



- Kanem

1806 CONTÉ, E. La dynamique de l'alliance parmi les chasseurs sédentarisés Duu Rea du Sud-Kanem (Tchad). *Paideuma* (Stuttgart), 32 (1986) pp.129-161

1 SUBAT 1993

17 Mart 1920' de itihaken  
sömürge haline getirilmis  
olan Gad doluz bölgeye  
ayrıldı. Bunlardan biri de  
Kanem idi' merkezi  
Ma'oleydi.

Cimi (Djymy) Kanem'in  
başkentiydi. Kanim Sultanı  
burada oturuyordu.  
(Reinaud, Géographie  
d'Aboulfeda, II, 223-4).

- Kanem

LANGE, D. Progrès de l'Islam et changement politique au Kanem du XIe au XIIIe siècle: un essai d'interprétation. *J. Afr. hist.* 19 (1978) pp. 495-513.

1 SUBAT 1993

2. General accounts. M.B. Hooker, *Islamic law in South-East Asia*, Singapore 1974, chs. 2 and 4; idem, *Qadi jurisdiction in contemporary Malaysia and Singapore*, in M.A. Wu (ed.), *Public law in contemporary Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur 1999, 57-75. The doyen of Islamic Studies in Malaysia was the late Professor Ahmad Ibrahim. His *Islamic law in Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur 1965, though now out of date, was an important work. In the 1970-1990s, he published important papers in *Journal of Malaysian Comparative Law* and in the *Annual Survey of Malaysian Law*. (M.B. HOOKER)

**MAI**, the official title of the Sayfuwa rulers of Kanem [q.v.], later Bornū [q.v.], an African kingdom situated in the area of Lake Chad. Arab geographers (al-Ya'qūbī, al-Muhallabī) depicted the ruler of pre-Islamic Kanem as a divine king. Although the rise to power of an Islamic line of rulers in the second half of the 11th century resulted in a number of radical changes in the political structure, some basic elements of divine kingship continued to shape the royal institution during the period of the Sayfuwa. Among the features of divine kingship which resisted the secularising tendencies of Islam were the seclusion of the king, shown by his concealment in a pavilion behind a silk curtain; the prevailing influence of women of the royal family in court life (queen-mother, principal queen and princesses); and the notion of a legendary protectress of the king during his youth (Aīsa Kili Ngirmaramma). Traditions associate the latter with the upbringing of the greatest rulers of Kanem-Bornū: Dūnama Dībalemī (1203-48), 'Alī Gadīrī (1455-87) and Idrīs Amsāmi (1564-96). The court ceremonies and institutions derived from divine kingship were abolished by *shaykh* al-Amīn al-Kānīmī, who founded a new dynasty in Bornū in the first half of the 19th century. By adopting the Arabo-Islamic *shaykh* as a royal title instead of the earlier *mai*, he gave expression to his more strictly Islamic preferences.

*Bibliography*: D. Lange, *Le divān des sultans du [Kānem-] Bornū*, Wiesbaden 1977; idem, *Das Amt der Königinmutter im Tschadseegebiet*, in *Paideuma*, xxxvi (1990), 139-56. (D. LANGE)

**MAI TATSINE** (d. 1980), a nickname given to Muhammadu Marwa, a *mallam*, or Muslim religious leader in Kano, Nigeria, whose followers were involved in violent clashes from 18 to 28 December 1980. Over 4,000 people died in these disturbances.

He came from the region of Marwa in northern Cameroon, from a group classified as Kirdi. These are hill dwellers and followers of traditional religions, while the Muslim Fulani dominate the plains. Famine drove the young Mai Tatsine out of the hills, along with many fellow Kirdi, in the 1930s. In the city of Marwa he took up Islam.

He came to Kano in 1945 and began a career as a *mallam*. His teaching was evidently inflammatory for in 1962 he was jailed by Kano's chief Muslim judge for the offence of *shatima*, or verbal abuse. Following his sentence, Emir Sānusi deported him to Cameroon.

Such traditional forms of control were weakened following the abolition of the emirs' judicial authority in 1966. Mai Tatsine was able to return to Kano and establish a popular following by the late 1970s. The disturbances began when the police were overwhelmed by sect members in a confrontation near the emir's palace on December 18. Fighting continued for ten days until the Nigerian army finally dislodged the Yan Tatsine from their stronghold in a neighbourhood just outside the old walled city. Mai Tatsine was killed at this time. The sect survived and

was involved in clashes in Maiduguri and Kaduna in following years.

The sect bears some resemblance to the Ḥamāliyya [q.v.], an offshoot of the Tījāniyya [q.v.] that began in Mauritania in the 1920s. Both movements emphasised living as a separate community which regarded other Muslims as impure. Many of its followers were recent immigrants to Kano, drawn by the city's oil boom driven expansion, but it also had followers in rural areas.

*Bibliography*: J. Boutrais, *La colonisation des plaines par les montagnards au nord du Cameroun*, Paris 1973; A. Christelow, *The 'Yan Tatsine disturbances in Kano. A search for perspective*, in *MW*, lxxv (1985), 69-84; P. Lubeck, *Islam and urban labour in Northern Nigeria. The making of a Muslim working class*, Cambridge 1987. (A. CHRISTELOW)

**MAKĀSĪD AL-SHARĪ'A** (A.), literally, "the aims or purposes of the law".

The term is used in works of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fikh* [q.v.]) and refers to the idea that God's law, the *Sharī'a* [q.v.], is a system which encompasses aims or purposes. If the system is correctly implemented, these aims will be achieved. From such a perspective, the *Sharī'a* is not merely a collection of inscrutable rulings. One who claims that the *Sharī'a* has *makāsid* is, therefore, making a statement concerning the rational nature of the *Sharī'a*: that God intends to bring about a certain state of affairs by instituting particular laws. Most Sunni legal theorists subscribe to the view that the *Sharī'a* has aims, and principal amongst these is the promotion of the "benefit for the believers" (*maṣāliḥ al-'ibād*). As al-Shātibī (d. 790/1388), probably the most sophisticated of the classical exponents of the doctrine of *makāsid al-sharī'a*, states, "the laws were instituted only for the benefit of the believers in this world and the next" (*Muwāfaqāt*, ii, 2). The laws themselves are only the means of achieving God's aims and intentions. They hold no intrinsic value, and if, on occasions, the strict application of the law compromises the aims of the *Sharī'a*, then for some supporters of the doctrine of *makāsid*, the law can be set aside or modified so that God's intentions might be fulfilled. This possibility has made an appeal to *makāsid al-sharī'a* particularly popular amongst modern legal reformers in the Muslim world, as it enables them to alter some long-held elements of the law which they consider to be impracticable in a contemporary setting.

The doctrine of *makāsid al-sharī'a* has its roots in early Muslim attempts to rationalise both theology and law. In terms of theology, the ideas of the Mu'tazila [q.v.] undoubtedly influenced the emergence of the *makāsid* doctrine. The Mu'tazilī doctrine that God's decrees are subject to, rather than the origin of, the ideas of good and evil (*al-tahsīn wa-'l-takbīr* [q.v.]) ultimately resulted in an assertion that God is compelled to act in the interests (perhaps the best interests) of humankind. His law must be of benefit to his creation, for if it was not, his qualities of justice and goodness would be compromised.

In legal works, a bundle of related doctrines can be seen as precursors to al-Shātibī's elaboration. The development of *kiyās* [q.v.] as a legal tool provided the impetus for the doctrine of *makāsid al-sharī'a*; for, if rulings known to be true in one situation can be transferred to novel situations, then the law must, in some sense, be coherent. If it is coherent, then it must express the will of the Lawgiver. It is this underlying assumption (that the intentions of the Lawgiver could be known) that was so vehemently rejected by the Zāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [q.v.]).

A. KANEM Kp

47t

Kanem

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DAVID BIRMINGHAM,  
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## PROGRÈS DE L'ISLAM ET CHANGEMENT POLITIQUE AU KĀNEM DU XI<sup>e</sup> AU XIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE: UN ESSAI D'INTERPRÉTATION

BY DIERK LANGE\*

ON admet en général que l'expansion de l'islam était une des principales préoccupations des géographes arabes quand ils décrivaient la situation dans les régions excentriques par rapport au monde musulman. En partant de ce présumé on aurait pu s'attendre à trouver pour l'étude de l'histoire d'une région précise, telle que le Kānem, des renseignements amples et explicites nous permettant de dessiner un tableau satisfaisant de la progression de l'islam, au moins dans ses grands traits. En fait, chemin faisant, on découvre que les renseignements qui nous ont été transmis dans ce type de sources, même sur un sujet aussi important, sont si lacunaires et contradictoires que presque rien ne peut être dit avec certitude du processus global dans lequel s'inscrit l'islamisation de la région. Or, dans le cas du Kānem une source interne, longtemps négligée, peut contrebalancer et corriger la vision non seulement lacunaire mais aussi déformant que les géographes arabes donnent du Kānem ancien, le *Diwān salāṭīn Bornū*.<sup>1</sup> Composée dans l'entourage du roi, cette source elle-même ne présente pas une vue neutre, et, surtout en ce qui concerne des questions touchant à l'islam, elle doit être maniée avec circonspection; mais contrairement aux aperçus aléatoires et sans rapport les uns avec les autres fournis par les géographes arabes, les chroniqueurs autochtones nous présentent une vision d'ensemble rigoureusement chronologique de l'histoire du Kānem dont la critique, à certains égards, est plus aisée.

A part le *Diwān* il existe d'autres documents internes, surtout les *mahram*, dont on aurait pu espérer qu'ils soient d'un secours appréciable pour l'étude de la pénétration de l'islam au Kānem. Mis au jour et publiés au début de ce siècle par H. R. Palmer les *mahram* sont des lettres de privilèges et d'exemption d'impôt accordées à certaines familles.<sup>2</sup> Dans un document de ce type l'introduction de l'islam au Kānem/Bornū est attribué à un certain Muḥammad b. Mānī (affirmation reprise par tous

\* Membre associé de l'Institut Frobenius l'auteur bénéficie actuellement d'une bourse de recherches qui lui a été accordé par la Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. Lange, *Le Diwān des sultans du Kānem-Bornū: Chronologie et histoire d'un royaume africain (de la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à 1808)* (Wiesbaden, 1977). Je tiens à signaler que le présent article s'appuie en grande partie sur les résultats de mes premières recherches sur l'histoire du Kānem/Bornū exposés dans ce livre et dont certains ont dû être modifiés. En outre je voudrais remercier J. O. Hunwick pour ses nombreux commentaires portant sur une première version de cet article.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs* (Lagos, 1928), III, 3-27; idem, *The Bornu Sahara and Sudan* (Londres, 1936), 14-52.

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dem Verhältnis des Namens Narsis-Barşışä zu dem der Prinzessin Parsa Chatun. Über diesen sei nur bemerkt, dass der arabische Name des Parsa Daghy *jebel elbarşaje* und dass Parsa sicher Turkisierung eines arabischen *albarşä* ist<sup>1)</sup>.

Sicher ist, dass alle bisher bekannt gewordenen Barşışä-Geschichten, einschliesslich der hadramutischen Fassung, Kopien eines in der christlichen Legendenliteratur zu suchenden Originals sind, vermittelt durch die am Anfang angeführten islamischen Redaktionen.

<sup>1)</sup> Arabische Frauen dieses Namens s. Täğ el 'arūs I, 373 f.

Martin Hartmann

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## Schoa und Tundscher.

In „*Materialien zum Studium der arabischen Beduinendialekte Innerafrikas*“<sup>1)</sup> handelt Dr. Kampffmeyer von den Schoa (Schua. Schiwa<sup>2)</sup>), „mit welchem Namen alle seit alter Zeit in Bornu ansässigen Araber, die jetzt einen integrierenden Teil der Bevölkerung des Landes bilden, bezeichnet werden“ (S. 164 ff.), und von den Tundscher, „die in Darfor, Wadai und Bornu (Kanem) leben“ (S. 166). Eine moderne Wiedergabe des Namens Schoa in arabischen Lettern, die höchst wünschenswert wäre, scheint sich nirgends zu finden. Ich zweifle nicht, dass in diesem Schoa das bei Dozy s. v. *sawā* aus Ibn Chaldūn mehrfach belegte *sāwīje*<sup>3)</sup> = *peuples pasteurs, qui possèdent des moutons et des vaches und = chameliers* steckt. Ich hörte in Nordsyrien, in der Gegend von Killiz, als Bezeichnung für zeltende Beduinen *swaijā*

<sup>1)</sup> Sonderabdruck aus den Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Jahrgang II, Abteilung II, Westasiatische Studien (Berlin 1899) S. 143 bis 221. Diese tüchtige Arbeit scheint mir besonders wegen der streng kritisch-historischen Methode beachtenswert. Mit Recht betont K., das Ziel aller Arbeiten über die arabischen Dialekte sei doch, sie historisch zu verstehn (S. 145). Es scheint hier am Platze, auf die Wichtigkeit der Materialien hinzuweisen für die Zeit zwischen den beiden zeitlichen Endpunkten der Beduinenpoesie, mit denen man sich bisher fast ausschliesslich beschäftigt hat: ihrer ältesten und ihrer jüngsten Form. Vieles ist da zerstreut, was bei sorgfältiger Zusammenstellung wertvollste Aufschlüsse geben, die fehlenden Glieder der Kette liefern wird. So soll sich in dem Diwan des Emir Mšidd (gest. 656 d. H. nach Brockelmann, LG 1,264), Refā'ija No. 29, manches finden, was für Kenntnis des beduinischen Lebens jener Zeit von Wichtigkeit ist (Mitt. Vollers').

