The Literary Boom of the *Jamā'at al Fayḍa Tijaniyya* in 20th Century Northern Nigeria, and additions to John O. Hunwick's *The Arabic Literature of Africa, Vol. 2*

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate **Date: 12 March 2021**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation has been written in order to analyse the impact of the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya on the Arabic literature of Africa, and to extract trends in the scholarly Tijaniyya community of the twentieth century. The research has further led to the discovery of works that have not been recorded in John Hunwick's *Arabic Literature of Africa, Volume II* (ALA II), which is regarded as a standard reference work.

The Tijaniyya Sufi order was born in 18th century Algeria and had reached West Africa by the nineteenth century. Some of the beliefs held by the Tijaniyya included an expected spiritual revival, known in Sufi terms as *fayḍa*. It was in 1929 that Ibrahīm Niasse proclaimed the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya, and within a few years, this revolution had spread widely.

As with previous Sufi revivals in the area, a literary boom occurred with the *fayḍa*. This boom was not significantly documented, resulting in the Tijaniyya Project (TijProj), which this research is based on. TijProj is an offshoot of a larger project of Northwestern University's Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa (ISITA), which covers countries beyond Nigeria.

Like much of the traditional Arabic literature in Africa, the TijProj collection required cataloguing as it was incomplete. The collection was held by Andrea Brigaglia, then of the Religious Studies Department of the University of Cape Town, as he had personally collected a significant amount of literature and field notes through interactions with scholars and other individuals in the literature trade in Nigeria. The literature was categorised into genres and subjects after being catalogued. The cataloguing and organisation of the materials led to the creation of an enormous database of literature produced by the *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* ("the community of the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya"), which was then stored in Microsoft Access. As a result of creating the database, quantitative information could be drawn, as to what impact the *fayḍa* had on literature production, as well as further qualitative information about the *jamā'at al fayḍa tijaniyya* . Finally, the collection was compared to ALA II, which led to the discovery that almost two-thirds of TijProj has not been recorded in ALA II.

This project has served to highlight the scholarly importance of the *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* , which constitutes a majority Sufi movement in Africa with African origins and international influence. It has shown the enormous contribution of the *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* to the corpus of Arabic literature in Africa. The intellectual trends that existed within the community have been derived, and are based on traditional Arabic literature, yet particular to the 20th century *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* . Finally, this research has catalogued new source material for researchers in the field.

1 Introduction

1.1 Rationale

The term *fayḍa* is a Sufi term that literally translates to flood and refers to spiritual renewal as well as numerical expansion of the order.[1] It was during the twentieth century that the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya came to West Africa. It centred around the figure of Ibrāhīm Niasse (d. 1975),[2] who was part of the Tijaniyya Sufi order. This order had existed since the late 18th century, when it had been established by Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani (d. 1815). The Tijaniyya community had been awaiting such a revival based on an earlier statement attributed to the founder of the order. When Niasse proclaimed the *fayḍa*, he initially encountered considerable opposition from some of the established Tijani leaders of the time, but his proclamation was gradually accepted by a large number of people. It was due to this *fayḍa* that the Tijaniyya burgeoned to become the most popular Muslim religious movement in West Africa[3].

As with previous Sufi revivals that had occurred throughout history,[4] it was accompanied by a literary revival.[5] The literary revival can be traced to a group of scholars closely connected to the *fayḍa*, known as the Salgawa due to their connection to Muḥammad Salga of Kano.[6] These scholars, after being educated in Kano, spread beyond Kano, to many other cities of Northern Nigeria. Through the literature and teachings of these scholars, the message of the Tijaniyya and the *fayḍa* spread. The declaration of Kano as *aṣimat al-fayḍa*

[1] Brigaglia 2001, 4.

[2] Seesemann 2011, 24.

[3] Seesemann 2009, 299.

[4] Chih, Mayeur-Jaouen and Rüdiger 2015.

[5] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 104.

[6] Adam 2016, 158. Muḥammad Salga and the Salgawa are discussed in more detail in section "2.5 Networks of Fayḍa scholars in Northern Nigeria", p. 31.

(the capital of the *fayḍa*)[7] by Niasse, set the stage for Kano to become a centre of Tijaniyya, the *fayḍa* and the Salgawa.

This dissertation concentrates on literature produced by this particular group of people, Tijaniyya scholars, during a particular religious and societal revolution, the *fayḍa*, that resulted in an increased production of literature. It also performs the basic function of cataloguing these works for future reference as many have not been previously catalogued. While a growing literature exists that addresses the life and scholarly contribution of Ibrahim Niasse, no study exists that addresses the literary corpus of the international network of scholars that he mobilized under the banner of the *fayḍa.*[8] With the Tijaniyya currently being numerically the largest Sufi order in Africa, and the increase in literary production that the *fayḍa* brought about, there is the need to begin such more comprehensive overviews.

Although interest in African literature has increased rapidly in the last fifty years, with the revelation of large stores of manuscripts, and the creation of institutes for the preservation and study of these materials, there remains a great deal to be uncovered in this area to understand African societies. Literature in Africa is associated particularly with Arabic, either as the language of expression, or as the script used for local language. It is also associated with Islam and Muslims, as it was through Muslims that the language and script was spread.

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[7] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 104.

[8] Reese 2003, contains an essay by Rüdiger Seesemann, which studies the impact of the association of the tribe of Idaw ʻAlī (Mauritania) with Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse, the leader of the Tijani *fayḍa.* His inherited low social status was a blacksmith, and the tribe of Idaw ʻAlī, a tribe that carried the high status of *shurafā'* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him), accepted his message. Seesemann's study highlight the social renewal that was associated with such an unconventional, for the Mauritanian standards of the time, affiliation of a "white nobility" to a "Black" scholar of "low social status". However, no detailed overview of the literary production of the Mauritanian scholars associated to the network is provided.

The position of African literacy had been belittled by earlier studies of Islam in Africa by academics such as J. S. Trimingham, who suggested that African Islam was detached from the greater Islamic world,[9] and failed to achieve the "theological, philosophical, literary and artistic values"[10] that the rest of the Islamic world did. This suggestion would imply that African literature was weaker, numerically or in content, than that of the rest of the Muslim world and therefore insignificant. Islamic studies specialists and Africanists who came after Trimingham did not challenge his ideas, and some Africanists felt proud of the distinction that this gave Africans in having an oral tradition that was not corrupted by imposing forces such as the Arab Muslim culture, or European Christian culture. Scott Reese, in *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa*, suggests that African Muslims were viewed as "stagnant and archaic"[11] by both Islamic studies and African studies specialists. These types of beliefs led to a neglect of the rich Arabic literary culture that existed. The interest and further study of written Arabic and African literature has proved that these views are unfounded, opening the doors to uncover literacy which can provide source material for various studies. The literature that has been discovered can be used to re-write the history of Africa through its own sources, rather than through the lens of people detached from the continent and people, through time or culture.

The conditions which the manuscripts and literature in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa currently find themselves in vary. Some are in institutions, where the building may not provide adequate protection from the elements, whether this is humidity, or harmattan dust.[12] Where academic collections exist, they may have some of the works catalogued on site, as

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[9] Reese 2004, 1.

[10] Reese 2004, 1.

[11] Reese 2004, 2.

[12] Biddle 2008, 5; Jeppie and Diagne 2008, 266.

internal resources. However, these same institutes also contain large amounts of uncatalogued material. Collaboration between institutes is limited, so cataloguing is not uniform or interchangeable.

Besides the preservation attempts in academic institutes, private collections are also treasured and transmitted as part of the Islamic learning and culture. These collections may be held by the household and family of the author or published for the general public. The uniqueness of these manuscripts, in their manufacture or use, may prevent them from becoming objects that are commonly known and appreciated outside the circle they exist in. Changing societies may have denigrated them as a feature of the past that the present people have little knowledge of.

Since the increase in interest for African literature, there have been multiple studies published on the subject. The published writings have served to add to our knowledge on Islamic literacy in Africa in different ways, and cataloguing the manuscripts remains a basic task that will only ease access and allow further research. As far as West African Islamic literature is concerned, existing works have taken a broad overview of manuscript studies. This is portrayed in the publication by Arewa House which contains examples of studies that concentrate on manuscript culture in general, such as the article that will be discussed in this chapter by Tijjani el-Miskin.[13] Other common studies focus on a particular manuscript or author. An example of this type of study is *Jihad of the Pen*,[14] compiled by Rudolph Ware, Zachary Wright and Amir Syed. This book has short introductions to significant West African Muslim historical figures, as well as translations of selected works. Other studies cover collections of literature, usually attributed to a particular scholar, such as the one in

[13] el-Miskin, et al. 2007.

[14] Ware, Wright and Syed 2018.

which Salisu Bala has provided an overview of three different public repositories,[15] identifying collections within the repositories. Only a few researchers have gone beyond these types of data studies into sociological interpretations.

This study, thus, is conceived as a first step to fill a gap that exists in the field of study of Sufism and literature in West Africa, by providing some quantitative data on the production of the Nigerian scholars associated with the *fayda* over a time span of roughly 60 years (1940s-2000s). Those who accepted the message of the *fayḍa* from Ibrahīm Niasse have been referred to as *jamā'at al fayḍa al-Tijaniyya*, and this term will be used to refer to the community henceforth.

1.2 Literature Review

The literature reviewed showed various approaches to the study of Arabic literature in West Africa, beginning with cataloguing, and including general manuscript studies, as well as studies from various sociological points of view.

The most comprehensive work in the field of cataloguing African literature is that of John O. Hunwick (d. 2015), a compilation known as *Arabic Literature of Africa* (henceforth abbreviated as ALA). This work was first conceived by Hunwick, in the hope of imitating a similar work by Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956), the *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (History of Arabic Literature, 1898). Brockelmann's work was an enormous task that sought to document Arabic literature from the Classical Age of Islam, and his volumes are based on time periods, while the geographical and linguistic extent of his work included Arabic, Persian and Turkish works. Hunwick modelled his compilation of ALA on the format that

[15] Bala 2011.

Brockelmann used, noting that Brockelmann documented a minimal amount of sub-Saharan African works.

Hunwick began his work in West Africa, and imagined his work would fit into one volume, covering that region. As the work progressed, he teamed up with other researchers, particularly Rex Sean O'Fahey, and eventually, six volumes were envisaged, each dealing with a major region of Africa. Of these six volumes, only five were eventually compiled and published. This shows not only the extent of the work Hunwick initiated, but the quantity of material present in sub-Saharan Africa. The volume of ALA that is most closely related to the material covered in this dissertation is that found in *Volume Two, The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa* (henceforth, ALA II). The cataloguing of works in ALA II has been divided into chapters that follow a thematic, chronological and geographical pattern. Sufism plays a large role in the description of the writing epochs in ALA II, as literacy increased with the rise of religious ideologies.

Although Hunwick set limitations of geographical boundaries, and language, his work seemed to transgress these. Despite the extension of his work, Hunwick could not cover all authors and works, as attested by the many additions to his work in Chapter Four. A more detailed look at Hunwick's work appears in Chapter Four.

African universities also became involved in adding to knowledge of the field. A conference held at Arewa House (Kaduna, Northern Nigeria) in March of 2007, was meant to acknowledge Arabic literature as part of Nigerian heritage that needed to be studied. Arewa House is a research institute associated with Ahmadu Bello University of Zaria, and is home to the Centre for Historical Documentation and Research, which houses a number of manuscripts. The purpose of the March 2007 conference was to raise awareness of the extent of Nigeria's literary heritage as well as deal with issues pertaining to preservation and

cataloguing of the materials.[16] The conference papers were published in the form of a book (2007), and a second conference serving similar purpose took place in May of 2009,[17] also resulting in the publication of a book (2010). Both these publications contain vast amounts of fundamental information on the state of manuscripts in Nigeria. It would be difficult to present all the information they contain in this introduction, but a few papers that stand out will be addressed.

Tijjani el-Miskin, one of the editors of the publication, contributes a paper titled "Northern Nigeria's Intellectual Heritage: Methodological Perspectives on Retrieval, Preservation and Access."[18] This paper provides the reader with an excellent overview of the field of Islamic manuscript studies in northern Nigeria. The aim of the paper is to emphasise the reasons for the preservation of manuscripts, with a proposal for a digital archive. He begins by recognizing the need to identify and classify different types of manuscripts. He then presents the types and classifications of manuscripts in existence, which include scholarly works, manuscript copies of the Qur'an, copies of existing texts (sometimes these copies are of works produced in another country, and these copies allow for local study), or court records. More manuscript types include annotations and notes on covers that could include information on the author or book. Manuscript studies also include correspondence between scholars, from scholars to lay people, between rulers, or official records and agreements. Documents known as *mahram* (these were documents provided by authorities giving privilege to ulama by allowing them some property rights and exemptions from other duties) are also included, as are *khutbahs* (sermons and lectures).

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[16] el-Miskin, et al. 2007, xiv.

[17] Ibrahim, et al. 2010, xi.

[18] el-Miskin, et al. 2007, 37- 44.

The physical location of manuscripts varies. Many manuscripts are privately held by scholars and their institutions, or inherited by family. Sometimes reference is made in a piece of literature to a work that has not been seen, but the reference itself implies its existence. Those involved in the book trade, such as book sellers or libraries or publishing houses, can provide manuscripts, as can academic institutions whose students may be involved in fieldwork related to the manuscripts. Tijjani provides a useful list of Nigerian and international archives that hold manuscripts.[19] He concludes with mentioning the importance of resource people for the tasks at hand, and strategies for acquiring the required information to compile archives. Tijjani's paper provides an easy and complete, well-grounded introduction to the subject matter of Islamic manuscripts in Northern Nigeria, as well as strategies for creating an archive. This type of paper represents a perfect example of what many studies on the subject of Islamic manuscripts in Northern Nigeria address: an analysis of the manuscript tradition as a whole.

Ismaheel Akinade's paper, also in the Arewa House publication, describes the main Nigerian centres of collection and the associated research works that were submitted by students at the University of Ibadan.[20] Akinade's paper looks at the subject of Islamic manuscript heritage by discussing research that has already taken place so that further research topics which have not been covered can be explored. He provides a list of works and short descriptions of what they cover. From these descriptions, it appears that most of the existing works address particular texts or authors, and research topics have been derived from either information about the author or the text. Although the paper is written to encourage further research, it serves to highlight that many of the research papers that have been written so far, focus either on a particular author, or a particular text. No significant comprehensive

[19] el-Miskin, et al. 2007, 44-45.

[20] el-Miskin, et al. 2007, 141-147.

overview of the literary output of a *specific network of Muslim scholars,* as the one that will constitute the bulk of the present dissertation, is mentioned by Akinade.

Muhammad al-Amin, again in the same collection, presents a paper on the library of Abdul Kadir b. Mustafa Torodi,[21] a grandson of the Jihad leader Uthman bin Fūdī[22] (known in the Hausa spelling as Usman Dan Fodio), which is currently preserved by his descendants. It is located in Salame, in northern Sokoto. It is a typical description of a collection of manuscripts, stating the location, subject matters contained in the collections and a short introduction to the authors. The manuscripts are in danger of being lost due to inadequate preservation and suggestions are made as to how this can be avoided.

The second publication from Arewa house (2010) is more focused. It contains descriptions of collections, and methods of preservation and problems encountered, although other topics are covered. One paper provides a translation and commentary of a manuscript by Usman Dan Fodio,[23] while another suggests the use of manuscripts to present an alternative history of Nigeria.[24] Manuscripts that can help in this alternative history are identified, and the information they contain includes parts of West Africa besides Northern Nigeria. A paper on the study of development of literacy in Northern Nigeria is presented,[25] and ICT challenges in the collections are discussed.[26] M. Adamu, in his paper titled "The Scope and Significance of Arabic Manuscripts in Nigeria,"[27] suggests reasons behind authorship of manuscripts, which include educating the public, while poetry was considered

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[21] el-Miskin, et al. 2007, 221-223.

[22] Last 1967; Hunwick has dedicated Chapters 2-6 of his Volume II of ALA to Dan Fodio and the Sokoto Caliphate (pp. 52-256).

[23] Ibrahim, et al. 2010, 129.

[24] Ibrahim, et al. 2010, 237.

[25] Ibrahim, et al. 2010, 183.

[26] Ibrahim, et al. 2010, 257.

[27] Ibrahim, et al. 2010, 165.

an emotional expression. Communication, historical record, polemical writing and diaries are reasons behind other writings. Adamu's paper is one of the few that provides anthropological insights into the study of manuscripts in West Africa. A few other studies have been done that provide such anthropological insights, and some are detailed below.

The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa, is an important collection edited by Scott Reese in 2004. Contributions cover North, West and East Africa. This volume concentrates on the actual personalities involved in the transmission of knowledge, rather than the knowledge being studied as a detached, physical phenomenon. The essays bring out the human element in the transmission of the knowledge, of which the physical evidence is the existing manuscripts, and the continued scholarship that exists in Africa, along with its ties to Sufism. David Gutelius in *Sufi Networks and the Social Contexts for Scholarship in Morocco and Northern Sahara, 1660 – 1830*[28] describes Nasiriyah scholars and how these scholars allowed for the spread of learning, and the continued existence and development of the intellectual tradition in Africa. In his "Introduction",[29] Reese addresses assumptions regarding the religious nature of the content of most of the Arabic texts produced in Africa, which has led to a belief that the writings can add little knowledge to the study of African society. The fact that many of these texts are in Arabic, made them appear to be "foreign" to Africa, despite being composed by Africans in Africa. He suggests that it is not only the meaning of the text that can give us knowledge pertinent to the situations in which these texts were written, but also the holistic study of the book which enables us to learn more about the societies connected with the composition of the text. Reese further argues the manuscripts are localised knowledge that evolved with the needs of society[30] rather than being indifferent to

[28] Reese 2004, 15-38. The Nasiriyah were one of the largest Sufi orders in North Africa and the Sahara during the seventeenth century.

[29] Reese 2004, 3.

[30] Reese 2004, 3.

the society in which they existed. The collection of essays that Reese has presented is a broad overview of scholarship in Africa, rather than a collection of studies on a particular work, author or collection, or even the description of Islamic manuscript studies as a whole.

The historical impact of the manuscripts of Timbuktu is the object of another important collection of essays, *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, edited by Shamil Jeppie and Souleymane Bachir Diagne (2008). The entire collection of papers does not concentrate on the historical significance of the manuscripts, although historical significance forms a central theme. The collection begins with essays that provide an introduction to the region and scholars of Timbuktu, and then continues with essays regarding the historical importance of the manuscripts. Descriptions of existing collections are provided, while the last section briefly deals with East African manuscripts.

Another relevant volume is *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy*, edited by Andrea Brigaglia and Mauro Nobili in 2017, containing papers from a conference held in Cape Town in 2013.[31] This work explores the physical dimensions of the manuscripts. This publication is an uncommon take on literacy in Africa. All the papers in this collection are unique views of different physical aspects of literacy found on the continent. The analytical take of the contributors is focused on looking at the physical manifestation of the script as something that gives knowledge of the society that it originated from. None of the papers delve into the contents of the texts, but rather concentrate on physical features such as script, materials, layout, scribes and even gravestones, to decipher knowledge of customs in the societies in which they were written.

Considering the above literature, it becomes obvious that none have addressed the major literary revival that occurred with the advent of the *fayḍa* of Ibrāhim Niasse.

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[31] Nobili and Brigaglia 2017, 1.

1.3 Research questions

By comprehensively addressing the corpus of the Tijani *fayḍa* network in 20th century Nigeria, I suggest to move away from the focus on the individual manuscript, individual author, or physical collection of manuscripts, so as to address new types of questions:

- What was the extent, in literary terms, of the revival that was brought about by the *fayḍa*?
- How does the volume of literature produced by this network compare to that covered by a general encyclopaedia such as ALA II? What works were covered by ALA II, and what works were not?
- What genres and subjects are most common in the literary production by the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya scholars of Nigeria? Why? What insights can we infer, from the genres and subjects covered by such corpus, about the social life of the networks that these scholars participated in?
- What is the geographical distribution of the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya writings in Nigeria? Which centres were most active?
- What types of publications were made?

1.4 Case Study and Methodology: The TijProj Archive.

The collection of books and manuscripts this study is based on has been named the Tijaniyya Project (TijProj) and contains a number of manuscripts and publications from the West African region. This dissertation is restricted to major cities in northern Nigeria only. The literature collection covers various subjects, and a considerable part of the collection is based on Tijānī authors resident in Kano. Kano is the commercial hub of northern Nigeria, as well as a centre of learning that is fundamental to Tijaniyya activity in the country.

The Tijaniyya Project originally began as a result of an initiative by the Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa, headed by Professor Rüdiger Seesemann and based at Northwestern University in Illinois. The aim was to investigate the literary output of Tijaniyya authors worldwide. Launched in 2007, it expected to cover several countries, including Nigeria, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, Chad, Ghana, Mali, Senegal and Mauritania.[32] The area of Nigeria was covered by Andrea Brigaglia, who was a lecturer in Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town (UCT) when research for this dissertation began. Brigaglia had already collected a large amount of data on such literature through personal interaction in the areas concerned, talking to scholars, authors, book publishers and sellers. Over the years, this research had led to a mass of literature physically stored in Brigaglia's office at UCT, as well as of rough data and secondary literature on the topic collected in Brigaglia's archive. This literature needed to be documented and categorised, like the swathes of literature present in other areas of Africa.

UCT is also home to the Tombouctou Manuscripts Project, which is part of the Institute for Humanities in Africa (HUMA) and is directed by Prof Shamil Jeppie. The Tombouctou Project has done work on manuscripts in Timbuktu, with the support of the South African government amongst other funders. Brigaglia has been also involved in another project at UCT through the CCI, "Religious Leaders & Knowledge Transmission in Central Africa: Muslim 'Ulamā' in the Intellectual History of Chad". These interlinked institutes and projects, all based at UCT, allowed for a productive environment for the study of Nigerian literature, even though it was at a huge distance from the environment in which it had been produced.

[32] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 102.

The literature required quantitative analysis. When I started my MA project, it was stored in carton boxes divided by regional areas of Nigeria according to the birthplace of the author. While many of these entries had been catalogued in a Word file, such entries needed to be revised and updated, which I gradually did. I then transferred the information to an Access Database. The database allowed me not only to re-order the corpus in a more structured way according to genres, subjects and other relevant information, but also to generate the following new data, which will be covered in Chapters 3 and 4 of the current dissertation:

(a) Assessing the number of writings that this corpus contains that had not been counted in ALA II;

(b) Generating quantitative data, in the form of charts, on the distribution of genres, subjects etc.

In the cataloguing of the texts, certain elements were investigated and recorded in order to provide information on the text. For each work, the genre and subject were noted, as well as any further information available, such as dates of publication, publisher, number of pages, names of scribes, the type of publication, and language of the literature. As far as the content of the materials being catalogued was concerned, I could rely on the fieldwork notes by Brigaglia, which always included summaries of each work, and annotate such data into my database. Brief biographies of the authors, including dates of birth, death, and age of influence, were also teased from Brigaglia's fieldwork notes. Teachers and students of the author, as well as locations where the author studied and taught, were recorded.

With ALA II being used as the main reference work, all works were compared to ALA II in order to determine if they had previously recorded. Note was made of the page on which the work appeared if it was already documented in ALA II, and if it did not appear, this was also noted. Photographs were taken of important pages of the literature (usually

cover page, title page, and final page), and each piece of literature was given a number that would be unique to it for easy identification, as occasionally, script (a Nigerian form of Arabic script) was difficult to read or illegible to me. This wealth of information still needed to be accessible for further interpretation, and for the purposes of this dissertation, the Microsoft Access database that I created has been very valuable.

It was not always possible to gather standard information for each piece of literature as standards of publication differed, especially in the case of so-called "market editions" (ME), i.e., publications made from the offset lithography of a hand-written manuscript. For instance, many MEs do not feature the name of the publisher or the year of publication. The date of *completion* of a manuscript (which does not necessarily coincide with its *publication* in the form of ME), was more likely to be recorded at the end of a work than the date of publication. Some MEs were sponsored publications, with the name of the sponsor on the front cover and the printer on the back cover. Scribes' names were sometimes mentioned with the date of completion in the colophon at the end of a ME. The subject of the material was not always easy to categorise as it could overlap with other subjects. Constant feedback from my supervisor, who had originally put together the corpus I was cataloguing, was therefore indispensable along the way. Genres also contain some overlap (in some cases, for instance, some works feature a mixture of poetry and prose), but this was, on average, less problematic as the categories of genres were limited to the handful.

In comparing the works to ALA II, spelling differences could cause a work which appeared in ALA II to be overlooked, but a thorough comparison was made to prevent this. Authors, in fact, who during their lives have moved to their place of birth to another Nigerian city, may have been recorded in different geographical regions between TijProj and ALA II, but searches were made using the author's name and works throughout the volume, rather than searching within a particular region, to prevent missing the reference in ALA II.

The database that has resulted from cataloguing and recording this material is a treasure trove of information from which all sorts of data and trends can be derived. It should also present an accurate record of new material that can be added to the standard reference of ALA II. Although the database is still to be fine-tuned, and more material added, even at this stage, it becomes possible to derive new knowledge which will allow further research.

