

The Life and Works of Muhamadi Kijuma

A Thesis submitted by
Mohammad Ibrahim Mohammad Abou Egl
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"Thy Lord hath decreed that ye worship none save Him, and (that ye show) kindness to parents. If one of them or both of them were to attain old age with thee, say not "Fie" unto them nor repulse them, but speak unto them a gracious word. And lower unto them the wing of submission through mercy, and say: My Lord! Have mercy on them both as they did care for me when I was little".

Quran 17: 23-24.

To my parents

Abstract

The Life and Works of Muhamadi Kijuma

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the life and works of Muhamadi Kijuma of Lamu. Lamu is one of the districts of Kenya's Coast Province. Kijuma's life (1855-1945) spans almost the entire colonial period.

Little was known about his life and works before this research worker started collecting Kijuma's own manuscripts found in Europe and East Africa, documents of the period, and facts from the memories of the old people at Lamu who were still alive when this worker arrived there in 1980.

Kijuma was a scribe, calligrapher, composer of songs and dances, musician and maker of musical instruments. In the first chapter, Kijuma's genealogy and his life is dealt with in detail.

The remaining chapters investigate more closely the various activities in which he engaged, particularly after his return from Zanzibar in 1908.

The first of these was the singing competitions in which Kijuma took an active part, and by which the Colonial Office in Lamu managed to change the political, economic and social structure of Lamu to replace it with its own. The cultural and the religious aspects of these singing competitions are discussed. The origin of what is called in Swahili tarabu has been discovered, as well as the fact that it was Kijuma who imported it into Lamu, that Kijuma was a moving force amongst those who made tarabu known all over East Africa, and that he was the first to make a kinanda in Lamu, and to compose the dances called Mwasha and Kinanda.

The main tool of the singing competitions was the Swahili song, and the following subject discusses Kijuma's songs, and deals especially with Kijuma's mafumbo "Riddles and metaphors", and to show that these mafumbo were used by Kijuma in his songs only, not in his poems. The bulk of these songs were collected from Kijuma's compatriots in Lamu, Matondoni and Mombasa in Kenya, and are edited here for the first time. Kijuma's composing of songs inspired him to compose also long poems and to copy them out artistically. Therefore, the third subject comprises all the literary works which Kijuma either composed and scribed, or only scribed. Some of these have been identified for the first time as being Kijuma's compositions, or as simply scribed by him. Other manuscripts have been identified as being the works of other poets, although it has been alleged by other Swahili scholars that they were Kijuma's compositions. Kijuma's sources for composing these poems have also been identified. This third subject shows that Kijuma indirectly participated in preserving Northern Swahili literature, and producing valuable data upon which the scholars of Swahili are still depending. The main sources for this subject were Kijuma's manuscripts found at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in the University College of Dar-es-Salaam, and in Hamburg, and Kijuma's correspondence with his European clients. Kijuma's talents enabled him to produce many works of visual art, including title-pieces for his manuscripts. So, the fourth subject is: Kijuma as a craftsman (Fundi). Under this heading, all Kijuma's available works of visual art are discussed, showing that he was skilled in sculpture, wood-carving, drawing, calligraphy, tailoring, and decorative knitting. It is important to note that Kijuma introduced many symbols in these artistic works. These symbols are discussed and displayed for the first time. The fifth subject deals with Kijuma's religion.

This research worker came, later, to realise that the title of this thesis might have been: Kijuma's religion, because it was found out, by reading all about this subject, that all the preceding subjects are relevant to the questions which arise in the consideration of this subject. In addition to this, it is the only aspect of Kijuma's life which Swahili scholars and missionaries have written about in some detail. They have considered Kijuma as a Christian, but judging by the available data, Kijuma must have been a Muslim. The sixth and final subject, discusses Kijuma's personality, extrapolating from his own poem Siraji which is transliterated, translated, and given in the appendix.

Acknowledgements

It is my pleasure to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Jan Knappert whose constant encouragement and advice, which attended every stage of writing this thesis, enabled me to complete it. Thanks are also due to: My tutor Mr. F.D.D. Winston whose remarks proved particularly valuable in ordering the material; to my teacher Sheikh Yahya Ali Omari whose unfailing help made the transliteration, transcription, and translation of the Swahili texts, in this thesis, possible; to Bibi Maryamu M. al-Bakariy of Lamu and her kind sisters, Bibi Fatuma, Bibi Zena, and the late Bibi Asia for making the mafumbo found in Kijuma's songs easily understood; to Prof. Dr. Ernst Damman for supplying me with copies of all his correspondence with Kijuma and the Swahili manuscripts of Kijuma found in Hamburg; to Revd. John Williamson for showing me his Swahili collection, made by Kijuma, and for giving me copies of some of this collection; to the contemporary Swahili poet Abdilatif Abdalla for his providing the phonetic symbols for all the Swahili poems, of Kiamu, found in this thesis; to Mrs. Caroline Fawzy and Miss Jill Manley for correcting and reviewing my initially clumsy English; to all those mentioned in the Bibliography as sources of information; to Mrs. S.A. Jacomb for her typing this thesis; and to Dr. J.E.M. Maw for her saying to me: "I am here your second mother", after she had learned that my dear young mother died on 15th April 1982, leaving her only will: "Do not let my son, Mohammad, know of my death while he is abroad studying", but later I knew of her death from my friends.

To a number of Institutions I am especially grateful: Al-Azhar University of Egypt through which I got my scholarship and which made my stay here for the last six years possible.

The libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London, and of the University College of Dar-es-Salaam for their good facilities which were easily obtainable.

I wish to recognise my deep debt to my faithful and beloved wife, Nadia, who made my study and stay here very comfortable and enjoyable; and to my daughter Asmaa and son Ibrahim for forgiving me for not finding them enough time to play with.

Abbreviations

- Allen = Mr. J.W.T. Allen.
- A.W. = Dr. Alice Werner.
- B.S.O.A.S. = Periodical publication, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, which came in 1938 to be named: The School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.
- E.A.L.B. = East African Literature Bureau.
- E.D. = Prof. Dr. Ernst Dammann.
- Hamburg = The archives of the Seminar Für Afrikanische Sprachen, University of Hamburg.
- Sh. Hinawy = Shiekh Mbarak Ali Hinawy, Liwali of Mombasa.
- J.K. = Dr. Jan Knappert, London.
- J.W. = Revd. John Williamson, Nairobi.
- Lambert = Mr. H.E. Lambert, Nairobi.
- L.H. = Prof. Lyndon Harries, Madison.
- Meinhof = Prof. Carl Meinhof, Hamburg.
- Ms. = Manuscript found in S.O.A.S.
- Mss. = Manuscripts found in S.O.A.S.
- S.O.A.S. = School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.
- Swahili = Bulletin of the East African Inter-Territorial Language Committee, which in the 1960's became known as: Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, and in the 1970's became known as: Journal of the Institute of Swahili Research, University of Dar-es-Salaam.
- U.C.D. = University College of Dar-es-Salaam.
- W.H. = Mr. William Hichens.
- W.T. = Revd. William Taylor.
- Z.E.S. = Zeitschrift fuer Eingeborenen Sprachen, Hamburg.

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CHAPTER I

Muhamadi Kijuma's Genealogy

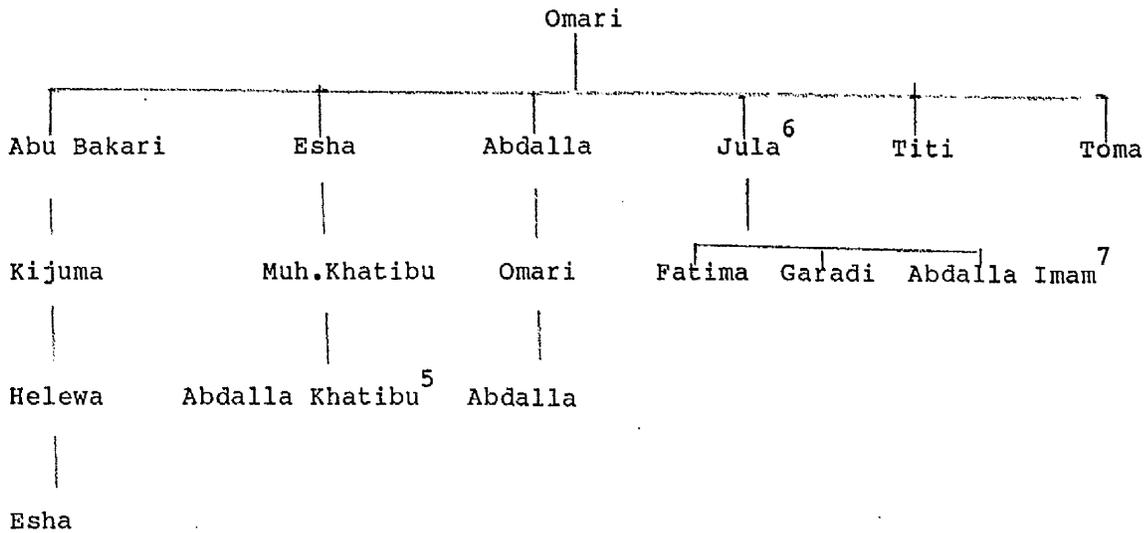
And His Life

By the courtesy of Bi. Zena M. al-Bakariy, one of Kijuma's relatives, I was able to obtain the genealogy of Muhamadi Kijuma (abbr. Kijuma) from his paternal side. This genealogy was written, by Kijuma himself, on 14 pages of which I have a copy. His full name was : Muhamadi Kijuma bin Abu-Bakari bin Omari bin Abu-Bakari bin Othmani bin Muhamadi bin Ali bin Muhamadi bin Omari bin Muhamadi bin Abdalla bin Abu-Bakari bin Muhamadi bin Abdalla bin Ibrahimu bin Yusufu al-Bakariy. This Yusufu al-Bakariy was born in a village called Samaail at Muscat in Oman. We do not know when, but this al-Bakariy and some members of his family emigrated from Samaail to a town called Yafii in the mountains of Hadramawt. From Yafii, one of three brothers of the family emigrated to Lamu, one to Ngazija, and another to Barawa.¹ The name of the one who emigrated to Lamu is not known. This family had been and still is known in Lamu as a respected family from which the governing Council of Lamu town used to have a member.² Kijuma mentioned no particulars about his forefathers except for his grandfather, Omari.

Kijuma's Grandfather Omari

All Kijuma wrote about his grandfather is that he was a principal Sheikh of Lamu³ (Mzee wa mji)⁴ during the reign of the Sultan Said bin Sultan of Zanzibar who reigned from 1832 until 1856. Nothing more is known about him, but his children and some of their descendants are known by name to Bw. Abdalla Khatibu of Lamu.

Bw. Omari had the following descendants:



Kijuma's Father Abu-Bakari

The only thing Kijuma mentioned about his father was that he was also a principal Sheikh of Lamu, during the reign of the Sultan Majid (1856-1870) of Zanzibar.⁸ Bw. Abu-Bakari was a professional farmer in Lamu, and also a seaman. He used to sail for trade between Lamu, Zanzibar, and the Comoro Islands.⁹ So, his permanent job seems to have been agriculture, and his occasional one was maritime trade. He married a lady called Kamari. According to all the people of Lamu that I interviewed, she was a Sharifa. This title is given to women whose fathers or both parents claim to be descendants of Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad. Sharifa (= Mwana) Kamari bore him Kijuma in about 1855.¹⁰ Later on she was divorced and Bw. Abu-Bakari died. What we can extract is that he died well before his ex-wife Mwana Kamari, who died in 1881,¹¹ because Kijuma's life-history tells us that he was brought up by his mother Mwana Kamari, not by his father Bw. Abu-Bakari, as we shall see.

There is a sentence, written by Kijuma in a letter¹² sent to J.W. on 7th Ramadhan 1359/October 1940, from which we can conclude that Kijuma inherited a dhow from his father. The sentence reads: "Na marikabu, ikisa kungia vita, marikabu kaizanya = Concerning the dhow, after the war had started, I sold it."

We know that Kijuma's father was a seaman, and being a seaman, he may well have had a dhow, if not several dhows, of his own. This suggests two things, one is that Kijuma inherited that dhow from his father, and the second is that Bw. Abu Bakari must have been rich for he owned also farmland.

Kijuma's Mother Mwana Kamari

We must first endeavour to ascertain the name of Mwana Kamari's father, because she was a disputed daughter according to a letter from Kijuma to W.H. in October 1937.¹³ The letter reads: "My mother's name is Kamari. There are two big quarters in Lamu called Mtamwini and Mkomani. The leader of Mtamwini was al-Sheikh Abdur-Rahmani bin Ahmadi al-Husainiy who was a Sharifu (i.e. a man whose father or both parents claim to be descendants of Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad) and a judge. The leader of Mkomani was al-Sheikh Muhamadi bin Abu-Bakari. Al-Sheikh Muhamadi bin Abu-Bakari married Fatuma bint Ahmadi, the sister of al-Sheikh Abdur-Rahmani. After that, al-Sheikh Muhamadi and al-Sheikh Abdur-Rahmani quarrelled with each other until they were about to fight each other. After my mother had been born, al-Sheikh Muhamadi lawfully wanted to take her to his home, (it implies that Kamari was not born in the house of al-Sheikh Muhamadi) but al-Sheikh Abdur-Rahmani refused. It approached the point of war. Al-Sheikh Abdur-Rahmani told al-Sheikh Muhamadi: 'Your daughter is not yours.'

After that, they gave their back to each other, (i.e. they ignored each other). Before al-Sheikh Muhamadi died, he had made a will for his daughter Kamari. He said: 'I shall die but Kamari is my child, so, give her her inheritance'. After he died, her inheritance was given to her but al-Sheikh Abdur-Rahmani refused to accept it and returned it. All old people in Lamu knew this story. One day my mother received a letter sent to her and naming her Kamari bint Muhamadi. When she replied to the letter, she signed it in her first name Kamari only. She did not mention her father's name because of the misunderstanding between her and her uncle. My mother's mother was a Sharifa, Fatuma bint Ahmadi."

Any one who reads this letter, will conclude at first that al-Sheikh Muhamadi was the father of Mwana Kamari since she was addressed in the letter as Kamari bint Muhamadi, while her own son Kijuma did not give his own view about the proper name of his mother's father in the letter, nor anywhere else. But it is likely that her father was not al-Sheikh Muhamadi but Shee Hamadi wa Shee wa Pate, for the following reasons:

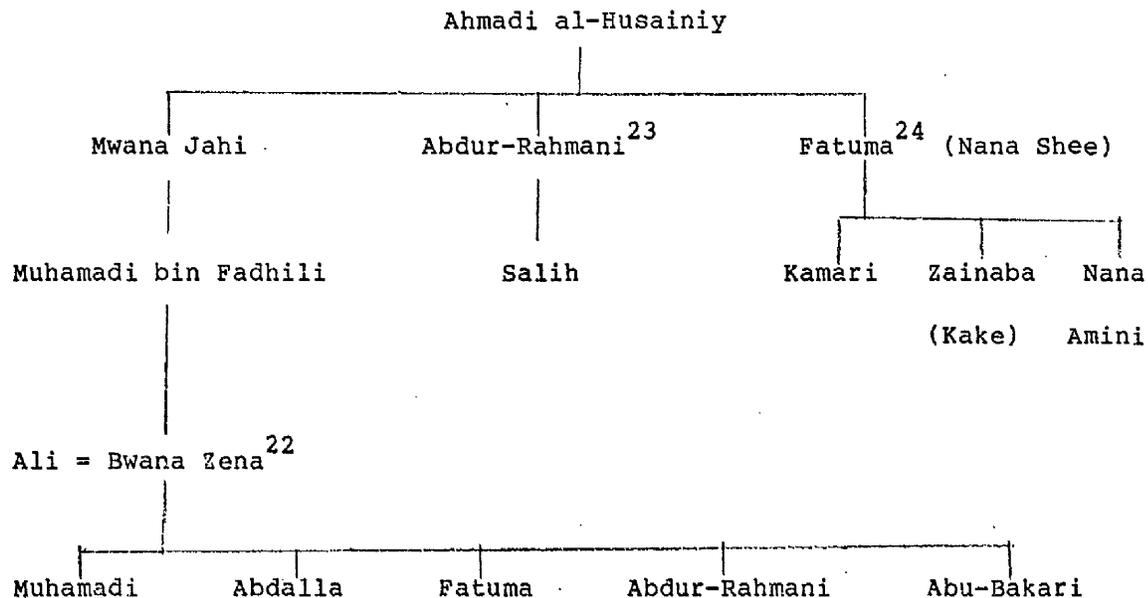
1. There is no one I met in Lamu who disagreed that Mwana Kamari was a Sharifa. It is stated in Kijuma's letter to W.H. that the mother of Mwana Kamari was a Sharifa. It is well known also in Lamu that al-Sheikh Muhamadi Abu-Bakari¹⁴ was not a Sharifu. So, if Mwana Kamari was a daughter of al-Sheikh Muhamadi Abu-Bakari, the people of Lamu would never call Kamari a Sharifa, because this title can not go to descendants through the mother's side only but has to go through the father's or both parents¹⁵ since the children have to carry their father's names. Furthermore, Kijuma himself mentioned his mother Kamari as the one whose genealogy goes back to the Banu Hashim,¹⁶ the same family to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged.

2. The best friend of Kijuma, Mzee Salim Kheri of Lamu told me that Mwana Kamari was a daughter of Mwenye Shee Hamadi wa Shee wa Pate who was a Sharifu. That is why Kamari was called a Sharifa by all the people of Lamu.
3. When Kijuma mentioned the children of al-Sheikh Muhamadi bin Abu Bakari to W.H., he did not include the name of Kamari. He named these children as: Nyekai bin Muhamadi, Khadija bint Muhamadi, and Zuhura (= Nana mkuu) bint Muhamadi.¹⁷

Finally, the question that remains to be solved is: Why al-Sheikh Muhamadi did not stop claiming fatherhood of Kamari to the extent that he wrote a will for her?

According to Kijuma, al-Sheikh Muhamadi had many wives.¹⁸ If a Muslim wants to marry more than one wife, he is not allowed to keep more than four wives at one time.¹⁹ Al-Sheikh Muhamadi being married to so many wives, must have divorced others, or others might have died while they were married to him. His wife Fatuma bint Ahmadi, was among those whom he divorced. But according to the Islamic rules, the wife has the right to ask her husband for a divorce, and he has to carry it out. So, we can assume that Fatuma was the one who asked al-Sheikh Muhamadi for a divorce before becoming pregnant by him, and he unwillingly had to carry it out. This might have made him compose "The thankless woman".²⁰ He felt bitter, and because of this bitterness he might have intended to create trouble for Fatuma's family. It seems probable that Fatuma married Shee Hamadi wa Shee wa Pate, and gave birth to Kamari within nine months after she had been divorced. It seems also probable that Fatuma stayed at her father's home for about three months to be clear of the previous marriage. These three months are called in Islam 'Eddah, a legally prescribed period of waiting during which the woman may not remarry after being divorced.²¹

If, then, we assume that she remarried three months after the divorce, and gave birth to Kamari within about six months of the new marriage, al-Sheikh Muhamadi will have known that his ex-wife Fatuma gave birth to Kamari within only nine months (i.e. 3 for the 'Eddah and about 6 for the pregnancy and a birth) of divorcing her, while the normal period required for such a birth should be about 12 months (3 for 'Eddah and 9 for the pregnancy). He might therefore have found it logical to claim Kamari as his own daughter, and to make his claim a sound one, would have written a will for Kamari; but his will was refused by the family of Fatuma, and it was she who had the right, as said before,²¹ to say who the father of Kamari was. We may assume, then, that she said that it was Shee Hamadi, not Sheikh Muhamadi. That is why her family refused the will of Sheikh Muhamadi. Consequently, we have to agree with Fatuma and her family that Kamari was the daughter of Shee Hamadi wa Shee wa Pate. Thus, the complete name of Mwana Kamari must be accepted as Kamari wa Shee Hamadi wa Shee wa Pate. That is from her paternal side; her mother was Fatuma bint Ahmadi al-Husainiy. Bw. Ahmadi al-Husainiy had the following descendants:



Mwana Kamari was a descendant of the Masharifu-family. According to Lamu people, she was a devout Muslim. Kijuma states that his mother had been to Mecca five times for the pilgrimage.²⁵ She was very rich.²⁶

Being a rich devout Muslim, she financed a lot of poor people to go to Mecca for the pilgrimage. This financial help went on to the extent of making her son, Kijuma, jealous about his mother's wealth. Then, his mother told him: "Do not feel angry Muhamadi, Allah has given me this wealth and He will give you the same, but little by little until you die".²⁶ It is probable that that particular feeling for Kijuma was expressed by his mother in the following stanza:²⁷

Siisi, wewe na mimi	I do not know what there is between you and me
Huteki huneni nami	You do not smile, you do not speak with me
Ni hasira hazikomi	It is your anger, it does not end.

She was considered a scholar (mwanachuoni).²⁶ It is likely that she was accompanied by her son, Kijuma, to Mecca for the pilgrimage in about 1865, i.e. when Kijuma was about 10 years old.²⁸ In about 1875, she took him and went to Zanzibar to claim her right of inheritance in front of the Sultan Barghash (1870 - 1888). Some members of her family tried to take some of her inheritance unjustly. She went to the Sultan and put the case in his hands. He considered it and ordered the Liwali of Lamu, Suud Hemed, to give her the inheritance which she was claiming.²⁶ Mzee Salim Kheri has stated that Kijuma went with his mother to Mecca twice after he had gone with her to Zanzibar. This statement allows us to conclude that during the years 1876-1877, Kijuma went to Mecca with his mother for the pilgrimage twice. Kijuma used to respect her deeply and obey her in every respect.

Not only did he do this, but he also advised his son Helewa to obey the advice of his grandmother.²⁹ Her husband Bw. Abu-Bakari bin Omari was not her first husband. She married twice. The first one was Muhamadi bin Ahmadi. She bore him a daughter called Tambake and a son called Ahmadi.²⁶ Kijuma himself mentioned his sister Tambake in his report to E.D..³⁰ It is not known whether Mwana Kamari was divorced or widowed. The second husband was Bw. Abu Bakari bin Omari al-Bakariy. She bore him one son called Kijuma.⁹ There is another point to mention in connection with Mwana Kamari. It concerns a stanza composed by the people of Lamu in which the name of Mwana Kamari is mentioned, thus:⁹

Aloanda ni Aziza	The one who started is Aziza
Na Kamari kaoleza	And Kamari followed (imitated) her
Kupona amemaliza	Then, Kupona completed it.

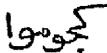
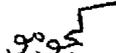
Bi. Aziza was the wife of Bw. Zena. She bore him Fatuma, Abdalla and Muhamadi.³¹ Mwana Kupona is a well known lady because of her poetic advice to her daughter.³² Opinions differ about the significance of this stanza's composition. It is said that this stanza concerns these three ladies who were going to Mecca for the pilgrimage without taking a Mahram with them.⁹ The Mahram is a man who is related to a woman in a degree of consanguinity precluding marriage.³³ The Mahram should accompany his female relative as long as he is able, both physically and financially, to make the journey. Otherwise the lady should go with other female friends. If such friends are not available then she may go alone. Other people say this stanza concerns these three ladies because they either went alone to Zanzibar for claiming their proper share of the inheritance,²⁶ or because they stood up against their relatives by accepting bridegrooms who were refused by those relatives³⁴.

In 1881, Mwana Kamari died.²⁷

Kijuma's Life

Although the exact year of Kijuma's birth is not known, we can assume with reasonable confidence that he was born in about 1855. One of Kijuma's relatives called Bw. Abdalla Skanda³⁵ said that he was told by his father that Kijuma lived 114 years. We will learn later that Kijuma died in 1945. That would place Kijuma's birth as being in 1831. This statement of Bw. Skanda is supported by a comment which is found in Ms. 53491, reading: "Muhamadi bin Abu-Bakari bin Omari of Lamu was alive in 1262/1850". If he actually was alive in 1262, we should correct the equivalent Christian year for 1262. It is 1845, not 1850 as is written in this Ms. (53491). So, the statement in this Ms. indicates that Kijuma was born before 1845. It means that the information of Bw. Abdalla Skanda may be correct. But returning to the other sources from Lamu and from the events which took place in Kijuma's life-time, we can conclude that he was born in about 1855, and not after this date because:

1. There is a note sent by Missionary Cheese from Lamu to W.H. in 1936. The note reads: "Kijuma is about 80".³⁶ It seems that that Missionary used to mix with Kijuma because he was mentioned in the Utendi wa Safari³⁷ of Kijuma, in stanza 56. So, he might have known approximately Kijuma's age.
2. Most of the Lamu people I met, including the best friend of Kijuma, Mzee Salim Kheri, and the relative of Kijuma's Bw. Abdalla Khatibu, agreed that Kijuma was about 90 years when he died. Knowing that Kijuma died in 1945, he must have been born in about 1855.
3. In addition to these two reasons, there are the events which will follow in this chapter.

When he was born, his mother called him Kijuma "little Juma". Juma is a proper name, one of the commonest for men in the Islamic world. It refers to the holy day of the week. This holy day is Friday, and is called in Arabic al-Jum'ah. Kijuma, in the Swahili language, is the diminutive form of Juma. When Kijuma's mother was asked by her compatriots why she called him Kijuma, she answered: "If he has many talents, people will be surprised. They will enquire: 'Why was such a clever person with so many talents called Kijuma'. If he has no talents, it will be a suitable nickname for him".⁹ If one asks people in Lamu why they think Mwana Kamari was of this opinion, they answer that Mwana Kamari was a very intelligent lady. This, in my view, means that his mother was trying to protect herself against any misfortune which might descend upon him as a result of an unexpected stupidity of his, and which might prevent him from using his creative talents. If this were the case, every one would understand that his mother was not to blame, and that the one to be blamed would be Kijuma himself. The people would say: "Yes, indeed, his mother had a right to call him that." Thus, the intelligence of his mother is reflected in his name. Before leaving the name Kijuma, I have to acknowledge that Swahili scholars are divided over the way of writing this name. Some write it Kijumwa and others Kijuma. The present writer prefers Kijuma because, as we have already seen, the name (Kijuma) is the diminutive form of Juma not Jumwa. When we learn that the diminutive particle in the Swahili language is the "ki", then, the diminutive form of Juma should be Kijuma not Kijumwa. In addition to this, Kijuma himself never wrote  or even  to be transliterated into Kijumwa, but always, in all of his writing,  which has to be transliterated as Kijuma.

Kijuma grew up as a child in the aforementioned family. In about 1861, he was sent to the chuo, an Elementary School. His teacher was Mwalimu Abdalla whose grandfather was Abdalla Hamidi. This chuo is used now as shops; it stands just beside the mosque of Nna Lalo in Lamu. He was sent to the chuo in about 1861, as the age of six is the average age at which parents used to send their children to the chuo in Swahili society. The pupils were taught in this chuo to read Arabic script, to write it, and to behave properly both in society and towards parents. After this stage is completed, the pupils begin to learn the Quran by heart.²⁶ Kijuma himself referred to his chuo in his Siraji.³⁸ In about 1865 when Kijuma was ten years old, and while he was still in the chuo, he accompanied his mother to Mecca for the pilgrimage. It was the first time that Kijuma went to Mecca. He returned to Lamu to resume his schooling in the chuo. Around 1870, he left the chuo, after he had gained knowledge of writing, reading, and reciting some of the short Quranic surahs by heart, to join the lectures of Mwenye Mansabu in the Arraudha-mosque in Lamu. The name of Mwenye Mansabu is in full: Sayyid Mansabu Abu-Bakari bin Abdur-Rahmani bin Abu-Bakari al-Husainiy. As we see, his family is the same as the family of Kijuma's grandmother, Fatuma bint Ahmadi al-Husainiy.³⁹ That is why the people of Lamu refer to Mwenye Mansabu as an uncle of Kijuma. Mwenye Mansabu was a teacher of Islamic culture, a poet, and an outstanding calligrapher of Swahili in Arabic script.⁴⁰ Not only an outstanding calligrapher, but also an artist. There are some paintings and other artistic items, made by him, found in the museum of Zanzibar.⁴¹ He lived from 1243 to 1340/1829 - 1922.⁴⁰ He studied at Mecca and at the mosque of Baitu l'-Mukaddasi in Jerusalem.⁹ It is probable that Mwenye Mansabu is the one who gave his student Kijuma the inspiration to compose poetry, to paint, and scribe Mss. in his fine hand.

Later on, we shall see to what extent Kijuma became an artist, poet and scribe. With Mwenye Mansabu, Kijuma may have studied Risālah "The message"; Safīnah "The ship"; Ghāyah "The aim" - and Durar "pearls". These four Arabic books deal with Islamic jurisprudence for beginners. Concerning Arabic grammar, Kijuma must have studied the book of al-Agrūmiyyah because this book was studied by all the beginners in Arabic grammar on the East African coast.⁴² There are other advanced courses in these subjects but I believe that Kijuma did not attend them as we shall see later. Kijuma might have continued his studies with Mwenye Mansabu for about five successive years. After that, his study was interrupted by great events in his life. In 1875, he accompanied his mother to Zanzibar.⁴³ In 1876 and 1877, he again accompanied his mother to Mecca for the pilgrimage.⁴⁴ The journey from Lamu to Mecca and back to Lamu took a whole year, travelling in a dhow by sea. He returned from Mecca, and went back to his studies, but it seems that his mother arranged his marriage during that year, 1878. It seems so because:

1. Mzee Salim Kheri said that his mother had him married before she died.
2. It was a convenient time for Kijuma to get married as he was about 23 years old.

All that is known about his first wife is her first name, Maryamu.²⁶

Just before he married Maryamu, his mother gave him the name

Muhamadi.²⁶ Since then, he became known as Muhamadi Kijuma. His

mother gave him this name Muhamadi when she felt happy with the way he was progressing, and when she saw the encouraging signs of his career.

She foresaw then that her wish for her son to become a scholar might be fulfilled.

In addition to this, I believe that she realised that her son was to be married and later on would become a father who would need to obtain a good position in society, so, he must be given a good proper name and not a diminutive name. In 1881, Mwana Kamari, Kijuma's beloved mother died, suspecting that her son secretly loved the ngoma, and tried to learn music. Mwana Kamari had sometimes felt suspicious about her son's inclination towards the ngoma. She repeatedly scolded him about it, but each time he was able to clear himself from such suspicion.²⁶ Having cleared himself, however, he felt angry because of her scolding. The stanza which his mother composed⁴⁵ was also likely connected with these suspicions. Furthermore, he probably became interested in musical instruments at the time he visited Zanzibar and Arabia with his mother in 1875-7. Kijuma was the first one in Lamu to make and introduce the kinanda, or gambusi, to Lamu.⁴⁶ This is a stringed instrument of the type of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which were previously made of sheep gut, and later of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string which might be made of copper wire.⁴⁷ After Mwana Kamari's death, Kijuma played his kinanda publicly.

According to Islamic law,⁴⁸ the fortune of Mwana Kamari, money in cash, houses, and wells, was distributed between her children.⁴⁹ Thus, Kijuma found himself in possession of some of his mother's fortune, with a free hand to spend it on anything he liked - I believe that the thing which he loved most at that time was the ngoma and not education, because in about 1882, he left his lessons in the Arraudha-mosque to take part in the ngoma.⁵⁰ Since then he never returned to the lessons but entered the world of singing competitions⁵⁰. This change of course was the main turning point in his entire life.

The story of how he turned to the world of singing competitions was told by himself to his relative Bw. Abdalla Khatibu: "While I was receiving lessons from Mwenye Mansabu in the mosque of Arraudha, news came to me that the faction of Mtamwini had beaten the faction of Mkomani in the singing competition. Having received this news, I left the mosque and went out to take part in the competition." When Bw. Abdalla Khatibu asked him why he did not return to the mosque to resume his schooling, Kijuma answered: "I was seduced by the devil, and descended to the world in the way of the Prophet Adam when he was ordered not to eat from the tree, but he did".⁹ It is obvious here that Kijuma later regretted his action of leaving the mosque to indulge in his hobby of participation in singing competitions. Although Kijuma considered it his destiny, he later blamed himself for doing it, because, in his own words, he compared studying in the mosque to staying in paradise, and leaving the mosque to Adam's fall from paradise. Furthermore, Kijuma found out later that a person cannot make friends without obtaining one of two things, knowledge, i.e. education, or wealth. At the end of his life, he wished he could be either a scholar or wealthy. The following song⁵¹ of his own composition reveals this:

Nataka kwenda chuoni	I want to go to school
Nihifadhi kula kara ⁵²	To recite all the Quran by heart
Kwanda iande Yasini	Starting with Yasin ⁵³
Ya pili al-Bakara	Then al-Bakarah ⁵⁴
Huwapatapi wendani	How can a person make friends
Mtu akiwa fukara	If he is poor?

After he had left the mosque, he divorced his first wife Bi. Maryamu.

Upon asking why he divorced his wife, I always received the answer that Kijuma was mkali sana "very hot tempered". He had no children by her. From about 1883, he showed an irresistible love for carpentry.⁵⁵ That love was based on his love of art, his wish to increase his money, and his eagerness to defeat his opponents in the ngoma by making masanamu.⁵⁶ His love of carpentry had induced him to take some lessons on the subject from Fundi Hamadi Soyo.²⁶ The student was too intelligent to require a long time to learn the art of carpentry (usarumala). After a short time, Kijuma himself became a teacher of this art. One of his students who received lessons from him was called Tabibu.⁵⁷ The items which our carpenter used to make were doors, chests, masanamu, gambusi, frames, and tables. He himself used to have one of these tables. In the 1930's he gave it to his son Helewa in Zanzibar.⁵⁸ Specimens from most of these items are illustrated in this thesis. About two years later he became very determined to learn the art of carving.⁵⁹ The opinion of people in Lamu is divided concerning the teacher of Kijuma in the art of carving. Some say that he learned it from his own observation of the carved doors around him in Lamu. Others say: "In just one night, Kijuma managed to learn it from a fundi whose name is forgotten. That fundi taught him how to carve only one flower on a piece of wood, but he did not teach him any more because he was afraid that Kijuma would one day become his rival in the art. After that particular night and through Kijuma's keen observation, he was able to learn the art to perfection". In these two years during which he learned the art of carving, two important events took place in his life. The first was his journey to Arabia for the fourth and last time in about 1884.²⁶ His intention this time was not to make the pilgrimage, but to learn the musical tunes from the musicians there, including the Turkish soldiers.

Kijuma himself told his friend Mwenye Alawy of Wasini about this intention of 1884 when the latter was visiting Lamu just before the First World War.⁶⁰ Kijuma returned to Lamu after he had acquired enough experience of the requirements of the kinanda to be able to make one of his own. He was the first person to construct the kinanda in Lamu.⁴⁶ In brief, Kijuma came back to Lamu from Arabia qualified not only as a composer of musical tunes but also as a maker of the musical instruments of his time. For a person who could make a kinanda I believe it would have been easy to make drums and tambourines as well. In other words, Kijuma was able to make these instruments. The second event which took place in his life during those two years was his second marriage, to Bi. Fatuma bint Bwana Ali Kitole, known as Kinana the diminutive form of nana "Lady", in about 1885. Her grandmother was a member of the famous and respected family al-Mahdaliy.²⁶ I have to acknowledge that Mzee Salim Kheri was not totally sure whether this wife of Kijuma was the second or the third one. If she was the third, the third wife who will be mentioned later would be the second, replacing this one. Kijuma's poetry preserves some stanzas praising his wife Kinana as follows:

1.

Kimo cha kaḍiri	Of medium stature
Cha kiasi sana	Of the right size
Miyomo mizuri	Beautiful lips
Haṭa akinena	Even when speaking
Kama sanṭuri	It is like the gramophone ⁶¹
Kimba wangu <u>nana</u>	When my lady sings

2.

Siwezi kuwanga	I can not enumerate (her qualities)
Wahedi wahedi	One by one
Zitafute zake	Her cheeks
Kama mawaridi	Are like roses
Muwilini ite	The smell of her body's sweat
Harufu nda udi	Is the aromatic aloe itself.

3.

Siwezi kuwanga	I can not enumerate
Yote kutamka	Mentioning all
Nacha ya kuzinga	I am afraid of turning in circles
Mambo kufujika	And the words would be spoiled
pua ni upanga	The nose is straight like a sword
Imezosifika	And it has become famous.

Actually, our poet was right to be afraid, as he wrote in stanza 3, because his affairs did become disordered and he divorced his wife Kinana before 1900. Every time I ask Kijuma's compatriots about the reason for divorcing his wife, the answer I received was that he was mkali sana "Very hot tempered". He was the kind of person who does not accept any arguments between a wife and her husband, as stanzas 172-176 in his poem Siraji explain.⁶² Kinana bore him only one son called Ali, known as Helewa, in about 1885. Kijuma called his son Helewa in the same way in which Mwana Kamari called her son Kijuma. Helewa is derived from the word halua, a common sweet made mainly from sesame-seed. In a lost song, Kijuma paraphrased the name Helewa as a toy made of sweets.⁹ Helewa died in 1951, 66 years old.⁶³ This means that he was born in 1885. Helewa grew up in Lamu.

His father was then becoming an expert in carpentry and wood-carving. He taught his son this art. Helewa attended some English classes at the Mlimani Mission in Lamu, hoping that he could get a better job. He did not attend it alone but with his relatives Garadi bin Abdalla Imam, Khalid bin Abdalla Khatibu, Khalifa and Abdalla Zena. They were accused of not being true Muslims since they mingled with the wazungu in their schools,⁹ so they had to leave Lamu. They all went to Mombasa except Helewa who went to Zanzibar. This was when he was a lad of 15 years old, and he went to escape from the poor life⁶⁴ and to look for a good job. He managed to get a government job as a carpenter, then, as a printer, in the printing office of Zanzibar.⁶³ He married Bi. Nasra from Zanzibar but he later divorced her. He later married another woman from Mombasa. He divorced her too and remarried the first Nasra of Zanzibar. In 1945, he retired from his work and intended to go back to Lamu, but his wife Nasra refused to go with him. So, he divorced her again. He did not have any children by either Nasra or the Mombasan lady. He went back to Lamu and there he was persuaded to marry, hoping he would have children. The hope was fulfilled when he had a daughter called Esha. Esha is married and now lives in Muscat. Helewa stayed in Lamu, until 1949, and during this time he taught his relative Bw. Abdalla Skanda some aspects of the carver's profession. In 1949, Helewa left Lamu for Mombasa to teach the art of carving in the Muslim Institute there. Bw. Abdalla Skanda attended Helewa's classes in that Institute until he mastered the art. Bw. Skanda is now, in his own words, capable of finishing in an hour the work which Kijuma used to finish in two weeks. In 1951, Helewa died and was buried in Mombasa. The most important works of Helewa's carving are the door of the Kenyan parliament which can still be seen today; the door of the Sultan's palace in Zanzibar (Baitu L-Ajāib), and the house-door of Sir Mbarak Ali Hinawy, Liwali of Mombasa.

Bw. Abdalla Skanda taught the following students the same art: Muhamadi Ahmadi Abdalla, Abdalla Salih, Othmani Muhamadi Skanda, and Abdel-Nasir Abdalla. There is another expert at carving in Lamu called Bakari Shaika who was taught by his father Shaika wa Simba. This Shaika wa Simba was the other student of Kijuma. The latter taught carving to Helewa and Shaika only. There is no other fundi working in the same material in Lamu now. The students of Bw. Abdalla Skanda carved many doors including the door of Bw. Omari Faruqi in Mombasa.⁶⁵ So, it is an obvious conclusion that the art of carving on the Kenyan coast was and still is preserved only thanks to Kijuma's talent and hard work.⁶³

Going back to Kijuma's wives, he began looking for another wife, after he had divorced Kinana, Helewa's mother. He went to one of his relatives, called Esha Wa Bwana Khatibu to seek her hand in marriage. Mzee Salim Kheri called her : Esha Wa Bwana Khatibu nduye kina Ahmadi. It seems that Kijuma was rejected at the beginning. Thus, he used his attractive weapon of composing poetry to persuade her to accept his proposal:⁶⁶

1.

Binti Hemedi	O, daughter of Hemedi
Mwana wa johari	O, daughter of precious genealogy
Mimi Muhamadi	I am Muhamadi
Ni kama Kamari	I am like the moon (like my mother)
Mambo yakiadi	If the matter is settled
Netea Khabari	Let me know.

2.

Na mimi mwalishi	I am the one who will invite (for the wedding celebration)
Napenda kutiwa	I would like to add,
Asiye nakishi	Not to be a carver
Ni muovu ghaya	Is very bad.
Hazinyi hawashi	To be (a useless person) who neither turns the fire on nor off
Ni muovu pia	Is also very bad.

3.

Na <u>t</u> ena la mwise	Finally, the person
Akalale kwao	Must go and sleep (settle) with his relatives.
Na kwao ni uso	For them, the person is the face
Ndio atumwao	The one who is used (sent).
Zikunduke nyuso	Then, the faces will become wide open
Kwa wakati huo	(i.e. cheerful).

It was a custom that someone other than the bridegroom, would go and invite people for the wedding celebration, but Kijuma in the second stanza was ready to bear the whole burden for this occasion on his own shoulders for the sake of Esha. He reminded her that he was a skilled carver and it is not good for a person to be neither a master nor an employee. It seems that the hand of the same bride was sought in marriage by another man who had neither job nor talent, and the bride's family was ready to accept him as the bridegroom.

In the last stanza, Kijuma urged his relatives (the family of the bride) to accept him as the bridegroom, because he was the 'face' of the family, i.e. he was the representative of that family, because he - as a relative - was a member of that family, or he - as a relative - was the head of that family since he was the one to invite people for the occasion. It is a custom that the family of the bridegroom send the most respected person in the family to go to the family of the bride to ask her hand from her parents. In Kijuma's case, he was the one who was sent (by himself). In this case, how could he be in the position of the chosen one in the family and get rejected by the same family! At the end, Kijuma reminded his relatives that he would not find any shelter outside the family, if he did not find it in the family.

Kijuma's stanzas moved the hearts of his relatives and made them accept him. Even the old son of Bw. Zena, Muhamadi,⁶⁷ agreed with Kijuma about his proposal, telling him that the house to which he went was the proper place, i.e. it had the proper bride, and congratulated him by composing three stanzas. The first stanza of these is:

Shani akirama	O, most noble
Ndetu sute	It is the honour of all of us
Tuteze kwa hima	To celebrate cheerfully
Mwenye kite	For him who has the sympathy
Upendalo tama	We will fulfil
Kwa lolote	Whatever you want

Thus, the marriage was celebrated, and the couple lived together for about five years. Again, the marriage did not last for a long time. Bibi Esha was divorced in about 1900. It is likely that that divorce was carried out because of Kijuma's mandari.

This mandari harmed his compatriots very much, and they could do nothing but boycott him. This boycotting had no great effect against him, because of his talents which they needed to employ and also because Kijuma was invited shortly afterwards by the Sultan Hamoud of Zanzibar in 1319/1901,⁶⁹ to become one of his palace musicians. The main reason for this invitation was Kijuma's superiority in the singing competitions against Bw. Zena for entertaining the Sultan during his second visit to Lamu in 1319/1901. Kijuma remained in Sultan Hamoud's palace up to the latter's death in July 1902.⁷⁰ The exact year in which Kijuma left the palace is not known. Although Kijuma wrote, in a letter, to J.W. that he used to play the gambusi or kinanda in the palace of Zanzibar during the reign of Sayyid Hamoud and his son Ali (1902 - 1911), he did not give any definitive dates.¹² It is probable that Kijuma left the palace after the Sultan's financial resources had been reduced and Mr. Rogers, the First Minister, who had ties with Kijuma, had been recalled.⁷¹ We can suggest that he left the palace in about 1908, and arrived in Lamu in the same year, because Mzee Salim Kheri said that he acquired Kijuma's friendship in 1326/1908. He also said that Kijuma came to Lamu after Sayyid Hamoud had died, and that he was again recalled to the palace by Sayyid Ali bin Hamoud. Apart from this visit to Lamu, it is not probable that Kijuma left the palace before 1908, simply because no evidence could be traced of his living anywhere else but in the palace at Zanzibar from 1901 to 1908. He returned to Lamu to use his talents once again in the following fields:

1. The singing competitions.
2. Composing songs to assist these competitions which require a song as a main element, and also to give his attitude towards the various subjects of life.

3. Composing long poems, and scribing them. Also scribing other poems composed by different poets.
4. Practising the art of carpentry, wood carving, sculpturing, drawing, calligraphy, and other crafts as we shall see.

Kijuma devoted his entire life to working in these fields. They are discussed in order in subsequent chapters of this thesis. In 1945, Kijuma died. All he left after he had died was 15 cats.⁹

Chapter I - Notes

1. Correspondence with Bibi Zena al-Bakariy.
2. See p. 45.
3. A letter from Kijuma to W.H., Ms. 47797.
4. For (Mzee wa mji), see: Salim, 1978, p.9.
5. He was one of my informants in Lamu.
6. She is mentioned in Kijuma's report to E.D., see: p. 339.
7. He is named in the letter which Bw. Abdalla Khatibu gave me in Lamu, see: p. 483.
8. A letter from Kijuma to W.H., Ms. 47797.
9. Interview with Bw. Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu.
10. See: p. 23.
11. See: p. 23.
12. The Swahili collection of Rev. J. Williamson, Reel I.
13. Ms. 53490.
14. His full name is: Muhamadi bin Abu-Bakari bin Muhamadi Nyekai. He was a very famous poet. He was once introduced to Ali Koti. He was not impressed by Ali Koti's appearance and intended to test him in poetry and language. One day, the Sultan Said bin Sultan of Zanzibar (1832 - 1856) asked him to meet him in Zanzibar. He travelled from Lamu to see the Sultan but the Sultan did not give him an audience. Al-Sheikh Muhamadi returned to Lamu after he had stayed many days in Zanzibar to meet the Sultan but in vain. So, he grew very sad and composed verses in that mood.

It is not known why he was kept in Zanzibar against his will by the Sultan, but it is likely that it was a lesson which the Sultan gave him, for, taken from the Sultan's point of view it was the punishment which al-Sheikh Muhamadi deserved because of his quarrel with al-Sheikh Abdur-Rahmani bin Ahmadi al-Husainiy. He composed many poems, One of them is called Shairi la majuto "The poem of contrition". It is about a thankless woman whom he loved dearly but who did not return his love. It is likely that he meant his divorced wife Fatuma al-Husainiy. He died in about 1279/1862, according to a letter from Kijuma to W.H., see: Mss. 53490, 53491, 53495, and 47797.

15. Interview with Sh. Y.A. Omari in S.O.A.S.
16. The last stanza, in A.I.U., see: p. 388.
17. A letter from Kijuma to W.H. who received it on 18th October 1937, Mss. 47797 and 53490.
18. A letter from Kijuma to W.H. in Ms. 47797.
19. See: p. 145.
20. See the reference in note 14, p. 39.
21. The divorced woman is either menstruating or not. If she is menstruating, her 'Eddah will be three Qur'u, i.e., three monthly courses. The one Qur'u is meant to be either the monthly period itself or the 'clean' period between each monthly period. Hence, the divorced woman should wait until three Qur'u pass, and after that she is free to remarry if she wants to. Allah wanted to make these Qur'u as short as possible to enable the divorced woman to remarry as soon as possible if she wants to. So, He ordered the husband, who found no alternative but to divorce his wife, to divorce her after she becomes clean from her monthly period.

When she becomes 'clean', he is prohibited from having intercourse with her. In this time, he may divorce her. When he divorces her, one Qur'u out of the three would already have passed. If the divorced woman is not menstruating, e.g. because of her age, health and so on, her 'Eddah is to wait three lunar months before remarrying. If the divorced woman is pregnant, she must observe her 'Eddah until delivering the baby. Concerning the 'Eddah of the woman whose husband has died, it is four lunar months plus ten days, whether she was menstruating or not, but if she was pregnant, again, her 'Eddah extends until the delivery of the baby. Although the significance of the 'Eddah is to avoid any probability of getting children whose fathers are uncertain, the woman still has the main right in this matter, because she is the one to state whether or not she had any pregnancy. That is why she is asked by Allah not to tell lies in this. See: Quran 2: 228, also 65: 1 and 4.

22. He was the main rival of Kijuma in the ngoma, see: p. 47.
23. He was a prominent theologian of Lamu, and Siu, tutor of Mwenye Mansabu, Kijuma's teacher, see: p. 25.
24. Mother of Mwana Kamari, she was known as Nana Shee.
25. Werner and Hichens, 1934, p.25.
26. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.
27. Dammann, The East African Experience, p.65.
28. See: p. 25.
29. Stanzas 44, 45, and 75, in Siraji, pp. 428, 429 and 436.
30. See: p. 339.
31. See: p. 20.
32. See: p. 195.
33. Quran, 4: 23.

34. Interview with Bibi Maryamu M. al-Bakariy of Lamu in London.
35. See: p. 32.
36. Ms. 253029.
37. See: p. 383
38. See: Stanza 188, p. 465.
39. See: p. 20.
40. Harries, 1958, p. 27, and Knappert, 1979, pp. 201-3, 201-8.
41. Interview with Dr. Ibrahim Noor Sheriff of Zanzibar in London.
42. Interview with Sayyid Hasan Badawy in Lamu.
43. See: p. 21.
44. See: p. 21.
45. See: p. 21.
46. Interview and correspondence with Bwana Mahmoud Mau of Lamu.
47. See: Ex.K.
48. Quran 3: 11, 12, and 176.
49. See: p. 21.
50. For the ngoma, see pp. 43-91.
51. Obtained from Mzee Kuwe Abdalla known as Bakowe, in Matondoni.
52. Kara = A small paragraph of the Quran.
53. Surah 36.
54. Surah 2.
55. See: p. 280.
56. See: pp. 47, 50, 59 and 64.
57. One day, this Tabibu went to a girl, in Lamu, to seek her hand in marriage. He was rejected in the beginning because the family of this girl feared that he might ruin this marriage, but his teacher, Kijuma, stood beside him, supporting his engagement, by singing:

Enenda Tabibu Go Tabibu (to marry her)
Hakuna mwenye kuharibu There is no one who can destroy
Illa yeye Wahabu But He The Bestower.

Thus, the marriage was completed and Kijuma made a big celebration for Tabibu.

Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri and his daughter in Lamu.

58. A letter from Kijuma to E.D. dated 1356/1937, of which I have a copy.
59. See: pp. 281 - 294.
60. Interview with the sone of Mwenye Alawy, Mualim Saqqaf of Wasini in Mombasa.
61. Kijuma believed that there were no ugly sounds on the gramophone but only nice, sweet voices.
62. See: p. 461.
63. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Skanda in Lamu.
64. Stanza 5 in Siraji, p. 419.
65. See: Ex. S.
66. To know the effect of Kijuma's composition on people's hearts, see: p. 93.
67. See: p. 20.
68. See: pp. 476-480.
69. See: pp. 59-69.
70. See: p. 66.
71. See: p. 66.

CHAPTER II

The Singing Competitions Which Kijuma Organised¹

Under The Colonial Government, As A Medium

For Economic, Political And Social Change

In Lamu

Kijuma grew up in Lamu town where there were two quarters. The southern quarter was called Mtamwini or Langoni, and the northern one was called Mkomani. These two quarters used to have their own political leaders, military forces, poets, and their own teams for the singing competitions. It is worth summarising all that is known about the quarters and the singing competitions in Lamu before Kijuma was born.

Lamu had, until 1812, two main quarters named Suudi and Zena, the former, being the southern quarter of Lamu, and the latter being the northern one. The rivalry between the two led to a feud which continued for an unknown number of years, but eventually, according to the elders of Lamu, both sides, being of almost equal strength, decided to make peace on a certain day. On that day, it was decided that each community would be responsible for the defence of its own quarter, furnishing guards, leaders and councillors. They also decided that each should maintain its own section of the town wall, and that each in rotation should supply a general leader, whose duty it would be to co-ordinate the work of the two quarters, this office being held for about four years. After this, the town walls were twice extended to allow for the increase in the population. Also, two additional residential quarters were built, the guards of the original quarters having a certain number of the houses in the new quarters allotted to them.²

There were two singing competitions (ngoma) in which these two quarters (Zena and Suudi) used to compete against each other. The first one was referred to by A.H.J. Prins as: Celebration, every four years, of the handing-over ceremonies accompanied by prolonged festivals.³ The second was called gungu "A big dish-shaped gong which is usually beaten during the ngoma".⁴ In about 1807, when the people of Lamu knew that the people of Mombasa with the people of Pate were coming to fight them, they (Zena and Suudi) were invited by Bwana Zahidi bin Mgumi, who was then the general leader of Lamu, to organise an oration-dance called gungu, in order to ask advice of the two quarters, i.e. Zena and Suudi. The ngoma then were the occasions for public announcements, orations and harangues, and both freemen and bondsmen had a right to speak in matters of common policy and public interest. We find this noted in an old verse thus:⁵

Ngoma ni ya wana

Na watu wazima

Tangu waungwana

Hata na watuma

The ngoma is for youths

And for mature folk

From the free-born

To the people of the bondsmen.

Although watuma = watumwa is usually translated as 'slave', the Swahili watumwa were by no means without civic and social rights. Their status was that of villeinage rather than 'slavery' in the European concept of the latter term. As W.H. wrote: "Relations between freemen and watuma were easy-going and as a class the bondsmen appear to have been well treated and, both socially and economically, were in a better position than most of their descendants are as industrialised freemen today".⁵

Around 1820, the names of Zena and Suudi were replaced by Mkomani⁶ and Mtamwini,⁶ but we do not know exactly why or how, although Prins explains this replacement as a result of changing conditions in the town.⁷ An early reference to these two new names is found in a letter from Kijuma to W.H., reading: "There are two big quarters in Lamu called Mtamwini and Mkomani. The leader of Mtamwini was Sheikh Abdu-Rahamani bin Ahmadi al-Husainiy who was Sharifu and judge. The leader of Mkomani was Sheikh Muhamadi bin Abu-Bakari (the husband of Kijuma's maternal grandmother)".⁸

When we realise that Sheikh Muhamadi bin Abu-Bakari died in about 1862,⁹ we can assume that these two leaders held their office until the late 1850's. Later on, for some time during Kijuma's life (1855 - 1945) the Mtamwini was led by Bwana Ali Muhamadi Zainu l'Abidina, known as Bwana Zena (= Bw. Zena). He was a member of the al-Bakariy family, the most senior lineage in the town. He was a Mzee wa mui, or member of the traditional governing council of Lamu.¹⁰ He was an owner of plantations and some dhows. He and Kijuma belonged to the same family¹¹ and Kijuma was also a member of this Mtamwini.

The Mkomani was led by Sheikh Omari Nyekai, (of the same family as Sheikh Muhamadi bin Abu-Bakari, the husband of Kijuma's grandmother). Sheikh Omari was also a member of the council of Lamu; his family was highly respected. As we see, the leaders of the Mtamwini and Mkomani were representatives of their quarters in the council of Lamu. This representation is so important that it may be considered as one of the keys which will make the analysis of this society possible.

Thus, the new Mtamwini could be considered a natural substitute of the old Suudi, and the new Mkomani a substitute of the old Zena, because the two new factions, represented the town's quarters in a way similar to the old ones, (i.e. the new Mtamwini for the southern quarter was the same as old Suudi, and the new Mkomani for the northern quarter was the same as the old Zena). In addition to this, their leaders were both members of the Lamu Council, or Wazee wa mui.¹² Concerning the singing competitions between Mtamwini and Mkomani, they used to compete against each other in the ngoma ya dhili.¹³

Ngoma ya Dhili

Dhili means shade. This ngoma was called thus because it was performed in two large boats without sails. These boats were shaded by means of decorations of every kind, e.g. Indian cloths, flowers, and flags. It is probable that Kijuma was the one who invented this dhili as will be seen presently. Most, if not the whole, of the population of the town used to take part in this ngoma. It was performed for one week every year, the Swahili year of the nautical and agricultural calendar.¹⁴ Hence, the significance of celebrating it was that they wished it to be a prosperous year in agriculture and navigation. The procedure of the ngoma was as follows:

Two boats were prepared. Each boat had a team, consisting of some women to blow the cows' horns, while others beat a big drum, and some men carried their display swords and moved them up into the air and down into the sea. It was the job of other members to pull the boat by a strong rope called utari or gambara into the shallow water by the shore. The boat was pulled to and fro along the side of the quay.

With much rejoicing, all the spectators gathered on the beach to watch the competition and to listen to the songs. Besides all this, there was a jury, composed of some of the elders, from both quarters of the town, to decide which team had won after the competition was over, but this was not before a representative from each team had come before the jury to advertise all the advantages of his team, and denounce the disadvantages of the others. Kijuma drew a picture of this ngoma's boat, illustrating all this procedure.¹⁵ In the beginning, Kijuma used to participate in this ngoma with Bw. Zena by making dolls in the shape of human beings capable of dancing like puppets = Masanamu. These masanamu were an important element in helping Bw. Zena defeat the leader of Mkomani, Sheikh Omari Nyekai. By these masanamu, Bw. Zena became so famous that an expression is still used in Swahili describing him and these masanamu. It reads:

Amekaa kama sanamu wa Zena¹⁶ =

He sat there like the Zena's doll.

This is said of a person who just looks with eyes wide-open like an idiot, and if some one speaks to him, he remains silent.

Around 1890,¹⁷ the Mtamwini, was divided into two sub-factions, one called Nidhamu with Bw. Zena as its leader and poet, and the other called Bereki, the name of a place situated between the quarters, of Mtamwini and Mkomani, led by a man called Sheikh Jambeni, with Kijuma as its poet. The cause of this division may have indirectly been a plan made by the District Office in Lamu, because Bw. Zena was by then employed in the British Navy as a sailor.¹⁷ It is very likely that the name of Nidhamu had something to do with Bw. Zena's work in the Navy, because Nidhamu means discipline, and discipline is the first lesson which the sailor learns in the Navy. It shows that the new name of Nidhamu which Bw. Zena gave to his new faction was a name connected with his job in the Navy.

It is probable that the authority of that Navy was behind that division because this division in which their employee (Bw. Zena) was involved, was the first of its kind for the Mtamwini quarter. It was the first time for a quarter in Lamu to be divided into two factions competing against each other in the singing competitions. In addition to this, we shall see presently a clear connection between the District Office and Bw. Zena and Kijuma concerning the singing competitions. Furthermore, the participants in Bw. Zena's faction began later to wear the uniform of the British Navy during their competitions as we shall see. Hence, it is not unlikely that that division was planned by the District Office as an introduction to other divisions which were to come later. There is another important point to be made concerning this division. It is that Bereki-members joined the Mkomani, accepting the leadership of Sheikh Omari Nyekai and paying no regard to the fact that they had crossed the streets which form the borders of the town's quarters. Such a crossing was again the first move of its kind in the history of the town. It is probable that that move was planned by the District Office, but indirectly, because such a move was the first in a series of moves which made these factions into singing factions only, and not military and political parties as they used to be. The aim of the District Office in this was to change the political structure in the town and establish its own, as we shall see in this chapter. However, the oral tradition shows that Bw. Zena was the one who favoured this division as we see from this song of Kijuma:

Nali muinga kikutilia tumbaku	I was stupid when I stuffed your pipe
Kibahalulu kikusumba kwa shauku	And lit the <u>kibahalulu</u> ¹⁸ with devotion
Samiri ¹⁹ tena wala sipigi mkuku	I will never fill it again, and draw
	the first puff.

The first puff after preparing the pipe reflects symbolically Kijuma's efforts to get everything ready for Bw. Zena concerning the requirements of the competitions, before they were divided. It is a good example of Kijuma's riddles or mafumbo.²⁰ Bw. Zena did not leave Kijuma without a reply. He composed the following song in metaphorical language:

Hoko mefunga mlango hako Where you are going there is no one there
Nimekizengea sikukiona kiko I looked for the pipe but did not find it.

As we see, Bw. Zena was closing the door of his faction in the face of Kijuma who later went to knock at the door of Mkomani. The door of Mkomani was opened, and by letting him in, Mkomani defeated Nidhamu of Bw. Zena as the following song of Kijuma shows:²¹

Twaliyapambanya We had gathered together
Dhili na madau Dhili and dhows
Ili kuwaonya To teach these
Walo kidharau Who were scorning us,
Iwapo kufanya That if someone wants to act
Hufanya hiyau He should act in this way.

The song also shows that Kijuma was actually the first person to invent this dhili. Before then, the dhows had not been shaded.

Bw. Zena of Nidhamu became very disappointed and vowed to defeat Kijuma of Mkomani in the ngoma ya dhili of the new year to come. It was at the end of the 1890's. It happened that Bw. Zena, being a sailor in the British Navy, sailed to India. On his return to Lamu, he brought with him the decorations which he could use to decorate and to shade his dhow of ngoma ya dhili.

Kijuma knew what Bw. Zena had done. So, he became very anxious to know exactly what kind of decorations he had brought. Kijuma sent the spy of his faction, Shee Ali, to spy and to find out the type of these decorations. The spy returned to Kijuma with a song of his own composition.¹³

Kijuma baba sikiya	Listen Kijuma, my dear sir
Moyo <u>t</u> owa shi <u>t</u> ighali	Take the worry out of your heart
Dhili yako <u>n</u> da hi <u>d</u> aya	Your <u>dhili</u> is the gift which
Mei <u>t</u> ukuza Jalali	God has made great
Pwani ikihudhuriya	When it is shown on the coast
Ndio ya kwanda <u>s</u> i pili	It will be the best not the second-best.

In spite of that assurance from Shee Ali that Kijuma's dhili, which was made from native materials, would be the first, Kijuma was still anxious to display things that no one had ever seen before. He made a sanamu with a device enabling it to mock and abuse Bw. Zena. When the latter was told about this sanamu, he went to a police inspector and they plotted together to invent false charges against Kijuma who was arrested and detained. He did not realise that Bw. Zena was the person behind the arrest until the D.C. of Lamu, Mr. Rogers, returned from a voyage. After a short discussion between the D.C. and that police inspector, the D.C. released Kijuma after he had told him that Bw. Zena was the one behind the arrest.¹⁷ From then on, Kijuma sheltered deep animosity against Bw. Zena and vowed to compete against him in every aspect of life.

Kijuma was released to resume his preparation for the ngoma to defeat Bw. Zena. Although the popular memory does not preserve the songs composed by Kijuma for that particular occasion, it does recall a song by Bw. Zena narrating his defeat in the following way:

Bwana Zena huwambia

Bw. Zena tells you

Meondoa taazia

The obsequies have ended

Shuka pwani tukayeze²³

Go down to the beach to launch (the dhow).

Bw. Zena is comparing his defeat after the competition was over, to the obsequies after a dead person is buried. It seems likely that the arrest of Kijuma was the result of a collusion between a police officer and Bw. Zena to detain Kijuma for no more reason than to increase the differences between Kijuma, the competitive poet, and Bw. Zena, the sailor in the British Navy.

The popular memory about Kijuma does not retain any further details about ngoma ya dhili.

There was another ngoma called mwasha. Kijuma and Bw. Zena competed against each other in this ngoma. Before discussing this, we have to refer to an important event. The leader of Mkomani, Sheikh Omari Nyekai died around 1900, leaving Mkomani with no leader for some time. It is very likely that Kijuma was Acting leader of Mkomani during that time, because there is a song showing that he used to take the leadership of this faction during crises.²⁴ After Sheikh Omari Nyekai had died, and under the leadership of Kijuma, Mkomani, for the first time in its history, was divided into two factions, one called Pumwani and the other Nubani. Pumwani is a name of a place in the Mkomani quarter. The term Nubani is probably derived from a tribe called the Wanubi found in the Sudan.¹⁶ Some hundreds of these Nubians were sent to Lamu by Sultan Said bin Sultan of Zanzibar in 1812. As the chronicle of Lamu records: "The men of Lamu built for the Sultan a fortress and our lord Said Sultan placed his men there and appointed a governor Khalif bin Nasor, with Arabs and Nubians, a total of 500 men, and they remained there".⁵ The Germans too may have brought some Nubians from the Sudan to Lamu around 1890.²⁵

These Nubians were to work as labourers for the Germans, and then (since the beginning of the 1890's) for the British in Lamu.¹⁷ What the elders of Lamu are sure about is that these Nubians were a group of employees and were never employers. Comparing the people of Pumwani to the people of Nubani is like comparing the employers to the employees. It seems probable that this division was based on the difference between the classes which had never before penetrated into the singing competitions in Lamu.²⁶ Thus, it is likely that that division was something introduced by the D.C.'s office through Kijuma to bring about a change in the social structure, as we shall see from Kijuma's songs. It is believed that this came about through Kijuma, because he was then the Acting leader of the Mkomani, and after the division of the Mkomani had take place, the Nubani and Bereki joined together, with the Pumwani excluded, under the collective name of Mkomani and Kijuma as its poet. In addition to this, Kijuma was the one who had links with the D.C.'s office, after he had been saved by that Office from being prosecuted and possibly jailed.²⁷ This Mkomani of Kijuma used to compete against the Nidhamu of Bw. Zena in ngoma ya dhili, and also ngoma ya mwasha.

Ngoma ya mwasha

Previous competitions had taught Kijuma to use his imagination in order to create a new dance to be used in his competitions against Bw. Zena. He created this dance after he had left the faction of Bw. Zena around 1890.²⁸ When this dance was first created, it was called kukata shingo "Cutting necks", and it was thus called because the dancers had to bend their necks up and down as well as turn them round this way and that.

Kukata shingo was performed by women and men in two independent groups, but later on, the kukata shingo of men came to be called goma la njiwa²⁹ "The dance of the dove", or mazira³⁰ "The circle". To create this dance, Kijuma managed to attract about twenty one concubines and adopted them for the purpose of teaching them his mwasha dance.¹⁷ He gave the girls gold chains to put around their necks, bunches of jasmine for their hair, and dressed them in attractive transparent clothes. Then, they sang Kijuma's songs, throwing their legs up in turn, waving their hands right and left, turning their necks up and down, round this way and that, to an irresistible rhythm. It was accompanied by drums, horns, clarinet, cymbals and sometimes an instrument similar to a guitar. Kijuma being the creator of this ngoma, referred to it many times in his poems³¹ and songs. I was eventually fortunate enough to trace six stanzas composed, I believe, by Kijuma himself describing the girls of mwasha during their dance in more detail. They were microfilmed by Allen, and the microfilm was given to S.O.A.S. only at the end of 1982:³²

1.

Ujile tumi basiri	A wise messenger has come
Mmbeja wako khalili	Your beautiful girl friend
Atokao Zinjibari	Who is coming from Zanzibar
Nti ya wenye jamali	The country of the nice people
Kaniuliza khabari	And asked me the news
Nami kamwambia kweli	And I told her the truth
Jamii ya waswahili	All the Swahili people
Matezo yao ni mwasha	Their dance is the <u>mwasha</u> .

2.

Hakuna maneno tena
Walau nyimbo za kwimba

Watumwa kwa waungwana
Washishiye makayamba³³

Kisifuwa si kuona
Shani nda iṭo kutamba

Uwaone wake pamba
Sura watezao mwasha

There is nothing more to be said
Nor more songs to be sung (except those used
in mwasha)

The slaves and the noblemen
Are holding the rattles
Seeing is believing
The wonder is for the eye which roams about
Seeing the elegant women
How they dance mwasha.

3.

Khasa watwae maringi
Wayatie maguuni

Waṭane yao mashungi
Na nyanda zao nshini

Huliwaza mambo mengi
Mtu kazi haioni

Khasa wavae kidani
Na kama ndani ya mwasha

Especially when they wear anklets
On their legs
And comb their hair in long strands
And endow their eyebrows with kohl
It causes one to forget many things
It will make a man neglect his work
Particularly when they wear necklaces
And chaplets (around their necks) during
mwasha.

4.

Wangiapo libasini
Wambeja wake wa ndeo

Kwa zisua za Yamani
Na maṭaribushi yao

Waazimie mwashani

Siku waazimieo

When they put on their raiment
The beautiful proud women
With clothes of Yemen
And their fezes
And dance to the mwasha
Then, they really do it in a big show

Mngu Aitakiao³⁴

So wonderful (what God alone Accomplished),
it will be

Jinsi watezao mwasha

The way they dance mwasha.

5.

Huo mwasha huo mwasha

This is the true mwasha, this is the true
mwasha

Wala si mwasha upuzi

Not a false one

Masiku yote hukesho

They spend all the nights awake

Hawapati masingizi

Not sleeping a wink

Na mshindowe kuwasha

Its rhythm burns

Na kama tanga³⁵ kwa

ngizi³⁶

It is like ginger with syrup

Watumwa hawana kazi

Even the slaves have no other work

Ela kuifunda mwasha

Except to learn mwasha.

6.

Watumwa wote mwendani

All the slaves, my friend

Tuwapie msamaha

We gave them leave from work

Ha-wa-mai ha-wak-kuni

They have to fetch neither water nor wood

Ni kuitumia raha

But to enjoy themselves

Wambiwa kaifundeni

They are told: Go and learn mwasha

Hata muyuwe msaha

Until you know it perfectly well

Tuwawasie mubaha

We have given them leave

Ili kuifunda mwasha

So that they learn the mwasha.

The songs sung in this ngoma ya mwasha were intended to mock Bw. Zena and his faction the Nidhamu as the following songs show:

Mwasha wa Bini Ayubu mwasha The mwasha of Bini Ayubu is it the real
mwasha?

Ukinitukana sitokutukana If you abuse me, I shall not abuse
tasha you, it is enough.

Bw. Zena understood that Kijuma meant him by saying: Bini Ayubu. Thus, he replied:

Nami niatani nami nambe Let me speak too,
Ukinitukana sitokutukana If you abuse me, I shall not abuse you
ng'ombe (by saying) you ox.

Kijuma replied:

Huwa nayangawa hufaani It is probable, but even if it was, what is
the benefit of it?

Watambuzi tambuani O, people of understanding, Understand:

Mlio wa chuwa utamdhurisha Whom will the frog's croaking hurt?
nyani?

It is obvious that Kijuma considered Bw. Zena's melody as ineffective and as noisy as a frog's croaking which inspires no fear, nor does it benefit anyone who hears it. Bw. Zena was infuriated and composed the following:

Na haya yangawe	And even if it does happen
Nidhamu tuwani	O, people of Nidhamu: Be calm
Akimea mbawa	What is the worth of the little bird (Kijondi)
Kijondi ni nni	even if it had wings
Lipi lisokuwa	What is there that is not possible (nowadays)!
Akhiri zamani?	(Do you not know that we are near) the end of the world?

Bw. Zena is wondering about the change which took place in the town where the majority of the Mkomani (i.e. Nubians) not a long time ago, had been strangers whom he could employ, but had now changed and become his rivals. The times had changed and any thing impossible had become possible.

Kijuma did not leave Bw. Zena without satirising him by composing:

Chuwa nahudha wa marikabu	The frog, the captain of the ship
Ndiwa hakomi kuhutubu	The dove does not stop mumbling
Mtu wa kurewarewa na kuanguka	It is not strange for the staggering person to fall down.

Kijuma is comparing Bw. Zena to the frog in making noise, the dove in its inability to speak clearly, and the staggering drunkard. Being a rich honourable person, Bw. Zena might walk as a proud man, but Kijuma was comparing him to a staggering drunkard. Around 1910, the Mwashatroupe of Kijuma was still very active, not only participating in the singing competitions in Lamu and outside Lamu, but also in keeping these competitions alive.

The clear evidence of this is the Utendi wa Mkunumbi which was composed by Kijuma himself.³¹ This active role of the troupe makes us assume that they must have continued taking part in these competitions until Kijuma announced his retirement from competing in the ngoma in the 1930's.³⁷ R. Skene wrote that the mwasha had originated only around 1910.³⁸ It is very likely that he wrote this, depending only on the date of the composition of the Utendi wa Mknububi, and omitted to study Kijuma's songs or even to mention his name as the composer of the mwasha. One of the other dances composed by Kijuma and mentioned by Skene in his article with no reference to Kijuma is a dance called Kinanda.³⁹ The Mwasha-troupe of Kijuma used to perform this dance during big celebrations and during weddings. This dance was performed by the Mwasha-troupe during Sultan Hamoud's visit to Lamu.⁴⁰ This dance was also mentioned by Kijuma himself in his poem on Lamu-customs,⁴¹ stanza 108, as a dance performed at wedding celebrations. Hence, two important points should be added to what Skene mentioned in his article about this dance. The first is that it was composed by Kijuma. The second is that it was performed by female, as well as male performers. Before leaving the Mwasha-troupe of Kijuma, we have to refer to a very important event in which this troupe took part. It was Sultan Sayyid Hamoud's visit to Lamu in 1901. This event was a great episode in the life of Kijuma. Thus, we have to devote a section to it.

The visit of Sultan Hamoud

to Lamu in 1901

In 1901, Sultan Sayyid Hamoud of Zanzibar (1896 - 1902) planned to visit Lamu. When the D.C. of Lamu Mr. A.S. Rogers was told about the plan, he gave Bw. Zena leave from the Navy to prepare his Nidhamu for a big celebration for the Sultan, and also asked Kijuma to do the same.⁴²

The two men did what they were asked. The Sultan was received by the two factions, i.e. the Nidhamu of Bw. Zena and the Mkomani of Kijuma, displaying what they had prepared. What Kijuma displayed was: Five masanamu. The first one was made in the shape of a man dressed in European fashion (koti na suruali), able to smoke. The second one in the shape of a woman dressed in European clothes, but with no hair. The third in the shape of a woman, playing a maruasi.⁴³ The fifth in the shape of a kite (kengewa) able to fly and cry. The latter was carried by Kijuma himself, making it perform by means of devices which he alone knew. During his performance, Kijuma was dancing and singing the following song:

Kengewa lolo	O, naughty kite
Kipata nyakua	If you get (a chick), snatch it.

Kijuma is comparing himself to kengewa lolo, and Bw. Zena to a chick. It is interesting to know that lolo is an adjective for any one naughty, noisy, and very active, who openly outshines other people with these qualities.¹⁶

With these masanamu, the Mwashatroupe of Kijuma were performing their dance, and singing the songs which Kijuma had composed to welcome the Sultan.

Here are some of these songs:

1.

Iweke nzizi juḍi	Plant the roots of generosity
Bwana ulio roshani	O, Master who (is standing) in the balcony ⁴⁴
Kumekuya maabiḍi	The slaves (subjects) of
Wa Bereki na Nubani	Bereki and Nubani have come
Hukuombea Wahiḍi	Praying to The One
Uwe ṭaa ḍuniani	So that you may be the lamp of the world.

When Kijuma felt that the Sultan had appreciated the performance of the Mkomani (= Bereki + Nubani), he assured him that that performance was only an introduction to a big celebration to follow:

2.

Tumetoka tuṭokako	We came from
Anasa upeo	A distance with great joy
Kukurubia ulipo	To where you are
Kwa letu pumbao	For our dance
Bwana huno ni mwaliko	O, Sir: This is just an introduction
Maringo yayao	For a big dance to come.

When Kijuma perceived that the Sultan preferred Mkomani's performance, he composed and sang the following:

3.

Bwana meipenda - Amu yetu	The Master liked our Lamu
Kisa meipenda - dola yetu	Then, he liked our State (Mkomani)
Watumwa kumshashia	(We are) the slaves, to welcome him is our
ndilo letu	(duty).

As we see, each faction used to consider itself as if it were actually a state. This is not surprising since we already know that the early quarters of Lamu (i.e. Zena and Suudi, then Mkomani and Mtamwini) were actually political and military units, as well as competitive in the ngoma. This might explain why every faction had its own leader, poet, and council.

4.

Ya Wahidū Subuhana	O, the Only One God, to be praised
Ya suudū Saidāna	O, our fortunate Master
Sayyidī Hamudū maulana	Sayyid Hamoud our lord
Tumekuya kwako Bwana	We have come to you Sir
Kuamkia sūte watumwa	We, all the slaves, to welcome you
Sayyidī Hamudū maulana	O, Sayyid Hamoud our lord.

Kijuma was asked by the D.C. of Lamu to entertain the Sultan every day. So, the Sultan was entertained by Kijuma and his Mwashā-troupe every day from morning until 10 p.m. for the fifty days during which the Sultan stayed at Lamu.¹⁷ However, every Thursday of these fifty days Kijuma and his Mwashā-troupe had a rest and were replaced by people who recited the maulidi.⁴⁵ During every day of the Sultan's stay in Lamu, Kijuma composed new songs for his Mwashā-troupe to sing, praising the Sultan.¹⁷

The visit of the Sultan was interrupted on 11th October 1901 by the news from Zanzibar that General Lloyd Mathews had died.⁴⁶ Because the General was the Sultan's First Minister, he had to leave Lamu, but not before he had invited Kijuma to join the musicians and dancers in the palace at Zanzibar. On the day of the Sultan's departure, Kijuma composed his last song saying "farewell":

5.

Mbwa pumbao	He is the one to be entertained
Wetu Sayyidi	Our Master
Pia hao	He surpasses
Huyu meziḍi	all others
Enda kwao	He is going home
Nshalla taruḍi	He will return with Allah's will.

The rest of the chorus reply:

Aṭaruḍi - Nshalla taruḍi	He will return with Allah's will.
Aṭaruḍi - Nshalla taruḍi	He will return with Allah's will.

6.

Waunguja	The Zanzibarians
Kope huwapija	Their eyelids are twitching ⁴⁷
Hawalali	They do not sleep
Bwana humngoja	They are waiting for the Master
Ya Jalali	The Glorious One
Tamwawika koja	Will garland him.

In the meantime, what had happened to Bw. Zena? He too displayed masanamu but they were dressed in native style, and some of them in the fashion of the native soldiers. Also, he composed songs for his faction Nidhamu to sing. One of these songs:

Waja musisumbukeni	O, people, do not bother
Kuteza nasi Nidhamu	To compete with us Nidhamu
Huja zenu hufaani	Your arguments have no effect
Haya ndetu maalumu	It is well known that the competition is ours
Yandishiwe azalini	It is predestined
Jaha metupa Karimu	That The Generous One gave us the honour.

Another song praising the Sultan and wishing him well:

Rabi takujaalia	May Allah make
Dola yako itukuke	Your state a great one
Rabi takujaalia	May Allah bring
Kulla kheri akwegeshe	For you all happiness
Kwa baraka za Nabia	May our Lord keep you by the
Mola wetu akuweke	blessing of the Prophet.

The other members of Nidhamu reply: Amina, Amina.

It seems likely that the spectators in Lamu preferred the masanamu of Bw. Zena to those of Kijuma, because in addition to the saying which entered the Swahili language concerning Bw. Zena and his masanamu, the oral tradition preserves a song about them. This song was composed by the people of Lamu, and reads:

Sanaum wa Zena:	The <u>sanamu</u> of Zena:)There is an acting-
Huteza hiyao	It dances like this)movement here in the
Kisa kainuka	Then, it rises)song showing the
Kateza hiyao	And dances like this)movement of the puppet
Kisa kazunguka	After that it turns)
	round)
Kateza hiyao	And dances like this.)

The natives' respect for their own dress might explain their preference for the masanamu of Bw. Zena especially when we know that the people of Lamu even now prefer to wear their kandu and kofia rather than wearing shati and suruali. Although the indigenous might have preferred the masanamu of Bw. Zena for being dressed in their own style, the D.C. of Lamu, Mr. Rogers, blamed Bw. Zena for this style, and thanked Kijuma for his masanamu being dressed in European fashion. After the Sultan had left Lamu, the D.C. gave his thanks to Kijuma and blamed Bw. Zena by saying: "Did I give you leave to dress your masanamu in the fashion of the Sultan's soldiers? Kijuma has defeated you".

These words had a strong effect on Bw. Zena, as we shall see in this chapter. It is not unlikely that Mr. Rogers intended, with his words of blame, to use the singing competitions as a means of changing the fashion in Lamu, particularly when we know that the members of the singing competitions came later dressed in European fashion,⁴⁸ although the rest of the population in the town were dressed in the native style. Moreover, the order of Mr. Rogers to Bw. Zena and Kijuma to prepare their factions for greeting the Sultan is considered as an indication of an existing relationship between the D.C.'s office and these factions in Lamu.

Let us return to Kijuma's visit to the Sultan's palace in Zanzibar. We find that the Sultan called also on Mr. Rogers to replace the late General Mathews in January 1902. As Mzee Salim Kheri of Lamu said, because Kijuma showed the Sultan all the different amusements of Lamu, the Sultan did not only call on Kijuma to be one of his musicians and dancers, but also called on Mr. Rogers to be his First Minister after the Queen of England had asked the Sultan to choose her British representative at his court.

The two men, Kijuma and Mr. Rogers entered the palace of the Sultan in Zanzibar in January 1902.⁴⁹ Concerning the musicians in the palace of the Sultan, there were three musical groups there. The first group was composed of thirty-two members. All these men were Swahili. They had been led by an Egyptian musician who was a sergeant in a musical troupe of the Egyptian cavalry. It is probable that the Egyptian musician was one of the Egyptian musicians sent by the Egyptian government to Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar (1870 - 88). When the Sultan visited Europe in 1875, he was invited by Pasha Ismail of Egypt on his way back to Zanzibar. The Sultan was attracted by the Egyptian music and requested that some musicians be sent to his palace. But when Sultan Ali bin Said came to the throne (1890 - 3), he dismissed the Egyptians except for that sergeant. The Egyptians were replaced by musicians from the coast led by the same sergeant, but he was later replaced by a Swahili musician called Muhamadi Ibrahimu al-Ajamiy. Muhamadi was the leader of the musical group during at least part of the reign of the Sultan Hamoud.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Muhamadi accompanied Sultan Hamoud during his voyage to Lamu, and other towns on the East African coast.⁵¹ This first musical group used to play Egyptian music from an old repertoire.⁵²

They not only played Egyptian music, but also sang in Arabic, even after the Egyptians had been asked to leave the palace to be replaced by Swahili musicians who could not speak Arabic.⁵⁰ They used to play their music every evening in the palace.⁵⁰ The second group was composed also of members from the towns of East Africa. They played stringed instruments and were led by the same Major Muhamadi Ibrahimu. This second group used to play its repertoire during the Sultan's lunch. The third group was composed of Indian Christians who played European music. The Sultan was fond of the first two because of his love for Egyptian music.⁵⁰ We may suppose that Kijuma joined the first group because of his good standard of Arabic. We may also assume that Kijuma seized the opportunity of being in the Sultan's palace with chosen musicians to develop his musical experience as much as he could to become not only a famous musician but also a teacher of music. One of his students -- Mbaruk Talsam of Mombasa (1892 - 1959)⁵³ -- was the well known song-composer, singer and musician. Many tapes on which the music and the singing of Mbaruk were recorded are to be found in the British Institute of Recorded Sound in London. After a short time, Sultan Hamoud died in July 1902. Mr. Rogers was made the Regent, while the Sultan was succeeded by his son Ali whose mother was an indigenous lady. Sultan Ali was then a minor of 17, receiving his education at Harrow in England. Thus, his sultanate was governed by the Regent, until he reached the age of 21, when he was chosen by the British to fill his father's position.⁵⁴ During that period, the Sultan's financial resources were reduced. In June 1905, Sayyid Ali came of age and the Regency ceased. At the end of 1905, Edward Clarke, head of the Africa Department of the Foreign Office visited Zanzibar to frame a scheme of reorganisation. Mr. Rogers was recalled and replaced by Brigadier-General A.S. Raikes.⁵⁵ In 1908, Barton became the First Minister.

Although the exact year in which Kijuma left the palace is not known, we can assume that he did so in 1908, and returned to Lamu in the same year.⁵⁶ We assume that the relationship between Kijuma and Mr. Rogers must have become closer during their time in the palace of the Sultan where they and they alone knew why they had been invited there, namely because of the Sultan's reception in Lamu.⁵⁷ I was unable to trace the life of Mr. Rogers after he had left the palace to find out about any relationship between him and Kijuma after their leaving the palace. However, we can assume that Kijuma's relationship with the British must have become strong through Mr. Rogers who may have planned a role for Kijuma to play in the ngoma ya beni⁵⁸ in Lamu. Before discussing this ngoma, we must refer to two things. The first concerns a poem composed by Kijuma and called Wanawake wa Kiamu or Babukheti. The second is a variety of songs and instrumental performances called tarabu. Concerning the poem Babukheti, the people of Lamu are divided in their opinion about the motive for its composition. Some say that it was composed by Kijuma after some people from Mombasa had come to him in Lamu and asked him his views about the women of Lamu. Wanawake wa Kiamu was the answer to this question. Others say that Kijuma composed it while he was in the palace of the Sultan in Zanzibar. The latter is more likely, because the poem shows that he felt nostalgic. In addition to this, the poem might reveal the internal feeling of Sultan Hamoud towards the Swahili women in general and those of Lamu in particular. This might explain why the Sultan married a Swahili lady, by whom he had his son Ali. Although the poem is now sung and recorded on tape by the well-known Kenyan singer Zainu-el-Abideen of Mombasa, it has not yet been printed. It is worth reproducing in this thesis, especially when we know that Lamu women feel proud when they listen to it.⁵⁹ In contrast, a woman from another town, will feel jealous when she hears the poem.

