. Banjakara, Donsa and likewise Quraysh
And Safara the market of food and salt.
43. They stayed in Safara and its environs
Their commander was Aqibu the blameworthy.
44. We shall mention every land they occupied
As far as we can chronologically.
45. Tumu and its environs, Duri and Kurtabi
And Dagomba the land of prosperity.
46. The whole of Sanwi to Namaru
And Tira, Daragul, the people of Rugami.
47. They occupied every country,
Small and big alike.
48. The inheritors of Halu ran away in panic
To Dakala and Sandir in the wars.
49. Yaga to Galaji and Surub also
And Zanguri and Sayy like twins.

50. And Kirtashi and Kulfa and Lumbulunbu
Also Begoro and Natangu.
51. All these are Fula lands
Excepting a few inserted for the sake of order.
52. Now we turn to Gundubu and Lale.
And Yadira, all of which are lands of cruel people.
53. Do not you see that they have dedicated themselves
To Busma and these have become their servants?
54. They stayed in Wagadugu without doubt
And its barracks were surrounded with danger.
55. I do not think the Mossiland is brave
For they ran away like lost beasts.
56. Their men and women alike fled from
This situation like Sawami.
57. There is no real difference between the Rawa
And the Faga to them;
This is really blameable.
58. Did you hear about their coming to Kula
And Salaga with their flag of peace?
59. Also Bulsa and all those who were there
Also Lagu, nay Kigintu in that order?
60. And Biri, Namri and Dakai are the same
And Kumbi Saleh, Bisasogo and Madane;
61. And Saga and all those who were there
Say also Busaga
They came to Bonfila in group (fi'ām).
62. As for the land of Gurma they surrounded it
With total occupation and the people became like servants.
63. We never heard of anyone who fought or
Resisted in words,
64. Except Garju who repudiated shame
And died and was buried.
65. And the noble people should act that way
If they come, let them die without sickness.

66. Life of humiliation is no life
Death in honour is like sleep:
67. But few are they that respond to the call of death
Except the noble ones.
68. We love Garju and lament him in truth:
Those who remain will repent in darkness.
69. They came by force to Bantatugu
And its leader fled like a child.
70. To Madabu, to Sabalgu, Buti
To Birka, Alamba, Tafu, Tawami,
71. Sundumali, Dagu and those who were there
Also Jakagu and Bindugu, chronologically.
72. Karjam and Tanda next to it;
Also Yalu, the land of salt and food.
73. Did you not year of their arrival at Kuru
With black gloomy flags?
74. The son of its chief is a brave hero:
He acted honourably and without shame.
75. What a wonderful action he took
When he rejected shame and fought
Against them and went to his death.
76. Whoever remains will repent in his life
What a wonderful man he was!
77. He died without fearing the pain of slaughter.
May God reward him in the abode of peace.
78. They came to you without fighting or argument;
Its chief became like a pigeon.
79. Say the same of Zugu and Bankara
Likewise Kondi and Sandading in the same order.
80. Also Gurma, Tumu and Borgu
They were killed in the most villanous manner.
81. Any noble man who refuses to fight
Will be killed with gun or sword,
82. And thrown naked in the garbage,
And eaten by birds and beasts.

83. They came to Karku and Ware then to Kenkele
But very little blood was shed.
84. What a great number of people were killed
On account of being afraid of being killed!
85. There is no shame for anyone they kill
Just as they kill black donkeys.
86. We thought there were men in Borgu,
Who were no doubt leaders of war,
87. We saw a big bowl bearing a head
And bows with poisoned arrows
88. And some instruments with drugs
And various kinds of poisons.
89. All these are but lies and cheats
For they threw them away like lost beasts.
90. We saw only a few of them
Like the black donkey and son of Kutami.
91. We heard they went eastward
With flags and iron weapons
92. They took the road to Zerma and Doso
And Tambarika in an ordinary manner.
93. To Lulu and Kanda, also Dodo
Giwaye, Domiga which were like twins.
94. They came to Ismā'il the chief of Kebbi
With peaceful proposals, without quarrel.
95. Yes they went to Teghaza, Asben
To Salahe, may peace be upon them.
96. May God save the Muslim umma (nation).
May God save us from dismal calamities.
97. They came to Tara, Gobir, say Muradi
and Tasawa, Agi, land of Kilam.
98. Many were the cities they ravaged,
Burning all the food therein.
99. Their soldiers came to Zinder intending evil,
(they came) With flags and iron weapons

100. In anger to exact a violent revenge,
But there were some great men at the gates.
101. We heard they came to Shar
And built a house of marbles at its centre.
102. To Lagoni and Mandara, then to Musgu
The land of Sara, mention it in that order.
103. They came to Dikwa to fight Rabbeh
And captured him like a small child.
104. There was smoke when they caught him
And the area was covered with smoke like hell.
105. Within a day their situation became serious
And so did the world situation become
Grave to the people.
106. Matters began to change
From this to that and that to this without end.
107. Every event has an end
When it reaches its final stage.
108. Every calamity, even if it lasts long
Finishes as it started
Just like an ephemeral action.
109. Calamities emerge like clouds,
They happen and pass away like flocks of animals.
110. O Thou Everlasting Self Sufficient One
Drive away these events of our time
Whenever they increase.
111. Babima and its village Sikassu
They came to it with hell.
112. They invaded it and annihilated it quickly
They also overran Kenadugu the land of food.
113. Dawakara and Tira and Sikilasus and
Tulube which is adjacent to the land of peace.
114. And Bobo; also the land of Waday,
To Warku where there was a big market.
115. To Guna, Bitugu, also Shibagu
To Dafi and wahabu, in its entirety.
116. In it there was Mukhtara the adamant and resolute
Who never slept at night,

117. But performed prayers throughout the night
And did the same during the day.
118. They came to him in this situation
But he did not fear them.
He made peace with them and
Became one of the nobles.
119. There was a large army
Whose commander was called Imām
120. As for his title it was Sāmori
And his children were called sons of Imām.
121. He controlled Gere and Kuntugi
We heard they took him
122. To the capital city in pretence and flight.
The same is said about the nobles and common people.
123. Where are the chiefs of Gurunshi people,
The Zaberma, the Hausa?
124. They occupied Kasana and Lowega
Also Sati and Dabir, the land of base people.
125. Also Bishe, Mankron and Nyoro
Also Wa which is the land of noble people.
126. Do not forget Walambale and Sakalu
Also Kelo and Nabalo as their target.
127. Kenkenga, Freetown, also mention Bisau
To Nafaru and Gajate accordingly.
128. They occupied Gurunshi without resistance
From the right, the rear and the vanguard.
129. Only slaves resisted them
And they occupied the towns without
Any condition.
130. The slaves of Gurunshi are non believers
There could be no belief among vile people;
131. Especially the Isala, Dagati, Kashir
Kafarshi and Kanjaga the hypocrites.
132. Their masters resisted vehemently but the slaves
Disobeyed them with impunity.

133. Before they were kings
And used to sleep on carpets.
134. This had never occurred to their minds,
Even in dreams in reason of sleep.
135. One day they took refuge in Dagomba
And Biwafuri where the rope market was,
136. When the Ashantis were deceived by the devil
Or by trees with dark shades
137. Or by idols or money or gold
Or lust or by wine drinking,
138. They were certainly deceived by lies and falsities,
By ignorance, stupidity and despondency.
139. The outcome of this was dreadful death,
And only those that were saved were the claws of fate.
140. The Christians occupied Elmina, Saltpond
And they had Accra the land of noble people.
141. Likewise Cape Coast and Winnega,
With all that they contained.
To Sanbarfu, Ada in that order.
142. To Tetemu and Kundaga all
Also Awana and Ayabe
143. Also Agashe, Dahomey and its surroundings
All these areas are many, they
Are uncountable in any organized manner.
144. Also Ibadan and Abeokuta, the land of the Yorubas
Ilorin, Oto, thousands of these so to say.
145. Also Lafiya and its surroundings to Buru
Which is the land of barbarians.
146. And Nupe and Lafiya, Adamawa
Munshi, Kafe, Nasarawa, successively.
147. Yawuri, Bussa, Gombe
Likewise Ilu, in which there is a market.
148. Likewise a delicate house which is buried
With fire in advance.

149. Is it true that they came to Zaga? O what a people
If it is true then their intention
Was to advance further.
150. Don't you hear the Dagomba chief asking,
"Are they coming to us in peace?"
151. The remainder of his people, even his sons
Are devils who had very bad characters.
152. When he died they were overwhelmed by calamity
There was division in the army.
153. Say the same of Gambaga and Kusasi
And Mango and Bartashi and
Fasagun successively.
154. Mention Kete our present abode
Which is dominated up to Nanumba
And Konkomba the land of base people.
155. Also Basari and Kubri and what it contained
Their headquarters was a stone citadel.
156. Also Sagudai, Karki and Fasuwa
And Golifu, also Samari successively.
157. The land of Salimaya and its possessions,
The chief of Sabarku fled from influenza.
158. A tall Christian came to him with war
But he fled and evacuated his palace in confusion.
159. Don't you see that they have beseiged Bikura
With the aim of advancing further?
160. We are terrified with what they inflict upon us,
For certainly their intention is to dominate all mankind.
161. Don't you observe they came to Wushishi
Wherein there was a noble king?
162. This is an aspect of their humiliation on us
For they came to us like nice people.
163. When we asked them -
"Is it your intention to fight wicked people?"
164. They said "who are you to fight us?"
Come be patient and unblameable.
165. Did you hear of their coming to Abuja
Also to Gao and Dafrur successively?

166. Their intention was to fight against Muslims
And they came with quarrels.
167. I do not know what will happen later,
But we should pray to God for honourable end.
168. We heard that they went to Ilili and Agades
All these areas are lands of nobles.
169. It is said that their messenger came to
Bauchi with sweet words.
170. And they sent Adam to Kanbilahi
To the carriers of great people.
171. I saw hell in the land of Rubu
With injustice and their intention was to advance.
172. There is nothing to say in this time of ours
Nothing but patience with evil speech.
173. Whosoever says the truth about this affair
Will regret and will be blamed.
174. Truth is not acceptable in this time of ours.
Whoever says the truth will have nothing but
Contempt and insult.
175. Truth has this time become bitter
And its sweetness increases with betrayal.
176. O God Thou Merciful, bestow mercy on your servants,
The elites as well as the common people.
177. The pride of contemporary men are stupidity
Falsity, deception and lies.
178. Yes, the leaders are stupid and ignorant
And their blood is mingled with blame.
179. Their veins contaminated with envy and corruption,
Their bones stuffed with hatred of human beings,
180. Their skin is made of love of wealth
And the love of leadership their hair.
181. Gossip is their prayers
And the flesh of other people
Their meat. (Litt. - like the flesh of birds to them).
182. My poem is nothing but an admonition
It must not be seen as versified folly.