1.5 Some Theoretical Remarks

In his classical 2007 monograph, *Knowledge Triumphant*, Franz Rosenthal explores the centrality of knowledge in Islam. In Chapter Two of his book, Rosenthal explores a statistical correlation between the number of times words with root *ʿ-l-m* (knowledge) occurs in the Qur'an, and the deductions that can be made on the centrality of the concept of 'ilm in the Islamic tradition. Beyond the mere statistical count, Rosenthal goes on to a literature review of various genres to determine *how* the root word *ʿ-l-m* is used. Rosenthal justifies his use of statistical analysis as an investigative tool by explaining that the connotation in which the word appears is also considered, and knowledge appears to be a theme that was historically relevant and emphasised by the Prophet Muḥammad according to additional data derived from an analysis of the hadith corpus.[33] Further, he counters the argument that the word *ʿ-l-m* could be considered to be naturally occurring in a religious text due to its religious connotation, by emphasising how the meaning that surrounds the use of the word suggests that its occurrence is a deliberate act, and that the early community of Muslims' reverence for knowledge suggests the importance that the concept had for the community.[34] In this case, thus, a statistical analysis is being used to prove observed phenomena in a religious/scholarly tradition and as an entry point into an analytical investigation of the extent

[33]Rosenthal 2007, 21.

[34] Rosenthal 2007, 22.

of the influence of the concept on such tradition. Rosenthal's method of analysis was one of the first inspirations for my work to integrate an empirical and quantitative study into a literary study as the one I am undertaking in this dissertation.

Rosenthal's concept of knowledge being central to Islam also resonates in this work's attempt to discover the scholarship that resulted from a Muslim "spiritual awakening", as the *fayḍa* was conceptualized to be by Ibrahim Niasse and his followers. Rosenthal, in fact, dedicates a chapter to Sufism, focusing on how Sufism uses the symbolism of light to describe knowledge,[35] as well as the endeavour of Sufism to associate itself as a discipline (*'ilm*).[36] Furthermore, Rosenthal shows how Sufis also considered *'ilm* as gnosis (*ma'rifa*). My case study, too, shows the profound inter-relationship between *'ilm* and *ma'rifa* in a West African Sufi community: while the community of the *fayḍa* was originally conceived as being characterized by an outpouring (*fayḍ*) of *ma'rifa* (knowledge of God), which as an object of study is empirically elusive by definition, its outward manifestation was a parallel outpouring of literary writings, which can, on the contrary, be measured and assessed quantitatively.

My work aims to show that the writing of texts is strictly linked to the society in which these texts are embedded. Brinkley Messick, in his classic monograph *The Calligraphic State,* puts forward an interesting quotation in this sense. Quoting Robert Redfield, in fact, he stresses how "the contextual studies of anthropologists will go forward to meet the textual studies made by historians and humanists of that same civilisation."[37] The focus of Messick's work, based on late modern Yemen, is the relationship between texts and authority in a Muslim society. His writing brings to life the human element of the writings of

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[35] Rosenthal 2007, 161.

[36] Rosenthal 2007, 193.

[37] Messick 1993, 2.

law, and the deep social ties that are created by the acts of studying, reading, and authoring books in a text-based Muslim society. Messick's work takes place on two levels, ethnography and textual analysis.[38] While my work, submitted as a brief dissertation for the requirements of a Masters by coursework and dissertation, has not integrated field work in its method of analysis, after many months spent surrounded by these documents I feel that I have almost been able to immerse myself in a Nigerian Muslim scholarly environment. While my dissertation is not submitted as an anthropological work, it is indeed my hope that the materials presented, and the data I have elaborated on (authors, genres and subjects of a Sufi corpus from contemporary West Africa) will be of use to researchers in the anthropology of Islam - and not only to those on text studies.

[38] Messick 1993, 3.

2 The Rise of the Tijaniyya

2.1 Sufism in West Africa

The history of how West Africa's Muslim communities became predominantly Sunni-Maliki with strong Sufi influence, begins with the Almoravid and Almohad empires (North Africa, 11th to 14th centuries) and the ideals they promoted. Both empires stemmed from tribes close to the Sahara Desert. A Moroccan scholar, 'Abdallāh ibn Yāsīn (d. 1059), motivated members of the Sanhaja tribe (who were Imasighen, or Berber, people located in the Western Sahara) to form the *Murābiṭūn* movement. This movement developed a strictly legalist position and led to the formation of the Almoravid empire (1040 – 1155). The legalist Sunni principles of the Almoravid empire in turn led to the evolution of the Almohad empire (1120 – 1269), which sought a congruence of the spiritual and legal aspects of Islam. The Almohads succeeded in conquering much more territory than the Almoravids, and carried their doctrines with them.

The following period in North Africa (the mid-thirteenth century) is considered one in which Sunni Islam reached maturity in the area, as both law and orthodoxy were established, and Sufism also became conventional.[39] Towns and cities continued to teach legal rulings, while mystics and saints moved into *zāwiyas* (Sufi lodges, seats of Sufi communal activities) in the countryside, where distinctive practices of the *zāwiyas* metamorphosed into *ṭarīqas* (a school of practice within Sufism).[40]

Although both North and West Africa share Sufi and Maliki doctrines, the pattern of development of Sufism in West Africa, differed from that experienced in North Africa or the Sahara. Rüdiger Seesemann notes that "Sufism had a decisive influence on the development

[39] Sivers 2000, 26.

[40] Sivers 2000, 26.

and spread of Islam in West Africa",[41] a suggestion that Islam, in the region, mainly spread through Sufism. This contrasts to the political conquests that introduced Islam in North Africa. Seesemann later clarifies this by adding that although Sufism seemed the dominant factor of West African Muslim society, it was a combination of various factors including "da'wa (the call to Islam) with social, economic, and political factors[42]" that attracted people to Islam.

Three major *ṭarīqas* currently exist in West Africa (in chronological order of development): the Qadiriyya, the Tijaniyya and the Muridiyya. The Muridiyya was not transmitted from North Africa as the other two were, but developed in Senegal. Zachary Wright has identified the most significant personalities that have had an impact on Sufism in West Africa.[43] These include Shaykh 'Usman Dan Fodio (d. 1817) (Qadiriyya *tariqa*), Shaykh 'Umar Futi Tāl (d. 1864) (Tijaniyya *tariqa*), Shaykh Ibrahīm Niasse (d. 1975) (Tijaniyya *tariqa*) and Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba (d.1927) (Muridiyya *tariqa*).

Earlier European studies of Islam in West Africa suggest that the Islam practised in Africa is anomalous to that found in the rest of the world, because of the impact Sufism has had on the region. Seesemann has broken down European scholarship on Islam in Africa into three phases.[44] In the first, Islam in Africa was seen as a completely separate identity from the remainder of the Muslim world. During the colonial time, the French coined the term *Islam Noir* (Black Islam) to refer to the practice of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa. Another term coined by the French is *marabout*, based on Arabic *murābiṭūn*, which can refer to any

[41] Seesemann 2010, 606.

[42] Seesemann 2010, 607.

[43] Wright 2018, 2.

[44] Seesemann 2010, 606.

religious leader of various significance in the community.[45] The purported main characteristic of such essentialized "Black Islam," was that it was less aggressive than Arab Islam, and this information was given to colonialists for use in the rule of Muslim populations of West Africa.[46] The term *marabout* has taken on various meanings, often implying some degrees political influence.[47]

The second phase was marked by writings suggesting that it was the charisma of the Sufi saints revered by the people, and popular beliefs regarding them, which allowed them to have the authority and following that they established.[48]

Finally, the most recent phase consists of the writings of scholars who regard Islam in West Africa as a religious (and not essentially political or social) phenomenon, and draw connections between the Muslims of West Africa with those in other parts of the world.[49]

Wright has preferred to argue against these European assumptions about African Islam by highlighting the literature produced by the community leaders.[50] He believes that the intellectual pursuits of West African Muslims need to be emphasised to understand their true association with Islam and Sufism. That two of the most influential Sufi personalities of West Africa were involved in jihad, is a point that is addressed by Amir Syed in his thesis on 'Umar Tāl, where he argues that the emphasis on the jihad movement they were involved in, leads observers to underestimate that these personalities were scholars first.[51] Here, his argument is similar to that of Wright. Syed also believes that the nature of West African

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[45] Seesemann 2010, 607.

[46] Seesemann 2010, 607.

[47] Syed 2017, 16.

[48] Seesemann 2010, 607.

[49] Seesemann 2010, 607.

[50] Wright 2018, 2.

[51] Syed 2017, 7.

Muslim communities is, on the whole, pacifist.[52] In this light, a fifth personality is described by Seesemann, that of Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, who linked peaceful Sufi communities in the Saharan oases of present-day Mali, with an emphasis on mystical experience.[53] Agriculture and trade also flourished with al-Kuntī's leadership, which shows the multifaceted nature of the Sufi leaders.

Intra-Muslim interactions in West African Islam, which took place in earlier centuries, should also be considered in the understanding of the practice of Islam in West Africa. In the 14th century, the famous Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta visited Mali,[54] where he witnessed the activities of Muslims. He commended their learning of Qur'an, while at the same time pointing out some un-Islamic practices, such as persons sprinkling dust and ashes on their heads in the presence of the King.[55] Murtada al-Zabīdī was a hadith scholar who at one point, imparted some knowledge to a shaykh of Usman Dan Fodio, Jibrīl bin 'Umar.[56] Al-Zabīdī claimed to have taught Bin 'Umar not to improve the latter's knowledge, but rather so both parties could receive blessing from the affiliation. These interactions suggest that Muslims from other parts of the world were accepting of the West African Muslims as their peers, and that Sufism was, at the time, an integrating aspect of the scholarship of both African and non-African Muslims, in contrast to later European views that will represent West African Sufi practices as stemming from an alternative interpretation of Islam.

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[52] Syed 2017, 16, where he elaborates on the Jakhanke tradition, which emphasised education and downplayed *jihad*. Muslim communities tended to enter into agreement with rulers and establish separate communities which were non-political. He believes that the *jihad* leaders came from this tradition, so were initially pacifist, and suggests a desire to enact religious reforms they thought necessary were the propellant to *jihad*.

[53] R. Seesemann 2010, 608.

[54] N. Levtzion 2000, 67.

[55] N. Levtzion 2000, 67.

[56] Reese, 2004.

We can thus conclude that Sufism has had, without doubt, an enormous impact on the spread and practise of Islam in West Africa. The scholarship and literary production associated with these leaders and their movements is particularly relevant to this work. In northern Nigeria, the jihad of Dan Fodio resulted in a well-known surge of literary activity, in Arabic, Hausa and Fulfulde, and Hunwick has dedicated an entire chapter of his second volume of ALA to the works of Shaykh Usman Dan Fodio. Other literary giants that surrounded him were his brother, ‘Abdallah, his son, Muḥammad Bello, and his daughter, Nana Asma’u. After this period, ‘Umar Tāl also produced scholarly works in Arabic, and Syed’s thesis attempts to study Tal through his own words[57]. Ahmadou Bamba also continued the literary tradition of African poetry, leaving many works that are still read by his followers[58]. This thesis is interested, in particular, in the literary revolution brought about by Ibrāhīm Niasse and his followers, with specific reference to Nigeria, which consisted of Arabic and Hausa works.

2.2 Sufism and Literature

When one considers the association of literature with Sufism, it is poetry that easily comes to mind. The principles of Sufism encourage a master-disciple relationship, and writing within Sufism may be considered extraneous in order to emphasise the embodiment of knowledge. Seesemann quotes Qur’an 62:5[59], where a likeness of those whose knowledge is not implemented is made to a “donkey carrying books”. He also quotes the famous Sufi Shadhili saying “My followers are my books.” [60]

[57] Syed 2017, 6.

[58] Camara 2017, 2.

[59] Seesemann 2009, 303.

[60] Seesemann 2009, 303.

Despite these firm beliefs in the practical application of knowledge, Sufis did write. Seesemann, in his article "Three Ibrahims", explores the writings of the *jama'āt al fayḍa* in general, and by focusing on the literature produced by three figures of the *jama'āt* in particular. Seesemann lists the reasons for writing as follows: 1. the need to formulate and standardise Sufi teachings; 2. The need to reach audiences that were in different geographical locations;[61] and 3. hagiographical literature that spread the fame of saints, and preserved the teachings of saints that did not write much themselves[62] (for example, Aḥmad al-Tijanī). Further, many Sufis were Islamic scholars, and made contributions to literature in the legal and other fields. Seesemann states, with regard to Tijani circles, "…the composition of books and poetry is widely regarded as an essential component of a leading shaykh's credentials."[63]

Ogunnaike has provided a functional analysis of poetry in Sufism, particularly in Tijaniyya. He notes that Sufi tradition has many examples of poetry being of benefit to man, in removing suffering (sickness or other), and in promoting spiritual progress[64]. Ogunnaike goes further to suggest that the poetry produced was used to "…wake their listeners and reciters up to the prophetic reality immanent within them and within the poem itself."[65]

The literary production of the *jama'āt al fayḍa* concentrates on poetical expression, in line with most Sufi trends, but we should note that many other diverse subjects, as this thesis will go on to show, are covered. Wright has discussed the concept of *habitus* extensively in his book *Living Knowledge in West African Islam* (2015) and highlighted the master-disciple relationship that existed in West Africa concerning Islamic learning in general, not only with

[61] Seesemann 2009, 303-4.

[62] Seesemann 2009, 304.

[63] Seesemann 2009, 305.

[64] Ogunnaike 2020, 11.

[65] Ogunnaike 2020, 11.

regards to Sufi practices. Wright argues that the idea of knowledge embodiment that is associated with Sufism was common to West African teaching and learning regardless of Sufism[66]. He suggests that knowledge was actualised through the presence of a living master[67]. He specifies this to the *jama'āt al fayḍa*: "The community of Ibrahim Niasse thus attempted to position itself not simply as a Sufi revivalist movement, but as the means to actualising Muslim identity in the contemporary world."[68]

Wright confirms the various contributions of the *jama'āt al fayḍa* by listing the various sciences that were written on[69]. It seems therefore, that *jama'āt al fayḍa* writings followed the general pattern of writing in Sufi circles, with the exception of the category of *radd* (polemics). This thesis discusses this type of writing further in Chapter 3. Seesemann has identified *radd* as a major category of Tijani writings, along with poetry and handbooks outlining Sufi practices[70], while this thesis has identified *radd* as a sub-set across a number of genres and subjects. The first *radd* writings took shape early in the history of Tijaniyya (mid-nineteenth century)[71], "…primarily written to reassure the own constituency".[72] *Radd* has remained a significant type of literature for various reasons examined in Chapter 3.

2.3 Tijaniyya in West Africa

The Tijaniyya Sufi order originated in present day Algeria in the 18th century, with Aḥmad al-Tijānī (d. 1815) as its founder. It spread to West Africa through the Mauritanian tribe of 'Idaw 'Alī, which acted as an intermediary between North Africa and West Africa in

[66] Wright 2015, 4.

[67] Wright 2015, 4.

[68] Wright 2015, 4.

[69] Wright 2015, 3.

[70] Seesemann 2009, 309.

[71] Seesemann 2009, 308.

[72] Seesemann 2009, 309.

the spread of Tijānī teachings.[73] The members of ‘Idaw ‘Ali were considered *shurafā’* (descendants of the family of the Prophet Muhammad). One of them, Muḥammad al-Hāfiz bin Mukhtār (d. circa 1830) had accepted Tijani teaching from Aḥmad al-Tijānī himself.[74] Al-Hāfiz bin Mukhtār had first met the deputy of Aḥmad al-Tijānī, ‘Alī Harāzim (d. 1856), while on pilgrimage in Mecca, and on his return, passed through Fez, Morocco, where he met Aḥmad al-Tijānī in person. Here he took allegiance, and was appointed a *muqaddam* (representative) of the Shaykh. This allowed for other members of the tribe to be gradually initiated through him into Tijaniyya *ṭarīqa*. With the connections of ‘Idaw ‘Ali in both *Maghreb* and *bilād al-sudān*, the ideas and practices of the Tijaniyya moved south of the Sahara.

2.3.1 Beliefs and Practices of the Tijaniyya

“The Tijaniyya came with nothing new in relation to earlier Islamic and Sufi ideas: adherents conceived their affiliation to the ‘way of Muḥammad’ as the fullest actualization of a very old and basic concept.”[75] Wright further suggests that the appeal of 18th century saints, such as Aḥmad al-Tijani, was “their perceived ability to offer a comprehensive realisation of an Islamic religious identity.”[76] in a time of instability.

The aims of the Tijaniyya *ṭarīqa,* as in most Sufi orders, are *murāqabah* (to see God in everything or being conscious of God at all times), *mushāhadah* (to witness God in everything) and *ma‘rifah* (to know or experience God in everything)[77]. To enter the *tariqa*, one is required to take allegiance from a representative (*muqaddam*) of the Tijaniyya to

[73] Abu-Nasr 1965, 102.

[74] Abu-Nasr 1965, 102.

[75] Wright 2020, 2.

[76] Wright 2020, 3.

[77] Fakie 2002, 1.

practice this way.[78] Characteristics of the Tijaniyya include renunciation of other *tariqa* or visiting other saints, respecting the Tijaniyya brotherhood and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī, and practising Tijaniyya without excessive public display.[79] Tijānī litanies are based on the continuous recitation of the canonical formula to ask forgiveness; of the formula *la ilaha illa'llah* ("there is no god but God," the Muslim declaration of faith); and of the formula of sending blessings on the Prophet Muḥammad (*salawāt*).[80] Rituals include daily individual *wird* and collective *wazifa* (two different sets of litanies) and gatherings on Fridays before sunset for *dhikr* (congregational litany based on the repetition of the formula *la ilaha illa'llah*). The *wazifa* includes the recitation of the *jawharat ul kamāl* (a prayer of blessings on the Prophet Muhammad that is believed to have been revealed to a Sufi named Muhammad al-Bakri by the Prophet Muḥammad, and then transmitted to Aḥmad al-Tijānī). Tijanis believe that the souls of the Prophet Muḥammad and of the four righteous caliphs are present during this recitation. For this reason, a white sheet is laid out for them.[81]

2.4 The Spread of Tijaniyya in West Africa

'Umar al-Fūṭi Tāl, of Futa Jalon in today's northern Guinea, West Africa, is credited with spreading the Tijaniyya Sufi order to parts of West Africa, including the regions that this thesis covers. Tāl was established as the *khalifa* (representative) of the Tijaniyya *ṭarīqa* in West Africa after renewing his connection to the *ṭarīqa* with Muḥammad al-Ghālī, a companion of Aḥmad al-Tijānī, whom he met while on Hajj.[82] This bolstered his standing in the *ṭarīqa*, giving him a more direct link to the founder of the *ṭarīqa* after having been

[78] Fakie 2002, 6.

[79] Fakie 2002, 6-7.

[80] Fakie 2002, 2-3.

[81] Lliteras 2009, 222.

[82] Loimeier 1997, 24.

previously appointed as *muqaddam* (a leader of the *ṭarīqa* that could initiate others into it). On his return journey from the pilgrimage, Tāl stayed in Sokoto, the capital of the Fodian state in northern Nigeria, for a number of years (1831/ 2 – 1838). During this time, he married a daughter of the Sultan of Sokoto (Usman Dan Fodio's son, Muḥammad Bello), and initiated a number of people from surrounding settlements into the *ṭarīqa.*[83] The semi-official Sufi tariqa in Sokoto, at the time, was the Qadiriyya, and as a consequence, some polemics emerged around Tāl's efforts to spread the Tijani order. Whether the Emir Muḥammad Bello himself accepted the Tijaniyya or not from his guest, for example, is a debated topic to this day among Nigerian Qadiris and Tijanis.[84] In any case, Sokoto remained officially of Qadiri affiliation until the British conquest of 1903, but the Tijaniyya continued to increase in influence in the wider northern Nigerian region, developing strongholds in Zaria, Bauchi and Adamawa, as well as further south through trader-scholars networks.[85]

Alfa Hāshim became a key figure in the amalgamation of existing Tijani communities in the early 1900s. Hashim emigrated from West Africa to Medina, where he studied and taught. From Medina, he acted as a unifying factor for various Tijani communities from across West Africa, as well as other parts of the world, as they met him and pledged allegiance during journeys of Hajj.[86] A Mauritanian scholar, Sharif Ujdud, used Kano as a base for his travels in the region during the same period, which resulted in the initiation of the Emirs of Kano and Katsina into Tijaniyya. Kano and Katsina were the oldest and biggest Hausa city-states (then sultanates), whose importance was rooted in their position as southern terminals of important trans-Saharan commercial routes. While formally under the tutelage of

[83] Loimeier 1997, 24.

[84] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 103.

[85] Loimeier 1997, 24.

[86] Paden 1973, 85.

the Sokoto Caliphate, with Zaria already having a Tijani *zāwiya* and Tijānī Emirs from the time of Tāl, a "triumvirate (Zaria, Kano, Katsina) of major emirs who followed Tijaniyya"[87] was formed in northern Nigeria.

The *fayḍa* of Ibrāhīm Niasse in the 20th century is the next major expansion of the Tijaniyya, but the above events in northern Nigeria were already pre-emptive of this phase of Tijaniyya, and were considered by Niasse and his followers as signalling the appropriate time for the declaration of the *fayḍa*. The term *fayḍa* is commonly used in Sufi parlance and another term used for it would be *fatḥ*, or opening. These beliefs are shared with other Sufi orders, but a particular belief amongst the Tijaniyya is that Ahmad al-Tijani occupies a special place in the cosmos, as the seal of saints and also the distributor of *fayḍ.* Al-Tijani in his own writings makes several, though fragmented, mentions of the *fayḍ*. After al-Tijani, the theme of *fayḍ* was further developed by Tāl, who, in his writings, links al-Tijani directly to the Prophet and other prophets, and all other saints, and suggests their followers can only access divine grace (*fayḍ*) through al-Tijani.[88]

Tijanis believed that Aḥmad al-Tijāni had predicted a particular *fayḍa* which would occur at a time of extreme difficulty and it would lead to many non-Tijanis accepting Tijaniyya beliefs. The prediction was that it was not long before it would occur, and many people would experience gnosis as a result of this *fayḍa*. Therefore, there was already an anticipation of the event, and when Niasse first put forward his claim to being the bringer of the *fayḍa* in his manual *Kāshif al-Ilbās*[89], it was not entirely unexpected. Niasse's *fayḍa,* however, did not immediately develop into a large movement. In Senegal, there was

[87] Paden 1973, 83.

[88] Seesemann 2011, 45.

[89] Seesemann 2011, 51.

widespread opposition to it, coming especially from Niasse's elder brother and other networks of the Tijani order.

While still a minor movement in Niasse's home country, the *fayda* did, however, find chance to grow elsewhere. In 1937, the Emir of Kano, Abdullahi Bayero (d. 1953) accepted Niasse's spiritual guidance during a meeting between the two in Mecca. The appointment of Niasse as "universal leader" of the Tijaniyya by Ahmad Skiraj, a leading Tijani scholar of the time in Morocco,[90] enhanced the profile of the *fayḍa* of Niasse. Seesemann believes that the gathering of followers of the *fayḍa* was due to its nature not so much as a political movement that was promoted and spread by people in power, but as a Sufi revival as predicted by Ahmad al-Tijani in the early 19th century.[91] In a similar vein, Brigaglia suggests that the acceptance by the leading scholars of Kano and the transmission of the belief in Niasse's *fayḍa* through their scholarly and trade networks, was more important than the affiliation of the Kano Emir, as it was the former, and not the latter, that allowed it to spread through Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, Chad and Cameroon.[92]

2.5 Networks of *Fayḍa* scholars in Northern Nigeria

A tight network of Tijani scholars had already grown in northern Nigerian prior to the declaration of Niasse's *fayḍa*. This network was centred around the figure of Muḥammad Salga (d. 1939) in Kano, who was a teacher of law and Sufism.[93] His pupils came from across Hausaland and Bornu, and he became the centre of Tijaniyya practice in Kano.[94] The network of Salga also nurtured close links to international scholars. A Tijani scholar from the

[90] Seesemann 2011, 174.

[91] Seesemann 2011, 177.

[92] Brigaglia 2009, 337.

[93] Paden 1973, 87.

[94] Paden 1973, 87.

maghrib, Muhammad al-'Alami (d. 1969), visited Kano in 1923, and encouraged the building of the first Tijani *zawiya* in Kano, of which Salga became the imam.[95] Literacy in Arabic, knowledge of the great books of Tijaniyya and the miraculous elements of mysticism were all stressed by al-'Alami[96] and became focal points of the community.