If asked to give a summary of that poem in one sentence, we would say: There are few women who have such attraction as the women in Lamu either physically or mentally. The poem consists of 19 stanzas of four lines, each line has 16 syllables, and the last word of every stanza is the name of the poet's town Amu, which may indicate how much he missed his town while he was in Zanzibar.

Concerning tarabu, Kijuma obtained the musical experience which enabled him to introduce the tunes of what is now called tarabu⁶⁰ into Lamu.⁶¹ What is the origin of this tarabu? Did Kijuma introduce this tarabu to other places on the East African coast apart from Lamu? The word tarabu is borrowed from the Arabic verb: tariba which means: To be overjoyed. The Arabic noun from this verb is tarab. The word tarab has a range of meanings in the field of music and singing but there is no particular musical or singing theme called tarab in Arabic. Every kind of good singing is called tarab and every good singer is called mutrib if he is male, and mutribah if she is female. Any musical instrument can be called in Arabic: Ālat al-tarab. The word was borrowed into Swahili as tarabu in the meaning of a particular type of tune or melody in a particular song. The first club founded in East Africa for this tarabu was a club called Ikhwan al-Safa in Zanzibar in 1905.⁶² Furthermore, the club was given its name in Arabic, not in Swahili. It was called by its founders: Nādī Ikhwān al-Safā Lit-Tarab "The club of the pure brothers for the tarab". The second club founded was also given an Arabic name: Nādī al-Shuūb Lit-Tarab "The club of the nations for the tarab". It was founded in Zanzibar in 1907.⁶² One of the first clubs founded in Dar-es-Salaam for the tarabu was a club called: Al-Ijipshan⁶³ "The Egyptian".

By adding to this what we already know, that the Egyptian musicians were the first to play music and to sing in Arabic in the palace of the Sultan in Zanzibar in 1875,⁶⁴ we may conclude that the origin of the Swahili tarabu is Egyptian. Hence, Kijuma took this tarabu from the palace and imported it into Lamu, after he had left the palace and returned to Lamu in 1908. Although the above mentioned clubs of the tarabu in Zanzibar were founded when Kijuma was there, his name could not be traced amongst those who founded these clubs. Yet, it is very likely that Kijuma contributed a great deal to the expansion of the tarabu in East Africa among others by giving his musical experience to his student Mbaruk⁶⁵ who founded (with Siti Binti Saad) a group for the tarabu in Zanzibar in the 1920's.⁶² Through Mbaruk and Siti Binti Saad, the tarabu has become known to every one in East Africa.⁶⁶ Finally, we come to the conclusion that the tarabu was introduced by the Egyptians to the palace of Zanzibar, and from the palace (through Kijuma and others) it spread all over East Africa.

As we said above,⁶⁷ Kijuma left the palace and went back to Lamu to take part in the ngoma ya beni.

Ngoma ya Beni

Kijuma's return to Lamu coincided with the division of Bw. Zena's Nidhamu into two factions, once called Kingi⁶⁸ led by Bw. Zena, and the second called Dari Suudi⁶⁹ led by a person called Bu-Rashidi. It seems that the echo of Mr. Rogers' blame⁷⁰ was still reverberating in Bw. Zena's ears when he became the first person to adopt the style of European bands for his faction Kingi in Lamu, after it had been adopted by the Kingi of Mombasa. The opposing faction of the Mombasan Kingi, in ngoma ya beni, was called Skochi.

As Prof. Ranger wrote: "Kirk, the British consul of Zanzibar, J. Thomson, the explorer, Sir W. MacKinnon, founder of the British East Africa Company, G. MacKenzie, the Company's Administrator at Mombasa, all were Scots."⁷¹ This is to say: The Skochi faction was called after these men. When the Mkomani faction (i.e. Nubani and Bereki of Kijuma) found out about a friendship treaty between the Kingi of Lamu and the Kingi of Mombasa, whereby the Kingi of Lamu could import all the European musical instruments it needed and the British Naval uniforms as well, it (Mkomani) united itself under the leadership of the son of Sheikh Omari Nyekai,⁷² Sheikh Fadhili Omari Nyekai, and hurried to the Skochi of Mombasa to make a similar treaty. However, Kijuma was the one to design the "Scottish" uniforms for the members of his factions, after getting the materials.⁷³ Since then, the Mkomani of Lamu allowed itself to be called Skochi as well as Mkomani, and competed against the Kingi of Bw. Zena in the ngoma ya beni until 1925.

Before discussing the procedure of this ngoma, the following three points should be made:

1. It seems that Nidhamu was divided into Kingi and Dari Suudi because the members of Dari Suudi could not accept Bw. Zena's adoption of ngoma ya beni, and when they found that Bw. Zena was determined to adopt this ngoma, they left the Nidhamu and founded Dari Suudi. It was founded only to die soon, because it had no significant role in the singing competitions. The only role which its members might have played was that they must have weakened the strength of Bw. Zena and made him, in practice an incomplete representative of the southern quarter of Lamu, just as had happened when the members of the Bereki left the Mtamwini.⁷⁴

2. I could not establish whether Sheikh Fadhili Omari Nyekai became the leader of the united Mkomani faction after he had become the representative of the northern quarter of Lamu, like his late father Sheikh Omari Nyekai who was the representative and the leader of that quarter or whether he became the leader of Mkomani without 'legitimate' representation of the same quarter. Because I could not establish this, I cannot derive any conclusion from the Mkomani being united under the leadership of Sheikh Fadhili, while Nidhamu was divided at the same time into the Kingi and the Dari Suudi. I have to refer to one of the confidential reports of that time, concerning the political situation in Lamu, which is believed to have a bearing on these factions being divided, united, and adopting the European fashion. The report, by the D.C. of Lamu Mr. J.H. Clive in February 1933,² was as follows:

"In 1909, one of the many regrettable incidents which have blotted the history of the administration of Tana-Land⁷⁵ led to the appointment of Messrs. Hollis and Ainsworth as Commission of Enquiry. These commissioners, in the course of a very damning report blamed the European administration for endeavouring to break down the system of native administration, which, they alleged, was admirably suited to the place and people. They said that the province had been administratively starved, both as regards money and good men to guide it, that, by neglect, they had smothered a country rich in possibilities and decreased the population, so as to make the lack of population one of the main causes of deterioration. It may be noted that twenty three years after this report nothing has been done to remedy this last mentioned defect.

Writing in 1922, of the effect of this report, Mr. Dickson, then the D.C. of Lamu, said: 'The unsavoury reputation of the District has frightened the individual Officer who, generally speaking, has pursued a policy of Laissez faire and prayed that he would get away without personal damage'. It is probably a fact that those who have adopted this policy have been most popular with the people of Lamu".

3. For the first time in the history of the singing competitions in Lamu, European dress came into fashion among the members of the competitive factions, after it had been worn symbolically by the masanamu of Kijuma in 1901.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the names of these factions came to be derived from foreign words and not from native ones as they had previously been.

How, when and where did this ngoma ya beni first take place? The members of this ngoma used to go outside the town to a place called Mashamba every Sunday morning during May, June, July, and August every year¹⁷ to make merry, eat,⁷⁷ drink, and dance.⁷⁸ In the afternoon, they would return to where the ngoma would take place. Concerning Kijuma's faction (i.e. Mkomani or Skochi), its members used to gather in the leader's house, and from his house they would start to march imitating English military troops, through the narrow street which is now called Mkomani, singing until they arrived at the end of that street. They would then go back through another street on the quay, until they reached a place called Darajani where the house of Bw. Zena stood.¹⁷ There, the men lined up in two lines for dancing. Their dance was based on the idea of a military drill. Sometimes it took the form of a parade or a procession. At the head of these two lines, the band stood playing their instruments which might vary from a bugle, a pipe, and a drum to the beating of a single big drum.⁷⁹

Beside the band stood the group which used to sing the Swahili songs composed by Kijuma. Facing the men, Kijuma's troupe of the Mwashu used to dance a dance called Changani or Shangani, under a big umbrella called a Marudufu which was made of tarpaulin of the same material as a boat's sail.²⁹ The rivals went on with their singing, dancing and playing music until 10 p.m. Kijuma composed a huge number of songs for his faction in this ngoma, and most of them told the opponents: "You have been defeated even though you have prestige and money. I wonder what would you have done, if you had had nothing".⁸⁰ The songs went on like this until the beginning of the 1920's. It is clear that these songs mocked Bw. Zena's wealth. The Kingi then represented the class of the employers in the town, while the Skochi represented the class of the employees who were described by Prof. Ranger as a faction full of tailors, donkey riders and shamba men.⁸¹

Two songs⁸² composed by Kijuma and Bw. Zena in 1341/1922 show that the Skochi of Kijuma had few members, while the Kingi of Bw. Zena was much stronger. The song of Kijuma reads:

Tungawa watu wachache	Even if we are few
Tuipange	We must arrange ourselves in rows
Wenye zita tusiwache	We should not be scared of war-mongers
Tuwasonge	Let us face them
Pia ipete kitiche	The top (as a toy) has got its hold
Nairinge	Let it turn around.

As we see, the song shows that Kijuma's faction had only a few members, at that time, compared to Bw. Zena's faction. It is very interesting that Kijuma compared his faction and its activities (dance) to the top which remains in balance as long as it spins rapidly.

Not only this, but also it sticks strongly to the ground by its point. It is as if he wanted to say: "We have to stick strongly to our course to penetrate the ground (the power) on which Bw. Zena is standing". On the other hand, the song of Bw. Zena reads:

Kijuma kawape ero	O, Kijuma: Give them the news
Uwambie	And tell them
Taa haina mngaro	That the lamp (i.e. the faction) has no light
Izimie	It has gone out
Sasa koko nda mparo	Now, (receive) the projectile which will start you itching
Iziwie	Try to stop it.

Bw. Zena is comparing his song to the koko, i.e. a ball similar to the hard cricket ball made for a strong bat. This makes the ball look as if it were a projectile. That is why koko is translated as 'projectile' in the song.

The unequal balance of power between the two factions could not be allowed to continue for a long time without a change. So, in 1925,¹⁷ the faction of Bw. Zena was divided for the third time, into a Kingi led by Bw. Zena and a Kambaa⁸³ led by a man called Sabirina. As Prof. Ranger wrote: "Sabirina was a man of no family, a fish-seller. He was very big, very tough, and very black".⁸⁴ The oral tradition relates that the members of the Kambaa who were ordinary individuals hoped to wrench from Bw. Zena the reins of power in the faction, but it proved impossible. The following song⁸⁵ of Bw. Zena reveals that hope, but in a metaphorical way:

Masikini watu hao	The condition of these people is deplorable
Kwa kutaka <u>ure</u> ⁸⁶	Because of their desire for glory
Wameliwata pumbao	They left their comfort
Na raha ya bure	And free pleasure
Walilitaka ni wao	They are the ones who wanted it
Naliwatotore	Thus, let regret hurt them (forever)

It seems likely that this last split of the Kingi happened in co-ordination with the members of the Skochi or Mkomani of Kijuma who were very few in number, because when the Kambaa came into existence, some of these members joined it. Kijuma became the poet of the Kambaa under the leadership of Sabirina. When Bw. Zena composed a song satirising the Kambaa calling it: Kambaa mbovu "A rotten palm-rope", Kijuma replied by composing:

Si Kambaa mbovu	It is not a rotten palm-rope
Hiki ni kitani	It is (a strong rope made from) flax
Hutaraji nguvu	One expects it to be strong
Upepo wa Juni	In the June - monsoon
Baada ya kovu	(You will be forced to make peace with us even) after the scars heal
Na jaraha ndani	The wounds are still there deep inside

Kijuma did not leave Bw. Zena without testing his talent for composing songs in the same rhyme in which he himself composed. Cf. the following song composed by Kijuma:

Iwapo u mtatuzi	If you are a riddle-solver
Tatuwa kitetenecho ⁸⁷	Solve this riddle
Ukiweka wazi wazi	Making it clear
Kama kitatushiyecho	Like something that has become an unquestionable fact
Utatuwapo muyuzi	When you (O, pretender of) knowledge, have solved it,
Unambie hiki ndicho ⁸⁸	Tell me: Here it is.

Bw. Zena must have thought very hard before replying to "Here it is", in the following way:

Wauze wenda matiti	Ask those who walk with pride and strength:
Wapetecho	What have they got?
Ndimi fahali wa nyati	I am a buffalo-bull
Niso kicho	With no fear
Walineni sikipati	You have said that I could not get it
Hiki ndicho ⁸⁹	Here it is.

It is obvious that Bw. Zena passed his test but not fully, because the number of syllables in each line is not the same as in his "examiner's". The rivalry went on between Kambaa and Kingi in such processions of the ngoma ya beni until Bw. Zena died in about 1933.⁹⁰ When he died, Kijuma stated: "He who competed against me was my rival, and he died. The remaining rivals are the youths with whom I have no more interest to compete".⁹¹ It was a piece of fortune to obtain the following song⁹² of Kijuma which identifies those youths with whom he had no more interest to compete:

Sitaki kinyanganyiro	I do not want the scramble
Kwisha kutoka funguni	I have already withdrawn from the association
Wamebaki kina Charo	Those remaining are the folk of Charo ⁹³
Na Wanyika wa Gongoni	And Wanyika of Gongoni ⁹⁴
Siliwezi tena kero	I can no longer endure the troubles
Hali yangu taabani	I am now distressed.

The song shows that these members of Charo or (Giryama) and Wanyika were probably persuaded by the D.C.'s office in Lamu, not only to become members in the faction of Kijuma, but also to try seizing the leadership of the faction by force. It is important to know that these Wanyika and Giryama were amongst the Bantu-tribes which had not yet become used to live in towns. We can assume that they were brought into Lamu during the British rule to work as labourers, because these tribes were amongst those which responded to calls for labour migration.⁹⁵ In addition to this, the Giryama had been the first large tribe in Kenya to be deeply affected by European impact since Missionaries worked among and near them from the mid-nineteenth century.⁹⁵ However, some of these Wanyika and Giryama still live in Lamu, but their status is considered to be either that of stranger or as residents.⁹⁶

Before discussing the role of Kijuma in ngoma ya beni outside Lamu, there are two main points to be made:

1. The last division of the Kingi into the Kingi and the Kambaa with the Mkomani of Kijuma included is seen as a sort of parallel with social and political change in Lamu. It became clear that the leaders of these factions were no longer necessarily representatives of their own quarters as they had been in the past.

Sabirina who had neither social nor political background became the leader of the Kambaa which was supposed to be representative of the northern quarter of the town. Comparing Sheikh Muhamadi bin Abu Bakari and Sheikh Omari Nyekai to Sabirina, we find the two were representatives of their quarter Mkomani in the governing council of the town as well as the leaders of their quarter in the singing competitions (Gungu and Dhili). Sabirina on the other hand, was not a representative in any of the governmental offices. In addition to this, Sheikh Muhamadi and Sheikh Omari were people of highly respected families amongst their own compatriots because of their long, well-recorded social backgrounds, while Sabirina, as Prof. Ranger wrote, was a man "of no family".

2. Kijuma participated in making this change possible. Looking at his movements inside these factions, we find that he was firstly with Bw. Zena in the Mtamwini. He left the Mtamwini with some of his friends and joined the Mkomani, after which they called themselves the Bereki. By his joining the Mkomani, he left Bw. Zena with no full representation of the inhabitants of Mtamwini which came to be called Nidhamu. He also made it possible for the representation in the governing council of the town not to be based on geographical grounds, because he paid no attention to the fact that he had crossed the line that ran between the two quarters of the town. When the Mkomani of Kijuma was divided for the first time into the Pumwani and the Nubani, the Bereki of Kijuma joined the Nubani, the faction of employees, while the faction of employers, the Pumwani was left too weak to survive. With the loss of the Pumwani, the Mkomani was also no longer representative of the inhabitants as it had been in the past.

Furthermore, many members of the Mkomani left it after it had adjusted itself to the ngoma ya beni as the song of Kijuma shows.⁹⁷ The same thing happened with the faction of Bw. Zena when the members of Dari Suudi left him. Hence, the population of the town was no longer fully represented by the two factions in its northern and southern quarters. Instead of the remaining members of these factions, being represented geographically and politically, they were now represented only socially. This could be clearly seen when the common members of the Kingi of Bw. Zena left it and joined the remaining common members in the Mkomani of Kijuma to form the Kambaa led by Sabirina. Not only this, but also the people of Wanyika and Giriyama came to be leading members in the Kambaa. After that time, the Kambaa became the image of the lower class and the Kingi the image of snobbishness.⁹⁸ This image of snobbishness did not last for long because of the uneconomic waste which was the result of the ngoma ya beni as the last pages of this chapter will show. By making these two preceeding points, we come to the end of Kijuma's role in the ngoma ya beni in Lamu.

The ngoma ya beni outside Lamu

Kijuma also took part in the ngoma ya beni outside Lamu. He used to go to Mkunumbi and Matondoni⁹⁹ to take part in the ngoma there. His participation in Mkunumbi will be presently discussed. Concerning his presence in Matondoni, he was not only a participant, but actually the leader and the poet of one of the two factions founded there. The ngoma ya beni had found its way to Matondoni after his return from the palace of Zanzibar in 1908. In about the same year, he went to Matondoni and formed a faction called Mkunguni¹⁰⁰ and became its leader and poet.

The other faction against which he competed was the Mtapwani¹⁰⁰ led by Bibi Zuhura who was its poetess. The Swahili oral tradition has preserved many songs composed by Kijuma and Bi. Zuhura, competing against each other in this ngoma, since about 1908 until the 1930's. Here is a song in which Kijuma not only named his faction Mkunguni but also boasted its superiority over his adversary:

Twawayua huudhika	We know that you are angry
mambo yetu mwaṭamani	Because you covet our things
Maisha mṭaparika	You will, for ever, be in grief (because of this covetting)
Hamuwezi ushindani	For you are incapable of competing
Fahamuni mṭachoka	Understand that you will get tired
Kwa ḡola ya Mkunguni	Of the state of Mkunguni

The most famous of the songs composed by Bi. Zuhura against Kijuma were the following satiric ones:

Kandu yashitaki	The garment complains
kadhi niamua	O, judge, judge between us
Mimi sivaliki	I am worn out
Mbona navaliwa?	Why am I still being worn?
Nimeoza ziki	The stitching round the neck has become rotten
Na pa kukualiwa	And also the seat.

Indeed, Kijuma did not keep his clothes clean. From the time he first put on new clothes, he never washed them until they were completely in rags.

Bi. Zuhura wanted to reveal more about Kijuma's way of life. Thus, she composed the following:

Chakula chake ni unga	His food is flour
	(When he wants to buy something,
Robo zaidi katiti	he buys it in very small quantities, i.e.)
	In more or less a quarter (of a pound)
Nguo yake ni kitanga	His cloth is made from matting material
Na malazi ni tiati	He sleeps on the floor
Rabbi tamwetea janga	May God send him calamity
Hata adhuku maui	Until he dies.

Bi. Zuhura had overstepped her limits and had to be taught a lesson. Hence, Kijuma composed the following song to curse her:

Rabbi takupa kigongo	May God give you a beating
Na kisu cha kukuwasha	And a knife's stab to hurt you
Mungu akupe ushingo ¹⁰²	May God give you poison causing pain
Upite ukikupisha	To burn you when you walk
Mungu takupa zifungo	May God give you shackles
Usifunguke maisha	To be shackled for ever.

Every Swahili person hearing this song, said: "Lahaula". This is to say in English: "Oh dear" or "Oh goodness!"

The implication was that Kijuma cursed her with paralysis and incurable pain.

This is the way in which the ngoma ya beni went on in Matondoni until permanent by-laws were adopted, in 1934, which imposed restrictions on this ngoma.

The economic, cultural, and religious aspects
of the singing competitions

I could not trace any information to confirm that the teams of the singing competitions either in ngoma ya gungu or ngoma ya dhili in Lamu also competed against each other in the number of cattle which each team could afford to have slaughtered during these competitions.

As for the ngoma ya beni, it appears that its factions did compete also in the number of these cattle. The songs Kijuma composed for this ngoma ya beni inform us that there were cows to be slaughtered and meat to be eaten during the competitions in this ngoma,¹⁰⁴ but he did not mention the number of the cattle which were slaughtered. We have to thank Kijuma for being the only one to compose a long poem supplying us with information regarding the number of cattle which were slaughtered during the competition in this ngoma in Mkunumbi, a Swahili town not far from Lamu. He used to go to Mkunumbi with his troupe of Mwashas dancers to support the faction of their ally, Sheikh Ba-Simba, against his opponent Shekuwe of the Harinauti¹⁰⁵ faction. Once, he and his troupe went to support this Ba-Simba, and because of this support, Ba-Simba defeated Shekuwe. This was because of the Mwashas dancers since the spectators gave them much money as a gift with which many cattle were bought and slaughtered, where Shekuwe could not collect enough money to afford the number of cattle required for competing with Ba-Simba. 55 head of cattle were slaughtered during that particular competition. This poem of Kijuma gives a vivid picture of the uneconomic waste which the factions of the ngoma ya beni caused. About the same number of cattle was also slaughtered in Lamu. During one season, more than 40 cows were slaughtered by one of the Lamu-factions in the ngoma ya beni.¹⁰⁶ This was at the end of the 1950's.¹⁰⁶

This uneconomic waste meant that no member of these factions could become rich. When the D.C.'s Office realised that the economic position in Lamu could hardly become worse than it was in 1934,¹⁰⁷ permanent by-laws were adopted which imposed restrictions on this ngoma.¹⁰⁸ Just before these restrictions were imposed, Kijuma announced his retirement in about 1934 following Bw. Zena's death. In 1941, the ngoma was again allowed and the restrictions were partly lifted.¹⁰⁹ They were totally lifted in the 1950's, after the economic situation had improved and political consciousness had increased amongst the citizens.¹¹⁰ The fact that they were lifted because of this situation supports the theory of this chapter that the ngoma ya beni was actually intended to play a political, economic, social, and cultural role in Lamu. The clothes which its members used to wear were European clothes. The day on which it was celebrated was always a Sunday, i.e. on the Christian holy day of the week, although the town is Islamic. It seems likely that the beni's message of celebrating it on Sundays was to ask the Muslims of the town to accept Sunday as being the holiday of the week. It is important to note that the Sunday, not the Friday, has been the holiday of the week in the town until now.

Concerning the religious aspect of the ngoma ya beni, Prof. Ranger wrote:

"The founder of the Mosque-College Habib Salih, who was the most important Islamic teacher at that time in Lamu did not condemn the beni dancers in kilts, and the annual Maulidi festival which had developed under his patronage, in fact provided the Lamu beni associations with their greatest opportunity for competitive display".¹¹¹

The ngoma ya beni was rejected not only by al-Habib Salih¹¹² but also by the rest of the scholars in the town.

When this ngoma was introduced to Lamu around 1900, al-Habib Salih of the Riyadhha mosque and his colleagues gave the following formal legal verdict (Fatuwa):

"Mtu yeyote akihudhuria katika beni, ametoka katika hadhira (heshima) ya dini".¹¹³ "Any one who attends beni, is not respecting the religion".

But the D.C. of Lamu encouraged beni and used to send policemen¹⁷ to keep the ngoma peaceful. Furthermore, the D.C. of Lamu himself acted as jury from time to time to decide which faction would be the winner of the competition.¹⁷ The police had to be sent there to prevent clashes

which might occur between the members of the two rival groups. These clashes were sometimes inevitable when the members of the factions collided while marching in the narrow streets of Lamu. In such clashes, sticks were used.¹⁷ Kijuma himself used to carry a stick with him

wherever he went. As one of his relatives said: "He was always with his simbo, ready to fight".⁴⁵ In other Swahili towns in which the same

ngoma ya beni was introduced, these clashes were very serious and dangerous. To indicate how dangerous the clashes of this nature were cp. this report of the D.C.: "A riot occurred at Faza on 3rd-4th May 1956 between two teams Kingi and Rarua, and a man was killed".¹¹⁴

Going back to the Fatuwa, it frustrated Kijuma greatly. I was fortunate enough to acquire two of Kijuma's songs¹¹⁵ showing the implication of this Fatuwa. It happened once that two persons who were supposed to be observing and respecting this Fatuwa joined the ngoma ya beni. Kijuma seized this opportunity to compose these two songs. The first song reads:

Mwandameni	Follow him
Asipate kuisita	lest he hide himself
Kingia msikitini	If he enters the mosque

Kwa ṭandi ṭutamḳota We will capture him with a noose
Shekhe meẓoteza beni The Sheikh who played beni
Yapasa kukatwa kiṭwa Must have his head cut off.

The other song is as follows:

Mumekwisa kutwanḍama You have followed us
Tungawa tu waumbufu Although we are outcasts
Mwaliiliani nyama Why do you eat the meat¹¹⁶
Nanyi ni wasiṭirifu? Although you are persons of dignity?
Beni halina karama Beni has no miracles
Hatutaki masharifu We do not need Masharifu.¹¹⁷

The main reasons which made the Muslim scholars in Lamu publish this Fatuwa were that there were three elements contained in the ngoma ya beni which they considered were against Islamic teaching. The first was the waste of time and money. The second was the clashes between the rivals which benefitted no one and harmed many. The third was that the women and men danced in sight of each other.

Finally, it is remarkable that the ngoma ya beni was banned in 1963, after Kenya had become independent.¹⁶

Chapter II - Notes

1. This term is used as translation for the Swahili term: Mashindano ya ngoma. There are three elements in these competitions: playing music, dancing, and singing poetic Swahili songs.
2. Ms. 53829.
3. Prins, 1971, p. 48.
4. Harries, 1962, p. 172.
5. Hichens, 1938, pp. 22-29.
6. See: p. 43.
7. Prins, 1971, p. 60.
8. See: p. 17.
9. Ms. 47797.
10. Ranger, 1975, p. 25.
11. See: p. 20.
12. For Wazee wa mui, see: Prins, 1971, p. 12.
13. Interview with Sheikh Muhamadi 'Adnani al-Mahdaliy in Lamu.
14. It has 365 days, and its beginning is called Nairuzi or Siku ya mwaka. It is described in detail by Sir John Gray, 1955, pp. 1-22.
15. Sayyid Hasan Badawy of Lamu saw it one day with a man called Bwana Kipanaga, but it could not be traced when I was in Lamu.
16. Interview with Sheikh Yahya Ali Omari on S.O.A.S.
17. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.
18. Kibahalulu = Small torch of twisted cotton or grass.
19. Samiri = Siamriri. The verb amiri is derived from the Arabic verb 'ammara = He filled up or structured.
20. See: p. 108.
21. Correspondence with Bwana Mahmoud Mau of Lamu.
22. Interview with Bibi Maryamu M. Al-Bakariy of Lamu in London.

23. Tukayeze = tuka (ki) eleza = to make it float, or to launch it.
24. See: Song No. 5, p. 112.
25. Interview with Dr. J. Knappert in S.O.A.S.
26. See: p. 44.
27. See: p. 339.
28. See: p. 47.
29. Interview with Bibi Asia M. al-Bakiriy of Lamu in London.
30. Interview with Bibi Somoe Bena in Mombasa. She was one of Kijuma's students in his ngoma.
31. See: Utendi wa Mkunumbi, p. 186.
32. Reel C.I, Ms. 224.
33. Makayamba = dry grain shaken inside a flat box made of reed or the seed pod of the flamboyant tree or other tree.
34. This expression is used when someone wants to describe something he has seen but is too wonderful for words.
35. Tanga = tangawizie = ginger.
36. Ngizi = a syrup made by a certain procedure, from the juice of the coconut.
37. See: p. 76.
38. Skene, 1917, p. 417.
39. Skene, 1917, p. 414.
40. For the text on the Sultan's visit, see p. 481.
41. See: p. 238.
42. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu, and correspondence with Bibi Maryamu M. Al-Bakariy of Lamu. The Swahili text, narrated by Mzee Salim Kheri about the Sultan's visit, is given in the appendix.
43. Maruasi is a drum about 8 inches long by 8 inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin at both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord.

44. It was the balcony of the building which is nowadays known as the Lamu Museum, whose door was carved by Kijuma.
45. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu. For Mulidi, see: Knappert, 1971, 3VV.
46. For the date of the General's death, see: Hamilton, 1957, p. 251.
47. There is a belief among the Swahili people that when the eyelids are twitching there is a presentiment of good news.
48. See: p. 70.
49. For the date of Mr. Rogers' entering employment at the palace, see: Hamilton, 1957, p. 252.
50. Mikhail, 1901, pp. 89-90.
As the writer wrote in his book, he (the writer) was an Egyptian working in the palace of Zanzibar during the reign of the Sultan Hamoud.
51. Ms. 279888, Vol. 18, Ms. 2533.
52. E.g. Fareed 'L. Mahāsin Bān, and Teehak 'Alayya 'L. Yoom Bi-Sneen.
See; Note 50.
53. Jahadhmy, 1966, pp. 61-70.
54. Hamilton, 1957, p. 255.
55. Younghusband, 1908, p. 246 and Eliot, 1905, p. 35.
56. See: p. 36.
57. See: p. 65.
58. Beni is derived from the English word Band.
59. See: pp. 95-102.
60. For Tarabu, see Knappert, 1971, pp. 110, 123-4, Knappert, 1972, p. 8, Knappert, 1977, pp. 116-155, Knappert, 1979, pp. 51, 257, 303, and Lodhi, 1979, pp. 129-132.
61. Interview with Bwana Mahmoud Mau in Lamu.
62. Interview with Bwana Muhamadi Seif Khatibu of Zanzibar in S.O.A.S.

63. Jahadhmy, 1966, p. 100.
64. See: p. 65.
65. See: p. 66.
66. Robert, 1960, and Jahadhmy, 1966.
67. See: p. 67.
68. Kingi came to be thought of as representative of King Edward VII of England.
69. It is not the name of any place in Lamu.
70. See: p. 64.
71. For Kingi of Mombasa, see: Ranger, 1975, pp. 22-26.
72. See: p. 45.
73. Interview with Bibi Fatuma M. al-Bakari of Lamu in London.
For Kijuma's experience in sewing, see: p. 319.
74. See: p. 47.
75. The district which included Lamu.
76. See: p. 59.
77. I.e. to eat meat from the cattle which had been slaughtered, which was another aspect of competing in this ngoma as we shall see in this chapter.
78. Interview with Mzee Simaru Mabruk, once a member of the Bw. Zena's Kingi in Lamu.
79. Lambert, 1962-3, pp. 18-21.
80. See: pp. 109-126.
81. Ranger, 1975, p. 81.
82. From Bwana Faraji Bwana Mkuu in Lamu, and also to be found in Ms. 380066.
83. Kambaa means = palm-rope.
84. Ranger, 1975, p. 81.
85. From Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.

86. Ure = Urefu = Mambo makubwa.
87. Kitetenecho is used for anything mixed, knotted and tangled. E.g. the thread which is tangled or knotted, so that its ends cannot be found.
88. This song is also mentioned by Dammann, 1943, p. 32, but with some differences.
89. This song is also mentioned by Lambert, 1956, p. 50, but with no comments.
90. This date was given by Bibi Asia M. al-Bakariy.
91. Interview with Sayyid Hasan Badawy in Lamu.
92. From Bwana Abdalla Fadhili of Matondoni.
93. Charo is a Giriyama tribe.
94. Gongoni is a place not very far from Mamburui in Kenya.
95. Harlow and others, 1965, pp. 337, 346, and 348.
96. Prins, 1971, pp. 4 and 20.
97. See: p. 73.
98. Ranger, 1975, p. 80.
99. Matondoni is a village north of Lamu, the distance between the two is about a 3 hours' walk.
100. Mkunguni and Mtapwani are the names of the two main quarters of Matondoni.
101. See: Ms. 380066.
102. Ushingo is very severe pains caused by a snake-bite, with the poison being left inside the body.
103. See: p. 83.
104. See: pp. 85, 117 and 123.
105. Said to be derived from the word Aeronautics.
106. Interview with Dr. Muhamadi S. Badamana of Lamu.

107. A report dated 7th May 1934 from the D.C. of Lamu to the Acting P.C. of Mombasa. See: Ms. 53829.
108. Ranger, 1975, p. 88.
109. A report by the D.C. of Lamu, Mr. A.A.M. Lawrence, in November 1941, Ms. 53829.
110. Ranger, 1975, p. 144.
111. Ranger, 1975, p. 87.
112. Al-Habib Salih was born in the Comoro-Islands, and arrived in Lamu not after 1885 and stayed in Lamu until he died in 1935, aged over 80 years; about him, see: Ms. 53503, and Lienhardt, 1959, pp. 228-242.
113. Interview with Sheikh Muhamadi Saidi al-Beedh in Lamu.
114. Ranger, 1975, p. 147.
115. From Bibi Fatuma Nyenye in Matondoni.
116. This refers to the meat of the cattle which used to be slaughtered during the ngoma competitions. It was considered as waste by the religious scholars.
117. See: p. 17.

CHAPTER III

Kijuma The Composer of Songs

Having finished the chapter on Kijuma's singing competitions, it is convenient to locate the present chapter here, because the main tool for the singing competitions was the song. These competitions taught Kijuma how to compose competition songs on various subjects, and also encouraged him to master the many Swahili words which have a large number of widely different meanings. These different meanings were given in verses composed by various poets who lived on the coast of East Africa before him. He had a writing-book containing all these words with their different meanings in verses. Moreover, he could recite all of these verses by heart.¹ Kijuma sent some such verses to W.H. in 1937.²

Gradually, he became very well known as a composer of songs in Lamu. Apart from his songs for the singing competitions, he composed a lot of songs for many other people. These people would, at special occasions in their lives, go to him to ask for songs which would express their feelings. Most of these occasions were connected with wedding festivals and love.

Kijuma would be paid 25 cents for a song of one stanza.³ The song usually consisted of three lines with 16 syllables a line. The person wanting the song had to bring, with him, a piece of paper upon which the song would be written. According to the agreement, Kijuma would also decorate the margin of that paper by drawing either flowers, birds, or both. It is also important to know that Kijuma used to compose such songs at once, without even a delay for thinking.³ Thus, a person who brought his piece of paper for Kijuma's song was able to get the song which he wanted before he left Kijuma.

The song of Kijuma had a great value for the person obtaining it. There is a story: One day, there was a man in Lamu, who loved a woman madly. He went to her and offered her a lot of money to return his love. He was rejected. Then, he went to Kijuma asking him for a song expressing his feelings towards this woman. Kijuma composed the song after he had charged the man 1/2 Rupee. When the man gave his beloved one the song, she loved him dearly. Thus, he got for 1/2 Rupee what he could not get for a lot of money.⁴ Although this particular song could not be traced, the following one can be considered as an example of it:

Kāla al-Nādhim Fī-Lamu = The composer said in Lamu

1.

Nenda mbio	Run (as fast as you can)
Sikeṭi enda haraka	Do not sit, go quickly
Nilonayo	All that is inside my heart
Nena kwa kusikiṭika	Humbly reveal it
Wangu moyo	My heart
Kwa mapenḍi huṭangika	Has the agony of love.

2.

Samahani	Pardon
Kwa raufu niṭakia	Ask it for me from the compassionate
Naṭamani	I am longing
Kulala kumepotẹa	Sleep has gone far from me
Sinikhini	Do not deny me (what I want)
Mahaba yana udhia	Love hurts.

3.

Hata Kula	Even eating
Halipendi kanwa langu	My mouth no longer likes
Na kulala	As for sleep
Hayafumbi ma <u>o</u> yangu	My eyes do not close
Lahaula	Oh, it is a pity
Hunipita bui wangu	That my sweetheart passes before me (without saying: How are you!).

4.

Bui wangu	O, my sweetheart
Nimeomba tupatane	I beg you to reconcile
Hali yangu	Sleep and I
Na kulala tSWEPukene	Are opponents
Moyo wangu	(Furthermore) my heart
Haum <u>t</u> aki mwengine	Does not incline to another one.

5.

Siki <u>t</u> ika	Give me sympathy
Enda nami kwa uzuri	Treat me kindly
Moyo nyoka	O, heart: Be straight forward
Upunguze uti <u>r</u> iri	Reduce the illusion
Kukwepuka	To be far from you
Moyo wangu haukiri	My heart does not accept.

6.

Umeruka	(Do you hear me!) Sleep has
Usindizi shika mwanda	already flown
Hunishika	Accusing me of

Shari haṭa kitotenda	Offences which I did not commit
Huzunguka	That makes me turn
Kikipija na kitanda	and toss on the bed.

7.

Yako hamu	Your love
Ningizie hunipara	Is hurting me
Sina ṭamu	I have no taste for anything.
Kiṭoona zako sura	Not to see you
Wasalamu	Good-bye
Nakuomba msayara	Begging your friendship.

I was fortunate enough to trace this song, written on a piece of (letter)⁵ paper, in Lamu. The letter is written in Arabic script, decorated, and drawn by Kijuma himself.⁶ At the top of this letter, Kijuma drew a bird, but without naming it. By comparing the beginning of this song with the beginning of the poem Wanawake wa Kiamu which Kijuma composed while he was in the palace of the Sultan of Zanzibar,⁷ we will realise that they are similar. It is likely that that bird was the one which Kijuma mentioned at the beginning of Wanawake wa Kiamu, since the beginnings of the two are similar. Hence, we can assume that the bird Babukheti which is mentioned in the poem Wanawake wa Kiamu is the one which Kijuma drew on the top of that letter. The poem Wanawake wa Kiamu reads:

1.

Babukheti kaazime	Babukheti (a kind of pigeon): Go urgently and
Hima mbawa za kipungu	borrow the wings of an eagle
Uye hapa nikutume	Then come to me, so that I can send you

Nikupe maneno yangu	I will tell you my secret
Nina mambo yaniveme	My problems are overwhelming
Ya ndani mwa moyo wangu	Deep in my heart
Yaniwelee utungu	I am much depressed by sorrow
Kuwa ni mbali na Amu	To be far from Lamu

2.

Nina mambo yaniveme	My problems are overwhelming
Babukheti hukwambia	Babukheti: I am telling you
Ruka wende sisimame	Fly and go without stopping
Upate kusikilia	So that you arrive there (very soon),
Kupija mbawa sikome	Do not stop beating
Waṭa kuziziwilia	your wings
Moyo utwete udhia	My heart is heavy with grief
Kuwa ni mbali na Amu	That I am far away from Lamu.

3.

Moyo utwete udhia	My heart is heavy with grief
Huwaza na kufikiri	Full of thoughts and meditation
Muili umeregea	My body is weak
Ziungo hazina bari	My limbs have no strength
Kikumbuka mazoea	When I recall our intimacy
Mno yameniathiri	I become very much affected
Ndipo kaṭoa khabari	And that is why I am saying: It is
Kuwa ni mbali na Amu	very hard to be far away from Lamu.

4.

Amu kuiona mbali	Seeing Lamu in my mind so distant
Si Amu ile majumba	It is certainly not the buildings

Hukumbuka wake 'ali
Mngu Aliowaumba
Wakusenyao jamali
Ziwavee kimba kimba⁸
Ai mambo kunikumba
Kuwa ni mbali na Amu

I remember but the noble ladies
Whom God created
Ladies who accumulate beauty
The beauty put on them completely
Oh, how unfortunate (lit. matters strike me)
To be far away from Lamu.

5.

Amu kuna wake 'ali
Wa haiba na urembo
Nyama yao ya muili
Tabia na lao umbo
Mkindani hukubali
Hapati kunena yambo
Huwapati penye kombo
Wanawake wa Kiamu

In Lamu, there are precious women
Of beauty and grace
Their femininity is evident
From their character and figure
Any critic will agree
That there is no blemish
To be found in
The women of Lamu.

6.

Wanawake wa Kiamu
Nyee zake akisuka
Maburudisho ya Shamu
Haliwaridi kipaka
Kikaa tini huramu
Hung'ara kimemetuka
Mwenye hasira huteka
Kwa wanawake wa Amu

When a lady of Lamu
Plaits her hair
And puts on the exotic
Perfume from Damascus
And then sits down, her
Grace is dazzling
Even an angry man will smile
Because of seeing the women of Lamu.

7.

Waitindapo sikini	When they clean their skins
Nshi wakazishindiza	And shape their eyebrows,
Wakatia na maṭoni	And make up their eyes
Wanda njema isoṭuza	With kohl of high quality
Na kishahasi puani	And put jewellery in their noses
Kisa wakaifukiza	And then perfume themselves with scented sandal-wood
Mambo mangi huliwaza	They give much consolation
Wanawake wa Kiamu	The women of Lamu.

8.

Waifutapo na uso	When they clean their faces
Mnginewe hayiyangi	There is no other who can show herself off
Wakaitanda na lesu	When they deck themselves with a kerchief
Ya maua ya mayungi	Decorated with water-lilies
Mamboye hupati mwiso	You cannot get at the bottom of their affairs!
Wala mtu hayawangi	Nor enumerate them
Huliwaza mambo mangi	In many ways
Wanawake wa Kiamu	The women of Lamu are entertaining

9.

Wayandikapo usoni	When they put on their faces
Zipai ⁹ zao za Hindi	The Indian ornamental patch of colour
Na maṭavuni zarani ¹⁰	And put colour on their cheeks
Yalofanywa na mafundi	(Colour) which is made by experts
Nduza hela yatundeni	O, my brothers: Watch carefully
Labuda hamuyatundi	It is probable that you do not consider it

Hwondolea watu kandi
Wanawake wa Kiamu

The rich man is relieved of his wealth
By the women of Lamu.

10.

Watiapo na zirungu
Na tumba za asimini
Pamoya na mafurungu
Na zingaja mikononi
Husahau ulimwengu
Mtu kazi haioni
Huwazi u duniani
Kwa mwanamke wa Amu

When they wear golden buttons (in their ears)
And buds of jasmine (around their necks)
With big silver anklets (on the legs)
And their red coral on their wrists
A man will forget the world
And neglect his work
You do not think of the world
When with a woman of Lamu.

11.

Waifungapo zikuba
Ziwili mbee na nyuma
Huwa na huu haiba
Mtu akahalimama
Yapokuwa na akiba
Siwaze itasimama
Ndipo siku ya kukoma
Kwa mwanamke wa Amu

When they wear bouquets of jasmine
Two, in front and at the back
They become outstandingly pretty
A man will be dazzled
Even if you have savings
Do not think they will remain
That will be the end of those savings
The day you meet the woman of Lamu.

12.

Na wangapi wafalume
Wenye majumba na zana
Wasoshikiwa kinyume
Neno lao wakinena
Tangu wake na waume

How many kings
Owning palaces and armaments
Without opposition
To what they say,
(Including) women and men

Kwa wakuu na wanuna Whether they are old or young
Wote huita manana The all call: "Ladies"
Wanawake wa Kiamu The women of Lamu.

13.

Ni wangapi waungwana How many free men
Wenye murua na haya With dignity and virtue
Wenye jaha nyingi sana With much honour
Na ikibali pamoya And success as well
Makuu yao maina Their names famous
Kwa kula mui kwenea And known everywhere
Wote huwaangalia They all pay attention to
Wanawake wa Kiamu The women of Lamu.

14.

Ni wangapi matajiri How many rich men
Wa fedha na kandi zao With their money, treasures,
Wenye mali ya fakhari And property to be proud of
Na watu wawapendao Liked by their fellows
Watengenyeo bahari Who have collected wealth at sea
Na bara makasha yao And on land in their cash boxes
Wote huwabusu wao They all kiss their
Wanawake wa Kiamu Women of Lamu.

15.

Hakuna mtu mmoya There is not one person
Aonao waipenge Who sees them lining up in rows
Kaweza kuiziwiya Can prevent
Kuzinda moyo uzinge His heart inclining towards them

Ni jinni limekungiya	As if you be caught by a jinn (i.e. he be madly excited)
Hana buḍi tukupunge	(To come back to the normal condition) it is necessary to be put through the ceremony of exorcism
Mali yamekwenda tenge	A lot of money is lost
Kwa wanawake wa Amu	For the sake of the women of Lamu.
16.	
Hakuna wake kamao	There are no women like these
Nakiweko nadhihiri	If there is one, I challenge her to come forward
Wawaṭeni mbali yao	They are indeed exceptional, only when they are absent can others be seen
Mbali yao munawari	What I have said of them
Sifa zao nisifio	Is not one third or one tenth
Si thuluthi si ushuri	Because surpassing the ocean
Kwani huzidi bahari	Are the qualities of the women of Lamu.
Sifa za wake wa Amu	
17.	
Yapo Lidirika ziza	Even if you meet a harmless one who is even ignorant
Lisiloyua kuteka	Of the art of smiling
Fahamu takusawaza)
Akutiye na mzuka) Beware, she will drive you mad
Mawazo Unapowaza)
Yote hutayakumbuka) All your thoughts will evaporate
Watu wamefukarika	People have become penniless
Kwa wanawake wa Amu	Because of women of Lamu.

18.

Wanawake wa Kiamu	The particulars of Lamu-women
Yao hayapatikani	Are not obtainable anywhere
Mtu hawi na fahamu	When the person takes the Lamu
Mungiaapo faraghani	Women aside, he falls unconscious
Nnapokhitarishwa Rumu	If I am asked for the choice from Rome
Na Misiri na Yamani	Egypt, Yemen,
Nakhitari paziani	I shall choose to be behind the curtain
Kwa mwanamke wa Amu	With a woman of Lamu.

19.

Za Shela na Matondoni	I went about in Shela,
Na Siu nimetembea	Matondoni, Siu,
Unguja na Masiwani	Zanzibar, Comoro-Islands,
Mvita na Pemba pia	Mombasa, and even Pemba,
Za Hindi na Arabuni	To India and Arabia
Na Misiri na Ulaya	To Egypt and Europe ¹¹
Sikumuona mmoya	I saw no one
Kama mke wa Kiamu	Like the woman of Lamu.

Kijuma was very careful not to allow any other composers to match him in the same field. The only one who tried to do so was another composer called Sheikh Sadi.¹² Actually Kijuma dissuaded him from carrying on with his intention, using his skill to gain the upper hand in the following way:

Kadara fanya shauri	O, Kadara: Make a counsel
Unijibu kwa lazima	You must answer me
Shekhe Sadi muhubiri	Say to Sheikh Sadi

Naye ni mtu mzima	Who is old:
Nguo gani shubiri	Which cloth is a span
Yenye pindo tumbi ndima ¹³	With a great amount of selvage?

The discovery of the answer required a long investigation and continuous correspondence, but finally it became clear that the likely answer to the question in the song is: The tongue. In the case of it being the tongue, the poet must be comparing the huge number of different qualities and kinds of words spoken by the tongue to the great amount of selvage in a piece of cloth. The poet wants to say: Our tongues express many different views and say numerous different words every day if not every hour. In the morning they praise Mr. A. using sweet words, at noon, they insult Mr. B. and probably the same Mr. A. using bitter words. In the evening, they use truthful words, but use the words of untruth later on. It seems probable that Shekhe Sadi was uncertain about the answer to Kijuma's riddle, because, later on, Kijuma mocked him of this uncertainty, but in his own way:

Shekhe Sadi mtetemo	Sheikh Sadi is trembling
Kyenda hainui kimo	When he walks, he does not raise his stature
Wala hatopata somo ¹⁴	We will never see the like of him.

This description of Sheikh Sadi in the song was also applicable to Sheikh Sadi when he became old.¹⁴ Hence, it was that Kijuma's cleverness effectively halted Sheikh Sadi's activity in the field of song-composition, and made Kijuma stand in this field without a rival.

The number of songs which Kijuma composed, whether revealing himself, competing in the singing competitions, or revealing other people's inner selves, cannot be known precisely since we do not have any written collection of them, but as Mzee Salim Kheri of Lamu and other elders said, there must be hundreds if not thousands. It is probable that he composed no fewer than a thousand songs because of the following reasons:

1. The role of Kijuma in the singing competitions¹⁵ required him to compose many songs every year.
2. Kijuma's songs were in great demand among his compatriots as we have already seen.
3. By comparing the number of his songs which his compatriots had forgotten with the number which they still keep in memory, we find the ratio is about 7 to 100, because the number of songs which he composed during the Sultan Hamoud's visit¹⁶ to Lamu was about 100⁴ while his songs which could be collected in 1980, dealing with this visit, were only 7.¹⁶ The same ratio might be also worked out for the following collection. When I went to East Africa in 1980, I collected about 200 songs,¹⁷ composed by Kijuma, from the local people who could recite them by heart. All of these people were natives of Lamu or Matondoni¹⁸ where the poet used to compete in the singing competitions. So, if this number of songs could be collected from Kijuma's compatriots 35 years after he died, how many songs might these compatriots have forgotten since his death until then? According to the above ratio, there must have been more than 2 thousand. This might explain that when W.H. asked Kijuma about sending him songs of all kinds, the latter replied: "If you need songs, you will get thousands".¹⁹

Although many Mss. sent by Kijuma to W.H. were missing from the collection at S.O.A.S.,²⁰ there are still about 42 songs bearing Kijuma's name as the composer in S.O.A.S.²¹ All of them are connected with love, but they have nothing to do with Kijuma's riddles. Every one of them has three lines with the same rhyme. Every line has 12 syllables.

The collection which the present writer made in Lamu and Matondoni enabled him to determine that there are some songs composed by Kijuma which are published in other works of Swahili scholars without giving the name of Kijuma as the composer. For instance, song No. 39 in W.H.'s article "Swahili prosody"²² is Kijuma's composition. The two songs mentioned in Ph.D. thesis of L.H., p. 179, are of Kijuma's composition. Song No. 3 in the article by Lambert in Bulletin No. 26 of the East African Swahili Committee, p. 49 was composed by Kijuma. Song No. 8a mentioned by E.D. is Kijuma's composition.²³

It is worth mentioning here that there is a song composed by Kijuma called Tandi la mahaba "The noose of love", which W.H. was very eager to obtain from Kijuma, and which was finally sent to him. The long explanatory letter which W.H. wrote to Kijuma asking for this song¹⁹ indicates that not only the native people were "noosed" by love of Kijuma's songs, but also the Europeans. Here is the song of Tandi la mahaba:²⁴

Limekoṭa	Trapped (me)
La mahaba ṭandi lako	The noose of your love.
Siṭawata	I shall never stop
Kushukuru zema zako	Thanking your beneficence.
Hasanta	Thanks;
Kwa milele nami mbwako	For ever I am yours.

Kukupata	Having got you
Nafusi imejibaṭi	I have self confidence
Tafuata	I shall follow
Moyani mwangu dhaṭi	That which is in the bottom of my heart.
Sina nyota ²⁶	I became no longer thirsty.
Kukupata si kaṭiṭi	Getting you was not simple.

The songs which were collected from Lamu and Matondoni can be divided into two categories. The first one comprises most of the songs which have no riddles or figurative speech = mafumbo in them, and which are not directly connected with the events of Kijuma's life. This category I will exclude here, because the main aim of this chapter is to discuss the compositions of Kijuma which have mafumbo,²⁷ but not before describing them. Kijuma composed most of these songs to be sung in wedding celebrations. He used to lead the singers who sang these songs,²⁸ playing his gambusi.²⁹ The main purpose of these wedding songs was to wish the bride and bridegroom well, advise them to be faithful to each other, to overcome any problem that might appear, and to live with each other according to Islamic morality. One typical of these songs has 7 stanzas of 6 lines in each and 8 syllables in every line. The first three stanzas are asking people not to blame love because love is a fact in which the lover has no choice. The rest of the song is advising the bride to do her best and try to be as patient as the wife of the Prophet Job, Rehema. Then, God may reward her, in the Hereafter, in the honour of the Prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H.

Before discussing the second category of Kijuma's songs, we must add that Kijuma used also to sing in Arabic while playing his gambusi in the houses of rich Arabs who were staying in Lamu.

E.g. he used to sing, in Arabic, in the house of Liwali Seif bin Salim bin Khalfan of Lamu (1903-1911 and 1922-1929)³⁰ every Sunday.³¹ The mother of Liwali Seif, Dhahabu, used to recite by heart many Arabic songs sung by Kijuma for her son.⁴ Kijuma must have brought with him many Arabic songs which were sung in the Sultan's palace in Zanzibar.³² It is also likely that he brought with him from Zanzibar some booklets of Arabic songs. Moreover, the Arabic book al-Mustatraf³³ which he used to have, contains many Arabic songs. We cannot assume that he was able to compose Arabic songs, because I did not come across any information concerning such compositions. Finally, it was my good fortune to trace an Arabic love song written by Kijuma himself in 1912 for A.W.³⁴ The text, and a recording, were found in the British Institute of Recorded Sound in London, after the notebook of A.W. in S.O.A.S. had been traced.³⁵ Not only this, but also this Arabic song is found recorded on tape, sung by Kijuma himself with the music of his gambusi in the same Institute.

The second category is: Songs which contain a large number of mafumbo as we have already seen in his song examining Sheikh Sadi's expertise. The poets used mafumbo in their compositions for one or more of the following reasons:

1. For abusing or mocking each other.
 2. For testing each other's ability in solving riddles (= mafumbo).
 3. For speaking figuratively about certain delicate subjects,³⁶ apart from abuse or testing one another's skill.
1. The use of mafumbo in abuse was for the purpose of keeping the outsiders ignorant about the background of their compositions. In this type of mafumbo, the poets used offensive words, but without reference to names or events.

The only persons who could identify to the background of the composition would then be those who were themselves involved in that background.

2. The use of mafumbo to test one another's skill had for its purpose of demonstrating which poet was to be considered as the most able amongst them.
3. In the third one, the mafumbo were used neither to abuse someone nor to examine other people's thinking ability, but to express the poets' own concern about unpleasant affairs or crises. Often, these unpleasant affairs and crises were associated with love and politics. In this type of mafumbo, the poets expressed their feelings in a way which requires careful study and close examination to discover the actual intentions of these poets. The language used in this type of mafumbo is rather difficult, because it is full of metaphors by means of which the poets do not speak directly about the subject they have in mind, but about another subject which bears some resemblance to it. It is interesting that Kijuma used all three types of mafumbo in his songs. They are discussed in this chapter and also in the previous chapter on the singing competitions.

All these songs give the reader a wider view on Kijuma's mafumbo, and his ability in reflecting his environment and background in these mafumbo.³⁷ We have to acknowledge that not all these songs are necessarily connected with Kijuma's life, but some are likely to be connected with the lives of others. In spite of that, the mentality of Kijuma is found in the words of these songs.

Firstly, the songs which are relevant
to Kijuma's singing competitions

1.

Mpija zumba ungama	O, player of the clarinet: Confess
Huyayua uliopo	That you do not know your position
Hizo ni nyamba huvuma	Here, it is the roaring of breakers
Za bahari na mipepo	and winds on the reefs in the sea
Heri urejee nyuma	It is better to go back
Iwapo akili ipo	If you have a sane mind.

The phrase "O, player of the clarinet" refers to Kijuma's opponent in the singing competitions. Kijuma is comparing him to the captain of a ship risking the passengers' life on a reef. In other words, to compete against Kijuma is as dangerous as it is to risk sailing across a reef. Nyamba are hidden reefs, just below the surface of the sea. Bw. Zena, Kijuma's opponent in the singing competitions, was also a sailor in the British Navy.³⁸

2.

Nauliza wako wapi	I ask where are the masters of language?
Kina sahibu Lisani?	
Matukano sio wanda	Abuses are neither kohl nor scent in a
si mafuta kitupani	bottle.
Apwewawao ³⁹ kwa muyawo ⁴⁰	He who was stranded when the tide was high,
tawe ⁴¹ kwa mai gani?	which tide will help him float?

This song is aimed directly at Bw. Zena, because he was rich and used to wear expensive clothes.

This characteristic of Bw. Zena is reflected in the middle line of the song. Bw. Zena is challenged to match Kijuma's eloquence. Kijuma goes on in his challenge to claim that Bw. Zena will never match him in the field of the singing competitions, nor in the singing of abuses.⁴² In spite of all the material assets which Bw. Zena used to have, he was defeated, because he had no skill in using them. Thus, if Bw. Zena with all his wealth was unable to carry out what he wanted, how would he have done so if he had not been wealthy! The main point in the song is the poet's comparing the wealthy man (i.e. Bw. Zena) who is unable to use his wealth, to the sailor, who is unable to sail during high tide. If the wealth were taken away from such a wealthy person, and the high tide from such a sailor, much less would they be able to succeed.

3.

Wala hakuwa nakhudha	He was not a captain
Pulika ya tamkini	Listen well
Baharia baharia	The sailors
Aliwasita fumbani	He had hidden them in the sleeping hammocks (made of matting)
Hupwewa iye muyao	How could the ship become stranded though the tide was high
Na mai hungia ndani	And the water is entering (the beach).

This song has the same idea and the same object as the previous song (No. 2), but in a different way. Although the rival of Kijuma used to have all the equipment which one needs to sail and which all the other sailors on the ship should be busy using, he (this rival) not only failed to sail, but also his sailors were asked to escape when his ship was aground because of water receding from it.

It seems that Kijuma is referring to what usually took place in the faction of Bw. Zena, e.g. being defeated from time to time, and also the divisions which occurred frequently in the faction.⁴³

4.

Nahudha punguza tanga	O, captain, reduce the sail
Baharia wamechoka	The sailors are tired
Ukiiza nami simo	If you refuse, I shall take no responsibility
Hata Kilifi tashuka	I shall get off even at Kilifi
Utabishaye mfumo	How will you tack against the wind
Na mai yamevundika	While the water is falling.

The poet is comparing the faction to a ship, the leader of the faction to the captain of this ship, the members of this faction to the sailors of the same ship, the split of the poet from this faction to getting off the ship, and facing the majority's feeling to face a strong wind in shallow waters. It seems that Kijuma was adopting the majority's view in the faction. Since Kilifi was mentioned in this way, it must have been an insignificant place in the view of the poet. Hence, it is likely that he is comparing the insignificance of Kilifi to the insignificance of his opponent's faction. In this case, he must be threatening the leader of his faction with the prospect of joining the opponents. This song argues that the view of Kijuma in his faction had to be considered and carried out.

5.

Husafiri mashuhuni	It is travelling in cargo
Bahari ina kilio	The sea is noisy
Hutekwa tanga mtini	The sail is hoisted on the yard

Hupita nyamba kwa mbio	For passing the reefs quickly
Nahudha hakuamini	The captain did not believe it
Na kunyanganya shikio	And pulled the rudder (from me).

Now, the ship (Kijuma's faction) is on the sea, there is a dangerous passage ahead full of reefs and rough waves. The captain of the ship (the leader of the faction) becomes frightened, and unsure of what he should do. He hastens to Kijuma for consultation, asking him to help. Kijuma takes command of the ship. He orders the sails of the ship to be hoisted on the yard. Directed by his own hand, the ship runs speedily over the reefs and overcomes all the obstacles. Then, all the passengers are overjoyed and applaud Kijuma. The captain comes again and takes the rudder from Kijuma, thanking him. The song shows that the leadership of Kijuma's faction was to be given to him during a crisis.

6.

Lipunguze omo tanga	Reduce sail in front
Kuna kusi la khatari	There is a strong southern monsoon
Waniyua si muinga	You know that I am not ignorant
Kwa tepe henda Misiri	I can sail to Egypt in a <u>tepe</u>
Upetepo tia nanga	Drop anchor when you have arrived
Imbali nawe bandari	You are still far from the harbour.

Tepe or mitepe were crafts constructed in the Bajuni Islands off the Lamu Archipelago and those off the coast of Somaliland. During Kijuma's time, the mtepe was still built at Faza from roughly-sawn timbers, usually mikoko or mililana "Mangrove timbers" sewn together with coconut fibre rope. Not one metal nail was used in the mtepe's construction and even the rudder was fastened to the vessel with rope.

The mast was a mangrove pole and its sail was square, made of matting and fastened to a yard which could swivel round the mast. The sides of the mtepe sloped straight down to the keel without rounding, and the mtepe was kept level when beached by propping up the sides with mangrove poles. The poet is comparing the one who takes the risk of competing against him to some one who takes the risk of sailing on the open sea during the strong southern monsoon. Kijuma is advising his opponent to reduce his efforts in the competition, otherwise the opponent will be in big trouble, because he has no experience how to overcome the danger of the strong southern monsoon. In the end, his ship will surely be wrecked. Kijuma alone, because he is the only one who can go to wherever he wants in spite of adversity the lack of facilities as reflected in his using tepe.⁴⁴

7.

Shoka ni mshindo basi	The axe is just a noise
Mambo yana keekee	But the drill is for the important work
Sheree kwa msumeno	The plane and the saw
Huṭinda nyuma na mbee	Cut backward and forward
Walielewe na lipi	Which of the preceding words do you understand
Haṭa hili likwelee	May it be clear to you so far.

In the first line, the poet is comparing the material available to his rival, to the big axe in the hands of a person with no experience of handling it except for using it to make a noise. On the other hand, he is comparing his own perfection in the competition to the professional carpenter using the craftsman's tools⁴⁵ which need training before use.

Again, Kijuma accuses his rival of lacking the required qualifications to compete against him.

8.

Kishashiya	I enjoy
Nyamba iliyo mikali	The reefs which are very sharp
Na miuya	And the rough waves
Mikuu yenye thakili	Big and heavy
Lali moya	It was (only) one (danger)
Limetimia la pili	A second joined it.

It is obvious that Kijuma was always ready to face any kind of problem, and that his determination had no limits. It was his pleasure to confront dangers. The only person whom he feared was the D.C. of Lamu, Mr. Rogers.⁴⁶

9.

Wewe mwandamizi	O, follower:
Mbona henda mbio	Why are you running all the time
Ushinda mkizi	Quicker than the cuttle-fish
Ndani mwa uzio	Inside the fish-trap
Wangapiga mbizi	Though you want to dive
Hayo mai sio	The water is not (quite enough)

Kijuma is comparing his rival who is getting himself ready with all equipment needed for the competition to a swimmer running very quickly to dive into the water. But Kijuma is going to trap him in the water by taking it away, that is to say, by defeating him in the competition.

10.

Enda katafute fundi	Go and look for an expert (fundi)
Aye akutie mate	To come and spit on you (i.e. to bless you)
Kisa wandame bahari	After that, travel on the sea
Wende ikusukesuke	Go and let it shake you
Hasafiri mwana gendi	The <u>mwana gendi</u> does not travel
Ila afanye mkate	But by making bread (for him).

As Bibi Maryamu M. al-Bakariy of Lamu explained, the original meaning of mwana gendi is: The first born baby whether it was a boy or a girl.

Later on, its meaning extended to denote any event which took place for the first time in a person's life. For instance the person built a new house, a new ship, married for the first time, the child was sent to the chuo for the first time, sailing or travelling for the first time, and so on. During such events, the people used to invite the teacher of the chuo "Fundu" with his pupils to come and read publicly some Qur'anic Surahs and some prayers, asking God's "blessing" and success for such a person - mwana gendi. After they had finished reading, they would have a meal. Besides that meal, there was other food prepared to be distributed among neighbours, and the needy (this explains "By making bread" in the song). This social custom is still going on today, but neither publicly nor outside the circle of the family. But travelling for the first time is excluded nowadays because it has become a daily business.

The poet is comparing himself to the expert fundi, his rival to a newcomer with no experience mwana gendi, and the singing competitions to the sea. It seems that Kijuma advises his rival to come to him to receive lessons on the subject before sailing on this sea, otherwise the rival will certainly be drowned.

11.

Pwani kwa mzungu	For the European, on the shore
Kuna marikabu	There is a ship
Mwongoti wa fedha	Its mast of silver
Tanga la dhahabu	Its sail of gold
Wape masikini	Give it to the needy
Upate thawabu	To get a reward (in Heaven).

The song of Kijuma speaks more openly about the fortune and the wealth of Bw. Zena. Because Bw. Zena was working in the British Navy and mixing with the Europeans, Kijuma called him European. Kijuma is preaching to his rival to distribute some of his wealth among the needy.

12.

Kuna zita baharini	There is fighting on the sea
Wimbi huteta na ngome	The waves quarrelling with the sea-wall
Chombo chetizie ⁴⁷ t̄ini	The ship is beached
Hungoja pepo zikome	Waiting for the winds to abate
Msema pweke ni nani	Who is speaking with himself (to give me the courage of)
Nami niketi niseme?	Sitting and speaking with him?

Kijuma is comparing the competition with him (i.e. Kijuma) to the naval battle with a hero. The song refers to the 'horrible' defeats which Kijuma's opponents used to experience. Although the fighting is going on between the two factions and the flame of war is everywhere, suddenly the enemy's troops stop fighting and begin to tremble because the war is too fierce. The enemy prefers a withdrawal from the battle-field before even thinking of resuming the fight.

Kijuma invites and welcomes any one of his opponents to come forward and speak even with himself as a sign of accepting the invitation. And in this case, Kijuma will definitely have a conversation with him. But there was no reply to the invitation. So, he continued to stand in the field without a rival. By this, Kijuma demonstrated that the Swahili proverb: Msema pweke hakosi, haijui ailiye "The speaker with himself does not make mistakes (because) he is questioned by no one" was not applicable to him, because Kijuma would not allow such speaker to appear. If he appeared, Kijuma should question him.

13.

Umari tuwate twimbe	O, Omari: let us sing
Hayo yako ni makosa	What you are doing is wrong
Kuna na wengi ziumbe	There are many people (who)
Waweza, kuikukusa	Can be inattentive (i.e. they do not do what should be done)
Shahi hapukuswi ngombe	(Know that) the composer is not paid with a cow
Hupukuswa kwa mapesa	But will accept money.

This Omari was Omari Othmani from Matondoni. He was a member of Kijuma's faction Mkunguni⁴⁸ in Matondoni. It seems that this Omari arrived at a stage where he found it too costly to be a member in the faction because of the cows which were to be slaughtered in the competition.⁴⁹ When Kijuma knew that Omari was to retire from the competitions, because he, as a member in the faction, could no longer afford what he used to, Kijuma advised him to make a balance between what he had and what he should spend in the faction.

In other words, it was not necessary for the faction to spend according to what it used to, but according to what it had in credit. O, Omari: Know that there are many people who afford what they can, regardless of what they should afford. And know that the songs' composer, who represents the important factor in these competitions, has no rules, so that though he prefers to receive gifts of cows to be slaughtered in these competitions, a little money would do. The song argues Kijuma encouraging the members of his faction to keep the competitions going, regardless of the bankruptcy which his faction was experiencing. Actually, Omari Othmani took the advice of Kijuma and hastened to the field of the competition to sing the following song of Kijuma:

14.

Mpowā sumu hakufa	The one who was given the poison
Upo hapa duniani	Did not die. He is still alive
Mumetaka mumepata	You have got what you wanted
Sasa iziwiliyeni	Now, endure (our competition)
Hiki ni kiungulia	Receive this (song of) <u>kiungulia</u> ⁵⁰
Kitawatinda maini	Which will cut your liver.

The first line in the song tells us that the opponent of Kijuma, Bi Zuhura,⁵¹ was comparing the end of the person competing against her (i.e. Kijuma or Omari Othmani) to one taking poison. Omari Othmani announced the falsehood of this comparison, and pointed out that the surest evidence of that falsehood was that they were still alive. The last two lines are comparing the ones who chose to compete against Kijuma's faction to the ones who chose to suffer from illness for ever.

15.

Huu upuuzi wako

This your folly

Haupambui mpambe

Does not take the decoration of the
decorated one away

Na baa huwanda kwako

When the disaster begins, it begins from you

Lolote nalikukumbe

You deserve to be punished by every kind of
punishments

Hasara nda kitwa koko⁵²

The defeat of the one who has no horns is
certain

Kuwana na mwenye pembe

When (he or she) fights with the one who has
horns

It is likely that Bi. Zuhura of Matondoni is the one to whom Kijuma was referring in the song as "The one with no horns". The meaning of this phrase (i.e. the one with no horns) is understood from the context when Kijuma compared himself with the one who has horns. In other words, he compared himself to a bull, and Bi. Zuhura to a beast with no horns. Naturally, the bull with horns should defeat the beast with no horns. In other words, Kijuma should defeat Bi. Zuhura. That is why he considered her as foolish.

16.

Mashauri

After a long dispute

Twaliyafanya haṭaa

We agreed upon the plan

Na shahiḍi

The witnesses

Ni Zamju na Jumaa

Were Zamju and Jumaa

Shoka Baḍi

Shoka Badi

Mekumangwa la upaa

Was (rapped over the knuckles and) beaten on
his skull.

The song concerns the faction of Kijuma in Matondoni. The important point in the song is that Kijuma showed three functions which the council of the faction had. The first was to deal with any case brought against any member in the faction, because this Shoka Badi was a member in the faction. The second was to hear the reports of witnesses before arriving at the verdict. The third was to carry out the verdict. The verb - Kumangwa shows that the accused member submitted to the verdict, because this verb is particularly used in the case of beating a carpet or a piece of furniture for cleaning. It implies full submission from Shoka Badi. The song implies that the authority of the faction was like that of a state. Furthermore, the word daula "State" is used in the following song to refer to the faction.

17.

Daula mkao lipi	Which state's faction
Meandika Rahamani	The Merciful has predestined it
Kuiudhi haifai	To damage ourselves is wrong
Ruhu haina thamani	Life is priceless
Twalikhenda kunwa shai	We went to drink tea
Sasa twarudi muini	And now, we are coming back to the town.

The poet is relieved over his faction's victory after a long time of anxiety about which faction would win. This shows that great preparations had to be made before the competitions. This particular competition was in Matondoni, and each faction was confident of defeating the other. Kijuma asked God's help. He was given it, so that he felt proud that his self-esteem had not been lost. The sign of this victory was their going to drink tea, because tea is usually made for congratulation.

After they had had their tea, they went back to the town of Lamu.

18.

Na unazo tatu t̄ama	You have three defects
Kikwambia ut̄alia	If I tell you them, you will cry
Kwandā huisi kusema	Firstly, you do not know how to speak
La pili huna t̄abia	Secondly, you have no etiquette
Enenda zako mgema	Go your way, O, <u>mgema</u> ⁵³
Ni lipi lalokutia?	What have you got to do with this (competition)?

Mgema was a man called Khalifa bin Alawy. He was one of Kijuma's opponents in Matondoni. The permanent work of Khalifa was to harvest the coconuts from their trees. In the song, Kijuma is satirising Khalifa's three defects mentioned in the song.

19.

Ni udhia t̄ajumuu	It is embarrassing to meet with people
Ukītoyua kunena	Without a knowledge of how to speak
Hayakuwa na nafuu)
Yambo umezolifanya) What you have done has no benefits
Sasa uzanya t̄ambuu	Now, go and sell the leaves of the betel plants
Mahamra hupijana	<u>Mahamra</u> requires the competing.

To make mahamra, wheat-flour is mixed with the creamy juice obtained by grating the nutty part of coconuts, and with sugar, cardamon, and yeast. After kneading them together, the dough should be left for some hours to dry before being cut into small pieces.

These pieces are put on a wooden board after some of the wheat-flour has been spread on it. Then, every piece is stretched with a rolling-pin. Then it is cut into triangular shapes and put in a pot, which contains boiling butter, on the fire. The piece should be turned on both sides until it becomes brown. Then it is taken out of the pot to be put on a tray. It is usually eaten with meat, fish, or just tea.⁵⁴

Kijuma was addressing a man called Bin Haji bin Khamisi whose job was making native yeast in Matondoni. Kijuma used to scorn him for that job because he was a member of the rival faction. Kijuma is comparing Bw. Khamisi's job to the job of selling the leaves of the betel-plants, because selling these leaves is also a very humble job in the view of Kijuma since it does not require any effort except to collect the leaves from the farm. At the same time, Kijuma is comparing the work of sharing in the singing competitions to the work of making mahamra which requires a big effort and enough experience, not only to make them but also to sell them. An effort is needed to sell them because there are many people trading in them, since they are very profitable on the East African coast. So, to sell what you have, before the others, you have to make them in perfection to attract the customers to come to you and not to go to others. Thus, it is a competitive profession involving long preparation, just like the singing competitions which are the trade of Kijuma.

20.

Twambieni tusiwambe

Tell us so that there will be no need to
slander you

Kunyamaa tumechoka

We are tired of silence

Kuna na wengi ziumbe

There are many people

Huweza kuikukusa

Who are neglectful (of what should be done)

Kama mwataka upambe If you want to show off
Tulipeni ng'ombe siṭa Give us six cows.

The rival faction owes six cows to the faction of Kijuma.⁵⁵ So, Kijuma is advising his opponents to slaughter these cows, if they really want to show off. It seems that they were not ready to slaughter them because he said that there were many people then who neglected their duty. So, all that he wanted from them was to let them know if they were going to slaughter or not.

21.

Paka nakukanya O, cat: I forbid you
Usirambe tui Do not lick the coconut juice
Ungajinyong'onya Though you are grumbling to yourself
Mangi huyayui There are many matters which you do not know
Kama huli panya If you refuse to eat rats,
Na wali hupowi⁵⁶ You will not be given rice.

Kijuma is comparing his rival in the singing competitions to the cat. If this cat is grumbling to itself, pretending that it can win the competition, to eat the meat and the rice of the competition's victory, Kijuma will never allow it to achieve what it is claiming. So, it should surrender and admit defeat by eating its natural nourishment (i.e. rats). If it refuses, it will neither get those nor anything else, because it will be continually defeated for its lack of experience. The word tui in the song could be read tui^c_n. The meaning then would be: Do not lick the leopard. In this case, Kijuma would be comparing himself to the leopard, and his rival still to the cat.

22.

Fundo howa baharini	Though the waterline sinks below the water's surface
Lakini husafirika	The ship is still seaworthy
Amengia kisimani	The dog has entered the well
Mbwa hunya kiipaka	Dirtying itself with its own excrement
Yalikuwa hali gani	How did it happen
Simba kuliwa na paka?	For the lion to be eaten by the cat?

The first couplet refers to the fact that Kijuma's faction was facing many difficulties. In spite of that, the faction overcame all those difficulties. The second couplet is a reference to an outsider or an agent (= the dog) putting his nose into the affairs (= the well) of the faction without knowledge of its members. Thus, the members of the faction did not only quarrel amongst themselves but also allowed that agent to weaken the faction. The third couplet is showing the astonishment of Kijuma at what had happened that the cat (the rival faction) defeated the lion (Kijuma's faction). Having explained the object of the song, the reader can easily recognise all the metaphors in it.

23.

Nataka kupija simu	I want to send a telegram
Kuyuza mabara pia	To inform all the continents
Hao si wanaadamu	That these people are not human beings
Mahala wachekelea	Wherever they go
Abudalla ufahamu	O, Abdalla, understand that
Mwenye nundi ni ngamia	The one who has a hump is the camel.

The poet is comparing the superiority of his faction over his rival to the hump of the camel.

It seems that Kijuma found it insufficient for his rivals to be satirised only in their country, so, he wanted to let the whole world know about them.

24.

Kulla siku ni udhia	There are troubles every day
Mwanaadamu huchoka	A human being gets tired
Umekiandika chungu	You have put the pot on the fire
Hubura ⁵⁷ na kumwaika	It is bubbling and spilling over
Kunewe kwangata pipa	Like the flea carrying a barrel,
Umetaka kupomoka	You have asked for trouble.

The Swahili people used to use the term "Putting the pot on the fire" to describe their plotting against someone. Thus, Kijuma is comparing the desperation of the one who is plotting against him to the desperation of the flea trying to carry a barrel. The one who is plotting against him here might be his rival in the singing competitions.

25.

Labuḍa umeifunga)
Kuṭaka kunitukana) You might have intended to abuse me
Asiliye ni muinga	Because you are stupid
Nawe ukali kijana	And still a child
Hutia iye mpunga	How could you cultivate the rice-plant
Shinani la mlilana?	In the place of the mangroves' roots?

The poet is comparing the impossibility of his defeat to the impossibility of the rice-plants being grown amongst the roots of the mangroves' trees. Knowing this and still competing against him, it would be a stupidity of the rival.

Before leaving Kijuma's songs in the singing competitions to discuss some of his love songs, we may give here one of his songs which is to be considered as a reference to the involvement of the colonial government in the competitions and also the concern of the faction's members about the policy of this government:

26.

Sifanyeni masikhara	It is not to be taken lightly
Sirikali ina nguvu	The government is strong
Walimuweni majura	Warn the stupid people
Wasifanye ushupavu	Not to be stubborn
Zitawapata khasara	The loss will get you
Muzidishapo uwovu	If your evil increases.

It seems that the members of Kijuma's faction were going to rebel against the policy of the government, but Kijuma urged them not to.

Secondly: Love Songs

1.

Nalisikia zamani	I heard once upon a time
Bahari yali na fungu	That there was a reef in the sea
Katia mbeu tobweni	There, I cultivated a seed in a hole
Riziki kanipa Mngu	God provided me with sustenance

Siṭolima tēna pwani

But I shall not cultivate any more on the
coast

Hondoka na jembe langu

I shall go away with my hoe.

The poet is comparing Lamu to a reef in the sea, his marriage partner to a hole on that reef, his marriage to cultivating that field by planting the seed, his getting a child to sustenance given by God from that seed, his divorce to his leaving with his spade, and his intention not to marry any more to his intention not to cultivate any more on that place. Also the sexual allusion in the association of the hole in the reef with the tool of cultivation, the spade, is obvious. As Bi. Fatuma Nyenye⁵⁸ said: "When Kijuma returned from the Sultan's palace in Zanzibar,⁵⁹ there were rumours that he might remarry, but he disclosed his intentions in composing this song". Since then, Kijuma lived without a wife until he died, but with his heart full of amorous thoughts as the following songs will show. As we said before, these songs do not necessarily refer to Kijuma himself, but could be referring to the lives of other people.⁶⁰

2.

Ni ndweo upeo

The extreme intoxication

Maradhi ya nyonda

Is the illness of love

Yana mishangao

Is astonishing

Na kuuma zanda

It causes regrets

Umtukiyeo

The one whom you hate

Mwapize⁶¹ kupenda

Imprecate love upon him.

Although this love-song has no metaphors, it is given here to illustrate Kijuma's passionate feelings about the subject.

3.

Ndu yangu sahiba	O, my close friend:
Nataka yakini	I want certainty
Yako matilaba	There is a desire
Ninayo moyoni	I have in my heart
Asili ya huba	The root of love
Mwandowe ni nni?	What is its cause?

The answer to this question can be given in the following song of Kijuma:

4.

Takwambia nawe	I shall tell you
Utuwe makini	Be at rest
Nakupenda nawe	I love you
Uyue ya ndani	That is what is in my heart
Ito likiona	When the eye looks
Moyo hutamani	The heart desires.

5.

Moyo tuwa	O, heart: Be settled
Subiri sipapatike	Be patient, do not be agitated
Na yangawa	Even if they (those affairs) happen,
Huyayui mwise wake	You still do not know the end of them
Lisokuwa	What is there impossible?
Ni lipi sihadaike	Do not be deceived.

This song is obvious, but it is given here to show only that Kijuma knew nothing called impossible in the field of love.

6.

Mola wangu hunituma	My God is trying me
Asubuhi na yioni	Morning and evening
Hunipeka kusimama	He sends me to stand
Na mtuye simuoni	Looking for His person whom I cannot see
Mwalimu nipa azima	O, teacher: Give me an amulet ⁶²
Niifunge kiuononi	To tie around my waist.

In this song, the lover is in the position of an employee who was employed by God, or by the fate which has been written for him by God. So, the poet is comparing love to a job. This job has to be completed, because it was ordered by God. Hence, the lover can do nothing but carry it out. That is to say, his loved one was very dear to him, and he had no strength to stop loving her, although his beloved one paid no attention to his love, even by allowing him to see her. So, if he was unable to see her in reality, he should go to a talisman-maker who might enable him to see her in his dreams by giving him an amulet.

7.

Dunia haikaliki	It is too difficult to live in the world
Kuna miwa hunitoma	Because it has thorns pricking me
Na akhira hakwendeki	And it is not possible either to go to the Hereafter
Siyatanguliza wema	Because I have not done good deeds
Kikwambia husadiki	You do not believe me when I tell you
Kwekeza siko kufuma	To aim is not the same as to hit.

It seems that this song is connected with the preceding one (No. 6), because the first couplet shows that the lover became desperate in this world because of an unobtainable love. The second couplet hints that the lover was thinking of suicide, but later on, he changed his mind when he realised that he will forfeit paradise. The third couplet refers to the only remaining alternative before the lover, i.e. to speak about his love, but again this will not be enough, because he is really a person of action.

8.

Siwezi tena matata	I can no longer cope with the problems
Nenda kakeṭi utuwe	Go, sit, and relax
Kwani kuzipanga zita	Why do you intend quarrelling,
Hatuiziisi mwandowe	Quarrelling the cause of which we do not understand
Mpija konde ukuta	The one who hits the wall with his fist
Huumiza mkonowe	Hurts his hands.

The poet is comparing the love given to a beloved who does not reciprocate this love, to a wall which has no feeling. That is to say: To love such a woman is the same as to hit a wall. So, the lover will be hurting himself. When the lover did not see any glimpse of hope, he said to himself: Go, sit, and relax.

9.

Siweke zitendo) Do not act foolishly
Zisizo maana)
Ukikosa pondo	If you lose the pole,
Uvuzi hapana	There is no fishing.

The poet is assuming the role of the wise lover advising human beings: Know that love is founded on two elements: Understanding and good actions. He compares these two elements for lovers to the punting-pole for pushing the fishing-boat. Also, the punting-pole and fishing symbolise the action of having intercourse and getting children.

10.

Usiifanye muinga	Do not be a fool
Sikiza nikueleze	Listen to my explanation
Jambo lalilonipinga	The thing which worried me
Napenda unisikize	Is you not listening to me
Usile pweke husonga	Do not eat alone, otherwise you will be choked
Nipa nami nikondeze	Give me something too, let me taste it.

The poet is comparing the beloved one who knows that she is loved by someone whom she does not love, to the one who is eating alone and will choke in his food. She will eat alone, because she will feel proud of being a wanted person, oblivious to the one wanting her. The poet reminds her that such a condition is not going to continue, because she will be choked, i.e. she will be hated by her lover. So, the poet is advising her not to allow herself to be loved without requiting her lover the same love.

11.

Watakeni maashigi	Invite the lovers
Haṭa na mimi niwepo	Let me be there
Niye niwaṭowe gogi ⁶³	I may come and remove their pride

Kwa kikanda na kipepo	By (sitting together fanning the fire with)
	a little matting bag and fan
Kitia moto hazigi ⁶⁴	When the expert treats (the wounds)
Chuma taatiwa papo	with a cautery, he will leave the burning
	iron bar there (i.e. on my wound).

The poet is comparing deep love to an incurable deep wound. To understand his comparison fully, we have to explain it in detail. It seems that the poet (or the one for whom the song was composed) was accused by other lovers that he had not been sincere in his love. He wanted to prove that he was the most sincere, and they were the ones whose love was only superficial in comparison to his. So, he invited them in this song to compete in the field of love. The procedure of the competition began when the hazigi came to cure the wounds of their love by burning them with a heated iron bar. The lovers sat down to fan the fire to make sure that the bar would become very hot. The moment at which the hazigi put the bar on the wounds of the poet's rivals to cure them, was the moment at which they cried out. That is to say that their wounds were not deep deadly ones and thus they felt the heat of the bar very quickly. On the contrary the poet, when the hazigi put the same bar on his wound, left the bar there forever without feeling any pain, because the wound was deep and deadly, and will never be cured. Hence, the poet competed with them and proved that his was the only true love which he wanted to prove.

12.

Watakeni maashigi	Invite the lovers
Walo wazuri wa kwimba	Who are experts at singing
Siupati usindizi	I do not get any sleep

Wala maṭo sikufumba	Nor did I close my eyes
Sumu hunwa kwa mṭuzi	Is the poiṣon drunk with soup
Au humiza kipumba?	Or swallowed as a tablet?

The poet is examining the lovers (his rivals) in their experience of love by asking them the question found in the song. Poison with soup is a symbol of a slow death, and poisoned tablets are a symbol of a quick death. In this case, the poet must be comparing the suffering of a fruitless love to a slow death, i.e. which in the end ought to lead to death. And he is comparing suicide to a quick death. So, these lovers should prefer a quick death to a slow one to prevent long suffering. This song has another version, also by Kijuma, as follows:

Nataka kukuuliza	I want to ask you
Ashaji ulilokwimba	O, lover who had sung:
Nilele kwa usindizi	I have slept, sleeping
Maṭo yangu sikufumba	With my eyes opened
Sumu hula kwa mṭuzi	Is the poison taken with soup
Au humizwa zipumba?	Or swallowed as tablets?

13.

Moyo wangu una nni	O, my heart: What is the matter with you?
Hulia kucha na kuṭwa	You are crying morning and evening
Humshiriki sheṭani	You are following the devil
Kwa yambo usolipata	For something you cannot obtain
Aliyekufa ni nani	Whoever died, that
Kilio kikamleta?	Crying restored to life?

The poet is comparing the beloved with her indifference, to a dead person with neither feeling nor sense.

14.

Moyo huwaṭi kiyombo ⁶⁵	The heart does not stop crying
Haṭa kula huḍiriki	It even has no chance to eat
Moyo kiuwonya mambo	When I preach to my heart to have good manners,
Kaṭaa hauwonyeki	It does not obey the preaching
Moyo hupijwa kwa simbo	Someone else's heart gets beaten by sticks
Wangu sharuṭi bunduki	But mine requires a gun.

