

# Ajami literature and the study of the Sokoto Caliphate

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The Sokoto Caliphate (1804–1903),<sup>1</sup> established under the leadership of Shaykh ‘Uthman dan Fodio (the Shehu) (1754–1817) with the assistance of his brother, Shaykh ‘Abdullahi (d.1829), and his son, Muhammad Bello (d.1837), is reputed to have been one of the most prolific in the Central Bilad al-Sudan, leaving behind a large body of literature which was of immense value in documenting and evaluating the history of the caliphate. The triumvirate itself authored over 250 works and, over the years, their descendants and successors made significant contributions to this veritable intellectual heritage.<sup>2</sup>

Although many of the Sokoto caliphal writings are in Arabic, a significant number of manuscripts, written in the Arabic script, are in local languages, principally Fulfulde and Hausa. The *ajami* literature, despite its potential in broadening our understanding of the history of the Sokoto Caliphate, has been only partially exploited by scholars and, more often than not, for linguistic rather than historical studies.<sup>3</sup> This chapter is an attempt to explore the significance of the *ajami* literature with a view to understanding the role it played in the establishment and consolidation of the caliphate.

## Pre-jihad *ajami* literature

Despite the proliferation of *ajami* manuscripts in the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries, the development of *ajami* literature in the Central Bilad al-Sudan before the eighteenth century is difficult to trace with any degree of certainty. John Phillips’s assertion that ‘the first *ajami* writing for which we have [a] reliable (though not absolute) date is *Riwayar Annabi Musa* by the famous Kano scholar ‘Abdullahi Suka which may be seen in the manuscript collection of the Jos Museum’.<sup>4</sup> While ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Salim, known as ‘Abdullahi Suka, flourished in the mid-seventeenth century and authored the *Atiyyat al-mu’ti*,<sup>5</sup> there is no firm indication to identify him conclusively as the author of the said Hausa *ajami* manuscript. It is also possible that

Opposite: An example of *ajami* literature, using both African and European languages.

A manuscript at the Ahmed Baba Institute, awaiting restoration and conservation.



both Muhammad b. Masanih (d.1667) and Muhammad b. al-Sabbagh (fl.1640–41) authored some *ajami* manuscripts,<sup>6</sup> but again there is no credible evidence to attribute with any firmness the *Waqar Yakin Badr* to either one of them.

Mervyn Hiskett, who undertook a more extensive work on Hausa *ajami* literature and the development of Hausa Islamic verse, adopted a more cautious approach to the subject.<sup>7</sup> Hiskett drew attention to the existence of two dominant forms of Hausa oral literature: the *kirari* (praise epithets) and *wakar yabo* (praise songs).<sup>8</sup> While these forms could find themselves in lists of kings that ruled and historical chronicles,<sup>9</sup> they remained patently un-Islamic and though they survived they could not be integrated into the mainstream of the Islamic literary tradition. Thus the Hausa ‘literate verse’ as we know it today, argued Hiskett, was essentially an Islamic creation and possibly an ‘innovation’ introduced by the Sokoto reformers.<sup>10</sup>

Although the history of the Hausa literate verse could not be fully ascertained before the late eighteenth century, there is some evidence to suggest that some form of Fulfulde *ajami* literature was in existence by the second half of the seventeenth century and that it was coherent enough to have attracted the attention of serious Islamic scholars like Muhammad al-Wali b. Sulayman al-Fallati (fl.1688–89).<sup>11</sup> The latter’s *al-Manhaj al-farid fi ma’rifat ‘ilm al-tawhid* was an Arabic version of some Fulfulde commentaries on the *Sughra* of al-Sanusi, one of the major texts for the study of *tawhid* in West Africa.<sup>12</sup> How much Shaykh ‘Uthman dan Fodio and his colleagues elaborated on the

existing literature cannot be fully established, but there was apparently a Fulfulde literary substratum which they could build upon.