This network of scholars became known as the *Salgawa.*[97] Although Salga had been trained in the *Madabawa* tradition (a parallel network of scholars based in the neighbourhood of Madabo, that specialized in Maliki jurisprudence but that had also taken on a Tijani affiliation), his disputes with the *Madabawa* over certain legal practices was at the root of the formation of the Salgawa as an independent scholarly network.[98] Salga soon united a number of Hausa and Kanuri scholars of Kano, including, among the best known, Abubakar Mijinyawa (d.1947), Umar Falke (d.1962), Shehu Maihula (d. 1988), Abubakar Atiƙu (1974), and Mudi Salga (d. 2014).[99] All of these scholars were part of the *jamā'at al fayḍa al-Tijaniyya* .

2.6 Cities of Learning

The literature that this thesis is concerned with, has been selected from a number of cities, mainly in northern Nigeria, but further south as well. All are known for their scholarly activities and presence of Tijaniyya. The history and milieu of these cities will be briefly discussed below in order to contextualise the literature.

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[95] Paden 1973, 89.

[96] Paden 1973, 88.

[97] Adam 2017, 141.

[98] Adam 2017, 147-148.

[99] Adam 2017, 152.

2.6.1 Kano

The current city of Kano and its social geography have developed from a long history since its establishment over a thousand years ago. The Islamisation of Kano had possibly begun in the eleventh century due to the influence of the Kanem-Bornu Empire. The empire of Kanem-Bornu dated back to the 6th or 7th century, and centred on Lake Chad. The 11th century had seen the first Muslim ruler of Kanem-Bornu, Mai Arki. Although Kanem-Bornu did not become a fully-fledged Muslim empire at this stage, the conversion of the first king indicates the Islamic influence in the region. By the 13th century, the political extent of this empire had grown beyond Lake Chad to include the Hausa city-states, and up to Fezzan in northern Sahara, becoming the first trading empire of the *bilād al sudan* (the "Land of the Blacks" of classical Arab historiographers, coinciding with the Sahel region) to be able to reach the shores of the Mediterranean.[100]

Evidence of early Islamisation can be gauged from the Kano Chronicle,[101] a local historical record in Arabic, on the establishment of Kano and its history. The Chronicle mentions the celebration of the two Eids[102] as an indication of Islamisation. In the latter part of the 15th century, three important events took place which had lasting effects on the Islamisation of Kano. The first was the reign of Muhammad Rumfa (d.1499). The second was the arrival of the *Wangarawa* traders and scholars from the Mali Empire (west of Hausaland). The third event was the legislation that was advised by the scholar, al-Maghili.

The word *Wangara* was used by the people of Kano to denote Mali. *Asl al-Wangariyin* is another local chronicle in Arabic, containing information on the *Wangarawa* traders. It suggests that the *Wangarawa* were on their way from Mali to reach Mecca for the

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[100] Loimeier, 2013, 67 – 8.

[101] Loimeier 2013, 92.

[102] Loimeier 2013, 92.

pilgrimage, when they decided to settle in Kano. Their party apparently included 3600 scholars.[103] A few decades later, another wave of scholars arrived in Kano from the Western Sudan (in this case, it was Fulani nomadic clans claiming *shurafā'* status), who were then followed by scholars from Borno.[104] In this way, a cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic (Malinké/Jakhanké; Fulani; Kanuri) network of Muslim scholarship was established in the predominantly Hausa city of Kano.

The arrival of the Algerian scholar, Muḥammad bin ʻAbd al-Karīm al-Maghili in Kano, resulted in Sarki (King) Muḥammad Rumfa asking him to write a constitution for Kano. Al-Maghili produced a text known as *Tāj al-Dīn fi ma yajib ʻalā al-Mulūk*. This document provided rules by which the king should govern, and covered subjects ranging from corruption, to what was permissible in clothing, to social policies that required implementation, as well as many other subjects.[105] Another important written work left by al-Maghili was *Wasiyya Jumla Mukhtaṣara.*[106] This related to legal matters concerning the regulation of a Muslim society (*shariʻah*). With this, Sarki Muhammad Rumfa was in a position to rule Kano as an Islamic state.

The 16th century saw Kano flourishing as a centre of trade and learning. The city, however, gradually began to decline after this period. By the time of the 18th century jihad of Usman Dan Fodio, Kano had lost some its prowess, and this weakness left Kano prone to be taken over by the Sokoto caliphate. After this event, Kano once again started to prosper, trading with the wider *bilād al sudan* as well as with the *bilād al-maghrib* and through the latter, with European markets. In addition, Islamic scholarship in Kano, as in the rest of

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[103] Kani 2010, 21.

[104] Kani 2010, 22.

[105] Adamu and Gwarzo 2010, 22.

[106] Adamu and Gwarzo 2010, 27.

Hausaland, flourished due to the impetus of the jihad, resulting in the production of a large amount of literature, including *'ajamī* literature (literature in indigenous language using the Arabic font; in this case, mainly Fulfulde and Hausa literature in Arabic script).

Kano's geographical location centralises it to other major scholar centres in the region, with Niger to its north, Bornu in the north-east, Bauchi in the south east, Zaria in the south west and Katsina to its west.[107] Kano has thus been the "pre-dominant urban site in the Western Central Sudan for several centuries."[108] John Paden also considers Kano as a "major centre of Islamic learning and reformism in Nigeria.[109]"

Figure 1: Map of cities in northern Nigeria

Kano has, in more recent times, witnessed a large-scale urbanisation in the 20th century, with its urban area increasing by 650%.[110] Many of the newcomers settled outside

[107] Paden 1973, 14.

[108] Paden 1973, 14.

[109] Paden 1973, 14.

[110] Paden 1973, 19.

the walls of the traditional city of Kano.[111] This expansion effected Kano's economy, bringing new trades to the city. Groundnuts, in particular, were an important part of the colonial economy of Kano, especially in that they encouraged urban-rural cooperation.[112] The thriving economy also allowed for the development of transport networks, although it has to be remembered that Kano had already been part of international trade for many centuries through caravan and older forms of transport.[113] A rail link allowed exports, while an international airport was established in 1935, which surpassed the air traffic through Lagos, then capital of colonial Nigeria.[114] An important feature of this airport is that it became a hub for Hajj pilgrims from Nigeria and the rest of West Africa, including Senegal.[115] A new road system connected Kano with cities (and scholarly centres) in the south of Nigeria, while French colonial policy caused the north-south caravan route between Kano and Tripoli to be replaced by a west-east route from Dakar to Khartoum.[116] This meant that the trading economy of Kano was re-oriented from the older trans-Saharan routes to new routes connected to the Atlantic maritime trade.

The demographics of the city itself is often manifest in the names of its historic wards. Ward names, in fact, reflect immigrant groups, royalty, occupations, famous local people, city gates and other descriptive names,[117] indicating the cultural and ethnic diversity of the city.[118] Examples of ward names include the Madabo ward, founded by the *Wangarawa* and where Muḥammad Salga originally studied. The word *Madabo* is based on the Malinké term

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[111] Ahmad 1999, 294.

[112] Paden 1973, 27.

[113] Loimeier 2013, 12.

[114] Paden 1973, 28.

[115] Paden 1973, 29.

[116] Paden 1973, 29.

[117] Ahmad 1999, 296-305.

[118] Ahmad 1999, 306.

modibbo (from Ar. *mu'addib*), meaning a learned person[119]. Wards named after immigrant communities show the great diversity of the city, differentiating between Fulani and Hausa, and indicating immigration of Arabs as well as Africans from surrounding areas.[120] The belief that "the emir is the shadow of God,"[121] most likely influenced people's faith in Kano. Today, 98% of Kano is Muslim by religious affiliation.[122]

During the last centuries, the Muslim population of Kano was, as the rest of West Africa, mainly Sufi orientated, starting off as Qadiriyya before Tijaniyya became popular, but in modern times, part of the population is very much influenced by Wahhabi or Salafi ideas. This is mainly the result of the campaigns of Abū Bakr Gūmi (d. 1992), started in the late 1960s, against the Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya, that led to the development of a Salafi-oriented organisation called the *Yan Izala.*[123] After the formation of a Salafi camp, the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya in Kano joined forces to form a common organization named as *Fityān al-Islām.*[124]

A brief overview of the corpus of writings produced by the *fayḍa* scholars in Kano shows that the literary output of the Sokoto jihad did not remain an unrivalled peak in the literary history of Nigeria. Rather, Kano once again became a centre of literary output with the coming of the *fayḍa* of Ibrāhīm Niasse. This was particularly due to the establishment of the Salgawa school of thought, which accepted Niasse as the bringer of the fayḍa. The expansion of the Tijaniyya and literary output was centred on Kano but relevant to many

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[119] Ahmad 1999, 302.

[120] Ahmad 1999, 298.

[121] Paden 1973, 35.

[122] Paden 1973, 37.

[123] Loimeier 1997, 163.

[124] Loimeier 1997, 162.

other centres in northern Nigeria, as well as further south. The Salgawa scholars, mentioned previously, were key in this production and spread of Tijaniyya teachings.

2.6.2 Katsina, Zaria and Sokoto

These three cities, located in the north of Nigeria, have been important centres of learning in northern Nigeria. Sokoto is a fairly new city in comparison to the others, having been developed from a village by Shaykh Usman Dan Fodio in the early 19th century.[125] Katsina and Zaria, on the contrary, have existed for a number of centuries. All have strong links to Kano, and accommodate both Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya *ṭarīqas*. The political leadership of Katsina and Zaria has been Tijaniyya, while that of Sokoto remains, at least formally, Qadiriyya.

2.6.2.1 Katsina

The Islamic history of Katsina was boosted with the arrival of the *Wangarawa* traders, who sojourned in Katsina before arriving in Kano.[126] Some of the scholars, however, chose to remain in Katsina.[127] Katsina was already a part of existing trade routes by this time.[128] A second wave of scholars of Fulani origin, as well as scholars from Bornu, arrived during the 15th century, supplementing the *Wangarawa.*[129] Muhammadu Kurau (1445-1495) is thought to be the first Muslim ruler of Katsina,[130] and the history of Katsina very much mirrors that of Kano at this time, with al-Maghili spending time in Katsina as a teacher and possibly also as a judge.[131] It was during this 15th century that caravan routes to North Africa

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[125] Hunwick 1995, 56.

[126] Kani 2007, 24.

[127] Kani 2007, 24.

[128] Kani 2007, 24.

[129] Kani 2007, 25.

[130] Kani 2007, 24.

[131] Kani 2007, 26.

were secured, which allowed the transfer of knowledge through teachers and literature from North Africa, while contact with the Middle East was established as a result of Hajj journeys.[132]

Besides al-Maghili, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyuṭi (d. 1505), a prominent Egyptian Muslim scholar, was also connected with Katsina. His *Fatawa al-Tukrur* is a book that consists of verdicts passed concerning matters brought to his attention by scholars of the *bilād al-sūdān,* demonstrating his connection to the Muslim communities south of the Sahara.[133] There is evidence, for instance, of direct communication between al-Suyuṭi and the Emir of Katsina,[134] showing the interactions between Katsina and other parts of the Muslim world.

Katsina was considered a major centre of learning during the 17th and 18th centuries, until the jihad of Dan Fodio, which reduced the political independence of Katsina while at the same time reviving its intellectual tradition. Katsina, however, was never able to surpass Kano in importance after this, so it was the latter, rather than the former, that became a major centre, both academically and commercially, attracting the region's leading scholars.[135]

Despite this, a number of schools exist in Katsina from earlier times. Dan-Asabe lists at least ten major schools of Islamic learning that were established in Katsina before or during the 19th century.[136] He includes the schools of Yandoto in this list. Yandoto was located in southern Katsina, and is supposed to have originally led to the founding of Katsina.[137] Yandoto is also said to have housed one of only three "universities" in Africa (the

[132] Kani 2007, 25.

[133] Kani 2007, 27.

[134] Kani 2007, 28.

[135] Hunwick 1995, 353.

[136] Asabe 2007, 175.

[137] Albasu 2007, 184.

other two being located in Timbuktu and Cairo),[138] and Muhammadu Karau (the first Muslim Emir of Katsina) originated from Yandoto.[139]

In the early 1900s, Katsina had a Qadiri leadership, until the visit of Sharif Ujdūd to the area, during which he succeeded in converting the Emir to Tijaniyya. The ruling house of Katsina has then remained Tijaniyya to date.

2.6.2.2 Zaria

Zaria experienced the establishment of Islam at approximately the same time as Katsina and Kano. Zaria had been the capital city of the Hausa kingdom of Zazzau until the jihad of Dan Fodio, when, like Kano, Katsina and the rest of Hausaland, it became part of the Sokoto caliphate. After this, three dynasties were established in the city, the Mallawa, the Bornawa and a dynasty that had origins in Katsina.[140] These dynasties produced scholarly emirs, all of whom composed Arabic and Hausa literature.[141] Zaria has been especially renowned for the study of Arabic Literature and Grammar.[142] By the 19th century, it was a flourishing scholarly centre also hosting Tijani communities. Hunwick credits ‘Umar al-Wāli, a prominent scholar of Zaria, with the establishment of the Tijaniyya in Zaria[143] in the latter part of the 19th century, but Salisu Bala attributes the establishment of Tijaniyya in Zaria to Shittu ibn Abdul Rauf ibn Shaykh Muhammadu Madaro Kusfa,[144] whom Brigaglia considers as the progenitor of the first Tijānī poetry as well as a Tijānī propagandist. Several works by Shi’tu ibn ‘Abd al Ra‘uf are catalogued by Hunwick in ALA II, under the heading of Zaria.[145]

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[138] Albasu 2007, 182.

[139] Asabe 2007, 184.

[140] Hunwick 1995, 358.

[141] Hunwick 358.

[142] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 103.

[143] Hunwick 1995, 358.

[144] Bala 2011, 206.

[145] Hunwick 1995, 368.

Thus, Zaria had a longer history of Tijaniyya than any centre in Hausaland, and when the emirs of Kano and Katsina accepted Tijaniyya, it created an alliance of three major Tijānī centres of learning.

2.6.2.3 Sokoto (including Kebbi and Zamfara)

Sokoto began as a village that developed into the capital of the Sokoto empire. This happened during the jihad of Dan Fodio, and Hunwick gives the date of the foundation as 1809-10[146]. Dan Fodio's son, Muḥammad Bello, was appointed Emir, and hosted 'Umar Tāl for several years, as well as married his daughter to Tāl. As the son of Dan Fodio and with Sokoto being the centre of the Qadiriyya *ṭarīqa*, the friendship between Tāl and Bello raised eyebrows, with Tijanis claiming that Bello accepted the Tijaniyya way, while Qadiris refuted this claim. By the turn of the twentieth century, Sokoto was beginning to lose some of its standing as the capital of the Sokoto empire and as Qadiriyya centre, as a result of colonial take over, as well as the growth of Tijaniyya and the conversion of important Emirs to Tijaniyya (in Kano, Katsina and Zaria). At this time, the Tijaniyya were associated by the British and French colonial administrators with the revolutionary Mahdists of Sudan. Brigaglia, however, suggests these rumours may have been planted by the embattled Sokoto leadership, encouraging the French to curtail Tijānī activities and travel.[147] Brigaglia has also suggested that there were millenarian expectations in society of this time, and that the weakening of Sokoto's power served to influence these expectations.[148] However, Tijānī teachings in terms of the expectations of the *fayḍa*, gave a less overtly political content to such expectations, than what Mahdism had done in the preceding years. This expectation was thus actualised in the message of Ibrāhīm Niasse. However, Niasse only visited Kano during

[146] Hunwick 1995, 56.

[147] Brigaglia 2017, 113.

[148] Brigaglia 2017, 113.

his first trips to Nigeria. Concurrently, another famous Tijānī scholar, Sidi Benamor of Algeria,[149] went as far as visiting Gusau, geographically moving closer to Sokoto from Kano, Katsina and Zaria. Here, he not only took pledges of Tijani allegiance from the local population, but refused a meeting with the Sultan Abu Bakr III, who had invited him to Sokoto city.[150] Previous attempts of Tijānī propagation had already been curtailed by the leadership in Sokoto, and this action of Ben Amor resulted in the fierce reaction of the Sultan of Sokoto, who ordered the destruction of all Tijānī mosques.[151] This violent action prompted the reaction of the Tijanis in the form of poetry in condemnation of the Sultan and his actions, known as *hijā'* (invective poetry). A particular poem, composed by Abū Bakr Atīku, a leading scholar of Kano, who was linked to many of the *zawiyās* in Sokoto,[152] was in the form a supplication for the destruction of Sultan Abu Bakr III, and a number of copies were made, bearing a picture of Atīku standing with a spear. These were sent to Emirs in the region, and to the Sultan of Sokoto.[153] The Sultan of Sokoto asked the Emir of Kano, Abdullahi Bayero, who was a Tijānī, to arrest Atīku, but the Emir said it was not within his ability to arrest religious leaders.[154] This form of "literary militancy" by Atīku, and the support received from the Emir of Kano, showed the increasing strength of Tijaniyya. Sokoto remained of Qadiri affiliation, but its inability to combat the attack of Atīku from Kano meant that its religious and political power had been significantly diminished.

[149] Brigaglia 2017, 115.

[150] Brigaglia 2017, 116.

[151] Brigaglia 2017, 116.

[152] Brigaglia 2017, 130.

[153] Brigaglia 2017, 135.

[154] Brigaglia 2017, 135.

The development of Tijaniyya in Zamfara and Kebbi was similar to that of Sokoto in the first half of the 20th century, as both these towns were part of the Sokoto province under colonial rule.

2.6.3 Borno

Borno's Islamisation and scholarly tradition preceded the centres we have discussed earlier. Besides its scholarship, Bornu has been known for its calligraphy and hand written Qur'ans. By the mid-thirteenth century, a school was founded in Cairo, known as *Madrasat ibn Rashiq,*[155] which was intended for Kanemi students (Bornu had originally been a province of Kanem), indicating the early growth of the Bornuan scholarly networks. Moreover, a correspondence between the ruler of Bornu to a Mamluk Sultan in the late thirteenth century indicates the state of literacy[156] in Bornu at this early time. When Gazargamu in Bornu became a capital city in the fifteenth century, many more scholars were attracted to settle there.[157] Hunwick suggests that these scholars may have originated originally from modern day Libya, and that a local scholarly tradition was only established a century later.[158] By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the local scholarly tradition included Fulanis whose ancestors had emigrated from Mali around the beginning of the sixteenth century. These scholars traditionally visited other learning centres in the wider region (including Kano and Katsina, but also as far as Libya).[159] The literary output of these scholars included Arabic language, *fiqh*, and theology, as well as poetry composition of eulogy and other genres.[160] During his sojourn in Nigeria, 'Umar Tāl visited Bornu and initiated several Muslims into

[155] Hunwick 1995, 16.

[156] Hunwick 1995, 16.

[157] Hunwick 1995, 2.

[158] Hunwick 1995, 2.

[159] Hunwick 1995, 2.

[160] Hunwick 1995, 2.

Tijaniyya in 1831.[161] Notable Kano scholars of Bornu origin include Muḥammad Salga (d. 1939), Abū Bakr Mijinyawa (d. 1946), Aḥmad al-Tijānī bin ʻUthmān (d. 1970) and Sani Kafanga (d. 1989).

Yobe was originally a part of Bornu, but in present day Nigeria, it has been made into a separate state of the federation. Its history corresponds with that of Bornu up until this time. It was originally located in the southern part of Bornu and is populated by Kanuri and Fulani peoples.

Adamawa is similarly located to the south of Bornu, and had seen increased Islamisation as a result of Kanuri traders from Bornu in the nineteenth century.[162] Its Muslim population is mainly Fulani, and it is a centre of modern education, being the location of the American University of Nigeria. A province of the Sokoto caliphate was formed in Adamawa after a Fulani resident and teacher, Modibbo Adam, travelled to Sokoto to meet with Dan Fodio in order to gain his support.[163] Modibbo Adam did not have the support of the local authorities in what was to become Adamawa at first, but his subsequent victories garnered their support and a number of territories were conquered. After Modibbo Adam's death, his son came to power, and during his reign, several scholars, including Muḥammad Raji (an associate of ʻAbdullah Dan Fodio) migrated from Kebbi to Yola, capital of Adamawa, creating a scholarly atmosphere.[164] Raji wrote in both Arabic and Fulfulde, and was a Tijānī, resulting in the spread of Tijaniyya in Adamawa, in the mid nineteenth century. In the 20th century, the most dynamic Tijani scholarly network in Adamawa has been the one led by Modibbo Jaylani (d. 1986), who in his turn, was closely linked to Shaykh Atiku of Kano.

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[161] Hunwick 1995, 394.

[162] Hunwick 1995, 434.

[163] Hunwick 1995, 434.

[164] Hunwick 1995, 434.

2.6.4 Middle Belt

The Middle Belt includes a huge variety of small ethnic and linguistic groups, which in their history, often constituted independent political entities but many of which were subsumed under the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th century. Muslims do not constitute a clear demographic majority in most of the Middle Belt region. Nupeland, however, covering most of today's Niger State in the western Middle Belt, has an old Islamic tradition. Kinglists from the Nupe Kingdom of the sixteenth century indicate that all the kings had Muslim names,[165] suggesting that Islam had already been introduced to the area. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth century also saw Muslim immigration from Katsina and Bornu and gradual integration into wider regional scholarly networks. Nupe came under Fulani rule in the nineteenth century, after a period of political instability.[166] Shaykh Usman Dan Fodio had some students from Nupeland, who not only took learning back to Nupeland, but also contributed to Arabic literature further south in Yorubaland. Some Nupe scholars also established themselves in Zaria and Kano, such as one of the major Tijani authors from Zaria, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAlī al-Nufāwī. Many students from Nupeland travelled to study under him and then established themselves as torch-bearers of Tijaniyya on their return to Nupeland. The 1920s saw the establishment of a school by Muḥammad al-Turkumāmi in Bida.[167] By this time, the city of Bida was flourishing as a commercial and learning centre of Nupeland. Hunwick suggests however, that most literature produced by Nupe scholars was done in the diaspora rather than in Nupeland itself.[168] A number of writings from the Middle Belt are currently in the process of being added to the TijProj catalogue. As the process is under way,

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[165] Hunwick 1995, 434.

[166] Hunwick 1995, 485.

[167] .Hunwick 1995, 485.

[168] Hunwick 1995, 485.

I have opted for not including the authors from the Middle Belt and the writings they produced in my quantitative analysis in chapter 3.

2.6.5 Yorubaland

Yorubaland is located in south-west of modern Nigeria, and is populated by Yoruba people who also exist in Togo and Benin. At least 40% of ethnic Yorubas today are Muslims. Hunwick indicates that the local terms for Muslim in Yorubaland (*imale/ mollawa*, deriving from the term "Mali") suggest that the first contact of Yorubaland with Islam was with the *Wangarawa* traders.[169] There is evidence that a scholar of Katsina, Muḥammad bin Masāniḥ addressed a community of Muslims in *Yurūba* (Oyo empire) in the seventeenth century.[170] The Muslim communities in the area consisted of local converts as well as Kanuri and Hausa people, and slaves from Hausaland, Nupe and Bornu, that had become part of Oyo households since the nineteenth century.[171] These Muslim communities eventually led to the creation of the Ilorin Emirate, which became the most important Islamic political and cultural centre of Yorubaland. Local Tijānīs had contact with al-'Alamī during his visit to Nigeria, and later, most of them adopted Niasse's *fayḍa* Tijaniyya.

[169] Hunwick 1995, 439.

[170] Hunwick 1995, 439.

[171] Hunwick 1995, 439.

3 Analysis of Results

> "Virtually the entire corpus of twentieth-century Tijani literature from Nigeria has been produced by scholars associated with the *fayḍa* network."[172]

In this chapter, a quantitative analysis will first be conducted on the huge amount of information collected from TijProj, recorded in the Microsoft Access Database (see Introduction, 1.4). The database contains all authors and titles catalogued to date in TijProj, but as mentioned before, work is continuing and these numbers will increase as more literature is added. Although the premise of the dissertation is that Tijani contribution to Arabic literature is immense, the contribution of non-Tijani authors has been acknowledged by Brigaglia. This includes the contribution of the Qadiriya (under Nasiru Kabara (d. 1996)), as well as non-Sufi contributions. However, Brigaglia contends that the contribution of other groups could not match that of the Islamic scholars associated with the *fayḍa*.[173]

A number of methods were used to ascertain the impact of the *fayḍa* on Arabic literature in Nigeria. Firstly, a purely quantitative assessment was made of the literature to comprehend its volume. Secondly, an examination of the content of the materials, which had been categorised according to the genre and subject they fell under, was used to provide insight into what the authors chose to write, to derive trends in the society of the time. Thirdly, the geographic extent of the authors and works was considered to give an indication of how far the literary impact of the *fayḍa* carried. A small section on the material aspects of the collection ends the chapter.

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[172] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 105.

[173] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 110.

3.1 Overall Quantitative Analysis

The section on Tijani authors of Kano in ALA II (pp. 260 – 316) contains almost 50 authors and about 160 works. Chapter 8 covers non-Tijānī authors of Kano and is slightly shorter than Chapter 7, suggesting that writings in Kano outside the Tijani network for the time period were less than Tijani writings. TijProj adds almost 80 authors and over 650 works from Kano alone, and in total, almost 300 authors and 2000 works across (northern) Nigeria. These figures are set to increase as work continues on the project. This is a huge numerical contribution to the cataloguing of Arabic literature in Africa, and the fact that it stems only from a particular group of writers rather than being a general collection indicates the immense amount of authorship that has taken place, and which we continue to acknowledge.

