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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

2003/52

**ALHAJ UMAR ABUBAKAR KRACHIE: A BIO-CRITICAL  
STUDY**

A thesis Submitted to

Department of Arabic Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Masters of Arts

By

Abass Umar Muhammed

Under the supervision of Dr. Muhammad Serag

July 2003

2003/52

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

ALHAJ UMAR ABUBAKAR KRACHIE:  
A BIO-CRITICAL STUDY

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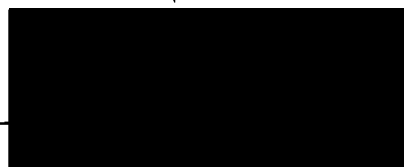
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## Preface

African literature written in Arabic has generated a lot of interests of late among literary critics, Arabists, Islamists, Africanists, anthropologists, and historians. This was the result of various discoveries of large bodies of Arabic manuscripts of African authorship in a number of countries of sub-Saharan Africa. As part of this process, a project to collect Arabic Manuscripts was launched in 1962, by the Institute of African Studies of the University Of Ghana. Studies that were, subsequently, carried out on them were mainly concerned with political and social history of that region, while the intellectual and literary traditions were ignored, or perhaps, unseen.

This substantial body of literature, for the most part in Arabic but including also works in Hausa and other West African languages in Arabic script from various part of Ghana, has never caught the attention of Arab literary critics. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that, the sub-region has been too far removed from the centers of Arabic world and falls at the extreme edge of its civilization. Regarded as peripheral, this aspect of Arabic literary works, particularly in Ghanaian scholarship, remains an eternal other even among Ghanaian students and intellectuals; they exist but go unnoticed and unattended. Thomas Hodgkin vividly painted a very accurate picture of the situation when he wrote:

The extent of this isolation is evident from the fact that the average Ghanaian university student will usually know something of the works of H. G. Wells or Arnold Bennett, but is unlikely to know anything of the works of their approximate contemporary, al-Hajj 'Umar ibn Abi Bakr al-Salghawi. Yet al-Hajj 'Umar's writings would seem to be at least as significant for an understanding of the recent social history of Ghana as are the writings of Wells and Bennett for the social history of Britain. (Hunwich, J. 1964, p.3)

Furthermore, alhaj 'Umar ibn Abi Bakr al-Salghawi may be considered as the first Ghanaian writer and poet if a strictly geographical criterion for Ghanaian writing is adopted (Priebe, R. 1988, p.7). This study is, therefore, aimed at exposing this ignored portion of Ghanaian writings, and specifically, Ghanaian poetry written in Arabic, a literary culture that has profoundly exhibited the intellectual capacity and scholarly potency of a segment of a Ghanaian community whose affiliation to Islam dictated their literary language, which they have continuously shown tremendous zeal to master.

The study draws much motivation from both Ivor Wilks and Thomas Hodgkin who were involved in the collection and analysis of the materials, in the light of which they suggested interesting topics for further investigation using these Arabic manuscripts. Their suggestions centered on the textual analysis of the writings in order to expose its stylistic worth (Hodgkin, T. 1969, p.456). The study, therefore, intends to examine poetic writings of Alhaj 'Umar Abibakr al-Salghawi's, a genre he, so profoundly, used as a medium to communicate his ideas; surprisingly, these ideas are more on social morals than it is of religious doctrines, contrary to the prevalent literary tradition in the sub-region. He used the medium too, as a tool to record historic events, particularly, British Colonization of the then Gold Coast, and also record one of the fiercest ethnic battle the region has ever noticed: the civil war of Salaga. An aspect of the thesis gives an historical overview of the introduction of Islam into Ghana and the role of Alhaj Umar's tribesmen, the Hausa, in its spread. The study consists of two main parts, with each part further divided into chapters; first part, containing Chapters One and Two, gives an historical overview of Arabic education in Ghana, while the second part, Chapters Three, four and Five, looks at Alhaj Umar ibn abubakar and his writings.

Chapter One, the Introduction, traces the coming of Islam into Ghana and the operations of Hausa settlers as the major process of its spread. Chapter Two, covers two sections; the first section gives a description, in broader historical context, of the relevant growth of Islamic learning and the spread of Arabic literacy through the traditional Arabic schools in Ghana. Colonialism and religion became the two most powerful forces that influenced division of West African communities along cultural and linguistic lines. While English, French and Portuguese seemed, basically, to have been imposed on the communities through processes of colonization, Arabic remained the only language spread through religion. (Owomoyela, O. 1979, p.23) So the second section looks at the socio-political factors that influence Arabic learning and usage in Ghana, with special attention to its social role in Ghanaian communities.

Chapter Three looks at the life and contribution of Alhaj 'Umar to Arabic knowledge in Ghana. This part is made up of two sections: first section looks at his early life and education; second section discusses his Islamic activities and his teaching career; while the last section analyzes his ideology and religious practices. It includes the social impact of his teaching on the Kete-Krachie Zongo community, his place of residence. Chapter Four contains a critical analysis of his themes, and the social and political factors that engendered his choice of the subject matters. This would be carried out according to Arabic classical conventions which has been the dominant mode used by poets of that region; while Chapter Five looks at his style and the literary techniques he employs in his writings as well as the general structure of his poems. Chapter Six contains the anthology of Alhaj Umar's works that have been copied from the manuscripts, using the modern Arabic script. It contains twelve most famous works of Alhaj Umar Kete-Krachie, which form the basis of this thesis.

# SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

أ = a, 'a, و = 'u, إ = 'i	ط = t
ا after a long vowel or wa & li = '	ظ = z
آ, إ, ل = ā	ع = ' (glottal stop)
ب = b	غ = gh
ت = t	ف = f
ث = th	ق = q
ة = t	ك = k
ج = j	ل = l
ح = ḥ	م = m
خ = kh	ن = n
د = d	ه = h
ذ = dh	و long = ū
ر = r	و in diphthong = w
ز = z	ي long = ī
س = s	ي in diphthong = y
ش = sh	ُ = u
ص = ṣ	َ = a
ض = ḍ	ِ = i

## Notes:

1. The definite article *al-* is used before solar and lunar letters.
2. ة at the end of words and names is not transliterated, eg. مدة (*mudda*).
3. A *shadda* (ّ) is represented by doubling the relevant letter.
4. Arabic and Hausa words transcribed into Latin characters are shown in italics.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Spread of Islam in Ghana; the Role of Hausa Merchants.

The introduction of Islam into societies that now occupying modern Ghana, was greatly linked with the dispersion of some enterprising African traders whose business pursuit afforded them an additional benefit of adopting Islam from one trade partner and then imparting it onto another. Mande traders of Mali, embraced Islam through their trade dealings with the North African Arabs, then spread it along their trade routes from the Sahel in the north, to the fringes of the forest in the south, from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to Hausaland in the east. And from their association with the people of Hausaland, they pass over the faith and trade to the latter, who joined the trail and followed their footsteps.

Two dominant West African tribes could, then, be said to have greatly influenced the penetration of Islam into Ghana, and for that matter, the literary traditions and scholarship that came with it: the great family of Mande tribe, popularly called Wangara in Ghana, and Hausa traders. The first were the initiators of the process of Islamization among the pagan inhabitants of Volta Basin, which covers Burkina Faso, Ghana, Togo, and Cote d'Ivoire, followed by Hausa people who played a subsidiary but complementary role in this respect; and with time they overshadowed the Wangaras in the actual Islamic propagation and teaching.<sup>1</sup> Their contribution to the growth of Islamic learning and its spread among Ghanaian communities forms the basis of this section.

Hausa traders came into the scene in fifteenth century when Kola became the main export product of the forest of the Ashanti kingdom to the people of Hausa and Bornu in Nigeria. A decline in gold supply to the northern territories, caused by the Portuguese control of the gold business in Ghanaian town of Elmina, saw a rise in kola business, and actually reached its peak in the nineteenth century when goods sold by Hausa tradesmen to the Ashanti was settled in Kola because of the Ashanti's diminishing sources of income which used to be slaves and gold. This period witnessed chains of Hausa trade caravans plying north-eastern trade routes, from the Middle Volta Basin.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, that wasn't their first contact with the gold and Kola sources of the Ashanti forest, there had already been a long-standing trade relation between Hausaland and Gonja. The Kano chronicle relates of merchants from 'Gwanja' coming to Katsina in 13h century. This occurred long before Katsina emerged as one of the most important commercial centers of the Sudan in the eighteenth century. According to the history of Gonja, a market in Guipe, one of the nine divisional chiefdoms of Gonja, was established by Jakpa, a seventeenth-century ruler of Gonja, the purpose of which was to strengthen the trade link between his kingdom and Hausaland. Jakpa may, probably, be taking advantage of the Hausa's strong taste for the red Kola whose distribution seemed, almost exclusively, in the hands of Gonja merchants.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to clearly establish the first Hausa settler to what now forms northern region of Ghana, against claims made by Muslim groups, that their ancestors' migration to that territory predates Jakpa's conquest of that area.<sup>4</sup> What remains certain is that, the area witnessed a large influx of Hausa settlers with the shift of Kola market from Gbuipe to the new market of Salaga, which later developed into the largest settlement of predominantly Hausa immigrants. The number of these

settlements swelled tremendously in 1874, with the break of Asante's control of the North. This facilitated a free flow of Muslim traders and immigrants into Kumasi and the areas further south to the coastal towns. One British officer noted that, "No one who has been for some years on the coast can fail to be struck by the increasing Mohammedan infiltration."<sup>5</sup>

With the decline of trade in Salaga, as a result of the civil war of 1892, Hausa traders move their trading and, of course, their settlements to the new emerging trading towns, such as Kintampo and Kete-Krachie. And with the re-opening of trade in Kumasi in 1896, after the destruction of Asante empire, more Hausa immigrants moved into the Zongo, and joined their brothers who were already recruited by the British colonialists to fight in their battles with the Asantes. The British became so impressed with their fighting spirit that more Hausas were recruited and many of them became permanent soldiers in the northern Gold Coast force. A British report states: "My observation of the Hausas lead me to believe that if fanatical they are faithful and well behaved.....they are fierce and intractable in warfare and look in contempt on Pagans."<sup>6</sup>

So, Muslim immigrants, who were predominantly Hausa, established themselves permanently in the towns, particularly Kumasi Zongo, where they acquired property, and built houses. They soon dominated in those communities, economically and politically and often control the fate of new migrants. With their wealth, Islamic knowledge and orthodoxy, they earned some prestige and respect in the eyes of other ethnic groups. They controlled many sectors of trade, open more Arabic schools and built more houses. So that Hausa migrants became known as wealthy *masugida* and as educated Muslims.<sup>7</sup> The whole community, led by the influential Hausas, became one social unit bound by one common goal and aspiration, governed by the same Islamic

institutions and principles: the central mosque, at which all Muslims congregate on Fridays and on the major Islamic festival occasion. Their belief and commitment to abide by these principles ensured their growth. They really grew, expanded and brought more people under their fold until in 1927, they became the first community to be governed under the rules of Islamic Law, under the emirate of Alhaj Salaw, a Hausa, born in Yendi, of a Katsina Hausa father (actually born in Salaga) and a Dagomba (royal) mother.<sup>8</sup>

Within other environments, particularly in the newly established market towns, where Islam hasn't yet been well established among the indigenous population, Hausa settlements became the focus for Muslim presence and propaganda. So, with their high degree of cultural unity through common commercial interest and network of alliances based on kinship, marriage and Islam the community became rooted and more stable. These communities maintain certain distance from the local pagans, preferring to emphasize the particularity of their own customs and cultural practices, thereby, retaining their ethnic identity. This process involved observing a strict marriage restriction, and to the Hausa community, a strict adherence to the Islamic content of their culture. This was the case in Muslim communities of Kete-Krachie, Kintampo, Atebubu, and the surrounding towns, after the demise of Salaga. However, in Dagomba, they were seen to have made a tremendous impact on the religious lives of the natives, and above all, have contributed more than any other group to the propagation of Islam in that kingdom.<sup>9</sup>

It becomes apparent then, that Islam has long been introduced in the northern territory of Ghana by Muslim groups who claimed Hausa origin. Gonja tradition, however, attributes it to one Muslim *ālim*, called Muhammad al-Abyad of Be'o in whose hands Gonja king Jakpa converted to Islam. The same tradition, too, relates the



institution of Islamic learning to the arrival of Mallam Chediya from a village near Katsinan to Salaga.<sup>10</sup> In any case, long presence of Muslim communities in this territory, suggests a tradition of Arabic scholarship has already been established and some form of Islamic education instituted by the local Muslims, who in this area, were made up of early Muslim people of Mande and Hausa origin on one hand, and converts from slaves and rulers on the other. The following chapter considers the introduction of this Islamic education and its form.

Notes.

1. Nehenia Levtzion. 1968. Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.3-25.
  2. Ibid, pp.18-22.
  3. Wilks, Levtzion, and Haight. 1986. Chronicles from Gonja. London: Cambridge, p.160.
  4. Ivor Wilks. 1964. The Growth of Islamic Learning in Ghana. Ibadan: University Press, p.414.
  5. Quoted in: Enid Schildkrout. 1977. People of Zongo. London: Cambridge U. Press, p.69.
  6. *ibid.*, pp.69-79.
  7. *ibid.*, 77-83. *Masugida* in Hausa means 'landlords', (sing. *Maigida*).
  8. Salaw was appointed to the position of Sarkin Zongo (head of Zongo community) in 1919; worked as an officer in the British Administration, then chaired the first tribunal set to run under Islamic Law. Born in Yendi, in eastern Dagomba, schooled under al-Hajj Umar Krachie, later became knowledgeable in Islamic Law and divination. He was said to have been the first and the only chief to imprison the chief of Ashante. He gain high reputation and he's believed to be the most dynamic ruler Zongo has ever had.
  9. N. Levtzion, *op. ct.* , pp.27-77.
  10. *ālim* in Arabic means, 'a learned man', the plural is *ulamā*.
-

## CHAPTER II

### MUSLIM EDUCATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY GHANA

#### I. Arabic Education and the Spread of Authorship

The coming of Islamic education into what forms Ghana State today could well be likened to a spring, which flowed all the way from the Middle East, crossed the Red Sea onto the Northern Africa, and then sloped down to West Africa, and finally ending on Ghanaian coasts. In West Africa this process, perhaps, started around seventh century or a little earlier when evidences of the use of Arabic language was discovered in such towns as Awdaghast, Takrur, Ghana, Silla, and Kawkaw<sup>1</sup>. Kanem made its mark in Islamic and Arabic learning, but, in fact, Timbuktu was outstanding as an important center of Islamic literary activities. In the mid-seventeenth century, Katsina also, grew as another center for Arabic learning and Islamic education. The growth of the intellectual activities in this town, in particular, owed much of its prestige from scholars of Timbuktu, who on their way from the pilgrimage to Mecca stop over in Egypt for further Islamic instruction from such famous scholars as al-Sayūtī and al-Nuwayrī. Having equipped themselves with the needed religious sciences, they then continued their journey home through Katsina and Kano, where some of them settle to teach. Particular mention must be made of Islamic scholars like Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī of Tlemçen, a prominent Muslim juriconsult during the reign of Muhammad Rumfa (c.1463-99), Aida-Ahmad al-Tāzakhtī (d.1529), Makhlūf al-bilbālī (d.1533), and Ahmad b.Umar b. Muhammad Aqit.<sup>2</sup> They had all contributed immensely in shaping the Islamic education in both Katsina and Kano through their preaching and teaching. Works of Dan Marina ( Ibn al-Sabāgh)

and Muhammad b. Māsanih (d.1667), a noted jurist and counselor of the sultan of Katsina are few examples of Arabic literary products from which recent scholars like Muhammad Bello always referred.

By the tradition of learning as practiced in Hausaland during those periods, Chediya, a learned Muslim, whom Gonja tradition claimed to be the first Hausa to have settled in the new market town of Salaga, must have continued with that tradition in his new Ghanaian environment. *Ḥārat al-‘ālim*, or *Nguam mallam*, ‘the learned man’s quarter’, was a scholarly accolade, which came to be attached to Chediya’s new community, where he built the first mosque of Salaga<sup>3</sup>. With his piety and educational background in Islamic sciences, he must have offered Koranic lessons and instructions in Islamic knowledge. Chediya’s compound formed what today may be referred as kindergarten school, where Koran recitation and basic Arabic lessons, like alphabets and numerals were taught to young children of school going age.

The formation of such schools usually begins from a father handing over his son to a Muslim cleric in the village to be taught reading in the Koran. In Dagomba, for instance, chiefs, after converting to Islam normally give their children out to a Hausa *Malam* who would teach them reading in the Koran<sup>4</sup>. In the northern region, like in any part of West Africa, a man may send his son to some distant town to receive such reading skill. Sometimes, an ambitious student from an impoverished family, in order to continue with his studies, may place himself in ‘bondage’ to a teacher whereby he assists the teacher on the farm or with such domestic works as carrying water, chopping firewood, and the like, and in return, he was taught to recite the Koran by rot.<sup>5</sup> This led to the formation of the Koran schools. Often, Islamic education stops there, that is, after the student has attained the age of 15, when he would have acquired basic knowledge about Islam and its practices, as well as the skills in the recitation

and copying of the Koran. In Muslim community like Gonja, where agriculture was the chief occupation, the student is made to spend more time on the farm or to work in a particular family business to improve the economic condition of the family. But in a family with enough members to carry out this task, the father will always attempt to free a few of the children for advance education.<sup>6</sup>

Normally, students who are fortunate to have the chance to take further studies, read books on grammar and syntax, and some further readings in basic works of Maliki law such as *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī. An advance studies normally took the form of individual meetings with a recognized teacher or scholar in a mosque or within his compound. Here the student takes instructions from three specific books based on various Islamic categories of knowledge: the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn of al-Mahallī (d. 1459) and al-Sayūṭī (d. 1505), this is a brief commentary of the Koran; al-Shifā' fī ta'rīf huqūq al-Mustafā by Iyād b. Mūsā b. 'Iyād al-Sabtī (d. 1149), this treats the life history of the prophet; and the Muwaṭṭa' of Imām Mālik b. Anas (d. 795), a comprehensive corpus of Islamic laws.

The system of education is predominantly of religious character as the above books suggest. Dubois describes the literary heritage established in West Africa by 'Timbuktu school' as follows:

The branches of instruction were many and various. The theologians commented upon and analyzed the great sacred books, and taught rhetoric, logic, eloquence, and diction in order to prepare to spread abroad the word of God and maintain controversies. The jurist expanded the law according to the Malekite dogmas, and the stylist taught the art of writing 'in ornamental terms'. Others professed grammar, prosody, philology, astronomy and ethnography; and others again were 'very versed in the tradition, biographies, annals, and histories of mankind'. Mathematics does not appear to have formed a special course; and as for medicine, the grossest empiricism was mingled with the hygienic principles of the therapeutic Arab.<sup>7</sup>

In some Ghanaian rural areas especially where Hausa *Malams* (scholars) dominated in scholastic works, students studied the exact language materials that were used in

Nigerian schools: al-'Ishrīniyya, al-Witriyya, the six poets<sup>8</sup>; tawhīd from the works of Sanūsī and others, as well as syntax from al-Ajurrumiyya, Mulhatu l-'i'rāb, Qatru al-nadā, and other works. Holden describes the division of courses of Islamic education in eighteenth-century West Africa, as follows:

In West Africa at this time Islamic higher education was divided into principal and auxiliary subjects which show little significant difference from the medieval classification of knowledge, as used for example at Al-Azhar till the later nineteenth century. In the former category are the Qur'ān itself, *tafsīr* ( Quranic exegesis ) *ḥadīth* (the authenticated deeds and sayings of the prophet), *tawhīd* (knowledge of God and his attributes), *usūl al-fiqh* (principles of canon law), and *tassawuf* (philosophy and mysticism). The second category, which was taught in far fewer schools, and for which the Saghanugu of Kong seemed appropriate, comprised *nahw* (grammar), *sarf* (syntax), *ma'āni* (rhetoric), *bayān* (a related subject concerned with public speaking) and *mantiq* (logic)<sup>9</sup>.

Not only did the Hausa Mallams featured prominently in the teaching area but also contributed immensely in the production of Islamic and Arabic reading materials. The large corpus of Arabic literature materials collected at the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana were either of Nigerian origin or were imported into Ghana by Nigerian scholars. These materials consisted of printed and hand-copied books emanating from the Maghreb, the Middle East and other parts of West Africa (the latter mostly by members of the Dan Fodio family), and which Thomas Hodgkin has divided, basically, by its regional origin as:

- 1- Classical works, of Maghribi or Middle Eastern authorship.
- 2- Works of west African authors living outside the Ghana region.
- 3- Works by West African authors residing within the Ghana region
- 4- Documents ( such as *silsilas*, *ijāzas*, obituaries, lists of rulers, and *imāms*, etc. ) of non-literary character.<sup>10</sup>

These works generally, were in constant use for purposes of teaching and individual studies. This materials give credit to the claim that the influence of the Hausa traders and settlers in the spread of Islam and its learning far surpasses that of their Wangara

counterparts, even though the latter's overwhelming role in the islamization of West Africa cannot be disputed. Thomas Hodgkin writing about the collection states:

... The interest of this type of literature lies partly in the light which it throws on the reading habits of the 'ulamā of the region, and the kind of work which have influence their ideas and outlook..... The great majority of the manuscripts so far recorded in the second category – of non-local West African authorship – are works composed by members of the Dan Fodio family. This is not surprising, in view of the importance of trade and cultural connections between the Ghana region and the Hausa states, and the significance of the reforming movement under 'Usman Dan Fodio leadership for Muslims throughout West Africa. Some of the most fundamental and best-known exposition of reformist theory are represented—for example, 'Abdallah dan Fodio's *Tazyīn al-waraqāt*, 'Usman dan Fodio's *Nūr al-albāb* and *Iḥyā' al-sunna wa ikhmād al-bid'a*, Muhammad Bello's *Infāq al-maysūr*. There is a copy (of recent date) of Muhammad Bello's *Raf' al-shubha*..... 'a criticism of those who ape the unbelievers, those who ape the tyrants, and those who ape the ignorant'. There are also examples of devotional poems by the Dan Fodio brothers—'Abdallah's *Qasīda fī madh aslah 'ibād Allah* and *Takhmīs al-qasā'id al-ashriyyat* (based on a poem of the same title by Al-Fazāzī), and 'Usman's *Hal li masīr naḥw tayba musri'an* (also a madh poem). And there is a short genealogical work, *Kitāb al-nasab*, by 'Abdallah dan Fodio, giving the history of the Tordbe. Another work which reflects the influence of the reforming movement of the Central Sudan is a poem, of unknown authorship, in praise of Sheikh Jibrīl, 'who spread the knowledge of Islam in the Sudan' (presumably Sheikh Jibril ibn 'Umar, the reformist writer and teacher of 'Usman dan Fodio) and of 'Usman himself.<sup>11</sup>

The influence of the reforming movement led by 'Usman dan Fodio and other reformers before him would be considered briefly in Chapter Three, as we look at the life and writings of Alhaj 'Umar ibn Abibakr ibn 'Usman. But what is of interest to us, at this point, is the third category from the above divisions, i.e. works by local authors, which, in fact, constitute by far the largest. Like it has been revealed in earlier studies, the works constitute a fusion of two literary traditions; Wangara-Dyula one, which, of course, was first to enter the region and then Hausa one. Hodgkin states that the earliest example of the first was *Isnād al-shuyūkh wal-'ulamā*, or *Kitāb Ghunja*, compiled in or shortly after A.D. 1752, in its present form by al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Mustafa, a Gonja. It is a historical material dealing with the late sixteenth century Gonja state, its people and Islam. Another material that relates to the same tradition is

*Isnad al-Sudan*, an account of the origins of the Watara division of the Dyula. Though it bears no records of the author or the date it was written; it falls within the same paradigm of that tradition. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw the writings of Mahmud ibn ‘Abdallah; *Qissat Salagha, tārīkh Ghunja*, the *tārīkh Daghabawi* ( History of Dagomba ), *Tārīkh ahl Wāla*, the history of the kings and imams of Wā, compiled in 1922. Hodgkin commenting on these materials states:

In this connection it is important to bear in mind that, while some of these later works are chronicles referring back over the past four centuries, others are works of contemporary, or near-contemporary, history—quoting in some cases relevant documents—having an altogether different evidential value. This kind of material is particularly rich for the period of late nineteenth-century colonial penetration and anti-colonial resistance. It provides an essential documentary basis (which needs to be supplemented, of course, from other sources) for the kind of reassessment of the lives, characters, motives, and achievements of such resistance leaders as Samory and Babatu, which is urgently needed.<sup>12</sup>

The works of Alhaj ‘Umar ibn Abibakr ibn ‘Usman al-Kabbawi al-Kanawi al-Salghawi, the basis of this thesis, form the largest contribution of all the other writers. Even though the collections of the Arabic manuscripts conducted by the Institute of African studies of Ghana, deliberately, targeted his works – thus drawing researchers’ attention to him and his works – he is still celebrated as the most outstanding poet of nineteenth century Ghana, as no scholar in Ghanaian context, has produced so much literary works, in varied topics as him. A detailed study of his poetry comes in Chapter Four, and it sheds light on the intellectual as well as politico-religious influences that acted on him as he practices his art.

## II. Factors that Influenced Muslim Education

If there is a force that has given a Muslim an impulse to education, then it is, non other than his faith: Islam. Much as the religion makes seeking knowledge an obligation on all Muslims, so does it make it mandatory for the literate to teach the illiterate. Islam



encourages entry into all branches of knowledge, on condition that solid Islamic foundation has been attained through Islamic education. The tendency to emphasize the Islamic content of Muslim education really deepened as a result of Muslims coming into contact with European cultures through colonization in the past and globalization in recent times. This explains the existence of two educational systems in Ghana and a host of other West African countries, the traditional Islamic system and the government system running side by side.<sup>13</sup> Insofar as each educational system is structured toward a particular goal, it invariably determines the use to which the skill acquired is, consequently, put. This section looks at the Muslim education in Ghana, and how the changing social and political events affected it as it developed through history.

With the spread of Islam developed an educational system, which is solely of religious character. Here a student learns how to read the Koran, which forms the principal component of his religious rites, the ultimate purpose of his existence on this earth. Few instructions are also given in Fiqh, which takes a student through the rules and regulations of ritual ablution, prayer, fasting, alms giving, etc. Because of the limited use to which this literacy is put, very little time is spent on learning. Most of student's time is used on the farm or for any other economic activity. A student who continues to the higher level grows to become a *Malam*, like his teacher, where his status and role in the community is transformed successively, from that of economic into religious, social and political one. We saw this phenomenon in the early days of Islam in Gonja, where prestige and economic benefits were enjoyed by someone with knowledge in the Koran and Islamic sciences.

As part of his economic gains, a *Malam* enjoys a variety of services from his pupils. In the farming villages students spend countless hours working on their

teacher's farm, send out his livestock to graze in the outskirts of the village or cut firewood from the bush. These services represent compensation for the lessons granted by the teacher who imposes no fees on his pupils. In fact, there are series of gifts (*sadaqat*) a parent offers at some fixed intervals as the pupil progresses in his Koranic readings.<sup>14</sup> In some cases a rich parent may decide to sponsor a *Malam*'s pilgrimage to *ḥāj* for his services to the child or the community as a whole. And at community level, his religious and social roles represent in his imamship, where he leads congregational prayers as well as funeral rites, officiates marriage ceremonies, settle disputes, and above all has the moral responsibility to supervise over the welfare and behavior of the people. The community in turn imposes upon its self the duty of contributing to his upkeep and social needs. This has been, and still is, the traditional roles of *ālim*, and the benefits that go with them, in Ghanaian Muslim communities. This enviable position of the learned *Malam* became another strong incentive to Muslim education, and students sought it in order to enjoy that status in society, despite their economic hardship and other social impediment. Very ambitious students, still, travel abroad to seek this knowledge. In the early days of Islam in Ghana, Northern Nigeria used to be the destination for any student seeking Islamic knowledge.

The exceptional influence enjoyed by a number of the leading Muslims led by Muhammad Ghamba, popularly known as Shaykh Baba, in seventeenth century Kumasi, was as a result of their Islamic education that had been acquired in Hausaland. This group of Muslim clerics 'enjoyed rank at court, or were invested with administrative powers, entitling them even to a voice in the senate'<sup>15</sup>. King of Asante brought them under his full service, which involved keeping records of political events and court proceedings. Admired by their skills and intelligence, the king sent

members of his household to Shaykh Baba's Arabic school. This is beside the impact they had made over the social and religious life of the Asantes, through the production of amulets and 'prayer services'.

The powers and trust reposed on the Muslim clerics kept growing stronger and stronger, even after the defeat of the Asantes by the British in February 1874, when Kumasi and all Asante protectorates came under British control. Then the British on their part adopted a policy of deliberately strengthening the position of the Muslims by appointing a Muslim in a strong position in order to balance the position of the Asante traditional leaders. It so followed that in 1927, the British established a separate tribunal where Muslim law was applied with Mālam Salaw, the sarkin zongo, as the chairman empowered to hear civil and criminal cases. His knowledge of Islamic law and divination had really gained him a high reputation, as well as considerable wealth. He acquired his knowledge locally at the hands of our poet, Alhaj Umar ibn Abi Bakr of Kete-Krachie, who, as would be seen in Chapter Four, has written a number of long poems in his praise.

While these influences and the resultant affluence, engendered by Arabic education, were being celebrated, a potent threat to Arabic scholarship was also looming and fast spreading among Ghanaian society: Christianity and Western educational system. The powerful operations of Christian propagators, which to a large extent, became allied to European colonialism came in full force. The two forces (Christianity and colonization) enjoyed a fruitful interchange; a financial support is extended to the Christian missionaries, who in their own mission of winning over new hearts, inevitably, prepare the natives through Western education for colonial control.<sup>16</sup>

So when Westerners, finally, set up their mission schools to teach English, Muslims refused to send their children to these schools, with the claim that they were induced to abandon Islam, and adopt Christianity.<sup>17</sup> So with the western or English-based education, English language became official language of administration and transactions after independence; and the result was Muslims, who still maintain the same old view about the Western education, remained marginalized and their situation became deplorable, as they lost some of the privileges that go with western education, like getting government jobs, taking any active part in local politics.<sup>18</sup> Even though they still enjoy some measure of economic power, because of their enterprising character, the success or otherwise of their business activities still depend on the political expediencies of their colleagues in the official positions, not to talk of the ever-changing business climate. This was the situation since independence, until some recent development that appeared to redeem the falling image of the Muslim education, after suffering the setback with the introduction of Western type of education.

In the mid-twentieth century, students started heading to the north African Arab countries as well as the Gulf States with the newly discovered oil wealth in these regions. It followed that, from the 1970s, Universities in these Arab countries offered free scholarships to Muslim students to pursue religious courses up to a degree level. After completion of their programs, they were then hired by the Islamic institutions set up by these Arab nations, to engage in Islamic and social programs in their various local communities. The new trend quickly came to lift the economic status of Muslim communities in Ghana, through lofty stipends students enjoy from the Gulf States as well as the guarantee for job after graduation. Thus, another strong impetus for more Arabic scholarship has been found. In fact, this period saw a sharp increase in Muslim

student population in Accra, Kumasi, Tamale and all the big cities, because these were distribution points of these scholarships. And the Islamic schools also recorded highest intake during this period, thus resulting in an overflow of graduate students from these Arab Universities as well as local ones. These graduates, by the nature of their training in these schools, became solely skilled in Arabic knowledge and Islamic sciences. Therefore, their traditional role as imams, Arabic teachers and spiritual masters has been rejuvenated after that long recession and it appears they have had some other added social roles too, but this thesis may not be able to cover that and may require a full study.<sup>19</sup> This, therefore, seems to be the situation now, even though there was a decline in the flow of these Arab scholarships of late.

Notes.

1. Hunwich, J. O. "the influence of Arabic in West Africa", 1964. Transaction of the Historical Society of Ghana, Vol. VII. Accra: P.3
2. *ibid.*, 30-31.
3. Levtzion, N. *op. cit.*, p.27.
4. *ibid.* p. 110.
5. Goody, J. 1968. "Restricted Literacy in Northern Ghana", *Literacy in Tropical Societies*. Cambridge: Univ. Press. P.207.
6. *ibid.*, pp.207-208. Wilks (1968), also points out that the Northern part of Ghana was economically impoverished, therefore, it did not attract *ulamā*; thus worsening the literacy problem.
7. *Ibid.*, p.226
8. The six poets are among the famous pre-Islamic classical Arabic poets numbering seven (or ten, in other sources).
9. Goody, J. *op. cit.*, p.224.
10. Hodgkin, T. *op. cit.*, p.447.
11. *Ibid.*, pp.448-449.
12. *Ibid.*, p.452.
13. See Hubbard, J. P. 1976. "Government and Islamic education in Nigeria", in Conflict and Harmony in Education in tropical Africa. Madison: F. Dickinson Univ. Press.
14. Wilks, I. *op. cit.*, p.171.
15. Wilks, I. 1989. *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cam. Univ. Press. Pp.256-261.
16. See Owomoyela, O. 1979.
17. Schildkrout, E. *op. cit.*, p.95.
18. Schildkrout talks of the Muslim immigrants' situation in Kumasi becoming tenuous when after independence they were confronted with challenging government policies regarding citizenship. P.97.

19. This section is solely based on my personal experiences, as I happened to have gone through the same educational process and have ever enjoyed, too, the scholarship to study in one of these Arab schools.