183. Nor is it due to my love for the people
Of the Book (the Christians);
God forbid such a thing to happen.
184. I did not compose this poem out of joy or zeal;
Rather I composed it out of grief.
185. Such a poem has never been heard
From those who have corruption as their aim
Who distort by their talk.
186. Distortion of speech is not an innovation:
Rather it is ancient with human beings
187. People have already distorted the Torah,
Even the Lord of the Throne repeated this
In blaming them.
188. Don't you see men leading people astray,
By lies, distorting the words He brought us.
189. Explaining them out of their lust, falsifying them?
But with God there is punishment for sins.
190. Who are more envious than these people?
If they envy them I'll try to act rightfully.
191. Is there anyone more resentful than learned men?
If they resent we are not really sorry for them.
192. Did you not hear what happened to Suyūṭī?
May God reward him among the nobles.
193. Some people consider our poem a joke
And a waste of time -
Not so, it is rather a lament.
194. It is not as the negligent people think -
A joke or an insult to people.
195. God forbid that until my dying day.
196. The recitation of the Sermons are truth
But the envious envy them in their words.
197. The murmuring of the book as we like it,
We shall end it with prayers of completion.
198. O Thou who responds when
The captive and the needy in darkness calls,

199. We appeal to you for rescue from what is brought
To us - Let there be a salvation, a peaceful end.
200. We pray to you through the master of Prophets (Muhammad)
And the respect of the saints
Who enjoy high respect.
201. We hope that our families and us will
Be honoured in your refuge, Thou
Almighty and Glorious.
202. For there is no harm to anyone who takes
Refuge in you nor is there any injury to him;
O Thou Lord of Creatures.
203. There is no sadness grief nor despair
For those who arrive at your gate.
204. You act according to your will:
Let us appeal to the owner of respect.
205. Signs of calamity have befallen us:
You however act as you will
With your creatures.
206. We appeal to our Lord through the unseen ones,
Through Jali the pole of noble people.
207. Through the respect of all Sacred books
And through (the Qur'anic verses) Yāsīn Hāmir
208. And the verses of the Spider, Adiyāt, Fātiḥa,
And the respect of 'Alif Lam.
209. Through the verses of Joseph, Thunder
Bees and Isrā', which follows the mention of sleep.
210. And through the verses of the Prophets,
Light and the verses of Pilgrimage,
The sanctified month.
211. And the verses of Safat and Dawūd
Zumar, Likewise Hujurat and
Hashr which is very high.
212. And the Torah and the Gospel that
Follows it and Zabor,
Nun and the Pens.
213. Through the respect of the companions
Of the Prophet and all his families.

214. Upon the best creatures in heaven and earth
Be the blessings of God and peace forever.
215. Also all his family and companions,
We appeal to God for an honourable end.
216. Count the number of the verses of the book
We symbolized it, thus ending the book completely.
217. As for the date it's 1318 A.H. = 1900/1
I symbolized even the year.

LABARIN NASARA

1. In the name of God, the Beneficient, the Merciful
May God bless our leader Muḥammad and his family.
2. Upon his companions, wives and descendants
Abundant peace, Amen.
3. This thing that has arisen we are about to put together:
Listen to the story of the Christians:
4. We begin our work in the name of God,
So it may be a good composition.
5. We salute Muḥammad, the leader of us slaves;
(We salute also) His companions, the noble ones.
6. As we sojourned in our land
Having no dealings with Jews nor Christians,
7. It was reported that Kola nut was scarce
Because of war between the Ashantis and the Christians.
8. Then it was said "but for the Ashantis
The whole land would fall before the Christians"
9. Slaves rushed out rejoicing:
They said "we shall not serve the Christians".
10. They all waxed proud
And boasted because of the Christians.
11. Soon it was reported that Samori had come
With thousands of soldiers:
12. His Sofas controlled Kuntigi and Gere
And kept out the Christians.
13. However, the report was only a rumour, for he himself
Had been driven out of his towns by the Christians -
14. And was making preparations to flee;
He continued to flee watching behind for the Christians.
15. Soon news reached Prempeh
Who sent messengers to enquire from the Christians.

16. But the Christians heard this
And captured Prempeh for treachery.
17. Thereafter the French and the English Christians
Pursued Samori.
18. And Samori was captured
And sent to the Christian capital,
19. After much fighting and devastation
In which many men and women were killed -
20. Nay, slaughtered like chicken and guinea fowls;
Come quickly, O Christians!
21. Ahmadu Sequ was a noble man
But the Christians pursued him,
22. When his ambitious brother Aqibu
Invited the Christians.
23. So it was that Ahmadu was driven out of his lands
And went in flight to Kebbi, Dendi and Yawuri,
24. Where he died; may God have mercy on him:
He was a believing man and a grateful servant of God.
25. The Zaberma of Gurunshiland were warlike and
None except the Christians could match them.
26. Amariya cried because of treachery
And fought for the Christians against his people.
27. He enlisted men and met them
But when the battle went against him,
28. He betrayed his people and they were massacred,
For the Christians had superior arms.
29. And so were the Zaberma dispersed
And some fled to Safara
30. The land of their elders, whence they came to Dagomba
To meet (Litt. at the place of) the Germans.
31. A certain Garjaga the son of Gurma chief
Dared to defy the Christians.
32. He prepared to strike with a spear but
Someone asked: "who art thou before the Christians?"

33. A rifle was shot and he died:
So sudden was this accomplished by the Christians.
34. So it was according to those who heard their coming to Kandi
Matters thus lie with the Christians.
35. Saka also prepared to fight the Christians
But he was suddenly fired upon by them.
36. His troops dispersed and fled.
O Let there be a protection (Litt.- roof), the Christians
are here!
37. Know that Saka the son of Kotoshi was a brave man;
He denied that the Christians could match him.
38. When he armed himself and met them,
The confrontation proved fatal.
39. He was soon defeated
And the Borgu people agreed to follow the Christians.
40. When they came to Nupe
The Christians fought five battles.
41. 'Abū Bakr won one of these
But it is difficult to defeat the Christians.
42. When they retreated and reviewed their battle,
Their return proved disastrous.
43. 'Abū Bakr fled from his house
And was pursued by the Christians:
44. The sight was like a hare and a dome
As the chase went on.
45. His men dispersed and deserted,
Excepting a few, O Christians!
46. They chased him until he was captured.
Who is there to challenge the affairs of the Christians?
47. It was at Lokoja that they captured him,
When his lot became like a gift to them.
48. According to those who heard, they met the Germans
Where the Germans and the other Christians met.
49. The war leader showed no cowardice;
Before he was killed, he killed a Christian.

50. The brave Dagombas were warlike
And they met the Germans at Hoday,
51. The Christians killed many Dagombas
And then proceeded to Yendi.
52. Know that at Yendi they were not tested,
For the Christians stayed idle.
53. The bugle sounded and they proceeded;
The Christians were intending then
54. To meet the Dagombas at Sango
And here they captured the Yendi captain.
55. They blinded him and killed him
And the gathering dispersed because of the Christians.
56. At first they had assembled to fight
And had prepared for the Christians.
57. They had routed the Christians in a fierce battle
But Masda Garaf the Christian Captain
58. Repulsed them with some arms
And they fled, shouting O Christians.
59. The land of Yaa Asantewa cried havoc:
She said she would repulse the Christians,
60. She summoned the people and they responded
And gathered to attack the Christians.
61. They surrounded the Christian station and the Governor,
Together with the Hausa troops who had come with them.
62. Soon the men and their women
Were here starved to death.
63. The situation worsened for the Christians;
This was the struggle between the Ashantis and the Christians.
64. However, Majmūra set out with soldiers
To reinforce the Christians.
65. He struggled and with difficulty reached Kumasi.
O the Christians could be nice and persistent.
66. He turned round fighting
And managed to reach the Christian captain -

67. Who continued to fight until he escaped,
Salutations to you, thou illustrious Christian.
68. Thereafter the war was intensified from Europe
And many soldiers joined the Christians.
69. Thus the gathering of the Ashantis dispersed
And the Christians captured Asantewa
70. Many men and women were killed
And the hinterlands came under Christian rule.
71. As for Magāji of Keffi, he was a brave man;
When he gave trouble the Christians dealt with him.
72. He killed a clerk of high rank
And boasted of harassing the Christians.
73. They chased him and he fled the land,
Managing with luck to escape the Christians.
74. His men deserted him in their numbers,
But he escaped the Christians.
75. He cajoled (prepared) the districts to ensure his escape
To a place where there was no Christian rule,
76. On the eve of his preparations he died at Jarwal
When he met the all-forgiving Lord.
77. Jinjiri wrought havoc at Zinder;
He was foolish enough to kill a Christian.
78. May hell kill the French leader,
The brother of Safarafa the Christian warrior.
79. When Safarafa launched an attack with his soldiers,
Thousands of soldiers on the side of the Christians,
80. 'Aḥmadu Jinjiri met them
But the confrontation with the Christians was fatal.
81. 'Aḥmadu Jinjiri became a martyr
But they (his people) killed the Christians
82. And ruled the towns and villages of Zinder
But now there remains only the Christians.
83. There were some infidels called Munshi
Who harassed and killed the Christians.

84. When the Christians returned (the attacks)
They met with their death.
85. Know that their attacks were futile
Even the birds rejoiced at their routing.
86. As for Kosaw of Zegzeg, the chief of Bajinta
None but the Christians could match him.
87. They captured him and in order to humiliate him,
They paraded him; O Christians!
88. It was at Lokaja that Kosaw died:
What more shall we say of the Christians!
89. O God grant him peace,
Bless him and let him drink the flowing water.
90. As for the Kebbi chief, Sama the son of Nabāmi
He stayed quiet to watch the Christians.
91. The Kebbi people said, "chief get ready
So we gather to kill the Christians"
92. He said: "I shall not be wicked, O Kebbi people,
To lead you to be routed by the Christians.
93. Know that Sama does not joke or lie.
He is a perfect man even with the Christians.
94. (The people of) Abuja passed to meet them
And boasted of going to kill the Christians.
95. They assembled to assign duties -
It is senseless to clash with the Christians.
96. The Christians proceeded to launch their attack;
He says he is talking of the Christians.
97. Bullets were shot
And the Christians filled the air with smoke
98. The Abuja people retreated and fled;
They continued to flee, shouting, O Christians.
99. There were some people in the town of Muradi
Ask them about the Christians.
100. They provoked them and saw the danger;
Whereupon they repented and obeyed the Christians.

101. But why were they not spared,
Both the slaves and those who resisted?
102. Know that Gobir people were brave men
Even so they fled before the Christians.
103. They provoked them and realized their failure,
For their arms were no match before the Christians.
104. Their arms could match ours only,
But they were quickly finished by the Christians.
105. And so the Gobirs said to their tribesmen:
"Our war with the Christians is difficult".
106. And so they repented and made amends
And are now under the Christian rule.
107. There was a warrior called Rabbeh;
He invaded Bornu in the absence of the Christians.
108. After doing much havoc in the land,
He boasted of not fearing the Christians.
109. They brought their soldiers and killed him
In a marshy ground; so you hear of the brave Christians.
110. And so his affairs ended at Bornu
And today there is none except the Christians.
111. As for the grandson of Shehu, the chief of Kantagora,
Whose father was Naqamatse, the lover of good tidings,
112. All people benefitted from his father,
Men, women and children.
113. When he was attacked, he fled the town,
But the Christians pursued him in his flight
114. And captured him at a grazing ground
Where they paraded him as they were wont to.
115. They said: "Return to your land,
You are free, you have heard of the coming of the Christians."
116. There was 'Umaru the son of Salmānu Bauchi
Whom they captured despite his praise of the Christians.
117. No one knew what he did wrong;
Only God and the Christians knew.