In comparing TijProj materials to ALA II, it was found that only approximately a third of our database, had been originally recorded in ALA II. This means that almost two out of three entries had not been recorded by Hunwick, and can thus be considered as entirely new additions to the corpus of knowledge on traditional Arabic literature in Nigeria being recorded by academic works so far. This proportion was repeated in the area of Kano, where most of the literature surveyed in the TijProj originated. Other areas with large proportions of the literature (Borno and Yorubaland) reflected similar percentages of 60-70% of the literature not found in ALA II. Remaining areas showed even higher proportions of works not recorded in ALA II (although the percentage here refers to lower numbers, in absolute terms): for instance, almost all of the TijProj works originating from the region of Sokoto, Zamfara and Kebbi are not recorded in ALA II. The lowest percentage of unrecorded entries was in the region of Zaria, but even in this case, the addition to ALA II can be considered as very significant, with 55% of Zaria works surveyed in TijProj not recorded in ALA II.

Region	Total Number of Works in TijProj	Number of Works not recorded in ALA II	Percentage of works not recorded in ALA II
Kano	661	390	59%
Borno	473	332	70%
Yorubaland	224	135	60%
Yobe and Bauchi	140	105	75%
Zaria	128	71	55%
Sokoto, Zamfara, Kebbi	109	107	98%
Bida Kotangora Niger	99	85	85%
Katsina	49	38	77.5%

Figure 2: Distribution of works in TijProj by Region

Author-wise, the percentages of authors that are not recorded in ALA II are almost identical in each region to the percentages of works not recorded. The only large deviation occurs for Zaria, where 70% of authors are not recorded, while 55% of works are not recorded. This suggests that each author wrote a smaller number of works than average or perhaps, that some of the works produced by the Zaria authors was not recorded by the TijProj survey.

The figures given above strongly suggest that the volume of Tijani literature that has been produced as a result of the *fayḍa* is immense through quantitative analysis alone.

3.2 Classification of Genres

Brigaglia notes that the literature presented in the collection is entirely classical in style[174] and traditional in function and purpose.[175] He also suggests that the literature is reflective of the social life of an average Tijani *zawiya*, where there is a "regular succession of moments of study and devotion, both individual and communal."[176] The need for different types of literature to fulfil these purposes resulted in varied genres.

The books were categorised, in collaboration with my supervisor, according to the following genres, before further being divided into subjects. This classification into genres, and then further into subjects, was necessary for the analysis of data, and allowed for the creation of the database.

1. Poetry
2. Prose
3. Commentary
4. Rhymed Prose
5. Translation
6. Miscellaneous
7. Anthology

[174] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 105..

[175] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 105

[176] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 106.

3.2.1 Defining Genres

Shmuel Moreh, in his work “Poetry in Prose (*al-Shi'r Al-Manthūr*) in Modern Arabic Literature." [177] suggests that there are clear cut definitions of poetry and prose in Arabic language. Although prose may take some characteristics of poetry, Moreh contends that only the intention to write poetry and the presence of metre defines a composition as poetry. Moreh believes this is emphasised in that the Qur’an contains features that may be suggestive of poetry but denies it is poetry. The Qur’an has been a source for classical Arabic grammar as well as being a religious text, and this is the basis of its authority to dictate language constructs.

In our catalogue, similarly, we intend “genres” in terms of the formal stylistic rules adopted by an author.

Poetry is the largest genre of literature presented in this study. Poetry has always occupied a central place in Islamic and Sufi literature, so this is not surprising. The poetry presented includes all types of versified composition (*naẓm*), whether *qaṣida* (a musical poem), or *rajaz* (metred rhyme), amongst others.

Prose is non-metred composition, and is known as *nathr* in Arabic. An alternative meaning of the word *nathr* in Arabic is “scattered,” possibly indicating that the words in prose are not arranged specifically as found in poetry.

Rhymed Prose is known as *saj’* in Arabic. It does not have metre, but has rhyme and rhythm which excludes it from being purely prose. Although *saj‘* is the characteristic genre of sermons in the Islamic tradition, in our collection it is used prevalently for the invocations of

[177] Moreh 1968, 1.

blessings upon the Prophet Muhammed known as *Salawāt ʻalā al-Nabī*. The above three genres cover most of the literature in the project.

The term "Miscellaneous," in the identification of genres, has been used for texts that presented a mixture of more than one type of literary style (poetry, prose, and rhymed prose), and where there is no clear indication of one dominating the other.

Anthology has been considered as a specific genre, as the composition of an anthology is also, from our point of view, a matter of form more than content.

"Commentary," too (*sharh*) has been considered as a genre on its own. Although commentaries have most formal characteristics in common with prose works, in fact, of which they could be considered as a sub-set, they also obey to specific formal features (in terms of the way, for instance, the text is structured in an "original" and a *sharh*), and thus, they were considered as a genre of its own.

Translation, too, has been placed in a genre of its own, whether the text includes also the original or not. Most translations are from Arabic into Hausa or English.

3.2.2 Analysing the Genres

The first category (poetry) accounts for almost 60% of the works, while the second category (prose) accounts for a further 30%. Only small amounts of literature can be placed in the remaining categories, In two instances there is overlap, resulting in a work falling between two categories and labelled as such: the first is a poem with attached commentary in nine volumes from Borno, titled *Majmaʿ al-funūn* and authored by Ḥasan ʿalā Gashua; the second is a devotional collection that has a mix of prose and rhymed prose, titled *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn fī fāḍā'il al-ṣalāt ʻalā afḍal khalq Allāh ajmaʻīn* and authored by Uba Sufyān Al-Badawī B. Muḥammad Al-Awwal of Kano.

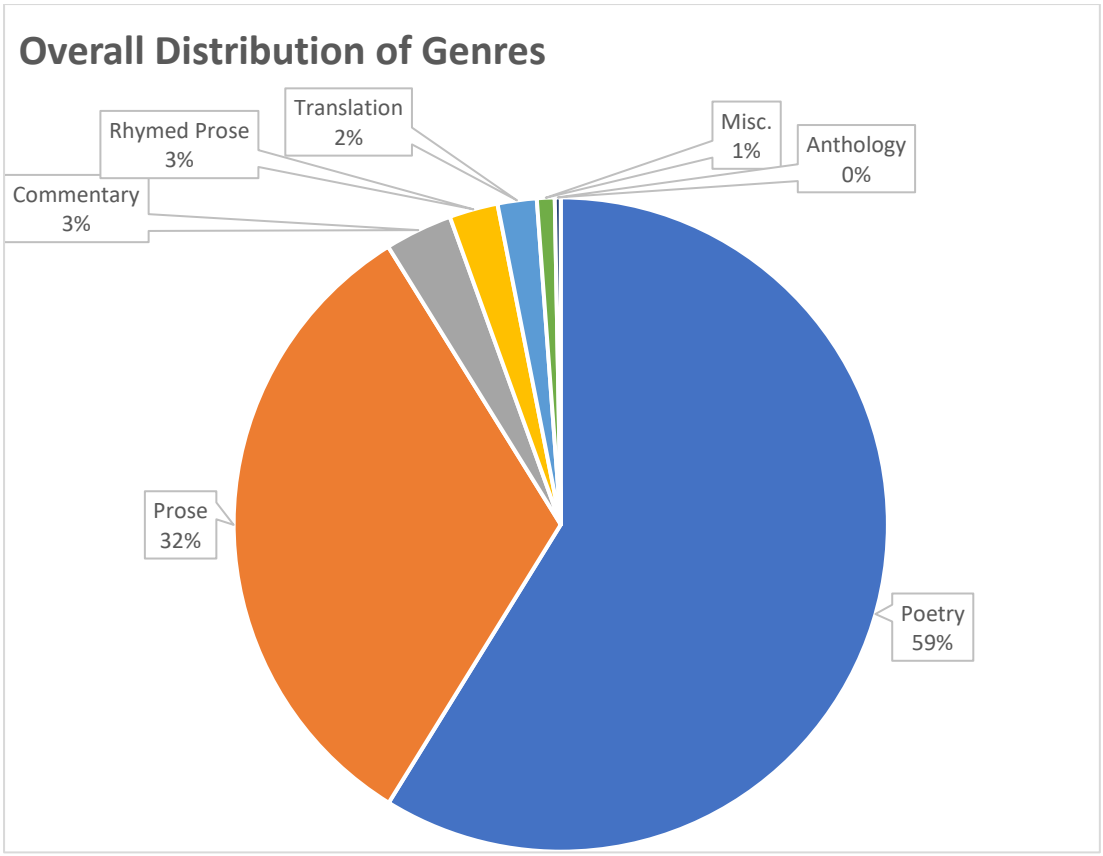


Figure 3: Overall Genre Distribution

While the distribution of genres is, on the whole, quite consistent in all the regions under study, a few general geographical trends can be observed. In Borno, for instance, the ratio of prose is much greater than the overall average, while in Sokoto, Zamfara and Kebbi, poetry takes a greater proportion. A possible explanation is the presence of Tijani scholars in Borno, such as Abū Bakr al-Miskīn and Sharīf Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, who wrote voluminous treatises in prose addressing the fields of *uṣūl* (theoretical foundations) of various Islamic disciplines.

Overall, translation constitutes a very small proportion, but quite a few sample are featured in Kano. One of the reasons is that, with the expansion of education in Hausa *boko* (Latin script) from the 1970s, Kano has seen an increase in demand for Hausa translations of the various fundamental texts of the classical curriculum. In Yorubaland, where people are more accustomed to the Latin script rather than Arabic script, translation (in Yoruba and/or English) also features, while in other areas it is negligible.

Other genres cover only a small proportion in all areas, although rhymed prose has an unusual proportion in Yobe and Bauchi, probably a reflection of the presence there of some authors who wrote a significant corpus of devotional works of *salawāt*, which are usually composed in rhymed prose.

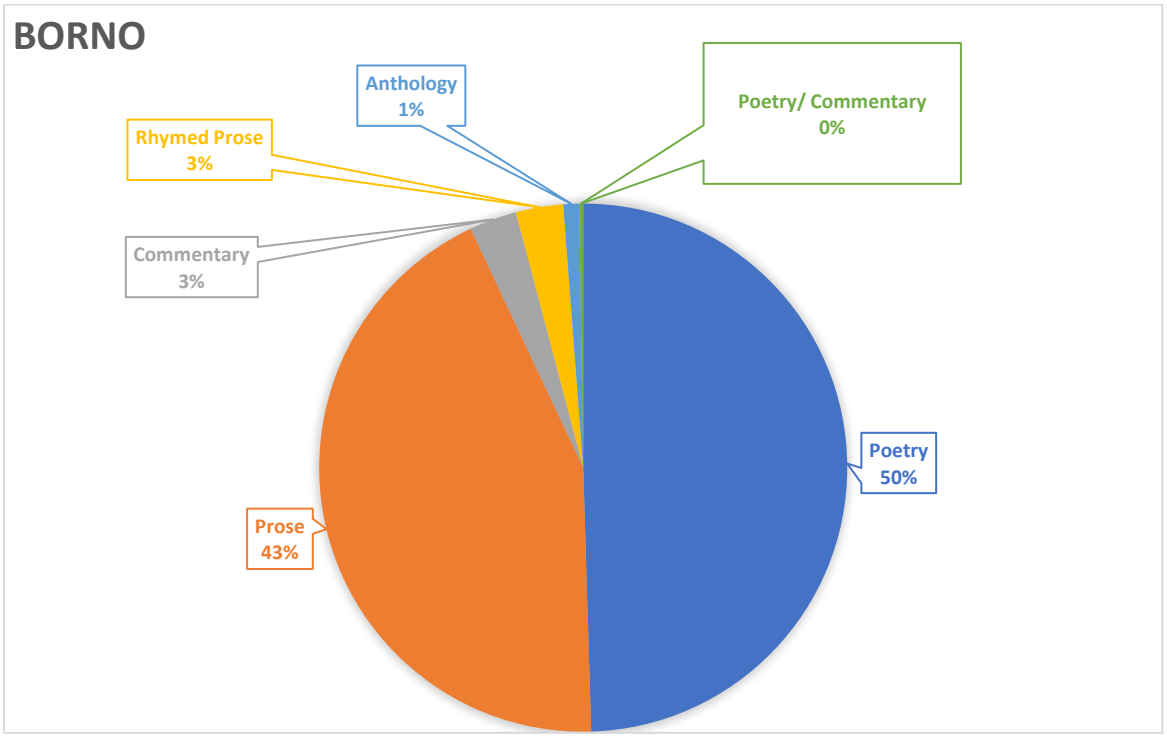


Figure 4: Genre Distribution in Borno.

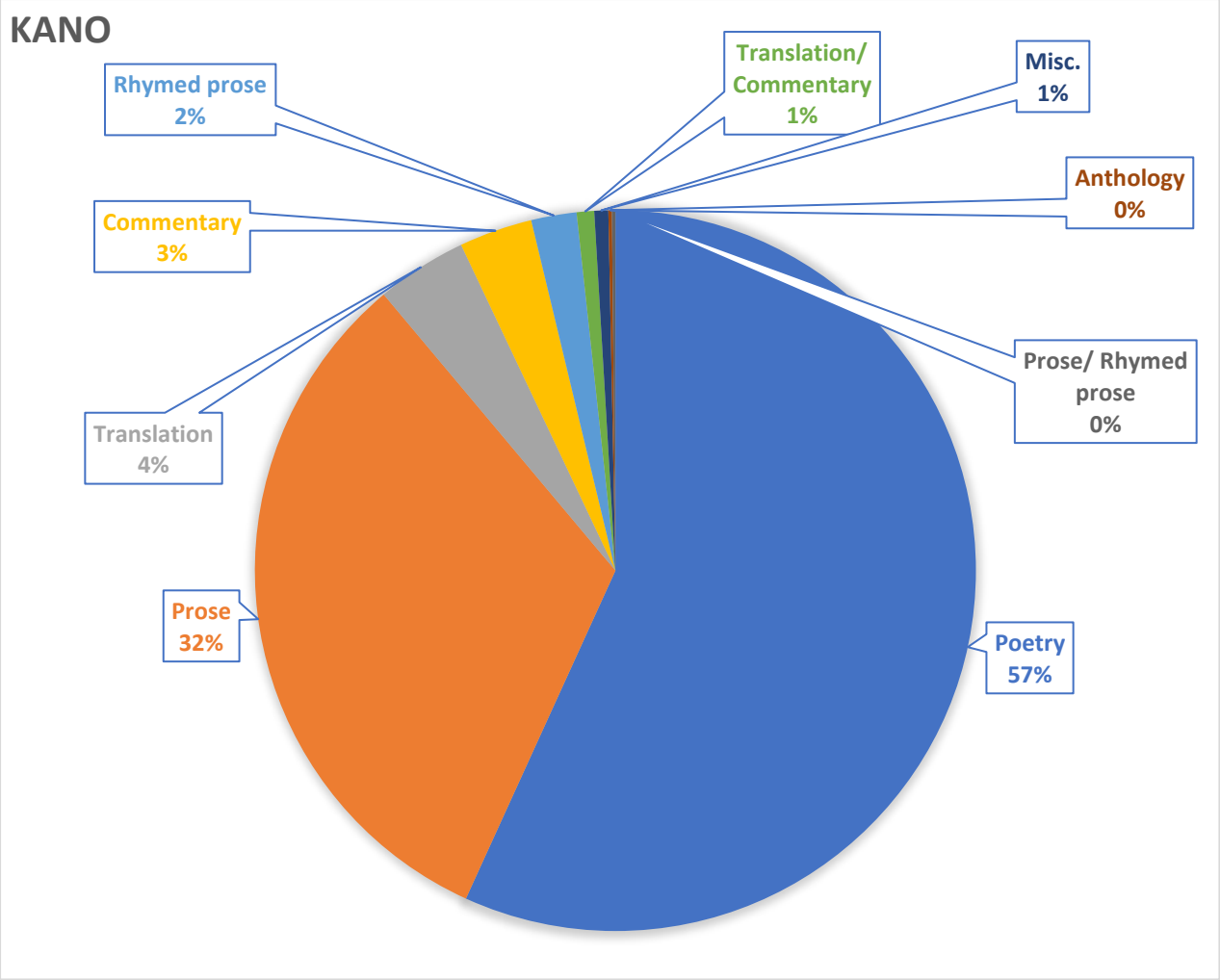


Figure 5: Genre Distribution in Kano

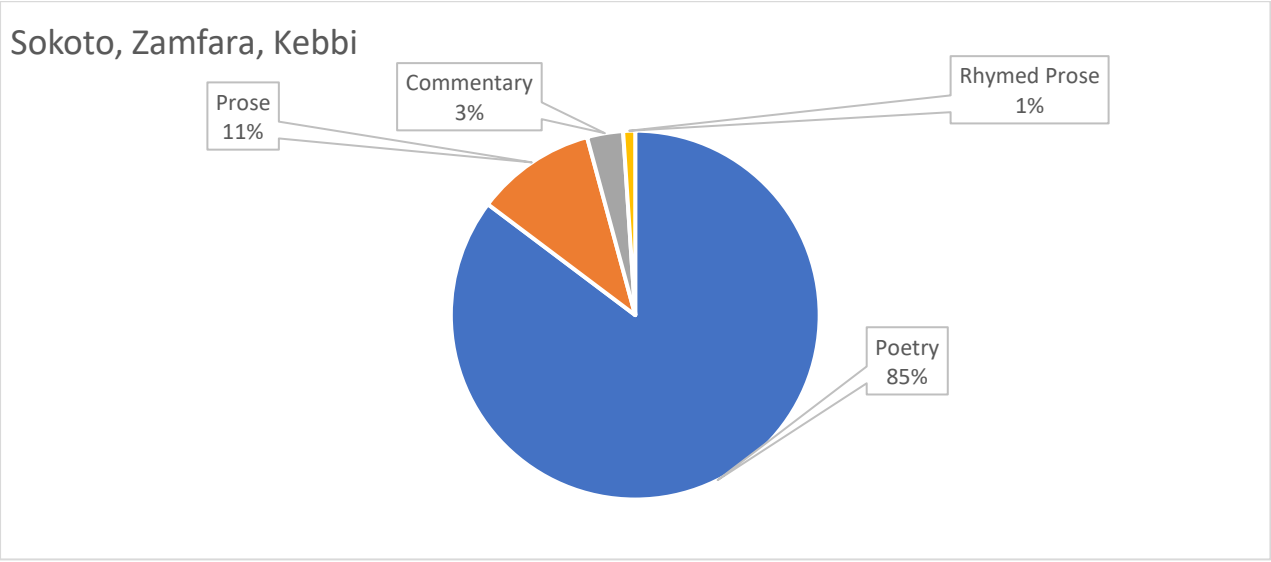


Figure 6: Genre Distribution in Sokoto (including Zamfara and Kebbi).

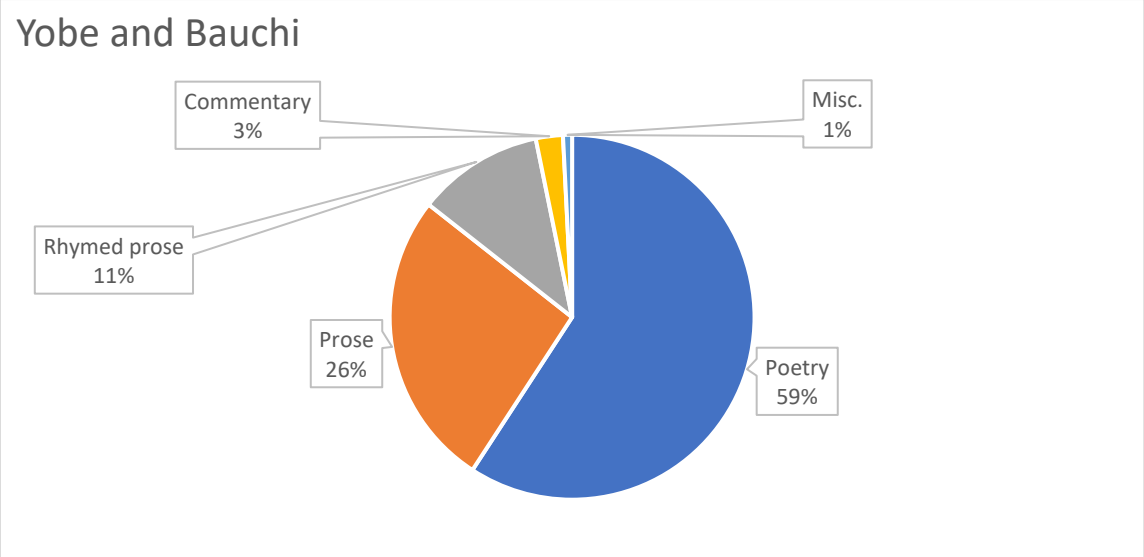


Figure 7: Genre Distribution in Yobe and Bauchi.

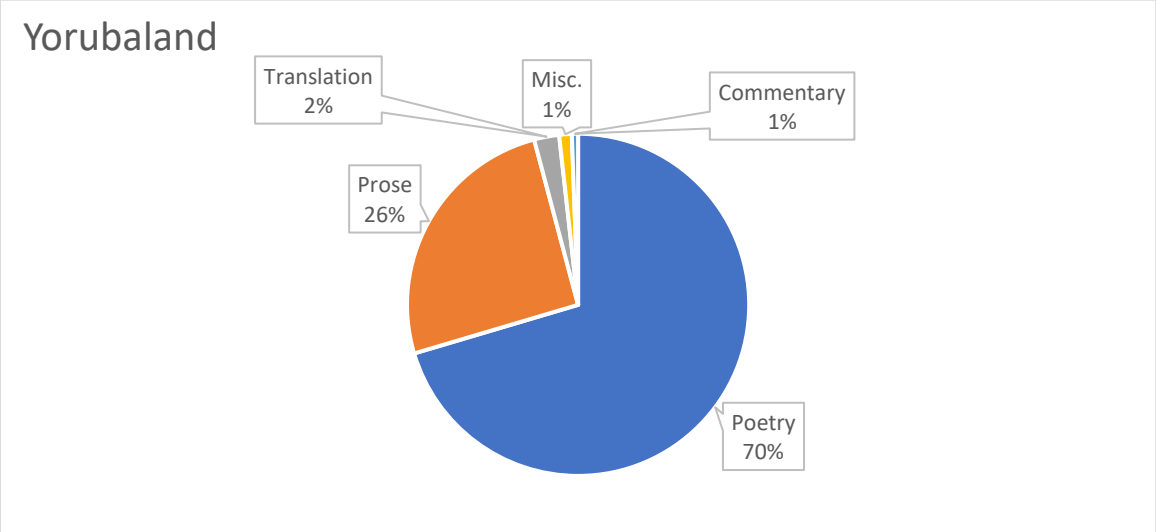


Figure 8: Genre Distribution in Yorubaland.

3.2.3 Poetry

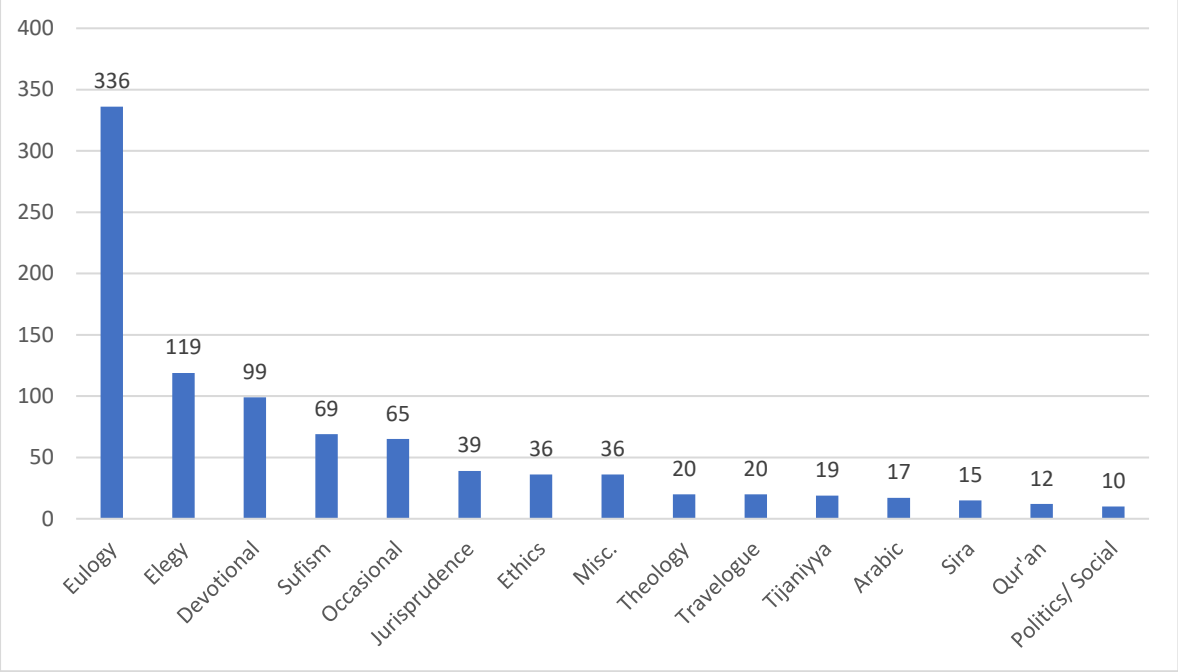


Figure 9: Subjects in Genre of Poetry

As I mentioned above, the biggest part of the collection belongs to the genre of poetry. The chart above indicates the most popular subjects within the genre. As can be discerned from the chart, eulogy is the most significant. Eulogy is a praise poem, also known as *madḥ* in Arabic. The object of the eulogies has been identified, so as to allow a quantitative assessment, through a "sub-subject." Most of the eulogy works thus appear to be in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, Aḥmad al-Tijānī or Ibrahim Niasse, or other significant role players in the community. These works are usually written for public recitations on special occasions, particularly on the birthdays of the Prophet Muhammad, Aḥmad al-Tijānī and Ibrahim Niasse, which easily explains the predominance of their names as the most prevalent "sub-subjects" for eulogy.[178] Where the "sub-subject" of the eulogy appears as Miscellaneous, this means the specific eulogy is dedicated to more than one person, and the eulogy of one person does not dominate over the other, meaning it cannot be categorised

[178] Brigaglia 2013-2014, 106.

under one name. The following chart plots the most popular subjects under eulogy, constituting together 70% of the total count of eulogy. The remaining 30% consists of eulogy for a number of individuals, but each individual is only the subject of less than 6 pieces of literature, so these categories were excluded for the sake of clarity.