The poet prefers shooting his heart in order to be killed at once, to letting himself be killed slowly by love. The hearts of other lovers are able to forget their love after some preaching which is compared to beating, while the punishment the poet's heart deserves is compared to shooting.

15.

Moyo wenee shughuli	The heart was overwhelmed by worries
Kwa kukosa maṭilaba	For missing what it desires
Na kunena ni muhali	It is impossible to speak
Moyo wangu una ruba	My heart has fears
Takupijia suali	I shall ask you
Nani alao kashiba?	Who has eaten and was satisfied?

The question in the song is addressed to a beloved one who promises her lover to return his love but doesn't fulfil the promise.

So, the meaning of the question will be: Who has been promised love without it being fulfilled and was satisfied?

For the poet to use the word "eaten", in the song, instead of "promised", he, being in this position, must be comparing himself to the hungry one who was promised a meal, but it was not brought to him even to taste a little.

16.

Kilacho nyuki nayua	I know what the bee eats
Ni zitu zenye thakili	Things which are not good
Hutondolea maua	It wanders between (all kinds of) flowers (whether they are good or bad)
Na majiti ilo mbali	And big trees far away
Nayo ingawa yaua	Although the honey kills,
Siyati kula asali	I will not stop eating it.

The poet is comparing the beloved one to the bee, and her love to another person to the bee roaming among bad flowers, his love for her being like the honey which kills. In spite of that, he will continue eating it, i.e. loving her. Concerning his saying: Things which are not good, there is a Swahili saying: Huyui kilacho nyuki, asali hungeiramba = "You do not know what the bees eat. If you did, you would not lick up the honey". Regarding his saying: The honey kills, he means: Eating too much honey will cause a fatal illness. He is saying that the lover, in the song, was too much in love with his lady and he will go on loving her so, although he will die because he knows that she has another flower in her life.

17.

Nalikikupenda	I loved you
Pendo la imani	With faithful love
Kikufanya wanda	(For me) you are the kohl
Kitia maṭoni	With which I coloured my eyes
Kalama ⁶⁶ ni simba	And all surprise! you were a lion
Hunila za ndani	Eating me from inside.

The poet is comparing the beloved one who, in his presence, is faithful, but is faithless behind his back, to the lion who is preying on the lover's heart. This reflects his faithful love for her since her faithless love killed him in this way. This faithful love is well expressed in the first lines of the song.

18.

Bui wangu mwenye sifa	O, my beloved of beauty
Nḍoo nikupe khabari	Come, let me give you news
Nikupe la maarifa	Let me give you wisdom,
La mila na ḍasituri	Manners and guidance
Kizima na chenye ufa	The complete or the cracked
Ni kipi chenye khatari?	Which one of them is dangerous?

This question is addressed to the beloved. In this question, the poet is comparing the love which another lover - who has another beloved - feels for her, to something weak and cracked. At the same time, the poet (or the one for whom the song was composed by the poet) who has no other beloved ones but her, is comparing his love for her to something strong and perfect, neither weak nor cracked.

19.

Wako kurraṭi 'aini	Your delight of the eye
Simuwaṭe maridhia	Do not leave the intimate friend
Utakalo kwangu ṭama ⁶⁷	Whatever you want, just express it
Nambia hela nambia	(and I shall carry it out)
Chungu kimevuya nyama	The meat leaked out of the pot
Mṭuzi umebakia	And the gravy is still there.

It is indeed very strange for a solid material to get out through the wall of a pot, while the liquid remains in the pot. It will not seem so strange when we realise that the "meat" is a symbol of the loved one's body, and the "gravy" is a symbol of false promises and sweet words. Then, the meaning of the song will be as follows: The girl was dearly loved by her lover. She slipped from his embrace and fell into another lover's hands, leaving behind a kiss or just a sweet word.

20.

Kipendi khalili	O, sweet heart:
Umenisukuma	You have rejected me
Umenibaḍili	You have changed me
Dhahabu kwa chuma	Gold for iron
Mla kwa miwili	The eater with two hands
Hana mwisu mwema	Comes to no good end.

The poet is comparing the beloved who has another lover to one who eats with both hands. Of course such an eater will overeat. It seems likely that that another lover is compared to iron, because the poet was changed just as gold can be changed for iron, i.e. this beloved has given away gold (Kijuma) for iron (another lover).

That is to say she degraded Kijuma by loving that other lover.

21.

Naliifunga kibobwe ⁶⁸	I tightened the strip of calico around my waist
Tumbo zikawa utungu	(It was so tight that) my stomach hurt
Ukaniṭimbia tobwe	(In spite of that) you have dug a pit for me
Usiche Mwenyezi Mungu	Without fearing Almighty God
Nenda msobe msobe	I am going dizzy
Haṭima ya penḡo langu	That is the conclusion of my love.

The first couplet is a symbol of the lover's devotion to his beloved one. So, he is comparing the beloved one who preferred another lover to him, after he had devoted his life to her, to the one who dug a pit to bury him while still alive. This made him feel vertigo.

22.

Mbui wangu mwendani	O, my sweetheart
Twaa kisu kakinowe	Take the knife and sharpen it
Hunigegera ⁶⁹ zamani	You have been stabbing me for a long time
Sifi sipiji mayowe	I do not die, I do not cry
Kikiniuka shingoni	If the knife jumps away from my neck,
Kitakutinda mwenyewe	It will cut yours.

The knife of the beloved and the knife of the poet are the symbols of the satirical words which reveal the faults of both. The former is blunt and the latter sharp. That is why the beloved one could not kill him, although she had been stabbing at him with her knife for a long time.

So, he is threatening her that he will use his knife. If she is going to stab him any more, he will kill her at once with his own sharp knife. Kijuma's "knife" was very sharp indeed. His compatriots assured the present writer that every one used to do his best to avoid his satirical words.

23.

Tapia mafundi wako	Seek refuge with your teachers
Wakuonye la kufanya	And let them guide you to what you should do
Jumla mahaba yako	All of your love
Nimekwisa kuyasoma	I have already studied it
Paka wengi wangaweko	Although there are many cats
Wamewazidisha panya	They let the number of rats increase

The cats are symbols of lovers who pretended that they loved the beloved one. The rats (making holes in the house) are symbols of the disgrace which these lovers will cause her. Because these lovers do not truly love her, they will spoil her reputation everywhere. So, the poet is mocking her by saying: Go to them and seek refuge there, and for me, I have no interest any more.

24.

Wadirikene watomi	The fishermen assembled
Mitoni hupima mai	To measure the water-level
Huyapima mavundifu	To measure the higher
Mavundifu na maukai	And lower current
Pono meshika kioo	<u>Pono</u> was caught by the fish-hook
Kioo huvutwa hai	And was pulled in alive.

Pono is a kind of fish which is always lazy, quiet, and torpid. It is of medium size, and very soft, and shiny. It has a wide mouth, and tastes good. The most significant point in this comparison is that this fish has worms inside its head.⁷⁰

The poet is comparing the beloved who has more than one lover to the pono, and her lovers disputing about her to the fishermen measuring the level of the water's current. Comparing her to the pono implies that she was 'rotten'.

25.

Ukitaka nyumba	If you want a house
Kajenge barani	Build it outside the town
Na dirisha lake	And make its window
Ekeza kusini	Towards the southern direction
Yua hana nyee	Know that she has no hair
Shanuo nda nni?	What is the use of the comb?

The beloved's house should not be inside the town. Her proper place should be the forest, because she was not a civilised person. After the poet locates the house in the forest, he designs it in such a way as to make its windows face the south, from where the heavy rains and wind come. The poet wants her to suffer the hardships of the forest, rains and drought. A person with no such experience cannot imagine how she will suffer in such a house. In the end the poet states that her other lovers were only flattering her by pretending that she was attractive enough to be loved. In fact, she had no attraction, she even had no hair. So, why do the lovers give her credit (the comb) which is not due to her?

26.

Huona kama ufiye	I feel as if you have died,
Hali uko duniani	Although you are alive
Mola niishukuriye	I thank God that
Afao hapatikani	The dead person is no longer there
Ninao wengi wendee	I have many friends who have died
Uchenda wewe ni nyani?	If you die, who are you?

The poet is telling the beloved one that, for him, it does not matter that their relationship has come to an end. Furthermore, he is thanking God that his relationship with previous beloved ones have ended and will never return. He compares them to the dead whose names are forgotten.

27.

Aso chake	The person who has nothing
Hupita kiuma zanda	Bites his fingers all the time (saying I wish I had this and that)
Chombo chake	If he owns his own boat,
Kikimiliki huvunda	It will break
Sisumbuke	Do not bother
Nazi ni tui la kwanda	The tasty part of the coconut is the first nutty part.

The poet is comparing the person who has no sweetheart to the person who bites his fingers wishing to have one, the person who fails in his love affairs to the person whose boat breaks at the moment of owning it, and the sweetness of the virgin girl to the taste of the first nutty part of the coconut.

This last line implies that he is also comparing the deflowered woman to the remaining hard part of that coconut when the milk has been drunk from it. When the poet advises himself not to bother, he implies that all the women he had loved were deflowered ones, not virgins. That is to say he was an unlucky lover, since he compares the deflowered ones to the hard parts of the coconut. Moreover, the relationships with these deflowered women come to a quick end as the middle couplet implies.

28.

Naliṭema tuka	I have cleared the bush
Ili kubarizi	To live in
Katia mipaka	I have put up fences
Ya nyaka na nyezi	In months and years
Konde ya shirika	The field of sharing
Kulima siwezi	I cannot cultivate.

It seems that the beloved one, this time, was not civilised, and the lover made a great effort and took much time to teach her good manners. After he had married her and taught her, he found out that she had another lover, so he left her. The poet is comparing teaching her to be a good wife, to the clearing of the bush to live in, and her having more than one lover, to a field owned by more than one farmer, and his not wanting such a wife to his not wanting to cultivate in such a field.

29.

Satu likamea ndaro ⁷¹	(Although she was like) a serpent and grew up as a ghoul,
Likanionya tamaa	She showed me hope

Kaona mbeu nyororo	I thought a soft seed
Mara moya itazaa	Would quickly bear fruit
Kisuke chake ni kero	(But I realised that her fruit) the corncob was disgusting
Nimekonda sikusaa	(Thus), I soon shrivelled up.

Although the beloved one gave her lover trouble, she also gave him some hope of success. But he found out that she wished only to give trouble to his heart. In the end, she left him dying slowly because his continuous thinking of her had made him stop eating. So, the poet is comparing the beloved one to a serpent who grew up as a ghoul, her soft words to the soft seeds, and the love expected from these soft words to the fruits expected from the trees. But he found out that the fruits were disgusting. The result of this was that the lover became very thin, and soon, it seemed he would die.

30.

Takwandika	I shall write your name
Katika madafutari	In the registers
Nikweleze	I shall explain to you
Maneno ya kukhitari	In chosen words
Siwi ng'onda	I shall not be like a dried fish
Katafutwa kwa utari ⁷²	To be sought for its defects.

Ngonda is eaten on the coast, only when a person has no money to buy meat or fresh fish.⁷⁰ The song implies: Do not make me "a last resort". I do not want to be used when you do not have anybody else who is better than me.

31.

Nalipoiona nyumba	When I saw the house
Moyo walinihairi	My heart was confused
Kachelea watu kwamba	I was afraid that people would gossip
Na wewe huniaziri	And that you would shame me
Laiṭi nisiwe simba	I wished I were a lion
Karuka kakukhasiri	I would jump on you and destroy you.

The song shows that the lover was very much in love with this woman, but her love for her lover seems to be only a courtly one. If he were not afraid of people backbiting and of her exposing him, he would rape her. The poet compares the one who rapes women to the lion which preys on animals.

32.

Walipokuwa huwezi	When you were sick
Nalikufanyiza dawa	I cured you
Kiungo ni tangawizi	An ingredient was the ginger
Mai ni mai ya vua	And the water was rain water
Ukisa maliza dawa	When you recovered
Umenda zako kuoa	You went away to marry (another).

This song was composed by Bi. Zuhura of Matondoni giving her opinion of Kijuma. It is not improbable that Kijuma sought Bi. Zuhura's hand in marriage. She rejected his proposal because she considered him not faithful in his love and reminded him of the fate of one of his wives who looked after him when he was not well. After he had recovered, he divorced her and went on to marry another.⁷³

The medicine dawa, in the song, is also considered as a symbol of the warm relations between a man and his wife.

Kijuma did not leave Bi. Zuhura without a reply:⁷³

33.

Maneno yako hukomi	Your gossip has no end
Wataka nami ninene	You want me to get excited
Kuoā si kwanda mimi	I was not the first one to get married
Watangulie wangine	Others had preceded me
Kwa hadithi ya Mtumi	According to the Hadith of the Prophet
Sharia ni wake wane	The law allows four wives.

Not only the Hadith of the Prophet, but also the Quran allows the Muslim to marry up to four wives. It should be made clear that that permitted number in the Quran is conditional. The Muslim is allowed to marry more than one wife only if he is sure that he can do justice to them.⁷⁴ If he fears that he cannot do justice especially regarding the time that he should spend with each one and the comforts which he should afford each one, then he should marry only one, not more.⁷⁵ At the same time, the Quran says:

"You will not be able to do justice between wives, however much you wish to do so. But do not turn altogether from one, leaving her as in suspense."⁷⁶ If you do good and keep from evil, Lo! Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful."⁷⁷

These Ayas altogether give the obvious instruction for every Muslim man wanting to be on the safe side, to marry only one wife as long as his matrimonial life with one wife is a normal one. I.e each one of the couple is healthy and performing their male and female functions.

34.

Laitani	If only.
Ni mwamba laiti	O, who is saying: If only
Wa yangani ⁷⁸	The luck in the air
Hutafuta pa kuketi	Looking for a place to settle
Muwatani	Leave it
Haina maoto bahati	Luck is blind

Luck, in Kijuma's view, has no eyes because it gave him "the blind eye", though he was the one who deserved much luck because of his numerous talents. In spite of those talents, he did not get what he wished. As we see, Kijuma compares his bad luck in love to something blind and floating in the air unable to find the way to Kijuma.

Finally, these love songs might be ended with the following two songs which give Kijuma's opinion of the wives and the husbands of his time in general. The first one:

Wake wa kisasa	Today's wives
Mbovu hali zao	Are bad
Wakikosa pesa	If they lack money,
Hawana pumbao	They will stop their intimacy
Kheri kuwakosa	It is better not to have them
Kama kuwa nao	Than to have them.

The second one:

Waume wa sasa	Today's husbands
Ni madungudungu	Are bad
Hungia mekoni	They go into the kitchen
Kufunuwa zungu	To take the pots' lids off
Nana pika tule	"O, Lady: Cook so that we may eat
Nguo zina Mngu	The clothes have God" (i.e. will be supplied by Him).

As we see, his opinion about the wives and the husbands of that particular time was that they had no interest in their marriage except to get their pockets full of money and their bellies full of food. That is to say that the basis of their matrimonial relationship had become materialistic, and not also spiritual as it should be.

Miscellaneous songs of Kijuma

Political songs:

1.

Nungu aliwata shimo	The porcupine left its hole
Kakimbilia juani	To run to the sun
Kipita kiata miwa	Everywhere it passes, it leaves prickles
Kushonewa zerehani	To be used in sewing machines
Tunganena tungateka	Though we chat and smile,
Matumbo hayezikani ⁷⁹	(Our) stomachs cannot be ignored.

The poet is comparing the colonial government, to the porcupine,⁸⁰ as being a harmful but rarely seen creature. It seems that this government was forced to offer the citizens some useful goods, because the poet compares it again to a porcupine which appeared for a while on a sunny day to get rid of its old prickles, which may be used in sewing clothes.⁸¹ These useful goods made the citizens chat and smile. In the end, the poet is warning this government against being indifferent to the empty stomachs of the citizens. It is worth mentioning here that the colonial government was the first to impose taxes on the citizens of Lamu, who complained bitterly about these taxes as being a heavy burden.⁵⁴ There is another song of Kijuma about these complaints:

Ni kupiga hodi hodi	(The tax collector) knocks at the doors
Kila siku mara tatu	Three times every day
Waekeni mashahidi	Keep witnesses as is the custom
Kama waekao watu	of other people
Mungu tusalimu kodi	God may save us from taxes
Majumba hayana zitu	Because the houses have nothing.

When the government imposed these taxes, some of the Swahili people preferred to leave their farms and belongings without reporting them rather than report them and then be taxed. But the government came and took all of these unreported farms into its ownership.⁵⁴ However, the second couplet in this song reveals that the poet was asking his compatriots to stand up for their rights and prevent such high taxes. If they could not, they should revolt. If they revolted, the government would have no alternative but to stop taking the taxes.

The stranger should restrain himself from intervening in the affairs of relatives

Mkiona masharia	If you see disputes
Ya watu wao kwa wao	Against the people of the same clan
Tahadhari kuingia	Be careful, not to intervene
Tulepuke shari lao	To avoid their evil
Ng'ombe na mbuzi wamoya	The cow and the goat are one kind
Mtu mbali ni kondoo	The stranger is the sheep.

The poet is advising every one not to involve himself in the affairs of relatives. If these relatives have any problems, the outsider must keep himself clear of any kind of intervention, otherwise he might be accused, directly or indirectly, of causing the problem. In the last couplet, the poet is comparing the relationship between relatives to the similarity between the cow and the goat. E.g. the similarity between them is to be found in their hair, colour, and milk. Comparing them to the sheep, we find the latter does not have this similarity, and that is why the poet compared it to the outsider. In fact, this comparison is adopted from many Swahili proverbs on the subject. One of these proverbs is as follows:

Ng'ombe na mbuzi ni wamwe (wamoja), mtu mbali ni kondoo: "The cow and the goat are the same, the outsider is the sheep".

The qualified Kijuma who is not respected

Kuwa simaku ⁸² siizi	To be magnetic I do not refuse
Kuyararua magome	To destroy the rocks (on the shore).
Kwa kulla alohasidi	And every envious person

Kwa ito asinione	With his eye, he sees me not
Sindano huwa na uzi	The needle can have its thread
Na kushona isishone	And yet prove sewing impossible.

The poet is comparing himself - as a qualified person but not respected by his society - to a needle with a thread but which does not sew. So, he wishes he could be magnetic and destroy all the rocks i.e. the barriers which stand between him and the respect of his society. Then, those who envy him would no longer disregard him.

The hesitant person

Sahiba mwenye muruwa	O, virtuous friend
Nakuuliza suala	I ask you a question
Imekuwa imekuwa	A year has passed without my
Yapata mwaka siyala	eating (anything)
Mtu hula akanawa	Does the person eat, and then wash (his
	hands)
Au hunawa akala	Or wash them, and then eat?

Although this song might be connected with the beloved who was hesitant in her love for the lover, it has a wider meaning because the question found in it is addressed to a person who is hesitant in any circumstances and unable to decide what is right and what is wrong. The answer to the question of the song is: It is preferable to wash the hands before and after eating, especially when we realise that the Swahili people prefer to eat with their hands, following the Prophet Muhammad's way of eating.

But if asked to choose one thing only, the right answer would be: It is better to wash the hands before than after eating, because the eater on the Kenyan coast used to eat with the other members of his family, sharing the dishes. So, it is better to have clean hands when eating with other people than unclean ones. To have unclean hands after eating, will not harm any one else.

A person should be content with what he has

Ulimwengu una tata	The world has problems
Siikuwe	Do not be proud
Ambao wamkamata	Whomever you hold
Simtowe	Do not let her go
Amekushikisha uta	(Otherwise) the hare has made you
Kitunguwe ⁸³	hold the bow.

The hare is a symbol of a cunning and clever person.⁸⁴ In the song, it is used to symbolise a cunning and deceitful woman. Although the song shows that it was addressed to a certain married man, who was going to be seduced by the cunning woman, for a Swahili person it could be addressed to any person owning anything. It seems probable that the marriage of that man for whom the song was composed was unhappy. At the same time, the "hare" was attempting him to marry her instead, after divorcing his first wife. It seems that that man asked Kijuma's advice, and it was given to him thus: Know that the world is full of problems, and no one is without them. If your wife causes problems, it does not mean that that "hare" will not also cause them. So, keep your wife, do not divorce her to marry this "hare".

Otherwise this "hare" knowing that you carried out what she suggested even before she was married to you, will put many other conditions before you may touch her. These conditions might be impossible for you to carry out. Then, you will find yourself with nothing but holding a bow. In other words, you will find yourself quarrelling and fighting that "hare" all the time.

Dealing before judging

Mkono wa shoto	The left hand
Si kama kulia	Is not as the right one
Kuona kwa ndoto	To see in the dream
Si kushuhudia	Is not to witness reality
Ukali wa moto	The fierceness of the fire
Ni kuutokea	Comes up when it is stirred.

This is a message to those who give judgement on any matter before studying it deeply: You know nothing about it. To know it well, you have to inquire into it. Then, you will be able to come to its heart.

The last song to be concluded in this chapter is a song without mafumbo, but it does concern Kijuma's satisfaction with his only son Helewa.

Radhi ya Azizi	The satisfaction of the Mighty One
Mwanangu unayo	And (also of) your father
Na wako mzazi	You, my son, have got them
Ni mweupe moyo	The heart is pure (towards you)
Hini ni hirizi	This is an amulet
Fungamana nayo	For you to keep.

Chapter III: Notes

1. Interview with Sayyid Hasan Badawy in Lamu. He said that he tried hard to find enough time to go to Kijuma to learn these different meanings, but he could not find the time.
2. Ms. 53490.
There are other such verses composed by Muyaka, see: Abdulaziz, 1979, pp. 182-194.
3. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu.
4. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.
5. From Bwana Adam Ismail.
6. See: Ex. 4.
7. See: p. 67.
8. Kimba kimba = kinguvunguvu = strongly.
9. Zipai = vipaji = Round patch on the forehead.
10. Zarani = Special dye to be put on the cheeks.
11. It can be no coincidence that Sultan Sayyid Hamoud travelled to all these countries.
See: Al-Mughiriy, 1399/1979, p. 288.
12. He was a contemporary of Kijuma. He lived and died in Lamu. I have a letter containing some love songs composed and written in Arabic script by Sheikh Sadi himself.
13. Interview with Bibi Fatuma Nyenye in Matondoni. She was a member of Kijuma's faction in the singing competitions.
14. Interview with Sheikh Muhamadi 'Adnani al-Mahdaliy in Lamu.
15. See: pp. 43-91.
16. See: pp. 60-62.
17. I have them recorded on tapes.

18. They are:

Mzee Salim Kheri, Bwana Mahmoud Mau, Bibi Amina Kheri, Bwana Omari bin Haji, Bwana Muhamadi Saidi, Bwana Abdalla Fadhili, Bwana or Mzee Kuwe Abdalla known as Bakowe, Bibi Fatuma Nyenye, Mwana Juma Baishi, Bibi Somoe Bena, Bibi Fatuma Hassan, Bibi Azani Waswedi, and others mentioned elsewhere in the thesis.

19. Ms. 253028.

20. See: pp. 158-279.

21. Ms. 193291, and Ms. 55 microfilmed by Allen on Reel No. C.I.

22. Hichens, 1962/3, p. 116.

It is important to know also that this song (No. 39) was considered as Kijuma's composition by:

Noor Shariff and Feidel, 1973, p. IX.

23. Dammann, 1943.

24. Ms. 53491.

25. It is written, in the Ms. as limekuta, but it should be limekota to have a meaning.

26. It is wrongly written nyoto. There is no nyoto in Swahili.

27. See: p. 360.

28. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri, his daughter Amina, his relative Bibi Rukayyah, and others in Lamu.

29. See: p. 27.

30. Ms. 53829.

31. Interview with the ex-Liwali of Lamu Bwana Amin al-Mandariy in Mombasa, and also Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.

32. See: pp. 65-69.

33. See: p. 178.

34. See: Fig. A.S.

35. See: p. 158.

36. Abdalla, 1978, pp. 18-20.
37. See: p. 402.
38. See: p. 47.
39. The active verb of apwewapo is kupwa = to recede, of the tide, e.g. jahazi imepwewa = the tide fell down leaving the boat on the shore, and mai yamekupwa = the water ebbed.
40. Muyao (Kuyaa) 'high tide', e.g. mai yameyaa = It is high tide.
41. Tawea = ataolea = he will float.
42. See: pp. 56-57.
43. See: pp. 47-79.
44. For more details about tepe, see: Ms. 53829.
45. The tools which are mentioned in the song give us a hint that Kijuma probably used them in his carpentry and carving. See: pp. 280-294
46. See: p. 338.
47. Chetizie = kimeketi = it anchored, or beached.
48. See: p. 79.
49. See: pp. 82-83.
50. Kiungulia = Gastric disorder causing eructations.
51. See: p. 80.
52. When the koko (the stone of the mango) is used with kitwa (the head), the meaning would be = The stupid one, but in the context of this song = The one with no horns.
53. Mgema: The One who taps the coconut trees to get the palm-wine.
54. Interview with Sheikh Yahya Ali Omari in S.O.A.S.
55. See: p. 82.
56. This song is also given, but without comments, by Lambert, 1956, p. 49.
57. Kubura = To begin boiling.

58. From whom this song was obtained in Matondoni.
59. See: p. 36.
60. See: p. 108.
61. Apiza = Swear at, or curse.
62. Although amulets are condemned in Islam, there are still ignorant people who believe in amulets as a means of affecting the hearts of lovers or beloved ones. The amulet is usually written in unreadable writing. It might contain some prayers or even some Quranic Ayas. Some of these people tie the amulet around the wrist, and others around the waist.
63. Gogi = getting too much and feeling so proud of it that it becomes a disease. Mgogi, plural Wagogi, is used for such a person or persons.
64. Hazigi = The expert who treats with a cautery. It was an old custom by which some people used to cure some of their actual wounds, but this time (in the song) the wounds were love wounds.
65. Kiyombo = kilio = crying.
66. Kalama = kanama = kumbe - And all of a sudden.
67. Tama = tamka = To say, to express.
68. Kibobwe: Any kind of cloth which is tightened around the waist.
69. Kugegera: To notch, nick, incise, indent.
70. Interview with Bibi Maryamu M. Al-Bakariy of Lamu in London.
71. Ndaro = Spirit.
72. Utari = ukosefu = Defect, mistake.
73. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Fadhili in Matondoni.
74. Quran 4,3.
75. Quran 3,4.
76. I.e. as if she were neither married nor free from the responsibility of marriage.

77. Quran 4,129.
78. Yangani: It could be anything floating in the air looking for a place to settle. The poet specified that thing as luck when he used the word bahati at the end of the song.
79. Hayezekani = Haya-izikani = Cannot be neglected.
80. It is known that the porcupine is a night animal which does not normally appear during the day-light, unless it is disturbed.
81. See: p. 319.
82. The Swahili people assume that the magnet was formed from earth which was burned as a result of thunder and lightning. Hence, they believe - as Bibi Maryamu M. al-Bakariy of Lamu said - that the element of destruction is found in the magnet.
83. Kitunguwe = Kitungule = Sungura = Hare or rabbit.
84. Steere, 1928, p. viii.

CHAPTER IV

Kijuma As A Scribe And A Poet

Two stanzas of Kijuma's own composition¹ give us a very relevant introduction to this chapter:-

Unipe wino mweusi	Let me have black ink
Na ya Shamu karaḡasi	With Syrian paper
Na kalamu ya unyasi	And a reed pen
Nipate kuyandikia	That I may write with it.
Na kibao cha fakhari	Together with a good board
Nipijie misit̃ari	That I may mark lines with
Khaḡi zende kwa uzuri	That the writing may look nice
Zifuate moya ndia	And be straight in a line.

By the 17th Century the art of writing, on the coast, had attained a very high standard. Many Mss. were destroyed by the Portuguese,² and others have been lost by the ravages of time. The care which the scribes spent upon their work is made plain in those stanzas which frequently preface epics and which describe the materials used.³ The two stanzas above name the materials that Kijuma used for his writing. The pen or stylus that Kijuma used was cut from a reed, in the manner of the European quill pens, although the modern steel pens imported from Europe and India were in use while he was alive. Black ink was made by him from rice, burned black and then ground to a fine powder which was mixed with a little resin and lemon juice and sometimes lamp-black.

He also used red ink, prepared locally from the mzingefuri plant (*Bixa Orellana*), which yields a reddish orange dye.

The ink-well or container is known as kidawa cha wino. With regard to the paper which was used we find that in early times, writing was done upon a papyrus made from the split leaves of palms. Later, Syrian, (ya Shamu) Indian, and European paper came into use. From the 18th Century onwards Swahili scribes frequently wrote their works upon British hand-made paper of high quality.

If these were not available to Kijuma, he could make paper of the same quality by hand.⁴ To line the paper, Kijuma used a kibao or board. A silken cord was wrapped in parallel around the board, the paper was then pressed upon the corded board and rubbed so that parallel ridges or mistari were impressed onto the paper at such distance apart as was required. Vertical ridges, likewise impressed, divided the paper into four or more equal columns, each to take one measure or kipande of the full stanza's lines of the composition.⁵

The Swahili Mss. of Kijuma are not infrequently adorned with a coloured title-piece or Unuwani.

In the last years of his scribing, European water-colours were used for this work, but before that the pigments were of Arabian, Indian, or local manufacture.

It was Kijuma's custom for the measures of lines of stanza to be marked or divided by stops (Zituo or Zikomo), shaped like inverted hearts or flowers. These are usually outlined in black, and sometimes filled in with red. When quotations are introduced into his compositions, they are usually marked in red ink.

Before enumerating the Swahili Mss. which Kijuma scribed, we have to refer to the method we shall follow in this respect.

I found myself having to choose: either to restrict myself to the Mss. in which Kijuma mentioned himself as being their scribe, or to identify the features of his own handwriting and to make these features the criteria by which we can judge the Mss. (i.e. the unsigned and undated Mss.), whether or not scribed by him. I originally had the intention of following the second option, but after I had thoroughly gone through all the Swahili Mss. found in S.O.A.S., U.C.D., and Hamburg for the second time, I chose to follow the first option, because it had become clear to me that there are some other scribes whose handwriting is similar to Kijuma's, in particular, the scribe Abdu Salim Ibn 'Awadh Basfar.⁶

Having said this, it is still useful to refer to the Mss. whose scribes are unknown, and which might have been scribed by Kijuma.

The main aim of this chapter is to identify all the poems which were composed by Kijuma, and his main sources for composing them. It may not be omitted, in this chapter, to mention also all the literary works which were scribed by him as well. By this mentioning and identifying, we may become more appreciative of Kijuma's contribution to the preservation of Northern Swahili literature and of the valuable data of which the scholars of Swahili are still gratefully using. All his works were written in Arabic script. We can divide them into four categories:

1. Works Kijuma copied as a scribe, either in Swahili or Arabic.
2. Works Kijuma scribed after he had translated them from the Arabic text into Swahili prose or, more often, Swahili poetry.
3. Works he scribed after he had translated them from the dialect of Mombasa or others into the dialect of Lamu.
4. Works he scribed after he had composed them in Swahili poetry, either from his own cultural background, or from native narration or recital.

According to my reading, there are two points to be made before we begin with the first work that Kijuma scribed.

1.

As we shall see throughout this chapter, Kijuma composed some Swahili poems and left them without signing them as their composer or giving the date of their composition. Moreover, he disclaimed in writing that he was the composer of one of his poems, as we shall see later. We assume that he did so under hard circumstances. These circumstances were financial, political, and religious.

Concerning the financial ones, when I went through all the correspondence between Kijuma and his European clients for whom he scribed most of these works,⁷ I observed that when paying him, they did not differentiate between the poems which he scribed after he had composed them and those which he had himself scribed but which had been composed by other poets. Instead of paying him more in cases of where he was the composer as well as the scribe, they preferred to order the poems which had been composed by the old poets who had lived before him. He never argued with his European clients about payment. It happened once that W.H. and J.W. asked him about the price they had to pay him, and he replied:-

"According to your estimation".⁸ Kijuma realised that that estimation would only be high if he claimed that the poem to be scribed was in the possession of someone else at Lamu or elsewhere such as Shela and Kau, and that to be scribed, its possessor made a condition of receiving either a particular sum of money, or a new copy because the original one had become too old. In this case, the European client had to pay Kijuma twice, once in order to get the poem scribed, and the other payment for the copy to be given to the lender.

When Kijuma found that that claim was the most profitable one, he composed some poems pretending that these poems were composed by unknown poets who had lived before him. To support this claim, he inserted neither the name of the composer nor the date of the composition of these poems. W.H. himself gave some hints showing that he could see through this trick when he listed some of these poems, e.g. the Utendi wa Miiraji,⁹ as being Kijuma's own composition,¹⁰ although the correspondence between the two contains nothing to show this.¹¹ It seems likely that W.H. knew of this through Sh. Hinawy of Mombasa. He would inquire from the Sh. Hinawy whether these Tendi and Hadithi were Kijuma's own composition or not. For example, after Kijuma had sent W.H. Hadithi ya kozi na Ndiwa in Oct. 1933, W.H. sent it with a letter to Sh. Hinawy, asking his comments on the Hadithi. The introduction of this letter says:- "1st transliteration made from Ms. written by Kijuma of Lamu, copied by him from a Ms. in possession of a woman at Lamu, according to his letters and received Oct. 1933".¹² And in another letter dated 21st May 1936, W.H. returned to ask the Sh. Hinawy:- "Is the Hadithi wa kozi na Ndiwa one of Kijuma's own poems?"⁸ Actually, I could not trace the reply of the Sh. Hinawy, but I believe that this poem is one of Kijuma's own poems.¹³

Having mentioned the financial element, we ought to refer to the religious one. Throughout this chapter, we will observe that most of these Tendi and Hadithi which Kijuma composed and scribed without inserting his name as their composer were Islamic. As we have already learned, in 1900, when Kijuma had been asked by the German missionaries at Lamu to choose between being jailed by the D.C. of Lamu or being released under condition of accepting Christianity, he chose the latter.¹⁴

Kijuma might therefore have found it better not to insert his name as the composer of these Islamic Tendi and Hadithi, as he would have been inviting the missionaries to question the sincerity of his choice, especially since most, if not all, of his clients were themselves missionaries. Having said this, I should add that these clients might themselves have intended not to investigate more about the scribe of these Islamic Tendi, even if they suspected that Kijuma, whom they wanted to become a Christian, was the composer. Moreover, I should add that some of Kijuma's clients did their best to exclude anything that might be regarded as Islamic in their publication of Swahili anthologies composed by Muslim poets. E.g. W.H. wanted a Swahili book entitled: "Khabari za Maisha ya Washairi na Malenga ambayo Mashairi yao yaliomo. Biyadi W. Hichens", to be published by the Inter-Territorial Language Committee of East Africa. And on the 27th May 1939, W.H. sent a letter to the Secretary of that Committee¹⁵ to introduce the book to him, writing:-

"I have been careful in selecting the pieces for the present anthology to exclude anything that might be regarded as Islamic".¹⁶ This book was never published. There is a typescript copy in SOAS library, Ms. 53491.

Regarding the political element, it is explained in detail, and clearly represented in Utendi wa Mkunumbi.¹⁷

2. The money which Kijuma received for copying these Tendi.

Although it is difficult to estimate the exact sum of money that Kijuma received from this job, we should be able to calculate the average of this sum when we know that he obtained (in a 4 year period, from 1933-36) from W.H. 180 Shilingi, two copies of the two books Miqdadi na Mayasa¹⁸ and Mwana Kupona,¹⁹ 4 pencils, a rubber, 4 sharpeners, a pocket-knife, some small and big brushes, some bottles full of different colours of ink, writing paper, envelopes, a box for putting cigarettes in, and a diary.²⁰ And according to Kijuma's correspondence with E.D.,²¹

Kijuma was paid (in a 2 year period from 1937-8): 10 Shilingi and plenty in kind e.g. coffee, tea, sugar, biscuits, candles, bahasha ya kifundi, mkate mzuri, maandazi, mboga, a copy of Utendi wa Kozi na Ndiwa, and some pictures of Jesus on the cross. On 27th Safar 1357/April 1938, Kijuma told E.D. in a letter that he preferred receiving money to receiving such material goods. The final available correspondence is that between Kijuma and J.W. - Kijuma received from J.W. (in a 3 year period, from 1943-45): 40 Shilingi and some sheets of paper to write on. In return for receiving this money and goods, Kijuma composed and scribed a large number of Swahili literary works and sent them to these three gentlemen. All of these works will be mentioned in this chapter. If we compare this sum of money with the standard of income at Lamu, especially during the 1930's, we will be able to estimate the value of the money which Kijuma received from these three only.

In 1933, a road-worker was paid 12 Shilingi and a ration per month, while the casual labourer (kibarua) was paid 1 Shilingi per day. In 1934, the standard of income for the same worker went down to 8 Shilingi and a ration per month, but the casual labourer was still employed at 1 Shilingi per day.²²

E.D. wrote:- "We met Kijuma in 1890 in the little principality of Witu, where he was working as the Sultan's scribe. When troubles arose after the Anglo-German agreement according to which Germany transferred her protectorate of Witu to the British, a British expedition restored law and order. Kijuma told us that he himself wrote the proclamation of the British Commander-in-Chief to the people of Witu and pinned it on a tree".²³

I have to point out that the chronology of Kijuma tells us that he might have worked as a scribe for the Sultans of Witu from about 1887 until about the beginning of 1891, because his chronology contains no other specific data about that period. During that particular period the Sultans of Witu were Ahmed IX bin Sultan Fumo Luti known as Simba (1862-1889),²⁴ and his son Fumo Bakari (1889-1891).

Before giving details about that proclamation, we have to deal with the way in which Kijuma could have become the scribe of these Sultans. It is likely that this came about through his relations with the German agent in Lamu, Mr. Gustav Denhardt. Also, it is likely that Kijuma was introduced to Mr. Gustav by the German missionaries Heyer and Pieper who were working at the German Neukirchener Mission in Lamu. When that Mission started work at Lamu in 1877, its missionaries sought a scribe who could help them²³ write in Arabic script some Biblical stories in Swahili to be distributed in pamphlets by the missionaries.²⁵ It seems that these missionaries could get Kijuma for the job in the 1880's, particularly after he had left his schooling.²⁶ When Mr. Gustav Denhardt arrived in Lamu in 1884 to work for the German government as an agent or as its consul,²⁷ he contacted these German missionaries because they would have been best placed to give him their experience about Lamu if not about the coast as a whole. Also, Mr. Denhardt wished to be instructed in the Swahili language and the culture of its speakers.

Kijuma was there to fulfil the need of the consul. In the course of time, the relationship between Kijuma and Mr. Denhardt became strong, and the two men became close to each other. Hence, the consul planned for Kijuma to be employed as a scribe in the court of the Sultan Ahmed Simba and his son Fumo of Witu who were protected by the German government, and also advised by it through Mr. Gustav and Mr. Clement Denhardt.²⁸

Their assistance and advice led the Sultan Simba to become a rival of the Sultan of Zanzibar who was supported by the British - in claiming territories and custom-duties. This claim of Sultan Simba was, however, adjusted by an Anglo-German treaty negotiated in 1890, by which the German government agreed to surrender all the land it occupied or claimed north of the originally defined British sphere of influence, placing under British control in the Sultanate of Witu the islands of Manda and Pate and all the coastal strip up to the Juba to which Germany had also laid claim. Germany, in her turn, purchased the rights of the Sultan of Zanzibar within her sphere of influence, and left the British government to assume an exclusive protectorate over the Sultanate of Zanzibar. The sultanate of Witu, excluding the islands of Pate and Manda, was recognised by the British, who undertook to maintain the Sultan.

Complaints were immediately received from German representatives that their countrymen were being systematically persecuted by the Sultan of Witu, because he alleged that they had sold him and his country to the British, after having encouraged him to resist the demands of both the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar. Trouble was brewing, and when, on 25th August 1890, a man named Kuntzel who had formerly been employed drilling troops for the Sultan of Witu, landed with ten German mechanics at Lamu and announced his intention of going to Witu to set up saw mills, the British consular agent endeavoured to dissuade him, but without success.

Kuntzel reached Witu on 14th Sept. 1890, and found that three of his companions, who had preceded him, had been disarmed and were practically prisoners, and that the Sultan had refused them permission to cut timber. Next day the Germans tried to leave Witu, but the gate-keeper refused to allow them to pass. Kuntzel drew his revolver and shot him. The inhabitants of Witu flew to arms and massacred all the Germans, all except two, who escaped, with the Sultan making no effort to retain them. The Germans threatened to land troops at Witu unless the British government took action, and at the end of October 1890, Admiral Fremantle landed 950 men including 150 of the I.B.E.A. Company's troops. Witu was burnt, martial law proclaimed and a reward of Rs. 10-000 offered for the capture of the Sultan Fumo Bakari. The British favoured placing Witu under the Sultan of Zanzibar as a separate and personal sovereignty, and placing the administration of the territory in the hands of the I.B.E.A. Company, but at this juncture the ex-Sultan was killed in early 1891. Although the Sultan's younger brother, Fumo Bakari, took over the government of the outlaws for a time, an agreement was soon reached with the notables of Witu, whereby the last of the al-Nabahany rulers was deposed and provided with a suitable subsistence allowance. This agreement might be the one which was scribed by Kijuma, and we would consider it as the first known document Kijuma had scribed.

In 1895, Omari bin Muhamadi, who had formerly commanded the forces of the Sultan of Witu, was nominated Sultan and remained a faithful friend of the British until he died in 1923. This Omari bin Muhamadi was the one who asked Kijuma to carve the doors of his mansion and the mosque of Witu.²⁹ It is important to mention here that Kijuma composed a Hadithi narrating the superiority of Germany over any other countries, especially England³⁰ which imposed taxes on the people of Lamu.³¹

This Hadithi could not be traced anywhere, but Mzee Salim Kheri still remembers its first stanza. It reads thus:

Hadithi nitaitunga	I shall compose an epic
Duniani ilozinga	That is known everywhere
Ambayo kama muanga	And which is like a light
Kulla mtu kusikia	That every person will know.

After Kijuma had returned from Witu to his town Lamu in about 1891, and until about 1910, he was, from time to time, probably called, to Mombasa for scribing, by W.T., as we shall presently see. In June 1893, Kijuma was employed by the Neukirchener Mission for scribing.³² I could not trace anything which he scribed for this Mission.

In addition, Kijuma used to scribe for any one of his compatriots who asked him.

On 22nd Shawwal 1312/April 1895, he scribed an Arabic book called al-Saifu al-Qāṭiī "The cutting sword" for Bw. Ali Aman al-Busaidy in Mamburui. It has eight chapters, called wirds. The word wird is used to mean a section of Quran, sometimes with some invocation, and this is actually what this book contains. It contains some of Quranic sections, and some invocations. It has about 150 pages. In the end of this book, Kijuma wrote: "It was written by the humble for Allah, Muhamadi bin Abu Bakari bin Omari known as Kijuma. O' Allah: Forgive him and all Muslims, Amin. It was finished on the night of 22nd of the blessed Shawwal 1312 A.H."

It is important to state here that the bulk of Kijuma's scribing was done for Europeans who were interested in Swahili literature, and who could make contacts with Kijuma.

These Europeans are given here in chronological order according to their contacts: W.T.,³³ A.W.,³⁴ Prof. Meinhof,³⁵ Lambert,³⁶ W.H.,³⁷ E.D.,³⁸ and J.W.³⁹

Kijuma and W.T.

Concerning W.T. contacts with Kijuma, it is likely that they got in touch through the missionaries of the Neukirchener mission at Lamu in the 1890's. W.T. used to go to Lamu, especially when it was planned at one time that the Mombasa mission of the C.M.S. should work among Muslims.⁴⁰ Under this project, W.T. was likely able to employ Kijuma to scribe the Gospel of St. John,⁴¹ and Utendi wa Kozi na Ndiwa as we shall presently see.

1. The Gospel of St. John

This Gospel was printed in Arabic script, after it had been reproduced by a photographic process.⁴² It is written in the Swahili dialect of Mombasa (Kimvita). It has 73 pages. I had a copy of it from J.W. Around 1940, Kijuma translated the Gospel of St. John from Kimvita into Kiamu for J.W. He also made a title piece for it.⁴⁵ It is to be found in S.O.A.S.⁴⁶

Although the exact date for all the items which Kijuma scribed for W.T. is not known, we can give c. 1890 as the time during which Kijuma worked for W.T. I believe that Kijuma was either going to or coming from Mombasa when he went to Mamburui to do the calligraphy of al-Saif al-Qāṭiī in 1895.⁴⁷ I may add that, in 1908, when Kijuma was returning from Zanzibar,⁴⁸ he may have been employed by W.T. for some days, if not for some months, in Mombasa to scribe whatever W.T. asked him to.⁴⁹

2. Utendi wa Kozi na Ndiwa

This is the story of how the Prophet Moses was put to the test by a hawk and a dove, which were 'really' the angels Michael and Jibrail. They were disguised as these two birds to see if the Prophet would ransom with his life the dove to whom he had promised his protection. The prophet passed the test.

The poem was translated from the Arabic⁵⁰ into Swahili verse according to stanza 5-6.

Was Kijuma the translator?

I believe so for the following reasons:

The poem has 37 stanzas in one version, and 35 in other versions. The one having 37 stanzas is found in both Arabic⁵¹ and Roman scripts.⁵²

The Arabic one seems to have been written by a scribe who was unfamiliar with writing in Arabic script. This makes me believe that it was written by a European. Although the book of the Registration Entry for the Swahili Mss. in S.O.A.S. tells us that the donor of this Ms. was unknown, it gives us the date of the Ms.'s (i.e. No. 54022) accession in S.O.A.S. as 28.5.1943. This date is the very date at which many Swahili Mss. for both W.T. and W.H. were bequeathed or donated to S.O.A.S. The remaining question is that, was this Ms. from W.T. or W.H. I believe that it was not made for W.H. but for W.T. because W.H. obtained a different Ms. of the same text from Kijuma as we shall see presently. This Ms. (i.e. 54022) has two items not found in the other Mss. of the same poem. The first of these two is the poem's title: Kāla al-Nādhim "The poet said". This title was used by Kijuma to refer to poems which he composed but for which he did not want to sign his name as the composer.⁵³ The second is that in stanza 36 which is not found in the other Mss, the poet gives his name as Muhamadi thus:-

Na yangu isimu tawambia	And my name I shall mention it to you
kiiratili	
Ya kwanda ni mimu na ha	The first (letter of it) is M, then, H, M,
chowe ⁵⁴ mimu na dali	and D, ⁵⁵
Huomba Karimu Anijazi wana	I pray the Generous One to reward me with
na mali	children and wealth
Na katika dini Anivike niwe	And may He crown me as a scholar in the field
alima	of religion.

I remind the reader that Kijuma's mother wished him to become a scholar.⁵⁶ It is significant that the early European missionaries used to call Kijuma Muhamadi.⁵⁷ Hence, Kijuma might have found it enough to write only his forename. I believe that W.H. had good reasons for asking Sh. Hinawy if the poem was one of Kijuma's own composition.⁵⁸

The other stanza in this Ms. not to be found in others reads:-

Na sasa tawanga baitize	Listen, now I shall enumerate its stanzas
pulikizani	
Nyingi sikutunga ni sabaa	I did not compose much, they are 37
wa thalathini	
Na nyote malenga muonapo	If you poets see a mistake, correct it
kosa towani	
Anitoleao tamuyua una	And the one who takes out (mistakes for me)
huruma	I know him he will be kind.

Apart from these two stanzas, all the Mss. of the poem are the same except for some words, and in the order of the stanzas. Before giving an index showing those differences, we have to refer to these other Mss.

After Kijuma had offered W.H. this poem, in 1933, entitling it Utendi wa Kozi na Ndiwa,⁵⁹ W.H. gave him thanks and urged him to send it with a title-piece and pictures drawn of the Kozi and the Ndiwa.⁶⁰ Without exception, Kijuma sent W.H. all he had ordered.⁶¹ Moreover, he gave explanation for the difficult words in the poem. What is found in S.O.A.S. is W.H.'s transliteration of the poem.⁶² The transliteration is prefaced:- "1st translit. of Ms. written by Kijuma of Lamu, copied by him from a Ms. in possession of a woman at Lamu, according to his letter, and received Oct. 1933". It is wrongly counted as having 36 stanzas. They should be 35 only, because the last lines are counted as stanza 36, while they are written in prose, revealing the disguised characters of the Kozi and Ndiwa.

In the 1930's, Kijuma wrote the same poem for Miss E.B.M. Lloyd,⁶³ and this is now in U.C.D. It is microfilmed by Allen for S.O.A.S., and bears the title: Hadithi ya Mtumi Musa.⁶⁴ It has 35 stanzas. Comparing it with the Ms. of W.H., I found no difference.

In 1936/7, the same poem was written and explained by Kijuma for E.D. who published it in 1938.⁶⁵ In the introduction to this publication, he wrote:- "With the help of my informant, Kijuma, I worked through this poem in Lamu. I had no indication who the author was". Comparing it with the Ms. of Miss Lloyd, only one word is found to be different, in stanza 33. It reads Musa instead of Mola as in the Ms. of Miss Lloyd. These last three Mss., the ones of W.H., Miss Lloyd, and E.D. are similar, so they will be considered as one Ms. (= B.) in our comparison, while the Ms. of W.T. will be given the code A. Here is an index showing the differences between A. and B. in their stanzas:-

A	B	A	B
1 - 4	1 - 4	15	16
5	6	16 - 33	17 - 34
6	5	34	-
7	-	35	35
-	7	36 ⁶⁶	-
8 - 14	8 - 14	37 ⁶⁶	-
-	15		

Stanza 7 which is found in Ms. A., and not in B., reads:

Na kula mtumi alieta na miujiza	And every prophet brought miracles
Kuonya kaumi wachongoka wasioiza	To prove for the guided people who do not refuse (guidance)
Na Musa kalimi dalilize zake <u>rongoza</u> ?	The miracle of Moses was in speaking (to Allah)
Zalimu ⁶⁷ simboni aonao kahalimama	And in the stick. The one who considers, will be wondering.

And stanza 34 reads:

Takaoandika kauweka mwake nyumbani	The one who wishes to write it and keep it at home
Na mwenye kutaka kuazima kwa kutamani	And the one who wishes to borrow it for love,
Moliwa Rabuka tamjazi ulimwenguni	Allah may reward him in this world

Na kesho akhera aione yake And in the hereafter, he will experience
karama blessing.

Before leaving this poem, I have to refer to a version of it found microfilmed by Allen⁶⁸ in S.O.A.S., but without any comments about its scribe or the date of its scribing. Comparing its writing with Kijuma's handwriting, I believe that it was written by him. It also has 35 stanzas.

Having learned that this version was obtained from Sh. Hinawy's collection,⁶⁹ I conclude that it was written by Kijuma either for A.W. or W.H. I would like to draw attention to the fact that the title of this version is a totally Arabic one reading: Kissat Musa Ma'ah al-Bāzi wa'L-Hamām "The story of Moses with the hawk and dove".

This gives us proof that the poem was translated from an Arabic booklet of the same title. It might be a booklet similar to the one referred to by E.D. and J.K. in: Knappert, 1978.

Apart from these two works (i.e. the Gospel and Utendi wa Kozi na Ndiwa), the Swahili Mss. at S.O.A.S., U.C.D., and in Hamburg contain no reference to other works Kijuma might scribe for W.T., but before leaving the works which Kijuma scribed for W.T., I have to make some necessary comments on part of an article written by L.H. which reads as follows:⁷⁰ "Among the Werner papers in the library of the S.O.A.S. is a set of photos (3 in. x 2 in.) of the Mss. of two separate poems in the Swahili-Arabic script known as Utendi wa Barsisi and Utendi wa Hasina. In loose notes is a provisional and partial transliteration into Roman script of the former. In the Taylor collection of the same library is a book of Swahili Mss. in the Swahili Arabic script (Swahili Mss. Vol. I, Acc. No. 47706) by the poet and scribe Muhammad Abubakar Kijuma of the present century.

This volume includes a poem about which Taylor makes the following note: 'This Utendi was composed in response to a request for the Utendi wa Barsisi and the Utendi wa Hasina - two distinct compositions, but Muhammad misunderstood and composed this Utendi upon the combined theme'.
Firstly, these two separate poems of Barsisi and Hasina mentioned in the article by L.H. are found in Ms. No. 47779 in S.O.A.S., and it is possible that A.W. made photos of them from W.T.'s papers when she wanted to examine the Taylor papers before purchasing them for the library of S.O.A.S.⁷¹ We shall see later that A.W. did not list Hasina and Barsisi in any of her works as poems she ever possessed. Thus, I do not know why L.H. did not mention the number of this Ms. 47779, which was the one collected by W.T.? Instead, he mentioned the set of photos made by A.W. Moreover, there is a possibility that these sets of photos were made by W.H., not by A.W., because W.H. said in a letter⁷² sent to Sh. Hinawy:- "I am sending you a small photograph of the first page of the Taylor Ms. of Barsisi, and I also enclose a photograph of a Ms. about a certain Mwana Hasina, about whom we have no information whatever".
It is of interest to know that W.T. might have got these two poems from Kijuma, because written in Arabic, on the back of the first page of Barsisi in this Ms. 47779 are the following words "This is the book (i.e. which includes the poems of Barsisi and Hasina) of al-Sayyid al-Mahdaly". The family of al-Mahdaly is the maternal family of Kijuma's wife Kinana.⁷³ J.K. published these two poems of Barsisi⁷⁴ and Hasina⁷⁵. The only difference between the Hasina of J.K. and this of Ms. 47779 is that in the Ms. there are two Quranic Ayas,⁷⁶ not found in that of J.K. Hence, it became clear that, through Kijuma and Kijuma alone, these two poems came to the light of publication, though they were not composed by him.

Secondly, unfortunately, Ms. 47706 the number given by L.H. in his article, and which was supposedly written by Kijuma, has been missing from the library of S.O.A.S. since before 1978.⁷⁷ Moreover, this Ms. is catalogued in that library under the collection of W.H. not W.T.

Thirdly, the note that L.H. considered to be by W.T. is not actually W.T.'s but W.H.'s. When W.H. asked Kijuma to send him the Utendi wa Barsisi na Hasina, Kijuma quickly combined the two separate poems (i.e. Hasina and Barsisi) and made them one poem in the name Utendi wa Barsisi na Hasina, and sent it to W.H.⁷⁸ on 30 Dhu Al-Hijja 1342/April 1934.

The first 24 stanzas, of this combined Utendi are almost identical to the same stanzas in the separate Utendi wa Hasina. The rest of it varies only in minor detail from the separate Wa Barsisi, especially in the number of the stanzas. This combined one has 122 stanzas, while the two separate poems of Barsisi and Hasina have 218 and 204 stanzas respectively. This combined one is edited by J.K.⁷⁹ When W.H. became aware of this fabrication, he sent Kijuma a letter, reminding him that the two poems were different. Kijuma replied to him:- "It is right that the poems of Barsisi and Hasina are different, but you brought me two riddles when you said: 'One story of Hasina and the second of Barsisi', and then asked me: 'Complete'. Thus, I followed the same kind of riddles".⁸⁰ I.e. and completed the two together, making them as one, paying more attention to riddles (Mafumbo) than to the fact that he was dealing with the literature of his nation. I believe that that aspect of Kijuma was one of the main reasons which made Allen say:- "An impartial study of Kijuma's work indicates that he was enthusiastic, but he was too keen to please his clients".⁸¹ Examining the texts of the Utendi wa Barsisi published by L.H., we find that the same Utendi is also available transliterated and typed by W.H. into Roman script in the Mss. 210010, and 210011.

They contain two identical texts of the Barsisi in Roman script, which are applicable to the one of L.H. These two Mss. give the same information as that found in the introduction of L.H., but I failed to find a reference to them by L.H. in his introduction. I had to refer to this information because most of it was given by Kijuma to W.H. in Ms. 47781.

This Ms. (47781) was copied by Kijuma in the Arabic and Swahili languages to show the sources from which Barsisi was adopted. Kijuma gave two sources, one called: Al-Mustatraf, and the second: The Forty Hadith, or: Al-Arbaini Hadithi. The complete title of al-Mustatraf is: Al-Mustatraf Fi kulli Fannin Mustadharf "The exquisite in every elegant art". It is written by Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Ibshaihi⁸². Kijuma used to read this book, and to go through it with other scholars in Lamu, as he said in letters to W.H. in 1933.⁸³ It includes various stories and Arabic verses of every kind.

Regarding al-Arbaini Hadithi, there is more than one book explaining and commenting on that al-Arbaini Hadithi. One is called: Kitāb al-Majālis al-Saniyyah Fi-al-Kalām 'Ala al-Arbā'ini al-Nawāwiyyah, by Abī Zakariyya al-Nawāwiyy.⁸⁴ Another copy is in the same British Library.⁸⁵

Accordingly, we should acknowledge that Kijuma was not only a poet and scribe, but also a source of information. Although we do not know for sure whether Kijuma copied and supplied W.T. with other works⁸⁶ or not, we may say that that contact of W.T. with Kijuma made the latter open his mind to recognise the value of collecting and preserving Swahili verse. Since then, he did all he could, not only to collect and preserve Swahili verse, but also to develop his talent for composing long epics. This explains how Kijuma could supply A.W. with a huge hoard of Swahili Mss. within a short period of time.

Before detailing these Mss., I have to mention here two works which Kijuma completed around 1900.

In about 1895, Kijuma composed the poem of Alika kama Harusi⁸⁷. In about 1900, Kijuma copied Kitāb al-Madīh. It is an Arabic book praising the Prophet Muhammad. He copied it to be read in the mōsque⁸⁸ during the celebration of the Prophet's birth. Although I could not trace it while I was in Lamu, I would estimate the number of its pages at about 250, because another book of the same subject was found in S.O.A.S.⁸⁹

Kijuma and A.W. (and Meinhof and Lambert)

When A.W. arrived in East Africa in 1911,⁹⁰ she was probably introduced to Kijuma by the missionaries at Mlimani in Lamu or the D.C. of Lamu who was then Mr. C.S. Reddie and whose name is mentioned in one of Kijuma's poems which was composed for A.W.⁹¹ Kijuma gave her his utmost help, and for her, he scribed the following Mss., which are written here in the same way as is found in her list.⁹²

1. Acrostic, on the Divine Attributes?
2. Utendi wa Nana Werner.
3. Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa.
4. Utendi wa Mkunumbi by Muh. Kijuma.
5. Utendi wa Yusufu.
6. Utendi wa Mwana Kupona.
7. Shairi la Liongo.
8. Liongo Fumo copied from Mzee bin Mahadhoo's book.
9. Lamu.
10. Fragment of Utendi wa Yusufu.
11. List of Divine Names.
12. List of birds.
13. Utendi wa Ayubu I part.
14. Mashairi from the Lamu chronicle.
15. Mashairi (Historical) which Mr. Reddie lent for me to copy.
16. Habari za ----- sabaa.

In another list inside the same notebook, A.W. wrote:- "Mss. sent by Muhammad Kijuma 12-10-20.

- Kisa cha Kijana (Kitete, mke wa Sultani).
- Habari ya uzuri wake wa Sura Muhamadi.

- Utendi wa Hunaini.
- Ufunguo maneno ya Miiraji.
- Kisa cha Kijana (Kwalina mzee zamani za nyuma).

Offers:⁹³

- Inkishafi.
- Tabaraka (interlined Ar.).
- Utendi wa Tawafu Muhamadi*.

We are now going to deal with all these Mss. in detail taking them one by one, and in the same order as they are listed, because it seems likely that these previous 16 Mss. were given to A.W. while she was on the coast 1911/2.

1. Acrostic on the Divine Attributes

Having listed this Ms., A.W. put a question mark, in the following way:-

1. Acrostic on the Divine Attributes?

We do not know why she put it, but it seems likely that she was not sure about the correct title of the Ms. There is a poem called Tayyib al-Asmai⁹⁴ "The Good Names". It deals with the 99 Attributes of Allah,⁹⁵ in Arabic and Swahili as well. It was not composed by Kijuma. It would not be accurate to suggest that this Tayyib al-Asmai was what A.W. meant, because that poem is not an Acrostic. In addition to this, A.W. mentioned nothing about that poem in her published works, neither with the title: Acrostic on the Divine Attributes, nor: Tayyib al-Asmai.

Hence, what we can assume is that the title given here of this Ms. was wrong, and that the correct title might be the one of the remaining two Swahili poems called Acrostic. One is Wajiwaji,⁹⁶ and the second is Dura 'l-Mandhuma. I would presume that A.W. meant that the Acrostic of the Dura 'l-Mandhuma, not of the Wajiwaji, because she again mentioned nothing in her works about Wajiwaji. On the contrary, she not only mentioned the Dura 'l-Mandhuma in her works, but also published⁹⁷ it. Thus, the correct title for this Ms. should be:

Acrostic of Dura L-Mandhuma

In this case, A.W. was the first person to bring this Dura to Europe through Kijuma in 1912. She herself wrote:- "This poem was copied for me in 1912 by Kijuma of Lamu".⁹⁸

Fortunately, this poem is still found in S.O.A.S., in Arabic script and in Kijuma's handwriting.⁹⁹ It has 2 pages with 29 stanzas. A.W. included the first page in her published one.⁹⁸ It is interesting that, later on, L.H. published the same poem with the same page of Arabic characters which is included in the one of A.W.¹⁰⁰

E.D. also published it in his book.¹⁰¹ E.D. said:- "A copy of it was destroyed in Germany, and with help from Kijuma, was put together again. The whole poem has also been put on record by Kijuma who knows it by heart. The record is now kept in the phonetic laboratory of the Hansische Universitat". This record was lost in 1945 during World War II.¹⁰²

It is worth referring to another Dura 'l-Mandhuma found in Sh. Hinawy's collection and which could be in Kijuma's handwriting. It found its way to U.C.D. through Allen who microfilmed it, and this microfilm is now kept in S.O.A.S.¹⁰³

It is not known when or for whom it was copied, but it is likely that it was written for W.H. Finally, the same poem was written by Kijuma and sent to J.W. on 1st Ramadhan 1355/Nov. 1936.¹⁰⁴ It is entitled: Ukawafi wa Alfu¹⁰⁵. That is why J.W. called it so in his writing.¹⁰⁶

2. Utendi wa Nana Werner

As we understand from the title, this Utendi should be about the qualities and deeds of A.W. herself. Indeed, A.W. did refer to it in one of her publications saying: "Another composition of Muh. Kijuma's may be worth noting as a curiosity - the Utendi wa Nana Werner, addressed to the present writer, in accordance with what, I believe, is a common practice among native teachers who possess the least degree of skill in Kutunga mashairi. On what principle it is called an Utendi, I have never been able to discover".¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, I could not trace this Ms. anywhere.

3. Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa

The first European scholar who referred to it was A.W. in one of her articles. In 1918, she wrote:- "Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa (356 stanzas) - a life of Christ following the accounts in the Quran and the Muslim tradition. I have not been able to ascertain when, or by whom it was written, but am informed that it is 'old'".¹⁰⁸ In 1920, A.W. gave a different statement about the sources from which this Kisa was derived. She said:- "A poem whose subject matter is derived (indirectly, no doubt) from the New Testament and the Apocryphal Gospels is the curious Qissat Sayyidna Isa."

The only information furnished by the Swahili who transcribed¹⁰⁹ it is, that it is 'old' which may mean anything from sixty years to six centuries. I see no reason to doubt his good faith, and he is certainly not backward in acknowledging the compositions which can partly or wholly be attributed to his authorship. But this poem seems to me to show a closer acquaintance with the Gospels than is usually possessed by Moslem writers. Possibly the copyist has to some extent modified or added to his text".¹¹⁰ She added in the same reference:- "It may be worthwhile, at a later date, to transcribe and translate the whole poem, in order to determine, if possible whether any new elements have been added in its passages into Swahili".

We draw attention to this addition because we will need it later. Since 1920, A.W. took it for granted that the poem was based on the Apocryphal Gospels.¹¹¹ These were the main points which A.W. made about this poem. Although this poem could not be found in Arabic characters, it could be found in Roman characters in the handwriting of A.W. herself. It was deposited, microfilmed,¹¹² in S.O.A.S. after it had been brought to U.C.D.,¹¹³ and it was the one on which E.D. relied for his publication.¹¹⁴ After comparing the handwriting in which this Ms. (204) was written with that in the other Mss. written by A.W. in S.O.A.S.,¹¹⁵ I found no difference at all. At the end of this Ms., the date is given as:- "10th Dhul Haj 1330 = 1922". The date of A.H. does not actually correspond with the A.D. one, because 1330 A.H. = 1912 A.D. I assume that A.W. wrote:- "1922" as the date of her transliteration for this poem which had been scribed for her by Kijuma in 1330 A.H. In this case, her intention in 1920 of finding a later date to transcribe the whole poem was fulfilled in 1922.

Thus, we come to the conclusion that Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa, published by E.D. is the one which was transliterated by A.W. from her original Ms., and it was not a different one from A.W.'s Ms. as E.D. had concluded in his book, p.12.¹¹⁴

I agree with E.D. that this poem was composed by Kijuma, and I add here that it was composed while A.W. was there on the coast in 1911/2, since she was the first person to obtain the poem.

Concerning the sources from which Kijuma derived this poem, I disagree that they were either the New Testament or the Apocryphal Gospels, but I am convinced, after a long investigation, that the source of Kijuma for this was an Islamic book written in Arabic called: Qasas al-Anbiyāi al-Musammā bi-al-Ārā'is, "The narration of the Prophets' stories which is called The brides", by Abu-Ishāq Aḥmad bin Ibrāhīm al-Thaʿalabiy. There are copies of it in S.O.A.S., and in the British Library. One of these copies, in the British Library, was published in Cairo in 1859. The story of Jesus is on pp. 413-439 of this copy, on which I shall rely for making my comparisons. It is likely that Kijuma could get a copy of this book in Lamu, or rather that he bought it from Zanzibar while he was there at the Sultan's palace.¹¹⁶

In this book, the story of Jesus is related in more detail than Kijuma gives in the version published by E.D. As Kijuma says in stanza 305, he found it too long to translate every thing about Jesus, thus, in this poem, he summarised the story which is detailed in this Arabic book.

The stanzas 4-28 are derived from p. 414 of this Arabic book. Stanzas 29-48 from p. 415. Stanzas 49-75 from p. 416. Stanzas 76-80 from p. 417. Stanzas 81-112 from p. 418. Stanzas 113-139 from p. 419. Stanzas 140-178 from p. 420. Stanzas 179-209 from p. 421. Stanzas 210-260 from p. 422. Stanzas 261-290 from p. 423. Stanzas 291-294 from p. 424.

Stanzas 295-304 from p. 426. Stanzas 306-315 from p. 431.

Stanzas 316 until the end of the poem (stanza 348) are derived either from various lines here and there in the same book, or from the poem's own thoughts. E.g., the data given in Stanza 344¹¹⁷ is not found in this Arabic source of Kijuma.

On 15th Dhu Al-Hijja 1357/Feb. 1939 Kijuma told E.D. that he used to have the poem of Jesus according to the Quran but it was lost, and he promised to send E.D. another one.¹¹⁸ However, the correspondence between the two was interrupted by World War II, and the promise could not be fulfilled. In 1361/1942, Kijuma was able to fulfil the promise, not for E.D. but for J.W., when he sent him a poem, with a little title-piece,¹¹⁹ entitled: Hadithi ya Sayyidna Isa. It is now microfilmed⁴⁶ in S.O.A.S. It has 314 stanzas, plus about 21 Ayas. It tells the same story as the one published by E.D., but in different words. Kijuma made it plain in the final stanza of this Hadithi that his source was the Quran and the Hadith.¹²⁰ And to be more specific, I would say that the source of Kijuma in this, was the same Qasas al-Anbiyā'i which is not only based on the Quran and Hadith, but also on different views of various scholars. It should be borne in mind that the Muslims believe in everything derived from the Quran, then, the correct Hadith,¹²¹ but anything from any other source is disputable.

4. Utendi wa Mkunumbi by Muh. Kijuma

Finally, I was fortunate enough to trace the date on which A.W. obtained this Utendi from Kijuma. I traced it written down by A.W. herself in a Ms. given to S.O.A.S., only at the end of 1982 A.D., by Mr. Hubert Allen.¹²² She wrote:- "Utendi wa Mkonumbi, by Muh. Kijuma of Lamu. This copy he scribed for me sometime between January and June 1913". I could not trace this copy in its Arabic characters.

Although L.H. published this Utendi in the 1960's, relying on a Ms. written in Arabic script, found in S.O.A.S., he did not supply us with the name of its composer nor its copyist. I assume that that Ms. was the one copied by Kijuma either for A.W. in 1913¹²³ or for W.H. in the 1930's¹²⁴. However, it was transliterated by A.W. and was used by J.K. for getting the Utendi published in 1964.¹²⁵ It has 154 stanzas. In the Ms. (197) which was given to S.O.A.S by Mr. Hubert Allen, A.W. wrote:- "Meinhof's copy of Mkonumbi was made later and dated 20th Shaaban 1331, i.e. on or about July 26, in the same year (1913)". It was also made by Kijuma, as we shall presently see. It has 157 stanzas, i.e. 3 stanzas more than the one published by J.K. These three stanzas are given later. I obtained a copy of this one, in Hamburg, from E.D. It has two title-pieces made by Kijuma.¹²⁶

This Utendi is the only work to which A.W. referred in her notebook as Kijuma's work by writing:- "----- by Muh. Kijuma".

Why did she do that?

Before answering this question, I have to note that Kijuma disclaimed, in writing,¹²⁷ any identification of himself as the composer of this Utendi. So, it seems likely that A.W. wanted to remind herself all the time that the Utendi was Kijuma's own composition by her writing:- "----- by Muh. Kijuma". The important question still to be answered is, why did Kijuma, as the composer of the poem, deny, in writing, that he was its composer? It is probable that Kijuma did so for political reasons, shown in the following discussion:-

In 1918, A.W. wrote:- "Utendi wa Mkonumbi (150 stanzas) by Muh. Kijuma himself, celebrating a fairly recent event - a kind of faction-fight arising out of the Chama¹²⁸ dance".

In this Utendi, Kijuma contrarily stated that the English D.C. of Lamu, whose name is given at the end of the Utendi as Mr. Reddie, was on the spot and directly tackled the matter by giving orders to stop the fight,¹²⁹ while A.W., in a letter to W.H. in the 1930's, said:- "I enclose a letter¹³⁰ from the late Mr. Reddie, D.C. of Lamu, giving some information about the faction fight at Mkonumbi. You will notice that the Balozi was Mr. Reddie, who, however, says he was not on the spot".¹³¹ A.W. told W.H. that the Utendi was composed by Kijuma, because W.H. came later in the 1930's, and confirmed Kijuma as the author of the Utendi.¹³² In spite of this confirmation, L.H. came later yet and raised the question whether Kijuma was the author or only the scribe, but Allen, in his review for the Utenzi wa Mkonumbi of L.H., agreed with W.H. that the poem was composed by Kijuma.¹³³ The observer of these moot points, will note straight away that Kijuma had inserted contradictory data in his poem, by saying that the D.C. was on the spot, while he was not, and that he himself was not the composer of the Utendi, while he was. These contrary data arise from each other. Kijuma wanted to show the readers that the policy of the D.C.'s Office was against the faction-fight (i.e. the singing competitions), while, as we explained in detail in the chapter of the singing competitions, the D.C.'s Office was actually encouraging and planning for these singing competitions.¹³⁴ Since Kijuma had full cognizance of supplying us with false information, he may have disclaimed the authority of the Utendi for one of two reasons:-

1.

Fearing to be questioned by someone (especially those who were well informed of the matter) about the reason of his giving false information, i.e. saying that the D.C. was on the spot while he was not, and showing that the government was against these competitions while it was for it.

2.

To make it nearly impossible for any person to construe any links between the distinct role of Kijuma in these competitions and his close connection with the Office of the D.C.

It seems as if Kijuma thought that the trouble he gave us by disclaiming the authorship of the Utendi was not enough and thus wanted to complicate the matter further by adding three extra stanzas in the Ms. which he made for Prof. Meinhof. In one of these 3 stanzas, Kijuma tried to support his disclaimer by saying that that Utendi was written by a person called: Sheikh Ali. Here, the 3 stanzas are given in the same numbers as they are numbered in the Ms. of Prof. Meinhof:-

81.

Kisa kumuona simba	After (Shekuwe) had seen Simba
Hula nyama kitotumba	Openly eating the meat
Na utuni wa kumwimba	(Giving Shekuwe) the <u>utuni</u> ¹³⁵ to mock him
Shekuwe kaitetea	Shekuwe defended himself.

153.

Musambe nataka haki	Do not think I want an advantage
Kwa hili kuishiriki	By taking part in this (competition) ¹³⁶

Huṭimiza uashiki	(But) to fulfil my love for it
Naye huwatatukia	And (to prove) that he (Simba) is more exalted.

154.

Katabahu Shekhe Ali	It is written by Sheikh Ali
Mwenye nuru za akili	Who has an enlightened mind
Aṭakao huniḡuli ¹³⁷	The one who guides me
Ndiye Mola Jalia	Is the Glorious God.

As we see in stanza 154, Kijuma attributed the Utendi to Shekih Ali. But our Composer (Kijuma) forgot that he had already named Sheikh Ali, in stanza 116,¹³⁸ as one of his best friends. It reads:-

Somo yangu Shekhe Ali	My friend Sheikh Ali
Mkaoni mbwa jamali	In the camp is most affable
Hawaa yake kamili	His passion is perfect
Na ghera kumziḡia	And his zeal grows on him.

Apart from these previous 3 extra stanzas, the copy of Prof. Meinhof resembles the one published by J.K. in every detail except in the numbers of the stanzas. These numbers do not correspond to each other as the following index shows:

K ¹³⁹	M ¹⁴⁰
1 - 75	1 - 75
76 - 87	88 - 99
88	76
89 - 92	77 - 80
93 - 98	82 - 87
99 - 151	100 - 152
152 - 154	155 - 157

The words, in stanza 155 of M's copy, are a little different from K's.

It reads:

Nimetengeza muyinga	I, an ignoramus, have arranged it
Nisioyua kutunga	Without knowing how to compose
Mimi Kijuma muanga	I am Kijuma whose origin
Asili al-Arabiya	is Arabian.

To sum up, there are good reasons for saying that the Utendi wa Mkunumbi was both composed and copied by Kijuma and that it found its way to Europe through A.W. and Prof. Meinhof.

5. Utendi wa Yusufu

This is one of the poems which Kijuma himself composed, and from which he made copies for the Europeans, and also for his compatriots. The poem came to Europe for the first time through A.W.

In 1918, she wrote:- "I have a modern version of a poem on Joseph, in nearly 800 stanzas, by a living and very prolific writer, Muh. Kijuma of Lamu, who informed me that he had used both the Koran and the Old Testament as his source".¹⁴¹ Although this Ms. was lost,¹⁴² there are four other Mss. extant on the same subject written by Kijuma. One for Prof. Meinhof, one for E.D., one for J.W., and the fourth for one of his compatriots.

The Ms. of Prof. Meinhof has 732 stanzas, plus about 53 Quranic Ayas, and is dated 20th Muharram 1332¹⁴³/Dec. 1913. Its title is written with a little decoration, as: Kisa cha Yūsufu.¹⁴⁴

The Ms. of E.D. has 763 stanzas, plus about 58 Ayas. Although it is not dated, I found its date in a letter¹⁴⁵ from Kijuma to E.D. as 23rd Jumada Al-Ukhra 1356/Aug. 1937. Its title is written with decoration as: Hadīthi ya yaʿakūbu na Yūsufu.¹⁴⁶

The Ms. of J.W. is entitled: Hadīthi ya yaʿakūbu na Ibnihi Yūsufu.¹⁴⁷ It has 755 stanzas and about 55 Ayas. It is dated 6th Dhu Al-Qaada 1356/Jan.1938. It is now found in S.O.A.S.⁴⁶

The fourth one is found in the Allen collection, from Bi. Zaharia bint Maimun of Lamu.¹⁴⁸

At the end of this Ms. the date is written, but it is not complete, so, it cannot be read. It has 791 stanzas and about 57 Ayas. As we see, the shortest Ms. of these 4 has 732 stanzas, and the longest one has 791 stanzas. It is unnecessary to print all the extra stanzas in the longest Ms., especially as I realised, after making a comparison, that the content of the story is the same in all the copies, although the number of their stanzas is different. Because J.K. published the Ms. of E.D. in "Four Swahili Epics",¹⁴⁹ I find it sufficient at this moment to take this published version as a specimen in order to make comparisons.

All that Kijuma did was to add some stanzas to one Ms. and to omit some from the other. In spite of this addition and omission, he was careful about two things. The first: Not to change the essence of the story narrated in other copies. The second: to include a particular invocation, written in Arabic, in all the copies. This invocation is translated as follows:- "O, Listener for the ones crying for help. O, Helper for the ones appealing for aid. O, The One who relieves the grief of the grieved ones". This invocation is inserted after stanza 127 in the first Ms., and stanza 134 in the second and in the third one, and after stanza 161 in the fourth one. It is important to know that this invocation is found in p.121 of the source, from which I am assuming, that Kijuma derived his Utendi, and translated it into Swahili verse. Actually, it is the same as the source of Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa, i.e. Qasas al-Anbiyā'i,¹⁵⁰ pp.117-151.

P.117 is translated within stanzas 4-35.

P.118 within 36-52. P.119 within 53-80. P.120 within 81-123. P.121 within 124-141. P.122 within 142-154. P.123 within 155-178. P.124 within 179-207. P.125 within 208-228. P.126 within 224-246. P.127 within 247-257. P.128 within 258-271. P.129 within 273-294. P.130 within 295-324. P.131 within 325-364. P.132 within 365-367. P.133 within 368-394. P.134 within 395 - 397. P.135 within 398-405. P.136 within 405-437. P.137 within 438-468. P.138 within 469-524. P.139 within 525-550. P.140 within 551-571. P.141 within 572-591. P.142-3 within 592-601. Pp.144-7 within 602-640. P.148 within 641-670. P.149 within 671-686. P.150 within 687 - until the end. But there are some points in the story of Kijuma which differ from the story of Qasas L-Anbiyā'i. For example, in Qasas al-Anbiyā'i:¹⁵¹ When the brothers of Joseph decided to drop him into the well, a merchant called Mālik bought him from his brothers as their escaped slave.

Mālik ibn Dāfari sold Joseph to ʿAzīz Miṣr = The treasury Minister of Egypt whose name was Ḳaṭfīr ibn Raḥīb. When the wife of Ḳaṭfīr, Rāʿīl bint Raʿābīl, saw the beautiful Joseph, she tried to seduce him. Joseph refused and was jailed, and later released to replace Ḳaṭfīr. The King al-Rayyān ibn al-Walīd of Egypt asked Ḳaṭfīr to resign. After he had resigned, he died, and Joseph was asked by the King to marry Rāʿīl. When Joseph married her, he found her still a virgin because her ex-husband Ḳaṭfīr had been impotent. They had two sons called: Ifrāīm and Mīshā. However, in Kijuma's poem:- Ḳaṭfīr was a very rich man who bought Joseph from the same Mālik ibn Dāfari and sold him to ʿAzīz Miṣr who also was the King of Egypt,¹⁵² but Kijuma did not name this King. When the King's wife Zulaikha, saw the handsome Joseph, she asked him to perform an evil act, but he refused,¹⁵³ then was jailed.¹⁵⁴ Later on, he was released by the King who himself retired and gave the kingdom to Joseph.¹⁵⁵ Rāʿīl, who was the daughter of that King, was married to the rich Ḳaṭfīr.¹⁵⁶ After Ḳaṭfīr had died, Zulaikha left his house,¹⁵⁷ and Joseph chose Rāʿīl to marry.¹⁵⁸ When he married her, he found that she was still a virgin, because her ex-husband Ḳaṭfīr had been impotent.¹⁵⁹ Later on, Zulaikha saw Joseph when she went to the palace to beg. Joseph was then told by God to marry Zulaikha who was then old and no longer beautiful, but Joseph prayed to God to give her beauty. Zulaikha returned to the age of 12 as a very beautiful girl. They had two sons: Ifrāīm and Mīshā, and a daughter: Reḥema.¹⁶⁰ I found these different points, especially what happened concerning Joseph and Zulaikha, in another Arabic book called al-Mustatraf which was in Kijuma's possession, as we said before.¹⁶¹ It seems Kijuma wanted to co-ordinate the two themes of the story, found in these two sources, in order to compose his Utendi wa Yusufu in his own way.

6. Utendi wa Mwana Kupona

This is a didactic poem and consists of advice - mainly on the conduct of married life - given by a woman to her daughter. It is not Kijuma's composition, but was copied by him for A.W. when she was in Lamu in 1911/2. It has 98 stanzas and is reproduced in facsimile in "Harvard African Studies".¹⁶² The Ms. was sent to America in 1916, and its present whereabouts is unknown.¹⁶³

On 3rd Shaaban 1331/July 1913, Kijuma wrote another Ms. on the same subject, with two title pieces,¹⁶⁴ for Prof. Meinhof. It also has 98 stanzas.¹⁶⁵

In 1933, the same poem was written, by Kijuma, with interlinear annotations, sketches, and a title page, for W.H.¹⁶⁶ who published the poem with A.W. in 1934.¹⁶³

The text of W.H. was reprinted¹⁶⁷ in Mambo Leo, and again in "Swahili Poetry" by L.H., pp.27-86.

7. Shairi La Liongo

8. Liongo Fumo copied from Mzee bin Mahadhoo's book

There are four main works of Swahili verse dealing with Liongo:-

1. Takhmis of Liongo.
2. Shairi La Liongo.
3. Utendi or Hadithi ya Liongo.
4. Lyrics attributed to Liongo.

A.W. used the above title to refer to all the items she got from Kijuma connected with Liongo. On a later date, she detailed this title within the four works given above,¹⁶⁸ but she also used to refer to the

Takhmis of Liongo as: Mashairi ya Liongo.¹⁶⁹

She mentioned this Takhmis in her writings¹⁶⁸ but without stating whether it was copied for her by Kijuma. The one who did state that A.W. got this Takhmis copied by Kijuma¹⁷⁰ was Prof. Meinhof who also obtained the Takhmis of Liongo from Kijuma, and published it in 1924/25.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, Prof. Meinhof printed, in this publication, some verses in Arabic script as a specimen for different copies of the Takhmis, that of Kijuma being included.¹⁷¹ A Takhmis was copied by Kijuma and sent to W.H. in 1933.¹⁷² With the help of Sh. Hinawy, W.H. transliterated and translated it.¹⁷³

Shairi La Liongo

Concerning the title of Shairi La Liongo, A.W. used this to mean the poem of Liongo which begins:- Pijiani mbasi...¹⁷⁴ It has 50 stanzas, was written in sheets, and is still in S.O.A.S. in Kijuma's handwriting.¹⁷⁵ A.W. transliterated it, and her transliteration is in the same Ms. 47795. It was not composed by Kijuma. In 1934, Kijuma copied another Ms. of the same text for W.H. It was copied on a scroll, and included some pages of glossary.¹⁷⁶ This scroll is no longer found in S.O.A.S., although it was referred to by L.H.¹⁷⁷ as:- "A Ms. copied by Kijuma for A.W.¹⁷⁸ and to be found in Ms. 47795". What is actually found in this Ms. is:-

1. The Ms. of A.W. on 4 sheets, in Arabic script and in Kijuma's handwriting.
2. 7 pages of glossary in Arabic script and in our scribe's handwriting.
3. The transliteration of Shairi La Liongo in the handwriting of A.W. herself.

This Shairi was translated, and typed by W.H.¹⁷⁹ Another copy of the Shairi La Liongo was made by our scribe and also explained by him for E.D. in 1936. The latter published it with a German translation in 1940.¹⁸⁰ It has 50 stanzas and is the same as the Ms. of A.W. in all but three respects:-

1. Stanzas 21 and 22 replace each other. } are switched round
2. Stanzas 32 and 33 replace each other. }
3. Stanza 45 in the Ms. of E.D. is not found in the Ms. of A.W., and stanza 46 in the Ms. of A.W. is not found in the Ms. of E.D.

This Shairi has also been published with notes given by Lambert.¹⁸¹ It contains 51 stanzas, i.e. one stanza more than in those of A.W.¹⁸² and E.D.¹⁸³ Also stanza 5 in Lambert's Ms. is different from that in A.W.'s. Apart from this, the two poems are similar except for some words and in the order of the stanzas as the following index shows:-

A.W.	Lambert	A.W.	Lambert	A.W.	Lambert
1 - 4	1 - 4	34 - 40	34 - 40	44	41
6 - 31	6 - 31	41	44	45	46
32	33	42	43	46	47
33	32	43	45	47 - 50	48 - 51

There is another copy of the Shairi La Liongo which I believe was written by Kijuma, but without a date. What is known is that it was found in Sh. Hinawy's collection, and was microfilmed by Allen for S.O.A.S.¹⁸⁴ This leads us to assume that it was copied for W.H. in the 1930's.

