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DYULA INTELLECTUALISM IN THE IVORY COAST AND GHANA:
A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND CAREER OF
AL-HĀJJ ŠĀLIH b. MUHAMMAD b. ʿUTHMĀN

by

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SUMMARY

This thesis is concerned with the 19th century politico-religious and intellectual aspects of the Dyula of Bondoukou and the career of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān of Jinini (d. 1932). Among the points of discussion are the establishment of the Gyaman Abron kingdom in northern Ivory Coast, the founding of a Dyula imāmate and trading community within its frontiers, the impact of the Samorian and French subjugation of the territory, the intellectual activity of the Dyula, and the influence of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ in Bondoukou, Jinini and Wenchi. Selected Dyula Arabic writings are included to give the reader an idea of the level of Dyula familiarity with the language and Islamic learning; this is not intended to be an exhaustive study of Dyula scholarship. To the degree which the sources permit, the focus of this study is upon the life of a little known scholar in the West, al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ.
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PREFACE

It seems that most modern researchers have taken some of the major political entities, brotherhoods, movements and the inter- and extra-relations between various African peoples and European powers as the objects of their studies. Such states as Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Sénégal and Mauritania, to name a few, have been researched with a great deal of sympathy, understanding and expertise; indeed, a number of aspects of the Dyula have been studied most tediously and competently. I shall not embarrass myself by mentioning a few well known scholars in these areas and omitting the names of just as credible persons out of a lack of familiarity with their works. That notwithstanding, since the beginning of the present decade I have thought that while one group of researchers sort out the intricacies of kingdoms, empires, states, markets and other most deserving larger topics, that another group should apply themselves to studies of relatively unknown enclaves, events and individuals. The latter is what I have endeavored in the following pages.

A word about my subject and methodology is in order. I have been interested in the history of Muslim West Africa for a number of years. Some of the hours I spent reading West African historical literature in the late 1960s should have been spent in furthering my understanding of the caliphate of the 'Abbāsid al-Mutawakkil for which I was officially registered. Having perused several descriptive catalogues of Arabic manuscripts in university collections,
al-Hājj ʿUmar b. abī Bakr of Kete Krachi and his many writings seemed a worthy and challenging research topic; my enthusiasm for the task was very strong. However, I soon learned from Professor Ivor G. Wilks, Mr. Thomas Hodgkin and Dr. Phyllis Ferguson that at least two students were actively engaged in research on al-Hājj ʿUmar. Needless to say that was quite a disappointment; I await their findings. Professor Wilks, who had spent many years in research and teaching in Ghana, then interested me in a less known person whom he thought deserved some attention, al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān of Jinini. Thomas Hodgkin had mentioned him and stated a similar opinion. They also suggested Paul Marty's Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire and Louis Tauxier's Le Noir de Bondoukou for some basic information about al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ's sojourn in Bondoukou. These works made me interested in not only al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ, but also in the political and intellectual history of the 19th century Dyula imāmate of Bondoukou and al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ's career in that town.

Therefore the aim of this study is two-fold: to impart a general view of the founding of the Dyula community and the Timitay imāmate at Bondoukou and its politico-intellectual history until roughly the turn of the present century, and the life and career of al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ and his predecessors. Part I is an attempt to introduce the reader to the historical background. Chapter I is a summary of the socio-political history of the Dyula and Abron migrations into and around Bondoukou, the establishment of power.
bases and the founding of the Dyula trading center and imāmāte within the animist Gyaman kingdom. Chapter II attempts to outline the external political pressures of Asante and Samori, and to summarize the British and French endeavors to bring Gyaman under their political influence. It also considers the final incorporation of the kingdom into Afrique Occidentale Française and French-Dyula relations.

Part II discusses the ethnic and cultural background of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ's family. In Chapter III an attempt is made to trace his family origins back to the empire of Mali and the region of northern Upper Volta. The intellectual achievements of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ's predecessors, their association with the well known Saghanughu family and the early life and learning of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ are dealt with in as much detail as my sources permitted. In Chapter IV we return to Bondoukou to investigate the educational structure of the Dyula community and to examine the qualifications of its ʿulamāʾ. We also discuss the triangular relations between al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ, the Imām Kunandi Timitay and the French administration, and finally the expulsion of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ, his return to Jinini and his retirement and death at Wenchi.

Part III is mainly a presentation of Dyula Arabic writings with translations. Chapter V contains an elegy for al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ's father, Karamoko Muhammad, written by an eminent Ghanaian scholar al-Ḥājj ʿUmar b. abī Bakr of Kete Krachi in which he praises both father and son. It
is followed by the only surviving composition of Karamoko Muhammad, a poetic commentary on one of the works of the North African author, Muhammad b. Ya'qūb as-Sanūsī, on tawhīd. Chapter VI deals with the extant writings of al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ and his son al-Ḥājj Muhammad Sa'īd Jatagakiya; also included is a letter from al-Ḥājj ʿUmar b. abī Bakr to al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ concerning the importance of the study of mathematics. Chapter VII presents pieces by Karamoko Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan Timitay. One is a short account of Samori's conquest of Bondoukou and the arrival of the French; the other is an elegy for the author's shaikh which contains some useful information about his conflict with the Bondoukou authorities.

This thesis is primarily based upon two kinds of sources: colonial administrative reports and oral data. Most of the colonial documents were read during my field trip to Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Sénégal between January and April of 1972. The holdings of Les Archives Nationales de la Côte d'Ivoire in Abidjan were particularly useful for administrative reports on conditions in Bondoukou during the early decades of this century. Unfortunately, the Bondoukou archives were closed for an indefinite period because its holdings were being copied and stored in Abidjan. Duplicates of some of the records were found in Archives de la République du Sénégal which were helpful for data concerning the French colonial organization, and intelligence reports on the activities of Bondoukou teachers, including al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ. The Public Record Office
information facilitated a better understanding of 19th century British interests in Gyaman and the politics of Samori.

The oral data is comprised of field interviews conducted by Professor Ivor G. Wilks, Mr. Jeff J. Holden and me in Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast and Ghana between 1966 and 1972. Professor Wilks was interested in the Saghanughu family and their activities as teachers in the Western Sudan. Holden's main concern was with the political history of the Samorian period. Wilks' interviews in 1966 in Bobo Dioulasso with Imam Muhammad Marhabā Saghanughu served to form a picture of the predecessors of al-Hājj Šāliḥ. Holden's interviews carried out during 1968-9 in Bouna, Kong, Nsawkaw and Jinini with elderly relatives and others who had been acquainted with Karamoko Muḥammad's activities and some of his descendants were extremely useful. In the Spring Semester of 1972 I was granted study leave from my duties at Vanderbilt University to pursue research connected with this study. I interviewed descendants of al-Hājj Šāliḥ and various section chiefs, imāms and teachers in the following places: Kumasi, Sunyani, Jinini, Kintampo, Wenchi, Japekrum, Bondoukou, Sorobango and Kanguélé.

My informants were generally receptive and sympathetic. For the most part they seemed to appreciate the effort to research the life and career of al-Hājj Šāliḥ, as well as my attempts to gain some first-hand knowledge of their educational system. In some places they voluntarily
showed me their texts and invited me to visit their classes. On the whole I was well received by al-Hājj Sālih's grandsons and relatives in Ghana and the Ivory Coast. Imām Muhammad Qudus Timitay of Bondoukou was warm and hospitable; but there was more than one occasion during my six-day visit that I perceived a kind of uneasiness about the Imām when I asked questions about al-Hājj Sālih's stay in Bondoukou and his relations with the former Imām Kunandi Timitay and the French administration. It was obvious that he preferred talking about the Samorian period and the history of Bondoukou. I soon discovered that the success of the Bondoukou part of my task largely depended on the degree to which I could be both tactful and respectful. His great influence in the town was very apparent when at least three Muslim ward heads courteously declined any discussion concerning the conflict between al-Hājj Sāliḥ and the Timitays. They cordially stated that al-Hājj Qudus was far more versed than they in the history of Bondoukou. My doubts about the accuracy of the Imām's statements were somewhat dispelled when he voluntarily assured me that his replies were sincere and correct.


In my opinion the main shortcoming of this thesis
is its lack of significant details concerning the early life of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ, his role as an adherent of the Tijānīyya, his relations with the leadership of Bondoukou and his activities after his expulsion in 1912-3. However, I am inclined to believe that little more can be achieved at this time, some forty-two years after his death. The great majority of his descendants are deceased and very widely dispersed and their whereabouts unknown. It is hoped that this study will provide some additional information about 19th and early 20th century Muslim Dyula learning, and the career of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān who is well remembered in a large area of West Africa as a competent teacher, Tijānī muqaddam and 'holy man'. If that is realized in the following pages, then I shall be content that part of the task was achieved, wa l-lāhu waliyyu t-tawfīq.

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It would be unkind of me not to mention some of the persons whose help was extremely important to the success of my research. To my field guide and interpreter, al-Hājj ‘Uthmān Ishāq Boyo, I am greatly indebted for his patience, kindness and the sharing of his extensive personal contacts in the Ivory Coast and Ghana. I should also like to register my appreciation for the time and information received from the following interviewees: Imāms al-Hājj Muḥammad Qudus Timitay of Bondoukou, Muḥammad al-Murtadā of Jinini and al-Hājj Muḥammad Marḥabā Saghanughu of Bobo Dioulasso; Karamokus Sāliḥ Ghina of Bondoukou, Sāliḥ Jaba­ghatay of Kanguelé, al-Hājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī of Jinini, al-Hājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi and Muḥammad al-Muntaqā of Wenchi. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Jeff J. Holden for the generous use of his field notes, and to Dr. Phyllis Ferguson, Miss Patricia Wilson, Mlle. Marie-Antoinette
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Mention should be made of those who are largely responsible for the mechanics of this thesis. They are Miss Sandra Calvert, secretary of the Afro-American Studies Program at Vanderbilt University, who typed most of the manuscript; Mr. George Walker III who did most of the photographic enlargements; and Miss E. Jean Woods who did much of the tedious work of preparing the maps; and Professor Daniel Patte, Department of Religious Studies at Vanderbilt University, who checked the French transcription.

I am most grateful to my wife for her understanding, patience and encouragement throughout the period of my research and writing. She was also very helpful in the translation of the Arabic manuscripts and helping our children understand the reason for their father's frequent absences.
PART I
CHAPTER I
MANDE-DYULA MIGRATIONS AND THE FOUNDING OF BONDOUKOU

The Malian Background

The Upper and Middle Niger region of the medieval Mali empire was the geographical origin of many peoples who presently inhabit Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and other West African states. The multi-ethnic state of Mali engaged in the trans-Saharan trade in gold and slaves, and by the 13th century was involved in that of kolas with the forest lands to the south.¹ The trade routes running north across the Sahara and those extending south to the forest zone were controlled by Mande-Soninke merchants known as Wangaras and Dyulas.² It is not clear when the


² 'Wangara' (Wankari) and 'Dyula' (Juula) are usually understood to mean 'Muslim merchant'. Perhaps the earliest reference to the former is in Tārīkh al-Fattāsh, tr. by O. Houdas and Maurice Delafosse (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964), p. 38(65). However, the Muftī of Bobo Dioulasso, al-Hājj Muhammad Marhabā Saghanūghu writes in his unpublished "Tārīkh al-Islām fī Būbū" (p. 12) that 'Dyula' means simply 'Muslim'.

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Map 1. The Southern Penetration of the Mande.

Dyula began to disperse themselves among the various peoples to the south where they founded communities and became known to European writers as 'the southern Mande' or 'Manding'. However, it seems likely that small migrations occurred long before the final collapse of Mali in the middle of the 16th century. A factor which gave impetus to their southerly movement was the scarcity of gold in Europe which caused the Portuguese to search for new sources of the metal in West Africa in the 15th century.\(^1\) The Dyula seized the opportunity of becoming middlemen in this trade. They had an advantage from the outset, for the gold-producing areas were within their sphere of operations. It seems reasonable that the rise and expansion of Songhay and the probable unsafety of the routes would have further stimulated their migration.

It would be superfluous to list the numerous peoples among whom the Dyula settled. Suffice it to state that they established themselves in communities of different sizes throughout the Western Sudan and parts of the forest and coastal zones of Western Africa. It is important, however, to consider their activities in Bighu which provides the model for their social organization in Bondoukou. 

**Bighu**

Bighu, probably the Bitu (or Bitu) of the **Tārīkh**

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literature\textsuperscript{1}, was located in the rich gold-producing Brong-Ahafo region of northwestern Ghana.\textsuperscript{2} The founding and development of Bighu has been a subject of controversy among writers since the early 20th century, and it is unlikely that its history will be known until more excavations are completed.\textsuperscript{3} However, it seems fairly certain that its

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}As-Sa\textsuperscript{’}d\textsuperscript{i}, T\textsuperscript{a}r\textsuperscript{i}kh, pp. 11(22), 17(30), 21(37); T\textsuperscript{a}r\textsuperscript{i}kh al-Fatt\textsuperscript{a}sh, pp. 39(68), 48(94). Other renditions of the name are: Begho, Bayku, B\textsuperscript{e}r\textsuperscript{h}o, B\textsuperscript{e}go, Beego, Bi'\textsuperscript{u}, Be'u, Beeo and Bew.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Wilks, "Northern Factor", p. 25. To my knowledge, this is the best and fullest account of Bighu in print.
\end{itemize}
pre-Muslim inhabitants were Akan-speaking people.  Imam Kunandi (d. ca. 1921) of Bondoukou informed Captain Benquey that Bighu had been founded by a Muslim holy man of the Hwela tribe who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and around whom several Mande Dyula families came and settled.\(^1\)

According to Meyerowitz, this Hwela Muslim was from Jenne.\(^2\)

Some time before the fall of Mali, a number of Muslim Dyula settled in the village which subsequently became the most important trading town in the region of the Black Volta. Bighu had early commercial links with communities in the Western Sudan, and later in southern Ghana as far as the coast. With respect to the more important northern connection, As-Sa‘dī wrote:

Jenne . . . is one of the greatest Muslim markets, where traders with salt from the Taghāza mine meet traders with gold from the Bitu mine. Both these rich mines have no equal in the whole world.\(^3\)

Like the medieval capital of Ghana, Bighu was divided into two townships, one inhabited by the autochthones and the other by peoples of Malian descent. Among the Dyula families which settled there were the Jabaghatay (Diabarate or Kari-Dyula), Nanayya (Nénéya), Kamaghatay (Kamaya or

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\(^1\) Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 67-8.


\(^3\) As-Sa‘dī, Ṭārīkh, pp. 11-12(22).
Kamagaté, Koumala, Dérébou (Dorobo), Donzo-Watara, Timitay (Timité), Kurubari, Bamba (Ligbi), Gbani (Kumbala) and their artisan associates, the Numu (Noumou). These 'strangers' formed several qabīlas or soros (Arabic and Dyula respectively, for quarters, sections or wards) which were semi-independent of animist overlordship. Each quarter was governed by its senior member whose position was similar to that of a village chief. Within this emigrant community political authority rested with a Mande chief of the Muslims, and religious authority with an imām; the two persons were members of different families. Following a civil war in the late 15th or early 16th century, the cause of which is not clear, this southern Dyula outpost was partly abandoned. Many of its inhabitants, Muslims and non-Muslims, resettled in and around a Nafana village, the future Bondoukou, situated in nearby northeastern Ivory Coast.

**Early Inhabitants**

Before proceeding to the main discussion a word of caution is in order with regard to the use of the term 'Bondoukou' in the French sources. After the French

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1 Wilks, "Northern Factor", p. 26; idem., "Mossi", p. 355; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 68.

2 Delafosse, Frontières, p. 226 ff.

3 The name is usually rendered in West African Arabic as 'Buntuqu' and pronounced the same in Dyula. Other renderings in European sources are: Buntuku, Bonduku, Bitougou, Bottogo and Gottogo.
occupation of 1897 the country was divided into administrative districts, cercles, and in the case of Bondoukou there was le cercle de Bondoukou and la ville de Bondoukou. The former extended from the southern boundary of modern Upper Volta in the north to Tankesse in the south, and from the Gold Coast in the east to the Comoe in the west. The town was situated in the northeast about fifty-six miles from the Gold Coast frontier. It was the administrative center for the district which included the important town of Buna. For the purposes of this study the French references to Bondoukou même are to the town and synonymous with la ville de Bondoukou.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, chronologically to date the migrations of the various groups to Bondoukou. This is partly due to the loss of documents in 1895 when the town was captured by Samori,¹ and partly to the inevitable contradictions in the oral sources. Hence, the following is at best an approximate picture of the growth and social structure of the town.

The earliest settlers on the site which was to be known as Bondoukou is a matter of dispute among the inhabitants of the area. However, most of the indigenous groups, as well as the early French authors, state that the Gbin, related ethnically to the Gouro of the Upper Sassandra, were the autochthonous people. A second group, the Loros of Lorhos (also known as Pakhalas by the Dyulas),

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 67
are 'paternal cousins' of the Koulangos and were among the founders of the village; their influence was probably short-lived. A third group of early settlers, the Nafana (of the Senufo family), were able to dispute with the Gbin over the right to the title of maître du sol, 'owner of the land'. The Nafana were the dominant people in Bondoukou before the arrival of the Dyulas and the Abron.¹ Hitherto this area was a simple village; its period of commercial efflorescence was to commence with the settlement of the Mande-Dyula emigrants of Bighu. But all of these people were to be subjected, in varying degrees, to the political overlordship of yet another emigrant group.

Abron Conquest and the Dyula Emigrants

The history of northeastern Ivory Coast changed radically with the founding of the Abron dominated kingdom of Gyaman. The Abron (or western Brong), closely related to the Asante, had attempted to establish their hegemony in the region of Salaga, but they were opposed and defeated. They migrated westward until they reached Doma (modern Dormaa-Ahenkro) where they subsequently divided into two groups: one remained at Doma and the other entered the Ivory Coast at the end of the 15th century, a date which

Map 2. Some Important Towns of Gyaman and Asante.
roughly approximates the arrival of the first Dyula in Bondoukou.¹ The Abron remained for a time at Yakassé, a village about forty-eight miles southwest of Bondoukou; but with the permission of the Nafana chief they removed to Zanzan, some sixteen miles south of the town. For the next century or more the Abron were engaged in wars of conquest against the neighboring Koulangos and other less numerous peoples, and thus founded the Gyaman kingdom the initial limits of which are unknown.

That the general Dyula migration to Bondoukou followed the internal warfare at Bighu is clear. However, there were some Bighu families in the immediate environs and in the future town itself in the last decade of the 15th century. The Muslims among the latter group were the Jabaghatay or Kari-Dyula who, according to Tauxier, supported the Abron of Doma against the Asante of Kumasi and eventually settled at Zanzan.² They were followed by other Muslim and partly Islamized families: Kamaghatay, Koko, Nanayya, Timitay, Donzo-Watara, Hwela and Numu. It is instructive to note the oral accounts of the pattern of migration and settlement. A former Abron district chief, Kouam Kossonou, related to Tauxier the following order of Dyula arrival into the district of Bondoukou.

Les premiers Dyoulas venus à Bondoukou

¹Delafosse, Frontières, pp. 228-30; Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 204; Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 75, 79-88.
²Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 81.
seraient arrivés du Doma. C'étaient les Kari-Dyulas. Ils vinrent au temps de Kofi Sonou ou Kossonou, au nombre de sept d'abord. Kofi Sonou aurait dit qu'à cent il tuerait un boeuf... Les Donzo, venus eux de Bégho, seraient aussi arrivés dans le cercle sous le règne de Kofi-Sonou.

Les Koko et les Nénéya viendraient de Kpon (le Kong des Européens). Leur arrivée se serait effectuée aussi sous le règne de Kofi-Sonou.

Enfin les Kamarayas, ou mieux Kamaraté, viendraient de Boualé ou Bôlé (gros village situé au N.E. de Bondoukou et au S.E. de Bouna, en Gold Coast). Ils seraient venus également sous Kofi Sonou.¹

Tauxier rightly suspected the correctness of this testimony which claims that most of the Dyulas arrived in the area during the reign of Kofi Sono who became Gyamahene in the mid-18th century. The above information also conflicts with the following more contemporary and historically more reasonable Jabaghatay accounts. Dalla Jabaghatay b. Yusuf, chief of the Kari-Dyula qabīla and a descendant of the first Jabaghatay, states:

The Kari-Dyula came from Begho under Zakariīya and with the Gyaman people. At Begho, the Future Gyamahene Kosūmu married his daughter Yawa to Zakariīya, and from this match was born Zanzan Kounandi ... Zakariīya did not settle in Bonduku, but went to nearby Zanzan.²

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 439.

This account is corroborated by another prominent member of the section, Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghatay:

Only one man, a Bambara hunter, was in Bondouku when we arrived. The Kari-Dyulas were the first Muslims in Bondouku, and Zanzan Kunandi was their first chief there.\(^1\)

The present Imam of Bondoukou, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Qudus Timitay, who is locally considered to be a leading authority in historical and genealogical matters, summarizes the Dyula migration:

The first Muslims were the Kari-Dyula whose nasab was Jabaghatay and from Bighu; the first was Zanzan Kunandi. Then came the Kamaghaya whose nasab was Kamaghately; then the Koko, Nanayya, Donzo-Watara, Qunbala, and then the Timitays. All but the Timitays came from Bighu; the Timitays came from Mande. The Donzo were not Muslims when they arrived; most of them accepted and learned Islam from the Timitays\(^2\) ... [The Timitays] came from the Sahara to Mande Kaba, to Samatiguila (chief town of Koro in Ivory Coast) ... from there to Begho and thence to Bondouku, at the time of the second Shaikh [Muḥammad Al-Abyał]. The Kamaghately were already there [In Bondoukou] and were the imāms. The Timitays met the Kamaghatelys in Begho ... The Donzo people came from Begho to Dibi (near

\(^1\)Holden, interview with Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghatay, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.

\(^2\)Akbar Muḥammad, field notes, interview with Imām al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Qudus Timitay, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.
Sampa) ... All the Huelas were pagan". ¹

Some Huelas, accompanied by Numu smiths, also left Bighu before the general abandonment and, according to most traditions, arrived in the district of Bondoukou before the Dyula. Other Huelas are credited with the founding of two important Mande towns, Jinini (Guénéné, in northwestern Ghana) and Sorobango (in northeastern Ivory Coast) where some of them were subsequently converted to Islam, presumably by itinerant Muslims of Mande origin. ²

Around 1710 a number of Hausa families of Kano origin emigrated to Bondoukou, perhaps via Salaga or elsewhere in Gonja. They monopolized the local dying industry. ³

The Dyula community was founded with the consent of the autochthonous peoples. Although allowed to settle gratis, save the customary annual gift of a chicken and a part of every animal slaughtered to the Nafana chief (bambara-masa), the Muslims were considered strangers and did not own the land. ⁴ They were free to follow

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¹ Holden, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968.
² Delafosse, Frontières, p. 228; Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 65, 69.
³ A. Nebout, "Monographie du Cercle de Bondoukou", in Clozel, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 171; Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 197.
their religion; but unlike their brethren in Asante, the Muslims of Bondoukou were forbidden to proselytize.

Avant notre arrivée à Bondoukou les Abrons, maîtres du pays, interdisaient formellement la conversion à l'Islamisme et tout infraction à cette règle était sévèrement réprimée. ¹

Conversion of animists will be discussed in chapter two.

**Political Structure of Gyaman**

Political authority in Gyaman was decentralized. Chieftaincy was hereditary and existed on two levels, district and village. The Gyamahene was often a titular ruler whose religious base seems to have rarely afforded him much political power in the affairs of his kingdom. ² Like the kings of Asante, he possessed a golden stool as a symbol of his rank. Real authority rested with regional and district chiefs. Representatives of the king or district chiefs resided in the villages. There was no standing army in the various communities.

Abron relations with the Muslims were significantly different from those with other groups. The Dyulas were not conquered. In this regard the French administrator Nebout states:


²Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 306-8.

³Thomas E. Bowdich, Mission From Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee (London: John Murray, 1819), pp. 244-5.
Il faut ajouter que les Abrons, loin de s'attaquer aux Dioulas, surent s'en faire des alliés.¹

The circumstances surrounding the alliance is further explained in a letter from the Bondoukou district administrator to the governor of the Ivory Coast at Bingerville:

L'entrées des Abrons et des Dioulas dans le territoire de Bondoukou semble remonter à quelques siècles. Des Dioulas qui habitaient le Nord de la Côte d'Or vinrent former la ville de Bondoukou. Peu de temps après les Abrons originaires des Achantis; ils vinrent se réfugier en Côte d'Ivoire, et après s'être alliés aux Dioulas ils firent la guerre aux Coulangos qui furent vaincus. Par la suite les Dioulas restèrent toujours alliés fidèles des Abrons en tout occasions, mais d'un tempérament peu guerrier, ils se contentaient de les aider de leur conseils, et prudemment enfermés dans leur forteresse de Bondoukou ils préfèrent se livrer au commerce ...²

Presumably the Dyulas were to enjoy conditions favorable to the pursuit of trade and were not to engage in any activity hostile to the state. According to Abron informants, the Muslims were not required to pay taxes on their merchandise or caravans for "the Dyulas are like our women".³

¹Nebout, "Bondoukou", p. 170.
³Holden, information from French anthropologist, Emmanuel Terrier, from Abron informants, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.
The Imamate of Bondoukou

The first semblance of religious unity emerged with the installation of a Kamaghatay imām who was recognized by the Jabaghatays and probably other Muslim families. The Kamaghatays had been political leaders in Bighu, a position which may have facilitated their attainment of high office in Bondoukou.¹ A manuscript in the Institute of African studies at the University of Ghana lists seven Kamaghatay imāms.² Although the document makes no reference to Bondoukou or any other town, its Kamaghatay owner, Imām Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm, insists that the names and terms of office are authentic and applicable to Bondoukou. Having made a careful study of its contents and a comparison with recent oral testimony, I accept it as authentic until further research proves otherwise. The imāmates are given as follows:

- 'Uthmān Kamaghatay, 39 years
- Yūsuf Kamaghatay, 28 years
- 'Abdollāh Kamaghatay, 24 years
- Sulaimān Kamaghatay, 18 years
- Fitikay Kamaghatay, 25 years
- Idrīs Kamaghatay, 15 years
- Sa'īd Kamaghatay, 10 years

Hence, the Kamaghatay imāmate lasted one hundred and fifty-nine years. We know nothing about the learning of


² IAS AR/81, copied from the original which is in the possession of Limām (Imām) Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm Kamaghatay of Bondoukou, resident of Domaa-Ahenkro, Ghana.
these men; but they were followed by the erudite Timitays who have provided the imāms to the present day.

Local Timitay tradition gives the cause of the demise of the Kamaghatays thusly:

The Kamaghatays were to pray for the people, but they did not know the proper prayers, and the Kamaghatay imām would sleep for the whole day. . . The Kamaghatay imām, who was a drunkard, failed to turn up, and his people sacked him. This Kamaghatay mallam who made himself imām used to take people's wives, and the Gyaman [i.e. non-Muslims] are fussy about this. They chased him away. Nobody knows his name because the Kamaghatays are ashamed of him.\(^1\)

While this account may be suspect in some of its details, it indicates, nevertheless, a certain measure of incompetence and lack of qualifications on the part of the Kamaghatay imāms. Undoubtedly other aspirants would seize upon such an opportunity with a view to succession. The incident raises the question as to why were their successors of the Timitay lineage. A possible explanation could be that there were few families whose members could conceivably attain to the office, namely the Jabaghatays and the Timitays. Assuming that the Koko and Nanayya were present at this time, there is no indication that they were of any political or religious importance; indeed, they have received little mention in the written and oral

\(^1\)Holden, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14-15 March 1968.
histories. The Jabaghatays seem to have been relatively less knowledgeable in religious matters and contented themselves with the spiritual leadership of the Kamaghatays who provided them with imāms. Presumably the Jabaghatays were the first to occupy the non-religious post of chief of the Muslims; the position was later held by the oldest member of the community.¹

The Timitays acceded to the imāmate from the position of teachers of the Islamic sciences. The present imām states that they were "Islamic teachers and guides";² the latter term indicates, so it would seem, that they were advisors in religious matters to other Muslims. An early attempt to date the beginning of their imāmate may be found in the work of Tauxier.³ The author was given the term of office of each imām; using the total, based on information received from Imām Kunandi Timitay, he dated the accession of the first imām. However, disagreeing with tradition and using the supposed reigns of contemporary Abron kings, he proceeded to revise the chronology.⁴

¹Holden, interview with Braimah (Ibrāhīm) Jabaghatay, Bondoukou, 16 March 1968.
²Muḥammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.
³Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 126-30.
⁴Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 128.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imam</th>
<th>Term of Office</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assiekou getInstance? Timitay</td>
<td>30 years</td>
<td>1755-1785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mama Timitay</td>
<td>40 years</td>
<td>1785-1825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assiekou Fima getInstance? Timitay</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>1825-1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadare getInstance? Timitay</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>1832-1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saidou getInstance? Timitay</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>1846-1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahima Timitay</td>
<td>41 years</td>
<td>1853-1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soumaila getInstance? Timitay</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>March-September 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kounandi Timitay</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>after September 1894</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This method is unacceptable as the dates of the early Abron rulers are far from certain. I was able to obtain a list of the Timitay imams with the dates of their deaths in hijra years which, though not without fault, may provide a more accurate basis for dating both the Kamaghatay and Timitay imamates.¹ With respect to the terms of office it is the same as that given to Tauxier down to the time of Imam Ismā'īl.²

¹The document was given to me by al-Hājj 'ūthmān Boyo, Senior Research Assistant, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. He received the information from Imam Timitay.

²Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 126.
Ash-Shaikh al-Akbar | 59 years | d.1122/1710-11
Muhammad al-Abyad b. ash-Shaikh | 49 years | d.1171/1757-8
Muhammad al-Aswad b. ash-Shaikh | 47 years | d.1218/1803-4
Qadir b. Muhammad al-Abyad | 25 years | d.1243/1827-8
Sa'id b. Muhammad al-Abyad | 7 years | d.1250/1834-5
Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Abyad | 41 years | d.1291/1874-5
Isma'il b. Muhammad al-Aswad | 7 months | d.1291/1874-5
Kunadi b. Malik | 49 years | d.1340/1921-2
Ali b. Ibrahim | 39 years | d.1379/1959-60
Muhammad Qudus b. Ibrahim, present imam

The major discrepancies in the above list are the imamates of Ibrahim, Isma'il and Kunadi b. Malik who is better known as Kunandi Timitay. If all the imams died in office and it was never vacant for any length of time between deaths and accessions, as is claimed, then it is not possible that Ibrahim and Isma'il died as early as 1291/1874-5. Both of Tauxier's lists give 1894 for their deaths and the year of Kunandi's accession.\(^1\) This is corroborated by the following testimony of Imam Qudus Timitay:

Samory called everyone to a court, but Braimah \(\text{Ibrāhīm}\) was too old to come so Isma'il went instead\(^2\) ... Samori removed to Dabakala after the peace of Bondoukou; he made Ibrahim Timitay the imam. After the death of Ibrahim, Isma'il became imam, but lived only eight months after his accession. At that time \(\text{i.e. death of}

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\(^1\) Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 127-8

Ibrāhīm Kunandi was in Dabakala; he was a delegate to the funeral of Samori's father ... Kunandi was elected imām before his return to Bondoukou.¹

An inaccuracy appears in the Imām's account which makes Samori ruler of Bondoukou in 1894, while the European sources show that his conquest of the Abron and his entrance into Bondoukou did not occur until the middle of 1895. This contradiction may be resolved if we assume that Tauxier's informants gave the terms of office in hijra years which would account for the difference of one year. However, the question of who was imām at the time of Samori's occupation is yet unanswered. On this point I accept the European sources with regard to the date of his entry into Bondoukou, and I accept Imām Qudus' statement as to the accessions of Ismā'īl and Kunandi, with the proviso that Samori ratified the appointment of Ibrāhīm, but did not make the initial appointment. A more accurate chronology of the Timitay imāmate may be obtained by using the traditional terms of office for the first seven imāms, and then combining the European sources with modern oral data. Thus we obtain the revised list below which does not purport to be more than a closer approximation to the truth than that given by Tauxier.

¹Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.
A tentative date for the imāmates of Bondoukou may now be advanced. By subtracting the term of Imām ash-Shaikh, fifty-nine years, from the date of his death, 1144-5/1731-2 A.H., we obtain the year 1085-6/1674-5 as the beginning of the Timitay imāmate. As the Kamaghatays were in office some one hundred and fifty-nine years prior to this time, then the Bondoukou imāmate began some time around 926-7/1519-20. Admittedly this date appears early when compared with that of the settlement of the Jabaghatay and Kamaghatay in Gonja; but as the fall of Bighu did not occur until the early 18th century, it is possible that some members of these families remained in or returned to Bighu from elsewhere.

Dyula Community Organization

Since there is no descriptive literature concerning Bondoukou during the pre-colonial period, we shall utilize the sources of the late 19th and early 20th centuries hoping that they reflect a generally accurate picture of earlier times. Bondoukou, about one kilometer from east

to west, was mainly a Muslim town.\(^1\) In about 1904, the Muslims numbered some 2700 of an estimated total population of 3000. The latter figure would rise to between 4000 and 4500 during the dry season (December-April) when the merchant caravans from the northern savanna visited the city.\(^2\) Similar to the pattern of settlement at Bighu, each Dyula clan or lineage lived in a qabīla which was divided into a number of compounds occupied by individual families. Together the quarters formed the central 'Wangara' section on the periphery of which were smaller animist (Gbin, Numu, Wandara, Loro), and mixed Muslim and animist (Malaga, Hausa and Derebou) quarters. Some lineages (for example, Timitay, Qunbala, Donzo-Watara) had more than one quarter which were often separated by others. The market--there seems to have been only one--was located in the predominantly Muslim section. Near that area was the large French post and a Timitay qabīla.\(^3\) There were three mosques, one of which the Friday (jum\'a) mosque, was adjacent to the Imām's compound.\(^4\)

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\(^1\)Clozel, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 56. According to Captain R. La Touche Lonsdale (Further Correspondence Regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast, C. 3386, August 1882, p. 124) who was in Bondoukou from 8-29 June 1882, the town was "about three miles in extreme circumference . . . ."

\(^2\)Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 196.

\(^3\)Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 187; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 69; Joseph, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 211-2.

\(^4\)Binger, Niger, II, p. 162; R. Austin Freeman,

(From Clozel, Dix Ans à la Côte d'Ivoire, p. 187).
Each patronymic group was in large measure independent with respect to religion, trade, civil and criminal justice and intra-group social affairs. Each quarter was usually headed by its eldest member who was the supreme political authority and imām of its local muṣallā or mosque where daily prayers were generally held.¹ The section chief adjudicated in ordinary cases involving members of his lineage who were not his close relatives; the Imām of the town could participate in the hearings, but his decisions were not binding.² Marriages could be performed by the head of the gabīla, though again, the Imām was often requested to officiate at such functions.³

Undoubtedly the most politically important gabīla was that of the Timitays. It was their quarter which produced the imāms, a practice continuing to this day. However, it was not a rule of customary law that the imām be a Timitay. He was chosen by the community from

among a number of prominent candidates "ou les plus intrigants de chaque famille". Moreover, an itinerant or visiting teacher who was considered very learned and pious and desired to settle in Bondoukou could also have been elected to the imāmate.¹

The duties of the imām included leading the Friday prayers and delivering the khutba; in the event of his incapacitation, this function was performed by his deputy, nā'ibu, who could belong to another clan.² The imām was the sole judge in cases involving a relative of a Muslim chief. However, if one of the litigants was a Timitay, the case was heard by a panel of judges consisting of qabīla heads, though the proceedings were carried out in the presence of the imām and with some degree of participation from him.³ Theoretically, he could reverse a decision of a quarter head, but political considerations often may have demanded his neutrality. Presumably there remained some margin in which an imām could use his religio-political influence in the internal affairs of other families.

Second to the imām in the overall leadership of the community was the shehu Wangara, 'commander in war'.⁴

¹ Marty, Études, p. 249.
² Marty, Études, p. 250.
⁴ Freeman, Travels, pp. 193, 204, 205; Holden, inter-
He was the eldest of the qabīla heads, excluding the Timitays. His function, of course, became obsolete with the establishment of colonial rule. Thereafter, the war leader may have performed somewhat the same duties of a muhāsib in medieval Muslim communities of North Africa and the Middle East. That is, he was concerned with violations of the moral code and the honesty of merchants with respect to weights and measures.