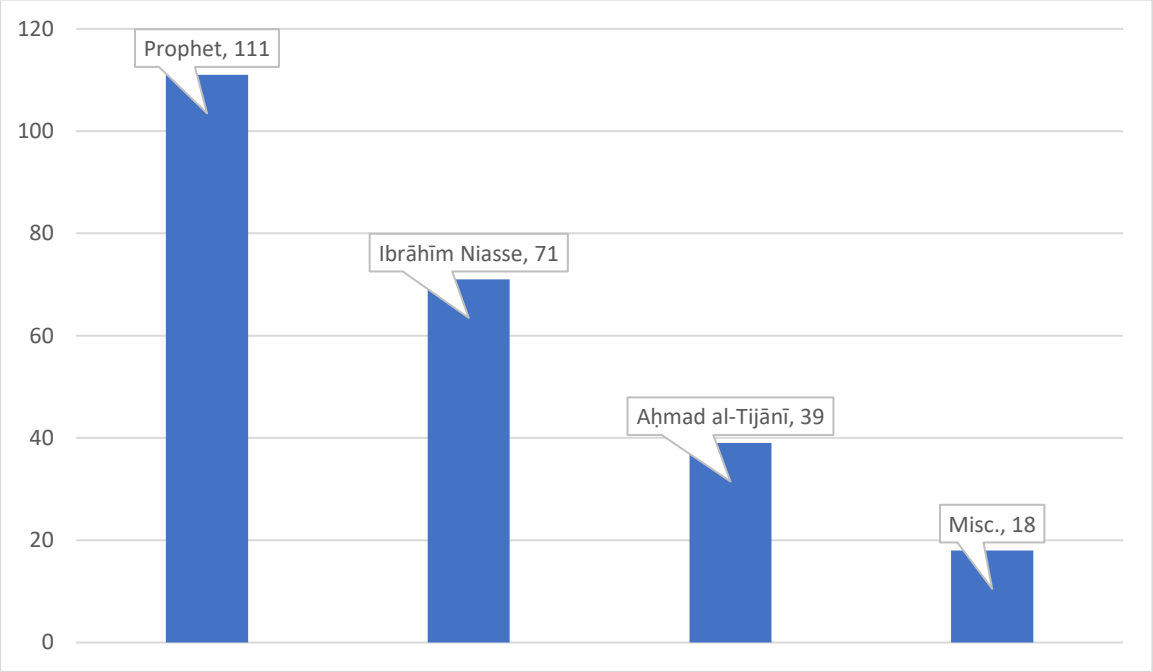


Figure 10: Topics in Eulogy

Elegies (in Arabic, *rithā'*) are also significant, as they provide us with important biographical information on the person who is being elegized. In this collection, they are the second most popular subject in poetry, although the proportion of work is significantly less than eulogy as can be observed from figure 8 above. Elegies have been written for a number of personalities within the Tijani community. Elegies differ from eulogies, in that eulogies are praise poems, while elegies are more sombre.

The subject "Devotional poetry" includes mostly invocations (*du'ā'*) and poems of intercession (*tawassul*), while remaining poetry ranges in subjects covering Sufism, jurisprudence (usually didactic) and many more. "Occasional poetry" has been used to identify poems written to mark a particular event, such the visit of an important figure, or to

express a commendation of the work of a peer scholar. Miscellaneous works have subject matter that does not slot into any of the other subjects listed under poetry.

3.3 Subjects and their Distribution

Within each genre, a number of subjects appear. Below, the criteria used to place literature in each subject grouping will be examined. The subjects are defined and listed from most common to least common, as reflected in Figure 10.

i. Eulogy: Eulogy is a praise poem, also known as *madḥ* in Arabic. These works are usually written for public recitations on special occasions, particularly on the birthdays of the Prophet Muhammad, Aḥmad al-Tijānī and Ibrahim Niasse

ii. Devotional: "Devotional" literature has been divided so that it falls under four sub-topics. These include *Mawlid*, Prophet, Intercession and Invocation. The first refers to texts specifically composed to be recited at celebrations of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. The second topic covers invocations of blessings on the Prophet Muhammad (*salawāt*), and consist of lyrical compositions (usually in *saj'* or rhymed prose) or poetry. Such compositions are a common part of Sufi literature and are commonly used by Tijani adepts for individual nightly devotions. The category "Intercession" consists of texts where the Prophet Muhammad, a Companion, Ahmad al-Tijani or a later Tijani figure is mentioned as a means of intercession in the acceptance of a prayer. The fourth topic, "Invocation," includes more generic samples of *du'ā'*, prayer or supplication addressed directly to God.

iii. Sufism: This subject heading refers to texts that deal with general topics in Sufism, either defending specific doctrines and practices of the Sufis or elaborating on mystical themes.

iv. Jurisprudence: Traditionally, this subject is known as *fiqh*. Although the texts are overwhelmingly Maliki due this being the most popular school of jurisprudence in West Africa, not all of them are didactic and derivative in nature: some, in fact, concern debates within the Maliki tradition.

v. Elegy: This includes lamentation for the death of a figure (usually in the Tijaniyya). Most elegies are written in the form of verse.

vi. Tijaniyya: Texts that are specifically devoted to Tijani practices and doctrines (either for didactic or apologetic purposes), as opposed to those labelled as "Sufism," which deal with generic Sufi themes.

vii. Ethics: It includes books on *adab* (etiquette), as well as poems of admonition (*wa'z*) and general ethics.

viii. Occasional: This subject has been divided into a number of sub-subjects:

a) Commendation

Known as *taqrīẓ* in Arabic, it is a short composition that commends the writing of another scholar.

b) Congratulation

Known as *tahni'ah* in Arabic, this is usually in the form a short poem meant at celebrating a special achievement or recurrence.

c) Welcome

This composition is also in the form of a short poem, recited to welcome a guest – usually a senior Tijani scholar.

d) Correspondence

This topic refers to letters exchanged between scholars and either published because of their importance, or preserved in the form of manuscript in a specific collection.

ix. Miscellaneous: Texts which were unable to be categorised under any of the above subject headings have been placed under this general heading. There are very few texts in this category, showing how, on the whole the Nigerian Tijani authors moved in a field defined by relatively structured thematic interests.

x. Arabic: Texts on language study, usually derived from the classical curriculum in the form of commentaries, abridgments etc.

xi. Theology: This subject consists of compositions that are all in prose, and serve a mainly didactic purpose. In all instances, these texts follow the Ash‘ari school.

xii. Hagiography: Central figures of the Tijaniyya feature in these works. There is obviously a degree of overlap between the subjects “Hagiography” and “Biography.” Our criterion has been to label as “hagiography” texts that focus on the miraculous and/or are meant for ritual or didactic use, and as “biography,” on the contrary, texts that provide important historical information on the life of a subject and are meant mainly for scholarly use.

xiii. Qur’an: This subject heading covers texts that deal with the traditional science of *tafsīr* (Qur’anic exegesis), as well as didactic texts on the recitation of the Qur’an. Most are in prose form.

xiv. History: This covers narratives about cities, king-lists, and genealogies. Traditional tales of the prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiya*) are also included in this category, but identified as a separate sub-subject.

xv. Sira: This refers to texts (usually derivative and didactic in nature) dealing with the biography of the Prophet Muhammad.

xvi. Travelogue: Accounts of trips made for ritual obligations such as the Haj pilgrimage, as well as visits to Kaolack in Senegal, fall under this subject.

xvii. Hadith: The few works that are found under this subject heading are derivative, as they consist of compilations of selected hadith from other works. A few, however, consist in theoretical pieces that critically debate the positions of those who reject the corpus of hadith as a source of Islamic law (*al-Qur'āniyyūn*).

xviii. Biography: traditional Arabic form of biography (*tarjama*), usually with laudative intent, as well as some works in a more modern style.

xix. Esoteric: This subject covers compositions on talismans and gematrix, amongst other esoteric topics.

xx. Politics/ Social: These writings reflect on current events of social or political nature in the community.

xxi. Autobiography: A narrative account of the author's life. Included in this subject are lists of *Silsila-s* (chains of transmission that link a person to an authoritative figure, for example, the chain linking a devotee to his Sufi shaykh; or the chain linking a scholar to his teachers in fields like jurisprudence or Qur'anic studies).

xxii. Sermons: Literature written on various topics, used for sermons at the mosque at Friday prayer gatherings.

xxiii. Invective: These are usually poems that are provocative composition that may ridicule an adversary (of the Tijaniyya) or take the form of prayer against an enemy.

xxiv. Sciences: A few instances of writings on natural sciences or astronomy.

xxv. Logic: Known as *manṭiq* in Arabic, a few works have been written on the topic of logic.

xxvi. Aphorisms: Short statements that are termed "*hikam*" in Arabic, concerning Sufism, ethics or philosophy.

xxvii. Love: A love ode (*ghazal*), which is usually composed by the author for his wife. It is a very exceptional subject in this corpus, and although the number is not significant, it is because of its unusual nature that I have decide to identify the few entries that fall under it.

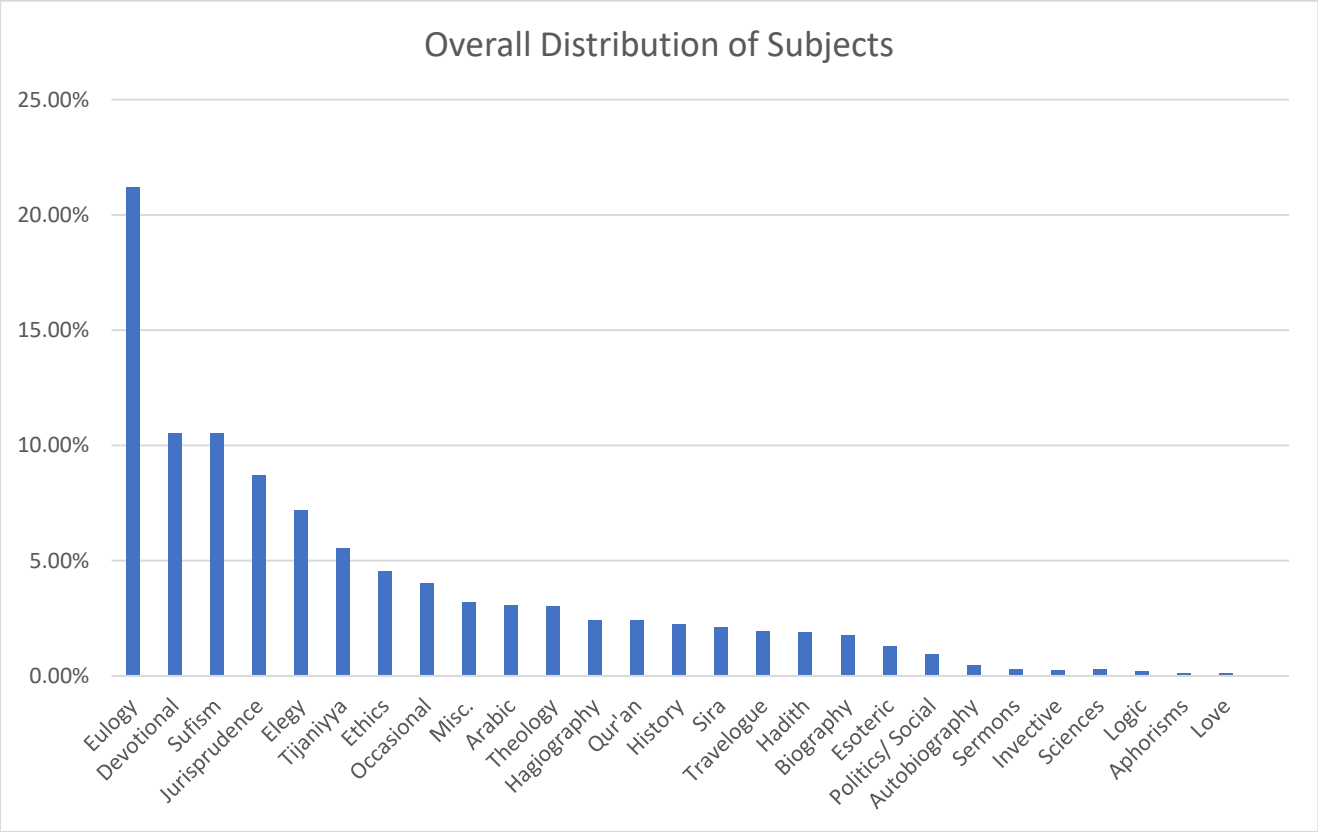


Figure 11: Overall Subject Distribution

3.3.1 Analysing the Subject distribution

Kano has greatly influenced the overall proportion of subject count because it has a greater amount of literature. Eulogy is the most common subject in all areas, and has already

been discussed in detail under Poetry (3.2.3). In Yobe, devotional material has a higher count than eulogy, and this can be attributed the presence of the author Muhammad Ghibrima in Yobe, who has composed a large amount of *Salawāt ʻalā al-Nabī,* tipping the scales towards the prominence of devotional material.

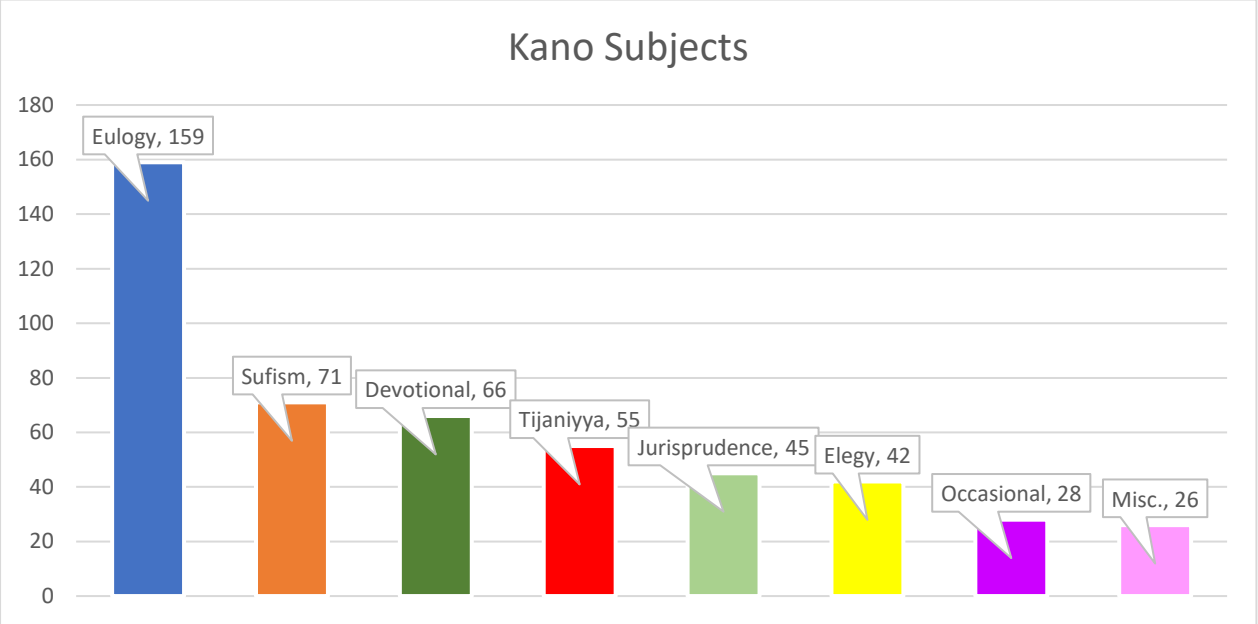


Figure 12: Distribution of Subjects in Kano

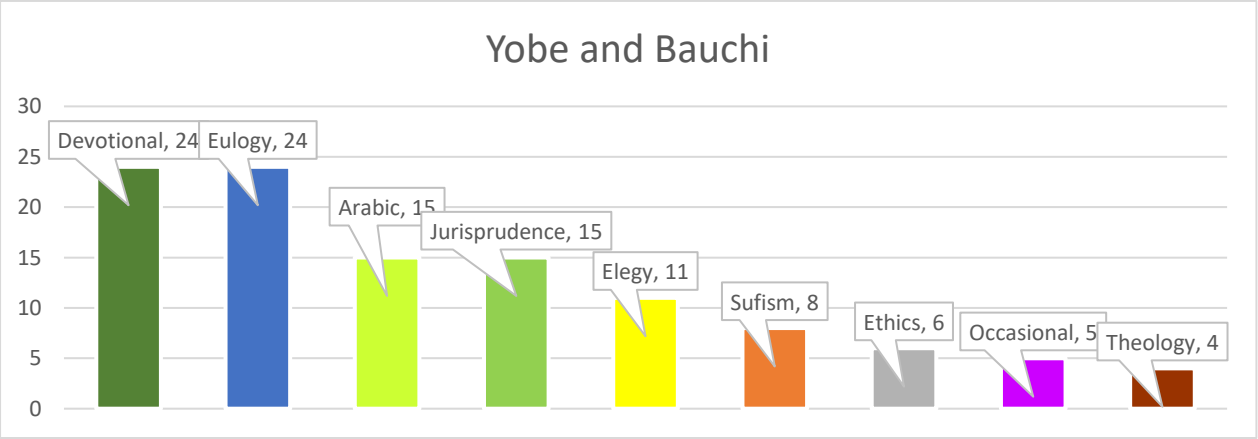


Figure 13: Subject distribution of Yobe and Bauchi

Eulogy, Sufism, devotional and jurisprudence works seem to take equal shares in Borno, while devotional and Sufism make it into to the top four subjects for Kano, Bida, Borno and Yorubaland. Jurisprudence features heavily in Borno, Katsina, Yobe and Zaria, while Arabic features in Zaria, Yobe and Sokoto. Zaria has been known for studies in Arabic

for a number of centuries, so it would follow that this a frequent subject in the area. Tijaniyya has good proportion in Kano while in other areas much smaller or not noted. This is probably due to it being *aṣīmat al fayḍa*, and the Salgawa scholars, who greatly contributed to the formation of the Tijani (and in particular, *jamā'at al fayḍa al-Tijaniyya*) corpus, also being centred in this city.

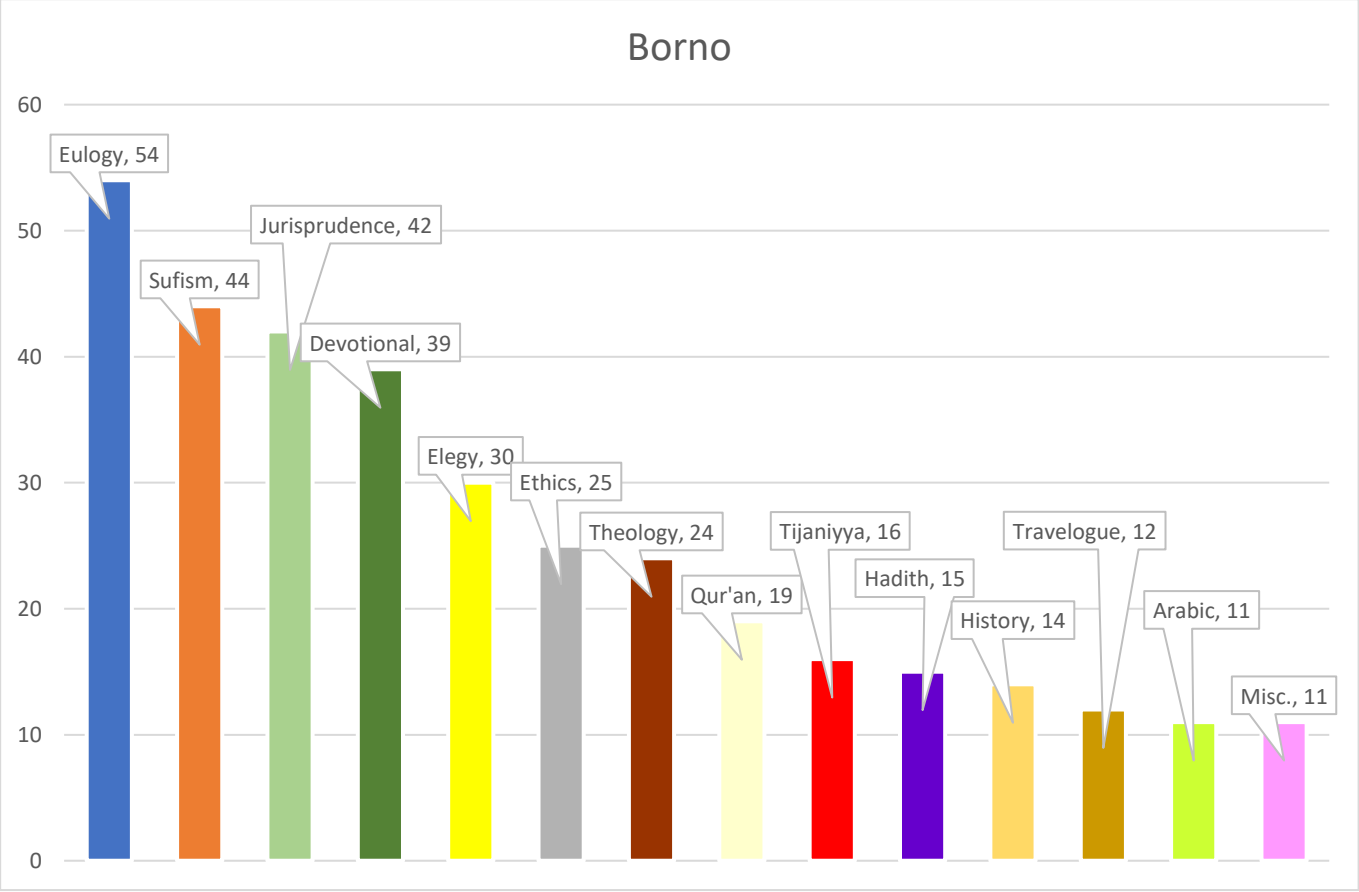


Figure 14: Subject Distribution in Borno

Qur'an and hadith studies present only small portions of literature, which could seem surprising considering their prominence in the derivation of Islamic rulings. It should be stressed, however, that Qur'anic studies, in the traditional curriculum, are considered as the most elite of the Islamic sciences, and a person can only aspire to write on the interpretation of the Qur'an once they have completed other studies. Moreover, although many senior Tijani scholars of Nigeria engaged in Qur'anic exegesis and in fact, animated a wholesome

revival of Tafsir studies, the local tradition encouraged them to engage in *oral*, as opposed to written, Tafsir in local languages.

As far as Hadith studies go, with the Maliki school of thought being dominant in West Africa, the text known as *Mudawwana* composed by Saḥnūn (d.854) in Tunisia, was a dominant text of study. This text was based on Imam Malik's *Muwatta*, and considered as the most reliable explanation of hadith. The other major Sunni collections of Hadith (Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Hanbal) were and are also regular object of study in the Nigerian *majālis* (Islamic study sessions) of the Tijaniyya as in those of other networks, but most likely, the Nigerian Tijanis felt that nothing needed to be added in this field out of respect for the established canon, and opted for a merely derivative engagement with this field of scholarship.