<sup>2)</sup> Cooley, *The negroland of the Arabs* (London 1841) S. 132 will in der Seu-Wüste, in der nach Leo Africanus der Niger entspringe, die ‚country of The Shaiá‘ sehn.

<sup>3)</sup> Doch wohl mit *sāt* zusammenhängend: ‚Schafleute‘.

عبر الصحراء بالشمال - بطرابلس الغرب وإفريقية - ماراً بواحات كوار وزويلة  
بنزان ، وهو طريق قديم كان مستعملاً لأغراض التجارة منذ أيام القرطاجيين  
والرومان .

وكانت جماعات من أهل كanim تنزح إلى الغرب من بحيرة تشاد طلباً للسرعى  
ولزاولة الزراعة ، وامتزجت وتزاوجت مع قبائل الساو في اقليم بُرنو ، الذي أصبح  
تابعاً لمملكة كanim .

وقد بلغت امبراطورية كanim أوجها اتساعاً وازدهاراً في النصف الأول من  
القرن السابع الهجري / الثالث عشر الميلادي على عهد السلطان ( ماي ) دوئما  
ديالامي ، الذي بسط نفوذه على فزان شمالاً ، وبذلك تم لكanim تأمين طريق  
القوافل إلى الشمال . ويذكر ابن خلدون ان سلاطين كanim كانوا على صلواتٍ وديةٍ  
بالحفصيين في تونس منذ قيام دولتهم في أوائل القرن الثالث عشر للميلاد .

وفي أواخر القرن الرابع عشر للميلاد ، ونتيجةً للسناعات على السلطة بين  
أبناء البيت المالك ، والحروب المتواصلة مع قبائل البُلالة جنوبي بحيرة تشاد ،  
اضطرَّ سلطان كanim عمر بن ادريس إلى النزوح عن عاصمته نجيمي / جيمي - علي  
الضفة الشمالية لبحيرة تشاد - إلى اقليم برنو غربي البحيرة . وفي برنو اختط  
السلطان علي جاجي في أواخر القرن الخامس عشر عاصمةً مسورةً ثابتةً في  
جازار جامو ظلت عاصمةً لسلطنة كanim - برنو ثلاثة قرونٍ وثيقاً . ولما تغلب  
السلطان ادريس علومة على قبائل البُلالة ، واستردَّ السيطرة على أرض كanim في  
أواخر القرن السادس عشر أصبحت كanim ولايةً تابعةً لبرنو بعد ان كانت برنو إلى  
أواخر القرن الرابع عشر ولايةً تابعةً لمملكة كanim .

يبدو مما أورده المؤرخون والجغرافيون العرب أن الوثيقة كانت تسود بلاد كanim  
حتى مطلع القرن السادس الهجري / الثاني عشر للميلاد . فالمهلي في أواخر  
القرن العاشر الميلادي يقول إن ديانة أهل كanim عبادة ملوكهم . وفي منتصف القرن  
الحادي عشر الميلادي يقول البكري إن أهل كanim مُشركون . أما صاحب ( كتاب  
الاستبصار ) - وقد صنف كتابه في مراكش في أواخر القرن الثاني عشر للميلاد -  
فيذكر أن أول إسلام أهل كanim كان بعد سنة خمسمائة للهجرة ( = 1107-6 م ) .

إن الدين الإسلامي وصل إلى كanim بالطرق السلمية على أيدي التجار

## وصول الإسلام وانتشاره

### في كanim - برنو

#### بالسودان الأوسط

تهنيد

تفيد روايات كanim - التي تقع إلى  
الشمال الشرقي من بحيرة تشاد - بان بطلاً  
عربياً من اليمن هو سيف بن ذي يزن سيطر  
على جماعة من الرُّجل في الشمال الشرقي من  
بحيرة تشاد ، ثم بسط وذريته نفوذهم على  
عدد آخر من القبائل أصبحت تُعرف باسم  
الكنسوري أو شعب كanim . وقد ظلت هذه  
الأسرة السيفية أو اليزيدية التي قامت في أوائل  
القرن التاسع الميلادي تحكم كanim نحواً من  
ألف عام ( إلى سنة 1846 م ) .

وقد حرص ملوك كanim على التحكم  
بطريق القوافل الرئيسي الذي كان يصل كanim

مجلة كلية الدعوة الاسلامية (العدد الرابع)

## جذور الثقافة العربية في وسط أفريقيا

محمد صالح محمد ايوب

كانم - برنو وانتشار الثقافة العربية في وسط أفريقيا

دلت الابحاث والمكتشفات عام 1961م على وجود حضارات قديمة قامت حول بحيرة شدد منذ زمن طويل<sup>(1)</sup> يقول مؤلفنا كتاب موجز تاريخ أفريقيا (سافليوج . وفاسلينج) إن الأقاليم المتاخمة لبحيرة تشاد كانت مراكز لحضارات عريقة في القدم . وقد كشف علماء الآثار عن حقائق في هذه المناطق تدل على أنها كانت أهلة بأقوام يشتغلون بالزراعة ثم عرفوا صناعة الأوان الفخارية وتعلموا صهر الحديد ، واتخذوا منه آلات وأسلحة ، وصنعوا تماثيل من الطين المحروق ، اتسمت بأسلوبها الفني الخاص<sup>(2)</sup> وقد قامت هذه الحضارات في كانم القديمة على يد شعوب متعددة ، ويذكر التاريخ بعضها بشيء من الاعجاب لما بذلوه من جهود من أجل بناء صرح الحضارات التشادية القديمة . وأهم هذه الشعوب شعب «الساو» ذلك الشعب الذي اتسم نمط حياته في البداية باحتراف مهن متعددة ، «فالساو» صيادون مهرة ، وبناءون ، يرجع إليهم بناء المدن المحاطة بأسوار وتلال نصف صناعية في أنحاء المنطقة الواقعة بين مجرى شارى الأذن ولوجون إلى الغرب وبحيرة تشاد شمالاً<sup>(3)</sup> . وحتى عام 800م لم تكن مملكة كانم قد ظهرت إلى الوجود بشكل واضح ، وإنما كان ذلك الشعب المهاجر «الساو» يعيش في هذه المنطقة في حياة شبه قبلية ، ومنذ ذلك الحين بدأت هجرات جديدة تنهال على هذه المنطقة ، ولعل أول هذه الهجرات هي هجرة «الزغاوة» وهو شعب جمع بين الخصائص الأفريقية والحامية ، وقد جاء هؤلاء من هضبة دارفور ، كما جاء إلى هذه البلاد مهاجرون ينتمون إلى الأسرة - الأموية<sup>(4)</sup> . وياندماج كل هذه الشعوب وغيرها تكون شعب «الكانورى» الذى لعب دوراً مهماً في التكوين الأولى لامبراطورية

كانم القديمة . وعلى أى حال فإن بعض الباحثين يلاحظ وجود ثغرة عريضة بين العصر الذى استقر فيه شعب «الساو» والعصر الذى قامت فيه كانم الوثنية ، وذلك في اعقاب انصهار الشعوب المهاجرة من الشمال والشرق ، ثم تأليفها شعباً مستقراً أتيج له أن يشيد دولة وحكومة في القرن الثامن باسم امبراطورية كانم<sup>(5)</sup> . ومن الملاحظات حول تاريخ هذه الامبراطورية أن اكثر شعوبها مهاجرون من الشرق في اعقاب الحروب التى شبت في وادى النيل في عهد «المكسوس» الى عهد الفتوحات العربية . وأقدم هذه الشعوب هو شعب «الساو» كما ذكرت سابقاً - الذى دلت الابحاث والمكتشفات الحديثة على وجود ارتباط بين منتجاته الحضارية ومنتجات حضارات النيل القديمة (الحضارات المصرية) وذلك أثناء المقارنة بين صناعاته الفخارية والتماثيل البرونزية ، التى تماثل مثيلاتها في الحضارة المصرية القديمة<sup>(6)</sup> . وقد اعتمد شعب كانم في حياته الاقتصادية والاجتماعية على بعض أصحاب الحرف ولا سيما الحدادة وأرباب التجارة ، وانفردوا بالسيادة على طرق القوافل بفزان في شرق الصحراء وبين البحر المتوسط وبحيرة تشاد<sup>(7)</sup> حتى أن بعض الكتاب (بورجيه<sup>(8)</sup>) يرجع تكوّن كانم كامبراطورية مزدهرة في ذلك التاريخ إلى تكوّن أصلاً من الشعوب المسيطرة على طرق القوافل منذ القرن التاسع الميلادى . .

انتشار الاسلام في كانم - برنو (الأرضية الاجتماعية للثقافة العربية)

من الملاحظ أن ازدهار ورقى امبراطورية كانم - برنو التاريخى ارتبط ارتباطاً وثيقاً بانتشار الاسلام فيها . ودخول الاسلام الى هذه المناطق يرجع الى فترات زمنية مقاربة لزمان انتشاره في شمال أفريقيا (يرجع الى سنة

46 هجرية ( 666 / 7 ميلادية )<sup>(9)</sup> . ويثبت الباحثون في الوقت الحاضر ، أن الدين الاسلامى قد لعب دوراً مهماً في المساعدة على قيام الدولة في أفريقيا ، بل هو العامل الوحيد الذى أفضى إلى تجاوز التنظيم البسيط للمجتمعات العشائرية ، فقد ارتبط الاسلام في الغالب بتشيد مبانٍ ضخمة في داخل أفريقيا وذلك يعود إلى أن الانتهاء إلى مؤسسة دينية عالمية قوية وقّـر للشرىحة الحاكمة في أى دولة فتية في أفريقيا مميزات عديدة ، إن الأمير المسلم يمكنه الحصول على ثقافة رفيعة والاقتراب من عالم أوسع ، ويمكنه ان يتعامل مع حرفيين وتجار يعتنقون الدين الاسلامى ، كما أن الفئات الحاكمة استخدمت إداريين ورجال دين يتمتعون بثقافة عالية ، وكان باستطاعتهم السفر الى بعض أنحاء العالم مثل الحج إلى مكة ، هذا بالإضافة إلى أن الاسلام يوسع من إطار الحاكم الافريقى ،

ويقوم بدور في تعبئة المجتمعات المحلية العديدة التى كانت في طور الاندماج في دولة ، ومن الملاحظ في أفريقيا أن أى معتقدات دينية تلقى قبولاً من أى عشيرة أو مجموعة عرقية يمكن ان تصيح كما هى ، أو بعد قليل من التغيير ديناً للدولة بأسرها ، وكانت هذه هى الحال في معظم الأجزاء من أفريقيا<sup>(10)</sup> وهذه العملية تنطبق تماماً على كانم بعد ان انتشر فيها الاسلام بوسيلة التبنى الحر والانتعاش ، وتطلّب انتشاره فترة من الزمن ، وطول المدة في انتشار الاسلام في كانم - ربما - يرجع في جزء منه إلى صورته السلمية في الانتشار . يقول «السير أرنولد» في كتابه الدعوة إلى الاسلام : «إن الأساليب السلمية كانت الطابع الغالب على حركة نشر الدعوة الاسلامية في القارة الأفريقية»<sup>(11)</sup> . ويظهر ان الاسلام انتشر إلى وسط أفريقيا بجهود فردية (رجال الدين ، التجار المسلمون ، والمهاجرون المسلمون ،

تهدف هذه المقالات إلى تناول بعض جوانب الحياة الاجتماعية في وسط أفريقيا في ربط مسيطر للثقافة في مراحل زمنية مختلفة ، ولكنها متصلة ومتكاملة في الوقت نفسه . انطلاقاً من الثقافات القديمة في وسط أفريقيا وكيف امتزجت بالثقافة الإسلامية ، ذلك الامتزاج الرائع الذى شكل الأرضية الاجتماعية ، والتي بدورها اشجعت ثقافة عربية في وسط أفريقيا لها جذورها منذ عشرة قرون ويزيد . وذلك من أجل اعطاء القارئ صورة للتفكير في النوعى بالثقافة وثبات جذورها ، وما تتطلبه من زمن طويل لكي تتشكل وتنمو في ابعادها المختلفة . الماضى والحاضر . ومدى الاستفادة من هذا النوعى الاجتماعى بالثقافة في التعامل مع المستقبل .