## The reform tradition

The establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate under the leadership of Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio was a gradual process taking several decades to come to fruition. The initial and one of the most crucial stages in this process was that of mobilisation. From 1774, when Shaykh 'Uthman was only 20 years old, he began active teaching and preaching until he established an autonomous *jama'a* (congregation) which was able to begin asserting its independence from the Gobir authorities in 1804.<sup>13</sup> It is within the 'mobilisation framework' of the Sokoto reform movement that we need to locate the significance of *ajami* literature and how it was effectively exploited by the caliphal leaders to establish a substantial presence within the rural and non-literate communities of Gobir, Zamfara and Kebbi. 'Abdullahi dan Fodio (d.1829) was emphatic on the role *ajami* literature played in this mobilisation process when he wrote:

Then we rose with the Shaikh, helping him in his mission work for religion. He traveled for that purpose to the East and West, calling people to the religion of God by his preaching and his qasidas [odes] in *Ajami* [Hausa and Fulfulde] and destroying customs contrary to Muslim Law.<sup>14</sup>

Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio himself, in emphasising the strategic importance of using *ajami* in his mobilisation efforts, had this to say in his Fulfulde poem titled *Babuwol kire*:<sup>15</sup>

*Nufare nde am yusbango en baabuwol kire*  
*Mi yusbira ngol Fulfulde Fulbe fu yeetoye*  
*To min njusbiri arabiyya aalimi tan nafi'*  
*To min njusbiri fulfulde Jaahili Faydoye*

My intention is to compose a poem on the [prostration] of *forgetfulness*  
I intend to compose it in Fulfulde so that Fulbe could be enlightened.  
When we compose [a poem] in Arabic only the learned benefit.  
When we compose it in Fulfulde the unlettered also gain.

The focus of Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio and his lieutenants at this stage of the movement appears to have been on developing a conscious Muslim personality, able to discern the social ills of Hausaland and its religious problems and contradictions.<sup>16</sup> This apparent socioreligious protest found expression in several *ajami* poems, particularly those authored by Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio. One poem which has enjoyed some popularity in this category is Shaykh 'Uthman's Fulfulde *urjuza*, called *Boneji Hausa* (Ills of Hausaland).<sup>17</sup> This poem admits the many evils prevalent in Hausa society and the conspiracy of silence by leaders of thought which made it difficult to address them in any serious and systematic manner. The poem proceeds to highlight some of these ills:

*Ajami* literature played an important role during the mobilisation phase of the reform movement, particularly in helping the *jihad* leaders put across their message to their teeming but unlettered followers. It would be difficult to imagine the Sokoto *jihad* emerging as a mass movement without taking into account the effective exploitation of *ajami* to achieve this objective.

Goddi boneji mairi bo, bukkaki  
 Goddi boneji mairi bo, simaki  
 Goddi boneji maari bo, diccaki  
 A hinnata goodo e-dou nguski  
 Goddi boneji mari bo juldo nanngoya  
 Na yo jeyado, jaggineki tokkoye  
 Goddi boneji maari shar'u doggata  
 E mairi jul yimbe mairi ndonnata  
 Goddi boneji mairi jula nanngata  
 Zakka mo mashiyaji bo be ittata  
 Goddi boneji mairi reube njangata  
 Balli di mabbe bo kurum be cuddata  
 Wodbe benteje fede sabal sabal  
 Hayya e be yimbe ngala e dou datal.

Some ills are tattoos on the faces  
 Others are crying over the dead.  
 Some ills are the salutations made [during salutations]  
 'Thou shall not salute while standing'  
 Some of its ills are the capture of a free Muslim, not a slave.  
 This action is then followed by enslavement.  
 From its ills is that the *shari'a* does not prevail.  
 And many of its people do not distribute estates in accordance with the Law.  
 One of its ills is performing prayers without ablution.  
 The *zakat* of their animals they never pay.  
 Another ill is that women do not learn  
 Their body they never cover properly  
 Some of them have their 'bante' aprons loosely blowing 'Sabal Sabal'.  
 Oh! These people are not on the right path.

Another poem by Shaykh 'Uthman which falls into this category is *Wasuyaji* (Advice), which discouraged social intercourse with oppressive rulers, innovators and other undesirable characters and encouraged keeping the company of the pious, the learned and followers of the Sunna, for the latter, according to the shaykh, was superior to both one's father and mother.<sup>18</sup> Shaykh 'Uthman's Fulfulde poem *Hasotobe* further elaborated on one group of these undesirable characters, the rumour-mongers and hate-mongers who saw nothing good in what the shaykh and his disciples were trying to accomplish.<sup>19</sup>

The second category of *ajami* literature which played an important role during the mobilisation phase of Shaykh 'Uthman's reform movement and subsequently is the *wa'azi* (Hausa) or *waju* (Fulfulde) poetry. *Wa'az*, as Sultan Muhammad Bello b. Shaykh 'Uthman understood it, constituted reminding people about the hereafter, its pleasures and its trials and tribulations with a view to instilling the fear of God into their hearts.<sup>20</sup>

Viewed from the vantage point of available manuscript collections, this category of *ajami* literature appears quite extensive. The main problem, however, is that most of these poems bear no date and it is difficult to assign them properly to this period.