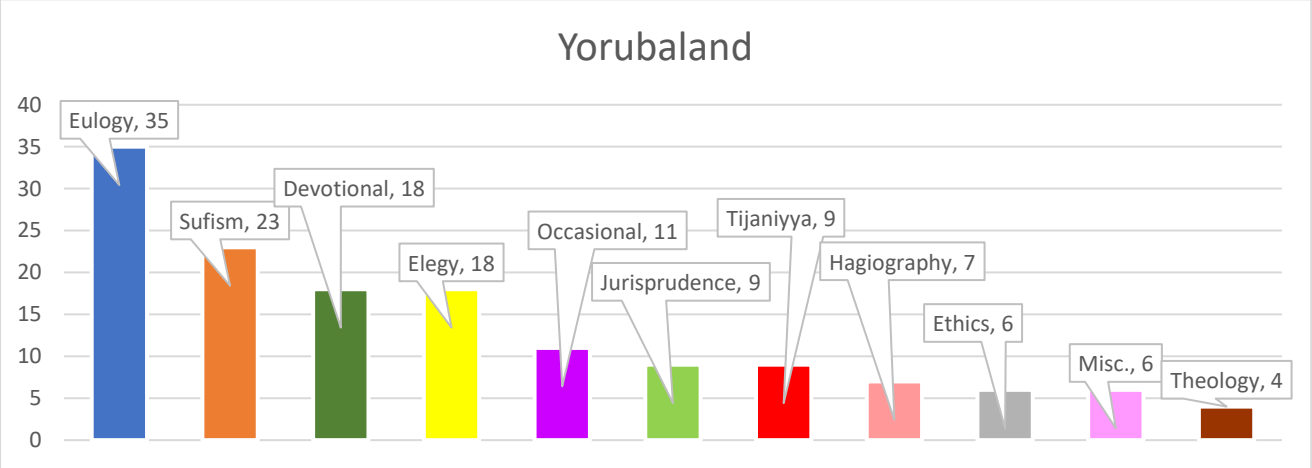


Figure 15: Subject Distribution in Yorubaland

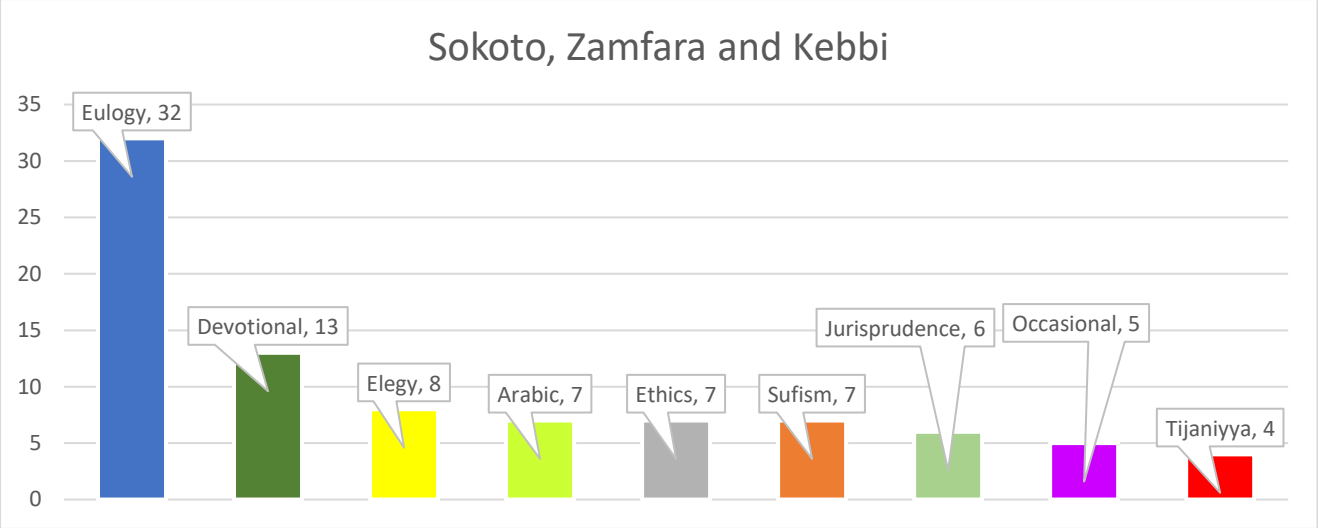


Figure 16: Subject distribution in Sokoto, Zamfara and Kebbi

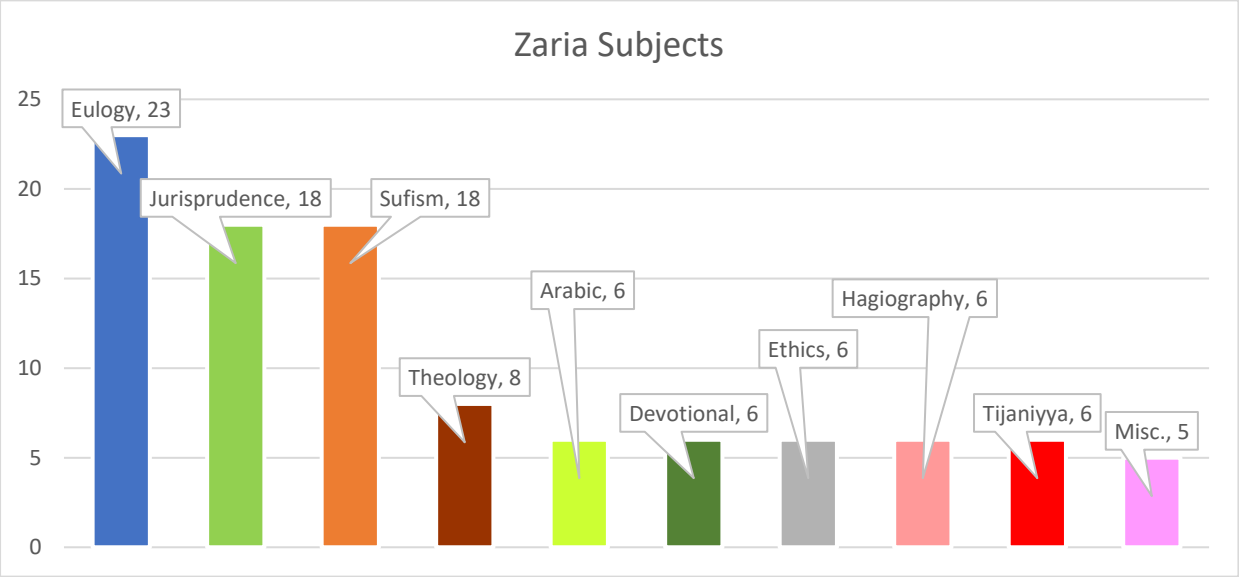


Figure 17: Subject Distribution in Zaria

An important section of the corpus is devoted to *radd* (polemical) literature. However, as *radd* can be used as a discursive strategy in a multiplicity of subjects that had already been identified as separate ones in my effort of cataloguing the corpus (Sufism, Tijaniyya, Hadith, jurisprudence), I have opted for using “Radd” as a sub-subject to any of the above, when relevant: as such, “Radd” is not represented in the charts above that document the frequency of the various subjects. A separate chart, however, is provided below, showing the measure to which the different subjects included a polemical dimension.

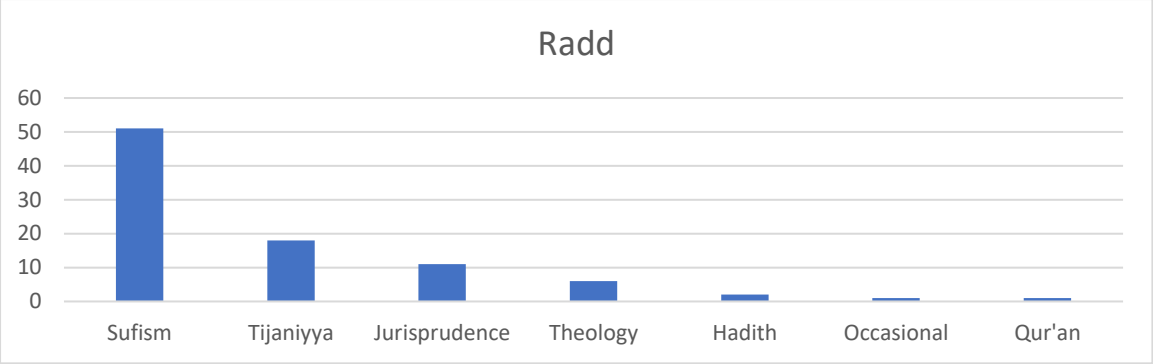


Figure 18: Radd Literature

Most Radd literature is in prose and is concerned with Sufism in general. This is certainly a consequence of the emergence, since the early 1970s, of Abubakar Gumi's Salafi-inspired critique of Sufism in Nigeria and, since 1978, of the emergence of Izala, a Gumi-inspired grassroot Islamic organization. Examples include responses to those who deny the practice of intercession (*tawassul*) or celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. More specific defences of the Tijaniyya are also common in Radd literature. This is the case of books responding to critiques of the Tijaniyya made by other Sufis (in particular, Qadiris), as well as polemical engagements with specific controversies that occurred *within* the Tijani community (for instance, about Ibrāhīm Niasse's claim to be the harbinger of the *Fayda*). Jurisprudential topics in Radd literature are mostly related to (a) the controversy between the two competing Tijani networks of the *Salgawa* and the *Madabawa* around the correct burial practices in the Maliki school; (b) the controversy around the correct position of the arms during ritual prayer, started when Ibrāhīm Niasse was first seen praying with his arms folded on his chest (*qabḍ*), as opposed to keeping them loose (*sadl*). Occasional theological Radd literature concerns specific matters of belief (usually defences of the Ash'ari creed from Salafi critiques), while Radd in Hadith usually addresses "Qur'anists" (*Qur'āniyyūn*) who do not believe in the necessity of including hadith as source material for Islamic rulings. The single piece of Radd literature categorised as "Occasional" is a direct response to a personal

correspondence, while the one classified under Qur'an is a response to criticism that had been levelled against Qur'an reciters in Nigeria.

The subject identified as "Devotional" covers an interesting array of works, that are available for use by Muslims on a regular day to day basis for spiritual devotion. The main division in this area of writing has been classified simply as "Prophet," and refers to writings on *salawāt* on the Prophet Muhammad. This type of material would be used on an individual devotional level, in contrast to those grouped under "*mawlid,*" which are for use in the public gatherings of celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. "Invocation" refers to writings in which God is directly called upon for in an array of prayers, while writings in "Intercession" are invocations that include the mediating authority of the Prophet Muhammad, Shaykh al-Tijani and other Shaykhs of the Tijani *tariqa.*

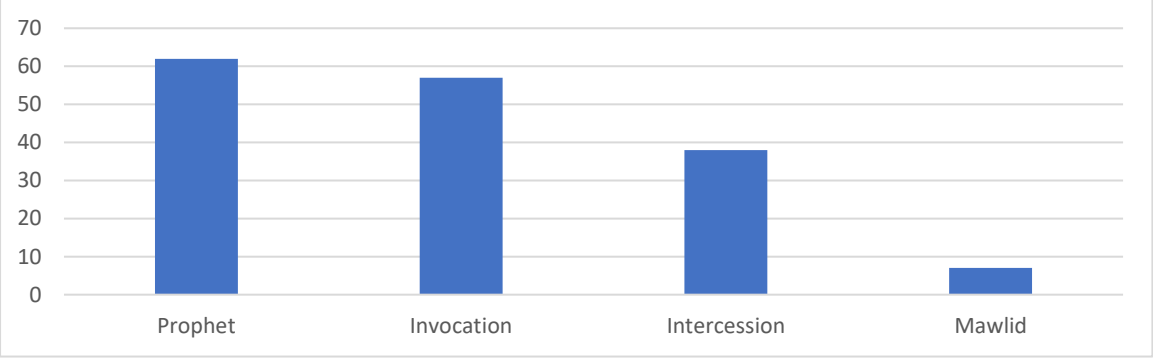


Figure 19: Topics in subject of Devotional

Writings under the subject of "Arabic" mainly concern grammar, with a few examples of prosody and rhetoric. However, there is a writing on proverbs as well as one on counting. Even though the available literature on Arabic language is limited, the mastery of Arabic that the scholars had is reflected in their other works.

3.4 The Geographic Extent of the *fayḍa*

As this dissertation concerns northern Nigeria in particular, we will consider the spread of the *fayḍa* in this region alone, although the literary effects of the *fayḍa* occurred beyond the borders of Nigeria.

The centre with the greatest amount of literature produced by scholars associated with the *fayḍa* in Nigeria is undoubtedly Kano. The number of works and authors of Kano have already been mentioned above, with reference to the fact that Hunwick chose to dedicate an entire chapter to the literature of Tijani scholars in Kano, which is already an indication of the high proportion of Tijani literature that originates from this region. Although Kano was not an early Tijani centre, it became, as was already stressed in this thesis, the *aṣimat al fayḍa*, and this designation is certainly reflected in the volume of Tijani authored literature it has produced.

The centre with the second highest amount of literature is Borno, followed by Yorubaland. The other centres present less than 150 works, with Katsina giving the lowest contribution of only 49 works.

Although this reflects a real demographic prevalence of Kano authors, the data presented in the chart below need to be taken with some caution: most of the researchers who contributed to the collection of this corpus, in fact, were based in Kano and only made short visits to other centres of Nigeria; more intensive research outside of Kano might, one day, balance the proportion to some extent.

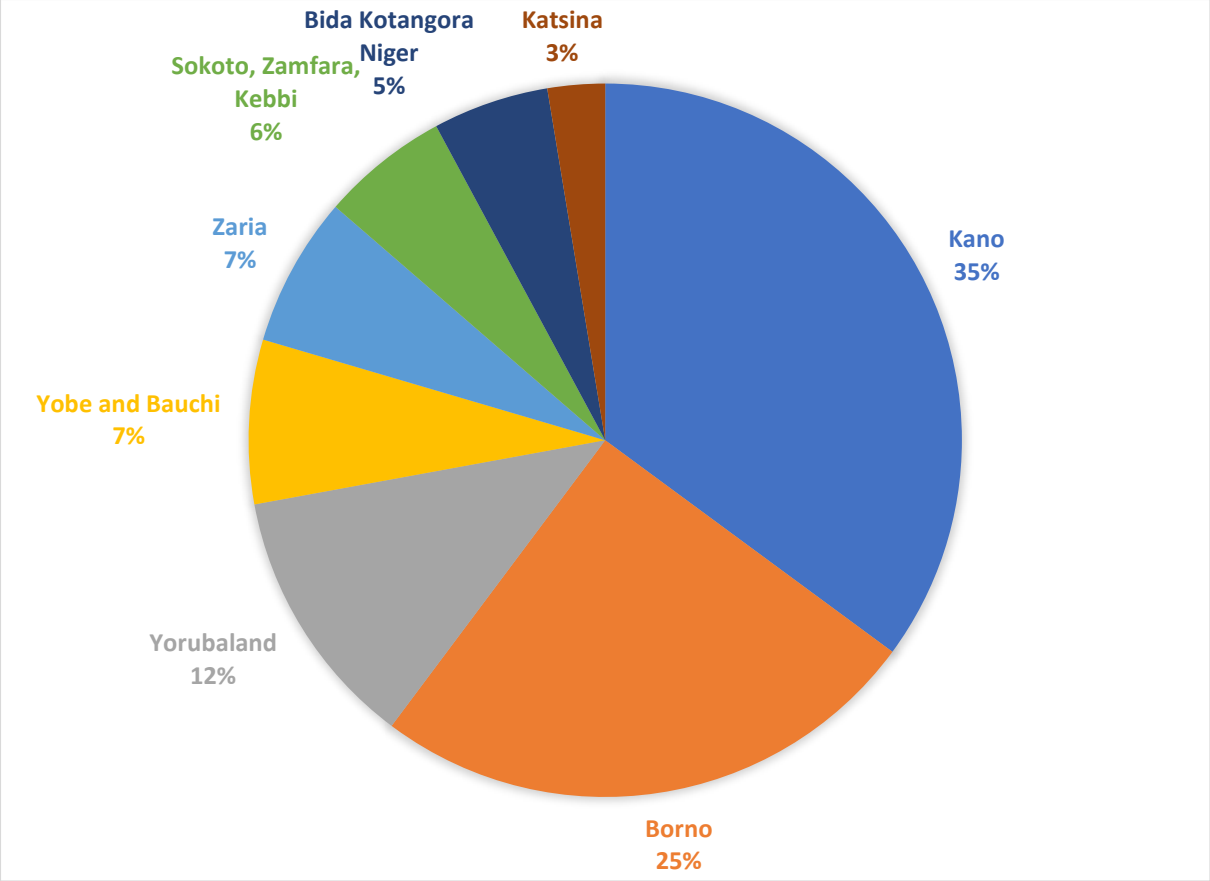


Figure 20: Number of Works in TijProj by Region

3.5 Physical Features of the Collection

The TijProj Collection consists of a range of literature, from traditional handwritten folios that have been lithographed and stapled for public distribution, to larger, machine printed and bound books. The type of publication of the literature has been recorded in the database as (i) lithographed or ME (Market Edition), or (ii) typed or printed. Those that are scripted by the author himself are indicated as autograph copies. This information has not been recorded for all works as the cataloguing is an ongoing process. Some names of scribes stand out for specific reasons. Muḥammad al-ʻĀshir b. Shuʿayb, for instance, is listed as an author, but he also acted as a scribe for works by major scholars like Abu Bakr ʻAṭīq and Sani Kafanga. Ibrāhīm b. ʻAbdallāh ʻUmar transcribed several of Sani Kafanga's works, as well as those of Muḥammad Ƙanī b. ʻAlī al-Ghusawī, amongst others. These are just some of the many scribes that have contributed to the writing of the literature. Below, some examples

of the types of publication and script are presented to allow the reader a holistic view of the physical collection.

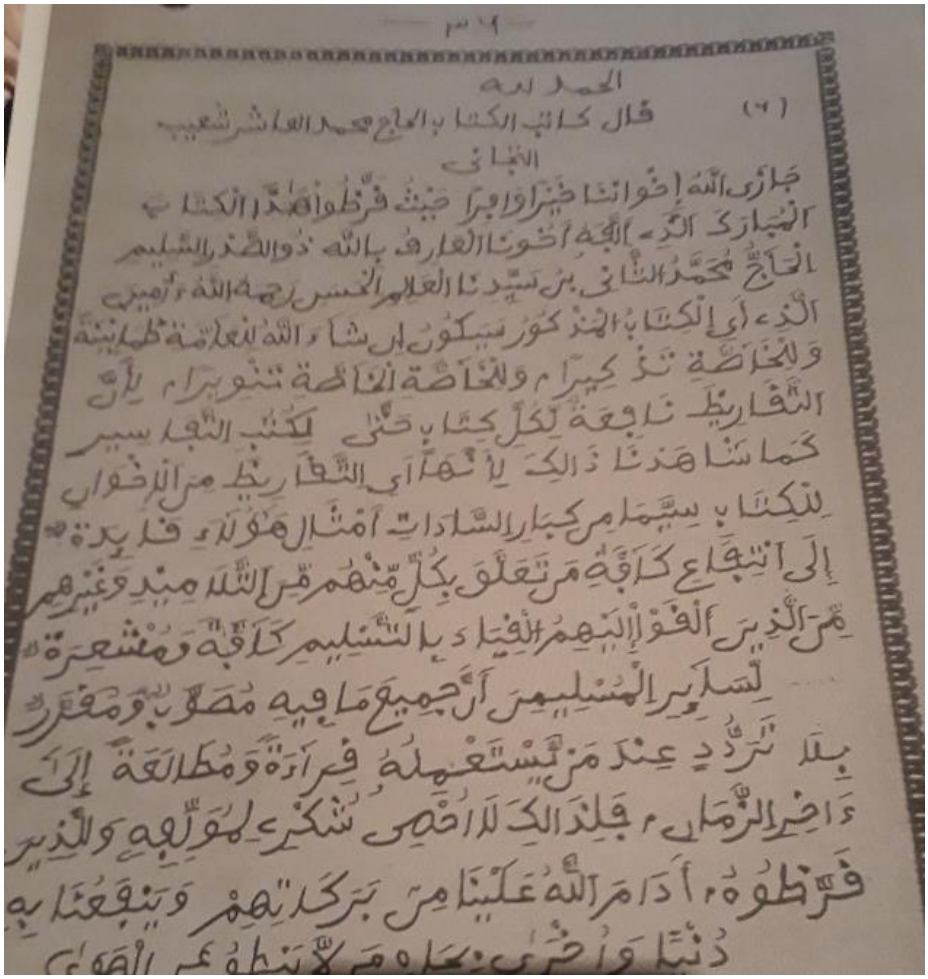


Figure 21: "Nayl al-Amāni fī karamāt Sayyid Aḥmad al-Tijānī"authored by Muḥammad al-Thānī b. al-Ḥasan Kafangi, scripted by Muḥammad al-'Āshir b. Shuʿayb.

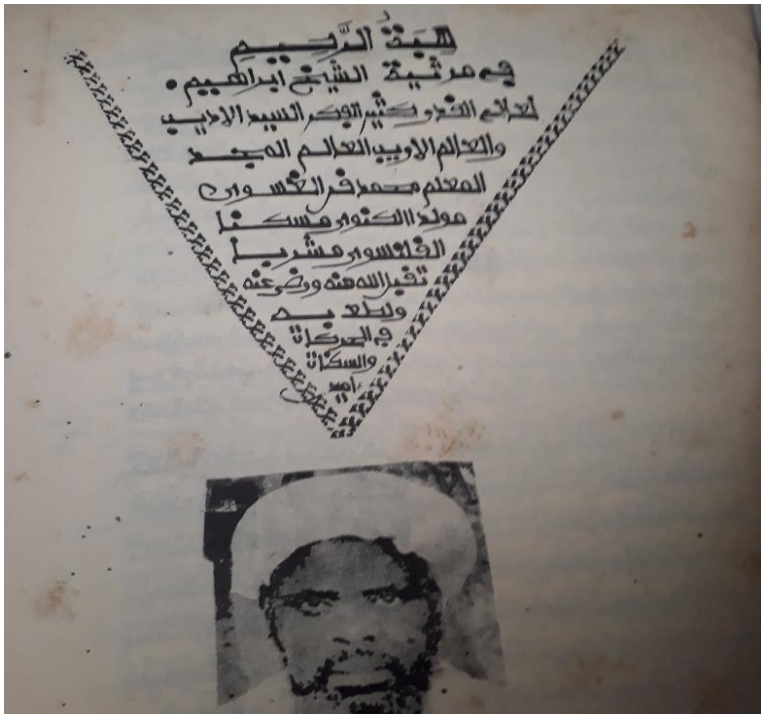
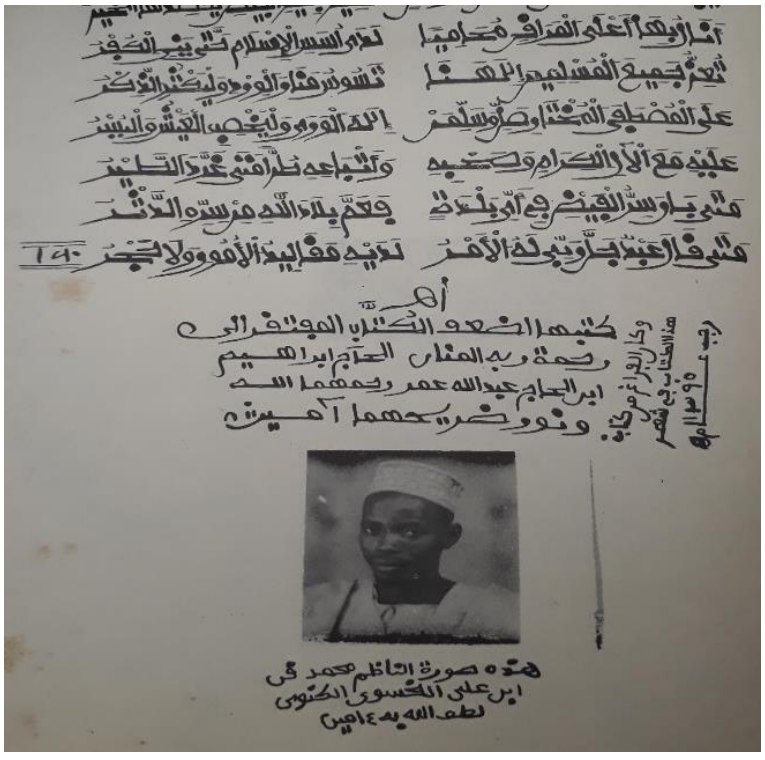


Figure 22: *"Hibat al-Raḥīm fī marthiyyat al-Shaykh Ibrahim"* authored by Muḥammad Ƙanī b. 'Alī al-Ghusawī, written by scribe Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh 'Umar.