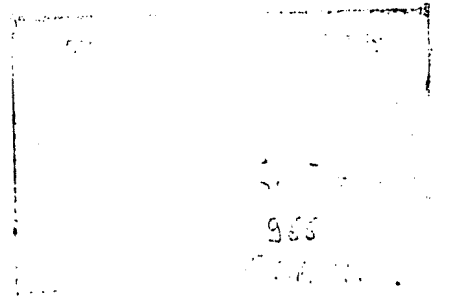
# West Africa and Islam

A Study of Religious  
Development from the  
8th to the 20th Century

by Peter B. Clarke



Edward Arnold



have ruled Zaria for a period during the second half of the 16th century, did not in fact reign until some 200 years later, that is from 1641 to 1658 A.D.<sup>22</sup> It is not, however, being suggested that there was no Muslim presence in the Zaria region prior to the 17th century. There were, it would seem, some Hausa-speaking Muslim settlements in what is today Zaria town and surrounds in the early 16th century. Muslim traders in the main lived in these settlements and exercised authority both within the settlements and in the area immediately surrounding them until the emergence of a new Hausa Muslim dynasty with its headquarters in Zaria in the 17th century.<sup>23</sup>

Gobir, situated to the north of Zaria and Katsina, was the home of Usuman dan Fodio. There is a great deal of speculation as to when and where the state of Gobir emerged. The view has been advanced that Gobir began as a state in the Air mountains in the 12th or 13th century. Leo Africanus, writing in the 16th century, states that Gobir was surrounded by high mountains and that Askiya Muhammad Ture I of Songhay killed its king and enslaved most of its inhabitants.<sup>24</sup> Suffering further onslaughts from the Tuareg, the Gobirawa then moved further south.

There is another view of events which, although it does not discount some form of migration southwards, suggests that this migration was not on a large scale but involved only one or perhaps a few families and that this took place in the 15th century. Moreover, these Gobirawa migrants may have been aliens who came to impose their authority over the local Zamfara peasantry.

There is also very little solid evidence concerning the beginnings of Islam in Gobir. Muslim traders probably visited and settled in the territory in the 15th and 16th centuries and possibly by the 16th century some of the rulers of Gobir were Muslims.

Islam, then, made faltering progress in Hausaland in the period under discussion. Muslim rulers, anxious for political as well as religious reasons to impose an Islamic system of government, met with stiff resistance. The outcome was a system of government which combined aspects of the traditional religio-political system with Islamic governmental principles and practice. In Hausaland in the 16th century a balance had to be kept between the Muslim clerics as advisers and councillors of the king and the priests of the Hausa religion. Both were skilled and knowledgeable: the former on account of their Islamic education, the latter because of their knowledge of the mysteries of the *iskoki* (the spirits). The kings were "chiefs" as it were, of both religions, a difficult position to maintain but made inevitable by the political realities of the situation. Though Muslims themselves, the kings of Kano and Katsina ruled over territories where the population was largely non-Muslim. They therefore needed the services of both Muslim religious specialists and the priests (*bo'kaye*) of the Hausa religion.

## Islam in Kanem-Borno.

### *Beginnings and early development.*

The state of Borno emerged out of Kanem and here I will deal first with the

arrival and early development of Islam in Kanem. Situated to the north-east of Lake Chad, Kanem made its first contact with Islam through trade. Kanem had trade links with Tripoli in North Africa via Kavar and the Fezzan, and it was this trade route that provided the gateway for Islam to enter Kanem. According to al-Bakri, Muslim raiders led by 'Uqba b. Nafi came along this trade route as far as the Kavar region in 666-7 A.D. but withdrew north in a very short space of time. A more permanent Muslim presence was established on the Kanem-North African trade route in the second half of the 8th century with the establishment of the small states of Ajar Fazzan and further south, closer to Kanem, Zawila.<sup>1</sup> Zawila, a centre of Ibadite Islam (see Chapter 1, p. 7 and Chapter 2, p. 24), was overrun in 761 A.D. and its inhabitants massacred by Abbasid forces. The Abbasid descendants of the uncle of Prophet Muhammad, al-Abbas, became the Caliphs of the Muslim world in 749 A.D., after overthrowing the Umayyad dynasty.

The Abbasid attack did not spell the end of Zawila as an important Ibadite centre. Berber Ibadite Muslims continued to frequent and settle in Zawila which remained one of the more important departure terminals for caravans going to the Chad region and elsewhere in the Sudan. Zawila was also an important junction on the pilgrimage route.

It is possible that some Muslims, perhaps traders, came along this trade route to Kanem and settled there, at least for a time, and perhaps acted as advisers to the rulers. There is, however, no evidence that either the ruler or the people of Kanem accepted Islam prior to the second half of the 11th century. The Arabic geographer, al-Muhallabi, writing in the late 10th century, tells us that the people of Kanem "venerate their king and adore him in the place of God Most High. . .".<sup>2</sup> By the end of the 10th century, therefore, the indigenous religious system was still, it would appear, widely accepted in Kanem. Over half a century later, in 1067-8 A.D., al-Bakri commented that the people of Kanem were idolatrous blacks, among whom Umayyad refugees fleeing from Abbasid persecution had settled.<sup>3</sup> It is not at all certain that there were Umayyad refugees in Kanem, although one scholar believes there were and that they played an important role in the dissemination of Islam there.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after al-Bakri made his comments on the people of Kanem a Muslim ruler, Humai Jilme of the Sefawa dynasty, was ruling in Kanem. Mai (King) Humai Jilme, who ruled from c. 1085 to 1097 A.D., was, according to some scholars, the first Muslim king of Kanem-Borno.<sup>5</sup> According to a Borno Mahram (a letter of privilege), Humai Jilme, with the assistance of a certain Muslim missionary Muhammad b. Mani, was responsible for the widespread dissemination of Islam in Kanem-Borno. One extract from the Mahram reads: "The first Muslim country in the Sudan which Islam entered was Borno. It came through Muhammad Ibn Mani. . . . Islam was spreading for two years before, through Muhammad Ibn Mani it became general. . . . Mai Umme (Humai) and Muhammad Ibn Mani spread Islam abroad to last until the day of judgment".<sup>6</sup> It has also been suggested, however, that two Muslim kings of the Dugawa dynasty ruled in Kanem in the late 1060s and early 1070s. There is also some reason to believe that the account which attributes

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THE SAHARA AND THE SUDAN

THE ZAGHĀWA AND KANEM

'Zaghāwa' is the earliest ethnic name from the Sahara and the Sudan to be recorded in the Arabic sources. Wahb b. Munabbih, who died in AD 728 or 732, counted the Zaghāwa among the races of the *Sūdān* together with the Nūba, Zanj, Ḥabasha, Copts and Berbers.<sup>1</sup> The Zaghāwa, who now live in Wadai and Darfur, are part of the Teda-Tubu group, black nomads of the eastern Sahara. Indeed, it appears that Wahb b. Munabbih used Zaghāwa as a generic name for the whole Teda-Tubu group.

More than a century later, writing between 836 and 847, the geographer al-Khwārizmī mentioned the Zaghāwa together with the two oldest states of the Sudan, Ghana and Gao. That Zaghāwa was considered also as a kingdom was confirmed by al-Ya'qūbī in 872. He describes 'the kingdom of the Zaghāwa who live in a place called Kānim'.<sup>2</sup> Kanem, which is mentioned here for the first time, consisted of several vassal kingdoms, as also did Ghana and Gao according to the same account of al-Ya'qūbī. In the tenth century the kingdom was still known to the author of *Akbbār al-Zamān* and to al-Muhallabī as 'the kingdom of the Zaghāwa'.<sup>3</sup> Mānān, one of the two towns of the Zaghāwa mentioned by al-Muhallabī, was described by the thirteenth-century geographer Ibn Sa'īd as the capital of the kings of Kanem before their conversion to Islam. From the time of al-Bakrī in the eleventh century, the kingdom became known as Kanem. Before that, as it is evident from al-Ya'qūbī, Kanem was simply a geographical term. Indeed, it is generally accepted that the name Kanem is derived from the word for 'south' (*anem*) in the Teda and Kanuri languages.<sup>4</sup>

The desiccation of the Sahara caused a southward movement of population into the more humid lands of the Chad basin. Such a north-to-south migration is reflected in the oral traditions of peoples in the region, and is supported by linguistic evidence. Kanembu, the language spoken north-east of Lake Chad, is derived from the group of Teda-Daza languages, to which the Zaghāwa language also belongs. It was during the first millennium that people speaking those languages

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850), 14.

<sup>2</sup> al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbbār al-Zamān*, ed. by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ḥamad Ḥanafī (Cairo, 1938), 66; al-Muhallabī, quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 932.

<sup>4</sup> Abdullahī Smith, 'The early states of the central Sudan', in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa*, I, (London, 1971), 163n.; H. R. Palmer, *The Bornu, Sahara and Sudan* (London, 1936), 162.

680 — 684

THE ZAGHĀWA AND KANEM

migrated to Kanem and contributed to the formation of the Kanuri people.

In the ninth century the Zaghāwa of Kanem still lived as nomads. 'Their dwellings', al-Ya'qūbī says, 'are huts made of reeds and they have no towns.' But a century later al-Muhallabī said that the Zaghāwa had two towns and that their king had a palace though, like their houses, it was probably still made of reeds. These glimpses of the 'kingdom of the Zaghāwa' through two sources separated by a century suggest that the Zaghāwa nomads who had moved into the more humid lands of the Lake Chad basin went through a process of sedentarization.

As a ruler of nomad origin, the wealth of the king of the Zaghāwa 'consists of livestock, such as sheep, cattle, camels and horses'. But the tribal headman turned into a powerful monarch, who 'has unlimited authority over his subjects. He enslaves among them anyone he wants.' It was probably in this process, and as a result of the contact with the Sudanic population of Kanem, that the authority of the king became buttressed by what look like traits of divine kingship:

They exalt their king and worship him instead of God. They imagine that he does not eat any food. There are persons who have charge of this food secretly, and bring it to his house. It is not known where it is brought from. If it happens that one of his subjects meets the camels carrying his provisions, he is killed instantly on the spot. He drinks his beverage in the presence of his select companions. . . . Their religion is the worship of their kings, for they believe that they bring life and death, sickness and health.<sup>1</sup>

The nomads had a military superiority over the settled population of Kanem, largely because of their cavalry. The settled people who became integrated into the political system expressed their allegiance to the *mai* in terms of their own politico-religious institutions. Traits of 'divine kingship' prevail among Sudanic peoples, such as the Jukun, who probably had a common civilization with predynastic societies of the Chad basin. 'Divine kingship', as described by al-Muhallabī in the tenth century – and other elements of the socio-political organization of the kingdoms – was contributed by the Sudanic subjects of the Saifawa.

At this time, towards the end of the tenth century, there is as yet no reference to the introduction of Islam to Kanem. In the middle of the eleventh century al-Bakrī had little to say about the Kanemis who 'live beyond the desert of Zawila . . . They are heathen Sūdān . . . and scarcely anyone reaches them.'<sup>2</sup> Even a century later, in the middle of the twelfth century, al-Idrīsī described Mānān, the pre-Islamic capital of

9 TEMMUZ 2002 Quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 932.

<sup>2</sup> al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, II.

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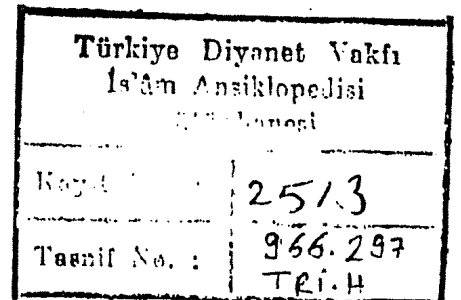
MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

# A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By

J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

Bornu



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savage record of this ruler's warlike activities, provides valuable side-lights on the history and life of the period. Few records of the Hausa states survived, but that of Kano<sup>1</sup> is sufficient to show what important material they might have provided. Few of the texts of these documents have been published, and none in critical editions, and we have to rely to a large extent on translations.

For Bornu, first-hand documents are found in *māhrams*. The consolidation of Islam there is associated with the emigration and settlement of clerics from other regions. These were welcomed and many were granted *māhrams* or 'letters of hereditary privilege' in recompense for services rendered. They state that *X* and his descendants are *ḥarīm*, 'set apart' or 'privileged', that is exempted from taxes, military services, hospitality charges, and the like.<sup>2</sup> Naturally these documents were carefully preserved by the families concerned who sought to get them renewed by subsequent rulers, though this increased the possibilities for interpolation and falsification of date and origin and consequently they have to be used with caution.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. THE STATE OF KANEM-BORNU

Kanem was founded by the black Saharan nomads whom Arabic writers call Zaghāwa. They are of little importance today and exist under that name only in northern Waday, but during the ninth century their territory covered a vast area. They were encountered by traders passing through the central Sahara and on that account receive special attention from Arab geographers. Ibn Khaldūn includes them among the *mulaththamīn*, but this does not mean that they were Tuareg

Kano, 1930; and translated in two parts, 'The Kanem Wars', in *Sud. Mem.* i. 15-72; and 'The So Wars', under the title of *History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma of Bornu (1571-1583)*, Lagos, 1926.