Communal activity was intense and continuous at the level of each quarter; between the quarters, however, there were few activities on a daily basis. Daily prayers were performed in the various quarters; Friday prayers, though held in the Timitay qabīla, were not always attended by persons or families (such as Qunbalas) who did not accept Timitay leadership. Inter-lineage marriages were surprisingly discouraged. Each familial unit saw itself as separate from the other, except for the common ethnic and religious identity of Dyula and Islam. Although ill feelings and conflicts of interests naturally occurred, these seem to have been limited to violations of the moral

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1 This information was obtained informally from a number of informants such as Imām Timitay and al-Ḥājj Boyo.

2 Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

3 Benquey, "Coutumes", p. 280.
code involving women and rivalry for the imāmate. ¹

The Market

The mainstay of Dyula power was their monopoly of Gyaman's trade. In spite of their almost total dependence upon the indigenous peoples (particularly the Gbin and Nafana) for their staple foods such as yams and maize, the Dyula not only controlled the external trade of the country but also the internal distribution of commodities of local origin. The market of Bondoukou, the main 'public institution', has been well described by Freeman, and to a lesser extent by Binger and Lonsdale. It was comprised of two almost separate sections, stalls and booths. In the stalls, Muslim women engaged in "petty trade . . . of local produce . . . of daily domestic wants". These consisted of mostly edible products such as salt, shea butter, corn, maize, sweet potatoes, rice, peas, white beans, yams, cocoyams, kolas, ground-nuts, pumpkinseeds, plantains, apples, pineapples and pawpaws. ² Most vegetables and fruits were produced in various places in the Ivory Coast, and bought directly by Muslim merchants from animist agriculturalists. As skillful speculators, the Dyulas would purchase large quantities of produce at times—for example, the dry season and when the poll tax was due—when farmers were anxious and willing to sell at very low

² Freeman, Travels, pp. 234-5.
prices. These items were then re-sold when they could obtain the highest prices—for example, the rainy season. By such methods they extended their commercial control into the hinterlands of the country and constituted a danger to the colonial commercial establishments in the interior.¹

Larger transactions in imported goods were conducted in the booths and homes of wealthy merchants who ". . . consider it beneath their dignity to expose their goods in the market [stalls]." Apart from the local Dyulas, the big merchants were from such northern centers as Bobo-Dioulasso, Timbuctu, Segou, Macina, Katsina, Kano, Sokoto, Salaga, Kong and Kuka (Bornu). Their wares consisted of leather sandals, slippers, satchels and bottles, skins, cotton cloth, woolen rugs, beef, mutton, goats and horses. Articles of European (French, German and British) manufacture were also available, but were not in great demand in the latter part of the 19th century. These consisted of silken shawls, handkerchiefs, neckerchiefs, printed cotton cloth, thread, coral necklaces, pearls, copper rods, fishing hooks and mirrors. The medium of exchange was cowries (kurdi) and sometimes gold.²

At the beginning of the 20th century—and probably earlier—local industry was of little significance. Benquey reported that local craftsmen were largely dyers (Hausas)

and smiths (Numu). However, the latter did not produce enough to satisfy the local market, as Bondoukou imported about twenty thousand francs worth of hatchets, hoes and other metal instruments from the French Sudan and the Gold Coast in 1901-2. Metal jewelry, too, was made in Kumasi and Accra and imported into Bondoukou.¹

The most significant import-export items were beef, mutton,² shea-butter and red kolas. The first three were brought from the northern French-controlled territories, more than half distributed locally and the remainder rerouted to the Gold Coast. Red kolas, the most desired specie, were imported from the Gold Coast and re-sold to northern merchants. The total value of external trade for the year 1901-2 was 792,553 francs (imports: 566,408, exports: 226,145).³

In this chapter an attempt has been made to give a general idea about the founding and development of Bondoukou as a Dyula enclave and trading town which was geographically

¹ Benquey, "Bondoukou", pp. 196, 213.
² Although Dyulas were very rarely engaged in agriculture, they were expert cattle-raisers. Beef and mutton were important meats of which much was consumed during Ramadān. Muslims generally adhered to the Quranic regulations concerning the slaughter of permissible animals, and this may partly account for the Muslim Hausa monopoly on butcher trade; see Marty, Études, p. 396.
³ Benquey, "Bondoukou", p. 213.
part of Gyaman, but culturally very distinct. Bondoukou can hardly be expected to have escaped the political and economic maneuvers of its powerful neighbors--African and European--whose expansionist aims necessitated their control over this emporium. The following chapter is concerned with the events of the 19th century which profoundly affected the Gyaman kingdom and the Muslim sub-state.
CHAPTER II

THE FALL OF GYAMAN: ASANTE, SAMORIAN AND FRENCH
RULE IN BONDUKOU

The Establishment of Asante Rule in Gyaman

From the mid-18th to the end of the 19th century political life in Gyaman was determined by the conflict between pro- and anti-Asante factions. The Asante considered the Abron their kin and natural subjects of their rule. The first Asante invasion of Gyaman was initiated by the well known state-builder Osei Tutu in 1720 at which time Gyamanhene Abo was defeated and compelled to pay an annual tribute of one hundred peredwins (225 ounces) in gold to Asante. In spite of a crushing defeat, Gyaman was to be a recalcitrant and restive victim which would attempt to regain its independence at the first opportunity. This state of humiliation was to take expression through a cessation of tribute payments and a number of revolts beginning in 1740.

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For the purpose of this study, the last significant Gyaman-Asante war was in 1817-8; it was of great importance for the Dyula of Bondoukou. Hitherto the Muslim leadership seems to have taken refuge in the Watara state of Kong or elsewhere.¹ A number of politico-economic moves had been executed by the Asante that were considered by the Gyamans as detrimental to their interests. There had been a political change in Kumasi that was viewed by the Bondoukou Dyulas with much disfavor. In 1798 Osei Kwame, who had obvious proclivities toward Islam, was charged with the recent murder of the Asante heir-apparent Opoku Kwame. In the struggle, Osei Kwame was destooled. Dupuis also showed that Osei Kwame's strong inclinations toward Islam and his desire to make Muslim law the code of the empire was another cause of his deposition.²

In accordance with Asante's plans to maximize her expanding trade connections with eastern Ghana, particularly Salaga, the Kumasi government undertook the construction of new roads in the east, presumably at the expense of Bondoukou's traders.¹ Gyamanhene Adinkra, until about 1817 "a tool

²Dupuis, Journal, p. 245.
³For a modern treatment of the diversion of trade to the east, see Ivor G. Wilks, "Asante Government and Politics in the 19th Century", (2 vols.; to be published by Cambridge University Press, 1974), II, pp. 339, 343-4,
of the court of Coomassy", was so annoyed by Asante's economic policies that he chanced the making of a golden stool in imitation of that of the Asantehene and transferred Gyaman's tribute to Kong. The Kumasi elders took a decision severely to punish Gyaman and to incorporate it firmly into Greater Asante. In 1818 Osei Bonsu himself led the Asante army into Bondoukou; Adinkra was beheaded, many Gyamans were taken prisoners to Kumasi and the status of the Abron chieftaincy was changed from that of a tributary to a province of Asante. Among the captives was the Imam of Bondoukou, Muhammad al-Aswad (d. ca. 1240-1/1824-5) who "after promising by solemn oath and written treaty that neither he nor his people [presumably the Dyulas] would ever be hostile to Asante, he was set free" and returned to Bondoukou.

Though no specific political or commercial concessions are known to have been given to the Dyulas, it appears that their general condition improved. The present Imam states that

The war between the Asante and Gyamans

347-8, 353.


gave Islam a considerable opportunity in Bondoukou. The Asantehene at that time was Bonsu.¹

This statement may be interpreted, as indicated by the informant, to mean that such restrictions as the Abron imposed upon the Dyula traders were modified, and that their political position vis-à-vis the Gyaman chief was thus strengthened. That Osei Bonsu was favorably disposed toward Muslims is well documented; however, it would be unwise to attempt a definitive statement of Asante-Dyula relations until further research is completed. Gyaman remained the political orbit of Asante until it was conquered by Samori in 1895.

**British and Asante Interests in Gyaman**

The political situation in the Abron chieftaincy in the latter part of the 19th century was far from quiescent. Paramount chief Agyeman suffered widespread disfavor among his divisional chiefs who did not share his desire to cast off Asante rule.² The situation was further complicated by the British who had defeated Asante in 1874 and subsequently sought to aid Agyeman and his supporters in their moves to break with Kumasi. The British government was interested in the trade of Gyaman. Asante, knowing clearly the aims of the British, had the task of taking

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¹ A. Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām al-Hājj Muhammad Qudus Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.
² Claridge, *History*, II, p. 211.
all steps necessary to prevent Gyaman secession, short of direct military action.

During the late 1870's Britain wished to capitalize on the efforts of King Asafo Agyei of Dwaben, whose attempt to gain independence from Asante had resulted in the devastation of his realm. With the full knowledge of the Gold Coast government, some Dwabens entered Bondoukou to inform Agyeman that with British support they were preparing to invade Asante, and that Gyaman should join them.¹ Political division among the leading Gyaman chiefs prevented any mobilization of the Abron army. At most the Dwabens were supported by a relatively small number of fighters who were loyal to the Gyamanhene. In any case, the incursions into Asante were of little consequence; the inhabitants of Berekum were able to repel the insurgents without Kumasi's help.²

The foiled indirect attempt of Cape Coast to divide northwestern Asante was followed by direct intervention. The internal political struggle between Agyeman and his


²PRO, C.O. 96/128, no. 251, enclosure 2, in Ussher to Hicks Beach, 8 November 1879.
dissident chiefs was growing in intensity. Concerned with his personal fate and the possible maneuvers of Kumasi, in January 1877 Agyeman joined the anti-Asante chief of Sefwi in submitting a formal request for British aid in the form of planning and ammunition to launch an attack against Asante, and the presence of a European official in Bondoukou to help give Gyaman the appearance of an independent kingdom. The Colonial Office responded favorably to their request.¹ In the same month an Asante mission was dispatched to Cape Coast requesting the British to cease their aid to the refugee Dwabens, Sefwi and Gyaman.² The government was not prepared to accede to this demand. Another Asante mission under the trusted Danish military advisor, C. Nielson, was dispatched directly to Gyaman; however, Nielson died of exposure to the sun, and his Fante second-in-command, Huydecoper, became chief envoy. His task was to persuade Agyeman to agree to desist from robbing Asante traders of their gold (presumably taken from Gyaman), to re-open the trade routes to Asante and to stop giving refuge to anti-Asante leaders in neighboring territories. Huydecoper was also instructed to give all possible aid to Agyeman's

¹PRO, C.O. 96/120, no. 39, Freeling to Carnarvon, 26 January 1877; C.O. 96/126, no. 106, Lees to Hicks Beach, and enclosure 1, 5 May 1879.
²PRO, C.O. 96/120, no. 31, Freeling to Carnarvon, 20 January 1877.
half-brother and partisan of Asante, Prince Kokobo at Banda, in order to gain the throne of Gyaman. Negotiations were interrupted in July 1879 by the arrival in Bondoukou of Commissioner John Smith and some Hausa troops in response to the Gyamanhene's earlier request. The Asante mission, accompanied by three prominent Gyaman chiefs, withdrew and went to Banda.

A result of the Asantehene's mission, however, was the strengthening of the pro-Kumasi party in Bondoukou which seems to have been led by Chief Papi. It is probably correct, as suggested by Agbodeka, that "It was this development that foiled Smith's mission and the aims of the war party in Gyaman". He was initially unable to get a full meeting of the chiefs; when he finally did, in late August, they were not disposed to a discussion of British protection and trade. At their last meeting, on 23 August, when the Gyamanhene had the support of only one of his chiefs and Princess Akosuah, the pro-Asante group threw off all disguise, openly denounced Ajiman as their enemy, and flatly refused to have anything to do with him. Mr. Smith then left for the coast, having persuaded Ajiman, who had been anxious to accompany him.

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1 PRO, C.O. 96/128, no. 251, enclosures 1-2, Ussher to Hicks Beach, 8 November 1879.
3 Agbodeka, African Politics, pp. 89-90.
for protection, to remain in his country and try to assert his position.¹

The next day, 24 August, Prince Kokobo, entered Gyaman to seize power. Overtaken some forty-five miles from Bondoukou by Agyeman's messengers who requested his help, Smith declined and continued his journey to Cape Coast.² Thus the British Gold Coast Colony and Agyeman temporarily failed to end Asante rule in Gyaman; but Kokobo's efforts were also in vain, and for some reason unknown to the writer, Agyeman remained paramount chief and restive under the hegemony of Kumasi.

Gyaman-Asante relations soon became strained again, and in 1882 Kumasi was considering war with Gyaman. Among the main causes of the dispute was the antagonistic acts of Banda at the instigation of Inkrusima, chief of Badu. The Bandas were attacked in the late 1870's by the chief of Bona, a town north of Banda, and were driven from their land.³ The refugees were given asylum by Agyeman who agreed to participate in arbitrating the matter. His representatives were, however, killed by some Bandas. The Banda went still further in January 1882 by murdering seventeen Gyaman merchants (probably Dyulas) on their return from Salaga; this incident was probably encouraged by anti-Gyaman elements in Asante. Gyaman fighters

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¹Claridge, History, I, p. 212.
²Claridge, History, I, p. 213.
invaded Banda, and in May defeated Wenchi and Nsoko. A few years later Gyaman traders were not permitted to use the Salaga and Kintampo roads.¹

In the tense situation which ensued, the British sent Captain Lonsdale to Kumasi and Bondukou to avert a war between Gyaman and Asante. Lonsdale's mission was successful in two ways. Firstly, it accomplished a temporary relaxation of tension by the extraction of a promise from Agyeman that he would not retaliate in the event of an Asante attack. This concession was of major importance, as in taking this decision the Gyamanhene was opposed by at least one of his most prominent chiefs, Papi, "the principal mover in the ebullition against the Ashantis" and the chief who led a section of the Gyaman army in the invasion of Banda. This may also be an indication of an improvement in the political position of Agyeman, though the rivalry between the contending factions for leadership continued. Secondly, Lonsdale's visit as a peace-maker had the effect of improving the British image in both capitals, thus increasing her ability to have direct influence in the affairs of Gyaman. The officer "impressed upon the King the advisability of sending messengers to the coast frequently. Even should there be nothing of particular moment to report, it would tend to keep up the friendly relations existing between the

Government and himself". ¹

The Dyulas were to benefit from the general tranquility created by the above negotiations. In August 1882, Imām Ibrāhīm sent messengers to the coast to notify the British that Muslim traders who had suffered from the previous conditions, would arrive there shortly. By 1888 they were not only traversing the main routes, but were also to be found in central Asante.²

Anglo-French Treaties with Gyaman

Britain thought her position in Gyaman secure; indeed, she was more influential there in 1888 than previously. But she either neglected or was unaware of the extent of French colonial penetration in the Ivory Coast. More significantly, Cape Coast or the British representative at Kumasi may not have known the intended policy of the new Asantehene Dwaku Dua III (Prempeh I) of regaining firm control over the northwestern provinces.³ There is reason to believe that Agyeman, however, was more in tune with the new policies of Asante. In view of the apparent deterioration of the situation, both internal and external,

¹R. La Touche Lonsdale, Further Correspondence Regarding Affairs of the Gold Coast, C. 3386, August 1882, pp. 118, 123.


Agyeman formally requested the visit of a Cape Coast mission to Bondoukou for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of protection. The British envoys did not arrive until late January 1888.¹

Meanwhile, a French explorer, Treich-Laplene, had been actively engaged in concluding treaties of protection with the chiefdoms of Sanwi, Betti, Indenie and Yakasse. The colonial contest between Britain and France in the central region and hinterlands of the Ivory Coast was well underway. Treich-Laplene arrived in Bondoukou and concluded a treaty with Agyeman on 13 November 1888 the articles of which are set out below.

Article premier. Le roi de l'Abron et du Bondoukou déclare placer son pays sous l'amitié et la protection de la France.


Article 3. Le commerce se fera librement entre les sujets français du pays d'Assinie, de Grand-Bassam, de l'Indénie, de Bettié et les sujets de l'Abron et du Bondoukou.

Article 4. Le roi de l'Abron et du Bondoukou s'engage à préserver de tout pillage les caravanes qui viendraient chez lui et à laisser

¹R. Austin Freeman, Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1898), p. 190. Doctor Freeman was a member of the mission.
libre l'accès de son pays.

Article 5. Le gouvernement français s'engage à faire ouvrir et entretenir une route entre le pays de l'Abron et celui d'Assinie.

Article 6. Les gens du pays de l'Abron et du Bondoukou sont libres néanmoins d'aller commercer en pays autres que ceux du territoire français.

Article 7. Les contestations qui pourraient s'élever entre les gens du pays de l'Abron et ceux des pays voisins seront portées devant les autorités françaises qui jugeront. En aucunes circonstances, les opérations ne pourront être suspendues par ordres des chefs indigènes.

Article 8. Une rente annuelle, dont le chiffre ne sera pas inférieur à trois mille francs, sera payée au roi de l'Abron et du Bondoukou comme présent d'amitié et pour l'entretien des routes dans son pays.

Article 9. Le roi de l'Abron s'engage à ne conclure aucune convention avec les autres nations sans le consentement préalable de la France.

Article 10. Le présent traité servira de base aux relations entre le Gouvernement Français et le pays de l'Abron et du Bondoukou. Fait et signé en triple expédition au village de Zaranou ou Aminvi.¹

¹F. J. Amon d'Aby, La Côte d'Ivoire dans la Cité
Treich-Laplène then went on to Kong where the pact was ratified by Captain Louis Binger about 5 January 1889.

British influence in the affairs of Gyaman was waning. This became clear to the mission led by Inspector Lethbridge when it arrived at Soko, a village near Bondoukou, which was politically submissive to Chief Papi. R. Austin Freeman, a member of the party, related that the imminent failure of the mission was apparent when Agyeman's messenger to the Coast who was accompanying the mission, stated he had information that the king had accepted French protection. Nevertheless they entered the town and were promised an audience with Agyeman the following day. They soon learned that the king was in serious danger of losing control of his state. His son, Diawusu, had been deposed as chief of Mo by "the redoubtable Papi whom we had been led to regard as our especial enemy".

The indigenous attendance of the subsequent meeting is instructive. On Agyeman's right sat Chief Boitin, "principal advisor and the commander of the army ... who did not regard us with great favor, and was a firm

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1Freeman, Travels, pp. 176, 182-3. Freeman (p. 183) also states "that two French officers were then staying with Papi . . ."
opponent of Diawusi". On the same side was the friendly Kokobo, chief of Sappidi, the earlier pro-Kumasi prince who attempted to seize power after Smith's departure in 1879. Agyeman's left side was dominated by the aged Papi who had fought with the Asante against Sir Charles McCarthy at the battle of Asamankow in January 1824. Representative of the Dyulas were Imām Ibrāhīm Timitay, the religious and temporal head of the Muslims "in all matters of a peaceable nature" and 'Alī "nominally the civil head of the Mohammedans . . . and . . . their leader in the war". Of those persons, undoubtedly Agyeman and Ibrāhīm were the most pro-British participants in the proceedings; Kokobo may have vacillated between a neutral position and a pro-British stance.

Agyeman apologetically explained that though he had received Treich-Laplene, signed a treaty and accepted a French flag, he had not accepted French protection. He stated that his main interest had been to maintain trade with the French port of Krinjabo, to which "the greater part of the trade of Jaman had been diverted . . . in consequence of the unsafe state of the Kumase road", and cordial relations generally. However, he preferred

1 Freeman, Travels, p. 203.
3 Freeman, Travels, pp. 204-5.
to resume normal trade with the British colony from which his traders, probably most of whom were Dyulas, had been periodically cut off following the Asante-British war of 1874.¹ His offer to disregard the French agreement in favor of a British treaty appealed to Lethbridge because it was a step toward reducing the traditional tension between Gyaman and Asante, thus giving Britain more interior markets and the prospects of greater stability in the area. Lethbridge accepted a treaty, which bore the Arabic signature of Imam Ibrahim among others, on 24 January 1889 and started for Cape Coast to obtain ratification of the document. He soon discovered that the instrument was useless as the Anglo-French Boundary Commission, established in 1888 to delineate the northwestern frontiers, had already decided that Bondoukou was to be part of French Gyaman; the agreement, however, was not signed until 10 August 1888.² News of the British mission's failure, wrote Freeman, "occasioned great rejoicing . . . ." The last official meeting was held in the Timitay quarter where "we handed over to the Limamu, as the King's representative, the French flags and treaty which we had received from Ajiman. We then wished our friend farewell . . . ."³

It is significant that the failure of the negotiations was a political gain for chief Papi whose adamant

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¹Freeman, Travels, pp. 205-6.
³Freeman, Travels, pp. 332-3.
stand against John Smith's counsels in 1879 certainly did not endear him to the Gold Coast government. On this last occasion he went even further in his hostile behavior by publicly announcing that the mission's presence was not desired, and that its departure would "be witnessed with great satisfaction by the Jamans in general and himself in particular".¹ The Imām and the Dyula traders lost a potential benefit, for an Anglo-Gyaman treaty would have almost guaranteed their access to the main Asante routes to the coast; Asante would have been at pains to interfere with their activities.

The Samorian Conquest of Gyaman

The establishment of Samorian hegemony over Gyaman was not in the Almami's initial plans; his occupation of Bondoukou was a matter of military expediency. The career of Samori Ture suffered a setback in 1888 at the seige of Sikasso.² This turn of fortune was followed by increased French advances and a considerable rebellion of peoples in his western empire. Although he was able to suppress

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¹Freeman, Travels, p. 297. This remark was followed "by no means polite speech" about the mission. Major Ewart's attempt to punish Papi almost caused fighting between the visitors and the Muslim Gyamans. Finally, aware of the gravity of the situation, the officer accepted Agyeman's offer to pay instead of Papi; see pp. 297-305.

²For a full account of the Sikasso war and its results see Yves Person, Samori: Une révolution Dyula (2 vols.; Dakar: IFAN, 1968), II, Chapter IX.
the latter in the following two years, the Almami was forced by his immediate circumstances to either pursue a course of certain failure or to abandon his field of operations and to seek new ones. He chose the latter alternative, and in 1893, pushed further east carrying with him what fighters, ammunitions and people he could salvage.\(^1\) If he was to succeed in the east, his first task was to re-organize his badly shattered army which had encountered tremendous losses at Sikasso. To overcome his arms problem he sought the continued goodwill of the British at Freetown who, until they enforced the Brussels Act in 1892, allowed him to purchase modern weapons in large numbers.\(^2\) Having abandoned his old empire in the west he set about building a new domain in the east, most of which was within the present limits of the Ivory Coast.

To establish his eastern empire, he was obliged to conquer and incorporate new peoples, avoiding the French whenever possible. Between 1892 and 1893 the sofas succeeded in destroying the Nafana chieftaincy west of


Odienne and the Senufo of Nkalakadugu.¹ This was followed by further consolidation, additional conquests and preparations for future contingencies. However, these military maneuvers caused concern in Paris about the possibility of Bassam being separated from the French Sudan and Kong. This eventually led to the dispatching of the famous Monteil column which besieged Samori in Djimini, but was crushed by the sofas in March 1895.² His next important move, for our purposes, was his confrontation with the Abron.

In the middle of 1895, Samori's interest in Gyuman was primarily economic. He wished to use the trade routes of the kingdom which would have afforded him access to both the French and British coastal ports; from the latter he may have been able to purchase arms and ammunition either directly or indirectly. In addition, there was the prospect of obtaining provisions from the agriculturalist Kulango Gyamans as well as the market of Bondoukou.

The conquest of Gyaman from the northwest was a relatively easy matter, as the military attention of the kingdom was traditionally directed eastward toward Asante. Any large-scale mobilization toward the west—which would have been demanded by Samori's strength—would have seriously

²Person, "Resistance", p. 105.
endangered the eastern front. In these circumstances, a contingent of Gyamans, including some Muslim fighters under the command of Karamoko 'Alī, took the offensive and advanced to the Comoe River where the first encounter took place. This could hardly have been more than a tactic to delay a Samorian attack. The Gyamans were soundly routed and forced to retreat; the Muslim war leader, 'Alī, returned to Bondoukou and related the outcome of the battle. About this time Agyeman frantically sought help from all the powers in the region: France, Britain and Asante. His request to Gyaman's French 'protectors' received no reply. In view of the Anglo-French boundary pact, the Gold Coast government was legally unable to interfere. Agyeman's appeal to Asante seems to have been blocked by the closing of the Nkoranza-Kumasi road. Thus Gyaman lay open to conquest.

Samori's army, the sofas, entered Bondoukou in July 1895 having encountered negligible resistance; Agyeman was driven into exile. A witness to the incident states that "the closest the war came to Bonduku" was Maryayiri

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1 J.J. Holden, field notes, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.


3 PRO, C.O. 96/259: telegram from Maxwell to Chamberlain 17 August 1895.
The conquerors found Bondoukou almost empty. Agyeman had fled to Dadiasse (about thirty miles southwest of Bondoukou) and Imam Ibrâhîm and other Timitays to Japekron (in northwestern Ghana). Among those who remained was the learned Tijâni faqîh, al-Ḥâjj Mukhtâr Diabi, who is said to have known Samori in his boyhood and reprimanded him for his actions: 

"... Why do you make war on a town when I am here?" Bondoukou tradition states that the Almami respected Mukhtâr and that the latter coaxed him into allowing the people to return and concluding a settlement with the Gyamanhene and the Imam. However, Mukhtâr did not fully trust Samori and preferred to use his own Qur'ān to that of the Almami in the peace ceremony.

Peace having been concluded, Samori withdrew to his principal camp at Dabakala via Koko. His chief lieutenants at Bondoukou were Bakari and Sanasi, son of al-Ḥâjj Mukhtâr; they were, however, under the command of Samori's son, heir and leader of the eastern armies, Sarankyé-Mori.

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1 Holden, interviews with Imam Timitay and Bâbâ Alî Watara, Bondoukou, 15 March 1968.


4 Person, Samori, II, p. 1104-5.
Samori was aware of the political value of establishing contact with Asante and the British. Some dialogue seems to have been opened with Prempeh as early as 1894, the character of which is as yet unknown.\(^1\) However, after the subjugation of Gyaman, Samori sent a message to Kumasi explaining that he had conquered the country because Agyeman had refused him access to the trade routes. In reply, Prempeh sent a mission, which is said to have numbered three hundred, carrying one hundred ounces of gold, as well as other presents, and a request for aid in retaking his lost territories and re-opening the Nkoranza road.\(^2\) Samori's price for such help was too high, some one thousand ounces; thus the matter appears to have ended. About the same time, Samori sent a message to Governor Maxwell informing him that he had broken relations with the French and now desired to become a British subject.\(^3\) Again Britain was unable to act. In November Samori received a note from Maxwell informing him that an attack upon Kumasi was imminent, and that the Almami should not interfere.\(^4\) Samori replied through his Gold Coast

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\(^3\) PRO, C.O. 96/260: Samori to Governor, n.d., in Maxwell to Chamberlain, 6 September 1895.

\(^4\) PRO, C.O. 96/262: Governor to 'The Almamy Samory',
messengers that he had no intention of attacking any territory under British protection; he also reiterated his desire to serve Britain.\textsuperscript{1} Hence, for the moment, there was no threat to Samorian rule in Bondoukou; the French were not to intervene directly until 1897.

**Samorian Government in Bondoukou**

Unfortunately we have little information about the details of Samori's peace agreement with Bondoukou; such may only be surmised from written and oral information stating the obligations of the town. It is well known that Samori wished to increase his supply of modern rifles. If he had anticipated the presence of a considerable arms cache in Bondoukou, as suggested by Legassick,\textsuperscript{2} then he may have been disappointed, for Bondoukou does not seem to have had a large quantity of weapons.\textsuperscript{3} The cavalry

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\textsuperscript{1}PRO, C.O. 96/263: Maxwell to Chamberlain, 10 December 1895.


\textsuperscript{3}Concerning the Muslims ("Manding")s), Dupuis (Journal, p. xxxvii) wrote: "Thier warlike weapons are scimiters, bows and arrows, darts, and lances of the old Arab construction..." Bowdich (Mission, p. 335) reports that Asante did not permit the export of guns and powder to her powerful neighbors, and presumably the passage of such weapons through her territory to the same was also not allowed. However, Freeman (Travels, pp. 300-302 passim) saw muskets in the possession of Muslim G Yamans,
and perhaps some infantrymen did possess some rifles which were probably purchased from French ports or even Kong. But there is nothing in my sources which indicates that the Dyulas bought and stored ammunitions as a matter of course. The probability is that Samori wished to intercept the flow of arms to Wa which were purchased at Krinjabo and passed through Bondoukou. However, the sofas were able to have arms manufactured and repaired by the Gyaman smiths, the Numus, who were taken to Djimini or Dabakala. With regard to the strengthening of the Samorian forces, the recruitment of fighters was almost nil. Hopefully, future research will explain his failure to utilize the existing military effectives of Bondoukou.

Samori therefore needed currency which would be acceptable in the coastal European markets. The incorporation of Gyaman, particularly Bondoukou, served this end. The traditional authority of the Gyamanhene over gold production was presumably restricted or ended, and the

but he gives no indication as to their number. For a recent study of weapons in the region, see "Papers on Firearms in Sub-Saharan Africa, I", JAH, XII, No. 2 (1971).


deposits at Assikaso were used to purchase ammunition.\footnote{Person, Samori, II, p. 920. The ancient currency of Bondoukou was gold, but was later replaced by cowries. The latter seems to have remained the main medium of exchange until the French occupation, though Dyula merchants who traded with European ports probably had a number of pounds and francs.}

Salia (Ṣāliḥ) Cissé, Imām of Bouna, is reported to have said that Samori promised not to destroy Bondoukou if the inhabitants would deliver to him "mille pépites d'or grosses comme le poing".\footnote{Paul Marty, Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922), p. 235.} Whether such amount was indeed collected is not known; however, a recent informant states that "Bondouku collected gold in copper basins for Samori . . ."\footnote{Holden, field notes, interview with Chief Fanyinama, Kintampo, 11 March 1968.} Some Gyaman captives and slaves were bartered to Asante for gold and gun powder.\footnote{Holden, interviews with Imām Timitay and Baba Ṣalī Watara, Bondoukou, 15 March 1968.} The special Islamic tax, however, the zakāt (dyaka), was not collected. Samori had abolished this tax in his eastern territories in 1893.\footnote{Person, Samori, p. 895. The 'Great Revolt' of 1888 was partly due to Samori's religious demands on the conquered peoples; his subsequent decision to abolish the zakāt may have been connected with the de-emphasis on religious obligations, and thus to avoid a similar conflict.}

It appears that there was some trade between Bondoukou
and Samori's camp in such essentials as clothes and cloth. Presumably these transactions ended to the disadvantage of the vanquished, as was the case with the Abron agriculturalists whose grains were requisitioned by the sofas and then resold to them at higher prices.

Apart from the above, the Samorian period of Bondoukou's history wrought little political, religious and social change. The political structure was broadened to include the new military elements, the sofas, whose activities gave little or no indication that they intended to settle permanently; there was no mass settlement of people in Gyaman, and the Samorian leaders, with the exception of Bakari and Sanasi, do not seem to have resided in the metropolis. That there was not sufficient time to organize the newly acquired territory is unacceptable. It is probable that the closeness of the British and the French on the Ivory Coast were sufficient deterrents to any plans of permanent establishment. In any case, the senile Agyeman was left as de facto ruler of the Abron, only suffering interference when the needs of the sofas had to be met. The power of the influential Papi was neutralized to the extent that he did not dare any overt attempt to cast off Samorian overlordship. One informant, who was ten years

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1 Holden, interviews with Mahama (Muhammad) Wataar, Imam Timitay, Baba 'Alī Wataar, Braimah (Ibrahīm) Jabaghatay, Bondoukou, 14-16 March 1968, consecutively.

2 Person, Samori, II, p. 924.
old at the time, states that "Papi was forced to be friends with Samory". Undoubtedly it was a 'friendship' born of political expediency and survival.

The Muslim community was generally well-treated by the sofas, though some 'Malagas' (i.e. the old local Hausa settlers) are said to have been abused. The Timitay imāmate was not only tolerated but supported (this may have been somewhat disappointing to some Jabaghatay and Qunbala aspirants to the imāmate). According to one informant, Imam Ibrahīm was given a personal guard of "100 guns", as well as provisions of which there was presumably a shortage. Another informant states that

Samory promised the imām that he would put all the Gyamans under the imām. Imam said 'no, leave them as they are, they are our overlords and they feed us'.

Assuming that his testimony is accurate, one may raise the question: why did not the Imam negotiate for full recognition of his authority over the Dyula enclave of Bondoukou? I suggest that he already had de facto

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1 Holden, interview with Mahama Watara, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.

2 Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

3 See Chapter III.


authority over the town, though he did not enjoy complete autonomy. This is indicated by the writings of such European visitors as Binger and Freeman during the pre-Samorian period.\(^1\) The Gyaman kingdom was a collection of chieftaincies with a paramountcy which seldom provided a strong ruler in the 19th century. Though Bondoukou is often called the 'capital' of Gyaman, it was not the residence of the Gyamanhene.\(^2\) It appears that the non-Muslim chief who had political influence in Bondoukou was Papi, whom Freeman called the 'ally' of the Imam.\(^3\)

'Alliance' is perhaps the most proper term to describe the Abron-Dyula relationship. The cement of the alliance was mutual dependence: the Dyulas needed food and a relatively strong host, but were neither agriculturalists nor  

\(^1\)Louis G. Binger, Du Niger, II, p. 162; Freeman, Travels, p. 204.  
powerful enough to engage a formidable foe; the Abron wanted the benefits which derive from a prosperous trading town, but were not generally inclined toward trade. While the Gyamans accepted this status of the Muslims, they were not likely to relinquish their traditional retention of chieftaincy and acquiesce to de jure Muslim rule. It may have been that the Imam was cognizant of the ineluctable results of dislodging a chief. He may also have had some doubts about the permanency of the sofa occupation.

However, in spite of the Imam's refusal of Samori's offer, one important result of the latter's conquest was that it increased Muslim influence in Bondoukou: "Before Samory came, the power of the Muslims was weak, and Agyemen was hearing cases, but when Samory came, this gave power to the Muslims". Presumably the Muslims were 'weak' relative to what they were after Samori's arrival. It is doubtful that Agyeman heard cases regularly, as he did not reside in the town. This may be a reference to a specific case or cases involving Muslims and non-Muslim litigants, or Muslims who for some reason did not desire the Imam's adjudication. Whatever the situation may have been, the succeeding overlords, the French, were to further

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1 Holden, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.

2 Holden, interviews with Mahama (Muhammad) Watara, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968 and Imam Timitay, 14-15 March 1968; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972
enhance the position of the Muslims.

The Establishment of French Rule

The French occupation of Bondoukou was a reaction to the subjugation of the town by the sofas, and a military tactic further to narrow the territory in which Samori could operate.¹ The waning of Samorian hegemony became apparent in September 1897 with the arrival in the area of a British detachment from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast under Colonel H.P. Northcott; the British had already forced the sofas to abandon Wa and Bole.² There are conflicting reports as to whether an appeal for British aid was sent to the Gold Coast.³ According to Bondoukou tradition, eighteen British soldiers from Fugula-Banda occupied Sorobango in pursuit of Samori. The sofa officers, Bakari and Sanasi, fearing a confrontation, escaped to Samori's camp at Dabakala. Almost simultaneous with the arrival of Northcott, a rumor was circulated that Samori was en route to Bondoukou. Finally, upon receipt of an official message that Samori was in Bouna, the officer started for the latter place accompanied

by Imām Kunandi and other Dyulas. When they arrived in Bouna, Colonel Northcott was informing Captain Clozel to proceed with the occupation of Bondoukou; thus Northcott was able to encourage the Imām's return and assure his safety. ¹ That Imām Kunandi would abandon Bondoukou after Samori had expressed support for his office is not surprising; it is an indication of the gross uncertainties of political alliances.

Clozel and Lieutenant Lamblin arrived in Bondoukou 5 December 1897 with twenty-five soldiers and functionaries to make preparations for the permanent French occupation. He describes the town thusly:

La ville paraît à peu près déserte, fort sale, et présente, sur le chemin que nous suivons pour nous rendre chez Sitafa, pas mal de cases ruinées. ²

He soon called a public meeting, which was attended by a few of the city's leaders, and assured them of Samori's imminent demise and the seriousness of his government's intentions to establish a French presence in the town.