118. As for 'Abu Bakr the chief of Zaitakoro
Whom the Christians captured,
119. We do not know what set them against him,
Only God Almighty and the Christians knew.
120. None of us knew what he did wrong;
It is only the leaders of the Christians who knew.
121. Muḥammad the son of Haru, the chief of Hadēja
It was he who refused to follow the Christians.
122. When he defied them, he gathered an army;
On account of his underestimation of the Christians.
123. As soon as a battle was joined they killed the Hadēja chief;
It was like magic, this feat of the Christians.
124. Look at Sokoto the land of the Nabīlo,
Whither the Christians carried their battle.
125. They armed themselves with many weapons,
For the Christians had these in great quantity.
126. They had many destructive weapons,
Including the Maxim, so you hear of the Christians.
127. They had a bugle which they sounded,
When you heard it they would appear.
128. (our weapons) The Kuri, baka and the spear
are but trifles to the Christians.
129. Warwatse, kanbari and harga
Are mere joke to the Christians.
130. Kunkeli, kutfani and lifdi
Are but playthings to the Christians.
131. As for our digging materials,
They are no match to the Christians.
132. And the black iron weapons,
They had many of these.
133. Horses were gathered and
The people said they would kill the Christians.
134. They assembled and sang praise songs -
The Muslim king faced the Christians.

135. A battle was joined and they faced each other;
But I saw only a bad omen for the Christians
136. They prepared to charge
And said they would slaughter the Christians.
137. Soon they clashed but they swerved off
And people bemoaned the fate of the Christians.
138. Their horses were shot
And the Christians began to retreat.
139. O thou Aṭṭahiru, grandson of Atīyu,
Thou friend of God who has driven away the Christians.
140. The whole land got ready; both town and village
And said "we do not like the rule of the Christians".
141. Thereafter the Muslim king began to prepare for his flight,
For the confrontation with the Christians was frightening.
142. He won over every district as far as Bīma
Where the Christians ambushed him.
143. And killed him on a Friday
According to the Christian time.
144. Here the Muslim king was buried
When he died a martyr's death.
145. O Thou Everlasting God,
Be merciful to Aṭṭahiru, a grateful servant he was.
146. O their coming to Kano was a public humiliation
For the Christians had many followers:
147. A colonel, an officer, sargeant, sargeant-major
And recruits were many among the Christians.
148. Write also the clerk, Dalabiran
And the cook of the Christians.
149. There was also Furshi, add Zaila also
And Saftina, the market inspector.
150. There was a doctor, the medicine man
Who cured the Christians of their ailments.
151. There was the Sanitary Inspector who watched out for filth
Behind the houses in the Christian quarters.

152. The Kano chief was absent;
In his absence the Christians did him in.
153. So when the people met at the capital they said:
"There is trouble so prepare for the Christians."
154. When they struck, they blew the defence;
Thus the Christians entered with their weapons.
155. Know that they did not end here
For the Christians entered the Kano chief's house.
156. They began to rase the house in order to humiliate him:
Thus the Christians set fire on tools.
157. Here chief Nashanu met them
And the Christians at once defeated him.
158. Thereafter completing the destruction of Dabu's house
The Christians revealed his secrets.
159. They asked the villagers:
"Where is your chief the Christians are here!"
160. The Kano chief, the grandson of 'Alu
The alert and the generous one
161. Prepared for a holy war
And all the people got ready for the Christians.
162. They proceeded to follow him;
As soon as he set out he met the Christians.
163. When the battle was joined, he swerved off
And retreated before the Christians.
164. His fellow chiefs and elder kinsmen
Reproached him for cowardice before the Christians.
165. Thereafter they swore to fight
And killed some Christians.
166. They captured him at Gobir
And now he is at Lokoja, a captive of the Christians.
167. Thereafter they returned to Limana;
They said: "We Christians shall not fight".
168. (The people said) "Our chief is no more"
Then the brave Christians sent him to Kano.

169. Thereafter their rule was established in that land
And none questioned their authority.
170. Look at all the chiefs we have enumerated
And how they all came under the Christian rule.
171. Who is there to challenge the rule of the Christians!
As for us we have agreed to their rule
172. We ask the Everlasting Almighty
To guard us from the humiliation of the Christians.
173. Whoever wrangles with the Christian administration,
We are not with him, for us it is only the Christians.
174. Now listen to this other narrative:
I wish to mention the nature of the Christian rule;
175. Bushes were cleaned and swept
And people were employed by the Christians.
176. Straight roads were made
And bridges were built by the Christians;
177. Markets were cleaned of filth
And roofs renewed; the work of the Christians.
178. People lived in peace without fear
And without anxiety in the Christian employment.
179. Whenever you bought, you paid in cash.
If you rented out, you resorted to Christians (for payment).
180. There was no fighting in the time of the Christians
And no drunkenness.
181. Whenever you quarrelled you were arrested
And sent for questioning before the Christians.
182. If you refused to sweep (your house) you were arrested
And questioned in the Christian courts.
183. Cemeteries were provided for the dead:
Such were the good deeds of the Christians.
184. All wars coming from the Sudan
Were left to the Christians.
185. The chiefs of Gurma and Borgu
All came under the Christian rule.

186. The chieftdom was given to Ayunzafa
Who insisted that the Christian rule should cease.
187. Know that there was none at that time
Whom the Christians could not suffice.
188. It is enough that you guard yourself against humiliation
And enjoy yourself with the Christians.
189. If you went wrong, you were sent to court
And questioned before the Christian Commissioner.
190. You were cross examined
And it could be frustrating in these courts.
191. You would be questioned about your crimes
O the Christian judge was wise.
192. He never gave judgement twice
Nor did he favour anyone.
193. Thus ended Muslim justice.
As for me I prefer the Christian judge.
194. There is sweetness in their rule
But it has its frustrations.
195. As for the ordinary man he follows only his rulers
Before the commissioner in the Christian court.
196. There were many posts: look at your people;
There were many ranks in the Christian rule.
197. Slave and master became equal
Before the law in the Christian rule.
198. Women became equal to their husbands:
O these Christians are contemptuous!
199. Both the young and old became equal;
Anyone was equal before the Christians.
200. They feared nothing and favoured none
But judged equally.
201. But do not overglorify them, they could be foolish
And none could predict their judgements.
202. Dwell not on your wealth, nobility nor education
For these are trifles to the Christians.

203. The English are sympathetic;
The Christian leaders are sympathetic.
204. As for me, I thank God for their rule;
For they treated me well.
205. I wish their rule lasts forever;
My recovery from poverty is due to their rule.
206. O Thou Glorious Lord of man
Be Thou our guide under the Christians.
207. For the sake of Muhammad, Noah, Moses and
The Spirit of God, Jesus the leader of the Christians.
208. Know that this poem is unique
And its sole aim is the Christians.
209. Now our poem is complete and finished
By the will of He who created us and the Christians.

'A MAYYA SHAQATKA HATTA SIRTĀ HAYRĀNA

1. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
May God bless the one after whom there is no prophet
2. Is it Mayya that fills your heart with desire
To the point of perplexity
Or is it that you are madly in love with Dād?
3. Or is it a dream from Hind Zābira
Or from Su'ad in her remote abode?
4. Or is it a jungle pigeon
That has adroitly inspired (Litt.- disputed with) you
Concerning the little bird long perished?
5. Else what makes you shed tears
Mingled with blood,
9 And why are your eyes filled with tears?
6. Or is it the memory of your rich settlements,
Its easy livelihood
And its satisfied folks
7. That inspires your protracted slumber
Whose satisfaction makes you heedless
Of the turns of fortune
As you lay in your bliss?
8. Are the homes of Salma and Shaizīna remote
That you cannot speed the night
And cry woe unto them?
9. If you deny my word, do but look
To your emaciated self -
It is like a lame man's body
10. What would you tell the pigeon, were it to sing
As you slumber or debauch with Farazīna.
11. Love is a misfortune none can endure
Save through the help of the Compassionate One.
12. Abandon them all and pay no attention
For God knows our public and private intentions.

13. Truly I swear by the Lord of creatures,
This is a proof - I never loved Mayya nor Dād.
14. Thus I am not bothered by the cupidity
Of those that savour my misfortune
Nor by the calumny of the devilish folks.
15. Ask the pigeon when it chants -
"Are you cooing or chanting?"
16. Though you savoured my misfortune,
I am delighted with my possessions -
These eggs and nests.
17. Even if our love torments our soul and body
We have unlike you excelled in grief.
18. Now extol the cultured lover
And his skill in clipping birds
And it will be a sufficient comparison.
19. Let us beseech the friend of God;
Call him Abū Sulaymān
And it is a sufficient love of mankind.
20. He is warm and forbearing,
Intelligent and purehearted;
I shall never forget this, were I the ruler of Baghdad.
21. Neither shall I forget Salmān and his acumen
Though I were to discover an Indian village or Shingāna.
22. I shall never cease lamenting his father Muḥammad
Our master even if I were a Dikhan.
23. May God water his grave abundantly
With continuous stream of satisfaction and forgiveness.

Chapter on Salutations

24. Accept greetings and thanks from me
As long as the Qur'ān is recited.
25. As long as people die and wind blows
And clouds rain abundantly on the horizon.
26. As long as visitors come and writers write
And as long as people love and fast the Ramaḡān.

- 27. With such greetings as I have described
Sulaymān when he became like Salmān.
- 28. As long as the feast come, women
Bear children and edifices are built.
- 29. Your folks are both residents and strangers;
Likewise your disciples both men and women.

An Account of What Happened

- 30. Thereafter understand what I say in this poem,
For it is a sufficient explanation.
- 31. I left Krachi in the year 1324 = 25th Feb. 1906
To wit, I parted on account of anger
And for the purpose of pilgrimage.
- 32. Until I arrived at Gambaga,
Which is falsely described:
- 33. It had but an ignorant chief
Who was negligent and dirty.
- 34. He excelled in folly and craftiness
And worshipped idols and gods.
- 35. Men of religion hated him
On account of his tyranny to the tribesmen.
- 36. I never found a shelter to take refuge
Nor any support nor provisions,
- 37. Because that numbskull
Has subjected them to affliction
As is the nature of God in dealing with tyrants.
- 38. The envious fellow hated us for no cause
But our hatred for depravity
Is a sufficient cause for this.
- 39. We are a people with guidance to creatures
And we are not proud.
We simply guide people to their obligations.
- 40. The ignorant hate us for this:
Who cares (Litt.- tell them to die),
For what will be will be.

41. We aim at dominating no one
Not even the immāmate, by God it is not our aim.
42. They think we are like them
For their aim is this world

How funny! for we are not not the same.
(Litt. - what a distance between us and them)
43. As for my reward he really hated it
Because those who matter know it.
(Litt. - the noble ones have noted it)
44. His accomplices in deception are many
I witnessed much treachery and animosity
45. Remember there are some pious ones at Gambaga
But their leader was Hamāma (i.e. the imam)
46. Forget all these and think of our poem
About the lover who excelled his rivals;
47. In knowledge, action, discipline
Piety, cleanliness and generosity;
These are sufficient qualities.
48. Add also his smiles,
His modest satisfaction
And make these his general qualities.
49. When they hatched their conspiracy,
Woe unto them! they lied
And exaggerated their words with lies.
50. He conspired with the chief and claimed
I meant to dominate them
Thus many became envious and behaved like devils.
51. And so we fled in great panic
Resorting to our Lord protector.
52. Our aim was to visit (Litt.- consecrate)
The tomb of our master Muḥammad
The grandfather of Salmān, hence our departure.
53. Your land (Mecca) is near
But we found no reposit ('faraj')
Nor did we find any means to achieve our aim.
54. On account of fear and shame
Because people have spread our defects
Everywhere in the land.