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## CHAPTER III

### ALHAJ UMAR IBN ABIBAKAR IBN UMAR KETE-KRACHIE <sup>1</sup>

#### I. His Early Life and Education

Alhaj Umar Ibn Abubakar Ibn Umar was born in Kano, in the year 1850. This was about three years after the installation of Abdullai, son of Dabo, as the Emir of Kano. His hometown was Kabe in northwestern part of Nigeria. The father, Abubakar Ibn Uthman, who himself, was a learned man of an average status gave more attention to his Kola trade than learning.<sup>2</sup>

Kola trade had been the flourishing business among the tribesmen of the father, the Hausa. And during the nineteenth century these traders made their way from Hausaland, carrying with them oriental clothing, beads, leatherworks, and slaves to Salaga, where they were exchanged for Kola and other forest products. Having been a lucrative business for both young and old, Alhaj Umar's other two brothers, Suley and Indoli, were made to join and support the father's trade expeditions, a mission whose success largely depended on how much human support was at one's disposal, both as aids to transactions and for security purposes. Little Umar was by then, too young to engage in the jostling of making a living. So, at the early age of two, he was sent away from the city life of Kano, back to Kebi, his father's hometown, to be looked after by the grandmother.

At the age of five, Umar had already started his education as a child. And like all Muslim children, his education commenced with the learning of the Koran, which he excelled at the admiration of the father. By twelve years of age, he had completed learning it by heart, and was showing sign of a prospective intellectual life. And this made the father change his earlier plan to train the boy for his kola business. By 1870,



he was already far advanced in his higher studies, first, under the guidance of Sheikh Uthmān, a renowned scholar in Kano, and later in Sokoto, which was then, the leading center of Islamic learning. He combined his studies with the family business, trading, the norm in those days among students of that region. This was taken as training for a growing youth like Umar, so as to facilitate a smooth transition to adulthood. It afforded the young adult an exposure to the outside world, where he had the opportunity to mingle with people of the same interest as him, in the world of learning and service to Islam.

To acquire a good grounding, on the basis of which Umar was considered to have qualified for the certificate to teach, he mastered the reading of the following works, *Tafsīr al-jalālayn* in explication of the Koran, the *Muwatta* of Imām Mālik in elucidation of legal matters, and *al-Shifā* of Iyād bin Māsā in illustration of the example of the life of the Prophet. And in addition, Umar studied *Tuhfat al-hukkām* of ibn Ashī, *al-Mukhtasar* of Khalīl ibn Ishāq, *Risāla* of ibn Abū Zaid, and commentary of *Irshād al-sālik*. And for him, who had strong taste for literature and was looking forward to a literary practice in future, the study of the following language books became an essential requirement, *al-'Ishrīniyyāt*, *al-Witriniyyāt*, the six poets, all in poetry studies, *al-Ajurrumiyya*, *al-Bahjat al-mardiyya*, *Shuzūr al-Dhahb*, *al-Qatr* in Syntax and Morphology, and *al-Rāmiza* in the science of poetic meters. Umar studied these works thanks to the strict regime of his teacher, Uthmān. In one of his poems, he boasts of the strict discipline he encountered in school (9:23-24):

من جاعنا بمكيدات وحيلته      ولو أتى لابسا تاجا وبرنوسا  
يخيب من نواه من تعنتنا      بما درسنا على عثمان تدريسا

*Whoever comes to us with deception or subterfuge,  
Even if he comes donning a crown or burnus.  
He would be thwarted in his intention by the strictness,*

*With which we studied under Uthman.*

In the same poem, he says 9(9:15-16):

يستسر البغث لا فينا وإن لنا      نقلا نميز إنسانا وبابوسا  
فإن أستاذنا عثمان علمنا      فرقا إذا قيل جاموسا وجاموسا

*Small bird feigning eagle, not in us,  
By our source, we tell human among mammal.  
For our teacher, Uthman instructed us,  
(On) the difference between buffalo and 'Jamoos'.<sup>3</sup>*

Umar, successfully, went through his higher studies, graduated and was awarded a certificate, by which he qualified to extend his teaching services to others in the faith. And by this time he had already become familiar with his father's trade routes, camping stations for the caravans, and the market centers; Salaga happened to be one of these market towns. Perhaps, during his trade rounds with the family, he might have been weighing the options among the wide range of towns in West Africa that could serve as his future permanent abode, one that would be suitable for a serious literary revolution he had in mind. And it was no coincidence that his two brothers had already been attracted to Salaga, and subsequently moved and took residence there. They have, by that, prepared the site for the foundation of Umar's future literary activities. So it was with ease when the time came, that Umar, finally, migrated to join his brothers, who might have, already, softened the tough spots for his final destination and residence in Ghana; that was in 1874.<sup>4</sup>

## II. His Teaching Career

In fulfillment of a contract between the new graduate and his teacher, Alhaj Umar established a school upon arrival in Salaga with the help of his brothers and one other scholar, Malam Alhassan, who also ran his own private school. The latter has been of

tremendous help to him, both during the inception and later development of the new school project. It was, really, through Alhaj Umar's vision and good forecast that the school was established solely for higher studies, a facility that was almost nonexistent in the region in those days; hence, he received a warm reception when the idea was first put across to the authorities concerned, including Malam Alhassan. Even the enthusiasm shown by the natives for the project and the commitment with which it was carried out did give a hint of what was to come of Salaga, as a major center for literary activities. Besides, it must have dawned on Alhaj Umar that his dream of becoming one of the leading Islamic scholars to reckon with, was coming to fruition.

When the school was finally opened, he introduced the same educational curriculum as practiced in the schools in Hausaland, using almost the same books we saw above, and might have applied also the same rigid learning regime of his teacher, Uthmān. While Alhaj Umar was preoccupied with his programs in the educational front, ethnic tension was already breeding and growing in political front among authorities of Salaga as regards dispute over chieftaincy. Little did the ambitious scholar realize that this conflict was going to have a disturbing consequence to his educational plans. Nehemia, described the cause of the dispute as:

The divisional chieftainship of Kpembe rotates among three families, known as 'gates': Lepo, Sumbung, and Kenyase. For some time before the Civil War (at least during six reigns), succession was confined to two 'gates' only: Lepo and Sumbung. After the death of Kpembe-wura.....the choice fell on Muhammad Napo of Lepo. But this nomination was contested by the people of Kenyase, who insisted on the right of their turn to succession. Their claim was rejected on the ground that a Kenyase chief's succession was unheard of. The Kenyase people were already resigned to renunciation when one of their senior chiefs, Kabache-wura Yissifu (Yusuf), refused to withdraw the claim. He retired to his farm and rumors soon became rife that he was preparing for war.

As tension between the two factions mounted, Kabache-wura sent to the Ya-Na, the paramount chief of Dagomba, but a messenger from Yendi failed in appeasing the Kpembe-wura's faction. The Kpembe-wura was under strong pressure from his supporters to take the field. When hostilities broke out Kabache-wura was defeated. He fled to Gjo, fourteen miles northeast of Salaga, outside the Gonja territory,

where he came under the protection of the chief Nanumba. Hence, when Kpembe-wura supporters chased Kabache-wura into Nanumba territory, it was regarded as a provocation. Nanumba and Dagomba troops came to the field, and Kpembe-wura supporters were routed. The people of Salaga run away in all direction, while Nanumba and Dagomba entered the town and plundered it. Kpembe-wura was killed during his flight and Kabache-wura Yissifa was installed as chief of Kpembe. The Nanumba and Dagomba withdrew from Salaga after about a year, taking with them much booty, and leaving behind a devastated town.<sup>5</sup>

This incident marked the beginning of yet another phase in Alhaj Umar's life: his involvement in politics. During the initial squabbles leading up to the battle, he was observed to have aligned himself to Kabache-wura Yissifu, the victor in that battle, against the majority of Muslims who rallied behind chief Napo. This severed the relationship between him and most of the prominent Muslim leaders, and consequently, affected his own personal peace and safety. Even though a number of these leading Muslims got killed in the battle, those who fled to the neighboring towns, became so embittered and bore strong malice against him. So, he remained in Salaga, under the auspices of Kabache-wura, and continued his teaching and religious activities with the few student who remained in the ruined town. Unfortunately, the deplorable condition that ensued with its resultant hardship became unfavorable for learning, and thus few students who still showed little interest in learning and occasionally attended lectures, also abandon the school to grapple with the needs of their livelihood, which became so challenging in those hard times. This, finally, led to closure of the school.

In 1896, the Germans, led by von Zeck, appeared not happy with the turn of events, particularly the installation of Yissifu as the chief, as it had a political implication on their territorial interest. Nehemia explains that:

During that period, Salaga fell prey to the growing competition between the colonial powers. In 1885, the German declared a protectorate over Togoland. In 1888, British and Germans agreed on a neutral zone, which included also Salaga and Dagomba. Kete-krachie fell to the German sphere of influence, while Yeji

came under British authority. In 1892, Ferguson was sent by the British to sign treaties with the northern chiefs but was instructed to avoid the neutral zone. Later in September 1894, Ferguson came again and signed a treaty of trade and friendship with the chief of Kpembe, allowing British and German traders at Salaga. The aim of this treaty was to guard against French encroachment upon the neutral zone, which they did not recognize. The Germans, however, became suspicious of these British activities and sent an officer, Dr. Gruner, to Salaga (1895). The Kpembe chief now found himself in the predicament of having to serve two masters. The Germans, suspecting him to be pro-British, decided to take action. They made use of the presence of refugees from Kpembe at Kete-Krachi, among them Sulayman, son of the defeated Napo, whom the Germans recognized as the legitimate ruler of Kpembe.

In March 1896 two German officials visited Salaga but failed to induce the chief to accept the German flag. In May another German officer, von Zeck, left Kete-Krachi with seventeen soldiers. He took Sulayman whom he intended to install as chief after arresting Kpembe-wura Yissifa.<sup>6</sup>

They were said to have attacked and burned down the Salaga market, adding more hardship to the already precarious situation of the town. It also aggravated Alhaj Umar's public relation, resulting in a serious rancor between him and a section of Muslim leaders of the region; thus, it seemed to have created an emotional crisis for him, which, presumably, haunted him till his death.<sup>7</sup>

So, with the installation of new chief in the person of Sulayman, Napo's son, came two options for Alhaj Umar: on the one hand, he either had to recognize the authority of the new chief, thereby shifting his allegiance to him and enduring whatever humiliation that may come with it for his open support to the deposed chief, or, on the other, to flee to face the wrath of Muslim immigrants in Kete-Krachi, who, for long, were at the logger heads with him. He opted for the latter, and decided in 1896, to face his Muslim brothers who, perhaps, by virtue of the Islamic spirit and solidarity that bind them together, they may, through dialogue, put away the old feud, and look ahead for a better and fruitful future. Furthermore, supporters of the newly installed chief have decided to return to their original home, and so Umar may not face any serious threat in confronting the remaining Muslims in Kete-Krachi. And another

factor that worked in his favor was the presence of his own brothers, students, and old friends who were happy to see him join them and expressed hope of witnessing another Islamic learning rejuvenated in Kete-Krachi, with the same exuberance recorded in Salaga before the uprising.

And true to their dreams, another school was established, after Umar became settled, in his own home, and it attracted large number of students far and near, like his previous school in Salaga. His home was, within short period, turned into a large Islamic learning complex, where young and old people met to study and deliberate on current Islamic issues. Like it is the case with any progressing individual, this did not go without some opposition and criticism from his own tribesmen, who were the early settlers to that town. On the basis of their long residence in Kete-Krachie, and obviously, their economic and political status, they enjoyed some prestige and leadership positions in the community. Awudu Badi was the head of the Zongo community, while Mallam Gado, was the chief Imam of the town; both were Hausa and were among the elements that were not comfortable with Alhaj Umar's quick rise to prominence in the community. The bitterness continued and worsened, till Alhaj Umar was compelled to go into a short exile in Gambaga.

He came back to Kete-Krachie after the Sarkin Zongo was deposed and he, Umar's former student installed as the new Sarkin Zongo. Umar was then nominated to occupy the post of an Imam of the town after the former Imam, who was previously accused of un-Islamic behavior, was removed. This period coincided with the arrival of Mischlich in Kete-Krachi as the new German commissioner who gave the final official endorsement to Umar's appointment based on his educational merit. This opened up the scope of Alhaj Umar's religious activities. It now took an international dimension, and he won more followers in Ghana as well as outside, including Togo,

Benin, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, etc. As described by N. Levtzion on his contribution to literacy in that region, he says that, 'Indeed, *ulamā* of his class introduced into our area some of the intellectual activity of nineteenth-century Islam in Hausaland' (Levtzion, 1968, p.48).

When he started writing, he concentrated on writing educational materials for his students, which were mostly, items on Arabic grammar and compositions. He produced his first work in Salaga in 1877, a volume on epistolary styles including collection of model letters with advice to letter writers in prose, which was subsequently published in Cairo in 1948. His *tarbī* of *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa'l waṣiyya* of Ali Zayn al-Abidīn was also published in the collection of *al-Qasāid al-Ashariyyat*. Both works were in prose and were published the same year in Cairo (Bab al-Halabī). And his later works, mainly in poetry, remain unpublished; they exhibit a wide range of topics, and this proved a rare quality which marks him off among his peers as one of the prolific literary figures in West Africa. He produced a very large number of students with sound knowledge of Arabic. Names of over fifty-six prominent scholars from various regions of Ghana, purported to have studied in his school is printed in C. Steward's thesis, 'The Tijaniya in Ghana: An Historical Study; among these students were Chief Salaw and Malam Tanu.

### III. His Spiritual Life

Alhaj Umar grew up in Hausaland where the Qādiriyya order has been the dominant Sufi order for over five centuries.<sup>8</sup> And the mystical ideas of the order, though mixed with other Sufi ones, have strong influence on the religious lives of the Sokoto jihadists, the Fodio family. Alhaj Umar's great-grandfather, was reported to have been an associate of Uthman Dan Fodio, and so, must have assisted the latter, in one way or

the other, in his reform movement. It could, therefore, be assumed that Alhaj Umar had been brought up under the strict doctrines of Qadiriyya. Its ideas were, somehow, different from the mainstream Qadiriyya of the early times which advocated principles as *khalwa*, self-denial, fasting, going out alone into the desert to pray, achievement of *fanā*, 'absorption' in God, and so on. Sufi ideas in Hausaland and elsewhere in west and central Sudan revolve around the cult of the Prophet Muhammad as *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, 'the Perfect Man', or *Afdal al-khalq*, the 'Most Excellent of Creation', and him being the personification of the divine 'light'. Then came also the concept of the saving *walī*, who was the intermediary between the believer and God and who would intercede for those who accepted him on the last day.<sup>9</sup> This, in essence, differ in the belief of the prophet as *al-shafī*, who, alone, could lead man to God, against the earlier ones that it was possible to achieve *fanā* directly in God or through the angels.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Tijaniyya order has, already, began making its impact felt in Hausaland, and there were reports of its influences on, even, the later Sokoto emirs. But these influences were not strong enough to push them converting to Tijaniyya, despite the widespread conversion into that order in Hausaland. The economic hardship of the time and its attendant social problem discouraged people from showing keen interest and commitment to issues of religion. Even in the later days of the Fulani reform movement, the spirit to carry on with these religious reforms dwindled and some of their agenda discarded. The situation was described by Umar b. Muhammadu Bukhari, a cousin of Aliyu, a Sokoto Khalif (1842-1859), he says:

He (aliyu) called men to serve in frontier posts but they had no enthusiasm for the job. They preferred to tend their irrigated farms, trade in the markets, herd cattle and work their crafts. They neglected the affairs of the Jihad and refused to join the army when called. So the place was weakened-and then they blamed and censured him.<sup>10</sup>



So, this was the general attitude of people in Hausaland toward their own religious obligations when Umar was around nine years. Alhaj Umar must have been aware of these changes that was affecting the Qādiriyya order but still remained its staunch follower when he came to Ghana.<sup>11</sup> He is believed to have already had a series of contacts with the market towns of Northern Ghana, especially Salaga, and might have saw the wisdom to preoccupy himself with teaching Arabic language with its literary arts rather than engage in teaching the doctrinal concepts of his order. It could easily be seen, from Alhaj Umar's writings, that he came to Ghana, not as a strict religious reformist, who travels far and wide preaching and condemning practices he considered foreign to Islam (*bida'*), as can be said of the members of the Fulani jihadists or Umar a-Futi and his associates, and their likes. He, however, remained a Qādirī for over thirty-eight years of his life in Ghana, in peaceful interactions and coexistence with his Tijānī comrades in the area, limiting his activities to only teaching the basic knowledge in Islam sciences as well as Arabic language and literature, the ingredients he considered vital for an independent knowledge and realization of man's mission on earth.

It was not surprising at all, that he always prided himself with his knowledge in Arabic language rather than theology or Islamic Law; even his attacks to his opponents focused on their ignorance in this area of study. It was only until 1913, when he went for the Hāj, that he got initiated into the Tijāniyya order by Alfa Hashim, the nephew of al-hajj Umar tal. His name appeared, throughout Ghana, as one of the most influential Tijānī *Malams* during the first quarter of the twentieth century; and he seemed the most revered of all the *ulamā*. Perhaps, this popularity could be viewed in light of his intellectual activities and as a man of exceptional

erudition, committed to spreading literacy among the illiterate Muslim society, rather than an advocate for any *sufi* order. Although, quite a number of Tijāniyya followers in Ghana were alleged to have received the *wird* from him, he was not known, then, as an ardent Tijānī; an observation that may seem to derive its support from claims that he had not shown genuine commitment to the order but was only involved in it for personal gains. That notwithstanding, he was widely considered the spiritual head of the Gold Coast Muslims, from the time of his Hāj to his death. His contacts in Ghana were as widespread as his traveling, and today men speak proudly of knowing him or studying under him.

Despite the uncertainty surrounding which Sufi order he was affiliated to, his writings display an influence of mystic ideas; though common to both Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya, the ideas could be viewed to be more linked to his previous order, Qadiriyya than the later one. Though, no record of his involvement in the practical aspect of the rituals upon which these orders were built, like the minor pilgrimage to the tombs of their saints, there is such an allusion in the following verses in which the idea is couched in a prayer for the prophet who is to intercede for follower's salvation on the judgment day (8:150-152):

صل ربي وسلم      لنبي ثوى قبا  
صاحب الحوض والشفاء      عات فيمن تذبنا

*God's peace and blessing,  
be on the Prophet, buried in a tomb,  
Commander of the pool and mediation  
To all sinners.*

The never-ending prophetic intercession is vividly expressed in above verses, of course, exclusively meant for people who belong to the faith. The Arabic word, 'qubba' (of course, with the feminine (ة) at the end, omitted here for the rhyming

purpose ), connotes, domed shrine, tomb of a saint; it has come to be associated with a practice of visiting a late sheikh's tomb. It is hardly used for the Prophet's resting place or grave in Medina.

In his praises and tributes to the prophet comes the 'Most Excellent of Creation', represented in the following verse (9:35):

الحمد لله رب الخلق موجدهم ثم الصلاة على خير الورى (ساسا)<sup>12</sup>

*Praise to God, Lord and Creator of creations,  
Then, peace be to Most Excellent of Creation.*

Alhaj Umar in his exhortation and preaching on Islamic morals always stresses on the idea of abstention from worldly pleasures and its material luxury; the world is but a delusion (7:78):

بل فامسكوا بسنة الغراء ولا تميلوا طلب السراء<sup>13</sup>

*But be bound on bond of love,  
And not to seek world pleasure.*

He describes the world as not a place for the noble(5:40):

لمالك الأمر إن الأمر مختلج وهذه الدار ليست دار من نبلا

*By the Master of events, the issue is sorrowful,  
This world (dar) is not a place for the pious.*

In one of his poems, he shows some reverence and seems to take consolation from the founding sheikhs of some of these early Sufi orders, and their leading proponents, like al-Shādhilī, al-Hallaj, al-Sayūti, etc., coupled with his fond of introducing himself with such humble but demeaning agnomens as: illiterate, *jāhil*, poor *faqīr*, and such diminutive forms of the Arabic word for a student, *ṭuwaylib*.

One other observation that becomes apparent from his writings, at least those under consideration in this study, is the fact that, he has not, explicitly, made reference in prayers or exaltation to any of the saints or sheikhs, be it al-Tijānī, al-Shādhilī, or al-Jaylānī, in his search for spiritual guidance or blessing, as is the norm with the rest of

the Muslim poetry writers who belong to any of the orders. But on the contrary, he exhibits a more liberal stance on theological issues different to the stance of Fulani reformers, like the issue of cooperation between Muslims and pagans. Just as Alhaj Umar preached against injustice of rulers in Salaga, who had shown open discrimination against their pagan subjects, so did he show a strong protest against Musa's radical method in propagating Islam through the demolition of pagan shrines, and imposing Islam on non-Muslims. His associations with the European colonialists, are some of the examples of his open-minded approach to matters of religious concern that have no clear-cut or definite ruling applicable to all places at all times.

In conclusion, from the above sketchy narrative of Alhaj Umar's life in Ghana, though speculative, it may, somehow, appear clear what his actual role was, in the overall development of Arabic and Islamic learning in Ghana. His method of teaching was not concentrated so much on equipping his students with purely doctrinal components of their faith or teaching them theological principles upon which a particular mystic order was built. His educational curriculum (as could be seen from teaching materials) was built on giving the student more skills on Arabic language, central to the understanding of the real teaching of Islam, as well as the medium to communicate its moral principles to outsiders.

On his last days, he became so ill and was confined to his room, and on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1934, his sickness worsened; his family decided to rush him to the hospital but he died on the way; he was 84.

## Notes.

1. The information in this chapter is, largely, drawn from the thesis of Idriss Abdul Razak: Alhaj Umar Kete-Krachie: A Teacher, a Poet, and a Social Commentator of his time, presented to Department For the Study of Religions, in 1996. Therefore, this chapter shall be more interpretative than descriptive, through the study of his poetry. There are perspectives about his life that still remain a mystery, and even those who seemed to have relied on information from direct relatives couldn't unearth much; things pertaining to his spiritual life as well as the truth about which religious doctrine he adhered to seem to have departed with him. And for this reason, it could be assumed that attacks on his personal integrity by some of his close associates, perhaps, remain valid.
2. He was said to have engaged in Kola trade between Kano and Salaga (Wilks, I. 1964, p.416).
3. *Jamoos* is Hausa word for Germany.
4. Other sources mention 1875 or 1896, but 1874 seems the majority view.
5. Levtzion. 1968. Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa. Oxford: Clarendon Press. P.42.
6. Ibid., p.45.
7. Alhaj Umar's poetry is full of strong-worded messages to his enemies, and in some cases, he invoked divine curses and destruction against them.
8. Mervyn Hiskett. 1984. The Development of Islam in West Africa. London: Longman, p.245.
9. Ibid., p.245.
10. Umar b. Muhammad Bukhari, *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān fī amr al-Sūdān*, undated, quoted in S. Sperl & C. Shackle. 1996. Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa, Vol.I, p.438.
11. Charles C. Stewart. 1965. Unpublished thesis. The Tijānīya in Ghana: An Historical Study, presented to Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, P.34.
12. (ساسا) is a Hausa word, probably, used for royal praises and exaltation.
13. a suggested reading of this line is:  
بل فامسكوا بالسنة الغراء      ولا تميلوا لمطلب السراء.

## CHAPTER IV

### THEMES AND SUBJECT MATTER

Alhaj Umar's poetry could adequately be described as belonging to the heritage of Islamic poetry, which itself is an extension of the tradition of classical Arabic *qasida*.<sup>1</sup> His excellent application of the classical convention is a good reflection of his strong attachment to the traditional Arabic learning, and his keen interest and commitment in reading classical works of earlier Arabic poets. His poetry contains components that are closely parallel with Islamic tradition, in terms of both its themes as well as forms. Like the rest of the other Muslim poets, Alhaj Umar exhibits a strong influence of his Islamic faith, and so, its principles seem to permeate his thinking and his language. Not only does he prelude all his poems with glorification of Allah and praises to the prophet but ends on the same note. He has composed a rendering of the two most famous Burdas<sup>2</sup>: one in pentastichs, *takhmīs*,<sup>3</sup> of Ka'b b. Zuhair's poem, and another in *tarbīʿ* (rendering in quatrains) of al-Būsayrī's. He did another *tarbīʿ*<sup>4</sup> of a poem purported to have been written by Ali Ibn Hussein Ibn Ali. In these renderings, he contributed magnificently in adding color and semantic expansion to the original.

His poetry, generally, is admonitory, aimed at promoting Islamic moral principles and African cultural values. However, in terms of its readership appeal, the message, contained therein, may not be accessible to wider audience, because, very few people in his community were able to read and understand simple Arabic text of elementary level, much less language of poetry. But Alhaj Umar did manage to reach his audience, that's, by translating almost all his works (including those of ancient Arabic poets like *Umrū 'l-Qays*) into Hausa language. Features of his poetry would become

clearer as we analyze them separately below. Much as Alhaj Umar's poetry is characterized by features of the classical *qasīda*, from which Islamic poetry itself drew much of its features, he seemed to have developed his own literary style that uniquely makes his work very outstanding. His use of Hausa vocabulary in some of his Arabic poems, is but one example. So, based on the above, his poems shall be classified under the Arabic classical genres.

#### I. Panegyrics (*Madih*)

Panegyric poetry has received larger coverage, in terms of Arabic literary output, than other genres in the history of Arabic poetry. And the performance setting used to be in the courts of royal kings where a poet sang praises to celebrate the king's benevolence and in return won expensive rewards. In fact, this function took another form, particularly in Islamic circles, where the genre was used to celebrate moral virtues and encourage noble deeds. This trend continued until poets in West Africa began producing large volumes of works, using the same genre, but concentrated on the eulogy of the prophet, and Sufi saints or *shaykhs*.<sup>5</sup>

It is, therefore, no coincidence that this genre outnumber all the other genres in Alhaj Umar's poetry, with his *tarbī* renderings of the two *Burdas* being some of his famous works on *madih*. But one thing that may appear surprising, is that, no poem (as far as this study is concerned) is known to have been composed by him to eulogize any of his Sufi *shaykhs*, neither Abdu 'l-Qādir al-Jaylānī nor Ahmad al-Tijānī.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps, the reserved commitment he seemed to have shown to the two Sufi orders may be a possible explanation to this. In any case, he has certainly, composed a number of poems to praise individuals, who were his close associates. His goal, conceivably, had not been for the gains he might have enjoyed from those he praised,

but as a moral duty to praise who uphold Islamic virtues and public moral codes. This focus could be seen from the four poems he composed to eulogize certain Muslim political figures as well as communities with whom he has personally come to share some common aspirations in life, through their personal contacts and dealings.

*Praises to Individuals.*

If there was one figure who has enjoyed his unflinching support and praises, then it was no other than the Kumasi *amīr*,<sup>7</sup> Hussein al-Kashnawi Ibn Ya'qūb, popularly called Salaw, chief of *Zongo*, i.e, Muslim community of Kumasi. Alhaj Umar wrote three long poems eulogizing Salaw on various occasions. In one of these poems, he made what appears like a vow to keep praise chants flowing as long as he lives. This may explain his continuous attention to the patron. It says (4:21-22):

الله درك من أمير فاضل تسخو علي الآباء والأبناء  
والله إني لم أزل لك شاكرًا فإليك مدحا دائما وثناء

*How excellent of the emir, the honored,  
You show generosity to fathers and children.  
By God, forever and ever my thanks,  
My praises and eulogy would be.*

There seems to be a re-enactment of the unique poet-patron relationship witnessed between *al-Mutanabbi* and *Saifu 'l-Daula* of Abbasid era. Alhaj Umar found in Salaw, the political and ethical ideals he has, himself, been striving for. For this reason the poet tries, in his praises of the chief, to make genuine descriptions of the chief's personal character and attributes devoid of false attributions and exaggerated exaltation.

The relationship certainly started when Salaw was studying under Alhaj Umar, and it is obvious that the latter has enjoyed his student's generosity and services during



that period. The poet still remembers his student's good manners, obedience and respect for the elderly, a character always cultivated in an African child as he grows up. He stated, (3:25-27):

دأبه منذ قديم      يخدم العلماء تترا  
إن رأى كل فقيه      صار عبداً وأسيرا  
كان عندي مذ سنين      كالخديم ودهورا<sup>8</sup>

*(It was) his habit of old,  
He offers 'ulamā his service continuously.  
Whenever he meets a 'faqīh',<sup>9</sup>  
He(Salaw) becomes his servant and slave.  
He remained with me for years,  
As a servant for a long time.*

Salaw's appointment as Sarkin Zongo (chief of a Muslim community) of Kumasi marks the beginning of the poet-patron relationship. The first poem in praise of Salaw (Poem 3, in the anthology), was probably written the same time Salaw was elected chief of Kumasi Zongo, as was announced below (3:12-14):

فاصرف القول إلى من      صار في الناس أميرا  
هو حسين الكشناوي      بن يعقوب شهيرا  
لقبه صلو وهذا      لقب من كان خيارا

*Turn your (attention) to who  
Has (now) become the Amir among the people  
That is Hussein al-Kashnawiyu  
Ibn Ya'qub, the famous.  
His agnomen is Salaw, and this is  
Agnomen of the best of mankind.*

The second poem (Poem 4), followed when Salaw gained a formal place in the Kumasi administration, of course with an endorsement form the British colonial rulers. He wrote, (4:3-4):

أعطاها ما أعطاها من ملك ومن رَغما لميغضة من الأعداء  
أعطاها ما أعطاها من ملك ومن خلق الرضى وسعادة السعداء

*He (God) has crowned him in English Administration  
Despite opposition from his enemies.  
He has been bestowed, among other things, leadership,  
Contentment, and he's among the blessed.*

And on obedience of a child to his parents, he said of the chief, (3:62):

ثم بر الوالدين يا أخي قد تم عشرة

*Then, obedience to parents,  
O friend, that completes ten (accomplishments).*

And in another, (2:115):

وإنه مذ صباه له مزايا غرير<sup>10</sup>

*Verily, since his childhood,  
He exhibited a lot of good traits.*

No available information on the meaning of the king's nickname, Salaw. But the poet, skillfully, linked it to the word "prayer" in Arabic, which he attributed to the king's regular performance of midnight superegatory prayers. He explains, (3:14-16):

لقبه صلو وهذا  
أن معناه صلاة  
قام ليلا ونهارا  
نعم صلو نعم صلو  
لقب من كان خيارا  
نعم صلونا منيرا

*His agnomen is Salaw, and this is,  
Agnomen of the best of mankind.  
It's meaning, surely, is prayer (salat),  
He performed it, day and night.  
What an excellent Salaw, and more grace!  
His good fortunes are glittering!*

His description of the chief's personal traits come in the form of the chief's real personal characters and attributes. In lines, (3:52-57), he describe him as:

وَلَصَلُوْا خَصْلَتَانِ      حَسَنَتَانِ خَذِ إِشَارَا  
هِيَ حَيَاءٌ وَسَخَاءٌ      قَدْ كَفَاهُ ذَاكَ فَخْرَا

*Salaw enjoys two characteristics,  
Perfect ones, take note.  
Which are, shyness and generosity,  
Enough for him to show pride.*

He goes on to add more attributes, by drawing on early Islamic motifs, *ma'ānī*, which the poet describes as brave, learned, handsome, intelligent, pious, cheery, etc. These qualities could be true descriptions of Salaw, like we said earlier, as he was believed to have enjoyed an incredibly high reputation among his people as a result of his knowledge in Islamic law and its sciences, as well as his considerable wealth. (schildkrout, 1977, p.198). He says of those attributes, (4:6):

يَا حَبِذَا عَادَاتِهِ وَطِبَاعِهِ      حُلْمًا وَصِمْتَ زِينَةَ الْأُمَرَاءِ

*How lovely is his habit and character,  
Clemency and gentility, the traits of emirs.*

And on piety and good manners, he says, (4:2):

قَدْ خَصَّ صَلَوْنَا بِعِلْمٍ وَالتَّقِي      وَاخْتَصَّهُ بِإِمَارَةِ الْكِبَرَاءِ

*Knowledge and piety, are Salaw's special traits,  
And he's been bestowed the ranks of great men.*

The theme of generosity is characterized by cultural traits of the society, which are exemplified, in the following verses, by the social and material needs of the people. A chief is praised in African context, not for a reward of gold or thousands of *dinārs* he offers to a singing poet as seen in Arabic panegyrics, but for the chief's personal

efforts to alleviate the poverty and misery of his people. Salaw's contribution to the welfare of his people is outstanding as portrayed in the following verses, (2:101-104):

و من يدانيه جودا      في يومنا لا نظير  
لجوده في البرايا      بل بحر ه لا يقور<sup>11</sup>  
يعطي بكل نفيس      فاسمعه يا مغرور  
يعطي بفرس وسرج      هذا لدية يسير

*His generosity is incomparable,  
In these days, he has no peer  
For his munificence among creatures,  
But his sea never dries out.  
He grants all precious objects,  
Listen to that, O deluded!  
He offers horse with its saddle,  
To him, it's effortless.*

He continues, (2:106-107):

كذاك يعطي قميصا      يحبه الجمهور  
كذا برانس تترى      أثمانها لكثير

*And also give away shirts,  
And he's loved by people.  
And also expensive burnoose,  
Whose value is highly expensive.*

And still on Islamic virtues, he says (3:23-24):

صار صلو ذا سخاء      قبل أن صار أميرا  
يطعم المسكين جدا      ويبتما وأسيرا

*He was already generous,  
Before becoming an amir.  
And he feeds the indigent well,  
As well as orphan and the captive.*

The poet, too, was a beneficiary of the chief's benevolence. He describes his benefits as (3:28-33):

كان يعطيني مرارا      ثم أشياء كثيرا  
وثيابا كل لون      وكتابا مسطورا  
وقميصا ورداء      وجبابا وخمارا

وكباشا ودجاجا      ولحوما وشوارا  
كان يعطيني مرادي      في يديه لو عسيرا

*He was always generous to me,  
Through his continuous offerings.  
And assorted dresses,  
And the recorded book.  
More dresses and garments,  
Jubbah and scarf.  
As well as rams and chicken,  
Meats and honey.  
Surely, he cater for my needs,  
By his own hand, even in hard times.*

He then uses ancestral lineage as an object of praise. Even though Alhaj Umar and Salaw were not from the same town, both owe allegiance to one larger Hausa hegemony, hence they share one ancestral lineage; aside the fact that Salaw was born of a Dagomba mother and a Katsina Hausa father, while Umar, who has been living in Gold Coast (now Ghana) since 1874, was born of pure Kebi family of Hausaland. The poet refers to the ancient origins of patron's ancestors, and his great grandfather who had bestowed *baraka*<sup>12</sup>, on the patron since then and which he's still enjoying. He says (2:19-23):

فذاك صلو أميرا      غضنفر مشهور  
حفيد أهل كمايو      وزى تكورو وغور  
الحاج بارك فيه      الحاج دكوا أميرا  
و مس رأس حسين      هذا عظيم حبور  
فقال يا رب بارك      لأن هذا مجير

*That was our Salaw, the amir,  
Ghadanfaru, the famous.  
The grandson of Kumayau people,  
Of Zayi, Takuru and Goro.  
Alhaj has blessed him,  
Alhaj Diko, the amir.  
He has touched Hussein's head,*

*That's extremely delighting,  
And prayed, O God, bless  
For, this is a protector.*

Drawing on classical similes and images he describes the chief's attributes as 'rain' for his openhandedness and prosperity he brought in the community (2:47), a lion, perhaps for his courage to stand against his enemies and the courage with which he carried out the campaign to rid his people of the plague epidemic which befell Kumasi in 1924; his face radiates like pomegranate blossom (2:50), his muscular built equal that of 'Kukubor'<sup>13</sup> (an ancient Egyptian king?) (2:51), and he is like the sun around which revolves all the other chiefs (2:52-53).

