

ABHANDLUNGEN FÜR DIE
KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES

HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT
BAND XLVIII, 1

VEIT ERLMANN

MUSIC AND THE ISLAMIC REFORM
IN THE EARLY SOKOTO EMPIRE



DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

KOMMISSIONSVERLAG FRANZ STEINER WIESBADEN GMBH
STUTT GART 1986

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**IM AUFTRAGE DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON EWALD WAGNER**

XLVIII, 1

VEIT ERLMANN

MUSIC AND THE ISLAMIC REFORM
IN THE EARLY SOKOTO EMPIRE

SOURCES, IDEOLOGY, EFFECTS



DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

KOMMISSIONSVERLAG FRANZ STEINER WIESBADEN GMBH
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‘If music history in Africa is to be a record of the African experience in music, it must, like the rest of the history of Africa, be approached from within. It is for this reason that the search for the different internal sources of historical data is essential and urgent’.

J. H. Kwabena Nketia: *Sources of historical data on the musical cultures of Africa*, p. 48.



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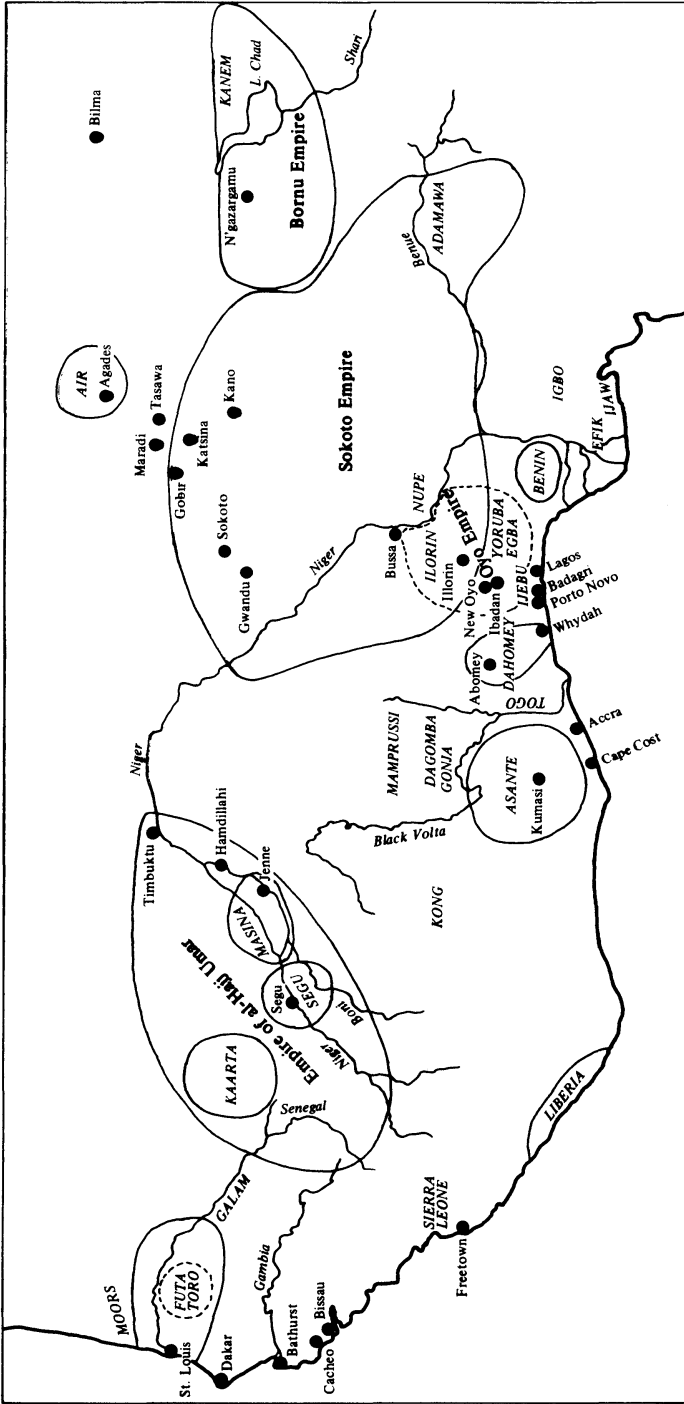
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The Institut de France, Paris, kindly gave permission to reproduce folios of the two aforementioned works in their possession.

Fig. 1 West Africa and the Sokoto empire



NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Where Hausa and Arabic texts were published previously, I kept to these published versions as closely as possible, only eliminating alternative spellings here and there, and, in the case of the Hausa texts, replacing *ḥ*, *d*, and *k* by 'b', 'd' and 'k', respectively. On the other hand, I made no effort to make the transliterations from the *ajamī* scripts (which neglect tone and vowel length of spoken Hausa in favour of the vowel lengths prescribed by the chosen Arabic metre) conform to modern ways of transcribing Hausa.

Thus one will find both *zari* and *zari*, the first being the transcription of the *ajamī* spelling, the latter being the spelling of the Gaskiya Corporation used in Ames' and King's *Glossary* (1971) to which constant reference is made. To avoid confusion, I frequently give both spellings in the text.

The translations, of *Miṣbāḥ* in particular, are meant primarily to serve the interests not of students of jurisprudence or tradition, but of ethnomusicologists and music historians.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the early 19th century a “holy war” (*jihād*) led to the establishment of the Fulani empire of Sokoto which, until its destruction by the British in 1903, covered Northern Nigeria, parts of Niger, and North Cameroon. Led by ‘Uthmān b. Fūdī (1754-1817), a Fulani scholar of great learning, this “holy war” was in fact a movement of reform which was inspired by a revivalist impulse of the Islamic movements which had spread in Africa south of the Sahara from the 11th century. Its main objective was a restoration of the pure Islamic state in most Hausa kingdoms which — although officially considered as Muslim states since the introduction of Islam in the 14th and 15th centuries — had in fact fallen back into a state of “pagan” despotism. ‘Uthmān b. Fūdī was born in Gobir on 15 December 1754. At the age of 20, he began a long career of preaching and studying which by around 1793 had transformed the Fulani Muslim community into an important factor in Gobir domestic politics. Attempts by Nafata, the Sultan of Gobir, to restrict the community’s newly won freedom, sparked off emigration from Gobir in 1804, and eventually led to the “holy war”. With the fall of Alkalawa in October 1808, the Fulani were virtually in control of the entire Hausa area, and an administration was established. ‘Uthmān’s younger brother ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad (1766-1829) and his son Muḥammad Bello (1781-1837) divided responsibilities among themselves, but at the Shehu’s death in 1817, Bello became the first Emir of the Sokoto Caliphate.

The political and religious ideas of the *jihād* have been preserved in a considerable quantity of writings by pre-*jihād* authors, ‘Uthmān b. Fūdī himself (c. 100 works), ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad (c. 90 works), and Bello (c. 100 works).

Although the majority of these works discuss the main themes of classical Islamic dogma like theology (*tawḥīd*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and Sūfism (*taṣawwuf*), some of these documents are also concerned with questions of musical culture. These texts assume major significance for the study of the historical development of music in what used to be the Sokoto Empire, and African music in general, because they constitute probably the first major corpus of African historical literature on music that was so far discovered. The present publication introduces selected passages from these texts and offers partial translations. Furthermore, the ideological content of the texts is discussed against the background of the historical reality of the Islamic reform.

With the advent of the first European explorers African music south of the Sahara became in fact the object of early ethnomusicological observation, but the views taken in these early sources were essentially those of outsiders. Africans, in maintaining and remembering their tradition, relied and still rely to a great extent on oral historical accounts, some of which have been recorded, transcribed and translated by historians, linguists, and ethnomusicologists in various parts of Africa.

The Islamic penetration of Africa, however, brought two major innovating factors to African historiography south of the Sahara. For one, Arabic became

the official language of Islamized states, and at the same time, history came to be regarded as something that could also be written down and preserved. Monumental works such as the *Ta'rikh al fattāsh* by Qāḍī Kāṭī and the *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān* by al-Sa'dī, both Timbuktu born scholars, are well known examples. Both works contain passages on music and have been examined by Farmer (1921, 1939). The sources examined in this study were not entirely written within this tradition of Sudanese historiography, but mostly for religious motives. In chapter 2, they are briefly introduced and placed within the context of historical sources in Hausaland.

The use of Arabic among African scholars not only enabled them to express their views on paper, it sometimes also meant a certain alienation from original African thinking untouched by Islamic dogma. Thus some of the sources discussed in this book not only reflect early African views on African music, but also the influence of Islamic dogma on African writing about African music. The literary and juridical background of the sources, which often keep strictly to the classical dogma, is looked at in chapter 3.

The majority of musical terms used in the sources are in fact Arabic terms for which the Hausa equivalents are not always easily found. It remains questionable whether, under these circumstances, the sources can be considered more than exercises in style which show a great measure of knowledge about Arab culture indeed, but little correspondance with the reformers' African environment. Apparently, this practice was not confined to descriptions of music and musical instruments. For when writing about magical practices of the Hausa, the Shehu also referred "to things as being done only by Jews and Christians ... (and) it would be possible that he was meaning the Maguzawa, the pagan Hausa ..." (Last 1967b:6). Nevertheless, it is possible, through careful interpolation, to identify the Hausa equivalents of most terms. Chapter 4 is concerned with these terminological problems.

The sources not only represent first rate legal texts of Islamic cultural fundamentalism in West Africa, but they also afford a unique view of Hausa musical culture before and, possibly, after the *jihād*. Certainly, the sources cannot claim the same degree of objectivity as historical documents, because they were written from a perspective which involved opposition to what must have been common practice in 18th century Hausaland. This alone explains why the so-called "branches" of religion (*furū'*), i.e. questions of the allowability of music, occupied a certain part of the reformers' literary activities. Examples from the musical sphere could be cited as notorious proofs for the wicked *bid'a* (innovation, heresy) practices of the "pagan" Hausa states, because music was so dominant an aspect of Hausa social life and so deeply rooted in non-Islamic ritual life that it could hardly be overlooked by the reformers as conspicuous signs of unbelief. Chapter 5 examines in detail the reformers' attitude to music in connection with important aspects of Hausa cultural life.

The majority of texts looked at here were written between 1806 and 1839. *Miṣbāḥ*, the most extensive of the texts, was written by 'Uthmān b. Fūḍī in 1808, not even two decades before Clapperton first visited Sokoto and observed much music making. Later, other travellers such as Dumas and Barth followed and produced insightful accounts of life in the empire of Sokoto during the first half

of the 19th century. Fortunately, these accounts also relate instances of music making and dancing which allow us to assess the effectiveness of the Fulani reform. While Hiskett may be correct that “for the century after the *jihād* the Fulani empire did reflect in broad outline, though with diminishing effectiveness the pattern of political change, and religious reform which Shehu ‘Uṭmān had sought to bring about” (Fūdi 1960:579), changes in post-*jihād* musical culture at least were far less radical than the present texts would seem to suggest. Chapter 6 presents some of these ‘external’ sources.

The empire of Sokoto, during the c. 100 years of its existence, has always been a multi-ethnic state. Its leadership, however, was exclusively Fulani, while the majority of the population were Hausa speaking groups. A general introduction into Hausa musical culture would be beyond the scope of this booklet, but the interested reader is referred to such an excellent study as Ames’ *A sociocultural view of Hausa musical activity* (Ames 1973b). Similarly, no attempt was made to introduce the reader to those numerous non-Hausa musical cultures such as Nupe which were also part of the empire of Sokoto. At the present time, not much is known about the ethnographical present of these musical cultures. It also seems unlikely that these ‘marginal’ musical cultures were in any negative way affected by the reform as such, beyond the spread of the material culture of the Islamic Hausa and Fulani.

2. THE SOURCES

The present study looks at 16 sources of which eight are from the pen of 'Uthmān b. Fūdī. While four manuscripts were only written one or two decades after the *jihād*, three texts are included which were written prior to the reform. Thus the following chapters will show the continuity of Islamic writing about music in a period of more than 400 years in an area which is strictly defined by the boundaries of the Sokoto empire and adjacent territories such as the Bornu empire.

The first source, *As'īla wārīda min al-Takrūr (AW)* (Appendix I, no. I), dates back to 1493. Although the sections on music, like in many of the other sources, are only a few lines, it may well be the earliest known 'internal' source on music history in and around Hausaland; much earlier in any case than any of the descriptions of the pre-*jihād* period of "ignorance" and of the 18th century in particular which originated from the pen of post-*jihād* writers and therefore cannot be considered as independent sources (Hodgkin 1975:44). This applies in particular to the period between 1000 and 1700, where we have — the city of Kano set apart — little beyond simple king-lists. Sources like the famous *Ta'rikkh al-fattāsh* by Qādī Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥājj al-Mutawakkil Katī (Katī 1913) and the *Masālik al-absār fī mamālik al-amṣār* by al-'Umārī ('Umārī 1927) do not refer to the Hausa area. The same applies to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's and Leo Africanus' works which seldom touch upon the history of the Hausa states. Al-Sa'dī's *Ta'rikkh al-Sūdān* (Houdas 1899-1901) is one of the few Sudanese writings about the early history of the Hausa states, but facts on musical culture are thin. The anonymous *Kano Chronicle* (Palmer 1908), finally, which is said to have been written shortly before the *jihād* by an unknown North African, contains material on music that might be useful for a study of musical culture before the 19th century, but it is in any case not an 'internal' source.

For the period between 1500 and 1700 this lack of sources is particularly deplorable, because neither the known and published works of such substantial authors as Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1627) and al-Maghīlī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1504), nor those by 'Uthmān's important teacher Shaykh Jibrīl b. 'Umar (d. between 1768 and 1791) seem to discuss music¹.

Although the material in the few sources mentioned above gives us a rather detailed insight only into the musical culture of the empires west of Hausaland until 1600, we may assume much of it was also valid for the Hausa area as well. Even more so since substantial differences in the overall state of musical culture of various Sudanese ethnic groups after the introduction of elements peculiar to Arab musical culture like the *ghaiṭa* (the Hausa *algaita*), or the *naḥīr* (the Hausa *kakaki*) in the 16th century seem to be unlikely (Wright 1974:501p). Hausa musical culture before the "holy war" therefore presumably reflected in broad outline that of the Western Sudan in general, as for instance described by Farmer (1921, 1939).

From the late 17th century, sources which include discussions of music and its

legality become more numerous. Al-Barnāwī's *Shurb al-zulāl* (*Sh*) (Appendix I, no. II) and al-Fallāṭī's *Qaṣīdat fī nuṣḥ li'l-sultān man sami' aqwāl al-wuṣḥāh* (*Q*) (Appendix I, no. III), both written in the century between 1689 and 1776, are examples. Both poems lead directly to 'Uthmān b. Fūdī's early poems *Ma'ama'āre* (*M*) (Appendix I, no. IV), *Tabbat hakikan* (*Th*) (Appendix I, no. V), and *Mu godi uban giji sarki sarauta* (*Mg*) (Appendix I, no. VI). All three poems, even if the relevant verses on music are few, are of particular significance for musical historiography and organology in West Africa, since they contain the earliest known written evidence of Hausa musical instruments such as *molo* and *goge*. The main themes addressed in these vernacular poems as well as their literary form are reiterated in the work of post-*jihād* poets like Muhammadu Tukur and Asim Degel, whose poems *Sharifiyyā* (*S*) (Appendix I, no. XIV), *Bak'in mari* (*B*) (Appendix I, no. XV) and *Wāk'ar Muhammadu* (*WM*) (Appendix I, no. XVI), respectively, are interesting examples of post-*jihād* protest against the resurgence of banned musical practices.

The main focus of this study are some of 'Uthmān b. Fūdī's works in Arabic which were written shortly before and after the *jihād*. One of these, *Miṣbāḥ li ahl hādihā 'l-zamān* (*MAZ*) (Appendix I, no. X), appears for the first time in a translated version of the main chapter on music. Although a minor work, like the short *Kitāb al-farq* (*KF*) (Appendix I, no. IX), *Nūr al-albāb* (*NA*) (Appendix I, no. VII), and *'Ulūm al-mu'āmala* (*UM*) (Appendix I, no. XI), *Miṣbāḥ* presents a full discussion of well-known points in the legal debate on music; points which were raised in a more condensed form in the two years older *Bayān wujūb al-hijra* (*BW*) (Appendix I, no. VIII), one of the Shehu's major works, and which were later echoed in a short treatise, *Shifā', al-asqām* (*SH*) (Appendix I, no. XIII), by 'Uthmān's son Muḥammad Bello.

While 'Uthmān was one of the first to criticize practices that the reform had failed to eradicate, his younger brother 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad was the first to take drastic iconoclastic measures against such practices. He reports of his period of administration in Kano in the *Tazyin al-waraqāt* (*TW*) (Appendix I, no. XII), one of the prime sources of the reform².

3. THE LITERARY AND JURIDICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOURCES

It will be noted that Hausa vernacular terms (see Appendix II) which were obviously familiar to the reformers from their very childhood, are not frequently used in the sources discussed in this study. In the Arabic manuscripts, however, reference is made frequently to musical instruments of Arab musical culture which have no direct parallel in Hausaland. Yet, the use of such rare and old-fashioned terms as *mizhar* in X and the "musicological" discussion of the ambiguous term *ma'āzif* by Bello in XIII, also show that the authors were fairly well informed about Arab musical culture in general, despite an obvious lack of interest in the arts, at least as far as can be said from their readings. For instance, the famous *Kitāb al-aghānī* by 'Alī al-İşfahānī (d. 967) was not read in the Sudan (Hiskett 1963:7). Likewise, the works of the great philosophers and music theoreticians al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sinā (Avicenna)³, and Şafī al-Dīn seem to have been unknown. As far as I can discover not a single treatise on musical questions as such was known to 'Uthmān and his companions. The only exception is probably al-Ghazālī's *opus magnum*, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, a hallmark of Şūfī philosophy, 'Abdullāh recommended for study (anon. 1965:48). But its central chapter *Kitāb ādāb al-samā' wa al-wajd* (Book of the Laws of Listening to Music and of Trance) (Macdonald 1901-02) is rather a treatise on Şūfī ritual music than musical culture in general.

Specialized musicological works would have been unavailable in the Western Sudan, but had they been available the reformers would probably have ignored them. Like in the heartlands of Islam, "there is a great divide between the literature on the legal status of music and the theoretical corpus, and those who produced the former were usually quite ignorant (and happily so) of the latter". (Wright 1983)

Frequent mentioning and discussion of questions concerning music and the allowability of music were made, however, in many well known classical Arab writings the reformers are known to have read. In *belles lettres*, for instances, al-Harīrī's *Maqāmāt* were very popular, a work which abounds in descriptions and details of music (Farmer 1965:41). The works of al-Mas'ūdī (d.956) were certainly known to the Sudanese writers (Hiskett 1975:133) and his *Murūj al-dhahab* is full of references to music (Farmer 1965:30 and 1967:165p). The same applies to al-Ṭabarī's works. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) who seems to have been the earliest geographer known to the Sudanese scholars (Hiskett 1963:7), also frequently wrote about music in his major works. The works of al-Suyūfī (d. 1505), of course, were widely read in the Sudan, and his *Al-muzhir fī 'ulūm al-lughā* and *Ta'rikh al-khulafā'* — the latter work being known to the Shehu (Tapiero 1963:81) — abound in descriptions of Arab musical culture (Farmer 1967:9p).

In addition to these authors there are some Arab writers who are known to

have written books on problems of musical culture and who are often referred to by the Sudanese scholars. It is however not clear whether the Fulani reformers also knew their books on music. The best known of these Arab authors is Ibn Rushd (Averroës) who wrote a book on music (Farmer 1965:43), but the great historian Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (d. 1631) in whose *Nafh al-ṭib* many references to music are found (Farmer 1965 :66) was also known to 'Uthmān.

The main source for the Fulani reformers' attitude to music, however, was the juridical literature. It is beyond the scope of this study to enumerate all sources the reformers possibly knew. Libraries have been written on "the interminable debate of the question whether it was lawful for a Muslim to listen to music" (Farmer 1965:IX). However, among the works the reformers certainly read were the major books of the *ḥadīth* literature. In the Sudan *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was mainly read, but also *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Thirmidhī* which both condemn singing and stringed instruments, and Abū Muslim who likened music to wine, gambling, and fornication (Farmer 1967:45). Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī's *Risāla* and al-Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar* were the standard legal texts and both reject music for entertainment purposes (Trimingham 1959:172, n. 4 and Qayrawānī 1952:222, 307p). Among later authors were the Shāfi'ī legalist al-Māwardī (d. 1058) (Farmer 1967:194) and Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1148) whose *Aḥkām al-qur'ān* is frequently cited by the *jihād*-leaders (Tapiero 1963:82; Fūdi 1960:566) in the *BW* and *MAZ*, for instance. Abū'l-'Abbās al-Qurṭubī (d. 1258), a Mālikī legalist, wrote a treatise on music (Farmer 1965 :45p) the Shehu might have known since its author is also cited in the *MAZ*, for instance. As for the works of al-Nawawī (d. 1278) which are quite popular in the Sudan, the *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* and *Hidaya* reflect the pious attitude to music (Farmer 1965:47) which are also characteristic of the Sudanese reformers. Ibn Taymiya (d. 1328), a Ḥanbalī jurist who, in his *Risāla fī l-samā'*, condemned music (Farmer 1965 :51p), is also referred to by 'Uthmān (Tapiero 1963:80). Ibn Jamā'a (d. 1333) whose *qaṣīda* is also mentioned by the Shehu also wrote an "Exhortation in censure of musical instruments" (Farmer 1965:56). Al-Haythamī (d. 1565), a Shāfi'ī jurist who also wrote a "lengthy ... condemnation of music" (Farmer 1965:64) entitled "Restraint of rash youth from forbidden follies and listening to music", is among those authors frequently cited by the Shehu and his son Bello in the *SH* and *MAZ*.

