

Manuscripts and Transmission of Knowledge in Swahili Society: A Comparative Analysis of Form and Usage of *Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya*

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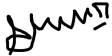
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents: mum, the late K. Abdulkabir, dad H. Parkar, my brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins, relatives, friends and my whole family too, who have always loved me unconditionally and whose examples have taught me to work hard for things that I wish to achieve. This work is also dedicated to Mwalimu R. Samsom, my friend Muhammad Noor, the late Mwalimu Dini, the late Ahmad Sheikh Nabahany, and all those who assisted me in one way or another, being a constant source of support and encouragement during my school life. I say: *nawashukuru sana nyote, daima dawamu na nawaombea majazi mema. Na, waliofariki Mola awalaze pema pa wema. Aamiin.* I will end with this quote: “If you cannot reward people on what they helped you with, thank them!”

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis titled: *Manuscripts and Transmission of Knowledge in Swahili Society: A Comparative Analysis of Form and Usage of Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya*, has been carried out in The University of Hamburg, at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe (CSMC), *Sonderforschungsbereich 950*, C07 project, Hamburg, Germany, under the supervision and guidance of Prof. Dr. Roland Kießling and Prof. Dr. Alessandro Gori. The work is original and has not been submitted fully or in part by me for any degree at any other university.

I further declare that the material obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the dissertation.

Sign: _____ 

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Abbreviations

- A: Arabic based orthography (i.e. Arabic script and Swahilo-Arabic script)
- A.D.: Anno Domini
- A.H.: al-*Hijrah* calendar
- A.H.A.P.: A. Parkar (the researcher). Also, A.P.
- Ar.: Arabic
- A.V.: ‘Aydarūs version
- Approx.: Approximately
- B. : *Bin* (son of)
- Bt. : *Bint* (daughter of)
- Ca.: Circa
- Cf. : confer
- CSMC: Center for the Study of Manuscripts Cultures
- C.V.: Chimwini version
- D. : Date of demise
- E.A.: East Africa
- E.B.: Encyclopedia Britannica (see, Bibliography)
- Ed.: Editor
- E.I.: Encyclopedia of Islam (see, Bibliography)
- Eng.: English
- Et-al*: And others
- F.: Folio
- Fr.: French
- H.: hemistich
- Introd.: introduction
- Incl.: including
- K.K.S.: Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu
- L: Latin based orthography (Latin script for English and Swahilo-Latin script)
- Lat.: Latin
- Lit. : Literally
- Mm: Millimeters
- M.M.J.: *Mu’jam al- Ma’ānī al-Jāmī’* (see, Bibliography)
- Ms: Manuscript

Mss: Manuscripts
MTM : Multiple texts manuscripts
N : noun
N.d. : No date
P.C.: Personal communication
Pl.: Plural
Pp.: Pages
QH: *Qaṣīda Hamziyya*
Q.M.W. : *Qāmūs Mu'jamal-Wasīf* (see, the Bibliography)
R.: *Recto*
S.th: something
SFB 950: Sonderforschungsbereich 950
Singl. : Singular
SOAS: School of Oriental and African Studies
Std.: Standard
STM: a single text manuscript
Sh: sheikh
Sw.: Swahili
Tlat.: Translation
Tlit.: Transliteration
T.V.: Tumbatu version
U.K. : United Kingdom
UDSM: University of Dar es Salaam
V: verb (see: glossary)

Arabic transliteration table

Arabic Symbol	Transliteration	Arabic symbol	Transliteration
ا	a	ض	d
ب	b	ط	t
ت	t	ظ	z
ث	th	ع	,
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	h	ف	f
خ	ḥ *	ك	k
د	d	ق	q
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	و	w
ش	š	ه	h
ص	ṣ	ي	y

* NB: some letters, such as ح may be transliterated as *kh* and this may be witnessed in quotes extracted from other references.

Additional guidelines on vowels in Arabic transliteration system:

Long vowel: aa = ā Long vowel: ii = ī
long vowel: uu = ū Glottal stop symbol = ' (i.e. the *Hamza* symbol, ء)

Swahilo-Arabic transliteration table

Arabic	Tlit.	Other possible Tlit.	Arabic	Tlit.	Other possible Tlit.
ا	A	-	ض	Dhw	-
ب	B	bw, mb, mbw, p, mp, pw	ط	Tw	-
ت	T	Tw, ch	ظ	Dhw	-
ث	Th	-	ع	A	'a
ج	J	Nj	غ	G	Ng, ng' (velar nasal)
ح	H	h	ف	F	-
خ	Kh	H	ك	K	Kw
د	D	Nd	ق	Q	K
ذ	Dh	-	ل	L	-
ر	R	Nd, ndr	م	M	Mw
ز	Z	-	ن	N	ny
س	S	-	و	W	u
ش	Sh	ch	ه	H	-
ص	Sw	-	ي	Y	Ny

Nb: The transliteration symbols are mainly derived from the *Hamziyya* bilingual mss. For extended Arabic symbols also used in some mss in the corpus, see the table below.

Extended Arabic symbols: applied in Swahilo-Arabic orthography

Extended Arabic Symbol	IPA
پ	[p]
تف	[tʃ]
و	[v]
ن	[ŋ]

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 3. Am: *Ms. 652*, Maktabah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Būsa'īdī, Sieb, NRAA, Muscat, Oman.
 4. Ay: *Ms 53823*, Univ. of London, SOAS Library, London, United Kingdom.
 5. Ba: *Ms. Bāsfār 01*, private collection, Lamu archipelago, Pate, Kenya.
 6. Be: *Ms. Mambrui, al-Beyḍ 01*, private collection, Mambrui, Kenya.
 7. Di: *Ms. Dini 01*, private collection, Lamu archipelago, Pate island, Kenya.
 8. Hi: *Ms. 53827*, Univ. of London, SOAS Library, London, United Kingdom.
 9. Hu: *Ms. Msa, al-Ḥusaynī 01*, private collection, Mombasa Island, Kenya.
 10. Ka: *Ms. Ndau, Kame, 01*, private collection, Ndau Island, Kenya.
 11. Ko: *Ms. Tumbatu, Kombo 01*, private collection, Tumbatu Island, Tanzania.
 12. Nc: *Ms. Msa, Nabahany 03*, private collection, Mombasa Island, Kenya.
 13. Nd: *Ms. Msa, Nabahany 02*, private collection, Mombasa Island, Kenya.
 14. Qa: *Ms. Msa, Nabahany01*, private collection, Mombasa Island, Kenya.
 15. Sa: *Ms. Siyu, Saggaf 01*, private collection, Siyu Island, Kenya.
 16. Se: *Ms. Barawa, al-Šayḥ*, private collection, Barawa, Somalia.
- NB: courtesy of Meikal Mumin, Cologne, Germany.

Abstract

Qaṣīda (pl. *qaṣā'id*) are odes that are commonly sung and chanted during religious festivals, such as *mawlid* 'marking the birth of the prophet' and on special occasions such as marriage ceremonies. For centuries, the *qaṣā'id* have widely been chanted in the Muslim world. Some *qaṣā'id* such as *Bānat Su'ad*, *al-Burda*, and *Hamziyya* are believed to have special spiritual significance such as *baraka* 'blessings' and *ṣifā* 'healing' powers. The *Hamziyya*, notably, being one of the most accessed odes during the SFB 950 fieldwork, C07 project, phase I & II in the East African coast, attract our attention.

The Arabic *Hamziyya* ode also known as *al-Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya fī al-Madā'ihī al-Nabawiyya* or the *Hamza-Rhymed Panegyric in Praise of the Prophet* was originally composed in Arabic by the Egyptian poet Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Būšīrī (1212-1294). The poem was then poetically rendered into Swahili by Šayḥ 'Aydarūs b. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Šayḥ Abūbakar b. Sālim of Lamu, East Africa (d. 1749).

Based on the analysis, which integrates philological, codicological and textual dimensions, the usages of sixteen *Hamziyya* mss in their social contexts are examined in this work. The major finding shows that a single text, like the *Hamziyya* is written in divergent forms: monolingual (Swahili), bilingual (Arabic, Swahili or Swahili, English), and may be produced with additional/subsidiary poetic and/or prose texts, such as poetic translations (*tarājim*), commentaries (*šarḥ*), a five lined poem (*taḥmīs*), annotations (*ḥawāšīn*) and Arabic, Swahili glossary (*mu'jam*). Depending on their context of usages, their textual layout arrangements and forms reflect their usages; for example those that are having widely spaced texts with ample annotations, glossary, and commentaries are used as teaching and learning aids, while those that are narrowly spaced are used for oral performances. Interestingly, the narrowly spaced ones may be used 'behind the scenes' i.e. as chanting aids for memorization prior to the oral performances.

Abstrakt

Qaṣīda (pl. *qaṣā'id*) sind Gedichte die gewöhnlich zu religiösen Festlichkeiten wie dem *mawlid*, dem „Geburtstag des Propheten“ und anderen wichtigen Anlässen wie Hochzeiten, gesungen werden. Die *qaṣā'id* werden schon seit Jahrhunderten in der islamischen Welt gesungen/mündlich vorgetragen. Einigen *qaṣā'id* wie der *Bānat Su'ad*, der *al-Burda*, und der *Hamziyya* wird eine besondere spirituelle Bedeutung zugeschrieben wie zum Beispiel segnende (*baraka*) und heilende (*ṣifā*) Kräfte. Insbesondere das mss (Manuskript) der *Hamziyya* war eines der meist aufgegriffene Ode während der Feldforschung des Projektes C07 des SFB 950 während der I & II Phase an der ostafrikanischen Küste, und verdient daher besonderer Beachtung.

Die arabische *Hamziyya*, auch bekannt als *al-Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya fī al-Madā'ihī al-Nabawiyya* oder *Lobgedicht an den Propheten im Hamza-Reim- und Versmaß*, wurde ursprünglich von einem ägyptischen Dichter namens Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Būšīrī (1212-1294) auf Arabisch verfasst. Später wurde das Gedicht von Šayḥ 'Aydārūs b. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Šayḥ Abūbakar b. Sālim aus Lamu, Ost Afrika (d. 1749) in Swahili übertragen.

Basierend auf einer Analyse, welche philologische, kodikologische und textuelle Untersuchungen vereint, wird in dieser Arbeit der soziale Kontext des Gebrauchs von sechzehn *Hamziyya* mss (Manuskripten) untersucht. Eine der wichtigsten Erkenntnisse ist, dass ein einziger Text wie die *Hamziyya* in unterschiedlichen Formen aufgeschrieben werden konnte: monolingual (Swahili), bilingual (Arabisch, Swahili oder Swahili, Englisch), und mit zusätzlichen poetischen und/oder prosaischen Texten versehen wurde wie poetischen Übersetzungen (*tarājim*), Kommentaren (*šarḥ*), einem Gedicht mit fünf Versen (*taḥmīs*), Anmerkungen (*ḥawāšīn*) und mit einem Arabisch - Swahili Wörterverzeichnis (*mu'jam*). Abhängig vom Gebrauchskontext spiegeln ihre Anordnungen des textlichen Layouts und der Formen ihren Gebrauch wider. Zum Beispiel wurden Texte mit großzügigem Zeilenabstand, umfangreichen Anmerkungen, einem Wörterverzeichnis und Kommentaren als Lern- und Lehrmaterial verwendet, während Exemplare mit engem Zeilenabstand für die mündliche Wiedergabe genutzt wurden. Interessanterweise verwendete man die Manuskripte mit engem Zeilenabstand wahrscheinlich „hinter den Kulissen“, d.h. sie dienten als Hilfsmittel zur Memorierung des Textes vor einer mündlichen Aufführung.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

The principal aim of this thesis is to provide a cultural and philological study of Swahili versions of *Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya*¹ manuscripts written in Arabic script in the Swahili cultural area.

Al-Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya fī al-Madā'īhi al-Nabawiyya ‘the *Hamza-Rhymed Panegyric Ode in Praise of the Prophet*² was originally composed in Arabic by the Egyptian poet Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Būṣīrī (1212-1294)³. The poem was then poetically rendered into Swahili by Šayḥ ‘Aydarūs b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Ali b. Šayḥ Abū Bakr b. Sālīm of Lamu, East Africa, 1749.⁴ This Swahili text (henceforth, the ‘Aydarūs’ version) of Swahili-Islamic poetry featured most prominently in the manuscripts (mss) accessed during the fieldwork conducted on the East African coast, 2011-2016.

The *Hamziyya* corpus in this study consists of sixteen manuscripts containing different kinds of *Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya* texts (henceforth, *Hamziyya*);⁵ i.e., Swahili poetic renditions, commentaries, five- “half-lines” (*al-tahmīs*) poems, translations, word-lists and study manuals on the *Hamziyya* content. This means that the manuscripts appear with divergent textual layout forms as well as differences in thematic context. As for their materiality, the manuscripts depict different physical

¹ The *tā’ marbūṭa* i.e. the ّ (h/t) symbol in Arabic orthography on the word *Hamziyya(h)* will not be reflected in the transliteration throughout the work unless quoted from a given author or written for a specific reason.

² The poem has an end rhyme of *hamza*: a symbol for a glottal stop in Arabic orthography that is written as ʾ. The grapheme appears at the end of each verse, hence the name. The *Hamziyya* poem is also known by another title: ‘*umm al-qūrā fī madḥi ḥayri al-warā* ‘the mother of cities on the praises for the best of creation’. Knappert 1968:52 gives an alternative meaning for the title i.e., ‘the mother of books on the praises for the best of creation’.

³ Generally, any dates not marked AH should be assumed to be CE.

⁴ On the date of the *tarjama*, i.e. the Swahili *Hamziyya* translation of ‘Aydarūs, see, Hichens n.d.:5, notes on *Hamziyya* in the Ms. 53827 (coded as *Hi* in this work). The manuscript is preserved in SOAS Library, London, United Kingdom.

⁵ Currently, the sixteen manuscripts are stored electronically in the CSMC digital repository (<https://www.fdr.uni-hamburg.de/communities/csmc>). Their descriptions are provided in chapter II.

properties, especially in terms of their paper textures⁶, types of codices, bookbinding materials, and even ink compositions. Further details on these aspects will be provided in Chapter II and III.

The *Hamziyya* text is performed in some parts of the East African Swahili coast, especially on the Lamu archipelago, in the context of central occasions of Islamic life. For instance, it is chanted prior to a *darsa* ‘lecture’ on the exegesis of the Qur’an during the holy month of Ramadhan, during the *mawlid*⁷ festival, and when performing rites of passage ceremonies. However, the role of *Hamziyya* manuscripts in the context of Swahili-Islamic rituals, healing, transfer of knowledge and seeking of transcendental rewards or worldly benefits, such as *baraka* ‘blessing power’, remains unclear.

Many manuscript cultures, for instance, in Europe, have developed methods and procedures for manuscript study that include palaeographic, codicological and philological analysis, and some philological or critical text editions of Swahili poetry, such as Allen (1971) on *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*⁸ and Mieke (2004) on *Liyongo Songs*, exist. However, studies on Swahili *Hamziyya* manuscripts based on the above-mentioned scientific methods have been relatively few. Nor are there studies linked to sociological or anthropological perspectives on the role of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts in oral performances.

In addition, there are few accounts of Swahili manuscript production techniques, such as bookbinding, paper, pen and ink manufacturing processes (Biersteker and Plane 1989). Some works, such as those of Hichens (1939), Allen (1981) and Digby (1975), tackle the above-mentioned subject very briefly. Digby (1975:49-55), for example, mentions codicological features of an 18th century Qur’anic manuscript that was obtained from Witu, Northern Kenya. He relates the history of the manuscript, and describes its physical properties with respect to watermarked and non-watermarked

⁶ The paper types of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts vary from manuscript to manuscript. Some show watermarks, some are ruled, and some are plain, such as *Ay*, *Nc* and *Di*. More elaborations on these elements are given in Chapter III.

⁷ The Swahili term *maulidi* is derived from Arabic; *mawlid*, which connotes the festival held to mark the birth of the Prophet Muhammad in the Swahili cultural landscape.

⁸ The title, *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*, literally means ‘*The ballad of Mwana Kupona*.’

papers, bookbinding materials, illuminated headings, calligraphic style, type of scripts and the content of its colophon.

Allen (1981:17-22) re-examined the same Qur'an manuscript and gave an historical account of the Sultan of Witu and the production of manuscripts in the Swahili cultural area, in general. He contended that Siyu was an important center in the dissemination of Islamic knowledge and as a result, it flourished with renowned scholars and professional manuscript scribes. Here, for centuries, there was extensive production of paper and bookbinding materials and a tradition of manuscript copying activities.

Hichens' (1939:122) work deals with a classical Swahili poetic work: the poem *al-Inkishafi* 'the soul's awakening', which he translated and annotated. Besides this, he gave some details on the types and ingredients of Swahili inks. For instance, he described two types of ink that are manufactured in the Swahili cultural area, namely, black and red ink. Generally, he noted that the production of black ink involved combining carbonic and acidic substances such as soot, burnt rice and gum Arabic, whereas red ink was usually organic and commonly extracted naturally from plants such as *mzinjifuri* 'Bixa Orellana', which produced a reddish-orange dye. Though some Swahili scholars such as Hichens (1939) and Allen (1981) analysed the production of manuscripts, and discussed inks and bookbinding techniques in the Swahili cultural area, comprehensive studies on the above subject are yet to be carried out.

Swahili manuscripts are commonly produced in codex form, bound between leather folders or hard paper covers, with or without flaps, with the spines either threaded or glued. In rare cases, some manuscripts have been produced in scrolls, for instance, the *Verses of Liongo Fumo*, OR 4534, currently preserved in the British Library, London. The scroll consists of approximately 7 leaves, which are glued together at their short edges to form one long sheet of paper.⁹ However, there are few academic works that tackle basic features in the area of Swahili codicology and the "archaeology" of

⁹ Ms. OR 4534 is dated approximately 1891 and measures 1940 mm by 160 mm. I appreciated the efforts of Ms. Marion Wallace of The British Library, London, Ms. Stefanie Kolbusa of The Aga Khan University (International), London and Ms. Angelica Baschiera of SOAS, London, who assisted me with access to the manuscript.

Swahili manuscript culture. This work, therefore, calls for future comprehensive research in this field.

Academic studies on the biographies of scribes, copyists and custodians of manuscripts, such as Mwalimu Sikujua, Muḥammad Kijuma¹⁰ and Sir Mbarak Hinawy,¹¹ who played an important role in the production and preservation of Swahili manuscripts are also lacking. One exceptional monograph, i.e., Abdulaziz (1979) - *Muyaka: 19th Century Swahili Popular Poetry*, discusses the poet, the scribe¹², the collector¹³, the socio-political and cultural setting of the poet's period and the accessed manuscripts. This work examines in detail the manuscripts' sources, the collection, orthography, form, language, diction and style of Muyaka's poetry. Since then, no other work with such comprehensive coverage of a manuscript, its written sources and the cultural background of its scribes or authors has appeared in Swahili academic circles.

As for the *Hamziyya*, Hichens' (1936) work seems to be the first scholarly account that describes the London, SOAS, Ms 53823, its text and the biography of *Šayḥ* 'Aydarūs'. The much later works of Mutiso (2001, 2005) and Olali (2012) admit that a comprehensive life story of 'Aydarūs himself may no longer be retrievable, due to the fact that those who would be able to give accounts of his life have long since died.

Accordingly, existing studies of the *Hamziyya* mainly focus on transliteration, translation and explanation of its contents (Hichens 1934, Knappert 1968 and Mutiso

¹⁰ Recently, some scholars, such as Miede & Vierke (2010) have examined the works and life of the scribe Kijuma (also spelt 'Kijumwa'). However, Abdulaziz (1979:74/98) mentions a number of poets, scribes and authors, contemporaries of Muyaka (d.1840) such as Mohammed Ahmed al-Mambassy (d.1880?) and Ali Koti (d.1860) whose manuscripts, biographies and contributions are dearly in need of research.

¹¹ Notably, Sir Mbarak Hinawy was a prominent figure who played an important role in the compilation, preservation and popularization of Swahili manuscripts during the British colonial period in Kenya.

¹² The manuscript scribe was Mwalimu Sikujua (d.1890).

¹³ The Christian Missionary Society (CMS) of England sent Rev. William Ernest Taylor (1856-1927) to the Kenyan coast for Christian missionary work. During his stay in Mombasa, Taylor became very interested in the Swahili language and spent most of his time learning it. As a result of this effort, Taylor contributed hugely to early collecting of Swahili-Arabic manuscripts, some of which are now in the British Library and SOAS, London. The preservation of Muyaka's manuscripts can be attributed to his efforts (Frankl 1999).

2005). While the works on the *Hamziyya* conducted by these scholars are valuable, studies that analyse the production and use of manuscripts in Swahili society are lacking. Hence, philological, palaeographical and codicological studies of Swahili manuscripts are necessary in order to contribute to the scientific knowledge of manuscripts and to cultural studies.

This work, therefore, contributes to manuscriptology in general and Swahili-Islamic literature in particular. It may also contribute, to a certain extent, to the preservation of the cultural heritage (which is probably facing extinction) of the Swahili people, whose art and skills in manuscripts are understudied (as compared to other manuscript cultures in Europe, Asia and West Africa). The work may also suggest to future researchers' avenues to further develop Swahili manuscript studies by filling the aforementioned research gaps. These gaps may not be tackled fully in this thesis, because this work will focus mainly on the study of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts. Many other Swahili manuscripts need similar comprehensive manuscriptological investigation.

1.2. Definition of terms

This section defines key technical terms from the fields of Islamic, Arabic and Swahili studies and the emergent discipline of manuscriptology. Recently, the Center for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Hamburg, has developed a comprehensive approach to the study of manuscript cultures in the field of philology, palaeography, codicology, art history and material analysis. As a result, some technical terms in manuscript studies have been re-examined and reviewed (cf. Ciotti & Lin 2016, Friedrich 2016, Sobieroj 2016). These newly reviewed technical terms will be applied in this work whenever necessary. Moreover, since I am dealing with manuscripts from Swahili-Islamic tradition in East Africa, the researcher will use a number of terms from Swahili and Islamic studies too. The rationale for applying these terms is as follows:

The terminology used in the Islamic manuscript tradition is well known in the Muslim world and international academic forums. Some terms, for example, *tamalluk* 'possession' and *waqfiyya* 'bequest' statements have a technical

connotation in Islamic law and jurisprudence (Hunwick & O’Fahey 1981, Sābiq 2007, Gacek 2012). Publications on Islamic codicology and studies of manuscripts in Arabic script not only provide fundamental concepts needed to understand the physical and textual features of a manuscript but also outline useful terminology that may be applied to a number of aspects of the Swahili-Islamic manuscript tradition (cf. Déroche 2005, Brinkmann & Wiesmüller 2009, Bausi et al. 2015, Gacek 2012). Depending on the context or the subject matter, some of the words borrowed from Arabic into Swahili have more than one meaning, for instance, *sherehe* (Ar. *ṣarḥ*),¹⁴ and may be subject to various interpretations too. The preference here, therefore, to use words from the Arabic language in their Arabic (not Swahili) technical sense.

Established Swahili terms will still be applied in this work whenever viable. For instance, the well-known terminologies in the field of Swahili poetry such as *mizani* ‘syllables of the metric foot’, *kina* (pl. *vina*) ‘rhyme’, *kipande* (pl. *vipande*) ‘half-lines’, *mshororo* (pl. *mishororo*) ‘a poetic line in a given verse’ and *ubeti* (pl. *beti*) ‘stanza’, will be used in the analysis of Swahili poems.

The corpus includes Islamic text(s) and paratexts (such as *Ay, Am, Af, Di, Hu, Ka, Ko, Sa*) whose media of instruction is Arabic. Generally speaking, all the *Hamziyya* manuscripts are framed in the Swahili-Islamic cultural context and are usually used for oral performances and in the domain of transfer of Islamic knowledge. Moreover, the paratexts contain Islamic statements such as *waqfiyya* and *tamalluk* (see below), which are also framed in Arabic. In the corpus, Swahili appears mainly in the *tarjama* texts and Nabahany’s *sherehe*, ‘commentary’. All these considerations suggested that it was preferable to use Arabic/Islamic terminology when analysing the texts. There is also the point that using purely Swahili terms raises issues of equivalence (i.e., do they actually cover the same things?) and usage (i.e., what terms do people discussing these texts actually use?), and would require detailed consideration

¹⁴ The term *sherehe*, for example, in Mohamed, A.M. (2011: 681) *Comprehensive Swahili English Dictionary* (CSED), is defined as, “i) celebration or festivity, ii) an analysis of report of a book or article by someone else: review, iii) blurb: a promotional, as on a book, jacket, especially one that is highly laudatory, and iv) glossary (cf. the word *faharasa* in the same work of Mohamed, 2011:140).

of which key terms should be applied. For example, *matn* could be replaced with *matini*, *tarjama* with *tarajuma* or *tafsiri*, *taḥmis* with *takhamisa* or *utano* and *ḥawāšīn* with *hawashini*. Some Swahili terms, such as *ḥawāšīn* may require long, involved phrases: For instance, *maelezo ya kando kando, sherehe amabatanishi, sherehe ya ziada, sherehe na ‘maongezi ya maelezo ya kando kando or maandishi ambatanishi’* could be introduced. But this means adapting Arabic/Islamic terms which the Swahili themselves use in a variety of contexts/issues even today, in many cases simply modifying the Arabic sounds to Swahili phonology (e.g., *waqf* → *wakfu*, *tamalluk* → *tamalaki*). The researcher agrees that there is an argument for seeking to extend and standardise purely Swahili terms in this field, but he is concerned that seeking to do so in this thesis might be subject to dispute, and would go beyond the research question he has set out.

The terms and their definitions are as follows:

***Ḥāšīya* (pl. *ḥawāšīn*):** According to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (E.I.: 1979:268), the term *ḥāšīya* is used to mean (1) the margin of pages, where notes could be written, (2) the marginal note itself, and, (3) gloss, used in the singular, undoubtedly as a profession of modesty, giving the titles of independent works, and at times of some length, dealing with comments on subjects treated by earlier authors. In this work, it applies more specifically to, (i) glosses or notes in Arabic or Swahili explaining the meaning of specific words from the main (Arabic) and secondary (Swahili) texts (i.e., *matn* and *tarjama* respectively), and (ii) short notes quoted from a commentary (*ṣarḥ*) text and/or the annotator’s own notes. If these short notes are quoted from a well-known *ṣarḥ*, then at the end of the quotation the annotator writes the word *ṣarḥ* and the title of the *ṣarḥ* text from which he took the passage. Generally, the glosses or notes may be placed haphazardly (diagonally, vertically, horizontally, marginally) or in an organised form, i.e., between the *matn* and *tarjama*. The *ḥawāšīn* are categorized as paratexts in this work.

***Madīḥ*:** In Sperl and Shackle (1996:509), the term *madīḥ* is used to mean “encomium or the panegyric section of a *qaṣīda*.” In this work, it is used more specifically to refer to a panegyric poem, which eulogizes the Prophet.

Matn: According to *Qāmūs Mu’jam al-Wasīt* (QMW) (n.d.), the term *matn* (*al-kitāb*, i.e., of a written text) is used to refer to “the original text, which appears besides *al-šarḥ* ‘commentary’ and *al-ḥawāšīn* ‘glosses’, *naṣṣ al-aṣlī* ‘the text proper’, that is to say, the actual or main written content matter which other texts explain.” In the science of *Hadīth* (traditional accounts of the Prophet) the word *matn* means “the actual statement or information relating to the Prophet” (Azami 1977:32). In this work, it is used to refer to the main text of al-Būṣīrī of the Arabic *Hamziyya*.

MTM: According to Friedrich & Schwarke (2016:15-16), the term Multiple-Text Manuscript (MTM), “designates a codicological unit ‘worked in a single operation’ (Gumbert, 2010) with two or more texts or a ‘production unit’ resulting from one production process delimited in time and space (Andrist, Canart, Maniaci, 2013). On the other hand, ‘composite’ seemingly is already established in the sense as used by Gumbert and others and refers to a codicological unit which is made up of formerly independent units.”

In this work, following the definition above, a manuscript that contains only one text, e.g., the *matn* only, is termed as a Single Text Manuscript (STM). A MTM in this work means any codicological unit with two or more texts copied together in “one production process”, e.g., the *matn* and a *šarḥ*. However, if a codex contains two texts which are arranged in a specific layout (for instance, each verse consists of the *matn* interlinearised with the *tarjama*), and the texts are produced under “one roof” (i.e. share a single title, *basmalah* ‘opening formula’ and copyist’s colophon), then the codex, in this form, will be termed a STM. Moreover, any codex that has a single text (e.g. *matn* only) with paratexts, such as *tamalluk* ‘ownership’, *waqfiyya* ‘bequest’ statements and *ḥawāšīn* ‘annotations’ will still be referred to as a STM due to the fact that paratexts are thresholds (also termed as “doorways”) that introduce readers to the text and are not text proper (for more details on this subject, see the definition of a paratext below).

Accordingly, a MTM, a composite or *al-majmū’* ‘a collection of texts, is understood here to be a codex that consists of several independent codicological units, e.g., the *matn*, and other texts of related or unrelated subjects, which were not planned right from the start of their operation to be in a single codex but were later on bound

together to form a codex. In the corpus we have both MTMs and STMs. Their textual characteristics are discussed further in 3.4.

Paratexts: According to Genette (1987: xviii), paratexts are the thresholds (Fr. *seuils*) or liminal devices and conventions: the titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, epigraphs, dedications, prefaces, intertitles, notes, and epilogues, that mediate a book to the readers. The above definition of “paratexts”, however, is somewhat limited because, firstly, it does not include some “doorways” or “gateways” such as glosses, and secondly, it focuses on printed books in western studies. Recently, researchers¹⁵ have re-defined the term and further widened its scope to include a variety of items, such as orality, films, television and digital media. Moreover, they also add liminal devices which are not mentioned by Genette (1987), for example, glosses, glossary and subscriptions (Watson 2010, Ciotti & Lin 2016:vii). In this work, therefore, the term “paratext” is used to mean all those “doorways” or liminal devices that guide or provide more information about a manuscript to a reader. Statements that appear beside or within the folios of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts, such as *tamalluk*, *waqfiyya* statements, *hāšiya* and colophons, even if they have specific functions related to the text, will be considered as paratexts in this work because they are not the core-content of the main text. According to Ciotti & Lin (2016:vii), the paratexts’ functions in manuscripts are categorized into three groups – namely: “1) structuring i.e. offering navigation aids that guide the reader, such as table of contents: 2) commenting e.g. glosses and annotations that offer interpretations and explanations of a text, and 3) documenting.” Details on the paratexts of the *Hamziyya* corpus are given in 3.8.

Šarḥ: According to QMW (n.d.), the term *šarḥ* means: “To explain in a simple way, to clarify, to translate, to reveal out what is hidden.” In this work, the term *šarḥ* refers to an explanation or commentary of a greater or lesser length of a given text. The term *šarḥ* itself may not cover the entire semantic domain of “commentary.” It may mean authors’ or copyists’ expansion, explanation and comments on texts such the *matn* and *tarjama*. Unlike the *hāšiya*, the *šarḥ* provides more information on the *matn* or *tarjama* text in an organised manner, carries a new title and can be compiled later on as an independent codex or a book, such as *al-Minaḥ al-Makiyyah Šarḥ al-Hamziyya* (henceforth, *al-Minaḥ*). A *šarḥ* that is presented in an organised layout, i.e. in full

¹⁵ See, for example, Watson 2010 and Ciotti & Lin 2016.

sentences and paragraphs, which explains either the *matn* or *tarjama*, will be considered here as an independent subsidiary text and not a paratext. For more information on this subject, see 3.5.5.

Swahilo-Arabic script: This refers to a Swahili writing system based on the Arabic script, which may have been expanded by extra characters derived by additional diacritical marks and thus deviating from the original Arabic letters, for example, پ [p] to designate “p” in *pata* ‘to get, to obtain’ and چ [ʧ] to designate “ch” in *chama* ‘society, union’. The word ‘script’ is used intentionally here to imply that the Swahili have intellectually contributed to the creation of their own writing system by modifying the Arabic characters they have adopted.¹⁶

Swahilo-Latin script: Harries (1962:17) terms the Swahili writing that uses Roman¹⁷ characters as “Swahili Roman.” In this work instead, the term Swahilo-Latin script is used, in analogy to Swahilo-Arabic script, to mean a Swahili writing system based on Latin characters.¹⁸

Tahmīs: Following Abdulaziz’ (1979:56-7) definition, the term *tahmīs* in Arabic prosodology means ‘to make five’, i.e. amplifying a well-known *qaṣīda* by adding three half-lines prior to the original two half-lines of a *matn* to make a verse of five half-lines. A different author, irrespective of time and space, usually composes the three *tahmīs* lines.¹⁹ In this work, the additional three lines will be referred to as the three ‘*tahmīs* lines’ or in some cases the ‘*tahmīs* incipit verses’ while the whole poem (i.e. 3 *tahmīs* half-lines plus 2 half-lines of *matn*) will be referred to as the ‘*tahmīs* poem’ or simply the ‘*tahmīs al-Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī’. The ‘*tahmīs* lines’ are part of an organised layout system and are added systematically in the beginning of each

¹⁶ See for example: Frankl, P.J.L. & Omar, Y. A (1997) and Sharawy (2005:171-182) on a letter of *Ṣayḥ* al-Amīn b. Alī, on reformation of the writing of Swahili in Arabic script. See also, Maw (1981:227-29), and Daniels & Bright (1996:745), on the Swahili writing system in Arabic script.

¹⁷ For the sake of consistency in application of terms, the word ‘Latin’ instead of ‘Roman’ is used in this work with specific reference to the Swahili writing system in Latin characters.

¹⁸ More details on the Swahili writing systems are elaborated by Maw (1981:225-247).

¹⁹ In Swahili prosody, a *takhmisa* or *utano* poem technically consists of five lines, but it is usually composed by a single author (King’ei & Kemoli 2001:20).

matn's verse (cf. 3.5.2). In this context, they are considered in this work as a subsidiary text (of the *matn*) and not a paratext.

Tamalluk statement: This term is used to mean a statement or declaration of ownership that informs a reader about the name of a person who possessed a codex, manuscript or book and opted to leave a written record of that ownership. The statement may include details such as the phrase: 'this book is owned by....', followed by the name of the original owner, birthplace and year of declaration in the *al-hijra* calendar. A *tamalluk* statement is considered as a paratext in this work. For further examples on *tamalluk* statements and samples (i.e. in the Yemeni manuscript tradition), see Hollenberg et al. (2015:218-21), and for detailed elements of *tamalluk* statements in the Islamic tradition, see Déroche (2005:335), For examples on the same issue in Swahili manuscript culture, see section 3.8.1.

Tarjama (pl. tarājim): In Wehr (1979:112) the word *tarjama* means "a translation". In this work, the word *tarjama* will mean, generally, a translation, and specifically, the Swahili *Hamziyya*, which is a poetic translation/rendition of the Arabic *Hamziyya* (i.e. the *matn*). Also, in this work, there are three types of *tarājim* (the 'Aydarūs, Chimwini and Tumbatu versions) which render poetically the *matn* into Swahili (see Chapter III). In addition, there is an English translation of the 'Aydarūs' *tarjama* which is in prose and authored by Hichens (see *Hi*). This type of text is viewed as a secondary one as it translates the *tarjama* into English and not the *matn*.

Waqfiyya statement: According to Sābiq (2009:516), the term *waqf* means "setting aside a mortmain for holy use only." The term *waqfiyya* derives from it by nominalization and refers to a deed of an endowment written in a codex informing the reader that the codex is dedicated for a holy use only. The statement may include a number of elements such as:

- (i) *basmalah* 'opening formula',
- (ii) name of the owner or heir,
- (iii) declaration of the manuscript as a *waqfiyya* codex,
- (iv) a quote from Qur'ān 2:181, and
- (v) a stamp. See further details on this subject in 3.8.1.

A *waqfiyya* statement is regarded as a paratext in this work.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The study aims to describe the Swahili manuscript forms of *Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya* in a comparative manner (1.3.1) and tries to establish their usages and functions in Swahili society (1.3.2).

1.3.1. The description of the *Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya* (QH) manuscript forms

The study aims to:

i) Describe and analyse the *Hamziyya* manuscript forms in regard to features of their layout, such as the arrangements of poetic texts, the number of columns, and their physical properties, i.e. paper types, bookbinding materials and inks. The central question regarding the forms here is to what extent do the manuscripts concur or differ to one another in terms of their textual layout features and physical appearance?

ii) Investigate and analyse the inter-relationships of the manuscripts in their divergent forms. For instance, what is the relationship between the languages and scripts in the manuscripts? Why do some manuscripts have poetic texts and others have prose texts? Why do we have an Arabic *Hamziyya* text with ample glosses or a glossary text of the *Hamziyya* ? The idea here is to analyse the manuscripts along such parameters in order to link them with their possible usages and functions.

1.3.2. Studying the usages and functions of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts in Swahili society

A second aim of the study here is to find out when, how, where, by whom and for what purpose are the manuscripts produced? What are their usages and functions? Do the *Hamziyya* manuscripts function as aids for memorisation, transfer of knowledge or apotropaic texts? Are all types of variant manuscript (monolingual or interlinear bilingual, simple bilingual) involved? Or are specific types of manuscripts relevant to this context?

1.4. Literature review

This section offers a general review of the literature pertaining to the definition of a *qaṣīda* (1.4.1), the themes and structure of the classical *qaṣīda* and the Arabic *Hamziyya*, i.e. the *matn* (1.4.2), the Swahili *Hamziyya*, i.e. *tarjama*, its definition, origin and structure (1.4.3), the state of the art on studies of the Swahili *Hamziyya*

manuscripts (1.4.4), and the Swahili *Hamziyya* in oral performances (1.4.5). The main research gaps in the study are also highlighted within the discussion.

It is important to explain key words, such as *qaṣīda* and *Hamziyya*, as used in Swahili and Arabic/Islamic works. The word *qaṣīda*, for example, is discussed here (see 1.4.1) because it is frequently used throughout the thesis. Using this as a starting point, related concepts about the layout and poetic structure of the *Hamziyya*, and the authors of the *matn* and the *tarjama* are briefly introduced, though the main discussion on these concepts appears in Chapter III, IV and V.

We have to bear in mind that the Swahili interactions with the orient occurred for centuries, and as a result the acculturation and assimilation of culture as well as the borrowing of religious terms and Islamic traditions were intensive and inevitable. Arabic terms, such *qaṣīda* (Sw. *kasida*), *matn* (Sw. *matini*), and *tarjama* (Sw. *tarajama*), show that the Swahili borrowed such terms and adapted them in their vocabulary. Although the *qaṣīda* was practiced in a religious cultural context, though in an African environment, we have limited knowledge about the role the *Hamziyya* manuscripts play in oral performances and the transfer of knowledge, and this thesis attempts to address these issues. The literature review, therefore, explores Islamic-Arabic works defining Arabic terms such as *qaṣīda* and *Hamziyya*, summarises their application in the Swahili cultural context, and then identifies gaps in research on the *Qaṣīda Hamziyya*.

1.4.1. What is *qaṣīda*?

The Arabic term *qaṣīda* (pl. *qaṣā'id*) is derived from the lexical root *qāṣāda* that literally means, “to aim at”. Technically, it implies a laudatory, elegiac or satiric ode developed in the seventh century, the pre-Islamic (*jāhiliyya*) period of Arabia, and maintained throughout Islamic literary history into the present. According to Al-Tibrīzī d. 502 AH (*Encyclopaedia Britannica (EB)*, 2007:832), the ode²⁰ usually consists of sixty to one hundred lines, which maintain a single end rhyme through the entire piece. In classical Arabic poetry, a line of poetry, may be considered as a *bayt*, literally ‘a house’ and technically ‘a stanza’. It is composed of two half-lines, also termed hemistichs, each of which is known as a *miṣrā'* ‘a door-flap’. The first half-

²⁰ Sometimes the term “poem” may also be used for *Hamziyya*.

line is called the *ṣadr* ‘chest’, and the other is called the *‘ajuz* ‘rear’. However, since a *bayt* of *Hamziyya* consists of a single line (two half-lines) per verse, in this work the complete line is called a ‘stanza’.

Early scholars on the subject tried to define the term qaṣīda by its structural form. Ibn Qutayba (828-885), for example, views *qaṣīda* as a mono-rhymed ode with a tripartite structure consisting of *nasīb* ‘amatory prelude’, *raḥīl* ‘desert journey’ and *madīḥ* ‘panegyric’ themes (Jacobi 1996:27).

Ibn Qutayba’s explanation of *qaṣīda* may be considered standard, and probably influenced later scholars’ definitions. Generally, any Arabic ode which eulogizes the Prophet and is also relatively long (approximately 100 stanzas), mono-rhymed and poly-thematic qualifies as a *qaṣīda*. Good examples of such odes are *Bānat Su‘ād*, *al-Burda* and *Tabāraka*.

Ibn Qutayba’s definition seems to have been based on the *qaṣā’id* known as the *al-Mu‘allaqāt* ‘suspended odes’ composed during the *Jāhiliyya* ‘pre-Islamic’ period in the Arabian Peninsula (*EB (digital edition)*)²¹. Later on, some *qaṣā’id*, such as *Bānat Su‘ād* were modified to suit the context of Islamic teachings and traditions though they maintained the poetic structure of their period of composition during the pre-Islamic period (Haykal 1976). Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr composed the *qaṣīda Bānat Su‘ād* in the seventh century, and after professing Islam he modified some verses in it and inserted *madīḥ*, ‘praises’, verses to eulogize the Prophet Muḥammad. (*EI, digital edition, 2015* and Jayyusi 1996).

Following a conference on the *qaṣīda* at SOAS, London, in 1993, some modern scholars have re-defined *qaṣīda*, though their definitions still draw on Ibn Qutayba’s view. Some scholars define the term using additional information about the genre’s dissemination in other parts of the Muslim world, given that over the years the *qaṣīda* was taken up by many non-Arab cultures. For instance, Sperl & Shackle (1996:510) state that the *qaṣīda* is “a poly-thematic mono-rhymed poem which is the premier genre of Arabic poetry and which has been further developed in many literatures of the Islamic world.”

²¹ See: www.britannica.com/al-muallaqat, retrieved on 25th November 2015

While it is a well-known fact that the *qaṣīda* genre spread in many non-Arab regions, some scholars are of the opinion that the term, in such societies, was adapted strictly to mean any religious poetic composition. Abdulaziz (1996:413), for example, drawing the contrast between sacred and secular poems in Swahili society asserts that: “The word ‘*qaṣīda*’ came to mean specifically panegyrics that eulogize the Prophet, and also strictly religious poetry which is sung or chanted at religious occasions. The word adopted for poetry in general and secular poetry in particular was *mashairi* (from Arabic *shi‘r*).”

Abdulaziz’ view represents a Swahili-Islamic perspective on the term “*qaṣīda*”. He distinguishes between religious ode and the Swahili *mashairi* ‘quatrain poems’, which are mostly sung or recited in secular settings in the environment of Swahili traditional ceremonies.

In summary, it seems that, despite the fact that some modern scholars redefine the term “*qaṣīda*” with specific reference to the society they study, the concept of *madīḥ* is still central to their views, and Ibn Qutayba’s definition of the term “*qaṣīda*” still stands as a key yardstick.

1.4.2. The themes and structure of the classical *qaṣīda* and the Arabic *Hamziyya (matn)*

The *qaṣīda* of the *jāhiliyya* ‘pre-Islamic’ period, once modified to Islamic thematic context and tradition, became an admired example of a composition honoured by the Prophet and his companions (Haykal 1976). It was regarded as having special appeal, beautiful language and *baraka* ‘blessing power’. Many other great poets of later times imitated the themes and the poetic structure of the genre. Generally, *qaṣā’id* of various themes continued to be composed during the time of the Prophet Muḥammad and became accommodated in Islamic oral literature and traditions for centuries.

During the jāhiliyya period, the traditional thematic structure of a qaṣīda was to start the ode with a short prelude, the naṣīb, where the poet announces his sadness at missing his beloved, usually at an encampment from which she has already moved on. He further describes raḥīl, or events in the desert, i.e. a description of his camel, Bedouin life and warfare. This is merged with a piece of faḥr ‘self-praise’. The main

theme of *madīh* ‘panegyric’, often coupled with *hijā* ‘satire’ against a rival tribe, concludes the poem. At this juncture, the poet pays tribute to his tribe and his kinsmen and declares his loyalty to his chief.

However, apart from such themes, the *qaṣīda* composition has to fulfil certain prosodic conditions for it to be considered as such. In its poetic structure, it ought to maintain a meter with a specific number of syllable units. These are calculated in such a manner as to fit into the two equal half-lines per stanza. The first half-line bears no rhyme, while the second has an end-rhyme that remains constant throughout the ode (see also 1.4.1). The syllable of this constant end-rhyme determines the name of the *qaṣīda*. *If the end syllable, for example, is ʃ “lām” then the ode is called “lāmiyya” and if the end-rhyme syllable is ʕ “hamza” then it is called “Hamziyya.”*

In the thirteenth century, *al-Burda* and the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī were composed in accordance with the classical ode system. Lengthwise, the *Hamziyya*, having 456 stanzas, is approximately three times longer than *al-Burda* (which has 162 stanzas). Like other Arabic odes, the *Hamziyya* conforms to the poetic style and structure of the classical *qaṣā'id*, and as a result has become renowned both in Arabic literature and the wider Muslim world.

Importantly, both poems became popular for their eulogy (*madīh*) of the Prophet and their appeal to pursue piety and depend on divine intervention, as well as their healing power generally. It is said that al-Būṣīrī was miraculously cured from a chronic illness through the recitation of *al-Burda*. In this regard, it appears, *al-Burda* features more profoundly than *Hamziyya* in the context of apotropaic manuscripts (Zakariyya 1995).

The themes in the *Hamziyya* elaborate those in *al-Burda*. In a nutshell, the themes focus on the Prophet’s biography from birth to his migration to Medina, the virtues of the *Qur’an*, the resistance of the Jews and Nazarenes to the faith of Islam, criticisms of the hypocrites of Medina and the unbelievers of Mecca, the poet’s anxiety to visit Medina, his desert journey, praises for the Prophet and his family, and finally, the poet’s lamentations and his desire for divine intervention to address his shortcomings.

1.4.3. The *tarjama* (of ‘Aydarūs): origin, definition and structure²²

Islamic scholarship and Arabic writing influenced Swahili non-material culture in many ways. The Swahili borrowed from the Arabs much of their orthographical symbols, art and architectural design, healing methods, religious sciences and poetry (Abdulaziz 1995). This should not be misinterpreted to mean that the Swahili did not have their own verse-forms or cultural traditions prior to the arrival of the Arabs in their region. A *tumbuizo*, ‘lullaby’ and quatrain, poems for example, may have been transmitted orally for centuries in Swahili land. Although the *tumbuizo* metric lines may vary in terms of syllables per half-line, it usually maintains a rhyme scheme in each stanza. The quatrain, like those of Muyaka, seems to be quite original in their metric and rhyme scheming system as well.

The influence of the Arabic literary tradition on Swahili society is enormous, especially through the writing and translation of classical Islamic works. Vierke (2014) asserts that the largest body of Swahili ancient texts consists of poetical versification. The earlier Swahili manuscripts drew on religious traditions expressed by the composition of long poems, probably due to the fact that *madrassa* teachers played an important role in the transmission and preservation of religious works. Manuscripts on healing skills, business contracts, letters, agreements and political correspondence also exist, but usually in the domain of private individuals (Samsom 2014).

The Arabic influence on Swahili *qaṣīda* and its development in the Swahili cultural area can be traced from the translations of the great panegyrics that eulogize the Prophet Muḥammad (Abdulaziz 1996:412). In many East African collections one may still find manuscripts containing *qaṣā'id* and also Islamic religious canonical texts in Arabic rendered into Swahili (Samsom 2012, 2013 and 2014). These include *al-Burda*, *Tabāraka dhil ūlā*, *Bānat Su‘ād* and *Hamziyya*.

The manuscript that bears the *tarjama* of *Šayḥ* ‘Aydarūs’ (AV), currently preserved in SOAS Library, London, seems to be the earliest known existing Swahili translation

²² In the preliminary discussion (1.4.3, above), only the *tarjama* of the ‘Aydarūs’ version is addressed. The other *tarājim* (the Chimwini and Tumbatu ones) are examined in chapter III, section 3.9.2.

rendered from the original Arabic (Abdulaziz 1979:150). The lineage of the translator is traced from Pate, Lamu. Hichens (1972:10) provides a genealogical chart of the author's extended family that commences with his great ancestor - *Šayh* Abū Bakr b. Sālim (d. 1584). The author's cousin was the famous Sayyid 'Abdallah Naṣr (1720-1820), the author of another well-known Swahili classical poem, *al-Inkishafi* (see also Chapter IV).

The information we have about 'Aydarūs is that he was a *Šūfi* cleric and a profound scholar in Islamic studies and the Arabic and Swahili languages. His great-grandfather's roots are traced from 'Ināt, Wādī Masīla, near the Tarīm village in Yemen (Hichens 1939). These were among the *šarīf* (i.e. Prophet's offspring) who came to settle in East Africa by the 15th century. The *Šūfi* sub-groups, especially the al-'Alawiyya *Šūfi tariqa*²³ (Ahmed 1995, Bang 2003, Sameja, n.d.) migrants from Tarīm and Haḍhramaut in the Yemen, made an enormous contribution to Islamic scholarship and transfer of knowledge in East Africa (cf. Chapter IV). They were also conversant with Arabic poetry and they thus impart poetic skills to the Swahili communities they often interact with.

Many of the early Swahili texts were produced by scholars of the caliber of 'Aydarūs and Sayyid²⁴ 'Abdallah Nāṣr. By that time, manuscripts reflecting the Swahili-Islamic tradition were well established in the Lamu archipelago and had spread elsewhere in the East African region, suggesting that the Swahili who learnt Arabic poetry proceeded to compose poems in their own language.

Later literary works in manuscript forms include translations and commentaries on classical Arabic texts. Among the most prominent writers in this category is Sayyid al-Manṣab (d. 1922), a theologian and a jurist in Lamu, whose lineage is also traced from 'Aydarūs' great ancestor, *Šayh* Abū Bakr b. Sālim (Hichens 1939:10). 'Aydarūs, being a member of a family that valued scholarship, used his skills in Arabic and Swahili poetry to translate the *qaṣīda Hamziyya* from Arabic into the Swahili

²³ The al-'Alawiyya mystic order was originally founded in Yemen.

²⁴ Terminologically, *Sayyid* refers to descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib through al-Ḥusayn, *Šarīf* is used for the descendants of al-Ḥassan.

“language variety” described as Kingozi²⁵ by a number of scholars who have studied it, such as Hichens 1939:17, Knappert 1978: 57, Mkelle 1976:71, Mutiso 2005:34 and Olali 2012:142.

The *Hamziyya* is a poem aimed at the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad and its goal is to exalt and magnify him. Olali (2012) notes that the ode has an element of ‘beneficiary’ function and the translator ‘Aydarūs, like the poet himself, aspires to achieve blessing power (*baraka*), and to go to paradise by eulogizing the Prophet through composing the *tarjama*. Both odes (the Arabic and Swahili *Hamziyya*) play a significant role in the oral performances and transfer of knowledge in Swahili (cf. Chapter IV). In this context, it is likely that the first translator, ‘Aydarūs, was motivated to compose a *tarjama* so that non-Arabic speakers could understand its meaning in Swahili and use it on different occasions.

In its poetic structure the *tarjama* (of ‘Aydarūs) retains the system of two half-lines per stanza (like the Arabic one) but has a different end mono-rhyme i.e. *ma* and not the hamza end mono-rhyme in the Arabic *Hamziyya*. In terms of the number of stanzas, compared to the Arabic counterpart the ‘Aydarūs version is longer. This is because it has a separate incipit of eight stanzas, along with seventeen stanzas that conclude the poem. The contents of these additional stanzas are not part of the original Arabic *Hamziyya*.

Many attempts have also been made to define the poem in terms of structure and form. For example, from its rhyme form, Hinawy (Hichens 1936) contends that the Swahili *Hamziyya* should be considered a *mimiyya*. This term *mimiyya*, however, seems to feature only rarely in Swahili scholarly literature with specific reference to rhyme schemes. In Swahili prosodic terms, the usage of mid-rhyme (*kina cha kati*) and master rhyme (*kina cha kikomo*)²⁶ does not determine the name of a poem. An *utenzi* ‘ballad’, for instance, may have *kina cha kikomo* of *ma* (in each verse) but it

²⁵ In the context of the discussion on this thesis, Kingozi is viewed as a language variety. Kingozi seems to be an old Swahili variety and some of its few surviving words are still in use today, especially in poetic compositions. For a brief discussion on the Kingozi variety, see; Wamitila (2001: 28-31) and for further reading on the term language variety, refer to Parker, F. and Riley, K. 1994, 2005, Chapter 7: *Language Variation*, pp. 134-175.

²⁶ In Swahili prosody, *kina cha kikomo* can also be termed as *kina cha bahari* or *kituo*.

will always be called *utenzi* and not *mimiyya*. However, it is likely that Hinawy is categorizing the *Hamziyya* ode based on its form rather than its genre – that is, if the rhyme of a poem ends in *mīm*, then it becomes feasible to call it a *mimiyya*.

Mutiso (2005:1), in an attempt to give a wider perspective on the definition of the *tarjama* (of ‘Aydarūs), asserts that the *Hamziyya* can be considered “a book (*chuo*), an epic (*utenzi*), a poem marking the birth of the Prophet (*maulidi*), or just the *Hamziyya* on its own terms.”²⁷ And in regard to its style and structure, he suggests that “the *Hamziyya* is a poem in the *ukawafi* style, translated from another Arabic poem that has 456 stanzas with 15 syllables or beats in each line”.²⁸

This description may seem somewhat contradictory, because, “*tenzi*”, “*mawlidi*” and “*ukawafi*” may be structured differently in Swahili prosodic categorizations (Abedi 1954, Shariff 1988).²⁹ The *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs, particularly, does not suitably fit into the description of the above-mentioned poetic categories. Generally, *ukawafi*, *tenzi* and *mawlidi* poems are not usually mono-rhymed and poly-thematic poems (Shariff 1988). In rare cases, some *mawlidi* poems may follow the *Hamziyya* poetic structure. *Tenzi* consist of four quarter-lines of eight syllables each with a constant master rhyme in each stanza (Shariff 1988:52). Moreover, the *tenzi* compositions need not discuss religious matters (Abedi 1954). The *ukawafi* category consists of 15 metrical syllables in a single line, i.e. each *mshororo* ‘strophe’ (Wamitila 2001: 54). Another bone of contention is that the *tarjama*’s meter consists of syllables that sum up to 30 units per verse and not 15. What Mutiso was probably referring to was a *kipande* (pl. *vipande*) ‘hemistich’ and not a full *mshororo*, which contains two *vipande*.

Accordingly, some scholars of Swahili poetry, such as Chiraghdin et al. (1975), are of the view that the word *Hamziyya* can also be interpreted to mean a poetic category (*bahari*) of a given poem in Swahili. That is to say, any poem that imitates the metric units and rhyme scheme of the ‘Aydarūs version can also be termed a *bahari* of

²⁷ The quote is in Swahili and reads as “*Chuo cha Hamziyya, Utenzi wa Hamziyya, Maulidi ya Hamziyya au Hamziyya tu.*”

²⁸ The quote is in Swahili and reads as “*Utungo wa aina ya ukawafi ambao ulitafsiriwa kutokana na utungo mwingine wa Kiarabu wenye beti mia nne na hamsini na sita na silabi au mizani kumi na tano, katika kila mshororo.*”

²⁹ See for example, Kresse 2006.

Hamziyya. Given the fact that now we have other Swahili *Hamziyya* poetic versions, i.e. the Chimwini and Tumbatu ones, which are differently structured, then the term *bahari* of *Hamziyya* should also be reviewed because these versions are structured differently from the ‘Aydarūs’ one (cf. Chapter III). However, if we are to take the ‘Aydarūs’ version as the standard, then this idea of considering it as a *bahari* may be workable. Recently, we find modern poets composing skilful Swahili poetry imitating the *bahari* of *Hamziyya* (based on the ‘Aydarūs’ version), such the *Utenzi wa Nguli*, which contains two half-lines, 30 syllables per verse and a master rhyme of *ma*.³⁰ The researcher is not aware of new poetic compositions that imitate the poetic styles of the Chimwini and Tumbatu versions.

The term *Hamziyya* cannot really be used to describe a *bahari* when categorizing Swahili poems but rather a poem in the style of *hamza*. If we are to do so, then there ought to be three types of *bahari*, i.e. the *Hamziyya* versions of ‘Aydarūs, Tumbatu and Chimwini. If we come across a new Swahili *Hamziyya* poetic rendition then the *bahari* categories will also increase.

1.4.4. The state of the art on studies of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts

Most of the works on the *Hamziyya* manuscripts are devoted to “deciphering” the Swahili text, i.e. transliteration from Swahili in Arabic script into Swahili in Latin script (Hichens 1936, Knappert 1968 – both works are incomplete, Mutiso, 2001), translation from Swahili into English (Hichens 1936, Knappert 1968 - both incomplete in this respect, and Olali 2012), giving a glossary comparing its Kingozi

³⁰ Abdalla (1975) states that “*Utenzi wa Nguli*.” which is composed by Ahmed Nassir, 1975:17, has been structured to follow the style of *Hamziyya*. The first three lines of the poem are re-produced below:

*Pulikato nambe ewe pofu pumbe wa mambo,
 nikwelezeto utizame mbele na nyuma
 ‘Takutondoleya uwauze na wenye bongo,
 watenzi wa mambo kwa welevu na kuyapima
 Mno sighurike kwa ujinga na kujigamba,
 kuteta ni moyo na ujuzi siyo kusema.*

Listen carefully, oh! The blind and unwise one,
 I advise you to look at things in your forefront and rear.
 You better consult the knowledgeable ones,
 who do their things skilfully and tactfully.
 Ignorance and boastfulness should not deceive your conscience,
 fighting requires a strong heart and skills, not mere talk.

words to equivalent modern Swahili ones (Knappert 1968, Mutiso 2005 and Olali 2012), and explaining its contents (Mutiso, 2002, Mutiso 2005, Olali 2011, 2012).

Similarly, existing philological analyses of the *qaṣīda Hamziyya* are mostly restricted to the text representations in individual manuscripts and focus on lexical features and linguistic peculiarities of the Swahili variety used (Mkelle 1976, Mutiso, 1996, 2005 and Olali 2012). Other *Hamziyya* versions, however, have not been discussed in any of the above works.

The earliest scholarly attempt to describe the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs (Ref: Ms. 53823, SOAS, London), was made by Hichens with some collaboration from Hinawy (Hichens 1936). Hichens briefly elaborates on the prosodic style of the two poems and the nature of the Swahili manuscript: its cover, binding system, paper and the origin of the authors. One also finds, to a certain extent, almost identical information in the introductory sections of manuscripts 53823 and 53827, SOAS, London. While this information is appreciated for providing a scholarly engagement on the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs, critically speaking, the approach had a number of shortcomings and raised a number of research issues.

Hichens (1936), for instance, provides sketchy information about the origin of Ms 53823 as having being sent to him by Muḥammad Kijumwa of Lamu in 1934 and describes the manuscript as of *nash* calligraphy style, with some of its papers watermarked and a colophon date of 1207 AH / 1793. He further states that the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs was completed in 1749. In his later publication, Hichens (1939) presents a genealogical chart that portrays ‘Aydarūs’ date of demise as 1749. Interestingly, this date coincides with the date of the translation of the *Hamziyya*. Hichens’ computation of dates, therefore, raises more questions than answers. The issue of the date of composition and the date of the SOAS, London, Ms. 53823 are discussed in 3.7.1.5 and 3.7.1.6.

Knappert (1968:55) critically reviews Hichens’ work on the dating of the manuscript and instead provides his own ‘estimates’: the translation work was done in 1652, ‘Aydarūs’ died circa 1700, and the colophon date of the manuscript is 1257 AH /

1841. Knappert concludes that the problem of dating may never be solved. This issue is re-addressed in Chapter III and IV.

In addition, Knappert (1968) gives his own background notes on the subject and tries to produce a critical text edition based on three of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts that were available to him at that point: Ms 53823, Ms B and Ms Y³¹. This attempt, however, was also incomplete and covers 60 stanzas only. A complete critical text edition for the *Hamziyya* manuscripts, therefore, is necessary because the work may serve as a good example for future researchers in Swahili manuscript cultures.

1.4.5. The *Hamziyya* in oral performances

The *Hamziyya* and *al-Burda* are still chanted today in religious gatherings, especially by al-‘Alawiyya *Ṣūfī tarīqa* followers, who regard them to have healing (Sw. *shufaa*) and blessing powers (Sw. *baraka*). The Swahili *Ṣūfī* clerics, generally, consider the *qaṣīda* recital, singing and other modes of ritual such as *dhikrī*³² as an important component of religion that has an element of *baraka* and pardon. (Al-Haitamī 2011, Bang, 2003:148, and Knappert, 1971: 147).

The *Hamziyya* is chanted and sung in Arabic only in the holy month of Ramadhan, particularly in *tarīqa* mosques and in a bilingual (Arabic, Swahili) form during the *mawlid* celebrations in East African coastal towns. There are indications that the chanting in bilingual form is also performed in other forums e.g. in a traditional wedding dance referred to as *Twari la ndiya* in Pate island, Lamu, Kenya (Olali 2012).

³¹ Knappert 1968 articulated that Ms. B was a typed transliteration obtained from Sharif A. A. Al-Badawy, 1963 and Ms. Y was a copy written by Mu’allim Yahya himself. Mu’allim Yahya Ali Omar (1924-2008), a Mombasa born Swahili scholar, taught Swahili language, as a lector in SOAS, since the 1970s. He specialized in Swahili language, history and religion. He taught generations of students from Kenya, Britain and USA, and also worked with prominent linguists, such as P.J.L. Frankl and K. Donnelly while at SOAS. He published a number of articles and worked extensively in collection and deciphering of Swahili-Arabic manuscripts. (See also; Swahili Forum 17, 2010, pp. 9-10 and Omar and Frankl, 1997, pp. 55-71). We have little information about Sharif A.A. Al-Badawy. It is likely the manuscript copy is in the Dr. Chagula East Africana Library, University of Dar es Salaam, Ms, no. 117. The manuscript was obtained from A.A. Badawy in 1963 (see also Allen, 1970).

³² The remembrance of God by the repetition of His name and attributes; coordinated, when recited in congregation, with breathing techniques and physical movements (Trimingham, 1964:96).

Olali's (2012) work is the most recent and comprehensive on *Hamziyya* oral performances and pays specific attention to the *mawlid* festival in Lamu. He recounts in detail the performance of the *Hamziyya* as a text in terms of its chanting rhythms and dancing movements, and identifies some of its functions. His findings show that the text has specific functions amongst the Swahili, i.e. it may be used to provide informal education, improve enlightenment, enhance social cohesion, and attract the Prophet's blessings, while the manuscript may be used as a talisman to protect against all kinds of evil (Olali 2012:404).

In rituals, the performers chant the poem while visiting the grave of Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ (1844-1935). The intention here is to make prayers to the great *Ṣūfī* cleric, the founder of Lamu Riyadhha Mosque. Olali, however, does not analyse *Hamziyya* manuscripts and their usages, and focuses mainly on how the *matn* and the *tarjama* of 'Aydarūs' texts are chanted in the *mawlid* festivals and grave visiting ritual in Lamu.

1.5. The methodology

This section discusses the methodology and approach used to study the sixteen *Hamziyya* manuscripts. The methodology involves literary and fieldwork study (1.5.1), *Hamziyya* material analysis, photographing manuscripts and making audio recordings of interviews (1.5.2), counter-checking against the Arabic *Hamziyya* (1.5.3), and the study of oral performances.

1.5.1. The literary and the fieldwork study

Prior to the fieldwork, the researcher gathered relevant information from various libraries and accessible written sources on the subject. Gaining access to study *Hamziyya*-specific collections (Allen 1970, Allen 1981) in Tanzania, Comoros Islands, National Museums in Kenya and the SOAS library, London was crucial to establish the state of the art and to re-digitize the manuscripts, which were initially only in microfilm format and not very legible. The researcher also conducted fieldwork to search for Swahili manuscripts in general and *Hamziyya* ones in particular.

The *Hamziyya* manuscripts were accessed during the fieldwork of phase I and II of the CSMC, SFB 950, C07 Swahili project. In *Phase I* (2010-2014), the theme of the research was “The place of Swahili manuscripts in East African collections”. Interestingly, during this phase, eight *qaṣīda Hamziyya* manuscripts were identified, as listed below:

- Ms 53823, London, SOAS, (coded as) *Ay*, London, U.K.
- Ms 53827, London, SOAS, *Hi*, London, U.K.
- Ms Baṣfār 01, *Ba*, Pate, Lamu Island, Kenya.
- Ms al-Beīḍ 01, *Be*, Mambrui, Kenya.
- Ms al-Ḥusaynī 01, *Hu*, Mombasa Island, Kenya.
- Ms Nabahany 01, *Nc*, Mombasa Island, Kenya.
- Ms Nabahany 02, *Nd*, Mombasa Island, Kenya.
- Ms Nabahany 03, *Qa*, Mombasa Island, Kenya.

In *Phase II* (2015-2019), the focus of the research was “Arabo-Swahili manuscripts in Practice: Rituals, Ceremonies, Liturgies and Healing.” Between 2015 and 2018, the following additional *Hamziyya* manuscripts were identified:

- Ms ‘Abūdi 01, *Ab*, Pate Island, Kenya.
- Ms Dini, 01, *Di*, Pate Island, Kenya.
- Ms Saggaf 01, *Sa*, Siyu Island, Kenya.
- Ms. Šayḥ 01, *Se*, Barawa, Somalia.
- Ms Kombo 01, *Ko*, Tumbatu, Tanzania.
- Ms 541, *Af*, UDSM, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.
- Ms. Kame 01, *Ka*, Ndau Island, Kenya.
- Ms. Amawy 01, *Am*, Muscat, Oman.

Some manuscripts were accessed from private collections of individuals who were located in different parts of East Africa. A few manuscripts were accessed from international libraries within their departments on ‘special collections’, for example, Ms 53823, 53827 (SOAS, Library, London, U.K.) and Ms 541, Dr. Chagula (East Africana) Library, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

1.5.2. The *Hamziyya* material analysis, photography and electronic audio recordings

For material and ink analysis, observation and experimental methods were employed to verify the physical properties of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts. The main aim was to identify the types of papers; e.g., watermarked or non-watermarked, and what sort of ingredients were used for the manufacturing of inks. Several scientific material analysis tools that can study the manuscripts' physical properties were employed on a sample of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts.³³ A Dino-Lite microscope and an XRF-ELIO machine were used to analyse the ink components of *Hamziyya* manuscripts.³⁴ In 2016, I travelled to SOAS, London with some members from the Z02 team, a research unit within the SFB 950 research projects, to conduct material analysis of Ms 53823 and 53827. More information and findings on analysis of the manuscripts are given in Chapters III and IV.

Other research tools, such as computer, camera, tape measure, a portable torch, an audio and a video recorder were also used. The tools were meant to assist the researcher with digitization, recording of interviews and filming of performances. The portable torch was used for detecting the watermark symbols in the manuscripts' leaves, and the tape measure was used for measuring the manuscripts' paper sizes in millimetres (mm), i.e. by its length and width.

1.5.3. The counter-checking of the Arabic *Hamziyya*-

A reference for the Arabic *Hamziyya*, i.e. the *matn*, has to be considered, because the *matn* features in almost all interlinear bilinguals of the corpus (see Chapters II & III). The main question here is which text should be referred to for purposes of comparison with the *matn* in the Swahili texts? That is, how do we know that the *matn* in Swahili manuscripts derives from al-Būṣīrī? To answer this question, a number of reference texts have been consulted, namely:

³³ See 4.1.4 for an explanation of how the sample *Hamziyya* manuscripts were selected.

³⁴ The Dino-Lite microscope and XRF-ELIO machine detect the chemical composition of a manuscript. Further details about their functions and images from the equipment are provided in Chapters III & IV.

- i) Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī, S., 909-974 AH, *al-Minah al-Makiyyah fī Sharḥ al-Hamziyya*, Jiddah: Dār al-Minhāj (Saudi Arabia)
- ii) Al-Azhary d. 1204 AH (2013) *Sharḥ al-Hamziyya: al-Futuhāt al-Aḥmadiyya bi al-Minah al-Muḥammadiyya* (Egypt)
- iii) Būdhīnah (1994) *Al-qaṣīdat al-Hamziyya wa Mu‘ār dātuhā* (Tunisia)
- iv) Al-Tamīmī (1993), *Taḥmīs al-Hamziyya al-Imām al-Būṣīrī* (Egypt)
- v) Dar Tijāni (1997) *Matn al-Hamziyya fī Madīḥ ḥayr al-Bariyya* (Tunisia)
- vi) Ahmad (n.d.) *Qaṣā'id al-Madīḥ: al-Burda, al-Hamziyya wa Bānat Su'ād* (Kenya).³⁵

The above Arabic works are important in counter-checking the Arabic text in the *Hamziyya* corpus. Some of the manuscripts, such as *al-Minah al-Makiyyah fī Sharḥ al-Hamziyya* (henceforth, *al-Minah*) are among the oldest known works that provide both an Arabic *Hamziyya* and an Arabic commentary. Interestingly, in Siyu, during the 2015 fieldwork study, an *al-Minah* manuscript was identified. This means that the Swahili were aware of the *Hamziyya* text and its Arabic commentary. It may be worth examining whether the commentaries of Al-Haitamī and Al-Azhary influenced the translation of the Arabic *Hamziyya* in Swahili manuscripts. These commentaries have certainly been of assistance in helping the researcher understand better the Arabic *Hamziyya* and producing an English translation of the Swahili *Hamziyya*.

1.5.4. The transliteration and the translation of the Swahili *Hamziyya*

A translation of the Swahili *Hamziyya*, i.e. ‘Aydarūs’ *tarjama* in English, is provided in Appendix II. An interpretation of the *tarjama* in English was given by Olali (2012) and a Swahili-Swahili commentary by Mutiso (2005), but unlike the former the researcher presents the text, the Arabic *Hamziyya* text (*matn*) and the Swahili poetic rendition (the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs), in the Swahilo-Arabic script used in Ms. 53823, coded as Ay in this work. For this, the *Andika!* toolset³⁶ was used, which allows Swahili in Arabic script to be written easily and output to PDF in a variety of formats.

³⁵ The researcher is very grateful to his supervisor Prof. Gori, who provided him with some (ii-v) of these reference materials.

³⁶ <http://kevindonnely.org.uk/swahili/>, retrieved on 8th August 2017.

The tools are based on work by Marehemu Mua'allim *Šayh* Yaḥya 'Ali Omar³⁷ to provide a consistent, standardised spelling of Swahili in Arabic script.

This allows five texts to be visualized altogether in the following order; i) the *matn* (in Arabic script), ii) the transliteration of the *matn* (in Latin script), iii) the *tarjama* of 'Aydarūs (in Swahilo-Arabic script), iv) its Swahili transliteration (in Swahilo-Latin script) and v) its English translation (in Latin script). As can be seen in Appendix II, *Andika!* beautifully presents the above mentioned scripts in layers and in variety of colours, i.e. the *Hamziyya* introductory section contains the *Basmalah* in blue, the prologue and its transliteration in green and the English translation in black (see Appendix II a), the *matn* and its transliteration in blue, the *tarjama* and its transliteration in green and the English translation in black (see Appendix II b), with the epilogue following the same format as the prologue (see Appendix II c).

1.5.5. The oral performance study

Swahili manuscript culture is deteriorating day by day, but it is still possible to salvage some information pertaining to the manuscripts' usages and to observe remnants of practices of the *Hamziyya* oral performances in East Africa today.

The researcher therefore embarked on field-trips for this in 2014, 2015 and 2017. The area covered during the fieldwork period of approximately nine months included Kenya, Tanzania and the Comoro islands. Islands visited included Mombasa, Lamu, Siyu, Pate, Zanzibar, Tumbatu and Ngazidja (Comoros), while towns and cities visited included Malindi, Kilifi, Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. The aim was to gather relevant information on *qaṣīda Hamziyya* manuscripts and their usages.

On the field-trips, interviews were carried out to seek information from Swahili scholars on manuscripts, and their owners and custodians. The interviews were aimed at collecting information in regard to Swahili inks, pens, binding system, the *Hamziyya* oral performances and role of the manuscripts. Video recordings of *Hamziyya* recitations and chanting were also made in Mombasa, Lamu and Pate during the month of Ramadhan. A *qaṣīda* live performance was also recorded in Dar-

³⁷ See, Omar, Y.A. and Frankl, P.J.L., (1997: 55-71).

es-salaam and two short recordings of *Mawlidi* performance were captured in Ngazidja.

1.6. Outline of the remaining chapters

The outline of the remaining chapters is as follows:

Chapter Two provides a description of the corpus of the sixteen *Hamziyya* manuscripts, summarising all relevant information pertaining to the manuscripts, e.g. name of the custodian, place accessed, history, *tamalluk* ‘ownership’, *waqfiyya* ‘bequest’ statements, and the colophon details of the manuscript (if any exist).

Chapter Three mainly looks at specific parameters in regard to the *Hamziyya* manuscripts in the corpus. This includes the types of script used in the manuscripts, the calligraphy, textual and paratextual layout arrangements, poetic structures and traditions of the translations. The aim is to provide a comparative overview of the entire corpus according to these parameters.

Chapter Four discusses the oral performance of the *Hamziyya* in the Swahili cultural context. Hence, this chapter will try to link the manuscript production and its usages while bearing in mind their textual variances. The aim here is to combine textual analysis with facts gathered from oral information (i.e. interviews) in order to reconstruct the life of each individual manuscript and to relate its role in teaching and learning as well as in the oral performances.

Chapter Five summarizes the findings and provides recommendations for future study on the *Hamziyya* manuscripts in particular and Swahili manuscripts in general.

CHAPTER II: THE DESCRIPTION OF QAṢĪDA HAMZIYYA MANUSCRIPTS

2.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a concise description of the sixteen *qaṣīda Hamziyya* manuscripts. It is subdivided into two sections. The first section elaborates on the parameters employed to describe each *Hamziyya* manuscript (2.1), while the second section provides a description of each manuscript according to these parameters (2.2). Finally, the manuscripts' identifier codes are given to guide the reader in the next chapters (2.3). The idea here is to give an overview of each manuscript, which will set the scene for the more detailed discussions in Chapters III and IV.

2.1. Parameters for the description of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts

This section outlines the parameters used to describe each manuscript in the corpus; i.e., how the codes of the manuscripts are formulated (2.1.1), the physical description of the manuscripts (2.1.2), the texts contained in the manuscript (2.1.3), the major reference works (2.1.4), and other information (2.1.5).

2.1.1. Identifier codes for the manuscripts

The identifier code for each manuscript will use the three sub-units “*Location-Owner-Number*”. The sub-unit *Location* represents the place the manuscript was identified or accessed, *Owner* represents the possessor, custodian or contemporary heir of the manuscript and the *Number* represents its serial number.

If the manuscript already has a shelf mark or library number, ~~then~~, this number will be retained as the manuscript number. However, the first two sub-units (*Location-Owner*) will still appear prior to this shelf mark or library number, for example, *London-SOAS-53823*. If the manuscript has no existing code, shelf mark or library number, then a new code will be formulated by following the same identification system (i.e. “*Location-Owner-Number*”), for example, *Siyu-Saggaf-01*.

Moreover, in instances where there are many uncoded manuscripts located in one region, then the manuscripts' colophon dates will determine their serial numbers in the codification. That is to say, the oldest manuscript will always be ordered as the first. For example, in the corpus we have two uncoded manuscripts both of which

were identified in Pate Island: ‘Abūdi’s manuscript (whose colophon date is 1905) and Mwalimu Dini’s manuscript (whose colophon date is 1912). Thus, their codes will be as follows: *Pate-‘Abūdi-01* and *Pate-Dini-01* respectively. The siglum is an abbreviated form of the manuscript code, and for these manuscripts will be *Ab* and *Di*. Identification codes for all manuscripts in the corpus are provided in Table 1 in Chapter III. However, in this chapter they are also indicated concurrently with their manuscripts’ titles for ease of reference.

2.1.2. Physical description

The ‘*Physical Description*’ includes information about the manuscript’s materiality in terms of substance , i.e. whether it is made out of paper, the extent of its writable surface, and so on. Other details of the manuscript are also provided, including type of binding cover, binding method, measurements (length and width) in millimeters (mm), number of folios, number of lines per folio, the language of the text,³⁸ the name of the copyist, the name of the codex (usually given on the cover or before the text), and the date of production of the manuscript as indicated in the colophon itself.³⁹

It should also be noted that Swahili manuscript dates in the colophon usually use the Islamic calendar (Hijri, AH). In such instances, a conversion to CE dates will also be given alongside the Hijri calendar.

2.1.3. Texts contained in the manuscripts

Some manuscripts in the corpus contain subsidiary or additional texts or documents, such as correspondence, short notes, non-*Hamziyya* poems, transliteration and translations. These are usually bound together or loosely stored within the *Hamziyya* codices.

On the one hand, some texts or documents may provide additional information about the *Hamziyya* manuscript from a custodian or a scholar not involved with the production of the manuscript. For example, Ms 53823 contains texts authored by

³⁸ If more than one language is used the first language appearing in the text will be the one mentioned first in the description.

³⁹ If the colophon is missing, then an estimated production date, based on interviews or the physical appearance of the manuscript, will be given.

Hichens in conjunction with Hinawy, which are placed prior to the *Hamziyya* manuscript (Hichens 1936). This kind of information is relevant as it provides some background data on the manuscript's author, physical description and history. To exemplify this, the following caption is quoted from Hichens' (n.d.:5) notes, which states that:

“It [the manuscript]⁴⁰ consists of eighteen sheets of early hand made paper, watermarked with the three fools' caps of its size, but folded and sewn book wise to make thirty six pages, of which the poem occupies thirty four. It was written by [...]⁴¹ and, as he states within it, he completed the manuscript on the 14th day of the month of *Dhū-al-ḥijjah*, AH 1207 (1792).”

On the other hand, some of these additional texts are from the manuscripts' copyists themselves, and may consist of other Arabic poems or prayers, usually bound together with the *Hamziyya* text. For instance, in *Pate-Dini-01 (Di)*, additional praises of the Prophet quoted or copied from other works appear in that manuscript's codex. Details of such additional texts alongside the *Hamziyya* will be given in section 2.2.

2.1.4. Major reference works

All references or scholarly works that relate directly to the manuscript in question are mentioned here. Following the work's title, a brief elaboration of its contents is provided to show the relation between the manuscript and the previous work done on it. One important reference for Ms. 53823, for example, is Knappert (1968).

Other related works describing the manuscripts or making peripheral references to them are mentioned under subsidiary references. These are works that may mention the manuscript but do not necessarily analyse it in detail. Accordingly, important Arabic works on the *Hamziyya* (e.g. Arabic-Arabic commentary) in East Africa may be referred to here.

⁴⁰ The manuscript referred to here is *Ay*, numbered as 53823, SOAS Library, London.

⁴¹ The name is not given in the original.

2.1.5. Other information

This parameter records specific information on the history or life of the manuscript. Who are the contemporary custodians, owners or heirs? Are there *tamalluk* and *waqfiyya* statements that prove their ownership? Where were the manuscripts located? Further elaborations will address the types of scripts and the colours of inks used. The scripts usually appear on the manuscripts with specific combinations, i.e. i) Arabic script (i.e. for Arabic texts), and Swahilo-Arabic script (i.e. for Swahili texts) and ii) Latin script (i.e. for English texts) and Swahilo-Latin script (i.e. for Swahili texts) (cf. Chapter III). The colours of the inks used on the text, annotations and caesura symbols will be specified. The photographers, websites, online digital links and the institutions where the manuscripts were accessed will also be stated. Moreover, a brief elaboration will be made on whether the manuscripts contain a complete text or not.

2.2. The corpus of *Hamziyya* manuscripts

This section provides descriptions of each *Hamziyya* manuscript, which are presented and discussed in the following order:

- 2.2.1: London-SOAS-53823 – *Ay*
- 2.2.2: London-SOAS-53827 – *Hi*
- 2.2.3: Pate-‘Abūdi-01 – *Ab*
- 2.2.4: Pate-Dini-01 – *Di*
- 2.2.5: Pate-Başfār-01 – *Ba*
- 2.2.6: Siyu-Saggaf-01 – *Sa*
- 2.2.7: Mambrui-al-Bayḍ-01 – *Be*
- 2.2.8: Mombasa-al-Ḥusaynī-01 – *Hu*
- 2.2.9: Mombasa-Nabahany-01 – *Qa*
- 2.2.10: Mombasa-Nabahany-02 – *Nc*
- 2.2.11: Mombasa-Nabahany-03 – *Nd*
- 2.2.12: UDSM-Dar es Salaam-541 – *Af*
- 2.2.13: Tumbatu-Kombo-01 – *Ko*
- 2.2.14: Barawa-b. Šayḥ-01 – *Se*

- 2.2.15: Muscat-Al-Amawy-01 – *Am*
- 2.2.16: Ndau-Kame-01 – *Ka*

2.2.1. London-SOAS-53823, *Ay*

2.2.1.1. Physical description

Paper and mixed-material of red hard paper cover, 230 mm x170 mm, pages I-VII (Hichens' introductory notes) with 79 folios of the manuscript, 14 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date (f. 75r): 14th *Dhū-al-ḥijjah*, 1207 AH / 23rd July 1793 . Copyist: 'Uthmān b. *al-Qādī* b. Mbwarahaji b. *al-Marḥūm* al-Fazī.

2.2.1.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

- Hichens wrote (by hand) before the manuscript proper that:
 “This manuscript [Ms. 53823] is now [1936] 144 years old. At the time of my writing this note, it is the only copy of the Swahili *Hamziyya* known in Europe and the oldest Swahili M.S. known in any collection,” signed, July, 1936.⁴²
- Two other pieces of Hichens' correspondence are placed loosely in the manuscript itself. The correspondence consists of replies from the Royal Asiatic Society, London and the School of Oriental Studies, University of London. Both letters inform Hichens that there are no English translations of the *Hamziyya* poem in their Library departments.
- The manuscript also contains additional handwritten and typescript extracts or paper attachments which are co-authored by Hichens and Sir Mbarak 'Ali Hinawy (Hichens 1936) titled “The Swahili *Hamziyya* of 'Aydarūs” (folio i-viii). The notes provide some background information with regard to the material and physical properties of Ms 53823, a short biography of the *Hamziyya's* authors (al-Būṣīrī and 'Aydarūs), and some notes on the themes and the poetic structure.
- The *Hamziyya* bilingual interlinear text; the *matn* of al-Būṣīrī is interlined with the *tarjama* 'Swahili *Hamziyya*' of the 'Aydarūs' version, folios 1-75.⁴³ The

⁴² Hichens' notes (f. i-viii) and the correspondence mentioned in 2.2.1.2. are written in English.

⁴³ The *matn* text is always in Arabic and the *tarjama* is always in Swahili. Hence, the languages of the two texts need not be specified.

last cover, folio 76 verso, has a scribal *waqfiyya* dictum in Arabic. Its content is given in 2.2.1.5, below.

2.2.1.3. Major references

Knappert, J. (1968). The Hamziyya Deciphered. *African Language Studies*, 9, 52-81.

This work critically examines Hichens' notes on *Hamziyya* with specific reference to London-SOAS-53823. It also gives a translation in English of the first 60 lines of the *tarjama*, and a list of words in Swahili with their equivalents in English.

Mkelle, B. (1976). "Hamziyya - The Oldest Swahili Translation". *Kiswahili*, 46(1), 71-75.

This work provides important background information on the manuscript and selects a few words to explain the Swahili Kingozi variety used in the manuscript.

2.2.1.4. Subsidiary references

Hichens, W. (1972). *Al-Inkishafi: The Soul's Awakening*. Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1939)

This work outlines; 'Aydarūs' life history and places of residence. It includes a genealogical chart showing 'Aydarūs' extended family members, the date of completion of his translation, and estimates his year of death to be that same year, namely 1749.

Mutiso, K. (2001). Kasida ya Hamziyya. *Swahili Forum*, 8, 81-115.

Mutiso, K. (2002). Sufii al-Busiri. *Swahili Forum*, 9, 19-24 and

Mutiso, K. (2005). *Utenzi wa Hamziyya*. TUKI.

Generally, the above works discuss the Swahili *Hamziyya* text (Mutiso, 2001), and provide a brief biography of al-Būṣīrī (Mutiso, 2002). Mutiso (2005) gives biographies of the Prophet and 'Aydarūs', and a Swahili commentary on 'Aydarūs' *tarjama*.

Olali, T. (2012). *Performing Arts in Lamu Maulidi Festival*. Lambert.

This work addresses performance of the Arabic *Hamziyya* along with 'Aydarūs' *tarjama* during the *mawlid* festival in Lamu, with an intensive examination and

analysis of the role it plays in the veneration of the Prophet. London-SOAS-53823 was used for the study.

Al-Haitamī, Ibn Ḥajar. (2011). *al-Minḥu al-Makiyyah fī Sharḥ al-Hamziyya*. Dār al-Minhāj. (Original work published 909-974 AH./ 1503-1566)

This work provides the *matn* and a comprehensive Arabic commentary on the *Hamziyya*.

Ka'b & al-Būṣīrī. (n.d.). *Qaṣā'id al-Madīh*. Shamsudin Haji & Co.

This work contains three Arabic poems well-known in the Islamic world – *Bānat Su'ād*, *al-Burda* and *Hamziyya* – compiled in a single volume, published in East Africa. The work is also used as a subsidiary source to refer to the Arabic *Hamziyya*.

2.2.1.5. Other information

- As mentioned earlier, the manuscript, shelf-marked 53823, is currently in SOAS Library. According to Hichens (1936), the manuscript was originally obtained from Muḥammad Abū Bakr Kijumwa al-Bakrī (d. 1940) of Lamu in September 1934.⁴⁴ The *matn* comprises 457 lines, including an extra line⁴⁵. The 465-line *tarjama* contains the 8 prologue lines and the 457 translation lines.⁴⁶
- The manuscript contains a *waqfiyya* statement:

Qad waqafa hādihā al-kitāb aḥqqara mā lillah: Sālim Sallam Baṣfār wa ja'alā thawāba qirā'atihi lilwālidayhi, šahr al-jumādī 'ulā, 1344 AH (Ay, f. 76v).

“Indeed, this manuscript is declared by Sālim Sallam Baṣfār as a bequest, being one of the most valuable thing dedicated to God, and may the transcendental rewards achieved through its recitation benefit his parents in

⁴⁴ Kijumwa was a well-known poet, scribe, calligrapher and an informant on Swahili manuscripts.

⁴⁵ The Arabic line 37 (traced from the *matn*, see also Appendix II), which commences with the phrase: *Innamā ḥarrama...* and its Swahili translation (i.e. the *tarjama* of 'Aydārūs): *Aliziwiliya mamusuni...* 'He was protected (by God) during his breastfeeding period...', is found in only one *Hamziyya* bilingual manuscript: *Ka* (f. 6). Surprisingly, the *tarjama* part is missing and instead a blank space is left below the *matn*. The *tarjama* was probably to be written in at a later stage. The same *tarjama* line (37) exists in two *Hamziyya* monolingual manuscripts: *Nc*, folio 14 and *Nd*, folio 4. Moreover, the Arabic line is not found in any of the Arabic sources mentioned in 1.5.3 above.

⁴⁶ The full 'Aydārūs version (AV) of the *Hamziyya* comprises 8 prologue lines, 456 lines giving the poetic rendition of the Arabic *Hamziyya*, and 17 epilogue lines – 481 lines in total. If the extra Arabic line (see fn.8) is added, the AV consists of 482 lines.

the hereafter. It is [written] in the month: Jamada 1344 AH [equivalent to November 1925].”

- The original owner/custodian of the manuscript is not mentioned in any of Hichens’ works. Information about the manuscript copyist (al-Fāzī), who seems to be from Pate, Lamu, is not provided either.
- The manuscript has lost its original leather cover. The current manuscript carton cover is a substituted one (see Hichens 1936).
- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink Colours: black and red. The *Hamziyya* texts in both languages are in black ink. Red flower-like figures are placed between the half-lines as dividers.
- Images obtained from SOAS Library, London, U.K.
- Link: <http://digital.SOAS.ac.uk/LOAA000084/00001>

2.2.2. London-SOAS-53827, *Hi*

2.2.2.1. Physical description

Paper and mixed-material of black hard paper (carton-like) cover, 250 mm x 170 mm and mixed paper sizes (e.g. 170mm x 250 mm), 33 folios⁴⁷, 14 lines (approximately) per folio. Language: English, Swahili. Colophon date: 1936. Scribe⁴⁸: William Hichens. Title: *Hamziyya*.

2.2.2.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

- Hichens (n.d.: f. 1-8) provides short notes (in English) that briefly introduce historical and codicological features of Ms. 53823, and provide biographies of al-Būṣīrī and ‘Aydarūs. Some of the notes seem to have been provided by Sir Mbarak Hinawy as Hichens mentions this fact himself (n.d. f.3).
- A transliteration of ‘Aydarūs *tarjama*, handwritten in Swahilo-Latin script.
- Hichens’ English translation (in Latin script) appears in folios 17, 19 & 21 (in typescript).

⁴⁷ The folios of Ms. 53827 are unorganized and some of them are approximately a quarter or half the size of an ordinary foolscap page, while others are full-size.

⁴⁸ The word “scribe” is given here in the context originally used by Hichens himself. Henceforth, the word will be used to refer to the original producer of a given manuscript.

2.2.2.3. Other information

- The manuscript is shelf-marked as 53827 and is currently in SOAS Library. The work seems to be Hichens' attempt to prepare a publication. For example, folio 4, is titled "Chapter 4: The *Hamziyya* of 'Aydarūs b. 'Uthmān b. Šayh' Ali, A.H. 1162- 1749." Under it a brief biography of 'Aydarūs and notes that describe the *Hamziyya*, its origin, structure and themes are provided. The work is incomplete. The transliteration of the *tarjama* runs up to 95 (out of 481) lines and the English translation covers only 15 (out of 456) lines.
- Script: Latin, Swahilo-Latin.
- Ink colours: black and red.
- Images obtained from SOAS Library, 2014.
- Link: <http://digital.SOAS.ac.uk/LOAA000083/00001>.