Utendi or Hadithi ya Liongo

Regarding this Utendi, A.W. wrote:- "A poem on Liongo, in 234 stanzas (exclusive of some verses attributed to the hero, which are embodied in it), seems to be classed as Utendi, as it is also called Hadithi in the Ms.. It may perhaps be accounted for by prolonged oral transmission which led to their being gradually modernised".¹⁸⁵ This Ms. is no longer found in the library of S.O.A.S in Arabic script, although there is a copy in Roman script.¹⁸⁶ On 30th May 1934, W.H. photocopied the Ms. of A.W. and sent the copy to Sh. Hinawy to transliterate and translate, and to make notes and comments.¹⁸⁷ In 1936, Sh. Hinawy sent the Ms. back to W.H. after completing the work on it. W.H. wrote on the first page of his transliteration:- "Translit. Translation. Notes by Mbarak Ali Hinawy (Liwali of Mombasa) 1936".¹⁸⁸ At the end of this transliterated Ms., it is written that the Ms. was written by Kijuma on 1st Shawwal 1331.¹⁸⁹ This Ms. (193293) consists of two typescripts of the same text. One has 244 stanzas,¹⁹⁰ with three pages as an introduction. The data found in this introduction was actually given by Kijuma to E.D. who sent it to W.H. while E.D. was in Lamu in Sept. 1936. The first 123 stanzas of this typescript are translated into English. The second typescript has 231 stanzas, and the verses attributed to Liongo are excluded. All stanzas of this second typescript are translated into English. This typescript might be the transliteration of another Ms. written by Kijuma for W.H. in the 1930's. This possibility is strengthened by what Allen wrote in his catalogue,¹⁹¹ namely that the Utendi of Liongo in Kijuma's handwriting had been collected by W.H. Unfortunately, this Ms. has been lost from S.O.A.S, and I could not trace it.

The only trace of Kijuma's handwriting for this Utendi is to be found in "Swahili Poetry" by L.H.¹⁹² where he gave the first page¹⁹³ of this Utendi as a specimen of Kijuma's handwriting. But it is still difficult to determine from which Ms. this specimen has been taken. In spite of this difficulty, I assume that that specimen was taken from the Ms. which Kijuma wrote for W.H., because it has a title-piece which Kijuma sent to W.H.¹⁹³

A.W. did not discuss the authorship of this Hadithi, but W.H. later tried to ask Kijuma himself about its author.¹⁹⁴ The reply he received from Kijuma was:- "I do not know, it was composed a long time ago".¹⁹⁵ This reply made W.H. state, for a time, that the author of Hadithi ya Liongo was unknown.¹⁹⁶ It seems however that he suspected Kijuma's reply, and so asked Sh. Hinawy about the reality of Liongo's legend and the author of the Hadithi ya Liongo. Sh. Hinawy asked his friends to make inquiries about the author of this Hadithi in Lamu. The conclusions of these inquiries was that that Hadithi had been composed by Kijuma. This finding made Sh. Hinawy - who was too careful to accept any uncertain information about the history of Swahili Literature¹⁹⁷ - write to W.H.:- "The consensus of opinion both in Mombasa and Lamu etc. is that Liongo exists only as a myth. Many Tendi are just imaginations only and not based on true history, and Kijuma's Hadithi ya Liongo and other poems are simply putting in verse from their own elaboration what some people say about the mythical Liongo and incorporating old songs of a dance called Gungu, No one believes and there is no proof at all that any of the poems about Liongo were the works of Liongo himself and except for the Hadithi ya Liongo - which is Kijuma's work - no one can quote for certain the authors of the other poems".¹⁹⁸ Since then, W.H. never mentioned this Hadithi without mentioning Kijuma as its author.¹⁹⁹

Later on, in 1962, L.H. published selected passages from this Hadithi.²⁰⁰

In 1964, the transliteration of the Ms. of A.W.²⁰¹ was published²⁰² by J.K. in Dar-es-Salaam,²⁰³ but comparing it with the other transliterations found in S.O.A.S., I found differences in some words, in the number of the stanzas, and in the order of these stanzas. It is important to compare the number and the order of these stanzas in every Ms. with the one published by J.K. = (K). As we said before, the Ms. 193293 has two typescripts with transliterations of Hadithi ya Liongo. The first has 244 stanzas²⁰⁴ = (Ms. A) and the second has 231 stanzas = (Ms. B). The first comparison is between K and Ms. A.

Ms. A	K	Ms. A	K
1 - 55	1 - 55	107 - 115	106 - 114
56*	-	116 ⁺	-
57 - 104	56 - 103	127 - 244	115 - 232
105 - 106 [⊖]	104 - 105		

* - This stanza is not found in K. It reads:-

Liongo akakubali	Liongo agreed
Kuwa moyo yao hali	To be one of them
Wachenda kula mahali	And they went everywhere
Wakitembea pamoya	Wandering about together.

⊖ - These two stanzas are likely to be songs attributed to Liongo himself, because they are not only different in words from K, but also in rhyme.

Their rhyme is Ka while the rhyme of the poem is ya. Here they are:-

Akanena " Saada hukutuma	He said: I send you Saada
Kijakazi huyatumika	You have not yet delivered my message
Enda kamwambie mama	Go tell mother
Mjinga hayalimka	She is inexperienced and not yet alert
Hafanyi mkate pale kati tupa	Why not make a loaf and in the middle place a
kaweka	file
Kaaawa pingu makozi	That I may file away the chains and they
yakaneuka	drop off me
Katatata ja mwana nyoka"	That I might creep away like a snake.

⁺ - This stanza is not found in K. It is as follows:-

Na mashairi ni haya	There are the verses
Walokimba kwa umoya	Which they were singing together
Na watu wakipokeya	Others taking the chorus
Na Liongo u pamoya	While Liongo was with them.

After this stanza, the 10 verses attributed to Liongo are mentioned, and counted until number 126. All of these 10 verses are published by L.H. in his "Swahili Poetry", pp.63-64, using the typescript of W.H.

The second comparison is between K and Ms. B:-

Ms. B	K	Ms. B	K	Ms. B	K
1 - 49	1 - 49	114 ²⁰⁸	-	174	175
50	51	115	115	175 - 227	176 - 228
51	50	116 - 169	116 - 169	228	230
52 - 55	52 - 55	170	172	229	229
56 ²⁰⁵	-	171	170	230	231
57 - 104 ²⁰⁶	56 - 103	172	171	231	232
-	104 - 105 ²⁰⁷	173	173		
105 - 113	106 - 114	-	174 ²⁰⁹		

Regarding the other two copies of Hadithi ya Liongo found in Mss. 205000 and 210013, which each have 252 stanzas, I found them similar to each other. Thus, I shall give them the code: Ms. C to compare them with K in the following index:

Ms. C	K	Ms. C	K	Ms. C	K
1 - 55	1 - 55	105 - 106 ²¹¹	104 - 105	135	115
56 ²¹⁰	-	107 - 115	106 - 114	136 - 252	116 - 232
57 - 104	56 - 103	116 ²¹²	-		

Lyrics attributed to Liongo

Concerning these lyrics, A.W. wrote in 1927:- "A whole collection of lyrics attributed to Liongo (of which a copy was made for me by Muh. Kijuma, from one in the possession of Mzee bin Mahadhoo of Shela) still awaits publication".²¹³ She died in 1935, and the collection was neither published nor given a description. W.H. came later and gave this collection the name of Ushuhuda.

The evidence that that name was given to this collection and not to any other, will be discussed further down. Before speaking about this collection in detail, we should refer to some verses connected with Liongo, and copied by Kijuma for A.W. These verses number about 36, and are to be found transliterated by A.W. in Ms. 210015. In this Ms. there are three comments on these verses. The first comment is:- "Poems attributed to Liongo, and were recited by Mzee bin Bisharo in Witu to Kijuma who wrote them down hastily in Arabic characters".²¹⁴ The second:- "The following songs are said to be songs made by Liongo when he was going to war with Wasegeju". The third:- "The following, too, are songs of Liongo when he was returning from the war". These songs describing the return from the war were published by A.W. in 1927.²¹⁵ Going back to Ushuhuda, W.H. used this term for the first time on 16th Nov. 1936 in his correspondence with A.W. He wrote to her:- "Kijuma writes to me of Ushuhuda (nakla ya khati ya asili) which, he says, he can obtain".²¹⁶ W.H. wrote this, after he had sent a letter to Kijuma on 6th June 1934, asking him to look for the original collection of Liongo's lyrics of which he had made a copy for A.W. in 1912. W.H. wanted to purchase the original book of lyrics.²¹⁷ On 5th Rajab 1353/Oct. 1934, Kijuma replied to him saying that these lyrics of Liongo which he had copied for A.W. with the help of Mzee Mahadhoo of Shela had been written down by one called Ushuhuda. The same Mzee had borrowed the original book from an old woman of Shela who sold the book to a European called Bwana Keri for 25 Rupees. Later on she wrongly sued Mzee Mahadhoo on the grounds that she did not get the book back. After this, they both died. Some time later, the D.C. of Lamu Mr. Cusack looked for the book everywhere but without success. Kijuma went on saying: "Once, I was on a voyage, passing Kau, and with some one there, I found Ushuhuda which is like the original book of Shela.

When I told the D.C. about it, he wanted it, but its owner made a condition that I had to make a copy for him before selling it. After I had copied it for him, I took the original to the D.C., who paid the owner 20 Shilingi for the original, and also paid me for the copy that I made for the owner. If you (i.e. W.H.) want this copy of Kau, I would be confident that its owner might accept 10 Shilingi for it, but this is not before writing the owner another copy. And for your sake, I am ready to do so".²¹⁷ Once W.H. was informed thus, he immediately used this term Ushuhuda in his correspondence with A.W. and Sh. Hinawy. W.H. worked on the copy of A.W.'s collection of these lyrics and other collections on the same subject which will now be detailed. On 25th Nov. 1935, he sent copies of these lyrics, which he himself entitled Ushuhuda, to Kijuma,²¹⁸ Mr. Whitton,²¹⁹ and Sh. Hinawy, asking them to review his transliteration and to establish the dates of these lyrics' composition and the dates of their composers. W.H., in his letter to these three gentlemen, acknowledged that that Ushuhuda was made from three Mss., one of nearly 200 poems and made by Kijuma, a second of about 180 poems made by an unknown scribe, and a third of about 32 poems written in Roman script, made by Claridge of Rabai and which had been sent to him²¹⁷ (i.e. W.H.). The name of Ushuhuda led Sh. Hinawy to ask W.H.:- "I do not know why you call these poems Ushuhuda. I have a Ms. of all these poems which I obtained from Lamu some time ago, some of which I have incorporated in the collection. They are not poems of Liongo but composed by other poets. I will certainly try and collect as much information about them as you want but it will take time".²²⁰ W.H. replied to Sh. Hinawy:- "I called those the Ushuhuda because that was the name under which they were supplied to me."²²¹ Dr. Werner was under the impression that these songs related to Liongo".²²²

Having gone thoroughly through all the Mss. in S.O.A.S., I found that W.H. made a comparative study between these three Mss. which he called Ushuhuda in Ms. 53498 which is entitled: Chuo cha Diriji²²³ "The book of Diriji". I found also that the Ms. which W.H. mentioned as having been made by Kijuma is Ms. No. 47708 and is still to be found in S.O.A.S. This Ms. is prefaced by W.H. himself as:- "Marriage Dances and other songs composed about 1700 - 1800, were written by Kijuma, the Lamu poet and scribe in Aug. 1913. It was²²⁴ copied by him from a Ms. book in the possession of Mzee Mahadhoo, who had borrowed the book from its owner."²²⁵ It became clear that W.H. was referring to the collection of lyrics, which Kijuma had copied for A.W., by using the term Ushuhuda. I found too that the Ms. which W.H. mentioned as one made by an unknown scribe is the Ms. 47707 and is still there in S.O.A.S. This Ms. 47707 is prefaced by the following notes:- "Given (i.e. this Ms.) to me by Miss Werner 1933 for purposes of publication", with the signature of W.H. below. Another note says:- "Dec. 1933, Sir Claud Hollis has written that he has no objection to this book being retained, Nov. 1934". Another note says:- "This book belongs to Judge Hamilton, Mombasa, who lent it to me. I (i.e. Hollis) am only borrowing it with the African society as Judge Hamilton may wish to have it returned, with the signature of Hollis, dated March 11 - 1910".²²⁶ This is to say that Sir Claud borrowed the book from Judge Hamilton and gave it to Miss Werner who gave it to W.H. for publication. As we see again, this Ms. was not supplied to W.H. under the name of Ushuhuda as he told Sh. Hinawy in his letter of 25th Nov. 1935. None of these Mss.²²⁷ were supplied to W.H. under the name of Ushuhuda, but they were actually Mss. which he had received from A.W. - Thus, the question which still needs to be asked is: Did Kijuma send the Ms. of Kau, about which W.H. wrote to A.W.? If so, was it entitled Ushuhuda?

Although the Mss. in S.O.A.S. do not supply us with the decisive answer, we can assume that W.H. had a Ms. entitled Ushuhuda made by Kijuma, because there are two Swahili Mss. in Arabic script called Ushuhuda. One was made by a scribe called: Dawud bin Saim bin Dawud al-Naufaliy in 1311/1893-4, and is to be found in S.O.A.S.²²⁸ The other was made by Kijuma, and although it is not to be found in S.O.A.S., it should be made clear that Kijuma did indeed make a Ms. called Ushuhuda as the following story shows. When I mentioned all that has been written about Ushuhuda to J.K., he gave me three photocopied pages²²⁹ containing 9 poems of the Swahili in Arabic script written, as I believe, by Kijuma.²³⁰ The first of these pages contains two poems²³¹ with a title-piece reading: Huno ni Ushuhuda²³² "This is the Ushuhuda". Thus, we can confidently state that these three pages are a specimen of a lost Ushuhuda written by Kijuma for one of his clients.

9. Lamu

In 1918, A.W. revealed what was meant by Lamu when she wrote:- "A Shairi of thirty five stanzas headed (Lamu) and seemingly written to celebrate a wedding. It begins: Alika kama harusi".²³³ It is interesting to know that A.W. once thought²³⁴ that this Shairi was attributed to Liongo and was circulating as a Ms. at Lamu.²³⁵ In 1962, Lambert made it clear that this Shairi of Alika kama harusi was composed by Kijuma. He wrote:- "The poem (i.e. Alika kama harusi) recorded here was handed to me in Lamu in Feb. 1929, by the author, the famous Kijuma, Muh. Abu Bakari Umar al-Bakariy, who was then an elderly man. He told me he had written the poem many years before, at least 35 or 40 or even more. It is perhaps the best of the imitations of the well-known Ode to Mwana Mnga, traditionally attributed to the hero Liongo".²³⁶

This poem has 41 stanzas.

10. Fragments of Utendi wa Yusufu

Utendi wa Yusufu has been already dealt with in detail.²³⁷

11. List of Divine Names

Although A.W. did not refer to this list in her publication, she might mean the 99 Attributes of Allah.²³⁸

12. List of Birds

This could not be traced anywhere.

13. Utendi wa Ayubu

I Part²³⁹

This poem on the Life of Job was scribed by Kijuma for A.W. on 2nd Shawwal 1331/Sept. 1913. According to Kijuma, its composer is unknown, and it was composed at least two hundred years ago.²⁴⁰ A typescript of it was made by A.W. and sent to Prof. Bates, Harvard University, for publication in Harvard African Studies, but owing to the war and Prof. Bates' death, it was not published.²⁴¹ Despite the fact that the Ms. in its Arabic characters is not found in S.O.A.S., its typescript, made by A.W., is still there.²⁴² It has 391 stanzas plus 4 Ayas. It was published by A.W. in 1921-3,²⁴² and was reprinted in Mambo Leo in Dar-es-Salaam.²⁴³

The first 204 stanzas of that typescript were photocopied for U.C.D.²⁴⁴ On 5th Rajab 1353/Oct. 1934, Kijuma wrote another Ms. on the same subject for W.H.²⁴⁵ It too has 391 stanzas plus the same number of Ayas. As usual, Kijuma enclosed a glossary with the Ms. he sent to W.H. This glossary²⁴⁶ is found in S.O.A.S.

Fortunately, two Mss. of the Utendi wa Ayubu made by Kijuma are to be found microfilmed in S.O.A.S.

The first one was made for J.W. on 10 Shaaban 1356/1937. It has 382 stanzas plus 3 Ayas,⁴⁶ with a little title piece reading: Hadithi ya Ayubu.²⁴⁷ The second one was made for Dr. C.G. Richards, and was given to him by J.W.²⁴⁸ on 7th Rajab 1357/1938. It has a title-piece reading: Utendi wa Ayubu 'Alaihi es-Salaam²⁴⁹ "The poem of Job, peace be upon him". It has 387 stanzas²⁵⁰ plus 3 Ayas²⁵¹. Here is an index showing the findings of the comparative study made between the Ms. of A.W. (= A), the Ms. of J.W. (= B), and the Ms. of Dr. Richards (= C), regarding the number of the stanzas.

A	B	C	A	B	C
1 - 11 ²⁵²	1 - 11	1 - 11	242	-	243
12 - 106 ²⁵³	12 - 106	12 - 106	243 - 277	241 - 275	244 - 278
106a - 116	107 - 117	107 - 117	278	-	279
117	-	118	279 - 306	276 - 303	280 - 307
118 - 149	118 - 149	119 - 150	307	-	308
150	-	151	308 - 386	304 - 382	309 - 387
151 - 241	150 - 240	152 - 242	387 - 391	-	-

The last thing to be added is that through Kijuma the Utendi wa Ayubu was the first of the Swahili epics to reach a wide public in Europe and on the coast of East Africa - in Europe, when A.W. published it, and on the East African coast when it was reprinted in Mambo Leo.

14. Mashairi from the Lamu Chronicle

15. Mashairi (historical) which Mr. Reddie lent for me to copy

These two works could not be traced as two separate ones. The only Swahili verses belonging to the Lamu Chronicle and written by Kijuma were found in a Ms. at Hamburg, with two title-pieces reading: "Haya ni Mashairi ya watu wa Amu Walijibiana na watu wa Pate na watu wa Mombasa walipijana kisa watu wa Lamu wakapijana na watu wa Mombasa".²⁵⁴ It has 112 lines, or 56 stanzas. At the end of this Ms., Kijuma wrote:- "By the hand of Muhamadi bin Abu Bakari bin Omari Kijuma, in 10 Shaaban 1331"/July 1913. It was copied for Prof. Meinhof. I saw a copy of it in the library of the Lamu Museum in 1980. I believe that this Ms. is the one which was referred to by A.W. when she gave it the title: "Mashairi from the Lamu Chronicle", because, in 1918, she mentioned it in one of her writings by saying:- "A series of poems addressed to each other by the heads of contending factions at Lamu, about 1812".²⁵⁵ The year of 1812 was the year in which the battle took place between the people of Lamu against the people of Pate and Mombasa.²⁵⁶ In this case, the Ms. of A.W. is not found in S.O.A.S It is important to know that A.W. got the history of Lamu in prose from Kijuma, because her notebook contains some pages in which an incomplete account of Akhbar Lamu "The history of Lamu" is written. This history is similar to the beginning of the one published by W.H. in "Bantu Studies" Vol. XII.

A.W. also obtained the history of Pate and Siu written by Kijuma, because there are 8 pages, in Roman script, in Ms. 53489 entitled: "History of Sheikh Muh. Mataka and Sultan Ahmadi Pate from Ms. by Muh. Kijuma in Dr. A. Werner's possession". Actually, I obtained photocopies of 6 pages written by Kijuma from J.K. They are entitled: Khabari ya Sheikh Muhammad Mataka na Sultani Ahmad Pate. On the last page, the date of writing is written as 1339/1920.²⁵⁷ With these 6 pages, there are 4 other pages entitled: Hini ni khabari ya Sheikh Muhammad Mataka, Sheikh wa Siu na Sayyid Majid bin Said Sultan Zanzibar. They were also written by Kijuma. It is possible that these 10 pages were copies from an original Ms. written for A.W. in 1920.

In 1933, W.H. repeatedly²⁵⁸ asked Kijuma to send him all that was known about the history of Lamu, Witu, Siu, Pate, the origins of Lamu's people, and the songs dealing with that history. Letters²⁵⁹ from Kijuma to W.H. show that Kijuma sent him some of these historical accounts and promised him to send more of them. Owing to the fact that the bulk of Kijuma's Mss. have been lost from S.O.A.S, 8 pages only in Kijuma's handwriting remain there, with the title: Hadithi ya Pate na Siu.²⁶⁰

Such historical accounts enabled W.H. to type the significant historical events which had taken place on the coast of East Africa since 600 until 1890 A.D.²⁶¹ It also enabled him to make the important footnotes which were published by him in Khabar Al-Lamu of Shaibu Faraji al-Bakariy.

In 1929, Kijuma handed the Hadithi ya Pate na Siu to Lambert in Lamu. Lambert published it in transliteration with comments.²⁶² It concerns an episode in the life of Muhamadi Mataka of Siu. This episode is the same as the first 4 pages of that historical account which Kijuma might have sent to A.W. in 1920 with the title: Khabari ya Sheikh Muhammad Mataka na Sultani Ahmad Pate.

Also, in 1929 Lambert was given by Kijuma the Khabari ya Sheikh Muhammad Mataka Sheikh wa Siu na Sayyid Majid bin Said Sultan Zanzibar. Kijuma went through it with Lambert word for word. It gives the same history that was sent by Kijuma to A.W., but in different words. It was also published in transliteration by Lambert.²⁶³ As Lambert wrote:- "I transliterated it into Roman characters and then went through it word for word with the late Kijuma who was a very enthusiastic, patient and painstaking student of his own language, responsible not only for recording a great number of examples of northern "Literature" but also for some original verse of great interest and merit".²⁶³

In 1936/7, Kijuma wrote 9 pages²⁶⁴ of Khabari za Saidi bin Sultan na Bwana Mataka na Sultan Ahmad, and Khabari za Siu no Pate, for E.D. They were published by E.D. in "Afrika Und Ubersee",²⁶⁵ after he had transliterated, and translated them into German.

On 7th Ramadhan 1359/1941, Kijuma sent a letter with the Hadithi ya Zita za Siu to J.W., and in the same letter told him that he would send him Khabari ya Zita za Muhammad Mataka na Sayyid Majid na Khabari ya Zita za Pate na Lamu, Khabari zake za zamani. What was found with J.W. on these historical subjects, were two pages²⁶⁶ entitled: Khabari ya Pate and which had been written by Kijuma in 1363/1944.

The last point to be made about the source of these historical accounts is that many of them were handed down from father to son by word of mouth.

16. Habari za Sabaa

The blank space in the title stands for an unreadable word beginning with the letters wa but of which the other letters are not clear.

In addition to this, the words Habari and Sabaa in the above title did not help in deriving the unreadable word, because such a work could not be traced anywhere.

Mss. sent by Kijuma 12.10.20²⁶⁷

17. Kisa cha Kijana (Kitete, mke wa Sultani)

This story could not be traced in A.W.'s collection, but a similar title was found in W.T.'s collection reading: Mwana wa mtu na kitete.²⁶⁸ It is written on three little pages in Roman script, probably in the handwriting of W.T. It seems to me to be different from the one of A.W. because kitete in W.T.'s story is an animal (mongoose) begotten by a person, and not a wife of the Sultan as the title of A.W. says.

18. Habari ya uzuri wake wa Sura za Muhammad

Judging by the title, it should be a literary work narrating the beauty of the Prophet Muhammad. Again, we could not find this work, but it is likely to be something similar to the 10 stanzas that were published by J.K. in his article of "Swahili metre".²⁶⁹

19. Utendi wa Hunaini

I would repeat what J.K. said about this poem:- "A Ms. was once the property of A.W."²⁷⁰ There is no trace of the Ms. now, it is not mentioned by Dammann or Allen".²⁷¹

Hunain is a place in Arabia where the Muslims, led by the Prophet Muhammad, won a battle after they had been defeated in the same spot. Hunain is recorded in the Quran by name.²⁷²

20. Ufunguo Maneno ya Miiraji

Although A.W. here is listing the glossary of the Miiraji, she listed the poem itself in one of her articles by writing:- "There are various poems in circulation - translated or not - which deal with the Miiraji - the prophet's night journey from Mecca to Paradise, seeing Bethlehem and Jerusalem on the way. One of these is printed in Büttner's Anthology,²⁷³ another (in a different metre) has been sent me in Ms.²⁷⁴ from Lamu by Muh. Kijuma".²⁷⁵

A.W. did not give us any other data about the Ms. of Kijuma, but through W.H. and E.D. the poem will be discussed further because they also obtained it²⁷⁶ from Kijuma. When Kijuma offered W.H. this Ms.²⁷⁷ on 8th Jumada Al-Ukhra 1352/Sept. 1933, W.H. gratefully accepted the offer,²⁷⁸ and the Ms.²⁷⁹ was sent, not only in verse, but also in prose, on 30th Dhu Al-Hijja 1352/April 1934. In the Ms. 53491, W.H. counted this poem as being Kijuma's own composition. I would add that Kijuma translated this poem from an Arabic prose version into both Swahili verse and Swahili prose, as we shall see presently. Some of the prose version is to be found typed by W.H. in the Ms. 53497. The poetic version, in the same Ms., has 664 stanzas. Comparing this version with the version that was written and explained by Kijuma to E.D., we find that the version of E.D. has 660 stanzas.²⁸⁰ The two versions are very similar except in some words and in the order of some of the stanzas.

But the last stanzas in W.H.'s version is clearly different from E.D.'s, because the last stanza in E.D.'s version gives the date for the poem's writing,²⁸¹ while the last stanza of W.H. reads:-

Wasalamu nimekoma	Goodbye, I have finished
Cha Miraji kisa chema	The good story of <u>Miiraji</u>
Kwa karama ya Karima	With the blessing of The Generous One
Nguvu atatutilia	May He give us the strength.

Concerning the Arabic source on which Kijuma relied in composing his Miiraji, it must be that he obtained his information from more than one book, because the poem contains facts not to be found in one Arabic source alone. E.g. although the information found in the Swahili poem about the story of Miiraji is very near to the same story narrated in an Arabic booklet called: Al-Isrā'i Wa-al-Miirāji Li-al-Nabiy by 'Abdu Allah Ibn 'Abbas,²⁸² stanzas 27-31, in the Swahili version of E.D., contain information not to be found in this Arabic booklet, but found in another Arabic book called: Nuzhat al-Majālis wa Muntakhab al-Nafā'is, by 'Abdu ar-Rahmān as-Ṣafūriy al-Shāfi'iy.²⁸³

It should be emphasised that Kijuma had more than one Arabic source from which he translated his Miiraji into Swahili both verse and prose, because in a letter to E.D., Kijuma promised him to send this Arabic source of the Miiraji.²⁸⁴ It is not known whether or not the promise was fulfilled, but it is likely that it was not either because World War II prevented him from doing so or because Kijuma's collection might have got moth-eaten. The latter is quite possible in the light of a letter²⁸⁵ from Kijuma to J.W. (who wanted the Miiraji) in which he was told that the Miiraji had got moth-eaten.

21. Kisa cha Kijana (Kwalina mzee zamani za nyuma)²⁸⁶

This might be one of those short stories upon which A.W. forgot to comment in any of her writings. It cannot be traced.

The 3 Mss. to follow are the Mss. which Kijuma offered to send to A.W.

22. Inkishafi

About this poem, which is not Kijuma's own composition, A.W. wrote:- "The Northern version of the Inkishafi, obtained by Captain Stigand at Lamu, originally contained 78 stanzas but the Ms. used by him was imperfect, and the printed copy only begins with stanza 8.²⁸⁷ I am enabled to

supply the missing ones from a copy sent me by Muh. Kijuma of Lamu".²⁸⁸ She supplied the missing stanzas with some of Kijuma's explanations of the poem, and the meanings of difficult words.²⁸⁸

Kijuma sent A.W. two copies of the Inkishafi, an old one copied by Omar bin Abud showing careless mistakes - as A.W. assumed - which had been corrected in a second copy made by Kijuma himself.²⁸⁸ These two copies of A.W. are not found in S.O.A.S. After that W.H. asked Kijuma in 1933²⁸⁹ to send him the oldest Ms. of the Inkishafi found on the coast. On 30th Dhu Al-Hijja 1352/April 1934, sent him an Inkishafi, adding:- "I have copied it from an old book and sent it to you without copying another one,²⁹⁰ (i.e. to keep for myself)".

On 30th May 1934, W.H. sent Sh. Hinawy a letter²⁹¹ telling him that Kijuma had sent him an old Inkishafi, and went on to compare it with the published ones in the Stigand and W.T.'s edition.²⁹²

In the same letter, W.H. wrote to Sh. Hinawy that he was looking forward to receiving his work (i.e. of Sh. Hinawy) on the Inkishafi for publication in his name.²⁹³ In letters²⁹⁴ from W.H. to Kijuma, the latter was asked about the poem's composer, the date of composition, and the meaning of difficult words.²⁹⁵ He was also asked to make a title-piece²⁹⁶ for the Inkishafi, and to illustrate all the animals, birds, and insects,²⁹⁷ which are mentioned in the poem, each on a separate paper.

On 25th May 1936,²⁹⁸ W.H. questioned Kijuma about his having told Missionary Cheese that there was an old Inkishafi in Siu, written on a scroll. As a result, W.H. asked Kijuma to look for this scroll and give news about it. In fact, Missionary Cheese was the one who had told W.H. about the scroll in a letter to him:- "Kijuma has two copies, scrolls, one made by himself from a scroll in Siu, and a second made by Mwenye Mansabu²⁹⁹ of al-Husainiy family". It is not known whether or not Kijuma sent this scroll to W.H. What is known is that there are specimens for two Mss. of the Inkishafi copied by Kijuma. One was published by W.H. in his Al-Inkishafi,³⁰⁰ and it was copied in 1910 as W.H. wrote.³⁰¹ The second specimen is two photocopied pages given to me by J.K. The first page represents the beginning of the poem and the second represents the final stanzas, but no date is given for the poem's scribing. I believe that these two pages were photocopied from the Ms. which Kijuma wrote for A.W. in 1920/1, because the first page has the same annotations and illustrations which A.W. detailed in her "Some Missing Stanzas (i.e. the first 7 stanzas of Al-Inkishafi) From The Northern Version of The Inkishafi poem".³⁰²

23. Tabaraka (interlinear Ar.)

Tabaraka is the first word for two Quranic Surahs.³⁰³ It means:
Blessed is He (i.e. Allah).

It is not known whether or not A.W. accepted Kijuma's offer to send her this poem which deals with the transitoriness of earthly things and invites us to reflect on our lives and return to Allah's path. She did not refer to it in any of her published writings.

It was translated from the Arabic verse into Swahili verse by Kijuma's teacher Mwenye Mansabu. This explains why in most, if not all cases, all the copyists, Kijuma included, used to copy it in the Swahili form, interlined with the Arabic. It has 145 stanzas in Swahili, the same number as the Arabic verses.³⁰⁴

A.W. wrote the title with the note: "Interlinear Ar."; this led me to believe that she ordered the Ms. from Kijuma and saw it in its Arabic and Swahili form.

Kijuma wrote this Ms. in the same form for the mosque of Nna Lalo at Lamu and it is still found there.³⁰⁵ Tabaraka is read during the month of Ramadhan, in Lamu and other places on the coast. When the worshippers finished their prayer of al-Ṭarāwīḥ, they would read one paragraph (about 5 verses) each evening, first in Arabic and then in Swahili.³⁰⁶

In 1936/7, E.D. obtained a Ms. of this text, written by Kijuma, during the former's stay on the island of Lamu. Also, Kijuma worked on it with him, after which E.D. published the Swahili text of the poem, with a German translation.³⁰⁶

24. Utendi wa Kutawafu Muhammad³⁰⁷

I do not believe that A.W. received this poem from Kijuma because I observe that the only version of Kutawafu to which she referred in her writings³⁰⁸ is the one which was published by Dr. Büttner,³⁰⁹ and which has 264 stanzas. It seems that the same thing which had happened to A.W., happened later to W.H., when Kijuma told him in his letters³¹⁰ that he had the poem of Kutawafu kwa Muhammad if he wanted it. It cannot be traced in W.H.'s collection. It is probable that A.W. and W.H. felt no need to possess the poem since it had already been published by Dr. Büttner.

On 27th Safar 1357/April 1938, Kijuma wrote the poem and sent it to E.D. who still has it. It has 251 stanzas and 3 Ayas.³¹¹ These Ayas are written after stanzas 15, 27, and 33. They are the same as the ones published in Büttner's book after stanzas 18, 31, and 37. Comparing the two versions, I found them similar in everything but for some words, and the number of the stanzas, as well as their order. In addition to this difference, the version of Kijuma has 14 stanzas which are totally different in words from the version of Büttner. These 14 stanzas are the ones with the following numbers:- 3, 7, 9, 36, 57, 61, 111, 139, 140, 143, 162, 185, 192, and 239. The following index shows the difference of the stanzas' numbers and their orders, between Kijuma's version (= K) and the version of Büttner (=B).

K	B	K	B	K	B
1 - 2	1 - 2	111	-	171	175
3	-	112 - 116	114 - 118	172 - 184	176 - 188
4 - 6	4 - 6	117	120	185	
7	-	118 - 121	121 - 124	186 - 188	189 - 191
8	10	122	126	189 - 191	193 - 195
9	-	123 - 138	127 - 142	192	-
10 - 25	14 - 29	139	-	193 - 204	196 - 207
26 - 35	31 - 40	140	-	205	209
36	-	141	143	206 - 229	211 - 234
37 - 56	41 - 60	142	144	230 - 238	236 - 244
57	-	143	-	239	-
58 - 60	61 - 63	144 - 161	145 - 162	240 - 242	245 - 247
61	-	162	-	243 - 245	249 - 251
62 - 92	64 - 94	163 - 165	164 - 166	246 - 247	253 - 254
93	96	166 - 169	168 - 171	248 - 250	256 - 258
94 - 110	97 - 113	170	173	251	262

At the end of Kijuma's version, there is a page of glossary written by him.

Kijuma offered J.W. the same poem,³¹² but the latter told me that he did not have it. In 1956, the poem (not written by Kijuma) was edited with an English translation by Allen.

The remaining point to be made is that the stanzas 4-5 of Kijuma's version give the Arabic source from which the poem was translated. That source could not be traced, but I could trace another source of Arabic verse and prose, narrating the same story as that of the poem. It is a book called: Hādhihi Qissat Mu'adh Ibn Jabal (Radhiya Allah 'Anh) wa wafāt al-Nabiyy Salla Allah 'Alaih wa Sallam.³¹³

What else did A.W. get from Kijuma, which was not listed in her writing-book?

There are three such works with the following titles:-

1. Utendi or Hadithi ya Mikidadi na Mayasa.
2. Stories about the people of Shela.
3. Kuku na Kanu.

They are detailed here:-

25. Mikidadi na Mayasa

This poem was copied by Kijuma and sent to A.W. not after 1918, because in the same year she wrote:- "I found that a Sharifu living at Bomani (a village not far from Mambrui), had a copy of Mikidadi na Mayasa and some time later, had it written out for me by Muhamadi Kijuma".³¹⁴ It has 166 stanzas. A.W. published it³¹⁵ in 1932. The poem, in Arabic characters, could not be traced. In 1933, A.W. received a letter from Sh. Hinawy telling her that he had finished reviewing Mikidadi na Mayasa which was enclosed in the same letter.³¹⁶ It is likely that Sh. Hinawy kept a typescript of the poem in his collection. This typescript might be the one which helped Allen in publishing his long version of the same poem.³¹⁷ The same text of A.W. had been published earlier in 1930.³¹⁸ A.W. raised the question of the poem's origin - if it had any Arabic reference, when she wrote;- "Indeed, no one conversant with Arabic Literature whom I have consulted seems even to recognise the story, which may belong to some local tradition imported by the early settlers from Oman".³¹⁹ The story of the poem is actually found in Arabic Literature, and it is narrated in a kind of mixed prose and verse.³²⁰ On 30th Sept. 1935, W.H. asked Kijuma about the composer of this poem, and the date of its composition.³²¹

In Feb. 1936, Kijuma replied to him that he did not know because it was composed a long time ago.³²²

26. Stories about the people of Shela

These were dictated by Kijuma to A.W. not after 1919. They consist of 3 stories, each one relating to a man in Shela. They were transliterated and translated by A.W.³²³

27. Kuku na Kanu

This is a poem which takes the form of a dialogue between Kuku "Fowl" and Kanu "Fox". In 1918, A.W. wrote:- "A curious little dialogue between an Kanu (civet cat?) and a fowl, supposed to represent, respectively, a powerful man and one of low estate. This was sent me from Lamu by Muh. Kijuma who obtained it from the Waticuu (Swahili of the northern mainland) and says it is "Old".³²⁴ The poem has only 8 stanzas. She published it, with Kijuma's own notes, after she had transliterated and translated them.³²⁵

Before leaving the works which Kijuma wrote for A.W., there is a final poem still to be discussed. It is thought it was written by Kijuma for her, but she only referred to it indirectly, without giving further detail. This poem is:-

28. Ngamia na paa

In 1926, A.W. wrote:- "Alluding, of course, to the legend of Muhammad and the camel, which appears to be a favourite theme in East Africa.

I have a long Swahili poem on the subject".³²⁶ She was indeed "alluding" since she mentioned neither the scribe, nor the number of stanzas, nor the date of getting the poem written, but Kijuma might have been the one who wrote it for her since he was her chief informant and scribe, particularly when we realise that Kijuma used to have it. On 30th Dhu A-Hijja 1352/April 1934, Kijuma offered W.H. the same poem,³²⁷ and the offer was accepted. It was sent to him³²⁸ on 5th Rajab 1353/Oct. 1934. The S.O.A.S. used to have the poem in Arabic characters, but it is now lost.³²⁹ What is still there is the transliteration made by W.H.³³⁰ It contains 414 stanzas, but these should only be 413, because the first stanza is actually in Arabic, not Swahili. In addition to these stanzas, there are Quranic Ayas, but as W.H. wrote:- "They are not numbered".³³⁰ It is likely that W.H. got the poem transliterated with the help of Sh. Hinawy. In 1936, E.D. obtained the same poem from Kijuma, and published it in 1940.³³¹ Comparing it with the copy of W.H., it has only 343 stanzas, i.e. 70 stanzas less than that of W.H. The two poems begin with the same stanzas, and are similar until stanza 141 on p. 304 of E.D.'s edition. Then, the two poems narrate the same story, but in different words. What is here worth mentioning is that E.D. borrowed a book of Swahili poems from Sh. Hinawy in Mombasa containing fragments from this poem "The Camel and the Gazelle". He (E.D.) noted down the differences appearing in these fragments which he called B. He said:- "As far as B presented a better style I have used it in my text and noted down the text of A (i.e. the copy made by Kijuma for him) in footnotes".³³² I have noted that some stanzas from this B text are to be found in the copy of W.H.

This leads me to assume that these fragments (i.e the ones which E.D. called B) had been culled from one of Kijuma's copies given to A.W. or W.H. who used to send their copies to Sh. Hinawy for transliteration. In this case, the only one through whom the poem came into existence was Kijuma. The poem says that it was translated from an Arabic source into Swahili verse.³³³ Hence, I believe that the poem was the translation of Kijuma, because he used to translate many works from Arabic prose into Swahili verse as we have already seen in this chapter.

The same poem was obtained by Allen from a lady who could recite the whole of it by heart,³³⁴ and this could be considered as representing a different source, since her text shows variations.

However, that lady was only able to recite the poem after her memory had been refreshed by the copy of E.D. (i.e. the copy of Kijuma). Secondly, Swahili ladies used to know many poems by heart, including the ones composed by Kijuma, e.g. the mother of Bi. Maryamu M. al-Bakariy used to recite Utendi wa Yusufu³³⁵ by heart.³³⁶

Now, we come to the end of the literary works which Kijuma made for A.W. By finishing the works which he made for her, we have also finished the list of works which he made for Meinhof and Lambert. The only remaining work which Lambert may have obtained from Kijuma, but without mentioning it, is a story called: Mzee na zijana zitatu. I presume that Lambert obtained it from Kijuma, because it was obtained in Arabic script from Lamu. This short story is published with a title: "Mzee na zijana zitatu, a story in Kiamu, annotated by H.E. Lambert".³³⁷

Kijuma and W.H.

Now, we are to deal with the literary works which Kijuma either composed or scribed, and sent to W.H. in England. Apart from the works he sent W.H. which we have already mentioned, he also sent him the following:-

Kisa cha Kadhi na Haramii

This poem of the Judge and the Thief was sent by Kijuma to W.H. in April 1934, but it was written in Roman script³³⁸ not Arabic. Kijuma did not state by whom it was written in the Roman script. It may have been written by any one of Kijuma's European clients, after it had been transliterated from the Arabic script. Although it was said that Missionary Langenbach³³⁹ taught Kijuma to write and to read in Roman script, I do not believe that Kijuma ever copied Swahili Mss. in Roman script, simply because no work in Roman script survives which was obviously written by Kijuma. And there is a letter in which we read that W.H. wished Kijuma could read and write in Roman script, so evidently he could not.³⁴⁰ This poem is not found in S.O.A.S. However, in 1936, Kijuma wrote the same poem³⁴¹ in Arabic script for E.D. who published it in 1957.³⁴² In this publication, E.D. wrote that Kijuma had written it from a Ms. owned by a person called Bwana Bataia. When E.D. went to Zanzibar in 1937, he found an Arabic booklet, with the same story of the poem, published in Bombay in 1920/1.³⁴² I obtained a copy of this booklet from Sh. Y. A. Omari of Mombasa. The booklet contains 16 little pages, and it is totally in accordance with the story in the Swahili poem. The booklet is entitled: Hādihā Kīssat al-Kādhi Maah al-Harāmii. Fortunately, I could trace this story, in Arabic, in the British Library.³⁴³

Comparing this Arabic title with the poem's title, we find no difference. It is a good example of the kind of Arabic booklets which were taken by Kijuma as sources for composing some of the Swahili verse. An old lady in Mombasa, called Nana Kwao, used to have a copy of this poem, and she assured Sh. Y.A. Omari in 1959 that it was composed by Kijuma.³⁴⁴ I fully agree with this. The poem has 212 stanzas, with reference to 15 Quranic Ayas and 7 Hadithis.

Kisa cha Kadhi

There is also a story dealing with another judge but with a wood gatherer, not with a thief. The story is a short one and in prose. It was written by Kijuma and sent to W.H.³⁴⁵ on 30th Dhu Al-Hijja 1352/April 1934. It is not found in S.O.A.S., but in Hamburg I obtained a copy from another version made for E.D. who received it from Kijuma³⁴⁶ on 23rd Jumada Al-Ukhra 1356/1937. E.D. published it.³⁴⁷ It was written by Kijuma in Arabic script, with a little title-piece reading: Kisa cha Kadhi.³⁴⁸ It has 6 pages. The story of how these pages came to be written is that Kijuma got some paper from E.D. on which to write for him what was asked for. After he had written this, there were 6 sheets left over. Rather than wasting them, Kijuma wrote the story.³⁴⁹

Siraji

This Utendi is the one which I selected to edit in full in this thesis, because it is almost the only one composed by Kijuma which relies on what his heart and mind dictated to him in advising his only son Helewa.

In composing it, he did not rely on historical events narrated by his predecessors, nor on Arabic sources as was his usual custom, but on what he himself felt to be a guidance leading to happiness in this world and the one to come. He was no doubt completely sincere when he said:- "I have to express what is in my heart".³⁵⁰ This fact has made this Utendi the only one to express his true feelings, and that is why it should be taken as an example to speak about him as a person.³⁵¹ It is a clear mirror through which his essential being is reflected. This explains why Kijuma called the poem Siraji "The Lamp".³⁵² He had a strong feeling that it represented something belonging to him. When he referred to it, he said: Utendi wangu "My poem".³⁵³ After he had mentioned it to W.H., the latter ordered it.³⁵⁴ It is not known if it was sent to W.H., but I assume that it was sent, and then was lost with the lost Mss. from S.O.A.S., because a typescript of the poem was found in the collection of Sh. Hinawy³⁵⁵ to whom W.H. used to send Arabic scripts for transliteration. The Mss. of the poem found in S.O.A.S. were not written by Kijuma but by others.³⁵⁶ For printing this poem, I had to work on all the Mss. listed³⁵⁶ and compare them, word for word, with each other. Having finished this work, I was able to trace the poem written by Kijuma himself with one of his relatives called Bw. Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu. I obtained a copy of it while I was in Lamu. I had to put my previous comparative work aside and rely on this copy for printing, since it was the only one found in Kijuma's handwriting. It was written on 9th Jumada Al-Ukhra 1346/December 1927. It is entitled: Siraji. It has 209 stanzas plus 10 Quranic Ayas and 2 Arabic proverbs.³⁵⁷

On 27th Safar 1357/April 1938, Kijuma promised E.D. that he would send him a Ms. of the poem, and informed him that the poem had not yet been published.³⁵⁸ It is not known if the promise was carried out.

What is known is that the poem has not been published before being printed in this thesis.

Utendi wa Esha

After Kijuma had offered W.H. this Utendi in September 1933,³⁵⁹ the latter gratefully ordered it on 14th November, 1933,³⁶⁰ and it was sent in April 1934.³⁶¹ It is entitled: Utendi wa Esha na Muhammad.³⁶² In 1964, J.K. wrote³⁶³ that this poem, in the handwriting of Kijuma, was found in S.O.A.S.³⁶⁴ But I did not find it there. What is there are only 3 pages containing the glossary of the poem in the handwriting of Kijuma³⁶⁵ and the transliteration of the poem made by W.H.³⁶² This transliteration, to which I may give the code A, has 155 stanzas. It should be 151 stanzas only, because W.H. wrongly counted the two Quranic Ayas found in the poem as 4 stanzas. The first Aya is after stanza 107, and counted as 3 stanzas (108-110). The second is after stanza 118 and counted as stanza No.119.

On 27th Safar 1357/April 1938, Kijuma sent the same poem, written by him,³⁶⁶ to E.D. who published it in 1940.³⁶⁷ It has 153 stanzas, 2 Quranic Ayas, and 2 pages of glossary. This version will be given the Code B.

In 1937, Dr. C.G. Richards obtained a Ms. of the same poem with a title-piece³⁶⁸ from Kijuma. The latter sent it to J.W. and J.W. gave it to Dr. Richards.³⁶⁹ It has 156 stanzas and the same 2 Quranic Ayas plus one page as a glossary.³⁷⁰ The code C will be given to this Ms. These three Mss. A, B, and C, show differences in some words and in the order of the stanzas. These different words are shown by J.K. in his publication of the poem.³⁷¹ What remains to be shown is the difference between these three Mss. in their stanzas thus:-

C	B	A	C	B	A
1 - 6	1 - 6	1 - 6	113 - 114	112 - 113	111 - 112
7	-	7	115	-	113
8 - 91	7 - 90	8 - 91	116 - 120	114 - 118	114 - 118
92	91	-	A Quranic Aya	The same Aya	The same Aya, but counted as
93 - 103	92 - 102	92 - 102			119
104 - 107	103 - 106	-	121 - 136	119 - 134	120 - 135
108 - 112	107 - 111	103 - 107	137	-	136
Quranic Aya	The same Aya	The same Aya but counted as 108 - 110	138 - 156	135 - 153	137 - 155

Was Kijuma the composer of this poem?

Although the poem was brought into existence for the first time through W.H., it is still difficult to know if Kijuma was the composer, because a Ms. of the same poem was also given to E.D. by a person called Sheikh Sef bin Abdalla.³⁷² The significant point in this is that the Ms. of Sheikh Sef bin Abdalla has a stanza³⁷³ which is not found in any of Kijuma's Mss. This leads us to presume that the poem was to be found in another Ms. rather than one of Kijuma's. In spite of that, it is still likely that Sheikh Sef was the one who inserted that stanza, even though he was copying from Kijuma's version. It is also likely that Kijuma was the one who created the circumstances which allowed Sheikh Sef to copy the Ms. for E.D., especially since they (Kijuma and Sh. Sef) were friends. Thus, it is likely that Kijuma wanted Sh. Sef to receive some fees from E.D. by supplying him with the poem.

What about the Arabic source from which the poem was translated?

Actually, there is more than one Arabic source relating the story of Mwana Esha,³⁷⁴ but the source which has all the details found in the poem could not be traced. Although the body of the poem's subject is mentioned in Quran,³⁷⁵ the Arabic source of the poem might be a very little Arabic booklet, e.g. similar to the booklet of Kissat al-Kādhī Ma'ah al-Harāmi.³⁷⁶ Such small booklets are rarely to be found.

Wajiwaji³⁷⁷

This is an acrostic poem of 29 stanzas. It was not composed by Kijuma. After W.H. had ordered it from Kijuma the latter copied it and sent it to him in Dhu Al Qaada 1354/Feb. 1936. W.H. received it on 26th March 1936.³⁷⁸ Since then, W.H. went on asking Kijuma about the poem's composer, the date of its composition, and the meaning of the difficult words.³⁷⁹ Kijuma's notes on the poem are found in 8 pages of Arabic script.³⁸⁰ These pages are transliterated in Ms. 53496. Although the poem itself, in Arabic characters, should be in S.O.A.S. as it was once the property of S.O.A.S.,³⁸¹ it is not there now. What is there is only the transliteration, which was published by L.H. in 1962.³⁸² It seems that Kijuma sent W.H. a title-piece for the poem, because a copy of that title is found in Ms. 53496, but without comments. In 1936, Kijuma explained and copied the same poem for E.D. who published it in 1939.³⁸³ At the end of the 1930's, the same poem was written by our scribe, for J.W., on a scroll.³⁸⁴ There is another Ms. of the poem which I see as of Kijuma's handwriting, but it is not known when or for whom, at Lamu, it was written.³⁸⁵ As a matter of fact, through Kijuma, the poem was published for the first time.

Nasara wa Arabu

The literal meaning of the title is: Christians and Arabs. E.D. wrote that according to the meaning, it would be better translated as "Christians and Muslims".³⁸⁶ However, I say that according to Kijuma who was the composer of the poem, it would be better to translate it as "Europeans and Arabs" for the following reasons:-

1. Kijuma clearly said, in stanza 2,³⁸⁷ that the poem was not about the comparison of religions, but of customs.
2. When Kijuma came to compose the poem in 1936, he informed W.H. that he (Kijuma) was composing a poem of: "What kind of people Europeans and Arabs are" (Wazungu na Waarabu jinsi zao).³⁸⁸
3. It would not be a sound religious comparison, if we compared Islam and Christianity through the followers of each religion, because, not all Christians are behaving according to what Christianity teaches, nor do all Muslims behave according to what Islam teaches. But it would be a sound comparison, if we compared the two religions themselves, and that is what Kijuma avoided.

Kijuma promised W.H. that he would send him this poem after it had been completed.³⁸⁸ The Mss. in S.O.A.S. do not refer to the poem being received by W.H., but I believe that it was received because it is listed among the Mss. which had been collected by W.H., and were lost from S.O.A.S.³⁸⁹

In 1936, Mrs. Dammann copied the poem from a Ms. in possession of Bwana Bataia in Lamu.³⁹⁰ I assume that this Ms. of Bwana Bataia was written by Kijuma who studied the poem with E.D. in Lamu. E.D. published it in 1941.³⁹¹ It has 128 stanzas. E.D. writes that Kijuma, in this poem, was looking for leadership, and that this leadership should come from Europeans not from Arabs.³⁹⁰

I agree with E.D., but I have to examine the sincerity of Kijuma in relation to this leadership. Was he really sincere?

I would like to make it clear that Kijuma never wished himself to be anything but a Mswahili whose origin was Arabic. The evidence of this, is to be read at the end of most poems composed by him, including this poem.³⁹² At the end of these poems he expressed his pride in being Mswahili with Arab ancestors. There is no contradiction between this pride and being led by non-Arabs (Europeans), but to wish himself an Emir fighting against these Europeans for the cause of the Arabs, this is the absolute contradiction. In 1936, there was fighting between Arabs and Jews in Palestine (then a mandated territory under British administration). At that time, he wished he were young enough³⁹³ to go to Palestine and fight beside the Arabs as Emir.³⁹⁴ I see Kijuma here as an Arab leader who wanted to lead his subjects in the fighting against the occupiers. When Kijuma realised that his wish was impossible, he participated in the fight by another means:- after money had been collected in Lamu to help the Muslims of Palestine, he said that that money was not enough.³⁹⁴ Hence, it is likely that Kijuma might have been asked by one of the British administration in Lamu to compose this poem. And to please him, Kijuma gave him what he wanted to hear and read.

Khabari ya Waganga na Khabari ya Watawi
na Khabari ya watawi wa falaki

The meaning of the above title is:- "Affairs of the native doctors, magicians, and the astrologers". Although these affairs are prohibited, in Islam, to be performed, there are a few ignorant people living in the Islamic society who did so.

The object of performing them is to earn money or any other profits (e.g. any kind of food-stuff), especially from the ignorant people living in this society, by pretending that these magicians can influence their hearts, and even their psychological and physical performance, e.g. if there is a person of these ignorant people wanted to be loved or hated by some one, he or she would go to one of these Waganga to do what was wanted, and so on. In Lamu society, the person performing such affairs is considered as immoral. So, these affairs can be considered as a kind of the superstition which could be found anywhere in the world.

Did Kijuma perform such affairs?

I could not trace any information to confirm that Kijuma did so. The information that I could obtain is that he may have had some experience in the scientific field of medical herbs and prescribing them for patients. He gained this experience from one of his best friends called Sayyid Muhamadi Makawiy. This Muhamadi came later to be a very famous physician on the Kenyan coast.³⁹⁵ Concerning Kijuma's experience in this field, Mzee Salim Kheri said:- "Alikuwa Tabibu, alifanya dawa ya matumbo, na kulla namna anafanya dawa, na fundi wake alikuwa Sharifu mmoya anaitwa Sayyid Muhamadi al-Makawiy, alikuwa shemeji wake".

Furthermore, the same Mzee Slaim Kheri identified one patient as an Indian called Bagamoyo whom Kijuma cured.

Regarding Khabari ya Waganga, on 18th May 1933, W.H. asked Kijuma to send him the book in which all these Khabari were written.³⁹⁶ On 8th Jumada al-Ukhra 1352/Sept. 1933, Kijuma sent W.H. what he has asked for, and informed him that he (Kijuma) had translated these Khabari from an Arabic book into Swahili prose.³⁹⁷ This work sent by Kijuma could not be traced in S.O.A.S.

Later on, W.H. tried to get the above-mentioned Arabic book either from Kijuma³⁹⁸ or Sh. Hinawy.

Sh. Hinawy promised W.H. to look for such a book, after assuring him that such books are available in Egypt.³⁹⁹ It is not known if the Sh. Hinawy's promise came to fruition. It is important to know that such an Arabic book was traced in S.O.A.S. It was obtained by Allen from Lamu.⁴⁰⁰

Binti Yusufu

After A.W. had died in 1935, W.H. sent Kijuma a letter⁴⁰¹ asking him to compose an elegiac verse in homage to her. Kijuma composed it in Mashairi (stanzas of 4 lines of 16 syllables), and sent it to W.H. in Dhu Al-Qaada 1354/Feb. 1936. Our composer (i.e. Kijuma) wanted it to be composed in Utendi (4 lines x 8 syllables), and not in Mashairi as W.H. had ordered.⁴⁰² The poem has 22 verses. The S.O.A.S. used to have the poem in Kijuma's handwriting, but it is now lost. Fortunately, W.H.'s transliteration of the poem, with the first four verses translated into English is still to be found in S.O.A.S.⁴⁰³ The poem has not been published yet. Since it will be too long to print it in the thesis, a summary of it is given here.

A.W. was:-

Intelligent,⁴⁰⁴ kind, and may be forgiven.⁴⁰⁵ Humble, beautiful and may be forgiven.⁴⁰⁶ Courageous.⁴⁰⁷ Werner whose father Joseph was a distinguished and enlightened person.⁴⁰⁸ Painstaking for knowledge.⁴⁰⁹ Wise.⁴¹⁰ Fulfilling everyone's wish.⁴¹¹ Not married.⁴¹² The great traveller.⁴¹³ A great loss.⁴¹⁴ Broad minded.⁴¹⁵ Having listening ears, and active.⁴¹⁶ Solver of mysteries.⁴¹⁷ Fearing God, and having endless merits.⁴¹⁸ Verse 19 says: Everyone is sad. In verse 20, the date of receiving the news of her death is given as Jumada al-Aula 1354/Sept. 1935.

In verse 21, the name of the composer is given as Kijuma who travelled with the lamented one from Lamu to Pate, Siu, Rasini, and Witu. In the last verse, Kijuma reveals to us that W.H. was the one who asked him for this elegy.

Mzigo

This poem of "Burden"⁴¹⁹ had been composed by Ali Koti of Pate, and was then copied by Kijuma for W.H. in September 1936.⁴²⁰ It has 10 verses. The poem, in Kijuma's handwriting, is to be found in Ms. 47754. The notes on the poem made by Kijuma are transliterated by W.H. in Ms. 53490, and it is in this Ms. that the transliteration of the poem itself is found.

Ali Koti, a poet of Pate, and Sh. Muh. bin Abu Bakari, the poet of Lamu⁴²¹ used to test each other in composing Swahili verse on the spot. Such Swahili verses were copied by Kijuma and sent to W.H.⁴²⁰ Besides these verses there are other miscellaneous verses composed by Sh. Muh. bin Abu Bakari, which were copied and sent by Kijuma to W.H. who transliterated them and translated some of them. They number about 35 verses with comments on them by Kijuma.⁴²⁰

Three more works were ordered by W.H. from Kijuma. Although these works were mentioned in their correspondence to each other, there is no reference to show that they were received. These works are: Shufaka, Khabari juu ya asili ya Shiraa, and Visa vya Sungura, yaani kisa cha sungura na fisi na sungura na simba, etc. etc.

Shufaka

This poem of "Compassion" was mentioned once in a letter from W.H. to Kijuma on 2nd June 1936: "I want also a copy of Shufaka but do not be in a hurry for it".⁴²²

It was published, with the English translation, by J.K.⁴²³ It has 295 stanzas.

Khabari juu ya asili ya Shiraa

This "account about the origin of Shiraa" was ordered by W.H. on 4th November 1933, in Ms. 253028, but it could not be traced in S.O.A.S. In the past, the ladies of Lamu used to wear the Shiraa.⁴²⁴

Visa vya Sungura, i.e.

Kisa cha Sungura na fisi

na Sungura na Simba⁴²⁵

This is one of the works which W.H. ordered⁴²⁶ but is not to be found in S.O.A.S. It might be similar to the one published by Steere, because the title is almost the same.⁴²⁷

At the house of the late Sh. Hinawy in Mombasa, I saw some Swahili verses, two copies, written in Roman script. The first was written in a handwriting similar to W.H.'s and the second was typed, supposedly by Sh. Hinawy. These Swahili verses are entitled: Shairi La Fisi "The poem of the hyena". It has 18 verses (4 x 16),⁴²⁸ but with no reference to its composer. I believe that Kijuma was the composer for this poem, because he is referred to in two stanzas but indirectly. These stanzas are Nos. 15 - 16, and read thus:-

15.

Atunusuru Karimu	May the Generous One give us victory
Na huu mwamba wa kusi	Over that reef which appears during the south monsoon
Fisi wote mahadimu	Amongst all the hyenas mentioned
Fisi huyo ndie fisi	There is no real hyena but this one
Hana nyumba maalumu	He has no particular house
Kazie ni kuḍaḍisi	His job is spying
Ujapo mpa fulusi ⁴²⁹	Even if you give him gold and silver
Hashibi ila mzoga	He will be satisfied only with a corpse

16.

Kuna huyo barigumu	There is this trumpet
Nafusi yangu nakisi	I, myself assume
Labuḍa ndie tamimu	That that hyena is likely to be the leader
Mwenye ngoma na gambusi	With the dance and the guitar
Jina lake halivumu	His name is not famous
Kwa watu kumhususi	The people scorn him
Ujapo mpa fulusi	Even if you give him money
Hashibi ila mzoga	He will not be satisfied but by a corpse.

Kijuma used very much to compare himself to a reef, appearing in the sea during the south monsoon.⁴³⁰ He was always changing the house in which he used to stay.⁴³¹ He used to have a note-book to write down the defects of his compatriots.⁴³² He was not only the person to dance and play guitar, but he even was the one to create them.⁴³³ Finally, he was scorned by his compatriots.⁴³⁴

Having referred to himself as a spy, in these two stanzas, he came, in the last stanza (No. 18) in the poem, and made it clear that the composer of the poem had to finish it lest he should be identified as a spy. This made me believe strongly that Kijuma was the composer of the poem. Here is this last stanza in the poem:-

Tamaṭi yangu nudhumu	I finished my composition
Sasa nimewaruhusi	Now, I give you permission to go
Musije kunihasimu	Lest you come and break off friendship,
Mkaniita jasusi	Identifying me a spy
Mkapigiyana simu	Sending telegrams to each other
Na kunandika maṭusi	Aiming abuse at me
Ujapo mpa fulusi	Even if you give me valuables
Hashibi ila mzoga	I will not be satisfied but by the corpse.

Before leaving this Shairi, it might be useful to refer to stanza No. 7 in which Mr. Rogers, with whom Kijuma had contact,⁴³⁵ is shown as a foreign occupier, posing as a native. In the same stanza, Mr. Rogers is shown as a Fisi who was a tyrant.

With this Shairi, we come to the end of Kijuma's correspondence with W.H., but before leaving this correspondence, it might be worth mentioning that Kijuma promised⁴³⁶ W.H. to send him a poem entitled: A.I.U.,⁴³⁷ but the Swahili Mss. in S.O.A.S. do not inform us whether or not the promise was fulfilled.

Kijuma and E.D.

Beside the previously mentioned literary works Kijuma gave E.D., the following works were also delivered:-

Wedding Customs in Lamu

Or Customs of old Lamu

It was composed by Kijuma, but with no date given. It is likely that it was composed in the 1930's because it was not mentioned anywhere before that date. It was written in a draft found in the possession of Bwana Bataia who lent it to E.D. in 1936.⁴³⁸ The latter published it in 1940.⁴³⁹ It has 112 stanzas.

Abdur Rahmani na Sufiyani

It emerges from the last stanza (654) that the composer of this poem was a woman slave.⁴⁴⁰ In spite of this, I have to state my doubts about this woman slave being the composer of the poem. I assume that the poem was composed by Kijuma himself, but he might want to do her a favour by making the authorship of the poem over to her. In my view, this woman slave must have been known to Kijuma, because he informed E.D. that she lived in Siu,⁴⁴⁰ but he gave no more details about her. It is remarkable to note that the name of this woman is given in the last stanza, in the poem, as Liwazi "The entertainer".

When we know that the job of the members of Kijuma's Mwasha Dance,⁴⁴¹ who were concubines, was to entertain the people, we can assume that that Liwazi was a member of Kijuma's Mwasha troupe, especially when we realise that Kijuma used the verb "Liwaza" and its synonyms in his poem (stanza 3) about the dance of the Mwasha troupe.⁴⁴² In addition to this, the Ms. of the poem was in the possession of Kijuma, not of any one else and in his own handwriting from the very beginning.⁴⁴⁰ This is to say that thanks to Kijuma, the poem was published for the first time in Europe. It was given and explained by Kijuma for E.D. in 1936 who published it in 1940.⁴⁴⁰ It is a different version from the one published by Allen,⁴⁴³ and from the ones collected by W.H.⁴⁴⁴ and J.K.⁴⁴⁵, although it has the same title and tells the same story.

Kishamia

This poem of "Cloak" or "Blanket" was composed by Kijuma's teacher Mwenye Mansabu. Kijuma copied it for a native called Bwana Bataia who gave it to E.D. In 1936, E.D. had studied the poem with Kijuma, and in 1940 it was published by E.D.⁴⁴⁶ It has 38 stanzas. Again, it was published for the first time in Europe through Kijuma. This poem has been published and partially translated into English by J.K.⁴⁴⁷

A poem from Siu

In September 1936, Kijuma copied this poem (which could be entitled Fahali "The bull") which was composed by the poet Mahfudhi of Siu. After Kijuma had copied it in Siu-dialect, he also translated it into the Lamu-dialect for E.D. who published it in 1939/40.⁴⁴⁸ It has 13 stanzas.

A poem cursing the Somalis in the Siu-dialect
of Swahili, dealt with by E.D.

E.D. wrote that he, as a linguistic interpreter, once again used the services, as he so often did, of Kijuma.⁴⁴⁹ This means that Kijuma may have copied, explained, and translated the poem from Siu-dialect into the Lamu-one. The poem has 89 stanzas. It was composed by the same Mahfudhi of Siu.

Utendi wa Safari

On 11th Jumada Al-Aula 1356/Aug. 1937, Kijuma composed this Utendi. On 23rd Jumada Al-Ukhra 1356/Sept. 1937, he wrote it down and sent it to E.D. who published it in 1940.⁴⁵⁰ It has 63 stanzas. The Utendi in its Arabic script⁴⁵¹ has a title-piece.⁴⁵² It speaks about the voyage of Professor and Mrs. Dammann⁴⁵³ to Lamu, Shela, Matondoni, Takwa, Manda, Pate, Siu, Rasini, Mtangawanda, Malindi, and Mombasa in Kenya. Kijuma, their informant, was accompanying them on this voyage as guide and interpreter.

Hini ni A.I.U. kwa maneno ya kucha Mngu

This poem of "A.I.U. with words of fearing Allah" was composed by Kijuma on 20th Jumada Al-Ukhra 1356/Nov. 1937. Kijuma sent it to E.D. on 27th Safar 1357/April 1938. It is an acrostic poem. It is the only acrostic poem Kijuma composed. Great poets are expected to compose such poems, but it was not easy for Kijuma to compose this poem, and only after he had honed his talents could he compose it. Two letters from Kijuma to W.H. (undated letter in Ms. 47797) and E.D.⁴⁵⁴ reveal this exertion.

Comparing this acrostic with the acrostic of Dura 'l-Mandhuma,⁴⁵⁵ I found that Kijuma borrowed 25 words for his acrostic from the Dura 'l-Mandhuma. It was probably quite easy for him to borrow from this Dura since he could recite it by heart.⁴⁵⁶ In 1980, E.D. published the poem.⁴⁵⁷ It has 31 stanzas. It admonishes us to fear Allah by remembering the time of our death which is inevitable. It is likely that Kijuma was addressing himself in this poem.⁴⁵⁸

Utendi wa Herekali

The correspondence between Kijuma and E.D. shows that the former had promised to send the latter this Utendi. The promise involved Kijuma waiting until he got the Utendi from someone before sending it to E.D.⁴⁵⁹ Whether Kijuma got the Utendi from that person and sent it to E.D., or whether he sent a copy of it made by himself is not known from the correspondence between them.

J.K. wrote that E.D. acquired two Mss. of Herekali in Lamu in 1937, and both were lost during the war in Germany. However, Mrs. Dammann's impeccable copy of Kijuma's Ms. survives.⁴⁶⁰ In this case, we can state that Kijuma did fulfil his previous promise and sent E.D. the Utendi. It is likely that one of the two Mss. acquired by E.D. had come from Mombasa not from Lamu, because the Swahili Mss. in S.O.A.S. tell us that E.D. obtained a Ms. of Chuo cha Herekali from Mombasa.⁴⁶¹ J.K. included the copy made by Mrs. Dammann from Kijuma's Ms. in the 8 Mss. on which he relied and which he listed in his Ph. D thesis.⁴⁶² The Utendi printed in this thesis has 1150 stanzas.

There are other works published by E.D., which do not however say whether they were copied by Kijuma, although the footnotes of these published works bear the interpretations of Kijuma. These works are: Fatuma,⁴⁶³ The amulet of Anzarun,⁴⁶⁴ and Dua⁴⁶⁵ "A prayer of Supplication". There are works which Kijuma had promised to send E.D., but the correspondence between them does not show whether that promise was fulfilled. These works are:- Utendi wa Khadija,⁴⁶⁶ Utendi wa Isibani or Katrifu. However, Kijuma came later and copied the poem Katrifu for J.W.

Kijuma and J.W.

Khabari ya Katrifu

In addition to the previous works which Kijuma sent J.W., he also sent him the following works:-

Utendi wa Musa na Nabii Khidhr Kwa Khabari ya Quran, and Utendi wa Katrifu.

On 7th Ramadhan 1359/Oct. 1940, Kijuma offered J.W. these two works.⁴⁶⁷ The correspondence between them does not supply the date on which J.W. received them, but they must have been received after the date given and not before. These two works are found microfilmed in

S.O.A.S.⁴⁶ First, we deal with Katrifu. It was not Kijuma's composition, but was written by Kijuma in Arabic script. It has 327 stanzas plus a Quranic Aya.⁴⁶⁸ There are 7 other versions entitled:

Katrifu or Isibani (= Sesebani) which were listed by J.K. in his publication of these 7 versions. This published version has 450

stanzas.⁴⁶⁹ Fortunately, J.K. published it with a comparative study with the other versions listed.

Owing to the fact that J.W.'s Ms. did not arrive at S.O.A.S. until the end of 1982, J.K. could not list it in his publication. Comparing this Ms. with the one published by J.K., I found them narrating the same story, but J.W.'s Ms. (= W) is shorter. In spite of this, W has 8 stanzas not to be found in the version of J.K. (= K). These 8 stanzas are numbered: 3, 20, 26, 27, 29, 38, 49, and 196. Apart from this, the two are the same except in some words and in the order of some stanzas. Here is an index showing this order:-

W	K	W	K	W	K
1 - 2	6 - 7	34	33	149 - 175	198 - 224
3	-	35	34	176 - 183	226 - 233
4 - 5	14 - 15	36 - 37	35 - 36	148 - 188	236 - 240
6 - 17	17 - 28	38	-	189 - 195	242 - 248
18	38	39	45	196	-
19	29	40 - 41	46 - 47	197 - 200	249 - 252
20	-	42	49	201 - 219	254 - 272
21 - 23	30 - 32	43 - 48	54 - 59	220 - 224	274 - 278
24	42	49	-	225 - 227	282 - 284
25	37	50 - 59	60 - 69	228	281
26 - 27	-	60 - 62	71 - 73	229 - 230	279 - 280
28	41	63	81	231 - 267	286 - 322
29	-	64 - 65	83 - 84	268 - 271	324 - 327
30	39	Aya	-	272 - 287	329 - 344
31	43	66 - 91	85 - 110	288 - 298	346 - 356
32	45A	92 - 121	112 - 141	299 - 327	387 - 415
33	77	122 - 148	143 - 169		

Regarding the second work which Kijuma sent to J.W. Utendi wa Musa na Nabii Khidhr kwa Khabari ya Quran, it has only 88 stanzas, but with 12 Ayas included. Referring to the prophecy of al-Khidhr, some Muslim scholars consider him as a Prophet, but the majority of scholars consider him as a very true believer according to the qualifications given to him by Allah in the following Aya:- "One of Our servants, unto whom We had given mercy from us, and had taught him knowledge from Our presence".⁴⁷⁰ Although the above title for the poem was used by Kijuma in his correspondence with J.W., the poem was given another title after it was written. It is now entitled: Hadithi ya Nabii Khidhr na Musa. This Hadithi is considered as an explanation of the Quranic Ayas which relate the story of the prophet Moses and his companion al-Khidhr. This story is to be found in Surah 18, Ayas 60-82. Kijuma interwove 11 of these Ayas in his poem (66, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 78, 79, 80, and 82), and one other Aya (No. 143) from Surah 7.

There is nothing mentioned about the poem's composer. I believe that Kijuma is the one who composed it for the following reasons:-

1. The poem has some words which Kijuma used to use, e.g. Maulana "Lord" in stanza 22, Bwana wetu "Our Lord" in stanza 26, and Saada "Pleasure" or "Happiness" in stanza 72. He had to use such words a great deal while he was in the Sultan's palace at Zanzibar. Moreover, he used these words many times in the songs by which he greeted the Sultan Sayyid Hamoud in Lamu.⁴⁷¹
2. If we look at the length of the poems (this one included) which he composed in the late 1930's, we will note that they were all short, especially if we compare them with the ones which he composed between 1910 and 1930, e.g. Yusufu⁴⁷² and Miiraji.⁴⁷³
3. I draw attention to the fact that that Surah (i.e. No. 18) was the one which Kijuma engraved around the walls of the Witu-mosque.⁴⁷⁴

This might explain why he chose a story from this Surah as a subject for one of his compositions. It is important to know that the same story was traced in Swahili prose,⁴⁷⁵ but in very bad handwriting. It is likely that he relied on such a prose-text for one of his sources.

While writing about this poem which deals with the Prophet Moses, I would like to refer to another poem dealing with the same Prophet but with Firauni "Pharoah" and not al-Khidhr. Kijuma offered J.W. this other poem⁴⁷⁶ entitled: Utendi wa Musa na Firauni kwa Khabari ya Quran, but J.W. told me that he did not receive it. It could not be traced. Finally, there are about eleven pages written by Kijuma as glossaries for the works which he sent J.W. These pages are microfilmed in S.O.A.S.⁴⁶ With these glossaries, the correspondence between Kijuma and J.W. comes to its end.

I wrote at the beginning of this chapter that I would list the works of which the scribe was unnamed but which might have been copied by Kijuma; they are the following:-

1. Badiri, a long epic about the battle of Badr. It has 4500 stanzas. Allen obtained it from Husain Sheikh of Pate in 1965.⁴⁷⁷
2. Tabuka,⁴⁷⁷ also called Herekali.⁴⁷⁸
3. Katrifu,⁴⁷⁷ has already been discussed.⁴⁷⁹
4. Andharuni,⁴⁷⁷ has been referred to.⁴⁸⁰
5. Fatuma,⁴⁷⁷ has been referred to.⁴⁸¹
6. Utendi wa watoto wane.⁴⁸² It was obtained by Allen from Bi. Zaharia bint Maimun of Lamu in 1965. It has 14 pages, each page contains about 20 stanzas. The four children here are the children of the four orthodox Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali.

7. Kitab al-Madih,⁴⁸³ an incomplete book praising the prophet Muhammad. It has 200 pages. It was obtained by Allen from the same Bi. Zaharia of Lamu in 1965.
8. Wajiwaji.⁴⁸⁴ This is in Allen's collection from the same Bi. Zaharia in 1965.⁴⁸⁵
9. Buruda.⁴⁸⁵ For Buruda, see: Swahili Islamic Poetry of J.K.⁴⁸⁶
10. Two pages of a wedding sermon.⁴⁸⁵
11. The first page of Tabaraka⁴⁸⁷ found in Ms. 279888, Vol. 9, Ms. 396. Allen obtained it from Bi. Khadija Mohamed of Lamu in 1965.

Very recently, in June 1983, the library of the S.O.A.S. received seven Swahili Mss.⁴⁸⁸ from Mrs. L. Harries. Although the name of Kijuma is not found in any of them, it is believed that he was the scribe for two of these seven Mss. These two are written in Arabic script.

1. A large collection of Swahili songs on various subjects, and composed by various poets. This collection is similar to those which have been already discussed under the term of Ushuhuda.⁴⁸⁹ It has 40 pages.
2. Utendi wa Fatuma, or Hadithi ya Fatuma na Ali, has 430 stanzas plus 3 Quranic Ayas and a Hadith. It is considered as another version for that one published by E.D.⁴⁶³ As the last stanzas of the poem read, the composer was Mwenye Sayyid Amini wa Sayyid Othmani al-Mahdaly.

Before leaving this chapter, there is only one point to be made. Allen inserted the two poems of Loho ya Kihindi and Shairi La Shilingi, in his catalogue,⁴⁹⁰ as being Kijuma's composition, but after long inquiries in Lamu and Mombasa, it became certain that these two poems were not composed by Kijuma.

Loho ya Kihindi was composed by Bw. Abdalla Boke. The famous singer Zainu L-Abideen of Mombasa set this poem to music and often sang it. It is to be found recorded on tape. This singer, and others as well,⁴⁹¹ assured me that it was composed by Bw. Abdalla Boke.

Shairi La Shilingi was composed by Bw. Hemed bin Abdalla al-Bahriy. I found a typescript of it in the collection of Sh. Hinawy with a note saying that this Shairi was composed by Bw. Hemed bin Abdalla al-Bahriy.

Chapter IV - Notes

1. Stanzas 2-3, of Hadithi ya Liongo, Ms. 193293.
2. Ms. 253029.
3. E.g. see: Knappert, 1969A, p. 86.
4. See: p. 295.
5. I have seen one of Kijuma's kibao with E.D. in Hamburg, also a small box in which the material used in the scribing was kept.
6. Ms. 279888, Vol. 12, Ms. 485.
7. Swahili Mss. in S.O.A.S., U.C.D., and Kijuma's letters, to E.D. and J.W., of which I have copies.
8. Ms. 253028.
9. This Utendi is published by E.D. See: p. 213.

In an interview with E.D. in Hamburg, he said that the composer of this Utendi was not known.
10. Mss. 53491, and 53495.
11. See: W.H., Swahili Mss. in S.O.A.S.
12. Ms. 53497.
13. See: p. 171.
14. See: pp. 337-340.
15. He was then Mr. B.J. Ratcliffe. Later on, he became known as Rev. J. Ratcliffe, Reader of the Inter-territorial language for Kenya colony. See: The preface of: A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary.
16. Ms. 53491.
17. See: pp. 186-191.
18. See: p. 220.
19. See: p. 195.
20. Mss. 253028, and 47797.

21. I have copies for this correspondence.
22. Ms. 53829.
23. Dammann, The East African Experience, p. 66.
24. See: p. 281.
25. See: p. 335.
26. See: p. 27.
27. Jackson, 1930, pp. 3-5, 6-13.
28. Salim, 1973, pp. 22, 23, 45, 51, 53-60, 63-65, and 70.
Also, See Ms. 53829.
29. See: p. 290.
30. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.
31. See: p. 148.
32. See: p. 334.
33. He had been one of the C.M.S. Missionaries to Mombasa and Frere town since 1880. It seems that he retired in 1904, and died in 1927 in England. The most, if not the whole, of W.T.'s Swahili collection was taken over by the library of the S.O.A.S., A.W., and W.H. in a way that is shown in the following letters. In a letter from that library sent to Mrs. W.T. in 1927: "With regard to the Mss. you sent, we are unable to give any opinion whatever on behalf of the library. Prof. A.W. has all your papers and when she has had time to deal with them, the matter will be laid before the library sub-committee who will then decide whether or not they should be purchased for the school. We believe Miss A.W. is also writing to you to this effect".

When W.H. wanted to order some Swahili Mss., from S.O.A.S., collected by W.T., the reply of the library in 1936, was: "We bought two Swahili Mss. from Mrs. W.T. in 1930, for which we paid her the sum of £10 on 6th May of that year.

Unfortunately our Swahili and other African Mss. were put into stores when we moved from Finsbury Circus. Thus, for now, we cannot know whether or not these Mss. have the numbers which you mentioned".

How A.W. obtained some of W.T.'s collection is not known. What we are sure about is that she obtained some items of that collection because in the following letter which was sent to her by W.H. in 1934 we read: "Many thanks for the W.T.'s notebooks. When we have some idea of the extent of the material, I will not forget a fee for you. I am somewhat concerned, however, as to how much more may lie hidden in the W.T. papers. Both of the notebooks which you have sent me contain a good deal of Liongo, some of it not included, as far as I can see at present, in other sources. But even where it duplicates other material it should prove a useful check". See: Mss. 12/112, the collection of Dr. C.G. Richards, 253028, and 210013. Also, Knappert, 1979, pp. 233-239.

34. In 1893, she went to Nyasaland as a teacher of the Church of Scotland Mission. In 1911, she was awarded a scholarship and spent two years in research work in the coastal towns of British East Africa. Here she perfected her studies in Swahili thanks to Kijuma, her teacher. In 1912, she was appointed Professor of Swahili and Bantu, retired in 1930, and died in 1935. The correspondence went on between her and Kijuma until she died. It is important to know that Kijuma gave her the nickname Binti Yusufu "The daughter of Joseph".

See: Mss. 253028, also: Doke, 1943, p. 61.

35. He was born in 1857 at Barzwit in Pommern, where his father was a pastor. He himself became a pastor at Zizow in Pommern.

He had come into contact with African Natives in his youth, some of whom had been sent to Germany from various Mission fields. He was in Lamu just before the First World War where he met Kijuma and obtained some Swahili Mss. as we shall see later.

See: Doke, 1943, pp. 56-59.

36. He spent a great deal of time with Kijuma at Lamu, especially in 1929. Kijuma not only wrote for him some of his literary works, but also taught him to compose Swahili verse. Actually the student became a distinguished poet of Swahili, and his Diwani is a proof of this. In 1959, he published his: Wimbo wa Kiebrania, the foreword to which is a poem with stanzas rhyming at three points in a line (there are 14 lines) in praise of Kijuma. They are entitled: Kumbusho la Marehemu Muhammad Abu Bakari Umar al-Bakariy Aliyenifundisha Nipende Ushairi wa Kiswahili.

See Lambert, 1959, and Knappert, 1979, pp. 234-5.

37. He was one of the British police force in East Africa in the 1920's. He reached the rank of Captain. Having come back to England, he collaborated with A.W. He himself writes in a letter:-
"The position of the collaboration between the late Dr. Werner and myself was as follows. In 1930, having been much interested when in Africa in Swahili culture, I decided to try and preserve in book form what at that time were thought to be the few existing Swahili Classical Literature works. I put the idea to Dr. Werner and we agreed to collaborate. I set up a private hand-press at my home, then in Medstead, Hants. It was upon this press that two volumes, in preparation of which Dr. A. Werner and I did collaborate, were produced. They were Miqdadi Na Mayasa 1932, and Mwana Kupona 1934. Both were produced as limited editions of 300 and 250 copies.

After the death of W.H. in about 1943, the publishers Kegan Paul purchased some of his Swahili collection from Mrs. W.H. Later, Kegan Paul sold it to the library of the S.O.A.S., and the rest of W.H.'s collection was given to the same library by Mrs. W.H. as a gift.

38. He spent 6 months in Lamu, from July 1936 to January 1937. During that period, he stayed at the Neukirchener Mission in Lamu. Before E.D. arrived in Lamu, he had been recommended to Kijuma by A.W. just before her death. Also, the German Missionary W. May of the Neukirchener Mission told Kijuma about E.D. and his plans shortly before his journey to Lamu. E.D. worked with Kijuma every day. Verse for verse, they went through all the poems included in E.D.'s book: Dichtungen in der Lamu Mundart des Suaheli, Hamburg 1940.

Having returned home to Germany, he continued to correspond with Kijuma until World War II. E.D. was Professor of religion, and a Lutheran Pastor. I was fortunate to meet him at his home in Pinneberg in 1980, where he gave me much help.

39. He was working, in Taita and Kabete in Kenya, as a missionary. The correspondence between him and Kijuma took place between 1936 and 1944. I met him at Bromley in 1982. His Swahili collection, that originally made by Kijuma, has a story to be told:

In 1981, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, was asked by the Kenyan government to prepare a complete list of all Swahili Mss. in England. By J.K., I was introduced to Dr. Anne Thurston of that Institute that I might help in preparing that list.

It was intended to produce further volumes in the same series, which we called the Azanian Classics, but before any further collaboration was possible, Dr. A. Werner's illness and death supervened". The letter was sent to the Sheldon Press. (See: Ms. 253028). W.H. was able to acquire a quantity of Swahili Mss. and notes which had belonged to the late W.T., to A.W., and others. All these Mss. were from A.W.'s Estate, given to him by Miss M. Werner (Alice's sister). These Mss. are numbered as 37 items, including 3 letters from Kijuma to W.T., which I could not trace. At the end of the list where the titles of these 37 items are found is written:- "I (i.e. W.H.) thereby acknowledge to have received of Miss M.H. Werner sole executrix of the will of Dr. Alice Werner, decd., the above-mentioned documents and books and I accept the same in full discharge of all claims and demands upon or against the Estate of the said Dr. A. Werner. Dated this 2nd day of Dec. 1936". Signature W.H., Ms. 53491.

It is worth mentioning that there are some Swahili works which the U.C.D. obtained from the collections of A.W. and W.H. But the question is how did the U.C.D. obtain them?

A.W. and W.H. used to send copies from the Mss. they had to Sh. Hinawy of Mombasa, asking him either to transliterate or to review their transliteration, and send them back to England, and sometimes Sh. Hinawy was asked to keep some copies of these Mss. in his own collection. Most of this collection was acquired by the U.C.D. and East African Swahili Committee via J.K. and Mr. Allen.

Incidentally, all the Swahili Mss. found in the U.C.D. are now available microfilmed by Allen in S.O.A.S.

The correspondence between Kijuma and W.H. took place in 1930's, as we shall see.

