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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Imitation and Originality in Four Poems by al-Ḥājj
‘Umar ibn Abī Bakr ibn ‘Uthmān Krachi
(ca 1856–1934)**

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts

By
Jibril Abubakr Gabid

Under the supervision of **Dr. Adam Talib**

June/ 2016

The American University in Cairo

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to look at the concepts of imitation and originality in the works of al-Ḥājj ʿUmar ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʿUthmān Krachi (ca 1856–1934) through the analysis of his four poems. These poems are based on the three main genres of Arabic poetry: panegyric (*madīḥ*), satire (*hijāʿ*), and eulogy (*rithāʿ*). My analysis of these poems is limited to structure, theme and content in order to explore the various ways in which our author imitates the classical mode of poetic composition and at the same time provides his readers with a picture of a different cultural component. The thesis also includes an appendix of critical editions and translations of the four poems. I have edited the poems and suggested emendations where relevant.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS, TRANSLATIONS, AND DATES

I have used the system of the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES) for the transliteration of Arabic and Hausa names and words. Spellings of other non-English names are written in Latin letters, for example, Kumasi and Ashanti. In line with the IJMES system, names of individual authors' name are spelled according to their preferred English spelling. For example, Abdul-Samad Abdullah. Also the spelling of common Romanized Arabic words are in American English; for instance, Amir, not Emir, Shaykh, not sheik, except for words containing *‘ayn* (ع) and *hamza* (أ), for example, Qur’an, not Quran, Ka‘ba, not Kaba. Also, Romanized Arabic name that has a definite article is written as such: al-Marzubānī, not Marzubānī. The inseparable prepositions, conjunctions, and other prefixes are connected by a hyphen: bi-, wa-, li-. Also the *tā’ marbūṭa* is written *a* not *ah*.

All translations in this work are mine unless otherwise noted. I have attempted in most cases to provide the Arabic text before the English translation. In translating both prose and verse, I have attempted to add self-evident interpolations within

brackets to render the text comprehensible. In doing so, I tried to remain as faithful as possible to the structure, content, and imagery of the original.

Dates are given with the Hijrī figure first, followed by its equivalent common era

(A.D) date which is separated by a slash.

Below is an illustration of the IJMES Transliteration System

ء	د	ذ	dh	ظ	z	ن	n
ب	b	ر	r	ع	‘	ه	h
ت	t	ز	z	غ	gh	و	w
ث	th	س	s	ف	f	ي	y
ج	j	ش	sh	ق	q	ة	a
ح	ḥ	ص	ṣ	ك	k	ال	al- and -l-
خ	kh	ض	ḍ	ل	l		
د	d	ط	ṭ	م	m		

Vowels

آ	ā	وَ	au or aw
و	ū	وِ	ai or ay
ي	ī	ـِ	a
ـِـي	iiy (final form ī)	ـِـ	u
ـِـو	uww (final form ū)	ـِـ	i

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PREFACE

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, West Africa witnessed a massive production of works in Arabic both in prose and verse. Among the locations that experienced this vibrant literary activity is what was known as Central Sudanic Africa (now defined as Nigeria, Chad, Niger, and Cameroon) and the Greater-Voltaic region (now Ghana, much of Ivory Coast, and Burkina Faso). Scholars from these regions used poetic forms to discuss matters of varied significance including the social, political, and religious, and they were also used to express personal feelings. Many historians and researchers have taken an interest in the poetry of this period, an interest driven in part, by the need to establish the African narrative in the historiography of Africa and the contribution of Muslim scholars to our understanding of African history. A more subjective appeal was

the need to showcase the literary and artistic ability of these people who were bent on establishing their love and affinity for Arabic and Islamic poetry.¹

One scholar whose poetic work has caught the attention of scholars is al-Ḥājj ‘Umar ibn Abī Bakr ibn ‘Uthmān al-Kabbawī al-Kanawī al-Ṣalghawī (1856–1934)² popularly referred to as Imam Imoru or Umaru Krakye (Karki).³ His great-grandfather Sharīf Ḥusayn, is said to have settled in Gobir and to have been an associate of ‘Uthmān Dan Fodio (1754–1817), reformer and founder of the Sokoto Sultanate in northern Nigeria.⁴ ‘Umar started his education in Kano and he is said to have committed the entire Qur’an into memory by the age of 12. He later studied under scholars in Kebbi and Gobir in pursuit of higher

¹ Abdul-Samad Abdullah, “Intertextuality and West African Arabic Poetry: Reading Nigerian Arabic Poetry of the 19th and 20th Centuries,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40, no.3 (2009), 335–361.

² ‘Umar’s date of birth has not been determined with certainty. In *Arabic Literature of Africa: The writings of Western Sudanic Africa*, p.586, John Hunwick gave 1856–7 as his date of birth. While Thomas Hodgkin gave 1858 in his work: *Islam in Tropical Africa*, pp.442–459.

³ John O. Hunwick, comp., *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. 4, *The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 583. Other scholars have spelt the name Krakye differently. In *Muslims and Chiefs in West African and in A Structural-functional Analysis of the Poetics of Arabic qaṣīdah*, the name was spelt: Krachi. The authors of *Gonja in Colonial Times* gave the spelling as: Kratchi while Abass Umar in the title of his thesis wrote it as Krachie. However, I have chosen to use the spelling (Krachi) throughout this work because this is the current common spelling.

⁴ Ivor Wilks, “The Growth of Islamic Learning in Ghana,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2, no. 4 (1963), 409–417.

education.⁵ After completing his education, ʿUmar was issued *ijāza* (licence) by his teacher ʿUthmān which read: “You are a very learned man and it is time you went and taught.”⁶ His father Abū Bakr, was a kola merchant and as a young man, ʿUmar used to accompany him on his trading journeys. This allowed him to travel extensively and to come into contact with other people. He decided to settle in Salaga, the capital of East Gonja district in the northern region of Ghana. This was a place ʿUmar was already familiar with from his commercial journeys with his father. Salaga was a vibrant commercial center and a center of rich literary activity, particularly associated with the commanding presence of ʿUmar.⁷ Other scholar who were also associated with Salaga include al-Ḥassan ibn ʿUmar Alfa Kiri (d. 1934), who wrote mainly in Hausa but also wrote letters in Arabic.⁸ Another scholar was Yūsuf Hārūn Bamba, a merchant and a teacher in Salaga and he wrote verses in Arabic.⁹ ʿUmar established a school in Salaga

⁵ Hunwick, *Arabic Literature of Africa*, 4:586.

⁶ Idriss Abdul-Razak, “Al-Haj Umar of Kete-Krachi: A Muslim Leader A Teacher A Poet and A Social Commentator of His Time” (MPhil thesis, University of Ghana, 1996), 25.

⁷ Hunwick, *Arabic Literature of Africa*, 4:583.

⁸ Ibid., 4:584–586.

⁹ Ibid., 4:594–595.

and many of his students who are widely dispersed throughout the Greater Voltaic Region.¹⁰ Among his students were ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣalghawī (d.1956-7) who wrote a panegyric on ‘Umar Krachi. Muḥammad Tetemo, who also composed an elegy on ‘Umar Krachi.¹¹ Most important was Ṣallaw, who was appointed chief of Kumasi Zongo by the British colonial administration. ‘Umar was also friends with the German explorer and Hausa language tutor Gottlob Adolf Krause and the German scholar-administrator Adam Mischlich. He taught Mischlich Hausa, history, and culture.¹²

Following the 1892 civil war, ‘Umar was forced to abandon Salaga, not just because of the conflict but because he supported one of the parties contending for the powerful position of the Kpembewura (chief of Salaga).¹³ So when the Lepo forces whom he supported were defeated in the civil war, he had to leave.¹⁴ He, along with many others moved to Kete-Krachi, on the Volta River,

¹⁰ Ibid., 4:588.

¹¹ Ibid., 4:595–600.

¹² Ibid., 587.

¹³ The 1892 Salaga civil war occurred between the Kabachewura Isifa assisted by his Dagomba and Nanumba allies who overthrew the Kpembewura Napo.

¹⁴ Ibid., 587.

a place he was later identified with and was appointed its imam. In one of his poems, Umar Krachi spoke about the conflict and was able to show the extent of the destruction caused.

رَبَطُوا مَتَاعَهُمْ وَقَرُّوا وَتَرَكُوا دِيَارَهُمْ وَمَرُّوا
وَتَرَكُوا أَمْوَالَهُمْ وَدَسُّوا وَدَخَلُوا عَدُوَّهُمْ وَجَلَسُوا
وَنَبَشُوا مَا كَانَ فِي الثَّرَابِ وَقَسَدُوا الدِّيَارَ بِالتَّخْرِيْبِ
وَسَدَّتْ الْأَقْوَامُ يَوْمَ الْهَرَبِ وَأَنْتَسَرُوا وَقَوْلُهُمْ يَا وَيْبِ
وَأَنْتَسَرُوا كَأَنَّهُمْ جَرَادٌ فِي كُلِّ جَهَّةٍ وَذَا شَدِيدِ
تَغَيَّرَ الْأُمُورُ وَقَاتَ النَّعْمُ وَنَابَتِ النَّفَمَةُ مَكَانَ النَّعْمِ¹⁵

They tied up their belongings and fled,

they left their homes and went away.

They left behind their wealth and buried them,

and their enemies came in and settled.

They dug up what was in the ground

¹⁵ *Tanbīh al-ikhwān fī dhikr al-aḥzān*. (IAS AR/27). This is a poem of 248 verses on the decline of morality and good government in Salaga, and the 1892 civil war.

and they corrupted the homes with destruction.

The people were dispersed on the day of flight

they were scattered [everywhere] and they said:

Woe [unto us].

They spread like locusts

in every direction and that was massive

The situation had changed and kindness had disappeared

and hostility had taken the place kindness.

In another poem, ‘Umar Krachi offered his opinion about Salaga and how he felt about a place that was once home.

أَمَّا سُؤْأَلِكْ رُجُوعَ سَأَلِغَ بَلْ حُبُّهَا عَن قَلْبِنَا قَدْ بَلَغَ
إِنْ صَا لَحَتْ فَ نِعَمَ مَا صَا لَحَهَا أَوْ مَالَتْ بِ الْخَيْرِ يُبْغِ لَهَا
وَالْأَسَا لِعَ عِنْدَهَا أَشْيَاءٌ لَذِيذُ أَمْرُهَا ضِيَاءٌ¹⁶

Regarding your question about returning to Salaga,

[beware] we hold her dear to our heart.

¹⁶ *Mashra‘ mal-khabar li-wārid wāriduhā bil-l-naẓar* (IAS AR/4). A poem of 88 verses on the coming of the Europeans.

If she is better that is excellent,
if she is filled with goodness that is more deserving.
Salaga - had it not been [the conflict] – has things that are
sweet [and] a place of splendor.

While in Kete-Krachi, ‘Umar twice went on pilgrimage in 1913 and 1918. During his first pilgrimage, he was initiated into the Tijāniyya sect.¹⁷ He also made frequent visits to Yendi and Kumasi. In the latter, it was at the invitation of Ṣallaw, ‘Umar’s student and the chief of Kumasi Zongo. Apart from teaching, ‘Umar devoted his life to writing in both prose and verse. His literary works are of considerable significance and touch on various aspects of life and events of his time. They include a wide range of topics: pedagogy, politics, religion, and history.¹⁸ He used both Arabic and Hausa in his writings and some of his Arabic verses contain Hausa words. His poem about the 1918–1919 influenza epidemic in Ghana rhymes with the word *tunkuyaw*, which is a Hausa word for

¹⁷ Tijāniyyah is a Ṣūfi sect which was founded by Aḥmad al-Tajānī in Algeria in 1196/1781-82. The sect has followers from West Africa and other parts of the Maghrib.

¹⁸ For a list of his works see: Hunwick, *Arabic Literature of Africa*, 4:592–594.

influenza.¹⁹ According to Thomas Hodgkin, “al-Ḥajj ‘Umar’s writings would seem to be at least as significant for the understanding of the recent social history of Ghana as are the writings of Wells and Bennett for the social history of Britain.”²⁰ His poems are described as “vehicle of social commentary, social criticism, and reflections on the history of his time.”²¹

This thesis looks at four poems by ‘Umar Krachi.²² The thesis is divided into four chapters and each chapter is devoted to one poem. The first chapter analyzes the *rā’iyya*, a panegyric for Ṣallaw. It also discusses politics during the

¹⁹ MS: IAS AR/23. A poem of 64 verses. According to K. David Patterson, the influenza pandemic has been described as the worst outbreak of infectious disease in world history. It is believed that at least twenty million people died as a result of the global outbreak of influenza. The disease which is caused by a virus and transmitted from person to person spread over the entire Gold Coast (now Ghana) in about three months and by January 1919, almost every village in the Gold Coast was attacked by the disease. Between 3rd–23rd September 1918, about six-hundred and fifty-five deaths were reported. In Accra, about 13,000 people were attacked with a case of mortality rate 5.03% and an overall mortality rate of 2.62%. See: K. David Patterson, “The Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19 in the Gold Coast,” *The Journal of African History* 24, no. 4 (1983), 485-502.

²⁰ Thomas Hodgkin, “The Islamic Literary Tradition in Ghana,” in *Islam in Tropical Africa*, ed. I.M. Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 454-455.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 454.

²² The poems are listed here with their MSS number and title as they appear in the thesis.

1. The *Rā’iyya*: Ghana/16.13/MSX, IAS AR/127, and IAS AR/239.
2. The *Mīmiyya*: Ghana/16.6/MSX.
3. The *Lāmiyya*: IAS AR/121.
4. The *Sīniyya*: IAS AR/121 and IAS AR/137.

twentieth century and the tensions that existed during his reign. The second chapter discusses another panegyric for the people of Tetemu (Kpong) Zongo for their generosity and hospitality towards the poet. Unlike the *rāʿiyya*, the *mīmiyya* highlights the social life of the people and most importantly, the concept of hospitality. The third chapter on the other hand looks at the *lāmiyya*, an elegy for the poet's son who died at the age of 32. The poet laments the loss of his son and extolls him. The poem also discusses morality and moral decadence within the poet's society. The last chapter analyzes the *sīniyya*, a *hijāʿ* poem in which the author lampoons an unnamed person for his objection to the author's way of pronouncing the Arabic phrase *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi taʿālā*. The importance of this poem cannot be overstated as it highlights the issue of polemics in that society and the West African region at large.

Each chapter begins with an introduction and a brief discussion of the genres of Arabic poetry: *madīḥ* (praise), *rithāʿ* (elegy), and *hijāʿ* (satire). In doing so, I explain the features of each genre and how it was used by pre-Islamic and Islamic-era poets. In addition, the first part of chapter one is devoted to studying

the life of the *mamdūh*, Ṣallaw, as well as politics in Kumasi during the twentieth century.

Readers of West African Arabic poetry can find many features in these poems that are similar to pre-Islamic and Islamic-era poetry. This may be partly due to the fact that the study of the *dawāwīn* (collected poems) of some of the pre-Islamic poets formed part of the educational system in West Africa. The aim of this thesis is to examine the concepts of imitation and originality which are important and not mutually exclusive. West African poets followed the pre-Islamic mode of poetic composition, by copying themes, topoi, and tropes, while others went as far as imitating lines through intertextuality. Abdul-Samad Abdullah has shown how, for instance, some West African Arabic poets used intertextuality to imitate the *mu‘allaqāt* of Imru’ al-Qays and al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī. He was able to demonstrate how the famous lines of Imru’ al-Qays were imitated through intertextuality.²³ This notwithstanding, West African

²³ Abdul-Samad Abdallah, “Intertextuality and West African Arabic Poetry: Reading Nigerian Arabic Poetry of the 19th and 20th Centuries,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40, no.3 (2009), 335–361.

Arabic poetry still has its unique features and reflects the poets' perception of their social reality and unique world view. While originality is highly regarded in works of art, certain conventions cannot be overlooked if poets "want to write something recognizable as poetry."²⁴

The thesis also includes an appendix of critical editions and translations of the four poems. These poems form part of what has been designated as IAS/AR (Institute of African Studies/ Arabic) and/or Ghana/ MSX (Northwestern University, Africana Collection) documents. All four manuscripts are written in the *Maghribi* script. The poems have been edited with suggested emendations where relevant.

²⁴ Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (California: Mazda Publishers, 1998), 100.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Thomas Hodgkin and Ivor Wilks laid the groundwork for later researchers who would focus not only on the historical, social, and political significance of ‘Umar Krachi’s work, but also its literary aesthetics. Both Hodgkin and Wilks were responsible for the collection and compilation of ‘Umar Krachi’s works that are currently held at the University of Ghana’s Institute of African Studies. They also studied ‘Umar Krachi in the context of the development of the tradition of Muslim historiography in Ghana. Other works on ‘Umar Krachi include B.G Martin’s translation of two poems by ‘Umar Krachi. The first is *Mashra‘ mā’ al-khabar li-wārid wāriduhā*, a poem on the coming of Europeans and Christianity. The second is *Nazm al-la’ālī bi-ikhbār wa-tanbīh al-kirām*, which develops the same theme of the arrival of Europeans. According to Martin, “these poems are important as literary evidence of the feelings and views of West African Muslims towards Europeans in the colonial period.”²⁵ The following lines from *Nazm al-la’ālī bi-ikhbār wa-tanbīh al-kirām* show ‘Umar Krachi’s sentiment and feeling towards the European colonizers and their Christian faith:

وَمَنْ يَأْكُ عَاقِلًا يُضْغِ إِلَيْهِ وَيَفْهَمُ مَا نَوَيْتُ فِي الْكَلَامِ
وَشَمْسُ مُصَيِّبَةٍ طَلَعَتْ بِعَرْبٍ وَعَمَّتْ لِلْعَمَارَةِ وَالْعَوَامِ

²⁵ B. G. Martin, “Translations, Commentary and Introduction to Two Poems of al-Ḥājj ‘Umar,” quoted in Mustapha Talatu, “A Historiographical Study of Four Works of al-Ḥājj ‘Umar ibn Abi Bakr of Kete-Krachi (ca 1950–1934)” (MA thesis, McGill University, 1970), 4.

يَلِيَّاتُ النَّصَارَى أُرِيدُ نَظْمًا وَبَلَّوْهُمْ أَتَنَّا كَالْغَمَامِ
وَمَبْدَأُ أَمْرِهِمْ جَاؤَا بِسِلْمٍ وَقَوْلٍ لِّبَيْنِ حُورِ النَّظَامِ
وَقَالُوا إِنَّا جِنَّةٌ لِّسُوقٍ وَإِنَّا لَطَرَائِقُ فِي الطَّوَامِ
وَمَنْعُ الظُّلَمِ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَلِصِّ وَإِحْسَانٌ وَإِسْقَاطُ الغَمَامِ
وَأَلَمْ نَعْلَمْ بِبَنِيَّاتِهِمْ جَمِيعًا وَقَدْ صِرْنَا لَدَيْهِمْ كَالطَّعَامِ
يَعْرُونَنَا بِتُخْفٍ تِهِمْ قَلِيلٍ وَيُعْطُونَنا لَدَيْ ذَاتِ الطَّعَامِ
وَأَلَمْ نَعْلَمْ أَنَّهُمْ أَتَوْنَا لِمُلْكِكَ كَمَا لَمُلُوكِ ذَوِي الخِيَامِ
قَرِيبًا بَدَلُوا مَا قَوْلُوهُ كَمَا قَالَ الإِلهُ لَدَى الكَلَامِ
وَقَدْ كَرَّرُوا اللِّوَاءَ بِكُلِّ مُدُنٍ وَصَارَ أَهْلُهَا مِثْلَ الخِدَامِ
...
وَأَمَّا الحُرُّ عَنَّا دَهْمُوا كَعَبِيدٍ وَعَبِيدٌ عَنَّا دَهْمُوا كَالجِرْسَانِ
وَقَلْنَا مَا بِهِذَا جِئْتُمُونَا أَكُنْتُمْ نَاكِثِي عَقْدِ الكَلَامِ
وَأَلَمْ أَرِ مِثْلَ هَذَا الحُكْمِ حَقًّا عَزِيزٌ كَالذَّلِيلِ مَعَ المُلَامِ

Whoever is wise will pay attention

and understand what we intend to say.

The sun of calamity has risen in the West,

and aims for the eminent and ordinary.

The atrocities of Christians I wish to compose,

their atrocities arrived like cloud.

In the beginning they came with peace,
with gentle words as pleasant as poetry.
They said: We came for trade,
and to fix the muddy roads.
To prevent injustice in the world and theft,
[to ensure] kindness and bring down evil.
But none of us knew their true intentions,
we became like riffraff to them.
They deceived us with their meager gifts,
they gave us delicious food.
Little did we know they had come
to rule like kings in tents.
Soon they changed what they said,
as the Lord had stated [in the Qu'an?]
They spread flags in all cities,
and the people became like slaves.
The freeman is for them like a slave,
and the slave for them like a guard.
We said: this is not what you brought us,
are you going to breach the contract of [your] speech?
Truly! I haven't seen anything similar to their rule,
the noble is like the ignoble with guilt.

Mustapha Talatu also translated and analyzed four poems by ‘Umar Krachi. They include the two poems translated by Martin, in addition to a poem on ‘Umar Kachi’s residence in Gambaga and his quarrel with the chief of Kete-Krachi. This poem begins with the line *Ā-mayya shāqatka ḥattā ṣirta khayranā*. The fourth poem: *Lābārin Naṣārā* (the chronicle of Christians) was written in Hausa. The aim of the study as Talatu informs us is “to understand the forms of literary expressions used by the author to present historical facts.”²⁶

In another study, Idriss Abdul-Razak discussed the cultural and social relevance of ‘Umar Krachi’s poems. The study “Al-Haj Umar of Kete-Krachi: A Muslim Leader A Teacher A Poet and A Social Commentator of His Time” was written in the aftermath of the 1994 Muslim conflict in Ghana.²⁷ The study sought among other things to draw lessons of unity and peaceful coexistence among Muslims in Ghana, by way of “adhering to Alhaj Umar’s advice he gave in his writings.”²⁸ Thus, the study analyzed the themes of Muslim unity, colonialism, and the outbreak of influenza in northern Ghana. If this study is anything to go by, it only goes to reaffirm Hodgkin’s assertion that ‘Umar

²⁶ Mustapha Talatu, “A Historiographical Study of Four Works of al-Ḥajj ‘Umar ibn Abī Bakr of Kete-Krachi (ca 1950–1934)” (MA thesis, McGill University, 1970).

²⁷ Popularly known as the Guinea Fowl conflict, the 1994 war was fought between the Nanumbas and the Konkombas in the Northern region. The conflict is believed to have claimed at least 2000 lives, 178,000 internally displaced and more than 400 villages destroyed.

²⁸ Idriss Abdul-Razak, “Al-Haj Umar of Kete-Krachi: A Muslim Leader A Teacher A Poet and A Social Commentator of His Time” (MPhil thesis, University of Ghana, 1996).

Krachi's poetry was a "vehicle of social commentary, social criticism, and reflections on the history of his time."²⁹

Two studies by Abass Umar Muhammed and Muhammed A. Gibrill are important for this thesis. Muhammed's work is relevant in its attempt to analyze 'Umar Krachi's work through the eyes of a literary critic. His study looked at the style and literary techniques used by 'Umar Krachi, including themes and general structure of the poems. He also compiled an anthology of 'Umar Krachi's poems, some of which may need to be revised due to common errors.³⁰ Also, his study did not undertake a close content analysis of the poems, and did not apply contemporary literary theory to make sense of the poetic structure. The second study performs this function. Gibrill applied van Gennep and Victor Turner's theoretical formulation regarding the ritual, transformational tripartite process of the rite of passage in order to understand the poet's psychological transformation.³¹

²⁹ Thomas Hodgkin, "The Islamic Literary Tradition in Ghana," in *Islam in Tropical Africa*, ed. I.M. Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 454.

³⁰ Abass Umar Muhammed, "Alhaj Umar Abubakar Krachie: A Bio-Critical Study" (MA thesis, The American University in Cairo, 2003).

³¹ Muhammad Al-Munir Gibrill, "A Structural-Functional Analysis of the Poetics of Arabic qaṣīdah: An Ethnolinguistic Study of Three Qaṣīdahs on Colonial Conquest of Africa by al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. Abī bakr b. 'Uthmān Krachi (1858–1934)" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2015).

Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monica Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1960).

My analysis is limited to structure, theme and content in the four poems by our author. The themes of these poems are based on the three main genres of Arabic poetry: panegyric (*madīḥ*), satire (*hijā'*), and eulogy (*rithā'*). These poems provide a picture of a different cultural component in which the poet is able to express his originality, despite the conventional structure he imitates. In other words, despite the imitation, our author is able to produce poems deeply rooted in the social and political realities of his time.

CHAPTER ONE

THE *RĀ'ĪYYA*: PANEGYRIC FOR ṢALLAW

Introduction:

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section discusses politics in nineteenth and twentieth century Kumasi and the role played by Muslims in this period. The second section presents an analysis of the *rā'īyya* by 'Umar Krachi.

The political and historical implications cannot be ignored if we are to appreciate and understand the context and content of the *rā'īyya*. Hence the necessity of discussing the historical and political situation especially when Ṣallaw was leader of Kumasi Zongo from 1919–1934. This exercise is relevant to our purpose because it not only illustrates the occasion for which the *rā'īyya* was composed but sets the stage for its analysis.

Section One: Şallaw and Politics in Ninteenth and Twentieth Century Kumasi.³²

Little is known about Şallaw prior to his appointment as Sarkin Zongo of Kumasi by the British colonial administration in the year 1919. Information regarding his early childhood and young adult life is very limited. In light of this challenge, discussion of his life is based on two sources, both of which look at his late adult life when he became the Sarkin Zongo (chief of Zongo). The first source consists of poems written by ‘Umar Krachi in which the author gives limited information about Şallaw, such as his name, title, ancestral lineage, and a vague description of his pre-adult life. The second are sources which include historical materials that document politics in Kumasi during British colonial rule. Here, Şallaw is cited for his role and contribution to politics in Kumasi, from 1919–1934, when he was leader of the Zongo community.

³² Kumasi is home to the Ashantis and the capital of Ashanti region. It was at the center of trading networks linking the Sahel in the north to the coast.

‘Umar Krachi in his poem gives Şallaw’s name as Ḥusayn al-Kashnāwī ibn Ya‘qūb and according to him, the name Şallaw is a nickname (*laqab*) whose meaning denotes prayerfulness.³³ Şallaw was born in Yendi to a Hausa father of Katsina descent who was also born in Salaga. He is also said to be a cousin to the Amir of Katsina.³⁴ ‘Umar Krachi mentions the ancestral lineage of Şallaw and his royal pedigree in the following lines:

حَفِيْدُ أَهْلِ كُمَآيَاوَا وَزَيِّ تَكُوْرُوْ وَغَـ ۛوْرُۛ

Grandson of the people of Kumāyaw,

Zay, Takūraw, and Ghawrū.

صِرْتِ مِّنْ نَّسْلِ الْمُلُوكِ زَادَكَ اللهُ سُرُوْرًاۛ

You have become a descendant of kings

[May] Allah increase your happiness.

³³ IAS AR/133.

³⁴ Enid Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo: The Transformation of Ethnic Identities in Ghana* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 202.

³⁵ IAS AR/127, IAS AR/239, Ghana/16.13/MSX. According to the annotation in IAS AR/127 and IAS AR/239, these are names of places where the people of Katsina first settled.

³⁶ IAS AR/133.

Şallaw's mother was also of royal blood from the Dagomba tribe of what is now northern Ghana.³⁷ He was a learned man and a student of 'Umar Krachi. His knowledge of "Islamic law and divination is said to have gained him a high reputation as well as considerable wealth."³⁸ It is probably his knowledge and wealth that earned him the love and respect of his teacher, who composed at least three poems in praise of him.³⁹ Şallaw moved to Kumasi as an adult after completing his studies and in 1919, he was appointed Sarkin Zongo by the British colonial administration. A position he held until 1934 when he resigned and returned to Katsina.

The term Zongo means 'a camping place of caravans,' or 'a lodging place of travelers.'⁴⁰ It was applied to settlements of Muslim traders. According to Daniel F. McCall, "the Zongo is a colonial creation and the establishment of its

³⁷ Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo*, 198.

³⁸ Ibid., 198.

³⁹ These poems are: IAS AR/133, IAS AR/239 III, and IAS AR/127, IAS AR/239, Ghana/16.13/MSX.

⁴⁰ R. C. Abraham, *Dictionary of the Hausa Language* (London: University of London Press, 1962).

political processes was in the context of British overrule”.⁴¹ Kumasi is one of the places where Muslim merchants established their Zongo settlements. Prior to the coming of the British, Muslims served as court scribes and kept accounts and records in Arabic. They also acted as ambassadors for the king on foreign missions, advised the king on matters of trade and war, served in the army, and, most significantly, performed magical and religious services. Thomas Edward Bowdich (1791–1824) made the following observations regarding the magical service rendered by the Muslims:

The most surprising superstition of the Ashantees, is their confidence in the fetishes or saphies they purchase so extravagantly from the Moors, believing firmly that they make them invulnerable and invincible in war, paralyse the hand of the enemy, shiver their weapons, divert the course of balls, render both sexes prolific, and avert all evils but sickness, (which they can only assuage) and natural death.⁴²

⁴¹ Daniel F. McCall, review of *People of the Zongo: The Transformation of Ethnic Identities in Ghana*, by Enid Schildkrout, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 12, no. 1 (1979), 106–108.

⁴² T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape-Coast to Ashantee*, (London, 1819), 270–272, quoted in N. Levtzion, “Early Nineteenth Century Arabic Manuscripts from Kumasi,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 8, (1965), 99–119.

Joseph Dupuis (1789–1874), the British Consul who visited Kumasi in early 1820s also gave an account of the demand for Muslim charms in the Ashanti kingdom:

The talismanic charms fabricated by the Moslems, it is well known, are esteemed efficacious according to the various powers they are supposed to possess, and here is a source of great emolument, as the article is in public demand from the palace to the slave's hut; for every man ... wears them strung around the neck ... Some are accounted efficacious for the cure of gunshot wounds, others for the thrust or laceration of steel weapons, and the poisoned barbs of javelins, or arrows. Some, on the other hand, are esteemed to possess the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable in the field of battle, and hence are worn as a preservative against the casualties of war.

Besides this class of charms, they have other cabalistic scraps for averting the evils of natural life: these may be subdivided into separate classes; some, for instance, are specific nostrums in certain diseases of the human frame, some for their prevention, and some are calculated either to ward off any impending stroke of fortune, or to raise the proprietor to wealth, happiness and distinction.⁴³

⁴³ Joseph Dupuis, "Journal of Resistance in Ashantee," (London, 1824), quoted in David Robinson, *Muslim Societies in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 57.

Even in the manuscript of ‘Umar Krachi, we find writings about the importance of some verses from the Qur’an. On one of the pages, there is a note about the importance of sura al-Khaf 18:65. The verse when recited seven times on the forehead of a child is believed to help him memorize whatever he is taught.⁴⁴

Muslims were incorporated in Ashanti society and they used their knowledge to get close to the Ashanti palace. In 1860, an *imam bilād* (a personal imam to the king) was appointed. He would pray for the king during wars and provide him with charms. Muslims were tolerated as long as they proved useful to the kings. As traders they were “encouraged to come and tolerated when they stayed, but as believers in the Great God, keepers of the Strong Book, masters of literacy and magical powers, they were much respected, revered, and regarded with awe”.⁴⁵ The arrival of the British and their conquering of the Ashanti kingdom in the 1900s meant that the Muslims were now directly under British colonial authority and because they were considered strangers, they depended

⁴⁴ Ghana/16.6/MSX.

⁴⁵ N. Levtzion, “Early Nineteenth Century Arabic Manuscripts from Kumasi,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 8, (1965), 99–119.

on the British government for permission to remain in the town and to enjoy certain rights and privileges. The government on the other hand gave headmen of the Zongo community political patronage whereby headmen performed certain services for the British government and they in turn, got limited authority in the Zongo.