2.2.3. Pate-'Abūdi-01, Ab

2.2.3.1. Physical description

Paper, plus a light brown carton cover, 250 mm x 180 mm, 61 folios, 16 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date (f.58 v): 2nd Sha'abān 1323 AH, 1st October 1905. Copyist: 'Umar Aḥmad al-Mafārī⁴⁹. Title: not provided.

2.2.3.2. Texts contained in the manuscript:

- The manuscript contains the *matn* and the *tarjama* of 'Aydarūs, folios 1-58. Folio 59, contains the 17 epilogue (Swahili) lines of the 'Aydarūs version that conclude the *tarjama*. Here, 'Aydarūs provides the date of completion of this work and his name in Arabic initials. The interpretation of these 17 lines is important in order to determine the exact date of composition of the 'Aydarūs' *tarjama* (see-3.7.1.5 and 3.7.1.6).
- Folios 60-61 contain Qur'anic verses (in Arabic only). They discuss the Jews' refusal to go to war alongside Moses (Q 2:246), and criticism of God regarding almsgiving: "Indeed, God is poor while we are rich..." (Q 3:181),

⁴⁹ There is a possibility that the last name al-Mafārī could be read as al-Mafāzī due to a missing dot on the Arabic letter *ree* (i.e. if the dot is added it will be read as *zī* instead of *rī*). This is supported by the fact that the clan members of al-Mafāzī are still present in Pate Island today.

implying that, if God is omnipotent, He should not ask believers to pay alms to the poor on His behalf. Other verses refer to companions of the Prophet questioning the idea of participating in war (Q 4:77), the sacrifice of the two sons of Adam and their quarrel after one's offer of a sacrifice is rejected by God (Q 15: 27), the unity of God and the need to rely on Him alone (Q 13:16).

- *Tamalluk* and *waqfiyya* statements, which are in Arabic, are provided in 2.2.3.3 below.

2.2.3.3. Other information

- The current custodian of the manuscript is *Šayḥ* Abūdi al-Nabahany of Pate. *Šayḥ* Abūdi is a brother of Mwalimu Dini. The manuscript's main *Hamziyya* text seems to be intact, i.e., the *matn* and *tarjama* comprise 456 and 481 lines respectively. This means the *tarjama* contains the full set of 'Aydarūs' 8 prologue and 17 epilogue lines.
- The manuscript contains *tamalluk* and *waqfiyya* statements (in Arabic). The *tamalluk* (f.1v) reads:

Hādhā al-kitāb mulk sayyid Aḥmad b. sayyid 'Umar, al-Hamziyya

“This book belongs to *sayyid Aḥmad b. sayyid 'Umar, al-Hamziyya.*”

The *waqfiyya* (f.58v) reads:

[indent] *Hādhā al-kitāb waqafu aulādī wa aulādī ḥattā yarithu Allahu al-arḍa wa man baddala hādhā al-waqf la'natullah wa malāikatuhu yaṣīlu ilayhi. Wa katabahu al-ḥaqīr, al-mudhnibi, al-dhalīli, rājib 'afwa, Rabbahu sayyid Aḥmad sayyid 'Umar, bitarīḥ al-Muḥarram 29, 1345 A.H..*

“I dedicate this book as a *waqf* for my sons and their offspring until God bequeaths His earth [to the righteous]. Whomsoever changes this *waqf* deed, may the curse of God and His angels befall him. This excerpt is written by a poor, sinful, humble individual, fearful, [but] begging for a pardon from his Lord, *sayyid Aḥmad sayyid 'Umar*. On [the date of] 29th Muḥarram 1345 A.H. [equivalent to 8th August 1926].”

- Ink colours: black and red. Red 'drops' symbols are used as caesura marks.
- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.

- Images taken by A. Parkar, Pate Island, Kenya, 2015.

2.2.4. Pate-Dini-01, *Di*

2.2.4.1. Physical description

Paper, plus a light brown carton cover, 210 mm x 160 mm, 113 folios, 14 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date (f.70v): 2nd *Ša'abān* 1330 AH / 17th July 1912. Copyist: *Sayyid* 'Uthmān b. Maulānā b. 'Abdul al-Raḥmān al-*Šayḥ* Abūbakr b. Sālim. Title: *al-Hamziyya*.

2.2.4.2 Texts contained in the manuscript

- The *matn* and *tarjama* of 'Aydarūs, folios 1-69.
- Folios 70-113 contain non-*Hamziyya* poetic texts, all in Arabic. The poems contain texts eulogising the Prophet; i.e. extracts from the *Mawlid* of *Barzānjī* and *Šarīf al-An'āmī*, which are well known *mawlid* classical volumes in the Muslim world. For example, folio 70 has a well-known poem "*Assalām 'alayka*", which is also found in *Barzānjī*.
- The poems in the manuscript (f. 70-113) are in Arabic and are inserted in a rectangular frame (boundary) in each folio.
- Marginal notes and annotations appear outside the rectangular frame. The notes are in Arabic prose and provide information about the Prophet.
- The manuscript also contains *waqfiyya*, *tamalluk* and *nasb* 'genealogy' statements, all of which are in Arabic (see, 2.2.4.4 below).

2.2.4.3. Subsidiary references

Olali, T. (2012). *Performing Arts in Lamu Maulidi Festival*. Lambert.

This work suggests that the author consulted the custodian of the manuscript, Mwalimu Dini, on the *tarjama* and to get cultural information on the oral performances during the *Mawlid* festival in Lamu. The researcher (2012:12) states that:

“The thematic content of the *Hamziyya* in the veneration of the Prophet Muhammad is thoroughly investigated. I base this study on the manuscript of the *Hamziyya* obtained from Mwalimu Dini of Pate, and which was performed

during the 2001 *mawlidi* festival. Other manuscripts are mentioned in passing and where information I require is not obtained from the manuscript of Mwalimu Dini, then other manuscripts are consulted. For example, the manuscript of Mwalimu Dini does not have the epilogue. I therefore consulted the manuscript obtained from wa Mutiso.”

2.2.4.4. Other information

- The manuscript’s custodian is Mwalimu Dini, the *imām*⁵⁰ of Pate Juma’ā Mosque, Pate Island, Kenya. He inherited the congregation from his father (p.c., Mwalimu Dini). The *matn* and *tarjama* comprise 456 and 465 lines respectively.

- The *tamalluk* (f.3v) reads:

Bismillahi al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm, al-ḥamdu lillahi, wa ṣalla llahu ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad. Hādhā al kitāb al-Hamziyya māl Abū...⁵¹ sayyid ‘Uthmān b. sayyid Mawlāna b. sayyid ‘Abdulraḥamān al-Bā’alawī min Al-Šayḥ Abī Bakr b. Sālim. Wa ṣalla llahu ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa ālihī waṣaḥbihi wa sallim.

“In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, praise be to God, and may His blessings and peace be upon prophet Muḥammad. This book of *al-Hamziyya* is the property of Abū... *sayyid ‘Uthmān b. sayyid Mawlāna b. sayyid ‘Abdulraḥamān al-Bā’alawī min Al-Šayḥ Abī Bakr b. Sālim.* And may the blessings and peace of God be upon His Prophet Muḥammad and his progeny and his companions.”

- The *waqfiyya* (f.3v) reads:

Tarīḥ 24th Sha’abān 1332 AH qad waqafa hādhā al-kitāb sayyid ‘Uthmān ibn Mawlana b. al-Šayḥ Abī Bakr b. Sālim liawlādihi wa awlādihi mā tanāsālū wa ba’da inqirāḍuhum al-waqfan lilmuslimīn. Wa annahu yaj’al llahu thawāba hādhā al-kitāb li sayyid Mawlāna b. Šayḥ Abī Bakr b. Sālim bitārīḥ sābiq. Faman baddalahu ba’da mā sami’ahu fainnamā ithmun ‘alā ladhīna yubaddilūnahu. [In Swahili] Na mtarajimu ni ‘Ayn na yee, dāl, ree, waw, sīn,

⁵⁰ That is to say, an *imām* ‘ a spiritual leader’, i.e., the one who usually leads the five daily congregational prayers in a mosque.

⁵¹ The name that commences with “Abū...” has the subsequent text erased.

zozaziwa ni watu wema, Mola mrahamu na wazazile na aonao kosa kaswahiha na mupate matenzi njema.

“On the date of 24th *Sha’bān* 1332 AH [equivalent to 18th July 1914], this book is henceforth declared as a *waqf* property by *sayyid ‘Uthmān ibn Mawlana b. al-Šayḥ Abī Bakr b. Sālim* for seeking perpetual *thawāb* ‘transcendental rewards’ to reach all of his chain of offspring, attached by blood relation among the Muslims. And surely, may God send perpetual *thawāb* [for its usage] to *sayyid Mawlāna b. Šayḥ Abī Bakr b. Sālim* as from the said date. And whoever changes the bequest after it has been declared, then the sin thereof is upon those who change it. [In Swahili] And the translator is ‘*Ayn, yee, dāl, ree, wāw, sīn*, [i.e. ‘Aydarūs] born from good parents. May God shower His blessings on him and his parents and whoever sees error and corrects it, he or she will get good rewards.”

- The *nasb* is lengthy, but is summarised here to give an indication of how it is presented in the manuscript. It reads as follows;

Bismi llahi al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm. Hadhihi nasabun Sayyid ‘Uthmān bin Mawlāna bin Sayyid ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Abdalla bin ‘Alwī [...] bin ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭalib wa abnā Faṭimah al-Zahrā’ [...] ibn Adnān.

“In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the genealogy [of our family]; Sayyid ‘Uthmān bin Mawlāna bin Sayyid ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Abdalla bin ‘Alwī [...] bin ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭalib wa abnā Faṭimah al-Zahrā’ [...] ibn Adnān [the great ancestor of the Prophet].⁵²

- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: black and red. Red ink appears mainly within the non-*Hamziyya* texts.
- Images taken by A. Parkar, Pate Island, Kenya, 2014.

2.2.5. Pate-Başfār-01, *Ba*

2.2.5.1. Physical description

⁵² Due to wear and tear the last words are not legible. However, the genealogy statement not only mentions the daughter of the Prophet, Faṭimah al-Zahrāi, but also provides older ancestors and probably aims to trace a link back to the first prophet, Adam.

Paper, unmeasured, ca. 210mm x 170 mm, 2 folios, 12 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date (f.2r): 14th *Rajab* 1340 AH / 13th March 1922. Copyist: ‘Abūd Islam Baṣfār. Title: unavailable (as the front and back pages are missing).

2.2.5.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

The *matn* and the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs, folios 1-2.

2.2.5.3. Other information

- The custodian is unknown. The PDF images were presented to me by R. Samsom in Hamburg, and were initially obtained from Ahmad Badawy. Only two folios of the manuscript have been photographed. Efforts to make a complete digitization of the manuscript from the original source, in Lamu, were not fruitful. However, the manuscript is included in the corpus because of its unique layout features and physical appearance, such as the type of leaves used and the colour of the inks of its texts (see 2 and 4 below). The work is incomplete and only 3 *matn* and 10 *tarjama* lines are found in it.
- The manuscript leaves are of a light-green colour. Two parallel lines form a rectangular border outside the text.
- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: black and red. The *matn* is in black ink and the *tarjama* is in red.
- Images taken by A. Badawy, Pate Island, Kenya, 2013.

2.2.6. Siyu-Saggaf-01, Sa

2.2.6.1. Physical description

Paper, 250 mm x 170 mm, 69 folios, 11-12 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date: nil, ca. 19th century. Copyist: unspecified.⁵³ Title: not given.

2.2.6.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

The *matn* and the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs, folios 1-69.

⁵³ The colophon page is missing, though one can read at f.69, below the end of the *Hamziyya* text, “‘Umar ‘Uthmān”. It is not clear if this is the name of the copyist or the previous owner as no elaborations on the name are given.

2.2.6.3. Other information

- The custodian of the manuscript is Muḥammad Saggaf of Siyu Island, Lamu, Kenya. The *matn* and *tarjama* comprises 380 and 387 lines respectively. Approximately six folios are missing.
- The manuscript leaves are thick and resemble the papers used for printing in a cyclostyle machine.
- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: black, dark brown.
- Images taken by A. Parkar, Siyu Island, Kenya, 2014.

2.2.7. Mambrui-al-Bayḍ-01, *Be*

2.2.7.1. Physical description

Paper, 210 mm x 150 mm, 29 folios, 40 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date (f.29r): 2nd *Dū al-ḥijja*, 1412 AH / 3rd June, 1992 . Scribe (f.1v): *al-‘Allāmah* al-Ustadh *Sayyid* Muḥammad b. *al-šarīf* Sa‘īd b. *al-šarīf* ‘Abdallah b. *al-šarīf* Sa‘īd b. *al-šarīf* Sālim al-Bayḍ. Title: *Tafsiri ya Hamziyya Kingozi*.

2.2.7.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

A glossary of Arabic words with Swahili equivalents, folios 2-29. The Arabic words are sourced from the *matn* lines.

2.2.7.3. Other information

- The original scribe is al-Bayḍ (d. 2013), a renowned cleric in Islamic studies, profound follower of the ‘Alāwiyya *Sūfī Ṭarīqa* and founder of the Ghinā Institute of Islamic Studies and the Madrasa al-Nūr al-Islāmiyya, both are based in Mambrui, Kenya. The first cover page of the manuscript mentions that al-Bayḍ is the principal of the Ghinā institute and the overall administrator of the Nūr al-Islāmiyya. This cleric has made great contributions to Islamic scholarship in the East African region. No *matn* or *tarjama* lines exist.
- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: black.
- Images taken by A. Badawy, Mambrui, Kenya, 2012.

2.2.8. Mombasa-al-Ḥusaynī-01, *Hu*

2.2.8.1. Physical description

Paper with a brown hard leather jacket, 270 mm x175 mm, 79 folios, 6 widely-spaced lines per folio. Language: Arabic text with marginal and interlinear annotations in Arabic and Swahili. Colophon date (f.79r): 7th *Šaḥr al-Qa’ad*, 1311 AH / 14th May 1894. Copyist: Abī Bakr b. *marḥūm* Sulṭān Aḥmad. Title: *Kitāb al-Hamziyya*.

2.2.8.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

The manuscript contains the *matn* text with ample Arabic and Swahili *ḥawāšīn* ‘annotations’, folios 2-79. The Swahili annotations are lengthier than the Arabic ones.

2.2.8.3. Other information

- The manuscript owners are the family of Sh. Aḥmad Badawy b. al-*Sayyid* Aḥmad al- Ḥusaynī, Mombasa Island, Kenya (p.c. R. Samsom). In Ms. *Hu* (f.1v), there are two *tamalluk* statements, one written in blue ink and the other (which seems to be the older one) in black ink – see figure 12. The two *tamalluk* statements, and their translations are as follows:

- (i) *intaqala ilā mulk al-Haqīr Aḥmad Badawy b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Āl-Ḥusayn b. al-Šayḥ Abī Bakr b. Sālim. Hadiyyah min jaddihi sayyid ‘Abdallāh b. Sulṭān al-sayyid Abī Bakr.*

“The manuscript ownership is transferred to a humble individual Aḥmad Badawy b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Āl Ḥusayn b. *al-Šayḥ* Abī Bakr b. Sālim. It was a gift given to him by his grandfather; *sayyid* ‘Abdallāh b. Sulṭān al-*sayyid* Abī Bakr.”

- (ii) *Hādhā al-kitāb mulk li-faqīri llāhi ta‘ālā Muḥammad b. sayyid Abdallāh b. sayyid Ḥasan al-Bā‘lawy al-Masalī. Qāla Šayḥ al-Fādīl b. Hassan: nazru fī ḥādhihi al-nisbah al-šarīf waḥararatuhā kamā qāla fī al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt fī bābi al-Salām faṣlu al-sīn wa Masīlā yuqāl Masīlah balad al-Maghrib banāuhu Fāṭimiyuna bt. al-Rasūl. Faman lam yakun ya’rif dhā falyasal. Wallahu A’lam wa al-ḥamdu lillahi rabbi al-‘ālamīn.-*

“This book is in the possession of a poor servant of God, Muḥammad b. *sayyid* Abdallāh b. *sayyid* Ḥasan al-Bā‘lawy al-Masalī.⁵⁴ Šayḥ al-Fāḍil b. Hassan said that: the *nisba* ‘al-Masalī’, as explained in *Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, in the chapter of *al-Salām*, sub-section of *al-sīn wa Masīlā*, also known as al-Masīlah, is a town in the West founded by the Fatimid dynasty, the offspring of the daughter of the Prophet. If one is not aware of this fact, let him ask. And God knows best. And all praises belong to God.”

- The *ḥawāšīn* are haphazardly arranged, and appear in various locations beside the text.
- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: Black, blue, purple and red. The red ink is mainly used on the symbols that divide the half-lines.
- Images taken by R. Samsom, Mombasa Island, Kenya, 2013.

2.2.9. Mombasa-Nabahany-01, *Qa*

2.2.9.1. Physical description

Paper, ca. 330 mm x 200 mm, folios 26, 18 lines per folio. Language: Swahili. Colophon date (f.26v): 14th March 1963. Copyist: Qaīm b. Amfar Banī Šahardīn.

2.2.9.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

The *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs only, folios 1-26.

2.2.9.3. Other information

- The owner of the manuscript is Aḥmad Šayḥ Nabahany, a Swahili consultant, who passed away in 2017 at Matondoni, Lamu. The *matn* and *tarjama* verses comprise of approximately 456 and 465 lines respectively. Some lines are illegible but some lines of the prologue lines are visible at the beginning of the text.

⁵⁴ The word ‘al-Masīla’ is probably derived from a town in contemporary Yemen-currently known as ‘Wādī al-Masīla’. In Arabic, ‘al-Masīlī’ can be derived from this to mean someone from al-Masīla.

- The copy was obtained from Šarīf Khitamī (1921-2005)⁵⁵, Mombasa (p.c., Nabahany). We have no information about the copyist, Qaīm, and the relationship between him and Šarīf Khitamī.
- Script: Swahilo-Arabic only.
- Ink colours: black.
- Images taken by R. Samsom, Mombasa Island, 2013.

2.2.10. Mombasa-Nabahany-02, *Nc*

2.2.10.1. Physical description

Paper, a ruled notebook with black hard paper cover, 203 mm x 163 mm, 49 folios, 22-24 lines per folio. Language: Swahili. Colophon date (f.1r): 10th January 1986. Scribe: Aḥmad Sheikh Nabahany. Title: *Umul Qura-Hamziyya ya Al-Buswiriyy* [sic]. Šayḥ Nabahany applies his traditional informal knowledge to frame the title. This means that he was aware that the *Hamziyya* contains two titles.⁵⁶

2.2.10.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

The *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs and Sheikh Nabahany’s Swahili *šarḥ* ‘commentary’, folios 1-49.

2.2.10.3. Other information

- The original scribe and producer was Aḥmad Sheikh Nabahany (d. 2017). The manuscript’s current owner is unknown, but it is probably in the hands of his family members in Matondoni, Lamu. The work is incomplete, as it runs to only 162 lines. The Swahili commentary is in prose, with a paragraph after every *tarjama* line.
- Script: Swahilo-Latin only.
- Ink colours: black.

⁵⁵ Šarīf Khitāmī, full name ‘Abdul al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Badawy b. Ḥabīb Šāliḥ Jamāli Layl, was a well-known *tabibu* ‘healer’, and former leader of the Riyadha Mosque, Lamu.

⁵⁶ *Umm al-Qurā fī mad’ḥī khayr al warā* ‘the mother of cities on the praises of the best of creation’ and *Qaṣida al-Hamziyya fī madāiḥ al-Nabawiyyah* ‘An ode rhymed in *Hamza* in praise of the Prophet’ (see also : Knappert 1968: 52).

- Images taken by R. Samsom , Mombasa Island, 2013.

2.2.11. Mombasa-Nabahany-03, Nd

2.2.11.1. Physical description

Paper, 314 mm x 216 mm, 32 folios, 22-24 lines per folio. Language: Swahili. Colophon date (f. 32v): 22nd January 1986. Scribe: Aḥmad Šayḥ Nabahany. Title: not provided.

2.2.11.2. The texts contained in the manuscript

The *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs with few *ḥawāšīn* (in Swahili) on its text, folios 1-32.

2.2.11.3. Other information

- The original scribe is Aḥmad Sheikh Nabahany (d. 2017). His family members are probably the current custodians. The *tarjama* runs to 475 lines.
- The manuscript is written on modern foolscap.
- Script: Swahilo-Latin only.
- Ink colours: black and blue.
- The work consists of draft notes working towards a full transliteration of ‘Aydarūs’ *tarjama*. An alternative meaning in Swahili is given to a few selected words in the manuscript.
- Images taken by R. Samsom, Mombasa Island, 2013.

2.2.12. UDSM-Dar es Salaam-541, Af

2.2.12.1. Physical description

Paper, 220 mm x 170 mm, 148 folios, 6-15 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date: nil, but the manuscript is c. 19th century. Copyist: not specified. Title: not provided.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The colophon details and the title of the codex cannot be provided due to the fact that the manuscript’s front and back covers are missing.

2.2.12.2. Texts contained in the manuscript:

The *taḥmīs Hamziyya* of ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Fārūqī b. Sulaymān al-‘Amrī (d. 1861), and the *matn* and the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs’, folios 1-148. Each stanza, therefore, contains seven half-lines.

2.2.12.3. Subsidiary references

- Arabic *Hamziyya* booklet titled *Taḥmīs al-Hamziyya*, identified at Ṣayḥ‘Abūdi’s residence, Pate Island, 2015.

This work contains the same *Taḥmīs al-Hamziyya* of al-‘Amrī, and the *matn* verses.

- Al-Tamimy, S. (1993) *Taḥmīs Hamziyya al-Imām al-Būṣīrī*, Cairo.

This work contains the same *Taḥmīs Hamziyya* text of al-‘Amrī and the *matn* verses.

2.2.12.4. Other information

- The manuscript copy is currently in Maktaba ya Daktari W. Chagula (Dr. Chagula Library), East Africana, University of Dar-es-Salaam,. A microfilm tape of the same work is at SOAS Library. The manuscript was obtained from ‘Afua bt. Ḥassani of Siyu in 1966 (Allen, 1970:32). The manuscript is in *taḥmīs* poetic form but some folios are missing (see 3.5.2). The *taḥmīs* text is incomplete, and runs to 57 lines only. The *matn* and *tarjama* verses run to approximately 456 lines. Spaces have been left for the *taḥmīs* stanzas, and the copyist probably intended to insert them at a later stage.
- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: black.
- Images taken by A. Parkar, courtesy of UDSM, Dr. Chagula Library, Dar-es-Salaam, 2015.

2.2.13. Tumbatu-Kombo-01, Ko

2.2.13.1. Physical description

Paper with soft paper cover, 225 mm x160 mm, 44 folios, 8-12 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date: nil, c. 19th century. Copyist: Ṣayḥ‘Ali Kombo Ngwali al-‘Alawy.

2.2.13.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

The *matn* and the *tarjama* of the Tumbatu version, folios 1-23.

2.2.13.3. Other information

- The Tumbatu *tarjama* was composed by *Šayḥ* ‘Ali al-‘Amūdī of Shela Island, Lamu (p.c., *Šayḥ* Kombo Ngwali, Zanzibar Island). *Šayḥ* Kombo states that some scholars from Lamu came to settle in Tumbatu Island in the 19th Century. They worked as *madrasa* teachers and thus taught the *Hamziyya* and other *qaṣā'id*. Learners used to write manuscripts as part of the instruction from their teachers, and this is how the Tumbatu version was transmitted through a span of generations. The codex is incomplete as it contains approximately 44 lines for both the *matn* and *tarjama*.
- Script: Arabic, Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: Blue.
- Images taken by A. Parkar, Zanzibar Island, 2015.

2.2.14. Barawa-b. *Šayḥ-01, Se*

2.2.14.1. Physical description

Paper, ca. 297 mm x 210 mm, 16 folios, 12 lines per folio. Language: Chimwini (~~variety~~). Colophon date: nil, c. 1930. Copyist: unspecified. Title: *Tafsiri Baadhi Abiyati za Hamziyya*.

2.2.14.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

The *tarjama* of the Chimwini version only, folios 1-16.

2.2.14.3. Other information

- The ms was copied by Shego Bakari and owned by Aḥmad Badawy *Šayḥ* b. *Šayḥ* (p.c., Meikal Mumin, 2015). The *tarjama* text is incomplete, as it runs to 95 lines only.
- The poem was translated into Chimwini by *šayḥ* Qāsim Muḥyiddīn al-Barāwī (d. 1921). The poem comprises pages 59-74 of a larger manuscript, which contains nine poems by *Šayḥ* Qāsim (p.c., Meikal Mumin, 2015).

- Chimwini, spoken around the town of Mini (better known as Barawa or Brava) in southern Somalia, has been variously categorised as a northern dialect of Swahili, or a separate language closely related to Swahili – see Banafunzi & Viello (2014), Kisseberth & Abasheikh (1977), Mumin & Dimmendaal (2019), Nurse (1983).
- Script: Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: black.
- Images obtained in 2015 from Meikal Mumin, who originally obtained them from Barawa, Somalia.

2.2.15. Muscat-Al-Amawy-01, *Am*

2.2.15.1. Physical description

Paper with brown leather cover, 240 mm x 160 mm (manuscript cover 170 mm), 251 folios, 6 lines per folio. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date: *Sunday, 14th Ramadhan 1299 AH / 30th July 1882*. Copyist: Abū Burhān ‘Abdulaziz bin ‘Abdul Ghanī al-Amawy Al-Quraishy. Title: *Hadhihi al-Hamziyyatu al-‘Arabiyyatu al-Ṣahiliyyatu*.

2.2.15.2. Text contained in the manuscript

- The *matn* and the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs plus numerous *ḥawāšīn* in Arabic and Swahili, f. 2-251. The Arabic *ḥawāšīn* are haphazardly arranged and are more numerous than the Swahili ones. The manuscript also contains a *waqfiyya* statement in Arabic (see 2.2.15.3).

2.2.15.3. Other information

- The manuscript is currently at the Maktabah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Būsa’īdī library in Sieb, Muscat, Oman. The shelf mark number is 652. The *matn* and *tarjama* texts run to approximately 475 lines. It also contains seven extra poetic lines after the Arabic colophon. The extra lines are scribed by Al-Amawy himself.
- *Waqfiyya* statement:

Hadhihi al-Hamziyyatu al-‘Arabiyyatu wa al-ṣawahiliyyatu kilāhumā liabī Burhān ‘Abdulaziz b. ‘Abdul Ghanī al-Amawy al-Quraishy. Wa qad waqafahumā liawlādahu al-dhukūr siwā al-inātha mā tanāsalu liawlād batna fabaṭna. Faidhā inqariḏū fata’awadhu bilahi min inqirāḏihim, ‘alā walādahu al-inātha wa awlād walādahum baṭna fabaṭna, thuma ‘alā ‘ulamā’ Fabīlah waqfan lillahi mawbadan. Lā yubā’ lā yusraf bijamī’ wujud al-tasarruf ilā an yarithallahu al-arḏa wa man ‘alayhā wa huwa ḥayr al-wārithīn. Tariḥ yawm ‘ashr min Šahr Ramaḏān 1304 A.H. Alf wa thalatha mā atah wa ‘arba’. Katabahu Abū Burhān ‘Abdul’Aziz ‘Abdul Ghanī al-Amawy al-Quraishy, biyadihī. (stamped)

“The work *al-Hamziyyatu al-‘Arabiyyatu wa al-Swawahiliyyatu* is copied by Abī Burhān ‘Abdulazīz b. ‘Abdul Ghanī al-Amawy al-Quraishy. The work is declared as *waqfiyya* bequest property for the benefit of his children, be they male or female, with its blessings to pass on thereafter to their children and their subsequent offspring (i.e. womb after womb). And if the lineage happens to end, may God forbid this to happen, let the children from his (the copyist’s) maternal side benefit from it, and this should also pass on to their children and their subsequent offspring (i.e. womb after womb). And then (should the lineage still end) let the closest relatives then (benefit from it) and then Fabīlah [Qabīlah?] scholars. The work is solely dedicated for the sake of God. It is, therefore, strictly not for sale or for any (economic) exchange in whatever form until God inherits His earth and He is the best of inheritors. It is declared on 10th *Ramaḏhan* 1304 AH [i.e. equivalent to 1st June 1887] by Abī Burhān ‘Abdulaziz ‘Abdul Ghanī al-Amawy al-Quraishy.⁵⁸

- Script: Arabic and Swahilo-Arabic
- Ink colours: black and red. A few annotations in purple ink
- Images obtained via email from R. Samsom. They were originally obtained from the Omani National Records and Archives Authority (NRAA), Muscat, 2017.

⁵⁸ At the end of the *waqfiyya* statement, a stamp bearing al-Amawy’s signature appears.

2.2.16. Nda-Kame-01, Ka

2.2.16.1. Physical description

Paper with light brown carton cover, 226 mm x 150 mm, 116 folios, 16 lines per folio for the *Hamziyya* text, 12 lines per folio for the *Tahmīs* of *Tabāraka dhil ‘ulā*. Language: Arabic, Swahili. Colophon date (f. 54 r): 27th Ramaḍhan 1276 AH / 18th April 1860. Copyist: ‘Uthmān Mbwarahaji bin ‘Uthmān bin Šayth. Title: *Hadha al-Kitābu al-Hamziyya al-Lughata al-Arabiyya bi al-Sawaḥilīyya*.

2.2.16.2. Texts contained in the manuscript

- The *matn* and the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs’, folios 1-59. The *Tahmīs* of *Tabāraka dhil ‘ulā*, folios 60-116.

2.2.16.3. Other information

- The contemporary custodian of the manuscript is Šayḥ ‘Ali Mu’alim ‘Abūd Bana Yu’rafu Lālī Kame. A *madrassa* teacher in Nda Island, Lamu Archipelago, Kenya.

Tamalluk statement:

Hadha al-kitābu al-Hamziyya al-Lughata al-‘Arabiyya bi al-Sawaḥilīyya, malik ḥayr al-marḥūm bin Mbwarafundi al-Lāsīyyu

“This book of *al-Hamziyya* in Arabic and its Swahili rendition belongs to the noble one: *al-Marḥūm bin Mbwarafundi al-Lāsīyyu*.”

- Script: Arabic and Swahilo-Arabic.
- Ink colours: black.
- Images taken by A. Parkar, Lamu, 2017.

2.3 *Hamziyya* Manuscripts Identifiers

To aid systematic discussion in the subsequent sections, reference details for the sixteen *Hamziyya* manuscripts are provided in Table 1 below, which gives the location where the manuscript was consulted, the corpus identifiers (see Chapter III) and the manuscript codes (that will be used throughout the thesis).

Location	<i>Hamziyya</i> identifier	Manuscripts	Code
United Kingdom, London	London-SOAS-53823 London-SOAS-53827		Ay Hi
Kenya: Lamu Archipelago (Ndau, Pate and Siyu Islands)	Pate-‘Abūdi-01 Pate-Dini-01 Pate-Bāṣfār-01 Siyu-Saggaf-01 Ndau, Kame 01		Ab Di Ba Sa Ka
Kenya: Mombasa Island	MSA-Ḥusaynī-01 MSA-Nabahany-01 MSA-Nabahany-02 MSA-Nabahany-03		Hu Qa Nd Nc
Kenya : Kilifi County	Mambrui-Al-Bayḍ-01		Be
Tanzania:Dar-es-Salaam Tumbatu Island	Dar-es-salaam-UDSM-541 Tumbatu-Kombo-01		Af Ko
Somalia, Brava	Barawa-al-Šayḥ-01		Se
Oman, Muscat	Muscat-al-Amawy-01		Am

Table 1: The *Hamziyya* manuscript corpus

CHAPTER III : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE *HAMZIYYA* MANUSCRIPTS

3.0. Introduction

This chapter investigates the divergent textual layouts, and the physical and material features of the *Qaṣīda Hamziyya* manuscripts. This systematic and comparative analysis is based on the following parameters: languages and scripts (3.1), text genre (3.2), whether or not the manuscript is a single-text (STM), or multiple-texts (MT M) (3.3), page layout (*mise-en-page*) (3.4), general layout of the poetic text (3.5), textual dividers for two-column manuscripts (3.6), textual components of the *Hamziyya* (3.7), paratexts included in the manuscript (3.8), prosodic structure of the *matn* and *tarjama* (3.9), and calligraphic features (3.10). A summary is provided in section 3.11. The comparative analysis of the *Hamziyya* corpus in this chapter will form a basis for the functional analysis in Chapter IV.

3.1 Languages and scripts

Three languages are found in the corpus: Arabic, Swahili and English. The manuscripts in the corpus (see Figure 1) fall into two major groups: monolingual (4 manuscripts) and bilingual (12 manuscripts). There are no trilingual manuscripts. Monolingual manuscripts are attested in Swahili only, whereas bilingual manuscripts combine Swahili with either Arabic or English.

Monolingual (Swahili) manuscripts use either Arabic or Latin script, whereas in bilingual manuscripts the non-Swahili language determines the script, i.e. a Swahili/Arabic text uses Arabic script only, while a Swahili/English text uses Latin script only.

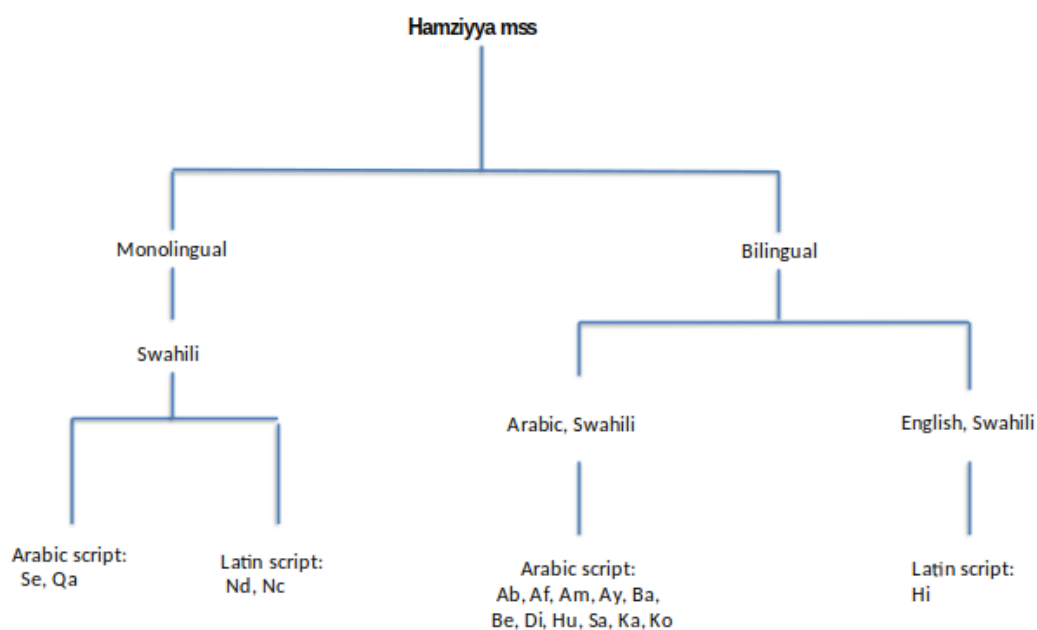


Figure 1. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts: languages and scripts

The largest cluster of manuscripts consists of bilingual Arabic and Swahili text in Arabic script. *Hi* is an isolated example of a manuscript where the *tarjama* and its English translation are both in Latin script.

3.2. Text genre

The *Hamziyya* manuscripts contain two text genres: poetry and prose (see Figure 2). The *tahmīs* (a *Hamziyya* poem of five half-lines), the *matn* (the *Hamziyya* text in Arabic), and the *tarjama* (the AV Swahili translation of the *Hamziyya*) are all in poetic form, while the remaining texts (e.g. *šarḥ*, commentary) and paratexts (e.g. *ḥawāšīn*, annotations, *tamalluk*, ownership statements, and *waqfiyya*, bequest statements) are in prose.

In a given *Hamziyya* manuscript, poetic and prose texts feature in three possible combinations:

- (a) poetic texts only (*Af*, *Ba*, *Ko*, *Qa*, *Sa* and *Se*)

(b) poetic texts combined with prose *šarḥ*, *ḥawāšīn*, *tamalluk* or *waqfiyya* paratexts (*Ab*, *Am*, *Ay*, *Di*, *Hu*, *Ka*, *Nc*, *Nd* and *Hi*)

(c) prose texts only (*Be*).

Only the text variants (a) and (b) are considered as text genres, because the only representative of type (c) is a glossary (i.e. *Be*), which consists of simply a list of Arabic words and their meaning in English. For further discussion of *Be*'s textual elements, see 3.6.3.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of languages in relation to text genre. The main distinction is between manuscripts containing poetry only (*Af*, *Ba*, *Ko*, *Sa*, *Qa*, *Se*) and those combining poetry and prose (*Hu*, *Ab*, *Am*, *Di*, *Ka*, *Nc*, *Nd*, and *Hi*). Finally, the divergent combinations of texts and paratexts are illustrated with their language specifications (level 3). The language of the *taḥmīs* (including the *matn*) and its *tarjama* are omitted in Figure 2 because by definition the first two are always in Arabic and the last is always in Swahili. The languages of the *šarḥ* and paratexts such as *ḥawāšīn*, *waqfiyya*, and *tamalluk* statements, however, are specified in parenthesis, because they can vary.

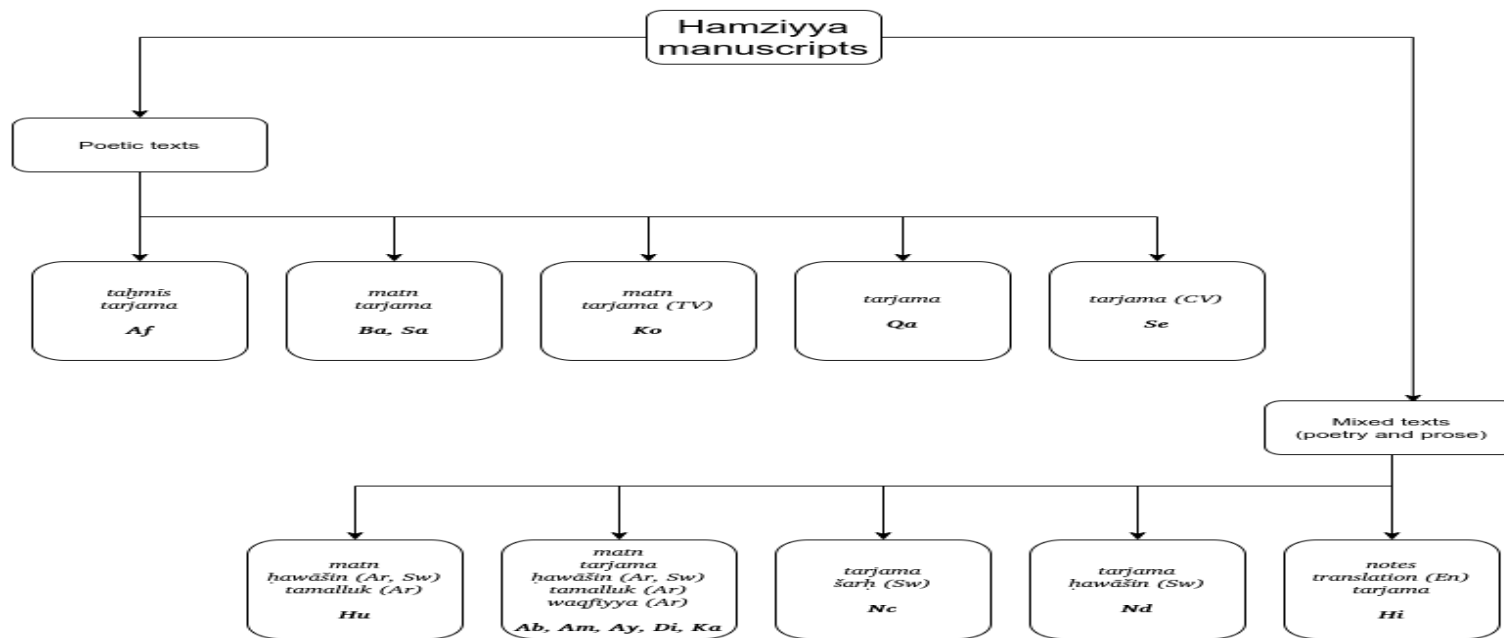


Figure 2: The *Hamziyya* manuscripts according to genre.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ The sole example of a prose text (the glossary text *Be*) is omitted here. The *tarjama* is the ‘Aydarūs version unless otherwise specified: CV, the Chimwini version, TV, the Tumbatu version. Ar=Arabic, Sw=Swahili, En=English.

The manuscripts' textual and script divergencies suggest that Arabic and Swahilo-Arabic script seems to be well-established in the East African coastal region from the seventeenth century onwards. This is exemplified in the *Hamziyya* corpus by the older manuscripts *Ay*, *Ka* and *Am* (see Table 5), all of which are in Arabic script.

Historically, writing in Arabic script seems to have been encouraged more in colonial Kenya (1890-1962) than in post-colonial Kenya (1963 to the present). It is probably the force of cultural and religious tradition that influenced a Swahili writing system that was retained for centuries. Until recently, Swahili scribes did not write in Latin script, because they were reluctant to attend missionary schools where they felt they might be pressured into converting to Christianity.

The latest manuscripts such as *Na* and *Nc* are in Latin script, and this seems to be a new development. Recent Swahili scribes fully conversant with Arabic, such as the late Mu'allim Yahya, Sheikh Nabahany and Ustadh MAU, are biliterate, and can write in both Latin and Arabic script. The scribes learn both scripts mainly to have a wider audience in the East African community and beyond. Further discussion on the relation between the text and its usage or function in the context of Swahili culture is given in Chapter IV.

3.3. Single-text and multiple-text manuscripts

This section classifies the *Hamziyya* manuscripts into single-text manuscripts (STMs) and multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs). Table 2, below, lists the manuscripts according to whether they are monolingual (M) or bilingual (B), their textual content, and whether they are single-text or multiple-text.

Linguality	Textual content	Manuscript	Category
M	<i>Tarjama</i> only	Qa, Se	STM
M	<i>Tarjama</i> plus <i>ḥawāšīn</i>	Nd	STM
M	<i>Tarjama</i> plus <i>Šarḥ</i>	Nc	MTM
B	<i>Matn</i> plus <i>tarjama</i>	Ab, Ay, Ba, Ko, Sa	STM
B	<i>Matn</i> , <i>tarjama</i> plus <i>qaṣā'id</i> 'poems'	Di, Ka	MTM
B	<i>Taḥmīs</i> plus <i>tarjama</i>	Af	STM
B	<i>Matn</i> plus <i>ḥawāšīn</i>	Hu	STM
B	<i>Matn</i> , <i>tarjama</i> plus <i>ḥawāšīn</i>	Am	STM
B	<i>Tarjama</i> only plus an English translation	Hi	MTM
B	Glossary (<i>al-mu'jam</i>)	Be	STM

Table 2: The categorization of *Hamziyya* manuscripts as STMs and MTMs.

Table 2 shows that *Di*, *Hi*, *Ka* and *Nc* are categorized as MTMs, and the remainder (*Ab*, *Af*, *Am*, *Ay*, *Ba*, *Be*, *Hu*, *Ko*, *Nd*, *Sa*, *Se*, *Qa*) as STMs. Based on the definition provided by Friedrich & Schwarke (2016:15-16) that, MTM “designates a codicological unit ‘worked in a single operation’ with two or more texts [...] delimited in time and space”, it may be noticed that the MTMs (i.e. *Di*, *Hi*, *Ka* and *Nc*) contain the *matn* and/or *tarjama*, with other additional texts, such as extra *qaṣā'id* (singl. *qaṣīda*) or English translation or *šarḥ* (as illustrated in table 2). Accordingly, the manuscripts are in line with the definition of MTMs because they were, initially, planned and produced to contain more than one text in a single operation. In regard to the STMs, we have two categories: (i) the “simple” STMs and (ii) the “complex” ones.

- The “simple” STMs, *Qa*, *Se*, *Nd*, *Hu*, and *Be*, contain a single text and paratexts, i.e. title, *basmalah*, *ḥawāšīn* (for *Nd* & *Hu* only) and copyist’s colophon (cf. table 2). As stated earlier (see 1.2), the paratexts are not considered texts proper; rather, they are “thresholds” that guide the reader or provide more information on the text (cf. Ciotti & Lin 2016). Nevertheless, the above manuscripts are in line with what constitutes an STM, i.e., each has one poetic text in it.
- The “complex” STMs, *Ay*, *Am*, and *Ka*, have a complex combination of texts and paratexts intertwined “under one roof”: thus the *matn* interlinearised with *tarjama* is “sandwiched” between the titlepage and *basmalah* ‘opening formula’, and the copyist’s colophon, meaning that it is difficult to classify them as MTMs, [i.e., the actual titlepage of the poem is followed by the *basmalah*, the text, and then the colophon]. I have used the word “texts” above because; the *matn* and the *tarjama* texts sometimes appear as independent texts and sometimes as two or more texts that are combined into one text. For example, *Hu* contains the *matn* plus annotations, with the *tarjama* omitted, while *Qa* contains only the *tarjama*. Here, in both cases, the *matn* is a text on its own and the *tarjama* constitutes an independent text too. However, there are texts which cannot be thus separated. For example, a *taḥmīs* poem with five half-lines must have a *matn* attached: the three *taḥmīs* lines cannot stand independently on their own.

Friedrich & Schwarke’s (2016) definition of MTMs seems not to cover manuscripts with complex combinations of “intertwined texts” and paratexts, possibly because their focus was mainly on manuscripts with two or more independent texts that were produced in a single operation.

Examination of the old *Hamziyya* manuscripts consisting of the *matn* and ‘Aydarūs version suggests that their texts were initially produced to contain a complex combination of texts and paratexts “under one roof” (cf. *Ay*, *Ab*, *Am* and *Di*). This is further supported by the *Hamziyya* manuscripts with *taḥmīs* (cf. *Af*) and the poetic rendition of Tumbatu (cf. *Ko*), which shows a similar layout of a complex combination of texts and paratexts “under one roof”. The Swahili translators and copyists planned and produced the complex combined texts as one, and manuscripts

with such textual layout can therefore be categorized as STMs. Furthermore, it is also evident that during specific occasions, such as the *Mawlid*, *zefe*, or *ziyara* ritual (see 4.2), the chanting of the texts in the oral performances is also conducted in a bilingual interlinear format, where the *matn* and *tarjama* are chanted alternately, line by line, as they appear in the manuscripts with the ‘Aydarūs and Tumbatu versions.

On some occasions (for instance, prior to the *darsa* ‘lecture’ on the Qur’an exegesis in the month of Ramadhan), the *matn* is chanted alone (without the *tarjama*) in some parts of coastal Kenya. The opposite is also possible – e.g. the women of Pate Island chant the *tarjama* by itself, independently of the *matn*, when a woman is in labour pain (p.c. Mwalimu Dini). This shows that the *matn* and *tarjama* texts have independent lives during oral performances. In this case, if the *matn* and *tarjama* texts are written separately in a given codex, then each manuscript (with its independent text) can be referred to as a STM. Similarly, if they are written together in a combined “intertwined” textual layout system “under one roof”, then the two textual units can also be regarded as a STM.

A more complex case is a codex containing a combination of texts. For instance, the *tahmīs* and *tarjama* can be set out together by a stanza in a given codex “under one roof” (cf. *Af*). That is, each stanza commences with the three *tahmīs* lines, then the *matn* and its *tarjama* follow respectively throughout the poem. It is worth noting that the three *tahmīs* lines do not have an independent life, and must always be added prior to the *matn*’s verses to form a complete *tahmīs* poem, implying that there is a merging of three texts to form one single text. The codex can still be described as STM, as they all share one title, *basmalah* and one colophon i.e. they are “under one roof”. For further details on the textual layout of the *tahmīs* poem, see 3.5.2.

One big question to be tackled here is whether the *tarjama* can stand as a single independent text or not? So far we know, the Arabic original was initially a text on its own. When it came to East Africa it was reproduced along with the *tarjama* in a variety of ritual occasions such as *mawlid* and wedding ceremonies, and it was chanted in an alternating stanza-wise fashion in Lamu Island and Pate. On this basis, it is difficult to claim that the *tarjama* is an independent text on its own right, given

the fact that it was written in an intertwined form and the chanting follows the bilingual (Arabic, Swahili) layout.

In the corpus, two versions of *Hamziyya* (AV and TV) exist in a bilingual form and are chanted in oral performances in the way they are written. However, the corpus also suggests that the *tarjama* has slowly been detached from the intertwined format, and more recently has become an independent text in the *Hamziyya* manuscripts (see Table 2) especially when the *Hamziyya* text is re-worked for scholarly functions (*Hu*, *Hi*, *Nc* and *Nd*). We can, therefore, conclude that the best way to approach categorizing the *matn* and *tarjama* as single or multiple texts is by looking at the contents of the manuscript itself, its historical development and its role in oral performances or other related functions (i.e. was it produced for the transfer of knowledge, scholarly purposes or for oral performances?).

3.4 An overview of the layout of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts

The arrangement of the various elements on a manuscript folio of a given codex is known as layout or *mise-en-page*. This term covers, not only the text, but also margins, decoration, and the relationship between these different elements (Déroche 2005:167). Apart from the insertion of margins, borders, decorations and special marks for caesurae, the copyists may vary the number of lines per folio, change the font size of the script(s),⁶⁰ and add secondary texts on the margins or between the lines of the main text (Sobieroj 2016).

Daub (2016:42), examining manuscripts of al-Būṣīrī's *al-Burda*, al-Ghazūlī's *Dalā'il* and the *Šifā'* of Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, mainly from North Africa, outlines three types of layout arrangements: text block (type I), two columns (type II) and alternating half verse (type III). The modalities of the textual layout of Daub's manuscripts (see Figure 3) may be described as follows:

- Type I (text block): The lines of poetry run from the beginning of the page to the end. The lines are written in such a way that they maximize (almost) every inch of the available space on a folio. For this reason, there are no decorations, caesura marks or columnar subdivisions inserted between the hemstitches,

⁶⁰ For instance, the *matn* is characterized by bold letters, which are also bigger in terms of their font size than the *tarjama* text.

- Type II (double columns): The lines of poetry are laid out in two columns: the first half-line appears in the first column and the second half-line appears in the second column. Decorations or caesura marks may appear at the end of each half-line.
- Type III (alternating half-line): The first half-line is positioned above the second one, which is indented. Since each half-line is on a row by itself, short gaps appear at the left and right sides of the folio respectively.

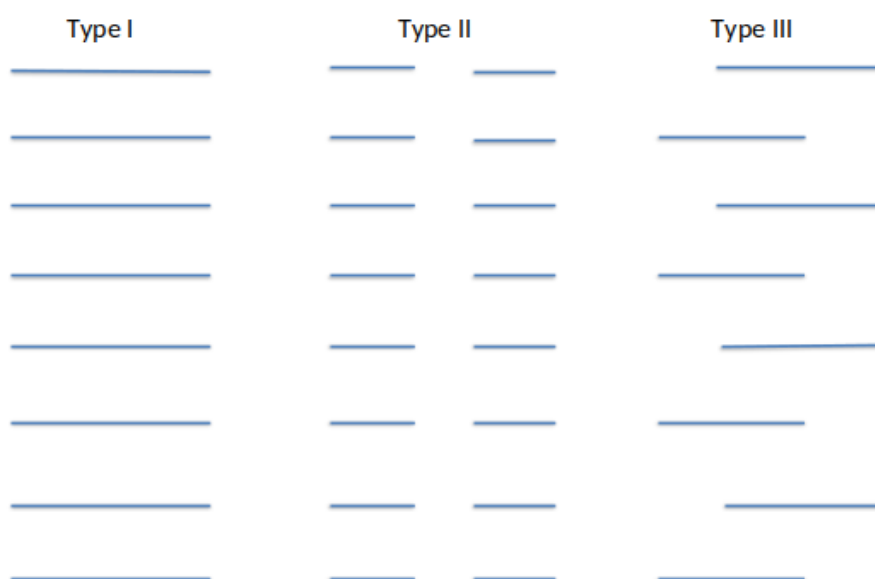


Figure 3: Types I-III in North African *qasīda* manuscripts (Daub 2016: 42).

Daub (2016:43) shows that there was progressive development of the layout of the *qasīda* manuscripts, from Type I to Type III. In the 14th century the scribes did not pay much attention to beautifying their texts or presenting them in an organized manner, and thus wrote in the text block style to utilise every bit of space on the paper due to its scarcity. From the end of the 16th century onwards, the two-columnar arrangement became the standard layout format for Islamic poetic texts and by the 18th century, manuscripts with the alternating half-line layout were produced as

talismanic objects in pocket size, roughly 10cm square, which precluded the two-column layout.

In contrast to these layouts, the textual layouts of the manuscripts in the *Hamziyya* corpus may be grouped into three distinct types, A, B and C (see Figure 4):

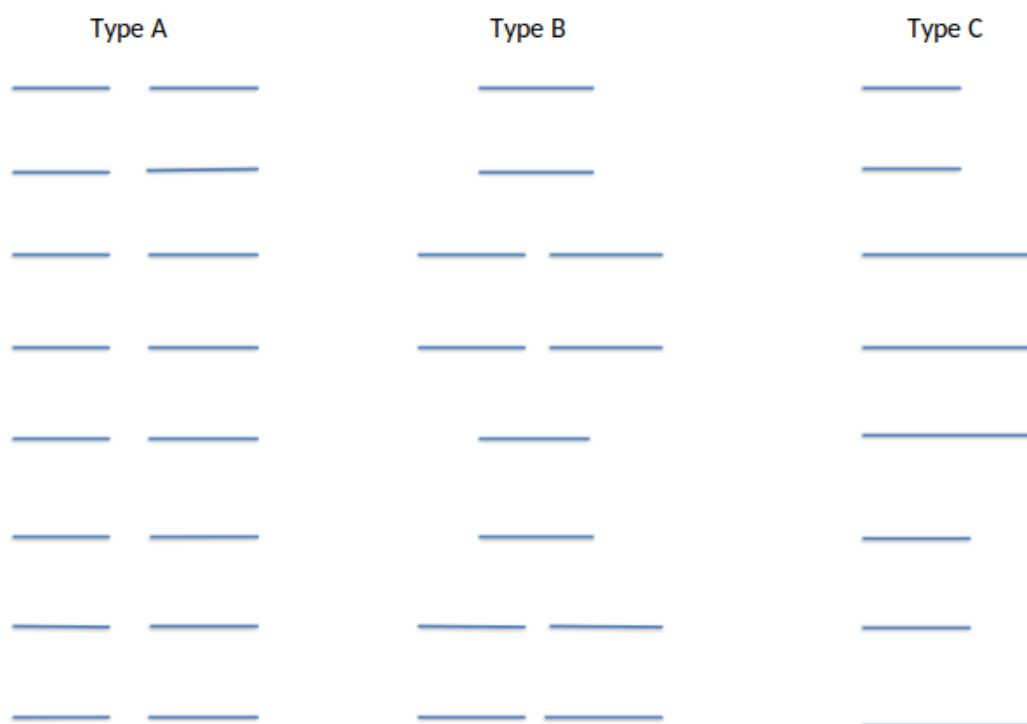


Figure 4: The three main textual layouts of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts.

- Type A: The lines of poetry are laid out in two columns (see 3.5.1). This is similar to Daub's Type II layout.
- Type B: The lines of poetry use a complex mixed layout, comprising a sequence of single and double columns (see 3.5.2).
- Type C: The lines of poetry are laid out in a single column, but (unlike Daub's Type I) the column is of varying width (see 3.5.4 -3.5.6).

There is no *Hamziyya* analogue of Daub's Type III, nor is the *Hamziyya* Type B seen in Daub's corpus.

Table 3 sets out the manuscripts in the corpus by layout type:

Layout type	Manuscript code
A	Ab, Ay, Ba, Be, Di, Hu, Ka, Ko, Qa, Sa, Se
B	Af, Am
C	Hi, Nc, Nd

Table 3: The *Hamziyya* manuscripts and their layout types.

Table 3 shows that the majority of manuscripts are of type A. Moreover, most of the old manuscripts are structured in this style. This suggests that the original layout of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts may have been structured in this manner.

3.4.1. Type A

The two-column arrangement is the most common format in the *Hamziyya* corpus, being used in both monolingual (*Se, Qa*) and bilingual (*Ab, Ay, Ba, Di, Hu, Ka, Ko, Sa*) manuscripts. In the bilingual manuscript that comprises the *matn* and *tarjama* the two column arrangement is not interrupted. Similarly, the annotations in *Hu* do not interfere with the two column arrangement of its *matn*.

The colophon dates of these manuscripts range from the end of the 18th century to the present day (see chapter II on their codicological descriptions). Having become a standard format from the end of the 16th century onwards, the two-column arrangement continues to this day in printed works on Islamic poetry (e.g. Tibrīzī n.d., Zuhayr & al-Būṣīrī n.d.).

Generally, a similar layout of double columns has so far been attested in Islamic poetic texts by a number of scholars (see, Déroche, 2005, Daub 2013, Sobieroj 2016). It is not clear in which period this type of layout was initiated in the Swahili cultural area.

According to Sobieroj (2016:33), the two columns are pseudo-columns, because the poetic lines are to be read from right to left (i.e. horizontally across) and not from top to bottom. In other words, the two columns identify the borders of each half-line of the poem, and the reader reads the two halves of the line horizontally across, rather than reading column by column (Daub 2013). This layout also makes it easy to

visualise the end mono-rhyme of each verse. The general layout of the poetic texts and their textual dividers are discussed further in 3.6.

The fact that the oldest manuscripts, for instance *Ay*, *Ka* and *Hu*, are arranged in the double column layout suggests that this system is the “standard” format and that Swahili copyists may have adopted it at least as early as the 18th century, since the translation of the *Hamziyya* took place in 1749 (Hichens 1939:19). The Swahili translated a number of well-known Islamic poems such as *Bānat Su‘ād*, *al-Burda*, *Hamziyya* and *Tabāraka dil‘Ūlā*⁶¹ using the same two-column layout, where each line of the original Arabic text is followed by a poetic rendition in Swahili, resulting in a bilingual interlinear text. The poems were probably produced in this “standard” format for the oral performances⁶², since the *Hamziyya* (for instance) is chanted in bilingual form in specific ceremonies such as that commemorating the birth of the Prophet (*Mawlid*), or commemorations such as those at the graveside of the well-known scholar, founder of the Riyadha Mosque, Lamu, Al-Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ Jamāl Leyl (1844-1935) (Olali 2012). These aspects are discussed further in 4.2.

The Type A category includes additional layout features, which will be discussed in more detail in 3.5 :

- Varying spacing of the gaps between the textual lines, with *Ay*, *Ab*, *Ba*, *Be*, *Di*, *Ka*, *Ko*, *Qa*, *Sa* and *Se* showing narrow spacing, while the lines in *Hu* are widely spaced and contain many annotations.
- Annotations (*hawāšīn*). The manuscripts *Ay*, *Ab*, *Di*, and *Ka* contain few annotations, and these are either positioned diagonally on top of the text or haphazardly. *Ka* contains a unique type of annotation, where some appear upside down above the Arabic *matn* lines (Figure 5).
- Catchwords, where the first word of the next page is repeated at the bottom of the current page, the function being to ensure the correct order of the leaves in a quire (Gacek 2009:50). A number of manuscripts (*Ay*, *Di*, *Sa* and *Ka*) contain no page

⁶¹ The manuscripts in this category were identified during the fieldwork of the C07 project. For more information on them, see 2.2.

⁶² This is supported by interviews and video recordings from my fieldwork on the Lamu Archipelago, 17th July 2015.

numbers but have catchwords inserted below the last line of the poem at the bottom of the folio (Figure 6(1)).

- Partially visible grid lines, showing that the folio was ruled before the text was written. These guide the copyist in observing the margins of the double column and positioning the text in a “justified” layout (Figure 6(2)).

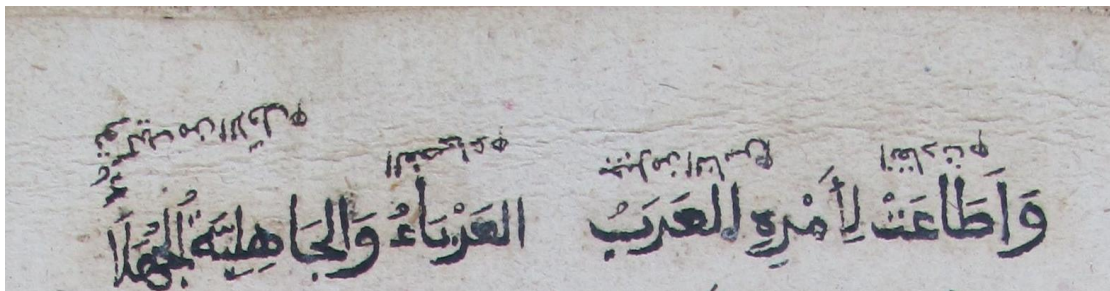


Figure 5: Ms. *Ka*, folio 8, upside down annotations. Image: A. Parkar.

The upside-down annotations seen in figure 5 suggest that a teacher might have written the annotations upside down purposely so that they were easy to read when a student was sitting opposite him. It also means that manuscripts with minor annotations such as *Ay* and *Ka* may at times have been used for transfer of knowledge, even if they were originally intended for preparation for oral performances. In other words, they served multiple purposes. More information on this is given in Chapter IV.

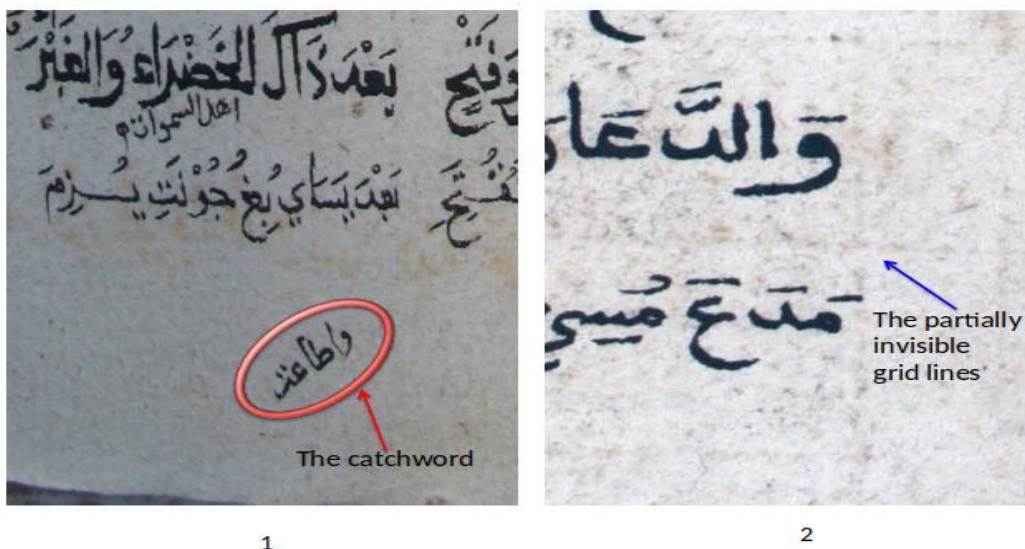


Figure 6: (1) A catchword in Ms. *Ay* f46.

(2) Partially visible grid lines in Ms. *Ka*, f11. -

Particular mention should be made of two Type A manuscripts which differ from the others. *Be* contains text whose lines are narrowly spaced and arranged in two columns, but each column is independent, as in dictionaries, and must be read from top to bottom. *Hu* and *Be* both include extra elements in their textual layout which are quite exceptional, and shows that they are primarily meant for learning and not for oral performance (see 4.2).

3.4.2. Type B

The manuscripts in the Type B category are bilingual, but contain two or more text types, which may be *tahmīs* (including *the matn*) and *tarjama* (*Af*) or *matn* and *tarjama* (*Am*). However, in contrast to Type A, they use an idiosyncratic layout, with some stanzas in a single column and others in a double column (see Figure 4, Type B).

In *Af*, for example, the three *tahmīs* lines are placed at the centre of the folio prior to the *matn* half-lines, and they are arranged vertically in a single column. The rest of the text, the *matn* and *tarjama*, is in second position and third position respectively and uses two columns. The spacing of the lines in all three poems (*tahmīs*, *matn* and *tarjama*) are narrow (approximately 0.5 to 0.7 cm), and the manuscript contains no *hawāšīn* (see Figure 7) -



Figure 7: *Tahmīs*, Ms. *Af*, f.21, Image by A. Parkar, courtesy of USDM .

In contrast, in *Am* the lines are widely spaced to allow *hawāšīn*, which appear between the lines, in the margins, or even haphazardly arranged beside the *matn* and *tarjama* texts. The *matn* half-lines are arranged in a single column; the first half-line is positioned above the second, with a space of approximately 3.5 cm left between them to accommodate *hawāšīn*. The *tarjama* lines are placed in a third row which extends over two columns. Notably, however, part of its second half-line (due to inadequate space on the folio) makes a 90° turn to face upwards at the left side margin of the folio (see Figure 8). This layout applies to every second half-line of the *tarjama* in the manuscript.

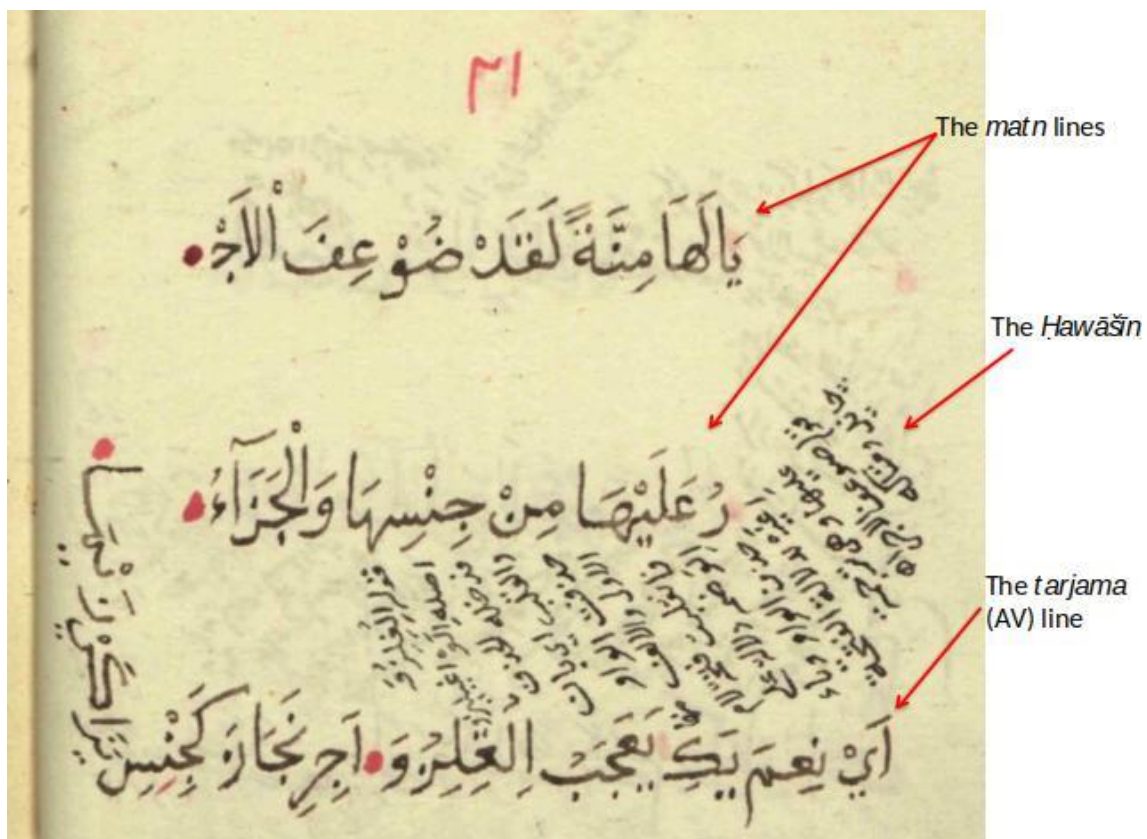


Figure 8: Ms. Am, f. 21.

3.4.3. Type C

Type C represents those *Hamziyya* manuscripts where the text is arranged in one column, and less systematically than in the case of Types A and B. The length of the text lines (which may be in prose or poetry) are not necessarily proportionate and may not cover the whole folio, in contrast to Daub's Type I (see Figure 3). The *Hamziyya* manuscripts of this type are usually in Latin script, with the *matn* text completely absent (e.g. *Hi*, *Nc* and *Nd*).

The three manuscripts in this group are all single-column, but show a variety of layouts:

- Ms. *Nd* is laid out as a single column with some annotations. The first half-line of each *tarjama* line is positioned above the second. The *ḥawāšīn* are haphazardly arranged, appearing either between the lines or in the margins.
- In Ms. *Nc*, two alternating texts are laid out in a single column. Each *tarjama* stanza is followed by a prose *šarḥ*, containing a paragraph or two with short explanatory notes.
- Ms. *Hi* also follows a one-column system, but the folios are of uneven size and the texts are not systematically arranged, with the *tarjama* and its translation appearing on different folios.

3.5. The general layout arrangement of the Hamziyya poetic texts

Having given a general overview of the layouts of the various manuscripts in the *Hamziyya* corpus, this section examines specific aspects of those layouts in more detail, looking particularly at the central role of the *matn* and *tarjama*.

Generally, in all of the bilingual interlinear manuscripts, (in layout A and B except *Ba*) the *matn* features more prominently than the *tarjama*, with its prominence achieved mainly by:

- Placing the *matn* lines before the *tarjama* lines (see Figure 9), so that each text-type runs alternately.



Figure 9: Ms. Ay, f.25. Image courtesy of SOAS Library, London.

Presentational indicators such as writing the *matn* using slightly larger bold characters, and the *tarjama* with smaller, thinner characters are particularly noticeable in *Ay*, *Di* and *Sa* (see figure 9).

In some cases, however, the *tarjama* may be given more prominence compared to the *matn*. For example, the *tarjama* may be written in red ink and the *matn* in black. *Ba* (Figure 10) exemplifies this, though black ink is retained for the eight prologue lines of the *tarjama*.

The prologue is a strategy of ‘Aydarūs to create his own poetic introduction prior to the main *Hamziyya* Arabic text. In it, he explains his intention to start the difficult task of translating the text. Strangely, in *Ba* below, we see two *basmalah*, and this may imply that the scribe does not view it as part of the core *Hamziyya* text. It is also possible that the copyists is giving more prominence to the Swahili translation.

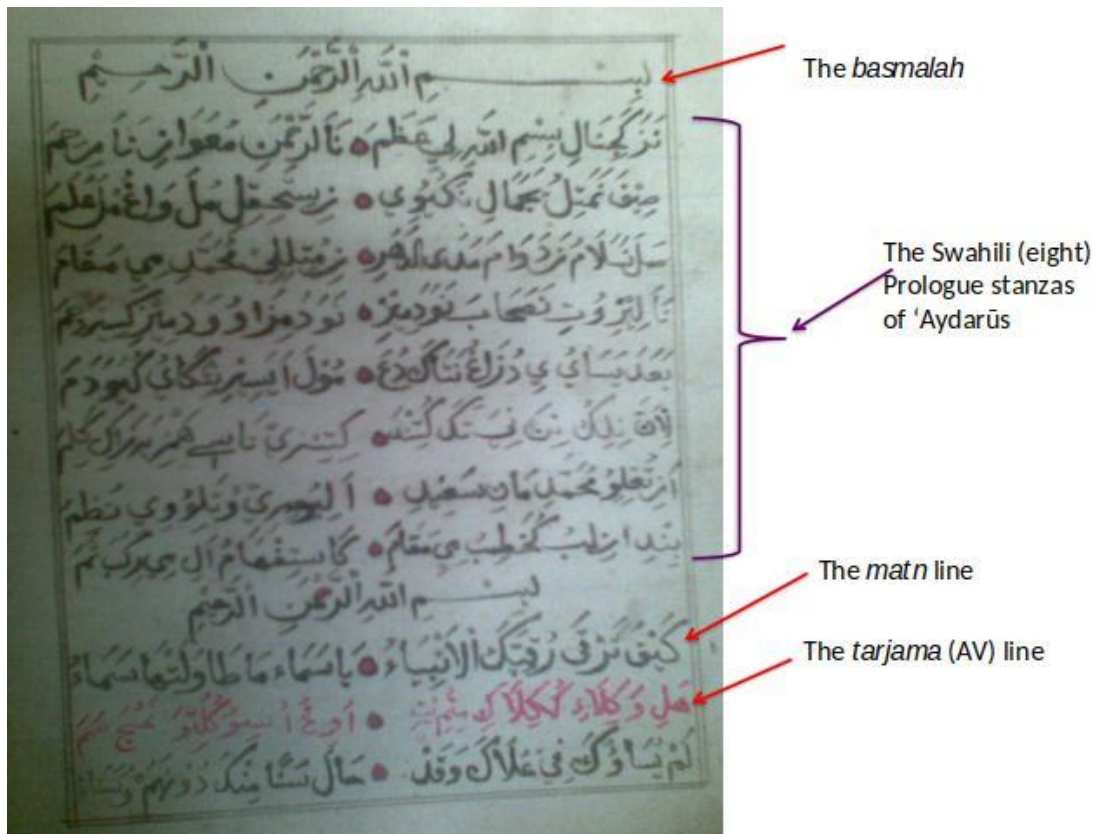


Figure 10: Ms. *Ba*, f1. Image: A. Badawy, courtesy of the CSMC.

Six formats relating to the *matn* and *tarjama* are attested in the *Hamziyya* corpus, and will be discussed in more detail in the remainder of this section:

- interlinear *matn* and *tarjama*, each with the same number of half-lines (3.5.1)
- amplification of the *matn* by *taḥmīs* lines (3.5.2)
- elucidation of the *matn* and *tarjama* lines via *ḥawāšīn* (3.5.3)
- amplification of the *tarjama* with additional half-lines (3.5.4)
- elucidation of the *tarjama* via a *šarḥ* text (3.5.5.)
- translation of the *tarjama* into English (3.5.6).

3.5.1. Interlinear *matn* and *tarjama* with an equal number of half-lines

Perhaps the most common textual layout in the sample is an interlinearisation of the *matn* and *tarjama* texts, each containing two half-lines. The *tarjama* here is always the ‘Aydarūs version, because it is the only one with two half-lines (cf. *Ay*, *Ab*, *Am*, *Ba*, *Di*, *Sa*, and *Ka*). It should be noted that the interlinearisation of the *tarjama* does not apply to its prologue and epilogue lines, presumably because these have no analogue in the *matn*. -For further details on the prologue and epilogue lines, see 3.7.

Our current knowledge suggests that the AV is the canonical text. TV and CV may have arisen independently, or they may have been a conscious attempt to create a “local” version of ‘Aydarūs’ text. The latter is more likely in terms of the dates, in the researcher’s view. The AV maintains a layout of 2 x 2, i.e. *matn* (in two half-lines) and *tarjama* (in two half-lines) while the later versions, such as the TV and CV contains a 2 x 4 layout, i.e. *matn* (in two half-lines and *tarjama* in four half-lines).

3.5.2. Amplification of the *matn* by *tahmīs* lines

As explained earlier, there are cases where a codex may contain a complex combination of texts; e.g. *tahmīs* (including *matn*) and *tarjama*. The layout of the three poems takes a hierarchical system; the *tahmīs* features first as an incipit, inserted prior to each *matn* line, which is then followed by the relevant *tarjama* (see Figure 7). Here, we see a combination of poetic texts composed by different individuals which have been merged to form one unified text. Specifically, the three poems are composed by different authors who existed in different eras: the *tahmīs* by ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Fārūqī b. Sulaymān al-‘Amrī (d. 1861), the *matn* by al-Būṣīrī (d. 1294), and the *tarjama* by ‘Aydarūs (d. 1749). The *matn* is the core text (since it is the oldest), the *tahmīs* incipit is its poetic commentary, and the *tarjama* is its poetic translation.

It is worth noting that in *Af* only the *matn* is translated into Swahili, and not the *tahmīs*, and that it is only the Arabic original which is embellished by *tahmīs*, not the Swahili translation.

The layout of the three texts, as shown in Figure 7 above, can be described as follows:

- The three *tahmīs* lines (equivalent to three half-lines) are positioned in the center of the folio and are located prior to the following two half-lines of the *matn*, which are laid out over two columns.
- The two half-lines of the *tarjama* are also laid out over two columns beneath each of the *matn* lines.

The rhyme-schemes of the three texts follow the pattern in Figure 11:

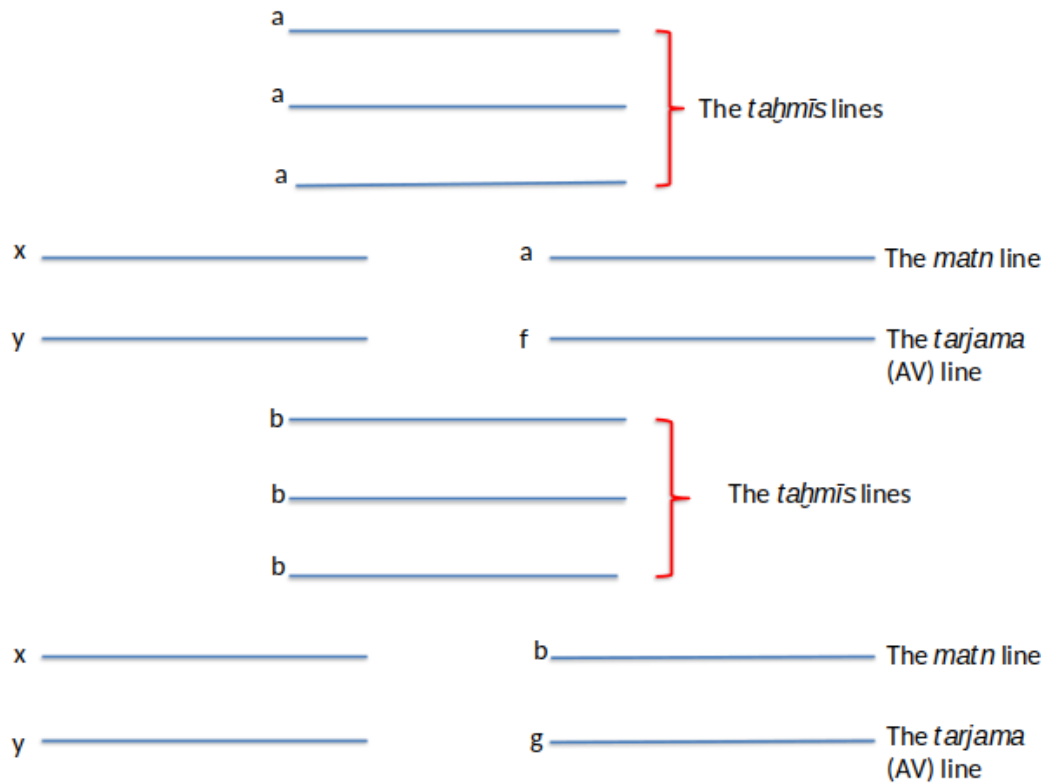


Figure 11: A representation of the rhyme-schemes of the *tahmīs*, *matn* and *tarjama* lines.

- All three *tahmīs* half-lines rhyme, but the rhyme varies in each stanza (*aaa*, *bbb*, *ccc* and so on), because it is determined by the final syllable of the *matn*'s first half-line.
- The *matn* line, represented here by *ax*, *bx*, *cx* and so on, always ends in *hamza*, the master end-rhyme, while the final syllable of the first half-line is taken up as the rhyme-scheme of the *tahmīs*.
- The rhyme-scheme of the two half-lines of the 'Aydarūs *tarjama* is represented by *fy*, *gy*, *hy* and so on. The end-rhyme is always *ma*, but the final syllable of the first half-line need not rhyme. The rhyme-schemes of the three combined texts can therefore be represented as *aaaaxyf*, *bbbbygy*, *ccccxhy* and so on. The *matn* and *tarjama* rhymes can be called *Hamziyya* and *Mimiyya* respectively. *Af* is the only instance in the corpus of this combination of the three poetic texts, but the *tahmīs* lines only occur in 66 stanzas (folio 1-18, 22,40, 41 and 42), with the other stanzas containing only the *matn* and

tarjama. A blank space, however, is left in each stanza, suggesting that the scribe/author planned to insert the *taḥmīs* lines throughout.

3.5.3. Elucidation of the *matn* and *tarjama* via *ḥāwāšīn*

Three types of layout are associated with *ḥāwāšīn*:

- *matn* only (*Hu*)
- *tarjama* only (*Nd*)
- *matn* with interlinear *tarjama* (*Ab, Am, Ay, Di* and *Ka*).

Hu contains the *matn* only, and its *ḥāwāšīn* are in Arabic and Swahili. The *matn* is in two-column layout, with a wide space of around 3.5 cm between the lines. The *ḥāwāšīn* are haphazardly arranged, appearing diagonally between the lines and along the margins (see Figure 12).

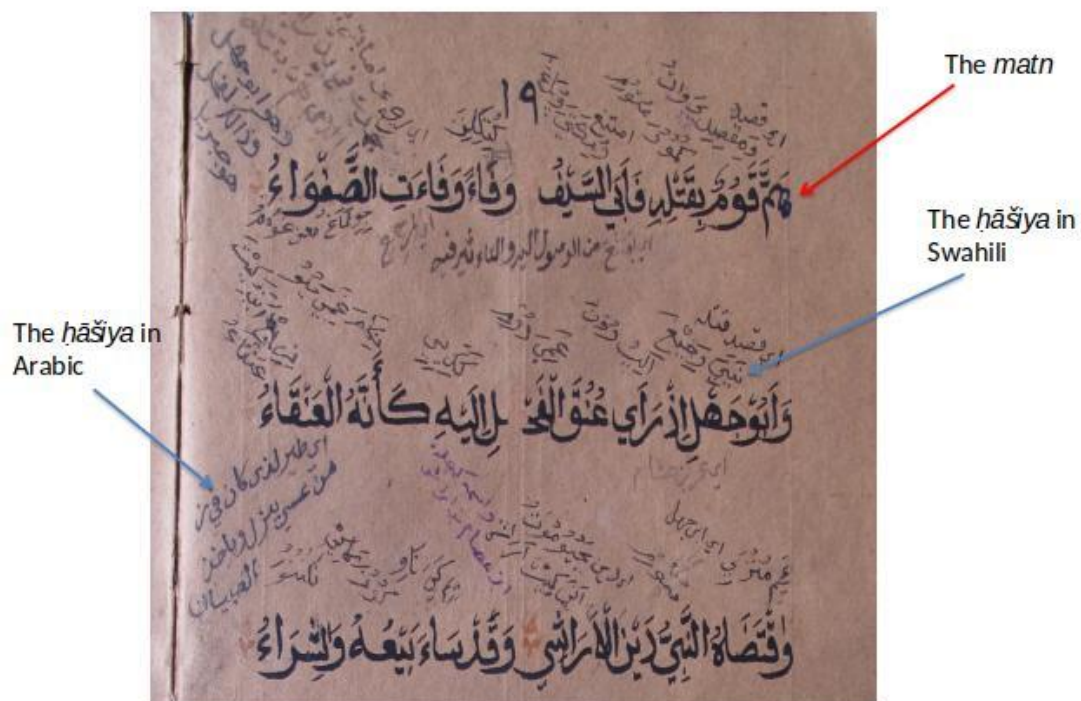


Figure 12: Ms. *Hu*, f 19. Image: Drs. R. Samsom, courtesy of Aḥmad Badawy b. Sayyid M. al-Ḥusaynī

Nd contains a *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs (in draft form) in Latin script. Its *ḥāwāšīn* appear in the margins or between the poetic lines, and explain the Swahili words of the

Kingozi variety and Kiamu dialect in modern Swahili. The difficult words in the *tarjama* are underlined, and a curved line is drawn to link each word to its *ḥāšiya*.

Am contains both the *matn* and the ‘Aydarūs’ *tarjama*, with *ḥāwāšīn* mainly in Arabic (contrasting with *Hu*, where they are mainly in Swahili).

Am, *Ab*, *Ay*, *Di* and *Ka* contain both *matn* and the ‘Aydarūs’ *tarjama*, but compared to *Am* the *ḥāwāšīn* are relatively fewer, and haphazardly arranged.

3.5.4. Amplification of the *tarjama* with additional half-lines

The ‘Aydarūs (AV) of the *tarjama* has two half-lines per verse, the same number (912) as the *matn*, but both the Tumbatu (TV, *Ko*) and the Chimwini (CV, *Se*) version have four half-lines per verse, two more than their *matn*, giving a total of 1,824 half-lines.

In addition, the TV begins with a three half-line *taḥmīs* incipit as a chorus (cf. Figure 13), which is sung repeatedly in the oral performance. All the *tarājīm* contain what seems to be a standard 15 syllables per half-line. More details on these features are given in section 3.7.

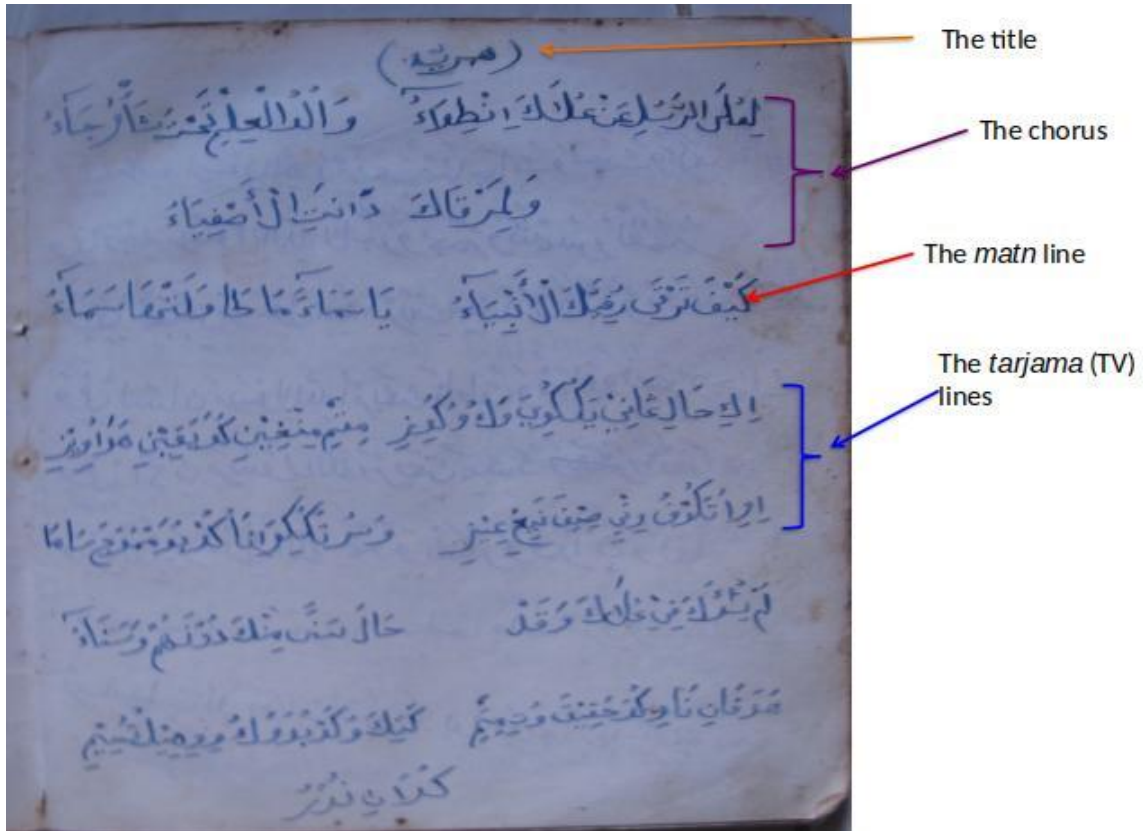


Figure 13: Ms. *Ko*, f.1. Image: A. Parkar.

3.5.5. Elucidation of the *tarjama* with a *šarḥ* text

Nc, which is in Latin script and entirely written in capital letters, has a unique layout of one-column containing both a *tarjama* and a *šarḥ* text. Both are monolingual, with each *tarjama* line of ‘Aydarūs followed by a Swahili *šarḥ* in prose. The *šarḥ* paragraph, consisting of five to seven complete sentences, explicates the poetic lines. Figures in parenthesis appear at the beginning of each *tarjama* verse (figure 14).

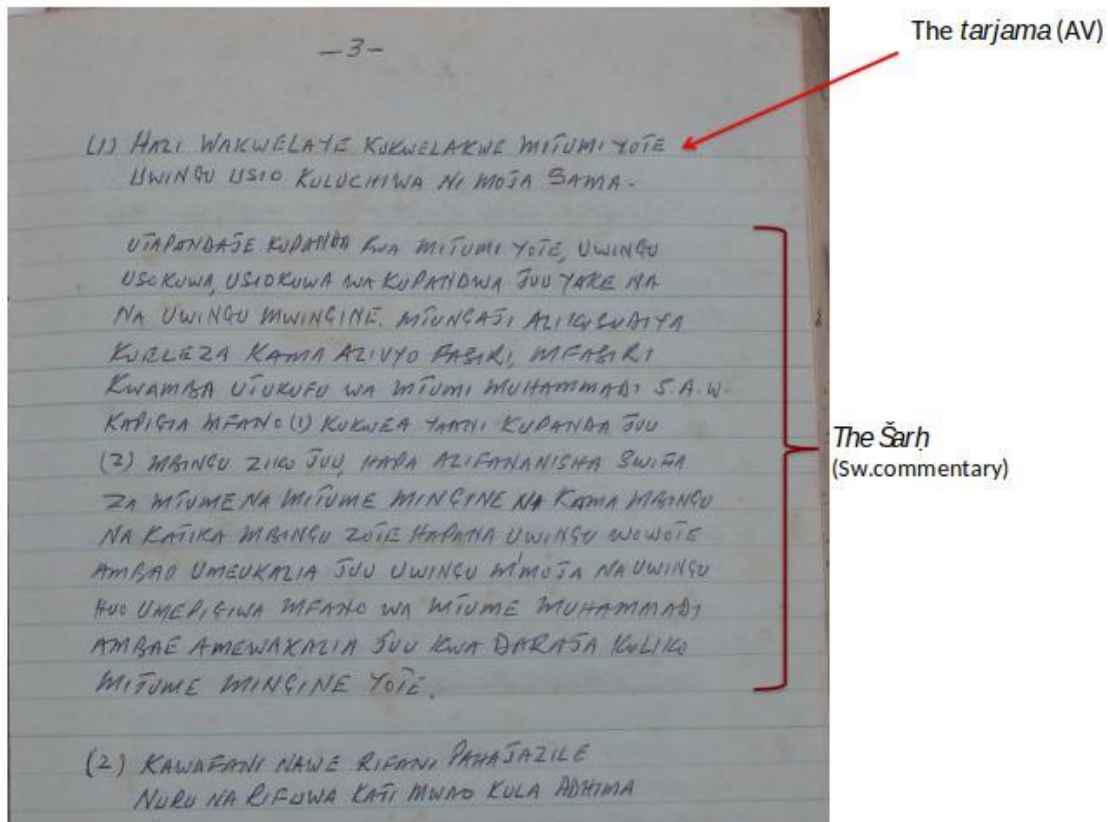


Figure 14: Ms. Nc, f.2. Image: Drs R. Samsom. Courtesy of Sheikh Nabahany.