The atmosphere surrounding Salaw's appointment to the royal office has been turbulent, characterized by bickering and mudslinging. So the poet had to find means to quell protests from some elements within the society. He then resorted to finding divine endorsement of his patron's appointment, where he says even angel, by popular acclamation, elected him to lead his people. He says (2:57-60):

قضى الإله قضاء      بأن صلو أميرا  
أهل السماوات قالوا      يا رب هذا جدير  
بأن يكون رئيسا      ما دارت الدهرير

*God has predestined  
That Salaw becomes an Amir  
Celestial beings have besought  
(Saying) O God! This (Salaw) befits  
To become a leader  
As long as the world revolves*

The poet, probably, resorted to finding divine justification for Salaw's leadership when in the later periods of his reign, the British granted the Zongo community the permission to establish their own tribunal based on Islamic *sharia*, by which the chief was empowered to hear civil and criminal cases; he could also summon people to court for insulting a chief or disobeying his orders; he could imprison, fine or banish

also as an evidence of their strong religious faith. He listed the names of around thirty personalities, some with the kind of help they offered and others are mere accolades, but for them all, he says, (12:7-9):

هم صالحون أصفاء الله      هم أسخياء صالحو العباد  
قد عاونوا على صلاح الهيكل      لأنهم كانوا من الأجواد

*They are the pious, God's bosom friends,  
They are generous, social reformers.  
They offered for the repair of the structure,  
For they were among the magnanimous.*

Alhaj Umar's panegyric poetry, like all of his other genres, may be viewed from the following standpoint. It may, perhaps, be fair to assume that the poet had maintained the traditional function of the genre, where the concept of 'exchange for praise', is intrinsically, represented in the generosity of personalities he praised, even if the poet was not directly the beneficiary of these gestures. Salaw's philanthropic donations as well as material contributions of members of the poet's community for mosque renovation were, ostensibly, what triggered the poet's zeal to sing praises to them. Even his boasts of, personally, enjoying some gifts, in the form of clothing and even food, are clear manifestation of this exchange. But on the whole, the overruling force for his composition, arguably, remains the promotion of societal moral norms and Islamic principles of sharing and service to humanity.

## II. Satire (hijā)

*Hijā* is one of the oldest *agrad*<sup>15</sup> in classical Arabic poetry, where a poet from one Arab clan stood to defend his people with his poem, against the literary attacks of another clan. The genre later developed to involve individual exchanges and attacks, until in early Islamic period, Muslims incorporated it into part of their *jihadist* agenda.

This period witnessed some restrictions in its form and function, as individual Muslims were asked not to satirized one another but only use it against their enemies. But Alhaj Umar has his own focus, not against people of faiths other than Islam, but his own Muslim brothers; Muslim elements in the society who violate the moral and religious values; enemies of the people. They are those engaged in deception and falsehood, vices that have plagued his society, and he was out to wipe them out, not through the sword, of course, but his tongue; his speech. He says on that (1:142):

ليس لنا السلاح يا سلطان      لكن سلاحنا هو اللسان

*We possess no weapons, O chief,  
But our weapons are our tongues.*

Among the themes that feature significantly and recur in his satirical poems are themes of Illiteracy, ignorance, and intelligence; so that, an individual's personal merit or status is determined by inadequacies observed in his intelligence, upon which he or she is satirized. Alhaj Umar's targets come in different forms and shapes. And their activities could either be against the societal norms, and therefore, offensive, or could be simply un-Islamic. He satirized individuals as well as groups of people. He satirizes governors and the governed, noble and the commoner, which he says he does, not out of malice, hatred or jealousy, but to reform and repair the errors of the society by simply telling the 'truth' (8:91):

ليست منهم بحاسد      لكن الحق أوجبا

*I'm not jealous of them,  
But truth becomes obligatory.*

And in his criticism of one Musa, he says of his purpose of writing (8:108):

لست منه بطاعن      قلت الحق ليكتبا



*Defaming him was not my goal,  
I tell the truth, to be chronicled.*

In the introductory prose to his satire on an intruding student, he says:

“After a short while, this ‘sīniyya’ poem came to our mind, and we satirized him with it (*hajawnāu bihā*), and it became the song of the day”.

The above verses, then demonstrate the real purpose of Alhaj Umar’s satire poems; to solely establish the truth, for it to be chanted; thus, it becomes a watch word in all human dealings:

إن أتى الحق إننا      قائلوه لتطربا

*When (occasion of) truth avails itself,  
We are those to voice it, for it to be chanted.*

### *Criticism of Groups of people*

The civil war of Salaga provided the context, within which his fiercest literary attack could be said to have been voiced out. And not even that, at the receiving end of this attack, are the highest ranking figures of the society, the chiefs and their commissioners. The war, like it has been presented in previous chapters, started, basically, with a dispute over chieftaincy. One of the contenders called Kpembe-wura, was instigated by his supporters to attack his opponent, Kabach-wura, so as to capture more land. The latter fled and sought refuge with the Nanumbas. Allied forces, consisting of the Nanumbas and Dagomba, attacked Kpembe-wura in his own territory, removed him from power to reinstall Kabach-wura. The war caused the people of Salaga to scatter in all directions. They left their town, after their chief was slaughtered, for the invading allied army to loot properties, including monies, the source of pride and opulence for the defeated chief and his cohorts.

In those verses, he pours out vituperations and utter distaste for the activities of the authorities in Salaga. Alhaj Umar accuses them of what he calls 'infidelity' and wicked ways. He expresses his misgivings against the corrupt practices of people in authority. He attacks activities of chiefs and their cohorts, who have formed separate bandits to engage in daylight robbery and looting of 'salt, meat, alum, and cowries from the market (1:62). He accuses them of oppression, deceit, notoriety, perfidy, falsehood, etc, therefore, do not merit their positions. Here is what he says about them (1:77-84):

يحملون الكذب فوق الرأس	ويخفزون الصدق بل بالدس
ولا يحبون سوي التكنيب	ولا يودون سوي التعجيب
ولا يخالون صروف الدهر	لأنهم كانوا كثيرا القدر
ويركضون الخيل هدرا هدرا	ويغصبون المال كبرا كبرا
وجعلوا أنفسهم ملوكا	وسلكوا ظلما لهم سلوكا
وكل من كلمهم بحق	يزاجرونه بغير الحق
كلا ويل ليت لهم عقول	بل إنهم كانوا هم جهول
وهم يخالون أنهم ملوك	لكنهم ليس هم ملوك

*On their heads they carried deceit,  
They abandon truthfulness for intrigue.  
They loved nothing but deception,  
And enjoyed showing off.  
Stroke of fortune doesn't trouble them,  
Because they were so full of perfidy.  
They raced horses from vanity,  
Extorted money in a haughty way.  
Made themselves kings,  
Adopted a tyranny style of behavior.  
Whoever told the truth,  
They wrongfully scolded him.  
Nay, I wish they had sense!  
Instead, they were the most ignorance.  
They took themselves for king,  
But they were no kings at all!*

The attacks on the authorities' absolute disregard for public order and social justice or what the poet regards as such, continue with new revelation of their evils, that's their

schemes to divide *ulamā* and create enmity among them, through their favoritism for one section against the other. He says (1:100-103):

يزاجرون بين أهل العلم	وإن أتوا لمجلس الأقوام
بل زعموا أنهم ذوا العز	ويرون واحدا بالعز
يفعلون ما أرادوا شرا	يحقرون المسلمين طرا
لا يصانعون صنع الأجر	لا يذكرون واحد بالخير

*When they attend people's assembly,  
They discriminate among the learned.  
And choose among them with pride,  
They assume they are of dignity.  
(But) they disdained Muslims altogether,  
And committed whatever evil they liked,  
Never saying good of anyone,  
Nor seeking the reward of heaven.*

The second section of people who have suffered his attacks were his colleagues, the *ulamā*, who, in West Africa, were attached to some chiefly functions in the chiefs' palaces. They, at times, exhibited some dubious characters. These so-called clerics contributed in fueling enmity among the chiefs, according to the poet. So, their traditional function came under his attack. He believes they were behind most of the ethnic clashes the region has witnessed. In addition to that, he was also known for his strong criticism of Muslim spiritual magicians, whose practices were deeply rooted in West African Islam; these are the sorcerers, soothsayers, and diviners etc. In fact, he always describe them as imposters who pretended to be promoting societal interests by providing dubious spiritual services, but whose real goal was the monetary rewards they derived from their unsuspecting clients.

According to Alhaj Umar, these '*Malams*', in the colonial days, were expected to use their spiritual powers to rid the people of their sufferings and dispel the invading

enemy, the Imperialists. In one of his poems, giving accounts of colonial invasion of Africa, he describes the soothsayers in the following verses (6:83-86):

ظننا أن في (برغو) أناسا	سلاطين القتال بلا ملام
رأينا جفنة تحمل برأس	وقوسا كان مسموم السهام
وآلات وأدوية لديهم	أنواع السموم على الغمام
وهذا كله كذب وزورا	وقد طرحوا وفروا كالهوام

*We thought there were people in Barghu,  
Who're warriors fighting unchallenged.  
We noticed a bowl carried on the head,  
And bows with poisoned arrows.  
Possessing tools and concoctions,  
And various poisons on the dunghill.  
These are but lies and falsehood,  
For they discarded them and fled in confusion.*

And again in Ghana (then Gold coast), the historic functions of Muslim clerics in Gonja, were strongly linked with chiefly affairs, which combined both traditional customs and beliefs with some Islamic rites. Among these functions were, to offer prayers and cater for the spiritual needs of the chiefs, by producing amulets. So they had more in common with chiefs and their traditional rites than with the strict Islamic doctrines. Through their production of these amulets, they may turn into soothsayers with time. They are among those the poet says instigated the war in Salaga, he says in one poetic account of the war (1:128-136):

قال له الكاهن يا السلطان	أكنت نسيان أو جنون؟
إن لك العدو في البستان	يريد قتلك بلا توان
وزجر الكاهن قال من ذا	من السماء ينزل أو لواذا؟
قاله فجأة سيجيء	وأنت في النوم فلا تقيء
قاله ماذا دواه القتل؟	قال تصدقن بلا ملال
أخذا السلطان في السؤال	لعلماء السر و الرمال
وخاف بالقول وهاب الموت	ولم يزل يردد الأصوات
وطاح ماله لدفع الشر	لكن يخص بعض أهل السر

وَقَتَلُوا وَشَزَرُوا فِي السَّرِّ      لِيَأْكُلُوا مَالَهُ بِالْغَدْرِ

*The soothsayer asked him, O sultan,  
Have you forgotten or you're possessed?  
Verily, a foe is in the garden,  
Aiming at your death, no trickery.  
Reprimanding the soothsayer, he asked,  
Who in heaven will descend or come close?  
Suddenly, he answered, he will come,  
Whilst you're asleep, and you'll feel not.  
He asked, what's the medicine of murder?  
He replied, give to charity, ceaselessly.  
The sultan embarked on questioning  
The Muslim magicians and sand diviners.  
He became frightened and feared death,  
He continued muttering the words.  
He squandered his money to avert the evil,  
But he chose among the Muslim magicians.  
They twined and plotted in secrecy,  
In order to squander his money with perfidy.*

Still, on their consultations with the sand diviners (soothsayers), he comments (1:32-36):

يَبَاحِثُونَ فِي عُلُومِ الرَّمْلِ      وَيَطَالِبُونَ السَّرَّ فِي الرِّجَالِ  
يَذْبِذِبُونَ فِي دِيَارِ الْعِلْمِ      لَكِي يَجِدُوا حَقِيقَ النَّدَمِ  
طَارَ عَقُولُهُمْ بِهَذَا الْحَدَثِ      بِكَثْرَةِ الْجِرَاحِ وَالْأَجْدَاثِ  
وَجَاهَدُوا فِي دَفْعِ الْأَمْرِ      لَكِن رَبَّنَا نَفِيزُ الْقَدْرِ  
وَكُلُّهُمْ يَصِيبُونَ دَمْعًا      لَكِن ذَنْبُهُمْ يَكُونُ مَنَعًا

*They investigated the science of the sand,  
And sought the secrets of men.  
They darted about between the places of learning,  
To find out the reality about remorse.  
Their mind flew off at this event,  
For (there were) great number of wounded and dead.  
They did their best to stop it,  
But our God is controller of all destinies.  
They appear as pouring out tears,  
But their sins were a hindrance to them.*

On the misappropriation of knowledge by the *ulamā*, that's, not benefiting from it, themselves or others, he says of these *ulamā* (1:97):

ألم تر أن لديهم علما يضيعونه وهذا ظلم

*Did you not see they're learned,  
(But) misappropriated it, it's unjust.*

And on those who instigated the chiefs to enter the battle, he refers to as 'ignorant' (1:145-146):

كم جاهل يقول يا السلطان أرسل بعسكر إلى (الغدران)  
لكي تجد راحة في الملك وتملك الأرض بلا شريك

*How many of the ignorant say, O sultan!  
Dispatch an army to the Ghudran.<sup>16</sup>  
So as to get comfort in the kingdom,  
And own land without any partner.*

And the king did dispatch army but they were ruthlessly ruffled and they lost miserably to the other camp.

*Hijā* features prominently too, in the poet's panegyric to Salaw, chief of Zongo community. His appointment to that position did not go without oppositions and protests, as has been referred to in his panegyrics section above. The first protest came from his own tribesmen, Hausa, who questioned the chief's eligibility to the post of Sarkin Zongo, a post reserved for a man of full Hausa parentage. So, the poet, acting as the spokesman of the chief, decides to return their dissent with an attack on what he believes was nothing but sheer jealousy. Umar seems not to have taken lightly to these objections and so responds with strong words, so strong that he invokes divine curses against them. He says, (4:17-19):

أما الخسار فإنهم همج كذا  
قسما لقد أسدى إلينا خير  
يتقولون قبائح الفحشاء  
فتكرر تتري بغير فناء  
آمين لأنهم من البغضاء  
تبا علي أعدائه سحقا لهم

*As for the losers, they are savages, and so,  
They did spread vicious rumors.  
By God, he (Salaw) offered us benefits  
Repeatedly, it will grow endlessly.*

*May the enemy perish, may they be annihilated,  
Amen! For they are full of hatred.*

And in (3:87-90), he wrote:

و غشوما و غدورا	كبت الله عدوا
وحسودا تدميرا	دمر الله بغیضا
قدروها تقديرا	إنهم جاءوا بمین
سیكون مئبورا	كل من كان یكید

*May the enemy be subdued  
The unjust and the treacherous  
May the enemy be destroyed  
Completely, the envious  
They came up with lies  
Skillfully fabricated  
Whoever conspires evil  
Will surely perish*

Such vituperations, often, stem from the fiercest feud between enemies. And for it to reach such point where the poet invokes very strong divine curses, reminiscent of holy book discourse, then the issue, perhaps, is more than mere observing a poetic convention; it is real and very personal, not even somebody's fight but the poet's own fight. The basis of this observation rests solely on one historic fact, that's Salaw's quarrel with one Abdallahi Tanu. The story briefly goes like this:

Tanu was born of a Ghanaian Fante mother and Nigerian Hausa father; and he was said to have received his certificate from Alhaj Umar Kete-Krachie, and, perhaps, also the Tijanyya *wird*.<sup>17</sup> His argument on Arabic grammar with one of chief Salaw's highly respected teachers, Malam Babali, seemed to have worsened the already shaky relation between him and the chief on one hand, and Alhaj Umar, on the other. The chief settled his score with him when he (the chief) outlawed his marriage with a divorced woman, who, it was alleged, had not completed her waiting period ('idda). Tanu was deported out of Kumasi as a punishment.

This period must have witnessed heated debates and bickering among these nobles. Alhaj Umar was, seemingly, linked to this fight, from one point, on the basis of his relation with the chief; but from the other point, and which directly relates to him, was Tanu's attacks on his integrity on doctrinal issues. Tanu was said to have discarded Tijaniyya because of what he referred to as Alhaj Umar's dishonesty in the order (Stewart C., 1965, unpublished thesis). So, from this perspective, the poet's incessant condemnations against their (he and Salaw's) common enemies could well be understood.

### *Criticism of Individuals*

Alhaj Umar also satirized two individuals, separately. One was a student, who was said to have challenged him on his mispronunciation of the last word in, '*al-hamdu lillāhi*'.<sup>18</sup> In one sense, this case may be regarded as very trivial, and needed no serious attention. But in another sense, for a prominent scholar and educationist like Alhaj Umar, it surely, has a very serious social implications as well as a threat to his personal integrity. In Alhaj Umar's own words, he narrates:

'What happened was, while we were with a large number of our students, a man of the evil ones suddenly intruded upon us. While a student was, by then, reading to me, the intruder came listening. Upon completion of his reading, the student gave thanks to God by saying: '*al-hamdu lillāhi*', and so I repeated after him: '*al-ḥamdu lillāhi ta'ālā*'. At that point the intruder criticized us by saying: 'This is *ḥarām* (unlawful), and forbidden in *shar*' (Islamic Law), whoever utters this word (this way), he's seriously rebuked'.

This brings into focus one social phenomenon that existed before, but still prevails among Muslim scholars in Ghana, if not the whole of West Africa. It is what one may call, 'literacy challenge', by which a scholar's knowledge or learnedness is called to test or challenged, the intent of which was only to discredit him. For this reason, one's intelligence or educational accomplishment becomes an enviable property that not



only places him in the upper class of the community's social ladder but also serves as a weapon by which he safeguards his acquired status or with which he attacks his enemies. Someone who is learned, then, becomes the pride of his immediate family, or in some cases the whole community, reminiscent of the place of a poet in pre-Islamic Arabia, precisely, like what ensued between Tanu and the Salaw's teacher above.

So, such challenges are in most cases fuelled by sectarian disputes on doctrinal differences and may escalate and lead to deadly conflicts. It often begins at preaching grounds where a member of an opposing sect is sent to ask controversial Islamic questions that's only meant to humiliate a preacher. On the other hand, a scholar may mount the pulpit and satirized an enemy's sermon delivered earlier. It is, therefore, very likely that these trends were very prevalent in the poet's days, which probably, explain his frequent allusions to learning and related matters. The poet attacks the intruding student (9:11-12):

كن طالعا كتب أهل الحق لا تكسل      لعل عينك لم تنتظر كراريسا  
ولن ترى من يصدق قول عالمكم      سوى الذي صار غوغاء وناموسا

*Read books of the noble, never be lazy,  
Perhaps, your eyes hardly watch books.  
Never would someone believe your teacher's word,  
Save the riff-raff and a sly.*

Drawing upon an old Arab proverb, which goes like this: إن البغاث بأرضنا يستتسر usually quoted to someone who 'acts bigger than he really is', Umar describes the man as (9:15-16):

يستتسر البغاث لا فينا وإن لنا      نقلا نميز إنسانا وبابوسا  
فإن أستاذنا عثمان علمنا      فرقا إذا قيل جاموسا وجاموسا

*Small bird feigning eagle, not in us,  
By our source, we tell human among mammal.  
For our teacher, Uthman instructed us,*

The intruder, obviously, isn't of equal status as the poet, as he claims his argument is based on what he heard from his Sheikh, but not built on any personal knowledge.

Yet, the poet decides to respond to the challenge, which he believes has beneath it a malicious intent, like pointed out earlier: to defame him. He says (9:2-5):

وكل أقوالهم إفك متى قيسا	جاءوا وجالوا بأقوال محرفة
وصار ما زوروا فينا وساويسا	هجموا المدرسة سفها على سفه
بوسا لقيهم يابوس يابوسا	لقولهم لحننا في اسم الجلالة يا
بعلم تورية صاروا جواميسا	لم يعلموا مادة في الصرف كيف بهم

*They came and peddled distorted words,  
All their sayings are false whenever it's measured.  
They've shamelessly invaded the school,  
And what they fabricated became a delusion.  
For saying that we erred in Almighty's name,  
Shame to their temptation, shame!, Shame!  
They studied not morphology, let alone  
Metaphors, they've become nothing but buffaloes.*

One other individual, who suffers criticism from the poet, is one Musa who dupes people, with the pretext that he is a religious reformer. He seems to wield some influence and spiritual power in the eyes of his new followers. Of course, a stranger *malam*, who suddenly appears in a Muslim community like Kete or Salaga, donning a long Egyptian clerical burnoose with a white turban wrapped around the head, and who is hardly seen eating, drinking or even speaking to people would, definitely, enjoy, in his new environment, that 'Sheikhic' grandeur as could be said of prominent scholars like Usman Dan Fodio or Ahmad Bamba.<sup>19</sup> This is more so, when his mission, as it is stated in the poem and which he has already embarked on, was to demolish all the idols of the animist religions, employing the same jihadist strategy of sending letters to chiefs in far away kingdoms as well as surrounding villages asking people to perform five daily prayers and fasting (8:7-10). This operation, according to

the poem, is not only aimed at Kete township, but covers towns like Salaga (8:36), Nanumba (8:37), Wenchie (8:39), kintampo (8:42), Nkuranza (8:43), and it really did.<sup>20</sup>

If he had accomplished this mission, his name would have been added among celebrated West African *jihadists*, the likes of Alhaj Umar al-Futi, and Uthman Dan Fodio. It, therefore, means local *malams*, who might have succeeded in establishing names and prestige in their areas of influence would, probably, need to assess the looming danger and see how damaging it could be to their own personal integrity, or to the welfare of the community. In fact, it is unlikely that Musa would succeed in winning over people of other faith into Islam, but may only attract more followers among the local Muslims who would have interpreted his mission alongside the *jihadist* principles and would, therefore, welcome any of such movements whose main target is made to appear as directed at the religious cults of the traditionalists, whose relationship with the Muslims hadn't been all that good. Beside that, Islam of that region, in those days, was strongly influenced by the doctrines of the Tijaniyya order, particularly one associated with drumming and dancing. So, the leading scholars, who belong to this order, enjoy popular support, especially, for the fact that they satisfy the spiritual demands as well as the aesthetic aspect of the order: the religious dances.

So, probably, with all these in mind, Alhaj Umar, quickly, reasserts his social function and his responsibility to uphold moral codes of his society, by standing against charlatans, like Musa, whose activities are not only geared towards their own whims and caprices but pose a great threat to social order and peaceful coexistence. When Musa first appeared in the community, he went into his crusade against cultural practices of the indigenes of Kete-krachie. The poet describes his activities as (8:10-13):

يأمر الناس بالصلاة      وبالصوم موجبا  
يكسر الصنم والوثن      شيع شرقا ومغربا  
قليل ألا يأكل الطعام      ولا ذاق مشربا  
كلف الصمت في الورى      كي يقال مهذبا

*He orders for prayers,  
And fasting, forcefully.  
He demolishes idols and deities,  
Wandering east and west.  
They claim he eats not,  
Nor tastes any drink.  
He imposed self-silence among people,  
So as to appear cultured.*

Then the poet says (8:20):

كل هذا مكيدة      لاكتساب المناقبا

*This is all but deception,  
Only to gain benefits.*

The poet exposes the man's deception and fraud (8:33-34):

كان موسى يكاتم      الأكل في التمر والأبا  
يجمع المال خفية      في الصناديق حاجبا

*He limited his food  
To date palm and herbs,  
He accumulates money secretly,  
In a covered boxes.*

Alhaj Umar's tries to reach his goal through his admonitions, which, always revolve around what he refers to as the 'truth'; and he is very keen in establishing it through his attacks to whoever is an obstacle to human progress. Community leaders who, by their deeds, infringe upon the rights of an individual must be criticized, like the case of Salaga war. Elements within the society who are bent on causing mischief by, unduly, criticizing or maligning those in authority must be disciplined, as happen in the case of chief Salaw and his enemies. And then crooks in the society, tricksters and the fraud must be exposed and adequately dealt with, like the case of Musa and his

cohorts. And with the above accomplishments, the poet may seem to have carried out his mission, and it remains on record.

The theme of education runs through this genre too. We saw in Chapter Two, the restricted nature of literacy among Ghanaian Muslims and the prestige that goes with whoever is fortunate to have acquired it. Therefore, the slightest attempt from anyone to bring this invaluable skill into disrepute may not be taken lightly. Apart from the compelling urge for a scholar to come out and save his reputation, which comes under attack, the occasion avails him an avenue to improve upon his status and reputation by further exhibiting more knowledge in the form of new Islamic ideas, more flowing rattling of Arabic language or the use of complex Arabic vocabulary. The last case may be rare, as Alhaj Umar is, perhaps, the only known reputed Arabic poet in Ghana, judging by his writings, and none of his caliber is heard of after he was gone.

### III. Elegy (rithā)

From the anthology, only one poem (poem 5) could be identified to bear the same features as that of the traditional Arabic theme of *rithā*. In the list of Umar's poems published in Goody, 1968, two poems have been identified as elegies; the first one is titled, *Sul al- Rāthī*, and it is written to elegize one Muhammad, father of al-Hajj Salih (of Jenne); the second one, entitled, *Mā bālu Hind na'at 'annā bighayri qīla* is an elegy written by the poet after the death of his son, Alhaj Labbu, and this one happens to be (Poem 5) in the anthology.

In the traditions of classical Arabic poetry, a poem of *rithā* is basically a poet's lamentation over the death of someone close to him, his expression of genuine feeling for the loss as well as a display of real grief over its effect on the society, vis-à-vis, the deceased's contribution to their general welfare. In the same vein, the poet is expected to minimize the effect of the calamity and sorrow on the close relatives, through his

carefully-chosen words and allusions to divine will and wisdom, and God's overall control over the whole creation.

Alhaj Umar's poem of *rithā*, like most of West African poems of this genre and, of course, the Arabic ones of the same tradition, provides a platform for the poet to, not only grieve over the lost of his son, but also serves as a medium through which he sings the deceased's virtues, generosity, achievements, and other human qualities. In this elegy, verses that demonstrate the poet's real grief are very few, but could be felt in his sober account of the funeral rites and depiction of the mood at the funeral site. The son's departure, (represented here by Hind, in the classical opening *nasīb*<sup>21</sup>) threw the whole village into terrifying quietude, causing her friends to spend sleepless nights in mourning like how a lion awaits the return of a missing cub. He narrates (5:5-6):

وبات أحبابها في الليل نابغة      وحزن يعقوب إذا لم يرى السخلا  
وصار كل حبيب ساكتا أسفا      ولا ترى الدمع يعصيه إذا اتهملا

*Lovers spent sleepless nights,  
(Like) the worry of a lioness on the loss of the cub.  
Lovers became, regrettably, overwhelmed by silence,  
And the tears as shed, are conspicuous.*

And yet, his genuine feeling of grief and, perhaps, his realization of the enormity of the loss are expressed in this sudden outburst:

O, Hind! O, Hind! When is our meeting day?

And, then, an intervening voice responded, 'No more meeting till....(5:11)... 'the resurrection day', concludes another imaginary voice. There and then, the bitter reality dawn on the poet, demonstrated by a change of the poetic form from narrative mode (5:1-11) to a poetic lamentation, as illustrated in the following lines (5:12-13):

لا ريب لا ريب أنا قد تفرقنا      يا ويلنا من فراق يبعد الرجال  
وعند ذلك قالوا لا سرور لنا      في هذه الدار أن الأمر قد جلا

*No doubt, no doubt, we've, indeed, parted,  
What a loss, a parting that separates .*

*And so it's said, no delight for us,  
In this world, verily, the matter is enormous.*

Alhaj Umar solely derives his consolation from his faith and the belief about predestination, for he believes whatever befalls man, it is within God's will and wisdom, and one ought to only surrender to this divine will. He says (5:28):

كلا ولا ذاك توفي في الشباب كما قضى به ربنا الرحمان جل علا

*Neither this nor that, he died young,  
As ordained by the almighty, the beneficent.*

He says (5:69-70):

و ما جاءنا من غير ما سيج      فالله يعلم ما سيجيء مرتتلا  
لذلك لما قضى ما راعني جزع      كفى بجزع أولى خير سعى وجلا

*Nothing, therefore, befalls outside the scheme,  
(It's) within God's knowledge, his well-ordered scheme.  
For when it's ordained, we're not alarmed by sadness,  
Enough to grieve over the nobles, who strived and excelled.*

Even the deceased's achievements are weighed on the performance of his religious obligations, and educational accomplishments (5:42-44):

الحمد لله نال السعد في الدنيا      قد مات في هبة ولم يمت بطلا  
حاز مناقب أربعة على نسق      علما وحجا وسلطنة وحسن حلا

*Thank God, he's been blessed in this world,  
He died with prestige, but not in futility.  
He has achieved four successes in order,  
Knowledge, pilgrimage, kingship, and a fortunate end.*

He did not fail to draw upon the classical motif to extol the deceased's merits and qualities (5:30):

كانه البدر تم النور ليلته      وينفع الناس في الضوء إذا أفلا  
نابت الدجاجير ذاك الليل وانبعثت      تكاثف الغم الأحزان خذ مثلا

*He's like a full moon that lights up the night,  
Whose light becomes useful when the moon disappears.*

*But with his departure, darkness took over,  
And spread a thick veil (of grief) and sorrow.*

An on his generosity, he says (5:54-56):

وحيثما مات جل الناس قد جزعوا لأنه مذ سعت قدماه ما بخلا  
بل جوده الجفلى من غير ما النقرى بذاك يوصف إلا من طغى وقلا

*His death brought grief to all and sundry,  
Even in his hard times, never was he close-fisted.  
But his generosity is inclusive and never selective,  
Thus his reputation, save the cruel and enemy.*

Alhaj Umar would, definitely, have prayed fervently to invoke God's blessing on the deceased; normally, this happens at the burial ground, according to the Islamic tradition in West Africa. In fact, because of his deep knowledge in Islamic Law, he would be made to lead the prayer. And it is, perhaps, here that his emotions and real grief would have been realized and also witnessed. He, somehow, manages, through this narrative, to depict the sorrow and grief as expressed by relatives and love ones, but show little of it himself. He needs not show it, so he says, because, when a noble man dies, there is no cause for alarm; more so, if the noble is able to accomplish four goals in life: knowledge (Islamic one, obviously), perform the pilgrimage to Mecca (which took around seven years to reach from Ghana, in those days), come from a dignified lineage and, finally, die when all of the above have been achieved. Alhaj Labbu had achieved them all, and nothing more is expected from the father than to always pray for the soul of the deceased, which follows (5:72-78):

يا أيه الرب اسق ضريحه ديما	من الرضي عدا يستغرق الرملا
وأسكب عليه من الرحمت ديمتها	ما يملأ النزر منه السهل و الجبلا
وانبت عليه زنايبقا ونرجسها	بنفسجا يا سميننا جمة جملا
يفوح في قبره مسك وعنبرها	قسط وغانية ند شذاه حلا
وارحمه يا من هو الرحمان يا صمد	بحق صحب الذين باثروا القتلا
وأدخله جنات عدن دون محسبة	وأدخله دار السلام يا سلام بلا
ونجنا من صروف الدهر يا صمد	فإن في دهرنا ما يغلب العقلا



*O, God, water his grave with continuous flow,  
 Of tranquility, as much as the quantity of sand,  
 Spill on him your plentiful blessing,  
 Smallest amount of which can fill plains and mountains.  
 And let lily and narcissus grow on his grave,  
 Violet, jasmine, and many, many others.  
 His grave be filled with fragrance of Musk and ambergris,  
 Fairly (distributed), and a beautiful partner with sweet smells.  
 Show mercy, O, the gracious, the eternal,  
 For the sake of associates who gave comfort to the martyr.  
 Accept him into paradise without judgment,  
 And accept him in Darus Salam, O, Salam!  
 Protect us from the temptations of this world, O, the eternal!  
 For, in our world are what the mind cannot grasp.*

#### IV. Battle Poems.

Battle poetry, is another genre in Islamic literary tradition that developed as a result of military expeditions of early Muslims to expand Islamic territorial sovereignty. It served as propaganda machine in religious battles, where a poet roused the fighting spirits of Muslim army by extolling their courage and heroism. Muslim poets used the same channel to respond to the enemy's accusations and machinations, especially their diversionist tactics. And by the nature of these functions, the poetry remains the medium by which accounts of these battles were chronicled. Narrative mode is almost always the compositional feature of this genre, while the descriptive style forms one of the core components that enhance the clarity of its images.