The system of patronage which characterized relations between migrants, their headmen, and the British did not obtain to the same extent between Asante and the British. The stranger leaders were able to promise jobs and housing to migrants and, in turn, they received services, including voluntary labor, which they were then able to offer the colonial authorities. British officials, in turn, accorded recognition to the headmen, protected their positions, and permitted them to hold informal court to deal with internal disputes within their particular ethnic communities. This policy clearly encouraged the growth of ethnic politics, in that it encouraged each migrant group to develop a formal political structure, it set different immigrant groups in relations of competition with each other, and it encouraged Zongo leaders to use ethnicity in mobilizing local support.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Schildkrout, *People of the Zongo*, 196.

In 1905, the chief Commissioner of Ashanti, Sir Francis Fuller gave recognition to Mossi, Yoruba, and Wangara headmen. These headmen were selected by their communities and recognized by the Chief Commissioner. They enjoyed some level of autonomy but since their jurisdiction was not formally defined, ambitious leaders attempted to overstep their boundaries. The Yoruba headman for instance, complained that the Hausa headman was hearing Yoruba cases. Another complaint was brought against the Sarkin Zongo for hearing cases that did not fall under his jurisdiction.⁴⁷ In 1919, Şallaw was appointed Sarkin Zongo succeeding the deceased Mālam ʿUthmān. He was the first Sarkin Zongo to gain a formal place in the Kumasi administration as a non-native African member of the Public Health Board which was founded in 1924.⁴⁸ Şallaw's appointment was opposed by some members of the Zongo community, notably, by certain Hausa, because he was not a pure Hausa man. He was also opposed by the Mossi and Yoruba who saw the position of the Sarkin Zongo as a sign of Hausa hegemony. Nevertheless, Şallaw was supported by the British and proved

⁴⁷ Ibid., 197–198.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 199.

very useful to the administration. He organized cleaning up exercises in the Zongo during and in the aftermath of the plague epidemic that struck Kumasi and more severely the Zongo community. He also built a new housing estate (Sabon Zong). The power of the Sarkin Zongo was consolidated and in 1927 under the amendment to the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, the office of the Sarkin Zongo was granted a tribunal, the first court established for non-natives. Consequently, the courts of other headmen became illegal and they were to serve as juries on the Zongo tribunal. The new tribunal heard cases ranging from civil to criminal to minor crimes such as theft, assault and defamation. Punishments also ranged from fines, imprisonment or even banishment. Noteworthy is the *dōgāri* (body guards) who acted as messengers and as a police force.⁴⁹ Interestingly, Şallaw wielded so much power that the appointment of the other headmen was subject to his approval. He could reject the appointment of a particular leader even if their community chose them. This soon led to tension and conflict between Şallaw and the other headmen. The headmen were

⁴⁹ Ibid., 199–200.

unsuccessful in their petitions against Şallaw's abuse of power in a bid to become autonomous and run their own tribunals. In 1932, the Mamprusi headman was arrested by the Sarkin Zongo in an event which led to violent protest:

Isaka, Chief of Mamprusi, took a woman from a Mamprusi man. The woman had gone to the chief to ask for a divorce, and the chief, being like her father, since they were all from one country, took her from the man and gave her to a different man to marry. The first man went and reported to Isaka to Malam Salaw, and Salaw sent his *dogari* to Isaka's house to get rid of him [summons him?]. The people bailed Isaka and brought him to his own house and then they began to make a campaign against Salaw.⁵⁰

The protest that followed this event led to the formulation of rules which clarified the role of each headman on the tribunal. There were nine headmen on the tribunal and each was given increased authority in cases involving members of their own communities. The headmen, especially the Yoruba, Mossi, Mamprusi, Grusi, and Kotokoli saw the position of the Sarkin Zongo as a sign of

⁵⁰ Ibid., 201.

Hausa hegemony and therefore were opposed to any attempt by the Sarkin Zongo to have jurisdiction over their own communities which are distinct in terms of language and ethnic identity. The British government interpreted the protests as an expression of disloyalty or opposition to their authority, as represented by the Sarkin Zongo. They viewed the opposition as borne out of jealousy and opportunism.⁵¹ Şallaw on the other hand saw the conflict not as interethnic but “a conflict between an educated and orthodox Islamic leadership and a backward, ignorant mass of illiterate semipagans.”⁵² The culmination of tensions and confrontations led to a three-month sentence of the headmen which saw an attack on Şallaw’s house. The police responded by searching the Zongo for arms, leading to a number of casualties including one death and several arrests. The tribunal of the Sarkin Zongo was subsequently closed on the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner. Şallaw was persuaded to resign and

⁵¹ Ibid., 202–203.

⁵² Ibid., 202.

returned to Katsina, and for the time being, the office of Sarkin Zongo was abolished.⁵³

‘Umar Krachi was able to give limited information regarding the appointment of Şallaw by the British colonial administration and his political opponents:

فَقَبَّـارَكَ الْخَلَّاقُ ذُو الْآلَاءِ رَبُّ الْبَرِيَّةِ مُوَهِّبِ النُّعْمَاءِ
قَدْ خَصَّنَا بِعِلْمٍ وَالتَّقَى وَاخْتَصَّهُ بِإِمَارَةِ الْكِبَرَاءِ
آتَاهُ تَاجًا فِي حُكُومَةِ الْإِنْجِلِيزِ رَغْمًا لِمَغْبِضَةٍ مِنَ الْأَعْدَاءِ⁵⁴

Blessed is He the Creator, Possessor of Bounties,

Lord of creation, Bestower of favors.

He distinguished our Şallaw with knowledge and piety

and chose him to have authority over great men.

He gave him a crown in the English administration

in spite of his enemies.

⁵³ Ibid., 205.

⁵⁴ IAS AR/239 iii.

In another poem, ‘Umar Krachi spoke about Şallaw’s predecessor, Mālam ‘Uthmān, in what seems to be both an elegy and eulogy for Mālam ‘Uthmān and Şallaw.

رَجِمَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عُنْمَانًا مَا مَعْفُورًا
 مَمَاتَ عُنْمَانٌ وَلَكِنْ كَانَتْ أَبًا مَذْكُورًا⁵⁵

May Allah the Almighty have mercy on

‘Uthmān [one who is] worthy of forgiveness.

‘Uthmān died but

he was a man well remembered.

غَابَ نَجْمٌ لَأَخِ نَجْمٍ قَدْ كَفَى هَذَا سُزُورًا
 غَرَبَتْ شَمْسٌ أَدِينًا طَلَعَتْ شَمْسٌ مُنِيْرًا
 جَاءَتْ أَحْزَانُ شِدْدٍ جَاءَتْ أَفْرَاجُ وَبُورًا
 فَاتَتْ أَرْجُلُ عَظِيمٍ نَابَ صَافِئًا مُنِيْرًا⁵⁶

One star disappeared, [another] star appeared,

this is sufficient happiness.

⁵⁵ IAS AR/133.

⁵⁶ IAS AR/133.

A sun set before us
[another] sun has risen shining.
Severe sadness befell us,
happiness has come to replace it.
We lost a great man,
in his place comes Şallaw illuminating.

According to John Hunwick, ‘Umar Krachi made occasional visits to Kumasi at the invitation of Şallaw.⁵⁷ It is not clear what ‘Umar Krachi’s role was in the court of Şallaw but from reading his panegyrics on the matter, there is reason to argue that he played the role of a political propagandist, defending his patron (I use this word with caution) and attacking political opponents. There is also good reason to believe that ‘Umar Krachi played an advisory role, the role of a counselor who would advise on matters related to leadership and what was expected of Şallaw as a leader.⁵⁸ Most significantly is the spiritual obligation which he sought to fulfill. That is, the religious tone and the motif of *wa‘z*

⁵⁷ Hunwick, *Arabic Literature of Africa*, 4:612.

⁵⁸ IAS AR/133.

(exhortation) which appears frequently in his praise poetry echoes the religious dimension of the conflict between Şallaw and his opponents.

To summarize, this section is particularly important because it brings the observations from the past into a contextual focus. First, this section reviews the political situation in nineteenth and twentieth Century Kumasi and helps the reader understand the dynamics of politics under British colonial rule. It highlights the system of indirect rule in which the British colonial administration ruled the people through their leaders. This is manifest in the British view that their authority was represented by the Sarkin Zongo and any objection to the latter was a rejection of their rule. This section also defines the nature and limitations of the authority of Şallaw, so that when in our reading of the *rā'iyya* we find the poet's strong emphasis on divine intervention, we should understand that it is not a mere case of religiosity, but a realization of the limitations of the powers that be.

Section Two: The *Rā'yyha*.⁵⁹

Poetry was a vehicle through which West African Arabic scholars discussed political, social, and religious matters relevant to their societies. Most if not all, West African Arabic poets were raised on the *Jāhili* and Islamic-era poetic tradition and each of them reacted to it according to his or her own taste and temperament. In other words, some West African poets followed the pre-Islamic mode of poetic composition, by copying themes, topoi, and tropes, while others went as far as imitating lines through intertextuality. Abdul-Samad Abdullah showed how, for instance, some West African Arabic poets used intertextuality to imitate the *mu'allaqāt* of Imru' al-Qays and al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī. He was able to demonstrate how Muḥammad b. Junayd b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī

⁵⁹ The *rā'yya* has three versions with minor variations, specifically in the arrangement of some of the verses, the omission of some verses in one version or the other and some poetic dictions. The first two MSS: IAS AR/127 and IAS AR/239 are designations from the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana with page numbers: 1–15 and 2–14 respectively. Also, IAS AR/127 has 154 verses and IAS AR/239 has 156 verses. The third version is a microfilm copy designated Ghana/16.13/MSX. It is kept at the Herskovits Library of African Studies at Northwestern University. It has 158 verses and is written on 8 leaves (pp.125–139). The owner of this copy was Malam Baba Ibrahim, of Konongo. I used the three versions in my edition.

(Wazīr Junayd)⁶⁰ was able to imitate the famous lines of the *qaṣīda* of Imru' al-

Qays in the following verses:

وَأَيْلٍ بِوَادِيهَا تَهَبُ بِهِ الصَّبَا عَلَى شَاطِئِ وَسْطِ الْكَثِيبِ الْمُعْتَقِلِ
وَلَا تَنْسَ حَمَامًا بِمِثْنَيْهَا الَّذِي يُدْفِقُ مَاءً سَاخِنًا عِنْدَ مُنْهَلِ
وَرَقَصُ رَجَالٍ فِي رَمَالٍ عَشِيَّةٍ صُفُوفًا يَتَصَفِّقُ النَّسَاءُ بِأَنْمَلِ
وَكَمْ ذَكَرْتَنِي بَيْتُ شِعْرِ خِيَامِهَا بِسِفْطِ اللَّوَى بَيْنَ الدُّخُولِ فَحَوْمَلِ
وَأُطْرَبِّي فِيهَا غِنَاءُ حَمَامِهَا قَقَا نَبْكَ مِنْ ذِكْرِي حَبِيبٍ وَمَنْزَلِ
وَعَوْلَتُ مُغْتَمًّا عَلَى عِرْصَاتِهَا وَهَلْ عِنْدَ رَسْمِ دَارِسٍ مِنْ مَعْوَلِ
وَصَبْرِي صَحْبِي وَقَامُوا جَمِيعُهُمْ يَقُولُونَ لَا تَهْلِكْ أَسَى وَتَجَمَّلِ

Many a night, when the wind would blow on her plains

along the banks in the midst of the highly crowded sand
dunes.

Forget not, a dove on her fertile muddy soil

whose fountain gushes out warm waters.

⁶⁰ Muḥammad b. Junayd b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (b. 1906) popularly known as Wazīr Junayd was a Nigerian scholar, poet and the Wazīr to the Sultan of Sokoto. For more information, see John O. Hunwick and R. S. O'Fahey, ed., *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. 2, *Writings of Central Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 196-212.

Also: Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackleton, *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, vol. 2, *Eulogy's Bounty, Meaning's Abundance: An Anthology* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 425.

Remember the men on her sands in the evening who
dance in an orderly pattern as the women clap their hands.

Many a time, a single line of a poem would remind me of her tents
on the edge of the sandy desert between “Dukhūli” and
“Ḥawmali”.

I was overjoyed by the dove there singing,

“Stop and bemoan with me the memories of my love and of
the abodes”.

On her plain field, I had to wail sorrowfully,

“Of what use it is for one to cry over an effaced sketch?”

As I cried my friends stood by and consoled me,

saying, “Remain firm and die not of grief”.⁶¹

These verses immediately bring to mind the famous *Qifā nabki min dhikrā ḥabībīn wa-manzilī*. The attempt by Wazīr Junayd shows a “deliberate, well planned, and open intertextuality in both lexical and artistic terms.”⁶² The importance, however, is not the imitation of Imru’ al-Qays, but the ability to endow his famous lines with the poet’s own taste and experience, thereby presenting a

⁶¹ Abdullah, “Intertextuality and West African Arabic Poetry,” 345–346.

⁶² Ibid., 347.

unique worldview shaped by the poet's insight into reality and the world around him. I should like to reiterate here that the fact that there is an overwhelming propensity on the part of these West African poets to imitate the classical mode of poetic composition, either through intertextuality or through other means of imitation, does not rob their poems of their own unique and exceptional features and originality. My definition of originality is inspired by Carlos Baker's statement that:

Every poet draws to some degree upon his personal experience and his direct observations from the actual world around him as well as upon his reading, whether in poetry or prose. It is often, in fact, the admixture of the two types of experience that gives particular poems their uniqueness, the ingrained evidence of an alert imagination which has successfully combined traditional and more immediately empirical material.⁶³

Although Baker was speaking about modern poetry, his comments are true for classical poetry because personal experience and social factors are constant variables in poetic composition. And while originality is something highly

⁶³ Carlos Baker, "The Poet as Janus: Originality and Imitation in Modern Poetry," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128, no. 2 (1984), 167–172.

valued in art, including poetry, complete originality does not exist. Every artwork has been influenced by a previous work, and poets in particular must follow certain conventions, like rhyme and meter “if they want to write something recognizable as poetry” as Paul Losensky says.⁶⁴ In the paragraphs that follow, I shall present a structural and thematic analysis of the *rā'iyya* and try to tease out the author's use of imitation and originality.

Umar Krachi begins his *rā'iyya* with an introduction that accentuates the poet's awareness of pre-Islamic and Islamic-era poetic conventions but also highlights the discussion among medieval scholars on the semantic relationship between two important terminologies: *nasīb* (amatory prelude) and *ghazal* (elegy of love). The introduction reads as follows:

وَكَانَ ابْتِدَاءُ الْقَصَائِدِ بِالنَّسِيبِ أَوْ بِالتَّشْبِيبِ أَوْ بِالْعَزْلِ عَادَةً قَدِيمَةً عِنْدَ شُعْرَاءِ الْعَرَبِ
جَاهِلِيَّةً وَإِسْلَامًا وَعَلَى هَذَا الْمُنْوَالِ يَنْسَجُ كُلُّ شَاعِرٍ أَدِيبٍ مَاهِرٍ إِلَى الْيَوْمِ وَلِذَلِكَ
حَدَى هَذَا الشَّاعِرُ حَدْوَهُمْ وَلَعَلَّ مَا فِي مَطْلَعِ هَذِهِ الْقَصِيدَةِ هُوَ الْعَزْلُ تَأْمَلْ وَهِيَ
طَنَانَةٌ.⁶⁵

Beginning a poem with the *nasīb* (amatory prelude),
tashbīb (celebrating the qualities of the beloved) or *ghazal*

⁶⁴ Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, 100.

⁶⁵ Ghana/16.13/MSX; IAS AR/127 and IAS AR/239.

(elegy of love) is an old tradition among pre-Islamic and Islamic-era Arab poets, and so every learned and skillful poet follows this method until this day. This poet also follows their path and perhaps the beginning of this poem could be categorized as *ghazal* (elegy of love), think about it. The poem is famous.

Thus, philologists and linguists have attempted a definition of the semantic relationship between *nasīb*, *ghazal*, and *tashbīb*. Some of these critics used these terms synonymously while others attempted to draw a distinction between them. The twelfth-century lexicographer and author of the famous dictionary, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Ibn Manẓūr (630/1233–711/1311) drew a slight distinction between *nasīb*, *ghazal*, and *tashbīb*.⁶⁶ According to him, *nasīb* is when a woman is mentioned in amatory language and *ghazal* is the talk and the amusement obtained. Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī (139/756–ca 231/845) and Abū al-Faraj al-‘Iṣfahānī (284/897–356/967) also used the three terminologies synonymously to refer to love poetry in general.⁶⁷ Perhaps, the first critic to

⁶⁶ Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, ed. ‘Alī Shīrī, vols. 2 and 4 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Ṭurāth al-‘Arabī, 1988).

⁶⁷ Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī, *Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu‘arā’*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr, vol. 2, (Cairo: Maṭba‘a al-Madanī, 1974).

attempt a distinction between these terms was Qudāma ibn Ja‘far (ca. 260/873–ca. 320/932). In his *Naqd al-Shi‘r*, Qudāma spoke of *nasīb* as the expression of *ghazal* and *ghazal* as the content itself.⁶⁸ Later critics such as Ibn Rashīq (390/1000–ca 456/1063)⁶⁹ and al-Tabrīzī (421/1030–502/1109) also concurred with Qudāma in his distinction but went further to argue that *ghazal* is the manifestation of affection towards the beloved and *nasīb* is the mentioning of that affection. As far as the *rā’iyya* is concerned, ‘Umar Krachi begins with what Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḥūfī referred to as *al-ghazal al-tamhīdī* (introductory *ghazal*), which was common in pre-Islamic and Islamic-era poetics. The aim of this introductory *ghazal* is to prepare the listener for what is expected later in the poem.⁷⁰ ‘Antara ibn Shaddād began his panegyric on Zuhayr al-‘Absī with eight verses of *al-ghazal al-tamhīdī*:

Abū al-Faraj al-‘Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 4 vols, (Cairo: al-Hay’a al-Maṣriyya al-‘Āmma lil-Kitāb, 2001).

⁶⁸ Abū al-Faraj Qudāma ibn Ja‘far, *Naqd al-Shi‘r*, ed. Kamāl Muṣṭafā, 3rd ed. (Cairo: Maktaba al-Khānījī, 1979), 123.

⁶⁹ Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *al-Umda fī Ṣinā‘at al-Shi‘r wa-Naqdihī*, ed. Al-Nabawī ‘Abd al-Wāḥid Sha‘lān, vol. 2, (Cairo: Maktaba al-Khānījī, 2000).

⁷⁰ Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḥūfī, *al-Ghazal fī al-‘Aṣr al-Jāhili*, 3rd ed. (Cairo: Dār Nahḍa Miṣr lil-Ṭab‘ wal-Nashr, 1973), 258.

[من خفيف]

هَذِهِ نَارُ عَبْلَةَ يَا نَدِيمِي قَدْ جَلَّتْ ظِلْمَةَ الظَّلَامِ الْبُهِيمِ
تَتَأَلَّى وَمِثْلَهَا فِي فُؤَادِي نَارُ شَوْقٍ تَزْدَادُ بِالنُّضْرِ رِيمِ
أَضْرَمْتُهَا بِيَضَاءِ تَهْتَزُّ كَالْعُصْنِ ————— نِ إِذَا مَا انْتَنَى بِمَرِّ النَّسِيمِ
وَكَسَّتُهُ أَنْفَاسُهَا أَرْجَ النَّوْمِ ————— دَقَبْتُنَا مِنْ طِبِيبِهَا فِي نَعِيمِ
كَاعْبُ رِيْفِهَا أَلَدَمِنَ الشَّهْرِ ————— إِذَا مَا زَجَّئُهُ بِنُتِ الْكُرُومِ
كُلَّمَا دُقَّتْ بَارِدًا مِنْ لَمَاهَا خَائِئُهُ فِي فَمِي كَنَارِ الْجَجِيمِ
سَرَقَ الْبَدْرُ حُسْنَ نَهَا وَأَسْتَعَارَتْ سِحْرَ أَجْفَانِهَا ظَبَاءَ الصَّرِيمِ
وَعَرَامِي بِهَا غَرَامٌ مُقِيمٌ وَعَذَابِي مِنَ الْغَرَامِ الْمُقِيمِ⁷¹

This is the fire of 'Ablah O my companion

its flames light up the darkness of the darkest night.

It ignites a similar flame in my heart

a flame of yearning increased by burning flames.

It was lit by a white-skinned woman who shakes like a branch

when it is blown by the passing breeze.

Her breath adorns its breathe with a good smell of *nadd* (incense)

⁷¹ *Dīwān 'Antara* (Beirut: Dār Bayrūt lil-Ṭabā'a wal-Nashr, 1958), 209.

and we spent the night enjoying her good smell.
A large-breasted one is sweeter than honey
when it is mixed with wine.
Any time I tasted the cold on her lips
I feel like the inside of my mouth is the blaze of hell.
The moon stole her beauty and the antelope borrowed
the charm of her eyelid.
My affection for her is permanent
my suffering from her love is enduring.

Ghazal as Prelude

The *rā'iyya* follows the conventional bipartite structure of the *qaṣīda*. It begins with *ghazal* as a prelude to the main theme of *madīḥ* (praise). We shall therefore take each of these structural compositions as our unit of analysis and examine how the author employed pre-Islamic and Islamic-era themes, topoi, and tropes.

[من المجتث]

بُئِنِّي رَأَيْتُكَ بَشِيرًا مِّنْ عِنْدِ هُنَا دِ بَصِيرًا
وَمِنْ سُنِّي أَيْمِي وَدَعْدٍ وَمِنْ لَمِي سِي مُمْتَرًا

وَمِنْ سُمْيَ وَلِيَا مِي مِ كَاهِ نَّ سَا فِيرُ
 وَدِّي لَهُ نَّ قَا دِيمِ دِلَالُهُ نَّ سَا عِيرُ
 سَا اجْلَتْ وَرَقَاءَ سَا جَعَا عَا نَّ عُصَا نَهَا لَا تَطِيرُ
 قُلُوبُهُنَّ هَا وَءَا وَءَا وَءَا وَءَا وَءَا وَءَا
 سَا بَيْنَ لِيِي وَخَلِيِي وَصَا رَا عِنَّا دِي خَرِي رُ
 تَرَ كُنَّا فِي فِي عِنَّا كَا أَنِّي مَطْمُورُ
 رَأَيْتَ نَّ شَا يَبَ عَا ذَارِي فَا نَّ هَا ذَا نَخُورُ
 وَصَا رَا يَطَّا بُهْنُ حَا نَّ تَا تَا وَلَى النَّهَارُ
 وَعَسَا عَسَا اللَّيْلُ يَغْدُو حَا نَّ تَا دَا نَى السُّحُورُ
 وَأَلَمْ يَنْ طَمُولَ لِيِي كَا نَّ مَعَا رُورُ
 يُصْنَعِي إِلَى صَا وَتِي كَمَا صَا عَا عَصَا فُورُ
 لَصَا وَتِ بَا زِ مِطْلِ كَا نَّ الطَّنْبُورُ
 وَقَاتُّهُ مَا يَارُومُ كَفَى بِهَا ذَا حَسَا رَا
 فَصَا رَا نَفْضًا بَا بِيَا كَا نَّ هَا الضَّرَّ فُطَارُ

I bring you glad tidings and wisdom from Hind.

From Sulaimā and Da'd, from Lamīs [comes] a counsellor.

From Sumayyā and Laylā, from each of them [comes] a messenger.

My love for them is old, their amorous gestures are [like] burning flames.

I competed with the dove for melodious sounds, on her branch she flew
not.

Their hearts are empty, their bodies full of energy.

They charmed my mind and heart and [their voice] was a melody of
running water.

They left me in pain as if I were entombed.

They saw my gray beard and they said this is *nakhūr*.⁷²

He [continued] searching for them until night enshrouded.

And night was gradually stealing away until dawn merged into day.

He did not sleep all night as if he was seduced.

Listening [carefully] to their voices as the bird listens

To the voice of a flying falcon as if it were a mandolin.

He missed what he was desiring, sufficient is his loss.

He was emaciated by travel as if he were a *diḡtār*.⁷³

The *ghazal* like the *nasīb* can be appreciated from two different perspectives, as a love story within its social context and as a structural unit within the polythematic *qaṣīda*.⁷⁴ In its social context, the *ghazal* is addressed to the poet's beloveds. It explains his feelings and emotions and gives insight into

⁷² A camel that is milked by putting the finger in her nose.

⁷³ A species of lizard.

⁷⁴ *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Nasīb." Renate Jacobi.

what is considered acceptable in the expression of love in the poet's society. It also empowers the women and shows their social superiority. In a non-linear narrative, the poet confesses his love (line 4A), grief (line 8), pursuit of his romantic love (ll. 8, 10–11, 13–16), and sleeplessness (line 12). These are contrasted with the amatory and enticing conduct of the women (line 4B), their lack of emotional engagement and notoriety (line 6), their cruelty and social superiority (line 9). The women are depicted as unyielding and they seldom appear emotionally engaged. At the end when the poet's love is not compensated, he resolves to forget his beloveds and turns to the main theme of his poem.

Noteworthy are lines 1–3 where the poet presents names of six women:

Hind, Sulaymā, Daʿd, Lamīs, Sumayyā, and Laylā. These names – it would appear – are fictional characters rather than actual women with whom the poet had a relationship. This is a common practice in classical Arabic poetry.

According to Ibn Rashīq, poets would sometimes use names (including the six names used by our poet) not just for their palatability but for metrical (*iqāmatan*

lil-wazn) and aesthetic reasons (*taḥliyyatan lil-nasīb*).⁷⁵ Al-Sayyid al-Ḥumayrī in

one of his *nasīb* introductions mentions the name of four women.

[من الكامل]

وَلَقَدْ يَكُونُ بِهَا أَوَانِسُ كَالذَّمَى هِنْدٌ وَعَبْدَةُ وَالرَّبَابُ وَبَوْزَعٌ⁷⁶

And he was friends with the beautiful women

Hind, ‘Abdah, al-Rabāb, and Bawza’.

Medieval Arab critics spoke about the *qaṣīda* in ways that suggest that in order to produce an excellent poem, the poet must begin with a captivating prelude and to achieve this the poet must observe certain principles. Ibn Rashīq compared poetry to a lock that is unlocked by the beginning of the poem:

فَإِنَّ الشِّعْرَ قُفْلٌ أَوَّلُهُ مِفْتَاحٌ وَيُنْبَغِي لِلشَّاعِرِ أَنْ يُجَوِّدَ ابْتِدَاءَ شِعْرِهِ فَإِنَّهُ أَوَّلُ مَا يَفْرَعُ
السَّمْعَ وَبِهِ يُسْتَدَلُّ عَلَى مَا عِنْدَهُ مِنْ أَوَّلِ وَهْلَةٍ.⁷⁷

Poetry is a lock, the beginning of which is a key. It is therefore imperative on the poet to better the beginning of his poem, for it is the first [thing] to strike the ears and (enables one to) draw a conclusion right from the beginning.

⁷⁵ Ibn Rashīq, *al-Umda*, 2:783–784.

⁷⁶ *Dīwān al-Sayyid al-Ḥumayrī*, quoted in Ibn Rashīq, *al-Umda*, 2:785.

⁷⁷ Ibn Rashīq, *al-Umdah*, 1:350.

Ibn Qutayba (213/828– 276/889) also in his *al-Shi'r wa-l-Shu'arā'* described how a poet should start his *qaṣīda*.

وَسَمِعْتُ بَعْضَ أَهْلِ الْأَدَبِ يَذْكُرُ أَنَّ مَقْصَدَ الْقَصِيدِ إِنَّمَا ابْتَدَأَ فِيهَا الدِّيَارُ وَالْآثَارُ،
فَبَكَى وَشَكَأَ، وَخَاطَبَ الرَّبْعَ، وَاسْتَوْقَفَ الرَّفِيقَ، لِيَجْعَلَ ذَلِكَ سَبَبًا لِذِكْرِ أَهْلِهَا
الظَّاعِنِينَ (عَنْهَا)، ... ثُمَّ وَصَلَ ذَلِكَ بِالنَّسِيبِ، فَشَكَأَ شِدَّةَ الْوَجْدِ وَالْمَ الْفِرَاقِ، وَفَرَطَ
الصَّبَابَةَ وَالشَّوْقَ، لِيَمِيلَ نَحْوَهُ الْقُلُوبَ، وَيُصْرِفَ إِلَيْهِ الْوُجُوهَ، وَلَيْسْتَنْدِعِي (بِهِ)
إِصْغَاءَ الْأَسْمَاعِ إِلَيْهِ، لِأَنَّ التَّشْبِيبَ قَرِيبٌ مِنَ النَّفُوسِ، لِأَيْطُ بِالْقُلُوبِ، ... فَإِذَا (عَلِمَ)
أَنَّهُ قَدْ اسْتَوْثِقَ مِنَ الْإِصْغَاءِ إِلَيْهِ، وَالِاسْتِمَاعِ لَهُ، عَقَّبَ بِإِيْجَابِ الْحُقُوقِ، فَرَحَلَ فِي
شِعْرِهِ، وَشَكَأَ النَّصَبَ وَالسَّهَرَ، وَسَرَى اللَّيْلَ وَحَرَ الْهَجِيرِ، وَإِنْضَاءَ الرَّاحِلَةَ
وَالْبَعِيرِ. فَإِذَا عَلِمَ أَنَّهُ (قَدْ) أُوجِبَ عَلَى صَاحِبِهِ حَقَّ الرَّجَاءِ، وَذِمَامَةَ التَّأْمِيلِ، وَقَرَّرَ
عِنْدَهُ مَا نَالَ مِنَ الْمَكَارِهِ فِي الْمَسِيرِ، وَبَدَأَ فِي الْمَدِيحِ، فَبَعَثَهُ عَلَى الْمُكَافَأَةِ، وَهَرَّهَ
لِلسَّمَاكِ وَفَضَّلَهُ عَلَى الْأَشْبَاهِ، وَصَغَّرَ فِي قَدْرِهِ الْجَزِيلِ.
فَالشَّاعِرُ الْمُجِيدُ مَنْ سَلَكَ هَذِهِ الْأَسَالِيبَ، وَعَدَلَ بَيْنَ هَذِهِ الْأَقْسَامِ، فَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ وَاحِدًا
مِنْهَا أَغْلَبَ عَلَى الشَّعْرِ، وَلَمْ يُطِلْ فَيَمِلَ السَّامِعِينَ وَلَمْ يَقْطَعْ وَبِالنَّفُوسِ ظَمَاءً إِلَى
المزید. 78

I have heard men of letters say, that one who intends to compose a *qaṣīda* begins by mentioning abandoned encampments, traces, and vestiges; he weeps, laments, apostrophizes the sites, and begs his companion to stop, that he may make this an occasion to speak to those who have departed... To this he joins the *nasīb*, and complains of the force of his passion, the pain of separation, and the excessiveness of his longing and desire, so as to incline hearts towards him and to attract interest, and gain an attentive hearing. For the poetry of love is close to the soul and insinuates itself into the heart... Once he is assured that he will be heard

⁷⁸ ‘Abdullāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba, *al-Shi'r wa-l-Shu'arā'*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 3rd ed. vol. 2. (Cairo: Dār al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1977), 80–82.

and heeded, he proceeds to the affirmation of his rights: thus he mounts up, in his poem, he complains of his hardships and sleeplessness, night journeys, the midday heat, and the emaciation of his weary camels. When he is assured that he has convinced his addressee of his right to hope for reward and to expect satisfaction, and has established the hardships encountered on his journey, he begins the *madīh*, in which he urges him to requite him and incites him to generosity, elevates him above his peers and diminishes their stature (as compared to) his noble station.

The excellent poet is he who follows this paths and observes a just balance between these parts, and does not make any one of them dominate the poem, nor make (one) so long that the listeners become bored, or cut it short while their souls still thirst for more.⁷⁹

While not all poems begin in the fashion described above, they are still considered to be excellent by medieval scholars. They possess what critics refer to as *ḥusn al-iftitāh* or *ibtidā'* (an excellent opening) which helps the listener recognize the poem's prosodic scheme (*taṣrīḥ*) and to anticipate its primary

⁷⁹ Translated by Julie Scott Meisami, *Structure and Meaning in Medieval Arabic and Persian Poetry* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 60.

theme.⁸⁰ The line by ʿAws ibn Ḥajar is considered an excellent opening by Ibn

Rashīq:

[من المنسرح]

أَيْتُهَا النَّفْسُ أَجْمَلِي جَزَعًا إِنَّ الَّذِي تَخْذَرِينَ قَدْ وَقَعَا⁸¹

O soul, man up [against] fear.