Latin letters occupy more space than Arabic characters: the vowels of the latter are marked as diacritics above or below the consonants, whereas in Latin script vowels are separate letters. Since the *tarjama* contains long poetic lines, both half-lines may not fit in a single row if written in Latin characters. To address this, the *tarjama* lines in Ms. Nc are arranged in one column, with each half-line on its own row.

The work is an intellectual contribution of Sheikh Nabahany (d. 2017, a Swahili scholar)⁶³ who wished to elucidate the meaning of the *tarjama* verses for those who can read Latin script only. Nowadays, scholars in Swahili studies who are well acquainted with Swahili in Latin script are more numerous than those acquainted with Swahili in Arabic script, and such commentaries are therefore very useful to them (see also 3.1 and 3.2). The fact that the author took the pain to write each character in capital letters suggests that his intention was to make the work as legible as possible, although another possible reason may have been that he was less used to writing in

⁶³ A short biography of Sheikh Nabahany is provided in Chapter IV, section 4.1.3.2.

Latin script and found capitals easier to write. He may have intended to publish the work as a book at some point in the future. This function of the manuscript is further elaborated in 4.2.

3.5.6. Translation of the *tarjama* into English

Some *Hamziyya* manuscripts, e.g. *Hi*, contain unorganized folios which seem to be an unfinished work or a preliminary draft of an academic book intended for later publication. The folios may be typewritten or handwritten, with incomplete information such as a partial transliteration of the *tarjama* verses and their translation in English.

Hi contains 33 folios written in Latin script. The distribution of contents is as follows;

- Folios 1-8 are typed in English. They contain an introduction to the ‘Aydarūs’ *tarjama*, and a book chapter (numbered “IV”) on the *Hamziyya* poem, with endnotes. The remaining chapters of the draft work are missing.
- Folios 17, 19 and 21, also typed, are approximately half the size of ordinary foolscap paper and contain the English translation of the *tarjama*.
- Folios 9, 10 and 12, also typed, contain the transliteration of 10 verses (per folio) of the *tarjama*.
- Folios 13-33 (except folios 17, 19 and 21) contain a handwritten transliteration of only 95 out of 481 verses of the *tarjama* (as an example, Figure 15 shows folio 23). Of these 95 verses, 15 are rendered in English in folios 17, 19 and 21.

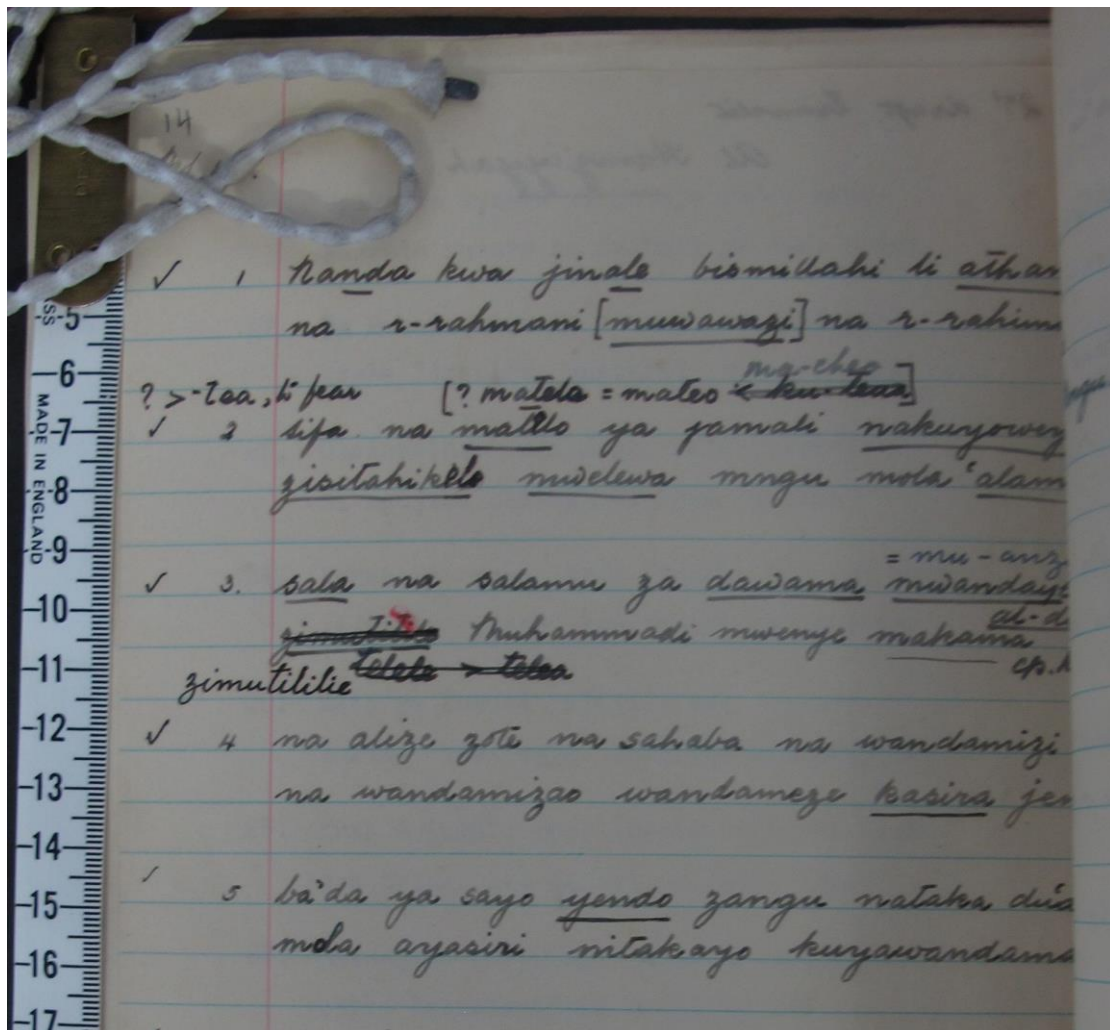


Figure 15: Ms *Hi*, f. 23. Image: A. Parkar

Small tick (✓) symbols marking the poetic lines, and probably indicating a proof reading exercise of the copyist/author, appear at the left hand side of the margins (Figure 15). The verses are numbered and are neatly arranged in a single column. Some of the transliterated words are struck out, with new words written in above them. For instance, in Figure 15 *zitelelea* is struck out and replaced by *zimitililie* ‘[the blessings] are to be showered upon him’.

Hi is the first known attempt of a European scholar to render the *tarjama* of the ‘Aydarūs’ version in English. It is likely that Hichens intended to produce a book on the Swahili *Hamziyya* like the one he produced about *Al-Inkishafi* (1939), which would have been a stepping-stone for other scholars to translate the *tarjama* (i.e. Knappert 1968, Mutiso 2005 and Olali 2012). So far, however, we have no complete English translation of any *Hamziyya tarjama*. Although Knappert (1968) made a

critical text edition of three *Hamziyya* manuscripts⁶⁴, the edition and its translation in English cover only 51 verses. Mutiso (2005) provides a Swahili transliteration and a commentary of the *tarjama*, while Olali (2012) produces an English interpretation (rather than a word-for-word translation) based on *Di*.

Part of the current study is a translation into English of the *Hamziyya* poem as presented in *Ay*. However, since *Ay* does not have the ‘Aydarūs’ epilogue (see 3.9.1.5), the epilogue verses in *Ab* will be incorporated in order to provide a full translation of the entire poem. See Appendix II.

3.6. Textual dividers in two-column manuscripts

Two-column manuscripts, irrespective of whether they are of the simple monolingual or complex bilingual type, usually contain textual dividers or blank spaces after each half-line, or at the end of each verse. This section discusses these textual dividers and illustrates them with examples from the corpus.

In Islamic works on poetry and even prose texts (such as Qur’an and *ḥadīth* texts), textual dividers are usually applied to mark the middle and end of the verses (Gacek 2009). The textual dividers consist of blank spaces, parallel lines, drop-shaped symbols and *hā* (◉), which stands for *intahā* ‘it is finished/it is over’. The following sections describe in detail:

- blank space separating the half-lines (3.6.1)
- parallel lines as pseudo-separators (3.6.2)
- parallel lines demarcating two columns of words (3.6.3)
- special symbols as separators (3.6.4)

3.6.1. Blank space as a separator

Blank space can act as a divider for the half-lines so that the two columns can be easily demarcated throughout the folio. This is the simplest way of separating the columns. Gacek (2009:269) asserts that the use of blank space (*bayāḍ*) as a means of separation is one of the earliest practices in Islamic manuscript tradition. In our

⁶⁴ Knappert (1968:53) abbreviates the three manuscripts as A, B and OY.

corpus, there are only two cases of manuscripts using *bayād*: *Qa* (Figure 16) and *Di* (Figure 17). Neither do specific marks or symbols appear between or after the verses.

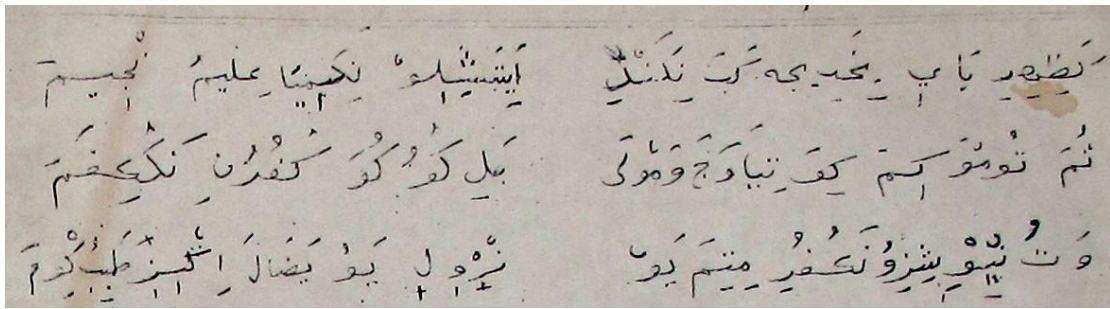


Figure 16: Ms. *Qa*, f. 4.

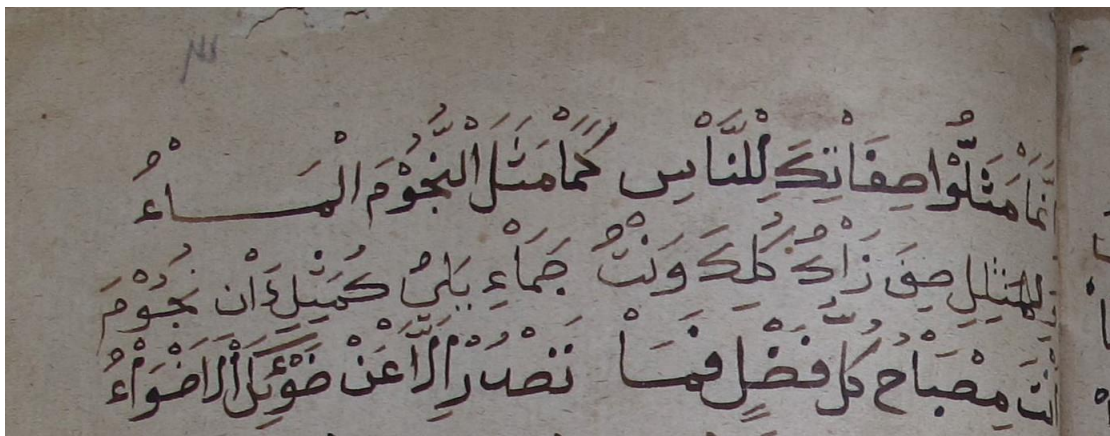


Figure 17: Ms. *Di*, f.3.

3.6.2. Parallel lines as pseudo-separators

A manuscript may also have parallel lines drawn between the two columns that act as textual dividers. The columns between the parallel lines can be termed ‘pseudo-columns’, since the text is still read horizontally from right to left (Daub 2012:53). An example of this is *Se* as shown in Figure 18.

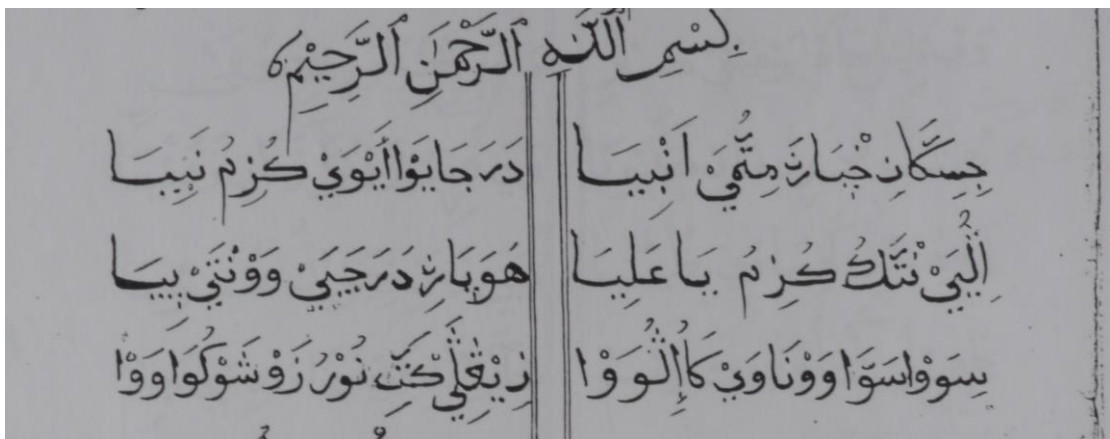


Figure 18: Ms. *Se*, f.1r

3.6.3. Parallel lines demarcating two columns of words

A manuscript may contain parallel lines that demarcates two columns of words whereby the reading style is similar to a newspaper or a glossary. In the entire Hamziyya corpus, this layout is only found in one instance *Be* is an instance of a glossary, and contains parallel lines at the right-hand side and in the middle of the folio that serve to separate the columns. Unlike *Se* (see 3.6.2), the columns delineated by the parallel lines are not ‘pseudo-columns’, because rather than each half-line being read horizontally across the dividing line, each column is intended to be read vertically (see Figure 19).

A *basmalah* is centred at the top of the folio above the main text. Pairs of Arabic and Swahili equivalents appear in each of the two columns. Within the parallel lines, Arabic numerals numbering the pairs of words run in sequence. Furthermore, a colon (:) symbol features between the pair of words to separate the Arabic from the Swahili, for instance, *kayfa* ‘how’: *hali gani* ‘how is (it) ...?’

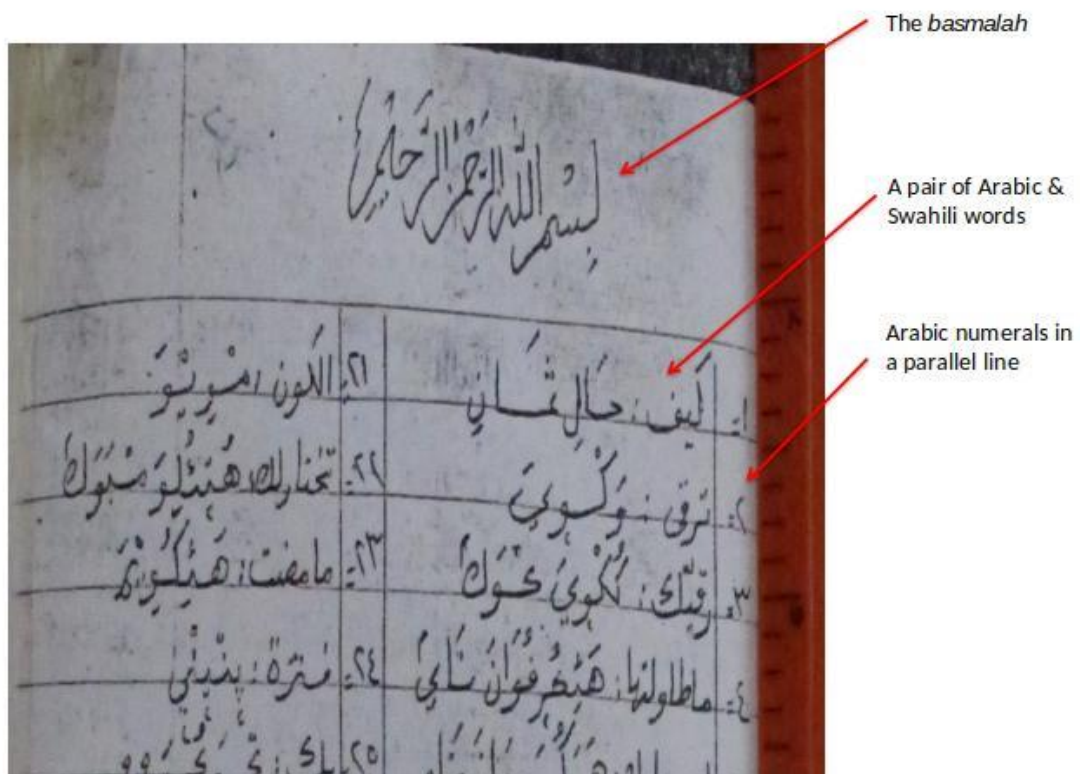


Figure 19: Ms *Be*, f.1v. Image: Aḥmad Badawy, Mamburui.

The first word in the glossary, *kayfa*, is the first in the *Hamziyya* by al-Būṣīrī, and its meaning in Swahili (*hali gani*) follows, separated by a colon. Succeeding words are listed in order of occurrence in the *matn* of al-Būṣīrī's poem— e.g. *kayfa*, *tarqā*, *ruqiyyaqa* and so on – rather than being arranged in alphabetical order. The Swahili equivalents are often archaic, and seem to be largely drawn from the 'Aydarūs' *tarjama*. For instance, the Arabic word *misbāḥ* is translated as *tala* (standard Swahili *taa*, i.e. 'light') and the word *faḍl* is rendered as *mayonjiya* (standard Swahili *fadhila* 'gratitude'). Both equivalents appear in stanza 4 of the 'Aydarūs version (see Ms. Ay, for example). This means that the author, most probably, compiled the glossary based on a copy of the *Hamziyya* 'Aydarūs version.

3.6.4. Special symbols as separators

Half-lines are often separated from one another by a single drop or clusters thereof, or by similar devices (Sobieroj 2016:34). In the corpus, a number of special symbols feature between the half-lines and at the end of the verses. *Ay*, for instance, contains a red *hā* symbol (Figure 20). A black *hā* symbol occasionally appears at the end of the verses in some folios of *Ay*. *Sa* contains a black unfilled *hā* symbol (Figure 21) though it is not present in all of the poetic lines. *Am* has a red shaded drop figure (Figure 20), while *Ka* occasionally inserts one or two black unfilled *hā* symbols to fill out blank space in the verse and make the poetic lines of proportionate length (Figure 23). *Ab* contains three red drops between the half-lines and at the end of the verse, though sometimes only one red drop is used (Figure 24). *Hu* contains a V symbol with an inverted *dhamma* (◌̣) above (Figure 25). All these symbols are common in Islamic poetic texts and act as textual dividers between the half-lines and as end-markers of the verses (Daub 2016:63, Sobieroj 2016:34).



Figure 20: Ms. Ay, f.26

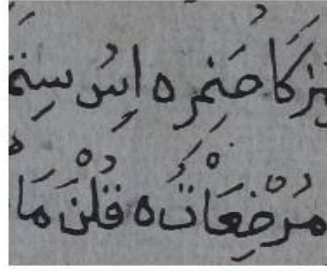


Figure 21: Ms. Sa, f.2

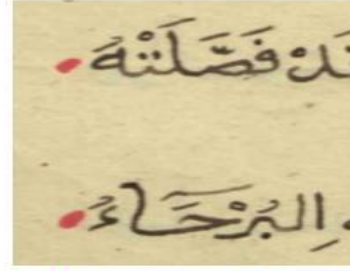


Figure 22: Ms. Am, f.22

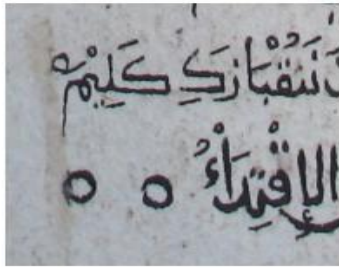


Figure 23: Ms. Ka, f.45

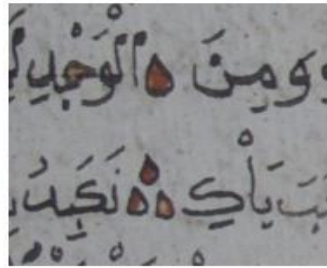


Figure 24: Ms. Ab, f.6



Figure 25: Ms. Hu, f.22

Figures 20-25 suggest a relationship between layout and divider symbol. For example, the older manuscripts use red dots between the half-lines, especially those using Layout A (see Table 3). The non-default manuscripts such as *Be*, *Nc*, *Nd*, *Hi* and *Qa* do not apply any symbols on the caesura.

3.7. Textual components of the *Hamziyya*

This section examines the textual components of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts with specific reference to the “default”, specifically *Ay*, being the oldest version in the corpus. The majority of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts of types A and B (as shown in Table 3) contain similar components to those of included in *Ay*. The idea here is to show in what form the default *Hamziyya* unit is structured in its original or oldest form. The components of the default include the *basmalah*, chorus or poetic prologue, main text, and epilogue, or the author’s own poetic colophon. Paratextual components that are not directly related to the default (e.g. title, genealogy, *waqfiyya*, *tamalluk*, and copyist’s colophon) are treated separately in 3.9. Table 4 gives an overview of these components across all manuscripts in the corpus. Columns 1-4 represent the monolingual manuscripts (M) and columns 5-14 represent the bilingual manuscripts (B). The components are discussed in more detail for each of the *tarjama* versions: ‘Aydarūs (AV, 3.8.1), Tumbatu (TV, 3.8.2), and Chimwini (CV, 3.8.3).

Manuscripts /Components	M	M	M	M	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
	Nc	Nd	Qa	Se	Ab	Af	Am	Ay	Ba	Be	Di	Hi	Hu	Ka	Ko	Sa
<i>Basmalah</i>	√	-	√	√	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√
Swahili prologue	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	√	-	√
<i>Matn</i>	-	-	-	-	√	√ + <i>tahmīs</i> lines	√	√	√	-	√	-	√	√	√	√
<i>Tarjama</i> (Version)	√ (A)	√ (A)	√ (A)	√ (C)	√ (A)	√ (A)	√ (A)	√ (A)	√ (A)	-	√ (A)	√ (A)	-	√ (A)	√ (T)	√ (A)
Additional text(s)	<i>šarḥ</i>	-	-	-	-	Three <i>tahmīs</i> lines	-	NT	-	-	-	NT & Trans crip.	-	<i>tabā</i> <i>raka</i>	chorus	-
Author's poetic epilogue (Sw.)	-	√	-	-	√	-	√ +Am's	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4: The *Hamziyya* manuscripts and their textual components⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Key:

A: 'Aydarūs Version.
C: Chimwini Version.
T: Tumbatu Version
-: a component is absent

+Am: plus Amawy's poetic epilogue
M: Monolingual manuscripts.
Transcrip: Transcription.

B: Bilingual manuscripts.
N.T.: Notes and Translation in English
√: a component is present

3.7.1. The components of the ‘Aydarūs version (AV)

The ‘Aydarūs version is the most common in the corpus (12 manuscripts), and can be classified into three groups:

- bilingual manuscripts with a complex structure: *Ab, Af, Am, Ay, Di, Ka* and *Sa*; “complex structure” here means a combination of one or more texts, making the manuscript a STM: for instance, an intertwined *matn* or *taḥmīs* and *tarjama*, and sometimes a prologue or epilogue.
- bilingual manuscripts with special features: *Ba* and *Hi*; for instance, in *Ba* the intertwined *matn* and *tarjama* are written in different colours, though it remains a STM, and in *Hi*, there are introductory notes, a transliteration and a translation into English, first example of this in *Hamziyya* manuscripts.
- monolingual manuscripts: *Nc, Nd*, and *Qa*.

The following parameters of the *Hamziyya* text are discussed: the title (3.7.1.1), opening formula (3.7.1.2), prologue (3.7.1.3), *matn* and *tarjama* (3.7.1.4), poetic epilogue and poetic colophon (3.7.1.5). Specific reference is made to the bilingual manuscripts (*Ab, Af, Ay, Di* and *Sa*) due to their more complex structure. The monolinguals (*Nc, Nd, Qa* and *Se*) lack various components when compared to the bilingual manuscripts (cf. Table 4). *Hi* and *Be*, though both of them are bilingual, have a completely different structure compared to the rest of the bilingual manuscripts.

3.7.1.1. The manuscripts’ titles

The manuscript titles in the AV manuscripts are usually written on the outer cover of the codices, or sometimes on the first folio of the codex prior to the *basmalah*.

Extant titles are as follows:

- *The Hamziyya*⁶⁶ (*Ay*, folio 5v).
- *Al-Hamziyya*. (*Di*, front cover of the codex, v).
- *Hamziyya* (*Hi*, folio 1v).
- *Aidarus bin Athman bin Ali, 1749, Umul Qura: Hamziyya ya al-Buswiry*,
‘ ‘Aydarūs b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Ali (1749), Mother of Cities: The *Hamziyya* of al-Buṣīrī’ (*Nc*, folio 1r).

⁶⁶ The title is provided by Hichens (1934) prior to his notes. The original title could not be established as the initial leather cover of the manuscript was completely worn out (Hichens 1934).

The extant titles of *Af*, *Ab*, *Ba*, *Nd*, *Qa* and *Sa* could not be established. This is mainly due to a missing cover page, or the information on the cover page having been completely erased due to wear and tear.

The comparison shows that while the key word *Hamziyya* features in all the headings, the titles are not standardized. Some, as in the case of Ms. *Nc* can be quite elaborate: here, the ‘heading’ not only consists of the title of the *matn* – *Hamziyya* with its initial title, ‘*Umm al-Qurā* – but also includes the name of the author of the *tarjama* (‘*Aydarūs*) and the completion date of the translation.

3.7.1.2. The opening formula (*basmalah*)

The *basmalah* is an invocation which appears after the extant title and prior to the *Hamziyya* text in most of the manuscripts (*Ab*, *Ay*, *Ba*, , *Di*, *Ka*, *Sa*, *Se* and *Qa*). It contains the words *Bismillahi al-Rahmān al-Rahīm* “In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate”. These words are usually recited at the start of a religious duty or ritual, or prior to the recitation of the Qur’an or sacred texts in the Islamic tradition (see also Šayḥ al-Farsy 1969).⁶⁷

3.7.1.3. The prologue

The prologue consists of eight Swahili verses that are ‘*Aydarūs*’ own creative production to introduce his translation of the *Hamziyya* poem. The prologue verses are absent in the Tumbatu and Chimwini version. In most manuscripts (*Ab*, *Ay*, *Ba*, *Di*, *Hi*, *Nd*, *Nc*, *Sa*) these verses appear immediately after the *basmalah*. They are composed in the same style as the *tarjama*: each verse contains two half-lines (consists of 15 syllables x 2) with the end master-rhyme of *ma*. For the sake of illustration, the first three verses of the prologue are given here:

*Nanza kwa jinale Bisimillahi lenye adhwama,
na al-Rahmaani Muwawazi na al-Rahima.
Swifa na matelo ya jamali na kuyoweya,
zisitahikile Mola wangu Mola ‘alama,
Swala na salamu za dawama mdaye dahari,
zimteleliye Muhammadi mwenyi maqama.*

⁶⁷ Šayḥ al-Farsy (1969:2) states that, “*Katika kila jambo jema inatakiwa katika dini ya Kiislamu kuliaza kwa kupiga Bismillahi.*” i.e. “Upon performing every good deed, in Islamic tradition, it is required to commence it by invoking *Bismillah.*”

I begin with the name of God, His Majesty,
the Merciful Provider, the Compassionate.
Praises and beautiful attributes are His,
my Lord, the Lord of the Universe.
May lasting prayers and salutations always
be sent to Muḥammad, the one of high status.

The eight prologue verses (see Appendix 2) contain an invocation to God (v1-2), a salutation to the Prophet Muḥammad (v3), and to his progeny, companions and all of his followers who are living virtuous lives (v4). The poet then seeks divine intervention (v5) and requests the readers to pray that God will make it easy (v6) for him to translate the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī (v7), who produced a noble work and was a scholar of high status (v8).

The manuscripts therefore contain two opening formulas: one by the scribe (the *Basmalah*) and one by the poet/translator. The poetic prologue illustrates a tradition that is commonly observed in Swahili manuscripts containing religious texts. Good examples of these prologues are found in many renowned poetic works, such as *Al-inkishafī* (Hichens 1939), *Utendi wa Haudaji* (Vierke 2009), *Utenzi wa mwana Kupona* (Sheikh & Nabahany 1972) and *Utenzi wa Rasi 'lGhuli* (Van Kessel 1979) just to mention a few. The prologues invoke God and seek spiritual intervention. This is particularly true if the work is very long and challenging to embark upon, as in the case of *Hamziyya*. Interestingly, sometimes a poetic *dibaji* 'prologue/opening remarks' may introduce a work that has nothing to do with poetry. For instance, Ṣayḥ al-Farsy (1969), who rendered a commentary on the Qur'an into Swahili, begins his *dibaji* 'with three poetic verses in *tenzi/tendi* form.⁶⁸

3.7.1.4. The *matn* and the *tarjama*

Following the Swahili poetic prologue the *matn* of al-Būṣīrī commences and the *tarjama* follows. The textual layout consists of a *matn* verse interlinearised with a *tarjama* one.⁶⁹ This arrangement appears in the majority of the old bilingual manuscripts in the corpus, i.e. *Ab*, *Ay*, *Ba*, *Di*, *Ka* and *Sa*.

⁶⁸ Ṣayḥ al-Farsy (1969:v, verse 1) writes, "Mwanzo kushika kalamu, naanza Kiislamu, Bismilla kukadimu, na Alhamdu pamoja." i.e. "Once I hold a pen, I (always) start in an Islamic way, by pronouncing *Basmalah* 'by the name of God' before anything else, and (then) I pronounce *Alhamdu* 'praise be upon him' as well, together." After invoking the name of God, and making salutations to the Prophet, Ṣayḥ al-Farsy finally thanks God for enabling him to accomplish the task.

⁶⁹ A similar textual layout is also observed in the Tumbatu version text (*Ko*), but not in the Chimwini version (*Se*), which contains the *tarjama* only. Since the corpus contains only one manuscript in this category, it is unclear whether or not the interlinear layout existed in the Barawa tradition.

Qa has no prologue, and for *Af* and *Nc* it is impossible to establish whether they contained a prologue or not, since their first leaves are missing.

3.7.1.5. The poetic epilogue

The poetic epilogue is located after the main *Hamziyya* textual units, i.e. the *matn* interlined with the *tarjama*. It consists of seventeen verses by ‘Aydarūs’ which are not part of the translation of the Arabic poem. The epilogue provides the translator’s name and the completion date of the work.

In the corpus, only *Ab*, *Am*, *Di* and *Nd* contain the epilogue. Strangely enough, in *Am* Al-Amawy added his own epilogue (in verse) above ‘Aydarūs’ epilogue. So far this is the only manuscript in the corpus that contains an extra epilogue composed by a copyist.

The ‘Aydarūs’ epilogue may be summarized as follows: The poet (‘Aydarūs) prays for blessings, and thanks God for enabling him to complete the noble translation work (verse 466). He then prays for God’s blessings to be showered on al-Būṣīrī (467), the reciters of the Prophet’s eulogy (468), his followers, the translator and the residents of Pate (469), and all dedicated servants of God (470). He declares his eagerness to perform the obligatory ritual of pilgrimage (Hajj) and hopes to travel to Mecca (471), and visit the grave of the Prophet in Medina (472). He then prays that God will forgive him for his sins, and his ancestors for their transgressions (473), and beseeches God to bless the author’s offspring (474). He addresses further salutations to the Prophet (475), his household members, the Companions and their successors (476). He states that he faced many challenges while composing the poem, and at times had to seclude himself from his family and from normal activities (477). He records the completion date of his translation as 29 *Rabi’u al-Awwal* (478). He claims that this date coincides with the day the Prophet was born: a Monday, though in the Persian calendar, he says, it falls on a Friday (479).⁷⁰ He then gives the date of his translation: AH 1062. (480). Finally, he gives his first name in *abjad* (Arabic consonant) form, A, Y, D, R and S, and his father’s name in Arabic style: ‘*Uthayma*, which may be interpreted as ‘Uthmān’ (481). The full text in Arabic, with an English translation, is given in Appendix 2.

3.7.1.6. Completion date of the ‘Aydarūs *tarjama*

Verses 478-481, the poetic colophon, are reproduced below with an English translation:

⁷⁰ Swahili who went through the madrasa system preferred to formulate their dates according to the Arabic hijra calendar when writing manuscripts. It is not clear why a Persian calendar is mentioned here, It is probable that migrants from Shirazi (a region in Persia) were still present in Pate and the poet became influenced by them, or at least became conversant with their dating system. In Tanzania, *mwaka wa Nairuzi* ‘Persian new year’ (also called *kukoga mwaka*) is celebrated annually, for instance in Makunduchi and Kojani, a village in Pemba. There is a high probability that the tradition also existed in the Lamu region, and that ‘Aydarūs had friends or relatives who were still attached to it.

478: *Na tarekhiye nisezepo kuzadawani,
yali ishirini na tisiya mwezi wa vyema,*
479: *Na kuzawa kwake tumwa 'etu jumatatu,
pake nairuzi yali mwaka mfuma juma,*
480: *Na hijra yake Mustwafa yali alifu,
na nyaka sitini na miwili na yana nyuma,*
481: *Na matarajamu ni 'aini na yaa na dali ree
na siini zaziweo na 'Uthama.*

And the date I finished composing was the 29th of the best-known month (i.e. the month of the Prophet's birth, *Rabi' u al-Awwal*).

And the day of the birth of our Prophet is Monday, or Friday by the *Nairuzi* calendar.

And the date, since the hijra of the Prophet, is one thousand, and sixty years, and two, with a century coming after.

And the name of the translator is 'Ayn, *Yā, Dāl, Rē,* and *Sīn*, the son of 'Uthmān.

As translated above, the completion date is specified as 29 *Rabī' u al-Awwal*, 1162 AH, which is equivalent to 18 March 1749. This actually falls on a Tuesday, and not a Monday. However, in East Africa lunar calculations may vary by a day or two due to differences in sighting of the moon from different regions. One region may not be able to view the moon due to the formation of clouds, while in other regions the sky may be very clear and the moon easily sighted. So an error of a day or two when counting the days of the Islamic calendar is sometimes expected.

Swahili scholars have interpreted v480 in different ways. Knappert (1968:54), for instance, argues that although Hichens (1934) interpreted the word *yana* as "one hundred years", giving a completion date of 1162 AH /1749, the usual meaning of *yana* is "yesterday", and Knappert (1968:55) therefore concludes that the completion data is 1062 AH / 1652.

The term '*gana nyuma*' can be interpreted as "a hundred afterwards" or "a century after". Knappert (1968: 54) in a footnote gives alternative interpretations of the above stanza, and questions the word 'hundred' as well as the age of 'Aydarūs. He assumes that 'Aydarūs must have died around 1700 or earlier, though he gives only circumstantial evidence for this. In contrast, Hichens (Inkishafi, 1938) provides a genealogy and a chart to support the fact that 'Aydarūs died in 1749. Hichens probably received this information from Pateans through Sir Mbarak Hinawy, since at that time, the

1930s, it is likely that remnants of information about the poet could be retrieved through interviews with old men or relatives of the poet.

On the interpretation of the phrase ‘*na yana nyuma*’: the insertion of the word ‘yesterday’ in a date does not fit well. We can only therefore rely on what is written on the old manuscripts and the extant ones. Al-Amawy, for instance, mentions the word ‘*gana*’ while discussing the ‘Aydarus’ epilogue and its date. Al-Amawy claims that the term ‘*gana*’ is a Mijikenda⁷¹ one and also derived from related Kinyika [an ethnic language] to mean 100 years.

A big question is why then ‘Aydarūs used ‘*yana*’ instead of ‘*gana*’? Is there any possibility that ‘Aydarūs sometimes switches g and y? To answer these questions, we can note that there are a few cases that indicate such a possibility. For instance, in stanza 106 ‘Aydarūs writes – *mikono mi(n)ji* ‘many hands’ instead of *mikono mi(n)gi* and *paliwinji* ‘they were plenty (of them)’ instead of ‘*paliwengi*’. It is unclear why he switches ‘g’ and ‘j’ here, but the possibility of such alternation obviously exists. Mutiso (2005:106) explains that the word *minji* (-*inji*) is still used in Kigiriyama, Kichonyi, Kidigo, Kisegeju and Kipokomo (of the Southern region). There is also the possibility that ‘Aydarūs came from an area where ‘j’ can be replaced by ‘y’ due to dialectical variation: for instance, in Pate and Lamu ‘*mayi*’ is used instead of ‘*maji*’ (water). Aydarūs was probably well versed in a number of dialects: many poets, such as Muyaka and Ahmad Nassir, also mix dialects or borrow words from another variety of Swahili in their poetry.

It appears that Hichens’ postulations are correct, because the words “*yana nyuma*” imply that the figure for 100 years is to be positioned behind the figure 62. The word *yana* should be interpreted as 100 years because the term is cognate with Mijikenda *gana* ‘one hundred years’ (p.c. A. Abdalla, Hamburg 2017). According to Sacleux (1939:244) the term *gana* in Ki-Mgao, Ki-Mrima, and in neighbouring tribes, such as Nyika, Taita, Sambara, Bonde, Zigua, and many more means ‘hundred’. The word occurs in Ki-Ngazija as *djana* and in Ki-Anzuani as *jana*, with the same meaning (‘hundred’). It is possible that Swahili writers of that period (especially from Lamu region) wrote *yana* to stand for *gana*, given the lack of an Arabic letter for the sound /g/. It is also more plausible to say, “Place a figure of 100 years after (that is, in addition to) the figure of 62”, than to say, “Place yesterday after.” Had ‘Aydarūs wanted the figure to be 1062 A.H., he would likely have said something like *na sifuri nyuma* ‘a zero be placed after (the figure of 62)’. So the date of 1162 AH / 1749 for the translation seems reasonable.

⁷¹ The Mijikenda, literally ‘nine tribes’ (Giriama, Chonyi, Jibana, Kambe, Ribe, Kauma, Rabai, Duruma and Digo), inhabit mainly the coastal hinterland of Kenya. They share many points in common in terms of language and socio-political culture.

3.7.2. The components of the Tumbatu Version (TV)

Ms. *Ko* is the only exemplar of the *tarjama* in the Tumbatu version in the corpus. Therefore, a comparative study with related manuscripts of the same version cannot be conducted. Another problem is that the manuscript is incomplete, so a detailed analysis of its textual components is impossible.

3.7.2.1. The title

The title “*Hamziyya*”, in Arabic script but in parenthesis, appears at the top center of the first folio.

3.7.2.2. The chorus

In *Hamziyya* performances on Tumbatu Island, the first three lines of the *taḥmīs* poem of al-‘Amrī (d.1861) are chanted as a chorus (PC: *Šayḥ* Kombo). The three *taḥmīs* half-lines (which are used as a chorus) appear only once, in the first folio of the manuscript, placed between the title and the first verse of the *matn* but in practice the chorus is repeated after the *Hamziyya* bilingual stanzas have been chanted (see, also Chapter IV, section 4.2.1).

The chorus and its translation is as follows:

Li-‘ulā al-rusuli ‘an ‘ulāka anṭiwāu
Wa-ūlū al-‘azmi taḥta šā’wika jā’ū
Wa-li-murqāka dānati al-aṣfiyā’ū

The angels congregated for you (Muḥammad) in the high heavens,
And the Arch-Prophets⁷², in (the heavens) below them, came forward,
And your utmost position (above them) had already been reserved.

The layout arrangement of the Arabic poetic lines appear in the following manner: the first two lines are positioned at the top in two columnar system and the third line is positioned beneath the first two lines and positioned at the center (see figure 13).

3.7.2.3 The *matn* interlined with the *tarjama*

The *matn* comes directly after the chorus. Then the *matn* is followed by the *tarjama* (TV) in an interlinear system for the fifty-odd verses that exist in the manuscript. Every singer has his own

⁷² The term *ūlū al-‘azmi* ‘Arch-Prophets’ refers specifically to the five major prophets of God i.e. Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, who were given divine laws or holy scriptures. The prophets are mentioned in Qur’ān 42:13.

part-text manuscript and they specialise by memorising only those verses for the oral performances (p.c. *Šayḥ* Kombo, 1st November 2015). Efforts to find more singers and their manuscripts were fruitless.

3.7.2.4. The colophon

The colophon is missing in Ms. *Ko*, which is the only exemplar of the Tumbatu version. The copyist of the manuscript is *Šayḥ* ‘Ali Kombo Ngwali al-‘Alawy, who informed me that he copied the manuscript from his *madrassa* teacher in Tumbatu Island, Tanzania, in the 1970s (PC: *Šayḥ* Kombo, 1st November, 2015). It is unclear whether the teacher’s manuscript contained a complete text. *Šayḥ* Kombo can chant the verses very fluently by heart (as the researcher witnessed in his interviews with him), and usually chants them during the ceremonies. However, the researcher is sceptical as to whether the complete TV exists. It is difficult to believe that the composer of the Tumbatu *tarjama* translated all 456 stanzas with four half-lines (i.e. equivalent to 1824 half-lines), which would be the work of several years. So it may be that the composers only choose a few stanzas to translate for the sake of oral performances. Neither is it easy to chant 1824 half-lines in a single day: in practice, even the AV one is rarely chanted in full in Lamu, Pate and Mombasa in a single ceremony. The singers in Lamu usually select a few stanzas to chant. It is only during Ramadhan that the Arabic *Hamziyya* is chanted in full, but it takes the whole month to complete it twice (see Chapter IV).

3.7.3. The components of the Chimwini version (CV)

Ms. *Se* is the only exemplar of the Chimwini *tarjama* in the corpus, and contains the *tarjama* only, i.e. it lacks the *matn*. We have no information as to how the author translated the work, though he must have had the *matn* text to hand because the name of al-Būṣīrī is mentioned at the beginning of the manuscript as part of the title. As with the TV, the manuscript of the CV is incomplete and only exists in one copy in PDF format.

3.7.3.1. The introductory statement

The CV contains an introductory statement, which one may also consider a long title.

Hii ndiyo iliyo nkwa Mujiitu ni Mwenye Rahima nkhafasiri baadhi za abiyaati za Hamziyyah ya Buswiry.

This (work) is by the grace of Almighty God, that I am able to translate some of the verses of the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī.

This title-statement suggests that the translator did not translate all of the Arabic poem.

3.7.3.2. The opening formula

The *Basmalah* appears immediately after the introductory statement. It is in Arabic and is placed at the top center of the folio. A symbol like an inverted comma (‘) appears at the end of it. In Islamic manuscripts such symbols indicate the end of a sentence or phrase (Gacek 2009:270).

3.7.3.3. The *tarjama*

Following the opening formula, the *tarjama* appears. It is incomplete, since it only includes the first 95 verses. Its layout is discussed in more detail in 3.6.2.

3.7.3.4. The colophon

The colophon is missing, so the researcher relied on information from Meikal Mumin, who kindly sent a digital copy of the CV version, and interviewed the custodian in Barawa, Somalia about the translator and the copyist (see Chapter II, 2.2.14.3).

3.8 Paratextual components of the *Hamziyya*

This section outlines the paratexts in the *Hamziyya* corpus: i.e. the *tamalluk*, *ḥawāšīn*, *waqfiyya*, the *nasab* ‘geneology’ and the copyist’s colophon. These items are not part of the *Hamziyya* text proper (as described in the previous section), but they provide additional information about the owners, glosses, custodians, and general history of the manuscripts. Other paratextual elements, such as glosses give the meanings of selected words either in the margins or beside the text itself. An overview of the paratexts across all manuscripts is presented in Table 4.

X/Y	M	M	M	M	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Paratexts/Ms	Nc	Nd	Qa	Se	Ab	Af	Am	Ay	Ba	Be	Di	Hi	Hu	Ka	Ko	Sa
<i>Tamalluk</i>	√	-	-	-	√	-	√	-	-	√	√	-	√	√	-	-
<i>Hawāšīn</i>	-	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	-	-
<i>Waqfiyya</i>	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Nasab</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-
Copyist's colophon	-	√	√	-	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	-	-

Table 5: the paratexts of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts⁷³

⁷³ Key:

B: Bilingual manuscripts

M: monolingual

√: an element is present

- : an element is absent

3.8.1. The *tamalluk* statement

In the Islamic manuscript tradition, *tamalluk* statements are usually written in the front or back cover of the codex, and generally mention the name of the first owner of the manuscript (Déroche 2005:335). The wordings follow specific formulas such as *li-...fī milk... min kutub...*, ‘this book belongs to...is in the hands of ... is from the scribe...’, *al-mālik hādhā al-kitāb*, ‘the owner of this book is...’, or other similar expressions. Sometimes, as with *waqfiyya* statements (3.8.3), formulas such as *basmalah*, *ḥamdala*⁷⁴ and *taṣliya*⁷⁵ are placed before the *tamalluk* statement. Other details, such as the name of the owner, the city and the date of the deed follow the *tamalluk* statement, and these can be useful in providing evidence for the date and provenance of manuscripts with no colophon, for reconstructing a manuscript’s place of origin, and for identifying the original owners or heirs of the manuscript. In the Islamic manuscript tradition, very often the statement bears a stamp or seal at the end of the notes (Déroche 2005:335).

The *tamalluk* statements acknowledge who is authorized to own the codex and use it. There is a link between the *waqfiyya* and *tamalluk* statements: someone who is not the owner of a given codex has no authority to attach a statement of *waqfiyya* to it. However, although there is a connection between the *tamalluk* and *waqfiyya* statements, copyists usually separate them, placing the former at the beginning of the codex, and the latter at the end. See 4.3 for further discussion.

The *tamalluk* statements in Swahili manuscripts shows that the Swahili, being Muslims, followed the Islamic tradition by indicating the name of the person who possesses the manuscript at the beginning of their codices (Cf. *Ab*, *Am*, *Be*, *Di* and *Ka*). The statements also are meant to acknowledge who is authorized to own the codex and to declare its usages. There is a link between the *waqfiyya* and *tamalluk* statements. If one is not the owner of a given codex, then he/she should not give out a statement of *waqfiyya* in it. In the manuscripts, such as *Ay* and *Ab*, the *waqfiyya* statement comes at the end of the codex. This shows that, although there is a connection between the *tamalluk* and *waqfiyya* statement, the copyists usually

⁷⁴ *Hamdallah* is an act of praising God.

⁷⁵ *Tasliya* is sending salutation to the Prophet.

separate them, i.e., the former is placed at the beginning while the later is placed at the end of the codex (cf. 4.3).

3.8.2. The *Ḥawāšīn*

These glosses or *scholia* can be the copyists' own comments, or a relevant quotation taken from another work (Gacek 2009:115). In the corpus, a number of manuscripts contain *ḥawāšīn* - *Ab, Am, Ay, Di, Hu, Ka* and *Nd*. Frequency of *ḥawāšīn* varies from *Ab, Ay, Di, Ka* and *Nd*, which have few, to *Am* and *Hu*, which have them on almost every page. *Am* and *Hu* stand out here, because the lines of poetry are widely spaced in order to allow a substantial number of glosses, which are written diagonally, vertically, horizontally and sometimes scattered somewhat haphazardly over the folios. This suggests that these manuscripts are mainly intended to serve a didactic purpose, and this aspect will be further elaborated in 5.1.8.2.

3.8.3. The *waqfiyya* statements

Waqfiyya statements appear in Islamic manuscripts as early as the 9th century CE, especially on early Qur'an manuscripts (Déroche 2005:330). In the Islamic East, the *waqfiyya* statements are known as *waqfiyāt* and in the Islamic West as *tahbisāt*. Due to their nature and function, they form a special category of ownership statement (Gacek 2012:16). In Islamic law, once an asset is declared as *waqfiyya*, then it becomes a bequest that can only be utilized for holy use or as mortmain⁷⁶ property, and its reward from God is perpetual (as long as it is used for the specified purpose) even after the declarer's demise (Sābiq 2007).

Waqfiyya statements have also been attested in the Swahili manuscript tradition (Digby 1975, Allen 1981). A good example is its inclusion in an 18th century Qur'an manuscript, originally owned by the Sultan of Witu, Kenya-Fumo Omari bin Sultan Ahmed (Simba) al-Nabhānī (Digby 1975:50). This statement provides crucial information about the owner, the beneficiaries and the owners' intention to declare the manuscript as a *waqf* mortmain property, and contains a number of formulaic

⁷⁶ Mortmain literally means a property or a piece of land that is to be used by a religious institution to benefit its subject. In the context used by Swahili the property is declared solely for holy use and the subjects can benefit from the use but not for commercial or individual gain. It is like initiating a *swdaqah al-Jari'ah* - 'a perpetual foundation for gaining transcendental rewards', such as digging a well for the public to use without payment.

statements: the *basmalah*, beseeching blessings for the Prophet, the name of the person declaring the *waqfiyya* (i.e. Bwana ‘Uthman Birikalu), the beneficiaries (i.e. his children), and a prohibition on the manuscript being given away, sold or further inherited using the words “until God inherits the earth, and He is the best of heirs” (Digby 1975:50).

The *waqfiyya* statements usually appear on the last folio of the work. The text and translations of all the *waqfiyya* statements are provided under the description of each manuscript in Chapter II.

Hunwick and O’Fahey (1981:2) identify a number of elements in *waqfiyya* statements in the Swahili tradition, but not all of these feature in the corpus. The commonest elements are the name of the scribe, the date of the bequest, the donor, the beneficiary, a statement declaring the bequest, the lawfulness and immutability of the bequest and a warning against its breach that quotes Qur’an 2:181.⁷⁷ *Di*’s *waqfiyya* statement is the most detailed: it contains not only a verse from the Qur’an 2:181, but is also followed by a repetition of v471-2 from the ‘Aydarūs epilogue. This element is quite unusual, because *waqfiyya* statements (e.g. in *Ab*, *Am* and *Ay*) are usually in Arabic. The inclusion of these verses may have been intended as a way of praying for ‘Aydarūs as the author of the *tarjama*: since he is the originator of this devout text (the Swahili poetic rendition) he is seen as deserving some share of the blessings.

Another aspect of the *waqfiyya* is its spiritual significance in gaining *thawab*, ‘transcendental rewards’, for its user. This is elaborated further in 4.3.

3.8.4. The *nasab*

The inclusion of a list of family names is one of the unique features of the manuscript of Mwalimu Dini (Ms. *Di*) in the corpus. Allen (1981:21) asserts of the writing of genealogical statements in Swahili Islamic manuscripts that such genealogies are far more reliable than they are in Western societies, and that it is unthinkable for most Muslims to exaggerate them in any way. The elements in *Di* (f71-72) include a

⁷⁷ Qur’an 2:181: “If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it. The guilt shall be on those who make the change. For Allah hears and knows (all things)” (Ali, A.Y. (1989), *The Holy Qur’an: Text, Translation and Commentary*, New Revised Edition, Maryland Amana Corporation). .

basmalah, the statement *hadhihi nasabun...* ‘this is the genealogy of ...’, and then the name of the manuscript owner starting with the phrase *sayyid* (implying that he is ‘a descendant of the prophet’). Then comes his name, the names of his father, grandfather and other ancestors, including *šayḥ* Abū Bakr b. Sālim, ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib⁷⁸, the daughter of the Prophet, Fāṭimah al-Zahrā’, the Prophet himself, and the Prophet’s own ancestors, until the chain of ancestry reaches Ibn Quṣay, though not all the names on folio 72 are legible. The layout of the genealogy is in ascending order from son to father and grandfather, on up to his other ancestors, and is intended to provide evidence that the owner of the manuscript is a descendant of the Prophet. It is also interesting to note that *šayḥ* Abū Bakr b. Sālim (d.1584) from Pate, an ancestor of the author of the *tarjama*, ‘Aydarūs (Hichens 1939:10), is related to Mwalimu Dini: this name appears in his chain of genealogical names.

3.8.5. The copyist’s colophon

According to Gacek (2009:71), a colophon is a ‘signing off note’, a ‘crowning touch’, a ‘finishing stroke’, or the ‘tail of the text’. Déroche (2005:318) notes that, once a scribe completes his work of copying, he often takes advantage of any space at the end of the text to add information about what he has just accomplished. This colophon is in Islamic tradition usually written at some length. The scribe may wish to include his name, the completion date of the work, the place where the copy was written and sometimes the person to whom it is dedicated.

The colophon usually begins with some specific phrases framed in the third person; *tamm*, *faragh min ...* ‘the work was completed by...’, or variations such as: *kamala*, ‘he completed’, *kataba* ‘he wrote’, *naqala* ‘he copied’, *nasaḥa* ‘he reproduced a copy’, *arraḥa* ‘he documented/dated’, and so on. Next comes the type of work (e.g. *muṣḥaf* or *qaṣīda*), the copyist’s name, and then the time, day, date, and year of completion (in the *hijrah* calendar). Sometimes, after the date, a short phrase of a prayer intended to ‘send blessings upon the prophet’ may be added. The Swahili

⁷⁸ ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d.661) was the cousin and the son in law of the Prophet Muḥammad. He (‘Alī) married Fāṭimah (the Prophet’s daughter). ‘Ali, an important figure in Islamic history, was renowned for his bravery (hence, his praise-name *Haidari* ‘lion’ in Swahili ballads) and became the fourth Caliph, 656-661 CE. (*E.I.* , <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com>. Retrieved on 12th May 2017).

scribes, acquainted with Arabic as well as Swahilo-Arabic script, prefer to use a *hijrah* calendar with a base date of 1 *Muḥarram* 01, equivalent to Friday, 16 July 622, when writing colophons.⁷⁹ They use Arabic phrases to show humility and humbleness: *al-faqīr* ‘poor’, *al-mudhnibī* ‘erroneous’, and may use a self-deprecatory formula such as *Allahumma ighfir likātibihā*, ‘Oh! Lord forgive the scribe (for his errors)’.

Table 5 sets out information about the copyists of the manuscripts in the corpus. These use the name in the colophon, but where the manuscript does not have a colophon the custodian’s name is provided based on the available information from the owners or historical research such as that of Allen (1945).

⁷⁹ For further details on the Islamic calendar, names of the month, methods of calculation and relation to other existing calendar systems such as the Persian calendar, see Déroche 2005:322-330.

D	Location	Type	Shape	Copyist	Date (CE)	Language
Ab	Pate	A, prose	trapezoid	‘Umar Aḥmad al-Mafārī	1905	AS
Af	UDSM (Siyu)	A, verse	-	Unknown	20th C	AS
Am	Oman (Zanzibar)	A, verse	normal	Abū Burhān ‘Abdul‘azīz b. ‘Abdul Al-Ghanī al-Amawy	1882	AS
Ay	London (Pate)	A, prose	C-shaped	‘Uthmān b. Mbwarahaji b. ‘Uthmān	1793	AS
3a	Pate	A, prose	trapezoid	‘Abūd Yusallem Baṣfār	1922	AS
3e	Mambui	A, prose	trapezoid	Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sa‘ūd al-Bayḍ	1992	AS
Di	Pate	A, prose	trapezoid	Sayyid ‘Uthmān b. Maulānā b. ‘Abdul Raḥmān	1912	AS
Hi	London	C, verse + prose	normal	William Hichens	1936	ES
Hu	Mombasa	A, prose + verse	trapezoid	Abī Bakr b. Sulṭān Aḥmad	1894	AS
Ka	Ndau	A, prose	trapezoid	‘Uthmān b. Mbwarahaji b. ‘Uthmān b. Šayth	1860	AS
Ko	Zanzibar (Tumbatu)	A, verse	-	Šayḥ ‘Ali Kombo Ngwali al-‘Alawy	20th C	AS
Nc	Mombasa	C, prose + verse	normal	Ahmed Sheikh Nabahany	1986	S
Nd	Mombasa	C, prose + verse	normal	Ahmed Sheikh Nabahany	1986	S
Qa	Mombasa	A, prose	normal	Qaīm b. Amfar Banī Šahardīn	1963	S
Sa	Siyu	A, verse	-	Unknown	20th C	AS
3e	Barawa	A, verse	-	Shego Bakari	1930	S

Table 6: Selected codicological features of the *Hamziyya* corpus: copyist’s name, location, and date of the colophon⁸⁰

80 Notes and keys:

Location: The current location, with the original location in brackets if that was different. *Type*: The language of the colophon (A = Arabic, S = Swahili), and whether it is in prose or verse. *Shape*: The shape of the colophon on the folio. *Date*: All dates are CE. Since *Af* was obtained from Afua bt. Hassan of Siyu in 1966 (Allen, 1945), it can be considered of 20th century provenance. In *Ay*, the date of 1793 in the colophon should be read as 1842. Although the colophon is missing in *Ko* and *Sa*, the manuscript seems to have been recently produced, and can therefore be considered of 20th century provenance. *Language*: The language of the poem. AS = Arabic/Swahili, ES = English/Swahili, S = Swahili.

The four Swahili-only manuscripts are from 1930, 1963 and 1986 (2), and the only English/Swahili manuscript is from 1936. Only one Arabic/Swahili manuscript is post-1930 (Be, 1992), though it might be argued that the three 20th C manuscripts might be later than that too. But in general it is possible to argue that the creation of Arabic/Swahili copies seems to be less common from 1930 on.

Colophon shape

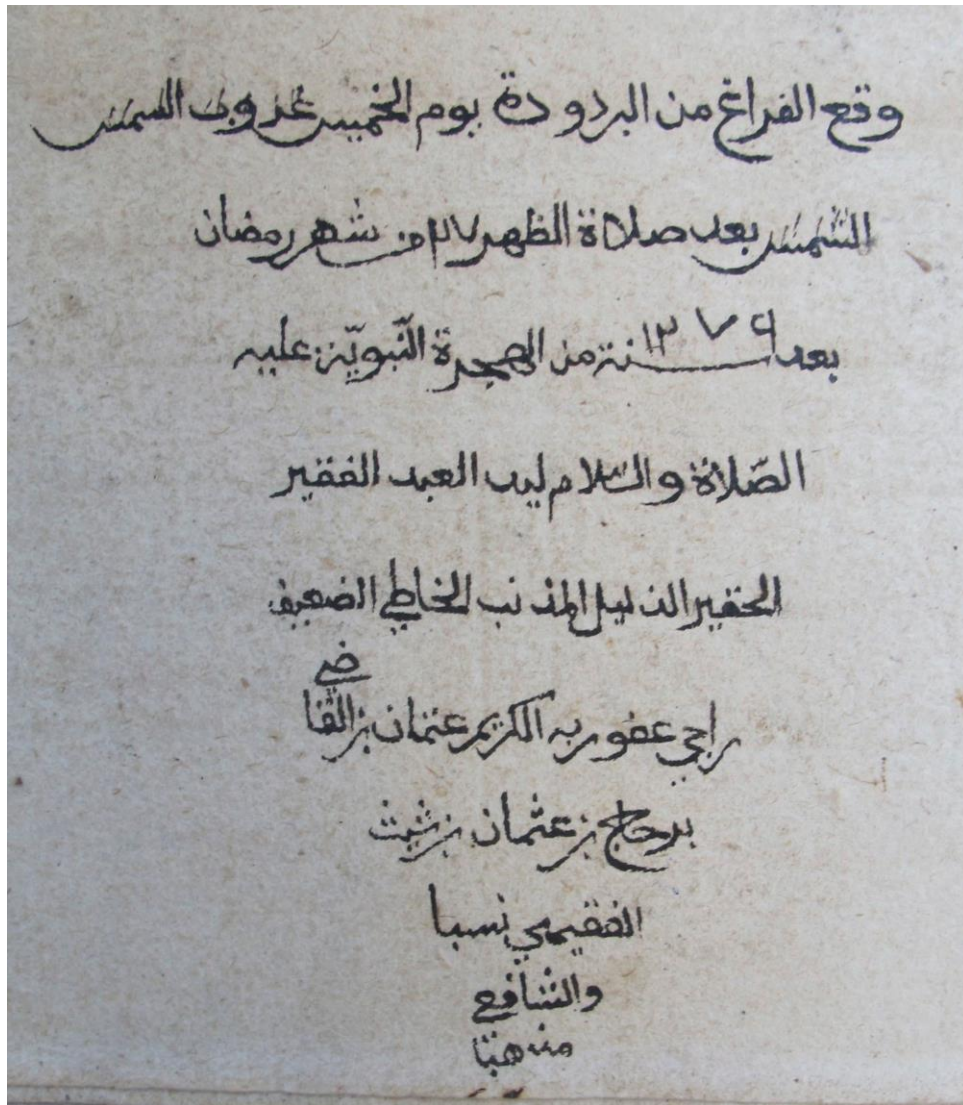


Figure 26: Ms. *Ka*'s colophon, f. 58.

Déroche (2005:319) notes that the colophon is often written in a specific layout, the most common a triangle truncated at the base to form a trapezoid shape. This is also the commonest shape attested in the corpus: six of the ten colophons take this shape (Figure 26 gives an example). As Table 6 shows, the only one of the bilingual manuscripts with an Arabic *matn* and an ‘Aydarūs’ *tarjama* not to have a colophon is *Af*. All the colophons are in Arabic except for *Nd*, where it is in Swahili. All the copyists’ colophons are in prose except for *Am*.

The colophon of *Ay*, which is the oldest manuscript in the corpus, is in the shape of a C. The scribe presumably had no access to further sheets of paper, and since the last folio was already full, he used the available remaining space at the margins, writing first on the bottom one, continuing onto the left-hand side one, and finishing on the top one (Figure 27).

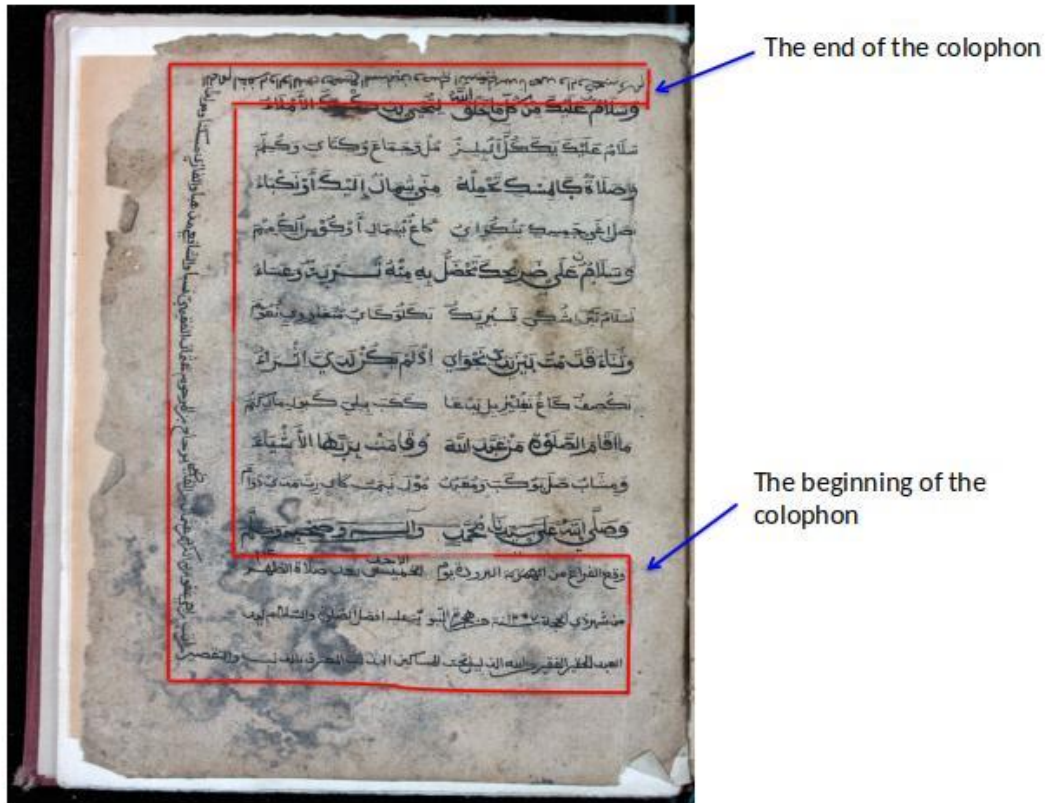


Figure 27: Ms. *Ay*'s colophon (illustrated inside the red C-shaped figure), f. 80.

The colophon for *Am*, the third oldest manuscript in the corpus, is unique. It starts on f246 with the Arabic statement: *wa qad arraha al-nāsh...* ‘indeed the text has been documented/dated by...’ Abū Burhān ‘Abdul’Aziz b. ‘Abdul Ghanī al-Amawy al-Quraishy, *bihadhihi al-abiyāt...* ‘by the following verses...’. Over the next four folios, Al-Amawy then writes a Swahili poetic colophon which is in three parts: ‘Aydarūs’ colophon (in Swahili verse), a first colophon in Arabic (in prose - a simple statement giving his name and confirming the text as his work) by al-Amawy, and finally a second colophon by Al-Amawy in Swahili verse (Figures 28 and 29).



Figure 28: Ms. *Am*'s colophons, f. 248-249.

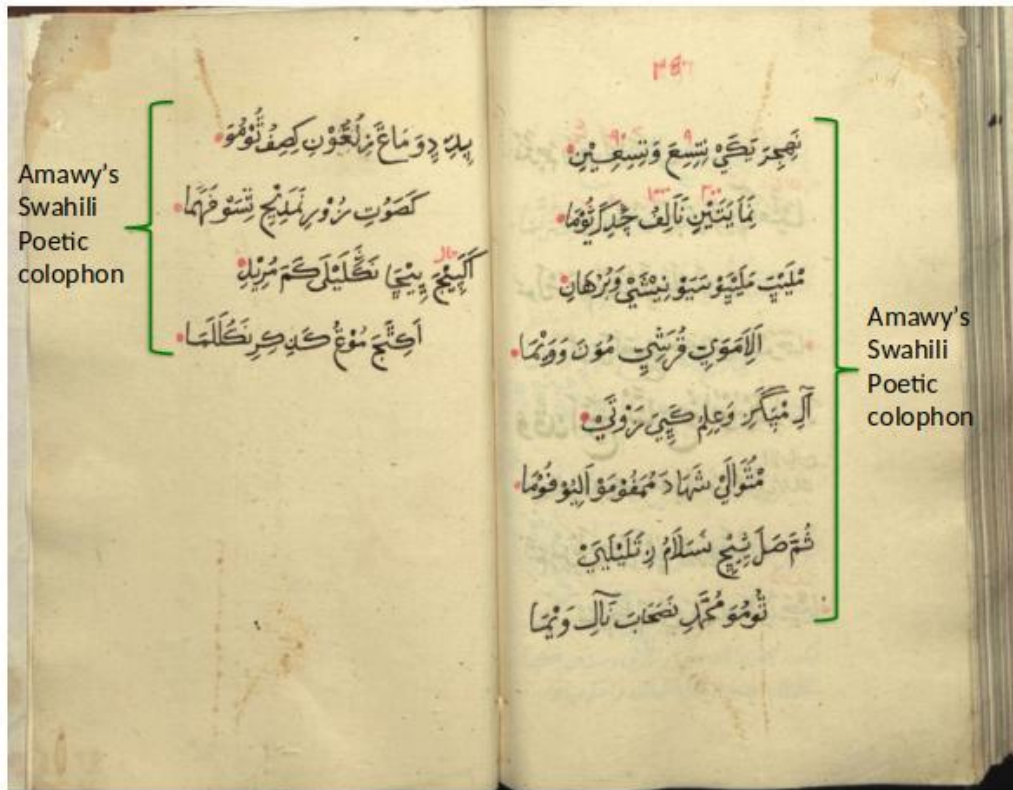


Figure 29: Ms. Am's colophon, f. 250 -251.

Am contains the only verse colophon attested in the corpus. It deviates from traditional Arabic colophon formats by presenting the name of the copyist and the completion date of the work. Al-Amawy's Swahili poetic colophon reads as follows:

*Tama nimazile kuzilemba hizino tenzi,
mwezi kumi nane Ramadhani kwa siku njema.
Na hijira yake ni tisiya watisi 'ini ,
ni miyateni na alifu chandika nyuma.
Mlomba malombo sayo ni Shee wa Burhani,
ali-Amawii Qurayshii mwana wa wema.
Alompwekuzi waelimu kwa njiya zote,
mtola shahada mumfume aliyofuma.
Thumma swala nyinji na salamu zitelelee,
tumwa Muhammadi na swahaba na aali wema.*

*Penda ndiwa manga zilunguni kiswifu tumwa,
kwa sauti nzuri na madihi tusofahama.
Akapija mbinja na ukulele kama muridi,
akitaja Mungu kwa dhikiri na kulalama.*

I have completed rendering the poem,
on 18th of Ramadhan, it is a good day.⁸¹
And the *hijra* calendar is 99 ,
and [two] hundred, and write 1000⁸² after that.
The one who did the task (of transcription) is Shee Burhani,
Al-Amawy Quraishy, a person of integrity,
Well known in seeking knowledge at all levels,
And so let the reader evaluate him objectively.
Furthermore, may prayers and salutations shower down on
the Prophet Muḥammad, his Companions and his righteous relatives.
I love to hear the doves from Arabia eulogizing the Prophet in the sky,
in a beautiful voice, which we cannot understand.
It sings [lit. whistles] loudly like an adherent of a [mystical] order,
chanting the names of God and crying out to Him.

3.9. Comparative prosodic structures of the *matn* and the *tarjama*

3.10.1. The prosodic structures of the *matn*

According to Knappert (1968:52) “the original *Hamziyya* is a poem of 456 lines in the *tawīl* meter of 22 syllables in the line.” Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī (2011:72), classified it as *baḥr al-ḥafīf*, literally: ‘shallow sea’, which is the more appropriate classification in Arabic prosody. The word *baḥr*, ‘sea’, also means ‘metre’, and different types of metre in

⁸¹ The phrase “a good day“, may be interpreted here as Sunday, since the date of completion of the work falls on this day.

⁸² *Alīf* in this context is interpreted as 1000 years. The date of the completion of Al-Amawy’s work is, therefore, 14th Ramadhan 1299 A.H, which is equivalent to 30th July 1882.

Arabic poems (e.g. *ṭawīl*, *rajaz*, *basīṭ*, *ḥafīf*, etc) are based on their prosodic structures in Arabic rules of prosody (*‘arūd*).

The metric feet of each *baḥr* are considered light (short) or heavy (long) based on their consonant (C) and vowel (V) combinations (Abdulaziz 1996, Frolov 2000).

Structure	Weight/length
CV	light/short
CV:	light/ long
CVC	heavy/short
CVCC	heavy/long

Table 7: The consonants and vowel patterns in Arabic prosody

For example, the word *hajara* ‘he migrated’ is made up of three short syllables, *ha-ja-ra* (i.e. CV CV CV) and the word *hājir* ‘a migrant’ is made up of two long/heavy syllables, *hā-jir* (i.e. CV: CVC). Arabic also has long or geminated consonants represented by the orthographical symbol of *shadda*; for example, *kalla* ‘never’ is made up of two syllables, *kal-la* (i.e. CVC CV, See Table 7).

In *‘arūd*, the measurement of the metric foot is traditionally represented by prosodic schemes known as *tafā’īl* (Abdulaziz 1996, Frolov 2000, Daub 2016). The *tafā’īl* are mnemonic formulae that schematise the short and long syllables of the words in each line of a given metre, since in Arabic prosody each metre (*baḥr*) has its own specific *tafā’īl* formula. For example, *baḥr al-ḥafīf* can be represented by the *tafā’īl* scheme; *fā’ilātun mustaf’īlan fā’ilātun*, which allows the short and long syllables of each half-line of the *matn* (i.e. the Arabic *Hamziyya*) to be identified (al-Haitamī 2011:72). Thus, the *tafā’īl* metric units of one verse can be illustrated as follows, where \sim represents a short syllable, $_$ long syllable, / the boundary of the metric foot, and // the caesura:

Fā-’i-lā-tun / mus-taf-’i-lan / fā-’i-lā-tun //
 $_ \sim _ _ / _ _ \sim _ / _ \sim _ _ //$
Fā-’i-lā-tun / mus-taf-’i-lan / fā-’i-lā-tun
 $_ \sim _ _ / _ _ \sim _ / _ \sim _ _$

Al-Haitamī (2011:72) contends that there is an alternative form of the *tafā'īl* scheme for the *Hamziyya*, whereby a sub-section of the scheme *mustaf'īlan* (– – ˇ –) is at times substituted with a shorter scheme unit, *mutaf'īlan* (ˇ – ˇ –) or *mafā'īlan* (ˇ – ˇ –). This substitution occurs in the first hemistich of the *matn* in its second word, *ruqiyyakal* (ˇ – ˇ –). Thus, using the first line of the *matn* as an example:

Kay-fa-tar-qā / ruq-qiy-ya-kal / an-bi-yā'-un //
 – ˇ – – / ˇ – ˇ – / – ˇ – – //
yā-sa-mā'-an/ mā-ṭwā-wa-lat / hā-sa-mā-un
 – ˇ – – / – – ˇ – / – ˇ – –

How can [the other] prophets reach your highness, O you [Muhammad],
 to ascend to the heavens where no one attempts (to do so) ?⁸³

3.9.2 . The prosodic structures of Swahili verse

In contrast to Arabic metrical systems, in Swahili *mizani*, ‘syllables’ are the basis for the metric foot of a given verse, and Swahili does not have heavy syllables but allows only light syllables. Abdulaziz (1996:415) states:

Swahili has open syllables with the following structure CV, V and C, where the single consonant is a nasal sound. For example the word *paka* ‘cat’ is made up of two syllables with structure CVCV. *Oa* (pronounced as ‘*owa*’) has two syllables, V and CV; *mbu* ‘mosquito’ is made up of CCV where the initial C is a nasal sound. Swahili does not like consonant clusters, and where they occur ([except] in borrowed words) they are invariably of the structure CCV, where the initial C is a nasal sound, e.g. *ndizi* ‘bananas’ or CCCV where the initial C is a nasal sound, and the third C is a semi-vowel sound e.g. *mbwa* ‘dog’.

The syllable count in Swahili may therefore be illustrated as follows:

⁸³ Unless otherwise stated all translations are produced by the researcher.

Word	Syllables	Representation
paka	2	CV
oa	2	CV
ndizi	2	CCV
mbwa	2	CCCV

Table 8: Swahili words and their syllable counting

Some Swahili scholars have suggested that the *Hamziyya* (AV) prosodic structure, such as the total number of verses, the number of syllables per verse (metric length), and the ordering of the verses during chanting, is in practice not strictly adhered to by the reciters during the oral performances (Mutiso 2005, Olali 2012).

Generally, the *mizani* of the *tarjama* provides fifteen syllables per *kipande* (half-line), giving thirty syllables for the entire verse. However, Mutiso (2005:103) argues that:

... there are more lines or verses and also some syllables are less than fifteen per *mshororo* ‘verse’. The difference of verses counting is caused by one group considering the prologue and epilogue verses of *Sharifu* ‘Aydarūs in their computation.

Mutiso also argues that there are differences in rhythm, words, lines and even the arrangement of verses in oral performances. According to him, these aspects were more obvious during the chanting of *Hamziyya* by ‘Mabingwa wa Pate’. He concludes by saying that such variations are to be expected in oral performances (Mutiso 2005:103), in effect suggesting that the exact order of verses as they appear in the text, and the proper number of *mizani* may be ignored during the chanting procession in oral performances. Moreover, in regard to the number of verses, there is the possibility of not strictly following the prologue and epilogue verses as given in the manuscripts which have them.

Chimera and Njogu (1999:104) state that the *Hamziyya* verse comprises two half-lines, each of which contains 15 syllables. Olali (2012:131) argues that the *mizani* of 15 syllables per half-line for the ‘Aydarūs version may vary between 14-15. He justifies his point by giving the example of v211, which he says has 13 and 14 syllables for each half-line respectively:

Pa-i-ne-le ha-ki- Tau-ra-ti na- I-nji-li
wa-o ku-ka-nya-ne shi-ri-ki-ni ma-dhwa-li-ma

However, manuscripts in Swahilo-Latin orthography tend to make the identification of the metric foot problematic. A closer examination of the line based on its representation in the Swahilo-Arabic orthography reveals that by properly applying Swahili syllabification rules to the Arabic loan words in v211, both half-lines actually conform to the 15 syllables rule.

For instance, *Ay* shows that the word *Taurati*, ‘Torah’, in v211 is written in Arabic orthography as *Taurātu*. In Swahili syllabic counting, the word *Taurātu* is made up of five syllables, *Ta-u-ra-a-tu*, instead of the three syllables posited by Olali. Similarly, *madhwalima*, ‘injustices’, is written in *Ay* as *madhwālima*, which again adds up to five syllables, *ma-dhwa-a-li-ma*, instead of four. This indicates that ‘Aydarūs tried as far as possible to retain the Arabic loan words in their original state by mapping them consistently onto the Swahili syllabification grid.

3.9.2. The Swahili *Hamziyya* versions: prosodic structures of *tarjama*

The *tarjama* for the ‘Aydarūs version (AV) (3.9.2.1), the Tumbatu version (TV) (3.9.2.2) and the Chimwini version (CV) (3.9.2.3) reflects a different translation tradition and thus a different prosodic structure. The ‘Aydarūs and Tumbatu version have the same master rhyme scheme, which may be referred to as *mimiyya*, *i.e.* having an end rhyme of *ma*. In contrast, the Chimwini version does not have a master rhyme for its verses. Rather, one rhyme is applied to all the half-lines in each stanza, *i.e.* *aaaa*, *bbbb*, *cccc*, and so on.

3.9.2.1. The ‘Aydarūs version (AV)

In the ‘Aydarūs version, the prologue contains eight verses in Swahili. After the prologue the *matn* begins and is interlined with the AV *tarjama*, starting from the ninth verse.

The AV has two half-lines per verse, with no internal rhymes but an end rhyme in *ma*, and this remains constant throughout the poem, i.e. *ax, bx, cx* and so on. Each half-line contains 15 syllables, giving 30 syllables per verse. This is illustrated by verse 9 in *Ay* as follows:

Hali wakwelaye kukwelako mitume yonte
uwingu usiwo kulotewa nimoja sama.

How can any of the Prophets climb like you did

to ascend to heaven where not anybody can attempt ?

The final syllables in each half-line of verses 9-11 are illustrated in Table 9 below, showing the *ma* rhyme at the end of each line (see also Appendix 2).

Verse	First half-line	Second half-line
9	n-te	ma
10	li	ma
11	tu	ma

Table 9: The final syllables of AV in verses 9-11.

The AV resembles the *matn*'s poetic form in terms of having two half-lines per verse, having no rhyme at the end of the first half-line, and maintaining a master rhyme at the end of each line. However, the master rhyme of the *matn* is *hamza* (aa) while that of the AV *tarjama* is *mimiyya* (ma).

3.9.2.2. The Tumbatu version (TV)

The poetic structure of the Tumbatu version (TV) differs from the AV in regard to the number of verses and the rhyme scheme. The TV has a stanza of two verses, each with two half-lines of 15 syllables each. Hence, each TV stanza (with two verses) contains a

total of 60 syllable units, whereas the AV stanza (with one verse) has only 30 syllable units per verse. The first stanza from *Ko* is as follows:

Iki hali gani yakukweya wako ukwezi
mitume mingine kuwa yaqini hawawezi
Iwi utukufu wenye swifa na nyingi 'izi
uso tukukiwa na ukubwa wa moja sama

How possible is your ascension to heavens?

Indeed, other prophets are not capable (of doing so) ,
 You are of honourable status and great power,
 and your greatness is unparalleled like the heaven.

The TV contains three mid-rhymes at the end of the first three half-lines, which may vary from one stanza to the next, and a master rhyme in *ma* at the end of each stanza, i.e. *aaax*, *bbbx*, *cccx* and so on. Both AV and TV can therefore be termed as *mimiyya*, i.e. rhyming in *ma*. The TV has no prologue verses, but a chorus of three verses in Arabic appears prior to the main text (see 3.7.2). The rhyme scheme of Ms. *Ko*, stanzas 1-3, is illustrated below in Table 10:

Stanza	Half-line 1	Half-line 2	Half-line 3	Half-line 4
1	zi	zi	zi	ma
2	mi	mi	mi	ma
3	fu	fu	fu	ma

Table 10: The rhymes of stanzas 1-3 of the Tumbatu version.

3.9.2.3. The Chimwini version (CV)

The Chimwini version (CV), like the TV, also has stanzas of four half-lines with 60 syllables per stanza. However, all four half-lines in CV have a single rhyme which differs from verse to verse, i.e. *aaaa*, *bbbb*, *cccc* and so on. This means that the end rhyme of

ma, as observed in the AV and TV, does not exist in CV. The first verse of *Be* is as follows:

Jinsi gani khupandra mitumeyi anbiyaa

daraja yao 'awenye kuzimu nabiya

Ilo yenyi ntuko kuzimu yaa 'aliyaa

hawapandri darajayi wowonteye piyaa

How do the other prophets ascend

to the elevated heavens as you did, our Prophet!

That is a heavenly place of high status

not just any person (can do something comparable!) To ascend to the heavens!

The rhyme scheme of stanzas 1-3 of *Be* are illustrated below in Table 11:

Stanza	Half-line 1	Half-line 2	Half-line 3	Half-line 4
1	ya	Ya	ya	ya
2	wo	wo	wo	wo
3	li	li	li	li

Table 11: The rhymes of stanzas 1-3 of the Chimwini version.

The rhyme scheme of CV, therefore, differs from both AV and TV in its end rhyme, but it agrees with TV in having four half-lines per stanza.

3.10. The calligraphic features of the manuscripts

Calligraphy (*ḥusn al- ḥaṭṭ*, *ḥusn al-kitābah*) in the Arabic/Islamic tradition is the art of elegant, formal writing (Gacek 2009:43). Blair (2006:xxv) traces the word “calligraphy” from Greek *kallos* (beauty) and *grafos* (writing, writer). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1971:38) the term calligraphy means, “i) beautiful or fair writing as a

product, also, elegant penmanship as an art or profession, and ii) handwriting, penmanship generally, style of handwriting or written characters, a person's characteristic handwriting or hand.”

The concept of calligraphy is rendered in Arabic as *ḥaṭṭ*, pl. *ḥuṭūṭ*. Wehr (1979:244) defines *ḥaṭṭ* as, “a line and a stroke or stripe, also handwriting; writing, script; calligraphy, penmanship.” Most of the manuscripts with a *matn* in the corpus, such as *Am*, *Ay*, *Ab*, *Di*, *Ka*, and *Hu*, use one of two distinctive styles of *ḥaṭṭ* recognized in Islamic calligraphy: *riq‘a* and *nashḥ*.

The *riq‘a* script (*qalam al-riq‘a*) is a finer, ligatured and curvilinear Arabic writing (Gacek 2009:224). Other features include cursive characters, which are usually not vocalized, with the dots being joined together to make a small wave-like figure.

The *nashḥ* script is the most common one in the Islamic world, and is usually used in the writing of the Qur’an or in texts meant for display (Gacek 2009:164). The script is relatively large in size (compared to *riq‘a*), with wide spacing of text lines, and is always vocalized. The script contains characters with sub-linear loops (e.g. *lām*, *nūn*, *ṣād*), closed symbols (e.g. *hā*) and *lām alif al-warrāqīyah* ‘*lām alif* of the professional scribes’ characterized by its almost triangular base. Lam- is an Arabic letter (ل) transliterated as ‘L’ in Latin consonants and ‘sub-linear loop’ refers to the ‘tail-shaped’ figures found in the above mentioned Arabic consonants, for instance, *nūn* (ن); see also Transliteration Table, p. xiv.

As Figure 30 shows, both of the styles can be encountered in the same manuscript. In this example from *Hu*, the main text is in *nashḥ*, while the annotations are in *riq‘a*. Two different type of *lam-alif* ligatures are used by the *nashḥ* scribe. The reason for this is that the *riq‘a* is done when one wants to write faster, especially during dictation, while the *nashḥ* one is done diligently and carefully for any literate individual in Arabic script to follow and to appreciate the calligraphic skills applied to the manuscript.

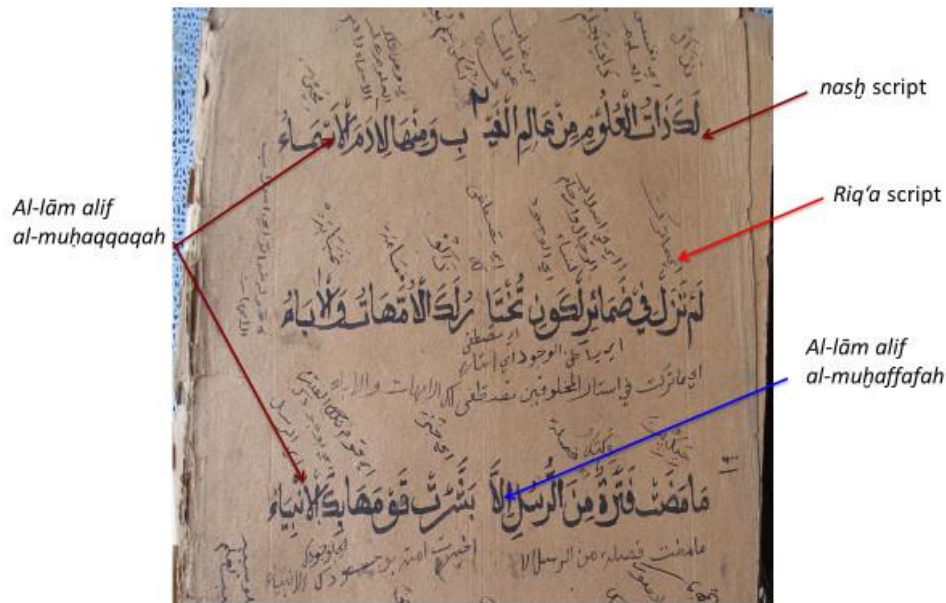


Figure 30: Ms. *Hu*, folio 2. The illustration shows types of scripts and *lām alif* symbols.

In the corpus, the *riq'a* script appears in the Arabic *ḥawāšīn* of *Hu* and *Am*. The vocalization is usually omitted, although it may be supplied for Swahili words if they appear as *ḥawāšīn* on the text. However, both *matn* and the *tarjama* are usually well vocalized throughout the corpus. However, because of that particular copyist's competence in calligraphy, some manuscripts are more beautifully and skilfully written than others. *Am*, *Ay*, *Hu* and *Ka*, which are all 19th C manuscripts, stand out especially here. The writing styles of *Ay* and *Ka* are similar: both are written in *nash* script with almost the same types of strokes, tails and curves. The script of *Hu* has some unique curvilinear features, is written in large bold letters, and has some of the features of a *thuluth*⁸⁴ script (see Figures 12 and 30). Among the script's unique features is that the *alif* is slightly bent with a left-turned foot/tail – its shape is as if a “man is looking at his feet” (Gacek 2009:274). Also, *jīm*, *rā'*, *sīn*, *ṣād*, *'ayn*, and *nūn* curve upwards (*muqawwar*)

⁸⁴ This script was developed by the Persian official Ibn Muqla in the early 8th C, and is so named because one-third (*thuluth*) of each letter slopes. For a detailed description of the *thuluth* script see Gacek 2009:274-77.

while the tails of some of the characters are joined to the proceeding ones by means of hairlines (*tash'irāt*) (Gacek *ibid*).

3.11. Conclusion

This chapter provides a review of the main features of the manuscripts in the corpus, covering language, layout, textual content, paratextual elements, and script-related features such as calligraphy. In the Swahili cultural area, the *Hamziyya* manuscripts have for centuries been copied and revered, and embody a remarkable intellectual contribution.

From the comparative analysis of *Hamziyya*, the following conclusions may be drawn;

- *Variance in language and scripts.* *Hamziyya* manuscripts have been produced at intervals since the first Swahili translation appeared ca. 1749 in East Africa. The first *Hamziyya* manuscript was written in Arabic, using the Swahilo-Arabic script. The writing of *Hamziyya* in Latin, using the Swahilo-Latin script, seems to be a very recent phenomenon related to research by scholars such as Hichens, Hinawy and Knappert in the early 20th century. That Swahili scribes, such as Sheikh Nabahany, who used to write in Swahilo-Arabic script but then in the 1990s, chose to switch to Swahilo-Latin, suggests that the Swahilo-Arabic script was slowly losing its grip in the East African region. Sheikh Nabahany sought a wider readership when the Latin script became more prominent than the Swahilo-Arabic one in the coastal region. Unfortunately, scholars in Arabic, even contemporary madrasa teachers, hardly encourage the writing of Swahilo-Arabic script nowadays.
- *Layout of texts written in Latin script.* The *Hamziyya* manuscripts in Latin script contain texts that are laid out in a single column. They are either hand- or type-written or may have both forms in one manuscript (e.g. *Hi*). Hichens and Sheikh Nabahany were probably taking the *Hamziyya* text from its manuscript state to printer-ready, since Latin script nowadays is usually preferred. By the early seventies, only a few madrasahs, such as al-Nur (Mamburi, Kenya), taught

Swahilo-Arabic script as part of their curriculum. The researcher is afraid that the Swahilo-Arabic script, if not revived, may soon become extinct.