<sup>1</sup> Translated by H. R. Palmer, *J.R.A.I.* xxxviii. 58 ff. and *Sud. Mem.* iii. 92-132. The references which follow are to this last translation although I have sometimes retranslated passages from a photograph of the manuscript (transcribed in 1929) in the possession of Sir Richmond Palmer. The authorship is unknown. It appears to have been compiled by a Hausa and Arabic-speaker from tradition related to him by a Hausa praise-singer and brought up to date with an account of the Fulani rulers, ending in the middle of the reign of Muḥammad Belo (1883-93). It is clear that the author had not followed the normal scholastic training for the Arabic is strange and notably free from the usual pious terminology.

<sup>2</sup> The *askiya* dynasty of Songhay also issued *māhrams*, but few survived its downfall except one or two preserved in the *ta'rikhs*; see *al-Fattāsh*, pp. 72-73/138-41.

<sup>3</sup> Sir H. R. Palmer has translated many in his *Bornu Sahara* and *Sudanese Memoirs*. They are, however, difficult to control since we have few copies of the originals, owners being jealous about letting them out of their hands for photographing. Palmer gives a facsimile of one in *Bornu Sahara*, pp. 40-43. Most of those seen give the appearance of being copies.

for other Saharans wore the muffler. They are first mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī (A.D. 872). After describing the eastern blacks, Nūba, Beja, Ḥabash, and Zinj, he writes:

The blacks who went westwards migrating towards the Maghrib split up the country, forming a number of kingdoms. The first is that of the Zaghāwa who inhabit the place called Kanem. Their dwellings consist of huts of reeds. They have no use for towns. Their king is entitled *Kā-karah*. Among the Zaghāwa is a type called Hawḍīn (?) who have a king from the Zaghāwa. There is another kingdom called Mallel which is at enmity with the [Zaghawī] ruler of Kanem. Their king is called Mayūsi [or Mai Wasi]. Then there is the kingdom of the Ḥabash<sup>1</sup> who have a city called Thabīr. The king of this city is called *Marah*. Adjoining them are the Qāqū [or Alqāqū] except that they are dependent,<sup>2</sup> the king of Thabīr being their king. Next comes the kingdom of Kawkaw.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Ḥawqal (A.D. 961) was probably referring to one of these Zaghawī settlements situated on a trade-route when he wrote that 'from Fezzān to Zaghāwa is a two months' journey'.<sup>4</sup> Shortly afterwards al-Muḥallabī (A.D. 985) wrote that the Zaghāwa were composed of many tribes and had only two towns Mānān and Tarāzakī, both belonging to the first climate, that is the southern Sahil. They had a divine king:

They exalt and worship him instead of God. They imagine that he does not eat for his food is introduced into his compound secretly, no one knowing whence it is brought. Should one of his subjects happen to meet the camel carrying his provisions he is killed instantly on the spot. He drinks with his intimates a beverage which is concocted from millet laced with honey. . . . Most of his subjects are naked except for skin waist-wrappers. They subsist upon the products of their cultivation and the stock they own. Their religion is king-worship ('*ibādatu mulūkihim*), believing that it is they who bring life and death, sickness and health. They [the Zaghāwa] belong to the cities of al-Bilmā'.<sup>5</sup> The capital of the country of Kāwār lies in a south-easterly direction.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not, of course, Ethiopia. The middle radical is unpointed and the word may be read Ḥbsh, Ḥnsh, Ḥysh, or Ḥtsh.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *ma'ūlūn*. The translation of this sentence is uncertain, perhaps 'in subjection'.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, i. 219-20.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, i. 92; cf. p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> *Wa hiya min madd' in al-Bilmā'*. This sentence is awkward. *Hiya* one would expect to refer to the preceding *diyānatuhum*. If emended to some such phrase as *wa hiya min din Abi 'l-Bilmā'*, 'these beliefs are derived from the religion of Abū 'l-Bilmā'', it would read better.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ii. 932-3. Elsewhere (iv. 230) Yāqūt writes: 'Kāwār is an extensive region situated south of Fezzān beyond its oases, it has many towns, among them the *qaṣr* of Umm 'Isā, Abū 'l-Bilmā', and al-Balās; the largest being Abū 'l-Bilmā'. The colour of its inhabitants is yellow and they dress in woollen garments. In their country are market-places, running streams and many palm groves. They have a king who is vassal to the king of the Zaghāwa.'



Mervyn Hiskett

# The Development of Islam in West Africa

DIA  
ism  
Tarende  
(Borno)  
Kanem

## DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

Arabs; and they were in no way connected with the early Kanem dynasty. The most likely significance of this legend of origin is that the family of Hummay had recently converted to Islam, probably as a result of contacts made with Muslims in Zawila and elsewhere along the caravan routes. Desiring an aristocratic Islamic pedigree to support their political ambitions, they chose one from the well-known Islamic folk tales about Sayf b. Dhī Yazan who was a heroic warrior against the infidel tyrants of his day. Such genealogies going back to Sayf and to Yemen were frequently adopted all over West Africa when a family or group went over to Islam. There can be no certainty as to their exact source but there was an historical Sayf, mentioned by the 3/10-century Arabic historian, al-Ṭabarī. There was also another, more legendary Sayf, who figures in the *Sīra*, the 'Biography' of the Prophet Muḥammad, of which there are numerous versions. Either of these sources – or oral tales based upon them – could have supplied the newly converted Muslims with the genealogies they needed.

In addition to this Yemenite origin, the Saifawa also claimed to be descended from the Prophet's tribe, Quraysh, thus they claimed to be *shurafā'*.

With the establishment of Islam in the state of Kanem the southern, Kanembu people began to emerge as the dominant group. It is uncertain what then happened to the Zaghawa. Some think they simply merged with the Kanembu while others believe they were all pushed out to the east where they survive to the present day. A recent view, put forward by Dr Humphrey Fisher, is that some Zaghawa accepted Islam and became absorbed into the new Islamic state of Kanem, while others resisted and were driven out east, taking their old system of divine kingship with them. That system did not disappear entirely from the Islamic state of Kanem and traces of it remained even into the 13-19 century, in for example the custom of secluding the *mai* from the gaze of his subjects.

The first Saifawid dynasty may have established diplomatic links with the surrounding Islamic world by the end of the 5/11 century or the beginning of the 6/12 century. It is reported, admittedly by a source dating from the 10/16 century, that Mai Dunama b. Hummay performed Pilgrimage at least twice. If these journeys really did take place, they must certainly have helped to establish relations with Egypt and the *mai* of Kanem to become accepted as a legitimate Muslim ruler. They must also have opened the door to the introduction of Islamic constitutional forms into the government of Kanem.

The Saifawid empire reached its height in the first half of the 7/13 century, under Mai Dunama Dibalami (c. 607/1210-646/1248), a successor of Dunama b. Hummay who is mentioned above. He conquered extensive territories to the north of Kanem, including the Fazzan, which he occupied. By this time, too, it seems likely that cultural influences from Borno had reached westward, at least as far as Kano. It may be as a result of this early contact with an Islamic neighbour that the first Arabic words – basic Islamic terms like *ṣalāt* (Hausa *salla*) 'prayer', *al-qur'ān* (Hausa *Alkur'an*) 'the Koran' and so on were adopted as loan-words into Hausa. At the same time that this imperial expansion was taking place within the Sudan, diplomatic and trading relations were set up with the Hafsid state in Tunisia. This also helped to promote Islamic influences in the Kanem empire.

Recent, more critical research into the often confusing and sometimes

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- Volume VI Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s  
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- Volume VII Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935  
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- Volume VIII Africa since 1935  
(Editor A. A. Mazrui)  
(Assistant Editor C. Wondji)

13 ARALIK 1994

- Bornu

- Kanem

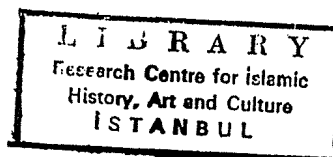
(492-514)

GENERAL HISTORY  
OF AFRICA · VAfrica from the Sixteenth  
to the Eighteenth Century

EDITOR B. A. OGOT

Volume V of the *General History of Africa* is accompanied by a corrigendum reproducing some corrections which could not have been made for technical reasons. The publishers believe that this is necessary to maintain the historical, political and academic accuracy required of such a *History*.

1992



HEINEMANN·CALIFORNIA·UNESCO

17

Kānem-Borno: its relations  
with the Mediterranean Sea,  
Bagirmi and other states  
in the Chad basin

B. M. BARKINDO\*

In the thirteenth century the Muslim state of Kānem was one of the most extensive in the *Bilād al-Sūdān*. The Sēfuwa *mais* (kings) controlled the vast area from the eastern shores of Lake Chad in the south to the Fezzān oasis in the north. Their expansion, however, had not been accompanied by appropriate political and economic development. The emergence of various groups as semi-autonomous units distinct from the main Sēfuwa ruling dynasty had prevented the development of a centralized political system. In addition, Kānem, mostly desert and semi-desert, lacked the primary resources needed to support such a large system.

There followed a serious crisis which finally led to the collapse of the Kānem state in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Mai 'Umar b. Idrīs (1382-87), leading the Magumi group (of which the royal Sēfuwa was a lineage) and its supporters, migrated to Borno to the west of Lake Chad where the necessary resources existed and where the Sēfuwa had already planted their vassals. The Sēfuwa had been preceded by a large number of individual Kānem immigrants who had already settled there, particularly in the south and west.<sup>1</sup>

The Sēfuwa's main objective on arrival in Borno appears to have been the building of a strong regional economy to support a well-organized Sēfuwa-dominated political structure. However, during their first century there, they faced many problems which at times posed threats to their very survival. There was constant civil strife, regular dynastic crises, periodical attacks from the Bulala and the problems of overmighty title-holders.<sup>2</sup>

## Mai 'Alī Gaji and the foundation of the Borno califate

c. 1465-97

Civil conflict terminated with the accession of 'Alī ibn Dunāma, commonly known as 'Alī Gaji, who was able to consolidate power in his own branch of the ruling dynasty. When in about 1471 the Bulala made one of their

\* I am grateful to Dr Philip Shea and John Lavers, who read the draft of this chapter, for their useful comments and suggestions.

1. For discussions see B. M. Barkindo, 1971.
2. *ibid.*

Kānem-Borno

predatory incursions into Borno, 'Alī Gaji met and defeated them although he did not pursue them further.

In about 1472, 'Alī Gaji built the fortress of Birnin Gazargamu in the fork of the Rivers Yobe and Gana.<sup>3</sup> This eventually developed into the capital of the Sēfuwa and remained so throughout their rule in Borno. Several other fortified settlements were probably founded at about the same time.<sup>4</sup>

'Alī Gaji is remembered as a reviver of Islam as he attempted to eliminate, at least in the ruling group, the syncretism which had become rife amongst the Sēfuwa. He also tried to found a proper Islamic government. Following the traditions of his predecessors and in response to the Islamic fervour of the period, 'Alī surrounded himself with '*ulamā*' (Muslim scholars) whose advice he sought on any major decision. Two of these were Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḳuwwata his *Ḳāḍī al-Kabīr* (chief judge), and Masbarma 'Umar b. 'Uthmān, his *Wazīr* and chief *Imām*.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the overmighty title-holders had their powers reduced, especially the *kaigama* and *yerima* (governor of the northern provinces) who, during the period of crisis, made and unmade kings at will.<sup>6</sup> It may have been during 'Alī Gaji's reign that the division of the royal harem with its four titled wives and a number of titled concubines was created.<sup>7</sup> The office of the *chirōma* (heir-apparent) may also have had its origins in this period.

During his pilgrimage in about 1484, 'Alī Gaji was said to have been invested as the *Khalīfa* of Takrūr by the Abbasid claimant 'Abd al-'Azīs b. Ya'qūb.<sup>8</sup> From this time onwards Borno rulers regarded themselves as *Khalīfas*, a claim that came to be accepted by many scholars and rulers in the *Bilād al-Sūdān*.<sup>9</sup>

## Problems and opportunities in expanding the Borno califate: 1497-1564

'Alī Gaji's policies were continued by his son and successor Idrīs b. 'Alī surnamed Katakarmabe (c. 1497-1519) who consolidated his gains and tried to expand the state. But for the next fifty years or more Katakarmabe and his successors faced many challenges which diverted their attention from their expansionist goals.

The Sēfuwa's first problem was the resumption of the Bulala attacks after 'Alī Gaji's death. The Bulala appear to have been determined to

3. *Brief Dīwān*.

4. 'Alī's praise song was 'He of the tall towns and long spears'.

5. H. R. Palmer, 1936, pp. 21, 2 and 23, 8.

6. H. Barth, 1965, Vol. II, p. 589.

7. H. R. Palmer, 1967, p. 158.

8. *Brief Dīwān*, pp. 5, 9.