What you were afraid of has occurred.

Another one by Abū Nuwās (b. between 130/747 and 145/762–198/813 and

200/815) reads:

[من البسيط]

دَعْ عَنْكَ لَوْمِي فَإِنَّ اللَّوْمَ إِغْرَاءٌ وَدَاوِنِي بِأَلْتِي كَانَتْ هِيَ الدَّاءُ⁸²

Stop blaming me for blame is but a temptation,

cure me with that which is the disease.

⁸⁰ Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 61.

⁸¹ Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa-l-Shuʿarāʾ*, 1:207.

⁸² *Dīwān Abī Nuwās*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlwah, vol. 1, (Beirut: Al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-Lubnānī, 2004), 7.

These verses are excellent openings because they do not just set the rhyme pattern of the poem but also inform the listener of their primary themes. In the first verse, the listener anticipates an elegy and in the second verse, he anticipates wine poetry. Although it is difficult to anticipate the main theme in the opening lines of the *rā'iyya*, the poet is still able to achieve one of the features of *ḥusn al-iftitāḥ* which is the *taṣrīʿ*. He uses *taṣrīʿ* on two levels: to set the poem's prosodic scheme and to transition into the main theme of his poem.⁸³

The poetic persona in the *ghazal* cannot go unnoticed. Pre-Islamic poets rarely refer to their own experience and, as argued by Renate Jacobi, their verses are based on collective experience and therefore written in a way that each member of the tribal aristocracy can identify.⁸⁴ As a result, the pre-Islamic poet would normally use the second or third person pronoun when describing his love affairs and in most cases, he would switch between pronouns. He would switch from talking about himself and his experience to talking about other people and their experiences. This style is thus both rhetorical and dramatic

⁸³ See lines 1 and 18 in IAS AR/127, IAS AR/239, Ghana/16.13/MSX.

⁸⁴ *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Nasīb." Renate Jacobi.

where the listener becomes an active observer and he is able to identify with the poet and even partakes in his misery. Another explanation to the shift in the poetic persona is that the poet changes person as a way to distance himself from what is being said, becoming like an uninvolved observer looking at himself from the outside.⁸⁵ ʿUmar Krachi makes sudden shifts from the first person pronoun (ll. 4, 7, 8, and 9) to the third person pronoun (ll. 10–17). This swift change of persona is both dramatic and vague in that it leaves no clue as to who the third person might be. The only valid explanation is that the poet tries to distance himself from what is being said, looking at himself from the outside.

Themes of *Madīh* in the *Rāʿiyya*

The modularity in the structural composition indicates that the *raʿiyya* is polythematic. In addition to the main theme of *madīh*, there are other themes which occur in non-fluid and nonlinear form. They sometimes occur between

⁸⁵ Nathalie Khankan, "Reperceiving the Pre-Islamic "*Nasīb*," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 33, no. 1 (2002), 1–23.

one section of the main theme and another and they sometimes occur abruptly, so that it is not always easy to fit them into a functional and formal outline. The two lines (ll. 17–18) which follow the *ghazal* act as a transition (*takhalluṣ*) and are subtly connected to the main theme of the *rāʿiyya*. The poet introduces the *mamdūh* in just one line (l. 19) which subsumes all the noble qualities of the *mamdūh*: *amir* (leader), *ghaḍanfar* (lit. lion), and *mashhūr* (famous) in addition to his nickname. This is immediately followed by information about the ancestral lineage of the *mamdūh* in an attempt to give legitimacy to his rule. As if these were not enough, the poet goes on to assert the legitimacy of the *mamdūh* through divine sanction (ll. 21–28). He then attributes to him the virtues of knowledge, wisdom, and modesty which he claims are gifts from God (ll. 29–30). The importance of this cannot be overstated as it underscores the religious tone which is palpable throughout the poem. The poet then proceeds to address his own detractors in what might seem a digression but also acts as transition into the next section of the panegyric (ll. 31–35). He mentions what he referred to as the names of Ṣallaw but to be more precise, these are virtues that fall

under the broad categories of courage, justice, intelligence, and modesty (ll. 36–48). He then proceeds to attack opponents of the *mamdūh*, those he referred to as ‘enemies’ and ‘enviers’. His invective is between admonition and exhortation, between harsh criticism and persuasion (ll. 55–67). The next two verses (ll. 68–69) function as yet another transition into the motif of invective. The poet describes the palace of the *mamdūh* as having a strong foundation. He then proceeds to address the opponents in a milder tone in what may be described as *tawʿīd* (admonition). He asks them to repent or face the consequence of their actions in the afterlife (ll. 70–74). This is followed by prayer for the *mamdūh* against his enemies (ll. 75–77). The poet also uses *iqtibās* from the Qurʾan to compare Ṣallaw and his enemies.⁸⁶ The latter is compared to a shadow and the former to the sun’s full heat (l. 93). After making this comparison, the poet moves into another section of the panegyric, the praise of the *mamdūh* for his knowledge, thoughtfulness, soberness, tranquility, justice, and the ability to solve problems (ll. 95–98). These virtues are compared to the enemies’ evil

⁸⁶ Sura Fāṭir 35:21.

machination (ll. 99–101). After this the poet resumes his praise the *mamdūh* for his generosity (ll. 102–114). He then prays for the *mamdūh*, asks for God’s favor on him and his household, asks for protection against his enemies and finally prays for his deceased parents and relatives (ll. 125–146). For the first time, however, the poet speaks about his poem which he likens to servants and maidens. Servants probably because they are meant to render praise to the *mamdūh*. He also makes a humble submission in lines 147–152 to the lack of perfection of his poem, suggesting anomalies in the meter. He finally makes a prayer and concludes with the date when the *rā’iyya* was written (ll. 153–158).

Structural Composition of the *Rā'iyya*

1–16	<i>Ghazal</i>	50–54	Praise
17–18	Transition	55–67	<i>Hijā'</i>
19–25	Praise	68–69	Describing the <i>mamdūh's</i> palace
26–28	Divine legitimacy	70–74	Addressing opponents
29–30	Praise	75–77	Prayer for the <i>mamdūh</i>
31–35	Addressing his detractors	78–92	Prayer against enemies
36–48	Praise	93	<i>Iqtibās</i>
49	Emphasis on 36–48	94–98	Praise
99–101	Description of evil plots	125–133	Prayer for the <i>mamdūh</i>
102–112	Praise	134–146	Prayer for his deceased family
113–114	Praise of people of Kumasi	147–152	Reference to the <i>rā'iyya</i>
115–117	Praise	153–155	Concluding prayer
118–119	Advice to enemies	156–157	The <i>ta'rikh</i> (date of composition)
120–124	Praise	158	Reference to the <i>rā'iyya</i>

Imitation and Originality in the *Rā'iyya*

It is relevant at this point to answer the following questions. In what way(s) does

Umar Krachi imitate pre-Islamic and Islamic poetic conventions and how does

he strive to achieve originality in his poem. ‘Umar Krachi follows the pre-Islamic convention of a polythematic *qaṣīda* by speaking to the topic of love [*ghazal*], praise [*madīḥ*] and invective [*hijā’*] within the same *qaṣīda*. He imitates the classical way by working within the general structural framework of the *qaṣīda* but at the same time, he is informed by social reality. For instance, in pre-Islamic *nasīb/ghazal* the poet, after lamenting over the deserted campsite of his beloved and after describing his violent passion and sleeplessness, often turns to his camel for consolation and asks if she will be strong enough to carry him to his destination. This is often followed by a detailed description of the camel (*waṣf al-nāqa*), embellished by scenes of animal life in which the camel is compared to a wild bull, onager, ostrich, and in some cases an eagle.⁸⁷ ‘Umar Krachi thus works within this amatory framework. However, his own situation does not permit him to talk about his beloveds in a sensual way or in ways that excite erotic readings. Also the reality of his time does not allow him to talk about the deserted campsite and the camel. Therefore, what we see in the *ghazal*

⁸⁷ *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Nasīb.”

is a kind of imitation by contradiction; our author accepts the general framework of the *ghazal* “while giving it a new setting and a decidedly contradictory moral twist.”⁸⁸

As far as originality in the four poems is concerned, there are at least two areas to look at: imagery including performance in reciting and style. These three areas are related to two main issues. The first is the audience as a target group with a limited level of Arabic competence. Arabic was not the language of the masses, but a component of high culture, limited to the educated class. Twi is the language of the Ashanti’s and was used for communication with the court. Juula, Gur, and Hausa were commercial languages and Arabic was used at least for prayer purposes.⁸⁹ The second is the role played by oral history and oral tradition in the poet’s society. Before the introduction of formal education, oral transmission was the main system of education in African societies. The importance of this system cannot be overstated as it is still used in most West African Muslim societies, especially in the *madrassa* where children are taught to

⁸⁸ Carlos Baker, “The Poet as Janus,” 167–172.

⁸⁹ Robinson, *Muslim Societies*, 128.

read and memorize the Qur'an. These two issues—Arabic as an elite language and a culture of orality--affect the structure of 'Umar Krachi's poems and his poetic style.

The *rā'iyya* is filled with imagery that calls on performance or memory. These images are found in lines that are descriptive. In the *ghazal* section of the poem, the poet describes his beloved in words that invite the listener to draw a picture or recall his past experience. Such words present an image of an attractive and charming woman, strong enough to mesmerize a man (even though the poet uses words that turn this charming beloved into a repulsive character later on).

The second form of imagery used by 'Umar Krachi comes in the *madīh* section of the *rā'iyya*. In (ll. 49–51, 53), where Şallaw is described as a smiling character, one with a shining face, and a dignified person. These descriptions sum up three pleasant images of physical beauty, high rank, and good character.

The third form of imagery is the opposite of the two above. It is filled by unpleasant images and they are attributed to the detractors of Şallaw. In lines

60–63, 70–73, 77–88 the poet addresses enemies of Ṣallaw and threatens them with destruction, famine, calamities, etc.

As Arabic literacy was not wide spread in popular culture in the poet's society, we appreciate the importance of gestures in West African societies.

Thus, performance is used as a tool to reach the wider audience. It can be found in certain verbs and demonstrative articles that require gesturing by the poet.

When 'Umar Krachi introduces the *mamdūh*, he uses the demonstrative article [*dhāka*], thus pointing to Ṣallaw who might be sitting some distance away. Also, in lines 21–24 the poet talks about how Ṣallaw was blessed by al-Ḥājj Dikko who placed his hand on the head of the former, a common practice in most West African Muslim societies in which an elder or a scholar blesses a younger man by putting his hands on his head and praying for him. Another gesture is in line 52 when 'Umar Krachi talks about tyrant leaders who oppressed their subjects.

The word used is “*zanaqū*” they strangled. This may require some form of action by the poet to demonstrate to his audience. Again in line 69, we see is a direct address to the enemy. He calls him and ask him to come and listen. (*qafandarun*

hāti wa-sma). In the sections where the poet invokes almighty God and prays for Şallaw and against his enemies (ll. 74–75, 89–91, 115, 123–140) we expect the poet to have raised his hands and looked up to the sky to call unto God.

In the *rā'iyya*, 'Umar Krachi uses various styles for aesthetic reasons. One of the styles in the *rā'iyya* is repetition. In lines 36–47 'Umar uses three phrases to talk about the names of Şallaw. These phrases (*in qultu*, *aw qīla*, and *in qīla*) serve as both emphases in addition to the melody they produce.

Another style 'Umar Krachi uses is the *ḥarf al-nidā'* to get the attention of his audience. *Yā ayyuha al-a'dā'*, *yā ayyuha al-shu'arā'*, *yā ayyuha al-nās* (ll. 64, 115, 149). Other ways of catching the attention of his listeners is through (1) command (*amr*) example, *fa-ṣghū ilā mā aqūl*, *wa-lā tanṭiqū bi-jafā'in*, *wa-lā takhaf aghbiyā'* (ll. 31, 34, 118). (2) question (*su'āl*) example, *wa-hal takun lī mughūthan*, *wa-hal sami'ta sakhiyyan*, (ll. 17, 119).

Finally, *iqtibās* is used by 'Umar Krachi in his *rā'iyya*. He takes verses from the Qur'an to improvise some of his lines. The most palpable of these is line 92 which is taken from sura Fāṭir 35:21.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *MĪMIYYA*: PANEGYRIC FOR PEOPLE OF TETEMU ZONGO.⁹⁰

In pre-Islamic times, *madīh* poetry was addressed to an individual, a group, or a city and it was thus expected to produce immediate or direct benefit. The panegyric is expected to begin with *nasīb* except when it is to celebrate a particular event such as the coronation of the *mamdūh* or his victory in which case the poet is not obliged to open with *nasīb*. In other cases, it should be avoided completely because then the listener will not be interested in hearing anything other than the event.

The *Maṭla'* of the *Mīmiyya*

Western scholars apply the term *nasīb* to the first section of the ode, while modern Arab scholars employ the term according to medieval usage and often referred to the opening section of the *qaṣīda* as *maṭla'* (prologue).⁹¹ I shall use

⁹⁰ The *Mīmiyya* (Ghana 16.6/MSX) has three leaves numbered 83–87.

⁹¹ Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd ed., s.v. “Nasīb.”

the term *maṭlaʿ* to refer to the first part of the *mīmiyya* for reasons that will be made clear. In a broader context, the *nasīb* denotes love poetry expressed in traditional amatory themes: the expression of emotional love and desire; remembering the beloved and lamenting over her deserted encampment; describing the joy of meeting and the grief of separation; celebrating the beauty of the beloved and emphasizing her social status. The woman in the pre-Islamic *nasīb* is depicted as capricious and unyielding and unfaithful. She seldom appears emotionally engaged in a relationship and she is presented as a heroine whose perfection is never questioned.⁹² In short, the overall theme of the *nasīb* is the expression of amatory love and its related elegiac motifs.

Admittedly, the opening lines of the *mīmiyya* contain aspects of traditional elegiac motifs. However, what we find is a frigid, non-amatory opening. To be more specific, the poet questions the emotional engagement of the women (ll. 1–2) and describes them as unattractive, churlish, and reprehensible (ll. 3–5), unfaithful, capricious, and unyielding (l. 6). The poet

⁹² Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd ed., s.v. “Nasīb.”

shows no desire toward them, he expresses no sympathy for their feelings and emotions. Rather what he seeks to do is to criticize the women's attitude in an unapologetic voice. It is not clear why the poet chose this kind of prelude. What we know is that the polythematic *qaṣīda* has evolved over time, especially the prelude section of the *qaṣīda*. This has affected the way poets treat the beginning of their poems, from minor changes in the motif to avoiding it completely. Abū Nuwās was particularly fond of mocking the *aṭlāl* topos in his *nasīb*.

دَعِ الْأَطْلَالَ تَسْتَفِيهَا الْجُوبُ وَتُبْأَى عَهْدَ جَدَّتَيْهَا الْخَطْبُوبُ
وَحَلِّ لِرَاكِبِ الْوَجْنَاءِ أَرْضَا تَخْبُ بِهَا النَّجِيَّةُ وَالنَّجِيبُ
بِلَادٍ تَبْتُهَا عُشْرٌ وَطَأْحٌ وَأَكْثَرُ صَايِدَهَا ضَبْعٌ وَذِيْبٌ⁹³

Let the *aṭlāl* be effaced by the windstorm

and allow the episodes of time to decompose it.

Leave the camel rider to ride through a land

that is inhabited by the strong and the best camels.

A land whose plants are thorny plants and acacia

⁹³ *Dīwān Abī Nuwās*, 27–28.

and most of its hunted animals are hyenas and wolves.

‘Umar Krachi on the other hand seems to have taken a middle position in his *mīmiyya*. He neither accepts all the elegiac motifs nor does he reject them completely. He accepts the general framework of the *nasīb* and at the same time challenges the pre-Islamic tradition of amatory love. We can therefore argue that, the *maṭlaʿ* in the *mīmiyya* has an anti-*nasīb* motive.

The *maṭlaʿ* begins with one of the traditional openings discussed by Jaroslav Stetkevych in his article on seven key elements of *nasīb* diction used by classical Arabic poets:

There are several ways in which the classical Arabic *qaṣīdah* deals with the motif, or rather the poetic stance, of “questioning.” ... the poet has to break into the poem directly — for the most part either through the apostrophe of a question or through that of a command/request, or in an exclamation aimed at his inanimate surroundings. He asks: *li man id-diyāru* (Whose are the abodes?), *liman ṭalalun* (Whose ruin is this?), or *hal, mā ʿalimta ... maktūmu*

(Is that which you knew ... kept hidden?), *hal ghādara sh-shu‘arā’* (have the poets left [untouched]?) ...⁹⁴

The first two lines of the *mīmiyya* thus begin with *su‘āl* (question) which is repeated in its varied mode (*hal, ‘am, ‘aw*). The questions are asked with an anonymous voice, probably a man’s. But unlike the pre-Islamic poet who has no answers to his questions, our poet does provide an answer to his unsettling questions in lines 3–5.

As mentioned in chapter one, among the functions of the opening lines of the poem is to inform the audience about the poet’s intention. Most statements suggest that it is the main *gharaḍ* (theme) that should be anticipated in the opening lines of the *qaṣīda*.⁹⁵

[من الرمل]

هَلْ لِلنَّيْأَى مِنْ مَرَامٍ أَمْ لَهَا مِنْ كَلَامٍ
أَوْ مَوَاعِيدٍ دَامَ أَوْ عُهُودٍ مِنْ قَطَامٍ

⁹⁴ Jaroslav Stetkevych, “Toward an Arabic Elegiac Lexicon: The Seven Words of the *Nasīb*,” in *Reorientation/Arabic and Persian Poetry*, ed. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, 58–129 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

⁹⁵ Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 66.

كَأْهُنَّ فِي دَلَالٍ وَجَفَاءٍ وَمَمْلَأَمِ
 لَا يُؤْفِقِينَ الْعُهُودَ لَسُنَّ أَهْمًا لِلْغَرَامِ
 لَا تَرَى فِيهَا وَفَاءً لَوْ صَبَرْتَ أَلْفَ عَامِ
 فَارْجَعْنَ عَنْ وُدِّهِنَّ واطرحنه في القَتَامِ

Does Laylā have a wish?
 or does Hind have a say?
 [what about] the promises from Ḥidhām
 or the pledges made by Qaṭām?
 They are all in a state of coquettishness,
 surliness, and reprehensibility.
 They do not keep promises,
 they are not people with desires.
 You don't see in her fidelity,
 if you lived a millennium.
 They severed their relationship
 and cast it in the dust.

The Tripartite Structure of the *Mīmiyya*

‘Umar Krachi uses lines 7–8 as both *takhalluṣ* (transition) and to indicate the main theme of his poem. Line 7 also makes an interesting revelation about the

structure of the *madīh*. In other words, readers of the *mīmiyya* would realize that the poem is structured in an interlinear narrative format. The poet narrates his sojourn in a traditional story telling fashion, starting with the time of his arrival in the village (representing the introduction), his stay in the village (representing the body) and the time of his departure (representing the conclusion). In the same respect, the panegyric is structured in a three-layered format: collective praise of the people of Tetemu Zongo, praise of specific individual members of the community, and another collective praise. Thus representing a tripartite structure.

lines 7–11 represent a general panegyric of members of Tetemu Zongo who share the common virtues of *faḍl* (nobility and virtue), *sakhā'* (generosity), *naqāba* (leadership), *ṣalāḥ* (faithfulness), *īmān* (faith), *ʿadālah* (justice), *ṣabr* (patience), *qunūt* (obedience), and *iḥsān* (sincerity). These virtues can be subsumed under the four qualities (*al-Faḍā'il al-'arba'a*) identified by Qudāma in his *Naqd al-Shi'r*.⁹⁶ However, a closer reading of these verses gives a hint about

⁹⁶ Qudāma, *Naqd al-Shi'r*, 64–66.

class relations. That is, some of the qualities attributed to members of the village such as *faḍl* and *naqāba* are virtues related to the ruling class, while obedience and patience are required from the masses as well as believers. The rest of the qualities are shared virtues in which both the noble and the common have equal stake.

رَاو حُسْنًا فِي التَّنْظَامِ	وَأَنْظَمَ الْقَوْلَ نِظَامًا
أَهْلًا تَيَّيَّمُوا فِي الْكِرَامِ	فِي مَدِيحِ أَهْلِ فَضْلِ
نُقَبَاءَ فِي الْخُصَمَاءِ	فُضَّاءَ أَسْنَاءِ خِيَاءِ
عَادِلُونَ فِي الْخِصَامِ	صَاحِبُونَ إِخْوَانًا مُؤْمِنِينَ
مُحْسِنُونَ خُذْ كَلَامًا	صَابِرُونَ قَائِمِينَ

Arrange this word neatly,

[O you] perfect transmitter of poetry.

In praise of men of excellence,

noble men of Tetemu.

Virtuous and generous,

chieftains among rulers.

Righteous and pious,

just in [settling] disputes.

Patient and obedient,

doers of good take [my] word.

After stating his intention and making a general praise, the poet starts to narrate his journey. He begins with the time of his arrival in the village by describing how his host, the people of Tetemu Zongo ushered him in their village with all due pomp and respect. This shows how important the visitor is to the people and an acceptance to take on the duties of hospitality by providing the poet with food, shelter, and above all comfort.

مَمَع زَيْنِ وَفَيْئَام	فَقَدْ لَقُونِي فِي الْخَمِيسِ
رَاجِعِينَ لِلْبَقَاءِ	وَتَلَامِيذِ شُبَّانِ
حَامِدِي رَبِّ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ	مَادِحِينَ لِلرُّسُولِ
مِنْ عَادَارَى وَالْعُغْلَامِ	جَمَعُوا جَمْعًا كَثِيرًا
نَعْمُهُمْ طَوْلَ الْمَقَامِ ⁹⁷	نَعْمَ هُمْ يَوْمَ الدُّخُولِ

They ushered me on a Thursday,
with a handsome group of people.
And students in their prime age,
returning from the woods.
[Singing] praises to the Prophet,
giving thanks to the Lord of mankind.
They assembled in huge numbers,

⁹⁷ The first word in the second hemistich is not clear in the manuscript. The semantic context implies a positive attribute to the poetic persona's long stay. The word could possibly be نعمهم = their boon.

from maidens and children.
Excellent were they the day I entered.
Delightful was my long stay.

The lines that follow speak of the poet's residence in the village and his relationship with the villagers. A relationship of trust, friendship and openness. They also describe the hospitality and generosity of the villagers in providing the visitor with food and gifts. This hospitality according to the poet is carried out by members of the village irrespective of their financial status.

لَمْ نَرَ فِيهِمْ غُيُوبًا	بَلْ مَكَتُّنَا بِسَلامٍ
وَسُرُورٍ وَنَشَاطٍ	وَمُزَاجٍ وَضَمَامٍ
يُرْسِلُونَ بَعْظَايَا	لِي مِرَارًا بِدَوَامٍ
لَا تَرَى فِيهِمْ شَيْئًا جَدِيحًا	لَمْ يَكُونُوا بِاللَّامِ
أَغْنِيَاءَ فُقَرَاءَ	كُلٌّ يُعْطِي قَدْرَ نَامٍ
مُوسِرُونَ بِكَثِيرٍ	مُعْسِرُونَ بِلَمَامٍ

We found no blemish behavior in them
rather, we lived in peace.
In happiness and activeness,

in humor and affection.
They sent [me] gifts
continuously and always.
You will find no miser amongst them,
they were no ignoble.
Rich and poor,
each gave according to their means.
The rich gave more,
the poor gave the little [they have].

The poet focuses on the collective praise for the people of Tetemu Zongo. At this point, he decides to acknowledge certain figures in the community. He begins with their leader, ‘Uthmān and attributes to him the seven virtues of endurance (*ṣabr*), justice (*‘adl*), goodness (*ṣalāh*), prestige (*maqām*), soberness (*sukūt*), dignity (*waqār*), and prayerful (*ṣalāt*). But these virtues are expressed in the superlative (*ṣīgha al-tafḍīl*) for the purposes of exaggeration. Interestingly though, line 24 of the encomium on ‘Uthmān indicates that it is an elegy (*rithā’*) and as defined by Ibn Sallām, *rithā’* includes praising and extolling the dead.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1:5.

يَرْحَمُ اللَّهُ رَيْبِيًّا عَنْثَمَانَ فِي الرَّجَامِ
هُوَ صَبُورٌ هُوَ عَدُولٌ ذُو صَالِحٍ وَمَقَامِ
وَسُكُوتٍ وَوَقَارٍ وَصَلَاةٍ فِي الظُّلَامِ

May Allah have mercy on a leader

‘Uthman [who lies] in the grave.

He [was] enduring, he [was] just

[a man of] goodness and prestige.

[He was] sober and calm

he prayed in the dark [at night].

Without any form of transition, the poet mentions a woman for her praise-worthy characteristics. She was called Muwwa and she always provided the poet food. He praises her in arguably the most beautiful lines of the *mīmiyya* and posits that she is incomparable among her compatriots. He refers to her as *bint al-kirām* (daughter of noble descent) and compares her to the sun and stars in beauty. He attributes to her the qualities of *ḍiyāfa* (hospitality) and gives a detailed description of the food she brought him on a daily basis. The treatment Muwwa gave the visitor and the kind of food she provided him reveals her social as well as economic status.

نِعْمَ مُوَوِّ فِي النِّسَاءِ	إِنَّهَا بِنْتُ أَكْبَرَامِ
أُرْسَأْتُ لِي كُلَّ يَوْمٍ	مُذُنَّرَاتٍ بِالطَّعَامِ
مِنْ رُقَاقٍ ثُمَّ كَعَاكِ	ثُمَّ خُبْزٍ فِي الإِدَامِ
وَرُزُوزٍ مَطْبُوحِ	مَعَ خُبْزٍ وَالتَّلْحُومِ
ذَا مَرَرًا لَا يُعَدُّ	وَيُوضِي مِنْ نَعَامِ
هَلْ لَهَا ذِي مِنْ شَبِيهِ	مِنْ وَرَاءِ وَأَمَامِ
لَا تَرَى مِثْلًا لِمُوَوِّ	يُقْطَعُ أَوْ فِي الْمَاءِ
بَلْ إِنَّمَا الدَّهْرُ كَالَّذِي	دُونَهَا هَذَا الْكَلَامِ
قُلْتُ جَهْدًا دُونَ وَجَلِّ	بَيْنَ جَمْعِ الأَقْوَامِ
فَأَقْبَتِ الأَقْرَانَ فَضَلًّا	وَعَطَّاءَ بِالأَقْوَامِ
هِيَ كَثْمَسٍ فِي النِّسَاءِ	كُنْجُومٍ فَذَنْظَامِ

Excellent is Muwwa among women,

verily she is an honorable woman.

She sent me food every day

since I settled [in the village].

From waffles and cake,

then bread in savory

And Rice prepared

with fish and meat.

Continuously and uncountable,
and eggs from ostriches.
Does such a person have an equal,
from behind and front?
You will not see the like of Muwwa,
in wakefulness or in dream.
In fact, she is an exception among all women.
These words
Say them loud without fear,
among crowds of people.
She surpassed her compatriots in kindness,
in gift and in uprightness.
She is like the sun among women folk,
like the stars in a remarkable pattern.

The author then uses another form of transition to move into the last section of his panegyric to address his audience and ask for their attention. After that he makes a concluding panegyric by attributing the virtues of *karam* (nobility and generosity), *dhakā'* (intelligence), *'ilm* (knowledge), *'adab* (well-natured), and *sukūb* (denoting abundance) to the people of Tetemu Zongo.

This final section of the *madīh* also represents the concluding part of the narration, the moment of departure. Here the poet narrates yet another eventful occasion where men and women, young and old, rich and poor, even the sick came out to bid him farewell. According to the poet, the only person who did not join the crowd is the imam.

فَاسْمُ مَعُوايَا هَهُؤُلَاءِ	مَا أَقْبُولُ بِالتَّزَامِ
أَهْلُ زَنْعُ كُرْمَاءِ	مَا أَكْثُونَ فِي نَعَامِ
فِي أَفْئُجِ أَذْكَبَاءِ	نَصَحَاءِ فِي الْخِيَامِ
غَلَمَاءِ أَدَبَاءِ	سَاءِ أَكْبُونَ كَالْغَمَامِ
عَظْمُ وِنِي فِي قُرَاهُمْ	مُذَّةً شَهْرُ الصِّيَامِ
يُحْفُ وِنِي بِالْعَطَائِيَا	فِي أَيِّ عِيَالٍ وَعِيَامِ
شَهْرُ يَعْونِي يَوْمَ سَفَرِي	كُلُّهُمَّ إِلَّا الْإِمَامِ
مَلَأُوا كُلَّ طَرِيقِ	بِفِئَامِ فِي فِئَامِ
كُلُّهُمَّ لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْهُمْ	وَاجِدٌ حَتَّى الطَّغَامِ
وَشَوْخِ وَشَوْخِ بَانَ	وَصَبَّابِي دُونَ سَامِ
وَمَا يِي وَمَقِيلِ	وَضُوفِ كَالثَّوَامِ

مَع نِسَاءٍ مُسْلِمَاتٍ مُؤْمِنَاتٍ مِمَّنْ فَخَّامٍ
 قَانِتَاتٍ تَائِبَاتٍ عَابِدَاتٍ فِي الظَّالِمِ
 رَبُّنَا يُجْزِي بِخَيْرٍ وَسَدَّ عَادَاتِ الخَيْرِ
 فَكُلُّكُمْ مِنِّي سَلَامٌ فِي سَلَامٍ فِي سَلَامٍ

So listen O you people
 to what I say with commitment.
 People of Zongo are generous,
 living in blessedness.
 In *Afanjī* there are brilliant men,
 sincere in their homes.
 Knowledgeable and disciplined;
 pouring like the clouds.
 They honored me in their village,
 the duration of the month of fasting.
 They presented me with gifts,
 during the day and at night.
 They bade me farewell on the day of my departure,
 all but the Imam.
 They filled all the roads,
 with crowds in huge numbers.
 Everyone! None was left
 [behind] even the riffraff.
 The old and young,
 and a boy who was sick.
 The rich, the poor,
 the visitors, all like twins.

Including Female Muslims,
pious, from noble [homes].
Obedient and repenting,
worshipping in dark.
May our Lord recompense goodness
and a happy ending.
I bid you farewell,
stay in peace, stay safe.

Structural Composition of the *Mīmiyya*

1–6	<i>Maṭlaʿ</i>	24–26	Praise of ʿUthmān
7–8	Stating the <i>gharaḍ</i>	27–38	Praise of Muwwa
9–11	Collective praise	39	Speaking to his audience
12–16	Narrating the beginning of his journey	40–44	Collective praise
17–22	His sojourn in the village	46–51	The moment of departure
23	Restating the <i>gharaḍ</i>	52–54	Prayer and conclusion

Imitation and Originality in the *Mīmiyya*

The *mīmiyya* follows the bipartite structure of the *qaṣīda*; prelude and praise. The prelude however does not have the pre-Islamic amatory and elegiac motifs.

There is no mention of the poet's love affair, no mention of the *aṭlāl* (beloved's ruins), no mention of his *raḥīl* (journey), and no description of the camel. What our poet seeks to do is to use an element of the *nasīb*, the *su'āl* (question) to implicitly challenge the traditional way of portraying the woman by questioning her emotional engagement and not expressing his own feeling and emotion.

Additionally, unlike the polythematic theme of the *rā'iyya*, the *mīmiyya* is mono-thematic. The entire poem is devoted to the praise of the people of Tetemu Zongo. It informs us about an aspect of the social life of the people. We see that this is a collective society that is bound by shared values and identities.

The simplicity of the relatively short lines says something about the target group whom the poem is meant to praise. These are villagers majority of whom are probably not well versed in Arabic let alone in poetry and poetics. It is only prudent for the poet to be as simple as he could so that the average Arabic

speaker could understand and even explain to those who do not speak the language.