55. And so to Tamale I proceeded
Deflecting thus far from your land
56. Thereafter I went to Salaga
But fearing, I ran away
And set out in haste for Kete-Krachi.
57. I swear if I came to you (i.e. Kete-Krachi)
We shall undoubtedly go on
To pilgrimage to perfect our belief.
58. This if you grasp our meaning,
Is the purpose of this poem
But our creator does everything.
59. Today I am safe and sound in Kete
Perhaps this will soothe us.
60. I see nothing here to sadden me
Nor do I see any quarrel.
I am saved from poverty, thanks to my possessions.
61. Let us beseech God so we may accomplish
Our determination in the best way.
62. Nothing delights us more than going
In group as pilgrims to increase our acquaintances.
63. I beseech my Lord to answer
As he does always.
O brother, say Amen.
64. This is a determination that will never change;
For words devoid of action is a sufficient damage.
65. Perhaps our Lord will ease it in the future.
O be prepared and heed our words:
66. When we complete the rituals of the pilgrimage
We shall proceed to Madina with the caravan.
67. We shall visit the best of creatures (i.e. Muḥammad)
With his two companions at Madina;
So we may return here after our visit.
68. This is my only objective
But devils of our time torment me.
69. They imagine and think we are alike
In their love for this world.
No, never, we are not the same.

70. O Lord, accept our praise
And let them not be wasted
So we may be rewarded with happiness and prosperity.
71. By the honour of the Truthful ('Abū Bākr)
And the Separator ('Umar)
By the honour of Abū 'Amr (Uthman)
And 'Ali, the lion of wars
We appeal to you through these men.
72. From me to you abundant greetings
With peace throughout life.
73. In it an excellent light diffuses
As long as time repeats itself and circulates.
74. Likewise the folks of Salmān
Whenever we have love and compassion.
75. Take this from me as truthful information
And pay heed to no one.
76. Cheer up and be happy
For we aim at our objective.
77. Praise be to God who deserves
Our gratitude; He is our Lord
It is he who nourishes and leads us.
78. O Lord may you forgive all Muslims
The aged, the young, and the toddlers.
79. May the best blessings be
Upon the chosen one (i.e. Muḥammad) forever.
Whenever winds blow the branches of trees.
80. The verses of this poem are seventy-nine
In simple objective.
Composed in the year 1326 A.H. = 4th February 1908.

1 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مَنْ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدَهُ
 2 بِحَقِّ مَنْ يَصْرِفُ الدُّهُورَ بِدَأْنِ مَنْ الرُّقَى الْقَسُورَ
 3 وَهَوَانِ مَنْ يَجْعَلُ الْأَنْفَرَالَ وَيَنْجِي الشُّرُورَ الْأَفْرَالَ
 4 أَرْكَى الصَّلَاةَ الْبَيْتَ الْقَلْبَ وَصَقَّرَ بِنَارُهُ لَا يَصْدَمُهُ
 5 مَعَ السَّلَامِ وَكَتَبَ الْكِبَالَ وَالْخَبْرَ وَالْأَزْوَاجَ الْقَتَالَ
 6 يَا سَابِلِي عَقَابِ رُفِي قَلْبِي قَبَاكَ لِقَا أَرْوَيْشَةٍ عَمَلِي
 7 تَقْلَمُ الْأَمْوَالَ فَيَذْأَتُ مَيَّهَا صُنْدُ قَدِيمِهَا تَبْتَلِي
 8 أَلَمْ تَرَوْا قُلُوبَهُمَا يَفْرَحُ أَلَمْ تَرَوْا تَرْبِي كُلَّ الْيَوْمِ
 9 فَدَعَا طَيْفَ الشُّرُودِ أَرْكَى النَّاصِيَةِ وَحَقَّتْ الْبَلَاءُ قَتَى النَّاصِيَةِ
 10 دَبْدَبَ أَهْلُ مَرْفُوقِ تَأْوِيلِ لَامِ مَرِي عَقَّتْ إِلَى قِيَمِهَا بِلَامِ مَرِي
 11 إِلَى قِيَمِهَا يَنْفُوقُ لَأَرْفِيهِ لِقَا بِنْدِ مَنْ لَنَا سَيِّمُورُ
 12 وَمِنْ قِيَمِهَا قُلْ لِي تَنْبُكُ كَذَا فَرِيدِهَا يَذْأَتُ نَبِيَّتُ
 13 تَنْبُكُهَا طَوْبِي قُلْ قِيَمِهَا كَبِيرُ تَارِكَا نَبَا بَقْدَارِ
 14 مَرْمَرَا كُنْ قِيَمِهَا تَلِيهِمَا بَنِي شُرُودَ نَسَبِهَا أَرْفِيهِمَا
 15 لَا تَنْسَوْنَهَا يَسْرُهَا أَيْسَاتُ وَكَارَ قَلَمِهَا الْقَضَاءُ الْأَث

اصحابها

16 أَصَابَهَا مِصْرَافٌ أَصَابَ النَّاسَ مِنْ تَبْلِيَاثٍ وَأَغْنَى النَّبَاسِ
 17 قَاعَتَيْنِ وَلَتَشْرَقَ قَبْرًا
 18 سَامِعٌ وَتُخَرَّبُوا مَا تَعْمُ
 19 بَلْ هَذِهِ الْبَشُورُ أَتَتْ غَلَا سَوِ
 20 مَا تَرَكْتُمْ مَجَارَةً عُرُشِي
 21 بَلْ أَرِضْ قَبْلًا كَمَا صَافَتْ مَلِكًا
 22 بَلْ أَلِخْ مَلِكُكُمْ أَرِضْ أَوْ لَا
 23 أَلَا تَرَى فِيهِ مَلِكُكُمْ مِنْ مَنُكُو
 24 كِبَارِ بَرَعُو كَمَا صَافَتْ مَلِكُكُمْ
 25 قَوْلًا تَنَاسَّ بِأَلْفِمْ أَبْنِيكُمْ كَمَا
 26 بَلْ مَلِكُكُمْ أَمْنًا إِلَى الْوَرِ
 27 رَبِّبْ وَقُلْ قَدْ بَقِيتُ وَأَرِضْ بِنُو
 28 كَوْنُكُمْ كَلَامٌ يَبْغِي لَا تَنْسَاهَا كَذَلِكَ تَرَى مَا لَمْ تَنْتَهِاهَا
 29 وَذَلِكَ كَلَامٌ بِأَخْرِ السَّرِّبِ قَدْ عَمِلَ مَا يَشَاءُ ذَوْرُ الرَّبِّبِ
 30 إِنْ سَمِعْتَ أَنَّهُمْ قَدْ أَفْسَدُوا بِغُفْرَانِي مِنْ أَهْلِهَا مِنْ مَنُفَقَةٍ

هو ملككم

31 قَوْمًا يَكُونُ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتُ جَوْشَدٍ
32 وَلَا تَلْفُتْ فِيهَا أَعْيُنٌ وَلَا يُسْمَعُ فِيهَا نَجْوَى

الْجَوِّ يَكُونُ لَهُمْ فِيهَا

33 قُلْ رَّبِّنا اللَّهُ وَبَدَّلْ
34 وَتَدْرُسُونَ فِيهَا وَيَكُونُ لَهُمْ فِيهَا
35 لَا تَلْفُتْ فِيهَا أَعْيُنٌ وَلَا يُسْمَعُ فِيهَا نَجْوَى
36 قَوْمًا يَكُونُ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتُ جَوْشَدٍ
37 وَلَا تَلْفُتْ فِيهَا أَعْيُنٌ وَلَا يُسْمَعُ فِيهَا نَجْوَى
38 أَمْ يَكُونُ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتُ جَوْشَدٍ

39 يَكُونُ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتُ جَوْشَدٍ
40 أَوْ يَكُونُ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتُ جَوْشَدٍ

الْجَوْشَدِ

41 وَلَا تَلْفُتْ فِيهَا أَعْيُنٌ وَلَا يُسْمَعُ فِيهَا نَجْوَى
42 أَوْ يَكُونُ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتُ جَوْشَدٍ

قَدْ عَلِمَ

43 فَسَمِعَ اللَّهُ نِدَاءَ ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ وَهُوَ ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ
 44 فَقَالَ ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ مَا سَمِعْتُكَ وَأَنَا ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ

45 وَرَأَى الْقَوْمُ إِلَى آدَمَ وَكَانَ ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ
 46 هَلْ يَسْمَعُونَ مَا يَكُونُ لَهُمْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ
 47 وَمَنْ يَكُنْ ذَا قَوْلٍ يَكُنْ ذَا قَوْلٍ
 48 وَنَسَخَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى الْيُسْرَ وَخَرَجَ مِنْ كُلِّ مَدِينَةٍ عَشْرَ

49 وَسَابِلٌ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ
 50 يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ

51 أَيْتُ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ
 52 فَتَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ
 53 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ نَبِيًّا كَلَّمَ مَا اسْتَوْفَتْ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ نَبِيًّا

54 وَأَيْتُ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ
 55 وَلَا أَقُولُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ
 56 أَمَا سَأَلَ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ يَسْأَلُ لِي عَشْرَ شَيْءٍ

57. اَرْصَلْتَهُ فَبُذِّعَ مَا اَنْصَلَحَ
 58. وَالْاَمْلَحُ عَلَيْهِ اَنْصَلَحَ
 59. وَانْصَلَحَ اَرْصَلْتَهُ
 60. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 61. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 62. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 63. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 64. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 65. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 66. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 67. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 68. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 69. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 70. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 71. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ
 72. وَنَاصِلٌ اَوْ نَاصِلٌ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّيْ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ
وَصَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ تَسْلِيمًا يَا اللَّهُ اللَّهُ

يَا شَمْسُ اللَّهِ ابْدِ فِيهِ النُّظَامَ يَا وَهْدُ رَبِّ الْأَقَامِ
مُحَرِّفُ كُلِّ دُورٍ كَيْفَ شَاءَ تَعَالَى تَبْدِئُ فِيهِ الْقَامِ
قَالَ مَا يَشَاءُ كَمَا يَشَاءُ تَبَارَكَ ذُو الْإِلَهِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ
وَالرَّسُولِ عَلَيْهِ بَعْدُ وَشَرِّمْ وَأَيَّاتِ مُصِيبَاتِ النُّظَامِ
وَفَقْدِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ نَكْرٍ تَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ أَفْعَدُ الْقَامِ
وَنَزَلَ رَوْحُهُ وَفِيهِ أَلِيمُ لَكَ يَهْدِي الرِّدَّ وَالشَّامِ
وَبَاسِعِدَ أَهْلِكَ كَيْفَ وَالضَّالِّ وَقَسَدُ دِينِهِ بَعْدَ الْكَامِ
بِحَدِّهِ أَلِيمُ بِأَمْرٍ يَنْزِلُ وَسَلِّمْ بِأَسْلَامِ الرِّفْيَا
كَرَّكَ لِيْلَهُ وَالْقَبْرِ نَكْرًا وَأَقْبَلَ النَّبِيَّ هَمَّ ذَا النُّظَامِ
وَبَعْدُ وَقَسَدُ قَانِطِهِ لِيْلَهُ بِأَجْبَارٍ وَتَبِيهِ الْكَرَامِ

