

WEST AFRICA AND THE MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE : AN
HISTORICAL STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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by

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ABSTRACT

Pilgrimage is one of five duties in Islam; it is obligatory once in a life-time under certain conditions. This study deals with the development of the pilgrimage movement from West Africa.

The introduction outlines the pilgrimage ceremonies, the duty of pilgrimage, the interpretations of the four main Schools of fiqh, of major pilgrimage organisations outside West Africa and discusses the scope and sources of the study.

The history of the pilgrimage can be traced back to the early periods of Islamisation (c. 1100). Part 1 covers the pre-nineteenth century period. Characterised by royal interest in pilgrimage, the regional survey given in this part provides an historical background to the nineteenth century which is the special concern of the study.

Part 2 discusses the attitudes, both theoretical and practical, of the main Jihad states. It attempts to assess the influence of major doctrines and events in numerically reinforcing the pilgrimage movement. An outline of the pilgrimage routes during the nineteenth century is also provided.

Part 3 discusses two themes in the pilgrimage factor, reform and education and makes general observations

on local attitudes to the pilgrimage. Six appendices illustrate types of literature related to the pilgrimage in West Africa.

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NOTE

Transliteration from the Arabic follows the system of the New Edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam except for the letters ج and ق for which letters J and Q instead of Dj and K, respectively, are used. Popular English spellings of names like Mecca and Timbuctu have been retained.

For abbreviations see Bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

i. The Muslim pilgrimage

a. The rite and some associated practices

Although in the Arabic language the word haj means religious and devotional journeying to a sacred place, haj according to the Muslim religion is the observance of specified acts at specified places, in or near Mecca in Arabia, at a specified time.¹ The qualification necessary in the English form 'the pilgrimage to Mecca' and in the French 'le pèlerinage de la Mecque' is hence unnecessary in Arabic. The title al-hāj, consequently, is only in Islam given to the person who performs the haj. To eliminate any possible confusion arising from the alternative use in this study of the words haj and

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1. "Kitab al-haj" in Vol. I, of Kitab al fiqh 'ala al-Madhahib al-arb'ah, a compendium of Muslim Law summarising the views of the four schools of fiqh published by the Egyptian Wizarat al-Awqaf, 4 vols. (1931-37). (It appears under the name of 'Abdel Rahman al-Jaziri.) Vol. I, p. 611.

The Oxford Dictionary defines "pilgrimage" as a journey made to some sacred place; as an act of religious devotion." The unity of place of the Muslim pilgrimage distinguishes it from the multiplicity of places of pilgrimage in Christianity. Generally speaking the word Ziarah is commonly used in Arabic for the act of visiting places that have religious significance and to distinguish the visit to these places from the haj. See below, p. 327 for an instance of confusion possibly arising from the use of pilgrimage for what is strictly speaking ziarah.

pilgrimage, hāj and pilgrim, it is better to stress that the study is concerned with the Muslim pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca.

The Quranic verse which imposed the rite of pilgrimage on Muslims, 111, 97 reads:

It is the duty of all men towards God to come to the House a pilgrim, if he is able to make his way there.¹

A Prophetic tradition, hadith, limited the obligation of pilgrimage to once in a lifetime.² Thus pilgrimages subsequent to the first are not required but are considered meritorious. The pilgrimage rite itself is the completion of four acts, arkan (sing. rukn) within and outside the town of Mecca in Arabia. These are, a) Ihrām, or the entry into a sanctified state by casting away one's ordinary clothes and putting on the garb of ihrām, two sheets of unsewn cloth, wrapped around the body. The state of ihrām is entered into at certain points specified on the different routes leading to Mecca. b) Tawāf, or the circumambulation of the Ka^cba performed seven times on entry into Mecca. This is known as tawāf al qudūm. c) Sa^ci, or the hurried walk between two points of Sāfa

1. A.J. Arberry's Translation of the Qur'ān (1964).

2. A. al-Jaziri, op.cit., p. 611.

and Marwa, also seven times, and d), Wuḡūf, or the standing on Jebel al-Rahma in the valley of ^CArafat at the distance of twenty-five kilometers outside Mecca.¹ This is the crucial observance of the pilgrimage. It always takes place on the afternoon of the ninth day of the month of Dhi-l-Hiḡḡa, the last month of the Muslim calendar. With attendance at the ceremony in ^CArafat a person becomes entitled hāḡj. Pilgrims then start on their way back to Mecca. At ^CAgaba the ritual throwing of the stones, jamrat, is performed. In the valley of Mina sacrifices, mostly of sheep, are offered. On returning to Mecca the Ka^Cba is also circumambulated seven times in the act of ~~the~~, ṭawaf al-ifada. With the pilgrimage are also associated a number of practices of which the following are main ones.

The lesser pilgrimage, ^Cumra

For the rite of ^Cumra the same observances of the pilgrimage with the exception of the standing on ^CArafat, are performed. ^CUmra is not obligatory but is a recommended action for which a person will be rewarded. It can be performed any time during the year and is thought most preferable during the month of Ramaḡan. It can be performed before the pilgrimage, ṭamat^Cu, with the

1. Ibid., pp. 619-647. Also see accounts in R. Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Meccah (1857) Vol.II, pp.375-388; A. Kamal, The Sacred Journey, (1961); Article Ḥadidj, Encyclopaedia of Islam "New Edition".

pilgrimage, qirān, or after the pilgrimage, ifrād. In the latter case the Sa^ci is performed again.¹ The Cumra does not entitle the person to the honorific of haj.

The visit to Madina, ziyarah

While they are in the Hijaz Muslims generally tend to visit different places in the country for their historical or religious associations with Islam,² the most important being Madina. In Madina Muslims visit the tomb of the Prophet who is buried in the Great Mosque of the town together with three of his companions, Caliphs Abū Bakr, ^CUmar and ^CUthmān. This visit is also not obligatory but a number of hadiths of the Prophet recommend it to Muslims. The visit can be made before or after the pilgrimage ceremony largely depending on the direction from which the person was travelling to Mecca. Many make the pilgrimage without making the visit to Madina. For others, the Mālikīs, the visit is made more endearing by the association of the founder of their School, maḍhhab, Imām Mālik b. Anas with the town.

An important place of visitation, less frequented than Madina, is the masjid al-aqsa, in Jerusalem, because

1. Ibid.

2. A considerable list of these places was given in J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia (1829), pp. 121-180.

of its association with the miraculous flight of the
 X Prophet overnight from Madina to Jeruslame, the episode
 of the Isra'.

Mujawara

This is the decision of Muslims to take permanent residence and await their deaths in the neighbourhood of the Holy Places. Mujawara is usually made either in Mecca, for being close to the Ka^cba, or at Madina to be close to the Prophet. There is no special preference in this case between the two towns.

The obligation of pilgrimage

The four major Schools, madhahib, of interpretation of Islamic Law were founded by al-Imam Malik b. Anas (d. 795-6), al-Imam Ahmed b. Hanbal (d. 855), al-Imam Muhammed al-Shafi^ci (d. 820) and al-Imam Abu Hanifa (d. 767). All these Schools agree that certain conditions, shurūt (sing. shart) should be fulfilled before pilgrimage becomes obligatory. Of these conditions they broadly agree^{on}/the person being a Muslim¹, of age, free² and

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1. The Malikis consider pilgrimage to be a duty on all people though it is only acceptable from Muslims. A. al-Jaziri, op.cit., p. 612, note 1.
 2. Pilgrimage is not an obligation on slaves. A slave's pilgrimage is only acceptable if undertaken with the permission of his master. After making a pilgrimage a slave is, customarily, freed. As shall be seen shortly some Schools allow sending a slave as a deputy.

having the ability, istita^ca, to make the pilgrimage. The differences among the Schools on this last point, istita^ca, are particularly relevant to this study.

Although the interpretation of Malik's School of the clause of istita^ca is the one that most concerns us here, since Malik's is the predominant School of West Africa, it is important to outline other views for comparison and also because some West African scholars in fact had resort to their interpretations of the pilgrimage.¹ The Schools of al-Shafi^ci, ibn Hanbal and Abu Hanifa define istita^ca as mainly the ability to procure means of transport for the journey, rahila, and sufficient provisions for it, zād. The monies spent on both zād and rahilah, the three schools maintain, must be superfluous to the person's needs and also those of his dependents who stay behind. Means of transport or rahilah is seen as necessary for persons who live at a distance of three days or more from Mecca. If a person's home is two days or less from Mecca and he can walk, he is to do so. Al-Shafi^ci absolves women from walking altogether from any distance, and also goes further to allow the sending of a deputy if the person was unable, for legal reasons, to go himself.²

1. See below p. 120 and pp. 158-163 Also various views in Appendix I.

2. A. al-Jaziri, op.cit., note pp. 612-617.

Although Malik says that the pilgrimage must not be undertaken under extremely harsh conditions that endanger the person's life,¹ his interpretation for istita^c a vis-a-vis rahilah and zād does not in fact leave much room for exemptions. Zad according to Malik could be provided by the employment of a person's craftsmanship on the routes to Mecca, and rahilah by the person's ability to walk. On the latter no distance is set and it is expected of those who live near Mecca or far from it. It is also expected of the blind who can find a guide and the woman provided she was accompanied by a husband or a relative. The financial ability of the person is the price when sold of that person's entire belongings; it is not what is superfluous to his needs or the needs of his dependents as these must not be factors in his consideration. Nor should consideration be given to the fact that after making the pilgrimage the person might be destitute. The value of the person's property, furthermore, should be sufficient for a one way journey only to Mecca, for if he cannot afford the return journey he is to reside in Mecca, or to retrace his steps as far as his resources carry him.²

1. Jurists commonly refer to the words of Khalil Ibn Ishaq's al-Mukhtasar, Wa wajaba bi-istita^catin bi-imkani-l-wusul bi la masha-qatin azumat. See Paris edition, 1855, pp. 52-53.

2. A. al-Jaziri, op.cit., note pp. 612-617.

Deputisation in the pilgrimage, niyabah.

Islamic worship divides into three categories. The first entails bodily effort like prayer, salat and fasting, saum. These must be performed by the individual himself and cannot be performed on his behalf by somebody else. The second category entails financial expense like zakat (legal tax) and this can be dispensed on behalf of a person by a deputy. The pilgrimage is seen as a third category which entails both bodily effort (the observation of the arkān) and financial expense (the costs of travel, sacrifice and so on). The differences among the Schools regarding deputisation for the pilgrimage arise from whether the bodily effort or the financial expense is the more prominent.

The Schools of al-Shafi'i, Abu Hanifa and Ibn Hanbal say that because the financial effort is more crucial it is permissible to send a deputy to perform the pilgrimage on a person's behalf under certain conditions. The most basic of these conditions is the disability of the person, through illness, old age or whatever other legal reason, to make the pilgrimage. The Hanafis accept deputising by a woman or a slave. This action would remove the obligation from the person who sent the deputy even if the original legal disability was later removed. The

Shafi^c is impose the proviso that deputisation is only acceptable from people who live at a distance of more than two days' travel from Mecca and that the deputy himself must have performed his own pilgrimage. The Hanbalis allow deputisation on behalf of a person who died before making the pilgrimage provided that he left a will to that effect, in which case a deputy should be sent from the inheritance before it is distributed.

The Malikis, on the other hand, maintain that physical effort is more basic in the rite of pilgrimage than financial expense. The School flatly rejects deputisation; if and for legal reasons the person cannot make the pilgrimage himself, he is then not obliged to do so and it would also be unnecessary for him to send a deputy. No reward will be bestowed on the person, except that of having assisted a Muslim in doing a good deed and the deputy will not get the reward of a pilgrimage; he and the person who sent him would still stand obliged to make the pilgrimage. Deputisation is also unacceptable on behalf of the deceased.¹

1. Ibid., pp. 675-628.

For some instances of deputisation in West Africa see below p. 227-8, 328

b. Pilgrimage organisation

Despite the fact that the pilgrimage is basically an individual obligation the organisation in groups, national or ethnic, of pilgrims of a particular area is an important characteristic of the pilgrimage. The arrival of pilgrim caravans for the ceremonies is a central event of the season as much as their departure is an important and socially awaited event at their starting places. The most important pilgrimage caravans of long standing were the Egyptian caravan, the Syrian caravan, the Maghribian caravan and the caravans from Iraq and from Persia.¹ Of these attention is given here only to the Egyptian and the Maghribi caravans, for two reasons: first, to provide ground for comparison between the organisations and attitudes of the successive states of these countries to the pilgrimage, and the situation in West Africa; and second, because of the practical value of the caravans from ^{the} Maghrib and Egypt

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1. Other organisations include a caravan from Yemen and during the 19th century what was known as people of the Suwahil (or those who come by sea from Malya, India, East Africa and other places.)

See J.L. Burckhardt: Travels in Arabia (1829), p.256; Studies of this aspect of the pilgrimage include: R. Tresse, Le Pelerinage Syrien aux villes Saintes de L'Islam (1937); J. Jomier, Le Mahmal et la caravane egyptienne des pèlerins de La Mecque XIII^e - XX^e Siecle - Cairo (1953.) Also see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Le pèlerinage de La Mecque (Paris 1923).

to pilgrims from West Africa.¹ The attitudes of the states of Egypt and Morocco to the pilgrimage is demonstrated in two main respects: in the care and assistance they gave to the annual caravan, and in their attempts to demonstrate their attachment to Islam by sending gifts and annual presents to the Holy places, their Culama and to the Sharif families of the Hijaz.

Egypt

The geographical position of Egypt put it in the intersection of pilgrimage routes from all over the rest of Africa, and sometimes from the eastern Mediterranean.² Pilgrims from Egypt, from the Muslim conquest in the seventh century to the thirteenth century used to take ship to Jiddah from the Red Sea ports of ʿAydhab, or Qusa'ir.³ This route was developed particularly during the Fatimid period and was closely associated with the rising commercial importance of the port of ʿAydhab.⁴ It was also, during this period, a safer route as the Crusades had greatly disturbed the routes of Lower Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean. But the route that came

1. This shall be apparent mainly in the sections on routes in parts 1 and 2, below.

2. Muhammed Labib al-Batanūni, al-Rihlah al Hijaziyyah Cairo (AH. 1329) pp. 27-28.

3. Ibid., p. 31.

4. Y.F. Hassan, The Arabs and the Sudan (1968), p. 69.

to be traditionally associated with the Egyptian caravan was overland through the northern land bridge of the Red Sea, across Sinai and ⁶Aqaba and southwards to al-Madina and Mecca.¹ This route it is said was first used by the caravan that conveyed the Princess Shajarat al-Dūr on the pilgrimage in 1248/645. In 1262/660 the Mamluk Sultan Baibars al-Bunduqdari (1260 - 1277) sent a caravan carrying a cover of the K^caba, Kiswa and a key which he made for the door of the K^caba, along it. It remained in use until the 1880s.²

The pilgrimage season in Egypt started in the month of Rajab. In this month a smaller caravan of pilgrims formed the caravan known as Rajabiyya. Pilgrims who went with this caravan did so with the intention of reaching Mecca before the month of Ramadan. They would thus fast Ramadan there and also perform ḥumra in its most preferable time.³ The official caravan used to depart from Cairo about the 25th of Shawwal in two parts at a forty-eight hour interval. The first, rakb al-awāl, was smaller; its leader, amir al-hajj, was chosen from a

1. A description of all the stages of the route from Cairo to Mecca in the fifteenth century is given in ⁶Abdel Rahman al-Siūti, Husn al Muḥaḍara fi akhbar miṣr wa-l qahira (Cairo) Vol. II, p. 167.

2. al-Batanūni, op.cit., p. 31.

3. J. Jomier, op.cit., pp. 82-83.

lower rank than the leader of the second caravan, rakh al-thani. The latter caravan was considered the more important of the two; it carried the mahmal and the kiswa, and its leader was considered the leader of the entire pilgrimage of the season.¹

The mahmal and the kiswa were distinguishing characteristics of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. The right to clothe the Ka'ba kiswa had originally been the prerogative of the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad. After the collapse of the dynasty in 1258 the Mamluks of Egypt who had also been responsible for checking the advance of the Mongols, claimed the prerogative of protecting the Holy places. Their authority was challenged regarding the kiswa by the Rassoulids of Yemen, but with the assistance of the Sharif of Mecca this was foiled and an agreement signed in 1282 officially supported the Mamluk claim.² The Mamluk Sultan henceforward was the only Muslim monarch allowed to provide the kiswa. The mahmal was also a demonstration of political suzerainty. Sources credit its appearance first in the season of 645/1248 also to the Mamluk Sultan Baibars.³ The mahmal itself had no religious significance and it was for all purposes

1. Ibid., p. 76.

2. Ibid., p. 31. (The Mahmal and kiswa are two separate things.)

3. al-Batānūni, op.cit., p. 140.

a display of political pomp.¹ But the appearance of rival mahmals, first from Yemen and then from Iraq annoyed the Mamluks and a protocol was also signed in 1320 by which terms all other mahmals were to follow that of Egypt. Caravans carrying a mahmal were also to carry the Egyptian flag with it.²

Pilgrimage organisation attained a great degree of efficiency during the Mamluk period. This is shown by the number of official appointments made during the season to accompany the caravan. The most important of these was the office of the leader, amir al-haj, who under the Mamluks was always a soldier in view of growing insecurity on the route. There was the Dawadar or secretary to amir al-haj, there was a judge of the caravan and also a scribe in charge of the records of the caravan. There was also a host of minor appointments of persons to look after provisions, the arms, the animals, or to supervise the distribution of provisions.³ The caravan

1. Described as "a square wooden framework with a pyramid at top and covered with black brocade richly worked with inscriptions and ornamental embroidery in gold ... on the front of the pyramid roof is a view of the Ka'ba embroidered in gold." Article "Mahmal" in Encyclopaedia of Islam (Old Edition).

See al-Batanuni, op.cit., p. 140 for a Mahmal from Darfur.

2. J. Jomier, op.cit., p. 47.

3. Ibid., pp. 108-124.

was also accompanied by a mu'azin to call the pilgrims to prayer and by a miqati who determined the orientation of the prayer on the route. Special care was also given to the safety of the caravan by signing treaties on the payment of gifts to the Bedwin tribes on the road and by despatching when they were needed rescue caravans equipped with extra provisions of water, food or arms.¹

The Ottoman conquest of Egypt (1517) did not effect any drastic change. There was a clamp down on expenses and the rakb al-Awal was abolished. After a brief period of sending a mahmal from Constantinople an attempt to displace the Egyptian mahmal was abandoned. The Mahmal in fact continued to be sent from Egypt until 1926 when the Wahabis objected to the scenes of rejoicing that surrounded it and it has since been discontinued. The route of the caravan had however changed from about the 1880s with the Port of Suez monopolising traffic with the use of steam navigation; the last caravan to take the overland route did so in 1883.²

The Maghrib

The history of organised pilgrimage caravans from Morocco is dated by al-Manuni to the early thirteenth

1. Ibid., p. 90.

2. Article "Mahmal", Encyclopaedia of Islam (Old Edition).

century.¹ Three caravans were regularly started from the towns of Fez, Marrakesh and Sijilmasa; at different times each of these was more important than the others. They all took the land route across north Africa into Egypt. The Mirinids (1269-1470) started the earliest of the above from the city of Fez and a caravan continued to leave the town even after the eclipse of the dynasty and the removal of political emphasis in the Maghrib with the Sa^cdians (1511-1660) to the city of Marrakesh. The caravan from Sijilmasa also started to organise during the Mirinid period and conveyed the peoples of Tafilalt and neighbouring regions.² During the Sa^cdian period the official caravan of the Maghrib left from Marrakesh and the caravans of Fez and Sijilmasa which were privately organised often combined on the route and proceeded under

-
1. M. al-Manuni, Min hadith al-rakb al-maghribi, Tetuan/ 1953, p. 7-8. According to this the earliest organised caravans were established by a certain Abu Muhammed Salih al-Majuri (d. 1233). He was a devout Muslim preacher who put special emphasis on the pilgrimage in his preaching. He stationed his sons on places on the route to assist the Maghrib pilgrims. The caravan became known as al-rakb al-Sahbi and was the forerunner of later organisations from the Maghrib.
 2. Ibid., pp. 33-35. Because of the trading connections of the market town of Sijilmasa with the western Sudan the pilgrim caravan of this town was probably used by Sudanese pilgrims more than other Maghrib caravans. Also see below pp. iii.

a united leadership of one or the other of their leaders. These seem to have conveyed the bulk of north African pilgrims who started with them or joined them at points on the route.

Moroccan dynasties paid great attention to presenting their official caravans as equals of the caravans from other countries. The Mirinids used to despatch presents and letters to be read in their names in the Haram and in which the vow to the Islamic cause is renewed.¹ The monies which the caravans conveyed were known as al-Surrāh al-Maghribiyyah and were intended for distribution to the Culama, the Sharifs and the poor of the Hijaz.² The Alid Sultans also sent similar presents; al-Maula Ismail used to send, according to al-Manuni, a yearly gift of ten bars of gold, and his descendents kept up a yearly gift of one hundred mithqals.³ There is no mention in the sources that any of the monarchs of the Maghrib himself made the pilgrimage or that the caravan was also accompanied with a mahmal.

The sultans also catered for the needs of the caravan.

1. This message is called Risalah ila al-Hadrah al-Nabawiyyah al-Sharifah, Ibid., pp. 27-28.

An example of the message is found in A. Ibn Khaldūn, Tarikh, Vol. 7, p. (cited below).

2. M. al-Manūni, op.cit., p. 20.

3. Ibid., pp. 22-26. A considerable list of the presents is given here.

Letters were despatched to the rulers en route to assist the caravan. In the vicinity of the capital towns, Fez or Marrakesh land was kept as hubūs for pilgrim camels. Hostels, Zawaya, were established on the route and in which people who intended to await the arrival of the caravan stayed.¹ The caravans had their officials, Amir al-Hajj, the qadi and the guide. The near arrival of the departure of the caravan was usually announced by a public crier in the towns from the end of Rabi^c1 and the departure of the caravans took place usually at the end of Jumada 11. The caravans carried a distinguishing flag and each had its own drum. The departure was often attended by the Sultan and by all the people of the town.² The reception of the caravan on its way to Mecca was described in the middle of the eighteenth century as:-

(the caravan) comes from the west, from the Emperors of Fez and Morocco's country (from which part they all go by land), and toucheth at Egypt, where they take in what provisions will serve to Mecca and back again to Egypt. The emmir Hagge, or chief leader of the caravan, makes a stop at every town he paseth through, that so all such persons as are desirous to go to Mecca that year, may, if they please, go in company with him. 3

1. Ibid., p. 11.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

3. J. Pitts, A Faithful account of the Religion of the Mohametans (1810), p. 377.

Of the Amir al-haj, the same source tells us:-

In whatsoever town he comes, is received with a great deal of joy, because he is going about so religious a work, and it is who can have the favour of honour of kissing his hand or but his garment! he goes attended in much pomp, with flags, kettle-drums, etc. and loud acclamations do as it were rend the skies, nay the very women get upon the tops of the houses to view the parade, 1

On arrival in Cairo the Moroccan pilgrims formed an important part of the ceremonial processions that accompany the pilgrimage season in the city.² It was also with the Egyptian caravan that they usually completed the last lap to Mecca.³

The route which the Maghribi caravans followed to Mecca seems to have differed at different times. It is possible to mark out two lines of march. The first aimed at Tripoly as a main centre. This was the route followed by pilgrims from the northern places like Fez and Tlemcen and was the route

1. Ibid., p. 377.

2. M. al-Manūni, op.cit., p. 21. On the tour of the town with the Mahmal the Maghrib pilgrims were known to beat up any of the Egyptians who smoked tobacco near the procession.

3. According to J. Jomier, (op.cit., p. 85/86) when Maghrib pilgrims were in large enough numbers they left on their own to Mecca. But this seemed to have been very rare. Cf. al-Manūni, op.cit., p. 21.

of the eighteenth century poet Ben Messaib.¹ There was also another route which passed from Marrakesh southwards to Sijilmasa and further south to Tuat. From Tuat this route also aimed at Tripoli. This was the route followed by al-A^cyashi in the middle of the seventeenth century.² The second line of march was from Tuat and due eastwards to Fezzan from where it took the major commercial route through Aujila into Egypt. This was the route along which caravans of pilgrims were encountered during the nineteenth century.³ During the nineteenth century however the land routes were fast falling out of use. This was possibly a result of the establishment of French rule in Algeria (1838) so that those who took the land pilgrimage route had to pass through Tuat, which remained outside French protection, and on to the Fezzan. It was also due to the entry into full use of the sea route along the coasts of the Mediterranean to the Egyptian port of Alexandria. This route became from the middle of the nineteenth century the official route of the Moroccan pilgrimage.⁴

1. Ben Messaib, "Itinéraires de Tlemcen à la Mekke XVIII^e Siècle", text et traduction par M. Ben Cheneb in Revue Africaine 3^e - 4^e trim. (1900) pp. 261-282.

2. Abu Sālim al-^cAyashi, Rihlat al-^cAyashi (Litho 1898), BM. No. 14565. C.30.

3. See below pp. 257-9

4. M. al-Manūni, op.cit., p. 41.

ii. The scope of the study

The unique fact about the pilgrimage in Islam is the unity of time and place of the rite. At the end of each Muslim year the pilgrimage shrines in the Hijaz see the gathering of a congregation from the entire Muslim world. The pilgrimage season provides an element of unity and makes for a consensus of world-wide Muslim opinion.¹ Especially before the modern age of air travel, the journey to Mecca, lying as it could across whole continents, was to the pilgrim an eye-opening experience of the first order. The pilgrimage is thus not only a religious pursuit but is an important channel for cultural, economic and human contact.

The importance of the pilgrimage in the lives of Muslim peoples and countries, though generally recognised, is little studied. There is on the one hand difficulty in source material and on the other the proliferation of various themes that may constitute the pilgrimage factor. This study is concerned with one side of the pilgrimage, perhaps a basic one, that of tracing the history of pilgrimage practice within West Africa, the influence of historical events, doctrinal stands and popular beliefs, among other things, on the

1. B. Lewis, article Hajj, Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition).

pilgrimage movement. At least two important aspects of the pilgrimage need further investigation. The first is the cultural impact of the pilgrimage on West Africa: discussion is given below of the pilgrimage factor only in two fields, reform and education, because of their relevance to Islamic development generally. The second is the impact of West African pilgrims on foreign countries and the history of Tavruri communities abroad especially in the Hijaz.

The study covers a large area of what is now known as West Africa, lying between, roughly, latitudes 17° and 10° North and longitudes 15° West and 15° East. To the north it is bordered by the great Sahara and to the south by the zone of Equatorial forest. Within the larger region classically known as "Bilad al-Sudan"¹ this area corresponds to the "Western Sudan" and the western portion of the "Central Sudan" (the states of Hausa and Kanem-Bornu). Countries east of Lake Chad or south of the area defined, are not included, though reference is sometimes made to them.²

Islam, as is generally accepted, entered this belt

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1. Bilad al-Sūdān, lit. the land of the blacks, was used in early Arab sources to denote countries south of the Great Sahara and extending from the Atlantic in the West to the Nile in the east.
 2. See for example below *pp.* p.272

at its western extremity in the Senegal basin around the eleventh century. The Saifawa dynasty of Kanem was converted sometime in the second half of the same century. Within the belt it spread in an easterly direction, reaching Hausaland in about the fourteenth century.¹ Suggestions as to its possible spread into the latter country from the east have also been made.²

Very little is so far known of the mechanism of Islamic conversion. The early conversion of African chiefs to Islam only rarely entailed its acceptance by the peoples of the chieftancies.³ The area under study, however, saw some of the earliest political organisations of "Bilad al-Sudan" as a whole. In the kingdoms and empires it encompassed, Islam had been from about the eleventh century the predominantly ruling religion. As the pilgrimage is a requirement of Islam its history in the area goes back to the earliest periods of Islamisation. Its subsequent history was, too, necessarily related to the progress and evolution of Islamic doctrine.

In the nine centuries or so of Muslim West Africa's history, certain landmarks are pointed out. The Almoravid

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1. More on this is given in sections dealing with particular regions. See below ~~ø~~.
 2. N. Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa (1968), p. 15; J. Greenberg, "Linguistic Evidence for the influence of the Kanuri on the Hausa" JAH, Vol. I, No **II**, 1960.
 3. Various references to early Muslim kings in al Bakri, al-Masalik wa-l Mamalik (quoted below) esp. pp. 178, 189, 181, 183 and others.

revolution (eleventh century) and the age of the powerful Muslim empires of the Medieval Western Sudan (Mali and Songhay) and Medieval Bornu for example, were such important landmarks in the history of Islam. Such a major landmark too, was the nineteenth century, the main concern of this study.

Described by historians as the century of Islamic revolution,¹ the nineteenth century saw the rise in this area of revivalist movements waging holy wars on behalf of Islam and succeeding in the establishment of theocratic states, the ideal form of Islamic government. This period also saw on the one hand a cleansing of Islamic doctrine from practices seen by reformers as alien to it, and on the other, the conversion of peoples who had so far remained unaffiliated to Islam. From the particular field of this study, the nineteenth century was important as being a point of culmination and also of preparation. The first, in so far as previous periods of pilgrimage practice, institutions and traditions are concerned; the second, in that the conversions of the nineteenth century were the preparatory work for the present pilgrimage era in which modernised transport revolutionised the practical, social and economic outlook

1. H.F.C. Smith, "A neglected theme of West African History; the Islamic Revolutions of the Nineteenth Century," J.H.S.N., Vol. II, No. 1, 1961.

to the pilgrimage.

The area under consideration encompasses a vast number of tribal groupings. The primary concern of the study is the black people of West Africa, the Takanir of the Middle East, whom I call Sudanese to distinguish them from the Arabised peoples to the north and within the belt. Very broadly, the Sudanese peoples in the area can be divided with regard to Islamisation into pre- and post-nineteenth century converts. The basis of this classification is not statistical data, which do not exist, but general belief, confirmed in part by historical facts. The main groups whose Islamisation was a pre-nineteenth century event are, from west to east, the Tocolor (or Toucouleur in French sources) of the lower Sengal river, the Soninke (Sarakole) of the upper Senegal and the Saharan Sahel,¹ the Mandinka of the Mandingo plateau (in southern Mali and Guinea), the Songhay on the Niger bend and the Hausa and Kanuri speaking peoples between the Niger and Lake Chad. The Muslim Fulani formed a string of Muslim settlements astride the region, the most important of which by the nineteenth century were in the region of the Futas, Bondo, Toro and Jallon, Macina and Hausaland. The important and

1. Sahel lit. shore denoted the belt lying between the Great Sahara and the Sudan, and so called because it served as the shore for the Saharan crossing.

predominantly Fulani emirate of Adamawa was founded on the river Benue in the early years of the nineteenth century. The peoples of the Sahel and Desert, the Sanhajan and Tuareg groups, Islamised around the eleventh century, radiated Muslim influence to the Sudan belt to the south. The major groups whose Islamisation en masse or in part dates to the nineteenth century, now usually known in West Africa as the recently Islamised are, from West to East, the Wolofs, in Senegal, the Bambara in central Mali, the Mossi in Upper Volta, the Yoruba of Western Nigeria and the smaller tribes of the plateaux of Adamawa and Mandara.

iii. The sources

The first part of this study serves as an introduction to the history of the pilgrimage in the nineteenth century, which is the main concern of the thesis. This part traces as far back as the eleventh century, known of pilgrimage and recorded incidents/in West African history. The sources for this are in the larger part the older Arabic works, our traditional informers on the early periods of West African history. They are either of foreign origin, like the accounts of Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CUmari, Ibn Baṭūṭa and others, or of Sudanese origin like the Tarikh al-Sudan, Tarikh al-fettash and the work of Imām Ahmed b. Fartuwa and others. It is however possible to glean bits

of information from other major Muslim works that are not known to deal with West Africa and whose main concern is central Islamic countries. For example references in Ibn Dahlan's history of the Sharif dynasty and in Ibn Khalikan's Wafayat al-A^Cyān may indicate the presence of more information in other similar sources.¹

References to the pilgrimage in the above sources, with perhaps the exception of al-Magrizi's treatise on the pilgrimage of the Kings and Sultans,² like all references used in this study occur in different and scattered forms. The task of this first part was to group together all available references and put them in historical perspective to fit the regional and dynastic divisions used.

The second part of the study deals with the nineteenth century. Historically speaking this century saw the increasing interest in Africa in general by European powers. It was an age of discovery, which resulted in the amassing of information about Africa. European interest had also had the significant contribution of drawing attention to the presence of native African literature, which opened the road for the present sustained period of collection and recording. Sources used in the

1. See below pp. 54, N. 1 + P. 72 + N. 2.

2. See below pp. 46 N. 3

section on the nineteenth century were thus both in Arabic and in the European languages. The first will be discussed below together with other Arabic materials collected during field-work.

References to the pilgrimage in European languages cover a wide scope of topics and are scattered in different places. They also vary in importance. Most useful of these are accounts of travellers. It was necessary to collect, for a start, every available reference to pilgrimage in major accounts. Although ~~these were~~ useful in describing attitudes and general conditions of pilgrimage, they were however most informative in their disclosure of the pilgrimage routes. Information on internal routes was a major concern of the travellers and the appendices annexed were usually collected from pilgrims.¹

Field-work

Between March 1966 and February 1967 I carried out a programme of field investigation in the Republics of Senegal, Mali, Ghana, Nigeria and in the Republic of the Sudan. Apart from the primary advantage of being acquainted at first hand with West African Muslim life, the investigation made available new materials on which

1. For examples see below pp. 251 ff.

the larger part of parts II and III were based. This material falls into two groups, the recorded and the oral.

Written sources were available either in Archival collections, mostly in English and French, or in centres of Arabic collections and private libraries. The archives in which research was done are:-

- Central archives of the former A.O.F., kept in Dakar
- Soudan section of same archives, kept in I.S.H.M., Koulouba, Bamako.
- National Archives of Ghana, Accra.
- Nigerian National Archives, Ibadan.
- Northern branch of same archives, Kaduna.
- Central Records Office, Khartoum.

There is copious materials both in the French and English languages dealing with the pilgrimage, appertaining to Muslim affairs in general (predominantly in French archives) or to specific problems created by pilgrimage traffic like passports, repatriation of indigent pilgrims and so on, which is characteristic of the English archives. The bulk of this material, however, deals with the present century and rarely, as some of the items in Dakar and Bamako, deals with the closing decade of the nineteenth century. Although awareness of the presence of this material was useful especially in its exposition of European attitudes to the pilgrimage, its use in this study has been limited.

For Arabic materials search was first undertaken in centres of Arabic collection in:-

- I.F.A.N., Dakar.
- I.S.H.M., Bamako.
- Institute of African Studies, Legon, Accra.
- Ibadan University Library.
- Centre of Arabic Documentation, Ibadan.
- Arabic Manuscript section of Kaduna Archives.
- Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (where the Jos collection is filmed).
- Judicial School Kano.
- Native Authority Library, Maidugary.
- Nizamiyya School Library, Sokoto.

The contents of these collections differ both with regard to quality and quantity. The Nigerian collections are richest although duplication of works is noticeable. The Legon collection contains a large number of recently written MSS and generally the low standard of the Arabic detracts from their value. Although the French centres contain valuable items, like the Fonds Musa Kamara in Dakar, there is still a considerable number of works available outside these collections and in private hands or known to exist but which have not yet been traced.

To collect materials with relevance to the pilgrimage was a particularly arduous task in these collections. ▲

thorough examination was first made of the contents of the library. This was usually unrewarding since works that dealt solely with the pilgrimage were few; Bello's treatise, the Tanbih, is an exceptional rarity. It was hence necessary to probe the individual contents of certain categories of books mainly those which dealt with figh questions and similar books of teaching and instruction. A considerable amount of the literature on the pilgrimage was also found in poetry form, but the usefulness of this is extremely limited and may generally reflect on a personal desire or experience.¹ Reading through figh books was important if only for making the largely negative observation on the attitude of the author to some major judgements current in West Africa.² The bulk of the materials was also relevant for all the necessary background information it gives of the state of learning and of the general standards of religious instruction.

During the search in these and in private libraries, interest was shown on locating a special type of source; that of personal narratives of the pilgrimage done by the pilgrim himself. This art which has a classic example in the account of al-^cAyashi and others has very few known

1. See below Note 1 p. 325 on pilgrimage poetry.

2. See below pp. 172-4 on the traditional treatment of pilgrimage by Fulani scholars.

equivalents in West Africa. The practice was of more frequency among Moorish scholars.¹ On the Sudanese side the only examples so far known were those written out or translated by P. Rouzée and P. Marty.² Occasionally one is told of the existence of such a narrative done by a scholar,³ so far none could be traced except for the account of Mai ^CAli b. ^CUmar's pilgrimage done by one of his grandsons and which is appended to illustrate the type of source.⁴

Search in private libraries was less arduous since the contents of the library were generally known to the owner who is also an informant. The discretion of the owner can be relied upon for supplying relevant texts or tracing a particular reference. The most important private libraries I was able to use were those of Muntaga Tal of Dakar (informant No. 1), Muhammed al-Amin Diop of Djorbel (informant No. 2), Mauley Ahmed Babir of Timbuctu (informant No. 13), Maden Tal of Segou (informant No. 24), Waziri Junaidu of Sokoto (informant No. 42), and Abu Bakr al-Miskin of Maidugary (informant No. 36).

The plan followed in collecting oral information was

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1. See below p. 255-6 discussion of the pilgrimage journey of Muhammed Yahia, qadi of Walata.
 2. See below pp. 259, 261
 3. It is widely known in Bornu that Abdel Rahman al-Sanūsi, a famous scholar who made a pilgrimage around the turn of the present century had written such an account. This according to his grandson had for a long time been missing. (Informant No. 35).
 4. Appendix III.

the simple one of reaching as many people with interest in the subject as possible. These included local historians, elderly people, the leaders of religious groups and of Muslim communities in partially Islamised areas, families with a standing tradition of pilgrimage, pilgrim societies, pilgrim agents and pilgrims themselves. The most important of these are given in the list of principal informants.¹ A questionnaire was sometimes useful though in many cases sticking to it hindered a natural flow of useful information. Second interviews were found necessary; with the informants listed below I kept regular touch while I was resident in their town or area for checking and authenticating information received from others. Names of possible sources of information were often suggested in each meeting and with the help of interpreters, usually Arabic teachers, it was possible to overcome the difficulties of language multiplicity in the area.

The route I followed in travelling from the Senegal to the Sudan roughly covers the main areas of the region to be studied, these being the Senegal area, Macina, the region of Timbuctu, Northern Nigeria (Hausaland) and Bornu province. I travelled from one country to the other by plane but I also travelled to different parts

1. See below pp. 413 ff.

of a country using local transport. This allowed for visits to traditionally important centres and locally famous towns and people. However, it is important to admit that considerations of time and finance made more field coverage difficult. The outcome of the investigation with regard to oral traditions can therefore at best be considered representative.

The material obtained also covers a vast variety of subjects, the religious, social and popular attitudes as well as the personal experiences of pilgrims were all equally useful. The latter because of its twentieth century bias has not been fully utilised. Special interest was given to obtaining information of a historical nature. This was available in two forms. The first is the popular versions of historically famous West African pilgrimages, such as those of Mansa Musa, Askia Muhammed or Idris Alooma known almost throughout the area, or of locally famous pilgrims of the calibre of Jibril ibn ^cUmar for example in Northern Nigeria. Information on the pilgrimage movement generally and on the conditions surrounding it in the nineteenth century, presented a problem of possible confusion on the part of informants. (This depended greatly on his education.) But, on the whole traditions distinguish two main periods. First the present, characterised by the rush to the pilgrimage and the endeavour to become entitled *haji*, and second the

past, which is vaguely identified as the period when pilgrimage was a very arduous task and in which pilgrims were few, and in which they had a legitimate cause for priding themselves in the title of haji. Since the present era of the pilgrimage is no doubt related to the prevalence and currency of plane transport and since the latter came into use at the end of the 1950s, it would be reasonable to assume that what is traditionally known as the past safely covers the nineteenth century and earlier decades of the present one. The introduction of motor transport, which became popular in the 1940s, is however a more noticeable source of confusion with regard to its association with the route through the Republic of the Sudan which for some, a view also shared by many in the Sudan, had been the traditional pilgrimage route from West Africa.

PART I

1. THE EARLIEST RECORDS

a. Umm Jilmi and Baramendans

The earliest recorded pilgrimage from West Africa is that of the Kanemi Mai Dunama b. Umme who between c. 1098 - 1150 made the pilgrimage twice and died returning from a third, according to the Diwan.¹ Mai Dunama may not have been the first pilgrim of that line since the Diwan also tells us that Mai Umme b. Abdel Jalil (c. 1058 - 1097) had died in the land of Masr (Egypt) which prompted Barth to conclude that Mai Umme may have intended, or even accomplished a pilgrimage.² This seems plausible for the reign of this Mai is the accepted date for the conversion of the Seifawa line of Kanem-Bornu to Islam.³ The document

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1. H.R. Palmer, "Diwan of the Sultans of Bornu", translation in, History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583 by Imam Ahmed ibn Fartuwa. (1926) pp. 85/86. For a note on the Diwan see below p. 121-2 and Note .
 2. Ibid., p. 85; H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, (1965) vol. ii, p. 58. The same view was also expressed by C.C. Ifemasia, "The States of the Central Sudan" in, J.F. Ajayi and I. Espie, A Thousand Years of West African History, (1965) p. 74.
 3. Y. Urvoy, Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu (1949) p. 31. J. Spencer-Trimingham, History of Islam in West Africa, (1962) p. 115. C.C. Ifemasia, op.cit., p. 74.

from which this conclusion is derived is a mahram¹ issued by Mai Umme in favour of a certain Muhammed b. Mani. The mahram alleges that Bornu was the first country in the Sudan in which Islam entered, that Ibn Mani was already preaching Islam to Umme's ancestors and that he finally 'summoned Bornu to Islam by the grace of king Umme'.² The probable secret conversion of Umme's ancestors is curious though not unknown in West Africa as al-Bakri told us of the similar case of the king of Madinat al-Wakan.³ That Mai Umme was the first king of that line to make his conversion public is confirmed by al-Bakri's statement at the time of his writing, c. 1060, that the people of Kanem were idolators.⁴ It was perhaps to give the conversion its final confirmation that Mai Umme undertook a journey probably with the intention of making a pilgrimage. As the Diwan did not record every incident of

1. The word Mahram is probably a derivative of the root harrama meaning to forbid; hence the legal term Harām meaning forbidden. Palmer who recovered and translated these documents defined them as "letters patent, or grants of privilege, given by various Mais from the earliest times of the Kanem kingdom to certain learned or noble families". See introduction, H.R. Palmer, Sudanese Memoires (1928) vol. iii.
2. Ibid., pp. 3-5; H.R. Palmer, The Bornu Sahara and Sudan (1936) pp. 14-15. According to note 1 p. 14, Muhammed b. Mani was the ancestor of Imam Ahmed b. Fartuwa.
3. Abu 'Abdallah b. 'Abdel 'Aziz al-Bakri, 'Kitab al-mughrib fi ^{bilad} dhikri/irriqiata wa-l- Maghrib' of al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik. (Ed. Baron De Slane) (Paris 1965). References here and below are made to the Arabic text. p. 189
4. Ibid., p. 11.

pilgrimage in the line¹. Mai Umme may have in fact died on his return journey from Mecca.

Beremendana

According to Ibn Khaldun the first king of Mali who adopted Islam was called Bermandana, who also made the pilgrimage by which he established a tradition to be followed by his successors.² al-Maqrizi, also calling him Serbandana, described him as the first king of 'Təkrūr' to make the pilgrimage.³ Neither source gave the dates of this king nor of his pilgrimage. M. Delafosse, however, attempted to identify him with the Muslumani, King of Malel, mentioned by al-Bakri⁴ in the following manner:-

"D'après Léon l'Africain, le premier souverain musulman du Mande aurait été converti par l'oncle du sultan almoravide Youssef-ben-Tachfine, fondateur de

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1. See below pp. 121 ff.
 2. ^cAbdel Rahman b. Khaldūn, Tarikh al-^callamah ibn Khaldūn, Kitab al-^cIbar wa diwan al-mubtada'i wa-l-khabar. (Beirut 1959) vol. vi, p. 413.
 3. Muhammed b. ^cAli al-Maqrizi, al-Dhahab al-masbūk fi ahikri man hajja min al-khulafa'i wa-l-mulūk. (Ed. J. al-Shayḥ) Cairo (1955) pp. 110-113. The relevant chapter of this work on the kings of Mali who made the pilgrimage is translated in C. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Masalik al-Absār fi Mamalik al-Amsār, par Ibn. Fadl Allah el-Omari. Trad. Paris (1927) pp. 89-90.
 4. al-Bakri, op.cit., p. 178. In the same page is also the story of this king's conversion reported in the quotation from M. Delafosse.

Marrakech, c'est à dire vraisemblablement par le chef Lemtouna Omar¹, père de Yahia et de Aboubekr, lesquels nous sont donnés par les historiens arabes comme les cousins de Youssouf; Yahia-ben-Omar étant mort en 1056 et Aboubekr en 1087, on pourrait placer la conversion du premier prince Mandingue Musulman vers 1050, un peu après celle de la famille royale de Tekrour, et la faire correspondre avec le début du mouvement almoraïde.

Le nom de ce prince nous a été transmis par Ibn-Khaldun qui l'appelle Baramendana selon la prononciation à lui indiquée par le cheikh Ousman, mufti du pays du Ghana.... D'après Bekri, qui semble avoir été le contemporain de Baramendana et avoir écrit sa description de l'Afrique du temps de l'un de ses premiers successeurs, voici dans quelles circonstances ce prince embrassa l'Islamisme. La disette régnait en Mande; malgré de nombreux sacrifices de boeufs, si nombreux que la race bovine faillit s'éteindre dans le pays. La sécheresse et la misère ne faisaient que s'accroître. Un pieux musulman qui logeait chez le roi - le Lemtouna Omar, si nous en croyons Léon l'Africain - persuada à Baramendana que la pluie tomberait s'il embrassait l'Islamisme. Une fois le roi sommairement instruit des dogmes de la religion. Omar lui fit prendre un bain et revêtir une blouse de coton bien propre; puis tous

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1. This is M. Delafosse's personal conclusion. Leo Africanus did not mention Umar by name nor the conversion of the king of Mali but the people in the following manner:-

"The people of this region [Melli] excell all other Negroes in witte, civilitie, and industrie; and were the first that embraced the law of Mahumet, at the same time when the ancle of Joseph the king of Maroco was their prince."

see J. Leo Africanus, The History and Discription of Africa and the Notable Things Therein Contained, (Translated by John Porry and edited by R. Brown) MDCCCXCVI, p. 823. This was also checked against the French translation by A. Epaulard and others, (Paris 1956, vol. ii, p. 466).

deux se mirent à prier sur une colline, le Musulman récitant les formules sacrées et le néophyte répondant amen; ils prièrent ainsi toute la nuit et, lorsque le jour parut, la pluie se mit à tomber abondamment.

Baramendana fit alors briser les idoles et expulser de sa résistance les prêtres païens et les sorciers. Puis il entreprit le pèlerinage de la Mecque (d'après Ibn Khaldun).

Le pouvoir se transmet à ses descendants qui, tous, professèrent comme lui l'Islamisme ainsi que leur famille et furent appelés à cause de cela El - Moslemani (les Islamisés). La masse du peuple d'ailleurs, ajoute Bekri, demeura païenne." 1

The obvious obstacle in the face of Delafosse's suggestion is that of identifying Maelé of al-Bakri with Melli of Leo Africanus and Mali of Ibn Khaldun. This problem has still to be solved. Ch. Monteil tells us that the forms 'Mallé, Maelé, Melli and Mali témoignent d'une influence peule'.² Geodefroy-Demombynes seems to have implicitly accepted Delafosse's suggestion by giving to Barmandana (Sarbandana) a date c. 1050.³ Levtzion mentions Delafosse's identification but dismisses it on

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1. M. Delafosse, Haut-Senegal-Niger, [HSN] le pays, les peuples, les langues, l'histoire, les civilisations. Paris (1912) vol. ii, pp. 174-175. M. Delafosse is in error regarding the name al-Muslumai which according to al-Bakri was the nickname of the king and not of the family as Delafosse stated.
 2. C. Monteil, "Les Empires du Mali", Bul. Et. Hist. Sc. A.O.F. (1929) p. 297.
 3. C. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op.cit., "Masalik", p. 89, note 1. Also see J. Spencer-Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (1964), p. 85.

grounds of lack of evidence.¹ Indeed Delafosse himself has by giving the same king a thirteenth century date identified him with yet another Malian king by the name of Musa Keita.² Although Delafosse with his first identification has greatly dramatised the conversion by bringing together al-Muslimani, Barmandana and Omar, his hypothesis might still be proved true if further investigated. The significance of Barmandana for this study lies in the fact that he was explicitly stated by original sources as the first Muslim king of a line who was also the first pilgrim in the line. As the hypothesis of Delafosse stands this pilgrimage may have taken place as early as the second half of the eleventh century.

b. The Takarir³

The generic term Takarir denotes in Middle-Eastern usage all Muslims, especially pilgrims, of West African origin. This makes an investigation of the origins of

1. N. Levtzion, "The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Kings of Mali", JAH, vol. iv, pt. iii, 1963 and note.

2. See below p. 64

3. The name takes other forms in the singular and the plural the most common of which are Takarir, the form used here and throughout this thesis. The forms Takruni (pl. Takarin or Takarna) is also known. There is no justification for D. Mather's distinction between
 x "Takruni - applied to indigent Westerner pilgrims" and "Takarori - more widely but strictly applied to people from the area of the ancient kingdom of Tekrou, in Senegal." See, D. Mather, "Aspects of Migration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan", Ph.D. Thesis, London 1954. European travellers usually used the form Takruri or Tekrouri with the plural Takruris. Burckhardt's plural "Takayne" seems a personal concoction.

this name particularly relevant to a study of the pilgrimage from West Africa. Our knowledge on the early history of Islam and more so of the pilgrimage is greatly restricted by the scarcity of source material and especially on the Sudanese side. The argument for the hypothesis below is mainly circumstantial and the object is to explore a possible relationship between the generic Takarir of the Middle East, the ancient kingdom of Tahrūr and its people, and the pilgrimage.

The known Arabic form of attribution, nisba, does not here serve to throw light on the origins of the name. "Bilad al-Tahrūr" to which the nisba will be made assumed different territorial dimensions at different times and had become vaguely synonymous with "Bilad al-Sūdān".¹ But whereas Sudan simply means blacks and "Bilad al-Sūdān" means the Land of the Blacks, the word Tahrūri does not impart any particular physical characteristics.² The

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1. For example: al-Maqrizi spoke of Abyssinia (modern Ethiopia) as bordering bilad al-Tahrūr to the north thus suggesting Tahrūr to be the whole of the Sudan belt. Cf. al-Maqrizi, Kitab al-ilmām bi Akhbārī man-bi ardī al-Habash min mulūki-l-Islām. (1790).

This however was exceptional and the more common use of the word applied to what was known as the Central and Western Sudan. Also see below p. 62, for present-day use.

2. J.L. Burckhardt's suggestion that the root of the word was the Arabic Takarar "i.e. to purify" (op.cit., (1819) p. 406) may perhaps be a reflection of opinion in Nubia which associates devotion with the name Takarir. It is interesting to note a similar interpretation advanced by an interpreter in Kano who said that Tahruri was derived from the English Trekker, because those pilgrims used to travel on foot or trek to the pilgrimage.

name "Bilād al-Takrūr" must itself therefore have been a later development depending on the popularisation of the word Takrūrī and its plural Takarir.

Attempts had also been made to delimit "Bilād al-Takrūr" within Africa. The suggestion that the original Takrūr was in Abyssinia can be dismissed on the grounds that the colony of Ras al-Fīl, to which this was most likely a reference, was founded only in the middle of the eighteenth century 'by Takrūrī pilgrims returning from Mecca'.¹ As the whole or part of the region of West Africa the territorial equivalent of "Bilād al-Takrūr" seems to have been greatly influenced by the extent of information on the region at any time available in the Middle East. There are thus references to Takrūr as a synonym of Mali, of Songhay or of Bornu.² Historians of this century however acknowledge the relationship between the name and the people and the ancient kingdom

1. A.C. Robinson, "The Takruri Sheikhs of Qallabat", JAS, vol. 24, 1926/27; also see, P.M. Holt, The Māhdī State in the Sudan, (1958), p. 148.

2. For example the correction by al-^cUmari of the current belief in Egypt at the time of Mansa Musa's visit that Takrūr was another name for Mali, see S. al-Munajjid, Le Republique du Mali Vue par les Geographes Arabes, Tome 1, Texts Beirut (1963), p. 44. M. Ka^cti, Tarikh al-fettash, Text Arabe et Traduction publiée par O. Housas et M. Delafosse, Paris (1964) p. 12; in which reference is made to the appointment of Askia Muhammed as "khalifat bilad al-Takrūr". M. al-Tunisi, Voyage au Darfur (1850), pp. 64/65. Where al-Tunisi identifies Takrūr with the lands lying to the east of Bornu.

of Takrūr on the river Senegal.¹ Is there a relationship between the spread of the name in the Middle East and the pilgrimage?

Takrūr was the name of the capital and of the state. The people were known to their northern Arab neighbours as al-Takrūr and to the Wolof to the south as Tocolor. From the latter the French name Toucouleur was derived.² The kingdom was reported by consecutive Arab sources as one of three on the Senegal river, the other two being Sanghane to the West and Silla to the East. The kingdom was converted early to Islam. According to al-Bakri (second half of 11th Century):-

"Following Sanghane, between the West and South [Gibla] is the city of Takrur [which] is inhabited by 'Sudan'. [They] were like all the other 'Sudan', pagan worshipping 'Dakakir'; the 'Dukur' is their idol, until they were ruled by War Jabi Ibn Rabis who became a Muslim, established among them the laws of Islam, forced them to obey them, and adorned their eyes by that. He died in the year 432 (1040/1 A.D.). Today, the people of Takrūr are Muslims. You go from Takrūr to the town of Silla; it [Silla] is two towns on the bank of the Nil. Its people are also Muslims, Islamized at the hands of War Jabi (God's mercy be on him). Between Silla and the town

1. This view is adequately represented by J. Spencer-Trimingham who writes:-

"None of the Mamalik, situated north of the Senegal enjoyed the renown of Ghana, Mali and Songhay, but that of Takrur was eventually to extend its name to the whole of the Sudan."

op.cit., "History" (1962), pp. 41/42. Also see M. Delafosse, H.S.N., vol. i, p. 199.

2. M. Delafosse, H.S.N., vol. ii, p. 353; M. Delafosse, Article "Takrur" in Encyclopaedia of Islam (Houtsma).

of Ghana is a march of twenty days in country inhabited by 'Sudan' tribe after tribe. The king of Silla raids the unbelievers who are only a day's march from him; these are the inhabitants of the town of Gallanbu. His country is huge, well-populated, almost equal to that of the King of Ghana." 1

By this passage, Al-Bakri set the date by which Tēkrūr becomes the first known Muslim community in Negro-land, the beginning of the 11th Century. Its Islāmisation was not at the hands of the Almoravids; Ibn Yasin left his "ribat" about 1042 (and according to al-Bakri, after 440 A.H. 1048 A.D.), though it could have been a result of previous wars, since the tradition of jihad in the Sudan was not initiated by the Almoravids.² It could also have been the result of peaceful contact, when dismayed by the Berbers, Ibn Yasin contemplated withdrawing among the Sudan, "among whom Islam had already appeared".³ If the conversion of the King of Silla at the hands of War Jabi was a result of war, which seems^a/likely possibility, the King of Tēkrūr would also be the first Sudanese King to wage a holy war. His son, Lebi Ibn War Yabi (Jabi),

1. al-Bakri, op.cit., p. 172.

2. Ibn Abi Zar^Ce al-Fasī, Rawḍ al-ghartas, Arabic text (1843), p. 76, who tells us that Turshini predecessor of Yahis b. Ibrahim to the chieftaincy of the Sanhaja, had died in jihad against the Sudanese people of the south.

3. Ibn Abi Zar^Ce, op.cit., p. 84.

al-Bakri tells us, was besieged with Yahia b. ^cUmar in Mount Lemtouna by the rebellious Godalla, and in the ensuing battle, Taferili, the Almoravid chief lost his life.¹

This suggests an alliance perhaps an item of which was also the presence of 4,000 Sudanese troops with Yusuf b. Tashfin in the battle of Al-Zallaga in Spain in 1086/479.²

Al-Idrisi, writing about the middle of the 12th Century, gives a picture of Təkrūr which dominates his first "clime". Al-Idrisi, who did not visit the Sudan, may have coined the ethnic "Təkruri", or else, which is more likely, it was reported to him in that way. He wrote:

In this part [first clime] are the towns of Awlil, Silla, Təkrūr, Dao [Walata], Baris, Maure, and all these are from 'Maghzarat al-Sudan' From the island of Awlil to the town of Silla is one stage. The town of

1. al-Bakri, op.cit., pp. 167/168.

2. Ahmed b. Muhammed Ibn Khelikān, Wafayat al-a^cyān (1882), vol. ii, p. 484; and De Slane's translation (1842) pp. 455/456. According to this the Black troops were crucial in the battle by taking resort to the device of stabbing the horses to death from under the riders.

V. Monteil's statement that the town of Təkrūr was destroyed by the Almoravids in 1080 is based on Rawd al-Ghartas. The full story in the latter source attributes the action to Yusuf b. Tashfin. From 1062 Yusuf b. Tashfin was, according to Rawd al-Ghartas, engaged in subduing the Moroccan countryside, rif. Campaigning in the Sudan had been entrusted to Abu Bakr b. ^cUmar. As a destruction of the town of Təkrūr was said to have been a complete one 'after which the town never stood again' and as Senegalese Təkrūr had continued to thrive in subsequent centuries it is possible to suggest that the town of Təkrūr destroyed by Ibn Tashfin may have been a Təkruri settlement in Morocco.

See V. Monteil, L'Islam Noire (1964), p. 62; Ibn Abi Zər^ce, op.cit., p. 93.

Silla lies on the left bank of the Nil. It is a populous city in which the 'Sudan' gather. Its commerce is profitable, and its people are chivalrous. It is part of the domain of the 'Tākūrī', who is a powerful sultan, has slaves and armies; he is firm, patient, and renowned for his justice. His country is safe and tranquil. His residence, the country that is his home, is the town of Tākūr. It is in the South of the Nil, about two days march from Silla by land and water. The town of Tākūr is larger than Silla. It has more commerce, and to it merchants from the Far Maghrib travel with wool, copper, and beads. They come out of it with gold and slaves.... From the town of Silla and Tākūr to the town of Sijilmassa is about 40 days with caravan travel.... Also from the Island of Awlil to Sijilmassa is about 40 stages. The town of Brisa is small and has no walls; like a populous village. It is inhabited by itinerant traders who are the subjects of the Tākūrī. To the south of Brisa is the land of Lemlem. The people of Brisa), Silla, Tākūr and Ghana raid the land of Lemlem, capture its inhabitants and sell them to merchants who take them out to all countries. 1

A position of dominance was enhanced for the Tākūrī by the decline of Ghana (second half of the 11th Century) and the rapid dissolution of the Almoravid desert empire. Meanwhile, war to the south continued to be conducted under the leadership of the king of Tākūr, which must have enriched his purse as well as his reputation. This continued into the 13th Century, at the beginning of which Ibn Sa'īd, the most quoted of the early geographers of the

1. Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Idrisi, Description de L'Afrique, (ed. R. Dozy et M.J. de Goeje) (1866), p. 1-3.

Sudan, wrote:-

"[Of the first clime] the first you meet of the cities of al-Takrūr to the west of the Nīl is the city of Ala. Islam has entered them [cities of Takrūr] and all of them belong to the Sultan al-Takrūr. Their base [capital] which is on both sides of the Nīl, is called Takrūr by which they became known. Their race is called Maghzara, and they are two sections, sedentary, living in towns and nomads... the site of the city of Takrūr is 17 degrees of longitude and 13 degrees 30' of latitude. Its ruler raids Lemlem who are nomads... Brisa is one of the most famous towns in the land of al-Takrūr. When the power of the Sultan al-Takrūr weakens, the sultan of Brisa acts on his own... it is the last of the cities of al-Takrūr. 1

In the above, Ibn Sa'id gives Takrūr as the name of the people and of the country. This, in fact, is the way it appears in Muslim compendia, as Mu^Cjam Yaqūt which states:-

Takrūr is a country attributed to a tribe of the Sudan in the far south of the Maghrib. Its inhabitants have the closest resemblance to the Zanj. 2

It also appeared in the Wafayāt, written between 1256 and 1274 to explain the term Kanem:-

"Kanem is a race of the Sudan. They are cousins of al-Takrūr. These tribes are not attributed, tunṣab-īla, to father or mother, but Kanem is a name of a town...

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1. 'Ali Ibn Mūsā Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi, Kitab bast al-ard fi al-tūl wal-ard, (ed. J.V. Gines) Tetuan (1958), pp. 23/26.
 2. Yaqūt al-Hamawi, M^Cujam al-buldān, Cairo (1906) vol. ii, p. 399. Zanj, Zunuji (sing. Zinji) denoted East African Negro in Middle Eastern usage.

so the race was named after the town;
[equally] Takrūr is the name of the land
in which they are, and their race was
named after their land." 1

The crucial period in the development of the name Takarir as a generic in the Middle East was the period between the 11th Century and the early 14th and particularly the years 1324-5. In that period the reputation of Takrūr and the name Takarir became established. When Mansa Musa came to Egypt in 1324 attention was drawn to the discrepancy in the Middle Eastern use.² The Mansa's celebrated pilgrimage brought to the forefront the fact that the political scene in West Africa had long since been dominated by a power other than Takrūr and that the latter in fact formed but a single province in the domains of the king of Mali.³

The special association of the name Takarir in the Middle East with the pilgrimage suggests a considerable activity by the peoples of that country in the pre-14th Century period. While, on the other hand, existing parallels indicate that it was, ^{probably,} through the pilgrimage media that the name first caught on in the milieu of the Middle East and especially the Hijaz.