Alhaj Umar has used the same literary convention to chronicle one of the major wars to have erupted in his time, the Civil war of Salaga. So in his poetry, two poems of this genre, (Poem 1, and one other which is not in the anthology) have enjoyed much more attention and concerns of Western historians. English translations of both poems by B. J. Martin have already been published. These works give detailed accounts of the war from both European and Ghanaian perspectives. Nehemia

Levtzion, in his book, 'Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa', also drew on Alhaj Umar's account of the war which not only threw more light on the Muslim's position in this struggle but displays the poet's stand against the hypocrisy of his colleagues and what Umar calls 'chiefly abuse of authority'. Even though his account was not aimed at giving historical facts or report more than unleash emotional outburst or what could be termed 'poetic rebuke' to acts that cannot adequately be explained away by any Islamic principle or for which one could not find any justification.

Ghana has been bedeviled with ethnic conflicts and chieftaincy disputes since time immemorial, and it has had very devastating consequences on some aspects of its development. A recent war, in which a paramount chief was beheaded, is still vivid in our minds. So for Alhaj Umar to see the need to chronicle the Gonja incidents for future reference actually attest to his vision and foresight.

So, to put an aspect of the story into the context of this section, a little prompting may not be out of place. The poet gives the date of the battle as Wednesday, 13<sup>th</sup> *Rabi' l- thānī*. Alhaj Umar's narrative seems to indicate his misgiving about the circumstances that led to the war, incidents revolving around a chief, Kpembe-wura, whose supporters persuaded him to attack a neighbor chief, called Kabach-wura. The latter fled after his attackers defeated him and he sought refuge with the Nanumbas, a tribe located in nearby town. So, this tribe, Nanumba, formed a coalition with the Dagombas, and attacked Kpembe-wura, the invader, in his own territory and removed him from power in order to reinstall Kabach-wura. The war recorded many deaths and caused the people of Salaga to scatter in all directions.

Using a narrative style, Alhaj Umar paints a real human mental torture and torment as people await one of the worst human calamity ever recorded in Ghanaian history. And he seems comfortable employing it in most of his poems, and particularly more

so in this battle poem, in which he depicts the conditions of two warring factions as they become psychologically disturbed, gripped by mental unrest as they struggle to find a way out of the looming catastrophe (the war). 'Minds went off like gunshots, peoples' faith was shaken', till you imagine them as brainless'(1:24-28) :

تجده سهلا كما سمعت	بداية الأمر إذا نظرت
وطلعت عقول (بتأيت)	ووسطه أشكال لو فهمت
وضضع الأقوام بالتجريب	طار عقولنا بهذا الحرب
ولا يشاورون بالبخیل	حتى تراهم بلا عقول

*Beginning of the affair when observed,  
Approached easily, just like it's told.  
But at the core lies the mystery, if you grasp,  
And minds were fired, it went haywire (batta-batta).  
Our minds flew off over this battle,  
And communities were razed with the riot.  
Until you see them brainless,  
(For) they don't consult with the avaricious (poor).*

The poet claims that the invading chief entered the war even though his giant stature and muscular built did not help him much, as he lacked the fighting spirit, which might have led to his defeat. The poet gives descriptions of the horrible scenes of that battle in following verses (1:186-189):

ورجحوا سلطان (لنفر) لم يرد	وذهبوا به إلي الوغى وقد
حتى إذا ما دخلوا الجهاد	خافوا ونكصوا وردوا رد
وفشلوا وململوا وهابوا	ولم يجدوا مطلبا وخافوا
وقتلوا كبراءهم بالرغم	والتحفوا لذا شعارا الندم

*They felt Sultan lampur did not return  
So they went onto the blazing clamor,  
When they entered the battle  
They became frightened, retreated and turned away.  
They failed, disgruntled and intimidated.  
They achieved not their wish but were disappointed.  
Even their leaders were killed,  
So they were covered with signs of remorse.*

This was in their first meeting with the enemies. The second meeting was depicted as

(1:202-209):

وأرسل النفط لهم كالطل	وقصدوا لداره في التل
لا تتفروا وإننا نصالوا	شجعوا قلوبهم وقالوا
وقد نسوا الترس مع الرماح	حتى إذا ما كثر الجراح
ويسقط الرجال بالبنادق	ويضرب الخيول بالبنادق
خافوا وطم الدخن كالغمام	حتى إذا ما رمي الإمام
لا يسمعون القول من يصاح	ورضحوا إليهم السلاح
ليت وهل ينفع شيئا ليت	وكثر الجرح لهم وموت
ليس لهم حيناً سوى الفرار	وطوعاً وكرها قصدوا فرارا

*They set off for the compound on the hill  
But he shot muskets at them like showering rain.  
They lifted their spirits, saying,  
Don't be frightened, we're attacking.  
So it was, until many were wounded,  
For they had forgotten their shields.  
Horses were hit by bullets,  
Men dropped as they were struck.  
Eventually Imam was thrown from his horse.  
They became frightened, as smoke covered the cloud.  
With smashes of weapons,  
Whoever shouted could not be heard.  
Now they had many dead and wounded.  
Had it been, would that be of any use.  
Against their will they fled,  
They have no choice but to flee.*

And in another scene, he skillfully captured the dreadful and gloomy battleground,

(1:213-217):

وملأ الجو لهم غبارا	حتى ما إذا بلغ الديار
ونسي الموت به عنادا	وملأ الغيظ له فؤادا
وخاف خيله سقوط النيل	وأرسلوا النفط له كالويل
وملأ الجو دخان النفط	وملأ السمع صرير النفط
وقهقر الفرس وناج نوحا	وركض الخيل وصاح صيحا

*And when he got to the compound,  
The air around them was laden with dust.  
His heart was choked with rage,  
In his obstinacy he forgot death,  
Muskets began to rain bullets on him.*

*His horse bolted from the storm of arrows.  
The air was full of crushing guns.  
And the atmosphere filled with powder smoke.  
His horse ran off bellowing,  
The cavalry withdrew, groaning and shouting.*

They left their town, after their chief was slaughtered, for the invading allied army to loot properties, including monies, the source of pride and opulence for the defeated chief and his cohorts, as described by the poet (1:235-2239):

وربطوا متاعهم وفروا	وتركوا ديارهم ومروا
وتركوا أموالهم ودسوا	ودخلوا عدوهم وجلسوا
ونبشوا ما كان في التراب	وفسدوا الديار بالتخريب
وشتت الأقوام يوم الهرب	وانتثروا وقولهم يا ويب
وانتثروا كأنهم جراد	في كل جهة وذا شديد

*They tied up their goods and fled,  
Left their homes and went off.  
They abandon their monies and buried,  
The enemy came along and stayed.  
Then dug out what's buried in the ground  
And destroyed the compound  
People scattered on the day of escape,  
They dispersed while they cried, 'awo..awo!  
They spread like locusts,  
In every direction, this is serious!*

Other poems, in Alhaj Umar's works, that has received a considerable attention and accorded him the accolades of western historians were those whose subject matter deals with the arrival of the Europeans and their activities in various African nations. Two poems (Poem 6 and 7) have, as its central theme, the European expansionist activities in some nations purported to have suffered afflictions under these occupations. Its treatment in (Poem 6) is rather an extended version of (Poem 7). Interestingly, Alhaj Umar seemed to have been a witness to these events, and so, intends to awaken Africans to the dangers that loom in the African skies. The miseries engendered by these invasions and subjugations of peoples of Sudan started long time

ago and increase by the day. He says his purpose was to 'narrate this stories from my mind, not from my heart' (7:5); referring, obviously, to reasoning rather than sheer emotion. And it is to 'compose so as to inform and warn the noble', (6:10) about 'the damages inflicted by the Europeans which came like sand storm' (6:15).

It is in his treatment of themes that are of social significance, particularly those pertaining to human suffering, deprivation, and serious social issues that the emotive aspect of Umar, as a poet, manifests itself. Though the poet claims the emotional part of him is not involved in the narrative, and yet, as the reader follows these stories event by event, as they unfold, he could not help but share the narrator's emotions with deep sense of sorrow as he is made to relive this African ordeal. He says (6:180-182):

وما نظمي سوى للاعتبار      وليس للحماسة في النظام  
ولا لمودتي أهل الكتاب      معاذ الله عن تلك المرام  
ولم أنظمه فرحا ولا نشاطا      ولكن نظمته للاغتنام

*My poem is not but for meditation,  
And not a poem as that for comedy.  
Nor is it for my love for people of the book,  
May God forbid for such an assumption.  
Nor do I compose it merrily or spiritedly,  
But I did compose it with grief.*

His role as the spokesman of his community owes much to his wide knowledge and experiences he acquired through extensive travels. And this role he performs through his poetry, and obviously, he performed it excellently. It is in this light that he expects his readers to view his poems that depict human agony as a danger sign, a word of caution. He says (7:6-9):

تعلمن إذ الأمور قد أتت      مجيئها منذ قديما ثبتت  
ألم تروا حلولها يا قوم      ألم تروا تزيد كل اليوم  
قد حاطت السودان كل ناحية      وعمت البلدان حتى نائية  
مبدأها من (قوت تور) لا مرأى      عمت إلى قوت جل يا سمري

*Be informed! As the phenomenon ensues,  
Its arrival for long established.  
Did you not see its spread? O people!  
Did you not see as it increases everyday?  
Verily it has surrounded Sudan in every angle,  
And engulfed the states up to the remotest.  
Beginning from Futa Toro, it's no tale!  
Spread to Futa Jaloon, O my two companions.*

The affliction emerges gradually from a mere political issue to a crisis, then spread rapidly among nations further afar. It gets worse until it culminates into abductions to the unknown lands (7:29-30):

إني سمعت أنهم قد أخذوا      بعض نفي من أهلها، من منقذ ؟  
هل ملكوا (بوس) وأرض (ياور)      بل ملكوا (غنب) بلا تشاور

*I hear they abducted some (people),  
Of Nupe from their families, who is our savior?  
Have they occupied Busa and Yawuri lands?  
Even they occupied Gunbe, with no negotiation.*

The poet painted some of the images that are somehow horrifying (6:78-79):

وكل رفيع قوم لم يقاتل      سيقتل بالبنادق أو حسام  
ويطرح فوق مذبلة عريا      وتأكله الطيور مع الهوام

*Any head of the people who fights not,  
Gets killed with guns and swords,  
Then dumped naked on top of a dunghill,  
To get devoured by birds with the crown.*

And in (6:95-96), he described the cruel activities of the invading army:

وكم من قرية أفسدوها      بتخريب وتحريق الطعام  
جنودهم أتت (زندر) بشرّ      برايات وآلات الزكام  
لنار جهنم جاءوا بغیظ      وفي أبوابها بيض والعظام

*How many villages got inflicted,  
With demolition and burning of food.  
Their troops entered Zandar with malice,  
With flags and catarrh-causing weapons (tear gas).  
To raise hell they came with rage,  
And at the entrance lie eggs and bones.*

On the whole, his intention, it seems, is to show how far the occupation has gone by listing the towns and villages that has falling into the hands of the *nasara*, as he calls them. One can count not less than 196 towns and villages scattered across western and eastern Sudan that he claims has been occupied. Some of the ancient African nations, the very famous among them are Futa Toro, Futa Jallon, Timbuktu, Jenne, Seghu, Shinqit, Masina, Gobir, Kong, Dagomba, Gonja. Others too, that have now grown into modern cities were Dakar, Wagadougou, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Illorin, Abuja, Accra among others. In order to further shed more light on some of the countries he adds descriptive phrases like 'town with a big salt market', 'land of food', like Sarfar and Bambara respectively. Others too are said to be 'lands of the nobles and the learned', like Timbuktu.

So, basically, the salient events as told by Alhaj Umar in his poems, run like this. When the Europeans first arrived in Africa, they told the people that they came to trade as well as spread message of peace and good tidings. It wasn't long when their real intention came to light. He presents the disappointment of the Africans in the following lines, (6:15-22):

وبلواهم أتتبا كالغمام	بليات النصارى أريد نظما
وقول لين حلو النظام	و مبدأ أمرهم جاءوا بسلم
واصلاح الطرائق في الطوام	وقالوا إننا جئنا لسوق
واحسار وإسقاط الغرام	ومنع الظلم في الدنيا ولص
وقد صرنا لديهم كالظغام	ولم نعلم بنيتهم جميعا
ويعطونا لذيذات الطعام	يغرونا بتحفتهم قليل
لملك كالملوك ذوالخيام	ولم نعلم بأنهموا أتونا
مزينة بالوان الرخام	لكي يبنوا البوارك في الأراضي
كما قال الإله لدى الكلام	قريبا بدلوا ما قولوه
وصار أهلها مثل الخدام	وقد كرزوا اللواء بكل مدن

*The calamities of the Whites I compose,  
 Their afflictions have come to us like dark cloud.  
 At the start of the affair, they came peacefully,*



*And soft talks and nice system.  
 'We've come to trade', they said,  
 'And to reform ways',  
 'And stop oppression and robbery',  
 'And sufferings, and abolish taxes'.  
 Not all of us grasp their motives,  
 So now we've become their inferiors.  
 They deluded us with little gifts,  
 And fed us tasty foods....  
 Little did we know they came,  
 To govern, like the kings in the tents,  
 In order to build barracks in the lands,  
 Ornamented with colorful marbles.  
 Soon they changed their sayings  
 Just as God stated in his words.  
 Then they 'hoisted' the flags in every town  
 And the indigenes became like servants.*

The flags represent their dominion imposed on the innocuous and unsuspecting Africans, who watched with little resistance, as the Europeans scramble for their lands. That was about two centuries ago. The question that begs for an answer is: Is the scramble for African 'lands' over?

#### Other Genres.

Apart from the main genres and themes that have been identified in the anthology, there are subsidiary themes that the poet has given attention to in some sections of his poems. Furthermore, the overriding purpose of his poetry, like already alluded to, is, basically, admonitory and didactic; that's, it's intended to praise those who uphold moral norms and condemn those who violate them. His admonition, invariably, revolves around the theme of truth and falsehood, deceit and its devastating consequence. The following genres are the remaining salient elements in his poetry:

#### V. Devotion and Reflection

His main devotional works have been those he rendered in *tarbī* form, which are not his original creation but an expansion from other works. Apart from that, no poem in the anthology has been devoted for Islamic devotion, but there are, always, the usual customary *du'ā* (petition), found at the beginning and end of each poem, and some reflections about life on this earth. However, the *du'ā* section, in the poet's elegy to his son may be an exception. In that poem, the devotion and petition lies at the very core of the subject matter, but not just a poetic convention. He is apparently following an African Islamic tradition where during the funeral rites, God's blessing is invoked for not only the deceased but also ancestors long departed. The poet, principally, includes it in that poem as part of the basic responsibilities of a father paying a tribute to the dead son. He prays and appeals to God to show mercy and compassion to the deceased. He prays (5:72-78):

يا أيها الرب اسق ضريحه ديمًا	من الرضي عدا يستغرق الرملا
وأسكب عليه من الرحمات ديمتها	ما يملأ النزر منه السهل و الجبل
وانبت عليه زنايبقا ونرجسها	بنفسها يا سمينًا جمة جملا
يفوح في قبره مسك ومنبرها	قسط وغانية ند شذاه حلا
وارحمه يا من هو الرحمان يا صمد	بحق صحب الذين باشرؤا القتلا
وأدخله جنات عدن دون محسية	وأدخله دار السلام يا سلام بلا....
ونجنا من صروف الدهر يا صمد	فإن في دهرنا ما يغلب العقلا

*O, God, water his grave with continuous flow,  
Of tranquility, as much as the quantity of sand  
Spill on him your plentiful blessing,  
Smallest amount of which can fill plains and mountains.  
And let lily and narcissus grow on his grave,  
Violet, jasmine, and many, many others.  
His grave be filled with fragrance of Musk and ambergris,  
Fairly (distributed), and a beautiful partner with sweet smells.  
Show mercy, O, the gracious, the eternal,  
For the sake of associates who gave comfort to the martyr.  
Accept him into paradise without judgment,  
And accept him in Darus Salam, O, Salam!  
Protect us from the temptations of this world, O, the eternal!  
For, in our world is what the mind cannot grasp.*

In few occasions, Alhaj Umar makes allusions to what may be viewed as mystic themes. He indicates the transient nature of this world (5:40).

لمالك الأمر أن الأمر مختلج وهذه الدار ليست دار من نبلا

*(I swear) to the master of events, the incident is sorrowful,  
This home never is it for the noble.*

That this world's seemingly glamorous materials and extravagance come to nothing compared to what the poet considers the basic needs of life, at the fore of which is food. It is normal for a poet to express such spiritual ideas, and the transient nature of this life, as the convention demands.

In what appears as an emotional crisis, the poet expresses his bewilderment at the world, its mysteries and the irrational nature of events. In his observation, people who are at the center of this world's woes and sufferings are rather the most revered figures who enjoy the best things in life, while the pious and honest are the less respected and debased. Surely, the world has gone haywire! (5:79-87).

In his reflection after the demise of chiefs of Salaga in the battle, he says (1:240-243):

تغير الأمر وفات النعم وناب نقمة مكان النعم  
وإن دنيا كلها غرور وإنهم قبل ذوو سرور  
ولا يخالون صروف الدهر لأنهم قد غمسوا في فخر  
كلا تري عاقبة السرور إذا فهمت كلها غرور

*Things changed, and so departed are the fortunes,  
And misfortune took the place of fortune.  
Verily, this entire world is delusion,  
For once they had been happy,  
Disregarding the harsh turn of faith,  
For they have engulfed in arrogance.  
On the contrary, see the result of mirth.  
If you'd grasped it, it's all but delusion.*

#### VI. Self-Praise, Vainglory (fakhr)

This theme is always an integral part of his *hijā* poem. After discrediting his opponents or the subject of his satire, he may need to credit himself with some noble attributes or deeds. As it has already been alluded to, the theme of education or intelligence dominates his *hijā* poetry, and it occupies a vital place in his communities' value system. So, the poet engages in what may be considered a *fakhr*, where he exhibits his academic worth, his learnedness, which, in itself, serves as a defense mechanism. In these verses, he did not only show that he was a man of wide reading but also abreast with current developments in Islamic and Arabic literary circles. He demonstrates this by showing what experiences he has acquired in these perspectives. On the constituents of knowledge, he explains to an opponent (9:10-11):

إن العلوم لها أصل ومبحثة      فاردد إلى كوخك وافتش قراطيسا  
كن طالعا كتب أهل الحق لا تكسل      لعل عينك لم تنظر كراريسا

*Verily, knowledge has root (theory) and research (practice),  
Therefore, return to your hut (kukh), and search your notebook.  
Be of readers of books from honest men, and don't be lazy,  
Perhaps, your eyes hardly look at books.*

He charged his opponents again, and boasts of knowledge in language (9:5):

لم يعلموا مادة في الصرف كيف بهم      بعلم تورية صاروا جواميسا

*They studied not morphology, how much more  
Metaphor (tawriya), they've become nothing but buffaloes.*

Apart from the fact that he was well familiar with histories of local chiefdoms and kingdoms, which he had, himself, chronicled some, he seems to have read also, works from very famous Arab and European philosophers and grammarians. In fact, the mere mention of names like Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, and their likes, is enough to send cold shivers down the spine of any Ghanaian opponent in those years. Ibn Sinai may not be that frightening, as that name appears familiar to most of Arabic students

in the region. So, All these names are known to Alhaj Umar. In this respect, he warns them (9:23-24):

من جاءنا بمكيدات وحيلته      ولو أتى لابسا تاجا وبرنوسا  
يخيب في نواه من تعنتنا      بما درسنا على عثمان تدريسا

*Whoever comes to us with deception or subterfuge,  
Even if he comes donning a crown or burnus.  
He would be thwarted in his ambition by our zeal,  
With which we studied under Usman.*

He boasts of deep knowledge in Animal and plant world too (8:29:30):

نحن قوم نميز      بين فلا وهندبا  
هكذا قد نفرق      بين دباء والدبا

*We're people who can differentiate  
Between jasmine (flower) and chicory (vegetable),  
So also can we tell  
Locust (insect) from bear (animal).*

## VII. Maxims

Here are some of the maxims he used. It is sometimes difficult to tell the difference between them and proverbs, which of course, are similar in African cultures. He uses it a lot in his *hijā* poems. He says (8:94-101):

كل آلاء كاذب      سوف عادت مصائبها  
كل نعماء مفتر      ستعود العقاربها  
مدحه إن تطاول      الدهر أض معائبها  
لكن الكذب أولا فاق      شهدا مضربها  
صاحب الكذب ساعة      كثر مال لقد جبا  
كان كذب بداية      كالعداري كواعبا  
فاقت النخل لذة      عن قريب تتركبا  
لكن الحق بدؤه      حنظل ثم حابيا

*Fortunes gained from deceit,  
Surely turn into misfortune.  
Graces acquired through falsehood,*

*Surely, turn into scorpions.  
 Praises in due course,  
 Definitely become reproach.  
 But falsehood in the beginning,  
 Surpasses refreshing honey.  
 A swindler in a short while,  
 Becomes rich with money amassed.  
 Deceit in the beginning,  
 Becomes like a buxom virgin.  
 Surpasses a date palm in sweetness,  
 And in short time becomes jumbled.  
 But the truth, its beginning  
 Is colocynth, then (later) becomes juicy.*

The meaning of these maxims comes with some semantic gymnastic. The ideas in the first three lines are arranged in cause-effect sequence. The causes are in the first hemistich, and the effects in the second. Then line 4-6, are only an enhancement of the causes mentioned in the previous lines; that is, further explanation is given of illegal fortunes, false praises, etc. And then the line 7, reiterates the cause-effect elements, but this time in its maximum levels; a buxom virgin girl, in the view of the poet, is, perhaps, the highest pleasure a man may attain, while public disorder and chaos are the worst calamity that could befall people. Then finally, he concludes with the concept of truth, his main goal, whose beginning, he claims, is very bitter like colocynth, and in the end, brings happiness, like the taste of halbab.

In an elegy to son, he says (5:46-48):

نبتا وتبينانا وبرسيما وضرب كلا عند الدواب يعاضيدا ونوع خلا ورد وتتعلم في القذرات خد مثلا	ياقوته لا تساوي عند ما شية والذهب و الورق و المرجان لا تعدل أو مثل جعل وورد حيث يقتلها
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*Hyacinth isn't of worth to the sheep,  
 As grass, clover, and all pastures.  
 And gold, money, and pearls isn't valuable,  
 To the cattle, as herbs and all kinds of pasture.  
 And like, a dung beetle and a cow compete for water,  
 And the cow kills the dung beetle only to wallow in filth.*

Glittering stones and all objects of fashion and beauty (represented by the poet's hyacinth, gold, and money in the poem), of course, cannot be useful to the cattle as herbs.

In another, talking about enemies, he says (2:63):

عواقب الحسد قدما      إن طال شنق وبور

*The results of envy, already established,  
At long last, is depression and destruction.*

#### VIII. Comedy

Alhaj Umar uses his narrative prowess to its best. This owes much to his highly sociable character and a very keen sense of humor since childhood, for which he was, playfully, called *Dan goje*, a fiddler or a comedian. In his account of the European occupation of Africa, he describes the humiliations suffered by some African chiefs, and says that Gurma chiefs, who hitherto, had enjoyed some respect and reverence from their subjects, were turned into slaves by the colonialists. And others who could not stand the embarrassment simply fled. Bantatughu, who did not hide his flight at all, was said to have fled like a child (6:66). The king of Niki, upon the sight of the invaders, shivered like a dove (6:75)., In Karku, Ware and Chichile, even *malams*, the so-called nobles, couldn't stand the trepidation and passed away out of fear. In Moshiland, disgrace and humiliation did not only affect the kings but the entire inhabitants, men and women. The poet says, 'They all fled like wild animals', and some fled 'with the speed of an arrow'.

Much as Alhaj Umar narrates this African ordeal in a style which, perhaps, is intended to satisfy the reader's aesthetic needs as well as meet the structural demands of the genre, he did not fail to point out the serious nature of the subject matter as

regards its social and moral implications to the overall African welfare. However, the story must be told, and it must be told in a style that adds life to the events, mournful events, in this case. So, the poet did not tell the story only in its bare facts like that but flavored it with some hilarious interjections. Perhaps, the poet's use of simile for clarity did more than add color to the imagery, it created the comic relief too. A man running away from a danger with the speed of an arrow really means to run away; a chief, who was, always, carried high up on palanquin, to be seen running like a kid cannot be said to love life so much, but could be explained more on the human natural instinct which triggers man's reaction to danger, particularly if the consequence could be as devastating and gruesome as the picture depicted to us by the poet; nothing could be more piteous and at the same time humorous than to see beefy men trembling like doves.

His account of the events of the Salaga War is much more entertaining, of course, which he says he never meant it for fun. But one cannot but get thrilled by Umar's depiction of an army's show of helplessness as it braces itself with even more helpless and powerless charms of an Imam who got hit in front of an army he was expected to protect (1:204-207):

حتى إذا ما كثر الجراح	وقد نسوا الترس مع الرماح
ويضرب الخيول بالبنادق	ويسقط الرجال بالبنادق
حتى إذا ما رمي الإمام	خافوا وطم الدخن كالغمام

*So it was until many were wounded,  
For they had forgotten their shields.  
To ward off the spears of the enemy,  
Horses were hit by bullets,  
Men dropped as they were struck  
Eventually Iman was thrown down from his horse.*



Like almost all the Arabic poems of that region that can be termed Islamic, Alhaj Umar's poetry has, as the underlying principle, the promotion of moral principles and cultural values, running across all the genres: praises go to whoever upholds these virtues, who violates it is rebuked. Even his comic relief fall within the same principles, where personalities who go against the norms of society are turned into laughing stocks, so it could serve as a check against such deviations.

The diversity of topics in Alhaj Umar's poetry is what fascinates those who were associated with his works. And to conclude with a quote from Thomas Hodgkin, he says, ".....Other West African authors had, of course, written poems of this type— but I do not know of any earlier writer who produced so remarkable a range of works dealing with such an interesting variety of events, situations and experiences."<sup>22</sup>

Notes.

1. *Qasida* is the classical Arabic poem with all its conventions as pertained in pre-Islamic Arabia.
2. *Burda*, 'mantle' poem is one composed in eulogy of the Prophet Muhammed, by Ka'b b. Zahair; various versions have been produced afterwards.
3. *Takhmis* is an expansion of a poem by adding three additional lines on every two of the original.
4. *Tarbī* is expansion by adding two lines to the original two.
5. Hunwick, John. "The Arabic Qasida in West Africa: forms, themes and context", in Sperl & Shackle. 1996. *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, Vol.I, p.83.
6. Both personalities were founders of Qadiriyya and tijaniyya Sufi orders respectively.
7. *Amīr* is emir or chief in African context.
8. The poet meant (خادم) when he said (خديم), a rare use to mean 'a servant'.
9. *Faqīh* is a Muslim jurisprudent or jurist; it's used for a Muslim scholar too.
10. (غريـر) means 'favorable character', which is rarely used as such.
11. The word (يقور) is meant (ينقار) in that line, meaning 'collapses or wipes out'.
12. *Baraka* means 'blessing' in both Arabic and Hausa.
13. Annotational comments on the manuscript allude to an ancient Egyptian king bearing the name as written in the Arabic poem. The king is still not identified.
14. Schildkrout, E. 1977, *People of the Zongo*. Cambridge: University Press. pp. 198-205.
15. *Agrāḍ* in Arabic poetry means 'genre'.
16. Ghudran is unidentified Ghanaian town, though the word in Arabic means 'rivers'.

17. *Wird* is a Sufi litany, recited at regular intervals.
  18. This is the opening chapter of the Qur'ān, 'Thanks be to God'.
  19. The two Shaykhs were founders of the Sokoto emirate and Murid movement of Senegal respectively.
  20. These are all Ghanaian towns.
  21. The painful memory of a former love with which many qasidas begin.
  22. Hodgkin T. 1969. 'Islamic Literary Tradition in Ghana', in Lewis, Islam in Tropical Africa, Oxford: University Press, p.456.
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## CHAPTER V

### LANGUAGE AND STRUCTURE.

The traditional Arabic poem (*qasida*) is composed in an elevated register of classical Arabic, whose grammar is based, exclusively, upon pre-Islamic poetry and the Koran. Early Arab critics laid down literary rules governing its composition, with some emphasis on its form and the use of linguistic as well as rhetorical devices. But later developments saw changes in the application of these rules as the world cultures continue to integrate at various levels, including literary art, and precisely, the influence of European literature on Arabic literary conventions is the case in point.

However, the use of classical style in poetic writings has continued in West Africa over the century, and quite a number of Muslim poets from the sub-region are scholars with not only outstanding skills in their compositions — using Arabic language — but also exhibit exceptional linguistic erudition; Alhaj Umar is no exception.

The study of Arabic classical poetry formed part of Alhaj Umar's higher education, and he is said to have, extensively, read them. Certainly as a poet, he must have devoted much more time studying them, perhaps, than works on Islamic theology, Law, and their kinds. R. S. Rattray's comment in the book, 'Hausa Poetry', attests to Alhaj Umar's devotion to early Arabic literature, and he says something to the effect that, Liman Alhajj Umaru, son of mallam Abubakar Umaru was famous for his learning throughout West Africa, wherever Hausa is spoken. He adds that Alhaj Umaru's library included a manuscript of '*Umru'ul-Qays*', said to be 150 years old, and that he had made a special study over many years of the works of this pre-Islamic poet, had collected and critically examined much literature on the subject, and had finally translated the poem into Hausa'.

## I. Style

Four basic features may be identified here relating to his style:

- 1- Simple Straightforward register
- 2- Lexical Items: Islamic elements, with strong Koranic style and Imagery.
- 3- Mixed language (Arabic and Hausa)

### Register

The language of his poetry may be described as a simple straightforward kind, fused with religious overtone, and largely stripped of the rhetoric of the ornate style. It is, definitely, simpler than works from earlier poets and those of his contemporaries in the region; works of Fodio family, Abdullai b. Muhammad, Muhammad Bukhari, and his son Junaid, are examples of the highly ornate style.<sup>1</sup>

The very wide distribution of his poetry among the present generation of *ulamā* in Ghana may, perhaps, be the result of his poetry constituting part of the educational materials used in his Kete-krachie school, and its various branches in Gold Coast (now Ghana). It could be so assumed, on this basis, that an intricate style may not have suited the standard of his students. Besides that, a complex style may further reduce the scope of his audience, considering the already deplorable state of education within Muslim communities of that period. This, precisely, explains why the poet translated almost all his Arabic poems into Hausa, obviously, to reach wider audience in Ghana and Nigeria.

### Lexical items and poetic motif (ma'ānī)

Like most of the Islamic works from that region, his works draw on the imagery and vocabulary of the classical type. However, the most remarkable trait of the language of his poetry is its religious character, which reveals a strong Koranic influence in terms of its lexical items and imagery. This owed much to the traditional educational

system under which Umar was nurtured (as has already been discussed above) where Koran study formed the basic tool for his early training and the development of his linguistic skills. Therefore, the overpowering influence of the stylistic features of the Koran on his literal output was, to a larger extent, due to his continuous attachment to the Book since his early childhood days through his career as an Islamic teacher till his appointment as a spiritual leader. His ideas are at times, so couched in Koranic imagery and motifs that a reader need not go far to tell from which chapter of the Koran it was culled: The following verses bear such motifs (9:20-22):

ولا نطيع الذي قد زاغ عن نهج      ولو أتى راكبا فيلا ومرميسا  
ولو أتى بعلوم بمثل (سنبسرا)      أو مثل (بلعام) أو شيطان بلبيسا  
ألقوا حبالهم ألقوا عصيهمو      بسل كاتا بأيدينا عصا موسا<sup>2</sup>

*We obey not those who have gone astray,  
Even if they came riding an elephant or rhinoceros.  
Even if they're as knowledgeable as 'Sanbasara',  
Or like 'Balham' or Satan, the accursed.  
So they threw their ropes as well as rods,  
In fact, as if we hold Musa's staff.*

This is an adaptation from the Koranic verse, 26:44, that refers to the Prophet Moses against the soothsayers. The poet uses it here to depict his challenge against his enemies who are said to have surrendered to his literary 'supremacy'.

He says, while paying tribute to his ancestors (3:83:85):

أين ثاني بن حفص      أنه كان نصيرا  
رحم الله أباه      ليكون مغفورا  
يرسل الله السماء      في نراه مدرارا

*Dedication to Thani Bin hafsa,  
He has been of help.  
May God's mercy go to his father,  
So that he may be forgiven.  
May God send rain,  
To his grave abundantly.*

The motif in the final verse above is picked from Koran, 71:11. Prayer for rain in the Koranic verse, represents Noah's promise of God's prosperity to his people if they mend their ways. The poet uses rain here metaphorically, to ask for God's blessing for his ancestors.

In an advice to Salaw, the subject of his praise, he says (3:69:71):

لا تكن كالوزراء	قد مضوا هم كالأساري
وزراء في كماش	مفسدون ذو غداري
سفهاء عائبون	مكروا مكرا كبارا

*Do not act as the past emirs,  
They were like captives.  
The emirs of Kumasi  
Are mischievous, treacherous,<sup>3</sup>  
Incompetent, and full of flaws,  
Yet, they devised a tremendous plot.*

While Prophet Noah is protesting against the misdeeds of his people in Koran, 71:22, Alhaj Umar, conversely, (as a member of the people) is criticizing attitudes of those put in authority, chiefs of Kumasi; a marvelous creative antithesis.

Another adaptation here says (2:90-92):

ندعوا على كل قال	تحوطه الأقدار
يا دار لا تبقى فيهم	مؤانسا ذا جدير
لا يسوي ظل حقا	يا قومنا والحروور

*We pray against all allegations,  
Associated with agonies.  
O, World! There are, among them,  
No fitting intimate friend.  
Surely, the (chilly) shade  
O people, and the (genial) heat of the sun are not alike.*

The comparison is picked from the Koran, 35:20. The poet's bosom friends are represented here by the 'chilly shade', while the enemies are the 'genial heats'.