The imagery in the *mīmiyya* is found in the prelude section of the poem when the poet talks about the women. He describes them in terms that bring images of reprehensible characters not worth-loving (ll. 3–4). Also when he speaks about Muwwa in line 37, he compares her to the sun and moon in beauty and generosity.

On the other hand, the *mīmiyya* contains some aspects of performance especially when the poet talks about his arrival in Tetemu Zongo and the welcome he received from the villagers (ll. 12–15). The villagers gathered in their numbers and they sung the praise of the prophet in welcoming an important figure in their village. Lines 17, 19–20, 28–36 are filled with performance and description of the poet's sojourn in the village, including the generosity of his host. The jesting, the joys, the vitality, the food and meat. Lines 39–54 are about his departure and how the whole village came out to bid him farewell.

CHAPTER THREE

THE *LĀMIYYA*: ELEGY FOR AL-ḤĀJJ LABBU.⁹⁹

Introduction

The study of classical Arabic poetry saw the development of literary theories including a theory of poetic genres in which redactors of the *dawāwīn* (sing. *dīwān* – a collection of poetry) classified poems according to genres.¹⁰⁰ One of the themes that did not have the consensus of medieval critics regarding its genre classification is *rithāʿ* (elegy). While some theorists considered it a main theme, others argued that it is a sub-theme of the *madīḥ* (praise poetry). Among those who argued that the *rithāʿ* is a sub-theme of the *madīḥ* is Qudāma ibn Jaʿfar. In discussing what he called the *aqsām al-maʿānī*, he enumerated the themes of poetry (*aḡhrāḍ al-shuʿarāʿ*) as praise (*madīḥ*), invective (*hijāʿ*), love poetry (*nasīb*), elegy (*rithāʿ*), description (*waṣf*), and simile (*tashbīḥ*).¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ The *Lāmiyya* IAS AR/121 written on 8 leaves. The poem is also being translated by John Hanson and Muhammad al-Munir Gibrill, under the title: “Discourses of Muslim Scholars in Colonial Ghana” <http://aodl.org/islamicpluralism/goldcoast/>.

¹⁰⁰ Schoeler, “The Genres of Classical Arabic Poetry,” 1–48.

¹⁰¹ Qudāma, *Naqd al-Shiʿr*, 58.

Death represents the final stage of the individual's life cycle and the *rithā'* is no less important in celebrating the life of the deceased as the *madīh* is in praising the living. The poem discussed in this chapter was written in lamentation of the poet's son al-Ḥājj Labbu. It is composed in the *al-Basīt* meter and rhymes in the letter *lām*. Like most classical poems, the *lāmiyya* opens with *nasīb* followed by the theme of *rithā'*.

Nasīb* Prelude in the *Rithā'

Despite arguments by scholars such as Ibn Rashīq against beginning the *rithā'* with *nasīb*, it was still a widely practiced tradition among classical Arab poets. Consequently, scholars have studied the beginnings of *rithā'* and have drawn points of comparison and contrast between the introduction of the *marthiyya* and the elegiac *nasīb* of the polythematic *qasīda*.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Hammond, *Beyond Elegy*, 53.

The *nasīb* in the *lāmiyya* has both elegiac and amatory motifs similar to that of the polythematic *qaṣīda*. In lines 1A and 2B, the poet expresses deep sorrow and grief at the departure of his beloved and mourns over her deserted encampment. These lines bring images of the pre-Islamic poet watching the slow departure of his beloved until she fades out of his sight. Other words which are imbued with images of classical Arabic elegiac motif are the words *buqʿa* and *ṭalal* (deserted campsite of the beloved). The *ṭalal* almost immediately brings back images of deserted campsites obliterated by wind and rain and inhabited by other creatures. However, the *buqʿa* and *ṭalal* may not just be references to physical places where the beloved once lived, they may also be seen as antitheses. The *ṭalal* is the antithesis to the *buqʿa*, replacing sweet memories with sadness and grief. When the pre-Islamic poet and his fellow-travelers came across the *aṭlāl*, he called on his companions to halt and weep over the memories of his beloved and her deserted home. Line 3B of the *lāmiyya* is somewhat indirect on the *aṭlāl* motif in that there is, presumably, an indirect plea to weep over the beloved and her deserted camp. Thus, when the news of the beloved's

departure spread, they became dejected and saddened (*wa-ʿinnahā tarakat akhdānahā hamalā*). There is connection between the departure of the beloved and the death of al-Ḥājj Labbu. Both the beloved and the deceased left their loved ones and the effect that their departure had caused is almost similar. It is a feeling of grief because in both instances there is an acceptance that they will not come back.

Another elegiac motif worth looking at is the grief of separation and the sleepless nights. The pre-Islamic poet would stay awake unable to sleep all night long and would embark on a dangerous journey on his camel in pursuit of his beloved.

Between lines 1–5 and 15–27 is an elegy in which the poet mourns the dead. After this, the poet returns to the second part of the *nasīb*. This section is couched in an amatory style and encoded with pre-Islamic images of celebrating beauty, social standing, and infidelity (l. 16A). It also portrays the woman as niggardly and emotionally disengaged (ll. 17B and 18A). Although less erotic, the *nasīb* in the *lāmiyya* is similar to the traditional amatory *qaṣīda* in which the

woman is portrayed in somewhat explicit sexual ways or in verses less erotic but which still yield some degree of erotic readings. Traditionally, it is the man who solicits the woman and she is often depicted as a heroine whose perfection is not even questioned. She was empowered like a goddess and determined the course of the relationship. In the panegyric *qaṣīda*, the poet is most often the victim and in most cases his love is never returned. Contrary to this, the *lāmiyya* rather has a fascinating twist. The poet maintains all the motifs noted above: the empowerment of the woman, her social standing, and lack of emotional engagement. However, because the *lāmiyya* is not a panegyric *qaṣīda* and because one of the functions of the *rithāʿ* is the praise of the dead, the poet takes his audience back in time to when the deceased was alive. He attributes to him the qualities of the *mamdūh*: handsomeness, tenderness, and generosity (ll. 19–20) and shows his social superiority whereby despite all the privileges enjoyed by the woman, she did not resist his charm and beauty. What we find therefore is a kind of role reversal where the woman now becomes the victim of love. She

is now emotionally engaged and expresses violent passion and desire toward the man and unlike the pre-Islamic woman, her social standing is no longer relevant.

The poetic persona in the first part of the *nasīb* (ll. 1–5) is stated in the first and third person plural. In line 1, the poet talks about a collective “we” referring to himself and most probably his audience. This however shifts to the third person plural in lines 3B, 4A, and 5A where the poet now becomes the narrator while his audience become active participants. This poetic persona again changes in the second part of the *nasīb* when the third person pronoun becomes a noun. Thus in both lines 16 and 17, the poet uses the words *ḥabīb* (lover), *‘azīz* (mighty), and *rijāl* (men) in place of the third person pronouns. The implication of this is that the poet reveals the gender and identity of his audience.

مَا بَالُ هِنْدٍ نَأَتْ عَنَّا بِغَيْرِ قَلْبٍ وَصَارَ أَنْبَاؤُهَا يُتْلَى عَلَيَّ وَعَلَى
سَارَتْ وَصَارَتْ كَمَا صَارَ الَّذِينَ خَلَوْا وَغَادَرَتْ بُعْعَةً مَعَهُ وَدَةً طَالًا
وَشَاعَ مَا شَاعَ مِنْ أَنْبَاءِ هِجْرَتِهَا وَإِنَّهَا تَرَكَتْ أَخْدَانَهَا هَمًّا

كَأَنَّهُمْ أَغْنَاهُ الْخَبِيِّ قَدْ سَمِعَتْ أَذَانَهُمَا مِنْ هَرَابِيرِ الشُّرِّ وَزَجَلَا
وَبَاتَ أَحْبَابُهَا فِي اللَّيْلِ نَابِغَةً وَحُزْنَ يَعْقُوبَ إِذْ مَا لَمْ يَرَ السَّخْلَا

What is the case of Hind who left us without strife?

news of her is recited loud and wide.

She left and she became like those who left before [her]

and her home became a deserted campsite.

News of her departure spread widely,

indeed, she left her compatriots dejected.

They were like herds whose ears have heard

the roar of lions nearby.

Her beloveds were awake all night in grief like Nabigha

and saddened like Jacob when he didn't see [his beloved]
child.

وَتَلَاكَ هُنْدُ مَضَتْ وَبَلَّاتِ مَجَالِسُهَا بَعْدَ الدَّلَالِ تَغْرُ الحُوبَ إِن زَعَلَا
لَهَا جَمَالٌ وَغُنْجٌ وَهِيَ مَا كِرَّةٌ غَضَبِي لِكُلِّ حَبِيبٍ غَيْرَ مَنْ عَقَلَا
كَمْ مِنْ عَزِيزٍ أَتَاهَا طَالِبًا وَطَرَا وَلَمْ يَجِدْ غَيْرَ حَقْدٍ حِينَمَا وَصَلَا
بَلْ إِنَّهَا شَكْسٌ لَا تَصْطَفِي أَحَدًا مِنَ الرِّجَالِ نَقَتْ مَنْ جَاءَهَا عَجَلَا
لَكِنَّهَا لَوْرَاتُ الْحَاجِ لَبَّوْا عَلَى بُرْدِ الشَّابَابِ وَحُسْنِ الْمَرْءِ إِن رَفَلَا

وَطُولٍ جِيدٍ وَتَعْرِ وَالنَّبْسُ فِي لِينِ قَوْلٍ وَجُودٍ لِلْعَمَلِ بِمَلَا
 لَرَآوَدَتْهُ سَرِيحًا دُونَ مَا حَجَلٍ وَأَوْدَقَتْ فَجَاءَةً وَأَزْسَاتٍ خَوْلًا
 تَقُولُ هَذَا الزَّوْجُ لَا كِفَاءَ لَهُ إِذِي حَلِيئًا حَقًّا وَلَا مَطْلًا
 أُعْطِيهِ مَالٍ نِكَاحٍ دُونَ مَا بُطِئَ لِأَنَّ هَذَا هُوَ الزَّوْجُ الَّذِي فَضَّلًا
 إِذَا تَزَوَّجْتُهُ قَدْ نَلَيْتِ مَارَبِّي كَفَى بِهِ بَعْلًا مِنْ دُونَ مَا بَدَلًا
 أُفِيْمُ فِي بَيْتِهِ فِي الرِّيِّ وَالشَّبَعِ وَلَا أَفَارِقُ ثُوبَ الرِّيِّ وَالْكَحْلًا
 أُطِيعُهُ طَاعَةَ الْأَرْقَاءِ لِسَيِّدِهِمْ وَلَا أَعَاصِيهِ فِي مَا قَالُوا فَعَلًا
 لِأَنَّهُ نَجَلٌ قَرْمٌ صُحُوحٍ حَادِبٍ ذَا نَاجٍ فِي الْقَوْمِ لَا فَخْرَ وَلَا خُيَلًا

There is Hind passing away leaving behind her abode,

after amorous gestures that dazzled mountains.

She is beautiful, flirtatious and cunning,

angry at any lover without reason.

How many powerful men came desiring her?

and found nothing but hatred when they arrived

Nay she was ill-natured who preferred no one,

she drove away men who came to her in haste.

But if she saw al-Hājj Labbu in [his]

youthful garment, an excellent man when he walked with
swag.

[If she saw] his long neck, teeth and smile when

he gently spoke and offered generosity.

She would seek to solicit him quickly without shame,

and she would suddenly become winsome and [would] send servants.

She would say: This man has no equal

verily, I am his companion, truly without delay.

I shall pay him [the] dowry without hesitance,

indeed, this is the husband whom I prefer.

If I marry him I have achieved my aim,

sufficient he a husband besides anyone else.

I [shall] live in his house in a state of satisfaction [with drink and food],

and I shall not lack fashionable garment and kohl.

I [shall] be submissive to him the submission of slaves to their masters,

and I [shall] not disobey his words or deeds.

For he is a progeny of chiefs, diligent, affectionate,

humble among his people without pride nor self-conceit.

The *Rithā'* Section of the *Lāmiyya*

Reading the *lāmiyya*, we come to the conclusion that *rithā'* like *madīh* has other themes which makes it polythematic. Besides lamentation and praise, the *lāmiyya* invites the audience to picture the life of the deceased from his childhood to adulthood. It also allows us to follow the various stages of the mourning process and funeral rites (*janāza*): washing the dead; covering the corpse; funeral procession; and burial. Most importantly is the psycho-social debate of gender stereotyping where women are considered emotional and volatile when confronted with calamities such as death and as al-Ḥūfī remarks, “when struck by a calamity, a woman finds refuge in her tears.”¹⁰³ This propelled the poet to appropriate “masculine and feminine tropes in the mourning process” to reinforce this naturalistic theory.¹⁰⁴

The *rithā'* can be divided into three parts. One, praising the virtues of the dead and celebrating his merits. Two, mourning the deceased through the

¹⁰³ Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḥūfī, *al-marʿa fi-l-Shiʿr al-Jāhili*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1963), 612.

Also: Hammond, *Beyond Elegy*, 48.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

various stages of the mourning process. Three, praying for the dead by invoking God's mercy and forgiveness.

Part One: Praising the Dead

The poet begins his praise of the dead by referring to his genealogy and nobility. This has a dual function; as praise (*madḥ*) for the dead, and self-praise (*fakhr*) for the poet and his tribesmen. After that the poet proceeds to ascribe virtues of diligence (*ṣuḥṣuḥ*), affection (*ḥadib*), humility (*dhā nājin*), and a lack of self-conceit (*lā khuyal*). He compares the deceased to the moon for his generosity and goodness and celebrates his achievements. Al-Ḥājj Labbu as he was affectionately called died at 32 years but even at this age there are considerable feats to his name. According to the poet, he attained *manāqib al-ʿarbaʿ* (the four virtues): knowledge; performing hajj, power, and a good reputation (l. 43). His ability to actualize these virtues meant he died honorably (*māta fī haybatin*) earning him the respect of his people. The praise of al-Ḥājj Labbu reads as follows:

وَأَقْبَبُهُ لَبُّ سَنَوُهُ لَبُّ فَاعْجَبْ تَطَابَقَ اللَّقَبِ وَالْأَعْوَامِ يَا رَجُلًا
كَأَنَّهُ الْبَدْرُ تَمَّ النُّورُ لَيْلَتَهُ وَيَنْفَعُ النَّاسَ فِي ضَوْءِهِ إِذَا أَفْلَا
نَابَتْ دِيَاجِيرُ ذَلِكَ اللَّيْلِ وَانْبَعَثَتْ تَكْثُفُ الْعُجْمِ وَالْأَخْزَانِ خُذْ مَثَلًا

His nickname is Labbu, his age is Labbu;¹⁰⁵

would you not wonder how nickname and age correspond?

He is like the moon whose light is completed at night,

and he benefit men with his rays when the sun is absent.

He replaced the darkness of that night and took away

the burden of grieve and sorrow, imagine the sight.

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ نَالَ السَّعْدَ فِي الدُّنْيَا قَدْ مَاتَ فِي هَيْبَةٍ وَلَمْ يَمُتْ بُطْلًا
حَازَ الْمَنَاقِبَ أَرْبَعَةً عَلَى نُسُقِي عِلْمًا وَحَجًّا وَسَاطِنَةً وَحُسْنًا حَلًا
أَهْلُ الْمَعَارِفِ عَرَفُوهُ وَقَدْ رَفَعُوا مَقَامَهُ فَجَزَاهُمْ ذُو الْعُلَى بِالْأَلَا

Praise be to Allah. He acquired prosperity in the world,

he died in honor and did not die worthless.

He achieved four virtues in an orderly manner:

knowledge, pilgrimage, power, and good reputation.

Men of knowledge knew him and elevated his place [among them],

so may [Allah] the Exalted reward them.

¹⁰⁵ $l + b$ has a numerical value of 32 which is the age al-Ḥājj Labbu died.

Part Two: Mourning the Dead

The poet begins mourning his son by describing the general atmosphere at the time of receiving the shocking news of the death, inviting the audience to picture the general atmosphere of grief and apprehension. It is a moment of silence which was later transformed into tears. There is a sorrowful acceptance of the inevitability of death and an impassioned desire to be reunited in the hereafter (ll. 6–14). The poet then proceeds to describe the funeral rites (*janāza*) in accordance with Islamic teachings. First, washing the dead and perfuming. Second, wrapping the dead and carrying him on the bier for burial (ll. 35–38). The poet in his own wisdom decides to ignore an important aspect of the funeral rite, the prayer that is performed for the dead (*ṣalāt al-janāza*).

وَصَارَ كُلُّ حَبِيبٍ سَاكِنًا أَسِيفًا وَلَا تَرَى الدَّمْعَ يَعْصِيهِ إِذَا انْهَمَّ سَلَا
وَالْبَعْضُ يَرْفَعُ صَوْتًا فِي الصُّرَاخِ عَلَى فَقَدْ الْحَبِيبِ صَبُورٌ يَحْمِلُ التَّقْلَا
وَجَلَّجَلِ الْقَلْبُ لَمَّا قِيلَ هُنْدُ جَالَتْ وَهَبَّتِ الرِّيحُ يَنْزِرُ العَمَّ وَالْوَجَلَا
وَلَا تَرَى عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ غَيْرَ بَاكِئَةٍ وَغَيْرَ بَاكِ يُحَاكِي دَمْعُهُ وَبَلَا

جَمْعُ النِّسَاءِ كَثِيرٌ دُونَ مَا عَدَدِ فَكَأَنَّ يُقَالُ مَنْ مَالَ أَنْ تَقْبَلُ
 يَا هِنْدُ يَا هِنْدُ مَا يَوْمُ الرُّجُوعِ أَنَا لِسَانَ حَالٍ يُجِيبُ لَا رُجُوعَ إِلَّا
 لَا رَيْبَ لَا رَيْبَ أَنَّا قَدْ تَفَرَّقْنَا يَا وَيْلَنَا مِنْ فِرَاقٍ يُبْعِدُ الرَّجُلَ
 وَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ قَالُوا لَا سُورَ لَنَا فِي هَذِهِ الدَّارِ أَنَّ الْأَمْرَ قَدْ جَلَّأَ
 تَرَاهُمْ أَسْفًا كَأَنَّهُمْ سَكَرَى تَخَالُ كُلُّ وِلْيٍّ مِنْهُمْ خَابَ

And every beloved became silent with sorrow,

and tears did not disobey [its owner] as they flowed.

Some would scream out loud,

[lamenting] the loss of a beloved, like a man enduring the weight [of his loss].

The heart made a vehement sound when it was announced: Hind had left

and the wind blew spreading sorrow and fear.

At that moment you will not find except wailing folks,

and those not wailing their tears transmitted large drops of water.

Women folks were gathered in huge numbers;

they were all saying: We have no direction.

O Hind! O Hind!! When will you return?

The answer: There is no return until [the Day of Judgment].

No doubt! No doubt we are separated.

Alas! A separation that takes men apart.
At that point they said we have no joy,
in this abode indeed, it is puzzling.
You will see them lamenting as if they were drunk,
you would imagine they had all gone mad.

وَلَا تَرَى حِينَ لَفَّ بِاللِّفَافِ مِنْ بَعْدِ الْبُخُورِ وَذَا مِنْ بَعْدِ أَنْ غُسِلَ
أَوْ لَوْ تَرَى نَعْتَهُ إِذْ حَمَّوهُ إِلَى بَيْتِ التَّرَابِ بِجَمْعٍ يَمْلَأُ السُّبُلَ
أَمَامَهُ زُمْرَةٌ يَبْكُونَ مِنْ أَسْفٍ وَخَلْفَهُ زُمْرَةٌ يَبْكُونَ كَالْتَّكْلَا

You should have seen the moment when he was wrapped in
shrouds,

after the perfume and this was after he was washed.

You should have seen his bier when he was carried to

the grave, in a procession of men who filled the roads.

Before him is a congregated body of men crying of grief,

and behind him is a group of men wailing like bereaved
mothers.

In classical Arabic poetry, it is customary for the poet to mention the
event, if any, which led to the death of the deceased. The poet would describe

the death scene and the battle in which the deceased was slayed and would call on his tribesmen to avenge the death of their kinsman. The *lāmiyya* also does a similar thing. It describes the cause of death including the symptoms and the medications. But as the poet admits, these medications proved futile because “the term of Allah” has come, underlying the poet’s belief in the inevitability of death.

دَاءُ الْفُقَّاعِ أَصَابَتْهُ عَلَى قَدْرِ وَنَحْنُ لَا نَدْرِي حَتَّى فَرَى وَغَلَا
يَلْسَ رَنْتَيْهِهِ وَالْقَلْبَ ثُمَّ مَعَى وَيَخْرُجُ الْكَبِدَ وَالْبُلْعُومَ ثُمَّ كَلَا
مَنْ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَعَلْنَا كُلُّ أَدْوِيَةٍ لَمْ تُجِدْ شَيْئًا لِأَنَّ أَجَلَ قَدْ حَلَا

He was afflicted by pemphigus and we didn’t realize its
[intensity]

until it gashed [his skin] and became worse.

It ravaged his lungs, heart then [his] gut,

and [his] liver, his esophagus and kidney.

After that we tried all medicines,

everything proved futile because the term [of Allah] had
come to pass.

Up unto this point, the poet speaks about a collective mourning, where the general public mourns the loss of al-Ḥājj Labbu. However, from line 57 he

mentions individuals who were bereaved. They include the deceased's three wives and some of his closest friends. The names of the wives were given in lines 58–60 as Ḥawwā', Ṣafūrā', and Ḥafṣa. These lines apart from mentioning how each of the wives mourned their husband also informs the audience of the marital life of the deceased. That is, he lived a polygamous life. This brings us to the point we raised previously regarding the naturalistic theory of gender where women are considered emotional and volatile when confronted with calamities such as death.¹⁰⁶ When the poet talks about the wives of the deceased, he describes them crying and uses different terminologies to this effect. He uses the words: *bakat* – she cried, *dam'uhā* - her tears, *walwalat* – she wailed, *ṣawtuḥā ya'lū* - her voice was raised, *nawḥuhā* - her wailing. Also when he spoke about apprehension at the time of death, he uses the feminine pronoun to refer to those who were crying (*walā tarā 'inda dhālika ḡhayra bākiyatīn* – you will not find at that moment except wailing [women]). Those who did not wailing were described using the phrase *wa-ḡhayr bākin* (those [men] who did not wail)

¹⁰⁶ Hammond, *Beyond Elegy*, 48.

reinforcing the naturalistic theory and gender stereotype with regards to
mourning.

حَقًّا بَنُوا عَبْرَاءَ كُلَّهُمْ أَسْفُوا كَبِيرُهُمْ عَبْدُ حَتَّى جِسْمُهُ نَحْلًا
بَكَتْ حَلِيئَتُهُ حَوَاءُ ذَاتِ جَجِّي وَتِلْكَ تَاعُورِ حَتَّى دَمَعَهَا هَمْلًا
كَذَا صَفُورَاءُ تَبْكِي زَوْجَهَا رَعْمًا وَوَلَوْلَا تِثْ عِنْدَ ذَائِلِ عَبْرَةَ هَطْلًا
كُمَاتُ حَفْصَةَ تَبْكِي صَوْتُهَا يَغْلُوا وَنَوْحَهَا دُونَ شَاكِ يِثْنِ بِهِ الْطَبْلًا
أَحْبَابُهُ كُلُّهُمْ حَزْنُوا وَلَا سِيَّيْمًا كَالْحَافِظِ مَنْذُوقِ حَزْنُهُ سَجْلًا

Truly the people of *Ghabrā'* were saddened [by his death]

their elder 'Abdu his body grew lean.

His wife *Ḥawwā'* – the intelligent one – wept,

that is *Thāghūr* crying until her tears poured.

Likewise, was *Ṣafūrā'* mourning her husband

and she wailed with tears overflowing.

Kumātū Ḥafṣa was crying loud,

and no doubt her wailing sounded like a drum.

All his beloveds were sad especially

Hāfiẓ Manzo, truly his sorrow was intense.

وَلَا تَرَىٰ عِنْدَ ذَٰلِكَ غَيْرَ بَاكِئَةٍ وَغَيْرَ بَاكِ يُحَاكِي دَمْعُهُ وَبَلَا

At that moment you will not find except wailing [women] folks,
and those not wailing their tears transmitted large drops of
water.

وَلَا تَرَىٰ حِينَ ذَٰكَ غَيْرَ بَاكِئَةٍ وَغَيْرَ بَاكِ بِدَمْعٍ يُشْبِهُ الْأَوْبَالَ

At that moment you will not find but wailing [women] folks,
and those men who did not wail their tears poured like
rain.

Ta'ziya (condolence) is an important aspect of the *rithā'* and a platform to hear other elegiac voices besides the voice of the poet. Beginning in the second century of Islam, letters of condolence became frequent. These letters were addressed to the bereaved family and often written in prose. However, when written in verse, it is virtually indistinguishable from the *rithā'*.¹⁰⁷ The poet informs us of letters of condolence that came from different places and in some

¹⁰⁷ Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd ed., s.v. "Marthiya."

cases, they were accompanied with money. He also mentions names of places who sent delegates to offer their deepest condolences. Unfortunately, we do not know the content of the letters and whether they were in prose or verse. What this tells us however is that the West African region used to be a place of vibrant literary life. And for the first time in just one line (l. 70) the poet refers to his own emotion and affect at the time of death. He described it as *jaza*^c (fear and unable to bear the calamity which befell him).

لَمَّا تَوَفَّى أَتَى مِنْ كُلِّ نَاحِيَةٍ رَسَائِلٌ وَتَحَارِيرٌ مِنْ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ
وَالْبَعْضُ مَقْرُونَةٌ بِالْمَالِ مَالٌ دُعَا كَعَادَةِ النَّاسِ فِي ذَا الصَّنَعِمْ لَا بُخْلًا
مِنْ غَيْلِ شَيْئِي وَمِنْ أَرْضِ الطَّوَارِقِ بِلِ مِنْ أَرْضِ غَمِ نَأْتِ أَوْ غَنْبِلِ خُذْ وَقُلَا
مِنْ بَحْرِ مِلْحٍ وَمِمَّا حَوْلَهُ كُنْعًا مِنْ أَرْضِ هَوْسَا كُنُوا دَوْرًا حَاجِبِ كَلَا
مِنْ أَرْضِ كَاشِيَّةِ زَكْزَكِ وَأَرْضِ كِبِ وَأَرْضِ غُوِبِرِ وَزَرَمَا أَرْسَلُوا رُسُلَا

When he died there came from every direction,

oral and written messages from noblemen.

Some [of the letters] were accompanied with money meant for prayers,

the custom of the land, not to be stingy.

From the forest of Ashanti and from the land of Tuareg;

and from Ghamnāt and Ghambel.

From the rivers of Mesahohe and all the lands which surrounded
it

and from Hausaland, Kano, Dawra and Hadeje.

From the land of Katsina, Zakizaki and the land of Kebbi,
the land of Ghobir, and Zarmā, they sent messengers.

Part Three: Prayer and Exhortation

There are two kinds of prayers which are offered by the poet. The first prayer is for the deceased and the second one is for poet and his audience. Lines 71–77 are prayers for the dead for forgiveness for the sins he committed and unlimited grace and mercy in the afterlife. He also prays that he gets a comfortable resting place in his grave and be admitted into paradise in the Judgment Day. On the other hand, lines 87–88 are for the poet and his audience against what he calls *maṣā'ib* (calamities) of his time which he claims are the result of the moral degradation.

يَا أَيُّهَ الرَّبِّ إِسْقِ ضَرْيَحَهُ دَيْمًا مِنْ الرِّضَى عَدَدًا يَسْتَتَعْرِقُ الرَّمْلًا
وَأَسْكُبْ عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الرَّحْمَاتِ دَيْمَتُهَا مَا يَمَلَأُ النَّزْرُ مِنْهُ السَّهْلَ وَالْجَبَالَ
وَأَنْبُتْ عَلَيْهِ زَنَابِقًا وَنَرَجِسُهَا بِنَفْسِ جَا يَاسٍ مِينًا جُمَّةً جُمَلًا
يُفْوِخُ فِي قَبْرِهِ مَسْكَكٌ وَعَنْبَرُهَا فَسْطٌ وَغَانِيَّةٌ زِدُّ شِدَاهُ حُجَلًا
وَأَرْحَمُهُ يَا مَنْ هُوَ الرَّحْمَانُ يَا صَمَدٌ بِحَقِّ صَاحِبِ الَّذِينَ بَاثَثُوا الْقَتْلًا
وَأَدْخَلَهُ جَنَّاتٍ عَدْنٍ دُونَ مَحْسَبَةٍ وَأَدْخَلَهُ دَارَ السَّلَامِ يَا سَلَامُ بِلَا
وَنَجِّنَا مِنْ صُرُوفِ الدَّهْرِ يَا صَمَدٌ فَإِنَّ فِي دَهْرِنَا مَا يَغْلِبُ الْعُقُلَا

O Lord always pour his grave

with favors the amount that supersedes the [grain of] sand.

Send down [your] mercy on him continuously,

[the amount] that will fill low and highlands.

Make tulips and narcissus grown [on his grave],

and make violets and jasmine grow in abundance [on his grave].

Allow musk to diffuse in his grave whose ambergris is

*qust, ghāniya, and nadd.*¹⁰⁸

O Merciful Lord have mercy on him, You Who is Eternal and Absolute,

¹⁰⁸ Types of incense.

in the ranks of those who died fearlessly.

Admit him into the Garden of Eden without reckon,

admit him into the Abode of Everlasting Safety, without
[punishment] O Peaceful Lord.

Save us from the changes of time You Who is Eternal and
Absolute,

indeed, in our time is what bewilders the mind.

يَا رَبِّ سِتْرًا جَمِيلًا مِنْ لَدُنْكَ عَلَيَّ هَذِي الْمَصَائِبُ يَا مَنْ حَازَ كُلَّ غُلَا
فَنَاشُرُونَ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوا بِهِمْ بِمَا وَقَّيْتُ بِهِ النَّبِيَّاءَ وَالرُّسُلَا

O Lord protect us from

these calamities O You Who overcomes the arrogant.

Protect us from the evils we committed,

with the [same] protection you gave the prophets and
messengers.

Other Motifs in the *Rithā'*

The *rithā'* is not just a moment for the poet to pay his last respect to the memory of the deceased but a rare occasion for the living to reflect on the social realities of life. In the *lāmiyya* the poet uses the occasion to discuss matters of morality.

He talks about good and evil, reward and punishment, obedience and transgression, guidance and misguidance, bravery and cowardice. These are topics which are framed on morality and have, to some extent, considered universal values. The poet therefore makes a passionate plea to his audience and cautions them against the calamities that may befall them if societal norms continue to degenerate. These are aphorisms-cum-exhortations and they are framed in both religious and moral terms.

وَنَجَّيْنَا مِنْ صُرُوفِ الدَّهْرِ يَا صَمْدُ فَإِنَّ فِي دَهْرِنَا مَا يَغْلِبُ الْعُقُلَا
وَيُذْهِشُ الْمَرْءَ فِيهِ دَهْشَةٌ عَظْمَى وَيَمْنَعُ النَّوْمَ وَالْأَنْعَامَ وَالْأَكْمَلَا
وَكُلُّ مَنْ لَا يَخَافُ مِثْلَهُ وَطَعَى وَلَا يُبَالِي بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَهُوَ عَدَا
فَإِنَّ أَهْلَ الْهَوَى نَالُوا مَا رَبَّهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ فِي رَفَاهِيَّةٍ هُمْ الْفَضَلَا

لَا غُرُوزَ لَا غُرُوزَ أَنْ الدَّهْرَ انْتَكَسَا أَهْلُ الْهُدَى الْيَوْمَ فِي وَادٍ قَدِ انْسَفَلَا
 إِيَّيَ أَخَافُ إِذَا طَالَ الْحَيَاةُ بِنَا بِأَنْ نَرَى الْجَرْدَ قَادَ الْقِطِّ وَانْفَعَلَا
 وَأَنْ نَرَى الْأَسَدَ تَهْرُبُ مِنْ أذِيلِ الْقِطِّ وَالتَّيْسُ يَخْسَرُ حَتَّى يَصْرَعَ الذُّوْلَا
 حَتَّى الْفَرَارِيحُ لَا تَعْبَأُ بِصَوْتِ جَدَا بَلْ إِنْ تَرَاهَا تَقُولُ هَاتِي تُجِيبُ بِلَا
 أَوْ أَنْ نَرَى بَطْلًا فِي كُلِّ مَعْرَكَةٍ يَقُودُهُ أَجْبَنُ الْأَفْرَاسِ خُذْمَانًا
 وَهَكَذَا الْيَوْمَ أَهْلُ السَّيْلِمْ كُلُّهُمْ صَارُوا أَدْلَاءَ حَتَّى شَابَهُوا الْوَعْلَا

Save us from the changes of time You Who is Eternal and Absolute,

indeed, in our time is what bewilders the mind.