4 The Arabic Literature of Africa Project

John Hunwick began his career as an Arabic student at the University of London (SOAS) in 1956.[179] He had already been introduced to Africa and Arabic through military service in Somalia,[180] and after he obtained his degree, he secured teaching positions. This eventually led to a post at the University of Ibadan, established in 1948 as the first university in Nigeria, where he progressed to chair the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies.[181] His academic career spanned several universities, until in 2000, he founded the Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa (ISITA)[182] through the Ford Foundation. This institute is based at Northwestern University (Illinois), which also hosts the Herskovits Library of African Studies. The Herskovits Library houses the largest collection of Arabic manuscripts from West Africa in the Western world, including the collections of Hunwick, Paden and Falke.[183] Besides the multi-volume *Arabic Literature of Africa,* about which we are mostly concerned here, Hunwick also authored several books and has been involved in the establishment of journals as well as contributing numerous articles to existing journals.[184]

The Arabic Literature of Africa project had its conception in the years that Hunwick spent at the University of Ibadan in the 1960s.[185] It was at this time that Hunwick was introduced to the Arabic literary tradition of Nigeria, and began to collect relevant data and information concerning the manuscripts, both from the texts themselves, as well as from

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[179] Stewart 2016, 1.

[180] Stewart 2016, 1.

[181] Stewart 2016, 1.

[182] Stewart 2016, 2.

[183] John Paden researched the Kano community intensely, leading to the publication of *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (University of California, 1974). Besides Paden's own collection, he was instrumental in bringing in the Falke collection to the library. Umar Falke was a Kano based *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* scholar.

[184] Shereikis 2015.

[185] Hunwick 2005.

student research (in the form of theses) that were available to him in Nigeria. The Centre of Arabic Documentation was set up in 1964 at the University of Ibadan.[186] Hunwick made several more visits to Nigeria after leaving his post at the University of Ibadan, in order to collect more information.[187] The project in its full form had probably not yet been envisaged, but its beginnings were certainly in place already at the time. Now employed by Northwestern University in the United States, which already hosted the West African manuscripts collected by John Paden and Mervyn Hiskett, Hunwick had a rich research material at his disposal.[188] He also built on work that had already been done by others:

> "I have been unable to examine personally every item recorded in the volume. I have had to rely heavily on lists and catalogues drawn up by others, though I have endeavoured to examine items which raised questions in my mind. Some uncertainties, however, remain."[189]

The lists and catalogues he refers to were accessed in a number of places. He mentions a number of sources of material in the Preface to ALA II.[190] Arewa House Centre of Documentation and Research in Kaduna is acknowledged to have provided him with vast resources, as is the National Archive in Kaduna, the Sokoto State History Bureau, the Centre for Trans Saharan studies (University of Maiduguri), the Kano State History Bureau, Bayero University in Kano, the Centre of Islamic Studies at Usmanu Dan Fodio University in Sokoto, and the Northern History Research Scheme at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria. In the same Preface, Hunwick indicates how his research allowed him to interact with persons who provided him with information and assistance beyond simply accessing manuscripts materials. Hunwick met with authors, scholars and their descendants or pupils, and also

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[186] Hunwick 2005.

[187] Hunwick 1995, xii.

[188] Hunwick 1995, xii.

[189] Hunwick 1995, xiii.

[190] Hunwick 1995, xiii.

booksellers, which allowed him first-hand access to the communities in which the literature was authored, or at least, an introduction to the history of the literature from within the community that had produced it. This collaboration gave Hunwick an advantage in procuring and understanding the Arabic literature he sought to document.

One of the first activities of the Centre of Arabic Documentation had been to place on microfilm Arabic manuscripts from Northern Nigeria, for cataloguing and analysis.[191] Hunwick proposed an extension of the project, to collect biographical information about the authors of these materials and all their writings, similar to what had been done by Carl Brockelmann (see the Introduction to this dissertation where Brockelmann's work is discussed).[192] Unfortunately, Brockelmann had not been able to include very much information on Africa, which was Hunwick's motivation in compiling his own compendium. The lack of knowledge regarding Arabic Manuscripts in Africa was widespread, even though collections did exist in Europe.

Hunwick continued to collect material over the next 25 years,[193] while introducing others and encouraging collaboration in the project. Volume One of ALA, concerning East Africa, is actually compiled by Professor O'Fahey, assisted by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, Albrecht Hofheinz, Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Bernd Radtke, and Knut Vikør.[194] It was published in 1994. Volume Two is concentrated on Central Sudanic Africa, a categorisation which is supposed to primarily refer to modern Nigeria but also includes Cameroon, Chad and Niger.[195] Professor Hunwick was assisted in this volume by Hamidu

[191] Hunwick 2005, 1.

[192] Hunwick 2005, 1.

[193] Hunwick 2005, 1.

[194] Hunwick 1993, 205.

[195] Hunwick 1995, xii.

Bobboyi, Roman Loimeier, Stefan Reichmuth and Muhammad Sani Umar. Volume Two was published in 1995. The volume is arranged chronologically, while also taking into account themes and regions. These themes involve the major Sufi *ṭarīqas*, and a chapter on authors who subscribed to the anti-*ṭarīqa* movement, mainly the Nigerian movement *Yan Izala,* aspired to the ideas of Salafi reformer Abū Bakr Gūmi. A chapter on King-Lists and other historical compilations is also included.

Authors and entries are placed alphabetically. This arrangement allows the data to be placed in their full historical context, in order to appreciate their subjects and meanings within a fuller picture. The alphabetical order is necessary for it to function as a reference work, so authors and titles can easily be found. Extensive indexes allow search by title, author, language and even the first line of *qaṣīda*. This last index makes it possible to distinguish poetry that may have the same or similar title.

Hunwick has stated that the information catalogued in ALA should include the following:

1. Fullest known names of author and if known, dates of birth and death (Islamic and Gregorian).
2. Sources from where material for the biography was obtained, and a biography which includes teachers and pupils, travels, religious and political offices held, and literary activities.
3. The works of the author should be numbered and include full title and variants, date of composition, subject matter, and if that work can be found in any standard reference. If there have been analyses or discussions of the work, these should be indicated, and the public collections the work appears in should be named. (Hunwick provides a list of sources of manuscripts at the end of ALA II which

> elaborate on the information provided for each title). Any publications of the work should be noted, as well as complete translations. If the work is only known due to its mention in another literary source, this source needs to be mentioned.[196]

A reviewer who has only been identified by the initials L.B., has given an overall positive review of ALA II, but suggests that Volume Two is arranged in a geographical rather than chronological order.[197] Chronology, geography and themes are interlinked by Hunwick, with chronology applied to both geography and themes, while alphabetical order is used within chapters or sections for ease of reference. L.B. makes the important observation that, in the section categorised by Hunwick as "polemical" literature, only certain authors or subjects may be polemical, but not all writings are.[198] Further, L.B. states that the volume should rather have been titled "Nigeria" as most of the works are from Nigeria with little from other parts of Central Sudan, and chapters on Southern Nigeria fall outside the definition of Central Sudan.[199] L.B. suggests that the work may have superseded the original intent of the collection, with the addition of non-Arabic literature.[200] Hunwick acknowledges that the work is far from done.[201]

Another reviewer, Harry T. Norris, calls the work a "landmark,"[202] and considers it of high standard. Norris suggests that some of the works that have been listed as originating in Niamey because the information about them was collected from an archive located there, were actually written in Mali and Mauritania, and suggests that they should reappear in

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[196] Hunwick 1993, 207.

[197] L.B. 1997, 309.

[198] L.B. 1997, 309.

[199] L.B. 1997, 309.

[200] L.B. 1997, 310.

[201] Hunwick 1993, xiv.

[202] Norris 1997, 234.

subsequent volumes which concern these areas. It's not clear which works in particular he is referring to, but Hunwick has catalogued a number of works that have a manuscript available in *Institut de Recherche en Sciences Humaines*, Niamey, and he indicates them by writing "Niamey" in the information under the title. These works may be stored there, but the author may, in fact, have been active in another region. It should be noted that classifying the writings strictly by region may be difficult as authors were mobile as were their works. They may have travelled as students, teachers or jihad leaders, and therefore the work will fall under the region where the author spent the most significant portion of his career. Further, manuscripts may be housed in collections away from their origin, and a glance at the information in Hunwick may lead one to believe the manuscript is from the area where the collection is housed. Identifying exactly which works he is referring to would allow for a clearer analysis of his criticism.

Norris also points out that some of the works listed are simply "pamphlets," and that they are from the Aïr region of the Nigerian Sahara. While they are significant to the local community, they are of little literary importance.[203] The length of the writings may seem irregular, but many were written prior to the ease of modern printing, and the writings may not be compiled as books in the sense that many people today would expect. That the writings were important to the community is, in fact, part of the story Hunwick wishes to tell, interweaving the history of the area with the writings produced. The writings were the physical form of thoughts and activities in the region that were put into a form that could be easily accessed beyond the time and geography. Norris further notes that some of the writings are fairly recent. Hunwick has not provided a time frame for his catalogue, and there were surges of literary activity in the geographical area that he is covering in this volume,

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[203] Norris 1997, 234.

including a fairly recent one caused, as we have seen, by the proclamation of the *fayḍa* of Ibrāhīm Niasse. It seems necessary to include this literature in the volume despite it being composed in more recent times (the twentieth century).

Hunwick's work is not simply an encyclopaedia. If this were the case, all the entries would be in alphabetical order, regardless of date and place of composition or publication. It is an enormous work which is a reflection of his passion for the area and the learning that took place, as well as the general history. As L.B. has stated in the review of Volume One and Two of African Literature in Africa,

> "These volumes are not comprised of a simple listing of known or attributed works by African Muslim writers; they include both biographical notices and bibliographic references organized in a manner designed to lay the groundwork for an intellectual history of Muslim Africa[204]."

The project began as one to record African Arabic literary output, as most African literature fit into this category. That local languages had to be included shows the richness of activity as many authors composed writings in more than one language and, ignoring local language output would be ignoring existing literature. The use of Arabic font for the composition of many local languages (*'ajamī*) is an innovative localisation of Islamic learning that Hunwick has been able to incorporate into his work. The use of Arabic font could show its relation to Arabic literature and justify its addition to the project. Literature produced at a later date in local languages did migrate to Roman text (known as *boko* in Hausa), particularly as a result of colonial policies which forbade the writing of local language in Arabic text. The ALA project has managed to incorporate many of these writings into its compendium of information.

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[204] L.B. 1997, 308.

ALA II has more than 600 pages of information. The time frame that it covers extends from al-Kanemi (d. 1211) to writers of the 20th century. The languages include Arabic, Hausa, Fulfulde, Yoruba and English/ French. ALA II describes different historic epochs, and divisions have been made in the presentation of the information to include the different Sufi trends that have shaped the society of Nigeria, and therefore their literature. The area that was initially proposed was defined as Central Sudanic Africa, with Sudanic referring to the *bilād al-sūdān*, as Africa beyond the Sahara was termed by the Arabs. Hunwick clarified this area to include modern Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, but most of the volume is concentrated on Nigeria. L.B. in his review suggests that Southern Nigeria should not be classified as Central Sudan; however, looking at the series as a whole may help us understand the title better.

Hunwick later made up for the shortfall on Niger in Volume Four of the series, titled "Writings of Western Sudanic Africa" where the regions under study are Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Niger, Ghana and parts of Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso. Volume Five of the Series is titled "The Writings of Mauritania and the Western Sahara". Volume One and Three are concerned with East Africa. This allows for Volume Two to concentrate on Nigeria. This was likely not Hunwick's intention, but as a result of his close association with Nigeria and the greater development of the field of manuscript studies in Nigeria, it resulted in Volume Two having more information on Nigeria.

Historically speaking, the areas of "Central Sudan" were connected by empires rather than the nationalistic boundaries set by the colonialists. The Songhai empire was an early empire that extended from Senegal in the west and covered areas of Mali and Niger, including Timbuktu. The Kanem-Bornu empire existed further East, connecting Northern Nigeria with Niger and Chad. The Sokoto empire, emerged later in the 19th century, stretched across Northern Nigeria, taking over the Hausa states, and saw the Fulani people become

integrated into society as leaders. Part of this area falls into what has also been referred to as the Voltaic Basin. In this regard, southern parts of Nigeria were not historically part of the same empires. For Hunwick, to group the literature of this area together is based on the known networks that existed between the regions, that allowed for exchange of scholarship. This same scholarship did filter down to southern parts of Nigeria, allowing the literature produced to also be included in Hunwick's work.

Within ALA II, the bulk of the chapters are concentrated on the Fodiawa and Sokoto. Two chapters concern Kano, and the remainder of the chapters are conglomerations of various centres of learning under one heading, until the final chapters, which concern the *Izala* movement, king lists and other historical records. If we compare this distribution of Hunwick's to the corpus (TijProj) that is the object of the present dissertation, we find some variance in that the TijProj has most materials from Kano. The scope of TijProj has been somewhat different than the work of Hunwick, although the cataloguing takes a similar form, and Hunwick has been used as reference. For this reason, a number of materials were discovered that could have been in ALA II, but were overlooked by Hunwick, most likely because ALA II sought to cover an immense amount of material, and as a result, some of it was left out.

TijProj is a much more concentrated effort in collecting literature in particular from Tijaniyya authors, focusing on a limited time frame, that of the literature revival caused by the *fayḍa* in the 20th century. These limits to an ideology and time frame allow deeper exploration, and have led to the discovery of several hundred texts, and almost 200 authors, in addition to those Hunwick had listed in ALA II. This does not in any way demean the work Hunwick has done, as his project was far more extensive regionally. TijProj could be regarded as an offshoot of Hunwick's project, as he had many times suggested that the work he was doing was vast and required more input. ALA remains a reference point for many

materials, and as ALA succeeded in providing "an intellectual history of Muslim Africa,"[205] so TijProj should document the intellectual history of the Tijaniyya *ṭarīqa* in Africa.

4.1 TijProj Facts and Figures

The Nigerian section of TijProj currently has a total of 187 authors and 1155 titles that have not been documented by ALA II. Work on the project is continuing. These authors and titles are featured in various areas of, mainly northern, Nigeria. If we include Yorubaland, another 25 authors can be added, and numerous titles. The geographical divisions that TijProj has followed differ somewhat from ALA II. The chapter divisions that Hunwick employs by region, are not duplicated in TijProj; each city has been treated individually. Sometimes the author is listed in ALA II, but a few of his works have been discovered that are not present in ALA II, and these have been indicated in the project. Other discrepancies may also be present, such as the area that an author is filed under may not correspond between ALA II and TijProj. This may be due to error, or because the author was active in more than one region.

Within this thesis, the word limit does not allow to reproduce a full list of all the authors and titles that do not appear in ALA II due to lack of space. As a result, a few authors will be mentioned within each region, and an idea of their work given. At the end of the chapter, two authors of significance to the Tijaniyya community (both from Kano), will be presented in detail as a sample of what exists in TijProj.

4.1.1 Kano

Kano has the largest number of Tijani authors and literature that are not documented in ALA II, with nearly eighty authors and three hundred and eighty-nine undocumented titles.

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[205] Hunwick 1995, ix.

The two chapters in ALA II on Kano (chapters 7 and 8) together, already contained information on almost a hundred authors, making it one of the biggest sections of the book. The addition of the eighty-two authors from TijProj, if added to ALA, would almost double the length of the section. Of further significance is that of the two chapters on Kano in ALA II, one deals with authors that were Emirs and Tijaniyya, and the other deals with Qadiriyya authors and unaffiliated authors. Both chapters contain a similar number of authors. TijProj, by adding to the Tijaniyya authors section only, further documents the size of the literary revival that the *Fayḍa Tijaniyya* represented in the history of Nigeria.

Some of the authors that have not been documented in ALA II have been quite prolific. For example, ʻAbd al-Wāḥid Muḥammad al-Naẓīfī (b.1966) has authored 46 works and is a prominent living Tijaniyya figure in Kano. His works will be listed with further detail later in this chapter. The vast majority of his works appear as poetry, with a range of subjects, and many of the publications were made fairly recently, in modern publishing houses. In his work, he addresses many scholarly subjects such as Arabic grammar, *Sīra* (history of the Prophet Muḥammad), *Ḥadīth*, Jurisprudence and Sufism, as well as providing Eulogy and Devotional works. His spiritual status is attested by the fact that when a devotee read one of his poems, *Nayl al-jadā fī madḥ miṣbāḥ al-hudā*, he was granted the vision of the Prophet Muḥammad in his dreams, something that the devotee had been striving for years. This anecdote is referred to in a note on the publication of the poem. This poem was composed by the author while he was still a teenager.

A second author of notice, whose works were not covered in ALA II, is Aḥmad al-Rifāʻī b. Abī Bakr, who has forty-seven works to his name and is still resident in Kano. Most of his works are also in poetry, and subjects vary. Although TijProj has accounted for forty-seven of his works, the author has actually provided, in one of his writings, a list of sixty-three works. The shortfall of sixteen works will need to researched and added to the catalogue

at a later date. Again, this number may have increased during the last years as the author is still living. Many of the works that have been catalogued in the TijProj collection are not physically present in the collection itself, but are available in the author's personal library. Several works concern recent events in the Tijaniyya community, such as the visits to Kano of Ibrāhīm Niasse's son, Aḥmad al-Tijāni Niasse. Occasional poetry was also composed for other events including the opening of a mosque. There are also travelogues, of the author's visits to Kaolack and Sokoto. This is in addition to scholarly works such as theology and Sufism, amongst many other subjects.

Tijaniyya scholarship has flourished greatly in Kano due to the influence of Kano as learning centre, its designation as *"aṣimat al-fayḍa"* (capital of the *fayḍa*), and the flourishing Salgawa scholars. However, this does not mean that other regions were devoid of Tijaniyya scholarship.

4.1.2 Borno

The next area that has a significant addition of authors and titles not documented in ALA II is Borno. Borno adds twenty-one authors and three hundred and thirty-two titles, with a range of subjects. Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maidugu Kiyari Wajimi Al-Miskīn Al-Barnāwī, one of the major figures of the Tijaniyya in Borno, does feature in ALA II, but many of his works do not. ALA II, in fact, lists only nine titles under his name, while TijProj adds another forty-two. One poem includes Kanuri language, in response to another scholar questioning whether the author could produce grammatical expressions in Kanuri from Arabic language, as Fulanis do. He also writes on other less common subjects such as aphorisms and calculations. The majority of his work is as poetry, and his most common subjects are Devotional and Sufi literature. Abū Bakr b. Abū Bakr b. Mūsā al- Fulānī (known as Abba Goni) has sixteen works attributed to him in ALA II. TijProj has managed to add another five. Another author, Muḥammad Tukur b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad Baga has authored

thirty-eight works but does not feature in ALA II. Born in 1962, he studied in Kano, Zaria and Borno. Most of his work also appears as poetry and covers a range of subjects.

4.1.3 Sokoto, Zamfara and Kebbi

This area sees the addition of twenty-seven authors and one hundred and six titles. The three cities are located in the north-west of Nigeria, and Sokoto is traditionally regarded as a Qadiriyya stronghold. One of the most prolific authors of the Tijaniyya this region, ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Ghusawī, has contributed almost a third of the titles that we do not find mentioned in ALA II from this region. He studied in a number of places under many prominent teachers, and gave *tafsīr* in Bauchi (some 550km from his home in Gusau), which shows the level of his scholarship and the regional scope of his network of students. In the same vein, he also established an educational institute in Bida. Most of al-Ghusawī's work is poetical eulogy, addressed to the Prophet Muḥammad, Aḥmad al-Tijānī, Ibrāhīm Niasse and other prominent personalities. He also produced works on devotional matters and Sufism, as well as some jurisprudence. Other prominent authors from the area that do not feature in ALA II include Abū Bakr Al-Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (*Tabki Tara*), Ibrāhīm b. Hārūn (Balarabe Jega), and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Ghusawī (Balarabe Gusau). Tabki Tara's family migrated from Borno to Sokoto, and were known for Qur'anic recitation.

There are likely to be more authors and works that are yet to be documented in the ongoing process of discovering the literature of Africa. The numbers that have been indicated above are only an addition of *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* works.

In order to give a glimpse of the ways in which the TijProj can contribute to the expansion of the documentation covered by ALA II, the next section provides the full list of writing of two prolific Kano-based authors who were not mentioned in ALA II.

After naming the author, a brief introduction to his biography (gauged from the fieldnotes of my supervisor that were put at my disposal during the work) follows. Thereafter, his works are listed in alphabetical order. Descriptions of the book, the title, the genre, the subject and the publisher are listed where possible. Any further information that can be discerned is also included, such as any dates, scribes or other information.

4.2 ‘Abd al-Wāḥid Muḥammad al-Naẓīfī b. al-‘Ālim Ƙarami b. Khiḍr (known as *Nazifi al-Ƙarmawi*)

This author is not in ALA II. He was born in 1387/1966 to Muḥammad al-Awwal b. Khiḍr (known as Malam Ƙarami), who was a brother of Atiƙu Sanka (q.v.). He competed his memorisation of Qur’an and introduction to formal studies with his father. After this, he studied jurisprudence with ‘Abd al-Majīd Magoga and Arabic grammar with ‘Abdallāh Mai Sunan Malam. After the death of his father, he studied with his father’s khalīfa Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Cedîya, as well as with Ḥamza b. Isḥāq Ƙanƙara, Aminu Sanda, Ṣāliḥ b. Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan Sanka. In 1996, he graduated in Arabic from Bayero University Kano.

Currently, he is based in *Madīnat al-Qarmawī*, a mosque and zawiya named after his father in the Ƙofar Waika area of Kano. He is also associated with an extensive network of students in Niger State (Minna and Bida). This network formed while he was a student in Bayero University Kano and met a group of Tijani students of Nupe origins.

His works follow:

4.2.1 ‘Aṭiyyat al-Khāliq fī madḥ khalā’

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Published with *Fatḥ Allāh al-Aḥad* (q.v.).

4.2.2 Al-Nūr al-rabbānī li-sharḥ Mablagh al-amānī

Genre: Commentary
Subject: Sufism
MS.
A commentary of ‘Umar al-Wālī’s *Mablagh al-amānī*, also known as *Alfiyyat al-ṭarīq*.

4.2.3 al-Wārid al-rabbānī fī marthiyyat al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Tijānī

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Elegy: ‘Abd al-Majīd Magoga
Kano: n.p. n.d., circa 2000.

4.2.4 Bahjat al-aḥibbā' fī madḥ sayyid al-anbiyā'

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Kano: Maktabāt al-Qarmawī, 2004. 10pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj177.

4.2.5 Bishārat al-muḥibb

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
N.p., 1428/2007 (2nd edition). 11pp. Lithographed. Copy in TijProj165.

4.2.6 Bughyat al-ṭullāb

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Jurisprudence
Kano: Maktabat al-Qarmawī, 1429/2008 (second edition). 52pp. Photocopy in TijProj6.
A versification of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Akhḍarī's compendium of Maliki jurisprudence. First published 1999.

4.2.7 al-Da'awāt wa'l-istighāthāt

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Devotional: Invocations
Kano: n.p., n.d. [ca. 2008]. 20pp. Copy in TijProj120.
A collection of ten poems of invocation and intercession.

4.2.8 Ḍiyā al-Qawā'id.

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Maktaba al-Qarmawi, Kano. 2008. 140pp. TijProj175.
This typed publication holds a handwritten sheet in Arabic with list of Qasida in praise of Prophet and others, and a printed sheet with madḥ.

4.2.9 Ḍiyā' al-fu'ād fī siyar wa-madā'iḥ khayr al-'ibād

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Sira
Kano: Maktabat al-Qarmawi, 2013 (2nd edition). 147pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj198.
Originally written in 2000. An extensive poem on the life of the Prophet.

4.2.10 Fakk al-aghlāl 'an maḍāmīn Tuḥfat al-aṭfāl fī bayān ḥaqā'iq al-af'āl

Genre: Commentary
Subject: Arabic grammar
Kano: Maktabat al-Qarmawi, 2007. 81pp. Typed. Photocopy in TijProj100.
A commentary of Ibrāhīm Niasse's *Tuḥfat al-aṭfāl*, developed from the author's BA dissertation in Arabic language (Bayero University, Kano).

4.2.11 Farḥ al-aḥibba fī madḥ sayyid al-umma

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Publ. with *Saḥā'ib al-fawz wa'l-riḍwān*.

4.2.12 Farḥ al-sa'īd

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Language: Hausa (Ajami)
N.p., n.d. [ca. 2000]. 9pp. Lithographed (copyist 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Rabawī).
Copy in TijProj167.

4.2.13 Fatḥ Allā al-Aḥad fī dhikr ba'ḍ shamā'il wa-ṣifāt nabiyyinā 'abd al-Ṣamad

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Sira
Kano: Maktabat al-Qarmawī, 2012. 53pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj174.
Followed by *Ighāthat al-ikhwān* (q.v.) and *'Aṭiyyat al-Khāliq* (q.v.).

4.2.14 Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al-Mannān fī sīrat sayyidī wa mawlāy al-shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Hagiography: Aḥmad al-Tijānī
Bida: Al-Fārūq Maṣna'at Banwuya, 2001. 20pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj187.

4.2.15 Ḥanīn al-Qarmawī ilā ḥaḍrat al-nabawī

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Publ. with *Saḥā'ib al-fawz wa'l-riḍwān*.