These were only some of the sources which might have shaped the Fulani reformers' doctrinal position to music. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that they shared all the views advanced in these classical texts. As for the fundamentals of Islam there was little room for discussion, since those were laid down in the *Qur'ān* and *ḥadīth*, but the "branches" of religion (*furū'*) were formulated by consensus of opinion (*ijmā'*) and scholars held divergent opinions on matters like the legality of music. And it was in the "branches" that 'Uthmān b. Fūdi showed some degree of independent thinking (Fūdi 1978b:30).

4. THE MUSICAL TERMINOLOGY OF THE SOURCES

Although the majority of sources discussed in this study are legal and religious books, they do “render aid in supplying descriptions of instruments of music ..., for the simple reason that the interminable debate of the question whether it was lawful for a Muslim to listen to music, often compelled the contemner of *al-samā'* (listening) to describe the forbidden instruments so that the faithful could identify them and so avoid the risk of ‘sinning’” (Farmer 1965:IX). In Hausaland, at least, this advantage is less clear for the researcher, because the reformers were mostly using the language of one culture to describe and condemn the customs of another, essentially different culture.

The practice of writing about “things as being done only by Jews and Christians” (Last 1967b:6), when the “pagan” Hausa were meant, was not confined to general cultural customs prevalent in Hausaland before the *jihād*. Referring to Arabic terms for musical instruments for example, rather than directly using Hausa or Fulani names, was not only seen as stylistically appropriate in a learned (Arabic) tradition. It was also expected that any reader interested in the problem would be able to roughly identify the Hausa instruments to which the Arabic terms were meant to correspond. Furthermore, given the reformers’ general negative attitude towards music, it mattered little whether there was in fact a Hausa version of the *tunbūr*, or whether the moot point of the permissibility of the *duff* at weddings had any relevance for Hausaland where frame-drums seem to have been introduced only much after the *jihād*. On the other hand, the reformers took great care to specify the circumstances under which certain important instruments like drums and *biq* were permissible, and to determine the difference between certain kinds of professional and non-professional singing. A precise identification of the possible Hausa equivalents of these terms seems therefore crucial for an understanding of the *jihād* in its ideology and effects.

4.1 SINGERS AND SONG

The Hausa terms *mai wāk'e-wāk'e*, *māsu kirārī*, *mawāk'a*, and *wāk'a* (*wak'a*) used in both 'Uthmān b. Fūdī's poems and those by later authours, partly contrast with normal, present-day Hausa usage and make a precise identification of the type of songs or singers the reformers wished to ban, difficult. *Wāk'a* ('song') (*wak'a*), for instance, is a general term which embraces anything from *wak'ar yabo* ('praise-song') to *wak'ar mata* ('woman's song'): Ames and King list 37 sub-categories of *wāk'a* in their *Glossary* (1971:161 p). Similarly, they list nine types of singers (*mawak'i*, pl. of *mawāk'a*) (1971:159). *Mai wāk'e-wāk'e* is clearly a poetic expression chosen for reasons of metric instead of the more common *mawāk'a*, and *māsu kirārī* (pl. of *mai kirārī*) is a much rarer synonym for

marok'an baki (Ames, King 1971:95). In all cases, however, it is not so much the terminology, but the alternatives suggested by the reformers, which clearly indicate against who the reform was directed in the first place: the professional musician most commonly called *marok'i* in Hausa; those musicians/praise shouters who in the words of the *Shurb al-zulāl* pursue a "craft concerned with ... chanting" (II), and those who "have no profession but singing ... praising those who pay them and satirizing those who do not". (I).

4.2 DRUMS

Besides singing and professional praise-singing, drums and drumming are among those musical activities most frequently blamed by the Sudanese writers. Unfortunately, however, they are not very clear on the types of drums they wished to prohibit. Except for the Hausa wooden kettle-drum *tambari* in XIV, most of the quotations mentioning drums are in Arabic and so are the terms for these drums: *ṭabl*, *ṭabl al-ḥarb*, *ṭabl al-nikāḥ*, *duff*, *ghirbāl*, *ṭār*, *dabdaba*, *kabar*, and *kūba*. The most frequently used expression is the generic term *ṭabl* (pl. *ṭubūl*), and this expression can apply to any drum whether of the cylindrical type with single or double-membrane or of the kettle-drum type (Farmer 1938b:231; Schaeffner 1952:1472p). Although Schaeffner says that *ṭabl* is a common term for the kettle-drum in western parts of West Africa, while in eastern parts the synonymous term *naḳḳāra* is used (1952:1476), I do not think that we can always assume the *ṭabl* of the sources to be the Hausa kettle-drum *tambari* mentioned specifically in XIV. For it will be seen later on that in their Arabic musical terminology the reformers refer more to the east, for instance, when using the clearly eastern term *mizmār*.

The subdivision of *ṭabl* into war-drum (*ṭabl al-ḥarb*) and marriage-drum (*ṭabl al-nikāḥ*) is — needless to say — not made in Hausaland, and a single type of war-drum or marriage-drum is not easily identified among the Hausa. For use in war, for instance, there were many types of drums such as the *kurya*, *tambari*, or *ganga* (Ames and King 1971) in Hausaland. The same applies to the drum used for assembly, specifically quoted by the *jihād*-writers, because Hausa use either the *ganga* or the *tambari* for this purpose. The marriage-drum, finally, has no direct equivalent to the Arabic frame-drum, because practically all existing types of Hausa drums may be used in this context.

In Arab musical culture, however, the *ṭabl al-nikāḥ* is generally identical with the frame-drum *duff*, and in VIII and X the *duff* is specifically mentioned as "wedding-drum". The same applies to the *ghirbāl* discussed in X, and probably also to the *ṭār* only perfunctorily mentioned in X. While *duff* seems to be a generic term (al Faruqi 1981:50) for any frame-drum, square, shaped or round, with or without cymbals and/or snares, these subtleties probably escaped the reformers' attention. We may therefore safely assume that both *duff*, *ghirbāl* and *ṭār*, to them represented something similar to the Maghribi *bandir* which recently found its way into the *Qādiriyya* sect of Northern Nigeria as *bandiri* for their *Ṣūfī dhikr* ceremonies (Ames, King 1971:13).

The *dabdaba* mentioned in IX and XII, however, can easily be identified. Although this particular type of kettle-drum is unknown in the Sudan, it seems probable that drums of the Hausa *tambari* type are meant. There is a clear tradition of this terminology, for Arab writers as early as al-Bakrī in the 11th century used to name the West African kettle-drum like this (Farmer 1939:570, 575). It is also worth mentioning that the term *dabdaba* is an older expression which was later substituted for by *naḳḳāra* (Farmer 1938b:232).

Although the *kabar* mentioned in X is described by Farmer as a single-membrane cylindrical drum (1938b:231), 'Uthmān describes this instrument both as "a big, round drum with both openings closed with skin" (X), and more explicitly quoting authorities such as Yusūf Ibn 'Umar, as "a drum made of pottery or wood" with "two openings, one narrow, one large", the large one being "closed with skin", while "the narrow one is open". (X). To my knowledge, however, no example of this kind of *darabukka* type of drum (al Faruqi 1981:134) was ever observed in Hausaland.

The *kūba* (X) is an "hourglass-shaped, single-headed drum dating from the 9th (century) or earlier", (al Faruqi 1981:149) which today is known under its more common names *ṭabl mukhannath* or, more significantly perhaps, *ṭabl al-Sūdān*. For the *jihād*-writers *kūba* was undoubtedly synonymous with any of the numerous hourglass drums such as *kotso*, *jauje*, *kazagi*, *'dan kar'bi* (Ames, King 1971) or *kalangu* which 'Uthmān b. Fūdī specifically mentioned as unlawful in his early Fulfulde poetry (Last 1974:24; 1967a:235, n.9).

4.3 STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

In the early days of Islam stringed instruments (*ma'āzif*) were viewed as signs of the end of the world (Farmer 1967:24) and later on al-Ghazālī banned them as a badge of drunkards (Macdonald 1901:211). Among the instruments banned by the Shāfi'ī school, for instance, were the *'ūd* and the *rabāb* (Farmer 1967:29). This general dislike to stringed instruments is echoed by the Sudanese reformers. The Shehu, for instance, declares firmly that it is forbidden to play and to listen to stringed instruments (*awtār*) in general (X), and Bello adds that it "is an act of disloyal people to attend the playing of stringed instruments" (XIII). Yet, apart from the Hausa lutes *molo* and *goge*, mentioned in V and VI, the sources also mention some Arab chordophones whose presumable Hausa equivalents are worth identifying: *'ūd*, *mi'zaf*, *mizhar* and *ṭunbūr*.

'*Ūd*, the lute with its characteristic pear-shaped body and bent neck, is the most frequently mentioned stringed instrument. Although the term *'ūd* is the etymological root for the Fulani plucked, skin covered lute *hoddu*, the *jihād* authours clearly used the term as a generic name for various types of lutes.

The somewhat mysterious term *mi'zaf* (pl. *ma'āzif*) was used by 'Uthmān and Muḥammad Bello both to name stringed instruments in general, but also to designate the barbiton as which *mi'zaf* became known in ancient al-Ḥijāz (Farmer 1931-39:7p). To complicate things further, both 'Uthmān (X) and Bello (XIII), quoting al-Haythamī, argue that *ma'āzif* could also refer to songs by female slaves accompanied by the *'ūd* or stringed instruments in general.

As for the term *mizhar* (pl. *mazāhir*), 'Uthmān's discussion of it in X shows the confusion over a term that has long reigned among scholars of Arab musical organology. On the one hand, it was known in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times as a frame-drum furnished with jingles or a small chain (al Faruqi 1981:188). As such it is still used for accompanying religious music of the *dhikr* ceremony (al Faruqi 1981:188). In *MAZ*, 'Uthmān b. Fūdī frequently tends to discuss the *mizhar* in connection with and/or opposition to the *kabar*. However, would the (contemporary) use of the *mizhar* frame-drum in Sūfī *dhikr* have been the same at 'Uthmān's time, he would have specifically classified it as a drum permissible because of its religious function. On the other hand, 'Uthmān repeatedly quotes earlier authors who define *mizhar* as "a lute in two parts which are joined together, and covered on both sides". In fact, the *mizhar* has been described by al-Mas'ūdī and al-Suyūṭī, both well-known authors in West Africa, as a leather-faced plucked lute of pre-Islamic al-Ḥijāz (Farmer 1967:4pp., 9p., 15 and al Faruqi 1981:188) which "had been superseded to a considerable extent probably by the 'ūd". (Farmer 1967:47). Even when defined as a lute, *mizhar* is in fact an obsolete term, and 'Uthmān's description of it as a two-part instrument "covered on both sides" still makes little organological sense, because no such instrument was known in early Arab musical culture. The only explanation might be sought in the fact that the early *mizhar* was in fact a short-necked lute and that the body and the neck were seen as "two parts which are joined together". The body itself was "covered on both sides" with leather very much in the same way as many West African lutes of the *garaya* type today are wrapped in a skin cover. However, the Hausa *garaya* is a long-necked lute, and the *molo*, for its part, only its top is covered with skin which is tied to the back of the body with leather thongs.

On the other hand, both 'Uthmān (X) and Bello (XIII) mention the *ṭunbūr* which, were it only for its long neck, could well be the Arab equivalent of the Hausa *garaya* or *babbar garaya* ("big *garaya*"). Yet, the *ṭunbūr* has not only a wooden body, while the *garaya* is a skin-covered gourd-bodied lute, but it is also fretted, while the *garaya* is not.

Farmer believes the Maghribī term *gunbri*, another long-necked lute not mentioned in the present sources, to "be the native pronunciation of the Arabic *ṭunbūra* (sic)" (Farmer 1939:575), but its shape, with "a skin face and a cylindrical, fretless neck which penetrates the body" (al Faruqi 1981:87), seems to point to the West African lutes of the *garaya* type. The *gunbri* or *gunibri* was in fact the most common type of plucked lute in vogue in the Western Sudan before the 15th century, and the "lute" referred to in *AW* might well be the *gunbri*.

Contemporaries of al-Lamtūnī who also used the term were al-'Umārī (d. 1348) in his account of the royal musicians of the rulers of Malle ('Umārī 1927:69; Farmer 1939:571), and Ibn Battūta who visited Malle from 1352 to 1353 (Farmer 1939:572p).

In any case, given the reformers' negligence of organological subtleties, and the factual terminological confusion over such terms as *mizhar*, *ṭunbūr* and *gunbri*, we may assume that 'ūd or any other Arabic term for any stringed instrument implied Hausa lutes of whatever kind: *molo*, *garaya*, *kwansa*, or *kuntigi* (the latter possibly even having been unknown in the early 19th century).

4.4 WIND INSTRUMENTS

Wind instruments, in the early days of Islam, were almost identical with "wine, gambling, and fornication". It appears that all wind instruments were considered as wordly pleasures worth of contempt. Though *B* and *S* are not legal texts, but *wa'z* admonitions or penitential sermons satirizing music, the use of the terms *māsu būshe* ("wind blowers") and *būsa* ("blowing") would indicate that all wind instruments were scorned by the reformers. Yet, the question which were the Hausa wind instruments corresponding to some of the more precise Arabic terms and which were to be banned, was of secondary importance to the reformers.

First, there is the term *mizmār*, frequently mentioned in X, XII and XIII. As Farmer pointed out, the term "stood for any wood-wind instrument in general, although in particular it was used for a reed pipe" (Farmer 1967:16 and also al Faruqi 1981:189). What did this *mizmār* look like in Hausaland?

Generally speaking, there is much confusion as to the identity of *zamr* or *mizmār*. It is generally described as a cylindrical single-reed double-clarinet (reed pipe) (Jenkins, Olsen 1976:58; Jargy 1971:123), but no instrument of this kind has ever been observed in the area of the Sudan under consideration. In the Maghrib, however, *zamr* is also a synonymous term for *ghaiṭa* (Jargy 1971:124), and the *ghaiṭa* can also be a conical oboe in the Maghrib (Farmer 1939:572; Sachs 1968:428p.; al Faruqi 1981:81). Now it is known that the West African *algaita* is a conical oboe derived from the Maghribian *ghaiṭa*. Since the Hausa term *algaita* does not occur in sources of the 11th to the 15th centuries very often, we could possibly assume that before the 16th century and even in Arabic writing before the 19th century the Hausa term *algaita* was unusual⁴ and replaced by *zamr* or *mizmār* instead. The *mizmār* of the sources then, was in reality the well-known oboe of the *algaita* type⁵. The process of linguistic denomination seems to have been that the Sudanese writers might have known the synonymous use of *zamr* and *ghaiṭa* of the Maghrib, but that they were rather unaware of the nature of reed instruments in general and of the difference between an oboe (*ghaiṭa* in the Maghrib) and a clarinet (*zamr* or *mizmār* in the Middle East and *ghaiṭa* in the Maghrib) in particular.

On the other hand, the *zamr* is also mentioned in X as *zummāra*. Most probably, this instrument is the *zummāra* listed by Sachs (1972:433) and Farmer (1936:620). It is a single-reed double-clarinet still used in Egypt today (al Faruqi 1981:405, and Farmer 1931-39:78p on the difference between North Africa and Egypt), but it is unknown in West Africa. In the case of *AW* I hesitate to identify the meaning of "flute". Yet, some proofs for the identity of this "flute" come from the *Ta'riḫ al-fattāsh*. It says that the *askia* Iṣḥāq II (1588-1591) of the Songhai empire had fourteen female players of wind instruments (*zāmīrāt*) (Kati 1913:153). Though *AW* refers to a period of about 100 years prior to this event, the women playing the "flute" in al-Lamtūnī's time can be identified as these *zāmīrāt*. For their instrument, the *zamr* or *mizmār*, was also played under the Songhai ruler Muḥammad Tura (1493-1528) (Kati 1913:56). This *zamr* played by women (!) could have well been double-clarinets temporarily imported from North Africa, and not the *algaita*. At least today, women do not play the *algaita*

in West Africa. Yet, there is also Ames who says that he recorded one instance of a woman playing this instrument in Zaria (Ames 1973:135), and the rather obscure passage in the *Kano Chronicle* that ten *algaita* were sent to the mother (!) of the king Mohama Sharifa of Kano (1703-1731) (Palmer 1908 :89p). A hitherto unknown type of reed-pipe among the Fulani, the *teekuluwal*, has also been revealed only recently by S. Arom (1975), but this instrument bears no resemblance with any of the reed-pipes mentioned in the sources. As for the related *mizmār 'iraqī* mentioned in X and XIII, it is an "unidentified 'Irāqī reedpipe of the 14th century" (al Faruqī 1981 :189), and 'Uthmān's and Bello's reference to it is purely doctrinal.

As for the *būq* cited in *MAZ* and *SH*, its identification is in no way easier than that of *mizmār*, since the term covered a multitude of instruments in various periods and areas of Arab culture (al Faruqī 1981:43). In the case of the *jihād* writers, however, there can be little doubt that they meant the Hausa *kakaki*. According to the 'external' *Kano Chronicle*, the Hausa *kakaki*, introduced into Hausaland during Mohamma Rumfa's reign (1463-99) (Palmer 1908 :78), unlike its Bornu equivalents, had for centuries been a long metal trumpet (Gourlay 1982:51-54) rarely deviating from the modern description given of it by Ames and King: "Long, metal, lip-vibrated, end-blown pipe in two detachable sections. Overall length between 8 feet and 14 feet, depending on the area ..." (1971:50). How does this *kakaki* correspond with the *būq* mentioned in the sources? If one takes *būq* as a generic term "for any instrument of the horn or trumpet family" (al Faruqī 1981:43) and takes into account 'Uthmān b. Fūdī's quote from Ibn Kinānā that *būq* "means all sorts of small trombones (*būqāt*) and flutes (*zummārāt*)" (X), one could assume that the reformers meant anything from the Hausa *k'aho*, *farai* to the *sarewa*. However, 'Uthmān, again relying on his authority Ibn Kinānā, says that the *būq* is the same as the *nafīr*. The parallel between *būq* and *nafīr*, probably not very clear to 'Uthmān himself, is organologically interesting. For although 'Uthmān clearly refers to the metal trumpet *kakaki*, the parallel *būq/nafīr* reflects something of the ambiguity about the materials both long trumpets were made from both in Arab culture and in West Africa (Gourlay 1982). Originally, the *būq* was "a natural horn without keys or valves" (al Faruqī 1981:43), and Ibn Khaldūn still classed it among the *zamr* category of wood-winds (Farmer 1936:620), calling it *būq zamrī* (Ibn Khaldūn 1967,II:396). Between the 10th and 11th centuries, the *būq* was made of metal, but at the same time the *nafīr* also "stood for a very long straight trumpet made of metal with cylindrical bore" (al Faruqī 1981:222).

The *qaṣab* mentioned in X and XIII is the *qaṣaba* of the early days of Islam, a vertical flute which later on became the *nāy*. In North-West Africa, however, the old term *qaṣaba* or *quṣṣāba* is still used. When the Shehu used this term he thought of various Hausa or Fulani flutes: the Hausa *sarewa*, and, depending on the region, the Fulani *fulannu* or *sereendu*.

The *shabbāba* cited in X seems to have been a smaller flute of the *qaṣaba* type (Farmer 1936:621) and, as with the *qaṣaba*, there are many types of small flutes among the Hausa and Fulani which might correspond with it. The term *shabbābat rā'i* used in X would further suggest that the Shehu especially meant flutes used by Fulani shepherds, such as the *fulannu* or *wombere*.

4.5 IDIOPHONES

Two types of idiophones are quoted in the sources: the one Hausa, *zari*, the other Arab, *ṣanj*. Apart from reasons of poetical imagery, “the sound contrasts implied by the image of the cricket in the place where the *zari* once jingled merrily” (Hiskett 1975:38), Muhammadu Tukur rebuffs this rather marginal musical instrument satirically as a passing thing of this world because of its association with immoral and satirizing social activity of blacksmiths. For the *zari* is only played by blacksmiths and N. Echard (1965) has shown that among blacksmiths of Ader (Niger), *zari* song texts are a means of social control of deviant sexual behaviour (1965:368) and often allude to sexuality (1965:364). Echard recorded, for instance, the following song:

“The penis of Amana Giiva Babu extends
as far as the village of Tanbadarka ...
He sleeps with his mother like with a
woman,
And I, the singer, tell him to fuck his
mother”. (1965:369)

As for the term *ṣanj* quoted by both ʿUthmān and Bello, its obvious Hausa parallel, at first sight, seems to be the *sambani*, defined by Ames and King as “two pairs of iron hand-clappers, each member of each pair being in the shape of a large *langue du chat* with small iron rings set into holes around the edge” (1971:10).

On the other hand, the Arab equivalent corresponding to this description is the *qarqaba* (pl. *qarqabāt*) (al Faruqi 1981:257p). K. Gourlay has advanced the theory that “the present-day Hausa *sambani* is both a Nigerian and non-Nigerian instrument, being rather the product of a north-south-interrelationship, the outcome of a two-way trans-Saharan ‘trade’” (n.d.:70). Originally proto-clappers made of wood or animal bone in sub-Saharan Africa, the instrument became in North Africa, under Arab influence, a metal instrument of the same shape which then re-appeared in West Africa. Despite this migration, no great differences between the Hausa *sambani* and the Maghribī *qarqaba* developed, but — as well be seen later — both the players and users of the metal clappers differ in both parts of Africa.

Whatever the case may be, the reformers did not think of the present-day form of the *ṣanj*, i.e. “finger cymbals which are used as a folk instrument” (al Faruqi 1981:295), but presumably thought of *ṣanj* as a generic term for all types of cymbals of which the only known variety in Hausaland was the *qarqaba/sambani*.