Il y avait trois grands pays, Kong, le Djimini et Bondoukou, qui avaient accepté le protectorat de la France. Samory est venu et il a brisé Kong et le Djimini, que vous n'avez pas défendus. Puis il a marché sur Bondoukou. Nous avons lutté contre lui pendant cinq jours; plusieurs des nôtres ont été tués. Enfin, voyant que nous n'avions aucun secours

¹ Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 51.
² Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 56.
à attendre, nous avons traité avec lui; il est entré
à Bondoukou qu'il a occupé et fait occuper par son
fils Bakary pendant de longs mois, et il nous a fait
beaucoup de mal. Enfin, grâce à Dieu, les Anglais
sont venus, ils ont chassé Bakary et nous avons pu
vivre tranquilles. Voilà que tu arrives et que les
Anglais sont partis; mais ils étaient plus de mille
et tu viens avec vingt-cinq hommes. Comment pourras-
tu nous protéger avec si peu de monde? Si Samori
revient, tu t'en iras et nous serons encore plus
malheureux qu'avant . . . Je suis à Bondoukou, j'y
reste. Celui qui m'en fera sortir n'est pas encore
sorti du ventre de sa mère. Je dis cela aussi bien
pour Samory que pour ceux d'entre vous qui seraient
assez fous pour tenter quelque chose contre moi.
Je n'ai que vingt-cinq hommes, c'est vrai mais ils
valent mille Anglais: la meilleure preuve que je
puisse vous en donner, c'est qu'ils sont partis et
que je suis là. Le gouverneur de la Côte d'Ivoire
m'a dit d'aller à Bondoukou et de veiller sur vous
. . . c'est ma tâche et j'ai assez de monde pour l'ac-
complir. Mais nous avons d'autres troupes qui viennent
du nord, très nombreuses, avec des canons et des
chevaux; ce sont ces troupes-là qui feront la guerre
t'à Samory; moi, je suis ici seulement pour vous dé-
fendre, vous, habitants de Bondoukou, et vous pouvez
compter que je n'y manquerai pas. 1

These words, intended to have an emotional impact upon
his audience and to discourage any anticipation of a
Samorian or British return, were followed with the dona-
tion of a Qur'an to a mosque and 'chaplets' to some of
the pious nobles of the town. The French mission did not

1 Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 60.
encounter any difficulties from the local population which made every effort to facilitate their work.

On 17 December Imām Kunandi Timitay, accompanied by some two hundred persons (about half of whom were women) partly armed with rifles (fusils), re-entered Bondoukou. The results of his negotiations with Clozel on the future political structure of the city, in broad terms, were

... complète entente avec les Mandés Dioulas, qui forment la presque totalité de la population urbaine de cette ville, dans laquelle ils ont constitué une sorte de petite république commercial qui rappelle de fort loin l'organisation des villes hanséatiques dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique d'autrefois ... ¹

Having obtained the cooperation of the Muslims, Clozel proceeded to establish a permanent military presence by founding a headquarters and gaining the unequivocal submission of the Gyaman chiefs. In the latter task he was aided by the mediation of the Imām and other prominent Muslims who negotiated for some two weeks with Papi and other Gyaman chiefs. Agyeman had died during the first part of 1897, at which time Chief Papi was recognized as animist ruler of Gyaman. The chiefs received official pardon for their previous acts, presumably those which violated the Franco-Gyaman treaty of 1888, and agreed to subject themselves to colonial authority. Clozel's mission was then completed; he left Bondoukou 31 January

¹ Clozel, Dix Ans, p. 62.
1898, leaving M. Lamblin behind as chef de poste.¹

End of Abron Rule

The French administrative apparatus in Bondoukou was established with little resistance. The Cercle de Bondoukou comprised two circonscriptions, the town of Bondoukou and Bouna and their environs. The incorporation of Bouna in 1900 was an innovation in that it had not been part of Gyaman. It was a Kulango-ruled chieftaincy with an important and politically active Dyula trading community which maintained good relations with that of Bondoukou and Kong. The colonial government was headed by a commandant and a chef du poste, both of whom resided in Bondoukou and were supported by a police brigade and two indigenous interpreters. Bouna had a similar personnel but it seems to have been responsible to the Bondoukou administration. Government bureaus consisted of a postal and telegraph office and a customs administration. Also part of this establishment was a school which was opened to give an elementary French education to indigenous students who, upon completion, could further their studies at l'École Normale de Saint Louis in Senegal.²

The indigenous structure of authority was, of course, abolished. The paramount chief retained his official

¹Clozel, Dix Ans, pp. 63, 96.
position as ruler of the Bondoukou circonscription, but over areas to the west and south he completely lost his traditional authority, as they became part of other cercles. The regional chiefdoms of Gyaman which were incorporated into the Cercle de Bondoukou became cantons with former chiefs serving the administration as chefs de cantons. They were no longer responsible to the paramount chief in matters of politics and administration. They were agents of the French, and responsible for peace, justice and the collection of the poll tax; the latter, two francs and fifty centimes, was levied on each person ten years and older. In the two centers of Bondoukou and Bouna the French established a tribunal system, non-Muslim and Muslim, which was presided over by the Abron king and the Imam; chiefs and Dyula notables were appointed as assesseurs and interpreters. Judgements were to be based on native and Muslim law as long as they "conformes aux lois de l'humanité", and were to be given in the presence of the chef de la circonscription or the commandant.¹ Thus the three-tier system of chiefs--

paramount, district or regional and village--was abolished, and the formerly influential chiefs of regions were relegated to the position of village chiefs in the traditional system. By the decrees of 1904 and 1912, French judicial authority became direct, thus replacing the chiefs as adjudicators in serious civil or criminal cases. Henceforth, as Tauxier states, the formerly dominant group, the Abron, became French subjects like the Kulongos, Dyulas, Nafana and others. What was retained had little more than token value.¹ In 1916 the new governor of the Ivory Coast, G. Angoulvant, was able to write that Bondoukou, among five other cercles étaient complètement en mains et ne sollicitaient plus d'autres efforts que ceux destinés à rendre plus parfaite leur administration, à assurer leur développement économique et moral.²

Imām Kunandi Timitay and the French

As in other areas of French West Africa, colonial policy was, on the surface, favorable to the Muslims of Bondoukou. Almost immediate support was given to the Timitay imāmate and the Dyula merchants and nobles. However, it was exactly this support which was eventually to further divide the Muslim community and undermine its leadership. First, let us turn our attention to the Imām.

¹ Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 352 n. 1.
As a result of Imam Kunandi Timitay's aid in the establishment of French rule in Gyaman he has received more attention in the early French histories of the Ivory Coast than any other indigenous figure. We have already mentioned his meeting with Clozel in December 1897, but we do not know the nature of their discussion. During the following year Imam Kunandi was to use his influence in quelling at least two anti-French maneuvers. A group of French soldiers are said to have been surrounded and attacked by the inhabitants of Bui, a village near Bondoukou. Finding himself unable to break the blockade, the officer in charge succeeded in getting an appeal for help to Chef du Poste Lamblin at Bondoukou. The latter informed the Imam of the incident and his intention to depart for Bui the following day. Before his departure, however, Lamblin asked the Imam to call a public meeting, as rumor of a plot to depose Kunandi and to kill the Chef was current in the town. Although the rumor proved false, Lamblin, still concerned with the Imam's safety, requested that he accompany him to Bui. Instead, Kunandi sent two Timitays with the officer "to pray for him". He was overtaken a short distance from Bondoukou by messengers who cautioned him that chiefs Papi and Boitin were planning to kill any Europeans they encountered. Three days later Lamblin was joined at Bui by the Imam and some "young men" of Bondoukou. The besiegers had disappeared and the detained soldiers were rescued. In view of the Imam's actions "The Commandant /sic, Chef du Poste/ told Kunandi
2. Imām Kunandi Timitay. (From L. Tauxier, Le Noir de Bondoukou, plate I).
that from that time he would be heard from that place up to Bouna".  

The second incident in which Imām Kunandi supported the French was the Agni uprising at Assikasso (south of Bondoukou in Cercle de Indénié) in May 1898. The Agni were in close touch with British Gold Coast subjects in the region of Dormaa-Ahenkro who crossed into Assikasso during the harvest season for the rubber trees. The Agni rebels were supported by, according to Clozel, some six hundred Asante fighters who, due to their military skills, caused more concern amongst the French soldiers than the rubber harvesters and Agni together; he estimated the total number of insurgents at not less than six thousand. Urgent appeals for reinforcement were dispatched to neighboring posts, Senegal and Bondoukou. Upon receipt of Clozel's message, Lamblin requested that Imām Kunandi use his influence to recruit Gyaman volunteers, as the French had only a few troops at Bondoukou. Kunandi not only raised a force of 400 animists and Muslims, but also led them himself to Assikasso. The Imām was subsequently awarded the Étoile Noire du Benin for his services. 

However, Kunandi had incurred the anger of Chief Papi, his former ally, who used Lamblin's absence to extricate

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1 Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, 7 March 1972.

himself from French domination. He planned to appeal to his erstwhile enemy, the British, for aid in reestablishing Abron rule, probably under British protection. The plot was aborted by the untimely return of Lamblin and Kunandi in July.\(^1\) Marty reports that the king of the Abron, undoubtedly Papi, told the Imam: "Si les Francais n'étaient pas là, tu n'aurais déjà plus ta tête sur tes épaules".\(^2\) Such reprimand would hardly have disturbed Kunandi, for his well-being almost always depended on his having a power base; now that it was no longer the leading animist chief it was the French.

Presumably Lamblin did not deal with Papi immediately because he feared another rebellion with which he was not equipped to cope; the rebel chief was supported by other leaders, Bassamo and Kwame-Fram, who together certainly commanded the loyalty of more fighters than the French-Dyula force at Assikasso. On 7 August Lamblin was replaced by the experienced Captain Benquey, first Commandant of Bondoukou, who was accompanied by second Lieutenant Lairle and a company of tirailleurs. Two weeks later, 21 August, Papi and his supporters were executed. Benquey notified the remaining chiefs that they had three weeks to present a Gyamanhene-elect for the Commandant's approval. He used the occasion of the investiture of Kwadio Yeboa (of Zanzan) to announce that henceforth Gyamanhenes would

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\(^1\) Tauxier, Bondoukou, pp. 122-3.

\(^2\) Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 223.
be chosen by turn from Yakassé and Zanzan, and that supreme authority in matters of jurisdiction would be the perogative of the Commandant. Thus the strongest opposition to Kunandi's rise no longer existed. He was appointed chef de canton and, as such, his authority in Bondoukou was second only to that of the French.¹

**French Interests in Traders**

The commercial aristocracy was encouraged to accept a position of colonial merchantile middlemen. To this they were favorably disposed, since the European presence guaranteed the security of the trade routes. Moreover, the increased interest of French trading companies and the addition of French commodities at markets such as Bassam and Krinjabo gave the appearance of a promising future for Dyula traders. Some merchants descended upon Cape Coast where they bought English goods for the home market.² Trade between the English colony and Bondoukou was of primary concern for the administration which made numerous attempts to break the traditional pattern of commercial links. Commandant Benquey was to a large extent preoccupied with the notion of diverting Bondoukou merchants from Cape Coast and the Northern Territories to Grand-Bassam and its immediate neighborhood. He was concerned that the area between Bondoukou and Assikasso did not have a French post, that chiefs in that region

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 124.

²Benquey, "Bondoukou", pp. 210-11, 213.
could not be relied upon to effectively prevent commodities entering into the French colony, and that English subjects were crossing at will into Assikasso for rubber. Inter-colony trade was to be controlled somewhat later when stricter regulations were implemented on both sides of the frontier.¹

Conversion of Animists

It is generally accepted that the main agents of Islamization in West Africa were traders who, in the process of vending their commodities, preached Islam to their animist customers; also, that the 'magical powers' of the Muslims often induced conversion to Islam.² If Muslim proselytization is measured in terms of conversion, then in the pre-French period the Dyula community of Bondoukou rarely attempted to convert their animist landlords and neighbors. According to French sources, the Abron strictly forbade conversion.³ In view of the inter-communal activities of trade and celebrations between Muslims and animists, and the politico-economic importance of the Dyulas,⁴ it is doubtful that this interdiction

⁴Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 95-8.
was seriously implemented. There is no indication of an unfavorable response to the Timitay conversion of the Donzo and some Hwelas.¹ No other group seems to have embraced Islam; that individuals converted appears likely, but the number was probably small. The probability is that, for reasons not totally clear at this time, the Muslims had little interest in propagating their faith.

After the establishment of colonial rule Muslims were allowed to proselytize. This was no doubt a gesture of the administration to Imām Kunandi Timitay for his co-operation and support, and also a reflection of French opinion that Islam was a more 'civilized' culture than that of the non-Muslim Gyamans. However, Dyula efforts to convert the animists were not very fruitful; some Kulangos did embrace the faith, but the great majority of animists retained their traditional religions. Marty was able to write in 1922 that "Ce mouvement s'est considérablement ralenti".²

Muslim Militancy and the Notion of Jihad

Bondoukou Muslim leadership was generally conservative. It is inconceivable that the community was unaware of movements like those of Ṣa'īd Mālik, Mamadou Lamine, al-Ḥājj 'Umar and others; but knowledge of distant

¹ Holden, interview with al-Ḥājj Yahyā Watara, Bondoukou, 15 March 1968; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.
² Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 98-101, 231.
movements was not sufficient stimulus to imitate their examples at home. Such action would have disrupted trade and necessitated at least a partial subjugation of some animist Gyamans who were good neighbors, allies and hosts. If the Dyula had not been active in proselytization, it is highly unlikely that they would have been militant for a purely religious cause. They were much less concerned about the rule of 'infidels' than with a situation fostered by the latter in which the basis of their livelihood was protected by their new overlords.¹ The relatively apolitical stance of the Muslims was not a result of overwhelming colonial pressure, but a consequence of their material interests. The call for Muslim unity and militancy almost always came from outside the community.

Around May 1905 a northern Nigerian, Muḥammad ʻUthmān, who claimed to be an emissary of Mahdi Musā of Adamawa, appeared in Bondoukou urging Muslim reform and conversion of the animists. Prior to his arrival, Muhammad had visited Kano, Sokoto, Salaga, Kumasi, Wenchi and Sikassiko.

¹The only tract of Bondoukou authorship known to the writer which contains a few anti-European lines is a qaṣīда (IAS AR/247) written by Abū Bakr b. al-Hasan Timitay entitled "Tadhkira lin-nās 'an waqā'ih lin-nās", see Chapter VIII. Its tone is mild compared with that of al-Ḥājj ʻUmar b. Abī Bakr of Salaga who wrote on the same subject. For a translation of the latter, see J.A. Braimah and J.R. Goody, eds., Salaga: The Struggle for Power (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1967), pp. 191-2.
He advocated lengthy prayers in the mosques, destruction of the tam-tam, the slaughter of all black animals and the wearing of only white cloth. Finally, he insisted on an entente amongst Muslims, and a donation of thirty centimes per person; he appealed to the Muslims to sharpen their swords in preparation for the imminent arrival of the Mahdi and the overthrow of the Europeans which would commence in the north. His speech to the community was delivered openly and with the consent of Commandant Benquey who noted his appeal to some elements in the society. In May 1905 he was arrested and sent to Bingerville. In November Imam Kunandi sent a letter to the Commandant from Muhammad who was then in Accra; in December he was repatriated to Lagos.¹ Such itinerant preachers appeared in many places in West Africa with varying degrees of success; but in Bondoukou they accomplished little more than a slight stir of its inhabitants.

The idea of jihad was equally unacceptable to the Dyulas, who were on comfortable terms with their animist neighbors. In response to Tauxier's question about jihad,

Imām Kunandi stated:

Elle est conditionnée par la force ... Que celui a la force la commence! ... Si les Français veulent nous donner des fusils pour aller guerroyer contre les Lobis fétichistes, nous irons leur faire la guerre. Tous les Musulmans de Bondoukou ... pensent ainsi.¹

Marty writes that because of the initial good relations between animists and Muslims in northwestern Ivory Coast, the notion of a local jihād was unthinkable. Furthermore, Muslims were skeptical about any military action in the name of holy war; on several occasions they themselves had been victims of co-religionists. With regards to fighting against Europeans, that too was never a serious question.² That Imām Kunandi was prepared to do battle against the Lobi, who stood firmly against the French, should be seen as an expression of his willingness to comply with the government's bidding.

The colonial administration was of the opinion that the Dyulas had lost their earlier zeal, and that Islam in the Ivory Coast as a whole was in a regressive stage. The main causes of stagnation were stated as the discouraging effects of the animists majority society on the Muslim minority community and the latter's inability to protect themselves and their hosts from the incursions of Samori. Though this explanation seems plausible for

¹ Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 283 n. 2.
² Marty, Études, pp. 293-6.
other regions of the colony, Bondoukou's overwhelmingly Muslim population were not "noyés dans une population félichiste".¹ There is no indication in the oral or written sources that the non-Muslim Gyamans expected the Dyulas to repulse the sofas who may have outnumbered the entire population of Bondoukou. Indeed a combined force of Muslims and Gyamans attempted to defeat Samori.²

 Unlike prayer and fasting, jihād was not considered a fundamental principle of Islam; acceptance of European overlordship was the order of the day. In 1906, after which date there does not seem to have been any overt jihādist propaganda in Bondoukou, Commandant Le Campion wrote that the propagators of reform and holy war were unable to arouse serious popular sentiment against the administration: "Ils ne sont point dangereux pour notre influence tout au contraire: ce sont les pitres de l'Islam".³ Local French policy toward the Muslims was very much in accord with the proposals formulated by a student of North African Islam, Le Chatelier:

... une extrême réserve, une action déterminée par l'indifférence apparent, par un sentiment raisonné de tolérance, ni agressive, ni tyrannique,


³ ARSD, 5 G 63, No. 25.
mais attentive et énergique sans hésitation, préventivement plutôt que par réaction.¹

¹Le Chatelier, L'Islam, p. 350; see also pp. 345-6, 364.
PART II

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL HERITAGE OF AL-ḤĀJJ SĀLIH

Although Bondoukou was primarily known as a Dyula trading town, it was also a center of Islamic learning of some repute in northern Ivory Coast and Ghana. As it was situated on the north-south trade routes of the savanna, it received most of its intellectual stimulation from the northern and northwestern regions of the Sudan. This location severely limited its intellectual contacts with Arabic-speaking North Africa as well as with the centers of learning in the extreme north and north-west of Ghana (for example, Wa and Salaga). Again, by virtue of its geographic situation scholarship was less developed in Bondoukou than in other northern towns of comparable size (for example, Kong and Bouna before the Samorian period). In spite of the adverse effect of location, Bondoukou had a small active group of teacher-traders. Notable among these was al-Ḥājj Sālih whose ancestry, education, career and scholarship form the topic of Part II of this study.

The Family Nisba

Among the problems with which contemporary researchers into oral history are faced is that of obtaining an acceptable genealogy. This is especially so when there has been an inconsistency in the cultural pattern between the points where a particularly favorable pattern is broken and
subsequently resumed. The interim is often denied as a result of shame and fear that the reputation of the family will decline in direct proportion to the spread of the degrading information. It is understandable that peoples of Mande-Soninke origin would be more than elated to acknowledge or even incorrectly claim descent from the medieval Mali empire; the prestige that one derives from such a claim would be about the same in an Islamic or animist community. However, to be of Mande Muslim ancestry some of the members of which migrated to an animist stronghold and in turn apostated and later reconverted does not lend itself to enhancing one's family pride and communal esteem. There appears to be evidence of such a cultural break in the ancestry of al-Hājj Sālih.

The original nisba of al-Hājj Sālih's predecessors is Tarawiri (Fr. Traoré or Taraoré) which indicates the Soninke patronymic group of Jenne to which they belonged.¹ The founder of the lineage is said to have been a Somono chief, Tara-Maghan, who lived during the reign of Sundiata, founder of the Mali empire. The Somono, fishermen of the Upper Niger River, embraced Islam in the first half of the 13th century.² However, in time some Tarawiri groups

apostated, probably as a result of a superficial knowledge of the religion and a long association with animists.\(^1\)

The Tarawiri patronym is most often used in reference to ʿUthmān, the paternal grandfather of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ.

References, either oral or written, to Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān or al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ are usually followed by the adopted nisba, al-Jonī, al-Jawānī or az-Zonī, all having derived from the same root.

There are two explanations for the use of al-Jonī. According to one informant, al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was a descendant of ʿAlī b. abī Ṭālib, a cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Muḥammad and the last of the Rashidūn caliphs.\(^2\)

At some point in ʿAlī's life he is said to have adopted the nisba 'Zain' of which 'Jonī' is a Dyula rendition. Although al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's predecessors are said to have migrated from Arabia to Mande (Mali), presumably during the ṬAbbāsid period when ʿAlids were harrassed by various officials, there is no suggestion in our sources that they were involved in the ʿAlid political upheavals in

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\(^1\)Paul Marty (Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922, pp. 150 and 158) mentions Tarawiri clans of Ourodougou and Sequéla who were apostates.

\(^2\)A. Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972; IASAR/355, fol. IIb. It is also claimed that an early companion of the Prophet, Diḥyā (or Dahyā) al-Kalbī (d. ca. 50/670) of Syria was a predecessor of the family; see also IASAR/95, vol. IIIa.
either Arabia or North Africa. The second explanation states that 'Jōnī' is a corruption of 'zon', the Dyula word for gold.\(^1\) The origin of the name goes back to a relationship between Muhammad b. 'Uthmān and an unnamed Sūfī wālī of Timbuctu. In an attempt to demonstrate the unusual powers which a Sūfī may acquire, the wālī is said to have shown Muhammad that he could convert sand into gold. Having become an associate and student of the holy man, Muhammad was subsequently known by the nisba 'az-Zōnī' or 'al-Jōnī'. It is noteworthy that on one occasion al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ's father referred to himself as simply Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Mālikī al-Ash'ārī.\(^2\) It seems reasonable to conclude that the nisba was adopted by either al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ or his father, or it was given to him by later writers. That his family descended from that of 'Alī b. abī Tālib is certainly possible though suspect.

\(^1\)Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

\(^2\)This form appears on the first page of his manuscript on tawḥīd which is translated in Chapter V.
possibly a non-Muslim. His son, Muhammad b. Qāsim, also born at Dīmā, is equally as obscure.\(^1\) ʿUthmān, the paternal grandfather of al-Ḥājj Sālih, the latter's father, Muhammad, and al-Ḥājj Sālih himself have received notice in our written sources; these may be divided into French colonial records, used by later writers, and an unpublished manuscript written by the Muftī of Bobo Dioulasso, al-Ḥājj Muhammad Marhabā Saghanughu. It is the information provided by these sources and enlarged upon by oral accounts which will form much of the remainder of this study. For reasons of clarity and coherence the biographical notice by Tauxier, set out below, will be compared with the indigenous written and oral materials.

Alagui Soualio est né vers 1866 à Diénéné (Gold Coast) de parents d'origine Dafing ou Dafi. (on sait que les Dafing ou Dafi qui habitent la région de Ouahabou et de Boromo (cercle de Koury ou de Dé Dougou) sont des commerçants, d'origine Soninké, comme les Yarse, les Markás, les Dyoulas, etc).

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\(^1\)Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Muhammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972; al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972. Another informant, Karamoko Sālih Ghina (Bondoukou, 5 March 1972) reports that al-Ḥājj Sālih's great-great-grandfather was named ʿAlī. That Qāsim sent Muhammad and ʿUthmān, great-grandfather and grandfather of al-Ḥājj Sālih respectively, to study at Jenne, as stated by Bakarambasi, is highly improbable; his testimony is not supported by either written or oral sources. The probability is that he confused Sālih's great-grandfather with his father, both of whom bore the same name. The education of ʿUthmān will be discussed shortly.
Son père, Karamoko Mama, originaire de Safané, passait pour un grand marabout et mourut à Bouna. Son grand-père, Anzoumana, originaire également de Safané avait également le renom d'un grand marabout.¹

Tauxier's account is based upon a French colonial fiche dated 1st June 1912,² which was the result of the administration's desire to obtain as much information as possible about the origins and activities of the leading marabouts in each canton and circle. The information was of a confidential nature and was used for intelligence purposes. With regard to ʿUthmān, the primary importance of the document is its claim that he had the reputation of being a famous holy man or scholar; this claim is hardly corroborated by the later sources. The most historically significant data about both ʿUthmān and Muḥammad is contained in al-Ḥājj Marḥabā's "Tārīkh al-Islām fī Būbū," completed in 1383/1963.

Ṣaʿīd and Ibrāhīm arrived in Shī'a on Tuesday 9th Rajab 1177 A.H. /13th January 1764/. Allah changed the name of the town to Julāṣū /by which name it has been known/ to the present day, because julā means Muslim and ṣū, abode. Then Allah answered his /Ṣaʿīd Saghanughu's/ supplication by enlarging the village and bringing people to it from all directions.

² Dakar. Archives de la République du Sénégal (ARSD), 5 G 6h, No. 60, "Fiches en renseignement des Marabouts 1912-1915", 1 June 1912.
and districts. Then a man of great ability came and embraced Islam from him and he named him ʿUthmān. He ʿUthmān emigrated to him and left his town, Dughutā (or Dughunā). A distinguished son was born to him and named Muhammad. Later, Mahmūd b. Ibrāhīm built a special town for himself, and by 1266 A.H. (1849-50) he had some distinguished students. Then Allah sent (sakhkhara) to ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd a man from Shiʿa who was originally from the town of Ghumitū, a village near Jenne. But due to the death of his fathers, he lapsed into unbelief. His mushaf and burnus were highly revered and worshipped like idols. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān wept at hearing his strange story, and the man mentioned his fear of his people: had he returned to Islam they would have killed him publicly. However, the shaikh encouraged him and he repented in his presence, and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān named him Muḥammad as he was called in unbelief; so he was known by two names. Subsequently, his people rushed to the shaikh demanding that Muḥammad return to his first way of life. The shaikh overcame them by saying that he had returned to the religion of his fathers. Then they accepted (akhadhū) from the shaikh a dīnār worth of liquor (khamr) and a black goat as compensation for the harm he had done to their custom by returning to Islam. He abandoned them for the company and association of the shaikh; he did not miss an obligatory prayer with him at his mihrāb. His Muḥammad's father, ʿUthmān Tarawiri, embraced Islam from our grandfather Saʿīd and remained with him until he died. This distinguished son was born to him ʿUthmān and became unique and the greatest of his time.
in the Arabic sciences.  

This account clearly indicates that ʿUthmān was converted from kufr to Islam by Saʿīd Saghanughu. He is said to have been the second Bobo to embrace the religion and the first of his branch of the Tarawiri for some five generations. "He finished reading the Qurʾān and then read tafsīr" under the tutorage of the Saghanughus Saʿīd and Ibrāhīm; from the former he received an isnād. The claim advanced by al-Ḥājj Bakarmabasi that he studied the Qurʾān, exegesis, jurisprudence and Arabic at Jenne is indeed dubious, for had he pursued such studies, he almost certainly would have been called karamoko (the Dyula word for teacher or learned man). The only person known to the writer as having studied with him is his son Muhammad. ʿUthmān was, however, known as a devout Muslim,  

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1 Marhabā, "Būbū", pp. 12, 27.  
3 Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarmabasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.  
and the terms shaikh and grand marabout presumably refer to his personal piety.¹ The year of ʻUthmān's death is unclear, but it was probably after that of Ibrāhīm Saghanughu which is given as 1825.²

Karamoko Muhammad b. ʻUthmān

There is some doubt, however, with regard to the early life of Muhammad. The above mention of a mushaf and burnus raises an important question: to whom did they originally belong? These objects, especially the burnus, are insignias of advanced learning, beyond the level of karamoko. ʻUthmān certainly did not reach such a stage. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that Muhammad would have apostated after attaining an advanced level of Islamic education. The probability is that Muhammad was raised as a non-Muslim; that toward the end of ʻUthmān's life he gave him some elementary Islamic instruction which proved to be inconsequential with regard to permanent religious adherence; and that he was subsequently converted by ʻAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd Saghanughu about the middle of the 19th century. Thus, the emblems were initially possessed by a distant ancestor, and were revered by succeeding generations.³ It is understandable that the present descendants of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ would not be

¹ Marḥabā, Būbū, p. 32; ARSD, 5 G 6h, No. 60; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270, n. 3.

² Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 174.

prepared to divulge information which would cast their supposed religiously noble origins into an unfavorable light. Their hesitance to use the nisba Tarawiri may be an indication of their embarrassment at the apostacy of their forefathers.

While Muhammad certainly engaged in trade during the early part of his manhood, he is remembered, however, for his extensive learning, teaching and activities as a Tijānī mugaddam. A definitive chronology of his education is hardly possible to obtain, but the following seems to be accurate given the sources at our disposal. Muhammad received an elementary Islamic education from his father and ʿAbd ar-Rahmān Saghanughu at Bobo-Dioulasso. He then went northward to join the school of the celebrated al-Ḥājj Mahmūd b. Muhammad Karantao at Douroula or Safané.1 Having received an isnād for Tafsīr al-Jalālāin2 he turned

1 IASAR/232, fol. Ia; Nehemiah Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 148. Al-Ḥājj Muhammad Marhabā states in his letter that he left Bobo Dioulasso to Zāghā but does not mention subjects studied or the period of time he spent there.

2 IASAR/232, fol. Ia. According to al-Ḥājj Muhammad at-Tijānī (Jinini, 8 March 1972), Karamoko Muhammad received an isnād for Tafsīr al-Jalālāin from Saʿīd at-Tawīl b. Mustafā Saghanughu. However, that is unlikely, as Saʿīd probably died before Karamoko Muhammad was born or while he was very young; see Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 174. Referring to al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ, al-Ḥājj Muhammad Marhabā ("Bubu", p. 12) states wa sanaduhu min sanad
to the direction of the origin of his predecessors, the region of the Upper Niger, and travelled (via Timbuctu) to the famous Islamic center at Jenne. In the latter he studied Qur’ān, exegesis, Arabic grammar, rhetoric, eloquence, prosody, logic and Mālikī jurisprudence using such well known works as Al-Muwatta of Mālik, Ash-Shifā’ bi-Ta’rīf Huqūq al-Musṭafā of Qādī ‘Iyād and Al-Mukhtasar of Khalīl b. Iṣḥāq. Most of his seven years of study at Jenne were with the prominent teacher Sulaimān Yārō (or Iyārō), who is known to have been a great Ṣūfī wālī or holy man. From Jenne, Muhammad journeyed to Dia (near ash-Shaikh Sa’īd) which indicates that his isnād goes through Sa’īd. The same would apply to Muhammad though he was taught by a later Saghanughu. It is also possible that Muḥammad had two isnāds, one from ʿAbd ar-Rahmān or Muhammad b. Sa’īd and the other from al-Ḥājj Mahmūd. As Wilks ("Islamic Learning" p. 172) has pointed out: "It is not uncommon for a student who has obtained an isnād from one teacher subsequently to restudy the work under another and so obtain a second and stronger isnād: this may occur when the second teacher has himself a particularly high reputation or when the isnād which he issued is an especially estimable one".

1 Muhammad, interviews with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Bakarambaśi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972. According to Karamoko Sāliḥ Jabaghatay (Kanguelé, 6 March 1972), Muhammad pursued these subjects in Timbuctu. However, as he stated that al-Ḥājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī (whom he knew I would interview later) was more informed in this regard, his testimony is given only secondary mention here.
Bamako) where he resided for some five years and studied under another famous teacher of that area, Karamoko Mūro ('Umar), with whom he went deeper into some of the subjects already mentioned.¹ Some time during his years as a ṭālib ʿilm, he spent several years at Kong where he was taught by the accomplished jurist and 'saint' Šāliḥ Jabaghatay.²

By now Muḥammad must have been a scholar of the first order in the Upper Niger Region and well deserving of the title 'karamoko', for he had completed a study of the three requisite works, Tafsīr al-Jalālaīn, Ash-Shīfā' and Al-Muwatta³. Furthermore, his legal studies had prepared him for the role of faqīh, and his deep knowledge of Arabic would certainly have qualified him to be counted among the real Arabists of the region at that time. It is unfortunate that we do not possess any isnāds for Muḥammad, except for tafsīr;⁴ they were presumably destroyed toward the end of the 19th century the circumstances of which will be mentioned below.

After completing higher studies Muḥammad returned to Bobo Dioulasso for a short time before he began his teaching career. Due to the unfortunate lack of details in our

¹Muḥammad, interview with al-Hājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²Muḥammad, interviews with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972, and al-Hājj Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.


⁴IASAR/232, fol. Ia.
sources it is not possible to chronologically date his activities as a karamoko. However, in accordance with the already established fashion of responding to the requests of often distant communities for learned men, he accepted to journey to Kong where he started a school and taught for ten years. It is an attestation to the extent of his learning that he taught Arabic grammar, poetry, prosody, fiqh and exegesis in such a famous center of Muslim education. In time his reputation was to become known in other Dyula centers some of which summoned him through messengers to teach. Among these were the Timitay-dominated town of Bondoukou to which Muhammad probably went after leaving Kong; Wa, where he taught a few months and was the guest of another locally prominent teacher, Karamoko Harūna b. al-Hasan; Bole, where he is said to have taught Imām Togoma Al-Muwattā and Ash-Shifa; and the predominantly

1 Muhammad, interview with al-Hājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972. Al-Hājj Bakarambasi (Wenchi, 10 March 1972) mentioned that Muhammad was in Kong (presumably teaching) about thirteen years.


4 Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.
Hwela village of Jinini in which, according to some of his
grandsons, he was also responsible for the building of its
first mosque.\(^1\) In the region of northwestern Ghana,
Muhammad is well remembered in Fugula-Banda where he taught
Arabic and exegesis not only to students of that place and
nearby Sorobango, but also to the well known Karamoko \(\text{’Alī}
\) Kunatay of Kintampo who travelled from Kinkasso to study
with him.\(^2\) Muhammad's activities in Fugula ended with the
outbreak of war between Gyaman and Banda in January or May
1882.\(^3\) He then went to Bouna, via Bondoukou, where he
opened a school and continued to write a number of treatises
including some commentaries on books written by more inter-
nationally known Muslim Scholars of North Africa and the
Middle East.\(^4\) However, Muhammad's only extant composition
is a work of twenty pages on \(\text{tawhīd} \) which bears the year
1297/1880.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Muhammad, interview with al-\(\text{Ḥājj} \) at-Tijānī, Jinini,
9 March 1972.

\(^2\) Muhammad, interviews with al-\(\text{Ḥājj} \) Boyo, Kumasi, 3
March 1972. Karamoko Jabaghatay (Kanguelé, 6 March 1972)
states that Muhammad studied with \(\text{‘Umar} \) Bamba of Fugula-
Banda. However, as the events he describes closely approxi-
mate those in which \(\text{‘Alī} \) Kunatay was involved, it is probable
that he has confused the two persons.

\(^3\) Holden, interview with al-\(\text{Ḥājj} \) Boyo, Bouna, 3 August
1969. W.W. Claridge, A History of the Gold Coast and

\(^4\) Muhammad, interview with al-\(\text{Ḥājj} \) Bakarambasi, Wenchi,
10 March 1972.

\(^5\) Muhammad, interview with al-\(\text{Ḥājj} \) at-Tijānī, Jinini,
Muhammad b. 'Uthmān is considered among the foremost late 19th century muqaddams of the Tijānīyya tariqa in northeastern Ivory Coast and northwestern Ghana. It is not known precisely when, where and under whose influence he became attached to this order, nor whether he had an earlier affiliation with the older Qādirīyya. It is said that he was initiated into the Tijānīyya by a muqaddam who is variously referred to as Muhammad Jamarawīyyu (of Fas) and Sīdī 'Alī at-Talamsānī;¹ another informant states that he brought a muqaddam from Jenne to Jinini who presumably introduced him into the order.² Whatever the case may have been, it seems plausible that Muḥammad became acquainted with the Tijānīyya during his stay in one of the northern centers of learning (for example, Jenne, Timbuctu or Dia) and that he was initiated into the order by and received the wīrd from a disciple of al-Hājj Sīdī 'Alī b. 'Īsā at-Tammasini (d. 1844).³ Thus

9 March 1972. This work is in the possession of Imām Muhammad al-Murtadā b. al-Hājj Sulaimān b. al-Hājj Sāliḥ of Jinini who was kind enough to allow me to photograph it; a copy will be found in Chapter V.


Muhammad was not an adherent of the very widely-spread 'Umarian branch (founded by al-Hājj 'Umar al-Fūtī) of West African Tijānīyya.¹

Misfortune befell Muhammad again in the turbulent year 1895 when Samori's army entered Bouna. Although Muhammad—clearly a leading teacher of the town at that time—is said to have been respected by the conquering imām,² it is not known to what extent Samori and his lieutenants were acquainted with him. He was untouched by the havoc caused by the sofas, but his daughter, Shāfiya, was somewhat harassed until it became known that she was Muhammad's daughter; and his library was either stolen or destroyed.³ The already languishing karamoko succumbed shortly after the subjugation of Bouna and was buried in the Ligbisso quarter of the town with Samori's son and lieutenant, Sarankye Mori, in attendance.⁴ After

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¹All of my informants replied negatively to the suggestion that Muhammad was an 'Umarī Tijānī; most of them did not know who initiated him into the order, but insisted the person was of North African origin.

²Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.


his death he was often referred to as 'Sīdī Mahama' (that is, Muhammad),\(^1\) the implication being that he was regarded as a saint in the tradition of some North and other West African wālis.

Muhammad fathered some thirty-three children whose mothers were of Dafing, Kano and Jinini origins.\(^2\) It appears that he most often travelled without his family and having resided in a town for a number of months or years, he would contract a marriage. The number of his wives, some of whom were daughters of prominent persons, is not known. Three of his sons followed, in varying degrees, the tradition of learning established by their father. Ibrāhīm, son of Sārah, a Hausa woman of Kano, studied with Muhammad and became a karamoko.\(^3\) Muhammad, a younger son, studied with his father, performed the pilgrimage with al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ and was imām of Jinini for thirty-three years.\(^4\) The most learned of Muhammad's children, however,

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\(^1\) Marhabā, "Būbū", p. 32; Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.

\(^2\) Muhammad, interviews with Karamoko Ghina, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

\(^3\) Muhammad, interviews with Karamoko Ghina, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972, and Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.

\(^4\) Muhammad, interview with Imām al-Murtada, Jinini, 8 March 1972.
training in the centers of Islamic learning of the Western Sudan. He left Kong at the young age of five and traveled to Daboya (near Tamale, Ghana) where he is said to have spent three years studying the Qur'ān, particularly tajwīd, under the famous Gonja teacher Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi (or Bankarbsi). He was taken there by Karamoko Muḥammad who may have been engaged as a teacher in the area. Although we are not told of any further formal education until he studied with his father at Bouna, it is likely that he continued his learning under the tutorship of Karamoko Muḥammad in Bondoukou and elsewhere.

In Bouna he is said to have learned the traditional branches of Arabic, exegesis, fiqh and tawḥīd "until he completed his studies and became a young man and married two women ..." If one considers the career of Karamoko Muḥammad and the educational background of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, it becomes clear that the specialities of the latter would have been, in descending order, Arabic grammar, tafsīr and fiqh. This is corroborated by his few extant writings as well as the subjects which he subsequently taught. It is noteworthy that the title karamoko is not used in reference

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1 Muḥammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguéle, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972.

2 Muḥammad, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972

3 See Chapter V for his writings.
was al-Hājj Sāliḥ.

The Early Life and Career of al-Hājj Sāliḥ

According to al-Hājj Muhammad at-Tijānī, the most knowledgeable genealogist of the family, al-Hājj Sāliḥ was born on Tuesday, 15th Ramadān, but the year is unknown.¹ This date may be correlated with the year given in the fiche² to obtain a complete, though tentative, birthdate 15th Ramadān 1283/21st January 1867. This document and subsequent French sources incorrectly state that he was born at Jinini. The inaccuracy is probably due to the fact that al-Hājj Sāliḥ had resided at Jinini several years prior to his arrival in Bondoukou³ where information concerning him was collected by the colonial administration in 1912. In fact, he is often given the place-nisba 'al-Jininī' and 'al-Jinawī' in the manuscript material. However, al-Hājj Sāliḥ was born at Kong, probably while his father was teaching there, and was named for Karamoko Muhammad's mentor, Sāliḥ Jabaghatay.⁴

Unlike his father, al-Hājj Sāliḥ did not obtain his

¹Muhammad, interview with al-Hājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.
²ARSD, 5 G 6h, No. 60; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270.
to al-Hājj Sālih though he was an eminent teacher most of his adult life. This may be due to the fact that he made the pilgrimage around the age of forty,¹ and that such a title is rendered exiguous and insignificant by 'al-Hājj'.

Al-Hājj Sālih emulated the pietistic inclinations of Karamoko Muhammad. He was taught a good deal of Śūfistic thought by his father who eventually initiated him into the Tijānī order, and from whom he received the wīrd and the authority to be a mugaddam. We have no indication as to when and where he was initiated into the order, but it was probably at Bouna and during the period between the late 1880s and early 1890s.² It is said that all the Tijānīs of Jinini and a considerable number of those in Bondoukou and elsewhere were initiated into the order by al-Hājj Sālih,³ though this may be an exaggeration. Thus he was one of the youngest mugaddams of this relatively new tariqa--compared with the Qādirīyya--in an area which was becoming increasingly influenced by the ideas of Ahmad at-Tijānī.

The most obscure period in the life of al-Hājj Sālih is that between the time that he completed his studies

¹Muhammad, interview with Karamoko Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.
²By that time he would have completed his studies with his father.
³Holden, interview with Imām al-Murtadā, Jinini,
with his father and the death of the latter in 1895. It is clear that he did not immediately become an itinerant teacher, and my informants were unable to state his profession during this interim. Although some of them disagreed that he was actively engaged in trade at that time, they were neither in a position to give his source of income nor state with definitiveness that he had embarked upon a teaching career.¹ It is almost certain that he was actively engaged in trade at Salaga and elsewhere, but the items in which he traded were unspecified.² We are told that on one of his return journeys to Bouna he brought a horse, among other gifts, for his father.³ As mentioned in the French sources, al-Hājj Šāliḥ had close connections with the Muslim scholars of Salaga,⁴ particularly al-Hājj Ŕumar b. abī Bakr, a well known Hausa mallam and perhaps Ghana's most prolific writer during the early part of this century.⁵

The first significant turning point in the life of al-Hājj Šāliḥ occurred in 1895 when he was about

¹Muhammad, interviews with Ŕumar Bamba, Japekrom, 4 March 1972, and al-Hājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

²Muhammad, interviews with Karamokos Ghina and Kiya, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.

³Muhammad, interview with al-Hājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

⁴ARSD, 5 G 6h, No. 60; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 225.

⁵For a discussion of their relationship, see Chapter VI.
twenty-eight years old. While Bouna was being ravaged by Samori's "sofas" Karamoko Muhammad lay gravely ill. Sāliḥ was in Salaga at that time, and all attempts by his family to get a message to him were of no avail. Following Muhammad's death his elder son, Karamoko Ibrāhīm, temporarily became the guardian of the family and escorted them to Jinini in anticipation of Sāliḥ's presence there. Finally he was met at Wenchi, and upon hearing of his father's demise, he joined his people in Jinini where a memorial service was held for Karamoko Muḥammad. Sāliḥ became the new head of the family and Jinini his permanent residence for several years.\(^1\) His trading activities practically ceased, and his connections with the Muslims of Salaga, including al-Ḥājj 'Umar, were reduced to correspondence. Whatever relations he had cultivated with the northern savanna lands were to become a thing of the past.

Here, a question is in order: Why did Sāliḥ choose to resettle at Jinini? One knowledgeable informant states that Karamoko Muḥammad's memorial funeral "was at Jinini because the people of the town knew Sāliḥ well, and therefore it had to be there instead of at Banda. That is why the family remained at Jinini, though the body is buried at Bouna."\(^2\) In my opinion, this explanation is, at best,
a partial one. Undoubtedly Muhammad was regarded highly in that Hwela-dominated village. He had been partly responsible for its Islamic character which Delafosse witnessed in February 1903, and briefly described thusly:

Guénéné, agglomération huéla de 500 habitants environs, sise en pays anglais, est la plus pieuse des communautés musulmanes que j'aie vues jusqu'ici en pays nègre: la prière publique s'y fait sans interruption de l'aurore à la nuit, devant une petite mosquée rectangulaire couverte d'un toit conique en paille.¹

We submit, however, that apart from Muhammad's reputation there, the following considerations figured largely in Šāliḥ's decision to settle in Jinini. It was not sufficiently important to be involved in the Asante wars, nor was it a scene of much colonial activity. In contrast to recent events in Salaga, Bondoukou and Bouna, it enjoyed a large measure of peace. As it was not a center of Islamic learning, though within fairly close proximity of those in Bondoukou and Gonja, Jinini promised to be a place where al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ could build a scholarly reputation and attract students from neighboring villages and towns. Lastly, it appears that Jinini was not yet an imāmate, and had it become one, he would certainly have been its first occupant.

Al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ fared well in his new environment.

Within a short time he became the leader of the Muslim community, and enjoyed good relations with the animist Hwela chief whose brother he converted to Islam.\footnote{Muhammad, interviews with al-Hājj at-Tijānī and Imam al-Murtada, Jinini, 9 March 1972.} However, as he matured his aspirations transcended the relative mediocrity and isolation of Jinini. To be the leading karamoko in that village was far less than being an imām in a large town, though it be under the rule of colonial 'infidels'. Bondoukou was to present an attractive challenge.
5. Al-Hājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī of Jinini.
CHAPTER IV

DYULA SCHOLARSHIP AND AL-HĀJJ ŠĀLIḤ AT BONDOUKOU: THE YEARS OF SUCCESS AND DECLINE

The teachers in Bondoukou during the 19th and early 20th centuries were almost all members of a Šūfī tariqa (order, brotherhood). These men were largely responsible for maintaining the Islamic character of the Dyula community, as they were the ulama and intellectual examples for their people, students and laymen. This chapter is concerned with (a) Islamic education as a significant aspect of the Muslim character of the town, and (b) the consequences of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ's stay there, both for himself and the Dyula community.

Šūfī Orders and Teachers

There were two important tariqas in Bondoukou: the Qādirīyya and the Tijānīyya. The first was founded by a Hanbali scholar of Baghdad, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), and was spread from North Africa into the Western Sudan via Mauritania in the 18th century.¹ It appears that the first Bondoukou adherent of the Qādirīyya was Imām Qādir b. Muhammad al-Abyad Timitay (d. ca. 1265-6/


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1848-9) who was initiated into the order by one Hammadu Kunaté (Muhammad Kunatay) of Kong. Since that time all the Timitay imāms have been Qādirīs and muqaddams. However, they did not, so it would seem, pass the wirk on to many non-Timitays, and this may suggest that they used their position as muqaddams as politico-religious leverage over other Muslims and to obtain more respect from the animists as possessors of baraka.

The Tijānīyya was founded by Ahmad b. Muhammad at-Tijānī (d. 1230/1815), a Mālikī teacher of Fez and a former member of the Qādirīyya; his teachings also reached the Sudan via Mauritania. The introduction of the Tijānīyya into Bondoukou seems to have been the work of a Segou Tucolor, al-Hājj Ishaq, who received the wirk in Mecca from the shaikh of the Tijānī zāwiya. Ishaq was in Bondoukou briefly in about 1885. It is noteworthy

1Louis Tauxier, Le Noir de Bondoukou (Paris: Larose, 1921), p. 270.

2Almost all of my non-Timitay informants of Bondoukou were either Tijānīs or were not members of any brotherhood; the latter were few.


that he is not mentioned in any of the isnāds which the
writer has seen, nor did any informant recall much more
than his name. However, according to a French source,
the isnād of a well known muqaddam of the Qunbala section,
Karamoko Mama (d. ca. 1910-11) appears to go back to
al-Ḥājj Iṣḥāq through ʿAli (d. ca. 1892) and Biabudu Banē
(b. ca. 1860).¹ For some years Biabudu Banē was the most
prominent Tijānī in the town; but due to an incident
which involved "une femme de l'almamy" his reputation
suffered greatly.² Unlike many other towns of the Western
Sudan, Bondoukou Tijānīyya was not ʿUmārian.

The Sufī brotherhoods played a major role in educa-
tion and were largely responsible for the subsequent
existence of a learned elite which became a potential
threat to established leadership. A particularly inter-
esting document dated 1908 gives membership statistics
for the tarīqas according to quarters.³

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 59 "Fiche de Renseignements",
June 1912.
²Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 226-7.
³Abidjan. Les Archives Nationales de la Côte d'Ivoire
(ANCI), xv-42-85, no. 27, "Tidjanis et Kadryas de Bondou-
kou", January 1908.
<table>
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<th>Tariqa</th>
<th>Qabīla</th>
<th>Number of Adherents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tijānīyya</td>
<td>Coumara (Qunbala)</td>
<td>54 (47 males, 7 females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camagaya (Kamaghatay)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maraga</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carighioula (Kari-Dyula)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Timitay</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Donzo-Ouatara</td>
<td>18 (17 males, 1 female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanaya</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coco (Koko)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qadirīyya</td>
<td>Timitay</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camagaya (Kamaghatay)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other documents of 1910 and 1912 list the teachers, their affiliations and number of students. Of the ten karamokos mentioned in 1910, seven were Tijānīs with a total of 110 students, and three Qadirīs with a total of 35 students. Two of the Qadirīs were Timitays, Imām Kunandi and Karakoko Salia Ba Timitay; the name of the third is given as Béle-Béle who had twenty students in 1910.¹

Saʿīd Kunandi b. Mālik, nephew of Imām Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm (d. ca. 1895-6), was born in Bondoukou about 1858.² As he became an orphan at an early age, he was raised and educated by his uncles, Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl, both of whom were imāms of Bondoukou. He studied the Qurʿān under Imām Ibrāhīm, and Al-Muwatta' and Tafsīr al-Jalālain under Imām Ismāʿīl;³ the level of erudition in exegesis reached

¹ ANCI, xv-42-85, no. 27, "Écoles Coraniques de Bondoukou", 31 October, 1910.
² ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 190, June 1912.
³ A. Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.
by Kunandi is unclear. With respect to Arabic, he could read, write and speak the language with a high degree of fluency. He also had some interest in learning French, though he had only eight or nine lessons.\(^1\) Imam Kunandi was certainly one of the most learned men in Bondoukou. Although listed among the teachers of 1910, the number of his students is not given; however, he is reported to have had nine students in 1912.\(^2\)

Salia (Ṣāliḥ) b. Qādir Timitay, cousin of Kunandi, was born about 1852. He was taught by his uncles and initiated into the Qādirīyya by Ṣāliḥ Ibrāhīm. He could read and write Arabic, but spoke it poorly. Karamoko Ṣāliḥ had fifteen students in 1910, but none in 1912.\(^3\)

There were at least four prominent Tijānī karamokos in Bondoukou in 1912. Biabudu Bané, the mugaddam, was initiated into the order by his father, Ṣāliḥ, and was probably given the wirk by his brother Mamadu (Muḥammad). In 1912 he had forty-five students.\(^4\) Karamoko Lazuazane (al-Hasan) b. Ibrāhīm, the most influential marabout after al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ and Imam Kunandi, taught some thirty

\(^{1}\)Maurice Delafosse, "Le Clergé Musulman de l'Afrique Occidentale", in Revue du Monde Musulman, No. 6 (Juin 1910), pp. 189-90.

\(^{2}\)ANCI, xv-42-85, no. 27, 31 October 1910; ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 190, June 1912.

\(^{3}\)ANCI, xv-42-85, no. 27, 31 October 1910; ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 61, June 1912.

\(^{4}\)ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 59, June 1912.
students. He was a descendant of two other leading teachers of Bondoukou, Karamoko Ibrāhīm, who gave him the wīrd, and Kunandi Watara. Al-Ḥasan could speak and write Arabic fluently, and he was a very active proselytizer among the animists of the Cercle. Taia Kamaghatay b. 'Umar (b. ca. 1852) was initiated by Karamoko ʿAlī Banē, and received the wīrd from Karamoko Mama. He wrote Arabic well, but spoke it poorly. He is reported to have had eleven students. Lastly, the most famous Tijānī muqaddam, after Biabudu Banē, was Karamoko Mama (Muhammad) of the Qunbala section. He was one of the early Qādirīs of Bondoukou and subsequently became affiliated with the Tijānīyya; in 1910 he had twenty students. Let us now consider the educational system in Bondoukou with respect to educators, students and the curriculum.

Islamic Learning

The system of Dyula Muslim education in Bondoukou was very similar to that of the rest of the Western Sudan and North Africa. The educated elite was composed of karamokos, imāms, ẓādis, and muftīs; as a group they corresponded to the ʻulamaʿ of North Africa and the Middle East. It is worth remembering that the French term marabout (Arabic, murābit, usually a member of a Sūfī enclave)

1 ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 50, June 1912; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 225-6.
2 ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 86, June 1912.
3 ANCI, xv-42-85, no. 27, 31 October 1910.
is applied to almost all teachers and 'holy men', irrespective of their level of learning.

Karamokos formed the great majority of the literate class. Karamoko, generally a teacher, is a Malinke term which means 'one who can read', and is derived from the Arabic qara'a, 'to read, recite'. Teachers so designated would be expected to have a basic knowledge of Arabic, the Qur'ān, Hadīth and the ritual obligations of Islam. However, more advanced teachers would have a sounder knowledge of these subjects, having made a deeper study of the branches of Arabic such as nahw (grammar), balāgha (eloquence), ārūdh (prosody), bayān and ma'ānī (rhetoric, distinctness) and badīr (metaphors, style). They will also have some acquaintance with figh (Islamic jurisprudence, law) and theology. A karamoko usually wore a turban -- a band of cloth wrapped round a taqīyya, skull-cap -- and possessed an isnād showing the name(s) of his teacher and subjects studied. These are equivalent to the ijāzā of traditional Muslim countries. Imāms, qādīs and muftīs are those persons whose advanced training was in the more specialized fields of Arabic and law. At this stage of learning one speaks in terms of 'books' completed rather than subjects. Scholars of this rank were, as the titles imply, engaged in leadership roles primarily, but were also qualified to teach on both the elementary and advanced levels. The distinctive insignia of such achievement was the burnus (a hooded cloak) and
sometimes a staff.  

Generally, education was divided into two categories: elementary and advanced. Elementary students, usually relatives of the karamoko and in some instances members of other Muslim families, would begin their education in a village/town school between the ages of seven and ten. Generally, classes were held twice daily, except Wednesday and Thursday evenings and Friday mornings. Morning sessions were from six to seven o'clock and evening classes from five to six o'clock. The curriculum consisted of lessons in the rudiments of Arabic writing and reading. Having mastered these the pupils would go on to learn the Fātiha (opening chapter of the Qur'ān) and some short verses easily committed to memory and useful in the performance of the obligatory daily prayers. The various postures of the latter would be studied along with other Islamic tenets such as fasting, alms-giving, and pilgrimage. Upon completion of his primary education the student, now about twelve years old, would receive an isnād from

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2Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 269. During my field trip I noted that these hours are fairly closely maintained in Jinini and Bondoukou.
his teacher and would be authorized to use the title karaden (a young karamoko). The period of study often varied with the circumstances of the pupil and his teacher. In theory, there was no charge for education; however, it was customary for the student's family to give the karamoko a gift, for example, a measure of rice, kolas, salt, a number of cowries, or very rarely money. This was often followed by a celebration for the successful graduate the elaborateness of which depended upon the means of the family. At this time the graduate would have the choice of continuing his studies under another teacher, often away from his community, or returning to live and work with his family.

There were rare cases of intermediate learning which was open to those who desired further training in Arabic or religion without pursuing higher studies. At the intermediate stage a student would complete the reading of the Qur'an, study burhān (the application of logical proofs to theological questions) and the Mugaddima al-Ājurrūmīyya fī Mabādi’ Ilm al-‘Arabīyya of Ibn Ājurrūm. Again, upon passing these subjects the student, now about fifteen years old, would be honored with celebrations.

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1 ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 36, 30 June 1907; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 262, 265.
2 Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 269-71.
3 Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 256. Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265.
In terms of age and subjects studied, advanced education was considerably less organized than elementary studies; few students continued their studies to this level without an interruption of several years, and it was not uncommon to find an elderly man yet striving to finish a book under the tutorship of an accomplished karamoko. Thus one could specialize in Ḥadīth, for example, by reading a well known text(s) and commentary in that discipline and almost totally exclude works dealing with related subjects. For a deeper assessment of the accomplishments of advanced students, let us briefly turn our attention to the more widely used texts and their authors.

With regard to the Arabic language, the most commonly used texts were the *Mugaddima al-Ājurrūmīyya*, the *Alfīyya* and the *Maqāmat*. The author of the first work, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Dāwud as-Sanhājī (d. 723/1323), was one of the reputed grammarians of Fez where he lived and taught. His short book on Arabic syntax (*iʿrāb*) became a popular manual in the Muslim west as well as the

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east due to its brevity and rhymed style; primarily a book of rules, it was easily memorized.¹

The most concise and thorough grammar used in Bon-
doukou and the neighboring region was the Khulāsa al-
Alfīyya which contains in its over one thousand verses all the rules necessary for proper Arabic speech and composition. It is undoubtedly a more comprehensive and advanced text than the Ājurrūmīyya, and has been a standard work for several centuries in the centers of Muslim learning including Al-Azhar and Al-Qarawiyyin. The author, Jamāl ad-Dīn Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik al-Andalusī (d. 672/1274), was a native of Jaen in southern Spain, but spent most of his life in the Syrian educational centers of Aleppo, Ḥamāt and Damascus; his death occurred in the latter city. Ibn Mālik, who wrote at least eleven other works, was also known as an expert on the Hadīth literature of which he made extensive linguistic use in writing the Alfīyya. Thus, it provided no small measure of aid to students of the Traditions.²

The most advanced and complex text in the Arabic curriculum was the Maqāmāt al-Adabīyya, a collection of


fifty maqāmāt (sessions). Unlike the above, this work was not designed to teach the elementary rules of grammar, but to broaden the student's vocabulary through the use of many uncommon and archaic words, and to transmit culture through the use of parables, proverbs, and real stories. Although it is written in rhymed prose and contains much poetry, it does not lend itself to memorization. It is almost totally inconceivable that any student, regardless of his native language, could embark upon a study of the Magāmāt without having a firm grasp of the essentials of Arabic philology and grammar. Among the benefits to be derived from a thorough reading of this work is a model of superb expression whether poetical or unrhymed prose. Almost all of the authors of manuscripts appended to this study read the Maqāmāt, and there is an immediately apparent similarity between it and their writings.

The author of the Maqāmāt, al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥarīrī al- Başarī (d. 516/1122), was born at al-Mashān in the vicinity of Basra where he spent the greater part of his life. Al-Ḥarīrī, like many other Muslim writers of the classical period, was a caliphal official (sāhib al-khabar, chief of intelligence of Basra) during the reign of al-Mustarshid (512/1119 – 529/1135). The Maqāmāt, which is still a popular text for the study of balāgha (eloquence) in the Arabic-speaking world, was a major work during the author's

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1 Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265.
lifetime. Although he is better known for this book, another of his five works, Mulhat al-İfrāb, a short versified grammar in the rajaz meter, was also widely read in West and North Africa.¹

In the area of fundamental religious studies, Bondoukou and other Dyula centers such as Bobo Dioulasso, Safane and Bouna seem to be exceptions to the generalizations of a contemporary Islamist. Trimingham writes that "The Qur'ān and Hadīth rarely form part of the training even of the higher clergy since, having the Law, they presumably western Sudanese² have no need for independent investigation of sources."² As many if not most of the written and oral isnāds of the Ivory Coast, Ghana and Upper Volta known to this writer are for Quranic and Hadīth exegesis as for any other subject. The most widely read source for the former seems to have been for many centuries the Tafsīr al-Jalālāin which contains the text of the Qur'ān and a brief linguistic and theological commentary on each verse. It is well known that the study of Islamic theology begins with and is based upon the Qur'ān; thus, the Tafsīr was and remains an important source for theological knowledge among the Dyula of West Africa.³

²Trimingham, Influence of Islam, p. 62.
³Almost every karamoko I interviewed in Ghana and the Ivory Coast had studied the Tafsīr al-Jalālāin.
Although it was begun by Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mahallī (d. 864/1459), an Egyptian jurist and teacher in the Mu‘aiyadīyya School, the Tafsīr is better known as the work of his student, Jalāl ad-Dīn b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. abī Bakr as-Suyūtī, who belonged to a Persian emigrant family of Baghdad and taught Islamic jurisprudence at the well known Shaikhūnīyya School. Perhaps the most prolific Arabic-speaking author in Muslim history, he is said to have written some 591 treatises on grammar, philology, history, prominent traditionists, the Qur‘ān, Ḥadīth, etc. As he corresponded with Muslim leaders in Gao, Katsina and Agades in the late 15th century, it seems probable that some of his other works may have been studied in later times in northern Ghana and Bondoukou.¹

With regard to Ḥadīth literature, the principal text in the area under discussion was the Muwatta’ of Mālik b. Anas. Unlike some of the later and larger collections of Traditions (for example, the Sahīhs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim), the Muwatta’ is not simply a compendium

of Prophet Muhammad's sayings, deeds and acts, but a particular collection of these which provide answers to ritual and legal enquiries. In this respect it would have been extremely useful to West Africans who desired a practical manual of Islamic regulations 'directly from the Prophet'. In fact, however, it contains much of the *ijmāʿ* (consensus of legal opinions) of Madina with which Imām Mālik agreed, and some of his own independent judgments and interpretations (*ijtihād*). Imām Mālik (d. 179/795) was a native of Arabia (of the Ḥimyar) and flourished at Madina as a leading jurist during the first three decades of the 'Abbasid period. His initial opposition on legal and partisan (to the 'Alid pretender Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh) grounds to the accession of the Caliph al-Mansūr (136/754 - 158/775) and the subsequent persecution which he was forced to undergo gained for him much popular support in Madina. The Mālikī madhhab that was to spread over most of North and West Africa, including Bondoukou, was named after him. Although he is said to have authored other books, *Al-Muwatta* seems to be his sole extant work apart from the *Risāla*, a long letter to the Caliph Harūn ar-Rashīd dealing with religious, moral and legal matters.  

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1 See, for example, "Kitāb at-Talāq" (Book of Divorce) of *Al-Muwatta*.  
2 Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Farḥūn, Ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab *fī Maʿrifat Aʿyān Ulamāʿ al-Madhhab* (Cairo: ʿAbbas b. Shaqrūn, 1351, A.H.), pp. 17-29; Brockelmann, GAL, I,
Although Muslim history does not appear to have received much attention, the life and period of Prophet Muhammad was read. The usual text was that of Qādī ‘Iyāḍ entitled Ash-Shifa’ bi-Ta’rif Huqūq al-Mustafā which relates the deeds and achievements of Muhammad, and compares him to other prophets of the Bible, the Qur‘ān and the Traditions; much emphasis is placed upon the moral and religious virtues of the Prophet and his Companions. That the earlier and generally more popular Sīrat Rasūl Allāh of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833, who adopted it from the works of Ibn Ishaq, d. ca. 150/767) was not widely used is probably due to Imam Mālik’s disapproval of Ibn Ishaq for political and personal reasons.1 ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Yahsubī (d. 544/1149), born at Ceuta, was a famous jurist and traditionist, and is one of the better known students of the Spanish philosopher and theologian Ibn Rushd (known in the West as Avveroes). Qādī ‘Iyāḍ, who was an ardent supporter of the Al-Muwahhidūn (Almohads), served as judge of Ceuta and Cordova. Of his sixteen to twenty works he is perhaps best known in the Muslim world for the Tartīb al-Madarik, a collection of biographies of Mālikī scholars.2

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2 Ibn Farḥūn, Dībāj, pp. 168-72; Brockelmann, GAL,
After Arabic, Muslim law seems to have been the most well read of the Islamic sciences. For this discipline there were three main texts. Of primary importance was the Risāla of Ibn abi Zaid. Like most works of jurisprudence, the Risāla contains religious regulations (ʿibādāt) about ritual cleanliness, ablution, prayer, fasting, spiritual seclusion (ʿītikāf), alms, pilgrimage, slaughtering of animals, hunting, circumcision, food and drink, and rules of legal practice (muʿāmalāt) concerning marriage, divorce, sales, inheritance, property, jihād, legal punishment, judicial procedure, pre-emption, trusts, murder, etc. This short and easily read text is a good introduction to Islamic law; its vocabulary is probably the simplest of Arabic legal texts seen by this student. The Risāla is well known among adherents of the Mālikī rite or school, especially in North and West Africa. Its author, ʿAbd Allāh b. abi Zaid al-Qairawānī (d. 386/996), is among the most famous teachers and jurists of tenth-century Tunisia where he was known as "the younger Mālik". His numerous writings and commentaries were primarily responsible for the spread of Mālikī thought in North Africa.¹

Having completed the Risāla, a student who desired to specialize in law would most often proceed to read the Mukhtasar of Khalīl. This work is somewhat longer and more difficult than the Risāla. Apart from further elaboration on topics in the above text, the Mukhtasar contains chapters on the qualifications for judgeship, theft, partnership, agency and confinement due to legal incompetence (hijr). Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Mūsā (d. ca. 776/1374) was one of the greatest legal minds of Egypt. The son of a Hanafī father, he came under the influence of his Mālikī teacher, ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī (d. 749/1348) and adopted the school of the latter. After spending several years as a teacher at the Shaikhuniyya and as a muftī, the pious Khalīl retired to the life of an ascetic and devoted himself to study and writing. His Mukhtasar, a summary of a larger work, remains an important text among contemporary Mālikīs.¹

Another widely read legal text was the Tuhfat al-Hukkām fī Nukat al-ʿUqūd wal-Aḥkām of Ibn ʿĀṣim. With regard to content this work does not differ greatly from

¹ Ibn Farhūn, Dībāj, pp. 115-6; Ahmad Bābā, Nail al-Ibtihāj bi-Tatrīz ad-Dībāj, in margin of Ibn Farhūn, pp. 112-5; Brockelmann, GAL, II, pp. 101-3; Cheneb, "KHALĪL b. ISHĀK", EI¹, II, p. 888; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265; Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 169.
the Risāla or the Mukhtasar, except that the author was much more concerned with the rules of juristic procedure (ahkām al-qadā') than either Ibn abī Zaid or Khalīl b. Ishāq, and he went still deeper in his elaborations on points raised by them. Like the above texts, the Tuhfa is an important work of Mālikī law, and is especially useful as a practical guide for jurists. Muḥammad b. Muhammad b. 'Āsim al-Gharnātī (d. 829/1426) belonged, as did many of his predecessors, to the intellectual class of Granada where he served for a time as chief judge. That he was also an accomplished grammarian and prosodist is evidenced by his ability to compose such a legal manual as the Tuhfa in the rajaz meter. Of the ten works attributed to him only three have survived, among which the above seems to be the better known.¹

Recent field research seems to indicate that very few of the Bondoukou literati had completed more than one advanced text; this was usually the Risāla of Ibn abī Zaid, the Mukhtasar of Khalīl, Al-Muwatta' of Mālik or Tafsīr al-Jalālāin of al-Mahallī and As-Suyūṭī. Generally the level of Arabic comprehension was not sufficiently high to permit a detailed study of the advanced texts. This inference is in accord with Commandant le Campion's report of 1907 in which he stated:

¹Ahmad Bābā, Nail al-Ibtihāj, pp. 289-90; Schacht, "IBN 'ĀSIM", EI², III, pp. 720-1; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 265; Wilks, "Islamic Learning", p. 169; Scham, Lyautey, p. 145.
Les marabouts du Cercle sont en général suffisamment lettrés pour saisir le sens d'un texte arabe néanmoins je ne crois pas qu'ils entretiennent de relations suivies et écrites, concernant la politique et la religion avec les contrées voisines... ¹

Le Campion reported the following concerning students who went on to higher studies:

Sur une classe de vingt élèves on peut dire que dix-huit ne sauront jamais qu'épeler et écrire des mots qui, pour eux, n'auront aucune signification, les deux autres élèves, fidèles disciples du maître, après neuf à dix années d'études s'assimileront la majeure partie du bagage littéraire de leur professeur. ²

If this is an accurate picture of the situation, then it may largely account for the present scarcity of manuscripts written by Bondoukou authors in the post-Samorian period up to the early decades of this century.

The French administration did not directly interfere with the system of education as they did elsewhere in North and West Africa. Indeed directives from Dakar which restricted the number of schools and the activities of the karamokos do not appear to have been executed in Bondoukou. ³

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¹ ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 36, 30 June 1907.
² ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 36, 30 June 1907.
³ See, for example, Robert Arnaud, L'Islam et la Politique Musulmane Française (Paris: Comité de L'Afrique Française, 1912), Chapter II; Lucy C. Behrman, Muslim Brotherhoods and Politics in Senegal (Cambridge, Massachusetts:
may be construed, however, as an indication that there was no active opposition to the colonial presence.

Al-Hājj Sāliḥ at Bondoukou: Early Contacts

The politico-social milieu of Bondoukou was not strange to al-Hājj Sāliḥ. He had visited the town--perhaps even stayed there for a short time--with his father, Karamoko Muhammad, before the latter retired to Bouna. Although his permanent residence was in Jinini, he often went to nearby Sorobango and Bondoukou where he became acquainted with other teachers and gave some instruction to students. These periodic appearances helped al-Hājj Sāliḥ gain a reputation as a learned teacher. The fact that he was imām of Jinini, though small and intellectually unimportant, would have exacerbated his attractiveness in Bondoukou.

Apart from his association with the learned elements of the city, al-Hājj Sāliḥ seems to have had an early acquaintance with the paramount chief of the Abron,


1 Muhammad, field notes, interviews with al-Hājj Muhammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 8 March 1972.

2 Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Bābā Fatigay Watara, Sorobango 6 March 1972, and Sāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.
Tan Daté (of the Zanzan group). Their association would appear to have pre-dated 1904 the date of the latter's accession, as he requested al-Hājj Šālih to pray for his victory over his rival.¹ More importantly, Tan Daté's relations with the Jinini imām were somewhat similar to that of a patron and protector, and their association can be viewed as an expression of political opposition to the authority of Imām Kunandi. Al-Hājj Šālih was not only the main furnisher of gris-gris (amulets containing passages from the Qur'ān or other ritual expressions) to the paramount chief, but he was also a respected counsellor and confidant.² Though a similar relationship had existed between Imām Kunandi and the leading chiefs prior to the French occupation, there is no mention of such with a paramount chief after Papi. On many occasions when Tan Daté went to Bondoukou he would reside with al-Hājj Šālih in the Qunbala quarter, the most hostile to Imām Kunandi.³ Whatever criterion was used, whether indigenous or colonial, al-Hājj Šālih was a stranger or foreigner, and he needed the quaranty or protection of a leading citizen

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 125; Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Hājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.
²ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60, "Fiche de Renseignements: Alagui Soualio", June 1912; Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 224; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.
³Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Hājj Abū Bakr b. Šālihu, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.
to facilitate his movements within the *circonscription*. This was provided by animists and well known teachers; examples of the latter were Karamoko Muhammad and Biabudu Bané in whose Qunbala compound Tan Daté and al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ resided. It is noteworthy, however, that a cordial relationship did exist between Imām Kunandi and al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ before the latter's pilgrimage.¹

The Pilgrimage to Mecca

The personal respect and esteem gained by ḥujjāj in Bondoukou and other Muslim communities of Africa have been explained by several writers. In short one pilgrimage is obligatory (*farḍʾain*) upon a male Muslim adult whose health and financial means permit him to undertake the journey without hardship. The occasion affords a meeting place for believers of diverse backgrounds and circumstances to become acquainted with other Muslims and to gain some understanding of prevailing conditions in other parts of the *Umma l-Islāmiyya*, and thus increases the general Muslim communal spirit. For a member of a Ṣūfī brotherhood, the pilgrimage has the effect of fulfilling a religious duty which pleases Allah and qualifies him for a certain *baraka*, and further reinforces the personal piety and faith of the pilgrim. From the perspective of the Muslim community the Sufi pilgrim has

¹Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.
largely completed his religious duties and is unquestionably more deserving of the appellation 'holy man'. Lastly, the pilgrim is respected as one who is knowledgeable about worldly circumstances and distant places which he saw during his journey; in this regard he was even more experienced than itinerant traders.

Al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ began his pilgrimage from Jinini in 1909 and travelled to Sekondi via Wenchi and Kumasi. He was accompanied by seven or eight members of his family and one of his students of Banda. It is said that they boarded a British ship of the Dempster Steam Company at Sekondi and sailed to Conakry, Dakar, Las Palmas and Casablanca en route to Alexandria, Egypt. Al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ and his party disembarked at Alexandria and spent some four months in Cairo.

In Cairo, he visited the great citadel of Islamic learning, Al-Azhar, where he became acquainted with its well known Mālikī rector, Shaikh Šalīm al-Bishrī (d. 1335/1916-7). At the time of his visit the prominent teachers and administrators of Al-Azhar, indeed the Egyptian Muslim intellectual class, were still divided over the recent reform program of Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAbdūh (d. 1905), whose modernist views were adamantly resisted by the majority of the conservative ʿulama'. Shaikh al-Bishrī, who was

1 Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Karamoko Šāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj at-Ṭijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.