- *Variance in textual forms (single and multiple manuscripts with their components)*. The older manuscripts such as *Ay*, *Am* and *Ka* show that the manuscripts were initially written in complex form with a combination of texts. For example, Arabic and Swahili poetic texts appear as one body (i.e. as a single text manuscript) sharing interlinearised *matn* and *tarjama* stanzas under ‘one roof’ in *Ab*, *Ay*, *Am*, *Ba*, *Di*, *Ka* and *Sa*. The default text contains specific ‘standardised’ components which usually include: a title, *basmalah*, prologue, the main body; *matn* inter-linearised with *tarjama*, epilogue and a copyist’s colophon. The layout of early STMs that contain such combined texts suggests that their layout can be considered ‘standard’: *Ab* is a good example of this sequence of components. The second good example is *Ay* is another good example, but the last page where the epilogue is supposed to appear seems to be missing, probably because of wear and tear. A similar textual layout and order of components are witnessed in both the AV and TV translation traditions, meaning that two out of the three traditions adapt similar forms of the default. The presence of the *matn* in the old manuscripts reflects a reverence for the text and its original composer Sheikh al-Būṣīrī, and the Swahili translator, Sheikh ‘Aydarūs ‘Athmān, with the aim being to seek *baraka* and healing powers. The separation of the *tarjama* from the *matn* is a recent phenomenon, and this is where we see for the first time the presence of multiple texts manuscripts such as *Hi* and *Nc*, and also a glossary work, *Be*, where the *matn* is completely absent. Wide spacing and glosses between the stanzas appear mainly in manuscripts written in Arabic script. For example, *Am* and *Hu* (containing verses placed between widely spaced lines) are used for learning, while ones that are narrowly spaced, such as *Ay*, *Ba*, *Sa*, *Ko* *Qa* and *Se*, and those with additional multiple texts such as *tabaraka* (*Di* and *Ka*) are used for memorisation and oral performances. Manuscripts with complex layout and combined multiple texts such as the *tahmīs* of the *Hamziyya* are also used for memorisation and oral

performances, though the additional lines help Arabic readers/listeners acquainted with Swahili to better understand the *matn*. Here, attention focuses on expansion, commenting, and exegesis on the translation, the aim being to make the *Hamziyya* stanzas more comprehensible for readers.

- *Variance in page layout and calligraphic styles.* The older manuscripts, especially those with Arabic and Swahilo-Arabic texts, are carefully and beautifully scribed. The older manuscripts with colourful textual dividers, annotations and wide spacing, such as *Ay*, *Am* and *Hu*, seem to have been written with a sense of dedication. Two well-known calligraphic styles are witnessed: *nash* and *riq'a*. Each variant parameter, such as calligraphic style or page layout in the *Hamziyya* corpus reflects a specific function or usage: for example, memorising a long poem requires attractive, readable text, which also implies attention to details such as divisions between lines, diacritic symbols and so on.
- *Variance within a single text with multiple textual forms (translations, deciphering, glossary, commentaries).* The *Hamziyya* textual forms have developed chronologically over the years from simple to complex multiple textual forms. The earlier ones entail Swahili translations of the *matn* in three different formats, AV, CV and TV. The AV is the oldest version, and it appears that the composers of Chimwini (CV) and Tumbatu (TV) traditions must have been inspired by the AV tradition to compose their own versions. Accordingly, the Tumbatu and Chimwini traditions bear a modified rhyming schemes and are longer than the AV in terms of their poetic lines (see 3.9). The TV and CV exemplars are incomplete, but a full AV version with English translation is given in Appendix
- *Incomplete manuscripts with missing pages.* A number of manuscripts such as *Af*, *Ko* and *Se* (in Arabic Script) and *Nc* and *Hi* (in Latin script) are incomplete. Others, such as *Ay*, *Ba*, and *Sa* have missing pages. Many have missing texts and paratexts, such as the Arabic/*tarjama* lines (e.g. *Af*, *Ba*, *Ko* and *Se*),

incomplete Swahili commentary (*Nc*) and colophons (*Af*, *Ko*, and *Sa*). There is a possibility that those who were bequeathed manuscripts did not bother to complete or fill any gaps in them, possibly because for spiritual reasons they did not want to add anything to the bequest, or because they did not have the knowledge to take up the task.

Further investigation of *Hamziyya* textual and layout variance would be useful. This might include studying divergences in linguistic usage, phonetics, morphology, and socio-linguistic features. Another important area would be the investigation of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts' orthographic characteristics and the writing systems in general (for instance, spelling conventions used). There is a need also to create critical textual editions of multiple *Hamziyya* versions if more extant are found. Ethno-musicological research on the melodies and singing variations of the *Hamziyya* in oral performances in different regions would also be helpful, for instance, a common melody or even dancing techniques.

CHAPTER IV: THE PRODUCTION AND USAGES OF *HAMZIYYA* MANUSCRIPTS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter examines the production (4.1) and usage contexts (4.2) of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts.

4.1. The production of the manuscripts

This section examines the agents, implements and historical backgrounds relevant to the production of *Hamziyya* manuscripts, beginning with the role of *Šūfī* scholars and their impact in the production of manuscript cultures on the East African coast (4.1.1). Subsequent sections cover the *Hamziyya* poets (4.1.2), the leading commentators on the *tarjama* (4.1.3), and the materials, instruments used in the production process (4.1.4), the oral performance study (4.2), the usage and function of different *Hamziyya* manuscripts as per their layouts (4.3) and finally, a summary is given.

4.1.1. *Šūfī* scholars and their impact in the production of manuscript culture in the East African coast

Members of Yemeni and other communities (from Persia and, later on, from India and the Asian subcontinent) have migrated to the East African region for centuries (Pouwels 1997, Le-Guennecc-Coppens 1997). At the beginning of the 16th century, the Barawa and Hadhrami clans migrated to Pate and Lamu following religious (and commercial) wars in Ethiopia (Pouwels 1987:40). Many of these new immigrants to the Lamu archipelago were *sāda* (singl. *sayyid*)⁸⁵ ‘descendants of the prophet’ and *šuyūḥ* (sing. *šayḥ*) ‘clerics’ with a strong affiliation to the towns of Hadhramawt, Tarīm, Say’ūn and Shibām in Yemen. A number of them also migrated to, and brought their influence to, other parts of Asia and Africa (Freitag and Clarence-Smith 1997).

⁸⁵ The word *sāda* ‘descendants of the prophets’ is applied here in its plural form instead of *sayyids*. Some scholars, such as Bang 2003, apply the former (*sāda*) and others, such as Harries (1962) apply the latter (*sayyids*). I shall apply the Islamic-Arabic terminological conventions that are also used in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Cf. *E.I.*, 2018: pls. *sāda*, *asyād* *sādāt* abstract nouns *siyāda* *su’dad* and coterminous erm *šarīf*, pl. *šurafā*.)

Currently, there is no comprehensive historical study of the Hadhrami diaspora in East Africa (Le-Guinnec-Coppens 1997). However, pockets of Yemeni traders, for example, Bā Wazīr, Bā Lāla, Bā Yusūf, Bā Khresa, Bā Šamakh, just to name a few, still exist today. Many of the migrants were men and did not hesitate to marry native women. These simultaneous and successive marriages in different places resulted in the dispersion of members of lineages across a vast geographical area. Thus, wherever they settled, they formed alliances and networks (Le-Guinnec-Coppens 1997).

Migration of Arabs to East Africa was for various reasons. Some came as mercenary fighters, but the majority engaged in long-distance trade and artisanship, while the *sāda* and *šuyūh* came as religious leaders, healers, jurists, teachers and scholars (Freitag and Clarence-Smith 1997, Trimingham 1964).

An important group of migrants came from Oman, and some of them, for instance, the al-Būsa‘īdi, al-Mandhri, al-Shikeli, al-Shaksy, al-Barwani and al-Hinawy, are still present in East Africa. The Omanis follow the ‘Ibāḍī *madhhab* sect, but had little impact in terms of spreading it, because many Muslims of Hadhrami origin were adherents of the Shafī‘ī School of law. In this respect, Trimingham (1964:22) notes that, “it was essentially the emigration of Hadhrami Shafī‘ī leaders rather than Omanis (‘Ibāḍī) which was responsible for remoulding Swahili culture and imprinting it with the dominant stamp it bears today.”

The Omanis fortified their economic and political power in East Africa in the 17th century by helping to expel the Portuguese and end their unpopular imperial rule.⁸⁶ Trimingham (1962:20), narrates that:

“the ‘Umānis [Omanis] became a considerable force in the Indian Ocean. In 1653 the Imam⁸⁷ assisted the rulers of Pemba, Zanzibar and Otondo in a rebellion against the Portuguese. In 1660, Pate asked for help, and an ‘Umāni [Omani]

⁸⁶ For the Portuguese rule in East Africa, see Strandes (1961).

⁸⁷ The Omani ruler in Zanzibar.

fleet captured Faza and besieged Fort Jesus. The war lasted until Mombasa fell in 1698 after a long siege and Sayf ibn Sulṭān installed Nasr ibn ‘Abdallah al-Mazrū‘ī as governor.”



Figure 31: A map showing Islands and Towns along the East African coast. Source: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/293794171> Water Management in a Maritime Culture The Swahili Coast of East Africa/figures?lo=1

During the period of sultans in East Africa⁸⁸, the *sāda* and *šuyūh* vastly migrated, settled, proselytized Islam and established strong social and religious networks along the East African coast (al-Farsy 1972, Ahmed 1993, Freitag, & Clarence-Smith 1997). A number of rulers, for instance, the Nabahany of Pate, encouraged literacy and even patronage of the production of manuscripts (Allen 1981).

The Banī ‘Alawy clans from Hadhramawt have also played a significant role in shaping the social and intellectual tradition of East African Islam (Bakari 1993:168). At the time when literacy had not reached into the interior of Kenya, the *sāda* played an important role in, for example, the development of both oral and written classical Swahili literature, whose intellectual foundation was based on the Islamic traditions. Harries (1962:4) notes that:

“Along the Swahili Coast there was from very early times contact with Arab seamen and traders. The Arabs of the Yemen and Hadhramawt, especially the latter, brought more spontaneous religious verse to the Swahili coast. An important influence in establishing the tradition of Swahili versification was also that of educated religious leaders, nearly all *sayyids*, in whose hands most of the secular and religious education lay [...] The *sayyids* were Arabs, but because they wrote in Swahili it is customary to include them in the category of Swahili poets.”

The *sāda* transmitted and initiated the translation of religious texts such as the *Hamziyya* in Swahili land (Abdulaziz 1996). Common Islamic religious practices such as *mawlid*, *dhikr*⁸⁹ (Sw. *dhikiri*) and visiting the graves i.e. the *ziyara* ritual became part of the religious life of the Swahili (Trimingham 1964). These practices are still conducted by the *Sāda* and their followers in East Africa today.

⁸⁸ For the history of Omani rule in Zanzibar, see Norman (1978), and for Mazrui’s rule in Mombasa, see: Orman (1978), and Mazrui (2014).

⁸⁹Trimingham (1964:96) defines *dhikr* as “ the ‘remembrance’ of God by the repetition of His name and attributes; coordinated, when recited in congregation, with breathing techniques and physical movements.”

The dispersion of Banī ‘Alawy clans from Hadhramawt to East Africa seems to be the most attested and documented event in East African history (Trimingham 1964, Bakari 1993, Pouwels 1987, Freitag, & Clarence-Smith 1997, Bang 2003). The *sāda* families tended to form networks and alliances wherever they went, for example, the al-Masila Bā ‘Alawy, Husseinids and ‘Alids settled in the Comoro islands (Pouwels 1987:41) and the Jamālil Layl, the Ahdalis, the Saggafs, the Shatirīs, and many more families, settled in the Lamu archipelago (Bakari 1993:168).

The *sāda* are generally renowned for their leadership qualities, piety, and erudition in Islamic knowledge in the field of Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), tradition (*ḥadīth*), the biography of the prophet (*sīra*) and jurisprudence (*fiqh*). For centuries, they have produced many *quḍā* (singl. *qāḍī*) ‘judges’, imams ‘mosque leaders/lecturers’ and ‘*ulamā*’ (singl. ‘*ālim*) ‘scholars’ in East Africa (al-Farsy 1972).

The *sāda* came along with *Ṣūfī* orders being part and parcel of their creed. There are three well known *Ṣūfī turūq* (singl. *ṭarīqa*) ‘mystical orders’ on the East African coast; the Qadiriyya, Shadhiliyya, and ‘Alawiyya (Ahmed 1993, Bang 2003:18). The Qadiriyya order was initially introduced in Somalia and is traced from the teachings of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (Ahmed 1993:161). Likewise, the Shadhiliyya is attributed to an ‘Alawy Hadhrami, Muḥammad Ma’rūf of the Comoro islands, who “had studied under members of his own clan, that of *ṣayḥ* Abū Bakr bin Sālim” (Ahmed 1993:161). Most noteworthy is the foundation of the ‘Alawiyya *Ṣūfī ṭarīqa* which was instrumental in spreading Islamic canonical texts, oral traditions, and more importantly the writing and production of manuscripts (see Ahmed 1993, Bang 2003).

The Husseinids and ‘Alīds (the two sons of *Ṣayḥ* Abū Bakr b. Sālim) migrated to various regions, such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Lamu Archipelago, Zanzibar and Comoros Islands (Pouwels 1987, Ahmed 1993, Bang 2003). It is in Pate that the Husseinids produced some of the most remarkable poets in Swahili poetic history, i.e., ‘Aydarūs (d.1749), the author of one *tarjama* of the *Hamziyya*, *sayyid* ‘Abdalla b. ‘Ali b. Nasir (d.1820), the author of *Al-Inkishafī* and *Takhmis ya Liyongo*, and *Sayyid* Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān

(also known as *Manṣab*, d. 1922), who translated and composed many Swahili religious poems such as the *Mawlid Barazanji* (cf. Harries 1962:86-90, 103).

In the nineteenth century, many Arabic texts were translated into Swahili poetry – see, for instance, Knappert (1972), which contains a number of works, such as the *Mawlid Barazanji*, rendered from Arabic into Swahili. It is most likely that Islamic manuscripts were brought to East Africa by Ṣūfī mendicants through their established networks from the Arabian peninsula; via Hadhramawt, Tarīm, Mecca, Hijaz etc., to the Horn of Africa (Bang 2003). The descendants (such as ‘Aydarūs) of Ṣūfī clans who settled in East Africa then translated the Islamic classical texts, and some (for instance, Nasir) produced their own new works (Hichens 1939). Hence, the *sāda* were mainly responsible for the transmission, development and production of manuscripts, and the well-known oral traditions that still exist today among the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa* members.

One of the *Ṣūfī* scholars, Ḥabīb Ṣaliḥ Jamāl Layl (1844-1935), founded the Riyadhha Mosque College of Lamu in 1889, the first Islamic college in Kenya. The college was an attempt to replicate a parent institute based in Hadhramawt, also known as Riyadhha, which was found by Habshy⁹⁰ (Khitamy 1993:271). Over the years, the college produced a number of scholars in Islamic studies of high repute such as *sayyid* al-Ḥabīb ‘Umar b. Sumeyt (1888-1977) and Al-Amīn b. ‘Alī Al-Mazru‘ī (1891-1947). It also produced *quḍā*, for example, *sayyid* ‘Alī Badawy (d. 1987), and *‘ulamā* who later established their own Islamic schools such as Madrasa al-Nūr-Mambrui, Madrasa al-Riyadhah-Takaungu, Madrasa al-Aruwa-Uganda and Madrasa Bā-Kathīr-Zanzibar. The Riyadhha College has also dispatched Qur’an teachers to serve as manpower to these Islamic schools, some of which still operate today (Khitamy 1993).

The *madrassa* institutions (in general) were largely responsible for the production and development of the Swahili manuscript culture. Graduates from Riyadhha Mosque College have authored a number of works in Islamic studies. For example, Al-Amīn b. ‘Alī Al-

⁹⁰The Balawy *ṭarīqa*, Ḥabīb Ṣaliḥ had a spiritual connection with al-Ḥabshy. Bang (2015:3) notes that, “the efforts of scholars like al-Ḥabshy influenced like-minded scholars (‘Alawy primarily, but also non-‘Alawy) who founded similar teaching institutions not only in East Africa, but also further afield in the Indian Ocean, including Indonesia.” On the relationship between Ḥabīb Ṣaliḥ and al-Ḥabshy, see Bang 2015 and Khitamy 1993.

Mazru‘ī (b.1891) has authored a bilingual (Arabic and Swahili) *tafsīr al-Qur’ān*⁹¹ (Mazru‘ī 1980).⁹² Similarly, Al-Mazru‘ī’s contemporaries, such as Al-Farsy, were themselves authors and producers of manuscripts. Currently, the Riyadha Mosque College has a library that preserves 145 manuscripts. This is the largest privately-owned collection of Islamic manuscripts known to exist in Kenya (Bang 2015). The content ranges from Islamic jurisprudence to poetry and Arabic grammar. The manuscripts have recently been digitized and are now available online:

<https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP466/search>.

The production of handwritten works by the *sāda* was not limited to the religious genre but included secular matters as well. During British colonial rule, before the introduction of Latin script, the Arabic script was largely used in courts, official government correspondence and the recording of commercial transactions. This led on occasion to the authorities confiscating or destroying manuscripts, fearing that they might carry hidden political messages (Samsom 2014).

A number of elderly manuscript experts, such as Sayyid Bahasan, Mwinyi Karama, and Ustadh MAU are still alive, with immense knowledge on the subject, although their contributions to the production of Swahili manuscripts have not yet been examined by researchers. Regrettably, other elderly manuscript writers and informants, such as Mwalimu Dini and Sheikh Nabahany, have passed away.

4.1.2. The poets of the *Hamziyya*

Having given an overview of the influence of the Hadhrami and other Arab groups on Swahili manuscript culture, this section looks in detail at the poets mostly associated with the *Hamziyya* and the tarjama. The aim here is to show that after the original composition of the *Hamziyya*, a number of translations and commentaries were written. However, no

⁹¹ The *tafsīr* runs up to *Surah al-Nisā’* (Qur’an Chapter IV). The original work, prior to its publication in the 1980s, was in Swahilo-Arabic script for the Swahili section of *tafsīr*. Similarly, Al-Mazru‘ī’s contemporaries, such as Al-Farsy, were themselves authors and producers of manuscripts.

⁹² The original work, prior to its publication in the 1980s, was in Swahilo-Arabic script for the Swahili section of *tafsīr*.

discussion has been given on who particularly has worked on what and when such works emerged.

The author of the *matn*, Al-Būṣīrī (4.1.2.1), and the author of the *tarjama*, ‘Aydārūs (4.1.2.2) are initially discussed below.

4.1.2.1. Al-Būṣīrī

There are differing accounts of al-Būṣīrī family name, place, date of birth, and burial location (Aslan 2008). Since an authoritative biography is not extant, scholars have tried to reconstruct one by analysing his writing (Cf. Maqrizī 1991, Kilani 1973, Mutiso 2005, Aslan 2008, Olali 2012 and Daub 2016). This section provides a short biographical sketch of his life based on this research, paying particular attention to his poetic works - *al-Burda* and *Hamziyya*.

Šaraf al-Dīn Abu ‘Abdallah Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥammād b. Muḥsin b. ‘Abdallah b. Sinhāj b. Hilāl al-Šanhājī al-Būṣīrī was born in 608 AH/1212, in Būṣīrī (Abūṣīr) or Dalāṣ, his father’s hometown, located in the Banī Suwayf governorate in present-day Egypt. Al-Būṣīrī family is originally from Morocco, and his lineage is traced from the Banū Ḥabnūn clan of the Sanhājī tribe (Kilani 1973).

Little is known about al-Būṣīrī childhood life, though he is said to have attained the usual basic *madrasa* education for children of his time and that he had memorized the Qur’an at an early age (Kilani 1973). Poverty forced Al-Būṣīrī to start working while still young, but he later abandoned his job, and went to Cairo to advance his knowledge under a Moroccan Šūfī cleric, a leader of the Shadhiliyya order⁹³ - Abū al-‘Abbas Aḥmad al-Mursī (d.1235). There, he studied Islamic sciences, Arabic language, linguistics, literature, history and the biography of the Prophet (Aslan 2008). In his later years, he studied the Bible and religious history of Judaism and Christianity in order to equip himself with key counter-arguments to defend Islam and the prophet. He also travelled to the Middle East in search of commercial opportunities as Stetkevych (2010:81) narrates

⁹³ For further details on Shadhiliyya order, see *E.I.*, 2017, pp. 1-6.

that, “after spending ten years in Jerusalem, then in Mecca and Medina, he took a minor administrative post in Bilbays, in the Eastern Delta.” Al- Būṣīrī was also skilled in Qur’an recitation and calligraphy. However, none of his calligraphic works are extant (Aslan 2008).

In 1261-65 he was employed as a secretary and a manuscript copyist (*E.I.* 2017:1, Aslan 2008). Now in his 30s, he began to compose Arabic poetry, and wrote a satiric poem to the then king (al-Ayyūbi of the Mamlūk Dynasty) criticizing him for failing to allot *waqf* ‘bequests’ funds to Al- Būṣīrī mosque (Aslan 2008). Hearing this eloquent lamentation, the king relented, and granted him (al- Būṣīrī) the funds. In Cairo, Al- Būṣīrī taught in the mosques, and a later generation of poets, for instance, ‘Athīr al-Andalusī (d.1325) and Abū al-Fateh al-Ya’marī (d.1334), benefited from his knowledge of poetry (Kilani 1973).

Al-Būṣīrī poems were collected and compiled in *Dīwān al-Būṣīrī*, which was edited and published by Kilani in Cairo, 1973. The work contains fifty poems whose themes include court panegyrics, eulogy, and satires mocking the foibles of Egyptian society of his day (Stetkevych 2010). His poetry, and his biographers’ analysis of it, makes it possible to get a glimpse of the man himself: he was humble, pious, fond of engaging in religious debates, and sometimes satirized rival poets of his time in contending poetic exchanges (Aslan 2008). In some of his early poems, Al-Būṣīrī depicts himself as a penniless individual with hungry children to feed, and complains about his wife affording him little respect (*E.I.* 2017). His later poetic works include compositions on devotion to God, and the love of the Prophet, and earned him considerable renown. He died in 1294 and was buried either in Alexandria or Cairo (Stetkevych 2010:81).

Al-Būṣīrī’s highest praise in the Muslim world is reserved for his two well-known panegyrics – *al-Burda* and *Hamziyya*. The *Burda*, ‘the mantle’, a *mimiyya* ‘rhyming in ‘m’ ode entitled *Al-Kawākīb al-Durriyyah fī Madḥ Ḥayr al-Bariyya* ‘Scintillating stars in Praise of the Best of Mankind’, is perceived as the most celebrated and most widely-recited, copied and published panegyric of the Prophet in the Islamic world (Hunwick 1996:85). The *Hamziyya*, initially entitled *Umm al-Qurā’ fī Madḥ Ḥayr al-Warā’* ‘The

Mother of Villages in Praise of the best of Mankind’, like *al-Burda*, is the basis of many commentaries, translations, poetic renditions and amplifications (Haitamī 2011, Sperl & Shackle 1996, Stetchevych 2010).

In his biographical dictionary, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, the Syrian historian Muḥammad ibn Shakīr al-Kutubī (d.1363) narrates that al-Būṣīrī suffered a stroke and became semi-paralyzed. His physician informed him that there was no cure. One day as he was reading Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr’s ode – *Banāt Su‘ād* ‘Su‘ād Has Departed’ also known as *Qaṣīda al-Burda* ‘the Mantle Ode’, he was inspired to compose a poem of his own. [Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr ibn Abū Sulma was a well-known pre-Islamic poet. He used to compose Arabic verses to satirize the Prophet (Mubarakpuri 1996). After accepting Islam, Ka‘b modified his *Banat Su‘ād* poem to give it an Islamic theme. He recited it to the Prophet after meeting him in Medina, and the Prophet was so impressed by Ka‘b’s artistic skills that he removed his own mantle and placed it on Ka‘b’s shoulder as a reward. The Prophet then prayed for Ka‘b to be forgiven and receive blessings from God.

Fighting for his life, al-Būṣīrī sought God’s intervention and the Prophet’s blessings through poetry. Thus, after composing *al-Burda*, he recited it, wept, and made repeated supplications to God. He fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the Prophet, who stroked his face with his blessed hand, and then threw a mantle over him. When he woke up that day, he found out that he was completely cured. Recalling the incident, Haitamī (2011:70) narrates that:

“On that day, al-Būṣīrī went out of his house after his recovery and on his way he saw ‘Abd Ṣāleḥ [a Ṣūfī] who requested al-Būṣīrī to give him the ode. Al-Būṣīrī was very surprised by this, as he had not informed any person about it. The Ṣūfī informed him that: ‘I heard the ode yesterday when it was recited in the presence of the Prophet and I saw him swaying with adorable delight’.”

So al-Būṣīrī gave ‘Abd Ṣāleḥ the copy of the manuscript, and soon afterwards the *al-Burda* ode became the most popular poem in the Muslim world. Its recitation and chanting is associated with *baraka* ‘blessings’, i.e. spiritual and healing power, because

of these three miraculous events: al-Būṣīrī vision of the Prophet in a dream, his miraculous cure, and the mysterious revelation about it from the *ṣūfī* mendicant ‘Abd Ṣāleḥ (Stetkevych 2010).

The *Hamziyya* is al-Būṣīrī’s second most celebrated poem in the Muslim world. It serves as an extension of the *al-Burda* ode, because elaborates on the Prophet’s life, his miracles, the challenges he faced, his achievements and the character of his devoted companions (p.c. *sayyid* Bahasan). The *Hamziyya*, like the *al-Burda* ode, is transmitted via recitation, chanting, copying, translation, commentary and amplification, and the production of *al-Burda* and *Hamziyya* manuscripts became an act of devotion in many parts of the Muslim world. In Swahili manuscript culture, a number of odes (i.e. *Bānat Su‘ād*, *al-Burda*, *Hamziyya*, and *Tabaraka*) are still very popular among the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa* members of the Banī ‘Alawy. The odes are still printed today in multiple editions, and form part and parcel of the oral traditions that existed for centuries in East Africa.

4.1.2.2. ‘Aydarūs: tracing his ancestral roots in East Africa

So far as East Africa is concerned, the poet most closely associated with al-Būṣīrī is ‘Aydarūs, the translator of the *Hamziyya*. This section summarises what is known of him, and his family⁹⁴.

Biographers of ‘Aydarūs’ (d. ca. 1749)⁹⁵ have had to accept that there are few sources of tangible information about him (Hichens 1939, Knappert 1968, Bang 2003, Mutiso 2005, Olali 2012).

He was born and raised on Pate Island, as he himself mentions in his epilogue, verse 469. His full name was *Sayyid* ‘Aydarūs b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Ali b. *ṣayḥ* Abū Bakr b. Sālim b. ‘Abd Raḥmān al-Saggaf. He was a Ṣūfī cleric, a poet, and a profound scholar in Islamic studies.

⁹⁴ See, Bang (2003:27) for information about ‘Aydarūs’ brothers, cousins and extended family members, and Hichens (1972:10) for a genealogical chart that shows ‘Aydarūs’ lineage and extended family.

⁹⁵ The date of birth of ‘Aydarūs is not precisely known and is not provided by biographers such as Hichens 1939 and Mutiso 2005. Moreover, the date of his death is an estimate (cf. Hichens 1939).

‘Aydarūs was descended from the Bā ‘Alawy *Sāda* of Yemen (Hichens 1939), who traced their ancestry from the Prophet Muḥammad. His great-grandfather, *šayḥ* Abū Bakr b. Sālīm b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Saggaf, was born in Tarim in 919 AH/1513 . *Šayḥ* Abū Bakr, who was himself a well-known cleric and poet, studied under the prominent scholars of his time, and later settled at ‘Ināt, Yemen where he became influential and respected for his skill in mediating between warring tribes (Sameja, n.d.:195). The Swahili were very conscious of the *sāda*’s religious devotion and the military capabilities of the Yemenis. Looking for powerful leadership, trade opportunities overseas, and more importantly, military might to fight the Portuguese and the Oromo of Ethiopia who were threatening to occupy their land, the Swahili sought assistance from *šayḥ* Abū Bakr (Pouwels 1987, Bang 2003), who responded by sending his two sons, Hussein and ‘Ali, to settle in Pate (Hichens 1939, Pouwels 1987).

‘Ali married in Pate, and had two sons, ‘Abdalla and ‘Uthmān (the father of ‘Aydarūs). The offspring of Hussein and ‘Ali had the benefit of access to the accumulated religious knowledge and related skills, such as poetry, of their *sāda* communities, so it is likely that ‘Aydarūs was exposed from an early age to Islamic learning, religious texts, calligraphy and manuscript production, translation (of Arabic works to Swahili and vice versa), and the art of composing poetry from his father and probably his paternal uncle – ‘Abdalla. Evidence of this transfer of knowledge within the family is the fact that the descendants of both ‘Ali and Hussein include a number of outstanding poets, translators, and Muslim scholars, such as *sayyid* ‘Abdalla, the author of *al-Inkishafi* ‘the Soul’s Awakening’ and *sayyid* Mansab (d.1922), a theologian and an author of another well-known poem, *Kishamiya* ‘The Mantle’ (Hichens 1939).

4.1.3. The leading commentators on the *tarjama*

This section briefly discusses two of the commentators on ‘Aydarūs’ *tarjama* of the *Hamziyya*: Al-Amawy, based in Zanzibar (4.1.3.1), and Nabahany, based in Lamu and Mombasa (4.1.3.2).

4.1.3.1. Al-Amawy (1834-1896)

Šayḥ ‘Abdulaziz b. ‘Abdul Ghanī Al-Amawī was born in Barawa on 15 *Rabī’u al-Awwal*, 1250 AH/21 July 1834 CE (Farsy 1972:14). The word “Al-Amawī”, is derived from a Swahili localized version of “Umayy”, i.e., referring to the Umayyad dynasty which ruled the Islamic caliphate between 661-750 (Hoffman 2006:259). The Umayyad rulers share an ancestor; ‘Abd Manaf (of the Quraysh clan), with the Prophet (*EI* 2008). More precisely, Al-Amawī claimed ancestry from the Umayyad’s fifth caliph, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (646-705 CE) (Hoffmann 2006), meaning that Al-Amawī is also connected to the Prophet’s lineage.

In his home country, Barawa, Al-Amawī studied under prominent scholars: *sayyid* Abūbakr b. Mihdhār, Hājj Abdul Raḥmān and *sayyid* Aḥmad al-Maghribī (Farsy 1972:15). He travelled to Unguja (Zanzibar Island) while quite young, to settle there and seek employment. There he studied under *šayḥ* Muḥyiddīn, who eventually recommended him for the position of *qāḍī* ‘magistrate’ of Kilwa in 1850, though he was only sixteen years of age. He accepted the post. Later, during the reign of Ṣultān *sayyid* ‘Ali he went back to Unguja and took the same position of *qāḍī* until his retirement.

Al-Amawī became a state counsellor of high standing, and used to attend the *baraza*, ‘royal courts’, of the Sultans of Zanzibar until his demise in 1896 CE. Farsy (1972:15) states that, during the reign of *sayyid* Khalīfa b. Said, al-Amawī not only served as a *qāḍī* but actually as the Sultan’s minister (Farsy 1972:15). His son, *šayḥ* Burhān b. ‘Abdulaziz, took over this position until 1890 (Hoffman 2006:253).

Al-Amawī travelled to Mombasa, the Lamu archipelago, Zanzibar and Kilwa in search of knowledge, and during the reign of Ṣultān Barghāsh, he made several journeys in the Tanzania hinterlands as a negotiator between warring native tribes. He was a talented Swahili poet, *dhikr* ‘the remembrance of God ritual’ reciter and *ṭarīqa* member. He rejuvenated the *Qadiriyya ṭarīqa* in East Africa and even established his own, *al-Nūraniyya* ‘The Illumination’ (Farsy 1972:14). Al-Amawī used to challenge his Ṣūfī contemporaries in regard to unwarranted Islamic practices – for instance, he composed a

poem against a form of a *dhikr*; in which the names of God were reduced to mere grunts or “coughing” (Farsy 1972, Pouwels 1987, Hoffman 2006).

On his intellectual capacity, Farsy (1972:14) terms al-Amawy, as “*bingwa miongoni mwa mabingwa wa Mashariki ya Afrika*,” ‘a champion among the masters of East Africa’. Of course, this is with specific reference to his piety, wisdom, mediation tactics and scholarly contribution. However, Farsy (1972:14) regrets that only one of the many “books” that he wrote survives.⁹⁶

In the house of Ma’alim Idrīs, an Imam and Muslim teacher from Tanzania⁹⁷, there is a picture frame (pc: Ridder Samsom) showing a photograph of Al-Amawy, along with a list of his works:

Nawāmsi al-Şamadaniyya ‘An Established Legal Treatise’

‘Iqdu al-la’ālī ‘The Necklace of Pearls’

*Taqrīb ‘Iqdu al-la’ālī*⁹⁸ ‘A Closer Look at the Necklace of Pearls’

Madawa ya Kienyeji ‘Traditional Medicine’

Tahtīm al-Qur’an ‘The Culmination of the Qur’an’

Ghāyah al-Irqām fī Tahrīr Mulḥah al-Bayān ‘The Purpose of Arithmetic in Meeting Urgent Needs?’

Yaumiyyah al-Amawiyyah ‘The Days of Al-Amawy’

Riḥlah ṣayḥ ‘Abdulaziz fī Anḥāī Şarq Afriqiyyah ‘The Travels of ṣayḥ ‘Abdulaziz in the East African Regions’

*Qaṣīda al-Hamziyya*⁹⁹ ‘The *Hamziyya* Ode’

⁹⁶ According to Farsy (1972:14), *Nawāmsi al-Şamadaniyya* is the only surviving “book” of Al-Amawy. However, Farsy does not say where the book is located, and it is unclear whether the “book” was ever actually published, or is just in manuscript form.

⁹⁷ See also: <https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP1114>, for more information. The picture of Maalim Idris is also available on the above website.

⁹⁸ Hoffman (2006:253) mentions that she has read a number of al-Amawy’s works during her research in Oman 2001-2, particularly, the lengthy (over 400 pages) theological poem, which is a commentary - *Taqrīb ‘Iqdu al-la’ālī*. She also states that other fragments of al-Amawy’s writings are in the hands of Maalim Idris of Zanzibar (*ibid.*).

⁹⁹ This *Hamziyya* manuscript is included in the corpus of this study as Ms. *Am* – see 2.2.15.

Nubhah fī Sarf, Nahau wa Mufradāt al-‘Arab ‘Elaborations in Arabic Morphology, Grammar and Sentence structures’

Mudhkār Šayḥ ‘Abdulaziz, Majmū’ ‘A Memoir of šayḥ ‘Abdulaziz, An Anthology’

Qašīda al-Rā’ī fī madhhab Sayyid Turqī ‘An Ode Expressing the School of Thought of Sayyid Turqī’.

According to Farsy, Al-Amawy is the only scholar among his contemporaries who agreed to be photographed (Farsy 1972: 14).

Although these works are all currently unaccounted for, the corpus for this study contains Ms. *Am* (bilingual interlinearised *matn* and *tarjama* text, along with annotations), located in a library in Oman (see 2.2.15.3). A few loose folios on the Qur’an’s *tafsīr* ‘exegesis’ are in the collection of šayḥ Burhan B. Mkelle Mngazija Mwikoni al-Qamry (1884-1949), who also had in his custody the manuscripts of Ma’alim Muḥammad Idrīs Ṣaliḥ (1934-2012) of Zanzibar in Dar es Salaam (Samsom 2014, Hoffman 2006:252). It is not impossible that further Al-Amawy manuscripts could be discovered if a specific search were to be conducted for them in Oman, Zanzibar and Tanzania.

Al-Amawy also participated in debates with contemporary Christian missionaries present (Farsy 1972, Hoffman 2006). However, he also assisted Bishop Steere to translate some sections of the Psalter into Swahili in 1867. Steere (1884:v) states that:

“Sheikh ‘Abdul al-‘Aziz [al-Amawy], kindly volunteered to translate for me the Psalter into the best and purest Swahili. I found, before long, that not only did his numerous avocations prevent any rapid progress, but that his language was too learned to suit exactly our purpose in making the version; it did not therefore proceed further than the sixteenth Psalm. ... I printed these as at once a memorial of his kindness and a specimen of what one of the most learned men in Zanzibar considers the most classical form of his language.”

Indeed, Al-Amawy was a cleric in many respects, based on what we know of him and his work.

4.1.3.2. Sheikh Nabahany (1927-2017)

Sheikh Nabahany was a well-known Swahili scholar, and his biography has recently been published (Mselem 2012, see also Kresse 2007 and Vierke 2009). Nabahany was renowned as a great Swahili poet and an innovator of new words in Swahili (such as *runinga* ‘television’), and also worked extensively on Swahili manuscripts. He passed away in early 2017 in his hometown, Matondoni, Lamu Archipelago. Jumbe (2017) states that:

“Professor Nabahany who was teacher and mentor to many around the world is a recipient of the presidential Order of the Golden Warrior Award (OGWA). He was born in Lamu November 27, 1927 and is widely referred to as the modern father of Swahili poetry. During his long illustrious career, he has assisted many researching the Swahili culture and poetry including John W.T. Allen who collected Swahili manuscripts, songs, poetry and lullabies back in the year 1965, Professor Ann Biersteker who was researching Mwanakupona in 1983, Professor Chacha N. Chacha who was researching Swahili poetry in 1984, among a host of other scholars. Nabahany is also credited with assisting in the collection of Swahili and Arabic Manuscripts for the University of Dar es Salaam as well as the translation of Swahili Arabic manuscripts for Hamburg University, Germany.”

Sheikh Nabahany has also helped in transliterating, commenting and record of Swahili-Arabic-manuscripts with various other scholars, such as Dr. David Sperling whom he worked with on Islamic manuscripts located in Lamu, Pate and Siyu in Kenya in 1993.

Sheikh Nabahany was also a local and international consultant on Swahili studies, history and culture in particular. For example, from 1988 onwards, he gave lectures on Swahili culture to St. Lawrence University students during their study visits to Kenya. He also used to arrange their Swahili study field-trips in Mombasa, Lamu and Zanzibar. He was also a Swahili consultant to Penn State University, and Yale University, USA.

In the local domain, Sheikh Nabahany, was a Swahili consultant to several institutions, such as University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University, Maseno University. Moi University,

Egerton University, Egerton University, Pwani University, Friend World College and Rosslyn Academy Nairobi.

Sheikh Nabahany was also an advisory committee member of the following boards: Fort Jesus Museum, Swahili Cultural Center and Jumiiya Taalimil-Qur'an and a trustee of Baraza la Kiswahili, Mombasa, Kenya.

It is worth listing some of his outstanding publications:

- i) Nabahany, A.S. (1985) (Ed. Shariff, I.N.), *Umbuji wa Kiwandeo*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House Ltd.
- ii) Nabahany, A.S. (1985) (Ed. El-Maawy, A. A.) *Umbuji wa Mnazi*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House Ltd.
- iii) Nabahany, A.S. (1979) (Eds. Mieke G. and Schadeberg, Thio) *Sambo ya Kiwandeo: The Ship of Lamu –Island*, Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum.
- iv) Nabahany, A.S. (1978) *Shaza: The Shell*, published in *Pacific Quarterly/Moana*, Vol.3, No. 2, pp. 374-377.
- v) Nabahany, A.S. and Fadhil, Zeina Mahmoud (1978) *Uongozi wa Tungo*, (unpublished).

Sheikh Nabahany received several invitations to lecture on Swahili matters in national and international forums. For example, he was invited by the Federal Republic of Germany to visit a number of their Universities to give a talk on Swahili language and literature between 12th April and 18th December 1981. The invitation was made through Dr Bernard Heide, director of Köln University. Hence, Sheikh Nabahany visited Köln, Bonn, Munich, Frankfurt and Hamburg for this occasion. Other international events include: an invitation to attend African Association Conference in USA in 1987, and 1995, Poetry African Festival, Durban, South Africa in 1997 and a visiting scholar on Swahili and Cultural Studies, Islamic University in Uganda in 1988.

In the early 2000s, Sheikh Nabahany, attended a series of seminars and workshops where he contributed and gave speeches in Swahili language, history and culture. Only a few of them are listed here:

- i) Urudhi ya tungo “The principles of Swahili” Mombasa Polytechnic (now Technical University of Mombasa, 1974
- ii) Sarufi ya Kiswahili, A seminar at University of Dar es Salaam, 1975.
- iii) Swahili poetry in Literature, Koblenz Hall, Mombasa, 1980.
- iv) Swahili Prosody, Lecture made to Friends of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, 1981.
- v) Islamic Influence in Swahili Language and Poetry, Dar al-Ulum, Mombasa, 1982.
- vi) Swahili Prosody, Yale University, 1984.
- vii) Poetry International Forum, Rotterdam Arts Council, 1984.
- viii) Importance of Mastery of Language in writing poetry, Coast Girls high School, 1986.
- ix) Kiswahili Language and Culture: Its Origins, Development and Use, Illinois State University, 1996.
- x) The Swahili People, Language and Culture, Wesleyan University, Illinois, 1996.
- xi) Teaching Swahili Level II and IV, Yale University, New Haven, 1996.
- xii) Who are the Swahili?, Stanford College, 1996.
- xiii) African History on Swahili History, Penn State University, 1996.
- xiv) Uundaji wa Istilahi katika Kiswahili “Coinage of new vocabulary in Swahili”, Kenyatta University, 1996.
- xv) Swahili Culture, Swahili Islamic and Origin of Waswahili, Egerton University, 1999.

Sheikh Nabahany also made radio presentations on various topics, such as Swahili-Arabic manuscripts in West Germany’s Libraries, 1984 and Swahili Radio Programme in Kenya with Prof Kimani Njogu, Prof Chimera, Prof Ann and Dr Clara Momanyi, KBC, Nairobi, 1999.

Furthermore, Sheikh Nabahany was sometimes appointed as a translator of government official documents, such as the Constitution of Kenya, which he rendered from English to Swahili in 1981. He used to do funded projects, such as transliterating Swahili-Arabic manuscripts of Pate and Siyu from Swahilo-Arabic script into Latin Script, a project initiated by Dr. Freeman Granville of England in 1982. Sheikh Nabahany also assisted in

organising the documentation of the museum collection in Lamu Fort in Kenya. Finally, he worked with Dr. David Sperling on Islamic Manuscripts from Lamu and Comoros, under a grant from the Islamic Heritage Foundation, London, 1993. Sheikh Nabahany himself left a number of manuscripts, which are now preserved for research at the Swahili Cultural Centre's library.

The above shows that Sheikh Nabahany was widely consulted on Swahili studies and matters that deal with Swahili–Arabic manuscripts, nationally and worldwide. Sheikh Nabahany was always generous and ready to give his knowledge to any person who requested it, sometimes without any cost.

Three *Hamziyya* manuscripts (*Qa*, *Nd*, and *Nc*) from Sheikh Nabahany's private collection form part of the present corpus.

4.1.4. Materials and instruments used in the production of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts

After briefly surveying in the preceding sections the men who made the manuscripts, this section gives an overview of how the manuscripts were made, namely, their physical and material features: ink, paper, binding materials; cover types (leather or carton); and the instruments used to write them (e.g. *mwanzi* 'bamboo reed', ball point pens). The discussion will concentrate on the following *Hamziyya* manuscripts: *Am*, *Ay*, *Di*, *Hi*, *Hu*, *Nc*, *Nd* and *Ko*. The main criterion for the sample selection was to combine a selection of older manuscripts (*Am*, *Ay*, *Di*, *Hu*) and some recently-produced ones (*Hi*, *Nc*, *Nd* and *Ko*), though other determining factors for their selection will be touched on below.

Before discussing the analysis and findings in detail, some general points should be made about the methods used, and the physical and material features of the manuscripts in the sample. The material analysis was carried out in 2015 using a Dino-Lite microscope¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ The Dino-Lite microscope was used to illuminate objects with visible (VIS), infra-red (IR) and ultra-violet (UV) light in order to detect the proportion of carbon and iron or other metallic elements in the manuscript ink. See Dino-Lite (2018) for further details.

and a Bruker XRF- ELIO portable x-ray fluorescence scanner¹⁰¹ as part of Hamburg University's Centre for the Study of Manuscript Culture's C07 and Z02 projects (CSMC 2021). The C07 and Z02 teams conducted two sets of experiments: one at the CSMC laboratory to study inks, and the other at SOAS to study the physical and material properties of Ms. *Ay* and *Hi*. Given the relatively small size of the equipment, such analyses could in theory be carried out in the field, but of course, the consent of the manuscripts' owners or custodians to conduct such analyses may not always be forthcoming.

Ms. *Ay* (see 2.2.1) represents the basepoint of this research, because it is the oldest known preserved *Hamziyya* bilingual manuscript in Swahili literary history (Hichens 1934).¹⁰² Ms. *Hi* (see 2.2.2) can be considered a derivative work of *Ay*, since it seems to be a draft for a book intended to be published to popularize the *Hamziyya*. The analysis on these two manuscripts was conducted not only with the Dino-Lite microscope and the ELIO scanner, but also with an ordinary torchlight. The last was used to search for watermarks in the manuscript leaves, and this was particularly productive for Ms. *Ay*, which turned out to contain both watermarked and non-watermarked (plain) leaves (see 4.1.4.3). Given the disagreement between Hichens (1936) and Knappert (1968) on the age of Ms. *Ay*, the material properties of the copyist's colophon were studied in particular detail (see 4.1.5).

The Dino-Lite microscope was used to examine the ink of Ms. *Di* and *Ko*. Supplementary information about inks was obtained from interviewees in the Lamu archipelago and Mombasa (e.g. Mwalimu Dini, Ustadh Hadi and Ustadh Saggaf). This enabled me to conduct experiments on ink production, and I was able to produce my own black and red inks in collaboration with the Z02 team (see 4.1.4.2), and then analyse their composition using the Dino-Lite microscope in order to compare the result with the ink of older *Hamziyya* manuscripts such as Ms. *Ay*.

¹⁰¹The Bruker ELIO was used to detect the chemical composition of the manuscript ink. See Bruker (2021) for further details.

¹⁰² Knappert (1968) disputes the age of Ms. *Ay* and views it as being 50 years younger than Hichens' dating (Hichens 1939). However, even if that is correct it would still be the oldest known bilingual poetry manuscript in Swahili literary history.

Ms. *Nc* and *Nd* are of recent provenance, and their physical features resemble the kinds of note-books or exercise books available today in local stationary shops in Kenya. Their inclusion in the sample not only shows how diverse the *Hamziyya* corpus is in terms of materials, but also illustrates that modern materials are now part of Swahili manuscript culture.

Ms. *Am* and *Hu* could only be examined using their digital images. A digital image of Ms. *Am* was sent from Oman in 2017, but its examination using the Dino-Lite microscope would have required another session of fieldwork, which I was unable to pursue. Although my initial plan was to examine Ms. *Hu* using the Dino-Lite microscope, the custodian of the manuscript informed me with regret in 2015 that the manuscript had been “borrowed” by a person whose identity they could no longer recall (p.c. Ustadh A. Saggaf). However, examination of both Ms. *Am* and *Hu* (and if possible other manuscripts in the corpus) would constitute a useful future project, which would provide more data on their material aspects.

4.1.4.1. Writing tools

We cannot say exactly which tools were used for writing the *Hamziyya* manuscripts, especially the older ones (Ms. *Am*, *Ay*, *Hu*), but for the recent manuscripts (*Nc*, *Nd* and *Ko*) there is indicative evidence for the types of modern pens that were probably used.

In interviews about Swahili manuscript production processes conducted during visits to ‘Aydarūs’ home village on Pate and to its neighbouring island, Siyu, contemporary scribes confirmed that early Swahili writing tools were likely to be one of: *ubua*, ‘a millet stem’, *unyoya wa ndege* ‘a quill’, and *mwanzi*, ‘a bamboo reed’. Nowadays, these are still occasionally used in the Lamu archipelago to write manuscripts (p.c. Mwalimu Dini, Ustadh Hadi, Ustadh A. Saggaf).

Writing tools like *ubua* are also used in Islamic manuscript culture (Gacek 2009). In the early period of Islam the traditional writing tool was a reed pen, also termed as a *qalam* (Gacek 2009). The instrument is named in the Qur’an in a number of passages and it is

the title of Surah 68. Arabic tradition also mentions other names such as: *jazm*, *mizbar*, *mirqam*, *mirqash*, *mikhaṭṭ* and *rashshāsh*.

The tip of the pen makes a crucial contribution to executing calligraphic scripts like *riq'a* and *nash* in Arabic-Islamic manuscripts (Blair 2006:252). There are usually three types of nib cuts for the reed; square, angled and rounded (for an illustration, see Gacek 2009:40). The square nib is used to execute *riq'a* 'curvilinear' writing, and when set up in an oblique shape it can be used to execute the *nash* 'vocalized' as well as *muḥaqqaq* 'proportioned' scripts (Gacek 2009). An obliquely cut nib executes thinner strokes (*farakāt*) at angles, as well as thinner shafts (*muntaṣabāt*) for such letters as the *alif* and *lām* (Gacek 2009:41). A rounded nib is more versatile, and can be used for ordinary writing in much the same way as we use ballpoint pens. Swahili scribes shape the tips of their pens to give a beautiful calligraphic flourish to their work (p.c. Mwalimu Dini). The thinner the tip of the pen, the thinner the writing will be, and vice versa.

The older *Hamziyya* manuscripts (*Am*, *Ay*, *Di*, and *Hu*) are written in beautiful calligraphic *nash* script, with finely-drawn strokes and appropriate decoration. Usually, the *matn* is written with larger and bolder *nash* script, with the *tarjama* in thinner and smaller writing, also in *nash*. The differing proportions of the characters suggest that two pens of distinctive shapes and sizes may have been used. In modern Swahili manuscript culture there appears to be a move away from old writing tools towards adoption of modern ones. For example, *mwanzi* usage seems to be diminishing in the Lamu Archipelago. In my personal observation, current scribes such as Ustadh MAU, who is very aware of the materials used for writing traditional Swahilo-Arabic manuscripts, nevertheless uses factory-made pens on his works. This was also the case with the late Mwalimu Dini and Šayḥ Nabahany. Ms. *Ko*, for instance, is written with a modern fountain pen, which the scribe may have used to try to beautify his *nash* script. Ms. *Nc* and *Nd* are written with modern ballpoint pens.

4.1.4.2. Inks

Swahili ink is of various colours (black, brownish-black, red, reddish-purple, orange-yellowish, and green) and compositions (natural substances, carbon-based, and carbon-based with an admixture of iron (p.c. Mwalimu Dini, Ustadh Hadi, Mwenye Karama, Šayḥ Nabahany). The materials for making high-quality inks are readily available in the Swahili coastal region from nearby forests, while the neighbouring Indian Ocean contains a variety of marine plants and animal species useful in the making of natural inks (Wilson 2011, See also: Booth, F.E. and Wilkens, G.E., 1988.).

Swahili black inks include those naturally produced from sea creatures, others from carbon-based substances such as soot, and some which combine carbon-based substances like soot or *mwiya*, ‘mangrove tree bark’ with iron and acidic substances such as vinegar and lemon. Other ingredients used for the production of black carbon inks include rice, millet, gum Arabic, eggs and pancreatic juice from goats. Generally, carbon-based substances like soot are mixed with acidic substances such as gum Arabic to produce the required results.

Natural black ink can be extracted from cephalopods: cuttlefish, squid, and octopus (p.c. Nasoro Riziki).¹⁰³ Both octopus and squid inks are ready to use and do not require any dilution.

Materials used for red inks are generally extracted from flowering plants found on the coast. The *zinjifuri*, ‘*Bixa Orellana*’, produces a reddish-orange liquid which is the basis of the widely-used annatto colouring pigment. Dried hibiscus flowers, when soaked in water for some time and then cooked, produce red-purple ink. Another natural material,

¹⁰³ Collecting the octopus ink is quite tricky as the creature usually excretes almost all of its ink when the fishermen are about to catch it. Unlike the octopus, the squid does not exhaust all of its ink when it is attacked or while using its defence mechanism. Nair *et al* (2011:19) state that: “inking by the cephalopods has long been recognized as an adaptive response to predation and physical threat... Cephalopod inks are chemical secretions produced by and released from the ink sac, which is not a homologue of the ink glands of the gastropods but a modified hypo-bronchial gland.” Once this gland is pressed smoothly by hand over its small opening, the ink comes out easily. It is recommended to store the ink in a glass container/bottle as it tends to dry out too quickly in a plastic one. See also: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cephalopod_ink, and <https://video.nationalgeographic.com/video/160404-specials-octopus-ink>, retrieved on 30th October 2017.

cinnabar (mercury sulphide), the basis of the pigment known as vermilion, is imported from Arabia and India and used to produce a quality red ink (Hichens 1939).

Some of the procedures for making inks of other colours (purple, blue, green) have either been forgotten or are no longer employed. Green ink, for instance, used to be extracted from the green berries of a species of seaweed. The berries were crushed in a mortar to form a thick green solution, which could be used as ink (p.c. Mwenye Karama). When I was young I personally observed in the *madrassa* the preparation of saffron medicinal ink. Some Qur'anic verses (for instance, the *Surah al Fātiḥa* 'the Opening Chapter') are written in saffron ink on a plain (i.e. undecorated) white cowrie plate or a wooden board. The written work is washed away with rose water or distilled water, carefully filled into a *kombe* 'a glass bottle' and then given to a patient to either drink or to bathe in. Another way of preparing saffron medicinal ink is to mix it with distilled water and *unga wa mabuyu* 'powder made from baobab fruits', which makes the solution thicker and a darker colour of red (p.c. Mwalimu Shigoo Adio).

During fieldwork in 2015, the researcher collected formulas for various types of ink (especially black and red inks) from informants (Mwalimu Dini, Sheikh Ahmad Nabahany, Ustadh Hadi and Ustadh Abdul Rahman Saggaf). There were three main formulas for black inks:

- *mwiya*, *unga wa chuma*, 'iron powder', and *siki*, 'vinegar';
- *mwiya*, *unga wa chuma*, and *ndimu*, 'lemon';
- *mwiya*, *unga wa kutu*, 'iron rust powder', and *siki*.

In October 2016, at the CSMC lab, Claudia Collini, a fellow PhD student, and the researcher experimented with manufacturing black inks. They first used distilled water, *mwiya*, iron granules, and vinegar to produce a shiny black ink, and then used distilled water, *mwiya*, iron rust powder and vinegar to produce a good-quality black-brown ink. They then repeated the experiments, this time using lime-juice instead of vinegar, and produced a fair-quality dark brown ink was produced, suggesting that using vinegar gives a better result. The researcher also experimented separately producing red ink using

mwiya and the green leaves of a bean plant, according to the instruction given by my informant in Siyu (p.c. Ustadh A. Saggaf). The *mwiya* is soaked in water for some time (say, three days), and then cooked together with bean-plant leaves for approximately five to eight minutes. Once the solution cools, the ink is ready for use. The ink, however, was a pale brown colour rather than red.

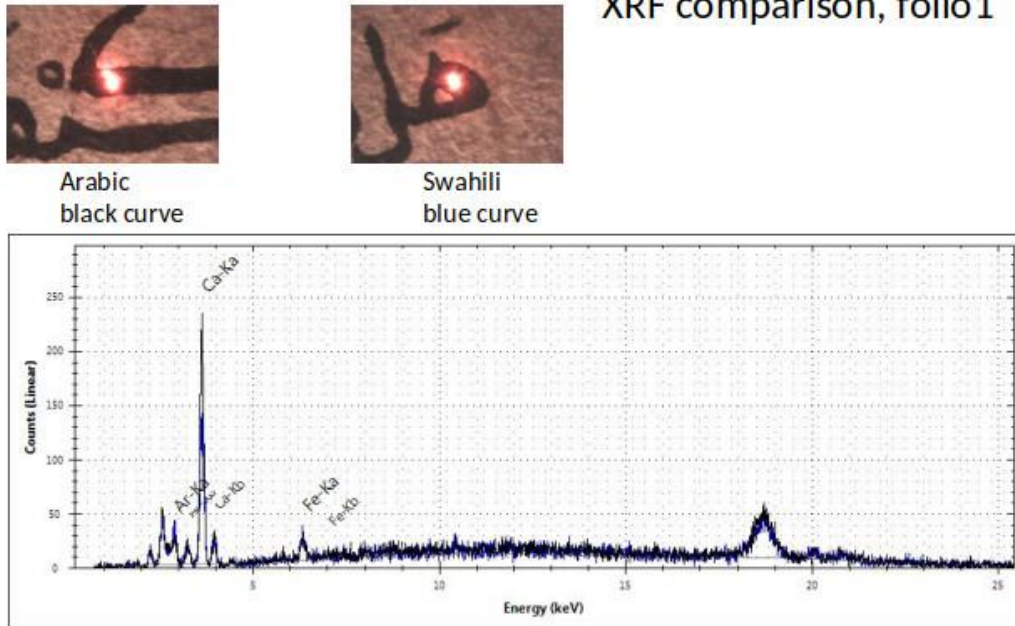
The above experiments provided a useful practical background for studying the nature of the inks in the *Hamziyya* manuscript samples (*Ay*, *Di*, *Hi* and *Ko*). Both the ELIO scanner and Dino-Lite microscope were used to analyse the ink composition of *Ay* and *Hi*, but because the on-site examination of *Di* and *Ko* required a portable solution, only the Dino-Lite microscope was used for them.

As explained earlier (3.6), the text of many of the older *Hamziyya* manuscripts such as *Ab*, *Am*, *Ay*, *Di*, and *Hu* are written in black ink, and their caesura marks, such as *intahā* and flower symbols, in red ink. Some older *Hamziyya* manuscripts, like *Ay* and *Di*, show dark-brown lining at the edges of their strokes, indicating the usage of *mwiya*, iron granules and probably lemon juice.

Both the Dino-Lite microscope (with magnification set to 50 megapixels to obtain an accurate micrograph image) and the ELIO scanner detected that the ink of *Ay* contains a mixture of carbon and iron (Figure 32), while *Hi* contains industrial ink most probably made out of iron gall (p.c. Ira Rabin, Figure 33, 1-3). Rabin observes that:

“the handwritten black inks of [Hichen’s] introduction and that of his signature [in Ms. *Hi*] are of the iron-gall type. However, they have a similar fingerprint. But given the fact that the inks produced after 16th century were based on the cleaned raw materials, we can’t be sure that the inks are the same.”

XRF comparison, folio 1



There is no difference between the inks-Z02 team

Figure 32: XRF-ELIO scanner output for the inks examined in Ms. Ay's folio 1, showing the chemical substances for both Arabic and Swahili writing. Image: Z02 Project.

Hichens' introduction, folio 6

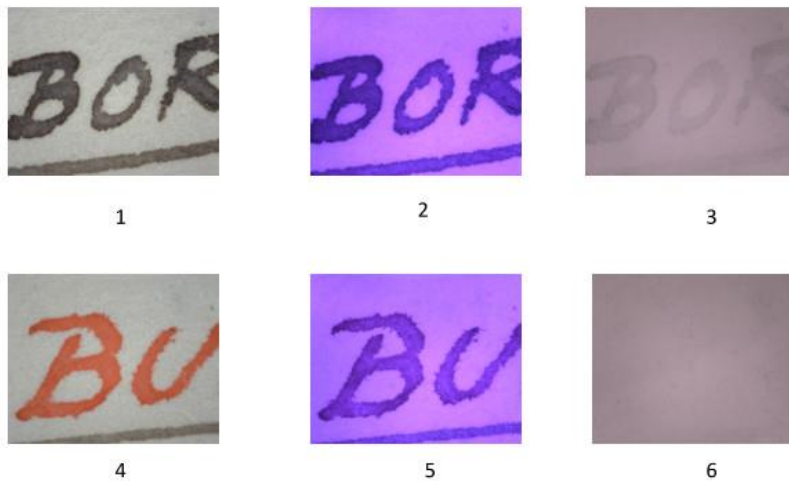


Figure 33: The Dino-Lite selected images captured from the Hichens' introductory notes in Ms. *Hi*, folio 6. The images are taken, respectively, under normal, infra-red, and ultra-violet light, for black ink (top row) and red ink (bottom row). Images: Z02 Project

Figure 33 shows Dino-Lite micrograph images, under normal, infra-red and ultra-violet light respectively, of black (1-3) and red (4-5) inks from *Hi folio 6*, Hichens' introductory handwritten notes. The presence of textual content in image 3 compared to image 6 demonstrates that the black ink contains iron gall components, while the red ink contains only carbon material.

The black inks used for the *matn* and the *tarjama* verses of Ms. Ay have a similar composition to each other, meaning that the same ink was used to write both texts. This is evidenced in Ay's ELIO scanner images (see graph in Figure 32) and the Dino-Lite micrograph images for both the *matn* (see inset in Figure 32) and the *tarjama* (Figure 34-35). The red ink in Ms. Ay seems to be purely carbon-based, indicating that it may have been produced from plant material such as dried hibiscus flowers (p.c. Rabin), or a mineral-based substance such as cinnabar. Further evidence for this comes from Ms. Ay's caesura symbols, red flowers. Iron based inks usually remain intact even after fairly long periods such 300 years, but carbon-based ones tend to fade quite quickly (p.c. Rabin). Many of Ms. Ay's red flower caesura symbols are very faint, and some have completely faded, suggesting again that the red ink is carbon-based.

The presence of both carbon and metal in the inks of Ms. Ay suggests that they are probably based on a mixture of *mwiya* and iron granules. The use of burned rice or millet instead of *mwiya* can probably be discounted, because the tanning effect seen here is stronger than would be expected if that were the case (p.c. Collini). The ELIO scanner output in Figure 32 confirms that the black ink of both the Arabic and Swahili text contains the same components, because the frequency patterns on the graph are very close to each other. Hence, it can be deduced that both texts were written with the same ink.

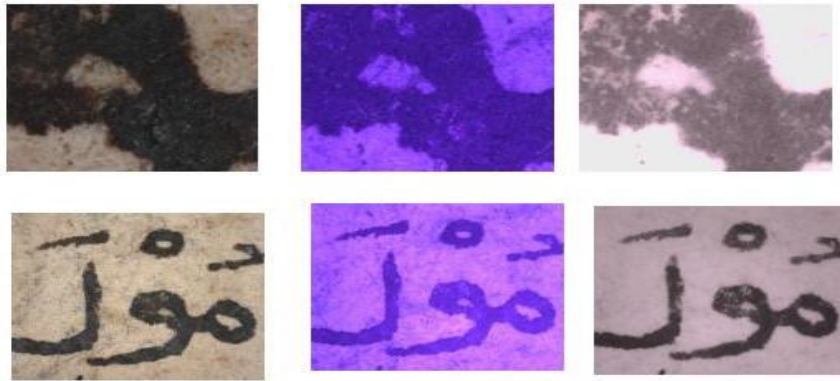


Figure 34: The Dino-Lite micrograph images of the black ink of the *matn* of Ms. Ay, folio 67. The images are taken, respectively, under normal, infra-red, and ultra-violet light.

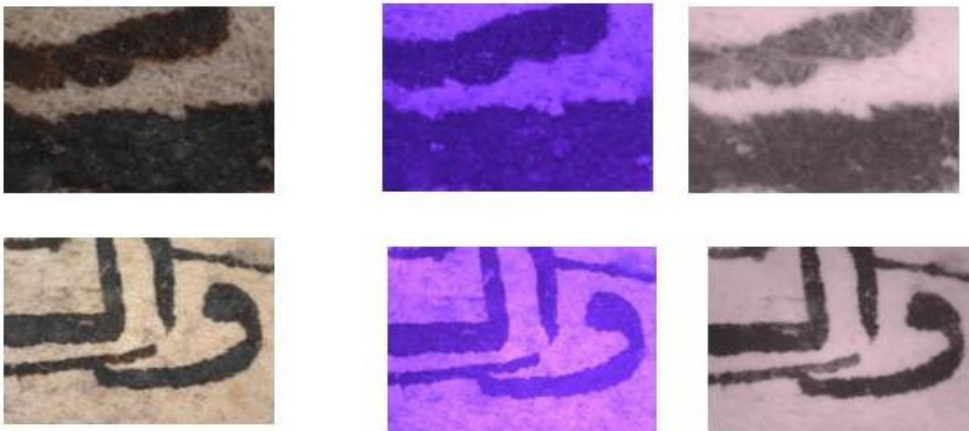


Figure 35: The Dino-Lite micrograph images of the black ink of the *tarjama* of Ms. Ay, folio 67. The images are taken, respectively, under normal, infra-red, and ultra-violet light.

The Dino-Lite microscope detected the presence of iron and carbon components in Ms. *Di* but did not detect any iron components in Ms. *Ko*. This means that *Di* seems to have similar inks' ingredients as those found in *Ay*'s, while *Ko*'s ink contains melanin (which is also suitable for fountain pens).

4.1.4.3. Paper types

The paper of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts varies in texture and colour, and falls into two main categories: locally hand-made, or industrially made. The later is of two types: (a)

modern (from the 20th or 21st centuries), and (b) older imported paper, both plain and watermarked (from the 18th or 19th centuries).

So far there is no comprehensive study of the Swahili manuscripts in regard to their paper types. Swahili poets sometimes mention the origin and types of papers they use for their manuscripts at the beginning of their epics or poems. For instance, in Muyaka's poem, *Ugosi* 'On Compromise', a fine paper from Turkey is mentioned (Abdulaziz 1979:210), and in Faqih's *Utenzi wa Rasi 'l Ghuli* 'The Epic of *Rasi 'l Ghuli*' a paper from Syria is prescribed by the author (Van Kessel 1979:1). The earliest paper used by Swahili scribes was a type of papyrus. (Biersteker and Plane 1989, p. 457). Cotton-based paper was later imported from Syria, India, and Europe, and from the eighteenth century onwards, scribes used British handmade paper of very high quality (Biersteker and Plane 1989) and watermarked paper from Italy (Digby 1975, Allen De Vere 1981).

The paper of the oldest *Hamziyya* manuscripts such as *Am*, *Di* and *Hu* suggests that they were hand-made locally, because their folios are thicker and vary in size: they are not proportionately cut as industrially-made paper might be. The paper colour is dark yellow, light brown, and dark brown respectively, and all are plain, without ruling or margin lines.

Ms. Ay contains both locally made and imported watermarked paper. Hichens (1934:5) states that Ms. Ay "consists of eighteen sheets of early hand-made paper, watermarked with three fools' caps of its size, but folded and sewn book wise to make thirty-six pages".

Ms. Ay contains more locally-made paper than imported, and this indicates that the imported papers were rare to find in the 18th and 19th centuries. The center of manuscript production was in Siyu. Currently, the local manufacturers of papers in Siyu seem to no longer exist. In 2014 I was unable to find experts in Siyu who manufacture paper locally. I was told that the last expert in the art of locally-made paper had passed away for about

three months earlier (p.c. Ustadh Hadi). In Pate too, I could not find any expert in this field.

The colour of the paper in the more recent manuscripts Ms. *Ko*, *Nc*, and *Nd* is white, light blue, and cream respectively, and all are modern industrially-made papers. Ms. *Ko*'s paper is not ruled, and looks like a drawing-book for students. Ms. *Nc* looks like a four-quires notebook, and its paper is ruled with horizontal green lines. *Nd*'s paper seems to be old photocopying or typing paper.

Watermarks are images that appear on paper when it is held up against a light. A number of studies have been conducted on European watermarked paper used in the Islamic world (Walz 1985, Brockett 1987, Déroche 2005, Gacek 2009), but few address the use of watermarked paper in Swahili manuscripts (Digby 1975, Biersteker and Plane 1989).

In the 17th century, the overwhelming majority of manuscripts in Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib were copied on watermarked paper (Déroche 2005: 57). Watermark symbols such as the *tre-lune* 'three crescents', two-headed eagle, moon face in a shield, three hats and crown-star-crescent are common in Arabic-Islamic manuscripts (Gacek 2009:291) – see Figure 35.

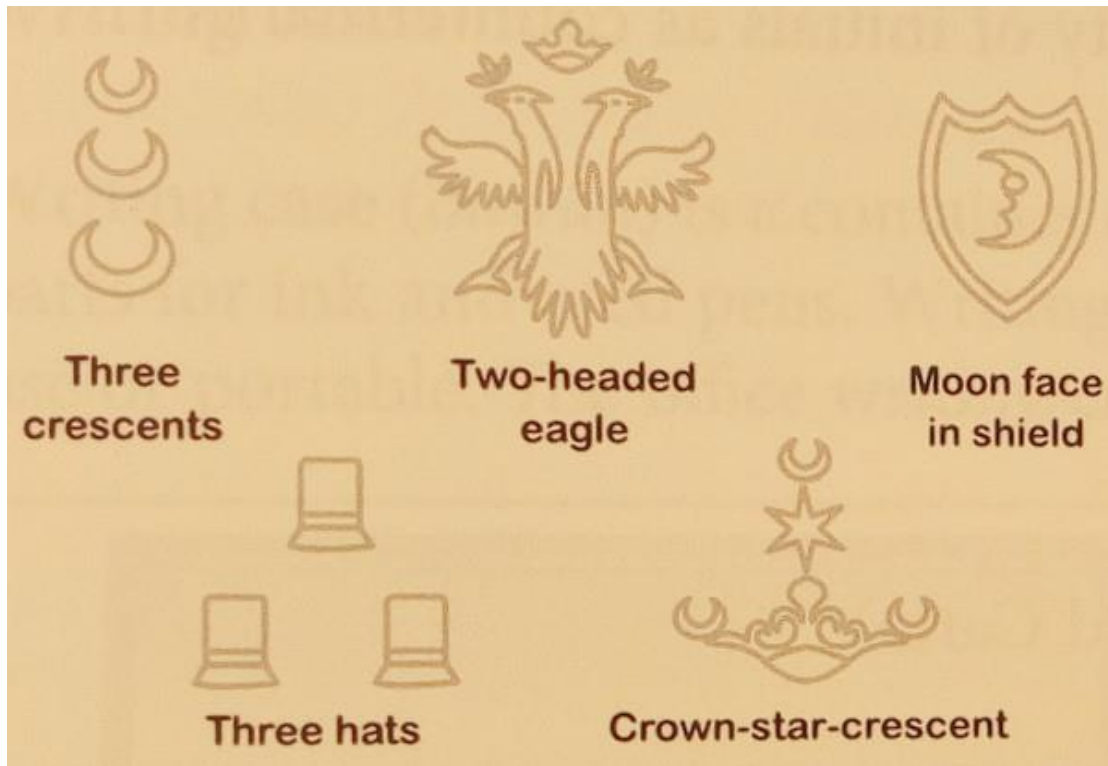
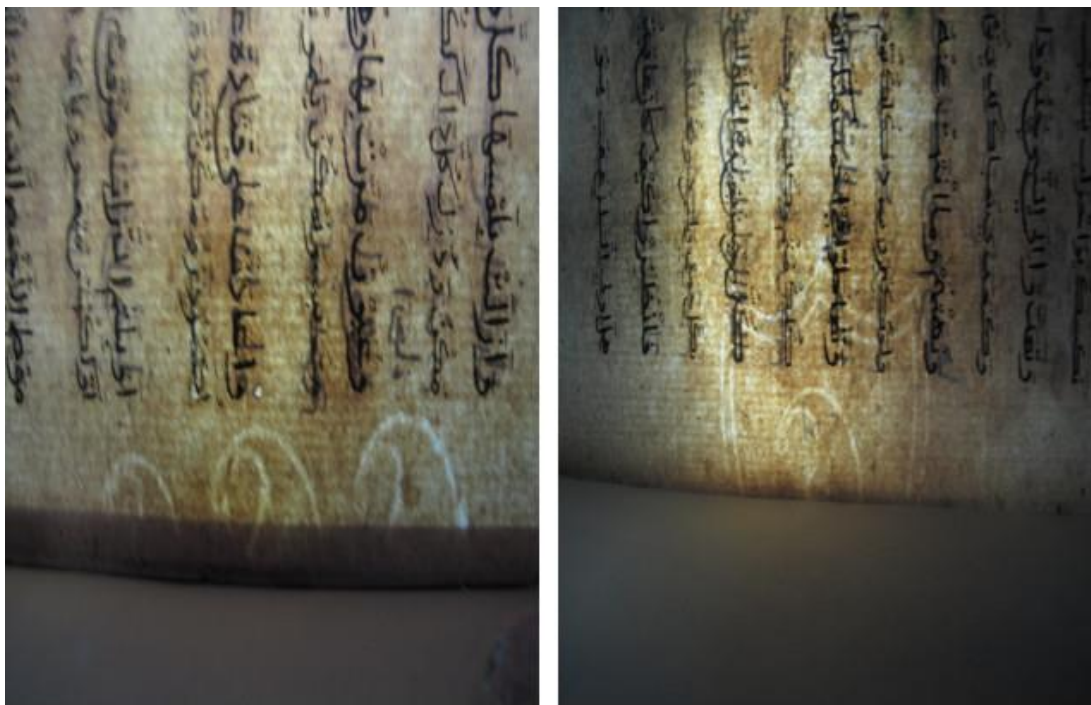


Figure 36: Watermarks found in Arabic manuscripts. (Gacek 2009:291)

In East Africa, a study on an 18th century Qur'an manuscript from Witu showed that its paper contains a watermark of a three-peaked shield with double outline, displaying a human-faced crescent moon facing left. Some of its folios also contain the watermarked initials VG, standing for Valentino Galvani, the trademark of a Venetian paper manufacturer (Digby 1975). Manuscripts with similar kinds of watermark were commonly used in Muslim Africa (Digby 1975).

Three of *Ay*'s folios contain watermarks: the *tre-lune* 'three crescents decreasing in size' on folios 35 and 43, and a three-peaked shield with double outline, displaying a human-faced crescent moon facing left on folio 47. The watermarks are located at the center of the spine of the manuscript, showing that the paper was folded in two to make a bifolio, giving two folios whose recto and verso sides count as four pages (Déroche 2005:66). The making of the bifolio obscured the watermark symbols, because they are located in the middle of the original sheet (see Figure 37).



1

2

Figure 37: The watermark symbols in Ms Ay: the three crescents, folio 35 (1), and the crescent moon face in a shield, folio 47 (2).

Ay's watermarks raise two issues: the origin of the paper, and the date of the manuscript. Neither can be established precisely but as regards the first, it is likely that Italy was the origin of the watermarked paper. It is unclear how it reached East Africa but it was most probably via Hadhramawt (Yemen) or Hijaz (Saudi Arabia) – the paper of Islamic manuscripts found in Ethiopia have similar watermarks symbols and originally came from Yemen (Gori 2014). Muslim scholars and traders in East Africa had long-standing commercial and spiritual networks with these old cities (see 4.1.1).

Regarding the date of the manuscript, watermarked paper with the *tre-lune* symbol was produced in the 18th century, while paper with the shield and crescent moon symbol was produced in the 19th century (Digby 1975, Walz 1985). Paper with the later symbol began circulating in East Africa probably by the 1820s (Walz 1985), which suggests that

Ay cannot be older than 1820, supporting the interpretation of the date of the manuscript given in the copyist's colophon as 1257 AH/1842 CE rather than 1207 AH/1793 (see 4.1.5).

4.1.4.4. The bookbinding techniques and materials of the *Hamziyya* corpus

Generally, the techniques of binding books and the materials used to produce codices in Swahili culture resemble those elsewhere in the Islamic world. Islamic bookbinding can be divided into three categories (Déroche 2005:256):

- a “book in a box”, an early method, where the manuscript's contents are stored together inside a lidded box;
- with flaps;
- without flaps.

A wide range of materials was used for book covers in the Islamic world: wood, papyrus, paper, leather, textile, metal, enamel, and precious materials such as gemstones, pearls, silver, and gold (Déroche 2005:29).

The most common decoration found in illuminated manuscripts and on book covers is a *lawzah* or *turanji*, ‘mandorla’, i.e. an almond shaped ornament or medallion (Gacek 2009:151). *Am*, for instance, contains a stamped decoration of a scalloped mandorla, surrounded with tassels, in the center of its cover (Figure 38). This resembles 18th century Turkish stylistic devices for the decoration of a book cover (Gacek 2009:31). A fine bluish fabric is carefully glued to either side of the spine as a hinge.

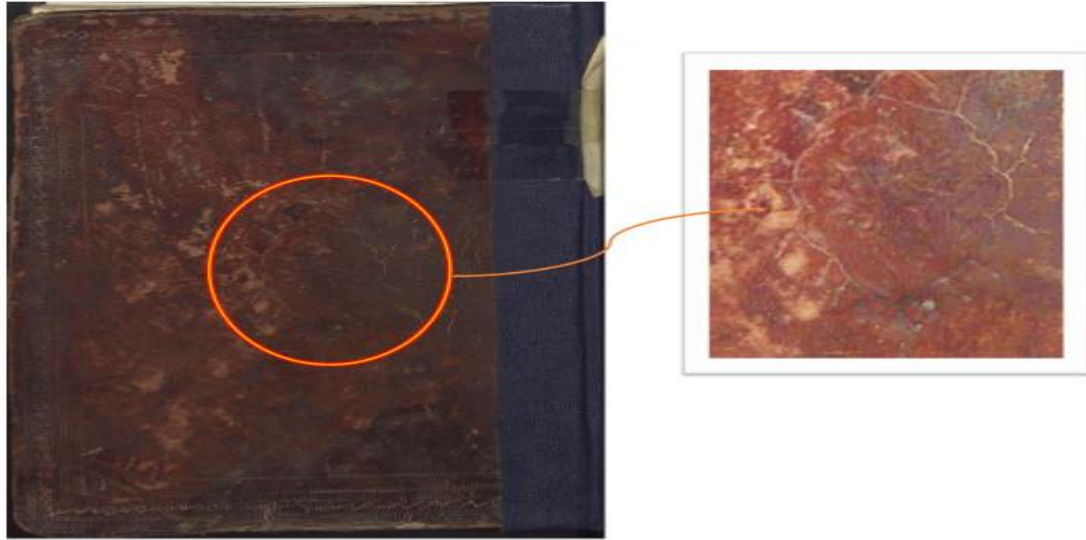


Figure 38: A mandorla figure at the center of Ms. Am's cover. Image courtesy of Omani NRAA.

During my fieldwork in the Lamu archipelago, I noticed that most of the older manuscripts, such as those of Qur'ans or Arabic poetry, have decorated leather covers, one of which may include an envelope flap. The flaps are used to protect the papers of the codex, and also serve as a bookmark for the last page that was read. The covers are glued onto boards to make them sufficiently solid, and fabric is usually used as a hinge, glued on by gum collected from the stems of cashew nut trees, often mixed with the ground dried fruit of baobab trees to make it more effective (p.c. Sheikh Hadi, Siyu, 2014).

A codex in Arabic/Islamic tradition is made up of papers that are arranged in quires with holes at the spines to allow stitching. Most commonly, a link-stitch (also known as chain-stitch or Coptic) technique using two or four sewing stations are employed (Gacek 2009:247), sewing stations being the holes made by the needle (Figure 39). A single thread is usually employed to sew together all the quires in the codex (Déroche 2005:274).

Each of the older *Hamziyya* manuscripts *Am*, *Ay*, *Di* and *Hu* have four sewing stations. The more recent *Hamziyya* manuscripts *Ko* and *Nc* have six and four respectively. *Nc* has

more sewing stations because it is larger in size, 330mm long by 200mm wide, than the others (see Chapter II for all measurements).

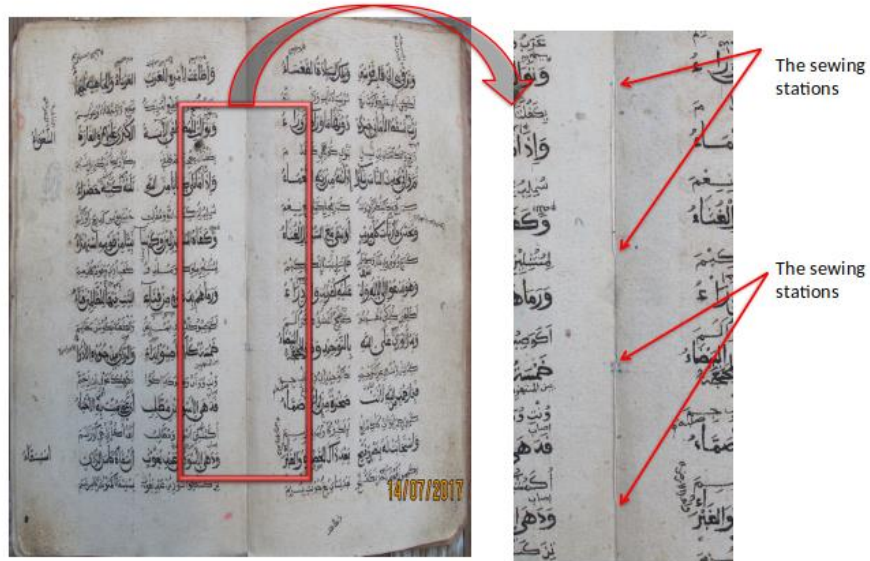


Figure 39: Ms. *Ka*, folio 10-11, showing the sewing stations. Image: A. Parkar, Lamu.

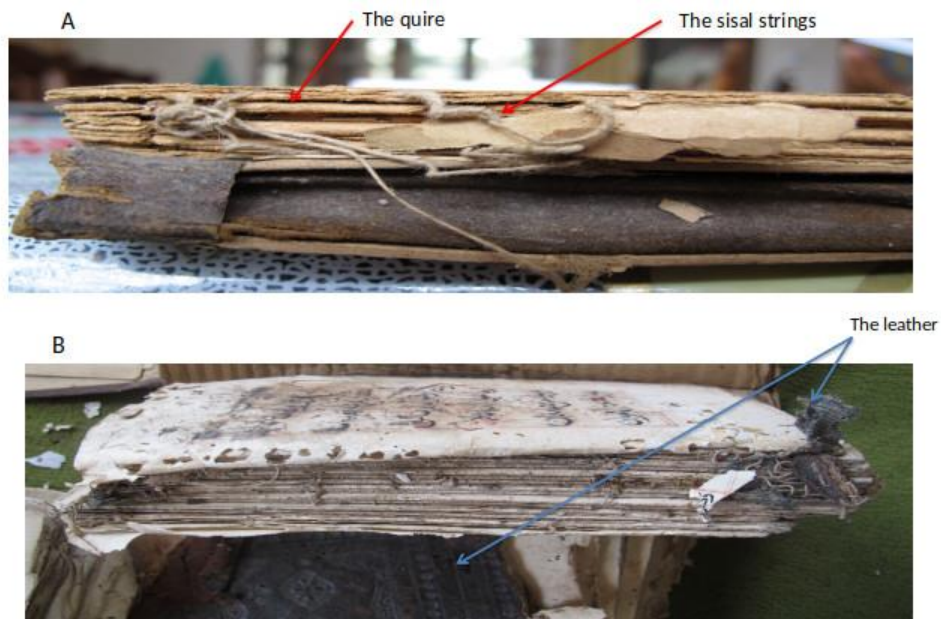


Figure 40: A: Ms. *Hu*, image by R. Samsom, Mombasa, 2014. B: Arabic manuscript, image by A. Parkar, Siyu, 2015.

Ay and *Hu* initially had leather jackets that got eroded after some period of time (for *Ay*, see Hichens 1936, and for *Hu*, see Figure 40 A). Currently, both have carton material as their covers, though *Hu*'s cover still has some remnants of leather glued to this. *Di* has a brown carton cover. *Hi* has two covers; a black paper jacket wrapped over a brown carton cover. *Ay*, *Am*, *Di* and *Hu* do not have any flaps. *Ay*, *Di* and *Hu* have their codices sewn at the spine with sisal string (Figure 40 B), and the technique resembles the Islamic style of chain stitching (Gacek 2009). The more recent *Nc* and *Ko* have covers that are industrially made: the former contains a hard black paper cover with a red cloth material glued at the spine, and the latter has cotton thread stitching on the spine of its codex.

4.1.5. Material analysis relating to the date in the colophon of *Ay*

The Dino-Lite images of *Ay* show that the paper's fibers at the position of the date are damaged (Figure 41), suggesting that the date has been altered – it would appear that the initial Arabic numeral 5 (٥) was erased and converted to a 0 (٠) to imply that the manuscript is fifty years older than it actually is.

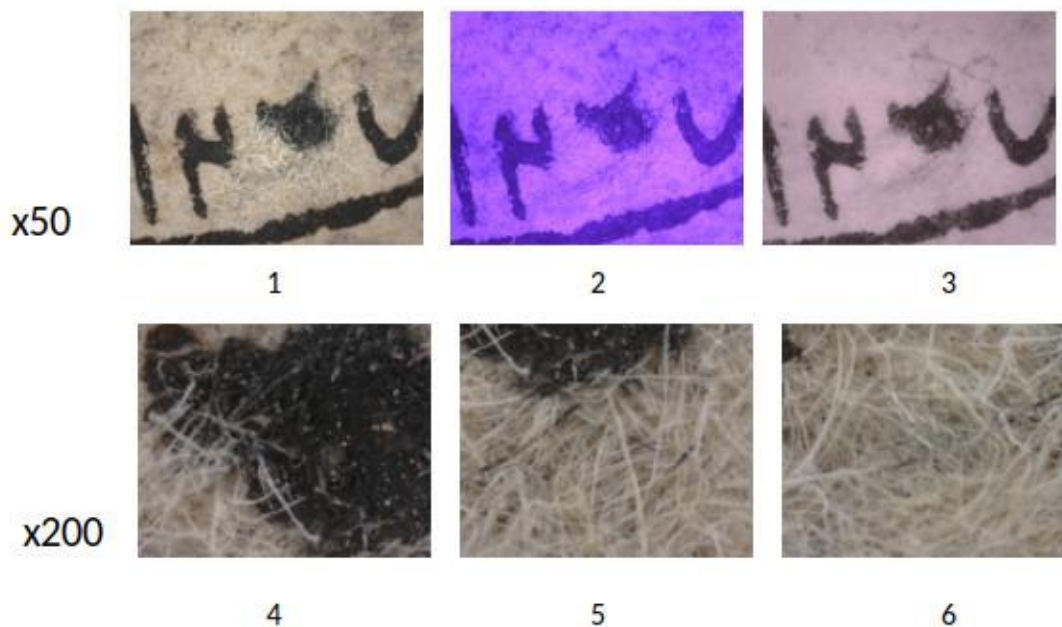


Figure 41: Ms. *Ay* colophon's date and the damaged paper fibres in folio 67. The images show the date, under normal, infra-red, and ultra-violet light, magnified by 50 (top row) and the area around the altered region, magnified by 200 (bottom row). Images: Courtesy of Z02 Project, CSMC Hamburg.

Figure 40:1-3 show that the Arabic numeral for zero in the date, ١٢٠٧ (1207 AH/1793), is too large, and higher than the other figures: usually the dot is much smaller, circular or diamond-shaped, and placed at the center of the line or slightly below it. Figure 40:4-6 show the damaged fibres below the oval shaped symbol. Close examination of Figure 40:1 reveals a faint image of the Arabic numeral 2 or 6, meaning that it is therefore more likely that the original date was 1227 AH/1812 or 1267 AH/1851, respectively. It is possible that the author wanted to write '0' (zero) but instead mistakenly wrote '2' or '6' and then erased them. This is somewhat unlikely, because Arabic figures '2' and '6' are not similar in shape to '0'. A more likely possibility here is that he mistakenly wrote '2' or '6', then changed it to '5' and then again to '0'. If we assume that the copyist initially intended to write '0' and this is the correct figure, then what was the reason for this sequence of corrections? Pending further scientific investigation using the Dino-Lite machine, we might argue that there are three possibilities for the manuscript date:

- the original date is 1207 AH, though since this seems to have been scribbled over, another figure may be the correct one intended by the copyist;
- the original date is 1227 AH or 1267 AH and the manuscript is either 40 or 60 years younger;
- the original date is 1257 AH and the manuscript is fifty years younger. Since Swahili people sometimes confuse Arabic figure five with zero, this may in fact be the correct date..

4.2. The oral performance of the *Hamziyya*

This section examines the occasions and locations related to *Hamziyya* recital, and tries to establish how directly the *Hamziyya* manuscripts are involved in these oral performances. The discussion covers chanting of *Hamziyya*: during the pre-*mawlid* celebrations (4.2.1), prior to a *darsa* lecture session (4.2.2), in a sending-off ceremony (4.2.3), and in rite of passage ceremonies (4.2.4).

4.2.1. The chanting of the *Hamziyya* during pre-*mawlid* celebrations

On the Islamic coast of East Africa, the *mawlid* ceremony marking the birth of the Prophet is considered an important celebratory event that brings *baraka* ‘blessings’ to society.¹⁰⁴ The ceremony takes place in many East African towns, but the major one takes place in the Riyadhha Mosque, Lamu Island, Kenya. People from many parts of the world, especially the Middle East, Asia and other parts of East Africa, gather annually to celebrate the *mawlid* of Lamu. The *mawlid* is usually conducted in the third month of the Islamic calendar, *Rabbi‘ al-awwāl*, which is termed as *mfungo sita* ‘the sixth month’ in the Swahili traditional calendar¹⁰⁵.

The *mawlid* texts contain *madīh*, eulogy of the Prophet. All *madīh* texts are highly regarded and associated with *baraka*, but not all are chanted at all *mawlid* ceremonies in East Africa. Depending on the nature of the event, they can be chanted in Arabic, in Swahili, or bilingually, since many of the Arabic ones (for example, *al-Burda* and *Hamziyya*) have been translated into Swahili. The *Barzanjī*, composed by Ja’afar ibn Ismail al-Barzanjī, d.1899 A.D, seems to be the most popular *madīh* text in East Africa, and is usually chanted in Arabic even though a Swahili version exists (Musa 1969). The *madīh* text recited in the Riyadhha Mosque is *Simt al-Durār* ‘the Chain of Pearls’, also known as *Mawlid al-Ḥabshy*, since it was composed by a renowned scholar and saintly figure from Hadhramawt, ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabshy, d.1915 (see, Bang 2015). This is always chanted in Arabic, since it is yet to be translated (p.c. Muḥammad Noor).