5. THE REFORMERS' ATTITUDE TO MUSIC

The sources discussed in this booklet, like the classical literature on the legality of music, focus on a number of topics which made music an unacceptable cultural practice to Islamic rulers, theologians, and jurists. Often these reasons or, as Ames puts it, “the social context of music was ... more reprehensible to the censors than was the music itself” (Ames 1973a:272).

In the following sections the main ‘social contexts’ and their relationships with music in early 19th century Hausaland will be contrasted, wherever possible, with the reformers’ views on music, informed as they were, by classical Islamic dogma.

5.1 MUSIC AND PRE-ISLAMIC RITUAL

The Fulani reformers devoted a great deal of their literary production to the criticism of non-Islamic religious practices, and where necessary, to warnings against accommodation with syncretic practices. M. Last has written on this topic in more detail (1967b). The most prominent non-Islamic ritual in Hausaland associated with a major genre of Hausa music was and still is the *bori* spirit possession cult.

Although the *jihād*-leader mentions, in his *Ta’lim al-ikhwān*, what he believes to be the veneration of “trees and stones” (Martin 1967:81) as a sign of polytheism, *bori*, the most manifest non-Islamic ritual of the Hausa is apparently never explicitly mentioned in either of the reformers’ pamphlets. Last, without quoting any specific source, says that the Shehu disapproved of possession dances (1976a:235, n. 9) and Hiskett sees a passage in the *KF* on a rite called *jāndūdu* (Fūdi 1960:568) as “possibly the earliest written reference to a *bori* rite”. (Fūdi 1960:573). However, whatever the general evidence seems to suggest, I propose to see the use of such instruments as *molo*, *goge*, and possibly *ṣanj* (*qarqaba*) in the *bori* cult as the main reason for their being banned by ‘Uthmān b. Fūdi.

The *goge* condemned by the Shehu in V is the Hausa version of the *rabāb*. At ‘Uthmān’s time, it certainly did not have the popularity it enjoys today, but its praise-epithet — as reported by Ames and King — suggests that it has been the object of religious scorn for a long time:

“*Goge* is the music of worldly people. *Goge* is the source of heresy,..
(Ames, King 1971:43).

Though Tremearne, in his account of the *bori* in North Africa, says that the spike fiddle *goge* was the only instrument used in Nigeria during spirit possession performances (Tremearne 1914:284), and informants in Maradi (Niger) said that *goge* is the most ancient instrument of the *bori* cult, Krieger maintains that in

Anka (Zamfara) the *molo* was replaced by the *goge* only nowadays (Krieger 1968:407). As we cannot hope for the moment to bring further light into this question, I propose to see 'Uthmān's condemnation of the *molo* against the background of its connection with immorality and — by implication — the *bori* cult. The idea of immorality is expressed in the praise-epithet of the *molo* :

“The drum of intrigue, if it has not begun it is being arranged”. (Fletcher 1912:48).

As to the presumable use of the *molo* or *goge* in *bori* rites, it is clear that the Shehu had to reject these instruments firmly. For the *bori* which is taken as the pre-Islamic religion of the Hausa (Greenberg 1948), was a central tenet of 'paganism' the *jihād* sought to combat (Last 1967). It is only the natural consequence of the reformers' opposition to 'pagan' rites that *molo* and *goge* (and the dances which were equally scorned by 'Uthmān in the *NA* and other books), too, which provided the music for these rites, had to be cursed. As for the *sambani*, to which the roughly corresponding Arabic term was found to be *ṣanj* (or *qarqaba*), there is evidence that they had been used, either in metal, wooden or bone form, in *bori* type ritual performance for centuries before the *jihād*. (Gourlay n.d. : 71p). The *Kano Chronicle* reports of a meeting of the adherents of the Tchibiri cult, held in order to protest against Islam under Tsamia's rule (1307-1343) and claims that of “cymbals there were a thousand”. (Palmer 1908:69). By the time Tremearne wrote his classical study of the *bori* in North Africa (1914), and had published a drawing of what he called *Karakab* iron clappers (1914:282, Fig. 29), and numerous photographs (27, 36, 39-41, 43, 45-46, 48-50, 54-60), the *sambani* had however already become out of use for *bori* in Northern Nigeria. Although, as will be seen in chapter 6, *sambani* assumed an entirely new, Islamic role here, there is no conclusive proof that the ban of the *ṣanj* by the reformers was more than a doctrinal reference, and that the *sambani* had not already disappeared (to North Africa) as a *bori* instrument and had been replaced by the hemispherical calabash *k'warya* or the gourd rattle *caki*.

5.2 MUSIC, SEXUALITY AND ALCOHOL

Time and time again, it becomes clear in the sources, that music-making and musical instruments as such were not the target of the reform, but rather the social behaviour to which they gave rise. But it is precisely with regard to sexuality and alcohol, two of the fields of social behaviour most tabooed by Islam, that the Sudanese reformers were most outspoken against certain forms of music-making, dancing and musical instruments.

Whenever music or dance, otherwise tolerated during Islamic festivals (see chapter 5.4), enhanced or occasioned undesirable sexual behaviour, they were banned; or, as M. Last puts it, “if music is the occasion for social gatherings in which *purdah* isn't enforced, music is banned as part of the campaign for *purdah*, i.e. it is not music that is banned so much as the inter-sex gatherings” (quoted by Ames 1973a:272). This is clearly expressed in the *Nūr al-albāb* (VII), and less

explicitly in the condemnation of those who attend performances of *goge* and drums (V), or *molo* (VI). Although Hausa make clear distinctions between dances which involve, say, only girls (*rawan 'yam mata*), or only young men (*rawan Gane*), there are dances which do involve both sexes, and these are not only reserved for the older generation, but usually also for less approved social circumstances.

Places "where the *goge* is played" and "where drums are played" (V), in 'Uthmān's mind, were undoubtedly also places to go "about with prostitutes" (VI). While the ethnographic evidence is thin for pre-*jihād* times, present-day brothels in Hausaland do in fact attract or hire *kukuma* (lute) and *goge* players (Ames, King 1971:106), but also *molo* players (Ames, King 1971:85). At the same time, *goge* and *molo* are also played for adherents of the *bori* spirit possession cult many of whom tend to be harlots.

The particular ban put on the *zari* and the *kūba* was, as was seen, due to equally obvious sexual reasons. The *zari* accompanied and continues to accompany sexually overt song (see p. 14). As for the ban of the *kūba* (X) or its many Hausa hourglass equivalents mentioned in 'Uthmān's early poetry, it was apparently based on the anathema placed on effeminate professional musicians (*mukhannathūn*) in early Islam (al Faruqī 1981 : 149). Al-Ghazālī makes it very clear that "if it were not for the comparison" with homosexuality, the *kūba* "would be like the drum used by pilgrims and in warfare" (Macdonald 1901:213), and hence lawful. As often, however, the debate and ensuing ban by the reformers did not match with realities in the Sokoto empire, where a connection between homosexuality and professional musicianship has not been noted.

As for alcohol, its connection with music-making played a dominant part in many cultures, and certainly in Hausaland as well. Both provide important ways of social communication, but if one is to believe popular prejudice that Hausa musicians — like musicians anywhere in the world — are drunkards, one can easily see that the ban on stringed instruments "which invite to drinking (wine)" (X) was directed at *goge* and *molo* in particular.

5.3 MUSIC AND THE *JIHĀD*

The strongest sense of the permissibility of music conveyed by the sources is undoubtedly with regard to the military exigencies of the *jihād*. Drumming in particular, was only allowed for a "legal purpose" (IX), a view taken by all legal schools: the context in which drums appeared was far more important than the types of drums themselves. As we have seen (chapter 4), the correspondence between Arab terminology and Hausa musical culture was vague enough. But although the Fulani reformers do not use the same terminology, they adopt the distinction between drums of amusement (*ṭabl al-lahw*), and drums for pilgrimage (*ṭabl al-hajj*) made by the early jurists (Farmer 1938b:232) and they prohibit all drumming for purposes of mere entertainment (Macdonald 1901:186). The beating of drums for military purposes was permissible mainly, it would seem, on account of the *jihād* and the military outlook of the Sokoto Caliphate as an imperial state.

Even in his otherwise more liberal *Najm*, written in his late period in 1812, 'Uthmān is very determined on this subject. Here he quotes the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-'Azīz:

"The beating of the drum is permissible because a tradition has been related about it at the marriage ceremony; and if it were unlawful it would not be made permissible at the marriage ceremony. Moreover, its being lawful at the marriage ceremony points to its being lawful at other than the marriage ceremony". (Hiskett 1973:129).

Hiskett, who includes this passage in his *The Sword of Truth* (1973), a biography of 'Uthmān b. Fūdī, continues that the Shehu's own opposite position was that drumming "is illegal according to the Maliki rite, except for military purposes". (Hiskett 1973:129).

From the foregoing it becomes clear that, apart from hourglass-drums referred to as *kūba* which were banned under all circumstances, practically every type of drum was tolerated by the Fulani reformers provided that it was played for military purposes, such as "wishing to gather the army together, or to signify its departure, of the setting up of camp, and its arrival" (IX), and during battle "to frighten the unbelievers" and to raise morale (VIII).

In how far did this permission to use drums for military purposes extend to other instruments? What did 'Uthmān mean by those "similar instruments" (IX) that were permissible for a legal purpose? Did it include the *algaita*, for instance, the Hausa equivalent, as we have seen, of the much blamed *mizmār*?

While in XII the *mizmār* is criticized rather vaguely, 'Uthmān and Bello say in X and XIII that it is forbidden to play and to listen to the *mizmār* without accompanying song. The reasons for this rejection of the reed pipe as part of purely instrumental music are not clear, and in Hausaland performances of *algaita* both with and without singing are common. Probably, the prohibition of purely instrumental performances of *mizmār* is another example of that doctrinal adherence to classical sources which ignored local and historical conditions. Leaving aside for a moment the distinction between *mizmār* music with and without vocal accompaniment, the reformers' prohibition of the instrument probably arose out of the fact that they based their knowledge of it on early accounts of Arab musical culture. Here, with the coming of Islam, an anathema was placed on reed pipes, mainly it would seem on account of the female reed pipe player (*zammāra*) who, as was common in the east, was looked upon as a courtesan (Farmer 1936:619 and n. 20). Although it is highly probable that female *algaita* players were unknown in Hausaland at the Shehu's time, the rejection of the *algaita* (*mizmār*) was inspired by their knowledge of the former association of the *mizmār* with courtesans in the east.

Nonetheless, the prohibition of the *mizmār* has still something of a surprise. First, there is a passage in a *qaṣīda* composed in 1802 by the Shehu and written down in 1843 by 'Abdullāh (Robinson 1969:68). Here, when speaking of the heavenly pleasures, the Shehu writes (Robinson 1969:98):

"*Busa algaiton sarwata*"

(There shall be a blowing of the heavenly *algaita*).

Now it is unlikely that 'Abdullāh blamed an instrument in XII, his brother 'Uthmān counts among the pleasures of paradise 11 years earlier. Yet, it seems that this is a phenomenon peculiar to any religious system demanding ascetic abstinence on earth that the forbidden pleasures are then paid back as a reward in the other world. Second, the objection to the *algaita* might have extended only to its use outside the military machine of the *jihād* armies and the empire. In other words, it is possible that the *algaita* is among those "similar instruments" 'Uthmān conceded for military purposes in IX. In pre-Islamic al-Hijāz, the martial music of the tribes was provided by the *mizmār* and the *duff* (Farmer 1938a :233; 1967 :154). Later on, the *nawba* was performed by the *ṭabl khāna* or military band which included similar instruments later introduced into Western Sudan and still in use in Hausa court music ceremonies today: *ṣurnāy* or *mizmār* (= *algaita*), *ṭabl* (= any drum), *naḥīr* (= *kakaki*), and *dabdaba* (= *tambari*) (Farmer 1967:154; 1938a). As Hausa court ensembles usually play in similar combinations of these instruments for cavalcades (*hawa*) revealing of a clear military aspect, we should conclude that along with the *ṭabl* of the *KF*, "similar instruments" used for military purposes such as the *algaita* were a long established tradition the reformers thought to tolerate and use for their own needs during the military expeditions of the *jihād*. Naturally, the same applied to the *būq* or *naḥīr* (*kakaki*) which was permitted, because it was not pleasing, i.e. was played in order to frighten the enemy. This would probably mean, however, that performances by these military bands were not allowed for the court ceremonies to the extent they have become customary today. It is possible that this was the reason for which the prohibition of the *algaita* (= *mizmār*) had been advanced by 'Abdullāh in the *TW*. For the *qaṣīda* in which its use is criticized, was written after the successful overthrow of the "pagan" dynasty in Kano in 1807. By that time the military band might have been alienated from its proper use and reintroduced as an "instrument of diversion" into the court ceremonies.

While classical Islamic jurisprudence left little doubt as to the legality of the *ṭabl khāna*, the criticism, though not explicit prohibition of *rajaz*, closely connected with warfare, as "jingling ... metres of eulogy" in III is something of a surprise. Bivar and Hiskett see al-Fallāṭī's criticism as an allusion to Kanuri praise-songs (1962:138, n.3) which, if correct, would indeed have provoked Fulani reformist criticism (see chapter 5.4). However, not only was *rajaz* used as a metre for a number of poems such as Asim Degel's *Wāk'ar hisābī* (Song of Numerology) (Hiskett 1975:241p), but it was also the metre of unrhymed war songs in which soldiers praised themselves and their ancestry during attack. According to al-Ghazālī their object was

"to excite courage in the speaker and his helpers, and produce briskness in them for battle". (Macdonald 1901:222).

There was not the slightest doubt about the legality of *rajaz* poetry in war, and it is completely unclear why these "metres of eulogy" should have aroused the 18th century Bornuese writer's criticism. 'Uthmān b. Fūdī devotes a whole chapter (no. 29) of his *BW* to "boasting at the time of shooting arrows, reciting *Rajaz*

poetry, declaiming one's genealogy" (Fūdi 1978b:101) and states very clearly in the very first sentence of this chapter:

"All the things mentioned here are permissible". (Fūdi 1978b:101).

At the same time, however, after a lengthy discussion of vocabulary used in the sources he refers to in this matter, 'Uthmān recommends to the reader to take "heed that the words 'boasting'... etc. apply to fighting against the unbelievers..." (Fūdi 1978b:101). In other words, boasting such as self-praise so popular among Fulani and Hausa youth, and praise-songs outside war were in no way permissible.

5.4 MUSIC, ISLAMIC RITUAL AND FESTIVALS

Owing to the ambiguous attitude of Islam towards music in general, most researchers have overlooked the important role played by music in Islamic ritual. Few studies can be quoted which examine the role of the three major fields of ritual music in Islam: cantillation of the *adhān*, the music of the Šūfī fraternities, and perhaps not strictly tied to ritual, popular religious hymns and panegyric songs (see the bibliography in Neubauer 1980). Even fewer studies seem to be concerned with the religious music of Islam in Africa. L. Anderson (1971), A. Simon (1974), and A. Boyd (1981) looked at *Qur'ān* recitation, *adhān*, and *dhikr* in Uganda, Sudan, and Kenya, respectively, but no similar studies have been made in West Africa, and in Hausaland, in particular⁶.

Ames, for instance, states rather flatly that among the Hausa "music is excluded from every-day Islamic ritual with the exception of the unaccompanied chanting of religious poems and Muslim hymns" (1973b:140), and his and King's *Glossary* (1971) does not even list the Hausa muezzin *mai kiran salla* (*mu'adhdhin*) (Trimingham 1959:71, n.2), among the category of non-professional performers. Although I lived for quite some time in the vicinity of mosques and Koranic schools in Hausaland and among the Fulani, time and the available research material have not yet permitted me to undertake an in-depth study of Hausa-Fulani religious music. But we need to know more about the types of *qirā'a* used in West Africa, and we need more information on the melodic resources of the *mu'adhdhin* among the Hausa, to be able to assess the positions adopted by the Fulani reformers. We also need full studies of the role of music in the life of the major Nigerian *ṭariqa*, Qādiriyya and Tijāniyya, to understand the music of West African Šūfism and its Arabian and African components. Lastly, it seems important to analyze the musical aspects of the religious output of *mawak'an bege* and similar performers which has already given rise to a substantial body of literature on the textual component of such poetry⁷. However, with a great deal of present-day and early 19th century evidence lacking, the following discussion of the reformers' attitude to music in the religious cult has to be rather superficial. Regarding the use of instruments during recitations of the *Qur'ān*, for instance, we have no evidence that this was common practice in Hausaland prior to the *jihād*, and it seems that 'Uthmān b. Fūdi's ban on "tambourines (*dufūf*) for

keeping the metre when reciting the *Qur'an*" (VII) is a mere reiteration of well-known, undisputed views by the Mālikī school and others (Shiloah 1968:420).

The role of *samā'*, listening (to music), within the religious brotherhoods has by far been the most debated aspect of Islamic ritual music, producing an extensive Arabic, Turkish and Persian literature, as well as provoking heated controversies, the two best known opponents in the debate being Ibu Abī'l Dunyā (d. 894) and al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). Trimmingham, in a short discussion of the Qādiriyya to which 'Uthmān b. Fūdī was affiliated, claims that 'Uthmān had forbidden "the use of drums" during *dhikr*. (Trimingham 1959:96). This seems quite unlikely, since 'Uthmān b. Fūdī who speaks quite clearly in favour of *samā'* in X without however determining the precise role to be played by instruments such as *duff*, and dance, had increasingly come under the influence of Šūfī views after the *jihād* (Fūdī 1978b:18) in a period when *Misbāḥ* was written. But even before this date, in 1784/85, he wrote *Mi'raj al-'awāmm ilā samā' 'ilm al-kalām*⁸ in which he counts *samā'* among the three principles of Islamic theology (*'ilm al-kalām*)⁹.

Singing hymns during Islamic festivals was considered admissible by most legal schools, and was only banned when accompanied by musical instruments, because this usually involved the participation of professional musicians. The main objection to singing seems to have come from the Šāfī'ī school who condemned professional singers, but otherwise was quite tolerant towards "making beautiful of the voice in singing poems" (Macdonald 1901:242p). The other legal schools disliked singing accompanied by musical instruments, views that are essentially echoed by the *jihād* writers. Mālik, for example, the founder of the Mālikī school of law predominant in West Africa, said that when "a man buys a slave-girl and finds that she is a singer, then it is his duty to send her back" (Macdonald 1901:210), and this is generally interpreted as an expression of his general dislike to singing of whatever kind. 'Uthmān tends more to al-Ghazālī's views who, in his account of the legalists' teachings on the lawfulness of singing and music, says that singing as such was not unlawful unless it was accompanied by musical instruments. The reason for banning song and musical instruments was "not simply because it is pleasing" (Macdonald 1901:204), but because "along with wine, was forbidden all that was a badge of people who drank it, in this case stringed instruments and pipes only" (Macdonald 1901:211). Apart from such songs, those however, which do not "speak of women and their beauty, of wine" (X), but "are simply sung on the occasions of popular joy like the religious festival, or a wedding, or to fortify men at heavy work" (X) are permitted. Again, both 19th century and contemporary evidence give us little indication as to the extent and genres of such religious hymns in Hausaland. Ames and King collected some evidence on the role of music during *'Īd al fiṭr* (*K'aramar Salla*), *'Īd al-kabir* (*Babbar Salla*), Ramadan (*Watan Azumi*), *tashe* (the announcing of the beginning and end of the daily period of fast), and *mawlid* (*Mauludu*) where *sambani* and *tambari* may be played¹⁰. But Neubauer's observation that "regional variations in ... observances in different countries are considerable, and still little known" (Neubauer 1980:343), does not only apply to *mawlid*, but in our case to religious hymns in particular. In any case, the

somewhat dry distinction between (legal) unaccompanied singing and (illegal) accompanied singing made by the classical legal schools was hard to apply to musical realities in Hausaland. Not only was there probably as little purely instrumental music then as today, but Hausa instrumental music is also known for the highly important phenomenon of *take*, the “instrumental realization of the language tones and quantities of a normally non-verbalized text in identificatory praise of a patron” (Ames, King 1971:147); a phenomenon which virtually made any instrumental music suspicious of some vocal or textual connotation. But in either case, the focus of the reformers' discussion of such festival music was not to determine its precise nature, but to expressively distinguish it from illegal singing outside religious festivals, weddings and *jihād* warfare, and professional praise-singing, in particular.

Professional singing and praise-singing — for both are almost identical in Hausa society — were not allowed and all sources discussing this topic are fairly clear on this. Already in c. 1493 al-Suyūṭī replied to al-Lamtūnī's complaint of people who “have no profession but singing and playing the flute, praising those who pay them and satirising those who do not” (I) that this is forbidden. Later on, between 1689 and 1707 al-Barnāwī criticizes any “craft concerned with... chanting” (II). The Shehu himself, finally, condemns the singer (*mughannī* in X, *mai wāk'e-wāk'e* in IV) and praise-shouters (*māsu kirāri*) in IV, and his companion Asim Degel, in c. 1845, demands of the singers (*mawāk'a*) to leave their “idle singing” (XVI).

For the Fulani reformers it was the “often unashamedly boastful and extravagant” (Hiskett 1975:5) character of *kirari*, Hausa praise-epithets, which made them unacceptable to them. Though very few specimens of pre-Islamic praise-songs have come down to us, we may say that they offended

“against two basic tenets of Islamic belief. First, the more extreme claims to powers and virtues obviously beyond the reach of men, seemed to the Muslims to attribute to mere mortals qualities unique to God... Second, the Prophet Muhammad is, in Islamic dogma, ‘The Most Perfect of Mankind’. Therefore... he alone is the proper recipient of such praise as may be addressed to man” (Hiskett 1975:17).

It will be noted, however, that there is a clear separation between pre-*jihād* views on praise-singing and those by 'Uthmān and his followers. While in *Sh*, *Q*, and *AW*, all of which precede the *jihād*, praise-singing is blamed, 'Uthmān's and Asim Degel's positions seem to go beyond a simple condemnation. In their Hausa vernacular verse (notably *Ma* and *WM*), both authors try to convince professional praise-singers to join them in the “holy war” for the propagation of Islamic thought. Although learning was fairly widespread in the small Fulani communities, the majority of Hausa were illiterate. The diffusion of Islamic thought through the mouth of professional singers thus became an additional and necessary means of propaganda.