He says in his satire against Musa, whom he describes as a charlatan (8:31-32):

نفهم الرمز إذا أتى      معنيا الرب والربا  
كيف يا قوم يستوي      بيع في الشرع والربا

*We grasp the symbol when it comes,  
Meaning, the Lord, and interest.  
O people, how could we equate  
Trade in (Islamic) law with usury.*

The combination of the lexical items, 'trade' and 'usury' alludes to the Koranic verse, 1:275, that talks about God permitting trade and prohibiting usury.

Using the similarity in form between the Arabic word, (الربا) and (الرب), the poet has skillfully exposed the actual goal of Musa's Islamic crusade, which the poet says isn't for the sake of God but his own personal profit.

In his description of the mental state of Salaga authorities before their lost battle, he says (1:41-43):

وزلزلوا واهلخوا وهابوا      وضرعوا لربهم وأبوا  
وشاوروا وسألوا يا رب      بل إنهم كانوا كثير الريب  
ألسنهم متفقون قولا      قلوبهم شتى وغالوا غولا

*And they became so shaky, shabby, and terrified,  
They earnestly prayed to God, but were uncertain.  
They conferred and begged O God,  
And yet they're totally unconvinced.  
Their tongues agree in word,  
(But) their hearts are divided, and they cause mischief.*

The same imagery painted of the prophet Muhammad's enemies who were terrified of his army, despite their (enemies') seemingly numerical advantage. The same fear is painted here of leaders of Salaga, whose dealings are founded on treachery, so that their reliance on God's help did not still guarantee them the needed stability because of their misdeeds.



Apart from the images, the rhyming of the above verses could be seen to follow a certain rhythmic pattern of the Koran.

Umar's poetry is replete with these religious features and ideas. Such ideas as the Final judgment day and division of mankind into two categories: Believers and Non-believers are depicted in the following (8:115-117):

إن ربي سيفصل      بين من دان وأبا  
يسأل الخلق كلهم      من يطيع ومن نبا  
فيجازي بفعلهم      في نعيم وهبها

*Surely, my God will split,  
Between who practice (a faith) and who rebuffs,  
All creation will be questioned,  
Who obeyed and who objects.  
And they will be rewarded accordingly,  
Either total Bliss or eternal Hell.*

In fact, much as Umar draws, extensively, on the literary devices from the Holy Book, he makes effort in creating some of his own. Apart from some few ones that have been quoted above, there are still some more figures of speech that he uses as a device to conceal ideas that he intended for a section of the community. A vivid example is his use of metaphorical language to express misgivings against European activities, especially on issues pertaining to their facilitation of the spread of Christianity among Ghanaian Muslim communities. He says (6:24):

وقد كرزوا اللواء بكل مدن      وصار أهلها مثل الخدام

*They've 'hoisted' flags in every town,  
And the natives have become like slaves.*

The flags he claimed were hoisted in all the African nations were meant to demarcate the colonialists' areas of control. But metaphorically, it denotes Christianity, signified by the Arabic verb, *karaza*,<sup>4</sup> which means 'to spread or preach the gospel'.

In the same vein as already stated above, Alhaj Umar exhibits the influence of his reading and attention to classical Arabic poets, works of whom had served as a guide to his own works, in terms of imagery as well as vocabulary. In his elegy to his deceased brother, he says (5:5-6):

وبات أحبابها في الليل نابغة      وحزن يعقوب إذا لم يرى السخلا  
وصار كل حبيب ساكتا أسفا      ولا ترى الدمع يعصيه إذا انهملا

*Lovers spent sleepless nights,  
(Like) the worry of a lioness on the loss of the cub.  
Lovers became, regrettably, overwhelmed by silence,  
And the tears as shed, are conspicuous.*

This is a clear adaptation of an imagery from a line of poetry by *al-Nābigatu 'al-dhubyānī*, in which he complains of stressful long night, which he spent haunted by his personal problem and hardship:

كليني لهم يا أميمة ناصب      وليل أقاسيه بطيء الكواكب

*O, Umayma, leave me in this deep grief,  
As I spend the sleepless night with its slow moving stars.*

Alhaj Umar apparently coined the word (نابغة) from the poet name (النابغة) to create the imagery painted in the latter's line.

Drawing, again, on the vocabulary as well as meaning from a famous line in a poem sang by *Tarfat 'ibn al-Abd*, which is always quoted to signify generosity in Arab society, Alhaj Umar creates a verse to exhibit his deceased brother's generosity to all and sundry. The line in *Tarfat*'s poems says:

نحن في المشتاة ندعو الجفلى      لا ترى الأدب فينا ينتقر

*In winter, we, in fact, make an open invitation to all,  
No one among us is selective in his invitation*

From this, Umar forms the following line (5:54-56):

بل جوده الجفلى من غير ما النقرى      بذاك يوصف إلا من طغى وقلا

*But his generosity is inclusive and never selective,  
Thus is his reputation, save the cruel and enemy.*

### Mixed Language

The third feature, the use of mixed language, seems to remain a trademark of his poems. Apart from his use of local names of African villages and towns, he uses, though occasionally, vocabulary from his native language, Hausa, but only as a style, and not for the absence, or his ignorance of its equivalence in Arabic. His poem, *Tunkwiyau*, 'influenza', is one of the examples he uses such a technique. The poem describes symptoms, diagnosis and treatment of the disease. Verses (10:3-5), says:

وقد قيل أوله مر ريق      فأما قريب أتى (تتكىوا)  
وقيل صداع وميد ونبض      وقرقرة بعدها (تتكىوا)  
تراه كصفراء ليس بصفرا      وليس بلاغم بل (تتكىوا)

*Its initial symptom is said be gall(excretion),  
and then follows soon after, influenza  
Or dizziness and palpitation,  
and (stomach) rumpling, then follows influenza  
It appears as (common)bile but it isn't,  
neither is it sputum but influenza!*

In his *hija* to Musa, he says in one of the verses (8:59):

إن كهان يجلدوا      أهل (بوري) وشهربا

*Verily, a soothsayers turn to whipping,  
'Bori' cult dancers and the aged.<sup>5</sup>*

In a panegyrics to Salaw, he addresses him as (3:34):

يا مسافر (ميتكاني)      عش هنيها مسرورا

*O, the generous traveller,<sup>6</sup>  
Live in comfort and joyful.*

In another, he says (1:24-25):

بداية الأمر إذا نظرت تجده سهلا كما سمعت  
ووسطه اشكال لو فهمت وطلقت عقول (بتأبت)

*Beginning of the affair when observed,  
Approached easily, just like it's told.  
But at the core lies the mystery, if you grasp,  
And minds were fired, 'batabata' haywire.*

His use of an attention device could still be seen to be part of the Koran influences, like the attention call normally seen in the Koran as, 'O ye who believe', or 'O ye people', etc. Apart from opening address to a traveling companion, or mate, which, of courses, Umar uses in poems in which he observes the classical convention, he calls attention of his listeners with such calls as, "O ye, the honorable' and normally adds, 'Listen to me', like in this verse (8:82-83):

يا أولي الفضل فاسمعوا لست في النظم داعبا  
فاسمعوا يا أولي النهى لست في القول كاذبا

*O ye, the honorable, listen,  
I am not, in this poem, joking!  
Listen, O ye nobles,  
I am not, in my talk lying!*

In the Satire on an invader to his school, he began with such calls (9:1):

بحق رب الورى يا قوم فانتبهوا فإن في دهرنا هذا أباليسا

*Lord of the creation, O people, listen and pay attention!  
There is in our world this Satan.*

## II. Structure

Alhaj Umar uses a pure narrative style, with a lineal sequence of thematic units, linked by maxims, expressed in pithy words, parked with meaningful messages. As it's always the case, the overall message resides in his maxims. His poems open with an

introductory prayer or *nasib*, as the case may be, followed by the main theme, which takes the central position, then concludes with the customary prayer. This, in fact, gives the general structure of his poetry, giving the distinctive outline of a clear tripartite format.

The customary opening prayers take the form of invocation and exaltation to God, then praises to the prophet, while the closing ones are petitions or devotion. The main themes include accounts of events, like battles, funeral activities, personal confrontations; and topical issues like the spread of an illness. These topics are interspersed with maxims and proverbs, which mostly, serve as the transitional lines binding those themes together. The following examples of the features that constitute the general layout of his poetry may help to clarify this section. In one of the three poems, which begins with the conventional *nasib* prelude, he laments over the departure of Hind thus (5:1-4):

ما بال هند نأت عنا بغير قیلا	وصار أنباؤها تتلي علي وعلا
سارت وصارت كما صار الذين خلوا	وغادرت بقعة معهودة ظللا
وشاء ما شاء من أبناء هجرتها	وأنها تركت أجدانها هملا
وكانهم أغنام الحي قد سمعت	أذانها من هزابير الشر وزجلا

*Tell me, Hind has forever abandon us,  
Her tale is chanted in the mountains.  
She departed as did those before her,  
She abandoned the dwellings deserted.  
Her departure became a peddled talk,  
That she left her friends in flowing tears.  
Like they were roving sheep, whose hears,  
Heard from a growling lion chanted words.*

In a panegyric to Salaw, it takes the following form (3:1-11):

غادرت سلمی دیارا	لم نجد فیها مزارا
وسألنا قیل سارت	مع من قد كان سارا

ما نري إلا قفارا	وقفينا إثر سلمي
ونعاما وصواري	ووحوشا راتعات
ثم صرنا كالحياري	وقفنا ساكتين
لم نر إلا حباري	والثفتنا في النواحي
وعقابا ونسورا	وطيور طائرات
زادنا شوق حرارا	ثم صمنا في المعاق
لا يكن شوقك عارا	قلت دع ذا يا خليلي
إن شوقي للعذري	قال لي صه يا حبيبي
كن حليما وصبورا	قلت دع ذا ثم ذاك

*Salma has abandon the encampment  
We found no any drink in it.  
Upon request, they said, 'she's left',  
'Who could it be left with her', we wondered,  
Her tracks we pursued.  
No sign of her, but deserted camp,  
And grazing wild beasts,  
And so were ostriches and crickets.  
Dumbfound, we stood there,  
But we became helpless.  
Yet, we kept circling in all direction,  
Nothing but bustards we saw,  
Just like the flying birds,  
As well as eagles and vultures.  
Then, in bewilderment we remained,  
Our strong passion increased our thirst.  
'O friend, abandon this', I said.  
'Your love must not become a disgrace',  
'Listen, my friend,' he requested,  
'Verily, to a virgin goes my desire'.  
'Forsake this and that', I said.  
'Show politeness and patience'.*

The beginning and closing devotion always bear the same content, but with varied length. It, sometimes, takes only a line, like the following (4:1):

فتبارك الخلاق ذو الآلاء      رب البرية موهب النعماء

*Exalted is the creator, who blesses,  
Lord of the world, who bestows all blessings.*

And one of the longer ones looks like this (1:1-13):

الحمد الله الذي توحدنا      في ملك أموره ووكدنا  
ليس له مساعد في حكمه      ولا له مشاور في أمره

ويحكم السرور و الإساءه	يصرف الدهور كيف شاءه
مدمر الأملاك بل ذو القهر	مذل ذا العز عظيم الأمر
إذا يشاء الأمر يكون جدا	يحكم ما أراد لا مرد له
بيده اليسر مع الشدائد	أحكامه عجيبة عديدة
حتى يسد البصر و المسامع	يغير البلدان و المواضع
ويثبت الأمر كما يشاء	ويسلب الملك إذا يشاء
كذا تكون قرية البهائم	ويجعل العمارة الفيفاء
ذو العلم و القهرة رب الحق	تبارك الله إله الخلق
ولا مشاور ذو الجحد	ليس له معاند ملد
مقدر الأمور رب الدهر	أموره تكن كلمح البصر
كما نري أحكامه سديدا	نرضى بما أتى ولو شديد

*Praise to God, the one, who by himself,  
 Carries on the affairs of his Realm and so confirms.  
 That he has no helper in his dominion  
 And no counselor in his actions  
 He brings a sudden change of fortune by his will  
 And regulates both joy and grief  
 Humbler of the mighty and the great  
 Despoiler of property the vanquisher  
 He adjudicate as alone desires without restraint  
 If he wishes a thing, it is a divine decree  
 To human minds His acts are often strange  
 His hands hold prosperity and calamity alike  
 Transforms lands and places  
 Overturning sights and hearing  
 He withholds high states if he desires  
 Arranges things as he requires  
 Makes a cultivated land a desert  
 Or village a place of blight  
 Praise to god, the creator  
 All-knowing, powerful and truthful  
 He has no active opponent  
 Nor any troublesome partner  
 His affairs move like a stroke of lightening  
 He is the ordainer of events and lord of fate  
 We satisfy with what he brings however hard,  
 His judgments are appropriate.*

In the same opening prayer, the poet, then, moves to praise the prophet (1:14-22):

علي النبي الذي أفاض فيضا	ثم الصلاة والسلام أيضا
أرسله وأبطل الطاغوت	محمد بمحكم الآيات
إلي الهدى حتى رآها عامة	ولم يزل ينادي كل الأمة
ومهد الإسلام في التلال	جاهد أهل الكفر والضلال

جیوش غزوتہ کثیرہ	أسرته وصحبه ظہیرہ
حتى الحق علي الفساد	واقمع الفارس و اليهود
وأفسد القيصر و النصارى	ودمدم الحبشة و النصيرى
وكسر الخزرج ثم الأوس	وصلي علي محمد ذي الباس
وآله وصحبه و الأخيار	وأهل بيته ذو الأطهار

*Now praise and blessing also  
 On the prophet who poured out flood of goodness  
 Muhammad aided by the verses sent him  
 Frustrated false gods  
 He continued to summon the community  
 To true religion, until the people saw it  
 Fighter against unbelief and error  
 He paves the way for Islam in the hills,  
 The raids by his army were many  
 With his family companion and helpers  
 Until the truth triumphed over error  
 And he suppressed the Persians and the Jews  
 Overcame the Byzantine Emperor and the Christians  
 Destroy the Ethiopians and the Nadirs  
 Broke the Khazraj, then the Aws  
 Bless Muhammad the Intrepid  
 His excellent family and his companion  
 And his entire household, so full of sanctity.*

At the unit level, the poet uses very simple sentence structure, which invariably, reads almost like a prose. He weaves his ideas, logically arranged, in very lucid comprehensible lines that, so much, appear like everyday language that a reader hardly needs the use of a dictionary. The simple subject-verb-object sequence of the sentence structure, and the close relations of these syntactic units, as shown in the examples below, clearly illustrates the combination of these units to form the overall structures of the poems. Thus, it, readily, sends the clear messages of the poem to the reader at a go. In a panegyrics to Salaw, he says:

فتبارك الخلاق ذو الآلاء	رب البرية موهب النعماء
قد قضى صلونا بعلم و التقى	واختصه بإمارة الكبراء
أتاه تاجا في حكومة إنجليز	رغما لمبغضه من الأعداء



أعطاه ما أعطاه من ملك ومن خلق الرضي وسعادة السعداء

*Exalted is the creator, who blesses,  
Lord of the world, who bestows all blessings.  
Verily, Salaw's knowledge and piety are unique,  
And he's, exclusively, been highly ranked.  
He offered him crown in the English Administration,  
Despite the protest from his enemies.  
He has been bestowed among other things leadership,  
Contentment, and (you're) among the blessed*

He says again: (4:6)

يا حبذا عاداته وطباعه حلما وصمتا زينة الأمراء

*How lovely is his habit and character,  
Clemency and gentility, the traits of emirs*

And on piety and good manners, he says:

*Knowledge and piety are Salaw's exclusive traits,  
And he's been bestowed the ranks of great men.*

Description, through a monologue, of a chief's brag about his wield of absolute power

and the right to enjoy life by all means, are depicted in the following lines

(1:112-124):

حتى إذا ما وجد الولاية	يفعل ما يشار في البراية
وقال إني جامع النساء	بل أنني أفعل ما أشاء
أرفض في المكان كيف شئت	بل إنني أفعل ما شئت
ولا أخاف صرف هذا الدهر	بل إنني كنت نبيه القدر
وإن رأيت ثيبا أو بكرا	جميلة كنت لها سميرا
ولا أبالي بالذي يكون	آخره ندامة أو هون
أجول في الليل مع السراج	بل إنني أذهب بالوهاج
وكيف لا أفعل هذا الشأن	وإنني كنت من الشباب

*But when he got control of the state  
He did just as he liked in full freedom*

*He said: 'I'll collect women,  
 In fact, I'll do just I like.  
 I shall dance just where I want,  
 I'll do exactly what I please  
 But turns of fortune don't trouble me  
 In fact, I'm destiny's favorite.  
 When I see a pretty girl or a virgin,  
 I'll entertain her at night.  
 I careless the consequence,  
 The result being remorse or catastrophe  
 I'll prowling at night with a lamp,  
 Surely, I'll roam with a glowing light.  
 And why shouldn't I?  
 For I am (still) a young man.*

Subject-verb-object sequence in the following verses, readily, brings to mind eyes the  
 motion pictures of a losing army (1:186-189):

ورجحوا سلطان لنفر	وذهبوا به إلي الوغى وقد
حتى إذا ما دخلوا الجهاد	خافوا ونكصوا وردوا ردا
وفشلوا وململوا وهابوا	ولم يجدوا مطلباً وخافوا
وقتلوا كبراءهم بالرغم	والتحفوا لذا شعارا الندم

*They felt Sultan lampur did not return  
 So they went onto the blazing clamor,  
 When they entered the battle  
 They became frightened, retreated and turned away.  
 They failed, disgruntled and intimidated.  
 They achieved not their wish but were disappointed.  
 Even their leaders were killed,  
 So they were covered with signs of remorse.*

The narrative nature of his poems makes for easy reading; here, with his own  
 frank, sometimes, anguished voice, he can be so very frank and open. Here, he takes a  
 very expressive posture in relaying a message about his purpose of condemning Musa,  
 who the poet suspects is engaged in false prophesy, he says (8:108-109):

لست منه بطاعن      قلت حقا ليكتبا  
كل من كان جاحدا      في مقالي سيعربا

*Defaming him was not my goal,  
I tell the truth, to be chronicled.  
Whosoever expresses disbelief (now),  
Of our account, will vindicate us (later).*

The poet himself becomes the center and the subject of his own poems. In narrating about African dilemma during the European occupation, the poet involves himself in the events, even though, he might not have been a witness to them (6:19-22):

ولم نعلم بأنهموا أتونا      لملك كالمملوك ذوالخيام  
لكي يبنوا البوارك في الأراضي      مزينة بألوان الرخام  
قريباً بدلوا ما قولوه      كما قال الإله لدى الكلام  
وقد كرزوا اللواء بكل مدن      وصار أهلها مثل الخدام

*Little did we know they came  
To govern, like the kings in the tents,  
In order to build barracks in the lands,  
Ornamented with colorful marbles.  
Soon they changed their sayings  
Just as God stated in his words.  
Then they spread the flags in every town  
And the indigenes became like servants.*

Of course, the technique of using first-person narrator adds currency to the events, and brings the reader closer to the poet as he joins his African brothers negotiate with colonizers who, the poet claims, later dishonor their word.

In the Salaga conflict, the poet happened to be among the residents who were not directly involved in the actual feud leading to the battle. But having his mind 'blown off' with leaders of the two factions really brings him too in the realm of affairs. He says (1:24-27):

بداية الأمر إذا نظرت      تجده سهلاً كما سمعت  
ووسطه أشكأ لو فهمت      وطلعت عقول (يتأبت)

طار عقولنا بهذا الحرب      وضعع الأقوام بالتجريب  
حتى تراهم بلا عقول      ولا يشاورون بالبخل

*Beginning of the affair when observed,  
Approached easily, just like it's told.  
But at the core lies the mystery, if you grasp,  
And minds were fired, went haywire.  
Our minds flew off over this battle,  
And communities were razed with the riot.  
Until you see them brainless,  
(For) they don't consult with the greedy.*

One technique, which is common to Umar's poetry, is the use of a word in the final lines of a poem, whose letters bear numerical values that are used to indicate the date of the composition of a poem. In some cases, they are used to tell the number of lines a particular poem contains. And precisely (Poem 3), written in praise of Sallaw, consists of 96 lines. Lines 22 and 23, reads :

فاتنا رجل عظيم      ناب صلو مستتيرا  
صار صلو ذاسخاء      قبل أن صار أميرا

Here the numerical value of the word (صلو) is calculated as:  
ص=60, ل=30, و=6, and the total adds up to 96, which is the number of the lines of the poem.

#### *The Meters*

All the poems in the anthology are composed in two hemistich verses; all are also monorhymed, except two, poems (1 and 7), they have every line rhyming with the other, as can be seen in the anthology. And again, all poems follow the classical metrical system: four poems (1, 5, 9, and 11) are composed in *basīt* meter; three (4, 7, and 12) are in *rajz*; two (6 and 10) are in *tawīl*; while poems (2, 3, and 8) are in *mujtath*, *raml*, and *mutadārik* respectively.

## THE STRUCTURAL OUTLAY

POEM 1. Account of Salaga Civil War, with a satire on their rulers.

1. Opening prayer (1-22)
2. Battle description (23-243)
3. Petition (244-248)

POEM 2. A Praise Poem to Alhaj Husayn Salaw.

1. Introductory nasib (1-18)
2. Praise to Salaw (18-30)
3. Address to the enemy (31-35)
4. Praise to Salaw (36-53)
5. Address to the enemy (54-73)
6. Praise to Salaw (74-122)
7. Petition (123-156)

POEM 3. A Praise Poem to Alhaj Husayn Salaw.

1. Introductory nasib (1-11)
2. Praise to Salaw (12-41)
3. Petition (42-51)
4. Praise to Salaw (42-66)
5. Appeal to Salaw And enquiry about relative (67-85)
6. Petition (86-97)

POEM 4. A Praise Poem to Alhaj Husayn Salaw.

1. Opening prayer (1)
2. Praise to Salaw (2-23)
3. Account of Salaw's trip to Yendi (24-52)
4. Praise to Salaw (53-60)
5. Final devotion (61)

POEM 5. An Elegy to Alhaj Labbu, (the Poet's son).

1. Introductory nasib (1-18)
2. praise to the deceased (19-31)
3. Account of the funeral (32-41)
4. Praise of the deceased (41-53)
5. Account of the funeral (54-68)
6. Prayer for the deceased (69-78)
7. Reflections (79-87)
8. Petition and final devotion (88-93)

POEM 6. Poem on European Occupation of West Africa.

1. Opening devotion (1-9)
2. Account and Protest Against colonialism in Africa (10-196)
3. Petition (197-216)

POEM 7. Poem on European Occupation of West Africa.

1. Opening devotion (1-4)
2. Account of the European occupation (5-31)
3. Advice on endurance (32-47)
4. Account of an appeal to the poet to return to Salaga (48-76)
5. Advice on self-control (77-81)
6. Petition (82-86)

POEM 8. A Satiric Poem on Musa.

1. Customary address to a companion (1)
2. Criticism against Musa's activities (2-27)
3. Self-praise (28-32)
4. Criticism against Musa's activities (33-93)
5. Maxims (94-103)
6. Grumbling at attitudes of his enemies (104-114)
7. Admonition and reflection (115-143)
8. Petition (144-151)

POEM 9. A satiric Poem on an Arabic Student.

1. A call for attention (1)
2. Criticism of a challenger to the poet's intelligence (2-14)
3. Self-praise (14-33)
4. Devotion (34)

POEM 10. Poem on Influenza (Tunkuyawa)

1. A call for attention (1)
2. Symptoms for influenza (2-8)
3. Patient's attitude to life (9-47)
4. Petition (48-62)

POEM 11. A Poem on Unity Among Ghanaian Muslims

1. Opening devotion (1-5)
2. Advice on unity (6-34)
3. Salutation to acquaintances (35-38)

POEM 12. Poem to Thank Contributors to the Repair of a Mosque.

1. Opening Devotion (1-5)
2. Names of contributors and dedications for their deeds (6-68)
3. Closing Praises (69)

Notes.

1. See Al-Badawī, Ahmad. 1991. *Awraq arabiyya min Sokoto*. Benghazi: Jami'at Qāryūnis.
  2. (بسل) means (أجل), certainly, in fact, of course, etc.
  3. The poet meant to say (غدری) when he described his enemies as (غدری).
  4. On the other hand, the word (ركز) could have given the appropriate literal meaning of 'hoisting' or 'erecting', in which case, the word (كرز) was a written mistake by the copyist.
  5. *Bori* is a Hausa word for a cult dance widely spread in West Africa, in which the dancer becomes possessed by spirits or he or she enters into a state of hypnosis.
  6. *Maitukani* is a Hausa word meaning, one who feeds the poor.
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## CHAPTER VI

### THE ANTHOLOGY

#### POEM 1. (IASAR / 27)\*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله عليه وسيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليما قال الطويل  
حيران في وهره عمر ابن أبوبكر الكبوي نسبا الكناوي مولدا و مسكنا نظم هذا لما رأى من  
تصرف الدهر وأحواله وسماه تنبيه الإخوان في ذكر الأحزان.

1	الحمد الله الذي توحدنا ليس له مساعد في حكمه يصرف الدهور كيف شاءه مذل ذي العز عظيم الأمر يحكم ما أراد لا مرد له أحكامه عجيبة عديده يغير البلدان و المواضع ويسلب الملك إذا يشاء ويجعل العمارة الفيفاء تبارك الله إله الخلق ليس له معاند ملد أموره تكن كلمح البصر نرضى بما أتى ولو شديد ثم الصلاة والسلام أيضا محمد بمحكم الآيات ولم يزل ينادي كل الأمة جاهد أهل الكفر والضلال جيوش غزوته كثيرة	في ملكه أموره ووكدّا ولا له مشاور في أمره ويحكم السرور و الإساءة <sup>1</sup> مدمر الأملاك بل ذي القهر إذا يشاء الأمر يكون جدا له بيده اليسر مع الشدائد حتى يسد البصر و المسامع ويثبت الأمر كما يشاء كما تكون قرية البهلاء 10 ذو العلم و القهرة رب الحق <sup>2</sup> ولا مشارك ذو الجحد مقدر الأمور رب الدهر كما نري أحكامه سديدا علي النبي الذي أفاض فيضا 15 أرسله وأبطل الطاغوت إلي الهدي حتى رآها عامة ومهد الإسلام في التلال أسرته وصحبه ظهيرة
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\* رقم الملف للمخطوطات بمعهد الدراسات الإفريقية - جامعة غانا، أكرا.

1 - الإساءة.

2 - القهر

- حتى الحق علي الفساد  
وأقصر القيصر و النصارى  
وكسر الخزرج ثم الأوس  
وآله وصحبه و الأخيار  
وبعد فالقصد بهذا الشعر  
بداية الأمر إذا نظرت  
ووسطه أشكال لو فهمت  
طار عقولنا بهذا الحرب  
حتى تراهم بلا عقول  
يأتهم الأقوام في السؤال  
ويجمع العلماء للدعاء  
يسهم الأموال للفقراء  
والتلاميذ و الأعرج  
يباحثون في علوم الرمل  
يذبذبون في ديار العلم  
طار عقولهم بهذا الحدث  
وجاهدوا في دفع الأمر  
وكانهم يصيبون دمعاً  
وشاوروا كيف بهذا الجيش  
عي لسانهم عن الكلام  
أعينهم زرق بلا جمال  
وهينموا وجاعروا وقالوا  
وزلزلوا وهلهلوا وهابوا  
وشاوروا وسألوا يا رب  
ألسنتهم متفقون قولا  
وشاوروا بالعلماء طرا
- وأقمح الفارس و اليهود  
ودمدم الحبشة و النصيرى<sup>3</sup>  
وصلي علي محمد ذي البأس  
وأهل بيته ذوو الأطهار  
تذكرنا بما أتى في الدهر  
تجد سهلاً كما سمعت  
وطلقت عقول (بتابت)<sup>4</sup>  
وضضع الأقوام بالتجريب  
ولا يشاورون بالبخیل  
و ينزل القرآن بالأموال  
في السر و الجهر بلا جفاء  
و العمي و الأعور و النساء  
أيضاً إلى القرباء و الأعلاج  
ويطالبون السر في الرجال  
لكي يجدون حقيق الندم  
بكثرة الجراح و الأحداث  
لكن ربنا نفيذ القدر<sup>5</sup>  
لكن ذنبهم يكون منعاً<sup>6</sup>  
بل إنهم كانوا كثير الغش  
وجوهم كأنها ظلام  
بل كلهم كانوا علي ملال  
كيت وكيت إننا لنالوا  
وضرعوا لربهم وآبوا  
بل أنهم كانوا كثير الريب  
قلوبهم شتي وغالوا غولا  
ودبروا الأمر وصار ضيرا

<sup>3</sup> - النصير

<sup>4</sup> - (بتابن) كلمة من اللغة الهوسوية تعني مضطرب

<sup>5</sup> - ننفذ = منفذ.

<sup>6</sup> - يصيبون دمعاً أي تنصب منهم.