The tendency to generalise on peoples is a necessity implied by the great diversity of nationalities congregating

1. Ibn Khālikan, op.cit., vol. iv., p. 14.

2. See below pp 60-61

3. S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., p.44.

in the Hijaz during the pilgrimage season. By the 11th Century the world of Islam had incorporated peoples from three continents whose differences were linguistic, ethnic and cultural. Likewise the resident population of the main cities of Arabia, especially Mecca and Madina where Muslims often took permanent residence, 'Mujawara', had become a microcosm of this extensive world of Islam. The pilgrimage caravans that yearly converged on Mecca were convenient large groupings that contained a diversity of nationalities. In the season one spoke of the arrival of the Syrian, Moroccan, Egyptian or Persian haj caravans. They all collected pilgrims en route. Generics known in the Hijaz which are similar to that of Takarir, are the names Jawah and Shanaqit. In his study of Mecca, Snouck-Hurgronje pointed out that 'under the term Jawah was included in Arabia all the people of Malai race, in the fullest meaning of the term; the geographical boundary is perhaps from Siam and ^{ccA}Malasia to New Guinea.'¹ The traditional historian of Shinqit explains the Middle Eastern generic of Shanaqit as follows:-

The camel caravan used to go from Shinqit to Mecca every year. He who wished to make the pilgrimage from the rest of the outlying districts used to go on the pilgrimage with it, until the people of this country - I mean from the al-Saghiah

1. C. Snouck-Hurgronje, Mekka in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century. (Tr. I.H. Mohan), (1931), p. 215 and note.

al-Hamra to the Sudan and to Arwan were known among the Orientals up to the present time as Shanajitah. Sometimes the entire household from amongst the townsfolk undertakes the pilgrimage. Not one stays because of the intensity of their concern for the pilgrimage. Those who have the means to enable others to perform the pilgrimage do so. It has reached us that the Hajj Muhammed Ahmed, the father of Abu 'l-Kisa' maintained 40 persons, non-dependents, on the pilgrimage and conveyed them to God. ¹

There is no reference to a pilgrimage caravan, annual or otherwise, from Takrūr. The trading contacts of the state with the north were, in the last analysis, sufficient means for the conveyance of pilgrims. The adoption of the name Takarir did not necessitate the official participation of the Takrūri state, but rather the mere presence of people who were themselves Takarir. Also it was more likely the conspicuous presence of the people, rather than the writings of geographers which were in any case available to the few, which was in the last analysis, important.

Some early references suggest that a number of Takarir had found their way not only to the pilgrimage but also to take residence in the Middle East. A quarter of Būlaq, the Cairien ^{ene} suburb, became known as Būlaq al-Takrūri according to al-Maqrizi because there

1. H.T. Norris, "The History of Shinjit According to the Idaw ^cAli Tradition" Bull.IFAN, T.I., ser.B., No. 3-4, (1962); Ahmed ibn al-Amin al-Shinqiti, al-Wasit fi tarajim udebā Shinjit, Cairo (1911), p. 413. For a discussion of the Shinqit caravan see below p.252 ff.

lived al-Shaiikh Abu Muhammed Yusif ibn Abdallah al-Takrūri:-

Many miracles 'karamat' were reported of him... and he is said to have lived during the reign of al-'Aziz ibn al-Mu'iz (975 - 996).... when he died they built a tomb over his grave with a mosque attached. The mosque was renewed by Muhsin al-Shahabi, the Muqadam of the Mamalik, after 743." 1.

A similar indication was also supplied by Ibn Khaldūn who described his informant al-Haj Yunus as "turjuman al-Takrūr bi-miṣr" i.e. the interpreter of the Takarir in Egypt, and in another place as "turjuman Ḥadhihi-l-Ummah bi miṣr" i.e. the interpreter of this nation in Egypt. Haj Yunus was probably an elderly and recognised leader of the foreign community.²

When Mansa Musa came to the Middle East, al-^cUmari was prompted to correct the discrepancy in public usage of the name. He emphasised that the kings of Mali were angered by being called kings of Takrūr since Takrūr was only one of the provinces of their empire.³ al-^cUmari set in motion the controversy that followed. His correction in some cases led to the opposite results and seemed to

1. al-Maqrizi, Kitab al-mawa'iz wa-l-i^ctibar bi-dhikri l-Khiṭaṭ Wa l-Ṣṭar, Cairo 1853, vol. ii, p. 326.

2. Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit., "Tarikh", vol. vi, pp. 413-415.

3. S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., p.44

have confirmed and popularised the original mistake.¹ Nonetheless he was perhaps the first to realise that a real attribution existed between the name Takarir in the Middle East concept and the original Tākūr that existed in Africa.

The concept of "Bilād al-Tākūr" or the land of the Takarir continued to broaden proportionately with the expansion of Islam in West Africa and thus growing more and more vague in its connotations. It is interesting how it survived the fame of Mālī or the equally famous Bornu. It did so however with a qualification; in the Middle East Tākūr and the extended "Bilād al-Tākūr" remained the language of the common man, al ʿammah.² But, and mainly because of its association with the pilgrimage and the lands of Islam, it became among West African writers the language of scholars. This is shown by its incorporation in the titles of famous Sudanese works e.g. "Tārīkh al-fettāsh fi akhbar al-buldan wal-jiush wa akābir al-Nās wa-Wagāʿi al-Tākūr wa Akābir al-Umūr"; in Bello's "Infāq al-Māisūr fi Tārīkh Bilād al-Tākūr" and in the "Feth al-Shākūr fi māʿrifat Aʿyan

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1. Ahmed Ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qalāqashandi, Subh al-aʿsha fi ṣināʿat al-insha, Cairo (1913) vol. 5, pp. 282-301, also see Ahmed b. Fādī Allāh al-'Umārī, al-Taʿrif bi-l-Mustalāh al-Sharīf, Ms BM No. 7466 where Tākūr is used as an alternative for Mālī.
 2. al-Qalāqashandi, Subh al-Aʿsha, vol. V, p. 282.

'Ulamā al-Takrūr" and many others.¹

It is also interesting to note that still at the present time Takrūr is taken to be the traditional name for the region of Timbuctu.

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1. Tarikh al-fettash of Maḥmūd Ka^cti and Infāq al-Maisūr of Muḥammed Bello are well known (see T/fettash p. 11, and Infāq p. 2). Fath al-shakūr fi ma^crifat a^cyān/al-^{ulama}
Takrūr was written by Muhammed b. Abi Bakr al-Bartali. It is a biographical work of the ^culama of an area including Timbuctu, Walata, Arwan and Shingit and which the author defines as the area commonly known as Takrūr. The work is as yet unpublished. A copy exists in the Bibliothèque du France, Fonds de Gourincourt, No. 118. Also see Bull. CAD., Ibadan, Vol. I, No. 1, 1964. Cf. note below p. 256

2. THE ROYAL PILGRIMAGES

a. Pilgrimages of the kings of Mali

The conversion of the kings of Mali beginning with that of Barmandana was, as was shown above, possibly a contemporary event with the conversion of the royal family of Takrūr in the middle of the eleventh century. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the small kingdom of Kangaba expanded under Mari Jata, Sundiata of the traditions, Islam was already sufficiently established in the royal family for Mari Jata's successor Mansa Ule to make a pilgrimage. Our major sources for this period are the accounts of contemporary writers, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), al-ʿUmari (d. 1349) and the first hand information supplied by the travels of Ibn Baṭūṭa who visited Mali in 1352-53.¹ Ibn Khaldūn's list of the kings of Mali refers to four pilgrims from the controversial Baramandana to the end of the fourteenth century. These were Baramandana himself, Mansa Ule, Sakūra (Sabkara) and lastly Mansa Mūsā. Delafosse's account of the history of Mali,

1. These accounts are in Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit. "Tarikh", vol. vi, pp. 409-419; A. Ibn Baṭūṭa, Voyage d'Ibn Baṭūṭa, (ed. C. Defremery et B.R. Sanguinetti) MDCCCLVIII, vol. iv, pp. 385-451. The work by S. al-Munajjid (op.cit.) is a collection of the most important accounts of Medieval writers on Mali. The account of Ibn Fadl Allāh al-ʿUmari is given in pp. 43-70. Reference has already been made to C. Gaudefroy-Demombynes' translation of Masālik al-Absār.

on the other hand, attributes pilgrimages to two more Malian kings, Mūsa Kēita and Mansa Sulaiman. The following is partly an assessment of Delafosse's suggestions against the available source material.

Mūsa Kēita (Allakoi)

According to Delafosse about a hundred years after Baramandana, i.e. c. 1150, the throne of Mali was occupied by a certain Hamma who died around 1175. Hamma's son Mūsa succeeded to the throne around A.D. 1200 and ruled to A.D. 1218. To this king Delafosse attributed four pilgrimages.¹ The source on which he relied seemed a tradition of which he also elsewhere gave a translation. The relevant part of that tradition reads:-

On raconte que c'est une famille de 'souba' qui a fourni les rois du pays du Mande, famille connu sous le nom de Keita et dont l'ancêtre fut Allakoi Moussa Dyigui. Ce dernier appartenait à la descendance de Billali fils de Hammama. Il arrivait de la direction du Hijaz, lorsque le destin arrêta ses pas dans le pays du Mande, où il s'établit. Il se rendit quelquefois à la Mecque dans le but d'accomplir le pèlerinage et visita ainsi quatre fois les lieux saints. 2

Delafosse also attempted to identify this king with al-Maqrizi's Sarbandana.

Makrizi nous a conservé le souvenir de l'un de ces pèlerinages, accompli en l'an 1213; il donne à Allakoi le nom

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1. M. Delafosse, HSN, Vol. ii, p. 176 and note 1.
 2. M. Delafosse, "Traditions Historique et Légendaire du Soudan Occidental", Bull. Et. Hist. Sc. AOF, 1916.

de Serbandana et l'appelle "le premier
roi du Tèkrour". 1

This is an obvious contradiction with the view discussed
above² and as it stands it is difficult to substantiate.

Although no particular source from among ^{al-}Maqrizi's
works was cited by Delafosse the name of the king and the
description of 'the first king of Tèkrūr' draws attention
immediately to the treatise on the pilgrimages of kings
and sultans entitled 'al-Dhahab al-masbūk fi dhikri man
ḥajja min al-khulafā'i wa-l-mūlūk'. The treatise includes
a chapter on the kings of Mālī or Tèkrūr, who made the
pilgrimage.³ The kings mentioned here were four, the
same as in Ibn Khaldūn. To Baramandana al-Maqrizi gave,
alternatively, Sarbandana. There is little doubt that
al-Maqrizi's treatise written in 1437-8/841 was based on
Ibn Khaldūn's account. The author also added other bits
of information on Mansa Mūsā whose pilgrimage occupies
most of the chapter. Finally al-Maqrizi did not give a
date to Baramandana's pilgrimage.

The historicity of Mūsā Kēitā himself is not estab-
lished. In another place ^{himself} Delafosse/doubted the
tradition associating his origin with the Hijaz in favour
of an indigenous ancestry whom he traced back to Baramandana.⁴

1. M. Delafosse, Ibid., p. 20, note 1; H.S.N., vol. i,
p. 291; vol. ii, p. 176 and note 1.

2. See above pp 46-9

3. See above p. 46 and N. 3

4. M. Delafosse, HSN, vol. ii, pp. 175/6.

But perhaps the greatest argument against the authenticity of Mūsa's pilgrimages is their lack of mention in the account of Ibn Khaldūn. For had Mūsa Kēitā in fact made four pilgrimages, it would be inconceivable that such a king, with an impressive record of pilgrimage, was not mentioned to the historian by his Malian informants¹ who supplied most of his material for his chapter on Mali.

Although the tradition quoted above has perhaps no historical value with regard to the pilgrimages it alleges, it is nonetheless significant that a typically Sudanese legend of origin of which examples are to be found throughout the Sudan belt, should specifically mention the pilgrimage. There is perhaps an indication of an ancient and basic influence of the pilgrimage on Sudanese society. Nor is it the only incident of tribal origins associating founders with the pilgrimage and the Hijaz. Another tradition also translated by Delafosse and belonging to the Diawara or Soninke/Sarakoli says:-

On dit que l'ancêtre du clan des Diawara s'appelait Dama Guille, fils de Modi Massa Moumini, et avait pour mère Segui Kheri. Il résidait du Côté du Hijaz et partit de là, chassant dans la brousse, jusqu'à ce que le faveur de destin l'eut poussé vers le pays du Mande, où régnait en ce temps un prince nommé Soundiata. 2

1. Ibn Khaldūn's two main informants were al-Shaiikh ʿUthman whom he described as the fagih of ahl ghanīah and who had come for the pilgrimage together with all his family and al-Haj Yunis. For the latter's possible occupation see above p. 60

2. M. Delafosse, op.cit. "Traditions", pp. 30/31.

The tradition then relates the story that Dama had once found the purse containing the gold of a man, who was going on the pilgrimage, abandoned in the bush. Dama kept the purse for which the pilgrim duly returned. After thanking Dama for his honesty the pilgrim asked if there was anything he wanted and Dama asked the pilgrim to procure for him a hunting dagger from the Sherif of Mecca. When he returned with the sword, however, the pilgrim delivered it to Sundiata and not to Dama. After some time and in return for a favour which Dama did to Sundiata, the latter asked him if there was anything particular he wanted as a reward and Dama asked for the dagger. Sundiata surrendered it on the condition that Dama and his descendants left the country. That, according to the legend, was the reason for the removal of the Diawara from Manding while the dagger remained 'le sabre royal' of the Diawara.¹

Mansa Ule and Sakura

According to Ibn Khaldūn after Baramandana the second king of Mali to make a pilgrimage was Mansa Ule who performed it in the reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Zahir Baybars.² The latter reigned between 1260 and 1277. According to Delafosse Mansa Ule reigned between 1255 and 1270.³ The pilgrimage therefore may have taken place between 1260 and

1. Ibid.

2. Ibn. Khaldūn, op.cit. "Tarikh", vol. vi, p. 413.

3. M. Delafosse, HSN, vol. II, p. 184.

1270. No relic of this second Malian king's visit to Egypt and the Hijaz was left. This might very well be due to the disturbed period during which it took place. In 1258 the Mongols had overthrown the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad and their westward advance into Egypt was checked by the Mamluk Victory at ^CAyn Jalūt in 1260/658. The Middle-eastern world was thus still recovering from the shattering blow and it was more likely that the news of Mansa Ule's pilgrimage was related back to Ibn Khaldūn by his informants coming from Mali where it must have been fairly well known.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, Sakūra (also Sabkara) was a slave of Mari Jata who forced his way to the throne. Ibn Khaldūn also tells us that Sakūra made the pilgrimage during the reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir b. Qal'un, and that he was killed in Tajura on his return journey from the pilgrimage.¹ Ibn Khaldūn however did not specify a date for Sakūra's pilgrimage. Al-Nasir b. Qal'un had three periods of office extending between 1293 and 1340. The dates given by Delafosse to the reign of Sakūra are 1285 to 1300.² It is only according to these dates that we can date Sakūra's pilgrimage to the closing years of the thirteenth century: The date of 1300 falls within the second period of office of Sultan al-Nasir (1298 - 1304).

1. Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit. "Tarikh", vol. vi, p. 414.

2. M. Delafosse, HSN, vol. II, p. 183.

Sakūra's decision to make the pilgrimage was probably related to the internal politics of the empire. He had succeeded to the throne after a period of decline covering the two reigns of Uali and Khalifa the latter of whom was described as feeble minded and amused himself by shooting arrows at passers-by.¹ Khalifa was dethroned in favour of an uncle, Abubakr, the brother of Mari Jata and grandfather of Mansa Mūsā and on whose death Sakūra usurped the throne.² It seems plausible to suggest that Sakūra's pilgrimage was an endeavour to revive the glorious days of the line which he had greatly achieved within Mali by extending the frontiers from Gao to the Atlantic.³ Sakūra's murder on his return journey from the pilgrimage recalls the earlier incident of the death of the equally powerful Saifawa king Mai Dunama ibn Umme in c. 1150.⁴ In both cases the predominant motive of the murder seemed to have been larceny.

According to Delafosse Sakūra was murdered by the Danakil in the port of Tajura around the year 1300 A.D. His companions then transported his body to Bornu where

1. Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit., "Tarikh", vol. vi, p. 413.

2. N. Levtzion, op.cit., (1963).

3. Ibn Khaldūn described Sakūra's rule as extending from Gao to the Atlantic (op.cit. "Tarikh", vol. vi, p. 413).

Sakūra was the first king of Mali to incorporate Gao in the empire, according to one of Ibn Khaldūn's informants. According to another, Hāj Yunus, Gao was annexed during the reign of Mansa Mūsā (Ibid., vi, p. 414).

4. See below, p.124-6

they placed it in the custody of the king of Bornu. The latter dispatched emissaries to the Malian court announcing the event. The court of Mali sent some people to Bornu to retrieve the corpse which was finally interred in Mali.¹ Beckingham corrected Delafosse's identification of the scene of the murder pointing out that the name Danakil was Delafosse's personal deduction since it was not mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn. He also suggested that the Tajura mentioned by the latter was most likely the Mediterranean port and not the port of Tajura on the Somali coast.² Beckingham's opinion is further strengthened by the fact of the transportation of Sākūra's corpse which, if the story is correct, must have taken place along the easiest route from the Hijaz to West Africa. This was the route to Lake Chad through the Fezzan. No route was known to connect Bornu with Somalia directly and the evidence suggests that a pilgrimage route through the Nile which Beckingham himself seems to have considered as a possibility, -it was avoided, he maintained, so long as a Christian kingdom survived in Nubia - was perhaps still unknown at the time.³

The pilgrimage of Mansa Mūsā

The paucity of information on the pilgrimages of the

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1. M. Delafosse, HSN, vol. ii, p. 186.
 2. C.F. Beckingham, "The Pilgrimage and Death of Sākūra King of Mali", BSOAS, vol. xv, pt. 2, 1953, pp. 391-2.
 3. Ibid. Also see below pp. 280 ff.

pre-fourteenth century kings of Mālī greatly changed to a more or less complete account of the pilgrimage of Mansa Mūsā (Delafosse's dates 1307 - 1332) which he accomplished in 1324-5/724. By far the most important and informative of the sources for this pilgrimage was the account of al-^cUmari who came to Egypt about twelve years after the event. Ibn Khaldūn gave the event its historical perspective within the Malian line. The accounts of the pilgrimage in other and later works can be seen as largely a recapitulation of these two sources.¹ Partly because of its wide Middle-Eastern coverage, and also because Mansa Mūsā's pilgrimage is an important event within the Sudanese context, the pilgrimage receives treatment from the Sudanese chronicles of Tarikh al-Sudan and Tarikh al-fettash.

The number of people in the caravan which conveyed Mansa Mūsā to the Middle East has been variously estimated. From the Sudanese side the number of 8000 given by al-Fettash seems a great climb down from the number of 60,000 given by Tarikh al-Sudan. Both these works were perhaps influenced by local traditions which, after the time that passed, could not have been very accurate.² On the middle Eastern

1. Of these is al-Maqrizi's account in op.cit. "al-Bahab" already referred to, see above p. 65 and others; for example, the account of al-Qalaqashandi, op.cit. "Subh", vol. v, p. 282 et seq.

2. M. Ka^cti, Tarikh al-fettash (op.cit.), pp. 33/34; ^cAbdel Rahmān al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan (1964) (Text Arabe et Traduction publiée par O. Houdas), p. 7.

side it is unfortunate that al-^cUmarī did not give an estimate of the Mansa's caravan. The figure of 14,000 slave girls among the Mansa's entourage mentioned by al-Maqrizi was probably a misquotation of the Ibn Khaldūn's figure of 12,000 which really referred to the king's household in Mali.¹ The curious incident reported in Ibn Dāhlān's history of the Sharīf dynasty could on the other hand provide a more or less average and acceptable figure. When Mansa Mūsā made the pilgrimage according to the latter source, "he was accompanied by 15000 of the Takarir. A scuffle broke out between them and the Turks inside the Great Mosque and in which the swords were drawn. [Mansa Mūsā] who was watching out from a window overlooking the mosque then ordered his people to desist and they did so."²

The caravan of Mansa Mūsā travelled from Mali to Walata and from there through Tuat,³ Ghadames and Cairo. He arrived in Cairo on the 13th of Rājab of A.H. 724/ June, 1324.⁴ In Cairo Mansa Mūsā seemed to have been

1. al-Maqrizi, Ms. BNP, No. 4657; Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit. "Tarikh", vol. vi, pp. 415-416.

2. Ahmed ibn Zāini Dāhlān, Khulāṣat al-kalām fi dhikri umarā al-balad al-haram, Cairo (A.D. 1305), p. 30.

3. A. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 7.

4. It is difficult to find a corroborating date for the story of Tarikh al-fettah that Mansa Mūsā awaited for his departure the month whose twelfth was a Saturday (op.cit., p.33) as this does not occur in the months preceding Rājab A.H. 724, the time of his arrival in Cairo. The

accorded official hospitality by Sultan al-Nasir b. Qal'un now in his third period of office. This is indicated first, by the fact that the Mansa resided in Qarrafa while his troops were encamped in the gardens of the same suburb known as Birket al-habash, which according to al-Maqrizi's "khitat" had been put under the personal disposal of the Sultan during al-Nasir's time.¹ Second, the Mansa was constantly accompanied by such officials as the Governor, Wali, of Cairo and Qarrafa Ibn Amir Hajib a principal informant of al-'Umari and by the Mahmandar al-Amir Abu al-'Abbas Ahmed b. al-Haki another of al-'Umari's informants.² Third, the fact that three days after his

Footnote 4 continued from previous page.

latter date was recorded by al-Maqrizi, Kitab al-suluk li mCarifat al-duwal wa-l-muluk, Cairo vol. ii, p. 25. According to Ibn Kathir, al-Bidaya wa-l-nihaya, vol. xiv, p. 112, Mansa Musa arrived on the 26th of Rajab.

1. al-Maqrizi, op.cit. "Khitat". Ibn Batuta mentioned Birket al-habash (op.cit., "Voyages" vol. iv, pp. 431-432) as having belonged to Siraj al-Din b. al-Kuwaik. The latter had loaned Mansa Musa monies in Cairo which he later came together with his son to collect. Siraj al-Din died in Timbuctu in the house of Abu Ishaq al-Sahili according to Ibn Batuta (Ibid). It is possible that the traveller made a personal conclusion on the ownership of Birket al-habash. According to al-Maqrizi (op.cit. "Khitat" vol. ii, p. 152 and 455) Birket al-habash was adjacent to the Cairien quarter of al-Qarrafa.
2. Another of al-'Umari's informants was Abu Sa'id al-Dukhali whom he described as having spent thirty five years or so in Mali's capital. It is interesting to speculate the relationship between this personage and the judge mentioned by Ibn Batuta (op.cit. "Voyages" vol. lv, p. 427) by the name of Abu-l-'Abbas al-Dukhali who had angered Mansa Musa by concealing a gift of 4,000 mithqals of gold and pretending it had been stolen. According to Ibn Batuta this judge was first banished from the capital and later sent back to his home country which the traveller did not specify.

arrival Mansa Mūsa was summoned to the presence of the Sultan.¹

The episode of the meeting between Mansa Mūsa and al-Naṣir is interesting in that it brought to the forefront a clash of authority in which the African king was required to compromise his pride. This hinged on the custom of kneeling and kissing the floor before the Sultan as was the custom in Mamluk protocol. Views differ as to whether Mansa Mūsa was asked to do so. According to al-Maqrizi and Ibn Kathir Mansa Mūsa was not made to comply with the custom.² This however is negated by the account of al-ʿUmari whose authority on the event was no less than the Maḥmandar, the men who supervised the interview. According to this the story was as follows:-

I tried to persuade him to come to the 'qala' to meet the Sultan but he refused saying 'I have come to perform the pilgrimage and with no other purpose and I do not want to mix "akhlit" my pilgrimage with anything else'. He kept up his objection on that account although I was sure he was apprehensive of having to kiss the floor in front of the Sultan or having to kiss the Sultan's hand. I finally contrived to persuade him to come. When we arrived in front of the Sultan we asked him to kiss the floor but he again refused saying 'how can this be?' A wise man in his company then muttered something in his ear which we did not understand and then he [Mansa Mūsa] said on kneeling down, 'I prostrate myself to God who created me and gave me

1. al-Maqrizi, op.cit. "al-Suluk", vol. ii, p. 255.

2. Ibid., vol. ii, p. 255; Ibn Kathir, op.cit., vol. xiv, p. 112.

life'. Then he rose and went up to the Sultan who stood up to greet him, sat him beside him and they conversed together for a long time. ¹

This version is further confirmed by the story reported by al-Maqrizi on the arrival in Egypt in the year 1351/752 of a king of Takrūr on his way to the pilgrimage and who had asked to be excused from seeing the Sultan and was granted the request.² Possibly due to apprehension of the re-occurrence of what may have been considered as humiliating i.e. the necessity of complying with Mamluk court protocol.

According to both al-Maqrizi and al-ʿUmari the Sultan of Egypt had accorded Mansa Mūsā all assistance for his journey to the Hijaz. The former supplies the name of the leader of the caravan under whom Mansa Mūsā's caravan enrolled, a certain Saif al-Din Aytamish.³ This was also evidently the earlier of the two Egyptian caravans, the Rajabiyyah, as the second and larger caravan that carried the mahmal left Cairo that year on the 9th of Shawal under the command of a certain Kanjibar al-Muhamadi.⁴ Having arrived in Cairo in Rajab Mansa Mūsā therefore seemed to have spent no time in Egypt but proceeded to the Hijaz

1. S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., p. 62.

2. al-Maqrizi, in "Notes et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi", vol.12, Paris 1831, pp. 637-638.

3. al-Maqrizi, op.cit. "al-Dhahab", p. 113.

4. Ibn Kathir, op.cit., vol. xiv, p. 112 ff

almost immediately. Although there is no indication in the sources it seems likely that Mansa Mūsā, as was the custom with pilgrims who travel with the Rajabiyyah, may have fasted the month of Ramaḍān in Mecca. Apart from the incident in the Great Mosque referred to earlier there is no other reference to Mansa Mūsā's activity in the Hijaz other than his completion of both the pilgrimage and the visit to al-Madina. It was also most likely during his second and longer stay in Cairo, on his return journey, that he and his party dispensed such large sums of gold as to make his visit a memorable event.¹

The generous spending of Mansa Mūsā impressed all those who came in touch with him and who later spoke to al-ʿUmari.² But the Mansa had eventually himself to borrow money from the merchants of Cairo at a high rate of

1. The amount of gold which Mansa Musa brought into Egypt received different assessments usually vaguely expressed. For example al-ʿUmari spoke of a hundred loads spent on his way to and from the Hijaz and during his stay in the Middle East (S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., p. 61). Ibn Khaldūn described it as twenty four loads of gold (op.cit., vol. vi, p. 416). A. al-Saʿdi said that Mansa Mūsā left Mali accompanied by 500 slaves each carrying a bar of gold equalling 500 mithqals, (op.cit., pp. 7-8). As a result of the inflow of gold its price was said to have depreciated considerably in Cairo, al-ʿUmari estimating the fall at three Dirhams for each mithqal, (S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., p. 65) and al-Maqrizi put the figure at six Dirhams for each Mithqal (op.cit., "al-Dhahab", p. 113).

2. S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., pp. 63-64.

interest of one thousand Dinars payable in Mali for three hundred in Cairo.¹ One of his debtors Siraj al-Din ibn al-Kuwaik sent an emissary with Mansa Mūsa but the latter remained settled in Mali. Siraj al-Din and his son then both went to Mali where in Timbuctu they were guests of al-Sahili. Siraj-al Din died in Timbuctu in 1333-4/734.² His son returned to Egypt after collecting the debt.

The impressions which Cairo merchants left on the companions of Mansa Mūsa were most unfavourable. Al-^cUmari had himself investigated the effects of the spending spree of the Malians with the merchants of Cairo and told us:-

I was told by a few of the Cairo merchants of the profits they were able to make. They told me that (the Takarir) would pay five Dinars for a shirt or a piece of cloth which only cost one Dinar. They (the Takarir) were good hearted and honest who took all that was said to them as the truth. They then lost faith in the people of Egypt after discovering their deceitful disposition now if they see the most learned of men and they were told he was Egyptian, they would abuse and

1. Ibid., p. 61.

2. Ibn Fadl Allah al-^cUmari, Ms. BNP, no. 2328 records in the events of the year AH 734/1333-4 the death of Siraj al-Din b. al-Kuwaik at the age of forty. See note above (p.73) for the arrival and death of Siraj al-Din in Timbuctu as was related by Ibn Baṭūṭa. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (op.cit. "Masalik", note p. 54) wrongly translated the Arabic Can into the French depuis thus suggesting Siraj al-Din to have been trading with Bilad al-Takrur for forty years.

mistrust him for what they have seen.¹

Mansa Mūsa probably returned along the same route by which he had travelled on his forward journey. He passed through Ghadames where Abu khadija al-Kawmi, one of Ibn Khaldūn's informants, met him.² His visit to Timbuctu and Gao mentioned by al-Sa^cdi were probably accomplished from Walata.³ In his company when he returned to Mali were a number of dignitaries. Among these were some of the Shurafa from Mecca whose pedigree the Fettash doubted, suggesting that they were not full Qurashites but affiliates, mawaly, of Quraish and who were robbed and captured by the people of Jenne while travelling to Mali.⁴ Mansa Mūsa was also accompanied by one of the founding scholars of Timbuctu Saïdi 'Abdel-Rahmān al-Tamimi the grandfather of the famous judge of Timbuctu Habīb.⁵ Together with al-Kawmi mentioned above, Mansa Mūsa was also accompanied by the Andalusian poet Abu Ishaq al-Sahili⁶ who became famous in Mali annals for his introduction of a north

1. S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., p. 64.

2. Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit. "Tarikh", vol. vi, p. 415.

M. Delafosse in error for taking the nickname Mu^camir meaning 'the long lived' as the first name of the person concerned, Abu khadija al-Kawmi.

3. A. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 7.

4. M. Ka^cti, Tarikh al-fettash, p. 37.

5. A. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 51.

6. Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit., "Tarikh", vol. vi, p. 415.

African style of brick building in the Sudan. The number of constructions attributed to al-Saḥili seems generally out of proportion with the evidence available. Ibn Khaldūn, for example, refers to the building of a rectangular house built of bricks for the king and in his capital, fi qa^cidati sultānihi.¹ This could mean Māli itself or, accepting the account of Leo Africanus, the building may have been constructed in Timbuctu² which however, was not the capital of Māli. Ibn Khaldūn's information may have been slightly incorrect for he also told us that al-Saḥili resided in Walata while Ibn Baṭūṭa who visited Timbuctu told us that al-Saḥili was the host of Siraj al-dīn in Timbuctu and that he was buried there.³ Apart from this one building the early sources do not mention any else. Delafosse who attributes others to al-Saḥili probably had in mind the other buildings erected by Mansa Mūsa mentioned in the Tarikhs i.e. the mosques in Gao and Timbuctu in Tarikh al-Sudan and those of Qundam and Diri in Tarikh al-fettaṣh and which the authors did not attribute to al-Saḥili.⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Leo Africanus (op.cit., p. 824) observed in Timbuctu:-

"Howbeit there is a most stately temple to be seene, the walls whereof are made of stone and lime; and a princely palace also built by a most excellent workman of Granada."

3. Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit. "Tarikh" vol. vi, p. 415;

Ibn Baṭūṭa, op.cit. "Voyages", vol. vi, p. 431.

4. M. Delafosse, HSN, vol. ii, p. 189-190; A. al-Sa^cdi,
/Continued over.

Mansa Sulaiman (1336 - 1359)

Mansa Mūsa seems, from the accounts of Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrizi, to have been the last king from Mali to make the pilgrimage. There seems no support for Delafosse's assertion that Mansa Sulaiman made the pilgrimage in 1351. 'à l'aller comme au retour, il profite de son passage à travers le Sahara pour raffirmer son autorité sur les dépendances lointaines de son empire et sans doute il réussit dans cette entreprise, d'après ce que nous raconte Ibn Khaldun.'¹ The reference to Ibn Khaldūn is slightly misleading as the chapter referred to speaks of the foundation of the town of Wargala and the extent of its relations with the Sudan. In this there is no reference to Mansa Sulaiman or his pilgrimage. Delafosse may have had in mind the reference in al-Maqrizi, that a king of Takrūr came to Egypt at the head of a caravan. He was on his way to the pilgrimage and had asked to be excused from meeting the Sultan.² This was said to have taken place in the year 1352/752. According to Delafosse Mansa Sulaiman's pilgrimage was made in 1351, the pilgrimage

Footnote 4 continued from previous page

Tarikh al-Sudan, pp. 7-8; M. Ka'iti, Tarikh al-fettash, p. 34

1. M. Delafosse, HSN, vol. ii, p. 192. The reference is made to De Slane's translation (Histoire des Berbers, vol. iii, p. 288) corresponding to Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit. "Tarikh", vol. vii, pp. 107-108.

2. al-Maqrizi, op.cit., "Notes et Extraits, etc.", pp. 637-638.

season of 751. But this king of Takrūr mentioned by al-Maqrizi seems a possibility deserving close consideration.

Although the request to avoid the audience of the Sultan was, as I suggested earlier, probably an attempt to avoid Mansa Mūsā's humiliating experience, the possibility that this was known not only in Mali but all over the Sudan cannot be precluded. Indeed Maqrizi's use of Takrūr, usually in the wide sense, adds to the possibility that some other African king may have made that request. On Mansa Sulaiman himself we have the testimony of Ibn Baṭūṭa, who was in residence in the capital of Mali between Jumada 1 of 752 and Muharram of 754 (June 1352 and March 1353). al-Maqrizi's king of Takrūr attended the season of 752 which fell in end of January 1352. If this king was Mansa Sulaiman, and if he set out immediately after the Mecca ceremonies and took the minimum period of three months on the way to Mali, he would have arrived there in April of 1352. Ibn Baṭūṭa was already in Mali and would have come to the capital itself only two months after the return of the king from the pilgrimage. Ibn Baṭūṭa was not altogether disenchanted with the parsimony of Mansa Sulaiman, whose attitude to the traveller had in fact changed at the end of the latter's visit. He had also related instances of the deep attachment of the people of Mali to Islam and of the justice and personal devotion of

Mansa Sulaiman himself. It would therefore seem surprising that Ibn Baṭūṭa did not mention that Mansa Sulaiman had just returned from the pilgrimage or that he was a pilgrim at all.¹ The remaining seven years of Mansa Sulaiman's reign after the departure of Ibn Baṭūṭa were a period of internal troubles within the king's household: Ibn Baṭūṭa himself referred to the plot centering around the king's first wife.² Thus the possibility that Mansa Sulaiman may have made the pilgrimage between 1353 and 1359, the year of his death, seems also precluded.

1. Ibn Baṭūṭa (op.cit. "Voyages") had in fact spoken of the pilgrims among his hosts or other officials. For example: the judge of Walata (p. 389), Farba Maghan (p. 427) and Farba Sulaiman (p. 413) we are told were pilgrims.

2. Ibn Baṭūṭa, ibid., vol. lv, pp. 417-419. N. Levtzion, op.cit., (1963).

b. The pilgrimage and 'caliphate' of Askia Muhammed of Songhay (1492 - 1527)

The decline of the empire of Mali had become apparent with the capture of Walata and Timbuctu by the Tuareg in the middle of the fifteenth century.¹ The small kingdom of Gao, at one time tributary to Mali,² had expanded under the last Si, or Sunni, Ali Ber (1465 - 1492), to capture Timbuctu (1468) as well as to incorporate Jenne (1473) to the south.³ On the death of Sunni Ali, one of his army generals, Muhammed b. Abi Bakr Ture, challenged and defeated Sunni Ali's successor, Sunni Baro, in 1493.⁴ The Askia dynasty founded by Muhammed b. Abi Bakr ruled to 1591. Three years after his accession, Askia Muhammed made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Our knowledge of the details of Askia Muhammed's pilgrimage is limited. The accounts in Tarikh al-fettash and in Tarikh al-Sudan are not detailed. Their information

1. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 22 who gives the date of 1433-4/837 for this event.
2. Ibid., p. 7, who confirms one version of the Ibn Khaldun's statement that Gao was first annexed to Mali during the reign of Mansa Musa (d. 1327). One of Ibn Khaldun's informants attributed the annexation to Sakura (d. c. 1300).
3. The Tarikhs do not give a definite date. The above was given by E.W. Bovill, Golden Trade of the Moors (1961) p. 104.
4. al-Sa^cdi, op.cit., p. 71.

because no other written account of the pilgrimage exists,¹ cannot be supplemented by external evidence. The account of Tarikh al-Sudan is precise. That of the Tarikh al-fettash, whose original author, Mahmūd K^cati, made the pilgrimage in the Askia's company, is embellished with stories appertaining mostly to the alleged caliphate.² The most significant contribution of Tarikh al-fettash, however, is in supplying the names of the dignitaries whom Askia Muhammed chose to accompany him on his pilgrimage. This choice was important as it seems to have been relevant to the circumstances under which Askia ascended the throne.

Askia Muhammed's caravan left Gao in October 1496 (Safar of A.H. 902). al-Sa^gdi estimated the military escort at fifteen hundred, five hundred horsemen and one thousand on foot. Ka^cti seems to accept a figure of eight hundred.³ The important personages in the caravan were of either the administrative or the scholarly

1. The only other early source in which this pilgrimage is mentioned is Nuzhat al Hadi which was concerned mainly with the caliphate and shall be quoted below Muhammed al-Saghir b. Abdallah al-Wafrani, ed. O. Houdas, 'Nuzhat el-Hadi'; Histoire de la dynastie Saadienne du Maroc (1511 - 1670) Paris, 1888, texte, pp. 90/91.

2. al-Sa^gdi, op.cit., p. 72-73; M. Ka^cti, Tarikh al-fettash, pp. 12-16, 65-70.

3. al-Sa^gdi, op.cit., p. 73; M. K^cati, op.cit., p. 65.

class. The deliberate intention of making the choice as representative as possible of the different peoples of the empire, as was noticed by al-Sa^cdi, is also evident.¹ Of the administrators, he was accompanied by 'Ali Fulān, entitled hon-kokori, or chief of the palace. 'Ali Fulān was in virtual control of the state when at the end of his reign Askia Muhammed went blind. Both Askia and 'Ali Fulān were then ousted by Askia Mūsa.² In the caravan was also the "Bara-Koi", or governor of Bara, by the name of Mansa Kura, who was the only regional governor to fight on Askia's side against Sunni Baro.³ There was also in the caravan a representative of the Tuareq, as the title "afial-Koi" indicated.⁴ Askia Muhammed's son Mūsa, accompanied them, probably because his father intended to stake a claim for his succession.

In the caravan there were also seven of the local scholars. Three of these had been actively involved in the conflict with Sunni Baro and had conveyed messages to

1. al-Sa^cdi, (op.cit., p. 73) reads 'wa kharaja ma^cahū jama^ctun min ahli kuli qabilah'

2. The identification of this title is on the authority of the translators, M. Ka^cti, op.cit., (translation), p. 26, Note 3.

3. M. Ka^cti, op.cit., (text) p. 55/56.

4. M. Ka^cti, Ibid., (translation), p. 125, note 3.

him from Askia summoning him to concede the struggle.¹ These were Muhammed Tule, a Sanhajan of the Beni Madas branch;² Salih Diawara, a Soniké originally from Tenderma,³ and Mahmūd Ka^cti, a Soniké Wangara from Timbuctu⁴ and the first author of Tarikh al-fettash. There were also two Songhay scholars: Gao-Zakaria (Zakaria of Gao) and the elderly Mor Muhammed Haukar. The last two of the seven were Muhammed Tienenka, who, it was suggested, was a Fulani from Macina, and Muhammed Niado-Bogho who was, from his surname, probably a Mendingo.⁵

Neither account, by Tarikh al-fettash or Tarikh al-Sudan, indicates the route of the caravan in the outward or in the return journey. Nor is there an account of a "timetable" of the Askia's movements during the period of two years (Safar 902 to Dhi-l-Hijā 903), of which a whole year at least must have been spent in Cairo and the Hijaz. The Askia's caravan most probably travelled from Gao to Takeda, Air and the Fezzan: Takeda was already by the end

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1. This was for all practical purposes the object of these missions though the Tarikh speaks of summons to Sunni Bero to reject the paganism of his father and to return to Islam.
 2. M. Ka^cti, op.cit., (text), p. 53.
 3. M. Ka^cti, Ibid., p. 53.
 4. M. Ka^cti, Ibid. (introduction to the French translation).
 5. M. Ka^cti, Ibid. (translation), p. 25, Notes 6, 7, 8, and p. 26, note 1.

of the fourteenth century described as lying on the pilgrimage route from the Sudan.¹ Askia's arrival in Cairo did not seem to attract attention. This cannot be seen, in contrast with Mansa Musa's reception, simply as a result of the Askia being 'less arrogant and more orthodox than Mansa Musa',² but more tangible reasons can be advanced. al-S^cadi's fifteen hundred could not have created an impression that approximated to Mansa Musa's escorts of fifteen thousand or so. Mahmud Ka^ti, who accompanied the caravan, had not suggested more than eight hundred. Nor would the situation in Songhay itself, only just wrested from the Sunni dynasty, have allowed the drainage of large numbers of troops from the kingdom.

The situation in Egypt itself provides yet another reason for the Askia's anonymous entry into Cairo. The years 902 and 903 of the Hijra were particularly disturbed. Notwithstanding the general chaos that characterised the closing decades of the Mamluk period, in 922³, in fact, the Ottoman Sultan Selim occupied Egypt, but in the year 902 itself, Ibn Iyās enumerated a number of catastrophes. In that year there was a plot, in which Caliph al-Mutawakil was implicated, against the reigning Sultan al-Naṣir Muhammed b. Qaitbay. After being temporarily removed

1. See below p. 115

2. E.W. Bovill, op.cit., p. 106.

3. A.D. 1517.

the Sultan regained office and the 'Caliph and judges barely escaped death at his hands.'¹ This was also the year when the Caliph precipitated a revolt of the Culama by appointing Jalal-al-Din al-Siūti to the post of supreme judge 'over all the kingdoms of Islam, to appoint and dismiss whoever he liked.'² As a result of the protests the appointment was withdrawn. 'The year 902,' concluded Ibn Iyās, 'passed away with all the misery, hardships and catastrophes that took place in the duration. In the conflicts no less than fifty Emirs and one thousand soldiers and Arabs were killed.'³ Although two caravans had left Cairo that year, the first, the Rajabiyyah under a certain al-Nasir Muhammed al-Aini, and the second, (that of Sha'ban) under the Muqaddam Misreby, the historian commented on the smallness of the number of pilgrims that year.⁴

The year 903, in which Askia Muhammed passed through Cairo on his return journey to Gao, was no less eventful. In the first days of Muharram the Caliph al-Mutawakil died and was succeeded by his son al-Mustamsik.⁵ In that year,

1. Muhammed b. Ahmed b. Iyas, Badāi' al-zūhur fi Waqāi' al-duhūr, (Cairo), p. 323.

2. Ibid., p. 307.

3. Ibid., p. 331.

4. Ibid., p. 323.

5. Ibid., p. 334.

also, al-Siūti lost his job as superintendent of the Baibars School as a result of a 'strike' by the students 'who dragged him on the ground and nearly killed him'. In Rajab an epidemic swept Cairo, in which Ibn Iyās estimated no less than 200,000 lost their lives.¹

The Tarikhs supply us with the date of Askia Muhammed's departure (Safar 902) and the date of his pilgrimage (end of 902), the season for which corresponded to August 1467. It is not possible to say which of the two caravans, mentioned above as having left Cairo for Mecca that year, the Askia accompanied. It is extremely unlikely that he went to Mecca on the strength of his own caravan.² In all probability, his longer stay in Cairo was made after his return from Mecca; the meetings with the ʿulama of Cairo and with al-Siūti are explicitly said to have taken place after the pilgrimage. Askia performed both Haj and Ziara to the tomb of the Prophet in Madina. In Madina, according to the Tarikhs, he distributed large sums of money.³ Out of this money he bought a hostel for Sudanese pilgrims, together with some gardens outside Madina whose revenue was to maintain the buildings. The Tarikhs only

1. Ibid., p. 339.

2. See the case of Mansa Musa's caravan below, p. 112

3. al-S'adi, (op.cit., p. 73) and Ka^cti (op.cit., p. 16) agree that Askia Muhammed collected 300,000 Dinars of gold left over by Sunni 'Ali in Timbuctu.

mention the gardens, but, according to one of P. Marty's informants, a house still stood in Madina of which Alfa Hashim (b. Ahmed b. Sa'id, nephew of Haj 'Umar) occupied a section.¹ Alfa Hashim died in Madina in 1930.²

The Tarikhs supply the date of Askia's arrival in Gao as July 1498 (the month of Thi-l-Hija completing the year 903).³

The Caliphate

Three accounts of the appointment of Askia Muhammed as Caliph exist. The first of these was that of the Fettash, one of whose authors, Mahmud Ka'iti, accompanied Askia on the pilgrimage. According to this account:-

As for the Hasanid Sherif Maulay al-'Abbas, he was with the amir al-mu'minin and khelifat al Muslimin Askia al-Haj Muhammed, talking to him near the Ka'ba. The Sharif Maulay al-'Abbas said to him [Askia], 'You are the eleventh of the Khulafa (sing. khelifa) whom the Prophet mentioned. But you have come to us as a king, and kingship and the caliphate are incompatible.

On the advice of the Sherif Askia was then said to have given up his office for three days during which time the Sherif went into confinement, khelwa. The account of

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1. P. Marty, Etudes sur l'Islam et les Tribus du Soudan (Paris 1917), vol. II, p. 232-3. According to Marty's informant the house was part of the property said to have been
 2. J. Abun Nasr, The Tijaniyya, p. 142 /bought by Askia.
 3. al-S'adi, op.cit., (text), p. 73.

the Fettash then continues:-

He [the Sharif] appeared on a Friday and called Askia al-Haj Muhammed and sat him in the mosque of the honoured Mecca. He put a cap and a green turban on his head. He gave him a sword and made all those present witness that he [Askia] was a khalifa in the land of al-Takrūr and that he who disobeyed him disobeyed God and his messenger. 1

The second account was that of Tarikh al-Sudan.

This makes it clear that it was Askia who asked for the appointment:-

He [Askia] met, in that holy land, the Abbasid Sharif whom he asked to appoint him as his khalifa in the land of Saghy [Songhay]. The Sharif concented and making Askia give up his office for three days he re-appeared on the fourth day. He made [Askia] his khalifa and put a turban and cap on his head. [Askia] thus becomes a true khalifa in Islam. 2

The third account of this appointment was given by Muhammed b. al-Saghir al-Wafrani author of Nuzhat al-hadi who tells us:-

... al-Imam al-Takrui said in his book "Nasihat shl-as-sudan"³ that the Askias were originally from the Sanhaja. Their first king was al-haj Muhammed Sukia

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1. M. K^fati, op.cit. (text), p. 12.
 2. al-Sa^fdi, op.cit., p. 73.
 3. Both this book and its author have not yet been identified. J. Hunwick confirms that the reference cannot be to Ahmed Baba of Timbuctu or any of his known works.

[Askia]. This al-haj Muhammed had travelled at the end of the ninth century (of the Hijra) to the Hijaz and Egypt with the intention of making the pilgrimage and visiting the tomb of the Prophet, prayer and greetings on him. In Egypt he met the Abbasid caliph of whom he asked permission to rule the Sudan as a deputy, Khalifatan-Lahu. The Abbasid caliph agreed to give him jurisdiction over all these regions, fawaḍ lahu-n-naḡar fi umuri jami^ci haḍhihi-l-aqalim, and all that lay beyond them of the countries of the Muslims. 1

From the above accounts different suggestions have been made. It was, probably, on the evidence of Nuzhat al-Hadi that Dubois and Bovill attributed the alleged investiture to the Abbasid Caliph in Egypt.² The same view was first accepted and later rejected by J. Hunwick.³ Delafosse who referred to the same caliph not by name but as the fourteenth caliph of Egypt, made the meeting with Askia take place not in Cairo but in the Hijaz.⁴ Rouch and Trimingham, on the other hand, say that the investiture was made by the Sharif of Mecca whom they name,

1. al-Wafrāni, op.cit., p. 89-90.

2. F. Dubois, Timbuctoo the Mysterious, translated by D. White (1897), p. 110; E.W. Bovill, op.cit., p. 88.

3. J.O. Hunwick, "Ahmed Baba and the Moroccan invasion of the Sudan (1591)", JHSN, Vol.2, No.3;('62) & "Religion and State in Songhay", in I.M. Lewis, 'Islam in Tropical Africa, (1966), p. 307.

4. M. Delafosse, HSN, vol. II, p. 86.

probably on the evidence of Tarikh al-Sudan, Maulay al-^cAbbas.¹ As Hunwick rightly remarked there had never been a Sharif of Mecca by the name of ^cAbbas.² The discrepancy between the Sharif al-^cAbbasi of Tarikh al-fettash and al-Sharif al-^cAbbas of Tarikh al-Sudan, i.e. the substitution of the proper name, ^cAbbas, for the pedigree ^cAbbasi could very well have been a copiest's error. The Sharif of Mecca at the time was Barakat b. Muhammed b. Barakat who succeeded after the death of his father in 1497, the beginning of AH 903. Nor is Delafosse's hypothesis tenable since Caliph al-Mutawakil never made the pilgrimage,³ and died in Muharram of 903 thus before the pilgrims returned to Egypt. Light can be thrown on this appointment by a close consideration of the circumstances that surrounded it.

Askia Muhammed's accession in an act of usurpation of power from the legitimate ruler was an important factor in the timing of his pilgrimage. The conflict had been portrayed by the Tarikhs as one between true Islam, represented by Askia, and the semi-pagan and indulgent beliefs attributed to the line of Sunni Ali. al-Sa^cdi however,

1. J. Spencer-Trimingham, op.cit., "History" (62), p. 98; J. Rouch, Contribution à l'Histoire des Songhay (Dakar 1953), p. 193.

2. J.O. Hunwick, op.cit., "JHSN".

3. See below p. 102

did not doubt that Askia's motives were basically mundane. 'When Sunni Ali died,' he told us, 'Askia coveted the succession and went around conspiring and when his plotting was complete, lama farighemin ibrami habl al-hiayl, he marched on Sunni Baro.'¹ From an examination of the sources it can be suggested that Askia's cause was only championed by a section of the Muslim community as represented by the Culama. The more important of the Culama who were committed to Askia's side were Tule, Diawara and Ka^cti. Those went with Askia on the pilgrimage. An important section of the Culama it seems remained indifferent to Askia's claim. Among these was the famous judge of Timbuctu Habib who had held the office under Sunni Ali.² Also none of the Agit family at the time seemed particularly close to Askia. Ahmed Agit returned from the pilgrimage during Sunni Ali's reign and resided in Timbuctu.³ Mahmūd b. ^cUmar Agit, the latter judge and famous scholar returned to Timbuctu after the first exodus to Walata and remained there to study under Habib.⁴ The prompt decision by Askia Muhammed

1. al-Sa'di, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 71.

2. Ibid., p. 66. Habib died in 1498-9/904 and was succeeded by Mahmūd b. ^cUmar Agit as judge.

3. Ibid., p. 37.

4. al-Sa'di, Ibid., p. 69.

to make the pilgrimage, three years after his accession, could have been and to a large extent politically motivated. It was probably counselled by the friendly Culama and was envisaged as part of the campaign of character contrast between the Muslim patron Askia and the semi-infidel and the tyrant Sunni Ali. An even further step was the attempt to rationalise Askia Muhammed's rule by obtaining for it external sanction which, considering the circumstances, must above all be a religious one.

There are two further arguments against an appointment by the Abbasid caliph. First, a deputy of the caliph would normally be referred to as Camil or wakil, and not as himself a caliph. Second, such an office would have implied the existence of administrative ties between Egypt and Songhay. Not only is there no record of such a relationship between the two countries, but there is also no reference to tribute or to the practice of present-giving that were the customary tangible expressions of political affiliation amongst Muslim states.¹ On the other hand a deputyship to the Sharif of Mecca was essentially non-political and non-administrative. Furthermore, because the Sharif was so highly respected as custodian of the Holy Places, his sanction for the

1. See below, p.101 for known incidents of presents despatched to the Holy Places by West African States.

Askia's rule would probably have counted more than the largely political tutelage to the Mamluks.¹ What Askia achieved from his pilgrimage was thus probably no more than the blessings of the Sharif given ceremoniously in public. The event did not attract attention in the Hijaz since neither the pilgrimage of Askia nor his 'caliphate' were recorded events in the Middle East. The disproportionate publicity for the event, on the Sudanese side, may have been deliberate. In this respect the role of Jalal al-Din al-Siūti seemed major.

al-Siūti, who was a prolific writer in all fields of knowledge, had had considerable contact with and influence on West Africa. He boasted that his works had travelled to all parts of the Muslim world, to 'Sham, Hijaz, Yemen,

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1. P. Marty's comment on the comparative positions of the Sultan of Constantinople and the Sharif of Mecca in the consideration of Sengalese Muslims, though a more recent observation, is illustrative of this attitude. According to Marty 'les principaux marabouts, surtout ceux qui ont fait le pèlerinage des Lieux saints, ont vaguement entendu parler du Khalife de Stamboul, mais ils ne voient nullement en lui leur pontife suprême; Ils auraient plus de veneration pour le grand Chérif de La Mecque, mais c'est un sentiment tout platonique à l'égard de celui qui préside aux destinees de la ville sainte et aux cérémonies du pèlerinage.'
- P. Marty, Etudes sur l'Islam au Senegal, (1917) vol. II, p. 11.

the Maghrib and Takrūr'.¹ According to one view al-Siūti even contemplated being the renewer, mujadid, who is to appear every hundred years - entrusted with this task for the tenth century of the Hijra.² His patronage of West Africa can perhaps be seen as an endeavour to fulfil that role. Askia Muhammed and his scholar companions certainly came in touch with al-Siūti, probably on their return journey from Mecca. al-Siūti can be seen responsible for the confirmation of the Askia's rule, already blessed, by quoting the theory of the twelve caliphs that were said to appear after the prophet and of whom Askia was said to be the eleventh. It was this theory which later influenced Sudanese traditions. The theory itself has no established base in orthodoxy and like the more popular notions of the mujaddid and the mahdi its importance lay in its strong popular appeal.³

al-Siūti may also have been involved in the issue

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1. Jalal al-Din al-Siūti, Husn al-Muḥaḍara fi-akhbar miṣr wa-l-qahira, vol. 1, p. 154/5.
 2. Philip Hitti's introduction to al-Siuti's Nazam al-Ḍiqiān fi a'yān al a'yān, New York, 1927.
 3. For the story that Shehu Ahmadu Lobo the nineteenth century leader of the jihād in Macina alleged to be the twelfth and last of these Caliphs and that he interfered with copies of al-fettash to that effect see O. Houdas's introduction to the French translation. The doctrine of the Mahdi and its particular relevance to the pilgrimage movement during the nineteenth century is discussed below pp. 231 ff. Also see note p. 153 below.

in another way. Might he have procured an interview for the Askia with the ^CAbbasid Caliph al-Mustansir in which the latter also offered his informal approval to the Askia's rule? This is made probable by the intimate relationship which al-Siūti had with the house of the Caliph in Egypt. The Caliph al-Mutawakil, a student of al-Siūti's father, had as we saw earlier favoured al-Siūti with the office of supreme judge, an attention greatly resented by the other ^Culama.¹ When al-Mutawakil died al-Siūti was actively involved in the installation of the new caliph for whom it is said he chose the nickname of al-Mustamsik.² It was the latter who was reigning when Askia returned from the pilgrimage, and if such a meeting arranged by al-Siūti, did in fact take place, some credence can be put in the account of Nuzhat al-hadi.

Between 1493, the accession of Askia Muhammed, to the overthrow of the Songhay state in 1591, nine Askias succeeded to the throne. Of these only Askia Muhammed, the founder, and his son and successor Askia Mūsa were pilgrims. They both performed it at the same time. A

1. See above p. 88

2. Ibn Iyās, op.cit., p. 334.

desire by Askia Daud (reg. 1549 - 1582) to atone for the sin of causing the death of a pious man by performing the pilgrimage was not carried out because of ill-health and old age.¹ Askia Muhammed al-Haj II (reg. 1582 - 1586), son of Daud, was so named and titled al-Haj after his grandfather Askia Muhammed. 'Two of the Sultans of Songhay,' wrote al-Sa^cdi, 'were greater than their sultanates, the Amir Askia al-Haj Muhammed and his grandson and namesake Askia al-Haj Muhammed b. Askia Daud.'²

1. M. Ka^cti, op.cit., p. 116.

2. al-Sa^cdi, op.cit., p. 114.

c. General remarks on the Mali-Songhay period of the Western Sudan.
 i. The state and the pilgrimage

The absence of a pilgrimage 'policy' is a noticeable feature of the Mali-Songhay period. This is reflected in the lack of reference to the two more common practices; the regulation of pilgrimage travel from the state by equipping an annual caravan, or the less regular form of despatching presents to the two holy places. In this respect the states of the Western Sudan contrast sharply, within Africa, with the states of the Maghrib and Egypt discussed earlier.¹ The offices relating to pilgrimage organisation, like the amir al-haj, the qadi of the caravan and other dignitaries, nowhere appear in the available sources for Sudanese states. Presents to the holy places were intermittent and known instances occur only when a king was himself on the pilgrimage like Mansa Mūsa or Askia Muhammed. The failure of the states of the Western Sudan to establish practices similar to Egypt and the Maghrib deprived West Africa's pilgrimage traditions of the richness characteristic of the traditions of those states. /Also, it could be said, had these been known in the Sudan at the early time of these empires, subsequent dynasties might have endeavoured to follow suit or rejuvenate the practice. The attempt of the Caliphate of Sokoto to organise the

1. See above pp. 19-28

pilgrimage in its opening decade as shall be seen remains singular in West Africa.¹ The practice of annual presents to the Hijaz, mainly eunuchs for the holy places, was intermittently made by eastern Sudanese states (that are outside the scope of this study) Wadai, Bagirmi and Darfur, especially during the nineteenth century.²

Perhaps a major factor in the passive attitude of the states of Mali and Songhay to the pilgrimage was their degree of Islamisation. The states such as had institutionalised pilgrimage caravans and that kept a regular endowment to the Hijaz, almost on a yearly basis, did so in large part as a response to 'public opinion' and in the endeavour to justify the Muslim character of their rule to their subjects the greater majority of whom were Muslims. There was also a certain degree of international Muslim politics involved in the lavish showering of patronage on the holy places. The states of the Western Sudan were not, in the first place, entirely Muslim. The relatively early conversion of African kings in fact only meant the continuity of Islam as the ruling religion of the state. This was not followed by a thorough Islamisation of the peoples themselves. Nor, in the second place, were the Sudanese states involved in the inter-state

1. See below pp. 167 ff.

2. Ct. Gaden, "Les Etats Musulmans de l'Afrique Centrale et leur Rapport avec La Mecque et Constantinople", Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales, vol. 24, Paris October 1907.

politics of the Middle East, a world in which they were at no time politically incorporated.

Nonetheless in the period of some three centuries, roughly between Mansa Ule and Askia Muhammed, no less than six kings of Mali and Songhay made the pilgrimage. This record is impressive by comparison with more centrally situated Muslim dynasties. For example, only three Caliphs during the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad (750 - 1258) made the pilgrimage the last of whom was Hauran al-Rashid (d. 815). Of the Abbasid Caliphs of Cairo (1261 - 1517) only the first Caliph al-Hakim made the pilgrimage in 1298/697.¹ 'A period of a hundred years or more had elapsed,' according to al-Siūti's history, 'before the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qaitbay made a pilgrimage in 1479-80/884.'²

The interest of African kings in the pilgrimage was itself of importance for the history of the pilgrimage. In one way it associated the practice with royalty. This can be seen as an important under-current in the general esteem for the title of Haj.³ Some of the kings had also contributed to the physical increase in the number of pilgrims by conveying large numbers of people

1. J. al-Shayāl, ed., Introduction to al-Maqrizi's op.cit., "al-Dhahab".

2. J. al-Siūti, Tarikh al-Khulafā umarā al-mūminin, p. 208.

3. See further discussion below p. 333-9

with them on the pilgrimage.¹ Some of these royal pilgrimages were also significant landmarks in the history of West Africa as a whole. The most renowned of these, that of Mansa Musa, brought Mali and the Sudan to the attention of the outside world. Its significance was summed up by Ch. Monteil:-

Effectivement, ce fut le point de départ d'une ère nouvelle, marquée par l'influence économique et sociale de l'Égypte sur le Soudan Occidentale. Jusqu'alors, dit implicitement Al Maqqari, le Soudan était surtout tributaire du Maroc, de l'Ifriqia et, par eux, des pays méditerranées. 2

Occasionally, it seems, some pilgrims obtained letters of recommendation. A Sudanese pilgrim on his way to Mecca, as reported by al-^CUmari, forwarded a letter from Mansa Musa to the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir b. Qala'un, in which the Sultan was asked to assist the pilgrim on his journey.³ This is perhaps the first reference to the practice that during the nineteenth century became fairly more common as shall be seen.⁴

During the Mali Songhay period the noticeable employment of pilgrims in offices of state is clear from the

1. See above pp. 7/ for numerical assessments given to the caravan of Mansa Musa of Mali, for example.

2. C. Monteil, "Les Empires du Mali", Bull. Et Hist. Sc. AOF, 1929, p. 408.

3. S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., pp. 65-66.

4. See below pp. 292

available scattered references. Of the local governors were Ibn Baṭūṭa's different acquaintances and hosts like Farba Maḡhan and Farba Sulaiman. The latter made the pilgrimage in Mansa Musa's company.¹ Pilgrims who were holding jobs as judges, qadi, were, from Ibn Baṭūṭa, the qadi of Walata, to whose personal behaviour the traveller strongly objected and who was awaiting the Mansa's approval to make another pilgrimage, this time together with his female companion and the qadi of Meli by the name of Abdel Rahman who was 'a Sudanese, a pilgrim and possessed of high character'.² Under the Songhay pilgrims who held the office of judge were, for example: Maḥmud Ka^cti, Maḥmūd b. ^cUmar Agit, al-^cAgib b. ^cUmar Agit and others in Timbuctu, Ahmed Tarfi b. ^cUmar Tarfi in Jenne³ and the reluctant ^cUthman Drame in Tenderma.⁴

Pilgrims also made a logical choice for heading periodical missions as ambassadors as is suggested by the despatch of a certain al-Haj Musa al-Wangarati to the court of the Mirinid Sultan Abu-l-Hassan by Mansa Sulaiman.⁵

The socially elevated status which the pilgrimage

1. Ibn Baṭūṭa, op.cit. "Voyages", Vol.IV, p. 427 and p. 413.

2. Ibid., p. 389 and p. 398.

3. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 19.