9. J. E. Lavers, 1971, p. 32.

Publications of the  
Institute for the History of  
Arabic-Islamic Science

Edited by  
Fuat Sezgin

ISLAMIC  
GEOGRAPHY

Volume 145

Texts and Studies on the  
Historical Geography and Topography  
of Africa

Collected and reprinted

1993

Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science  
at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University  
Frankfurt am Main

*Kanem*

08 TEMMUZ 1994

ISLAMIC  
GEOGRAPHY

Volume 145

TEXTS AND STUDIES ON THE  
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by  
Fuat Sezgin

in collaboration with  
Mazen Amawi, Carl Ehrig-Eggert,  
Eckhard Neubauer

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science  
at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University  
Frankfurt am Main

- ÇAD  
- Kanem  
- Nil

Fresnel, Fulgence: *Essai de discussion des documents relatifs au cours supérieur du Nil Blanc et aux deux principaux lacs de l'Afrique Centrale, l'Ounyaméci et le Tchâd.*  
Bulletin de la Société de Géographie (Paris), 3ème série, vol. 14. 1850. pp. 361-380. ....

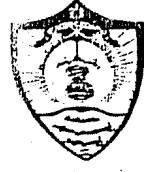
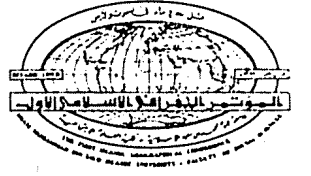
63 - 82

ESSAI DE DISCUSSION  
DES DOCUMENTS RELATIFS AU COURS SUPÉRIEUR  
DU NIL BLANC  
ET AUX DEUX PRINCIPAUX LACS DE L'AFRIQUE CENTRALE,  
L'OUNYAMÉCI ET LE TCHÂD.

Je ne reviendrai point sur les notions géographiques des plus anciens auteurs grecs qui ont parlé des sources du Nil et de son cours supérieur, notions communes et à toute l'antiquité gréco-romaine (le seul Ptolémée excepté) et aux Africains occidentaux de toutes les époques. Ainsi, dans mon examen rétrospectif, je m'arrête à cet état de la science représenté par la géographie dite de Ptolémée, et, procédant du présent au passé, je vais tâcher d'établir :

XIV. DÉCEMBRE. 1.

25



RESEARCH CENTRE

Kesim Kurbayek

20 NISAN 1997

Kanem (36-39)

makale s.27-40 arası.

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THE FIRST ISLAMIC GEOGRAPHICAL  
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THE PLANTING AND DIFFUSION OF  
ISLAM IN AFRICA- SOUTH OF SAHARA

BY

DR. A. RAHMAN I. DOI

# THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AFRICA

Volume 5  
from c. 1790 to c. 1870

edited by  
JOHN E. FLINT

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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2001

NINETEENTH-CENTURY JIHADS IN WEST AFRICA

MADDE YAKINDI SANDIKTAN  
SONRA ÇEKİLMİŞ DOKÜMAN

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE JIHADISTS AND

AL-KĀNAMĪ OF BORNŪ

23 EKİM 2002

The kingdom of Bornu lies to the east of Hausaland. About 1812, when the shape of the new Fulani empire was established, the western boundary of Bornu marched with the eastern borders of the Fulani emirates of Hadejia, Katagum and Gombe. Its eastern boundary passed approximately through the centre of Lake Chad. It therefore belongs more to the central than to the western Sudan. Yet it was so closely associated with the jihad in Hausaland that some account of that association is appropriate, as part of the whole story of the jihad.

Before the jihad in Hausaland, southern Bornu comprised the kingdoms of Hadejia, Jama'are, Katagum and Misau and was governed by the Galadima, a senior Bornu official. Around 1805, the leaders of certain Fulani clans that had long been settled in these states revolted against their Bornu overlord. In this they were following the example of the jihadists in Hausaland. Mai Aḥmad, the ruler of Bornu at the time, believing the rebels to be acting in collusion with the jihadists in the Hausa kingdoms, protested to Shehu Usuman dan Fodio and demanded that he use his influence to restrain them. This produced no result and the Fulani in Bornu continued their successful rebellion. Although they suffered some initial defeats, by 1808 they had driven the *mai* out of his capital, Birnin Ngasargamu. Mai Aḥmad died shortly after this and his successor, Mai Dunama, called to his aid a certain Shaykh Muḥammad b. Amin b. Muḥammad al-Kānamī, a Kanembu 'ālim settled in Ngala, south of Lake Chad. Al-Kānamī took up arms on the *mai*'s behalf and in a series of campaigns scotched what had now become a thorough-going attempt by the Fulani to conquer Bornu, although he was unable to recapture the western provinces, which became emirates of the Sokoto empire. As a result of his campaigns al-Kānamī gained such material power and moral influence that he first rendered the *mai* subservient and later ousted his dynasty, that of the Saifawa, which had ruled Bornu for almost a thousand years. He then became the sole ruler of the empire, thus founding his own dynastic line.

Al-Kānamī was a devout Muslim. He was not a jihadist. He fought his campaigns to protect the territorial integrity of the Bornu empire and to preserve the Islamic *status quo* within it. There is no substantial evidence that, in imposing his own authority over Bornu, he was pre-occupied with notions of reform. It is true that, sporadically, he tried

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Joseph Cuoq

**HISTOIRE DE L'ISLAMISATION  
DE L'AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST**  
DES ORIGINES À LA FIN DU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	82557
Tas. No:	

LIBRAIRIE ORIENTALISTE PAUL GEUTHNER SA, PARIS - 1984

Mais encore faut-il que cette étude de la Loi soit suffisamment répandue parmi les croyants et représentée de façon honorable. Il n'y a rien de plus dangereux pour la continuité que les monopoles. Un coup du sort les mettant à terre peut être cause de malheurs irréparables.

Or, c'est ce qui arriva à l'intelligentsia de Tombouctou lors de l'invasion marocaine en 1591. On sait comment les 'ulamā' de la ville, rassemblés dans la mosquée sous le faux prétexte de prêter serment de fidélité aux conquérants, furent presque tous arrêtés et emmenés quelques mois plus tard, en exil, à Marrakesh<sup>645</sup>. Ce n'était pas simplement Tombouctou qui était privé de ses faqīh mais toute l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Ce fut un coup très dur pour l'Islam, son enracinement et son expansion. L'épreuve mit un terme à la plus brillante période de la vie intellectuelle sur les bords du Niger.

**L'EMPIRE DE KANEM-  
BORNOU**

9 TEMMUZ 2002  
MADDE YAYINLANDIRAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

645. T.al-S. 169/258 et 211/322.

# LES AFRICAINS

sous la direction  
de  
Charles-André Julien  
et  
Magali Morsy,  
Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch,  
Yves Person

TOME VII

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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LES EDITIONS DU  
**Jaguar**

1990 - 1990

## *El-Kanemi le cheikh restaurateur du pouvoir au Bornou*

John E. Lavers

Mallam Lamino, cheikh Mohammed el-Amin el-Kanemi — en abrégé, simplement el-Kanemi —, se présente tout à la fois, comme un savant et un maître, un soldat et un administrateur. Le pouvoir auquel il accède au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle lui vaut la réputation de sauveur du Bornou, son pays d'adoption. La région dans laquelle s'est développée son action est aujourd'hui morcelée, conséquence des luttes d'influence et de l'établissement des frontières coloniales entre le Nigeria, le Tchad, le Cameroun et le Niger, et les régions soudaniennes centrales.

### *La toile de fond*

Entre 1600 et 1800, peu de changements sont intervenus dans les territoires du *bilad as-Soudan* : les Etats existants ou ceux qui sont apparus au début de cette période survivent encore à l'orée du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. A l'est, dans la vallée du Nil, le sultanat Funj de Sinnar est florissant ; plus à l'ouest, ce sont le Darfour, l'Ouadaï et le Baghirmi, puis le Bornou et ses dépendances auquel succèdent les états hausa. Dans la boucle du Niger se trouvent les ruines du Songhai qui a succombé à l'invasion marocaine en 1591 ; aucun pouvoir de quelque importance n'a pris la relève. Au nord, se trouvent les Targui et les Toubou, nomades du désert, et les sultanats d'Agadès et du Fezzan, tandis qu'au-delà s'étend le domaine des pachas ottomans d'Afrique du Nord : Alger, Tunis, Tripoli et l'Egypte. Ces régions du nord sont surtout en relation avec les pays du pourtour de la Méditerranée, mais il leur arrive d'être concernées par les événements qui touchent les Etats de l'intérieur.

Le plus grand est le Bornou, qui, sous les *mai* ou sultans de la dynastie des Beni

Saif, domine toute la région depuis un millénaire. Dès le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, ils se sont proclamés califes de Takrou, auxquels la plus grande partie du pays s'est soumise ; leur pouvoir n'a donc jamais été sérieusement contesté. Loin de posséder une force et une autorité comparables à celles des Saifawa, Etats et royaumes ont officialisé la suprématie des *mai* du Bornou. On a tenté de distinguer entre le Bornou proprement dit, ou Bornou métropolitain, où l'on parle surtout le kamri et où le pouvoir est relativement défini, et le grand Bornou qui englobe des régions plus ou moins dépendantes de l'autorité centrale. Certains Etats semblent avoir à leur cour des résidents du Bornou ; d'autres lui payent des tributs, d'autres encore lui font des offrandes traditionnelles ou des dons volontaires. Ces relations assez lâches se retrouvent dans ce que nous savons de l'activité militaire au Bornou au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : les expéditions alors entreprises apparaissent comme des actions de police visant au maintien du statu quo ; la négociation est préférée au conflit.

Dans le domaine économique, le Bornou joue un rôle d'entrepreneur. Il produit peu pour l'exportation, excepté d'importantes quantités de sel minéral utilisé comme remède ou comme ingrédient pour la cuisine, et que l'on transporte très loin, jusqu'au Gonja et en Ashanti par exemple, où il est échangé contre d'autres marchandises : noix de cola ou poussière d'or. Les marchands bornou se sont installés dans la plupart des grands centres commerciaux de la région, en particulier dans les Etats hausa où ils seront rapidement assimilés. Pour acquérir de l'ivoire, ils pénètrent au sud, jusqu'aux vallées du Chari et du Logone, voire jusqu'au nord du bassin du Congo. Le Bornou importe des esclaves

- Nijazga

- Bornou

Kanemi

Kanemi

S 47-71

MADDE YERİNDEN TAN  
SONRA ALINIR  
18 000 000

- خُطِبَاتٌ وَقُوْبَلَتْ عَلَى طَبَعَةِ دَارِ الْكُتُبِ الْمَصْرِيَّةِ  
وَعَلَى الْمَصَادِرِ الْأَسَاسِيَّةِ لِنُصُوصِ الْكِتَابِ .  
- مُدَيَّلَةٌ بِاسْتِدْرَاجَاتٍ وَتَضْوِيَّاتٍ وَهَوَامِشٍ تَوْضِيحِيَّةٍ .  
- مُسْتَفِيدَةٌ مِنَ الدِّرَاسَاتِ وَالْأَبْحَاثِ الَّتِي كُتِبَتْ حَوْلَ  
هَذَا السِّقْرِ النَّقِيسِ مِنْ مَكْتَبَتِنَا الْمَرْبِيَّةِ .

دار الكتب العلمية

بيروت - لبنان

1987

صبح الاعنى ..... ٢٦٩

وقاعدتهم مدينة (كاكا) بكافين بعد كل منهما ألف فيما ذكر لي رسول  
سلطانهم الواصل إلى الديار المصرية صحبة الحجيج في الدولة الظاهرية  
(برقوق) (١). وقد تعرض إليها في «مسالك الأبصار» في تحديد مملكة مالي على ما  
يأتي ذكره إن شاء الله تعالى.

ومن مدنهم أيضاً مدينة (كُتْسِكِي) بكافٍ مضمومة وتاءٍ مشناة فوقية ساكنة  
ونون مكسورة وسين مهملة ساكنة وكافٍ مكسورة بعدها ياء مشناة تحتية. وهي  
شرقي (كاكا) على مسيرة يومٍ واحدٍ منها.

قلت: وقد وصل كتابُ ملك البرنو في أواخر الدولة الظاهرية (برقوق) يذكر  
فيه أنه من ذرية «سيف بن ذي يزن» (٢) إلا أنه لم يحقق النسب فذكر أنه من قریش  
وهو غلط منهم فإن «سيف بن ذي يزن» من أعقاب تبابعة اليمن من حمير. على ما  
يأتي ذكره في الكلام على المكاتبات، في المقالة الرابعة فيما بعد، إن شاء الله  
تعالى.

ولصاحب البرنو هذا مكتابة عن الأبواب السلطانية بالديار المصرية، يأتي  
ذكرها هناك إن شاء الله تعالى.

### المملكة الرابعة

(بلاد الكانيم)

والكانيم بكافٍ بعدها ألفٌ ثم نون مكسورة وميم في الآخر. وهم مسلمون  
أيضاً والغالب على ألوانهم السوداء. قال في «مسالك الأبصار»: وبلادهم بين

(١) هو: الظاهر برقوق بن أنس - أو أنس - العثماني أبو سعيد سيف الدين الملك الظاهر: أول من  
ملك مصر من الشراكسة. توفي سنة ٨٠١ هـ. انظر الضوء اللامع (ج ٣، ص ١٠). والأعلام  
(ج ٢، ص ٤٨).