Voluntarily, I worked in the strong room in the library of S.O.A.S., with a list of Swahili Mss. which had already been made by Dr. Thurson from the catalogue of the library of S.O.A.S., to see whether or not all the Swahili Mss. in the strong room were listed. I had great hopes of tracing eleven Mss. that were not listed. Later on, in 1981, Dr. Thurston told me that J.W. was going to give his Swahili Mss. to Mr. Mnjama of the Kenyan High Commission in London, for the Kenyan government. I got in contact with Mr Mnjama, and arranged an interview with J.W. on Monday 9th November 1981. J.W. showed me all the items of his Swahili collection which he had obtained from Kijuma. He promised to give me copies of these items, and, on the spot, he kindly gave me a copy of the Hadithi ya Sayyidna Isa, and a copy of the Gospel according to John. Having left the home of J.W. in Bromley, I went to S.O.A.S. to inform Mrs. Seton at the library of S.O.A.S. about the collection, wishing S.O.A.S. could obtain a copy of it. Mrs. Seton contacted J.W. about that, but he refused. Furthermore, J.W. asked Mr. Mnjama to tell me that I would not be allowed to have copies of that which I was previously promised. At the same time, Mr. Mnjama assured me that I would be able to obtain copies from himself, after he had obtained them from J.W. After J.W. had received a present from the Kenyan government, he handed the collection to Mr. Mnjama. On 18th January 1982, I obtained the desired copies from Mr. Mnjama, i.e. copies of the whole of J.W.'s collection.

In return, I enabled Mr. Mnjama to obtain copies from copies in that I was able to have them photocopied in Hamburg with the help of E.D. These Mss. of Hamburg were scribed by Kijuma for either Prof. Meinhof or E.D.

The copies which Mr. Mnjama received from me, were the following poems:-

1. Kisa cha Yusufu.
2. Hadithi ya Yaakubu na Yusufu.
3. Kisa cha Kadhi na Haramii.
4. Utendi wa Safari.
5. Utendi wa Kufa kwa Muhammadi.
6. Utendi wa Muhammadi na Esha.
7. Kisa cha Kadhi (in prose).

Fortunately, S.O.A.S. could microfilm J.W.'s Swahili collection from Mr. Mnjama. (See: Rev. J.W. Collection in S.O.A.S.).

40. Williamson, 1947, p. 3.
41. Interview with E.D. in Hamburg.
42. Swahili St. John, New Translation, London, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1914.
45. See: Fig. A., J.W. reproduced it with some modification as shown in Fig. W.
46. See: Rev. J. Williamson collection, Reel I.
47. See: p. 168.
48. See: p. 36.
49. Harries, 1952, p. 158.
50. See: p. 175.
51. Ms. 54022, it was collected by J.K.
52. Allen collection, M. 1008, Reel 2, Ms. 51.
53. See: p. 93.
54. Ha chowe means the open letter H (i.e. ).
55. These letters together read: Muhamadi.
56. See: p. 26.
57. See: p. 334.

58. See: p. 162.
59. See: "A letter dated 8th Jumada Al-Ukhra 1352"/Sept, 1933, Ms. 47797.
60. "A letter dated 18th May 1933", Ms. 253028.
61. "A letter dated 17th Nov. 1933", sent by W.H., Ms. 253028.
62. Ms. 53497.
63. See: p. 330.
64. Reel 8, Ms. 264.
65. Dammann, 1936-38.
66. This stanza is given above.
67. Zalimu = Zalikuwa zimo ndani.
68. Reel CI, Ms. 53.
69. Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 5.
70. Harries, 1964, p. 17. In the same reference, pp. 19-33, L.H. published Barsis in Arabic and Roman script with its English translation.
71. See: Footnote No. 33 in this chapter.
72. Dated 14th Nov. 1933, Ms. 253028.
73. See: p. 30.
74. Knappert, 1964e.
75. Knappert, 1964a, pp. 91-105.
76. One Aya written after the stanza 102, and the second after the stanza 108. They are successively No. 185 Surah 3, and No. 79, Surah 4.
77. That is what I was told, when I ordered this Ms. in the library of S.O.A.S. It had a collection of romantic and religious tales, mostly in verse, Utendi wa Mkunumbi, Ngamia na paa, Esha, and Liongo.
78. "A letter No. 3", in Ms. 47797. It reads: "Takabadhi Utendi wa Barsis na Hasina."

Nami katika karatasi zako nimeona hadithi mbili, moya ya Hasina, moya ya Barsisi. Mimi nimetengeza kwa akili yangu. Sijui ndio au sio. Ikiwa sio, niarifu namna upendao".

79. Knappert, 1964F, pp.87-93.
80. "A letter dated 5 Rajab 1353"/Oct. 1934, Ms. 25328.
81. Dammann, 1969, p. 315.
82. There is a copy of it published at Beirut in 1864, found in the British Library, see: Al-Ibshaihi, 1864, pp. 186-7.
83. Ms. 47797.
84. Al-Nawawiy, 1304/1878, pp. 94-96.
85. No. 14521, b.5; the story of Barsisi is found in pp. 42-3.
86. We may assume that Kijuma copied the Takhmis of Liongo for W.T. It is important to know that W.T. presented the Takhmis of Liongo to the British Museum (Nr. Or. 4534). It contains 28 stanzas, in a paper roll, and was acquired in 1891. It was scribed by two different scribes. One of them was called Muhammad bin Abdalla Amir whose handwriting begins from stanza 8 until the end of that Takhmis. The first 7 stanzas were copied by an unknown scribe. I would assume that these 7 stanzas were copied by Kijuma, because they show some features of his style of writing. Compare these 7 stanzas with Shairi La Liongo of Ms. 47795 in S.O.A.S. which was copied by Kijuma. I also assume that Kijuma copied many of the poems included in Ms. 47754 in the S.O.A.S. This Ms. is one of W.T.'s Mss. which W.H. purchased in 1936. It contains various poems, political, moral, and amatory, which were composed by different poets. Finally, the Ms. 41960 of W.T. also may have been copied by Kijuma. It contains a collection of short religious, social, and historical poems. It has about 240 stanzas.
87. See: p. 206.

88. See: p. 337.
89. It has 200 pages, but it is incomplete. See: Ms. 279888, Vol. 5, Ms. 330.
90. See: Footnote No. 34 in this chapter.
91. See" Utendi wa Mkunumbi, p.
92. Through the help of Miss M. Bryan of S.O.A.S., I was fortunate to trace the notebook of A.W. amongst the papers which were in the possession of the late Prof. A.N. Tucker in S.O.A.S. In this notebook I found a list of the Swahili Mss. which A.W. received from Kijuma as is shown above. I was allowed to borrow this notebook with 11 other items from Miss Bryan. They have now been passed on to J.K., and are ultimately to be stored in the library of S.O.A.S.
93. I.e. Kijuma offered to send her the poems to follow. We can say that A.W. replied to him in the positive, because A.W. referred to the Inkishafi and Kutawafu in her articles, as we shall see later.
94. There are two Mss. entitled: Tayyib al-Asmā'i, collected from Lamu by Allen, in his collection of Ms. 279888, Vol. 8, Ms. 384, and Ms. 366.
95. See: p. 297.
96. See: p. 229.
97. Werner, 1928-30.
98. Werner, 1928-30, p. 561.
99. Ms. 53500.
100. Harries, 1953a.
101. Dammann, 1940a, p. 328.
102. Interview with E.D. in Hamburg.
103. Reel CI, Ms. 53.
104. "A letter from Kijuma to J.W." from which I have a copy.

105. I have a copy of it.
106. Williamson, 1947, p. 4.
107. Werner, 1918, p. 127.
108. Werner, 1918, p. 126.
109. She means Kijuma, as she said before in her notebook, see: p.
110. Werner, 1920, p. 27.
111. Werner, 1926-7, pp. 107-8, and also, 1928, p. 355.
112. Reel CI, Ms. 204.
113. Ms. 204.
114. Dammann, 1980.
115. E.g. Mss. 47795, 210015, 53497, and 253028.
116. See: p. 36.
117. See: p. 375.
118. "A letter from Kijuma to E.D." of which I have a copy.
119. See: Fig. I.
120. See: The last stanza (No. 314) in the poem, p. 308.
121. There are many conditions necessary to accept a Hadith as a correct one. These conditions are explained in detail and are studied in a subject called ʿilm al-Hadīth. It is a big subject in the Islamic world.
122. Reel CI, Ms. 197.
123. Harries, 1967, pp. 8-12.
124. The. S.O.A.S. used to possess the Ms. of W.H., but it is now lost, see: Ms. 279888, Vol I, p. 8.
125. Knappert, 1964d, where he wrote, in p. 8, that the Committee of the Swahili Language had four texts of Mkunumbi. One of them was found in the Hinawy collection, transliterated in Roman script, with notes in German by A.W.
126. See: Figs. No. 2 and 3.

127. Knappert, 1964d, p. 7.
128. Werner, 1918, pp. 126-7.
129. Stanzas 23-28, and 44-50.
130. This letter could not be traced.
131. Allen, Reel CI, Ms. 159.
132. Ms. 53491.
133. Allen, 1975, pp. 55-56.
134. See: pp. 43-91.
135. Utuni = Inedible intestines of slaughtered cattle, sometimes paid as fees to the butcher who slaughtered the cattle.
Interview with Sh. Y.A. Omari in S.O.A.S.
136. As it was said before Kijuma took part in this competition, see: p. 82.
137. Kuduli = To guide.
138. It is number 116 in the ones published by L.H. and J.K., but it is number 117 in the one of Prof. Meinhof.
139. K stands for the copy published by J.K.
140. M stands for the copy of Prof. Meinhof.
141. Werner, 1918, p. 124.
142. Knappert, 1980, p. 101.
143. I have a copy of it from E.D. in Hamburg.
144. See: Fig. 4.
145. Of which I have a copy.
146. See: Fig. 5.
147. See: Fig. 6.
148. Ms. 279888, Vol. 7, Ms. 351. It has no title-piece. Incidentally, there are other copies of Joseph in S.O.A.S., but not copied by Kijuma. One of these copies was typescripted by Sh. Abdur Rahmani Badawy. See: M. 1008, Reel I, Ms. 118, and Reel 6, Mss. 183 and 182.

149. Pp. 9-58, but the Ayas are not included.
150. See: p. 185.
151. P. 124.
152. See: stanzas 227-228 in: Knappert, 1964a, pp. 9-58.
153. See: stanzas 230-280 in: Knappert, 1964a, pp. 9-58.
154. See: stanzas 297-305 in: Knappert, 1964a, pp. 9-58.
155. See: stanzas 394-422 in: Knappert, 1964a, pp. 9-58.
156. See: stanzas 423-424 in: Knappert, 1964a, pp. 9-58.

Then the role of the King, in the story, is finished - perhaps due to his death.

157. Kijuma did not explain to us the connection between the death of Kaṭfir and Zulaikha's leaving his house. See: stanza 425.
158. Stanzas 426-427.
159. Stanzas 430-432.
160. Stanzas 695-717.
161. See: p. 178.
162. Werner, 1917.
163. Werner and Hichens, 1934.
164. See: Figs. 7 and 8.
165. I received a photocopy of it by the courtesy of E.D. in Hamburg.
166. It is not found in S.O.A.S., but it should be the one of the two Mss. of Mwana Kupona which were lost, because they are catalogued in the lost Ms. (1355). See: Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8. Moreover, a first page from one of these two lost Mss. is to be found microfilmed on Reel CI, Ms. 169.
167. Allen, 1971, p. 56.
168. Werner, 1918, pp. 113, 119, and 122.
169. E.g. she used this term to refer to the same Takhmis which was published in: Steere, 1928, pp. 452-469.

For the number of stanzas, see: p. 257.

170. In 1914.
171. Meinhof, 1924/5.
172. Ms. 253028.
173. Ms. 210013.
174. Werner, 1927.
175. Ms. 47795.
176. In Ms. 47795, the following note is written by W.H.: "Ms. I of Pijiani mbasi, in scroll, sent to me by Kijuma 1934, with pages of glossary. Ms. 2 in sheets, sent to A.W. by the same, some years ago".
177. Harries, 1962, p. 142.
178. I do not know why L.H. stated that that scroll was for A.W. and not for W.H., as W.H. himself has written.
179. Ms. 210013.
180. Dammann, 1940c.
181. Lambert, 1953. It is published in two dialects, the dialect of Zanzibar and of Lamu. It is probable that Lambert obtained the text of Kiamu from Kijuma.
182. It is stanza No. 42, in Lambert's version, which is not found in A.W.'s.
183. It is stanza No. 47, in Lambert's version, which is not found in E.D.'s.
184. Reel CI, Ms. 131.
185. Werner, 1918, p. 125.
186. Ms. 193295. There are two Mss. of the same text in Roman script. One dated 1st Shawwal 1331/Sept, 1913, and the second is not dated. They were typed by W.H.
187. Ms. 193293.

188. Ms. 193295.
189. = Sept. 1913. There are two other copies of this Ms. transliterated and translated in Mss. 53493 and 210013. Each copy of these two has 252 stanzas, because the songs attributed to Liongo are enumerated as 18 verses in each copy. If we exclude these 18 verses as A.W. did, the remaining number will be 234 stanzas as she said.
190. It is counted as 244, not 234, because the verses attributed to the hero Liongo are counted as 10 verses. This makes the actual number of stanzas 234 as A.W. had written.
191. Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8.
192. Harries, 1962; The opening of the book.
193. It has a title-piece made by Kijuma reading: Hadithi ya Liongo. A copy of this title-piece is still to be found separate in Ms. 205000 and 53493. Kijuma made it for W.H. after the latter had ordered such a title-piece from Kijuma in "a letter dated 13th March 1933", Ms. 253028.
194. "A letter dated 30th Sept. 1935", Ms. 253028.
195. "A letter dated 1354"/1935-6, Ms. 47796.
196. Ms. 210013.
197. "A letter from Sh. Hinawy to W.H. in Nov. 1936", Ms. 253028.
198. "A letter from Sh. Hinawy to W.H. dated 19.10.1937", Ms. 253028.
199. Mss. 53491 and 53493.
200. Harries, 1962, pp. 48-71.
201. Knappert, 1980, p. 93.
202. With the songs attributed to Liongo excluded.
203. Knappert, 1964b.
204. The 10 verses attributed to Liongo are counted. We have to exclude them because they are not included in K.

Thus, the remaining stanzas will be 234 stanzas compared with 232 stanzas found in K.

205. It is not mentioned in K, and it is the same as stanza 56 of Ms. A.
206. After stanza 104, there are 11 lines, being songs attributed to Liongo, not published in K, but published in: Harries, 1962, p. 60. These 11 lines are not counted in Ms. B.
207. These two stanzas of K are not found in Ms. B.
208. This stanza is not found in K, and is the same as stanza 116 of Ms. A. There are 18 verses attributed to Liongo found in Ms. B after this stanza but not counted. They are published by Harries, 1962, pp. 63-4.
209. This stanza of K is not found in Ms. B.
210. This stanza again is not in K, and it is the same as in Mss. A and B.
211. These two stanzas of Ms. C are the same as Ms. A.
212. This stanza is the same as stanza 116 in Ms. A. After this stanza in Ms. C, there are 18 verses attributed to Liongo and they are counted from stanza 117 until 134. They are again the ones published by Harries, 1962, pp. 63-4.
213. Werner, 1927, p. 50.
214. It is not found in S.O.A.S.
215. Werner, 1927, pp. 50-53.

W.H. made the following comment on this publication: "Werner A. in: Festschrift Meinhof presents some verses which according to the minstrel Mzee b. Bisharo, were songs of Liongo when he returned from war with the Wasegeju.

But Mzee was at error in his assertion. His verses which are very corrupt and contain many faulty rhymes, are little more than a jumble of half-remembered pieces from various verses of the 18th and 19th Century, e.g. the verses 13-16 are fragments from works by Muyaka, and others are Mashairi typical of many found in the Vyuo vya Diriji. None of them appears to have any reference to the Liongo legend. Likewise a "collection of lyrics attributed to Liongo" referred to in the same context, contains, in fact no compositions by Liongo, but is a Chuo cha Diriji, recording the works of a number of the better known and some anonymous, 18th Century and later minstrels".

See: Ms. 210013.

I have to add here that this comment of W.H. arose from his correspondence with Sh. Hinawy, as we shall presently see.

216. Ms. 210002.
217. Ms. 253028.
218. See: p. 283.
219. See: p. 289.
220. "A letter dated 17th March 1936", Ms. 253028.
221. We will see later that they were not actually supplied to him but to A.W., and he took them over. Moreover, they were not supplied to A.W. under the name of Ushuhuda.
222. "A letter dated 21st May 1936", Ms. 253028.
223. In the introduction of this book, W.H. explained his sources as follows:- "From - 1. Chuo cha Diriji written by Kijuma and copied from an older book at Lamu, c. 1912. 2. Chuo cha Diriji collected by Sir Robert Hamilton in Kenya c. 1900. 3. Songs wrongly ascribed to Liongo written by a native, Claridge of Rabai, with many errors.

One finding of W.H.'s comparative study was written as follows:-

"Notes on contents of the Shuhuda (Kijuma's, the Hamilton, and the Rabai copies).

The Ushuhuda of Rabai contains 34 Mashairi.

The Ushuhuda of Kijuma's Ms. contains 174 Mashairi.

The Ushuhuda of Hamilton's Ms. contains 159 Mashairi.

33 of the Shuhuda (the plural of Ushuhuda) are in Kijuma's Ms.

46 of the Hamilton's Ms. are in Kijuma's Ms.

7 are in all the three Mss.

56 of the Kijuma's Ms. are attributed to authors named.

21 of these are in the Hamilton Ms.

12 in the Hamilton Ms. appear to bear authors' names, some of which are included in 21 above".

224. It has about 200 poems or 541 stanzas, each stanza has four lines with 16 syllables in each line.

225. As we see, the name of Ushuhuda is neither a title for this Ms. (47708), nor a word mentioned in the Ms.

226. The term Ushuhuda is not again found anywhere in this Ms. It contains many songs which are the same as in Ms. 47708. Many poems of this Ms. 47707 might have been written by Kijuma, because the features of his handwriting can be recognised.

227. The third Ms. in Roman characters that was made by Claridge of Rabai, could not be traced.

228. Ms. 41961. It is entitled:- "A collection of short poems in Swahili by divers, written in Arabic script by the scribe D. Al-Naufaliy". Going through it, I found it finished with the following words:- "This book which is called Ushuhuda had been completed on Thursday 26th Dhu al-Qaada 1311, by the pen of the humble and the needy one to Allah, Dawud b. S. b. D. Al-Naufaliy".

Comparing it with the Mss. of A.W. 47708 and 47707, I found that some of its 112 poems are included in Ms. 47708, and that all of these 112 poems are included in Ms. 47707. To find out more about it, I went through the registration entry of the Mss.' accession to the library of S.O.A.S., and found that the vendor of this Ms. (41961) was Mrs. Taylor in 1930, and that the library had acquired it on 12th January 1942.

229. The first two pages are marked as the 1st and the 2nd pages, and the third one is the final page (i.e. in the Ms.).
230. For any one of his clients who are mentioned in this chapter.
231. Comparing them with the poems of the other Ushuhuda written by D. Al-Naufaliy, I found them also included in p. 10, and p. 6 in Ushuhuda of al-Naufaliy. Also, the other poems in these three photocopied pages were found in the Ushuhuda of al-Naufaliy.
232. See: Fig. 9.
233. Werner, 1918, p. 126.
234. It is likely that she thought this because Kijuma might have informed her so since he was her chief informant.
235. Werner, 1926, p. 254.
236. Lambert, 1962-3b.
237. See: p. 191.
238. See: p. 297.
239. I pay no regard to these words (1 part) in the title given, because A.W. stated in another place that she had got a complete text of Ayubu from Lamu (i.e. from Kijuma), see: Werner, 1918, p. 115.
240. Werner, 1921-3, pp. 85-87.
241. Ms. 53497.
242. Werner, 1921-3.

243. Knappert, 1980, p. 87.
244. M. 1008, Reel 5, Ms. 58.
245. Ms. 253028, it is in Roman script. The version in Arabic script was in S.O.A.S., but it was lost. See: Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8.
246. Ms. 47796.
- It has 4 pages in Arabic script and in Kijuma's handwriting. Some of these pages are blotted out by a trace of water. Kijuma told W.H. that the roof of his house had been letting in rain. See: Ms. 253028.
247. See: Fig. 10.
248. Interview with J.W. in Bromley.
249. See: Fig. 11.
250. In addition to this, there are two pages of glossary, written by our scribe.
251. Allen - Microfilms, Reel CI, Ms. 103.
252. After stanza 11 of A, there is an Aya which is found neither in B nor in C. Apart from this Aya, all the other Ayas in A are also found in B and C.
253. After this stanza (106) of A, there is a stanza marked as (106a) because it was not found in Kijuma's text, while it was found in other texts which A.W. obtained from other people. This stanza (106a) is found in B and C, and is counted in both as stanza No. 107. It is the only stanza which was not found in A, while found in B and C.
254. See: Figs. 12 and 13.
255. Werner, 1918, p. 126.
256. See: p. 44.
257. It is the very date on which the correspondence between Kijuma and A.W. was taking place.

258. Letters from W.H. to Kijuma dated 18th May and 14th Nov. 1933, 6th June and 3rd Oct. 1934, 25th Nov. 1935. Moreover, W.H. asked Kijuma in a letter dated 25th May 1936 to send him the historical account of Lamu, that written by Shaibu Faraji al-Bakariy. Other letters dated 2nd June 1936. All of these letters found in Ms. 253028.
259. Dated 30 Dhu Al-Hijja 1352/April 1934, Ms. 47797, and 5 Rajab 1353/Oct. 1934, in Ms. 253028.
260. Ms. 47779.
261. Ms. 53824.
262. Lambert, 1963.
263. Lambert, 1952.
264. I had them photocopied in Hamburg.
265. Dammann, 1954/5.
266. I have photocopies of them.
267. I.e. 1920.
268. Ms. 47755.
269. Knappert, 1971b, p. 120.
270. Werner, 1926-7, p. 108.
271. Knappert, 1980, p. 90.
272. Quran: 9, 25-6.
273. Büttner, 1894, pp. 33-51.
- For other versions of the Miiraji, see: Knappert, 1980, p. 94.
274. It has not been found.
275. Werner, 1926-7, p. 108.
276. It was the same poem, as Kijuma said in a letter to W.H., see: Ms. 253028.
277. "A letter" in Ms. 47797.
278. "A letter from W.H. to Kijuma dated 14th Nov. 1933", Ms. 253028.

279. It is no longer extant in Arabic characters. It was lost from S.O.A.S., see: Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8.
280. Damman, 1940a, pp. 1-72.
281. As 1341/1923.
282. Ibn Abbas, 1933.
283. Al-Safuriy, 1358/1939, p. 127.
284. "A letter dated 27th Safar 1357"/April 1938, of which I have a copy.
285. Dated 26th Safar 1364/Jan. 1945. I have a copy of it.
286. Kwalina = Kulikuwa na "There was". Thus, the meaning of the title would be: Story of youth (once upon a time, there was an old man).
287. Stigand and Taylor, 1915.
288. Werner, 1926-7a, pp. 291-4.
289. "A letter dated 14th Nov. 1933", Ms. 253028.
290. Ms. 47797.
291. Ms. 253028.
292. This comparison is included in the book of Al-Inkishafi published by W.H., 1939.
293. Sh. Hinawy fulfilled W.H.'s expectations, but the Inkishafi, was published by W.H., with the name of Sh. Hinawy omitted. The work of Sh. Hinawy along with the contract which was made between him and W.H., saying that the Inkishafi's work was Sh. Hinawy's, is to be found in Ms. 256191.
294. Dated 6th June 1934, 30th Sept. and 25th Nov. 1935, Ms. 253028.
295. The answers to these questions are found in a letter sent from Kijuma to W.H. on 5th Rajab 1353/Oct. 1934, and in notes sent from Missionary Cheese in Lamu to W.H. after the former had obtained them from Kijuma in 1936, Mss. 253028 and 253029.
296. He made it, and it is to be seen in the opening of Al-Inkishafi by W.H., 1939.

There is another title-piece by Kijuma for the Inkishafi in the same book, p. 134.

297. Some of the illustrations were found on a page among the papers to become the Inkishafi's glossary, Ms. 47796. See Fig. 14.
298. "A letter" in Ms. 253028.
299. I.e. Kijuma's teacher. It is likely that the scroll of Mwenye Mansabu was the one which was microfilmed by Allen, and is to be found in S.O.A.S, Reel C2, Ms. 276.
300. P. 137-143.
301. Al-Inkishafi of W.H., p. 13 and 144.
There are only 40 stanzas of Kijuma's handwriting printed in W.H.'s book of Al-Inkishafi.
302. Werner, 1926-7a, pp. 291-4.
303. Quran: 25 and 67.
304. The Swahili form of it is published by E.D. as we shall presently see.
305. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu.
306. Dammann, 1959/60.
307. I.e. the demise of the Prophet Muhammad. It is not Kijuma's own composition.
308. Werner, 1918, pp. 114-115.
309. Büttner, 1894, pp. 56-75.
310. Dated 30th Dhu Al-Hijja 1352/April 1934, Ms. 47797, and 5 Rajab 1353/Oct. 1934, Ms. 253028.
311. I have a copy of it.
312. A letter of which I have a copy, dated 1st Ramadhan 1355/Nov. 1936.
313. It is found in the British Library under No. 14570, b. 7, Egypt 1282/1865, pp. 1-35.
314. Werner, 1918, p. 125.

315. It has a title-piece made by Kijuma, see: Werner, 1932.
316. Ms. 53503.
317. Allen, 1971, p. 269.
318. Prof. Meinhof published it for A.W., after the latter had sent him, see: Werner, 1930, pp. 1-25.
319. Werner, 1918, p. 124.
320. Wehr, 1956, pp. 306-339.
321. "A letter" in the Ms. 253028.
322. "A letter dated 10th Dhu Al-Qada 1354", Ms. 253028.
323. Werner, 1919, pp. 276-285.
324. Werner, 1918, p. 126.
325. Werner, 1923-25, pp. 527-531.
326. Werner, 1926-7, p. 102.
327. "A letter" in Ms. 47797.
328. "A letter" in Ms. 253028.
329. Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8.
330. Ms. 53497.
331. Dammann, 1940a, pp. 285-327.
332. Dammann, 1940a, p. 285.
333. Stanza 58, in: Dammann, 1940a. Although the story is referred to in some Arabic books (e.g. book No. 14560, e. 2. 1895, in British Library), I could not find it narrated in detail.
334. Allen, 1971, pp. 77-129.
335. See: p. 191.
336. Interview with Bibi Maryamu M. Al-Bakariy of Lamu in London.
337. Lambert, 1962-3, pp. 13-14.
338. Kijuma wrote: "Takabadhi na khabari Kadhi na mwivi kwa khati ya Kizungu". "A letter on 30th Dhu Al-Hijja 1352" in Ms. 47797.
339. He was a German working at Lamu from 1906-1911, see: p. 336.

340. See: p. 283.
341. I have a copy of it in Kijuma's handwriting. Its title is: Kisa cha Kadhi na Haramii.
342. Dammann, 1957.
343. No. 14583, aa. I. (3), Bombay 1886.
344. Interview with Sh. Y.A. Omari in S.O.A.S.
345. Under the title: Hadithi ya Kadhi; "A letter from Kijuma to W.H.", Ms. 47797.
346. A letter of which I have a copy.
347. Dammann, 1954/5b.
348. See: Fig. 16.
349. A letter from Kijuma to E.D., of which I have a copy.
350. Stanza 2, p. 418.
351. See: pp. 378-380 and 402-417.
352. Stanza 4, p. 418.
353. "A letter from Kijuma to W.H. on 8th Jumada A;--Ukhra 1352"/Sept. 1933, in Ms. 47797.
354. "A letter dated 14th Nov. 1933", in Ms. 253028.
355. M. 1008, Reel 2, Ms. 49.
356. There are four Mss. in S.O.A.S., one written in Arabic script, by Faraji Bwana Mkuu of Lamu. It is entitled: Mashairi ya Kijuma. It has 206 stanzas plus 4 Quranic Ayas. See: Ms. 380066.
- The second, in Arabic script, written by Abdalla bin Salim of Lamu. Its title: Siraji. It has 209 stanzas plus 10 Quranic Ayas, and 2 Arabic proverbs. See: Ms. 279888, Vol. 8, Ms. 360.
- The third is in Arabic script, written by Muh. Janbeni al-Bakariy. It has 208 stanzas, see: M. 1008, Reel 4, Ms. 126.
- The fourth one is a typescript with missing words obtained from Sh. Hinawy's family.

- It is entitled: Utenzi wa Kijumwa Kumuusia mwanawe Bw. Helewa. It has 206 stanzas and 4 Quranic Ayas. See: M. 1008, Reel 2, Ms. 49.
357. The text, pp. 418 - 475.
358. A letter of which I have a copy.
359. "A letter dated 8th Jumada Al-Ukhra 1352", Ms. 47797.
360. "A letter" in Ms. 253028.
361. "A letter from Kijuma to W.H. on 30th Dhu Al-Hijja 1352", Ms. 47797.
362. Ms. 53497.
363. Knappert, 1964c, p. 130.
364. Also, see: Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8, to know that it was the property of S.O.A.S.
365. Ms. 47796.
366. It is entitled: Utendi wa Muhammad na Esha. I have a copy of it from E.D..
367. Dammann, 1940a, pp. 73-91.
368. See: Fig. 15.
369. Interview with J.W. in Bromley.
370. It is found microfilmed by Allen in S.O.A.S., Reel 8, Ms. 247.
371. Knappert, 1964c, pp. 130-140.
372. Dammann, 1940a, p. 73.
373. Stanza 32, in: Dammann, 1940a, p. 77.
374. E.g. see: Al-Waqidi, 1966.
375. Quran, 24: 11-22.
376. See: p. 224.
377. Sh. Hinawy assumed that that word is derived from the Arabic word Waadh waadh "Sermon sermon", see: Ms. 193291.
- For a different etymology, see: Knappert, 1969b, p. 3.
378. Ms. 53496.
379. Ms. 253028.

380. Ms. 47796.
381. Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8.
382. Harries, 1962, pp. 192-201.
383. Dammann, 1939.
384. I have a copy of it.
385. Ms. 279888, Vol. 6, Ms. 341.
386. Dammann, The East African Experience, p. 68.
387. See: p. 380.
388. "A letter in Dhu Al-Qaada 1354",/Feb. 1936, Ms. 47796.
389. Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8.
390. Dammann, 1940/1, p. 126.
391. Dammann, 1940/1, pp. 129-156.
392. Stanza 127.
393. He was then about 81 years old.
394. Dammann, The East African Experience, p. 69.
395. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.
396. Ms. 253028.
397. Ms. 47797.
398. "A letter from W.H., dated 14th Nov. 1933", Ms. 253028.
399. "A letter from Sh. Hinawy, dated 26th Feb. 1934", Ms. 253028.
400. Ms. 279888, Vol. 18, Ms. 2534.
401. Dated 30th Sept. 1935, Ms. 253028.
402. Ms. 47796.
403. Ms. 53490.
404. Verse 1.
405. Verse 2.
406. Verse 3.
407. Verse 4-6.
408. Verse 7-8.

409. Verse 9.
410. Verse 10.
411. Verse 11.
412. Verse 12.
413. Verse 13.
414. Verse 14.
415. Verse 15.
416. Verse 16.
417. Verse 17.
418. Verse 18.
419. Stigand gave an account of the poem in his book, 1913, p. 89.
Another account was given by Sh. Hinawy to W.H., found in Ms. 53490.
Later on, E.D. published it. See: Dammann, 1940b.
420. Ms. 53490.
421. See: p. 38.
422. Ms. 253028.
423. Knappert, Sept. 1967.
424. See: p. 339.
Also, see: Martin, 1973, p. 29.
425. = "The stories of the hare, i.e. the story of the hare with hyena,
and the hare with the lion".
426. "A letter dated 25th May 1936", in Ms. 253028.
427. "The Hare, The Hyena, and the Lion", in Steere, 1928, pp. 323-328.
428. Only at the end of 1982, this Shairi was brought to S.O.A.S. by Mr.
Hubert Allen. See: Reel CI, Ms. 224.
429. Fulusi: A kind of fish, and is likely to be meant as well.
430. See: pp. 109-116.

431. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri, Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu, and Bwana A. Othmani in Mamburui.
432. See: p. 316.
433. See: p. 27.
434. See: p. 349.
435. See: pp. 59-67.
436. In undated letter, in Ms. 47797.
437. See: p. 240.
438. Dammann, 1940/1, p. 127.
439. Dammann, 1940/1, pp. 157-182.
440. Dammann, 1940a, pp. 141-213.
441. See: pp. 52-58.
442. See: p. 54.
443. El-Hinawy, 1974.
444. Ms. 53497.
445. Ms. 255733.
446. Dammann, 1940a, pp. 276-284.
447. Knappert, 1979, pp. 204-207.
448. Dammann, 1939-40.
449. Dammann, 1941/2,
450. Dammann, 1940/1, pp. 183-196.
451. I have a copy of it from E.D. at Hamburg.
452. See: Fig. 17.
453. They spent about 6 months over there.
454. Kijuma wrote: "Watu wengi mahodari walitaka kutunga A.I.U. hawakuweza, hata mimi nilijaribu maru nyingi, sikuweza, lakini sasa nimepijana, nimeweza, lakini hatasa (baado) kutengeza kwa uzuri".
Letter dated 23rd Jumada Al-Ukhra 1356/Sept, 1937.

455. See: p. 182.
456. See: p. 182.
457. Dammann, 1980a.
458. See: p. 386.
459. A letter from Kijuma on 2nd Rabii 1356/May-June 1937.
460. Knappert, 1980, p. 90.
461. "A letter from E.D. to W.H. on 1st Sept. 1936", and "a letter from W.H. to Sh. Hinawy on 14th Nov. 1936", in Ms. 253028.
462. Knappert, 1958, p. 109.
- It is worth mentioning that a photograph of Kijuma is to be found facing the title page.
463. Damman, 1940a, pp. 92-140.
464. Dammann, 1940a, pp. 214-275.
465. Dammann, 1940a, pp. 335-343.
466. A letter from Kijuma to E.D. on 27th Safar 1357/April 1938. I have a copy of this.
467. A letter from Kijuma to J.W. of which I have a copy.
468. It is written after stanza 65.
- The Aya is No. 82, Surah 36.
469. Knappert, 1969a, pp. 81-104, 264-313.
470. Quran, 18:66.
471. See: pp. 60-62.
472. See: p. 191.
473. See: p. 213.
474. See: p. 285.
475. Ms. 279888, Vol. 12, Ms. 496.
476. A letter dated 7th Ramadhan 1359/Oct. 1940.
477. Ms. 279888, Vol. 2, Ms. 307.

- 478. See: p. 241.
- 479. See: p. 242.
- 480. See: p. 242.
- 481. See: p. 242.
- 482. = "The poem of four children", Ms. 279888, Vol. 4, Ms. 323.
- 483. Ms. 279888, Vol. 5, Ms. 330.
- 484. See: p. 229.
- 485. Ms. 279888, Vol. 6, Ms. 341.
- 486. Knappert, 1971a, pp. 165-225.
- 487. See: p. 417.
- 488. They have not been given numbers yet. They bear no information.
- 489. See: pp. 202.206.
- 490. Ms. 279888, Vol. I, pp. 87, and 106.
- 491. Amongst them Bwana Ahmad Sheikh Nabahany in Mombasa.

CHAPTER V

Kijuma as a Craftsman (Fundu)

Kijuma was such a skilled craftsman that he gained the status title: Fundu "Master". Not only did the people of Lamu call him: Fundu, but so did the Europeans who worked and lived in Lamu for more than a short time, such as Mr. Ch. Whitton¹ and others.² Kijuma himself adopted this title for himself, and began to use it when signing his works, whether these were artistic³ or literary works.⁴ Thus, I feel authorised to give this title at the head of this chapter, especially as I intend to argue that he thoroughly deserved this rank. He deserved it because he was capable of practising successfully the art of carpentry, wood-carving, sculpturing on walls and tombstones, sewing, knitting, paper-making, drawing, and calligraphy. All these arts had been practised in Lamu and elsewhere on the East African coast before Kijuma was born. The simple evidence of this is that he was taught carpentry and carving by the old mafundi.⁵ Other old mafundi to be remembered as skilled in carpentry, carving, and masonry are Bw. Usi wa Bwana Hamadi and Shee Juma.⁶ There are, until now, some carved doors still found in Lamu and dating back a long time. The art of sculpture too on walls and tombstones had been practised before Kijuma's time. The most artistic inscription is one made in 1244/1828, and still to be seen beside the mosque of Liwali Seif in Lamu. Kijuma himself referred to one of the very old inscriptions found in the niche of a ruined mosque in Manda.⁷

Concerning the hand made paper, S.O.A.S. has a Swahili Ms. of hand made paper, namely the Hamziyya which Kijuma sent to W.H. in 1934.⁸ It was written in 1207/1792.

We have already seen how and why Kijuma managed to learn the art of carpentry and carving,⁹ also how he learned to make musical instruments¹⁰ and masanamu.¹¹ Before we discuss him as a carver, we have to answer the following two questions:

1. How much was he paid for his carpentry, carving, and sculpturing?
2. Which tools did he use for that work?

I did not meet any one who knew either the exact wage Kijuma received or even the average one for this work. But I was able to work out his average wage as a carpenter around 1910 as one Rupia¹² a day, and as a carver as being about Rs. two. This wage is arrived at from the fact that the payment for work done by the native carpenter was eight Annas to 1 Rupia a day, while the mason or painters' work could be obtained for Rs. 2 a day.¹³ That wage was very high compared to the wage of the native labourer of the same period which was Rs. 10 a month.¹³

Concerning the tools which he used, these were a knife with a wooden handle, an adze,¹⁴ a chisel, a drill, a plane, a saw,¹⁵ Kiminingu, and mangapo.¹⁶

Kijuma as a Wood-Carver and a Sculptor

Firstly, as a sculptor. While house doors and sailing boats were the main products of Kijuma's carving,¹⁷ tombstones and mosques' walls were the main products of his sculpturing, as we shall see. In this respect, we shall deal with all the available objects which he sculptured. In 1306/1888, he cut the epitaph of his first tombstone for the Sultan Ahmed Simba of Witu 1278-1306/1863-1888.¹⁸ It was not only the first epitaph he sculptured and painted but it was also the first known inscription in Swahili, using Arabic script.¹⁹ He inscribed an epitaph on both the front and the reverse sides of that tomb.

The epitaph on the front side is written in Arabic and reads as follows:²⁰

"The praisename lion. The deceased, may he be forgiven, is Sultān Aḥmed bin Sultān Fūmo Lūṭi bin Sultān Sheikh al-Nabahāny died on 17th Jumādā Al-Aulā 1306 (1888/9)."

Looking at the shape of the epitaph, we are directly reminded of the shape of the German 'medal' presented by the German Emperor to brave soliders. This medal was formed from an iron cross, with a segmental diamond, and was formed so as to symbolise strength and firmness. It seems that Kijuma was asked by the German agent Mr. G. Denhardt²¹ to give the deceased Sultan this medal for his support of the Germans against the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar.²²

On the opposite side of the tomb, the epitaph is inscribed in Swahili in Arabic script as follows:²³

"The other world. This is the Sultān who founded this place, Witu, on 13 Rajab 1278 (Jan. 1862)."

As we see, the symbols on this side are similar to the ones on the front side.

On 13th September 1894, Kijuma inscribed an epitaph in German, and in Swahili in Arabic script, on a tombstone for the daughter of Missionary Pieper,²⁴ Miss Lydia Pieper who died and was buried at Mlimani in Lamu. The epitaph reads as follows:²⁵

"Lydia Pieper was born and died on 13th Sept. 1894. Jesus is my life. Death is my benefit."

The heart in which this epitaph is inscribed is the symbol of love. It seems probable that Kijuma by then was being given lessons in writing Swahili in Roman script, because this epitaph is the first work by him combining Roman with Arabic writing. We may recall that later on it was said that Missionary Langenback taught Kijuma Roman script.²⁶ I have to acknowledge that apart from this epitaph and another one,²⁷ I never came across any other works in Roman script by Kijuma. Moreover, he could not speak any languages but Swahili and Arabic.²⁸ Also, he never dated any of his works with a Christian date except this epitaph, and the following. He used to date his works only with Islamic dates, whether the work was for a Muslim or non-Muslim. All these points lead us to assume that Kijuma was given a draft of this epitaph on a piece of paper to copy onto the tombstone. It is worth mentioning here that: Once, W.H. sent Kijuma poems called Ushuhuda²⁹ in Roman script, on 25th Nov. 1935, asking him to correct them in case he had made some spelling mistakes, or if he had transliterated some words incorrectly and so on, Kijuma replied, on 10th Dhu Al-Qa'da 1354/Feb. 1936, that he would prefer to work on Ushuhuda in Arabic script, because it was very difficult for him to work in Roman script. In the end, Kijuma asked the help of Missionary Cheese and went through the poems, but little by little.²

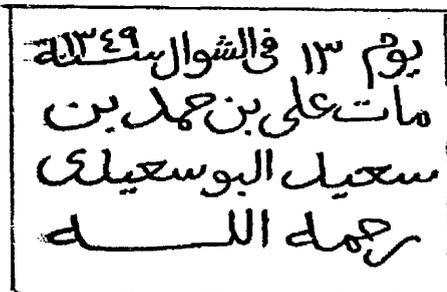
On 10th June 1897, Kijuma designed the epitaph of the tombstone of Mrs. Jane Heyer, the wife of Missionary Heyer,³⁰ who died and was buried at Mlimani in Lamu. The epitaph, inscribed in English and Arabic, reads as follows:³¹

"Mrs. Jane Heyer born 23rd March 1857, died 10th June 1897. As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake with thy likeness. Psalm 17,15." "Jesus said to Martha: I am He, the Resurrection and the life."

Saturday of Jumada Al-Aula 1344/Dec. 1925 is the date on the following epitaph³² which is inscribed in Arabic, and placed at Maziwara ya Langoni in southern Lamu:

"In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Saturday 1344, Aḥmed bin Bakr died on Jumādā Al-Aulā, year."

The 13th of Shawwal 1349/March 1931 is the date on the epitaph on a tombstone in southern Lamu as follows:



يوم ١٣ في الشوال ١٣٤٩
مات علي بن محمد بن
سعيد البوسعيد
رحمه الله

On 13th of Shawwāl 1349
ʿAlī bin Ḥemed bin
Saīd al-Busaīdy died
May Allāh have mercy on him.

The inscription of the following epitaph is inscribed by Kijuma on a wooden board and fixed in cement, as is shown.³³ It reads, in Arabic, as follows:

"23 L. Hijja 1357 (Feb. 1939), Muḥamadi bin Khatibu al-Bawrī³⁴ died. O, Allāh: Forgive him and have mercy upon him. Please read the opening surah of Quran, (that Allah might forgive him.)"

Finally, there are three tombstones about which the people of Lamu are uncertain whether or not they were inscribed by Kijuma. The first is inscribed on Wednesday 18th Jumādā Thānī 1337 (March 1919), in the name of Sayyid Nāṣir bin al-Sayyid 'Abdur-Rahmāni bin Shekhe Pate. This epitaph is on a tomb placed in the southern cemetery at Lamu.

The second epitaph is inscribed in the name of Kijuma's teacher Mwenye Mangabu³⁵ who died on 20th Sha'abān 1340 (March 1922). This tomb is placed in the northern cemetery in Lamu.

The third and the last one is of Shekhe Pate al-Sayyid Abī-Bakr bin al-Sayyid Aḥmed bin Shekhe bin Pate Shekhe Abī-Bakr bin Sālim. It is dated 30th Dhu Al-Ḥijja 1343 (July 1925). It is placed in the southern cemetery in Lamu.

Regarding Kijuma's sculpturing of the mosque walls, he accomplished two major works. The first one was his sculpturing of the whole Surah of the cave (No. 18). It was sculptured on the inside walls of the Witu mosque between 1908-22. It was the same mosque where Kijuma carved the pulpit and the outside and inside doors.³⁶ That Quranic Surah (i.e. No. 18) has 110 Ayas. To sculpture that long surah along the 4 walls of the building from inside, he must have spent months if not a year. We have already assumed that this mosque at Witu was built for the Friday congregation.³⁷ That assumption is confirmed by the fact that this surah was sculptured there, because this particular surah was recommended by the Prophet Muhammad to be read on Fridays. There is more than one Hadith inviting Muslims to read this surah on Fridays. One of these Hadiths is: "Who reads the surah of the cave on Friday, will be protected for eight days from any temptation".³⁸

It is unfortunate that the people of Witu did not try to preserve even one piece of the sculptured stone, after the mosque was ruined and fell down in the 1930's.

The second major work sculptured by Kijuma is the niche of the Liwali Seif's mosque in Lamu.³⁹ It was sculptured in 1343/1925. Kijuma was not only the sculptor of that niche, but also the designer of its shape.⁴⁰ The niche is designed and inscribed in a magnificent way. It convinces any one who looks at it that Kijuma had gifts as an architect as well as a sculptor. The inscription is found on the front right and left sides of the niche. Further inscriptions are to be found on the inside right and left sides of the niche. Here is the inscription on the front sides:

لا إله إلا الله
المالك الحق المبين
محمد رسول الله
الصادق الوعد الأمين

There is no god but Allāh
The possessor, The Right, The Obvious
Muḥammad is a prophet of Allāh
Sincere in his promise, the Trustworthy.

The inscription on the inside sides is as follows:

قد بنى هذا المسجد
للقيصر الراجي عفويربه
المنان
الوالي سيف بن سالم بن خلفان
تم بنيانه بتاريخ
خمس عشر شوال سنة
الف وثلاثمائة وثلاثة وأربعين
هجرية

He had built this mosque
The modest one, hoping for the pardon of his
Benefactor God
Liwālī Seif bin Sālim bin Khalfān⁴¹
Its building was completed on
15th Shawwāl, year
One thousand three hundred and forty three
Hijriyyah (May 1925)

Kijuma as a Wood-Carver

Before enumerating all the pieces and works which Kijuma carved, we have to deal with the main images of his carving. The type of Kijuma's carving is called Kulabu¹⁶ "A butcher's hook" or "Grapnel of various kinds". His carving is curvaceous; and floral motifs, combined with the pineapple motif, are more frequent. The traditional lozenge at the bottom of each side post of the doors often becomes a flower-pot or a pineapple. In general, the floral motif is a symbol of prosperity. In most of the doors which Kijuma carved, studs are set. The function of these studs is protection from wild animals, particularly elephants. Regarding the name of his carving, kulabu, it is interesting to know that there are Swahili hats embroidered in a type of embroidery called kulabu. I have seen one such hat in the Lamu Museum. It is labelled: Kofia ya vito vya Kiswahili (kulabu) ni ya karne ya 20. Its embroidery is believed to be similar to the above-mentioned carving. It is not known whether our carver adopted his theme of carving from that hat or vice versa. According to the available data and dated works, the first work which Kijuma carved is a house door for the German consul in Lamu, Mr. G. Denhardt.⁴² Kijuma did not only carve that door which is still in place, standing in Harambee Rd., but also its inscription in Arabic script which reads as follows:⁴³

"Denhardt^M Kustaf^K fatsuk

Bitārīkh l. 1310 Jumādā Al-Ākhar" (December 1892).

The initials M.K. can also be discerned. He inscribed the name Kustaf (i.e. Gustave) twice in Arabic script. The first one is written normally, and the second one is written in a mirror image.

It is very likely that Mr. Gustav Denhardt was the one who suggested to Kijuma that he carve the name in this image, because it was the first time that Kijuma used such an image. Knowing that Kijuma and Mr. Denhardt were friends,⁴⁴ it is probable that they exchanged knowledge. This might also help to explain the significance of the other symbols which Kijuma put on the other doors to be discussed.

The second door Kijuma carved was the house door of Bw. Said bin Hamed al-Busaidy. He was Liwali of Lamu between 1893-4. The door was carved in 1310/1893. Later on, the British colonial administration moved into this house, and it remained the residence of the senior administrative official (the I.B.E.A. Company Agent, later the D.C.). In 1971, the Museum Trustees of Kenya took it over and opened it as the Lamu Museum in December 1971.⁴⁵ The Museum is in Kenyatta Rd., Lamu.⁴⁶

On 7th Dhu Al-Hijja 1314/May 1897, our craftsman carved the third door. With the carving, he inscribed the following inscription in Arabic script:⁴⁷

"Carved on 7th Dhu Al-Hijja 1314.

In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful
Master Kijūma."

On the centrepost, he carved a snake with a hand pointing his name (Fundi Kijuma) which is inscribed in the image of an eagle. Although the trend in carving in Lamu was towards realism, Kijuma added some imaginative touches to his door by carving the snake with a hand pointing at his name.

He wanted to show symbolically that his name should be eternally remembered as the name of a superior craftsman. I use the word "Eternally" because the snake is carved in such a way, that it is holding its tail in its mouth. A snake of such a shape is a European symbol of eternity.⁴⁸ Also, I use "Superior" because it is likely that he compared himself to the eagle. The eagle is considered as the most intelligent of all birds.⁴⁹ It is well known that the eagle moreover is considered as the king of all other birds. So, by implication, 'other birds' refer to other craftsmen. In other words, Kijuma as a wood-carver was a king among all carvers, because he considered himself the most skilled. Having explained these symbols, I have to refer to an important point. It is what Bishop Edward Steere wrote: "Whenever a snake is mentioned, something more or less magical is sure to be connected with it".⁵⁰ We should remember that the society of Lamu is Islamic and that magic is considered as evil and objectionable in Islamic societies, but it is still possible that Kijuma meant that he had a magical (= unbelievable) superiority in the field of carving.

All that is known about the history of the house in which this door is now, is that Mr. Charles Whitton⁵¹ used to live in it. Kijuma was a close friend of Mr. Whitton and used to entertain him with his beloved woman of Shela, Rehema, by playing his gambusi and singing Swahili songs.⁵²

Kijuma carved other doors in Lamu, but unfortunately he did not date them. The first of these undated doors is the house-door for the Liwali of Lamu, Seif bin Salim.⁵³ We can assume that Kijuma carved it either between 1909 and 1911, after he had returned from Zanzibar to Lamu, and while the Liwal Seif was still in office for the first time (1903-11), or between 1922 and 1929, when the same Liwali held the same office for the second time.

I say this, because Kijuma probably carved it while this Liwali was in office but it is not known in which period.¹⁶ This house is now empty.

He carved the second door without a date in a house standing in Harambee Rd., Lamu, which he only signed with the Arabic letter **S** (K) on the door's lintel. Again, this letter is his initial K. for Kijuma.⁵⁴

The third door without a date is in the building where now the Standard Bank of Lamu is housed. It is in Kenyatta Rd., Lamu.

Although Kijuma certainly carved other doors in Lamu,¹⁶ he was not careful to sign all the works he carved. E.g. Liwali Abdalla bin Hemed of Lamu (1884-8 and from 1889-1903) used to commission Kijuma to carve various items, particularly tables, for use in his house.⁵⁵

Also, Kijuma was the one who would be asked by the owners of Swahili ships (majahazi) to carve the names of boats launched at Lamu, and to paint their so-called eyelets (vijicho) on the bows. There were about 60 boats carved in such a way attributed to Kijuma.⁵⁶

Kijuma also carved other works outside Lamu. After he had returned from Zanzibar in 1908, Sultan Omari bin Muhamadi of Witu (1895-1923) invited him to come and carve his mansion's door and some items of house-furniture, as well as the doors of the mosque at Witu and a large pulpit. We know that Kijuma carved everything that he was commissioned to do. The door of the Sultan's mansion was bought and shipped to America by an American after Sultan Omari had died in 1923. This American paid 2000 Shilingi for the door, and 500 Shilingi for the mafundi who took the door down from the building.⁵⁷

Concerning the doors of the mosque at Witu and its big pulpit, the mosque was collapsed and all the carved doors were destroyed in the 1930's.⁵⁸

However, five carved lintels from these doors remained in good condition as well as some boards from the pulpit. When the people of Witu built a new mosque, they placed these five lintels over its doors. A carved board placed over the main door of this new mosque has the following inscription in Arabic:⁵⁹

"O, ye who believe: When the call is heard for the prayer of the day of congregation, hasten unto remembrance of Allāh."⁶⁰

This inscription suggest that this mosque was built for the people of Witu to perform their weekly prayer, as well as their five daily prayers. It is worth mentioning that our carver started his inscription on the board by the words "Remembrance of Allah", although they should be at the end of the inscription. It is likely that he wanted to tell us that the main use of the mosque is essentially for remembering Allah.

The second board which is placed over one door of the mosque has the following inscription in Arabic:

يا داخل المسجد
اعتكف لله

"O, ye who enter the mosque:

Continue uninterruptedly worshipping Allāh".

Although our carver has not taken this inscription word for word from the Quran or Hadith, he is reminding the worshippers of the I'tikāf.

"Remaining in the mosque worshipping Allah for some time without interruption".

In Islam, the Muslim is asked to perform *I'tikāf*⁶¹ from time to time by remaining in the mosque praying, studying or reading the Quran. There is no special time for doing this, but the preferred period is the last ten days of Ramadhan, because the prophet Muhammad himself used to perform *I'tikāf* in these ten days, but he did so for twenty days in the year he died.⁶¹ This inscription indicates that that mosque of Witu was the Friday mosque because the Muslim who has the intention of continuing his *I'tikāf* without interruption has to make his *I'tikāf* in a mosque where the Friday service is to be held, to avoid interrupting his *I'tikāf* by going outside the mosque to another. When the Muslim is engaged in *I'tikāf*, he is not supposed to go outside the mosque but to eat, go to the toilet, and wash himself there.⁶¹

Inside the mosque, over a door, the third board is inscribed with the following Quranic Aya:⁶²

"My lord: Forgive and have mercy, for Thou art best of all who show mercy".⁶³

The fourth board is inscribed with the following portion of a Quranic Aya:⁶⁴

مَا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ حَسَنَةٍ
فَمِنَ اللَّهِ
وَمَا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ سَيِّئَةٍ
فَمِنْ عِنْدِكَ

"Whatever of good befalleth thee (o man) it is from Allāh

And whatever of ill befalleth thee it is from thyself".

The last word in this inscription 'indika "Thyself" should be nafsika "Thyself" according to the Quranic Aya, but the meaning of the word 'indika in this context is the same as nafsika.

The fifth board is inscribed with:

"Ask Allāh the protection from wickedness and evil".⁶⁵

This board is located over the lavatory door. Our carver reminds us with this inscription of the prayer which the prophet used to say when he had to go to the lavatory. That prayer is: "In the name of Allah, O, Allah: I am asking thou the protection from the male and female devils".⁶⁶

Regarding the remaining carved boards which were scattered from the destroyed pulpit, a Fundi called Abdur-Rahmani Muhamadi bin Bagoor⁶⁷ was asked by the townsmen to restore those boards together, making a small pulpit out of them. Here are all the inscriptions of those boards, which I could not photograph because of not having a flash:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

"In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful".

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ
مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

"There is no god but Allāh
Muḥammad is a prophet of Allāh"⁶⁸

كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ
وَبَقِيَ وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ
ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ

"Every one that is thereon will pass away
There remaineth but the countenance of thy
Lord of Might and Glory"⁶⁹

تبارك ذوالعلا والكبرياء

"Blessed is He who has the majesty and the greatness

ثفرد بالجلال وبالبقاء

He remaineth alone with glory and eternity".

This last inscription is a quotation of the first line of a poem called Tabaraka⁷⁰ of Kijuma's teacher, Mwenye Mansabu. It is an indication of the extent to which Kijuma was influenced by this teacher. This inscription and the previous one deal with the mortality of every one but Allah. They also show that that mosque was where Muslims of Witu used to bring their dead to pray to Allah for them, before they were buried.

إذا صعد الخطيب على المنبر
فلا يتحدث أحدا

"When the preacher ascends the pulpit,
Let every one be silent".

The preacher is the one who delivers the sermon to the Friday congregation. That sermon is given just before the prayer begins. This inscription is derived from the meaning of one of the prophet's Hadith. The Hadith is: "If you say to your companion on Friday - while the Imām gives the speech: 'Listen', then you have offended".⁷¹

One important point has to be repeated here, namely that the art of carving in the Kenyan coast was and still is preserved only thanks to Kijuma's talent and hard work.⁷²

Kijuma as an artist of drawing
and Calligraphy

Before we speak about the signboards which Kijuma drew and for which he did the calligraphy, we should speak about the material he used for designing these signboards, i.e. the pens, the ink, and the paper. It was easy for Kijuma to make ink or pens, as we have already seen,⁷³ but to make paper was not. This needs an explanation. He could make paper himself in the following way:

- Collecting pieces of old cloth.
- Soaking them in water for some time.
- Boiling them on a fire.
- Mixing them with cornstarch.
- Stretching them after putting out the fire.
- Ironing them with a cowrie-shell (dondo).
- Putting them out in the sun for some time to dry.

Thus, Kijuma had his own hand-made paper.⁷⁴ Hence, we can say that Kijuma was, as always, capable of producing something all on his own from start to finish. In this respect, he was not only a calligrapher and a painter, but also a maker of ink, pens, and paper. In addition, he was also the one who framed the signboards. We cannot separate Kijuma's drawing from his calligraphy, because he used to combine the two in most of the signboards which he made. It seems that Kijuma had begun his calligraphy on the walls of houses, before he practised it on signboards, because I discovered that the first calligraphy he made, as far as we know, is the one found on the house wall of Mualim Kari in Mamburui.

This Mualim was a friend of Bw. Ali Aman for whom Kijuma scribed the book of al-Saifu al-Qāṭiī⁷⁵ in 1895. When this Mualim saw the beautiful handwriting of Kijuma, he asked him to do this calligraphy.⁷⁶ That house is now occupied by Sh. Muhamadi Saidi, and the text of this calligraphy reads:

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ	"In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful
اللّٰهُمَّ افْتَحْ لَنَا اَبْوَابَ رَحْمَتِكَ	O, Allāh: Open the doors of Thy mercy for us
وَاجْعَلْنَا مِنْ غِنَاكَ	Make us rich from Thy treasures
وَانْشُرْ عَلَيْنَا بِفَضْلِكَ	And spread them upon us by Thy favour
يَا اللّٰهَ الْطِیْفِ الْيَمِیْنِ	O, Allāh, O, The Kind, O, The Compassionate,
يَا مَنَّانَ	O, The Benefactor
وَصَلِّ عَلٰی سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ	O, Allāh, Bless our Master Muḥammad,
وَعَلٰی اٰلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ	His lineage, and his companions and grant
تَسْلِیْمًا	them salvation".

The first framed signboard which Kijuma drew and for which he did the calligraphy was one for Mzee Salim Kheri⁷⁷ of Lamu on 30th Rabīi Al-Akhir 1333/March 1915. The date is written on the base of the tree pot drawn on the signboard.⁷⁸ It reads in Arabic:

"It was completed on 30th Rabīī Al-Thānī 1333."

The signboard includes the 99 attributes of Allah written down inside a tree's foliage drawn in the centre of the signboard. The tree is surrounded by a rectangle-shape. The sides of this rectangle, excluding the lowest, contain the names of the prophet Muhammad, his family, and some of his companions.

At the bottom of the rectangle, he wrote the following:

"It was made by Kijūma for Sālim, the Captain, in Lamu town".

Concerning the 99 attributes of Allah, there is a Hadith specifying that number as 99.⁷⁹ Kijuma wrote all these attributes inside a tree's foliage. Such a tree was called Tuba in another signboard made by Kijuma.⁸⁰ In reality, these attributes are only adjectives derived from His essence through its various manifestations in the universe which He alone has formed.⁸¹ These attributes are written in Arabic, and in successive order as follows:

*He is Allāh, than whom there is no other.
The Merciful. The Compassionate. The King of Kings.
The Holy One. The Peace. The Faithful.
The Help in peril. The Mighty. The All Compelling.
The Majestic. The Creator. The Artificer.
The Fashioner. The Forgiver. The Dominant.
The Bestower. The Provider. The Opener.
The All Knower. The Closer. The Uncloser.
The Abaser. The Exalter. The Honourer.
The Humiliator. The All Hearing. The All Seeing.
The Arbiter of All. The Equitable. The Gracious One.
He who is Aware. The Clement. The Strong.
The Very Forgiver. The Thankful. The Exalted.
The Very Great. The Preserver. The Maintainer.
The Reckoner. The Beneficent. The Bountiful.
The Watchful. The Hearer of Prayer. The All Comprehending.
The Judge of Judges. The Loving. The All Glorious.

The Raiser From Death. The Witness. The Truth.
The Guardian. The Almighty. The Firm.
The Nearest Friend. The All Praiseworthy. The Accountant.
The Beginner. The Restorer. The Quickener.
The Slayer. The Ever Living. The Self-Subsisting.
The All Existing. The Glorious. The One. The Eternal.
Providence. The All Powerful. The Forewarner.
The Fulfiller. The First. The Last. The Manifest.
The Hidden. The All Governing. The One above Reproach.
The Good. The Relenting. The Avenger. The Pardoner.
The Ever-Indulgent. King of the Kingdom.
Lord of Splendid Power. The Equitable. The Gatherer.
The All Sufficing. The Sufficer. The Provider.
The Withholder. The Harmful. The Propitious. The Light.
The Guide. The Unique Creator. The Eternal in the Future.
The Inheritor. The Unerring. The Patient.⁸²

Has this tree any symbolic significance? Yes. It is a symbol of Paradise, joy, happiness and the blessing with which Allah will reward His prophets from Adam until Muhammad, and their followers. The connection between this tree and the 99 attributes symbolises the connection between Paradise and faith in the religion of Allah. Hence, Kijuma is comparing the attributes of Allah with all of His religion, and he is comparing the tree with Paradise. That is why he showed the tree surrounded by the 25 prophets mentioned in the Quran, by which is meant: "The Prophets' message was to preach these attributes". Every Muslim is expected to believe in all the 25 prophets, otherwise he is not a Muslim, because he does not believe in the Quran.

At the same time, the Muslim should bear in mind that Allah has sent other prophets of whom He revealed neither the names nor the number.⁸³ Kijuma wrote these 25 prophets' names on his signboard twice, once on the right-hand side of the tree, inside the arch, and again in the same order on the left-hand side. Although Kijuma did his best to put their names in order according to the chronology of their appearance as prophets, he made some mistakes. E.g. he put the name of the prophet Moses, after he had put Harun, although the other way round is more correct.⁸⁴ Each of these prophets is mentioned more than once in the Quran, but here are some of the Quranic Ayas which mention these 25 prophets: 2:136. 3:33. 4:163. 6:85-6. 7:73. 21:86. 26:124-5. And 33:40.

Here are the prophets' names which he mentioned on the signboard:

"Ādam, peace be upon him. Enoch. Noach. Hood. Ṣālih. Abraham. Lōṭ. Ismā'īl. Isaac. Jacob. Joseph. Job. Shu'ayb. Hārūn. Moses. Elisha. Dhu-al-Kifl. David. Solomon. Elias. Jonah. Zechariah. John. Jesus. Ṭāhā⁸⁵ (i.e. Muhammad)".

Regarding the rectangle which contains the prophet Muhammad's name, some members of his family, and some of his companions, Kijuma wrote these names twice. He put these names in the following order:

"Muḥammad the prophet of Allah peace be upon him.⁸⁶
Abū-Bakr.⁸⁷ 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fārūq.⁸⁸ 'Othmān.⁸⁹
'Alī.⁹⁰ Fāṭimah.⁹¹ Ḥasan.⁹² Ḥusain.⁹³ Kāsim.⁹⁴
'Abdu-Llahi.⁹⁵ Ṭāhir.⁹⁵ Ṭayyib.⁹⁵ Ibrāhīm.⁹⁶
Zainab.⁹⁷ Ruqayyah.⁹⁸ Ummu-Kulthum.⁹⁹ Āishah.¹⁰⁰
Sawdah.¹⁰¹ Ḥafṣah.¹⁰² Maymūnah.¹⁰³ Ṣafiyyah.¹⁰⁴
Hind.¹⁰⁵ Ramlah.¹⁰⁶ Zainab.¹⁰⁷ Juwayriyah".¹⁰⁸

All the prophet's wives were widows or divorcees except Aishah. The prophet married some of them on urgent humane grounds, others on the ground of Allah's orders to legislate new laws or to cancel old customs of the pre-Islamic era.¹⁰⁹ After these laws had been established, Allah ordered His prophet not to marry any more, nor to divorce any one he had already married.¹¹⁰

But, what is the significance of Kijuma's making the names of the prophet, his companions, and his family surround Allah's attributes and the prophets' names? It seems probable that Kijuma wanted to symbolise by this that Allah's message to the prophet Muhammad and his followers contains the whole message which He gave the other prophets. One final word about the general image of the signboard as a whole. When we study it carefully, we find that the arch-shape and the rectangular shape with the floral decoration in and between them are similar in shape to the mosque's niche. Thus, we can say that that niche is a symbol of a mosque in which Allah's attributes are to be praised. The ability of our artist in creating such artistic touches on paper gave him the necessary experience to design a niche such as the niche of the Liwali Seif's mosque in Lamu.¹¹¹

For the same Mzee Salim Kheri Kijuma did the calligraphy for, decorated, and framed another magnificent signboard on 23rd Jumada Al-Aula 1343/December 1924, reading:¹¹²

Hence, the person who loves them might also get the same love from Allah, rescued from that Hell.

On the 21st of Safar 1344/September 1925, Kijuma did the calligraphy for and drew a splendid signboard¹¹⁵ for Mzee Salim Kheri of Lamu. At the bottom of the signboard, the colophon reads as follows:

"On 21st Şafar 1344. by Muḥamadi Kijūma's hand. For Sālim Kheri, the Captain".

At the centre of the signboard, Kijuma drew a tree carrying the 99 attributes of Allah inside its foliage. The 99 attributes with their symbolism and the symbol of the tree have been explained.¹¹⁶ Before leaving these 99 attributes inside the foliage on this signboard, we have to mention the prophet's Hadith which Kijuma inscribed inside an arch-shape, and in which the prophet specified the number of these attributes as 99. The Hadith is:

"The prophet peace be upon him said: Allāh has ninety-nine names, one hundred but one, who adheres to them (i.e. believes in them and behaves accordingly), he will attain Paradise".

At the end, Kijuma furnished this Hadith with his own appendix:

"O, Lord, Thy splendid power is great".

At the foot of the tree, he wrote its name:

"The tree is Ṭūbā".

We have to explain in detail the meaning of tūbā to make its significance clear for the reader, and thus the significance of the signboard as a whole will be better understood. The word tūbā is derived from the Quran and the Hadith. It is mentioned in the following Quranic Aya:¹¹⁷

"Those who believe and do right: Joy is for them, and bliss (their) journey's end". The word "Joy" in this Aya is the translation of the word tūbā. This meaning is applicable to the explanation given by many great scholars of Islam, like Ibn Abbas and others,¹¹⁸ but other scholars, like Ibn Gareer and others,¹¹⁸ say that tūbā is a tree in Paradise, and that all the trees of Paradise are extended from it, and that every palace in Paradise has a twig from it. Moreover, they say: "Allah, the Merciful planted it by His hand from a pearly seed, He ordered it to extend, so it extended to wherever He wished. From its roots, the springs of the rivers¹¹⁹ of Paradise emerge, and from its calyxes, the inhabitants of Paradise will be dressed in every kind of silk". Abu-Said al-Khudhriyy reports that the prophet P.B.U.H. said: "There is a tree in Paradise. The rider of a speedy and well trained horse may gallop for a hundred years (hoping to arrive at the end of its shade) but he will find it endless."¹¹⁸ Clearly, Kijuma had leaned towards the interpretation of the scholars who consider tūbā a tree in Paradise. It is also clear that Kijuma had the knowledge of the tūbā being grown from a pearly seed, planted by Allah, because he coloured his painting in gold, and wrote the following within its roots:

"The pebbles. The throne". And within its trunk, he wrote:

"Allāh".

The pebbles here might be a symbol of the tree's soil, the throne of Allah's power, by which the tree is growing, and from which the inhabitants of Paradise will be fed and dressed, and the word Allah inside the tree's trunk may signify that the tree was planted by Him. There is one point left to be made about the tree. It is drawn in a way which makes it appear upside-down to symbolise its eternity, and uniqueness, and to make its twigs which carry the fruits more obtainable everywhere for the inhabitants of Paradise. It symbolises eternity because all the trees in this world will be uprooted just before the day of Judgement in the Hereafter. Making tūbā upside-down means that this uprooting will not be applicable to it, because it was not planted in the soil of this world. Because our artist wrote on his signboard the Hadith in which Paradise is mentioned, he did not leave us without illustrating some of his knowledge about Paradise. Hence, he drew the doors of Paradise, making them eight. Indeed, they are eight according to a Hadith which says: "There are eight doors to Paradise".¹²⁰ Kijuma did not only illustrate the number of the doors of Paradise as eight, but he also named them. Their names are given inside the two posts which carry the arch's shape. They are given in the following order:

"The Garden of Eden. The Garden of Paradise.

The Garden of Eternity. The Garden of Peace.

The Garden of Approach. The Garden of Settlement.

The Garden of Delight. The Garden of Refuge".

All of these names are mentioned in the Quran.¹²¹ The name "The Garden of Approach" which is given here by Kijuma is replaced by "The Garden of Honour", in the works of some scholars¹²² who mentioned the eight names of the doors of Paradise. Apart from this one, all the other names are the same as they are mentioned in Kijuma's signboard.

If we study the posts which are carrying the arched shape, we will see that Kijuma has left some spaces empty inside these posts. It is likely that our artist meant something by leaving those spaces empty, otherwise he would not have made them. Although the number of the doors of Paradise are specified as eight, the number of levels of Paradise are not specified. Some Muslim scholars have said that they are 100 levels¹²³ and others that they are more than 100. Hence, it seems probable that the empty spaces in the posts are symbols of these many different levels. The distance between each level and the other is similar to that between the earth and the sky.¹²⁴

On the top of the doors of Paradise, Kijuma drew a kind of dome-shape, in which he wrote:

"The doors of Paradise".

It is not unlikely that that dome is a symbol of the source of the rivers of Paradise, because it is said that the source of the rivers of Paradise emerges from underneath a dome which is beside a tree.¹²³

At the bottom of the doors of Paradise, Kijuma called that which his signboard contains: "The Holy Kingdom". Inside the outer two long sides of the rectangle which surrounds the Holy Kingdom, Kijuma wrote two Hadiths. The first, on the right-hand side is:

"The prophet of Allāh P.B.U.H. said: 'I had a look at Paradise and I found the majority of its inhabitants are the poor. And then I had a look at Hell, I found the majority of its inhabitants are the rich and the women'".

Kijuma added his own appendix saying:

"The prophet P.B.U.H. said the truth".

This Hadith is narrated in Sahih Muslim¹²⁵ and also in Riyādh al-Sālihīn,¹²⁶ but the word "Rich" is not included in the Hadith. What is mentioned in these traditions on these pages is that the rich will enter Paradise after the poor.

Having read this Hadith, the reader might think that the number of women who enter Paradise will be less than that of the men, but the opposite is true, because the ratio of women to men in Paradise will be 2 to 1 according to other Hadiths.¹²⁷ This shows that the number of women will be more than that of men in both Paradise and Hell.

The second Hadith on the left hand of the signboard is:

"The prophet of Allāh, P.B.U.H., said: 'The inhabitants of Paradise are three (types): A person of power (e.g. a King or leader) who is just and rightly guided. A compassionate person who is gentle hearted towards every relative and Muslim. And a chaste virtuous person who has dependants'".

At the end of the Hadith, Kijuma wrote:

"The prophet of Allāh P.B.U.H. has said the truth".

There are two points, in the signboard, which remain unclear. The first point concerns what is written inside the shape, which is similar to a sun with arrows, located between the tree and the right-hand post. Firstly, Kijuma maybe drew this shape to create a kind of balance in distributing his objects in equal distances over the available space. After he had found out that the clear space between the tree and the right-hand post is wider than the same space between the tree and the left-hand post, he might draw this shape to cover up his inaccuracy. Secondly, according to my reading of what is written inside this shape, it is read: "There is no god but Allah", but it is written in such a way as to make the reader confused. And, because the first part of these words reads "La" clearly, I preferred to put Lamu inside this shape, in the reproduced signboard, to avoid such confusion. The second point, concerns the four little flowers drawn over every two doors of Paradise on the reproduced signboard. After I had the photo of original signboard developed, I observed a word written over every two doors, but I had not noticed it while I was holding the original signboard in Lamu. Although that word might be read through a magnifying glass as "Allāh", I preferred to replace it by a flower, because I was not absolutely sure about the exact reading.

Kijuma inscribed and drew other signboards, but regrettably he did not date them. I had three of them dated by their owners. The first one is in the possession of J.W. He told me that that signboard was made by Kijuma in 1936.

Its main subject is the cross surrounded by flowers.¹²⁸ It is a copy of the original signboard, kindly given to me by J.W. As we see, this copy is reduced and produced in such a way to make from it a title piece for religious books. J.W. has hung the original on the wall of the entrance to his flat. He obtained it through one of his colleagues called Miss Marjorie Murry.¹²⁹ In one letter of Kijuma's to E.D., he wrote: "I made three signboards of the cross, one for Miss Lloyd,¹³⁰ one for Miss Murray, and the third was for Bw. E.D. and I sent it to him on 2nd Rabii 1356,¹³¹ (1937)". Furthermore, J.W. informed me that he gave Dr. Charles G. Richards a signboard on the same subject made by Kijuma.

Supposing we knew that Kijuma had the intention to symbolise the crucifixion of Jesus with the cross, we would have to ask ourselves this question. Did Kijuma believe that Jesus was crucified? It is doubtful that Kijuma believed in the crucifixion because of the following reasons:

1. When Kijuma composed his poem Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa for the first time in 1912, he adopted the whole story of this poem from an Islamic source, not from a Christian one.¹³² He did not include the crucifixion in it.
2. In 1942, Kijuma composed another poem about Jesus entitled: Hadithi ya Sayyidna Isa, not in the same words as the one of 1912, nor with the same number of stanzas,¹³² but with the same Islamic concepts. In the last stanza (No. 314) of the poem, Kijuma said:

Wa salamu nimekoma	With the peace, I finished
Hadithi ya Tumwa mwema	The poem of the right prophet
Kurani yalosema	According to what the Quran said
Na zuo Hadithi pia	And also the books of the Hadith

It happened that J.W. asked Kijuma the cause of not composing this poem in a Christian concept, and Kijuma answered him in a letter:

"This poem is not difficult. It is in modern language, not archaic. And when I have a chance, I shall write you another one according to the Gospel".¹³³ But unfortunately, he died before he got that chance.

3. We must also bear in mind that Kijuma by then was translating the Gospel from Mombasa-dialect into the dialect of Lamu (i.e. from Kimvita into Kiamu).¹³⁴ Furthermore, he was the one who scribed the Gospel of Kimvita for W.T.¹³⁴

Regarding the flowers surrounding the cross, they symbolise the prosperity which was yielded by the suffering of Jesus. Kijuma scribed three lines, in Swahili in Arabic script, over the cross. They are a quotation from the Gospel according to John:¹³⁵

"For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son. That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved".

And down the cross, Kijuma wrote a stanza in Swahili in Arabic script. It is likely that Kijuma was the one who composed it. It reads as follows:

Kuya <u>d</u> uniani	The coming into the world
Jesu ni hakika	Of Jesus is true
<u>T</u> akaomwamini	Who will believe in him

Hoyo taokoka	He will be safe
Alomshindani	Whoever fights him,
Kesho tasumbuka	Will suffer tomorrow.

This stanza deals with Jesus' second coming to this world just before its end. Kijuma referred to this second coming in his poem of Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa, published by E.D., stanza No. 347.¹³⁶ The Muslims believe in this second coming, but when he comes, he will preach Islam. There are many Hadiths narrating this, and enjoining Muslims to follow Jesus at this time.¹³⁷

After that, Kijuma decorated the margin of this signboard in two different styles. The inside margin is decorated in a floral style similar to the one which he made and sent to W.H. to make it the title-piece for Al-Inkishafi.¹³⁸ The outside margin of this signboard is decorated in, more or less, similar way to the carving which he put on one of the doors which he carved in Lamu.¹³⁹

The second signboard which was dated by its owner is a signboard containing the slipper of the prophet Muhammad.¹⁴⁰ It is a copy which E.D. kindly allowed me to take from his original. He told me that Kijuma made it for him in 1936/7. All that is written in the margins of this signboard is: A description of the slipper of the prophet, the material from which it was made, its colour, how he used to put it on and take it off, the number of slippers and boots which he had, the original reference¹⁴¹ from which this signboard was adopted, and the benefits¹⁴² which the person would obtain from keeping a copy of this slipper with him. These benefits are mentioned in the right-hand margin of the signboard.

I will translate these benefits, so that the reader will get a wider view of the aims of making such a signboard, and whether it is Islamic or not.

"Its benefits: Al-Qistālāniyy and al-Maqqariyy narrated from the scholars who experienced the blessing of this exalted example (i.e. of the slipper), that the one who keeps it with the intention of getting blessed by it, it will be a protection for him against the injustice of the oppressors, a defeat for the enemy, a protection from every rebel devil, and from the eye of every envious person. If a pregnant woman in her very labour holds it by her right hand, it will ease her delivery by the strength and the power of God. It is a security from the looking (the evil eye), and from magic. The one who keeps it for life, he will be given complete acceptance by the people, he will visit the tomb of the prophet P.B.U.H., he will see the prophet in his dream, he will not be in any army and get defeated even if it were one thousand, he will not be in a ship which will sink, nor in a house which will be burned, nor own property that will be stolen. Its keeper, through the love for the prophet P.B.U.H., never looks for any good thing but he gains it, he will never be put in a spot but will find the way out, and he will never be sick or he will recover".

As we see from the translation, the narrators who narrated these "Benefits" did not rely on any authentic references upon which Muslims rely, the Quran or Hadith. I went through these two authentic authorities but I found nothing about these benefits. In fact, there is not one Aya nor one Hadith, mentioning or referring to such benefits. Thus, the narration of such benefits on the signboard has no Islamic roots.

Hence, I allow myself, without any hesitation to say: Although the subject of this signboard is Islamic, the context is nothing but superstition which is strongly condemned in Islam. Such superstition finds its way to the ignorant people. It is interesting to know that such a slipper has recently been printed in a book of Islamic Calligraphy, but with those benefits excluded.¹⁴³

The final signboard which was dated by its owner is a signboard owned by Bw. Abdalla Khatibu of Lamu. This signboard was made by Kijuma in 1940. It has nothing but the lineage of Bw. Abdalla Khatibu's family. The name of the paternal members of the family are written inside foliage of a shape more or less like a tree,¹⁴⁴ its root carries the name of the first ancestor, and its top twig carries the name of the present offspring. Within this signboard, Kijuma copied eight lines of Swahili poetry composed by Bw. Khatibu's family.¹⁴⁵ This poetry is likely to deal with the affairs of the same family.

The rest of the signboards which could be traced are not dated. But we could give them an approximate date, because all of them were made for Mzee Salim Kheri who was one of Kijuma's best friends in Lamu. When we know that the first dated signboard made by Kijuma for Mzee Salim Kheri was in 1915,¹⁴⁶ and the last dated signboard made by the same artist for the same client was in 1925,¹⁴⁷ we can say that these undated signboards were made between 1908 and 1930's, because Mzee Salim Kheri was a member of Kijuma's faction in the singing competitions during this period. And as has been said before, Kijuma used to make these signboards for Mzee Salim Kheri as compensatory payment for the latter's services for that faction.

The first of these undated signboards reads as follows: ¹⁴⁸

"In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful-Allāh.
Muhammad. Abū-Bakr. 'Omar. 'Othmān. 'Alī".

As we see, the signboard includes the name of Allah, His prophet Muhammad, and the four successive caliphs who reigned after the prophet had died. On this signboard, there are three letters, every one of which is written in such a way and put in such a place so that it can be used for reading more than one word. The first letter is the Alif (= A) of the word Allah. This letter is not only read as the first letter for the word Allah, but also as the first letter for the word Abu-Bakr. The second letter is the Dāl (= D), the final letter of the word Muhammad. Our calligrapher wrote this Dāl so that it would form a part of the letter 'Ain. This 'Ain is also used in the signboard for the words Omar, Othman, and Ali, because these three words begin, in Arabic, with the letter 'Ain. The third letter is ar-Raa (= R) of the name Abu-Bakr. It is also used in the word Omar. We might assume that Kijuma inscribed his text in such a way to symbolise the faithful relation or connection between every one mentioned in the signboard. At the end, he decorated the margin of this signboard with a floral pattern as usual.

The second undated signboard reads as follows: ¹⁴⁹

"In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. My welfare is only in Allāh. In Him I trust. And unto Him I turn (repentant)".

This text is part of the Quranic Aya 88, Surah 11.

The third signboard reads as follows:¹⁵⁰

"In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh is the friend of success."¹⁵¹

May the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him¹⁵² (i.e. the prophet Muhammad)".

The fourth of these undated signboards reads:¹⁵³

"In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Lo! We have given thee (O, Muhammad), a signal victory."¹⁵⁴

Help from Allāh and present victory".¹⁵⁵

The fifth one has a Swahili stanza written in Arabic script.¹⁵⁶ It is stanza No. 19 from the Acrostic poem Dura L-Mandhuma.¹⁵⁷ Kijuma used to recite this poem by heart.¹⁵⁸ Here is that stanza:

"In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. What will you answer, O stranger when Allah says: Disappear and get out of my sight. Let illusions and worldly corruption save you then from the fire of Hell. The possession of Sālim, the Captain".

Kijuma did the calligraphy for another signboard including a Swahili stanza in Arabic script, but this time it was his own composition.

Although he made two signboards for that stanza - one for the same Mzee Salim Kheri and the other one for a man called Mzimba Kheri in Lamu - I could not obtain either of them, because they had both become ~~moth-eaten~~^{W-H-M-}.¹⁵⁹ In spite of this, Mzee Salim and Bw. Kirome could recite the stanza from them by heart. Here is that stanza in which we see Kijuma as a preacher:

Ukimuona kiumbe	When you see a human-being
Kadha imemshukiya	Upon whom Fate has descended
Asizinge asitambe	So that he no longer wanders or walks round
Usowe utende haya	but has become shamefaced,
Nakuusia simwambe	I advise you not to slander him
Kwa wino na kwa zinaya	By blackening (his defects) or by mockery
Henda yakawazingiya	Perhaps Fate will descend on you
Kwenu yakawa mamoya	Then, the same will happen to you.

Is this stanza one of the mirrors reflecting the condition of Kijuma amongst his compatriots? Without hesitation the answer is yes. Although Kijuma was fully aware of the heavy burden which he would carry on his shoulders in case he wrote his biography, he was aware that his biography would not be very bright. When W.H. asked him to write his own biography in detail for publication,¹⁶⁰ Kijuma answered: "It is a troublesome and a big work".¹⁶¹ However it is likely that W.H. got Kijuma's biography, but it was lost from the S.O.A.S.¹⁶² Kijuma's compatriots had reason to slander him, especially after he had made his mandari.¹⁶³ When a rumour of the slander found its way to him, he, the competitive character, did two things.

First, he followed up and detected all the mistakes and the sins that his compatriots had committed and those that would be committed in the future, to write them down in a special copy-book. This book would remind him of the defects of whomever he wanted to satirise.¹⁶⁴

Secondly, he carved the following stanza on his now lost house-door:⁵⁵

Yaliyomo yamo momo	The secrets of the house remain inside
Aso taa una tomomo	He who has no big defect, has a little one
Yonda haoni kundule	But the baboon does not see his own bottom.

He is advising every one to occupy himself with his own defects instead of thinking about other people's. If every person occupied himself thus, he would be too busy to seek and detect other people's defects.

Although this carved stanza should go under the section of "Kijuma as a wood-carver", it is better to locate it here, because of the clear connection between it and the stanza, which we are discussing now, in the signboard. Hence, the stanza of the signboard of our preacher seems applicable to his condition according to what has been mentioned previously.

We have to refer to two other signboards displayed in the Lamu-Museum, and on which there is no information. It is very likely that those two signboards were made by Kijuma, because they show his own style of calligraphy, and decoration. Each of those two signboards is similar to the one of plate No. 21, on the left-hand side. Thus, they might have been inscribed between the same dates as the previous undated signboards (i.e. 1908-1930's). The first of those two signboards reads as follows:

رَبِّ لَيْسَ وَلَا تَحْسَبْ
عَوْنُكَ يَا مُعِينُ

O, Allāh: Ease, and do not harden¹⁶⁵
O, Helper: We ask They help.¹⁶⁶

And the second signboard reads:

اللَّهُ وَلِيُّ الْمُؤْتَفِقِ

Allāh is the friend of success.¹⁶⁷

Finally, there are two other signboards made by Kijuma and which are still to be discussed, though I could not trace them. The first of them had been mentioned already. It is the one which contains the dhow of the ngoma ya dhili used in the singing competition.¹⁶⁸

The second is a signboard which contains an animal called: Buraki. It (he) was called Buraki because its speed is the same as al-Bark. Al-Bark means 'flash of lightning'. It is the animal which carried the prophet Muhammad during his nocturnal journey from Mecca to al-Baitu 'L-Muqaddas in Jerusalem and coming back again to Mecca. It is described in the Utendi wa Miiraji¹⁶⁹ of Kijuma. Kijuma made this signboard for Miss Mary Werner.¹⁷⁰ On 6th June 1934, W.H. asked Kijuma to make a painting of Buraki, like the one he had made for Miss Werner, for him.¹⁷¹ So, on 5th Rajab 1353 (1934), Kijuma generously made two paintings of the Buraki and sent them to W.H. He made two paintings because he was not sure whether he had made the Buraki of Miss Werner in a large size or a small one. So, he made two for W.H., one in a large size and the second in a small size.² With this Buraki, we come to the end of the signboards which Kijuma made. But before we leave the art of Kijuma, we have to ask the following question: Did Kijuma teach his expertise in making signboards to someone else? In fact yes, he taught it to his son Helewa. Helewa in his turn passed it on to his students in the Islamic Institute of Mombasa.¹⁷²

It was my fortune to find a signboard made by Helewa in Lamu, showing a tree carrying the lineage of Bw. Abdalla Khatibu from his maternal side.¹⁷³ At the bottom of this signboard, Helewa wrote, in Arabic:

"By the hand of Helewā, dated 1365, (1946)".