The Fulfulde *qasida* with the title *Duniyayel* (This Miserable World) and attributed to Shaykh ‘Uthman dan Fodio falls into this category of *Wa’azi* literature. This and similar poems attempt to underscore the transient nature of this world and to bring home the realisation that it is only the hereafter which is real. The examples *Duniyayel* raises are indeed classic:

This miserable world is like the snake’s body.  
So slippery that anyone getting hold of it will be left empty handed.  
This miserable world is like a shade of cloud.  
The cloud will soon disappear and the shade vanishes.  
This miserable world is like a mirage.  
Those determined to fetch it will find absolutely nothing.<sup>21</sup>

‘Abdullahi dan Fodio’s Hausa *qasida*, *Mulkin audu*,<sup>22</sup> paints a more graphic picture of the fleeting nature of the world and of the day of resurrection:

Woe to us on the day it shall be said ‘What of so and so? Today he has passed away.’  
Everything of his has passed away  
All the heirs now drink the soup.  
When the day of your death comes,  
You will forget son and grandchild.  
The wealth you have hidden away, will not ransom you, you hear?  
On the Day of Resurrection there will be summons;  
All mankind we shall assemble.  
There will be no waist wrapper, nay, not even a loin cloth;  
there will be none to laugh!  
Judgment will be given, the division will be made;  
every unbeliever will suffer torment.

Shaykh ‘Uthman’s *Yimre Jahima*<sup>23</sup> extends further the discussion on hellfire by mentioning those who will suffer the torment<sup>24</sup> and seek refuge from the fire of *Jahima* (hell). Finally, the issue of repentance (*tuba*, *tubuye*) brings to a logical conclusion the cyclical discourse of the *wa’azi* literature. Shaykh ‘Uthman’s *Inna gime* (Mother of Poems)<sup>25</sup> is a good example of a repentance poem, illustrating quite vividly their supplicatory nature.

The third category of *ajami* literature relevant to our understanding of the Sokoto Caliphate at the early stage of its history is the didactic verse that was meant to teach the rudiments of *fiqh*, *tawhid* and *sira*. Muhammad Bello in his *Infaq al-maysur* had shown clearly the importance of these subjects in Shaykh ‘Uthman’s sermons,<sup>26</sup> and it is very probable that *ajami* was effectively utilised to get the message across to the

movement's unlettered followers. I have already made reference to Shaykh 'Uthman's *Babuwol kire or Sujud al-sahwi* (Prostrations on Forgetfulness). This could have complemented other *gime furu'a* which are being transmitted up to the present day.<sup>27</sup> It is also possible that some major works like the *Ihya al-Sunna* (Revival of the Sunna), which the Shehu authored, could have been versified in either Hausa or Fulfulde.<sup>28</sup>

On *tawhid*, one of the extant works is a Hausa composition by one of the disciples of Shaykh 'Uthman, Malam Usman Miga, called *Musan samuwar jalla*.<sup>29</sup> According to Hiskett's analysis, the work was based on *Jawharat al-tawhid* of Ibrahim al-Laqani (d.1668), and *Umm al-Barahin* of Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Sanusi (d.1486).<sup>30</sup> An example of *sira* literature in *ajami* is 'Abdullahi dan Fodio's *Wakar sira*, which gives an elaborate genealogy of the Prophet and various aspects of the Prophet's biography.<sup>31</sup> Related to the *sira* literature but pursued more for spiritual and devotional purposes was the *madh al-nabi* (Praise of the Prophet) literature. This group of *ajami* verse, both in Hausa and Fulfulde, is again quite extensive but could not be accurately dated or firmly attributed to any of the principal actors at this stage of the history.<sup>32</sup>