Though it is not stated in explicit terms, the conversion of secular praise-singing into religious hymns (*madahu*) suggested by 'Uthmān was probably intended as an abandonment of musical instruments for the accompaniment of these songs. Evidence for this may be found in the expression *mabēge* (*mabege*)

used by the Shehu in IV. For *mabēge* (or *mawak'an bege*), according to Ames and King, are "professional unaccompanied 'singers' of religious poems ... praising the Prophet" (1971:91). It should also be noted that unaccompanied solo-singing of *bēge* is thought of by 'Uthmān in IV where he seems to be contrasting the profane professional *marok'i* (or *māsu kirāri*) with the religious praise-singers (*mabēge*) of the Prophet. As for the use of *wāk'a* (*wak'a*) and *yabō* (*yabo*) in Asim Degel's *WM* (XIV) which itself is entitled *wāk'a*, the opposition to professional secular praise-singing of *kirari* comes out less clearly, but these terms, like *wāk'e* in IV seem to have been chosen mainly for reasons of metric. Although *wāk'a* (*wak'a*) simply means "song" and *wāk'e* (*wak'e*) a "song or poem composed on a topic in which the singer or poet specializes" (Ames, King 1971:135), the Hausa poets tend to use them as equivalents of *madahu*, the panegyric of the Prophet (Hiskett 1975:23).

The discussion of the *qaṣab* in X and XIII as one of the blameworthy instruments "which enhance the pleasure of singing but are not so pleasant when played alone" (XIII, 3), must also be seen in close connection with praise-singing. 'Uthmān's and Bello's ban on the reed-flute was probably aimed at Fulani musicians who preferably play flutes in combination with struck calabashes in the performance of love or praise-songs. Although here again, the doctrinal background was more important than discussion of Hausa reality, the prohibition of the *qaṣab* as accompanying instrument and the declaration of its legality — as well as that of the *shabbāba* — as solo instrument, partly reflects Hausa-Fulani customs where certain types of flutes made of reed were frequently played by Fulani shepherds during their lonely expeditions in the bush. The identification of a particular type of Hausa equivalent of either the *qaṣab* or the *shabbāba* proves, as we have seen (chapter 4.4), difficult.

As for the role of *rajaz* praise-poetry, it had been pointed out (see chapter 5.3) that it was probably the only acceptable form of praise, provided it was only applied "to fighting against the unbelievers" (Fūdī 1978b:101).

Wedding ceremonies, finally, and the music legally connected with them occupy a great deal of the reformers' legal debate on music. 'Uthmān, in complete accordance with classical dogma, and quoting well-known *ḥadīth* and jurists in *MAZ*, states that singing poems and beating tambourines (*duff* or *ghirbāl*) are desirable for wedding ceremonies. While the permissibility of tambourines for weddings is stated by al-Suyūṭī, al-Qayrawānī's *Risāla* (Qayrawānī 1952:309) and al-Ghazālī (Macdonald 1901:743), the real surprise seems to be 'Uthmān's claim that Mālik "disapproved of the tambourine (*duff*) ... when played for weddings ..." (X, folio 31). While this may in fact be a copyist's error, the entire question of the legality of frame-drums for weddings was an academic one for the Sokoto empire where the Hausa frame-drum *bandīri* was perhaps as yet unknown at 'Uthmān's time or was at least not played for weddings, like many other Hausa drums were and still are today.

6. MUSICAL CULTURE AFTER THE *JIHĀD*

It is beyond the scope of this study to present a detailed analysis of the state of musical culture during the 100 years of existence of the Sokoto Caliphate. Since the Fulani empire reflected the reformatory efforts by the Shehu only "with diminishing effectiveness" (Fūdi 1960:579), it is hardly surprising to find reports of increasing moral decline and, hence, musical activities as the Caliphate drew to its end. An examination of this decline, is therefore limited to a period not later than c. 1860.

Sources, however, against which to check the reformers' accounts are scanty before 1860. The *Kano Chronicle* (Palmer 1908), the *Infāq al-maysūr* by Sultan Bello (Arnett 1922), Sa'dī's *Ta'rikh Sokoto* (Houdas 1899-1901), and the *Hausa Chronicle* (Mischlich, Lippert 1903) are clearly not independent sources. Thus, we are left with Barth's, Clapperton's, and Dumas' books. There is, however, not the slightest evidence in these European sources pointing at effective changes brought about in the state of post-*jihād* musical culture. It appears that the blamed pagan mores had crept in again even before the *jihād* was hardly finished. Both the *KF* and the *MAZ* were written in order to warn the new Fulani administration against relapse into these customs. As early as 1822-1824, however, only some 15 years after the victorious war, Clapperton observed that in the market of Kano, then the most powerful Hausa city-state, "bands of musicians parade up and down to attract purchasers to particular booths" (Denham, Clapperton 1826:51).

In 1826 Clapperton saw again a great deal of dancing and music in Coulofo at the end of Ramadan (Lander 1830, I:186f), but this, of course, was in perfect accordance with 'Uthmān's rulings in X concerning music during *'Īd al-ḥijr*.

As for praise-singing, it appears that after the *jihād* most, if not all of the senior officials continued to take professional praise-singers and orchestras into their services. It seems to be the natural consequence of a "tendency to preserve the old Hausa bureaucratic apparatus, in a somewhat modified form" (Hodgkin 1975:53) that only some 15 years after the foundation of the Caliphate, Clapperton was on record that the "governors of the several provinces had each a singing or crying man, in addition to the drums and horses" (Clapperton 1829:180). For instance, praise songs were again performed for the Emir of Kano, Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846) (Palmer 1867:129), and for the Emir of Katsina in 1848 (Dumas 1883:214p). Even the otherwise devout Emir of Bauchi, Malam Yakubu, appointed the first *Kwando*, i.e. praise-shouter of Bauchi (Adamu 1978:100).

Drumming seems never to have been stamped out completely, for Clapperton observed the playing of a "large drum" in 1826 (Lander 1830, I:293) which nonetheless might have been the allowed kettle-drum *tambari*. Descriptions become more numerous and exact by the time of 1848 and 1851 when Dumas and Barth, respectively, visited Katsina. Again, drums are played: notably the

tassa namouny, a tubular earthen pot with a wider end covered by goat hide and beaten with the hand, similar to the Arab *darābukka* (Daumas 1883:213p), the *gangāa* (Daumas 1883:214; Barth 1857,II:53) which is beaten with the hand on one membrane and a curved stick on the other (Daumas 1883:214), the *kalāngo* hourglass pressure drum, and the *kōso* (= *kotso*) (Barth 1857,II:53).

Stringed instruments also regained their popularity, for Clapperton saw also an “Arab fiddle” (possibly the *goge*) and “guitars”. Although he also reports of a “woman (who) ... has had before marriage a male child by a blind fiddler belonging to Sultan Bello’s band at Soccatoo” (Clapperton 1829:286), it is unlikely that the same Sultan Bello who condemned music and stringed instruments in particular, in his *SH*, would have had a band of musicians in his services. The blind *goge* player probably only turned up at Bello’s court for a random praise-song, and like any low status musician today, pretended to a membership of the more prestigious royal court bands.

Molo and *goge* are also mentioned by Daumas as instruments being played by musicians in Katsina (1883:213). Although the *molo* described by Daumas and the one seen by Barth in Agades and Zinder in 1850 (Barth 1857, II:327p, 252, 420) were played by the royal court musicians and as a solo instrument respectively, there is good reason to assume that the instrument gained even wider popularity after the *jihād* than before it. For although the *bori* spirit possession cult is supposed to be the ancient cult of the pagan Hausa, the implantation of Islam, instead of putting this cult down, contributed much to its further diffusion. For, as J. Broustra-Monfouga has pointed out, the *bori* was only part of the pagan clanic *Asna* cult before the *jihād* (Broustra-Monfouga 1973:209), while after it the cult became an institution which grew out of the destruction of the clanic pre-Islamic society (Monfouga-Nicolas 1972:59p). It is thus a natural consequence that the reform of the beginning 19th century led more to the enhancement of music accompaniment of the *bori* than to its dying out.

Of aerophones Clapperton saw a “long brass trumpet” which was probably identical with the *kakaki*, and “bagpipes” (Lander 1830,I:293p) which were probably the oboe *algaita*. In 1826 “four long trumpets and a pipe like the pipe of a bagpipe” were being played by the escorting musicians of the Vizier of Sokoto, Gidado (1817-1842) (Clapperton 1829:177)¹¹. Later on, in Katsina, Barth saw an instrument among the royal musicians called *pampämme* (1857,II:53) which should be the wooden end-blown pipe *farai* or *famfami* (Ames, King 1971:49). It is probable that the *fanfany* Daumas observed at the same court three years earlier and which he describes as a buffalo horn (1883:213) is either the same instrument or the side-blown horn *k’aho* (Ames, King 1971:59) which Barth calls *kafō* when he saw it in Katsina, too (1857,II:53). Also in Katsina, Barth saw an *elgaita* (1857,II:53) and Daumas reports of a “flute” called *karāaz* with six fingerholes on top and one underneath (1883:213). It was probably also the *algaita*, because *karaz* simply means “cherry-wood”, and it is of this wood that the Maghribian *ghaita* is manufactured (Farmer 1931-39:81). Since none of these instruments — with the exception of the *algaita* — figures among the instruments mentioned in the Sudanese sources. I direct the attention to the fact that the

algaita mentioned by Barth and Daumas formed part of an ensemble which probably played praise-songs for the local Emir. This would mean that the restriction of the military band music to war purposes requested by the Shehu had been abandoned as early as some 40 years after the *jihād*.

The *zaghārit* blamed by al-Lamtūnī and al-Suyūṭī, it appears, was probably never successfully banned, because the Hausa *gu'da* was probably as popular in the early 19th century as it is today. The same seems to apply to the *zari*, ridiculized by Muḥammadu Tukur. A ban was however placed on certain songs during *zari* performances in the Republic of Niger in recent years, as well as on the artificial penises and other sexual symbols displayed by *zari* performers during public performances. Likewise, the *kūba*, the alleged Hausa *kalangu* hourglass drum, is probably one of the most widespread drums played today. A survey made in 1979 in Maradi (Niger) revealed that 17.4 % of all musicians played *kalangu* and that 24.1 % of all drummers in the area were *kalangu* players (Erlmann 1981:102). With all these instruments and practices, *zaghārit*, *zari* and *kalangu*, however, a clear assessment of their role after the *jihād* is not entirely reliable because of a lack of contemporary accounts testifying to their use or absence. Generally, however, it can be maintained that the process of reintroduction of pre-*jihād* musical practices seems to have been a rather rapid one for some instruments like the *algaita* and drums, and a slower one for musical performances such as for the *bori* rite.

Interpolation from other sources, however, also seems to suggest that some of the *jihād* leaders' reformatory efforts were successful. The Shehu's call for more religious panegyrists, for example, seems not to have gone unheard. The present-day frequency of non-professional blind beggar-singers and professional *mabege* singers can be doubtlessly attributed to the spread and increasing influence of Islam since the *jihād*. As a result of the Islamic ban on instrumentally accompanied song, *mawak'an bege* are usually solo-singers, but famous poets such as Malan Aliyu have set some of their poems to drum rhythms (Ames, King 1971:91).

There is also the possibility that the Islamic reform had a certain impact on other fields of musical culture, although these were never discussed in the reformers' writings. Though the social status of professional musicians, for instance, is never referred to in the sources, I consider it a reasonable hypothesis that as a consequence of the *jihād* the social status of professional musicians must have suffered and fallen (Ames 1973a:275). In the eastern province Adamawa of the former Sokoto empire, for instance, where the Fulani are in a majority today, the custom of recruiting non-Fulani musicians for the court bands goes certainly back to the Fulani elite's dislike to take their kinsmen into these low status positions (Erlmann 1980). In Maradi, on the other hand, the rebel pagan kingdom established in 1807 by the deposed Katsina Hausa dynasty, musicians' patrons, like the "pagan" *Sarakunan Noma* (Head farmers) still regularly play on their musicians' instruments for the family ceremonies of these musicians, thus expressing mutual equal relationships (Erlmann 1981:73).

Another successful reform brought about by the *jihād* might be the introduction of the *bamba'dawa* (Besmer 1971:41),

“professional panegyrists who traditionally praise in the Fulani language ... as opposed to other sorts of ... (musicians) ... who perform in Hausa ... Their patrons are chiefly Fulani officials ... *Bamba'dawa* are assigned a higher place in the hierarchy of rank of the royal musicians ... due to their association with the Fulani heritage of much of the senior officialdom” (Ames, King 1971:94)¹².

It should also be pointed out that the old reformist dislike of musical instruments finds itself expressed in the fact that the *bamba'dawa*

“do not play musical instruments, though they may combine in performance with instrumentalists” (Ames, King 1971:94).

Another impact of the *jihād* on musical culture may be seen in the field of royal court musicians' titles. While in Maradi, for instance, such old titles as '*Dan Tomo* for the head of royal *ganga* players and '*Dan Home* for the royal *kakaki* players are still used, the corresponding titles in Katsina (which underwent the Fulani reform) are *Sarkin Maka'da* and *Sarkin Busa* (Ames, King 1971:100p). Whether the position of the chief of the court panegyrists (*San Kira*) was the only pre-*jihād* position to have survived in Kano after 1806 according to oral tradition, is doubtful (Besmer 1971:65),

“as many instrumentalists' positions (and others) certainly existed prior to Fulani rule. However, it is known that the Fulani removed most of the Hausa administration (but not the system of ranked titles) when they assumed power. This change in faces might well have included the royal musicians of the deposed Kutumbawa, all of them, that is, except the *San Kira*” (Besmer 1971:65, n. 1).

The practice of using the *tambari* kettle-drum as the principal instrument of military music has apparently been maintained long after the *jihād*, although drumming for other purposes, proscribed by the Shehu in the *KF* and other books has also been observed. Daumas who visited Katsina in 1848 saw the *tambari* which he calls *tembery*, and after giving a full description of it, continues to state that the instrument was never beaten for reasons other than the convocation of the army (Daumas 1883:200).

In Bauchi, like Adamawa one of the more rigid outposts of the empire, Emir Yakubu

“patronized only what one may call martial music, that is the sounding of *tambari* drums (kettle drums used only for emirs) ... It was on this account that the community of resident Hausa drummers and musicians took time to build up in Bauchi ... Kwalaje, a Hausa drummer from Birnin Kudu in Kano emirate, was said to be the first to organize the *tambari* music in Bauchi. He was appointed head of the branch by Malam Yakubu” (Adamu 1978:100)¹³.

A presumable impact of the Fulani movement of reform on the internal structure of music is likely though not easy to demonstrate. In an unpublished paper “On the pre-Islamic structure of Hausa court music” F. Besmer argues that structures in the vocal forms after the first islamization of Kano in the 15th century

resemble pre-Islamic vocal forms (n.d.:18). Of three basic types of Hausa praise-songs a "litany" form is rather antique while a "complex three-part" form

"can be postulated as having been used from the early nineteenth century to the present ... but the present view is that they did not simply 'spring up' after the Fulani *jihād*" (Besmer n.d.:15).

While social or economic reasons for this structural change are unclear, a different approach to song texts after the *jihād* is obvious. It has been pointed out by Besmer, for instance, that in Kano royal court music,

"oral traditions in both legend and song go back no farther than the institution of Fulani Emirs in Kano" (Besmer 1971:16).

This is clearly a consequence of the Islamic reform which ignored the previous Hausa dynasties and thought "that the Islamic history began with the Shehu and that what came before is unworthy of attention" (Hiskett 1975:136). Another impact of Islam may be seen in the attempts to give a rather superficial Islamic outlook to praise-songs by adding rather standardized religious formulae to an essentially pre-Islamic text left untouched in style and imagery.

The existing early travel accounts by Clapperton, Dumas and Barth do not allow for an assessment of the effectiveness of the ban on the *ṣanj* on one hand, and the role of tambourines (*duff*, *ghirbāl* or *tār*) in relation to wedding ceremonies, *Qur'ān* recitation, or *Ṣūfī* ceremonies, on the other hand.

Given the ambiguous situation of the term *ṣanj* and of the possible Hausa counterpart *sambani* of the Arab *qarqaba*, it is interesting indeed that in present-day Hausaland, according to Ames and King, the functions of the *sambani* are clearly associated with Islam: it is used by women for the accompaniment of songs, usually on a religious topic on occasions such as weddings or naming ceremonies, for Koranic scholars on the eve of *mawlid*, for kings on the two major Islamic festivals, and on eclipses of the sun (Ames, King 1971:110). Gourlay's argument that after the successful banishment of the *sambani/ṣanj/qarqaba* from *bori* possession rites, the *sambani* "reappeared, literally in the hands of women, in a context where respectability was assured, even if it would not have obtained the Shehu's approval" (n.d.:73), seems indeed "over-elaborate" (n.d.:74).

As for the partial ban on tambourines, we are again forced to speculate. At least the classical debate on the permissibility of the *duff* and *ghirbāl* during wedding ceremonies was a purely academic one in Hausaland, where frame-drums were probably unknown at 'Uthmān's and Bello's time. Likewise, the criticism of using *duff* for *Qur'ān* recitation might have been one of the many lip services paid to classical Islamic theory without any obvious reasons to hand in Hausaland. None of the early travellers observed instances of such use of the tambourine or any drum, for that matter, and nothing seems to point to such practices in present-day Hausa Islamic communities.

The use of the *bandiri* finally, the Hausa version of the *duff/ghirbāl*, as we have seen, in *Ṣūfī dhikr* ceremonies could well be a case of a partially successful reform, but, again, contemporary evidence leaves us in the lurch. The Shehu, as

we have seen, allowed the *duff* for *dhikr* ceremonies in *MAZ*, but both Trimingham (1959:96) and Ames and King state that the *bandiri* was reintroduced into Nigeria recently (1971:13). Trimingham's claim that the instrument was reintroduced not only suggests its previous existence in Hausaland, but also that it must have been banned at some time¹⁴. On the other hand, it seems perfectly understandable that the Hausa Qādiriyya adopted the instrument from "pilgrims who had acquired it in Falāta settlements in Nilotic Sudan" (Trimingham 1959:96), where the use of tambourines, locally known as *tār* (a simple frame-drum), or *riqq* (a small frame-drum with cymbals) (Simon 1980), at *dhikr* ceremonies of the Qādiriyya brotherhood is indeed common (Simon 1974:274).

7. CONCLUSION

The exclusive rigorism with which the Fulani reformers banned almost all sorts of musical instruments and activities recalls a fanatic iconoclasm which was only observed some decades before 'Uthmān b. Fūdī's time in Wahhābist Arabia. In a discussion of the doctrinal background of the *KF*, Hiskett suggests "the possibility of Wahhābist influence" (Fūdī 1960:578), on 'Uthmān's works. Further research into this matter by Hiskett himself seems to prove that this assertion cannot be maintained.

It is true that the Wahhābist movement had a certain impact on the African Mahdiyya, especially on that of the Sudan. Yet, in West Africa where in the early days of the *jihād* even 'Uthmān b. Fūdī himself had contributed to prophecies of the expected Mahdī in a series of books (Biobaku, al-Hajj 1966:428; al-Hajj 1967:114), the Wahhābist influence does not seem to have been very marked. Among 11 manuscripts by 'Uthmān examined by Tapiero (1963), for example, the Wahhābist leader Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb or his followers are not cited a single time. 'Uthmān rejected Wahhābī rigorism decisively (Hiskett 1962:596) and at a certain moment even refuted his own teacher Jibril's opinions who was deeply influenced by the Wahhābī movement (Hiskett 1973:41). The touch of iconoclasm certainly present in many of the Shehu's writings, although not being due to Wahhābist influence, may on the other hand go back to earlier sources of Islamic dogma.

It is generally acknowledged that the Fulani movement of reform was largely dependent on the thought of al-Maghīlī who passed down to the Sudan the teachings of the Mālikī school of law (Hiskett 1962:591). Besides this school there is a trace of influence exercised by the Ḥanbalī school which also inspired the Wahhābist movement later on. It is thus to be expected that

"the Fulani reformers shared with the Wahhābīs common knowledge of earlier fundamentalist teachings of the Ḥanbalī school ... But whereas the Wahhābīs developed these teachings into an exclusive and schismatic creed Fulani Islam remained firmly grounded in Mālikī orthodoxy. The iconoclastic aspects of Fulani movement ... are mainly attributable to the rigorism present in Mālik's theology" (Hiskett 1962:596).

This rigorism remained fairly stable in 'Uthmān's early and middle period until the *jihād*. Like the majority of Sunnī authorities he referred to, he forbade almost all musical instruments. On the other hand, he was in no way a visionary who did not take into account the realities of the age-old cultural customs of the kingdoms he thought to subjugate. The reformers' main objection was rather to the most offensive and manifest musical aspects of 'pagan' Hausa culture such as *bori* dances and music, drumming during the recitation of the *Qur'ān*, professional praise-singing, and communal singing and dancing of both sexes. Quite often — as D. Ames puts it —

“the social context of music was ... more reprehensible to the censors than was the music itself” (Ames 1973a:272).

Whenever there was a lawful purpose such as the necessities of the “holy war”, music was welcomed. The Shehu’s intention of converting professional praise-singers into religious panegyrists, for instance, was a proof of a political pragmatism which did not fail to tolerate hard-dying pre-Islamic customs.