(٢) هو: سيف بن ذي يزن بن ذي أصبح بن مالك بن زيد بن سهل بن عمرو الجعفي: من ملوك  
العرب اليمانيين ودهانهم. وقيل اسمه معد يكر. توفي سنة ٥٠ ق هـ. انظر الأعلام (ج ٣،  
ص ١٤٩).

..... ٢٦٨ الجزء الخامس

على عادة العرب إلى هذا الزمان.

وذكر في «مسالك الأبصار»: أن ملكها الآن مسلم من أولاد (كتر الدولة)  
قال: وأولاد الكنز هؤلاء أهل بيت ثارت لهم ثوائر مرّات. فيحتمل أن أولاد الكنز  
من جهينة أيضاً جمعاً بين المقالتين.

وقد ذكر في «مسالك الأبصار»: أنّ سلطانهم كواحد من العامة، وأنه تأوي  
الغرباء إلى جامع دُنُقَلَة فيُرْسِل إليهم؛ فيأتونه فيُضيّفهم ويُنعّم عليهم هو وأمرأوه،  
وأن غالب عطانهم الدكاكيد: وهي أكسية غلاظ غالبها سود: وربما أعطوا عبداً  
أو جارية.

(وقد ذكر في «الروض المعطار»: أن عمرو بن العاص (١) رضي الله عنه  
قصد قتال الثوبة فرأهم يرمون الحذق بالنبل فكفّ عنهم، وقرّر عليهم إتاوة من  
الرفيق في كل سنة)، ولم تزل ملوك مصر تأخذ منهم هذه الإتاوة في أكثر الأوقات  
حتى ذكر في «مسالك الأبصار» أنه كان عليهم في زمنه مقرّر لصاحب مصر في كل  
سنة من العبيد، والإماء، والجراب، والوخوش الثوبية -

قلت: أمّا الآن فقد انقطع ذلك. «وربك يخلق ما يشاء ويختار» (٢).

### المملكة الثالثة

(بلاد البرنو)

وببلاد البرنو - بفتح الباء الموحدة وسكون الراء المهملة وضم النون  
وسكون الواو. وهم مسلمون والغالب على ألوانهم السوداء قال في «التعريف»:  
وبلاده تحدُّ بلاد التُّكُرور من الشرق، ثم يكون حدّها من الشمال بلاداً أفريقيةً،  
ومن الجنوب الهَمَج.

(١) سبق التعريف به.

(٢) انظر سورة القصص ورقمها (٢٨). آية رقم (٦٨).

# LES AFRICAÏNS

sous la direction

de

Charles-André Julien

et

Magali Morsy,

Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch,

Yves Person

TOME IV

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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**Jaguar**

## Râbih' émir d'un "empire mobile" aux confins soudanais Henri Moniot

Les informations disponibles sur Râbih' sont fragmentaires et parfois contradictoires. Jusqu'à son arrivée à l'âge d'homme, il y a trois données que l'on peut raisonnablement et utilement retenir. La première est qu'il naquit vers 1840 dans un village de la province de Khartoum, troisième enfant de son père, Fad'lullâh, briquetier, et de sa mère, Zaidan, qui, dans le tissu humain soudanais, étaient peut-être des *Funj*. La seconde est qu'il s'engage à 20 ans dans l'armée égyptienne, mais qu'il doit un jour la quitter et revenir au pays, réformé pour une blessure au doigt. La troisième est qu'avant mai 1864 il fait la connaissance d'al-Zubayr, grand marchand *ja'liyin* en train de fonder sa prospérité au Bahr al-Ghazal, et qu'il entre pour longtemps au nombre de ses auxiliaires fidèles.

Situons ces trop maigres données. Depuis 1820, lors de la conquête ordonnée par le vice-roi d'Égypte Muh'ammad 'Alî, qui a mis fin aux pouvoirs royaux ou tribaux antérieurs et notamment au vieux royaume de Sinnâr, la vallée soudanaise du Nil, les pays entre Nil blanc et Athara, le Kordofan... sont sous administration égyptienne -- égypto ottomane si on pense à la nature de la couche dirigeante. A Khartoum, un gouverneur général impulse une vigueur modernisatrice qui s'épanouit dans le système fiscal et dans la création d'une armée à large recrutement local. Le commerce à longue distance en est stimulé : l'ancien, qui amenait vers le Caire, du Dâr Fûr et du Sinnâr, les esclaves pris dans leurs lointains pays frontaliers non musulmans, et dont l'intérêt se montre manifeste pour l'armée nouvelle, égyptienne et soudanaise -- et le nouveau, fasciné par l'ivoire que demande l'Europe, pour lequel de grands marchands d'origines va-

riées établis à Khartoum ouvrent hardiment une sorte de *Far-(South)-West* incontrôlé : Haut-Nil et, intensivement à partir de 1855, Bahr al-Ghazal. L'ivoire secrète aussi l'esclave, fruit des combats, porteur, soldat des troupes des grands marchands et entrepôts fortifiés, les *zariba*. Al-Zubayr réussit là brillamment ; on le voit même dès 1859 nouer contact, au-delà du versant hydrographique nilotique et des populations peu structurées politiquement du Dâr-Fertit, avec un des souverains zandé, dont il épouse la fille et convoite l'ivoire.

En s'attachant à lui, Râbih' s'agrégeait à la construction d'un grand pouvoir politique et économique, menée tambour battant dans une situation ignorant les « règles du jeu » généralement imposées par le contexte social, où comptaient seules la force disponible, l'appréciation correcte des partenaires et des occasions, et la décision -- expérience qui préfigure, et manifestement prépare, sa propre carrière future. Expérience pour laquelle ses qualités et ses talents militaires acquis dans l'armée égyptienne le recommandaient : al-Zubayr, séduit, lui confia vite d'importants commandements.

En 1865 est fondée la *zariba* qui, de toutes celles du Bahr al-Ghazal, devient la plus célèbre, la plus fastueuse, la plus fréquentée des marchands les plus lointains, appelée du nom de son possesseur, selon l'usage, Dam Zubayr. Son maître est bien plus qu'un marchand, un vrai prince. En 1866, il passe traité avec 80 shaykhs des pasteurs arabes rizaiqât, qui tiennent le flanc méridional du Dâr-Fûr : il en obtient, contre paiement d'un droit, le passage tranquille de leur pays pour ses caravanes, qui gagnent ainsi Khartoum


Tête de Râbih' portée au haut d'une pique  
après le combat où il trouva la mort en 1900 :  
représentation dans *L'enfant* :  
La grande route du Tchad, 1903.

# WESTERN AFRICAN HISTORY

Vol. I of African History:  
Text and Readings

by  
**Robert O. Collins**  
University of California, Santa Barbara

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Kanem  
- Bornu

S. 42-49

## 5 IMAM AHMAD IBN FARTUWA IDRIS ALAWMA AND THE KANEM WARS

*The state of Kanem was probably founded in the ninth century in the region northeast of Lake Chad by black Saharan nomads called Zaghawa. Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries Islam was introduced and was accompanied by the political transformation of the chief of Kanem from a nomadic sheik to a Sudanese king, the mai, with his capital at Njimi. During the reign of Dunama Dabalemi ibn Salma (1221-1259), the authority of the mai was strengthened, but his enthusiasm for Islam alienated the pagan branch of the ruling clan known as the Bulala. Thereafter, the kings of Kanem sought to crush the pagan Bulala, but in the fourteenth century this struggle intensified and the pagan reaction triumphed. Between 1384 and 1388, the mai abandoned Kanem to the Bulala and took refuge in Bornu, west of Lake Chad. Victorious, the Bulala established their capital at Gaw, north of Lake Fitri. Meanwhile, the former rulers of Kanem revived under Ali ibn Dunama (1476-1503), who established the kingdom of Bornu with its capital at Ngazargamu. Bornu flourished and reached its golden age during the reign of Idris ibn Ali (1570-1602), known as Idris Alawma. Idris Alawma was a great warrior king. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca, during which he learned the power of firearms and imported Turkish musketeers to consolidate his power in Bornu. He then launched the Kanem wars against the Bulala. In seven expeditions he defeated the Bulala but was never able to subdue them. In the end he acknowledged the independence of Kanem under its Bulala king and agreed upon a defined frontier between Bornu and Kanem. Ahmad ibn Fartuwa was the principal imam under Idris Alawma. His rich and detailed "A History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma" and "The Kanem War of Idris Alooma" were first procured by Heinrich Barth in 1853 from the then Wazir of Bornu, al-Hajj Bashir. The selections in this section describe the pilgrimage, the return to Bornu, and the consolidation of the authority of Idris Alawma and are followed by excerpts from his fifth, sixth, and seventh expeditions to Kanem, which culminated in the peace treaty with the Bulala.*

So he made the pilgrimage and visited Tayiba, the Tayiba of the Prophet, the chosen one (upon whom be peace and the blessing of God), the unique, the victorious over the vicissitudes of day and night.

He was enriched by visiting the tomb of the pious Sahabe the chosen, the perfect ones (may the Lord be favourable and beneficent to them), and he bought in the noble city a house and date grove, and settled there some slaves, yearning after a plenteous reward from the Great Master.

Then he prepared to return to the kingdom of Bornu. When he reached the land called Barak he killed all the inhabitants who were warriors. They were strong but after this became weak; they became conquered, where formerly they had been conquerors. Among the benefits which God (Most High) of His bounty and beneficence, generosity, and constancy conferred upon the Sultan was the acquisition of Turkish musketeers and numerous household slaves who became skilled in firing muskets.

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

Among the most surprising of his acts was the stand he took against obscenity

From Imam Ahmad ibn Fartuwa, "A History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma," in H. R. Palmer, *Mai Idris of Bornu, 1571-1583* (Lagos, 1926), pp. 11-13. Section describing Fifth Expedition from Imam Ahmad ibn Fartuwa, "The Kanem Wars," in H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs* (Lagos, 1928), I, 48-51, 62-65, 67-69.

MADDELERİNİN  
SONRA GÖLEN DOKÜMANI

MAHİR ZAR

Imam Ahmad ibn Fartuwa

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and adultery, so that no such thing took place openly in his time. Formerly the people had been indifferent to such offences, committed openly or secretly by day or night. In fact he was a power among his people and from him came their strength.

So he wiped away the disgrace, and the face of the age was blank with astonishment. He cleared away and reformed as far as he could the known wrong doing.

To God belong the secret sins, and in His hands is direction, and prevention, and prohibition and sanction.

Owing to the Mai's noble precepts all the people had recourse to the sacred Sheria, putting aside worldly intrigue in their disputes and affairs, big or little.

From all we have heard, formerly most of the disputes were settled by the chiefs, not by the "Ulema."

For example, he stopped wrong doing, hatred and treachery, and fighting between Muslims, in the case of the Kuburi and Kayi. They had been fighting bitterly over their respective prestige, but on the Sultan's accession, he sternly forbade them to fight till they became as brothers in God.

Then again there was his leniency in his remarkable expedition to Gamargu and Margi and Kopchi and Mishiga and to the hills of Womdiu.

He also came to the people of the hills of Zajadu and the hills of N'garasa, called N'guma, who had allied themselves with the sons of Sultan Daud and his grandsons and relatives and made raids on the land of Bornu, killing men and enslaving women and children right down to the time of our Sultan (may God ennoble him in both worlds). He scattered their host, and divided them, but of the N'guma he spared all and established them in settlements under his direction as his subjects nor did they resist or become recalcitrant.

The tribe of N'gizim, the people of Mugulum, and the people of Gamazan

and others of the N'gizim stock who were neighbours were insolent and rebellious, till our Sultan went out to them with a large host, destroyed their crops, and burnt their houses in the wet season. Thus they felt the pinch of a ruined country, yielded to him obedience, and submitted to his rule.

He introduced units of measure for corn among these people by the power and might of God. The N'gizim who dwelt in the West, known as Binawa, would not desist from enslaving Muslims in their country and doing other evil and base actions. They kept seizing the walled towns of the Yedi as fortresses and places of refuge and hiding, using them as bases treacherously to attack the Muslims by day and night, without ceasing or respite. But when our Sultan ascended the throne, he and his Wazir in chief Kursu took counsel to stem the torrent of their guile and deceit, so that they left off their wickedness, and some followed the Sultan, others the Wazir Kursu, others various leaders who had waged "Holy War" with the Sultan.

To some the Sultan gave orders to settle, and devote their time to agriculture.

Again there is the record of the Sultan's dealings with the So whose home was in the East on the shores of the great lake of Chad. These people, known as Tatala, formerly perpetrated many iniquities and crimes. It is said that they took stores of water in gourds or other receptacles, and then with their weapons and shields, sallied forth to harry the towns of the Muslims, sometimes going two or three days distance on these forays.

But when the time of our Sultan came, he rebuked them with a stern rebuke, and chastised them with divers sorts of chastisement till they became downcast and ashamed. Many of their dwellings became desolate, empty, forlorn and deserted.

Know, my brethren, that in what we

# LES AFRICAINS

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Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch.