2 J. Jomier, "al-AZHAR", EI², I, pp. 817-8, 820;
in the last year of his second term as rector of Al-Azhar, was generally opposed to 'Abduh's reforms and was one of the leading traditionalists of the university. He had graduated from Al-Azhar and enjoyed a wide reputation as an expert on Hadīth literature. ¹ It is said that al-Bishrī appreciated al-Hājj Sālih's knowledge of the Islamic sciences and gave him a certificate or isnād authorizing him to teach Arabic, Islamic jurisprudence and exegesis. Al-Bishrī, who allegedly was a Tijānī mugaddam, is also said to have renewed his isnād for the Tijānīyya. Of the three books which he gave to al-Hājj Sālih were the important Mālikī work on fiqh, Ḥashiyat ad-Dusūqī 'alā sh-Sharh al-Kabīr written by Shaikh Muhammad 'Arafa ad-Dusūqī (d. 1230), and a copy of the well known Iḥyā' 'ul-Umān by Abū Ḥamīd Muhammad al-Ghazālī. ² Unfortunately we


¹ Jomier, "al-AZHAR", EI², p. 820.

know nothing else about al-Ḥājj Šālih's association with al-Bishrī.

After leaving Cairo, al-Ḥājj Šālih went to Mecca, presumably via Suez or Port Saʿīd to the Saudi Arabian port of Jidda and by land to Mecca. In the latter city he was fortunate not to have had to spend his nights in the pilgrim tents, for he was the guest of the well known Saghanughu teacher, ʿAbdu r-Rahmān of Kong who died at Mecca after a residence there of many years. He then completed the pilgrimage rites with a visit to Prophet Muhammad's mosque and tomb at Madina.¹

First Residence at Bondoukou

Al-Ḥājj Šālih returned to Bondoukou via Jinini in 1910 after an absence of nine months.² His stay at Jinini seems to have been of short duration and somewhat unimportant, for none of my informants were able to remember any significant event of that period. In any case, there was little in that Hwela village of agriculturalists to permanently interest a scholar of his caliber.

Al-Ḥājj Šālih's return to Bondoukou was welcomed by his former associates and Imām Kunandi Timitay. He entered Bondoudou in a manner befitting an important

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Karamoko Šālih Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.
²Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270, n.l.; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Karamoko Šālih Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.
visiting chief or ruler. The present Imām, who was then Imām Kunandi's messenger, relates the incident thusly:

When Sālih arrived from Mecca there was no food in Bondoukou. He settled in Qunbala with chief Yawkara. He sent a message to Kunandi that he was coming to Bondoukou. Kunandi asked the chief of Wuluchi to give Sālih food; one thousand ears of corn, one hundred yams, one sheep and twelve fouls were prepared for him. Then Kunandi sent another messenger to tell that chief of Kosindawa what had been done in the first village, Kunandi sent the same message to the Fumasa quarter. Food was prepared and taken to the Qunbala quarter for Sālih.¹

While this account seems exaggerated with respect to the quantities of food, it shows, nevertheless, that al-Hājj Sālih entered Bondoukou with the agreement of Imām Kunandi. Al-Hājj Sālih spent much of the next two years in Bondoukou, except for frequent short visits to Jinini and a brief expulsion which will be discussed below. He and the Imām were "very good friends; . . . he wanted to come every day to greet Kunandi".² One may conclude, therefore, that during part of the 1910-1912 period relations between the two men were cordial.

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

²Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972, and al-Hājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.
This relationship should be seen against their respective backgrounds and that of the learned persons in Bondoukou. Kunandi was a native of the town, the Imam, a French subject and an official in the administration; Şāliḥ was a stranger, an erudite teacher, a ḥājjī, a subject of British controlled Western Asante in which Jinini was situated, a resident of Qunbala and a close associate of prominent animist chiefs. He was probably more learned than any other teacher in Bondoukou. The French record of 1912 lists the seven most influential marabouts of the Cercle in the following order: (1) al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ, (2) Kunandi Timitay, (3) Karamoko Lazuazane (al-Ḥasan), (4) al-Ḥājj ʿAlī, (5) Amadou (Ahmad) Watara, (6) al-Ḥājj Abū Bakr, (7) Karamoghoma Watara. The present Imam attests to the high level of erudition reached by al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ: "Şāliḥ was very learned . . . and respected like a chief." Thus, according to Islamic law, al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ was better qualified for the imamate than Kunandi, that he was a stranger is irrelevant. It is also noteworthy that the Imam, like his predecessors, never performed the pilgrimage. In fact, the whole Cercle did not have but two ḥājjīs as late as January 1904, one in Bondoukou and the other in Barabo, both of whom were

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1 ANCI, xv-42-108, no. 103, "Fiche sur les marabouts de Bondoukou", 26 June 1912.

2 Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.
very old.\(^1\) By 1912 there were only three in the town, including al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ.\(^2\)

Al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ 'opened a school' in the Qunbala section and became very influential in Bondoukou. He attracted students from Fagula-Banda (northern Gold Coast) and Jinini. There is no indication in my sources that any other Bondoukou karamoko's reputation extended so far; some of them did attract students from neighboring Barabo and Sorobango. In mid-1912 he is officially listed as having sixteen students, five of whom were "parents du marabout".\(^3\) Among his students were the well known nephew of Imām Kunandi, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan Timitay who is locally known as Karamoko Subrūnī (d. ca. 1957) and Karamoko Biabudi Banē, the Tijānī muqaddam.\(^4\) Al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ also initiated many men of the region into the order.\(^5\)


\(^2\)ANCI, xv-42-108, no. 103, 26 June 1912; ARSD, 5 G 63, nos. 1-86 passim.

\(^3\)ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60.

\(^4\)Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 8 March 1973, and Karamoko Sāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé 6 March 1972.

\(^5\)Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Baba Fatigay Watara, Sorobango, 6 March 1972, and al-Ḥājj Bakarī b. Muhammad, Sorobango, 6 March 1972.
Apart from his intellectual achievements, al-Hājj Sāliḥ was much respected by animists and Muslims for his moral and religious character.

Sa tenue, sa conduite, et on peut ajouter la pureté de ses moeurs font que les indigènes fétichistes viennent souvent le consulter, au lieu et place de leurs chefs, qui sont dans la plupart des cas des ivrognes, que les divers abus ont rendu totalement incapables...

Est arrivé à gagner la confiance du roi Abron Tan Daté, chef de presque tout le pays Bondoukou, qui lui fait de très nombreux cadeaux. A surveiller de crainte qu'il n'arrive à convertir quelques membres de sa famille. En outre un très grand nombre de chefs de cases de Bondoukou voudraient lui donner la succession du marabout Mama Ḥaramoko Muḥammad, décédé récemment (très grand marabout) avec lequel il a quelques vagues liens de parenté, et l'installer, ainsi, définitivement à Bondoukou.¹

Besides its information concerning the piety of al-Hājj Sāliḥ, the above statement imparts some useful hints about the extent of his personal influence which was certain to affect his relations with Imām Kunandi.

Firstly, al-Hājj Sāliḥ had become a counsellor and friend to animists other than the paramount chief; presumably these were heads of compounds and less influential members of the non-Muslim society. His association with Tan Daté would have almost automatically

¹ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60.
approved and encouraged such relationships whenever possible.

Secondly, al-Hājj Sālih's means of livelihood seem to have depended overwhelmingly upon gifts from Tan Daté: "Sa famille est dit-on très riche mais il vit principalement des aumônes et cadeaux..."\(^1\) It is probable that he also received some form of payment from his students and their families, as well as some material support from Muslims. It is fairly certain that he was not engaged in trade at this time as we shall see shortly.

Thirdly, he did not attempt to convert the Abron to Islam. Whether this was a political tactic or negligence of his religious duty is unclear. However, I suggest that his inactivity in this respect was politically motivated. The circumstances of his residence at Bondoukou—that is, being a British rather than French subject—necessitated caution and respect for the old Abron interdiction against proselytization,\(^2\) if he was to maintain good relations with them. Imam Kunandi could and did take advantage of the French presence to violate this customary prohibition; but he converted few if any Abron.\(^3\)

Fourthly, by the time of Karamoko Muhammad's death

\(^1\) ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60.


\(^3\) Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 225.
(ca. 1910-11) al-Hājj Sāliḥ was supported by many compound chiefs (chefs de cases) not only in the Qunbala section, but in various gabīlas of the town. It is probable that Karamoko Muhammad had been chief of the Qunbalas. For the section's inhabitants to raise al-Hājj Sāliḥ to this position would have had unfavorable political connotations for Imām Kunandi who had little or no reason to have liked the deceased. Imām Qudus states that "The Qunbalas had a karamoko named Mahama (Muhammad) who tried to depose Kunandi; he attacked Kunandi's rulings (issued in the Tribunal de Circonscription de Bondoukou) many times."¹

There can be little objection to the contention that al-Hājj Sāliḥ desired to exercise political influence—even political power. Indeed, some of my informants unpromptedly admitted that he wished to be imām.² If we ignore the colonial requirement of citizenship, and consider his qualifications for the imāamate in the light of Islamic law, then surely he was a good candidate for the office. According to our information, he was the most learned in the religious

¹Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.
²Muhammad, field notes, interviews with al-Hājj 'Uthmān Boyo, Kumasi, 3 March 1972, and Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972. None of al-Hājj Sāliḥ's descendents replied negatively to the suggestion that he would have accepted the imāamate of Bondoukou.
sciences and among the most pious of the town's Muslim population. It is almost inconceivable that with such popular support he would have been averse to deposing Imām Kunandi in his own favor. However, his ambitions were initially thwarted by the Imām's French protectors and later by his own lack of political foresight.

**Deportation and Aborted Aspirations**

Al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was expelled from Bondoukou twice. However, it is difficult to date each deportation precisely, as most of our written and oral data do not give specific dates, nor are the circumstances sufficiently clear to permit an accurate chronology. Hence, we are compelled to compare the records and surmise the causes and results of the events. In the interest of clarity we shall quote the material concerning his expulsions. The earliest mention of his conflict with the administration is in his colonial *fiche* which reads as follows:

*Par suite de son attitude irrespectueuse envers Administrateur Latapie commandant le Cercle de Bondoukou, et n'ayant pu prouver en outre, ses moyens d'existence, il avait été expulsé de Bondoukou. Mais sur les instances du roi féti-chiste l'administrateur Latapie l'autorisa à séjourner à Bondoukou. C'est alors que Saoualio se livra au Commerce.*

This document makes five significant points: (1) that al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ was disrespectful to Commandant Latapie,

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1. ARSD, 5 G 63, no. 60.
(2) that he lacked proof of an acceptable means of livelihood, (3) that he was expelled for the above reasons, (4) that he was re-admitted upon the insistence of animists and Muslim notables, and (5) that upon his return he became a trader. It is also noteworthy that the report mentions only one deportation, does not give any dates and suggests that al-Hājj Śāliḥ was still residing in Bondoukou when it was written, June 1912. That he was expelled twice is supported by the published sources and the testimony of one of his descendants.¹ It is unfortunate that the term of office of Latapie is unknown; but it is fairly clear that he was not the Commandant of Bondoukou at the time of al-Hājj Śāliḥ's second deportation. Let us now consider the first two points.

We do not understand what is meant by the phrase "son attitude irrespectueuse".² However, there is no doubt that his conduct immediately prior to his final expulsion would have been considered disrespectful. With regard to this first expulsion, it seems plausible that it may have partly resulted from a contest for

¹Tauxier, Bondoukou, p. 270, n. 1; Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, pp. 224-5; Muhammad, field notes, interview with Karamoko Śāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972.

²I was unable to find papers or a diary of Commandant Latapie in the archives of the Ivory Coast or Senegal, nor have I found his name in the several author lists of articles or published books which I consulted.
political influence between al-Hājj Sālih, the stranger, and Imām Kunandi, the Chef de Canton. While this is admittedly conjecture, it is not unlikely in the situation which emerged after al-Hājj Sālih's return from the pilgrimage. It is possible that during the course of interrogation he made a discourteous remark to either or both the Commandant and the Imām. If this was the case, then he was in violation of colonial law. An arrêté dated 14 September 1907 states in part:

Sont considérés comme infractions spéciales aux indigènes non citoyens français et à ceux qui leur sont assimilés, les faits et actes ci-après déterminés:...tout acte irrespectueux ou propos offensant vis-à-vis d'un représentant ou d'un agent de l'autorité...¹

With respect to the second charge, a circular of 1906 had indicated that "tout marabout quêteur doit, avant de commencer sa tournée d'aumônes, obtenir une autorisation préalable de l'administration..." This edict was re-enforced by another of 26 December 1911 that strictly prohibited marabouts from living off alms alone under penalty of imprisonment.² It is clear that al-Hājj Sālih depended on the generosity of his supporters; that he also received some form of payment from his students is probable. In any case, his activities in Bondoukou coincided with a period in which the colonial authorities

¹Arnaud, Politique Musulmane, p. 120, n. 1.
²Arnaud, Politique Musulmane, pp. 120, 123; Behrman, Muslim Brotherhoods, p. 40.
throughout French West Africa were applying increasingly stringent measures to curb the influence of marabouts. Indeed, one of the main aspects of Governor-General William Ponty's policies was the weakening of the influence of indigenous notables, both Muslims and non-Muslims, while retaining them as powerless appendages. As al-Hājj Sālih was not a French subject and did not at the time, demonstrate an inclination to serve the administration he was expelled from the Cercle rather than imprisoned. He was, however, prepared to act as a colonial agent after his return.

Our information about the activities of al-Hājj Sālih between his expulsion and his re-entry into Bondoukou is again exiguous and insufficient; we can only surmise his whereabouts. He probably returned to Jinini, where his position and influence were secure, and continued to teach and serve as imām of the community. It is possible that he engaged in some form of farming and trading. However, more importantly, is that his associates in Bondoukou were sufficiently desirous of his presence there that they took the initiative in petitioning the authorities to permit his return. The probability that he maintained contact with them from Jinini and requested that they act in his behalf cannot

be ruled out. Nevertheless, their action is a clear indication that native Bondoukou leadership was divided over the presence and role of a stranger in that town. As Imām Kunandi is not mentioned anywhere as one of the petitioners, it may be assumed that he was either neutral or against al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ's return; in retrospect, the latter position seems to have been the most probable.

It was not long after his expulsion that al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ re-entered Bondoukou. The statement in the colonial record that he returned as a trader is denied by all of my informants except one. Karamoko Kiya, a grandson of Karamoko Muhammad, states that during his second residence at Bondoukou:

"Sāliḥ was primarily a teacher. (However,) he used to go as far as Cape Coast selling sheep and cattle. He had agents who trade for him... he was a big trader."\(^1\)

It is probable that al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ resumed his commercial dealings in order to qualify for legal residence and to cover his teaching activities both of which, we believe, he hoped would aid in his accession to the imāmate. We believe the following closely approximates the situation which obtained at that time. Politically the French authorities were primarily interested in maintaining the Muslim status quo. This was important to ensure the profitability of the colony. Until now the position of

\(^1\) Muhammad, field notes, interview with Karamoko Kiya, Bondoukou, 5 March 1972.
their agent, Imām Kunandi, was not seriously threatened though he had lost the respect of several prominent animists and Muslims. Both groups were unhappy about his extensive authority; the Muslims considered him more a chief than an imām. However, they were not prepared to chance an open confrontation with him for the peaceful pursuit of their livelihoods in Bondoukou depended on his disposition toward them. Had they opposed him directly, and had the French thought it in their own interest to support the Chef de Canton, then the opposition may have been rounded up and charged with violating the same law under which al-Hājj Śāliḥ had previously been expelled. Further, as the Imām was the president of the Muslim tribunal, they may have been judged quite severely. Such a course was far too risky. Hence, they chose the indirect course of supporting a very influential teacher who was a foreigner only with respect to French law. He was a Dyula, a learned hājjī and one whose father was well remembered in their town. Moreover, al-Hājj Śāliḥ probably enjoyed good relations with traders from Kong, Bobo-Dioulasso and Bouna, as they were respectively the places of his birth, that of some of his predecessors and the teaching activities and death of his saintly father, Śīdī Muḥammad. However, al-Hājj Śāliḥ knew very well that, in spite of such strong support, he was not in a position to publicly

7. Imam Muhammad Qudus Timitay of Bondoukou.
oppose Imām Kunandi and effect his deposition. It was necessary for him to gain the favor of the Commandant who was undoubtedly the real authority in Bondoukou.

The accounts of the second and last encounter between al-Hājj Sāliḥ and the authorities differ as to its immediate cause. Imām Qudus relates the incident in the following manner:

Strangers in Bondoukou made Sāliḥ responsible for their affairs after his pilgrimage. The commandant said that any landlord should collect from strangers (resident on his property). Strangers collected their own monies, 6000 francs, and handed it to Sāliḥ. Each stranger should pay three farthings to collect 6000 francs.¹ This amount was collected by Sāliḥ and he took it to the commandant and showed him that he could collect a large sum.

¹ According to an Arrêté of 14 May 1901, Ivoirians above age ten were required to pay an annual poll tax of 2.50 francs. On 25 November 1908, the amount was changed to between 50 centimes and 4.50 francs for the Ivory Coast; each commandant could recommend to his lieutenant-governor a fixed tax for his cercle. From 1910 the inhabitants of Bondoukou were required to pay 3 francs; those of Bouna paid 2.50 francs. In 1908, Imām Kunandi collected 8762.50 francs which was more than one-third of the total (20457.50) collected by Chief Tan Daté. Since population statistics for Bondoukou remained fairly uniform it would seem that about a full two-thirds of Bondoukou's inhabitants paid their taxes to al-Hājj Sāliḥ. See "La Pacification de la Côte d'Ivoire", BCAF, Renseignement Coloniaux, No. 10; ANCI, xv-45-124, No. 37, "10% de l'impôt aux Chefs indigènes", 4 September 1908.
The commandant was surprised and gave him a high position in Bondoukou. The commandant asked Šāliḥ to come to his bureau... Šāliḥ was given a special place to live. Šāliḥ wanted to gather people to go with him to the commandant to show his power. The Qunbalas gathered with three praisers to go with Šāliḥ who was dressed in an expensive apparel. They arrived at the bureau carrying blankets from Mecca which were put in the bureau for Šāliḥ to sit on; the chairs were removed. This annoyed the commandant. He feared the results of the act had he allowed it to continue; as Šāliḥ was not yet appointed the commandant feared the consequences. He was to be appointed responsible for strangers. The Qunbalas were very happy over the intended appointment, as they hated Kunandi. Šāliḥ had a fine special chair covered with blankets on which he sat. The commandant pushed Šāliḥ's head-dress off with his stick; with the latter he hit him several times. Kunandi was informed of the incident, and we went to the bureau. On the way we met the commandant; he was very angry and refused to greet Kunandi. We continued on to Šāliḥ. The commandant returned and asked Šāliḥ where he was from. Šāliḥ replied that he was from Jinini. He was ordered to leave Bondoukou for that place the same day. The people who moved the chairs caused the trouble. Kunandi asked the commandant to pardon Šāliḥ.¹

Most of my informants of Jinini and Wenchi claim that the Imam was primarily responsible for al-Hājj Šāliḥ's deportation. The following is representative of their responses:

¹ Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.
"He (al-Hājj Šālih) had many followers in Bondoukou from various quarters of the town... One Friday he went to the Friday mosque (in the Timitay quarter).... That Friday he wore the fine garments which he had purchased in Cairo. A madīḥ of Jinini was there and sang praises to Šālih... Kunandi was angry. He sent a letter to the commandant saying that this one from Ghana wanted to be chief. The commandant summoned Šālih... (and) asked where he was from. Šālih replied that he was from Jinini. The commandant said that he had heard that he was from Bobo. Šālih said that he was from there (by descent). He asked why Šālih did not return to Bobo. Šālih replied that as he had married from Salaga and Jinini he settled in English territory. The commandant asked whether he was a chief or a mallam. Šālih replied that he was a mallam. But the officer insisted that he was a chief, a war chief, since he wore those fine clothes and people came from Mali, Ghana and other places to help him make war. Bondoukou was under the French (the commandant continued) and Šālih was not permitted to sleep there... He left Bondoukou without returning to his house. Before his pilgrimage he heard that some people of Bondoukou did not like him. Šālih's family suspect Kunandi who did not like anyone who befriended Šālih. ¹

A significant difference between the two accounts seems to be the reason for the meeting between the commandant and al-Hājj Šālih. These accounts may be viewed as generally complementary. Imām Qudus' testimony that al-Hājj Šālih had impressed the officer with his ability

¹ Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Hājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.
to collect such a large sum of poll tax is acceptable. Elated by the commandant's favorable attitude toward him, al-Hājj Sāliḥ and his followers may have attended the Friday prayer in the Timitay quarter—possibly for the first time. They felt strong enough to publicly demonstrate their opposition to Imām Kunandi. The latter, who had hitherto been responsible for collecting the tax, saw his position further threatened by what appeared to be an overt governmental approval of al-Hājj Sāliḥ. Hence, the Imām accused him of wanting to be a chief, probably in the political sense of the term. ¹

The manner in which al-Hājj Sāliḥ appeared before the commandant seemed to support the Imām's contention. Now the officer was faced with the choice of retaining the services of the Imām who was a loyal servant of France, or appointing al-Hājj Sāliḥ who appeared somewhat haughty and arrogant, and who may have eventually threatened the general tranquillity of Bondoukou. It is quite reasonable to assume that had al-Hājj Sāliḥ gone to the administrator's office alone, he would have thus embarked upon the road to political authority in the town. We do not have sufficient information about his personality and character to suggest that he would have acceded to the imāmate of Bondoukou.

Although he was deported, al-Hājj Sāliḥ's activities

¹Wilks, field notes, interview with al-Hājj 'Uthmān Watara, Bondoukou, 16 August 1969.
were to further exacerbate the political tension in Bondoukou. It was stated in chapter one that the Timitay imāmate was not without its religio-political opponents, mainly Kamaghatays and Qunbalas. The Kamaghatay claim during the very early years of the French presence that the Timitays had usurped the imāmate from them does not seem to have had much popular support.\(^1\) The Qunbalas had never, as a gabīla, openly challenged the authority of a Timitay imām. The imāmal family appears to have always been united against the opposition. None of this is true for the period immediately before the second expulsion of al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. His supporters included "divers chefs de quartier de Bondoukou", the paramount chief and other animists, as well as foreign elements (some of whom were probably traders). By 1912 the overwhelming majority of the town's Dyulas were prepared to pay their taxes directly to al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, thus hindering Imām Kunandi from performing one of his primary duties as chef de canton. It is not necessary to surmise the effects this must have had on his dignity. Furthermore, an important member of the Timitay family, Karamoko Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan, supported al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ. Suffice it to say that the Qunbalas became the leading dissidents and in the following year, 1913, caused the Imām to abandon the city.

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\(^1\) J.J. Holden, field notes, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou, 14 March 1968.
Kunandi left Bondoukou and went to Sunyani. The hatred of the Qunbalas was the reason for this... The commandant forced the people to make him return. I and another Timitay of Sampa were sent with a letter from the commandant. Relations between the Timitays and the Qunbalas are still not normal; there have been quarrels recently. Still many Qunbalas will not pray with the Timitays.¹

In light of the above testimony of Imam Qudus and the internal division in the Dyula community which culminated in 1912, it is difficult to accept the official report that Imam Kunandi left Bondoukou in order to trade in kola nuts.² Imam Qudus Timitay further reports that before Imam Kunandi's departure the latter emphatically stated "...that he would not return."³

There is no indication in my sources that al-Hājj Šālīh's stay at Bondoukou had any obvious effect on the curriculum of Muslim schools. That he was highly respected as a teacher is further evidenced by the fact that some of his students, notable among whom was Abū Bakr b. al-Hasan, left Bondoukou to continue their

¹ Muhammad, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972.

² See the text of the commandant's letter to the governor of the Ivory Coast regarding the departure of Imam Kunandi in Appendix I.

³ Muhammad, interview with Imam Timitay, Bondoukou, 7 March 1972. At the instigation of the French and some leading Timitays Imam Kunandi returned in 1914.
studies with him. These, of course, were generally advanced students who wished to either re-read or begin the study of a particular book in Arabic grammar, Quranic and Hadîth exegesis and law with a view to including his name in their isnâds. His reputation as a Tijânî muqaddam also attracted would-be initiates for similar reasons; 1 unfortunately our information about al-Hâjj Sâlih in this regard is extremely scanty.

The Last Years

The expulsion of al-Hâjj Sâlih from Bondoukou marks the second and perhaps the most important turning point in his life. During the past decade he had devoted much of his energy to attaining politico-religious stature in Bondoukou and making the latter his permanent place of residence. Still less than forty years old, he seems to have abandoned any hope of a politically active future. It appears that the last French intelligence regarding him was expressed by Marty: "Aux dernières nouvelles, Alagui Soualio, craignant des tracasseries, s'est retiré à Diennéné." 2 Disappointed in the course of recent events, he resumed his activities as imâm of Jinini, and teacher and muqaddam to the faithful; he is also said to

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1 Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Imâm Timitay, Bondoukou, 8 March 1972, al-Hâjj Bakarî b. Muhammad Watara, Sorobango, 6 March 1972 and Bâbâ Fatigay Watara, Sorobango, 6 March 1972.

2 Marty, Côte d'Ivoire, p. 225.
have done some farming.\footnote{Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.} However, his return to this small agricultural village was, in spite of the piety of its inhabitants, a tremendous setback for such an erudite and ambitious man.

Undoubtedly he was delighted when in 1924 he was invited by some Hausas, Bandas and Wangaras (Dyula merchants) to go and teach in British-controlled Wenchi. There he "opened a large school" and taught about fifty students, including some of the town's elders, advanced 'books' in Arabic, theology and law; he also conferred the Tijānī wīrd upon "many Hausas and Bandas". His reputation as a pious scholar soon gained for him the post of Friday imām of Wenchi. This was not preceded by any conflict with the local authorities.\footnote{Muhammad, field notes, interviews with Karamoko Sāliḥ Jabaghatay, Kanguelé, 6 March 1972, al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm Bakarambasi, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.} Recognizing the superior qualifications of al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ, Imām Gawsu is said to have relinquished the office to him. He remained Friday imām until his death in July or August, 1932 when Gawsu resumed the position.\footnote{Muhammad, field notes, interview with al-Ḥājj Moro (ʿUmar) Dogo Banda, Wenchi, 10 March 1972.}

Al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ was buried at Wenchi in somewhat surprising simplicity. His grave unlike that of his father, is in an open and over-grown field and has no
readily apparent marking. The tradition of learning and piety of his branch of the Tarawiri family was continued by his two sons, Sulaiman and Jatagakiya, both of whom died in 1950, and their descendants until the present day.
This section of our study presents some examples of late 19th and early 20th century Dyula writings primarily from the northern Ivory Coast and Ghana. Our main concern is to expose the reader to selections from the writings of the Tarawiri (Joni or Zoni) family including Karamoko Muhammad, al-Hajj Salihi and al-Hajj Muhammad Sa'id Jatagakiya. However, we have added relevant compositions by al-Hajj 'Umar b. abī Bakr and Karamoko Abū l-Hasan (or al-Husain) Timitay both of whom enjoyed a close relationship with al-Hajj Salihi.

The following manuscript, Sul ar-Rathī ("Request of the Elegizer"), was written by al-Hajj 'Umar b. abī Bakr (d. 1932). In this work the author elegizes Karamoko Muhammad and writes about the character of and his relations with al-Hajj Salihi. Al-Hajj 'Umar clearly demonstrates his knowledge of the Arabic language and a familiarity with some of the most prominent persons of the early centuries of Islamic history.

This is a xerox copy of another which is in the Arabic collection of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, IASAR/76. Neither the name of the scribe nor the date of this copy is known. The Institute's copy, obtained in 1963 from a late grandson of al-Hajj Salihi, Salihi Jabaghatay b. al-Hajj Sulaimān of Jinini, is written in a modified Maghribī script.
which is finer than those of the remaining documents in this part.

Sūl Ar-Rāthī

Folio Ia
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
Request of the Elegizer

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate, may Allah bless our master Muhammad, his family, companions, and grant him approval. Praise to Allah the inseminator (jā'īl) of love and mercy among His creatures; Who sent His messenger Muhammad, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, to mankind (li 1-ʾālamīn) as a mercy; upon him and his family be the best blessings and peace. Now then, ʿUmar b. abī Bakr, al-Kabawī according to lineage, al-Kanawī¹ according to birthplace and residence, says: I have contended with some friends and beloved ones; I have kept company of students (pupils) and friends; I have associated with townspeople and villagers; I have had close companions in town and on journeys, going and coming; I have befriended people in my town and the vicinity; but I have neither found, nor seen, nor known one more competent in debate, nor more amicable in social intercourse, nor more pleasant in association, nor more deserving of close companionship, nor more beneficial to befriend than Ṣāliḥ, son of Muhammad, the deceased. The basis (shāhid) for what I said is that we knew and dealt with each other about ten years or more when we were among the sons of yester-years (abnāʾ az-zamān) who spread iniquity in the country and were not upright. I did not see him do any wrong; nor did I hear that he did wrong to me or anyone else, though I do not know whether some other person saw or heard such; Allah knows best! When he heard of the death of his father, Shaikh Muhammad, we elegized him with these verses in the kāmil meter, hoping that Allah will raise his standing (yukammil darajatahu) in the Hereafter. Further, in these verses is the proficiency of the observer (baraʾat al-muṭtalli') to whoever contemplates what is in our composition (gawlīna), hal wābīl,² because we mean to [Implore Allah]²

¹The place-nisba for Kano, Northern Nigeria.
²This is not the title of the elegy.
to send a heavy downpour (wābil) of mercy upon the elegized. I made the number of verses fifty-eight, the number represented by the letters of اَنَّ.

Folio 1b

according to the numerical value of the alphabets (bi-hisāb al-jummal), hoping that Allah will lodge the elegized in His spacious high Paradise. Then I entreated those who have the favor of their Lord. I chose for it (fihā) the rhyme bā', hoping that Allah will open the door of mercy to him, entitling it Suł ar-Rathī (Request of the Elegizer) which is this qasīda. Allah is the One from Whom aid is sought and on Whom is dependence; there is no power and no strength except in Allah, the Sublime, the Great.

Is it a heavy downpour or tears pouring from my eyes?¹ Or is ghurāb al-bain,² my heart, cawing? Or the Tigris or Tangier or their Nile Rivers Running or flowing on my cheek consecutively? Or is it a vision of beloved ones who visited us? Or did my heart yearn there and wept? Or remembered my friend and then returned to me (fādanī)?³ Or did the darkness of the marketplaces descend, O my heart? Or did a star find its tower in the center of the heart? Or did the crescent of grief shine and not disappear? Or did I hear a thicket dove blaming

¹The word ajfānī literally means 'eyelids'.

²The term ghurāb al-bain refers to the caw of a crow or raven immediately before his migratory flight. In some Arabic-speaking societies it is cause for pessimism and sometimes interpreted as a bad omen. It is an insult to liken a person to the ghurāb al-bain. The term is also applied to Corvus, a southern constellation near Virgo.

³Perhaps the original word was fādanī (abandoned or became hostile to me) which seems more appropriate here.
A young bird as if the bird had entered the burrow?
And a caller invited you to what certainly should be heard.
Do I not call my friend, and does he answer?
Leave this and that; a perfect shaikh died
Who knew the masa'il,¹ their import and literature!
I heard that he was high-minded (or resolute).
We were taken by surprise by his departure from this painful world.
We tasted the bitterest of the bitter, O my brother,
With the departure of this shaikh; say, patience is necessary!
Had it not been for endurance and patience, we certainly
Would have pined away wherever the father died!
Surely we entreated that he be among those
Who are granted the mercy of the Merciful by a tail withdrawn.
O our Lord, answer (haqqiq) all our entreaties,
And be merciful to him, O my Lord, to the degree of those
of high standing:
Fātimah the recluse, her husband Alī,²
Her two sons Hasan and Husain, and he who wrote the Book.
O Lord, dress him in the garments of acceptance,
And grant him Paradise.
By this statement I mean Shaikh Muhammad,
Grandfather of Sulaimān, son of Sālih, without a doubt;
The caller to the study of the sciences, their sources and branches;
The unlettered (shurrādahā) replied embarrassingly (or angrily).

¹The author probably meant 'religious matters'.
²Perhaps this is a reference to the scribes who recorded the revelations.
He raised the importance (riqāb) of grammar, previously lowly rated,\(^1\)

After reading of the Qurʾān, Traditions and (maʿa) occasions of revelation.\(^2\)

He answered the needs of their enunciation and language simultaneously,
And likewise the meanings, religious obligations and mathematics.

O passers of the grave of Shaikh Muhammad,
Stop and invoke acceptance for him; that is good manners (adab)!

Do not deny what was said of his lights (piety).
In his grave he is radiant, 0 you who loved him.
This is our supplication, rather our hope for
He who died in Islam; moreover it is our greatest wish.
Lighten for him the affairs of the grave, 0 our God.
Grant him the bed of contentment with pleasure.
Submerge him in the sea of satisfaction, 0 Merciful One.
O You Forgiven of those who repent,
Forgive him and be merciful to him, 0 Lord of mankind,
A kind pardon, and grant on the Day of Return
Water and cattle to Shaikh Muhammad.
In his grave is written what was on the parchment of the Book
Of a heavy downpour, rather continuous or torrential rain
Or a pour or pourer, really a pouring.\(^3\)

Here Allah caused plants to grow for his grave,

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\(^1\)Akhmaṣ an-naʿī literally means 'hollow of the sole of the sandal'.

\(^2\)As-sabab refers to the branch of the Islamic sciences commonly called asbāb an-nuzūl (occasions of revelation).

\(^3\)The meaning of this line is unclear.
Of jasmin, lavender or shadhāb, 1
Or its roses, sandalwood and carnations (or cloves)
And (ba'da) aromatic plants which were made more pleasant
by the wind,
Watered continuously, without end or period
As long as the dārān are so near. 2
On the Day of Judgement, our Lord, include him in
The body of those gathered into a trotting group;
And shade him well (fi ḏillīn ẓalīlīn) on the day when there
Is no shade except that which is under the partition.
Then perfect for him a light when he ascends
The path, with the dignity of Idrīs; 3 and ʾĪf he is thirsty
On arrival at the pool of Ahmad (Muhammad) do not let him be
Among those who are scattered when the doubters are scattered.
Enter him (anzilhu) into Paradise with approval,
O Whom who gave Ahmad a high place; and grant
My request, O Answerer, with the dignity of him who
Excelled mankind (al-bariyya), non-Arabs and even Arabs;
And with the honor of as-Ṣiddīq, his successor;
And that of al-Fārūq, who seized the darab; 4
And with the rank (bi-ḥagg) of Dhu n-Nūrain, then ʾAlī,
Lion of the Ḥāshimī detachment, Abū l-Harb;
Folio IIb
And with the dignity of Talha, az-Zubair, Saʿd
Then as-Saʿīd; they are those who refused escape;

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1 Scattered pieces of tree bark, branches, twigs, etc.
2 This translation is very uncertain. Dārān could refer to Heaven and Hell or the worlds of life and death. The phrase aḏʿāf al-qirab could literally mean 'many times the nearness' if one substitutes qirab for qurb. Qirab (sing. girba) usually mean 'waterskins'.
4 The entrance between two mountains.
And ‘Ubaid f.d. ar-ż Rahmān and ‘Āsim, they follow; ‘Ā’isha and the daughter of Ibn al-Khattāb; And Mūsā then ‘Īsā after him; With the reverence (bi-jāh) of our Ka‘ba which is indestructable; With the respect (bi-jāh) of him who labbā,¹ circumambulated f.the Ka‘ba] and zārahū;² And those who related Traditions and wrote f.them]; And Adam and Eve who produced all mankind, nor surprisingly; And Ibrāhīm and his two sons f.İshmael and Isaac]; Then with the dignity of Jacob who tasted grief; And also Aaron and David; And with the dignity of Solomon who acquired plunder, And Mary then Āsiya who Attained praise descendent from f.the7 Lord; And with the dignity of Hamza and 'Abbās whose Descendants (banūhu) achieved sovereignty everywhere. Increase, O Forgiver the One, his (Karamoko Muhammad's) Reward abundantly with munificence and magnanimity. Make him the crown of splendor on the Day of Judgement, Among the highest attainers of salvation. Answer my prayer completely, O Creator, And include him (fa-ja’alahu) among the saved on the Day of Return With the exalted ones from the time of birth³ to f.The 7 day when creatures will stand for the Judgement; And f.grant him] the holiness (bi-jāh) of the Torah and likewise the Gospels, The Psalms and the Furqān and all the scriptures; And the dignity of Abū Huraira and Mus‘ab after him; And Bilāl, O my Lord, grant my supplication (ajāb);

¹That is, complied with the call to make the pilgrimage.  
²That is, visited the tomb of Muhammad in his mosque at Madina.  
³Literally "from the moment you willed".  