13 لَنَجْعِمَنَّ الْقَوْمَ لِيَسْمَعَنَّ نَدْمًا وَلَمْ نَجْعَلْ لِنَفْسِنَا فِيهِ الْقِيَامَ
 14 وَجَدَ طَائِفَةٌ مِّنْهُمْ يَصِغُونَ وَلَكِنَّ لِلَّهِ قَدْرَ الْقِيَامِ
 15 وَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ عَمَّا يُبْعَثُ إِلَيْهِ وَيَقْعَمُونَ مَا نُنَزِّلُ مِنَ الْقَامِ
 16 وَلَنُفْقِرَنَّ فِيهِ فِئَةً مِّنْهُمْ وَتَظُنُّ الْعِصَا أَنَّهُمْ أَشْرَافُ
 17 بَلَاءُ النَّاسِ وَرِزْقٌ نَّظْمًا قَبْلَهُمْ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ لِقَوْمٍ كَذِبُوا
 18 وَجِبَدَ الْأَعْمَىٰ مَاءً وَابْسَلًا وَقَوْلِ الْبَصِيرِ الْبَصِيرُ
 19 وَقَالُوا إِنَّا مِنَّا الضُّلَمُ وَإِلَّا لَأَكِيدُنَا بِهِ السُّؤْمُ وَالضُّلَمُ الْبَصِيرُ
 20 وَلَمْ نَقُلْ لَهُمْ يَنْتَهِمُ جَمِيعًا وَقَدْ صَرَّفْنَا فِيهِم مَّكَائِدُنَا
 21 يَكُونُوا يُنَبِّئُهُمْ بِأَلْوَنٍ يُفَكِّرُونَ بِالَّذِي يَدْعُونَ أَنُفْلِتُوا مِنَ الْقِيَامِ
 22 وَلَمْ نَقُلْ لَهُمْ يَا نَعْمُ أَتَمُّنَا لَكُمُ الْبَصِيرُ فَتُفَكِّرُونَ بِالَّذِي تَدْعُونَ
 23 لَكُمُ الْبَصِيرُ الْبَصِيرُ الْبَصِيرُ فَتُفَكِّرُونَ بِالَّذِي تَدْعُونَ

فَرِيحًا يَدَّ لَوْ أَمَا قَوْلُهُ كَمَا قَالَ إِلَهُكَ لَكَ الْكَلَامُ
 وَقَدْ كَلَّمْنَا وَابْنُ الْوَالِدِ بَطْلَانُ وَصَارَ رَجُلًا مِثْلَ الشَّيْءِ
 وَقَالُوا لَا شَرَّ لَكُمْ فِيهِ وَلَهُ يَوْمٌ قَوْلٌ لَنَا
 وَلَا تَنْتَرِفِيهِ أَوْ بَعِيلٌ وَلَهُ ضَرْبٌ وَجِيمٌ وَاللَّهُ لَم
 وَأَمَّا الْغُرُوبُ فَهُوَ كَقَبٍ وَجَبَتْ مِنْهُمْ كَالْفَرْسِ
 وَقُلْنَا مَا يَصْعَدُ إِلَيْنَا أَمْ أَنْتُمْ نَاكِثُونَ فَفِي الْكَلَامِ
 وَلَمْ يَرْوِ عَنْهُمْ مَقَالًا مَزِيدًا كَالْغُلَامِ الْقَلِيمِ
 فَيَا عَمِيًّا وَيَا وَيْلَكَ الْكِرَامِ
 وَفِي النَّحْمِ لَيْسَ لَهُ دَوَاءٌ سَوْءٌ حَيْرٌ وَافْتَدَاكَ الْكَلَامُ
 وَلَمْ يَرْبُفْهُ لِيُخْرِجْ مِنْهُمْ إِخْرَاقًا لِيُخْرِجَ الْإِسْلَامَ
 ثُمَّ تَرَانَهُمْ فَاتَكَ الْآرَافُ نَوَاحِيًا وَخَافُوا كَالْيَقَامِ

وَمِنْ سَنَسِدٍ فُلُوحٍ تَمُوتُ فِيهِ صَحُفَاتُ الْوَحْيِ وَالْإِنْقَامِ

وَأَمَّا ذِي سَفَرٍ يَا وَلِيَّ

وَأَمَّا جَبَّتِي وَهَابِيَّتِي بِفَايِدِ لَهْمٍ بَلَّغْتُمْ ذُو الْإِنْقَامِ

وَمِنْ ذِي لَيْلٍ لَسْتُمْ غُرِيًّا وَلَا ذِي نَهَارٍ كَذَلِكَ يَنْتَبِرُ رُوحُ الْإِنْقَامِ

الرَّيْزُ وَوُجُوهٌ تَبْرُقُ مَعِينُهُ مَا يَرْتَفِعُ بِالْإِنْقَامِ

وَسُجُودٌ وَتَسْبِيحٌ وَكُتُوبٌ وَمَا سَرَّ نَفْسًا أَرْضًا لَكْرَامِ

وَيَنْتَبِرُ وَذُنُوبٌ كَرَامَتِي وَسِرٌّ قَرِيبٌ وَمَلِكٌ بِالْإِنْقَامِ

وَقَدْ كُنْتُ أَسْأَلُ رُوحَ لَيْلِي وَفَايِدِ لَهْمٍ عَفِيَّتْ ذُو الْإِنْقَامِ

سَتَرَ كُلَّ أَرْضٍ مَلَكُوتًا عَلَاقَةً لِسُفْرِ الْإِنْقَامِ

بِقُومٍ وَمَا تَوَالَيْتُهَا وَذُورٌ وَكُتُبٌ وَأَعْيَانُ الْإِنْقَامِ

وَسُورٌ كُلُّهَا لِسُفْرِ نَحَارٍ وَيَبْدَأُ أَرْضَ الْإِنْقَامِ

وَفِيهِ

وَقَدْ مَكَوْا أَهْلًا كَثِيرًا صَغِيرًا وَكَبِيرًا عَرَفَافًا
وَقَدْ قَتَلُوا رُسُلَهُ يَكْفُرُونَ الْإِنْدَكَ وَهَدَىٰ رَبِّي الْمَقَامَ
وَبِأَمْرِ الرَّعْلَامِ وَشَرِّ النَّفَا وَزَنْجُورٍ وَسَاكِ النَّوَامِ
وَكَثْرَتِ الشُّرُوكِ وَلَيْسَ بِنَبِيٍّ كَثَرِ الْبُكْرِ وَنَا تَنْفُ الْكَلَامِ
وَسَمِعَ كُلَّمَا أَرَادَ الْإِلَٰهَ سَوْرَتُهُ خُذُوا رُؤْيَا الْبَنَاتِ
وَنَلَيْتُ الْإِفْخُومَ وَلَيْسَ قِيَادَتُهُ كُلُّهَا أَرْضُ الْإِبْرَامِ
أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّهُمْ كَرَّرُوا لِلْوَاةِ عَلَٰ رَبِّهَا وَصَارُوا كَالْإِبْرَامِ
وَقَدْ مَكَوْا أَبَوْعَدُومَ دُورِ رَبِّهِ وَبَارَكْتَ هَا فِي عِلَالَتِ بَيْتِهِ
وَلَمْ أَرَا شَيْئًا إِلَّا زُرْمُوشَ وَقَدْ بَرَزُوا بِرَأْسِ الْوُحُوشِ هَامِ
فَكُورُ مَعْمُورٍ أَنَا تُعْمُورُ أَسْرُودُ بِهِ الْإِفْخُومُ وَكَالشَّوَامِ
إِلَّا لَيْقُورُ بَيْرَ وَالْإِفْخُومِ وَيَسِيرُ فِي وَهْمِ امْرِئٍ قَلَامِ
وَعَلَّ تَسْمَعُ نَزْلُ لَسْمُ بَكُورٍ بِرَأْيَاكُ وَتَسْلُ لَمْ تَعْلَمَ

كَرَاهِيَتِهِ وَمِنْهَا جَمِيعًا كَرَاهِيَتُهُ بَرَكِيَّتُهُ فِي السَّلَامِ
 وَيُسِرُّ وَيُفَكِّرُ ثُمَّ دَكَرَ لِلْعَدَاةِ وَكَثِيرٌ بِعَاشِرِ وَالْمَدَامِ
 وَزَيْدٌ وَمَا هَذَا كُلُّ بَشَرٍ أَتَوْا كَيْفَ لِي يَتِمَّ إِلَهُامِ
 وَأَمَّا الزُّعْرَانُ فَمِنْ بَقِيَّةِ مَوْتِهِمَا بِمَا كَانَا مِنْهُمَا كَانِيَةً
 وَلَمْ نَسْمَعْ بِمَا أَحَدٌ يُبَارِكُ وَلَا أَحَدٌ يُقْرِئُ السَّلَامَ
 سِوَا عَزْرَجِ اللَّهِ يَا بَرَأِيَّةَ وَمَا وَخَطْوَةُ الزُّجَّارِ
 كَرَاهِيَتِكَ لِقَرِيبِ قَوْمٍ إِخْوَانِيَّةٍ وَأَيُّمُوتُ بِالسَّلَامِ
 تِيَارَةً فِي الْقَوَارِ كَالْقِيَامَةِ وَمَوْتٌ فِي الْكَرَامَةِ كَالْقِيَامَةِ
 وَلِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ نَجْدٌ فِي الْقِيَامَةِ قَلِيلٌ فِي الزُّجَّارِ لِقَوْمِ الْكَرَامِ
 قَبِيلَةٌ مَعْرُوفَةٌ تِيَارَةً قَدَا وَمَا يَنْفَعُ سَيِّدُكُمْ فِي السَّلَامِ
 وَيَنْتَشِرُ قَسْرُ فَكَاوُتَا وَقَرَامِيْنُ قَامِيْنُ الْكَرَامِ
 وَمَا دَاوُدُ وَسُلَيْمٌ وَيُوسُفُ وَبَرَكَةُ آلِهِ وَلِشَافُو النَّهَامِ

١١ وَشَوْذُكُمْ ذَاكُمْ وَأَوْفَاكُمْ كَذَابَكُمْ وَيَسْخَرُ بِالنِّظَامِ
 ١٢ وَكَرَّمَكُمْ كَرَّمَ أَنْتُمْ عَلَيْهَا كَذَابَكُمْ وَيَسْخَرُ بِالنِّظَامِ
 ١٣ لَمْ تَنْتَمِ نَزَلْتُمْ بَكْرَ بَرَاءَتِكُمْ يَسْخَرُ بِالنِّظَامِ
 ١٤ وَإِنْ تَمِيرَ مَا بَسَّابِرُ وَمَا تَمِيرَ الْكَرَامَةُ الْفَلَامِ
 ١٥ بِنِعْمِ بِنَا لَمْ يَأْتِ بِنَا وَفَاتْلَهُمْ وَفَاتْلَهُمْ
 ١٦ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ١٧ وَمَا تَمِيرَ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ١٨ تَمِيرَ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ١٩ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٠ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢١ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٢ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٣ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٤ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٥ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٦ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٧ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٨ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٢٩ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا
 ٣٠ وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا بِنَا