The Riyadhha Mosque’s *mawlid* ceremony commences after *‘isha*, night prayers. But before the ceremony itself, three other linked rituals, termed here pre-*mawlid* celebrations, take place:

- the *zefe*, a procession;
- the *ziyara*, a ‘visiting the grave’ ritual that venerates Ḥabīb Ṣaliḥ (1844-1935), the founder of Riyadhha Mosque;

¹⁰⁴ On the definition of *mawlid* and different kinds of “pre-*mawlid*” ceremonies, see Knappert 1971, Boyd 1985 and Olali 2012. For a discussion of the *mawlid*’s origins as a religious public festival, see Schimmel 1985.

¹⁰⁵ The first month of the Swahili year, *mfungo mosi* (literally ‘the first month [after the end of Ramadhan]’) is actually the tenth month, *Shawwal*, in the Islamic calendar.

- a Swahili-Islamic traditional oral performance at the *Kawandani*, an open space in front of the mosque.

The *zefe* begins after *‘asr*, late afternoon prayers. Participants join their *chuo*, affiliated group (pl. *vyuo*), which is a Qur’anic school (in this context) that teaches basic Islamic studies.

The *vyuo* arrange themselves in an orderly manner, the teachers and older students (i.e. 20 years and above) positioning themselves in the front lines. They move together facing one direction following the procession while singing, beating tambourines and dancing. The teachers and old students who are in the forefront, make a pause at given intervals, turn around, face their members and dance altogether. Both groups then move together facing the street. This is repeated several times until they reach their destination. There, they move out from the *kawandani* on foot, following one another in parallel lines. Several *vyuo* may participate, and the mood is light-hearted and festive. They are free to sing *qaṣīda* or *madīḥ* verses of their choice, and they head, singing and dancing, to the *ziyara* location south of Lamu via the *Usita wa Mui* route.

At the *ziyara* location there are three adjoining *maboma* (sg. *boma*), grave sanctuaries, where the members of *Sāda* families, the al-Jamlilayl, al-Husainy and Al-Ahdaly, are buried. Once the procession reaches the grave precincts, the *ziyara* ritual begins. The singing and dancing ceases and opening *du’a*, supplications, are led by the Riyadhha Mosque elders. The congregation then moves to the *boma* of al-Jamalilayl, where the grave of Ḥabīb Ṣalīḥ is located. There, a specific *ziyara* ritual takes place (p.c. Muḥammad Noor):

- the recitation of *Surah Yāsīn* (Q 36);
- the chanting of two or three *qaṣā’id* from *Simt al-Durār*;
- the chanting of the *qaṣīda* ‘*Ya nabī salām alayka*’, ‘Oh! Prophet! May peace be upon you’ while in standing position;
- the chanting of *mirthat*, the eulogy of Ḥabīb Ṣalīḥ;
- a closing *du’a* to conclude the *ziyara*.

After the *ziyara* ritual, the *vyuo* that participated in the *zefe* reassemble, and continue with their singing and dancing as they head back to the Riyadhha Mosque, this time taking the *Usita wa Pwani* route, which is located at the seafront of Lamu Island. When the *vyuo* reach Riyadhha Mosque, they station themselves at *Kawandani*, which is fenced off for the occasion with mangrove logs and ropes. This is where the oral performances take place, with onlookers who want to watch them standing outside the fenced area. The *vyuo* continue to sing and dance until *maghrib*, sunset (cf. Olali 2012).

In preparation for the performances, the *vyuo* participants dress elegantly, usually wearing a *joho*, ‘gown’, *kanzu* ‘robe’, and *kofia* ‘headcap’ along with a *kashida* ‘shoulder mantle’. During the *zefe* singing, dancers use sticks, tambourines, and flutes and some *vyuo* may carry flags or banners showing their affiliation or the names of their institutions.

Notably, the chanting of *Hamziyya* features only during the *zefe* procession on the way to and from the *ziyara*. The most admired *Hamziyya* performers, known as *mabingwa wa Pate*, ‘the champions from Pate’, number approximately twenty men and wave *simbo*, ‘walking sticks’ (*fimbo* in standard Swahili) approximately four feet long during their dance (Figure 42).



Figure 42: The *Hamziyya* stick dance outside Riyadhha Mosque, Lamu. Image: courtesy of Bāqir Jamāl Leyl and Muḥammad Noor.

Three or four selected chanters, chosen on the basis of their experience in the art and ability to memorise the verses, take turns reciting the bilingual verses of the *Hamziyya* text. Each performer only recites a stanza or two, and then another performer takes over. The chanting is bilingual, reflecting the layout of the stanzas in the bilingual *Hamziyya* manuscripts: an Arabic *matn* stanza is chanted, immediately followed by the equivalent Swahili *tarjama* stanza. The lead performer may select verses pertaining to a particular theme (say, the birth of the Prophet), and the other performers repeat the bilingual stanzas and add v4 of the *Hamziyya* as a refrain: “*nuru kazilawe ila mwako nuru ni njema*” (Lights do not shine except they emanate from your good (internal) light). The chanters try so far as possible to follow chronologically the themes of the *Hamziyya* text.

Notably, another *Hamziyya* group, such as the Tumbatu *Hamziyya* (TV) chanters, may sometimes be invited to participate in the Riyadhha mosque's *mawlid* celebration (Olali 2012). The Tumbatu group independently performs their own Tumbatu version of the *Hamziyya*, which is also chanted bilingually.

In Mombasa, similarly, the *zefe* (but without a *ziyara* ritual) and *mawlid* are performed annually¹⁰⁶ during *mfungo sita*¹⁰⁷. The two events occur in the central region of Mombasa Island at Makadara, situated in the central business quarter of the city near the well-known historical *Mji wa Kale*, Old Town. The *zefe* takes place, after 'asr prayers; it starts from Sakina Mosque and ends at Makadara just few minutes before *maghrib*. The *mawlid* is then performed after 'isha prayers. Different independent groups and *vyuo* participate in the *zefe* and *mawlid* sessions. The *zefe* performers sing and dance in a similar way as those of the Lamuans, and also dress elegantly, carrying sticks and banners during the procession. However, there are a number of differences in the ceremonies. During the *zefe* performances no manuscripts are involved – Arabic and Swahili *qaṣā'id* are chanted by heart. Neither does the recitation of the *Hamziyya* feature in Mombasa, probably due to a lack of 'experts' like the *mabingwa wa Pate*. Finally, the *madīḥ* text recited most frequently in *mawlid* ceremonies in Mombasa is the *Mawlid Barzanjī*.

In Pate, the "mother" region of the *Hamziyya* (AV), another special type of *mawlid*, *Šaraf al-An'ām*¹⁰⁸ 'the model of mankind', is performed. This is reputedly one of the oldest *mawlid* in the Lamu archipelago, and was imported from the Comoro islands some three hundred years (Boyd 1985). It is also known as *maulidi ya Kiswahili*, 'the *mawlid* in Swahili', or *mawlidi ya rama* or *kukangaya*, 'the *mawlid* of swaying of the body' (Boyd 1985), and is usually performed a week after the Riyadhha Mosque's *mawlid* (p.c. Mwalimu Dini). The main *madīḥ* texts for this *mawlid* are *Witriyya* (Arabic), *Zamzamilu*

¹⁰⁶ For coverage of the Mombasa *mawlid*, see, for example, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BozRKnt6H5w>

¹⁰⁷ The Mombasa *mawlid* may be scheduled prior to the Lamu *mawlid*, or vice versa. Generally, the aim is to avoid conflicting dates between the two ceremonies in order to allow those who wish to participate in both to do so.

¹⁰⁸ Regrettably, at the time the researcher went to Pate, the event had already concluded, so he was unable to record the performance.

(Arabic), *al-Burda* (Arabic, Swahili) and *Hamziyya* (Arabic, Swahili). The texts for which a Swahili translation is available are chanted bilingually, with the *matn* followed by the *tarjama* (p.c. Mwalimu Dini). The chief reciter chants the poetic verses and the participants in the group intersperse with choruses (Boyd 1985). No manuscripts are involved during the recitation – they may be present, but are mainly used at the end of the *mawlid* for the recitation of the *du'a* (p.c. ‘Abūdi Dini). The *Hamziyya* manuscripts involved are usually multiple text manuscripts, narrowly spaced and containing more than one *madīh* text in the codex (see , e.g. *Di*, 2.2.4).

On Tumbatu Island, another *mawlid* version, *maulidi ya tende*, ‘the *mawlid* of the date palm’, also known as *maulidi ya Hamziyya*, ‘the *Hamziyya mawlid*’ takes place during the *mfungo sita* after ‘*isha* prayers (p.c. *Šayh* Kombo, see also Nuotio 2006).¹⁰⁹ In this event, the *Hamziyya* (TV) is chanted bilingually, as in Pate. Again, no manuscript is involved during the chanting, but a bilingual *Hamziyya* manuscript, narrowly spaced and arranged in two columns, is used in preparing for the oral performances (p.c. *Šayh* Kombo).

In summary, the performance approach to the *Hamziyya* texts in Lamu (AV), Pate (AV) and Tumbatu (TV) are similar. The manuscripts are not referred to during the performance, but the performers use the them to memorize the *Hamziyya* beforehand. The layout of the manuscripts plays an important role in this memorization: the interlinearisation of the *matn* and *tarjama*, with the poetic lines narrowly spaced and arranged in two columns, help the process of memorization. This is further discussed in 4.3.

4.2.2. The chanting of the *Hamziyya* prior to a *darsa* session

On the East African coast, a number of mosques affiliated to the Al-‘Alawiyya *tarīqa* recite the *al-Burda* and *Hamziyya* odes together prior to the *darsa*, lecture, on *tafsīr*,

¹⁰⁹ Regrettably, the researcher was unable to witness the occasion personally, so I rely on the comments of my informant, *Šayh* Kombo of Tumbatu.

Qur'an exegesis, during the month of Ramadhan.¹¹⁰ The *Burda* and *Hamziyya* are texts composed by the same author, and are both believed to contain *baraka*. The reciters prefer to start with al-Burda and then proceed with *Hamziyya*, this being the tradition observed for decades. During my fieldwork in 2014, I noticed that a number of mosques, for example, Anisa (Mombasa), Riyadhha and Pwani (Lamu), recite the *Hamziyya* text during Ramadhan. In the Gofu Mosque (Zanzibar), the *Hamziyya* ('Aydarūs' version) used to be recited after *taraweh*, an optional night prayer, but this no longer happens (p.c. Ustadh Bakathīr).

Recording the *Hamziyya* performances revealed that a common sequence is followed in these mosques, consisting of three phases of recitation of the two odes. The first two phases involve the recitation of *al-Burda*, each phase having its own specific tune as well as a chorus. In the first phase, the chief performer chants two *al-Burda* verses and then allows his colleagues (usually, seven young men) to respond with a chorus. This continues for 3-5 minutes. The chief performer then moves to the second phase, changing the tune and chanting two more *al-Burda* verses which his colleagues once more respond to with another chorus, also with a different tune. Again, this continues for 3-5 minutes.

The two choruses for each *al-Burda* chanting phase are:

Phase 1:

Yā Rabbī bil Muṣṭafā balligh maqāṣīdanā

waghfir lanā mā maḍā yā wāsi 'al-karamī

Oh Lord! Through your chosen Prophet accept our prayers

and forgive us our past deeds, Oh! Most Generous One!

Phase 2:

¹¹⁰ Apparently, this is not the case for mosques with different affiliations such as Wahabbi, Ibādhi and Hanafiyya. Instead, they may recite a few verses of the Qur'an prior to the *darsa*, with the reciters referring to a copy of the Qur'an.

Riḍhāka khayrun minā

duniyā wa mā fihā

It is more joyful to us that you are pleased with us,

than to possess the whole world and what it contains!

The third phase involves the recitation of the *Hamziyya matn*. The chief performer chants a couplet from the *Hamziyya* for about 5-10 minutes, in a different tune from the *al-Burda* ones. During the chanting of the *Hamziyya*, there are no choruses or change of tune. All the chanting of both odes is in Arabic only.

In Mombasa, a student of *Šayḥ* Muḥdhār Khitamī chanted the *Hamziyya* in a beautiful singing tone (see Figure 43). The performer selects a few stanzas, perhaps 25, to be chanted each day, so that the entire poem is chanted twice across the period of Ramadhan (p.c. Muḥammad Noor). The performer uses a locally printed book of the *Hamziyya* for his chanting. This parallels the practice in some parts of the Lamu Archipelago, where locally printed booklets of the *Hamziyya* may be used during the Ramadhan chanting.



Figure 43: *Šayḥ* Muḥdhār Khitamī (leaning over the wooden book holder) conducts a *darsa* at Anisa Mosque, Mombasa. The first person on the right-hand side (holding a copy of the Qur'an) is the *Hamziyya* reciter. Photo: A. Parkar.

4.2.3. The chanting of *Hamziyya* in a sending-off ceremony

The *Hamziyya* may be chanted when a family is sending off their relative to observe the *hajj* pilgrimage in Mecca. The *hajj* is the fifth pillar of Islam, and it is obligatory for those who can afford it (see Qur'an 22:26-29 and 3:97). On Ndau Island, when the *hajjī*, 'pilgrim', is about to board a dhow, family members, relatives and friends gather at his house to chant the *Hamziyya* (AV), commencing with the first ten stanzas and then the ones from 296 to 325, whose theme is the *hajj*. The *Hamziyya* chanting is done bilingually (p.c. Ustadh Kame).

The chief performer is expected to memorize the whole *Hamziyya*, or those sections that he will chant in specific functions, such as those related to *Hajj* (during the sending-off occasions). His colleagues are expected to memorize at least the first ten verses of the *Hamziyya* (p.c. Ustadh Kame).

4.2.4. The chanting of *Hamziyya* during rite of passage ceremonies

The *Hamziyya* and a number of other *qaṣīda madīḥ* texts, such as the *Bānat Su'ād*, *Tabāraka*, *al-Burda* and *al-Šifā'*, are usually recited during key life events to attain *baraka*, 'God's blessings', and *thawāb* 'transcendental rewards', and to provide protection against evil or misfortune (Schimmel 1985, Aslan 2008, Daub 2016).

In the Lamu archipelago, the *Hamziyya* is usually chanted during events such as marriage ceremonies, the delivery of a new born, and observing *eddah*, 'mourning period'¹¹¹, (p.c. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Saggaf). In the Lamu archipelago, Mombasa, Mambrui, Malindi, Zanzibar, and the Tumbatu Islands, the influence of the 'Alawiyya *Šūfī* traditions is prevalent, whereby recitation of *qaṣīda madīḥ* texts like the *Hamziyya* commonly features

¹¹¹ The *eddah* ritual is prescribed in Qur'an 2:234. A widow is required to observe a waiting period of four months and ten days from the date of her husband's death, and after this period she is free to continue with her normal life and conduct another new marriage (if she wishes).

during a marriage ceremony. The marriage process consists of four stages: *uposaji*, ‘the proposal’, *nikaha*, ‘marriage ceremony’ and *kuingiya nyumbani*, ‘entering the house’, which is followed by *walima*, ‘the feast’ (Trimingham 1964:135-6). On the day of *kuingiya nyumbani*, *qaṣā’id* including *Hamziyya* are chanted while the bride is accompanied to the bridegroom’s house. In Zanzibar, after expiration of seven days (*fungate*), the *mawlid* is recited (Trimingham 1964:136). In Siyu and Pate, the *twari la ndiya* ‘stick dance’ is performed at the marriage ceremony, with *Hamziyya* being one of the core texts of the performance. The stick dance practiced during marriage ceremonies are similar to the ones conducted in Riyadhha mosque. The dance is also performed during the naming ceremony of a new-born baby (though this practice is rare). A new-born baby is given a name by the father usually after seven days, and a ram or a goat is slaughtered and a meal prepared. If the new-born baby is a boy two rams or goats are slaughtered.

In Pate, when a woman is in labour pain or observing *eddah* after being widowed, women from the neighbourhood visit her and chant the *tarjama* (AV) verses only. The aim is to comfort her and pray for her to get God’s mercy and protection for any negative eventualities during her delivery or the mourning period. Pate and Siyu islands are remote areas where, even nowadays, medical practitioners and fully equipped hospitals are few and far between. Due to limited financial resources, many inhabitants of Pate and Siyu may be unable to afford a long journey to seek medical treatment, and seeking God’s intervention may therefore be their only practical option. The *tarjama* verses are chanted from memory, and no *Hamziyya* manuscripts are involved (p.c. Mwalimu Dini). Women in Pate Island memorise the *Hamziyya* text through oral transmission from female relatives well acquainted with the *tarjama*. In mosque *young* girls are trained to memorize at least the first ten stanzas of the *Hamziyya*. Advanced female learners may train themselves to memorize further sections, or even the whole of the *Hamziyya*. Once the stanzas are committed to memory, they then practice their recitation during rituals such as *eddah*. In such oral performances, elderly women who are better acquainted with the *tarjama* may guide the young learners during the chanting (p.c. Muḥammad Noor, Sayyid Bahasan). Since the interviews were mainly limited to male performers,

custodians and copyists, the researcher was unable to clarify which, if any, *Hamziyya* manuscript is used for memorisation. It is even possible that no manuscript is involved at all, and that the women rely on purely oral transmission of the text.

4.3. The usage and function of different *Hamziyya* manuscript layout

This section discusses how different layouts relate to the *Hamziyya* manuscript's use as a chanting aid (4.3.1), as a tool for education and the popularizing of Swahili classical poetry (4.3.2), and as a spiritual aid (4.3.3).

4.3.1. The *Hamziyya* manuscript as a chanting aid

So far, not a single monolingual Arabic *Hamziyya* manuscript (without *tarjama* or paratexts) was encountered by the researcher in the Swahili cultural area (although this does not mean that they do not exist), and it appears that printed versions have replaced them. *Hu* is a particular case, containing Arabic *Hamziyya* but with Swahili and Arabic *ḥawāšīn*. In East Africa printed copies of *Hamziyya* and sometimes along with al-Burda and Tabaraka are usually printed together but without the *tarjama*. The researcher's own experience in the early 1970s was that pupils in the *madrasa* (mosque school) *vyuo* wrote *qaṣā'id* in ordinary exercise books, but that printed versions were also available, because the *madrasa* teachers used a stencil-based cyclostyle machine to produce multiple copies. Memorizing entire poems by heart was not a major focus in larger towns such as Mombasa and Malindi, and pupils usually memorized only the chorus and the first few verses of a given poem. The result was that, especially in the case of long poems like the *Hamziyya*, pupils usually carried their printed copies as chanting aids during oral performances, especially during the *mawlid* ceremonies. It is therefore likely that farther back in time, prior to the arrival of printing technology, monolingual manuscripts of the *Hamziyya* did exist and were used as chanting aids.

In fact, the researcher came across only two instances where *Hamziyya* manuscripts are actually used in a rituals. The first (4.2.2) is the chanting of the *Hamziyya* text prior to the *darsa* in Ramadhan in some Banī 'Alawy *ṭarīqa* mosques, usually using a

monolingual Arabic printed version of the *Hamziyya*, narrowly spaced and arranged in two columns. The second (4.2.1) is during the Pate *Mawlid Šaraf al-An'āmī*, although it is used there only to recite the *du'a* at the end of the ceremony, the rest of the *mawlid* and the chanting of the *Hamziyya* itself being performed from memory.

As stated in 4.2, there are, however, a number of occasions where the *Hamziyya* manuscript is apparently used as the basis for training the reciter to memorise the text, which is then chanted from memory during the ritual, with the manuscript not physically present:

- the pre-*mawlid* celebrations: the *zefe*, the *ziyara* and the *kawandani* performances, on Lamu;
- the sending-off ceremony for a *hajji* on Ndau Island;
- the wedding ceremony, where the *twari la ndiya*, 'stick dance' is performed, on Lamu, Siyu, and Pate islands;
- when a woman is in labour or observing the *eddah* ritual on Pate (assuming that the poem is not orally transmitted);
- during the *Mawlid ya Hamziyya* on Tumbatu Island, Tanzania.

This raises the question of what techniques are used by the performers in order to commit to memory a text that contains up to 960 stanzas (the AV's *matn* and *tarjama*).

The bilingual *Hamziyya* (AV) manuscripts, such as *Ab*, *Ay*, *Ba*, *Di*, *Ka*, and *Sa* represent the manuscripts that could form a basis for *Hamziyya* oral performances. They contain a *matn* with an interlinear *tarjama*, the text of both narrowly spaced and arranged in two columns, each containing a half-line, which facilitates easy reading and memorization. The manuscript layout may also include other textual components such as the *basmalah*, prologue verses, and epilogue, which also form part of the recitation, and may help the performer to memorize the performance as a whole (section 3.5).

Specific techniques are used to assist the process of memorization. All the performers are expected to memorize at least the first ten stanzas in bilingual form, and to assist in this the chief performer copies these stanzas from the manuscript onto a piece of paper for

each performer. During the 2017 fieldwork, the researcher requested Ustadh Kame to write out some *Hamziyya* verses for him in a similar way, and a sample of the result is shown in Figure 44. The leaf shown here measures 215 mm by 295 mm, resembling the standard foolscap paper available in Kenyan bookshops, and contains horizontal blue lines with two vertical red lines to set off a margin, though the latter is ignored.

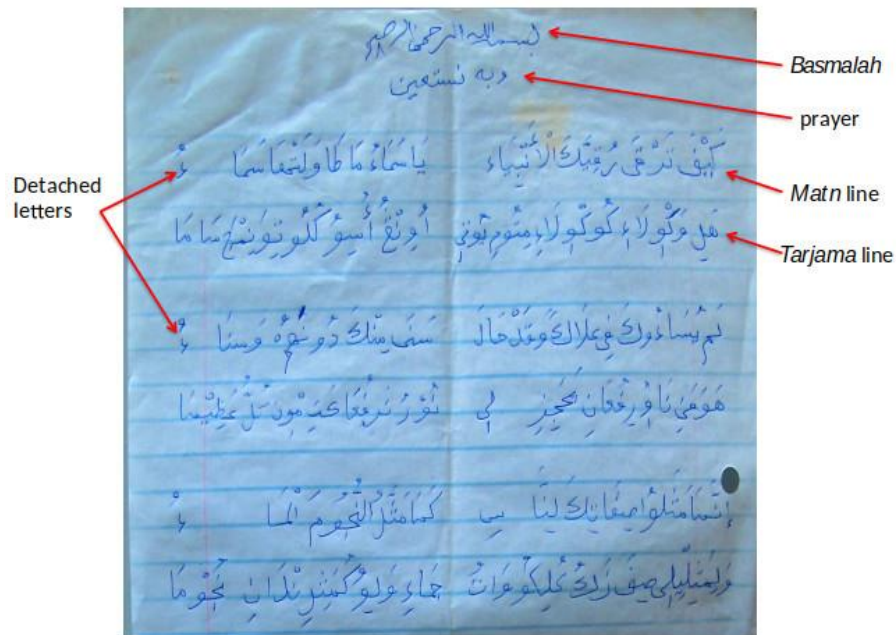


Figure 44: A sample of a leaf with bilingual *Hamziyya* verses used for memorization in the preparation of oral performances. Copyist: Ustadh Kame. Photo: A. Parkar.

The scribe first includes two paratexts: the *basmalah*, placed at the top center of the paper, and a prayer, *wa bihī nasta'īn*, 'I seek [God's] help', placed below the *basmalah*. Only then is the text included: up to six stanzas of *matn* with interlinear *tarjama*, laid out in two columns. Notably, the final hamza of each verse of the Arabic *matn* is written detached from the rest of its word to justify the stanzas so that the *matn* line ends just above the final *mīm* of the Swahili *tarjama*. The *matn* is set one line apart from the equivalent *tarjama*, but each *matn/tarjama* pair is set two lines apart, thus giving a clear visual indicator of structure, which helps guide the reading and memorization process for each pair.

The performers are not necessarily required to memorize the entire poem. They may choose specific stanzas to memorize: for instance, for a ritual like the sending-off ceremony for a *hajji*, they may memorize stanzas on the *Hajj* from the *Hamziyya* text. To commit the stanza to memory, a performer usually reads it about eight times (p.c. Ustadh Kame). The performers then chant each *matn* and *tarjama* verse, and practice together one by one prior to the oral performances.

4.3.2. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts as a tool for education and the popularizing of Swahili classical poetry

This sub-section examines how the *Hamziyya* manuscripts are used as educational tools for: the *Hamziyya* itself (4.3.2.1), the Arabic and Swahili languages (4.3.2.2), producing Swahili academic works on Swahili classical poetry (4.3.2.3), and as preliminary academic works to popularize Swahili classical literature and poetry (4.3.2.4).

4.3.2.1. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts as educational tools for the *Hamziyya*

Hu is an example of a *Hamziyya* manuscript that is used as a tool for teaching and learning the content of the Arabic *Hamziyya*. Its stanzas, widely spaced and arranged in two columns, are in Arabic only, although they are annotated in both Arabic and Swahili.

Recent studies show that manuscripts in West Africa with similar characteristics are intended for the transfer of knowledge. Bondarev (2017:105-6) notes that:

There is a distinctive type of manuscript across the whole of West Africa which is characterized by ample space between the lines. This codicological feature seems to point to teaching practices wherein extra space is planned for annotations. Evidence from the Soninke-speaking community in Senegal where the preparation of such sparse-line layout was assigned to advanced Islamic students suggests that this practice was part of a planned educational process.

The *vyuo* were the first institutions to lay the foundation of literary culture in East Africa. The curriculum includes subjects such as Qur'an and Ḥadith exegesis, *seyra*, 'biography of the Prophet', philosophy, Arabic grammar and literature. Kahumbi (1995:328) states that:

In a *chuo*, a Muslim child learnt the Qur'an by heart, [and] writing in the Arabic alphabet and some elementary *Fiqh* notions were also introduced. The *chuo* contributed to the development of literacy and inculcation of values among the Muslim Community. This was a vital role which it continued to play in spite of the onset of European colonialism and the introduction of Western formal education.

Prior to the coming of modern exercise books, pupils in the *chuo* used *loho*, 'wooden slates', and *ngozi*, 'parchment', as writing surfaces. I have myself seen the name of a *chuo* and its location written on the inner side of the skin on a *twari*, 'tambourine'. In some parts of Kenya, for instance, the North Eastern region, *loho* is still used today. The advantage of *loho* is that it is serviceable for a long period of time, and written work, depending on the quality of the ink, can be easily washed away to allow new information to be written. It is therefore appropriate for younger pupils, who are encouraged to memorize their work, since it is difficult to recover text that has been washed away. The use of *loho* is discouraged for more senior pupils, who need to be able to write more extensive texts. Teachers and senior pupils therefore use exercise books in study circles.

In the Swahili cultural area, manuscripts were also used as text-books to learn the content, and this could involve teachers and students inserting *ḥawāšīn* between the verses, in the margins, or on any available space. *Hu* contains numerous *ḥawāšīn*

explicating the *matn*'s vocabulary, and from folio 12 onwards the Swahili annotations outnumber the Arabic ones, suggesting that the students were Swahili speakers studying classical Arabic poetry. However, other uses, such as teaching and learning the language or producing a commentary, are also possible for the same manuscript – see 4.3.2.2-3.

4.3.2.2. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts as tools for teaching and learning the Arabic and Swahili languages

A tutor probably wrote the *ḥawāšīn* in *Hu* during preparation for a lecture or a teaching session (p.c. Abdulaziz, Mutiso): the Arabic annotations embody scholarly explication of the contents of the *Hamziyya* (p.c. Abdulaziz), while the Swahili annotations give word-for-word translations explaining Arabic terms in Swahili. It is unclear whether the manuscript was used for *darsa* in a mosque, for teaching in a *chuo*, or for a private study, perhaps while preparing a lesson.

The *Hamziyya* is part of the curriculum in Islamic colleges in coastal Kenya such as Lamu and Mamburi (p.c. Sayyid Bahasan and Muḥammad Noor). In the Riyadhha Mosque College, for example, the *Hamziyya* is taught to advanced students studying classical Arabic literature (p.c. Sayyid Bahasan). Before modern exercise books came to East Africa, widely spaced manuscripts like *Hu* may have been used as textbooks.

Am, widely spaced, arranged in two columns and containing many *ḥawāšīn*, is another example of a teaching aid on classical Swahili poetic language. It was probably used as a tool to teach the Swahili *Hamziyya* to people who were not well-acquainted with Swahili but were conversant in Arabic, since the majority of the annotations are in Arabic. The manuscript may have been a commissioned work for the Omani rulers or their government officials in Zanzibar, since its author, Al-Amawy, was a noted scholar who served as a government minister (see 4.1.3.1).

4.3.2.3. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts as educational tools to study Arabic/ Swahili classical literature and poetry

Widely spaced lines and numerous annotations, or a list of Arabic words with their Swahili meaning, may indicate that a given codex is an academic work addressing the study of Arabic or Swahili classical poetry. For example, *Be* is an instance of a *mu'jīm*, 'glossary', narrowly spaced and arranged in two columns. The manuscript contains no text from the poem, but rather 1,108 words selected from the *matn* of the *Hamziyya*, along with their Swahili equivalents or a short phrase explaining those words in Swahili.

The items seem to have been drawn from a *Hamziyya* AV text, because some are literary forms that are not part of standard Swahili, e.g., *tala*, 'light', standard Swahili *taa*. The author, the late *Sayyid* al-Beyḍ, was the principal of an Islamic college in Mambrui, and it is likely that he produced the manuscript to be used as a quick reference or an instructional manual for those studying Arabic classical literature there – the author also produced, separately, a *mu'jīm* manuscript for *al-Burda*, suggesting that both odes were part of the curriculum. The author may well have intended to print the manuscript later, for use by his educational institution.

Am and *Hu*, discussed in 4.3.2.2. in terms of teaching resources, may also be viewed as preliminary work towards producing a commentary or an exegesis of the *Hamziyya*, since they fit the pattern for such materials (widely spaced, heavily annotated) in Islamic manuscript culture (Blecher 2017). A scholar's lectures in the mosque school or the mosque itself were often a starting point for producing voluminous commentaries, such as the fifteen volumes of Ibn Ḥajar Asqalānī's *Fath al Bārī Šarḥ Saḥiḥ al-Buḥārī* (Blecher 2017), based on the answers given by the scholar to impromptu questions asked by the students, both of which may be jotted down in the latter's codices.

Annotations are also subject to iterative revision. Scholar A may come across one of Scholar B's manuscripts containing *ḥawāšīn*. They may have been inserted by B's students during lectures, and may contain errors. Scholar A may then appraise or criticize the work based on the credibility of the *ḥawāšīn*, and scholar B may then edit the *ḥawāšīn* in order to take account of this and improve the work. Over a period of time, the

codex will be augmented with improved versions of the comments, and eventually the work may be compiled to produce a voluminous commentary. If scholar B dies before the commentary is published, his students may collaborate by editing the *ḥawāšīn* to complete the work in his honour.

4.3.2.4. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts as preliminary academic works to popularize Swahili classical poetry

Hamziyya manuscripts may reflect a single individual's effort to produce Swahili academic work or to popularize Swahili classical texts. For example, a scribe may create a transliteration in Latin script of the Swahili *Hamziyya* initially written in Arabic script, with an explanation of its verses in Swahili or English, aimed at those who can only read Swahili in Latin script and have no knowledge of Arabic. This is particularly the case for *Hi*, *Nc* and *Nd*.

Nd was probably used to assist Sh. Nabahany in writing the commentary in *Nc*. These monolingual *Hamziyya* (AV) manuscripts are both arranged in a single column, and both in Latin script. *Nd* contains the *tarjama* of 'Aydarūs with annotations explaining a number of archaic words in simple Swahili. Ms. *Nc* contains the *tarjama* interspersed with a *ṣarḥ* in prose, and provides biographical information on the Prophet, along with information about the miracles he performed. The author does not provide references for this material, so it is probably based on oral transmission, perhaps derived orally from contemporary scholars in *durūs*, 'religious lectures', or via the informal education usually imparted in mosque *vyuo* in East Africa.

The *Hamziyya* must have been a poem of particular merit to Nabahany, because he appears not to have done similar work on other classical odes such as *al-Burda* and *Bānat Su'ād* in his collection. He kindly gave me access to his private collection of manuscripts in Mombasa in 2012, and I was unable to find any other poetical text that got the attention he obviously gave to the *Hamziyya*. This suggests that he probably wanted to popularize the *Hamziyya* text and produce a concise Swahili commentary on its *tarjama*.

The work of Hichens on *Hi* shows that it was intended to produce an academic work in order to popularize Swahili-Islamic classical poetry. This is evidenced by the nature of the manuscript's content: it contains a brief introduction on the *Hamziyya*, explaining the origin and poetic structure of the Arabic and Swahili *Hamziyya*, a brief life story of their authors, short notes on and annotations of Swahili classical vocabulary, a preliminary chapter IV (f.3-8), which contains an essay with endnotes, and finally the Swahili Latin transliteration and English translation of the *tarjama*, though this is incomplete (f. 9-33). It should be remembered that in 1939, Hichens, relying on manuscript sources from the Lamu archipelago, published *al-Inkishafi: The Soul's Awakening*, which popularized that classical Swahili-Islamic poetical work.

4.3.3. The spiritual functions of *Hamziyya* manuscripts

Hamziyya manuscripts such as *Di* contain paratexts such as *waqfiyya* statements, which suggest that they are to be used for specific spiritual functions such as gaining *thawāb*, 'transcendental rewards' in the hereafter. There is a general belief that Islamic texts with *madīh* content have a special spiritual function and the ability to protect their readers against evil forces (Schimmel 1985).¹¹² For example, in my personal observation and from the supplementary information of the interviews, people in East Africa, especially those of Banī 'Alawy Šūfī *ṭarīqa*, recite *al-Burda* and *Hamziyya* verses on particular occasions such as prior to the *darsa* during the month of Ramadhan. This suggests that both poems are highly regarded for their *baraka*, healing and miraculous power.

Mutiso (2005:28) notes that:

Burudai au Qasidatu '1-Burda ni kasida ambayo inamtukuza Mtume Muhammadi na inasifika sana kwa vile inasemekana ya kwamba beti zake zina nguvu za

¹¹² For example, *al-Šifā'*, also known as *Kitāb al-Šifā' fī Ta'rīf Ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā'*, composed by a Maliki theologian- Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d.1149), was highly admired in medieval Islam for its spiritual power and was used as a talisman. Schimmel (1985:33) records the belief that, "if it is found in a house, this house will not suffer any harm, and a boat in which it is, will not drown [sic!]; when a sick person reads it or it is recited for him, God will restore his health."

kimiujiza. Kasida hii huimbiwa au kukaririwa mgonjwa mahututi. (The *Burda* or *qaṣīda al-Burda*, a panegyric that eulogizes the Prophet Muḥammad, is very highly regarded to the extent that it is said that its verses possess miraculous power. It is often sung or recited to an extremely ill person [for him to get cured].) Although it is the *al-Burda* poem that gets most attention in the analyses of Swahili scholars like Mutiso, the fact that Alawiyya followers recite both the *al-Burda* and the *Hamziyya* at ritual events suggests that both poems are equally valued.

In some Swahili communities, *Hamziyya* manuscripts are also used as talismans, though *al-Burda* manuscripts seem to be more frequently used for this (Aslan 2008).

Savage-Smith (1997) notes that the words “amulet” and “talisman” have been interpreted differently by various scholars and are sometimes used interchangeably (cf. also EI 2015), but argues that “amulets” are intended to be used permanently while “talismans” are used just once and then discarded. The Arabic terms for “talisman” and “amulets”, include *ṭilsām* ‘protection’ *ḥijāb* ‘veil’, *ḥirz* ‘treasure’, *ta’widh* ‘God’s protection’ *ḥamīlah* ‘carried upon [the person]’ and *tamīma* ‘a perfect ending’. According to EI (2015), the word “talisman” refers to

an inscription with astrological and other magic signs or an object covered with such inscriptions, especially also with figures from the zodiacal circle or the constellations and animals which may be used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye.

Both amulets and talismans have a similar function: they are intended to be worn or carried by a devotee to ensure their well-being by protecting that individual against evil forces. The objects that embody these miraculous powers are usually metal or leather envelopes containing handwritten texts, and may be either worn or hung on the walls of a residence (KKS 1981, Chiaki 2011).

In the Swahili cultural area, talismanic objects are known as *hirizi*, *talasimu* (cf. talisman, Chiaki 2011), and *kago* (Mohamed 2011, KKS 1981). Muslim communities do not generally condone the use of talismans, as there is a possibility that some people may believe that the talisman itself has the power to avert evil, instead of attributing this

power to God (Chiaki 2011) – the belief that spiritual power emanates from any source other than God is regarded in Islam as *shirk*, ‘associating God with other gods’ (see, for example, Qur’an 112). However, it is not the researcher’s intention to debate (in his work) the legitimacy of talismans in Islam. Rather, he refers to what *Hamziyya* scholars/informants have said about the ode or its manuscript being used as a talismanic object.

Some scholars hold that the *Hamziyya* manuscripts have not been used as *hirizi*. (p.c. Mwalimu Dini), while others disagree. Olali (2012:404), for example, argues that:

the *Hamziyya* itself is also viewed as a talisman (*hirizi*) and an amulet amongst the Swahili people of the Lamu archipelago. When you memorize the *Hamziyya* or have the handwritten copy of it, then you enjoy its talismanic property. You are protected against all kinds of evil. Even if you do not know how to read, you simply put it in your pocket.

Talisman items based on poetic texts, such as those of *al-Burda*, are usually produced in small sizes, for instance, 100 mm long by 850 mm wide (Daub 2016), although I have not myself come across *Hamziyya* manuscripts in such small sizes in the Swahili cultural area.

Another important spiritual function of *Hamziyya* manuscripts is their usage as mortmain codices. The owner may declare the manuscript *waqfiyya* property in order to seek *thawāb*, which are always considered in Islamic jurisprudence as perpetual. The individual who makes the *waqfiyya* declaration will obtain their full reward in the life hereafter (Sabiq 2007). Good examples of *Hamziyya* manuscripts that contain *waqfiyya* statements are *Ab*, *Ay* and *Di*. Such manuscripts may be used for research purposes, but they absolutely must not be sold, which is why the *waqfiyya* statement contains a Qur’anic verse (chapter 2:181), warning the users against selling, or even making any alteration whatsoever to the manuscript. Any income derived from its usage (for example, charging people to see it) should be channelled to the heirs or the beneficiaries, or given to charity.

4.4. Summary

In this chapter, the production and usage contexts of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts were examined. In the first section, the materials and instruments used in the producing the manuscripts were discussed (4.1). In the second section the ritual contexts and oral performances of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts were examined (4.2), focussing particularly on three chanting systems for the *Hamziyya* in East Africa:

- Bilingual. The *matn* and *tarjama* are chanted during the “pre-mawlid” events. No manuscript is used during performance (though in Pate, during the *mawlid Šarīf al-An’āmī*, the manuscript may be used only for reciting *du’a*). The chanting is done by a group of singers. Each singer recites his own section (cf. Olali 2012). The bilingual *Hamziyya* manuscripts are likely used to assist the memorization process.
- Arabic only. Prior to the *darsa* session in Ramadhan, a single reciter uses a monolingual (Arabic) *Hamziyya* manuscript or printed book. The chanting is usually performed in *Šūfī* ṭarīqa mosques in Lamu and Mombasa.
- Swahili only. Women chant *Hamziyya* in Swahili during specific rituals such as childbirth or *eddah* mourning (p.c. Mwalimu Dini). All chanting is done from memory. It is possible that a monolingual (Swahili) *Hamziyya* manuscript may be used as a memorization aid, but it cannot be ruled out that the memorization may be conducted via oral transmission, with no manuscript involved.

Other usages of the manuscripts were also elaborated. For instance, those with wide spacing were used for learning, as preliminary work towards making a commentary or glossary, and perhaps for popularizing Swahili classical poetry. A *Hamziyya* manuscript may also have spiritual functions such as being used as a talisman or as a *waqfiyya* mechanism to seek *baraka* in this life and *thawāb* hereafter.

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a general overview the main discussion of the work (5.1), a summary of the findings (5.2) and offers recommendations on Swahili manuscript studies in general and the *Hamziyya* in particular (5.3).

5.1. General overview of the work

The study examines a corpus of sixteen manuscripts of a canonical text of Swahili Islamic literature - the *qaṣīda Hamziyya (Hamziyya)* ‘a panegyric poem that praises Prophet Muḥammad’. The overall aim is to investigate and analyse the manuscriptological features of *Hamziyya* manuscripts and link them to their usages and functions in Swahili-Islamic society.

The *Hamziyya* was originally composed by the Egyptian Ṣūfī cleric; Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Būṣīrī (1212-1294) and poetically rendered into Swahili by Šayḥ ‘Aydarūs b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Ali b. Šayḥ Abū Bakr b. Sālīm of Lamu, East Africa, 1749 The Swahili *Hamziyya* of ‘Aydarūs seems to be a popular¹¹³ poetic version as it features in divergent forms in the Swahili manuscript culture. The other Swahili *Hamziyya* versions; Chimwini and Tumbatu, which were obtained from Barawa, Somalia and Tumbatu Island, Tanzania, respectively, are discussed in chapter III (see also 5.1.6).

The *Hamziyya* of ‘Aydarūs version (AV) constitutes the majority of the manuscripts in the corpus (see, Chapter II). This was influenced by the way the researcher collected his data during fieldwork in East Africa and how he gained access to *Hamziyya* manuscripts’ images in United Kingdom, Germany, Oman and Somalia.

The *Hamziyya* plays a significant role, even today, in the literary tradition and religious life of the Swahili people, especially the followers of Banī ‘Alawī Ṣūfī ‘mystical’ order. For example, it is regularly chanted prior to a *darsa* ‘lecture’ on *tafsīr* ‘exegeses of the Qur’an during the holy month of Ramadhan, and performed during the *mawlid* ‘marking

¹¹³ A number of Swahili scholars, such as Hichens (1936), Knappert (1968), Mutiso (2005) and Olali (2012), have worked on the *tarjama* of ‘Aydarūs’ texts extensively (see, chapters II and III).

the birth of the Prophet' festivals where it is sung in veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is also performed during Swahili rite of passage ceremonies; for instance, in Pate Island, women chant it during childbirth (PC: Mwalimu Dini) and male counterparts popularly known as *Mabingwa wa Pate* 'the champions of Pate' chant it during wedding ceremonies (Olali 2012). Apart from the *Hamziyya* featuring in ceremonial context, there is evidence of Swahili scholarly engagement with its text, which goes beyond recitation and which seems to be reflected in manuscript renderings of different kinds (see Chapter III).

Previous studies focus on "deciphering" the *Hamziyya* along with a translation from Swahili into English (see, Hichens 1936, Knappert 1968, both only partially complete in this respect), the explanation of its contents (Mutiso 2005), and the role of the *Hamziyya* singers in the oral performances during the *mawlid* celebrations in Lamu (Olali 2012). Existing philological analyses of *Hamziyya* are mostly restricted to the texts in each manuscript, and focus on the lexical features and linguistic peculiarities of the Swahili variety used (Mkelle 1976, Mutiso 2005, Olali 2012). Studies on the *Hamziyya* manuscripts' layout and physical features which link the manuscripts and their usages are lacking. This work tries to address the problem by mainly looking at the divergent features of *Hamziyya* manuscripts and relating them to their possible usages and functions (see chapter III and IV).

Another aspect concerns the physical and material dimensions of the manuscripts. This is an area that enables us to understand the physical properties of the manuscripts in question and how they were produced. By studying the physical properties of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts, we get some idea of how manuscripts were produced in Swahili culture. The machines used to study the manuscripts, such as the Dino-Lite microscope and XRF-ELIO equipment provided by the CSMC, plus the interviews conducted on the East Africa coast, were very helpful in examining the physical properties of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts, and related topics such as papers, pens, ink solutions and binding materials. Another key aspect is the long overdue issue of the "authentic" date of Ms. Ay, which remains unresolved by Swahili scholars (Hichens 1934, Knappert 1968, Mutiso 2005,

Olali 2012). This study shows that the colophon date of Ms. Ay has likely been adjusted, and that the date most probably ought to read 1840 instead of 1793.

Generally, the study confirms that the *Hamziyya* manuscripts' texts are characterized by complex narrative styles and language representations: for example, they can be in prose or poetry (or a mixture of both), monolingual (i.e., in Swahili only) or bilingual (i.e., either in Arabic and Swahili or English and Swahili). The layout of the texts also varies considerably: they can be narrowly or widely spaced and in a single column or two columns (Chapter III). The Swahili scholars and scribes explicated the original Arabic *Hamziyya* by producing poetic renditions in Swahili. Due to this, the *Hamziyya* text was “transformed” over a period so that it was augmented in a variety of ways: for example, a *Hamziyya* glossary (i.e., authored by al-Beyḍ), *Hamziyya tarājīm* (poetic renditions by ‘Aydarūs, al-Amūdy and Shego) and *Hamziyya* Arabic and Swahili commentaries (e.g., Al-Amawy and Nabahany, respectively). Depending on the context of their usage in oral practices and scholarly engagements on its content, the *Hamziyya* manuscripts are sometimes produced as single text manuscripts (STM) and sometimes as multiple text manuscripts (MTM). Their divergent layout features are discussed in chapter III (3.3).

The study suggests that the Arabic-Islamic manuscript culture influenced and developed the Swahili manuscript culture. Looking at the codicological and palaeographical features of *Hamziyya* manuscripts, both manuscript cultures have much in common. The Swahili, for instance, borrowed the Arabic writing system (Maw 1981), manuscript-related terminologies such as *kalamu* (Ar. *qalam*) ‘pen’ and *khati*¹¹⁴ (Ar. *ḥāṭ*) ‘handwriting’, produced poetic versions based on Arabic-Islamic originals, such as *al-Burda*, *Bānat Su’ād* and *Tabāraka* (cf. Knappert 1971), and used similar binding techniques (cf. Gacek 2009) and decorative styles, for example, the inverted triangular colophon or making an inverted trapezoid shape (Cf. Déroche 2005). There are, however, some differences, based on the manifestation of *Hamziyya* manuscripts, between the Arabic and Swahili manuscript cultures. For instance, the Swahili, as far as the *Hamziyya* manuscripts (such

¹¹⁴ The term *khati* (in Swahili) can also mean ‘document’, or ‘manuscripts’ for example, when one says, “*Nimepata khati za kale*” it means, ‘I have found some old documents or manuscripts’.

as *Ab*, *Ay*, and *Di*) are concerned, have added their own poetic prologue, *tarājīm* and epilogue verses in Swahili, which are not part of the original Arabic text (*matn*).

The *Hamziyya* prologue (Swahili) and epilogue (*Ay* and *Am*) (Chapter III) are usually in verse, while in the Arabic manuscript culture the prologue (also known as *dībājah* or *fātiḥah*) and the epilogue (the *ḥātimah*, *iḥtitām*) are usually in prose (Gacek 2009:80).

The study also sheds light on the kind of performances linked with the *Hamziyya* manuscripts and whether the manuscripts are involved directly to these occasions or are used as tools for the preparation of the oral performances (cf. Chapter IV). The *Hamziyya* manuscripts play an important role in the Swahili Islamic tradition, not only in the context of ceremonial activities, teaching and learning, but also in seeking *baraka* ‘blessing powers’ and perpetual *thawāb* ‘transcendental rewards’.

5.1.1. The scripts and languages of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts

The study shows that the *Hamziyya* manuscripts in general contain a variety of scripts and languages. Three languages appear in the corpus of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts in three combinations: i) Arabic and Swahili (e.g., *Ay*), ii) Swahili and English (e.g., *Hi*) and iii) Swahili only (e.g., *Qa*). Scripts appear in three combinations: i) Arabic script and Swahilo-Arabic Scripts (e.g., *Ay*, *Ab*, *Am*, *Di*, *Hu* and *Ka*), ii) Swahilo-Latin scripts only (e.g., *Nc* and *Nd*) and iii) Latin script and Swahilo-Latin scripts (e.g., *Hi*).

In the corpus, there are no *Hamziyya* manuscripts produced with the combination of Arabic and Latin script. The bilingual *Hamziyya* manuscripts written in Arabic and Swahilo-Arabic scripts constitute the majority of the corpus (cf. Chapter III). Only three manuscripts (*Hi*, *Nc* and *Nd*), which are very recently produced, are written in Latin script (Chapter III). The Latin script was introduced during the colonial period from the 1890s on (Maw 1981), and it is currently the most widely-used script in the East African region.

Nowadays in the Swahili cultural area, few individuals still write in Swahilo-Arabic script. The contemporary ones I personally interacted with, such as Mwalimu Dini (d. 2016) and Sheikh Nabahany (d. 2017) have recently passed away. The remaining few, such as Ustadh MAU and Ustadh Kame, prefer to write in Arabic and Swahilo-Arabic script especially when writing poetry. I used to see Sheikh Nabahany writing Swahili poetry in Swahilo-Latin script, but this act was meant to facilitate the reading of his Swahili works in Latin script. The Latin and Swahilo-Latin script seem to be frequently used today even when writing Swahili-Islamic poetry due to the fact that the western education system uses Latin script and has influenced the younger generation.

Another factor is the omission of the original Arabic texts and their scripts from intellectual works produced for a modern audience. In the *Hamziyya* corpus, the Arabic original text (i.e., the *matn*), for instance in *Hi*, *Nd* and *Nc*, is completely ignored. Only the *tarjama* text, is transliterated. It seems that the aim of producing texts in Latin script is to popularize the *Hamziyya* contents to those audiences who cannot read Swahili in Arabic script, and these are the majority today. The hope is presumably that such works will enjoy a wider readership, both nationally and internationally.

Unfortunately, my 2015 fieldwork showed that bilingual (Arabic, Swahili) and monolingual Swahili manuscripts written in Swahilo-Arabic script are very rare. Many have deteriorated, or been lost, sold or destroyed (see also Samsom 2014). The fear is that over time Swahili manuscripts using Swahilo-Arabic script may become extinct. The older Swahili generation prefers to use both languages (Arabic and Swahili) when writing religious texts. Arabic was highly valued as the language of Islam and the Prophet. To date, the Qur'ān *tafsīr* 'exegesis' in Swahili, which is in wide circulation in East Africa, such as the *Qur'an Takatifu* of Šayḥ al-Farsy (1974) includes both texts: the original Arabic and its Swahili translation.

5.1.2. The text genres of the corpus

The study reveals that the Swahili *Hamziyya* manuscripts in the corpus contain poetic and prose texts in three combinations: (i) poetic text(s) only, (ii) mixed poetic plus prose text(s) and (iii) prose text(s) only (cf. 3.3). The manuscripts containing poetic texts only are *Ab*, *Af*, *Ay*, *Ba*, *Di*, *Sa*, *Ka*, and *Ko*, while *Hu* and *Nc* have mixed narrative styles, i.e., contain both poetic and prose texts. *Be* is a word list, the only manuscript in “prose”. Here, the word “prose” is used loosely, because the Arabic words from the text and their Swahili equivalents are not expressed in complete sentences. The overall impression is that Swahili manuscript culture engaged in producing manuscripts of divergent codicological design for multi-purpose functions. For instance, the mainly poetical ones are used in oral performances, while the ones in prose are used for intellectual discourse where a transfer of knowledge is an integral part of the culture.

5.1.3. The issue of STMs and MTMs

The study categorizes the manuscripts of the corpus into Single Text Manuscripts (STM) and Multiple Text Manuscripts (MTM) (Chapter III). *Ab*, *Di*, *Hi*, *Ka* and *Nc* are categorized as MTMs, and *Af*, *Am*, *Ay*, *Ba*, *Hu*, *Ko*, *Nd*, *Qa*, *Sa* and *Se* as STMs.

The MTMs (Ms. *Ab*, *Di*, *Hi*, *Ka* and *Nc*) have more than one text and they actually fit very well the definition of an MTM (cf. 1.2.).

Some *Hamziyya* manuscripts, such as *Hu*, have paratexts such as the title, *ḥawāšīn*, *tamalluk*, *waqfiyya* statements and the copyist’s colophon (cf. 1.2.).

The STMs have a variety of combinations of textual units. They can be subdivided into three groups; i) the *Hamziyya* that contains the *matn* interlinearised with *tarjama* (e.g., *Ay*, *Am*, *Ba*, *Sa*, and *Ko*, ii) the *mu’jam* ‘glossary’ text (*Be*), which contains a word list only, and iii) the monolingual *Hamziyya* which may either contain the *matn* (e.g., *Hu*) or the *tarjama* only (e.g., *Se*, *Qa*).

Classifying some *Hamziyya* manuscripts into STMs or MTMs can be problematic, especially those combining the *matn* and the *tarjama*, such as *Ay*, *Ab*, *Di*, *Ka* and *Di*. However, since the combination of these textual components under “one roof” seems to have been planned by the scribe prior to the production of the *Hamziyya* manuscript (cf. Chapter III), it can be argued that the bilingual *Hamziyya* verses that merge the *matn* and the *tarjama* verses occupy separate but intertwined space in the textual layout, and this is the approach adopted here.

Those *Hamziyya* manuscripts, such as *Hi*, *Hu* and *Nc*, which have independent textual units that are not intertwined, seem to be related to academic activities such as teaching and learning. In contrast, *Hamziyya* bilingual manuscripts (i.e., Arabic and Swahili) with intertwined textual units are usually used for chanting at oral performances such as the *twari la ndiya* ‘stick dance’, whereby the two textual units are sung alternately and considered as one text by the singers. Again, such codicological divergencies depict the development of STMs to MTMs where the Swahili manuscript culture initially concentrated on *Hamziyya* in Arabic with a Swahili poetic rendition. This led to the production of manuscripts in Swahilo-Latin, such as the rendering the *tarjama* into English translation and giving a commentary and a background of its composition. At a certain point of time, particularly during the colonial period, Swahili foreign scholars began to take an important role in studying manuscripts and making efforts to locate further Swahili manuscripts. They also began researching issues like the production of the *Hamziyya* and adding commentaries and information about the authors.

5.1.4. The layout of the *Hamziyya* manuscripts

The *Hamziyya* manuscripts are usually skilfully produced by their scribes and contain a variety of designs. The layout may be narrowly spaced or widely spaced, decorations such as flower figures to mark the caesura may be inserted, parallel lines may set off the columns, and additional interlinear text may be interpolated within the stanzas, such as *ḥawāšīn* (cf. Chapter III). Generally, manuscript studies show a correlation between the

layout and usages of *Hamziyya* manuscripts in Arabic-Islamic poetic manuscripts (Daub 2016).

The arrangement of the components in the *Hamziyya* bilingual (Arabic, Swahili) manuscripts is systematic, i.e., the texts are organized in an interlinear manner, narrowly spaced and in a two-column layout. The two “columns” are in fact “pseudo-columns”, because the reading is from the right (of a given half-line) to the left side (of a subsequent half-line) to complete a stanza (cf. Chapter III). This layout of *Hamziyya* bilingual verses appears in the majority of the manuscripts in the corpus and it can be assumed that they were initially produced in this form, which is therefore taken here to be the ‘standard’ form. It was initiated in the Swahili cultural area by poets such as ‘Aydarūs and Al-Amūdy, no doubt influenced by the fact that a number of other canonical poetic texts such as *al-Burda*, *Tabāraka*, and *Bānat Su’ād* (all of them poems that eulogize the Prophet) were also produced in this bilingual interlinear system. Moreover, all of these bilingual poems are chanted in the same way as the *Hamziyya* bilingual manuscripts. In Pate, for instance, after *taraweḥ* prayers, a bilingual *tabāraka* manuscript is used for chanting in the same way as the *Hamziyya* bilingual one, demonstrating that the textual layout may be related to the role of the manuscript in the art of chanting.

The symbols for textual dividers relate to the language of the manuscript: the *intahā*, flowers, and parallel lines are only found in those texts written with Arabic script (see chapter III, section 3.6, also, cf.; Gacek 2009), meaning that *Hamziyya* manuscripts written in Arabic script and those written in Latin script do not share a common page layout. *Hamziyya* manuscripts in Latin script do not have caesura marks or textual dividers to form a two-column system. Each hemistich is simply placed on its own row and no decorations appear on the text. The inclusion of textual dividers in Swahili *Hamziyya* manuscripts in Arabic script is evidence that the Swahili copyists are very aware of the Arabic–Islamic manuscripts’ traditions and seek to replicate them as far as possible, for instance, by using symbols such as *intahā* when marking the caesura at the end of an Arabic or Swahili hemistich.

The caesura marks are not only inserted to mark the end of a hemistich but are also meant to guide the recitation and memorization of a given text (Daub 2016). For example, the caesura marks in the old *Hamziyya* manuscripts written with Arabic script, such as *Ay*, *Ab* and *Ka*, may have been used to assist readers to identify the borders of the hemistichs and guide their memorization process. Since the *Hamziyya* manuscripts written with Swahilo-Latin script, such as *Nc* and *Nd*, do not have decorations or caesura symbols., they may have been used for teaching and popularizing the Swahili *Hamziyya* text – perhaps the commentators did not see the need to imitate Arabic-Islamic caesura marks in their manuscripts because they were not meant for oral performances or memorization. We can further postulate that the widely spaced *Hamziyya* manuscripts with copious annotations, such as *Ay* and *Hu*, are used for teaching and learning – it is likely that students or teachers inserted them during lessons or private study (cf. Chapter IV).

5.1.5. The textual components of *Hamziyya* manuscripts

The *Hamziyya* manuscripts contain specific textual components (see Chapter III). In the ‘Aydarūs version (AV), for example, a number of textual components are combined in a given manuscript: i.e., the title of the text (in Arabic), the *basmalah* (in Arabic), the poetic prologue (Swahili), the *matn* (Arabic), the *tarjama* (Swahili), the poetic epilogue (Swahili) and copyist’s colophon (Arabic). In addition, we may also have, in a given *Hamziyya* manuscript, paratextual components such as *tamalluk*, *waqfiyya* statements and genealogy (all of which are in Arabic) (cf. Chapter III).

The Chimwini (CV) and Tumbatu (TV) versions lack the prologue and epilogue stanzas (see also Chapter III) and include fewer components such as paratexts like the title of the codex and *basmalah* respectively. This suggests that the Swahili poetic translators, especially ‘Aydarūs, not only translated the *matn*, but added their own textual components such as the prologue and epilogue verses (cf. Chapter III). This does not mean that the composers of CV and TV were not dedicated enough to add paratexts, but

rather than the exemplars we have are incomplete, and that the putative complete versions may have contained codicological features similar to the AV one. This tradition of adding a prologue and epilogue seems to be unique in the Swahili manuscript culture. The classical *qaṣā'id* 'odes' in the Arabic-Islamic culture do not have prologue and epilogue verses. Instead, the early 7th century *qaṣā'id* begin with *nasīb* 'amatory' and may end up in *riḥā* 'elegy' verses (Sperl & Shackleton 1996, Tibrīzī 2010).

5.1.6. The Swahili *Hamziyya tarājīm* and their structures

The study suggests that the tradition of having more than one Swahili translation, poetic rendition and/or commentary based on classical Arabic texts is common in Swahili society (Knappert 1971). As mentioned earlier the *matn* has been independently translated into three *tarājīm*: 'Aydarūs (AV), Chimwini (CV) and Tumbatu (TV) (see also Chapter III).

The poetic structures of the three versions differ in terms of the number of half-lines (*vipande*) and syllables (*mizani*) per stanza (*ubeti*). The AV contains two *vipande* per *ubeti* while the TV and CV have four. The CV and TV comprise 60 syllables per *ubeti* and are twice as long as the AV, which contains 30 syllables per *ubeti*. The AV *tarjama* is thus the closest poetic rendition to the *matn* in terms of its half-line layout. Since it takes more words in Swahili to render the content of an Arabic original text, this is probably the reason why the CV and TV were composed in this way. It could also be the reason why the AV's language is often difficult to understand, since the composer had to constrain the number of words used. Another reason for the length of the CV and TV may be that their composers wanted to add their own interpretations and elaborations to the original text.

The study shows that the Swahili composers have introduced considerable innovations on their rhyming schemes. The Arabic rhyme is hamza and it is difficult to end a line with hamza in Swahili as it has few equivalents that it can rhyme with. The nearest rhyme would be 'aa', and the number of Swahili words ending in that way would be insufficient

to render a poem of more than four hundred stanzas. To address this difficulty, the Swahili composers turned to a rhyme of *mīm*, so in fact the AV and TV versions would be called *mimiyya* poems in Arabic prosodic terms. The AV rhyming scheme, for instance, can symbolically be shown as *xy* and the TV as *aaay, bbby, cccy* and so on. Both poems have a master rhyme (*kina cha kikomo*) of *ma* in the y position, and this remains constant throughout the poem. However, the CV took a different approach, dropping the master rhyme entirely, and using a stanza-based rhyming pattern *aaaa, bbbb, cccc*, and so on.

The study also reveals that the AV has been transmitted to various regions along the East African coast. The bilingual *Hamziyya* (AV) version manuscripts seem to be the most widely-distributed, with examples from Mombasa, Mambrui, Ndaui, Siyu, Pate, Lamu Kenya and Zanzibar ¹¹⁵ (Chapter III). Many of these manuscripts are in international libraries, to which they were probably sent for preservation or research purposes (Chapter III). Further work on the dissemination networks by which these manuscripts made their way to their current locations would be worthwhile.

5.1.7. The production of the manuscripts

The Swahili use both local resources and imported materials to produce their manuscripts (cf. Hichens 1934, Digby 1975, Allen 1981, Chapter IV, 4.1.4). Watermarked paper was imported from Syria, India, and Europe. A *Hamziyya* codex can have both imported and locally-made paper in it. A good example is the 19th century manuscript *Ay*, which contains more locally-made than imported paper (cf. Hichens 1934). Three of *Ay*'s folios 35, 43 and 47 are products of the Giovanni firm from Italy – they bear the *tre-lune* and the moon-face-in-shield symbols. This suggests that imported paper was rare at that point, so the Swahili scribes relied more on locally-made papers (cf. Chapter IV, section 4.1.4.3). Older manuscripts (e.g., *Ay* and *Am*) used leather as a binding material, but more recent manuscripts (e.g., *Be*, *Ko*, and *Nc*) are written in modern note-books, which are usually imported from China.

¹¹⁵ *Am* was originally written in Zanzibar before being taken to Oman.

Based on the micrograph images of the Dino-Lite microscope, the study shows that the inks in older manuscripts such as *Ay* and *Di* were probably produced locally, since they contain a mixture of carbon and iron substances, a common ink solution used for centuries in Swahili society in writing manuscripts (p.c.: Abdul Rahman Saggaf. See also Chapter IV). The inks of more recent manuscripts, such as *Nd*, *Nc* and *Ko*, were produced from modern industrial firms and contain melanin (Chapter III). This indicates a shift from using locally-manufactured inks to modern industrially-produced ones, which are easily available in local shops (cf. 4.1.4.2). The practice of producing local pens, inks and paper is almost extinct in the Swahili cultural area today. Most of those skilled in the practice have passed away and did not teach the techniques to the younger generations, who seem to be less interested in the subject anyway.

The study provides new information in relation to the debate on the dating of *Ay* (cf. Chapter III, Knappert 1968:55). The material analysis of its inks, conducted in SOAS in 2015, and Dino-Lite micrograph images show that the paper fibres on the erased area are highly damaged (see Figure 40), revealing that the date in its colophon has been adjusted to replace the Arabic symbol for five (٥) with a zero (٠) (cf. 4.1.5), presumably because the copyist made an error and then corrected himself. This suggests that the manuscript is fifty years younger than the Hichens' dating (cf. Knappert 1968), and further evidence for this is found on the manuscript's watermarked paper: the *tre-lune* (folios 35 and 43) and the moon-face-in-shield symbol (folio 47) were produced by Giovanni in the 1820s (cf. 4.1.4.3), which means that they can have been imported into the East African region no earlier than 1820. *Ay*, therefore, cannot be dated to older than 1820, and the original colophon date should probably read 14th *Dhū-al-ḥijjah* 1257 AH/ 27th January 1842 instead of 14th *Dhū-al-ḥijja*, 1207 AH / 23rd July 1793.

5.1.8. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts and their possible usages

The synoptic analysis of all material evidence in *Hamziyya* manuscripts allows us to infer a variety of usages from the general codicological features such as page layout (cf. Chapter IV). The usages and functions of the sixteen *Hamziyya* manuscripts can be

grouped into three main categories, i.e., (i) aids for chanting and tools for the preparation in oral performances (5.1.8.1), (ii) educational tools or aids for teaching and learning (5.1.8.2) and (iii) properties for gaining perpetual spiritual benefits (5.1.8.3). Since a manuscript may have multiple functions which may cause overlaps in the categorization, the following sub-sections list the probable usage(s) of every *Hamziyya* manuscript or group of manuscripts based on layout and design.

5.1.8.1. *Hamziyya* manuscripts as chanting aids and tools for the preparation of oral performances

Ab, *Ay*, *Ba*, *Di*, *Ka*, *Ko* and *Sa* have been used to memorise the text prior to the oral performances such as the *mawlid*, *ziyara* ritual, and the *twari la ndiya* ‘stick dance’ during wedding ceremonies in the Swahili cultural area. The manuscripts contain a bilingual interlinear *Hamziyya* and use the “standard” layout of two columns. They also contain a range of specific components, such as *basmalah* (Arabic), prologue (Swahili) verses, the *Hamziyya* bilingual (Arabic, Swahili) verses, epilogue (Swahili) verses and copyist’s colophon (in Arabic) (cf. Chapter III). This is particularly notable in the case of those old manuscripts, such as *Ay*, *Ab*, *Di* and *Ka*, accessed in the Lamu archipelago and containing the ‘Aydarūs version (AV).

These *Hamziyya* manuscripts have been used as master copies too, from which copies may be taken for individuals who wish to memorise a specific section. The chief performer usually writes for co-singers a few (i.e., ten to fifteen) *Hamziyya* verses in the same bilingual layout arrangement on separate loose sheets. The singers take away the sheets and memorize the verses.

Ko, which contains the Tumbatu version (TV), has also been used as a master copy. The manuscript components differ from the ‘Aydarūs tradition (cf. Chapter III) – for instance, it has no Swahili prologue or epilogue verses. The components are arranged in a specific

sequence: the title (Arabic), then the first three *taḥmīs* (Arabic) lines of Al-‘Amrī (d.1861) and finally the *Hamziyya* bilingual (Arabic, Swahili TV) verses. The *taḥmīs* stanzas form a chorus, and the rest of the text is chanted bilingually.

Af has been used for the recitation of *Hamziyya* in Arabic and Swahili (AV) in the oral performances (p.c. Abūdi), and contains the *Hamziyya taḥmīs* and the *tarjama* (AV) verses (see also Chapter III).

Qa (AV) and *Se* (CV) have been used by women especially for the preparation of oral performances. In Pate, for instance, women chant the *Hamziyya tarjama* (AV) only when a woman is in labour pain and during a widow’s *eddah* ‘mourning waiting period’ for seeking God’s blessing powers and comforting them. Both manuscripts are narrowly spaced and are in two columns. *Se* contains parallel lines at the center of the leaves that divide the columns, while *Qa* has empty spaces between the columns. It is possible that *Se* has also been used for chanting, memorization and private reading, but gathering further information about Islamic cultural practices in Barawa was impossible for security reasons.

5.1.8.2. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts as educational aids or tools for teaching and learning

Am has most probably been used in studying Swahili classical poetry, especially for advanced students who understand Arabic but are less acquainted with Swahili. This deduction is based on the fact that it contains a numerous Arabic *ḥawāšīn* explaining Swahili words in the *tarjama* (AV). The targeted students were possibly the family members of the Sultan of Zanzibar, because the owner of the manuscript, Al-Amawy, interacted with them on a frequent basis (cf. Hoffman 2006). The manuscript also displays characteristics suggesting that it was intended for teaching and learning: its beautiful leather jacket to sustain wear and tear, the widely-spaced verses, and the ample space devoted to the *ḥawāšīn* explaining the *matn*’s lexicon. It is likely that Al-Amawy inserted these annotations when preparing for a lecture. Another indication that the

manuscript was commissioned by the Omani rulers is the fact that it is currently preserved in Muscat, Oman (cf. Chapter III), suggesting that the Omani authorities transferred it there after Al-Amawy's demise.

Be has been used as a *mu'jīm* manuscript for those students studying classical Arabic poetic literature, especially in the institutions of higher learning. The manuscript layout elements contain Arabic words extracted sequentially from the *matn*, paired with their Swahili equivalents. Some words are explained with short phrases in Swahili (see Chapter III). The beginning of each column contains serial numbers to facilitate easy cross-referencing of the word-pairs. The author of the manuscript, *Sayyid* al-Beyḍ (d. 2013), was the principal of Madrassa al-Nūr al-Islamiyya, Mambrui, and very probably used the manuscript to teach the *Hamziyya* (AV) in his *madrasa*.

Hu may have been used as an instructional manual to study Arabic classical poetry, or even as a preliminary commentary work. The manuscript is widely-spaced and contains the *matn* and numerous *ḥawāšīn* in Arabic and Swahili fitted into empty spaces besides the *matn*. It is not clear whether a teacher or a student inserted the *ḥawāšīn*, possibly with the intention of compiling a commentary on the *matn*, which is a common practice, in Islamic manuscript culture, particularly when the glosses provide substantial notes that can be compiled into a book (cf. Blecher 2017).

Nc has been used to teach Swahili classical literature, and may also have been used as a preliminary commentary on the *tarjama*, with the aim of popularising the Swahili classical poetic work. The expected users were probably Swahili scholars or students interested in Swahili-Islamic classical poetry. *Nc* contains the *tarjama* (AV), and a *šarḥ*, which is in prose and briefly explains each stanza in modern (standard) Swahili. The work is painstakingly written in capital letters in Swahili-Latin script.

Nd is a draft of *Nc* which contains the complete *tarjama* (*AV*), in loose foolscap, with *hawāšīn* giving equivalents for the *tarjama*'s words in modern (standard) Swahili. The loose foolscap papers were actually found inserted in the *Nc* manuscript during fieldwork. Sheikh Nabahany authored both works.

Hi is a preliminary/draft of an academic work meant to popularize Swahili-Islamic literature. The expected readers are Swahili scholars conversant with English. This deduction is based on the fact that the manuscript contains introductory notes on the *Hamziyya*, titled "Chapter IV", which are clearly a draft for a planned book. The chapter contains notes and endnotes, a transliteration of the *tarjama* (95 out of 481 verses) and an English translation for the first 15 lines. The author, Hichens, published *al-Inkishafi*, a book on Swahili-Islamic classical poetry in 1939, basing the work on Swahili manuscripts in Arabic script accessed in Pate. Therefore, it is likely that he planned a similar publication on the *Hamziyya*.

5.1.8.3. The *Hamziyya* manuscripts as properties for gaining spiritual benefits

Some manuscripts, such as *Ab* and *Di*, may have multiple functions: apart from the purposes mentioned above, they have also been used to gain perpetual spiritual benefits, such as *thawāb* 'transcendental rewards' by reason of the fact that they contain *waqfiyya* statements in their codices. In Islamic law, a *waqfiyya* property is for mortmain purpose only, and the owners get perpetual *thawāb* from its continued usage by the *Ummah* 'Islamic community'.¹¹⁶

Di contains a *nasb* 'genealogy' statement, showing the relationship of the manuscript's owner and the Prophet, and indicating that the listed owners on the *waqfiyya* statement are the legal beneficiaries. The genealogy statement plays an important role in confirming the status of the manuscript as an endowment property.

¹¹⁶ It is not easy to say which function or usage is the priority here, using the manuscripts (*Ab* and *Di*) as tools for the preparation of oral performances, or gaining perpetual *thawāb* benefits hereafter. It all depends on the intention (*al-niyyah*) of the owner. We can assume that both are equally important, since the singers as well as the custodian of the manuscripts, will receive transcendental rewards.

5.2. Main findings

New findings on Swahili manuscript culture in this study include:

- Swahili formulated and developed their own manuscript culture, though they borrowed ideas from the Islamic, and Arabic manuscript culture as well.
- The production of the divergent codicological manuscripts reflects variation in their usages. In this regard one text was produced in many forms, such as *matn* with *tarjama*, *matn* with annotations, *tarjama* with a Swahili commentary and many more combinations of text (cf. Chapter III).
- Some manuscripts were produced for transfer of knowledge, healing, seeking *baraka* and others for oral performances such as marking the birth of the Prophet and rituals.
- The Swahili produced manuscripts in a variety of forms and structures such as a single text (especially the older ones) and in a multiple textual form (especially the recent ones).
- The Swahili also inserted paratexts in both types of manuscripts: in verse and prose to record their names or related details, i.e., authors, composers and copyists and even heirs.
- The Swahili innovated in their manuscript culture by deviating from Arabic textual forms: applying their own rhyming schemes, adding Swahili translation on a well-known text, inventing their own metric units in poetic lines, creating their own colophons and even taking a *tahmīs* poem and putting a *tarjama* on its *matn* turning it into a seven-half-line poem. They also invented their own Swahili vocabulary on poetry such as *vina*, *mizani* and *mshororo* or *kibwagizo*. All these shows their lively creativity on the Swahili manuscript culture.
- The Swahili invented their own writing tools, materials and inks from locally available resources. They manufactured and bound their own books. This

contributed to the longer-term survival of the Swahili manuscript culture and the production of manuscripts in East Africa.

- The Swahili created their own orthographic symbols based on Arabic script by modifying some of the Arabic letters to accommodate sounds, such as *p*, *ch*, and *v* which are not found in Arabic script.

5.3. Recommendations

5.3.1. Recommendations for the *Hamziyya* manuscripts

Firstly, the researcher recommends a critical text edition based on the seven manuscripts (*Ab*, *Af*, *Am*, *Ay*, *Di*, *Ka*, and *Sa*), which contain the *Hamziyya matn* and the *AV tarjama* (Appendix 2) to this study is an initial offering in this regard). This work would allow us to have a full reconstruction of the ‘Aydarūs’ “standard” version. It is also important to study the orthography of the manuscripts and any variation in their linguistic aspects. For instance, we may wish to compare the representation of the Kingozi, Kiamu and Kimvita dialects in the manuscripts, or examine how the Kingozi dialect of a specific manuscript differs from modern standard Swahili.

Secondly, further research on CV and TV is recommended, which might include further fieldwork to secure full or more digital images of the extant manuscripts, and additional interviews to supplement existing information about their usage. Once sufficient data has been collected, critical text editions can then be produced. In turn, this would allow comparison of the codicological and palaeographical features of CV and TV divergent textual forms (for instance, *mu’jim*, *tahmīs*, *hawāšīn* and *šarḥ* texts), to be compared with the AV. This would contribute to the development of greater insights into Swahili manuscript culture.

Thirdly, the researcher recommends the editing for publication of *Be* and *Nc*, subject to permission from the owner's heirs. This would provide further texts of value to Swahili-Islamic studies.

5.3.2. Recommendations for Swahili manuscript studies

Firstly, there is an urgent need to digitize all Swahili manuscripts in public collections or research institutions, and ideally also those in private individuals' collections. This would make research work on Swahili manuscripts much easier since a digitized image can be accessed from anywhere. There is also a need to train teams to handle, preserve and digitize the manuscripts. These teams could be sent to various parts of the East African region to digitize the collections and train local people on how to preserve the manuscripts. The images can then be stored in a digital repository, e.g., at the University of Hamburg (UHH) or at the Center for the Studies of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Hamburg, Germany.

Secondly, the researcher recommends the establishment of a Swahili Manuscript Culture department in one of the Kenyan universities such as Pwani University, Kilifi, Kenya, which might collaborate with the African Studies department in the UHH and the CSMC, Hamburg. The aims would include encouraging the study of Swahili manuscripts, reviving the use of the Swahili-Arabic script, and creating awareness of these cultural resources in society at large. The universities might also offer new courses on Swahili-Islamic manuscript studies and host student exchange programs allowing students from abroad to visit an East African university to study for at least a semester, and vice versa.

Thirdly, the researcher encourages further use and development of the *Andika!* software (Donnelly 2020). *Andika!* is based on the view that digitised versions of manuscripts that are just scans (images) are only a first step in preserving and studying these cultural artefacts, and that for full analysis (things like looking at Swahili Bantu-derived

vocabulary versus Arabic-derived vocabulary, use of specific grammatical elements, distribution of standard formulae, etc) we need a fully digitised version where each letter of the text can be accessed individually.

Word processor systems combine the content and the layout, but *Andika!* separates them by storing the content in a database, with layout chosen when generating a pdf of the text. Although this means that it is only the database version of the content that can be edited, not the pdf version, it also means that the content can be presented in a variety of formats by selecting layout options to the 5-second compile process, while in word processor systems you may have to retype or heavily edit the entire text all over again.

Some examples of layout changes that are simple in *Andika!* Are: converting from one half-line of poetry per layout line to two, and vice versa; showing or not showing transcriptions in Roman script (and switching between a close transcription of the Arabo-Swahili content and a standard Swahili transcription); moving from footnotes to endnotes and vice versa for editorial annotations and emendations; colouring different layers or components of the text, and so on. Similar layout changes can be done in a word processor, but may take a significant amount of editing time. Moreover, if a change is made to the layout and then another one is required, the editing time may have to be doubled.

An additional benefit is that *Andika!* generates transcriptions of the Arabo-Swahili content automatically – these may need to be edited, but it is still significantly faster than typing them in from scratch in a word-processor. Finally, since the standard output from *Andika!* is pdf, this will look the same on any platform, and does not suffer from the often mystifying changes in layout that can occur in a word processor document where elements of the content shift around due to machine-generated pagination changes.

Finally, the researcher recommends further studies on the already identified Swahili manuscripts whose images are in the CSMC digital repository bank, including, but not limited to, the *tafsīr* ‘exegesis’, *tenzi* ‘epics’, *al-Burda*, *Bānat Su’ād*, and *Tabāraka*. The manuscripts might also be compared with related canonical texts in other manuscripts cultures, such as those identified by the SFB 950 team from North, East and West Africa, some of which may be found in German institutions.

GLOSSARY OF ARABIC AND SWAHILI WORDS

i) Glossary of Arabic words

Basmalah - n. – an opening formula, i.e. an invocation made before reciting a chapter in the

Qur'an or an Islamic text.

Ḥamdala – v. praising of God

Ḥawāšīn - n. – annotations, marginal notes.

Intahā – n. usually a symbol (◌) resembling figure 'five' in Arabic denoting an end of a line

or text.

Jalada – n. 'book cover'

Matn - n. the original (core) text.

Nasab – n. a genealogy or progeny

Qaṣīda- n. a panegyric usually composed in poetic form to praise the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) or a well-known figure in the Muslim world.

Šarḥ - n. a commentary.

Tahmīs – a five stanzaic poem.

Tamalluk – n. ownership statements.

Tarjama – n. a translation, a (poetic) rendition.

Ṭarīqa – n. a (Sufi) mystical order.

Jalada – n. 'book cover'

Waqfiyya –n. a bequest statement.

ii) Glossary of Swahili words

Anwani- n. 'title', also, 'address'.

Anuwani ya muswada 'the title of a manuscript' (See also, *Unuwani* 'title of manuscripts' in Hichens 1939, 1972:123).

Beti – n. (*ubeti*/ singl.) stanzas.

Chuo – n. literally means a book. It is also means a Qur'anic school or a traditional madrassa.

Gamba- *n.* book cover: *Gamba la muswada* ‘a manuscript cover’, *Muswada wa gamba la ngozi* ‘a manuscript covered by a leather’.

Kalamu- *n.* pen: a general term used to mean any kind of writing instrument, such as *Kalamu ya risasi* ‘pencil’, *Kalamu ya wino* ‘Fountain pen’.

Karatasi- *n.* paper, papyrus: depending on the context, the paper can be a hand made one or a manufactured one.

Khati- *n.* 1. Script: *Khati ya mkono* ‘handwriting, *Maandishi ya Kiswahili kwa Khati za Kiarabu* ‘Swahili in Arabic Script’ 2. Manuscript: *Makhtuti za Taifa* ‘Manuscripts of the State’ (Mohammed 2011).

Kibao- *n.* board used to “line” paper. That is, a silken cord is wrapped in parallel round the board, the paper is then pressed upon the corded board and rubbed in order to create an impression of *misitari* ‘parallel ridges’ in the paper (Hichens 1939).

Kibwagizo – *n.* a refrain, the last line of a Swahili poem (i.e. *shairi*) that is repeated throughout the poem.

Kipande -*n.* a half-line in a poem.

Loho- *n.* wooden slate or tablet. This is a wooden board where pupils in *madrassa* ‘Islamic School’ write on.

Muswada – *n.* (also *mswada*, pl. *miswada*): Manuscripts. *Muswada wa kale* ‘old manuscript’.

Mwanzi- *n.* reed: a piece of thin bamboo stick used for writing the manuscripts. Other term is *udandi* ‘pen’. (Also, cf. *kalamu*).

Mwiya- *n.* the red bark of a mangrove tree. The *mwiya* is used in making Swahili red and black ink.

Nakili- *v.* *kunakili*: to copy (especially a manuscript). *Kunakili muswada* ‘to copy a manuscript’.

Sahifa- *n.* paper, leaf, or folio (of a book or manuscript). See also. Mohamed 2011). Cf. *Karatasi*.

Shairi- *n.* a poem. Also known as a quatrain poem, i.e. having four lines (*tarbiya*).

Suhufu ya mkunjo- *n.* a scroll. (also, *Khati ya kukunja*, *kuviringisha*. See; ESD:1996). Most of the Swahili mss are in *Chuo* ‘codex format’. *Chuo* may also mean ‘a book’ (Samsom 2015). We have, however, rare mss in scroll format, such as *Verses of Liongo*

Fumo, Ms. OR4534, currently preserved in the British Library, London, United Kingdom.

Tenzi – n. (also, *utenzi* /singl.), *tendi*/pl., *utendi*/singl.) a ballad. Usually contain a four half-lines per stanza. The rhyme scheme is aaax, bbbx, cccx, and so on whereby x remains constant while the mid-rhymes, such as *aaa* only remain intact in a given stanza for its first three half-lines.

Ubele – n. (pl. *mabele*) a quill or feather of a (large) bird, e.g. ostrich, eagle, peacock or cockerel. The feather is tipped and used for writing. Other similar term is *Unyoya* (pl. *manyoya*): *Unyoya wa ndege* ‘a bird’s feather’ (K.K.S 2006).

Udandi – n. a writing instrument, such as the one made from a bamboo stick, usually used in writing manuscripts.

Wino- n. ink: usually when in its liquid form. Also, *Wino mweusi* ‘Black ink’, *wino mwekundu* ‘red ink’, *Kidau cha wino* ‘inkpot’, also *Kichupa cha wino* ‘a bottle of ink’. Also, due to borrowing from Arabic the term ‘*Midadi*’ may be used as alternative work for *wino*.

Zafarani- n. saffron: according to Mohammed (2011:874) “*Zafarani* is i) the dried, aromatic stigmas of the saffron plant used in flavouring and colouring foods, and formerly in medicine, and ii) orange yellow colour (Ar.)” In the context of Swahili manuscript culture, *Zafarani* is an important substance in making medicinal ink. *Wino wa zafarani* ‘Saffron ink’: usually the saffron (substance) is mixed with ‘*marashi*’ rose water.

Zefe: a procession conducted during *Mawlid* season

Zinjifuri- n. Cinnabar, or native mercuric oxide, also red substance extracted from *Mzinjifuri* plant: *Bixa Orellana*, used for making red ink (Hichens 1939, 1972).

Ziyara: visiting of the grave to remember and to pray for the departed beloved ones or Muslim leaders.

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Appendix I

List of informants, consultants, assistants and custodians of the mss

Name	Place	Task/Remarks	Fieldwork Year
Sayyid Bahasan	Mombasa	Interview	2014
Sh. Muḥammad Noor	Mombasa	Assistant on information on reciters, performances and custodians of mss. Also gave me access to see the Riyadhha mosque mss collection	2014-17
Sh. Ahmad Nabahany	Mombasa	Interview. (Deceased 2017)	2014
Prof. Harith Swaleh	Mombasa	Consultation on mss & <i>qaṣīda</i>	2014/15
Sh. AbdulRahman Saggaf	Mombasa	Interview	2014
Sh. Mwenye Karama	Mombasa	Interview	2014
Sh. Yakub Ahmed	Mombasa	Access to mss	2014
Dr. Kalandhar Khan	Mombasa	Access to RISSEA records	2014
Sh. M. Kafani	Mombasa	Access to mss	2014
Sh. Hamid Issa	Mombasa	Access to mss	2014
Sh. M. Khitami	Mombasa	Recording of <i>qaṣīda</i>	2014
Dr. Ali Hemed	Kilifi	Information on mss	2014
Ustadh Ali Khamis	Kilifi	Access to mss	2014
Sh. S. Abubakr	Siyu	Interview & access to mss	2014
Sh. M. Saggaf	Siyu	Interview & access to mss	2014
Dr. K. Donnelly	London	Andika programme consultant	2014-2018
Sh. M. Zein	Lamu	Access to Lamu Fort Museum	2014
Sh. Hussein Soud	Lamu	Consultation	2014
Dr. M. Mumin	München	Access to mss	2014
Prof. M. Abdulaziz	Nairobi	Interview	2015
Prof. K. Mutiso	Nairobi	Interview & access to mss	2015
Ustadh MAU	Lamu	Interview & access to mss	2015
Sh. Hadi	Lamu	Interview & recording of <i>qaṣīda</i>	2015/16
Sh. A. Badawy	Lamu	Recording of <i>qaṣīda</i>	2015
Sayyid Umar Saggaf	Siyu	Interview	2015
Ustadh Zahidi	Siyu	Interview	2015/16
Mwalimu Dini	Pate	Interview. (Deceased 2017) & access to mss	2014/15
Ustadh Abūdi Dini	Pate	Interview & access to mss	2014/15
Sayyid H. Badawy	Dar es Salaam	Interview and recording of <i>qaṣīda</i>	2015
Sayyid A. Mwinyibaba	Dar es Salaam	Information on custodians	2015
Dr. E. Mosha	Dar es Salaam	Access to USDM Library	2015
Dr. M. Hans	Dar es Salaam	Access to mss at Dr. Chagula Library (UDSM)	2015
Ms. Levena	Dar es	Access to mss (UDSM)	2015

	Salaam		
Sh. Samir	Zanzibar	Information on custodians	2015
Sh. Y. Sameja	Zanzibar	Interview & access to printed works	2015
Ustadh Bakathir	Zanzibar	Interview	2015
Sh. Ali Kombo	Zanzibar	Interview & recordings	2015
Sh. A. Saggaf	Zanzibar	Information on mss	2015
Ustadh Shatri	Zanzibar	Information on mss	2015
Sh. Ahmed Soudjay	Ngazidja	Information on mss & recording of <i>mawlid</i> occasion	2015
Sh. Dr. Islah	Ngazidja	Information on mss	2015
Dr. Damir b. Ali	Ngazidja	Information on mss	2015
Sh. M. Athman	Ngazidja	Access to Comoro Museum	2015
Ustadh S. AbdulRazaq	Ngazidja	Interview	2015
Sh. T. M. Athman	Ngazidja	Information on mss	2015
Sh. M. Shigo Adio	Mombasa	Interview	2016
Mr. Nassoro Riziki	Mombasa	Interview	2016
NRAA c/o Drs. R. Samsom	Muscat	Access to mss	2016
Ms. C. Wise	London	Access to mss (SOAS)	2015
Mr. E. Kesse	London	Access to mss (SOAS)	2015
Ms. S. Kolbusa	London	Access to British Library's mss	2015
Dr. I. Rabin	Hamburg	Consultations on paper & inks	2015
Ms. C. Kaminski	Hamburg	Facilitation on field trips	2015
Ms. D. Niggemeier	Hamburg	Facilitation on field trips	2015
Ms. N. Kortney	Hamburg	Andika programme assistant	2014-2016
Ms. L. Valle	Hamburg	Andika Programme assistant	2017
Ms. C. Collini	Hamburg	Experiment on inks, CSMC	2017
Ms. F. Daub	Hamburg	Interview & consultations	2017
Ms. Ali Zaherinezhad	Hamburg	Consultations (CSMC)	2017
Dr. A. Brita	Hamburg	Consultations on mss	2017
Sh. A. Kame	Lamu	Interview & access to mss	2017
Ms. Z. Elmi	Hamburg	Andika programme assistant	2018
Ustadh Abdilatif Abdalla	Hamburg	Consultation	2018

Appendix 2a

Prologue of the *Hamziyya* from the *Ay* manuscript

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

- ١ نَزَكَجَنَلِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ لِي عَظَمَ * نَالرَّحْمَنِ مَووزِ نَالرَّحِيمِ
 nazakajinali bismi llahi liyi ‘aẓama * narraḥmani mūwzi narraḥīma
*I begin with the name of Almighty God,
 the Merciful sustainer, the Compassionate.*
- ٢ صِيفَ نَمْتَلُ يَجَمَالِ نَكُيُوي * زِسْتَحِقِلِ مِلُوعُ مَوْلَ عَالَمَ
 ṣifa namatilu yajamāli nakuyuwiya * zisitaḥiqili miliwaghu mūla ‘ālama
*All praises and beautiful qualities are to be attributed to Him only,
 the Lord of the universe.*
- ٣ صَلَّ نَسَالَامُ زَ دَوَامَ مَدَيِ الدَّهْرِ * زِمْتَلِيلِي مُحَمَّادِ مِي مَقَامَ
 ṣala nasalāmu za dawāma maday ddahri * zimutililii muḥammadi miyi maqāma
*And lasting prayers and salutations
 are to be given to Muhammad, the one of higher status.*
- ٤ نَالِرِ زَتْ نَصْحَابِ نَوَدَمِزِ * نَوَدَمِزَاوُ وَدَمِزِ كَسِرِ جِمَ
 nāliri zitu naṣaḥāba nawadamizi * nawadamizāwu wadamīzi kasira jima
*And to his family members, companions, followers,
 and all who accept his righteous call*
- ٥ بَعْدَ يَسَايُ يِدْزَاغُ نَتَكَ دُعَا * مَوْلَ أَيَسِرِ نَتَكَايِ كُيُورَمَ
 ba‘da yasāyu yiduzāghu nataka du‘ā * mūla ayasiri natakāyu kuyawarama
*After this, my brothers, I need your prayers,
 that the Lord may give me strength to accomplish this noble task.*
- ٦ لِأَنَّ نِلِكُ نِنَ نِيَّةَ تَكَ كُتِيدَا * كِتِرِ كَسِي هَمَزِيَةَ زَاكَ كَلِيمَ
 lianna niliku nina nīya‘ taka kutidā * kitizi k’asii hamziya‘ zāki kalīma
*As to my position, I have declared that I want
 to compose a translation of the Hamziyya.*

أَزْتَعَلُوْهُ مُحَمَّدٌ مِّنْ سَعِيْدٍ * أَلَا بُؤْصِيْرٌ أَتْلُوْهُ وَيِ نَظِمَ ٧
 azitughiliwu muḥammad mani sa'īdi * āla būṣīri utuliwu wiyi naẓima
*The one originally composed
 by Muhammad bin Sa'id al-Busiri.*

بِإِزْلِيْبٍ كَخَاطِبُ مِي مَقَامَ * كَاسْتِفْهَامَ أَلِ مِي رِكَابَ ثَمَّ ٨
 biri azilibu kakhāṭibbu miyi maqāma * kaistifhāma ali miyi rikāba thamma
*At the time [al-Busiri] recited it
 the elevated [verse] was eloquent and well-received.*

Appendix 2b

Main text of the *Hamziyya* from the *Ay* manuscript

- ١ كَيْفَ تَرْقِي رُقِيَّكَ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ * يَا سَمَاءَ مَا طَاوَلَتْهَا سَمَاءُ
 1 هَلِ وَكِلَايِ كُكِلَاكَ مِتْمِ يُنْتِ * أَوْغُ أُسُو كُلتَوَ نِمَجَ سَمَا
 hali wakilāyi kukilaku mitumi yunti * uwigihu usiwu kulutiwa nimuja samā
 How can any of the Prophet ascend like you did [Oh Prophet!],
 to Heaven, where no one can compete with you?
- ٢ لَمْ يُسَاوِكَ فِي عِلَاكَ وَقَدْ حَالَ * سَنِي مِنْكَ دُونَهُمْ وَ سَنَاءُ
 2 كَوْفَنِ نَوِ رِفْعَانِ بَحَجِرِلِ * نُورُ نَرْفَعَةَ كَتِكِنُ كُلُّ عَظِيمِ
 kawafani nawi rif'āni baḥajizili * nūru naruf'aṭa katikinu kulu 'aẓīma
 They are not equal to you in your elevated status,
 the light and sublimity in you is great [in all respects].
- ٣ إِنَّمَا مَثَلُوا صِفَاتِكَ لِلنَّاسِ * كَمَا مَثَلَ النُّجُومَ الْمَاءُ
 3 وَلِمِثْلِيلِ صِيفَ زَاكَ كُكِلِكَ وَنَتْ * جَمَا يَلُو كُمَثِيلِ دَانَ نُجُومَ
 walimithilīli ṣifa zāku kuliku wantu * jamā yaliwu kumathīli dāni nujūma
 When they compare your character with other humans,
 it is like comparing the reflection of glittering stars in water [with the stars themselves].
- ٤ أَنْتَ مِصْبَاحُ كُلِّ فَضْلٍ * فَمَا تَصُدُّرُ إِلَّا عَن ضُوءِكَ الْأَضْوَاءُ
 4 أَوْ رِو تَالِ يَفْضِيلِ نَمَجُجِي * نُورُ كَرَلَاوِ إِلَّا مَاكَ نُرُونِ جِمَمِ
 uwi riwi tāla yafaḍīla namajujiya * nūru kazilāwi illā māku nuruu ni jima
 You are the light of virtue and goodness,
 lights do not shine except when emanating from your good light.
- ٥ لَكَ ذَاتُ الْعُلُومِ مِنْ عَالِمِ * الْعَيْبِ وَ مِنْهَا لِأَدَمَ الْأَسْمَاءُ
 5 ذَاتُ الْعُلُومِ زَلَوَازُ كَعَالِمِ * الْعَيْبِ دَاكَ نِمَسِمُ يَادَمِ
 dhātu al'ulūmi zilawāzu ka'ālimi * ālghaybi dāku nimasimu yādama
 You have knowledge about unseen matters, by the grace of the All-Knowing God;
 it was from such hidden knowledge that Adam was able to name things.