- ولاؤذوا لربهم يا الله  
ونبذوا أموره ظهريا  
واتبعوا أهواءهم وباروا  
وتركوا السنة و الجماعة  
وجعلوا بينهم عداوة  
ولا يودون سوي الكفار  
يعظمون كافرا لديهم  
ليس لهم بينهم سوي الريا  
عيوبهم لا يحصاها نظم  
يعلمون العلم كي يفهموا  
صموا عن الحق بلا سماع  
والله لا يجيب من دعاه  
وكان بلدهم كميت الإنس  
لكي يعيد روحه في الجسد  
وهلكوا بظلمهم ودمروا
- 45 وإنهم قبل وقد عصوه  
وآض دينه لهم منسيا  
وجمعوا أموالهم وفاخروا  
وأخذوا البدعة والسفاهة  
والبغض و الخدعة ذا غباوة  
50 ولا يخافون سوي الفجار  
يذللون مؤمنا إليهم  
مناققون كلهم مساويا  
وحالهم لا يحصيه علم  
لا يعملون ولكن قد عموا  
55 ويعلمون الإثم لا امتناع  
إن كان في الذنوب قد عصاه  
ثم أتاه راقبي باللمس  
بل أنه كان فكالمرتد  
وطبقوا في وسخهم وقهقروا

#### ذكر سلاطينهم و عيوبهم

- وكان بلدهم كثيرا الغضب  
والودع في السوق كذا الثياب  
تراهم فوق الخيول ركضا  
لا يتقون واحدا في البلد  
ويأكلون مالهم بالظلم  
ويغصبون الدسم من إماء  
ولا يخافون وعيد الله  
ويشربون الخمر يرقصون  
ويجعلون الناس كالكلاب  
ألا ويفعلون ما يشاءون  
ولا يخافون ملوك الأرض  
وقدروا أنفسهم بهائما
- 60 كالملح واللحم وثم الشب  
ويغصبون الطبق والجلباب  
للسوق في الظلم وذاك روضا  
لأنهم كانوا لهم عبيدا  
ويسرقون بقرهم و الغنم  
65 يحملقون بينهم كبراء  
لأنهم كانوا ذو اشتباه  
ويبدلون القول يسرفون  
ولا يخافون عقاب الرب  
في بلدهم بل إنهم سواء  
70 وجعلوا بلدهم كالروض  
وبلدهم مرعاهم مغانما

ففيها الخلا والماء أيضا يجر  
وجعلوا قريرتهم كالجيفة  
وخلتهم إذا تراهم هرة  
تراهم في كل حين صاحوا  
ويأكلون مالهم بالرغم  
يحملون الكذب فوق الرأس  
ولا يحبون سوي التكذيب  
ولا يخالون صروف الدهر  
ويركضون الخيل هدرا هدرا  
وجعلوا أنفسهم ملوكا  
وكل من كلمهم بحق  
كلا وبلى ليت لهم عقول  
وهم يخالوا أنهم ملوك  
أنظر تراهم بلا أجير  
أيديهم مغلولة لعنق  
أحوالهم خلاف حال الملك  
وإن أتوا العالم للطلب  
لأنهم قد يرثون المال  
وكل من مات هم الوراثة  
وبلدة ليس لها عدول  
ولا يدينون بدين الحق  
كفار (سلغ) أنهم كلاب  
وإن أتى الكافر حين الحكم  
ولا ترى بينهم شفيعا  
ويعلمون الحق ثم كانوا  
ألم تر أن لديهم علم

وإنهم قد ظلموا في الجهر<sup>٧</sup>  
وإنهم نسورها والضيقة  
وقوم قرية إذا كالفارة  
75 ويزجروا المسلم ثم لاحوا  
وإنهم كانوا كثير الظلم  
ويحفظون الصدق بل بالبدس  
ولا يودون سوي التعجيب  
لأنهم كانوا كثيرا القدر  
80 ويغصبون المال كبرا كبرا  
وسلكوا ظلما لهم سلوكا  
يزاجرونه بغير الحق  
بل إنهم كانوا هم جهول  
لكنهم ليس هم ملوك  
85 يتبعوهم ولا وزير<sup>٨</sup>  
ولا يميحون خيول البلف  
عطاءهم إلا الأهل الإفك  
يعطونه إجارة بالغضب  
ويمنعون الوارثين المال  
85 ويتركون الوارث في الغرث  
إلا كضيغم وإلا الصل  
ولا يبالون بقول الحق  
ومسلمون أنهم ذياب<sup>٩</sup>  
يقول ما يشاء دون الندم  
90 ولا ترى لحكمهم منيعا  
لا يتبعونها ولكن خانوا  
وضيعونه وهذا ظلم<sup>١٠</sup>

<sup>٧</sup> - الخلا = الخلاء، يجر = يجري

<sup>٨</sup> - يتبعوهم = يتبعونهم

<sup>٩</sup> - سلغ اسم بلدة في شمال غانا، ذياب = ذئاب

<sup>١٠</sup> - ضيعون = يضيعونه

وإذا أتى المشرك سوق القوم	تخال أنه شجاع القوم
وإن لقيتهم لباب الدار	يحملون العيوب كالغدار
وإن أتوا لمجلس الأقوام	يزاجرون بين أهل العالم
ويرون واحدا بالعز	بل زعموا أنهم ذوا العز
يحقرون المسلمين طرا	يفعلون ما أرادوا شرا
لا يذكرون واحد بالخير	لا يصانعون صنع الأجر

#### نكر المشاجرة

أول ما أبطل هذا الشأن	ضرب الحجيج وجههم و البدن
ظلما وعدوانا وهذا عيب	وعاقب العيب لهم عقاب
وكم تراهم يضربون الناس	في سوقهم ليغضبون الطاس
أو يغضبون اللبد و اللجام	أو فحل ضأنهم أو الخيام
والعبد إن ضل هم اللقاط	وزعموا أنهم الفراط
أول ما أبدأ من خصام	موت الأمير دس في الرجام
وقال هذا وأنا السلطان	وقال آخر أنا السلطان
وصار هذا بينهم مجادله	وسلسل الأمر لهم وجاوله
متي إذا عسر الولاية	وجمعوا عقول لهم للغاية
قالوا وواحد هو السلطان	لكي يكون ملكه أمان
وركبوا وحملوا السلاح	وأخذوا النفاط و الرماح <sup>11</sup>
وجمعوا العبيد و الأحرار	هذا حبيبيننا ولا إضرار
ورضي الكفار بالمقالة	قالوا هو السلطان لا محالة
حتى إذا ما وجد الولاية	يفعل ما يشار في البراية
وقال إني جامع النساء	بل أنني أفعل ما أشاء
أرقص في المكان كيف شئت	بل أنني أفعل ما شتته
ولا أخاف صرف هذا الدهر	بل أنني كنت نبيه القدر
وإن رأيت ثيبا أو بكرا	جميلة كنت لها سميرا
ولا أبالي بالذي يكون	آخره ندامة أو هون

<sup>11</sup> - النفاطة

أجول في الليل مع السراج  
وكيف لا أفعل هذا الشأن  
وبعد إنني وارث النساء  
وأجمع النساء حتى مائة  
وأملأ الديار والبيوت  
قال له الكاهن يا السلطان  
إن لك العدو في البستان  
وزجر الكاهن قال من ذا  
قاله فجأة سيجيء  
قاله ماذا دواه القتل  
أخذ السلطان في السؤال  
وخاف بالقول وهاب الموت  
وطاح ماله لدفع الشر  
وفتلوا وشزروا في السر  
ولم يزل يعطيهم أموالا  
حتى إذا ما عوز الأمور  
وندد السلطان بالتذكير  
قال له العقلاء يا إنسان  
والأمر بدؤه بسر حقا  
ليس لنا السلاح يا سلطان  
ولا تكن كباحث للموت  
قريتنا سوق لنا أموال  
كم جاهل يقول يا سلطان  
لكي تجد راحة في الملك  
وإن توانيت بلا محال  
كم غادر يقول يا سلطان  
وفسدوا الأمر وخللوه  
وخوفوا سلطانهم بالجيش  
وزحزحوا الحق وطردوه

بل أنني أذهب بالوهاج  
وإنني كنت من الشبان  
لميت و المال مع الإماء 120  
ومائتين بعد هن مائة  
بهن أيضا وكذا الخانوت  
أ كنت نسيان أو جنون  
يريد قتلك بلا توان  
من السماء ينزل أو لوذا 125  
وأنت في النوم فلا تقىء  
قال تصدقن بلا ملال  
لعلماء السر و الرمال  
ولم يزل يردد الأصوات  
لكن يخص بعض أهل السر 130  
ليأكلون ماله بالغدر  
لكي يدفعوا بها ضلالا  
علمها العمى كذاك العور  
أين لنا من هذه التدبير  
لا ينبغي لديك إلا الهون 135  
عواقب الأمر تكن مشقا  
لكن سلاحنا هو اللسان  
بظلف ولم يجد قوات  
والجيش بيننا له أهوال  
أرسل بعسكر إلي الغدران 140  
وتملك الأرض بلا شريك  
فإنه سيأت بالقتال  
لا تسمعن لقول ذي العدوان  
وزينوا المال وزخرفوه  
حتى تكون قبله في دهش 145  
وعقدوا الجيش وسحلوه

## ذكر خروج الغزو

أول ما أب أمن فساد	خروج سلطان إلي الكاند
في يوم الأربع ثلاث عشرة	في شهر ربنا ربيع الأخيرة <sup>١٢</sup>
وقال لا أرجع أو قتله	لأنني كنت أخاف منه
كم عاقل يقول يا سلطان	أرجع إلي بيتك بالأمان 150
لا طاقة الجيش له إليك	و الملك كله لفي يديك
قال له سلطان لنفر يا ذا	لا تسمعن لقول الناس هذا
راجع سلطان لنفر لأيا	لأنه غاظ وغص غيا
وقال يا قوم نخاف الأمر	هاتوا لنسأل الإله اليسر
ونجمع الأموال للدعاء	ونسئلوا الإله في الضراء <sup>١٣</sup> 155
وجمعوا ألفا بكل الجد	وقصدوا بها مصلي العيد
ورتلوا القرآن بالأصوات	واسترفعوا الأيدي بالدعوات <sup>١٤</sup>
واستقسموا بقرعة القراء	ولم يروا فيها من السراء
وقالت لكم عواقب من سوء	لكي تذوقوا السوء والبلاء
وكثروا الدعوة بالبيات	بل إنما الأعمال بالنيات 160
وقسموا أموالهم للعلماء	مائة ومائة للفهماء
وأرسلوا إليه يا أخينا	نخاف منك قم وجئ إلينا
وقال لم أكن بما ظننتم	لكنكم بعييكم فتنتم
وأرسلوا البريد والرسول	وقال قول الخير لا يطول
وقائل يقول يا أناس	لسنا من الذين منهم بأس 165
ليس لنا درع ولا سلاح	ولا لنا نصل ولا رماح
أول ما أظهر من بطلان	خروج كرفي بلا توان
وكان سلطان عظيم البدن	إذا تراه خلته من فدن
يوم الأربع بيوم (زك)	وقال بل نقطه بالهالك
لنقطع الرأس له والبدن	نتقبه بضربة من كدن 170
وركبوا الخيول قوم قرية	وقصدوا دخلوهم في كدية

<sup>12</sup> - ثلاثة عشر، ربيع الآخر أو ربيع الثاني.

<sup>13</sup> - لعلها خطأ من النقل، والصواب ونسأل.

<sup>14</sup> - استرفعوا = رفعوا

- قال لهم سلطانهم يا قوم  
ليس لكم سوي سؤال الله  
لا تدخلوا في جيشنا يا علماء  
سيروا إلى سلطان لنفر قولوا  
ورجعوا ووجدوه سار  
وبين أن يرجع أو يسير  
وقائل يقول لا أفر  
لأنني كنت عرفت الحرب  
والحرب أصله يجري الخيل  
ورجحوا السلطان لنفر لم يرد  
حتى إذا ما دخلوا الجهاد  
وفشلوا ومللوا وهبوا  
وفتلوا كبراءهم بالرغم  
حتى إذا ما سمع الأمير  
خرج بالغليظ إلى كند  
وجمع الجيش قال قولوا  
وجمع الجيش بدار بلم  
وفتلوا الجيش مع الوعيد  
حتى إذا ما جمعوا جنودا  
ووجدوا بستانه بلاءه  
وقال إني ولد السلطان  
لا طاقة للابن عند الأب  
وقال عاقلون لا نتبع  
ومال سلطان إلى التباع  
حتى إذا ما تبعوه أيضا  
وقصدوا داره في التل  
شجعوا قلوبهم وقالوا  
حتى إذا ما كثر الجراح  
ويضرب الخيول بالبنادق
- دخولكم فيها يكون لوم  
لا ينبغي لكم دخول الجاه  
دخوله غبن لكم يا كرما  
لا تدخل الجيش لنا ذليل  
180 واتبعوه ردفه وحرار  
وقائل يقول لا تسير  
إذا أرى الجيش ولا أشير  
ولا أخاف إن لقيت الحرب  
إلى العدو لا أكل بالكسل  
185 وذهبوا به إلى الوغى وقد  
خافوا ونكصوا وردوا ردا  
ولم يجدوا مطلبا وخابوا  
والتحفوا لذا شعار الندم  
بأن جيشه تولوا دبرا  
190 ولم يشاور أمير يند  
وإن كباكي يقول غولا  
من قوم سلغ وكذا الإمام  
وملئوا أفواههم بالفند  
قاموا بها وقصدوا لحوذا  
195 بأنه فر إلى سواه  
سمعت خبر أنه أتان  
وإن جدي لأمير كنب  
وقال غيرهم يجوز التبع  
وترك القول إلى الرجوع  
200 ووجدوا في ديار روضا  
وأرسل النفط لهم كالطل  
لا تنفروا وإننا نصالوا  
وقد نسوا الترس مع الرماح  
ويسقط الرجال بالبنادق  
205



حتى إذا رمى الإمام  
ورضحوا إليهم السلاح  
وكثر الجرح لهم وموت  
وطوعا وكرها قصدوا فرارا  
ولو دبورا ولقوا سلطانا  
قال لهم من تحملوا اليوم  
ومر عنهم لم يبال بهم  
وملأ الغيظ له فؤادا  
وأرسلوا النفط له كالويل  
وملأ السمع صرير النفط  
وركض الخيل وصاح صيحا  
لما رأى الأمر شدَّ شدا  
قوم (كلند) كلهم فنوا هنا  
وقتلوا سلطانهم هناك  
رجع السلطان لا سرور  
وأرسل البريد لتصليح  
ورعرع الأقوام للتخويف  
وانتظروا رسولهم بالصلح  
ودهدموا وسألوا يا رب  
وصرصروا لربهم بالدعوة  
وقرعوا القرآن كل حين  
وانتشروا أوراق صحف الله  
ونكسوا رءوسهم يا ويل  
وقوم (جنب) قصدوا فرارا  
أبطأ الرسول بالتأخير  
ولم يري القوم سوي الفرار  
كلا ولا زر لهم حصين  
وشاوروا وحملوا سلطانا

خافوا وطمّ الدخن كالغمام  
لا يسمعون لقول من يصاح<sup>15</sup>  
ليت وهل ينفع شيئا ليت  
ليس لهم حيننا سوي الفرار  
وبسر الوجه لهم بهتاننا 210  
قالوا إيماننا رموه اليوم  
وظن أنه شجاع البهم  
ونسي الموت به عنادا  
وخاف خيله سقوط النبيل  
ملأ الجو دخان النفط 215  
وفهقر الفرس وناح نوحا  
رجع دون دون دون كيدا  
لأنهم أبوا فرارا هاهنا  
أعني كلند أنهم مذاك  
وصيب الدموع لتعبير 220  
إلي أمير يند بالتسبيح  
وتركوا اللهو كذاك الدق  
ولم يروا نجاتهم بالصفح  
ووعوعوا وقد نوا وبالذب  
وقرعوا ولم يجدوا فحوة 125  
في مسجد وموضع بالجبن  
وهذه علامة بالله  
وقولهم حينئذ لا حول  
من قبل إنهم أتوا ضرارا  
وتأخيره علامة للشر 130  
لأنهم قد دخلوا ضرارا  
أو خندق نعم ولا سلطان  
إليهم وفعلوا بهتاننا

<sup>15</sup> - لا يسمعون، من يصيح أو يصاح بهم

<p>وتركوا ديارهم ومروا          ودخلوا عدوهم وجلسوا 135          وفسدوا الديار بالتخريب          وانتشروا وقولهم يا ويب          في كل جهة وذا شديد          وناب نقمة مكان النعم          وإنهم قبل ذو وسرور 140          لأنهم قد غمصوا في فخر          إذا فهمت كلها غرور          نظام شعرنا هنا تم وفنى          بل إنه إلها ذو القهر          على محمد رسول الله 145          ما طلع الشمس لنا و الليل          وصار دهرنا لنا مضيعا</p>	<p>وربطوا متاعهم وفروا          وتركوا أموالهم وفسوا          ونبشوا ما كان في التراب          وشتت الأقوام يوم الهرب          وانتشروا كأنهم جراد          تغير الأمر وفات النعم          وإن دنيا كلها غرور          ولا يخالون صروف الدهر          كلا تري عاقبة السرور          الحمد الله الذي لا يفنى          نسأله النجاة في ذا الدهر          ثم الصلاة و سلام الله          وآله وصحبه و الأهل          دمره رمز الكتاب حقا</p>
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وبالله التوفيق تم وكمل / جل شكرناه بما قد قاما

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وصلي الله علي من لا نبي بعده سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وأزواجه وذريته ، وسلم تسليما ، وكان ابتداء القصائد بالنسيب أو التشبيب أو بالغزل عادة قديمة عند شعراء العرب جاهلية وإسلاما وعلى هذا المنوال ينسج كل شاعر أديب ماهر إلي يوم ولذلك حذا هذا الشاعر حذوهم ولعل ما في مطلع هذه القصيدة هو الغزل، تأمل وهي طنانة<sup>1</sup>.

من عند هند بصير	بشري أذاك بشير
من لميس مشير	ومن سليمي ودعد
من كلهن سفير	ومن سمي وليلي
دلا لهن سفير	ودي لهن قديم
عن غصنها لا تطير	ساجلت ورقاء سجلا
وعودهن خرور	قلوبهن هواء
وصار عندي خرير	سبين لبي وقلبي
كأنني مطمور	تركنتي في عناء
فقلن هذا نخور	رأين شيب عذاري
حتى تولى النهار	وصار يطلبهن
حتى تداني السحور	وعسces الليل يعدو
كأنه مقررور	ولم يتم طول الليل
كما صغت عصفور	يصغي إلي صوتهن
كأنه الطنبور	لصوت باز مطل
كفي بها ذا خسار	وفاته ما يروم
كأنه الضفطار <sup>2</sup>	فصار نقضا لثيلا
يا أيها الكهرور	وهل تكن لي معينا
فلي مغيث كبير	إن لم تكن لي مغيثا
(غضنفر) مشهور	فذاك صلو أميرا
20 (وزي تكورو) (وغور) <sup>3</sup>	حفيد أهل (كمايو)
الحاج دكوا أميرا	الحاج بارك فيه
هذا عظيم حبور	ومس رأس حسين
لأن هذا مجير	فقال يا رب بارك
وشيخ (برعو) ظهيرا	بل (كنكيا) قال أمين
لأنه مسرورا	وكلهم عظموه
لا حول لا تدبير	هذا عطاء الله
الواهب المشكور	سبحانه وتعالى
يا أيها المغرور	أعطاه ما فوق هذا
فإنه العيشجور	أعطاه علما وحلما

<sup>1</sup> - لعل هذه مقدمة من الناقل.

<sup>2</sup> - وفي المخطوط (فصار نقضا لثيلا....)

<sup>3</sup> - قيل هي أسماء بلدان قديمة لقبيلة هوسا بني جيريا.

- وزانه بحياء  
فأصغوا إلى ما أقول  
ومنكروا أقوالي  
ومن يعبوا بنظامي  
لا تنطقوا بجفاء  
ومن رضوا بنظامي  
أسماء صلوا كثيرا  
منها أمير غضير  
إن قلت هذا فقيه  
أو قلت هذا جميل  
أو قيل هذا سراج  
إن قيل هذا أديب  
أو قلت هذا شجاع  
إن قيل هذا جدار  
أو قيل هذا جواد  
أو قيل هذا تقي  
أو قيل هذا زكي  
إن قيل هذا سحاب  
لا شك لا ريب هذه  
تراه كل أوان  
ووجهه يتلألأ  
ذو هيبة ووقار  
أمراء (زنغو) كثير  
جوناؤهم هو هذا  
يا حاسديه تعالوا  
عطاء ذي الملكوت  
يا أيها الحاسدون  
قضى الإله قضاء  
أهل السماوات قالوا  
بأن يكون رئيسا  
وليس للحاسديه  
إلا الوجي و الجفاء  
إن طال دهر تراه  
عواقب الحسد قدما  
يا أيها الأعداء  
وسلموا تسليما  
هل غركم شيطان  
فقصر صلوا مشيد  
بل رهصه لا تعيب  
(قفندر) هات واسمع  
إن لم تتوبوا جميعا
- 30 وهو الحيي الحرير  
يا أيها الأخيار  
فإنهم فجار  
فإنهم أشرار  
يا أيها الأغمار  
فإنهم أحبار  
ها قلها مسطور  
منها قدير قدور  
قولوا فقيه أمير  
قولوا جميل نضير  
40 قولوا سراج منير  
قولوا أديب صبور  
قولوا شجاع جسور  
قولوا جدار جدير  
قولوا جواد قسور  
قولوا تقي شكور  
قولوا زكي طهور  
قولوا سحاب مطير  
أسماءه يا خبير  
متهللا لا بسور  
50 كأنه الجلائر  
كأنه كوكبور  
لكنه صرصور  
وكلهم أقمار  
سألتكم هل تمار  
توبوا وأوبوا ودار  
هل كلهم مغرور  
بأن صلوا أمير  
يارب هذا جدير  
ما دارت الدهرير  
60 إلا البلى و التبار  
إلا الجوي و الهرير  
لم يبق فيهم ديار  
إن طال شفق وبور  
توبوا جميعا وزور  
لا يجرمنكم غرور  
أو نترككم دعرور  
كأنه القهقور  
وليس فيه فطور  
وثب إليه تمير  
70 هبت عليكم دبور

<sup>4</sup> - زنغو اسم يطلق على أحياء المسلمين في بعض دول غرب إفريقيا.

- إن لم تتوبوا إليه  
 فعن قريب تموتوا  
 أقوالكم بهتان  
 ندعوك رب العباد  
 تغيب صلوا سريعا  
 إنائهم وذكور  
 وكل قال لصلو  
 ولا يري ما يريد  
 قل أنه لغبي  
 يموت جوعا وغيظا  
 ولا ينال فلوسا  
 وليس يركب فرسا  
 وقوته قوت كلب  
 في دار صلوا طعام  
 وذا يموت ذليلا  
 ويدفنوه وحيننا  
 في رمسه كل دود  
 لأنه مات غما  
 يا دهر لا تبقي فيهم  
 لا يستوي ظل حقا  
 ومن يماثل صلوا  
 علم وفكر وصمت  
 كم مشكلات الأمور  
 ويطمئن قعودا  
 وكم قضاء قضاءه  
 كم أبرموا كل كيد  
 فيهم بنات الدروز  
 فصار ما أبرموه  
 ومن يدانيه جودا  
 لجوده في البرايا  
 يعطي بكل نفيس  
 يعطي بفرس وسرج  
 ولبدة وجلالاً  
 كذاك يعطي قميصا  
 كذا برانس تتري  
 وفضة ونضارا  
 هباته لا تعد  
 يعطي لدان وقاصي  
 وكان أهل كماس  
 وكلهم في نماء  
 وصار عائل قوم  
 يا أيها الناس قولوا
- تمسكم قنطار  
 فكلكم مقبور  
 وتؤلة وغرور  
 يا حي يا قهار  
 لمن يريد يضار  
 صغارهم أو كبار  
 حقا فذاك حقير  
 بل أنه القيد حور  
 بل أنه القيد حور  
 هب أنه القطفير 80  
 ولا له قطمير  
 لباسه أظمار  
 إدامه شنتكور  
 واللحم والقندير  
 كأنه الخيتعور  
 أتاه أين وجرير  
 ومنكر ونكير  
 كأنه مقيور  
 مؤانسا ذا جدير  
 يا قومنا والحرور 90  
 بل فعله مشهور  
 وحكمة لا تجور  
 يحلها لا يحير  
 في حشمه لا يخور  
 بالعدل هذا الكثير  
 فيهم كبير غدور  
 دلامظ هيدكور  
 أكاذيبا لا تثور  
 في يومنا لا نظير  
 بل بحره لا يقور 100  
 فاسمه يا مغرور  
 هذا لديه يسير  
 وتتجما مع غور  
 يحبه الجمهور  
 أثمانها لكثير  
 فنعم هذا الصدير  
 إحسانه مذكور  
 وكل هذا شهير  
 ديارهم مغمور  
 آلاءهم لا تمور 110  
 له ثياب ودار  
 فنعم هذا الأمير

	وإنه مذبذباه و من يحاسد خديمي ولا تخف أغبياء وهل سمعت سخيا كمثل هذا الأمير صلوا عزوم عفيف أيام صلوا العز لولا مخافة ربي يا رب يا ذا الجلال أنصره في ما يريد أعززه في كل أمر أجب دعائي سريعا فأعطه طيبات فأكثر بنيه الهي واستره ستر جميلا أمت عداه جميعا ونجيه كل كيد يا رب وأرحم أباه وأنزله دار النعيم وعمه وأرحمه سماه موسى نصيح كذلك ثاني أخاه أمين فأمين الوفا نرجو الإجابة حقا ننعم بنية صدق ثناؤه ليس يفني نعم بذكر أخيه محبنا ذاك خضر أخوه أما وأبا حبوت هذه إليك وتحفتي هي هذي أبياتها ناصعات يا أيها الشعراء ولست حاذق شعر ومن رأى فيه خلا سلم وصل الهي علي النبي وآل بعام بشمس نظمي بأول العام شهر أبياتها نادميننا
له مزايا عزيز فإنه الزنبور ولو ألوف كثير يا أيها ذا السмир وإنه يغبور فاسمعه يا زعور أزمانه أنوار لقلت أنت النور ندعوك يا ستر يا من هو القهار يا ربنا نصير يا بري يا غبار ذرية لا تبور يا خالق يا بصير فأت رب خبير يعمهم تدمير أنت السلام القدير أنت الرحيم الغفور تجري بمها الأنهار وذاك شيخ وقور فنعم ذاك الشمير وأرحم يا جبار وقول أمين ينير لا ريب لا إنكار والله لا إربار حتى فنت أطوار نتم ذي الأشعار وإنه الدقذار في السن وهو كبير يا أيها ذا الأمير إليك يا مشهور ألفاظها أبكار إني بليد ضرير أكنني شرشور يسده ليس عار ما ساجلت زرزور وصحبه الأطهار ورويها رزور محرم مذکور ندامة لا تكور	120 130 140 150

تمت وبالحير عمت ، رب اغفر لي ولوالدي ولأمتنا ولمن سبقنا بالإيمان.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
اللهم صل علي محمد وسلم

- |                              |                     |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| لم نجد فيها مزارا            | غادرت سلمي ديارا    |
| مع من قد كان سارا            | وسألنا قيل سارت     |
| ما نري إلا قفارا             | وقفينا إثر سلمي     |
| ونعاما وصواري                | ووحوشا راتعات       |
| 5 ثم صرنا كالحياري           | وقفنا ساكتين        |
| لم نري إلا حباري             | والتفتنا في النواحي |
| وعقبا ونسورا                 | وطيور طائرات        |
| زادنا شوق حرارا              | ثم صمنا في المعاق   |
| لا يكن شوقك عارا             | قلت دع ذا يا خليلي  |
| 10 إن شوقي للعذري            | قال لي صه يا حبيبي  |
| صار في الناس أميرا           | فاصرف القول إلى من  |
| بن يعقوب شهيرا               | هو حسن الكشناوي     |
| لقب من كان خيارا             | لقبه صلوا وهذا      |
| قام ليلا ونهارا              | أن معناه صلاة       |
| 15 نعم صلونا منيرا           | نعم صلوا نعم صلوا   |
| كان هذا مسطورا               | صار في الناس رئيسا  |
| فيه ما قد كان خيرا           | فاسمعوا يا قوم نظمي |
| قد كفي هذا سرورا             | غاب نجم لاح نجم     |
| طلعت شمس منيرا               | غربت شمس لدينا      |
| 20 جاء فرح وتوار             | جاءنا حزن شديد      |
| ناب صلوا مستتيرا             | فاتتارجل عظيم       |
| قبل أن صار أميرا             | صار صلوا ذا سخاء    |
| ويتيمما وأسييرا              | يطعم المسكين جدا    |
| يخدم العلماء تترا            | دأبه منذ قديم       |
| صار عبد وأسييرا              | إن رأى كل فقيه      |
| 25 كالخديم ودهورا            | كان عنده مذ سنينا   |
| ثم أشياء كثيرا               | كان يعطي مرارا      |
| وكتابا مسطورا                | وثيابا كل لون       |
| وجبابا وخمارا                | وقميصا ورداء        |
| ولحوما وشوارا                | وكباشا ودجاجا       |
| 30 في يديه لو عسيरा          | كان يعطيني مرادي    |
| بل جزاه الله خيرا            | نعم ما قد كان يصنع  |
| عش هيننا مسرورا <sup>1</sup> | يا مسافر (ميثكاني)  |
| صرت بين الناس بارا           | نلت سعدا في البرايا |
| زادك الله سرورا              | صرت من نسل الملوك   |

<sup>1</sup> - ميثكاني كلمة من اللغة هوسا

35	كن حليما وصبوراً كن مطيعاً وشكوراً عثماناً مغفوراً ما فني سرا وجهراً كان شيئاً مذكوراً كن لصلونا نصيراً	كن سخيّاً كأيّيك كن خديماً العلماء رحم الله تعالى فاعف عنه يا إلهي مات عثمان ولكن يا قوي يا عزيز فأثبتته في الولاية كبت الله عدواً فاجعلنه مقهوراً دمر الله شقيّاً وخبيثاً وكذوباً ذاك شيطان الرجيم أجزاه الله الدنيا دعه يا ذا وله عنه ولصلو خصلتان هي حياء وسخاء بعدها عشر خصال هيبة كانت لديه ثم صمت بين قوم وجمال الوجه فيه مع زي ثياب مع حلم مع علم مع رق العلماء من إله العرش حقاً ثم بر الوالدين نال عز في البرايا يجمع الناس لديه وهو من حين صباه بل شهير معروف قد سألت أين سيد أنت يا سيد تفهم لا تكن كالوزراء وزراء في كماش سفهاء عائبون كم وزيراً في كماش لم أرى فيهم وزيراً سيد كن خير وزيراً كن صدوقاً وأميناً كن كهارون لموسى لا تأس بوزير أين موسى سبط موسى أين سلمان أخيه
40	كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً	فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً
45	كلها ليست ضراراً من رآه راع ذعراً إن تكلم ليس هذراً وجهه حاكت بدوراً نسجتها أهل مصرأ	فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً
50	شاع شرقاً ودبوراً كان هذا تقديراً بعد ذا كان قيوراً يا أخي قد تم عشراً في سبيل ونصاري قبل أن كان أميراً	فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً
55	لم يكن مرء غموراً صيته قد فاح نشرأ قيل لي صار وزيراً كن وزيراً ومحيراً قد مضوا هم كالأسارى مفسدون ذو غدارى مكروا مكراً كباراً صار في اليوم غباراً صالحاً كانوا عزوراً	فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً
60	كن يصيحاً وصبوراً لا تكن وزراً وزوراً كن تعيش محبوراً كاذب خب شريراً لم أجد منه خبيراً أين كان أين ساراً	فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً
65		فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً
70		فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً
75		فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً
80		فاجعلنه مبروراً كاده كيدا كبيراً محبوساً مجروراً وغيباً مغروراً زده يارب دماراً يوقد النار شراراً لا يجد ما كان خيراً قد تلاشي إضراراً حسنتان خذ إشاراً قد كفاه ذاك فخراً



	آدمان أين كانا	قيل كانا أنصارا
	واحد من أهل لنفر	كان تلميذ دهورا
	واحد نسل لـ(فافو)	تاجر نفع التجارا
	أين ثاني بن هفس	أنه كان نصيرا
85	رحم الله أباه	ليكون مغفورا
	لرسل الله السماء	في ثراه مدرارا
	ندع الله لصلوا	كل أناء قرارا
	كبت الله عدوا	وغشوما وغدورا
	دمر الله بغیضا	وحسودا تدميرا
90	إنهم جاعوا بمين	قدروها تقديرا
	كل من كان يكيد	سيكون مثيرا
	لم أجد خبر أخيك	خضرا بل أين سارا
	هل شرق أو شمالا	أو جنوبا أو دبورا
	أو لـ(ونكي) أو (أشنتي)	أو لـ(موشي) أو (سفارا) <sup>2</sup>
100	لينال البقرات	وكباشا وحميرا
	نحمد الله تعالى	حيث ما يسر يسرا
	وصلاة للذي قد	سار للعرش مسيرا

<sup>2</sup> - ربما يريد ونثشي و أشانتي و موشي وسفارا، كلها مدن في دولة غانا.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلي الله علي سيدنا محمد وسلم.

- فتبارك الخلاق ذو الآلاء  
قد خص صلونا بعلم و التقى  
أتاه تاجا في حكومة إنجليز  
أعطاه ما أعطاه من ملك و من  
وإغاثة الملهوف ثم تواضع  
يا حبذا عاداته وطباعه  
حقا بغيث الناس في أنقالهم  
ولقد أعان علي بناء الهيكل  
منه طلبنا كل عون في البناء  
ولقد ألحنا كل إلحاح له  
كم من يلح في الطلاب مجريا  
كم من يجادل في فضائل جحجج  
ولذاك أرسل ثم أرسل ثنيا  
ومتى طلبنا مآربا من عنده  
فدعاونا نيل الولادة بسرعة  
أمين فأمين لا نفتقر في الدعاء  
أما الخسار فإنهم همج كذا  
قسما لقد أسدي إلينا خيره  
تبا علي أعدائه سحقا لهم  
هذا الأمير كنوزنا وحديقة  
الله درك من أمير فاضل  
والله إني لم أزل لك شاكرا  
ولقد سمعنا ما يسر قلوبنا  
لما خرجت لينده في أعوانك  
أم الرجال فخالد مع خاضر  
هذه المسيرة عجيبة في أفقنا  
والناس يحكوا ما رأوا في سفرك  
يتعجبون بما رأوا من قوة  
وأحاطه شرط كثير كلهم  
كلا يخاف الناس من أصواتهم  
تالله قدروا العجائب جهرة  
شرط كجن حوله وبأعين  
كم قرية قد مر لم يعبا بهم  
والناس يجتمعون في طرقاتهم
- 10 فجبني ولم يسأم لدي الإعطاء  
ليري حقيقة سيد معطاء  
فأريته فضلا بغير خفاء  
ليرى العدو كرامة الفضلاء  
تقضي سريعا دون ما استقشأ  
ودام سلطنة وطول بقاء  
نرجو القبول بجاه ذي الإسراء  
يتقولون قبائح الفحشاء  
متكررا تتري بغير فناء  
أمين لأنهم من البغضاء  
20 فيها فني يجني مع الحلواء  
تسخر على الأبناء والأبناء  
فإليك مدح دائما وثناء  
فرحا على فرح معا وهناء  
تنوي زيارة (برة) حواء<sup>2</sup>  
وحسيننا من أنجب النجباء  
قد شاع ما فيها من الأنبياء  
يتكررون كلامهم بوفاء<sup>3</sup>  
وفطانة وسكينة وبهاء  
يتعممون بعمامة حمراء  
30 كمخافة الرعد يحق سماء  
لا سامع يدري كمثل الرائ  
زرقي كحمرة حبة الجوزاء  
لم يلتقت لمعاشر الغوغاء  
ليروا مهابتة وحسن رواء

<sup>1</sup> - يقصد بالموهب الواهب والوهاب.

<sup>2</sup> - البرة اسم لأم الممدوح صلو .

<sup>3</sup> - والناس يحكون ما رأوا.....