4. M. Ka^cti, Tarikh al-fettash, p. 90.

5. Ibn Baṭūṭa, op.cit. "Voyages", Vol. IV, p. 409.

conferred on the individual was apparent already at this early period in which the state itself shared in paying deference to pilgrims. Askia Muhammed, whom Tarikh al-fettash credits with the establishment of a 'court protocol' in Songhay 'aqama tarigati Songhay'¹ we are told 'only stood (up to meet) the ^Culama and the pilgrims when they returned from Mecca'² Askia was reported to have travelled from Kabara to Gao to welcome Mahmūd b. ^CUmar on the latter's return from the pilgrimage in 1510-11/916. It was also the custom in Songhay for the reigning Askia to go outside Gao to meet the returning pilgrims who used to encamp outside the town until they were first received by him.³ Ka^Cti was present when a band of pilgrims arrived among whom was one of Askia Daud's slaves. When Askia Daud was about to greet the pilgrim and to kiss his hand, Askia's chief of the body guard objected and insisted on cutting off the man's hand for having the impudence of greeting Askia. Ka^Cti intervened, reminding the Askia that the hand that was going to be severed had been placed on the holy shrines, the black stone and the tomb of the Prophet, that it was Daud's good fortune that the pilgrim wanted to soil it with touching Askia's hand. This finally saved the poor man's

1. M. Ka^Cti, Tarikh al-fettash, p. 11.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 111.

suffering; a hundred of his relatives were freed and caused the sacking of the chief of the body-guard.¹

ii. The Scholars and the Pilgrimage

The 'medieval' period of the Western Sudan saw the emergence of renowned Muslim centres of learning like Timbuctu. Leo Africanus described the town during the early sixteenth century by saying:-

Here are great store of doctors, judges, priests, and other learned men, they are bountifully maintained at the king's costs and charges. And hither are brought divers manuscripts or written books out of Barbarie, which are sold for more money than any merchandise. 2

Among the scholars of Timbuctu many had made the pilgrimage which was coupled with long or short periods of stay abroad. An 'ijaza'³ obtained from the Middle East was

1. Ibid., p. 112.

2. Leo Africanus, op.cit., p. 825.

3. Ijaza can best be explained as the equivalent of the modern diploma or degree. After a period of constant companionship between student and teacher the latter certifies in writing that his student has reached sufficient standards to teach on his own right. Synonymous with Ijaza is the sanad which is the list of authorities which an 'alim claims in a certain and each branch of knowledge. Both terms can be used for transmission of sufi affiliation to the turuq though the more common term is salasil, lit. chains. Also see below pp. 315-6

seen, as is evident from the biographical extracts of the scholars, as evidence of a wide reach of knowledge. Some scholars went individually, like Ahmed b. ^CUmar Agit (pilgrimage in 1485-6/890).¹ Others went in groups - in 1509-10/915 Mahmud b. ^CUmar Agit travelled with Muhammed b. Ahmed b. Abi Muhammed al-Tazukhti.² The latter returned through and settled in Katsina.³ Abu Bakr b. Ahmed b. ^CUmar Agit went twice on pilgrimage. On his second journey he was accompanied by all his family; they took up permanent residence in the Hijaz. He died in Madina (1583-4/991).⁴ When al-^CAgib b. ^CUmar (d. 1583-4/991) made his pilgrimage he was said to have got permission to measure the dimensions of the Ka^Cba and accordingly reconstructed the mosque of Sankore.⁵ Pilgrims other than members of the Agit family include scholars like Imam Sidiq,⁶ originally from Jenne, who was Imam of Sankore for a time; al-^CAqib al-Insamani, a Takeda scholar who associated with al-Maghili;⁷ and the sons of

1. Ahmed Baba, Nayl al-Ibtihaj, pp. 88-89.

2. al-Sa^Cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 39.

3. Ibid., p. 40.

4. Ibid., p. 32, p. 41.

5. Ibid., pp. 40-41; M. Ka^Cti, Tarikh al-fettash, pp. 121-122.

6. al-Sa^Cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 61.

7. Ibid., p. 41.

Muhammed Bagi'u, Muhammed and Ahmed.¹

iii. Pilgrimage Travel and Routes

Our knowledge of pilgrimage travel in the period prior to the establishment of Mali is limited. According to the 12th Century Arab writer, Abu Hamid al-Andalusi, "the people of Ghana were the best looking of the Sudanese. They have long flowing hair. They are intelligent and make the pilgrimage to Mecca."² The prevalence of the generic Takarir, I suggested earlier, was most likely due to the appearance of Taktūrī pilgrims in the Middle East at an early date.³ There are no indications as to the type of pilgrimage organisation, if any, in Taktūr. It is possible to assume that its pilgrims travelled through its main highways to the north, the route of Sijilmasa or the more westerly one from the island of Awlil to Morocco.⁴ Abu Hamid al-Andalusi, however,

1. Ibid., p. 45. See discussion on the pilgrimage factor and scholarship, pp. 311 ff. , below.

2. G. Ferrand (ed.), "Abu Hamid al-Andalusi, Le Tuhfatu al-Albab", Journal Asiatique, July-September 1925, p. 42.

3. See above pp. 49-62

4. al-Idrisi, op.cit., (ed. Dozy and De Goej), p. 13.

tells us of the Fezzan:-

Among the people of the Sudan are the inhabitants of Zaila (Murzuk). They are the most virtuous of the people of Sudan. They are Muslims. They pray, fast and make the pilgrimage to Mecca each year on foot. 1

This early Fezzani interest in the pilgrimage was also significant for the Sudan. The intermediary position of the region between North Africa, Egypt and the Sudan gave it an increasingly important trading position. It was also the focal point of pilgrimage routes from the south. The main trade route to Lake Chad, (the Fezzan Lake Chad), also the main pilgrimage route from that area, passed through it. In later centuries it was also the meeting point of pilgrims from Morocco and Tuat. The Fezzani caravans could have fulfilled a similar role at that early period. Until the political events of the end of the 16th Century that culminated in the destruction of Songhay, however, the Western Sudan had developed its own pilgrimage highways.

The caravans

The most salient feature of the pilgrimage organisations of the medieval period of the Western Sudan was the royal pilgrimage caravan. Fairly adequate descriptions exist of two of these. The caravan of Mansa Musa (1324)

1. G. Ferrand (ed)., op.cit., p. 42; Also H.R. Palmer, Sud. Mem., III, p. 6.

and the caravan of Askia Muhammed (1496). These descriptions were discussed above.¹ The caravan from 'Takrūr' composed of five thousand pilgrims and headed by a king, mentioned by al-Maqrizi, is difficult to identify with Mansa Sulaiman (d. 1359), who probably never made the pilgrimage.² The preparations for the departure of a sultan were in many ways untypical of the preparation of ordinary people. In his case these preparations took a national character. Provisions were summoned from all parts of the empire and the whole machinery of the state was geared to the royal event. These caravans were also irregular, depending on the internal situation in the kingdoms and the reigns of sovereigns, who are not known to have made the journey twice.³ On the whole, these caravans seemed to be only characteristic and typical of the medieval Western Sudan and had had no equivalents in more recent centuries.

For the privately organised caravan of pilgrims the only evidence we have is that of Ibn Baṭūṭa. When he arrived in Walata he was disappointed with the 'poor hospitality of the Sudanese, their bad manners and their scorn for the whites.' He therefore resolved to quit

1. See above pp. 70 ff., 84 ff.,

2. See above pp. 80 - 82

3. This is not the case among Saifawa kings, see below p. 132-5

the country with the Walatan pilgrims.¹ There is here a reasonable indication that there existed in Walata at the time a particular date when those intending a pilgrimage used to leave. Ibn Baṭūṭa came to Walata in the month of Rabiʿ¹ from Sijilmassa, the Saharan crossing taking him 'full two months'.² The possible time for the departure of the Walatan pilgrims is significant when related to North African caravans. For, if those pilgrims took an equal period of two months they would arrive in Sijilmassa in time for the departure of Maghrib pilgrims, usually at the end of Jumada II.³ In this manner, it can be assumed, travelled most of the pilgrims from Walata or the surrounding areas.

It was more certain, however, that Sudanese pilgrims made a point of arriving in Cairo in time for the departure of the Egyptian pilgrim caravan. al-Maqrizi's annals for the year 1352-3/725 tell us:-

... at the time of the departure of the caravan [for Mecca] the pilgrims from Takrūr arrived. They brought with them a large number of slaves. Their king was at the head of the caravan. He asked to be excused from meeting the Sultan and his request was granted. 4

1. Ibn Baṭūṭa, op.cit. "Voyages", Vol.IV, p. 387.

2. Ibid., p. 385.

3. See above p.26

4. al-Maqrizi, op.cit. "Notes et Extraits", p. 637-8.

The arrivals in Cairo could number as much as five thousand as was the case in the caravan that left Cairo in the year 743/1343.¹ When in Cairo Sudanese pilgrims formed themselves as a flank of the greater body of the Egyptian pilgrimage. The case of Mansa Mūsa was not an exception. When he arrived in Cairo in his numerous host of travellers, he also travelled with an official caravan of which his people formed a distinct flank, rakb.² The disastrous fate of the Takrūri section of the caravan that returned from the season of 859/1453, was reported as follows:-

on Saturday of Muḥarrām, the first caravan rakb al-~~awal~~' arrived with the Emir Khairbak al-Dawadar. On the following morning the emir of the maḥmal caravan arrived with the maḥmal. The pilgrims had suffered great losses in that year due to floods, the death of their camels and acts of larceny. All the rakb al-Takrūri' were captured by the Arabs (mainly) because they were disunited and were taken by surprise. The Maḡribis had fought back and succeeded in capturing some of the Arabs. None of the Takarīr returned. 3

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1. al-Maqrizi, ibid. These Sudanese pilgrims considering the wide use of Biladal-Takrūr by al-Maqrizi may have come not only from Western Sudan but a much larger area.
 2. al-Maqrizi, op.cit. "al-Dḥshab", p. 113.
 3. Abul-Maḥasin b. Tagḥribirdi, Hawadith ad-duhur, (1930), p. 222.

Routes

Two major routes used by pilgrims from the Western Sudan can be more specifically described as the pilgrimage routes of the area in this period. They had their termini in Walata and Timbuctu for Mali and Songhay respectively. The Sahel town of Walata sprang up as a direct result of the collapse of the capital of the ancient kingdom of Ghana.¹ During the Malian period, Walata was the greatest desert outlet of the empire. The main trade route leading from it went northwards through the salt emporium of Taghaza to the Moroccan market at Sijilmasa. This route reached its apogee during the 14th and 15th Century. A considerable amount of pilgrim traffic can be seen to have passed along it. It was both a busy commercial route and a feasible connection with Maghribi caravans at the northern end.

However, as early as the 14th Century the larger and more ad-hoc pilgrim caravans were already by-passing Sijilmasa. A northeasterly diversion from Taghaza into the oasis of Tuat was, according to al-Sa^cdi first executed by the pilgrimage party of Mansa Mūsa in his forward journey (1324).² al-Sa^cdi's assertion that the oasis of Tuat became so named 'after a disease of the foot that inflicted some of the party leading to their delay

1. E.W. Bovill, op.cit., p. 85.

2. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 7.

there,¹ may need more clarification. The route of Mansa Mūsa was however significant in so far as it did lead to a shortening of the route into Egypt. The route from Mali to Mecca, as distinct from the multi-purpose common trade route, can therefore be said to have traversed Tuat in a northeasterly direction towards Ghadames and Egypt. The role of Tuat in the pilgrimage traffic of the Sahara became more emphasised in later centuries. As shall be seen, the market at Ghadames was also abandoned for the more easterly route via Murzuk in the Fezzan.²

The predominance of Walata was eclipsed by the rise of the market at Timbuctu.³ Timbuctu enjoyed the further advantage over Walata of having direct links, along the Niger, with the interior of the Sudan belt and with the emporium of Jenne. Its position was further enhanced by the removal of political emphasis to the Songhay region around Gao in the second half of the fifteenth century. During the Songhay period, Timbuctu became the gateway to the Sudan. The trade routes linking Timbuctu to the north ran one through Tuat and another through Ghat. The pilgrimage route from Timbuctu also taking an easterly direction passed through Air into Ghat and the Fezzan. The fame of this road was closely associated with the

1. Ibid.

2. See below pp. 257, 293 "map".

3. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, pp. 20-23.

desert market of Takeda. The importance of the latter was described by Ibn Baṭūṭa on his way back from the Sudan.¹ At the end of the 14th Century Ibn Khaldūn described Takeda as lying on the pilgrimage route from the Sudan.² Muhammad Askia probably went on his pilgrimage along this route. Both Timbuctu, the intellectual capital of Songhay and Gao the political capital, served as termini for the route. It is interesting that of the various routes of the western Sahara, this route remained to be known as the Haj road. In his study of the Tuaréq of Air F. Rodd writes:-

The old pilgrimage road from Timbuktoo to Cairo entered the western side of the Air plateau at In Ghall or further north, and passes to Ifernan and so to Ghat without touching Aghades. 3

iv The Moroccan conquest

The battle of Tundibi in 1591 in which the army of Maulai Ahmed al-Mansur, Sultan of Morocco defeated the army of the Songhay Askia Ishaq II was a significant event in the history of the Western Sudan. It marked the end of the last important west Sudanese empire. The original intention of the conquest was to link the

1. Ibn Baṭūṭa, op.cit. "Voyages", Vol.IV, pp. 438-444.

2. Ibn Khaldūn, op.cit. "Tarikh", Vol.VI, p. 418.

3. F. Rodd, People of the Veil(1923), p. 114.

Sudan to Morocco. This was not in the end fulfilled. In 1604, Ahmed al-Mansur died and by 1618 his successors decided to abandon the Sudan. In the Sudan itself the army leaders were in virtual control from 1613. Between 1620 and 1650 no less than twenty generals were appointed by factious troops of the army. The descendants of the Moroccan soldiers, the Arma became Sudanised and continued to form a sort of alien aristocracy ruling in different townships.¹

The episode of the conquest and its implications have not been fully studied. It is, however, generally agreed that a considerable decline occurred in the Sahara traffic of the western Sudan as a result of the general instability precipitated by the conflict. The Moroccans had ended the sway of the Askias' government over the Sahara that used to extend as far north as Taghaza, without providing equal stability themselves. During the course of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the intertribal strife of Tuareg and Arab was seen as an attempt by those desert peoples to fill the existing political vacuum.² The result was a further diminishing

1. O. Houdas, Tedzkirat an-Nisān fi Akhbar Molouk Es-Soudan, (Arabic text and translation, Paris 1899/1901); E.W. Bovill, op.cit., p. 165-178.

2. A. Adu-Boahen, Britain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan, (1964), pp. 104-106.

of trading contacts. The instability of the Desert also extended to the Niger bend. Timbuctu became first a tributary to the Bambara of Segu. In 1770 it was occupied by the Tuareg and passed in 1826 to the Fulani of Macina. As a result of the change in political emphasis in the Sudan belt, the emphasis of trade also passed from the Western Sudan to the Central Sudan. The greater part of Sudanese trade in the ^{eighteenth} 18th and early nineteenth century was focussed on Lake Chad. During the nineteenth century Hausaland attracted most of the trade with the north.¹

The decline of the scholarly status of Timbuctu was associated with the eclipse of its commercial importance. This decline, however seems to have been a slow process. As the political capital of the Moroccans, the town regained some of its eminence in the first years of their rule as was stated by the author of the Fettash.² The drain from the town of the leading scholars is a difficult thing to document. Some of these scholars were deported to Morocco. These were mostly members of the Agit family and were allowed to return later on in the century.³ Oral traditions in Timbuctu itself speak of the conquest

1. Ibid., p. 106-107.

2. M. Ka^cti, Tarikh al-fettash, p. 181.

3. J.O. Hunwick, Ahmed Baba and the Moroccan Conquest of the Sudan (1591), JHSN, Vol. 2, No. 3. (1962).

as a landmark marking the beginning of the town's scholarly decline. It is said that some of the inhabitants reverted to their original place of origin in the desert and Sahel, like Arwan and Walata. Others moved to Hausaland; in the 19th century the courts of the jihad leaders made a special appeal to Muslim scholars.

The conquest, despite its political calamities for the Askia dynasty, cannot be regarded as a set-back for Islam. In the last analysis it only replaced one Muslim power with another. It is relevant to note here that the Pasha of Timbuctu, ^CAli b. ^CAbdel Qadir, who ruled between 1628 and 1632, had, after a reign of successful peacemaking, attempted to make a pilgrimage. The attempt described by al-Sa^Cdi is interesting in that it shows the continuity of pilgrimage practice among the ^CUlama under the Moroccans. In its details it also perhaps displays an attempt at a pilgrimage not so far removed from the traditions of the royal pilgrimage which the Moroccans found in the area.

After having finished building a mosque in Timbuctu, and having won the confidence of the Askia Muhammed Ban b. Daud by marrying his relative, the Pasha declared his intention of making a pilgrimage. He promptly started preparations and collected the military escort to accompany

him. Of these Gao was to supply fifty which the town refused to do. 'The Culama of Sankore headed by the judge tried to dissuade him from the undertaking for fear of what might happen in his absence.'¹ He insisted and finally left Timbuctu in September of 1831 accompanied by the judge Ahmed b. abdel Aziz al-Jarari and the son of Ahmed Baba also called Ahmed. They travelled to Arwan and then to Tuat. In Tuat the Pasha's troop was attacked by the Barabish leader al-Filali b. Isa al-Rahmani who had a personal vendetta against the Pasha. The latter was forced to seek refuge with his two companions the judge and the son of Ahmed Baba. The assailants finally allowed the two scholars to proceed on their pilgrimage, while the Pasha, after paying ransom for his life, was forced to return to Timbuctu.² He attempted to revenge himself on Gao for refusing to supply the allotted share of his guards and was the victim of a mutiny in which he lost his life when trying to carry out a punitive expedition against the town.

The attempt of this Pasha, though singular, nonetheless seemed to have drawn contemporary comment which significantly compared his pilgrimage with those of previous rulers. The Fettash narrates the following:-

The Timbuctu judge Ahmed b. Ahmed b. Indagh Muhammed commented on hearing

1. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 233-234.

2. Ibid.

of the intention of the Pasha ^cAli b. ^cAbel Qadir to go on the pilgrimage by saying, 'surely the world is fast deteriorating. For kankan [Mansa] Musa left here for the pilgrimage and he was accompanied by eight thousands. After him Askia Muhammed left here accompanied by eight hundred [which] is a tenth of eight thousand. Then now ^cAli b. ^cAbdel Qadir leaves accompanied by eighty [which is] a tenth of eight hundred.' He then added, 'and the aim of ^cAli b. ^cAbdel Qadir might even not be fulfilled. 1

The decline in the security in the routes leading to the north from the western Sudan and its consequences; the decline of traditional centres and exits from the area like Timbuctu, was possibly an important factor in the subsequent history of the pilgrimage. Very broadly and as far as our relatively belated sources allow, two main trends become distinguishable by the nineteenth century. The first was one of militancy represented by the ad-hoc pilgrimage organisations and by the fanatical pursual of the journey to Mecca under considerable risks. The second is an attitude of restraint and abstention and the scrutinising of texts by scholars to find legal grounds absolving West African Muslims from the duty of pilgrimage. Both these attitudes are an important background to the history of the pilgrimage in the nineteenth century and will be considered in more detail ~~at the beginning of~~ ⁱⁿ the following part of the study.

1. M. Ka^cti, Tarikh al-fettash, p. 34.

d. Pilgrimages of the Mais of Kanem-Bornu (c. 1100-1846)

The Islamisation of the line of the Saifi (magumi) kings of Kanem-Bornu was an early event dating back to the eleventh century. In the earlier part of this study it was suggested that the first Muslim king of the line, Umme b. Abdel Jalil who died in Egypt, was probably on his way to a pilgrimage.¹ The Islamic tradition persisted in the dynasty together with a fairly continuous tradition of pilgrimage. Muhammed Bello acknowledges the long-standing Islamic reputation of the Saifawa when he tells us that 'their ancients were good and devout Muslims amongst whom were many pilgrims.'² Difficulty in establishing in record and in a more definite form than is given here, the pilgrimages of the Mais of this line is due mainly to the general dearth of information on Kanem-Bornu history.

The main sources for the early history of the dynasty are the Diwan of the Sultans, and the different girgams and mahrams,³ included in translations in the works of Sir

1. See above pp. 44-6

2. M. Bello b. ʿUthman, Infāq el-maisūr, (ed. C.J. Whitting), (1957), p. 8.

3. I use Palmer's translation of the "Diwan of the Sultans of Bornu" in H.R. Palmer, History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by Imam Ahmed Ibn Fartuwa (Lagos 1926), pp. 84-91. Also see H.R. Palmer, The Bornu Sahara and Sudan [B.S.S.] (1936), pp. 89-95.

The Diwan was brought to light by H. Barth to whom it was given by the Wazir of Bornu Haj Bashir. It has no

Richmond Palmer. Oral traditions on the dynasty were collected mainly by Barth (1851-53), Nachtigal in the early 1870s, and Landroin at the beginning of this century. The findings from oral traditions and the native records collated with available contemporary sources form the basis of the works of Palmer and Urvoy which at present form our main sources for the history of Kanem-Bornu. The works of Imam Ahmed b. Fartuwa, invaluable as they are, are not only the only sources of their kind known so far, but also they mainly deal with the reign of one of the Mais, that of Idris b. Ali (Alooma).¹

Available information on the pilgrimages of the Mais is fragmentary. It falls into two main categories.

Footnote 3 continued from previous page

established authorship according to Palmer who also after checking the document against external evidence places a high degree of authenticity in it. His own translation "was made from a facsimile of the original manuscript at Leipzig checked by Blau's translation (1852) and various kanuri girgams in existence." (Palmer, ibid., (1936), p. 89).

'Girgams' are accounts preserved in oral traditions. For a note on Mahrams see above note p. 45

1. Imam Ahmed's work in Arabic is published in one volume: Tarikh mai Idris wa ghazawatih, Kano (1932).

Palmer translated it into two works, The Kanem Wars, in Sud. Mem. (1928) Vol. I and in First twelve years etc. op.cit. 1926).

A similar history to that of Imam Ahmed was according to the latter written by a Shaikh Masbarma Umar b. Uthman on the reign of Mai Idris Katagarmabe, but has not been traced yet.

The first makes a direct and explicit reference to the pilgrimage of the king concerned. The second is less direct and is implied in the attachment of the title of Haj to the name of the king. This is the more common way of reference available at the moment. The criterion itself is by no means accurate; the word Haj can be used as a first name or, as a title of a child born during the day of the haj among other things.¹ I shall indicate whenever the use of the title is our only indication of a pilgrimage.

There is also a problem of establishing accurate dates for pilgrimages. This is part of the general uncertainty about the regnal dates of the dynasty that is best reflected in the wide differences apparent in the various Bornu king lists. Of these lists that of Palmer and Urvoy are major. R. Cohen has recently produced his own king list, that bears no dates, and in which the dynastic period of the line is divided into six historical periods.² I shall use Cohen's broad division as a basis for the collective treatment of the pilgrimage among the Mais of the different periods. When a

1. See note below p. 333 (n.2)

2. H.R. Palmer, op.cit., "Diwan"; Y. Urvoy, "Chronologie du Bornou", Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. XI, (1941); R. Cohen, "The Bornu King Lists", in J. Butler, ed., Boston University Papers on Africa, Vol. II, African History (1966), pp. 39-85.

pilgrimage date is established that will be given.

In the absence of a recorded date the regnal dates of the Mai will be supplied from the lists of Palmer and Urvoy.

The period between the end of the eleventh century and the middle of the thirteenth, Cohen's second period of 'the beginning of political consolidation'¹ saw, apart from the possible pilgrimage of Mai Umme, the pilgrimages of his son and successor Dunama. Mai Dunama's two pilgrimages and his death in the Red Sea on his way to a third are recorded by the Diwan which tells us:-

Among his noble acts were pilgrimages to the sacred house of God on two occasions. On his first pilgrimage he left in Masr (i.e. Cairo) 300 slaves, and on his second a like number.

When he was on his way to a third pilgrimage, and took ship, the people of Masr said to themselves "if this king returns from Mecca to his country, he will take from us our land and country no doubt." So they took counsel to destroy him. They opened a sea-cock in his ship, so that the sea drowned him by the command of God. His followers saw him in his white garments floating on the sea, till he vanished from their eyes, lost by the command of God, most high, in the sea of the prophet Musa 2

Regarding the death of Mai Dunama Barth had suggested that the Mai was drowned 'when embarking at Suez for

1. R. Cohen, Ibid.

2. H.R. Palmer, op.cit. Diwan (1926), pp. 85. Both Palmer and Urvoy give Mai Dunama dates of (c.1097-8-1150).

Mekka'.¹ This was corrected by Palmer who more plausibly suggested the Red Sea port of ^cAyḏhab as the possible scene of Dunama's death.² ^cAyḏhab, situated almost opposite Jedda, had been developed as the main trading port of Egypt by the Fatimids.³ It was also the major pilgrimage port of the time. The overland pilgrimage route across Sinai and ^cAqaba was opened during the reign of the Mamluk Sultan Baibars who is credited with sending the first Maḥmal to Mecca along it in the year 645/1247-8⁴ Thence forward the official pilgrimage caravan from Egypt followed the overland route and ^cAyḏhab continued as a trading port.

Dunama came to Egypt for his last pilgrimage, as both Barth and Palmer commented, during a very disturbed period of Fatimid history. The dynasty was already in decline, a process that could be traced back to the reign of Caliph al-Mustansir (1036-1094). A series of famines added to the devastating effects of armed clashes between Sudanese troops, patronised by the mother of al-Mustansir on the one hand, and Arab and Turkish soldiers on the other. The fortunes of the dynasty were greatly

1. H. Barth, Travels (65) Vol.II, pp. 582-3.

2. H.R. Palmer, B.S.S. (1936), p. 164.

3. Y.F. Hasan, The Arabs and the Sudan (1968), p. 69.

4. M.L. al-Batānī, al-Rihlah al-Hirjaziyyah (Cairo (A.H. 1329). p. 140.

revived during the wizarate of Badr al-Jamali (d. 1094) and his son al-Afdal (d. 1121). In 1130 Caliph al-Āmir was murdered by the Assassins. His successor al-Hafiz (1130 - 1149) plunged the country again in chaos by his attempt to rule independently of his Wazir, Yunus, whom he murdered. 'Revolts of the troops and constant humiliation of the powerless ruler mark the beginning of the end of the dynasty and the atrocities of the reign of al-Zafir' (1149 - 1154),¹ during which reign Mai Dunama probably met his death. This was probably a result of brigandage rather than active participation on the side of the Sudanese troops that Palmer hinted at² and which is extremely unlikely for a monarch who was in Egypt for the sole purpose of performing a pilgrimage.

A significant event of this period was the foundation of the School of Ibn Rāshiq in Cairo by 'people from Kanem who came to Cairo in the years of AH 640, [i.e. the decade between 1242 and 1253] on their way to the pilgrimage. They offered monies to the judge ^CAlam al-Din b. Rāshiq who established the school and also taught in it.'³ al-Maqrizi and al-^CUmari both agree that the school was on the Maliki madhhab. The latter also

1. Articles "Fatimids" in Encyclopaedia of Islam - Houtsma and the New Edition.

2. H.R. Palmer, B.S.S. (1936), p. 164.

3. al-Maqrizi, Khitat, Vol. 2, p. 366.

indicated that the place was also a hostel' and those who come to Cairo from Kanem reside in it'.¹ Ibn Rashid seems to have been the earliest West African foundation in the Middle East. There is no indication that Mai Dunama Dabalimi, in whose reign the school and hostel were possibly founded, had made the pilgrimage or was involved in its foundation, which, seemed to have been the achievement of some well-off Kanemi merchants or pilgrims.²

The period between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth was described by Cohen as a period of imperial florescence in which the dynastic clashes between rival groups of the royal family began to appear. These clashes intensified in the course of the following century. The Diwan counts no less than twenty Mais in the period ending in the foundation of N'gazargamu (end of the fifteenth century) that was to supplant Njimi as capital of the dynasty. The only indication of pilgrimage in these three centuries or so is that of the title of Haj.

Maqrizi tells us that the ruler of Kanem in the year 1300 (AH 700) was 'al-Haj Ibrahim of the sons of Saif b. Dhi Yazan' and that Haj Ibrahim was succeeded by his son

1. al-Maqrizi, Ibid; al-^CUmeri, "Masalik" MS.BNP, No. 5868.

2. Mai Dunama Dabalimi is dated by Palmer (c. 1221-1259) and by Urvoy (1210-1224).

al-Haj Idris.¹ These two were also referred to as Haj Ibrahim and Haj Idris in the letter of Mai^Uthman b. Idris to the Mamluk Sultan Barqūq that reached Egypt in 1391/2 (AH 794) in which complaint was made against the Arab tribe, the Jodham, who murdered the brother of the Mai.²

A similar reference also exists to Mai Daūd b. Ibrahim, whom the Diwan credits with taking the decision to abandon Njimi,³ and made by Imam Ahmed b. Fartuwa who tells us:-

Look how God made easy his [Alooma] path, as we heard from our Shaikhs ... for the accomplishment of wonders and varied exploits such as no former king had achieved since the days of the Sultan al-Haj Daūd b. Nikale removed to the land of Bornu. 4

That Mai Ibrahim (Nikale) made a pilgrimage is probable regarding the relative security of his time. His son Idris, who in fact did not succeed him immediately contrary to what can be gathered from Maqrizi's statement

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1. al-Maqrizi, in H.A. Hamakar, Specimen Catalogi (1820) p. 207.
 2. al-Qalaqashandi, Subh., Vol. VIII, letter pp. 116-118. Palmer's dates for Ibrahim (Nikale) are (c. 1300 - 1321) and for his son Idris (c. 1353 - 1376). Urvoy dates the first (1281 - 1301) and the second (1328 - 1375).
 3. Diwan, op.cit., p. 88.
 4. H.R. Palmer, op.cit. "History" (1926), p. 10

above, may have accompanied his father on the pilgrimage or may have done so on **his** own after ascending the throne. The case of Mai Daud¹ is basically similar for it seems he came to rule when he was about eighty years old and could not have made a pilgrimage during his office regarding the state of uncertainty of the kingdom. He may have therefore performed the pilgrimage either with his father, Haj Ibrahim, or on his own before ascending the throne.

The fortunes of the Saifi family began to rise again with the establishment of Birnin Gazargamu in Bornu to the south west of Lake Chad. The reign of Ali Ghaji, the founder of the new capital, is seen as inaugural to a new period, Cohen's second period of imperial expansion, which lasted to the middle of the eighteenth century. During this period references, both implicit and **explicit**, are made to the pilgrimages of at least six Mais.

The undated 'mahram' which Palmer attributed to Mai Idris (Katagarmabe) b. Ali (Ghaji) refers to both these Mais as pilgrims. This 'mahram' was issued in favour of a certain Muhammed Su bin Liyatu and was, according to its wording, granted by 'our lord al-Hajj Idris son of

1. Palmer dates Daud's reign (c. 1377 - 1376) and Urvoy as (1353 - 1366).

al-Hajj Ali.¹

The works of Imam Ahmed b. Fartuwa, give evidence that Mai Idris b. Ali (Alooma)² possibly made the pilgrimage twice. The first pilgrimage which is more certain is evident from the following:-

Look too at his journey to the house of God, that he might win a sure glory. Thus leaving the kingdom he loved and an envied pomp, he went East turning his back on delights and paying his debts to God. ... So he made the pilgrimage and visited Tayiba, the Tayiba of the Prophet He bought in the noble city a house and date grove and settled there some slaves Among the benefits which God (Most High) of his bounty and beneficence, generosity and constancy conferred upon the Sultan was the acquisition of Turkish musketeers and numerous household slaves who became skilled in firing musketts.

Hence the Sultan was able to kill the people of Amsaka with musketts, and there was no need for other weapons, so that God gave him a victory by reason of his superiority of arms. 3

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1. H.R. Palmer, Sud Mem. III, p. 24, note p. 25. Mai Ali (Ghaji) reigned according to Palmer (c. 1472 - 1504) and to Urvoy (1473 - 1507). Idris (Katagarmabe) reigned according to Palmer (1504 - 1528) and to Urvoy (1507 - 1529). The first is credited with the building of Birnin Gazargamu the second with retaking Njimi in Kanem abandoned at the end of the fourteenth century.
 2. Palmer dates Alooma (1571 - 1604) and Urvoy (1580 - 1616).
 3. H.R. Palmer, op.cit. "History", p. 11-12. The 'noble city' referred to here is Madina explicitly named in the Arabic original; Ahmed b. Fartuwa, Tarikh, pp. 4-5.

In the absence of specific dates in Imam Ahmed's work, the reference to the battle of Amsaka provides the only clue for dating Idris Alooma's first pilgrimage. In the battle of Amsaka, a town east of Mandara according to Palmer, the Mai was able to use his new weapons for the first time. Imam Ahmed tells us, 'in it the Sultan ordered the army to cut tall trees to make platforms on the sides of the stockade, so that the gunmen could mount on them and easily shoot at the enemy inside the town in the easiest possible manner.'¹ That this was the first time gunpowder was used is further confirmed by the absence of reference to gunpowder in previous battles. The only date so far advanced for this important battle was that of Palmer who suggested December of 1575.² If this is correct, then Mai Idris was probably on the pilgrimage a year or so previously.

The recruitment of Turkish soldiers trained in the use of fire-arms was not the only special hajj undertaking of the Mai. His establishment of a hostel 'a house and date grove' is also interesting as it is reminiscent of the action of Askia Muhammed of Songhay in 1497.³ Is it pertinent here to speculate a possible attempt by Idris Alooma to vie with another African monarch by establishing

1. Ahmed b. Fartuwa, Ibid., p. 20.

2. H.R. Palmer, "Kanem Wars" in Sud. Mem. I, p. 14;
H.R. Palmer, op.cit. "History", p. 28.

3. See above p. 99-90

this second foundation?

Another reference occurs in Imam Ahmed's work to a pilgrimage undertaken by Mai Idris. 'After taking the town of Ghajambana,' he told us, 'the Sultan returned to the big city (Gazargamu). His soldiers were victorious and jubilant. He remained only a year or two in the land of Bornu before he went on a pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God.'¹ From a survey of Mai Idris's campaigns, this battle, against the N'gisim, ranks as the eighth. In it as well as in previous campaigns gunpowder had been used. The battle was not dated by Palmer. C.C. Ifemasia suggested that it took place 'perhaps in the ninth year of Idris Alooma's reign'.² It is plausible to conclude from this, though with great uncertainty, that Alooma may in fact have performed the pilgrimage twice. As will be seen the practice of repeating a pilgrimage was not lacking among the Mais of this period.

The reference in the Diwan to Mai ^cUmar b. Idris, the son and third successor of Idris Alooma, as Haj Umar (b. Fasam)³ is corroborated by the account of a seventeenth century French surgeon who appended a history of Bornu to

1. Ahmed b. Fartuwa, op.cit. "Tarikh", p. 40; H.R. Palmer, op.cit. "History", p. 45.

2. In J.F. Ajayi and I. Espie, op.cit., p. 81.

3. Diwan, op.cit. (1926), p. 91. The dates for Haj ^cUmar are Palmer's (1625 - 1644) and Urvoy's (1639 - 1656).

a larger history of Tripoli.¹ According to this source Mai ^CUmar made the pilgrimage in 1642 and was accompanied by his son ^CAli who later succeeded him in 1647. Mai Ali² himself made the pilgrimage three times during his time of office, according to the same source. These were in the years 1648, 1656 and finally in 1667.³ In his last pilgrimage Mai Ali took with him four of his sons.⁴ The account also spoke of the return of Haj ^CUmar to Bornu to find that the malcontents of his kingdom had revolted with the help of the ruler of Agadez. The Mai was able to re-establish order and sought and finally traced a nephew of his who had been sold into slavery in Tripoli. This newpew was one of the informants of the French surgeon on the history of Bornu.⁵ It is therefore difficult to identify Mai ^CAli with the Mai Sinjal uḏḏin of Awlia Celebi, who, the Turkish traveller tells us 'came

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1. C. de la Roncière, 'Une histoire du Bornu au XVIIe Siecle par un chirgien français captif a Tripoli', Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies françaises, 2me Sem. 1919, pp. 78-88.
 2. Palmer's dates are (1645 - 1685) and Urvoy's dates are (1657 - 1694).
 3. Barth only mentioned the three pilgrimages accomplished during Mai ^CAli's reign in 1648, 56 and 67. Travels (65), II, p. 598.
 4. C. de la Roncière, op.cit.
 5. Ibid.

to Egypt with one thousand camels' and who on his return from the pilgrimage 'went to 'Aqaba to cross the pass of death but could not do so and had to stay at 'Aqaba'¹ that is to say he died there.

The four pilgrimages of Mai 'Ali b. 'Umar are an impressive achievement which, as far as we know, has no parallel among West African royalty.² It is not surprising that they impressed Bornuese traditions. A giram, translated by Palmer, sang the praise of Mai 'Ali in the following manner:-

... Dala Mai, grandson of Shittima,
Ali the smoke of Mada, the lion of
Mada The journey to Mecca was
to him as a night ride. 3

Mai 'Ali b. 'Umar is also the alleged executer of the journey described by his great grandson Muhammed b. 'Ali b. al-Haj.⁴ The date of the pilgrimage given in this

1. Evliya Celebi's section on Egypt covers the years between 1672 - 1680. There is no doubt that his description of Bornu was truthful and this Mai, though not Mai 'Ali, may have been some important member of the family. Evliya Celebi, Seyahatnamesi (Istanbul 1938), p. 72. See also T. Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, (1960) p.136.
2. It was earlier argued (see above pp.64-7) that the four pilgrimages attributed to Mūsa Keita, Alla Koi of Mali by traditions cannot be proven historically.
3. H.R. Palmer, B.S.S. (1936), p. 248.
4. See below Appendix No. III for a fuller appreciation of this manuscript.

manuscript is 1728/9 (AH 1140) which does not fit any of Haj ^CAli's pilgrimage dates given above; all accounts agree that Mai ^CAli was a seventeenth century figure. He also died at Manan¹ and not as the manuscript alleges at Kururu. The author of the manuscript who probably died in the early nineteenth century, seems to have collected the family's traditions on different Mais and attributed the outcome to the Mai most reputed for his pilgrimages in the period, Mai ^CAli b. ^CUmar. For, the date of 1728 falls in the reigns of Mai Ali's successors Mai Danama or Mai Hamdūn who were both pilgrims.

Among the eighteenth century Mais of Bornu there were three pilgrims. Mai Dunama b. Ali, who may well have been one of the four sons who accompanied Mai ^CAli b. ^CUmar on the pilgrimage, Mai Haj Hamdūn b. Dunama, and, according to the above manuscript, Mai Muhammed b. Haj Hamdūn, the author's ^{cousin} ~~father~~ of whom he must have been well informed.²

1. H.R. Palmer, B.S.S. (1936), p. 246.

2. Mai Haj Dunama b. Ali reigned according to Palmer (1704 - 1722) and to Urvoy (1711 - 1726). Mai Haj Hamdūn b. Dunama reigned according to Palmer (1717-1731) and to Urvoy (1726 - 1738).

e. Hausaland before the Nineteenth century

A characteristic feature of the pre-nineteenth century history of the region of Hausaland was the absence of a unified state of the type known to the Sudan belt. The predominant political organisation in the area was the city-state: fourteen, founded, according to legend, by migrants from the east.¹ Ibn Baṭūṭa's account (mid-fourteenth century) mentioned Gobir,² but the region began to be noticed fully through the travels of Leo Africanus at the beginning of the sixteenth century.³ The Islamisation of Hausaland began earlier. According to the Kano chronicle, this was the work of the Malian 'wangara' traders who came in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴ A recently recovered

1. Accounts of these legends are given in, for example, Frank Heath, tr., Chronicle of Abuja, (1962); Muhammed Bello, Infāq, (1957), pp. 18-19.

2. Ibn Baṭūṭa, op.cit. "Voyages", Vol. IV, p. 441.

3. Leo Africanus op.cit., (1896) pp.829-31, and (1956) pp. 472-478.

4. H.R. Palmer, Sud. Mem. vol. III, (Kano chronicle, pp. 92-131). The dates used here are supplied by Palmer's edition of the chronicle. So far Palmer's dates for the chronicle are the only available dates. According to N. Levtzion (1968, p. 15 Note 3), 'The chronology, as reconstructed from the number of years given in the chronicle 'stood up to a test controlled by external evidence' and then 'the chronology as suggested by Palmer may, provisionally, be retained.'

document places the event a century later.¹ By the fifteenth century some of the rulers of the Hausa states were already in correspondence with leading Muslim personalities.

The Sultan of Katsina Ibrahim Maje (reg. c. 1494 - 1520) was included in the message of the Egyptian scholar Jalal al-Din al-Siūti to the kings of the Sudan.² The famous Muhammed b. Abdel Karim al-Maghili (d. 1503) wrote his treatise on the obligations of princes for the Sultan of Kano Muhammed b. Yaqub, Rimfa (reg. 1463 - 1499).³ In the treatise on the nations of the Sudan, al-kashf wa-l-bayan, Ahmed Baba of Timbuctu (1556 - 1627), Hausa-land appears together with Bornu, Songhay and Mali, to constitute the Sudanese 'Dar al-Islam', or the land of Islam in contradistinction from the 'Dar al-Harb', where Islam was not yet prevalent.⁴

The reputation of some of the Hausa states' capitals, on the other hand, as Muslim metropolises seemed strong by

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1. D.M. Lest and M.A. al-Hajj, 'Attempts at defining a Muslim in 19th Century Hausaland and Bornu', J.H.S.N., III, ii, (1965) p. 231, Note 1 refers to a manuscript in the possession of al-Hajj entitled 'Asl al-Wangariyyin alladhina bi kano', dated 1061 AH.
 2. In Uthman b. Fudi, Tanbih al-Ikhwan 'Ala Ahwal ard al-Sudan, Ibadan Library, 82/212.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Quoted by Uthman b. Fudi, ibid.

the early sixteenth century. They attracted Timbuctu scholars on their way back from the pilgrimage. For example, Muhammed b. Ahmed b. ^CAli Muhammed who went on the pilgrimage with the Timbuctu judge Mahmūd b. ^CUmar Agit, in 1510, returned through Katsina where he was appointed Judge of the town by its Sultan. He died in Katsina in c. 1530.¹ Other scholars came to the town directly; Makḥluf b. Ṣalih al-Balbali (d. 1535) studied in Timbuctu and Marakesh and taught for some time in Katsina.² The flight of ^CAli Fulān, Askia Muhammed's wazir, from Gao to Kano with the intention of making a pilgrimage, mentioned by al-Sa^Cdi,³ suggests, together with the above, that already at this time Hausaland was on the route of pilgrims from the Western parts of the Sudan either on a forward or a return journey.

Nonetheless available historical accounts do not suggest an interest in the pilgrimage among the Hausa rulers. The tradition of royal pilgrimage, known to the western Sudanese empires and in Kanem-Bornu, is altogether lacking here. There is no mention of a pilgrimage in the

1. al-Sa^Cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 39-40.

2. Ibid., p. 39.

3. Ibid., p. 83.

list of the kings of Katsina.¹ The Kano chronicle mentions two, Ali Haji Dan Kutumbi (reg. 1648 - 1649) and Al-Hajji Kabe son of Kutumbari (reg. 1743 - 1753) whose titles only suggest they were possibly pilgrims.² It is worth mentioning in this respect that the Hausa rulers were anathemised by Bello for their syncretist practices, 'takhliṭ' or the mixing of Muslim with non-Muslim practice. 'One characteristic of unbelief 'kufr' neutralises one thousand characteristics of belief 'imān'. For, otherwise, according to Bello, these rulers 'utter the declaration of faith 'shihadatain', pray, fast, perform the pilgrimage, and do good deeds.'³ That some of these rulers may have made the pilgrimage seems therefore a strong possibility.

The controversy aroused by the Jihad leaders in Hausaland viz-a-viz Islam or 'kufr', it is important to note, was pivoted on the maxim that a country is classified according to the religion of the rulers. Because the Hausa rulers were not Muslims, in the view of the Jihadists, Hausaland could not be considered as a land of Islam. But, the Shehu pointed out, 'there was no doubt about the prevalence of Islam among the peoples of Hausa

1. H.R. Palmer, Sud. Mem. III, pp. 79-82.

2. Ibid., p. 119, p. 125.

3. M. Bello, Infāq (1957), p. 10.

themselves.¹ It is difficult for Hausaland, as for the rest of West Africa, to give definitive information of the pilgrimage among ordinary Muslims. Oral traditions, the major source we can go by for the period, constantly emphasise the antiquity of the practice among the people. The prominent place which the rulers of other parts of West Africa occupy in pilgrimage traditions, is taken in Hausaland traditions, by the Culama of the region.

Research in the pre-jihad Hausaland scholarly life is still much desired. Links between the scholars of the region and those of Timbuctu for example have been suggested. The practice of making use of the pilgrimage as an avenue of enriching the scholar's academic pedigree, that was well established in West Africa by the scholars of Timbuctu, seemed to have also been strong among the eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars of Hausaland.² Some prominent examples of the Culama who impressed traditions partly because of their pilgrimages exist. For example: Muhammed b. Muhammed al-Fulani al-Kashnawi (i.e. of Katsina) was a close friend of the family of the eighteenth century Egyptian historian Abdel Rahman al-

1. Uthman b. Fudi, op.cit.

2. See above pp. 106-8

Jabarti of whom the historian gave a biographical account. After having studied in the Sudan under Sudanese scholars like Muhammed al-Barnawi, Muhammed Bendo and Muhammed Fudi, al-Kashnawi made a pilgrimage arriving in the Hijaz in 1730/1142. In the Hijaz he started composing his famous work on astronomy, al-Dur al manzum, which he finished in Cairo in 1734/1146. He died in Cairo in 1741/1154.¹

The indebtedness of the jihad leaders was in many places expressed to their teachers among whom Sambu, ibn Raji and Jibril figure prominently. Muhammed Sambu had spent between thirteen to nineteen years in the Middle East before his death in Agadez on his return journey in 1793.² Muhammed b. Raji seemed to have returned from a pilgrimage around 1794/1209, the date given to a poem by Abdullahi b. Fudi written to welcome ibn Raji's safe return.³ Jibril b. ^CUmar, on the other hand, who was the foremost teacher of Shehu Uthman, made the pilgrimage twice. The first has not yet been dated; the second was before

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1. ^CAbdel Rahman al-Jabarti, "ʿAjaib al-āthār fi dhikri al-tarajim wa-l-akhbar", (Cairo 1297 ~~AHC~~, vol. I, p. 159-160.
 2. F.H. al-Masri "The Life of Shehu Usman Dah Fodio before the Jihad", JHSN, Vol. II, no. 4, (1963).
 3. M. Hiskett, Abdullāh b. Muhammed Tazyīn al-Waraqāt (translation), p. 95, note 3.

1784/1189, the date affixed to his 'iḥaza' from Muhammed Murtaḍa al-Ḥusaini in Cairo,¹ After an abortive attempt of reform in Agadez Jibril undertook this second pilgrimage from which he returned about 1786/1200.²

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1. ^cUthman b. Fudi, Asanid al-faqir (described below p. 316-7)
 2. D.M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, 1968, p. 6. Also see below pp. 311 ff discussion on the pilgrimage factor in scholarship.

PART II.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

3. The Jihads of the nineteenth century; an account.
4. The jihads of the nineteenth century and the pilgrimage.
 (opening remarks)
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 - B. The Nineteenth century dynasties and the pilgrimage.
 - i. The Fulani,
 - Macina
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PART II

3. The Jihads of the nineteenth century; an account.

Our knowledge of the history of Islam in West Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is limited mainly due to the dearth of records. In terms of political hegemony an outline reveals the rapid disintegration of Arma power and the rise of the pagan Bambara states of Segu and Ka'arta in the western Sudan. The Hausa states of the central Sudan, despite periods of dependence on Bornu, were nonetheless increasing in importance due to their attracting both Saharan trade and Sudanese trade from the forest belt to the south.¹ By far the most formidable Muslim power of this period was the empire of Bornu. A series of able Mais succeeded in establishing a second period of greatness for the Saifi line. Unfortunately Bornuese history has not so far provided source material for any of these Mais equivalent to that provided by the writings of Imam Ahmed b. Fartuwa on Mai Idris Alooma.²

Similarly the spread of Islam is little documented. Suggestions have however been made that new agencies were

1. According to N. Levtzion [op. cit., 1968, p. 18 and p. 22] the Hausa trade with the middle Volta region supplanted the latter's trade with the Mande region about the end of the 17th century.

2. See above p. 121 and ~~p.~~ note 1, p. 122

now involved in the work of conversion. Of these the most important was the Sufi tariqa of the Qadiriyya. The early history and spread of this brotherhood is little known. Said to have been introduced from North Africa sometime during the sixteenth century,¹ it continued to increase the number of its adherents to become, before the nineteenth century and the rapid spread of the Tijaniyya, west Africa's leading order. In its teachings the Qadiriyya placed special emphasis on education and conversion and promising students were sent on scholarships to centres of learning in North Africa and Egypt.²

Much work of conversion may be attributed also to local African clans. The role and method of preaching of tribal segments like the Fulani Torodbe need further investigation. But the spread of Torodbe clerics all over the Sudan, and their initiation of the nineteenth century movements, indicate the clan's lengthy and positive role in Islamic development.³ Among other agents of Islamisation operative in this period were the merchant or trader

1. T.W. Arnold The Preaching of Islam (1935) pp. 328-9.
J. Spencer-Trimingham History of Islam in West Africa (1962) p. 158.

2. T.W. Arnold, op. cit., pp. 328-9.

3. References to the Torodbe's role is made by many recent historians. See for example J. Spencer-Trimingham History (1962) p. 47 and op. cit. N. 1.

communities, of which the Mande Diula, wangara, are most famous. The necessities of trade had taken these unofficial Muslim missionaries all over the Sudan. The history of their achievement goes back to the fourteenth century; they are credited with the introduction of Islam in Hausaland,¹ and during subsequent centuries Muslim traders, not only wangara, had penetrated the forest belt southwards to Ashanti.²

Despite the apparent dwindling of Muslim power in this period, in comparison with the age of the Empires of Mali and Songhay, the spread and evolution of Muslim doctrine continued. This is evidenced by the rise of reformist states, usually created after wars of religion, Jihad, and resulting in the radical transformation of the situation of Islam by and during the nineteenth century. The jihads were aroused by conditions within the Sudan;³ the awareness of the dichotomy between the status quo and the concept of government as advocated in Islam implied that no little degree of Islamic knowledge was extant locally. The movements of the nineteenth century stood

1. See above p. 136

2. N. Levtzion, op. cit., (1968) pp. 18, 22.

3. H.F.C. Smith, "A neglected theme of West African history". The Islamic Revolutions of the nineteenth century. J.H.S.N. (1961) Vol. II, No. 2.

themselves in a trend of reform exemplified early in the history of West Africa by the Almoravids, by the reforms of Askia Muhammed or by the work of singularly important personages like Muhammed b. ^cAbdel Karim al-Maghili.¹ In the eighteenth century reformist movements took place in Futa Jallon, led by Alfa Nuhu in 1725 and in Futa Toro led by Shaikh Sulaiman Bal in 1775. The outline of the events that took place during the course of the Nineteenth century is well known and shall be given here in chronological order.

Hausaland.

The Jihad in Hausaland was led by the Gobir Fulani scholar Shehu Uthman b. Muhammed Fudi. Shehu Uthman was born in 1754.² He studied first under his father at Degel and then under Binduri, Muhammed Sambo, Jibril b. ^cUmar and others.³ He started preaching while he was still a student,

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1. On the Tlemcen Scholar Muhammed b. ^cAbdel Karim al-Maghili see I. Hamet, "Litterature arabe Saharienne" pp. 210-211 Oct. 1910 RMM. A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature of Nigeria to 1804" - B. SOAS Vol. XXV (1962), pp. 106-110.
 2. M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate (1968) p. 3.
 3. Ibid, p. 5.

at the age of twenty.¹ Both his study tours and his preaching tours made him well travelled. His call to Islam and the increasing number of his followers first attracted the attention of the Gobir Sultan^{Bawa,} in 1788-9, and after a confrontation in the capital, in which the Sultan is alleged to have intended killing the Shehu, the former attempted a policy of tolerance and henceforward the Shehu was virtually the head of an independent Community at Degel.² In 1794/5 Bawa's successor, Nafata, attempted to reverse his father's policy and issued the declaration that was made famous by the Jihad leaders' writings and which is generally seen as igniting the movement. The declaration forbade anybody but the Shehu himself to preach and ordered that those converted to Islam must return to the religion of their fathers. It also forbade the wearing of a turban by men and the veil by women.³ In 1803/4 Nafata was succeeded by his son Yunfa, said to have been tutored at one time by the Shehu, and whose campaign against the Hausa Ma'lam Abdel-Salam in Gimbana finally precipitated the breach. The most common of the accounts suggests that

1. Ibid., p. 6.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

3. Ibid., p. 12. Also see Muhammed Bello 'Message to the people of the east' in Appendix II.

the brother of the Shehu, Abdullahi had led an expedition which ambushed the returning Gobirawa army and freed the prisoners. Yunfa then ordered the Shehu personally to leave Degel, as Yunfa intended to attack the village. The Shehu refused and instead ordered the emigration, hijra, of the whole Community from Degel to Gudu.¹

The first military success of the jihad was the repulsion of the Gobirawa attack at Tabkin Kwotto in 1804.² The following of the Shehu grew, and a period of campaigning and emigration was to give the Community further successes, though interspersed by reverses like the defeats at Tsuntsua and Alwasa.³ The capture of Birnin Kebbi in 1805 had opened the road to the creation of a stable base at Gwandu,⁴ and final military triumph was achieved by the capture of Alkalawa, the capital of Gobir in 1808.⁵ Simultaneously with the jihad in Gobir, local Fulani scholars in other Hausa states, after obtaining flags from the Shehu, staged rebellions and overthrew the Hausa rulers. Kano revolted in 1804 after Kwotto, and the first Jihad

1. Muhammed Bello. Ibid.

2. M. Last, op. cit., p. 28.

3. Ibid., p. 31.

4. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

5. Ibid., p. 39.

emir there, Sulaiman, was selected in 1809. Malam Umaru captured Katsina in 1807 and Mallam Musa took Zaria about the same time.¹ This was followed by the incorporation of more states under the banners of the Jihad; by 1831 the jihadist emirates numbered fifteen, controlling a total area of some 180,000 square miles.²

The jihad in Bornu started after the initial successes in Gobir. At the request of some of the Hausa rulers the Mai of Bornu had sent expeditions into the emirate of Hadija, now a jihad state. The Fulanis in Hadija, following the practice of the Shehu emigrated westwards and southwards. Both these groups later flanked the Bornu capital and captured it in 1808. The Mai invited Shehu Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi to assume the wizarate of Bornu. The latter was able to recapture the capital which was however lost three more times before the Fulanis finally abandoned the enterprise of taking Bornu.³ The emirates of Hadija, Katagum and Messau on the Bornu frontier remained affiliated to Sokoto. Bornu inroads

1. H.F. Backwell, The occupation of Northern Nigeria 1900-1904 (1927) Introduction.

2. H.F.C. Smith, op. cit.

3. J.M. Fremantle, "A history of the regions comprising the Katagum division of Kano Province". JAS. April 1911.

continued; the last major attempt to recapture this territory was made in 1826.¹

Although the attempt to incorporate Bornu within the Community of the Jihad had failed, the conflict with Bornu remains significant. Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi had not only won military victory but had also challenged the legal arguments by which the Sokoto leaders rationalised their movement. His dispatches to Shehu Uthman and Muhammad Bello² reveal his personal claim to scholarship, and instigated on the Sokoto side, as replies to him, some of the major works of the Sokoto leaders.³

Already during the life of Shehu Uthman, who died in 1817, the Caliphate of Sokoto was divided for administrative purposes between a western part controlled from Gwandu by Abdullahi dan Fodio, and an eastern part

1. Ibid., pp. 308-315.

2. These dispatches were reproduced in Muhammed Bello b. Uthman Infag al-Maisur Cairo (1964) pp. 155-198. They also exist separately in Majmu' Rasa'il Ibadan Library (82/231).

3. D.M. Last and M.A. AL-Hajj, "Attempts at defining a Muslim in 19th century Hausaland and Bornu", I JHSN, 1965. The major works of this period mentioned by the authors are Bello's Infag al-Maisur,* written the next year. Shehu Uthman himself wrote Tanbih al-Ikhwan and Siraj al-Ikhwan in 1813 and Tadhkir al-Ikhwan in 1814.

* written in 1812 and Abdullahi's Tazyin al-Waraqat ..

controlled from Sokoto founded in 1809, by Muhammad Bello.¹ Muhammad Bello succeeded his father as Amir al-Muminin, and after his death in 1837 ten nineteenth century Caliphs succeeded. The major crisis of the line has been the extension of British rule over Northern Nigeria between 1900 and 1903. This however did not abolish the dynasty, which still represents one of the strongest native authorities of Nigeria.

Macina

The second major reformist movement of the century started among the Fulani of Macina, between the rivers Bani and Niger, and was led by the Fulani cleric Ahmadu Hamadu Lobo. The early life of Ahmadu is obscure. He studied at Jenne² and his teachings in the region aroused the hostility of the established class of the scholars of the town, who had accepted the overlordship of the Bambara rulers of Segu. The jiḥād in Macina was instigated in 1818 after Ahmadu Lobo was ordered to leave the town of Jenne. He performed the hijra to Hamdallahi which later became

1. M. Last, op. cit., (1968) pp. 40-41.

2. F. Dubois (tr. D. White), Timbuctoo the mysterious (1897) pp. 158-9.

his capital.¹ He was said to have sent for and obtained a flag from the Shehu before his followers could rally to active engagement.² This episode and the relationship between Sokoto and Hamdallahi is obscure. Although there was an initial collaboration with Sokoto, Lobo had refused to affiliate with the Caliphate and had established his own imamate, of which he was the Amir al-Mu^cminin.³ Oral traditions describe him as the last of the khulafa, the twelfth, whom the Prophet had prophesied to appear in the Sudan.⁴

Lobo took Jenne in 1820 and Timbuctu in 1828. His rigorous preaching, together with the insistence of his followers on his kh ilafah to the Prophet, aroused

1. H.F.C. Smith, op. cit.

2. H.F.C. Smith, Ibid. Cf. Ba and Daget L'Empire Peul du Macina (1962) p. 41 note.

3. M. Last, op. cit., (1968) p. 47.

4. A.H. BA and J. Daget, L'Empire Peul du Macina Vol. I 1818-1853 (1962) pp. 17-20. Ahmadu Lobo was accused of manipulating copies of Tarikh al-Fettash to make reference to himself in the prophecy originally concerned with Askia Muhammed. According to this prophecy Askia Muhammed was the eleventh of the Kh ulafa and he was to be followed by a twelfth in the Land of the Sudan and whose name would be Ahmed. See F. Dubois, op. cit., pp. 135-6. O. Houdas, Introduction to the French translation of Tarikh al-Fettash. Also see note above p. 97

the hostility of the Qadiri Kunta.¹ The denunciation of al-Bakai, by then the chief Qadiri of the Sudan, was to be later replaced by an alliance between al-Bakai and Lobo's grandson against the conquering army of ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid.

The dynasty of Macina was short-lived. Lobo died in 1843, and was succeeded by his son Ahmadu Sheikhu who died in 1853. The last reign, of Ahmadu Ahmadu, saw the rise of Hāj^CUmar in the west and the capture of Segou by his forces in 1861. Ahmadu was accused of succouring pagan power against that of the Muslims. In 1862 Hāj^CUmar overran Macina. The conflict between Hāj^CUmar on the one hand and Ahmadu Ahmadu and al-Bakai on the other also aroused an intellectual controversy, on the legalities of Hāj^CUmar's actions, reminiscent of the conflict between Sokoto and Bornu.

The Jihad of al-Hāj^CUmar b. Sa^Cid.

The third major jihad of the century was the work of the Tokolor Hāj^CUmar b. Sa'id al-Futi. After his return from Sokoto ^CUmar briefly resided in Hamdallahi and Segou.² He then returned to the Futa Jallon where the

1. H.F.C. Smith, op. cit.

2. See below pp/ ^{198 ff.} where Hāj^CUmar's pilgrimage is discussed.

reigning Almami gave him a plot of land at Diagouku where he settled from 1840.¹ Between 1840 and 1846 Hāj °Umar travelled on a tour to Futa Toro, passing through Gambia, Cayor to Podor during which time his encounters with French officials left them with a favourable idea of his peaceful intentions.² He returned to Diagouku. His following and the extent of his conversions to the Tijaniyya alarmed the Almamy, and hostilities between them led Hāj °Umar to perform the hijra to Dinguiray in 1849. In this camp to which his supporters flocked, Hāj °Umar collected arms and prepared to launch his Jihad.³ This finally started in 1852 when he was said to have received the signal to do so in a vision.⁴

Hāj °Umar directed his forces against the Bambara of Ka'arta and overran the capital Nioro in 1854. His advance in that direction was however checked by the advancing French interests on the River Senegal. In 1857 and 1859 his attack against the French forts of Medine and Matam, respectively, were unsuccessful. In 1859 his own

1. J.M. Abun-Nasr, The Tijaniyya; A Sufi order in the Modern World'. (1965) p. 110.

2. Ibid., pp. 111-112.

3. H.F.C. Smith, op. cit.

4. J.M. Abun-Nasr, op. cit., p. 112.

fort at Guemou, near Bakel, was captured and his attention was hence directed eastwards.¹ In 1861 Hāj^c Umar defeated the combined army of Macina and Segou, taking the latter town. The collaboration between these two gave him the ground and the justification to attack Macina, which he successfully occupied the following year. But his control of Macina was challenged from many quarters; he was opposed by Bambara, by the Fulani supporters of Ahmadu Lobo and also by the Kunta leader, Al-Bakai. Macina rebelled, and with no way for Hāj^c Umar to receive relief an army from Timbuctu besieged him in Hamdallahi in 1863. Early the following year he attempted to jump the siege but was pursued, and died in Degumbery.²

A nephew of Hāj^c Umar, Tijan b. Ahmed b. Sa^cid, managed to gather together the remnants of the army and defeated the forces of the Kunta. By 1870 he was fully established in Macina.³ The heir of Hāj^c Umar, his son Ahmad, remained to rule from Segou and was styled Amir al-M'uminin, while in Nioro a slave of Hāj^c Umar ruled the country on Ahmad's behalf. Ahmad was the last member of Hāj^c Umar's dynasty and he ruled till the advancing

1. Ibid., pp. 117-119.

2. Ibid., pp. 122-128.

3. Ibid., p. 129.

French forces chased him out of Segou and then Macina
by 1893.¹

1. For the flight of Ahmad b. Ḥāj ^cUmar see below p.239-41

4. THE JIHADS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE PILGRIMAGE

Opening Remarks.