- ٦ لَمْ تَزَلْ فِي ضَمَائِرِ الْكَوْنِ * تُخْتَارُ لَكَ الْأُمَّهَاتُ وَالْأَبَاءُ
 6 تَمَّ كَلْسَيْلِ مَسْتِنِ يَكُونُكَ * كُتِلِلُواوِ أُمَّهَاتِ نَابِ وَيَمِ
 tuma kulasāli masituni yakuwunika * kutiluliwāwi umahāti nābu wīma
 Oh Prophet! Your exalted qualities cannot be hidden,
 you were chosen from the best mothers' and fathers' lineage.
- ٧ مَامَصَتْ فَتْرَةٌ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ * إِلَّا بَشَّرَتْ قَوْمَهَا بِكَ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ
 7 حَبَسَيْلِبُ تِدَكَانُ لِكُلِّ تَمَّ * إِلَّا كِبَشِرِ أَنْبِيَا كَوِ قَوْمَ
 ḥababisilibu tidikānu lakulla tuma * illā kibashiri ambiyā kawi qawma
 And there did not pass any era in which prophets appeared,
 without these prophets prophesying about your coming to their people.
- ٨ تَبَاهِي بِكَ الْعُصُورُ وَ تَسْمُوا * بِكَ عَلَيَاءُ بَعْدَهَا عَلَيَاءُ
 8 بَاتَفَخَارِ أَرْمَانِ نَكْتُكَ * كَاوِ مَرْتَابِ بَعْدِي رُتَبِ جَمِ
 bātafakhāri azmāni nakutukuka * kāwi martāba ba'dayu rutaba jima
 The world is proud and elevated,
 because of you, it undergoes elevation upon elevation.
- ٩ وَبَدَا لِلْوُجُودِ مِنْكَ كَرِيمٌ * مِنْ كَرِيمِ أَبَاؤُهُ كَرَمَاءُ
 9 بَلِظَهْرِي كُونِكَ كَوِ كَرِيمٌ * أُتُوسَلِيُو كَكَرِيمِ وَاشِ كُرَمِ
 balizihiriyyi kuwunika kawi karīmu * utūsiliwu kakarīmu wāshi kurama
 The generous one came into being,
 that generosity is traced back from your forefathers.
- ١٠ نَسَبُ تَحْسِبُ الْعُلَا بِحُلَاهُ * قَلَدَتْهَا نُجُومُهَا الْجُوزَاءُ
 10 نَسَبُ وَظَنِ يُشْرَافِ كَرَبِيزِ * يُتَ يَجُوزَ إِبْغِلِ عُلَا نُجُومِ
 nasabu wazani yusharāfu kazibabuzi * yuta yajawza ibaghili 'ulā nujūma
 Your ancestry is adorned by sacred beauty,
 like the Gemini star orbited by other stars in the universe.
- ١١ حَبْدَا عِقْدُ سُودِدِ وَفَخَارِ * أَنْتَ فِيهِ الْيَتِيمَةُ الْعَصْمَاءُ
 11 بِدَازِ كِفُغُوغِ كَسِيَادِ نُوْفَخَرِ * أُو كِفُغُونِ أَكِجُو مُعْتَصِمِ
 bidāza kifūghu k'asiyāda nawufakhari * uwi kufughūni ukijuwu mu'taṣima
 Your lineage is admired for its sacredness and nobility,

which is highly dignified.

- ١٢ وَمُحْيَا كَالشَّمْسِ مِنْكَ مُضِيٌّ * أَسْفَرَتْ عَنْهُ لَيْلَةٌ غَرَاءُ
 12 نَبْدَارَ تَيْنٍ وَسُ وَأَكُّ أَعْوَجُ * أَفْنُكُواوُ نَوْسِكُ مُلْبِ مِيمَ
 nabidāza tayni wusu wāku ughawa juwa * ufunukiwāwu nawusiku mulbi mīma
 And your face shines like the sun:
 when you appear, the night becomes illuminated with brilliant light.

- ١٣ لَيْلَةُ الْمَوْلِدِ الَّذِي كَانَ * لِلدِّينِ سُرُورٌ يَوْمِهِ وَازِدَهَا
 13 أَسِكُ وَكُزَالَ نِسْكِي أَبُو كَب * بُولِ سُرُورٌ نَفَخَارِ يَدِينِ ثَمَّ
 usiku wakuzāla nisikuyi abawu kaba * bawili surūru nafakhāri yadīni thamma
 The night you were born, that was the day
 when happiness and honour for the religion emerged.

- ١٤ وَتَوَالَتْ بُشْرِي الْهَوَاتِفِ أَنْ * قَدْ وُلِدَ الْمُصْطَفَى وَحَقَّ الْهَنَاءُ
 14 بَكْفُوتَانَ نَبِشَارَ زَبِلْغَانُ * كَب لَزَزُوا مُصْطَفَى بَمِلِ زَم
 bakafuwatāna nabishāra zabilighānu * kaba lizaziwa muṣṭafay bamili zima
 It was followed by cheerful glad tidings,
 that Mustafa is born, thus happiness suffices.

- ١٥ وَتَدَاعَى إِيوَانُ كِسْرِي وَلَوْلَ * آيَةٌ مِنْكَ مَا تَدَاعَى الْبِنَاءُ
 15 أَكْلُولُوا أُكْبِغَ وَكَ كِسْرِي * نِمُعِجْزَاوُ كَبْغَالِ وَأَكُّ كِنَمَ
 ukaliwaliwa ukubigha wāki kisray * nimu‘ujizāwu kabaghāli wāku kinama
 The audience hall of Emperor Qisra collapsed:
 the buildings revealed a miraculous sign of your existence.

- ١٦ وَعَدَا كُلُّ بَيْتِ نَارٍ وَفِيهِ * كُرْبَةٌ مِنْ خُمُودِهَا وَبَلَاءُ
 16 بَكْصِيرِ سَابُ كُلِّ يُوبِ مِي يَمْتُ * زَجَلِيلِ غَمِّ كَكْزِيمِ نَبَا زِيمَ
 bakaṣīri sābu kullī yūbi mī yamtu * zijalīli ghammu kakuzīma nabā zīma
 And every single fire-temple,
 was filled with anguish when their fires suddenly went out.

- ١٧ وَعِيُونُ لِلْفُرْسِ غَارَتْ فَهَلْ * كَانَ لِنِيرَانِهِمْ بِهَا إِطْفَاءُ

17 مَتْ يُفْرُسِ يَفُسِيلِ هَلْ بَوِلِ * كُزِمَ كَسْيِي مُتْ وَاوُ وَكُفْرَمَ
 matu yafurusi yafusili hal bawili * kuzima kasuyu mutu wāwu wakufuruma
*The eyes of the Persians lost their vision, and they were baffled
 as to how their inextinguishable fires had gone out.*

18 مَوْلِدٌ كَانَ مِنْهُ فِي طَالِعِ الْكُفْرِ * وَ بَالٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَ وَبَاءُ
 كُزَوُ كُكُولُ بِلَوِلِ كُفَّ نَوَبَا * كَاوُزِنِ زَاوُ كَافِرِ وَلِكُ عَامَ
 kuzawa kukūlu baliwili kufa nawabā * kāwuzini zāwu kāfiri waliku ‘āma
*The great birth also caused spread of epidemics
 to sinful disbelievers everywhere.*

19 فَهِنَاً بِهِ لِأَمْنَةِ الْفَضْلِ * الَّذِي شُرِفَتْ بِهِ حَوَاءُ
 كَتَغَوُ كَايُ كَامِنَةَ نَمِيَجِي * أَبُو حَوَا شَرَفُوا كَايُ قَدِمَ
 kutaghiwa kāyu kāminatī namayujiya * abawu ḥawā sharifuwā kāyu qadima
*Aminah was filled with joy and felt honoured,
 because Hawa (Eve) had earlier predicted the extraordinary pregnancy.*

20 مِنْ لِحْوَا أَنَهَا حَمَلَتْ أَحْمَدَا * أَوْ أَنَهَا بِهِ نَفْسَاءُ
 يَنْ فُرَجِي مَنْ حَوَا كَبَ تَكُلِ * مَبَ يَاكِ تُومَ أَوْ بَاكِ فَرَلِ كِمَ
 yani furaḥiyu mana ḥawā kaba tukuli * miba yāki tūma aw bāki fazili kīma
*The Lady Hawa rejoiced that [Aminah] was carrying
 in her womb the Prophet - a great divine favour to her.*

21 يَوْمَ نَالَتْ بِوَضْعِهِ بِنْتِ وَهْبٍ * مِنْ فَخَارِمَا لَمْ تَنْلُهُ النَّسَاءُ
 سِكُ أَبْتُو كَكُزَالِ بِنْتِ وَهْبٍ * فَخَارِ أَبَازُ كَزَبَتَ نَوَكِ وَيَمَ
 siku abitiwu kakuzāla binti wahbi * fakhāri abāzu kazibata niwaki wīma
*When the day of the delivery came, Binti Wahab (Aminah),
 attained noble status as she was visited by revered women [who came from Paradise to witness the birth of the Prophet].*

22 وَآتَتْ قَوْمَهَا بِأَفْضَلِ مِمَّا * حَمَلَتْ قَبْلُ مَرِيَمَ الْعَذْرَاءُ
 أَمْنَةَ كِرِي قَوْمِي نَأْفَضَلِ * كَمَ تُكُوَاوُ قَبْلِي نِمْرِيَمَ
 aminatī kiriya qawmuyi naafḍali * kama tukuwāwu qablaiya nimaryama
*People gathered in Aminah's home to see the best [of creatures],
 like the gathering that occurred at Maryam's house in the past.*

- ٢٣ شَمَّتَهُ الْأَمَلَاكُ إِذْ وَضَعَتْهُ * وَ شَفَّتَنَا بِقَوْلِهَا الشِّفَاءُ
- ٢٣ أَمْزَلِيبُ أَمَلَاكُ كَمَرَحِمُ * الشِّفَا كَكَبِكِ كَفَرَجِ يَتُ مِتِمَ
- amuzazilibu amlāku kamuraḥamu * āsshhafā kakabaki kafariji yitu mitima
After the birth, the angels spoke to her
miraculous words - the reciting of such words comforts our hearts.
- ٢٤ رَفَعًا رَأْسَهُ وَ فِي ذَلِكَ * الرَّفْعِ إِلَيَّ كُلِّ سُودِدِ إِيْمَاءُ
- ٢٤ اَلْمَزَزَلِ اَتَكُلِ كِطَاتِي جُو * نَكْتُكُوَانِ مُشَارَ يَكُلَ مَيِمَ
- alimuzazili atukuli kiṭākī juwu * nakutukuwāni muishāra yakula maymi
After birth, the baby [Muhammad] raised his head:
it was a sign that good things would happen.
- ٢٥ رَامِقًا طَرْفُهُ السَّمَاءَ وَمَرْمِي * عَيْنٍ مَن شَأْنُهُ الْعُلُؤَا الْعَلَاءُ
- ٢٥ مَتِي كِيغِ لُوغِنِ نَمَلُؤُ * يَابُو لَكِ بُتُكُوْفُ نِيَعَطَمَ
- matuyi kiyigha luwighuni namaluliwu * yaabawu laki butukūfu niyaʿazama
He stared fixedly at the heavens,
a sign that he would have a great spiritual connection.
- ٢٦ وَتَدَلَّتْ زَهْرُ النُّجُومِ إِلَيْهِ * فَأَضَاءَتْ بِضَوِّيْهَا الْأَرْجَاءُ
- ٢٦ بَكَقْرُبِي كَلِكِي نُجُومُ بَارِ * يَكْتِ مِيَاغِ كَاغَالِ مَجِيْبُ ثَمَّ
- bakaqurubiya kulikuyin nujūmu bāzi * yakata miyāgha kaaghāli majību thamma
A brilliant star came closer [to where he was],
and it shone its light over all.
- ٢٧ وَ تَرَأَتْ قُصُورُ قَيْصَرَ بِالشَّامِ * يَرَاهَا مَن دَارُهُ الْبَطْحَاءُ
- ٢٧ زُلُؤُغُ زِيُوبِ زِكُونِ زِلْزُرُومُ * كَوْنِ نَالِ يَبِيْمُ مَكَ مُقِيْمَ
- zilūghu zayūbi zikawuna zilizurūmu * kawuna nialu yubanimu maka muqīma
The palaces in Rome could be seen from a long distance [due to the star's light],
even by a person standing as far away as Mecca.
- ٢٨ وَبَدَتْ فِي رِضَاعِهِ مُعْجَزَاتُ * لَيْسَ فِيهَا عَن الْعِيُونِ خِفَاُ

- 28 **بَلِّغْهُمْ رِيبَ الْمُعْجِزِ كَمَا صَنِمَ * إِسْ سِتْمَا نَ كَلِكِي مَتْ مَزِمَ**
 balizihirili mi'ujīza kamuṣanimi * isu sitamā na kulikuyi matu mazima
*Miracles occurred during the period the Prophet was breastfeeding;
 they were not hidden from anybody's view.*
- 29 **إِذْ أَبَتْهُ لَيْتِيهِ مَرْضِعَاتُ * قُلْنَ مَا فِي الْيَتِيمِ عَنَّا غَنَاءُ**
 29 **وَمُيَزَزَبُ وَمَسَاجِ كَوْفَرْنَ * كَبْ كَتْمَافَ كَمَسَانِ سِي يَتِمَ**
 wamuyizazabu wamusāji kawufuzana * kaba katumāfa kamusāni suyu yatima
*When the baby (the Prophet) was sent to the wet nurses, they ignored him,
 saying, "It is of no benefit to breastfeed a poor infant."*
- 30 **فَاتَتْهُ مِنْ آلِ سَعْدِ فَتَاةٌ * قَدْ أَبَتْهَا لِفَقْرِهَا الرُّضْعَا**
 30 **كَمِيلِي مَنْ مَكٍ مِنْ سَعْدِ * وَمُكْتِيلُو كَوْتُفُ وَيِ غُلَامَ**
 kamuyiliyi mana muki mina sa'adi * wamukitiliwu kawutufu wiyi ghulāma
*Then a lady from the Sa'ad clan came up
 to the forsaken poor infant (the Prophet).*
- 31 **أَرْضَعَتْهُ لِبَانَهَا فَسَقَتْهَا * وَبَيْنَهَا الْبَانُهُنَّ الشَّاءُ**
 31 **أَكْمَمْسِي مَزَوَايِ نَايِ كُنْشَ * إِي نَوَانُو نَزْبُوزِ مَزَوِ مِيمِ**
 akamamusayi maziwāyi nāyi kanusha * iyi nawanāwu nizibūzi maziwa mīmi
*She breastfed him (the Prophet) and, with God's help, she was provided with food
 for herself and her children, and the young goats produced good milk.*
- 32 **أَصْبَحَتْ شُؤْلًا عَجَافًا وَأَمْسَتْ * مَايَهَا شَائِلٌ وَلَا عَجْفًا**
 32 **بُوزِ كُكْتَأَفُ كَلِوَاؤُ كُنْكَ دُمِ * زَكَطِيُو بَاشِ مُحْتَاغِ مِي كَرَمِ**
 būzi kukutāfu k'iliwāzu kutaka dumi * zikaṭīwa bāshi muḥitāji miyi kurama
*The goats were weak and in want of male partners,
 but suddenly became healthy and fertile.*
- 33 **أَخْصَبَ الْعَيْشُ عِنْدَهَا بَعْدَ * مَحَلٍ إِذْ غَدَا لِلنَّبِيِّ مِنْهَا غَدَاءُ**
 33 **بَوْلٍ وَوُفُفٍ بَحْلِيمِ كِسْكَ شِدَا * كَبْ بَصِرِلِ كَزُكُو كُلِّ كَتْمِ**
 bawili wulūfu baḥalīma kisaki shida * kaba baṣirili kazukuwa kula katuma
*The goats multiplied in thousands at Halima's place, her hardship was gone,
 and she said, "This is happening so that the Prophet can have enough food".*

- ٣٤ يَالَهَا مِنَّةً لَقَدْ ضُوعِفَ الْأَجْرُ * عَلَيْنَهَا مِنْ جِنْسِهَا وَالْجَزَاءُ
 34 أَي نِعْمَ يَاكَ يَعْجَبُ وَالْغَلِزُ * أَجْرٍ نَجَازَ كَجِنْسِ يَزِيكَ زِمَ
 ay ni'ma yāki ya'ajabi wa alughiliza * ajri najāza kajinsi yazaki zima
*Oh! What wonderful blessings were showered upon her,
 as reward and recompense for her kindness.*
- ٣٥ وَإِذَا سَخَّرَ الْإِلَٰهَ أَنَا * لِسَعِيدٍ فَإِنَّهُمْ سَعْدَاءُ
 35 مَلَّ آتِيَابُ زُرُوبِيزٍ كُمُخْدُمُ * أَلِي سَعِيدٍ نَاوْنِي سَعْدِ جِمَ
 mula atiyābu ziwubīzi kumukhudumu * aliya sa'īdi nāwuniyi su'udi jima
*When the Lord makes servants submissively work for Him [by helping his creatures],
 He [God] rewards those helpers and ensures they are comfortable too.*
- ٣٦ حَبَّةٌ أَنْبَتَتْ سَنَابِلَ وَالْعَصْفُ * لَدَيْهِ يَسْتَشْرِفُ الضُّعْفَاءُ
 36 أَوْلُ أَبْدٍ كِتْدُكِي أَرْزَلُو * زِسِيكَ فُقَارَ وَكِضُوزَ جَانِ كُومَ
 iwili ubudi kitiduk'i uzaziliwu * zisuyka fuqāra wakiḍūza jāni kūma
*Even the grain sprouted out richly,
 and the dry stalks in her compound turned to green leaves.*
- ٣٧ إِنَّمَا حَرَّمَ الْمَرَاضِعَ مِنْ قَبْلُ * عَلَيْهِ صَوْنٌ لَهُ وَاجْتِبَاءُ
 37 أَلِرُولِي مَمْسُنٍ حِفْظِيكَ * نَكْتُولُو تَغُ مَدُّ مِثْمِ مِيمِ
 aliziwiliya mamusuni ḥifāzi yaki * nakutiwuliwa taghu madu mutumi mīma
*He was protected [by God] during his breastfeeding period,
 and he was chosen from the beginning as the good prophet.*
- ٣٨ وَآتَتْ جَدَّهُ وَقَدْ فَصَلْتَهُ * وَفِيهَا مِنْ فِرَاقِهِ الْبِرْحَاءُ
 38 كَمُبِيكِي جَدِّ يَاكَ أَمَزَرِبُ * كَامَ نَمْتُوغُ كَفِصَالِ يَكْمُلُومَ
 kamubīkiya jadi yāki amazibū * kāma nmatūghu kafiṣāli yakimulūma
*She sent [the Prophet] to his grandfather after the nursing period,
 and was sorrowful after sending him away.*
- ٣٩ إِذْ أَحَاطَتْ بِهِ مَلَائِكَةُ اللَّهِ * فَظَنَّتْ بِأَنَّهُمْ قُرْنَاءُ

39 وَمُرْغَلِبُ مَلَائِكَةِ يَكِ مُلُوعَ * كَظَنَّ كَبَاؤُ نِمَجِينَ كَكِي مِيمَ
 wamuzaghilibu malaikaṭ yaki mulūgha * kaẓanni kabāwu nimajīni kakii mīma
 The angels of the Lord surrounded him,
 and she thought that the creatures surrounding the Good One were jinns [but actually they were angels].

40 وَرَأَى وَجَدَهَا بِهِ وَ مِنْ * الْوَجِدِ لَهَيْبٍ تُصَلِّي بِهِ الْأَحْشَاءُ
 وَكَمُرْدِي وَوَنِبُ مَحَبَّ يَاكِ * نَكَبِدُ سِيْزُ مُتْ دَانِ اِكْمِكِمَ
 wakamurudiyi wawinibu maḥaba yāki * nakabidu sīzu mutu dāni ukimukima
 [The Prophet's family] sent him (the Prophet) back to [the foster-mother] due to her love,
 and this love was [like] a fire burning inside her.

41 فَارْفَتَهُ كُرْهًا وَ كَانَ لَدَيْهِ * ثَاوِيًا لَا يَمَلُّ مِنْهُ الثَّوَاءُ
 فَارْقِنِ نَايِ اَكِيْزِ كَبِ لَوْلِ * مُقِيمُ بَلِييِ اَقْمِيْنَ وُشُ كُكِمَ
 fariqini nāyi akīza kaba liwili * muqīmu balīyi uqimīna wushu kukima
 She unwillingly sent him (the Prophet) back [to his family] due to the fact that
 he was a guest at her place and the guesthood period had ended.

42 شُقَّ عَن قَلْبِهِ وَأُخْرِجَ مِنْهُ * مُضْغَةً عِنْدَ غَسَلِهِ سَوْدًا
 بَطِوْ كُلكِ مُيِّ وَ اِكْ كُكِ كُفُو * كَلَفِوْ يَامَ كِيْشَن يُلْسِ دَمَ
 baṭiwa kulika muyu wāki k'aki kufuwa * kalafiwa yāma kuyashani yilusi dama
 He (the young Prophet) had his heart operated on [by angels],
 and the black blood in his flesh was purified.

43 حَتَمَتَهُ يُمْتِي الْأَمِينِ وَقَدْ * أُوْدِعَ مَا لَمْ تُدِعْ لَهُ أَنْبَاءُ
 فُبِلَ وَتُوْ مُكُنْعُ وَجَبْرِيلِ * وُوشِنَزِ يِيَايِ اَخْبَارِ كَزِ كُسِيْمَ
 fubila watuwu mukunughā wajibrīli * wuwishiza yabāyu akhbāri kazi kusīma
 Then Gabriel sewed up his chest with his right hand,
 he sealed [the Prophet's] heart using methods unknown to us.

44 صَانَ أَسْرَارَهُ الْخِتَامُ فَلَا * الْفَضُّ مُلِمُّ بِهِ وَلَا الْإِفْضَاءُ
 كَلِحْفِظِلِ سِرِّ زَاكِ سِكِّ كِفْغُ * كَبُوْ فِدِفُ وَ كِفْغُ وَ كُئِيْمَ
 kilihifizili siri zāki sik'u kifughu * kabawu fudifu wa kifughu wakuyuyuma
 The secrets were permanently sealed,
 so that the information inside [the heart] would not leak out.

- ٤٥ أَلْفَ النَّسْكَ وَالْعِبَادَةَ وَالْخُلُوةَ * طِفْلًا وَهَكَذَا النَّجْبَاءُ
 45 لِرُؤُولٍ طَاعَ نِعْبَادَ نَتَفَرَّغِ * تَغُ الْمَنَ نِي دِي شَانِ يَوْمَ
 lizuwili ṭā'a na'ibāda natafarrughi * taghu alimana nayu diyu shāni yawima
 He practiced obedience, worship and seclusion
 since childhood, and this is a wonderful characteristic of good people.
- ٤٦ وَإِذَا حَلَّتِ الْهِدَايَةَ قَلْبًا * نَشَطَّتْ فِي الْعِبَادَةِ الْأَعْضَاءُ
 46 بِرٍ وَلُغُوفٍ أُغْيِبَ كِتَابَكَ مُي * كُلكُ عِبَادَ زَوْرَبَ زَلُوغُ كِمَ
 biri walughūfu ughiyabu katika muyu * kuliku 'ibāda zawaziba zilūghu kima
 When the divine guidance enters one's heart
 the whole body becomes acquainted with worship.
- ٤٧ بَعَثَ اللَّهُ عِنْدَ مَبْعَثِهِ الشُّهُبَ * حِرَاسًا وَضَاقَ عَنْهَا الْفَضَاءُ
 47 مُؤَلِّمًا تَمْلِيذَ زَمَانِي يَكُلِّتُكَ * زِمُودُ كُلكُ بَكُودُلِ بَكُكُورَمَ
 mūla tumilīza zamanīzi yakulitaki * zimūdu kulida bakuduli bakakurama
 God sent during the period of his mission,
 shooting stars; they spread out and exploded.
- ٤٨ تَطْرُدُ الْجِنَّ عَنِ مَقَاعِدِ السَّمْعِ * كَمَا تَطْرُدُ الذِّيَابَ الرُّحَاءُ
 48 كِتُكُزَ جِنِّ مَكْلُونٍ يَكُسِكِرُ * كَمَ تُكُزَاوُ مَبِّ مِتُّ وَيَغَ يَمَ
 kitukuza jini makalūni yakusikiza * kama tukuzāwu muba mitu waygha yama
 The jinns were driven away from their listening stations,
 like wild dogs chasing their prey.
- ٤٩ فَمَحَتْ آيَةَ الْكُفَّانَةِ آيَاتٍ * مِنَ الْوَحْيِ مَا لَهْنَّ انْمِحَاءُ
 49 كَسَبَبُ سِي زِكَمِي زَمَكُهِنِ * آيَةَ زَوْحِي زِسَمِي مَدِي دَوْمَ
 kasababu siyu zikamaya zamakuhani * ayī zawaḥayi zisimaya maday dawama
 Due to this, the signs of the soothsayers vanished,
 but the signs of divine revelation will last forever.
- ٥٠ وَرَأَتْهُ خَدِيجَةَ وَالتُّقْيَى * وَالزُّهُدُ فِيهِ سَجِيَّةٌ وَالْحَيَاءُ
 50 خَدِيجَةَ مُونِي نَتَقْوِي نَكَبُ يُغُ * دُنْيَا نَحْيَا الزُّكَّ حُلُقُ جِيمَ
 khadījāṭ muwinii nataqway nakuba yughu * dunyā naḥayā ilizaki khuluqu jīma
 Hadija is of noble character and she denounces

the worldly things: modesty is part of her good character.

- ٥١ وَأَتَاهَا أَنَّ الْغَمَامَةَ وَالسَّرْحَ * أَظَلَّتْهُ مِنْهُمَا أَفْيَاءُ
 51 كَجَوْ خَبْرٍ كَبَّ وَيُغِ نَمْتٍ مُلٍ * زَلِمُكْغَزِ زِ فُلَيْزِ رَجِي زِمَ
 kajiwa khabari kaba wighu namuti muli * zilimukighizi zi fulizi rajiyu zima
 The news came to [Hadija] that a cloud and a tall tree,
 covered [the Prophet], like a pleasant evening shelter.

- ٥٢ وَأَحَادِيثُ أَنْ وَعَدَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ * بِالْبَعْثِ حَانَ مِنْهُ الْوَفَاءُ
 52 أَكْجَو تَنْ نِحْدِيثِ كَبَّ وَعَدِ * زُتْمَ كُكَيْتِ تِكَلِزِ زِمِكْجِمَ
 akajiwa tina niḥadīthi kaba wa'adi * zatuma kulīta tikilizu zimikijima
 She was also informed about the tradition of the vow,
 of the impending arrival of the Prophet.

- ٥٣ فَدَعَتْهُ إِلَى الزَّوْجِ وَمَا * أَحْسَنَ مَا يَبْلُغُ الْمُنَى الْأَذْكِيَا
 53 كَسَبَبُ سِيْزُ كَمْبُوسَ أَمْلُولُ * نَوْمِ الْوَيْ وَلَغَافُ كُفِكَ مِيمَ
 kasababu sīzu kamubūsa amulūli * niwima ulūyi walaghāfu kufika mīma
 Due to these reasons, she asked him to marry her,
 because of [the Prophet's] noble character, and the good [angel Gabriel] came.

- ٥٤ وَأَتَاهُ فِي بَيْتِهَا جَبْرِيْلُ * وَلَدِي اللَّبِ فِي الْأُمُورِ ارْتِيَا
 54 كَجَلِي تَوْمَ جِبْرِيْلُ مَكِ خَدِيْجَةَ * نَوِي عَقِلِ كُتْرَمَ مَبِ كِيْمَ
 kajiliya tūma jibrīlu maki khadījā * nawiyi 'aqili kutazama mabu kibima
 The messenger Gabriel came to the Prophet in Hadija's house:
 it is for the wise to see and to evaluate.

- ٥٥ فَامَاطَتْ عَنْهَا لِلخِمَارِ لِتَدْرِي * أَهْوِ الْوَحْيِ أَمْ هُوَ الْإِغْمَا
 55 أَكُوتَ بَالٍ مُتَوَازِ كَبَّ أَجُو * أَمَلِي سِي نُوْحِي أَمْ إِغْمَ
 akawuta bāli mutuwāzi kaba ajuwi * amiliyu suyu niwahayi am ighima
 She removed her headscarf so that she might know [the nature of the visitor],
 was it a revelation or a state of unconsciousness?

- ٥٦ فَاخْتَفَى عِنْدَ كَشْفِهَا الرَّأْسِ * جِبْرِيْلُ فَمَا عَادَ أَوْ أَعْيَدَ الْغِطَا

56 كَجِسْتِ جَوْ فُنُلِبُ كَطَ مَلَكُ * أَسِرُدِ حَتَّى كَفُنِكَ كِكْفُنَمَ
 kajisita jiwu funulibu kiṭa malaku * asirudi ḥattay kafunika kikafunama
 The angel disappeared when she uncovered her head,
 and did not re-appear until she covered herself again.

57 فَاسْتَبَانَتْ خَدِيجَةَ أَنَّهُ الْكَتْرُ * الَّذِي حَاوَلْتَهُ وَالْكَيمِيَا
 57 بَكْظَهْرِي يِ خَدِيجَةَ كَبْ نِكَنْزِ * أَيَسَلِي نِكِيمِيَا عِلْمُ جِيمَ
 bakazahiriya yi khadijaṭ kaba nikanzi * aytasiliyu nikimiyā 'ilimu jīma
 It then became clear to her that [the Prophet] was a treasure,
 who would be granted valuable [divine] knowledge.

58 ثُمَّ قَامَ النَّبِيُّ يَدُ عُوَ إِلَيَّ اللَّهُ * وَفِي الْكُفْرِنَجْدَةِ وَإِبَاءُ
 58 ثُمَّ تُمْ كِيمَ كَوْتِي وَجَ وَ مَل * بَلِقُوكُو كُفْرُنَ نَكُكِعَمَ
 thumma tuma kīma kiwatiya waja wa mula * baliqiwakuwu kufuruni nakukighama
 The Prophet then stood up to call together the servants of God:
 at that point there was disbelief and blasphemy.

59 أَمَّا أُشْرِبَتْ قُلُوبُهُمُ الْكُفْرَ * فَدَاءُ الضَّلَالِ فِيهِمْ عِيَا
 59 وَتُ بِشِيُو نَكُفْرُ مِتِمَ يُو * دِيُو يَضَالَ إِتْسِرِطِيبُ كِمَ
 watu bishiyawu nakufuru mitima yawu * dīwu yaḍāla itasiziṭibū kima
 Surely their hearts were drunk with disbelief,
 their illness of waywardness lacked a qualified doctor to treat it.

60 وَرَأَيْنَا آيَاتِهِ فَاهْتَدَيْنَا * وَإِذَا الْحَقُّ جَاءَ زَالَ الْمِرَاءُ
 60 مِعْجَزَ يَاكَ تُيُونِ تُكْغَكِي * نَحَقِ إِجَابُ مِكِرْنُ كَدُكَ تَمَّ
 mi'ujiza yāki tuyiwini tukughukiya * naḥaqi ijābu mikiranu kaduka thamma
 We witnessed all of [the Prophet's] miracles, and we were then guided [in righteousness],
 and when truth appears controversies must disappear.

61 رَبِّ إِنَّ الْهُدَى هُدَاكَ * وَأَيَاتِكَ نُورُ تَهْدِي بِهَا مَنْ تَشَأُ
 61 رَبِّ وُلُغُفُ بَكُ بَسِ نَائِي زَكُ * نُورُ كُغَلِي وَتَكَاي كِي يَزِمَ
 rabbi wulughūfu baku basi naaya zaku * nūru kughuliya wutakāyi kayu yazima
 Oh Lord! Your guidance is to be followed, and your revelation;
 by its light those who seek righteousness shall be guided.

- ٦٢ كَمْ رَأَيْنَا مَا لَيْسَ يَعْقِلُ * قَدْ أُلْهِمَ مَا لَيْسَ يُلْهِمُهُ الْعُقْلَاءُ
 62 كَغَبِ تُونٍ وَشُ يُيْ كُلْهِمُو * يَسِي كُوِي عُقْلَاءُ وَي فَهَمَ
 kaghabī tuwini washu yuyu kulihimuwa * yasiyu kuwuya ‘uqalau wiya fahama
*How many times have we seen animals without reasoning power
 but they can do what ordinary human cannot do?*
- ٦٣ إِذْ أَبَى الْفَيْلُ مَا أَتَى صَاحِبَ الْفَيْلِ * وَلَمْ يَنْفَعِ الْحِجَا وَالذِّكَاةُ
 63 دُفُ كِتْلِبُ مِي دُفُ عَزْمَلِي * زِسُو نَمَافَ عَقْلِيَزِ نَدَا كَا جِيَمَ
 dufu kitilibu miya dufu ‘azimiliyu * zisiwi namāfa ‘aqilīzi nadhakā jīma
*When the elephant (for instance) refuses the commands of its master
 in order not to destroy [something good], that is an intelligent activity.*
- ٦٤ وَلِلْجَمَادَاتِ أَفْصَحَتْ بِالَّذِي * أُحْرِسَ عَنْهُ لِأَحْمَدَ الْفُصْحَاءِ
 64 زَلِيْمُشَلِ زِشُ رُوْحُ أَبِي كَب * كَلِكُ مُتْمُ فُصْحَا كَوُكْسِمَ
 zilitimushili zishu rūḥu abayū kaba * kuliku mutumi fuṣaḥau kawakusima
*Non-living things spoke to the Prophet
 and their speech was very eloquent.*
- ٦٥ وَيَحِ قَوْمٍ جَفَوْا نَبِيًّا بِأَرْضِ * الْفَتَهُ ضِبَابَهَا وَالطَّبَّاءِ
 65 أَيِ كَحْيُوِي كَوْلِفُ بُغُضُ تَم * مُجْرُو وَ نُبُوَزِ تَيْيِ تَمَ
 ay kaḥuyiwayi kwalifu bughuḍu tuma * mujizuwi wā wu nibūzi tayaya thama
*This is a rebuke to those who criticise the Prophet:
 even young animals [like] goats obeyed him.*
- ٦٦ وَسَلَوُهُ وَحَنَّ جِدْعُ إِلَيْهِ * وَقَلَوُ وَوَدَّهُ الْغَرَبَاءُ
 66 وَكَمْهُجْرُ غُغُ يَفُ لِكْتَ مِيْمُ * وَ كَمْبُغُوْضُ وَيْنِ بَالِ وَكَفِ تِمَ
 wakamahujuru ghughu yifu likata mīmu * wa kamubughūḍu wīni bāli wakafi timi
*[The disbelievers] abandoned him while a huge tree became naturally obedient to him,
 and despite that abandonment strangers from far away accepted his call.*
- ٦٧ أَخْرَجُهُ مِنْهَا وَأَوَاهُ غَارُ * وَحَمَتُهُ حَمَامَةٌ وَرَقَاءُ
 67 وَ مُنْزَلِ مَكْ بَغُ يَكْمُوْكَ * كَمْحَفْطِي دَو مَغ مَوْلِ مِيْمَ
 wa munuluzīla maka baghu yikamuwika * kamuḥifazīi diwa magha mawala mīma
[The disbelievers] forced him to leave Mecca and he stayed at a cave for a while,

and a dove came to protect him, the Good One.

٦٨ وَكَفَّتْهُ بِنَسْجِهَا عَنكَبُوتٌ * مَاكَفَّتْهُ لِلْحَمَامَةِ الْحَصْدَاءُ

٦٨ كَمْتَشِيلِيزَ كَتْدُلِ عَنكَبُوتٍ * أَتَشِيلِيزَايِ دِي دِي دَوِ يَفُزِرِ جِمَمَ

kammtushilīza kataduli ‘ankabūti * atushilizāyu diyi diwa yafuzi jima

A spider wove a web over the entrance of the cave,
and the dove camouflaged it by laying eggs at the entrance too.

٦٩ وَاخْتَفَى مِنْهُمْ عَلَيَّ قُرْبَ مَرَأَةٍ * وَمِنْ شِدَّةِ الظُّهُورِ الْخِفَاءُ

٦٩ كَيْسَتْ كَاوُ كَقَرِيبُ يَكُونِي * كُظْهِيرِ مِنْ كُنْسِيَتْ كُو عَظْمَ

kayisita kāwu kaqarību yakuwunayi * kuẓihīri munu kunasītu kuwu ‘aẓīma

hid themselves in the cave and might have been seen,
but these creatures obscured [their enemies'] vision.

٧٠ وَنَحَى الْمُصْطَفَى الْمَدِينَةَ * وَاشْتَاقَتْ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ مَكَّةَ الْأَنْجَاءُ

٧٠ أَكْفُصْدِي مُصْطَفَى كِدَ مَدِينَةَ * مَكَ جِهَزَاكَ زَكَلْتِ كُشُقُ مِيمَ

akaqṣudiya muṣṭafay kida madīnaṭ * maka jihazāki zikalita kushuqu mīma

And the Prophet headed towards the city of Medina,
and on the way from Mecca he performed miracles which were well-received [by the desert dwellers].

٧١ وَتَعَنَّتْ بِمَدْحِهِ الْجِنُّ حَتَّى * أَطْرَبَ الْإِنْسَ مِنْهُ ذَاكَ الْغِنَاءُ

٧١ مَجْنٍ وَكَيْبَ كَصِفَازِ تَمَّ يَمُولُ * زَكْتَبِجِيشَ مُؤْمِنِ زُيْبِ تَمَّ

majni wakība kaṣifāzi tuma yamūla * zikatibijīsha mumini zuyibu thuma

And the jinns praised the Prophet of God in beautiful voices,
and their songs entertained the believers so much.

٧٢ وَاقْتَفَى إِثْرَةَ سُرَاقَةَ فَاسْتَهْوَتْهُ * فِي الْأَرْضِ صَافِنٌ جَرْدَاءُ

٧٢ سُرَاقَ كَمَرِ يَمَ يَلِكِ أَكْمُشَ * كَبَ أَمْنِيَتْ تَتْمِيْفُ إِفْرِيْمَ

surāqa k‘amira yuma yaki akamusha * kaba amutīti tutumīfu ifuziyima

Suraka (the assassin) followed [the Prophet and Abu Bakr (RA)] in order to kill the Prophet, but was swallowed up by the sand,
and he begged the Prophet for help.

٧٣ تَمَّ نَادَاةً بَعْدَ مَا سِيَهَتْهُ الْخَسْفَ * وَقَدْ يُنْجِدُ الْفَرِيقَ النَّدَاءُ

- 73 كَمُنَادٍ تُمْ كُسَلِبُ فَرَسٍ ذَلَّ * كَيَّرَ مُفَمَّاجٍ كَدِرِيكَ نِدْعَ جِمَمٍ
 kamunādi tuma kusilibu farasi dhilla * kayra mufamāji kadirīka nidu‘a jima
 He called upon the Prophet when he and his horse were swallowed up;
 the Prophet went to them and prayed for their release.
- 74 فَطَوَى الْأَرْضَ سَائِرًا وَالسَّمَوَاتُ * الْعَلَى فَوْقَهَا لَهُ إِسْرَاءُ
 74 أَكْكُتَتْ تُمْ تِ كَكِيدَ نَبِغُ جُو * كِيدَكِ وَكُوغُ كُولِبُ جُو يَسَمَا
 akakuta tuma ti kakida nabighu juwu * kidaki wukūghu kuwilibu juwu yasamā
 Then came a time when the Prophet ascended to Heaven,
 and this ascension is an extraordinary one.
- 75 فَصِفِ اللَّيْلَةَ الَّتِي كَانَ لِلْمُخْتَارِ * فِيهَا عَلِيَّ الْبُرَاقِ اسْتَوَاءُ
 75 صِفِي أَسْكَ وَمُيُوزَ وَ مُتُولِ * أَبُو لَوَيْلِ بُرْقَيْنِ مُسْتَقِيمِ
 sifiya usiku wamuyūzi wa mutiwuli * abawu liwīli buraqīni mustaqīma
 I praise the night journey and the chosen beautiful flying creature
 Buraq, who took him to the correct destination.
- 76 وَتَرَقِي بِهِ إِلَيَّ قَابِ قَوْسَيْنِ * وَتِلْكَ السِّيَادَةُ الْقَعَسَاءُ
 76 أَكْكِي نَائِي حَتِّي كَوَكُوتَ نَغِ * سُو بُسِيَادَ ثَابِتِ وَدَائِمِ
 akakiya nāyi ḥattay k’iwuk’awuta naghi * suwu busiyāda thābiti wadaima
 The Prophet and Buraq ascended to the highest level of Heaven,
 the place of pre-eminent everlasting divine power.
- 77 رُبَّ تَسْقُطِ الْأَمَانِيِّ حَسْرِي * دُونَهَا مَا وَرَاهُنَّ وَرَاءُ
 77 دَرَجَ وَاعْغُوكَ مَتَمَانِ دِينَ تَسْلِ * يَتُوِي كُونَبِلِي كَبِ قُدَامِ
 daraja wāghūka mutamāni dīni tusili * yatuwayi kuwanabiliyi kaba qudāma
 Sadly for those holding high positions, their aspirations became valueless:
 the Prophet's achievements are unsurpassed.
- 78 ثُمَّ وَفِي يَحْدُثُ النَّاسَ شُكْرًا * إِذْ آتَتْهُ مِنْ رَبِّهِ النَّعْمَاءُ
 78 كِسَ كَجَ مَكَ كَشُكْرُ كَبِي وَنْتُ * كَبِ زِمْبُجِيلِ كَمَلِيوِ يَغِ نَعِمِ
 kisa kaja maka kashukuru kabiya wantu * kaba zimbujīli kamiliwi yighi ni‘ima
 He then came to Mecca to give thanks, and informed the people
 that he had received abundant blessings from God.

- ٧٩ وَ تَحَدَّى فَارْتَابَ كُلَّ مُرِيبٍ * أَوْ يَبْقَى مَعَ السُّيُولِ الْغُنَاءُ
- ٧٩ كَدَعَ وَتَمَّ وَيِ شَكَ وَسَوَّ بَلُّ * هَلَّ بَسْلِي نَسِيلِ تَكَ زِكِيمَ
kada'i wutumi wiya shaka wasiwa balu * hal basiliya nasili tuka zikima
He claimed prophethood; those in doubt came to question him,
and he responded fluently like a flood washing away dead leaves.
- ٨٠ وَ هُوَ يَدْعُوا إِلَيَّ الْإِلَهِ وَ إِن شَقَّ * عَلَيْهِ كُفْرٌ بِهِ وَازْدِرَاءُ
- ٨٠ أَكَلِعِنَا كُلُّكِي مُعْبُدُو * كُفْرٌ نَبِجٌ أَغَشَقُ كَزُ أَلَمَّ
akali'ania kulikuyi mu'abuduwa * kufru nabiju aghashuqu kazu alama
He preached the oneness of God,
but they still rejected his signs by insulting him.
- ٨١ وَيَدُلُّ الْوَرَى عَلَيَّ اللَّهُ * بِالتَّوْحِيدِ وَهُوَ الْمَحَجَّةُ الْبَيْضَاءُ
- ٨١ كِدْلِشَ وَنْتُ مِي عَزِ كَتَوْحِيدِ * نَكُ كُوْحِدِ دِي دِي يَلْبِ جِمَ
kidulisha wantu miyi 'izi katawahidi * naku kuwahidi diyu diya yalbi jima
He continued to guide them in monotheistic belief:
indeed, this belief is the enlightened straight path.
- ٨٢ فَبِمَا رَحْمَةً مِنَ اللَّهِ لَآنَتْ * صَخْرَةٌ مِنْ آبَائِهِمْ صَمَاءُ
- ٨٢ كَسِي رِحْمَ اِيُوِي كَكِ مُلُوغُ * اِوِ لَكِيِيَزَ كَاِيْمُ لَوِلِ سِيْمَ
kasiyu riḥima iyawayu kaki mulūghu * iwi lakuyīza kauyumu liwili sīma
Had it not been for God's mercy,
defeating his enemies could have been a very difficult task.
- ٨٣ وَاسْتَجَابَتْ لَهُ بِنَصْرِ وَفَتْحٍ * بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ الْحَضْرَاءُ وَالْغَبْرَاءُ
- ٨٣ زَكْمَجِبِي كَنْصَرَ نَكْفَتْحِ * بَعْدَ يَسَايِ بَغُ جُو نَتِ يُزِمَ
zikamujibuyi kanuṣura nakufatiḥi * ba'da yasāyu bighu juwu nati yuzima
His efforts were rewarded by victory and the conquering of cities;
he was recognised in Heaven and across the entire earth.
- ٨٤ وَاطَاعَتْ لِأَمْرِهِ الْعَرَبُ * الْعَرَبَاءُ وَالْجَاهِلِيَّةُ الْجُهَلَاءُ

84 عَرَبٌ فُصَّاحٌ وَكَطِيعٌ أَمْرِيكَ * نَوَجَعْنَا وَأَوْ جُهَلَاءُ وَعَوْنِي
 ‘arabu fuṣāḥa wakaṭī‘i amuri yaka * nawajigha wāwu juhalau waghawu yama
*All the Arab tribesmen accepted his call,
 and ignorant fools were left to beat about the bush.*

85 وَتَوَالَتْ لِلْمُصْطَفَى الْآيَةُ * الْكُبْرَى عَلَيْهِمُ وَالْغَارَةُ الشَّعْوَاءُ
 يَكْفُلْتَانِ مَعْجَزَ يَمُصْطَفَى * مِكْلٌ وَلَكَ نَزْكُزٌ بِلِ نَيْمِ
 yikafulatāna mi‘ujiza yamuṣṭafay * mikulu waliku nazikuzi bili nayuma
*A series of miracles by the Prophet followed:
 they were great, with his troops [positioned] in the vanguard and in the rear.*

86 وَإِذَا مَا تَلَى كِتَابًا مِنَ اللَّهِ * تَلْتَهُ كَتَيْبَةُ حَضْرَاءُ
 سُمِلِبُ تَمَّ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَمُفْلِتٌ * جَيْشِ يِوُسِي كَدِرِعِ زَاؤُ زَكْمِ
 sumilibu tuma kitāba llahi wamufuliti * jayshi yiwusi kadiri‘i zāwu za k’uma
*When the Prophet recited the revelations from God,
 the whole army prepared its weapons and equipment.*

87 وَكَفَاهُ الْمُسْتَهْزِئِينَ وَكَمْ سَاءَ * نَبِيًّا مِنْ قَوْمِهِ اسْتِهْزَاءُ
 تُشَلِيزِ مِلْوَاكِ وَ مُلْدِيُ * كَعَبِ أُذِي وَقَوْمُ كُذِّ مِمِ
 tushilizi miliwāki wa muludhiwu * kaghabi udhiya waqawmu kuludhi mima
*God consoled him against those who mocked him:
 how many people have done this against the Good One?*

88 وَرَمَاهُمْ بِدَعْوَةٍ مِنْ فِنَاءِ * الْبَيْتِ فِيهَا لِلظَّالِمِينَ فِنَاءُ
 أَكْوَصِيرُ كَدَّ عَايِ يَمْرُغُنِ * وَالْكَعْبَةِ يَكُوشَ مَظَالِمِ
 akawaṣiburu kadu ‘āyi yamuzi ghuni * wa-kka‘ba‘i yakuwusha mazālima
*He made a special invocation to God when he was inside the Ka’ba:
 that was the turning point when his enemies were overwhelmed.*

89 خَمْسَةٌ كُلُّهُمْ أُصِيبُوا بِدَاءِ * وَالرَّدَى مِنْ جُنُودِهِ الْأَدْوَاءُ
 وَنَتْ وَوَتْنٌ وَصِيبُ كَدَا كُو * نَكْهَلِكِكَ عَوْنِي نِدَالِ جَمِ
 wunti wu watanu waṣibiwa kadā kuwu * nakuhilikika ‘awniyi nidala jama
*All five worst enemies [of the Prophet] were struck down by sickness,
 and the best doctors were unable to cure them.*

- ٩٠ فَدَهَيْهِ الْأَسْوَدَ ابْنَ مُطَلِّبٍ * أَيُّ عَمِي مَيِّتٌ بِهِ الْأَحْيَاءُ
 ٩٠ اُكْمُشْكِييَ اَسْوَدَ وَمُطَلِّبٍ * اُبْفُ اُكْلُ زِلُّ حَيِّ كَوْزَتَمَ
 ukamushukiya aswadi wamuṭṭalibu * ubufu ukulu zilu ḥayyi kawuzatama
 Among those affected with diseases was Aswad bin Mutalib;
 he became blind, to the extent that he was like a dead person.
- ٩١ وَدَهَيْهِ الْأَسْوَدَ ابْنَ عَبْدِ يُغُوْثٍ * أَنْ سَقَاةُ كَاسِ الرَّدِيِّ اسْتِسْقَاءُ
 ٩١ تَنْ كَشْكُوْ اَسْوَدَ بِنَ عَبْدِ يُغُوْثٍ * نَسْتِسْقَا كَمُنْشَ كَاسِ يَسْمَ
 tina kashukiwa aswad bina 'abdi yaghūthi * nistisqā kamunusha kāsi yasuma
 And Aswad ibn 'Abdi Yaghuth was afflicted with severe thirst
 that remained unquenched until poison was put in the water [and he died].
- ٩٢ وَأَصَابَ الْوَالِدَ حَدْشَةً سَهْمٍ * قَصْرَتْ عَنْهَا لِلْحَيَّةِ الرَّقْطَاءُ
 ٩٢ وَوَالِدٍ لِبِطٍ نَجْرَاحٍ كَاكِ يَمُفٍ * يُكُ يَزْتُنُ لِفُبِيلٍ كَمِي سَمَ
 walīdi libiṭa nijarāḥa kāki yamufi * yuka yazituni lifubili kamayu sama
 And Walid was injured by a poisoned arrow;
 the poison was fatal, like the bite of the most venomous snake.
- ٩٣ وَقَضَتْ شَوْكَةً غَلِيٍّ مُهْجَةٍ * الْعَاصِيِ فَلِلَّهِ التَّقَعَةُ الشَّوْكَاءُ
 ٩٣ مِوَالِغِزِيلٍ وَوُنِمٍ غُلٍّ لَعَاصٍ * مَزِرُو دَمُلٍ مِوَسُو مِغِشَ هِمَ
 miwalighizili wawunimi ghulu la'āsi * maziwa damula miwa suwu mughisha hima
 And 'Aswi got pricked after stepping on a thorn;
 this should have been a minor injury, but it became so severe that he died.
- ٩٤ وَعَلَى الْحَارِثِ الْقَبِيْحُ وَقَدْ * سَالَ بِهَا رَأْسُهُ وَسَاءَ الْوِعَاءُ
 ٩٤ حَارِثٍ شُكُوْ نَوْسَحَ كِكْتُلُزَ * كَوُ كِطَ كَاكِ تُبُ كِوِ كَسِي تَمَ
 ḥārithi shukiwa niwasaha kikatuluza * kawu kiṭa k'āki tubu kiwi k'asii tama
 And Harith was afflicted by a flow of pus from his head,
 and as a result he ended up dying.
- ٩٥ هَوْلَاءِ طَهَّرَتْ بِقَطْعِهِمُ الْأَرْضَ * فَكَفُّ الْأَذْيِ بِهِمْ سَلَاءُ

95 سَوُوكُفَّاكِ تِ يِوِلِ مُتَطَهَّرٍ * مُكُنُّ وَ فِوِ بُلُزِ يِلِ كَوُ كُتَمَ
 sawuwu kakufāki ti yiwili mutaṭahhari * mukunu wa fiwi buluzi īli kawu kutama
*These five bitter enemies met their end for the sake of peace,
 the hands of evil perished after their death.*

96 فُدَيْتِ خَمْسَةَ الصَّحِيفَةِ * بِالْخَمْسِ أَنْ كَانَ لِلْإِكْرَامِ فِدَاءُ
 وَتَنْ وَخَطٍ وَنُنُو كَاؤُ وَتَنْ * وَلَعْنَوُ وَكَبَ بَاوْفِدَا يَوْمَ
 watanu wakhaṭi wanunuwa kāwu watanu * wala'ainiwa wukaba bāwafidā yawima
*The five enemies met their end due to their intimidation of five young men
 who refused to breach the agreement [with the Prophet], and this was the consequence.*

97 فُتَيْتُهُ بَيْتُونَا عَلَيَّ فِعْلٍ خَيْرٍ * حَمِدَ الصُّبْحِ أَمْرُهُ وَالْمَسَاءِ
 وَتَوْتُ كِرَامًا وَدَ بَرْتِدُ لَخَيْرٍ * مَكَّو نَجِي زَحِمِدِ لَو لَزِمَ
 watūtu kirāmu wada biritidu lakhayri * mak'iwu najiyu zaḥimidi lawu lazima
*The young men made a commendable move:
 they met at night and agreed not to accept the breach of truce.*

98 يَا لَأَمْرٍ آتَاةَ بَعْدَ هِشَامٍ * زُمَعَةٌ أَنَّهُ الْفَتَى الْآتَاءُ
 أَيُّ يَبِّ يَمَ لِسَيْلُ بَعْدَ يَكِ * هِشَامُ زُمَعَةٌ مُتُّغَ مِي كَرَمَ
 ay yabu yima lisīlu ba'da yaki * hishāmu zum'aṭu mututugha miyi karama
*The other young men [of the village] joined them, and afterwards Hisham
 and Zam'ah [bin Aswad], and the others were amongst the blessed ones.*

99 وَزُهَيْرُ وَالْمُطْعَمُ ابْنِ عَدِيٍّ * وَأَبُو الْبُخْتَرِيِّ مِنْ حَيْثُ شَاءَ
 زُهَيْرُ ثَايِ مُطْعَمُ ابْنِ عَدِيٍّ * نَشِ بُخْتَرِي تَشَلِبُ لَو لِكَيْمَ
 zuhayru thāyi muṭ'imu ābna 'adiyi * nashi bukhtariyi tashilibu lawu likayma
*And Zuheyr and Mut'im bin 'Adiyi
 and his father Bukhtarī, all of them agreed to rebel against the demands of [the Qur'aysh].*

100 نَقَضُوا مُبْرَمَ الصَّحِيفَةِ إِذْ شَدَّتْ * عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْعَدِيِّ الْأَنْدَاءُ
 وَلَوُتْغَلِ مُحْكَمَ وَخَطِ يُوُ * زِتْغُ زَوَاوِ كُشَدِيدِ وَكَبُ كِيمَ
 waliwutaghuli muḥkama wakhaṭi yawu * zitighu zawāwi kushadīdi wakibu kima
*The young men went there to fetch the manuscript
 from where it was stored, in order to tear it into pieces.*

- ١٠١ اذْكَرْتَنَا بِأَكْلِهَا أَكَلَ مِنْسَاةٌ * سُلَيْمَانَ الْأَرْضَةَ الْحَرَسَاءُ
 101 وَلِكُبُشَيْرٍ كَكُلِّكَ كُلَّ كَسِيبٍ * يَسْلَيْمَانَ مُطًا وَاسُ جُؤَ كُسَيْمٍ
 walikubushīza kakulaki kula kasibu * yasulaymāna muṭa wāsu juwa kusīma
*It happened that the manuscript was eaten up like the stick
 of [the prophet] Suleyman by the termites who could not speak.*
- ١٠٢ وَبِهَا أَخْبَرَ النَّبِيُّ وَكَمْ أَخْرَجَ * خَبَأَهُ الْعُيُوبُ خِبَاءً
 102 نَكَكُلُوكِ الْبَلِّ تَمَّ كَغَبٍ * يَكُلَ مَسِتُّ كُظْهَيْرٍ بَكَدِ تَيْمٍ
 nakakuliwāki ulabili tuma kaghabi * yakula masitu kuḏihīri bak'adi tīma
*And the Prophet had already prophesied this event,
 that it would all be consumed except the good words (i.e. Bismillah).*
- ١٠٣ لَا تَخْلُ جَانِبَ النَّبِيِّ مُضَاعًا * حِينَ مَسَّتْهُ مِنْهُمْ الْأَسْوَاءُ
 103 سِظْنِ أَبَارٍ وَمُتْمِ كَبِّ مُضَاعٍ * بَدِ أَبْتَبِ نُوذِيٍّ وَأَوْ قَوْمٍ
 siḏani ubāri wamutumi kaba muḏā'a * bidi abitabu niwudhiya wāwu qawma
*Do not think what they do behind the Prophet's back is not accounted for
 whenever these people mock him.*
- ١٠٤ كُلَّ أَمْرٍ نَابَ النَّبِيِّينَ فَالْشَّدَةُ * فِيهِ مَحْمُودَةٌ وَ الرَّحَاءُ
 104 كُلَّ يَبِّ كُلِّ لِبْتَلٍ مُتْمِ يُنْتِ * شِدَا نَرَحَايِ كُشَكَنِ يُنْتِ نِمَيْمِ
 kula yabu kulu libtilu mitumi yunti * shida narahāyi kushakani yunti nimayma
*No matter what befalls any of the prophets,
 good or bad, it always turns out well.*
- ١٠٥ لَوْ يَمَسُّ النَّضَارَهُونَ مِنَ النَّارِ * لَمَّا اخْتِيرَ لِلنَّضَارِ الصَّلَاءُ
 105 كَيْبِتِ تَوْ كَكُتُومُتْ ذَهَبُ * كَبَغْتُؤُ كُتُكُصَ ذَهَبُ جِيمِ
 kayibiti tuwa kakutiwamutu dhahabu * kabaghatiwuwa kutukuṣa dhahabu jīma
*When gold is melted in fire,
 it usually comes out purified at the end.*
- ١٠٦ كَمْ يَدٍ عَنِ نَبِيِّهِ كَفَّهَا اللَّهُ * وَفِي الْخَلْقِ كَثْرَةٌ وَاجْتِرَاءُ

- 106 مُلُغٌ زَوِلَ كُلُّكِي مِكُنُ مِج * نَبُ بَلِوُجِ نَشْجَاعَ زَوْ قَوْمَ
mulughu ziwili kulikuyi mikunu miji * nabu baliwuji nashujā'a zawu qawma
God protected him against the hands of evil people,
even if sometimes the enemies outnumbered his followers.
- 107 اِذْ دَعَيْ وَحَدَهُ الْعِيَادَ وَأَمْسَتْ * مِنْهُ فِي كُلِّ مُقْلَةٍ اِقْدَاءُ
أَوْلِغْنِبِ اِلْبِكِ وَاجَ كَطَاعَ * بَكَاغَا سَابُ كُلِّ بُونِ زَتْرِيمَ
107 awalighinibu ilabika wāja kaṭā'a * bakaghia sābu kula būni zitazyuma
He invited them to obey the Creator,
but they spurned him as if dirt covered their eyes.
- 108 هَمَّ قَوْمٌ بِقَتْلِهِ فَايَبِي السَّيْفِ * وَفَاءَ وَفَاءَتِ الصَّفْوَاءِ
قَوْمٌ تَشَلُّ كُمُووَ بَعَ زَكَيْبَ * كَكُكَا عَهْدِ نَلُ يُو كِكِدَا يُمَ
108 qawmu tashili kumuwuwa bagha zikayba * kakuk'a 'ahadi nalu yiwi kikida yuma
They attempted to kill him with their swords, but in vain:
instead out of fear the swords and stones turned against them.
- 109 وَأَبُو جَهْلٍ اِذْرَأَيْ عُنُقَ الْفَحْلِ * اِلَيْهِ كَانَهُ الْعَنْقَاءُ
نَابُو جَهْلٍ اَوْنِبُ شِغُ يَدُمُ * اِمْتُلُكِلِ جَعْنُقِ يَنْ عَظِيمَ
109 naabuu jahli awinibu shighu yadumi * imutulukili ja'anuqi yuni 'azīma
[When he was trying to kill the Prophet], Abu Jahal saw the neck of a huge bull-like creature,
and fled to avoid being swallowed by the creature.
- 110 وَاقْتِضَاةَ النَّبِيِّ دَيْنَ الْاِرَاشِيِّ * وَقَدْ سَاءَ بِيَعُهُ وَالشَّرَاءُ
اَكْمَلِسِي تُمْ دَيْنِ يَكِ اِرَاشِيِّ * كُزَنَكُوَاكِ عَدُوْبِ حَكَلِ كِمَ
110 akamulisayi tuma dayni yaki irāshii * kuzanakuwāki 'aduwibi ḥakali kima
The Prophet assisted al-Irashi regarding what he sold on credit;
the seller and the Prophet himself went to the bad creditor and finally the seller got paid.
- 111 وَرَأَى الْمُصْطَفَى اِتَاةَ بِمَالَمُ * يَنْجُ مِنْهُ دُونَ الْوَفَاءِ النَّجَاءُ
كُونَ مُتِغِ اُمَجَلِ نَابَلُ ي * كَبُنِ نَسِيلُ فِيفِ بَاسِ كُوفِ ذِمَ
111 kawuna mutighi umujili naabalu yi * kabuni nasīlu fifi bāsi kuwafi dhima
He saw the Prophet coming towards him with others:
it was obvious that the only option was to pay the debt.

- ١١٢ هُوَ مَا قَدْ رَأَهُ مِنْ قَبْلُ * لَكِنْ مَا عَلَيَّ مِثْلَهُ يُعَدُّ الْخَطَأُ
 112 نَايٍ نَابُوْ لِمُوْنٍ قَبْلَ سَايٍ * بَلْ كَمَسِيْ كَعُدُّ وَخَطَّ اذْمِيْمَ
 nāyi niabawu limuwini qabla sāyu * bal kamasuyu ka'udu wakhaṭa ādhamīma
 The prophet was accompanied by the bull-like creature that [Abu Jahal] had seen previously,
 but despite all this he persisted in his evil ways.
- ١١٣ وَاَعَدَّتْ حَمَّالَةَ الْحَطَبِ * الْفِهْرَ وَجَاءَتْ كَانَهَا الْوَرْقَاءُ
 113 نَحَمَّالَةَ الْحَطَبِ تُزِلُّ مَوٍ * كِغَ كَمَ دَوٍ كَهَمَزٍ كُجَّ كِهَمَ
 naḥammālatu ālḥaṭabi tuzili mawī * kigha kama diwa kahimazi kujja kahima
 And Hammala al-Hatab got hold of a big stone;
 she darted like a pigeon and tried to stone the Prophet.
- ١١٤ يَوْمَ جَاءَتْ غَيْظِي تَقُولُ أَفِي * مِثْلِي مِنْ أَحْمَدَ يُقَالُ الْهَجَاءُ
 114 سِيكَ أَجْلِي نَغَضَبُ كَيَّ أَتَبَ * كَنَمِ مُتَمِ وَتُكَانَ نَكْنِذَمَ
 siku ajiliyu naghāḍabu kaya ataba * kanami mutumi watukāna nakunidhuma
 That day, she came towards the Prophet full of anger, claiming that
 the Prophet had insulted and scoffed at her.
- ١١٥ وَتَوَلَّتْ وَمَا رَأَتْهُ وَمِنْ أَيْنَ * تَرِي الشَّمْسِ مُقَلَّةَ عَمِيَاءُ
 115 كَرْدِ أَسِبِ كُمُونِ لُونِ وَبِ * يَتِ إِكْبُفِ يُو كَالِ لِكْتَرَمَ
 karudi asibu kumuwuna liwuna wabi * yitu ikubufu yuwa kāli likatazama
 She turned away because she was unable to see the Prophet:
 her eyes lost their vision due to bright rays from the sun.
- ١١٦ ثُمَّ سَمَّتِ الْيَهُودِيَّةُ الشَّاءُ * وَكَمَ سَامَ الشَّقْوَةَ الْأَشْقِيَاءُ
 116 كِنِكَ يَهُودٍ لِيْتَزِلِ بُرِّ كِتَنَ * كَعَبِ شَقِي تَسِلِبِ كُمَبِ سُمَّ
 kinuka yahūdi litizili buzi kitana * kaghabi shaqiyyi tasilibu kumuba suma
 Then, a Jewish woman poisoned a piece of meat;
 one can only imagine how many failed attempts have been made to kill [the Prophet] by poison.
- ١١٧ فَأَذَاعَ الدَّرَاعُ مَا فِيهِ مِنْ سُمَّ * بِنُطْقِ إِخْفَاؤُهُ إِبْدَأُ

ذِرَاعٌ يُلُومُ يَشْرُؤِلَ إِكْشِعَشَ * كَنْطُقِي بُولَ كِسِكِو نَكْدِ كَمَ 117

dhirā'i yalūmu yashurūli ikashi'isha * kanuṭqi būla kisikiwa nik'adi k'ima
The [well-roasted] meat gained the power of speech and warned the Good One (ie the Prophet)
that he should not eat something poisoned.

وَبِخُلُقٍ مِّنَ النَّبِيِّ كَرِيمٍ * لَمْ يُعَاقَبْ بِجَرْحِهَا الْعَجْمَاءُ 118

كَخُلُقِ جِمَ يَمْتُمِ سُوِي كَرِيمٍ * كَكِمِشَ يَبُ كَسْمِي سُوِي عَجَمَ 118
kakhulqi jima yamutumi suyu karīmu * kakimisha yabu kasumuyi suyu 'ajama
But due to his good nature and humbleness
the Prophet forgave the woman who tried to poison him.

مَنْ فَضَّلَا عَلَيَّ هَوَازِنَ إِذْ كَانَ * لَهُ قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ فِيهِمْ رَبَاءُ 119

لِيَعْمِشَزِ كَفَضِلِ هَوَازِنِ * كَبَ بِلُولِ كُلوَاكِ كَاوُ نِيمَ 119
libi'imishazi kafaḍili hawāzini * kaba baliwili kuliwāki kāwu nabima
He also freed the captives from the Hawazin tribe due to their kindness:
he was brought up by their mother when he was young.

وَأَتَى السَّبِي فِيهِ أُخْتُ رِضَاعٍ * وَضَعَ الْكُفْرَ قَدْرَهَا وَالسَّبَاءُ 120

مَتَاكَ يَيْلَ نَمُ مَلِ أَبُ لَكَمَ * كَفْرُ شُشَزِ نَكْتِكَ كَوْتِكَ 120
matika yayila namu muli ubu lakama * kafru shushiza nakutika kiwak'i k'ima
Amongst the captives was his foster-sister;
she felt ashamed at having been taken captive alongside infidels.

فَحَبَّاهَا بَرًّا تَوَهَّمَتِ النَّاسُ * بِهِ إِنَّمَا السَّبَاءُ هِدَاءُ 121

كَمُبَ كَرَمَ حَتِّي وَتُ كَظْنِ كَزُ * سِيَالًا مَتَاكَ نَوْبَابِ عَرُوسِ جِمَ 121
kamuba kazima ḥattay watu kazani kazu * siillā matika niwabābi 'arusi jima
[The Prophet] gave her many presents
so that, once back home, her family thought that she was a bride.

بَسَطَ الْمُصْطَفَى لَهَا مِنْ رِدَاءٍ * أَيُّ فَضْلِ حَوَاهُ ذَلِكَ الرِّدَاءُ 122

كَمْتَدِكِي مُصْطَفَى غُوِي أَيُّ * فَضْلَ زَلِي كُسِيَزُ غُوِي يَمِيمَ 122
kamtadikiya muṣṭafay ghuwu yayu * faḍla ziluyi kusiyizu ghuwu yamīma
The Prophet spread out for her a soft sheet of cloth;
it was outstanding generosity on his part to give her his best clothing material.

- ١٢٣ فَغَدَّتْ مِنْهُ وَهِيَ سَيِّدَةٌ * التَّسْوَةَ وَ السَّيِّدَاتُ فِيهِ إِمَاءُ
 123 أَكْصِيرُ كَائِي مِيْجِي إِلِ سَيِّدٍ * نَأُو وَنُعْنَ فَضْلِينَ وَكِعْغَ إِمَا
 akaṣīri kāyu mayūjiya ili sayyidi * nāwu wanughana faḍlini wakigha imā
 And due to such favour she had increased status;
 people talked about her as they passed by.
- ١٢٤ فَتَنَزَّهُ فِي وَمَعَانِيهِ * إِسْتِمَاعًا إِنْ عَزَّ مِنْهَا اجْتِبَاءُ
 124 دُغُّ تَنْزَهُ ذَاتِنِمِ نَمَعَانِي * كَكْبُلِكِرَ أَكْتَوَ كُيْتَرَمَ
 dughu tunazzahi dhātiniṃ namaʿāniyi * kakubulikiza ukitawa kuyatazama
 Brothers, look at the Prophet's face carefully:
 you will be attracted by his character and natural good looks.
- ١٢٥ وَآمَلَا السَّمْعَ مِنْ مَحَاسِنِ يُمْلِيهَا * عَلَيكَ الْإِنْشَادُ وَالْإِنْشَاءُ
 125 وَجَزَ سِكِي وَمِ وَآكِ أُكْسِيُو * زَكْتِيُو إِنْشَادِ نِي نَظْمَ
 wijiza sikiyu wima wāki ukusiyiwu * zikutuyiyawui inshādi nayu naẓma
 Let us fill our ears with attractive melody
 by composing beautiful lyrics and poems.
- ١٢٦ كُلَّ وَصْفٍ لَهُ ابْتَدَاتُ بِهِ * إِسْتَوْعَبَ أَخْبَارَ الْفَضْلِ مِنْهُ ابْتِدَاءُ
 126 كُلَّ صِفَ يَكِ نَدِ زَائِي كَائِي كَتِي * كَدَ كَلِينِزِ أَخْبَارِ زِكِ زَوْمَ
 kula ṣifa yaki nadi zāyu kāyu kutaya * kada kulinīzi akhbāri zki zawima
 You cannot exhaustively speak of his good character:
 there is so much to be said.
- ١٢٧ سَيِّدٌ ضَخْكُهُ التَّبَسُّمُ وَ الْمَشْيُ * الْهُوَيْنَا وَنَوْمُهُ الْإِعْفَاءُ
 127 سَيِّدُ يَوَاتُ كُتِكَآكِ نَتَبَسُّمِ * نَمِدُ نِبُلِ كُكَلَلِكِ تَاكِ نَوْمَ
 sayyidi yawātu kutikāki nitabasumi * namidu nibuli kulalaki tāk'i nawima
 He was best in behavior, his laughter was slight as if it was a smile,
 he walked humbly, and never slept for long.
- ١٢٨ مَاسَوِي خُلُقِهِ النَّسِيمُ وَ لَا * غَيْرَ مُحَيَّاةُ الرَّوْضَةَ الْفَنَاءُ

- 128 أُيُبُّ وَبَابٌ سَمَغِينِ نِخْلُوقِي * سِيَالَا أُسُوكَتَغُغِ كَمَتِ مِيَمِ
ubību wibāba simaghini nikhluqiyi * siilā wusuwakitaghughi k'amiti mīma
*His behavior can be likened to a gentle breeze,
his face was like the blossoming of fruitful trees.*
- ١٢٩ رَحْمَةً كُلُّهُ وَ عَزْمٌ وَ حَزْمٌ * وَوَقَارٌ وَ عِصْمَةٌ وَ حَيَاءٌ
129 اِي نِرِحِيْمَ نَضْبُطِ نَاجْتِهَادِ * زُنْتِ نُوْتِيْشُ نَحْفِظِ نَحْيَا جِيْمِ
iyi niriḥīma naḍibuṭi nājtiḥādi * zunti niwutīshu naḥifzi naḥayā jīma
*He was full of mercy, firm and steadfast;
all these features are qualities of modesty.*
- ١٣٠ لَا تَحُلُّ الْبَأْسَاءُ مِنْهُ عُرْيٌ * الصَّبْرُ وَلَا تَسْتَخْفُهُ السَّرَاءُ
130 غُغِ يَصْبُرِ كَايْتِدَ يَكِ نِيْشِدَ * رَا حَ نُوْسَعِ كَزِ لَاسِ مُتْمِ مِيْمِ
ghughi yaṣaburi kāyitida yaki nishida * rāḥa nawasi'a kazi lāsi mutumi mīma
*He was persistent in whatever he did;
the joy of preaching never leaves a true prophet.*
- ١٣١ كَرُمَتْ نَفْسُهُ فَمَا يَخْطُرُ الشُّؤْءُ * عَلَيَّ قَلْبِهِ وَ الْفَحْشَاءُ
131 لِتَكَرْمَلِ نَفْسِي كَبَيْسِلِ * فَوِ مِي نِيْمِ وَ أَفْحُشَ كَزِكِيْمِ
litakaramili nafsīyi kababisili * fiwi muyu nimi wāfuḥuṣha kazikighima
*His heart was so blessed that
evil thoughts or acts found no room in it.*
- ١٣٢ عَظُمَتْ نِعْمَةُ الْإِلَهِ عَلَيْهِ * فَاسْتَقَلَّتْ لِذِكْرِهِ الْعُظْمَا
132 نَعَمَ زَمَلِ زَكْرُلِ أَمْبِلِزُ * بَاكِبِ مِنْ كَكْتَايِ يَغِ نَعَمِ
na'ma zamula zikuzili amubilizu * bākiba munu kakutāya yighi ni'ma
*The blessings of God were showered upon him;
if they are to be mentioned they are innumerable.*
- ١٣٣ جَهَلَتْ قَوْمُهُ عَلَيْهِ فَاعْضِي * وَاحُوا الْجِلْمِ دَابُّهُ الْإِعْضَاءُ
133 وَ مُجَهَّلِي قَوْمِي أَكُوْبُرُ * نَمِي جِلْمِ نِكُبُرُ وَ اَوِ كِسِمِ
wamujahhiliyi qawmuyi akawa buza * namiyi ḥilmu nikubuza wāwi kisima
*His people were ignorant but he tolerated them;
a humble person will always be tolerant towards critics.*

- ١٣٤ وَسِعَ الْعَالَمِينَ عِلْمًا وَ حِلْمًا * فَهَوَّجَرُ لَمْ تَعِيهِ الْأَعْيَاءُ
- 134 كُدُّكَيْلٍ وَنَتْ عِلْمُنْ نَوْحَلِيمَ * إِي نَبَحَرِ كَتُكَيْزِ بَتْفُ كِيمَ
kudukīla wantu 'ilmuni nawuḥalīma * iyi nibaḥari katukīza batufu kīma
He taught people the value of knowledge and tolerance;
he was an ocean wave that washed away stagnant dirt.
- ١٣٥ مُسْتَقِلُّ دُنْيَاكَ أَنْ يُنْسَبَ * الْإِمْسَاكُ مِنْهَا إِلَيْهِ وَالْأَعْطَا
- 135 مُكْسَ دُنْيَا إِلِ كَبَ سِنَسِبُو * كُبَ نَكُشِيكَ الْكِي كِي نِتَمَ
mukisa dunyā ili kaba sinasibuwa * kuba nakushīka alikuyi kayu nitama
He did not hold onto worldly things;
he liked sharing [them] - holding them back was not his way.
- ١٣٦ شَمْسُ فَضْلِ تَحَقَّقَ الظَّنُّ * فِيهِ أَنَّهُ الشَّمْسُ رُفْعَةً وَ الضِّيَا
- 136 يُو لَفُضِيلِ ذَاتِمَ بُبُتِلِ * يُو نَمَلَاغَ رِفْعَنَ رِي جَزَمَ
yuwa lufaḍīli dhātītimi bathubutīli * yuwa namulāgha rif'anī riyu jazma
The light of kindness in his personality
was like the shining of the sun at its zenith.
- ١٣٧ فَإِذَا مَا ضَحَى مَحَى نُورُهُ الظِّلُّ * وَ قَدْ أَثَبَتَ الظُّلَالَ الضُّحَاءُ
- 137 أَدَبُ يُونِ نُورُ يَكِ يَزِي ظِلُّ * يُولِمِزَبُ نُتِشَ كِفُولِ كِمَ
adabu yuwani nūru yaki yaziya zilli * yuwalimizabu thubutisha kifūli kīma
When he walked in the sun the light covered him like a shadow
when the sun went away his own light shone out.
- ١٣٨ فَكَأَنَّمَا الْعِمَامَةَ اسْتَوَدَعْتَهُ * مِنْ أَظَلَّتْ مِنْ ظِلِّهِ الدُّفَا
- 138 كَنَ كَبَ وَيُعُ كِعْزَبُ لِمُوشِيَزَ * جَيْشِ الْي كِعْلِيَزِ نَتَكِ كِمَ
kana kaba wighu kighizabu limuwishīza * jayshi alayu kighilīza natakī kīma
It was as if a cloud came over him,
a sort of an army that shielded him from heat.
- ١٣٩ حَفِيَتْ عِنْدَهُ الْفَضَائِلُ * وَ انْجَابَتْ بِهِ عَنْ عُقُوقِ لَنَا الْأَهْوَاءُ

بَلْفُنْمِنِ مَيْجِي جَانِبِ نِمِ * نَضَلَالِ كَايِ فُنُكَيْلِ زَيْتُ فَهَمَ 139

balifunimini mayujiya jānibu nimi * naḍalāla kāyi funukīli zītu fahama

*His blessings were hidden in him;
they are invisible, so we know this only by empirical knowledge.*

أَمَعَ الصُّبْحِ لِلتُّجُومِ تَجَلَّى * أَمَ مَعَ الشَّمْسِ لِلظَّلَامِ بَقَاءُ ١٤٠

هَلِ أَصْبَحِ بَاوُنَ يَتِ كُوَالِ * أَوْبَسَلِي نَالُ جُوبَدِ ضَلَامَ 140

hali aṣubuḥi bāwuna yuta kuwāla * awbasaliya nālu juwabadi ḍulāma

*Early in the morning you may see a shining star
or the sun may remain shining while it is already dark.*

مُعْجِزُ الْقَوْلِ وَ الْفَعَالِ كَرِيمُ * الْخَلْقِ وَ الْخُلُقِ مُقْسِطُ مِعْطَاءُ ١٤١

مُشِدِ وَ كَبِ نَفِتِدُ مَيْمِ وَ لُوبِ * مُلْمُو حَقِّ مُبْفِغِ خُلُقِ جِمَ 141

mushidi wakaba nafitidu mayma walūbu * mulamuwa ḥaqqi mubafighi khuluqi jima

*He was great in speech, with good manners and with a fine body;
he judged with justice and interacted with people in a just way.*

لَاتَقْسِ بِالنَّبِيِّ فِيهِ الْفَضْلِ خَلْقًا * فَهَوَ الْبَحْرُ وَ الْإِنَامُ إِضَاءُ ١٤٢

سِمْفَنَزِ نَكْفُبِ تَمَ يَمُولَ * إِي نِبَحَارِ أُوزِلِبِ دِزِبِ تَمَ 142

simufananizi nakifubi tuma yamūla * iyi nibaḥāri uwuzilubi dhizibi thama

*Do not equate him with ordinary beings, the Prophet of God;
he is the sea, and others are vessels floating upon it.*

كُلُّ فَضْلٍ فِي الْعَالَمِينَ فَمِنْ * فَضْلِ النَّبِيِّ إِسْتِعَارَهُ الْفَضْلُ ١٤٣

كُلُّ مَيْجِي يَزْلُبُ يَلْزَلِ * فَضْلِينَ مَكِ فَضْلَاءِ وَ لِكْرَمَ 143

kulla mayujiya yazilubu yalilazili * faḍlini maki fuḍalau walikazima

*Every blessing that you see in people's lives,
it is from him that these blessings are borrowed.*

شُقَّ عَن صَدْرِهِ وَ شُقَّ لَهُ الْبَدْرُ * وَ مِنْ شَرْطِ كُلِّ شَرْطِ جَزَاءُ ١٤٤

بَطْوَكِفَاتِ كَتْلُو نَمِرِ مَكَّةَ * نَكُلَّ شَرْطِ شَرْطِي جَزَايِ كِمَ 144

baṭiwakifāk'i katuliwa namizi makaṭa * nakulla shartī shartīyi jazāyi kima

*His chest was dissected and the moon was dissected too for him,
and every condition met its fulfillment*

- ١٤٥ وَرَمَى بِالْحَصَى فَاقْصَدَ جَيْشًا * مَا الْعَصَى عِنْدَهُ وَمَا الْإِلْقَاءُ
 145 لَتَلَزَّ جَوِ زِكْصَيْبُ جَيْشِ كُو * سِبُّ نَتْعَانِ نَكْتَاكِ مُكْتَرَمَ
 latilizi jiji zikaṣību jayshi kuu * sibū natughāni nakutāki mukatazama
 He threw pebbles against a great army.
 What use is a stick? They were terrified, and you witnessed this.
- ١٤٦ وَدَعَى لِلْأَنَامِ إِذْ دَهَمَتْهُمْ * سَنَةٌ مِنْ مُحُولِهَا شَهْبَاءُ
 146 أَلْوَلْبِلِ وَتُ بَدِ وَ غِلْوَبُ * نِمَكْ وَكَأَكْ كَشِدَلِ كُلِّ عَظِيمِ
 uliwa lubili watu bidi wa ghiliwabu * nimaka wakāka kashidali kulu ‘aẓīma
 He prayed for the people when it came to pass
 that during the year a great drought affected their lives so much.
- ١٤٧ فَاسْتَهَلَّتْ بِالْغَيْثِ سَبْعَةَ * أَيَّامٍ عَلَيْهِمْ سَحَابَةٌ وَ طَفَاءُ
 147 لِكَبْبُجِشِ قُلْ كُو سِكْ سَبَعِ * وَغُ شِشِزَالِ بَبِلُزِ وَلِكْ عَامِ
 likabubujisha qula kuu siku saba‘a * wighu shishizālu babiluzi waliku ‘āma
 It then rained so heavily for seven days
 that the clouds were moving over them wherever they were.
- ١٤٨ تَتَحَرَّى مَوَاضِعَ الرَّغْيِ وَ السَّقْيِ * وَحَيْثُ الْمَطَاشِ تُوهِي السَّقَاءُ
 148 وَغُ لِكْفُزِ مَلِشَنِ نَمَزُونِ * نَبَوِي يُوتَ بَبِشَبُ زَرِبِ ثَمَ
 wighu likafuza malishuni namaziwani * nabawiyyi yūta babishabu ziriba thama
 The clouds moved towards the parched fields and the oases,
 and those who were thirsty filled their water-tanks.
- ١٤٩ وَآتَى النَّاسُ يَشْكُونَ أَذَاهَا * وَرَخًا يُؤْذِي الْأَنَامَ غِلَاءُ
 149 نَوْتُ وَكَجِ كُشْتَاكِ شِدَ لَوُغُ * نَمُفُلِ كُلِّ شِدَ لَكْ لَوُذِ أَنْمِ
 nawatu wakaja kushitāki shida lawighu * namufula kulu shida laki lawudhi anama
 And the people then started to complain about the excessive rain:
 the heavy downpour was disastrous, and disturbed them.
- ١٥٠ فَدَعَى فَاَنْجَلِي الْعَمَامَ فُقُلُ * فِي وَصْفِ غَيْثِ إِقْلَاعُهُ إِسْتِسْقَا

كَلْبٌ إِرْغٌ لِكْرُكٍ كِسَ كُلبٌ * فُوَيْكُلبٌ كُنُكَاكِ صِفَ عِلْمٍ 150
 kaluba iwighu likaruka kisa kuluba * fuwayakuluba kunukāki šif ‘alima
*He prayed for the huge cloud to leave, and the rain stopped.
 This was a widely-known event.*

ثُمَّ أَثْرِي الثَّرِي وَقَرَّتْ عُيُونٌ * بِقُرَاهَا وَأَحْيَيْتِ أَحْيَاءُ ١٥١
 فَلْ كَكَسَتْ إِكْكَتَ مَتَّ كَتُولَ * زِتُغْجِ زُوتِ نَقَبِيلَ فُفُوَ فِيمَ 151
 fula kakasati ikakuta matu katūla * zitughuji zūti naqabīla fufiwa fima
*Normal rain then fell, and it was vividly obvious
 that all the villages of the region were given new life.*

فَتَرِي الْأَرْضَ غَبَّةً كَسَمَا * أَشْرَقَتْ مِنْ نُجُومِهَا الظَّلْمَاءُ ١٥٢
 أَكُونُ نَتِ مَسْوَكَ أُكْغَ سَمَا * زَلُكُزْغَلِ كَيْتَزِ سِزُ ظَلَمَ 152
 ukawuna nati misuwāki ukigha samā * zilukuzaghala kayutazi sizu ḡalam
*The earth became as lively as the sky,
 the way the stars glitter in the darkness.*

تَحْجِلُ الدُّرُو الْيَوَاقِيَتِ مِنْ نَوْرٍ * رُبَاهَا الْبَيْضَاءُ وَ الْحَمْرَاءُ ١٥٣
 زَيْتَحِيرِ يَأْقُوتِ نَائِي مِفَزِ * كَلُو لَتُو يَلْبِيلِ نَكْدُ يِمَ 153
 ziyataḡayari yāqūti nāyu mifazi * kaluwa latuu yilubīli nakdu yima
*Even the sapphire and pearl became envious
 of the beauty of the earth's white and red roses [which were scattered all over].*

لَيْتَهُ حَصْنِي بِرُؤْيَةِ وَجْهِ * زَالَ عَن كُلِّ مَنْ يَرَاهُ الشَّقَاءُ ١٥٤
 لَيْتِي تَوْمَ أَخْصِلُ كُبِّي أَسُ * أَبُو شَقَا وُلْدُ كِوَمِي تَزَمَ 154
 laytiyi tūma akḡašili kubuya usu * abawu shaqā waludu kiwamiyi tazama
*Ah! Poor me! I wish I could see the face of the Prophet.
 That face removed the afflictions of whoever gazed at it.*

مُسْفِرٌ يَلْتَقِي الْكَتِيبَةَ بَسَامَا * إِذَا أَسْهَمَ الْوُجُوهَ اللَّقَاءُ ١٥٥
 مُلْبِ أَكْتَنُ نَجَيْشِ كَيْتِكَ تِكْ * بِدِ غَيْرِبُ أَكْتَنُ مَاسُ كِنَمَ 155
 mulbi ukutanu najayshi kitika tika * bidi ḡhayiribu ukutanu māsu kinama
*It was a shining face, he laughed when he confronted an army.
 When he met his enemies they became downcast.*

- ١٥٦ جُعِلَتْ مَسْجِدًا الْأَرْضُ * فَاهْتَرَّ بِهِ لِلصَّلَاةِ فِيهَا حِرَاءُ
 156 اِتِّزَتْ وَمُسِكَتْ وَأُسُّ سُو * كَكُصَلِ سُمُّ حِرَا كَاوْ لِكِتِّمَ
 iti itizi wamusikiti wausu suwu * kakuşali sumu hira kawa likatitima
 It is permitted on earth to convert open space into a mosque,
 so when [the Prophet and Abu Bakr] prayed at Hira, the mountain trembled with joy.
- ١٥٧ مُظْهِرُ شَجَّةِ الْجَبِينِ عَلَيَّ بُرْدٍ * كَمَا أَظْهَرَ الْهَلَالَ الْبِرَاءُ
 157 اَلْظَهْرِشَ كَكُبُو كُفُّ يُوْسُ * كَمَ مِرَ كَدَ كَوِيْشَ مِرَ كَوْمَ
 uluzihirisha kakubuwa kufu yawusu * kama mizi kada kiwuyisha mizi kawimi
 It was evident that when his face was healed [after being injured]
 it became even brighter, like the light of the full moon.
- ١٥٨ سَتَرَ الْحُسْنَ مِنْهُ بِالْحُسْنِ * فَاعْجَبَ لِحِمَالِ لَهُ الْجَمَالَ وَقَا
 158 اُسْتِرْلُوْ وَمَ وَاكِ كَوْمَ اَبِي * عَجَبُ جَمَالِ كَجَمَالِ مَبِي كُرِمَ
 usitiriliwu wima waki kawima ubiya * 'ajabu jamali kajamali mubiya kuzima
 The healed scar on his face made his face more attractive.
 It is a wonder that something beautiful can arise from a healing process.
- ١٥٩ فَهوَ كَالزَّهْرِ لَاحٍ مِنْ سَجْفِ الْاَكْمَامِ * وَ الْعُودِ شُقَّ لَهُ اللَّحَاءُ
 159 شَجَّ نَعَّ لُوْ مِتْكَلُ كَتِكَ تُب * نَعَّ كَمَ عُوْدِ مِتْكَوْ نَعْدَ مِيْمَ
 shaja nigha luwa mitkalu katika tuba * nigha kama 'udi mitikiwa nighada mima
 It was like a flower sprouting out from its bud,
 like a perfumed stick that produces fragrance.
- ١٦٠ كَادَ اَنْ يُغْشِيَ الْعِيُونَ سَنَا * مِنْهُ لِسِرٌّ فِيهِ حَكَّتَهُ ذُكَاؤُ
 160 بَلِقُرْبِلِ كُفْنِكَ مَتُّ نُرْيِ * كَسِرِ الْوَمِ شَبِيْهُوْ نِيُوْ وَيْمَ
 baliqurubili kufunika matu nuruyi * kasiri ilumu shabihiwa niyuwa wima
 The brightness of his light almost closed his eyes
 its light was as powerful as shining rays of sunlight.
- ١٦١ صَانَهُ الْحُسْنُ وَالسَّكِينَةَ اَنْ * يُظْهِرُ فِيهِ اَثَارَهَا الْبَاسَاءُ

- 161 **أَمْحَفْظِي جَمَلِي نُو تَفُؤُو * كُتْظَهْرَشَ كُلِّ كُي شِدَ عَلَمَ**
 imuḥifaẓiyi jamaliyi nawu tufūwi * kutuẓihirasha kuli kuyi shida ‘alama
*The light protected him and he gained in handsomeness and steadfastness,
 so that it was not obvious that he had a scar at all.*
- 162 **وَ تَخَالَ الْوَجُؤَةَ إِنْ قَابَلْتَهُ * الْبَسْتَهَا الْوَانَهَا الْحِرْبَاءُ**
أَوْظَنَّ مَسُّ كُلِّكِي أُسْوَتُمْ * فِشَزَ حَرْبَ لَوْنِي عَجِيبَ يِمَ
 uwaẓanni masu kulikuyi usuwa tuma * fishiza ḥariba lawniyi ‘ajība yima
*You may imagine the face of the Prophet
 covered with chameleon skin that changes wonderfully.*
- 163 **فَإِذَا شِمْتَ بِشِرَّةٍ وَ نَدَاةٍ * أَدْ هَلَّتْكَ الْأَنْوَارُ وَ الْأَنْوَاءُ**
بِدِ أُونَبِ أَثِشَوِ نُو بِيُو * زِيَكُتْشِزَ نُوْرُ يَجِ نَخَيْرِ جَمَ
 bidi uwunabu uthishiwi nawu bayiwi * ziyakutushiza nūru yiji nakhayri jama
*The instant you saw his face you would realize its attractiveness;
 it was obvious because of its brightness and beauty.*
- 164 **أَوْ بِتَقْبِيلِ رَاحَةٍ كَانَ لِلَّهِ * وَ بِاللَّهِ أَخَذَهَا وَ الْمَطَاءُ**
أَوْ كَكْبُسُ مَكْنُو أَلُو كُو * كُبَ نَكْتَلِ إِلِ لِلَّهِ وَ بِاللَّهِ تَمَّ
 aw kakubusu mukunuwi uliwu kuwa * kuba nakutala ili lilahi wa billahi thamma
*Or kissing his hand, which
 whether giving or receiving, was only for the sake of God.*
- 165 **تَتَّقِي سَهَا الْمُلُوكِ وَ تُحْظِي * بِالْغِنِيِّ مِنْ نَوَالِهَا الْفُقَرَاءُ**
وَ فَلَمَّ وَتَ وَلَوْلِ كِكَّ شِدَلِ * فُقَرَّ كِنَالِ كَزِ بُو زَاكِ غِنِمَ
 wafalmi wuti waliwili kik'a shidali * fuqara kināli kazi buwa zāki ghanima
*All the kings feared the power of his hands,
 while the poor adored them for their generosity.*
- 166 **لَا تَسَلْ سَيْلَ جُودِهَا إِنَّمَا * يَكْفِيكَ مِنْ وَكْفِ سُجْهَا الْأَنْدَاءُ**
سِوُبِ سَيْلِ يَزِ بُو زَسِي كَفُ * وُلْفُ وَتِنِ لَوِ غَلِ كُكْفِ مِينِمَ
 siwubi sayli yazi bawa zasiyi kafu * wulufu watini lawi ghuli kukifu mīma
*Do not pray for blood to pour from such wrists:
 thousands of rain-drops will pour to fulfil such a wish.*

- ١٦٧ دَرَّةُ الشَّاةُ حِينَ مَرَّتْ عَلَيْهَا * فَلَهَا تَرْوَةٌ بِهَا وَ نَمَاءُ
 167 أُمْبِسِلِبُ جُو بُزِ شُشِزَ زَوْ * لَوْلِ نَوْجِ نَزِيَادِ كَكَفُ جِمَ
 umubisilibu juwu buzi shushiza ziwa * liwili nawuji naziyāda kakafu jima
 When he touched a goat it produced abundant milk;
 the increased yield was due to his blessed hands.
- ١٦٨ نَبَعَ الْمَاءُ أَثْمَرَ النَّخْلُ فِي عَامٍ * بِهَا سَبَّحَتْ بِهَا الْجَصْبَاءُ
 168 مَائِ تُبْشَلِ نَزْجُو زَكَسَبِح * كَاوُنَ مِتْدِ اِكْتِدَا يِيلِ عَامَ
 māyi tubushili nazijiwi zikasabihi * kāwuna mitidi ikatidā īli āma
 Water sprouted out and even pebbles praised [the Lord],
 and the palm trees produced bumper crops of dates.
- ١٦٩ أَحْيَتِ الْمُرْمِلِينَ مِنْ مَوْتِ جَهْدٍ * أَعَوَزَ الْقَوْمَ فِيهِ زَادٌ وَمَاءُ
 169 أَلُو فُفِيلِ وَشُ زَادِ نَكُفَ دَل * زَوَادِ نَمَائِي حَتَجِرِ سَبِّ قَوْمَ
 uliwu fufili washu zādi nakufa dala * zawādi namāyi ḥitajizi sabu qawma
 He revived the lives of those suffering from hunger,
 gifts and water were in high demand from people there.
- ١٧٠ فَتَغَدَّى بِالصَّاعِ أَلْفُ جِيَاعٍ * وَ تُرْوِي بِالصَّاعِ أَلْفُ ظَمًا
 170 وَيِ دَا كَالِ وَتُ كَيْكَ كَصَاعِ مُي * وَكِسَ مَنَّتْ كَائِي صَاعِ أَلْفِ ظَمَ
 wiyi dā kāla watu kīki kaṣā'i mūya * wakisa manuta kāyu ṣā'i alfu zama
 One thousand hungry people were fed to satiety by only one pot,
 and then quenched their thirst satisfactorily from it.
- ١٧١ وَ وَفِّي قَدْرُ بَيْضَةٍ مِنْ نِضَارٍ * دَيْنَ سَلْمَانَ حِينَ حَانَ الْوَفَا
 171 قَدْرِ يَيْي لَدَهَبُ لِكِسَ دَيْنِ * يَسْلَيْمَانَ بَدِ مِدِ كِسَ كُكُمَ
 qadri yayii ladhahabu likisa dīni * yasulaymāna bidi midi kisa kukuma
 Like a golden egg, Salman's debts were cleared
 and his bondage came to an end.
- ١٧٢ كَانَ يَدْعِي قِنًا فَأَعْتَقَ لَمَّا * أَيْنَعَتْ مِنْ نَخِيلِهِ الْأَقْنَاءُ

- 172 **وَلِكَيْطَ مُجٍ كَبَطَلَ كُلَّطَ حُرٌّ * بَدِ فِفَلِبُ مَتَزِي مِتْدِ جِمَ**
 walikiṭa muja kabaṭala kulaṭa ḥuri * bidi filibu matazuyi mitidi jima
 [Slave traders] set unreasonable conditions before setting a person free.
 [In Salman's case] his master said, "You will only be free once all the dates of the palm trees are ripe!"
- 173 **أَفَلَا تَعْدِرُونَ سَلْمَانَ لَمَّا * أَنْ عَرْتَهُ مِنْ ذِكْرِهِ الْعَرَوَاءُ**
 مُسِمُعُدْرُ سَلْمَانَ مُسِمُودِ * بَدِ ابْتَبُ كَكْتَا يِ نِكْتِتِمَ
 musimu'udhuru salmāna musimūdhi * bidi abitabu kakutā ya nikutitima
 Do not harm Salman, do not annoy him.
 Once the Prophet mentioned him, [the slave master] became shaken.
- 174 **وَأَزَالَتْ بِلْمَسِهَا كُلَّ دَاءٍ * أَكْبَرْتَهُ أَطْبَةُ وَإِسَاءُ**
 مُكُنُّ وَدُزِلَ كُلُّ دَالٍ كَكُشِكِكِ * إِلِي كُكُزَ نَطِيبُ نَوُو ثَمَ
 mukunu waduzili kulla dāla kakushikaki * iliyu kukuza niṭabību nawawi thama
 His hand by its touch removed every illness,
 even those said to be incurable by great doctors and healers.
- 175 **وَ عُيُونُ مَرَّتْ بِهَا وَهِيَ عَمِّي * فَارْتَهَا مَالَمَ تَرَ الزَّرْقَاءُ**
 مَتُ يَيْسَوِ نِمُكُنُ يَلِمَوِيلِ * أُكُوِي مَتُ الزَّرْقَاءُ اسْتَرَمَ
 matu yabisiwa nimukunu yalimawīli * ukawuya matu zzarqau asutazama
 When he cured the eyes of those with severe ailments
 they are able to see what Zarqa' couldn't.
- 176 **وَأَعَادَتْ عَلِي قَتَادَةَ عَيْنًا * فَهِيَ حَتَّى مَمَاتِهِ النَّجْلَاءُ**
 أُكْمُرْدُ زَوْ مُكُنُ قَتَادَةَ يَتُ * دِلُ نَكُونُ حَتَّى كُوفَ كُكَمِغَمَ
 ukamurudi zawu mukunu qatādaṭa yitu * dilu nakuwuna ḥatay kūfa kukamighima
 That same hand restored Qatada's eyesight
 and he gained perfect sight until he met his death.
- 177 **أَوْ بِأَشْمِ التُّرَابِ مِنْ قَدَمِ لَأَنْتَ * حَيًّا مِنْ مَسَّهَا الصَّفْوَاءُ**
 أَوْ كَكُبْسُ مُتَعَوِ وَيَايُ إِي * كَكِيرِ إِيْلِ نَكْحِيَا لُولِ سِمَ
 awkakubusu mutaghawi wayāyu iwi * kakira iyuli nakaḥayā liwili sima
 By kissing the sand bearing the Prophet's footprints
 blessings will follow, and rocks become yielding when he climbs them.