However, the Shehu’s general “middle-of-the-road” position — “of moderate orthodoxy, opposed to quietism and accommodation with non-Islamic custom on the one hand and to intransigent exclusivism on the other” (Hodgkin 1975:51), became even softer in his third period after the *jihād*, especially when Sūfī views which were more favorable to music (Fūdī 1978b:18) gained in influence upon ʿUthmān’s theoretical thinking and when it became clear that the old tenacious pre-Islamic customs had slowly crept in again and could not be stamped out easily. “The Shaikh’s attitude to music, early expressed in his Fulfulde poetry (*Ma’ama’āre* and *Tabbat hakikan*, V.E.), was later modified in such books as *Najm al-ikhwān*” (Last 1974:24, n. 53). Written in 1812, *Najm* states “that musical instruments should not be categorically forbidden because many scholars did not see any objection to them ... Dan Fodio not only allows music, but he also advises the believers not to consider musical instruments *ḥarām* lest the wrath of God should descend upon them” (Fūdī 1978b:29p). Although Hiskett says that in the *Najm* “the Shehu’s main concern was to refute the syncretists rather than to correct his own overzealous students” (Hiskett 1973:129, n. 8), this “soft” position led to conflicts with the other *jihād*-leaders even during the campaigns. Already as early as 1807 the Shehu’s younger brother ʿAbdullāh, one of the earliest reclusive critics of the results of the “holy war”, “deserted” from the current campaigns to Kano because of “his dissatisfaction with the trends in the Muslim Community” (Last 1967a:65). It is in Kano that he said: “This that I see among you is that from which I have fled” (Muḥammad 1963:121) and that he radically “made the wooden parts of their drums (*tubūl*) into containers for their horses’ fodder” (XII).

Thus, the *jihād* had a rather limited impact. Musical culture in Hausaland immediately after the *jihād* resembled that before the “holy war” in many ways: not only kept the “common” people to their age-old customs, but also the Fulani aristocracy, criticized by ʿUthmān and ʿAbdullāh, was unwilling to abandon many pre-*jihād* Hausa customs that strengthened their social position. Superficially, praise-songs did indeed efface all memory of pre-Islamic events and incorporated Islamic formulae, but they essentially remained praise-songs. And where there were praise-songs, there had to be professional praise-singers and their instruments. Certainly, on the other hand, Arabic and Hausa religious literature and, hence, popular religious *mabege* singers experienced a revival after the reform, but the *bori* possession rite and its main instruments, *goge* and *molo*, did as well. Clerics continually criticized the decline of public mores after the *jihād*: Sultan Bello himself, though he also tolerated a band for his Vizier Gidado; Asim Degel and Muhammadu Tukur, and, between 1837 and 1842 Atiku, second Emir of Sokoto and great devout. Arnett says that he “prohibited

all music and games" (Arnett 1922:32), and his chronicler and secretary Sa'dī claims in his *Ta'rikh Sokoto* that Atiku's first act was to kill any *duff* player (Houdas 1899:101, 1901:326). Whitting, in his translation of the said passage, speaks of "kettle drummer" (1948:165) but this prohibition of kettle drums (*tambari*) would be something of a surprise, because the instrument was approved of earlier by 'Uthmān b. Fuḍī in the *KF* for military purposes. Even towards the decline of the empire, one Imām of Daura wrote a poem entitled *Kogi* in which he counts music among the signs of this decline (Hiskett 1969, 1975:159). These late attempts at a restoration of the *jihād* ideals, like later anti-colonial Mahdist upheavals, lacked the vigour and militancy of 'Uthmān's visions to materialize concretely, but many of them, even under progressing modernism, continue to play an effective role in Northern Nigerian conservative political movements.

APPENDIX

I

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS



I

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Lamtūnī
As'ila wārīda min al-Takrūr fī Shawwāl 898
Questions arriving from al-Takrūr between 16 July
and 13 August 1493

This work is part of a larger collection of *fatwās* given by the Egyptian polymath Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505). It was published in Cairo in 1933 under the title *Al-Ḥāwī li'l-fatāwī*, and was translated by J. Hunwick (Hunwick 1970). The work is in two parts: first, fifty-seven brief sections describing customs, beliefs and practices in the Central Sudan, written by al-Lamtūnī from either Agades or Takedda (in present-day Niger) (Hunwick 1970:11). Secondly, al-Suyūṭī's replies in a separate brief treatise. While al-Lamtūnī's questions contain interesting ethnographic material, al-Suyūṭī's rulings "are dry and scholastic and almost totally devoid of interest, since they merely reiterate points of Islamic law" (Hunwick 1970:7-8).

Translation

Section (12). ...Most of the women play the flute and the lute and the tambourine and wail the *zaghāriṭ*¹⁵ and play all manner of musical instruments (Hunwick 1970:14).

Section (14). Some have no profession but singing and playing the flute, praising those who pay them and satirizing those who do not (Hunwick 1970:15).

II

Al-Imām Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Barnāwī
Shurb al-zulāl
Drinking the purest of all waters

This didactic poem of legal theory (*fiqh*) was written between 1689 and 1707. Its author was a Bornuese who may "claim significance as a forerunner of the later Islamic reform movements" (Bivar, Hiskett 1962:131-32). The text and a translation were published by A. D. H. Bivar and M. Hiskett (1962) and although the poem concerns the Bornu empire, its criticism of abuses in a pre-*jihād* Sudanese kingdom bordering on what was later to become the Sokoto empire, proves a straight line of thinking on music foreshadowing the immediate pre-*jihād* writers in Hausaland. The text reproduced below is verse 46 on folio 4 of the manuscript.

Text

دع حرفة بالخط والتنجيم ووبرق جن وبالتزيم

(Bivar, Hiskett 1962:120)

Translation

Leave (any) craft concerned with writing (in the sand), and astrology,
and the spells of genii, and chanting (Bivar, Hiskett 1962:127).

III

Al-Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Fallāṭī

Qaṣīdat fī nuṣḥ li'l-sultān man samī' aqwāl al-wushāh

Poems for the Sultan advising him not to listen to evil gossip tellers

The title of this satirical poem is uncertain, as is the date of death of its author, a Bornuese, who is said to have died about 1776 according to one oral source. The extract reproduced below is quoted in Muḥammad Bello's famous *Infāq al-maysūr*.

Text

اهل قهر واعتلاء	ان كانورين كانوا
كأراجيز النساء	فالاراجيف لديهم
ذو اساطين البناء	والاساطير اليهم
من اهاذيب الحناء	والاكاذيب اليهم
بساتين القناء	والاساطير اراجيز
من فنون الازدراء	يا بنى كانور هذا

(Bivar, Hiskett 1962:138)

Translation

Verily the Kānūrī (of old)
Were a people of conquest and dominance.
Alarming rumour was to them
Like the jingling *rajaz* metres of eulogy.
The legends which they possess
Constitute the very pillar of their building.
The fables current amongst them
Concern the 'Torture of the Henna'.

The legends are jingling metres
 Of the gardens of transient (pride).
 O children of Kānūr,
 This is (a product) of the arts of scorn.
 (Bivar, Hiskett 1962:138f)

IV

ʿUthmān b. Fūdī
Ma'ama'āre

Although written in Hausa in its present form, this poem was originally composed in Fulfulde, the Fulani language, in the Shehu's youth. It was later translated by the Shehu's posthumous son Isa dan Shehu (1817-1880). The title derives from the Fulfulde verb *ma'ama'*- ("to flash continuously"). Of *Ma'ama'āre* numerous versions seem to exist, the following excerpts being based on an edited version published by M. Hiskett (Hiskett 1975:17, 24, 204).

Text

Da mai wāk'e-wāk'e, tsayā kar ka 'bātā
Ga wāk'en mutānen, yi bēgē ka hūtā,
Madihu rik'ā shi ka sāmō bukātā,
Da māsū fasāha su zō, su gwadā tā
Zuwā ga fa'din kō sifōfin nasā.

...
Akul nā ga māsū kirārī hakikā
Mabēgen Muhammad na sō shi hakikā

Translation

Singer, stop, do not waste your time
 In singing the praise of men. Sing the praises
 of the Prophet and be content.
 It is to praising him that you should hold
 fast to obtain your desires,
 And those who have eloquence, let them come
 and explain it by commentary,
 By speaking of his qualities.

...
 Truly, whenever I see *kirari* shouters
 It is the panegyrist of Muḥammad I desire, in truth.

V

‘Uthmān b. Fūdi
Tabbat hakikan
 Surely, in truth

Like *Ma’ama’āre*, this poem was written in Fulfulde in the Shehu’s youth and translated into Hausa by his son Isa dan Shehu. The excerpt below was taken from a version published by Hiskett (1969,III:706), but the translation is my own. *Tabbat hakikan* is the second written evidence of the *goge*, after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa first mentioned a *gogo* (Farmer 1939:575).

Text

*Wansu himmassu ko zuwa inda goge,
 Sun gaza ko su dawayo inda buge,
 Lokacin nan su ke biya don su tuge.*

Translation

Some of them, their intention is to go
 where the *goge* is played.
 They fail to return from where drums are
 played.
 In the other world they will pay, for
 they will be uprooted.

VI

‘Uthmān b. Fūdi
Mu godi uban giji sarki sarauta
 We thank the Lord, the ruler of the kingdom

This ode was most probably written in Hausa in the Shehu’s youth. A transcript was published by Robinson (1969:63), but the translation of the excerpt below is my own. A facsimile of the *ajami* manuscript is in the Appendix of Robinson’s *Specimens of Hausa Literature* (1969). To my knowledge, the ode contains the earliest written evidence of the *molo* (see also Gourlay 1976).

Text

*Ku ber na darra da tsalumshi musulmi
 kidda molo ku ber yawo da karma*

Translation

Muslims, refrain from gambling and deceit.
 Leave off playing the *molo* and going about
 with prostitutes.

VII

‘Uthmān b. Fūdī
Nūr al-albāb
 Light of the hearts

This short work was probably written before the commencement of the *jihād* in 1804 (Last, al-Hajj 1965:234, n. 5). The text of the excerpts reproduced below follows a version published by Hamet in 1898, but a new translation is attempted here. Like the *Kitāb al-farq* (IX) this pamphlet discusses a wide range of social problems which must have been current in Hausaland at the time.

Text

وَمَنْ مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَزْعُمُ أَنَّهُ مُسْلِمٌ يَعْمَلُ أَعْمَالَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَهُوَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ
 يَزِينُ الْقُرْآنَ بِصُرْبِ الذَّبُوبِ بِهَذَا أَيْضًا كَأَنَّ لَمْ يَجْرِي عَلَيْهِ أَحْكَامُ
 الْإِسْلَامِ ...
 واجتماع الرجال والنساء والترنص والغناء وغير ذلك من
 عدالتهم وعصيانهم وتلذذهم الفيطان بهم وكل ذلك حرام
 بالكتاب والسنة

Translation

Some believe that they are Muslims and that all the acts they do are Islamic. Yet, they play tambourines (*dufūf*) for keeping the metre when reciting the *Qur'ān*, and those also are unbelievers and rules of Islam do not apply to them ... The meeting of men and women, and dancing and singing (*ghinā'*) together is a sign of deviation from the way of God, because the devil is misleading them. All of this is forbidden by the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*.

VIII

'Uthmān b. Fūdī

Bayān wujūb al-hijra 'alā 'l-'ibād

The exposition of the obligation of emigration upon the servants of God

This is one of the Shehu's major works of *fiqh* which he completed in 1806. Besides *Miṣbāh* (X) it is the only source discussed in the present study which devotes an entire chapter to music. Both the text of this chapter and the translation are quoted from the edited version by El-Masri (Fūdī 1978b), but I inserted some of the musical terms in paranthesis.

Text

الفصل الحادي والعشرون

في حكم ضرب الطبول في الجهاد إرهاباً للكفار

فأقول وبالله التوفيق : إن ضرب الطبول في الجهاد جائز إن أريد به إرهاب الكفار وتقوية المسلمين . وقال ابن العربي في الأحكام : والطبل على قسمين : طبل الحرب . لا حرج به ، لأنه يقيم النفوس ، ويرهب العدو ، وطبل النكاح . . . كالدف . . . يجوز إن كان بما يحسن من الكلام وسلم من الرفث وانكشاف النساء للرجال . انتهى .

وفي ضياء الخلفاء : وإذا خرجوا فليضربوا بالطبل فإنه يقيم النفوس ويرهب العدو .

قلت : ينبغي أن يراعى في ضربه غرض شرعي كإرادة الاجتماع وإعلام خروج الجيش ونزوله . وقدمه ونحو ذلك ، إذ كل ما ليس بسنة يقتصر عليه على ما تدعو إليه الضرورة كما ضرب الطبل لتقديم غير لِدِحِيَّة . وفي تفسير جلال الدين المحلى : كان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يخطب يوم الجمعة فقدمت غير وضرب تقدمها الطبل على العادة فخرج لها الناس من المسجد غير اثني عشر رجلاً فتزل : (وإذا رأوا تجارة أو تهواً انفَضُّوا إِلَيْهَا) أى التجارة لأنها مطلوبهم دون الله . انتهى .

قلت : انظر كيف سسى ضرب الطبل لها مع أنه ضرب لغرض شرعي لكونه ليس من الحق في ذاته وكيف لما يفعله الجهال من ضرب آلات اللهو والغناء ! وهذا مما لا يختلف فيه اثنان أنه من الباطل وليس من الحق . وماذا بعد الحق الا الضلال ؟ وفي المدخل : قال ابن القاسم سألت مالكا عن الغناء فقال : قال الله تعالى : (نَسَا ذَا بَعْدَ الْحَقِّ إِلَّا الضَّلَالُ) أفحق هو ؟ وفي المييار : وما ينهأ

الوالى في رعيته آلات اللهو . وفيه أيضا بعد هذا الكلام بقليل : ولا يجوز الغناء على كل حال في عرس ولا غيره . وقد كتب عمر بن عبد العزيز الى البلدان أن يقطع اللهو كله الا الدف وحده في العرس ، وقال يحيى : وبهذا آخذ . انتهى .

Translation

Chapter 21

On the Law concerning the beating of Drums (*ṭubūl*) in a *jihād* to frighten the unbelievers

I say, and success is from God: It is permissible to beat drums (*ṭubūl*) in a *jihād* if the intention is to frighten the unbelievers and strengthen the Muslims. Ibn al-ʿArabī¹⁶ said in his *Ahkām*: “The drum (*ṭabl*) is of two types: the war drum (*ṭabl al-ḥarb*), to which there is no objection since it raises morale and overawes the enemy; and the wedding drum (*ṭabl al-nikāh*), such as the tambourine (*duff*), which is allowed, if accompanied by decent words, avoiding obscenity and not leading women to uncover themselves before men”. It is stated in *Ḍiyāʾ al-khulafāʾ*¹⁷: “If they go forth, let them beat the drum (*ṭabl*) since it raises morale and overawes the enemy”.

My view is that a drum (*ṭabl*) should be beaten only for some lawful purpose, such as calling a meeting, announcing when an army departs, or pitches camp or returns home and the like. For anything which is not a *Sunna* should be restricted to what necessity calls for, as, for example the drum (*ṭabl*) which was beaten on the arrival of a caravan belonging to Diḥya. It is related in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī’s¹⁸ commentary: “The Prophet was delivering the Friday sermon when a caravan arrived, so the drum (*ṭabl*) was beaten (to announce this) according to custom. The people went out of the mosque except for twelve men, so it was revealed: ‘But when they see come merchandise or diversion they break away to it’¹⁹ i.e. to the merchandise because this was what they were looking for, not the diversion”.

See how He called beating the drum (*ṭabl*) diversion in spite of the fact that it was being beaten for a legitimate purpose because it was not in itself essential. How (much worse) then, is what the ignorant people do — playing musical instruments (*ālāt al-lahw*) for entertainment and singing (*ghināʾ*)! It cannot be disputed that this (forms part of what) is wrong, and is not of that which is right, and what is there beyond that which is right save error? It is related in the *Madkhal*²⁰ that Ibn al-Qāsim²¹ said, “I asked Mālik about singing (*ghināʾ*). He replied, “God has said: ‘What is there, beyond that which is right, save error’²²? Is it (singing) right”? It is stated in *Al-Mīyār*²³: “Among the things a ruler should forbid among his subjects are musical instruments (*ālāt al-lahw*) for entertainment”. Again a little further on: “Singing (*ghināʾ*) is not allowed under any circumstances whether at a wedding or otherwise. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz²⁴ wrote to the provinces forbidding all (kinds) of (musical) entertainment except the (use of the) tambourine (*duff*) alone at weddings. Yaḥyā²⁵ said: ‘I am also of this opinion’”.

IX

‘Uthmān b. Fūdī

Kitāb al-farq bayn wilāyāt ahl al-islām wa bayn wilāyāt ahl al-kufr
The book of the difference between the government of the Muslims
and the governments of the unbelievers

This pamphlet attributed to ‘Uthmān b. Fūdī was probably written late in the *jihād*, after 1806 (Last, al-Hajj 1965:239, n. 2), and it is “a warning to the newly appointed emirs and judges against following the Unbelievers (in this case the old Hausa rulers) in their pre-Islamic ignorance” (Last, al-Hajj 1965:239). At the same time, it is a detailed and valuable, though not quite independent and entirely reliable source of information on customs in Hausaland immediately after the *jihād*. Unlike other manuscripts of the period, this pamphlet “is not limited to general accusations of corruption and impiety, but specifies in some detail the shortcomings which prompted these accusations” (Hiskett 1960:559). Topics range from marriage customs, bribery, and commercial practices to foodways and luxury. The excerpt given below is quoted from the text edited by Hiskett, but part of his translation was amended.

Text

ومن طريق ولايتهم الاشتغال بفعل الباطل وإمّا ليلاً أو نهاراً من غير غرض
شرعى كضرب الدبادب والمزامير والطبول والمسلمون إنّنا يضربون الطبل ونحوه
لغرض شرعى كالإرادة اجتماع الجيش وإعلام خروجه ونزوله وقدمه وكإعلام
قدوم العيد كما ضرب الطبل لقدم عيد لدحية يقتصرون على ما تدعوإ إليه
الضرورة

Translation

One of the ways of their government is their being occupied with doing vain things by night or by day, without legal purpose, such as beating the kettle-drum (*dabdāb*), (and playing) shawms (*mazāmīr*), and drums (*tubūl*). The Muslims only beat the drum, and similar instruments for a legal purpose, such as wishing to gather the army together, or to signify its departure, or the setting up of camp, and its arrival, and as a sign of the arrival of a caravan, as when the drum was beaten on the arrival of a caravan belonging to Dihya, and they confine themselves to what necessity requires.

X

‘Uthmān b. Fūdī

*Miṣbāḥ li ahl hādihā ‘l-zamān min ahl bilād al-Sūdān wa man
shā’ Allāh min ahl al-buldān*

A light to guide the present people of Sudan and whoever else
from the peoples of the world God wishes to guide

This work was completed on 20 November 1808. It is unedited and the copy used is MS 2410, No. 177 of the De Gironcourt Papers at the Institut de France, Paris. No other copy of the work has yet come to light, and the present copy consists of 54 folios in various hands, rubricated, 10-29 lines per page. Chapter 8 given below discusses very much the same issues as *Bayān wujūb* (VIII) written two years earlier, and as another manuscript, *Naṣīhat ahl al-zamān*, written in 1811, an original of which is also among the De Gironcourt Papers (MS 2416, No. 211).

Text

See folio 22, line 7 to folio 40, line 8 (PLATES I-XX).

Translation

Chapter 8

On the law concerning the playing of musical instruments, the blowing of wind instruments for the *jihād* and other occasions, and concerning singing

I say, and success is from God: Musical instruments are of three types: the forbidden, the blameworthy, and the allowable ones. Ibn Ḥujr al-Haythamī²⁶ says in *Al-Zawājir* and *Al-Hāwī al-malāhi*: “The forbidden musical instruments are such as the lute (‘ūd), the pandore (*ṭunbūr*), the reed-pipe (*mizmār*), and those musical instruments producing a pleasant sound when played alone. The blameworthy instruments are those whose pleasure is enhanced by singing (i.e. when used to accompany singing), but which do not provoke pleasure when played alone, like for instance the castanets (*ṣanj*) and the flute (*qaṣab*). Both are blameworthy when accompanied by singing, but not when played alone. The permissible instruments are those which are not among the instruments of diversion, but among instruments for information, as for instance the trombone (*būq*), the war-drum (*ṭabl al-ḥarb*), or [instruments] for assembly and proclamation like the tambourine (*duff*) at a wedding”.

I say: Trombones (*būqāt*) are wind instruments. Some are frightening, others are pleasant, as is said in *Al-Jāmi’ Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar*²⁷. On this third type Ibn al-‘Arabi¹⁶ said in *Aḥkām*: “The war-drum is not forbidden, since it raises morale

and overawes the enemy. The wedding-drum such as the tambourine, is allowed, if accompanied by decent words, avoiding obscenity and not leading women to uncover themselves before men”.

I say: *ma'āzif*, in the statement by the Prophet ‘there will be in my community people who consider silk and wine lawful’; *ma'āzif* belongs to the first category²⁸. As Ibn Ḥujr al-Haythamī²⁶ said in *Al-Zawājir*, *ma'āzif* is the plural of *mi'zafa*, that is, all pleasure-giving instruments such as *ṭunbūr*, *'ūd*, *mizmār* *'irāqī*, and others. It is also said that *ma'āzif* refers to the songs of female slave singers when accompanied on the lute (*'ūd*)- otherwise it is not applied to them. It is also said that it refers to any stringed instrument, for these are instruments which invite to drinking (wine). Al-Māwardī²⁹ says: “Some of our friends say that among string instruments the lute (*'ūd*) alone is allowed. According to them, the lute is not forbidden, since it banishes grief, strengthens morale and enhances activity. But their views are isolated and without reason”. In *Al-Madkhal*²⁰, Ja'far, the son of Muḥammad, related on the authority of his father on the authority of his grandfather on the authority of 'Alī that the messenger of God said: “I was sent to break reed-pipes (*mazāmīr*)”. And in another transmission on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās³⁰ it is said: “I was sent to destroy reed-pipes”.