وَمَنْ يَسْخَرُ
 بِنَا بِنَا

١٠ وَلَوْ أَكْرَمْتُمْ كَرَّ أَوْ رَيْتُمْ كِبَلٌ وَمَا سَبَقُوا أَبْنَاءَ الْبِرِّ بِإِيمَانِهِمْ
 ١١ وَكَمُوعًا لِمِ قَدْ هَاتَمًا بِتَوْفِيعِهِمْ تَسْتَرْفِئُ الْبِرِّ بِإِيمَانِهِمْ
 ١٢ وَلَئِنْ بَلَغْتَ قُلُوبَهُمْ يَوْمَ مَا كَدَّ عَمَلُوا إِحْسَارًا لِلشُّرُوطِ طَامٍ
 ١٣ فَلَنَأْتِيَنَّكَ بِزَعْوَةٍ أَنَا نَاسًا سَلَا طَيْرَ الْفِتْنَةِ آيَةً لِمَا لَمْ
 ١٤ تَأْتِنَا بِقِنَةٍ تَعْلَمُ بِأَسْرِ وَقَدْ تَنَاسَاكَ رَسْمُومُ الْبِقَامِ
 ١٥ وَاللَّيْلِ وَادَّوِيَّتَهُ تَعْلَمُ وَتَوَاعَمُ الشُّعُومُ عَارِ الْفَقَامِ
 ١٦ وَشَرَّ كَلَامٍ كَرِيهٍ وَزُورٍ وَقَدْ تَعْلَمُ حَوَائِجَ الْفَقَامِ
 ١٧ وَلَمْ تَرَوْهُمْ إِلَّا قِرَادِي حِطَارَ الشُّرُوطِ ثُمَّ أَمَرَ الْكَلَامِ
 ١٨ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُمْ قَصْدٌ وَنَسْرُ بِلَايَاتٍ وَاللَّيْلِ الْكَلَامِ
 ١٩ وَقَدْ تَعْلَمُ وَنَسْرُ تَعْلَمُ قَدْ تَعْلَمُ الْكَلَامِ تَعْلَمُ الْكَلَامِ
 ٢٠ وَاللَّيْلِ أَوْ كُنْ وَضُوءٌ آيَةً وَغَيْبُومُ الْكَلَامِ
 ٢١ أَوْ يَرْكَبُ سَمَاعِيْلُ الْكَلَامِ بِحُلِيِّ لَافِتَالٍ وَلَا فِصَامِ

وَمَا تَدْرِي إِلَّا سِفْنٌ فِي الْبَحْرِ يَأْتِيكُمُ الْبُحْرَانُ فَتَمُوتُونَ
 وَيَكْفُرُونَ أَوْ تُكَلِّمُونَ سَفَرًا لَّيْسَ بِكُلِّ صَافٍ بِكَرِيمٍ
 وَهُوَ الَّذِي يُثَقِّلُ الْقَرْيَاتِ بِزِينَتِهَا أَفَتَرَ يَكْفُرُونَ
 أَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ الْكُرْسِيُّ فَذَرَأَ الْمَاءَ وَجَعَلَ الْغُلَاقَ
 دَرَجَاتٍ وَأَعْلَى الْكُرْسِيِّ أَجْلَى الْأَعْلَى
 وَلَهُ الْمُلْكُ يَوْمَ يُنفَخُ فِي الصُّورِ يَوْمَ تَكُونُ الْكُلُوبُ
 كَالْعِهْنِ ذَرْبًا وَتَأْتِي السُّحُبُ مُشْدِقَاتٍ أُولَئِكَ
 الْكَافِرُونَ
 وَلَهُ الْمُلْكُ يَوْمَ يُنفَخُ فِي الصُّورِ يَوْمَ تَكُونُ
 الْكُلُوبُ كَالْعِهْنِ ذَرْبًا وَتَأْتِي السُّحُبُ مُشْدِقَاتٍ
 أُولَئِكَ الْكَافِرُونَ

وَمِنْ بَيْنِهِمْ يَهُودٌ كَثِيرٌ رَسَمُوا بَيْنَهُمْ بِالْأَقَامِ
 وَمَا لِيُخْتَلَفَ أَمْؤُورُ يَحْيَا وَيَلْمُ بَيْنَهُمُ الْإِيمَانِ
 تَوْفِيرٌ وَكُنْشِمُ وَالنَّسَاءُ سَمِعْنَا أَنْعَمَ فَذَوْدَهُمُ
 الرَّائِقُ الْقُرُونُ عَمَّا وَهَرَبَا كَرَفَذُ فَيَلْفِ الْإِيمَانِ عَالِمِ
 وَبَيْنَ بَنِي إِسْرَءِيلَ كُنْشِمُ وَبَيْنَهُمْ رَسَمُوا بِالْأَقَامِ
 وَفَذَلِكُمْ أَعْلَسَ أَوْ وَبَيْنَهُمْ كَرَفَذُ كَرَفَذُ الْإِيمَانِ
 كَرَفَذُ الْإِيمَانِ وَبَيْنَهُمْ كَرَفَذُ الْإِيمَانِ
 وَلَا تَنْشُرُوا لِيُبَيِّنَ لَكُمْ كَرَفَذُ الْإِيمَانِ
 وَبَيْنَهُمْ كَرَفَذُ الْإِيمَانِ وَبَيْنَهُمْ كَرَفَذُ الْإِيمَانِ
 وَفَذَلِكُمْ أَعْلَسَ أَوْ وَبَيْنَهُمْ كَرَفَذُ الْإِيمَانِ
 وَمَا لِيُخْتَلَفَ أَمْؤُورُ يَحْيَا وَيَلْمُ بَيْنَهُمُ الْإِيمَانِ
 تَوْفِيرٌ وَكُنْشِمُ وَالنَّسَاءُ سَمِعْنَا أَنْعَمَ فَذَوْدَهُمُ
 الرَّائِقُ الْقُرُونُ عَمَّا وَهَرَبَا كَرَفَذُ فَيَلْفِ الْإِيمَانِ عَالِمِ

خُصْرُ
 بِيَدِ

نُحْمَدُكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَنُحْمَدُكَ كَثِيرًا وَكَبِيرًا شُكْرًا وَنُحْمَدُكَ
 يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ اللَّهُمَّ قَوْلًا بَيِّنًا وَعَافًا شَمًّا عَلَى لِسَانِ عَبْدِكَ
 وَكَانُوا أَقْبَالَ لَكَ مِنْ قُلُوبِهِمْ وَفِي قُلُوبِهِمْ وَابْتِغَاءَ الْمَنَامِ
 وَلَمْ يَنْظُرُوا بِاللَّيْمِ كَقَدْرِهِ وَتَعَالَى الْعِلْمُ بِهِ زُيَا الْقَنَامِ
 فِيهِ يَوْمَ الْيَوْمِ فَخَذُوا دَعْبًا بِوَالِدِهِمَا سَوْفَ الْبَرَامِ
 أَعْيَلَ عَزَّ وَجَّهَ النَّبِيُّ يَا خَلَامَ الْأَشْيَاءِ زَمَلَتْهُ عَنَّا
 أَعْيَلَ الْأَصْنَامُ خَيْرٌ وَرَوْقًا تَعَبَ أَمِ الْأَفْعَاءِ أَمِ شَرِبَ الْقَدَامِ
 نَعَمْ فَخَذُوا عَنْهُمْ كَذِبًا وَزُورًا وَجَمَلًا ثُمَّ خَمَلُوا الشَّامِ
 عَمَّا أَفْبَاهِيهِمْ مَوْجُودًا رِيمًا وَيَسْمَعُونَ نَجْمًا بِلَا رِيَامِ
 وَفَرَقَاتُ الشَّامِ أَرَادَ نَاكُفًا وَانْكَرَ عَنْهُمْ مَا فُؤَمَ كَرَامِ
 كَعَمَّ الْيَوْمَ وَاللَّيْلُ وَمَا هُنَاكَ الرَّاسِيفُ آدَرُ بِالْإِظْلَامِ
 الْيَوْمَ كَعَمَّ أَعْمَرُ جَمِيعًا كَعَمَّ الْوَنَامُ آدَرُ قَالُوا أَمِ
 سُبْحًا أَسْفَ

143 كَذَلِكَ أَتَتْكَ آيَاتُنَا فَرَسْنَاكِ كَثِيرًا يَذَّكَّرُ عَلَيْهَا النَّاسُ
 144 كَذَلِكَ ابْدَأْنَا زَيْدَ كُثَيْبًا ثَمَّ الْوَارِثَ الْوَقَايَا الْكَلَامُ
 145 كَذَلِكَ لَا يَمُوتُ وَلَا يَحْيَى وَلَا يَلْبَسُ الرِّبَا أَفَلَا تَتَذَكَّرُونَ
 146 وَبَعَثْنَا فِيهِ وَلَدًا لَهُ قُوَّةٌ وَفَنَّبْنَاهُ فِيكُمْ وَقَدَّرْنَا لَهُ الْقَامُ
 147 وَيَا زَيْدُ نَحْنُ بَنُو كُثَيْبٍ أَفَلَا تَعْلَمُ وَقَدْ أَلْفَيْنَا سُبُوحًا رَبِّهِمْ
 148 كَذَلِكَ أَتَتْكَ آيَاتُنَا فَرَسْنَاكِ كَثِيرًا يَذَّكَّرُ عَلَيْهَا النَّاسُ
 149 وَهَلْ أَتَاكَ نَوَازِلُهُمْ يَا زَيْدُ أَفَلَا تَعْلَمُ وَقَدْ أَلْفَيْنَا سُبُوحًا رَبِّهِمْ
 150 أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ قَوْمًا عَصَيْنُوا وَأَنَّا بَالِغٌ فِيهِمُ الْبَلَاءُ
 151 وَكَانَ أَمِيرُهُمْ هَارُونَ بْنُ قَامٍ لَمْ يَلْمِ أَحَدًا مِنْهُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ
 152 وَبِإِذْنِهِ قَوْمُهُمْ كَثِيرٌ وَقَدْ كَانُوا يَتَزَكَّوْنَ لَكُمْ لَمَّا
 153 بَلَغُوا أَهْلًا بِهَذَا قَوْمٌ شَافِقُونَ وَبِإِذْنِهِ قَوْمُهُمْ كَثِيرٌ
 154 وَقَدْ كَانُوا يَتَزَكَّوْنَ لَكُمْ لَمَّا بَلَغُوا أَهْلًا بِهَذَا قَوْمٌ شَافِقُونَ
 وَقَدْ كَانُوا يَتَزَكَّوْنَ لَكُمْ لَمَّا بَلَغُوا أَهْلًا بِهَذَا قَوْمٌ شَافِقُونَ

شَيْءٌ

١٦٧ قَبِلْتُمْ فَمَنْ الْغَالِبُ بِاللَّيْلِ لَيْسَ لَهُ بِالْغَالِبِ
 ١٦٨ وَهَلْ دَرَيْتُمْ بِمَا لَيْسَ كَوْنُهُمْ وَتَسْرَرْتُمْ بِمَا لَيْسَ بِكُمْ
 ١٦٩ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّكُمْ تَقُولُونَ بِاللَّيْلِ وَأَنْتُمْ كَالْأَنْفُسِ الْكَرِيمِ
 ١٧٠ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ
 ١٧١ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ
 ١٧٢ رَأَيْتُمْ بِكُمْ بِمَا لَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ
 ١٧٣ وَلَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِمَا لَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ
 ١٧٤ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ
 ١٧٥ قَبِلْتُمْ فَمَنْ الْغَالِبُ بِاللَّيْلِ لَيْسَ لَهُ بِالْغَالِبِ
 ١٧٦ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ
 ١٧٧ قَبِلْتُمْ فَمَنْ الْغَالِبُ بِاللَّيْلِ لَيْسَ لَهُ بِالْغَالِبِ
 ١٧٨ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ
 ١٧٩ قَبِلْتُمْ فَمَنْ الْغَالِبُ بِاللَّيْلِ لَيْسَ لَهُ بِالْغَالِبِ
 ١٨٠ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ بِاللَّيْلِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ لَيْسَ بِكُمْ