And ʿān-7 Nuʿmān, Ahmad ʿB. 7 Hanbal,  
Malik ʿB. Anas7, and ʿash-7 ShāfiʿI the admirable;  
And Khadija and Sawda after her;  
And with the rank of the awliyā7; 1 he is the leader; 2  
And Safiyya, Juwaira ʿsic7, Sakīna  
And ʿmaʿā7 Fatima. The elegy (al-khitāb) is completed.  
Praise to Allah, the Merciful, the Forgiver  
Lord of all creation, even the animals.  
May the best blessings be upon Prophet Muhammad,  
His7 family and companions as long as (mā) it rains.  

(It the elegy) is completed and with peace (khair) disseminated (ʾammat)7  

This copy was finished on Thursday evening, 10th Shaʿbān7  

Ṣālih Jabaghatay b. al-Ḥājj Sulaimān, Jinānī (Jinini).  
I received it Monday, 19th Dhū l-Hijja 1382 A.H., the year  
13th March 1961 (sic.)7 3

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1 This could be a reference to the companions of Muhammad, or holy men (saints).  
2 That is Karamoko Muhammad.  
3 All the bracketed statements were written by different hands. The latter is that of al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān Boyo,  
Senior Research Assistant, Institute of African Studies,  
who acquired a copy of the manuscript from al-Ḥājj Ṣālih's  
grandson, Ṣālih Jabaghatay.
Of all the Ivoirian and Ghanaian Arabic manuscripts known to the writer this is the only commentary on a well known theological work. This is not to say that such works were not studied; the fact is that they were not only used for purposes of learning, but were also copied, distributed and sold to students and lettered laymen. However, it appears that few karamokos thought themselves proficient enough in Arabic and the Islamic sciences to expose themselves to potential embarrassment by their colleagues or an itinerant native Arabic-speaking person. Karamoko Muhammad b. 'Uthmān belongs to this small group or western Sudanese 'ulama'.

The following document is a commentary on the Risāla fī Ma‘ānī Kalimatai ash-Shahāda (also known as Umm al-

1 During my field research for the present study I asked a number of teachers whether they had written or published pieces in Arabic. With the exception of Imām al-Hājj Muhammad Qudus Timitay who studied two years at Al-Āzhar University and wrote Al-Jawāb ash-Shāfī ‘an at-Tanāzu’ al-Manāfī (Cairo: Mustafā al-Halabī and Sons, 1374/1955), not one of my seemingly well informed acquaintances answered affirmatively. When I queried my knowledgeable guide, al-Hājj 'Uthmān Boyo about this matter, he replied that the karamokos were afraid of being ridiculed by their peers, and that only a very small number of them would chance writing a letter in Arabic. He further stated that the relatively very learned, such as Imām Muhammad Marḥabā Saghanughu of Bobo Dioulasso, has had occasion to criticize the Arabic of some leading teachers in Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Ghana and elsewhere.
Barāhīn)\(^1\) of Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar as-Sanūsī. He was one of the North African Shurafā by maternal descent from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbī Ṭālib. The author was an Ashʿarī theologian of Tlemcen where he flourished and died in 895/1490; he also had some training in fiqh, logic, exegesis, astronomy and mathematics. However, as-Sanūsī's specialty was tawḥīd, the subject of most of his more than twenty-five compositions (some of which are commentaries on earlier works by himself and others). His high regard for tawḥīd is expressed in a saying attributed to him by one of his students: "The Most High does not transmit the knowledge of any of the external (zāhir) sciences except tawḥīd which facilitates an understanding of all the other sciences; one's fear of the Most High is in direct proportion to his knowledge of tawḥīd".\(^2\)

In his commentary Karamoko Muḥammad calls himself an Ashʿarī. We do not know the circumstances in which he became acquainted with the thought of Abū l-Ḥasan

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\(^2\)Ahmad Bābā, Nail al-Ibtihāj, p. 325.
'Ali b. Isma'īl al-Ash'arī, or the extent of his knowledge of kalām. However, it seems clear that he had a deeper understanding of tawhīd and kalām than one could obtain from the eight pages of the Risāla. It is likely that he came into contact with Ash'arī's thought during his travels and study in the Western Sudan, especially Timbuctu and Jenne. Both of these centers were close to northern Africa where the Ash'arīyya had gained ground during and after the activities of the Al-Muwahhidūn and Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), himself an exponent of tawhīd.

I was permitted to photograph this manuscript by Imām Muḥammad al-Murtādā of Jinini who, to my knowledge, possesses the only extant copy of the work. It is twenty pages long and contains glosses in various hands on both sides of several sheets. Each page is approximately six by nine inches, of coarse high cotton content paper which does not have a visible watermark. The date 1297/1880 on the last page is in a different hand from that of the text; there are at least three different hands on the manuscript. The script is not uniform but a mixture of Sūdānī, Maghribī and Naskhī. The style of the composition is rajaz. There are many grammatical errors, cases of illegible penmanship and instances of poor Arabic usage; these may or may not

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1 There are some similarities between his commentary and al-Ash'arī's Kitāb al-Luma' fī 1-Radd 'alā Ahl az-Zaigh wa l-Bid', tr. and ed. by Richard J. McCarthy, The Theology of al-Ash'arī (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1952-3).
be attributable to the author. It is hoped that the following translation closely approximates the intention of the author.

Commentary on as-Sanūsī's *Risāla*
تَمَتْ نُعُمَ إِلَى الْخَلَقِ
لَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

فَعَلَ فَضَلُّ الْعُلُومِ وَجَهَّامٌ.
وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

وَالْعُلُومُ وَشَحَى وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

وَالْعُلُومُ وَشَحَى وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

وَالْعُلُومُ وَشَحَى وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

وَالْعُلُومُ وَشَحَى وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

وَالْعُلُومُ وَشَحَى وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

وَالْعُلُومُ وَشَحَى وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

وَالْعُلُومُ وَشَحَى وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
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بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.

وَالْعُلُومُ وَشَحَى وَلَعْلَمَ الْكَيْلَةَ وَشَحَى
بَشَّارَةِ الْخَلَقِ.
وزواج وثبوت وقضية
كما يدل على
لا يدل
والمستغل ماعداه
الوقت
فلا
والدائم
بكل
فلا
وربما يكون
أو العادة
لوم
كما
معلوم
على
الآول
صحيح
بسبب
والفعل
الصحيح
والنمر
والنزول
فليس
وتحية
فلا
فإذا
القطع
فلم
وربما
الآول
عنى
والفعل
للمبتدأ
ورآه بن سهيل ووعل وكان له السقاية قبلاً، وعندما تعلمه
وبين النجوم والآراء والطعام والشمس والبدر وقى
وكان عليه وكوث كان قادر وفريدًا وعالماً يفهم
وسيماً وصراً وشجعاً وهداكم في صيد
تتبع فيها وسقى وعندما نقلت لـ
قصصه. وفلاط
وتمسك بالوقفة، كيف تكون إرثًا
ومحمد ودراً وفدوه، وفداءً وإبنه
والمجوهرات والصدور، وفداً إبنه لرهان
والله يبسط القبائل، وفداً إبنه لا يبسط
وهماً إبنه، وفماً، وفداً إبنه، وفناً إبنه.
حافظ عليه، يا نبيك، وكنيتك تقل حضره، وكنهك قد وصيًا خاطرًا.

وصممو وعما وفلكاً وآصداً يامر شبر، برقدًا.

جعله يبلغه قلبه،

خذوه ففي درع الآلهة برضاقة وحدها الفاع، مأذمًا ملظمًا كمحرك لبكر،

كأنه فريخة وطيب، وابن الماء مهوش الكور، يحيى

خونه يشتهك ثقناً، وكونهًا ثيابًا عين فسق.

مورده لألاء، م_preference كمحوراً مهورًا، باطبار
في مركم، في الخلي، في، استلقى، إياها بيضة.

رضي الله به، وودبه دعوته بطل، كونه المدعي، بذاته
وودبه، اتقى الجهل، عينه المعرفي، معدة، مفتوح، فبين

ودبه.
مرير طعمي أتذوقون عائدة للمبقود
وايروجوداء أزعم أعلم بالبقاء
وبيسمة أقى طعم ملوس يبدعون أورثلواهم بعذبة
وايرويجون الفضائل لها في النهاية الأهم وبفضل دين
ونبطرة والبكر على عبد نور على التوالي المتكرر
بيد أن الفحوصات لها كارتية في عقول وعطش
مريرشل للشجرة في رقيق فلردموه مرا شرعي
وحلقة في نفسه تنادي قائد مغرورهم عار
فهذا اسمهم الفؤاد، فكذبفأزموه وراء
هنا مرير شعري نازل
نزع هاته لما ابا خياله مرحاده آذا للاستعداد
فأضيق تحت يده ووضعه الله في عينه واشتاق
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المكتوب بالخط السكلي في الصورة المقدمة. إذا كنت بحاجة إلى ترجمة أو مساعدة في شيء آخر، فأخبرني بذلك.
وَلِبَدْرِ وَقَبِيلَةِ يَبْحَرِياءِ "تَعَلَّمَ أنْحَرَ لْأَفْخَسَعَوْلَاَّدَكَ فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةً، فَأَلْبِثَ مُعَلَّمَةَ
كلنا لهوا فوائدurst معلومة لما أوتي فوجد
بوجزهم أنفسهم وليل عز الله وبرتادوا خليل
وعرف الله وعرف يهود فصين الله تبوع نغت
فلأتركوا للشجاعة ولا تلكا ولا تلكا ولا الكفاح ولا السقم
وبالنقاء ونفثه أنتو أمتنا بإصدادي
وازل النفايات والشراب عرض الله نقله وفارق
وأرسل السمع البصير وكلي الله فوشعلنا بالفكر
ويبقى الدعوة والبقاء

ولد القادم والقاعدة

والنجاح والبقاء والبقاء

ونقل السمع مع البصر يقرأ ويفجر

وينقل السمع مع البصر يقرأ ويفجر

براء
وَبَعَلَّهُمْ مَعَ تَسْرِيدَهُمَا تَأْرِيبَ فَصْرَلَةَ، وَكِسْمَةَ بِحِيْبَاءَ، وَضُرْعَةَ وَبَقُولَةَ مَكْرُهُمْ يَكُونُ \nفِي حِيْبَاءَ، وَكِسْمَةَ بِحِيْبَاءَ تَصَرَّحُ مَكْرُهُمْ لَعَنْهَا فِي هَذَا \nيَبْعَدُهُمَا عَنَّكَ عَشْرَيْنَاءَ وَفَوْقَ وَبَيْنَ يَبْعَدُهُمَا عَشْرَيْنَاءَ وَفَوْقَ بَيْنَهُمَا فِي هَذَا عَلَى نَفَاسِهَا وَرَأَتِهَا نَفَازُ وَلَفَّاً ظُفْرَة* 
يَكُونُ تَذْيِبُهُ فَوْقَ الْحَرْقِ وَسَوَافُهُ الأَدْلَاءَ الْيَعْرَفَ، قُرْنُونُ 
مَعَالَتُهُمْ كَثِيرًا جَانِبًا وَقِيْمَتُهُمْ كَثِيرًا وَبَيْنَهُمَا فَوْقَ بَيْنَهُمَا بَايْضَاءُ الْحَرْقِ وَقُرْنُونُ.
وقد وصلنا إلينا المعلومة أن دار الكرونا الهاؤس
بشيريه والكني، واشترىوها باحة
بديلاً بعيداً من دار المكتبة الإنجليزية، وعشر
واحدة مستوردة بكرير ضم والسائحين
ودل بعده الرسالة مع.librar، وأصروا الأفكار.
مع علامة مجهود، ي밍 مع كاهن، بكارافان
بالمصر، وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، زواياً دائر
جعل فيها؟ ك، ومليئة رياض
عبر الأحذية، وشعر
عبارة أسمى السحر والألفية، والجمال والشفير،
ويسجى أمك الكبو، وعبت، وكما وقدم أوروباء
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ويونت المغامرة، ليس في الكمال، وتشعر، ورد
مرآة في نور السّلل والْحَكِيوُمِيلْج، وَمَنْقَر بَلْدَاتٍ وَمَسْرَحٍ فَيْنَاء
وَكُلُّ شَكْفٍ تَشْقِيْقٍ وَفَجْلٍ بَيْنُ الدُّبْجِي وَالْخَيْرِ وَنَقْبُ
وَكَلْفُ تَعِيدٍ كَحْلُ عَنْهُ وَتَعْرِقُ تَحْمَلُ عَلَى جِمْهُر
وَكَنْمَاذِي وَأَجُوُبُ وَرَفْقُ وَبَنُو أَذْرَقُو أَخْلَالٌ
بَيْدَلٍ لِّهَامٍ لِسُمْ أُوْلَيْ الْخَيْرِ رَبَّيْنَا النَّبِيِّ
وَلَا تُسْمِمْ مِداً مَّنُوَاءَةً أَنْ تَذْكِرَ الْمَقَامَ بِبِدْرِ الأَنْبَاء
وَلَا كَنْتِ الْيَتِمَّ بَيْنَ أَسْرِيَّ وَلَبَنَيْنَا عَرْضُ بَلَى أَحْمَرُ
وَهَٰذِهِ الْكَفْرُونِ يَوْمُ يُقَدِّمُونَهُ بِالْمَاشِيَةِ
لِلْجَمْعِ الْكَبْرِيَّةِ، وَتَقَبَّلْنَيْنِ أَرْضَكَ أَمَّا آتَيْتَنَا
أَفْغَضْهُمْ لَسْتُمْ بِشَأْنِيَّ، مَرْحَةٌ مَّرْحَةً فَوَأَرَى اللَّهُ
صَدَّوْهُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ، يُعْلَمُ قَبْلَيْنِ
والعربية قررنا يتم فهم الادعاء العام على:

- الدينار والكرونا بر

- انفخاخ الكلمة لقسم:

- يبهار في مرايا: يجب

- فكرتهم في لمس

- قلوبنا: يعم فجر:

- وجوب ميليشوا بيتهم، وكلمهم، وقناً

- تماكينها، وإثبات

- ودعوك، واقف

- الاتصال، والوضع، والجواب،

- إنهن فبلغ كلما

- بعد أكثرهم، يتبعون

- عليه السلام، والصلاة على}

- الشمس
وفقد حكمنا فحول الله تعالى
فجعله غاية ونعمة ومحبة
واطلاع الله عليه
ونتهي إلى عصر
وذلك في كتب الرسل مع الأشياء والتفاصيل
والكتاب المفتى
섭ور والشعراء المرهف
ومدخل للرجال في أثر
ومع ذلك أحكم به الفقه من المقترح الأشهر.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المكتوب في الصورة.
لَأَكَرِهَهُمْ قَبْلَ تُنْتِبِهِمْ ذَٰلِكَ رَبّ الْعَالَمِينَ
عندما نستيقظ ونتعب في هذه الوظيفة، نشعر بالتعب والمشقة في النهوض بعد أن نغذى شعور الفرح.

أفيض بفحة الحياة، ونستغفر الله موسى كلفه

لله نداً وتنبيهاً، وجعله لمعنا وإليه وفرجنا.

أخفدها وأشكروه شكرًا إلى الله بعد نجاحه.
Page 1

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate; may Allah bless our master Muhammad, His prophet, and his family and companions, and grant him approval, and from Him we ask aid. Muhammad b. 'Uthmān al-Mālikī al-Ash'ārī at-Tijānī said:

I praise Allah the One Who has no need For an offspring and a parent, Who is independent Of a likeness, equal, contrast And of an example, peer and a partner. Everything except Him is in need of Him, The Creator and Originator of everything. So extol: there is nothing like Him; He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing, the Creator!

Then blessings and peace upon
The best of creatures, Ahmad, the missioned, And his family and first companions;
The mark of prostration is apparent in their faces.
Now then: knowledge (ʾilm) is the best thing with Which a person can be adorned and affiliated;

Page 2

Such as etiquette (adab), piety and fear Of Him to ever increasing heights and ranks.
The more preferable of the sciences (ʿulūm) ... are Knowledge of the Book, for knowledge of religion is basic, And jurisprudence, grammar, Sufism,
The roots of jurisprudence, what is declinable (morphology), Traditions, the campaigns (of Prophet Muhammad), What is explanatory of rhetoric and allegory; Philology and prosody, Arithmetic and the laws of inheritance, Linguistic style, and eloquence

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1 The word in the text is illegible.
And the other common and secondary sciences. But (wa) the most sublime is the science of unity (tawhīd) Which is the quality of the One, the Worshipped. It is the subject (al-marʿī) here, And the foundation of religion in our opinion.

Introduction

Rational opinion is restricted And gathered into three categories:

Page 3

Obligatory, permissible and absurd. Now the obligatory is that whose non-being is inconceivable; The absurd is that whose non-being persists, Like the faith of Abū 1-Jamr al-Mūbad; And the permissible is that whose two extremes are conceivable, Existence and nonexistence, without misrepresentation. A legally responsible person (mukallaf) is required To know these and that, without deviating From (fī) the reality of the Most High and the prophets, May the blessings and peace of the First be upon them.

Section on the Number of His Attributes

Reason and tradition require twenty

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1 From here the text proceeds in a manner similar to that of the Risāla.
2 As-Sunūsī (p. 2) used the terms wujūb, istihāla and jawāz.
3 According to as-Sanūsī (p. 2), it is "that whose existence is inconceivable."
4 That is, the obligatory, absurd and the permissible.
Attributes to Allah, the Most High, Lord of the worlds.
The first is existence, which pertains to His Being (nafṣīyya).
And the following five are passive (sallīyya);
They are pre-existence, eternity and His being different
From things created;
His being independent
Of place and a partner in His essence (dhatihi).

He is one in His essence,
And therefore in His attributes and acts.
Seven of the qualities are abstract (ma'nawīyya),
Supported by His exalted essence;
They are omnipotence, volition, knowledge,
Life, hearing, sight and certainly including
Speech; and His, the Most High, being omnipotent
Willing, knowing and living makes Him competent,
And capable of hearing, seeing and speech.
These are definitely twenty attributes
Followed by conceivable (ta'āqqul) attributes,
Equal in number false (yu'wal).

Section on the Contraries

The opposite attributes are also twenty,
Absurd with regard to the Most High, unacceptable.
They are nonexistence, becoming nonexistent,
Created, resemblance to something created,
Requirement of a place, and partner.
That is, He required a perpetrator and a being, so reply!
The diversity of contraries in His essence, qualities
And deeds will now follow:
Plurality, incapacity, dislike,\(^1\) ignorance

\(^1\)That is, that Allah creates something to which He is averse.
Death, deafness, blindness and so forth,

And dumbness; the Most High's being incapable,
Averse, ignorant, dead is rejected (hājiz\(^{\text{an}}\))
And deaf, blind and dumb.

This completes the twenty inconceivable attributes.

Section on Proof and Evidence

The creation of accidents ('arad) with bodies (ajrām)\(^1\) 
Is proof of the existence of the creator of mankind.
Accident is motion and rest,\(^2\)
With there being meeting and separation;
Motion is precisely separation,
And meeting is the same as rest.
Its \(\text{motion}^\prime\) occurrence is evidenced by it \(\text{rest}^\prime\) by consent,
And its existence is clearly inseparable from it.
Their concealment of their appearance is deceptive;
Their self-perpetrated existence is false;
Their self-induced movement is preposterous.
To describe the Eternal as created is atrocious;
To describe the nonexistent as pre-existent is more repulsive.


The proof of the createdness of bodies (ajsām)
Is certainly the occurrence of growth in them;
And the proof of the createdness of accidents
Is the witnessing of their necessary change.

Page 6

From nonexistence to existence
And from existence to nonexistence.
A body is that which is composed of two substances (jawharain)
Or more, without a lie.
And substance is single specie
Which strictly excludes division.
So look closely and contemplate deeply
The study of the creation of the various cosmi;
It will lead you to the knowledge of the Master
Of everything, Creator and Destroyer,
From the Throne to the foundation of the earth,
And of all things the Vanquisher and the Effector.
Their self-createdness is absurd,
And creation without them is unimaginable (ta'ånut).
So these are seven of the questions
And to each is universal excellence and a causative factor.¹
With it you can swim a sea of which Allah fears
For His servants, the 'ulama'; so do not forget Him.
And with it you may be rescued from those in the depth of the sea
And in darkness, the clouds and waves.

Page 7

To reside in the Upper Paradise,
The highest heaven with the approval of the Master of masters,
Closing the gates of Hell,
The seven, to you, 0 faithful.
As for the proof of the necessity of the pre-existence

¹This and the following four lines are difficult to understand; this translation is extremely conjectural.
Of our Lord, the Sublime the Generous,
Had His existence been preceded by nonexistence,
He would certainly have been a destructable creature,
And that leads to *circulus vitiosus*
Which is impossible and reproachable.
As for the proof of the necessity of the eternity
Of the One whose sovereignty is continuous, without cessation,
If nonexistence could befall His existence,
He would not have been attributed with pre-existence and antecedence.
How, when their attribution to Him is necessitated by
Reason, tradition and understanding?
As for the proof of the necessity of His difference,
Who is above resemblance and space, independent,
If He resembled created things,
He would be like them and temporary as they are;
He would require whatever they require.
How can He, exalted is His majesty, resemble them?
Page 8
As for the proof of the necessity of His existence,
The Most High, independent of space and a partner in His essence,
Had He occupied space,
Surely one of the attributes would be the occupier of space.
But an attribute is not described by meanings,
Nor by the requisites of demonstration.
Our Lord, the Great, the Mighty,
Must be described by these two, not by an imputed quality;
Because if He needed a second,
Surely the Most High would be, like creatures, limited;
And createdness with respect to Allah is inadmissible
Due to what you know about His two aforementioned attributes.¹
As for the proof of the necessity of unity

¹Pre-Existence and Eternal.
Of Him Who is singularly and uniquely distinguished by divinity,
If He has a partner
In His divinity, then consider the following (fa-khudh bayān):
He could not have created a thing
Of the possibilities whenever He wished
Due to the incapacity of both or one of them,
Or the subjection of both or one of them; so know,
When confronted by disagreement and agreement,
The obligatory and the permissible, and approve them!
Praise to al-murīd the Efficacious;
Incapacity and subjection with respect to Him are impossible.

Page 9
So these eight pages (ṣuwar) are
Shown in the book of Shaikh as-Sanūsī,
Key to the eight doors
Of the Heart with the consent of the Merciful. 2
And with this proof it becomes clear
That ascription of a quality to a thing has no effect on it;
And there is no effect upon the power of the created
Except from the omnipotence of the Eternal, the Revivifier.
He rewards or punishes it the created
Of His own choice, not out of compulsion.
Like water, fire and a knife,
Relative to cutting, irrigating and heating,
And like burning and food in relation to satisfying hunger
And what is similar to these in nature;
And like Sagitta and Hyades,

1 This word, which usually applies to an aspirant in a Sūfī order, seems to be erroneously included in the text; apparently the correct word referred to Allah.

2 This seems to be the title of as-Sanūsī's work on which Karamoko Muhammad wrote this commentary; however, I did not find this title in Brockelmann's GAL.
And sa'd as-su'ūd, and al-kharāsān

In trade with respect to profit and loss;
And safety and erring due to Allah's abandoning.

These are not due to (bi) a peculiarity or a power

Created (awda'a) in them by Allah and not because of a deficiency;

Rather Allah executes one decree after ('inda) another;

Because of (bi) His excellence and justice (He is) able.

As for the proof of the necessity of omnipotence
Knowledge, life and will,

If one of these (attributes) were denied,

Then surely there would not exist a creator.

The manifestation of their perfection is evidence
Of His knowledge and will, 0 friend,

And of His omnipotence and life.

There are the effective attributes of His descriptive names.

As for the proof of the necessity of hearing, sight and speech being possessed by the Perfect, the Patient,

Had He not been attributed with them,

Surely He would have been attributed with contrary qualities which are defects, and the imputation of imperfections to Allah, the Most High, is forbidden and remote.

So read: Surely Allah is the All-Hearing and All-Seeing,
And Allah spoke to Moses with mastery over speech.

Section on the Relationship of the Attributes

Omnipotence and will are related

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1 These seem to be astronomical terms applied to a group of stars; see E.W. Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon, (8 vols.; London: William and Norgate, 1867), Book I, Part 4, p. 1361.
To all the possibilities. Take notice
Of creation and destruction, and designation
Of place and time (which are) determined
By existence, quality, area
And quantity, special (and) chosen;
And knowledge is related to speech,
As speech is a manifestation and sign of knowledge, 0 savant.
Rational opinion classifies them
Into obligatory, permissible and absurd,
And hearing is related to sight
By all things existent, so do not be a Determinist.¹
Nothing is so related to life
Because it is a precondition for all the attributes.

Page 12

Section on the Allegory of the Most High's Attributes

Scholastic theology pertains to speech (lisānī), the heart,
Expression, proof and conclusion.
Its conclusion is from a problem and
The multiplier and multiplicand² are connected.
So the multiplication of the negative by the positive³
Renders the same product
Eternally; and the continuation of the negative

¹Tatajabbar. See, Shahrastānī, Al-Milal wa n- Nikki, in Ibn Hazm, vol. I, pp. 108-9; W.M. Watt, Free Will and
²Ma' muḥ as-suḥrā and al-kubrā may be understood as
the minor and major premises of a syllogism, or the
multiplier and multiplicand in arithmetic.
³Nafṣīyya
Makes their result yawyah.¹
The negative and the positive are opposites
Which produce no result (bi-fadfud or fadfad).
Three times three is surely permissible;
Their result is nine.²

This total (jumlatuha) with fifty [added] to the essence of Who
Has counted everything plus (wa) ninety-eight³
Equal (yasir) fifty-seven
And one hundred after one hundred.⁴
Add and memorize them here,⁵
There your answer (hisabuka) will be (tasir) ninety-five.⁶
Also to these twenty must [be added] Necessity and permanancy with demonstration,
For if one of these were denied
Then surely there would not exist anything created
As He would have been produced from cogent evidence And positively clear proof.

¹This does not appear to be an Arabic word; it may be a Dyula or other colloquialism. My Dyula informants were unfamiliar with it. Even if the letters represent numbers, which is common in Sudanic Arabic writings, the number would be thirty-one which seems insignificant in this context.
²The total of hā' (five) and dāl (four).
³The total of hā' (eight), mīm (forty) and nūn (fifty).
⁴That is, one hundred and fifty-seven.
⁵Kun láhā ḥāṣibān wa ḥāfizān.
⁶The total of mīm (forty), hā' (five) and nūn; presumably the ending alif was added to rhyme with hunā.
Section on the Permissibles

The performance of all possibilities
Is permissible with respect to the Most High, like its omission.
He is subject to neither obligation nor absurdity:
Like a decree which He prescribed then (wa) abrogated,
Having neither need for nor interest (gharad) in it
For Himself or His performance necessarily (yuftarid).

Page 14

He will grant His vision (ru'yatuhu) to the pious
In the Hereafter (dār al-‘ulā wa dār al-ma‘wā),
Without 'how' and not through imagination,
And not with the eye or eye-ball.¹
The proof is that 'On that day radiant faces
Will observe their Lord'² happily,
And the Tradition 'You shall see your Lord
Without jostles or competition between you'.
From Him is the missioning of messengers
And (ma‘a) prophets and descending angels
With their miracles (mu‘jizāt) and laws;
And his paying deference to them with miracles (kārāmāt)
And (bi) His grace and choice,
Because He is the Almighty, the Omnipotent.

Section on what is Obligatory, Absurd and
Permissible with Respect to the [Prophets],
Blessings and Peace be upon them

Truthfulness and integrity are obligatory upon them,
And the transmission of what they were ordered to make known;
Deceit and treachery are impossible for them,

²Qur‘ān 75:22-3.
And the concealment of what they were ordered to disseminate.

What is permissible for ordinary men is permissible for them, Upon them, the excellent ones, be blessings and peace:

Page 15

Of food, drink and marriage,
And selling and buying what is lawful;
And like sovereignty, rulership and subjugation,
Without sexual intercourse, ridicule or vainglory;
And like slight sickness, such as headache,
Eye ailment and fever, according to consensus;
And like thirst, hunger and poverty,
And fleeing from the enemy to Madina (Dar al-Hujri).
The proof is 'my Lord, surely I am in need of Whatever good You might send down to me'.

This does not lower their rank in the least,
But it is of those things which make it more exalted,
And that is strength or legislative power (tashri) to them,
And an escape from the wretched world, so be heedful!
As for the proof of the necessity of their truthfulness,
Had they been untruthful in their utterances,
Surely that would have necessitated falsity in the message of Him
Who sent them to mankind, and upon Him I rely
For His support of them with miracles
Descending in the rank of His miraculous speech.
His servant was truthful in everything
Which he brought as a teacher and a spokesman.

Page 16

And that they lied on Allah, the Most High, is absurd

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1 Qur'an 28:24. In the interest of clarity I chose to translate the verse as it is in the Qur'an, and to omit the final anta (you) in the above text which is added to rhyme with nazalta (You sent down).
Due to their manifest truthfulness in every era.
As for the proof of the necessity of their integrity,
Upon them be blessings and peace,
Had they been treacherous by committing the forbidden
The prohibited, the reprehensible and the sinful,
Surely these would have been changed to obedience,
Because Allah ordered us to emulate them
In their sayings and their deeds;
For Allah does not command the abominable, so imitate them
Because they are infallible with respect to sin,
And they obey every order.¹
As for the proof of the necessity of what they conveyed,
Had they concealed it or refrained from conveying it,
Surely they would not have been prophets messengers,
And untrustworthy with what was revealed to them.
That would cause an interruption of revelation,
And we would not know the true religion or path.
How, when the prophet certainly conveyed all that
He was ordered to convey, completely?
Even it was revealed 'I have perfected your religion for you',²
The true religion and path, so take it!
May blessings and peace upon him increase
As long as the world is between existence and nonexistence.

As for the proof of the necessity of accidents,
Upon them be an abundance of blessings and peace,
It is by observation and continuance
From the predecessors to the descendants and so forth.
As for the statement 'there is no god but Allah

¹The word mawjūr is almost definitely a copyist mistake for mawjūb (order, injunction, moral obligation).
²sic., Qur'ān 5:3.
And (maʿa) Muhammad is the messenger of Allah', here you are: Included in the statement 'there is no god but Allah' Are all perfections without end. And what has an intellect has ascribed To Allah the obligatory and the absurd; Everything which is permissible is for Him, the Most High, Permissible and is marked 'certainly'! As for 'Muhammad is the messenger of Allah', May Allah bless him forever, Included in it is our faith in the Pre-Existent One, The Eternal Who was not preceeded by nonexistence, And from Him is the missioning of messengers, Prophets and angels, the perfect ones, And divinely revealed scriptures (kutub) In books (sifr) and numbered lines. From Him is His unique Qur'an Which contains miraculous rhetoric and meanings, And all that the chosen one ʿMuhammad was told Pertaining to the divine secrets of the afterlife:

Page 18

The trial of the grave, its iniquity and anguish; The questioning by the two angels, its fright and fear; The Resurrection of the body itself, And only it, according to concensus, so listen well! The receipt of the account, the good deeds and the fire; And mālik, Paradise and acceptance; The path, gentle (muraffaq) and determined; Poetry and scripture (sifr), even from India, agree (ayyid)! Intercession on behalf of the disobedient believers; Raising the ranks of the infallible ones; Removing the chastisement from his uncle Abū Talib

1The meaning of this word in this context is uncertain; perhaps it refers to Imam Mālik b. Anas, the founder of the author's madhhab.
To a shallow part of Hell, because of his (Muhammad) rank, O friend; His great pool (hawduhu l-kawthar) Of clear, delicious and feted water, From which impurities (al-mubdiil wa l-mughayyir) are removed Of Judaism, Christianity and unbelief, And with interruption, exploitation and obstruction, Seclusion, misguidance and deception. O Allah, make us live according to the Sunna of al-Mustafâ (Muhammad), And cause us to die according to it, faithful and sincere, With some seventy sects, Like the odor between dispersion and pure blood, With the dignity of him for whom the moon was cloven, With attestation, approval and victory, And of him who was chosen for the prophetic rank, And included in his prophetic overflow. He was a prophet knowledgable about his prophethood, And a messenger knowledgable about his message,

Whereas neither Adam nor Eve Was a messenger or prophet, Neither Gabriel nor Michael, Neither Isrâîl nor Azrael, Blessings and peace be upon him and them. This is the reason for their existence and [that of] their master.  

1Bi ta'ahhudin [sic.] wa tanassur in wa takaffur in.  
2This appears to be an allegorical statement (tashbih), but the meaning is somewhat unclear.  
3The author probably meant that each of the above had a special reason for his existence, and that Muhammad holds a relatively higher rank.
Epilogue

To the memorizer of it¹ (dhakiruha) is a great merit; Allah mentioned it in His disseminated revelation, In His statement 'Surely exhortation Benefits the Believers', undoubtedly. Dhākiruhā ma'nān muhdaran²

With it he will gain entry to (tasir bihi) the vast kingdom in the Hereafter.

He who always remembers it like flowing water (muwāzībān) Joins (yasīr) the company of the saints, Some of whom will fly with him in the air, And some will walk with him on the waters, and he will be seen;

Some engrave it on a dinār and a gem, And inlay with it destroyed (or broken) tables;³ And some of them travel far in a few hours. He who remembers it will have continuous success; His affairs will become easy.

O Allah bless us with continuous memory of it; We murmur it and cry it aloud. He who remembers it is always happy, His sins will be forgiven (ghāsūlān)

Page 20

During our ghī lifetime and at our ghī death, At the time of Judgment and Resurrection from our graves. For this is the ladder of the ascender To the Abode of Peace, the best aspired goal;

¹It is unclear to what 'it' (ha) refers.
²Qurān 51:55
³This line is unintelligible.
⁴It is assumed that the author meant yuṭa‘im; however, the verse is allegorical.
With it I seek refuge in You against the cursed.
Praised are You, the Generous and the Merciful
Consider this in my favor (mudkhar\textsuperscript{an} karīm\textsuperscript{an})
On the Day of Recompence and Judgment.
O Allah, bless and grant salvation to him
Who is the key to the existence of every possibility,
To his family, companions and party
The victorious ones with his companionship and aid.
I praise and thank Him
Profusely for His recompence and rewards.

Praise to Allah the Lord of the worlds. O Allah, forgive us, our parents and all the Muslims and Believers, those alive and those who are dead. Surely You are the All-Powerful.

There is no god but Allah; Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him.
The year 1307 A.H. (zain, dād, rā', shīn), 8th Ramadān 1297\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{1}These lines were probably added by a later hand. It is not clear to what either date refers.
CHAPTER VI

THE WRITINGS OF AL-HĀJJ SĀLIH AND
AL-HĀJJ MUHAMMAD SA‘ĪD JATAGAKIYA

It is unfortunate that we do not possess a lengthy treatise written by al-Hājj Sālih, similar to that of his father, with which to consider his intellectual abilities further. It is apparent from the short pieces contained in this chapter that he was quite capable of writing correct Arabic, both prose and verse. None of my informants gave reasons for this. However, Imām Muhammad Marhaba Saghanughu states that after al-Hājj Sālih replied to the query of one of his Bondoukou students he determined never to write again. ¹ It would be unwise to speculate about this matter, but is is plausible that the political situation in Bondoukou had an inhibiting effect upon him.

This chapter contains the known compositions of al-Hājj Sālih and those of his son, al-Hājj Muhammed Sa‘īd Jatagakiya; also included is a letter in verse from al-Hājj ʿUmar b. abī Bakr to al-Hājj Sālih concerning the study of mathematics.

The following is the text of a letter from al-Hājj Sālih informing his associates, students and family that he had completed the pilgrimage. The original, addressed to Muḥammad b. al-Hājj ʿAbd ar-Rahmān Qunbali (d. 1349/...

¹Personal correspondence post-dated 22 July 1971.

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1930), was sent from Saudi Arabia, possibly Madina, in 1910. It is not clear whether it was dispatched to the addressee in Bondoukou (the nisba 'Qunbali' refers to one who lives in the Qunbala section of Bondoukou) or Jinini. Imam Muhammad al-Murtada, of the latter town, states that it was sent to Jinini. I accept his statement in spite of the note in the right-hand margin of the manuscript: "My master, convey my salām to our sultan, Tan Daté", which may or may not have been written by the same hand as that of the text. Tan Daté was the Gyaman-hene and patron of al-Hājj Šālih before and after his pilgrimage; but Sijinghu, who is mentioned in the text, remained his patron in Jinini. Further, it was from the latter place that al-Hājj Šālih began his journey.