On the first type, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī³¹ said in *Ta'rif al-fi'a bi ajwibat al-as'ila al-mi'a*: “The most wide-spread view of all four legal schools is that all instruments of diversion are forbidden. A minority, including the Zāhirites³², say that they are permissible, but the true opinion on this subject is that held by the veritable scholars. Among them is Shaykh 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Salām³³: “They are allowed specifically for the Sūfīs, and are forbidden to others”. Then he [Abd al-Salām] recited: “We shall not allow to anybody any known instrument, save (the Sūfīs) who achieve trance, the adepts of divine love”³⁴.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mālikī³⁵ says in *Taḥqīq al-mabānī*, where the author says ‘listening to any kind of instrument, such as the lute (*'ūd*) and the reed-pipe (*mizmār*)’, that it is related that Mālik permitted listening to music. Then he said that both the scholar and the common man should avoid it absolutely, and similarly the Sūfī, unless for some obvious reason or compelling circumstance. Concerning the first type of musical instruments there is also a statement of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Salām in *Qawā'id al-aḥkām*: “Among the Sūfīs are some who achieve deep knowledge and trance states through listening to instruments which give pleasure and which are among those instruments on which the learned hold divergent opinions as regards their legality, such as listening to the tambourine (*duff*) and flutes (*shabbābāt*). The one who listens to these instruments reckoning that it is forbidden to listen to them, is in error in listening (to what he believes is forbidden), but acts correctly because of the knowledge and the trance he achieves (through listening). If he listens to these instruments believing that it is permissible according to the scholars who maintain their legality, then he is neglecting his pious duties by listening, but he is doing well due to the knowledge and trance he achieves through listening to them. Among this sort of people are those who achieve knowledge through listening to instruments giving pleasure,

like stringed instruments (*awtār*) and reed-pipes (*mazāmīr*), which are considered forbidden by the great majority of scholars. The one (who does so) is a wrong-doer who satisfies his mind through what is forbidden. If he achieved knowledge and a corresponding state of trance through this, he is mixing benefit and harm, use and abuse. This applies to the one who reckons that it is forbidden to listen to music. If he follows those who allow it, then there is no objection to it”.

I say: Such musical instruments must be forbidden by a ruler to his subjects. It is stated in *Al-Mi'yār*²³: “The ruler must ban musical instruments to his subjects”, and then, shortly after, “Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz²⁴ wrote to the provinces forbidding musical instruments except the tambourine (*duff*) alone at weddings. Yaḥyā²⁵ said: ‘I am also of this opinion’”.

I say: Certainly, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz acted in this way and Yaḥyā said that he is also of this opinion, because musical instruments are forbidden according to the views of the Islamic scholars, even when not associated with other forbidden acts: only what is said in the chapter on marriage is excepted, as is well known in our Mālikī rite. Abū'l Ḥasan al-Mālikī says in *Taḥqīq al-mabānī*, when the author says ‘Be not present where a professional wailing-woman (*nā'iḥa*) is lamenting or where there is a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) or lute (*'ūd*), or instruments of amusement comparable to these, except for the wedding-drum (*duff*)’, that there is a dispute as to the legality of this instrument outside weddings, for other occasions such as religious festivals, circumcision and the return of a traveller, and that the most accepted view is the one prohibiting this, such being the obvious meaning (*zāhir*) of the words of the author.

And it is equally obvious, as we have seen before in the words of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī on the views of the community (of the learned) on the answers to “The 100 questions and the clarification which assuages the thirst (for knowledge) concerning musical instruments” that the war-drum, the drum to gather an assembly, and the wedding-drum, i.e. the tambourine (*duff*) are among the allowed (instruments), as has also been said in *Al-Zawājir* of al-Haythamī when he reports the views of al-Hāwī: “The flute (*qaṣab*) and everything which is similar to it, like the castanets (*ṣanj*), are blameworthy when played together with singing, but not when (played) alone”, as is also said in *Al-Zawājir* of al-Haythamī where he reports again the views of al Hāwī: “The flute (*shabbāba*) is among those musical instruments giving pleasure on which the Islamic scholars hold divergent opinions”. As is said in *Qawā'id al-aḥkām* of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, the details of this issue are as follows: “Some among the Islamic scholars say that it is forbidden; others say that it is blamable and still others say that it is allowed. But the arguments of those who say that it is allowed, are weak”. It is said in *Bughyat as-sālik fī ashraf al-masālik* written by al-Sāḥilī³⁶: “'Abdallāh Ibn 'Umar reported: ‘I was with the messenger of God, walking behind him, when he heard the flute of a shepherd (*shabbābat rā'i*), and he closed his ears. The he began to say to me: Do you hear anything (of the flute)? And I would say, yes, until (eventually) when I told him that I did not hear anything any more, he took his fingers out of his ears’”. Some authorize (listening to the flute) on the ground that the Prophet is said to have allowed 'Abdallāh Ibn 'Umar

to listen to the flute. And they say that if it were forbidden, the Prophet would have ordered him to close his ears in order not to hear the flute, as the Prophet did himself. They say that this might be peculiar to the Prophet. This is a weak and feeble interpretation. Then he says a little further on: "Even if it is not prohibited to listen to the flute (*shabbāba*), it is at least blameworthy".

Abū'l Hasan al-Mālikī says in *Tahqīq al-mabānī*: "It is reported by 'Umar: 'According to my view the Prophet closed his ears and went on, when he heard this (flute) of the young shepherds. Someone was with him and he said to him: Do you hear, do you hear? Until they retired from the sound of the flute'". Further on, he says: "What becomes clear in this case — and God knows best — is that (listening to the flute) is not forbidden. For, if it were forbidden, the Prophet would have ordered the one who was with him to close his ears, as he did himself".

In *Al-Madkhal* the opinions of the learned differ on the playing of the frame-drum (*ṭār*) by itself: is it allowed or not? Likewise, their views are different on the playing of the flute (*shabbāba*) by itself. But as for reed-pipes (*mazāmīr*) and stringed instruments (*awtār*) and the like which are associated with wine-drinking, some [scholars] have related that there is no disagreement as to their being forbidden — and we may assume that they have not disregarded any contrary view; while others adduce the agreement of the legists that they are corrupt and should be broken. Yet others state that the majority of Islamic scholars declared these instruments forbidden, while only a minority say that they are allowed if they are not linked with other forbidden acts.

The two Shaykhs³⁷ say: "The opinions do not differ on the prohibition of the Irakian reed-pipe (*al-mizmār al-irāqī*) and all sorts of stringed instruments (*awtār*)". Al-Imām Abū'l-Abbās al-Qurṭubī³⁸ says: "But opinions do not differ on the prohibition on listening to reed-pipes, stringed instruments and the drum (*kūba*). I have never heard of any respected man among the ancient scholars and Imāms who allowed this". It is said in *Bughyat as-sālik fī ashraf al-masālik* of al-Sāhili that the great Islamic scholars agree upon the corrupt nature of these instruments, and that they must be broken.

I say: Recapitulating, all the rest of the instruments of amusement are forbidden according to the community of Islamic scholars or the majority and there can be no doubt that he who listens to them is a wrongdoer, quite apart from him who plays them. Imām Abū'l-Abbās al-Qurṭubī says: "In such circumstances, there can be no doubt that he who acts so is a wrongdoer committing sins". It is also said in *Bughyat as-sālik* that there is no disagreement that all that turns (man) away from God and invites him to neglect the remembrance of God, and invites to forgetfulness and to passion, is forbidden and is not allowed by the Law.

If you ask whether all instruments of amusement are allowed on occasions like weddings and festivals, as these are occasions of Muslim joy — as 'Iyāḍ³⁹ says — I say that there are detailed distinctions to be made. It is said in *Al-Mukhtaṣar*²⁷ in the chapter on marriage that the distribution of almonds and sugar is blameworthy, but not [playing] the tambourine (*ghīrbāl*), even when by a

man. Regarding the *kabar* and, thirdly, the lute (*mizhār*), the *kabar* is permitted according to Ibn Kināna. The *zummāra* and the trombone (*būq*) are [also] allowed. In *Al-Khirāshī*⁴⁰, where the author says ‘not the *ghirbāl*’, [the word *ghirbāl* is said to be] of the same grammatical status as the subject of ‘is blameworthy’ [i.e. almonds and sugar]. The words *ghirbāl* and *duff* are synonymous, since they are both round with a skin on one face. The sense is that there is no dispute that the playing of the above-mentioned [instruments] by women is not blameworthy, nor, according to the majority, by men. It is for this reason that the author of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* exaggerates when he says: “Even if the tambourine (*ghirbāl*) is played by a man (it is allowed)”, contrary to Aṣḥab⁴¹ who prohibits it. But as for the playing of the *kabar* ([pronounced] with [the vowel] *a* after the *k* and *a* after the *b*), which is the big, round drum with both openings closed with skin, and of the lute (*mizhār*) which is a lute in two parts which are joined together, and covered on both sides, there are three points of view about these instruments: that they are permitted, like the *ghirbāl*, which is the view of Ibn Ḥubayb⁴²; that they are both disapproved of; and that the *kabar* is permitted, while the *mizhar* is not, it being disapproved of because it diverts attention away from God. Ibn Kinānā⁴³ says that the *zummāra* and the trombone (*būq*), which is the *nafīr*, are allowed. It is said that this means all sorts of small trombones (*būqāt*) and flutes (*zummārāt*) which do not give much pleasure (when played). According to ‘Abd al-Bāqī⁴⁴, where the author says ‘*ghirbāl*’, this is the *tār*, which is covered with skin on one face, and is not blameworthy; and where he says ‘even if by a man’, this is the author’s clear meaning, both text and *ḥadīth* demonstrating that its presence is desired at wedding feasts. Where he says ‘the *kabar*’, the commentator says it is a large round drum with a skin on both faces, and where he says ‘the *mizhar*’ [the commentator] says [the word *mizhar* is morphologically] like [the word] *minbar*, as is stated in the *Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* dictionary by Fīrūzābādī⁴⁵. Al-Ubayy⁴⁶ further says that it is well known in Arabic that it is the ‘ūd, and that nothing has been mentioned to the contrary. But the legists have written to the contrary. He then said that it is a lute in two parts which are joined together, and covered on both sides. And where he says ‘the *zummāra* and *būq* are allowed’, views here are equally divided, as is well known; and it is said that [they are of the category of] permitted things for which omission is preferable to commission, i.e. they are disapproved. Such is the view of Mālik in *Al-Mudawwana*⁴⁷ where he disapproved of the tambourine (*duff*) and stringed instruments (*ma’āzif*) when played for weddings or elsewhere. Then ...⁴⁸ says in *Al-Shāmil fī al-Shahādāt*: “The testimony of a player of stringed instruments, a female singer, or wailing-woman is rejected. Listening to the ‘ūd, according to the best authorities, is also [rejected], except at weddings, childbirth or circumcision ceremonies at which no intoxicating drink is present, when it is merely disapproved of”. He then said ‘-and [similarly] other string instruments’.

In *Al-Shabrakhūī*⁴⁹ where the author says ‘not the *ghirbāl*’, it is [defined as] a round tambourine (*duff*) which is closed at one of its openings. It is not blameworthy when played for weddings, according to the Islamic scholars. It is even desirable in this case.

Where he says ‘concerning [the *kabar*]’, this is [pronounced] with [the vowel] *a* after the *k* and *a* after the *b*; and where he says ‘*mizhar*’, this is with *i* after the *m*. Al-Fākihānī⁵⁰ says: “I do not know what he means by *kabar*, but I think it most likely that it is a drum. According to Ibn Muzzayin⁵¹ it is a large drum and the *mizhar* has both its openings closed”.

According to Yusūf Ibn ‘Umar⁵², *kabar* is a drum made of pottery or wood. It has two openings, one narrow, one large. The large one is closed with skin and the narrow one is open. The *mizhar* is a lute (‘ūd) in two parts which are joined together and closed at both ends.

He says: “Where he says that according to the third opinion the *kabar* is allowed and the lute (*mizhar*) is blameworthy, there is not in fact a single one of the three opinions which states (their) prohibition; and in his words, permission is the contrary of prohibition. See the commentary in the margin”. He says: “Where the author says that according to Ibn Kinānā the flute (*zummāra*) and the trombone (*būq*) are allowed under the condition that they do not lead to frivolity, he should have realized the faultiness of this condition, for the statement that they are allowed etc. is weak. See the commentary”.

In *Al-Jāmi’ Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar*²⁷ where the authour says ‘the tambourine (*ghirbāl*) is not blameworthy — it is a tambourine (*duff*) covered at one of its two openings —’ it is because the Prophet said: ‘Proclaim the marriage, and beat the tambourine (*ghirbāl*) for this’”. He says that where the authour says ‘even when played by a man (it is allowed)’, this is so even when played by a man, contrary to those who say that it is only allowed when it is played by women, and not by men. The most widespread opinion among the learned is that there is no distinction between man and woman. And he says: “Where the author says regarding the *kabar* and the lute (*mizhar*) that according to the third opinion the *kabar* is allowed, al-Fākihānī (said): ‘I do not know what *kabar* is. But according to my view, it is a drum’”. Al-Anfāsī⁵³ (says that) the *ṭabl* is made of pottery or wood. It has two openings, one large, the other narrow. The large one is covered with skin, the narrow one remains open. He did not refer to the *mizhar*. He says: “Where the author says that according to Ibn Kinānā the flute (*zummāra*) and the trombone (*būq*) are allowed, the commentator says: ‘Ibn Kinānā who is an important man among the friends of Imām Mālik⁵⁴, and is called the ‘Stick of Mālik’, says that the flute (*zummāra*) and the trombone (*būq*) are allowed. The *zummāra* is everything which can be compared to the flute (*qaṣab*). The trombone is a wind instrument. But trombones (*būqāt*) can be different; some are frightening, others are pleasant”.

The verdict on singing (*ghinā*) is that it is forbidden according to all great ancient Islamic scholars. It is said in *Al-Mi’yār*²³: “Singing is not allowed”. In any case, whether at a wedding or otherwise, it is at least blameworthy.

It is said in *Al-Madkhal*²⁰ that Imām al-Shāfi‘ī⁵⁵, in a work entitled *Adab al-qaḍā*’ said: “Singing is a blamable amusement, comparable to unreasonable vanities”. I say: The proof that singing is forbidden is that God said (addressing himself to Satan): “Seduce of them with your voice whom you can”⁵⁶.

Mujāhid⁵⁷ said that 'voice' here means song and reed-pipes (*mazāmīr*). Again, God said in this connection: "There are men purchasing humorous stories in order to lead astray from the Path of God"⁵⁸. 'Abdullāh Ibn Mas'ūd⁵⁹ says: "Singing and the listening to it are meant here". But Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Mālikī says in *Tahqīq al-mabāni* where the authour speaks of listening to instruments and singing: "I do not know a verse in the Holy Book nor a sound *ḥadīth* in the *Sunna* showing clearly the prohibition of that what the authour spoke of. These are merely preferred interpretations which are adduced as proof of prohibition, and general indications which are adopted in support, rather than decisive proofs; just as there are preferred interpretations which some of our fellow scholars adduce in favour of permissibility. Certainly, the ancient great scholars have listened to verse set to melody. Among the defenders of the legality of this are Mālik Ibn Anās⁵⁴; and all the scholars of al-Ḥijāz state the permissibility of singing. As for the *ḥuda*⁶⁰, they all declared its legality: In the *Sunna* there are so many traditions cited in this matter. Al-Ghazālī⁶¹ spoke much of this, and he cited all the arguments of those who declared (singing) forbidden, and he refuted them with answers which leave no doubt as to their cogency among those who hear them".

In *Bughyat as-sālik* written by al-Sāhīlī (it is said): "This is the path of the majority of ancient scholars, but a few of these scholars stated the legality of it". He said a little before this passage: "What has been reported of the messenger of God that he listened to poetry, does not mean that singing is allowed. For poetry is measured words. If these words are chaste, the poetry is chaste, and if they are disgusting, the poetry is disgusting, too. But singing consists of melodies and notes which disrupt the metre".

Again, in *Bughyat as-sālik*, it is said a little before this passage (the distance between the two does not exceed two leaves/folios): "This is divided into three kinds: one kind is forbidden by all Islamic scholars, one kind is allowed according to all Islamic scholars, and as to the third kind, the views are different.

The kind which is forbidden by all the learned, is that which is accompanied by musical instruments such as reed-pipes (*mazāmīr*) and the like. But the kind where divergent opinions exist, concerns singing without musical instruments, but which is accompanied by hand-clapping and the like. As for those who consider this hand-clapping the same as reed-pipes, they assign this second kind to the same category as the first forbidden kind, while those who consider this second kind less (reprehensible) in degree than the first, but comparable to it, are of differing opinions, some saying that it is approved, others that it is blamable, and others that it is legally indifferent.

The permissible kind of singing — according to all Islamic scholars — is the one which comprises only poems corresponding with the Law, without musical instruments, hand-clapping, nor anything comparable to this, nor melodies.

It is said in *Sunan* of Abū 'Abdallāh Ibn Mājāh⁶² in the chapter on singing and the tambourine (*duff*), that Anās Ibn Mālik said: "One day the Prophet walked in the city of Medina and came across a group of young girls playing their

tambourine (*duff*) and singing: 'We are girls of the Banū Najjār, what a fine neighbour is Muḥammad!' The Prophet said: 'God knows that I really do like you'". Again, in the same book, it is reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that 'Ā'isha gave a girl of her family in marriage to one of the Anṣār. When the Prophet came, he asked 'Ā'isha: 'Did you lead the girl (to her groom)?' She answered, yes. He said: 'Did you send her a singer?' 'Ā'isha said, no. Then the messenger of God said: 'The Anṣār are people of poetry. You should have sent with the girl someone who would say: We came to you, we are here with you, may God grant us life and may He give life to you'"⁶³.

It is said in *Al-Madkhal* that the great Islamic scholars said that singing is forbidden — that is singing which is used by professional singers and which inspires the mind, occasioning frivolity. Above all, this holds true of love songs which speak of women and their beauty, and of wine and that which is forbidden. Such are strictly forbidden, according to the entire community of Islamic scholars.

But songs which are free of these attributes are allowed in moderation on occasions of popular joy such as a wedding, a religious festival, or to fortify men at heavy work, as during the digging of the ditch at Medina.

I say: He said that singing is allowed in moderation on occasions of popular joy such as a wedding or a religious festival, because playing is allowed at weddings — such as beating the frame drum — and approved at festivals. For it is said in *Al-Yawāqūt*⁶⁴ written by 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī⁶⁵ that Ibn al-'Arabī, when speaking on marriage of the prayer at both festivals, said in the 68th chapter: "Playing, joy, and embellishment are desirable on the day of the religious festival. It is done in the memory of the joy of the inhabitants of Paradise and their well-being".

He said a little before this passage: "As the day of the religious festival is a day of gaiety and embellishment when people satisfy their desires, the Prophet strictly forbade fasting and he allowed playing and ornamentation. Certainly, the Prophet let the Abyssinians play at the mosque on the day of the religious festival. He stood there, he and 'Ā'isha, and they watched the game. 'Ā'isha was behind him. And, on the same day, two female singers entered the Prophet's house and sang in his house and the messenger of God heard them. When Abū Bakr⁶⁶ tried to stop them, the messenger of God said: 'O, Abū Bakr, let them be, it is the day of the festival'. The Shaykh⁶⁷ has spoken on this matter at length".

I say: As the day of the religious festival is the day of joy and happiness, the drum (*ṭabl*) was played in front of the messenger of God on that day. It is said in *Sunan* of Abū 'Abdallāh Ibn Mājah in the chapter concerning *al-qals*⁶⁸, as reported by 'Āmir: "'Iyād al-Ash'arī assisted at a festival in al-Anbār⁶⁹. He said: "Why did I not see you play *al-qals*, as it was played in front of the messenger of God'"? Again, it is reported that Qays Ibn Sa'd said: "At the time of the messenger of God, there was nothing I have not seen, except one thing, for *al-qals* was played for the Prophet on the day of *'Id al-fitr*". Abū 'Abdallāh⁷⁰ says: "People say that *al-qals* is a drum".

The author of this book [i.e. 'Uthmān] says: O, Brethren. I advise you to be pious against the Mighty and to follow the example of our Prophet Muḥammad. I recommend to you not to adopt bad assumptions about Muslims and not to refuse any of the points where the opinions of the learned differ. Do not consider such points as prohibitions.

XI

'Uthmān b. Fūḍī
'Ulūm al-mu'āmalā
 The sciences of behaviour

This is one of the Shehu's numerous short works on theology, jurisprudence, and Ṣūfism. No original text is given in the published version by Tarjumana (Fūḍī 1978a), but copies of the manuscript are kept in a number of Nigerian libraries (Last 1967:240). The date of origin is unknown.

Translation

You should know that in general, wrong actions are of three types: 1) One of them is to abandon your obligations to Allah ... 2) The second are wrong actions between you and Allah — glory be to Him! like drinking wine, playing woodwind pipes, consuming usury, and things like that. You regret those actions and keep it in your heart never again to repeat it. 3) The third are wrong actions between you and the slaves of Allah (Fūḍī 1978a:106).

XII

'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad
Tazyīn al-waraqāt bijam' ba'd mā li min al-abyāt
 The adornment of the papers by the collection of some of my verses

Compiled in 1813, this major work of the *jihād*-period quotes many poems by 'Abdullāh written before this date, referring to conditions in Hausaland before the reform. *Tazyīn* is considered the best source for the early life of 'Uthmān b. Fūḍī and a standard account of the *jihād*. The first excerpt given below is from a poem written in 1807, while the following excerpt is quoted from a later section of the work in which 'Abdullāh reports of his reform efforts in Kano in the same year. The text has been edited by Hiskett (Muḥammad 1963), but some of the musical terms had to be amended in the translation.