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## Idris Alaoma souverain guerrier de l'empire du Bornu

Idris Alaoma est bien le seul souverain du Bornu dont le nom soit connu d'un large public. C'est là l'indice d'un grand règne. Et, de fait, le Bornu atteint alors, au tournant du *xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle et du xvii<sup>e</sup>*, un niveau de puissance qu'il ne retrouvera plus dans les siècles suivants.

Mais le nom d'Idris Alaoma est inséparable de celui de la dynastie à laquelle il appartient, celle des Sefuwa, ou Sefawa, qui prétendent descendre du héros yéménite Saïf b. Dhu Yazan. Cette dynastie, qui a régné sans interruption sur le Kanem d'abord, sur le Bornu ensuite, pendant au moins huit cents ans, témoigne d'une continuité remarquable.

L'importance de la tradition historique autochtone est à la mesure de ce phénomène dynastique et étatique. Les listes royales — *girgam* — récitées dans la langue du Bornu (le *kanuri*), constituent le principal support de cette connaissance du passé autour de laquelle s'articulent de multiples légendes et récits oraux.

L'usage ancien de l'arabe a permis de transcrire et consigner de longue date certains *girgam* et traditions, voire certains actes du pouvoir comme les exemptions du devoir militaire accordées à quelques clans et conservées par eux (*marham*). Deux de ces *marham* sont précisément attribués à Idris Alaoma.

L'intérêt scientifique pour cette littérature historique kanuri commence avec le grand voyageur allemand Heinrich Barth, dont la mission effectuée entre 1849 et 1855 est patronnée par le gouvernement britannique. Lors de son premier séjour au Bornu, en avril-mai 1851, H. Barth reçoit d'un dignitaire de la cour deux copies en arabe de la liste dynastique des souverains sefawa. Ce document, le *Diwan al-salatin Bornu*, contient de façon concise les noms

de soixante-sept souverains successifs, la durée et les principaux événements de leur règne, leur filiation et le nom de l'endroit où ils sont enterrés, à l'exclusion de toute chronologie absolue (dates de l'ère musulmane, par exemple). Cette structure, qui correspond aux exigences de la tradition, caractérise bien une liste destinée à être récitée devant les souverains. Idris Alaoma trouve ainsi sa place, d'ailleurs fort brève, dans cette version de la succession dynastique officielle.

C'est encore à Barth que l'on doit de connaître deux documents essentiels pour l'histoire du règne d'Idris : il s'agit du récit des campagnes militaires menées par le souverain au Bornu et au Kanem. Ces manuscrits en arabe ont été rédigés par l'un des plus hauts dignitaires de la cour, le grand imam Ahmad b. Fartua (ou Furtu), dans les années 1576-1578. Leur date les place au nombre des plus vieilles chroniques historiques soudanaises. Elles sont contemporaines du règne d'Idris Alaoma, dont elles ne couvrent cependant que les douze premières années — aucun témoignage équivalent ne nous étant parvenu sur les années postérieures. Comme l'a écrit Y. Urvoy, ces récits sont « encore plus intéressants par les remarques incidentes que par leurs propos directs » : le ton hagiographique et les intentions pieuses de l'auteur confèrent en effet à ces œuvres une partialité évidente, mais les nombreux détails vivants dont elles fourmillent fournissent indirectement une documentation précieuse sur la politique et les méthodes d'Idris, et sur la situation du Bornu à la fin du *xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

Après Barth, la plupart des auteurs se sont contentés de reprendre les informations ainsi recueillies par lui, y ajoutant dans certains cas quelques renseignements

*Elkanim*

— Bornu

MADRID CASERIO MONTAÑA  
SONNE GIBEL MONTAÑA

104 MAR 1992

s. 45-71.

# LES AFRICAINS

sous la direction

de

Charles-André Julien

et

Magali Morsy,

Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch,

Yves Person

TOME VII

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1600-1800

## El-Kanemi le cheikh restaurateur du pouvoir au Bornou John E. Lavers

Mallam Lamino, cheikh Mohammed el-Amin el-Kanemi — en abrégé, simplement el-Kanemi —, se présente tout à la fois comme un savant et un maître, un soldat et un administrateur. Le pouvoir auquel il accède au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle lui vaut la réputation de sauveur du Bornou, son pays d'adoption. La région dans laquelle s'est développée son action est aujourd'hui morcelée, conséquence des luttes d'influence et de l'établissement des frontières coloniales entre le Nigeria, le Tchad, le Cameroun et le Niger, et les régions soudaniennes centrales.

### La toile de fond

Entre 1600 et 1800, peu de changements sont intervenus dans les territoires du *bilad as-Soudan* : les Etats existants ou ceux qui sont apparus au début de cette période survivent encore à l'orée du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. A l'est, dans la vallée du Nil, le sultanat Funj de Sinnar est florissant ; plus à l'ouest, ce sont le Darfour, l'Ouadaï et le Bagirmi, puis le Bornou et ses dépendances auquel succèdent les états hausa. Dans la boucle du Niger se trouvent les ruines du Songhai qui a succombé à l'invasion marocaine en 1591 ; aucun pouvoir de quelque importance n'a pris la relève. Au nord, se trouvent les Targui et les Toubou, nomades du désert, et les sultanats d'Agadès et du Fezzan, tandis qu'au-delà s'étend le domaine des pachas ottomans d'Afrique du Nord : Alger, Tunis, Tripoli et l'Egypte. Ces régions du nord sont surtout en relation avec les pays du pourtour de la Méditerranée, mais il leur arrive d'être concernées par les événements qui touchent les Etats de l'intérieur.

Le plus grand est le Bornou, qui, sous les *mai* ou sultans de la dynastie des Beni

Saif, domine toute la région depuis un millénaire. Dès le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, ils se sont proclamés califes de Takrou, auxquels la plus grande partie du pays s'est soumise ; leur pouvoir n'a donc jamais été sérieusement contesté. Loin de posséder une force et une autorité comparables à celles des Saifawa, Etats et royaumes ont officialisé la suprématie des *mai* du Bornou. On a tenté de distinguer entre le Bornou proprement dit, ou Bornou métropolitain, où l'on parle surtout le kamri et où le pouvoir est relativement défini, et le grand Bornou qui englobe des régions plus ou moins dépendantes de l'autorité centrale. Certains Etats semblent avoir à leur cour des résidents du Bornou ; d'autres lui payent des tributs, d'autres encore lui font des offrandes traditionnelles ou des dons volontaires. Ces relations assez lâches se retrouvent dans ce que nous savons de l'activité militaire au Bornou au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : les expéditions alors entreprises apparaissent comme des actions de police visant au maintien du statu quo ; la négociation est préférée au conflit.

Dans le domaine économique, le Bornou joue un rôle d'entrepreneur. Il produit peu pour l'exportation, excepté d'importantes quantités de sel minéral utilisé comme remède ou comme ingrédient pour la cuisine, et que l'on transporte très loin, jusqu'au Gonja et en Ashanti par exemple, où il est échangé contre d'autres marchandises : noix de cola ou poussière d'or. Les marchands bornou se sont installés dans la plupart des grands centres commerciaux de la région, en particulier dans les Etats hausa où ils seront rapidement assimilés. Pour acquérir de l'ivoire, ils pénètrent au sud, jusqu'aux vallées du Chari et du Logone, voire jusqu'au nord du bassin du Congo. Le Bornou importe des esclaves

- Nigeria  
- Bornou  
- Kanemi

S 47-71

MADDE YAKINLANAN ETAN  
SONER...  
18...

trate. At the present time Arabic and Islamic education is undergoing something of a revival. This is due not only to a broader consciousness of Bornu's Islamic heritage (and a parallel phenomenon may be observed in Hausaland), but to a more conscious rejection of secular education, unwittingly encouraged by the continuing decline in standards in government-sponsored education and rising school fees.

THE SHEHUS OF BORNU

110303

MUHAMMAD AL-AMĪN b. MUHAMMAD NINKA al-Kānemī, b. 1189/1775-6, d. 1253/1837.

Denham & Clapperton (1828), i, 212 ff.; F.W. H. Migeod, *Through Nigeria to Lake Chad*, London, 1924, 172-4; *Documents Scientifiques de la Mission Tilho*, Paris, 1913, ii, 358-66; A.A. Boahen, *Britain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan, 1788-1861*, Oxford University Press, 1964, 60-2, *et passim*; Brenner (1973), (1979), 27-66; R. Cohen & L. Brenner, "Bornu in the nineteenth century", in J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowder, *History of West Africa*, 3rd edn., London: Longman, 1987, ii, 132-73; *EI* (2), iv, 541-2; ms. Ibadan (UL), Bornu, 52.

Founder of the dynasty of Shehus of Bornu, Muḥammad al-Amīn was born in the Fezzan. His father was a Kanembu scholar from Fahi near Mao in Kanem, who moved to the Fezzan and married the daughter of a wealthy Arab merchant. Little is known of his early life. He studied in Tripoli, and in the 1790s made the pilgrimage with his father who died in Madīna. The next ten years were spent in the Ḥijāz, but then he returned to Bornu and settled near Ngala, marrying a daughter of the Mai of Ngala.

He acquired an armed following, and with these men he defeated a local Fulani force inspired by Sh. °Uthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye's example, and bent on *jihād*. He then went on to drive the Fulani out of Gazargamu, the capital of the mai of Bornu. He thus became the most effective military force in Bornu, and with the benefit of gifts of land, cattle and slaves, was able to consolidate his power base. His community at Ngala also attracted scholars, such as Yūsuf b. °Abd al-Qādir (*q.v.*). From 1235/1819-20, when he had a seal struck in his own name, until his death in 1253/1837, he was the effective ruler of Bornu. He made his capital in Kukawa and was buried there. After his death his sons and grandsons succeeded him, eclipsing the mai. His literary output is small, but we have included the numerous epistles he sent to various followers, subordinates, scholars and relatives, both for their historical value and because many of them have scholarly substance.

1. *Naṣīhat al-hukkām ahl al-fahm.*

In verse. Opens: *Qāl al-faqīr al-°ālim al-radī \* Muḥammad<sup>un</sup> najl al-walī al-sanī.*

MSS: Ibadan (UL), Bornu, 44; Kaduna (NA), N/AR2/114; Maiduguri (CTSS), 90/486; Zaria, 126/9, Smith, 1/44.

2. *Q. dāliyya: Nasīm al-ṣabā arajta rab<sup>an</sup> bi-Kūkawā \* Wa-shāhadta man bi'l-bābi min mutaraddidī.*

Celebrating his safe return from Bagirmi.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), Bornu, 38; Maiduguri (CTSS), 90/459; Zaria, Smith, 1/38.

Publ. trans in Denham and Clapperton (1828), Appendix XIV.

*Takh.* by anon. (sometimes attributed to his son °Umar). Opens: *A-yā sāri 'l-layli balligh li-man ṭawā \* Dawāmira kashḥīn li'l-firāq alladhī ḥawā.*

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 269 (copy in Kaduna (AH), 1/1/1; Ibadan (UL), Bornu, 39; Kaduna (NA), B/AR14/2 (attrib. to his son °Umar); Maiduguri (CTSS), 90/480, 520 (attrib. to °Umar); Zaria, 96/4, 107/4 (2 copies), Smith, 1/39.

3. *Rasā'il:*

i) To Sh. Abū Bakr b. Sh. Ibrāhīm.

MS: Ibadan (UL), 246.

ii) To the scholar Aḥmad *al-tālib*.

MSS: Zaria, 95/4, 98/5.

iii) To Aḥmad b. °Abd al-Salām al-Qādirī.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), Bornu, 42; Zaria, Smith, 1/29, 42 (inc.).

iv) To *khalīfa* °Alī b. *khalīfa* Bukar.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 325; Zaria, 89/7.

v) To *al-hājj* °Alī Fātiwī (?).

MS: Ibadan (UL), 506M31.

vi) To *kachella* Badī, *ra'īs jamā'at ghulāminā.*

Dated 18 Jumādā II 1251/8 October 1835.

MSS: Ibadan, 234; Zaria, 158/3, 87/4 (3 copies).

vii) To the scholar Ḥāmid.

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30 EYLUL 1992  
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245 (interpolation of a lengthy official account of the siege and its aftermath, with some diplomatic correspondence); references to unpublished *ghazawāt-nāmes* in A. S. Levend, *Gazavāt-nāmeler* . . . (Ankara 1956) 120-6; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 350-3; B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago*, Oxford 1687; O. Dapper, *Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel*, 1688, Amsterdam 1703, 405-8, 441-2; Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East* . . ., London 1754-5, ii, 255 ff.; M. Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, Paris, an VII, 178, 195 ff.; C. S. Sonnini, *Voyage à Grèce et en Turquie*, Paris, an IX, i, 342 ff.; J. M. Tancoigne, *Voyage à Smyrne* . . ., Paris 1817, i, 110-16; G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti dell'Isola di Creta*, 4 vols. in 5 parts, Venezia 1905-32, especially i/1, pp. 6, 7, 99-154, 303-414; ii, *passim*; *Sāl-nāme* for 1294 (1877); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890, i, 581-3.