If the predominant characteristic of the nineteenth century in West Africa was the resurgence in Muslim power in the shape of theocracies created by holy war, how far did the rise in the fortunes of Islam affect the pilgrimage? Before attempting an answer to this question, on both its theoretical and practical aspects, it is important to make the following points:-

1. There had already appeared in West Africa a school of theologians who, in view of the practical difficulties in the face of pilgrimage, advocated an attitude of abstention on religious grounds. There is no doubt that the judgements, fatawa, referred to below, were instigated by actual conditions. But these views themselves in turn equally influenced practice. It is difficult to disentangle the influence of one from the other. In the main this religious reaction was an attempt legally to absolve Muslims from the duty of pilgrimage. Pioneered in West Africa by Sahilian and Saharan peoples, this view of the pilgrimage dates back to a period earlier than the nineteenth century, possibly as was suggested earlier, to the period of anarchy precipitated by the Moroccan conquest

of the Songhay Empire.¹

Muhammed b. al-Mukhtār, known as ibn al-Aʿmash, a famous seventeenth-century scholar from Shinqit, is said to have issued a 'fatwa' on the legal religious standing of pilgrimage at his time. He maintained that the condition of ability, istitaʿa, was largely unsatisfied because of risk to life and property. There was also the risk of failing in legal obligations like the prayer through having to travel under the strenuous conditions of the time. Ibn al-Aʿmash was said to have ruled that for these reasons, the pilgrimage obligation 'was no longer encumbent on the people of the west'. The fatwa adds,

"God because of his mercy, did not restrict

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1. The views themselves as shall appear from the subsequent discussion were first voiced by Andalucian and North African Maliki jurists [cf. Tanbih folios 11, 12]. It is indeed possible to argue that their introduction in West Africa was a natural result of the spread of Muslim scholarship southwards. As I have pointed out earlier [cf. above p. 20] it is likely that attention was drawn to these views by the increasing difficulties resulting from the anarchy following the Moroccan conquest. In any case the impression is not intended to be made that there is a proven cause and effect relationship between the conquest and the appearance of an abstentionalist attitude among West African Scholars.

the attainment of paradise to a single deed [i.e. pilgrimages]. A Muslim could attain the same by obeying God's orders in other respects; in the other duties which Muslims are capable of performing with no similar hardship. By so doing the Muslim performs a spiritual pilgrimage, 'haj ma^c nawi' and is relieved of the need to go [to Mecca] in person".¹

Similar judgements were also attributed to other scholars like a certain S^cad b. al-Habib (?) and a certain al-Dasamuki (?).² But by far the most influential exponent of this view was Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti (1729-1811).

The views of Sidi al-Mukhtar are included in the famous work by his son Muhammed entitled 'al-Tara'if wa-l-Tala'id'.³ They appear as answers to questions put

1. These views and judgements are contained in the compendium locally known in Timbuctu as Majmu' al-Nawazil, or Nawazil al-Takrur. The full title of the Manuscript is al-Amal al-Mashkur fi fama i-nawazil al-Takrur' and was composed by a certain Abu Abdallah al-Mustafa b. Ahmad b. Uthman b. Maulud al-Ghalawi. The book contains in six Volumes the judgements of famous scholars of the region on different aspects of Law. I was able to consult a copy in the possession of Maulay Ahmed Babir, [informant No. 13] of Timbuctu.
2. Ibid.
3. Muhammed b. al-Mukhtar al-Kunti Muntakhab min Kitab al-Tara'if wal-tal'id, abridgement by Sidi Ahmed b. Abi 'L-'Araf of Timbuctu. I was able to consult this in the library of Maulay Ahmed Babir (informant 13) of Timbuctu. On the original work see Ismael Hamet Litterature arabe Saharienne. RMM Vol. XII Oct-Nov. 1910 (Copy in Ibadan Library No. 82/398).

to Sidi al-Mukhtār by some of his disciples; one 'fatwa' was in answer to Muhammed himself. By the eighteenth century, the harsh conditions, concerning which the earlier scholars issued their judgements, had not changed. These also form the background for the judgements of Sidi al-Mukhtār. To these were added the insecurity of the Hijaz, at the time suffering from the periodic incursions of the Wahabis. Sidi al-Mukhtār's views also reflect personal apologia on behalf of the Kunta house, on financial grounds. 'the property we possess does not suffice for feeding the hosts of guests who frequent us'.¹ But, whereas Ibn al-A^Cmash spoke for the complete annulment of the obligation, Sidi al-Mukhtār avoided going so far. The view of ibn al-A^Cmash was not in fact original. It had been advanced first by the Andalusian Scholar, Abul-Walid ibn Rushd, and the North African al-Tartushi.² It had instigated many reactions. Some of the ^Culama considered it as vulgar and bad manners, 'qilatu-adab'.³ Sidi al-Mukhtār, on the other hand, had recourse to the Hanafi view of the pilgrimage. He thus altogether avoided the inevitable dilemma arising

1. Ibid.

2. See below p.175 and p.

3. Muhammed b. Muhammed al-Hattab, Mawahib al-Jalil etc. Cairo 1910-11) Vol. II, p. 497.

from strict adherence to Maliki law. His Hanafi attitude was evident from his stressing that school's definition of ability which is much more lenient than that of Malik.¹

Despite this it is still said of Sidi al-Mukhtār, in Timbuctu for example, that he had by his judgement extricated Muslims from making the pilgrimage. His views, because of his scholarly, religious and Qadiri standing in West Africa as a whole, were more influential than the others, and found their ultimate significance in the association of this opinion with the class of the ʿulama in general. The local joke went around, I was told, that the ʿulama began to skip teaching the pilgrimage in their study circles out of embarrassment of their inability to perform it.² It is also significant that in the section on the pilgrimage in the 'Nawazil',³ the only fatawa that were recorded were those of the ʿulama above. The observation H. Miner made of Timbuctu illustrating the town's attitude to pilgrimage is most likely a reflection of this belief:-

"The fourth duty of making a pilgrimage to Mecca is recognised as impossible. It is only expected of the very holy, the great

1. See Introduction pp. 13-15

2. Informant No. 13.

3. Op. cit., (Nawazil).

marabouts, and the saints. The dogma on this point does not weigh heavily on many a rich merchant, who could make the pilgrimage, no matter how much the Arabs may mutter that hell awaits him. Among the residents of Tombuctoo only six men are known to have made the year's trip to Mecca. Two of these were marabouts and one rich Arab took his three sons".¹

Neither Sidi al-Mukhtār nor his descendants are known to have made the pilgrimage. Barth did not believe Sidi A'lawati (brother of al-Bakai) to be sincere in his declared intention of making a pilgrimage in which he was to accompany the traveller from the Sudan.² The only possible exception seemed to have been a son-in-law of al-Bakai who, having quarelled with his wife told Barth in Bornu, that 'he thought it better to console himself with a pilgrimage to Mecca'.³

2. On considering the nineteenth century it should beforehand be underlined here that no direct relationship existed between two of these jihads, that of Hausaland and that of Macina, and the pilgrimage. Neither Uthman b. Fudi nor Ahmadu Lobo were pilgrims. The case of Umar b. Sa'id was different; his jihad came, though not

1. H. Miner, In the Primitive City of Tombuctoo (1963) p. 76.

2. H. Barth, op. cit., "Travels" (1965) Vol. iii, p. 303.

3. Ibid., Vol. iii, 597.

immediately, after his pilgrimage. The example of the Almoravids of the eleventh century, sometimes cited as a prototype of the above movements, had not been directly duplicated in the nineteenth century.¹ Two minor jihads of the second half of the nineteenth century may perhaps have had a more direct association with the pilgrimage. These were the jihads of Mahmud of Wa and Muhammed al-Amin al-Sara-Kuli in the region of Kays.²

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1. As related by al-Bakri it was on his return from a pilgrimage through North Africa that the Sanhajan leader, Yahia b. Ibrahim, realised the shortcomings in the Islam of his people. In Qairawan he met the jurist Abu 'Umr al-Fasi who directed him to the School of Wajaj b. Zalwi. The latter allowed Abdullahi b. Yassin to accompany Yahia b. Ibrahim. Abu Abdallah al-Bakri op. cit., al masalik, pp. 164-5.

It is probably under the influence of this greatly publicised episode in the history of the Almorovids that T. Arnold found an equivalent relationship between the jihad of Uthman b. Fudi and the pilgrimage. 'Towards the end of the eighteenth century', he wrote, 'a remarkable man, Shaykh Uthman Danfodio, arose from among the Fulbe as a religious reformer and warrior-missionary. From the Sudan he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, whence he returned full of zeal and enthusiasm for the reformation and probagation of Islam'. T.W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, (1935) p. 323. See further on discussion on Fudio's pilgrimage, pp. 187-91

2. Discussed below pp. 300-6

3. Although the general standard of Muslim performance among the people, especially those who were directly under the supervision of the reformers may reasonably be expected to have improved, and although the jihads had themselves added to the number of Muslims, the ways in which the state could directly influence the practice of pilgrimage were limited. Unlike the other duties of prayer, fasting and paying the legally required alms zakat, the pilgrimage is a voluntary decision and act, only expected from those who can afford it. The state could nonetheless help by organising travel; by displaying its Muslim character in exhorting Muslims to perform one of the duties of their faith, and by encouragement and different ways of assistance.¹ In attempting a full assessment of the role of the states of the nineteenth century in this respect we face the major handicap of dearth of information on the machinery of these states. We also know that some of these states were short-lived and spent their brief lifetimes in warring activity. The state of Macina survived for some forty years before its defeat by Ḥāj ʿUmar. That of Ḥāj ʿUmar himself survived the death of its founder by barely thirty

1. See Introduction pp. 19-23

and pp. 23-28

years before it was in turn overrun by the French.

4. Of the nineteenth century states the longest-lived was the Caliphate of Sokoto. Its attitudes to the pilgrimage can reasonably be taken as representative. The following discussion of the attitudes of the Caliphate to the pilgrimage shows first the dichotomy between envisaged Muslim ideals in the regulation of the Muslim life of the state and practical realities. And secondly, it shows that the nineteenth century, on the purely religious level of seeking from God the highest reward, introduced into the lives of West African Muslims the element of jihad which, when necessary, was the acknowledged better bargain than the pilgrimage.

A. THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE AND THE PILGRIMAGE.

In his Tanbih al-ikhwan, Shehu Uthman argues that because the rulers of the Hausa States were Unbelievers, kuffar, and since a state is classified (vis-a-vis Islam or kufr) according to the religion of its rulers, Hausaland was consequently a land of unbelief, bilad kufr. This, according to the Shehu, would not be altered by the fact that Islam prevailed among the peoples of Hausa, a fact which he readily admitted. 'But' the Shehu added, 'now that we have fought them, [i.e. the Hausa rulers] defeated them, killed some and chased some out of their homeland with the help of God, and, having installed in their places Muslim rulers, this country becomes with no doubt a land of belief, bilad al-Islam'.¹ The attitude of the Caliphate to the pilgrimage, in the opening decades of its life, was governed by the desire to live up to this new role. There was hence a prompt resort to classical Muslim sources for definitions of the role of the Muslim state. In this light the Caliphate viewed its obligation to the pilgrimage; the

1. Uthman b. Fudi Tanbih al-Ikhwan 'ala ahwal ard al-Sudan Ibadan/Library (82/212).

classical authority was al-Mawardi,¹ as is shown by a letter of answers and instructions from Muhammed Bello to Amir Ya^cqūb of Bauchi; 'know that the duties of the wālī, governor, of every iqlīm, province, as were stated by al-Mawardi, are seven'. The text in fact enumerated six, the last of which was, 'running the pilgrimage from his (the wālī's) country or region and to assist those who want to perform it'.²

The Caliphate was also proud of having striven to live up to the role of the Muslim state. The Shehu boasted in his Najm al-Ikhwan of twenty-three achievements for which 'the community ought to be thankful because they demonstrate, to all who are intelligent, that we are in pursuit of the Prophet's path in all our affairs'.³ These achievements dealt partly with religious affairs, umūr diniyyah, like establishing the true religion, the carrying out of religious sanctions and the abatement of injustice.

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1. Abu l-Hasan Ali b. Muhammed al-Mawardi (d. 450/1058) wrote the celebrated work on Muslim constitutional law entitled Kitab al-ahkām al-Sultan iyya. For the above see Bonn edition (1853) pp. 37-38.
 2. Muhammed Bello, al-Ghaith al-Shuhbūb fi tawṣiāt al-Amir ya'qūb. [See M. Last, op. cit., 1968, p. 244].
 3. Uthman b. Fudi, Najm al-Ikhwan Yahtaduna bi hi ^cala ahwali haḍha al-zaman. Ibadan/CAD/184.

They also partly concerned affairs of this world, 'umūr duniawiah', which included the appointment of officials like ministers, 'wuzara'a', army leaders, gowād al-jīūsh, khazīn, a treasurer, provincial governors, scribes, ambassadors, judges and finally a leader of the pilgrimage caravan, Amir al-haj.¹

In a message to the people of the East, Bello confirmed that the Caliphate at one time appointed a leader for the pilgrimage caravan. According to this message:-

We have sent the blessed Haj 'Ali b. Nuh to the Sacred House of God with our brothers who wanted to make the pilgrimage and visit Madina. We have made him in charge of our pilgrims, wa ja'alnahu amiri-hujjajina, and we await his return with the help of God. We are determined, if God returns him to us, to go ourselves to the two holy Harrams'.²

So far this is the only concrete reference available to this appointment. Indeed the fact that 'Ali b. Nuh was entrusted with a message in which the Caliphate sought the support of the wider world of Islam for its cause, makes a propaganda motive for the appointment probable. It seems nonetheless possible to suggest that the reference in Najm al-Ikhwan, quoted above, was in fact made to a different appointment. Najm al-Ikhwan was written in

1. Ibid.

2. See Appendix No. II.

1812, while 'Ali b. Nuh seems to have attended the season of 1813/1228. According to Shaikh Musa Kamara's work, in which the message is copied, it was brought to Walata by some pilgrims from Ticit who arrived in October 1814 (Dhu-l-qa'ida AH 1229)¹. The message was most probably therefore distributed to pilgrims who attended the season of the previous year or AH 1228 (Nov. - Dec. 1813).

There is no indication, on the other hand, that the Caliphate followed the implications of the letter to Ya^cqub by organising the pilgrimage from the Caliphate on an annual basis. It seems possible especially with the supporting evidence of the present Wazirin Sokoto Junaidu,² that for a period of years the Caliphs may have entrusted one of the pilgrims of the area with the nominal supervision of other pilgrims. The office certainly did not attain the degree of officialdom with which it was characterised in Egypt or Morocco. The message itself was significant.

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1. Shaikh Musa Kamara, al-Majmu^c al-nafis Fonds Shaikh Musa Kamara, No. 5. IFAN (Dakar). The author copied the message from a work by a certain Shaikh Muhammad Salih b. 'Abdel Wahab al-Hawdi. The latter had found it "among the books of Muhammad b. al-Amin b. Ibrahim al-Ghalawi al-Ticiti, which were brought to Walata by Ticit pilgrims in the end of Dhil-Qa'ida of AH 1229" October 1814.
 2. Wazirin Sokoto Junaidu b. Ahmed al-Bukhari (Informant No. 42). I am indebted to the Waziri for directing my attention to the reference in Najm al-Ikhwān. He however could not remember off hand names of persons who had filled the office.

It shows the awareness of the Caliphate of the role of the pilgrimage as a platform for canvassing support. In the message Bello also invited scholars to come to Sokoto, and made an appeal that enslaved members of the community, who had been captured in the war and sold outside Hausa, be freed:-

... We also ask of the fuqahā' and nobles there, those who can reach us to come to us so that we can benefit from what God had taught them. We also inform you that all those captured by the enemy from among the communities that followed us, and who were sold to the merchants who sold them to you, are free Muslims whose enslavement is forbidden, haram. You are to do your utmost to rescue their necks from bondage.¹

Bello's Tanbih²

An important document for the attitude of the Caliphate to the pilgrimage is the treatise of Muhammed Bello entitled Tanbih al-raqid lima ya^ctawiru-l-hajjā min al-mafasid. This work is unfortunately undated. We can assume from the contents of the treatise that, at least during the period of Bello himself, the Caliphate of Sokoto had altogether abandoned the early appeal to

1. See Appendix No. II.

2. Muhammed Bello b. Uthman. Tanbih al-raqid lima ya^ctawiru-l-hajjā min al-mafasid. Reference will be made to the folios of the MS corresponding to the translation in Appendix No. I.

classical authority and had recognised and come into line with the actualities that surrounded the pilgrimage. The Tanbih is interesting mainly in three respects. First, it is a departure from the normal method of Fulani teachings and writings on the pilgrimage; second, it reflects many aspects of the pilgrimage at the time; and third, it expounds a new pilgrimage 'policy'.

The greater part of the works of the Fulani leaders, Shehu Uthman, Abdullahi dan Fodio and Muhammed Bello, which deal with fiqh and the different branches of worship were compilations from standard works on these subjects. They can perhaps rightly be described as lecture notes from the variety of subjects they covered. They were also largely books of teaching and instruction. Their treatment of the pilgrimage generally followed the traditional pattern and the pilgrimage was considered in a pre-set pro-forma.¹ Such treatment concentrated on the legalities of the pilgrimage; it explained the arkan, what was to be recommended and what was not, the various activities required of the pilgrim, manasik, and so on. This kind of treatment was apparent in the works of the

1. A common arrangement in fiqh books is as follows. Tahara, ablutions, prayer, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, sacrifice, marriage, sales, biu'a, inheritance, etc.

Shehu like 'Ulum al-mu^camala¹ on fiqh, Taṣawūf and Twahid, and his Umdat al-bayān fi al-^culūm allati wajabat ^cala al-a^cyan.² In his more famous work Ihi'a' al-sunna wa ikhmad al-bid^ca the Shehu slightly departed from this treatment. He attacked the innovations, bida^c, which were current in Muslim worship, among which he mentioned those committed on the pilgrimage. 'Most of the pilgrims' he argued, 'instead of learning and absorbing and understanding the manasik, of the pilgrimage, content themselves with appropriating a book (a manual) and reciting at each place what the book says should be read there'.³ The Ihi'a', however, was not written with regard to the Shehu's own region, but was attacking the innovations that were contaminating Islamic doctrine in general. Muhammed Bello's al-Naṣa'ih bi taqribi-ma yajibu ^cala ^camati al-ummah⁴ also pursued the same traditional treatment regarding the pilgrimage. The smaller treatise entitled Nūr al-fajr fi al-ayam wa-l-layali al-^cashr⁵ may have been the immediate

1. Ibadan/Library (82/257)

2. Ibadan/CAD/11

3. Uthman b. Fudi, Ihi'a' al-sunna wa Ikhmad al-bid^ca, Cairo (1962) pp. 147-148.

4. See M. Last, op. cit., 1968, p. 246.

5. Ibadan/CAD/76.

predecessor of the Tanbih. In this treatise, after extolling the merits of worship on the haj day, yaum ^Carafat', Muhammed Bello briefly touched on the doctrine that jiḥād was preferable to pilgrimage. This was later further expanded in the Tanbih. Abdullahi Dan Fodio's writings on the pilgrimage were either in the traditional pattern, or, when they were poetic works, expressed the author's nostalgia for the pilgrimage and the Muslim shrines.¹

The Tanbih, consisting of fifty three folios of medium size, is divided into a preface, an introduction, thirteen chapters and a conclusion, khatima. In the preface the author described the book as a law, qanūn, which he composed for himself and people like him in order to warn against the mafasid, or elements that spoil the pilgrimage. The basic argument of the book is the legalistic one centering on ability, istiṭā^Ca. In the introduction and the first chapter emphasis is put on the views that make istiṭā^Ca a condition of the pilgrimage obligation. This, Bello argues, was the opinion of the majority of the Maliki jurists. As authorities he quotes scholars like al-Tadāli, Ibn Farhūn, al.-Ḥaṭṭab and others.² The book argues that opinion, ijma^Ca, within the Maliki School

1. See below p. 184

2. See notes to the translation .

agrees that when the security of the person was at stake then he was forbidden from risking his life by making the pilgrimage.¹ This is followed in the second chapter by a reference to a fatwa of Shaykh Abu-l-Walid ibn Rushd that the pilgrimage was not obligatory for the people of Andalus, and to al-Shaikh al-Tartūshi who extended the same judgement to the people of the Maghrib.² Throughout the book Bello avoids a direct committal to the views of the above scholars, making the same point in a subtle manner. Abul-Walid Ibn Rushd issued his judgement with relation to the necessities of the Jihad in Andalus at the time, while al-Tartūshi was following suit arguing from the practical difficulties arising from the insecurity of the routes. The argument of the Tanbih in fact centres around these two points: the necessities of the Jihad and the insecurity and difficulties involved in the journey to the pilgrimage. It was only through establishing the analogous situations for both that Bello subscribed to the view that the pilgrimage obligation can be removed in certain conditions from certain Muslims.

1. Tanbih, "Translation" Folios 1-5.

2. Ibid., Folios 5-11.

a. Jihad.

This is contained in the eighth and ninth chapters.¹ Chapter eight explains that the majority of jurists agree that the status of pilgrimage (the first pilgrimage which is the obligation) is higher than that of Jihad except when there is imminent danger of war, in which case all able Muslims are to take part in the jihad for the defence of Islam. The author however admits that when the war with the unbeliever is not imminent, jihad being thus a voluntary act, both the first pilgrimage and the voluntary one are preferable. The rest of the chapter is a reproduction of the fatwa of ibn Rushd, probably copied from al-Haṭṭab,² which, briefly, runs on the following premises: that when Jihad is a necessity there is no doubt that it is preferable to pilgrimage; and that Maliki jurists differ on whether pilgrimage is an immediate obligation, fawr, or an obligation that can be postponed, tarakhi. (Fawr is the immediate performance of pilgrimage as soon as the person has acquired the necessary means, and tarakhi is his option of delaying his departure after acquiring the necessary means. To

1. Ibid., Folios 27-34.

2. Muhammed b. Muhammed al-Haṭṭab, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 535-6.

the latter a limit is set, on the implications of a Hadith that Muslims should expect to die between the age of sixty and the age of seventy). The fatwa of Ibn Rushd maintains that the presence of this option in the performance of the pilgrimage gives it an obvious secondary place to jihad, for when jihad is necessary there is no such option. It is important to note that neither here nor elsewhere in the book did Muhammed Bello refer to the situation in Sokoto itself regarding the state of jihad.

Chapter nine continues the argument for jihad's preferability by quoting a number of sayings by the Prophet and others. 'Adam b. 'Ali heard the Prophet say, 'one journey in the cause of God is better than fifty pilgrimages'. A mujahid by the name of Dirar b. 'Umar wanted to leave the frontier for a pilgrimage, Bello tells us, and when asking the advice of his teacher he was told, 'if you make a haj and an 'umra God allows you the rewards due for the haj and umra. But if you remain fighting on behalf of Islam whilst the pilgrimage is made by a hundred thousand and another hundred thousands you get a reward equalling that of all these pilgrims'. The reward will equal the number of Muslims, men and women, from the beginning of creation to the day of judgement. 'He who fights the last of the unbelievers is like him who fought their beginning'. But the argument for jihad is not

complete without establishing that pilgrimage was in any case next to impossible; it is the absence of ability which makes jihad, whether necessary or voluntary, preferable to pilgrimage.

b. Security.

The discussion on this point is spread through the book, but concentrated in the fourth and fifth chapters.¹ After having emphasised istita'a as a crucial condition for pilgrimage Bello enumerates special aspects of inability. Some are directly stated. For example, the author specially picked out the unavailability of water, not, however, all along the route, but in the places where it is usually expected. This was perhaps stressed with a view to desert travel. Inability is also indirectly stressed by showing that many people who in fact undertake the pilgrimage could be considered as legally 'unable'. Bello especially attacks in this respect those who, in order to provide for themselves a thing which their own means cannot supply, seek the charity of the unjust rulers, 'those who should be deserted by Muslims'. By accepting their charity such persons in fact help to strengthen the unjust rulers' government and give it a benevolence that it does not

1. Ibid., Folios 13-18.

deserve. 'Some of those', Bello adds, 'even go as far as to promise to ask belssings for those rulers in the Holy Places ... some have made of the collection of alms for the pilgrimage a profitable trade'.

But the most basic element as Bello calls it is the ignorance of ordinary Muslims of the legal definition of ability. These hear that the pilgrimage is an obligation and without seeking counsel set out to perform it. 'They thus incur many difficulties that are unnecessary. Among these is the inability to make the prayers, physical suffering and forcing other people into hardship by making them come to their assistance. In many cases the difficulties end in death for the person concerned, 'and you find them dead and strewn along the roads. They have acted against God's order by punishing themselves'. Bello calls a person a sinner if he provides another person with insufficient resources for a pilgrimage; and adds that those who assist a needy person who has already set out, should tell the pilgrim not to perform such an act again.

Having established the point that the conditions of the Sudan make the pilgrimage a virtual impossibility, and having recommended that jihad take the place of pilgrimage at the top of the list of meritable deeds,

Bello then in two chapters, ten and thirteen,¹ dwells on the deeds, other than jihad, that can make for rewards equal to those attainable by pilgrimage. The reasoning behind this, is, briefly, that God out of his charity has allowed us many alternatives so that we all can do good and obtain equal rewards. Even if jihad is the best deed, since many people cannot undertake it, such people can do equally well, in the eyes of God, by constant remembrance and recitation of the name of God, dhikr. Equally so is the case of the pilgrimage. 'It is the heart's desire of every Muslim, but not all can perform it every year. Constant dhikr is thus an equally meritorious substitute'. Bello then enumerates evidence, among which is the hadith reported by al-Tirmithi, 'he who performs the morning prayer subh and remains seated telling the name of God until sunrise gets the rewards of a full haj and umra.' The meritorious status of Haj, Bello argues, can also be reached not by committing oneself to undertaking what one cannot in fact do without perjuring one's faith in one way or the other, but by remaining in one's place devoting one's heart fully to worship and to a strict adherence to the laws of God. The closing chapter of the book carries

1. Ibid., Folios 34-37 and Folios 38-51.

this further to the act of mujawara.¹ 'Mujawara attained by strict adherence to the laws of God and his Prophet while at home is much preferable to that attained physically by living beside the Holy Places. That is so because 'to stay away with the constant desire of being in the neighbourhood of the Prophet is better than to live next to him while your heart is constantly longing for the homeland'.

Chapter ~~three~~² of the Tambih is on the legal position of the Sultan who is unable to make the pilgrimage and is therefore more relevant to Bello's own case. The chapter simply quotes the judgement of al-Ḥaṭṭab which stated that if the Sultan was afraid for his kingdom, if the kingdom might be disrupted or if there was a threat of incursions by the unbelievers, then the sultan would be exempt from the duty of pilgrimage. The chapter also touches on the question of deputation and states that this, according to Malik, is unacceptable although it is permitted by other schools.³

Having stressed the above facts on the pilgrimage the book then addresses those who, presumably legally, can

1. Ibid., Folios 52-53. (Mujawara is the act of taking residence in one of the two holy cities of Hijaz, Mecca and Madina - See Introduction)

2. Ibid., Folios 12-13.

3. For instances of deputation see below pp. 227-8, ³28

still make the pilgrimage. In this respect the Tanbih reverts to the traditional treatment of the rite by stressing negative aspects of practice that are to be avoided. Chapter seven¹ is a warning against the use of illegal monies on the pilgrimage. Chapter twelve² denounces those who make the pilgrimage not for its religious merits but because of the vain satisfaction of social prestige, those who perform a pilgrimage in order to appear respectable in the eyes of other men'.

An assessment.

The Tanbih should be seen primarily as a personal apologia on behalf of the author, who can also claim to speak for others occupied with the jihads or affairs of jihad states. The fact that Bello was not simply a Muslim scholar but was also at the time the leader and the Amir al-Mu'minin of a vast empire makes of the Tanbih both a personal document and an official statement of policy. The book is in the last analysis a continuation of an argument which earlier in this study was traced back to the seventeenth century.³ The fact that Bello nowhere in

1. Ibid., Folios 24-25.

2. Ibid., Folios 37-39.

3. See above p. 159

his book referred to the views of earlier Sudanese scholars, similar to those expounded by the Tanbih, does not altogether bar the possibility that Bello was to a certain degree under their influence. It seems plausible to suggest that Bello, with his spiritual attachment to Mukhtār al-Kuntī and his numerous quotations from the latter's works, may infact have been aware of al-Kuntī's fatawa on the subject.¹ And, in any case, there is ultimately the basic similarity in the adversity of conditions which forms the basis for this kind of reaction.

On the official level, the influence of the Tanbih may explain the fact that the Caliphate of Sokoto did not inaugurate a new era of pilgrimage organisation, by instituting a caravan and so on, as it had hoped to do at the beginning. Perhaps even the appointments of amir al-haj may have been discontinued after a time. The Tanbih also influenced the subsequent generations of Sokoto Caliphs, probably more than anybody else, as these are not known to have made the pilgrimage. Was the influence of the book restricted to the Sokoto hierarchy?

This is an even more difficult question to

1. For example see references in 'Uthman b. Fudī, Tanbih al-Ikhwan (op. cit.), Muhammed Bello, Infag (1964) p. 207 and others. I. Hamet, op. cit., Nov. 1910, pp. 402-3.

answer. The book, like other works of the Fulani scholars, received considerable circulation. There is no doubt that the views expressed in it became widely known. An interesting reflection of this is the comment adjoined by a copiest of a poem by Abdullahi dan Fodio on the pilgrimage. The comment reads;

as was heard from the mouth of Muhammed Bello b. Uthman, prayer for Muhammed once is better than going on jihad four hundred times, and jihad once is better than making four hundred accepted pilgrimages. This was verified from the mouth of Muhammed Bello.¹

In its popular influence the Tanbih should be regarded as an enlarged fatawa, similar to previous ones, which Muslims are not absolutely obliged to follow. The Tanbih did not inaugurate a new era for pilgrimage by putting a halt to the practice, but it may have absolved many consciences from the agony of doubting their Islam on grounds of their inability to make a pilgrimage. In this way the Tanbih may have practically reduced the number of pilgrims.

1. Abdullahi b. Fudi, Raud al-^cAshiq, Ibadan/CAD/35.

B. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY DYNASTIES AND THE PILGRIMAGE

The revolutionary wars carried during the course of the nineteenth century on behalf of Islam had resulted in the creation of new dynasties in the area. These were mainly the Sokoto dynasty, the dynasty of Ahmadu Lobo in Macina and that of al-Hāj Umar in the western Sudan.

x Although the Saifawa of Bornu remained till 1846, the new dynasty of the Shehus which officially supplanted the Saifawa in that date, had virtually been established with the accession of Shehu Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi in 1812. What was the pilgrimage record of these dynasties?

i) The Fulani

- Macina.

The dynasty of Ahmadu Lobo in Macina lasted from 1818 to 1862, covering the reigns of the founder himself, of his son Ahmadu (1843-53), and of his grandson Ahmadu Ahmadu (1853-1862). A genealogical tree of Ahmadu Lobo, constructed from the traditions collected by Ba and Daget, reveals that there were at least two pilgrims among Lobo's ancestors. Those were Hadji Dyadyé and Alhadji Modi.¹ Ahmadu Lobo himself did not make a pilgrimage. This might

1. A.H. Ba and J. Daget, op. cit., p. 20.

very well be explained by the fact that the generation of Ahmadu Lobo was perhaps most influenced by the views of Sidi al-Mukhtār from whom Lobo's Qadiri affiliation was most probably derived.¹ Lobo is not known to have written any books himself and it is difficult to ascertain with any degree the extent of the influence of the Kunti views with regard to the pilgrimage on him. Oral traditions afford only slight help. In the first place, the views of Mukhtār al-Kunti are known in present-day Macina² - that Sidi Mukhtār had judged that the pilgrimage was no longer obligatory - which makes it likely that Lobo himself was aware of them. Secondly, it is also said that the period of Ahmadu Lobo was a time when the standards of Muslim education were greatly raised by the teachings of Lobo and his Culama, that before his time people went on the pilgrimage mostly out of their ignorance of the relieving conditions attached to the pilgrimage obligation, and that with Lobo they were now made to understand these conditions and injunctions.³ It is thus possible to suggest that not only was Lobo an emulator of Mukhtār

1. H.F.C. Smith, op. cit., For these views see above

PP. 160 - 162

2. Informant No. 23.

3. Ibid.

al-Kunti in that respect, but that he also possibly preached on the same lines as those of the fatawa of al-Kunti.

The two successors of Lobo are also not known to have left any written works. Their reigns were relatively short, occupied with the internal conflicts and the supervision of rigorous preaching. That of the last was largely occupied by the conflict with the state of al-Hāj^c Umar.

Sokoto.

The newly recovered Arabic materials of West Africa, including the numerous works by Shehu Uthman b. Fudi himself, have thrown much light on his life and career. The view that it was while on the pilgrimage that Shehu Uthman acquainted himself with Wahabi ideology¹ has been to a large extent corrected. Not only is the evidence for the Wahabi influence on the jiḥād inconclusive,² but

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1. Muhammed al-Bahi, Introduction to Iḥiā' al-Sunna wa-Ikḥmād al-bida' by Uthman b. Fudi (Cairo 1962). T. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam (1935) p. 323 (also quoted above). H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam (1947) p. 30.
 2. M. Hiskett, 'An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the Sixteenth century to the Eighteenth century', BSOAS, Vol. XXV, Pt. 2, 1962.

also Shehu Uthman is not known to have made the pilgrimage. An attempt to make the pilgrimage is said to have been envisaged by Shehu Uthman while he was a student of Jibril b. Umar. Jibril was going on his second pilgrimage, and Uthman was going to accompany him, but as Shehu did not have his father's permission, Jibril sent him back from Agadez.¹ Shehu Uthman himself confirmed this in a poem attributed to him:-

[.....] Indeed I fear my parents in every truth
And it is because I fear my parents that
I do not go to the city of Muhammed
who excels all.²

Among the writings of Shehu Uthman an apologia - whether in the nature of a fatwa, as that of Mukhtār al-Kunti, or in the nature of a treatise as was Bello's Tanbih - is so far unknown. His writings and preachings, as I said earlier, stuck to the traditional treatment of the pilgrimage and were meant to give instruction on its correct performance. When the Shehu specifically and subjectively referred to the pilgrimage this was usually in poetic form, and revealed a constant desire to make the pilgrimage. For example the autobiography entitled

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1. F.H. El Masri, The Life of Shehu Usman dan fodio before the jihad, JHSN, Vol. II, No. 4 (1963).
M. Last, op. cit., (1968) pp. 5-6. Abdullahi b. Fudi, Ida al-Nusukh, Ibadan/Library 82-265.
 2. C.H. Robinson, Specimens of Hausa Literature (1896) p. 100.

Siofin Shehu concluded with the verses:-

I am pleading by the grace of the highest one
(That God) include us among those who per-
sistently follow the sunna.

I am beseeching you for his sake lead me to Mecca
and to Taiba (i.e. al-Medina) safely, O God.

Preserve me from all the evils of this world
and the last gap (barzakh), the hereafter
and the day of resurrection.

By the grace of the highest one, lead me to Tuba
A mansion of Paradise and abode of mercy.¹

Another major poem of the Shehu, if only for the extent
of its popularity, became known by its opening verse
hal-li-masirūn nahwa-ṭaibata-musriʿan,²

(Is there for me a way to travel towards Taybat
swiftly

To visit the tomb of the Hashimite Muhammad).³

This, according to Abdullahi Danfodio, was the first
composition of note by Shehu; Abdullahi made a quintain
on it, that he considered his first major composition.⁴

El-Masri tells us that an oral tradition exists

1. R.A. Adeleye, F.H. El-Masri, J.O. Hunwick, I.A. Mukoshy,
Siofin Shehu: an autobiography and character study of
'Uthman b. Fudi in Verse. CAD. Research Bulletin,
Vol. 2, No. 1. 1966.

2. Ibadan/Library (82/104). Lagon/IASAR, No. 5.

3. M. Hiskett's translation in; 'Abdullah Ibu Muhammed
Tazyin al-Waraqat, (1963), p. 85.

4. Ibid., p. 26.

'that Dan Fodio had performed the pilgrimage but there is no mention of it in any of the Fulani writings'.¹

This is interesting because it could very well be an expression of the Shehu's gift, in which devotees believe, that he was possessed of the faculty of khatwa. Khatwa, it is also called ṭayaran i.e. flying, is the ability of some persons to make the pilgrimage in a clandestine fashion. They do not undertake the usual preparations like other Muslims but leave their places just before the pilgrimage, they are hardly missed at home for the rapidity of their departure, and they are testified for as having been on the pilgrimage by returning pilgrims. This faculty is believed to be granted by God to the very saintly.²

1. F.H. El-Masri, op. cit., p. 437, Note 5.

2. Jurists maintain an ambivalent stand regarding this form of pilgrimage. There is no special judgement; Sharia' only considers the obvious, Zahir, but if a person was so endowed God will reward him for a pilgrimage made in such a manner. [See M. al-Hatṭab, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 494]. There are many instances of people said to have performed the pilgrimage in this way spoken of in West Africa. For example the Shaikh of the Fadilliya in Mauritania (Cf. Muhammed b. Maham, Raud al-Shamai' see note below p. 199). Hassani of Timbuctu, [cf. H. Miner, In the primitive city of Timbuctoo (1953) p. 86], and others. There is possibly a psychological explanation to the prevalence of this belief in West Africa arising from the frustrating difficulties of the pilgrimage. Of the Fulani leaders themselves the tradition does not only cover Shehu Uthman himself [informant No. 30] but also Muhammed Bello and later on Hayatu b. Sa'id who is said to have held in this fashion meetings with the Mahdi at Aba Island [Informant No. 31].

The case of Muhammed Bello, the eldest son of the Shehu and the first Sokoto Caliph after Shehu's death was apparent from the previous discussion of the Tahbih. Although in his message he expressed the desire of making the pilgrimage,¹ Bello did not only not carry that out, but, from the evidence of the Tanbih, we are left with the belief that his inaction was also theologically tenable. The inaction of the Amir al-Mu'minin and the principles which he expounded in the Tanbih were of equal significance in influencing the attitude of the state and of the subsequent generations of the Sokoto Caliphs to the pilgrimage. In fact among the first generation Fulani leaders, so far as documents at present serve us, there had been only two attempts at making the pilgrimage which were both abortive. Those were the attempts of Abdullahi dan Fodio in 1807 and Modibo Adama, the jihād flag bearer and the founder of the Fulani emirate of Adamawa, in about 1841.

Just before the first attack on Alkalawa capital of Gobir in 1807, Abdullahi dan Fodio deserted the army and travelled east² with the intention of making the pilgrimage. This evidently strange behaviour on the part of a leading personage of the jihād was explained by

1. Appendix II.

2. M. Last, op. cit., (1968) p. 38.

Abdullahi himself.

'Then there came to me from God the sudden thought to shun the homelands, and my brothers and turn towards the best of God's creation in order to seek approval, because of what I had seen of the changing times, and (my) brothers and their squabbling over its possession, and its wealth and its regard, together with their abandoning the upkeep of the mosques, and things beside that. I knew that I was worst of them, and what I had seen from others would not deter me. I considered flight encumbent on me, and I left the army and occupied myself with my own (affairs) and faced towards the east, towards the chosen one - may God bless him and give him peace - if God would make that easy'.

Abdullahi's attempt ended in Kano where its people prevented him from continuing. In Kano he remained to teach during the month of Ramadan and before 'returning to Gwandu wrote for the Kano Community the standard text-book on government, *Diya al-hukkam*'.²

The attempt of Modibu Adama was similar to that of Abdullahi in so far as it was an act of desperation over the affairs of this world. Towards the end of his reign some of the vassals of Modibu Adama are said to have showed signs of independence from him. One, Ardo Hamadu of Chambe, had managed to receive an independent flag from the Sultan of Sokoto, Abu Bakr Atiqu (1837-42). 'On hearing this Adama, although seventy-two years of age, immediately published his determination to proceed on a pilgrimage

1. M. Hiskett, op. cit., (Tazyin) pp. 120-121.

2. M. Last, op. cit., (1968) p. 38.

to Mecca and started off with a huge following'. He was finally halted near Gurmi and persuaded to return, which he did after receiving the apologies of Ardo Hamadu who had also returned the newly acquired flag to Atiqu's successor Ali b. Bello (1842-59).¹

Between 1837, the year of Bello's death and 1903, the year of the British occupation of Northern Nigeria, ten Caliphs succeeded in Sokoto. Their reigns varied in length between one year, Ali b. Bello II, 1866-7 and seventeen years, Ali b. Bello I, 1843-59. The Caliphate itself was fully established after 1859. There was a period of rapid succession of four Caliphs between 1866-81.² The second half of the century saw a dwindling of the enthusiasm for the jiḥād wars, and was also a period of stability characterised by expansive trade and projects of resettlement.³ Like their predecessors, none of the Caliphs after 1837 made a pilgrimage. How is this to be explained?

First in our consideration must perhaps be the fact that the founders of the Caliphate, Shehu Uthman, Bello and Abdullahi, had not themselves been pilgrims.

1. Kaduna Archives, Yola Provincial Gazetteer, No. 5098/1911. See further discussion of these two episodes below pp. 322-3

2. M. East, op. cit., 1968, pp. 118-123.

3. Ibid., pp. 123-127.

There was thus no tradition which later Caliphs may have wanted to emulate. Secondly there is the fact that in so far as we can call Bello's Tanbih a statement of official policy, this policy had been clearly discouraging. There is furthermore a popular interpretation. A strong tradition explains the phenomenon by relating it to the doctrine of the hijra associated with the appearance of the Mahdi. The doctrine itself was perhaps the most explosive belief in nineteenth century West Africa. In the course of this study it will be seen to have influenced, beside the Sokoto Caliphs, the pilgrimage movement during the century and also the choice and orientation of pilgrimage routes.¹ What needs relating here is the aspect of the doctrine connecting the movement of the Caliph eastwards from Sokoto with a mass exodus.

The hijra doctrine

Shehu Uthman often described himself as a renewer of the faith, mujaddid. The significance of this lay in his denial that he was the Mahdi, who in Muslim escatology is expected to appear at the end of time and who will fill the world with justice after it was clouded with injustice. The Shehu had declared:-

1. See below pp. 229 ff. , and pp. 285

Know Oh my brethren, that I am not the Imam al-Mahdi, and I never claimed the Mahdiyya even though that is heard from the tongues of other men. Indeed I have striven beyond measure in warning them to desist, and refuted their arguments in some of my writings, both in Arabic and Ajami (Fulani and Hausa).¹

The Shehu however is said to have predicted the near appearance of the Mahdi. When he did appear, the Caliph of Sokoto was to migrate, perform hijra, together with all the Community to meet him and pay allegiance to him. The Mahdi was to appear in the East; some say the Nile, others say the Hijaz. The Shehu, it seems, had also outlined the route of the Hijra and disclosed its time. But all these were kept secret in the house of the Shehu, though hints to them were sometimes broadly made.

For example in a general directive on government Muhammed Bello instructed Modibu Adama on seven matters the seventh of which was:-

... the matter with which you left us [i.e.] sending troops to the south of Wadai and the south of Fur in the direction of Bahr al-Nil [the Nile]: you are to do your utmost to dispatch spies, ʿuyūn, to those countries. For our Shaikh, may God be pleased with him, signalled to us that his community will remove, tantaqilu, in that direction at the appearance of the Mahdi, to follow him and pay allegiance to him with the will of God.²

1. Quoted by M. al-Hajj - see below Note 1 p.231

2. ^cAbdel Qadir b. Gidādu, Majmūʿ al-Rasaʿil. [See M. Last, op. cit., (1968) p. 248].

A Hausa poem, attributed to the Shehu, described the mass exodus that is to accompany the departure of the Caliph at the appearance of the Mahdi:-

If the king of the Muslumans (Sarki Muslumi)
goes to Mecca, we must pray and make ready
our goods (to go with him)

... We pray to the Lord, the ruler of the
kingdom if we start, that we may obtain
provision for the journey from the heathen,

With our wives, our children, all our slaves
and our goods, we Muslumans will go together

And our blind and halt and aged, and whoever
is afraid, we will go together.¹

Strictly speaking the appearance of the Mahdi should not have anything to do with the Caliph making the pilgrimage to Mecca. Confusion however was possible, as the east was the common direction for the pilgrimage, and in that same quarter the Mahdi was to appear. This confusion was operative on the minds more of the followers of the Caliph, than, presumably, of the Caliphs themselves. It was thus believed that if the latter left Sokoto to go eastwards, this would have instigated the exodus of the whole community. It was to avoid the possible anarchy and disruption that could follow that the Sokoto Caliphs, it is said, refrained from making the pilgrimage.

The only Sokoto Caliph who made the pilgrimage

1. C.H. Robinson, op. cit., (1896) Peem p. 64.

was infact the present one, Abu Bakr, in 1963. He is said to have done so at the insistence of the late Sarduna, Sir Ahmadu Bello (d. 1966). The latter's preoccupation with pan-Islamic ideas gave the pilgrimage a special place in his internal politics. He was responsible for conveying thousands of Nigerians on the pilgrimage, and it was he it is said, who strove to fight the popular belief that was keeping the Sultans away from the international community of the pilgrimage.¹

1. I am indebted to Murny^a Last for first directing my attention to this tradition. This was checked and confirmed by informants, in Northern Nigeria and in Sokoto itself by for example informant No. 43.

ii. THE TOKOLORS

The pilgrimage of ʿUmar b. Saʿid

There is little doubt that ʿUmar b. Saʿid dominates the traditions of the pilgrimage from West Africa in the nineteenth century. There is also little doubt that it was the later successes of ʿUmar b. Saʿid as a scholar and a mujahid which greatly focussed attention on and popularised his pilgrimage. How far his political career was a direct follow-up of his pilgrimage experience is still an open question,¹ but his pilgrimage claims for him a special position, in this study, among the rulers of nineteenth century West Africa.

It is difficult to disentangle the hosts of legends, myths, and stories strung around the pilgrimage of ʿUmar b. Saʿid so as to arrive at a clear picture of his pre-pilgrimage life and activity. One such story takes ʿUmar's interest in the pilgrimage back to the days of childhood. When ʿUmar was still very young, it is said, and while he was one day playing with children of his age, they all asked each other of the things they wanted to do most. ʿUmar's wish, the story goes, was to be able to make the pilgrimage and to visit Mecca and Madina. The other

1. See below pp. 229 ff. and note 2

children, who did not know what these names were, ran to ask their parents.¹ Thus all were agreed from that date that the young ʿUmar was destined for an exalted religious status. Such stories have been reported for all of ʿUmar's life, and a number of them speak of the miraculous achievements, karamat, which he performed on his way to the Middle East, during his stay there or on his way back.²

Although accounts of ʿUmar's life usually start with his pilgrimage,³ traditions agree that he had showed signs of genius when still very young. His foremost teacher was apparently his brother Ahmed rather than his

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1. Muntaga Tal, Ghana'im al-Mu'tabir fi sirat al-Shaikh al Haj ʿUmar. MS in possession of the author. For the author see, Informant No. 1.
 2. Works that are locally known among Senegalese Tijaniyyah are for example; Ahmed b. Muhammed al-ʿAlawi al-Shingiti, al-Dira wal-mighfar fi al-radi-an al-Shaikh ʿUmar. Ibu Hibit al-Shingiti, Manaqib al-Shaikh ʿUmar. And sections in, Muhammed Ibu Maham al-ʿAlawi, Raud shama'il ahl- al-haqiqa fi al-taʿrif bi akabiri ahl al-tariqa. Also in the enlarged version of the same book attributed to Alfa Hashim b. Ahmed b. Sa'id.
 3. For example:- H. Gaden (traduction) Muhammadou Aliou Tyam, La vie d'El Haj Omar, Qacida en Poular Paris (1935) M. Delafosse, "Traditions historiques et legendaires du Soudan Occidental", Bull. Et. Hist. Sc. AOF (1916).

father Sa'id.¹ His wanderings, in the traditional fashion, in search of more learning, may have taken him to places as far apart as Walata² and Kong.³ But the more or less certain point in Umar's life before the pilgrimage is his association with 'Abdel Karīm b. Muhammed al-Naqil, a renowned scholar of Futa Jallon. Al-Naqil was himself widely travelled and it was while returning from a visit to the Mauritanian Maulūd Fāl that Umar first met him in Futa Toro. Al-Naqil, it is now accepted, was the first initiator of Umar into the Tijaniyya.⁴ From Futa Toro they both went to Futa Jallon which was al-Naqil's home. After a stay of one year and a few months both teacher and student decided to make the pilgrimage.⁵

The date of 1795-6/1210 seems the date most acceptable for the birth of Umar b. Sa'id.⁶ That he made

1. Informant No. I.

2. A. Le Chatelier, L'Islam dans L'Afrique Occidentale (1899) p. 186.

3. J.J. Holden, Note in the Research Review, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Vol. II, No. II, 1966.

4. H. Gaden, op. cit., Introduction. Also see Umar b. Sa'id Rimah hizb al-rahim ala nuhur hizb -al-rajim Vol. I, p. 180 (Cairo AH 1383).

5. Ibid., 'Rimah' Vol. I, p. 181.

6. This is the date Muntaga Tal accepts after having considered the other alternatives. H. Gaden gave 1794 (op. cit., Introduction). Le Chatalier (op. cit., p. 167) gave 1797.

the pilgrimage first in 1828/1243, as will be seen below, fits in with Tyam's assertion that ^CUmar was thirty three when he set out on the pilgrimage.¹ Before setting out ^CUmar had to go back to Futa Toro to obtain his parents' permission, or, as he put it, to obtain provisions for the journey. His brother Ahmed, it is said, was reluctant agreeing to his venture only after making ^CUmar accompany their younger brother ^CAli b. Sa^Cid.² ^CUmar then seemed to have returned to Futa Jallon where he discovered that al-Naqil had already left for Macina. The delay resulting in the disruption of the scheduled joint departure was due, according to ^CUmar's testimony, to the fact that he was taken ill either in Futa Toro or on the road.³ Having discovered al-Naqil's departure he too set out for Macina.

The route which ^CUmar followed does not seem to have passed through Kong as Tyam's work suggested.⁴ According to this and to the translator's note, "...
^CUmar, while in the town of Kangari (near Bougoni), en route to Macina, received a message from al-Naqil". ^CUmar therefore abandoned the road for Macina and took that for

1. H. Gaden, op. cit., p. 5-6.

2. Verbal information by Muntaga - Informant No. 1.

3. ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid, Rimah, Vol. I, p. 180.

4. H. Gaden, op. cit., p. 6.

Kong.¹ Tyam's work consequently omits Macina from the route of the forward journey. It also thus establishes the point that to go to Macina the route through Kong would seem too much of a diversion. Ba and Daget, presumably to fit in the famous tradition of the encounter between 'Umar and the infant grandson of Ahmadu Lobo, the later Ahmadu Ahmadu, with the outline of the route supplied by Tyam, have made 'Umar's visit to Kong follow and not precede, his sejour in Macina.² A route from Macina to Hausaland (Sokoto) would be even more circuitous if it had to take the more southerly direction into Kong. Tyam's omission of Macina is contrary to 'Umar's own account in the Rimah. According to this, the message referred to earlier as having been left by al-Naqil to 'Umar, was delivered to the latter in Macina.³ Having set out with the urgent desire of making the pilgrimage and of catching up with al-Naqil, 'Umar presumably would have headed for

-
1. Ibid., p. 6, Note No. 32. This message was not given in full in the Rimah. Its gist was the good wishes from al-Naqil to 'Umar who was also to proceed alone on the pilgrimage.
 2. A.H. Ba and J. Daget, op. cit., p. 236. This tradition purports that Ahmadu Lobo introduced the infant (Ahmadu Ahmadu) to Haj 'Umar. When the latter touched him the child screamed. This was taken to be a prophecy for the latter events of the defeat and execution of Ahmadu Ahmadu by Haj 'Umar in 1862.
 3. 'Umar b. Sa'id, Rimah, Vol. I, p. 180.

Macina along the shortest possible route, and the most southerly point on that route which he could have passed would be Kankan and not Kong.¹

The original intention of ^cUmar was to go to the Hijaz by taking the route to Fez because 'it is our route and the nearest for us to attain our objective!'² As a Tijani he probably contemplated a visit to the tomb of Ahmed al-Tijani, in Fez. It was in Macina that he realised the impossibility of taking that route and he was therefore forced to chose the 'tariq Sudan' or the route to Hausa. He was reluctant to do so: 'I disliked it as most of the people in it are infidels, Kuffar'.³ Between Macina and Sokoto ^cUmar could very well have followed the route described to Clapperton during his second stay in Sokoto. This route crossed the Niger twice and passed almost in a straight line through Jilgoji and Yaghra to Sokoto.⁴ 'By the grace of God we went along it with much honour and respectability although with a lot of

1. See below pp. 254-70

2. 'Umar b. Sa'id, Tadhkirat al-Gh_hafilin ^can qub_hi ikhtilaf al-mu'minin Arabic MS.

3. Ibid.

4. H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second expedition etc. (1829) Appendix No. 1, pp. 329-333. Also cf. Section Routes and Travel below.

restraint and caution, and whenever we reached one place we heard of another to which we travelled until, with His help, we reached the land of Hausa'.¹ From Hausaland ^CUmar followed the Sudan route through Air and Fezzan into Egypt. It was in Air, according to the Rimah, 'that I heard of the presence in Mecca of my master Muhammed al-Ghali. This filled me with delight and I asked of God to grant me the chance of meeting him. God granted my wishes and made us meet in the honoured Mecca, in the Afternoon in the Mugam Ibrahim'.²

^CUmar's foremost intention was to make the pilgrimage with the least possible delay on the road, and in the shortest possible time. A very strong tradition stresses that he was able to make the pilgrimage at the end of the same year in which he left Futa Toro.³ This is confirmed by the description of his route in the Rimah where hardly any reference is made to events on the road. It is further confirmed in explicit fashion in the Tachkirat al-ghafilin, in the introduction to which ^CUmar tells us:-

When we reached the land of Hausa, we met with its Amir [Muhammed Bello] some of its ^Culama and dignitaries. We found between them and the

1. ^CUmar b. Sa'id, op. cit., Tachkirat al-ghafilin.

2. ^CUmar b. Sa'id, Rimah, Vol. I, p. 180.

3. Informant No. 1.

Amir of Bornu a most violent dispute. This quarrel made us feel extremely sad. We could not speak to the Amir of Hausa about it, nor interfere or mediate, although we have great faith in him and our belief was strong that if we had talked to him concerning reparations between them, he would have helped us.... But we were afraid that if we became involved in that conflict, we might be side-tracked from our original intention and from fulfilling our desire of visiting the Sacred House of God and visiting the master of the two worlds and his brother prophets and messengers.¹

^cUmar's stay in Hausaland was presumably thus fairly short on his forward journey.² If he was able to make the pilgrimage in the same year in which he left Futa, the period of seven months in Hausaland mentioned by Tyam could very well be exaggerated. He made the pilgrimage ⁱⁿ for the first time, /AH 1243. The pilgrimage day for that year corresponded to the 22nd of June 1828 and he would have left Futa about June of the previous year, 1827. On this calculation it is difficult to identify him with 'Hadgi Omer from Foota Tora' whom Clapperton first met in Sokoto on the 7th of November 1826. This identification is not possible also on further grounds.

1. ^cUmar b. Saïd, op. cit., Tadhkirat al-Ghafilin.

2. Shaikh Musa Kamara, Ashha al-Ulūm wa-atyab al-khabar fi sirat al-Shaikh al-Haj Umar. Fonds Mousa Kamara No. 9 IFAN Dakar wrongly attributes the sejour of seven years ^cUmar spent on his return from the pilgrimage in Sokoto, to his forward journey.

Though J. Abun Nasr correctly suggested that ^CUmar arrived in Mecca for the season of 1828, he nonetheless made him leave Futa as early as 1826. Abun Nasr took it for granted that ^CUmar ibn Sa^Cid and the "Omer" whom Clapperton met were one and the same person. The reasoning he advanced was however faulty in many respects. According to Abun Nasr:-

In the entry in his diary for 7 Nov. [1826], the English traveller Hugh Clapperton, writing in Sokoto, says: 'In the afternoon I was visited by three Fellatas, Hadg Omer from Foota Tora...', and that 'The Hadji had just returned from Mecca, and wished to go there again...' As Clapperton also mentions that Hajj ^CUmar was coming from Ségou, which was on his way to Sokoto not from Mecca but to it, it seems possible to assume that Clapperton interpreted the fact that ^CUmar was already called Hajj (a title which is sometimes given to people on their way to Mecca) to mean that he had just come from Mecca. All other evidence available suggests that Hajj ^CUmar went on the pilgrimage only once, and in view of the inconsistency in Clapperton's own account, it does not seem possible to accept the implications that he had done so before 1826.¹

Clapperton did not in fact say that "Omer" was coming from Segou; his informants, on that town and the route to Macina were other pilgrims and not "Omer".² Although Abun Nasr made the interesting suggestion that occasionally people going on the pilgrimage could be called Hāj before making

1. J. Abun Nasr, The Tijaniyya (1965) p. 106 Note 14.

2. See quote below p. 207

the pilgrimage, Clapperton does not seem to have fallen in any confusion in that respect. His reference to the pilgrimage was clear, 'the Hadj' he told us, 'had just returned from Mecca and wished to go there again if he got an opportunity'. This pilgrim had also informed Clapperton of the route which he had followed from Mecca and which the traveller himself had hoped to follow out of the Sudan, through Adamawa, Bagirmi and Wadai. His information was apparently first-hand when he told Clapperton that:-

the Sultan of Baghermi and his subjects had been driven into the mountains to the south of that kingdom by the Sheikh el Kanemi, there was no passing through that country as it was now only inhabited by wandering Arabs, who plunder all that falls into their hands, otherwise it was the best road to the east from Adamawa by the way of Baghermi.¹

This is further confirmed by the entry in Clapperton's journal on the 14th of Dec. 1826:-

I today employed Hadji Omer and Mallam Mohammed, the latter to give me a route noting the northernning and southernning of the road between Massina, the country in which he was born, to Soccattoo; the other who has just returned from Mecca, to give me an account between this and Sennar, with the description of the countries, towns and rivers; his route is from Kano to Adamawa, Bahgermi, Runga, Kaffins, Darfur and Kordufan²

1. H. Clapperton, op. cit., p. 203.

2. Ibid., pp. 229-230.

There is thus no apparent inconsistency in Clapperton's account; whereas the person he had met was already a pilgrim^c Umar was only, possibly, on his way to Hausaland, and whereas Clapperton's "Omer" clearly went to the pilgrimage through Sennar and the Nile, ^cUmar b. Sa'id went through Air and returned, as shall be seen, through Fezzan and Bornu. Abun Nasr's identification of Clapperton's "Omer" with ^cUmar b. Sa'id, given Abun Nasr's evident awareness of the statements of the Rimah, resulted in assigning to ^cUmar an altogether non-existent route, 'by way of the Tuareq territory, the Fezzan (sic) and the Egyptian Sudan (sic)'.¹

^cUmar in the Middle East.

In this biographical work Tyam has given a broad outline of the movements of Haj ^cUmar in the Middle East. Tyam however gave no dates, and his outline spoke of three consecutive pilgrimages after the second of which Haj ^cUmar went to Cairo, to leave his family there while he himself went to Sham, probably Jerusalem, to visit the Masjid al-aqsa.² The more important sources on this period of ^cUmar's life are his own works. From these

1. J. Abun Nasr, op. cit., p. 107.

2. H. Gaden, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

it should be possible to reconstruct the time-table of these movements.

According to Muntaqa Tal¹ Umar's host in Cairo was a certain Muhammad al-Maghribi. The story goes that Umar had, for unspecified reasons, got into financial difficulty while in Egypt and that his attention was drawn to Wakil al-Maghariba, possibly the person in charge of the affairs of Moroccan pilgrims, whose name was Muhammad al-Maghribi. This man was greatly impressed with Umar's intelligence and the extent of his knowledge; Umar had various encounters with some of the Cairo Scholars brought to him especially by al-Maghribi to test his quality. Al-Maghribi then provided for all the needs of Umar, and his family, and his brother Ali.

The seeking out of Muhammed al-Ghali was probably Umar's immediate task on his arrival in Mecca for the ceremonies. The following passage from the Rimah relates to his subsequent relationship with Muhammed al-Ghali:-

I met him [Muhammed al-Ghali] in the honourable Mecca, in the afternoon in Muqam Ibrahim. We conversed for a little while, he was glad to see me and respected me for my honesty. He presented me with a [copy of] Jawahir al-Ma^cani, which I still possess, so that I might look into it. I stayed with him until we finished performing the ceremonies. After they were over I departed with him to al-Madina. We

entered Madina in the first day of Muharram [14th July 1828]. I spent that year with him in Mujawara, [in Madinal]. I gave everything up for him, myself and all my possessions. I let myself to be guided by him and I stayed in his service for the duration of three years in the ninth month of the first year which was Ramadan I said to him while we were in the Prophet's mosque, 'Witness to me that I have seen you' and he replied, 'I witness that I have seen you'.¹

The story that follows concerns a prophecy relating to al-Shaikh al-Tha ^Calibi, the gist of which was that whoever saw al-Tha ^Calibi in person or saw another person who had seen him, with a progression to the seventh (or the twelfth) person, would enter paradise. Ahmed al-Tijani, according to the story, was fourth in the line of those who saw al-Tha ^Calibi in person or saw another person who had seen him. Al-Ghali who had seen al-Tijani, was fifth and consequently, by making the latter a witness, ^CUmar claimed for himself a sixth position in the transmission. The account of the Rimah then resumes:-

.... Then I continued with my master Muhammed al-Ghali in Madina until God by his generosity caused our Shaikh Ahmed al-Tijani (God be pleased with him) to intervene. He said to our master Muhammed al-Ghali, 'I give to Shaikh ^CUmar all that is needed of the azkar, and asrar [of the Tijaniyya]. Your job is to convey them to him'. That is why, if you like, you can say I took it [the Tijani wird] from al-Shaikh al-Tijani himself.²

1. ^CUmar b. Sa'id, Rimah, Vol. I. pp. 181-182.