### **Hijra, jihad and consolidation**

The events leading to the *hijra* and *jihad* of Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio have been fairly well established. The *Tazyin al-waraqat* of 'Abdullahi dan Fodio and the *Infraq al-maysur* of Sultan Muhammad Bello have given detailed accounts of these momentous events and the resultant consequences. As far as mobilising people for the *hijra* was concerned, once again *ajami* played a vital role. In the words of 'Abdullahi dan Fodio:

Then our Shaikh 'Uthman – May God perpetuate the glory of Islam through him – when he saw the greatness of the community, and their desire to break away from the unbelievers, and commence Holy War, began to incite them to arms – and he began to pray to God that He should show him the sovereignty of Islam in this country of the Sudan and he set this to verse in his non-Arabic qasida called *Qadiriyya...*<sup>33</sup> (emphasis mine)

It could also be argued that *ajami* literature played an equally important role in mobilising for *jihad* and for understanding how it should be conducted in accordance with the tenets of the *shari'a*. Sultan Muhammad Bello's *urjuza*, titled *Yimre jihadi*, is one of the extant works in this category of *ajami* literature.<sup>34</sup> Closely related to the *jihad* poems is the report of battles and the celebration of the jihadists' victory in them. 'Abdullahi dan Fodio's *Hausa Poem* recounting the Muslim victory at Kalambaina<sup>35</sup> is a good example. In later years Nana Asma'u, the daughter of Shaykh 'Uthman, became one of the principal personalities who gave account of some of these battles, as can be seen from her many poems on the subject. It is, however, important to note that Nana Asma'u was not merely a chronicler of the caliphate's battles and victories. Through her educa-

tional activities and vast social network, she greatly enhanced the role of *ajami* in the consolidation of the emerging caliphate. Nana Asma'u and her brother 'Isa translated many of Shaykh 'Uthman's works into Hausa, which made them more accessible to the wider population.<sup>36</sup> She also enriched the *ajami* landscape through her prolific writings and expanded its scope to treat a variety of subjects and issues normally reserved for the classical Arabists.<sup>37</sup>

It is also important to recognise that Nana Asma'u not only witnessed the consolidation of the Sokoto Caliphate but also the demise of almost all those who played pivotal roles in its establishment. The large body of *ajami* literature on eulogies and elegies which Nana Asma'u left us bears testimony to the traumatic nature of these experiences as well as her determination and resilience in ensuring continuity and in helping to restore the emotional balance of society.<sup>38</sup>

### Political protest

The last category of *ajami* literature which this chapter will consider is that dealing with political protest. Drastic political change, like that witnessed in Hausaland under the leadership of Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio, could only come with huge sacrifices and great expectations. Whenever the leadership failed to meet these expectations, the very instruments used to overthrow the *status quo ante* could also be effectively exploited to subvert the new order. This brings us to an examination of *ajami* as 'subversive' literature.

For the Sokoto Caliphate, however, we need to approach this subject matter with some caution. It could be argued that the radical tradition which was popularised by 'Abdullahi dan Fodio might not have been fully extinguished even after the consolidation of the caliphate. 'Abdullahi dan Fodio, it will be recalled, was disenchanted with the course of the *jihād* as early as 1808:

When my companions passed and my aims went awry;  
I was left among the remainder, the Liars.  
Who say that which they do not do and follow their desires;  
And follow avarice in everything incumbent upon them...  
Whose purpose is the ruling of the countries and their people;  
In order to obtain delights and acquire rank according to the custom of the  
unbelievers and the titles of their sovereignty.  
And the appointing of ignorant persons to the highest offices;  
And the collecting of concubines, and fine clothes; and horses that gallop in the  
towns, not on the battlefield.<sup>39</sup>

Many Sokoto scholars who wrote in *ajami* were not unsympathetic to 'Abdullahi dan Fodio's position and, as the 'transgressions' mounted, these voices became more strident. Malam Muhammadu Na Birnin Gwari (fl.1850) was one of those voices:

Know ye that tyranny will be darkness on the Day of Resurrection;  
 It is the word of the Messenger of God, Muhammad.  
 Spread out justice as a carpet in East and West; South and North,  
 over all, for the community of Muhammad...  
 Where are the bodyguards, and Harem messengers and concubines;  
 and the women of the palace? Come listen to what benefits you...  
 And you, the King's courtiers, stop going round the towns;  
 confiscating the people's property with unlawful acts.  
 Riding around on horses in order to peer into the compounds  
 [to see what to confiscate].<sup>40</sup>