Kijuma as a designer of title-pieces

We must now deal with the available title-pieces which Kijuma made because they are artistically related. He made those title-pieces either for books or Mss. to be published by European Scholars. It is remarkable that Kijuma's fame in making those title-pieces goes back to the time of Prof. Meinhof's contact with East Africa around 1913.¹⁷⁴ W.H. asked Kijuma once to send him a title-piece in the style which he had made for Prof. Meinhof.¹⁷⁵ Kijuma made several other title-pieces for the Europeans who were interested in collecting Swahili literary works. These Europeans are W.T.,¹⁷⁶ A.W.,¹⁷⁷ Prof. Meinhof,¹⁷⁸ W.H.,¹⁷⁹ E.D.,¹⁸⁰ J.W.,¹⁸¹ and Dr. Ch. Richards.¹⁸² These various title-pieces are shown in the chapter on "Kijuma as a poet and a scribe", because they were made as titles for works which he wrote out, whether that work was his own composition or not. What is only shown here are two title-pieces adopted by others from Kijuma. The first one was adopted by J.W. e.g. see Fig. J which was adopted by J.W. for his own usage and compare it with Fig. A, made by Kijuma. The second one was adopted by an artist of the East African Literature Bureau for the covers of short Swahili stories entitled: Hadithi na vitendo e.g. see Fig. L and compare it with Fig. of Al-Inkishafi¹⁸³ made by Kijuma and published by W.H.

The Fig. L was adopted by that artist for the East African Literature Bureau from the title-piece of Al-Inkishafi. In spite of that, Kijuma is not mentioned by name as the designer of the original from which the adaptation has been made. However, this shows the influence of Kijuma on this art, and the extent to which he contributed in this field.

Kijuma as a tailor and a knitter

Until now we have usually seen Kijuma as a man who obtained profits out of his multitude of talents by using them to create things for other people. However, he also used his talents to do sewing and knitting for himself and for the members of his faction Skochi¹⁸⁴ of the singing competitions.¹⁸⁵ He used to sew his own garment Kandu and his hat Kofia. Not only did he sew his hat but he also embroidered it.⁵⁸ How could he learn this and practise it? He was not taught by any one. He learned it through his own observation. He used scissors, needle and thread for sewing. In addition to these tools, he used the prickle of the porcupine¹⁸⁶ to embroider his hat, and a cowrieshell (Dondo) to iron it. What kind of materials did he make his garment and his hat from? He used to make his garment from the cheapest material which is called Hami or from one called Thamanini. There are two kinds of cloth for sewing the garment according to the quality of the material. The first is called kandu ya cherehe or kandu ya ukosi, the second is called kandu ya mkono or kandu ya darizi. The first one is usually for the poor, and the second for the rich, because the first one is always sewn by sewing machine without any embroidering, and the material used is Hami or Thamanini.

The second one is sewn by hand by a specialised tailor, with embroidery stitched on the front side of the garment, and the material used is the most expensive type called Melimeli or the less expensive type called Duria. Because sewing machines of every kind have become available everywhere nowadays, the tailors who used to sew by hand have become too expensive on the Kenyan coast.¹⁸⁷ Although Kijuma used to sew his garment by hand, he did not embroider it as his compatriots used to. This suggests that, in this field, Kijuma produced a new kind of article which requires a new name, because he used the material of the first type kandu ya ukosi with the sewing of the second type (sewing by hand). It was a new method or a new choice and a new model.

And his hat is also of the type called Thamanini. After sewing it, he drew the type of embroidery which he likes with a pencil. The two well-known types are: the kulabu and the bulibuli. After that, he traced his embroidery with the prickle of the porcupine making holes to embroider them with silk later on. He kept ironing the material during the different stages of its manufacture.

As for the remaining item of appearance of the typical Lamu-man - the shoes. Kijuma liked to walk without shoes,⁵⁸ and if he had wished to wear them, he would have made them without doubt, but he did not. Before we end this chapter on Kijuma as a craftsman, we should consider this question: Did he ever consider his talents by which he created all the previously mentioned articles as sufficient, so that there would be no need to try his hand at other crafts? No. On 27th Safar 1357 (April 1938), i.e. when he was not less than 85 years old, he asked Mrs. Dammann in a letter¹⁸⁸ to send him strands of wool of different colours, because he wanted to learn the art of knitting, and there was no such wool in Lamu.

Our craftsman went on to promise Mrs. Dammann: "If I can do it, I will send you my work". The present writer is positive that he could have done it, but the Second World War prevented the promise from being fulfilled.

Chapter V - Notes

1. See: p. 289.
2. Ms. 253028.
3. See: Plate No. 8.
4. See: Stanza No. 209 of the Siraji, p. 470.
5. See: p. 29.
6. Ms. 53503.
7. Stanza 30 of Utendi wa Safari, p. 240.
8. Ms. 53823.
9. See: p. 29.
10. See: p. 29.
11. See: p. 29.
12. 1 Rupia = 2 Sh., See: Ms. 53503.
13. British East Africa protectorate, Colonial Reports (Annual) No. 475, 1906, p. 237.
14. Ms. 380066.
15. See: Song No. 7, p. 113.
16. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Skanda in Lamu.
17. See: p. 287-294.
18. Kijuma's sojourn in Witu is discussed on p. 165.
19. Salim, 1978, p. 36.
20. See: Plate No. 1.

It is also printed in Knappert and Pearson, 1978, p. 9.

Also, Abdulaziz, 1979, p. 53.
21. See: p. 165.
22. See: p. 166.
23. See: Plate No. IA.
24. See: p. 165.

25. See: Plate No. 2.
26. See: p. 336.
27. See: Plate No. 3.
28. See: p. 340, p. 325.
29. See: pp. 202-206.
30. See: p. 165.
31. See: Plate No. 3.
32. See: Plate No. 4.

Owing to grass covering the stone for a long time, I could hardly read the inscription on it.

33. See: Plate No. 5.

It is placed in southern Lamu.

34. He was the son of Kijuma's paternal aunt. Kijuma said to him: "If you die before I die, I shall engrave your tomb". So, he did.

Interview with Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu.

35. See: p. 25.

36. See: pp. 291-294.

37. See: p. 292.

38. Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, 1390/1971, the introduction to surah 18.

39. Owing to the lack of day-light inside the mosque I could not photograph the niche, but I copied down the whole inscription found there.

40. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Khatibu, and Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.

41. See: p. 107.

42. See: p. 165.

43. See: Plate No. 6.

A photo of this door is also printed in: Nasir, 1977, p. 15.

44. See: p. 166.

45. Allen, 1972, p. 24.

46. See: Plate No. 7.
47. See: Plate No. 8. It stands in Harambee Rd., Lamu.
48. Interview with Dr. F. El-Sewaify of Egypt, Ph.D. in "Preparation and Finish in 19th Century European Sculpture", in London.
49. Kenya Past and Present, 1976, p. 15.
50. Steere, 1928, p. viii.
51. After a successful army career in World War I Mr. Whitton settled with his wife in Lamu where he started a prosperous business and engaged in farming. He became known as "Coconut Charlie". In the 1930's, he was a Justice of the Peace. In 1940, he was also appointed Price Inspector and Assistant Censor. He died in 1953, at the age of 78.

See: Ms. 53829, and Martin, 1973, p. 30.
52. Interview with Bwana Othmani Abu-Bakr in Lamu.
53. See: Plate No. 9. It is in Kenyatta Rd., Lamu.
54. See: Plate No. 10.
55. Interview with Sheikh Muhamada Adnan al-Mahdaly in Lamu.
56. Interview with Mzee Salim Kherin in Lamu.
57. Interview with Dr. Muhamadi Salim Badamana who interviewed Bwana Othmani Abdalla al-Kindy known as Othmani Kasha in Witu.
58. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu.
59. See: Plate No. 11.
60. It is a part of Aya 9 in Surah 62.
61. Ashur, 1391/1972, pp. 281-4.
62. See: Plate No. 12.
63. Quran 23, 118.
64. Quran 4, 79.

65. See: Plate No. 13.

There is the word "Muslims" at the end of the inscription, but it has no meaning in this context. Thus, it must be related to other inscriptions which were destroyed when the mosque fell down.

66. Ashur, 1391/1972, p. 38.

67. He has engraved his name on the pulpit as he was the one who restored it. It is dated Sunday 7th Jumada al-Aula 1356/1936.

68. It is well known that this is the Islamic creed.

69. Quran 55:26-7.

70. See: p. 217.

71. Ashur, 1391/1972, p. 186.

72. See: p. 33.

73. See: p. 158.

74. Interview with Sayyid Hasan Badawy in Lamu.

75. See: p. 168.

76. Interview with Bwana Abdulatifi Othmani Nooh in Mamburui.

77. Mzee Salim Kheri was a member of Kijuma's faction in the singing competitions. He used to hold the standard for his faction. As a reward for that, Kijuma made this signboard and others to follow for him. Moreover, Kijuma taught Mzee Salim Kheri the Arabic language at his request. Mzee Salim Kheri remembers one of Kijuma's own sentences, intended to teach the pronunciation and the writing of the letter Kāf. It is worth mentioning that sentence, because it shows the method of Kijuma's teaching the Arabic alphabet.

كَيْتَبُ كَاتِبٍ كَاتِبَاتٍ
كَيْتَبُ كَاتِبٍ كَاتِبَاتٍ

Also every writer writes "writer" as so.

As we see, every word in the sentence contains the letter Kaf. Not only this, but also the sentence itself is meaningful.

Moreover, the letter Kāf which is underlined is written in all its forms in which it can occur in Arabic writing.

Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu.

78. See: Plate No. 14.
79. See: p. 302.
80. See: p. 302.
81. Dawud, 1980, p. 13.
82. The main reference of mine in translating these attributes was:
Arnold, 1978.
83. Quran 4, 164.
84. Quran 19:51-53.
85. One of the prophet Muhammad's names. Kijuma also used this name in his Siraji, stanza 208, p. 470.
86. The prophet received the revelation for the first time in his life at Mecca when he was 40 years old. In 622 A.D., he was asked by Allah to emigrate from Mecca to Madina, after he had invited the Meccans to Islam for 13 years. He died at Madina, after he had spent 10 years preaching Islam there.
87. The first caliph was elected in 11 A.H./632 A.D., after the prophet had died. He died in 13 A.D./634 A.D.
88. The second caliph was elected after Abu-Bakr had died. He was killed in 24/644. He was given the nickname al-Fārūq because he was extraordinarily capable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood.
89. The third caliph was elected in 24 A.H., after Omar had been killed. He was killed in 35/655.

90. The fourth caliph was elected after Othman had been killed. He was killed in 40/660. As we see, the four caliphs mentioned here are put in chronological order, according to their caliphate.
91. The youngest daughter of the prophet. She was born at Mecca when the prophet was about 41 years old. She married Ali. She died at Madina 6 months after the prophet had died.
92. He was the son of Ali and Fatimah. He was born at Madina in 3/625. He was elected as a caliph in 40/660, after his father had been killed. After 6 months and 20 days of his election, he gave up the caliphate and handed it over to Muawiyah ibn Abi-Sufyan. He died, after he had been poisoned in 49/669.
93. He was Hasan's brother, born at Madina in 4/626. He was killed in 61/680.

These last four persons (Ali, Fatimah, Hasan, and Husain) are considered in Muslims' view as members of the Prophet's family. This explains the cause of mentioning these four persons after each other, regardless of their chronological position with the other names mentioned after them.

94. One of the Prophet's sons. He had been born at Mecca, before the prophet received his message. His mother was Khadijah bint Khuwailid, the first lady the prophet had married, when he was 25 years old. The prophet did not marry any other ladies during Khadijah's life, and he had all his children by her except Ibrahim. These children are: Al-Kasim, Abdu-Llahi, Zainab, Rukayyah, Ummu-Kulthum, and Fatimah. In about 619 A.D. Khadijah died at Mecca at the age of 65, while the prophet was 50 years old. The year in which Khadijah died was called the year of sadness. Al-Kasim died at Mecca at the age of 2 and some months.

95. Abdu-Llahi, Tahir, and Tayyib were the prophet's sons. Some scholars said that the mother of Tayyib and Tahir was Khadijah and they were born and died at Mecca. Other scholars say that Tayyib and Tahir are nicknames for Abdu-Llahi.
96. One of the prophet's sons. His mother was Mary, whom the ruler of Egypt al-Muqawqis gave to the prophet. He was born at Madina in 8/629. He died at the age of 17 months, in 10/631.
97. She was the first daughter of the prophet.
98. She was the second daughter the prophet had.
99. The third daughter of the prophet.
100. The daughter of Abu-Bakr. Her hand was sought by the prophet at Mecca, and they were married at Madina. She died in 58/677.
101. She was married to the prophet, after Khadijah had died. She died during Omar's caliphate (13-24 = 634-644).
102. She was married to the prophet in 3/624. She died in 45/665.
103. She married the prophet in 7/628. She died in 51/671.
104. She was married to the prophet in 7/628. She died in 50/670.
105. In 2/623, she married the prophet. She died during the reign of Yazid bin Muawiyah (60-63 = 679=682).
^{680 3}
106. The prophet married her in 6/627. She died in 40/660.
¹
107. The prophet married two wives called Zainb. It is not known which Zainab Kijuma meant, but it is likely that he meant both by giving them that name. The first Zainab was a daughter of Khuzaimah ibn al-Harth. She was married in 3/624. After about 3 months of her marriage, she died. The second Zainab was Zainab bint Gahsh. She was married in 5/626. In 20/640, she died.

108. She married the prophet in 5/626. She died in 675 A.D.
The attention is drawn to the fact that the main reference for the dates concerning the prophet, his family, and his companions mentioned here on the signboard was: Al-Makdasiy, 1285/1868.
109. Quran 33:36-39.
110. Quran 33:52.
111. See: p. 286.
112. See: Plate No. 15.
113. The text written in the centre of the square above is also found, in Arabic, in Ms. 279888, Vol. 8, Ms. 371. It was also published by Dammann, 1940 A, p. 277.
114. 33:33.
115. See: Plate No. 16.
116. See: p. 296.
117. 13:29.
118. Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Surah 13, Aya 29.
119. There are rivers of sweet water, honey, wine, and milk. See: Quran 47:15.
120. Sahīh Muslim, Vol. 3, pp. 158-9.
121. According to the order given, see: Quran 16:31, 18:107, 25:15, 6:127, 17:57, 40:39, 31:8, 79:41.
122. Al-Kadhiy, 1276/1859, p. 140. Also, see: Al-Safuriy, 1358/1939, p. 122.
123. Al-Kadhiy, 1276/1859, pp. 40-41.
124. Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Surah 17, Aya 21.
125. Vol. 5, p. 580.
126. p. 222.
127. Sahīh Muslim, Vol. 5, p. 692.

128. See: Plate No. 17.
129. She worked at Taita hill in Kenya as a Missionary. When she was at Lamu in 1936, she went to Kijuma and asked him for the signboard. She died in England about 20 years ago.
Interview with J.W. in Bromley.
130. Miss Edith B.M. Lloyd worked as a Missionary in Mombasa. She had been in Lamu with Miss Murry. She asked Kijuma for a similar signboard.
131. A letter of which I have a copy.
132. See: pp. 183-186.
133. The Swahili Collection of Rev. J. Williamson, Reel I.
134. See: p. 170.
135. John 3:16-17.
136. See: p. 185.
137. Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr, Surah 4, Aya 159.
138. See: p. 215.
139. See: Plate No. 8.
140. See: Plate No. D.
141. It is given as "Fath al-Muta'āl Fi-Madh al-Ni'āl", by al-Sheikh Ahmed bin Muhammad al-Maghribiyy al-Maqqariyy. There is a copy of it in S.O.A.S., published in India 1916. See: p. 340 where the slipper is drawn, but Kijuma added, in his slipper floral decoration surrounding the slipper.
Also, see: Ms. 279888, Vol, 4, Ms. 319 where the slipper is illustrated.
142. These benefits are also given in the book of al-Maqqariyy, pp.320-1.
143. Sijelmassi, 1976, p. 245.
144. See: Plate No. 18.

145. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu.
146. See: p. 296.
147. See: p. 302.
148. See: Plate No. 19.
149. See: Plate No. 20, the one on the right-hand side.
150. See: Plate No. 20, the one on the left-hand side.
151. This is an Islamic saying inscribed and hung on the walls of many Muslims' houses.
152. This saying has no connection, in the text, with the preceding one.
153. See: Plate No. 21, the one on the left-hand side.
154. It is the first Aya of Surah 48.
155. It is a part of Aya 13 in Surah 61.
156. See: Plate No. 21, the one on the right-hand side.
157. See: p. 182.
158. See: p. 182.
159. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri and Bwana Abdalla M. Kirome in Lamu. Bw. Kirome saw this stanza inscribed on signboard hung on a wall of Bw. Mzimba's house before Bw. Mzimba died.
160. A letter dated 25th November 1935, Ms. 253028.
161. A letter dated Dhu Al-Qada 1354 (= 1935), Ms. 47796.
It says: "Wewe wataka khabari zangu zote. Ni udhia na kazi kubwa".
162. Ms. 279888, Vol. I, p. 8.
163. See: pp. 349-352.
164. Mzee Abdulatifi Othmani of Mamburui said:
"Yeye ali na buku meandika machafu ya kulla mtu".
165. It is a saying based on the meaning of Aya No. 5-6, Surah 94.
166. It is a saying based on the meaning of Aya No. 5, Surah I.
167. It is part of the text found in Plate No. 20, on the left-hand side.

168. See: pp. 46-47.
169. See: p. 213.
170. She was a sister of A.W. She used to lecture at the African Dept. of the S.O.A.S. In 1930, she retired, and was replaced by E.O. Ashton. She died on 1st October 1938.
- Interview with Miss M. Bryan in S.O.A.S.
- Also, see: Ms. 253028.
171. W.H. told Kijuma that Miss Werner showed him the painting of Buraki on that day, but he did not mention when or how Miss Werner got it from Kijuma. See: Ms. 253028.
172. See: p. 32.
173. See: Plate No. 22, on the left-hand side.
174. See: p. 251.
175. A letter dated 14th November 1933 from W.H. to Kijuma, Ms. 253028.
176. See: p. 170.
177. See: p. 180.
178. See: p. 180.
179. See: p. 224.
180. See: p. 238.
181. See: p. 242.
182. See: p. 208.
183. See: p. 215.
184. See: p. 70.
185. Interview with Bibi Fatuma, M. Al-Bakariy of Lamu in London.

186. From time to time, that prickly animal gets rid of its prickles or some of them to allow new prickles to replace the old. Any one wandering about its hole might be able to pick up these prickles. Until now the people of Lamu use these prickles to make holes in the hat for embroidering them with a coloured thread which is usually made from silk. Kijuma composed a song mentioning these prickles as needles used in sewing. This suggests that Kijuma may have used them in sewing, especially as he was a man of invention. See: the song in p. 147.

187. Interview with Sheikh Y.A. Omari in S.O.A.S.

188. I have a copy of it.

CHAPTER VI

Kijuma's Religion

On this subject, the first requirement is a review of the main published data dealing with Kijuma's religion. They were published either in German or Swahili, and only a few lines are available in English. We therefore begin by setting them out here, in chronological order:

1.

Missionary Heyer¹ published in 1914, that which he reported on 17th June 1893:- "Three young Swahili men want to become Christians, in particular the scribe Mohamadi² is outspoken about his conversion. This has caused quite a disturbance in the town. They have been threatened that they will lose their jobs. So, the Mission will have to take the converts into its care and under its wing".³

2.

In the same publication of 1914, Missionary Pieper⁴ reported on 20th June 1893:- "'The scribe Mohamadi whom we offered employment for translation work is now going through a crisis. Last night, he wept tears of contrition. He cried to Jesus and struggled during his prayers. We are confident that he will soon come to a breakthrough. This raises problems for us because we shall have to protect him, employ him, pay his bills, look after him, and keep him busy. Mohamadi is busily doing his own missionary work because he would like to have some people with him.

Since he will become unemployed as a result of his conversion to Jesus - he used to do writing work for the mosque - the missionaries will keep him busy copying proverbs and other verses from the Bible, which the missionaries distribute as pamphlets. Now, the people of the town are saying: 'Anger and hostility are great. In the past all the people of the town were your friends but now you are corrupting people. Those who turn to the missionaries are expelled'. And then a few days later, on 24th June 1893, it is reported that all has finished. 'A moment ago our scribe declared that he does not want to be a Christian. They have persuaded him. They have invented accusations against him, saying that they will throw him in jail. Against this terrifying opposition, Mohamadi was unable to resist, so he withdrew. Unfortunately, certain things indicated that the accusations which were levelled against him were not entirely without foundation. This was of course a bitter disappointment for the Missionaries. We had placed great hope in him. It is doubtful if the Mission Station can continue. The schools have been closed, and the children no longer want to learn stories from the Bible.'

Missionary Pieper continued reporting just after 1912:- "Mohamadi remained all that time in contact with the missionaries, and has remained faithful to them. Until now, there is no clear breakthrough. There is no clear devotion to the Lord. He has not been baptised yet."

3.

In 1932, Missionary W. May reported:-⁵ "A great stir caused by the baptism of Mohamadi Kijuma al-Bakri. For all of us being together with this nice old man and his baptism was a time of great joy and inner strengthening for the whole District including Kipini and Lamu.

This step by Kijuma is of great significance and we hope that it will have good results and blessings for us for further work. This step of Kijuma has made a strong impression on the Muhammadans of Lamu, since he was among them a man of some importance. He had been to Mecca several times. He knew the Quran better than most, and is a master of many arts which few people know. These talents won him the title Fundi, that is, skilled craftsman. About his previous life, we have already seen a report by Brother Langenbach whom Kijuma called his teacher because Brother Langenbach taught him reading and writing in the Roman script. Here is in translation what Kijuma himself has written about his experiences: 'Every one who can read may learn my report. I was born in Lamu and learned to read the Quran there. Already at the age of ten my mother took me with her to Mecca, to the sanctuary of the Muhammadans. Later, I travelled again several times to Mecca, in total four times. There, I often visited al-Kaaba, and I have been to Madina three times, where I saw the tomb of Muhammad. When I grew up, I learned the doctrine of Islam, then my mother died. Not long after that, missionaries Heyer and Pieper came to Lamu. From them I heard the message of God's word. I also remember the other missionaries Mühlhoff, Kraft, Schmidt, Eckhart, and Langenbach. The latter taught me to read and to write the European letters. All these Europeans taught me the Gospel, and also the younger missionaries later on. In this way I learned both the doctrine of Islam and of Christianity. And I know that Muhammad was a liar, and that the Son of God is our saviour. I want to follow the Son of God.'

Missionary May continued reporting:- "The celebration of baptism took place in accordance with the rules. One Sunday morning, we gathered with the congregation on the bank of the Tana river (at Ngao).

The choir sang some songs, then Brothers Steubing explained again the significance of baptism quoting the words of the Apostle Paul: Romans 6, 3-4..... Mohamadi wished from then to be called Masihi i.e. a follower of the Messiah or a man of Jesus. I had previously explained to him and in a most urgent way the nature of the confession he, through his baptism, would be making in front of God and mankind. Now he descended into the water with, we must assume, the strong resolve never more to be the servant of evil. May the good lord now keep our dear black friend going by His spirit. After the baptism, we congregated in the Church for a short speech and finished with the community having an evening meal with the newly baptised".

4.

This fourth point is the most important of all, because it represents the only document to be found written by Kijuma himself about his conversion. When E.D. asked Kijuma in 1936 to write about his conversion, he wrote in Arabic script⁶ in Swahili the following:-⁷

"In 1318 (= 1900), the time of the D.C. Rogers, the Sharifu⁸ wanted to ruin me but I was saved by the Europeans. The Sharifu Abdalla bin Zubeir gave me the book of al-Madih⁹ to copy. He would give me three Rupees. I told him that I can not write twenty-nine letters¹⁰ for three Rupees. He said: 'It does not matter because it is the book of the Prophet. Also you may be rewarded in Heaven. You can accurately write it whenever you get the chance to do so'. There is no one who can copy one letter of this book in one day except the good man (scribe) who does his best. After ten days had passed, he saw me again. He asked me if I had finished the book. I answered him to wait a little. He said: 'I shall sue you in front of the elders'.

I thought that he was going to sue me before Bw. Tajiri or Sheikh Ali Kitole¹¹ because it is they who are my fathers. But one day, I was with Mr. Pieper when we heard somebody ask if he could come in. He allowed him to come in. It was Sharifu Abdalla bin Zubeir. His purpose was to put the case of the book in the European's (Mr. Pieper's) hands. The European asked me (about what has been said), I confirmed it, and said: 'No one can do it for four Rupees, but he told me that it was for the sake of the Prophet. So, I accepted. He must be patient and I shall copy it for him'. The European, Mr. Pieper told him: 'I would give you four Rupees'. But he (i.e. the Sharifu) said: 'I want nothing but the book'. The European asked him to give me a further fifteen days. He answered: 'I can only give seven days and on the eighth day he must give me the book'. At that time, he had already reported me to the D.C., Mr. Rogers who was very strict and a man whose orders one obeyed. All the people of Lamu were afraid of him. That made me tell him: 'I am ready', but my heart was extremely down. I left and wrote it in very hasty handwriting. I delivered it to him on the seventh day. When he looked at it and found it had been written in very hasty handwriting, he became sad and went to Mr. Rogers to make a big issue of it (against me). While I was at Shee Talib's house, a policeman came and called me to see Mr. Rogers. The latter reprimanded me very severely then he told me: 'The Sharifu Abdalla bin Zubeir was sent to me by his compatriots to tell me that you are taking their sons and you go with them to the Mission-station. You are forbidden to accompany these youths or to be accompanied by them'. I left the D.C. and went forward to the Utukuni-mosque. I abused the Sharifu more badly than the abuses which I received from Mr. Rogers. He (the Sharifu) did not utter even one word. He went to Mr. Rogers and Mr. Rogers informed him that he had called Kijuma and rebuked him severely.

The Sharifu asked: 'In which way did you rebuke him? Kijuma abused me so much and with no respite'. Mr. Rogers then ordered five soldiers to arrest Kijuma. They went to the house of Shee Talib bin Ahmadi. They called me, shouting. I asked Shee Talib to tell them that I was not in. He told them so, but when I fixed my eyes on his face, I realised that he was afraid. So, I left the house. When I went out into the street, I saw a policeman called Abbud standing by. He knew me, but he did not realise that Kijuma was my nickname. Therefore, he asked me if Kijuma was there. I asked him why. He answered that he was standing by to watch for Kijuma until the other policemen arrived and to break into the house to arrest him. Then, I answered him: 'Yes, he is in'. Now, if I went home, I would not be able to avoid arrest. Thus, I hurried to al-Sheikh Salih bin Abdur Rahamani, and shouted out to him. I rushed into the house before he gave me permission. He blamed me about this rush and said: 'Suppose that my wife had been here'. I said: 'What have I got to do with your wife. You do not know what happened to me'. Al-Sheikh Salih and his wife are my relatives, because our grandmother is the same. During this conversation, Mtambake bint Muhamadi,¹² my sister of the same mother came in. My mother's cousin, Bibi Jahi¹³ bint Abbasi also came in. Then, I told Bibi Jahi to let me go in her shiraa¹⁴ and be led to the house of my aunt, Bibi Jula bint Omari,¹⁵ my father's full sister. She did as I asked her. When we arrived there, I found Bibi Esha bint Omari¹⁶ with her sister, Jula. Bibi Jula asked me at once: 'What have you done, my son? The soldiers come here time and again until we got tired of replying to them. During this conversation, a man called Mpampaja came in and called me in a way which showed that he had been instructed by the police-chief. But my mothers (i.e. the ladies mentioned above) answered: 'He is not in'.

Our slave Miliza was there, whom I asked: 'Go and call the Europeans Mr. Heyer and Mr. Pieper'. Mr. Heyer and Mr. Pieper came and asked about the matter. I replied: 'The Sharifu Abdalla bin Zubeir has gained the upper hand of Mr. Rogers over me. The cause of this is his book'. They told me then: 'There is no problem. Let us go home'. I said: 'Come on'. We went, Mr. Heyer in front, I in the middle, and Mr. Pieper behind me until we arrived at these Europeans' home. Then, they told me: 'We cannot speak with the D.C. except from the religious side'. I said: 'I am ready'. I slept there until the morning. Then, we all went to the D.C. When we arrived, he looked at me with stern eyes. Mr. Pieper told him: 'Do not look at Bw. Mohamadi in such a stern manner, it frightens even me'. The D.C. laughed. Then, Mr. Pieper told the D.C.: 'We want you'. We went upstairs, Mr. Heyer in front, then Mr. Pieper, then Mr. Rogers, and I was behind, until we arrived on the top floor. They sat down while I was standing. Mr. Pieper and Mr. Rogers had a very long conversation in an European language (kanena sana kwa kizungu). In the end, Mr. Rogers asked me: 'Do you not want Muhammad? I answered: 'I do not want him'. Then, he asked me: 'Do you not want Islam?' I answered: 'I do not want it'. He asked me for the third time: 'Do you not want Muhammad?' I answered: 'I do not want him'. He asked Mr. Heyer and Mr. Pieper to take me along. I was free to go with the Europeans. Now, you see how the Sharifu wanted to ruin me while it was the Europeans who saved me. That was the beginning of my following Christianity. By Muhamadi bin Abu Bakari Kijuma al-Bakariy Masihi, written on 20th Ramadhan 1355".¹⁷

5.

In 1969, E.D. wrote:-¹⁸ "Kijuma seems to have started a relationship with the missionaries at an early date.

Already in 1893, it was said that the scribe Mohamadi, i.e. Kijuma who was often employed by the missionaries for translation work, would soon convert to Christianity. Although this significant step followed only after 4 decades, he was suspected by many Muslims. He became close to the missionaries. He says in a text which he himself wrote down in 1936:¹⁹ 'In the year 1318,²⁰ during the time of the D.C., Mr. Rogers, a Sharifu tried to destroy me, but I was saved by the Europeans'. The Europeans who saved him from Muslim persecutions were the missionaries Heyer and Pieper. A.W.²¹ made a very deep impression on him. Again and again he says admiringly, how she took great pains in order to do her scientific research. About 1930, he was baptised by Missionary May in Ngao on the Tana, after he had been dealing with Christian questions for 40 years. In those years, a British free missionary, Rev. Cheese who also appeared in one of Kijuma's poems as Bwana Tjizi²² influenced him strongly. Perhaps Kijuma had the good fortune to have got to know the Europeans only from their good side. On the other hand he came into conflict with the strongly Muslim population in Lamu after sympathising with Christianity and more fully after his baptism. It is understandable that they regarded Kijuma who knew much about Islam and who had been four times to Mecca and three times to Madina as an enemy and fought against him. That could be one of the reasons why he, as Allen²³ writes, was not regarded as being very important by his own fellow townsmen. What else could he have done but feel close to the Europeans since also economically life was difficult for him? This is expressed in the poem Nasara wa Arabu²⁴ in which he praises the Christians in every respect as compared with the Arabs. In spite of that, he was far from being a renegade.

I remember in 1936, when the first conflict between the Jews and Arabs took place in Palestine, he was firmly on the side of the Arabs, and said that if he were younger, he would go and become active as an Emir, in other words a military leader, among the Arabs in Palestine. So, Kijuma stands before us as a man with many talents. It is thanks to him that he became an intermediary and interpreter for many scholars of the old Swahili literature. His own compositions do not belong any more to the classical poetry.²⁵ What had the strongest effect on him was his firm character. He stood up for what he regarded as being right. An external sign of that is that he did not change his name when he was baptised but he added the nisbe Masihi (The one who belongs to the Messiah) to his former name. Therefore, he let himself be called Bwana Masihi by me and my wife. In his individuality he went a lonely way. His wife left him after his baptism, and his only son left him too. But despite all that I have never seen him embittered. It is well known that strong personalities give rise to criticism. It is Mr. Allen that regards the work of Kijuma so critically. Here, as in the whole of science, the truth has to be found. My task was to show how an eventually justified critique on Kijuma's way of working is not to be explained from ethical aspects but from the history of his life. It would be desirable to bring together in one monograph all the materials about Kijuma that are probably present in the Neukirchener Mission. Kijuma died in Lamu during or shortly after the Second World War when all the links with Europe had been broken. Missionary May writes about that in a letter: 'After the war, we heard that he had died. I do not know when the Christians wanted to bury him, but the Muslim family wanted to bury him according to their custom.'

They could not get an agreement until the Christians went to the English D.C. and talked it over with him. He told them that they should leave the body to the family, since the real Masihii would be in Heaven. In that way the conflict about the body of the faithful follower of Jesus was resolved. I do not know exactly when that took place'.

Information from Mission Inspector H. Lenhard in Neukirchen".

6.

In 1980, E.D. wrote:-²⁶ "Kijuma was married four times. His last wife left him after he was baptised. Furthermore, his only child, a son named Helewa, who was working at the printing office at Zanzibar when I met him (in 1937), did not agree to his conversion. In addition to these problems due to his conversion his property at Lamu was also taken away from him. After his baptism, he was exposed to many hardships by his Muslim relatives and acquaintances. When he was disinherited, an action contrary to the law of Kenya at that time, the British officer offered his services to make this decision invalid. Kijuma refused the help and preferred to live in poverty. About Kijuma's choice of themes in his compositions, he seems not to be interested in traditional subjects. This concerns the treatment of the Maghazi - narrations as well as the representation of important characters in the Quran like Jacob, Joseph, Job, or Jonah. The reason for this lies certainly in his critical attitude towards Islam. Another reason is that this kind of poetry is firmly embedded in Muslim piety. These poems are recited on certain occasions like death, and serve to express piety, and also to increase it. Kijuma's relations with the missionaries and his esteem for Christianity even before his conversion prohibited him from choosing themes from the Islamic world. His conduct of life caused him to look for other subjects".

With these six preceding points, we come to the end of the main points published concerning Kijuma's religion. These points will now be reviewed in the same order. The aim is to try and answer the following questions: Was Kijuma really a Christian? Was he a Muslim? Was he neither a Christian nor a Muslim? And if so, was he a believer or an atheist?

1.

The first point of Missionary Heyer does not need discussion, because apart from showing how eager the Mission was for Kijuma's conversion, it is superseded by the second point of Missionary Pieper when he later reported:- "A moment ago, Kijuma declared that he does not want to be a Christian".

2.

Although this point of Missionary Pieper shows that Kijuma refused to become a Christian, it pictured his refusal as an escape from his compatriots' pressure and the threat of jail. Missionary Pieper's representation of the events is exaggerated, because apart from knowing that there is no compulsion in religion,²⁷ Kijuma never feared any one of his compatriots. The only one whom he feared was the D.C. of Lamu, Mr. Rogers, as we shall see in this thesis. Furthermore, chronologically the report of Missionary Pieper is not acceptable. It is not acceptable because it appears that two of the events reported by him in 1893 actually took place in 1900. The first was the accusations which were levelled against Kijuma by his compatriots who wanted to have him in jail. The second one is the closure of the Mission school. The first event will be explained in detail when the fourth point is reviewed.²⁸

The second event took place as a result of the first one²⁹, but it must be added here that Kijuma's son Helewa, with others, continued to attend this Mission school until 1900.³⁰ Moreover, Kijuma was forbidden by the D.C. of Lamu in 1900 to accompany or to be accompanied by the children of his compatriots to attend the Mission school.³¹ Therefore, it appears that Missionary Pieper gave the year 1893 to date for events happened subsequently in 1900.

Three important points are still to be made here.

a)

Missionaries Heyer and Pieper gave the year 1893 as the year in which Kijuma tried to convert to Christianity, and failed to report about Kijuma's conversion in 1900, yet Kijuma himself gave no other date but 1900 as the year of his conversion, in a document in his own handwriting.³² Furthermore, the two missionaries were the ones who offered Christianity to Kijuma in 1900, and made his acceptance the only alternative to being jailed;³³ although these missionaries did not report Kijuma's conversion of 1900 perhaps to avoid being accused of involvement in the offence which Kijuma committed against the whole town in 1900.³⁴ But by this avoidance, it becomes more difficult for us to believe that Kijuma was actually faithful to this conversion of 1900, since it was not reported by these same missionaries who were with him, witnessing the conversion in front of the D.C., Mr. Rogers.³⁵

b)

It may be doubted that Kijuma tried to convert to Christianity in 1893, because he himself did not even refer to this date in his own record of his conversion.³⁶

c)

This point relates to what was reported by Missionaries Heyer and Pieper, i.e. that Kijuma became unemployed as a result of his conversion to Christianity. In fact, from the time that Kijuma left the chuo in about 1882³⁷ until he died in 1945, he found various kinds of employment with his compatriots in Lamu. They used to employ him for his talents (e.g. by carving wood items for them,³⁸ composing songs for them,³⁹ or by scribing⁴⁰ for them what they wanted) from before 1893 until his death, as indicated elsewhere in this thesis. In other words, Kijuma was not there officially employed by a mosque or by any one of his compatriots as an employee with a regular job, receiving a regular salary, and did not because of his religion, become jobless.

3.

This point has two main elements. The first is Kijuma's report about his experience with Christianity and Islam. The second is his baptism at Ngao on the Tana by Missionary May of the Neukirchen Mission in 1932. Concerning the first element, I travelled to that Mission in Lamu and in Ngao, to try and see a copy of this report. In 1980, I interviewed the British missionary Eric Roe in Lamu and the German missionary Fritz Gissel in Ngao. Missionary Roe informed me that they had nothing written by or about Kijuma in the Mission. Missionary Gissel, and his wife, assured me that Kijuma was baptised at Ngao in 1931, but told me that the Mission had nothing written by or about Kijuma, and they promised to send me every thing written by or about Kijuma which could be found in the same Mission in Germany. When they visited Germany in January of 1981, they sent me all that could be found there about Kijuma. This was a copy of the report of Missionary May which we are presently reviewing. They could not trace Kijuma's report in his own handwriting.

In spite of that, the report will be dealt with as if it were actually written by Kijuma. The report reads:- "I know that Muhammad was a liar, and that the Son of God is our saviour. I want to follow the Son of God". If Kijuma really did write this, the judgement on him as a writer would be one of two. Either he was sincere or he was not. If he was at that time (1932) sincere, he must then have changed his mind later, in 1942, to become a Muslim again, because in this year (1942), he composed a long poem about Jesus called: Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa.⁴¹ In this poem, he said that Jesus was nothing but a great prophet who was born of Mary, and not the Son of God. Furthermore, he took the Quran and the Hadith of the prophet Muhammad as his only sources for his poem.⁴² It is very important to realise that this poem was the last one Kijuma composed, three years before he died.

If Kijuma was not sincere in his report, it would be due to the following: He knew very well that he should respect and obey the missionaries because they were the ones whom he believed had saved him from being jailed.⁴³ Hence, he had to pretend in front of them that he was still faithful to his conversion of 1900. And in return he also would be well looked after,⁴⁴ especially when we realise that he was then an old man of 80.

The second element in this point concerns Kijuma's baptism. There was nothing written by Kijuma that could be traced, referring to this baptism of 1932. The name Masihi which he wrote at the end of his name in the document which he wrote in 1936 for E.D.⁴⁵ might be considered a reference to this baptism, since this name was the one which Kijuma chose to be called by, as Missionary May wrote.⁴⁶ It is well known that the baptised persons want to sign their baptised names whenever they put their signatures. Kijuma was not one of those. As far as we know, he signed his baptised name about four times in his whole life.

It so happens that each time he did so was in his correspondence with religious Christians like E.D. and J.W. Numerous works of Kijuma (including his letters) which he sent to his European/Christian clients before and after 1932 were signed by him, using his Islamic name only without the word Masihi. This suggests that his baptised name was something which he very rarely used, and according to circumstances. Missionary May wrote:- "This step of Kijuma's baptism made a strong impression on the Muhammadans of Lamu".

When I went to Lamu in 1980, I could not find one elder Muslim who had heard about this baptism, although those elders whom I interviewed still remember the accusations which were levelled against Kijuma in 1900.⁴⁷ When I raised this question of baptism amongst the Muslims of Lamu, the reply which usually received was in the form of a question: "Did he?"

4.

This point represents the only document written by Kijuma about his conversion, for E.D. The document contains three main points.⁴⁸ The first is about the reason for which the D.C. of Lamu, Mr. Rogers, ordered Kijuma's arrest. The second is Kijuma's taking refuge in the Mission station. The third is his conversion as the only way to avoid persecution.

While Kijuma, in this document, focuses on the story of copying the book of al-Madih as the main cause behind his arrest-order, and briefly refers to the accusations of his compatriots that he accompanied their children behind their backs to the Mission school, he fails to mention the main offence, which gave rise to the order of his arrest. When I went to Lamu in 1980, I found that the elders whom were interviewed still remember this offence which led to Kijuma's arrest being ordered.

It happened that Kijuma himself told one of these elders, his best friend Mzee Salim Kheri, the story of the offence in detail. The Swahili text of the story is given in the appendix under the title: Mandari "The picnic".⁴⁹ This mandari was an event which upset all the people of Lamu as a result of their religious beliefs. Before explaining in detail what happened at this mandari, its cause should be mentioned. After Kijuma had started devoting his time to the singing competitions,⁵⁰ he became addicted to alcohol to the extent that all his compatriots knew about it. When they found out that Kijuma had tried not only to tempt their sons to come to his house for singing, dancing, and probably drinking, but also to attract them to go to the Mission school, they warned their sons not to go to Kijuma's home. Then, all these people called Kijuma "Mpotofu" an evil person who leads others to evil". Knowing what he was called by the people of the town, he, with his competitive character, insisted on teaching them a lesson. The lesson can be compared to a military raid. He invaded the town. To be successful, he had to train his "military detachment" which was composed of a young representative from every family in the town, to take part in the raid. The training was carried out in secret. The weapons which were to be used on the battlefield were thirty-two vinanda⁵¹ made by his own hand; he also purchased two cases of whisky. He had trained his "troops" in using this equipment for some time, before carrying out the raid. When he was sure that these "troops" had attained the desired level of perfection in using their equipment, he persuaded his teacher Mwenye Mansabu⁵² to be present as a representative of his mother's clan, and Bwana Nahudha as a representative of his father's.

This persuasion (or it might be called "invitation") went under the name of mandari "The picnic", on one Thursday afternoon in 1900, at a farm just outside the town and beside the house of a person called Muhamadi bin Abdalla. The representatives went to the army barracks, where they had been invited, only to find out that the "troops" were ready to start their "military" operation. After they had started the operation by playing the thirty-two vinanda, and before they drank the whisky, Kijuma gave permission to his family representatives to leave. The two representatives left the field after finding out the purpose of the invitation. The aim was to show that Kijuma was not the only mpotofu in the town, but that he was one of many who had similar traits. It is interesting that Kijuma gave orders to his "troops" to invade the town after most of them had got drunk. He was careful not to let the leaders of the troops get drunk lest they would be incapable of carrying out his orders and leading the troops. The two persons whose roles were to carry the flags of the "army" and to lead the troops to wherever the commander-in-chief ordered, were A and B. The "army" penetrated the streets of the town under the command of Kijuma and "shot" any one they saw by dancing and muttering: Ta ta ta ta ta ta and puh puh puh, in a singing voice.

Because the people of Lamu were taken by surprise, they could not stop the "troops" before they had occupied the whole town. On Friday, the following day, the great "conqueror" found himself occupying the whole town without any resistance, so he planned a public declaration which he insisted on announcing in the presence of "newsmen". He attracted about fifty of them around him after he had given every one of them some biscuits, if the "newsman" was a man, he promised him 24 Cents, and if he was a boy, he promised him 12 Cents.

Also, Kijuma gave every one of these 50 "newsmen" a bell as a publicity gimmick, and played his kinanda while the chorus made up of "newsmen" shaking their bells, sang the following declaration prepared by Kijuma:-

Kufanana kumezie	(We all) became similar
Wapi kutekana	Where are those who were laughing at each other,
Asotenda yeye	Who is not doing it himself
Ni wake kijana	His son is doing it
Ikizinga ni nduuye	Or his brother
Yatundeni sana	Watch carefully (what is happening)

When his compatriots considered this, they found it necessary to put an end to such raids of Kijuma, in which he also used prohibited weapons, i.e. whisky, against them. They held an urgent meeting to discuss the case, and arrived at the verdict that Kijuma should be sentenced to life imprisonment. But they had no power to enforce the verdict because the civil authority over Lamu then was in the hands of the British D.C. Mr. Rogers. Therefore, their case was put to Mr. Rogers. He promised them to enforce their verdict, and ordered five policemen to arrest Kijuma and put him in jail. That is why five policemen were sent to arrest him, but Kijuma managed to hide himself until Missionaries Heyer and Pieper came to take him with them to their Mission. They offered Christianity to him as the only way to escape from the town's verdict. With that, they would be able to tell the D.C. that the Muslims of Lamu were trying to ruin Kijuma because of his conversion to Christianity. Kijuma agreed, and the plan was carried out. So, Kijuma went free, and the people of the town found themselves without a case, and could do nothing but try and avoid Kijuma socially.

Although they boycotted him socially, they could not boycott his talents because they needed his services as the other chapters of this thesis explain.

Six points are still to be made.

a)

It is not known how exactly Kijuma could get hold of two cases of whisky, but it is likely that the Europeans, working or staying in Lamu, were the ones who supplied him with this whisky, because they, at that time, were the only people to have access to whisky.

b)

It is this mandari that was in the mind of Missionary Pieper when he reported:- "Unfortunately, certain things indicated that the accusations which were levelled against Kijuma were not entirely without foundation".⁵³

c)

When these accusations forced Kijuma to seek refuge in the Mission, the missionaries in Lamu saw in Kijuma an opportunity to get a follower. Kijuma on the other hand saw in the Mission an opportunity to save his skin as well as make more money. Hence, a marriage of convenience was created. The missionaries would not help Kijuma unless he was ready to accept Christianity. The alleged conversion was therefore invalid, since it was not out of conviction towards the Christian faith on the part of Kijuma, but a way to save himself from a long jail sentence. The missionaries' condition was itself an unscrupulous act and therefore contrary to Christ's teachings.

On the other hand Kijuma's saying that he was ready to accept Christianity (in order to be rescued from prosecution by the people of Lamu) had nothing to do with the crime he might have committed against the people of Lamu whose minors he gave whisky to get them intoxicated - a clear offence against both Islamic and British Law.

d)

When the people of Lamu found themselves without a case and saw that the Mission protected Kijuma against their will, they might have begun to oppose its being there. It is not unlikely that this opposition was behind Missionary Pieper's report which said: "It is doubtful if the Mission station can continue. The schools have been closed, and the children no longer want to learn stories from the Bible".⁵⁴

e)

Kijuma may have chosen to mention Sharifu Abdalla bin Zubeir by name in his report to E.D., as the one who wanted to ruin him,⁵⁵ because this Sharifu was actually at the head of the town's delegation which went to put the verdict of the town before Mr. Rogers.⁵⁶

f)

Should this conversion of Kijuma in 1900 be considered a true one?
It is doubtful that it was for the following reasons:

i)

Missionaries Heyer and Pieper failed to report this conversion, even though they were witness to it.

ii)

According to Kijuma's report to E.D., this conversion was a conditional one. The condition was for Kijuma to accept conversion in return for the missionaries saving him from jail.

iii)

The most important reason of all is that there is no evidence at all in Kijuma's poems to show that he was a Christian. On the contrary, every poem he composed after 1900 shows that he was a Muslim. These poems are discussed in the review of point No. 6.

iv)

Finally, Missionary Pieper's report clearly shows that this conversion of 1900 was not a true one. Just after 1912 (i.e. in about 1913), he reported:- "Until now, there is no clear breakthrough, there is no clear devotion to the Lord. Kijuma has not been baptised yet".⁵⁷

5.

In points 1, 2, 3, and 4, we dealt with some aspects which are relevant to point number 5. What remains to be considered in this point are the views of Allen about Kijuma which were qualified by E.D.; the question that Kijuma's family (his wife and only son) left him because of his baptism; and the story of his funeral. Allen - following Kijuma's fellow-townsmen - did not regard Kijuma as being a very important poet. When I went to Lamu in 1980, I found that the people of Lamu distinguished, in their judgement on Kijuma, between his personal life and his artistic and literary achievements. Concerning his personal life, they regarded him as a person with little morality.

When I asked them why, the direct answer of the majority would be: Because of his mandari and his singing competitions in which he used to sing, dance, and play music. It was very shameful for a person to take part in such activities in Lamu, because, in Islam, singing and playing music could be either prohibited or allowed. It would be prohibited, if it was accompanied by activities which are against Islamic teachings, e.g. drinking alcohol, women and men dancing in front of each other, or singing offensive words; and it would be allowed, if it was not accompanied by such activities.⁵⁸ Kijuma used to associate himself with the prohibited activities in his singing and playing of music,⁵⁹ and these were therefore considered as shameful. Concerning the artistic and literary works, every one in Lamu respected and admired them. One of Kijuma's relatives⁶⁰ summarised these two aspects of Kijuma's life, when he was shown a picture of Kijuma in which he is holding a kinanda and singing. He said:- "Let us go on. I feel sorry to see my uncle in this way. I did not see him playing a kinanda, I only heard about it. He was a real poet, this I know, it is of great value, but I did not like him to be a poet playing music in front of the people".

E.D. wrote that Kijuma's last wife and his only son Helewa left him after he had been baptised in 1931/2. All the elders of Lamu whom the present writer interviewed there still remember that Kijuma never married after he had divorced his third wife in 1900.⁶¹ Also, in the same year (1900), Helewa left Lamu for good and went to Zanzibar to find a job.⁶² Helewa himself - as E.D. wrote - did not agree with his father's "conversion".⁶³ The fact that Helewa left Lamu in about 1900 is confirmed by Kijuma, in his poem Siraji,⁶⁴ when he writes that he had not seen his son for a long time. When we know that Kijuma composed the Siraji in 1927, we will realise that Helewa must have left Lamu a long time before 1931/2.

About Kijuma's death and his burial which was described in a letter from Missionary May, and published by E.D., the following is a complete translation of a stamped letter from the Kadhi of Lamu written by Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Swahili:⁶⁵

"I, Abdalla Muhamadi Khatibu of P.O. Box 38, Lamu, Kenya, swear by The Almighty Allah that:

1. Bwana Muhamadi Abu Bakariy bin Omari Kijuma was my uncle,⁶⁶ because he was a cousin of my father Muhamadi bin Khatibu, because the father of Bwana Muhamadi Abu Bakari Kijuma and the mother of my father Muhamadi bin Khatibu (Mwana Esha bint Omari) are full brother and sister.
2. In 1915, when I finished studying the Quran, my father sent me to Bwana Muhamadi Abu Bakari Kijuma to teach me Arabic writing and mathematics.
3. Either in 1945 or in 1946, he suddenly died at seven o'clock in the morning. After the news of his death had spread, the Pokomo Christians came to take his body, but his cousin Bwana Abdalla Muhamadi Imam⁶⁷ refused. The Christians went to the D.C. of Lamu, Mr. C.A. Cornell, who was a First Class Magistrate. The D.C. called Bwana Abdalla Muhamadi Imam, but Bwana Abdalla sent me to the D.C. with a letter which was written by Bwana Muhamadi Abu Bakari bin Omari Kijuma himself. The letter said: 'When I die, bury me according to the Islamic tradition'. When the D.C. had read the letter, he realised that Bwana Muhamadi Kijuma was a Muslim, not a Christian. The D.C. asked me to bury him in the Islamic way. It was a Friday. We took the body to the Ijumaa-mosque which is near Kijuma's home. After we had prayed the al-Juma-prayer, we prayed for him. Then, we buried him in the tomb of his family in Mkomani at Lamu.

I have sworn this in front of the Kadhi of Lamu, in Lamu on 26th July 1980.

The signature of
Abdalla Khatibu

The signature of the
Kadhi in Lamu, and the
stamp".

It is clear from this letter that a controversy had arisen between Kijuma's family and the Christians on the question of Kijuma's burial. The D.C. as a judge was involved and resolved that Kijuma was a Muslim. So, Kijuma was buried in accordance with Islamic traditions. This letter would seem to be more reliable than Missionary May's, on the following grounds. On the one hand, Bw. Abdalla Khatibu was the representative of Kijuma's family before the D.C. and showed him Kijuma's will. So, he was present at the actual event. On the other hand, Missionary May was neither involved in the event, nor was he an eye witness.⁶⁸

6.

E.D. wrote:- "Kijuma married four wives. His last wife left him after he was baptised in 1931/2".

All the people on the Kenyan Coast whom I interviewed confirmed that Kijuma married a total of three wives during his lifetime, and his third and last wife had been divorced before he went to the Sultan's palace in Zanzibar in 1901/2.⁶⁹ No one knows of any marriage taking place between Kijuma and any woman since his divorce from his third wife before his 1901/2 journey to Zanzibar. In addition to this, one of Kijuma's songs⁷⁰ which he composed just after his return from Zanzibar shows that he had no intention of remarrying.⁷¹

E.D. wrote:- "Owing to Kijuma's conversion his property at Lamu was taken away from him, and when he was disinherited, an action contrary to the law of Kenya at that time, the British District officer offered his services to make this decision invalid. Kijuma refused the help and preferred to live in poverty". Unfortunately, E.D. did not mention by whom Kijuma's property was taken, nor did he give details of his sources. If he was told this by Kijuma himself, Kijuma must have been forgetful, because Kijuma's parents had died long before the question regarding Kijuma's religion arose. According to Missionaries Heyer and Pieper, the question arose in 1893.⁷² In that year (1893), Kijuma had already inherited his mother's property, because his mother died in 1881,⁷³ after his father had died. When Kijuma's mother, who was rich,⁷⁴ died and left her estate to her three sons and to her only daughter.⁷⁵ These children inherited their mother's property according to Islamic law. The bulk of the property was invested in houses, water wells, gold, and money in cash.⁷⁶ After Kijuma had received his share, no one took it away from him until he died in 1945.⁷⁷ Was Kijuma poor? He was not poor in the sense of not having the means to live, but he may have been poor in the sense that he spent all that he had at once, without saving any for the next day, although he could have save some, because he had a great amount. As a person of many talents, he must have used these to earn money.⁷⁸ We may agree with one of the elders of Lamu who said:- "God willed him to be clever. God gave him money like the rains. He (Kijuma) himself used to say: 'God gives me money, I compete with Him, God and I. God gives me money and I throw it (spend it at once)'. All that he wanted, (he got). He used to eat good food".⁷⁹

What remains to be reviewed in this point 6, is the opinion of E.D. about the choice of themes in Kijuma's poetry.

E.D. confined himself to eight works composed by Kijuma, which he mentioned in his article when making his own observations on Kijuma's personality and his works. These eight works are: 1. Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa⁸⁰ 2. Utendi wa Mkunumbi⁸¹ 3. Utendi or Hadithi ya Fumo Liongo⁸² 4. Utendi wa Siraji⁸³ 5. Nasara wa Arabu⁸⁴ 6. Customs of old Lamu⁸⁵ 7. Utendi wa Safari⁸⁶ 8. Hini (ni) A.I.U.⁸⁷.

Comparing these eight works with the total number of Kijuma's poems, we find that these eight poems represent about half - not more - of all the poems composed by Kijuma. All the other poems which E.D. omitted deal with themes from the Islamic world - as the chapter of Kijuma as a scribe and a poet reveals⁸⁸ - themes about which E.D. wrote: "Kijuma's esteem of Christianity prohibited him from choosing themes from the Islamic world". In spite of that, no work will be discussed here but namely the eight works which were mentioned by E.D., and from which he made his own observations. E.D.'s observations about Kijuma's religion from these eight works read:- "The choice of themes. Kijuma seems not to be interested in traditional subjects. This concerns the treatment of the maghazi - narrations as well as the representation of important characters in the Quran like Jacob, Joseph, Job, or Jonah Kijuma's relations with missionaries and his esteem of Christianity even before his conversion prohibited him from choosing themes from the Islamic world. His conduct of life caused him to look for other subjects."⁸⁹

Actually, Kijuma composed many poems about the important characters in the Quran such as Jacob, Joseph, Esha, and Moses,⁹⁰ but not one single poem from the Bible. However, as has been said before, the works to be discussed here are namely the eight works to which E.D. confined himself. The first of these works is:-

1 - Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa⁸⁰

Kijuma himself wrote in a letter to E.D. that he composed this poem about Jesus according to Quran.⁸⁰ So, the personality of Jesus, in this poem is Quranic, and from the Islamic world, not from another. E.D. published this poem, with his own translation and comments.⁹¹ He came to the following conclusion in p.75: "When we arrange the present work on the basis of our comparative study of religions, it is a syncretistic presentation of the life and work of Jesus in which Islamic and Christian traditions are found side by side without attempting to harmonise them. It is difficult to draw any conclusion about the attitude of the author (Kijuma) based on the poem". Later on, in 1980, E.D. revised this conclusion by writing: "Formally regarded Kisa cha Isa is rather syncretistic. Nevertheless it contains a genuine Christology which is contradictory to the Islamic doctrine".⁹²

The attitude of Kijuma in this poem is quite clear. No stanza is composed in metaphor. In other words, the poem has no mafumbo as E.D. referred to.⁹³ Mafumbo is a kind of figurative language used by Swahili poets, in which they do not speak directly about the subject they have in mind, but about another subject which bears some resemblance to it. It includes, for example, metaphors and riddles, and is often difficult to interpret.⁹⁴ It is important to state here that Kijuma never used mafumbo in his poems, although he used them in many of his songs. The difference between poems and songs is clearly explained in many works of other Swahili scholars.⁹⁵ However, all Kijuma's songs which contain mafumbo, and which could be traced, are mentioned and explained in this thesis.⁹⁶ In addition to this, all the poems which were composed by Kijuma can be classified into: Utendi,⁹⁷ Shairi,⁹⁷ Ukawafi,⁹⁷ or Kisarambe.⁹⁷

The tendi which he composed are: Lamu or Alika kama harusi, Utendi wa nana Werner, Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa, Hadithi ya Sayyidna Isa, Utendi wa Mkunumbi, Utendi wa Yusufu, Utendi or Hadithi ya Liongo, Utendi wa miiraji, Ngamia na paa, Kisa cha Kadhi na Haramii, Utendi wa Esha, Nasara wa Arabu, Wedding customs of old Lamu, Abdur Rahmani na Sufiyani, Utendi wa Safari, Utendi wa Musa na Nabii Khidhr, and Siraji.⁹⁸

Concerning Shairi, Kijuma composed three poems of this type. They are:

Babukheti, Binti Yusufu, and Shairi la Fisi.⁹⁹

In Ukawafi, he composed Kozi na ndiwa.¹⁰⁰

In Kisarambe, he composed A.I.U.¹⁰¹

The meaning of the words and the object of the poem (i.e. Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa) are clearly expressed. The poem shows that its content and the attitude of the poet are purely Islamic. Attention is drawn to this poem because it clarifies the belief of Kijuma in Jesus. We should concentrate on this poem to know exactly what the belief of Kijuma in Jesus was.¹⁰² He composed it after he had followed Christianity - as he himself wrote in his report to E.D. - for 13 years. That is why this poem will be summarised and comments will be given on it:

Stanzas 1-3:

Naming Allah, The One who has no partner, and blessing the prophet (Muhammad), his companions, kinsfolk, and all other prophets.

Although Kijuma did not mention the prophet by name, he is named here, because this resembles the formula of the Muslim creed which reads: "I

witness that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is a prophet of Allah". Also, Kijuma writes in stanza 344¹⁰³ that Jesus asked his

people to follow the prophet Muhammad when he comes. In addition to

this, the Muslim is asked to give an eulogy after the name of the prophet

Muhammad and also the names of the others prophets are mentioned.

Stanzas 4-13:

These tell us about Mary's age and her service in the mosque with Joseph.

It is remarkable to note that the word (mosque) in Kijuma's Arabic source⁸⁰ reads kanisa = church, but he used the word msikiti = mosque, in his composition, instead of kanisa.

Stanzas 14-26:

When Mary left Joseph and went to the well to fetch water, the Angel Gabriel, the Messenger of Allah, descended to bestow on Mary a son. The following conversation took place between Mary and

Gabriel:

Mary: How can I have a son when no mortal has touched me, neither have I been unchaste?¹⁰⁴

Gabriel: So, (it will be) Thy Lord saith: It is easy for me. And (it will be) that we may make of him a revelation for mankind and a mercy from us, and it is a thing ordained.¹⁰⁵ Then, Gabriel breathed into her.¹⁰⁶

As we see, the Quranic Ayas are given here as proof of that which the poet composed about the conversation which took place between Mary and Gabriel, i.e. Kijuma began the story of Jesus' birth in an Islamic tradition.

Stanzas 27-48:

These deal with Mary coming back to the mosque feeling pregnant.

People suspected Mary's pregnancy, and even Joseph did. At the end

of the discussion between Mary and Joseph, she reminded him of Adam

and Eve whom Allah created with neither a father nor a mother.

Although there is no Quranic Aya mentioned throughout these stanzas, it may be suggested that Kijuma adopted for his stanzas the following Aya:¹⁰⁷ "Lo! the likeness of Jesus with Allah is as the likeness of Adam. He created him of dust, then He said unto him: Be! and he is".

Stanzas 49-52:

Deal with the conversation between Mary and the mother of John. John's mother told Mary before giving birth that John prostrated inside his mother's womb for Jesus. Kijuma gives a part of a Quranic Aya as proof of what he said. The following underlined words are the part which Kijuma gave:-

"And the angels called to him (referring to Zachariah) as he stood praying in the sanctuary: Allah giveth thee glad tidings of (a son whose name will be) John (who cometh) to confirm a word from Allah, Lordly, Chaste, a prophet of the righteous".¹⁰⁸

The (word), in the above Aya, is referring to Jesus, because he was created by the word "Be!"

Stanzas 53-54:

Gabriel descended to ask Mary to depart from there, otherwise she would be killed. Kijuma gave the following Quranic Aya:- "And she conceived him, and she withdrew with him to a far place".¹⁰⁹

Stanzas 55-57:

Mary tells Joseph what she was told by Gabriel. So, Joseph brought her a donkey to ride outside the town.

Stanzas 58-59:

Joseph intends to kill Mary on their way to that far place which is near Egypt. But Gabriel is sent to tell Joseph that that which is inside Mary's womb is not a result of fornication, but it is the holy spirit.

The holy spirit is a term referring to the angel of revelation, Gabriel. The holy spirit is mentioned in the Quran more than once and each time it is mentioned it refers to Gabriel. There are some Ayas showing what the holy spirit means e.g. the following Aya¹¹⁰ is addressed to the children of Israel:- "And verily We gave unto Moses the scripture and we caused a train of Messengers to follow after him, and We gave unto Jesus, son of Mary, clear proofs (miracles), and We support him with the holy spirit. Is it ever so, that, when there cometh unto you a messenger (from Allah) with that which ye yourselves desire not, ye grow arrogant, and some yet disbelieve and some ye slay?"

Stanzas 60-66:

About the period of pregnancy during which Mary carried Jesus.

Stanzas 67-77:

Mary sits down beside a dry palm-tree to lie down for giving birth. Suddenly the palm becomes green and fruitful. Mary finds herself surrounded by fresh water and angels to receive Jesus, and to protect him. This happened in Bethlehem. Then Kijuma relates from the Quran what Mary said and what was said to her:- "And the pangs of child-birth drove her unto the trunk of the palm-tree. She said: Oh, would that I had died before this and had become a thing of naught, forgotten. Then (one) cried unto her from below her, saying: Grieve not!

Thy lord hath placed a rivulet beneath thee. And shake the trunk
of the palm-tree toward thee, thou wilt cause ripe dates to fall
upon thee".¹¹¹

Stanzas 78-79:

Joseph gathers firewood and makes a fire to keep Mary warm.

Stanzas 80-90:

The devil does his best to touch Jesus and sting him as he tries to
do to every new-born baby, but he is protected.

Stanzas 91-108:

A group of people, who saw the star in the sky which was promised
as the sign of Jesus' birth, take their presents and go to give
them to Mary. On their way, they pass by one of the Syrian¹¹²
Kings who asks them where they are going. They answer him, and he
asks them to inform him of Jesus' whereabouts. They promise to
inform him. They give the presents and on their way back to the
King the angel descends and asks them not to go to the King because
the King wants to kill Jesus. So, they obey the angel and do not
go back to the King.

Stanzas 109-112:

Jesus begs his mother to drink, to eat, and not to speak. If
somebody insists on asking her any questions, Jesus himself will be
ready to answer.

Stanzas 113-114:

Joseph helps Mary and Jesus to enter a cave.

Stanzas 115-128:

When Jesus is 40 days old, his mother goes home with him, but their relatives feel disagreed, and according to the Quran they say to Mary:- "Thy father was not a wicked man nor was thy mother a harlot".¹¹³ Then, Zachariah asks Jesus about the truth. Jesus answers that Allah gave him the prophecy, a holy Book (i.e. the Gospel), and He will give us the seal of the prophets. After the relatives had intended to stone Mary, they left her because of Jesus' miracles.

I draw attention to the fact that Kijuma meant the prophet Muhammad when he said that Jesus told Zachariah that Allah would give them the seal of the prophets. This is because of the following reasons:-

1.

Although Jesus did not reveal the name of this last of the prophets in stanza 125, he revealed it in stanza 344 and named it as Muhammad.

2.

The words (Khatima ya Nabia) which Kijuma used in his stanza are the same words which are mentioned in the Quran referring to the prophet Muhammad. There is an Aya reading:- "Muhammad is not the father of any man among you, but he is the Messenger of Allah and the seal of the prophets, and Allah is Aware of all things".¹¹⁴

Stanzas 129-137:

The King Herodes insists on killing Jesus, but Gabriel is sent by Allah to tell Mary and Joseph to go to Egypt with Jesus and return when Herodes dies.

Stanzas 138-143:

Joseph brings a donkey for them to mount. He accompanies them to Egypt. Kijuma gives the following underlined part of an Aya:- "And we made the son of Mary and his mother a portent, and we gave them refuge on a height, a place of flocks and water springs".¹¹⁵

Stanzas 144-171:

Although Jesus has been at an elementary school since he was one year old, it was accepted that he was more educated than his teachers, particularly in religious matters.

Stanzas 172-178:

Tell us about Jesus' appearance and about his exerting himself to worship Allah. Jesus heals the leper and raises the dead by Allah's leave.

It is worth mentioning that Kijuma wrote that Jesus performed these miracles by Allah's will, not by his own will. This is in accordance with what is mentioned in the Quran:-¹¹⁶ "And (Allah) will make him a Messenger unto the Children of Israel, (saying): 'Lo! I come unto you with a sign from your Lord. Lo! I fashion for you out of clay the likeness of a bird, and I breathe into it and it is a bird, by Allah's leave. I heal him who was born blind, and the leper, and I raise the dead, by Allah's leave. And I announce unto you what ye eat and what ye store up in your houses. Lo! herein verily is a portent for you, if ye are to be believers'".

Stanza 179:

Jesus knows the affairs of this world and the hereafter, because he is a great prophet.

Again Kijuma tells us that Jesus knows this, simply because he is a prophet.

Stanzas 180-182:

Joseph builds a humble room for Mary and her son in Egypt to live, but they are invited to stay with Ndahakani.

Ndahakani should be Dahakani, without the letter N in the beginning because it is so in the Arabic source of Kijuma, p.421.⁸⁰ The biography of this Dahakani is not found in this source. Only it is understood from the Arabic text that he (i.e. Dahakani) was a very kind rich Egyptian.

Stanzas 183-200:

One day, the wealth of the host (Dahakani) is stolen by one of the poor people whom Dahakani used to invite to feed. Although Jesus does not see the thief, he identifies him to the host.

Stanzas 201-212:

One day, some guests come to Dahakani at a time when he has no water. Then, Jesus touches the empty containers with his hands, suddenly these containers become full of water. Because of these miracles, Jesus was accused of using magic. So, the boys of his age avoided playing with him, because their mothers were afraid of him. Every time Jesus calls on a friend to play with him, he is told that the friend is not in. But every time Jesus knows that that friend is in, and his mother is the one who wants to keep her son away from him.

Stanzas 213-252:

During this time, the Jews plan a plot to kill Jesus. So, Mary and her son move out of the town to another town. A very kind lady accepts Mary and her son to be her guests. One day, the husband of this lady falls ill, because he is not able to give the banquet which he should give according to the orders of the town's Governor. This Governor is very greedy and a tyrant. He imposes a banquet upon every compatriot to be given when his turn comes. The turn of this lady's husband comes. When Jesus is told the story by his mother, he tells his hosts to bring the vessels and the containers empty. Suddenly, all the empty vessels and containers are filled with meat, broth, and wine, wine which is not similar to that known to the people, but is something special from Allah. When the Governor sees the wine, he asks: 'From where did you bring it?' They answer: 'Jesus is the one who turned the water into this'. When the Governor is answered this, he wants Jesus to raise his dead son. Jesus accepts on the condition that he and his mother will be allowed to leave the town. The Governor agrees. Jesus invokes Allah for the dead son to come back to life. The son revives, and a big riot breaks out in the town because the son was not loved among his compatriots, but Jesus and his mother leave the town for another town in which Jesus can play with other boys.

Stanzas 253-272:

Unfortunately, one of these boys, with whom Jesus plays, dies. Although Jesus has no hand in his death, he is accused of causing his death. Jesus asks the Judge, who is prosecuting him, to go to the tomb of the dead boy, and the boy himself will confess the truth. They go to the tomb.

Then, Jesus raises the dead boy who tells the crowd who killed him. The crowd is astonished and returns after the boy dies again. Then, Mary becomes afraid that her son will probably be harmed, but he sets her mind at rest by saying: 'Allah is taking care of us and He will protect us'.

Stanzas 273-285:

Mary accompanies Jesus to a dyeing-shop in order to get him a job. He gets a job as a dyeing-labourer. Although he mixes all the different cloths' materials together with all the various colours in one place and at one time, he gets these cloths dyed according to the instructions of his employer. No one can understand how Jesus gets each material dyed with the particular colour which his employer specifies. When the employer sees this, he is astonished and the people gather to watch what is going on. All of them realise that Jesus is performing a miracle.

Stanzas 286-305:

Gabriel is sent to tell Mary that Herodes has died and she should go back home. When Mary returns home, Jesus attains the age of 12. In a village called Nasara (in Kijuma's Arabic source is called Nasirah), Jesus invites the inhabitants around him to preach to them and to heal the sick, particularly the blind and the lepers. Also, Jesus fashions out of clay the likeness of a bird and breathes into it and it becomes a real bird by Allah's leave. When the birds fly away, they die. The following Aya is mentioned after Stanza 296:- 'I (Jesus) fashion for you out of clay the likeness of a bird and I breathe into it and it is a bird, by Allah's leave.

I heal him who was born blind and a leper, and I raise the dead, by Allah's leave".¹¹⁶

Amongst the dead who were raised by Jesus was his friend Lazarus.

This name Lazarus is written in the transliterated Swahili text as Lazura, but it could be transliterated as al-Azur, because it is written so in the Arabic source of Kijuma, p.426.

Stanzas 306-315:

Kijuma composed these stanzas according to the meaning of the following Ayas:-¹¹⁷

"When the disciples said: O Jesus, son of Mary! Is thy Lord able to send down for us a table spread with food from heaven? He said: Observe your duty to Allah, if ye are true believers. (They said): We wish to eat thereof, that we may satisfy our hearts and know that thou hast spoken truth to us, and that thereof we may be witnesses. Jesus, son of Mary, said: O, Allah, Lord of us! Send down for us a table spread with food from heaven, that it may be a feast for us, for the first of us and for the last of us,¹¹⁸ and a sign from Thee. Give us sustenance, for Thou art the best of sustainers. Allah said: Lo! I send it down for you. And who so disbelieveth of you afterward, him surely will I punish with a punishment where with I have not punished any of (My) creatures". Actually, the table was sent and every one became satisfied with every kind of food he liked.

Stanzas 316-322:

One day, the Jews decide to kill Jesus. They surround him, but he manages to escape from them and runs to the sea.

They follow him, but he is able to walk on the water of the sea until he is out of sight.

There is a Hadith of the prophet Muhammad confirming Jesus' walking on the water. It is mentioned in the Arabic source of Kijuma, p.429, and is as follows:- Abu-Mansur al-Khamshawy narrated that Muadh ibn Jabal said that the prophet of Allah (S.A.A.W.) said:- "If you know Allah as the knowledge of Him should be, you will know the knowledge after which you will have no ignorance. And there is no one who has arrived at this level (of knowledge)". They (i.e. the companions of the prophet) asked him:- "And not you O, prophet of Allah?" He answered:- "Nor me". They said:- "We have heard that Jesus, son of Mary, walked on the water". He said:- "Yes, and if he (Jesus) grew fearing (Allah) and believing, he would walk on the air". They said:- "O, prophet of Allah. We have not known that the prophets may fail to reach this!" He said:- "Allahu Taālā is too Great to be matched by any one".

Stanzas 323-337:

After 3 days, Jesus comes back to his home. The Jews learn of his coming back. They surround him again. Jesus enters a house nearby and there he disappears by Allah's leave. While they are looking for him, Allah changes one of them into the form of Jesus. So, it is this man who is caught. The man tells that that he is not Jesus, but they do not believe him. Finally, they crucify him and bury him thinking that he is Jesus.

Stanzas 337-343:

After three days, Jesus appears standing in the air. They cry and shout from astonishment. During this scene, his mother Mary calls him to take her with him.

He asks forgiveness and tells her that Allah wants it so.

Stanza 344:

Then, Jesus says to the crowd:- "You have ill-treated me, but Muhammad will come after me. Follow him. He will be a prophet".

It is important to know that the data in this stanza is not found in the Arabic source of Kijuma. So, he must have derived it from the following Aya:- "And when Jesus, son of Mary said: O, children of Israel! Lo! I am the messenger of Allah unto you, confirming that which was (revealed) before me in the Torah and bringing good tidings of a messenger who cometh after me, whose name is Ahmed (i.e. Muhammad)".¹¹⁹

Stanzas 345-346:

Jesus advises them:- "Do not oppose disbelievers". Then, Jesus says farewell to his mother, and is taken up to heaven. Here Kijuma refers to the following Ayas:-¹²⁰ "And because of their saying: We slew the Messiah Jesus son of Mary, Allah's messenger - They slew him not nor crucified, but it appeared so unto them, and lo! those who disagree concerning it are in doubt thereof, they have no knowledge thereof save pursuit of a conjecture, they slew him not for certain. But Allah took him up unto Himself. Allah was ever Mighty, Wise".

Stanzas 347-348:

Some scholars say that Jesus will descend to this world when it has nearly come to its end.

That is the end of the poem.

After studying this poem, one may conclude the following as being

Kijuma's viewpoint:-

a)

There is not even one stanza referring to Jesus as a Son of God or an element of the trinity. In the poem, Jesus is a human being born of only one parent, Mary, in a similar way to the creation of Adam who was also without a father.¹²¹ Kijuma calls Jesus either the son of Mary or the prophet of Allah. Kijuma does not refer to Jesus even once as a "Son of God".

Here are the titles and names which Kijuma used to refer to Jesus in his poem:

In stanza 60, he calls Jesus: Isa Rasuli Jesus the prophet.

In stanza 64, he gives him the title Maulaya The Master or Lord.

In stanza 84, he calls him Wetu Isa Nabiyaka Our Jesus, the prophet.

In stanza 100, he calls him Mtume The prophet.

In stanza 116, he calls him Masiha The Messiah.

In stanza 310, he calls him Isa Bunu Mariama Jesus, son of Mary.

In stanza 316, he calls him Bwanetu Isa Sayidi Our Lordly Jesus Master.

These names and titles are all from the Quran.¹²² Muslims all over the world use these names and titles to refer to Jesus, simply because they believe in him as a great prophet of Allah. According to Islam, anyone who does not believe that Jesus is a prophet of Allah, he/she cannot be a Muslim because he/she would therefore be disbelieving in some of the Quran. However, these names and titles used by Kijuma are only few among the names and titles mentioned in the Quran.

b)

According to Kijuma's poem, Jesus had not been crucified nor buried before he was taken up to heaven. The one who had been crucified was one of the Jews trying to arrest Jesus.¹²³

Kijuma neither used the word Resurrection nor referred to it in connection with Jesus, in this poem. So, E.D. was not relying on a reference from the poem when he wrote:- "In Kisa cha Isa of Kijuma, a remarkable feature is that Jesus met his mother after his resurrection".¹²⁴

c)

Kijuma did not quote any verse from the Bible as evidence for what he said about Jesus.

d)

Jesus declared in front of all the crowd before he ascended to heaven that Muhammad will come, and they should follow him because he will be a prophet. Here is the stanza¹²⁵ in which Kijuma said so:

Wasimeme wote pia	As all (the crowd) were standing
Mimi mmenionea	(Jesus said) you have oppressed me
Muhamadi atakuya	Muhammad will come
Mwandameni ni Nabia	You should follow him. He is a prophet.

In spite of this, E.D. wrote:- "When we arrange the present work on the basis of our comparative study of religions, it is a syncretistic presentation of the life and work of Jesus in which Islam and Christianity are standing - side by side - without attempting to harmonise them. It is difficult to draw conclusions about the attitude of the author (Kijuma) based on this poem."¹²⁶

If this poem is a "syncretistic presentation" as E.D. wrote, the conclusion would be stated that there is no difference between Islam and Christianity, and then it would not be necessary for Kijuma to say he was either a Muslim or a Christian. But E.D. wrote that Kijuma left Islam and converted to Christianity.¹²⁷ So, Islam and Christianity must be different. The main difference - according to what E.D. said¹²⁸ - is that the Christians do not accept Muhammad as a prophet. Hence, they do not believe in the Quran as a Holy Book. To put this sentence the other way round, we can say, the Christians do not believe in the Quran as a Holy Book, so, they do not believe in Muhammad - to whom the Quran was revealed - as a prophet. But Kijuma accepted Muhammad as a prophet in view of what he composed, not only in this poem, but in all of his poems, including the ones from which E.D. derived his own observations on Kijuma's personality, as we shall presently see.

Later, in 1980, E.D. revised his ideas by writing:- "Formally seen Kisa cha Isa is rather syncretistic. Nevertheless it contains a genuine Christology which is contradictory to the Islamic doctrine".

According to all what is already written about this poem of Kisa cha Isa, this should be revised as follows:- "Formally regarded Kisa cha Isa is Islamic: it contains a genuine Islamology which is contradictory to the Christian doctrine".

2 - Utendi wa Mkunumbi⁸¹

E.D. took this poem as evidence for the change of Kijuma's choice of themes.¹²⁹ I.e. Kijuma changed his choice of literary subjects from the Islamic world to look for other subjects than Islamic. E.D. wrote that the reason for this lay certainly in Kijuma's critical attitude towards Islam.¹³⁰

This is not acceptable because of the following:- Kijuma composed many Islamic poems before and after he had composed this one,⁸⁸ which he composed and copied for A.W. in 1913 at her request.⁸¹ The subject of the poem is the singing competitions in the Ngoma ya Beni which was a new subject introduced to Swahili society by the colonial government on the East African coast . I.e. it was not neglected by Kijuma when he was a Muslim, and it was not because of his critical attitude towards Islam - as E.D. wrote - that he selected it to make a poem on it. In addition to this, such a subject as the singing competitions should naturally attract Kijuma, regardless of his religious attitude, to compose a poem about it, because he was a chief protagonist and an important factor in keeping those competitions alive.⁵⁹ The important religious point found in the poem and on which E.D. made no comment is that the prophet Muhammad is mentioned in this poem seven times in seven successive stanzas.¹³¹ Kijuma's purpose in mentioning the prophet is to ask his blessing, and to pray to Allah, The One, for him. Furthermore, Kijuma mentioned Fatimah, the prophet's daughter with the same respect.¹³² At the same time, he did not mention Jesus even once.

3 - Utendi or Hadithi ya Liongo⁸²

E.D. wrote:- "When the epic of Liongo was recited before an Islamic audience it pleased without aiming to intensify piety. The story of Liongo was a somewhat neutral theme that could be enjoyed by both the Muslim people and the author (i.e. Kijuma) who was inclined to Christianity."¹³³

Was the author truly inclined to Christianity?

It is not accepted that he was because if he really was, he would either have prefaced his epic with praise of Jesus as son of God or would have referred to him in the epic, but he did neither. On the contrary, he prefaced his epic with a reference to Allah and His prophet Muhammad in the first stanza, thus:-

Bismillahi nabuṭadi	In the name of Allah I begin
Kwa ina la Muhamadi	As well as in that of Muhammad
Nandikie auladi	Let me write for the children
Nyuma watakaokuya	Who will follow after.

4 - Siraji⁸³

This poem should have been excluded from E.D.'s observations on Kijuma's choice of themes, because after E.D. had written that Kijuma seemed not to be interested in the traditional subjects which embodied the Islamic piety,¹³³ he wrote: "I think that Kijuma's intention of composing Siraji was to lead men to a life of piety. This poem for Kijuma's son combines teaching in religion with teaching in ethics".¹³⁴ It seems clear that E.D. meant the Islamic religion and its ethics. E.D. adds: "It seems that Kijuma composed this poem especially for the benefit of his only son Helewa".¹³⁵ Kijuma composed this poem for his son Helewa and asked him to give it publicity and to propagate it amongst men and women,¹³⁶ not only on the East African coast, but all over the world.¹³⁷ Hence, the poem was addressed to everyone everywhere. In this poem, Kijuma stressed his strong belief in Muhammad as a prophet of Allah by saying in the third stanza:-

Helewa twaa hadithi	Helewa, take my advice
Nimekwambia thuluthi	I have told you one third
Kwa haki ya Mabuuthi	I swear by the truth of the prophet
Utaelewa na ndia	That through it you will understand the right way.

As we see, Kijuma swore by the truth of Muhammad as a prophet. Although Kijuma mentioned only the word "prophet" in this stanza without naming this prophet, he did name him as Muhammad in stanza 208 by saying:

Na jamii Isilamu	All Muslims
Ilahi tawakirimu	Will be blessed by Allah
Bijahi Taha Hashimu	In honour of Taha Hashim (i.e. Muhammad)
Aliyozawa Makiya	Who was born in Mecca.

This poem Siraji is a clear mirror, in which Kijuma's essential being is reflected.⁸³ Analysis of the poem reveals the real beliefs and convictions of Kijuma. The conclusion must be that he accepted the creed: There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is a prophet of Allah. A person who has this belief, must also believe that the Quran is the word of God, because it confirms the prophethood of Muhammad. Although the Muslims believe that the Bible must also have confirmed this prophethood,¹³⁸ the Christians do not believe so. Hence, if Kijuma was a Christian, as he wrote in 1936 to E.D. about his conversion of 1900,¹³⁹ he would never, in 1927,¹⁴⁰ have sworn by the truth of Muhammad's prophethood. Having sworn thus, he must have believed in the Quran as a Holy Book.

Since he believed in the Quran, he could not have been a Christian, because as we said, the Christians believe neither in Muhammad as a prophet, nor in the Quran as the word of God. This belief explains why Kijuma used to support his compositions with many Quranic Ayas, whether these compositions were composed before or after 1932.⁸⁸ In this poem, Kijuma is also seen as a believer.¹⁴¹

5 - Nasara wa Arabu⁸⁴

E.D. wrote:- "In Nasara wa Arabu, Kijuma neither questioned Christians nor Muslims about Jesus."¹³⁴

Kijuma questioned neither of them about Jesus, because he said in the second stanza that the poem was not about the comparison of religions, but of customs. Here is the stanza:

Wala si neno la dini	It is not an argument on the subject of religions
Zitendo za muwilini	(But) on physical behaviour
Wazungu mwao nyumbani	In the houses of the Europeans
Ukingia angalia	If you enter, note

In spite of that, there is here a religious point to be made. Kijuma, in the poem, mentioned Jesus as a prophet, not as anything else, although he was free to mention the belief in Jesus according to the Christians and not the Muslims since the stanzas after all were about the belief of the Europeans whom Kijuma considered as Christians. Instead, he mentioned him as a prophet in the following way:

Ni kuu heshima yao	Their respect is great
Hutukuza tumwa wao	They (the Europeans) exalt their prophet
Siyaona aitwao	I have not met one (of them) who was called
Isa haliyatukia	Jesus. This has not happened.