2. Ibid.

The vision of Ahmed al-Tijani was the signal to al-Ghali that ^CUmar had received enough instruction and that he was entitled to the ijaza, [Lit. Certificate] of authority. But before that was done both ^CUmar and al-Ghali returned to Mecca for the pilgrimage. The ijaza was finally signed by al-Ghali after the ceremonies were over and as it appears in the Rimah it bears the date of Monday the 22nd of Dhi-l-Hijja of the year مرشر [AH 1244]. This, as was clear from the narrative above, was ^CUmar's second pilgrimage, the season for which corresponds to June of 1829/ Dhi-l-Hija 1244.¹ His first pilgrimage was therefore made the previous year 1828. In the intervening period, which he spent together with Muhammed al-Ghali in residence in Madina, ^CUmar wrote a poem entitled Tadhkirat al-Mustarshidin. The poem was 'completed in al-Madina, the 4th of Shawal 1244/9th April 1829.²

Having obtained the ijaza ^CUmar intended to make the visit to Jerusalem. Before doing so he returned to Cairo where he left his family.³ He stayed in Cairo at least until January of 1830: an inscription in ^CUmar's

1. ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid, Rimah, Vol. I, p. 184.

2. ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid, Tadhkirat al-Mustarshidin wafalah al-talibin. (Poem). Unpublished Arabic MS.

3. H. Gaden, op. cit., "Qacida" p. 11.

own handwriting on a copy of Tafsir al-Khazin refers to the completion of that book 'in Cairo in the night of Sunday 14th Rajab of 1245' 9th January 1830.¹ ^cUmar's visit to Jerusalem must therefore have been accomplished between January and June of 1830, for June was the time of the pilgrimage, which ^cUmar again attended, his third and last pilgrimage. The appointment to the office of Khalifa of the Tijaniyya probably took place in the last period in the Hijaz where, to complete his own figure of three years with al-Ghali,² ^cUmar must have stayed for another six months or so after his last pilgrimage. The Ijaza however does not refer to the appointment. There is unfortunately so far no clue to date his final departure from the Hijaz, the length of his stay in Cairo for the last time, or the time of his departure and arrival in Bornu.³

^cUmar in Bornu.

In the introduction to Tadhkirat al-Ghafilin, ^cUmar told us how he was distressed about the violent

1. ^cAla' al-din ^cAli b. Muhammed al-Khazin, Lubab al-ta'wil fi ma^cani al tanzil. In the possession of Muntaqa Tal, (Informant No. 1).

2. ^cUmar b. Sa'id, Rimah, Vol. I, p. 181.

3. See Appendix V.

dispute between the Amir of Hausa, Bello, and the Amir of Bornu, al-Kanemi. He had deemed it wise on his forward journey not to intervene for fear that this might cause his delay or the abandoning of his pilgrimage. He also made clear his intention of attempting to bring about a reconciliation as soon as he had completed his original objective of pilgrimage:-

When God had favoured us with accomplishing what we desired and while we were on our way back, we heard in the land of Fezzan that that dispute was still raging. On learning of this we determined to complete what we originally desired, to bring about a reconciliation. More qualified men than myself had tried, but failed, so much that people began to believe that such a reconciliation was impossible altogether.¹

The poem was composed 'between the town of Tajra in Fezzan and the land of Tubu, under extremely rigorous conditions'; 'Umar's brother and his wife were ill, 'and I wrote every letter of it while walking on foot in a wilderness in which nothing is to be seen but sand.'² There was no date affixed to the poem, but if 'Umar's last pilgrimage took place in June of 1830, and allowing a year for periods of stay in the Hijaz and Cairo, his arrival in Bornu was possibly not later than the same time or the end of the

1. 'Umar b. Sa'id, op. cit., Tadhkirat al-Ghafilin.

2. Ibid.

following year 1831.¹

Before entering Kukawa, where he presumably met Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi, ^CUmar had despatched a poem in which he announced his arrival and praised al-Kanemi. The poem, consisting of sixty-two verses was mainly the enumeration of the different attributes the author had heard of al-Kanemi. The poem seems to have been sent to al-Kanemi together with the books which ^CUmar had acquired abroad and also his family. For a considerable section of the poem is a list of the subjects, of different branches of knowledge of which this library consisted.²

The account of the Rimah on the encounter with al-Kanemi, here called sultan of Bornu and not by name, is curious: it seems an unexpected result, from the evidence available before it. 'When we arrived in the land of Bornu' ^CUmar tells us, 'a violent dispute occurred between us and its Sultan and he tried to kill us'. The account refers to three attempts on ^CUmar's life instigated by the Sultan, in all of which the personal intervention of

1. J. Abun-Nasr's date [op. cit., p. 108] of 1833 makes ^CUmar spend the period of five years on the pilgrimage. Also see Appendix V.

2. ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid, Qasida fi madh Shaikh Muhammed al-Amin. Bornu N.A. Lib. (Maidugary) No. 33. *Also see*

Ahmed al-Tijani, in visions appearing before the would-be assassins, was to save ^CUmar's life.¹ ^CUmar did not himself say what the conflict and dispute were about, and we are only left to speculate about possible reasons.

The first of these possibilities was the Kanemi-Bello dispute of which ^CUmar spoke, and which according to the evidence so far available, one-sided as it is, may have been the sole reason for ^CUmar's entry into Bornu.² This dispute had started with the early years of the Jihad, with the attempt of the Fulani of Bornu to rise under the banner of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. The invitation to al-Kanemi to assume power had saved the Saifawa line. But al-Kanemi was also a renowned Muslim Scholar in his own right and his entry into the picture brought about the intellectual controversy over the basis of Uthman Dan Fodio's movement; the crucial question was how to define a Muslim. This challenge on the doctrinal level as was briefly pointed out earlier, was a stimulus to literary activity by the Fulani, and hence indirectly to a series of counter-charges made by al-Kanemi himself.³ The conflict had grown from a local affair to an international

1. ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid, Rimah, Vol. I, pp. 189-190.

2. See above quote p. 213

3. See above pp. 150-1

one, since both al-Kanemi and the Fulani hinted at inviting outside Muslim opinion to arbitrate.¹ However, by the time ^CUmar came to Bornu, not only had the major military clashes ceased but the doctrinal struggle and the attitudes of both parties had greatly solidified. This was perhaps added to by the fact that it was now Muhammed Bello, for whom al-Kanemi did not have as much respect as he had for his father Uthman,² that was the leader of Sokoto. It is possible that ^CUmar not only tried to revive the intensity of the initial years of the doctrinal conflict, but he may also, because of previous attachment to Bello during his forward journey, have shown signs of favouring Bello's side as well.

There is also however another possibility; that of ^CUmar's activity as a Tijani probagandist. This is suggested solely by the evidence of ^a/'silsila', chain of authority, allegedly given by ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid to Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Mai Ali, the authenticity of which is discussed in the appendix.³ The significance of the silsila lies in the fact that the person for whom it was written was a descendent of the Saifawa, a great grandson of Mai Ali

1. Muhammed Bello, Infaq (Cairo 1964) pp. 174, 184.

2. Ibid., p. 185.

3. Cf. Appendix No. V.

b. ^cUmar. It is possible to assume that al-Kanemi saw in ^cUmar's Tijani activity, especially when it tried to recruit the members of the line which he had already practically stripped of power, an element of subversion which al-Kanemi was not prepared to tolerate. Hence his attempt to get rid of ^cUmar in the quickest possible time.

The Bornu episode, it is relevant to conclude here, is mentioned in the Rimah in the chapter which deals with and proves ^cUmar's select status.¹ It was mentioned as one of his karamat that he managed to avoid the guile of the Sultan of Bornu. Consequently it is often related by ^cUmar's followers as such, and this greatly clouds the possibilities of an impartial inquiry. The Rimah had however also said that the people of Bornu repented when they saw that ^cUmar was preparing to leave in anger.² Traditions add that after having realised their mistake, the people of Bornu sent ^cUmar some presents while he was in Hausaland. Among these was his wife Hawa who bore him three sons, Muhammed al-Makki, Sa^cid and al-^cAqib. Extreme devotees say that Hawa was the daughter of the Sultan of Bornu, while more stable opinion agrees that

1. ^cUmar b. Sa^cid, Rimah, Vol. I, pp. 184-195. Chapter twenty nine on the verbal appointment of ^cUmar by Muhammed al-Ghali as Khalifa of the Tijaniyya.

2. ^cUmar b. Sa^cid, Rimah, Vol. I, p. 190.

she was a daughter of one of the nobles.¹

Umar in Hausaland

After his unsuccessful encounter with al-Kanemi, Umar possibly made immediately for Sokoto. His arrival there has still to be fixed. Al-Haj Sa'id, author of Tarikh Sokoto, tells us that Umar arrived in Kano a little before the campaign of Bawbushi in Kebbe, that he had left his family in Kano and came to see Muhammed Bello by himself, and that Bello had given him a gift of five hundred thousand cowries.² No date has yet been fixed for this campaign.³ The tradition reported by Ba and Daget that Bello had accorded Umar a cold reception⁴ is refuted by available evidence. For, immediately after his return from the east Umar sat in the capacity of judge at the court of Sokoto. According to al-Haj Sa'id,

1. Information supplied by Muntaga Tal, (Informant No. 1).

2. al-Haj Sa'id, Tarikh Sokoto, p. 191. O. Houdas, Tafkirat al-Hajj.

3. Orally, according to Murry Last.

4. A.H. Ba and J. Daget, op. cit., p. 243. Relate a tradition that Shehu 'Uthman had cautioned his son Bello against a visitor who will come from the East, i.e. Umar, with whom Bello was to be on his guard. Another visitor who will come from the West, i.e. al-Bakai was however to be accorded respect and hospitality.

'after his [i.e. Bello] return from the campaign of Bawbūshi, adultresses were brought in front of him. Shaikh ^CUmar, the Imam of the mosque, Khalil b. ^CAbdullahi and many of the ^Culama condemned them to be stoned'.¹ If, also, ^CUmar's quarrel with al-Kanemi was in whole or in part concerned with the conflict between Bello and the latter, this would have furnished ground for a friendly attitude.

It was during this second visit to Sokoto that ^CUmar spent his longest time in Hausaland. He was still there when Muhammed Bello was taken ill; according to Hāj Sa^Cid ^CUmar saw Bello last in the night before his death (October 1837).² He also stayed after the event since his wife, daughter of Bello, died in January of 1838 while he was still in Hausa.³ This is further confirmed by Hāj Sa^Cid who tells us that ^CUmar's departure to the west took place in the first year of Abu Bakr Atiqu's reign,⁴ probably at the end of 1838. With no date as yet fixed for his arrival his stay in Sokoto cannot be

1. al-Haj Sa'id, op. cit., p. 191.

2. Ibid., p. 198.

3. ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid, Rimah, Vol. I, p. 190. Where the date Dhi-Qa'ida of the year 1253 AH which is equivalent to January 1838, is given.

4. al-Hāj Sa^Cid, op. cit., p. 202.

accurately given. The period of seven years suggested by Tyam would not altogether be disproportionate.¹ The question arises: how did ^CUmar spend this time?

Available evidence on ^CUmar's activity in this period is not conclusive. There is however room for speculation on the evidence of fragmented pieces of information. The attraction which Sokoto may have had for ^CUmar was probably the most important reason for his prolonged stay there. The careers of the leaders of the Jihad, as well as their success in establishing a reformed Muslim community, would appeal to the newly fired enthusiasm of a young and intelligent pilgrim just returning from Mecca. The Caliphate also offered for the devout the chance of taking part in the jihad, the highest rewarded act of worship in Islam. ^CUmar's participation in the campaigns of the Caliphate extended both in the reigns of Bello and Atiqu and became remembered by the miracles, Karamat of providing water for the armies in cases of extreme need.²

^CUmar's Tijani activity was not, it seems, in any way curbed by Bello. The evidence for this is largely circumstantial. For example some of his later lieutenants

1. H. Gaden, op. cit., p. 19.

2. al-Haj Sa'id, op. cit., p. 192 and p. 202.

bore Hausa attributions like ^cUmar al Hausi and ^cAbdullahi al-Hausi. Al-Haj Sa^cid himself, it has been suggested, was originally a Qadiri and was converted to the Tijaniyya in Sokoto by ^cUmar.¹ Further examination of the salasil of different Tijani communities may also throw light on this side of ^cUmar's activity.² The evidence for the conversion of Bello himself to the Tijaniyya is not conclusive either way. The Tijani case as well as the Qadiri case both offer much ground that need further examination.³ Whereas the various references which Bello

-
1. Al-Haj Sa^cid the supposed author of Tarikh Sokoto, see Note by D.M. Last. Bull. I.C. CAD, Ibadan Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 38.
 2. For example the Tijani Silsila of Muhammed al-Mahili the Imam of Ibadan (informant No. 28). This traces back the initiation to ^cUmar al-Futi, through Muhammed al-Raji, Habib, Atari, Muhammed al-^cAbid and Harun. According to M. Last (orally), Muhammed al-Raji was converted to the Tijaniyya in c. 1830 at a time when he was resident in Gwandu. Harun was a known Yoruba Tijani and although the others could not be easily identified, it seems possible to suggest that this was one of the Salasil given by ^cUmar while in Hausa.
 3. The literature on this subject is richer than seems to be known at present. The major works that could throw further light are:- Alfa Hashim b. Ahmed b. Sa'id. Rawd al-Shama'il (Chapters on Haj ^cUmar and Ahmed b. Said). Muhammed al-Wali, Mablagh al-'amani fi bian ^cUmar al-awlia wa-Ahmed al-Tijani, Poem Kaduna Arabic MS Kat. prof. No. 5. (Poem attributed to) Muhammed Bello b. Uthman, Tahqib al-muribin Ibadan Lib. 82/343

Footnote cont. on next page

made to Tijani Manuels and to Ahmed al-Tijani¹ suggest at least his recognition of the sainthood of al-Tijani, it is difficult to visualise that with the standing of Bello, both as the leading Qadiri and the Amir al-Mu'minin of a state that was nourished in Qadiri allegiance, could have converted to the Tijaniyya without considering the serious consequences this would have had on the state.²

Further discussion of 'Umar's pilgrimage in so far as it had affected pilgrimage traditions is given in

Footnote 3 contd. from previous page.

Gidado dan Lima, Kashf al-Niqab wa rafa^c al-hijab. Ibadan/Lib. (82/257). Abdel Qadir b. Gidado, al-Mawahib al-rabbaniyya fi tahqiq al-tariqa al-qadirriyya. Also see M. Last, op. cit., (1968) Note 161 p. 216.

1. These references occur in, for example Muhammed Bello Miftah al-Sadad fi dhikr al-awhia'al-Khawas al-awtad Ibadan/Lib. (82/77). Hiliat al-Basa'ir fi al-ahkam allazimah ala al musafir, Ibadan/Lib. (82/256). Rafa al -Ishtibah fi al-Ta^c luq billah wa-biahli-Allah Ibadan/Lib. (82/258).
2. On the whole the statement by J. Abun Nasr that the conversion of Bello 'was more or less certain' (op. cit., p. 108), seems to have only considered the Tijani traditions. Also see J. Willis's review of Abun-Nasr's book in Bulletin CAD, Vol. 2. No. 1, 1966.

the last part of this study.¹ Of the dynasty he founded, short-lived as it was, no other made the pilgrimage. His son and successor Ahmed al-Kabir attempted to do so in flight from the French but died in Hausaland.² An important member of the family who with others had managed to escape to the Hijaz was Alfa Hashim b. Ahmed b. Saïd a leading Tijani who settled in Madina where he died in 1930.

1. Cf. Part III, pp. 299ff.

2. See below pp. 239-41

iii. THE SHEHUS OF BORNU.

The outline of the pilgrimage of the Saifawa Mais, given in the first part of this study, showed that the tradition of pilgrimage in the line was a continuous one from the times of the earliest Muslim Mais to the middle of the eighteenth century. Bornu had thus kept alive the ^{tradition of} royal pilgrimage from West Africa which, because of the disruptions of the end of the sixteenth century, was discontinued in the western Sudan.¹ Such a tradition possibly never existed in Hausaland.² By the second half of the eighteenth century the Saifawa entered a phase of decline. This was augmented by the jihad outbreaks at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The conflict had resulted in the invitation of the Mai to Shehu Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi, and a period of political impotence for the Saifawa started, to end with the final abolition of the line by al-Kanemi's son, Shehu Umar, in 1846.

Very little is known of the life of Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi before his accession to power. His family seems to have been well-reputed for Muslim learning, and had trading contacts with the Fezzan. His father,

1. See above pp. 115-120

2. See above pp. 136-140

Muhammed al-Kanemi died in residence in Madina in 1790/1205.¹ We also know very little on the pilgrimage or pilgrimages of Muhammed al-Amin himself except that they preceded his being called to power. During his tenure of office (1808 - 1837) he did not make a pilgrimage, although from a letter addressed to 'our sister Ruqayya and daughter khadija' he seems to have kept up the desire of making another pilgrimage. The letter also reveals the high place the pilgrimage and the Holy Places occupied in the mind of Muhammed al-Amin:-

... afterwards .. know that the pleasures and luxuries of this world are but short dreams by which only the indolent and the vulgar are fascinated. In my eyes they are worth little. There is little more desirable to myself than to abandon the glamour [of this world] and all that which other men consider worthwhile and tempting. I cannot find a means to do that. This year I am sending, with the messenger I mentioned, two or three of the boys [sons] to the honoured Madina to study in the neighbourhood of the Prophet, prayer and greetings on him. And, if God makes it easy for me to catch up with them, that will be my desire. Otherwise, I shall have extricated some of my descendants from the Sudan the land of darkness to the land of Islam, the land of light.²

The letter goes on to say that the only deterrent stopping

1. Anonymous Ms entitled Tarikh Shaikh Muhammed al-Amin BormuNative Authority Library, Maidugary, No. 52.

2. Ibid., No. 54.

him from taking permanent residence in the holy places was the fear of what might happen if he quit the country for he deemed it his duty to supervise affairs. It was only the ultimate hope that one day he might find the chance of leaving that was comforting him in his task. This letter is unfortunately undated.

The history of the dynasty after Muhammed al-Amin is dominated by the long reign of his son Shehu Umar (reg. 1837-1880). Shehu Umar did not himself make the pilgrimage, although Barth twice mentioned the Shehu's intention of doing so. The first attempt seemed imminent: 'the Shehu was about to undertake a pilgrimage to Mekka; but unfortunately, though that was the heart's desire of this mild and pious man, he could not well carry it out into execution'.¹ The second was less so, for on the departure of Barth for Timbuctu (November 1852) he tells us that 'the Shaikh who had formed the desire of undertaking a journey to Mekka, wanted me to procure him some gold from Timbuctu; but uncertain as were my prospects and difficult as would be my situation, I could not guarantee such a result, which my character as a messenger of the British government would scarcely allow'.² A possible

1. H. Barth, Travels (1857) Vol. 2, p. 201.

2. H. Barth, Travels (1965) Vol. iii, p. 20.

explanation for the Shehu's inaction this last time could be the troubles which broke out in Bornu in the traveller's absence, ending with the deaths of the wazir Hāj Bashir and the Shehu's brother, 'Abdel Rahman.

Hāj Bashir himself, according to Barth, made the pilgrimage in 1843.¹ He is said to have conveyed a present from the Shehu to the Holy Places in Mecca.² A strong tradition in Bornu relates that Hāj Bashir was also accompanied by a slave of Shehu Umar, Hāj Bazam, whom Umar sent to deputise in the pilgrimage on his behalf. An interesting story of this tradition is that Bazam is said to have wrapped up his right hand after performing the ceremonies and only unwrapped it again to greet Shehu Umar, and thus directly convey to him the blessings of his touch of the sacred places.³ Although the tradition strongly stresses that Bazam and Hāj Bashir went on the pilgrimage together in the same year this seems doubtful. Gaden says that Bazam went some years after Hāj Bashir and was also entrusted with a present to the holy places;

1. H. Barth, Travels (1965) Vol. ii, p. 40.

2. H. Gaden, "les etats musulmans de l'Afrique centrale et leurs rapports avec la Mecque et Constantinople" Vol. 24 (Paris Oct. 1907) of Questions diplomatiques et Coloniales.

3. A widely known story in Maidugary confirmed by Informants No. 36 and 38.

the two presents, this and that of Hāj Bashir earlier, constituting all the known gifts from Bornu in the century.¹ It is also however possible to suggest that Bazam went before Hāj Bashir and specifically before 1837/1252. This is so because a letter, addressed to Bazam and carrying the seal of Shehu Umar and the above date refers to Bazam as 'the glorious knight, our son al-Hāj Bazam' congratulating him on his success on a campaign.²

Between the death of Shehu Umar and the temporary overthrow of the dynasty by Rabeh (1893), four Shehus succeeded, none of whom is known to have made the pilgrimage. The story of the deputation of Bazam by Shehu Umar is also repeated of Shehu Abu Bakr (Garbay) who was restored by the French and ruled between 1901-1922.³ Garbai had sent a slave by the name of Abu Bakr Malumi who is also said to have wrapped up his hand until he returned.⁴ The only Shehu of Bornu to make the pilgrimage in person after Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi, it is also said in Bornu, is the present Shehu Umar Sanda, whose reign started in 1922 and who performed a pilgrimage in 1961.

1. H. Gaden, op. cit.

2. Ms in possession of Shettima Muhammed Salih of Maidugary Informant No. 40.

3. See facsimile of travel document etc., Appendix IV.

4. Informants 36 and 38.

5. THE MULTIPLE MOTIVES FOR HIJRA AND PILGRIMAGE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The above survey has shown a) that the successes of the Jihads did not necessarily entail official policies favourable to the pilgrimage and b) that the tradition of pilgrimage was almost lacking in the major dynasties of the nineteenth century, ^cUmar b. Sa'id and Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi being exceptions. The influence of these negative facts on the performance of the ordinary West African Muslim should however not be exaggerated. Pilgrimage is an individual decision taken independantly, in which established authority can have little or no say. The official attitudes represent only one side of the picture. Apart from oral information and the fragmentary records we have unfortunately no clues to the size of the pilgrimage traffic and the prevalence of pilgrimage practice among the ordinary Muslims. It is safe, however, to assume that at any given time there had been pilgrims on the move either on their way to Mecca or back from it. This will be apparent in the section on routes and travel.¹

The movement of West African peoples eastwards has been affected in different degrees and at different

1. See below pp. 252ff.

times by impelling concepts like legendary beliefs,¹ doctrinal convictions or historical occurrences of a political significance.² The basic fascination of the East for West African Muslims has been the presence in that direction of the original homelands of Islam and the Holy Places of that religion. But how can an element of pilgrimage be extricated from other driving motives? It is possible however to start from the assumption that, since it is the desire of all Muslims to make the pilgrimage in compliance with the laws of their religion, such legendary

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1. For example that the Fulani migrations eastwards from the region of the Futas were in part due to the belief that they were eventually going to regain their original homelands in the east. For a brief exposition of this see:- C. Vicars Boyle, "Historical Notes on the Yola Fulanis", J.A.S. Vol. X, 1910-11, p. 73. References to early Fulani Settlements in Darfur occur in M. al-Tunisi, Voyage au Darfur, (1850) esp. pp. 62, 152-3. Also see J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia (1822) p. 437, about the presence in al-Obeid of a King of the Takayrne - Mak-al-Takarna - a native of Bornu, "whose jurisdiction extends over all the foreign traders, from whom he levies a tribute".
 2. The European occupation to be discussed below was by no means the only factor of a political nature inductive to migration. Messrs. G.J. Tomlinson and G.J. Letham found that "the earliest settlements in the Sudan are of Bornu origin and illustrate very clearly the migration of small groups due to political events in the West". The Fulani invasion of Bornu (1808) and the suppression of the Saifawa dynasty (1846) were found to have been among the reasons why many from Bornu fled and settled in the Sudan. G.J.F. Letham and G.J. Tomlinson, A History of Islamic Propaganda in Nigeria, (1927). Confidential Reports. (Copy in Ibadan Library).

or political factors as the above acted as additional incentives to pilgrimage. Discussion here will be restricted to two major factors in which a pilgrimage element can be clearly discerned and which were responsible during the nineteenth century for the movement of considerable numbers of West African peoples eastwards under the general impulse of Hijra. These were first, the belief in the near appearance of a Mahdi, and second, the European occupation of West Africa.

i. The Mahdiyya.

The nineteenth century, coinciding roughly with the thirteenth century of the Hijra (1784-1883), had been signalled out by some early Muslim writers as the time in which the world was expected to end. The event was to be heralded by the appearance of the Mahdi.¹ The belief was not only current in West Africa but was also known in the Middle East; according to ^CUmar b. Sa^Cid

1. M.A. Al-Hajj, "Hayatu bi Sa^Cid - A Mahdist revolutionary agent in the Western Sudan". Paper read at the International Conference "The Sudan in Africa" University of Khartoum, Feb. 1968 (forthcoming). According to this the origins of this belief can be traced to ^CAbdel Rahman al-Siuti (d. 1505) who was widely read in West Africa. Al-Siuti had fixed two alternative dates for the Mahdi's manifestations, 1200 (1785-6) and 1204 (1789-90). See also, H.F.C. Smith, op. cit., "Neglected Theme"

the reason why Muhammed al-Ghali had taken residence in Madina was his hope that when the Mahdi appeared al-Ghali would be favoured by giving him the Tijani wird.¹ In West Africa the prophecy of the appearance of the Mahdi in the thirteenth century is considered 'one of the factors which gave rise to the Fulani Jihad in Hausaland'.² As was related earlier Shehu Uthman had denied that he himself was the Mahdi.³ He had however also confirmed and strengthened the spirit of expectation. The Jihad in Hausaland, the Shehu had said, will not end until it leads to the Mahdi.⁴ An important aspect of Shehu's teachings on the subject had been the envisaged mass hijra by the whole community to meet him.⁵

The relationship between Mahdist expectations and the pilgrimage seems simply to have been this; when the Mahdi did appear and the world was to draw to a close it was better for Muslims either to meet him, or, if not to await his appearance in the east. The episodes of Sharif al-Din and Mallam Yamusa are significant in that

1. 'Umar b. Sa'id, Rimah, Vol. II, p. 44

2. M.A. Al-Hajj, op. cit., (1968).

3. See above, quote p. 195

4. Muhammed Bello, Infraq al-Maisūr (1957) p. 105.

5. See above pp. 194-7

they demonstrate this relationship. The latter also illustrates the attitude of Sokoto to occasional Mahdist agitation.

Considering the spirit of expectation at the time and the authority of a document in which Sharif al-Din was named as one of three Imams that were to prepare people for the coming of the Mahdi there seems little doubt that Mahdism was a major motivating force behind his call to the pilgrimage.¹ For according to Nachtigal Sharif al-Din, known alternatively as Mallam Dubaba and Abu Sha'ir, passed through Bornu at the end of 1856 or the beginning of 1857 with the declared intention of making a pilgrimage. His reputation as a holy man preceded him and his summons to people to accompany him on the pilgrimage attracted a great following. 'He moved forward slowly to give families time to arrange the separation from their tribes and to settle their business and other affairs and to provide themselves with means for the journey'. The Bornu authorities were annoyed with the activities of Sharif al-Din but Shehu Umar would not suffer his maltreatment, and he was allowed to pass with his

1. B.G. Martin, 'A Mahdist document from Futa Jallon', Bull. I.F.A.N., T. XXV, Sér., B, Nos. 1-2, 1963. The other two were 'Umar b. Sa'id al-Futi and 'Abdel Baqi 'Arabi the latter of whom the author was unable to identify.

following through Bornu. By the time he arrived in Logone, Sharif al-Din's band of followers 'included some thousands' of fighting men'. M'bang Abdel-Rahman of Bagirmi first hoped to persuade him to by-pass his territory, and offered to pay the presents due to a pious man intending to fulfill a religious goal. Sharif al-Din refused the offer and crossed the Shari into Bogoman district where he settled for some time. 'Arabs, Fulani and Bagirmi joined him, leaving their domestic hearths to win paradise as followers of the holy man'. Abdel Rahman finally decided to disband the intending pilgrims by force. In the ensuing battle he lost his life, and Sharif al-Din continued his march. But 'his endeavour to establish discipline among the unruly hosts by the adoption of harsh measures had already forced some of his followers to retract their steps'. 'Sharif al-Din himself was killed in Bua district by local people. Some of his followers continued their route and eventually arrived in Mecca. Others decided to return, and some of these on their passage through Bagrimi became the object of the revenge of Abdel Rahman's son and successor Muhammed for which he was nicknamed 'Abu Sikin', i.e. father of the knife.¹

1. G. Nactigal, Sahara und Sudan, Vol II, pp. 719-723. B.G, Martin, op. cit. Descendents of Sharif al-Din were reported by Lethem and Tomlinson as living in the Sudan. Op. cit., p. 26

Within the Sokoto Caliphate there was naturally conflict, as the century rolled on, as to the arrival of the time of the hijra. The entrenched Caliphate was weary of the rise of occasional leaders declaring that the time of the hijra had arrived and mustering followings for that purpose. A letter attributed to Miriam bint Uthman b. Fudi expresses the attitude of the Caliphate to such happenings and also reflects the expectancy at the time. The letter was written to the Amir of Kano, who had complained that a scare had seized some of the people who were preparing to make the hijra to the east. She wrote:-

Know that these people are misguided and intend to misguide you. What they allege is a lie. There is still much good left in us, mazal fina baqiatu-khair, despite their allegations.

She also went to say that her father had indeed said there was to be a hijra, that he had disclosed the route this hijra was to follow, but that he did not specify the time.¹ The stiff attitude of the Caliphate to such agitators is exemplified in the case of Mallam Yamusa.

1. Document in the possession of M.A. Al-Hajj, Abdulla Bayero College, Kano, Nigeria. Also produced with the proposed route of the Hijra in D.J. Muffett, Concerning Brave Captains, A history of Lord Lugard's Conquest of Hausaland (1964). Frontispiece and p. 147.

Malam Yamusa of Dutsi in Kano Emirate had about 1878 collected a following and announced that his sole object was to go to Mecca. As he moved eastwards a host of people began to flock round him, leaving their homes and exciting others to do the same. His movement caused alarm in the eastern emirates. 'The Emirs of Hadija, Missau and Shira acting together succeeded in disbanding Yamusa's following'. He himself was captured and sent to Sokoto, whence he was exiled to Bauchi.¹

According to one hypothesis the rise of a Mahdi in the Nile was itself associated with the expectations in West Africa.² The appearance of Muhammed Ahmed al-Mahdi in the Egyptian Sudan no doubt gave some substance to expectations. That he appeared on the Nile and not in Mecca is important for this study; it clarified the entangled relationship between the Mahdiyya and the pilgrimage. As

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1. J.M. Fremantle, "A History of the Region Comprising the Katagum Division of Kano Province". JAS, Vol X, July 1911, p. 417.
 2. S. Biobaku and M. Al-Hajj, The Sudanese Mahdiyya and the Niger-Chad Region in I.M. Lewis, Islam in Tropical Africa (1966) pp. 425-442. Briefly this hypothesis contends that the family of Khalifa Abdullahi was originally from the West and that he himself was brought up in an atmosphere laden with Mahdist expectation. That Khalifa Abdullahi later met Muhammed Ahmed and convinced him that he was the expected Mahdi.

long as there was no declared Mahdi in the East, the element of pilgrimage prevailed in the groups that in the previous years travelled eastwards. The appearance of the Mahdi gave, to those who accepted his call, a definite objective; they now did not need to travel beyond Umdurman, the Mahdi's capital.

The Mahdi and his successor al-Khalifa 'Abdullahi had paid special attention to winning the western countries.¹ While the Sokoto Caliphs flatly rejected the call of the Sudanese Mahdiyya, its cause was in the end championed by a dissident member of the family, Hayatu b. Sa'id b. Muhammed Bello.² Hayatu had been since 1874 living in his own colony of devotees which he established in the Emirate of Adamawa. The Mahdi had written to him appointing him as his 'Amil, Hayatu styling himself also as Amir al-Mu'minin of the West.³ Hayatu's objective was to instigate the mass hijra that would pay allegiance to Umdurman, the

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1. M.A. Al-Hajj, op. cit., "Hayata b. Sa'id etc." P.M. Holt, "The Sudanese Mahdiyya and the outside world", BSOAS, 1958, pp. 276-290.
 2. M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate 1968, pp. 122-123.
 3. M.A. Al-Hajj, op. cit. J.E. Lavers "Jibril Gaini, a preliminary account of the career of a Mahdist Leader in North-Eastern Nigeria", Ibadan/CAD, Research Bulletin, Vol. III, No. 1, 1967, p. 23, Note 1.

Mahdi's capital. In this he was to be helped by Mallam Jibrilla, whose career also started with a public announcement of making a pilgrimage.¹ But Rabeh's insincere Mahdist allegiance were in the end responsible for the delay of the expected hijra. Between 1893 and 1898 Hayatu was virtually prisoner at Dikwa and his attempt to flee finally cost him his life.² After Hayatu the Mahdist banner of the West was held by Mallam Jibrilla, now established independently in the town of Burmi in Gombe.

Although the envisaged ma's hijra to Umdurman was never made, it is plausible to assume, on the one hand that a considerable number of devotees had answered the call of the Mahdi, and individually or in groups performed the hijra to Umdurman. The danger of being drafted in the Mahdist armies, on the other hand, presented an obstacle in face of traveller's whose main object was the pilgrimage.³ In West Africa itself the Mahdist agitation fused ultimately in the general commotion created by the military advent of European powers.

1. I.A. Lavers, Ibid. J.M. Fremantle, op. cit., Vol. X, July 1911, pp. 417-8.

2. M.A. Al-Hajj, op. cit.

3. P.M. Holt, The Mahdist State in the Sudan (1958) pp. 12, 139. Takruri pilgrims who found their way blocked joined in the revolt of Abu Jumaiza in Darfur.

ii. THE EUROPEAN OCCUPATION

The extention of European control over the Muslim States of the West African interior in the closing decade of the nineteenth century instigated mass migrations eastwards led by dethroned dynasts of Segu and Sokoto. A conservative estimate of the population that finally succeeded in fleeing European rule and settle outside its original homeland was 25,000.¹ Like the previous sporadic movements of the century this too was a hijra. But whereas earlier movements were impelled by the positive hope and deliberate action of travelling to meet the Mahdi, the migrations of the end of the century were impelled by a negative concept of hijra, that of fleeing in desperation in face of military defeat. As the Hijaz and the Holy Places of Islam were the ultimate refuge of disillusioned Muslims, the pilgrimage factor figures clearly in these later movements.

The Tokolor of Ahmadu b. al-Hāj ʿUmar.

Colonial encroachment on the empire of Ahmed al-Kabir b. al-Hāj ʿUmar became evident with the establishment of Forts Keita (1881) and Bamako (1883). In 1890 the

1. G.J.F. Lethem and G.J. Tomlinson, op. cit., p. 27.

French occupied Ahmadu's capital Segou. Ahmadu fled to his northern municipality, Nioro, which however the French took the same year. Ahmadu again fled eastwards to his last remaining province, Macina (Bandiagara). Three years later French troops occupied Jenne (1893) and advanced on and took Bandiagara. Ahmadu's decision to flee eastwards seemed to have been taken after much deliberation; traditions favourable to him say that he had decided to fight and die in battle but was prevailed upon by his council who put him on a horse and accompanying him declared the intention of making the final retreat in a pilgrimage.¹ This was seen as a hijra, the biographer quoting for the event the Quranic verse IV/101:²

Whosoever emigrates in the way of God will find in the earth many refuges and plenty; whoso goes forth from his house an emigrant to God and His Messenger, and then death overtakes him, his wage shall have fallen on God; surely God is All-forgiving. All-compassionate.³

6 The fleeing party was harrassed by the French from the rear. Its progress through the provinces of

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1. Shaikh Musa Kamara, Ashha al-'ulum wa atyab al-Khabar fi sirat al-Shaikh al-Haj ^CUmar. Fonds Musa Kamara No. 9 IFAN (DAKAR).
 2. Alfa Hashim b. Ahmed b. Sa^Cid, op. cit., Raud al-Shamail
 3. A.J. Arberry's translation of the Qur'an (1964) p. 87.

Jilgogi and Arbinda was punctuated by engagements both with the French and the local peoples. In Liptako some of the group returned and the remainder of the party with Ahmadu himself crossed the Niger at Say into Hausaland.¹ Ahmadu did not pursue his plans further. In Hausaland he was well received by Amir al-Muminin of Sokoto, Abdel Rahman b. Atiqu (1891-1902) who allotted him a village, Mai Kulki, to settle in.² There are no indications as to Ahmadu's activity in this period, and records speak only of his death in that village in 1898.³ The leadership of the party then passed to his brother Bashiru.

Bashiru b. al-Hāj ʿUmar moved his group of people from Mai Kulki to another village in Zamfara which he renamed Dar al-Salam. After nine months residence he moved to Gombe where he spent two years. By 1902 he was residing in Missau. From Missau Bashiru wrote to the French authorities at Zinder asking permission to pass through the French territory of Chad to go to Mecca. The Resident explained that it was not in his power to grant such a

1. Report by Chef de Bataillon, Gaden entitled "Note Sur les Toucouleur arrivés à Fort Lamy - 1906". In the AOF Archives - Dakar No. 191 - 2 (1906-1913).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. Anonymous Tarikh Ahmed b. ʿUmar b. Sa'id. Ibadan/Lib. (82/176).

permission but offered to help if the party intended either to settle at Zinder or to return to the west. Some of Bashiru's followers availed themselves of the offer and took up residence at Zinder.¹ Bashiru himself stayed at Missau and took part in the second battle of Burmi on the side of Sultan al-Tahiru.

The Fulani of Sokoto.

The revocation of the charter of the Royal Niger Company in 1900 started the incorporation of the Emirates of Sokoto in the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Yola was captured in 1901. An expedition sent to check the French advance in western Bornu in 1902 succeeded in overrunning Bauchi. In the same year Jibrilla's colony at Burmi was overrun; Jibrilla was captured and exiled to Ikoja. The murder of a British officer by the Magaji of Keffi, who afterwards took refuge in Kano, precipitated the attack and the capture of the latter city at the end of 1902. In March 1903 the army of the Sultan of Sokoto was defeated and the town itself captured. (Lugard appointed a successor to the fleeing Sultan).

The military crises arising from the successes of British troops brought to the forefront latent doctrines

1. Gaden, Ibid.

and beliefs such as that of the hijra. The attitude of the Caliphate to the British advance was already made clear by Sultan Abdel Rahman (1891-1902) who wrote to Lord Lugard:-

.... I do not consent that any one from you should ever dwell with us. I will never agree with you. Between us and you there are no dealings except as between Musulmans and Unbelievers (Kafri), war, as Almighty has enjoined on us.¹

When Yola was captured the defeated Amir, Zubairu wrote to Amir al-Mu'minin of Sokoto:-

.... Further to tell you that the rule of the Christians has reached our town Yola I will not be double faced towards you and the Christians. My allegiance is to you by Allah and the Prophet and after you to Imam Mahdi. I shall not follow the unbeliever even if my towns are captured. The Prophet declared that he who joins his abode with the unbeliever or dwells with him is among them.²

When al-Tahiru succeeded in November of 1902 there had already been talk of migration eastwards. al-Tahiru seemed to have contemplated the move before the fall of Sokoto. In a letter to Waziri Bukhari, the Emir of Kano wrote:-

I have seen your letter and honour it. We clearly understand from it that you are following my advice, that both we and you seek for a plan which will be of assistance to our religion and to earth and heaven. I

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1. H.F. Backwell, The Occupation of Hausaland 1900-1904 (1927), pp. 13-14.
 2. Ibid., pp. 67-68.

have found no more useful plan for all Muslims and for us and for you, than as I wrote in my letter which my messenger brought to you, that we leave this country all of us - this is my clear conviction.¹

There were however others who thought differently.

Muhammadu Marafa (later Maiturari, Sultan of Sokoto 1915-24) wrote to his brother al-Tahiru:-

.... Further, I earnestly beseech you, in God's name let no one hear a suggestion of our departure from your mouth in this land, as this would mean ruin for our affairs Let us sit and wait the issue of the matter. Help lies with Allah alone If circumstances indicating departure arise, let us depart, otherwise not. But let us only prepare - till such time as God decrees for us departure.²

The defeat of the Sokoto forces in March 1903 left al-Tahiru with no alternative but to declare the hijra from Hausaland. Contemporary reports of the events between March and July, when al-Tahiru was killed at the second battle of Burmi, show that al-Tahiru's call was made to all the Community, that a Mahdist element was implicit in his flight to Burmi and that he probably intended the hijra to take the route assigned to it, through Adamawa.³ Lord Lugard reported in 1903:-

1. Ibid., pp. 72/73.

2. Ibid., p. 74.

3. See below pp. 285 and n. 1.

The ex-Sultan sent emissaries over the country telling people not to sit in peace under the infidel, but to join him not in a war against us, but in a pilgrimage to Mecca or to Adamawa (whence the Mahdi is expected) As he proceeded eastwards and his following increased, a madness seized the peasantry and even the better classes, and they flocked to him with their families and chattels, even the blind and the lame joining in the belief that he would lead them to the Mahdi The movement was not in any way directed against the government, but was (so far as the bulk of its adherents were concerned) a blind scare, combined with a religious enthusiasm prompting an exodus.¹

Lugard's policy had been to harass the hordes grouping around al-Tahiru. This led to desertions. al-Tahiru's camp was surprised and routed at Gwoni after which he took refuge in Burmi. After the capture of Jibrilla Burmi was led by an 'Arab calling himself Imam Mahdi' who was said to have come from Khartoum.² It is said that at Burmi al-Tahiru himself accepted Mahdism.³ Around al-Tahiru at the final showdown of July 27th were grouped part of the followers of Bashiru b. Hāj' Umar,⁴ including Alfa Hashim. Of the Fulani dignitaries were Ahmadu of Missau, the Magaji of Keffi, Bello of Kontagora and others.⁵

1. Colonial Reports, Northern Nigeria (1903).

2. H.F. Backwell, op. cit., p. 75.

3. M. Last, op. cit., (1968) p. 141.

4. Gaden, op. cit.

5. G.J. Lethem and E.J. Tomlinson, op. cit., p. 28.

In the battle al-Tahiru and the Magaji of Keffi were killed. Bashiru fled to Yola where those who refused to take part in the battle had stayed. It is said that they delivered Bashiru to the British who deported him to Lokoja.¹ The exodus eastwards started in the months following Burmi.²

The migration itself occurred in different phases, singly and in groups and over a long number of years. The first wave of emigrants consisted of almost single travellers like the passage of Alfa Hashim in 1904, Siri Ali in 1905 or Ahmadu of Missau who with only four followers arrived in Mecca thirteen months after Burmi.³ The bulk of the Sokoto Fulani who wanted to migrate collected around al-Tahiru's fifth son Muhammed Bello (Mai Wurnu). The passage of this group which was numerous had been slow. They were well received by the Sultans of Wadai and Dar Sila. They were it seems looking for a place to settle before making the pilgrimage. The Sultan of Dar Sila was said to have noticed that and finally hurried them on after a stay of two years. By the time they reached the Nile "the edge of their anti-European

1. Gaden, op. cit.

2. G.J. Letham and G.J. Tomlinson, op. cit., p. 28.

3. Ibid., p. 28. Gaden, op. cit.

bitterness had somewhat dulled". They came face to face with the fact that Christian rule was already extended over the Nile. When they were offered land to settle they accepted establishing the village of Mai Wurnu, near Sennar and opposite the earlier Fulani settlement of Shaikh Talha.¹

The section of Ahmadu's group who continued their journey eastwards - some of them had settled in Hadèja under Madani - also founded a smaller settlement next to Mai Wurnu which they called Dar al-Salam.

The stream of emigrants that started flowing after Burmi did not start only at Hausaland but also from lands further to the west. Captain Boyd Alexander gave the following interesting description of one caravan:-

The caravan which now comes into my story had originally started from Timbuctu, and increasing its following as it went along from all countries on the way now numbered 700 souls and a 1000 head of sheep and cattle. Its leaders were Hausa and Fulani Mallams, who saw to the feeding of the pilgrims and were responsible for law and order in the caravan.... It was a wonderful organisation, this slowly moving community, with its population of varied races, and cattle and sheep, forming a column that stretched for miles along the way. Whole families were there, carrying all their belongings and perched upon the backs of oxen were little children, some of whom had been brought forth on the road It was a strange, picturesque pilgrimage; in the throng

1. G.J. Letham, and G.J. Tomlinson, op. cit., p. 29.

there travelled pale faced Fulanis, Hausas from Socoto, handsome dark-skinned people from Melle and Timbuctu, and many Mallams turband and clothed in white, walked calm and headless of all danger, incessantly telling their beads.¹

The stream of migrants continued to flow into the second decade of this century. In 1918 (Sir) Richmond Palmer, then Resident Bornu, reported the alarming rate at which these migrations were taking place and speculated on the possible eventual drainage of a large percentage of the Muslim population of Nigeria.² A considerable number of the migrants went in fact to Mecca on the pilgrimage; Palmer's report put the number of pilgrims who left via Suaken between 1913 and 1918 at 20,601.³ But as the years passed the motives for migration and settlement abroad became more complex; Palmer commented:-

Of course the greater number of natives of the West who come across to the Sudan come primarily for religious - one might say superstitious - reasons. Thus at the time of the famine in 1913 thousands of natives went East for the sole reason that if death overtook them they might die as close to Mecca as possible. But, in many cases the religious motive for the migration is not the only motive

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1. Cpt. Boyd Alexander, From the Niger to the Nile (1907) Vol. II, pp. 1-5, p. 15.
 2. H.R. Palmer, Report on a Journey from Maidugari, Nigeria, to Jeddah in Arabia (1919). Nigerian National Archives. Ibadan No. G.3, p. 25.
 3. Ibid., Table p. 13.

or the compelling one; a very large percentage of soi-disant pilgrims never get beyond Sennar or Tokar. Undoubtedly one reason for the existence of the very large settlements near Sennar under Mai Wurnu, son of the ex-Sultan of Sokoto, who was killed in Burmi and Mai Ahmed, ex-Emir of Missau, is the still fast held Fulani belief that one day these chosen people will be led back to their ancient homeland.¹

During the subsequent decades of the century the Sudan encompassed the major pilgrimage highway between West Africa and the Hijaz.² The establishment of the Gezira cotton scheme in 1925 provided additional incentive to West African Muslims who with no urgency would travel along providing labour and hope eventually to make the pilgrimage.³ By then it was possible to distinguish between peoples who had already settled in the Sudan and pilgrims who intended to make the pilgrimage and return to their homelands. It is interesting that whereas at the beginning of the century emigrant villages were important staging points for pilgrims, a tradition reported in the village

1. Ibid., p. 11.

2. See below p. 289

3. Studies of Takruri settlements in the Sudan are in, H. Davis, "The West African in the Economic history of the Sudan" Geography Vol. XLIX (1964) - I.A. Hassoun "Western' Migration and Settlement in the Gezira" SNR, XXXIII (1952) - D. Mather, Aspects of Migration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' Ph.D. Thesis, London (1954).

of Mai Wurnu, alleges that that particular village was deliberately avoided, for fear they might never return westward again, by pilgrims who intended to do so.¹

1. Informant No. 44.

6. PILGRIMAGE ROUTES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In a previous section of this study I suggested that during the period of the medieval empires of the Western Sudan the exits or 'points du depart' for pilgrims were the commercial sahilian ports of these Empires, the towns of Walalta, Timbuctu and Gao.¹ The conquest of the Western Sudan by the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century, by the instability it created in the Western Sudan and the Sahel, greatly diminished trading activity on the west Saharan routes. By the nineteenth century the Saharan trade emphasis had shifted from the Western Sudan to Eastern and Central Saharan trade routes. During this century too, the cross-continental route along the Sudan belt to the Hijaz was also in use. The overall picture of routes used by pilgrims during the nineteenth century warrants the broad division into:-

- i. The Western Saharan routes
- ii. The Central and Eastern Saharan routes
- iii. The route to the Nile

i. The Western Saharan routes

Although the Moroccan conquest of Songhay failed

1. See above pp. 108-115

to link the Western Sudan to Morocco, it nonetheless seems to have succeeded in drawing the Saharan peoples closer to Morocco and away from the Sudanese south. This is evident from the available literature and traditions of the Western Saharan peoples.

The problem of the Shinqit caravan

The name Shanaqit (sing. Shinqiti) is no less common a designation in the Middle-East than the name Takarir. It denotes the people from the western Sahara. The progenitor of the name is the town of Shinqit (French Chinguetti) in present day Mauritania. The foundation date of the town of Shinqit, from the reference in al-S^cadi can be put before the 15th century.¹ Earlier dates have also been suggested.² The name was also given to the country and the people. The relationship between all three and the pilgrimage was given out in the following manner:-

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1. A. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 22. In reference to Timbuctu-Koi Muhammed Naqas a Sanhajan, originally from Shinqit.
 2. See H.T. Norris, "The History of Shinqit, According to the Idan 'Ali Tradition". Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. T. XXIV, Sér. B, Nos. 3-4, (1962), for alternative dates the earliest of which and most acceptable is c. 1300, and Shinqiti Folk Literature and Song (1968) p. 3. by the same author.

"The camel caravan used to go from Shinjit to Mecca every year. He who wished to make the pilgrimage from the rest of the outlying districts used to go on the pilgrimage with it, until the people of this country - I mean from the al-Saqiyah al Hamra to the Sudan and to Arwan were known among the orientals up to the present time as the Shanajitah - sometimes the entire household from amongst the townsfolk undertakes the pilgrimage. No one stays because of the intensity of their concern for the pilgrimage. Those who have the means to enable others to perform the pilgrimage do so. It has reached us that the Hajj Muhammed Ahmed, the father of Abu'lkisa, maintained forty persons, non-dependents, on the pilgrimage and conveyed them to God".¹

Though the strength of this tradition, also quoted in Kitab al-Wasit,² cannot be easily doubted, there is as yet very little that is known of this pilgrimage caravan. In his study of the Moroccan pilgrimages, al-Manuni merely listed a Shinqit caravan as one of the five caravans included in the bigger body of the Moroccan hajj.³ A study of the Mauritanian traditions would certainly be a welcome contribution in this field. Al-Mukhtār would

1. Ibid.

2. Ahmed b. al-'Amin al-Shinqiti, al-Wasit fi tarajim 'udaba' Shinqit Cairo (1911) p. 413 (Also quoted above p.59).

3. M. al-Manuni, op. cit., p. 39. His inclusion of a Shinqit caravan among the caravans of the Maghrib probably has to do with the present political quarrel between the states of Mauritania and Morocco.

Hamidun,¹ of Noakshott, who is himself at the moment collecting these traditions, was also helpful in giving some outline of the major organisations of the western desert. From his information and the available records the following picture emerges.

Two distinct regions are locally identified. The first is Shinqit, whose limits are given above. The second is 'Takrūr', which includes Haud, and is centred around the towns of Walata, Timbuctu and Arwan. From both regions two lines of travel were available. The first was a westerly route from Shinqit to Morocco. The second was a north-eastern route aiming at In Salah in Tuat.

The information available on the first, the Shinqit Morocco, mainly covers the nineteenth century. The use of this route was closely connected with the sea route from Morocco which became the major pilgrimage route from Morocco during the 19th century.² The scholars of both regions were, it seems more frequent on this route. This was, according to al-Mukhtar due to the fact that they tended to "frequent the courts of the Moroccan Sultans

1. See the presentation in H.T. Norris (op. cit., 1968). Oral information during a short interview with al-Mukhtar in Dakar in April 1966. [Informant No. 4].

2. See above, introduction p. 28

to pay allegiance or read their poetry and claim acknowledgment". Kitab al-Wasit provides examples: Abdullahi ibn al-Haj Ibrahim al-'Alawati (d. c1814),¹ Tijani b. Bab author of Muniat al-Murid who died in Madina in (c.1845)² and, Muhammed b. Saidi Muhammed who died after 1835.³ The picture emerging from the description given of the travels of these scholars, is that of the leisurely scholar who deliberately takes a longer time than was necessary cultivating friendships and a reputation for learning in the countries that lay on his route. The 'rihlah' or journey of the famous Judge of Walata, Muhammed Yahia b. Muhammed al-Mukhtar illustrates this type of journey. It is also an example of the pilgrimage literature of the region.⁴

Muhammed Yahia left Walata in Rajab of 1311/jan-

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1. Ahmed b. al-Amin al-Shinqiti, al-Wasit, pp. 38-41.
 2. Ibid., pp. 69-71. (Muniat al-Murid is a famous Tijani text book composed in poetry).
 3. Ibid., pp. 47-69.
 4. This work circulates in three forms. The first is the full text in two volumes which was also done in one volume by the Author himself. These are very widely known in the region of Timbuctu. A third version of the work is a fairly concise abridgement by a certain Muhammed Abdullahi b. al-Bashir al-Walati. Mr. H.T. Norris of SOAS, has kindly drawn my attention to and loaned me this last one. The full text was seen in the library of Shaikh Madan Tal of Segu [Informant No. 24].

feb. 1894. He went through Ticit, Shinqit, Wadi Nūn and Rabat from where he took the boat to Jidda. After spending periods of up to five months in some places, he arrived in the Hijaz to spend a period of four months between Mecca and Madina. He then set out on his home journey, making an excursion from Alexandria on the railway to Cairo. Taking the same route back from Alexandria, he arrived in Walata in Shawal of 1317 (Feb. 1900). The two volumes of the journey comprise the poetry he composed, the fatawa he made, and the records of the intellectual debates he had had, beside a detailed description of all the occurrences on the route.

The north-eastern route from the region aimed at Tuat. It was used by pilgrims who for one reason or the other preferred overland travel. From the towns of Walata, Arwan, Timbuctu or Shinqit, pilgrims, collected en route, headed for Tuat. Some of the ^ʿUlama of the region also travelled on this route. Examples are given by Fath al-Shakūr:¹ Ḥaj ^ʿAli b. Hamdun (d. 1682) and Ḥaj Bashir b. Ḥaj Abu Bakr (d. 1789). Both have, according

1. Abu Bakr al-Sidik al-Bartali Fath al-Shakūr fi m^ʿarifat a^ʿyān ^ʿulama al-Takrūr, See note above p. 62 (Arabic Ms. unpublished). (Mr. J. Hunwick kindly loaned me a working copy of the book).

to the author, recorded their journeys. There was, it seems, much more attention given to the co-ordination of travel on this route, as implied by the nature of desert travel. According to Fath al-Shakūr, al-Ḥāj Ahmed b. al-Ḥāj al-Amin al-Ghalawi was the leader of the region's rakb, small caravan, for some years. He used to cede the leadership to the "famous Abu Na^cama" on arriving in Tuat. After having made the pilgrimage several times, al-Ḥāj Ahmed died in Fezzan on a return journey from Mecca in 1157/1744-5.¹

From about the beginning of the 14th century, when Mansa Mūsa made his pilgrimage through it, Tuat's position as a pilgrim rendez-vous point increased in importance. Like the Fezzan, to which it played an analogous trading role, this was associated with Tuat's trading activity. Tuat reached its apogee as an inland pilgrim's port in the course of the nineteenth century. During this time it was on the land route of Moroccan pilgrims,² beside having its own pilgrim caravan. The route of the Tuati pilgrim caravan, passed through Ghat into Murzuk in the Fezzan from where it followed the major high-way through Aujila into Egypt. The small caravans

1. Ibid.

2. See above, introduction p. 28

which left the western Sahara, can, therefore, be seen as part of a greater pilgrimage organisation which served the western desert and northern Africa as a whole.

Tuat provided the leaders for pilgrimage caravans, such as Abu N^oama, mentioned in Fath al-Shakūr, and ^cAbdel Qadir mentioned by Barth and by Richardson as having several times been the leader.¹ When the Moroccans travel through the region they however seem to have their own leaders: for example, al-Hāj ^cAli, 'de la famille des Ouled Adyeul, qui habite à Ain el-Hamera, entre Mekeuness (Meknez) et Fass' who was leading a caravan that passed In Salah in 1847.² Both the Tuati and the Moroccan caravans were armed. Burchhardt noted that 'few troops accompany the Maghribyin caravan, but its members are well armed to defend themselves'.³ The Tuati caravan which met Barth in 1850 'was only 114 persons strong, with seventy muskets'.⁴ On the speed of the caravan Richardson noted that 'pilgrim caravans travel very fast; no other can keep

1. J. Richardson, Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa (1853) Vol. I, pp. 115, 137. H. Barth, Travels (1857) Vol. I, pp. 175-6.

2. E. Daumas et A. de Chancel, Le Grand Desert (1848) p. 115.

3. J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia (1829) p. 252.

4. H. Barth, Travels (1857) Vol. I, p. 176.

up with them'.¹ The pilgrims were accorded a good reception: in the Fezzan pilgrims' goods were exempt from taxation and, the traders mingled their goods with theirs to avoid paying.²

In 1921³ P. Marty published the translation of a pilgrimage journey undertaken by a Fulani marabout by the name of Brahima in 1794 and 1795. The marabout, whose descendents lived in the province of Sokolo in the Sahel, travelled from Walata to Tuat, Fezzan, Siwah and Cairo. His forward journey took eight and a half months. The account ends in Mecca and does not trace the return route. There is no indication that Brahima travelled with the Tuati caravan, though that is the probability.

The account is only interesting in so far as it outlines all the stages from Walata to Mecca, with some advice occasionally given to future travellers.⁴ It is

1. J. Richardson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 115.

2. F. Hornemann, ed. E.W. Bovill, The Journal of Frederick Hornemann's Travels, "Missions to the Niger" Vol. I, (1964), p. 96.

3. P. Marty, "Relation d' un Pèlerinage a la Mecque par un Marabout Peul en 1794-1795" RMM, Vol. 43 (1921), pp. 228-235.

4. For example:- 'Nous séjournâmes sept jours à Akabli pour préparer nos provisions de route. Otoi qui entreprends le pèlerinage, si tu peux venir dans cette cité avec de la viande séchée et du fromage, fais le. Les gens aiment en effet ces produits et demandent encore des piments et des cucurbitacées. Ces marchandises vont aideront à constituer vos provisions'. Ibid., p. 231.

nonetheless significant for bringing out the issue of possible Sudanese participation in the pilgrimage parties that left the desert towns. Although these caravans must have transported some of the Sudanese pilgrims, it seems possible to assume that these came from the Sudanese populations within these townships themselves - or, as in the case of Brahima, from the Fulani communities of the Sahel. The bulk of the evidence suggests that Brahima's case was more the exception than the rule.

Here again the larger part of the evidence consists of different types of testimony, made by observers or pilgrims themselves, during the nineteenth century. The reasons why Sudanese pilgrims from an area whose traditional exit had been, in earlier times, through the Western Sahara were seen during the nineteenth century to avoid these exits are twofold. There were direct reasons such as practical difficulties on these routes on the one hand, and on the other, the Central Sudan and particularly Hausaland provided during the nineteenth century a more viable alternative.

For example: in 1810/11 a certain Hāj Boubeker made a pilgrimage journey from Futa Toro. He travelled to Segou and then to Timbuctu. He then returned from Timbuctu to Jenne from where he travelled eastwards to Katsina. M.P. Rouzée, who wrote out a summary of Boubeker's

travels, gave the following explanation:-

"l'intention de Boubeker était de traverser ce royaume de Twart [Tuat] situé au nord de Timbouctou, d'aller attendre dans le Fezzan la caravane des pèlerins de Barberie, et de se rendre avec elle à la Mecque par l'Egypte; mais comme il ne pouvait subsister dans sa route que des aumônes qu'il recevait des pieux Musulmans, il changea de résolution, dès qu'il eut connu le peu de charité des Touariks et la pauvreté de leur pays. Ces belliqueux nomades professent tous actuellement l'Islamisme, mais sont en général peu attachés à ses dogmes; et leur coeurs, dit Boubeker, sont encoûre 'Kasirs' [kafir/unbelieve]. Il se decida donc à revenir sur le bords du Djaliba [Niger], et arriva à Djenne dix jours après avoir quitte timbouctou".¹

Difficulties also faced Hāj °Umar b. Sa°id when in 1828 he made his journey to Mecca. 'Umar's intention as was shown earlier was to take a route from Macina directly to Fez, 'because it is our road, and the nearest for us to attain our desire'. The Tijani element is only implicit here; °Umar no doubt contemplated a pre-pilgrimage visit to Ahmed al-Tijani's tomb in Fez. The suggestion is also made that the Western Sahara was seen as a natural exit from that region. But 'because of the difficulties that arose on that road', he told us, 'we were forced to take

1. F. Rouzée, "Itinéraire d'Hadji-Boubeker, fils de Mohammed, Fils de Yeron; de Seno-Palel, Ville de Fouta-Toro, a la Mecque, en 1810 et 1811", in Baron C.A. Walckenaer, Recherches Geographiques sur l'Interieur de l'Afrique Septentrionale (Paris 1821) p. 477-488.

the route to Saudan' (i.e. Hausa)'. He consequently passed through Sokoto from which he travelled to Air and the Fezzan.¹ Similar evidence is provided by the itineraries of Futa Toro pilgrims written out by F. Fresnel in the Hijaz in the 1840's,² and also in scattered references made by H. Barth during his journey to and from Timbuctu (1852-3).³

Perhaps the more basic explanation for this was the fact that by the nineteenth century the commercial contacts of the Sudan along the Western Saharan routes had greatly dwindled as was pointed out earlier.⁴ This fact becomes more significant when coupled with another, that of the removal of Sudanese control from the western Sahara after the end of the sixteenth century. Whereas during the nineteenth century Sudanese pilgrims who were well-to-do or who themselves had trading interests naturally followed the most frequented Saharan highways, those of the Central and Eastern Sudan, the state of lawlessness in which the western Saharan routes were plunged during

1. See above pp. 203-4

2. E.g. in M.F. Fresnel, 'Memoires sur le Waday', Bull. Soc. Geog. (Sept. 1850). "Itineraire de Fouta-Toro (Senegambie) au Kordofan, Selon le pelerin Ba-Bekèr".

3. See below pp. 268-9

4. Above pp. 115-7

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made these routes even more difficult to travel by indigent and largely helpless Sudanese pilgrims.

Although the above explanation was major, it would also be plausible to speculate as an operative factor the traditional fear of the Sudanese of his maltreatment by the Arabs through whose territories he would pass. This is understandably a difficult point to substantiate. Whereas Arab informants usually claimed that there had always been atmost cooperation between the two races, especially in a highly regarded religious purpose as the pilgrimage, Sudanese informants usually denied this. The latter often referred to the dichotomy between what the Arabs alleged as an ideal and how the average Arab usually behaved towards a Sudanese. Not excluding the danger of enslavement by the Arabs, Sudanese pilgrims preferred to travel among other Sudanese peoples.¹ It is perhaps relevent to add to Boubeker's hearsay impressions of the Tuareqs, quoted above, the first hand testimony supplied by René Caillé during his stay among the Brakna Arabs on the northern banks of the Senegal River:-

'The Moors, as has just been observed, afford

1. The first view is represented by views expressed by informants Nos. 4 and 11. The second by Nos. 16, 17.

each other hospitality, but they do not deserve to be called hospitable, for nothing annoys them so much than the sight of strangers. They receive them not out of humanity but from fear, particularly when they happen to be hassanes, who would not fail to plunder, if they were not treated as they liked. They seldom afford assistance to travelling negroes; if any such pass through a camp, they beg morning and night when the cows are milked for a draught, going about with a jotala in their hand, and receiving so little, that they are obliged to traverse two or three camps before they obtain sufficient for a meal.