It confounds mankind with the greatest shock,

it prevents sleep, joy, and food.

Whosoever does not fear his desires and transgressed [the bounds of God]

and cared less the rules [set by God] such a person is arrogant.

Verily people with desire have obtained their want,

they live in opulence and they are considered the best.

No wonder! No wonder—that time has change,

people of guidance are today down [at the bottom of] the valley.

Indeed, I fear if we live longer,

that we shall witness the turtle commanding the cat with submission.

Or see the lion running away from the most dreadful cats,

or the he-goat suffers defeat until it wrestles the wolf.

Or even the fowl will not heed to the sound of the eagle,
when it sees her, it will say: come and it will answer.
Or we see the hero of every battle
being led by the most cowardly horseman, take my word.
Similarly, today are men of peace,
they have become base resembling goats.

Structural Composition of the *Lāmiyya*

1-5	<i>Nasīb</i>	51-53	Description of cause of death
6-14	Elegy	56-61	Elegy
15-27	Return to the <i>Nasīb</i>	63-68	<i>Ta'ziyya</i>
28-31	Encomium	71-77	Prayer for the deceased
32-34	Description of the funeral scene	78-87	Aphorism
36-40	Funeral rites	88-91	Prayer for the living
42-44	Encomium	92-93	Conclusion
46-50	Aphorism		

Imitation and Originality in the *Lāmiyya*

The *lāmiyya* is no exception to both the *rā'iyya* and the *mīmiyya* in their bipartite structure of prelude and the themes of *madīḥ* and *rithā'*. The poem begins with *nasīb* with both amatory and elegiac motifs. Each of these motifs are also connected to the theme of *rithā'*, which is a celebration of the life of the deceased and a lament for his loss. The fascinating thing in the *nasīb* is when the deceased is transformed into an object of desire for the woman. This is interesting because he is given qualities similar to that the *mamdūḥ* in panegyric poems. Furthermore, like many classical poems where *rithā'* revolves around the poet's own feelings and emotions, this is not the case in the *lāmiyya*. 'Umar Krachi was interested in talking about other people's emotion and grief and barely mentioned his own, and how he personally felt.

The imagery in the *lāmiyya* is in the *nasīb* section where the poet describes Hind in amatory language, bringing images of beauty and physical attraction (l. 6), and when he compares al-Ḥājj Labbu to the moon (ll. 30–31).

On the other hand, lines 6–14, 32–38, 53, 55–59 are verses that speak about the

funeral and the mourning of the bereaved family. Lines 70–80 are prayers and may be accompanied by an action, raising the hands and looking up to the sky.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE *SĪNIYYA*: *HIJĀ'* ON AN INTRUDER¹⁰⁹

Introduction

Hijā' is one of the genres of Arabic poetry used to attack and humiliate opponents. It is often defined as the direct opposite of *madīḥ* and *fakhr*.¹¹⁰ Poetry according to 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhhal comprises three words; when one praises, one says: 'You are'; when one makes *hijā'*, one says: 'You are not'; and when one laments, one says: 'You were'.¹¹¹ This statement forces us to accept a narrower interpretation of *hijā'* as invective, a type whereby one only intends to humiliate, ridicule and insult.¹¹² In its broadest sense however, *hijā'* includes other categories (*funūn*) such as blame (*dhamm*), reproach (*'atb*), and rebuke

¹⁰⁹ There are two versions of the *Sīniyya*, Ghana/121/MSX (IAS AR/121). This has three leaves and was owned by Malam Baba b. Muhammad Kabawi, of Asiakwa. The second version IAS AR/137 also has three leaves.

¹¹⁰ 'Īliyyā Ḥāwī, *Fann al-hijā' wa taṭawwuruh 'inda al-'arab*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Sharq al-Jadīd, 1960), 5–6.

¹¹¹ Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umdah*, 1:198.

¹¹² Geert Jan van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly: Attitudes Towards Invective Poetry (hijā') in Classical Arabic Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 10–11.

(*ta'nīb*) or even *hazl* (light joke).¹¹³ Thus making it more than just the direct opposite of *madīh*. In light of this, I shall focus on this broader interpretation of *hijā'* in my discussion. This chapter is inspired by Geert Jan van Gelder's *The Bad and the Ugly: Attitudes Towards Invective Poetry (hijā')* in classical Arabic literature.

In his work van Gelder argued that:

Hijā', commonly translated as 'satire', is hardly sufficient to cover a wide range, from lofty, moralistic and serious to the coarse, amoral, immoral, obscene and flippant; from fun and wit to insipidity and dullness; from objectivity and distance to anger and emotion; from subtlety and obliqueness to bluntness and blatancy.¹¹⁴

I have decided to use the Arabic term *hijā'* instead of the English translation. For the term *hijā'* encapsulates the object of the poem under discussion more than the English translations of invective and satire which are characterized by insult, abuse, ridicule, and derision.¹¹⁵ The aim of the poet as he puts it is to:

¹¹³ Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umdah*, 1:195.

¹¹⁴ Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 1.

¹¹⁵ *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, s.vv. "invective, satire."

وَمَا نَطْمَنَّا عَلَىٰ فُخْرٍ وَلَا بَطْرِ لَكِن قَصَدْنَا بِهِ شُكْرًا وَتَأْسِيَةً

We composed not to boast or play

but we intended it as a gratitude and to establish
[the truth].

The *Sīniyya* and the Story behind its Composition

It is important to note that a *hijā'* poem alone is not enough to decide its nature.

Each *hijā'* has a history behind it. It is either triggered by an individual or group

act or words. Therefore, the relationship between the poet and the object of the

hijā' must be established as well as the intention of the poet.¹¹⁶ Hence, there are

at least two parties involved; the *hājī* (the one making the *hijā'*) and *mahjuww*

(the object of *hijā'*). The *hājī* most often than not responds to what he deemed as

a vice or shortcoming of a particular group of people or an individual toward

him or his tribe. What started as a tribal *hijā'* in which the whole tribe was

collectively held responsible for the action or inaction of its members later

became personal, on an individual level. The *sīniyya* is an example of individual

¹¹⁶ Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 6.

hijā' albeit one that has elements of collectivism. It is a poem of 34 lines written in the *basīt* meter in response to an unnamed individual who sought to challenge the poet's pronunciation of the phrase *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi ta'ālā*. The event that provoked its composition reads as follows:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا. وَمِمَّا
 حَدَّثَ عِنْدَنَا أَنْ كُنَّا فِي مَدْرَسَةٍ مَعَ الْجَمِّ الْغَفِيرِ مِنَ التَّلَامِيذِ إِذْ وَعَلَّ عَلَيْنَا شَخْصٌ مِنْ
 شَيَاطِينِ الْإِنْسِ وَكَانَ عِنْدُنَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْ تَلْمِيذٍ يَقْرَأُ ثُمَّ إِنَّ ذَلِكَ الْوَاعِلَ صَارَ يَسْتَمِعُ فَلَمَّا
 قَرَعَ التَّلْمِيذُ مِنَ الْقِرَاءَةِ حَمْدًا فَأَجَبْتُهُ قَائِلًا الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى. : فَوَقْتُنَا اعْتَرَضَ عَلَيْنَا
 ذَلِكَ الْوَاعِلُ قَائِلًا أَنْ هَذَا حَرَامٌ مَمْنُوعٌ فِي الشَّرْعِ وَمَنْ لَفَظَ بِمِثْلِ هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةِ يُعَزَّرُ
 تَعْزِيرًا شَدِيدًا. : فَقِيلَ لَهُ لِمَ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ لِأَنَّ لَامَ الْجَلَالَةِ مَقْصُورَةٌ أَبَدًا لَا يَمُدُّهَا إِلَّا ضَالٌّ
 مُبْتَدِعٌ. : فَسُئِلَ مِنْ أَيْنَ جَاءَ هَذَا وَمَتَى حَدَّثَ فَقَالَ مِنْ شَيْخِهِمُ الَّذِي ظَهَرَ فِي هَذَا
 الزَّمَانِ لِيُصْلِحَ مَا شَانَ مِنْ أَمْرِ الدِّينِ. : فَقِيلَ مَنْ عَالِمُكُمْ هَذَا وَفِي أَيِّ مَكَانٍ هُوَ.
 فَأَجَابَ أَنَّهُ فِي أَرْضِ هُوسَا قَدْ فَتَحَ اللَّهُ بَصِيرَتَهُ لِيُرْسِدَ إِلَى أَقْوَمِ طَرِيقٍ. : فَقِيلَ لَهُ مَنْ
 اسْمُهُ وَمَنْ هُوَ وَفِي أَيِّ بَلَدَةٍ مِنْ بِلَادِ هُوسَا مَكَتَ وَمِنْ أَيِّ شَيْخٍ تَفَقَّهَ وَفِي أَيِّ قَبِيلَةٍ هُوَ
 مِنْ قِبَائِلِ هُوسَا. : قَلَّمَ نَجْدٌ مِنْهُ جَوَابًا شَافِيًا وَلَا اسْتِدْلَالَ صَافِيًا. : بَلْ أَجَابَ بِمَا لَا طَائِلَ
 تَحْتَهُ وَأَتَى بِالْبَرَاهِينِ الرَّكِيكَةِ الَّتِي هِيَ كَلَامُ بَرَاهِينٍ. : وَجَبِنَا ضَرْبْنَا عَنْهُ صَفْحًا فَقُلْنَا
 لَهُ عِيًّا وَقُبْحًا. : وَبَعْدَ يَسِيرٍ مِنَ الزَّمَانِ أَحْضَرْنَا هَذِهِ الْأَبْيَاتَ السِّبْنِيَّاتُ فَهَجَوْنَاهُ بِهَا. :
 فَصَارَتْ قَصِيدَةً طَنَانَةً الْيَوْمَ. : فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ فَهِيَ هِيَ ذِي. :

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. May Allah send His blessings on the Prophet, his household, his companions and salute him with all respect. What happened was as we were with a large number of students, an evil one amongst mankind intruded upon us at a time when a student was reading, this intruder began to listen. And when he finished reading he praised Allah and I responded: *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi ta'ālā* (praise be to Almighty Allah). At this point, the intruder objected to us saying this is *ḥarām* (unlawful), forbidden in Islam and whoever makes

such an expression deserves severe condemnation (*yu‘azzar ta‘zīran shadīdan*). He was asked why. He replied: *lām al-jalāla* is always *maqṣūra* (shortened), no one elongates (*yamudduhā*) except a misguided innovator (*ḍāllun mubtadi‘un*). He was asked: where did this come from and since when? He replied: from their shaykh who appeared in this era to correct what has gone wrong in the religion. He was asked: who is this scholar of yours and where did he come from? He answered: he is from Hausaland; Allah has opened his vision in order to lead people to the right path. He was asked: who is he? What is his name? Which Hausa village did he come from? Who was his shaykh? Which Hausa tribe did he come from? But we did not get a satisfying answer nor a clear proof. Rather, the answers he gave were futile and weak. At this point, we made an example out of him, and we criticized and shamed him. And after some time, we used these lines (*sīniyyāt*; rhyming in the Arabic letter *sīn*) as *hijā’*. It became the popular poem of the day. Praise God. Here is the *hijā’*.

This introduction raises many points of interest about polemics in that particular society. Here, it is relevant to understand the actions of the unnamed person and his intention in order to appreciate the intention of the story. Umar Muhammad talked about what he called “the literacy challenge”, a phenomenon where the knowledge of a scholar is put to the test with the intention to humiliate.

Scholars were highly revered in West African societies and thus became objects of pride and envy. The implication of this is that the knowledge of an individual

scholar serves as a tool to safeguard his acquired status and protect himself from enemies.¹¹⁷

Another interesting thing is the claim that the *sīniyya* is a *qaṣīda ṭannāna* (a widely circulated poem). It is known that many *hijā'* poems had bigger audiences and sometimes a line in a particular poem became so popular that it was recited by children on the street. A line by Jarīr was said to have been recited by water carriers and slave girls.¹¹⁸ There were also individuals who paid money to prevent poets from making obscene *hijā'* on them.¹¹⁹ Inasmuch as the *sīniyya* is written in a simple language, we are still unable to assess the extent of its circulation. One possible guess is that the *hijā'* was popular among students

¹¹⁷ Muhammed, "Alhaj Umar Abubakar Krachie," 53–54.

¹¹⁸ وَالنَّغْلِبِيُّ إِذَا تَخَنَّحَ لِلْوَرَىٰ حَكَ اسْتَه وَتَمَثَّلَ الْأَمْتَالِ

The Taghlibite, saying 'Ahem!' while expecting hospitality, scratches his arse and quotes proverbs. (Translated by van Gelder).

See: Al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashaḥ* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍa Miṣr, 1965), 131. Also: Ibn Rashīq, *al-Umdah*, 2:884. According to Ibn Rashīq, al-Akḥṭal said to Farazdaq: "I am better than Jarīr in poetry I am not sure anyone had composed a *hijā'* like mine [al-Qawm izā Istanbaḥa al-ʿAḍyāfu Kalbuhumū Qālū li-Ummihuhū: Būlī ʿalā al-Nār]. But it was only transmitted by connoisseurs of poetry while Jarir's line (quoted in footnote above) was recited by every water carrier and slave girl.

¹¹⁹ Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 38.

and in circles of knowledge, since knowledge of poetry was the hallmark of scholarship in West Africa and limited to men of letters.¹²⁰

Opening Lines of the *Sīniyya*

The combination of *nasīb* and *hijā'* was common in pre-Islamic and Islamic-era poetry and became rare over time when *hijā'* poems were written in short epigrams or in long monothematic poems.¹²¹ Looking at the structure of the poem on page 124, we notice that the *sīniyya* is an example of a monothematic *hijā'* poem with motifs ranging from mild criticism, reproach, boastfulness, and exaggerated polemics. The language of the *sīniyya* is civil and within ethical limits.¹²² Although the idea that a particular poem is less obscene in its language is somewhat subjective. One way to measure this is through the *hijā'*'s effect on

¹²⁰ John O. Hunwick, "The Arabic Qaṣida in West Africa: Form, Themes, and Context," in *Qaṣida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, ed. Stephan Sperl and Christopher Schackle, 83–97 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1:84.

¹²¹ G. J. H. van Gelder, "Genres in Collision: Nasīb and Hijā'," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 21, no. 1 (1990), 14:25.

¹²² Here I am referring to the opinion by some scholars who argue that *hijā'* should be limited to behavioral and related traits and should not include the individual's physical disposition. See: Ibn Rashīq, *al-Umdah*, 1:874.

or the subsequent reaction from the victim. Our reactions to events or words is the result of our interpretation of those events and not the words or events themselves. Unfortunately, we are unable to measure the effect of the *hijā'* on the victim since we are told he was a *wāghil* (intruder) meaning he was not a member of the society or the *ḥalaqa* (circle of students) which the poet was teaching.

The *hijā'* opens in a collective mode using the third person plural, emphasizing collectivism in classical Arabic *hijā'* such that a whole tribe is lampooned for the behavior of one of its members. The poet makes an unspecific and a general *hijā'* without mentioning the person's name nor his tribe, making his identity known only to the people around at that time.

بِحَقِّ رَبِّ الْوَرَى يَا قَوْمَ فَانْتَبَهُوا فَإِنَّ فِي دَهْرِنَا هَذَا أَبَالِيَسَا
جَاءُوا وَجَالُوا بِأَقْوَالٍ مُحَرَّفَةٍ وَكُلُّ أَقْوَالِهِمْ إِفْكٌ مَّتَّى قَبِيَسَا
هَجَمُوا لِمَدْرَسَةٍ سَفْهًا عَلَى سَفْهِهِ وَصَارَ مَا زَوَّرُوا فِيْنَا وَسَاوِيَسَا
لِقَوْلِهِمْ لَحْنًا فِي اسْمِ الْجَلَالَةِ يَا بُوسًا لِعِيَّتِهِمْ وَيَا بُوسًا يَا بُوسَا
لَمْ يَعْلَمُوا مَادَّةً فِي الصَّرْفِ كَيْفَ بِهِمْ بِعِلْمِ تَوْرِيَةٍ صَارُوا جَوَامِيَسَا

قَدْ جَاءَنَا وَاحِدٌ مِّنْهُمْ بِخُذَعْتِهِ يُرِيدُ تَجْرِبَةً فِيْنَا وَتُدْسِيَةً
قُلْنَا لَهُ أَنْتَ حَتَّارٌ وَلَا تَدْنُو وَأَمْ تُرَاوِدُ بِهِ قُرْبًا وَتَانِيَةً
بِزَعْمِهِ أَنْ فِيْهِمْ عَالِمًا فَطِنًا يُفْـُٔوْنَ لَأَمَدَةً فِي اللَّهِ تَلْبِيَسًا
قُلْنَا كَذِبَتْ كَذِبَتْ بَلْ كَذِبَتْ أَجَلٌ وَقَدْ يُشَابِهُهُ مَا قَوْلَتْ قَائِسًا

By the Lord of creation listen O my people,

for in our time are evil men.

They came and went round with distorted speeches

and all their words are false in spite of how they may
sound.

They attacked a school with ignorance upon ignorance,

and all they falsified about us became vain.

Saying we erred in the Name of the Most-High,

how miserable is their offense how gravely miserable?

They knew not morphology how then,

with the knowledge of antonomasia, they became water
buffaloes.

There came one amongst them with his deceit,

wanting to test and to spy on us.

We said to him: You are treacherous don't come closer,

we enticed him not nor socialized with him.

Alleging that there was an intelligent scholar amongst them,

who says: No elongation in the Name of Allah. Doing so is a dubious act.

We said: You lied! You lied!! indeed you lied!!!

and what you said may resemble a nightmare.

***Hijā'* and its Various Components**

The aim of the opening lines is not to narrate what happened but also to justify the *hijā'* which is to be expected. Even so, the poet seeks to humiliate and above all, question the credibility of the unnamed victim through his use of phrases and words such as *aqwāl muḥarrafa* (false speeches), *ifk* (slander), *safaḥ* (stupidity), *khid'a* (deception), *khattār* (perfidious or traitor), *kadhabta* (you lied).

Logically, the story behind the *sīniyya* does not warrant the use of obscene and foul-language since the intention of the unnamed victim was to test his knowledge and to humiliate him, it was only appropriate for the poet to use words of similar signification for the same purpose.

بِجَاهِهِ مَنْ أَتَى كَيْمًا يُفْضِحَنَا وَلَوْ أَتَى مِنْ بَعِيدِ طُوسٍ أَوْ تُوسَا
يَوُوبٍ بِخِزْيٍ وَعَظِيمٍ مِنْ عَبَاوَتِهِ أُنْضُحُو كَةً بَيْنَ أَهْلِ اللَّهِ إِنْ كَيْسَا
لَمْ نَأْتِفِتْ لِمَقَالٍ مِنْ زَنَادِقَةٍ فَتَنَّا بَهْتٌ قَوْلُهُمْ هَذَا نَوَاقِيسَا
وَلَا نُطِيعُ الَّذِي قَدْ زَاعَ عَنْ نَهْجٍ وَلَوْ أَتَى رَاكِبًا فَيَلًا وَمَرْمِيسَا

By his honor, whoever came to humiliate us

even if he came from a distance [such as] Ṭūs and Tūs.

He will be put to shame and be rage by his display of stupidity,

a laughing stock among men of God.

We pay no attention to the sayings of the atheist

and their speech resembled jingling bells.

We will not obey anyone who deviated from the path

even if he came riding on elephants and rhinoceros.

Another method employed by the poet in his attempt to humiliate his victim is the use of advice in a ridiculing manner, what I call “advice-cum-mockery.” He advises his victim to read wide and makes suggestions that his victim’s behavior is as a result of his lack of knowledge of ancient books.

إِنَّ الْعُلُومَ لَهَا أَصْلٌ وَمَبْحَثَةٌ فَارْزُدْ إِلَى كُؤُخِكَ وَأَفْتِشْ قَرَاطِيسَا
كُنْ طَالِعًا كُنْ بِأَهْلِ الْحَقِّ لَا تَكْسَلْ لَعَلَّ عَيْنَكَ لَمْ تَنْظُرْ كَرَارِيسَا

وَأَنْ تَرَى مَنْ يُصَدِّقَ قَوْلَ عَالِمِكُمْ سِوَى الَّذِي صَارَ غَوْغَاءً وَنَامُوسًا
وَهَلْ نَظَرْتَ إِلَى كُتُبِ الَّذِينَ مَضَوْا وَهَلْ تُطَالِعُ تَلْمُودًا وَبِرْنَاسًا
فَإِنظُرْ بِرَأْيِكَ أَنَّ الْحَقَّ خَالِصَةٌ وَلَا تُكُنْ بَيْنَ أَهْلِ الدِّينِ غَرْفُوسًا

Verily science has foundation and a place of inquiry,

so return to your hut and search into the papyrus.

Be a reader of the books of men of truth, don't be lazy.

Maybe your eyes did not look into books.

You will not find [anyone] who believes the word of your teacher
except those who are the mob and mosquito.

Did you look at the books of those who had passed away?

Did you look into the Talmud and Gospel commentary?

Use your mind [to realize that] truth is absolute,

and don't be a *gharfus* among the people of religion.

Fakhr (boastfulness) is another common feature in classical *hijā'* poetry and is considered a substitute for *hijā'*.¹²³ The *sīniyya* contains aspect of *fakhr* but unlike the classical tribal *fakhr*, the *fakhr* in the *sīniyya* is individual. It is when the poet boasts about himself and his teacher from whom he learnt so much.

¹²³ Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 16.

Ironically though, the poet claims that what he did was not *fakhr* but a form of gratitude [to his teacher?]. This is less convincing especially if we juxtapose this with his own attempt at attacking and discrediting his victim's teacher. Here are instances in the *sīniyya* where the poet uses *fakhr*.

يَسْتَنْسِرُ الْبُعْثُ لَا فِينَا وَإِنَّ لَنَا نَفْلاً نَمَيَّزُ إِنْسَانًا وَبَابُوسَا
فَإِنَّ أَسْأَدَانَا عُنْمَانِ عَالَمًا فَرَقْنَا إِذَا قِيلَ جَامُوسَا وَجَامُوسَا
بِجَاهِهِ مَنْ أَتَى كَيْمًا يُفْضِحَنَا وَلَوْ أَتَى مِنْ بَعِيدِ طُوسِ أَوْ ثُوسَا
يَوُوبُ بِخَزِيٍّ وَغَيْظٍ مِنْ غَبَاوَتِهِ أُنْجُو كَوَكَّةَ بَيْنِ أَهْلِ اللَّهِ إِنْ كَيْسَا
لَمْ نَأْتِفِثْ لِمَقَالٍ مِّنْ رَّنَادِقَةٍ فَشَابَهَتْ قَوْلَهُمْ هَذَا نَوَاقِيسَا
وَلَا نُطِيعُ الَّذِي قَدِ زَاعَ عَنْ نَهْجٍ وَلَوْ أَتَى رَاكِبًا فَيَلًا وَمَرْمِيسَا
وَلَوْ أَتَى بِعُلُومٍ بِمِثْلِ سُنْبَسَرَا أَوْ مِثْلَ بَلْعَامٍ أَوْ شَيْطَانَ بَلْبِيسَا
أَلْفُوا جِبَالَهُمْ أَلْفُوا عَصِيَّهُمْ بَسَلْنَا كَأَنَّا بِأَيْدِينَا عَصَا مُوسَا
مَنْ جَاءَنَا بِمَكِيدَاتٍ وَجِيَّاتِهِ وَلَوْ أَتَى لِأَيْسَا تَاجًا وَبَرُوسَا
يَخِيبُ فِي مَانَوَاهُ مِنْ تَعْنُنَا بِمَا دَرَسْنَا عَلَى عُنْمَانَ تَدْرِيسَا
وَمَا نَظَمْنَا عَلَى فَخْرٍ وَلَا بَطْرِ لَكِنْ قَصَدْنَا بِهِ شُكْرًا وَتَاسِيسَا

The ignoble will not become strong amongst us and indeed,

we have the logic to differentiate between human and a calf.

Indeed, our teacher ʿUthman taught us
the difference between a buffalo and a truffle.
By his honor, whoever came to humiliate us
even if he came from a distance [such as] Ṭūs and Tūs.
He will be put to shame and be rage by his display of stupidity,
a laughing stock among men of God.
We pay no attention to the sayings of the atheist
and their speech resembled jingling bells.
We will not obey anyone who deviated from the path
even if he came riding on elephants and rhinoceros.
Even if he brought knowledge equal to Spencer,
the equivalent of Balʿām or Satan, the devil.
They cast their ropes and cast their sticks. Certainly!
As if in our hands is the stick of Moses
Whoever comes to us with his plots and ploys,
even if they came wearing a crown or a burnoose.
They will be disappointed with their intention to embarrass us,
by what we learnt from ʿUthmān. Certainly!
We composed not to boast or play
but we intended it as a gratitude and to establish [the truth].

Another component of the *hijā'* is *mubālagha* (hyperbole). It is commonplace in *hijā'* poetry especially in obscenities because the object of *hijā'* is to humiliate the victim as well as to convince the public, not of the truth of the accusations, but of the humiliating potential of the poem and once the public is convinced of that, the victim is humiliated, at least as long as he does not retaliate.¹²⁴ Though, our poet does not make exaggerated obscene accusations and rather makes exaggerated allusions, these should not be considered as true either. In defending his pronunciation of *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi ta'ālā*, he alludes that earlier scholars such as Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates pronounced the phrase in the same way he did. This is nothing more than an exaggerated polemics.

إِسْمُ الْجَلَالَةِ قَدْ شَاعَ مَدَّتُهُ بَيْنَ الْجَمَاهِيرِ مِنْ تُوَلَّى إِلَى سُوسَا
كَذَا طَعْرُ غُرِّ وَأَهْلُ الصَّيْنِ كَأَهُمْ بِمَدَّةٍ نَطَقُوا وَالْقَصْرُ قَدْ بِيَسَا
مَدُّ الْجَلَالَةِ قَدْ عَمَّتْ جَمِيعَ قُرَى بَرًّا وَبَخْرًا إِلَى لُنْدَنْ وَبَارِيَسَا
أَهْلُ الْأَقَالِيمِ قَدْ مَدُّوا بِلَا فَرْقٍ مِنْ قَنْبَلُوا قَدْ جَرَى جَيْرًا إِلَى هُوسَا
إِنَّ الْفَلَّاسِفَةَ الْأَوْلَى لَقَدْ نَطَقُوا بِمَدَّةٍ سَطَّ قُرَاطُ أَرْسَطَالِيَسَا

¹²⁴ Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 33.

وَأَرْسَطُوا أَفْلَاطُونَ جَمَّ يَعْهُمُ ثُمَّ ابْنُ سِينَا كَذَلِكَ بَطْلَيْمُوسَا
وَكُلَّهُمْ نَطَقُوا بِالْمَدِّ يَا عَجَبًا لِمُسْلِمٍ صَارَ وَرُورًا وَقُنْدُوسَا

The Name of the Most-High indeed, its elongation is prevalent
among the public, from *Tūlā* to *Sousse*.

Also the *Tagharghar* and the Chinese, they all
elongated its pronunciation and rebuked its shortening.

The elongation of the Name of the Most-High has engulfed every
country,

land and sea, from London to Paris.

People of this region elongated it without difference,
from *Qambalū* it run to Hausaland.

Indeed, early philosophers also pronounced it
[similar] to the elongation of Aristotle and Socrates.

Aristotle and Plato,
then Avicenna as well as Ptolemy.

They all pronounced with elongation, what a surprise!
for a Muslim who has become deceptive and sinful.

Take this [poem] to refute the sayings of the foolish
whose speech is unintelligible.

Structural Composition of the *Sīniyya*

1-4	Narrating the story behind the <i>hijā'</i>	15-24	<i>Hijā'</i>
5	<i>Hijā'</i>	25	The aim of the <i>hijā'</i>
6-9	Continuation of the story	26-34	Polemics
10-14	Advice-cum-sarcasm (<i>sukhriyy</i>)		

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis is to look at the concept of imitation and originality in four poems by ‘Umar Krachi. My discussion of these poems was based on the following:

1. Structure: We were able to show how ‘Umar Krachi copied the classical Arabic structure in his poems. In the *rā’iyya*, *mīmiyya*, and *lāmiyya* we saw how he used the bipartite structure of the *nasīb/ghazal* and the themes of *madīh* and *rithā’*. In the *sīniyya* we realized that he did not follow this structural convention.
2. Theme: The most prominent themes in classical Arabic poetry are *madīh*, *hijā’*, and *rithā’*. ‘Umar Krachi was able to explore these themes in his poems. In each of these the poet gave a social commentary of events and talked about matters relevant to his society. In doing so he did not necessarily use classical tropes and topoi but contextualized these themes.

This is where the concept of originality comes in. ‘Umar Krachi was influenced by social, political, and religious factors in his time. He was a social

commentator who used poetic style in his commentaries, and these poems are useful sources for our understanding of the history of that particular society.

This may explain the style of the poet and the choice of his subjects. He was not concerned about embellishment as much as he was concerned about the message of his poems.

APPENDIX A: CRITICAL EDITION OF TEXTS

The *Rā'iyya*

MSS: Ghana/16.13/MSX (رمز أ), IAS AR/127 (رمز ب), and IAS AR/239 (رمز ج)

Subject: Literature: poetry: praise: Sallaw

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ وَذُرِّيَّاتِهِ وَسَلَّمَ. وَكَانَ ابْتِدَاءُ
الْقَصَائِدِ بِالنَّسِيبِ أَوْ بِالتَّنْسِيبِ أَوْ بِالْعَزْلِ عَادَةً قَدِيمَةً عِنْدَ شُعْرَاءِ الْعَرَبِ جَاهِلِيَّةً وَإِسْلَامًا وَعَلَى هَذَا
الْمُنْوَالِ يَنْسِجُ كُلُّ شَاعِرٍ أَدِيبٍ مَاهِرٍ إِلَى الْيَوْمِ وَلِذَلِكَ حَدَى هَذَا الشَّاعِرُ حَدْوَهُمْ وَلَعَلَّ مَا فِي مَطْلَعِ
هَذِهِ الْقَصِيدَةِ هُوَ الْعَزْلُ تَأْمَلْ وَهِيَ طَنَانَةٌ.

من المجتث

- 1 بُشْرَى أْتَاكَ بِشِيرٍ مِنْ عِنْدِ هِنْدٍ بِصِيرٍ¹²⁵
- 2 وَمِنْ سُؤْمِي وَدَعْدٍ وَمِنْ لَمِيْسٍ مُشِيرٍ
- 3 وَمِنْ سُؤْمِي وَلِيْلِي مِنْ كُلهِ نَسْفِيرٍ
- 4 وَدِي لَهُ نَقْدِيْمٌ دِلَالُهُ نَسْفِيرٍ
- 5 سَاجَأَتْ وَرَقَاءَ سَجْعًا¹²⁶ عَنِ عُصْبِ نَهْآ لَا تَطِيرُ
- 6 قَالُوا بُهْنٌ هَوَاءٌ وَعُودُهُنَّ حَزْرُورٌ¹²⁷
- 7 سَبِيْنٌ لِيْلِي وَخَابِي¹²⁸ وَصَارَ عِنْدِي خَرِيْرُ

¹²⁵ في أ: من هند هذ بصير.

¹²⁶ في أ: ورقا.

¹²⁷ في ب و ج: خرور.

¹²⁸ في أ: قلبي.