وَلَيْسَ

وَرَبُّهُ أَكْبَرُ مِنْكُمْ وَكَثِيرٌ وَتَفَرُّدُهُ تَفَرُّدُ الْكَلَامِ
 لَمْ يَخُذْ مِنْكُمْ شَيْئًا وَجَزَلَ مَا وَكَلَهُمْ مِنْ أَلْفِ الْكَلَامِ
 عَنْهُمْ شَيْئًا شَدِيدًا وَالْجَسَادُ عَقْلًا مِنْهُمْ تَبَاخُلَ الْكَلَامِ
 وَتَبَاخُلَ الْكَلَامِ بِكُمْ بِكُمْ وَتَبَاخُلَ الْكَلَامِ بِكُمْ
 وَقَالَ قِيلَ تَسْبِيحٌ لَكُمْ وَلَكُمْ الْفَيْزُ كَاللَّيْلِ لَكُمْ
 وَمَنْظُومٌ بِالْعَبَّارِ وَلَيْسَ مِنْكُمْ شَيْءٌ وَالْكَلامِ
 وَلَيْسَ مِنْكُمْ شَيْءٌ بِالْكَتَابِ فَقَالَ اللَّهُ عَنْ رَبِّهِ الْقَدِيمِ
 وَلَمْ أَنْظُرْ بَرْدًا أَوْ نَشَاطًا وَلَيْسَ مِنْكُمْ شَيْءٌ بِالْعَبَّارِ
 وَلَمْ يَسْمَعْ مِنْكُمْ شَيْءًا أَوْ نَشَاطًا بِكُمْ بِكُمْ وَالْكَلامِ
 بِكُمْ بِكُمْ أَوْ نَشَاطًا وَلَيْسَ مِنْكُمْ شَيْءٌ بِالْعَبَّارِ
 وَقَدْ تَرَفُّدَ الْكَلَامُ تَرَفُّدًا إِلَى الْكَلَامِ تَرَفُّدًا

١٨١ أَلَمْ تَرَوْا أَنَّ النَّاسَ كَذِبًا يُتَرَفَعُونَ أَنَا مِنكُمْ
 ١٨٢ يُعْبَرُونَ بِهِ بِقَوْلِهِ زُورًا وَعِنْدَ اللَّهِ تَعْبِيرُهُ أَنَا
 ١٨٣ وَأَنَّ النَّاسَ أَهْلُ مِرْطَابٍ وَأَلْقَسُوا بِنَا فِي بَيْتِهِمْ
 ١٨٤ وَهَلْ لِي أَشِيرُ خَفَ مِرْقَةٍ وَنَزَعُوا قُلُوبَهُمْ فِي أَعْيُنِهِمْ
 ١٨٥ أَلَمْ تَعْلَمُوا أَنَّا أَلْأَشْيَاءُ بَرَاءةُ اللَّهِ فِي زُكْرِ الْكَرَامِ
 ١٨٦ وَثَلَاثَةٌ نَكْتُمُ الْإِيمَانَ وَلَهُمْ أَلَيْسَ كَذِبًا لَهُمْ لَا عِشَامَ
 ١٨٧ وَتَرْجِيْبُ الْأَرْثِ وَالْإِلَادِ لَنُكَرِّرَنَّهُ وَتَجِيْبُ الْكَرَامِ
 ١٨٨ وَلَيْسَ كَذِبًا يُخَالِفُونَ لَقَدْ أُولُوا تَعْبِيرًا لَنَا
 ١٨٩ قَوْلًا اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَذَلِكَ لِّلرُّبُّومِ السِّبْرُ الَّذِي تَبَا
 ١٩٠ وَكَانَ مَا فِي الْقُرْآنِ نَكْتَبُهَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَخِزْيَمِ أَعْيُنِهِمْ
 ١٩١ وَهَذَا أَمْرٌ لِّكُتَابٍ كَمَا تَرَى تَعْبِيرُهُ بِنَا فِي عِيَّةِ الشَّعَامِ
 ١٩٢ يَا مَعْشَرَ النَّبِيِّينَ إِنَّا أَعْلَمُ أَعْيُنَ أَعْيُنِهِمْ فِي الظَّلَامِ

سألتنا

سَأَلْنَاكَ الْخَيْرَ بِمَا آتَانَا وَتُبَّيْنَا الْخَيْرَ بِالشَّالَامِ
وَعَفَاكَ بِمَا لَا نُبْرَأُ وَبِأَهْلِ الْأَوَّلِيَّةِ وَبِالْقَامِ
وَبِالْمُسَاوَةِ فَسَلُّوْنَا حَقًّا مُؤَدَّعًا بِكُنْهِكَ وَالْأَسَامِ
وَلَا تُخْلِقْ لَنَا ذُرِّيَّةً وَلَا تَكُنْ لَنَا
وَلَا تَكُنْ لَنَا ذُرِّيَّةً وَلَا تَكُنْ لَنَا ذُرِّيَّةً
بِأَنَّكَ كُنْتَ بِقَدْرِكَ أَسْمَاءُ نَسَلُوا بِكَ وَالْقَامِ
وَلَا تَكُنْ لَنَا ذُرِّيَّةً وَلَا تَكُنْ لَنَا ذُرِّيَّةً
وَنَسَلُوا زَيْنًا بِرَجَالِ الْغَيْبِ وَبِالْغَيْبِ
وَبِأَهْلِ خُرُوجِ كُنْ لَنَا ذُرِّيَّةً وَبِأَهْلِ خُرُوجِ
وَبِأَهْلِ خُرُوجِ كُنْ لَنَا ذُرِّيَّةً وَبِأَهْلِ خُرُوجِ
وَبِأَهْلِ خُرُوجِ كُنْ لَنَا ذُرِّيَّةً وَبِأَهْلِ خُرُوجِ

14. اَوَّلُ اَوْسَمِ شَيْءٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
15. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
16. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
17. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
18. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
19. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
20. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
21. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
22. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
23. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
24. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
25. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ
26. اَوَّلُ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ يَكُونُ لَكَ اَشْيَاءُ مِنْ رُوحِ رَيْحَانٍ

[illegible]

- 40 دشتك پندك سر زهرا ام ملك آرد بگر تر بر كنه پندك سر زهرا
 41 آرد بگر تر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 42 دشتك پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 43 آرد بگر تر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 44 دشتك پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 45 آرد بگر تر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 46 دشتك پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 47 آرد بگر تر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 48 دشتك پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 49 آرد بگر تر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 50 دشتك پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 51 آرد بگر تر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا
 52 دشتك پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا پندك سر زهرا

53. قَالَ رَبِّ اجْعَلْ لِي قَلْبًا مُفِيدًا وَلِي لِسَانًا مُبِينًا
 54. وَلِي سَمْعًا يَسْمَعُ وَلِي بَصَرًا يَبْصُرُ
 55. وَلِي حُلُمًا يَحْكُمُ وَلِي قُوَّةً يَنْصُرُ
 56. وَلِي زَكَاةً يُسْقِطُ وَلِي نَصْرًا يَنْصُرُ
 57. وَلِي قَلْبًا مُفِيدًا وَلِي لِسَانًا مُبِينًا
 58. وَلِي سَمْعًا يَسْمَعُ وَلِي بَصَرًا يَبْصُرُ
 59. وَلِي حُلُمًا يَحْكُمُ وَلِي قُوَّةً يَنْصُرُ
 60. وَلِي زَكَاةً يُسْقِطُ وَلِي نَصْرًا يَنْصُرُ
 61. وَلِي قَلْبًا مُفِيدًا وَلِي لِسَانًا مُبِينًا
 62. وَلِي سَمْعًا يَسْمَعُ وَلِي بَصَرًا يَبْصُرُ
 63. وَلِي حُلُمًا يَحْكُمُ وَلِي قُوَّةً يَنْصُرُ
 64. وَلِي زَكَاةً يُسْقِطُ وَلِي نَصْرًا يَنْصُرُ
 65. وَلِي قَلْبًا مُفِيدًا وَلِي لِسَانًا مُبِينًا

79. كَذَلِكَ نَقُفُّ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ إِذْ يَخْلَعُ حُجْرَتَهُ رَبُّهُ لِيُنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ الْوَحْيَ
 80. فَأَنْشَأَ خَلْقَ الْبَشَرِ الْأَوَّلَ مِنْ نَارٍ أَوَّلَ بَشَرٍ أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ
 81. الْأَنْبِيَاءِ خَلْقَ آدَمَ الْأَوَّلَ فَكَذَلِكَ نَقُفُّ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ إِذْ يَخْلَعُ حُجْرَتَهُ رَبُّهُ لِيُنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ الْوَحْيَ
 82. كَذَلِكَ نَقُفُّ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ إِذْ يَخْلَعُ حُجْرَتَهُ رَبُّهُ لِيُنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ الْوَحْيَ
 83. أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ الْبَشَرِ الْأَوَّلَ مِنْ نَارٍ أَوَّلَ بَشَرٍ أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ
 84. لَقَدْ نَزَّلَ الْوَحْيَ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ إِذْ يَخْلَعُ حُجْرَتَهُ رَبُّهُ لِيُنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ الْوَحْيَ
 85. كَذَلِكَ نَقُفُّ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ إِذْ يَخْلَعُ حُجْرَتَهُ رَبُّهُ لِيُنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ الْوَحْيَ
 86. أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ الْبَشَرِ الْأَوَّلَ مِنْ نَارٍ أَوَّلَ بَشَرٍ أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ
 87. لَقَدْ نَزَّلَ الْوَحْيَ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ إِذْ يَخْلَعُ حُجْرَتَهُ رَبُّهُ لِيُنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ الْوَحْيَ
 88. أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ الْبَشَرِ الْأَوَّلَ مِنْ نَارٍ أَوَّلَ بَشَرٍ أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ
 89. لَقَدْ نَزَّلَ الْوَحْيَ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ إِذْ يَخْلَعُ حُجْرَتَهُ رَبُّهُ لِيُنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ الْوَحْيَ
 90. أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ الْبَشَرِ الْأَوَّلَ مِنْ نَارٍ أَوَّلَ بَشَرٍ أَكْبَرَ مِنْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ
 91. كَذَلِكَ نَقُفُّ عَلَى قَدَمَيْهِ إِذْ يَخْلَعُ حُجْرَتَهُ رَبُّهُ لِيُنْزِلَ عَلَيْهِ الْوَحْيَ

۹۲. یٰۤاَيُّهَا الَّذِيْنَ اٰمَنُوْا اَلَا تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۹۳. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۹۴. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۹۵. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۹۶. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۹۷. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۹۸. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۹۹. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۱۰۰. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۱۰۱. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۱۰۲. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۱۰۳. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی
 ۱۰۴. اَلَمْ تَدْعُوْا لِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَدْعُوْنَ اِلٰهًا غَيْرَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰی

- [illegible]

- [illegible]