The remaining stanzas¹⁴² in which he mentioned Jesus and also the prophet Muhammad are the following:

Kwa kulla chombo chendao	For every ship sailing
Wanaye nahodha wao	There is a captain whom
Wamezoamini kwao	They believe in
Ila bandari ni moyaa	But the harbour is one.
Na manahodha idadi	The number of the captains (are)
Musa, Isa, Muhamadi	Moses, Jesus and Muhammad
Wako na mazidadi	There are even more
Sahaba mitume pia	Prophets and companions
Abiria jamiina	All the passengers
Kwa wote wao hunena	All of them say:
Ni sisi watu wa janna	We are the people of Paradise
Wanginewe mbwa hawia	And the others belong to Hell.

In these stanzas, Kijuma compares religions to a ship, the prophets to the captains of the ships, the followers of each prophet to the passengers of each ship, and the goal of the religion to the harbour. Each ship's passengers think that they are the only people who will arrive in the safe harbour and that the others will be drowned.

As we see, it is clear from the text that Kijuma is including the three personalities, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, as prophets.

6 - Customs of old Lamu or Wedding Customs in Lamu⁸⁵

This poem has no stanzas which refer to any religious concepts whatsoever. So, it contains nothing in particular to be reviewed, except that E.D. took it as one of the eight works by Kijuma from which he derived his own observations on Kijuma's personality, including his religious attitude. One general observation of E.D. is that Kijuma changed his choice of themes from the traditional subjects (Maghazi narrations and Quranic characters) to look for other than Islamic subjects. E.D. saw this change as being due to Kijuma's conversion to Christianity.¹³³ However, the fact of the matter is that Kijuma composed many poems on such traditional subjects before and after he composed this poem on wedding customs. For example, the poem on the prophet Moses¹⁴³ composed after Wedding customs, was derived directly from the Quran not the Bible. In addition to this, we have to take into account Kijuma's deep passion for singing whether this singing was in a competition⁵⁹ or at a wedding.¹⁴⁴ From a person who had abandoned school for the singing competitions,¹⁴⁵ it was only to be expected that he would compose poems about such subjects as singing. And that is what he did.

7 - Utendi wa Safari⁸⁶

Although Kijuma did not mention prophet Muhammad or Jesus by name, he did refer to them by implication in this poem.

There are three stanzas in the poem in which he referred to them. The first of these three is the first in which Kijuma referred to prophet Muhammad thus:

Tanena yangu hadithi	I shall tell my story
Na ingawa ni thuluthi	Even one third of it
Kwa haki ya Mabuuthi	I swear by the truth of the prophet
Mungu tatusahilia	That Allah will make it easy for us.

Comparing this stanza to the third stanza of the poem Siraji composed by the same author, we find them having the same idea and mostly the same meaning.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, it is likely that Kijuma meant prophet Muhammad when he mentioned the word Mabuuthi in this stanza. There are two other stanzas in which Kijuma referred to Jesus. These stanzas are No. 55 and 56 thus:

Kuwasili kwetu Amu	On our arriving at Lamu
Siku kuu imetimu	It was the end of the great day
Ya mwokozi mkaramu	Of the honoured saviour
Mwana wa pweke mmoya	The son of only one
Kwa sute tukabarizi	We together went out
Siku kuu ya mwokozi	On the great day of the saviour
Muhindi na Bwana chizi	With the Indian, and Mr. Cheese
Tukaomba kwa pamoya	And we prayed together

It is clear that Kijuma was referring to Jesus in these two stanzas, because the author identified him by "The son of only one."

As we already know from Kijuma's long poem Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa, Jesus was born of only parent, i.e. Mary. The point which should be discussed here is that Kijuma used the word Mwokozi "Saviour", referring to Jesus. Although the concept of this word can be explained both in a Christian and an Islamic perspective. The Christians believe that Jesus is the Son of God. They also believe that he was a Saviour because God sent him to save all human beings from the sin which Adam committed by eating the forbidden fruit. Because of this sin, Adam was dismissed from Paradise and all human beings have been burdened with his sin since he was their father. All human beings need to be freed from this guilt. Hence, God sent His son, Jesus to free them from the guilt through Jesus' crucifixion. That is why this sacrifice was necessary for mankind to be saved. Therefore, Jesus was called the Saviour. It is not accepted that Kijuma meant this Christian concept, simply because he composed nothing which supported this Christian concept. There is not one single stanza in Kijuma's own compositions showing that he thought so. Moreover, there is no other stanza in Kijuma's compositions which contains this word mwokozi. On the contrary, his two long poems of Kisa cha Sayyidna Isa (the first of which he had composed before this poem of Safari, and the second of which he composed after Safari)⁸⁰ show that he must have meant the Islamic concept by referring to Jesus as Saviour.

Concerning the Islamic concept of "Saviour", the Muslims believe that the message of each prophet (including Adam, Jesus, and Muhammad) is to guide people to the right way, and to lead them from the darkness of infidelity to the light of faith. Jesus as a great prophet of Allah, saved the people from this darkness. Hence, it is quite in keeping with Islamic concepts to call Jesus and the other prophets Saviours.

Coming to the point of Kijuma's prayer with E.D., the Indian and the Missionary Cheese, as the above stanzas reveal, we find Kijuma - as a Muslim - is allowed to pray anywhere with anyone. Kijuma believed in the Quran as a Holy Book, and also in Muhammad as a prophet.¹⁴⁷ Anyone who believes in the Quran as a Holy Book, and, Muhammad as a prophet of Allah cannot be a Christian.¹⁴⁸ It is known that Kijuma used to pray. Since he was not a Christian, it follows that he prayed as a Muslim. According to eye witnesses such as Somoy Bena¹⁴⁹ and many others¹⁵⁰ whom I interviewed, Kijuma performed Islamic prayer rituals in accordance with Islamic practices. We also know that Kijuma prayed together with E.D., the Indian, and Missionary Cheese. This does not make Kijuma a Christian. A Muslim is allowed to pray, even in a church, so long as in his heart he believes in the one God and that Muhammad is His prophet.

8 - A.I.U.⁸⁷

The last comment E.D. made on this poem is that: "Kijuma's special liking for tradition is seen in his paraenetical acrostic (i.e. A.I.U.). In construction, structure of verse and contents he follows the known patterns, for instance Dura 'l-Mandhuma¹⁵¹ "The strung pearl". The exhortations which he pronounces according to the pattern do not differ from the admonitions of Muslim poems. This is amazing, since Kijuma composed this poem after his baptism. He practised his new faith without fear, and he accepted any consequences resulting from his conversion. I think it was his close connection with the old kind of poetry which caused him also to follow the old pattern. When Mr. Allen writes 'that some of his work, perhaps much of it, was written for his European clients and is therefore suspect as not indigenous in spirit'.¹⁵²

I should ask why Kijuma did not refer to the Christian faith. He wrote his acrostic for me and sent it to Germany. Why did he not refer to our common Christian faith?"¹²⁴

To answer the question of E.D., why Kijuma did not refer to the Christian faith, because he was a Muslim not a Christian. Furthermore, it is very likely that Kijuma was admonishing himself in this poem because all its admonitions refer to the sins which he may have committed in his life, as we shall see in this thesis. So, it is important to examine this poem in brief.

Stanzas 1-14:-

If a person remembers that he will join the dead, he will accept the admonition which enables him to gain wisdom. The one who accepts it, will go to Paradise. Think of the Hereafter in order to be steadfast in your steps, may they lead you to good deeds all the time. Do not delay repentance. Do not obey what you desire, but obey the commandments of Allah. If you delay repentance, later you may not have time for it, because your death could take place at any moment, whether you are rich or poor. When you find yourself in front of your tomb's door without repentance, you will repent on a day which has no reward for repentance but the severe punishment of Hell. Do not hurt people. Avoid committing sins. Supply yourself with the weapons of good deeds to attain the Kingdom of Eternity.

Stanza 15:-

The poet, Kijuma, warns everyone who does not pray to Allah. Such a one will never find a place of refuge in the Hereafter.

He does not omit to tell us, in the same stanza, that he means the Islamic prayers:-

Dharau na sala kwenda kusali Neglect going to the prayers,
Dhidi na ziumbe kula mahali Behave badly against the people everywhere,
Dhuha adhuhuri sizikabili Do not go to pray Dhuha and Adhuhuri,
Unapo mahala pa kupaṭama? Will you then have a place of refuge?

It seems that Kijuma is referring to the two kinds of Islamic prayers by mentioning the words Dhuha and Adhuhuri. The Islamic prayers are either Fardh "Obligatory" or Sunnah "Optional". Adhuhuri is an obligatory, and Dhuha is an optional prayer.

Stanzas 16-27:-

Behave well in front of every person. Do not suspect any one. By obeying this, you make your heart pure. Follow neither satan nor your lust. Do not oppress people. Think all the time about suffering and death. Pray and fast, to be saved in this world and the one to come. If you have any other way to escape death and punishment, tell me about it and I shall be ready to join you. But I would remind you that all kings and other people who had thrones and power in the past, died and left behind every thing they had. They did not take anything with them.

Stanza 28:-

La ilaha, Yeye na mtumewe There is no god but Allah, and (Muhammad) is
His prophet

Lipiye shahada likuokowe. Repeat the Shahada,¹⁵³ may it save you

Lugha ya msaha umwamkuwe Pray to Allah in clear language
Bwana mbwa imani atasimama The Lord is Trustworthy, He will stand (by
you)

Stanzas 29-31:-

Describe how the dead person is placed in the tomb in his final position. The way which Kijuma describes it is the Islamic custom of placing the corpse in the tomb. After that, he tells us that he is the composer of the poem. He proudly reminds us that his father is from the al-Bakariy family, and his mother from the family of the Banu-Hashim, the same family as the prophet Muhammad.

Stanza 31:-

He gives the date of composing the poem. This is the end of the poem.

With this, we have come to the end of the list of poems which E.D. studied, and from which he derived his own observations on Kijuma's personality.

Before coming to a final conclusion on Kijuma's religion, let us refer to the views which I found among the people of Lamu in 1980. Those who knew Kijuma can be divided into three groups. The first group did not know whether Kijuma was a Muslim or a Christian. When asked why, the answer was:- "We have seen him go to the Mission of Mlimani from time to time, and at the same time, we have seen him praying either in the mosque or in his house".

The second group believed that he was not a true Muslim. When queried as to why they thought he was not a true Muslim, they answered that he corrupted the morality of the Muslim boys by his mandari and singing.

When queried further as to whether this made him a Christian, they answered that it is quite likely that he was a Christian. And they added that the missionaries protected him after his mandari affair, and they used to give him a lot of money.

The third group said that Kijuma was a Muslim. When asked why, the answer was that he desired to be buried in the Islamic tradition.

It is remarkable to note that these three groups did not mention at all that which had been written by the missionaries or by himself about his religion. It is also worth noting that not one of them tried to make any connection between Kijuma's writings and their judgement on his religion. These three groups represent the views of Kijuma's compatriots on his religion.

Studying the correspondence between Kijuma and all his European clients,¹⁵⁴ we realise that this correspondence shows that Kijuma was a Muslim with some of these clients and that he was a Christian with others. We see that the bulk of Kijuma's correspondence was that which he sent to W.H. All his correspondence with W.H. shows that he was a Muslim.¹⁵⁵ It is important to state here that there is no one word in this correspondence between Kijuma and W.H. showing that he was a Christian. Although their correspondence began after 1932,¹⁵⁶ i.e. after his alleged baptism¹⁵⁷ and after he - as E.D. wrote¹⁵⁸ - had practised his new Christian faith without fear, Kijuma never appended the word Masihii to his name, or even told W.H. that he had been converted to Christianity. On the contrary, he showed himself a Muslim in many ways. In a letter, dated 5 Rajab 1353,¹⁵⁹ from Kijuma to W.H., he asked him to send the due fees (i.e. the price for Swahili Mss. sent by Kijuma to W.H.) during Ramadhan, the Islamic month of fasting, to enable him to buy what he needed for the festivities of the Breaking of the Fast.¹⁶⁰

Furthermore, he asked W.H., in the same letter, to send him a piece of cloth so that he might sew it into a coat to wear during that Feast.¹⁶⁰ This might lead W.H., in a letter dated 25th November 1935, to praise the Islamic cultural heritage, found in the British Museum, to Kijuma, saying that "I have seen many good Islamic books. One would wonder if any human being could ever achieve such work¹⁶⁰ (i.e. writing such books)".

In addition to this, A.W.,¹⁶¹ and Lambert¹⁶² who used to mix with Kijuma until the latter died, mentioned nowhere that Kijuma was a Christian. On the contrary, Lambert's references to Kijuma in his writings show that he was a Muslim. The rest of the correspondence between Kijuma and Europeans was between him and both E.D.¹⁶³ and J.W.¹⁶⁴ Apart from the report which Kijuma wrote in 1936 for E.D. about his conversion of 1900, the correspondence between the two shows that Kijuma was more likely to have been a Muslim than a Christian. In one letter¹⁶⁵ of this correspondence, Kijuma has asked E.D. not to be too impatient for the Mss. which were ordered: "Do not make haste because hurry has no blessing as the Quran says: 'Lo! Allah is with the steadfast'.¹⁶⁶ This Quranic quotation is seen as a sign from Kijuma showing that the Quran was his only criterion by which he measured between right and wrong, especially when we realise that Kijuma never quoted the Bible in any of his writings whether they were in prose or in verse. We can not assume that Kijuma was, in 1938, ignorant of the Bible, if he had truly followed Christianity since 1900. One might suppose that Kijuma would have taken some of his quotations from the Bible since E.D., for whom he wrote his report of his conversion, was a devout Christian, but he did not.

As to Kijuma's correspondence with Missionary J.W., we find that it expresses no religious views. However, J.W. wrote in 1947 that Kijuma was a Christian,¹⁶⁷ but without giving any reason for this.

As we see, if we rely on what the compatriots of Kijuma said about his religion, and on what was written by Europeans on the same subject, we will never be able to reach an irrefutable conclusion on the subject, because some of them believed that he was a Christian and others that he was a Muslim. Hence, the most reliable source remains Kijuma's own writings, particularly in the light of the fact that they are quite substantial both in volume and substance. Furthermore, Kijuma was the most creative and prolific artist,¹⁶⁸ draftsman,¹⁶⁸ and craftsman,¹⁶⁸ in Lamu during his lifetime. His works may give us further clues as to his beliefs. His artistic works can be categorised into two types. The first has no religious background, and the second has. The bulk of his artistic work, which has religious background, is Islamic. He made only three items - two epitaphs¹⁶⁹ and a signboard - with Christian background. These three items were ordered by the missionaries. They bear no verses composed by Kijuma except a Swahili stanza found in the signboard.¹⁷⁰ Attention may be drawn to the fact that the thought expressed in this stanza is in accordance with Islamic beliefs. Hence, the conclusion of this is that all the verses, composed by Kijuma, clearly reveal that he was propagating Islamic concepts and beliefs.

As for his prose writings, we find that he was not a Christian, except that in his report to E.D. in 1936, he wrote that he had followed Christianity since 1900. The most important point of all is that this report of Kijuma is not considered to be reliable, because it contains false information.¹⁷¹

The account which Kijuma gave in his report for the D.C. ordering his arrest¹⁷² in comparison with the account which the Lamu-elders gave me (i.e. the mandari)⁴⁹, shows that the account given by the elders is more acceptable, because Missionaries Pieper and Heyer failed to report about Kijuma's conversion of 1900, although they were the ones whom Kijuma mentioned in his report as saving him from that arrest.

Furthermore, Kijuma's conversion in 1900 is regarded as a false one, because the same missionaries who witnessed that conversion reported in 1913: "Until now, there is no clear breakthrough. There is no clear devotion to the Lord".¹⁷³

One who was in the position of Kijuma, being a master of Swahili verse, would surely have composed some of his important poems about the experience of his conversion by making a comparison between Islam and Christianity, and saying why Christianity as a faith had attracted him, but he never did. Instead, he wrote, in his report, that he had followed Christianity since 1900, because he had thus been saved by the missionaries from being jailed.¹⁷⁴ Hence, there is a reason to believe that his motives were egotistic, not moral or religious. The conversion itself was a conditional one.¹⁷⁵ When Kijuma realised that the only way to escape from the verdict of his townsmen and jail was to accept conversion, he pretended that he was ready to accept this condition. This condition seems to be a manoeuvre against Kijuma, rather than one organised by him, because the town was ruled by the Europeans, whether these Europeans were missionaries in the Mission or officers in the office of the D.C., they were the people who carried out what they decided. As a result of this, Kijuma, had to live in Lamu from 1900 until his death in 1945 with his heart and mind in the Islamic town, but with his tongue among the Christian authorities which ruled this Islamic town.

The Islamic heart and mind could easily be recognised in his verses. Hence, Kijuma was, in heart and in mind, a Muslim, but he had to pay lip service to Christianity. Thus, the decision taken by the D.C. of Lamu for Kijuma to be buried in an Islamic grave¹⁷⁶ was the right one.

Chapter VI - Notes

1. See: p. 165.
2. I.e. Kijuma, as E.D. wrote. See: p. 341.
3. Nitsch, 1914, pp. 70-71, and 123.
4. See: p. 165.
5. May, 1932, pp. 160-162.
6. I have a copy of it, from E.D. in Hamburg.
7. E.D. published it. See: Dammann, 1954/5 A, pp. 75 - 79.
8. Kijuma named this Sharifu in this presented document as Abdalla bin Zubeir.
9. See: p. 179.
10. This is the number of letters in the Arabic alphabet.
11. His father-in-law. See: p. 30.
12. See: p. 22.
13. See: p. 20.
14. A kind of garment worn by women when they go out, covering them from head to foot. Women inside it were usually led by a servant to wherever they wanted to go in the town. Nobody could tell which woman was in it.

Also, see: p. 235.
15. See: p. 16.
16. See: p. 16.
17. = November 1936.
18. Dammann, 1969, pp. 314-321.
19. See: p. 237.
20. = 1900.
21. See: p. 169.
22. Utendi wa Safari, Stanza 56, See: p. 240.

23. I.e. Mr. J.W.T. Allen, as is mentioned at beginning of the same article by E.D.
24. See: p. 230.
25. E.D. revisedd his word when he wrote later in: The East African Experience, p. 27: "To sum up, when I reflect on Kijuma and his rank in Swahili poetry, my former opinion has to be as too one-sided. While I classified him an epigone I now think, looking at his work as far as I know it, that he seems to be a typical representative of the traditional period".
26. Dammann, The East African Experience, pp. 67 - 72.
27. Quran: 2,256.
28. See: p. 348.
29. See: p. 353.
30. See: p. 32.
31. See: p. 338.
32. See: p. 337.
33. See: p. 340.
34. See: p. 348.
35. See: p. 340.
36. See: pp. 337-340.
37. See: p. 27.
38. See: pp. 280-281.
39. See: pp. 92-108.
40. See: pp. 158-169.
41. See: p. 186.
42. See: p. 308.
43. See: p. 337.
44. See: p. 334.
45. See: p. 340.

46. See: p. 337.
47. See: pp. 476-480.
48. See: pp. 337-340.
49. See: pp. 476-480.
50. See: pp. 43-91.
51. See: p. 27.
52. See: p. 25.
53. See: pp. 335.
54. See: p. 335.
55. See: p. 337.
56. Interview with Sh. Muhamadi Saidi al-Beedh in Lamu.
57. See: p. 335.
58. Al-Nabulsiy, 1401/1981.
59. See: pp. 52-58 and 69-79.
60. Interview with Ewana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu.
61. See: p. 35.
62. See: p. 32.
63. See: p. 343.
64. See: Stanza 6, p. 419.
65. This is given in its original form in the appendix, p. 483.
66. For their genealogy in detail, see: p. 16.
67. See: p. 16.
68. See: p. 342.
69. See: p. 35.
70. From Bibi Fatuma Nyenye, a member of Kijuma's faction in Matondoni. See: p. 79.
71. See: p. 127.
72. See: p. 334.
73. See: p. 23.

74. See: p. 476.
75. See: p. 22.
76. See: p. 21.
77. Interview with many elders in Lamu, amongst them Mzee Salim Kheri, the best friend of Kijuma.
78. See: pp. 43-410.
79. Mzee Salim Kheri said: "Mngu Alimjaalia hodari yee. Mngu Humpa mapesa kama mvua. Mwenyewe (i.e. Kijuma akikinena: 'Mngu Hunipa mapesa, hushindana mimi na Mngu, mi na Mngu. Mngu Hunipa, mimi huyatupa'. Hiki atakacho, chakula kizuri alikila".
80. See: p. 183.
81. See: p. 186.
82. See: p. 198.
83. See: p. 225.
84. See: p. 230.
85. See: p. 238.
86. See: p. 240.
87. See: p. 240.
88. See: pp. 158-279.
89. See: p. 343.
90. See: pp. 191, 227 and 244.
91. Dammanna, 1980.
92. Dammann, The East African Experience, p. 72.
93. Dammann, 1980 A, p. 145.
94. See: p. 107.
95. E.g. See: Knappert, 1971 b, pp. 108-129.
96. See: pp. 43-91 and 92-157.
97. For this term, see: Knappert, 1971 b, pp. 108-129.
98. For all these tendi, see: pp. 171-279.

99. For all these mashairi, see: pp. 53, 95, 233 and 235.
100. See: pp. 171-179.
101. See: pp. 240-241.
102. Kijuma composed two poems about Jesus, but the other, which he composed for J.W. in 1942, and which was not considered by E.D., contains the same thoughts and ideas.

Also, see: pp. 186 and 308.
103. See: p. 375.
104. Quran: 19,20.
105. Quran: 19,21.
106. Quran: 21,91.
107. Quran: 3,59.
108. Quran: 3,39.
109. Quran: 19,22.
110. Quran: 2,87.
111. Quran: 19,23-25.
112. This is a translation of the word Sham in which Palestine used to be included.
113. Quran: 19,28.
114. Quran: 33,40
115. Quran: 23,50.
116. Quran: 3,49
117. Quran: 5,112-115.
118. This underlined Aya is mentioned by Kijuma after stanza 309.
119. Quran: 61,6.
120. Quran: 4,157-158.
121. See: Stanza 43.

122. Quran: 3,39 and 45
4,171
2,87
123. See: Stanza 330.
124. Dammann, The East African Experience, p. 70.
125. Stanza 344.
126. See: p. 360.
127. See: p. 343.
128. Interview with E.D. in Hamburg.
129. Dammann, The East African Experience, p. 68-69.
130. See: p. 343.
131. Stanzas 132-138, of L.H.'s publication, see: p. 188
132. Stanza 141.
133. Dammann, The East African Experience, p.69.
134. Dammann, The East African Experience, p.71.
135. Dammann, The East African Experience, p.68.
136. Stanza 4 in the text.
137. Stanza 168 in the text.
138. Quran: 61,6.
139. See: pp. 337-340.
140. The date of composing Siraji, See: p. 470.
141. See: p. 404.
142. Stanzas 108-110.
143. See: p. 244.
144. See: pp. 106-107.
145. See: p. 28.
146. See: p. 418.
147. See: pp. 378-380.

148. See: p. 380.
149. She was one of Kijuma's students in his ngomas.
150. Such as Mzee Salim Kheri and Bwana Ahmed Jahadhmy of Lamu, and Bwana Abdulatifi Othmani in Mamburui.
151. See: p. 152.
152. Dammann 1969, p.316.
153. Shahada is to say: There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is a prophet of Allah.
154. See: pp. 158-279.
155. See: W.H.'s Mss. in S.O.A.S.
156. See: p. 252.
157. See: pp. 335-337.
158. See: p. 385.
159. = October 1934.
160. Ms. 253028.
161. See: p. 250.
162. See: p. 251.
163. See: pp. 169 and 253.
164. See: pp. 169 and 253.
165. Dated 27th Safar 1357/April 1938.
A Copy of it in the writer's possession.
166. Quran: 2,153.
167. Williamson, 1947, pp.1-7.
168. See: pp. 280-333.
169. See: pp. 282-284.
170. See: pp. 308-310.
171. See: pp. 348-354.
172. See: pp. 337-340.

173. See: p. 335.

174. See: pp. 340.

175. See: p. 340.

176. See: p. 356.

CHAPTER VII

Kijuma as a Person

We know that Kijuma was a child of Swahili Muslim parents who enrolled him in an Islamic elementary school to receive Islamic and Arabic courses. When he grew up and became a man, he began to practise the arts and crafts which he learned during his studies and surroundings until he became a good scribe, calligrapher, translator from Arabic into Swahili, composer of songs, poet, craftsman, musician, dancer, and also a teacher for all these professions. The contents of all his works reflect his Swahili-Islamic background and environment. They also reflect an Arabic cultural element which he observed from his education.

He took the Quran and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad either as main sources for many of his artistic and literary works, or as the criterion by which he would judge and distinguish between the right and the wrong. His Swahili background and environment - the sea, the land, the climate - are reflected in his Swahili literary works.

Referring to the sea, he mentioned its waves, its tides, its reefs and shores, the different kinds of fish, and even the trees which grow on its shores. When referring to the land, he distinguished two types, i.e. the cultivated land and the forest, as well as the inhabitants of both and their activities. The cultivated land produced the betel plants, maize, ginger, coconuts, and the products from these cocounts. The inhabitants of the land, both people and animals, are often mentioned. He described the Swahili women and their ornaments, the farmers, sailors, fishermen, craftsmen, teachers, masharifu, students, people of the ngoma, and other local professionals, like the ones who make mahamra,¹ and so on.

Among the items used or made by these professionals, he mentioned the spades, axes, various ships, the fish-traps and hooks, planes, saws, drills, knives, scissors, prickles of porcupines used as needles, papers, pens, ink, books, mosques, elementary schools, ngoma, and even amulets. Regarding the animals, he mentioned cows, donkeys, sheep, goats, hares, dogs, cats, and rats. For the wild animals, i.e. the inhabitants of the forest, he mentioned lions, snakes, leopards, baboons, and porcupines. Concerning the Arabic cultural element reflected in Kijuma's works, he used the Arabic alphabet to write his Swahili artistic and literary works. He translated or abridged many works of Arabic Literature into Swahili. Furthermore, he was the first person to import the Egyptian Arabic music, from the palace of the Sultan in Zanzibar, to his native Lamu, to use it for the composition of his own Swahili songs and dances. In Kijuma's poem Siraji,² the Arabs are represented as respectable and wise.

Kijuma's poem Siraji can be considered as the most representative work to help us to understand his character.³ It reflects what Kijuma wanted us to think about his beliefs, thoughts, customs, etiquette, attitudes, and feelings which are all clearly expressed in the poem. When he composed it, he was not influenced by any external factor or person. He did not compose it to earn money. He composed it neither to praise nor to satirise anyone, nor to narrate a story but wanted it to be taken as a compass by which everyone could travel through life,⁴ i.e. he felt every person should put its advice into practice. In other words, the poem contains no false praise, or criticism. Having said that, we should not omit what is known about Kijuma's actual behaviour and which might be considered as a contrast to what he advised us in this poem, because it will obviously add to our knowledge of his personality.

Looking at the poem as a whole, its contents deal with three major themes. The first is the relationship between a person and his creator, secondly, between him and his family, and finally between him and his society. Thus, the following three sub-titles: Kijuma the believer, Kijuma the family man, and Kijuma as a member of his society will be used in this chapter to analyse Kijuma's personality.

Kijuma the believer

(Stanzas 3, 5, 57, 70, 207, and 208)

Kijuma has given us the conclusions of his experience and understanding of what the relationship between the person and his creator should be. He came to realise that fearing Allah, The creator, is the only way for human beings to save them from temptation and lead them to happiness. Kijuma himself used to say: Kucha Mungu si matezo. Mui wetu hakuna mtu kumcha Mungu kwa kweli kama Mwenye Said Ali, ami ya al-Habib Salih, na Mualim Abdalla, na Mwenye Abdur-Rahmani. Watu wa dini yao, hawana shari, hawana lolote. "Fearing Allah is not a game. There is no person, in our town, fearing Allah truly like Mwenye Saidi Ali, the uncle of al-Habib Salih,⁵ and Mualim Abdalla, and Mwenye Abdur-Rahmani.⁶ They are people of their religion. They have no evil, they have nothing (bad) at all".⁷

It appears from what precedes that although Kijuma was a God fearing man, his fear was not as profound as it should be. However, Kijuma trusted Allah would accept repentance from the repentant, and urged the importance of repentance after any wrong-doing. In addition to this, he utterly rejected complaining about his condition to any one but to Allah.

He considered a person complaining to any one but Allah as a polytheist. At the end of Sirjai, he prays Allah to protect and bless all the Muslims, in honour of the Prophet Muhammad.

Kijuma the family man

A. As a son = (Stanzas 75, 84, and 209)

He was proud of his family. The family, in the Swahili concept consists of: The husband, the wife, their children, their parents, and their relatives. Kijuma respected and obeyed his parents to the extent of taking his mother, Mwana Kamari, as his example.

B. As a husband = (Stanzas 169-197)

He preferred a man to marry amongst relatives. He himself married one of his relatives.⁸ If the person could not find a suitable partner among his relatives, he should look in a family equal to his own in all respects. In each of his own marriages, he tried hard to make his wife happy, and he believed that happiness could be achieved, if the husband was generous to his wife with money and time, but unfortunately none of his own marriages lasted for many years, because he could not endure his wives arguing. If the argument led a wife to ask him for divorce, he quickly would give her what she asked even if he still loved her. Although divorce is allowed in Islam, it is considered as the most undesirable thing allowable in the eyes of Allah and his Prophet. That is why Allah enjoined every Muslim to live with his wife in kindness, but if he begins to dislike her, it may well be "that he dislikes a thing wherein Allah has placed much good".⁹

The Prophet Muhammad too, has said: "The most undesirable Ḥalāl in the eyes of Allah is divorce".¹⁰ That is why the Muslim who wants to divorce his wife is asked to go through some procedure instituted by Allah.¹¹ As the above mentioned stanzas of Kijuma state, he did not refer to such procedure nor to the fact that divorce is undesirable even though it is allowed in Islam, to solve problems. This attitude of Kijuma's is explained by the fact that he was a very hot tempered person.¹² He could also be a very arrogant, haughty husband. This may explain why he divorced all the three wives he married.¹³

C. As a father = (Stanzas 1, 2, 6, and 111)

He was a caring and fair father. He gave his son advice, but did not force him to follow it. He was a frank father. He revealed what was at the bottom of his heart to his son. He was kind and sympathetic. When Helewa was away from Lamu, Kijuma missed him very much. He frequently went to Zanzibar to see his son,¹⁴ taking with him some valuable pieces of carved furniture.¹⁵

At the same time, he was a serious father. He disliked fathers who spoilt their children, particularly in the presence of their guests. Kijuma was a repentant father. In his writings, he advised all the fathers not to encourage their children to disobey Allah, by following in the footsteps of the devil. This last piece of advice might be a reference to Kijuma's repentance for what he had done with the youngsters of Lamu during his mandari.¹⁶

D. As a relative = (Stanzas 38, and 55)

Kijuma loved his relatives, and was happy to be with them, nursing them when they were sick, and indulgent towards them. Only Bw. Zena,¹⁷ Kijuma's cousin, was excluded from this kindness.

Kijuma as a member of society

His appearance and his manner of life in his society:

Kijuma used to appear holding a walking stick, wearing a dirty garment and hat and barefooted.¹⁸ He used to wipe the ink off his pen onto his garment.¹⁹ His house had only one room. It was always in disorder. It was difficult for any person entering his house to differentiate between the place for sitting, the place for cooking, the place for sleeping, and the toilet.²⁰

Kijuma's carelessness about his house might be the explanation of the low standard of his advice about personal cleanness. In stanzas 106 and 107, he advises his son not to blow his nose or to wipe it on the bedspread, but on a wall or a foot. One might have expected Kijuma to say that one's nose should be wiped on a handkerchief.

Attention may be drawn to the fact that Kijuma was called a lolo²¹ character. With such a character and appearance, Kijuma went on to live his life and mix with all the different types of people in his society his friends and also his opponents.

1. Kijuma the friend: (Stanzas 18-32, 39, 44, 65, 83, 110, 117, 119, 120, and 201)

He was a sincere helper and a good friend, helping his friends with self-denial, consulting them, visiting the sick and nursing them. He never avoided a friend if any misfortune happened to him, and, at the same time, never hesitated to avoid the friend who had first avoided him. He was tolerant and just and a cheerful friend, guided in this by the poem Tabaraka²² of his teacher Mwenye Mansabu. He would never humiliate his friends, nor disappoint the needy amongst them. His philosophy in making friends was to like any one liking him, even if that one were a cat. In fact, it was cats that loved Kijuma, more than other creatures. He used to have many of them at his home, and looked after them very well. He was so keen to buy them meat regularly that the people of Lamu said: "Huyu Kijuma anapenda paka tu." "This Kijuma likes only cats". This was the explanation for his leaving 15 cats when he died.²³

The only thing one could consider as strange in the philosophy of Kijuma's friendship is his attitude towards rich people. He stopped himself mentioning death in front of them; instead, he entertained them. This philosophy might be what most rich people want, but it cannot be the message of the religious teachers. On the contrary, rich people should be admonished about death, because by thinking about death, they might gain the spiritual strength needed to spend their wealth on charity, not on evil, since death will bring them punishment, if they have misused their wealth. At that Day, they will be asked about their wealth and what they spent it on.

It is likely that Kijuma made use of this philosophy when he cultivated rich friends, especially when we realise that most of the rich people with whom he mixed were also in positions of power. He frequented and entertained Sultan Sayyid Hamoud and his son, Sultan Ali, of Zanzibar.²⁴ He also frequented and entertained Mr. Whitton.²⁵ He did the same with all Maliwali of Lamu; particularly with Seif bin Salim²⁶ and Hemed bin Suud (1911-1922), after he had returned from Zanzibar in 1908. When Liwali Hemed bin Suud went to marry Mwanagongwa, the sister of the Sultan Omari bin Muhamadi of Witu (1895-1923), Kijuma gave him a little present. The person who carried this present to the Liwali was called Rupia. Then, Kijuma accompanied by Rupia, went to the Liwali while singing:²⁷

Rupia - Kama na majasi - pokea	O' Rupia - Receive this (gold) necklace and (the silver) ear ring
Rupia - Kama na majasi - meesa	O' Rupia - Receive this (gold) necklace and (the silver) ear ring where (the arrangements of the marriage) have been settled.

Kijuma might also tell these Maliwali good stories or convenient words of advice which they wanted to hear. In fact, he was asked by Liwali Seif bin Salim to give advice. One day, Liwali Seif wanted to retire from being the Liwali of Lamu, and all his friends agreed that he should retire, but when he asked Kijuma, the latter said: "Look Bwana Liwali, do not retire, because as long as you are Liwali, it will be the best for you". The Liwali Seif asked him why. He answered: "If you are not Liwali, you will be an ordinary person like the rest; the people will neither pay regard to you, nor take proper care of your property.

But as long as you are the Liwali, the people will pay respect to you and take care of it. I have finished my words, Bwana Liwali, and the rest depends on you to take them or leave them".

Then, the Liwali Seif said to his friends: "The words of Kijuma are right". So, he did not retire.⁷ Kijuma did not mix only with the Maliwali of Lamu, but also with all the D.C.'s of Lamu. Mr. T. Smith was the D.C. with whom Kijuma mixed most. Mr. Smith employed Kijuma for some time as a government carpenter and carver.²⁸ He was the D.C. of Lamu when Liwali Seif bin Salim was in office for the second time in 1922-29.

2. Kijuma the opponent: (Stanzas 34, 35, 78, 200, and 204)

He was a competitive, vindictive, secretive, and argumentative character. His mandari¹⁶ and singing competitions²⁹ can be taken as examples showing these attitudes towards his opponents. For Kijuma, competition was something so common that he used its Swahili word abbreviated. In stanza 78, he abbreviated mashindano to mashi. It is not unlikely that he was the first poet to use this word abbreviated in Swahili poetry. Although, in the same stanza, Kijuma advised his son to be argumentative with opponents, he advised him not to be so at the wrong time, i.e. when there is no competition taking place between them. It is likely that the following was one of the stories which made Kijuma compose this stanza: There was once a British D.C. in Lamu called Mervyn Beech.³⁰ He converted to Islam, but he did not tell any one about his conversion. All he did was to write a will saying that he was a Muslim and asked to be buried in Lamu according to the Islamic tradition. When he died around 1920, all the women and men of Lamu (including Kijuma and a Sharifu called Ahmed Baday)³¹ took part in his funeral.

When the funeral cortege came near the grave where the body would be interred, the Sharifu Ahmed Badawy said to the women who were taking part in the funeral: "You may go back home. What remains is only putting the body in the grave and this is the work of men". When Kijuma heard that, he argued with Sharifu Badawy that the women should be allowed to attend the funeral cortege until the body was put in the grave. At the same time, Kijuma asked the women: "La, ndooni, i.e. No, come". After the women had thought about it for a few seconds, they preferred to follow what the Sharifu Badawy said to them and so they returned home. Then, Kijuma felt very bitter that the women did not do what he asked them, and after returning home, he wrote a satirical letter and gave it to Sharifu Badawy. The letter was probably written in poetry.³² In fact, the women were right when they followed Sharifu Badawy because, in Islam, it is considered preferable for women not to participate in the funeral cortege. The main reason for this is that women are supposed to be more emotional than men. Being more emotional, they might start wailing when the dead person is buried. Although crying over the dead person is allowed in Islam, wailing is not allowed. Kijuma knowing this and still arguing that the women should attend, he revealed himself that he was arguing not only on insufficient grounds, but also at an inappropriate time.

3. Kijuma as neighbour: (Stanzas 46, 51-53)

He loved his neighbours whether they were good or bad. He often lent to trustworthy neighbours. The loan could be a big sum of money or small one. If it was a small sum and the neighbour was not trustworthy, refusing to pay it back, Kijuma would not bother much about it. But if it was a big sum, he would make a legal issue of it.

4. Kijuma as employee: (Stanzas 86-88, 115, 126, 127, 202, and 203)

He liked to produce excellent workmanship in his work. However, he did not like to exceed the proper bounds of the agreed wage. He did his best to satisfy his employers, expecting them to praise his work for them. As a craftsman, he cared much for his tools. He was very keen to learn as well as to work, believing in this as the way to success.

5. Kijuma as employer: (Stanzas 62, 63, and 85)

He used to treat his servants very well, thanking them for their services, and never blaming them for bad service. In fact, Kijuma normally had servants to serve him. One of his servants was Somoe Bwana Famuni whom I interviewed in 1980. He served Kijuma for about ten years at the end of Kijuma's life. He said that he liked Kijuma because the latter used to pay him high wages and treat him well.

6. Kijuma and the needy and the handicapped: (Stanzas 46, 49, 50, 54, 56, 58, 72-74, and 76)

He was charitable, loving the needy very much and being generous to them. Handicapped people were welcomed in his house, he was always ready to put them up in his house, and never mocked them. When he himself was sick, he prayed Allah to cure him, but with no complaints nor regrets.

7. Kijuma and the lazy and trouble makers: (Stanzas 9, 36, 37, 79, 82, 95, and 104)

He urged the lazy people to stop their laziness and be creative. He condemned slander, intrigue, backbiting, rumour and spying. He swore by the Almighty that such activities are not done by civilised people. On this subject of backbiting, Kijuma used emphatic language to condemn it, which reflects his strong feelings against it. It was the main reason which led Kijuma to rebel against his compatriots by organising his mandari.¹⁶

Concerning spying on people to know their personal affairs, it seems likely that Kijuma was advising against something he used to do himself. As we remember he used to have a note book in which the defects of people were written down.³³

8. Kijuma as a guest: (Stanzas 105, 108, 111, 124, 125, and 128-167)

He was sometimes invited as a guest, either to a banquet or to a meeting. He was a very civilised person at table, as stanzas 128-166 reflect. If the invitation was for a meeting, he would neither sleep during the meeting, nor show any kind of disrespect for it, but he would give it his utmost respect and concern.

9. Kijuma personally: (Stanzas 7, 8, 10-17, 33, 40-43, 47, 48, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66-68, 77, 80, 81, 85, 89-94, 96, 97-103, 109, 112-114, 116, 118, 121-123, 198, 199, and 205)

In speech, Kijuma was not wordy or repetitive. He was very well aware of the danger that the tongue of a human being can cause.

Although he advises us not to be quick and spontaneous in answering people, he himself was just that. As his compatriots³⁴ said: Kijuma alikuwa mtu mpesi wa jawabu pasi na kufikiri". Kijuma was quick and spontaneous".

When we know this, we realise that he was advising his son to be better than himself. So, he might find out that he has missed many points because of his haste in answering the questions of other people.

As regards his general behaviour out-of-doors, he advised the passer-by not to walk proudly, not to show off his smoking, not to ogle women, and to greet everyone.

He himself was also courteous in greeting people. As his compatriots agreed,³⁵ Kijuma used to greet any one who greeted him, twice. If somebody greeted him by saying: Hello, Kijuma's reply would be: Hello, hello, and so on. When he was asked about the philosophy behind this habit of his, he said: "If any one greeted me once, I should greet him twice, and if any one harmed me once, I should harm him twice".

He was not a parasite nor lacking in consideration for other people. He was as much a generous as a competitive person. He was not an insufferable character, nor was he dull.

He did not bargain, nor did he take interest on a loan. He was of good faith in dealing with the rich, but did not deal with the nouveaux riche. In time of financial straits, he was not angry, nor vexed, but smiling, chatting, and asking Allah to provide for him. In misfortune, Kijuma was a brave person in bearing it. He was not a malicious person towards other people's misfortunes. The best treatment for any misfortune, in Kijuma's view, was for the unlucky to be patient. It is interesting that Kijuma mentioned imprisonment, even for a short time, as being a vivid example of misfortune.³⁶ In fact, Kijuma experienced jail for a short time twice.

The first one has been already mentioned.³⁷ The second was in 1914, when martial law was declared during World War I. Orders were issued in Lamu to capture as many men as possible for military conscription. Kijuma was captured when he was going to buy milk for his tea early one morning. He stayed in detention until the D.C.³⁸ of Lamu went, at about 10.00 a.m. to inspect the captives. When the D.C. saw Kijuma amongst them, he said to him: "O, you are here! We do not want you. Go". There were about 200 men captives from Lamu during that particular time.³⁹

Chapter VII - Notes

1. See: p. 121.
2. Stanzas 85, 69, and 203.
3. See: p. 225.
4. Stanzas 4, 168, and 206.
5. For al-Habib Salih, see: p. 91.
6. Regarding Muallim Abdalla and Mwenye Abdur-Rahmani, it is likely that Kijuma meant his teachers in the chuo and in the Arraudha mosque, see: pp. 25-26.
7. Interview with Mzee Abdulatifi Othmani in Mamburui.
8. See: p. 33.
9. Quran, 4:19.
10. Mazrui, p. 27.
11. E.g. see: Ayas 34 and 35 in Surah 4.
12. Also, see: p. 29.
13. See: pp. 26, 28, 30, 31, 33 and 35.
14. Interview with Bwana Ahmadi Abdalla Masuudi in Mombasa. He was a friend of Helewa.
15. See: p. 29.
16. See: pp. 476-480.
17. See: pp. 46-79.
18. See: pp. 80, 84 and 320.
19. Interview with Bwana Abdalla Khatibu in Lamu.
20. As Bibi Somoe Bena in Mombasa and Mzee Salim Kheri in Lamu said:
"Nyumba yake ni mlia mmoya tu. Nyumbani kwake ukiingia, huwezi kusema, ukisema ni jiko si jiko; ukisema ni choo, si choo. Ana mahala maisha mabaya yasokuwa na kiasi".
21. See: p. 59.

22. See: p. 217.
23. See: p. 37.
24. See: pp. 59-69.
25. See: p. 289.
26. See: p. 107.
27. Interview with one of Kijuma's students, Bibi Somoe Bena in Mombasa.
28. Interview with Bwana Ahmed Jahadhmy in Lamu.
29. See: pp. 43-91.
30. He wrote a Swahili book called: Aids to the Study of Kiswahili, London, n.d.
31. His father was al-Habib Salih. He died in about 1358/1940. Kijuma considered him as one of his opponents, because of the fatwa concerning the ngoma ya beni, see: p. 84.
32. Interview with Sayyid Hasan Ahmed Badawy, and many others in Lamu.
33. See: p. 316.
34. Amongst them was Bwana Faraji Bwana Mkuu.
Also see: Ms. 380066.
35. Amongst them was Sh. Muhamadi Saidi.
36. See: Stanza 59.
37. See: p. 50.
38. It is probable that the D.C. of Lamu, by then, was Mr. Reddie, because he was the D.C. of Lamu until 1913 according to Kijuma's poem Mkunumbi, see: p. 186.
39. Interview with Mzee Salim Kheri who managed to escape from capture.

APPENDIX A

Siraji¹

1.

Keti hapa sikuliwe²
Mimi sina illa wewe
Likupatao uyuwe
Babangu alinambia

Sit down here, do not get tired;
I have no one except you.
You must know that what ever happens to you:
"My father told me".³

2.

Ya moyoni niyatowe
Nikwambie mfanowe
Pasiliyepo ni wewe
Kuwaṭa na kutumia

I have to express what is in my heart.
I should tell you about the example it set.
The rest depends on you,
To take it or leave it.

3.

Helewa twaa haḍithi
Nimekwambia thuluthi
Kwa haki ya Mabuuthi⁴
Uṭaelewa na ndia

Helewa, take my story;
I have told you one-third.
I swear by the truth of the Prophet
That through it you will understand the
right way.

4.

Chuo hiki ina lake
Ni Siraji uishike
Kwa wanaume na wake
Wape wakiṭembelea

The name of this book
Is "The Lamp"; you must be guided by it.
Pass it on to men and women
When they visit you.

5.

Kwanda baba mcha Mungu
Utaokoka mwanangu
Huku huko kwa uŕungu
Kukosa cha kutumia

Firstly, my dear son, fear Allah,
And you will be saved, my son.
You are not here in a place of suffering
From lack of sustenance.⁵

6.

Siku nyingi sikuoni
Sute hatudirikani
Ndipo nami katamani
Kama haya kukwambia

I have not seen you for many days;⁶
Neither of us have had time for seeing each
other.
That is why I long
To speak like this to you.

7.

Tena baba uwa mtu
Ukyenda nyumba za watu
Usimshikiye zitu
Illa yeye kukwambia

Again, my dear son, behave like a man.
If you go to people's houses,
You should not touch any one's things
Unless he tells you to.

8.

Zitu zake za nyumbani
Usiulize thamani
Na kunena natamani
Kama hiki kuzengea

Do not ask the price
Of his things at his home,
And do not say "I long to have",
Or "I am looking for things like this".

9.

Kumfaṭishi mwenyewe	Do not spy on him in order
Mambo yake uyayuwe	to know his personal affairs
Na kunena kwa mayowe	Do not speak loudly (in case)
Apitao kasikia	A passer-by should hear.

10.

Makasi kisu meweka	Let us say the owner of the house has a pair
	of scissors and a knife,
Wino ukauḍirika	Or you see some ink;
Siinuke na kushika	Do not get up and take it
Kuṭeza pasina ndia	To play with without reason.

11.

Ukiona zimekaa	If you find them (knife and scissors) lying
	around,
Zisikungie ṭamaa	Do not show your motivation
Kunyowa kukata nyaa	So that you want to shave and cut your nails
Nawe hukuazimia	When that was not your intention.

12.

Ukyenda ukawaona	When you go and see before you
Watu mbee hunyowana	People cutting each other's hair,
Ni makosa ukinena	It is a mistake to say:
Na mimi mai ṭatia	I shall put water ⁷ (i.e. on my head to cut
	my hair freely, without paying the hair
	cutter)

13.

Na kinyozi mbwa⁸ ijara
Kwa mwenyewe sio sura
Huninyoi nami mara
Kheri kwake kumwendea

The hair cutter needs wages.
It is not fair for him (if you ask him):
Why can't you shave me also?
It is better if you go to his place.

14.

Illa mwenye masikani
Katunuka usikhini
Ukinyoa hapo kwani
Si kwa wewe kumwambia

But if the owner of the house
Offers it to you, do not deny yourself.
You are not to blame if you have your hair
cut
Since you did not ask him

15.

Rafiki mwenye ahadi
Kikutuma msaiḍi
Utiliye na juhuḍi
Shughuli kumfanyia

A friend who keeps promises
And has sent for you to help him -
Do your best
To finish the work for him.

16.

Utumwapo sikilia⁹
Moyoni sipate ndia
Ukenda na kuḥembea
Enda ruḍi mara moya

If you have been sent (to the town), go
there at once.
Do not look for an excuse in your heart.
And do not roam about:
Go and return at once.

17.

Usinende na pangine

Do not go to other places,

Na urongo usinene

And do not tell lies.

Rudi na mwendo¹⁰ asone¹¹

Return to your friend to let him rest;

Si haki kulimatia

It is not right to delay.

18.

Fanya Sahibu wa kheri

Make good friends

Kwa kutakana shauri

By asking each other's advice.

Ugawa¹² tusikiri

Do not accept, if your friend offers

Sahibu akikwambia

to procure (a woman).

19.

Na mwendo ukimkuta

If you meet your friend

Yeye na mtu huteta

Quarrelling with someone,

Siwapendelee zita

Do not condone the fighting,

Amua ukyangukia

But separate them by intervening.

20.

Mwendo mukifuatana

If you are accompanying your friend

Kaya mtu wakawana

And somebody comes to fight with him,

Kitangiliwa¹³ si sana

Or he is attacked, it is not right

Sishawiri nawe ngia

to hesitate to intervene.

21.

Na mmoya kwa mmoya

If it is one against one,

Usiwe wa kwangalia

Do not stand and watch.

Kati mwao kheri ngia

The right way is to separate them

Kwa haki ukiamua

And judge justly between them.

22.

Sipendelee moyoni
Fanya haki kwa mizani
Usilihishe wendani
Kwako safi yako nia

Do not favour what is in your heart,
But judge without bias.
Reconcile friends
By your sincere intention.

23.

Mwendo kikuhitajia
Bure karidha akiya
Mapesa nguo rupia
Ulichonacho ridhia

If a friend needs you
And comes for a loan,
Money, clothes, or rupees,
Oblige with what you have.

24.

Tena mpe taisiri
Usifanye utiriri
"Kisa rudi" si uzuri
Kheri kweli kumwambia

Then, give it to him straight away,
Do not postpone it;
For telling him, "Come back later", is not a
good thing;
It is better to tell him the truth.

25.

Ukimpa mwendo tunu
Usimpe kwa zitunu
Ukinena kwa mifano
Khabari ukimtolea

If you give your friend a special present,
Do not give to him while you are grumbling.
Do not speak equivocally
While spreading news.

26.

Sahibu kapatikana
Kenda kushiṭakiyana
Uyuwalo baba nena
Usiliyua kimbua

If something has gone wrong for your friend,
And they sue each other,
Say what you know, my dear son;
Steer clear of what you do not know.

27.

Kuwa shahidi wa zuri
Haṭa kwa nduyo sikiri
Kikupa fedha johari
Ni kheri kuṭopokea

Do not agree to be a witness to falsehood
Even for your brother.
If he gives you money or valuables,
It is better for you not to accept them.

28.

Na sahibu masikini
Mungu akamuawini
Asiwe kama zamani
Ni njema kuyepukia

If Allah helps
Your friend who was poor,
And he is no longer as friendly as he used
to be,
It is a good thing to avoid him.

29.

Sahibu kiwa hawezi
Enda kwake mṭilizi¹⁴
Na ḍawa hizi kwa hizi
Shime kumzengelea

If your friend is not well,
Visit him frequently
Do your best
to look for medicines for him.

30.

Simkimbie sahibu
Akiwa una aibu
Jaraha au taabu
Kwa Mungu utaitongea

Do not run away from your friend,
If he has a blemish,
A sore, or troubles,
Otherwise you will displease Allah.

31.

Na akiwa masikini
Kwa uwezalo sikhini
Kheri naye muawini
Mbili tatu au moya

And if he is poor,
Do whatever you can for him
It is best to help him
By (giving him money) two, three or one.

32.

Na akiwa ni tajiri
Mpumbaze kwa uzuri
Kwa hadithi zenye kheri
Mauti kutomtaiya

If he is rich,
You can entertain him nicely
With good stories,
Without mentioning death

33.

Na upuzi sipuzike
Ili ziumbe wateke
Usilifanye lepuke
Kusi¹⁵ watakupigia

Do not talk rubbish
To make people laugh.
Never do it. Avoid it.
(If you did it), they would clap hands
(scorning) you.

34.

Kuruani imenena	The Quran has said,
Nimesoma nawe ona	And I have read it, and you should observe it,
Andao shari ni sana	Whoever starts aggression (against you), it is right
Kujibu alokwambia	For you to give him a dose of his own medicine.

The poet writes what is underlined in the following Quranic Ay: ¹⁶

"And one who attacketh you, attack him in like manner as he
attacked you. Observe your duty to Allah, and know that Allah is
with those who ward off evil".

35.

Lakini ukitukuwa	But if you tolerate him
Nalo ni zito likawa	And it becomes difficult,
Walakini kwa Muliwa	You will enter
Mahabani utangia	Allah's favour.

36.

Usizinge na fitina	Do not wander (among people) sowing discord
Ukyenda ukinong'ona	Do not walk (among people) inventing rumours
Ziombe wakapambana	(Otherwise) they gather
Kwa moto wakakutia	And put you into fire (i.e. punish you).

37.

Itwae hiyo <u>dalili</u>	You can take the proof
Kuruani huratili	The Quran says so
Isome aya ya pili	Read the second Aya
Maana yatakwelea	The meaning will be clear to you:

"For persecution is worse than slaughter".¹⁷

38.

Nduuzo wapende sana	Love your relatives;
Uteke ukiwaona	Smile when you see them;
Iwapo hukutukana	If they abuse you,
Ifanye hukusikia	Pretend that you did not hear (their abuse).

39.

Bui wako msibani	If your friend is in distress,
Upesi enda sikhini	Go and help him willingly,
Zaidi ya karamuni	Quicker than you would go to a banquet.
Sikitiko nawe ngia	You should share with him in his sorrow.

40.

Na mkuu mtukuze	Respect an aged person,
Na mtoto simtweze	And do not humiliate a young person
Kwa maneno wapumbaze	Amuse them with friendly words,
Usifu na kuwetea	And praise them.

41.

Yoyote simdharau	Do not insult anyone
Kungutia maguu	By hurrying away from him,
Kisa huzinga makuu	And do not wander proudly,
Na Mungu ametwambia	(Look to) what Allah has told us:

"Say, O' Allah! Owner of sovereignty! Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou withdrawest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt. In Thy hand is the good. Lo! Thou art able to do all things".¹⁸

42.

Ambao alotukuka	Do not humiliate a person who used
Kazinga akadhilika	to be in a high position and after
Simfanyize dhihaka	that was reduced in status, but
Inuka kikutokea	stand up for him when he appears to you.

43.

Ukimuona terema	Be glad when you see him,
Fanya za kwanda heshima	Respect him as you used to.
Wala siteke kiyema	Do not laugh at his affliction;
Mara Mungu hukwetea	Allah might send the same to you.

44.

Akupenda hakika	It is a good thing for you to keep
Nawe kheri kumshika	on friendly terms with one who
Iyapo kuwa ni paka	really loves you, even if it is only a cat
Bibiyo alinambia	So your grandmother told me.

45.

Bibi yako mwanamke
Ni Kamari ina lake
Lalikuwa neno lake
Kulla siku kinambia

The name of your grandmother
is Kamari.
What I am telling you were the words
which she told me everyday.

46.

Situkie masikini
Wala muovu jirani
Watii uwe taani
Mungu takubarikia

Hate neither the poor
Nor the bad neighbour.
Obey them and be obedient;
Allah will bless you for it.

47.

Wenu wana wa chuoni
Kabisa siwalicheni
Wakiomba majumbani }
Kumoba watazoea }

Never let your pupils
beg from house to house
Otherwise they might get used to it.

48.

Ambao hukukimbia
Kheri kutomzengea
Ukyenda kumwandamia
Kisa utaiyutia

It is better not to pay attention
to the person who avoids you.
If you seek his company
You will later regret this.

49.

Simtowe mtu kwako
Haata kiwa na ukoko
Kakutia maudhiko
Subiri akikwambia

Do not send someone away from your house
Even if he has elephantiasis.
If he annoys you when he speaks to you,
be patient

50.

Muwee kukuwalia
Siku zikaendelea
Ukali kikufanyia
Tukuwa moyale huya

If a sick man comes to stay with you,
And time elapses,
So that he causes hardship to you,
Endure it until his release comes (i.e.
recovery or death).

51.

Na ukiwa na jirani
Hakupoki ni amini
Kakiridhi simukhini
Ni kheri kumridhia

When you have a trustworthy neighbour
Who has not stolen anything from you,
Do not refuse to give him a loan if he asks
you,
It is right to oblige him.

52.

Akitokulipa tena
Ruhu yako itasona
Tena nipa hatonena
Tahayuri atangia

If he does not pay you back your loan,
Your soul will be at rest,
Because he will not say to you: Give me some
more,
Because he would be ashamed of himself.

53.

Na yakiwa mengi mali
Kuyawata huhimili
Watiye wake ahali
Kitoona ni sharia

If the loan is a big sum of money
Which you cannot let him keep,
Put the matter before his relatives.
If he does not agree to pay, it becomes a
legal issue.

54.

Mtu kaya nguo hana
Una tupu akanena
Mpe haṭa kwamba huna
Una mbili mpe moya

If a person comes to you without clothes,
And with nothing on, and speaks,
Give him some clothing even if you do not
have (any to spare);
If you have two, give him one.

55.

Na wako kikuwalia¹⁹
Muwaze²⁰ kwa yako nia
Moyoni kikuṭukia
Onya moyo kulla ndia

If one of your relatives becomes ill,
Do your best to nurse him,
Even if in your heart you hate him;
Warn your heart in every way (not to hate
him).

56.

Ukiwaa wewe mara
Ukiziḍi mihayara²¹
Kheri kuwa na subira
Ukimuomba Jalia

If you are ill
and the pains have suddenly increased,
It is better to be patient
By praying to The Great One.

57.

Ziumbu ukishiṭaki
Na khaṭari hushiriki
Illa kunena ya haki
Hiyo ḍawa niṭulia²²

If you complain (about your pains) to people,
You will be in danger of being a polytheist,
But speaking the truth
Is a medicine, prepare it (also) for me.

58.

Subiri subira njema

Exercise patience, a patience of beautiful
contentment.

Sidumu na kulalama

Do not go on complaining.

Mwisowe huya malama

In the end comes blame;

Ukilalama si dawa

Blaming is not a medicine.

59.

Subiri kulla baa

Endure every misfortune -

Kwa kufungwa na kuwa^a

Being in jail and suffering illness -

Hata kuwa hutokaa

Even for a short time

Moliwa takulipia

Allah will reward you.

60.

Na lingine nimekupa

I shall give you some more (advice):

Uziwiye²³ na pupa

Prevent yourself from being greedy.

Ni katiti tena nipa

Do no say: "Give me a little bit more".

Usinene vumilia

Be patient.

61.

Kitu ukyawanya²⁴ wewe

If you share out something,

Katiti chako kivuwe²⁵

Take the small portion,

Za jamaa na zikuwe

And leave the bigger portion for other
people.

Dhahiri na siri pia

(Carry this out) in private as well as in
public.

62.

Na mtu ukimtuma
Simruḍishe si njema
Ni jaala imekoma
Bora kuisubiria

If you send somebody (e.g. to buy something),
Do not send him back again if it is bad.
It is better for you to bear with it.
because this is an accomplished fact.

63.

Mimi babako yaḥosha
Moyo huisubirisha
Mtu siyamruḍisha
Jema bovu hupokea

It is enough I am your father
Who is resigned in his heart.
I myself do not make somebody go back
But I accept it whether good or bad.

64.

Kwa mambo ukaikota
Nimekuusia wata
Mwisowe utaiyuta
Illa kwanda shawiria

I do recommend you to leave the affairs
which snare you alone,
Otherwise you will regret it in the end.
(But there is no blame on you) if you think
hard first.

65.

Rafiki wako wa kheri
Akupenda mkiri
Huyo mtake shauri
Uyandame yenye ndia

Accept your good friend
who likes you
This is the one whose guidance
You should ask and follow.

66.

Na hasira ukingia	Whenever you are angry
Watu wakakuilia	And people come to see you,
Ni kheri kuwasikia	Give them a fair hearing
Mshindani huumia	The competitive will be hurt.

67.

Unenapo mkarami	My respected son: When you speak,
Ya <u>te</u> uwe ya usemi	Choose your words.
Majaraha ya ulimi	The wounds caused by a hasty tongue
Hupoi yakikungia	Cannot be cured once they have penetrated (the heart).

68.

Kheri neno ku <u>te</u> uwa	It is best to choose your words,
La upanga li <u>ta</u> powa	(Because the wound) of the sword heals,
La ulimi hukuzuwa	Whereas the wound caused by an evil tongue will always sting.
Jaraha nimekwambia	Believe what I tell you about this wound.

69.

Wamepija Waarabu	The Arabs said
Mshabaha umesibu	A saying which came to be a true one
Soma usii <u>ta</u> tibu	Here you read it, and do not blame me.
Yashike na kutumia	Keep it, and make good use of it:

"Jurḥu al-kalāmi ashaddu min jurḥi al-ḥusāmi".²⁶ "The wound of
the word is harder than the wound of the sword".

70.

Kuruani hutwambia	The Qurān tells us,
Nawe soma hiyo Aya	And you can read this Aya:
Tooba ukitubia	If you repent before Allah,
Toba Mungu hupokea	He will accept your repentance.

The poet now writes what is underlined in the following Aya:

"And He it is who accepteth repentance from His bondmen, and pardoneth the evil deeds, and knoweth what ye do".²⁷

71.

Na ukyenenda ndiani	If you are walking on the road
Ukaona masikini	And you see a needy person,
Ulonacho mfukoni	Give him from what is in your pocket,
Mpe naye ngaa ²⁸ moya	Even if it is only something small.

72.

Mwenye kiyema yashike	Keep to my advice about an invalid;
Simwite kwa ila yake	Do not call him by his defect,
Kumfanya ni babake	As if his father who had made it,
Henda mukawa mamoya	Lest you should become like him.

73.

Tongo kiguu akiya	If a one-eyed person or a lame person comes
	to you
Na gonjo ²⁹ limemwenea	With sores all over his body,
Mlango kakugongea	And he knocks on your door,
Chochote humwatilia	Offer him something.

74.

Na mbali ukayepua
Yapo harufu kutoa
Usishike yako pua
Nawe Mungu hukwetea

And do not avoid him
If he smells,
Do not hold your nose
Lest Allah should bring the same fate to you.

75.

Kwa mamangu walikiya
Magonjwa yamewenea
Sikuona siku moya
Pua akiwashikia

(Although) they would come full of
diseases to my mother,
I did not see her not even once
Holding her nose.

76.

Wakiya kwako nyumbani
Mukata³⁰ na masikini
Wasirudi waawini
Hao mbwa kusaidiwa

If both a poor and a needy person
Come to your home,
Do not send them away, help them.
Those are the ones to be helped.

77.

Maneno yayo kwa yayo
Sinene hungoza³¹ moyo
Mbali mbali huwa ndiyo
Ni ladha huyasikia

Do not repeat yourself using the same words,
(because) it makes the stomach heave,
But use different words which
are pleasant to the ear.

78.

Usinene kwa ubishi
Utaipunguza mashi³²

Ingoje siku ya mashi³²
Ndio siku kutumia

Do not be argumentative when you speak,
Otherwise you will reduce (the effect) of
your competitions;

But wait for the day of competitions,
Which is the day to use it.

79.

Ushindani na uzivu³³
Usiutilie nguvu
Utaguguna zifuvu³⁴

Wendo tamu huilia

If you insist on obstinacy and
laziness,

You will gnaw the hard inner shell of the
coconut

Whereas your friends eat the sweet parts.

80.

Na mtu kakujamili³⁵
Kwa nguo au kwa mali
Zema zilipe kawili³⁶
Lipa na kumshashia

If somebody is generous to you

With clothes or money,

Pay him back doubly for his kindness;

Pay and make him happy.

81.

Akiwa mekufadhili
Mtu mwenye mangi mali
Huna la kumjamili
Mtii ukinyenyekea

If a very rich person

is kind to you,

And you do not have the wherewithal to repay
his kindness,

Obey him with due deference.

82.

Na kwamba na kunong'ona	I swear by Allah that backbiting
Wallahi si kiungwana	and whispering are not the nature of
	civilised people.
Hapendi Mola Rabbana	Almighty Allah does not like that
Nawe soma hiyo Aya	And you can read that Aya:

"O ye who believe! Shun much suspicion, for lo! some suspicion is a crime. And spy not, neither backbite one another. Would one of you love to eat the flesh of his dead brother? Ye abhor that (so abhor the other)! And keep your duty (to Allah). Lo! Allah is Relenting, Merciful".³⁷

83.

Mwendo mukifuatana	If you accompany a friend
Kaya mtu wakanena	And a (third) person comes to speak with him,
Kungoja wachoka sana	You may be tired of waiting,
Si njema kumkimbia	But it will not be good to leave him.

84.

Mtii baba na mama	Obey your father and mother
Haṭa wakikusukuma	Even if they reject you.
Inyamaze yaṭakoma	Be quiet, and they will stop
Simjibu ovu moya	Do not answer back.

85.

Ndia enda kwa adabu	Be quiet on the road
Watumwa na Waarabu	Greet both slaves and Arabs;
Waamkie na karibu	if they pass by you,
Wakipita kuwambia	Say: Hello.

86.

Kwa fundi sishike zombo	Do not touch a craftsman's tools.
Na ukiazima yambo	If you borrow something,
Usiliweke kitambo	Do not keep it even a short time.
Kheri kumrudishia	It is better to give it back (quickly) ³⁸

87.

Na kwa mtu ukingia	If you enter a person's house,
Wata kumfunulia	Do not take the lids off
Masanduku kwangalia	Boxes to look inside,
Na zingine kuzengea	Or to look for other things.

88.

Na kazi fanya nadhifu	By making your work neat,
Utakuwa maarufu	You will be famous.
Na ujira uraifu	And be moderate with fees;
Na ukali kutotia	Do not deal sharply (with people).

89.

Usiiyone mwenyewe

Do not see yourself (i.e. do not be proud of
yourself)

Kama hakuna kamawe

As if there were nobody like you.

Ujuba naupungu³⁹

Reduce your illusions

Na kiburi kuitia

And pride within yourself.

90.

Wangi tumezowaona

Many whom we have seen

Kwa sakara⁴⁰ wakinena

Speaking proudly;

Na maṭo yamefumbana

Their eyes closed,

Mṭangani wamengia

They have entered the sand (i.e. are now
buried).

91.

Na ukyenenda dukani

If you go to a shop

Kapima mwenye mizani

And the owner weighs something on the scales

Ndio haki usikhini

(For you) justly,

Simuudhi ṭena tia

Do not vex him by saying: Add some more.

92.

Na ndiani si fakhara

On the road there should be no showing off

Uraibu na sigara

(By smoking) tobacco and cigarettes.

Ukiomba sio sura

To beg for a smoke is not right;

Ni kheri kuiziwia

It is better to restrain yourself.⁴¹

93.

Ukyenenda na warabu
Nḍiani na masahibu
Ukiona uraibu
Kuomba hukuziwa

If you walk on the road with Arabs
and friends
When you see tobacco,
They stop you from begging for it.

94.

Una na haja moyoni
Sende kuwēka rahani
Kwa faida maḍukani
Uza kisia⁴² poṭea

If in your heart there is a need (which you
are unable to acquire),
Do not resort to usurers' shops
For their profit
Instead, sell the item, otherwise you will
lose it.

95.

Uwaṭe uzivu wako
Funga sana zitu zako
Sanḍuku na nyumba yako
Mara uṭaiyuṭia

You must give up laziness,
And lock up all your things firmly,
Including your chests and house,
Or you will regret it.⁴³

96.

Na kupiga hayawani
Bila nḍia ndio nni
Illa hao aḍuani
Kuwaau ndio ḍawa

To beat animals
Without cause is not logical;
But it is logical
to kill the hostile ones.

97.

Mambo yakikuzingia	If you are surrounded by problems,
Nyumbani huna rupia	And you have not a rupee in your house,
Wata hasira kungia	Do not let yourself get angry,
Na zitunu kuzitia	And do not grumble inside yourself.

98.

Na ikiwa yeo huna	If you have nothing special today,
Kheri teka na kunena	It is better to smile and chat.
Usisikitike bwana	Do not be sad, sir,
Khaberi ikaenea	Lest the news (of your sadness) should spread.

99.

Na kuomba omba Mungu	If you have to beg, ask Allah
Aawanyao mafungu	Who divides the lots.
Ukiomba walimwengu	If you ask people,
Wata watu kuwambia	Do not tell others.

100.

Kuona mtu ndiani	If you see a person on his way,
Metia kitu kapwani ⁴⁴	Carrying something under his arm,
Usiulize ni nni	Do not ask him: What is this?
Illa yeye kukwambia	But if he tells you, it will be all right.

101.

Ama kuwa mfukoni
Waama karatasini
Au metia bindoni
Kuu lako angalia

Or if he is carrying it in his pocket,
Or in a piece of paper,
Or in his loin-cloth,
The maximum you are permitted is to look at
it.

102.

Ukiuliza ni nni
Kajibu watakiani⁴⁵
Utakuwa hali gani
Kwa ghadhabu kukungia

If you ask: What is this?
And he answers: Why do you want (to know)?
How will you feel
Because of the anger which wells up inside
you?

103.

Waloambiwa kwa siri
Usieleze dhahiri
Mwenyewe humuhayiri⁴⁶
Na fazaa humtia

What has been told to you in secret
Do not explain in public,
Because it causes embarrassment
And alarm for him.

104.

Kusimama milangoni
Kusikia walo ndani
Uyayuwe hunenani
Lepuke khatua mia

Avoid standing by doors
To listen to those inside,
To know what is being said.
Keep a hundred paces away.

105.

Ukiket̄i na rijala
Mtu hasifu chakula
Na kuitia kulala
Huṭukiwa watu pia

If you take a seat with people,
Do not praise your food,
And do not be drawn towards sleep
Because every one hates that.

106.

Ukiket̄i kitandani
Una kamasi puani
Sifutie firashani
Ukuta guu futia

If you sit on a bed
And you want to blow your nose,
Do not wipe it on the bedspread,
But on a wall or a foot.

107.

Kwamba ukuta huoni
Kheri futia guuni
Na kohoo hadhirani
Enda nde kufutia

If you do not find a wall (to wipe mucus on),
It is better to wipe it on a foot.
If you have to cough up phlegm in the
presence of other people,
Go outside to wipe it away.

108.

Penye watu ni makuu
Na hilo usidharau
Kunyowa yako maguu
Illa udhuru kungia

Where people are gathered together is
important,
So do not treat it with contempt
By stretching your legs (in front of them)
Without an urgent excuse.

109.

Tena siwe mshutufu	Do not be a nuisance again,
Iweke uwe latifu	But be a gentleman.
Kwa watu uwe khafifu	Be brief with people;
Sikeṭi ukawemea	Do not sit and forget the time.

110.

Tabaraka imenena	<u>Tabaraka</u> ⁴⁸ says:
Uteshiteshi ⁴⁷ ni sana	Cheerfulness is good
Na hadithi za maana	And if you tell friends meaningful
Wendani ukiwambia	stories it is also good.

"Wa-kun bashan karīman dhā en-bisāṭin wa-fīman yartajīka gamīla raiyin".⁴⁹

"Be cheerful, generous, a person of joy and of good counsel for whoever wants it".

111.

Simshauze kijana	Do not spoil a child
Ziumbe wakikutana	While people are meeting together.
Kipiga kiwatukana	If he hits them and insults them,
Kabisa simpe ndia	Do not encourage him.

112.

Mtu kikwambia neno	If somebody tells you something,
Sijibu upesi mno	Do not answer him in haste.
Ingawa dakika tano	It is better to listen first
Kheri kwanda kusikia	even if it is five minutes.

113.

Lema ovu kunenani	for you cannot recognise if it is
Hulitambui mwendani	worth or worthless speaking, my friend
Illa mpako mwisoni	But only at the end
Ndipo hukufunukia	Does it become clear to you.

114.

Ukijibu kwa upesi	If you answer him quickly,
Nawe mwando huliisi ⁵⁰	At the beginning, without fully
	understanding,
Utajibu ukaisi ⁵¹	You will guess the answer,
Faida takupotea	Missing the point

115.

Ukyenda kufanya kazi	If you go to do work,
Ijara usimuzi	Do not annoy the employer (by asking him too
	high wages)
Ambawo wamkirizi	If the person you have lent something
Mpe muhula akiya	appears, give him respite.

116.

Nyumba ya watu kungia	If you enter someone's house
Choo ukahitajia	And you need to use the toilet,
Kheri kwako kimbilia	It will be better to hurry
Nena yakikuzidia	And to say: It is becoming too much for you.

117.

Ukiwako ugenini
Ukamuona mwendani
Wa ishifaki⁵² amini
Shauri naliwe moya

If you travel abroad
And see a friend,
Be sympathetic and sincere (with him),
Make your plans together.

118.

Na mwano kumuawini
Kwa kuasi Rahamani
Siitie shirikani

Sandame hapana ndia

Do not help a young person
To disobey The Beneficent Allah,
And do not put yourself in that sort of
company.

Do not follow immoral ways.

119.

Mwendo nimekuusia
Zema ukatangulia
Matushi kumtolea
Tahadhari kama haya

I advise you about your friend
Avoid bringing your friend
into disgrace, after you do
(something) good for him.

120.

Ukiteta na rafiki
Sende mbee kushitaki
Hata kiwa mekudhiki
Mara humzungukia

If you have a dispute with a friend,
Do not go on to complain about him.
Even if he annoys you,
Maybe the tables will turn.

121.

Na kukupa usitwaye

If somebody gives you something, do not take
it,

Illa tajiri wa kaye

Except from a person who has been rich for
long time,

Na wa sasa maanaye

Because if you take it from a nouveau riche,

Khabari takuṭolea

He will talk about you.

122.

Na kwa mtu ukingia

If you enter a person's room,

Chuo dafutari pia

There will no need to read his

Si haja kumsomea

books, or exercise books,

Na barua zote pia

Nor all his letters.

123.

Penye mtu asomao

When someone is reading

Na yoyote andikao

Or when someone is writing in a place,

Sinene na watu hao

Do not speak to these people,

Ng'ombe na wewe mamoya

Otherwise you will be like a boar (lit. a
cow).

124.

Penye watu ukaweko

If you are in a place where there are people,

Na mve⁵³ ukaya kwako

And you feel a belch coming up,

Ulifumbe kanwa lako

Shut your mouth

Kama ng'ombe utalia

And do not make a noise like an ox.

125.

Na nyaya ⁵⁴ kanwani mwako	Do not make a habit of putting
Sifanye ni aḍa yako	Your finger-nails into your mouth,
Uweke mkono wako	But keep your hands down.
Usione kanwa pia	Do not feel your mouth either.

126.

Na funḍi ukimwendea	If you go to a craftsman (to order something)
Hilo waṭa kumwambia	Avoid telling him:
Nifanyia mara moya	Do it for me straight away;
Sahali kumfanyia	But make it easy for him.

127.

Ile kazi siiteze	Do not scorn the work;
Kiifanya itukuze	When he does it, praise it.
Ule funḍi kazi jaze	Reward that craftsman for his work;
Naona takufanyia	He will do it for you (to perfection). ⁵⁵

128.

Na sasa ṭataya kula	Now, I shall mention eating.
Lahawula lahawula	There is no escape from it.
Tusiṭiri Rabbi Mola	May Allah cover up (for us)
Aibu nyingi hungia	The many bad table manners which may crop up (during the meal)

129.

Na ukikeṭi mahala

Usiisifu kwa kula

Kupowa kata na ila

Zinono kuwataia

If you sit down in some place,

Do not praise yourself in your eating

(habits),

(And do not) mention the fat meat (of your

banquet) to others. What you have been

given, cut it and eat it.

130.

Na ukyenda karamuni

Ukakeṭi siniyani

Sangalie zisahani

Ambazo zataka kuya

If you go to a banquet

And sit on the tray,

Do not keep looking for the dishes

Which are about to come.

131.

Na karamu yandawao

Zile zitu zandikwao

Meneno uyanenao

Siwate ukyangalia

Do not interrupt what you are

saying, to look at the banquet

which they are preparing and the

things which are being served.

132.

Na ukikeṭi kulani

Umo hula siniyani

Maṭo angalia ṭini

Sizangalie za kuya

If you sit to eat,

And you are eating from the tray,

Look down,

And do not look at the food which is coming.

133.

Na mahala wambuapo
Ukatatulia papo

Where you start cutting off (a piece of food)
(Do not) shake your hand off to clean it
there,

Mlo nyūte waliopo
Ikirahi huwanzia

(Otherwise) all the eaters who are there
Will be disgusted.

134.

Na kufuta ukungoni
Kwa mkono sahanini
Zanda kutia kanwani
Haya huyashinda pia

And putting your fingers into
your mouth is even more
disgusting than wiping your
hand on the edge of the dish.

135.

Na kuṭeua zinoḡu
Ambazo zilo nadhifu
Ili ruhu kuidhifu⁵⁶
Aibu hukuvutia

To select choice pieces of meat
Which are good,
To satisfy your greed,
Will bring disgrace upon you

136.

Kinofu kikyangukia
Pa mwendo kikamwendea
Aibu kukyandamia
Ikirahi uṭatia

If a scrap of meat falls down
And lands near to your friend,
It will be shameful to follow it,
And you will disgust people.

137.

Kula upesi upesi
Na hilo huinukusi
Fanya mambo kwa kiasi
Mara zitakupalia

If you eat quickly,
You will lower your reputation.
Do things in moderation,
Otherwise the food will stick in your throat.

138.

Kuna lingine nda kwanda
Kula ukiramba zanda
Fahamu watu hutunda
Watakwamba kisa pia

There is another thing which has priority.
If you lick your fingers while eating,
Understand that people will be watching,
And then they will talk about you as well.

139.

Waliopo wakyondoka

Nawe sikeji inuka
Kwa furaha na kuṭeka
Ukihimidi Jalia

When the people who are attending get up to
go,
Do not stay on but get up
With gladness, smiling,
And praising Allah.

140.

Ilo njema karamuye
Penye watu wasifiye
Na mbovu inyamaliye
Khabari kuwaṭolea

Praise the person whose banquet is good
In the presence of the gathering,
And be reticent
about a bad one.

141.

Karamuni kisa kula	Having eaten the banquet,
Kheri toka kwa ajila ⁵⁷	It is best to leave quickly.
Hapana tena muhula	There is no need to delay;
Ni kheri kuitokea	It is better to get yourself up to go.

142.

Wenyewe wakikwambia	If the hosts tell you:
Mbona haraka hutia	Why are you in a hurry?
Uzuri kuiketia	It is courtesy to sit down
Haya chuo hutwambia	That is what The Book (i.e. the Quran) tells us:

"O ye who believe, Enter not the dwelling of the Prophet for a meal without waiting for the proper time, unless permission be granted you. But if ye are invited, enter, and, when your meal is ended, then disperse. Linger not for conversation. Lo, that would cause annoyance to the Prophet, and he would be shy of (asking) you (to go), but Allah is not shy of the truth".⁵⁸

143.

Chakula akikwambia	If somebody invites you to eat,
Kheri huyu kumwendea	It is best to go along with him.
Asio kuarifia	(On the other hand) if he does not invite you,
Siwe na haja kungia	There is no need for you to join him.

144.

Mtu aloipikia
Na wewe hakukwambia
Si haja kuṭaradhia
Ndiko kuomba netea

The person who cooks for himself,
And does not invite you,
There is no need to reproach him:
That is begging.

145.

Ukiona mtu hula
Moya karibu nda mila⁵⁹
Usinene bisimilla⁶⁰
Illa kukurai ghaya

If you see a person is eating,
And he invites you at once, as is the
custom, to join him,
Do not go up to eat with him
Unless he begs you to eat.

146.

Ukiona meudhika
Hukukaza kwa hakika
Na yeye husikitika
Hapo kheri kuilia

If you see him annoyed and
sorry (about your refusal) and really
insisting (that you join him),
Then, it is better to eat.

147.

Karibu akikwambia
Mguvu kitokutilia
Ni kheri kuiziwia
Kusubiri ndio ndia

If he tells you to join him,
But not in an emphatic way,
It is better to restrain yourself.
Patience is the best virtue.

148.

Ukikeṭi na ziumbe
Likaya nzuri bembe⁶¹
Sonḡe wala usirambe
Watu wakikwangalia

If you sit down with people
And the delicious sweetmeats come,
Do not taste and do not lick
While people are looking at you.

149.

Kuwa na zitu kanwani
Musinene fahamuni
Kwanda miza zende ndani

If there is something in your mouth,
Do not speak, do you understand?
Firstly you should swallow it so it has gone
down.
After that you can exchange greetings.

Kisa salamu pokea

150.

Na kanwa kulitakasa
Kama upijao ṭasa
Babangu nimekuwasa
fumba kanwa nakwambia

To clean round your mouth
Making a loud noise as if you are beating a
drum
(Is also wrong). I advise you, my dear son,
To close your mouth.

151.

Yakiwa mai kunawa
Mno iza ukipowa
Wakikutilia kuwa
Ni kheri kuinawia

When the water comes for the washing of
hands,
And if you are given it (first), refuse
firmly.
But if they insist,
It is better to (accept) wash your hands.⁶²

152.

Ukiwa mkuu wao
Nyaka au fundi wao
Ukanawa mbee yao
Ndio ada watu pia

If you are their teacher or their
elder
And washed your hands before them,
That will be okay, it is also a custom of
people.

153.

Na chai kikidhihiri
Usinwe kwa utiriri
Kuvuta kwa kujihiri
Au zumari kulia

When the tea (or any other drink) appears,
Do not dribble when you drink,
Or make a loud noise
Like a clarinet.

154.

Usinwe kwa usaumu⁶³
Na kuvuta ufahamu
Kushabihi baragumu
Sauti ikaenea

Do not drink with a greedy appetite,
Understand that sucking
Just like blowing a horn,
Makes the noise spread.

155.

Nwaa kwa kiasi chako
Usitupe ada yako
Hasibu unwayo kwako
Na kwa watu ni mamoya

Drink according to your need,
Do not deviate from your good usual
Take into account that how you drink in your
own home
Should be the same as in other people's
homes.

156.

Ukyambiwa karamuni
Siwaṭe kwako nyumbani
Wakapunguza wizani
Fanya kama mazoea

If you are invited to a banquet,
Do not leave your family at home.
Reduce the quantity (of their daily food).
But let them cook as usual.

157.

Karamu kwa siku hizo
Yapokuwa nda maṭezo
La kwanda wambie nduzo
Kisa masahibu pia

These days, the first thing you should
do at the time of an informal
banquet is to invite your brothers,
And then your friends as well.

158.

Na ukipika azizi
Wali hauna mṭuzi
Jirani usimuuzi
Zikombo kumpekea

If you cook rice
without a sauce, my dear son,
Do not embarrass your neighbour
By sending cups to him/her (for supplying
you with sauce).

159.

Waṭa na kupapatika
Moliwa wako kumbuka
Mola hupa na kupoka
Subiri Aṭakwetea

Do not fret,
And remember Allah,
The One who gives and takes.
Be patient and He will grant your wish.

160.

Na ulapo na unasi⁶⁴

Makohoo na kamasi

Usiifanye huisi

Maovu hushinda pia

(Beware of your) sputum and mucus

while eating with people.

Do not pretend that you do not know (the
right way of wiping sputum and mucus away),

Because that is the worst fall.

161.

Na akiya masikini

Haṭa kwenu karamuni

Simtilie wayani⁶⁵

Kheri sahani zengea

If a poor person comes to join

Your banquet,

Do not put (the food) on a broken piece of
crookery;

It is better to look for a dish.

162.

Na akiṭaka sahani

Kuṭukulia nyumbani

Simtilie bindoni

Ni kheri kumridhia

If he wants a dish

To take the food home in,

Do not put the food in loin-cloth;

It is better to satisfy him.

163.

Na linginele munika⁶⁶

Meno waṭa kuyashika

Kutotoa⁶⁷ ukinuka

Penye watu ni udhia

There is something else you should observe.

Do not touch your teeth

By picking them and smelling it

In front of people.

164.

Kutia chanda kanwani
Ukitoa matavuni
Kuzitia ulimini
Ukimiza hutukia

To put your finger in the side of your mouth
to shift (the remains of the food)
Onto the tongue,
And then to swallow it, is disgusting.

165.

Ziliyo tavuni mwako
Toa kwa ulimi wako
Na watu wakiwa wako
Kwa siri utende haya

Remove what remains in the side
of your mouth with your tongue.
If there are people there,
Do it discreetly.