4.2.16 al-Hiba al-ilāhiyya fī madḥ sayyidinā Muḥammad khayr al-bariyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Minna: Ṣiddīq al-Wa'd, 2000.
Alternative name: *al-Alfiyya al-naẓīfiyya*. A long poem of 1,000vv.

4.2.17 Ighāthat al-ikhwān fī dhikr ba'ḍ khaṣā'iṣ al-nabiyy al-'adnānī

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Sira
Published with *Fatḥ Allā al-Aḥad* (q.v.).

4.2.18 Ighāthat al-mustaghīth fī ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth

Genre: Prose
Subject: Hadith

Kano: Maktabat al-Qarmawī, 2007 (second edition). 89pp. Copy in TijProj90. Originally written 2001. An introduction to hadith science.

4.2.19 al-Istighātha bi-ḥurūf al-āya al-karīma

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Devotional: Intercession
Publ. with *Saḥā'ib al-fawz wa'l-riḍwān*. Acrostic poem based on Q22:38.

4.2.20 Jālibat al-furūḥ fī madḥ shaykh al-shuyūkh

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Aḥmad al-Tijānī
Publ. with author's *Kashf al-ghumūm wa'l-humūm* (q.v.)

4.2.21 Ka's al-widād fī madḥ sayyidinā Muḥammad khayr al-'ibād

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Bida: Al-Faruq Masna'at Bawuya, 1990.

4.2.22 Kanz al-ḥibā' fī madḥ sayyid al-anbiyā'

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Bida: Al-Faruq Masa'nat [sic], 2001. Typed. 6pp. Copy in TijProj164.

4.2.23 Kashf al-ghumūm wa'l-humūm fī madḥ sayyidinā wa-mawlānā al-quṭb al-maktūm

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Aḥmad al-Tijānī
Bida: Al-faruq Masna'at Banwuya
[ca. 1419/1998]. 7pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj186.
Followed by *Jālibat al-furūḥ* (q.v.) and *Masarrat al-aḥbāb* (q.v.). Composed 1418/1998.

4.2.24 Masarrat al-aḥbāb fī'l-madḥ wa'l-istighātha bi-sayyid al-aqṭāb

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Aḥmad al-Tijānī
Publ. with author's Kashf al-ghumūm wa'l-humūm (q.v.).
Composed by author in 1407/1987, in the car, between Minna and Ilorin, while traveling to attend a Mawlid of Aḥmad al-Tijānī.

4.2.25 Mashrab al-ikhwān fī madḥ sayyid al-aqṭāb

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Aḥmad al-Tijānī
Bida: Al-faruq Masna'at Banwuya, 1993.

4.2.26 Maṭla‘ al-anwār fī madḥ sayyidinā wa-nabiyyinā Muḥammad al-mukhtār

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
N.p., n.d. [ca. 2000]. 8pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj168.
Collection of three poems composed between the years 1998 and 2000.

4.2.27 Maṭlab al-‘abd

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Devotional: Supplication
MS in the author’s private library. 1 folio.
Written in 1427 in Mecca.

4.2.28 Muṣliḥat al-murīd fī-mā yaqūduhu ilā Mawlāhu al-majīd

Genre: Prose
Subject: Sufism
N.p., n.d. [ca. 1422/2000]. 29pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj210a.
Commendations by Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Thānī Hausawa, Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Sulaymān Gobirawa, Aḥmad al-Tijānī b. Shu‘ayb.

4.2.29 Nafaḥāt Allāh al-Barr fī’l-dhikr wa’l-tawassul bi-ahl Badr

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Devotional: Intercession
Kano, n.p., 2003.
Seeking intercession through the names of the companions who fought with the Prophet in the Battle of Badr.

4.2.30 Najāt al-‘ālamīn fī madḥ sayyid al-anbiyā’ wa’l-mursalīn

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Published with author’s *Bishārat al-muḥibb.*

4.2.31 Nayl al ma’mūl fi ṣalawāt al-rasūl

Genre: Rhymed prose
Subject: Devotional: Prophet
Bida: Alfaruq Masna’at Bawuya, n.d. (3rd edition). 20pp. Copy in TijProj49.
Inspired to the author while performing the circumambulation on pilgrimage in Mecca in the year 1421/2001.

4.2.32 Nayl al-jadā fī madḥ miṣbāḥ al-hudā

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Kano: Habibulah Printing Press, 1997. 7pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj163.

One of the first writings by author, composed when he was a teenager. It is narrated that a man who had been striving to see the Prophet in a dream for many years, was granted the vision on the night he had read this poem.

4.2.33 Nayl al-riḍā fī madḥ sayyidinā Muḥammad al-murtaḍā

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
N.p., n.d. [ca. 2002]. 14pp. Lithographed (copyists ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Rabawī and ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Bidawī). Copy in TijProj166. Followed by Najāt al-‘ālamīn (q.v.).

4.2.34 Nayl al-tashawwuf ilā ḥaqā’iq ‘ilm al-taṣawwuf

Genre: Prose
Subject: Sufism
Minna: Hasbunallah Printing Press, 1424/2003 (3rd edition). 30pp. Printed. Copy in TijProj53.
Originally written in 1997.

4.2.35 Nishāṭ al-qulūb fī madḥ nabiyyinā Muḥammad al-maḥbūb

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
N.p. (sponsored by the family of Idrīs Ḥamza Minna), 1409/1987. 10pp. Lithographed (copyist ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Rabawī). Copy in TijProj171.

4.2.36 Risālat al-sa‘āda fī faḍā’il al-iḥtifāl bi-mawlid al-nabawīyya [sic]

Genre: Prose
Subject: Devotional: Mawlid
Kano, n.p., n.d. 10pp. Lithographed (no name of copyist). Copy in TijProj50.
On the rewards for the celebration of the prophetic mawlid. Commendation by Mudi Salga.

4.2.37 Saḥā’ib al-fawz wa’l-riḍwān fī madḥ sayyidinā Muḥammad sayyid al-akwān

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Kano: Maktabat al-Qarmawī, 1433/ 2012. 35pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj172.
Followed by three more poems by author.

4.2.38 Shahādat al-muḥibb al-fānī fī madḥ nabiyyinā Muḥammad al-‘Adnānī

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Publ. with *Saḥā’ib al-fawz wa’l-riḍwān*.

4.2.39 Ta‘ṭīr al-qulūb fī madḥ wa-ziyārat nabiyyinā Muḥammad al-maḥbūb

Genre: Poetry

Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Bida: n.p., 2005.

4.2.40 Tā'iyyat al-aḥibba fī madḥ ṣāḥib al-Fayḍa

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Ibrāhīm Niasse
Bida: n.p., 1995.
Also Publ. with author's *Taḥṣīl al-murād fī madḥ ghawth al-'ibād* (q.v.).
Composed as the result of an inspiration occurred on 12 November 1995, in seventy-five verses corresponding to the years of life of the eulogised.

4.2.41 Tabṣirat al-ikhwān fī māhiyyat ṭarīqat shaykhinā al-Tijānī

Genre: Prose
Subject: Tijaniyya
Kano: n.p., 1419/1998. 79pp. Typed Copy in TijProj211a.
Commendations by Aḥmad al-Tijānī b. Shu'ayb, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Thānī Hausawa, Muḥammad al-Rājī b. Ādam Bida, Sharīf 'Umar al-Tijānī.

4.2.42 Tafrīḥ al-muḥibb al-zā'ir fī'l-taslīmāt wa'l-adḥ li-sayyid al-awā'il wa'l-awākhir

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Bida: Al-Faruq Masna'at Bawuya, 2007. 5pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj169.

4.2.43 Taḥṣīl al-murād fī madḥ ghawth al-'ibād

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Aḥmad al-Tijānī
Bida: n.p., n.d. [1988]. 9pp. Typed. Copy in TijProj188.
Followed by *Tā'iyyat al-aḥibba fī madḥ ṣāḥib al-fayḍa*. Composed in 1988.

4.2.44 Tahyīj al-ashwāq wa'l-afkār fī madḥ sayyidinā wa-mawlānā Muḥammad al-mukhtār

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Kano: n.p., 2004.

4.2.45 Tarjamatī anā al-Qarmawī bi-nafsī

Genre: Prose
Subject: Autobiography
MS (typed). 18pp. Photocopy in TijProj297.

4.2.46 Tuḥfat al-akyās fī sīrat mawlānā al-shaykh Ibrāhīm Inyās

Genre: Poetry

Subject: Hagiography: Ibrāhīm Niasse
Minna: A & S Printers, 1997. 49pp. Copy in TijProj139.

4.3 Aḥmad al-Rifā‘ī b. Abī Bakr

This author is not found in ALA II, and is also known as Malam Rufa'i Nawali. He is a descendant of Shaykh ‘Umar al-Wālī (q.v.) of Zaria. Aḥmad Al-Rifā‘ī b. Abī Bakr lives in Yakasai ward, Kano, where he teaches as well as serves on the Kano State Board for Arabic and Islamic Education.

4.3.1 Alfiyyat al-fayḍa

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Tijaniyya
MS (autograph). Photocopy in TijProj (uncat.). Long poem of 1,000vv.

4.3.2 Allah akbar inna Ṭāhā hawānī

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
MS in the author's private library. Poem the initial section of which was inspired to the author in a dream, and the second section was completed by author upon awakening.

4.3.3 Asnā al-makhṭūtāt fī-mā li-jāmi‘ihā min al-makhṭūṭāt

Genre: Prose
Subject: Autobiography
MS (autograph). 30pp. Photocopy in TijProj314.
Written in 2008, it contains a list of sixty-three writings by the author, with brief descriptions of their content. The writing was in response to a research visit by Andrea Brigaglia to the author.

4.3.4 Aṭyab al-aṭāyīb al-muḥammadiyya fī tashṭīr wa-takmīl al-Hamziyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
MS in the author's private library.
A *tashṭīr*[206] of al-Būṣīrī's Hamziyya, turning it into a 1,000vv poem.

[206] Brigaglia 2014, 109, defines *tashtīr:* "One such technique is known as *tashtir* (lit.: 'halving'). It consists of breaking up the verses of an existing poem by dividing the two hemistichs of each verse, and placing in between them two new hemistichs, so that a new, full couple of verses is composed out of each verse of the original poem".

4.3.5 al-Bayān al-mūjiz fī ta'yīn 'ām wilādat wa-wafāt al-quṭb al-ḥājj Ibrāhīm Inyās wa-mā fīhi min al-ramz

Genre: Prose
Subject: Hagiography: Ibrāhīm Niasse
MS in the author's private library.
Discusses the correspondence between the year of birth of Ibrāhīm Niasse and the numerical value of the phrase *lā ushriku bi'llāh*, as well as of the year of his death and the numerical value of the phrase *anā lā ushriku bi'llāh aḥadan abadan*.

4.3.6 al-Faraḥ tamma lanā

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Occasional
MS in the author's private library. Written to celebrate the opening of the Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī Friday mosque in Ƙofar Mata, Kano, in 1996.

4.3.7 al-Faraḥ wa'l-minna fī dhikrā mawlid al-nabiyy al-munazzal 'alayhi li-tu'maninna bihi wa-li-tanṣurannah

Genre: Prose
Subject: Devotional: Mawlid
MS in the author's private library. Written in 2001, on the occasion of the celebration of the Mawlid of 1422.

4.3.8 al-Faraḥ wa'l-surūr bi-mawlid maẓhar al-nūr

Genre: Prose
Subject: Devotional: Mawlid
MS in the author's private library.

4.3.9 Fayḍ Allāh al-Qadīr al-Mannān fī tashṭīr qaṣā'id al-Dīwān

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
MS in the author's private library. A long work, containing a complete *tashṭīr* of Ibrāhīm Niasse "six dīwān-s," plus a seventh. The total amount of verses (inclusive of the original dīwān-s) is 6,292.

4.3.10 al-Ḥujaj al-'aqliyya wa'l-naqliyya fī anna al-nabiyya afḍal al-khalq bi'l-kulliyya

Genre: Prose
Subject: Theology
MS in the author's private library.

4.3.11 al-Ḥujaj al-mawlidiyya al-mi'a kitāban wa-sunnatan wa-ijmā'an

Genre: Prose
Subject: Sufism: Radd
Language: Hausa (Ajami)

MS in the author's private library.

4.3.12 al-Ijā wa'l-jawda

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
MS in the author's private library. 188vv.
Follows the meter and the style of al-Būṣīrī's Burda.

4.3.13 Itḥāf al-anām bi-istikhrāj 'ām wilādat al-rasūl 'alayhi al-ṣalāt wa'l-salām

Genre: Prose
Subject: Sira
MS in the author's private library.
Argues that the year of the birth of the Prophet must be 571 CE, due to the correspondence of the year with the numerical value of the Quranic phrase *wa-qul jā'a al-Ḥaqq wa-zahaqa al-bāṭil*.

4.3.14 Itḥāf al-rafīq bi-sharḥ Alfiyyat al-ṭarīq

Genre: Commentary
Subject: Tijaniyya
MS in the author's private library. A commentary of the long poem on the Tijaniyya *Mablagh al-amānī*, also known as *Alfiyyat al-ṭarīq*, written by the author's great-grandfather 'Umar al-Wālī (q.v.). Written in response to an invitation to do so by Ḥasan Dem and offered to the latter before his death.

4.3.15 al-Jawhar al-nafīs fī rithā' Sayyidī 'Alī Sīs

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Elegy: 'Alī Cisse
MS in the author's private library. Written in 1982.

4.3.16 Kanz al-muṣallīn fī'l-ṣalāt 'alā ashraf al-mursalīn

Genre: Rhymed prose
Subject: Devotional: Prophet
Kano: Big Sha Printers, 1990 (sponsored by al-Ḥājj Rābi' b. Zakariyā' Mairiga). 31 pp. Lithographed (no name of copyist).
In the introduction, the author says he has followed the style of al-Imām al-Bakrī in his *wird al-siḥr*.

4.3.17 Kanz al-muṣallīn fī'l-ṣalāt wa'l-salām 'alā ashraf al-mursalīn

Genre: Rhymed prose
Subject: Devotional: Prophet
MS in the author's private library.

4.3.18 Luṭf al-Laṭīf fī'l-tawassul bi-suwar al-Qur'ān

Genre: Poetry

Subject: Devotional: Invocation
A poem addressing a supplication to God by means of the names of all the suras of the Quran.

4.3.19 Majmūʿ baʿḍ al-qaṣāʾid li-munāsabat majīʾāt al-shaykh al-Tijānī Inyās ilā madīnat Kānū

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Occasional
MS in the author's private library. A collection of poems (various hundreds of verses) composed and recited during the visits of Aḥmad al-Tijānī b. Ibrāhīm Niasse to Kano.

4.3.20 Majmūʿ qaṣāʾid fī baʿḍ munāsabāt al-ṭarīqa al-Tijāniyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Occasional
MS in the author's private library. A collection of poems composed and recited for various communal occasions of the Tijani communities of Kano.

4.3.21 al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad fī tashṭīr qaṣīdat Begen Muḥammad

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Language: Hausa (Ajami)
MS in the author's private library. A *tashṭīr* of a *tashṭīr* by Atiƙu Sanka of a famous Hausa poem by Nasiru Kabara titled *Begen Muḥammad*. The original poem was 26vv. Atiƙu Sanka's *tashṭīr* was 46vv. The author's *tashṭīr* is 92vv, equivalent to the numerical value of the name Muḥammad.

4.3.22 Marthiyyat salwat al-khalīqa bi-wafāt al-khalīfa

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Elegy: Emir Sanusi I
MS in the author's private library. Written in 1991, on the occasion of the death of the former Emir of Kano and Khalīfa of Ibrāhīm Niasse in Nigeria, Muḥammad al-Sanūsī Bayero (Sanusi I).

4.3.23 al-Mawrid al-asnā fīʾl-tawassul bi-asmāʾ Allāh taʿālā al-ḥusnā

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Devotional: Invocation
MS in the author's private library. A supplication in verses by means of God's names.

4.3.24 Muntakhab al-adʿiyyāt li-sirr al-ziyārāt

Genre: Prose
Subject: Devotional: Invocations
MS in the author's private library. Collection of invocations to be recited during the pious visits to the graves of the Prophets, of the companions, and of the Tijani saints.

4.3.25 Nūr al-qalb fī madḥ al-Muṣṭafā al-ḥibb

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
MS in the author's private library. A collection of poems in praise of the Prophet, numbering 313 vv.

4.3.26 Qaṣā'id hawsāwiyya fī madḥ al-nabiyy

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
Language: Hausa (Ajami)
MS in the author's private library. Various Hausa poems, numbering hundreds of verses.

4.3.27 Qaṣīda 'alā tashkīl awā'il ḥurūf Wa-qul jā'a

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Sira
MS in the author's private library. Acrostic poem on the verse *wa-qul jā'a al-ḥaqq wa-zahaqa al-bāṭil,* on the same topic of author's prose work *Itḥāf al-anām* (q.v.).

4.3.28 Qaṣīda dāliyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Sufism
MS in the author's private library. Showing that the Tijaniyya leads to an authentic understanding of the oneness of God.

4.3.29 Qaṣīda dāliyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Ḥasan Dem
MS in the author's private library. Written in 1987, during Ḥasan Dem's last visit to Kano.

4.3.30 Qaṣīda fī'l-radd 'alà man yunkir isnād lafẓ sayyidinā fī al-ṣalāt 'alà al-nabī

Genre: Prose
Subject: Sufism: Radd
3pp. Unpublished poem, written overnight on 28 November 2006 by the author, in response to a Wahhabi colleague who, the previous day, had argued that there is no basis for addressing the Prophet as sayyidinā (our master) in the ritual call to prayer. Copy in TijProj: TijProj335.

4.3.31 Qaṣīda hā'iyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Ibrāhīm Niasse
MS in the author's private library. Verses came to the author during a dream.

4.3.32 Qaṣīda lāmiyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Occasional
MS in the author's private library. Written to congratulate Aḥmad Dam b. Ibrāhīm Niasse on his appointment as the new khalīfa of his father after the death of his brother ʻAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm Niasse.

4.3.33 Qaṣīda mīmiyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Social
MS in the author's private library. On the condition of Nigerian women during British colonialism.

4.3.34 Qaṣīda mīmiyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Ḥasan Dem
MS in the author's private library. Written in 1983, the year when the author appointed a *muqaddam* (authorised to take pledges of allegiance for the *tariqa*) from Ḥasan Dem.

4.3.35 Qaṣīda nūniyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Travelogue
MS in the author's private library. Written in 1988 during a trip to Sokoto.

4.3.36 Qaṣīda nūniyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject Travelogue
MS in the author's private library. Written during a trip to Kaolack.

4.3.37 Qaṣīda zāliyya

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: ʻAbdallāh Niasse
MS in the author's private library. Written in 1406/1986 and read during the Cultural Week in Memory of Shaykh ʻAbdallāh Niasse in Kaolack, in the same year.

4.3.38 al-Rabīʻ al-qalbī wa'l-dīm fī madḥ al-shaykh Ḥasan Dīm

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Ḥasan Dem
MS in the author's private library. Written to welcome Ḥasan Dem during the latter's visit to Kano in 1981.

4.3.39 Raf‘ al-ba’s fī madḥ Abī’l-‘Abbās

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Aḥmad al-Tijānī
MS in the author’s private library.

4.3.40 Rishq al-asinna ‘alā man yunkiru al-ḥadīth wa’l-sunna

Genre: Prose
Subject: Theology: Radd
MS in the author’s private library. A polemical treatise against the *Qur’āniyyūn*, known in Nigeria as Ƙala-Ƙato.

4.3.41 Salwat al-nadīm fī rithā’ al-shaykh Ḥasan Dīm

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Elegy: Ḥasan Dem
Kano: n.p., 1989 (sponsored by al-Ḥājj Rābi‘ Maikwano b. Zakariyā’). 4pp.
Photocopied (autograph). Copy in Uba Ringim; photocopy in TijProj258.
The poem was recited in the zawiya of Alhaji Uba Ringim in Kano, as well as in the residence of the khalīfa Sanusi Bayero in Wudil.

4.3.42 Tarjamat kitab sīrat al-nabiyy

Genre: Translation
Subject: Sira
Language: Hausa (Ajami)
MS in the author’s private library. Hausa translation of a classical book of Sīra.

4.3.43 Tarjamat Radd akādhīb al-muftirīn

Genre: Translation
Subject: Sufism: Radd
Language: Hausa (Ajami)
MS in the author’s private library. Hausa translation of a book by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Miṣrī. Written in 1982, upon a request by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Miṣrī.

4.3.44 Tashṭīr lāmiyyat al-imām al-Bakrī

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Eulogy: Prophet
MS in the author’s private library.
36vv (equivalent to the numerical value of the name ilāh) *tashṭīr* of an original poem of 18vv (equivalent to the numerical value of the name ḥayy).

4.3.45 Tashṭīr lāmiyyat al-shaykh Sukayrij

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Devotional: Intercession
MS in the author’s private library.

4.3.46 Tashṭīr qaṣīdat al-imām al-Ghazālī

Genre: Poetry
Subject: Sufism
MS in the author's private library.

4.3.47 al-Tawjīh ilā ba'ḍ mā yajib murā'ātuhu fī al-mawlid al-nanawī al-wajīh

Genre: Prose
Subject: Devotional: Mawlid
MS in the author's private library. On the etiquette to follow during the celebration of the Mawlid.

4.4 Summary

Most of al-Naẓīfī's works are eulogies for the Prophet Muhammad, as well as eulogies for Aḥmad al-Tijānī and Ibrāhīm Niasse. There is a book on grammar, an autobiography, and works on *sīra,* Sufism, hadith and jurisprudence. The quantity of *madḥ* suggests a lively community, producing poetry in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, to be read on occasion and as devotional works.

Although al-Rufā'ī's works follow a similar pattern, his works are more varied, including some classified as *radd*, travelogues, and even a poem on the condition of women during British colonialism. al-Rufā'ī's rendering of poems using *tashtīr* should be noted, as this is an extremely difficult feat.

5 Conclusion

This study sought to examine the impact of the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya on the literary activities of Muslim communities in northern Nigeria. It also sought to identify trends in the society that could be discerned through the study of the literature the scholars produced. In addition, the TijProj literature catalogue was measured against ALA II, which is considered a standard reference work for Arabic literature in Africa.

Only literature from the *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* was examined, and that such a specific group can add such a large volume suggests that indeed, there was a boom in literature production brought about by the *fayḍa*. In comparing the works to ALA II, it was found that almost two thirds of the works were not part of ALA II, yet ALA II is regarded as one of the most comprehensive works on Arabic literature in Africa.

Discovering the extent of the literary impact of the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya could not be derived only from numbers. The range of literary production covered several genres and subjects. Most of the literature is in the form of poetry, and most of this poetry is in the form eulogy for the Prophet Muhammad. However, it was far from limited to this topic only, and literature concerning religious jurisprudence, science, travelogues, talismanic formulations, and much more present a rich cultural legacy. The range of types of literature allows an in-depth look into the lively scholarly society that existed, and the appetite for knowledge and challenge for new types of expression. At the same time, the scholarship was grounded in an existing Arabic literary tradition, and many of the works are extensions of existing treatises. Earlier, Frank Rosenthal' s concept of *'ilm*[207] was mentioned and its relationship with *ma'rifah*, and that the *fayḍa* was a spiritual revival but its manifestation included a literary revival. The quantitative measure of the *fayḍa* through the literature of the *jamā'at al fayḍa*

[207] Rosenthal 2007.

Tijaniyya has given an idea of the extent of the revival. Similarly, the insights Brinkley Messick has provided into the interwoven influence of human element in texts, and of texts on human society, can help us understand the literary impact of the *fayḍa*[208]. This was demonstrated in the qualitative analysis of the materials in the project.

Although Ibrahim Niasse was based in Senegal initially, it was outside Senegal that the message of the *fayḍa* spread most, and most dramatically in Kano. It is in Kano where most of the literature for this project originates, and in Kano where the scholarly community of *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* grew and studied, and carried the teachings to other centres in Nigeria. Although Kano remains a centre for Tijaniyya, the *jamā'at al fayḍa Tijaniyya* has expanded to become the largest Sufi group in West Africa, and its presence can be discerned internationally.

The creation of a Microsoft Access database from the existing notes in Microsoft Word resulted in a turning point in derivation of data from the material. Categorising the material into genres and subjects had taken some effort, especially on the part of my supervisor, but through this and other information, the database took practical shape. An immense amount of work remains to be done in refining the database, and adding new entries, but this is necessary work for more in depth studies of the material to take place.

Once an electronic record exists, even if the literature itself is destroyed, we still hold knowledge of it through this record. Already the work of TijProj has added so much more to the overall knowledge regarding Arabic literature and Muslim community in West Africa; continuation and augmentation of this project is necessary to preserve both current trends in West African Muslim society as well as the history and culture of previous generations.

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[208] Messick 1993.

The literature revolution that resulted from the *fayḍa* Tijaniyya had a huge impact on the society and the literature that was produced played an enormous role in not only transmitting the teachings of the *fayḍa*, but as a standing record of the people and thoughts that developed and existed at the time. This study has highlighted the impact it has had, as well as provided increased source material for further study.

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