- 8 تَرَكَتْنِي فِي عَائٍ¹²⁹ كَأَنِّي مَطْمٌ — زُورُ
- 9 رَأَيْتَن شَيْبَ عِذَارِي فَقَأْنَا نَ هَذَا نَحْ — زُورُ
- 10 وَصَارَ يَطَأُ بُهْنٌ حَتَّى تَوَلَّى النَّهَارَ¹³⁰
- 11 وَعَسَى اللَّيْلُ يَغْدُو¹³¹ حَتَّى تَدَانِيَ السُّحُورُ¹³²
- 12 وَلَمْ يَنْمَ طَوولَ لَيْلٍ¹³³ كَأَنَّ مَعَهُ — زُورُ
- 13 يُصْغِي إِلَيَّ صَوْتُهُنَّ¹³⁴ كَمَا صَاغَتْ عُصْفُورُ
- 14 لَصَوْتِ بَارِ مُطِيلٍ كَأَنَّ طَنْبُ — زُورُ
- 15 وَفَاتَهُ مَا يَزُومُ كَفَى بِهِ ذَا حَسَدٍ — زَارُ
- 16 فَصَارَ نَفْضًا بَدِيلاً¹³⁵ كَأَنَّ الصَّخْرَةَ — فَطَارُ
- 17 وَهَلْ تَكُنْ لِي مُعِينًا يَا أَيُّهَا الْكُفْرُ — زُورُ
- 18 إِنْ لَمْ تَكُنْ لِي مُعِينًا فَلِي مُعِينٌ كَبِيرٌ — زُورُ

¹²⁹ في أ: تركتني.

¹³⁰ في أ: تواني السحور.

وفي رقم 11 في أ جاء بيت: «وصار يطلبهن حتى توالى النهار» وهذا خطأ.

¹³¹ في أ: الليل يعدو.

¹³² في أ: تدان.

¹³³ في أ: الليل.

¹³⁴ في أ: يصغ.

¹³⁵ اللفظ غير واضح. كلمة (بنيل) هي أقرب لمعنى البيت.

- 19 فَذَلِكَ صَا لُوا أَمِيرُ غَضَا نَفَرٌ مَشَا هُورُ
- 20 حَفِيرٌ دُ أَهْلٌ كَمَا يُو وَزِي تَكُورُ وَوَعُ وَرُ
- 21 الْحَاجَ بَارَكَ فِيهِ الْحَاجَ دَكَّ وَ أَمِيرُ 136
- 22 وَمَسَّ رَأْسَ حَسَا يِنِ هَذَا عَظِي يَمَّ حَبُ وَرُ
- 23 فَقَالَ يَا رَبَّ بَارِكْ لِأَنَّ هَذَا مُجِي رُ
- 24 بَلْ كُنَّا قَالِ أَمِينِ وَشَا يُخُ بَرْمُ وَ أَظْهِرُ
- 25 وَكُلُّهُ مَ عَظْمُ وَهُ لَأَنَّ مَسَا زُورُ
- 26 هَذَا عَظَا أَلَا هِ لَأَحَا وَ لَأَتَا ذَبِيرُ
- 27 سَأَلَهُ وَتَعَا أَلَى الْوَاحِدُ الْمَشَا كُورُ
- 28 أَعْطَاهُ مَا فَوَقَ هَذَا يَا أَيُّهَا الْمَقْرُورُ
- 29 أَعْطَاهُ عِلْمًا وَحِلْمًا فَإِنَّهُ الْعَيْسَا جُورُ 137
- 30 وَرَأَى بَحِيَاءَ وَهُوَ الْخَايُ الْحَرِيْرُ

¹³⁶ في أ و ب: الحج.

¹³⁷ في ج: العيشجور.

- 31 فَاصْغُوا إِلَيَّ مَا أَقُولُ¹³⁸ يَا أَيُّهَا الْأَخْيَارُ
- 32 وَمُنْكَرُوا أَقْوَامِي فَانْتَهُمُ فُجَّارُ
- 33 وَمَنْ يُعَيِّبُوا نِيْظِي فَاغْتَابُوا نِيْظِي¹³⁹
- 34 وَلَا تَنْطَفِئُوا بِجَفَاءٍ يَا أَيُّهَا الْأَعْمَارُ¹⁴⁰
- 35 وَمَنْ رَضُوا بِنِيْظِي فَاغْتَابُوا نِيْظِي
- 36 أَسْمَاءٌ صَالُوا كَثِيرٌ هَذَا كُنْهًا مَسْطُورٌ¹⁴¹
- 37 مِنْهَا أَمِيرٌ غَضِيْبٌ مِنْهَا قَرِيْبٌ قَرِيْبٌ
- 38 إِنْ قُلْتُ هَذَا فَفَقِيْهُ¹⁴² قَوْلُوا فَفَقِيْهُ أَمِيرٌ
- 39 أَوْ قُلْتُ هَذَا جَمِيْلٌ قَوْلُوا جَمِيْلٌ نَضِيْرٌ
- 40 أَوْ قِيلَ هَذَا سِيْرٌ قَوْلُوا سِيْرٌ رَاجِحٌ مُنِيْبٌ
- 41 إِنْ قِيلَ هَذَا أَدِيْبٌ قَوْلُوا أَدِيْبٌ صَابُورٌ

¹³⁸ في أ: يقول.

¹³⁹ في أ جاء البيت هكذا: وإن ما يقفوني فإنهم أعمار.

¹⁴⁰ هذا البيت جاء في ج. أما في ب فقد جاء بيت آخر: وأن من يجفوني فإنهم أعمار. وفي أ: ومن يعيبوا نظامي فإنهم أعمار.

¹⁴¹ في أ، ب، و ج: قلها.

¹⁴² في أ: وإن قلت.

- 42 أَوْ قِيلَ هَذَا شُجَاعٌ قُولُوا شُجَاعٌ جَسُورٌ
- 43 إِنْ قِيلَ هَذَا جَدَارٌ قُولُوا جَدَارٌ جَدِيرٌ
- 44 أَوْ قِيلَ هَذَا جَوَادٌ قُولُوا جَوَادٌ قَسُورٌ
- 45 أَوْ قِيلَ هَذَا تَقِيٌّ قُولُوا تَقِيٌّ شَكُورٌ
- 46 أَوْ قِيلَ هَذَا زِيٌّ¹⁴³ قُولُوا زِيٌّ طَهُورٌ
- 47 إِنْ قِيلَ هَذَا سَحَابٌ قُولُوا سَحَابٌ مُطِيرٌ
- 48 لَا شَأْنُكَ لِأَرْيَبَ هَذَا أَسْمَاؤُهُ يَأْخِيبُ
- 49 تَرَاهُ كُنْ لَأَوَانٍ مُمْتَهَلًا لَا بَسْدٌ
- 50 وَوَجْهُهُ يَتَلَأَلُ¹⁴⁴ كَأَنَّ هُ الْجَانَّ
- 51 ذُو هَيْبَةٍ وَوَقَارٍ كَأَنَّ هُ كَوَاكِبُورٌ
- 52 أَمْرَاءُ زَنْقُوا كَثِيرًا لَكِنَّ هُ صَرَصُورٌ
- 53 جَوْنًا أَوْ هُمْ هَوَازٌ وَكُلُّهُمُ أَقْمَارٌ

¹⁴³ في أ: هذ.
¹⁴⁴ في أ: يتلألها.

- 54 يَا حَاسِبٍ دَيْهِ تَعَالَوْا سَأَلْتُكُمْ هَلْ تَمَارُ
- 55 عَطَاءُ ذِي مَكُّوتٍ تَوْبُوا وَأَوْبُوا وَادَارُوا
- 56 يَا أَيُّهَا الْحَاسِبُونَ هَلْ كُنْتُمْ مَعَكُمْ زُورٌ
- 57 قَضَى الْإِلَهِ قَضَاءً بِأَنْ صَالُوا أَمِيرُ
- 58 أَهْلُ السَّمَاوَاتِ قَالُوا يَا رَبِّ هَذَا جَدِيرٌ
- 59 بِأَنْ يَكُونَ رَئِيسًا مَا دَارَتِ الْأَرْضُ دَهْرِي¹⁴⁵
- 60 وَأَلْسِنٌ لِلْحَاسِبِينَ إِلَّا الْبَأْسَى وَالْتَبَارُ
- 61 إِلَّا الْأَجْفَاءُ¹⁴⁶ وَالْجَوَى وَالْهَرِي¹⁴⁷
- 62 إِنْ طَالَ دَهْرُ تَرَاهُمْ لَمْ يَبْقَ فِيهِمْ دِيَارُ
- 63 عَوَاقِبُ الْحَسَدِ قَدَمًا إِنْ طَالَ شَتَقُ وَبُورُ¹⁴⁸
- 64 يَا أَيُّهَا الْأَعْدَاءُ تَوْبُوا جَمِيعًا وَزُورُ¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ في أ: دهرير.

¹⁴⁶ في ب: الجفاه.

¹⁴⁷ في أ: هرير.

¹⁴⁸ في غ: لابد.

¹⁴⁹ في أ و ب: توبو.

شرح (زور) في ج: زيارة الحق والصدق و المودة.

- 65 وَسَاءَ لِمُؤَاتِنَاتٍ لِيَمَانٍ لَا يَجْرُمَنَّكُمْ غُرُورٌ¹⁵⁰
- 66 هَلْ غَرَّكُمْ شَيْءٌ يُظَانُّ أَوْ غَرَّكُمْ دَعْوَى غُرُورٌ
- 67 فَفَقَصُوا صَوَارِئَهُمْ مِثْلَ يَدٍ كَأَنَّ هِيَ الْفَهْقُورُ¹⁵¹
- 68 بَلْ رَهْصَةٌ لَا يُعِيْبُ وَأَلَيْسَ فِيهَا فُطْرٌ
- 69 فَفَقَدَرُ هَاتِ وَاسْمَعِ¹⁵² وَثُوبٌ إِلَيْهِ تَمِيْرٌ
- 70 إِنْ لَمْ تَنْتَوِبُوا جَمِيعًا هَبَابٌ عَلَيَّكُمْ دُبُورٌ
- 71 أَوْ لَمْ تَنْتَوِبُوا إِلَيْهِ تَمَسَّكُمْ خَنَاتٌ¹⁵³
- 72 فَعَنْ قَرِيْبٍ تَمَوَّتُوا فَكَأَنَّكُمْ مَقْبُورٌ
- 73 أَفَأَنْتُمْ وَالْكُمْ بُهَاتَانٌ وَتَوَالِيَةٌ وَغُرُورٌ¹⁵⁴
- 74 نَدْعُوكَ رَبَّ الْعِبَادِ يَا حَيُّ يَا قَهَّارُ
- 75 تُغِيْبُ صَوَارِئَهُمْ سَرِيْعًا لِمَنْ يُرِيْدُ يُضَارُ

¹⁵⁰ في أ: تجرمنكم.

¹⁵¹ في ب: كأنهم.

¹⁵² شرح كلمة (فقدنر) في ج: الذي ساء فعله وقبح منظره ولا يريد إلا شرا.

¹⁵³ في أ: حننار.

¹⁵⁴ في ج: تولة.

- 76 إِنْهُمْ أَوْذُكَ 155 صِرَارُهُمْ أَوْ كِبَارُ
- 77 وَكُلُّ قَالٍ لِحَا لَوْ حَقَّ قَالٍ فَذَلِكَ حَقِيْرُ
- 78 وَلَا يَرَى مَا يُرِيدُ بَلْ إِنَّهُ الْفَيْرُ 156 دَحُورُ
- 79 قُلْ إِنَّهُ لَعَبِيْبٌ بَلْ إِنَّهُ الْفَيْرُ 157 دَحُورُ
- 80 يُمُوْتُ جُوْعًا وَغَيْظًا هَبْ أَنْتَهُ الْقَطْفِيْرُ 158
- 81 وَلَا يَنْبَأُ الْقُلُوْسُ وَلَا لَأَلُّهُ قَطْمِيْرُ
- 82 وَلَا نِيْسَ يَزَكُّ بُقْرَسًا لِبَاسُهُ أَطْمَارُ
- 83 وَفُوْتُهُ قُوْتُ كَأَبٍ 159 إِدَامُهُ شَتُّ نُنْكُورُ
- 84 فِي دَارِ صَالُوا طَعَامٌ وَاللَّحْمُ وَالْقَنْمُ 160 دِيْرُ
- 85 وَذَا يَمُوْتُ ذَلِيْلًا كَأَنَّ هُوَ حَيْتَعُ 161 وُورُ
- 86 وَيُفْنُوهُ وَحِيْبًا أَتَاهُ أَيُّمٌ جَرِيْرُ 162

155 في ج: نائهم وذكور.
 156 في ج: بل أنه.
 157 في ج: أنه الفينجور.
 158 في أ: هب أنه.
 159 في أ: قوة.
 160 في أ: اللحم.
 161 في ج: خيتعور.
 162 في ج: أينو.

- 87 فِي رَمْسِهِ كُـ لُ دُوِدِ وَمُنْكَـ رُ وَنَكِيـ رُ
- 88 لِأَنَّه مَمَاتَ غَمًّا 163 كَأَنَّـ هُ الْمَقِيـ وُورُ
- 89 تَبَّالِكُـ لَ بَغِيـ يَضِ بَلْ كُأَهُـ م مَقَّهُـ وُورُ
- 90 نَدْعُوا عَلَي كُـ لَ قَالِ تَحُوطُـ هُ الْأَكُـ دَارُ
- 91 يَا ذَهْرَ لَا تُبْقِ فِيهِمْ مُوَانِسًا دَا جَـ دِيرُ
- 92 لَا يَسْتَوِي الطُّـ لُ حَقًّا يَا قَوْمًا وَالْحَـ رُورُ 164
- 93 وَمَنْ يُمَاتُ لُ صَـ لُوا بَلْ فُقَاـ هُ مَثُـ هُورُ
- 94 عَلِمُ وَفُكُـ رُ وَصَـ مَتُ وَحِكْمَـ تة لَا تُجِـ وُورُ
- 95 كَمْ مَثُـ كِلَاتُ الْأُمُـ وُورُ يَحْلَهُـ أ لَا يُحِيـ رُ
- 96 وَيَطْمَـ نُنُ فُعُـ وُدَا فِي حَشْنُـ مِه لَا يَخُـ وُورُ 165
- 97 وَكَمْ قَضَاءَ قَضَاءُ 166 بِالْعَـ ذَلِ هَـ ذَا كَثِيـ رُ

163 في أ: ماتا.
164 في أ: حرير.
165 في ج: في قومه
166 في أ و ب: قضاها قضاها.

- 98 وَكَمْ أُنْبِرُمْ وَأَكَلْ كَيْدٍ فِيهِمْ كَبِيرٌ غَ دُورٌ¹⁶⁷
- 99 فِيهِمْ بَنَاتٌ أَلْدُرُوزُ دَلَامَةٌ هَيْ دُكُورٌ
- 100 فَصَارَ مَا أُنْبِرْمُوهُ أَكَاذِبٌ لَّا تَشُورُ¹⁶⁸
- 101 وَمَنْ يُدَانِيهِ جُودًا¹⁶⁹ فِي يَوْمٍ لَّا نَظِيرُ
- 102 لِحُودِهِ فِي الْبَرَائِيَا بَلْ بَخْرُهُ لَّا يُفُورُ
- 103 يُعْطِي بِكُلِّ نَفْسٍ فَاَسْمَعُهُ يَأْمَغُورُ
- 104 يُعْطِي بِفَرْسٍ وَسَرْجٍ هَذَا لَدَيْهِ يَسِيرُ
- 105 وَغَزَاهُ وَكَانَ أَمِي مَعَّاهُ وَالْمَزُورُ¹⁷⁰
- 106 وَابْدَهُ وَجَلَّالَهَا¹⁷¹ وَتَجْمَعُ مَعَ غُورِ
- 107 كَذَلِكَ يُعْطِي قَمِيصًا يُحِبُّهُ الْجُمُورُ
- 108 كَذَا بَرَانِسَ تَتْرَى وَطَيْلَسَ أَنَا كَثِيرُ¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ في أ: قدور.

¹⁶⁸ في ج: تثور.

¹⁶⁹ في أ: يدانه.

¹⁷⁰ هذا البيت لم يأت في ب و ج.

¹⁷¹ في ج: جلالاً.

¹⁷² في ج: أثمانها لكثير.

- 109 وَفِضًّا وَنَضًّا إِرَ فَنِعْمَ هَذَا الصَّ دِيرُ
- 110 هِبَانُ هُ لَا تُعْدُ إِحْسَانُهُ مَذْكُورُ
- 111 يُعْطِي لَدَانٍ وَقَاصِ¹⁷³ وَكُلُّ هَذَا شَهِيرُ
- 112 وَكَانَ أَهْلُ كَمَّاسِ دِيَارُهُمْ مَعْمُورُ
- 113 وَكَأَنَّ هُمْ فِي نِمَاعِ¹⁷⁴ الْأَوْهَامِ لَا تَمُورُ
- 114 وَصَارَ عَابِلٌ قَوْمِ لِهَيْبَتِهِ نَابُ وَدَارُ
- 115 يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ قُولُوا فَنِعْمَ هَذَا الْأَمِيرُ
- 116 وَإِنَّهُ مُنْذَقٌ دِيمًا¹⁷⁵ لَهُ مَزَايَا غَزِيرُ¹⁷⁶
- 117 وَمَنْ يُحَاسِدُ خَدِيمِي¹⁷⁷ فَإِنَّهُ الزَّنْبُورُ
- 118 وَلَا تَخَفْ أَعْيَاءَ وَالْوَأَلِ وَفَتْ كَثِيرُ
- 119 وَهَلْ سَمِعْتَ سَخِيًّا يَا أَيُّهَاذَا السَّامِيرُ

¹⁷³ في ب و ج: قاض.

¹⁷⁴ في ج: نماء.

¹⁷⁵ في ج: صباه.

¹⁷⁶ في ج: غرير.

¹⁷⁷ في أ: خديما.

- 120 أَيَّامٌ صَالُوا الْعُزْرَ أَرْمَانُهُ أَنْـ وَارٌ¹⁷⁸
- 121 كَمِثْلٍ هَذَا الْأَمِيرُ وَإِنَّهُ لَعِيٌّ وَارٌ
- 122 صَالُوا عَزُومَ عَفِيفٍ فَافْهَمُهُ يَارَ عَزُورُ¹⁷⁹
- 123 لَوْلَا مَخَافَةَ رَبِّي لَقُلْتُ أَنْتَ أَنْتَ أَنْتَ وَارٌ
- 124 يَارَبِّ يَا ذَا الْجَلَالِ نَدْعُوكَ يَا سَاتِرَ
- 125 أَنْصُرُهُ فِي مَا يُرِيدُ يَا مَنْ هُوَ الْقَهَّارُ
- 126 أَعَزُّرُهُ فِي كُلِّ أَمْرٍ يَا رَبَّنَا يَا نَصِيرُ
- 127 أَجِبْ دُعَائِي سَرِيعًا¹⁸⁰ يَا رَبَّنَا يَا عَفَّارُ
- 128 فَأَعْطِهِ طَيِّبَاتٍ ذُرِّيَّةً لَا تَبُّورُ
- 129 فَأَكْثِرْ بَنِيهِ إِلَهِي¹⁸¹ يَا خَالِقُ يَا بَصِيرُ
- 130 وَاسْتُرْهُ سِتْرًا جَمِيلًا فَأَنْتَ رَبُّ خَيْرِ رُ
- 131 أَجْنَعًا دَاهُ جَوِيعًا يَعْمُهُمْ تَمَّ ذَمِيرُ

¹⁷⁸ هذا البيت جاء في رقم 119 في ب و ج.

¹⁷⁹ في ج: فاسمعه.

¹⁸⁰ في أ: دعاه.

¹⁸¹ في أ: فاكثر.

- 132 وَنَجِّهِ كَيْدِ أَنْتَ السَّلَامُ الْقَدِيرُ¹⁸²
- 133 يَا رَبِّ وَارْحَمْ أَبَاهُ¹⁸³ أَنْتَ الرَّحِيمُ الْعَفُورُ
- 134 وَأَنْزَلْهُ دَارَ النَّعِيمِ¹⁸⁴ تَجْرِي بِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ
- 135 وَعَمُّهُ وَارْحَمَهُ¹⁸⁵ وَذَلِكَ شَيْءٌ يَخُوفُ
- 136 سَمَاءَ مُوسَى نَصِيحِ فَقَدْ نِعِمَّ ذَاكَ الشَّيْءُ مِيرُ
- 137 كَذَلِكَ ثَنَانِي أَحْبَابَهُ وَارْحَمَهُ يَا جَبَّارُ
- 138 آمِينَ فَآمِنِ الْوَقْفَا وَقَوْلُ آمِينَ يُنِيدُ
- 139 فَآمِنُوا يَا أَنْسَا فَأَهْلُ آمِينَ كَثِيرُ
- 140 نَزُّجُوا الْإِجَابَةَ حَقًّا لَا رَيْبَ لَكُمْ
- 141 نِعْمَ بِذِكْرِ أُخِيهِ تَتِمُّ ذِي الْأَشْغَارِ¹⁸⁶
- 142 نِعْمَ بِبَيْتِ صِدْقٍ وَاللَّهِ لَا إِدْبَارَ

¹⁸² في أ: السلام الرحيم.

¹⁸³ في أ: ورحم.

¹⁸⁴ في أ و ب: وانزله.

¹⁸⁵ في أ: ورحمه.

¹⁸⁶ هذا البيت لم يأت في ب، لكنه جاء في ج بعد البيت رقم 144.

- 143 تَنَّاؤُهُ لَيْسَ يُؤْنِسِي حَتَّىٰ قَنَىٰ فَتَأْتِ أَطْوَارُ
- 144 مُجِبُّنَا ذَاكَ خَضِرٌ فَأَنْتَ فِيهِ الدَّخْلُ دَارُ
- 145 أَحْسُوهُ أُمَّمَا وَأَبَا فِي السِّنِّ وَهُوَ وَكَبِيرُ
- 146 حَبَّوْتُ هَذَا ذِي إِلْيَاكَ يَا أَيُّهَا دَا الْأَمِيرُ¹⁸⁷
- 147 وَتُحْفَتِي هِيَ هَذَا ذِي إِلْيَاكَ يَا مَشْهُورُ
- 148 أَيْبَانُهُ نَاصِرَاتُ أَلْفَاظِهِ نَابِغَارُ
- 149 يَا أَيُّهَا الشُّعْرَاءُ¹⁸⁸ إِنِّي بِلَيْدِ دُضَارِيرُ
- 150 وَلَسْتُ عَارِفَ شِعْرِ¹⁸⁹ لَكِنِّي شَرْتُشُورُ
- 151 وَمَنْ رَأَى فِيهِ خَالًا يَسُدُّهُ لَيْسَ عَارُ
- 152 حَمْدًا وَشُكْرًا لِرَبِّي¹⁹⁰ فَأَنْتَ فِيهِ الْمَشْكُورُ
- 153 سَلِّمْ وَسَلِّمْ إِلَيَّ يَا مَسَا سَأَجَلْتُ زُرُورُ
- 154 عَلَيَّ النَّبِيُّ وَالِيَّ وَسَلِّمْ خَبِي الْأَطْفَارُ

187 في أ: ذللأمير.

188 في ب: الشعراء.

189 في ج: عاذق شعر

190 في أ: حمد

155 بِعَامِ بَشْتِ مَسِ نَظْمِي رَوِيهِ زُرُورُ

156 بِأَوَّلِ الْعَامِ شَهْرٍ مَحَرَّمٍ مَذْكُورُ

157 أَيْبَانُهُ نَادِمِيًّا نَدَامَةً لَا تَكُورُ

The Mīmiyya

MS: Ghana/16.6/MSX

Subject: Literature: poetry: praise: people of Tetemu zongo

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مَنْ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدَهُ وَآلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا

من الرمل

- 1 هَلْ لِلنَّيْلِ مِنْ مَرَامٍ أَمْ لَهَا مِنْ مَرَامٍ
- 2 أَوْ مَوَاعِيْدٍ ذَامٍ أَوْ عُودٍ مِنْ قَطَامٍ
- 3 كَأَنَّ فِي دَلَالٍ¹⁹² وَجَفَاءٍ وَمَمْلَامٍ¹⁹¹
- 4 لَا يُوَافِقِينَ الْعُودَ لَسُنَّ أَهْلًا لِلْعَرَامِ
- 5 لَا تَرَى فِيهَا وَفَاءً لَوْ صَبَرْتَ أَلْفَ عَامٍ
- 6 فَارْجَعْنِ عَن وُدِّهِنَّ¹⁹³ وَاطْرَحْنَ فِي الْقَتَامِ
- 7 وَأَنْظِمِ الْقَوْلَ نِظَامًا رَاوِ حُسْنًا فِي النَّظَامِ¹⁹⁴
- 8 فِي مَدِيحِ أَهْلِ فَضْلِ أَهْلِ تَيْيَمِ الْكِرَامِ

¹⁹¹ يقال رجل جافي الخلقة والخلق: كَرَّ غليظ. قاموس المحيط 1:508.

¹⁹² دل المرأة ودلالها: تدللها على زوجها تريه جراءة عليه في تغنج. قاموس المحيط 2: 206.

¹⁹³ هناك كسر عروضي.

¹⁹⁴ يقال رَوَيْتَهُ عَلَى الشَّعْرِ: حملته على روايته. المحيط 2:418.

- 9 فُضِّلَ لَأَنَّ أَسْنَى خِيَاءَ نُقَبَاءَ فِي الْحُكْمِ 195
- 10 صَالِحُونَ مُؤْمِنُونَ عَادِلُونَ فِي الْخِصَامِ
- 11 صَابِرُونَ قَانِئُونَ مُحْسِنُونَ خُذْ كَلَامَ
- 12 قَدْ لَقُونِي فِي الْخَمِيسِ مَعَ زَيْنِ وَفَاءِ 196
- 13 وَتَلَامِيذُ شُبَّانِ رَاجِعِينَ بَيْنَ اللَّبَقِ 197
- 14 مَادِحِينَ لِلرَّسُولِ حَامِدِي رَبِّ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ
- 15 جَمَعُوا جَمْعًا كَثِيرًا مِنْ عَادَارَى وَالْغُلَامِ
- 16 نِعْمَ هُمْ يَوْمَ الدَّخُولِ 198 نِعْمَهُمْ طَوْلَ الْمَقَامِ
- 17 أَلَمْ نَرَفِيهِمْ عُيُوبًا 199 بَلْ مَكَّنَّا بِسَالِمِ
- 18 وَسُورٍ وَنَشَاطِ وَمُزَاحٍ وَضَمَامِ
- 19 يُزِيدُونَ بَعْطَائِي لِي مِرَارًا بِدَوَامِ

195 النقيب: شاهد القوم وضمينهم وعريفهم.

196 الزين: ضد الشين. ولد زَيْنٌ: جميل، حسن. المحيط 2:501.

الفنم: الجماعة من الناس. المحيط 3:441.

197 البقم: خشب شجر عظام، يصبغ بطبيخه. المحيط 1:304.

198 في الأصل: الدحول.

199 كسر عروضي.

- 20 لَا تَرَى فِيهِمْ شَرًّا حَيًّا لَمْ يَكُونُوا بِاللَّامِ
- 21 أُغْنِيَاءَ فَقَّ رَاءَ كَلٌّ يُعْطِي قَدْرًا نَامِ
- 22 مُوسِيًّا زُونَ بِكَثِيرٍ مُعْسِدِيًّا زُونَ بِلَمَامِ
- 23 وَجَبَّ الشُّكْرُ عَلَيَّهِمْ²⁰⁰ وَمَدِيحٌ ذُو تَمَامِ
- 24 يَرْحَمُ اللَّهُ رَيْسًا عَثَمَانُ فِي الرَّجَامِ²⁰¹
- 25 هُوَ صَبُورٌ هُوَ عَدُولٌ²⁰² ذُو صَالِحٍ وَمَقَامِ
- 26 وَسُكُوتٍ وَوَقَارٍ وَصَالَاةٍ فِي الظَّلَامِ
- 27 نِعَمٌ مُوَوِّ فِي النَّسَاءِ إِنَّهَا بِنْتُ الْكِرَامِ
- 28 أَرْسَلْتُ لِي كُلَّ يَوْمٍ مُذْ نَزَلْتُ بِالطَّعَامِ
- 29 مِنْ رُقَاقٍ ثُمَّ كَعَاكٍ²⁰³ ثُمَّ خُبْزٍ فِي الْإِدَامِ
- 30 وَرُزُونٍ مَطْبُوعٍ²⁰⁴ مَعَ خُوتٍ وَاللُّحُومِ

²⁰⁰ في الأصل: اشكر

²⁰¹ الرجم: القبر. المحيط 2:312.

²⁰² كسر عروضي.

²⁰³ الكعك: خبر. كلمة فارسية معرّب. محيط 4:61.

²⁰⁴ كسر عروضي.

- 31 ذَا مِرَارًا لَا يُعَدُّ²⁰⁵ وَيُبِيّ وَضِي مِمَّنْ نَعَام
- 32 هَلْ لَهَا ذِي مِمَّنْ شَبِيهِ مِمَّنْ وَرَاءِ وَأَمَام
- 33 لَا تَرَى مِمَّنْ ثَلَا لِمُوّ يَفْظُ أَوْ فِي الْمَأْمَام
- 34 بَلْ إِنَّمَا الدَّهْرُ كَلَا دُونَهَا هَذَا الْكَلَام
- 35 فَلَمَّا جَهْرًا دُونَ وَجَلِي بَيْنَ جَمْعِ الْأَقْوَام
- 36 فَاقْتَبِ الْأَقْرَانَ فَضُلًا وَعَطَاءً بِمِ الْأَقْوَام
- 37 هِيَ كَثَمْسٍ فِي النِّسَاءِ كُنْجُومٍ فَذَنْظَام
- 38 بنت [...] من نساء²⁰⁷ كَامِلَاتُ فِي الْخِيَام²⁰⁶
- 39 فَاسْمَعُوا يَا هَؤُلَاءِ مَا أَقْوَمٌ بِالنِّزَام
- 40 أَهْلُ زَنْعُ كَرَمَاءِ مَا كَثُونَ فِي النَّعَام²⁰⁸
- 41 فِي أَفْنَجِ أُنْكَيَاءِ نَصَحَاءِ فِي الْخِيَام
- 42 عَلَمَاءُ أَدَبَاءِ سَاكِبُونَ كَالْغَمَام

²⁰⁵ في الأصل: مرار.

²⁰⁶ في الأصل: الحيام.

²⁰⁷ الكلمة ليست واضحة.

²⁰⁸ في الأصل: لنعام.

- 43 عَظْمٌ وِنِي فِي قُرَاهُمْ مُدَّةً شَهْرَ الصَّيَامِ
- 44 يَنْحَفُ وِنِي بِالْعَطَايَا فِي أَيِّ لَيْلٍ وَعِيَامِ
- 45 شَيِّعُونِي يَوْمَ سَفَرِي كَأَنَّ الْإِمَامَ²⁰⁹
- 46 مَلَأُوا كُلَّ طَرِيقٍ²¹⁰ بِفِئَامِ فِي فِئَامِ
- 47 كَأَنَّ لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْهُمْ وَاحِدٌ حَتَّى الطَّعَامِ
- 48 وَشُيُوخٍ وَشُبَّانٍ وَصَابِيَةَ نَوَسَ قَامِ
- 49 وَمَأْمُومِي وَمُقَلِّبِي وَضُرُوفِ كَالنَّوَامِ
- 50 مَعَ نِسَاءٍ مُسْلِمَاتٍ مُؤْمِنَاتٍ مِنْ فَخَامِ²¹¹
- 51 قَائِنَاتٍ تَائِبَاتٍ عَابِدَاتٍ فِي الظَّلَامِ
- 52 رَبُّنَا يَجْزِي بِخَيْرٍ وَسَعَادَاتِ الْخَيْرِ
- 53 فَلَكُمْ مِنْ مِي سَلَامِ فِي سَلَامِ
- 54 رَبِّ وَارْحَمَ مَا حَبَّ ذَا الضُّرُوفِ الْفِئَامِ

²⁰⁹ في الأصل: لإمام.

²¹⁰ في الأصل: ملئوا

²¹¹ الفخم: العظيم القدر. المحيط 3:456.