The present text of the letter is a xerox copy of one in the IAS collection (IASAR/146); it was obtained in September 1963. The original, 22.5 x 32.8 centimeters, is in the possession of al-Hājj Ibrāhīm of Sunyani. The script is a fine and fairly contemporary cross between Sudānī and Maghribī. At least two hands are apparent; the names of the scribes are unknown. Except for the occasional omission of dots, the text is well written. The structure of the Arabic is somewhat modern, but a few archaic terms and phrases are used, such as kabsh al-katība.
لا شيء في الأدب العربي يكاد يكون مカップلًا مثل "الرجل"، مثلاً، لأنه يشمل الأدب الشعري والعمران الفاسي، والكثير من الأدب العربي، والثراث الثقافي العربي. ويعتبر "الرجل" من أبرز الأدب العربي، ويشير إلى أن الأدب العربي يشمل الأدب الشعري والعمران الفاسي، والكثير من الأدب العربي، والثراث الثقافي العربي. ويعتبر "الرجل" من أبرز الأدب العربي، ويشير إلى أن الأدب العربي يشمل الأدب الشعري والعمران الفاسي، والثا...
قدنا آنها منوحة فنيفة بعطريرة
لابروءة يربى بين الإضراس سنة
وعيش منها ويها صاحب الإرادة.
لم يشترأ ولا يستأثر ماقت طغيان
ينغلب فظل فهينادم لكن لم يعده
هنيئًا فشير فتنت وينكم.
In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful
What Allah Willed Was!

Praise to Allah Who distinguished His Messenger Muhammad, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, with His pure love; thus making him the most deserving of His creatures, and the most worthy of the nearness and love of his Lord. He made prayer upon him a means of obtaining His satisfaction and nearness. Whoever invokes His blessings upon him more is the most deserving and distinguished of men; the most worthy of obtaining His favor; His abundant gifts; a sufficiency of His concern; forgiveness for his misdeeds; purification of his inner-self; and the lightening of his heart. May Allah bless him, his family, companions, wives, descendants, adherents, party, followers, and all of his Community and those who love him. Amen.

Glad Tidings

The late al-Hājj as-Sālih b. Muhammad wrote to the great šaikh and eminent teacher Muhammad b. al-Hājj ‘Abd ar-Rahmān al-Qunbalī:

Greetings, peace and a supplication. Now then: an announcement that Allah the Most High has blessed us with the completion of the pilgrimage. We made the pilgrimage on Wednesday, praise to Allah who grants His servants their wishes, good things and well-being. We were not afflicted by any worldly difficulty; we are comfortable and have plenty. We departed from Mecca on Thursday, 4th Dhū l-Hijja for Madina, arriving at Yanbūʿ al-Bahr, a town on the sea coast five days from Madina.

My master, convey my greetings to all our brothers in our quarter and to the Imam of the town, the most

1 Qulkina is a section of Jinini.

2 Probably one Kunandi, a mallam originally of Kong
active and the leader of the regiment \(\text{Kabsh al-katiba}\), to all the brethren and dear ones. Tell them that Allah has blessed us to make the pilgrimage and the visit to Madina.

O sincere brother, pray that we attain our goal, and ask the brethren to pray that Allah be pleased with our visit and accept it, and return us to you safely with the dignity of Abū l-'Abbās, may Allah be pleased with him and us. Amen. Then convey my greetings to my family, my brother Ibrāhīm, my wives, children, mothers (wives of his Father), students, grand-children and all those who are related to them there. Inform them of our presence. Then convey my greetings to my brother 'Alī, head of the quarter and my friends, his brothers and relatives. Then to the chief of the people of Manyā, Abū Bakr, and Nabaragha, 'Umar and their relatives. Tell my master ‘Alī, and Abū Bakr and Ibrāhīm to work hard and hurry in repairing and

(Muhammad, field notes, interview with Imām Al-Murtada, Jinini, 9 March 1972).

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1 According to Imām al-Murtada (op. cit.) Abū l-'Abbās here refers to Prophet Muhammad. However, it may be that this kunya refers to Abū l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muhammad at-Tijānī (d. 1815), founder of the Tijānīyya tarīqa, because of the use of the phrase "radiya Allah 'anhu wa ardāhu wa 'annā bihi..." which is uncommon after the name of Prophet Muhammad.

2 Eldest brother of Al-Hājj Sālih's wife Maimūna.

3 A quarter of Jinini in which the majority of the people were Muslims.

4 An old man of Manyā.

5 A servant of Al-Hājj Sālih; his real name was 'Abd Allah.

6 Another old man of Manyā.
preparing my house, dwelling-place and mosque. If Allah, 
the Most High, pleases they will see me soon, without 
delay. O Ibrāhīm, convey my greetings to the Sultan of 
my town, Sijinghu,\(^1\) and Siddīq\(^2\) and their people. Order 
them to pray for our commonweal and welfare, hoping that 
Allah will re-unite us soon. Peace.

Folio Ib

\(\text{\textit{This document arrived to us (at Jinini) Wednesday night}}\)
\(\text{\textit{16th Rabī' al-\=Akhir}},^3\text{\textit{ and it was read to us by my father}}\)
\(\text{\textit{Ibrāhīm}. We spread the good news and laughed with joy}}\)
\(\text{\textit{until the mountains answered me. All of us pray for you.}}\)
\(\text{\textit{Some day Allah will bring us together (again).}}^4\)

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\(^1\)The animist chief of Jinini when Al-Hājj Šālih 
arrived (Muhammad, field notes, interview with Al-Hājj at-
Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972).

\(^2\)A brother of Sijinghu. Siddīq's father, 'Abd Allah, 
converted to Islam by Al-Hājj Šālih and died a Muslim.
However, Siddīq apostated twice and died a pagan (Muhammad, 
field notes, interview with Imām Al-Murtadā, 9 March 1972.

\(^3\)A note on the IAS description card for this manu-
script reads "16 Rabī' II 1328=27 April, 1910" which is 
probably correct.

\(^4\)This gloss is in a different hand, perhaps that of 
Muhammad's son.
Among the prominent students of al-Hājj Sālih was Abū Bakr b. al-Hasan Timitay (d. 1957) of Bondoukou who wrote at least two tracts about his teacher. After al-Hājj Sālih’s pilgrimage and his return to Bondoukou Abū Bakr requested from him the meanings of eleven Arabic words, most of which are somewhat archaic: ya’sūb, samandal, manāshif, samarmar, zurzūr, shibdi’, sharji’, shisis, adranfaqa, sharghuf and mughlandif. According to Imām al-Hājj Marhabā, al-Hājj Sālih dictated the following reply (IASAR/88) to his son Ibrāhīm while performing the ablution for an afternoon prayer; the date is said to have been Jamāḥī II 1328/July 1910. Another student, Muhammad b. Ya’qūb Watara of Bondoukou wrote a commentary (IASAR/90) in tarbi’ on the reply. Of the three extant compositions of al-Hājj Sālih only his letter from Saudi Arabia is written in nathr (prose). The following tract demonstrates his extensive Arabic vocabulary and a relatively good familiarity with the grammar and versification of the language. The words to be defined are sometimes ingeniously suffixed with pronouns and placed in verses so as to give no indication of the intention to define the terms.

The poem is a qaṣīda lāmiyya of two folios. It measures 16 x 20 centimeters, and was obtained by the IAS in May 1963. The script is Sūdānī-Maghribī and is generally quite legible.

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1 Imām al-Hājj Muhammad Marhabā, personal correspondence, postmarked 22 July 1971.
Reply to Karamoko Abū Bakr's Query
Concerning Eleven Archaic Words

Folio Ia
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful.
The well-known and most erudite scholar, the learned, the knowledgeable, the adept; the last of the indubitable ones and the most informed of the finer points of knowledge; imām of imāms; the ka'ba of the community of grammarians; the most learned of the jurists; the most virtuous; the knowledgeable instructor, son of Muhammad, my master al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ al-Jawānī¹ al-Jarnī² at-Tijānī, may Allah have ample mercy upon him and admit him to Paradise, amen, said:

Begin the reply with their ya'sub (i.e., ya'sūb)

Its leader, even the male bee.

Folio Ib

And which bird is like our Ibrāhīm³?
The samandāl (phoenix) of India;⁴ they are benevolent people. If it were said what does mašīf (towels) mean, then in reply

Say, the earth was dried of its wetness.

And the strong devil among the demons

Is samāmr (ghoul), I seek refuge in what is in The Bee.⁵

And if someday you want to ride in a boat,

Then the space between the sides of the zurzūr⁶ is narrow.

¹This is another rendition of al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ's nisba, az-Zōnī.

²Al-Jarnī, a stone basin used for the ablution, rarely appears among Šāliḥ's nisbas; it is not mentioned, for example, in Muhammad b. Ya'qūb Watara's commentary on this letter (IASAR/90) nor in the copy sent to me by Imam Marhabā Saghanughu.

³That is, Karamoko Ibrāhīm, eldest brother of Šāliḥ.

⁴The letter nūn is omitted in this copy; see IASAR/90.

⁵This refers to Sūrat an-Nahl, The Bee, 16:98.

⁶A small row-boat (zaurāq) similar to a canoe (zallāl).
And shibdī', if one comes desiring understanding of it, Īt is the harmful scorpion
And sharjī', the tallest of men or
Longest of coffins, or tall flabby female camels.
But shisī'1 is really a small section of a place.
My son, strive and be of the discontented;
And with kasra and sukūn of the second letter (shisī'),
Then it is a sandal strap without a defect.

Folio IIa

And you say the lovers adranfagā (hurried),
Meaning they hurried toward the sweetness of the palm tree.
Say to him who inquires about their sharghuf,
It is a small large-bellied frog.
Mughlandīf, which is intense darkness, hides (tūthir)
What wrongs are committed.
Praise to Him who guided the tongue of the eloquent
To speak what he desires eloquently.
The letter was completed with praise to Him.

Ο Allah, forgive me, my parents and the Muslims, males
and females ... O Allah, O Allah, O Allah!2

Its author is our shaikh al-Hājj Sālih. I obtained it
(wajadtuhu) from mu'allim Idrīs Bamba of Fugula-Banda,
Wednesday, 15 Dhū l-Qi'da 1383-10/4/63. Al-Hājj 'Uthmān
Ishāq Būyū.3

1 The copyist incorrectly wrote shishi'; see IASAR/90.
2 This is a translation of legible writing in the design which is in a different hand.
3 This is the writing of al-Hājj Boyo (Būyū).
Al-Hājj 'Umar b. abī Bakr of Kete Krachi was a scholar of great repute during the late 1880s and the first decades of the present century. He was known in many areas of the Western Sudan as an accomplished karamoko in many branches of the Islamic sciences, as well as a prolific writer in Arabic and Hausa. His well over forty known compositions cover a wide range of subjects including translations into Hausa of the pre-Islamic poet Imru' al-Qais, commentaries on a number of medieval works of Middle Eastern and North African authorship, tārikhs, devotional poems, letters, elegies, etc. He is one of the few 'ulamā' of West Africa whose writings became known in North Africa and the West. ¹

That there was a close relationship between al-Hājj Sāliḥ and al-Hājj 'Umar is demonstrated by oral information obtained from Ghanaian sources and manuscripts in the IAS collection and in the possession of his grandson, Imam al-Murtada. One of the manuscripts is an elegy for Karamoko Muhammad in which al-Hājj 'Umar reflects upon his almost

ten years' acquaintance with al-Hājj Sālih. The other is a letter in verse from al-Hājj 'Umar encouraging his friend to study mathematics. While there may be exaggerations in al-Hājj 'Umar's exaltation of al-Hājj Sālih in the elegy, he nevertheless obviates his love and respect for al-Hājj Sālih's character and learning. The relationship was based upon their mutual interest in the Islamic disciplines. It has been stated that al-Hājj 'Umar was one of al-Hājj Sālih's teachers. However, there is reason to believe that theirs was not the usual teacher-student relationship, since at least one well informed source claims that "'Umar had read ʿarūḍ (prosody) and al-Hājj Sāliḥ had read ʿanṭiq (logic), so they taught each other."

It is possible that some kind of rivalry or jealousy developed between the two men toward the end of their lives. This is somewhat suggested by the last lines of al-Hājj 'Umar's letter translated below: "I do not deceive you nor am I greedy for the dirham, but if you heed my council, you will excel." It is further suggested by al-Hājj Sālih's grandson who mentioned that al-Hājj 'Umar made a sign at the end of one of his letters which was interpreted by al-Hājj Sālih to his sons, Muhammad Saʿīd Jatagakiya and

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1 See Chapter V.
2 Al-Hājj Muhammad Marhabā, personal correspondence, postmarked 22 July 1971.
3 A. Muḥammad, field notes, interview with al-Hājj Muhammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.
Sulaimān, as indicating that 'Umar thought of himself as "a river of knowledge." In his reply, al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ made a sign which meant that he was "a ship which can go anywhere in the river ... Šāliḥ said that he was letting 'Umar know that he Šāliḥ was older by two years, and that much and many things could be learned in two years."¹

A definitive comparison of the two men is beyond the scope of the present study, and though such an investigation may be useful for an understanding of Ghanaian Islamic and Arabic scholarship, it is doubtful that the results would be more than conjectural.² My research does not indicate that al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ was as prolific a writer as al-Ḥājj 'Umar. Their 'academic' interests were different: al-Ḥājj 'Umar appears to have been far more interested in poetry and contemporary events than al-Ḥājj Šāliḥ who was dedicated to Arabic and the traditional Islamic sciences. Hence, when one considers these men, the one having been for us more expressive with the pen while the other related more to his students, it becomes rather difficult to even surmise whether Šāliḥ's 'ship' could go anywhere in 'Umar's 'river of knowledge', or whether both men were in fact rivers running in somewhat different directions.

The following correspondence is about the study of

¹Muhammad, interview with al-Ḥājj Muhammad at-Tijānī, Jinini, 9 March 1972.
²Thomas Hodgkin ("Islamic Literary Tradition", p. 456) has suggested an investigation into the relationship between them.
mathematics. These copies were photographed from the originals which are in the possession of Imam Muhammad al-Murtada b. al-Hājj Sulaimān of Jinini. Unfortunately the documents are not dated, but they were probably written after 1895-6 when al-Hājj Sālih moved to Jinini and his relationship with al-Hājj ʿUmar was necessarily reduced to correspondence. The letters are written on a good quality off-white and coarse paper which resembles heavy bond. The sheets measure about five by seven inches, and are a bit torn at the edges; the writing is lengthwise. The letters are written in a clear Sudānī-Maghribī script; they are qitʿas with the ending raවy (final letter) gāf. Both men, particularly, al-Hājj Sālih, make much use of similes and metaphors thus rending an exact translation very difficult. I have attempted a mixture of translation and interpretation.

There may be some evidence in al-Hājj Sālih's reply that he wished to obviate his ability to compete with ʿUmar in versification. Note (a) the use of the same raヴy gāf, and (b) the use of similar expressions such as sāyil ʿsāʿil ḥubb (ʿUmar, line one) and ʿaraʿis ḥubb (Sālih, line one), ḥars dirham (ʿUmar, line eight) and ʿtamʿ bi d-dirham al-mumāzig (Sālih, line nine). This is all reminiscent of the poetry contests at ʿUkāz and elsewhere in medieval Arab history. Al-Hājj ʿUmar begins and ends his letter somewhat patronizingly and apologetically, and with little tact he rebukes al-Hājj Sālih for his alleged lack of knowledge of mathematics. Al-Hājj Sālih praises al-Hājj ʿUmar in his
first three lines, states that he has learned some elements of the discipline in the sixth, gratefully declines al-Hājj 'Umar's offer to teach him in the seventh, and claims that his dignity prevented him feeling angry toward al-Hājj 'Umar in the eighth.
أصلح بإخليص مائظم وموضوعة وسأذكرك في التفاويح
عليك بإخليص المعلوم كله لا أرر لك النص متوجهاً إليه`
فستشهد في البسملة إن شاء الله
اركبي إلمع البضاعة براعيها
فلموحين في كنار اللداس لنفقر
والآيتة الإلهية في المبر الشروق
ففوتكم من أريتكم وبطلتكم
كامل جبليه الشاذلي والدائم
وعظم الكلام فإنك ما إن كنت
بكلية السنع الهائلة
والآيتة القرشي في منطق
والإضاعة النم، ولا يترى لهم
ولكننا أتراك يبين السباق.
O Šāliḥ, understand that I have not poetized a letter\(^1\) Which was not written out of affection, You must complete a study of the sciences, as I see Your deficiency is a fault; if you continue you will be the foremost.
If you are desirous to know the science of mathematics, Then ask me for in mathematics I am certainly more competent. The science of mathematics is the most beneficial to people, Although the science of fiqh to religion is more illuminating. If one takes up the study of the various sciences, Then he should complete it and excel. These words, if you heed them, Are those of one who loves you, not one who despises you. O my brother, I have offered you advice if you desire it; Only the Lord of the Throne knows my intention. I do not deceive you nor am I greedy for the dirham But if you heed my counsel, you will excel.

\(^1\)Wathīqa
Reply from al-Hājj Sālih to al-Hājj 'Umar

للحمار فقده الرؤية. فأتت، وبادرنا بها. ونهبنا لواء اللصين. لا تتفرج عند نظر السابع، صلى الله عليه وسلم. وعندما تودون، فلن تجدوا من يثبت你们. ولن يعذب من يثبت لليوم. وصرت أنعهنة كبيبة المقر، والظلمة والشمس، وأصايله. كان من فرعون، والفرعون، والفرعون، والفرعون.
By Allah, you have not sent me a letter
The contents of which were more beautiful and factual.
When I received it I almost flew lightly
As if I were a standard of victory fluttering.
My brother chose the utmost of perfection;
There is no deficiency in the recent counsel.
How can I shun mathematics
When it is certainly the path to happiness at the time of sadness?
Previously I was in its lightening without luck,
For its clouds poured forth without much rain;
But today I have obtained a bucket-full from its heavy pouring
Which lessens my enormous grief.
You have become to its wave like mist
Incapable of continuous plunging into it.
You are a man of integrity, and surely honor
Prevented me from feeling offended or contrite,
God forbid that you be described as deceitful
Or desirous of the dirham!
Among the sons of al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ who showed intellec-
tual proclivities al-Hājj Muḥammad Saʿīd (d. 1950) seems
to be the only one who left us any example of his writing
ability. Following in the path of his grandfather and
father, Muḥammad Saʿīd (also known as Jatagakiya, a Dyula
word for 'owner of a house') was a relatively accomplished
grammarians, theologian and muqaddam of the Tijānīyya; he
is remembered in Ghana and the Ivory Coast for his teaching
and piety. Although he did not occupy the imāmate of
Jinini, as he was not the eldest of al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ's sons,
he often performed the duties of imām of the Jinini mosque
in front of which he is buried. The author was consecu-
tively married to two women with the same name, Maimūna;
the first was unfaithful and the second loyal.

The following composition was photographed from the
original which is in the possession of Imām Muḥammad al-
Murtadā of Jinini. It does not bear a date nor were my
informants able to surmise the date of the writing. The
paper was an old coarse off-white sheet, about six by nine
inches, and of European manufacture; there was no apparent
watermark. The script is a clear Sudānī-Maghribī one
which contains few grammatical errors. The form of the
composition is rajaz and instead of using a constant rawīy,
as was seen in al-Hājj Ṣāliḥ's reply to Abū Bakr b. al-
Hasan, the writer rhymes the first and second hemistichs
of each line. This kind of rhymed prose is relatively
less complex than that of which the last word of each
line is in the same meter (wazn). The second hemistich
"Forgive the dull and unintelligent writer", should be taken as an indication of the author's modesty.

Al-Ḥājj Muhammad Sa'īd's Poem About His Wives
We replaced an unfaithful wife who disobeyed us with a wife who is loyal to us.

If one Maimūna departed and became a harlot,¹
Then another Maimūna came who was of good behaviour.
If she first Maimūna disobeyed our command and became an adulteress,
Then she died of its pregnancy and became like barren ground.
Surely she has become an associate of Satan, considered the Iblīs of disobedience.
So this is an unfaithful lover and this is a loyal lover.
The first Maimūna is clearly disobedient,
And she is surely (na'am) incapable of fulfilling an agreement.
Allāh does not equate the sinner of Hell with the righteous of Heaven.
A bad man and a bad woman are suited to each other,
And a good woman is right for a good man.
Allah certainly helped us against the adulteress.
So, my brother, say, I shall forever believe in the sacredness of the hidden meanings of the Qur'ān;
In Ahmad Prophet Muḥammad and his excellent companions;²
In our shaikh, that is, Ahmād at-Tijānī.
Forgive the dull unintelligent writer.

¹ Nakawwah is a Dyula word for harlot or prostitute.
² Hizbihi.
The following composition, Nāfi‘at al-Wildān ("The Beneficial to the Young"), is the other known extant treatise by al-Ḥājj Muhammad Sa‘īd. Although the date of the writing is unknown, it is a significant document in that it sheds some light on the contemporary social and religious situation of the younger members of his family, or perhaps the younger generation in Jinini. He urges them to be mindful of their religious duties and to emulate the examples of his father and grandfather, al-Ḥājj Sulaimān and al-Ḥājj Sālih, respectively. There are some similarities between his counsels and those of the Quranic Luqmān (31:12-9). While one could argue that his instructions may have been cautionary and not reflective of the moral state of his audience, such a position would not be acceptable to this student. I tactfully and informally enquired about this matter from my Jinini and Wenchi informants; I asked whether the following counsel is indicative of the contemporary situation, or simply a waṣīyya-type religious and moral guide. Somehow my enquiries were not answered directly; I felt it imprudent to pursue the matter further. I am provisionally inclined to believe that al-ḤājjMuhammad Sa‘īd's emphasis on the unprofitability of 'this world' is an indication of not only his desire that the younger generation be pious, but also that he intended to reprimand them for some of their habits and tendencies.

The manuscript (IASAR/149), acquired in September 1963, is a copy of one in the possession of al-Ḥājj
Muhammad Sa'īd of Sunyani;¹ it is five folios long, and measures 16 x 22 centimeters. The script, which is sometimes illegible and defective, is Sudānī-Maghribī. The composition is in the rajaz meter and ends in alif nūn. It is not known whether the text is in the hand of the author or a scribe; the few marginal glosses may be in the same hand as that of the text.

¹I was told by some residents of the city that he and his family had moved to an unknown location.
وكبر و숨اء باب موالاته والنسبا وبيك شيطان
واعبد الهواء والشرابه والشراب كلاً كراك
أو يكون نسرين والملك كليهما براءه احسانا
لهم بشرى المجد فينا وإن كان فيب مصداً
قال وآخر ركز لحي من يساني ويني ينبدنا
وكثير استنار عنه كار كراومريمنا
وأصبح في عالم الغواة واعدت تذارب القواطع
عليك بالكبر مع الكبار بأداه كنويرت بننا
والنكرى لبسك بدلت تفتيح ورثه كعمينا
وقد صلى عليه وسهر به وحجت الوه كبينا
وقبلاً تجاوز مور كبير بسماسرا وفأرونا
فهبانا يا يدك صبية نكرهك rooting فراني
الكسرونين همك إنك أنك بشر كممعنا
فلا تظن به ماديدا نثورة تكسود ندماء الحزما
واحتسناه قريبنا بدلنا ونشاهد الملك كبرنا
والش
لا ينكرون سؤال كُرَّ. 
وعندما قد ترى نجاح ابنه، 
لقد ثمثَّل للعلماء، وشهدت بلاد كَتِبَ. 
محدثة في الأيام، وكتبتها تناتين، 
موبدستها بصوتنها، لا تكتر Ihre 
والإلهام في بعضها، يتزعمها ابناً فارفاً 
مرافقه، قد يكون ذلك شيءًا، ورَبَّكُمْ أنكُم. 
واستذكارنا، فكما وافترضت البكاء البراءات 
والمصيغ الأبدام، وواستذكارنا، 
والبُطاقة الإلهاء، وفُنُونها، وكدفأ البراءات 
الكُرَّ، والنَّجَاح، كَتِبَها، وعندنا، وكتبتها 
الكُرَّ وإنكِ، كما في الناس، إذا 
وعندنا، كَتِبَ، وعندنا، كَتِبَ 
لا ينكرون سؤال كُرَّ.
وقد وقعت في المشرق، وكتبتها كُرَّ.
وقد وقعت في المشرق، وكتبتها كُرَّ.
وقد وقعت في المشرق، وكتبتها كُرَّ.
وقد وقعت في المشرق، وكتبتها كُرَّ.
وقد وقعت في المشرق، وكتبتها كُرَّ.
بدأ ملك فلسطين هلاسل الدم من ملك موجود في عهد عبد الله الثاني بن باز. فكان ملكاً قويًا وشرح واسطى في معركة تقع في فلسطين وجعلها دولةً مستقلةً. فلسطين في ذلك الوقت كانت تحت حكم الأمويين، الذين كانوا يحكمون من خلال ولاية معمارية.

بعد وفاة عبد الله الثاني، تولى ابنه عبد الله الثالث الحكم، وتمكن من توسيع 영مومته وتوسيع مؤسساته. فلسطين此时 هو منطقة ذات أهمية كبيرة في التاريخ الإسلامي. وعمر الباي من فلسطين خلال فترة عهد عبد الله الثالث، حيث كان يحكم من خلال ولاية معمارية ويعتبر ملكاً قويًا ونفوذًا. وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة.

بعد وفاة عبد الله الثالث، تولى ابنه عبد الله الرابع الحكم، وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة. وعمر الباي من فلسطين خلال فترة عهد عبد الله الرابع، حيث كان يحكم من خلال ولاية معمارية ويعتبر ملكاً قويًا ونفوذًا. وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة.

بعد وفاة عبد الله الرابع، تولى ابنه عبد الله الخامس الحكم، وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة. وعمر الباي من فلسطين خلال فترة عهد عبد الله الخامس، حيث كان يحكم من خلال ولاية معمارية ويعتبر ملكاً قويًا ونفوذًا. وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة.

بعد وفاة عبد الله الخامس، تولى ابنه عبد الله السادس الحكم، وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة. وعمر الباي من فلسطين خلال فترة عهد عبد الله السادس، حيث كان يحكم من خلال ولاية معمارية ويعتبر ملكاً قويًا ونفوذًا. وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة.

بعد وفاة عبد الله السادس، تولى ابنه عبد الله السابع الحكم، وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة. وعمر الباي من فلسطين خلال فترة عهد عبد الله السابع، حيث كان يحكم من خلال ولاية معمارية ويعتبر ملكاً قويًا ونفوذًا. وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة.

بعد وفاة عبد الله السابع، تولى ابنه عبد الله الثامن الحكم، وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة. وعمر الباي من فلسطين خلال فترة عهد عبد الله الثامن، حيث كان يحكم من خلال ولاية معمارية ويعتبر ملكاً قويًا ونفوذًا. وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة.

بعد وفاة عبد الله الثامن، تولى ابنه عبد الله التاسع الحكم، وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة. وعمر الباي من فلسطين خلال فترة عهد عبد الله التاسع، حيث كان يحكم من خلال ولاية معمارية ويعتبر ملكاً قويًا ونفوذًا. وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة.

بعد وفاة عبد الله التاسع، تولى ابنه عبد الله العاشر الحكم، وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة. وعمر الباي من فلسطين خلال فترة عهد عبد الله العاشر، حيث كان يحكم من خلال ولاية معمارية ويعتبر ملكاً قويًا ونفوذًا. وتمكن من توسيع مؤسساته وتوسيع تأثيره في المنطقة.
لا تستطيع القراءة
له سماح باستمارة للدابس النسيبة سيدنا
له حضرة البشارة كوكبًا وشعيرًا مع الأناش
بضعمر لطويل. الأربعة رابعة المبادأ
وصبرة فراخم سهماً زاده بعقلية عملياتنا،
 Böyleت بزيارة السماط.
طائرة من خلالها،
وقدم في عام التسعين الميلادي ماكان على رأسه
بين المقراء البجامة، فتغرسه إلى الأردوُج وطيار
بيغ طائرماً على الماء، فتغمر بسرور وفطان
فيها تلقى لسنيbecراً طولًا.
فبORITY بمه جعلي للعرب ونار مع انفجار
هجمت قرام الزور تراحمت بهم سكرًا
بالطراد، والترضى رضت السمعية للائه، والادب
بالياس ممحمداً ونافعة، فكان الوعد صحيحة لما
البصري، وصاحب الرؤى، وتم بقلم الفاكهة،
كية في اسمه سمرًا تراره كفر روج بهجًا,
بغر.
وردد عما أتدى منها تكريس بجودة
للسماحة الذين يكثرون الإعراب الدائم
الكتوي إليه الانتقاص.
فقال:
فَكَبَّرْتُ فَأَتَقَرَّبْتُ بَيْنَيْهَا وَأَقْبَلْتُ
فَبَلَغَتْ رَبِّي مَعَهَا وَكَانَ لَهَا بِهَا مَعَهُ
فَكَتَبَتْ عَلَيْهَا الْكَتَابَ وَخَلَقَهَا وَأَطَوْفَهَا وَخَلَقَهَا مِنْ نَارِ هَذَا
فَمَنْ فَأَتَأْهَى مَعَهَا وَأَتَقَرَّبَ لَهَا وَأَقْبَلَ لَهَا
فَكَبَّرْتُ فَأَتَقَرَّبْتُ بَيْنَيْهَا وَأَقْبَلْتُ
فَبَلَغَتْ رَبِّي مَعَهَا وَكَانَ لَهَا بِهَا مَعَهُ
فَكَتَبَتْ عَلَيْهَا الْكَتَابَ وَخَلَقَهَا وَأَطَوْفَهَا وَخَلَقَهَا مِنْ نَارِ هَذَا
فَمَنْ فَأَتَأْهَى مَعَهَا وَأَتَقَرَّبَ لَهَا وَأَقْبَلَ لَهَا
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
The Beneficial to the Young

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate; may the best blessings and peace of Allah be upon our master Muhammad, His prophet, and his family and companions.

Praise to Allah Who guided us To a good knowledge of Him (li-’irfān dhātihi ‘irfāna). Then may His blessings and peace be upon The best of messengers, the more perfect of them in faith, Muhammad, the best of mankind, missioned. He is the One Who raised him to the uppermost heaven;¹ And his family and righteous companions; They are the ones who edified the religion; And the successors, and successors of the successors; With their religion, and those who read (recited) the Qur’ān. Now then: the aim of this gaṣīda is To give useful advice to the young. I called it 'The Beneficial to the Young' Because it enters the heart. My friend, when you hear it, pay attention to it, For it is pleasant to the ear. I am not of the people of this field (counselling)Because I am burdened with debts. I trouble myself with it for (spiritual) exercise² So that I might enter (ṣālik) the field. My brother, be tolerant and conciliatory.

¹The marginal note reads "or raised his station in the uppermost heaven". The grammar in the verse and the note is defective.

²Riyāḍa usually means 'exercise', 'sport' or 'relaxation'. However, as the author is known to have aspired to piety, it probably connotes religious or spiritual exercise in this verse.
It is shameful for one to be excessively concerned with worldly success.¹
I composed it (waḍaʿtuḥā) as a reminder to the contemptible generation
And its transgressing people.²
So do not be attracted by the pleasure of your world
Surely pleasure ...³

Folio Ib

Be a believer and worshiper of your Lord (mawlāka)
And do not worship Satan, ever!
Worship your God, and do not associate with Him!
Association (shirk) is the greatest infidelity (kufrānā).
We urge (awsaina) you to be good to your parents,
Both of them; treat them kindly, compassionately.
Refrain from rebuke and unruliness;
Surely they are the ugliest of disobedience.
The believer is one from whom others are safe from
His tongue and hand, absolutely!
And everyone who fears the Lord of His creation
Is to every believer trustworthy.
My brother, be mindful of prayer,
And avoid the approach of beautiful women.
You must have patience and piety ('ibāda).
By Allah, these two are sufficient for religion!⁴

¹This translation is extremely conjectural because the text is not clear.
²Akhdān is a plural form of khad which usually means 'cheek' or 'side'. However, zālim al-khad and zālim al-wajh used to describe a person means 'dejected', 'contemptible', 'bad'.
³As the text of this verse is very defective, I shall not attempt a complete translation.
⁴I assume the word dhīnā ('fault', 'defect') was intended to read dīnā.
And do not trouble yourself with that
Of which you are incapable; by Allah, that is sufficient
For self deceit
So perform [to the extent of your] strength and ability ... 1
For this, by Allah, is sufficient for religion.
Your heart will be more content than that of the greedy. 2
Listen, even if he is Qārūn. 3
O our Lord, give us sufficiency
With which we will be content; so my brother, say Amen!
Do not burden yourself with the world; it will
Surely cause you humiliation!
Do not one day heed the hadith 4 of women;
You will be filled with (sic. taksī bihi) regret and sorrow!
Be kind to those near and far,
The believer (ash-shākir) and the apparent unbeliever.

Folio IIa

Do not ask many questions. Be fearful
Of that which our Lord has decreed forbidden.
Be righteous for the sake of Allah, not
In order to be praised by man.
This is right; its consequences will be appreciated.
But to do otherwise, Satan (tinnīn) will come to you.
Accustom your tongue to speaking the truth;
Do not lie, if you will be considered of those who lied.
Do not say anything to him who curses
Revelation; always recite (read) the Furqān (Qur'ān).

1 This word is unintelligible.

2 The sentence structure here leaves much to be de­sired; so this translation is conjectural.

3 Qārūn is Arabic for Croesus, king of Lydia (ca. 560-546 B.C.), who was known for his great wealth.

4 This word has several meanings: 'small talk', 'conversation', 'talk', etc. It is conceivable that the author intends 'the advice of women'.
Whoever follows our advice (gawlīnā) will benefit from it; And if he refuses it, he will be confused.

Thank whoever gives you (something), even a date.
Do not be unappreciative of piety and beneficence (ḥṣānā), For ingratitude in this world is the greatest abomination, And a loss before Allah in the Hereafter.

Do not covet benefit with your piety; If it helps the people, it helps us.
Do not covet gain by virtue of your lineage (bi-wālīdaika), O rejected one,1 Rather rely on your Lord; He suffices us.

Strive hard to achieve distinction.

Do not be haughty about your grandfather (al-Hājj Saliḥ), or even (Adnān).2

Aspire (tājī) to the honor achieved by your father
What a difference between you and him!
Misfortune does not beget anything but ashes, And happiness never leaves anything but smoke.

It is possible for a branch of the original to be superior to it;
But it rarely happens (kānā),
Except by the will of the King, the Omnipotent,
And in that case the will of Allah is executed (hatānā).

Folio IIb

Leave the memory of the world and remember the servant of the prophet,
And the servant of the servant to the end of the world.
He is the protector of widows (ānā) orphans, And a follower (wārithān) of our Tijānī shaikh, Abū Sīmān (Sulaimān), the generous, who Surpassed all his peers by virtue of his fear of Allah.

---

1Ya maṭrūd is probably not to be taken literally.
2According to some traditions, Adnān was the ancestor of the north Arabians. This may be an indication that al-Hājj Sāliḥ's ancestors are believed to have been Arabs.
Allah caused al-Ḥajj Ṣāliḥ to produce Sulaimān, the tree of learning (ʿilm).
He went deeply into learning and generosity, even
He sowed his generosity ʿIn the villages of Ghumdān.
The people learned all the sciences (ʿulūm) from him,
Their roots ānd branches, like slaves.
Allah granted him the quietude of happiness,
Also patience ... ¹
The patient with all people,
The dependent, slaves and poor.
He applies (yaʿmal) what is in the books of Allah.
His character is like ʿthat recommended in the Qurʾān.
With his abundant generosity he startled people
The old, young ānd slaves.
He emulates the lives of the companions,
And that is certainly the better custom (yudānā).
He is ʿembarrassed by questions:
Even he does not request a sūk or a staff (stick).
He is of moderate character and erect in walking;
He was never seen ʿwalking haughtily.
He walks along the path erectly,
Straight, leading ʿThe people , affectionately,
Trustworthy, giving help to the needy;
He is not of those who abandon brothers.

Folio IIIa
He is of Jawnī descent, pure lineage.
He chose Jinini as a domicile.
The ascetic and counsellor, but he does
Not befriend the unbelievers.
He is indifferent to the happiness of the rich,
And he did not see in poverty ʿreason for grief.
He regards kindness highly; he is grateful for it,

¹This line is unintelligible.
²A small twig or stick, commonly called siwāk, used for cleaning the teeth.
A small or large amount of it, even a piece of cotton. He visited all his friends. He did not forget a companion, or even a guest. He has duties including those to his children and brothers, even to (qul ma‘a) the family. He is not roused to anger by a mistake, Rather he conceals anger, and is not enraged, Except if that which is sacred (hurmat Allah) is violated, or if he becomes angry quickly.