- ١٧٨ مَوْطِي الْأَخْمَصِ الَّذِي مِنْهُ لِلْقَلْبِ * إِذَا مَضَجَعِي أَقْضَى وَطَاءُ
 178 دَوْتُ زِيَايَ بَزُكَبَ كُلُّكَ مُي * غَيْبٌ مُتَغَّ تَدِكُلُ فِرَاشِ جِمَمَ
 diwatu zayāyu bazukaba kuliku muyu * ghiyabu mutagha tadikuli firāshi jima
 The sand he stepped upon was blessed,
 and everyone wished to make it a resting-place.
- ١٧٩ حُطِّي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ بِمَمَشَاهَا * وَ لَمْ تَنْسَ حَظَّهُ إِيْلِيَاءُ
 179 حَرَمٌ يَمَكُ كَكِينِزِ إِبْوَفُغُ * كَيْسَهَوَلِ مَقْدَسِ فُعَلِ يِمَمَ
 ḥaramu yamaka kakinira ibiwa fughu * kayisahawili maqdasi fughuli yima
 The sacred Mosque in Mecca was blessed [simply] by his walking around it,
 and the Maqdas Mosque [of Jerusalem] got some portion of that.
- ١٨٠ وَرِمَتْ إِذْ رَمَى بِهَا ظُلَمَ اللَّيْلِ * إِلَيَّ اللَّهُ خَوْفُهُ وَ الرَّجَاءُ
 180 زَلِكِيكُونِ فَمِلِبُ كَازُ مَسِيكَ * كُطْمَعُ كَاكِ نَكْتَاكَ كَمَلِ مِيمِ
 zilikiwini fumilibu kāzu masiku * kuṭuma'ī kāki nakutāka kamali mīmi
 His feet became swollen due to his extended night prayers,
 when he desired to show righteousness to his good Lord.
- ١٨١ دَمِيَتْ فِي الْوَعْيِ لِتُكْسِبِي طَيْبًا * مَا أَوَاقَتْ مِنْ الدَّمِ الشُّهَدَاءِ
 181 زِتِشَلِ دَمُ أُتْبِنِ كَبِ إِبَتِ * طَيْبُ الشُّهَدَاءِ تِشْزِي زَتَنَ دَمِ
 zitishili damu utabuni kaba ibati * ṭību āsshuhadau tishizayu zitana dama
 Blood oozed upon his legs during battles, so that
 it united with those of martyrs who had shed their blood on the battlefield.
- ١٨٢ فَهِيَ قُطْبُ الْمِحْرَابِ وَ الْحَرْبِ * كَمَ دَارَتْ عَلَيْهَا فِي طَاعَةِ أَرْحَاءِ
 182 نَازُ دِزُ كَغُ كَحَرُبُ نَمِحْرَابُ * كَغَبِ نَوَاحِي كُزْغَاكِ طَعَنَ جِمَمَ
 nāzu dizu k'aghu k'aharubu namihrābu * kaghabi nawāḥii kuzighāki ṭa'ani jima
 He led people in both battles and prayers.
 How many by the power of his revelation have become obedient and righteous?
- ١٨٣ وَارَاهُ لَوْ لَمْ يُسْكِنَ بِهَا قَبْلُ * حِرًّا مَاجَتْ بِهِ الدَّمَاءُ
 183 نَيُّو حِرًّا لَوْ لِسِ كُتْلَ كَازُ مَزُ * لِحَبَالِ لِعَيْتَبَ نَزُ قَدَمِ
 nayuwa ḥirau law lisi kutula kāzu mazu * lijabāli lighaytaba nazu qadama
 Had he not calmed down the mountain at Hira

it would have been restless with joy due to his stepping on it.

- ١٨٤ عَجَبًا لِلْكَفَّارِ زَادُوا ضَلَالًا * بِالَّذِي فِيهِ لِلْعُقُولِ اهْتِدَاءُ
- 184 عَجَبُ كُفَّارٍ وَزِدِلِ ضَلَالٍ كَأَيِّ * يِي وُلُغُفُ وَعَقِيلِ زِلِ سَلِيمٍ
- ‘ajabu kuffāri wazidili ḍalāla kāyu * yiyi wulughūfu wa‘aqīli zilu salīma
- It is incredible that the disbelievers continued in ignorance when guidance is clear for those who apply their reasoning.

- ١٨٥ وَ الَّذِي يَسْأَلُونَ مِنْهُ كِتَابٌ * مُنْزَلٌ قَدْ أَتَاهُمْ وَارْتِقَاءُ
- 185 نَابُؤُ كَبِّ وَتَشَلِّ نَائِي كِتَابُ * كِشْشَكُ نَائِي لَوْجِلِ نَكِدَ سَمَا
- naabawu kaba watashili nāyi kitābu * kishushakū nāyi liwajili nakida samā
- And [the disbelievers] keep on questioning about the revealed book insisting that it came down physically, or that [the Prophet] went up [to Heaven] to receive it.

- ١٨٦ أَوْ لَمْ يَكْفِهِمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ ذِكْرٌ * فِيهِ لِلنَّاسِ رَحْمَةٌ وَشِفَاءُ
- 186 هَلْ كَوْتُشَ نَذَكْرٍ يَاكَ مُلْعُ * إِلَيَّ نَبُوزُ لَزُوبٍ نَتْرَحْمَ
- hal kawatusha nadhikri yāki mulughu * iliyu nabūzu lazilūbi natarahumma
- Does it not strike them that it is a call from God, one which contains a cure and mercy for mankind?

- ١٨٧ أَعْجَزَ إِنْسٍ أَيْةٌ مِنْهُ وَ الْجِنَّ * فَهَلْ لَاتَانِي بِهَا الْبُلْعَاءُ
- 187 يَلْمِزُ وَنْتُ نَمَجِينِ أَيَايِ مُوَيِّ * هَلْ فُصْحَاءُ كَوَلْتِ أَيَايِ زِمَ
- yilimizi wantu namajīni ayāyi mūya * hila fuṣaḥau kawaliti ayāyi zima
- The human beings and jinns were incapable of producing a single verse [like it], the eloquent ones could not do so for even a single verse.

- ١٨٨ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ يُهْدِي إِلَيَّ سَامِعِيهِ * مُعْجَزَاتٍ مِنْ لَفْظِهِ الْقُرْأُ
- 188 مُعْجَزَ مَجٍ وَسُمَاجٍ كَلْفَظِرِ * وَابِلِكِي وَسِكِرِ كُلِّ يَوْمٍ
- mi‘ujiza miji wasumāji kalafzizi * wābilikiya wasikizi kulla yawma
- The reciters encounter many miracles from its mode of recitation, and it becomes very attractive to their listeners every day.

- ١٨٩ تَحَلَّى بِهِ الْمَسَامِعُ وَالْأَفْوَاهُ * فَهَوَ الْحُلِيِّ وَ الْحَلَوَاءُ
- ١89 يَجِبَبُ كَائِي مَسِكِي نِي مَكَن * إِي نِحْلِي نَحَلُو سِيكُسِمَ
yajibaba kāyu masikiyu nayu makana * iyu niḥuliyi naḥalwa siyakusima
*It enchants the ears and the mouth [by its recitation];
the words are sweet, and incomparable to speak about.*
- ١٩٠ رَقَّ لَفْظًا وَرَاقَ مَعْنًا فَجَاتِ * فِي حُلَاهَا وَحُلِيهَا الْحَنَسَاءُ
- ١90 جَمَ لَفْظِن مَعْنَانِ اِتِكْتِي * نَغَ خَنَسَا صِفَتِم نَيْبُ يِمَ
jima lafzini ma'nāni itikitiyu * nigha khansau şifatimi nibabu yima
*It is a well-articulated book and its meaning is very clear;
even Khansau (a well-known poet) could not attain such beauty.*
- ١٩١ وَارْتَنَا فِيهِ غَوَامِضَ فَضْلٍ * رَقَّةٌ مِنْ زُلَالِهَا وَ صَفَاءُ
- ١91 وَلِتُؤَيِّرَ فِتْمَانُ زَ مِيْجِي * سُمُّ الْعَفِّ نَتَكَاتُ لَمَّا مِيْمَ
walituwuyiza fitamānu za mayujiya * sumu ulaghafu natakātu lamā mīma
*It has many unknown and hidden benefits,
it contains guidance and purification in divine water.*
- ١٩٢ اِنَّمَا تُجْتَلِي الْوُجُوهُ اِذَا مَا * جُلِيَتْ عَن مِرَاتِهَا الْاَصْدَاءُ
- ١92 سِيَالِيْمَسُ كُظْهَرِ بِي اَبَبُ * بُدُزُو كُتْ كِيْلُونِ كَاكِ كَوْمَ
siillāyumasu kuẓhiri bidi ababu * buduziwa kutu kiyulūni k'āki k'awima
*You can only clearly see what is wrong with your face
when the rust that obscures the mirror is scoured away.*
- ١٩٣ سَوْرٌ مِنْهُ اشْبَهَتْ صُورًا مَنَا * وَ مِثْلُ النَّضَائِرِ النَّظْرَاءُ
- ١93 زَلِشْبِهَلِ سُوْرَ زَاكِ نَزْتُ صُوْرَ * نَمْفَانُ وَزَفِنِيْزُ زَفْنُ ثَمَّ
zilishabihila sūra zāki nazitu şūra * namufānu wazifinizu zifanu thama
*Its chapters are like our body parts,
connecting to each other in a supportive way.*
- ١٩٤ وَ الْاَقَاوِيْلُ عِنْدَهُمْ كَالْتَمَائِلِ * فَلَا يُؤْهِمَنَّكَ الْخُطْبَاءُ
- ١94 نَاَقَاوِيْلُ كَكُفَارِ نَغَ صَنَمُ * مِيْنِيُوْ يَائِي نَيْسِبِ مِيُوْ هَمَ
naaqāwīlu kakufāri nigha şanamu * mininiwu yāyu nayasibi muyuwu hama
But the words of disbelievers are like idols;

what they say is not attractive to people's hearts.

- ١٩٥ كَمْ أَبَانَتْ آيَاتُهُ مِنْ عُلُومٍ * عَنْ حُرُوفٍ أَبَانَ عَنْهَا الْهَجَاءُ
- ١95 كَغَبِ آيَازِ كَوْضِحِ عِلْمٍ يَجِ * كَحُرُوفٍ كَاتِي كِدِيلِيْزِ كَكُعَلَمِ
kaghabi ayāzi kuwaḍiḥi 'ilmu yiji * kaḥurūfu k'āk'i kidilīzi kaku'allima
How many verses can be interpreted in various ways [by learned scholars],
or derive a comprehensive essay from it.
- ١٩٦ فَهِيَ كَالْحُبِّ وَ النَّوِيِّ أَعْجَبَ * الزَّرَّاعُ مِنْهُمَا سَنَابِلٌ وَذَكَاءُ
- ١96 نِعَ كَمَ بُودِ نُو كُودِ زِعَجْبُزُ * مُكَلِمَ كَازُ زِسِكِيْزِ بَمِ نَنَمَا
nigha kama būdi nawu kūdi zi'ajibuzu * mukulima kāzu zisikīzi bami nanamā
It is like a farmer sowing a few seeds, yet wondrously
gaining abundant harvests from it.
- ١٩٧ فَاطَلُوا فِيهَا التَّرْدُودِ وَ الرَّيْبِ * فَقَالُوا اسِحْرُ وَ قَالُوا اِفْتِرَاءُ
- ١97 وَكَلِفَ كَايُ تَرْدُودِ بَمِ نَشَاكَ * كَبِ نِسِحْرِ كُنْ كَبِ كُزُودِ يَمِ
wkalifa kāyu taradudi bami nashaka * kaba nisihiri kunu kaba kuzuwa yuma
[Disbelievers] reject the [Qur'an], associating it with doubts,
claiming it to be the book of a sorcerer who is full of lies.
- ١٩٨ وَإِذَا الْبَيِّنَاتُ لَمْ تَفْنِ شَيْئًا * فَالتِمَّاسُ الْهُدَى بِهِنَّ عَنَاءُ
- ١98 بِدِ مِعْجَزَ اِكْتُو كَفَعَجَبُ * كُتَاكَ كُغُو كَايُ تِنَ نِشَدَ دِمِ
bidi mi'ujiza ikituwa kufa'a jabu * kutaka kughuwa kāyu tina nishida dima
When miracles are shown to them
and then they still defame its guidance, it becomes difficult to correct their situation.
- ١٩٩ وَإِذَا ضَلَّتِ الْعُقُولُ عَلَيَّ عِلْمٍ * فَمَاذَا يَقُولُهُ النَّصَحَاءُ
- ١99 زَلْتَبُ دِي زِكِيُو سِزُ عَقِلِ * مِي كُنْصِحِ اُنِنَانِ لِكَوَ يَمِ
zilatabu diya zikiyuwa sizu 'aqili * miyi kunṣiḥi unināni likawa yima
When one becomes irrational
if advised, which words can he listen to?

- ٢٠٠ قَوْمَ عِيسَىٰ عَامَلْتُمْ قَوْمَ مُوسَىٰ * بِالَّذِي عَامَلْتُمْ الْحَنَفَاءُ
 قَوْمَ زَعِيْسَىٰ مُصَدِّشِلِ قَوْمَ * مُوسَىٰ مُصَدِّ شَوَائِي مَفْنُونَا سَلَامَ 200
 qawmu za'isay muşaddishili qawmu * mūsay muşaddi shiwāyu mafanuwinai slāma
 The followers of Issa endorsed the followers of Moses
 and those of Moses endorsed those of Abraham!
- ٢٠١ صَدَقُوا كُتُبَكُمْ وَ كَذَّبْتُمْ * كُتُبَهُمْ إِنَّ ذَا لَيْسَ الْبَوَاءُ
 وَلِصَدِّشِلِ زُو زُنْ مُكَرَكِي * زُو زُو سَائِي دِي مَاوِ يَكِدَ يِمَ 201
 walişadishili zuwu zinu mukazikaya * zuwu zawu sāyu diyu māwi yakida yuma
 The Christians attested [Jewish] books, but you [Jewish people] denied all of them.
 Your denying [the Qur'an] too makes things even worse.
- ٢٠٢ لَوْ جَحَدْنَا نَاجُحُودَكُمْ لَأَمْتُونَنَا * أَوْلِحَقَّ بَا لَضَلَالِ اسْتِوَاءُ
 لَوْتُكَيْرِ كَائِي زُنْ تُغْلِيغِينَ * هَلْ حَقَّ إِنَّ كَلِغَانَ نَضَالَ سِمَ 202
 lawtukayiza kāyu zinu tughalīghīni * hal ḥaqqi ina kulighāna naḍāla sima
 If we too had denied [the Bible], then we would have been like you,
 but truth can never be on a par with delusion.
- ٢٠٣ مَالِكُمْ إِخْوَةَ الْكِتَابِ أَنَا * لَيْسَ يُرْعَىٰ لِلْحَقِّ مِنْكُمْ إِخَا
 اِي وَيِ زُو يَمْنَانِ وَتُ مُسِي * رَعَوَ أَرْغُ كَلِكِي وَحَقَّ وَمَ 203
 iyi wiyi zuwu yimunāni watu musiyu * ra'īwa urughu kulikuyi waḥaqqi wima
 Oh! You people of the book what makes you deny this [book]?
 It makes no demands on you except truth and brotherhood.
- ٢٠٤ يَحْسُدُ الْأَوَّلُ الْأَخِيرَ وَ مَا زَالَ * كَذَا الْمُحَدِّثُونَ وَ الْقَدَمَاءُ
 كَكُلِّ وَ كَدَّ وَ حَسُدُ أَلِي مُسِ * كَوَلَّتِ سَائِي وَ قَرِيبُ نَوْقَدِيمَ 204
 kakulla wakada waḥusudu aliyu musī * kawalati sāyu wīqarību nawaqadīma
 Followers of previous religions are envious of later ones;
 this is also the case for current believers and those before them.
- ٢٠٥ قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ بِظُلْمِ قَابِيلَ هَابِيلَ * وَمَظْلُومُ الْإِخْوَةَ الْأَتْقِيَاءُ
 مُكْتِ كِيُو كُظْلَمُ كَقَابِيلَ * نَمُظْلِمُو وَ دُغُوَزِ نَتَقِي مِيمَ 205
 mukiti kiyuwa kuzulumu kaqābila * namuẓlimuwa wa dughūzi nitaqīyi mīma
 You are aware that Qabil killed Habil,

even though the victim was a brother who was a well-behaved person.

- ٢٠٦ وَسَمِعْتُمْ بِكَيْدِ آبْنَاءِ يَعْقُوبَ * أَخَاهُمْ وَكُلُّهُمْ صُلَحَاءُ
 206 وَنَ يَعْقُوبُ مُسَكِلِ كِتَابِ كَاؤُ * كُتِبَ دُيَاؤُ وُتِ وَالِ صُلَحَا وَمَ
 wani ya'qūbu musikili kitibi k'āwu * kutiba duyāwu wuti wāli ṣulahā wima
 And you heard about the evil nature of the children of Jacob;
 due to envy they secretly collaborated to plot against their [younger] brother.
- ٢٠٧ حِينَ الْقَوَّةِ فِي غِيَابَتِ الْجُبِّ * وَرَمَوْهُ بِالْإِفْكِ وَهُوَ بَرَاءُ
 207 وَ مُتَلِيبُ أَكْتِنِ وَآكُ كِسِمَ * نَكْمُتُكَانَ كَأْفِكِ أَسْبُ دِمَ
 wa mulatilibu ukituni wāk'u kisima * nakumutukāna kaifki asibu dima
 They threw him into a deep well
 and insulted him with humiliating words which he did not deserve.
- ٢٠٨ فَتَأَسَّوْا بِمَنْ مَضَى إِذْ ظَلِمْتُمْ * فَالتَّاسِّي لِلنَّفْسِ فِيهِ عَزَاءُ
 208 مُظْلِمِوْبُ صَبْرِنِ كَوُ وَبِسِ * كَكُصْبِرِشَ يَبِيلَ نَفْسِ فِمَ
 muḥilimiwabu ṣaburini kawu wabisi * kakuṣabirisha yabubala nafsi fima
 When you [Muslims] remain patient in the face of such calamities,
 by being patient the heart gains relief.
- ٢٠٩ أَتْرَاكُمْ وَفَيْتُمْ حِينَ خَانُوا * أَمْتْرَاكُمْ أَحْسَنْتُمْ إِذْ أَسَاءُ
 209 هَلِ وَ وَظَنَ مُتَمِزِ وَحَنِيبُ * تَزَلِبُ فِوُ وَ وَظَنَ مُتَدَ فِمَ
 hali wu waḥāni mutimizi waḥinilibu * tizilibu fiwi wu waḥāni mutida fima
 They think they are betraying you by your commitments
 they see you as being in error while they are in the right.
- ٢١٠ بَلْ تَمَادَتْ عَلَيَّ التَّجَاهِلِ آبَاءُ * تَقَفَتْ آثَارَهَا الْآبْنَاءُ
 210 بَلِ وَدِمِنَ كُجَلِيْزِ وَبَبَ زُو * وَكَدَمَ كُدُ وَنَ وَاوُ وَيُوْ يِمَ
 bali widimina kujiliza wababa zawu * wakadama kudu wana wāwu wayawu yuma
 They continue to follow the ignorance of their forefathers,
 and their later generations prefer rebellion [over accepting guidance].
- ٢١١ بَيْنَتَهُ تَوْرَ أَتْهُمَ وَ الْآنَا جِيلُ * وَهُمْ فِي حُجُودِهِ شُرَكَاءُ

- 211 **بَيِّنِلِ حَقَّ تَوْرَاتٍ نَّانَجِيلٍ * وَوُ كُكَيِّنِ شِرِكِينَ مَظَالِمَ**
 bayinili haqqi tawratu nainjili * wawu kukayani shirikini mazalima
*The Torah and Injil (Psalms) have clearly stated the truth,
 but they deny them and remain in polytheism and transgression.*
- 212 **إِنْ يَقُولُوا مَا بَيَّنَّتْهُ فَمَا زَالَتْ * بِهِمَا عَنْ عُيُونِهِمْ عَشَوَاءُ**
 بِدٍ وَنَنْبُ كَبِّ زُو كَزِ بَيِّنٍ * كَيْلَتِ كَزِمَتْ يَاو كَزِ دَائِمَ
 bidi waninabu kaba zuwu kazi bayyini * kayalati kiza matu yawu kazi dayima
*They say that the scriptures are not clear;
 their eyes are covered, and they cannot understand them.*
- 213 **أَوْ يَقُولُوا قَدْ بَيَّنَّتْهُ فَمَا زَالَات * لِأَلْأَذْنِ عَمَّا يَقُولُهُ صَمَاءُ**
 أَوْ وَكَيِّنِينَ كَبِّ زُو زِ بَيِّنِلِ * نِينَ مَسِكِي كَزَبُو يَن صَمَمَ
 aw wakinina kaba zuwuzi bayinili * nini masikiyu kazabawu yana samama
*Or they agree that the scriptures reveal this,
 but what is said falls on deaf ears.*
- 214 **عَرَفُوهُ وَانْكُرُوهُ وَظُلْمًا * كَتَمْتَهُ الشَّهَادَةَ الشُّهَدَاءُ**
 وَيُزِيلِ حَقَّ وَكَكَايِ كَوُ ظُلْمُ * نَمَشَاهِدِ وَشُهَادَ وَكَكْتِمَ
 wayuzili haqqi wakakaya kawu zulumu * namashahidi washuhada wakakatima
*They know the truth, but due to their transgressive ways
 the witnesses opted to hide their evidences.*
- 215 **أَوْنُومُ إِلَهِ تَطْفِئُهُ الْآفَوَاهُ * وَهُوَ الَّذِي بِهِ يُسْتَضَاءُ**
 هَلْ يِي مِيْمُ إِيزِي نُورُ يَمَل * يِي رِي أَبِي بَمُنِكَ كَايِ ظُلْمَ
 hal yu miyumu iyaziya nuru yamula * yu riyu abayu bamunika kayu zulama
*Those words try to extinguish the light of God,
 but it is that [light] that shines through the darkness.*
- 216 **أَوْلَا يُنْكِرُونَ مِنْ طَحْنَتِهِمْ * بِرَحَاهَا عَنْ أَمْرِ الْهَيْجَاءِ**
 مِرِ كَوُ مُكِّ بُو كَبِّ زُو سَغِلِ * زِيْتِ كَكِيوِكِ كَاَمْرِ يَاكِ كُتِمَ
 mizi kawa muk'i bawu kaba ziwasaghili * zita kakiwik'i kaamri yaki kutima
*Why do they not fear the one who allowed them to destroy their enemies
 with war and weapons? By his power they won the battle.*

- ٢١٧ وَكَسَاهُمْ ثَوْبَ الصَّغَارِ * وَقَدْ طَلَّتْ دِمَاصِنُّمُ وَصَيَّنَتْ دِمَا
 217 نَعُو يَدِلَّ كَوَفِكَ بِمِرِّ كِطَ * دَامَ زَوْ يَجِ حِفْظَوِ يَغْنِ دَمَ
 naghuwa yadhilla kiwafika bamizi kiṭa * dāmu zawu yiji ḥifaziwa yighini dama
 They were clothed with transgression which covered their heads;
 many among them were protected from bloodshed but some were not spared.
- ٢١٨ كَيْفَ يَهْدِي إِلَاهَهُ مِنْهُمْ قُلُوبًا * حَشُوهَا مِنْ جَبِيهِهِ الْبَغْضَاءِ
 218 أَيْلُعَلِي مِلِّ وَاعْ يُؤِي يَسَاوُ * كَلِكُ دَنِيمِ كُبُغْضُ كَبِدِ كَيْمِ
 uyilughulayi mili wāghu yūyu yasāwu * kuliku danīmi kubughuḍu kibidi kīma
 How could my Lord lead them while in their hearts
 they spread hatred about the Beloved One?
- ٢١٩ خَبِّرْنَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِينَ مِنْ أَيْنَ * أَتَاكُمْ تَثْلِيثُكُمْ وَ الْبَدَاءِ
 219 إِي وَيِ زُو تُيَزِنِ كُزَلِبِ * كُتَلِثِ كِنِ أَوْ كُظْهَرِ وَيِمِ
 iyi wiyi zuwu tuyuzini kulazilibi * kuthalithi kinu aw kuzihiri wayuma
 Oh! You people of the book! Tell us
 from where does your concept of trinity originates?
- ٢٢٠ مَاتِي بِالْعَقِيدَتَيْنِ كِتَابِ * وَاعْتِقَادُ لَانَصِّ فِيهِ ادْعَاءِ
 220 حَبَكُجِ كُو نَعَقِدَ بِيَلِ زَبْرُ * نَكُشِكِ يَبِ لِشِ نَصِّ فَوِ سِفِمِ
 ḥabakuja k'uwu na'aqida bīli zabazu * nakushika yabu lishu naṣṣi fiwi sifima
 The book was not revealed with two sets of beliefs,
 and to focus on something that has no textual evidence is pointless.
- ٢٢١ وَ الدَّعَاوِي مَالَمَ تُقِيمُوا عَلَيْهَا * بَيْنَاتُ أَبْنَاؤُهَا ادْعِيَاءِ
 221 مَدَعِ مُسِي كِمِشَزَ مَشَاهِدِ * وَنَوِ سَوْنَ كُجَبِشَ وَغَمَمَمِ
 mada'a musiyu kimishiza mashāhidi * wanawi siwana kujabisha waghmaghama
 The claim you make has no witnesses
 the children do not belong to Him, lest they offer assistance.
- ٢٢٢ لَيْتَ شِعْرِي ذِكْرُ الثَّلَاثَةِ * وَالْوَا حِدُ نَقْصُ فِي عَدَّكُمْ أَمْ نَمَا
 222 لَيْتَ نِيْزِلِ مَتَيْبِ كَبِ بَتَّتْ * مُمِ بِيُغْفُ مُعْدُبِ أَمْ نِنَمَا
 layti niyuzili matayabu kaba batatu * mumi bubughufu mu'udubu am ninamā
 I wish to know [here] why you mention "three"?

Does it mean that prayers are not answered when praying to the only “one”?

- ٢٢٣ كَيْفَ وَحَدَّثْتُمْ إِلَهًا نَفْيِي * التَّوْحِيدَ عَنْهُ الْآبَاءُ وَالْأَبْنَاُ
223 مُمَوَّحِدِي مَلَّ حَقٌّ وَكَيْزُو * وَزَلَّ نَوَانَ تَوْحِيدِ نَائِي كَرَمَ
mumuwaḥidiyi mula ḥaqqi wakayizawu * wazili nawāna tawḥīdi nāyu karima
How do you maintain a monotheistic belief
while at the same time you claim that there is a father who has sons?
- ٢٢٤ أَلَّهَ مُرَكَّبٌ مَا سَمِعْنَا * بِإِلَهِ لِدَاتِهِ أَجْزَاءُ
224 هَلْ كُنْ مَلَّ مَتَّعَايَ كَتْسِكِلِ * كَبْ كُنْ مَلَّ ذَاتِ يَكِ نَأْسُهُمْ
hal kuna mula mataghāya katusikili * kaba kuna mula dhāti yaki niashuma
Where do you find God with mixed attributes? This is strange,
or do you mean the essence of God is subdivided into several parts?
- ٢٢٥ الْإِكْلِ مِنْهُمْ نَصِيبٌ مِنَ الْمُلْكِ * فَهَلَّا تُمَيِّزُ الْأَنْصِبَاءُ
225 هَلِ مُلْكُنْ كُلِّ مُمْ أَنْ يَفُغْ * هَيْبَبُنُوِي مَفُغْ تُكْتَرَمَ
hali mulikuni kula mumi una yifughu * hayababanuwayu mafughu tukatazama
Is it in his kingdom that you find such subdivision?
Clarify this for us so that we can understand the practical implications.
- ٢٢٦ أَمْ تَرَاهُمْ لِحَاجَةٍ وَاضْطِرَارٍ * خَلَطُوهَا وَ مَا بَغْيِ الْخُلَطَاءُ
226 أَوْ مُضْنُو كَائِي حَاجَ نَشِدَ يَكِ * وَلِتَغْيِزَ شُرَكَاءَ بَسِ ظُلَمَ
awu muḍaniwu kāyu ḥāja nashida yaki * walitaghayiza shurakau basi ḡalama
Or do they assist one another during a time of need?
Do they mix their shares without any conflict of interest?
- ٢٢٧ أَمْهُوَ الرَّكِبُ الْحِمَارَ فَيَا * عَجَزَ إِلَهُ يَمَسُّهُ الْأَعْيَاءُ
227 هَلْ يِ إِلَهُ نَائِي كُبْدَ بُودَ * أَيِ أَلِمِفُ وَإِلَهُ سُودَ كِمَ
hal yi ilahu naliyu kubada būda * ayi ulimifu wailahi suwidha kima
How did God ride a donkey?
Can it be that God got so tired he could not bear it anymore?
- ٢٢٨ أَمْ جَمِيعُ عَلِيٍّ لِلْحِمَارِ لَقَدْ جَلَّ * حِمَارٌ بِجَمْعِهِمْ مَشَاءُ

228
 أَوْ مَبَّ وَتِ وَلِوَلِ جِوُ يُّدَ * لِكُزِلِ بُورَ مِدَ مُونُ مُكُغَ جَمَ
 aw maba wuti waliwili jiwu yabuda * likuzili būra mida mūnu mukugha jama
 Or did all three Gods ride the donkey at the same time?
 How was it able to go with such beings? What nonsense!

٢٢٩
 أَمْ سِوَاهُمْ هُوَ الْإِلَهِ فَبِمَا نِسْبَةُ * عَيْسَى إِلَيْهِ وَ الْإِنْتِمَاءُ

229
 أَوْ يِ إِلَهَ نَاسِي كُوَاوُ سَاوُ * كُمُتَي نَايِ عَيْسَى نِنِ نَانْتِمَا
 aw yi ilahi niasiyu kuwāwu sāwu * kumutaya nāyi ṭsay nini naintimā
 Or if you claim that Jesus was not with God,
 then what is the relationship between God and the donkey's rider?

٢٣٠
 أَمْ أَرَدْتُمْ بِهَا الصِّفَاتُ فَلِمَ * حُصَّتْ ثَلَاثُ بَوَصْفِهِ وَتَنَا
 230
 أَوْ مُبْدِيلِ كُوصِيفَ وَمَلِ كَايِ * كُخُصُّ وَتَاتُ نَصْفِي نَشْنَا لِمَ
 awmubidīli kuwaṣifa wamali kāyi * kukhuṣṣu watātu naṣifayi nathanā lima
 Or if you prefer to use a figure for His attributes,
 why concentrate on the “three” and not other attributes?

٢٣١
 أَمْ هُوَ ابْنُ اللَّهِ مَا شَارَكَتَهُ * فِي مَعَانِي النَّبُوَّةِ الْإِنْبِيَاءِ
 231
 أَيْ يِ نِمَنَ وَمُلُغُ كَشَارِكُو * سُمُ مَعَانِ يُوْتُمُ نِتْمُ جِمَ
 ay yi nimana wamulughu kashārikiwa * sumu ma'nāni yawutumi nitumi jima
 Or is he a son of God, an associate?
 Then, what is the context of his prophethood compared to other prophets?

٢٣٢
 فَتَلْتَهُ الْيَهُودُ فِيمَا زَعَمْتُمْ * وَلَا مَوَاتِكُمْ بِهِ إِحْيَاءُ
 232
 مَبَّ لُولُو نِيَهُودِ مُزْعَمُو * وَلِنَ فُفُو وَفُ وَنَ كَايِ دَوْمَ
 maba liwuliwa niyahūdi muzu'umuwu * walina fufuwa wafu winu kāyu dawama
 You claim that he was killed by the Jews,
 but wasn't he the one who used to bring the dead to life?

٢٣٣
 إِنَّ قَوْلًا أَطْلَقْتُمُوهُ عَلَيَّ اللَّهُ * تَعَالَى ذِكْرُ الْقَوْلِ هُرَاءُ
 233
 حَقِّقْ قَوْلِ مَزَلِي مُكَطَلِقِ * كُلُّكَ مُلُوغُ نَقَوْلِ كُسِفِ جَمَ
 ḥaqiqa qawli maziliyu mukaṭiliqi * kuliku mulūghu niqawli kusifu jama
 Indeed, you ought to disregard this belief;
 Almighty God deserves to be described in a better way.

- ٢٣٤ مِثْلَ مَا قَالَتْ الْيَهُودُ * وَكُلُّ لَزِمْتَهُ مَقَالَةً شَنْعَاءُ
- 234 كَمَبَوُ كَبٍ وَنِيلِ مَيَاهُودٍ * نَكُلُ مُمَيِّ شِكِمِنِ نَبِ كَلِمَ
kamabawu kaba waninili mayāhūdi * nakula mumuyu shikimini nabi kalima
*The Jews have also given inappropriate descriptions [of God],
and continues to adhere to their incorrect beliefs.*
- ٢٣٥ اِذْهَمُ اسْتَفْرَهُ وَ الْبَدَاءُ * وَكَمْ سَاقَ وَبَالًا إِلَيْهِمْ اسْتَفْرَاءُ
- 235 كَكَبِ يَهُودٍ وَفُوسٍ كُظْهِرُوا * فِغِ كُفُوسَ كُتْغِلِ وَلِكَ غَمَ
kakaba yahūdi wafuwisi kuẓihiriwa * fighi kufuwāsa kutughili waliku ghama
*By adhering to these incorrect beliefs, the Jews were faced with
a number of set-backs whenever they went.*
- ٢٣٦ وَارَاهُمْ لَمْ يَجْعَلُوا الْوَاحِدَ * الْقَهَّارَ فِي الْخَلْقِ فَاعِلًا مَايَشَاءُ
- 236 نُونِ كَبُو كَوَجَلِ الْيُ بِي * كُكُلِكُ زُوبِ نَمْتِدَ مَاوِ نَمِيمَ
nawuna kabawu kawajali aliyu biki * kuliku ziwubi nimutida māwi namīma
*I view them as not caring about the only One,
the Omnipotent of all creation, the executor of whatever He wills.*
- ٢٣٧ جَوَزُوا النَّسْخَ مِثْلَ مَا جَوَزُوا * الْمَسْخَ عَلَيْهِمْ لَوْ أَنَّهُمْ فُقَّهَاءُ
- 237 وَغَلِ جَوَزِ كُنْسِحِ كَمَ وَلِفِ * جَوَزِ مَسْخِ لَوْ كَبِ وَنَ فَهَمَ
waghali jawizi kunasihi kama walifu * jawizi maskha law kaba wana fahama
*They ought to think about the transformation [from human beings to monkeys];
since this happened, they need to pay heed.*
- ٢٣٨ هُوَ إِلَّا أَنْ يُرْفَعَ الْحُكْمَ بِالْحُكْمِ * وَخَلَقَ فِيهِ وَآمَرَ سَوَاءُ
- 238 سِيَالًا كَدُو أَحْكَامُ كَايِ حُكْمُ * كُوَيْسَ سَايِ كُليغِنِ نِي حُكْمَ
siillā kaduwa aḥkāmu kāyu ḥukumu * kuwuyisa sāyu kulighini nayu ḥukuma
*It is not unusual for God to change his laws.
If he can transform some human beings, he can also change his laws.*
- ٢٣٩ وَلِحُكْمِ مِنَ الزَّمَانِ إِنْتِهَاءُ * وَلِحُكْمِ مِنَ الزَّمَانِ ابْتِدَاءُ

- 239 كَتِكَ زَمَنٍ يُحْكُمُ إِنْ كُكُمُ * نَمُ زَمَنِينَ بُونِكَ كَدَ حُكُمُ
katika zamani yuhukumu ina kukuma * namu zamanīni bawunika kada hukuma
During the period [prior to Islam] the [old] laws came to an end,
and now we see the emergence of new ones.
- ٢٤٠ فَاسْتَلَوْهُمْ أَكَانَ فِي مَسْخِهِمْ * نَسَخُ لآيَاتِ اللَّهِ أَمْ إِنْشَاءُ
وُوزِنَ كَبَ بَلِيلٍ كُمْسَخِنِ * كُتَغُوَ آيَ أَوْ كَدَ يَغْنِ يُمُ
240 wawuzini kaba baliwili kumusakhini * kutaghuwa aya aw kada yighini yuma
You may ask them: when they were transformed,
was it a sign of God or a mere innovation?
- ٢٤١ وَ بَدَاءَ فِي قَوْلِهِمْ نَدِمَ اللَّهُ * عَلَيَّ خَلَقَ أَدَمَ أَمْ خَطَاءُ
نَبَدَا كَبَنِ كَوُكُلٍ أَوْ كُكُسَ * كَيُوتَ مُلُغُ كَكُلْبِ نَبِيِّ أَدَمَ
241 nabadā kabani kawukuli aw kukusa * kayūta mulughu kakuluba nabiyi adama
And ask them why did they not claim
that God regrets creating the prophet Adam?
- ٢٤٢ أَمْ مَحَى اللَّهُ آيَةَ اللَّيْلِ ذُكْرًا * بَعْدَ سَهْوٍ لِيُوجَدَ الْإِمْسَاءُ
أَوْ يِ كَدَ وَسُوُ وُسِكُ نِكُكُبِكَ * كِسَ كُسَهُوُ كُؤِيشَ جِي إِكِمَ
242 aw yi kadā wasuwu wusiku nikukubuka * kisa kusahawu kuwuyisha jiyu ikima
Or have you seen God's signs of our days
that he has forgotten to uncover the night?
- ٢٤٣ أَمْ بَدَا لِلَّهِ فِي ذَبْحِ إِسْحَاقَ * وَقَدْ كَانَ الْأَمْرُ فِيهِ مُضَاءُ
أَوْ كُتَدَ نِ إِسْحَقَ بَمَزَلِبُ * أَمْرِكُبِشَا ظَهْرَ وَ مَلِ نِمِيمَ
243 awkutuda ni ishaqa bamazilibu * amrikubiṣa ḡihiri wa mula nimayma
Or did God change his mind by stopping the sacrifice of Isaac?
The changing of the command was a sign that God is good.
- ٢٤٤ أَوْ مَا حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ نِكَاحَ الْأَخْتِ * بَعْدَ التَّحْلِيلِ فَهُوَ الزَّانَاءُ
أَوْ يِ مُلُغُ هَكُلَسَ كُكُولَ لُبُ * بَعْدَ يَحَلِّ يِ نَزِنَ يَكُرُجَمَ
244 aw yi mulughu hakulasa kulūla lubu * ba'da yaḡili yu nizina yakurujuma
Or is it not proper that God has forbidden a person to marry his sister?
It was temporarily lawful (during the time of Adam) but [it is now] forbidden.

- ٢٤٥ لَا تُكذِّبُ أَنَّ الْيَهُودَ وَقَدْ * زَاغُوا عَنِ الْحَقِّ مَعَشَرَ لَوْمَاءُ
 245 وَأَسْنِكِي كَبَّ حَقِّ مَيَاهِدٍ * وَلِيدُكَيْنِ نَائِي حَقِّ وَتُ لَيْمَ
 wāsīnikayi kaba ḥaqqi mayāhudi * walibudukīni nāyu ḥaqqi watu laima
*It is indisputable that the Jews have indeed
 being thinking that they hold the true teaching, but this is an error.*
- ٢٤٦ جَحَدُوا الْمُصْطَفَى وَأَمَّنَ * بِالطَّاغُوتِ قَوْمَهُمْ عِنْدَهُمْ شُرَفًا
 246 كَيْرَ مُتَيْغِ شَيْطَانٍ وَصَدِّشِلِ * وَتُ قَوْمِنِ وَبِ رُوِي مَوَامَ
 kayiza mutighi shayṭāni waṣaddishili * watu qawmuni waba riwu wiya mawāma
*They refused Mustafa (the chosen one), and instead follow Satan,
 who tell his followers that you are not the Messenger.*
- ٢٤٧ قَتَلُوا الْأَنْبِيَاءَ وَاتَّخَذُوا الْعِجْلَ * أَلَا إِنَّهُمْ هُمُ السُّفَهَاءُ
 247 وَلَوْ لَيْلٍ لَيْلٍ أَنْبِيَاءَ وَكَعْبُدُ * كِنْفُ وَسَاؤُ نِسْفَهُ كَوَ عِلْمِ
 waliwawu līli ambiyā wa ka'abudu * kinufu wusāwu nisufaha kawa 'ilima
*They killed their prophets and worshipped
 a [golden] dummy calf. This is a form of foolishness, a lack of knowledge.*
- ٢٤٨ وَ سَفِيهِ مَنْ سَاءَ الْمَنْ وَالسَّلْوِي * وَأَرْضَاةُ الْفُومِ وَالْقَثَاءُ
 248 مَنْ نَسَلُو زِمْدِي دِي سَفِي * قَثَاءُ نَفُومُ كَبِيدَزَ كُو زُرِمَ
 mana nasaluwa zimudhi yu diyī safihī * qathau nafūmu kabidiza kuwa zuzima
*It is foolish that they refused to eat readily-provided food (manna and salwa);
 instead they preferred to have cucumber and garlic.*
- ٢٤٩ مُلِيَتْ بِالْخَيْثِ مِنْهُمْ بَطُونٌ * فَهِيَ نَارٌ أَطْبَقُهَا الْأَمْعَاءُ
 249 بَيْرَزَ فَوِي مَبِّ زَاؤُ زُوْحُسُدَا * زُمِبَ نِمْتُ طَبَقَزِ نَتُبُ ثَمَ
 bayaziza fiwi miba zāwu zawuḥusuda * zumiba nimutu ṭabaqizi nitubu thama
*They feed their stomachs with filthy things
 they have destroyed their intestines due to poor feeding.*
- ٢٥٠ لَوْ أُرِيدُوا فِي حَالِ سَبْتِ بِخَيْرٍ * كَانَ سَبْتًا لَدَيْهِمُ الْأَرْبَعَاءُ

- 250 لَوْسَبْتِنِ بَدَلِوْ لِّلْ نَخَيْرِ * سَبْتِ اَعْلِ اَرْبَعًا وَّلِكَ جَمَ
lawsabutini bidiliwa lilu nakhayri * sabti aghali arba'anā waliku jama
If the Sabbath was to be substituted,
then Wednesday (instead of Saturday) would have been the best choice for them.
- ٢٥١ هُوَ يَوْمٌ مُّبَارَكٌ قَبْلَ اللَّتَّصْرِيفِ * فِيهِ مِنَ الْيَهُودِ اعْتِدَاءُ
251 سَبْتِ نِسِكُ مَبْرُوكٌ بَلِنِنِو * كُتَّصَرَفُنِ مَيَّاهُودِ وَّبِ سِفِمِ
sabti nisiku mabrūku balininiwa * kutaşarafuni mayāhūdi waba sifima
It is said that the Sabbath is a blessed day,
but the Jews opposed its holiness.
- ٢٥٢ فَبِظُلْمٍ مِنْهُمْ وَكُفْرٍ عَدَّتْهُمْ * طَيِّبَاتٌ فِي تَرْكِهِنَّ ابْتِلَاءُ
252 كَظْلُمٌ زَاوُ نَكْفُرٌ اَوْفَتِلِ * وِمَ وَّرِزِقٍ وَّنَ بَالٍ كَكُّسُكُمُ
każulumu zāwu nakufuru uwafutili * wima wariziqi wana bāla kakusukuma
Due to their transgression and disbelief, they lost
its blessing and are facing unending trials.
- ٢٥٣ خَدِعُوا بِالْمُنَافِقِينَ وَ هَلْ * يُنْفِقُ اِلَّا عَلَيِ السَّفِيهِ الشَّقَا
253 وَّلِخَدَعَوِ مَيَّاهِدِ كَوْنَافِقِ * شِدَا كَلِغِشِ اِسْكُو سَفَهَ عَمَيِ
walikhada'iwa mayāhudi kawanāfiqi * shida kalighisha isukuwa safaha 'amay
They were deceived by the Munāfiq [the hypocrites of Medina].
Who else would have been deceived except those who are silly and blind.
- ٢٥٤ وَاَطْمَأْنَنُوا بِقَوْلِ الْاَحْزَابِ * اِخْوَانِهِمْ اِنَّا لَكُمْ الْاَوْلِيَاءُ
254 وَكَطْمَيْنِ كَقَوْلِ زِ اَحْزَابِ * دُزُو كَبَصِ تُولِي زِنُ وَاكِمِ
wakaṭumaini kaqawli za aḥzābu * duzawu kabaşi tuwalii zinu wakima
They relied upon the promise of the Ahzab forces, who said:
"Brothers we stand shoulder to shoulder with you!"
- ٢٥٥ خَالَفُوهُمْ وَ خَالَفُوهُمْ * وَلَمْ اَدْرِ لِمَاذَا تُخَالَفَ الْخُلَفَاءُ
255 وَلَوْلِي كِمَلَزَ وَ كَخَالَفُ * سِجُو كَلْتَنَ حُلَفَاءُ كُوَايِ يُمِ
waliwalabiyi kimaliza wa kakhālifu * sijuwi kulatana ḥulafau kuwāyi yuma
They stayed behind them, and in the end they betrayed them.
It is a wonder how a "leader" can remain inactive behind his followers!

- ٢٥٦ أَسْلَمُوهُمْ لِأَوَّلِ الْحَشْرِ لَا * مِيعَادُهُمْ صَادِقٌ وَلَا الْإِيْلَاءُ
256 وَكَوَسَلِمُ كَاوُمَدُ وَمَكْتَنُ * مِيعَادِ يَاؤُ نَزَيْبُ كَزِ كُتِمَ
wakawasalimu kāwumadu wamakutanu * mī'ādi yāwu naziyabu kazi kutima
Some of the Jews surrendered during the confrontation,
and thus their promises and oaths were worthless.
- ٢٥٧ سَكَنَ الرَّعْبُ وَ الْخَرَابُ قُلُوبًا * وَ يُيُوتَا مِنْهُمْ نَعَاهَا الْجَلَاءُ
257 وَتَشُّ وَ كِلِ يُي دَانِ نُوْفِدِفُ * مَجْبَ كَغُورَ كُوْدَلِ زَاؤُ قَوْمَ
wutishu wu kili yuyu dāni nawufudifu * majuba kaghūra kawuduli zāwu qawma
They became so scared, fearing destruction,
that they left their houses empty and fled with their families.
- ٢٥٨ وَ يَوْمِ الْأَحْزَابِ إِنْ زَاغَتْ * الْأَبْصَارُ فِيهِ وَضَلَّتِ الْأَرَاءُ
258 نَكْسِيكُ يُو أَحْزَابِ يُتَشَلِبُ * مَتُ وَيِ رَايِ وَ كَعَعٌ وَسِكِلِمَ
nakasiku yawu aḥzābi yatushilibu * matu wayi rāyi wa kaghgha wasikilima
When the day of Ahzab came,
some of them thought they were going to win.
- ٢٥٩ وَتَعَدَّوْا إِلَيَّ النَّبِيِّ حُدُودًا * كَانَ فِيهَا عَلَيْهِمُ الْعُدْوَا
259 وَكَتَعَدِي نَمْبَاكُ كِيدِي تُومَ * بَكُوَهَلَاكَ كُتْبِنِ وَلِكَ عَامَ
wakata'adiya namibāka kidiya tūma * bakawahalāka kutubani waliku 'āma
So, they planned mischief to befall the Prophet
but this ended badly against themselves.
- ٢٦٠ وَ نَهَتْهُمْ وَ مَا انْتَهَتْ عَنْهُ * قَوْمٌ فَأَيَّدَ الْأَمَّارُ وَ النَّهَّأُ
260 وَلَوْ كِتِيرَ وَسِرْدِ كُلكُ تُومَ * قَوْمٌ وَكِصَ وَأَمْرُ نَوَزَ مَيِمَ
waliwa kitizi wasirudi kuliku tūma * qawmu wakiṣa waamuru nawiza mayma
And their leaders warned them not to oppose the Prophet,
they foresaw that he would outwit their forces.
- ٢٦١ وَ تَعَاظُوا فِي أَحْمَدَ مُنْكَرَ الْقَوْلِ * وَنُطِقُ الْأَرَادِلُ الْعَوْرَاءُ

- كُلُّكُم مِّمٌّ وَكَلِمَتُ مَوْ يَكْبُ * نَمَتَمُكُو يَوَطِفُ وَبِ يَتَمَّ 261
 kuliku mutumi wakalita mawi yakaba * namatamukiwu yawaṭifu waba yatama
 Whatever the Prophet did, they rebuked him
 with strong, repulsive words against the noble one.
- كُلُّ رِجْسٍ يَزِيدُهُ الْخُلُقُ السُّوْءُ * سَفَاهَا وَ الْمَلَّةُ الْعَوْجَاءُ ٢٦٢
 نَكَلَّ حَمَقٍ وَازِدٍ وَبِخُلُقٍ * سَفَاهَا نَمِلٌ مِثْتَفٌ يَكْتِمُ 262
 nakula ḥamaqi wāzidi wabikhuluqubi * safahā namilla mibutufu yakubitama
 And in their rage they resorted to discourtesy,
 revealing themselves as misguided and ill-mannered.
- فَانظُرُوا كَيْفَ كَانَ عَاقِبَةُ الْقَوْمِ وَ مَاسَقَ لِلْبَدْيِ الْبَدَاءُ ٢٦٣
 هَلْ اُولِي الْاِلْدِنِ عَقِبَ يُو * نَيْتُغْلُو وَبِ نَاوِ مُبِ كَلِمَ 263
 hila iwiliyi ilulini ‘aqiba yawu * nayatughiliwu waba nāwi mubi kalima
 At the end look what they got:
 they were the biggest losers due to their rude utterances.
- وَجَدَ السَّبَّ فِيهِ سَمًّا وَ لَمْ * يَدْرِ اِذِ الْمِيْمُ فِي مَوَاضِعَ بَاءُ ٢٦٤
 بَدْيِ وَوِنِ كُسْبِي كَلِنَ سُمُّ * وُوسِ كُيُو بِي بَاءِ بَمِيْلِ مِيْمَ 264
 badhiyi wawini kusubuyi kulina sumu * wuwasi kuyuwa biyi bai bamīli mīma
 One of their spokesmen mistakenly said the word sūm ("poison"),
 when in his utterance he meant to substitute "mīm" with "bā".
- كَانَ مِنْ فِيهِ قَتْلُهُ بِيَدِيهِ * فَهَوَ فِي سُوْءِ فِعْلِهِ الرَّبَاءُ ٢٦٥
 كَكَنَكَ كَفَ كَلُولِ كَمِكُنُو * يَسِي اُونِ كِتْدَتِ نَزَبَا كَمَ 265
 kakanaki kufa kuliwili kamikunuwi * yisuyu uwini kitiduk'i nizabā kama
 They prepared for suicide due to what they said;
 their action resembled that of Zaba (an Egyptian woman who tried to marry the King).
- اَوْ هُوَ النَّخْلُ قَرَضَهَا يُجْلِبُ * الْحَتْفَ اِلَيْهَا وَ مَالَهُ اِنْكَاءُ ٢٦٦
 اَوْ يِ نِيْكَ كَلِمَكَ كُفْتِ كُفَ * اَلْكَ وَاكْنَ كُجْرَحِ كِتَشَ دَمَ 266
 aw yi niyuki kulimaki kufuta kufa * aliku wākana kujariḥi kitisha dama
 Or it is like a bee who dies after stinging someone;
 the intention is to be aggressive, but it backfires.

- ٢٦٧ صَرَعَتْ قَوْمَهُ حَبَائِلُ بَغْيٍ * مَدَّهَا الْمَكْرُ مِنْهُمْ وَ الدَّهَاءَ
 267 أَلْوَعْشِرِ قَوْمِزِ وَافٍ وَخَدَعَ * وَوَبَدِلُوا مَا كِيدَ زَرِي ثَمَّ
 uliwaghushizi qawmuzi wāfu wakhada'a * wawubidiliwu mākidi zarayi thama
 They are covered with a web of deception
 full of favoritism and trickery.
- ٢٦٨ فَاتَتْهُمْ خَيْلُ الْيَ الحَرَبِ تُخْتَالُ * وَ لِلخَيْلِ فِي الوَعْيِ خِيَلَاءُ
 268 وَكَجَوْنِ فَرَسٍ يُغَيَاوُ كَيْدِي فَتَ * وَنَ كُيُعِي أُتْبُونُ فَرَسِ جِمَ
 wakajiwana farasi yughuyāwu kidii fita * wana kuyughuya utabūni farasi jima
 When they came to the battlefield
 they saw archers on sturdy horses advancing towards them.
- ٢٦٩ قَصَدَتْ فِيهِمُ القَنَا فَقَوَا * فِي الطَّعْنِ مِنْهَا مَا شَانَهَا الإِطَاءُ
 269 يَلْقُسُدِلِ مُولِنِ مَاؤِ مَفْمُ * طَنَ فُوتَانُ زِسُكِرِ بِلِ نَيْمِ
 yaliqusudili muwilini māwu mafumu * ṭana fuwatānu zisukira bili nayuma
 The arrows were aimed at their bodies;
 none of the arrows missed hitting their front or rear.
- ٢٧٠ وَاثَارَتِ بِأَرْضِ مَكَّةَ نَقْعًا * ظَنَّ أَنَّ العُدُوَّ مِنْهَا عِشَاءُ
 270 أَكُوشِ فُبِ تِ يَمَكِ بَكْظَبَوِ * كَبَ أَصْبِحَ كُوفِبِ كُوعَتِمَ
 akawusha fubi ti yamaka bakazaniwa * kaba aṣubuḥi kawufubi kuwa 'atima
 The city of Mecca was full of dust, until it was thought
 that the morning had changed and become night.
- ٢٧١ أَحْجَمَتْ عِنْدَ الحَجُونِ وَ اكدَى * دُونََ أَعْطَائِهِ القَلِيلِ كُدَاءُ
 271 يُحْجُونِ سَبُ حِرْدِلِ نَائِي كَدَأُ * إِلِوَلِ كَاكَ كُبْنِكَ كِكَاَتِي ثَمَّ
 yuhajūni sabu hizidili nāyu kadau * iliwili kāki kubaniki kik'āk'i thama
 A large army entered the city from the direction of the mountain;
 were so outnumbered that they could not attempt to resist.
- ٢٧٢ وَدَهَتْ أَوْجَهَا بِهَا وَ يُيُوتَا * مَلَّ مِنْهَا الأَكْفَا وَ الأَقْوَاءُ

كَغَمَزَ مَسُّ مِمَّ يَبُّ مَكَ نَيْبٌ * أُغْوِفُ وَآيُ أُكِّمَ نَكَّتَ كِمَ 272
 kaghamiza masu mima yabu maka nayuba * ughiwufu wāyu ukakima nakuta kima
*The army destroyed their assemblies and their council,
 this put an end to their possession of the city.*

فَدَعَوْا أَحْلَمَ الْبَرِّيَّةِ الْعَفْوُ * جَوَابُ الْحَلِيمِ وَ الْإِغْضَاءُ 273
 وَكَمَلِغَنَ مُبْلَفُ كُلِّكَ وَنْتُ * كَفُّ نَكْبَرِ نِجَوَابُ لَكَ حَلِيمَ 273
 wakamulighana mubulufu kuliku wantu * kafu nakubuza nijawābu laki ḥalīma
*They pleaded to the Prophet, the guide of all,
 to halt the invasion, and the polite one agreed.*

نَاشَدُوهُ الْقُرَيْبِيَّ الَّتِي مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ * قَطَعَتْهَا التَّرَاتُ وَ الشَّحْنَا 274
 وَلِمَلْبَلِ كَوْدُغُ وَأُو قُرَيْشٍ * أَلُو كَتِدَ نَوُيْعِ نَكْتُوزِمَ 274
 walimulabili kawudughu wāwu qurayshi * uliwu kutida niwutighi nakutūzima
*They called for a re-forging of Quraysh tribal ties,
 and that unity ought to be strengthened.*

فَعَفَى عَفْوَ قَادِرٍ لَمْ يُنْعِصْهُ * عَلَيْهِمْ بِمَا مَضَى إِغْرَاءُ 275
 كَوَفُ عَفْوِ يَمُوزَ كَايُ مَبِسٍ * إِسْكَغَلِوْ كُنْغَزَ وَآمَلَمَ 275
 kawafu 'afuwa yamuwiza kāyu mabisi * isukughiliwa kutughiza wāmalama
*He forgave them, as ordained by God, for what they did to him,
 without exposing their wrongdoing.*

وَ إِذَا كَانَ الْقَطْعُ وَ الْوَصْلُ لِلَّهِ * تَسَاوَى التَّقْرِيبُ وَ الْإِفْصَا 276
 بِدِ تَدِكَانُ نَوْلُغْنُ إِكْوِ لِلَّهِ * كَوُكَانَ نِمَمِي نَاكَ كِغِمَ 276
 bidi tidikānu nawulughanu ikiwa lillahi * kiwukāna nimamuya nāku kighima
*The Prophet's reunification of people was done sincerely and for God's sake;
 he treated them equally (even those who were not relatives).*

وَ سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِ فِيمَا آتَاهُ * مِنْ سِوَاةِ الْمَلَامِ وَ الْإِطْرَاءِ 277
 بَلِغْنِ تَيْنَ كُلِّكِي يَمِيَاوُ * كَمَغْنِ وَبِ كُمُصِفُ أَوْ مَلَامَ 277
 balighini tīna kulikuy yamuyiyāwu * kamughini wabu kumuṣifu aw malāma
*He was also just to them in all things;
 he did not [distinguish between] those who had praised or criticised him.*

- ٢٧٨ وَ لَوْ أَنَّ انْتِقَامَهُ لِهَوْيٍ * النَّفْسِ لَدَامَتْ قَطِيعَةً وَ جَفَاءُ
- 278 كُولٍ كَهَوَا يَنْفُسِ كُتَيْيَاكِ * بَتْ نَبْغُضَ زِعْوَلِ زِدَائِمِ
kuwili kahawā yanafusi kutitiyāki * batu nabughuḍa zighawili zadaima
If he had followed his own desires
it would have brought destruction and everlasting enmity.
- ٢٧٩ قَامَ لِلَّهِ فِي الْأُمُورِ فَارْضِي * اللَّهُ مِنْهُ تَبَائِنٌ وَوَفَاءُ
- 279 لَمِيلٍ مَبْنٍ كَلَلِهِ كُرْضٍ مُلٍ * كُتَّ بَالٍ كَاكِ عَدُوِّي كِيُوفٍ وَمِ
lamili mabuni kalillahi kuriḍi mula * kuta bāli kāki ‘aduwiyi kiwafi wima
He stood firm on God's commands;
he isolated his enemies and kept his companions close to him.
- ٢٨٠ فِعْلُهُ كُلُّهُ جَمِيلٌ وَ هَلْ * يُنْضَحُ الْإِبْمَا حَوَاهُ الْإِنَاءُ
- 280 زِتْرُزُرُ زُتٍ نِجْمِيلٍ هَلْ كَيْتٍ * تُبِّ الْإَاكِتُ كِيلِكُمْ دَنِمْ سِمِ
zituruzi zuti nijamīli hal kayita * tubu illākitu kilik'umu danimi sima
All his actions were virtuous;
his character was like a vessel full of perfection.
- ٢٨١ أَطْرَبَ السَّامِعِينَ ذِكْرُ عُلَاهُ * يَالرَّاحِ مَالَتْ بِهِ النَّدْمَا
- 281 كُفْرَ حِسِرٍ وَسَكِينِ كُتَايِ كَاكِ * أَيُّ يُخْمَرِ وَتَزِرِ وَكَأَيُّ نُدَمِ
kufura ḥisizi wasikīzi kutāya kaki * ay yukhamuri watiziri wukāyu nudama
People were happy when his name was mentioned,
they became intoxicated by hearing about him.
- ٢٨٢ النَّبِيُّ الْأُمِّيُّ أَعْلَمُ مِنْ اسْنَدٍ * عَنْهُ الرُّوَاةُ الْحُكْمَا
- 282 إِي نِنْبِي الْأُمِّيِّ مُيْزِ وَأُو * وَسَنِدِ وَأُو بَحْدِيثِ نُو حُكْمِ
iyi ninbiyi ālumīyi muyuzi wāwu * wasanidi wāwu baḥādīthi nawu ḥukuma
Though he was an unlettered prophet,
he was the best in leading discourses and making clear judgements.
- ٢٨٣ وَعَدْتَنِي إِزْدِيَارَهُ الْعَامَ * وَجَنَّا وَ مَنَّتْ بِوَعْدِهَا الْوَجْنَا

نَاقَةٌ أَلْبَلِيلٌ مَّوَاعِدَ يَكْمُزُرُ * أَمَّا كَوَفٍ وَعَدِي غَمِي جِمَ 283
 nāqat̄ ulabili mawā'ida yakumuzuru * umaka kawafi wa'adiyi ghamiya jima
 My camel vowed to take me to the Prophet's grave,
 at the pilgrimage in Mecca, and the kind creature fulfilled her promise.

أَفَلَا أَنْطَوِي لَهَا فِي اقْتِضَائِهِ * لِنُطْوِي بِهَا مَا بَيْنَنَا الْأَفْلَاءُ ٢٨٤
 نَسِجِكُتِيلِ كَايِ سُمِّ مَتَكْنِمِ * يَكُتُّ يَكُ كَتِكِتُ تُكِدَ هِمَ 284
 nisijikutili kāyi sumu matakanimi * yikakuta yika katikitu tukida hima
 I see no need to decline the wish of a great friend,
 so I gathered myself up to quickly go on this mission.

بِأُلُوفِ الْبَطْحَا يَجْفَلُهَا النَّيْلُ * وَقَدْ شَفَّ جَوْفَهَا الْإِظْمًا ٢٨٥
 كَاكَ كُزُوِي بَطْحَا يَمْرِعِجِ * نَيْلُ أَمْرِبُ كُسُدِ كَدَبِ كَظَمَ 285
 kāku kuzuwiya baṭiḥā yamuzi'iji * nāilu amizibu kusudi kadabi kazama
 The urge to visit Batiha (Mecca) prompted [the camel] to leave
 the land of the Nile (Egypt) and to go to the land which is dry and causes thirst.

أَنْكَرَتْ مِصْرَ فَهِيَ تَنْفِرُ مَالًا * بِنَاءِ لَعِينِهَا أَوْ خَلَاءُ ٢٨٦
 إِيزَزَ مِصْرٍ وَدَ هِمَ بِمِتْكَبِ * وَآكَ إِتْنِمِ أَوْ يِنِ إَوْتِ يِمَ 286
 iyiziza miṣri wada hima bamitukabu * wāku itunimi aw yani iwiti yima
 She left Egypt at a good pace, despite its beauty;
 her heart was focused only on visiting the Prophet.

فَأَفْضَتْ عَلَيَّ مَبَارِكُهَا بُرُكْتُهَا * فَالْبُؤَيْبُ فَالْحَضْرَاءُ ٢٨٧
 أَكْبُجِرَ مَتُونِ مَأَكِ بَرَكَهَ * كِسَ بُؤَيْبِ حَضْرَاءُ إِكَيِ يِمَ 287
 akabubujiza matūni māki barkah * kisa buwaybu ḥaḍrau ikaya yuma
 She travelled and drank the blessed water while pausing at waystations.
 Suddenly we left behind the Buweyb and al-Khudrou resting points.

فَالْقَبَابُ الَّتِي تَلِيهَا فَبِيرُ * النَّخْلِ وَ الرَّكْبِ قَائِلُونَ رِوَاءُ ٢٨٨
 قَبَابُ أَبِي يَدْمِيَزِ نَبِيرِ النَّخْلِ * سَفَرِ إِكْلِ قَيْلُولِهِ رِيَانُ نَمَ 288
 qabābu abayu yadamāz nabīri ālnakhli * safari ikili qaylūlah rayyānu thamma
 We reached a station known as the Well of Nakhli,
 and then we paused at Rakbu, while consuming fresh water.

- ٢٨٩ وَعَدَتْ آيَلَةً وَحَقْلٌ وَقَرْ * خَلْفَهَا فَالْمَغَارَةُ الْفَيْحَا
 289 بَكَصِيرٍ آيَلَةً نَحَقْلُ بَمِ نَقَرُّ * كُوَيْمَ يَاكِ نَمَغَارَ وَاسِعٍ مِمَّ
 bakaṣīri aylaṭ naḥaqlu bami naqarru * kuwa yuma yāki namaghāra wāsi‘u mima
 Then we passed more waystations: Haql, Qarr
 and Maghara, that was full of vegetation and open spaces.
- ٢٩٠ فَعِيُونُ الْأَقْصَابِ يَتَّبِعُهَا النَّبْكَ * وَ يَتَلُو كَفَافَةَ الْعَوْجَاءِ
 290 كِسَ نَعْيُونُ الْأَقْصَابِ إِكْدَمَزَ * النَّبْكَ مِسُو نَكَفَافُ إِسِي كِمَ
 kisa na‘uyūni ālaqṣābi ikadamiza * nnabku misuwi nakafāfu isiyu kima
 Then, we reached ‘Uyūn al-Aqṣab,
 at the end of al-Nabku, and Kafafu, which was a highway.
- ٢٩١ حَاوَرَتْهَا الْحَوْرَاءُ شَوْقًا * فَيَنْبُوعُ فَرَقَ الْيَنْبُعَ وَ الْحَوْرَاءُ
 291 زُمَحْدِ ثَيْلِ حَوْرًا نَيْبُوعُ * شَوْقًا بَكَو بِيُولِ كَلَّتِ تِمَ
 zimuḥadi thīli ḥawrau nayambū‘u * shawqanā bakawa bubawili kulita tima
 Haurau and Yambu towns told to the camel where it was heading to,
 even these towns longed to visit the Prophet.
- ٢٩٢ لَاحَ بِالْذَّهْنَوَيْنِ بَدْرٌ لَهَا * بَعْدَ حُنَيْنٍ وَ حَنَّتِ الصَّفْرَاءُ
 292 اِمْظَهْرِي يُبَدْرِ دَهْنَوَيْنِ * كِسَ حُنَيْنِ صَفْرًا كَفَ حُرْمَ
 imuḥiriyi yubadri dahnowayni * kisa ḥunayni ṣafrau kafa ḥuruma
 Then appeared Badr and Dahnowayn,
 followed by Hunayn and Safrau, which longed to to be there too.
- ٢٩٣ وَ نَضَتْ بَرَوَةَ وَ رَابِغَ * فَالْجُحْفَةُ عَنْهَا مَا حَاكَهُ الْإِنْضَا
 293 اِكْفُو بَرَوَةَ نَرَابِغَ نِي جُحْفَه * كَلِكِي غُو الْفَمَ نِكَسَ يَمَ
 ikafuwa bazwaṭa narābighu nayu juḥfah * kulikuyi ghuwu alufuma nikisa yama
 We then passed Bazwah, Rabigh and Juhfa;
 by this time the camel was too exhausted.
- ٢٩٤ وَارْتَهَا لِلْخِلَاصِ بِرُّ عَلِيٍّ * فَعَقَابُ السَّوَيْقِ فَالْخِلَاصُ
 294 اِكْمُوَيَايِ كِسَ شَدَّ بَيْرَ عَلِيٍّ * عِقَابُ السَّوَيْقِ نَخْلِيصَ بَسُو هَمَّ
 ikamuwuyāyi kisa shida bīri ‘alīyi * ‘iqāba ssawīqi nakhulayṣa basiwi hamma
 She thought she had reached Bi'r 'Ali
 Iqab, al-Sawiq and Khulaysa, but it was not so.

- ٢٩٥ فَهِيَ مِنْ مَاءِ بَيْرِ عَسْفَانَ * أَوْ مِنْ بَطْنِ مُرِّ صَمَانَةَ خَمَصًا
 295 إِي تَعُ مَاءٍ يَكْسِمَ كَعَسْفَانَ * نَبْطِنِ مُرًّا أَنْ دَاءً بَمِ نَظَمَ
 iyi taghu mai yakisima k'a'asfāni * nabaṭni murri una daa bami nazama
 By the time she reached the well of Asfan
 and Batni Murri, she was hungry and exhausted.
- ٢٩٦ قَرَبَ الزَّاهِرِ الْمَسَاجِدُ مِنْهَا * بِخَطَاهَا فَالْبُؤَيْبُ مِنْهَا وَحَاءُ
 296 الْقُرْبُلِ زَاهِرٍ تَمْسِكِتِ كَايِ * كَكِدَاكِ كِدَ بِي كَاكِ نِهَمَ
 iliqurubili zāhiri namusikiti kāyi * kakidāki kida buyi kāki nihima
 She then came to a place called Zāhiri near the Mosque,
 her pace seemed slow, but really it was fast.
- ٢٩٧ هَذِهِ عَدَّةُ الْمَنَازِلِ لَا * مَا عُدَّ فِيهِ السَّمَاءُ وَالْعَوَاءُ
 297 هِدْيُ عَدَدِ يَمْتُولَا سَيْلُ * وَلَغَ سَمَاكَ نَعَوَاءُ دَمِيزِ مِيمَ
 hidiyu 'adadi yamatuwulā siyalu * walagha simāku na'ūwau damīzi mīma
 The number of waystations on the journey (between Egypt and Mecca)
 equals the number of days the moon takes to orbit the Earth.
- ٢٩٨ فَكَأَنِّي بِهَا رَحَّلُ مِنْ مَكَّةَ * شَمْسًا سَمَاوُهَا الْبَيْدَاءُ
 298 كَنَكَبِ مِي جُو لَكِ كِلَوَ مَكَّةَ * نَعْيُوكِ بُو عُو عَمِي مِمَ
 kanakaba miyi jiwu laki kilawa makkaṭ * nighayawayika buwi ghuwi ghamiya mima
 It is as if I ride from Mecca [to Mount 'Arafa];
 she was like the sun, having an enormous distance [to traverse].
- ٢٩٩ مَوْضِعُ الْبَيْتِ مَهْبِطُ الْوَحْيِ مَاوِي الرُّسُلِ * حَيْثُ الْأَنْوَارُ حَيْثُ الْبَهَاءُ
 299 مَحَلَّ يَيْبِ مَشْكِي يَاكِ وَحِي * تُو لَمِئْتُمِ بِي نُورِ يَلِبِ وَمِ
 maḥala yayuba mashukiyu yāki waḥayi * tuwu lamitumi biyi nūru yalibu wima
 We headed to the house where God's words were revealed,
 the stations of prophets, where their light shines.
- ٣٠٠ حَيْثُ فِرَاضِ الطَّوَّافِ وَالسَّعْيِ * وَالْحَلْقِ وَرَمِي الْجِمَارِ وَالْإِهْدَاءُ

- 300 **بَتُّ بَفَرَضٍ يَكُطْفُ نَيْكُسَعِ * كُيُو كُتَبِ زَ جِمَارِ بِلَطِ يَمَ**
 batu bafaraḍi yakuṭufu nayakusa'ī * kuyuwa kutabi za jimāri baliṭa yama
*It is where one fulfils the obligations of circumambulation,
 of throwing stones [at Satan] and slaughtering animals.*
- 301 **حَبَّدَا حَبَّدَا مَعَاهِدُ مِنْهَا * لَمْ يُعَيِّرْ أَيَاتِهِنَّ الْبَلَاءُ**
 301 **حَبَّدَا حَبَّدَا مَنْزِلُ يَلِي مَكَ * أَلْفُ وَوَمَدَ كَوْضُرُ زَاكَ عَلَمَ**
 ḥabbadhā ḥabbadhā manzilu yaliyu maka * ulifu wamida kawuḍuru zāka 'alama
*How excellent! How excellent! are the structures of Mecca.
 The sites cannot be altered over the generations.*
- 302 **حَرَامٌ أَمِنْ وَيْتُ حَرَامٌ * وَ مَقَامٌ فِيهِ الْمَقَامُ تَلَا**
 302 **حَرَامٌ أَمِنْ نَيْبُغُ بِي حُرْمَ * نَمَقَامُ حُمُ كُجَاوِرِ مِي كُفِيمَ**
 ḥarāmu aminu nayubaghu yiyi ḥuruma * namaqāmu ḥumu kujāwiri miyi kuqīma
*A peaceful, sacred house, full of sanctity.
 In it one finds footprints of Abraham.*
- 303 **فَقَضَيْنَا بِهَا مَنَاسِكَ لَا يُحْمَدُ * إِلَّا فِي فِعْلِهِنَّ الْقَضَاءُ**
 303 **تُكَوِّدُ مَكَّةَ مَنَاسِكَ يَتِ تِكُوسَ * حَجَّجِمِدَوِ إِلَّا سُمُ كُودِ كِمَ**
 tukawaddi makkaṭ manāsiki yuti tikusa * ḥajuḥimidiwa illā sumu kuwadi kima
*And we fulfilled the obligation of giving sacrifice;
 one's pilgrimage is not complete without this.*
- 304 **وَرَمِينَا بِهَا الْفِجَاجِ الْيَ طَيِّبَةِ * وَ السَّيْرِ بِالْمَطَايَا رِمَاءُ**
 304 **كَاتِي كَايِ دِي يَجِ كِدَ مَدِينَةَ * نَكِدَ كِيمَ شَبِيهِ كُتَ سَهَمَ**
 kaatiya kāyi diya yiji kida madīnaṭ * nakida kayama shabihiyi kuta sahama
*We then travelled via the set routes that take us to Medina,
 and the camel was cautious having to travel straight there, like an arrow.*
- 305 **فَاصْبَنَا عَنْ قَوْسِهَا غَرَضُ * الْقُرْبِ وَ نِعْمَ الْحَيِّثَةُ الْكَوْمَا**
 305 **كَبَتَ كِكْبِ كُوتَاوِ تَكُفْرُبُ * نِمَ وَعَقِبَ نَاقَ سِي وَنُرُ جِمَ**
 kabata kikubi kawutāwi takuqurubu * nima wa'iqiba nāqa suyu wanuru jima
*She was courageous enough to aim her arrow in the right direction,
 so steadfast was she in her riding, a remarkable camel!*

- ٣٠٦ فَرَأَيْنَا أَرْضَ الْحَبِيبِ يَعْضُ * الطَّرْفَ مِنْهَا الضِّيَاءَ وَاللَّأْلَأُ
 تُكُونُ نَتِ يَكِيتِ كَمَلِ بَغُ * نُورُ نَكْمِتِ إِيْنِكَ يِتُ كَوْمَ
 tukawuna nati yakibiti kamuli bighu * nūru nakumita iyanika yitu kawima
 We then reached the land of the Beloved of the Lord of the Universe;
 light and illumination were clearly seen by our eyes.
- ٣٠٧ فَكَأَنَّ الْبَيْدَاءَ مِنْ حَيْثُ * مَا قَابَلَتِ الْعَيْنُ رَوْضَةً غَنَّا
 كَنْ كَبَ سِيِّي بَيْدَا كَكَلِكِي * يِتُ نَغِ كَمَ بُسْتَانِ يَمِتِ مِيْمَ
 kana kaba siyu baydau kakulikiya * yitu nigha kama bustāni yamiti mīma
 When you face [the place of] Baydaa,
 your eyes are soothed due to its beautiful trees.
- ٣٠٨ وَكَأَنَّ الْبِقَاعَ زُرَّتْ عَلَيْهَا * طَرْفِيهَا مُلَاتُ حَمْرَاءُ
 كَنَكَبَ سِزُزِ وَدَازِ بَلِيدِو * إِيلِ تَزَكِ غُو بِنَ كُدْتُ جِمَ
 kanakaba sizuzi wadāzi balibidiwa * iyuli tazaki ghuwu bana kudutu jima
 It resembles beautiful scenes from great cities,
 where sparkling red carpets adorn the pavements.
- ٣٠٩ وَكَأَنَّ الْأَرْجَاءَ يَنْشُرُنَشْرًا * الْمِسْكِ فِيهَا الْجُنُوبُ وَالْجَرِيَاءُ
 كَنَكَبَ هُزُ بِيَزِرِ إِيْتَازَ * بِبِ يَجُنُوبُ نِيْوِيغِ مِسْكِ ثَمَ
 kanakaba huzu babizuzi iyatāza * bibu yajunūbu nayawīghu misiki thama
 It is as if the city [of Medina] wafts
 the winds southwards and the clouds produce the scent of musk.
- ٣١٠ فَإِذَا شِمْتَ أَوْ شَمَمْتَ رَبَّاهَا * لَأَحَ مِنْهَا بَرَقَ وَفَاحَ كِبَاءُ
 بِدِ أُونَبِ أَوْ كِيْنِكَ زِتُو زَكِ * أُبِ كُمِتَ نَائِي عُوْدِ كِيْنِكَ فِمَ
 bidī uwunabu aw kinuka zituu zaki * ubibi kumita nāyu ‘ūdi kinuka fima
 When you appear, you smell the streets of Medina;
 the wind blows, and the fragrance of sandalwood is everywhere.
- ٣١١ أَيُّ نُورٍ وَأَيُّ نُورٍ شَهَدْنَا * يَوْمَ أَبَدْتُ لَنَا الْقِيَابَ قُبَاءُ

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 أَيُّ نُورٍ جَمَ نَمَلُو تُونِي * سِكُ يَقْبَاءُ كُتُوِي مَقْبِ مِمَّ
 ay nūru jima namaluwa tuyawiniyu * siku yaqibau kutuwuya maquba mima
*Oh! The scene was full of light and decorated with flowers
 surrounding the domes of Quba town.*
- 312
 قَرَّ مِنْهَا دَمْعِي وَفَرَّ اصْطِبَارِي * فَدُمُوعِي سَيْلٌ وَصَبْرِي جُفَاءُ
 بَغْسِزْ تُوَزْ نَصْبُورِ اِكْبِي * تَزْ نَسَيْلِ نَصْبِرْ كَايْ كُتَمَّ
 bighisiza tūzi naṣabūri ikabutiya * tuzi nasayli naṣaburi kāyu kutama
*Then tears flowed and I lost my self-control [when I saw Medina];
 my tears were ceaseless because of my longing [to meet the Prophet].*
- 313
 فَتَرَى الرَّكْبَ طَائِرِينَ مِنْ * الشَّوْقِ إِلَى طَيْبَةِ لَهُمْ صَوْضًا
 أُكُونُ رَكْبَ تِدَهَمَ كَايْ شَوْقُ * كِيدِي مَدِينَةَ نَصَوْتِ زَوْ كِفَمَّ
 ukawuna rakba tida hima kāyu shawqu * kidiya madīnaṭi naṣawti zawu kifuma
*You could notice the speed of the group quicken because of our urge
 to reach Medina, and so the sound of the group's movement became louder.*
- 314
 فَكَأَنَّ الزُّوَارَ مَا مَسَتْ * الْبَاسًا مِنْهُمْ خَلَقًا وَ لَا الضَّرَّاءُ
 كَنَكَبَ شِدَّ كَلِبِتِ سَاوُ زُوَارِ * مِيْغَنَ مَاوُ مُتْ وَأَضَرَ كِمَمَّ
 kanakaba shidda kalibiti sāwu zūwāri * miyughuna māwu mutu waaḍarra kumima
*It was as if the group was re-energized;
 none of them appeared completely exhausted [any more].*
- 315
 كُلُّ نَفْسٍ مِنْهَا اِئْتِهَالٌ وَسُؤْلٌ * وَ دُعَا وَرَغْبَةٌ وَ اِئْتِعَاءُ
 نَكْلٌ مُمِّي نَحْشُوعٌ نَتَوَسَّلُ * دُعَا نَرْغَبَةٌ نَكْتَكُ يَمْلَ مِمَّ
 nakulla mumuya nikhushū'u natawassuli * du'ā naraghbat̄ nakutaka yamula mima
*Every person became submissive and sought mediation
 as they humbly prayed to their good Lord.*
- 316
 وَ زَفِيرٌ تَظُنُّ مِنْهُ صُدُورًا * صَادِحَاتٍ يَعْتَادُهُنَّ زُقَاءُ
 نَبْمُوزِ كَازُ أَوْظَنِّ زَفَ نِيْنِ * وَتَوُ صَوْتِ زُولُو كِمَ كِكِمَّ
 nabumūzi kāzu uwazanni zifa niyuni * watawu ṣawti zuwiliwu kima kukima
*And the sound of their inhalation was like those of birds
 that produces sweet singing voices as they breathe [in and out].*

- ٣١٧ وَ بُكَأُ يُغْرِبُهُ بِالْعَيْنِ مَدُّ * وَ نَحِيبُ يَحُثُّهُ اسْتِعْلَاءُ
 317 بِمِ نَكَلِي تَغْرِكُ نَيْتُ تُزِ * نَصَوْتِ كُو سُوغَزِي نِكْتِ مِيَمِ
 bami nakuliya tughiziku naitu tuzi * naṣawta kuwu sughizayu nikuta mīma
 Their eyes were filled with tears,
 and the echoes of our cries could be heard on the walls of the Good One (ie the Prophet).
- ٣١٨ وَ جُسُومٌ كَانَمَا رَحَضَتْهَا * مِنْ عَظِيمِ الْمَهَابَةِ الرَّحَضَا
 318 نَزُولِ كَنَكَبِ لَلِكُشْرُ * فِكِ كُو كُو وَ هَيِّبَةِ كُو عَظِيمِ
 naziwiliwili kanakaba lalikushazu * fuki kawukuwu wa haybaṭ kuwu ‘aẓīma
 And our bodies were soaked with sweat
 due to our great eagerness.
- ٣١٩ وَ وُجُوهٌ كَانَمَا الْبَسَتْهَا * مِنْ حَيَاءِ الْوَانِهَا الْجِرْبَاءُ
 319 نَمَسُ كَحِيَا كَنَكَبِ أَفِشَزِي * الْوَانِ زَكِ حِرْبَا بِيغِ زَوْمِ
 namasu kaḥayā kanakaba ufishizayu * alwāni zaki ḥirbau yighi zawima
 And our faces were filled with shyness and our expressions changed
 like the beautiful colours of a chameleon's body.
- ٣٢٠ وَ دُمُوعٌ كَانَمَا أَرْسَلَتْهَا * مِنْ جُفُونِ سَحَابَةٍ وَطْفَا
 320 نَمْتُرِ مَعِ كَنْ كَبِ وَغِ لِتَالُ * لِيْتِشَزِ سَايِ مَكُبِينِ يَكِغِ يَمِ
 namatuza maghi kana kaba wighu litālu * litishiza sāyu makubini yakigha yama
 Tears flowed like heavy rain pouring from a cloud,
 the tears covered the flesh of our eyelids.
- ٣٢١ فَحَطَطْنَا الرَّحَالَ حَيْثُ يُحَطُّ * الْوَزَرَ عَنَّا وَ تُرْفَعُ الْحَوَجَاءُ
 321 تَكْتُو يَمِ بِشُشَبِ ذَنْبِ نَمِرُ * يَتُ نَكْتَكِ حَاغِ سَبِ تَتَكَّرَمِ
 takatuwa yama bashushabu dhambi namizu * yitu nakutaka ḥāja sabu tatakarrama
 We laid down our sins and burdens
 and felt that our problems were going to be resolved.
- ٣٢٢ وَ قَرَأْنَا السَّلَامَ أَكْرَمَ خَلْقِ اللَّهِ * مِنْ حَيْثُ يُسْمَعُ الْإِقْرَاءُ
 322 تُكْمَسِلُّمُ مُلْغَانَ كُلِّكَ وَتُ * مَحَلَّ أَبَبِ بَسِكُو سَبِ سَلَامِ
 tukamusillimu mulughāna kuliku watu * maḥala ababu basikiwa sabu salāma
 And we saluted the noblest creature of all,

and that is usually the place where such a greeting is heard.