وهجومه في شوق قوم هدة  
و انفض أهل السوق وانتشروا معا  
ولكم أتى الجم الفقير قد لهوا  
لا يقدرّون تكلماً في وجهه  
حتى إذا ما جاء ينده معظماً  
ثم احتقوا يتعجبون بأمره  
شرفاً لـ(برة) حين جاء وليدها  
شرفاً الإخوان فجيران كذا  
فأمير بنده يقول هذا ضيفنا  
أهلاً وسهلاً بل ورحباً واسعاً  
فرح الملوك وسوقة بقدومه  
فرح المساكين وقالوا إن ذا  
والله قد قسم الثياب هنالك  
قمصاً وسروالاً كذا مع جبة  
وبرانس وعمائم مرقوشة  
وكسي العراة رجالهم ونساءهم  
وإذا رأيت رأيت ثم طنابلاً  
يعطى ذوي جاه وغيرهم معا  
سبحان عن قدره لمحله  
وسلامتي في صحتي وبشرة  
هذا الكتاب نظمته فرحاً لما  
كم حاجتي رفعت إليك جعلتها  
من غير ما سام وغير تعبس  
وذهابه وإيابه في هيبه  
خذ تحفة مني إليك كعادتي  
ولفتة شكر نشاطاً نزهة  
والحمد لله المفضل عبده

كالأوس يهجم ثلة في شاء  
شرقاً وغرباً يمنة ووراء  
من هيبة فتراهم كظباء  
بل يسكتون كصخرة السماء  
فرأوه يوماً في سنا وسناء  
قالوا للي قلنا للي وللاء 40  
شرفاً لهننا ولسائر الأباء  
ولكل من يدلي له بولاء  
ضيف كريم أكرم الغرباء  
وتبسماً وكرامة الكرماء  
فرح الرجال كذاك جمع نساء  
ضيف عظيم مطعم الضعفاء  
مرقومة قد تشتري بغلاء  
وقلائس حمراء والخضراء  
ملابس العلماء والعظماء  
لا تلق عريانا سوى برداء 50  
يهدى بلا قيد فكالحصباء  
يهدى الغني وسائر الفقراء  
بعزاة سلماً بغير عناء  
في دعة وعسرة وزكاء  
أعطاك ربك من علا وغناء  
في أيد مرسولي بغير بطاء  
يجزيك ربك بالمني ورفاء  
ومحبة وشرافة الشرفاء  
منذ القديم وعادة البلغاء  
لا رغبة في شيء من أشياء 60  
ثم الصلاة لخاتم النبأ

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
صلي الله علي سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

ما بال هند نأت عنا بغير قلا وصار أنباؤها يتلى علي وعلا  
سارت وصارت كما صار الذين خلوا وغادرت بقعة معهودة ظللا  
وشاء ماشاء من أبناء هجرتها وأنها تركت أخذانها هملا  
وكأنهم أغنام الحي قد سمعت آذانها من هزايير الشر وزجلا  
وبات أحبابها في الليل نابغة وحزن يعقوب إذ ما لم يرى السخلا 5  
وصار كل حبيب ساكتا أسفا ولا تري الدمع يعصيه إذا انهملا  
والبعض يرفع صوتا في الصراخ فقد الحبيب صبور يحمل الثقلا  
وجلجل القلب لما قيل هند جالت وهبت الريح ينز الغم والوجلا  
ولا تري عند ذلك غير باكية وغير باك يحاكي دمه وبلا  
جمع النساء كثير دون ما عدد فكلهن يقلن ما لنا قبالا 10  
يا هند يا هند ما يوم الرجوع لنا لسان جال يجيب لا رجوع إلا  
لا ريب لا ريب أنا قد تفرقنا يا ويلنا من فراق يبعد الرجل  
وعند ذلك قالوا لا سرور لنا في هذه الدار أن الأمر قد جللا  
تراهم أسفا كأنهم سكري تخال كل ولي منهم خبالا  
وتلك هبد مضت وبلت مجالسها بعد الدلال تغر الحبال زعلا 15  
لها جمال وقنچ وهي مأكرة غضبي لكل حبيب غير من عقلا  
كم من عزيز أتاها طالب وطرا ولم يجد غير حقد حينما وصلا  
بل أنها شكس لا تصطفي أحدا من الرجال نفت من جاءها عجلا  
لكنها لو رأت الحاج لبوا على برد الشباب وحسن المرء أن رفلا  
وطول جيد وثغر والتبسم في لين قول وجود للعلا بملا 20  
لراودته سريعا دون ما خجل وأودقت فجأة وأرسلت خولا  
تقول هذا الزوج لا كفاء له إني حيلاته حقا ولا عطلا  
أعطيه مال نكاح دون ما بطئ لأن هذا هو الزوج الذي فضلا  
إذا تزوجته قد نلت مأربتي كفي به بعلا من دون ما بدلا

أقيم في بيته في الري والشعب  
أطيعه طاعة الأرقاء لسيدهم  
لأنه نجل قرم صحصح حذب  
كلا ولا ذا توفي في الشباب كما  
ولقبه لب سنوه لب فاعجب  
كأنه البدر تم النور ليلته  
نابت دياجير ذاك الليل وانبعثت  
وشنت الشمل لما قيل قائلهم  
و لا تري حين ذلك غير بالكية  
والبعض يسقط كالنشوان لا يدري  
ولا ترى حين لف باللفائف من  
أو لو ترى نعشه إذ حملوه إلي  
أمامه زمرة يبكون من أسف  
وحين أبوا كأنهم سقواء  
لمالك الأمر أن الأمر مختلج  
شكرت أحبابه كلا بما صنعوا  
الحمد الله نال السعد في دنيا  
حاز المناقب أربعة على نسق  
أهل المآرف عرفوه وقد رفعوا  
أما الأراذل والغوغاء أنهم  
ياقوتة لا تساوي عند ماشية  
والذهب و الورق و المرجان لا تعدل  
أو مثل جمل وورد حيث يقتلها  
وهكذا الناس منهم من يلي علما  
و البعض ذوي الشر ويتبعهم  
داء الفكاع أصابته على قدر  
يلس رثيته و القلب ثم صعي

ولا أفارق ثوب الزي والكحلا 25  
ولا أعاصيه في ما قال أو فعلا<sup>2</sup>  
ذا ناج في القوم لا فخر ولا خيلا  
قضي به ربنا الرحمن جل علا  
تطابق اللقب والأعوام يا رجلا  
وينفع الناس في ضوء إذا أفلا 30  
تكاثف الغم و الأحزان خد مثلا  
مات الفتى إن أجل الله قد نزلا  
وغير باك بدفع يشبه الوبلا  
ماذا يقول ويندب ذلك الرجل  
بعد البخور وذا من بعد أن غسلا 35  
بيت التراب بجمع يملأ السبلا  
وخلفه زمرة يبكون كالنكلا  
وفي مآقيهم ما يملأ القللا  
وهذه الدار ليست دار من نبلا  
في ذلك إن مرأة كانوا وإن رجلا<sup>3</sup> 40  
قد مات في هيبة و لم بطلا  
علما وحجا وسلطنة وحسن حلا  
مقامه فجراهم ذو العلي بالآ...<sup>4</sup>  
يرونه حجرا يرمي به الحجلا  
نبتا وتبينانا وبرسيما وضرب كلا 45  
عند الدواب يعاضيد ونوع خلا  
ورد وتتعلم في القنرات خد مثلا  
وأهل خير يقيس منهم العمال  
ليأكل البقل أو كي يفعل الزللا  
ونحن لا ندر حتى فري وغلا 50  
ويخرج الكبد و البلعوم ثم كلا

<sup>2</sup>- ولا أعصيه

<sup>3</sup>- يعني إن كان رجلا أو امرأة

<sup>4</sup>- .... خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون.

من بعد ذاك فعلنا كل أودية  
 وحينما مات جل الناس قد جزعوا  
 بل جوده الجعلى من غير ما تقري  
 لذا بكاء ذوو فقر ومكدية  
 حقا بنوا غبراء كلهم أسفوا  
 بكت حليته حواء ذات حجي  
 كذا (صفوراء) تبكي زوجها رغما  
 (كماتو حفصة) تبكي صوتها يعلوا  
 أحبابه كلهم حزنوا ولا سيما  
 بل وده ناصع صرف ولا دغل  
 لما توفي أتى من كل ناحية  
 والبعض مقرونة بالمال مال دعا  
 من غيل (شنتي) ومن أرض (التوارك) بل  
 من بحر ملح ومعاً حوله كتعا  
 من أرض (كاشنة زكرك) وأرض (كب)  
 حتى عدنا ثمانين مقلقلة  
 وذاك ما جاعنا من غير ما سيج  
 وذاك لما قضى ما راعني جزع  
 وارحم عبيدك يا من لا شريك له  
 يا أيه الرب اسق ضريحه ديما  
 وأسكب عليه من الرحمات ديمتها  
 وانبت عليه زنابيقا ونرجسها  
 يفوح في قبره مسك وعنبرها  
 وارحمه يا من هو الرحمن يا صمد  
 وأدخله جنات عدن دون محسبة  
 ونجنا من صروف الدهر يا صمد

لم تجد شيئا لأن أجل قد حلا  
 لأنه مذ سعت قدماء ما بخلا  
 بذاك يوصف إلا من طغي وقلا  
 وضارب الأرغن قد ولولوا وجلا 55  
 كبيرهم عبد حتى جسمه نحلا  
 وتلك (ثاغور) حتى دمعها هملا<sup>5</sup>  
 وولولت عند ذا بل عبرة هطلا  
 ونوحها دون شك يشبه الطبلا  
 كالـ (حافظ منذو) حقا حزنه سجلا 60  
 حال الحياة وبعد الموت لا غولا  
 رسائل وتحارير من النبلا  
 كعادة الناس في ذا (الصقم) لا بخلا<sup>6</sup>  
 من أرض (غم) نأت أو (غنبل) خذ وقلا  
 من أرض (هوسا كنو) دول (حديج) كلا 65  
 وأرض (غوير) و (زرما) أرسلوا رسلا  
 من بعدها عشرون ثم ست ولا...  
 فالله يعلم ما سيجيء مرتلا  
 كفى بجزع أولي خير سعى وجلا  
 واغفر له الذنب إن عمدا وإن جهلا 70  
 من الرضى عدد يستغرق الرملا<sup>7</sup>  
 ما يملأ النزر منه السهل و الجبلا  
 بنفسجا ياسمينا جملة جملا  
 قسط وغانية ند شذاه حلا  
 بحق صاحب الذين باشروا القتلا 75  
 وأدخله دار السلام يا سلام بلا...<sup>8</sup>  
 فإن في دهرنا ما يغلب العقلا

<sup>5</sup> - قيل ثاغور لقبها

<sup>6</sup> - لعلها مقرونة بمال أريد بها الدعاء للمتوفى كما هي العادة في غرب أفريقيا، والصقم أو الصغم قيل اسم قرية في غانا.

<sup>7</sup> - يا أيه الرب = يا رب

<sup>8</sup> - ...حساب.

ويمنع النوم و الأنعام والأكلا  
ولا يبالي بأمر الله فهو علا  
فإنهم في رفاهية هم الفضلا 80  
أهل الهدى اليوم في واد قد انسفلا  
بأننا نري الجرة قاد القط وانفعلا  
والتيس يخسر متي بصرع الذؤلا  
بل إن تراها تقل هاتي تجيب بلا  
يقوده أجبن الأفراس خذ مثلا 85  
صاروا أذلاء حتى شابهوا الوعلا  
هذه المهائب يا من حاز كل علا  
بما وقيت به النبأ والرسلا  
وآل عمران والأنعام والأعلا  
والآل والصحب ثم الأولياء وجلا 90  
والحمد لله حمدا يبلغ الأملا  
حتى استهل هلال نقص أو كملا
ويدهش المرء فيه دهشة عظمى  
وكل من لا يخاف مآله وطغي  
فإن أهل الهوى نالوا مآربهم  
لاغرو لاغرو أن الدهر انتكسا  
إنني أخاف إذا طال الحياة بنا  
أو أن نري الأسد تهرب من ذل القط  
حتى الفراريح لا تعباً بصوت حدا  
أو نرى بطلا في كل معركة  
وهكذا اليوم أهل السلم كلهم  
يا رب سترنا جميلا من لدنك على  
قنا شرور الذين أثينا بهم  
بجاه طه وياسين وبالبقرة  
وحق سيدنا والأنبياء معا  
أبياتها صب سمها أنه إن شكلا  
ثم الصلاة على من جاعنا بهدى

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليماً وبالله أستعين.

باسم الله أبدأ في النظام  
 مصرف كل دهر كيف شاء  
 وفاعل ما يشاء كما يشاء  
 وأرسل رسله بهدى وشرع  
 وختمهم بخير الخلق طرا  
 وأنزل روحه وحيا عليه  
 وجاهد أهل الكفر والضلال  
 فصل عليه يا من لا يزال  
 كذلك لآله والصحب طرا  
 وبعد فقصدنا نظم اللائي  
 لنفع العاقلين نظمت نظمي  
 وذو طعن وذو جرح يضيع  
 ومن يك عاقلا يصغ إليه  
 وشمس مصيبة طلعت بغرب  
 بليات النصارى أريد نظما  
 ومبدأ أمرهم جاءوا بسلم  
 وقالوا إننا جئنا لسوق  
 ومنع الظلم في الدنيا ولص  
 ولم نعلم بنيتهم جميعا  
 يغروننا بتحفتهم قليل  
 ولم نعلم بأنهم أتونا  
 لكي يبنوا بوارك في الأراضي  
 قريبا بدلوا ما قولوه  
 وقد كرزوا اللواء بكل مدن  
 وقالوا لا شراء لكل عبد  
 ولا حبس بقيد أو بحبل  
 إليه واحد رب الأنعام  
 تعالى ربنا محي العظام  
 تبارك ذو الجلال والإكرام  
 وآيات مضيآت الظلام  
 رسول الله أحمد ذي المقام  
 لكي يهدي إلى دار السلام  
 ومهد دينه فوق الأكمام  
 وسلم يا سلام إلى القيام  
 وأهل بيت هم أهل التمام  
 بأخبار وتبويه الكرام  
 ولم أعبا لمن هو في السلام  
 ولكن للإله مدى المرام  
 ويفهم ما نوبنا في الكلام  
 وأمت للأماراة والعوام  
 وبلواهم أتننا كالغمام  
 وقول لين حلو النظام  
 وإصلاح الطرائق في الطوام  
 وإحसार وإسقاط الغرام  
 وقد صرنا لديهم كالطغام  
 ويعطونا لذيزات الطعام  
 لملك كالمملوك ذوي الخيام  
 مزينة بألوان الرخام  
 كما قال الإله في لدى الكلام  
 وصار أهيلها مثل الخدام  
 ولا بيع ورق لأنعام  
 ولا ضرب وجيع ذو الألام



وأما الحر عندهم كالعبد  
 وقلنا ما بهذا جئتمونا  
 ولم أر مثل هذا الحكم حقا  
 30 نليل كالعزيز مع الكرامة  
 وهذا الحكم ليس له دواء  
 ولم أر بقعة للهرب منهم  
 ألم أنهم ملكوا الأرض  
 ومن (سنسند) قل (صغ) ثم جب  
 وأما (جب) جاعوها بجيش  
 ومن (ديب سننغر) يا أولاء  
 إلى (بور) و(فوت جل) و(تور)  
 و(شنجيط) و(تنبكت) و(طوبى)  
 و(بنجغر) و(دنس) كذا (قريش)  
 40 وقد مكثوا (سفار) وما يليها  
 سنذكر كل أرض ملكوها  
 فـ(توم) وما حواليتها و(دور)  
 وسنوي كلها حتى نهار  
 وقد ملكوا هنا كل وطن  
 و(حل) فرّ وارثه لخوف  
 و(ياغ) إلى (غلاج) و(سرب) أيضا  
 و(كرتاش) و(كنف) و(النبلبو)  
 وهذا كلها أرض (الفلاتي)  
 ونلتفت إلى (قدغ) و(للي)  
 50 ألم تر أنهم كرزوا اللواء  
 وقد مكثوا بـ(وغدغ) دون ريب  
 ولم أرى ذا شجاع أرض (موشي)  
 نكورهمو إناثهمو سواء  
 ألا لا فرق بين (روا) لديهم  
 وهل تسمع نزولهمو (بكوّن)

وعبد عندهم كالحر سام  
 أكنتم ناكثي عقد الكلام  
 عزيز كالذليل مع الملام  
 فيا عجبا ويا ويح الكرام  
 سوى صبر وإمساك الكلام  
 إذا رمنا الفرار إلى السلام  
 نواحيها وجافوا كالجهام  
 وفي (صغ) قاتلوا أهل الزحام  
 فقائدهم جهنم ذو الأثام  
 كذلك (بنبر) أرض الطعام  
 مدينة (مايى) غطت بالقتام  
 و(ماسن) أنها أرض الكرام  
 و(سرفر) سوق ملح للطعام  
 وقائدهم عقيب ذوالملام  
 على قدر التحمل في النظام  
 و(كرتاب) و(داغاب) النعام  
 و(تيار) دار (غل) أهل الرغام  
 صغير أو كبير ذي الرقام  
 إلى (دكل) و(سندر) في المعام  
 و(زنغور) و(ساي) كالتوام  
 كذا (بكن) و(ناتنغ) الكلام  
 سوى ندر ضرورات النظام  
 و(يادغ) كلها أرض الليام  
 على (بسها) وصار كالخدام  
 و(بارك) ها محيطات بحام  
 وقد فروا فرار الوحش هام  
 بهذا الأمر فروا كالسوام  
 وبين (فغ) وهذا من ملام  
 برايات و(سالغ) لا سلام

كذا (بلس) ومن فيها جميعا  
 و(بير) و(نميرى) ثم (دكر) سواء  
 و(زاغ) وما هنالك قل (بسغ)  
 وأما أرض (غرم) فقد حووها  
 ولم نسمع بها أحد يحارب  
 سوى (غرج) الندي يأبى الحياء  
 كذلك ينبغي لعزیز قوم  
 ولكن من يجيب ندى المنيا  
 حبيبا (غرج) عزيزاه حقا  
 و(بنتتوغ) قسرا قد أتوها  
 و(ماداب) و(سنبلغ) و(بوت)  
 و(سودنملی داغو) وما هنالك  
 و(كرمم) كذا (تتدا) تليها  
 ألم تسمع بنزولهمو بـ(كرر)  
 وابن أميرها بسل جري  
 فنعم فعاله يأبى الحياة  
 ومن ينبغي سيندم في الحياة  
 ومات ولم يخف في القتل ألما  
 أتوا (نك) لا قتال ولا جدال  
 وقل (زغ بنقر) وكذلك (كندى)  
 ومن (غرم) ومن (تامو) بـ(برغو)  
 وكل رفيع قوم لم يقاتل  
 ويطرح فوق مزبلة عريا  
 أتوا (كرك) كذا (ورى) ثم (كلل)  
 وكم من عالم مات حنقا  
 ولا عيب لمن قتلوه يوما  
 ظننا أن في (برغو) أناسا  
 رأينا جفنة تحمل برأس  
 وهذا كله كذب وزور

60

70

80

كذا (لغ) بل (كجنتو) في النظام  
 و(كنبشري) بها سوق المدام  
 أتوا (كنفيل) في يوم الفيام  
 بملك كامل هم كاخدام  
 ولا أحدا ينازع في الكلام  
 ومات وأدخلوه في الرخام  
 إذا جاعوا يموت بلا سقام  
 قليل في الرجال سوى الكلام  
 ومن ينبغي سيندم في الظلام  
 وفر أميرها مثل الغلام  
 و(برك ألنب) و(لتافو) توام  
 كذا (جكغ) و(بندغ) بالنظام  
 كذا (يل) أرض ملح للطعام  
 برايات سواد كالبنوام  
 ومات مع الكرامة لا الملام  
 وقتلهم وسار إلى الرجاء  
 فنعم إمامه أي الإمام  
 جزاه الله في دار السلام  
 وصار أميرها مثل الحمام  
 وقل (وسل) بل (شنندى) في النظام  
 فقد قتل على شر الحمام  
 سيقتل بالبنادق أو حسام  
 وتأكله الطيور مع الهوام  
 وما سفكوا بها ملاً الحجام  
 بخوفهم سيرى في الرجاء  
 كما قتلوا حمار السود طام  
 سلاطين القتال بلا ملام  
 وقوسا كان مسموم السهام  
 وقد طرحوا وفروا كالهوام

ولم نر منهم إلا فرادى  
سمعنا أنهم قصدوا الشرق  
وقد سلكوا طريق (زبرم) حقا  
إلى (لؤل) و(كند) و(ضود) أيضا  
أمير (كب) سماعيل أتوه  
نعم قصدوا إلى (تغزر) (وأزي)

90

أغثنا أمة الإسلام طرا  
أتوا (تار) و(غوبر) قل (مرادي)  
وكم من قرية أفسدوها  
جنودهم أنت (زندر) بشر  
لثأر جهنم جاعوا بغيط  
سمعنا أنهم بلغوا الشار  
إلى (لغنى) و(مندر) ثم (مسغو)  
أتوا في (دكو) لقتال راب

100

بموضع أخذه سطح الدخان  
وفي ذي اليوم أمرهم عزيز  
صروف الدهر من هذا لهذا  
وما من حادث إلى سيفني  
وكل الفتن لو طالت مداها  
ومن فتن تتشأت السحاب  
ويا حي ويا قيوم فاصرف  
و(بايما) وقريته (تكاسو)  
وحاربه وقائله سريعا

(دواكر) ثم (تير) وقل (غلاسو)  
و(بوبو) لا كذلك أرض (ويدي)  
إلى (غن) بـ(تغ) (شينغ) أيضا  
بها المختار ذو عزم وحزم  
سوى التسبيح ثم قيام ليل  
على هذا أتوه ولم يهابوا

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حمار السود ثم ابن الكتام  
برايات وآلات الزكام  
إلى دوس وتتبكر الفوام  
و(غيوي دميغ) كالتوام  
بصلح لا قتال ولا خصام  
إلى (سلاصي) سلم بالسلام  
أجرنا من مصيبات الليام  
و(تاساو) حد (أغي) أرض الكلام  
بتخريب وتحريق الطعام  
برايات وآلات الزكام  
وفي أبوابها بيض العظام  
بنوا في وسطه دار الرخام  
وأرض سر فقلها في النظام  
وقد أسروه أخذا كالغلام  
وجلل أققهم مثل الجهم  
كذلك حال دنيا بالأنام  
ومن هذا لهذا لا دوام  
إذا بلغ النهاية بالتمام  
ستفني مثل ما جاءت كرام  
فما ودقت ومرت كالجهام  
حوادث دهرنا إذ جاء نام  
أتاه بها جهنم ذو البقام  
وغالب (كن دغو) أرض الطعام  
إلى (لؤب) تلي دار السلام  
إلى (وركو) بها سوق المقام  
إلى (دافي) و(وهاب) التمام  
بطول الليل ليس من النيام  
وفي طول النهار من الضوام  
وصالحهم وصار من الكرام

وذي جندي بها سؤفا كثير  
وأما لقبه (سمورا) أيضا  
له (غري) و(كنتغ) والنساء  
إلى أم القرى زعما وهربا  
وأين جنود من سكنوا (غرنش)  
وقد ملكوا (كسان) و(لو) و(بيغ)  
كذلك (بشي) و (منكر) ثم (نورو)  
ولا تتس (ولنيلي) سكلوا

120

و(كنكنغ فراتن) قل (بسيسن)  
وقد ملكوا (غرنش) بلا نزاع  
وما قد ضرهم إلا عبيد  
عبيد (غرنش) ليسوا آمنين  
خصوصا من (إسال) ومن (دغات)  
أبوا ساداتهم حق الإباء  
وكانوا قبل ذلك من ملوك  
ولم بخطر ببالهم كهذا

130

وفي ذي اليوم قد لانوا (دغنب)  
أغيل غرقوم (أسنتي) يا ذا  
أم الأصنام أم ورق وذهب  
نعم قد غرهم كذب وزور  
عواقب أمرهم موت ذريع  
وقد ملك النصارى دنا أكنف  
كذلك (غوا أسنق) وما هنالك  
إلى (تتام كند أغي) جميعا  
كذلك (أغاش داحم) ما هناك  
كذا (إبادن أبيكتا) أرض يربا

140

وبعض نفى ولا في (أدماوى)  
و(ياور) ثم (بوس) كذلك (غنب)  
كذا بيت الدقيق وحرقوه

رئيسهم يكنى بالإمام  
واسم بنييه أولاد الإمام  
سمعنا أنهم أخذوه أم  
كذا قد قيل في الخاص وعام  
(زبرماوا) و(هوساوا) توام  
كذلك ست دبن أرض الكرام  
كذا (وأي) أنها أرض الكرام  
كذلك (كلو) و(نابلو) كالمرام  
إلى (نفارو غنغار) النظام  
يمينا ثم خلفا والأمام  
رضوا عنهم رضى دون الملام  
وكلا لا أمانة للعجام  
(كسن) و(كفرش كنجغ) من نمام  
وعاقوهم على لس الإدام  
وقد مهدوا البسائط للمنام  
ولو بالحلم في رؤيا المنام  
بـ(وافور) بها سوق البرام  
أم الأشجار ملتف النظام  
أم الأهواء أم شرب المدام  
وجهل ثم حمق في السيام  
وفيمن ينج أظفار دوام  
وأنكر عندها قوم كرام  
إلى (سنبرف) أدى بالنظام  
كذا (أونا) و(أيب) كالتوام  
كثير لا يعد على النظام  
(إلور أت ألوفا) في الكلام  
و(منث كف) و(نصراوى) توام  
وقل (إلو) عندها سوق الخدام  
بنار بل وقصدهم أمام

وهل حقا أتوا (زغ) يا أناسا  
 ألم تر أن قوم (دغنب) قالوا  
 وكان أمير (بند) من الذين  
 وباقي قومه حتى بنوه  
 فلما مات جاءهم بلاء  
 وقل (غنبغ) ثم (كشاش منغو)  
 وقل (كيتي) دارنا في اليوم  
 و(بأسار) و(كبر) وما هناك  
 كذا (سغدي) و(كركر) ثم (فثو)  
 و(أرج سالمنغ) وما هناك  
 أتاه طويل نصران بحرب  
 ألم تر أنهم حافوا بـ(كور)  
 وقد رعنا بما فعلوه فينا  
 ألم تر أنهم جاءوا وشيش  
 وهذا من إهانتهم لدينا  
 يقولوا من لكم فيقاتلوننا  
 ألم تسمع نزولهم (أبوجا)  
 فنيتهم قتال المسلمين  
 وما أري بما سيكون بعد  
 سمعنا أنهم ذهبوا (إل)  
 وقيل أتى رسولهم بـ(بوئي)  
 وآدم أرسلوه (كن) بمال  
 رأيت جهنم بفلات (روبووا)  
 وليس بدهرنا إلى سكوت  
 ومن يك قائل للحق فيه  
 ففي ذا الدهر لا يرضى بصدق  
 وصار الحق في ذا الدهر مرّ

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وإن صدقا فنيتهم قدام  
 وهل يأتوا إلينا بالسلام<sup>1</sup>  
 لهم رأي وصدق في الكلام  
 فأشرار لهم سوء المقام  
 وجاءهم الكتائب من جوام  
 و(برب) و(تاش) فـ(سغ) بالنظام  
 ملكت إلى (ننمب) (كنكنب الليام)  
 وكان مقامهم قلع اللأكام  
 و(غافلو) ثم (سمر) كالتوام  
 أمير (سبرك) فرّ من زكام  
 وفرّ وغادر الدهليز صام  
 نواحيها ونيتهم أمام  
 فنيتهم إذا ملك الأنام  
 بها ملك من أبناء الكرام  
 وإنهم أتونا كالسهام  
 هلموا فاصبروا دون الملام<sup>2</sup>  
 كذلك (غو) و(صفوى) كالتوام  
 بلا شك سيأتوا بالخصام  
 ونسأل ربنا حسن الختام  
 و(أغدس) كلها أرض الكرام  
 بأقوال مزخرفة النظام  
 وجمال الأثاث إلى العظام  
 بأحمال وقصدهم قدام  
 وإلا الصبر عن سوء الكلام  
 سيحيى في الندامة واللام  
 فقاتلها له كل المذام  
 وحلوى فيه تكثر النمام

<sup>1</sup> - وهل يأتون إلينا بالسلام ؟

<sup>2</sup> - يقولون من لكم.....

فيا الله يا رحمن فارحم  
وزينة أهله حمق وكذب  
نعم (غضرو) فهم سفه وجهل  
عروقههم التحاسد والفساد  
وحب المال جلدتهم جميعا  
وقال وقيل تسبيح لديهم  
وما نظمي سوى للاعتبار  
ولا لمودتي أهل الكتاب  
ولم أنظمه فرحا أو نشاطا  
ولم يسمع بمن ينوي الفساد  
فتحريف المقالة ليس بدعا  
وقوم حرفوا التوراة حتى  
ألم تر من يضل الناس كذبا  
يفسر آية بهواه زورا

وأي الناس أحسد من طلاب  
ألم تسمع بما نال السيوطي  
وشابه نظمنا لعبا ولهوا  
وترتيب الأراضي والبلاد  
وليس كما يظن الغافلون  
معاذ الله أن هذا وذاك

وكان مصاقع الخطباء حقا  
وهمهام الكتاب كما نريد  
فيا من يستجيب إذا دعاه  
سألناك النجاة بما أتاننا  
دعوناك بجاه الأنبياء  
وأنفسنا وأهلونا جميعا  
ولا ضر لمن لاندوا إليك  
ولا هم ولا حزن وكرب

عبيدك من خواص والعوام  
وتغريز وتزيين الكلام  
دماؤهم مخالطة الملام  
عظامهم تباغيض<sup>3</sup> الأنام  
وحب الرئاسة شعر اللمام  
ولحم الغير كاللحم السمam  
وليس من حماقة في النظام  
معاذ الله أن تلك المرام  
ولكن نظمه للاغتنام  
بتحريف المعاني في الكلام  
ولكن كان قدما في الأنام  
إله العرش كرر في الملام  
يحرف ما أتاننا من الكلام  
وعند الله تجزية الأنام  
وإن حسدوا وأنا في التمام  
جزاه الله في زمرة الكرام  
وليس كذاك بل هو للاغتنام  
لتذكرة وتنبية الكرام  
للهو أو لتعبير الأنام  
إلى يوم أسير إلى الرجام  
يحاسدهم حسود في الكلام  
سنختمه بأدعية التمام  
أسير أو عديم في الظلام  
وتنجينا لنختم بالسلام  
وجاء الأولياء ذي المقام  
مودة بكنفك ذا الأسام  
ولا إضرار يا رب الأنام  
لمن وافى لبابك لا السنام

<sup>3</sup> - هي نباغض

فإنك كنت تفعل ما تشاء  
علامات البلاء بدت لدينا  
ونسأل ربنا برجال غيب 200  
وجاه حروف كتب الله طرا  
وسورة عنكبوت وعاديات  
وسورة يوسف والرعء نحل  
وسورة الأنبياء ونور أيضا  
وصافات ودوود وزممر  
وتسورة والإنجيل تليها  
وجاه صحابة والآل جمعا  
على خير الأنام سما أرضا  
وجمع الآل والأصحاب كتفا  
دهورا عد أبيات الكتاب 210  
وأما رمز هجرتها جهير

هلموا نسأل بذوي المقام  
وتحكم كيف شئت على الأنام  
وجيلي الذي قطب للكرام  
وطاسين وياسين وحام  
وفاتحة وجاه ألف ولام  
وإسراء تلي ذفر النيام  
وحج البين والسهر الحرام  
كذا الحجرات والحشرات الأسم  
زبور ثم بالنون والأقلام  
تعالى ذو الجلال والإكرام  
صلاة والسلام على الدوام  
ونسأل ربنا حسن الختام  
رمزناها وتمت بالتمام  
شق رمزته حتى لعام

4- والجملة في المخطوطات هي هلموا نسألوا ..، الظاهر أن الخطأ من الكاتب كبقية الأخطاء النحوية.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
صلى الله على من لا نبي بعده

- بحمد من يصرف الدهور وهو الذي يحول الأحوال  
أزكى الصلاة لنبي الملحمة يا سائلي أما أرى في قلبي  
تعلمن إذ الأمور قد أتت ألم تروا حلولها يا قوم  
قد حاطت السودان كل ناحية مبدؤها من (فوت تور) لا مرى  
إلى مدين (مايو) قل أو (يور) (شنجيط طوبى) قل هما بلدان  
من (مراكش فاس) وقد تليهما لا تتس (ماسن) لها آيات  
أصابها ما قد أصاب الناس فاعتبرن ولن ترى مفر  
(سامغ ونغر) بلواها تقع بل هذه البلوى أتت (غلاسو)  
ما تركت مفارة (غرنش) بل أرض (فنت) كلها قد ملكت  
بالغ ملكهم لأرض (أونا) ألا ترى قد ملكوا من (منغو)  
كفار (برغو) كلها قد ملكوا ولا تناس بادهم (أبيكتا)  
بل ملكوا منها إلى (إلور) رتب وقل قد فتحوا أرض (بنو)  
(كوكوك لافياغ) لا تتسها بدأت هذا الرجز المسطور  
ويحكم السرور والأهوال محمد بناؤه لا يهدمه  
فاحك لما أرويته عن لبي مجيئها منذ قديما ثبتت  
ألم تروا تزيد كل اليوم وعمت البلدان حتى الناحية  
عمت إلى فوت جل يا سامري لـ(فوت بند) هل لنا سيور  
10 كيرتان كانتا بعدان (بنجغر) وندسها قل فيهما  
وكان أهلها لهم آلات من البليات وأعني البأس  
في هذه الدنيا ولا مفر إلى مرافي (أسنتي) قل (أكم)  
ثم (غن بينغ غمن فيسو) ولا عمورة كذاك (موش)  
ملوكها صاروا عبيدا هتكت (أغاش داحم عكو) ثم (دنا)  
20 إلى وراء (برب تاش) فـ(سغو) آسادهم قد هربوا أو هلكوا  
قد قهروها ناطقا وساكتا يا رب نور قلبنا بالنور  
إلى ألوف ملكهم قد يدنوا كذا قرياهما لمنتهاهما



وذلك كلها بإذن الرب  
 إنني سمعت أنهم قد أخذوا  
 هل ملكوا (بوس) وأرض (ياور)  
 ولا تناس أنهم في (دور)  
 إذا تأملت بما أقول  
 فإن هذا كلها من حكمه  
 لا تطلب الحيلة من قوتك  
 فاعتبرن بالرأي هل فرار  
 ولن ترى بينهما من راجح  
 أمرتكم يا قومنا أن تتركوا  
 يا مسلمون ظاهرا فانقادوا  
 أوصيتكم أن تشكروا إن جاءوا  
 ولا تشكوا إن دين الله  
 إن بنا الإسلام لا تتهدم  
 قد علم الله بما يريدوا  
 قد أخبر النبي ما سينالوا  
 ورتب القول إلى (أدماوى)  
 هل يسمعوا ما فعلوا نحو (زغ)  
 ومن يك ذا عقل يعلم ما  
 ونسأل الله تعالى اليسر  
 وسائل يسألني أن شأني  
 يقول لي (سلخ) تريد أو هنا  
 أين تريد المكث يا عالما  
 قلت له لم تعتبر بما أتى  
 بل الدنيا كلها ما استوطنت  
 وإنني حرت لهذا الأمر  
 ولا أقول في هنا مكثت

فاعل ما يشاء دون الريب  
 بعض نفى من أهلها من منقذ  
 بل ملكوا (غنب) بلا تشاور  
 (ياغاغلاج ساوى) بل (زنغور)  
 30 قل ربنا الله ولا تطول  
 وقدره وحكمه وعلمه  
 بل وفض الأمر إلى خالقك  
 أنفع عندنا أو القرار  
 بل إن كل منهما كالفادح  
 قيل وقال فاسكتوا أو فامسكوا  
 فاكتموا أموركم وكيدوا  
 واصطبروا بقلبك إن حادوا  
 لا يهدمونه وهم كالإله  
 وكل مرتد بها سيندم  
 40 وما يحبون وما يعادوا<sup>1</sup>  
 وما نقاس منهم إن طالوا<sup>2</sup>  
 كذا كب (لاقي) أو (نصراوى)  
 من غيرهم يحرفها ولو طغى<sup>3</sup>  
 أقوله ويعتبر ويفهما  
 ومخرج في كل ما قد عسر  
 سر وجهرا قل له سأكني  
 أو (هوسا) أو (عكو) كذا أو (ماسن)  
 فأينما مكثت فهو دارنا  
 كل المواطن بنا ما ثبتنا  
 50 بل زلزلت وهدمت ما قد بنت  
 لم أدر ما أفعل في ذا الدهر  
 ولا إلى هنالك ذهبت

1- .....يما يريدون .....وما يعادون  
 2- ..... ما سينالون  
 3- هل يسمعون.....