The second voice is that of Muhammad Raji b. Ali b. Abi Bakr (d. after 1865–66). Modibbo Raji,<sup>41</sup> as he was popularly known, wrote a Fulfulde *qasida* which he titled *Alamaaji ngirbuki* (The Signs of Collapse), echoing similar sentiments to those of Muhammadu Na Birnin Gwari:

The signs of collapse are upon us;  
 The Hadiths of the prophet and the sayings of the righteous point to it...  
 Tyranny, cheating and injustice are so rampant;  
 the principal concern being erecting tall buildings  
 and the abandonment of mosques.  
 Leaders have become an irresponsible lot, a bunch of dangerous thugs.  
 You neither find one who does justice nor the one who guides to what is right.<sup>42</sup>

It is interesting that Modibbo Raji, like 'Abdullahi dan Fodio, also expressed immense interest in *hijra*, preferably to Medina, retracing the footsteps of the Prophet:

Had it been that I have where to run to, I would have escaped.  
 I would then retrace the Prophet's footsteps in Medina.  
 In reality, the body has remained motionless, unable to commence the journey;  
 but the mind has eagerly left while the limbs have been stationary.<sup>43</sup>

### Concluding remarks

I have in this chapter attempted to explore the significance of *ajami* literature in the study of the Sokoto Caliphate. I have examined the difficulties of tracing the history of the *ajami* Islamic verse in the Central Bilad al-Sudan and addressed the argument that it might have been the Sokoto Caliphate which gave this literature its current identity and character. I have further examined the role that *ajami* literature played during the mobilisation phase of the reform movement, particularly in helping the *jihad* leaders put across their message to their teeming but unlettered followers. It would be difficult to imagine the Sokoto *jihad* emerging as a mass movement without taking into account the effective exploitation of *ajami* to achieve this objective.



Finally, I have examined the role of *ajami* literature during the *hijra* and *jihad* periods as well as during the era of consolidation. The significance of *ajami* as 'subversive' literature during the second half of the nineteenth century was further highlighted, taking cognisance of established trends of radical Islamic thought within the Sokoto Caliphate.

The chapter has also raised the problem of authorship and accurate dating as some of the key problems which make it difficult to take full advantage of the available *ajami* literature. It is my opinion that greater efforts should be made to recover more manuscripts so as to provide a larger and more varied resource pool, which could help clear some of the lingering problems. Researchers should also focus on custodians of oral tradition – older men and women and 'guilds' of the blind who were known for their knowledge of the oral traditions – to get the oral rendition of these documents, as well as information on their authors.

While Hausa and Fulfulde are usually regarded as the two dominant *ajami* languages in Nigeria, we should also explore the availability of *ajami* literature in other 'Islamic languages' including Nupe, Kanuri and Yoruba. This recovery effort will be greatly assisted with better insight into the development of language – specific *ajami* orthography and how this has changed over the centuries.