Many negroes from Futa-Toro come amongst the Moors to study the Koran; they often remain for five or six months, and have no other means of subsistence but alms. Though Musulmans, they are in bad repute among the Moors, who say they are fit for nothing but slaves. The negroes take nothing with them because they would be sure to be stripped by the hassanes; they always travel on foot, and carry at their backs a small board, on which they write passages of the Koran¹.

The pilgrims of Futa travelled in two distinct stages. The first ended in Jenne. The second took them to Hausaland. Jenne was Islamised around the 13th century.² It was already important as a trading centre during the

1. R. Caillié, Travels through central Africa to Timbuctoo, London 1830, Vol. I, p. 76.

Brakna society was divided into Hassanes, the Warriors, the Marabouts, teachers and traders, Zenagues, the cultivators and the Laratines, the Serfs and Slaves.

2. A. al-Sa^cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p. 12.

medieval period; during the Songhay period it also shared with Timbuctu a reputation for Muslim scholarship.¹ Its trading and scholarly standing continued to grow while that of Timbuctu dwindled. For Sudanese pilgrims, Jenne represented a welcome replacement to Timbuctu; it was both Muslim and Sudanese. During the 19th century this position was further augmented by the rise of the Jihad state of Macina. Both Jenne and the newly founded capital Hamdallahi, were staging points for pilgrims.²

Two main routes led from the Futas into Macina. The first was a more or less direct easterly route. This can be seen as the traditional route from Futa Toro. Boubeker, of Rouzée, travelled along this route which from Futa Toro passed through Galam, Kaarta to Segou.³ Boubeker had however made his journey in 1810, i.e. before the rising of Ahmadu Lobo in 1818. In 1824 Caillé made the following observation:-

"The author was told that the pilgrims of the Fouta travelled by the Bondou, the Baleya, Kankan, Sambatikila and Jenne, instead of by Kaarta and Sego. The former road, however, is much the longer. I believe that the real

1. Ibid., pp. 16-20.

2. This is apparent from itineraries which give sometimes alternatively, Jenne or Hamdallahi. See F. Fresnel, op. cit.

3. P. Rouzée, op. cit., pp. 478-480.

motive of these travellers is to trade in the gold of Boure, in passing through Kankan; but why go still further to the south by Smabatikila? I do not see the reason."¹

In Kankan, Caillé was assured that even the pilgrims from Futa Toro passed through Sambatikila.² He was himself travelling as a pilgrim and was forced to make the decision to travel 'not by the way of Segou, being apprehensive of desertion there, and, besides, had I gone thither on account of the continual war between the two countries, have renounced all intention of visiting Jenne, whither I wanted to go.'³

This second route, a more southern one was also perhaps the traditional route from the more southern region of Futa Jallon. There is reason to assume that the diversion from the northerly route of Futa Toro was occasioned, less by the trading persuasion of the south indicated by Caillé, than by the out-break of hostilities between Lobo and the Bambara of Segou. The disruption was however temporary, probably covering the initial years of the conflict.⁴ During the 1840s, the itineraries of Ba-Bekér, of Fresnel,

1. R. Caillé, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 259 and Vol. II, p. 441.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 259.

3. Ibid.

4. See below pp. 285-6, possible influence of Sokoto-Bornu conflict on route.

passed through Segou into Jenne.¹ The route was finally re-established by the incorporation of Segou within the empire of Hāj ʿUmar (1861). During the colonial period the railway followed roughly the same route to terminate in Bamako, the headquarters of the French administration of the French Soudan.

From the region of Macina pilgrims travelled by a diversity of routes to Hausaland. There was what might be called a direct easterly road, across the districts of Libtako, Arbinda and Jilgogi. In 1827, a route was described to Clapperton, which he said was 'the road from Sokoto to Macina which is frequented these days.'² This was the route most likely followed by ʿUmar b. Saʿd. A route lying due east in that direction from Macina is also still remembered by tradition as having been known as the route of the hardy and the more determined of pilgrim parties.³ This was also the road followed by the fleeing party of Ahmad b. Hāj ʿUmar, who travelled from Bandiagara

1. F. Fresnel, op. cit.

2. H. Clapperton, op. cit., (Second Expedition, 1829). Appendix I, pp. 329-333 and map.

3. Informant No. 23, Si'di Konaki, Imam of the Mosque of Mopti whose grandfather had made the pilgrimage along this route c. mid 19th century.

to Say.¹

An alternative route, particularly associated with traders, took the river to Timbuctu or its vicinity.² From Timbuctu to Hausaland a journey either by river or overland was possible. The province of Kebbi was the first territory in Hausaland which pilgrims reached.³ Barth crossed this region from Say to Kabara on his way to Timbuctu. He returned to Sokoto along the northern bank of the Niger. His observations on these routes illustrate many points. There were not only pilgrims from the same regions, 'some Songhay pilgrims, who had left Hombori four months previously',⁴ but he also met a Jolof and a Lamtuni. The region was exceptionally insecure and 'disturbed at the time'. Pilgrims had to take special precautions:-

'proceeding through this rich but distracted

1. See above p. 241. H. Barth, *Travels* (1965) Vol. III, p. 209. Who met a troop of pilgrims passing in the unsafe and swampy district between Libtako and Arbinda 'at an unusual hour of the night.'

2. F. Freznel, "Memoirs sur le Waday". *Bull. Soc. Geog.* Sept. 1950. "Journée d'un marchand africain du Fouta - Toro au Baguirmi, en passant par Tombouctou et suivant le Niger jusqu'au Naufeh (Nyffè,) puis par le Houssa et Adamaiwa (Selon Ba-Beker)."

3. M. Last, *op. cit.*, (1968), Introduction. p. IXIV

4. H. Barth, *Travels* (1965), Vol. III, p. 164.

and unsafe district, I was greatly delighted when near the walled town of Kardi [in Kebbi] I fell in with a solitary and courageous pilgrim, a Jolof, from the shores of the Atlantic, carrying his little bag on his head and seemingly well prepared to defend it with his double-barrelled gun, which he carried on his shoulder and a short sword hanging at his side, while his shirt was tossed gently up, and tied over the shoulder, behind the back."¹

Barth also heard of a pilgrim who had taken the water route:-

"A great many people visited me, and altogether behaved very friendly. In this little suburb [near Sinder] where we encamped, there was staying a very clever Faki, belonging originally to the Ga-Biro, and called Mohammed Saleh. To my great astonishment, I became aware that this man was acquainted with my whole story; and upon inquiring how he obtained his information, I learnt that a pilgrim, named Mohammed Fadl, a native of the distant country of Futa, who being engaged in a pilgrimage, had undertaken the journey from Timbuctu along the river in a boat, had acquainted the people with all my proceedings in that place."²

One pilgrim Barth also met was a Lamtuni. The following also reveals the destination beyond Hausa to be Bornu.

"A little fellow, with an open countenance, and being on his way to Mecca, rushed immediately forward to salute me, asking me whether I was a Turk or a Christian; I presented him with a dollar, requesting him to give a short note (which I wrote on the spot) to my friend Haj Bashir in Kukawa, wherein I informed him of my whereabouts..."³

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1. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 152.
 2. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 522.
 3. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 168.

Hausaland

The region of Hausaland had already gained steady importance in the commercial and intellectual life of the Sudan before the nineteenth century. This is evidenced by the rise to fame of such of its centres as Kano and Katsina with trading contacts with the north as well as the south.¹ The Jihad and the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century further confirmed the importance of the region from both the commercial and the religious angle. Hausaland therefore offered a welcome alternative to the Western Sahilian towns for pilgrims coming from the west and south.

The Caliphate was a more secure place to travel in. Bello's statement that 'every one is now secure in passage, the routes were opened, the traffic increased and that this country does not now fear anything but God'² is confirmed by Clapperton's observation made in 1826:-

The laws of the Koran were in his time [Shehu Uthman], and indeed continue to be, so strictly put into force, not only among the Fellatas, but the negroes and the Arabs, and the whole country, when not in a state of war was so well regulated, that it was a common saying, that a woman might travel with a casket of gold

1. H. Barth, Travels (1965), Vol I, pp. 475-6. N. Levtzion Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa (1968) pp. 18-19, p. 22.

2. Muhammed Bello, Appendix II, etc.

upon her head from one end of the Fellata dominions to the other.¹

But of all the measures that the Caliphate took the most important was perhaps the supervision of illicit slaving activity. In various places the Fulani leaders wrote about the illegality of enslaving free Muslims,² a risk which individual or small bands of pilgrims were constantly running in different parts of their journey. To curb activities of traders who contravened the laws, no caravan was allowed to depart from Hausa without its cargo of slaves having been thoroughly examined to make sure that none of the slaves was a Muslim.³ The same searching inquiry was also made in the trading outposts of the routes like Agadez, Tassawa and Damergu. Those who were found to carry Muslim slaves forfeited all their merchandise.⁴ Having arrived in Hausaland pilgrims from the west had the option, mainly according to means, of taking a Saharan route or travelling further eastwards to the Nile.

1. H. Clapperton, op. cit., (Second Expedition) (1829) p. 206.

2. See for example Bello's Message in Appendix II.

3. E. Daumas et A. de Chancel, Le Grand Desert (1848) pp. 231 and 244.

4. Ibid.

ii. THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN SAHARAN ROUTES

The states of Bagirmi, Wadai and Darfur are not part of the area under study.¹ No investigation was undertaken of their pilgrimage traditions. Their brief inclusion is made for two main reasons,

- a) The trans-Saharan routes which linked the capitals of these states with the north carried pilgrims not only from their respective hinterlands, but were also ready alternatives for a much larger area.
- b) The pilgrimage route to the upper Nile that was becoming increasingly popular in the 19th century traversed these states.

The major Saharan routes of the central and eastern Sudan were four. Starting from the west there was the 'Sudan route', running from the cities of northern Hausaland (Katsina at first, and Kano during the 19th century)² through Air, the Fezzan and Aujila into Egypt. The second route, which connected Lake Chad through Bilma, joined the first at the Fezzan. The histories of these two routes were closely related. The emphasis of trade had passed from the western Sudan to Lake Chad in the seventeenth

1. See above, Introduction p. 30

2. The strained relations between Katsina and Sokoto were seen as having been mainly responsible for the decline of Katsina and the comparative rise of Kano to which most of the trade became diverted. See N. Levtzion, op. cit., (1968) p. 19.

and eighteenth centuries. In the 19th century this emphasis passed to the Sudan route.¹ Further eastwards a third route connected the Wadaian capital, Wara (Abbeshé from 1850) first through Fezzan and after 1837 directly through Kufra to Cyrenaica.² Darfur's main artery of trade was the forty days route, the 'Darb al-arba ^cīn', which ran through the oases of Salima and Kharja to Asiūt in Upper Egypt.³

The first two of these routes were in the immediate use of pilgrims from the area under study. In its northern extension from Air, the 'Sudan route' was in fact one and the same as the "old Haj route" from Timbuctu described above.⁴ This was also the long standing pilgrimage highway of Hausaland as much as the other was the traditional route from Bornu. Along the first travelled the famous scholars and pilgrims like Ibn Raji, Sambu and Jibril;⁵

1. A. Adu Boahen, Britain the Sahara and the Western Sudan, 1788-1861, (1964) pp. 106-108.

2. F. Fresnel, "Extrait d'une notice sur les caravanes du Waday, par M. Fulgence Fresnel, Consul de France a Djeddah." Bull. Soc. Geog. 3e Sér. Vol. IX 1848.

3. See a description of the route by W.B.K. Shaw, SNR XII, Pt. I, (1929).

4. See above p. 115

5. See above pp. 141-2

the other was the route of the Saifawa Mai's with possible exceptions.¹ Uthman b. Fudi expressed his desire in a poem to make the pilgrimage through the Fezzan, according to Waziri Junaidu.² 'Ali b. Nūh, Muhammed Bello's messenger and his amir haj, was most likely sent along that route.³ In 1843, the Wazir of Bornu, Haj Bashir made his pilgrimage by the way of Fezzan and Benghazi'.⁴

These routes were also open to pilgrims coming from the Muslim areas to the west of Hausaland. 'Umar b. Sa'id, for example, travelled through the 'Sudan route' on his forward journey to Mecca and returned from the pilgrimage through Bornu.⁵ A route from Salaga to Mecca, described to Dupuis, led to Katsina and then through the Air and the Fezzan to Egypt.⁶ The focal point where all

1. See above p. 121 ff. - below Appendix III.

2. Waziri Sokoto Junaidu, [Informant No. 42] wrote out of memory the following verse in Fulfulde from a poem attributed to Shehu Uthman:-

I den njaha fa fazzana fa misra natoien,
To jami'ul Lazhar njuloyen julde jum'ata.
(We travel to Fezzan, then to Egypt and enter
the Mosque of al-Azhar and make the Friday prayer.)

3. See above p. 169 and below, Bello's Message, App. II.

4. H. Barth, Travels (1965) Vol. I, p. 40.

5. See above pp. 213-4

6. J. Dupuis, Journal of a Residence in Ashanti (1824) Appendix No. 4 pp. CXXIV - CXXVII.

pilgrims from the western and central Sudan, travelling along these two routes, or conveyed by the smaller caravans of the western Moors, as well as those brought by the Tuati caravans, was the oasis of the Fezzan.

Oral traditions in Hausaland acknowledge the existence of routes to the pilgrimage either through the desert or else through the Nile. The more recent impression of the latter is in no little degree responsible for blurring much of the memory of the former. Yet, a more or less adequate picture of the Saharan route and travel on it exists. There were, it is said, caravans of pilgrims numbering up to 300 regularly leaving Kano. The leader was known as the 'Madugu'. When pilgrims arrived in the town they sought to congregate under one such person. A ~~'magdu'~~^{magdu}, it is said, was preferred for his possession of charms and especially for being able to employ the 'Jin'. Because he used jin to survey the road ahead, it is said that the Madugu usually travelled not in front of the caravan but at the rear. Traditions also speak of the charm 'industry' that was associated with pilgrimage travel. Pilgrims sought all sorts of protective charms, the most cherished of which is that by the name of 'Lazana'. This enabled a person who bore it to be invisible in moments of

danger.¹

The situation on the Wadaian and Darfur routes was similar. Trade provided safety and protection for pilgrimage traffic. This is apparent from Browne's description of the departure of the Darfur caravan:-

'The departure of a caravan from Darfur forms an important event. It engages the attention of the whole country for a time, and even serves as a kind of chronological epocha'.²

Occasionally a predominantly pilgrims' caravan left Darfur with a present to the holy places. According to French trading observers:-

"Le Darfour comme tous les etats musulmans devrait diriger chaque année sur la Mecaue une caravane de pèlerins à la garde des quels seraient confiées les pieuses offrandes destinés à la mosquée sainte et au tombeau du prophète; mais les difficultés et les lenteurs du voyage, les dangers qui le rendent parfois impraticable, en empechent l'accomplissement periodique, et quelquefois la Gellaba (caravanes) a manque à Siout pendant deux ou trois années consecutives".³

When the state of Wadai sent a present to the holy places this was carried on the Wadai-Kufra route. In 1846, such

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1. [Informants Nos. 30 and 32]. 'Madugu' is also the name given to leaders of a trading caravan. Cf. N. Levitzion [1968] p. 22.
 2. W.G. Browne, Travels (1799), p. 278.
 3. M. Stanislas D'Escyrac de Lauture, "Extrait d'un memoire sur le commerce du Soudan Oriental". Bull. Soc. Geog. (Dec. 1850).

present from Wadai arrived in Tripoli on its way to the Hijaz and consisted of 'a hundred camel loads of elephant teeth and twenty eunuchs'.¹

Trade caravans timed their departure with the pilgrimage season. According to Browne,

The merchant caravan from Murzuk [in Fezzan] to Cairo, contrives to reach Cairo a little before Ramadan so that those who liked to perform haj accompanied Emir Misr".²

The same was also said of the caravan from Darfur:-

"la caravane report rarement de Siout avant six mois; elle reprend dans la plus part des pèlerins qu'elle avait amenés ... La caravan part également du Darfour à une époque qui lui permette d'être à Siout au mois du Ramazan [Ramadan].³

It is also interesting to note that the safety of a fairly large pilgrims' caravan can be sought by merchants, as was the case with the caravan with which F. Hornemann travelled to Murzuk:-

The merchants of Aujila had appointed their rendezvous to be held at Kardassi, a village in the vicinity of Cairo; where I joined them in September the 5th, 1798, and leaving that place the same day, in about an hour we reached the great body of the caravan, which yearly returns from Mecca through Cairo and Fezzan, to the western countries of Africa. The caravan was waiting for us at a small village called Barnashi: We halted at some little distance from the

1. F. Fresnel, op. cit., (1848).

2. W.G. Browne, op. cit., p. 278.

3. M. Stanislas D'Escyrac de Lauture op. cit.

pilgrims, and encamped until the next morning; when the monotonous Kettle-drum of our Shaikh awakened us before rise of the sun, with summons to procede on our journey.¹

Two final remarks should be made here:-

First, these routes provided alternative high-ways for an area larger than their immediate vicinity. For example, the route described as that of Mai 'Ali b. 'Umar from Bornu lay across Bagirmi and Wadai. It is possible that this route crossed the Sahara from Darfur.² Also an itinerary of a journey that was described to Dupuis which was later given by Bowdich as that of a Sharif Ibrahim from Dagomba to Mecca went from Gaudja (Gonja), Bargou, Your (Yauri), Katsina, Bornou, Schad (Chad), Far (Fur), Wadai and Masr (Cairo).³ Second, that the choice of these Saharan routes was primarily determined by the financial capability of the traveller as was suggested by Burckhardt:-

"Pilgrims from the most western countries meet at Darfur after which such as can afford to travel with the Darfur caravan, (which requires

1. F. Hornemann ed. E.W. Bovill, op. cit., (1964) p. 58.

2. See below Appendix III.

3. T.E. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast to Ashantee (1819) p. 205. C.A. Walckenaer, Recherches Geographiques etc. (1821) Appendix IV, pp. 453-456. The interchange between Wadai and Darfur is a clear error. Mention of the latter suggests that the journey was undertaken along Darh al-Arba'in from Darfur.

capital sufficient to buy camels and provisions for the journey through the desert) repair to Siout from whence they procede to Djidda, by way of Kossair."¹

This is not to say that foot pilgrims were entirely lacking on desert routes. Some were noticed with the Darfur caravan as 'le tekrouri pouvre qui suit à pied la marche lente des chameaux'.² F. Hornmann described one indigent Moroccan pilgrim in the following:-

This man (as himself told me), was above sixty years old and this was his third voyage from Fez to Mecca, without possessing the least means of accommodation for the journey; without preparations of food for his subsistence; nay, even without water, excepting what commiseration and the esteem in which his pilgrimage was held, might procure for him, from the charity and regard of³ travellers better provided in the caravan.

But whereas the Sahara was the only possible route for an indigent Moroccan, sea travel obviously excluded, for the Sudanese indigent pilgrim, there was the alternative route through the Nile. This route, in the course of the 19th century, probably drained most of the poor foot traveller traffic from the desert routes.

1. J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia (1822) p. 408.

2. M. Stanislas D'Escayrac de Lauture, op. cit.

3. F. Hornmann, op. cit., (1964), p. 88.

iii. THE NILE ROUTE

The history of the use of the overland route along the sudan belt to the Nile, the Red Sea and the Hijaz probably goes back to a period earlier than the nineteenth century, the special concern of this study. There are geographical factors which naturally recommend it; climate and vegetation avoid the sharp contrasts and the aridity of the Sahara, while the extent of habitation makes it, for pilgrims who have meagre means of subsistence, a more economic way to travel. However, a conclusion drawn on the geographical facts alone - such as that which assumes that this route has been in use by pilgrims since the introduction of Islam in West Africa¹ (c. 1100) - is difficult to substantiate. A major problem is no doubt our limited knowledge of historical developments and population movements in the inter Chad-Nile region in

1. See for example, I.A. Hassoun "'Western' Migrations and Settlement in the Gezira" SNR, Vol. 33, 1952, p. 62. "The belt of migrations has always provided since the influx of Islam, a natural pilgrimage land route extending from Muslim West Africa to the Holy Places".

earlier periods.¹ With available information it should be possible to hazard some suggestions.

Pilgrims rarely saw themselves in the role of explorers. It is more likely that knowledge of the existence of a route was brought back by pilgrims returning from Mecca rather than found out through adventure from the Sudan. While on the pilgrimage the West African found himself in contact with pilgrims from the Nile and Eastern Sudan countries, and, through informal conversation, he would be made aware of the geographical realities. Though the introduction of Islam in the inter Chad-Nile region was probably an earlier event, it was not however until the sixteenth century that the region began to take a predominantly Muslim character.

The final collapse of Nubian Christianity and the rise of the Funj² kingdom of Sennar (1505) established

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1. Hypotheses that so far still await archeological confirmation have been advanced by Arkell who suggests an early east to west movement from Nubia pioneered by the royal Meroitic family in C. 350 AD, and by Shinnie who suggests that the medieval period C. 14th and 15th C. was a more reasonable period to look for evidence of cultural contacts between Nubia and the region of Lake Chad. See A.J. Arkell, A History of the Sudan (1961) pp. 174-186, P.L. Shinnie, Meroe, A civilisation of the Sudan (1967).
 2. The Funj made a claim, perhaps in the fashion known in West Africa, to an Ummayed descent. See Y.F. Hassan The Arabs and the Sudan (1967) pp. 173-174.

an Islamised black kingdom in the extreme eastern end of the Sudan belt. This kingdom had developed relations with the world of Islam in the Middle East; it was visited by roaming scholars conveyed by its pilgrimage caravans¹ and through its intermediary geographical position, had been a link between the Middle-East and the peoples of Darfur, Wadai and Bagirmi, in which countries Muslim dynasties also appeared during the course of the following century. Their historical traditions point to strong Islamic influences, in the case of Waday and Bagirmi Nilotic influences with pilgrimage forming a significant part of the foundation legend.²

The significance of the extension of Muslim power in the region between the Chad and the Nile lay in the fact that the peoples of these countries were now themselves making the pilgrimage, and, possibly in considerable numbers. This is confirmed by Sudanese traditions as reported by Muhammed Bello's Infaq: That the people of Darfur had a reputation for not obstructing pilgrims'

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1. M. al-Tunisi, Voyage au Darfur, p. 17. Mentions a pilgrimage caravan from Sennar, Tunisi's father returned with some Sennar pilgrims and remained to teach there.
 2. Reference here is made to the Kayra dynasty of Darfur said to have been founded by Solaiman Solong around mid 17th century. For the historical traditions on Wadai and Bagirmi see H.R. Palmer, Sud. Mem. II pp. 24-28 and pp. 108-9, respectively.

passage, for being hospitable to pilgrims and that Darfur itself contained the greatest number of pilgrims in the Sudan. The reputation, according to Muhammed Bello was shared, but to a lesser degree, by the peoples of Waday and Bagirmi.¹

The road through the Nile was probably started by pilgrims from Darfur. Those pilgrims such as could not afford the costs of a desert journey, were left with no alternative but to seek the charity and protection of the Muslim peoples and the Quranic schools scattered along the Nile. This may have gradually attracted pilgrims from countries lying further west of Darfur. The process continued in the eighteenth century. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the pilgrimage route through the Nile was a readily available alternative to the Sahara and was attracting pilgrims from as far west as Futa Toro.

During the nineteenth century pilgrims who opted to travel along to the Nile had two alternative exits from Hausaland. The first was through Bornu and the second through Adamawa. From Kano, which was the leading commercial centre of the region and the major point of congregation for pilgrims, they followed the road through the emirates of Katagum and Hadija to Birnin Gazargamu, and after 1814

1. Muhammed Bello, Infāq al-Maisūr (1957) p. 5.

to Kukawa. From Bornu the major road skirted Lake Chad southwards to Afade and crossed the Rivers Logon and Chari into Massénya, the capital of Bagirmi. From Massinya the road turned north-eastwards passing through Lake Fitri region into Nimru and Wara, later Abbeche, in Waday and into Darfur.¹ The assurances which Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanemi gave to pilgrims and travellers passing through Bornu² clearly indicate that at the outbreak of the Jihad (1808) there had already been through pilgrimage traffic from Hausaland to Bornu eastwards. This was the route of Haj Boubeker, of Rouzéé, who passed through Bornu in 1810-11, and others.³

The road through Adamawa, the Emirate itself having been formed at the beginning of the century, was more recent. Being a predominantly Fulani community Adamawa naturally attracted Fulani travellers, traders

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1. H. Barth, Travels (1965) Vol. II, p. 437. And, (Roads from Mās-ena to Wara) a 'Route of Haj Ba-bekr Sadik of Bakéda' in Appendix X, Vol. III, pp. 663-4.
 2. Muhammed Bello, Infag al-Maisūr (1957) p. 164.
 3. P. Rouzéé op. cit., pp. 455-456. Also see below for reference by Denham and Clapperton to a young pilgrim from Timbuctu, p. 289-90

and pilgrims. Roads linking Adamawa with the central lands of the Caliphate to the west, as well as those linking the emirate with countries to the east were perhaps primarily necessary lines of commercial contact. Official policy however also needed a gateway to be kept open to the east; a route to the Nile along which the proposed hijra to meet the Mahdi was to take place.¹ The urgency of the latter must have been specially felt during the years of active hostility between Sokoto and Kukawa. The main road from Adamawa to the east, probably during the greater part of the century, had however also aimed at Massèna in Bagirmi from which place it was one and the same as the road described above to pass through Waday and Darfur. The political element recommending the use of Adamawa must not, therefore be exaggerated. The military conflict with Bornu had largely subsided after 1826,² and, when Bornu expanded southwards it could also block the

1. See above p. 195. Also see description of route of hijra passing through Adamawa in C.H. Robinson, Specimens of Hausa literature (1896) p. 66. F. Fresnel, Memoire sur le Waday, Bull. Soc. Geogr. Sept. 1850; "Route de Kano au Bagirmi par Adamawa, Selon le pelerin Ba-Békér".

2. See above p. 150-1

road to Massinya at Logon.¹ In actual fact, and in as far as the main road from Adamawa to the east was concerned, Bornu and Adamawa became, during the century, alternative roads rather than substitutes. Thus pilgrims travelling to Mecca could pass first through Bornu and then Adamawa² and pilgrims returning from Mecca came first to Bornu and then to Adamawa.³

It is possible that with the interruptions of the road from Adamawa to Massinya direct communications had slowly been developed with the east along a more southern route that ran south of Latitude 10°N and was almost parallel to the northern road through Wara. Trading and pilgrimage routes had linked Massinya with southern

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1. H. Clapperton, op. cit., (Second Expedition) (1829) p. 235. Bello had not allowed Clapperton to go 'by way of Bagirmi, Darfur and Egypt, because "that was just going by way of Bornu, as I must pass through from Adamawa to Logon". The difficulties caused by Bornuese incursions in this area were also described to Clapperton by his informant on the eastern route, 'Hadj Omer'. See above p. 207
 2. H. Clapperton, op. cit., (1829) 'A Geographical account of the country, Rivers, Lakes etc. from Bornou to Egypt etc.' This route goes Shira-Katagum-Bornu-Adamawa Loggun, Bagharmy, Rooga [Runga?] Wadai, Fur. Appendix No. III, pp. 335-336.
 3. H. Barth met during his journey to Musgu, in Mandara, returning pilgrims who were on their way to Adamawa. He met some of them again on his journey to Massinya. These had decided to return eastwards. Travels, (1965) p. II, p. 96.

Arab and Sudanese peoples, the Salamat and Awlad Rashid Arabs and the kingdoms of Dar Runga and Dar Kutu. By the middle of the century an alternative pilgrimage route from Massinya lay across the above territories.¹ A link up between this road and Adamawa, without the north-eastern diversion into Massinya, would pass through southern Bagirmi and southern Wadai and would fit more accurately the road of the Hijra envisaged by Muhammed Bello.² The evidence for through pilgrimage traffic along this southern route from Adamawa during the early years of the century is sparse.³ It probably increased during the latter years of the century. For when Karl Kumm made his journey (1909) there had been movement of pilgrim parties along it. This road aimed at Mssenda and Ndele from which it turned north-eastwards into Kafi Kenji. It then by-passed al-Fashir, capital of Ali Dinar, to al-Nuhud and al-Obeid.⁴ According

1. F. Fresnel, op. cit.

2. See, letter from M. Bello to Modibu Adama quoted above p. 195

3. The only incident available is that of the itinerary written out to Clapperton [op. cit., (1829), pp. 335-336: which mentions Ronga.

4. K. Kumm, From Hausaland to Egypt Through the Sudan (1910). See map of the travellers route indicating 'Route of the Mecca caravan' from Ndele to Kafi Kenji and for instances of pilgrims met on the way or accompanied see for example pp. 217,

to Karl Kumm the road used to continue further eastwards from Ndele to Deim Zubair when the slaving empire of Zubair Pasha was at its apogee of power.¹

Early in the nineteenth century Burckhardt gave an adequate description of the routes which pilgrims followed on coming to Darfur. The first of these was along the Darb al-Arbai ^Cin. This had already been discussed.² The other two major routes were either through Sennar or through Shendi. Those who go through Sennar 'pursue their journey by three different routes; viz 1, through the interior of Abyssinya, by Gondar and Axum, to Massouah; 2, along the Nile from Sennar to Shendy and, 3, from Sennar to Taka, by the way of Ras al-Fil and from thence to Hallenga'.³

The route from Darfur to Shendi Burckhardt noticed as the most frequented. From Shendi pilgrims either travelled ~~northwards~~ to Damar to take the 'principal pilgrimage route to Ras al-Fil, Taka and Suakim' or continued northwards along the Nile into Egypt. They then either crossed from Asiūt eastwards to Kosseir or travelled further northwards to Cairo to accompany the Egyptian

1. Ibid., p. 218.

2. See above pp. 272-9

3. J.L. Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia (1822) p. 408.

caravan.¹

The major pilgrimage route which later developed into the truck route of the 1940s was the northern route described above as passing from Bornu into Bagirmi, Wadai and Darfur. Maidugary in Bornu province became its terminal on the western side. In 1908 the railhead was extended to al-Obeid. Within the Sudan (Republic of) the extension of railroads to Kassala and Port Sudan concentrated traffic on the pilgrimage port of Suakin.

An almost stereotyped picture of the pilgrim travelling on this route had been given by various observers. The following description of a Western Sudan pilgrim was given by Denham and Clapperton:-

The Kafilla which came from Sudan [Hausa] brought a young fighi from Timboctoo, the son of a Fellatah chief of D'jenne named Abdel Gassam ben Maleky. He was on his way to Hadge, and had left Timboctoo, as is the custom without anything beyond the shirt on his back, the rags of which he exchanged on the road for a sheep's skin subsisting entirely on charity. He was a very fine and intelligent lad of about sixteen, of a deep copper colour, but with features extremely handsom and expressive. He was five months from D'jenne and greatly exhausted by fatigue and the want of nourishing food: his whole wardrobe was his sheep's skin; and although the Sheikh [al-Kanemi], gave him a tobe, he said he almost thought it a sin to indulge in the luxury of putting it on. We were on the expedition to Munga when he arrived, and about the time of our evening meal Abdel Gassam generally

1. Ibid., p. 411.

made his appearance at our tents: bad as the fare was, he found it preferable to the cold mess of flour and water he got elsewhere. He knew little or nothing of the road by which he had come to Kano, nor even the names of the places he had halted at Abdel Gassam was a sort of prodigy, and could repeat the Koran from the beginning to the end He knew no Arabic and had scarcely been noticed in his long journeys, during which he had been handed from one Kafila to another He left Kouka in the month of August, in company with an old fighi from Waday, with a small leather bag of parched corn and a bottle for his water. I gave him a dollar to pay for his passage across the Red Sea, which he sewed up in his sheep's skin: I however heard afterwards, that he had been drowned in crossing one of the branches of the Tchad. My informant was a Waday Shoa: but if they found out that he had the dollar, he was most likely murdered for the sake of such booty.¹

Burckhardt gave us a picture of the pilgrim after arriving on the Nile and of his equipment:-

The greater part of them are quite destitute, and find their way to Mecca, and back to their own country, by begging and by what they can earn by their manual labour on the road. The equipments of all these pilgrims, are exactly alike and consist of a few rags tied round the waist, a white woollen bonnet, a leather provision sack, carried on a long stick over the shoulder, a leather pouch containing a book of prayer, or a copy of a few chapters of the Koran, a wooden tablet, one foot in length by six inches in breadth, upon which they write charms, or prayers for themselves or others to learn by heart, an inkstand formed of a small gourd, a bowl to drink out of, or to collect victuals in from the charitable, a small earthen pot

1. Denham and Clapperton, Narrative of Travels etc., (1828) pp. 386-388.

for ablution, and a long string of beads hanging in many turns round the neck.¹

Although the poor were probably the most predominant section of those who took this route to the pilgrimage they were by no means the only type of pilgrim who did so. Some of the companions of Burchhardt in his journey to Suakin included "one from Darfur, one from Kordufan and three from Bornu. The latter had travelled many years ago with the caravan to Fezzan and from thence to Cairo". "The principal among them and who became the head of our mess" Burckhardt told us, "was Hadji Ali el-Barnawy who had three times made the Hadj and was now established in Kordufan and spent his time trading between that place and Djidda".²

There was also what seemed to have been considerable trading activity by pilgrims themselves all along the route. The articles of trade were, mainly, asses which they bought in Darfur, books and other merchandise.³ Pilgrims seemed also to have been engaged in small time slave activity.⁴ By far the most common trade they

1. J.L. Burckhardt, op. cit., p. 407.

2. Ibid., (1919) pp. 364-5.

3. H. Barth, Travels (1965) p. II, 96.

4. K. Kumm, op. cit., p. 264.

employed, probably mostly in the Nile countries was the writing of amulets. 'In Africa as well as in Arabia' Burckhardt told us, 'the country people whenever the black Fakys pass, are eager to procure amulets of their writing, which are supposed to possess greater virtue than that of any class of pilgrims'.¹

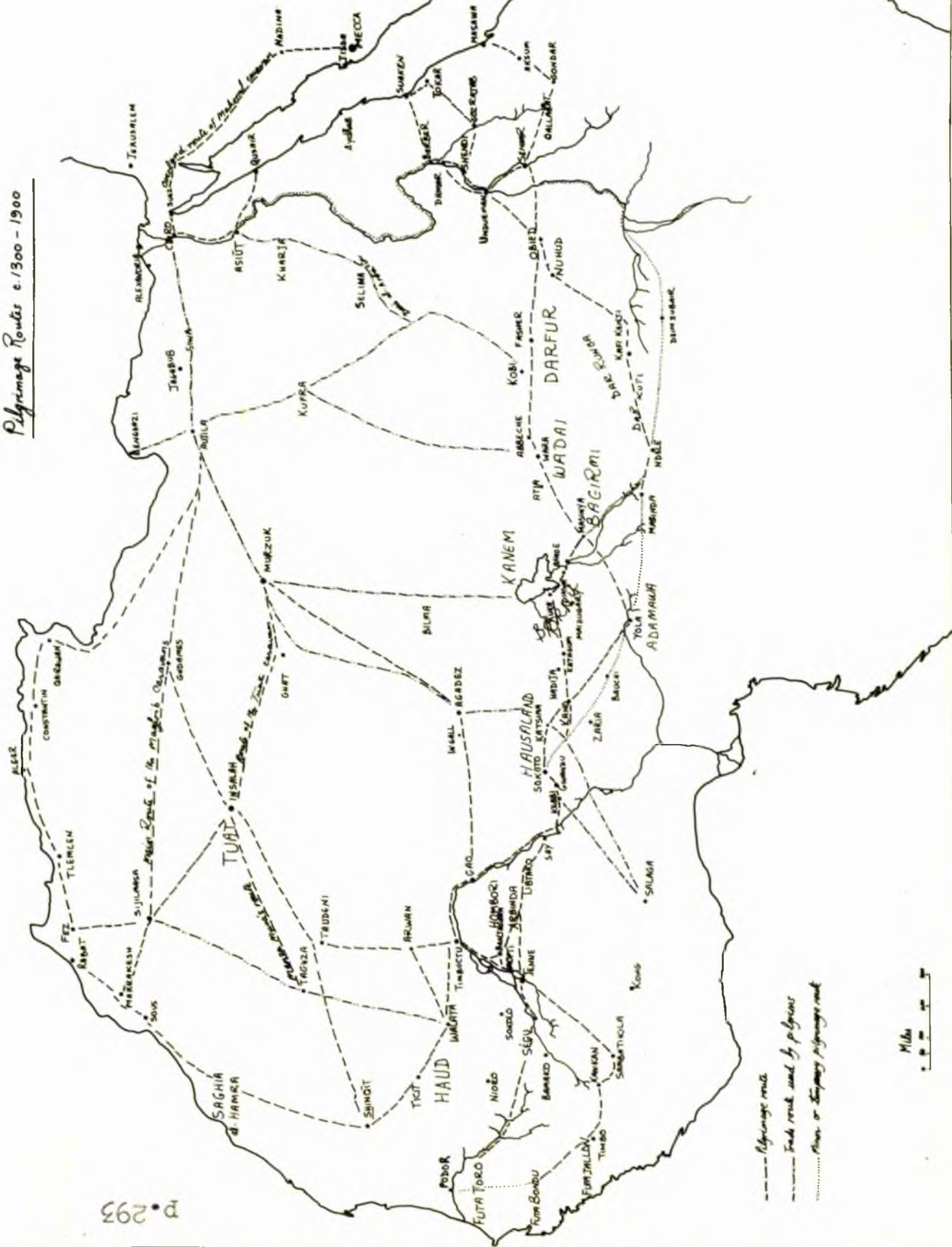
There was also travelling through the Nile at an early date some of the ulama and courtiers. Such important personages were issued with travel documents, a sort of passport stating their identity and the purpose of their travels, and asking or demanding (depending on the standing of the issuing authority) protection for them en route. The earliest known example of such a document was issued to a certain Muhammed al-Barnawi by the Darfur Sultan Muhammed al-Fadl (1802-18). Al Barnawy whose family still lived in Maidugary was one of those emigrant scholars who resided at the court of Darfur but who later in his life returned to Bornu.² A facsimile of a similar document is given in appendices.³

1. J.L. Burckhardt, op. cit., p.

2. The son of Muhammed al Barnawi, known in Maidugary as Shettima Mahmud is informant No. 39. The document is exhibited in the History Museum, University of Zaria, N. Nigeria.

3. Appendix No. IV.

Pilgrimage Routes c. 1300 - 1900



PART III

CONCLUSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

7. The Pilgrimage factor

This study, as was stated in the introduction, is concerned with the historical development of the pilgrimage movement from West Africa. The preceding parts trace the known records of pilgrimage from the eleventh century and give a closer examination of the developments, historical and doctrinal, affecting the pilgrimage by the nineteenth century. Incidental reference has however been made to the agency of the pilgrimage in various fields; the introduction of architectural design,¹ of fire-arms and expert knowledge in their use,² the introduction of religious orders, the turuq and so on.³ A complete assessment of the cultural role of the pilgrimage in West African history is beyond the scope of this study. However, and because of their relevance to Islamic development in the region, some observations are made here on two themes; the relationship between

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1. Above pp. 78-9, discussion of the career of al-Sahili who came to Mali with Mansa Musa on the latter's return from the pilgrimage.
 2. Above pp. 130-2. Idris Alooma of Bornu recruiting Turkish musketeers.
 3. See for example J. Abun Nasr, The Tijaniyya, p. 102 for the history of the introduction of this order in West Africa by Muhammed al-Hafiz b. al-Mukhtar, who passed through Fez on his way home from the pilgrimage and was initiated by Ahmed al-Tijani. In the nineteenth century the spread of the order owed a great deal to Haj Umar b. Said in his post-pilgrimage career.

pilgrimage and reform which, sometimes, was also revolutionary and the role of the pilgrimage in general education, but more specifically its role in sustaining the established scholarly classes.

a) Pilgrimage and reform

As individual factors of personal character, circumstance and contemporary events need to be considered in every case, it is difficult to give a categorical answer to the question of why pilgrimage, as is evident from certain and significant cases, triggered interest in reform. General suggestions may however be made. There is first the importance of the religious experience of pilgrimage. While on pilgrimage the Muslim finds himself physically in the closest place possible to God, the awe of which, added to the emotional excitement of the scene and ceremony, lead to the diligent searching of the person's own religion and its truthfulness and sincerity. There is also, secondly, the more tangible reason of experience and comparison. The need to traverse other countries where periods of stay, if not voluntary, may be necessitated by travel acquaints the person with other and older Muslim societies. In these places in North Africa, Egypt or the Hijaz also could be found contemporary leaders of Muslim thought at all ages. An opportunity of education, of further instruction is opened up for the

pilgrim and the comparison starts an awareness of the shortcomings at the pilgrim's own home which is a necessary prelude to the staging of reforms. It is also plausible to hazard a third factor which may be seen as applicable to West Africa and all semi-Islamised communities. Whereas in the Middle East Islam or other scriptural religions, Christianity and Judaism, have for a long time claimed the allegiance of the people, there were still in West Africa by the nineteenth century, peoples who because of their non-scriptural beliefs fall under the Muslim classification of pagans. The physical presence of paganism warrants on the one hand the legal waging of war, jihad, which itself is a highly rewarded action for the Muslim.¹ On the other hand the presence of paganism makes apparent the need for peaceful reform with the object of cleansing Islam from possible pagan contamination.

The association of the pilgrimage with reform is a long standing issue of West African history. It can be traced back to the eleventh century, to the pilgrimage of the Sanhajan chief Yahia b. Ibrahim who on returning from a pilgrimage (c. 1048-9/440) recruited the Maliki scholar Abdullahi ibn Yasfin in order to teach his people the

1. On the comparative position of jihad and pilgrimage see above pp. 176-8 and corresponding passages in reference to the Tanbih in Appendix I.

true religion.¹ The Sanhajan resistance to the rigorous teachings of Ibn Yasin caused his temporary withdrawal, which was to be followed by a phase of military campaigning that resulted in the creation of the Almoravid empire of the Western Sahara, Morocco and Spain. The Almoravid period as a whole was in many ways important for the subsequent history of Islam in West Africa. Its instigating events illustrate two facts. First, Yahia ibn Ibrahim's realisation of shortcomings in Sanhajan eleventh century Islam and his action in recruiting Ibn Yasin, show the reforming influence of pilgrimage. Second, the early career of Ibn Yasin among the Sanhaja illustrates the possible evolution of a theme of holy war from an attempt at peaceful reform.

There are scattered illustrations of the relationship between pilgrimage and reform in West African history after the Almoravids. The realisation by Mansa Musa while in Egypt that Islam did not allow taking free Muslim women as concubines, is an example of the possibility of the personal and individual improvement.² But the reforms implemented by Askia Muhammed of Songhay, after consultations with leading jurists like al-Siūti - the delimitations of slave tribal boundary within the

1. Also see above pp. 164 and Note ~~1~~, 1.

2. S. al-Munajjid, op.cit., p. 58.

empire for example - were more far-reaching.¹ His terming the war against Mossi on the advice of some of his scholars, a jihad,² was possibly an implementation of the Muslim maxim of division of peoples, vis-a-vis Islam, into a Dar al-harb, against whom war is legal and a Dar al-Islam who legally cannot be subject to jihad.

The career of Jibril ibn ^CUmar in the eighteenth century provides another example. Unfortunately his attempt to stage reforms among the Tuareq of Air, said to have prompted his second pilgrimage, remains, like almost all his career, little investigated.³ The successful reform movements of the same century, those of Futa Jallon and Futa Toro, on the other hand, have not been linked with pilgrims.

In their generality the jihads of the nineteenth century do not seem to have stemmed directly from pilgrimage. Although pilgrims could have contributed to the education of leaders, and in the case of Jibril and the Hausaland jihad may have inspired the movement, the jihads of Hausaland and Macina were led by scholars who were not pilgrims. As a career illustrating the historical association between pilgrimage and reform, that

1. M. Ka^Cti, Tarikh al-fettash, pp. 14-15.

2. A. al-Sa^Cdi, Tarikh al-Sudan, p.74, who also tells us that this was the first jihad in that region. The campaign took place in AH904, the year following his return from

3. See above p.142 pilgrimage.

of Ḥāj ʿUmar is in many ways significant.

I have stated earlier that it was the eventual successes of al-Ḥāj ʿUmar which focussed attention on his pilgrimage.¹ A brief account of his activity in the Middle East, so far as is known dominated by Tijani pursuits, was also given. But a full understanding of the impact on him of his pilgrimage experience awaits more detailed investigation of the genesis of his movement.²

To many West Africans al-Ḥāj ʿUmar represents the fulfilment of all possible ambition and achievement through pilgrimage. His wide reach of knowledge, his elevated Tijani standing as Khalifa of the Western Sudan as well as his success in establishing an empire contribute to a long standing veneration of pilgrims and to an almost mythical belief in the attributes of the pilgrimage.³ His jihad, though following the same pattern already known in West Africa of preparation, hijra and assault,⁴ and undertaken no less than twenty years after

1. See above p. 198

2. Such a work is presently being undertaken by Mr. J.R. Willis of the Institute of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, England.

3. See below for attitudes to the pilgrimage, esp pp. 331-3

4. See above account of main jihad movements of the nineteenth century, pp. 144-56

his return from the pilgrimage, nonetheless focussed attention on a dynamic relationship between pilgrimage and successful subversion. With al-Hāj^c Umar's successes started a period of wide belief in the political potential of the pilgrimage, exemplified first in attempts to emulate him or mould a career on his, and second, in the suspicion which pilgrim activity engendered in established authority.

To his kinsmen and supporters Muhammed al-Amin (known also as al-Sarakoli and locally as Ghanjur - the name of his home town near Kays on the Senegal), was no less endowed than al-Hāj^c Umar. Accounts say that he spent more than thirty years on his pilgrimage - some say thirty-six and others forty-four. The career of Muhammed al-Amin is so far largely obscure. His activity during his long absence is unknown. His qihad movement started in 1885 in the region of Kays but after temporary successes against the Almamate of Futa Bondu he was finally defeated and killed by an alliance between the latter and the French in 1887.¹ Two oral traditions I was able to collect in Mali purport to indicate the influence of al-Hāj^c Umar on Muhammed al-Amin and reflect

Accounts of his career are in

1. P. Marty, Etudes sur L'Islam au Sénégal, Vol.I, pp.86-87, where the parallel is drawn between Muhammed al-Amin and al-Hāj^c Umar - A fuller account is in, A. le Chatelier (1899) pp. 216-225. Also see:- H.J. Fisher, forthcoming article.

the suspicion of his activity on the part of the authorities.¹

Accounts immediately start the parallel between ^CUmar and Muhammed al-Amin by citing the latter's long-drawn pilgrimage and stay abroad.² It is said that on his return from the east Muhammed al-Amin first visited Tijani, Tokolor ruler of Macina, at Bandiagara. There, his followers allege, he was held by Tijani under the pretext of learning some Tijani ahzab, for a period of two years. From Bandiagara Muhammed al-Amin then went to Segou to the court of Ahmadu ibn al-Hāj ^CUmar. The relationship between the two on the evidence of supporters

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1. The first (a) of these accounts was by an elderly Sarakole follower of Muhammed al-Amin who was invited to relate his shaikh's career by ^CUmar Tal (informant 8), who was also present and who translated it to me into Arabic. The second (b) may be seen as the official account as it was related by a group of Sarakole. The main narrator was a son of one of Muhammed al-Amin's lieutenants. The interpreter, who with others occasionally took part was the grandson of Muhammed al-Amin, al-Hāj Sufian Drame (informant No. 9).
 2. Muhammed al-Hajj who is studying the Mahdist movement in the western Sudan suggested, orally, that during his absence Muhammed al-Amin had in fact visited the Egyptian Sudan and obtained a letter of appointment as a Mahdist agent. This is denied by Dr. Ivan Hrbek orally, on the ground that when the Mahdist movement broke out in the Sudan, Khartoum was captured in 1885, Muhammed al-Amin had already returned to the Western Sudan.

of both had been strained. The Sarakole supporters say that Ahmadu was teased by the fact that Muhammed al-Amin was more learned than Ahmadu was, and, particularly because of the fact that Muhammed al-Amin was increasingly becoming popular as a Tijani instructor. They also add that when Muhammed al-Amin came to Segu he asked God's blessings on al-Hāj ^CUmar in the usual way Muslims do over a dead person. This was said to have angered Ahmadu who, like others, did not concede the death of al-Hāj ^CUmar but believed in his mysterious disappearance. Also it is said, Muhammed al-Amin objected to certain rulings which Ahmadu made, among which was his decision that his father's wives were not to marry again. This, Muhammed al-Amin was said to have pointed out, was an act contrary to Islamic custom and in equating al-Hāj ^CUmar with the Prophet Muhammed, the only person whose wives were not married again, blasphemous.¹ Surviving traditions among descendants of al-Hāj ^CUmar on the other hand, portray Muhammed al-Amin as an ambitious up-start who was using his pilgrimage reputation to collect followers around himself. That he alleged to be the legal successor of al-Hāj ^CUmar as the Tijani potentate of the Western Sudan and thus hoped to eventually encroach

1. Account B of the traditions in previous footnote.

on the rule of al-Hāj ʿUmar's descendants. *

Muhammed al-Amin was consequently restricted to a small settlement near Segou which he called Ya Salam, it is said, though not necessarily with any significance, for seven years. Ahmādu finally is said to have made the comment that if Muhammed al-Amin was really zealous for the spread of Islam, why did he not do so in his own country and among his own people. Muhammed al-Amin's followers deny that he had any secular ambitions and assert that he had been kept near Segou against his will. The short-lived reformist career of Muhammed al-Amin started then.

Oral traditions carry the likening between Muhammed al-Amin and al-Hāj ʿUmar further. On arriving in his town, Ghanjur, Muhammed al-Amin was said to have despatched messages to the leading ʿulama of the Sarakole calling for support. In these messages, he told them that God had given him the privilege of going to the Haramain and had returned him safely to his country, that God also had given him all that he gave to al-Hāj ʿUmar al-Fūti and that the leaders of the Sarakole should support him as the Tokolors had supported al-Hāj ʿUmar.¹ When dismayed by the lack of support, Muhammed al-Amin

1. Accounts A. and B. of the same traditions above.

* Madan Tal (informant No.24), the chief of the Tal family in Mali expounded these views. This was supported by Saʿad Ture (informant No. 25).

was said to have written to a former childhood colleague by the name of Fodio Idris Jagana complaining of the Sarakole and adding, "is this not what we were talking about when we were studying when we were young, that if God gave the things which he gave to al-Hāj °Umar to a Sarakole °Calim, that °Calim will not find a single Sarakole to support him and on whome he could rely?"¹

Muhammed al-Amin's engagements with °Umar Banda of Bondu and with the French are related in dramatic terms and focus on the spiritual and high religious ideals of Muhammed al-Amin and the treachery of those who are seen as half-hearted Muslims such as have colluded with the Christian French against Muhammed al-Amin. It is also interesting as a point of comparison on a legendary level that when coming to a close, the narrator of Muhammed al-Amin's career concluded with the sentence, "the affair was finished and the Shaikh (Muhammed al-Amin) went in the direction of the desert of Mauritania."²

Al-Hāj °Umar's successful career it is interesting to note, influenced traditions of Qadiri reform movements. This is revealed by a recorded tradition of the Jihad of al-Hāj Mahmūd of Wa founder of the state of Wahabu. The document was written early this century. It focusses

1. Account B.

2. Account A.

attention on the pilgrimage of Hāj Maḥmūd which preceded his jihad, thus giving another nineteenth century instance of the relationship of pilgrimage with reform. It is however significant that the author attributed to al-Hāj Maḥmūd a higher initiation in the Qadiriyya while abroad, which is greatly reminiscent of the similar initiation of al-Hāj ^{Umar}. According to this MS:-

Two men disagreed about the reasons for the jihad of al-Hāj Maḥmūd and they were informed by the master of the time, shaikh al-waqt, the truth.

[That] al-Hāj Maḥmūd, whose attribution is Tal, went to Shaikh Taslim Saghanugu to be educated with his students. But he [Maḥmūd?] had a most beautiful wife to whom every one of his companions was attracted and [because of that] he did not stay. He [then] came to Safani to al-Shaikh Sidiq who died [soon after] and [Maḥmūd] remained with his brother [Siddiq's] Kurmugh Yara the blind wali who has integrity and high attributes, manaqib and studied under him. God gave him wide knowledge and when he saw the moon [announcing] Ramadan, and told the people about it, they did not believe him. He was angry. After the death of his teacher he was the most learned man in Safani. He entered Su'lu but did not find anyone equalling his status in learning. He then came to Imam Yahia ibn Abdel-Rahman in Jilasso whom he found to be a sea of science. He read with him all that was possible, took his Senad,¹ his Qadiri wird² and

1. Defined below p. 316

2. Defined below p. 408, note 2.

prepared himself for the pilgrimage ... He went to Mecca, Madina and Sham. In Sham he met ^cAbdel Rahim the descendent, hafid, of ^cAbdel-Qadir al-Jilani. ^cAbdel Rahim renewed his wird, asked God's blessing for him and made him promise to go back to that country Mahmud's to open conquer it and to build a mosque in every town he conquered.

After the pilgrimage he came back to Wa whose people followed him and vowed to open conquer the countries. They followed him till they came to the town that lies behind the river where he descended under a tree, I mean the town of Banda. He put up his tents and the people of Banda did not like that and there was a dispute between them. The first to pay allegiance to him were Daghat Juala and the people of Wa from his students, the Sy, Kunate and Traoare. His scribe Idris is the one who allowed me to have a look at their library. They helped the Shaikh against the infidels. 1

The success of al-Hāj ^cUmar turned the traditional respect for pilgrims into suspicion of their activity by established authority. This was implied in the strained relations between Muhammed al-Amin and Ahmādu ibn al-Hāj ^cUmar. An informant related a similar experience of his own grandfather called Muhammed al-Amin Sula, an calim from the Sula branch of the Sarakole, who became known after his return from the pilgrimage as Duntu Kurmugh, Duntu being the little village in which he

settled to the south of Bamako. He had by his reputation and teaching attracted many followers. This, according to the informant, aroused the suspicion of Samore, who immediately advised the Calim to quit the village as Samore advanced on the settlement, killing, according to the informant, some four thousand of the students. Sula himself was taken to live in Samore's court, where he remained for three years before being allowed to leave and settle in Bamako where he died and was buried in the old mosque of the town.¹

This suspicion became more pronounced in the case of the French administration after their occupation of West Africa. An overriding fear in French consideration had been the threat of the possible rebirth of militants of the calibre of al-Hāj ^CUmar. All contacts with the world of the Middle East were suspect. There were inquiries on the extent of distribution of Pan-Islamic literature brought by returning pilgrims and on the activity of itinerant teachers. In their survey of Islamic life in general, much attention was given to the activity of pilgrims. It was generally a reassuring fact that the number of actual pilgrims was not great. When a pilgrim was prominent in his town or region he

1. Informant No. 7, Sheikh Muhammed Zaina of Bamako.

was specially observed. For example a certain Hāj 'Abdel-Rahman Sisse of Touba was mentioned in a report in comparison with the only other pilgrim found in the cercle as "plus cultivé, plus intrigant et tenu sous le plus étroit surveillance. Il fait l'objet d'une fiche spéciale."¹ This fear and relief are apparent in the following extract from a report on the cercle of Satadugu of the former French colony of Soudan:-

Il y a lieu d'ailleurs de se féliciter au point du vue politique de ce qu'aucun musulman de cercle ait été accomplir le pèlerinage au tombeau du Prophete [sic]. Il m'a été donné d'observer ailleurs que le fait d'avoir accompli le pèlerinage donnait dans ces régions au voyageur une aureole qui tendait à en faire un personnage prestigieux: l'orsqu'il s'agit d'un ambitieux, le pèlerinage en fait un agitateur. Tel est le cas du marabout Fodi Ismaila Tounkara, de Koussani (c. Kays) qui au retour de son voyage à la Mecque (1910) prêcha la guerre sainte sur les bords de Sénégal.²

b. Pilgrimage and education

It will not be necessary to dwell at any length here on the general educational influence of the pilgrimage, benefiting almost all West Africans who perform it. The traditional means of transport, before the

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1. "Enquêt Sur l'Islam", Report on Banamba dated May 1914, in Bamako Archives, I.S.H.M., 1D.
 2. Ibid. Report on C. Satadugu dated 1914. See P. Marty, Etudes sur L'Islam et les Tribus du Soudan, Vol. 4, p. 28/9 for the career of Fodio Ismaila who compared himself with al-Hāj 'Umar and after gaining much success was finally arrested in 1911 by French authorities.

present age of plane travel, necessitating occasional halts along routes which lay across North Africa and Egypt or along the stretch of the Sudan belt to the Nile,¹ gave the traveller ample time for observations in the lives of different countries and people. This no doubt added to his store of general knowledge and broadened his outlook. Encouraged by the religious merits of visiting places outside the Hijaz, like Jerusalem, some ordinary West Africans finding themselves abroad travelled further afield in the Muslim world, to places like Constantinople and Baghdad.² The following are two observations made by Barth among many which reflect this educational aspect of the pilgrimage.

When in Agadez Barth heard one person who concluded from the presence of inscriptions on nearby rocks that the inscriptions 'indicated sepulchres in which treasures were hidden', which prompted Barth to observe:-

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1. See relevant sections on routes pp. 113-5 of part I and pp. 251-293 of part II.
 2. Denham and Clapperton, Travels (1828), Vol. II, p. 258; also see H. Barth Travels (1965) ii, 505, 566 for the career of Haj Ahmed, a Bambara, who was settled at Madina and fought in the campaigns of Ibrahim Pasha and went on several journeys to Basra and Baghdad and who was sent to Massena, where Barth met him, for the purpose of obtaining a present of eunuchs for the mosque of Madina; and, H. Clapperton, Second Expedition (1829), p. 206, on many in Sokoto who had been on pilgrimage and also visited Turkey and Morocco.

I was rather surprised at the philosophical conclusions at which this Barbarian had arrived and conjectured as was really the case, that he had accompanied Haj Addawa on his pilgrimage and on his passage through Egypt and had then learned to make some archeological observations. 1

The traveller was also impressed by a certain Faki Sambo, a Fulani, whom he met at Massènya, nineteenth century capital of Bagirmi. Sambo had made the pilgrimage and had spent some time studying at al-Azhar. With him Barth found a manuscript 'of these portions of Aristotle and Plato which had been translated into, or rather Mohamadanised into Arabic'² and commented:-

I listened with delight when I once mentioned the Astrolabe or Sextant, and he /Sambo/ informed me with pride that his father had been in possession of such an instrument, but that for the last twenty years he had not met a single person who knew what sort of thing the Astrolabe was ... He was a very enlightened man, and in his inmost soul a Wahabi; and he gave me the same name on account of my principles. I shall never forget the hours I passed in cheerful instructive conversation with this man; for the more unexpected the gratification was, the greater, naturally was the impression it made upon me ... The only drawback to my intercourse with this man was that he was as anxious to obtain information of me with regard to the countries of the Christians and those parts of the

1. H. Barth, Travels (1857), Vol. I, p. 429.

2.. H. Barth, Travels (1865), Vol. II, p. 506.

world with which he was less acquainted,
as I was to be instructed by him ... 1

The role of the pilgrimage in sustaining a West African Muslim scholarship requires more careful examination of available facts.

The pilgrimage journey has a traditional and long-standing association with Muslim scholarship. This is immediately evident from glances at biographical compendia or the lives of particular personalities especially those whose homes lay in the outlying countries of the Muslim world.² The pilgrimage was usually undertaken to crown a locally eminent scholastic career and while on the pilgrimage academic pursuits sought with the leading authorities of the day, in the Hijaz and Egypt, enhanced both the education of the visiting scholar and his scholarly reputation. Earlier I have indicated that such a tradition had already appeared in West Africa among the scholars of medieval Timbuctu and other Sudanese towns, and that this tradition was passed on and was exemplified in the careers of some Hausaland scholars.³

Despite significant contributions, our knowledge of

1. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 506-7.

2. See for example in Ibn Farhun al-Dibaj al-mudhahab, the careers of Abdel-Salam Sahnun of Qairawan p. 160-166, and the Andalusian Abu Bakr al-Tartushi p. 278-9 among others.

3. See above pp. 106-8

Islamic scholarship in West Africa in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries is as yet extremely limited.¹ The present phase of interest in West African history has recovered considerable materials of African origin dating to the nineteenth century. This material still awaits critical analysis and evaluation, especially with view to its original sources. Whereas the works of Ahmed Baba and al-Sa^cdi reveal an active interest in the pilgrimage among the scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, available evidence for later centuries leaves us with the impression of a decline in this activity. For this, reasons relating to the pilgrimage movement in general and to the development of local scholarship may be advanced. Otherwise, the tradition itself did not disappear completely and the pilgrimage may also be seen to have played an indirect role in enhancing the scholarly pedigree of non-pilgrim scholars.

Like other West Africans, the scholars were naturally affected by the facts surrounding the practicability of pilgrimage. The general rarity of the pilgrimage, and especially on the official side, has already been noted.²

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1. For example A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, "The Arabic literature of Nigeria to 1804: a provisional account", B.S.O.A.S., Vol. XXV, Pt. 1, (1962).
 2. Above discussion of attitudes of the Sokoto Caliphate pp.167-84 and the pilgrimage record of the jihad dynasties, pp.185-228

More important still was perhaps the fact that the scholarly class or representatives of that class had pioneered an attitude of abstention from the pilgrimage. There had been hence a considerably long tradition dissociating the scholars from the pilgrimage.¹ This and actual hardship may have made the development of locally institutionalised scholarship more imperative. By the nineteenth century the practice of roaming for additional authority on Islamic sciences was already known and fully established. Indeed the eminent careers of some non-pilgrim scholars and the extent of their literary activity confirm the fact that high standards could be attained within the Sudan.