(C. J. HEYWOOD)

**KANDŪRĪ** or *kandūra* or *kandūri* a Persian word meaning a leather or linen tablecloth; in Hindūstānī this word means also a religious feast held in honour of a venerated person like Fāṭima. In this latter meaning the word has been imported, apparently, from India into the Indonesian archipelago. In Acheen the word is unchanged, while in Java it is slightly altered into *keṅḍuri* or *keṅḍuren*; it may be noted that nowadays the more usual terms in Java are *sedekah* or *siḍekah*, from the Arabic *ṣadāka*, *slametan*, from the Arabic *salāmat*, or *kāḍjal*, a well-known Arabic word, meaning need, want of a man's presence at a feast, and hence the festival itself. In general it is a feast given with a religious purpose, or at least in conformity with religious law, just like the *walīma* in the books of *fiḥh*. The occasions which give rise to it are numerous, for instance: days of commemoration, domestic events, especially circumcision, the completion of teaching the *Ḳurʿān*, certain periods, such as pregnancy, sowing and harvest, and sundry reasons like setting out on a journey, occupying a new house and other enterprises, the averting of epidemics and calamities, etc. According to the Law each *kandūri* should have a religious character: the poor must be invited, forbidden things should be avoided, but the strong local *ʿādat* is always prone to look for means of effecting a compromise. Every complete *kandūri*, especially those in commemoration of deceased relatives and those given on the anniversary of a saint, is sanctified by means of recitation of the *Ḳurʿān*, *dhikrs* or prayers; popular superstition, however, regards such *kandūris* as consisting of actual offerings of food to the deceased. Almost every *kandūri* is opened by a prayer, the commemorative ones by the *doʿa ḵubur*. In Acheen some months are called *kandūri* with a second word indicating the food the sacred meal consists of.

*Bibliography*: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 210, 214-6, 236; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. des Islam. Gesetzes*, 164.

(PH. S. V. RONKEL\*)

**KANEM** (A. Kānim), today the name of a prefecture (capital Mao) in the republic of Chad. It is bounded in the north by Borkou, in the east by Batha, in the south by Chari-Baguirmi, in the south-west by the department of Lac and in the west by the republic of Nigeria (population 170,000). Its borders do not correspond exactly to those of the region which was one of the most ancient kingdoms of Africa and stretched, according to the most widely accepted view, as far as the caravan route from Kawar [q.v.] to Lake Chad in the west, to Baḥr al

[q.v.] in the south, to the depression of the Eguei in the east, and in the north to a line drawn from Belgashipari to Birpo by the lake.

The most characteristic topographical feature of Kanem is the existence of numerous sand dunes running N.W. by S.E., separated from one another by hollows several hundred yards broad and sometimes four or five miles long. Dunes and depressions are specially marked in the northern part. The hollows, which are given the name of *wād* (*wādi*), are dry except during the rainy season, when ponds are formed in the deepest parts; their bottoms consist of soil impregnated with natron. Below this, to a depth of 3 to 30 feet, lies a vast waterbearing stratum. The climate of Kanem is that of tropical regions. The rains are unequally distributed and diminish from south to north. The date-palm grows wild in many of the *wāds*. It even forms a regular oasis at Mao. Cultivation is limited to the area around the villages, built on the slopes of the dunes. The commonest crop is the millet, to which may be added wheat, beans and cotton. The rearing of horses, cattle, sheep and camels is also a very important source of income for the inhabitants. The fauna is very rich and varied: the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, lion, buffalo and panther abound in Kanem proper and the ostrich, antelope, gazelle and giraffe on the northern steppes.

The population is far from being homogeneous. The diverse elements which compose it belong some to the negro group and some to the Arab group. To the first belong the Kanembū, the Buddūma, the Kūri; to the second the Ulād-Slimān and the Shoa; the Tundjur and Tubu are classed between the two. The Kanembū, descendants of the first settlers in Kanem, constitute basis of the population, upon whom they have imposed their language. They are dark grey (*azrak*) in colour and tall in stature. Industrious and peace-loving, they are settled and devote themselves to agriculture. They profess Islam and are fairly strict Muslims. In their midst live groups of individuals called Haddād (in Kanembū *dogoa*) who, although differing from the Kanembū neither in language nor in physical type, are considered as belonging to an inferior race. Very warlike in disposition, armed with bows and arrows, they played an active part in the civil wars which desolated the country in the course of last century.

The Buddūma and the Kūri inhabit the islands of Lake Chad. The Buddūma, who occupy the northern archipelago, live by fishing, cattle-raising and the cultivation of millet. They have, for the most part, remained fetish-worshippers. The Kūri, on the other hand, while leading the same sort of life as the Buddūma, are completely islamized.

The Ulād Slimān who came from Tripolitania and Fezzān in the middle of the 19th century, speak Arabic. Nomads and robbers, almost their sole means of existence was the slave trade and brigandage. The Shoa, long established in Kanem, continue to use the Arabic language but their physical type has been altered by admixture with the black population. The Islam which they profess is fairly strict. Nomads in the dry regions near the desert, they become settled in the moister southern regions.

According to the Arabic sources studied by Marquart (see *Bibl.*), the kingdom of Kanem seems to have been founded by the Zaghāwa. Al-Bakrī (de Siane, 29) mentions the inhabitants of Kanem as idolators and al-Idrīsī (ed. Naples-Rome 1970, i, 29), who cites the town of Mānām, seems also to consider them as such. Islam was introduced in the 4th/10th

عبر الصحراء بالشمال - بطرابلس الغرب وإفريقية - ماراً بواحات كوار وزويلة  
بفزان ، وهو طريق قديم كان مستعملاً لأغراض التجارة منذ أيام القرطاجنيين  
والرومان .

وكانت جماعات من أهل كانم تنزح إلى الغرب من بحيرة تشاد طلباً للمرعى  
ولمزاولة الزراعة ، وامتزجت وتزاوجت مع قبائل الساو في إقليم بُرنو ، الذي أصبح  
تابعاً لمملكة كانم .

وقد بلغت امبراطورية كانم أوجها اتساعاً وازدهاراً في النصف الأول من  
القرن السابع الهجري / الثالث عشر الميلادي على عهد السلطان ( ماي ) دونما  
ديالامي ، الذي بسط نفوذه على فزان شمالاً ، وبذلك تمّ لكانم تأمين طريق  
القوافل إلى الشمال . ويذكر ابن خلدون ان سلاطين كانم كانوا على صلواتٍ وديةٍ  
بالحفصيين في تونس منذ قيام دولتهم في أوائل القرن الثالث عشر للميلاد .

وفي أواخر القرن الرابع عشر للميلاد ، ونتيجةً للمنازعات على السلطة بين  
أبناء البيت المالك ، والحروب المتواصلة مع قبائل البُلالة جنوبي بحيرة تشاد ،  
اضطّر سلطان كانم عمر بن ادريس إلى النزوح عن عاصمته نجيمي / جيمي - علي  
الضفة الشمالية لبحيرة تشاد - إلى إقليم برنو غربي البحيرة . وفي برنو اختط  
السلطان علي جاجي في أواخر القرن الخامس عشر عاصمةً مسورةً ثابتةً في  
جازار جامو ظلت عاصمةً لسلطنة كانم - برنو ثلاثة قرونٍ وثيقاً . ولما تغلب  
السلطان ادريس غلومة على قبائل البُلالة ، واستردّ السيطرة على أرض كانم في  
أواخر القرن السادس عشر أصبحت كانم ولايةً تابعةً لبرنو بعد ان كانت برنو إلى  
أواخر القرن الرابع عشر ولايةً تابعةً لمملكة كانم .

يبدو مما أورده المؤرخون والجغرافيون العرب أن الوثنية كانت تسود بلاد كانم  
حتى مطلع القرن السادس الهجري / الثاني عشر للميلاد . فالمهليبي في أواخر  
القرن العاشر الميلادي يقول إن ديانة أهل كانم عبادة ملوكهم . وفي منتصف القرن  
الحادي عشر الميلادي يقول البكري إن أهل كانم مُشركون . أما صاحب ( كتاب  
الاستبصار ) - وقد صنّف كتابه في مراكش في أواخر القرن الثاني عشر للميلاد -  
فيذكر أن أول إسلام أهل كانم كان بعد سنة خمسمائة للهجرة ( = 1107-6 م ) .

إن الدين الإسلامي وصل إلى كانم بالطرق السلمية على أيدي التجار

## وصول الإسلام وانتشاره

### في كانم - برنو

#### بالسودان الأوسط

تمهيد

تفيد روايات كانم - التي تقع إلى  
الشمال الشرقي من بحيرة تشاد - بان بطلا  
عربياً من اليمن هو سيف بن ذي يزن سيطر  
على جماعة من الرّجل في الشمال الشرقي من  
بحيرة تشاد ، ثم بسط وذريته نفوذهم على  
عدد آخر من القبائل أصبحت تُعرف باسم  
الكنسوري أو شعب كانم . وقد ظلت هذه  
الأسرة السيفية أو اليزينية التي قامت في أوائل  
القرن التاسع الميلادي تحكم كانم نحواً من  
ألف عام ( إلى سنة 1846 م ) .

وقد حرص ملوك كانم على التحكم  
بطريق القوافل الرئيسي الذي كان يصل كانم

# كانم - برنو بالسودان الأوسط في العصر الوسيط علاقات تاريخية عريقة بالعرب والمسلمين

د. امين توفيق الطيبي  
استاذ : بجامعة الفاتح  
طرابلس الغرب

Bornu

تمهيد :

عرفت منطقة بحيرة تشاد عند المؤرخين والجغرافيين العرب في القرون الوسطى باسم السودان الأوسط . وقد تعرضت المنطقة من جبال تبستي شمالا الى بحيرة فطرى جنوبا خلال العشرين الف سنة الماضية لتغيرات مناخية مذهلة كان لها آثار كبرى على حياة الانسان فيها ، فالطرف الشمالي من المنطقة كانت تغطيه بحيرة تشاد الكبرى - بحجم بحر قزوين - وكانت تمتد الى مرتفعات تبستي ، ثم حدثت تغييرات كبرى في المناخ في حدود سنة ٣٠٠٠ ق م ، تقلصت بسببها مساحة البحيرة وتأثرت المنطقة بالتالي من حيث النباتات والحيوانات ونتيجة لهذه التغييرات ساد المنطقة مناخ حار جاف بعد ان كان مناخها اكثر مطرا واعتدالا . وكان من نتائج الجفاف تناقص السكان في الجزء الشمالي من المنطقة وتمركزهم في الجنوب . ان هذه الهجرة القديمة من الشمال الى الجنوب نجد صداها في الروايات الشفوية الكثيرة المتواترة عند سكان بلاد الهوسا وكانم في الوقت الحاضر . وثمة دلائل كثيرة على أن التصحر ادى الى ظهور جماعتين : الجماعة الناطقة باللغات التشادية في بلاد الهوسا وبرنو غربى بحيرة تشاد ، والجماعة الناطقة بلغات نيدا - دزا في كانم الى الشمال الشرقى من البحيرة ، وفي الجنوب تنتشر لغات مختلفة تعرف بلغات نيجر - كونغوا<sup>(١)</sup> .

Smith, A., "The Early States of the Central Sudan", in *History of West Africa*, Vol. I, edit. Ajayi and Crowder, London 1979, pp. 152, 154, 156, 158.

(١)

# KANEM-BORNU

An old realm lying north of Lake Chad, on the edge of the desert.

- Bornu
- To Zaghawa.....until mid 9th century
- Rulers names unknown.....c. 850-c. 1260
- To Kanem.....c. 1260-c. 1400
- Capital transferred to Bornu owing to turbulence in Kanem - from c. 1400 or a little earlier the state is known as the Empire of Bornu.
- Biri II.....1389-1421
- Othman Kalinuama.....1421-1422
- Dunama IV.....1422-1424
- Abdullah II.....1424-1432
- Ibrahim II.....1432-1440
- Kadai.....1440-1446
- Dunama V.....1446-1450
- Mohammed II.....1450-1451
- Amarma.....1451-1453
- Mohammed III.....1453-1458
- Ghazi.....1458-1463
- Othman III.....1463-1473
- Omar II.....1473-1474
- Mohammed IV.....1474-1479
- 'Ali Gazi.....1479-1507
- Idris II Katakarmabe.....1507-1529
- Mohammed V.....1529-1544
- 'Ali I.....1544-1548
- Dunama VI.....1548-1566
- Abdullah III.....1566-1573
- Aissa Kili N'guirmamaramama (fem.).....1573-1580
- Idris III Alaoma.....1580-1617
- Mohammed VI Bukalmarami.....1617-1632
- Ibrahim III.....1632-1639
- Hadj Omar.....1639-1657
- 'Ali II.....1657-1694
- Idris IV.....1694-1711
- Dunama VII.....1711-1726
- Hadj Hamdan.....1726-1738
- Mohammed VII.....1738-1751
- Dunama VIII Gana.....1751-1753
- 'Ali III.....1753-1793