131. وَدَنَسَنَ بَنَاتُكَ رَوْزَنَ نَهَارِی
 132. رَقَا فَنَبَرِ بَكْرٍ كَرِهَ دَنَسَنَ یَوَاقُفَا هَاجِیَ فَنَبَرِی
 133. دَنَسَنَ سَكَنُ دَاوُكٍ بَنَارُوْ اَنَ بَیْرَ وَزَاكُفَنَ نَهَارِی
 134. فَنَبَرِی اَنَ لَكَ لَكَ اَنَ بَكْرٍ اَرَا وَفَنَبَرِی بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 135. دَنَسَنَ دَاوُكٍ اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی وَفَنَبَرِی بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 136. دَنَسَنَ اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 137. فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 138. دَنَسَنَ اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 139. اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 140. دَنَسَنَ اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 141. دَنَسَنَ اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 142. فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی
 143. اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی اَنَ بَنَاتُكَ فَنَبَرِی

- 144 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 145 قَالُوا اللَّهُ يَتَّبِعُكُمْ بِغُلَبٍ وَكُنْتُمْ أَكْثَرُ
 146 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 147 كُنْتُمْ فِي سَفَرٍ فَهَلْ تَعْلَمُونَ مَا كُنَّا نَعْمَلُ
 148 كُنْتُمْ فِي سَفَرٍ فَهَلْ تَعْلَمُونَ مَا كُنَّا نَعْمَلُ
 149 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 150 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 151 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 152 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 153 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 154 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 155 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً
 156 أَتَى الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي فِيهِ كُنَّا نَسْكُنُ كَمَا تَوَدُّونَ شَهَادَةً

- ۱۵۷ آنی ترکت سیدنا ابی بکر بن محمد بن ابی بکر بن ابی بکر بن ابی بکر
 ۱۵۸ دشمنیم و کس از آنکه ایوا دشمن تو نیست ای بکر بن ابی بکر
 ۱۵۹ که لشکرش با تو نیست دشمن آنکه لشکرش با تو نیست
 ۱۶۰ آنکه لشکرش با تو نیست دشمن آنکه لشکرش با تو نیست
 ۱۶۱ دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست
 ۱۶۲ که لشکرش با تو نیست دشمن آنکه لشکرش با تو نیست
 ۱۶۳ دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست
 ۱۶۴ لشکرش با تو نیست دشمن آنکه لشکرش با تو نیست
 ۱۶۵ که لشکرش با تو نیست دشمن آنکه لشکرش با تو نیست
 ۱۶۶ دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست
 ۱۶۷ که لشکرش با تو نیست دشمن آنکه لشکرش با تو نیست
 ۱۶۸ دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست
 ۱۶۹ که لشکرش با تو نیست دشمن آنکه لشکرش با تو نیست
 ۱۷۰ دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست دشمن تو نیست

- 171 أَفَلَا يَتَذَكَّرُونَ لَقَدْ نَادَيْنَاكَ بِهِمْ فَقَالَ لَوْ أَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا يَتَذَكَّرُونَ
 172 فَتَرَى كَثِيرًا مِّنَ أَهْلِ الْبَلَدِ شَرَفًا وَّ غُلَامًا يَتُوبُونَ خِلَافَ مَا عَمِلُوا
 173 كَثِيرًا مِّنْ قَوْمٍ ذُرِّيَّتُكَ يَتُوبُونَ إِلَيْكَ وَإِنَّكَ مُبْصِرٌ لِّظُهُورُهُمْ أَلَمْ يُؤْمَرُوا
 174 بِأَن يَتُوبُوا إِلَىٰ رَبِّهِمْ هَؤُلَاءِ الَّذِينَ اتَّخَذُوا آلَهُ الْبَدْعِ آلَافًا هَؤُلَاءِ
 175 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 176 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 177 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 178 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 179 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 180 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 181 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 182 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 183 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ
 184 السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ السَّاعُونَ لَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ هَؤُلَاءِ

- ۱۸۵ اَنَا سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۸۶ اَللّٰهُمَّ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۸۷ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۸۸ اَللّٰهُمَّ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۸۹ اَللّٰهُمَّ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۰ اَللّٰهُمَّ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۱ اَللّٰهُمَّ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۲ زَكَاةً وَتَوَابًا لِّسِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۳ زَكَاةً وَتَوَابًا لِّسِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۴ اَللّٰهُمَّ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۵ اَللّٰهُمَّ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۶ اَللّٰهُمَّ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۷ كُنْ لِيْ سِرًّا وَنَايِبًا لِّسِرِّكَ
 وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا
 ۱۹۸ وَهَلْ لَكَ سِرٌّ فِي تَوَابِ سِرِّكَ سِرِّ مَا

- 199 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 200 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 201 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 202 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 203 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 204 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 205 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 206 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 207 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 208 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ
 209 دَیْبَیْدَ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ دَکْشَنَیْجَیْ

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُوْلُهُ

وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ

وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ

وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ

A MAYYA SHAQATKA HATTA SIRTU HAYRANA

1. لَيْسَ إِلَهُ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَقُّ الْقَدِيمُ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَى مَنْ لَا يَبْتَغِي رِجْوَ
2. أَوْ تَنْتَظِرُ شَيْئًا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْيَهُودِ
3. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ النَّصَارَى أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَنِي إِسْرَءِيلَ
4. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْكُفَرَاءِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ
5. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ
6. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ
7. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ
8. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ
9. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ
10. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ
11. أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ أَوْ تَقْرَأُ كِتَابًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْبَغِيَّةِ

[illegible]

23 سَمِعَهُ ثُمَّ تَقَرَّرَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَدِيَّةً مِنْهُ وَتَزِيدُ عَفْوَ

24 مَنَ الْيَوْمَ لِيَكُونَ بَيْنَهُمَا كَمَامَةً مَّا لِي إِلَيْكَ فَرَسُهُ الْيَوْمَ

25 وَهَذَا مَقِيلٌ وَمَقِيلٌ الْيَوْمَ وَمَا وَرَأَوْهُ وَوَقَعَتْ أَعْيُنُهُمْ

26 مَعَ السَّيِّئَةِ كَمَا أَفْتَدَتْهُ وَوَقَعَتْ كَذَلِكَ السَّيِّئَةُ أَنْ تَقْبَلُوا

27 وَأَقْبَلَ بَيْنَهُمَا فَتَلَوْنَ وَاعْتَمَرْتُمْ كَذَلِكَ السَّيِّئَةِ كَمَا أَفْتَدَتْهُ

28 وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ لَقِيتُمْ مَا لَقِيتُمْ فِي ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ كَمَا لَقِيتُمْ

29 خَرَجْنَا مِنْكُمْ وَكُنَّا فِيكُمْ لَقِيتُمْ مَنَ الْيَوْمَ لَقِيتُمْ مَنَ الْيَوْمَ

١٢٥

فلم يزل

شعر

مشت

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- 33 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 34 قَدْ جَاءَ أَوَّلُ الْيَوْمِ فَتَعْمَلُونَ فِيهِ مَكْرًا وَكَانَ يَوْمَئِذٍ عَرَضًا لَكُمْ لِمَنْ كَفَرَ
 35 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَتَعْمَلُونَ فِيهِ مَكْرًا وَكَانَ يَوْمَئِذٍ عَرَضًا لَكُمْ لِمَنْ كَفَرَ
 36 وَلَمْ يَجِدْ فِيكُمْ شَيْئًا فَتَعْمَلُونَ فِيهِ مَكْرًا وَكَانَ يَوْمَئِذٍ عَرَضًا لَكُمْ لِمَنْ كَفَرَ
 37 لَقَدْ خَرَجَ أَزْوَاجُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ فِي سَفَرٍ لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِذْ أَنْزَلَ لَهُ الْبُحْرَانِ
 38 تَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِذْ أَنْزَلَ لَهُ الْبُحْرَانِ
 39 وَلَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِذْ أَنْزَلَ لَهُ الْبُحْرَانِ
 40 لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِذْ أَنْزَلَ لَهُ الْبُحْرَانِ
 41 لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِذْ أَنْزَلَ لَهُ الْبُحْرَانِ
 42 لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِذْ أَنْزَلَ لَهُ الْبُحْرَانِ
 43 لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِذْ أَنْزَلَ لَهُ الْبُحْرَانِ
 44 لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْأَنْبِيَاءِ إِذْ أَنْزَلَ لَهُ الْبُحْرَانِ

تعالى

[illegible]

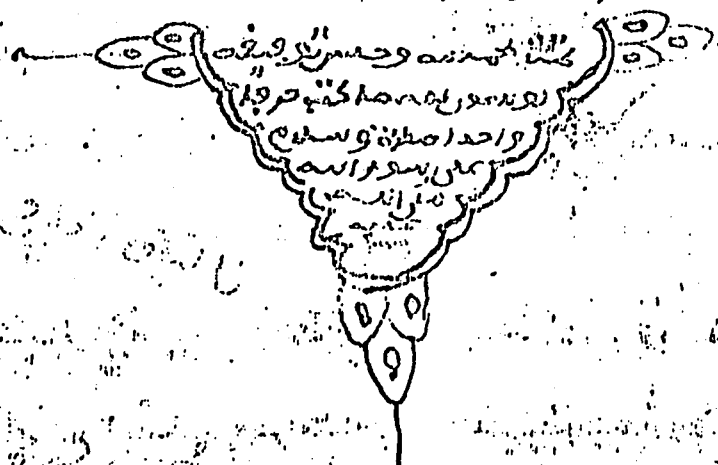
٦٨ ^{الهدية} انزلوا خير النور مع كبريتهم بها ^{الهدية} ليكن نورهم من نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} وقصوه ما جلي لا يغيرها ولا يغيرها ^{الهدية} ليكن نورهم من نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} ونفهم انما كهم في رغبة دنيهم ^{الهدية} كذا ونفهم انهم انفسهم انفسهم
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} ربنا قبله ما نزل لا نضيقه ^{الهدية} ليكن نورهم من نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} وبنواهم من نورهم انزلوا ^{الهدية} ليكن نورهم من نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} من ربيك ليكن نورهم انزلوا ^{الهدية} مع السلام من نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} فيهم انفسهم من نورهم انزلوا ^{الهدية} ما كبر نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} كذا انفسهم من نورهم انزلوا ^{الهدية} ما كبر نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} من نورهم انزلوا ^{الهدية} لا نلهم انفسهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} من نورهم انزلوا ^{الهدية} من نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} من نورهم انزلوا ^{الهدية} من نورهم انزلوا
 ٦٩ ^{الهدية} من نورهم انزلوا ^{الهدية} من نورهم انزلوا

جماعة

٧٨ يَكْرِتُونَ وَأَقْبِرُوا فِي الْأَسْلَامِ قَالُوا لَا تَشْهَدُوا لَنَا أَنْتُمْ سَمِعْتُمُ اللَّهَ

٧٩ أَرْزُقُوا الْقِسْمَةَ عَلَى شَرِّ الْأَعْرَابِ أَيْدَا مَنْ شَرَّكَ اللَّهُ رَبَّكُمْ أَنْتُمْ أَعْتَبْتُمْ

٨٠ أَيْدِي اللَّهِ أَجْرُهُمْ تَكْفِيلٌ وَيَوْمَ يُنَادِي بِأَصْحَابِ الْبَقَاعِ وَيَكْفُرُ عَنْهُمْ أُولَئِكَ جِثَامُ



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 (Idaban)
- T.H.S.G. Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana
 (Accra)
- R.R.I.A.S. Research Review, Institute of African Studies
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