The Lāmiyya

MS: IAS AR/121

Subject: Literature: Poetry: Eulogy: al-Hajj Labbu

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

من البسيط

- 1 مَا بَالُ هُنْدٍ نَأَتْ عَنَّا بِغَيْرِ قِلَا وَصَارَ أُنْبَاؤُهَا يُتْلَى مِلَى وَمِلَا
- 2 سَارَتْ وَصَارَتْ كَمَا صَارَ الَّذِينَ خَلَوْا وَعَادَرَتْ بُفَعَةَ مَعَهَا طَلَا
- 3 وَشَاعَ مَا شَاعَ مِنْ أُنْبَاءِ هَجْرَتِهَا وَإِنَّهَا تَرَكَتْ أَخْدَانَهَا هَمَلَا²¹²
- 4 كَأَنَّهُمْ أَغْنَامُ الْحَيِّ قَدْ سَمِعَتْ أَدَانَهَا مِنْ هَزَابِ الشَّرِّ وَرَجَلَا
- 5 وَبَاتَ أَحْبَابُهَا فِي اللَّيْلِ نَابِغَةً²¹³ وَحُزْنَ يَغْفُوبَ إِذْ مَا لَمْ يَرَ السَّخْلَا²¹⁴
- 6 وَصَارَ كُلُّ حَبِيبٍ سَاكِنًا أَسِيفًا وَلَا تَرَى الدَّمْعَ يَعْصِيهِ إِذَا انْهَمَلَا²¹⁵
- 7 وَالْبَعْضُ يَرْفَعُ صَوْتًا فِي الصُّرَاخِ عَلَى فَقَدِ الْحَبِيبِ صَبُورٌ يَحْمِلُ الثَّقَلَا
- 8 وَجَلَجَلَ الْقَلْبُ لَمَّا قِيلَ هُنْدُ جَالَتْ وَهَبَّتِ الرِّيحُ يَذُرُّ العَمَّ وَالْوَجَلَا
- 9 وَلَا تَرَى عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ غَيْرَ بَاكِئَةٍ وَغَيْرَ بَاكِ يُحَاكِي دَمْعُهُ وَبَلَا²¹⁶
- 10 جَمْعُ النِّسَاءِ كَثِيرٌ دُونَ مَا عَدِيَ فَكُلُّهُنَّ يُقَالُنَّ مَا لَنَا قِبَلَا

²¹² الخدن: الصاحب. قاموس المحيط 2:25.

²¹³ في الأصل: الليل.

يقال في المثل: ليلة نابغية: ليلة الهَمِّ والأرق

²¹⁴ السخلة: ولد شاة.

An infant that is an object of of love to his parents. Originally the offspring of the sheep or goat. (Lane, 1325).

²¹⁵ همل: فاض. المحيط 4:534.

²¹⁶ الويل: المطر الشديد الضخم القطر. المحيط 4:567.

- 11 يَا هِنْدُ يَا هِنْدُ مَا يَوْمُ الرُّجُوعِ لَنَا لِسَانَ خَالٍ يَجِيبُ لَا رُجُوعَ إِلَّا
- 12 لَا رَيْبَ لَا رَيْبَ أَنَّا قَدْ تَقَرَّفْنَا يَا وَيْلَتَا مِنْ فِرَاقٍ يُبْعِدُ الرَّجُلَ
- 13 وَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ قَالُوا لَا سُزُورَ لَنَا فِي هَذِهِ الدَّارِ أَنَّ الْأَمْرَ قَدْ جَلَدَ
- 14 تَرَاهُمْ أَسْفًا كَأَنَّهُمْ سَكَرَى تَخَالَ كُلُّ وِلِيِّ مِثْلِهِمْ خَبَلًا²¹⁷
- 15 وَتِلْكَ هِنْدُ مَضَتْ وَبَلَّتْ مَجَالِسُهَا بَعْدَ الدِّلالِ تَعُرُّ الخُبَّ إِنَّ رَعْلًا
- 16 لَهَا جَمَالٌ وَغُنْجٌ وَهِيَ مَأكِرَةٌ²¹⁸ غَضَبِي لِكُلِّ حَبِيبٍ غَيْرِ مَنْ عَقَلَا
- 17 كَمْ مِنْ عَزِيزٍ أَتَاهَا طَالِبًا وَطَرًّا وَلَمْ يَجِدْ غَيْرَ جَفْدٍ جِينَمًا وَصَلَا
- 18 بَلْ إِنَّهَا شَكْسٌ لَا تَصْطَفِي أَحَدًا مِنْ الرِّجَالِ نَفَتْ مَنْ جَاءَهَا عَجَلًا
- 19 لَكِنَّهَا لَوْرَاتِ الحَاجِ أَبَوَا عَلَى بُزْدِ الشَّبابِ وَحُسْنِ المَرْءِ إِنَّ رِفْلًا²¹⁹
- 20 وَطُولِ جِيدٍ وَتَغْرِ وَالتَّبْسُّمِ فِي لِبِينِ قَوْلٍ وَجُودٍ لِلْعَمَلِ بِمَلَا
- 21 لَرَاوَدَتْهُ سَريعًا دُونَ مَا خَجَلٍ وَأُودِقَتْ فَجَاءَةً وَأَرْسَلَتْ خَوَلَا
- 22 نَقُولُ هَذَا الزَّوْجَ لَا كِفَاءَ لَهُ إِيَّيْ خَلِيئَتُهُ حَقًّا وَلَا مَطْلًا
- 23 أُعْطِيهِ مَالٌ نِكَاحِ دُونَ مَا بُطِّئَ²²⁰ لِأَنَّ هَذَا هُوَ الزَّوْجُ الَّذِي فَضَّلَا
- 24 إِذَا تَزَوَّجْتُهُ قَدْ نَلَيْتُ مَا رَبَّيْتُ كَفَى بِهِ بَعْلًا مِنْ دُونَ مَا بَدَلَا
- 25 أَقِيمُ فِي بَيْتِهِ فِي الرِّيِّ وَالشَّعْبِ وَلَا أَفَارِقُ ثُوبَ الرِّيِّ وَالْخُحْلَا
- 26 أُطِيعُهُ طَاعَةَ الْأَرْقَاءِ لِسَيدِهِمْ وَلَا أَعَصِيهِ فِي مَا قَالَ أَوْ فَعَلَا

²¹⁷ الخيل: الجبون. المحيط 2:11.

²¹⁸ الغنج: الشَّكْل. والشكل: غنج المرأة ودلها وغزلها. المحيط 2:744.

²¹⁹ رفل: تبختر. المحيط 2:370.

²²⁰ في الأصل: بَطًّا

- 27 لِأَنَّهُ نَجَلٌ قَرْمٍ صُحُصِحَ حَرَبٍ ذَا نَاجٍ فِي الْقَوْمِ لَا فَخْرَ وَلَا خُيَلَا
- 28 كَلًّا وَلَا ذَا تَوَقَّى فِي الشَّابَابِ كَمَا قَضَى بِهِ رَبُّنَا الرَّحْمَنُ جَلًّا عَدَا
- 29 وَأَقْبَهُ لَبُّ سَنُوهُ لَبُّ فَاعْجَبْ تَطَابَقَ اللَّقْبُ وَالْأَعْوَامُ يَارْجُلَا
- 30 كَأَنَّهُ الْبَدْرُ تَمَّ النُّورُ لِيَأْتَهُ وَيُنْفَعُ النَّاسَ فِي ضَوْءٍ إِذَا أَقْلَا²²¹
- 31 نَابَتْ دِيَاجِيرُ ذَاكَ اللَّيْلِ وَانْبَعَثَتْ²²² تَكَاثَفُ الْعَمِّ وَالْأَحْزَانُ خُذْ مَثَلًا
- 32 وَشَتَّتَ الشَّمْلُ لَمَّا قَالَ قَائِلُهُمْ²²³ مَاتَ الْفَتَى إِنَّ أَجَلَ اللَّهِ قَدْ نَزَلَا
- 33 وَلَا تَرَى جِينَ ذَاكَ غَيْرَ بَاكِئَةٍ²²⁴ وَغَيْرَ بَاكِ بِدَمْعٍ يُشْبِهُهُ الْوَبَلَا
- 34 وَالْبَعْضُ يَسْفُطُ كَالنَّشْوَانِ لَا يَدْرِي²²⁵ مَاذَا يَقُولُ وَيُنْدِبُ ذَلِكَ الرَّجُلَا²²⁶
- 35 وَلَا تَرَى جِينَ لَفٍّ بِاللَّفَائِفِ مِنْ بَعْدِ الْبُخُورِ وَذَا مِنْ بَعْدِ أَنْ غَسَلَا
- 36 أَوْ لَوْ تَرَى نَعَشَهُ إِذْ حَمَلُوهُ إِلَى بَيْتِ التَّرَابِ بِجَمْعٍ يَمْلَأُ السُّبُلَا
- 37 أَمَامَهُ زُمْرَةٌ يَبْكُونَ مِنْ أَسْفٍ وَخَلْفَهُ زُمْرَةٌ يَبْكُونَ كَالنُّكُلَا²²⁷
- 38 وَجِينَ أَبْوَا كَأَنَّهُمْ سُفُوءٌ وَفِي مَا قِيَهُمْ مَا يَمْلَأُ الْقُلُلَا
- 39 لَهَالِكِ الْأُمُرُ أَنْ الْأُمَرَ مُخْتَلَجٌ وَهَذِهِ الدَّارُ لَيْسَتْ دَارُ مَنْ نَيْلَا

221 أفل: غاب. المحيط 1:161.

222 في الأصل: الليل.

الديجور: الظلام. المحيط 2:239.

223 في الأصل: لما قيل قائلهم.

شئت: فرق، واقترق. المحيط 2:671.

224 في الأصل: ذلك.

225 نشوان: سكران. المحيط 4:377.

226 في الأصل: ذلك.

*** هناك بيت مشطوب بين «والبعض يسفط كالنشوان لا يدري ماذا يقول ويندب ذلك الرجل» و «ولا ترى جين لف باللفائف من بعد البخور وذا من بعد أن غسل». وهي بيت رقم 38 «وجين أبوا كأنهم سفوء وفي ما قيههم ما يملأ القللا».

227 النكل: الهلاك. وفقدان الحبيب أو الولد. المحيط 1:413.

- 40 شَكَرْتُ أَحْبَابَهُ كُلًّا بِمَا صَنَعُوا فِي ذَلِكَ إِنْ مَرَأَةٌ كَانُوا وَإِنْ رَجُلًا
- 41 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ نَالَ السَّعْدَ فِي الدُّنْيَا قَدْ مَاتَ فِي هَيْبَةٍ وَلَمْ يَمُتْ بُطْلًا
- 42 حَارَ الْمَنَاقِبَ أَرْبَعَةٌ عَلَى نُسُقٍ عِلْمًا وَحَجًّا وَسَاطِنَةً وَحُسْنُ خَلَا
- 43 أَهْلُ الْمَعَارِفِ عَزْفُوهُ وَقَدْ رَفَعُوا²²⁸ مَقَامَهُ فَجَزَاهُمْ ذُو الْعُلَى بِأَلَا
- 44 أَمَّا الْأَرَادِلُ وَالْعَوَّغَاءُ أَنَّهُمْ يَزُونَهُ حَجْرًا يُزَمَى بِهِ الْحَجَلَا²²⁹
- 45 يَأْقُونَ لَهَا تَسَاوَى عِنْدَ مَا شِئِيَّةٍ نَبْتًا وَتَبْيَأْنَا وَبَرَسِيمًا وَضَرْبَ كَلَا
- 46 وَالذَّهَبُ وَالْوَرَقُ وَالْمَرْجَانُ لَا تَعْدِلُ عِنْدَ الدَّوَابِّ يَعْاضِدُ وَتَوَعَّ خَلَا²³⁰
- 47 أَوْ مِثْلُ جُمْلٍ وَوَرْدٍ حَيْثُ يَفْتَلُّهَا وَرَدُّ وَتَنْعَمُ فِي الْقَدَرَاتِ خُذْ مَثَلًا²³¹
- 48 وَهَكَذَا النَّاسُ مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَلِي عِلْمًا وَأَهْلُ خَيْرٍ يَقِيسُ مِنْهُمْ الْعَمَلَا
- 49 وَالْبَعْضُ عِنْدَ ذَوِي شَرٍّ وَيَتَّبِعُهُمْ لِيَأْكُلَ الْبَقْلَ أَوْ كَيْ يَفْعَلَ الزَّلَلَا²³²
- 50 دَاءُ الْفُقَاعِ أَصَابَتْهُ عَلَى قَدْرِ²³³ وَنَحْنُ لَا نَذْرِي حَتَّى فَرَى وَغَلَا
- 51 يَلِسَ رَيْئِيهِ وَالْقَلْبُ ثُمَّ مَعَى²³⁴ وَيَخْرُجُ الْكَبِدَ وَالْبَلْغُومَ ثُمَّ كَلَا²³⁵
- 52 مِنْ بَعْدِ ذَلِكَ فَعَلْنَا كُلُّ أُوْدِيَّةٍ لَمْ تُجِدْ شَيْئًا لِأَنَّ أَجَلَ قَدْ حَلَا

²²⁸ في الأصل: مئارف.

يقال: هو من المعروف: أي المعروفين. المحيط 3:201.

²²⁹ الحجل: الذكر من القبيح. المحيط 1:595.

²³⁰ في الأصل: يعاضيد.

²³¹ الورد: الخيل. والأسد. المحيط 4:596.

²³² الزلة: الخطيئة والسقطة. المحيط 2:469.

²³³ في الأصل: داء الفُقَاع.

²³⁴ في الأصل: رَيْئِهِ.

المعي: من أعفاج البطن. المحيط 4:265.

²³⁵ كلى: ما بين الأبهري والكبد.

- 53 وَحِينَمَا مَاتَ جُلُّ النَّاسِ قَدْ جَزَعُوا²³⁶ لِأَنَّهُ مُذْ سَعَتْ قَدَمَاهُ مَا بَخِلًا
- 54 بَلْ جُودُهُ الْجَفَلَى مِنْ غَيْرِ مَا التَّقَرَى بِذَلِكَ يُوصَفُ إِلَّا مَنْ طَغَى وَقَلَا
- 55 لِيَذَا بَكَاهُ ذُوو فَقْرٍ وَمُكْدِيَةٍ وَضَارِبِ الْأَرْعَانِ وَلَوْلَا وَجَلَا
- 56 حَقًّا بَنُوا غَبْرَاءُ كُلَّهُمْ أَسْفُوا كَبِيرُهُمْ عَبْدٌ حَتَّى جِسْمُهُ نَحَلَا
- 57 بَكَتْ خَلِيَّاتُهُ خَوَاءَ ذَاتِ حِجِّي²³⁷ وَتِلْكَ تَاغُورٌ حَتَّى دَمَعَتْهَا هَمَلَا
- 58 كَذَا صَفُورَاءَ تَبْكِي زَوْجَهَا رَغْمًا وَوَلَوْلَا لَتِ عِنْدَ ذَابِلِ عِبْرَةَ هَطَلَا
- 59 كَمَاثُوا حَفْصَةَ تَبْكِي صَوْتُهَا يَعْطُوا وَنَوْحُهَا دُونَ شَاكٍ يُشْبِهُ الطَّبَلَا
- 60 أَحْبَابُهَا كُلُّهُمْ حَزْنُوا وَلَا سِيَّمَا كَالْحَافِظِ مَنْذُوقًا حُزْنُهُ سَجَلَا²³⁸
- 61 بَلْ وَدَّهَ نَاصِعٌ صِرْفٌ وَلَا دَعْلٌ حَالِ الْحَيَاةِ وَبَعْدَ الْمَوْتِ لَا غَوْلَا
- 62 لَمَّا تَوَفَّى أَتَى مِنْ كُلِّ نَاحِيَةٍ رَسَائِلٌ وَتَحَارِيرٌ مِنَ النَّبِيلَا²³⁹
- 63 وَالْبَعْضُ مَقْرُونَةٌ بِالْمَالِ مَالٌ دُعَا كَعَادَةِ النَّاسِ فِي ذَا الصَّقْمِ لَا بُخَلَا
- 64 مِنْ غَيْلِ شَنْتِي وَمِنْ أَرْضِ الطَّوَارِقِ بَلْ²⁴⁰ مِنْ أَرْضِ غَمِ نَاتٍ أَوْ غَنْبِلِ خُذْ وَقَلَا
- 65 مِنْ بَحْرِ مِلْحٍ وَمِمَّا حَوْلَهُ كُنْعَا مِنْ أَرْضِ هَوْسَا كُنُوا دَوْرًا حَدِيدِ كَلَا
- 66 مِنْ أَرْضِ كَاشِنَةَ زَكْرَكَ وَأَرْضِ كِبِ وَأَرْضِ غُوبِرٍ وَزَرَمَا أَرْسَلُوا رُسُلَا

²³⁶ في الأصل: جزعو.

²³⁷ الحجا: العقل. المحيط 1:598.

²³⁸ سجل: مبالغة. المحيط 2:524.

²³⁹ النبل: الذكاء

²⁴⁰ في الأصل: التوارك. هم الشعب الذي يستوطن الصحراء الكبرى، في جنوب الجزائر، وأزواد شمال مالي، وشمال النيجر، وجنوب غرب ليبيا، وشمال بوركينافاسو.

الغيل: الماء الجاري على وجه الأرض. أو كل واد فيه عيون تسيل. المحيط 3:435.

- 67 حَتَّىٰ عَدَدْنَا ثَمَانِينَ مُقَالَآةً²⁴¹ مِنْ بَعْدِهَا عِشْرُونَ ثُمَّ سِتًّا وَلَا
- 68 وَذَٰكَ مَا جَاءَنَا مِنْ غَيْرِ مَا سَیْجِي فَاللَّهُ یَعْلَمُ مَا سَیْجِي مُرْتَبِلًا²⁴²
- 69 لِذَٰكَ لَمَّا قَضَىٰ مَا رَاعِنِي جَزَعٌ كَفَىٰ بِجَزَعِ أُولَىٰ خَیْرِ سَعَىٰ وَجَلَا
- 70 وَارْحَمَ عَیْبِدَكَ یَا مَنْ لَا شَرِیکَ لَهُ وَاعْفِرْ لَهُ الذَّنْبَ إِنْ عَمَدًا وَإِنْ جَهْلًا
- 71 یَا أُوَّیَّ الرَّبِّ إِسْقِ ضَرِیحَهُ دَیْمًا مِنْ الرِّضَىٰ عَدَدًا یَسْتَعْرِقُ الرَّمْلًا
- 72 وَأَسْکُبْ عَلَیْهِ مِنَ الرَّحْمَاتِ دَیْمَتُهَا مَا یَمَلَأُ النَّزْرُ مِنْهُ السَّهْلَ وَالْجِبَالَ²⁴³
- 73 وَانْبُتْ عَلَیْهِ زَنَابِیقًا وَنَزِجُسُهَا بِنَفْسَا جَا یَاسُ مِینَا جُمَّةٌ جُمَلًا
- 74 یُفُوحُ فِی قَبْرِهِ مِسْکٌ وَعَنْبُرُهَا قُسْطٌ وَغَانِیَّةٌ نِدُّ شِذَاهُ حُلَا
- 75 وَارْحَمَهُ یَا مَنْ هُوَ الرَّحْمَانُ یَا صَمَدٌ بِحَقِّ صَخْبِ الَّذِینَ بَاشَرُوا الْقَتْلًا
- 76 وَأَدْخَلَهُ جَنَّاتٍ عَدْنٍ دُونَ مَحْسَبَةٍ وَأَدْخَلَهُ دَارَ السَّلَامِ یَا سَلَامٌ بِلَا
- 77 وَنَجِّنَا مِنْ صُرُوفِ الدَّهْرِ یَا صَمَدٌ فَإِنَّ فِی دَهْرِنَا مَا یَغْلِبُ الْعُقْلًا
- 78 وَیُدْهِشُ الْمَرءَ فِیهِ دَهْشَةٌ عَظْمَىٰ وَیَمْنَعُ النَّوْمَ وَالْأَنْعَامَ وَالْأَنْکَلًا
- 79 وَكُلُّ مَنْ لَا یَخَافُ مِثَالَهُ وَطَعَىٰ وَلَا یُبِیِّیَ إِلَیَّ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَهُوَ عَوَا
- 80 فَإِنَّ أَهْلَ الْهَوَىٰ نَالُوا مَا رَبَّهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ فِی رَفَاهِیَّةٍ هُمْ الْفَضَّلَا
- 81 لَا عَزْوًا لَا عَزْوًا أَنْ الدَّهْرَ انْتَكَسَا أَهْلُ الْهُدَىٰ الْیَوْمَ فِی وَادٍ قَدِ انْسَقَلَا

²⁴¹ الفلقال: المسفار. المحيط 3:682.

²⁴² الرتل: حسن تناسق الشئ. المحيط 2:300.

²⁴³ النزر: القليل. المحيط 4:354.

السهل: ضد الحزن. (الحزن ما غلط من الأرض). المحيط 2:638.

الجبل: الجماعة. الجبل: الساحة. الجبل: الكثير. المحيط 1:440.

- 82 إِيَّيَّي أَخَافُ إِذَا طَالَ الْحَيَاةُ بِنَا بِأَنْ نَرَى الْجُرْدَ قَادَ الْقِطِّ وَانْفَعَلَا
- 83 أَوْ أَنْ نَرَى الْأَسَدَ تَهْرُبُ مِنْ أَذِيلِ الْقِطِّ وَالثَّيْبُ يُخَسِّرُ حَتَّى يَصْرَعُ الدَّوْلَا
- 84 حَتَّى الْفَرَارِيحُ لَا تَعْبَأُ بِصَوْتِ جِدًّا²⁴⁴ بَلْ إِنْ تَرَاهَا تَقْلُ هَاتِي تُجِيبُ بِلَا
- 85 أَوْ أَنْ نَرَى بَطْلًا فِي كُلِّ مَعْرَكَةٍ يُقْوِدُهُ أَجْبُنُ الْأَفْرَاسِ خُذْ مَثَلًا
- 86 وَهَكَذَا الْيَوْمَ أَهْلُ السِّلْمِ كُلُّهُمْ صَارُوا أَذْلَاءَ حَتَّى شَابَهُوا الْوَعْلَا
- 87 يَا رَبِّ سِتْرًا جَمِيلًا مِنْ لَدُنْكَ عَلَيَّ هَذِي الْمَصَائِبِ يَا مَنْ حَازَ كُلَّ عُدَا
- 88 قَنَاشُ رُورَ الَّذِينَ أَنْيَبَا بِهِمْ بِمَا وَقِيَتَ بِهِ النَّبَاءُ وَالرُّسُلَا
- 89 بِجَاهِ طَهَ وَيَاسِينَ وَبِالْبَقْرَةِ²⁴⁵ وَالْأَنْعَامِ وَالْأَعْلَا
- 90 وَحَقِّ سَيِّدِنَا وَالْأَنْبِيَاءِ مَعَا وَالْأَلِ وَالصَّخْبِ ثُمَّ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ وَجَلَا
- 91 أَبْيَاتُهَا ضَبَّ سَمَهَا أَنَّهُ إِنْ شَكَلَا وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ حَمْدًا يُبْلِغُ الْأَمَلَا
- 92 ثُمَّ الصَّلَاةُ عَلَيَّ مَنْ جَاءَنَا بِهِدَى حَتَّى اسْتَهَلَ هِلَالَ نَقْصِ أَوْ كَمَلَا

²⁴⁴ في الأصل: الْفَرَارِيحُ.

²⁴⁵ في الأصل: بِا الْبَقْرَةِ.

The Sīniyya

MSS: IAS AR/121(رمز د) and IAS AR/137 (رمز ق)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا. . وَمِمَّا حَدَّثَ عِنْدَنَا أَنْ كُنَّا فِي مَدْرَسَةٍ مَعَ الْجَمِّ الْغَفِيرِ مِنَ التَّلَامِيذِ إِذْ وَعَلَ عَلَيْنَا شَخْصٌ مِنْ شَيَاطِينِ الْإِنْسِ وَكَانَ عِنْدِيذٍ بَيْنَ يَدَيْ تَلْمِيذٍ يُقْرَأُ ثُمَّ إِنَّ ذَلِكَ الْوَاغِلَ صَارَ يَسْتَمِعُ فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ التَّلْمِيذُ مِنَ الْقِرَاءَةِ حَمَدًا فَأَجَبْتُهُ قَائِلًا الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى. . فَوْقْتِيذٍ اعْتَرَضَ عَلَيْنَا ذَلِكَ الْوَاغِلُ قَائِلًا أَنَّ هَذَا حَرَامٌ مَمْنُوعٌ فِي الشَّرْعِ وَمَنْ لَفَظَ بِمِثْلِ هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةِ يُعَزَّرُ تَعَزُّرًا شَدِيدًا. . فَقِيلَ لَهُ لِمَ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ لِأَنَّ لَامَ الْجَلَالَةِ مَفْصُورَةٌ أَبَدًا لَا يَمُدُّهَا إِلَّا ضَالٌّ مُبْتَدِعٌ. . فَسُئِلَ مِنْ أَيْنَ جَاءَ هَذَا وَمَتَى حَدَّثَ فَقَالَ مِنْ شَيْخِهِمُ الَّذِي ظَهَرَ فِي هَذَا الزَّمَانِ لِيُصْلِحَ مَا شَانَ مِنْ أَمْرِ الدِّينِ. . فَقِيلَ مَنْ عَالِمُكُمْ هَذَا وَفِي أَيِّ مَكَانٍ هُوَ. فَأَجَابَ أَنَّهُ فِي أَرْضِ هُوسَا فَذَ فَتَحَ اللَّهُ بَصِيرَتَهُ لِيُرْشِدَ إِلَى أَقْوَمِ طَرِيقٍ. . فَقِيلَ لَهُ مَنْ اسْمُهُ وَمَنْ هُوَ وَفِي أَيِّ بَلَدَةٍ مِنْ بِلَادِ هُوسَا مَكَتَ وَمِنْ أَيِّ شَيْخٍ تَفَقَّهَ وَفِي أَيِّ قَبِيلَةٍ هُوَ مِنْ قَبَائِلِ هُوسَا. . فَلَمْ نَجِدْ مِنْهُ جَوَابًا شَافِيًا وَلَا اسْتِذْلَالَ صَافِيًا. . بَلْ أَجَابَ بِمَا لَا طَائِلَ تَحْتَهُ وَأَتَى بِالْبَرَاهِينِ الرِّكِيكَةِ²⁴⁶ الَّتِي هِيَ كَلَا بَرَاهِينٍ. . وَحِينِيذٍ أَضْرَبْنَا عَنْهُ صَفْحًا²⁴⁷ فَقُلْنَا لَهُ عِيًّا وَقُبْحًا. . وَبَعْدَ يَسِيرٍ مِنَ الزَّمَانِ أَحْضَرْنَا هَذِهِ الْأَبْيَاتَ السِّبِّيَّاتِ فَهَجَوْنَاهُ بِهَا. . فَصَارَتْ قَصِيدَةً طَنَانَةً الْيَوْمَ. . فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ فَهِيَ هِيَ ذِي. .

من البسيط

- 1 بِحَقِّ رَبِّ الْوَرَى يَا قَوْمَ فَاذْبَهُوا فَإِنَّ فِي دَهْرِنَا هَذَا أَبَالِيَسَا
- 2 جَاءُوا وَجَالُوا بِأَقْوَالٍ مُحَرَّفَةٍ وَكُلُّ أَقْوَالِهِمْ إِفْكٌ مَتَّى قَيْسَا
- 3 هَجَمُوا لِمَدْرَسَةٍ سَفَّهَا عَلَى سَفِّهِ²⁴⁸ وَصَارَ مَا زَوَّرُوا فِينَا وَسَاوِيَسَا
- 4 لِقَوْلِهِمْ لَحْنًا فِي اسْمِ الْجَلَالَةِ يَا بُوسًا لِعِيَّهُمْ وَيَا بُوسًا يَا بُوسَا
- 5 لَمْ يَعْلَمُوا مَادَّةً فِي الصَّرْفِ كَيْفَ بِهِمْ بَعْلَمَ تَوْرِيَّةً صَارُوا جَوَامِيَسَا
- 6 قَدْ جَاءَنَا وَاجِدٌ مِّنْهُمْ بِخُدَعَتِهِ يُرِيدُ تَجْرِبَةً فِينَا وَتُدْسِيَسَا²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ في د و ق: ركيكة.

²⁴⁷ في ق كلمة مشطوبة بين «عنه» و «صفحا».

²⁴⁸ هناك كسر عروضي.

²⁴⁹ الدسيس: شبيهة بالمتجسس. قال ابن الرومي يهجو عمرا النصراني: دسيس لليهود وللنصارى ليفضحهم فقبح من دسيس. تاج

العروس 7:303

- 7 قَالَهُ أَنْتَ خَنَازٌ وَلَا تَدْنُو وَلَمْ تُرَاوِدْ بِهِ قُرْبًا وَتَانِيَسَا²⁵⁰
- 8 بَزَعْمِهِ أَنْ فِيهِمْ عَالِمًا فَطِنًا يَقُولُ لَا مَدَّةَ فِي اللَّهِ تَلْبِيَسَا²⁵¹
- 9 قَالْنَا كَذِبْتَ كَذِبْتَ بَلْ كَذِبْتَ أَجَلٌ وَقَدْ يُشَابِهُهُ مَا قَوْلَتِ قَابُوسَا²⁵²
- 10 إِنَّ الْعُلُومَ لَهَا أَصْلٌ وَمَبْحَثَةٌ فَارْدُدْ إِلَى كُوخِكَ وَأَفْتَشْ قَرَاطِيَسَا
- 11 كُنْ طَالِعًا كُتِبَ أَهْلُ الْحَقِّ لَا تَكْسَلَنَّ لَعَلَّ عَيْنَكَ لَمْ تَنْظُرْ كَرَارِيَسَا
- 12 وَلَنْ تَرَى مَنْ يُصَدِّقَ قَوْلَ عَالِمِكُمْ سِوَى الَّذِي صَارَ غَوْغَاءً وَنَامُوسَا²⁵³
- 13 وَهَلْ نَظَرْتَ إِلَى كُتُبِ الَّذِينَ مَضَوْا وَهَلْ تُطَالِعُ تَلْمُودًا وَبَرَائَسَا²⁵⁴
- 14 فَانْظُرْ بِرَأْيِكَ أَنَّ الْحَقَّ خَالِصَةٌ وَلَا تَكُنْ بَيْنَ أَهْلِ الدِّينِ غَرْفُوسَا
- 15 يَسْتَنْسِرُ الْبُعْثُ لَا فَيَا وَإِنَّ لَنَا نَقْلًا نُمَيِّزُ إِنْسَانًا وَبَابُوسَا²⁵⁵
- 16 فَإِنَّ أَسْنَا تَأَذَّنَا عَنْمَانَ عَلَمْنَا فَرَقْنَا إِذَا قِيلَ جَامُوسَا وَجَامُوسَا²⁵⁶
- 17 بِجَاهِهِ مَنْ أَتَى كَيْمًا يُفَضِّحَنَا وَلَوْ أَتَى مِنْ بَعِيدِ طُوسٍ أَوْ ثُوسَا²⁵⁷
- 18 يَوْبٌ بِخَزْيٍ وَعَظِيمٌ مِنْ عَبَاوَتِهِ²⁵⁸ أَضْحُوكَةً بَيْنَ أَهْلِ اللَّهِ إِنَّكِيَسَا
- 19 لَمْ نَأْتِفِتْ لِمَقَالٍ مِّنْ زَنَادِقَةٍ فَسَابَهَتْ قَوْلَهُمْ هَذَا نَوَاقِيَسَا²⁵⁹
- 20 وَلَا تُطِيعُ الَّذِي قَدْ زَاغَ عَن نَّهْجٍ وَلَوْ أَتَى رَاكِبًا فَيَلًا وَمَزْمِيَسَا²⁶⁰

²⁵⁰ أنسه ضد أوحشه، والشئ: أبصره، كآتسه تأنيسا فيها. وعلمه وأحسن به. قاموس المحيط 1:186.

²⁵¹ تلبيس: التخليط والتدليس. قاموس المحيط 4:118.