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## NOTES

- 1 The period 1804–1903 represents the approximate dates of the existence of the caliphate. Although the *jihad* commenced in 1804, Sokoto was not established until about half a decade later. Secondly, the mobilisation phase started as early as 1774 when Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio, the leader of the reform movement, commenced his preaching tours. For a general history of the caliphate, see Last (1977). See also Hiskett (1973) and Fodio (1963).
- 2 See Hunwick & O'Fahey (1995).
- 3 See Hiskett (1975) and Furniss (1996). The most useful exploitation of this resource to date remains Boyd & Mack (1999).
- 4 Phillips (1999: 19).
- 5 For details on 'Abdullahi Suka see Hunwick & O'Fahey (1995: 32–33).
- 6 Phillips (1999: 19–20).
- 7 For a discussion on the issue see Hiskett (1975: 1–11).
- 8 Hiskett (1975).
- 9 Hiskett (1975: 2–3) referred to the Kirari in the *Kano Chronicle* as an example of this category of Hausa literature. It is also possible that the Kanuri *girgam* tradition in Bornu could have had its origins in similar circumstances. See Palmer (1936).
- 10 Hiskett (1975: 18) believes that Islamic verse in Hausa was probably composed during the pre-*jihad* period 'but not to any significant extent, and there is no evidence that it was ever written down'.
- 11 See Hunwick & O'Fahey (1995: 34–37). It must be pointed out that *al-Manhaj al-farid* is a prose work and not an indication of any 'literate verse tradition'. Though there are references in the field to Fulfulde poems composed by Shaykh Tahir b. Ibrahim al-Fallati (d. after 1745–46), these have not come to light.
- 12 See Hunwick & O'Fahey (1995: 35).
- 13 See Last (1977: 3–40).
- 14 Fodio (1963: 85–86).
- 15 See Abubakar et al. (2004: 18–25).
- 16 Sultan Muhammad Bello gave some glimpses into his father's propagation techniques and strategies during this phase of the movement. See Bello (1951).
- 17 See Saidu (1979: 203–205).
- 18 See Saidu (1979: 198–199).
- 19 See Saidu (1979: 201–202).
- 20 Bello (1951: 91–94).
- 21 Abubakar et al. (2004: 3–8).
- 22 Reproduced in Hiskett (1975: 29–31).
- 23 Saidu (1979: 206–207).
- 24 Shaykh 'Uthman mentioned the hate-monger, thieves and adulterers, misappropriators of *zakat*, mischief makers, avaricious rulers, corrupt judges, one who defies judgement of the *qadi* and 'the *Mallam* [scholars] who failed to follow what he learnt' (Saidu 1979: 207).
- 25 Saidu (1979: 197–198).
- 26 Bello (1951: 74–94).
- 27 See Abubakar et al. (2004: 18–25). The *furu'* poems which deal with the various branches of *fiqh* abound in the various manuscript collections. However, the problem of dating makes it difficult to attribute them to the period under discussion.
- 28 A Fulfulde rendering of the *Ihya al-Sunna*, in *urjuza* form, has turned up in the uncatalogued Arabic collection of the Sokoto State History Bureau. The paper is quite old, written by what could be termed a 'steady *jihadi* hand'. It is in fragmentary form and bears neither a title nor a date of composition.
- 29 Poem quoted by Hiskett (1975: 68–71).
- 30 Hiskett (1975).
- 31 Hiskett (1975: 53–58). The Fulfulde *qasida* of 'Abdullahi dan Fodio's *Wakar sira* also appears in Abubakar et al. (2004: 26–67) and is firmly attributed to him. The question immediately arises as to which of the two poems was the original and which one was a translation. This problem may affect many other poems, particularly during the middle period (1840–70) when many of these poems were translated, usually into Hausa.

- 32 A special mention must, however, be made of Shaykh 'Uthman's *Ma'ama'are* which was rendered into Hausa by his son 'Isa b. al-Shaykh. See Sokoto State History Bureau, mss 4/28/205. Another poem by Shaykh 'Uthman, *Miyetti ya Allah neldo Muhammadu*, can also be found in the John Rylands collection, J9/15.
- 33 Fodio (1963: 105). A Fulfulde *qasida* titled *Qadiriyya* is available in the Sokoto State History Bureau, 4/15/206, and is very similar in meaning to the poem translated into Arabic by 'Abdullahi dan Fodio.
- 34 See Abubakar et al. (2004: 71–75).
- 35 Hiskett (1975: 28).
- 36 Among other works, Nana Asma'u translated the *Tabbat haqiqa* of Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio into Hausa while 'Isa b. Shaykh 'Uthman translated the *Ma'ama'are*.
- 37 See Boyd & Mack (1999: table of contents, v–viii).
- 38 Nana Asma'u's poems on these subjects include *Sonnore Abd Allah; Sonnore Bello; Sonnore Mo'Inna; Sonnore Bukhai; Sonnore Gidado; Sonnore Zahra; Sonnore Hawwa; Sonnore Bingel; Sonnore Na'Inna; Sonnore Mustafa; Alhinin Mutawar Modibbo dan Ali; Alhinin Mutuwar Halima*.
- 39 Fodio (1963: 121–122).
- 40 Hiskett (1975: 101).
- 41 Hunwick & O'Fahey (1995: 434–436).
- 42 Abubakar et al. (2004: 90–103).
- 43 Abubakar et al. (2004). Compare with 'Abdullahi dan Fodio's poem: 'My heart flew to Madina, dwelling there for years out of desire and it will not return; But my sin kept my body away from it, confused...' (1963: 122).

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