Al-jāhid\(^1\), the pious; and He was given control (leadership) of our community (dunyānā). His striving toward obedience to Allah is not like him Who the world refused and then strived openly. The truthful, the reliable; he is unreproachable With regard to his devotion to Allah \(^2\)

He is the explainer of problems; He is the interpreter of the secret of the Qur‘ān; He is the elucidator of Quranic allegories To whoever asks and is kind (lānā). He is the one who solves (yafṣah) riddles To whoever obeys him; He is the one who explains: (yafṣah) the obscure To whoever associates with and obeys him.

Folio IIIb

He possesses magnanimity (samāḥa) and (ma‘a) honor, For that reason his sīb\(^3\) flows. He possesses cheerfulness and (ma‘a) glad tidings (bishāra),\(^4\)

Also humbleness and honesty.

---

\(^1\)A person who remains awake at night.

\(^2\)The rest of this line is unintelligible.

\(^3\)Sīb means a channel of water. Perhaps the author meant 'reputation'.

\(^4\)Bishāra may also mean 'prophesy'.
He is light-complexioned (abyaq), tall (samardal țawīl);\(^1\)
If you see him, you will see a ben tree.
Fa-șabruhu qirā’at samtu r-ridā.\(^2\)
His abstinence is like /that/ of ‘Uthmān.\(^3\)
\(\_\)He is like\(\_\) a horse, quick of movement.
His munificence \(\_\)is like\(\_\) a continuous downpour of rain.
He prepares to remain awake and fast at night.
This suffices as proof.
He recites (reads) the Qur’ān in the dark of the night;
When he recites you would think him Zakwān.\(^4\)
His gifts are distributed among the poor
Like autumn rain in a garden.
...\(^5\) all of his guests.
And no guest is seen unsatisfied
His tables are passed round to his guests,
But he \(\_\)a guest\(\_\) does not pay except ...
\(\_\)His servants are generous\(\_\) to the visitors.
You see them \(\_\)the guests\(\_\) drunk from satiation,
Talking much \(\_\)and\(\_\) reading the revelation (nazīl, i.e. Qur’ān),

\(^{1}\) The word samardal was probably intended to be samartāl which has the same meaning as țawīl, 'tall'.
I have not found samardal in the best lexicons or dictionaries.

\(^{2}\) This line is unintelligible.

\(^{3}\) It is not clear whether the author meant his great grandfather or the Rāshidūn Caliph ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.

\(^{4}\) The marginal gloss states the full name of this person, ‘Abd ar-Rahmān Zakwān.

\(^{5}\) This word is illegible.

\(^{6}\) This word is unknown.

\(^{7}\) It is assumed that the second word should be kirām ma‘a.
Praising (yuhayyī) the beautiful (verses), praising the religion.

He spends (gives away) not fearing poverty,
As if his wealth is inexhaustible (husbānā).
Not one of his companions was not given (something),
And it was not said 'why did you not give so and so'.
He spends from his wealth happily;¹
You do not see him frowning (sic. 'ābis), praise (Be Allah)!²

Folio IVa

Because of his fear of his Lord his tears flow
As if the Saihūn³ were in his eyelids,
Especially when he reads (recites) the Qur'ān;
If you see (him, his tears run) like the Jaihūn.
His Lord granted him the answer to his supplication
Because he is a constant (awānā) suppliant.
How many young aspirants to riches
Came to him seeking help!
He received more than he wanted or requested (nawā).
With the honor of Ahmad,⁴ Lord ...⁵
And how many young people came to him seeking guidance
Requesting to know (him) who guided us!

¹This translation is conjectural, as the first words of the verse are not very clear.
²These verses are in the right-hand margin and were probably written by a different hand:
If the people are afflicted with a famine
And all become stricken by it,
The cooking-pots of the old are emptied (yansabb)
So that (idhā) his family sleep satiated.
³Saihūn and Jaihūn, which is mentioned in the following verse, are rivers in central Asia.
⁴This is a reference to either Prophet Muhammad or Ahmad at-Tijānī.
⁵This word is unclear.
He attained sovereignty and (ma‘a) leadership (al-hudā) Which certainly became a disaster.
All of that was by the will of Allah
And with the blessings of him who fathered (walida) al-Hasan.¹
Our Lord, bless and honor him
As long as the birds sing on the branches!
How many seekers of help from our imām requested Ḥim to ease their distress ...²
So our Lord delivered him from distress.
O our Lord, we rely on you!
He travelled from Jinini to the Haramain,
To Mecca in which we were honored.
We travelled in the year 1326 of the Hijra (1908-9 A.D.)³
Of the sayyid of the messengers.
We boarded (alawnā) the blessed ship.
How wonderful was the ship on which we sailed!

Folio IVb

We even entered the city of Misrā' (MISR, Cairo).⁴
We reached (fuznā) those for whom we travelled.
There we visited the graves of the saints (sādāt),
That is, our master al-Husain (Alī),
And the rest of the noble saints.
Al-‘ulā ‘alū kawākib bi s-sanā.³
We decided to travel from Cairo,
After we had attained our goal,⁴

¹Perhaps the author means ‘Alī b. abī Talib.
²This word is illegible.
³This line is unintelligible.
⁴It is interesting that the author does not mention al-Hājj Sāliḥ's meeting with Shaikh Sālim al-Bishrī (see Chapter IV). I accept the information from al-Hājj Sāliḥ's grandsons as reliable until it is proven inaccurate. Apparently this composition was not intended to be an account
To join the faithful pilgrims,
The accompanying of whom strengthened us.
We alighted at ...¹
To reach Shaw who had arrived before us.
Allah requitted our shaikh the best reward,
With the honor he received the year we wore the iḥrām.
We all prayed toward the Ka'ba;
Nothing was between us ₱ænd it₇ except ...²
You yourself visited (aqimta) Mecca al-Musharrafā
(SETH) obeying your Lord in your lifetime.
With your invocation you complied (sic. labbaita) for those who
Did not comply ever.
We arrived to (haqagnā) the Sacred House of Allah
To worship the Lord who created us.
We left Mecca hurriedly³
To pray with those who prayed at Mīnā.
So we pray (nad'ū) to Allah, our Lord the Omnipotent,
And we are grateful for His blessing which He gave us.
We all arrived (halalnā) at 'Arafāt
And climbed to the top of its mountain.
Folio Va
We pray to our Great Creator
Because He is the most deserving of it (hunā).

of even the significant events of their pilgrimage.

¹ This word, which seems to be name of a place, is unclear.

² This word is not legible.

³ The word ajalnā in the text is an obvious mistake. If it were ajjalnā ('we postponed') it too would be in inappropriate in this context. The only word which seems proper here is ajlainā ('we evacuated, removed or left'). I assume that the second word was meant to be jawādan ('quickly', 'hurriedly').
We visited all of the sacred area (sic. haram),
The family (of Muhammad), the pure one wa mā zamānā.1
In some of the stations we asked forgiveness
For past mistakes (sins) which we had forgotten.
If He is called by His name, He answers,
And if we invoke Him by it, He grants (our requests).2
We went to throw the pebbles
After we had cut our hair.
We performed the ifāda circumambulation2
After our arrival.
Then (we went) to Madina al-Munawwara
To visit Ahmad (Muhammad), our prophet.
There Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥajj Šāliḥ spoke:
Asking his Lord for forgiveness,
Invokingly exclaiming 'Šāliḥ the repentent'!
Beseecching with his words 'O our Lord,
O Allah, the All-Hearing, O the Near One
O Answerer, answer our prayer!'3
He achieved some virtues
Which raised him to Gemini and Khurasan.3
Then the best of Allah's servants cried out (sic. ranna)
Until even (min ḥaithu) the prophet would hear our supplication!
Then we cried out to our sayyid as-Siddīq,
Abū Bakr; our wishes were certainly realized.
He Šāliḥ freed all the people
From (baʿda) distress and saved the religion.

1The meaning of this phrase is unclear.
2The tawāf al-ifāda is the circumambulation done after the sacrifice.
3The name of a group of stars.
CHAPTER VII

TWO HISTORICAL QAṢİDAS OF ABŪ BAKR B. AL-HASAN TIMİTAY

Among the Bondoukou supporters of al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ was one of his Timitay students, Karamoko Abū Bakr (Fabakr) b. al-Hasan, also known locally as Karamoko Subruni (d. 1957). He was a fourth or fifth generation descendant of ash-Shaikh al-Akbar (d. ca. 1731-2). He began the study of the Alfiyya with al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ in Bondoukou and completed it with the same in Jinini. It is not clear when he affiliated himself with his shaikh, but it appears to have been either some time close to his teacher's departure for the pilgrimage (1909) or immediately after his return to Bondoukou (1910). Karamoko Abū Bakr's political support for al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ during the latter's conflict with Imām Kunandi and the French administration seems to have resulted in his being ostracized from his family. When this student enquired about his descendants and students from the present Imām al-Ḥājj Qudus Timitay, he was told somewhat sharply and disinterestedly that their whereabouts are unknown; indeed few qabīla heads admitted knowing anything except his name and that one of his teachers was al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ. It was only after I had completed my interviews with the Imām, presented him a customary gift and appeared to be leaving Bondoukou that he stated that Abū Bakr was very learned in Arabic, fiqh, Quranic exegesis and local history, and that he died in 1957.¹

¹Muhammad, interview with Imām Timitay, Bondoukou,
We present two of his writings below.\textsuperscript{1} The first manuscript (IASAR/247), Tadhkira \textit{li} n-Nās \textit{'an} Waqā'ī\textit{li} n-Nās, is an interesting brief account of Samorian and 'Christian' (French) rule in Bondoukou. It is noteworthy that the author viewed the arrival of the French and the consequent routing of the sofas as a blessing from Allah. He writes that the French were possessors of divine scriptures (fol. IIA) without mentioning that Samori had the Qurʾān. The implication seems to be that Abū Bakr did not consider Samori a 'good Muslim' or follower of the Book. It is well known that many of Samori's victims saw him as being outside the brotherhood.

The following copy is a xerox of one in the IAS; the original is in the possession of Imām al-Ḥājj Muhammad Qudus of Bondoukou who allowed the Institute to copy it in 1963. Perhaps for political reasons he did not admit to this student that his modest collection contained any of the writings of Abū Bakr. The copy below is a short qaṣīda of two folios ending in \textit{ra'}. The script, which is not always very clear, is modern Sūdānī-Maghribī. The name of the scribe is unknown, and the document is not dated.

The second (IASAR/224) is an elegy for his shaikh in which he gives some useful information about the last days

\\[8 \text{ March 1972.}\]

\textsuperscript{1}Two others are in the IAS collection: IASAR/153, a devotional poem, and IASAR/230, a hijā'ī poem admonishing religious and moral shortcomings.
of al-Hājj Šāliḥ in Bondoukou, the position of the Timitays vis-à-vis his expulsion and its effects on the neighboring people. This gaṣīda in the rajaz meter is a xerox copy of another in the IAS; the original is in the possession of al-Hājj Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Saʿīd of Sunyani. It is one folio and measures 16.2 x 22.4 centimeters. It is important to note that the manuscript is incomplete (see the bottom left hand corner of fol. Ib); unfortunately I have not been able to locate the missing part. The scribe is unidentifiable; it is possible that the text is in the hand of the author. Generally the text is legible, but it does contain some grammatical errors and one unintelligible hemistich.
Tadhkira li n-Nās 'an Waqā'ī li n-Nās

Folio Ia
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate; may the best blessings and peace of Allah be upon our master Muhammad, His prophet, his family, descendents, companions and wives.

This is A Reminder to the People of What Happened to the People

Praise to Allah the Creator (Master) of destiny, And the Producer of the trees and flowers. O Lord, bless the messenger Muhammad, the riser at dawn. Now then: listen to the utterance of the counsellor Giving you a history of the destruction of the houses of Bondoukou. Surely the Christians [French] made our town streets of cycles and trains. In ... of the Hijra of the prophet, On the seventeenth of the month of August, Wednesday, Rabī’ The Second, at the beginning of that bloody Autumn, And the fourteenth of our month; I stated it in the aforementioned. Whatever the Almighty of the heavens wills, There is no seclusion or escape from it, Because He is alone in His kingdom He sends forth (resurrects) from the grave whomever He pleases. Be satisfied with this deed of your Lord, O Muslim and unbeliever! The truthful and trustworthy prophet said,

---

1 These letters, alif, nun, sin, shin, nun, equal 461 which could not have been the year of the French or Christian arrival in Bondoukou; this is obviously a copyist mistake.
May the blessings of the Creator of things be upon him,
'Surely the world is a difficulty to the believer
And a comfortable paradise to the libertine'.

Folio Ib

So consider what was revealed (ja‘a) in Surat al-Hashr
Of the destruction of their house and (ma‘a) palaces.
Do not be astonished if you see a similar occurrence
(bidh‘an)

With the evils of time and ḥubūr¹.
But the destruction of Bondoukou, your town,
Is a blessing and an extreme joy
To one who has a heart or listened,² even
The people of unity (tawḥīd) and green.³

How many towns larger than yours
The palaces of which were demolished over time.
Learn a lesson (ta‘assū) from what happened to the village
of those near you.
Sympathize with them for the disturbance of the heart
Surely I have seen them with the eyes of Shamhara.
How many dear ones were subdued when Samori (ash-Shamūr)⁴
Came in 1312!⁵

¹ Ḥubūr means 'sign or mark of beauty or comfort' or 'yellowness of the teeth', both of which seem inappropriate in this context.

² Perhaps the author means those who witnessed the destruction of the town.

³ An adjacent explanatory gloss reads "that is, a person of a green tomorrow" which implies luck or good fortune.

⁴ The ṣīn and ẓīn are often confused in West Africa.

⁵ The alphabets are not clear. However, the year 1312 A.H. in the note which corresponds to 1894-5 is accurate for the Samorian subjugation of Bondoukou; see Chapter II.
His army moved quickly like the waves of the sea,
And they poured on us degradation and crows.
We scattered toward the frontiers
In all directions; not one of us
Knew the nights from the months.¹
Later we were liberated from them
By the grace of the Mighty, the Most Forgiving.
If Allah wills something, He paves (tahayya')
The way for those concerned.
And the reason for our liberation from the one
Known as Shamhur ʿSamiri' was

Folio IIa

The arrival of the followers of the Guardian,
The Mighty, the Exalted, the Thankful.
Allah gave them the power (zimān) to inflict harm in the world.²
They have two books other than the Psalms.
They dislodged the armies of Shamhar from our country;
And that was a blessing from the Patient.
If you thought of counting the blessings of Allah,
then do not,
Rather praise Allah seriously (bi-lā futūr),
Who saved us in that year (fāminā)
From our east from destruction (hadm al-hudūr).
Perhaps it is better that you not be annoyed
About what happened in the past (min ḥādīth ad-duhūr),
For Allah does not change a people except
They change by being disgraced (hatk li s-sutūr).
Our prayers and continuous supplications for peace,
In the night, evening and morning,
Are for the prophet, master of creatures,
Their intercessor on the Day of Judgement,

¹The implication is that because of the great fear of the inhabitants a night seemed as long as a month.
²This is a reference to the French.
And his noble family, lords of mankind,
And the successors (tābiʿūn), al-qāʿimī s-suḥūr.¹
Praise to Allah for the completion
Of our verse in the rajaz meter.

¹That is, those who take the last meal before daybreak in Ramadān.
قدر الله الرضا الرحم لنور الدنيا نسيم نعمته
الغدير القمر بعين الازول لسبيل قد امروبا الأزول
الله مسنا وبرأنا الذي يقبل الص工业园区
ومضائه مع السلام والمغصوب
على اللهم كن لنا نيبًا
محمد وواه الإبرار وصبيحة وحارثاء الإضرار
وبعذب الله بناء
فلذتا مصر النهور
يبلغون المجوس وماربيه
وينفع الإحساء رويز
ويخلق العقول السماوية
ومبشار السدبة السفينة
ويستوى بها السطول الأكبر والعالم
وبحاولوا الى
لركان رب بيته للنبي
فما بقى روزه فيه
لماتو بالجفًا الكصر
أبهل بإليك الصبيح
بابلاق صلخ الهريج
على توحيش الضوء والشرارة والعجوان
طاريماً طارٍ وكابر
وذاك داؤد ظلتم تقولون
إن ندرك صاحب المعروف
وآمن برسالته تعالى
والله هو إلا الله وحده لا شريك له وعمه
والله هوมอบ لكل الابلاز
ب_navcat
بنايع الله وجميع الأعيان
الله هوpref
وضعية في، وكوتشنر وواصل سفره إلى طرابلس، ثم عبر المحيط الأطلسي. ووصل إلى ماراكش، ثم إلى فلسطين. وواصل رحلته إلى إيطاليا، حيث قاد تشكيلًا في الحكم. ثم عاد إلى أوروبا، حيث قاد تشكيلًا آخر. وفي النهاية، وقف في موسكو ودعا إلى السلام.

وصف: فازكاري نجفي نسيمًا من بذرته، ثم صعد إلى السماء. واندثرت صورته، ودفنت في الأبدية.
Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Merciful the Compassionate;
And may Allah bless our master Muhammad;
Eternal praise to the Incomparable, the Almighty;
Glory to Him Who was Master of affairs from the beginning,
The Apparent, the Hidden, the Radiant;
In His sovereignty He has no counsellor.
May His peace and (ma'ā) blessings
Be upon the Imam, the protector of orphans,
Muhammad and his upright family,
His companions and his excellent party.
Now then: praise be to Allah, 0 people!
This is a reminder to the people.
Our Lord is the Controller of destinies (muṣarrif ad-duḥūr),
The Changer of ages (mukawwir al-rūṣūr) in His creation.
He does with creatures as He likes;
He shortens and lengthens lives;
He tests the wretched and the happy;
The free and the slaves.
In that (ṣutta) women and men are equals, (ḥiṣbi)
The wise, the ignorant and the licentious.
If (ṣod) Lord tried (ṣin) for (ṣin) sins,
There would not remain on His earth a crawler (muḍābb).
When our sincere advisor (ṣand) shaikh died,
I mean Abū Muhammad¹ the eloquent
The kind al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ,
Abū Sulaimān, of the same lineage (ṣamīm);
Upon his (Sāliḥ's) grave be an abundance of (ṣūr) favor,
And pardon, mercy and forgiveness.
He surpassed every disbelieving enemy,
Then he called upon his people (supporters) to take revenge,²

¹Here al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ's kunya contains the name of a younger son.

²This may be a reference to al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ's troubles with the French administration in Bondoukou.
And that obliterated ʿāba every disbelieving sinner
And consumed every obvious wrong-doer.
If the doers of good were to oppose him (yakfur),
It would be as if they the two of them were unac-
quainted.¹

Folio Ib

Allah increase (or double) my sorrow in his nest,
And make my every hour grievous!
I have become in my time lonely;
I do not have a tribe or people.
Even a hypocrite approached mash an outsider
And spread many sic. shād rumors about him (sic. ʿanhu).²
Then they took his patient and cultured son
And incarcerated his intelligent and discerning son.³
The towns grieved because of his misfortune,
Except those governed by Satan.
Our Lord delivered him from the disbelievers (opposers)
After he had suffered severe harm and maltreatment,
With the dignity of Allah's sagacious servants,
The astute ones, and they are the wise;
Their leader malikuh is our Imam Idrīs.⁴
May Allah lodge him al-Ḥājj Sālih in His Paradise.
Here its Lord clothed him in a garment
The likeness of which He wills for him in the Hereafter.

¹I am of the opinion that the author, who supported al-Ḥājj Sālih, intends by bainahuma al-Ḥājj Sālih and Imam Kunandi Timitay, or the French commandant; I am more inclined to think he means the Imam himself (see Chapter IV).

²These two lines and the following seem to support the above position.

³The two sons were Sulaimān and Muḥammad Saʿīd.

⁴A wise prophet (ṣiddīq) mentioned in the Qurān 19:56.
Then they sent a messenger to search for him,
And the most wretched of them guided them to the noble one.
Then they began spreading out in our region
Until in the morning they arrived to Jinini.
They had rifles or iron,
And ships of leather.
When I saw the people planning
To take the delight of the eye (al-Hājj Salih) from Ghuraw,1
I looked eastward and westward, to the right
And to the left, but I did not find a trustworthy person.
I left the hands of the enemy (sic. yad al-'aduww) walking
To Tisa,2 (town of people) of means, signalling (to them).
Then all the people cried out together
Indeed, some of them passed a week (in grief)
Some people said they wrote and wrote,
And some of our people (the Timitays) said they repented.
Hatred was reinforced in our bodies.
Wa katama li-waṣfinā kafūr (kufur).3

(Its author is Karamoko Fabakr (Abū Bakr) Timitay, Bondoukou.
I obtained it from al-Hājj Ibrāhīm Tarawiri, Monday 3 Rabī' II 1383 A.H.4

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1 I am not familiar with this place.
2 Probably a town or village between Bondoukou and Jinini.
3 Unfortunately the meaning of this line is unintelligible.
4 This is a note written by al-Hājj Boyo of the IAS.
EPILOGUE

The diffusion of Islam and its branches of learning in the Ivory Coast and Ghana are almost certainly traceable to four main sources: traders, the activities of the Almoravids, the dispersion of the Mande-Dyula from the empire of Mali some time before the end of the 16th century and the activities of the Saghanughu family in the 18th century. The importance of the Almoravids is well known to students of Islamic history;¹ the effects of the Mande dispersion and settlement in the northern territories of West Africa is common knowledge among historians of Africa. In recent times Wilks has shown the significance of the Saghanughu in the spread of Islamic learning in the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and Ghana. It is noteworthy that the isnāds for the study of the Qurʾān of the early Timitays pass through Saghanughu shaikhs; the same is true for Karamoko Muhammad b. ʿUthmān, his descendants and the prominent lineages of Bondoukou.²

Islamic learning in Bondoukou in the 19th century was limited by geographical and political factors. Unlike the more northerly centers of the Western and Eastern

Sudan, it was not within the area of vigorous intellectual activity. There is no indication in my sources of the existence of a thriving book trade at Bondoukou, or that it was frequented by itinerant scholars from other centers. The number of manuscripts on various subjects available to the local karamokos must have been small. It is probable that the few works of foreign origin were jealously guarded possessions. That Marty and other French administrators, who had good relations with Imam Kunandi, did not leave us a list of manuscripts in his possession may be an indication that his library was not impressive; indeed, as late as 1910 it seems to have consisted mainly of copies of the Qur'ān.¹ The political conflict between Asante and Gyaman was probably another reason for the scarcity of Arabic texts in Bondoukou. The enmity and wars between these two kingdoms and the consequent unsafe state of the trade routes would have severely limited the availability of works from the Eastern Sudan, particularly those of the Fulani leaders² that found their way into Gonja and even

¹Abidjan. Les Archives Nationales de la Côte d'Ivoire, xv-42-85, no. 27, "Écoles Coraniques de Bondoukou", 31 October, 1910.

Kumasi by the latter part of the 19th century. The Samorian and French occupations are less significant; the former was of short duration and the latter encouraged trade with those areas of West Africa under French control. Presumably a large percentage of the texts which did enter the town were acquired during the 18th century and subsequent periods of political relaxation of hostilities with Asante. Gyaman's relations with the latter often affected the safety of her trade routes leading to Kong and the northern territories of the Western Sudan. Thus the intellectual history of the Bondoukou Dyula in the 19th century must be seen against the background of a kind of intellectual deprivation. The degree to which a tradition of learning was maintained is remarkable.

The Islamic character of Bondoukou was a significant feature of the town throughout the 19th century. Like most Islamized peoples, the Dyula assimilated Islamic culture to the extent that it became characteristic of their community and distinguished them from their non-Muslim Gyaman neighbors, and facilitated their attainment of a semi-independent political status within the kingdom. It is noted that their position as traders was extremely important; but it should not be forgotten that the influence of the imām and the Dyula notables on the non-Muslim chiefs was largely based upon the religious aspect of the Dyula literati. It was the latter who preserved Islam and Muslim learning for their community, irrespective of the qualifications of the imāms and karamokos.
While there was a definite connection between the Sufi orders and the 'ulamā' of Bondoukou in the 19th century, there appears to have been little development or study of Sufi theosophy. The Qādirīyya and the Tijānīyya were introduced and gained adherents, but membership in the brotherhoods seems to have been more a symbol of personal distinction than an avenue for further intellectual development. It is quite possible that Bondoukou had had some exposure to both orders prior to the middle of the century through itinerant teachers like Karamoko Muhammad. Dhikr was performed at various times (as it is today) and certain fasts other than that of Ramadān were kept (for example, on Thursdays). The wārid was given to deserving murīds some of whom in time became muqaddams. However, with the exception of the work of Karamoko Muhammad, I am not aware of a single manuscript from the area under discussion which contains the technical uses of such common taṣawwuf terms as ma'rīfa, 'ilm, ma'nā, and ḥaqqaq (or ḥaqīqa). That the Tijānī term ar-rabbānī ('one close to Allah') is particularly used in reference to al-Hājj Šāliḥ is almost irrelevant to this matter.

The Arabic language was a very useful tool to the Bondoukou teachers. Although it was never the spoken language of the Dyula community, it was the medium for correspondence, the recording of historical and social events and general scholarly writing.\(^1\) It was also used

\(^1\)See the Arabic 'saffi' or amulet given to R. Austin
for amulets, mystical formulae,¹ and its characters served as a script for the Dyula dialect. The Bondoukou Dyula, as well as Karamoko Muhammad and his descendants, imitated the expressions which are common in medieval and post-classical Arabic works concerning poetry, religion and history. However, due to the limited use of the language, it was often written intelligibly but imperfectly.

It was the relative intellectual isolation of Bondoukou which facilitated the prolonged influence which al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ possessed in the town. That his pious and learned father had taught there undoubtedly gained him the initial respect of the community. But his personal erudition coupled with his pilgrimage and extra-Bondoukou contacts were crucial to his status among the karamokos. The latter were, for the most part, locally educated and not in a good position to compete with a teacher of al-Ḥājj Sāliḥ's standing. It is significant that he had no permanent effect on the system of education or the character of the local leadership. His failure to attain the imāmal office in Bondoukou, due to his lack of political acumen and overestimation of his capabilities, was to aid Freeman by Imam Kunandi Timitay in the former's Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1898), p. 331.

in the decline of his subsequent intellectual influence outside Jinini. That he became imām of Wenchi, a trading town of less contemporary repute than Bondoukou, was not a great achievement.

It is extremely difficult to evaluate al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ's intellectual abilities, as we have but few very short examples of his writings. His knowledge of Arabic seems to have been comparatively good. It is safer and probably more correct to accept the impressions gained from the sources: that he was very learned, religious, a Tijānī muqaddam and respected as such; wa 1-lāhu aʿlam.
Note of Commandant Foseuti About Imam Kunandi's Departure

1\textsuperscript{1} ANCI, xv-45-125, no. 55, 6 mars 1914, "Depart de l'Almamy de Bondoukou en Gold Coast".
Grande : Les seuls travaillant plus de pour du pays à
partir d'un meilleur pays, et ceux qui
travaillent plus que nous sont ceux dans les pays
fermés.

En fait, il y a quelque jours, le voyageur
d'Allemagne a la mosquée, a vaissel, Sabia Jemile.
J'ai fait remarquer que j'allais encore toute pour
l'Europe. Le chef de canton habitation du pays,
et le chef du grand, sont de Bourdes Renn, et pas j'en
dans la prochaine de Allemagne pour, en toute liberté.
Fermes après de Colmar, et du jour, Sénar,
Sadia Jemile et venir apporter une lettre en
arabe de fansmon, et la lecture de celle-
1er jour, et de plus, prier, l'Allemagne am
de retour à Bourdes Renn.

Je m'emploie, la France, et voir
feu de voir, et, fermes par alternance
et à deux dix de même dix, de dire chère
et m'a promis de me, dîner.

R. d'Enfant.
Gouverneur ...

Dans la note sur la situation politique jointe à la feuille 3 du procès-verbal de passation de service du 1 Mars dernier que je vous adresse par ce courrier, mon prédécesseur a signalé le départ en Gold Coast de l'Almamy de Bondoukou, Kounandi Timité.

Cet événement, dont j'étudie actuellement avec soin les causes et la portée au point de vue politique, me paraît assez important pour que, dès maintenant, je vous en rende compte par lettre spéciale.

L'Almamy Kounandi Timité, d'après les renseignements que j'ai recueillis, a quitté Bondoukou pour s'établir au poste anglais de Sunyani il y a trois mois exactement le 9 décembre 1913.

M. l'Adr. Bonnefont déclare dans la note précitée que ce chef religieux lui avait demandé l'autorisation d'aller dans la colonie britannique voisine pour acheter des colas. Et le but de son départ aurait été, en réalité, de demander à l'administration anglaise une concession de terrain en vue de la reconstitution de l'ancienne ville djoula de Begho.

Enfin, les notables musulmans de Bondoukou, qui paraissent affectés de cette fugue auraient envoyé une délégation à l'Almamy pour le détourner de son projet d'abandon de la Côte d'Ivoire.

De mon côté, j'ai recueilli les renseignements ci-après, de source indigène naturellement.

Kounandi Timité, dès son arrivée au poste anglais de Sunyani, aurait été appelé par le Commissaire du district ashanti de l'ouest qui lui aurait proposé une concession à Sunyani même. L'Almamy aurait refusé cette offre, et aurait déclaré que s'il devait un jour s'installer en Gold Coast ce serait à l'emplacement de ses aïeux à Begho.

Kounandi Timité est en Côte d'Ivoire avec des enfants et une vingtaine de manoeuvres de son quartier. Ceux-ci travaillent pour des gens du pays à raison d'un shelling par jour: les uns fabriquent des tapis, les autres coupent
des roseaux ou sont occupés dans des plantations.

J'ai fait appeler, il y a quelques jours, le remplaçant de l'Almamy à la mosquée, un nommé Salia Timité. Je lui ai fait connaître que j'attendrai huit jours avant de rassembler les chefs des cantons dépendant du poste, et les chefs des quartiers de Bondoukou, et que je comptais sur la présence de l'Almamy qui, en toute liberté, pourra m'exposer ses doléances. Hier au soir, 5 mars, Salia Timité est venu m'apporter une lettre en arabe de Kounandi, et la lecture de celle-ci me laisse penser que, d'ici quelques jours, l'Almamy sera de retour à Bondoukou.

Je m'empresserai, M. le Gouverneur, de vous rendre compte des renseignements qu'ultérieurement il me sera donné de recueillir sur cette affaire dont il m'a paru utile de vous saisir.

G. Foseuti
APPENDIX II

Some Predecessors, Relatives and Descendants of al-Hajj Sālih

Qāsim
(fl. after 1650?)

Muhammad
(fl. 18th c.?)

'Uthman
(c. after 1825?)

Muhammad
(d. ca. 1895)

Ibrahim
(d. 1920s?)

Muhammad
(d. 1940s?)

Mama

Šālih
(d. 1932)

'Umar Bamba
(d. ?)

Kantogma
(d. ?)

Tafsīr
(d. ?)

Shāfiya
(d. ?)

Ibrahim
(d. ca. 1970)

Sālih Ghina

Muhammad Sa'id
(d. 1950)

Hajara
(d. ?)

Umar Bamba
(d. ?)

Muhammad

Isa Muhammad
APPENDIX III

Books Used for Teaching by Al-Hājj Šāliḥ.

I Arabic Language
A. Al-Ājurrūmīyya of Ibn Ajurrūm
B. Al-Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik
C. Maqāmat of al-Harīrī
D. Sitta Shu'arā' of Imru' al-Qais

II Quranic Exegesis
Tafsīr al-Jalālāin of al-Mahallī and as-Suyūtī

III Ḥadīth
A. Al-Muwāṭṭa' of Imām Mālik
B. Subul as-Salām of al-Kahlānī as-San'ānī

IV Fiqh
A. Ar-Risāla of Ibn abī Zaid al-Qairawānī
B. Thamarāt as-Jannīyya fī l-Ghara'ib wa l-Alghāz al-Fiqhīyya ʿalā Madhhab as-Sādāt al-Mālikīyya of Muhammad Bālī al-Fūtī
C. Al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-'Ībadāt of Abū Zaid ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Akhḍārī

V History
Ash-Shifāʾ bi-Taʾrīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā of Qāḍī ʿIyād
APPENDIX IV

Some Students of al-Hājj Šāliḥ

Imām al-Hājj Muhammad Bakūrī b. Ḥarūn b. al-Ḥasan of Wa
‘Abd al-Qādir of Kong; studied 3 years with al-Hājj Šāliḥ
Ṣīna (al-Ḥasan) of Jinini

Muhammad Lamīn of Jinini

Al-Hājj Karamoko Ba of Fugula-Banda

Karamoko Šāliḥ Ghina of Bondoukou

Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan (Karamoko Subruni) Timitay of Bondoukou

Karamoko ʿUmar Banē of Bondoukou

Karamoko ʿAbd Allah Banē of Bondoukou

Karamoko Šāliḥ Jabaghatay b. al-Hājj Sulaimān of Kanguelé

Imām Muhammad b. Yaʿqūb Watara of Sorobango

Al-Hājj Muḥammad at-Tijānī b. al-Hājj Muḥammad Saʿīd of

Jinini

Al-Hājj Sulaimān b. al-Hājj Šāliḥ of Jinini

Al-Hājj Šiddī Muḥammad b. al-Hājj Šāliḥ of Jinini

Al-Hājj Muḥammad Saʿīd b. al-Hājj Šāliḥ of Jinini

Al-Hājj ʿUmar Bamba b. al-Hājj Šāliḥ of Jinini
APPENDIX V

Al-Hājj Muhammad Sa‘īd’s Isnād for Quranic Exegesis

Folio Ia
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
ولللمغيب

أتم النسي

وجدت في一年 583
نور الدين رضي الله عنه

286
287

Folio Ia

In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful; may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon our master Muhammad. Let the reader \(<\text{sic.}>\) al-waqif \(<\text{sic.}>\) of this precious document \(<\text{sic.}>\) muskha know that our chain for Quranic exegesis is a noble and continuous one. Al-Hājj Ibrāhīm b. al-Hājj Muhammad Sa‘īd learned exegesis from his father \(<\text{sic.}>\) al-Hājj Muhammad Sa‘īd who learned it from his father \(<\text{sic.}>\) al-Hājj Sālih ar-Rabbānī al-Jawnī; and he from his father and shaikh who knew Allah, Muhammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Jawnī; and he from his master and shaikh, the imām of his time, al-Hājj Mahmūd; and he from his master, shaikh and \(<\text{sic.}>\) father, Muhammad Karantaw; and he from ash-Sharīf Muhammad al-Abyad b. abī Bakr; and he from the blessed jurist, Muhammad Sa‘īd b. al-Mustafā...

Folio Ib

\(<\text{sic.}>\) Saghanughu; and he from the jurist Yahyā b. Muhammad Saghanughu; and he from the ascetic al-‘Abbās Saghanughu; from his shaikh and father al-Mustafā Saghanughu; from al-Hājj Muhammad Saghanughu; and he from ash-Shaikh al-Imām al-‘Afī Saghanughu; and he \(<\text{from}>\) al-Imām ‘Uthmān Saghanughu; from al-Hājj Muhammad Thānī Saghanughu; from Abī \(<\text{sic.}>\) Bakr Saghanughu; from his master Muhammad Tarawiri; and he from the jurist the acquiescent al-Hājj ‘Uthmān Saghanughu; from the very successful Shaikh ‘Umār Fūfānawi (Fūfāna); from Shaikh Mandi Kūri; and he from Muhammad al-Būnī; and he from al-Hājj Sālih Suwāra; and he from Shaikh Mandiwī; and he from...

Folio IIa

the jurist Tūrī Kūri; and he from the jurist as-Saisā (Sīsī) Kūri; from the jurist Ishāq; from the learned shaikh ‘Abd as-Salām Saḥmūn; from ‘Abd ar-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim al-Misrī; from the Imām and scholar of Dār al-Hijra (Madina), our Imām Mālik \(<\text{b. Anas}>\); and he from Imām Nāfī‘; and he from ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Umar, may Allah be pleased with all of them; and he from our master Muhammad the messenger of...
Allah, peace and blessings be upon him; and he from Gabriel, Michael, Ezrael, Safarata, Rafrafa and Isrāfīl, may Allah grant peace to all the angels and near ones; from Dafafa,

Folio IIb

Maitarūn, Tāsīta; from the Tablet, the Pen, from the Mighty Lord, our Lord and Creator, how great is His sublimity, the Glorious the High! O Lord, I ask You, on Your Book and noble prophet, to grant us uprightness upon Your straight path, and on the Sunna of Your messenger Muhammad, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him; and grant us happiness and safety, O Lord of the worlds and Most Compassionate. May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon our master Muhammad, Amen! It is completed and finished.
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