Celebrated examples of West African scholars whose careers represent the continuity of the Timbuctu scholars' tradition are Muhammed ibn Muhammed al-Kashnawi, Muhammed Sambo, Muhammed b. Raji, Jibril b. Umar,² Muhammed b. al-Hajj³ among others. The career of al-Kashnawi illustrates the possibility of attaining recognisably high standards in West Africa before making the pilgrimage and

1. See above pp. 158, 162, 171 ff.

2. See above pp. 141-2 and further discussion shortly.

3. Muhammed b. al-Hajj, according to the infaq was a teacher of Jibril b. Umar with whom he went on the pilgrimage. This was Jibril's first pilgrimage. Jibril returned but Muhammed b. al-Hajj died abroad. Infaq, p. 29.

as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. According to al-Jabarti's biographical extract on him, al-Kashnawi had received instructions in the sciences and all the branches of knowledge in the Sudan under different teachers. Those enumerated are Muhammed b. Sulaiman al-Newali al-Barnawi al-Baghirmawi,¹ al-Shaikh Muhammed Bindu,² Shaikh Hashim³ and al-Shaikh Muhammed Fudi.⁴ While Fudi, whom he accompanied constantly for four years, taught him different branches of Adab, grammar and Law, al-Kashnawi received his instructions in the secret sciences, al-^culūm al-siriyyah, in mathematics, astrology and astronomy, for which he is famous, from al-Shaikh Muhammed Bindu.

Before arriving in the Hijaz, al-Kashnawi seemed to have executed a programme of travels the details of which are not known. On his arrival there he was already an acknowledged authority on the secret sciences. This is revealed in the introduction to his famous work al-Dur al-manzum. According to this, on his arrival in Mecca he was friendly with a certain Yunus ibn Muhammed al-Sudani

1. Infag, (1957), p. 21 - Bivar & Hiskett, op.cit., p.136 N.2.

2. Abdullahi dan Fodio, op.cit. Ida^c al-Nusukh.

3. See Bivar and Hiskett, op.cit., p. 139., Infag, p. 24.

4. Ibid. Muhammed Fudi is identified as the father of Shehu ^cUthman dan Fodio.

al-Hawsāwi who was resident there (in mujawara). The latter introduced a certain Isma^cil b. Hamza, Duḥaidih, to al-Kashnawi as a student seeking instruction in the secret sciences. The latter was at first wary of establishing a reputation for the knowledge of these sciences because 'these sciences, especially in the lands of Hijaz are misused and are associated with the generation of evil deeds, conflicts and create problems.' It was only after the assurances of Yunus and after al-Kashnawi's own realisation that Duḥaidih was himself a veritable scholar that he consented. The friendship which arose between them resulted in the edition by al-Kashnawi of the book entitled al-Sir al-Maktum.¹ (His own work was called al-Dur al-Manzūm wa khulāṣat al-sir al-maktūm fi ʿilm al-talasim wa-l-nijūm which he finished in Cairo in 1733-4/1146). al-Kashnawi died in Cairo in the house of al-Jabarti's family in 1741/1154. but if al-Kashnawi, from the fact of his death abroad, represented a sort of early brain-drain, other scholars had returned to the Sudan and resumed their earlier teaching careers.

An important institution of traditional Muslim scholarship is the ijaza (pl. ijazāt), or certificate,

1. In the introduction to above work in a MS kept in Nurosmeniya Kutuphanes No. 5075, Copy with Muhammed al-Hajj', ABC, Kano.

which concludes a period of study and by which the teacher acknowledges the qualification of his student in a certain branch of learning. The value of the ijaza depended on the scholarly standing of its author and hence interest in pilgrimage for the opportunity it affords of gaining the authorisation of leading scholars abroad. The ijaza, after it was written out, becomes the Sanad (pl. Asnad or Asanid), or the authority, of the student in himself teaching this or that branch of knowledge. The Asanid are thus important historical documents for tracing the sources of scholastic transmission.¹ A corpus of these documents, which has so far received little attention, is the Asanid of Shehu ^CUthman b. Fudi himself an example of the non-pilgrim scholar, encompassed in his work Asanid al-Faqir.² A cursory examination of this work will throw some light on the general relationship between the pilgrimage and scholarship.

The work comprises seventy-four large sized pages. It consists of an introduction, on the value and merits

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1. See an interesting attempt at tracing the transmission of Maliki Law to the Sudan in I. Wilks, "The Saghenughu and the spread of Maliki Law: a provisional note", Research Bulletin CAD, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1966.
 2. Mahammed Bello Infaq (1957), p. 48., mentions Shehu's book of Asnad entitled Asanid al-Da'if. The latter falls in 8 pages (copy in Ibadan Library) of the small size and is no doubt an abbreviated form of Asanid al-faqir (Nizamiiyyah School Library - Sokoto).

of guarding one's Asanid with care, and nine chapters. The most important of these are chapter two on the Asnad of Qira'at, or recitation of the Qur'an, chapter four on the Asnad on reading the most famous books on Hadith (the Shehu enumerates eighteen) and chapter five on the Asnad of Figh and Tasawuf, Law and Mysticism. The other chapters deal with initiations in individual rites of the Qadiriyya tarīqa.

In their generality the Asnad of Shehu ^cUthman confirm major known facts about his student career, such as his teachers and so on. Some useful observations may however be made. For example: the Sanad may be derived through a list of scholars in which pilgrimage may be assumed to have occurred very early, like the Sanad for al-Bukhari's al-Jami^c al-Sahih which gives Muhammed al-Kanawi? - Sulaiman b. Kabab? - Abu Bakr b. Muhammed known as Modib? - Harūn¹ b. Jibril - Ibrahim b. Musa Ghabar² - Abi Abdallah ibn Muhammed al-Fulani known as Abdallah Suk³ - Muhammed b. Ghanim al-Fazani - ^cAli al-qadi al-^cadl - Muhammed b. Muhammed al-Tajuri - Nasir al-Dīn allaqani.⁴

1. Muhammed Bello, Infag, (1957), p. 25.

2. Ibid., p. 22 mentions al-qadi Musa Ghabar al-Sudani.

3. Ibid., p. . . . He studied at Fezzan and Agadiz and did not seem to have made the pilgrimage. p. 22.

4. Nasir al-Dīn allaqqani d.1668, a famous teacher at al-Azhar mentioned as teacher to many Timbuctu scholars, see T. al-Sudan, p. 38 for example.

Assuming that teacher and student belonged to two generations, pilgrimage may occur in the third generation of the sanad like Shehu's Sanad on the same book which gives, Muhammed al-Kanawi - al-Awal? - al-Hajj ^CUmar ibn al-Shaikh al-Hāj al-Muṣṭafa? - Abu-l-Faiḍ Murtaḍa al-Husaini.¹ It can also occur in the second generation, as is the case of the majority of the Shehu's Asnad on this book and others derived from Muhammed ibn al-Hāj Jibril b. ^CUmar and Muhammed ibn Raji.

The latter category of Asnad allows a second observation; that both Muhammed ibn Raji and Muhammed b. al-Hāj had spent at least the greater part of their residence abroad in Madina studying under a certain Abu-l-Hasan al-Sindi, from whom all their ijazat to Shehu ^CUthman were derived. Jibril ibn ^CUmar, on the other hand, seemed to have spent the greater part of his residence abroad in Cairo where his main teacher was Abu-l-Faiḍ Murtaḍa al-Husaini al-Wasiṭi. The latter had issued to Jibril an Ijaza dated 1198/1783-4² which gave Jibril the licence to convey all the works of al-Wasiṭi himself, as well as all the ijazat which al-Wasiṭi possessed. Thus the Asnad of Shehu ^CUthman from Jibril do not only quote Jibril's own authority but also those

1. See below.

2. Asanid al-Faqir, Folio 67-69.

of al-Wasiṭi. This duplication, occurring in the case of other teachers, partly explains the length of the Kitab al-Asanid.

A third observation that can be made stresses more the indirect role of the pilgrimage. To the non-pilgrim scholar, his pilgrim teachers may convey a specially valued type of Sanad called al-Sanad al-Muttaṣil, or connected, i.e. to the original author of the particular work. The special place which this type of the Sanad is accorded by the Shehu is evident from its prominence as the opening of Shehuh's Asnad of al-Jami^C al-Sahih. This latter sanad was derived from Muhammed ibn al-Hāj from Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Sindi (verbally in Madina) and through a list of nineteen scholars the Sanad concludes in the author of al-Jami^C al-Sahih, Abdallah Muhammed ibn Isma^Cil al-Bukhari.¹

8. Attitudes to the pilgrimage.

A correct understanding of attitudes to the pilgrimage past and present needs to take into consideration as basic factors of influence, first, the lengthy tradition of pilgrimage in the area dating back roughly to the eleventh century; second, the physical separateness of

1. Ibid., Folios 15-17.

West Africa from the Hijaz; and third, the almost universal adherence to the Maliki School of interpretation with its characteristic emphasis on the duty of pilgrimage.

Let me add that the attitudes discussed below need not be unique to West Africa, but may be observed in other Muslim countries. Also, within West Africa generalisation about these attitudes is made difficult by the vastness of the region, the diversity of its peoples and the regional differences with regard to Islamisation and to traditional allegiances.¹ Discussion here is of the more common religious, popular and social concepts of the pilgrimage.

Concepts that are basically religious appertain to known attributes of the pilgrimage, largely believed in by all Muslims. Major themes in this respect are belief in the redeeming quality of the pilgrimage, and seeing the pilgrimage and the Holy shrines of Islam as places of refuge. The first is a subject of wide discussion and has received various treatments from different theologians. The views advanced may briefly be summarised as: the belief that pilgrimage redeemed all sins; that it redeemed all sins except major ones, Kaba'ir, and; that it redeemed the sins of one year, i.e. between one pilgrimage season

1. See Introduction for the area coverage of field-work,

and the next.¹ Generally speaking the belief in this attribute of the pilgrimage is a major driving force for Muslims to make the pilgrimage. In West Africa it is a theme that can be illustrated from different periods: for example, the story of Tarikh al-fettash, if it is to be credited, that Mansa Musa's pilgrimage was undertaken to seek forgiveness for the murder of his mother by mistake.² According to one tradition Askia Muhammed made his pilgrimage in remorse for the sin of killing Sunni Ali.³ In order to atone for the murder of a learned Sharif, Askia Daud was advised to make a pilgrimage which he could not undertake and that he substituted for it by offering large sums in alms.⁴

The belief in this nature of the pilgrimage is a consequence of Islamic allegiance and with Muslims it fuses with other religious concepts. It is, however, interesting to find that in West Africa this belief extends to the realm of the traditional religion. A version of the legend of Makanta Djigui attributes his decision to make the pilgrimage to his committing incest with his mother, for which he imposed on himself the

1. A precise account of acts that redeem sins is given by Umar b. Sa'id, Rimah, pp. 32-40.

2. Ka^cti, Tarikh al-fettash, p. 33.

3. Reported by J. Rouch, op.cit., p. 188.

4. See above p. 99

penalty of travelling to Mecca where, the legend relates, he met the Prophet and addressed him saying, "Je suis venu ici pour demander pardon d'un sacrilège que j'ai commis en abusant de ma propre mère; en outre, je désirais être instruit de ta religion encore inconnue en pays Mandé." The Prophet then instructed Djigui fully in Islam, and Djigui showed remarkable talent in memorising the Qur'an by heart. Djigui, however, met the chief of the magicians of Mecca, and repudiated his allegiance to the Prophet, returning to Mali as a pagan.¹

The element of refuge emanates from the common belief among Muslims in the sanctity of the Holy Places of Islam and the honour and merit of living in their neighbourhood. This is the major explanation behind the practice of mujawara.² This concept too can be illustrated at different periods. An early example was the wazir of Askia Muhammed, 'Ali Fulan, who, when deposed by Askia Musa, took to flight with the intention of making a pilgrimage and residing in Madina, but could not proceed beyond Kano, where he died.³ The abortive attempts of

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1. D. Traore, "Makanta Djigui, fondateur de la magie Soudanaise", Notes Africaines No. 35 juillet, 1947. and below pp. 332, n. 2, 333
 2. See introduction, p. 13
 3. See above p. 138; A. al-Sa^Cdi, op.cit., p. 83. According to al-^CUmar Mansa Musa had intended to return and live permanently in Mecca but had died before doing so - al-Munajid, op.cit., p. 59. Tyam speaks of al-Haj 'Umar's intended residence in Madina from which he was dissuaded by Muhammed al-Ghali, op.cit., "Qacida", pp. 13-14.

Abdullahi dan Fodio and Modibu Adama are variations on the same theme. The first was undertaken in disgust and disenchantment with the deterioration Abdullahi noticed among his jihad companions and their scramble for the affairs of this world; the second to emphasise protest against decisions made by a central authority (the Amir al-Mum'minin) whose authority Adama did not want to flout.¹

The nineteenth century, characterised by the gradual encroachment of Christian Europe on the Muslim world, introduced a political element and emphasised the select standing of the Holy Places. C. Snouck-Hurgronje who was in Mecca in the last decades of the nineteenth century explained the arrival of famous Egyptian scholars and others with more mundane reasons in the town by saying:-

No unbeliever comes to Mekka while the Azhar mosque had been defiled by the feet of English men and women. In Mekka there is a slave market. In Egypt slaves can be bought in secret, as if it were a sin. In Mekka remains a Muslim society uncontaminated by infidels, such as impossible in Egypt. Cairenes in Mekka will now admit the inferiority of their own city. 2

The subjection of West Africa to European rule in the last decade of the nineteenth century instigated mass movements to the east. The flight of Ahmadu ibn al-Hājj

1. Above pp. 191-2

2. C. Snouck-Hurgronje, Mekka in the latter part of the nineteenth century, tr. J.H. Monhan, (1931), p. 185.

^cUmar together with many of his followers sought the final refuge in a pilgrimage. In the case of the defeated Sultan of Sokoto and his followers the military catastrophe was reinforced by latent doctrines on the approaching end of the world and the necessity of making the final hijra that were current in past decades of the century. In the case of both these groups large numbers succeeded in making the pilgrimage.¹

The influence of sufism

The two major religious orders, turuq, that share the allegiance of West African Muslims are the Qadiriyya, of long standing in the area, and the Tijaniyyah, introduced and rapidly spread during the nineteenth and the present centuries. In the main, the influence of sufi affiliation lay in the fact that on the one hand sufi literature usually exaggerated reward and punishment, and on the other, it placed special importance on the person of the Prophet as the final link and mediator with God. The first may lead to over zealousness in the pursuit of pilgrimage; the hardships and difficulties appeal to the ascetic outlook of a sufi affiliate. The

1. Discussion of these events is given above pp. 229-49
For numbers of West Africans who made the pilgrimage, see above p. 248

second, reflecting itself in the vast amount of poetry¹ expressing love of the Prophet and the desirability of making the pilgrimage and of visiting Madina, may be seen as a force driving many to make a pilgrimage. Generally all West Africans visit Madina; with some this, rather than the actual pilgrimage in Mecca, seems to be the major object. The claim of Ahmed al-Tijani that he was in direct link with the Prophet had further deepened the idea of his love and emphasised his importance. This, among other factors,² may count as an explanation for the fact that pilgrimage is more common among the West Sudanese Tijaniyya than those affiliated to other turuq.

The basic idea of sufism, that of the possibility of attaining salvation through human intermediaries, may favour the cult of saint worship, this when exaggerated,

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1. Indigenous poetry is either on the pilgrimage itself; recounting an experience like Legon IASAR 194 by 'Umar b. Tahir Sanawi or expressing a desire like Uthman b. Fudi's Hal-li-masirun, op.cit.; or in praise of the prophet which is noticeably more common; Expls. IASAR 130, 324, 87, 91, Raud al-^cAshiq of Abdullahi don Fodio, and others. Famous poems of wide currence in West Africa which are classical examples of poetry on the prophet are those by al-Fazazi the Ishriniyat and the Burdah of al-Buṣiri.
 2. On asking about the reasons why Tijanis are keen on the pilgrimage different answers were given relating mostly to the above. Some say that one of the attributes of the Tijani wird is making pilgrimage easy for Tijanis (This is in fact reported in Ma' al-a'ynain, Na^ct al-bidayat p. 205). There is also some truth in the observation, usually made by non-Tijanis, that the latter go too often on the pilgrimage because they are usually the richer people.

might in fact distract attention from the pilgrimage. But a noticeable feature of Islamic life in West Africa has been the absence, with significant exceptions, of local saints attracting veneration as some do in other parts of the Muslim world.¹ Although the Qadiriyya had eminent representatives like Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kunti or ʿUthman ibn Fudī, their graves have not become outstanding centres of visitation. The latter had in fact discouraged saint worship and the visit of graves. His own tomb was only recently rebuilt and decorated by the late Sarduna of Sokoto. It has been customary however, for people to pay a visit to it before setting out on the pilgrimage.² Tijani doctrine is opposed to saint worship and visits to graves and shrines. This was combined, in West Africa, with the fact that al-Hāj ʿUmar b. Saʿid has no known grave, since his followers deny the fact of his death and believe in his disappearance and retirement,

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1. The cult of Saint worship was particularly prevalent in north Africa - see J. abun-Nasr (1965), p. 4-7; Infraq (1964), p. 158 mentions a tree in Dimat in Egypt where acts of devotion were made and sacrifices offered. Also see J. Spencer-Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, p. 96; H.J. Fisher, Ahmadiyya, p. 7, p.23.
 2. From various informants in Sokoto. The present Wazirin Sokoto has published two short pamphlets on the procedure of visits to the tombs of ʿUthman and Bello, Hubbaren Mujadidi Shehu Usman Dan-Fodiyo and Hubbaren Sarkin Musulmi Bello, printed by Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria.

some say to Mecca.¹

The Murid sect of the Senegal as an indigenous Sudanese fraternity form an altogether outstanding and largely exceptional feature within West Africa. No study exists as yet of the religious basis of the order and of the teachings of its founder Ahmadu Bamba.² Muridism is at present seen mainly as a politico-religious phenomenon in which economic interests are intermingled with sectarian allegiance. There is no doubt that for a considerable number of the present Murids the annual visit to Touba commemorating the return of Ahmed Bamba from exile is a religious necessity. As such it may, for some, have a substitute value for the pilgrimage. This is however an inadequate criterion of judgement.

The French term *le pèlerinage du Touba*, by which the annual ceremonies came to be known in French sources, is an inaccurate description because it passes on to the

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1. See this tradition reported in P. Marty Etudes sur L'Islam au Sénégal, Vol. I, pp. 88/9. Muntaqa Tal for example denounces this interpretation and like many others believes in the disappearance of al-Haj Umar without naming a location.
 2. The works of Muhammed al-Amin Diop entitled Ichna' al-^Cadim bi hanaya awrad al-khadim, and, Irwa' al-nadim min ^Cazb hubi al-khadim are a manual of the litany of the Muridiyya and a history of Ahmed Bamba respectively. The author had been in the constant company of the founder. His command of Islam and the Arabic language is impressive. These works will no doubt be basic to a religious study of the Muridiyya.

Arabic the indefinite sense of pilgrimage as it is known in European usage and in Christianity. Strictly speaking, haj, in Islam can only be made to the shrines at Mecca, to the exclusion even of the Madina visit. Enlightened opinion among the Murids themselves denies categorically that the annual visit is an equivalent of the haj.¹ Indeed this would clearly slight the standing of Ahmadu Bamba himself as a devout Muslim, a view that is shared by Murids and others. Ahmadu Bamba himself, it is related as evidence, had plans of going on the pilgrimage. He had started his preparations and intended to do so in 1894 when the French authorities intervened and blocked the venture. He had left a will that a pilgrimage be made on his behalf after his death. This was performed in 1928 by three people, his brother Shaikh al-Mukhtār, his cousin Mbake Boso and his son, the present Grand Murid Felilo Mbake.² That Felilo Mbake is himself a pilgrim, though technically on behalf of his father, is a little publicised fact; the pilgrimages and Middle Eastern activity of his brother Shaikh Mbake are however widely known.

Murids in general share the present interest in the

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1. From discussions with Muhammed al-Amin Diop, informant No. 2, and others in Senegal.
 2. Diop confirmed in an interview with Felilo Mbake in April 1966.

pilgrimage with other Senegalese Muslims. It is relevant to relate here my personal observation that during a meeting with the Grand Murid a woman pilgrim came to see him and delivered presents consisting of a tin of zam-zam water, a book and a packet of dates.

Popular concepts of the pilgrimage are of different types. Some of these may be seen as the misrepresentation of religious principles. For example the very popular belief that difficulties and hardships which a pilgrim suffered when travelling on the pilgrimage are not only a necessary condition of pilgrimage, but they also are ground for more reward,¹ or that death on the way to the pilgrimage procured a status of martyrdom.² The currency of these and similar beliefs, may rightly be attributed, as indeed it is by many, to the generally low standard of religious education. These beliefs arise from the acceptance of fiqh injunctions, bare bones, without resort to ~~the~~ mass of explanatory literature that

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1. In the last analysis this may be seen as an influence of Maliki doctrine. But Maliki jurists had also questioned the absoluteness of the obligation. See above pp. 158-162 and passages in the Tanbih in Appendix I.
 2. Though no specific authority can be cited here it is generally accepted that the status of martyr, shahīd, apart from dying in jihad is given to one who dies in a fire, by drowning or in self-defence. So long as fatal danger is anticipated pilgrimage should not be undertaken for then even by the above rule, he would not be a martyr.

has been written on different points. There was, as was shown earlier, the predominant method of teaching fich as it existed in original works and with no special adaptation to West African realities. It was also shown earlier that works of the calibre of Bello's Tanbih, which attempted to see the pilgrimage obligation under the light of real difficulties were rare, and that the fatawa of learned jurists who legally excused Muslims from pilgrimage had had a rather limited and regional influence.¹ Further, most of the books by which the average West African Muslim is guided even today, are abbreviations, usually in poetry, of originally very lengthy treatises,² and convey only the very minimum of information.

Of basically a religious nature also is the wide belief in the clandestine pilgrimage, khatwa, to which reference has already been made in this study and for which the psychological element of distance may count as

1. Above pp. 162-3, 192-4

2. Five basic works used in West Africa are the Mukhtasar al-Akhdari fi al-'ibadet, Manzumat al-Qurtubi (in verse), Matn ibn 'Ashir (in verse), al-Durar al-Badi'ah a commentary on al-'Ashmawiyah and the Risalah of Abdullah Ibn Abi Zaid al-Qairawani. Also see, Introduction on average contents of fich books of local authorship and discussion ~~in~~ of the traditional method in teaching fich among the Fulani, P. 172 & n. 1, P. 173-4.

a plausible explanation.¹ Popular beliefs may also be associated with religious doctrines and as such affect whole groups, like the different ramifications of the doctrines of Mahdi and Hijra. By associating pilgrimage with the imminent end of the world these doctrines affected practice as is best exemplified in the popular tradition explaining the inaction of Sokoto dynasts.²

Some popular concepts may result from an exaggeration of the religious attributes of the pilgrimage. For example, the common Muslim belief in the efficacy of asking God's favour while on pilgrimage, if exaggerated creates around the pilgrimage an aura of myth. Thus for some the success of returned pilgrims is solely attributed to the fact that they had asked for particular fulfilment of ambitions. al-Hajj ^CUmar, it is said, asked for power; others may ask for wealth or learning. This belief is still widely current; it is an object of disdain, among the enlightened West Africans, that some pilgrims collect other peoples' monies with the pretext that while on pilgrimage they were to ask for a particular

1. See above p. 190 and note 2 ; also see the secret journey of a Mauritanian saint, Mahand wuld Ahmed, to Mecca in H.T. Norris, Shingiti Folk Literature and Song (1968), p. 136-8.

2. Discussed above pp. 194-7

wish on their behalf.¹ There is here room for the possible influence of traditional beliefs on Islam; the belief and practice are sometimes reflected in pagan belief. A version of the legend of Makanta Djigui, so far not recorded among the various published versions of the same legend,² was often cited. According to this Djigui (his full name means Djigui who went to Mecca) was a provincial ruler who had fallen foul of his king. He knew that Mecca was the place where all wishes were granted and he decided to go there and ask revenge on the king. He promptly undertook a pilgrimage. But in Mecca he realised that his wish could not be fulfilled

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1. This practice was also current at the time when Bello wrote the Tanbih in which he derided this action specially when the assistance of the Hausa Kings was sought by pilgrims in that manner. See Appendix I, pp 340 - 388
 2. Two versions of this legend are given in D. Traore, op.cit., 1947. Also see l'Abbe Jos Henry, L'ame d'un peuple africain, Les Bambara (1910), pp. 131-134; L. Tauxier, La Religion Bambara, (1927), p. 289, Note 3 and G. Dieterlien, Essai sur la Religion Bambara (1951) p. 87-92 and note 1, p. 92. The version I am reporting above is extremely current in Mali and was cited to me as an explanation of this aspect of the pilgrimage by an informant in Bamako, No. 12, and also in Mopti by informant No. 23. The underlying principle in the legend, agreed upon by all versions was that the idols and fetish worshipped by followers of this religion was imported from Mecca by Makanta Djigui.

because when he made the pilgrimage he was not a Muslim. He was therefore furious and on returning to Mali he concealed his disappointment in alleging to have brought back with him all the fetishes and idols that existed in Mecca. With these he set up his own rival religion which attracted many followers.¹

The social element

Interest and pride in acquiring the title *hāj* (*al-haji*)² are a noticeable feature of present day West African Muslim life. Criticism of what appears as a blind rush for social distinction is often expressed by the few.³ This criticism mainly bewails the decline of a past and glorious ideal, in which the title is said to have rightly commanded respect. The present interest in the title is a largely sociological problem for which

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1. Informants 12 and 23.
 2. The title *al-Haji* is attached to the name of a child born on the Haj day (some say to all children born in Ramadan). It is very rarely used as a first name. If a child was named after an ancestor who was a pilgrim, the child also receives the title - see above p. 99
 3. The statement in J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (1959), p. 87 that those who make the pilgrimage by air are scorned as pseudo-pilgrims may be brief but adequate. It is difficult to find from historical tradition substance for his statement in the same page that the returned pilgrim did not enjoy an enhanced reputation.

there were no doubt historical undercurrents. There was, on the one hand, the lengthy tradition of pilgrimage associating pilgrimage with historical figures of West Africa, the Mansas, the Mais or prominent Culama. There is also the religious implication in the title. The title also testified for those who have performed a pilgrimage that they belong to the community of Islam. Of more relevance to this study are, however, reasons particularly associated with the history of pilgrimage practice in West Africa.

The keynote in pilgrimage traditions referring to the past (before the present century)¹ was the difficulty involved in undertaking a pilgrimage journey. Primarily this was due to the combination of the factor of distance with the use of conventional non-mechanised transport. Numerous dangers are spoken of as having constituted this difficulty; there were fears of robbery, murder, loss or even enslavement.² Generally speaking the

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1. See Introduction pp. 42-3 for a working means of delimiting oral traditions.
 2. The latter was particularly feared. Some instances were related by Informant 25, who told me of a family who are still locally derided in Segu because their father was enslaved on his way to the pilgrimage. In an interview with the Alubaden of Ibadan (No. 26) all present pointed to what is a well-known case of a local mē'lam Harūn who went with some of his students on a pilgrimage. Some of them were killed and himself enslaved near Lake Chad.

But also see above pp. 288 for a pilgrimage route which used to pass Daim Zubair, the slaving capital of Zubair Pasha in Bahr al-Ghazal.

eulogising comments made by outside observers on the devotion, fanaticism and confidence of Takrūri pilgrims are misleading.¹ They obscure the fact that within their own regions these people were no less seen as fanatic and their action, far from being common behaviour, was seen more out of the ordinary than normal. Traditions assert that a person who resolved to make a pilgrimage was aware that he might not return. Hence he would settle all his affairs at home; wives were given the choice of a divorce if they could not wait indefinitely, property was distributed, debts paid, and the departure of a pilgrim occasioned the mourning of relatives and acquaintances. This reflected itself in the smallness of the number of pilgrims.

It is virtually impossible to give an accurate assessment² of the number of pilgrims leaving a certain

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1. For example the comment by F. Freznel who collected his information at Jidda that:-
 Ces immenses voyages le long d'une zone
 alternativement brulente et humide ne sont
 rien pour des pèlerins noirs, et ils parlent
 en riant de ce que nous appelons leur fatigues.
 Quant aux dangers, ils n'existent que pour nous ...
 "Memoire de M. F. Freznel sur le Waday", Bull. Soc. Geog.,
 Vol. XI (1849).
 2. Mainly because of lack of statistical data for pre-twentieth century periods. The surveys which European administrators made generally recorded the aspect of rarity. For example see P. Marty, Etudes sur L'Islam au Senegal (1917) Vol.II, p. 20 of the rarity of pilgrimage among the leaders of religious groups and that in all of Senegal the number of pilgrims did not exceed half a dozen - also see P. Marty, 'L'Islam et les Tribus du Soudan, ii, 74 and 231-2.

region at a certain time; the information supplied by informants usually referred to their particular family or locality. In some places pilgrims of a certain region could roughly be counted and named. When a pilgrim was famous, like al-Haj Umar b. Sa^cid for example, his memory blotted out previous recollections; for many in the Senegal he is considered the first pilgrim ever from the area.¹

The respectable position which a pilgrimage conferred on the individual was, in the last analysis, the appreciation of what the person had undergone to accomplish his pilgrimage. Traditions portray the respectability of pilgrims in various ways. For example, it was believed that the first person to see the face of the returning pilgrim would be struck blind by its radiant light.² Pilgrims themselves lay great store by their accomplishment; a certain alfa Boukar Karontoba in Macina, was said to have kept his right hand wrapped up since his return from the pilgrimage because this was the hand with which he had touched the various places of visitation in the Hijaz. He was said to have refused to

1. On posing the general question of early known pilgrims in Senegal one is always told of Haj^c Umar. Others go as far as saying that the pilgrimage was not known in the area before him. Such a view was also expressed by informant No. 1.

2. Information from a Gao informant, No. 10.

greet al-Hāj Umar with it and only unwrapped it to do so when the latter reminded him that he himself saw the Prophet twelve times daily in person.¹ Pilgrims also received material rewards, as was the case of a certain al-Haji Khoma who returned to his village, Dioni, in 1885 after seventeen years of absence in Egypt, Palestine and the Hijaz. A report tells us:-

La [at Dioni] il trouva la recompense de ses peines. Il est considéré comme un homme touché par la grace divine, et déjà sans dot, une fille lui a offert sa main qu'il accepte. 2

There were hence occasional fake pilgrims. An informant spoke of the arrival of such a man who collected sums of money and many gifts while posing as a pilgrim just returning from Mecca. The informant's father and others finally discovered his trick when he failed to answer some preliminary questions on the relative positions of some of the places in Mecca.³

Finally, was the fact that some countries of West Africa, like Bornu and Hausaland, were geographically closer to the Hijaz significant? Oral traditions in those countries also stress the traditional division between a glorious past of the pilgrimage and a rather debased present.

1. Informant from Mopti, No. 22.

2. Report on Dioni (c. Koulikoro) dated April 1904 in I.S.H.M., Bamako Archives.

3. Told by Shaikh Sa^cad Turé of Ségu, informant No. 25.

There may have been a relatively greater number of pilgrims from this region.¹ This was not entirely the result of geographical proximity. It was more due to the fact that these countries had been in more recent centuries the gateways for Sudanese contact, commercial and otherwise, with the world of the Middle East. A pilgrimage journey from these countries may have been relatively easier. Their pilgrimage traditions were hence also, naturally, richer than those of the countries to the west. Nonetheless, attitudes vis-a-vis respectability of pilgrimage ^{were} ~~was~~ not radically different.

Denham and Clapperton commented in Bornu that 'persons who have been to Mecca, of the meanest capacity are treated with the greatest respect, and always provided for, indeed every house is open to them.'² Traditions here also draw a line between the reception a pilgrim received in the country and that which he was likely to

1. See H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition, 1829, p. 206, that 'many of them [the Fellata in Sokoto] had performed their pilgrimage to Mecca and others had visited the Empires of Turkey and Morocco etc.' The same was also noticed in Bornu, See Denham and Clapperton (1828), II 161/2, that "In the Bornouan towns are many hadgis who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca and excell in writing the Arabic characters as well as teaching the art to others."

2. D. Denham and H. Clapperton (1828), Vol. I, p. 379.

receive in a town of enormous size and long-standing traditions of learning like Kano or Katsina. Otherwise some informants say,¹ the person was judged by his personal and positive qualities, a view that may sound greatly withdrawn from the social scene of present-day West Africa. Indeed some carry their opposition to title glorification further by considering its attachment to their names an insult; pilgrimage, like prayer and others, is a duty and as such its accomplishment need not demand distinctive recognition.

1. Malam Nasir Kabara, for example, informant No. 30, Principle of Kano Judicial School.

APPENDIX I

Muhammed Bello Ibn ^CUthman, Tanbih al-ra'id¹; a statement of Sokoto 'policy' on the pilgrimage.

Translation

Folio

1. In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. May God bless our master Muhammad, his family and companions, with the purest blessings, and grant him and them the most perfect peace. Praise be to God whose greatest favour is to grant success. I praise Him for what He imparted and what He taught of direction and the ability to scrutinise. Blessings and peace on Muhammad the compassionate mediator and on his family and companions who pursued the right path.

Next, when I realised in myself the strength of desire and longing for the sacred house of God, and the greatest desire to visit the tomb of His prophet Muhammed,

1. The MS translated here is no 82/256 of the Arabic collection in the library of Ibadan University. The contents and probable influences of the work are discussed above pp. 171-184. The MS is hand copied and despite the fine writing of the copyist, it has many spelling mistakes and is sometimes difficult to read. Although an attempt is made to adhere to the literal meaning as much as possible, the translation is primarily intended to convey the sense of the original. As it is beyond the scope of this study, no detailed analysis of the work regarding its literary side has been undertaken, but references are made to the major authorities quoted in it.

on him the best blessings and the purest peace, [I thought] it is for every believer who has not made the pilgrimage to the sacred house to be desirous of so doing, and it befits him who had not seen the glorious tomb, al-rawdah al-munifah, to be sad - especially when he sees people arriving while he was at a great distance hindered by impediments and obstacles, sitting down while they are travelling. Glory for those who are heading for the sacred house and for he who said:- [Poetry]

The winners are those who rode their camels

Hurriedly across the wilderness with hope.

They arrive at the sacred house, their hearts inspired
with love,

They dismount at the door at which nobody is disappointed.

Their hearts are between fear and hope.

2. I was afraid that the accursed enemy [the devil] might have, in this state of intoxication, a trick to play. It is said that he watches people carefully; those who are engaged in holy war, shl-al-jihad, those who are scholarly in the ways of piety and the path of good. He then comes to one whom he sees engaged in reading the Qur'an. He tells him, "why don't you make the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God and read the Qur'an on your way, and [thus] combine the benefits of the pilgrimage with those of reading the Qur'an?" [He pursues him with this idea] until he makes him set out on the road. He

then tells him, "be like the rest of the people. You are now travelling and you are not obliged to read." The man then stops reading [the Qur'an]. He might neglect other obligations and might not, even, attain the pilgrimage. His need for a livelihood might distract him from the pilgrimage rules. He might commit murder. Or, for having to travel in a manner he was not prepared for, he might acquire contemptible habits like parsimony and bad manners and things like that. If [the devil] cannot spoil [the Muslim's] good deed, he approaches him with a second more meritorious than that he was engaged in doing until he forsakes the first. He does not [finally] leave him until he has spoiled both for him.

- al-Barzali said, "it was related to our Shaikh abi Muhammed al-Shabibi on Talib al-Maghariba (?), that the
3. devils of the east quarrelled with those of the west.
- The devils of the west said, 'we are more versed in the art of deception than you are. We come to a man happily living with his family and children, performing all the obligations, ~~prayer~~, alms and so on. When we see that he is in full comfort we start the talk on the desirability of going to the land of Hijaz. We then cast the spell on him. He cries, and we convince him that he should travel. As soon as he leaves his home we make him disobey all the obligations. We make him commit all that was forbidden, until he returns home. He thus loses

in all respects, with regard to himself, his money and his religion.' The devils of the east [on hearing this] conceded the primacy in the art of deception to the devils of the west." al-Barzali said that he himself witnessed such happenings on his way to the pilgrimage. Fin.

This, then, is an eye opening law which I laid down for myself and for those who are like me in this respect,
fa haḏha qanūn al-istibṣār waḏa^ctūhū li-nafsi wa-li-man
huwa mithli fi haḏha al-miḏmār .

[poetry] You are not the first night-traveller led
 astray by the moon.

Nor are you the first to be infatuated by
 the beauty of the growth on a garbage heap.

I call this law the cautioning of the neglectful about the things that could contaminate the pilgrimage, wa samaitu
haḏha al-qanūn bi Tanbih al-raqid li ma ya^ctawirū-l-ḥajja
min al-mafasid. I ask of God to benefit with it those who carefully consult it. May God guide us; He is capable of that.

Muqaddimah, [Introduction]

God Most High said, "It is the duty of all men towards God to come to the House a pilgrim, if he is able to make his way there, wa lillahi^c ala al-nas haḏḏū al-bait
man istata^ca ilaihi sabila¹.

1. Qur'an iii, 97 [A.J. Arberry's translation, 1964].

4. According to al-Qarrafi,¹ by this is not meant more than what was said. The condition attached [i.e. if he is able, man istata^ca ilaihi sabila] is [simply] the indication that certain difficulties, mashaqqā, which exist in the pilgrimage do not exist in other [obligations]. According to al-Haishami, the absence of this condition in prayer and fasting does not mean that they are not absolute obligations. So, in the case of the pilgrimage, the condition annuls only the absoluteness of the requirement. According to "Takhliṣ al-nakth" of Ibn al-^cArabi,² "all the pillars of Islam can be performed by the person without having to leave his house and without exerting similar effort [to that involved in performing a pilgrimage]. God mentioned ability, istita^ca, [in the pilgrimage] because it is more relevant to it."

Chapter [one]

In the same book [Takhliṣ al-nakth] Ibn al-^cArabi said, "there is no doubt that istita^ca is a condition on the pilgrimage for all adults. The ^culama [only] differ in its definition." Fin. al-Mazari³, as was reported by

1. Ahmed b. Idris al-Qarrafi an Egyptian Maliki Jurist d. 684/1282.

2. Muhammed b. Abdullahi Abu Bakr ibn al-^cArabi, died 543/1148-9.

3. al-Imam Muhammed b. Ali b. Umar al-Mazari, died 536/1141-2.

al-Tadali¹ said, "istita^ca is the capacity to reach the House with no great difficulty [when travelling] either by land or by sea, with security of person and property; the ability to practise the duties, fara'id; and, the avoidance of committing what is objectionable, manakir. This is the most acceptable [view]." Ibn Habib and

5. Sahnun² said that istita^ca means provisions and transport, al-zad wa-l-rahilah. The statement that he [the Muslim] must have the capacity to arrive, imkan al-wusul, [to the pilgrimage] with no difficulty or no harm to his person [i. e.] arising from his need to walk on foot or to ride a camel while he could not do so without much difficulty. [It also includes] what might afflict him of injury [of pride etc.] if he had to beg while he does not usually do so.

Istita^ca differs according to person and distance. He who can walk is not like him who cannot. Those who live at a distance [from the pilgrimage shrines] cannot be [considered] the same as those who live close to them with regards to walking. It is [therefore] obligatory on him who can walk. In his case the presence of

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1. Ahmed b. Isma^cil al-Tadali author of a famous work on the pilgrimage known as the "Mensak", see Ibn Farhun, al-Dibaj al-mudhahab fi m^carifat a^cyan ^culama al-madhhab. (Cairo, Ah.1351), p. 80.
2. ^cAbdel Salam b. Sa^cid Sahnun, famous north African Maliki Jurist and author of al-Mudawanah. Died 240/854-5.

transport, rahilah, is not necessary. What is necessary is the availability of water and provisions, zad. So is the case of the blind who can walk. He is judged like those who can see if he finds someone to lead him.

There is difference as to the condition for the beggar who lived by begging. The most common view is that he should be sure that he would find those who would give him what was enough for him.

In his commentary on Ibn al-Hajib, Ibn Farhūn¹ said, "what is said of the sea and land is significant. For the sea is [judged] like land if the pilgrimage is encumbent, idha ta'ālan al-haj, and if [the sea] is the only way to travel or if it became necessary on account of difficulties/the land [routes]." This is the acceptable view that was copied by Ibn al-Haj² on [the authority] of Ibn Shā^cban. It is the view of the School of al-Shafi^ci. It is said that it is blameworthy, makrūh, to travel on the sea unless it was the only way [open].

What is meant by security of self, nafs, and property, mal? In "al-Tawdīh" [the author] said, "there is no doubt about [security for] self. As for property it is considered only if its loss was envisaged due to the presence

1. Abdullahi b. Muhammed ibn Abi al-Qasim ibn Farhūn, died 673/1274-5.

2. Muhammed b. Muhammed ibn al-Haj a North African Maliki jurist d. 737/1336-7 [Dibaj, p. 328.]

of robbers. In that case the security of person would also be endangered." According to Ibn Rushd,¹ "what is meant by security of person or self is evident. As regards property its security is also necessary if it is endangered by [possible] robbery on the route that might [also] result in loss of life." If the loss of property occurs as a result of the exactions of unjust rulers, maks, there are different views. Some say the pilgrimage should not be undertaken whether the duty is a small or a large amount. This was the view in the fatwa of al-Shaikh Abu ^cUmran al-Fasi² and al-Abhari who also specified that the duty should be known to be unjust. Others said that these duties should be paid. Ibn al-^cArabi spoke for the payment of duties that are customarily paid in travelling be they for religious or worldly affairs.

7. On travelling by sea Ibn Farhūn said that if the sea was the only route possible, but was dangerous due to the presence of an enemy or dangerous at a certain period, it is forbidden to travel by it, yahrūmu rukūbahu-as also if by taking the sea there was fear of sea-sickness,

1. Muhammed b. Ahmed Abu-l-Walid Ibn Rushd, judge of Kordoba and author of the fatwa on preferability of jiḥād to pilgrimage, one of the central arguments of Tanbih. Died 520/1126-7. Also see note below.

2. Possibly Musa Abu^cUmran al-Fasi associated with the rise of the Al-Moravid movement. Died 430/1038-9.

or for lack of space the performance of prayers becomes impossible. For Malik,¹ who pointed this out, said, "woe to him who does not perform the prayer." al-Haṭṭab² also said that if the sea was the only way to travel the person should make certain that he can perform the prayer in its appointed times. This condition is not only [to be observed] in sea travel but is a condition of the pilgrimage itself, bal howa shartūn fi wujubi-al-ḥaḥḥi mutlaqan. In ^cal-Madkhal,³ [the author] said, "our ^culama stated that if the mukallaḥ [a person on whom pilgrimage is obligatory] knew that he was to forgo a single prayer by travelling to the pilgrimage he is not to make [the pilgrimage]." In another place he said, 8. "if the pilgrimage was not possible except by having to make prayers outside the appointed times and similar things, the pilgrimage is no longer an obligation." Fin.

al-Barzali, copying al-Mazari, said in answer to a question, "if the prayer was delayed until its appointed time had passed and the reason for that was travelling

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1. al-Imam Malik b. Anas the founder of the Maliki Madhhab died in Medina in 179/795-6.
 2. Abu ^cAbdallah Muhammed b. Muhammed known as al-Haṭṭab whose commentary on the Mukhtaṣar of Khali b. Ishāq entitled Mawahib al-Jalil, is probably the major source of the Tanbih. al-Haṭṭab was a Moroccan Maliki, died 954/1547-8.
 3. al-Madkhal of Ibn Talha.

for the pilgrimage, then that travel was not permissible and the obligation of pilgrimage does not stand, sagata Canhu al-haj

According to Ibn al-Munir¹ in his 'Mansak', "know that omitting a single prayer is a great sin that cannot be redeemed by the merits of pilgrimage because prayer is more important. If sickness is habitual in taking the sea or on riding a camel, and that causes the omission of even one prayer, the pilgrimage is forbidden, haram, if it is only attainable by omitting prayer." Ibrahim ibn Hilal said in his 'Mansak', "in the end let the prayer, which is the pillar of religion, be [the Muslim's] most important concern. He should be prepared for it. He should have clean clothes ready to change into if 9. those he was wearing got defiled." For long travel one has to expect shortage of water, but some ignorant [people] only [pay attention] to preparing what they eat and drink sufficing to pray with tayammum [i.e. ablution with sand rather than water] and [in a state of] impurity. Because of the neglect or delay of prayer shown by pilgrims they are called by those who are scholarly, ahl al-Cilm, disobedient, Cusat. This is derived from Malik's law that it is not permissible to travel on the sea for the pilgrimage, if there was a fear of omitting

1. Probably Ahmed ibn Muhammed ibn al-Munir died in Alexandria in 683/1284-5. Dibaj, pp. 71-74.

the prayer. [Equally] it is not permissible to travel by land if that results in the omission of prayer.

Al-Mazari was asked on the legal situation of the pilgrimage at his time, su'ila 'an hukmi al-haġġi fi zamanihi. He said, "if there was an open road, there was no fear for oneself and one's property, or, no danger of committing objectionable acts, or the neglect of duties or anything else, then the obligation of pilgrimage stands, But if [the Muslim] will have to omit making the prayer at its appointed time for the sole reason of going on the pilgrimage, then that is not permissible and the obligation of pilgrimage does not stand. But if he only sees or hears objectionable acts committed that is a matter of opinion." Fin.

According to al-Ḥaṭṭab, sickness, maīd, is over-
10. crowding, lack of space, dirty surroundings and so on.

Al-Baġi¹ was inclined to permit travelling on the sea even if that resulted in omitting prayer. This is so because it is agreed that this is the case if the sea was taken for the purpose of holy war, jihad. He reasoned that this was due to the fact that the purpose of jihad is to make the word of God triumphant. Upholding the word of God is more honourable than performing the prayer. Not upholding the oneness of God is unbelief,

1. Ahmed b. Sulaiman al-Baġi died 493/1099-1100.

kufr, while not performing prayer is not kufr. By showing their opposite things become clear. If you take the prayer and the pilgrimage, the case is the opposite. Prayer is more honourable than pilgrimage. What he [al-Baji] said on taking the sea for jihad applies only when jihad is necessary. If it was not, it is not likely that it be permissible to take it if that meant forgetting prayer. Fin.

According to al-Haṭṭab, "if travelling by sea leads to irregularities in the prostration acts sujud, it is not to be taken." But prayer can be performed in a
 11. sitting position. This is the gist of the views by al-Haṭṭab, Ibn Farhūn, al-Lukhami in 'the book of prayer' and the author of 'al-Tiraz'. In the Mudawana¹ [it is stated that] he who cannot pray in the ship, can do so in a sitting position. Only God knows.

Chapter (Two)

Shaikh Abu-l-Walid ibn Rushd² judged, after, that the pilgrimage was no longer obligatory on the people of Andalus [Muslim Spain]. Al-Tartūshi,³ also, judged that

1. al-Mudawanah Major commentary on Malik's Muwatta - see note above; 2, p. 345

2. See above note 1, p. 347

3. Muhammed b. al-Walid abu Bakr al-Tartūshi an Andalusian Maliki jurist died in Alexandria in 520/1126-7.

the pilgrimage was harām to the people of the Maghrib. "He who commits the folly of travelling [to the pilgrimage] fulfils the obligation, but will be punished for the folly he has committed." This is the view of the leaders of the Muslim community, a'imat al-Muslimin. Hear and appreciate.

In the 'Madkhal' of Ibn Talha, [it is stated]: "the description of safe cannot be given to any road in those days. I travelled from Andalus to Siville and then to Bijais. Crossing all this country I only imagined the presence of security. Then I left for Mahdiya I found in the Maghrib what made me believe that those people are no longer required to make the pilgrimage. Nay, it would be forbidden, harām." But, he added, "if the person diverts all his attention to God, that is more rewarding than having to weather these difficulties.

12. God has the decision in the present and the future."

Ibn al-^cArabi said, "surprising are those who say the pilgrimage obligation was removed from the people of the Maghrib. [They say that] while they traverse all territories, across all dangers, and take the sea in worldly as well as religious pursuits. It is surely the same case of fear and security, the legitimate and the forbidden. Or, in the case of having to give away monies for those who deserve it and those who do not."

In 'Sharḥ al-Waḡhsiliya', al-Shaikh Zarouḡ¹ said that by this [the above] what is meant was the absence of ability, istita^ca. "He who is not able is not obligated, man la Istita^cta lahu la haḥḥa^c alihi." And al-Ḥaṭṭab said, "the purpose of the ḥulama who said so, was to make things easy for the common man, ḥamah." [Also] al-Shaikh Ahmed b. Muḥammed al-Lukhami said, after quoting the above ḥulama, and the words of Ibn al-ḥarabi, "know that security of the road, which is a condition of ability is unknown in their country."

Chapter (Three)

According to al-Ḥaṭṭab 'The sultan who is afraid that if he goes on the pilgrimage, the affairs of his subjects will be disturbed - due to fear of enemies of religion ḥadū al-din' or the trouble makers from among the Muslims, which things are likely to occur,² the obvious al-zahir is that he [the sultan] is not able ghair mustaṭi^c. This

13. is taken from the statement by Ibn Rushd when explaining the words of the author[khilil³] that the pilgrimage is

1. The arguments on this point seem to be a straight quotation from al-Ḥaṭṭab, op.cit., vol. ii, p. 497.
2. See above for disturbances in Bornu during a Mai's absence. R. 133
3. Khilil b. Ishāq author of the celebrated Mukhtasar a principal source for Maliki Law, died 776/1374

preferable to Jihad, (Ghazw) He [Ibn Rushd] said, "I was asked about that and about whether it is permissible [for the sultan] to hire someone to make the pilgrimage on his behalf. I answered that if it was true that the people had to suffer and that their affairs would be disrupted and the unbelievers threatened to take them [their country], all because of the absence of the sultan on pilgrimage, there is no doubt then that he [the sultan] is unable and in his case the pilgrimage becomes unobligatory. The common view in the madhhab [Malik's] does not approve deputisation. It is however acceptable to some."¹ God knows.

Chapter (Four)

Istata^ca is either a sabab [i.e. cause] or a shart wujub [i.e. a condition of the obligation] or shart siha [i.e. a condition of acceptability].

According to al-Qarrafi the use of the words, man istata^ca ilaihi sabila [he who can afford it] is meant to indicate that the relationship between istata^ca and pilgrimage is that of cause and effect. It is like saying, "he committed adultery and was stoned. He stole and his hand was amputated. Or, he omitted a bow in prayer and [then] he performed it." It is in this manner

1. See introduction pp. 16-17. for instances of deputisation referred to in the thesis: See above pp. 227-8, 328

that God arranged pilgrimage and ability, so that the latter becomes a cause for the former. Fin. The same
 14. view was advanced by al-Tadali and Ibn Farhun in his Mansak and the majority of the adherents of the Madhhab [Malik's]. This was also the view of Ibn Bashir, Ibn Shash, Ibn al-Hajib and the 'Mansak' of Khalil and that of Ibn ^cArafa and others.

Some considered [istita^ca] as shart siha, like Ibn al-Haj who was quoted by al-Shadhali in 'al-Shamail' as saying that istita^ca is a condition of acceptability. But al-Shadhali himself considered [istita^ca] a condition of obligation and not of acceptability. The same was made by the statement of 'al-Talqin' [whose text reads], "the conditions of performance, shartu ada'ih, are two; Islam and ability to travel." The author of "Tiraz al-Talqin" said 'considering ability to travel as a condition of performance [is inaccurate] as it is a condition of obligation since it is an attribute of istita^ca. For according to this [the above view which considers ability to travel a condition of performance] the pilgrimage cannot be undertaken except in a way that endangers self and property. This is verified. A pilgrimage [undertaken] in that manner is disobedience, ma^csiha, it does not procure redemption and is [considered] as the pilgrimage made by a non-Muslim before he accepts Islam.'

In al-Ḥaṭṭab, "what is the position of one who is unable but struggled to reach Mecca in a manner that is 15. not demanded by law, shar^c? Would this fulfil the duty?" [al-Ḥaṭṭab answered], "There is no definite stand on this. The majority of views would seem to suggest that the duty was satisfied. According to Sanad istita^ca is one of the conditions which places obligation, wujūb, before reward and fulfilment and reward, ijza." The same was said by al-Qarrafi in 'al-Zakhira'.

Those who say that a pilgrimage by someone who is incapable will not be rewarded [consider istita^ca] a condition of acceptability. The pilgrimage by the incapable will not satisfy the obligation, hajjatu al-Islam.¹ Most of the elderly Shaikhs [who] say that istita^ca is a condition of acceptability [say so in reference to] what we have suggested: when a Muslim puts on the ihram [from the point] while he is still incapable. But if he was incapable at his own place, and then travelled, and did not wear the ihram except at the point where he was 16. capable, then there is no doubt as to the acceptability of his pilgrimage or its reward, as was related earlier on [the authority of] 'al-Tawḍīḥ'. If he was free and obligated, but was unable, and he undertook the journey

1. This means the first pilgrimage which is an obligation. When repeated pilgrimage is a meritorious act and is not legally requisite.

with hardship and made the pilgrimage while [still] unable, the obligation is removed, yasqutu ^canhū al-fard, despite the fact that [the pilgrimage] was not an obligation on him from the start. [This is so] if we consider istita^ca as a condition shart or cause, sabab. And if the question is asked how can something which is not itself an obligation suffice for an obligation? The answer as Sanad said [lies in the fact] that since he arrived in the place of the pilgrimage and was able to perform it, it became obligatory on him although it was not so before. Fin.

According to al-Haṭṭab, if the road was in the larger part dangerous, going on the pilgrimage becomes harām. al-Barzali, who was asked about [the case of] someone who went on the pilgrimage taking a road that was dangerous while knowing that he was taking risks, would this action be an aspect of committing suicide, ilqa' al-yadi ila al-tshlukah, or would [his pilgrimage] be accepted and rewarded because his objective had been to fulfil the obligation of pilgrimage, [that is to say] would he be rewarded or condemned? [al-Barzali] said, "the pilgrimage in this manner is not demanded and one who [despite that] performs it would not be safe from sin."

Chapter (Fifth)

Istita^ca includes the availability of water in every

place, manhal. ^cAbdel-Haq said in 'al-Tah^{ch}hib', "I saw [stated] by some of the learned that for istita^ca to be complete, water must be available in every watering place."

17. That is because [water] is necessary for everybody just like food, zad. The difference between water and food - [the latter] can be carried in one [cargo] - is that it is customary to take [all supplies] of food because of the length of the road while water is carried from every stage, manzil. Also it is not difficult to carry [all the necessary] food at once, while carrying [all the necessary water] is an arduous task. A person needs more water than food. That is why they demand only its presence in every stage. What he said is right. Fin.
- It was copied by Khalil in its full text. ^cAbdel Haq copying from some of his teachers said that Istita^ca includes the availability of water in every watering place. This is one view. It was [also] copied by al-Tadali, al-Afgahi and al-Barzali and they accepted it. al-Barzali said, our Shaikh al-Imam - referring to Ibn ^cArafa - said that that is why many of our elderly did not make the pilgrimage; because water is usually difficult to find in some watering places. This was [also] reported in 'al-Shama'il'. What the previous [jurists] have said deserves acceptance as it is the madhhab [i.e. the most acceptable view in the Maliki School]. It is

18. the obvious, ẓāhir. God only knows. What is meant, God only knows, is the availability of water in the watering places where it is usually found and not at every stage [on the route] as this might be difficult. al-Abi said, in his commentary on Muslim in the 'ḥadīth al-khat^Camiyyah' when talking of istitā^Ca that what some say concerning the inclusion in istitā^Ca of the availability of water in every stage, manazil, means not the daily stage, manzal kuli yaum, but every time it is needed. Fin.
- What he meant by every stage, manazil is the same as what ^CAbdel Haq meant when saying watering places, manahil, in the beginning [of his text] and at the end of it. God knows.

Chapter (Sixth)

- A pilgrim should take special care that the money he spends is not ḥarām [i.e. wrongfully acquired]. This is the gist of the ḥadīth reported by al-Ṭabarani [on] Abū Hurā'ira. "if the man goes on the pilgrimage with honestly appropriated money and he calls the words 'to you I come God to you I come', Lubbaik allahūmma Lubbaik, a voice would call him from the sky 'come, you are the happy one. Your provisions are ḥalal, your journey is
19. ḥalal, your pilgrimage is accepted.' [But] if a man leaves on the pilgrimage with dishonest earnings and he

calls the same, a voice from the sky will answer him, 'do not come, you are the unhappy one. Your provisions are haram and your pilgrimage is not accepted.'

It was said that a man died on the way to Mecca. When he was buried the axe was mistakenly buried with him. His companions then undid the earth from the grave to retrieve the axe but they found it together with his clothes, stuck in his throat. They asked his people about him and discovered that he had left with another man whom he robbed of his money.

Some of the Culama had said, "to give way to ignorance is a passion". It is by ignoring what the pious Culama had said in matters of law that people fall into mistakes like undertaking acts that they were not asked to do. By so doing the person falls into committing the forbidden and the blameworthy or both. For example, [a person may] hear that the pilgrimage is a duty and therefore assumes he [is] obligated without asking the opinion of those who
 20. know. He therefore undertakes a pilgrimage. By so doing he undertakes a task he could not accomplish in the legal way. By so doing too he endangers himself without fulfilling his obligations.

In the book called 'Miraq al-Zalaf', of the judge Abu Bakr ibn al-^CArabi, God have mercy on him, Ibn Mas^Cūd was quoted as saying, "In the end of time pilgrims become very numerous. It becomes very easy for them to travel and

their means of livelihood become abundant. But they return in a state of religious destitution and unfulfilment, because they ride their camels across the wilderness while their neighbours, who are close to them, are in a state that requires attention, but they do not care."

In the book of 'al-Guwah' it is stated that a man who was going on the pilgrimage came to bid farewell to Bishr Ibn al-Harith and to ask his advice on the things he should do. Bishr asked the man, 'how much have you accumulated for spending on the pilgrimage?' The man answered that he had collected two thousand dirhams. Bishr asked again, 'what is it that you want to achieve by your pilgrimage? Is it the pleasure of the journey, the longing to see the House, or to win the pleasure of God?' The man answered that he wanted to please God. Bishr said, 'what if you can achieve that while you are at home? Will you do that?' The man answered in the affirmative and Bishr continued, 'go and give it the 21. money to ten persons; To one who owes a lot so that he can pay his debt, to a poor ^{man} with which he can relieve his poverty, or to one who has many children he cannot support; and if your heart is firm then give all of it to one person. Do that, for bringing happiness to the heart of a Muslim, and lifting the care from the heart of the needy, is better than one hundred pilgrimages after

hajjata al-Islam.¹ Do what we told you or else tell us what is in your heart.' The man still wanted to make the pilgrimage. Bishr smiled saying to him, 'if money was collected out of the filth of trade and its honesty was suspect, a person must try to spend it in doing such good deeds of which he could rightly boast. God had undertaken it on himself not to accept but the offerings of the pious."

In the old days when the Culama saw the affluent go out for Mecca, they used to say, "do not call them pilgrims but call them travellers." Some of the ignorant people deceive and make pretences to others for the reason of raising the necessary money for the pilgrimage. Some of them even beg this of the unjust rulers who suppress the Muslims and who, because of that, deserve to be deserted. By so doing they augment the injustices of those rulers who in their turn are proud of seeing the pious begging the remains

22. from their dirty and filthy world. Some of these rulers might deceive themselves, or may be wrongly persuaded by others, that they must be in the right while the case is the opposite. May God protect us. Some of those who ask money for the pilgrimage go further than that by promising to pray for them the unjust rulers in those Holy places. Some of them leave their dependents with no means of support and go on the pilgrimage. The Prophet,

1. See note above

prayer and greetings on him had said, "the greatest sin is to neglect your dependents". Some have also made of this a trade by which they collect other people's money. Some, who have no means of contacting the above [the rulers], win their sympathy by posing as pious and veritable so that they may take pity and pay. They thus sell their religion for a worldly price. This is despised in shar^c. Others, who cannot reach them themselves, and also cannot do so through others, leave their homes with no provisions and nothing to ride on. Many things happen which are unnecessary. For example,

23. inability to make the prayer. A person might not have the physical strength to endure difficulties that befall him. He then forces people to come to his assistance, to give him his food and drink. In most cases he dies on the road and you find such strung along it dead. Those have acted against the command of God with regard to themselves. They also implicated their brother Muslims, who are travelling with them and who knew of their situation, in their sin. The sin in fact befalls all who give them what was not sufficient for their forward and return journeys. It is forbidden haram to give them what is not sufficient because this would be inducing them to undertake something they cannot accomplish. He who does that shares with them the sin of their predicament. But, if they were found in such condition on the road, it

is important to help them, even with a drink or two or a handful of food while telling them not to do such an act again. All this arises from ignorance of the essentials of worship, of what is forbidden, what is recommended and what is blameworthy. This was stated clearly in the

24. ḥadīth reported by Anas b. Mālik, God be pleased with him who said, "the Prophet said, -

'There will come a time in which the rich will make the pilgrimage for pleasure, the 'middle class' (Awsat) for commerce, the recitors out of hypocrisy and the poor for beggary.'

Chapter (Seventh)

According to Sanad if the pilgrimage is made out of illegal money the pilgrimage is accepted. This is the view of the majority al-Jumhūr and was copied by al-Qarafi. As for al-Ḥaṭṭab he said that this pilgrimage will not be accepted as was stated by more than one of the Culama. This is so because a condition of acceptability is lacking. God will only accept the offerings of the pious. There is no contradiction between correctness and non-acceptance because the result of acceptance is the consequential reward, the result in incorrectness is the rejection of the offering. The ḥaram includes many forms, robbery, assault and theft and other things. It is said that

Malik stood in the Holy Mosque and shouted "Oh people, if you know me then you know who I am. If you do not, I am Malik b. Anas. He who came to the pilgrimage with
 25. illegal money has no pilgrimage' ... The result of non-acceptability appears in the withholding of the reward, God protect us. The result of incorrectness appears in the removal of the duty, suqut al-fard. Some of the ^Culama had spoken for non-acceptance [of pilgrimage on illegal money] among these were al-Qushairi, al-Qarrafi, al-Qurtūbi, al-Nawawi and was quoted by al-Ghazali on the authority of Ibn ^CAbbas. It is said that the following two verses were composed by Ibn Hanbal:

If you make the pilgrimage with money that is illegal
 You have not made the pilgrimage,
 It is [your] camels who did.

God does not accept but the holy

Not every pilgrimage to the House of God is accepted.