۳۲۳ وَ ذَهَلْنَا عِنْدَ اللَّقَا وَكَمْ * أَذْهَلَ صَبًّا مِّنَ الْحَبِيبِ اللَّقَاءُ
 تُكْتَشِي بِدِ كُتْنِبِ كَغَبِ صَاح * كُكَّتْ كِيدِ كُتْشَنِزِ صَبِّ فَهَمَ 323
 tukatushiya bidi kutinibu kaghabi ṣāḥi * kukuta kibidi kutushizi ṣabba fahama
 We had aspired to meet [the Prophet] for many years.
 and that was an astonishing moment for us.

۳۲۴ وَوَجَمْنَا مِنَ الْمَهَابَةِ حَتَّى * لَا كَلَامَ مِنَّا وَلَا إِيمَاءُ
 تُكَلِّتَ كِمَ كُوتِشُ بِسَوِ كَب * مَتَكْنِ مِتْ وَ إِشَارَ يَكِ كَلِيمَ 324
 tukalita kima kawutishu basiwi kaba * matakani mitu wa ishāra yaki kalīma
 We remained silent [by the grave-side];
 none of us could speak, or even make a gesture.

۳۲۵ وَرَجَعْنَا وَ لِلْقُلُوبِ الْتِفَاتِ * إِلَيْهِ وَ لِلْجُسُومِ انْتِنَاءُ
 تُكْرُدُ كِتْ يُيْ إِلِ نَكِغِلُكُ * كُكَلِكِي تُوْمَ نَجِسْمُ كُوِي يِمَ 325
 tukarudi kitu yuyu ili nakighiluku * kulikuyi tūma najismu kuwayi yuma
 We then returned to our homes with hearts were full of longing,
 although our bodies wished to remain with the Prophet.

۳۲۶ وَسَمَحْنَا بِمَا نُحِبُّ وَقَدْ يَسْمِخُ * عِنْدَ الصَّرْوَةِ الْبُخْلَاءُ
 تُكَبِّ كَكِتْ أَبْكَصْ تُوَكْبَدَ * نَبْخِيلِ كِدَ كَضْرُورُ أَكَبِ كَمَ 326
 tukaba kakitu abakuṣi tuwakibada * nabakhīli kida kaḍarūru akaba k'ima
 We left behind the one we dearly admire,
 and that was a very difficult experience.

۳۲۷ يَا أَبَا الْقَاسِمِ الَّذِي ضَمِنَ * أَقْسَامِي عَلَيْهِ مَدْحٌ لَهُ وَثَنًا
 يَا أَبَا الْقَاسِمِ بُوَكَبِ بَضْمَنِلِ * أَلِكُ كُصِفُ نَكْتِي زَغُ قَسَمَ 327
 yā abā ālqāsimu bawukaba baḍumanili * aliku kuṣifu nakitiya zaghu qasama
 Oh! The father of Qasim, I swear to God,
 I present here a testament to your noble character.

۳۲۸ بِالْعُلُومِ الَّتِي عَلَيْكَ * مِنَ اللَّهِ بِلَا كَاتِبٍ لَهَا إِمْلًا

نَكَّسِمِي كَعِلْمُ كُشْكِلِزُ * كِيَوَكَمَلِ بَسِ مُؤَزِ كَمَعَلَمِ 328
 nakuqasimiya ka'ilimu kushukilizu * kiyawakamala basi mūzi kamu'allima
 By God, the revelation was sent to you
 from your Lord, without a teacher to train you [how to read and write].

وَمَسِيرِ الصَّبَا بِنَصْرِ كَشَهْرًا * فَكَأَنَّ الصَّبَا لَدَيْكَ الرُّخَا 329
 نَوْرٌ وَيَبُوبُ يَمَمَدُ كَنْصَرِي * مِزِبِلِ يَكُ صَبَا كَعِ رُخَا وَمَ
 nawiru wabību yamumadi kanuṣrayu * mizibili yaki ṣabā kigha rukhau wima
 And by the winds that blew from the East, which were sent to protect you
 like the powerful winds of Saba and Ruha' [sent to help the prophet Solomon].

وَعَلِي لَمَّا تَفَلَّتْ بَعَيْنِي * وَكَلْنَا هُمَا مَعَا رَمْدَاهُ 330
 نَعَلِي بَدِ أَتْفَلِبُ مَتْنِ مَائِكُ * نَائِي يُمَوَلِ كِيَوَلِكُ يَكْعَغُ دَمَ
 na'alīyi bidi utufilibu matuni māki * nāyu yumawili kiwalika yakigha dama
 And by 'Ali, who was stricken with an illness of the eyes;
 he was visionless, and they were as red as blood.

فَعَدَا نَاطِرًا بَعَيْنِي عُقَابِ * فِي غُرَاةِ لَهَا الْعُقَابِ لِيَاءِ 331
 أَكِدَ كِيُونَ كَائِي مَتُّ يَكُ كِيُبُوغُ * زَتَنُ زَلِيزُ نَعُقَابِ لِيَا جِمِ
 akida kiwuna kāyu matu yaki kibūghu * zitani zilīzu na'uqābu liwau jimi
 He miraculously gained vision that was as sharp as an eagle's,
 and immediately joined the army as a flagbearer.

وَبِرِيحَانَتَيْنِ طِبْهُمَا مِنْكَ * الَّذِي أُودِعَتْهُمَا الزَّهْرَا 332
 نَكَائِي مَلُو يُمَوَلِ إِيَزَلِي * كَأَكُ طِيْبُ يَأُو إِكُوَيْشَ مَنَ فَاطِمَ
 nakāyu maluwa yumawili iyaziliwu * kuāku ṭību yāwu ikawuyisha mana fāṭuma
 And by those two flowers (Hassan and Hussein),
 whose scent is traced from you through your humble daughter Fatima.

كُنْتُ تَأْوِيهِمَا إِلَيْكَ كَمَا * أَوْتُ مِنَ الْخَطِّ نُقْطَتَيْهَا الْيَا 333
 تُمِ الْوَلِ كَدَوَامُ كِيَوُ كُبَتَ * أَلِكُ كَمَائِي إِكْسِيُو نُقْطَ وَمَ
 tumi iliwili kadawāmu kiwa kubata * uliku kamāyi ikusayawu nuqūṭa wima
 Oh! Prophet, you always embraced them so dearly
 like the way two dots are placed close together on the letter "yā"

- ٣٣٤ مِنْ شَهِيدَيْنِ لَيْسَ يُنْسِينِي * الطَّفُّ مَصَابِيهُمَا وَ لَا كَرْبَلَاءُ
- 334 نَوْفَ شَهِيدٍ وَ وَوْلٍ كَيْدٍ وَرَ * الطَّفُّ يُمَصِّبُ كَرْبَلَ إِبِلِ غَمَ
niwafa shahīdi wu wawili kayidi wazi * ālṭṭaffu yumiṣība karbala ibili ghama
It is regrettable that they were martyred;
the events of Karbala will always remain dire ones.
- ٣٣٥ مَا رَعَى فِيهِمَا ذِمَامَكَ مَرءُوسٌ * وَقَدْ خَانَ عَهْدَكَ الرَّأْسُ
- 335 كَوَ كَيْرِيعٍ وَدَمِيرٍ نَوَ فُلَطٍ * حُرْمِي كَاؤُ عَهْدِي تُغَلُّ يُمَ
kawa kuyira'i wadamāzi nawa fulaṭa * ḥurumayu kāwu 'ahdiyu taghuli yuma
What a sad trial for the followers from their leaders;
it was a cruel end that went against prophetic teachings.
- ٣٣٦ أَبْدَلُوا الْوُدَّ وَ الْحَفِظَةَ فِي * الْقُرْبَى وَ أَبَدَتْ ضِبَابَهَا النَّافِقُ
- 336 بَدَزَ قَرَبٍ نَحْفُظٍ وَبَدٍ لِي * لَوِشِلٍ وَازٍ يَرُبُوعٍ شِمِّ لَيْمَ
biduza qaraba naḥifuzi wabadi liyi * liwishili wāzi yarbū'ī shimu layuma
They preferred to hate [the Prophet's household] rather than love it;
it is like unearthing the gerbil's hole behind it.
- ٣٣٧ وَ قَسَتْ مِنْهُمْ قُلُوبٌ عَلَيَّ مِنْ * بَكَتِ الْأَرْضُ فَقَدَهُمْ وَ السَّمَاءُ
- 337 إِلِكُكْتِلِ بِي يَأُو كُلكُ وَ لُ * كُلكُ لَوْنِتِ كُفَ كَاؤُ بِمِ نَسَمَا
ilikukutili yuyu yāwu kuliku walu * kuliliwaniti kufa kāwu bimi nasamā
But the flow of blood of their [enemies'] hearts stopped
when their mourners lamented on earth and in the heavens.
- ٣٣٨ فَأَبْكِهِمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتَ إِنَّ قَلِيلًا * فِي عَظِيمٍ مِنَ الْمُصَابِ الْبُكَاءُ
- 338 اِوِ وَ لَلِي أَوْزٍ وَ نَجَزَ كَاتِي * كُ حُكُ كُلي مِصْبَانِ سِي عَظِمَ
iwi waliliyi uwiza wunijaza k'āk'i * ku ḥuku kuliya miṣbāni siyi 'aẓima
I lament with sorrow as much as I can,
a wail is the greatest act of affection for those who are bereaved.
- ٣٣٩ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ وَ كُلُّ أَرْضٍ لِكَرْبِي * مِنْهُمْ كَرْبَلَاءُ وَعَاشُورَاءُ

- 339 **إِي كُلِّ سِكِّ نَكُلِّ تِ كَحُزْنِي * نِكْرَبَلَا نَعَاشُورُ كَاوُ أَيْمَ**
 iyu kula siku nakuli ti kaḥuzniya * nikarbalau na‘āshūru kāwu aima
*Deep grief is felt every day and everywhere,
 but nothing can match the event of Karbala in the day of 'Ashura.*
- 340 **يَا لَ بَيْتِ النَّبِيِّ إِنْ فُؤَادِي * لَيْسَ يُسْلِيهِ عَنكُمْ التَّاسَا**
إِي آلَ بَيْتِ لِلنَّبِيِّ حَقَّ مَيُوءَ * كُيَصْبِرْشَ كُلِّكِي هَكِسِ تِمَ
 iyi ala bayti lilnabiyyi ḥaqqā muyuwa * kuyiṣibirisha kulikuyi hakisi tima
*Oh! The household members of the Prophet, I cannot restrain my heart any more:
 my love for you exceeds all the limits [of admiration].*
- 341 **غَيْرَ أَنِّي فَوَّضْتُ أَمْرِي إِلَى اللَّهِ * وَتَفْوِيضِي الْأُمُورَ بَرَاءُ**
إِلَّا أَمْرِي نَغِيكِرَ كَاكِ مُلُغُ * كِيغِيكِرَ مَبِّ نَائِبُرَ لَمُسَلِمَ
 illā amriya nighikiza kāki mulughu * kighikiza mabu niibuza lamusalima
*But all beings' actions shall be judged by God,
 and to accept this fact is the characteristic of those who surrender [to His will] (i.e. Muslims).*
- 342 **رُبَّ يَوْمٍ بِكَرْبَلَا مُسَيَّ * خَفَفَتْ بَعْضَ وَرِرِهِ الزُّورَا**
بَاوِي سِكِّ إِي مُو وَكَرْبَلَا * كَمُخَفِييَ الزُّورَ أَذَابِرَ ثَمَّ
 biāwiya siku iyi muwi wakarbalā * kamukhafifiya zzawra udhābizi thamma
*From that day the dwellers of Karbala committed their evil deed,
 they certainly carried the burden of sin among themselves.*
- 343 **وَالْأَعَادِي كَأَنَّ كُلَّ طَرِيحٍ * مِنْهُمْ الرِّقُّ حُلَّ عَنْهُ الْوِكَاءُ**
عَدُوِّ وَكِيغَ كَتِيكََا وَكُلُّ أَلْتِ * قَرِبَ كَلِّكَ فُغُلُو عُغُ كَوْمَ
 ‘aduwi wikigha katikā wukulu aluti * qiriba k’ilik’u fughuliwa ‘ughu kawama
*It was so horrific when they went down to them:
 the flow [of blood] was as if the knots on a skin water jar had been left open.*
- 344 **إِي بَيْتِ النَّبِيِّ طَبْتُمْ وَطَابَ الْمَدْحُ * لِي فِيكُمْ وَ طَابَ الرَّثَاءُ**
إِي آلَ بَيْتِ زَمْتُومِ مُلِكَلِتُ * كُووُبُوَايِ نَكُصِفُ كُبِلِ كَتَمَ
 iyi ala bayti zamutūmi mulikilitu * kuwawubuwāyi nakuṣifu kubili k’ima
*Oh! I behold you members of the household of the Prophet, emitting the scent of flowers.
 I take delight in eulogising you, and praising you for what you went through.*

- أَنَا حَسَّانٌ مَدْحِكُمْ فَإِذَا * نُحْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ فَإِنِّي الْخَنَسَاءُ ٣٤٥
- مِ صِفَانٍ مِنْ نِحْسَانٍ كَوُودُو * مِ نِحْسَانًا مِصْبِنٍ يِنُ كُرَمَ 345
mi şifāni minu niḥassāni kiwawuduwa * mi nikhansau mişibani yinu kurama
I acclaim your lives like Hassan [ibn Thābit],
and like Khansau [bint 'Amr] I lament your tribulations.
- سُدْتُمْ النَّاسَ بِالتَّقِيِّ وَسِوَاكُمْ * سَوَدْتُهُ الْبَيْضَاءُ وَ الصَّفْرَاءُ ٣٤٦
- مُزِدِلٍ وَتُ كَتَّقُوِي إِسْكُوِي * زِيَادَ وَيُونِذَ هَبُ نَفِضَ جِمَ 346
muzidili watu kataqway isukuwayi * ziyāda wabīwanidha habu nafiḍa jima
You (the Prophet's household) were outstanding in your leadership, while the others
were continually using gold and silver [to sustain their power].
- وَبِأَصْحَابِكَ الَّذِينَ هُمْ بَعْدَكَ * فِينَا الْهُدَاةُ وَ الْأَوْصِيَاءُ ٣٤٧
- نَكْصَحَبَاؤُ بُو كَبَ وَ بَعْدِي * نُوْصِي زِيْتُ نِدْغُوْزِ يَكُلَ مِيْمَ 347
nakaṣaḥabāzu bawu kaba wa ba'dayu * niwaṣii zītu nidughūzi yakula mayma
And thanks to your companions who took over after your demise,
we hold to their ways, they led us in the right path.
- أَحْسَنُوا بَعْدَكَ الْخِلْفَ * فِي الدِّينِ وَ كُلُّ لَمَّا تَوَلَّيْ اَزَاءُ ٣٤٨
- وَلَوْ شِلْتُ أُخْلِيفَ بَعْدَ يَكُ * نَكُلُّ مُمِّي تَوَلَّيْ وَلِ قِيْمَ 348
waliwishilitu ukhalīfa ba'da yaku * nakulla mumuya tawalāyu wali qayyima
The caliphs followed keenly your (the Prophet's) footsteps,
as they each showed good qualities of leadership.
- أَغْنِيَاءُ نَزَاهَةٌ فُقَرَاءُ * عُلَمَاءُ أَيْمَةٌ أَمْرَاءُ ٣٤٩
- أُو نَوَكَاسِ أَعْفَانِ نِفْقَرَاءُ * رُو مَامَامُ مَامِيرِ دُو عِلْمَ 349
iwu niwakāsi u'ifāni nifuqarau * riwu maimāmu maamīri diwu 'ulama
They were poor but very generous to others,
they were sincere leaders, administrators and commanders.
- زَهْدُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا فَمَا عُرِفَ * الْمَيْلُ إِلَيْهَا مِنْهُمْ وَ لَا الرَّعْبَاءُ ٣٥٠

- 350 **وَلِيلٍ يُغِ دُنْيَانِ كَبِيُورَ * كُبْدُكِيُورَ نَكْبِدَ كَاوُ عَلَمَ**
 walibili yughu duniyāni kabayuwīwa * kubudukiyawu nakubida kāwu ‘alama
*They avoided worldly leisure,
 and associated themselves with love of knowledge.*
- 351 **كُلُّهُمْ فِي أَحْكَمِهِ ذُو اجْتِهَادٍ * وَصَوَابٍ وَ كُلُّهُمْ إِكْفَاءُ**
 351 **بِي جِتِهَادٍ حُكْمِنِ مَاي كَوْتِ * نَوِي كُصِيبُ نَوُوتِ نَكْفُ ثَمَّ**
 biyi jitihadi ḥukumuni māi kawuti * niwiyi kuṣību nawuwuti nikufu thamma
*They applied deductive reasoning in courts,
 and the litigants were all satisfied.*
- 352 **أَرْخَصُوا فِي الْوَعْيِ نَفُوسَ * مُلُوكِ حَارِبُوهَا إِغْلَاءُ**
 352 **رِخْصِلِ رُوحِ أَتْبَنِ زَوْفَلَمِ * بَجَنُو نَاوُ زُبُ زَاوُ زَكْفَ قِيمَ**
 rikhiṣili rūḥu utabuni zawafalmi * bijanawu nāwu zubu zāwu zikafa qīma
*They caused concern in battles with the great kings,
 who always tasted defeat.*
- 353 **رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ وَرَضُوا عَنْهُ * فَأَنِّي يَخْطُوا إِلَيْهِمْ خَطَاءُ**
 353 **لِوُولِ رَضِ مَوْلِ نَاوُ وَكَمْوِي * خَطَا زِيدَايِ وَ وِلْكَ زَكْوَ غِمَ**
 liwawili raḍi mūla nāwu wakamuwiya * khaṭā ziyidāyi wu waliku zikawa ghima
*They were pleased with God and God was pleased with them:
 how was it possible for them to go astray?*
- 354 **جَاءَ قَوْمٌ مِنْ بَعْدِ قَوْمِ بِحَقِّ * وَ عَلَيِ الْمَنْهَجِ الْحَنِيفِيِّ حَاوًا**
 354 **قَوْمٌ كَحَقِّ وَ لَجَلِ بَعْدَ قَوْمِ * وَجَلِ كَدِي يَحْنِيفَ مُسْتَقِيمَ**
 qawmu kaḥiqqi walijili ba‘da qawmi * wajili kadiya yaḥanīfa mustaqīma
*Generation after generation followed [the caliphs'] footsteps in establishing justice,
 while they (the caliphs) also followed the same path of the well-guided prophets.*
- 355 **مَالِ مُوسَى وَ لَالِ عِيسَى حَوَارِيُونَ * فِي فَضْلِهِمْ وَ لَا نُقْبَاءُ**
 355 **زَ مُوسَى نِينِ فَضْلِنِ نَزَاكَ عِيسَى * حَوَارِيُونَ نَنْقَبَا زَكَ كَلِيمَ**
 za mūsay ninini faḍilini nazāki ‘īsay * ḥawārīyūna nanuqabā zaki kilīma
*Your (the Prophet's) companions are unmatched when compared to the disciples of Moses and Jesus;
 indeed, they were your perfect followers.*

- ٣٥٦ **بَابِي بَكْرٍ الَّذِي صَحَّ لِلنَّاسِ سِرْبِهِ * فِي حَيَاتِكَ الْإِقْتِدَاءُ**
- 356 **كَأَبِي بَكْرٍ أَبُو كَايٍ بَلِصِحْلِ * حَيَّتِنِ مَأْكُ كُفُوتَ كَوْتُ جَمَّ**
 kaabii bakari abawu kāyi baliṣihili * ḥayatini māku kufuwata kawatu jamma
*Abu Bakr was approved by the majority (of the companions) to be their leader,
 in the same way as you (the Prophet) consented to him leading prayers in your lifetime.*
- ٣٥٧ **وَ الْمُهَدِّي يَوْمَ السَّقِيفَةِ * لَمَّا أَرْجَفَ النَّاسُ أَنَّهُ الدَّادَاءُ**
- 357 **مُفَدِّ فِتْنَةٍ بَدِ وَتُ خَلْفِنَبُ * سِكَ يَسَقِيفَ حَقَقِي مُتَدَّ مِيمَ**
 mufuda fitina bidi watu khalifinibu * siku yasaqīfa ḥaḥiqayī mutudha mīma
*He (Abu Bakr) solved the controversy of successorship,
 on the day of the assembly of Saqifa, by his intuitional wisdom.*
- ٣٥٨ **أَنْقَذَ الدِّينَ بَعْدَ مَا كَانَ * لِلدِّينِ عَلَيَّ كُلِّ كُرْبَةٍ إِشْفَاءُ**
- 358 **أُكْرِلَ دِينَ بَوْلِبُ كُتْغَلِي * كَدِينِ كُلكِ كُلِّ غَمِّ بَسِوِ غَمِّ**
 ukuzili dīni bawilibu kutughiliya * kadīni kuliku kulla ghammiu basiwi ghamma
*He saved the religion from disintegrating,
 and by using his wisdom he was able to avoid internal strife.*
- ٣٥٩ **أَنْفَقَ الْمَالَ فِي رِضَاكَ وَلَا * مَنَّا وَأَعْطَيْ جَمًّا وَلَا إِكْدَاءُ**
- 359 **سَرَفِلِ مَالِ رَضِينُمْ بَسِبُ سُبُ * كَبَ مَالِ مَاغِ كَمِرَارَ بَسِ كَكُمَّ**
 sarifili māli raḍinimu basibu subu * kaba māli māghī kamirāra basi kakuma
*He voluntarily sacrificed his wealth;
 his generosity was unlimited.*
- ٣٦٠ **وَ ابْنِي حَفْصِ الَّذِي أَظْهَرَ اللَّهُ * بِهِ الدِّينَ فَارَعَوِي الرُّقْبَا**
- 360 **نَكَشِ حَفْصِ أَبُو كَايٍ ظَهْرِي * مِلِوُغُ دِينِ عَدُوبِ وَكِدِ يُمَ**
 nakashi ḥafsi abawu kāyi ḥāhriṣhiza * miliwaghu dīni ‘aduwibi wakidi yuma
*And the father of Hafsa ('Umar bin Khattab) was attracted
 through God's plan to [accept] religion, and the enemies were nonplussed.*
- ٣٦١ **وَ الَّذِي تَقَرَّبُ الْأَبَاعِدُ فِي * اللَّهُ لَدَيْهِ وَ تَبْعُدُ الْقُرْبَا**

- 361 **أَيُّ وَبَلٍ وَ مِعْمٍ وَضِنٍ مَاكِ * مُلْغِ إِلَيْكَ قَرَبِزِ بَالٍ وَكِمِ**
 ayawu wabali wa mighima waḍini māki * mulughi aliku qarabazi bāli wakima
*He ('Umar) became closer to the pious ones, who were not his relatives.
 and he distanced himself from all enemies, including his own relatives.*
- 362 **عُمَرِ ابْنِ الْخَطَّابِ مَنْ قَوْلُهُ * الْفَضْلُ وَ مَنْ حُكْمُهُ السَّوِيُّ السَّوَأُ**
 عُمَرِ ابْنِ الْخَطَّابِ أَبُو نِينُ * لَكَ كَفَصِيلِ حُكْمِي مُسْتَقِيمِ
 'umari ābni ālkhattābi abawu ninu * laki kufaṣīli ḥukumuyi mustaqīma
*'Umar bin Khattab was very eloquent,
 and his judgement was always just.*
- 363 **فَرَّ مِنْهُ شَيْطَانٌ إِذْ كَانَ * فَارُوقًا فَلِلنَّارِ مِنْ سَنَاهُ انْبِرَاءُ**
 شَطْنِ كِبِزِيلِ كُلْكِي الْبِكُو * فَارُوقِ مُتْ كَنْزِي أُولِ كُرْمِ
 shiṭāni kibizīli kulikuyi alibukuwa * fārūqi mutu kanuruyi uwili kuzima
*When he takes a particular route the devil ran away [from it],
 and fire was extinguished by his spiritual light.*
- 364 **وَابْنِ عَفَّانِ ذِي الْأَيْدِي النَّيِّ * طَالَ إِلَيَّ الْمُصْطَفِي بِهَا الْأَسْدَاءُ**
 نَابِنِ عَفَّانِ مِي نِعْمَ أَبِي كَبِ * كُلكُ مُتَعِ بَكْرِلِ كُبَكِ جَمِّ
 naibni 'afāni miyi ni'ma abayu kaba * kuliku mutighi bakuzili kubaki jamma
*And [Uthman] ibn Affan, the one who was blessed
 for his bravery and the perpetual kindness he offered [to the Prophet].*
- 365 **حَفَرَ الْبَيْرَ جَهَّزَ الْجَيْشَ * أَهْدَى الْهَدْيَ لَمَّا أَنْ صَدَّهُ الْأَعْدَاءُ**
 فُكُلِ كِسِمَ نَجِشِ أَكْجَهْزِ * بَدِ زَوِ وَبِ نَعْدُو كَهْدِ يَمِ
 fukuli kisima najayshi akajahizi * bidi ziwi wabu na'aduwi kahidi yama
*He dug a well and prepared an army;
 in the time of sanctions, he was chosen as a negotiator.*
- 366 **وَابِي أَنْ يَطُوفَ بِالْبَيْتِ إِذْ * لَمْ يَدْنُ مِنْهُ إِلَيَّ النَّيِّ فِنَاءُ**
 كَيْرِ كُطْفُ كَعْبَةَ كَكَبِ سَبِ * جَابِنُ يَكِ هَيْتَسَ تَمِ كِغِمِ
 kayiza kuṭufu ka'baṭa kakaba sabu * jābinu yaki hayitasa tuma kighima
*He refused to make a pilgrimage though permitted [by the enemies] to do so:
 he said he could not perform it prior to the Prophet himself.*

- ٣٦٧ فَجَزَّتْهُ عَنْهَا بَيْعَةَ رِضْوَانٍ * يَدٌ مِنْ نَبِيِّهِ بَيْضَاءُ
 367 أَكْمَجَرِي كَأَيِّ بَيْعَةِ رِضْوَانٍ * مُكُنُّ مِوْبٍ وَمُتْمٍ وَيِ كَرَمٍ
 akamujaziyi kāyu bay‘at̄ yariḏwāni * mukunu miwubi wamutumi wayi karama
*The Prophet was very pleased with his actions:
 he stretched out his blessed white hand and shook hands with him.*
- ٣٦٨ أَدَبٌ عِنْدَهُ تَضَاعَفَتْ * الْأَعْمَالُ بِالْتَرَكِ حَبْدًا الْأَدْبَا
 368 أَدْبِي سَبُّ بَرْدِلٍ عَمَلٍ يَغِ كَسُكُ * كَلَّتْ مِيدَيَّ أَدْبُ جِمَمِ
 adabuyi sabu bazidili ‘amali yighi kasuku * kulata mabidaya adabu jima
*His (Uthman's) actions attracted abundant rewards;
 his refusal (to perform the circumambulation) earned him repute and respect.*
- ٣٦٩ وَ عَلِيٌّ صِنُو النَّبِيِّ وَ مَنْ دِينٌ * فُوَادِي وَ دَادُهُ وَ الْوَلَاءُ
 369 نَعَلِيٍّ مَفْنٌ وَمُتْمٌ أَبُو كَبِّ * دِنِي بِيْدُزِ نِكُمُتِيَايِ ثَمَّ
 na‘alīyi mafanu wamutumi abawu kaba * diniyi biduzi nikumutitiayi thamma
*And 'Ali, the son in law of the Prophet who
 was dedicated to the religion and defended it by all means.*
- ٣٧٠ وَ وَزِيرٌ ابْنِ عَمِّهِ فِي الْمَعَالِي وَ * مِنَ الْأَهْلِ تَسْعُدُ الْوُزْرَا
 370 نَامٌ شَرَفْنِ نَوْزِيرٍ مَنْ عَمِّي * كَتِكَ أَهْلٍ نَسْعُدِ وَزِيرٍ مِيمِ
 nāmu sharafuni niwazīri mana ‘amuyi * katika ahli nasu‘udi wazīri mīma
*A vice-regent of high integrity, the son of his paternal uncle:
 what an auspicious and reliable personality he was.*
- ٣٧١ لَمْ يَزِدْهُ كَشْفُ الْغَطَا يَقِينًا * بَلْ هُوَ الشَّمْسُ مَا عَلَيْهِ غَطَاءُ
 371 كَدُكَ حِجَابُ هَكْمُغَلِزِ يَقِينِ * بَلْ ي نِيُوَا وُلَكَ لِيْشُ غَيْمِ
 kaduka hijābu hakumughilizi yaqīni * bal yi niyuwai wulaki lishu ghayma
*To reveal further thing does not add anything to him;
 his temperament was like a sun that cannot be hidden by clouds.*
- ٣٧٢ وَبِأَقْبِي أَصْحَابِكَ الْمُظْهِرِ * التَّرْتِيبِ فِينَا تَفْضِيلُهُمْ وَ الْوَلَا

- 372 نَوَسَلِيُو صَحْبُ يَتُو يُو * مِيْجِي يَأُو نَمُوَالِ اِنْتَزَمَ
nawasaliyiwu ṣaḥḥbazu yatuwi yiwu * mayujiya yāwu namuwāla intazama
And there are many accounts about the rest of the companions [of the Prophet],
mentioning their compassion and well-coordinated discipline.
- 373 طَلْحَةَ الْخَيْرِ الْمُرْتَضِيهِ رَفِيقًا * وَاحِدًا يَوْمَ فَرَّتِ الرَّقَقَا
طَلْحَةَ وَخَيْرٍ مُرْضُو وَكَ رَفِيقٍ * سِكُ يُوْحِدِ كِيْلِبُ رُفَقَ جِيْمَ
ṭalḥaṭa wakhayri muriḍiwa waki rafīqi * siku yawuḥudi kibilibu rufaqa jīma
Talḥa al-Khayr, who gained your (i.e. the Prophet's) pleasure, was a true friend;
on the day of the battle of Uhud, he sacrificed a lot for you.
- 374 وَحَوَارِيكَ الزُّبَيْرِ أَبِي الْقَرَمِ * الَّذِي اَنْجَبَتْ بِهٖ اَسْمَاءُ
نَنَاصِرِي زُبَيْرِ اِشِي سَيِّدِ * اَبُو كَبِ يِ لِيْزُو نَاسِمَا
nanāširiya zubayri ishi sayyidi * abawu kaba yi liziziwa naasimā
And the disciple, Zubeyr [ibn al-Awwām], the father of Sayyid,
a son of Asma [binti Abi Bakr].
- 375 وَ الصِّفِيَيْنِ تَوَمَا الْفَضْلِ * سَعْدِ وَ سَعِيدِ اِنْ عُدَّتِ الْاَصْفِيَا
نَكَصِفِيَيْنِ وَنَ بَاتَ وَمِيْجِي * سَعْدِ نَسَعِيدِ كُوْلَغَ وَتَغَ وَمَ
nakašifīyayni wana bāta wamayujiya * sa'di nasa'idi kiwalagha watighi wima
And the merciful twins:
Sa'ad and Sayyid, served you in their utmost dedication.
- 376 وَ ابْنِ عَوْفٍ مَنْ هَوَّتْ نَفْسُهُ * الدُّنْيَا بِبَدْلِ يَمْدُهُ اِثْرَاءُ
بَابْنِ عَوْفٍ نَفْسِي اِطْرَزُو * دَنَا كَكْبُ كَعِنُو نِمَالِ جَمَّ
biābni 'awfi nafsiyi iṭizizawu * daniā kakuba ka'iniwi nimāli jamma
And ibn Auf's soul was so opposed
to worldly things that he offered all his wealth to you.
- 377 وَ الْمُكْنِي اَبَا عُبَيْدَةَ اِذْ تَعْرِي * اِلَيْهِ الْاَمَانَةُ الْاَمْنَاءُ
نَمِطُ اَبَا عُبَيْدَةَ نَسِبُوْبُ * وَاْمْنَاءُ وَاْمِيْنِ وَيْتُ اُمُ
namiṭa abā 'ubaydaṭa nasibiwabu * waumanau waamīni waytu uma
And I recall aba 'Ubaydah who is referred to as
an impeccable believer in the Muslim community.

- ٣٧٨ وَبِعَمَّيْكَ نَبِيْرِي فَلَكِ الْمَجْدِ * وَ كُلُّ أَتَاهُ مِنْكَ إِتَاءُ
 378 كَعَمْرُ بِلِ يُتَ بَازَزَائِي فَلَكِ * وَتِ وَجِلَوِ نِدَخَلِ يَلُكَ كَرِيْمَ
 ka'amuzu bili yuta bāzizāyu falaki * wuti wajiliwa nidakhali yaku karīma
 And your two paternal uncles
 were ineluctably directed to follow your path.
- ٣٧٩ وَ أُمُّ السَّبْطَيْنِ زَوْجِ عَلِيٍّ * وَ بَنِيْهَا وَ مَنْ حَوَتْهُ الْعَبَاءُ
 379 نَكَمَامَ يُو سَبْطَيْنِ مُكٍ وَ عَلِيٍّ * نَوْنِ نَوْلُ كُكْسَايِ نَغُو جِيْمَ
 nakamāma yawu sabṭayni muki wa 'alīyi * nawani nawalu kukusāya nighuwu jīma
 And the mother of 'Ali's two sons (Hassan and Hussein),
 all four of them [including 'Ali] spread [the Prophet's] garment out to cover themselves together.
- ٣٨٠ وَ بِأَزْوَاجِكَ اللَّوَاتِي * تَشْرَفْنَ بِأَنْصَانِهِنَّ مِنْكَ بِنَاءُ
 380 نَكْوَاكِ وَ أَكْ بُوَكْبَ تَشْرَفِلِ * كَكُغْلِيَاكِ حِفْظَوِ نِجَهَنَّمِ
 nakawāki wāku bawukaba tasharafili * kakughiliyāku ḥifaẓiwa nijahannama
 And your wives, whom we honour so much;
 by your intercession, they shall be protected from the hell-fire hereafter.
- ٣٨١ الْأَمَانَ الْأَمَانَ إِنَّ فُوَادِي * مِنْ ذُنُوبٍ آتَيْتُهُنَّ هَوَاءُ
 381 أَمَانِ أَمَانِ حَقَقُو مُتِمَّ وَاعُ * كَذَبِ تِدَازُ نِمْتُبُ كَوُ فَهَمِ
 amāni amāni ḥaқиqawu mutima wāghu * kadhabi tidāzu nimutubu kawu fahama
 Oh! let me have peace in my heart,
 I have sincerely repented and will never sin again.
- ٣٨٢ قَدْ تَمَسَّكَتَ مِنْ وَدَادِ بِالْحَبْلِ * الَّذِي اسْتَمَسَّكَتَ بِهِ الشُّفَعَاءُ
 382 نِيْشِيْكِمِي كَبْدُزُ نَاغِ أَبَايِ * وَ إِشِكِيْمِي شُفَعَا نَائِي عِصْمِ
 niyishikimiyi kabiduzu nāghī abāyu * wa shikimiyi shufa'aānu nāyu 'iṣma
 I am holding fast the rope that you told us
 to hold while seeking your intervention.
- ٣٨٣ وَ أَبِي اللَّهُ أَنْ يَمَسِّنِي السُّوءُ * بِحَالِ وَلِيِّ إِلَيْكَ إِتِجَاءُ

مُغٌ وَيَزِ كُتَبْتُمْ فِوِ بِحَالٍ * نَمِي نِلِنَ وَغَمِي كَاكَ إِمَامَ 383
 mughu wayiza kubatami fiwi biḥālī * namiyi nilina waghamiyu kāku imāma
 I pray to God to protect me from harm,
 and He guides me and increases my love for you (the Prophet).

قَدْ رَجُونَاكَ لِلْأُمُورِ الَّتِي * أَبْرَدَهَا فِي فُودِنَا رَمَضَاءُ 384
 تُكْطَمَعِلِ كَايِي مَبِ أَبِي * كَبِ بَارِدِ يَبِ مِتِمَنِ نَغِ جَحِيمِ
 tukuṭuma'ili kāyū mabu abayu * kaba bāridi yabu mitimani naghi jaḥīma
 We depend entirely on your intercession,
 which will cool our hearts from the [heat of the] hell-fire.

وَارِينَا إِلَيْكَ إِضْءَاءُ فَقْرٍ * حَمَلْتَنَا إِلَى الْعِنَا إِضْءَاءُ 385
 تُيَايِ وُلُوكِ تَزِلُو كَوُ فَقْرٍ * وَتُتَكْلِي أَكْسُو ضَعِيفِ يَمِ
 tuiyi wuliku tuziliwu kawu fuqara * watutukuliyi ukasiwu ḍa'ifi yama
 We come to you in a desperate (sinful) state,
 and you have the means to enrich [with blessings] our weakened flesh.

وَ انْطَوَتْ فِي الصُّدُورِ حَاجَاتِ * نَفْسِ مَالَهَا عَن نَدَا انْطَوَاءُ 386
 بَلِسْتِمِينَ زِفَوَانِ حَجَزِ يَغِ * كَرَنَ كُلكِ زِبَوَاؤُ انْكِتَمِ
 balisitimini zifuwāni ḥajazi yighi * kazina kuliku zibawāzu inkitama
 Abundant needs are hidden in our hearts,
 and your generosity to fulfil them is always available.

فَأَغِثْنَا يَا مَنْ هُوَ الْعَوْتُ وَالْعَيْثُ * إِذَا أَجْهَدَ الْوَرِيَّ اللَّأْوَاءُ 387
 تُكُوصِ إِوِ بُو كَبِ دِوِ مُكُزِ * أَفُو أَبِ كِيضِيْقِ كَاكَ قَوْمِ
 tukuwiṣi iwi bawu kaba diwi mukuzi * ufuwa ababu kiyaḍīqu k'āka qawma
 Save us, you are our saviour;
 when the rain pours, the village gains a new life.

وَلِلْجَوَادِ الَّذِي بِهِ تُفْرِحُ الْغُمَّةُ * عَنَّا وَ تُكْشَفُ الْحَوْبَاءُ 388
 أُوِ أُمْبِي بُو كَبِ بُوْشِ عَمُ * كَايِ كُلكُوصِ بَكَدُو نَايِ إِثْمِ
 uwi umubayi bawu kaba bawusha ghammu * kāyi kulikūṣi bakaduwa nāyu ithma
 Oh! the Divine Giver! Remove our sadness from us,
 and do not expose our wrongdoing.

- ٣٨٩ يَارْحِيمًا بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذَا مَا * ذَهَلَتْ عَنْ أَبْنَائِهَا الرَّحْمَاءُ
- ٣٨٩ اِوِ مُرَحِّمٌ مُؤْمِنٍ بِدِ اَبَابُ * وَاَعَا كُكُلُكَ وَنَ وَاوُ وِي رُحْمَ
iwi muraḥamu mumini bidi abābu * waaghā kuliku wana wāwu wiya ruḥuma
Oh! the Merciful of the believers (the Prophet)! Extend your mercy to us,
the same way a parent looks [compassionately] on his children.
- ٣٩٠ يَا شَفِيعًا فِي الْمُنْذِبِينَ إِذَا مَا * أَشْفَقَ مِنْ خَوْفِ ذَنْبِهِ الْبُرُّ
- ٣٩٠ اِوِ مُلْبِي وِي ذَنْبِ بِدِ اَبَابُ * كُكُكَّ ذَبِرِ وَذَلِكِ اَسِي ذِمَّ
iwi mulubiya wiya dhambi bidi abābu * kukuk'a dhabizi wadhilika asiya dhima
You are the intercessor for those sinful believers
who anxiously seek to be rescued from their overburdening sins.
- ٣٩١ جُدْ لِعَاصٍ وَ مَاسِوَايَ هُوَ * الْعَاصِي وَ وَلَكِنْ تَنَكَّرِي اِسْتِحْيَا
- ٣٩١ مُتَدَلِ عَاصٍ وَ اَعَاصٍ سَمْعِنُو * بَلْ كَيْكَايَ نِسْتَاخَ زَكِ كَرِيمَ
mutidili 'āsi wā'āsi simughiniwi * bal kuyikāya nisitāḥa zaki karīma
A wrongdoer is none other than the one
who feels shamefaced in front of his Merciful Lord about his deeds.
- ٣٩٢ وَ تَدَارَكُهُ بِالْعِنَايَةِ مَا دَامَ * لَهُ بِالذَّمَامِ مِنْكَ ذِمَاءُ
- ٣٩٢ مُتَدَارِكِ كَعِنَايَةِ اِثْكَ ذِمَّ * مَا دَامَ اَبَابُ شِكِمِنِ نَسِي ذِمَّ
mutadāraki ka'ināyati tuki dhimma * mādāmu abābu shikimini nasiya dhima
A wrongdoer gets rescued as long as
he rightly pursues it through you (the Prophet).
- ٣٩٣ اَخَّرْتُهُ لِلْاَعْمَالِ وَ الْمَالِ عَمَّا * قَدَمَ الصَّالِحُونَ وَ الْاَغْنِيَا
- ٣٩٣ لِيُشَوِّئِمَ نِعْمَلِ بَمِ نَمَالِ * نَوْتَعُزِي وُ وَ كَاسِ نَوْتُ وِمَ
liwishiwa yuma ni'amali bami namāli * nawataghuziyu wu wakāsi nawatu wima
He trailed behind in doing good deeds and giving charity,
the way the wealthy and the good did in your time.
- ٣٩٤ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ دُنُوبُهُ صَاعِدَاتُ * وَ عَلَيْهَا اَنْفَاسُهُ صُعْدًا

- 394 **إِي كُلِّ سِكِّ ذَنْبِ زَاكِ ذِي كُكْيِي * نَكَاجِلِزِ بُمُزِزِي ذِي كَغَمِّ**
 iyi kulla siku dham̄bi zāki dhiyi kukiya * nakājilizi bumuzīzi dhiyi kaghama
 Every day, evil deeds (of the wrongdoer) are accumulating, [to be recorded in] Heaven,
 and due to this he begins to gasp (out of fear of God's punishment).
- 395 **أَلِفِ الْبَطْنَةِ الْمُبْطِيَةِ السَّيْرِ * بَدَارِ فِيهَا الْبَطَانُ بَطَاءُ**
زُولِ مِكْتِ إِيسَائِي كِيدِي مَلِّ * يُيَانِ أَبِي يُمَكْتِ يَكِدَ مِيمِ
 zuwili mikutu iyasāyu kidiya mula * yubāni abayu yumikutu yakida mīma
 He stuffed his stomach so much that he lagged behind in reaching his Lord;
 a house that overeats is [usually] overtaken in doing good deeds.
- 396 **فَبَكِي ذَنْبُهُ بِقَسْوَةِ قَلْبِ * نَهَتِ الدَّمْعَ فَالْبُكَاءِ مُكَاُ**
لِلِّي ذَبِرَ كَاوُ مُي مُكُكْتَفُ * وَزُولِ تُو زَكْلِيكِ نَمُوزِ ثَمِ
 liliya dhabizi kāwu muyu mukukutafu * wuziwili tuu zikuliyaki nimūzi thama
 So the wrongdoer bemoans the state of his hardened heart,
 but prevents his eyes from shedding tears (feeling remorseful) as [might be] expected.
- 397 **وَ غَدَا يَعْتَبُ الْقَضِي وَ لَا * عُذَرَ لِعَاصِ فِيمَا يَسُوقُ الْقَضَاُ**
أَكْصِيرِ عَاصِ كُعْتَبُ قَضَا يَمَلِّ * عَاصِ كَعُذْرُ تُغَوَائِي نَقَضَا كِمِ
 ākaṣiri ‘āṣi ku‘atibu qaḍā yamula * ‘āṣi ka‘udhuru tughiwāyu niqaḍā kima
 The wrongdoer imagines it is because of predestination [that he did wrong],
 but he will not be excused for this, and he will pay for all of his actions.
- 398 **أَوْثَقْتَهُ مِنَ الدُّ نُوْبِ دُيُونِ * شَدَّدَتْ فِي إِقْتِضَائِهَا الْغُرْمَاءُ**
أَلْحَبِسُو نَدْيُونِ كَدَنْبِ يَجِ * وَلِشَدِيدِ كَلْبَانِ سِيْزِ غُرْمَا
 uliḥubisiwa niduyūni kadham̄bi yiji * walishadidīli kulibāni sīzu ghuramā
 He is like a prisoner who is indebted with so many sins
 that they have overpowered his ability to pay them off.
- 399 **مَالَهُ حِيْلَةٌ سِوَى حِيْلَةٍ * الْمَوْثِقِ إِمَّا تَوْسَلُ أَوْ دُعَاءُ**
وَإَكْنَ حِيْلَةٌ إِسْكُو حِيْلَةَ زَتِكَ * نِكْتُوَسَلِ نَكْلُبُ مُلْغُ مِيمِ
 wākana ḥilāt isukuwa ḥilāt zatika * nikutawassali nakuluba mulghu mīma
 There is no way to overcome them (the moral debts),
 except seeking [your] intercession and praying to the wonderful Lord.

- ٤٠٠ رَاجِيًّا أَنْ تَعُودَ أَعْمَالُهُ السُّؤُ * بِغُفْرَانِ اللَّهِ وَهِيَ هَبَاءُ
 400 أَكْطَمِعَسَ كُرْجَعَ عَمَلِ زِبِ * كَكُغْفُرَوِ نِمْلُغُ جَنْبِ كَمَ
 akiṭuma‘isa kuriji‘a ‘amali zibi * kakughufuriwa nimulughu jafubi kama
 [The sinner] hopes that his deeds,
 will be pardoned by God, as dust is wiped away.
- ٤٠١ أَوْتُرَ اسْيَاؤُهُ حَسَنَابِ * فَيَقَالُ اسْتِحَالَةَ الصَّهْبَاءِ
 401 أَوْ بَكُونَ سَيَّأُ زَوِلِ حَسَنًا * بَكَبَ حَمْرِ الْوَلِ سِيكَ نِجَمَ
 aw bakawuna sayyiazu ziwili ḥasanā * bakaba khamuri iliwili siki nijima
 Or [he hopes for] a sudden change from a bad to a good state:
 in the past it was said that sometimes vinegar can transform into wine.
- ٤٠٢ كُلُّ أَمْرٍ تَعْنِي بِهِ تُقَلِّبُ الْأَعْيَانُ * فِيهِ وَتَعَجَّبُ الْبُصْرَاءُ
 402 تُؤَمَّ كُلُّ يَبِّ أُغْيُو كُلُّ هَمُّكَ * زَيْتُ كُغْلَوِ نَوُونِ كَايِ كُتَمَ
 tūma kula yabu ughiyawu kalu hamuka * zītu kughiliwa nawawuni kāyu kutama
 Oh! Prophet, you are capable of resolving problems;
 [by your intervention] you brought to an end the hardship of the suffering.
- ٤٠٣ رَبِّ عَيْنٍ تَفَلَّتَ فِي مَائِهَا الْمَلْحُ * فَأَصْحِي وَهُوَ الْفِرَاتُ الرَّوَاءُ
 403 ذِغِ تُفَلِّبُ مَتُ دَنِ مَائِ يَمِي * يَكْصِيرِ كَوِ مَائِ تَمَ مَسِرَ ظَمَ
 dhighi tufilibu matu dani māyi yamuyu * yakaṣīri kuwa māyi tamu masiza zama
 We beg that whenever we reach the eye [opening] of a salty spring,
 it will transform into sweet water that will quench our thirst.
- ٤٠٤ أَهْمَمَّا جَنَيْتُ إِنْ كَانَ يُعْنِي * أَلْفُ مِنْ عَظِيمِ ذَنْبٍ وَ هَاءُ
 404 كَأَبِي نِتَزِلِ كَبِ يَافَعِ * أَلْفُ نَهَا كَلِكُرُ ذَنْبِ عَظِيمِ
 kaabayu nitizili kaba yāfa‘a * alifu nahau kulikuru dhambi ‘azīma
 Ah! I regret what I have done previously;
 the letters alif and hau symbolize this wayward behavior.
- ٤٠٥ أَرْتَجِي التُّوبَةَ النَّصُوحَ * وَ فِي الْقَلْبِ نِفَاقٌ وَ فِي اللِّسَانِ رِيَاءُ

- 405 نَطْمَعُ تَوْبَةَ نَصُوحِ نَامٍ مُيْنٍ * مُلِّنَ نِفَاقِ وُلْمِنِ رِيَا مُقِيمٍ
naṭuma'ī tawbaṭ naṣūḥi nāmu muyuni * mulina nifāqī wulimīni riyā muqīma
*I hope I will gain your (God's) enduring forgiveness,
[and that you will] disregard the heart's hypocrisy and the tongue's boasting.*
- ٤٠٦ وَ مَتِّي يَسْتَقِيمُ قَلْبِي وَ لِلْجِسْمِ * إِعْوَاجُ مِنْ كِبَرْتِي وَ أَنْحَاءُ
406 نِلِّينِ وَمَبِّ مُيِّ وَ أَعُ نَائِي جِسْمِي * إِنْ بَتَمَانُ كَوُكُولُ إِنْ وَنَمَ
nilīni wimābu muyi wāghu nāyu jisimī * ina bitamānu kawukūlu ina winama
*When will my heart reconcile with my body to make it righteous?
They are not in conformity, and now I am aged and overburdened by [the love of worldly things].*
- ٤٠٧ كُنْتُ فِي نَوْمَةِ الشَّبَابِ فَمَا * اسْتَيْقَظْتُ إِلَّا وَلِمَّتِي شَمَطًا
407 مُوُوسِدِزِينَ وَ وُتُوتُ نَلِي نَلِيلِي * سِكُزُدُكَانَ إِلَّا زِمْتَاغَنَ لِمَ
mūwusidizini wa wutūtu nali nilīli * sikuzudukāna illā zimitaghana lima
*I was in a deep slumber during the days of my youth,
and when I woke up I found myself with grey hair (too old).*
- ٤٠٨ وَ تَمَادَيْتُ أَقْتَفِي إِثْرَ الْقَوْمِ * فَطَالَتْ مَسَافَةٌ وَ اقْتِفَاءُ
408 مِمِّ نَتَشَلِّ كُزْدَمَ يَأُو زَوْمَ * مَسَافَهُ كَلِبَ كَتِكْتُ نَكُ كَدَمَ
mimi nitashili kuzadama yāwu zawima * masāfah kalība katikītu naku kadama
*I tried my best to follow in the footsteps of pious people,
but the journey became too difficult for me to compete with them.*
- ٤٠٩ فَوْرِي السَّارِينَ وَهُوَ أَمَامِي * سُبُلٌ وَعَرَوَةٌ وَارْضُ عَرَاءُ
409 يُومَ يَوْرَاوُ مَسِكُنِ يُوسِي يُمَ * إِكُ بَلِي يَآغُ دِي دِي تِ كُو جَمَ
yūma yawirāwu masikuni yūsiyu yuma * iku bali yāghu diya ditu ti kuwu jama
*I saw myself lagging behind the successful [in piety],
and the road in front of me was too rough to persevere on.*
- ٤١٠ حَمِدَ الْمُذَلِّجُونَ غَبَّ سُرَاهُمْ * وَكَفِّي مَنْ تَخَلَّفَ الْإِبْطَاءُ
410 وَ لِحِمْدِلِ وَ دَجِي وَ مَ وَوِدُ * نَوُ لِمَتْفُ وَ تَشَنَزَ مَدِي يُمَ
walihimidili widajiyu wima wawidu * nawu limatifu watushiza midayi yuma
*They praised [the Prophet] and received their share of rewards,
but my poor pace left me straggling behind.*

- ٤١١ رِحْلَةٌ لَمْ يَزَلْ يُفَنِّدُ فِي الصَّيْفِ * إِذْ مَانَوَيْتُهَا وَ الشَّتَاءُ
 411 سَفَرٌ عَظِيمٌ كَزَلَّتِ كُنُوعُ * نُويِبُ كَاكُ نَائِي فُوَ اجْبُ يَمَ
 safaru 'azīmu kazilati kuniwughusa * nuwiyabu kāku nāyu fuwa ijabu yuma
 A journey does not go well in winter
 if you intended to embark on it in summer.
- ٤١٢ يَتَّقِي حَرَّ وَجْهِي الْحَرِّ وَ الْبَرْدَ * وَ قَدْ عَزَّ مِنْ لَضِي الْإِتْقَا
 412 وَانِكِعْزَأْسُ حَرْنَائِي بَرْدِ * نَمِبُ زُتْبُ كُجِكِعْجَ نَجَهَنَّمَ
 wānikighiza usu ḥarināyu baridi * namibu zituba kujikigha nijahannama
 My face cannot stand too much heat or cold, and worse still,
 it cannot dare to face the torment of the hell-fire.
- ٤١٣ صِفْتُ ذَرَعًا مِمَّا جَنَيْتُ * فَيَوْمِي قَمَطِرِيرٌ وَ لَيْلَتِي دِرْعَا
 413 نُبْرُلُ غُفُ كَأَجَلِ نَبْرُلِي * مُتِ نَشَدِيدِ وَسُكُوِي ظَلَمَ
 nituzili ghufu kaajli nituzi liyu * muti nishadīdi wusikuwa biyi zūlama
 I spared my energy so that I did the minimum,
 but the day is harsh and the night is too dark.
- ٤١٤ وَتَذَكَّرْتُ رَحْمَةَ اللَّهِ * فَالْبِشْرُ بِوَجْهِي أَنِّي أَنْتَحِي تَلْقَاءُ
 414 بَلْ كُبُشِلِ رَحْمَةِ يَكِ مُلْعُ * فُرَحَ نِدْبُ يَلِكِيلِ وَسُوَ ثَمَ
 bal kubushili raḥmat yaki mulughu * furaḥa nidabu yilikīli wusuwa thama
 And instead I reminded myself of the mercy of God,
 how happy will I be when I encounter Him face to face.
- ٤١٥ فَالْحِ الرَّجَاءُ وَ الْخَوْفُ بِالْقَلْبِ * وَ لِلْجَوْفِ وَ الرَّجَا إِحْفَاءُ
 415 بَكِيمَ رَجَا نَخَوْفُ مِينِ مَاغُ * خَوْفُ نَرَجَا زَنَ كُدُ بَدِ زَكِيمَ
 bakima rajā nakhawfu muyuni māghu * khawfu narajā zina kudu bidi zikīma
 My heart is full of hope and fear,
 the two conflict with each other whenever they meet.
- ٤١٦ صَاحَ لَا تَأْسَ إِنْ ضَعُفَتْ عَنِ * الطَّاعَاتِ وَ اسْتَأْثَرَتْ بِهَا الْأَقْوِيَا

- 416 **إِوْ صَاحِبِ سِكُّبِكِ ضُعْفِكَبْ * نَكْلِكُ طَاعَ وَيِ قُو كَايِ وَكِمَ**
 iwi ṣāhibu sikubuki ḡu‘ufikabu * nakuliku ṭā‘a wayi quwa kāyu wakima
*Oh! my friend, do not despair and become weak;
 the firm ones are always obedient.*
- 417 **إِنَّ لِلَّهِ رَحْمَةً وَأَحَقُّ النَّاسِ * مِنْهُ بِالرَّحْمَةِ الضُّعَفَاءُ**
حَقَّقَ مُوْغِ يِ أَنْيِ رِحِمَ كُونًا * حَقَّ يَوْتُ نَضَعِيفُ كَايِ رِحِمَ
 ḥaḡiqqa mūghu yi unayu riḥima kuwunaa * ḥaḡi yawatu niḡa‘ifu kāyu riḥima
*Surely God showers His blessings upon righteous people,
 it is His duty to help the weak.*
- 418 **فَاقْبِ فِي الْعَرْجِ عِنْدَ الْمُتَقَلِّبِ الذُّوْدِ * دَفَقِي الْعَوْدِ تَسْبِقُ الْعَرْجَا**
كَسَايِ سَلِي كِتَكُو وَيِ زِيْعَ * بَرُدِبُ شِيرُ عَرْجَا وَتَقَدَّمَ
 kasāyu saliya katikawu wiya ziyugha * barudibu shīru ‘arjau wa taqaddama
*So the weak should not despair,
 in a short while they can overtake those who are in front.*
- 419 **لَا تَقْلُ حَاسِدًا لِعَيْرِكَ هَذَا * ائْتَمَرْتِ نَحْلُهُ وَ نَحْلِي عَفَاءُ**
سَابَ أَلِمِي كُحْسُدِ مُغْنِ سِي * تَزَلِ مِتْرِي يَاكِ يَاغُ مُتَاغُ كَمَ
 sāba ulimiya kuḥusudi mughini suyu * tizili mitiri yāki yāghu mutāghu kama
*Do not be envious of somebody's good fortune,
 [thinking:] you are harvesting ripe dates, while my seedlings have shrivelled up.*
- 420 **وَاتِ بِالْمُسْتَطَاعِ مِنْ عَمَلِ الْبِرِّ * فَقَدْ يُسْقِطُ الثَّمَارَ الْأَتَاءُ**
تِدَاوُ زَاوُ يَعْمَلِ يَزِمَ كِدَ * مِتْدِ مِتْوَتُ إِكْغُشَ مِتْدِ مِيمَ
 tidawu zāwu ya‘amali yazima kida * mitidi mitūtu ikaghusha mitidi mīma
*Persevere to the utmost in doing good deeds,
 young date palms can produce better fruits than old ones.*
- 421 **وَبِحُبِّ النَّبِيِّ فَاْبَغِي رَضِي اللَّهِ * فَفِي حُبِّهِ الرِّضَى وَ الْحَبَاءُ**
كَبِدُ زُتْوَمَ نَطْلُوبُ رَضِي يَمَلُ * كُمِبِدَ نِي كُنَ رَاضٍ نِكُبَ كِمَ
 kabidu zatūma naṭlūbu raḡii yamula * kumubida niya kuna rāḡi nikuba kīma
*Out of love of the Prophet I seek the pleasure of God,
 to love Him fosters unmatched blessings.*

- ٤٢٢ يَانِيِي الْهُدِيِي اسْتِغَاثَةٌ مَلْهُوْفٍ * اَصْرَتْ بِحَالِهِ الْحَوْبَاءُ
 422 تَوَمَّ مَلْغَنَ دُبَّ دُعَا يَمْحِتَاجٍ * اِلْكُمُضْرُ حَالِي سِيِي اِثْمَ
 tawma mulughana duba du'ā yamuḥitāji * ilukumuḍurru ḥāliyi siyu ithma
 Oh! my beloved Prophet! Give me a prayer that helps the needy,
 in order to stop their blameworthy misdeeds.
- ٤٢٣ يَدَّعِي الْحُبَّ وَهُوَ يَأْمُرُ بِالسُّوْءِ * وَ مَنْ لِي اَنْ تَصْدُقَ الرَّعْبَاءُ
 423 وَدَعِ مَبْدُ اِي اِكَاْمُرُ فَوِ * وَ اَغُ نَالِي عَزْمِي نَامِ اِكِمَ
 wada'i mabidu iyi akiamuru fiwi * wāghu nialuyi 'azimuya nāmi ikima
 How could one claim to love a person while betraying him?
 Such a character must stop such wrongdoing.
- ٤٢٤ أَيُّ حُبِّ يَصِحُّ مِنْهُ وَطَرْفِي * بِالْكَرِي وَاصِلٌ وَطَيْفُكَ رَاءُ
 424 نَيْبِ مَبْدُ يَصِحِّي بُوْغَمِنِ * مَتَّ نَنَوْمٌ مَجَزَدَ يَكُ كَيْمَ
 niyabi mabidu yaṣiḥiyu bawughimini * matu nanawmu majazada yaku kayima
 What type of sincere love is there in such existence?,
 It is as if the eyes and sleep no longer matched.
- ٤٢٥ لَيْتَ شِعْرِي اَذَاكَ مِنْ عُظْمِ ذَنْبٍ * اَمَّ الْمُتَيِّمِيْنَ حُطُوْظُ حَظًا
 425 لَيْتَ نِيْزِلِ هَلْ سَايُ بُغِ وَ ذَنْبٍ * اَوْ نَمْفُوْغُ يُوِيْدِ نَمِيْمِ مِيْمَ
 liti niyuzili hal sāyu bughī wa dhambī * awnimafūghu yawabidi namīmu mīma
 I wish my composition could eradicate heavy sins,
 or be fortunate enough to be [appreciated by] people of high integrity.
- ٤٢٦ اِنْ يَكُنْ عُظْمُ زَلْتِي حَجَبَتْ * رُوْيَاكَ فَقَدْ عَزَّ دَا قَلْبِي وَ الدَّا
 426 كِيُوْحَجْبِلِ رُوْيَايُ ذَبْرَ كُوْدَا * يَمِيُوْدَ وَيَاكَ كَاَتِي عَدِمَ
 kiwahijibili ruyāyu dhabiza kūdā * yamuyuwada wayāki k'āk'i 'adima
 When sins cover your heart a scab is formed,
 and the organ may be difficult to cure.
- ٤٢٧ كَيْفَ يَصْدِي بِالذَّنْبِ قَلْبٌ * مُحِبٌّ وَ لَهُ ذِكْرُكَ الْجَمِيْلُ جَلًا

- 427 مُيٌّ وَمُبِدِ أُغْيَايِ كُتُّ كَذَنْبٍ * نَذِكْرِي يَأْكُ نِتَكَاسُ لَمِي جِيمِ
muyu wamubidi ughiyāyi kutu kadhambī * nadhikri yāku nitakāsu lamuyu jīma
When a beloved heart is covered in rust due to sin,
then constant remembrance of God becomes the means to purify it.
- ٤٢٨ هَذِهِ عَلَّتِي وَ أَنْتَ طَبِيبِي لَيْسَ * يَخْفِي عَلَيْكَ فِي أَقْلِبِ دَأُ
428 سِي دِي عِلَ يَأْغُ أَوْ أُطِيبِي * دَأُ كَلِكُو مُيْنِمَ كَيْفُنَمَ
sii diyu ʿila yāghu uwi uṭabibuya * dau kulikuwi muyunima kaifunama
This is my weakness and you are my healer,
and my heart cannot avoid your means of treatment.
- ٤٢٩ وَ مِنْ الْفَوْزِ أَنْ أَبْتُكَ شَكْوِي * هِي شَكْوِي الْيَنْكَ وَ هِي أَفِضَاءُ
429 كُنَالِ سَعَادَ كُكُوِي يَغُ شَكْوُ * حُكُ نِكُشُكُ كَلِكُو كُتَاكَ زِمَ
kunāli saʿāda kukuwuya yaghu shakwa * ḥuku nikushuku kulikuwi kutāka zima
To attain [true] happiness I must take systematic steps,
each one pointing the way towards attaining virtue.
- ٤٣٠ ضَمِنْتَهَا مَدَائِحُ مُسْتَطَابٌ * فِيكَ مِنْهَا الْمَدِيحُ وَالْإِضْعَا
430 كُكْسِيْرَاكُ صِفَ يَجِ جِمَتْ مُنَ * مِيْعُنَ مَايُ كُسِكِرَ نَصِيفَ جِمَ
kukusayizāku ṣifa yiji jimatu muni * miyughuni māyu kusikiza naṣifa jima
I recite your good attributes and beautiful names;
to You belongs all worthy praise.
- ٤٣١ قَلَّ مَا حَا وَ لَتْ مَدِيْحُكَ إِلَّا * سَاعَدَتْهَا مِيْمٌ وَ دَالٌ وَ حَا
431 دِكَاكِيْ أَبْبُ يَاْسَ مَتُوْ يَأْكُ * إِلَّا زَعِنِلِ دَالُ حَامِسُ وَمِيْمِ
dikākī ababu yaisa matiwi yāku * illā zaʿinili dālu ḥaumisu wamīma
No little praise is due to you, so that one benefits from
"dal", "hau" appearing after "mim" (i.e. madih, praises).
- ٤٣٢ حُقَّ لِي فِيكَ أَنْ أُسَاجَلَ قَوْمًا * سَلِمَتْ مِنْهُمْ لِدَلْوِي الدَّلَا
432 بِلْتَلِي صِفْنِمُ كَيْفَخَرِ وَتُ * دُوْزَاوُ زِلُوْلِ دُوِي جِمَ
balituliliyi ṣifanimu kuyifakhari watu * duwuzāwu ziluwili duwuya jima
My duty to you is to encourage people to pray
for your blessing until their buckets overflow.

- ٤٣٣ إِنَّ لِي غَيْرَةَ قَدْ زَحَمْتَنِي * فِي مَعَانِي مَدِيحِكَ الشُّعْرًا
 433 حَقَّ نِينَ وَيْفُ شُعْرَاءُ وَلِمَزَلِ * مَعَانٍ مَاغُ يَصِفَازُ كُنَزِ حِمَّ
 ḥaqqā nina wīfu shu‘arau walimazili * ma‘nāni māghu yaṣifāzu kuniza ḥima
 Indeed, I feel envious of the competence of previous poets,
 able to compose outstanding praise for you on all occasions.
- ٤٣٤ وَإِقْلَبِي فِيكَ الْعُلُوَّ وَ أَنِّي * لِّلِسَانِي فِي مَدِيحِكَ الْعُلُوَّ
 434 مُيُو صِفَانٍ مَكَ أَنْ كُتِبَ حَدٍ * كَابِ الْإِمَوِ صِفَانِمُ كُتَقَدَمَ
 muyuwa ṣifāni maku una kutuba ḥadi * kāba ulimiwa ṣifanimu kutaqadama
 In my heart your worthiness is unlimited,
 and my tongue keeps on praising you.
- ٤٣٥ فَآثِبٌ خَاطِرًا يَلِدُّ لَهُ مَدْحُكَ * عِلْمًا بِأَنَّهُ اللَّالَاءُ
 435 يَعِينُ فِكْرَ إِرْلُوِي لَدَّ نِصْفَ * زَاكَ كَكُيُو كَبِ صِفَ نِفْرَحَ تَامَ
 ya‘īni fikira iwiliwayu ladha niṣifa * zāku kakuyūwa kaba ṣifa nifuraḥa tāma
 One gets peace of mind when hearing your praises;
 it is well-known that praising you brings happiness.
- ٤٣٦ حَاكَ مِنْ صَنَعَةِ الْقَرِيضِ بُرُودًا * لَكَ لَمْ يَحُكْ وَشَيْهًا صَنَعًا
 436 الْكُفْمِي كَكُرِغَ يُوْشَعِيرِ * غُوْ وَ صَنَعَا نَفِشِي كَوِ كُفْمِ
 ulikufumiya kakuzigha yawusha‘iri * ghuwu wa ṣana‘ā naqishiya kawa kufuma
 What is composed in all due respect by this poet,
 is like a beautifully embroidered robe from Sanaa (Yemen).
- ٤٣٧ أَعْجَزَ الدُّرَّ نَظْمُهُ فَاسْتَوَتْ * فِيهِ الْيَدَانُ الصَّنَاعُ وَالْخِرْقَاءُ
 437 أَلْمِزِ دُرَّ أْتُغُو بَكَلِغَانَ * فِكِرِنِ بِيْلِ حَادِقِ نَجْعَ يَمِ
 ulimizi durra utughuwi bakalighāna * fikirani bili ḥādhiqi najigha yama
 [The verses] are akin to pure gold.
 There are two types of personality: the clever and the foolish.
- ٤٣٨ فَارْضِهِ أَفْصَحَ أَمْرٍ نَطَقَ الصَّادَ * فَقَامَتْ تَعَارُ مِنْهَا الظَّاءُ

قُبَلِ فَصِيحَ يَالِي تَمَكَّ ضَادٍ * اِكِيمَ كُتَيْدَ وَفُ كَايُ ضَا اِكِيمَ 438

qubali faṣīḥa yaaliyu tamuka ḍādī * ikīma kutīda wifu kāyu ḍau ikīma

You have to admit the eloquence of those who have the letter *dwad* [in their language] (Arabic-speakers);
some become envious when this letter is well-pronounced (by a first-language speaker).

أَبْذِكْرِ الْآيَاتِ أَوْفِيكَ مَدَحًا * آيِنَ مِّنِّي وَأَيْنَ مِنْهَا الْوَفَا ٤٣٩

هَلْ كَكْتَايَ آيَ تَكُوفِ صِفَزُ * تُمَ يَبِنَمَ يَبِنَا زُكُوفِ لَمَ 439

hal kakutāya aya takuwafī ṣifazu * tuma yabinami yabinā zukuwafī lama

The enumeration of verses should include your praises;
No matter my station, He deserves better than ordinary praises.

أَمْ أَمَارِي بِهِنَّ قَوْمَ نَبِيِّ * سَامَا ظَنَّهُ بِي الْأَغْيَاءِ ٤٤٠

أَمْ نَوَكِرَ كَزَايَ قَوْمُ زَ تُوْمَ * وَنِضْنِيَايُ وَوَجِغِعَ مَاوِ سِمِمَ 440

ām niwakira kazuaya qawmu za tūma * waniḍaniyāyu wu wajīgha māwi simima

Or they want to belittle the achievement of the community of the Prophet;
those who misjudge me are fools: bad deeds cannot be similar to good ones.

وَ لَكَ الْأُمَّةُ الَّتِي عَبَطَتْهَا بِكَ * لَمَّا أُوتِيَتْهَا الْأَنْبِيَاءُ ٤٤١

أَوْ وُنَ أُمَّةٌ أَبُوكَبَ وَتَمَنِّي * كَاوُ أَنْبِيَاءِ أُبُوبُ سَاوُ أَمَمَ 441

uwi wuna umaḥi abawukaba watamaniya * kāwu ambiyā ubiwabu sāwu umama

There are communities who wish their prophets
had been given your community to guide.

لَمْ نَخَفْ بَعْدَكَ الضَّلَالَ * وَ فِينَا وَارِثُوا نُورُ هَدْيِكَ الْعُلَمَاءُ ٤٤٢

حَكُّكَ بَعْدِي أُبْتَفُ مَيْتُ مُلِنَ * وَارِثِ زَنُورُ يَهْدِي يَكُ عُلَمَ 442

ḥakḥuki baḍdayu ubutifu mītu mulina * wāriṭhi zanūru yahaday yaku ʿulama

We have no fear of being led astray,
you have left with us scholars who guide us with your light.

وَ الْكَرَامَاتُ مِنْهُمْ مُعْجَزَاتُ * حَازَهَا مِنْ نَوَالِكَ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ ٤٤٣

نَكَرَمَ يَغِ زَوُ وَاتُ نِمْعَجِزَ * وَكُمِغِييَ زَبَوَانِ زَاكُو وَمَ 443

nakarama yighi zawu wātu nīmighiyu zibawāni zākuwi wima

And they have performed many miracles;
your compassion to the holy men is clearly witnessed.

- ٤٤٤ فَانْقَضَتْ أَيُّ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَآيَاتِكَ * فِي النَّاسِ مَا لَهُنَّ انْقِضَاءُ
 444 اِلْتِغَاثِ مِعْجَزَاتِكُمْ * وَيَكُنَّ كَيْفَ كَيْفًا كَيْفًا كَيْفًا
 ilitaghushili mi'ujiza yāwu mitūmi * wiyaku kayina utaghufu katika jama
*The previous prophets worked their miracles,
 but yours are still happening [from time to time].*
- ٤٤٥ إِنَّ مِنْ مُعْجَزَاتِكَ الْعَجْزَ عَنْ وَصْفِكَ * إِذْ لَا يَحُدُّهُ الْأَحْصَاءُ
 445 حَقٌّ مِثْلُ مَا يَأْتِي نِكْلِمًا * كُلُّكَ صِفَةٌ هُكْحُدُ كَلْفِ مِثْمِ
 ḥaḥqa miyughuni maayāzu nikulimiwa * kuliku ṣifazu hukuḥudu kulagha mīma
*Indeed, among your signs is that recognition
 of your goodness is unmatched, which itself is a miracle.*
- ٤٤٦ كَيْفَ يَسْتَوْعِدُ الْكَلَامُ * سَجَايَاكَ وَهَلْ تَنْزُحُ الْبِحَارَ الرُّكَا
 446 هَلْ كُنَّ كَيْفًا كَيْفًا مِثْمِ * هَلْ زُرِبَ زُفَوَايَ بَحْرٍ دِمِ
 hal kukunayna kiniyāyi mabuyu mīma * hal zu ziriba zifuwāyi baḥari dima
*How will I exhaustively quantify by mere speech your good deeds?
 It is like comparing [the number of] fishes in a fish trap with those in the sea.*
- ٤٤٧ لَيْسَ مِنْ غَايَةِ لَوْصْفِكَ أَبْعَاهَا * وَلِلْقَوْلِ غَايَةٌ وَانْتِهَاءُ
 447 سَكَبَ وَبِئْسَ وَصْفًا رِي تَكَاؤُ * نَقَوْلِ يَأْغُ أَوْبُو إِنْ كُكْمِ
 sikaba wubīwu waṣifāzu riyu takāwu * naqawli yāghu iwubiwu ina kukuma
*This does not mean your attributes are unexplainable,
 it is [simply that] my speech that is too limited to speak about it.*
- ٤٤٨ إِنَّمَا فَضْلُكَ الزَّمَانُ * وَآيَاتِكَ فِيمَا نَعُدُّهُ الْإِنَّا
 448 نَفْضَلُ زَاكَ نِزْمَانِ نَائِي زَاكَ * كَلْعَنِ سِرُّ نَوْقَتِ سِيكْسِمِ
 nafadli zāku nizamāni naaya zāku * kulaghani sizu niwaqati siyakusima
*Your acts of gratitude and your miracles are uncountable,
 it is like chasing time to a period of infinity.*
- ٤٤٩ لَمْ أَطْلُ فِي تَعْدَادِ مَدِيحِكَ نُطْقِي * وَرَادِي لِدَلِكِ اسْتِقْصَا

سَلِفِ نَطْقِ كَلَعْنِ صِفْرُ تَمَّ * نَمَقُّصِدِ وَكَأَيِّ إِلِمِسُ وَمِيمَ 449
 silifi nuṭuqi kulaghani şifazu tuma * namaquşudi wakāyu ilimisu wamīma
*I cannot continue describing the attributes of the Prophet,
 the aim of this composition is to end his praises well.*

غَيْرَ أَنِّي ظَمَانُ وَجِدِي * وَ مَالِي بِقَلِيلِ رَالْوَرُودِ ارْتَوَاءُ ٤٥٠
 إِلَّا حَقِيقَمِ مُفَ كِيُو وَيِ شَوْقُ * كَمَا مَتَاتِ سِسِ يُوتَ يَصِيفَ لَمَّا 450
 illā ḥaḥiqami mufa kiwu wayu shawqu * kamā matāti sisi yūta yaşifa lamā
*Indeed, I am dying of thirst with my passion,
 I drank very little water, which cannot quench my desire to praise the Prophet.*

فَسَلَامٌ عَلَيْكَ تَتْرَا مِنْ اللَّهِ * وَ تَبَقِّي بِهِ لَكَ الْبَأْوَاءُ ٤٥١
 نَيْبِ سَلَامُ إِكْلِكُو فُوتِنِي * كِيُو كَمُولَ فَحَرَزِ كَايِ زَدُومَ 451
 niyaba salāmu ikulikuwi fuwitiniyu * kiyawa kamūla fakharizi kāyu zadūma
*Let numerous blessings from God be showered upon him,
 it is our pride to continuously pray for him.*

وَ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكَ مِنْكَ فَمَا غَيْرِكَ * مِنْهُ لَكَ السَّلَامُ كِفَاءُ ٤٥٢
 نَسَلَامُ تِنَ إِكْلِكُو كِلَوِ كَاكَ * كَابِ مُغْنِي وَفَزَوِ كَايِ سَلَامَ 452
 nasalāmu tina ikulikuwi kilawa kāku * kāba mughiniyu wufazawi kāyu salāma
*And again, may peace and salutations be upon him;
 no other creature deserves such preeminent blissful recognition.*

وَ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكَ مِنْ كُلِّ مَاخَلَقَ اللَّهُ * لِتُحَيِّ بِذِكْرِكَ الْأَمْلَاءُ ٤٥٣
 سَلَامُ عَلَيْكَ يَكْكَلُّ الْبِلِزُّ * مُلَ وَجَمَاعَ وَكِتَايِ وَكُسِلْمَ 453
 salāmu ‘alayka yakakulla alubilizu * mula wajamā’a wukitāya wakuşillma
*May peace and salutations be upon you, and all of creation [says] the same.
 The God of all abundantly showers His blessings upon those who salute you.*

وَ صَلَاةٌ كَالْمِسْكِ تَحْمِلُهُ * مِنْنِي شِمَالُ إِلَيْكَ أَوْ نَكْبَاءُ ٤٥٤
 نَصَلُ إِغْيِي جَمِسْكَ يَتُكْوَايِ * كَاغُ يُشِمَالِ أَوْ كُوسِ أَلِكُ مِيمَ 454
 naşala ighayu jamisiki yatukuwāyu * kāghu yushimāli aw kūsi uliku mīma
*And the prayers are like musk which is
 spread north and south by your virtuous presence.*

٤٥٥ وَ سَلَامٌ عَلَيَّ ضَرِيحِكَ تَحْضُلُّ * بِهِ مِثُّهُ تُرْبَةٌ وَعَسَاءُ

٤٥٥ نَسَالَامُ تَيْنَ إِشْكِي قَبْرِ يَكُ * بَكَلُو كَايُ مُتَغَاوِ وَيِ نُعُومَ

nasalāmu tayna ishukiya qaburi yaku * bakaluwa kāyu mutaghāwi wiya nu‘ūma
And may peace and salutations be upon you again in your grave,
let the sand be soaked with the grace of God.

٤٥٦ وَثَنَاءُ قَدَّمْتُ بَيْنَ يَدَيَّ نَجْوَايَ * إِذْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَدَيَّ إِثْرَاءُ

٤٥٦ نَكْصِفُ كَاغُ تَغْلِيْزِ بِلِ يَدْعَا * كَكَبَ بِلِي كَبُولِ مَالِ كَتْمَ

nakuṣifu kāghu taghulīzi bili yadu‘ā * kakaba biliya kabawili māli katuma
And my praises for you come prior to my prayers,
I have nothing else to offer that is more worthy than this task.

٤٥٧ مَا أَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ مِنْ عَبْدٍ لِلَّهِ * وَ قَامَتْ بِرَبِّهَا الْأَشْيَاءُ

٤٥٧ وَمِشَابُ صَلِّ بُو كَبَ وَمُعْبُدُ * مُؤَلَّ نَبِمَبُ كَايِ زِتُ مَدَيِّ دَوَامَ

wamishābu ṣala bawu kaba wamu‘abudu * mūla nabimabu kāyi zitu maday dawāma
In the end, when a prayer is sincerely devoted to God,
it will always be given abundant reward.

Appendix 2c

Epilogue of the *Hamziyya* from the *Ab* manuscript

- ١
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ تَشْلِيِي يَلِكْمِلِ * كَفَضِلِ زَاكِ مُلَوَّغِ مِي عَظَمِ
 alḥamdu lillahi tashiliyu yalikumili * kafaḍīli zāki mulawāghu miyi ‘aẓama
 Praise be to God, this work is now completed,
 by the grace of my Lord, the Almighty.
- ٢
 مُلَ مُرَحَمُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ سَعِيدِ * الْأَبُوصَيْرِ مُصَنِفِ مِي نَظَمِ
 mula muraḥamu muḥammadi bin sa‘īdi * ālabūṣīri muṣanifu miyi naẓma
 May God bless Muhammad bin Sa‘id
 al-Busiri, the composer of high status.
- ٣
 نَكَلِ أَبُو لِصِفِيلِ تُوْمَ يَمَلِ * تَعُ وَعَرَبُ نَتْرِكِ نَوَعَجَمِ
 nakula abawu liṣifīli tūma yamul * taghu wa‘arabu naturuki nawa‘ajama
 And everyone who praises the Prophet,
 including Arabs, Turks and all the other communities.
- ٤
 رِحْمَ إِعْمُ تَعُ سَاوُ نَوَعْنُو * إِسْلَامُ وُنْتِ نَامِ بَتِ مُتْرَجِمِ
 riḥima i‘umu taghu sāwu nawaghiniwi * islāmu wuntī nāmi bati mutarajima
 May blessings be given to them and all the rest
 of the Muslims, and to me, the translator from Pate.
- ٥
 أَتْشِيْشِ طَاعَ نَشْرِيْعِ اِتْفُوسِ * سُنَّ نَجْمَاْعَ تِدِ نَاْزُ تُخِيْتِمِ
 atushīshi ṭā‘a nasharī‘a itufuwasi * suna najamā‘a tidi nāzu tukhitatima
 And may He give us strength and piety to follow His commands,
 and to abide by the prophetic traditions accordingly.
- ٦
 نَفَرَضِ سِيِ اِلِيْمِ شِغْنِ مَاعُ * يَكِدَ كُحْجِ اُتْدِيْلِ يَسِيِ طَمِ
 nafaraḍi siyu iliyumu shighuni māghu * yakida kuḥji utidīli yasiyu ṭama
 And may I pay the debt that I owe,
 that I may go to perform the pilgrimage [in Mecca] before my demise.
- ٧
 كَوْدِ فَرَضِ نَسُنَزِ مَنَاسِكِ * نِدِ نَمَدِيْنَهْ كَمُزُرُ كَبِدِ كِيْمِ
 kawadi faraḍi nasunazi manāsiki * nidi namaḍīnah kamuzuru kibidi kīma
 That I may complete the obligatory rituals and make the optional sacrifice,
 and then go to Medina to visit the Beloved One.

- ٨
 أُتَغْفِرُ ذَنْبَ زَيْتِ نَمَكْسِيِّ * نَزَوْ بُغْفِ وَكَيْفِيكَ كَادَمَ
 utughufurili dhambī zītu namakusayyi * nazawa bughufi wakifika kaadama
 May our Lord forgive us our sins and any wrongdoing,
 and [those of] all the righteous ones up to the time of Adam.
- ٩
 وَنَ وَبِ بَرِّ كُتَيْدِي وَافِلِ وَوُ * تَعُ تُلْنَاوُ نَفِدَفُ تِنِ كُكُمَ
 wana wabi biri kutidiya wāfili wawu * taghu tulunāwu nafidafu tini kukuma
 And may He grant our children the ability to obey their parents,
 those in our time and thereafter.
- ١٠
 تَمَّتْ نَصَلَ نَسَلَامُ اِتِلَلِي * تَمَّ يَمْلُغُ نَمِتُومِ وَتَقَدَّمَ
 tamat našala nasalāmu itilīli * tuma yamulughu namitūmi wataqadama
 I end with prayers: may blessings be showered upon
 the Prophet and all the other messengers of God.
- ١١
 نَالِزِ وُنْتِ نَصْحَابِ نَوْفُوسِ * نَوْفُوسُ وَفُؤَاسِ وَأُو كَوْمِ
 naalizi wunti našaḥāba nawafuwasi * nawafuwisawu wafuwāsi wāwu kawima
 And his family members and companions,
 and all of his righteous followers.
- ١٢
 بَدِ يَفُمَبُ بَبِ زُنْتِ كَتِكَ لَغِ * نَدَوُ مُسْتِ أَتَدُنِ كِتْرَنَمِ
 bidi yifumabu bibu zunti katika lagha * nadiwa musitu utaduni kitaranama
 When the wind was gusting in the sky,
 I was alone in the forest composing this work.
- ١٣
 نَتَارِخِي نَسْرِبُ كُرْدُونِ * يَلِ عِشْرِينَ نَتَسِعَ مِزِ وَ فِمِ
 natārikhiyi nisizibu kuzadawani * yali 'ishirīni natisi'a mizi wa fima
 And the date I completed the composition
 was the twenty ninth of the best-known month (i.e. Rabi'u al-Awwal)
- ١٤
 وَكُزَوَ كَاكَ تَمَّ يَتُ جُمَعَ تَاتُ * بَكِ نِيرُوزِ يَلِمَكَ مُفُمَا جُمِ
 wakuzawa kāki tuma yitu juma'a tātu * baki nīrūzi yalimaka mufumā juma
 And a Monday, the day our Prophet was born;
 it is a Friday in the Nairuzi (Persian) calender.

- ١٥ نَهَجِيرَ يَكِ مُصْطَفَى يَلَالِفُ * نَيْكَ سِتِّينَ نَمُولِ نَيْنَ يُم
 nahijira yaki muṣṭafay yalialifu * nayaka sitīni namiwili nayana yuma
*And the date since the Flight of the Prophet
 is one thousand and sixty years, with one hundred to be added on top.*
- ١٦ نَمْتَرَجِمَ نَعَيْنَ نَائِي نَدَالِ * رِ وَأُو نَسِينِ زَرَوِي لِعُثَيْمِ
 namutarajima ni'ayni nāya nadāli * ri wāwu nasīni zaziwiyu li'uthayma
*And the name of the translator is 'Ayn, Yē, Dāl,
 Rē, Wāw and Sīn, the son of 'Uthman.*
- ١٧ مُوْلَ مَرَحَمُ نَوَزَلِ نَأُو نَائِي * كُوْسَ كَصَحِيحِ كِمَلَزِ كُمُرَحَمِ
 mūla muraḥamu nawazili naawu nāyu * kūsa kaṣaḥīḥi kimaliza kumuraḥama
*May God bless him, his ancestors, and their offspring.
 After correcting the text (if it has any mistakes in it), [God's] mercy will follow.*