Text

- 1) وَلَمَّا مَتَّي صَحِيْبِي وَفَاعَتْ مَنَارِيْبِي
 وَخَلَّفْتُ فِي الْأَخْلَاقِ أَهْلَ الْأَكَاذِيْبِ
 يَقُولُونَ مَا لَا يَفْعَلُونَ وَتَسَابَعُوا
 مَوَالِيَهُمْ وَطَاعُوا الشُّعْرَ فِي كُلِّ رَاجِيْبِ
 وَكَيْسَ لَهُمْ عِلْمٌ وَلَا يَسْأَلُونَ
 وَأَعْجَبَ كُلُّ رَأْيٍ فِي الْمَدَائِيْبِ
 وَقَتَّلَعَ أَرْحَامًا وَأَزْرَى مَعَارِفًا
 وَاتَّرَ عَن قُرْبَاهُ جَمْعَ الْأَشْيَابِ
 وَمَا هَدَاهُمْ أَمْرُ الْمَسَاجِدِ بَلْ وَلَا
 مَدَارِسُ عِلْمٍ بَلْهُ أَمْرُ الْمَكْتَابِ
 وَهَيْمَتُهُمْ مَلَأَهُ الرِّبَاذُ وَأَهْلُهُ
 لِيَحْمِلُوا لَدَاتٍ زَنْبِلُ الْمَرَاتِبِ
 بِعَادَاتِ كُفَّارٍ وَأَسْمَاءِ مَا كَيْهَمُ
 وَتَوَلَّيْتِ الْجُهَالِ أَعْلَى الْمَنَاصِبِ
 وَجَمَعَ السَّرَايِ وَالذِّيَابِ الْمَدِيْسَانَ
 لِجِيَادِ الْجَوَارِي فِي الْغُرَى لَا الْمَعَارِبِ
 وَأَكْتَلَى مَهَابَا الْجَاهِ وَالذِّيْمِ وَالرَّشِي
 وَعَبْدِي وَبِيْرَ مَسَارِ وَبِيْرَ الْمَسَائِبِ
- 2) رَجَعُوا عِيْدَانِ طِيْبٍ مَعْلَفًا لِحِيَابِهِمْ

Translation

- 1) When my companions passed, and my aims went awry
 I was left behind 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,
 And who have no knowledge and who do not ask for it,
 And each one of whom delights in his own interpretations concerning beliefs,
 And who has broken with his own people and scorned knowledge,
 And who has preferred the crowd of rabble to his own relations,
 Whose purpose is not the affairs of the mosques,
 Nor the schools of learning, nor even the affairs of the Qur'an schools,

But 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 battlefields,
 And the devouring of the gifts of sanctity, and booty and bribery,
 And lute (*'ūd*), and reed-pipe (*mizmār*) and kettle-drums (*dabādīb*).

- 2) [(The people of Kano) ... sought from me that I should teach them how they should act in order to establish religion, for I found that God had driven the unbelievers from them, but their affair(s) had become confused among them because of their preoccupation with the world. I saw among them that from which I had fled in my own country, and ... put their affair(s) in order, and broke the instruments of diversion which I found with them.]⁷¹ and made the wooden parts of their drums (*ṭubūl*) into containers for their horses' fodder.

XIII

Muḥammad Bello

Shifā' al-asqām fi ma'rīfat madārik al-ahkām

Cure of illnesses by knowing the true rules of the law

This unedited work was written between 1817 (anon. 1965:53) and 1839 (Vajda 1950:232). The copy consulted here is in the Archinard Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and bears the number 5669, folios 25-31. The following four excerpts are as follows: 1) folio 29, lines 7-10; 2) folio 30, line 1; 3) folio 30, lines 5-9; 4) folio 30, lines 10-11.

Text

See folio 29, line 7 to folio 30, line 11 (PLATES XXI-XXII).

Translation

1) Ibn Ḥujr al-Haythamī²⁶ says: “*Ma'āzif* is the plural of *mi'zafa*. It comprises those musical instruments giving pleasure, such as the pandore (*ṭunbūr*), the lute (*'ūd*), castanets (*ṣanj*), the Irakian reed-pipe (*mizmār 'iraqī*) etc.” Some say that *ma'āzif* refers to the voices of female slave singers (specifically) when accompanied by the lute (*'ūd*) — otherwise they are not so called. Others say that this term is used for all stringed instruments, for they are musical instruments

used by (wine) drinkers in order to encourage them to drink. All this is strictly forbidden ...

2) It is an act of disloyal people to attend the playing of stringed instruments (*awtār*) ...

3) It is said in *Kitāb al-zawājir*⁷² and in *Al-Hāwī*: “Musical instruments are either forbidden, such as the lute (*ūd*), the pandore (*tunbūr*), the barbiton (*miʿzafa*), the drum (*ṭabl*), the reed-pipe (*mizmār*), and everything producing a pleasant sound when it is played alone (without singing); or blameworthy, such as those which enhance the pleasure of singing but are not so pleasant when played alone, examples being *ṣanj* and *qaṣab* — these are disapproved when together with singing, but not when alone; or allowed: these are not in the category of instruments of pleasure, but of those which give warning — such as the trombone (*būq*) and the war drum (*ṭabl al-ḥarb*) — or (are used) for an assembly, or to make a (public) announcement, such as the frame-drum (*duff*) at weddings ...

4) In *Irshād al-muʿminin* Ibn al-ʿArabī¹⁶ says: “The drum (*ṭabl*) is of two types. The war-drum (*ṭabl al-ḥarb*), to which there is no objection since it raises morale, and overawes the enemy. The marriage-drum (*ṭabl al-nikāḥ*), such as the tambourine (*duff*) which is allowed, if it is not accompanied by indecent words and if it is not leading men and women to gather on this occasion ...

XIV

Muhammadu Tukur
Sharīfiyyā
 The noble

This short poem of two stanzas of which only the first lines are given below, was written after the *jihād* by Muhammadu Tukur, a contemporary of ʿUthmān b. Fūdī who wrote many Hausa poems for the less proficient Hausa-speaker ʿUthmān. *Sharīfiyyā* belongs to the *waʿz* genre of eschatological poetry and in style and imagery is indebted to such classical Arabic verse works as *Al-ʿAshriyyāt*, of al-Fāzāzī, which is very popular among Hausa poets. The Hausa text follows Hiskett’s published version (Hiskett 1975:233), but I have slightly altered his translation so as to include the original Hausa musical terms.

Text

Ku san mutuwā dū zā ta kai mu cikin k’asā

...

Ba ā k’āra būsā mā barē ka ji tambari

Translation

You should know that death will take us under the ground.

...

No longer will wind-instruments be blown for you, nor will you hear the *tambari*.

XV

Muhammadu Turur

Bak'in mari

Black leg-irons

Like *Sharifiyyā*, this poem is in the *wa'z* tradition. It is more than eighty couplets long, of which Hiskett has published forty-three (Hiskett 1975:207-209). The Hausa text of the lines quoted below follows Hiskett, but his translation was slightly amended for the word *māsu būshensu*.

Text

Kō da Majikirā yau kushēwā tanā kirā

...

Da māsu ka'da-ka'de da māsu būshensu sun wucē

Karen bik'i gyārē sū ka gājē wurin zari

Translation

All mortal men, today the grave is calling.

...

Their drummers and their wind instrumentalists have passed on,

The jackal and the cricket have inherited the place where the *zari* jingled.

XVI

Asim Degel

Wāk'ar Muhammadu

Song of Muḥammad

This poem in the Islamic *sīra* tradition was written in about 1845. Asim Degel, who lived in Kano for some time, is a well-known Hausa poet, and his 'Song of Muḥammad' "has been recited before Friday mosque, and on other occasions in

Kano, for more than a hundred years” (Hiskett 1975:58). The lines given below are quoted by Hiskett from a manuscript kept in the National Archives, Kaduna, Nigeria (Hiskett 1975:17).

Text

*Mawāk'ā, ku bar wāk'ā ta banzā cikin gari,
Ku zō nan, mu tāru, mu zam yabō ga Muhammadū.*

Translation

Singers, leave your idle singing in the town.

Come, let us gather together, let us constantly praise Muḥammad.

APPENDIX

II

MUSICAL TERMS USED IN THE SOURCES



1. HAUSA TERMS

<i>goge</i>	(‘one-stringed bowed lute’)	V
<i>madihu</i>	(‘panegyric poem of the Prophet’)	IV
<i>mai wāk'e-wāk'e</i>	(‘singer’)	IV
<i>māsu būshe</i>	(‘wind players’)	XV
<i>māsu ka'da-ka'de</i>	(‘drummers’)	XV
<i>māsu kirāri</i>	(‘praise-shouters’)	IV
<i>mawāk'a</i>	(‘singer’)	XVI
<i>molo</i>	(‘three-stringed plucked lute’)	VI
<i>tambari (tambari)</i>	(‘wooden kettle-drum’)	XIV
<i>wāk'ā (wak'a)</i>	(‘song’)	XVI
<i>zari (zari)</i>	(‘circular iron percussion instrument’)	XV

For more detailed information the reader is referred to Ames' and King's *Glossary of Hausa Music and Its Social Contexts* (1971).

2. ARABIC TERMS

<i>ālāt al-lahw</i>	(‘musical instruments’)	VIII, X
<i>awtār</i>	see <i>watar</i>	
<i>būq</i> , pl. <i>būqāt</i>	(‘trombone’)	X, XIII
<i>būqāt</i>	see <i>būq</i>	
<i>dabābaba</i> , pl. <i>dabādib</i>	(‘kettle-drum’)	IX, XII
<i>duff</i> , pl. <i>dufūf</i>	(‘frame-drum’)	VII, VIII, X, XIII
<i>dufūf</i>	see <i>duff</i>	
<i>ghinā'</i>	(‘song, singing’)	VII, VIII, X
<i>ghirbāl</i>	(‘frame-drum’)	X
<i>ḥudā'</i>	(‘camel song’)	X
<i>'idān</i>	see <i>'ūd</i>	
<i>kabar</i>	(‘drum’)	X
<i>kūba</i>	(‘drum’)	X
<i>ma'āzif</i>	(‘stringed instruments’)	X, XIII
<i>mazāmīr</i>	see <i>mizmār</i>	
<i>mizhar</i> , pl. <i>mazāhir</i>	(‘lute’)	IX, X
<i>mizmār</i> , pl. <i>mazāmīr</i>	(‘reed-pipe, shawm’)	X, XII, XIII
<i>mizmār al-'iraqī</i>	(‘Iraqian reed-pipe’)	X, XIII
<i>mughannī</i>	(‘singer’)	X
<i>nafīr</i>	(‘trumpet’)	X
<i>qaṣab</i> , pl. <i>qaṣabāt</i>	(‘flute’)	X, XIII
<i>ṣanj</i>	(‘castanet’)	X, XIII
<i>shabbāba</i>	(‘flute’)	X
<i>ṭabl</i> , pl. <i>ṭubūl</i>	(‘drum’)	VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII

<i>ṭabl al-ḥarb</i>	(‘war-drum’)	VIII, X, XIII
<i>ṭabl al-nikāḥ</i>	(‘wedding-drum’)	VIII, X
<i>ṭār</i>	(‘tambourine’)	X
<i>ṭunbūr</i>	(‘lute’)	X, XIII
<i>ṭubūl</i>	see <i>ṭabl</i>	
<i>‘ūd</i> , pl. <i>‘idān</i>	(‘lute’)	X, XII, XIII
<i>watar</i> , pl. <i>awtār</i>	(‘stringed instrument’)	X, XIII
<i>zagḥārīt</i>	(‘ululation’)	I
<i>zummāra</i>	(‘reed-pipe’)	X

The translations of Arabic musical terms given above are primarily meant as first broad guidelines which do not take the rich polysemy of these terms into account. For more detailed information the reader is referred to Lois Ibsen al Faruqi’s *An Annotated Glossary of Arabic Musical Terms* (1981).

NOTES

¹ One of Bābā's works has been edited by Bivar, Hiskett 1962:141-143. Furthermore, I was unable to consult printed editions of some important works such as Aḥmad Bābā: *Nayl al-ibtihāj bi-taṭrīz al-dībāj* (on the margins of Ibn Farḥūn: *Al-Dībāj al-mudhahhab fī ma'rīfat a'yān 'ulamā' al-madhhab*, Cairo A.H. 1351) and al-Maghīlī al-Tilimsānī: *Ta'rīf fīmā yajib 'alā 'l-mulūk* (Trans. by T. H. Baldwin as *The Obligation of Princes*. Beirut 1932).

² Besides these sources reference will be made from time to time to another MS which I was unable to consult. It is the *Najm al-ikhwān* (The Star of the Brethren) (*Najm*), a work by 'Uthmān b. Fūdī written in 1812 (Martin 1967:50). Passages of it are cited and paraphrased in Hiskett (1973:129), Last (1974:24), and Fūdī (1978b:29f.). I would also like to point to one work which does not seem to have been edited, but which is said to touch upon questions of the allowability of music. It is *Kitāb ādāb al-'ādāt 'alā sunnat al-Rasūl wa-tabi'ihī al-sādāt* by 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad, written at an unknown date (anon. 1965:72). Also among other books which probably discuss music one should cite the *Bayān al-bid'a al-shaitāniyya* by 'Uthmān b. Fūdī which is in fact an abridged version of the *Ihyā' al-sunna* (Last 1967b:6), 'Uthmān's *opus magnum*, to which it closely corresponds (Balogun 1970:39).

³ Although, in 1826, Clapperton presented Muḥammad Bello, first Sultan of Sokoto, with a copy of Ibn Sinā (Clapperton 1829:197).

⁴ In vernacular writing, on the other hand, the term *algaita* was at least known and used.

⁵ The use of the term "wood-wind pipes" in XI — instead of the usual false "flutes" — suggests that at-Tarjumana's translation is correct and the original probably has *mazāmīr*.

⁶ See also Euba 1971, but this study does not discuss ritual music as such.

⁷ See the bibliography in Hiskett 1975:262.

⁸ CAD 191, Microfilm Collection, Centre of Arabic Documentation, Ibadan (anon. 1969:84).

⁹ Further studies of *dhikr* in West Africa would also need to have a closer look at CAD 11, 16, 48-49, 56, 61 and 63 in the Microfilm Collection of the Centre of Arabic Documentation, because they all seem to discuss Ṣūfism.

¹⁰ See the numerous references under "Performance, occasions of: religious celebrations and occasions" (Ames, King 1971:178-179).

¹¹ Clapperton falsely speaks of the Vizier as the *Gadado*. See also Clapperton 1829:177, where he reports of "the braying of their brass and tin trumpets" he heard on approaching Sokoto.

¹² The *bamba'dawa* of the *Sarkin Gobir* in Tibiri (Niger) sing in an unknown language which is translated into Hausa during important events.

¹³ Bauchi had its first resident *kalangu* and *algaita* players only in the 1880's (Adamu 1978:100).

¹⁴ See also Sa'dī's report in the *Ta'rikh Sokoto* that Atiku, successor to Muḥammad Bello and second Emir of Sokoto killed any *duff* player (Houdas 1899:101, 1901:326).

¹⁵ This appears to be the ululation of women (Hunwick 1970:14, n. 3), practised in Suadi-Arabia, but which was also known in Hausaland as *gud'a* (Ames, King 1971:134).

¹⁶ Mālikī jurist (1076-1148).

¹⁷ Authour unknown.

¹⁸ Shāfi'ī jurisprudent (1389-1459).

- ¹⁹ *Qur'ān* 62/11.
- ²⁰ Of Ibn al-Hājj, a Mālikī jurist (d. 1336).
- ²¹ Student of Mālik (749-806).
- ²² *Qur'ān* 10/32.
- ²³ Of al-Wansharisī, a Mālikī *muftī* (c. 1430-1508).
- ²⁴ The eighth Umayyad Caliph (d. 717).
- ²⁵ Yaḥyā al-Mašmūdī, pupil of Mālik (d. 848).
- ²⁶ Mālikī jurist (d. 1565).
- ²⁷ Authour unknown. *Al-Mukhtaṣar* is the much read legal text book of Abū' l-Šafā' Khalīl (d. 1365).
- ²⁸ The text for this sentence is dubious, but the logical connection between *ma'āzif* and immoral silk and wine is clear.
- ²⁹ The Šhāfi'ī legalist (d. 1058).
- ³⁰ The cousin of the Prophet.
- ³¹ The celebrated Egyptian polymath (d. 1505).
- ³² Zāhirītes are those who adhere strictly to the obvious, surface meaning of the text.
- ³³ Died 1262.
- ³⁴ "We shall ... divine love" is a verse in the metre *basīṭ*, and the translation presented here does not attempt to render it adequately.
- ³⁵ Abū'l-Hasan al-Manūfī (d. 1532).
- ³⁶ Abū'l al-Sāhili (d. 1353).
- ³⁷ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505).
- ³⁸ Mālikī jurist (d. 1258).
- ³⁹ Al-Qāḍī 'Iyād (d. 1149).
- ⁴⁰ Could also be al-Kharāshī (d. 1689).
- ⁴¹ Unknown authour.
- ⁴² Could also be Ibn Habīb. See Sezgin 1967:47.
- ⁴³ Possibly Abū'l-Abbās al-Kinānī (d. 1471).
- ⁴⁴ 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad Al-Zurqānī (1611-1688), a Mālikī scholar.
- ⁴⁵ Unknown authour.
- ⁴⁶ The name Ubayy is uncertain, and the text for the two following sentences until "... written to the contrary" may be assumed to be corrupt.
- ⁴⁷ See Sezgin 1967:465p.
- ⁴⁸ Illegible name.
- ⁴⁹ Unknown authour. The vowel qualities of *Shabrakhiti* are not certain.
- ⁵⁰ Commentator of Ibn Abī Zayd (d. 1331).
- ⁵¹ Died 873. See Sezgin 1967:473.
- ⁵² Unknown authour.
- ⁵³ Commentator of al-Qayrawānī (d. 1360).
- ⁵⁴ The founder of the Mālikī school of law (d. 795).
- ⁵⁵ The founder of the Šhāfi'ī school of law (d. 820).
- ⁵⁶ *Qur'ān* 17/64.
- ⁵⁷ Abū Bakr Ibn Mujāhid (d. 936).
- ⁵⁸ *Qur'ān* 31/6.
- ⁵⁹ The great historian (d. 956).
- ⁶⁰ The camel driver's song of pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods.
- ⁶¹ The great philosopher (d. 1111).
- ⁶² Died 886.
- ⁶³ See Farmer 1967:27.
- ⁶⁴ *Kitāb al-yawāqit wa al-jawāhir*.
- ⁶⁵ Died 1565.

⁶⁶ The companion of the Prophet.

⁶⁷ 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī.

⁶⁸ *Al-Qals* “embraces the whole notion of a ceremonial welcome for dignitaries involving singing, dance, and the playing of frame-drums” (Wright 1983).

⁶⁹ Ancient capital of the Caliphate in Irak.

⁷⁰ Probably Ibn Mājah, see n. 62.

⁷¹ This part of the translation has been added although it has been left out from the Arabic text.

⁷² Of al-Haythamī, see n. 26.