²⁵² قوله في الأمر: فإرضه وجادله. تقاتلوا في الأمر: تفاوضوا. معجم الوسيط 2:773.

قابوس: ممنوع للجمعة والمعرفة. المحيط 3:549.

²⁵³ الغوغاء: السفلة من الناس والمتسرعين إلى الشر. العروس 10:146.

الناموس: المكر والخداع. والناموس: الكذاب، النمام. العروس 14:291-292.

²⁵⁴ في د و ق: تلمود

²⁵⁵ نقل: المناقلة في المنطق. رجل نقل: حاضر المنطق والجواب. العروس 14:270.

بابوس: ولد الناقة. الصبي الرضيع أو الولد عامة بالرومية. المحيط 1:209.

²⁵⁶ الجاموس: المكأة. ابن سيده: الجماميس المكأة. الجاموس: نوع من البقرة، دخيل. وجمعه: جواميس. العروس 2:354.

²⁵⁷ طوس: مدينة تاريخية في خراسان.

²⁵⁸ في د و ق: يئب.

²⁵⁹ في د و ق: هذي.

²⁶⁰ مرميس: الكركدن. المحيط 4:233.

- 21 وَلَوْ أَتَى بِلُغُومٍ بِمِثْلِ سَنَبَسْرَا أَوْ مِثْلِ بَلْعَامٍ أَوْ شَيْطَانٍ بَلْبِيسَا
- 22 أَقْبُوا جَبَّالَهُمْوُ أَقْبُوا عَصِيَّهُمْوُ بَسَلْنَا كَانْنَا بِأَيْدِينَا عَصَا مُوسَا
- 23 مَنْ جَاءَنَا بِمَكِيدَاتٍ وَجِيَّاتِهِ وَلَوْ أَتَى لَابِسَا تَاجَا وَبِرْثُوسَا
- 24 يَجِيبُ فِي مَا نَوَاهُ مِنْ تَعْنُنِنَا²⁶¹ بِمَا دَرَسْنَا عَلَى عُثْمَانَ تَدْرِيسَا
- 25 وَمَا نَطْمُنَّا عَلَى فُخْرٍ وَلَا بَطْرٍ لَكِنْ قَصَدْنَا بِهِ شُكْرًا وَتَاسِيَسَا
- 26 اسْمُ الْجَلَّالَةِ قُلْ قَدْ شَاعَ مَدَّتُهُ بَيْنَ الْجَمَاهِيرِ مِنْ ثَوْلَى إِلَى سُوسَا²⁶²
- 27 كَذَا طَغُرْغُرٌ وَأَهْلُ الصِّينِ كُلَّهُمْ²⁶³ بِمَدَّةٍ نَطْفُوا وَالْقَنْصُرُ قَدْ بِيَسَا
- 28 مَدُّ الْجَلَّالَةِ قَدْ عَمَّتْ جَمِيعَ قُرَى بَرًّا وَبَحْرًا إِلَى لُنْدُنَ وَبَارِيَسَا
- 29 أَهْلُ الْأَقَالِيمِ قَدْ مَدُّوا بِلَا فَرْقٍ مِنْ قَدْبُلُوا قَدْ جَرَى جَيْرًا إِلَى هُوسَا²⁶⁴
- 30 إِنَّ الْفَلَّاسِفَةَ الْأَوْلَى لَقَدْ نَطْفُوا بِمَدَّةٍ سَافَرَاتٍ أَنْ سَطَالِيَسَا
- 31 وَأَرْسَطُوا أَفْلَاطُونَ جَمِيعُهُمْ ثُمَّ ابْنُ سَيْنَا كَذَلِكَ بَطْلِيمُوسَا²⁶⁵
- 32 وَكُلُّهُمْ نَطْفُوا بِالْمَدِّ يَا عَجَبًا لِمُسْلِمٍ صَارَ وَرُورًا وَقَدْدُوسَا²⁶⁶
- 33 خُذْهَا لِقَطْعِ أَقَاوِيلِ الْعَبِيِّ عَلَى مَا كَانَ يَهْذِي بِهِ إِذْ صَارَ مَنْحُوسَا²⁶⁷
- 34 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْخَلْقِ مُوجِدِهِمْ²⁶⁹ ثُمَّ الصَّلَاةُ عَلَى خَيْرِ الْوَرَى سَاسَا²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ أعنته وتعنته تعنيتا: سأله عن شيء أراد به اللبس عليه والمشقة. العروس 9:415.

²⁶² الرقم 26 في ق فيه بيت « اسْمُ الْجَلَّالَةِ قَدْ عَمَّتْ جَمِيعَ قُرَى بَرًّا وَبَحْرًا إِلَى لُنْدُنَ وَبَارِيَسَا » وهذا خطأ.

سوس: مدينة تونسية.

²⁶³ طغرغر: قيل فيها طغرغر وتغرغر وطغرغر وتغرغر، وهم جبل من الترك كانوا يسكنون أرضا واسعة على حدود الصين. وهم أصحاب خيام كأعراب البادية.

²⁶⁴ قنبلو: جزيرة من بحر الزنج، وهي الخليج المعروف بالبربري.

هوسا: في شمال نيجيريا.

²⁶⁵ بطليموس أو بطلميوس هو رياضي وجغرافي يوناني. عاش في القرن الثاني الميلادي.

²⁶⁶ رور: الوروري الضعيف البصر. المورور: المغرر. المحيط 4:603.

قندس: إذا تعمد معصية. العروس 11:315.

²⁶⁷ هذي يهذي هذبا: وهذيانا: تكلم بغير معقول. المحيط 4:497.

النحس: الأمر المظلم. المحيط 4:336.

²⁶⁸ يقال: الرسول عليه السلام هو الذي بلغ الدين وهو أول من ساس الناس به.

²⁶⁹ وجد من العدم فهو موجود. أوجده الله تعالى. المحيط 4:576.

APPENDIX B: TRANSLATIONS

The *Rā'iyya*

1. I bring you glad tidings and wisdom from Hind.
2. From Sulaimā and Da'ḍ, from Lamīs [comes] a counsellor.
3. From Sumayyā and Laylā, from each of them [comes] a messenger.
4. My love for them is old, their amorous gestures are [like] burning flames.
5. I competed with the dove for melodious sounds, on her branch she flew not.
6. Their hearts are empty, their bodies full of energy.
7. They charmed my mind and heart and [their voice] was a melody of running water.
8. They left me in pain as if I were entombed.
9. They saw my gray beard and they said this is *nakhūr*.²⁷⁰
10. He [continued] searching for them until night enshrouded.
11. And night was gradually stealing away until dawn merged into day.
12. He did not sleep all night as if he was seduced.
13. Listening [carefully] to their voices as the bird listens
14. To the voice of a flying falcon as if it were a mandolin.
15. He missed what he was desiring, sufficient is his loss.

²⁷⁰ A camel that is milked by putting the finger in her nose.

16. He was emaciated by travel as if he were a *ḍiḥṭār*.²⁷¹
17. Will you be my help O detractor?
18. If you will not be my help beware, I have a bigger aide.
19. There is Ṣallaw, a leader, a lion, and popular.
20. Grandson of people of Kumāyaw, Zay, Takūraw, and Ghawrū.
21. Al-Ḥājj had blessed him, al-Ḥājj Dikko the leader.
22. He touched the head of Ḥusayn, surely this is a learned great man.
23. He said: O Lord, bless [him] because he is a protector.
24. Even Kankiyā replied: Āmīn, so was Sheikh Barmo supportive.
25. They all revered him because he was a happy man.
26. This is a gift from the Lord, there is no power and no scheme [against the wish of God].
27. Glorified is He and Mighty, the Bestower [of bounties], the Praiseworthy.
28. He gave him more than this, [be happy] O *maqzūr*.²⁷²
29. He gave him knowledge and wisdom; indeed, he is *ʿaysajūr*.²⁷³
30. He embellished him with modesty, He is the Living God, the Pure One.
31. So hearken to what I tell you, O good people.²⁷⁴
32. Those who abnegate my words, they are indeed wicked.

²⁷¹ A species of lizard.

²⁷² In the annotation it is given as *al-muʿzam al-muḥibb*: great beloved.

²⁷³ A type of camel that is strong and able to endure any form of hardship.

²⁷⁴ In Ghana/16.13/MSX it translates: *faṣghū ilā mā yaqūlu*: So listen to what he says.

33. Those who criticize my praise [for Şallaw] indeed, they are the evil doers.
34. Utter not anything distasteful, O men of little experience.
35. Those who are impressed with my praise [for Şallaw] indeed, they are men of knowledge.
36. The names of Şallaw are many, here they are jotted down:
37. Among them are *amir ghaḍīr* (soft and delicate leader), among them are *qarīr qarūr*.
38. If I say: This is *faqīh* (intelligent), say: *faqīh amir* (an intelligent leader).
39. If I say: This is *jamīl* (handsome), say: *jamīl naḍīr* (man of perfect beauty).
40. Or if it is said: This is *sirāj* (light), say: *sirāj munīr* (an illuminating light).
41. If it is said: This is *adīb* (man of letters or well-mannered), say: *adīb ṣabūr* (an extremely patient man of letters).
42. Or if I say: This is *shujāʿ* (brave), say: *shujāʿ jasūr* (an audacious man of bravery).
43. If it is said: This is *jadār* (competent), say: *jadār jadīr* (a worthy man of competence).
44. Or if it is said: This is *jawād* (generous), say: *jawād qaswarun* (a generous man of courage).
45. Or if it is said: This is *taqīyy* (pious), say: *taqīyy Shakūr* (a grateful pious man).

46. Or if it is said: This is *zakiyy* (honest and innocent), say: *zakiyy ṭahūr* (a pure innocent man).
47. If it is said: This is *saḥāb* (cloud), say: *saḥāb muṭīr* (a rainy cloud).
48. No doubt these are his names O *Khabīr*.²⁷⁵
49. You see him every time, cheerful without a frown [on his face].
50. His face sparkling as if it were a pomegranate blossom.
51. A man of dignity and solemnity, as if he were *Kawkabūr*.²⁷⁶
52. Leaders have strangled many [of their subjects], but he is *ṣarsūr*.²⁷⁷
53. Their sun he is, and they are all stars.
54. O envious of [Ṣallaw] come here, I query your doubt.
55. This is a gift from the Lord of Heavens, so repent, turn [to your Lord] and change your ways.
56. O envious, how can you all be deluded.
57. The Lord had decreed that Ṣallaw be a leader.
58. The heavenly creatures responded: O Lord this one is more suited
59. To be a leader so long as the orbit rotates.
60. And there is nothing left for his envious except tribulation and destruction.
61. Except evil and alienation, except grief and barking [like dogs].

²⁷⁵ In the annotation it is given as *ṣāhib kalāmi*: my audience.

²⁷⁶ He is believed to be an ancient Egyptian king.

²⁷⁷ A kind of insect. (cockroach). There is also *sārsūr al-bahr*

62. If life prolongs you will notice that there is no [loved ones] to occupy their homes.
63. The punishment for envy is surely hanging and destruction.
64. O enemies, repent you all and accept the truth.
65. Surrender [your wills] completely, let no ignorance delude you.
66. Did Satan delude you? O did the evil [one amongst you] tempt you?
67. Beware! The place of Şallaw is firm as if it were solid rock.
68. Nay! its foundation is flawless and it has no cracks.
69. *Qafandar*²⁷⁸ come and listen, repent to Him, He will provide your sustenance.
70. If you do not repent, you will be blown up by *dabūr*.²⁷⁹
71. If you do not repent to him, you will be afflicted with famine.
72. Soon you will die, and be buried all.
73. Your words are but lies, magic and deceit.
74. We invoke you Lord of servants, O Living God O Subduer [of all].
75. Come to Şallaw's aide quick against anyone who intends to harm [him].
76. Be they women or men, be they young or old.
77. And anyone who reviles Şallaw indeed, such person is ignoble.
78. He will not achieve his wants, for he ill-intentioned.
79. Say he is stupid; Nay! he is badmouthed.

²⁷⁸ According to the annotation this is a disgusting person, one who wishes but evil.

²⁷⁹ A windstorm from the *al-Maghrib*.

80. He will die hungry and with rage, consider him to be *Qitfir*.²⁸⁰
81. He shall not acquire wealth neither shall he have a membrane of a date seed.
82. He shall not ride a horse; his clothes are worn out.
83. His nutriment is that of a dog, his savory shall be *shantakūr*.²⁸¹
84. In the home of Şallaw is food, meat and dates.
85. But the other dies ingloriously as if he were *khayta'ūr*.²⁸²
86. He shall be buried and soon after, a serpent comes to him.
87. In his grave are all kinds of worms, *Munkar and Nakīr*.²⁸³
88. Because he died in a state of sadness as if he were *maqrūr*.²⁸⁴
89. Perish any hateful-being nay, they shall all be subdued.
90. We pray against any reviler; may they be surrounded with calamities.
91. O time do not leave amongst them a true companion.
92. Truly, the shadow is not equal, O my people, to the sun's full heat.
93. Anyone who matches Şallaw [in virtue] No, his deeds are well known.
94. Knowledge, thoughtfulness, and silence, and unbent wisdom.
95. How many problems did he solve without being confounded?

²⁸⁰ This is one of the most common names for the biblical Potiphar in Islamic tradition. He was the treasurer of Egypt. See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v “Qitfir.”

²⁸¹ Probably a kind of food.

²⁸² A small harmful black insect.

²⁸³ The names of the two angels who examine and if necessary punish the dead in their tombs. See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v “Munkar wa-Nakīr.”

²⁸⁴ A black sticky substance like coal tar for ships to prevent leakage.

96. He is calm when seated among his people he spoke less.
97. How many judgments did he make with fairness, that is plenty?
98. How many times did they plot against him, amongst them is *kabīr* the deceitful.
99. Among them are lice, dark and meaty.
100. And what they contrived became lies that did not profit them.
101. Is there anyone to match his generosity? In our day there is none.
102. His munificence among mankind, his generosity is endless.
103. He gives everything expensive, so listen to him O you who is tempted.
104. He gives horse and saddle; this means nothing to him.
105. And his stirrup and *kinām* including *kalmazūr*.²⁸⁵
106. His wool and *jall*, his *tinjimā* and *ghūr*.²⁸⁶
107. So does he give his garment that is loved by the public.
108. So does he give his burnoose one after the other, many palliums as well.
109. He gives silver and gold, excellent is such a leader.
110. His gifts are uncountable; his good deeds are well remembered.
111. He gives the near and far, this is well known.

²⁸⁵ These are all objects for riding horse according to the annotation.

²⁸⁶ *Jall*: an object used to cover animals from cold. *Ghūr*: ornament put round the neck of the horse.

112. The people of Kumasi had their homes inhabited [by loved ones].
113. All of them live in blessing, their benefactions will not diminish.
114. And the poorest among the people has clothing and a house.
115. O people say: Excellent is such a leader.
116. Verily since his childhood he had many qualities.
117. Anyone who envy's my master, indeed [that person] is a hornet.
118. Fear not the stupid even if they are in multitude.
119. Have you heard of generous O my companion?
120. The days of Şallaw are bright, his reing are full of light.
121. The likes of this leader [is rare to come by] indeed, he is patriotic.
122. Şallaw is resolute and chaste, so obey him O *zughrūr*.²⁸⁷
123. But for the fear of my Lord, I would say you are the Light.
124. O Lord the Majesty, we invoke You Who conceals vices.
125. Help him in whatever he wants, O Subduer of all.
126. Help him in all matters, O our Lord the Helper.
127. Answer my prayers quick, O Lord the Oft-Forgiving.
128. Give him good things, descendants who shall not perish.
129. Increase his offspring my Lord, O creator; All-Seeing.
130. Protect him with the best of protections, for You are Knower [of
the past and the future].

²⁸⁷ This is given as *ḥāsīd*: (envier) in the annotation.

131. Destroy all his enemies, may they be surrounded with calamities.
132. Save him from all machinations, You are the Lord of Security the Omnipotent.
133. O Lord have mercy on his father, You are the Compassionate and the All-forgiving.
134. Admit him into Paradise, through which rivers flow.
135. And have mercy on his uncle, that was a calm old man.
136. He was called Mūsa the counselor, excellent is that prayeful man.
137. Also is Thāni his brother, have mercy on him O Compeller [of his creations].
138. *Āmīn* a thousand times, the utterance of *āmīn* lightens [prayers].
139. So say: *Āmīn* O people, for people of *āmīn* are many.
140. We truly hope for an answer; we have no doubt or denial.
141. Excellent in mentioning his brother will this poem complete.
142. Say yes to a good intention, by God no turning back [against Ṣallaw].
143. His praise will not cease until the orbit ceases to rotate.
144. Our beloved is Khaḍir indeed, he is [like] gold.
145. His was his biological brothers, but he [Khaḍir] was older.
146. I give this [poem] to you without requite, O leader.
147. This is my gift to you O eminent [leader].
148. Its verses are pure; its words are virgins.

149. O poets indeed, I am weak and blind.
150. I do not know poetry but I am [like] a brambling.
151. Whoever finds flaw in [the verses] should correct them, it is no shame.
152. Praise and gratitude to my Lord, for He is Praiseworthy.
153. Send your blessings and salutations O my Lord, the [equivalence of the sound emitted by] the starling bird.
154. To the prophet, his household, and his purified companion.
155. [This poem is composed] in the year *bashmas*, rhyming with the word *rurūr*.²⁸⁸
156. In the first month of the year, Muḥarram which was mentioned.
157. Its verses are our companion, a companionship that will not end.

²⁸⁸ The value of the letters (*b + sh + m + s*) has a numerical value of 1402 minus the letter *sīn* gives 1342 which is the number written in the MSS.

The *Mīmiyya*

1. Does Laylā have a wish? or does Hind have a say?
2. [what about] the promises from Ḥidhām or the pledges made by Qaṭām?
3. They are all in a state of coquettishness, surliness, and reprehensibility.
4. They do not keep promises, they are not people with desires.
5. You don't see in her fidelity, if you lived a millennium.
6. They severed their relationship and cast it in the dust.
7. Arrange this word neatly, [O you] perfect transmitter of poetry.
8. In praise of men of excellence, noble men of Tetemu.
9. Virtuous and generous, chieftains among rulers.
10. Righteous and pious, just in [settling] disputes.
11. Patient and obedient, doers of good take [my] word.
12. They ushered me on a Thursday, with a handsome group of people.
13. And students in their prime age, returning from the woods.
14. [Singing] praises to the Prophet, giving thanks to the Lord of mankind.
15. They assembled in huge numbers, from maidens and children.
16. Excellent were they the day I entered. Delightful was my long stay.

17. We found no blemish behavior in them rather, we lived in peace.
18. In happiness and activeness, in humor and affection.
19. They sent [me] gifts, continuously and always.
20. You will find no miser amongst them, they were no ignoble.
21. Rich and poor, each gave according to their means.
22. The rich gave more, the poor gave the little [they have].
23. It behooves us to be thankful to them, to render a complete elegy.
24. May Allah have mercy on a leader 'Uthman [who lies] in the grave.
25. He [was] enduring, he [was] just, [a man of] goodness and prestige.
26. [He was] sober and calm, he prayed in the dark [at night].
27. Excellent is Muwwa among women. Verily she is an honorable woman.
28. She sent me food every day since I settled [in the village].
29. From waffles and cake, then bread in savory
30. And Rice prepared with fish and meat.
31. Continuously and uncountable, and eggs from ostriches.
32. Does such a person have an equal, from behind and front?
33. You will not see the like of Muwwa, in wakefulness or in dream.

34. In fact she is an exception among all women. These words
35. Say them loud without fear, among crowds of people.
36. She surpassed her compatriots in kindness, in gift and in uprightness.
37. She is like the sun among women folk, like the stars in a remarkable pattern.
38. A daughter of [...] among women, complete in their homes.²⁸⁹
39. So listen O you people to what I say with commitment.
40. People of Zongo are generous, living in blessedness.
41. In *Afanjī* there are brilliant men, sincere in their homes.
42. Knowledgeable and disciplined; pouring like the clouds.
43. They honored me in their village, the duration of the month of fasting.
44. They presented me with gifts, during the day and at night.
45. They bade me farewell on the day of my departure, all but the Imam.
46. They filled all the roads, with crowds in huge numbers.
47. Everyone! None was left [behind] even the riffraff.
48. The old and young, and a boy who was sick.

²⁸⁹ The second word in the first hemistich is not clear.

49. The rich, the poor, the visitors, all like twins.
50. Including Female Muslims, pious, from noble [homes].
51. Obedient and repenting, worshipping in dark.
52. May our Lord recompense goodness and a happy ending.
53. I bid you farewell, stay in peace, stay safe.
54. O Lord be kind on those who treat their guests with kindness.

The *Lāmiyya*

1. What is the case of Hind who left us without strife? News of her is recited loud and wide.
2. She left and she became like those who left before [her] and her home became a deserted campsite.
3. News of her departure spread widely, indeed she left her compatriots dejected.
4. They were like herds whose ears have heard the roar of lions nearby.
5. Her beloveds were awake all night in grief like Nabigha and saddened like Jacob when he didn't see [his beloved] child.
6. And every beloved became silent with sorrow, and tears did not disobey [its owner] as they flowed.
7. Some would scream out loud, [lamenting] the loss of a beloved, like a man enduring the weight [of his loss].
8. The heart made a vehement sound when it was announced: Hind had left and the wind blew spreading sorrow and fear.
9. At that moment you will not find except wailing [women] folks, and those not wailing their tears transmitted large drops of water.
10. Women folks were gathered in huge numbers; they were all saying: We have no direction.

11. O Hind! O Hind!! When will you return? The answer: There is no return until [the Day of Judgment].
12. No doubt! No doubt we are separated. Alas! A separation that takes men apart.
13. At that point they said we have no joy, in this abode indeed, it is puzzling.
14. You will see them lamenting as if they were drunk, you would imagine they had all gone mad.
15. There is Hind passing away leaving behind her abode, after amorous gestures that dazzled mountains.
16. She is beautiful, flirtatious and cunning, angry at any lover without reason.
17. How many powerful men came desiring her and found nothing but hatred when they arrived?
18. Nay she was ill-natured who preferred no one, she drove away men who came to her in haste.
19. But if she saw al-Hāj̄j Labbu in [his] youthful garment, an excellent man when he walked with swag.
20. [If she saw] his long neck, teeth and smile when he gently spoke and offered generosity.
21. She would seek to solicit him quickly without shame, and she would suddenly become winsome and [would] send servants.

22. She would say: This man has no equal verily, I am his companion, truly without delay.
23. I shall pay him [the] dowry without hesitance, indeed, this is the husband whom I prefer.
24. If I marry him I have achieved my aim, sufficient he a husband besides anyone else.
25. I [shall] live in his house in a state of satisfaction [with drink and food], and I shall not lack fashionable garment and kohl.
26. I [shall] be submissive to him the submission of slaves to their masters, and I [shall] not disobey his words or deeds.
27. For he is a progeny of chiefs, diligent, affectionate, humble among his people without pride nor self-conceit.
28. Nay but he died in his prime of manhood, as our Lord the Merciful had decreed. The Most Exalted and the Most High.
29. His nickname is Labbu, his age is Labbu; would you not wonder how nickname and age correspond.²⁹⁰
30. He is like the moon whose light is completed at night, and he benefit men with his rays when the sun is absent.
31. He replaced the darkness of that night and took away the burden of grieve and sorrow, imagine the sight.

²⁹⁰ $l + b$ has a numerical value of 32 which is the age al-Ḥājj Labbu died.

32. The people were scattered when one of the them announced: The young man is dead; the term of Allah has come to pass.
33. At that moment you will not find but wailing [women] folks, and those [men] who did not wail their tears poured like rain.
34. Some fell like the drunken who was unaware of what to say, deploring the loss of that man.
35. You should have seen the moment when he was wrapped in shrouds, after putting on perfume and this was after he was washed.
36. You should have seen his bier when he was carried to the grave, in a procession of men who filled the roads.
37. Before him is a congregated body of men crying of grief, and behind him is a group of men wailing like bereaved mothers.
38. When they returned they looked like drunkards, and in their eyes is what may fill a jar.
39. You may be devastated with what had happened, for it is very disturbing, this world is no place for the noble.
40. I thanked all his beloveds for what they have done, be they women or men.
41. Praise be to Allah. He acquired prosperity in the world, he died in honor and did not die worthless.
42. He achieved four virtues in an orderly manner: knowledge, pilgrimage, power, and good reputation.

43. Men of knowlege knew him and elevated his place [among them], so may [Allah] the Exalted reward them.
44. As for the vile and riffraff they saw him as a stone pelted at partridges
45. [In beauty] rubies are not equal to camel, [so is] grass distinct from clover and herbs.
46. [So is] gold, note, and pearls not equal to leguminous plants and beasts of any kind.
47. Or similar to a camel and horse; where the lion kills the horse and lives in filth, such is the case.
48. Such are people who follow men of letters and good men are [always] measured against their deeds.
49. Some are evil men who follow them, so that they may eat and commit sins.
50. He was afflicted by pemphigus and we didn't realize its [intensity] until it gashed [his skin] and became worse.
51. It ravaged his lungs, heart then [his] gut, and [his] liver, his esophagus and kidney.
52. After that we tried all medicines, everything proved futile because the term [of Allah] had come to pass.
53. When he died many people were shocked, because since childhood he was never penurious.

54. Nay his unending generosity knew no bounds, that was how he was described except by those inordinate and hateful.
55. That is why the poor and beggars lamented [his loss], the drum beaters all wailed in fear.
56. Truly the people of *Ghabrā'* were saddened [by his death] their elder 'Abdu his body grew lean.
57. His wife Ḥawwā' – the intelligent one – wept, that is *Thāghūr* crying until her tears poured.
58. Likewise, was Ṣafūrā' mourning her husband and she wailed with tears overflowing.
59. Kumātū Ḥafṣa was crying loud, and no doubt her wailing sounded like a drum.
60. All his beloveds were sad especially Hāfiẓ Manzo, truly his sorrow was intense.
61. His pure love without corruption, this is how he was when he was alive and after death.
62. When he died there came from every direction, oral and written messages from noblemen.
63. Some [of the letters] were accompanied with money meant for prayers, the custom of the land, not to be stingy.
64. From the forest of Ashanti and from the land of Tuareg; and from Ghamnāt and Ghambel.

65. From the rivers of Mesahohe and all the lands which surrounded it and from Hausaland, Kano, Dawra and Hadeje.
66. From the land of Katsina, Zakizaki and the land of Kebbi, the land of Ghobir, and Zarmā, they sent messengers.
67. Until we counted eighty men [who travelled from these lands] after which came [another group of] twenty and six.
68. And [the group that came] is never the group is expected to come, for only Allah knows those who will come consecutively.
69. This was after my fear was over, a fear deadened by righteous men with great effort.
70. [O Lord] have mercy on your servant, O You Who has no associate, forgive his sins whether purposely or ignorantly.
71. O Lord always pour his grave with favors the amount that supersedes the [grain of] sand.
72. Send down [your] mercy on him continuously, [the amount] that will fill low and highlands.
73. Make tulips and narcissus grown [on his grave], and make violets and jasmine grow in abundance [on his grave].
74. Allow musk to diffuse in his grave whose ambergris is *quṣṭ*, *ghāniya*, and *nadd*.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Types of incense.

75. O Merciful Lord have mercy on him, You Who is Eternal and Absolute, in the ranks of those who died fearlessly.
76. Admit him into the Garden of Eden without reckon, admit him into the Abode of Everlasting Safety, without [punishment] O Peaceful Lord.
77. Save us from the changes of time You Who is Eternal and Absolute, indeed in our time is what bewilders the mind.
78. It confounds mankind with the greatest shock, it prevents sleep, joy, and food.
79. Whosoever does not fear his desires and transgressed [the bounds of God] and cared less the rules [set by God] such a person is arrogant.
80. Verily people with desire have obtained their want, they live in opulence and they are considered the best.
81. No wonder! No wonder—that time has change, people of guidance are today down [at the bottom of] the valley.
82. Indeed, I fear if we live longer, that we shall witness the turtle commanding the cat with submission.
83. Or see the lion running away from the most dreadful cats, or the he-goat suffers defeat until it wrestles the wolf.
84. Or even the fowl will not heed to the sound of the eagle, when it sees her, it will say: come and it will be answer.
85. Or we see the hero of every battle being led by the most cowardly horseman, take my word.

86. Similarly, today are men of peace, they have become base resembling goats.
87. O Lord protect us from these calamities O You Who overcomes the arrogant.
88. Protect us from the evils we committed, with the [same] protection you gave the prophets and messengers.
89. By the grace of Tāhā, Yāsīn, and Baqarah, Āl-‘Imrān, An‘ām and A‘lā.²⁹²
90. And by the favor of our leader and prophets together, the household, companions and the saints.
91. Its verses are [the letters] *ḍb*, when uttered, praise be to Allah the praises by which hopes are achieved.²⁹³
92. Peace unto the one who brought us guidance, until the new moon sets in, complete or incomplete.

²⁹² These suras 20, 36, 2, 3, 6, and 87 respectively.

²⁹³ *ḍ + b* has a numerical value of 32 which is the number of the lines in the *lāmiyya*.

The *Sīniyya*

1. By the Lord of creation listen O my people, for in our time are evil men.
2. They came and went round with distorted speeches and all their words are false in spite of how they may sound.
3. They attacked a school with ignorance upon ignorance, and all they falsified about us became vain.
4. Saying we erred in the Name of the Most-High, how miserable is their offense how gravely miserable.
5. They knew not morphology how then; with the knowledge of antonomasia they become water buffaloes.
6. There came one amongst them with his deceit, wanting to test and to spy on us.
7. We said to him: You are treacherous don't come closer, we enticed him not nor socialized with him.
8. Alleging that there was an intelligent scholar amongst them, who says: No elongation in the Name of Allah. Doing so is a dubious act.
9. We said: You lied! You lied!! indeed you lied!!! and what you said may resemble a nightmare.
10. Verily science has foundation and a place of inquiry, so return to your hut and search into the papyrus.

11. Be a reader of the books of men of truth, don't be lazy. Maybe your eyes did not look into books.
12. You will not find [anyone] who believes the word of your teacher except those who are the mob and mosquito.
13. Did you look at the books of those who had passed away? Did you look into the Talmud and Gospel commentary?
14. Use your mind [to realize that] truth is absolute, and don't be a *gharfus* among the people of religion.
15. The ignoble will not become strong amongst us and indeed, we have the logic to differentiate between human and a calf.
16. Indeed, our teacher 'Uthman taught us the difference between a buffalo and a truffle.
17. By his honor, whoever came to humiliate us even if they came from a distance [such as] Ṭūs and Tūs.
18. They will be put to shame and be rage by their display of stupidity, a laughing stock among men of God.
19. We pay no attention to the sayings of the atheist and their speech resembled jingling bells.
20. We will not obey anyone who deviated from the path even if they came riding on elephants and rhinoceros.
21. Even if they brought knowledge equal to Spencer, the equivalent of Bal'ām or Satan, the devil.

22. They cast their ropes and cast their sticks. Certainly! As if in our hands is the stick of Moses
23. Whoever comes to us with their plots and ploys, even if they came wearing a crown or a burnoose.
24. They will be disappointed with their intention to embarrass us, by what we learnt from ‘Uthmān. Certainly!
25. We composed not to boast or play but we intended it as a gratitude and to establish [the truth].
26. The Name of the Most-High indeed, its elongation is prevalent among the public, from *Tūlā* to *Sousse*.
27. Also the *Ṭagharghar* and the Chinese, they all elongated its pronunciation and rebuked its shortening.
28. The elongation of the Name of the Most-High has engulfed every country, land and sea, from London to Paris.
29. People of this region elongated it without difference, from *Qambalū* it run to Hausaland.
30. Indeed, early philosophers also pronounced it [similar] to the elongation of Aristotle and Socrates.
31. Aristotle and Plato, then Avicenna as well as Ptolemy.
32. They all pronounced with elongation, what a surprise for a Muslim who has become deceptive and sinful.

33. Take this [poem] to refute the sayings of the foolish whose speech is unintelligible.
34. Praise be to Allah the Lord of creation, blessings on the best of creature who guided his followers.

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