أما سؤالك رجوع (سلغ)  
 إن صلحت فنعم ما صلحها  
 وإلا (سلغ) عندها أشياء  
 وأهلها ذو غنى ومال  
 ولا أريدها ولو سنيين  
 ولا أعودها مدى الدهور  
 لو ملأت بالطيبات والهناء  
 لو ألبست (سلغ) ثياب سندس  
 أتعلمن لا بأس مني فيها  
 لكنما القلب أبى أن يرجع  
 لمن يقول أنها مطامع  
 أو ما يقول إنها روضات  
 وعندهم قولهم لصديق  
 ولا تظنوا قلت ما قد قلت  
 لست بحاسد لأهل الأرض  
 لست بباغض لأهل (سلغ)  
 بل إنني في (كتي) كنت جالسا  
 ولا تشكوا إنني إن قمت  
 أو قدر الله (كتي) مقبرتي  
 رب اغفر لأمة الإسلام  
 ولا ألو من هواها أيضا  
 لأنها موطنهم معاهد  
 يا مسلمون لا تكونوا هوجا  
 بل فامسكوا بسنة الغراء  
 فاعتصموا بموثق الرحمن  
 فاصطبروا على البلايا كلها  
 فينظر الله إلى أحوالكم

بل حبها عن قلبنا قد نلغ  
 أو ملأت بالخير ينبغ لها  
 لنذبة أمرها ضياء  
 لكنني ليس لها آمال<sup>4</sup>  
 بالمكث لو طابت كطور سينا  
 بنية المكث على المشهور  
 وإنني لـ (كت) ماكثا هنا  
 لقلت جهرا إنني في بأس  
 ولا خصومة لساكنيها  
 لنحوها أو يسمعا  
 أو من يقول عندها منافع  
 أو من يظن أنها جنات  
 لأنها موطنهم موافق  
 لا حاسد أو غاشما كنت  
 لو وجدوا موطنا كالروض  
 ولا أحب من لهم قد تلغ  
 إن بقيت خمسة كنت سادسا  
 من ها هنا لقد ذهبت (سكت)  
 ورحمة الله أجل طلبتي  
 طائعهم والعاص ذي الملام  
 ولا أذم من رآها روضا  
 منذ صباهم بل بها قد ولد  
 بينهم ولا تكونوا همجا  
 ولا يميلوا طلب السراء  
 من سنة الرسول والقرآن  
 ليحص الله بها أثرها  
 أتصبروا أو تجزعوا من ذلكم<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> - أي لست لها آمال.  
<sup>5</sup> - أي أتصبرون أم تجزعون.....

في كل فتنة أو الألام  
 أذكى الصلاة لابن عبد الله  
 ما صرف الدهر لأهل التاج  
 شهر محرم لتسع حققوا  
 لوارد أوردتها بالنظر

يا رب ثبتنا على الإسلام  
 تمت قصيدتي بحمد الله  
 وآله والصحب والأزواج  
 أبياتها فز وعام يشرفوا  
 سميتها مشرع ماء الخبر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
صلى الله على النبي وآله وصحبه وسلم

	يا خليلي فاعجبا	إذ رأيت العجائب
	أعجب العجب قد طرا	عام طي وقرشبا
	كنت في الدهر رائيا	كل ما كان أغربا
	لكن العام في (كتي)	قد بد الكذب والهبا
	فاسمعوا ما أقوله	ثم عوه ليكتببا
	ماكنّا كنت في (كتي)	كتب العلم أكتببا
	إذ سمعنا بقدام	يقصد الأرض (ججبا)
	بل يخيل أنه	كان في الناس مؤدبا
	مرسلا بالرسالة	يرشد الابن والأببا
10	يأمر الناس بالصلاة	وبالصوم موجبا
	يكسر الصنم والوثن	شيع شرقا ومغربا
	قيل ألا يأكل الطعام	ولا ذاق مشربا
	كف الصمت في الوري	كي يقال مهذبا
	ثم تقنيع رأسه	بالبرائيس أهدبا
	زاعما ليس يأخذ	كل ما كان من هبا
	هكذا من تصدقا	لم يكن فيه راغبا
	موهما كل ساعة	أنه سار يثربا
	ليس عن رؤية المقام	وميزاب غائببا
	ذاك موسى بفعله	أكثر الناس أرببا
20	كل هذا مكيدة	لاكتساب المناقبا
	أكثر الناس صدقوه	وحلوا له الحبا
	آمنوا بالذي يقول	يقولون مرحبا
	عل هذا بجهاهم	أو بتقليد أغلببا
	أو تعامى أو الغبا	وة فيهم منصبا
	لا ولا ذاك بل عدا	وة من صار صاحببا

ثم زادوا تكذبا	كان في البدء وحده
هكذا لاق ينسبنا	إن موسى لـ(كنكع)
يمحص الحق والهبا	كل من كان عاقلا
بين فلا وهندبا	نحن قوم نميز
30 بين دباء والدبا	هكذا قد نفرق
معنيا الرب والربا	نفهم الرمز إن أتى
بيع في الشرع والربا	كيف يا قوم يستوي
الأكل في التمر والابا	كان موسى يكاتم
في الصناديق حاجبا	يجمع المال خفية
كلهم قد تقربا	نائبوه ثلاثة
كي يجدوا المذاهبا	ثم في (صلغته) شاوروا
أرض (نأنب) ذاهبا	واحد كان منهمو
ليس إلا مقرطبا	اسم هذا حسينهم
كل صنم ملبلبا	في (ولنش) يخرب
40 ضربوه تضاربنا	ثم كفار أجمعوا
زب حتى تقحطبا	بالعصي وبالمرا
نحو (كنفقوا) طالبا	كان منهم أبوبكر
هنا صار قشالبا	ثم صار إلى (كرنس)
إذ تنادوا تطربا	حين وافي نديهم
الدفاقيق والدمبا	صادق الجمع يضربون
كي يرى الهو والتبا	كان سلطان حاضرا
إننى لست لاعبا	قال يا قوم أنصتوا
فاتركوا الرقص والشبا	جئتكم واعظا لكم
الصبي مدببا	مثلوا قوله بقول
50 صار تيسا وديدبا	بل أهانوه بينهم
ط وباللكم لايبا	وأحاطوه بالسبا
نا وبالحسن لقبنا	واحد منهم أتا
بالسرور ومرحبا	جاهلون أتوه
نلت عزا ومأدبا	قائلون له نعم

- زاعمين بأنه  
بل نراه حبا حبا  
غره أهل بلدنا  
ثم صار يسيطر  
إن كهان يجلدوا  
ثم نادى ملوك (كر)  
ذلك اليوم منهم  
(ذنبج) كان بارك  
عن قريب قصيرهم  
قبضوه بسرعة  
ثم بالليل أرسلوا  
في فناء الإمام  
قيدوه بـ(أنكفو)  
لا جناح عليهم  
سبب هذا غرور أهل  
ثم كبلا بلا توان  
ثم صار مسخرين  
لم ير من كرامة  
مكثا في سلاسل  
ثم قال لآدم  
أطلقا عند ذلك  
كان موسى كبيرهم  
ينشر الحكم كالذي  
ثم منها لقريّة  
يضرب الناس بالسيا  
يجمع المال بعد أن كا  
عن قريب قد اشترى  
يا أولى الفضل فاسمعوا
- أفضل الناس مذهباً  
أو نراه الشقحطبا  
جلهم كان أخدبا  
يجلد الابن والأبنا  
أهل (بوري) وشهربا<sup>1</sup>  
ك) وما ذاك أصوبا  
دريج الناس كالوبا  
جاء بالـ(سوج) أهيبا  
صار في السوق أرنباً  
عتلوه بلا إيا  
للذي كان غائباً  
صاحب صدق مؤدبا  
دائماً كان أكسبا  
إنه أكل الربا  
البطالة والظبا  
وباتاً معذباً  
كمن كان غاصباً  
فيهما أو تجاوباً  
نحو ستين كوكبا  
كلنا صار تائباً  
ثم ناء تهارباً  
قد نحى (الياغ) مأرباً  
كان للملك أغرباً  
(أتبوبو) ليكذباً  
ط وصار معذب  
ن في البدء راهباً  
الفرس قد صار راكباً  
لست في النظم داعباً

<sup>1</sup> - يعني يجلدون.....

	فاسمعوا يا أولى النهى	لست في القول كاذبا
	بل نصارى (كماش) هم	أزجروه ليرعبا
	راع منهم فقهقرا	حائرا ثم خائبا
	غر غوغاء قومه	قائلا كنت آثبا
	بعد أيام سنة	إنه كان عليها
	فر موسى فرار من	لا يعود إلي (ظبا)
	ذا علامات مفتر	أن يغر ليهربا
90	كل ما كان من بنا	بافتراء سيخربا
	لست منهم بحاسد	لكن الحق أوجبا
	فثفر الناس يشتمو	ني بنسج الأكاذبا
	لامني كل غافل	عاقوبي معائبا
	كل آلاء كاذب	سوف عادت مصائبا
	كل نعماء مفتر	ستعود العقاربنا
	مدحه أن تطاول	الدهر أض معائبا
	لكن الكذب أولا فاق	شهدا مضربا
	صاحب الكذب ساعة	كثر مال لقد جبا
	كان كذب بداية	كالغدارى كواعبا
100	فاقت النخل لذة	عن قريب تتركبا
	لكن الحق بدؤه	حنظل ثم حلبا
	يعتبر كل عاقل	ما نقول وهل حبا
	كل من كان ذا حجبى	يصطفي الحق مذهبا
	هل تكون الرسالة	بين (كبر) فتقضبا
	هل لـ (كنكيب) أرسلنا	دون (هوسا) وذاهبنا
	بين (بأسار) و(المثا	ب) رسالات رتبنا
	هل سمعتم بمرسل	في (ذك) كان قد شبا
	لست منه بطاعن	قلت حقا ليكتبا
	كل من كان جاحدا	في مقالى سيعربا
110	لا أشك بأنه	فر منا إلى الصبا
	لا يعود المنافق	أو نعود إلى الصبا

	وعلى ذا يسبني	جاحد الحق أخدبا
	كل من كان سبني	فيه والله أذنبنا
	ينطلى كل سعة	ذيع عيبي تكاذبنا
	إن ربي سيفصل	بين من دان أو أبنا
	يسأل الخلق كلهم	من يطيع ومن نبا
	فيجازى بفعلهم	في نعيم وهبها
	كان في الناس عادة	أن يحبوا الأكاذبا
	جاحد الإفك بينهم	لومه كان أذيبنا
120	قائل الحق فيهم	نمه كان واصبنا
	إن أتى الدهر بالخطو	ب فسصبر أوجبنا
	مثل من كان صابرا	كالذي صاد قرهبا
	إن من كان عالما	بينهم كان كالجبا
	واعتبر يا أخي بما	قد جري قبل فاعجبا
	أحمد النضر لأمه	كل من كان أخدبا
	بل سيوطي يلومه	حاسدوه ليجنبنا
	صنف الكتب عدها	نقط رق تأدبنا
	مجمع البحر صنعه	ثم إتقان وكوكبنا
	قل فريد نقاية	ثم نهج تصوبنا
130	لا تعد التصانف	للسيوطي مؤدبنا
	بل حريري يحاسد	ثم حلاج أنحبنا
	بل بخاري بنفسه	أطردوه لينهبنا
	هكذا كان شانلي	أخرجوه وأغربنا
	هكذا ابن حنبلي	قد أهانوه خرعبنا
	بل علي بنفسه	كان في الجيش قطبنا
	هؤلاء هم الأولي	يمهدون المذاهبنا
	سيما أنا جاهل	لست شيئا فاغضبنا
	وعلى ذاك لا أبالي	بمن كان عاتبنا
	أسوتى كان بالألى	أثر والحق مشربنا
140	أنا والله لا أبنا	لى بقول منبنا



عام شرفان إن أتت	كان مهدي أقربا
إن أتى الحق إننا	قائلون لي طربا
لست ممن يكاتم	الحق ما كنت ناكبا
إن هذه نهاية	نسأل الله أرحبا
نحمد الله ربنا	واسع الملك واهبا
نجنا يا إلهنا	شر من كان شاغبا
رب فاغفر خطيئتي	أنني كنت مذنبا
ثم أשיأنا معا	ثم أما كذا أبيا
فاكفنا شر حاسد	أجنبيا وأقربا
صل ربي وسلم	لنبي ثوي قبا
صاحب الحوض والشفأ	عات فيمن تذنبا
ثم سلم لآله	ما المياه تسبسا
ثم أزواجه متى	خط في الكتب حرف با

150

بحمد الله كلمت وبعونه تمت وبالخير عمت

POEM 9. ( IASAR/121 )

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلي الله علي النبي وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليما  
ومما حدث عندنا أن كنا في مدرسة مع الجم الغفير من التلاميذ إذ وغل علينا شخص من  
شياطين الإنس وكان عندئذ بين يدي تلميذ يقرأ ثم إن ذلك الواغل صار يستمع فلما فرغ التلميذ  
من القراءة حمداً فأجبتة قائلاً: الحمد لله تعالى ، فوقتئذ اعترض علينا ذلك الواغل قائلاً: إن  
هذا حرام ممنوع في الشرع ، و من لفظ بمثل هذه الكلمة يعزر تعزيراً شديداً ، فقيل له: لم  
ذلك ، فقال: لأن لام الجلالة مقصورة أبداً لا يمدّها إلا ضال مبتدع ، فسئل: من أين جاء هذا  
و متي حدث، فقال من شيخهم الذي ظهر في هذا الزمان ليصلح ما شأن من أمر الدين ، فقيل:  
من عالمكم هذا و في أي مكان هو ، فأجاب أنه في أرض هوسا قد فتح الله بصيرته ليرشد إلي  
أقوم طريق، فقيل له: من اسمه و من هو وفي أي بلدة من بلاد هوسا مكث و من أي شيخ تفقه  
و في أي قبيلة هو من قبائل هوسا، فلم نجد منه جواباً شافياً ، و لا استدلالاً صافياً ، بل أجاب  
بما لا طائل تحته ، وأتى بالبراهين ركيكة التي هي كلا براهين ، وحينئذ أضربنا عنه صفحا ،  
فقلنا له عيا وقبحا ، و بعد يسير من الزمان أحضرتنا هذا الأبيات السينيات فهجوناها بها ،  
وصارت قصيدة طنانة اليوم ، فله الحمد، فها هي ذي :

بحق رب الورى يا قوم فانتبهوا	فإن في دهرنا هذا أباليسا
جاءوا وجالوا بأقوال محرفة	وكل أقوالهم إفاك متى فيسا
هجموا لمدرسة سفها على سفة	وصار ما زوروا فينا وساويسا
لقولهم لحنا في اسم الجلالة يا	بوسا لغيهام يا بوس يا بوسا
لم يعلموا مادة في الصرف كيف بهم	بعلم توربة صاروا جواميسا
قد جاءنا واحد منهم بخدعته	يريد تجربة فينا وتدسيسا
قلنا له أنت ختار ولا تدنو	ولم نراود به قريبا وتأنيسا
بزعمه أن فيهم عالما فطنا	يقول لا مدة في الله تلبيسا
قلنا كذبت كذبت بل كذبت أجل	وقد يشابه ما قولت قابوسا
إن العلوم لها أصل ومبحة	فاردد إلى كوخك وافتش قراطيسا
كن طالعا كتب أهل الحق لا تكسل	لعل عينك لم تنظر كراريسا
ولن ترى من يصدق قول عالمكم	سوى الذي صار غوغاء وناموسا
وهل نظرت إلى كتب الذين مضوا	وهل تطالع تلمودا وبرناسا
فانظر برأيك أن الحق خالصة	ولا تكن بين أهل الدين (غرفوسا)

يستتسر البعث لا فينا وإن لنا  
فإن أستاذنا عثمان علمنا  
بجاهه من أتى كيما يفضحنا  
يثب بخزي وغيظ من غباوته  
لم نلتفت لمقال مكن زنادقة  
ولا نطيع الذي قد زاع عن نهج  
ولو أتى بعلوم بمثل سنيسرا  
ألقوا حبالهم القوا عصيهم  
من جاعنا بمكيدات وحيلته  
يخيب في نواه من تعنتنا  
وما نظمنا على فخر ولا بطر  
اسم الجلالة قد عمت جميع قرى  
اسم الجلالة قل قد شاع مدته  
كذا (طغرغر) وأهل الصين كلهم  
مد الجلالة قد عمت جميع قرى  
أهل الأقاليم قد مدوا بلا فرق  
إن الفلاسفة الأولي لقد نطقوا  
وأرسطو أفلاطون جميعهم  
وكلهم نطقوا بالمديا عجا  
خذاها لقطع أقاويل الغبي على  
الحمد الله رب العالمين موجدهم

نقلا نميز إنسانا وبابوسا  
فرقا إذا قيل جاموسا وجاموسا  
ولو أتى من بعيد طوس أو توسا  
أضحوكة بين أهل الله إنكيسا  
فشابهت قولهم هذا نواقيسا  
ولو أتى راكبا فيلا ومرميسا 20  
أو مثل بلعام أو شيطان بلبيسا  
بسل كأننا بأيدينا عصا موسا  
ولو أتى لابسا تاجا وبرنوسا  
بما درسنا على عثمان تدريسا  
لكن قصدنا به شكرا وتاسيسا  
برا و بحرا إلى لندن وباريسا  
بين الجماهير من (تولى) إلى (سوسا)  
بمدّة نطقوا و القصر قد ببيسا  
برا بحرا إلى لندن وباريسا  
من (قنبلوا) قد جري جيرا إلى (هوسا) 30  
بمدة سقراط أرسطاليسا  
ثم ابن سينا كذاك بطليموسا  
لمسلم صار وزورا وقندوسا  
ما كان يهذي به إذ صار منحوسا  
ثم الصلاة علي خير الورى ساسا

بحمد الله عمت و بحسن عونه تمت

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم : صلي الله علي سيدنا محمد آله وصحبه وسلم

- قفوا واسمعوا القول في تنكيوا  
بدأيته وجع رأس شديد  
وقد قيل أوله مر ريق  
وقيل صداع وميد ونبض  
تراه كصفراء ليس بصفراء  
ثلاث مصائب مجموعة  
أنين شديد ويرد قریش  
ثلاث مخارج مفتوحة  
فأصوات ضرط وثبل كثير  
حرارته مثل جري لهيبا  
تر المرء يطرح الثياب  
ويركض رجله من شدة  
ولا يستطيع القعود ولا  
ويبقى بعري بلا لباسه  
كان الكلوب ومنقبة  
ولم تبق فيه حياء ولا  
تناس النساء كذاك بنيه  
يوم الوصايا يقوم اليوم  
إذا ما سئلت أخ أي داء  
ولو كنت عنتر يوم الوغى  
سألتكموا يا أناسا فهل  
ومن عزيز شديد القوى  
وكم من رئيس تراه مكبا  
ولم نر داء سببها به  
وهل أصلة مرض بطر أليم  
وأم عينه من دم أو رطوبة
- 10 رأينا العجائب من تنكيوا  
فبعد قليل يلي تنكيوا  
فعما قريب أتى تنكيوا  
وقرقرة بعدها تنكيوا  
وليس بلاغم بل تنكيوا  
لديه تراكب في تنكيوا  
وحممة كل ذا تنكيوا  
ترقرق حين أتى تنكيوا  
وفي يكرر هي تنكيوا  
يققلقي كل الحشا تنكيوا  
وبيعدها حين جاء تنكيوا  
وينفش أشياء من تنكيوا  
قيامًا كذا فعلة تنكيوا  
سوى الأهل يستره تنكيوا  
وموسى تقاطع من تنكيوا  
مروته مذ أتى تنكيوا  
ويفشي السرائر من تنكيوا  
يردا الودائع من تنكيوا  
أشد علي الناس قل تنكيوا  
20 لا طاقة لك من تنكيوا  
علمتم دواء علي تنكيوا  
يصارعه لخطه تنكيوا  
يقمقم في البية من تنكيوا  
وقد بنا دواعنا تنكيوا  
ولم ندر بل اسمه تنكيوا  
و من لي بعلم علي تنكيوا

وأو هو برسام أو يرقال  
ولا حول للمرء لا قوة  
ولما أتى عم كل أناس  
ولست تحب طعاما ولا  
ولو كنت مثل سيد قريش  
وكم من أتاه ليل وبات  
وكم من أتاه نهار وظل  
تاوه جدا ويصرخ أو  
و من ذي حياة أتاه ولم  
ولكنه مع ذا كله  
وما أن سمعنا وما أن رأينا  
وآلامه كثرة لا تعد  
سوي أنه لا تطول مداه  
و من امرأة قد بكت حين حل  
و كم من ترى رفيقه قد يسيل  
وكل صغير وكل كبير  
وشيخ كبير أتاه مساه  
وكم من عجوز و هي درديس  
و كم من كواصب في قرية  
وكم عالم جاء بغتة  
وكم من يسبح في بيته  
وأعمى وعمياء والأعرج  
ولسنا نطيق علي عدما  
فيا رب يا رب يا ساتر  
ويا ارحم الراحمين ويا  
ويا غافر الذنب يا ذا الجلال  
هيا يا هيا يا هيا يا هيا  
بتوراة موسى وجاء الزبور  
دعونك يا دافع يا عظيم

أهل هو قولنج بل تنكيوا  
إلا إلا شجاعة في تنكيوا  
سوي واحد واحد تنكيوا  
30 شرابا ولا لحم من تنكيوا  
لتعجز أن فاجك تنكيوا  
يقط ويهدج من تنكيوا  
يدهده من وجعة تنكيوا  
يوشوش من غمرة تنكيوا  
يبال بأحمائه تنكيوا  
ولم يقتل أحدا تنكيوا  
بداه شبیه به تنكيوا  
وكل شدائد في تنكيوا  
سوي نادرا فاسمعوا تنكيوا  
40 إلي زوجها ما حجت تنكيوا  
بفيه لأن مسه تنكيوا  
يعمل أن زاره تنكيوا  
ولم يدر كيف العشا تنكيوا  
أتاهما واتبعها تنكيوا  
أتاهن فأعجب به تنكيوا  
وبات بلا ورده تنكيوا  
أتاه وأقذره تنكيوا  
وعرجاء أتعبهم تنكيوا  
جرى من شرارته تنكيوا  
50 سألنا السلامة من تنكيوا  
سلام سلمنا علي تنكيوا  
أمانا أمانا علي تنكيوا  
أجرنا بكتفك من تنكيوا  
وإنجيك فاكفنا تنكيوا  
يفرق أننا نجنا تنكيوا

بحق الحواميم يا واحد	حبابا حبابا علي تنكيوا
بما في طواسين من سراط	نجاه نجاه علي تنكيوا
بسورة فاطر والذاريات	فحصنا حصينا علي تنكيوا
بزمرة من طاف حول ضراج	فبعدا فبعدا علي تنكيوا
واستر علي سائر المسلمين	60 بستر جميل علي تنكيوا
مشارق الأرض مغاربها	جنوبا شمالا زل تنكيوا
بجاه مرسوك خير البرايا	وأصحابه نجنا تنكيوا
وصلّي عليه وأزواجه	وآل وصحب قنا تنكيوا
مص عدد أبياتها	قوافي سواي قولنا تنكيوا

تمت وبالخير عمت اللهم اغفر بسرخط هذا الحمد الله صلي محمد وءاله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وسلم تسليما

الحمد لله معطي الصادقين نجا	ومانع الكاذبين الفلج والحججا
مؤيد الحق باري الخلق مالكمهم	ومنقذ العلما إن أوقعوا الحججا
كاف العباد ونحمده ونشكره	حمدا وشكرا بلا قطع له أبجا
خير الصلاة وأزكاها وأكملها	على النبي الذي الله قد عرجا
وآله ثم أصحابه وتابعهم	وأهل بيت وأزواج ذوات حجا
وبعد إنا قرأنا ها بطاقتكم	وصار فرجا لنا إذ غمكم فرجا
بأن أعداءكم أضوا على خزيي	ولم ينالوا مرادا أتلّفوا ريجا
لما قرأنا بطاقتكم على حفل	قلنا هنيئا بكون عدوكم طبجا
يا فرحنا يا سرورا ما له أمد	بذلك الخبر حين عدوكم جأجا
إني أريد نصيحات لكم فاصغوا	إلى مقالة ذي نصح ولا مزجا 10
بأول النصح كونوا أجمعين يدا	على ولا تصخروا لمن سدجا
لا تسمعوا أقوال المفسدين لكم	ورب قول نميم هاجت الهرجا
لا تبددوا شملكم لا تحسدوا أحدا	إن العداوة إن طالت تكون وجا
عداوة المسلمين أشر من قحط	أشد من كل غرث في الوري جرجا
توبوا إلى ربكم من كل مخصمة	وصالحوا بينكم إن رأيكم زمجا
ومن أبى أن يصالح فالضلال له	فإنه لعدو الله مذ فحجا
ومن يرد تفريق المسلمين له	لعائن الله حتى قصده بوجا
أقول هذا عموما لا خصوصية	من كان في قلبه هذا يتب عمجا
من لم يتب بل أصرا على مفارقة	لسوف يندم يوم الحشر إن ضمجا
يا مؤمنون فكونوا الاخوة برضى	فاصلحوا بين أخويكم بلا زرجا 20
إن كنتم إخوة جمعا بلا حسدا	فعزة وكرامات لكم داجا
ألا تروا جمع ذر قائدا عظما	فالجمع ينفع من يتشرد يكن حرجا
وهكذا القصابات لا تكسر إن كثر	إن فارقتم تكسر لمن زعجا
وكل داخل في الإسلام فهو أخ	عرب وعجم سوا في الدين إن بهجا
وبربر ثم سند أو صقابلة	هند وقبط إذا ما اسلكوا بججا

وهكذا التّرك أو (كرمان) كلهم وقوم (برنو) و(أزب) أو (فلاتية) وقوم (هوس) سوا في الدين لا دججا ولو(غرنش) وإن(ك كوك)إن دخلوا ولا فرق في الإسلام لا مباغضة كونوا سواء بلا غيظ ولا كبير ولا تقولوا أنا هوسي بلدتنا إني بلوت أهل الدهر قاطبة وكل ما قلته ولسوف ينفعكم مني إليك تحيات يا أبا بكر ندعوا إله رضاه وغيث رحمة هو الذي قد بنى مجد الوارثه مني إلى ابنه (باكو) ثم رضى كذا شريفكم (ميدو)كذي كرم

وقوم (سقد) إذا ما ديننا غمجا وقوم (هوس) سوا في الدين لا دججا في الدين هم إخوة منا بلا غبجا كل سواء بدين الله لا عوجا ولا رياء ولا غيبة كدجا 30 (كَن) وهذا غبي بلده أفجا وجدت أكثرهم في الغدر قد ترجا كم قول صدق يكن في طعمه حدجا مع الرضا والكرامات تليه رجا على أخيك حبيبي كان قد درجا وخيره عم جل الناس لا خدجا وسائر الأهل والإخوان لو مرجا مني إليه تحيات طيبها أرجا

كمل بحمد الله وحسن عونه



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وأزواجه وذرياته وسلم تسليما

نحمد ربا باسط المهاد	وجاعل الجبال كالأوتاد
مستغنيا عن كل من يعين	وعن حليمة وعن أولاد
أشهد أنه إله الخلق	جل عن التمثيل والأضداد
ثم صلاته على الدوام	على الرسول جاء بالرشاد
مع السلام وكذا لآل	وجملة الأصحاب والأجناد
وبعد فالمقصود بالنظام	ترتيب أسماء ذو الأسعاد
هم صاحبون أصفياء الله	هم أشخياء صالحوا العباد
قد عاونوا على صلاح الهيكل	لأنهم كانوا من الأجواد
جزاهم إلهنا بالخير	والأمن والثواب والإمداد
أعظمهم عوناً أمير (زنغو)	صلو فإنه من الأفراد <sup>1</sup>
أعاننا عوناً مراراً لا مرى	يشهد كل حاضر وبلاد
أعاننا بالرقعة والبلاط	وثم بالكلس وبالأكاغد
جزاه الله جزاء حسنا	وبالخير والفرح وطول الأمد
يليه (غربا) أمه (مي ونك)	وإلى (آدوسي) قاهر الحساد
جزاه عند إله العالمين	في يومنا هذا ويوم الموعد
لا تتسى عاقلاً فتى مفضالا	وذاك (باو) واهب الأتلاد
من نسل (ميسونا) هو الكبوي	أفعاله فأتت يد التغداد
فرحمة الله على أبيه	وأمه وسائر الأجداد
كذلك أبناه أعان حقاً	(مالم برو) أبوه (كابا هاد)
وصاحب البيض من الديار	أعاننا بأعظم الإرفاد
وذاك إبراهيم جزاه الله	بأكثر الأجور والسعود
كذا عليّنا شهير (بيرو)	فهامة أعان بالنقود
ينجيه ربنا من الشرور	في هذه الدنيا وفي المعاد

<sup>1</sup> - أنظر القصيدتين الثانية والثالثة والرابعة في الأمير.

ويوسف تلميذنا إمام  
(أكر كوجو) أعاننا كثير  
لا تتس واحد كمثل الألف  
وقاهر الأوغاد والغوغاء  
وليدنا حفيدنا مبارك  
أعاننا بفضة البيضاء  
فرحمة الله على أبيه  
فاذكر أبانا بائع الديباج  
من نسج الهنود والإفرنج  
وحوك روسيا وحوك الترك  
أعاننا عوناً كثير لا خفا  
محمد ثاني أبو نغار  
قد مد بالعون إلينا يده  
قد مد بالعون إلينا يده  
فرحمة الله على أبيه  
فقل أبو (صلغه) حفيد لام  
جزاه ربنا بما يهواه  
أما سليمان إمام الناس  
أعان سرا وأعان جهرا  
في هذه الدار وتلك الدار  
أمير (زنغو) خالد في (يلوا)  
كان يعيننا بقدر الطاقة  
أحمدنا (كومي) دري معين  
نسأل ربنا بأن يجزيه  
(ميسون) كبير كان قد أعان  
يجزيه رب الخلق بالخيرات  
وحقا أن نذكر عبد الله  
وذاك (زرمالوي) ذو الحرية  
أعاننا عوناً على عون نعم

بلدته من أسعد البلاد  
تكنفه الخيرات كالغماد  
الحاج عثمان عظيم الجد  
وناصر الحق الأهل المجد  
تلميذنا لكن من الآساد  
من غير ما مظل ولا ميعاد  
30 كذا أبي أبيه في اللجود  
وسندس وأنفس البرود  
والروم والزنج مع الأكراد  
ذاك أبوبكر من ألا الآحاد  
فاجزه اللهم بالإيراد  
من أهل (صلغه) قل من الأمجاد  
ففعله من جنة الخلود  
ففعله كان من السداد  
أسكنه في جنة الخلود  
أعان أهل الله بالألياد  
40 في هذه الدار وفي المعاد  
فكان عونه على ازدياد  
جزاه رب الخلق بالمراد  
أمين بحق سورة والعاد  
ذاك خديمنا بلا تردد  
ضوعف أجره بلا نفاد  
أعان بالفيف وبالنقود  
بالخير والنعمة والأتجاد  
من قبل بالركة والأزواد  
بجاء صالح ونوح وهود  
50 صاحب دارنا بلا إلحاد  
يرضى بقولنا مع القياد  
يقيه ربنا من الفساد

في كل شأنه وكل صنعه  
أما (كلنكلاي) قد أعان  
ذاك محمد (قراتو) حقا  
ونسأل الله بجاء عيسى  
وهاهنا نذكر عبد الله  
أعاننا على صلاح الهيكل  
أمد الله بطول العمر  
أحمد (جتك) تاجر مبارك  
نسأل ربنا يزيد ماله  
ونكمل النظم بمالم (منذو)  
أعاننا عوناً بحسن النية  
وكان عونهُ بوقت الضنك  
جزاه ربنا جزاء الأوفى  
وهاك أسماء رجال الله  
وكل هؤلاء صالحون  
جزاهم الله بكل الخير  
الحمد لله عظيم الجود

بحق من أرسل بالإرشاد  
أعانه الله بجاء صاد  
سلطان (ألفاي) بلا أُنْدَاد  
يقية من مكائد الأقداد  
سلطان (ينده) كامل الأجناد  
بماله دراهم وعسجد  
في الملك أو ينجو من الأحقاد  
أعاننا بالمال والفوائد 60  
مضاعفا في أبد الآباد  
الحافظ المعروف كل ناد  
نشكره شكراً مدى الآماد  
حين فنى ما كان في المزاد  
في يومنا هذا وبوم الوعد  
وإنهم في الأرض كالأطواد  
صنيعهم خير بلا عناد  
والفرح والنعمة والأسعاد  
صلاته لسيد الوجود

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Poem in praise of Salaw, amir Ghadanfaru
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Qasida in alif-hamza in praise of Salaw, amir Ghadanfaru
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