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PLATES I-XXII



وفي حكاية
Lama

اشتهر قلت فون قد ما لبس المربر حرام ولو اذ البهات
 علم المشهور وان لم يرد في الوردية والسلب والعلماء خلاف
 والمربر وقيل حرام على الرجال والنساء وقيل مباح لهما والصحيح
 مذهب ملوك وجمهور الحكماء انه حلال للنساء وحرام للرجال انتهى
 او يصح للمخوانة بتقوية الله العظيم رب الانام ويثبت سنة
 نبيه محمد سيد العالمين وايضا كما تم اياكم واسماءة الخربا
 لمسلمين وانكار ما فيه خلاف عليهم انكار الحرام الجعل التام في
 حكم ضرب الآلات اللهم ونعني ما يتبع من سائر البهات وغيره وحكم
 الغناء وما فوقه وباللله التوفيق والآت اللهم على ثلاثة اقسام درهم
 ومكروه ومباح فالابر حرام الهيتكم والزواج حرام والمباح
 اما حرام كعوط وكنبوز ومنزمار وما لغيره بصوت مطرب منجرد الا
 ومكروه وهو ما زاد به الغناء كالمطرب والمكروه من مجرد الكلام
 والكعب فيكره مع الغناء لا يجره ومباح وهو ما يخرج من الآلات
 كالمطرب والكره انما كاللحن وقيل الحرف او لمصلحة والمباح كاللحن
 في جو النكاح انتهى قلت البوقيات من الآلات التي يخرج منها ما يجرع
 ومنها ما يمسر كما في الجامع شرح المختصر وفي هذه الكلام التنا
 لث قول ابى العباس والاحكام قبل الحرب لا بأس به لانه يقيم
 الخبوس ويعرب العود وقيل النكاح كالحرف يجوز ان كان بما
 يمسر من الكلام وسلم من لحن وانكشف ان النساء للرجال
 انتهى قلت المعازي وفيه عليه الصلاة والسلام ليكو
 نفا الامتير اقوام يستعملون المر والمير والتمر
 وانه المعازي من القسم الاول وهو كما
 قال ابراهيم الهيتكم في الزواج جمع مع عز
 وة وهو كل مطرب كنبوز وعود
 ومنزمار

ومن ما عرّف في غيرها وفي المقامات الفيا اذا كانت
 مع العود والافيد في الما انك وفي كل ان وتز لونها الامت
 الشرب فتتحو اليه في الما وى كان بعض احابنا
 يعض العود بالاجحة مويبا الاوتار وفي جرحه لانه مو
 خوم على حر كانت تنفي الهم وتفقو الهمة وتزيه
 والتشاة انك هو قول شاة مناه للديا وفي المدخل
 وروي جعوب بن محمد عن ابيه عن جده عن علي قال
 سئل الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بعثت بكسر المز امير
 وفيه في اية عباد رب عباد بعثت بهم المز امير تنوي
 وفيه في القسم الاول اي ان قول جلد العبد جبه الرحم
 السبوح في تعريفه الوجة باجحة الهسة المائة
 او المشهور في المذاهب الاربعة تعريم الامت اللهو
 واجابته مزجبة منهم ام الما من المتخالف في هذه



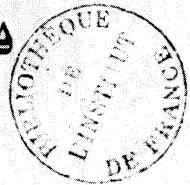
PLATE II
 'Uthmān b. Fūdī
Miṣbāh
 (folio 23)

المسئلة ما ذهب اليه المنفوق منهم الشيخ عز الدين ابراهيم
 السلام باحثة ذاك للصوفية خاصة وتخرجه على غير
 بهم ثم انشده في الكوفة والوجه يسمي الشجر التي سمعت
 سوى ذوات العالسات المعيين. وقال ابو الحسن الما
 لكي في تحفيها الميات عند قول المصنف وسماع
 ثبت بعد المالك كالعون والمنزل وكى عند ملك
 اجازة السماع ثم قال وقال ذو الفقار البغوي والعامي مجا
 بنتمه ما فلو كان المتصور الاول وجه وانما وصال
 عالية انتهى وفي هذا القسم الاول انما قول عز الدين
 ابراهيم السلام في قواعد الاحكام من الصوفية من
 تحفيها المعارف والادعوا عنه سماع الممرجات المختلف
 في تحليلها واحوالها كما سماع الدعوات والتبديات ومنها
 اذ اعترفه في رسم ذلك فهو ليس بسماعها معس

بما ذكره

بما حصله من المعارف والاحوال وان اعتقد اباها
 تفيها المذاهب والعلما بجملة كالتورع
 ستماعها محسرا بما ذكره من المعارف والاحوال
 الناشئة عنها ومنهم من يخضرونه المعارف وعند
 سائر الملوك والمرتبات عند جملة العلماء
 كسائر الاوقات والامير في سنة امة كتاب المعرف من سنة
 للتجسس لسبب محرم فان خضرونه معرفة وقد اينا سبب
 تراك المعرفة كان ما زاد الخبير بالشر والنوع بالخير
 بعد ايمم يختلف تحريمه فان فله من يبيح ذلك في
 بالاس انتهى فالتواتر اللغو منه مما بينه والوال في
 رجبتم في المعيار وهو ما بينه والوال في عينه الات اللغو
 ثم قال به من الكلام في قليل وفي كتب حميد حبه
 العزيز الى الباع او ان يرفع اللغو كله الى الله وحده في
 البرية قال جيبى وديته اذا اخذ انتهى فالتواتر فله ذلك

حمير عبد العزيز وفي البيهقي وبسنة اثنان الف
 المختار عنه المصنف غير صحيح منه الا في قوله تفتل
 بمعرب خارج عنه في تبيبات النكار وهو مشهور
 منه هبنا ابو العسد المكي في تحفيق المبتدع عند
 قول المصنف ولا تعجب من ذلك ما فيه نوع من جملة
 اوله من ما راوه وشبهه من المالك الخلدوي
 النكار واخذاه من يوزن غير النكار كالا ميا هو
 الختان وفعوم الغايب ام لا والمشهور لا وهو في امر كلام
 المصنف انتهى وهو في امر كلامه جلال الدين عبد
 الرحيم السيوطي في تحفيق الهيئة باجوبة الاسئلة المائة
 والتفصيل انه يشبه القليل في اللات اللها في الحرب
 وفي المجمع وفي النكار انه هو الهمزة في المباحات
 كما في الكلام الهيتمي في الزواجر في كلام الحارث
 واو القصب ونحوها كما المنجز من المكروهات ان كانت



مع الفناء

مع الغنا لا يوجد ما كما مر أيضا وكلام الهيتمى في الزواجر
 ذاك كما كان العدو أيضا والشبابنة من المبررات المتناو
 في تحيلها كما مر وكلام من الغرير من حبه السلام وفيها
 مع الالحام والتوصيل في الكار يفصم من هب الى الغر
 يم وبفصم الى الكرافة ويوفهم الى الجوان والفول
 بالجوان خيرو ويوفية السالك في اشق المسالك
 للساحى وروى ان حبه الله برهم قال كنت مع رسول
 الله صلى الله عليه وسلم امشيت خلفه اذا سمع شابنة
 راح يسه التبع الى الله عليه وسلم اذ نية تم جعل يقول
 استمع شبابنا انا اقول له نعم حتى قلت له لا اسمع نتيبا بها على
 اصبغ به من اذ نية وفه ترضى فوم بما تناولوه على حبه
 الله بن عمر وحار النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ما معه في
 سماع تلك الشابنة في الوك انت حر اما لامر التبر على
 الله عليه وسلم اريسه اذ نية حر سماع تلك الشابنة كما
 وعد هو صلى الله عليه وسلم فالواو على الك ما خواص



النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وهدية أتوا بواضع خيوط ثم قال
 بعد كل دم وإركاب الأمر في سماء الشبانة لا ينتهي إلى
 التحريم بل ينجح على الكراهة انتهى وقال أبو الحسن
 المالكي في تحفيق المبان كوروي هو ابن عمر رضي الله
 عنهم أيها الفاضل أنه لما سمع ذلك من صفاء الرعا
 سهد أذنيهم ومشى وكان معه أتسأل ويقول له أنت سمع
 أنت سمع حتى بعد أعر الصوت ثم قال هذا من عند الله
 أعلم عدم التحريم أنه لو كان حراماً لا مرصده أن يجعل
 كجعله من سداة نية انتهى وفي المد كلفه اختلا
 العلماء رخصة الله عليهم في ضرب المارق على حدته
 هل يجوز ما لو كان الكا ختاجوا في الشبانة على حد
 تها انتهى وأما المزامير والأوتار فحومها من اللات
 شرب الغر فوه كرى بعضهم عدم الخالوه في تحريمها
 وكانه لم يعتقد بقول خالوة الظ وبعضهم حرمة أئبها
 الإفها على كسرها أو فسادهما وبعضهم حرمة بان

المجهر

الجمهور هم الذين نهجوا الى تحريمها او غير الجمهور
 ذهب الى تحليلها انه لم تفتن به من خارج عنها وقد
 حكى الشيخ انه لا خلاف في تحريم المزمار والرافو وما يضر
 به الهوتا وقال الامام ابو العباس الفركبي اما المزمار
 والهوتا والكوبة فانه يختلف في تحريم استماعها ولم
 اسمع عن احد ممن يعتبر قوله من السنة وايمه الظاهر في بيع
 الكوبة ببيعة السالك وانشق المسالك للسالك او
 البقما او مجموع على كسر ما وهساء ما انتهى قلت
 وفي الجملة ان سائر الماهب المعروفة بالاجماع او غيرها
 الجمهور ولو شك ان مستمعها باسرها فضلا عما صار بها
 وقال الامام ابو العباس الفركبي وما كان كالكلم يشك
 في تفسيره فاعلم وقتا بينهم وفي بيعة السالك ايضا لا يختلف جميع
 ما يله ويشق من الله وينزل عنه كرويه نحو الى الفولة
 والسهو ويحرق الى الشهوات ممنوع غير جائز انتهى قلت
 هذا يجوز جميع الاث لله والاعراب لانها قالوا اباها احد
 ابراص المسلمين واجبادهم قلت جائز ان يذبح في بيعة

وفي المختصر وباب النكاح وكبره انتز اللوز والسك للفرجال
 ولولرجل ووالكبر والمزهر ثلثهما يجوز والكبر بر كفا
 نة وتجاوز الزمان والبول وفي الخرافة عند قول المحدث للفر
 بال علمه على فاعلا كبره والفرجال والعن من اذ قال لا كالا
 منهما هو المحور وفي جملة من وجه واحد والمعنى ان الخريف
 بما ذكر للتساوي كبره بل خذوه والرجال على المشهور
 فلما ابا الفرج قوله ولولرجل خذوه الا صريح الفاجد بالمنع
 ولما الخريف بالكبر يفتح الكاف والباء وهو الطبل الكبير
 المدور المجلد من وجهين والمزهر وهو عود مفصل
 بفخه ويهز يركب ويفشى من الجهتين فيبهما ووالجوف
 بالظهور والمزهر وهي ثلثة اقوال بالجواز كالفرجال
 وهو الجصيب وبالكرامة فيبهما ووالجواز الكبر وهو المزهر
 فيكبره لانه ليس عن ذكر الموفال اذ كانت تجوز الزمان فيقول
 وهو الثبير وفيه معنى البهوات والزوارت البهوات التي لا تكلم
 لا تكلم كاللهو انتمى وفي عبد الباقى عند قول المحدث الفر
 بال اذ الما وهو المفضي بهاء من جفت واحدة فله يكره وقال
 عند قوله ولولرجل من الما من المحدث والنم الحديث يدل على



PLATE IX
 'Uthmān b. Fūdī
Miṣbāh
 (folio 30)

فبموا الائمة وقال عند قوله وفي الخبر قال الشارح
 كانه المبل الكبير المدور المجلد من وجهين وقال عند
 قوله والمزهر كمنبر كما قال الفاموس ثم قال الابي المعروف
 باللغة انما العود ولم يبد كواخل وهو كتب اليها
 بخلافه انتهى ثم قال انه عود مفضل بفضه من بعض
 يركب ويفشى ما الجعشيب وقال عند قوله وتجاوز الزمارة
 واليه وجوز ان مشقوه المروي على المشهور وفيها
 الجاز التي تركت خيرة فعله فهو مكرور وهو قول ملك
 والمدونة اكره الدخان والمعا في البرس وغيره ثم قال
 تنه قال والشامل والشماعات وترو شهادة المفردة
 والمقنية والتاجحة وسماح العود على الاصغر وعرس
 او وضع اولاده او ختان ليس فيه شراب مسكر فانه
 يكره وهم انتمى فنه ثم قال وغير العود من يفة الالات
 التي بها اوتار مثل انتمى وفي الشبر حيتي عند قول المصنف
 له القبال وهو الدوا المدور المفشى ما جهة واحدة
 في كراهة والنصب به في البرس اتق اقبال هو



PLATE X
 'Uthmān b. Fūdī
Miṣbāḥ
 (folio 31)

مستحب فيه وقال عنه قولم ولو لرجل على
المشهور وقال عنه قوله وفي يفتح
الكاء والياء وقال عنه قولم والمزهر
بكسر الميم قالوا كها في الأذن ما
المراد بالكبير الذي يقرب على من
أنه الطيبا اجد مزجده هو المبال الكبير
والفزه هو المفشى من الجهتير انتهى
بوسه اجد حمر الكبير كبله ما
بخار او عود لها ارضيه
وقاسع بالواسع
مفشى بالجلد والاخر غير مفشى
والفزه عود هتبه ايفزه ويوض
يركب وفشى من الجهتير انتهى

وقال

وقال عنه قوله ثالثها يجوز في الكبر ويكره في النهي
 وليس في القول الثالث فهو بالحرمة قاله اء بالجواز
 في كلامه مفاد الحرمة انظر العاشية وقال عنه قوله
 ابركنا لله ونجوز الزمارة والبروء اء كان الله ليصياكل
 الله هو فعلى المصنف العرك في اسفاه هذه الغيبة
 فالقول ونجوز الخ ضعيف انظر العاشية اقتصم
 وفي الجامع شرح المختصر عنه قول المصنف الا الفر
 بالاولا يفره الفر با وهو الكف وهو معشر من جملة د
 ون جملة لقوله عليه الصلاة والسلام اعلنوا التكاح
 واخر بوالفر بال عليه وقال عنه قوله واول رجل ولوي
 كارهة الكف لرجل خالفا المرفال انما يكون النساء دور
 الرجال المشهور بالبر وبيد الرجال والمرأة وقال عنه قوله
 وفي الكبر والي هب ثالثها يجوز في الكبر الواكها اني الاعر

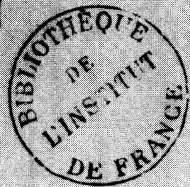


ما الجبر والذو يقرب عما في انه الفيا الان نجاسه الفيا ما يعمل
 ما انما عود له فما ووسع وفيه والواسع بعشر بالجو
 لو اسع ويغ الفيو انتم لم يتعم في المن من وقال عنك فو
 له ابر كنانة نجوم الزمان واليو وقال ابر كنانة وهو
 مركبا احباب ملك يقاله عصر ملك يجوز الزمان وهو ابو
 وال زمانة ما يصاح من الفصب واليو والذو يتبع واكر
 البوقايت مختلفة منها ما يبرع ومنها ما يجرع واما حكم
 الغناء والاعوج والخنار بصواته صر من عنده جمهور السلف
 وفي المعيار والذو جود الغناء عن كماله في عمره وغيره مضر
 وما انتم في المك خرافا الساجد في كتاب ادب القصار
 ان الغناء هو مكرور يشبه البانل
 والمعالق هم فلنت والذو ايام علم من

الذو

الغناء قوله تعالى واستمعوا له وهم يسمعون
 قال جاءه الغناء والمزاعير وقال تعالى ومن الناس
 من يشرى بسوء الحديث ليضل عن سبيله الله قال عبد الله
 بن مسعود هو الغناء والأسماء اليه لكر قال أبو العباس
 المالك في تحف المصنف عنك قول المصنف وسماع شئ
 من الملاء والغناء قال كذا علم في كتاب الله أيضا
 وهذه السنة حديثا جميعا من جوارح التحريم ما ذكر
 المحنوقات ما هي كقوله من يمتنع لوجهها على التحريم
 وعمومات يتناسر بها الأدلة فمعية كما الرضا
 بنافه من يستدلون بها على الاباحة وقد سمع
 السلو والاكابر الايات بالاحار ومم قال بابا حنة
 من السلو ملك اجده اتسرحه الله واهل الحجاز كلهم
 يبيعون الغناء واما العباد وارجما عن منهم على اجاز
 ته وقد وردت الاخبار واستبوا خت الخنازير والكلب
 وانى الفز الى وند الك بالبحر الخاروا و كل ما استناب
 من قال بالتحريم واجاب عنه باجوبة لا يشك سامعها

وإنها جوبة حبيجة انتهى وفي بقية السالك
 للساحل هذا من ذهب جمهور السالكين ذهب
 الفليل من العلماء إلى ابا حنيفة والكوفي والقبيل
 هذا الكلام بغير ما انقما برسول الله
 صلى الله عليه وسلم يسمعه الشعر لا يدل على ابا
 حنيفة الغناء فان الشعر كالم مؤرور حسنه حس
 وفيه في بيح اما القنا بالاعا وتفك بيع
 الاوزان بالنفقات انتهى
 وفي بقية السالك ايضا قبل هنا
 الكلام بغير اليعاوز ففداها بينهما
 ورفعي وهو على ثلاثة اقسام فاسم
 ممنوع باتفاق وفسم جائز باتفاق وفسم
 هو ذلك واما المنوع باتفاق فهو ما اذبح
 اليد الملهة كالمزمار وغيرها واما القسم
 المتنازع فيه من القنا فله



ما

PLATE XV
 'Uthmān b. Fūdī
Miṣbāh
 (folio 36)

ما مد من اللات الملهية غير التصفيو بالاكوفنومها
 بمر اجرد في مبد المزمير حمله ميم القسم الممناع
 ومن اذ لك من كما من رجة ذلك اذ المشبه
 به تردد فيه ففيل بالجواز وفيل بالكرامة
 وفيل باللاحة واما القسم المتجوع على جوارز من
 من الفناء وهو ما كان من ايراد اشعار ذوات الملائكة
 الشريفة من مبد التي مكرية لاكو ولاغيره ولانانو
 نعمات انتصر وفي سن ايه مبد الله برماجة في باب الفناء
 والدوم من ان بن ملك رض الله عنه ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
 من بعض المدينة فاذا هو بجوارز بضريريه فسو ويتقير
 ويفل نعم جوارز من بن النجار يا حب ذا محمد امر جارف
 فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اللهم يعلم ان لا جبر وفيه
 ايضاً من ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما قال انكمت عايشة ذا



ات فرابة لها من الانصار فيما رسوا الله على الله عليه وسلم
 وفا امد يتم البتة قالت نعم فالارسلتم معهما من يقنو
 قالت لا وفار رسول الله على الله عليه وسلم ان الانصار قوم فيهم
 نزر ولو بعثتم معهما من يقول اتيناكم اتيناكم فيمينا
 وحياءكم اتتم في المدخل فالاعلماء بتبريم الفناء
 وهو الفناء المعتاد منه المشتهر به الذي يترك الثوب
 سر ويبتتها على السور وهذه النوع اذا كان في شلر يشيب
 فيه في غير النساء وما سنمل في غير الحمور والمر
 ما لا يتلف في تبريمه لانه اللهو والفناء المذموم با
 تجا واما ما سلم من ذلك فيجوز الفيل منه ووفات البرج
 كالفرس والعيد عنه التشيف على الاعمال الشافة كما
 كان في جبر الخند واتتم فلت انما في جبر الفيل من
 الفناء في وفات البرج كالفرس والعيد لان اللعب
 مباح في الفرس كضرب العدو منه وبه يوم العيد و
 اليوا فيت لعبه الوهاب الشعراني قال ابن العربي
 في الكلام على خلافة العيد من الباب الثامن والستين
 / نماء

انما عوب اللعب والفرح والزينة في يوم العيد تذكير ابسر
 وراهل الجنة ونعيمهم انتصر وقال في هذه الكلام بفيل
 لما كان يوم العيد يوم فرح وسرور وزينة واستبلاء
 للنفس على قلب حنوتها من الشهوات اجعل لها الشارع
 في ذلك تهديم الصوم فيه وشرع للناس فيه اباحت
 اللعب والزينة واقر المباشرة على لعبهم في المسجد
 يوم العيد ووفو على الله عليه وسلم هو وعابشة ينقران
 الى لعبهم وعابشة خله وفي هذا اليوم ابيضت
 بين رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم متينتان فبينما في بيته
 صلى الله عليه وسلم ورسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وعهما
 يا ابا بكر فانه يوم عيد واحال الشيخ في ذلك انتصر قلنا
 ولكون يوم العيد ايضا يوم فرح وسرور كان رسول الله
 صلى الله عليه وسلم يضرب له الكبل في ذلك اليوم وفي
 سن ابي عبد الله برمجة في باب ماجاء في الغلس عن ابي
 قال شمس عياض الا شكرت مبيد بالانبار وقال ما له ارام

يسلم واما اراء ابو بكر ابن عباد
 قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

تتسلسل كما كان يقلس عند رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وفيه
ايضا عن فيبين بن سعد رضي الله عنه قال ما كان شيء اعمل عند رسول
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الا فخر ابيه الا شيء واحد فان رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وسلم كان يقلس له يوم الفطر ثم قال ابو عبد الله
الناس يقولون يقلس الكيل انتقص اوصيكم يا اخواني بتقوى
العظيم رب الانام وبتباع سنة نبيه حمده سيد العالم
واياكم ثم اياكم واساوة الفخر بالمسلمين وانكار
ما فيه فساد عليهم انكار المرام الفصل التاسع في
حكم تعلية الاجراس في اعمنا والدواب فاقول وبالله
التوفيق اعلم ان تعلية الاجراس واللاوتار في اعمنا والدا
ب مكروب وفي الجماع التليز اسما ويكر تعلية الاجراس
واللاوتار في اعمنا والدواب فالابن جرير وفي الفوائد لا يجوز شدة
اللاوتار على الدواب ولا تعلية الاجراس عليهما للنهي عن ذلك
في الحديث وهو البلاجل الكبار بخلاو الصغار وكلما علم

الجرس



وكون الاجتماع على الاوتار صراعة انما العيس مع التشبه به ومثله
 فوجوه موشح انتهى الا ان الموردي قال كان بعض الحناك يظن العود
 بالباخرة معايب الا وتارة ولا يجر منه لانه موضوع على حركات تبع اله وتغوى
 الهة وتزبد به الفساده انتهى ولكن هو قول شاذ مخالف للذليل القويم
 الثلث ما خرج عن كنهها الغلب الى معنى يخرج منه قال في الواج وفي الجاه
 الملاءمة اما خارج كعود وكنبور ومعنى فته وكمل ومن عار وما لا يصبوت
 معن: منعرج او مكره وهو ما تراه الفناكيس باولها يرب صغيرا كالمصغ
 والقصب جيبكه مع الغنا لا وحده او مبلح وهو ما خرج عن النكاح الى
 انذار كالبوق وكمل الحى او لم يحنه واعلان كالرف في النكاح انتهى في
 ارشاد القويم قال ابراهيم الكليل على تفسيره في الحيا بالاسرية لانه
 يفهم العيس من يسي حب العرو وكمل النكاح كالرف يجوز ان كان على جسد
 من الكلاع وسلم والى عت وانكشف النساء للرجال **الفصل**
الثالث في ذكر اداب الرابسة التي نام نايها المولى جواعلا وتربنا
 اليها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم باقواله واجعله اعلم ان معناه
 في الرعدة له بالخير فان على صل عليه اوصو انك سكرت من العفو عنه قال
 تغلى خرا العجو وام بالعرف الابنة وصاروى في تعسين هذه الآية فصل
 ما فحك ونحك من عك وتجعو عن قلبك وقال تغلى ولم يصح وغير
 ان ذلك لما عن الامور والى فوجهم في امر دينهم ودينهم وفي الحديث
 ولما تشبهوا من الفجاء تشبه عليهم الله اشفق عليهم ومولى شيتا وام
 اثنى من جوعهم الله ارفعون اما التي جوعهم من جوعته اليه هو جوعهم
 على المقامات العاجلة بالمتأخرة واهم من هذا ان يجمعوا الى الريميل
 القوى وانتفاع احسن الاقوال واقلا عوامهم وهم اكثر الناس لما حصل
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