26. If you say [ask] what is the situation of someone who makes a pilgrimage and there was doubt about the legality of his money? According to Ibn ^CAt'a Allah, "many who do not get the rewards for worship and whose wishes are not fulfilled by God is because their earnings are doubtful." According to al-Haṭṭab the ^Culama had cited the saying of the Prophet that, "He who commits doubtful acts also commits forbidden acts, man waqa^Ca fi-l-shubuhati waqa^Ca

fi-l-haram." [This happens] in two ways. First the persistence in doubtful acts leads the person ultimately into committing the forbidden acts. Second, a person might commit a forbidden act without knowing it. That is why the Prophet advised the avoidance of what was doubtful, Shubuhāt. He who makes the pilgrimage with doubtful money runs the risk of forfeiting his pilgrimage. It is necessary that the money used should be clear of doubt. According to Ibn Dah, "it is better for him who has some doubtfully acquired money, to spend it in buying all the things he needs for the journey. He is to select his most honest earnings for spending from the point of

27. Ihram. Al-Ghazali said that whoever had such money should do his best to spend it before the pilgrimage. If he could not, he should at least make sure that what he spent at ^cArafat is of the honestly appropriated. That is because he should not stand in the presence [lit. between the hands] of God in the wrong he was eating and wearing. [Al-Ghazali added], "if we allow this we do so only out of necessity. If he [the pilgrim] could not [live out of halal money at ^cArafat], let him have fear [of God] in his heart and let him admit [to God] the compulsion that made him eat of what was not allowed. [If he has fear] God might then look on him with a merciful eye and forgive him because of that fear, sadness and dislike of the sins he was forced [by circumstance] to commit.

Chapter Eight

On comparison between haj and jihad (ghazu) Malik was asked on what was preferable to him, was it pilgrimage or jihad? He answered that it was the pilgrimage unless there was imminent danger that year i.e. necessitating going on jihad; What of sadaqa and pilgrimage? and he answered, 'the pilgrimage except if there was a famine in that year'. He also preferred sadaqa to Itq freeing of a slave.

Ibn Rushd explained the above by saying that preference of pilgrimage to jihad occurs when the pilgrimage was a haj tatawū^c i.e. the voluntary second or more pilgrimages after the first. Then Ibn Rushd said 'Going on jihad when there was danger is, however, no doubt preferable to the haj tatawū^c.' God knows. For to go
 28. on jihad out of fear means selling one's self for the cause of God which guarantees paradise. God had said "God had bought from the Muslims their souls".

According to al-Ḥaṭṭab a voluntary pilgrimage is preferable to a voluntary jihad. "But" continues al-Ḥaṭṭab, "according to Ibn Wāḥb, making voluntary jihad is preferable to making a voluntary pilgrimage. This was also mentioned by Ibn ^cArafa, in the beginning of his Chapter on Jihad, on the authority of Saḥnūn. This was the view contained in the judgement of Ibn Rushd which

reads, 'the answer to your question regarding those from among the people of Andalus who in our time have not made the pilgrimage, which in their case is better, pilgrimage or Jihad? What [also] if one had already made the first pilgrimage? The answer is; The duty of pilgrimage does not include the people of Andalus of this time. That is because the condition of ability, istita^ca, is not fulfilled. Ability is the ability to arrive together with the safety of person and property. This is nowhere possible. If the duty of pilgrimage, because of that, is removed, it becomes clear that jihad,

29. whose merits are innumerable is preferable to haj. That is too obvious to deserve an explanation. That is the case of some one who had already made the first pilgrimage. But, if the person had not made the first pilgrimage, while at the same time travelling was not endangered, the way to reach a judgement is to consider [this aspect of] the obligation of pilgrimage. [i.e. - since] Even under favourable conditions, the pilgrimage is either considered an immediate duty, fawr, or can be postponed, tarakhi, [and since] there is, on the other hand, no difference [of opinion] with regard to jihad - because when it is imperative it cannot be postponed - Jihad becomes preferable to pilgrimage." 'He [ibn Rushd] was also asked about the case of the people of the frontier, Cadwah, and

whether they are the same in this matter as the people of Andalus. He answered that their position is similar because they too cannot get to Mecca without endangering their life and property. "In their case jihad is preferable to pilgrimage which can be delayed."¹ This is also the view of Malik even for those who are not participating in jihad. As for those who are actively involved in it, their main duty is jihad. This 30. is so also because those who say pilgrimage is not an immediate obligation but can be postponed cite the Prophetic saying that "my people die between [the age of] sixty and [the age of] seventy ; m^ctaraku ummati min al-sittin ila al-sab^cin."! There is thus no immediate demand on those who are involved in Jihad. Al-Haṭṭab also said that in case istita^ca was not there, it is better to occupy oneself in Jihad rather than go on the pilgrimage which in that case is a blameworthy act, makruh, or [rather] prohibited, mannu^c.

Chapter [Ninth]

al-Bukhari and Muslim reported the following:-

"The prophet was asked as to which kind of worship was better. He said 'belief in God and his messenger', then,

1. For this fatwa in its full text see al-Haṭṭab, op.cit., vol. ii, pp. 535-6.

31. 'Jihad in the cause of God', then, 'an accepted pilgrimage'.

Al-Imam Ahmed [ibn Hanbal] reported that the prophet was asked as to which of the deeds were better and he said, "belief in the oneness of God, Jihad and an acceptable pilgrimage." [In] 'Muthir al Gharam' [it is] said that in these two sayings is the greatest proof that the status of jihad is greater than that of pilgrimage. God knows.

Adam ibn ^CAli said that he heard ibn ^CUmar, God be pleased with him, say "one journey in the cause of God [i.e. for jihad] is better than fifty pilgrimages." This was reported on his [Ibn Umar's] authority by Ibn al-Mubarak on Sufian, Sa^Cid ibn Mansur in his 'Sunan', and Ibn abi Shaiba. This is an authenticated tradition with correct chains.

^CAmr b. al-Aswad said that ^CUmar [ibn al-Khattab] said "go on the pilgrimage for it is a meritorious deed which God had decreed. [But] Jihad is preferable to it." This was reported by ibn abi Shaiba and it is [an] authenticated [tradition]. And from Isma^Cil ibn Hasan [it is reported] that Ma^Cadh ibn Jabal, may God be gracious to him, wished [to wage] war [i.e. go on Jihad] and he ordered his camels. They were saddled. Then he ordered them to be unsaddled. [Isma^Cil] said, Ma^Cadh ibn Jabal said, 'this is better than ten pilgrimages'.

The author of 'Shifa' al-Sudur related the following

story by Dirar ibn ^cUmar. He Dirar said, 'my stay in the land of Jihad, having been a long one, I felt desirous of making the pilgrimage and residing there [i.e. in mujawara]. I therefore came to bid my companions farewell. I came to Ishaq ibn abi Barza to bid him farewell when he asked where I was intending to go. I said that I was going to make the pilgrimage. He then asked me what had reduced my opinion of jihad. I answered that I had been there too long and that I desired to go on pilgrimage and to stay there. He then said to me, 'do not consider what you yourself like, but consider that which God likes better. Did you not know that the Prophet himself did not make the pilgrimage to that House except once, while he spent the rest of his time in jihad until he died? If you make the pilgrimage and the cumra you will attain the rewards for a pilgrimage and an cumra. But if you stay fighting on behalf of the Muslims, while the pilgrimage was made by a hundred

33. thousand and another hundred thousands, or whatever number, you have as much reward as all of them. You will have rewards equalling the number of Muslims, males and females, from the time God created Adam until the day of judgement. Because he who supports the cause of the believers gets a reward that equals the number of unbelievers from the time God created Adam until the

blowing of the horn. He who fights the last mushrik [polytheist], is like him who fought the first mushrik. His rewards will equal the number of letters composing God's words in the Tawra, Injil, Zabūr and the Furqan [Qurān]. That is because you are fighting for the spirit of God whose light is never extinguished. Did you not know that nobody is closer to the status of the prophets than the ʿulama and the mujahidin?" Then I asked him as to how that was, to which he answered, 'that is because the ʿulama uphold what the prophets had revealed, and the mujahidin strive to uphold the word of
 34. God and of religion, and to debase that of the unbelievers.' Adam [concluded] I abandoned my intention of pilgrimage and stayed in the land of jihad."

Chapter [Tenth]

In the 'Madkhal', [the author said] "a Muslim must give priority to the things to which God gave priority, and, [likewise] he must postpone the things that God said can be postponed. The Muslim must [also] choose the form of worship in which God had asked that he should be worshipped. A person is only rewarded for following the dictates of knowledge when offering worship or abstaining from it" - This was the sense of the above.

Abu Bakr b. Shaiba, al-Nasa'aī, Abu Y^cala, al-Harith b. Abi Sama, reported on [the authority of] Abi Qatada and Abi al-Dahma', God be pleased with them both, that a Bedwin once said, "the Prophet took my hand while teaching me of what God had taught him and said, 'if you give away something for God, He will give you a better thing in return.' "

35. It is said that ^cAbdullahi b. al-Mubarak¹ came to Kufa on his way to the pilgrimage when he saw a woman, sitting in a dump-heap plucking a duck. It occurred to him to ask her whether the bird was dead or whether it had been properly slaughtered. The woman said that it was dead and that she and her children planned to eat it. He went on to remind her that God had forbidden eating that which was not properly slaughtered but she would not be told. She finally explained to him, that she was an Alid [i.e. of the Sharifs], that her husband had died recently and that she and her daughters had had nothing to eat for three days. Then she reasoned that in her case surely God would waive the rule about not eating the un-slaughtered. He [^cAbdullahi] did not leave her until he

1. Possibly the famous Persian scholar noted for his alternate pilgrimages and campaigns died 181/797-8. [Dibaj, p. 131]. The story itself appears in al-Hattab, op.cit., ii, 537. It seems to have been widely known as it is also quoted in the fatawa of Mukhtar al-Kunti, see Muhammed b. al-Mukhtar, al-Tara'if wa-l-Tala'id, op.cit. also see above pp. 158-163

had found out where she lived. He then loaded all the provisions he had on a mule which he drove to her house and gave it to her. He remained in Kūfa until the pilgrims returned. Some of these came to congratulate him on his safe return, but he told them that he did not make the pilgrimage that year. They were surprised. One of them asked him, 'did I not see you behind me on our way to 'Arafat?' Another said, 'did you not give me a drink in such and such a place?' A third one said, 'did you not buy me such and such a thing?' 'Abdullāhi did not understand what they were talking about and insisted that he did not go on the pilgrimage that year. That night 'Abdullāhi had a dream in which he was told,

36. 'Oh 'Abdullāhi ibn al-Mubarak. God had accepted your charitable act. He sent an angel in your shape to make the pilgrimage on your behalf and he shall continue to do so till the day of judgement.' This the above story was reported in 'Tawthiq 'ura al-imān'.

It is well known that those who stay behind for a legitimate excuse share the reward with those who go. poetry

You who are marching towards the Old House, you travel
in person, we travel ourselves in spirit.

With reason we remained when they had already set out,
and whoso remains with reason is as he who goes.

It is also possible that those who make the journey

spiritually arrive before those who make it bodily.

One of the pious is said to have dreamt in the night of 'Arafat that he heard a voice saying, "you see all these crowds on the mountain? None of them is a pilgrim.

The only pilgrim is a man who could not be present but had made it with his spirit, hajja bi himmatihi. God had offered that man the whole scene.

37. Chapter Eleventh

The greatest concern of a pilgrim should be an adequate knowledge of the rules of the pilgrimage. In 'al-Madkhal' the author referred to the number of people who are ignorant of these rules and who because of that commit acts that reduce the value of their enterprise.

Chapter Twelfth

Since it is difficult to conceal the fact of being a pilgrim, and as people usually respect and honour those who make a pilgrimage, it is important not to undertake it for the purposes of boasting, conceit, hypocrisy or for ~~priding oneself on it~~. The pilgrimage must be made for the sake of God. A person must stoop before Him. He must be humble. Anas b. Malik related that the Prophet, prayer and greetings on him, made the pilgrimage while riding on a battered saddle and wearing a piece of

cloth that cost four dirhams, and chanting, 'Oh God make this an acceptable pilgrimage, for it was not made
38. out of hypocrisy or for the sake of a reputation.'

A person said to Ibn ^cUmar, 'I see many pilgrims' to which [Ibn ^cUmar] replied, 'there are very few pilgrims'. He then turned around and saw a poor man on an ill-equipped camel and said, 'perhaps that one.'

Very few are those who do good for its own sake.

[Poetry]

Oh my companion, those who cross the wilderness to hima
are many,

Those who arrive are few.

Faces with serenity upon them, reverent,

But there is not serenity on all faces.

It is said of one of the ancients that he used to make the pilgrimage each year on foot. One night his mother asked him for a drink of water but he could not prevail upon himself to leave his bed and serve her the drink. He then remembered that he did not find it difficult to make the pilgrimage each year on foot and realised that it was only the expected praise that made him suffer all the difficulties. He was convinced that his worship was contaminated.

Chapter Thirteenth

Ibn Rajab stated in 'Lata'if al-Waza'if', that whatever is done in place of the pilgrimage and Cumra by those who are incapable of performing them, should be done after the departure of the pilgrims for Mecca.

39. "Know that he who is regretful of being unable to do a good act and honestly wished that he could do it, shall share the reward with those who could." This does not include punishment for the sins that may possibly be committed. Some people, however, such as aspire for plentiful reward, would not be satisfied with that and they too can earn their reward. It is said that the aged and women who could not participate in the campaigns of the Prophet used to ask him for the things they could do instead. It is also said that some women had missed making the pilgrimage with the Prophet and they asked him what they could do. The Prophet told them to make Cumra in Ramadan "for an Cumra in Ramadan equals one or two pilgrimages". 'A'isha once said to the Prophet, 'we see that Jihad is the most meritorious of deeds. Can we the women participate?' The Prophet answered, 'your Jihad is the pilgrimage and Cumra.' Some of those who could not go out with the campaigners used either to donate money to assist a soldier buy his equipment or to undertake to look after his family during his absence. He

40. who does all these things [surely] is a mujahid. Some of the pious, it is said, when they hear of a rich man donating large sums of money for sadaqa, used to make a prostration, rak^cah, for each dirham of that money. This is a veritable way in competing with others for the favour of God according to the person's means.

Glory be to God who chose this nation from among others and showed it the right path at the hands of its Prophet. This nation was praised in the Qur^{ān}, "you are the best of nations". Out of his bounty God had provided these alternative deeds so that all his people can, in the end, share equally of his reward. Thus while [for example] Jihad is the best of deeds, and since not all people could make it, God made constant 'dhikr' to equal and excel it in merit. There are things which one could do on the tenth of Dhi-l-Hiġa which excel it [pilgrimage] except when a pilgrim who left with all his property did not return with anything [i.e. neither himself nor his property].

41. Although the pilgrimage is a good act, and people aspire to visit the great house, [likewise] not many people can perform it, especially not every year. God, therefore, designated other acts whose reward He made to equal that of the pilgrimage. In al-Tirmithi, the Prophet said, 'he who performs the morning prayer, subh, and sits on his praying mat mentioning the name of God until sunrise,

then makes two more prostrations, shall get the reward of a full pilgrimage and Cumra'".

- Also attending the Friday prayer is said to equal a voluntary jihad. It is also said that it atones for the sins between the two Fridays, just as an acceptable pilgrimage atones for the sins of a year. An authenticated tradition says, 'the sun does not rise or set down on a day that surpasses Friday in excellence.' According to the 'Musnad' Friday surpasses the day of breaking the fast, yaūm al-fitr, and the day of sacrifice, yaūm al-adhā. In the history of Ibn ^CAsakir, on al-Awza'i on yuuis Ibn Masirah, [the following story is told], "He (?) was passing through the cemetery when he called out, 'peace be upon you inhabitants of the graves. You went first and we shall follow you. May God take mercy on you and on us and pardon your sins and ours.' God then returned the soul to one dead man who answered back, 'you people of the world, you are the lucky ones. You make the pilgrimage four times a month', by which he meant the Friday prayer. He then added, 'did you not know, oh people of the world that it is an acceptable pilgrimage?' When he was asked about the best worship they had offered in life, the man answered, 'all good acts, but as for now, no good deed can benefit us nor a bad deed harm us.' In the Sunan of Ibn Da'ūd; "the Prophet said, 'he who sanctifies himself in

his house and makes the appointed prayer in the mosque, his reward shall be like that of one who makes an

43. Cumra'."

In a saying reported by Anas, "the Prophet ordered a man to take care of his mother and called him for that a pilgrim, a mu^camir, /who made Cumra/ and a mujahid."

One of the Prophet's companions said, 'going out for the prayer of the day of fitr equals an Cumra. Going out for the prayer on the day of sacrifice equals a pilgrimage.

Al-Hassan (?) said, "your worry about the troubles of your brother Muslim is better for you than a pilgrimage."

Abu Huraira said to a man, "your early going to the mosque is better than our campaigning with the Prophet." This was also mentioned by Imam Ahmed.

It is easier for many people to offer pilgrimage or sadaqa than to fulfil their duties like the payment of a debt or the amendment of an injustice. Also, many people find it difficult to restrain themselves from making illegal monies, but they find it easy to spend that money in pilgrimage and sadaqa. Some of the ancients used to say, "the avoidance of what God had forbidden is more endearing to Him than five hundred pilgrimages." Or, "withholding the limbs from committing what is forbidden is better than making a voluntary pilgrimage."

44. All that is because it is in fact more arduous a task. Al-Fudail b. 'Ayyad [al-Fadh] said, "no pilgrimage nor ribat nor jihad, is more difficult than holding the tongue. If you are worried about what you might say with it, that will be enough worry for you." The performance of good acts with the body is insignificant when performing them with the heart is attempted [as well]. Travelling for purposes of this world is measured by bodily movement, that of the other world is measured by the journeying of the heart. Many are those who reach the House with their bodies whilst their hearts are not there. Many are those who, staying in bed [at home], had their hearts attached to these exalted places.

[Poetry]

My body is with me, my soul is with you.

45. The body is a stranger, the soul at home.

[....]¹

Dhikr² is best rewarded if it was done during the first ten days of Dhi-l-Hijja as the tenth day is the day of sacrifice and the dhikr will manifest the person's gratefulness for God's bounty apparent in the pleasures of the day. God, who ordered us to remember Him constantly, especially suggested the days in which the

1. Thirteen lines, including four in verse, are illegible.

2. Dhikr is the rhythmic mentioning of the name of God.

46. pilgrimage is performed. During that **period**, all Muslims share with the pilgrims the worship of sacrificial offering. They even share in some of the acts of ihrām. For example, when making the sacrifice some people do not shave their heads or cut their finger nails. This was the gist of a tradition reported by Umm Salama and accepted by al-Shafi^ci, Imam Ahmed and many others. Malik and Abu Hanifa thought differently. They cited the saying reported by ^cA'isha that she used to take care of the Prophet's sacrificial sheep and had never noticed him perform any acts of Ihrām. A compromise was reached between these two views. The ḥadīth of Umm Salama applies to those who slaughter their sheep at their homes. That of ^cA'isha to those who send them away to be slaughtered elsewhere. When Ibn ^cUmar made
47. a sacrifice, it is said, he used to shave his head. Imam Ahmed did not himself do that but he also did not condemn those who did.

People usually share with the pilgrims the Takbīr¹ and they themselves increase their recitation of Takbīr during the days of the pilgrimage. There is difference among jurists as to whether Takbīr should be performed

1. Takbīr is the repetitive chanting of formulae on the greatness of God. The formula relevant to the pilgrimage and the ^cId of Sacrifice is given further down in the text.

in a loud voice and in the public places and markets. Imam Ahmed and al-Shafi^ci preferred this kind. al-Bukhari said that Abu Huraira and ^cUmar used to go out to the market and recite Takbīr in a loud voice while those present followed suit. This was also related by Hamid al-^cArāj, on Mujahid. In 'Kitab al-^cIdain', Ja^cfar al-Firiabi said that he had seen Sa^cid ibn Jubair, 48. Mujahid and ^cAbdel Rahman ibn Abi Laila, or two of them, calling Takbīr in a loud voice. "Whoever we saw," he added, "used to chant, God is great, God is great. There is no God but God, Be He praised." He also said, "since God had enshrined in the heart of all Muslims the desire to see that House but not every one can do that, God has restricted the visit to once in a life-time. He also made all Muslims share the season of the pilgrimage whether they go to Mecca or stay at home. He who stays, God decreed can win similar reward to that of pilgrims by accomplishing certain acts during that period." He who wants to preserve himself from Hell and to redeem his sins by the blessed day of ^cArafat, should observe the means conducive to that. Among these acts is fasting the day of ^cArafat.

In the Sahih of Muslim, on Qatada, [it is reported] "the Prophet said, 'fasting the day of ^cArafat obliges God to forgive the sins of the year preceding it and the

the year following it.'" Among these acts, too, is avoiding the forbidden, hifzi jawarihihi min al-hurumat.

49. In the 'Musnad' of Imam Ahmed, on Ibn^CAbbas, "the Prophet, prayer and greetings be on him, said, 'the day of Arafat is a day on which he who masters his hearing, sight and tongue will be forgiven.'"

Among these acts, [too], is the continual recitation of the declaration of God's oneness with truthfulness and sincerity as that is the basis of the religion of Islam which God had completed in that day, the day of ^CArafat. In the 'Musnad', ^CAbdullahi b. 'Umar said, "the Prophet used to call God most in the day of ^CArafat saying, 'There is no God but God alone. He has no companion. He has the rule. In His hands is all good. He is capable of all things.'" The same was also related by al-Tirmidhi in this form: "The best day to call the name of God in, is the day of ^CArafat with the words of the Prophet, 'the best I said, and the prophets before me is, 'there is no God but God alone. He has no companion. He has the rule. In his hands is all the good. He is capable of all things.'" Imam Ahmed quoted al-Zubair Ibn al-^CAwam as saying, "I heard the prophet at ^CArafat read the verse, 'God witnessed that there is no God but God, the angels and the people of learning ... etc.... the Quranic verse.'"

The recitation of the admission of the oneness of

God entails redemption from Hell because it equals the
 50. freeing of a slave which is rewarded by freedom from
 Hell. As was authenticated in the Sahih, its repetition
 one hundred times equals the freeing of ten slaves. It
 was also said that repeating it ten times is like
 freeing four of the children of Isma^cil.

In the Sunan of Ibn Da'ud and others; "the Prophet
 said, 'he who says in the morning and in the evening,
 God, I wake up witnessing you, those who carry your throne,
 your angels, your prophets and messengers and all your
 creation. You are God. There is no God but you.
 Muhammed is your slave and messenger', God will save a
 half of him from Hell. If he said it three times God
 will save three quarters of him. If he said it four
 times God will redeem him in full."

Among these acts [too] is the freeing of slaves.
 He who frees a believing slave God will save for each
 limb of the slave, a limb of his from Hell.

51. He who cannot stand in person in the House of God
 because it is distant from him, can still reach God by
 fearing him and hoping for His mercy while resident in
 his place. If he cannot slaughter a sheep in Mina let
 him sacrifice his love here [i.e. at home]. He who
 cannot reach the House because it is distant from him,
 must direct his steps to the Lord of that House for He is

closer to man than his veins.

[Poetry]

If I did not make the pilgrimage because it is so far away.

I make my pilgrimage to Him who is never forgotten.

I, here, perform the Ihrām, my tawāf and my sa^ci is
The performance of sincere acts of compassion.

My Safa is my freedom from misdeeds, my Marwa is the
devotions of a stout heart.

My Muna is my constant desire and my Jimar are
The burnings of desire in my heart.¹

In the days of Tashriq,² many people prefer to recite the following prayer, "God, make us do good in this world and reward us for it in the other and protect us from the agony of Hell." The Prophet used to say it often and when he said a different one, he also adjoined this to it.

52. Chapter khatima - [Conclusion]

On residing near the Sacred House, Mujawara,³ and

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1. Ihrām, Sa^ci and tawaf constitute part of the ritual of the pilgrimage, see introduction. Safa, Marwa and Mina are places near Mecca associated with the pilgrimage ceremony. Jimar is the ritual stoning of the Devil in Mina life.
 2. Ayām al-tashriq are the 13th to the 16th of Dhi-l-Hijja in which pilgrims, after giving up the garb of Ihrām, indulge in social festivities.
 3. See introduction p./3

on visiting the Prophet and residing near him. In the 'Madkhal', [the author said], "a Mujawara achieved by pursuing the traditions of the Prophet, prayer and greetings on him, no matter where the person was, is much better than physical proximity to him. In 'Kitab al-Guwa' some of the ancients said, "many a man in the land of Khurasan is closer to the House than those who are crowded around it." It was also said that it is better for the person to remain where he was, with his heart constantly attached to the House, rather than reside next to it, while his heart is constantly wondering to his home country. Fin. True mujawara [therefore] is not achieved by residence, but by the constant pursual of God's commands and by the avoidance of what he had forbidden.

[Poetry]

[How] many are those who achieve their aim while living far from [the House]

[How] many are those who live close but die in misery?

In the tradition reported in the Ihia' and also by al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Jibāl, on Ibn Mas'ūd; "The Prophet said, 'those who deserve me best are those who pray for me.'" In 'Bughiat al-Salik', al-Sahili said, "among the best fruits the Muslim can reap by prayer, done in honesty
53. and sincerity, is the constant fixation of the image of

the Prophet in the Muslim's heart." He who does this is assured of the nearness of the Prophet to him. The love of the Prophet takes hold of his heart because a man is always with those he loves. The Prophet was asked whether he hears the prayer of those who call prayer on him and he answered, 'I hear the prayer of those who love me.' Abu al-Mawahib used to say, "I used to see the Prophet who says to me 'I do not die. I only die for those who stop obeying God. Those who continue to obey God, I can see them, and they can see me.'"

In the end this amount is sufficient. Praise be to God for the beginning and the end. This composition was finished in the morning of the Friday, the twentieth of the month of God **Safar** of the Hijra of the Prophet.

APPENDIX II

Muhammed Bello:- Risalah ila ahl al-haramain al-sharifain
wa ila ahl al-mashriq;¹ "Message to the
 People of the East"

Translation

Praise be to God, who is revered and is compassionate, for granting us the favours of belief and Islam and for outlining to us by the guidance of His light the way of truth and the right path so that we are not left unguided in the dark. I praise Him at the beginning and the end. I thank Him for His bountiful generosity. I witness that there is no God but God. He is the one, He is single, everlasting and has no end. I witness that our Prophet Muhammed is His slave and messenger and the seal of the prophets and messengers. The blessings of God and His peace on him, his relations and companions to the end of time.

From Amir Al-Mu^qminin Muhammed Bello, son of the Shaikh, the great Imam, the knowledgable and saintly CUthman b. Fudi Muhammed, to the presence of God's people, ahli-llah, be He exalted, the defenders of the traditions of His messenger (prayers ~~of God~~ and greetings on him) the

1. In Shaikh Musa Kamara al-Majmu ^Cal-na'is (see above p. 176 for the suggested possible date ~~for the~~ for the dispatch of the message.) An outline of the progress of the jihad is given above pp. 141-152

people of the path, ahl-al-tariqa, the mines of law, ma^cadin^{al}-shari'a, such as who will come across our letter or was given to him from among the people of the east, ahl-al-mashriq. We greet you with the best greetings and in the most befitting manner. We also inform you of our desire to meet you and join hands with you. We also inform of the truth regarding that which took place between us and the kings of our country which might otherwise, due to the vast distances that separate us, reach you in distorted form. You will then judge for yourselves and be certain /of the truth/.

Know that, may God most high grant you his mercy, we did not fight the kings of our country except to defend ourselves, our religion and our families. They had transgressed and injured us and required us to return to what is not becoming for us to do. The blessed Shaikh ^cUthman b. Fudi showed us the truth and we followed him. But they incited the vulgar, sufahā', amongst them to harm, rob and plunder us on the roads. We continued to better our religion, to spread what we have of learning and to give advice to whoever came to us. This was our policy. When they saw that we were determined to continue what we deemed right and that the common people, cawamu-n-nās, were joining the religion of God in large numbers, they were irritated. They took counsel together and plotted war against us. Seeing our weakness they

were certain they would win. We were surprised by the letter of the Amir of Gobir which contained three things: that nobody should preach to the people except the Shaikh himself; that nobody should become a Muslim and those who did not inherit Islam from their fathers should return to the religion of their fathers; and that nobody should wear a turban and that the women were not to veil themselves. This was his warning in the places of gathering and in the markets. All this was meant to degrade us, s^caian-fi-makidatina. But God, be He exalted, saved us from his plotting and he died soon after.

When his son Yunfa succeeded, he too pursued his father's policy with greater activity. He attacked Muslim villages, qura-l-Islam, by surprise killing whoever God willed must die, the jurists, fūqahā, the reciters, qurā', and a large number of people during Ramadan while they were fasting. They robbed them of their belongings, took away their children into captivity. They laid books and copies of the Qur'ān in the dust and burnt the writing boards, alwāh, for their fire. They made fun of the Muslims saying to them, 'show us what you have threatened us with if you were telling the truth.' They continued to harass the village of the Shaikh [Digel]. Their king [i.e. Yunfa] sent to the Shaikh a warning to abandon it [the village] with his family because he was

going to attack it. The Shaikh refused and insisted on migrating, yuhajir, with all his community, Jama^ctihi. He made the hijra to a place called Gudu. When he arrived there all those who preferred Islam came to him while the Unbelievers continued to forbid them and waylay them on the orders of the Amir. After that [the Amir] started to send contingents against us and to raid us. The Shaikh wrote to them but they refused to listen to him. The king prepared himself to march on us. When he arrived God defeated him and annihilated his army and he fled by himself. When he returned to his home he sent messages to his brothers, the Amir of Katsina, the Amir of Kano, the Amir of Zau-Zau, the Amir of Daura, the Amir of Asben and the Amir of Bornu. He warned them that he had neglected a small spark in his country which ignited a fire that was uncontrollable and [which had] now burnt him. 'Each of you should take care not to be afflicted in the same manner' as he was. So, every one of them stood up to challenge those who followed the Shaikh. They killed them or took them captive. The latter [followers of the Shaikh] fled to save their lives and united their ranks until they were strong enough to fight back, until the affairs of this country became what they are now.

Between us and them [the Hausa rulers] many momentous

things took place. God had supplied us with soldiers and favoured us with victory. We witnessed marvels of His severe punishment to his enemies and of His support for His people such as would strengthen the faith of the believer and make those who disbelieve suffer humility, degradation and loss.

When God enabled us to control that country we appointed in every region, iqlim, a governor, amil, to make people follow the book [the Qur'ān], the Sunna and the Shari'a, to forbid the committal of deeds contrary to the Shari'a and to discontinue their devilish customs and innovations, al 'awa'id wa-l-bidā 'al-shaitaniyyah. For this reason the country became a pure fountain for those who come and go, for the settled and for the nomad. Every one is secure in his passage [through it], the routes were opened and the traffic increased. [This country] now does not fear anything but God, be He exalted, and our thanks are due to Him.

That, and we have sent the blessed Hajj 'Ali b. Nūh to the sacred house of God together with our brothers who wanted to make the pilgrimage and to visit Madina. We have [put] him in charge of our pilgrims, amir-huġġajina, and we await his return with the help of God. We are determined, if God returns him to us, to go ourselves to the two Holy Harams. We also ask of the Fuġahā' and nobles there, those who can reach us, to come to us so

that we can benefit from what God had taught them. We also inform you that all those captured by the enemy from among the communities that followed us, and who were sold to the merchants who sold them to you, are free Muslims whose enslavement is forbidden, haram. You are to do your utmost to rescue their necks from bondage. May God reward you for that. And greetings.

APPENDIX III

An Arabic account of the pilgrimage of a Mai of Bornu by one of his descendents.¹

Translation

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-
merciful, the All-compassionate, the master of the Day

1. The manuscript was photographed from the library of Shaikh Abu Bakr al-Miskin of Maidagary, (informant No. 36). The author is the grandfather of Shaikh al-Miskin whose full name is Abu Bakr b. Ahmed b. Muhammed (the author) b. Ali b. Dunama b. (Mai) ^cAli b. (Mai) Umar (known as ^cUmar b. Fesam, a son of Mai Idris Alooma). The date at the bottom of the manuscript of 1367/1850-51 is probably the copying date. Shaikh al-Miskin gives no definite date but is certain that the document was written before the jiḥād - 1808. Being a minor and fairly specialised work this Rihlah is not widely known in Bornu.

As I suggested earlier it is highly probable that the author had collected different bits of information on the pilgrimages of his ancestors and attributed them to Mai ^cAli b. ^cUmar who performed the pilgrimage four times/and became famous for his pilgrimages in Bornuese traditions. It is difficult to identify the subject of the Rihlah with Mai ^cAli b. ^cUmar - See above p.134-5 and notes on translation below.

Despite its apparent historical inaccuracy the manuscript is interesting as a rare example of interest in recording pilgrimage journeys, of one-self or of others, among West African Sudanese Scholars - For a discussion on this type of source see Introduction pp. 39-40

of Doom.

Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour.

Guide us in the straight path,
the path of those whom thou hast blessed,
not of those against whom thou art wrathful,
nor of those who are astray.¹

Praised be He. There is no God but Him who ordered his subjects to make the pilgrimage by saying - glorified be He who said - 'fulfil the pilgrimage and the Visitation, ∠^cumra unto God ∠but if you are prevented, then such offerings as may be feasible² Prayer and greetings on our master Muḥammad who ∠himself made the pilgrimage and answered the summons, on his relations and companions.

Afterwards ^cAbdallah Muhammed ibn ^cAli ibn al-Ḥāj says in mention of the journey of his grandfather³ the sultan ^cAli ibn ^cUmar, may God extend His mercy on him, that he ∠^cAli b. ^cUmar had performed the pilgrimage in the best manner and the fullest way, and that he prepared himself for the performance of what God had imposed on him ∠i.e. the pilgrimage in the year AH 1140 ∠1727-8⁴

1. A.J. Arbery's translation (1964) of the Opening chapter of the Qur'ān.

2. Qur'ān, ii, 193.

3.. The Arabic Jadihi is used in a loose sense. The author is in fact the great grandson of Mai ^cAli b. ^cUmar.

4. This date falls within H.R. Palmer's regnal dates for Mai Ḥaj Ḥamdūn b. Dunama (1717-1731) - see above p. 135

in the best of conditions. He sent messages to all the kings and governors, cumal,¹ who were under him urging them to guard what was in their hands of God's trust and to shepherd their flock with justice, benevolence and to forbid fahshā', munkar and baghy.² That was because he was departing on the pilgrimage journey in that year AH 1140.

He made preparations, collecting slaves and beasts of burden, and departed on Thursday the middle of the second Maūlid Rabi^c II of that year 1140. He was accompanied by fifteen thousands, composed of slaves, riders and those who were walking on foot. He travelled until he came to Baghirmi Bagirmi. He arrived and settled five thousand of his slaves in Bagirmi. Then he passed on the road of Wadai. He arrived and settled four thousand slaves on one side and another four thousand on another side.³ He

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1. See above p. 133 for rebellion during the absence of Mai Ali on pilgrimage.
 2. The well-known maxim of Muslim Law lit. 'the forbidding of vile deeds, fahshā, objectionable acts, munkar and injustice, baghy.
 3. The practice of settling slaves abroad seems, on the evidence of the Diwan an old one among the Saifawa (op.cit., cf. Mai Umme b. Abdel Jahil and Mai Dunama b. Umme for example). It is difficult to ascertain without further field investigation whether this practice was still kept by eighteenth century Mais, or was merely an attempt by the author to emulate the style of the Diwan.

travelled⁷until he entered the Sudanese lands, ila an dakhala al-araḍi al-sūdaniyyah.¹ Then he passed on Egypt's road, fa marra ^can tariqi misr, and reached Hijaz and made the pilgrimage this [that] year.

He stayed there [in Hijaz] a month after the pilgrimage until his provisions almost ran out due to [his] spending, ḥaṭṭa kaḍ yanfaḍhu zadahu min al-infāq. Then some slaves were presented to him for sale [but] what he had [of money] had already been diminished from spending.² He then gathered his ^culama for counsel. They counselled him to collect pebbles, hasb; when these were collected they [the ^culama] covered them up, wa aḥatuha bi hijāb in-satir, gathered around them and performed tafl³ on them for three days. They uncovered [the pebbles] which were

1. The term al-araḍi al-Sūdaniyyah has rather modern soundings; it refers to the present Republic of the Sudan. This probably suggests extremely recent interferences with the original work. It is however possible that as early as the 18th Century pilgrims travelled from Bornu to Bagirmi, Wadai, Darfur and it is most likely that a Mai of Bornu would travel not through Sennar but along Darb al-arba^c in from Darfur to Egypt - see above p.272-4
2. Reminiscent of accounts of Mansa Musa's situation in Egypt - see above p.76-7
3. Tafl is lit. spitting. The saintly person who is performing a cure or a similar action conveys his baraka or blessings onto the object in that manner.

[now] gold. [The ^culama] showed it to the Sultan who was pleased and thanked God and the ^culama with whom God had favoured him. He resumed his spending after paying the price of the slaves who came [were brought] for sale [...]¹ by the will of God.

He departed on his return journey and arrived in Egypt. He stayed for [some] days. He then passed on the Sudan[^s] road, tariq al-sūdan as he had followed it the first time, kama itaba^cahū awala maṛṛatin. He stayed in Sudan for [some] days. Then he came to Wadai and confirmed the residence of his slaves whom he had settled there. Then he came to Bagirmi and confirmed the residence of his slaves whom he had settled there, until he returned safely [to Bornu]. He remained in his kingship fifteen years after his return. He raided Krowrowa and died there in Krowrowa where his grave is visited. May God accommodate him in the widest of His gardens. Amen.

Then after him they [installed], bāya^cū, his son Dunama ^cAlimi, that is to say, Muhammed ibn ^cAli ibn ^cUmar. After Dunama the pilgrimage was made by [the] Sultan Muhammed al-Hāj ibn Dunama and [the] Sultan Muhammed ibn Muhammed al-Hāj ibn Dunama. And before them many of the kings of Kanur,² muluk al-kanūr, made

1. One illegible word, probably فرفر, he spent.

2. Kanur is the Arabic for Kanuri, or the Language and people of Bornu.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم
 ملك يوم الدين اياك نعبد و اياك نستعين هذه الصلوة المستقيمة
 صلوات الله تعالى عليكم خير المقضوب عليهم و لا الضالين آمين
 سبحانه لا اله الا هو الا مرعبا به يا ثمام البحر يقول جل من فاعلوا
 البحر و العروة لله الاية و الصلوة و السلام على سيدنا محمد الذي هو
 وليه و الله و محبة الكلمة الانباء اما بعد فيقول عبد الله محمد بن علي
 بن الحاج ذا كرا رجل جده السلطان علي بن عمر نعمه الله بركة
 بانه ادى فريضة البحر باحسن وجه و انتم طريقه هذا بانه فسر
 مساعده لا داء ما جرض الله تعالى عليه من فريضة البحر سنة ١١٠٥ هـ
 على احسن حال فاجعل انى كافة المملوك و العمال للذي يتبعه ان
 يثمنوا ساعد يهم في حقل ما يابى بهم من امانة الله و رعايته
 يحثهم بالعدل و الاحسان و ايتاء ذى الخرب و النهى عن الغش
 و المنكر و البغى ذلك بانه مرتين رحلة للبحر لهذا العام ١١٠٥ هـ
 فاجتمع و جمع عبيدا و ركوبا فخرج يوم الخميس المنتصف
 للمولد الثاني لهذا العام في خمسة عشر لقا ما بين العبيد
 و للركاب و المشاة حتى اتى بعزم لجلها و اسكن هناك من عبيده
 ٥٠٠٠ خمسة الاف ثم مر على طريق ولاى جلها فاسكن هناك
 اربعة الاف بجانب و اربعة الاف اخر بجانب الى ان دخل في
 الاراضى السودانية فمر على طريق مصر و بلغ الجواز فخرج
 هذا العام فاقام هناك ثلثة ايام بعد البحر حتى تاد ان ينجد
 زاده من الانفاق ثم عرض له هنالك عبيد للبيع ليشتري
 و خذ فل خات يده بالانفاق فيجمع علماء و فشا و رهم باقاروا

إليه بجميع المصائب بموعدة الحصب ثم احاطوه بحائط من حجاب
 سائر ما جنته من العلماء عليهم السلام عليها ثلثة ايام
 ثم كشيحوها فاذا الحصب صار ذهابا فاروه السلطان فاهتفت
 وشكر الله ولعلها من الذين من الله تعالى عليه بهم و دخل فيها رجل
 بعد ان ادلى اثمان هولا العبيد الذين اشعوا للبيع وكرهوا بان
 الله جار تمل آياتهم من صفات ايام ما جمر على طريق السودان
 كما اشبعه اول مرة فقام في السودان اياما ثم اثنى و دأى
 فاثبت اقامة عبيد الذين تركهم هناك حتى اثنى
 بغيرهم واثبت اقامة عبيد الذين اسكنهم هناك الى
 ان رجع سالما فقام بملكه بعد ايامه خمس عشرة سنة
 و فزا كرو و دأى في هناك بغيره و هناك قبره
 بزار اسكنه الله فسيح جنته آمين ثم تابعوا بعده
 ابنه دونفه عليه اي محمد بن علي بن محمد فجز بقدر دونه
 السلطان محمد الحاج بادونه و السلطان محمد بن محمد
 الحاج ومن قبلهم جرح كثير من ملوك الكانور منهم السلطان
 جل السلطان الحاد عشر جرح في خلافة بني العباس ثم
 عثمان الاول جرح في سنة خمس مائة هجرية على صاحبها افضل
 الصلاة واثمة الجنة ومنهم الا دار من الثلاثة الاول
 و الثاني و الثالث و امثالهم تزيد على عشرين من
 ملوك الكانور منهم الا ان جرحه لا قبل حلولهم
 بغيره من ماعدى بعض الا دارى و ذكرت بعضا
 بغيره من رجالات ملوك الكانور اخر كتابي البرنوا
 و من اراد اكثر من ذلك فليطالعها فانهم ذكرت في
 رجالاتهم و مكاتباتهم مع مصر و اسنانبول و غيرها ١١ هـ
 والله الموفق للصواب ٧٧٧ - ١٢٦٧ هـ

the pilgrimage. Among them were the Sultan Jil the eleventh sultan who made the pilgrimage in the time of the Abbasid Caliphate. Then ^cUthman al-Awal the first who made the pilgrimage in the year five hundred of the Hijra, on its initiator the best of prayer and the fullest greetings. Among them also were the three Idris's, the first, the third and the fifth. Their likes exceed twenty among muluk al-kanur. But those had made the pilgrimage before their arrival in Gazargamu with the exception of some of the Idrises.¹ I mentioned a small part of the journeys to the pilgrimage of muluk al-kanur in the end of my book entitled al-Barnu.² He who wants to know more should read it as I mentioned in it their journeys and their correspondence with Egypt and Istanbul and other places. Fin.

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1. Jil is probably Umme b. Abdul Jalil the twelfth and not the eleventh Sultan according to the Diwan. The date 500 AH (1106-1107) falls within the regnal dates of Dunama b. Umme (c.1098-1150). Dunama made the pilgrimage twice and was drowned on his way back from a third. Dunama is equivalent of the Muslim name Muhammed and hence it is curious that the author called him ^cUthman I. It is difficult to identify the three Idrises; one can suggest haj Idris b. Ibrahim, Idris (Katagarmabe) and Idris (Alooma). See above pp. 128 - 132.
 2. Unlike the Rihlah, this other much larger work, Kitab al-Bornu, by the same author, is famous among Bornu scholars. Only the earlier sections of the book have so far been traced and photographed. Ibadan/ Lib. (82/260).

APPENDIX IV

Facsimile and translation of a travel document issued to a pilgrim by the Shehu of Bornu Abu Bakr 'Garbai' (1901-1922)¹

Translation

From the slave of God Most High, Abi Bakr ibn Ibrahim ibn ^cUmar ibn Muhammed al-Amin al-Kanimi. May God be kind to them all. Amen. Amen.

To whoever sees this letter from the umara' al-sabah² and others from among the brothers of religion and Islam generally without exception, peace. Peace on you to eternity. Afterwards.

Know that the bearer of this letter is our brother and pupil [who] left us with a sincere wish to visit the two Holy Places, al-haramain al-sharifain. He is al-Sharif Ahmed al-Shinjitī. Be kind to him when he reaches you [on account of] the Prophet's saying 'those who are merciful shall receive [God's] mercy, al-rahimuna yarhamuhum al-rahman. For he [the bearer] is a descendent of him whose mediation is sought in difficulties of this world

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1. The original document is in the possession of the son of al-Sharif Ahmed al-Shinjitī mentioned in it, who is at present a messenger at the law court of Maidugary, (informant No. 41). He had in fact accompanied his father on this pilgrimage. References to this and similar documents of travel is made above p. 294
 2. Sabah is east, lit. rulers of the east.



الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله
والسلام على النبي الذي أرسله في هذا المقام
والذي هو خير من غيره

من عبد الله تعالى الي بكره غير قديم الي غير قديم
 الامميين الكائن في طرفة العينهم ما بين
 الي من وقت اليه من الكتاب من اجل انهم من
 الامميين الذين والى الاسلام من اجل انهم من
 عليكم الي دار السلام من اجل انهم من
 اخبروا وتلميحنا انهم من اجل انهم من
 المشركين وهو الشريف رحم الشريفي بارحمه
 ان وصل اليكم لقوله صلى الله عليه وسلم انهم من
 الرحمن لانهم جميع من يربوا شيئا عنه انهم من
 في الدنيا والاخرة ولان يستلزمكم معينة وانهم من
 اعم بسوء وظلمة فلا بد من وعاء عنه بعد طاعتكم في
 وصل الي بيت الله الحرام تقبل الله عنه وعملكم
 منكم من اجل انهم من اجل انهم من
 والحمد لله على ما افاض اليه من اجل انهم من
 والحمد لله على ما افاض اليه من اجل انهم من

and the next [i.e. the Prophet]. And [also] because between us and you there is [cooperation?]. If someone should obstruct him [his passage] with offence or injustice, defend him as much as you can until he reaches the sacred house of God. May God accept his deed, our deed and your deed with the grace of his forefather, jaddihi, the master of [God's] creation, sayyid al-anām. May God guide us and you to do that which is pious and well-guided by the grace of the lantern of guidance, nibras al-hudā, [i.e. the Prophet] on him the best of prayers and the purest of greetings, and peace.

With the date of Thursday the first of
the Month Rajab 1319 [17th October, 1901]

APPENDIX V

A Tijani 'Silsila' given by al-Haj 'Umar ibn Sa'id to Ahmed ibn Muhammed, of the Saifawa of Bornu.¹

Translation

In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate.
The prayers of God on our Master Muhammed the Beginning,
the Seal, the Helper, the Guide and on his family all
that is due to them in abundance.

Afterwards. Let him who sees this inscription
know that I have given permission, bi-ani-adhantū, [to]

-
1. The 'silsila' is in the possession of Shaikh Abu Bakr al-Miskin of Maidugary, Nigeria (informant no. 36). The person to whom it was given, Ahmed ibn Muhammed ibn Mai Ali is Shaikh al-Miskin's father who, according to the latter had lived to the advanced age of 115 and died in 1347/1928-9, ten years after al-Miskin himself was born (1919). al-Haj Umar's visit to Bornu is discussed above pp. 212-218

The reference to Muhammed al-Ghali makes it certain that the Silsila was issued after his return from the pilgrimage (on the route of his forward journey see above pp. 201-208). This is further confirmed by Shaikh al-Miskin who said that his father was not known to have travelled outside Bornu and that the Silsila was in fact given there. Apart from reflecting on one aspect of Haj Umar's post-pilgrimage activity, disseminating the Tijani wird, the document is interesting in two respects. First, as a possible explanation of al-Kanemi's hostility to al-Haj Umar - he may have resented the latter's interest in members of the Saifawa dynasty (see above pp. 206-7, and for the ancestry of Shaikh al-Miskin see note p. 395). Second, and if the date attached to the silsila can be correctly ascertained, it would throw light on the 'time-table' of Haj Umar's movements after his departure from the Middle East.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا
 مُحَمَّدٍ الْبَاقِي الْخَاتَمِ
 النَّاصِرِ السَّادَةِ وَالْمُؤَيَّدِ
 حُوقْدَرِهِ وَمُكْدَرِهِ الْعَظِيمِ
 وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ الْوَأَقْبِ
 عَلَى هَذَا الرَّسْمِ بِأَنَّهُ
 أَذْنَتْ لِلْوَلَدِ الْبَارِ الْخَاتَمِ
 أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ
 عَلٍ فِي وَرْدِ شَيْخَتَا
 أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ الثَّجَانِ

الْإِزْمُ وَالْوُظَيْفَةُ
 فِي سَيِّدِ الشَّيْخِ
 أَبِي الطَّالِبِ الثَّجَانِ
 الْحَسَنِ مُحَمَّدٍ الْفَالِ
 الْإِلَهِ فِي خَتْمِ
 الْوَلَدِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ
 مُحَمَّدٍ الثَّجَانِ فِي
 جَدِّهِ سَيِّدِنَا أَحْمَدُ
 رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى
 عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْه
 بِأَمَلٍ سَيِّدِنَا عَمْرِو بْنِ
 الْيُونِ سَابِعِ الْمَكْرَمِ ١٢٣٠
 هَجْرَةَ الْبَيْتِ

the intimate son, the hafiz¹ Ahmed ibn Muhammed ibn Mai^c All[i] in the necessary wird² of our Shaikh Ahmed ibn Muhammed al-Tijani and in al-wazifa³, ^can [on the authority of] my master al-Shaikh abi Talib al-Tijani al-Hasani Muhammed al-Ghali al-^cAlawi, fa-can [who had it on the authority of] the seal of the awlia⁴ Ahmed ibn Muhammed al-Tijani, fa-can [who had it from] his forefather, jaddihi, our Master Muhammed the messenger of God - the prayers of God and His greetings on him -. Fin.

[written] on the dictation of our master ^cUmar Ibn Sa^cid al-Fūti [on] the seventh of Muharram []⁵ of the Hijra of the Prophet.

-
1. The term is given to one who knows the Qur'ān by heart.
 2. Translated by J. Abun-Nasr as(Litany). [The Tijaniyya 1965, p. 50].
 3. al-Wazifa (office), the recitation of wird and participation in hadra (seance) on Friday are the three requirements of the Tijani order. (Ibid., p. 50-51). The wazifa is performed every day at least once, see Ibid., p. 52, for full text.
 4. (Sing. wali) is the Muslim term for saintly or holy man.
 5. See photo. P. 407

APPENDIX VI

A letter of advice, wasiyyah, on the approaching end of world, originating in al-Madina, most probably brought back by returning pilgrims for circulation in West Africa.¹

[In] the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate. The blessings of God on our Master Muhammed, his relations and companions. In him we find support against the unbelieving people. The blessings of God on our Master Muhammed [repeated sic.], his relations and companions, and peace [on] the seal of the prophets and messengers.

This is an advice, wasiyyah, from al-Madina al-munawara [the lighted] from al-Shaikh Ahmed the servant of the haram al-nabawy al-sharif. He said, "I was awake late on the night of Friday reading the Qur'ān and after reading the Qur'ān [I read] the asma' Allah al-husna."² When I finished I prepared myself to go to sleep. Then I saw the dazzling appearance, al-tal'ā al-bahiyah [i.e.]

1. The MS was found in the Kéduna Archives, Arabic Manuscripts section, No. 33, Box. No. 7.

For examples of similar letters originating in the Hijaz and purporting to convey a message to all Muslims, see: M. Chailley, "Aspects de l'Islam au Mali", in, Notes et études sur l'Islam en Afrique noir Recherches et Documents du C.H.E.A.M. No. 1. (1962) pp. 42-44; B.G. Martin, "A Mahdist Document from Futa Jallon", op.cit.

2. A. Arcin, La Guinée Française (1907), pp. 478-80, 526-7, 515.

2. Lit. the beautiful names of God, (ninety-nine).

the Messenger of God - the blessings of God and His greetings on him - who had revealed the Quranic verses and the precepts of the Shari^ca out of his mercy on people, our master Muhammed, blessings of God and His greetings on him, who said [to me], 'I am ashamed of the ugly deeds of the people and that is why I face God and the angels standing on my feet. [It is because] between a Friday and the [next] Friday a hundred and sixty thousand die without Islam, min ghairi Islam. We take refuge from the evil of that [fate]. Their [the people's] rich no longer take pity on their poor. Every person is not worried except for himself. They commit disobedient acts, ma^casi, capital crimes, kaba'ir and the sin of pride, kibriā'. They drink wine. They abandon prayer and stop [paying] zakat. This advice is for them so that they may take heed that they are in great difficulty. Tell them, Oh Shaikh Ahmed before the punishment of their beloved [but] tyrannical God descends on them. [Before] the gates of mercy are shut. We take refuge in God from the evil of this punishment and its people [i.e. on whom it shall be inflicted]. [For] from the path of truth they have gone astray [and because] in the hanif religion¹ they disbelieve [and because] their misguided beliefs they

1. al-Dīn al-hanīf, . . . widely used description of Islam; literally meaning the sincere religion.

glorify. Tell them that the Hour, al-sa^cah,¹ is approaching. In 1340 [1921-2] women leave their houses without the permission of their husbands. In 1350 [1931-2] signs appear in the sky resembling the eggs of a hen which are the signals of Qiyamah.² In the year 1353 [1934-5] of the Hijra the sun disappears full three days with their nights after which it rises from the west and sets in the east. The gates of repentance will shut and in 1380 [1960-1] the Qur'ān returns to the breasts of men, yarji^cu-l-Qur'ān fī sudūri-rriḡāl. The Anti-Christ will appear, wa-ya^zharu-l-masikh al-dajjāl [who] kills the men and the women. Islam will revert to being alien as it had been [at first]. Tell them, Oh Shaikh Ahmed this advice. It has been copied by the pen of qudrah from the lawh-al-mahfuz.³ He who writes it and sends it from one country to the other and from one place to another shall have, written in his name, a palace in Heaven. He who keeps it and does not send it shall be barred from my mediation on the Day of Qiyamah. He who cannot write must hire a writer for three dirhams. He who writes it, if he is poor, God

1. The standing of the hour means the arrival of the day of judgement.

2. [The day of] Resurrection.

3. 'The preserved tablet' in which God keeps a complete record of past, present and future events of the entire universe.

shall make him rich and if he is in debt, God shall pay off his debt and if he has sinned God shall pardon him and his parents [all] with the blessings of this advice. He who suppresses it from God's people God shall blacken his face in [this] world and the next.' "

al-Shaikh Ahmed said, 'by God who is great [repeated] three times this has truthfully happened. If I am a liar may I leave this world in a religion other than that of Islam.' He who believes him [Shaikh Ahmed] shall be saved from the agony of Hell. He who lies is unbelieving. God's ^{blessings} on our Master Muhammed, his relations and companions. Amen.

[Note] The advice of Shaikh Ahmed (al-Tijani) is finished. May God favour the writer [who is] a wretched pupil - [who] wrote it with the help of God - so that he may become a great scholar. Written [copied] with the help of God, and without the help of God I could not write a single letter.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL INFORMANTS

(Informant's place of residence is underlined)

The Republic of Senegal

- 1) al-Hāj Muntaqa Tal, great grandson of al-Hāj ^CUmar al-Fūti, historian of the Family now living in Dakar. Muntaqa's history of al-Hāj ^CUmar is cited in the bibliography.
- 2) Shaikh Muhammed al-Amin Diop. One of the lieutenants of Ahmad Bamba, founder of the Muridiyya. Diop is an elderly man now living in Djorbel where he is the Imam of the mosque. His major works, a history of Ahmad Bamba and a manual of the litany of the Muridiyya are cited above p. 327, n. 2
- 3) al-Hāj Tijan Sy Umbarir. A Tokolor Tijani (Malik Sy branch) who used to act as guide to pilgrim parties travelling on the land route through the Sudan and had in this manner several times made the pilgrimage. Dakar.
- 4) al-Mukhtar Wuld Hamedun. By far the most well-known of contemporary Mauritanian scholars, (see presentation in H.T. Norris ⁽¹⁹⁶⁸⁾ and acknowledgements in P. Farias, cited in bibliography.) al-Mukhtar is the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Noakshott; I met him in Dakar briefly in April 1966.

Republic of Mali

5) al-Hāj Muhammed al-Amin and al-Hāj Sanusi, brothers originally from Gambia but have settled in Bamako.

From 1935 to 1948 they were students in al-Azhar. They are very strict Wahabis claiming its introduction in Mali. On their return to Mali they founded an Arabic School which had been shut down by French authorities and re-opened and taken over by the government after independence. They both teach in the school known as Franco-Arabe in Bamako.

6) al-Hāj Gusu Kurmagha. An elderly Sarakole who until his recent retirement was the Imam of the old Mosque of Bamako.

7) al-Shaikh Muhammed Zaina. A Sarakole of the Sula branch. An elderly man with adequate knowledge of Arabic and special interest in history of the area. Though himself not a pilgrim, there is a long tradition of pilgrimage in his family. Lives in Bamako.

8) al-Hāj ^cUmar Tal, great grandson of al-Hāj ^cUmar al-Fūti. Between 1963 and 1966 ^cUmar Tal was the official delegate of Mali with the Mali pilgrims. Bamako

9) al-Hāj Sufian Dramé, grandson of al-Hāj Muhammed al-Amin, the Sarakole Jihad leader (see above pp. 300-4) Sufian graduated from al-Azhar and is now director of an Arabic school, "Madrasat al-Hilal al-Ifriqi" in Bamako.

- 10) al-Shaikh Isa al-Mahdi, an Arma, Imam of the great mosque of Gao.
- 11) Shaikh ^CUmar Wuld Sidi Ahmed, a Mauritanian Arabic teacher at Gao.
- 12) M. Mambé Sidebé, Conceiller Culturel, Ministre du l'information, Bamako. M. Sidebé is a reputed scholar-historian and is at present compiling a comprehensive history of Mali.
- 13) Maulay Ahmed Babir. Originally from Arwan but now living in Timbuctu where he is a teacher of Arabic at the Secondary School. He wrote a history of Timbuctu entitled al-Sa^Cada al-abadiyyah fi al-ta^Crif bi ^Culama Tumbuktu al-bahiyah, in which he attempted to carry the information in al-S^Sadi, Ahmed Baba and al-Bartali to more recent centuries.
- 14) al-Shaikh bul-Khair. A Fulani from Arwan at present the recognised chief of the Qadiriyya of Haud. Lives in Arwan but occasionally visits Timbuctu.
- 15) Sinbir Maulay al-Bashir. A Moroccan by origin who for a long time is settled in Timbuctu where he is noted for his wide learning.
- 16) Sidi Ahmed Bidoj. A Songhay 'alim' who owns one of the largest libraries in Timbuctu.
- 17) Alfa Salim. A Fulani noted for his historical knowledge; at present assistant Head Master of the Secondary School of Timbuctu.

18) al-Hāj Muhammed Maḥmūd al-Jukani. Originally from Mauritania, had spent a long period in the Middle East and served as judge of Darfur before returning to settle in Timbuctu where he teaches Arabic at the Secondary School.

19) Ahmed Sidi Yahia. Muqaddam of the Tijaniyya in Timbuctu.

20) Muhammed Beddi an elderly trader from Shingit who from time to time visits Timbuctu.

21) al-Hāj Muhammed Tahir. The chief of the Tijaniyya in Timbuctu.

22) Muhamman Sama Sugu. A retired civil servant, of Bambara origin and known locally for his interest in history. Mopti.

23) al-Hāj Sidi Konaki. Tokolor Imam of the great mosque of Mopti.

24. Shaikh Madan Muntaḡa Tal. Grandson of al-Hāj ^CUmar al-Fūti and the chief of the family in Mali now resident in Segu.

25) Shaikh Sa^Cad Turé. Head Master of his own School, Madrassat al-Falah in Segu, said to have been the first Arabic school in Mali.

Republic of Nigeria

26) The Alubaden of Ibadan. Traditional ruler of Ibadan.

27) al-Hāj Ahmed al-Rufa^Ci. A Yoruba and deputy Imam of Ibadan.

- 28) al-Hāj Muhammed al-Mahili. Imam of Ibadan.
- 29) al-Hāj Ahmed al-Tijani Ibrahim. A Yoruba, Muqqadam of the Tijaniyya and founder of the "Zumrat al-Hūjjaj Society" that is active in the field of Arabic education often offering scholarships to al-Azhar. Ibadan.
- 30) Malam Nasir Kabara. Principle Judicial School, Kano.
- 31) Malam Sa^cid ibn Hayatū. Son of the 19th century Mahdist agent Hayatū ibn Sa^cid and now the recognised leader of the Nigerian Mahdists. (Anṣar). Kano.
- 32) Malam Abu Bakr Atiqu. From a family of long scholarly tradition, a Muqaddam of the Tijaniyya in Kano.
- 33) Malam Abu Bakr Gumi. The Chief Justice of Northern Nigeria, Kaduna.
- 34) Malam Muhammed Kasha. An elderly pilgrim, made a pilgrimage early this century on foot, lives at Kaduna and is an informant for the Arabic Department of the Kaduna Archives.
- 35) Imam Adam Aṣil. Grandson of a famous Bornu scholar, ^cAbdel-Rahmān al-Sanusi. Now judge of Damaturu (Bornu Province).
- 36) Shaikh Abu Bakr al-Miskin. Chief living descendant of the Saifawa family, has considerable knowledge of history and now serves as judge in the Shehu's court, Maidugary.

37) Malam Idris al-Kali. Studied in the Sudan and now the Chief Education Officer of Bornu province, Maidugary.

38) Muhammed Logoni, Imam of the Secondary School, Maidugary.

39) Shettima Maḥmūd. A Kanuri Calim, Maidugary.

40) Shettima Muhammed Ṣaliḥ. A Kanuri Calim, Maidugary.

41) ^CAbdel-Raḥmān Chari. Son of Ahmed al-Shinqiti mentioned in passport (Appendix IV). He works as a messenger in the law court, Maidugary.

42) al-Hāj Junaidu b. Ahmed al-Bukhāri. The Wazirin Sokoto. (See presentation in M. Last (1968), cited in bibliography).

43) Hāj ^CAbdel Raḥmān ibn Muhammed al-Maghribi. Lived for considerable time in the Sudan and now retired to Sokoto.

The Republic of the Sudan

44) al-Hāj Muhammed al-Amin Kaḡhu, Mai Wurnu.

45) al-Shaikh Mājdhub Mudathir. Professor of Muslim Studies at the Muslim University, Umm Durman.

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- I.A.S.A.R. Institute of African Studies, University of
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- I.S.H.M. Institut des Sciences Humaines du Mali,
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- J.A.H. Journal of African History.
- J.A.S. Journal of the African Society.
- J.H.S.N. Journal of the Historical Society of
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