166.

Na lingine likamate
Sile hutuzeza pete
Wala sitawanye mate
Nalo hilo nakwambia

There is another thing you should grasp.
You should not play with your ring while you
are eating.
I am also telling you, not
to spit (while you are eating).

167.

Na ukyenda hadhirani
Darasa au nyumbani
Nyamaa mtu haneni
Watu watakutukukia

If you attend a meeting
At a school or at a house,
You should be silent,
Otherwise people will dislike you.

168.

Nakuusia Helewa

Na wana na wayukuwa⁶⁸

Kwa baraka Mwenye kuwa

Utangaze na dunia

I advise you Helewa,

Together with your children and
grandchildren,

With The Almighty's blessing,

To make this advice known all over the world.

169.

Baba wangu uoapo

Pazengee papo hapo

Penye nasaba ilipo

Hapo baba tegemea

My son, when you marry,

Look in that place where there is

A good pedigree.

Rely on that place, my dear son.

The poet now writes what is underlined in the following Aya:

As for the good land, its vegetation cometh forth by permission of
its Lord; while as for that which is bad, only evil cometh forth
(from it). Thus do We recount the takens for people who give
thanks".⁶⁹

170.

Zengea mwana wa kwako

Au wa daraja yako

Lisiṭawi ina lako

Na wenye kukwangalia

By looking for a girl who is descended from
your relatives,

Or who is equal in rank to you,

Your name will flourish

Among those who look up to you.

171.

Mke wako mpumbaze
Kwa uwezalo mweneze
Na wewe simteleze
Nde ukalimatia

Make your wife happy;
Give her as much as you can afford.
Do not upset her
By delaying when you are out.

172.

Na siku ya kukwambia
Niwaṭa nawe ridhia
Ni kheri kuiṭokea
Ama uṭaiyuṭia

The day she says to you;
'Divorce me', you should comply.
It is better to let her go,
Otherwise you will regret it.

173.

Kwa upesi umuwaṭe
Pindi kisa uiyuṭe
Na ukingiwa na keṭe⁷⁰
Kwa mngine kimbilia

Divorce her quickly,
Even if you are going to regret it later.
If you feel frustrated,
Hurry (to marry) another woman.

174.

Wetu binṭi sikia
Mwana mume kikwambia
Ṭakuwaṭa buraiā
Akitinda nena haya

Listen, daughter of ours.
If your husband says to you:
I shall divorce you; when he
finishes speaking, renounce any kind of
claim (on him).

175.

Tena nguvu utilie
Juhudi mshinde yeye
Moyoni ukungizie
Ni kheri kuiziwia

Again, do your best to encourage
him (in the divorce).
If he has entered your heart,
It would be right to stop yourself (loving
him).

176.

Sikia sana binti
Na siketi usiketi
Utadumu na laiti⁷¹
Ukiandama haya

Listen carefully, my dear girl,
Neither he nor you should stay.
If you do not follow this advice,
You will regret it for ever.

177.

Moyo huba ukingia
Ni kheri kuiziwia
Uionye kula ndia
Kisa moyo husikia

If love enters your heart,
It is better to stop it
By showing yourself the right way,
Later, the heart will get used to it.

178.

Na mapenzi ni hakika
Hupanda na kukushuka
Na siku ya kukereka
Iziwie kula ndia

Love is a reality
Which increases and decreases in you,
And on days when you worry
Do your best to prevent yourself,

179.

Kwani mwenye kusubiri
Sharuti hunali kheri
Na ambao huyakiri
Enda utaiyulia

Because a patient person
Will obtain all that is good.
But if you do not accept that,
Carry on, you will regret it.

180.

Zikazapo mno nyonda⁷²
Ukarudi kama kwanda
Kwa sababu ya kupenda
Enda utaiyulia

If love overwhelms you
And you return to your first (wife),
Because of your love for her,
Go ahead, and you will regret it.

181.

Utanena kwa moyoni
Kurudi natakiyani
Utadumu mayuoni
Na kutoka huna ndia

You will say in your heart:
Why have I returned?
And you will carry on regretting it,
You will find no escape route.

The poet now writes what is underlined in the following Aya:

"Spend your wealth for the cause of Allah, and be not cast by your own hands to ruin, and do good - lo! Allah loveth the beneficent".⁷³

182.

Usiweke matandi
Baba angalia pandi
Kwenda taani hatindi
Hata akateketea

Do not get yourself caught in a trap;
Look at the moth, my dear son.
When it flies into the lamp, it does not stop
Until it is destroyed (by the heat of the lamp).

183.

Ukipenda mtu wewe
Fahamu siishauwe
Kuishaua mwisowe
Maovu hukuzulia

If you love a person,
Understand you do not praise yourself
It would in the end
Bring you trouble.

184.

Akwitao usiize
Maovu simweleze
Enenda kapulikize
Uṭateua yakiya

Do not refuse an invitation⁷⁴ from someone
who invites you;
Do not mention any negative aspects to her;
But go and listen (to what is being said).
(In this case) you can choose when (the
time) comes.

185.

Mara huiza nda kheri
Mara kwenda ndilo shari
Ukiiza si uzuri
Mfano wa hio aya

Sometimes you may refuse what is good,
And another time you may accept what is
wrong.
So, if you refuse, it will not be good.
For this read the following Aya:

"Warfare is ordained for you, though it is hateful unto you, and it
may happen that ye love a thing which is bad for you. Allah
knoweth, ye know not".⁷⁵

186.

Kipendi akakimbia
Ukyenda kumwandamia
Akajibu nitakuya
Hayi wata kurejea

If your loved one runs away
And you go and follow her
And she says to you: I shall come back,
But she does not come back, do not go back
for her again.

187.

Huisi mambo yaliyo
Ni hapendi mtu huyo
Na afuatao moyo
Kaida huiyuta

You do not know how things are,
That is, she no longer loves you.
Customarily, the person who follows
his heart regrets it.

188.

Angalia hunu wimbo
Uliotungwa kitambo
Nali nyaka kumi umbo
Ni chuoni kisikia

Heed this song
Which was composed long ago
I used to listen to it at school,
when I was ten years old.

189.

Nina wayo wayo
Huunda kiwata
Kwa tandi la moyo
Limezonikota
Mufuata moyo
Mwiso huiyuta

I am uncertain
Whether to take it or leave it (the things
which are connected with love)
Because the noose of the heart
Has lassoed me.
The follower of the heart
Will regret it in the end.

190.

Illa kiruḍi kwa yeye

But if she returns (to you) of her own
accord,

Na moyoni ungiziye

And she enters your heart,

Jauri usiitiye

Do not be too proud (i.e. do not show her
your pride)

Kwani aḍabu mengia

Because she has become polite.

191.

Hathubuḥu yambo tena

(In this case) she will no longer have the
courage

Kuweta liso maana

To bring up useless affairs.

Na baa utamuona

(On the other hand) you will see misfortune

Ambayo hukudhania

Which you did not expect from her,

192.

Nawe ukababaika

If in confusion

Ukenda ukamḥaka

You go and ask her to come back,

Na yeye akaridhika

And she accepts,

Hayi siri nakwambia

But does not come back. This is a secret I
disclose to you.

193.

Na kutumiana nguvu

By using violence against each other,

Lema liḥakuwa ovu

Good will become bad,

Ḥakwetea maumivu

And she will cause you suffering

Na maḥo kikuḥolea

(Like just) staring at you.

194.

Na mahaba kupigana	To like quarrelling
Ni uovu sana sana	Is a very bad thing.
Halifiḍishi maana	It brings no benefits,
Si tamu kuyasikia	And it is not nice to hear it.

195.

Takwadhinia kitwani	She will broadcast (her orders) over your head,
Kitwa kiwe sakarani	And her head will swell with pride.
Kula kitu taḥamani	She will covet everything
Kinena ninunulia	And she will ask you: Buy it for me.

196.

Mwiso mwako uḥachoka	In the end, you will be tired of this matter,
Uḥataka kumwepuka	Wanting to avoid her.
Uzengee pa kuḥoka	Then you will look for an outlet,
Usipate kamwe ndia	But you will not find one at all.

197.

Yambo kungia sahali	It is easy to get involved in a conflict,
Kuḥoka ni uthakili	But it is hard to get out.
Na makuu mashughuli	And all you will feel is
Ambayo yaḥakungia	great embarrassment.

"Dukhūlu al-marī fi-al-shabakāti saḥlan wa-lākin tafakkar fi
al-khurūji".⁷⁶

"It is easy for the person to get involved in a conflict, but he
should think in the way of getting out".

198.

Ukyenenda hadhirani
Penye wake dhahirini
Mmoya ukatamani
Ziwia kumwalia

If you walk about in public,
Where there are women on the way,
And there is one that you fancy,
Prevent yourself from looking at her.

199.

Matō yako kuyavua
Waliyopo watayua
Ya siri utafunua
Hata hukukusudia

If you raise your eyes (to her),
The people who are there will know.
You will disclose the secret,
Even if you do not intend to.

200.

Na ukyambiwa haramu
Hukyondi ni kama sumu
Usifanye usaumu
Mara mara kumwambia

When you are told something offensive,
You should not enjoy it,
Because it is like poison.
Do not insist on telling him (the person who
has offered it to you) about it every time
(you see him).

201.

Na wendo usiwateke
Masikini simwepuke
Akushikao mshike
Kwa uwee⁷⁷ na afia

Do not laugh at your friends.
Do not avoid the needy.
The person who stands by you, stand by him
In times of sickness and health.

202.

Ukitaka kuifunda
Mtu kazi huipenda
Mwisowe utaishinda
Ukichoka hupotea

If you want to learn,
You must like the work,
And you will succeed in the end.
But if you get weary, you will fail.

203.

Waarabu wa saada
Wameisifu kwa joda
Man jitihada wajada
Kamba jiwe angalia

The prosperous Arabs
Take pride in their generosity, (they said
perfectly in a proverb): The person who
works hard, he succeeds.
Look, this is like (the story of) stone and
rope.

204.

Sifunuwe siri yako
Khasa kwa adui wako
Na kwa yoyote ni miko
Illa mezokusafia

Do not disclose your secret,
particularly to your enemy.
It is taboo to everyone,
Except to the one who is honest to you.

205.

Na kutolea makosa
Usoulizwa kabisa
Helewa nimekuasa
Ata kukasirikia

If you point out the mistakes
Of a person who does not ask you at all,
He will be annoyed with you
I forbid you to do it Helewa.

206.

Mushike wasia wangu
Nimewambia wanangu
Tawabarikia Mungu
Hini⁷⁸ dira safiria

Keep to the advice which
I have told you, my children.
Allah will bless you.
This advice is a compass and by it you
should travel.

207.

Utuvishе, ya sitara
Mungu kandu midirara⁷⁹
Kama taa mking'ara
Ilahi tawajaalia

O Allah: cloak us copiously with
Your protective garment.
Allah will make you shine like
a bright lamp.

208.

Na jamii Isilamu
Ilahi Atukirimu
Bijahi⁸⁰ Taha Hashimu
Aliyozawa Makiya

O Allah: Bless us,
we all Muslims
In honour of Taha Hashim⁸¹
Who was born in Mecca.

209.

Helewa twaa alam
Mekupa fundi Kijuma
Bini bwana ikirama
Al-Bakariy asiliya

Helewa, master Kijuma has given you
a token, keep it.
He is the son of a most noble man;
His lineage is al-Bakariy.

(It was completed on) 9 Jumada al-Thaniy 1346.⁸²

Siraji - Notes

1. See: p. 225.
2. Sikuliwe = sichoke = do not get tired.
3. The father (Kijuma) advises his son about the right behaviour which the son must adopt. When his son Helewa faces problems in his life, he should remember what his father has advised him to do. Then, he should act accordingly, otherwise he will regret and he will say: O, my father had told me.
4. Mabuuthi = the one who is sent (i.e. by Allah).
5. This implies that the poet's town, Lamu, was a very poor town by then, in 1927.
6. It is known that Helewa left Lamu for Zanzibar in about 1900, see: p. 32.
7. People of Lamu put water on their heads before cutting their hair.
8. Mbwa = ni wa = is of.
9. Sikilia = fikilia = arrive at.
10. Mwendo = mwenziwo = your friend.
11. -Sona = to rest.
12. Ugawadi = ukuwadi = procuring (in sexual sense).
13. Kitangiliwa = (he) has been mobbed.
14. Mtilizi = frequently.
15. Kusi = sound made by clapping hands, but it is not used without -piga. Kupiga kusi = to clap.
16. 2:194.
17. 2:191.
18. Quran 3:26.
19. -Waa = to become sick; Uwee = sickness.
20. Muwaze : the causative form of Waa "to nurse him".

21. Mihayara = pains.
22. -Tua = to produce medicine by rubbing the substance which has been prescribed between two stones, adding water to ease the rubbing and also to enable the medicine maker to form the substance into the required item of medicine.
After the poet had advised his son to take this advice and to carry it out, he asked him to return it to him to put into practice himself.
23. Uiziwiye = ujizuie = prevent yourself.
24. Ukyawanya = ukigawanya = if you share (something).
25. Its verb is - vua = save.
26. I have to acknowledge that the Arabic proverb scribed by Kijuma, in the text, is not readable, because its dictation is not fully correct. However, the part that could be read was enough to indicate Kijuma's intention. He must have meant this proverb, which is well known in Arabic.
27. Quran, 42:25.
28. Nqaa = Even if.
29. Gonjo = Wound, sore.
30. This word Mukata, in the text, reads Ashigi "lover" but I replaced it by Mukata, because Mukata is found so in all other versions of the poem, see: p. 226.
In addition to this, the word Ashigi has no equivalence in this stanza, nor in the stanzas before and after it.
31. -Ngoza = feel sick; hangoza moyo = yaeleza moyo = it makes the stomach heave.
32. Mashi = mashindano = competitions.
33. Uzivu = uvivu = laziness.
34. Zifuvu = vifuu = the hard inner shells of coconuts.

35. -Jamili = to grant a favour, to be generous to.
36. Kawili = twice, double.
37. Quran 49:12. Kijuma gave what is underlined only.
38. This shows the concern of Kijuma as a craftsman for his tools.
39. This na should be connected with its following verb Upunguwe because it implies an imperative pronoun for 3rd person singular and plural.
40. Sakara = pride.
41. It is a fact known to Kijuma's compatriots that Kijuma was a smoker.
42. Kisia = kisiye = not to come. It is contracted from the class concord ki, the negative si, and the verb kuja "to come".
43. There is a Swahili proverb which supports this stanza: Fungato haiumizi mkono "Locking firmly does not harm the hand".
44. Kapwa = armpit.
45. Watakiani = unatakia nini = what do you want (to know) it for?
It is contracted from unatakia nini. When this particular construction is contracted, it implies blame upon the questioner.
If blame is not to be implied, we must say: Wataka nini?
46. -Hayiri = to embarrass.
47. Uteshitshi = cheerfulness.
48. See: p. 217.
49. This Arabic verse, given by Kijuma, is translated into Swahili verse in stanza 141 of Tabaraka.
50. This verb is always used in a negative sense.
51. Ukasi = without thinking, without taking care, without taking exact measurements.
52. Ishifaki = sympathy.
53. Mve = belch.
54. Nyaya = nyaa = finger-nails.

55. In these two stanzas (126 and 127), the poet is giving his experience about the best way for the employer to treat the employee.
56. -Dhifu = suffice, satisfy, add.
57. Ajila = quickness.
58. Quran 33:53. Kijuma gave what is underlined only.
59. This line is a reference to the Swahili proverb which says: Karibu ni mila si kula "Come on (to eat with us) is a custom not actually eating".
60. Bisimilla means = In the name of Allah. The poet used this word because every Muslim is asked to name Allah just before eating. The poet considers this as an acceptance of the invitation to join the person who is eating.
61. Bembe = a collection of different kinds of dishes sent as a present, especially during the month of Ramadhan, by a bride to her husband to be.
62. It is a custom that the person should give way for other people in front of him to wash their hands before him, particularly before and after eating. Otherwise, he might be considered a proud person.
63. Usaumu = kero = utiriri = bad conduct.
64. Unasi = people.
65. Waya = gae = potsherd.
66. Munika = angalia = to note, to observe.
67. Kutotoa = kutotora = to pick the teeth or the nose.
68. Wayukuwa = Wajukuu = grandchildren.
69. Quran 7:58.
70. Kete = anxiety.

71. When the poet said: Utadumu na laiti, he was probably referring to the Swahili proverb: Utakufa na laiti na chanda kanwani. "You will die with regrets and the finger in your mouth". It is said to the person who does not follow the advice of his elders.
72. Nyonda = penzi = love.
73. Quran 2:195.
74. The invitation here is likely to be for proposing marriage because the poet is speaking about marriage, remarriage and divorce.
75. Quran 2:216. What is given by Kijuma is underlined.
76. This Arabic verse is given by Kijuma.
77. Uwee = ugonjwa = sickness, illness.
78. Hini = hii = this.
79. Midirara = in plenty, copiously.
80. Bijahi = in honour.
81. I.e. the Prophet Muhammad.
82. = 4 December 1927.

APPENDIX B

Mandari "The picnic"

"Ye ulee Kijuma mwando wa kuifunda khabari hii ya kinanda, watu walikuwa hawaifundi, yalikuwa ni aibu kuu. Yeye aliifunda. Kula mwenye kijana chake alikimziwia kumwandama Kijuma. Musendeni. Ye hupija kinanda. Mamake alikimziwia kipija. Lakini alikuwa mekufa. Hapana wa kumshinda. Na zijana walee wangine walikenda kuifunda khati. Wangine huifunda ukatibu tu. Hawataki lingine. Wangine huupija, wote..tembo, na kinanda huifunda. Kulla mmoya musendeni kwa Kijuma atawapoteza. Hatta wenyewe khati wakaziwiwa. Lakini wengi walipata khati. Basi, wende wake humkimbia. Lakini twataka kwenda. Hungoja palee mshuko wa Isha, hakuna mtu. Maana haya madaka umezoyaona yote yalikuwa na watu. Kisa kuswali Isha, huketi watu kuzungumza yote yote. Basi, zijana hiyau hukimbia kwenda kwake. Wangine huifunda khati. Wangine ni yau yau wakipija twarabu, wote wakipija tembo. Basi, akinena: Hawa baba zao hunambia mimi mwanga, ngoja wataona. Akafanya zinanda thineni wa thalathini zinanda. Yeye mwenyewe akaziunda. Alikuwa na mapesa. Alikuwa handa kurithi ya mamake. Yalee maduka ya Kina Baibanda yalikuwa ya mamake. Na kilee kisima kimezoziwa kilee palee. Ile nyumba yote dari yali nda mamake. Alipowa yeye na nduye. Duka la Hamadi Mkate pia ndake. Alikuwa tajiri (mamake) Alikwa nduye Mwenye Shee Hamadi. Mmmmm. Basi, Yeye kafanya zinanda kwa mkono wake thineni wa thalathini .. zinanda. Akanunua na wiski sanduku mbili. Akafanya akaweka. Maana kwa Mwenye Manswab ni nduye mamake .. si khali yake? Na mmoya ulee Bwana Nahudha, alikuwa ni ami yake. Akawalika mandari. Akawaambia tumewaalika. Ulee Bwana akamwambia: Mimi .. mandari ya zijana...!! Akamwambia: Aaah!! Mwenye Manswab akaiza, akamwambia: Mi Sitaki mandari ya zijana.

Akamwambia: Na Bwana Nahudha .. aah, ulee Bwana Umari .. Bwana nyani ..
na Bwana Nahudha uko.

Akaona ni wazee wengi walioko. Akaandika. Akaṭaka. Husikia ulee umo,
ulee umo, haṭoona ni wazee wengi? Kalama walee ni wawili tu. Aṭaka
kuonyesha si mi pweke. Basi, kulee kwa Mohammaḍi bin Abdalla kuna nyumba
.. nyumba nzuri hiyau. Wakenenda, Wakenenda walee watu wazima, huona
woṭe ni zijana .. barobaro wa nyaka khamuṣṭaashara na siṭaashara na
ishirini. Aah .. Akawaambia Bwana eeh! woṭe mabwana, hapana wazalia.

Wazalia walikuwa wawili tu. Akamwambia: Bwana eeh! Woṭe wakainuka, woṭe
mabwana. Akawaambia: Naṭaka Bwana huyu alotuweta huku. Alowaeta si yeye
Kijuma Akawaambia: hapa twaṭaka boi wa kutumikia hapa. Basi, kampa boi
mmoya kamwambia: Watumikie. Akawaambia: Haya tuṭwaliini nyimbo, ṭini ya
miembe kulee. Haya watu woṭe. Zinanda thineni wa thalathini husikizwa
namna gani? Hupija nyimbo, maana nkushukia muini. Wakapija, wakapija,
wakapija. Kisa ulee Mwenye Manswab akamwambia ulee ami yake: Wayua huyu
haṭaki mandari. Uyao kutuonyesha sisi huku kuwa mambo haya si ye pweke,
mambo haya ni ye na wende. Mimi ni mamake (si khali yake?) na we ni
babake. Mekuya kutuonyesha, umeona? Akamwambia: Nimeona. Akamwambia:
Maarifa yake haya umeona...? huṭukua wende woṭe ṭini ya miembe, kula ...
Basi, sisi si kushuka? Basi, hawa waungwana baba zetu kutuona sisi
kufanya ulevi si haki. Akenda kuwaambia: Sasa nyinyi nendani zenu muini
chakula cha iyonitwawetea. Maana wapate kufanya shughuli yao.

Wakamwambia: Basi, tumefurahi zaidi. Basi, wakisa kuswali adhuhuru
(Alasiri?) wakenda zao muini. Basi, wakapija sanduka mbili, ni tembo
lingi. Wakapija haṭa hawana fahamu ṭena. Wengi walee waandikao haaah.
Si kazi yao walee. Wamo nao. Lakini ni walee wapijao woṭe, watu thineni
wa thalathini. Basi kaangalia limewashika. Yeye mwenyewe hunena: Mimi
sikulewa, sababu siṭopata yalee maana yangu. Basi, wakashuka muini
kawaweka wawili wawili hiyau.

Kawapanga kama beni hiyau, wawili wawili kawataenga. Walee wazalia wakuu aliwapa bendera. Maana wazalia wawili wakuu kawapa bendera mmoya huku, mmoya huku, wakatangulia. Wakashuka hata hapa hiki kisima cha Baoni, hapa chalikuwa ni baraza ya ulee Shekhe Umari, zijana za Mkomani.

Wakapija pale: puh puh puh. Angaliani zijana zenu, maana. Asa hawana fahamu wataisita? Wakapija wakapija wakaketi robo saa. Haya wakenda mbee. Hapa ilee dari ya pili nda Mohammad Umari, ilee ni ulee, kwa Talo yalikuwa ni bao la Mohammad Umari - zijana zao. Wakapija ngoma palee: Ta ta ta ta ta ta. Hawa mewaona zijana zao? Wakashuka wakenda kwa Mwenye Shee Hamadi, batiti yake. Hapa mewakwa nyumba palee Mohammad Khiyari. Hapa mewakwa nyumba palee, hapa kwa Luwali Sefu? Kwa lina bao palee. Kwa kina Mwenye Shee Hamadi kulee. Palee palikuwa na batiti yake, Mwenye Shee Hamadi na Mwenye Shee Abderehemani. Lakini wote wako palee. Wakapita palee, maana kuonyesha si mi pweke. Maana hapa si kwa jamaa zake? Wakapita. Akapanda kulee kwao, hapa karibu na kwa Bwana Nahudha. Palee kapita, kapita, kapita hoyoo. Wote kula mmoya humuona kijana chake. Kwa Bereki wakapita, kapita, kapita hata kasikilia kwa Bwana Maawiya. Mtamwini kapita, kapita. Walee, hawana akili. Wakipita mahala huketi robo saa. Na ngoma na hiyau. Wangine hanguka. Walee ambao handika khati hawakulewa, wao hutengeza walee. Wakashuka kwa pwani wakaya zao hata hapa kwa Mohammad Umari kwetu palee. Basi, akapanda kenda zake, siku ya Khamisi. Juma, alifanya chenjele. Kulee Yumbe ndio kwao. Kafanya Chenjele kula kijana, maana Juma hakuna kazi, hakuna kijana cha chuoni, hakuna kijana cha kazi. Yeyote, kula apitao humpa pesa nne. Pesa nne wakati hono ni mali, akampa na biskoti: "Keti upije". Basi, zijana wakapata labuda khamsini wote. Ni tajiri, wapata khamsini. Kinanda chake na Chenjele:-

Kufanana kumezie - Wapi kutekana

Kufanana kumezie - Wapi kutekana

Aso tenda yeye - ni wake kijana

Au ni nduuye - yatundeni sana

Sikweli? Basi, kufanana tumezie mutanteka nni? Mumeona yana nyute. Aso tenda yeye ni wake kijana .. una mwana ... au zinga ni nduye, tundeni sana. Basi, kapita Sharifu mmoya hamkuliwa Mwenye nimemsahau ina lake. Atoka kulee kwake. Hapa kwa Kai hapana. Hini nyumba ya Hamadi Isa. Endao kulee msikitini saa nne kuswali Juma. Kawaona hupija, kanena: Hoyoo mwana wa watu hureresha hoko. Mwali kiwambia: Sendeni hoyoo, sasa kamjibuni. Haya kamjibuni: Watanena nni? Yana wameona. Kamjibuni: Yana walikuwa wamelewa wote, wakakimbia wote, wakakimbia wote. Asa hufaani? Baba zao hawameona? Illa kijana mmoya, Abdalla Shihabu huyu wetu. Sikumuyua we Mohammedi? Babake ndio hakumkimbia kanambia: Ye pweke ndio hakunikimbia: "Ikawa nakuna tena amnenao?" Watanena iye. Wewe humo, nduyo .. utanena? Humo, kijana chako umo, utanena? Binaamu yako uko utanena? Watu thineni wa thalathini ni Amu ndima. Kulla mlango alitwaa kijana mmoya mmoya. Na walee wote wakaupija ... wote, walee wangine waiwikana walikwenda kwandika tu. Walokiifunda kwandika ni Mwenye Abdalla Zubairi, na wangine wamekufa na wangine wakupija kinanda, hawakulewa, wao walikitaka khati, kuifunda ulee mkono wake. Basi, zijana kama sita sabaa wamekufa. Akanambia: Haaah, walee hawakulewa. Kama waliewa hawangalipata kushika bendera, hawakulewa. Wakangalia mshuko wa magharibi tena, kangia kwao. Basi, asubuhi ndio kawapa zijana pesa nne nne: Ndooni, ndoo, ndoo, wendao wapi? Kijana kupowa pesa nne nne, ni mambo makuu. Walikimtuma mtu ukampa pesa nane. Kijana apate pesa nne, huona iye Bwana? Kawapa na biskozi, tajiri ye. Kufanana kumezie ...

Ye ufundie chenjele juuni huteza:-

Wapi kute

Zijana hupija kusi:-

Wapi kutekana.

Kufanana kumezie - Wapi kutekana

Aso tenda yeye - ni wake kijana

Au zinga ni nduye - Yatundeni sana

Watu wa mji wakisikia khabari ile, wakasirika sana, wakasema: Huyu a_haharibu mji mzima na amesha kuharibu. Ni lazima kutukua Khatwa mbaya kabisa. Wakenda kushitaki kwa Balози wa kiingereza. Na ule Balози anaitwa Rajisi. Ule Rajisi akasema: Hiki ni kitendo kibaya sana. Ni kuvunja mji, na mtu anavunja mji katika sharia - na sisi patao kuja kuwahami hatukuja kuwatawala - ni lazima mwitoyo huyu mwanyotaka. Watu wa Klamu wakasema: Hukmu yake afungwe maisha mtu huyu? Kijuma akisikia khabari kama ile akaenda kuifita nyumbani kwake. Hakuna anayeyua mtu yeyote kuwa Kijuma uko wapi illa mishi wake".

The rest of the story is identical with the story of Kijuma himself written in his report to E.D. about the way he got in contact with the Missionaries Heyer and Pieper and how he took refuge in the station of their Mission.

Appendix C

The account of Mzee Salim Kheri on

Sultan Hamoud's visit to Lamu

"Alikuya Sayyid Hamudi (= S.H.) hapa. Rajisi alinena: Huyu Bwana mekuya kwangu. Balozzi ni Rajisi. Basi, akamfanyia, matezo. Basi, katika matezo yote yake (Kijuma) yalikuwa bora. Alifanya maşanamu kupija kinanda, na swauti kapokea. Mefanya, nimeona mimi. Maşanamu wakipija kinanda. Mmoya huvuta sigara na moshi kařowa. Na mmoya hupija marwasi ... walee maşanamu wake - mmoya hupija marwasi. Mwanamke alimfanya hupija kinanda... alokipija kinanda ni mwanamke. Na marwasi pia mwanamke. Ulee mwanamume uvee koti na suruwali ... sigara na moshi kařowa. Mefanya kwa mashini mwenyewe ulee. Na mwanamke mmoya alimfanya mzuri kamvisha nguo za kizungu. Kamfanya na nyee hana. Basi, S.H. kimwangu alikipija uso hiyau na akapija Shingo hiyau. Na mmoya akamfanya Kengewa, kiruka na kulia:

Kengewa lolo kipata nyakua, nyakua. Alikiteza ya ulee kengewa, alikiteza kiteza.

Akafanya na mayezo pwani. Na Nidhamu akafanya. Na ile pumwani akafanya. Basi namna hizo. S.H. akapenda matezo ya M. Kijuma. Alimfanyia matezo mengi. Aliwafunda na wanawake wahedi wa ishirini hapa wakiteza yalee ... wanawake .. yeye aliwafunda ngoma zake yeye pwekee. Yeye mwenyewe alizua ngoma ya Kinanda, hiyau kipija namna kadha, kadhaa rukani, kipija namna kadhaa, kadha zungukani huku. Tangu nyumbani aliwafunda .. siku kumi moya huwafunda. Basi, kisa ulee Rajisi kamwambia Bwana Zena: 'Mimi ... (Bwana Zena maana alifanya askari ya ulee na prede na hini yake na magoma. Ařaka matezo ya kienyeji.) Basi, Rajisi akamwambia Bw. Zena: Mimi nimekupa livu kufanya matezo.

Humfanyizia m \grave{a} tezo S. ya askari? Nae mekuya na askari? Kijuma mefanya m \grave{a} tezo, Muhindi hakuona India, na Mwarabu hakuona Arabuni, na mimi Mzungu sikuona Ulaya, na nyinyi watu wa Amu handa kuyaona skweli'

Basi, kapata .. S. aliposafiri kam \acute{t} ukua Unguja. Nae kafunde watu wake.

Basi wao walikiteza. Walee wazalia wake. Yalee, ni hini, m \acute{a} tezo yalimpendeza. Haswa walee wanawake ... walikizunguka, ikipijwa Dudududu wakizunguka kwa ilee ngoma kufuata mlio. Mezie kuwafunda huku nyumbani.

Kipija dharba kadha nyinyi zungukani mkono wa shoto, dharba kadha zungukani kuvuli, dharba kadhaa rukani. Fikra yake nzuri, nzuri. Ni ilee dua ya mamake alomwombea. Basi namna hizo. Basi kipija hiyau, hiyau wanawake walikiruka, na maguu wakapija. Hili nafahamu. Si khabari ya mbali mbaali. Maana yake nalikipata nyaka sabaa waka \acute{t} i hono. Si kufahamu mtu? Walikuruka hiyau:

Wana hiba kisha shime pah pah pah, walikipija maguu mara tatu. Kisa wakapija namna nyingine. Nimesahau ni ya ujana ... Wakazunguka.

Basi Rajisi uko palee. S.H. kampendeza. S. uko hapa, ulee Balози wa Unguja akafa. Mathiwis alikufa. Na S. ukaliko papa hapa, Ikaetwa khabari palee kwa Nidhamu: Hoop Mathiwis mekufa Unguja. Kisa S. kasafiri kwenda Unguja. Kuini kamwambia: Nikwetee waziri gani hoko? Maana Ulee Mathiwis alikuwa waziri.

Kamwambia: Sim \acute{t} aki mtu yoyote ila D.C. wa Lamu, Rajisi. Basi ka \acute{t} ukuliwa yeye kwa sababu yalee m \acute{a} tezo yalimfurahisha S. Basi, eeehee! waziri.

Baada ya S. ni yeye. Hatta yeye mwenyewe alikinena: Mimi nime \acute{d} upiza mno. Niko awali mara nimekhi \acute{t} imu."

Alimi Abdulla Mohamed. No. P.O. Box 38, Lamu, Kenya Coast
Kwa Kusoma hapa hapa yafuatayo hapa hapa:-

(1) Kwama Mohamed Abdulkarim Omani Kijuma ni Alimi yangu
Kwa Sababu yeye ni ndungu wa Baba yangu Kwama Mohamed
bin Khalid Kwa Sababu kwamba kwama Mohamed Abdulkarim Kijuma
na mwanake Baba yangu Mohamed bin Khalid (Mwana Eska kut Lamu)
ni ndungu wa Baba na Mama.

(2) Katika mwaka 1915 Hatipo Maliza Kusoma Lamu
Baba yangu Alimipeleka kwa Kwama Mohamed Abdulkarim
Kijuma kwani fundisha kutandika Kiarabu na Hasibu.

(3) Katika mwaka ya 1945 na 1946 Alikuja asubuhi
Eva moja ghapula kuhata yakutoa habari kwa Kwama
Mohamed Kijuma ambaye. Walikuja wapokomo wa
Kimasikia kutaka kumtaka kumtaka kwa
kwa kwa dasituri ya Kimasikia. Lakini ndungu
yake Kwama Abdulla Mohamed Abdulla Omani Abdulkarim
Kusoma wa Kimasikia wakenda kwa District
Commissioner, Wajumu Ambaye alikuwa Mr. C. H. Cornell
Ambaye alikuwa ni (First Class Magistrate). K.C. wa
Alamuwa Kwama Abdulla Mohamed Omani, lakini Kwama
Abdulla Abdulkarim ni Alimi Kwa District Commissioner
Jamaja na Baba Abdulkarim Mwanamume Kwama
Mohamed Abdulkarim Omani Kijuma ilisema kwama
ni Kifa ni Kifa Islam. Baada hii Kwama Kwama
hiiyo hiiyo Kwama Mwanamume Kijuma aliwabadia yeye
na Muslim. Si Masiha. Akanambua kamfitemi
wa dasituri ya Islam. Ilikuwa siku alokufa ni jumua
Ewampaka Msihi wa Jumua Ambao waliolibiyo
Kwama na Nyumba alikuwa Kwama Mwanamume
Mwanamume ya Siku ya Jumua. Alisababwa yeye. Tolewa
Kumzika Kwa Mwanamume ya hapa hapa Mwanamume
Lamu.

Lamu, 26th July, 1930.

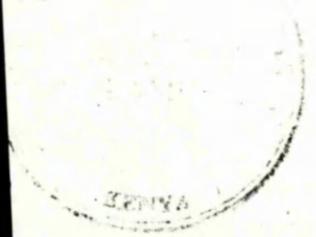
Nimeapa mbele ya Mahakama ya Kazi, Lamu.

[Signature]
K. H. Lamu

[Signature]
Sd. Abdulla Mohamed Khalid

LAMU DISTRICT

Receipt No. 82101
Date 27/7/30
Initial of Cashier [Signature]



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6. Ms. 47754.
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8. Ms. 47770.
9. Ms. 47779.
10. Ms. 47781.
11. Ms. 47795.
12. Ms. 47796.
13. Ms. 47797.
14. Ms. 53489.
15. Ms. 53490.
16. Ms. 53491.
17. Ms. 53493.
18. Ms. 53495.
19. Ms. 53496.

20. Ms. 53497.

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22. Ms. 53500.

23. Ms. 53503.

24. Ms. 53823.

25. Ms. 53824.

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27. Ms. 54022.

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33. Ms. 210010.

34. Ms. 210011.

35. Ms. 210013.

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بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ إِنَّا نَعْلَمُ هَدَىٰ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَتْ مَحْصُوفَةً أَيَّ طَائِفَةِ النَّبِيِّ فِيهَا شَعْرٌ وَطَهَانٌ قَبَالَانٍ وَالْقَبَالُ الزَّمَامُ
 صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يُضَعُّ إِخْرَادَ الرَّمَامِينَ بَيْنَ إِبْهَامِ رِجْلِهِ وَالتِّي تَلِيهَا وَالْأَخْرَبِينَ الْوَسْطَى الَّذِي تَلِيهَا وَيَجْمَعُهُمَا إِلَى السِّيرِ الَّذِي
 يُظْهِرُ قَدَمَهُ وَهُوَ التُّرْكُ وَكَانَ مَشَى مِنْ سِيرِينَ وَكَانَتْ مِنْ جُلُودِ الْبَقَرِ مَحْصُوفَةً أَيَّ لَهَا حُضْرٌ مَلْسَنَةٌ أَيَّ عَلَى هَيْئَةِ اللَّسَانِ
 مَعْقِبَةٌ أَيَّ لَهَا عَقِبٌ مِنْ سِيورٍ تَضَمَّتْ بِهِ الرَّجُلُ وَقَالَ بَعْضُ الْحَمَاضِ كَانَتْ صَفْرًا وَرِيسَ الْحَمَاضِ وَرِيسَ عَلَيْهَا الْفَطْنَانُ فِي رِاحِهَا

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ هذه مثال الفعل رسول هما محل لقبالين

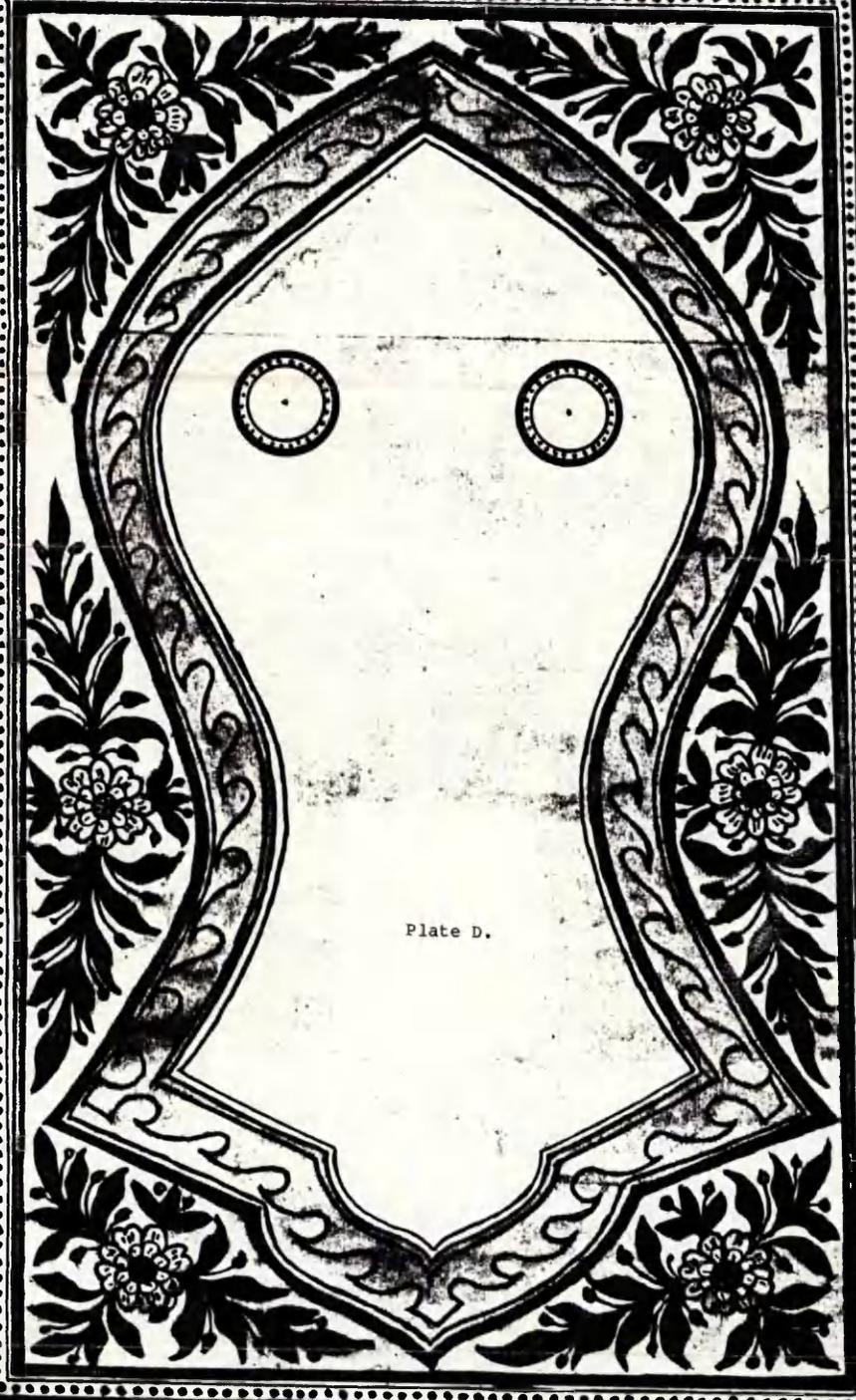
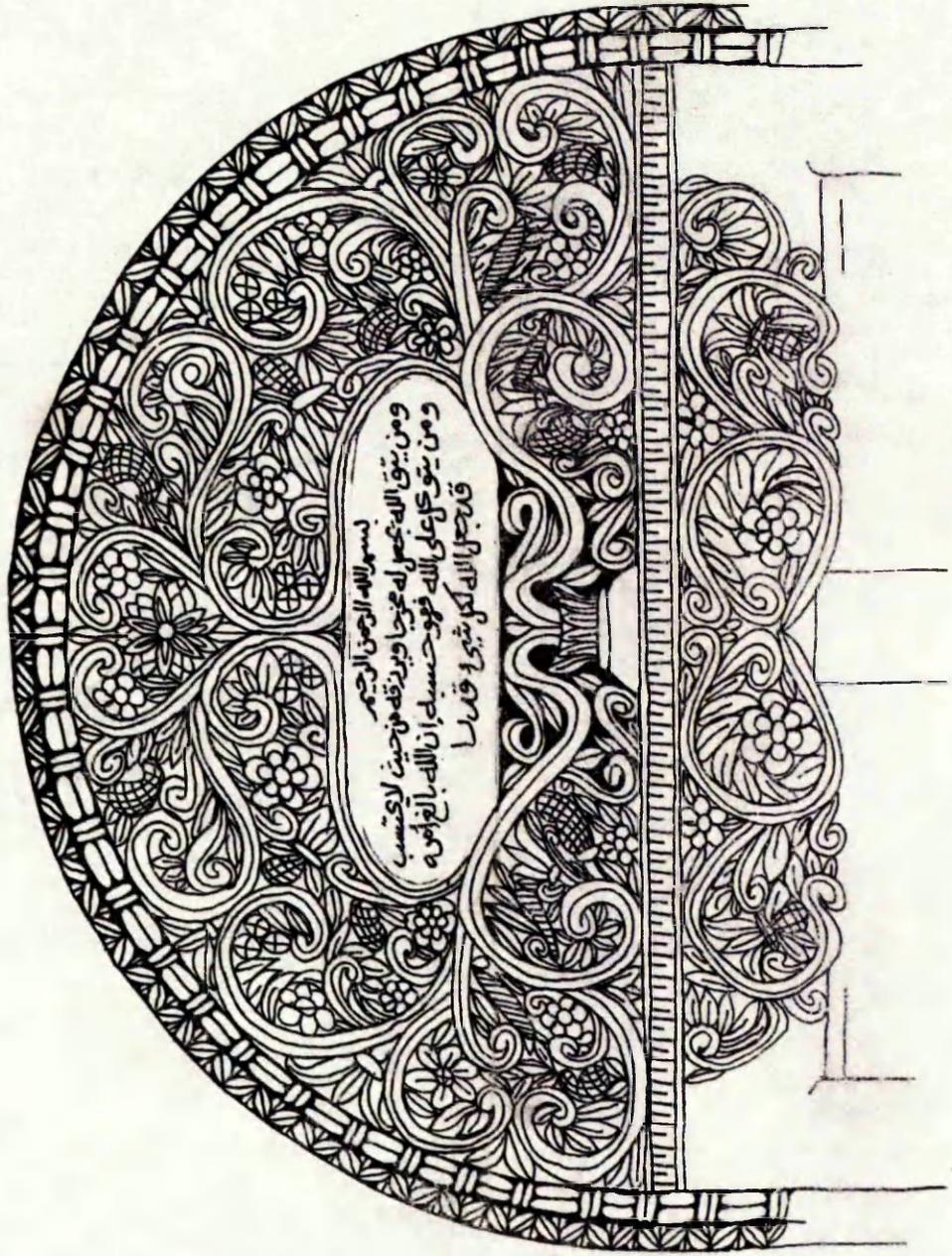


Plate D.

(فوائد) نقل لقسطلاني والمقرئ من العلماء مما جرب من بركة هذا المثال الشريف انه من امسكه عنده متبركا به كان له امانا من
 بغى البقاة وغلبة العداة وحرز من كل شيطان مارر وعين كل حاسد وان مسكه المرأة الى امل بيمينها وقد اشدد عليهم نطقه
 ليس امرها بحول الله وقوته وانه امان من النظر والسحر ومن الازم عمله كان له القبول التام من الخلو ولا يتمان بزور قدير
 النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وبيرة في منامه ولم يكن في جيش فخرم ولو كان الف فحيت ولا في سفينة فخرقة ولا في بيت
 فاحرق ولا في متاع فزوق وما توصل بما حبه حبه صلى الله عليه وسلم في حاجت الآقتضت ولا في ضيق الا فرج ولا في مرض الا شفا

ومشى متعلا وكأ لا يسا الى العباد كانوا متعلا وصلوا لله صلى الله عليه وسلم بها طاهرا ونحوها بسبابة يسارا حيا نارا وغارهما
 لنا مسعودي بضعهما عند خلعهما في ذريعه ويقد هه له عند اللبس وكان يبدل باليمن بالليس وبالسبابة بالخلع قال ابن الجوزي
 من واظب على اللباد بالمهم ومن وجع العيا والواغيرة اذا كتبت سورة الممتحنة وشرب المطول ماءها بركي يا اولاد الله
 مسئلة تصوير الاشجار ونحوها كهذا المثال جائزا ما تصور الانسان والحيوانات بتخاد صورها بصفة غير متهمه فخرام

قال مرتبة هذا مع مثال النعال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وقد رسم بالفتوة غران حتى جاء صبوا اصله الصحيح الذي استخرجته من
 النعال في منح النعال للولامة احد المقرب وهو مجلد كبير وقد لبيح لي منه ثمان ندررة وجودة ثلاث نسخ معتبها ان احداها
 منقولة من نسخة عليها اعطى المؤلف وحديث في جميعها هذا مثال متقاربا وهو المثال الاول الذي عليه المعول في ستة امر





بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

أَنْزِلْنَا سُبْحَانَكَ أَنْزِلْنَا سُبْحَانَكَ أَنْزِلْنَا سُبْحَانَكَ
 سُبْحَانَكَ أَنْزِلْنَا سُبْحَانَكَ أَنْزِلْنَا سُبْحَانَكَ
 أَنْزِلْنَا سُبْحَانَكَ أَنْزِلْنَا سُبْحَانَكَ أَنْزِلْنَا سُبْحَانَكَ



قَالَ وَبِذِهِ نَزَلَ الْعَجَلُ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ ۝ مَعْنَا صَيْدٍ ۝ نَعْرِفُ جَيْلَكُمْ وَالْكِيدَ ۝ تَبْعًا قَيْدًا ۝ حَقِّي طَرَفًا ۝
 لَقَيْتُ ۝ بَعْدَ الْعِشْرِ خَرَجَ مِنْ بَيْتِ ۝ وَعَطَيْتُ ۝ مَلِكِ الْيَمَنِ وَغَنَيْتُ ۝ وَقَرَّبْتُ ۝ مِنِّي سَلَامَ ۝ الْهِنْدِيِّ
 مَا شِئْتُمْ ۝ وَوَدَّ لِي ثَمَنَ عَشْرِ يَوْمٍ ۝ تَوَقَّ سَوْمٌ ۝ مِنْ يَوْمٍ حَلَّتْ بَانَةُ الْقَوْمِ ۝ شَوْذَ الْيَوْمِ ۝ تَسْرَحُ خَلْبَتِ وَوَدَّ
 إِذَا هُمُ حَيْثُ سَلَا وَالْأَفْرَاحَ ۝ وَتَفَاحَ مَجَلِّ تَرِيَاخَ ۝ وَبِفَدْلٍ بِنِ ۝ تَفَعَّ قَبْضَهُ ۝ فِي يَدِ عِي ۝
 غَبَّ الْحِسِّ ۝ مِنْ يَوْمٍ شَفَّهَا الْإِسْ ۝ فِي الْمَجْلِسِ ۝ غَيْبَ عَلَيْهِ الْمَاهِ جَسَ ۝ قَلَّتْ بَسَ ۝ يَلْفِيكُمْ لَتُ ۝
 قَلَّتْ رَحْمَ ۝ سِيدِ بَعْدُ كُ مَسْتَمَ ۝ لَكُ سَلَمَ ۝ دَلَّجِينَ هَتَلِ مَبْسَمَ ۝ بَانِطَعْمَ ۝ مِنْ رَطْبِ ۝ وَشَطْرِي
 يَوْمًا كُمْ ۝ مَا قَطَبْتُمْ كُمْ ۝ يَوْمًا كُمْ ۝ فِي عِيَانِ ۝ فِي مَهْوَالِكُمْ ۝ أَوْلَكُمْ ۝ مَا كُنْتُمْ ۝ قَاصِدِ صِدِّي
 قَلَّتْ شَرَفًا مِيَا تَفْضَلُ وَعَطِفَ ۝ لَاتَقْلِفُ ۝ أَنْزَلَ بِحَيَا وَطَرْفَ ۝ فِي الْمُنْدِيفِ ۝ هَيَا نَمَّ حَتَّى دَخَلَتْ

Written at by
 Muhammad Nijam bin Ubaidkar
 of ...
 July, 1918.

Fig. A.S.

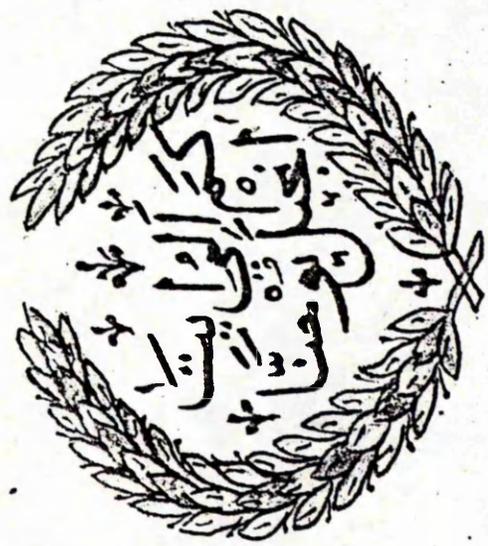


Fig. A.



Fig. W.

حَدِيثُ مَا يَسِيدُ نَا عَيْسَى

نَحْمَدُ رَبَّ هـ اَزْفِيُو عَجَب هـ هَيْظَن هَجَسِب هـ اَبْدَلُ لَيْكُو
 اَلْبَدَلُ رَبِّكَ هـ شَرَطُ كَفِيكَ هـ هَلْ حَلِيْبَتْرِكْ هـ اَلْاَكْبُ مَزَاو
 مَعٌ تَمْشُكُونَه لَلَّتْ وَ كِطَانِ هـ مِلْفِي رَجْمَن هـ اِلَهْمَنْ كِمُو
 اَكْرَامَرِيْم هـ نِيْبِ اَلْتِمَامِ هـ نَمِي وَ مَفْهَمِ هـ نَصْفَا اِم صَفْوَا
 نِيْبِيْتِ اِسْلَامَه سَعَجَبُ كَرِيْمِ هـ مَكِيْن اَدْمِ هـ اَلْوَمْبُ هَدْرُو
 اَلْوَمْبُ كُوْرُوْعِ هـ اَلْوَنْزُوْعِ هـ مَيْلُ سُر نَشِيْعِ هـ كَتْمِيَا سَوْسُوَا
 اَوْعُ مَلُ كَرِيْمِ هـ كُوْمِيَا اَوْ يَمِ هـ يَبُ هَيَامِ هَمِ هـ اَلْيَنْبُ يَكُوَا
 يَمِ مَلُ كَرِيْمِ هـ كَيْمِيَا غِيْدَمِ هـ كَيْمِيَا يَكْمِ هـ كَمِ يَلُ اَمْرُوَا
 اِلَهْمُوَا رِ هـ اَلنَّ غِيَا غِرْ هـ سَيْلُ اَكْبَرِيْرِ هـ كَا اَمْرِيْمَلُوَا
 كِتِيَا رِيْحُ رَبِّكَ هـ اَدْمُ اَكْ اَرِكْ هـ مَلِيْمُ اَكْتِ هـ لَلَّتْ لِنِي كُوَا
 مَا كِيْمَرِيْمُ نَنَ هـ اَلْفِي حَمُ سَنَ هـ كَلْمَنُ كِنِ هـ اَلْمُوْمِبُ مَلُوَا
 نَذِرَا كِيُوَكْ هـ مَن لِنِي رَبِّكَ هـ تَمِيْدُ كَتْمِيَا هـ مَسِيْكُ وَ مَلُوَا
 نَذِرَا يَكْمَدُ شَنِ اَلْاُوَكْ مِيْنِ هـ اِلَهْ طَعُوْنِ هـ مِيْبُ كِي تَكْلِيَا

اَلْبِ
٤٦

اَلْبِ مِيْبُ يَح
 كَسْ كُوَكْ
 كُوْرُوْنُ زُو
 نَذِرُ وَا لِيُو
 نَذِرَا نَا اَلْبِ
 وَ مَلْبُوْنُ زُو
 كَمِيْكُ كُو لِي
 مَسَكْتُ كِي
 كَزِيْكُ كِيْمِ
 وَ كَتْ هَنْ وَا
 هَشِكُوْتُ لَغْنِ
 وَ نُوَكُ وَا
 مَرِيْمُ سِدْمِ
 اَلْمَمْلُوْهِيْبِ
 مَرِيْمُ كَا اَكْر

Fig. 1.

هَيْنِ مَنجَبِلِ يَمَكُو تَوَمِبِ رِزْكَو رِزِيدِ
سَمِبِه نَاشِكُو وِوَلِشِكِ مَتِرِ اَسِيكَ كَرِ
مَننَاءِ وَاكْتِيكَ عَوَمِبِ وِ نَعِ كَتِيكَ مَلِكُو

مِنَا

وَاكْتَامِ

مَمِينِ

عَوَمِبِ
وَاكْتَامِ

Figs. 2 & 3.

وَتَنْدِرُ مَلْعُونَتِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ تَنَائِي ۝ نَوِيلِزْ مَيَا مَيَا ۝ مَبَّتْ كَنَسِكِي ۝ جَمِيعِ مَقْبَا بِل
 تَكَا كَوَايَ مَبَارِ ۝ مَلْعُونِ بَا لَجَرِ ۝ مَبَّتْ كُسْتَجِرِ ۝ مَفْرَاحِ قَلْبِيَا
 دَوْرَ بِلِ زَلَوَاتِ ۝ شَلُو نَسَبِ بَانَا ۝ كَمَرِ كَشْرَاتِ ۝ مُمَانِ نَلِيلِيَا
 زَكِيمِ سِدَّتْ ۝ شَلُو كَنَدَوَاتِ ۝ كَتَلُو كَدِ كِشِ ۝ غُومِبِ كِي نَنَلِيَا
 كَتِي غُومِبِ دِيَانِ ۝ مِمِ آسِي لِحَاتِ ۝ سَبِ شِي كَبِي ۝ بَنَبِ غُومِبِ مَيَا
 شَلُو كَجِي ۝ غُومِبِ هُوِي هَلَعِبِ ۝ كُولِيَامِ تَطْلَبِ ۝ دِي مِ كَشِكِيَا
 بَتِ سَبِي كَبِي ۝ سَكْفَلِ مِدَاتِ ۝ أَنْ دِي بِي زِمَاتِ ۝ هَلِبِ نَلُوِيَا
 شَلُو كَفِ كِرِ ۝ كَقْبَلِ كُورُورِ ۝ كَمِيَا أَطِيلِ ۝ تَكَلِبِ مَرِيَا
 كَسِدِ بِي ۝ كُورِ مَزِ وَوِيلِ ۝ مَمُوي كَمَعَلِ ۝ أَلَمِ مِرْغِيَا
 كَمُخُو كَشَانِ ۝ فَرَاخِ رِسْ كِنِ ۝ بَتِ سَبِي ۝ سَجِي ۝ كَلُو مَنِكِيَا

الكي

20

10



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مَدَّوْغٌ كُتِبَ ۚ اَيْنَ لَمْلٍ وَهَبُ ۚ حَدِيثِ يِعْقُوبَ ۚ غَيْدَ كَوْمِيسَا ۚ
 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَوَّلِ ۚ بِكَ اَسِي مِتَالِ ۚ بَانَ اَمْرُ تَوَالِ ۚ وَفَلَمَ وَدُنِيَا ۚ
 بَانَ هَيْبُ بَكُوكُو ۚ رِي وَكُ عِبْدُو ۚ لَالِهَ الْاَهُو ۚ بِبِ اَمْرِ اِنِيَا
 يَعْقُبُ ثُمَّ وَكِلِ ۚ نَمَكُو مِرْسَالِ ۚ وَبُرْهَيْمِ خَلِيلِ ۚ سَاسَ تَوْحِدِ شِيَا
 يَعْقُبُ كُوْرَانِ ۚ پَلِنَ مَثِ يَفِيْنِ ۚ اَكْرَا فَهْمُوْنِ ۚ نُوْتَدُ هَتْكِيَا
 اَكْرَا هَتْكِيَا ۚ مِسُوِي كِتْمِيَا ۚ مَتَدُكُمْ نَمِيَا ۚ حِسَبَ يُوْنِ پِيَا
 مَتَدُ كُوْ وِ پِيَا ۚ كُلْمَتْ مِيَا مِيَا ۚ حِدْشَرُوْتِ پِيَا ۚ كُوْتِ وَكِتْمِيَا
 كِرُو يَسْفِ پِيَا ۚ نُوْتَدُ وِسْتِكِيَا ۚ حَتِي نَتِ اِسْلِكِيَا ۚ كِتْتِ اَكْتَحِيَا



9 حَتَّى يُوَسِّفَ
 10 اَلْمِثْرَ وَكِبَادَ
 كُلِّ سِدِّ مَكُو
 كَجَبِّ غُجْمَ
 اَلْوَبَّ كَوْرَه
 دَعَا كَبِدِكِ
 كَتَبَ يَسِي
 جِبْرِئِلَ مَعَا
 يَسِي نِي يَعْمُ
 اَلْكَلْبِ تَحَا
 نِيَعْقُوبَ نَا
 بِي اَلْمَكِي

1 - مَدُوخُ كُتِّبَ • اِنْ مَلَّ وَاَهَبَ • مَدِيثُ يَبْعُوبَا • نِمَّ يَدُ كُوْبِيَا
 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَوَّالِ • بِكَ اَسِي مِيَالِ • بَابُ امِرْتُوَالِ • وَفَلَمَّ وَدَنِيَا
 هِيَ بَانَ بَكُو • رَبِّي وَكَعْبُدُو • لِاَلِهَ اِلَّا هُوَ سَنَا امِرَانِيَا
 يَبْعُوبُ نَكِلِ • نَمَكُو امِرْتُوَالِ • وَبَرَاهِمِ خَلِيْلِ • سَسَا تُوَحْدَنِيَا
 يَبْعُوبُ كُوْرَانِ • بَلِي مَتِيُوَانِ • كِرَا مَن يَفِيْنِ • نُوْتَدُهْتِكِيَا
 اَكِرَا هْتِكِيَا • مِسُو بَكْتَمِيَا • مَتْدَكِم مَمِيَا • حِسْبَ يُوَانِ يِيَا
 مَتْدَا كُوْبِيَا • نَكَلْت مَمِيَا • نَكِم نُوَحْدِيَا • مَتْدَنِيَا تَمِيَا
 كِرَا يُوَسِّفَ بَكِي • وَتَدَكِم اَسْتَكِرَه حَتَّى نَتَا سَدِكِه • كَتَبْتِ وَكُتْكِيَا
 حَتَّى

حَدِيثُ يَاقُوبَ
وَإِبْنِهِ يُوْسُفَ

مَنْدُوعُ لَكْتُبُ ۚ اَيْنَ لَمَلٍ وَهَابُ ۚ حَدِيثُ يَاقُوبَ ۚ نَمِيدُ كَوْمِيَا
 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَوَّلِ ۚ بِكَ اَسْمِي مَثَالِ ۚ بَانَ اَمْرُ تَوَالِ ۚ وَفَلِمَ وَرَدِيَا
 بَانَ هَيِّ بَلِكُو ۚ رِي وَكَعْبُدُو ۚ لَالَمَا اَلَهُو ۚ رِي اَمْرُ اِنِيَا
 لِيَعْقُبُ ثُمَّ كَلِ ۚ نَمَكُو مَرْسَالِ ۚ وَبُرْهِيْمُ خَلِيْلِ ۚ سَاسُ تَوْحَدِيَا
 لِيَعْقُبُ كُوْرَانِ ۚ يَلِنَا مَتِ يَفِنِ ۚ اَلِزْ فَهَمَبِ ۚ نُوْتَدُ هَتَكِيَا
 اَلِزْ اَهْتَكِيَا ۚ مَسُوْبِكِيْمَا ۚ مَمْدُكُم نَمِيَا ۚ حِسْبُ يُوْنُ يِيَا
 مَمْدُ كُوْرِيَا ۚ كَلُ مَتِ مِيَا مِيَا ۚ حِدْ عَشْرُوْتِ يِيَا ۚ كُوْتِ وَكِيْمِيَا
 كِرُو يُوْسُفِيَا ۚ اَنْدَا اَسْتِكِ ۚ حَقْنَا اَسْلِكِ ۚ كَتِيَا اَلِكِيَا
 هُنَّ يُوْسُفُ لِكُو ۚ اُوْوَنُ وِدُو ۚ وَنَسِيْبُ رَسُو ۚ مِيْنُ وِفْ كَغِيَا
 اَلِمَتْ وَكِي بَانَ ۚ بَابُ مِمَّ سَمْبَسِنِ ۚ نَسِيْبُ مَعْنُ ۚ سَمْنُ هَلِ نَمِيَا
 كَلُ سِدْ كِيُوْرِيَا ۚ كُوْرِيَا يِيَا كِرُو ۚ بَابُ كَانِ هُنَّ ۚ سَبَابُ يِيَا
 كَجَبْعُ مَنَعُ ۚ نَمُوْمِبُ مَلُ وَاَنْعُ ۚ اَلْبِعْنُ بَنَعُ ۚ رِي مِيَا كِنِيَا

اَلْوَمْبُ

اَلْوَمْبُ كُو
 دَعِ اَلَكْدِ
 كَمِيَا يِيَا
 جَمِيْلُ مَ
 يِيَا نِيَا يِيَا
 اَلِكِيَا
 لِيَعْقُبُ
 يِيَا اَلِكِيَا
 نِيُوْسُفُ
 رِيَا اَلَلُو
 كَتَعُ هَتَعُ
 هَكْتِ كَمِيَا
 وَتَرِيَا
 رِيَا وَمَامُ



نَعِيمٍ وَأَخْبِتُ مَلَكْفَ حَسَنَةٍ ۚ وَبِلِكِ وَصِيَّةٍ ۚ لَوْلَا وَكِرْعَتِيَا
مَرَاضٍ بِمَنْشِيكَ ۚ حَتَّى يَمْتِمَّ مَكِّي ۚ سَيْتَ كَمَنَّا ۚ تَنَالِمُ كَلْبِيَا
تَدْبِي وَجَلِسِ ۚ نُونُ نَقْرَطَا سِ ۚ مَيْنِ نَبِ حَدِيثِ ۚ نَمِيدُ كَلْبِيَا
حَسْبُكَ كَقْرَابِ ۚ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ كَتَبْتُ ۚ أُمَّيْ خَبِيْبِ ۚ نَصْبِرُ مَمِيَا
وَكَيْسُ كَلْتَفَلْ ۚ إِنْ مَلَّ مِوَزُهُ ۚ بِسِ أَيْ مَجَلْنَا ۚ مَنَعَتْ وَفَقِيَا
مَا نَأْدَامُ سَيْكُ ۚ نَوْلِغُ سِرْتَا ۚ وَلَوْ هَلَوْنَ مَتَا ۚ أَبْوَا سَلِيَا
مَنَعُ تَأْوِعْضِ ۚ بِمَيِّ نَبِيْعِ رَاضٍ ۚ مَنَعُ أَنْكَ حِفْضِ ۚ أَيْوَانِ نَبَا
تَأْنَلِيْ حِرَا ۚ أَيْفَعْتُ كُوْرَ ۚ أَيْ نَعْرَ ۚ أَيْتُ كَيْفَلِيَا

نَكْتِي

نَكْتِي كَرَامِ
بِدَنْكِبِ كَرَامِ
بِعْ أَنْكَ
لَكْدَمَتِ
بَلِ أَوْو نَوَا
لَتَتْ أَوْو
تَنْ مَنَعِ
وَعَبِي
أَيْ مَشْرِ
نَبِ نَوَا
وَلَسْتُ كَوَا
سَفَرِ

هَزُنُ نَوْسُهُدَا

قَالَ الْمُتَقَدِّمِينَ

مُرَصِّصِ فِرْعَوْنَ • لَوْلَا كُفُّ وَكَيْفَ لَمَنْ • بِمِ نَيْبِ بَيْمٍ • نَوْجِ كَسْرِنَ • كَيْبِي زَوْجِي • نَيْبِ نَيْبِ لَيْسَمِ •
 نَيْبِ كَيْبِ كَعْدِهِ • مُكَلِّمِ مَيْنَ • تَبْكَلِ تَعْبُدِهِ • أَصْلِي دَمْدَمِ • نَيْبِ نَيْبِ حَزْرِهِ • يَارْدِيحِ سَيَانَا • نَيْبِ كَوْغَنَ •
 أَنَا سَيَوَسَّيْلِ • لَيْسُو نَقْدِيرِ • كَقَرَّبِ نَكَّالِ • هَبْدِ مَبْصُرِ • هُنَّكَ لِعَنْبِلِ • لَكَنْعَشِ صَدْرِهِ • وَغَرْخِ مَدْوَرِهِ •
 حَرْفِ رَدَجِبِ • زَيْبِ سِي وَكَيْبِ • أَسْبِ اِبْكَيْبِ • كَدَمِ مَرْزُوقِ • أَسْلُو نَعْدَبِ • مَدِ كَمَقْرَبِ • هَنْ شَكْ هَفِي •
 وَمِ وَوُبِ لَسْرِهِ • سَيْنِ لَكَيْبِ سَيْنِ • هَيْبِ كَوْفِكِرِهِ • كَوْمِدِ كَيْفِ • تَرْخِ كَمِ دَوْرِهِ • تَسْوِنِ اِبْدَتِ • غَرْبِ نَشْرَقِي •
 مِي بَيْبِ نَسْرِ كِي • كَيْبِ كَيْبِي • نَيْبِ اَعْلِي • مَيْبِ كَكَيْبِي • اَلْوِ كَيْبِي • يَلِي مَيْبِ كَيْبِي • تَرْجَمِ زَهْدِي •

سَجَّحِ سِيمِ رَيْبِ قَالَ الْمُتَقَدِّمِينَ

نَسْنِ نَسْنِ نَيْبِ • سَوِ مَشْرَنْبِكْسِ • نَوْجِ وَبَيْبِ • بَنِي مَكْدَرُسِ • رَيْبِ نَفْرُحِ نَيْبِ • تَتِ نَيْبِ زَوْكْسِ • مَيْبِ
 حَيْبِنِ يَابِ • هَيْدِ اَوَا بُرِهِ • يَوْهَيْنِ فَاثِنِ • مَدْوَرِ مَدْوَرِهِ • وَبِ مَبْنِ هَبْرِ • سِرْ هَيْبِنِ كَجْرِ • لَيْبِ
 رَمْ دَوْدِ اَبْدِهِ • هَكَ اِدِ كَيْفُوهِ • وَكِنِ اَبِ سَعْدِهِ • وَيْحِ مَرْوَرِهِ • رَوْتِ وَفَيْدِ • وَنِنِ يَبِ لِكُوهِ • بَسْرِهِ

Fig. 9.

مَدْرِيْشِ يَا أَيُّوبَ

رُزَيْنِ قَرطِسِ • نَوْتِ مِمَّ مَوْسِ • نَقْلَامِ يُوَيْسِ • أَمْبُو نُخْرِ وَ
زَكِيَّ كَلْبِ • حَدِيثِ يَكْعَرِبِ • كُنْخَارِ يَا أَيُّوبَ • تَمَّ يَمَلِ رَسْوَا
نِدَا كُوْخَيْرِ • كَعْرَبِ كَفْسِرِ • كَلْعِ يَتَا ظَهْرِ • يَسُوَيْسِ مِلْيَا
كَفْسِرِ مَوْزِ • لَعِ يَتَا كُوْلِزِ • نَيْبِ مَدِ سَكْرِ • يَتَا مَيْفَهْمِيَا
كَعَوْنِ يَا يَرْبِ • يَلِ كَتَا كِتَابِ • كِبِدَلِ كَعْرَبِ • كِسْوَعِلِ سَكِيَا
يَتَيْفِ سَهَالِ • يَكِدَاسِ مِتَالِ • أَمْبَالِ مَلِ أَمْبَالِ • جَلِ وَعَلَا جَلِيَا
يَتَا رَحْمَانِ • مَوْوَرِ دَرِيَانِ • مَعْصِ نَوْوُ مِنْ • كَرِ رِقِ نَعْفِيَا
رَحْمِ بَانِ وَتِ • مَوْوَرِ مَلِ وَتِ • قِيْمَانِ كَتِ مِتِ • وَمِ أَكِ وَتَوْوَا
بَعْدِي تَبْتَا دَرِ • ائِنِ لَمَلِ وَرَدِ • يَنْبِدِ كَتَمِدِ • نَكْمَشَرِ نَعَا
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ • جَلِ وَعَلَا إِلَهِ • جَلِ أَسِي شَبِهِ • مَلِ أَسِي مِتَا
وَمَصَلَاتِ وَسَلَامِ • مَمَزِ مَوْعَامِ • مِنْ بَنِي هَشَمِ • خَتَمِ لَأَنْبِيَا
مَمَلِ مُصْطَفَا • مَنِي فِخْرِ نَصِيْفِ • دِلْجَاهِ مَشْرِفِ • مِيدِعَرِ بِيَا

ثم

اَتَيْنِدُ وَعَيْشُ

1 بَيَّانٍ رَجْفُورٍ • نُونٍ نِيمٍ خِيَارٍ • نَقْلَامٍ يَصْفَرُ • اِلْجَمِ كُنْدِيَا
 2 رِ سَاپِ كُكْتَنِيكَ • هَزْمِزِ رِيكَ • نِدِكَا اِن لَرَبِك • بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَوْ
 3 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ كَرِيْمٍ • الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ • نَجْدِ نَجِيْمِ • رَتْمِ مَهَلِ بِيْمَا
 4 نِضْلِي نَبِيْتِي • نَصَبِ اَبْرَارِ • نَزْوِجِ مَطَهْرِ • اَوْلَادِ نَذْرِيَا
 5 كِسْ هِيَا كُتْمِك • بِسْ نَوْمِ رُبِك • اَلْعَزْ كِيْدِك • حَدِيْتِ يَا نَبِيَا
 6 نِيْدِكِ كَمْصَاخِ • حَدِيْتِ يَتْمِ طَه • اَلْبِ فَعِ نِكَاحِ • مَكْنِ عَيْشِ رِظِيَا
 7 سِيْكَيَانِ وَفِيْحِ • كِسْ كَزْ اَخْدِجِ • فَاطْمِ مِيْدِجِ • هَلِكِيْسِ كَمْپِيَا
 8 اَلِكْفَا وَكِ مَامِ • اَلْمَوْتِ فَطِيْمِ • كَصِرْ كُو يَتِيْمِ • مَن يَنْتِ نَبِيَا
 9 ثُمَّ كَفِيَا كَبِيْرِ • كِتْرَ بِنِغِ سِمَازِ • كُفْرِ فَا مَزَازِ • وَفِي كَمْ يَلِيَا
 10 اَلِكْتِ كَمْيَبِ • نَمُوْرِ مَكْرَعِنِ • تَلُوْ نِسِ حَزْنِ • نَمْنِ كِنِ يَلِيَا
 11 اَلِكْتِ مَجْلِسِ • اَلِكُوْزِ نَفْسِ • مَنْمَكِ كَمْكِيْسِ • اَمْبُوْ اَمْتَلِيَا
 كُنْدِ

هَآءِ نَمَشَعِيرِ يَوَاتُ وَأُمُّ
وَلِجَبِيَّانَ نَوَاتُ وَيَابِتْ نَوَاتُ
وَمَمْبَلَا وَوَلِيْبِ بِيْجَاتُ كَيْسَا

خَاتُ وَلَا مَنَى

وَكِيْجَاتُ

نَوَاتُ

وَمَمْبَلَا

م



1 قَرَّطَالِسْ بِحَجَلِنِ اِرْسَلِيلِ ۞ كَجِبُو عَزْرًا يَزِيدَانِ وِتْ وَاكِلِ
 نَفَنُو مَسِيرِ وَبِي اِبْسِكِلِ ۞ كَلَطُوا اَمْبِلِ اَمْرًا مِرْكَوَا
 2 نَلُو وِرْزِ وَنَمِمْ وِعْ مَاتَتْ وِتْ ۞ كَا اَزِنِ يَوْمًا مِ تَبَانِ نَوَاغِ وِتْ
 كَابِ سِي يَغْمِ اِسِي عِنُو نَمِتْ ۞ كِيَا تِ سَوِ يَتَا تِ كِمِ نَا مِتْ كَوَا
 3 سِعْمِ سَوِ سَلِپِ كَرِ نَكِيَا سَا ۞ كِمِ سِي لِي تِ اَوِ لِكُو سَا
 وَ لُو سِدِ لِي لُو نَشْرَا كِيَا سَا ۞ نَا لِي نَكْفُو سَا مَطْعِي مَوْ لِ
 4 سَا اِلْ اَوِ لِي هِي هِي تِ بِيَا نِهْ نَهْرُ وُ تَزْرَا حَتِ پَسِ زَمَانِ
 وَ بِي سِي مَثَلِ بِلْ لَزْمِ يَزْ ۞ سَمُو يَا كُو كَرَانِ مَسْمُولِ كَشْكُو

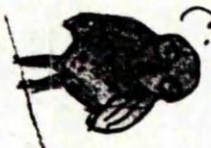
قالا بوجرتغ

5
 6
 7
 8
 9

بید



بیم



سنگی و سنگی کور



گوت



بیل



قرا



شیره کبوتر



ونین

سپهر بوم



ورغ

انگشتا ف

مطربوژو و ذوق هور قرطاس هور میت رنجیکه پیل نیکه مهبل وک

آن مکواره دت کور عجب سورقی مکر بواره دت کبراب ه و ت و و و و

هسم تهره و ت و لاق هسم کت و او ده نملو بواره و ت و و و و و لاق هسم

پور نتره پیه ه هکایا عت مباب نیت ا کطا اه کطا ا کت کت مکر و و و و و و و و و و

بیم کبراب ه و ت و لاق هسم کت و او ده و و و و و و و و و و و و و و و و و و

همنیه ا لاسیه ه نشت و مز ۱۶ و ۱۷ و ۱۸ و ۱۹ ا کور عوا و ت هسم ا مشکو ا نا بیم

همنیه همنیه

تغ کیه حتی سلی افر بک بیت ه نر بیخ و ذوق ه گت ملبوا ا لذخ ه و ا شخو کور عجم

بر کیم جوی لکن مذوق ه لذخ و کور عجم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم کیم

هوان رخ ا ز کور ک ک ا ا معا ا ا ک لک کور ه ه ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا

اَتَيْنِدُ وَعَيْشِ

1 بَيَّانٍ رَجْفُورٍ • نُونٌ نِيمٌ خِيَارٍ • نَقْلَامٌ يَصْفِرُ • اِلْحِمٌ كُنْدِيَا
 2 رِسَايَا كُتْنِكَ • هَزْزَمَزِ رِيكَ • نَدِكِ اِنْ لَرَبِّكَ • بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَوْا
 3 بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ كَرِيْمٌ • الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ • مُحَمَّدٍ نَحِيْمِ • رَبِّ مَعْلَ بِمَيَا
 4 نَضِي بِبَشِي • نَصَبِ اَبْرَارِ • نَزْوَجِ مَطَهْرِ • اَوْلَادِ نَدْرِيَا
 5 كِسْ هِيَ كَتْمُكَ • بَسِ نَوْمِ رَبِّكَ • اَلْعَزِ كَيْدِكَ • حَدِيثِ يَانِيَا
 6 نَيْدِكَ كَمُصَاحِ • حَدِيثِ يَتْمِ طَهَ • اَلْبِ فَعِ نِكَاحِ • مَكْنِ عَيْشِ رِطْيَا
 7 سَبِيَا نِ وَنَجِ • كِسْ كَزِ اَخْدِجِ • فَاظْمِ مَبِ رَجِ • هَكَيْشِ كَيْبِيَا
 8 اَلِكْفِ وَكِ مَامِ • اَلْمَوْتِ فَطِيْمِ • كَصِرِ كُو يَتِيْمِ • مَنْ نَبْتِ نَبِيَا
 9 تَمَّ كَفِيَا كَبِيَرِ • كَبِيَرِ يَبِيْعِ سِمَا زِ • كَكْفَرِ فِ مَرَا زِ • وَفِي كَمِ يَلِيَا
 10 اَلْكَيْتِ كَمِيْبِ • نَمُو وَنَكْرِ عِيْنِ • تَكُوْنِ سِ حَزْنِ • نَمْنِ كِنِ يَلِيَا
 11 اَلْكَيْتِ مَجْلِسِ • اَلِكُوْرِ نَفْسِ • مَمْنِكِ كَيْفِيْسِ • اَمْبُوْا مَثَلِيَا
 كُنْ

قصه قاضي

مَانِ بَرَّعَرَبِ بَكْلَيْنِ مَثْ اَيْنَ لَاكِ (مَطَابِي) كَزِيَا كِهِنْدِ
 نُونِ هِ كِرَغِيَا كُونِ اَكُوْمَنِ مِيْنِ اَلْفِيَا سِيْكَ يَنْغِ كِيَا تَه
 نِيْسَ مَنِيْغِ كَسْفِيْرِيْ اَلِيْهَ اَكِنِيْرِيْ مِيْ مَغْنِيَا هِ اَلْغِيَا كَتْدِ كُجِ
 لِيْ اَلْكَيَا تَ يَمْبَتْ مَزِيْ نَدِيْمِيْ اَلْكَيْتِ مَزِيْ مَلِيْدِ سَانِ
 لِيْ يَمْبَتْ مَزِيْ هِ وَكُ كِيَا نَ مَنِ مَكِ اَلِيْ حَطَابِيْ كَمُوْرَا هِ
 حَطَابِ اَكِرُوْرِ مِثُوْنِ اَلِيْ مَكِ وَاكِ هَمْدِ كِيَا مِيْ يَمُوْتْ كُوَا
 لِيْسَ كَمَبْ وِيْ كَعْلَه سِيْكَ يَنْغِ مَنِ هِيْ هِ حَتِيْ سِيْكَ مِيَا
 قَاضِيْ وَجِ اَلْكَيْتِ اَكَمُوْنِ اَلِيْ مَلْعُوْنِ مِسْمَامِ قَاضِيْ مَلِيْدِ
 سَانَه كَمِيَا تَغِيْ رَانِ نَتَكْ كَا اَلِيْزِ مَنِيْنَه وَكَغِيَا تَ قَاضِيْ

قاضي موزير

قاضي كمو
 وك پان ما
 هكوب هكا
 كيش ت
 اشاك ه
 كغوف ا
 كرور من
 هكفب
 بن كفتي
 ماكه
 شوع نه
 كينيكه

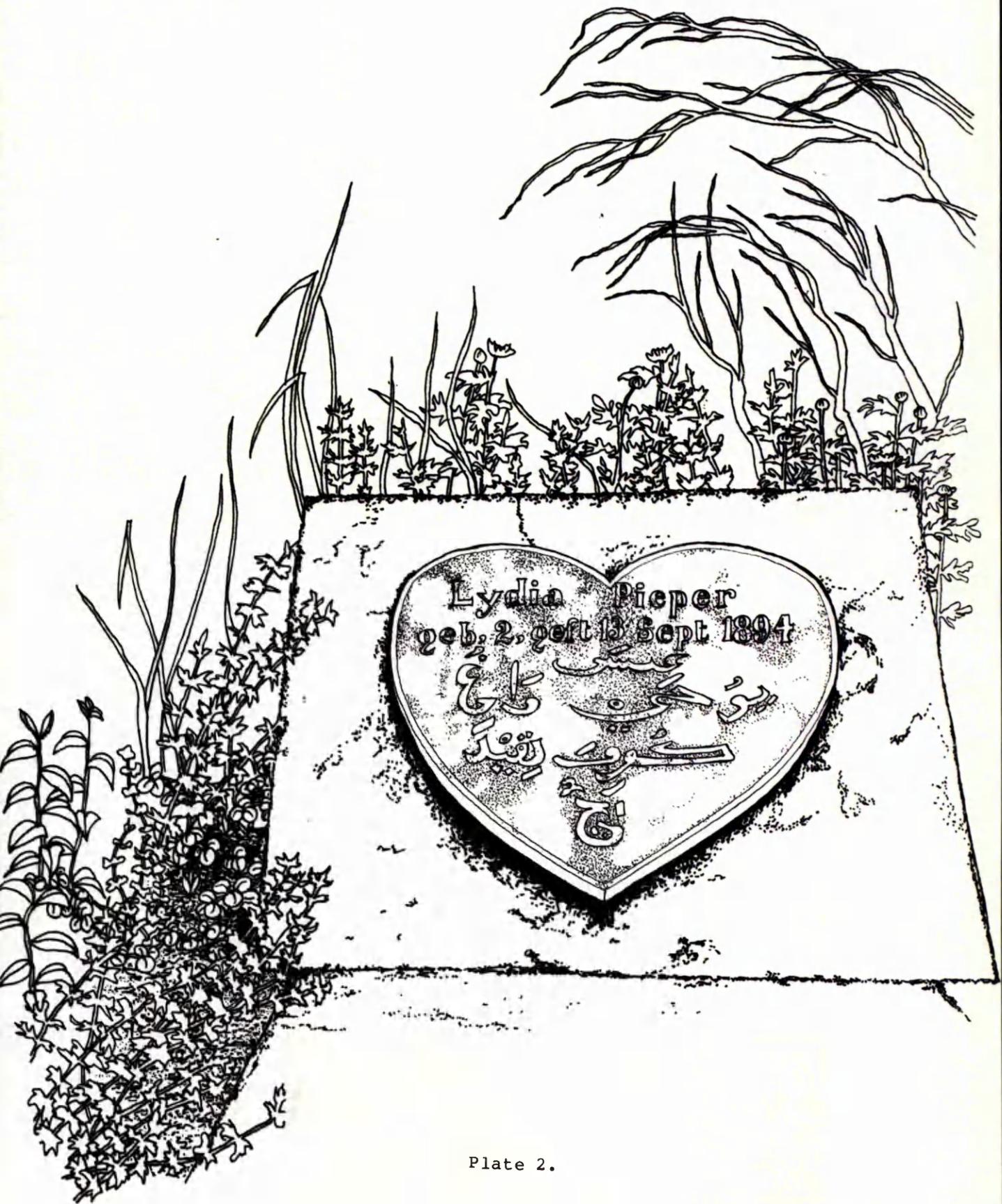
Fig. 16.

نَبَعْدِي وَ
 تُكْنِي مَثَرُ
 وَكِيَا وَ مَثَرُ
 مَنِي شَمَبُ
 پَكُو هِيَكُ
 پِ تَكَشِكُ
 تَكْنِي كُ
 تَكُ اِنْرِي
 هَبِلِ نَبَهِي
 تَكَشِكُ
 تَكُ اِنْرِي
 پَانِ جَوِي
 نَشْرِي يَدِ
 نَبَعْدِي



تَنْتِ يَخُ حَدِيثِ • نَبَعْدِي نَبَعْدِي • كَوِ مَبَعْتِ • مَعُ تَتُ سَهْلِيَا •
 نَتَارِخِ مَبُ هِيَا • اَلْفُ ثَلَاثِ مِيَا • خَمْسِينَ تَنْ تِيَا • بَانَ رَمَانَ اَكِيَا •
 تَكْنِي اَرُ فَيْكُ • كِنْيَا صِفِ يَحِكُ • كَا اَمْرِي خَلَاكُ • نَبِرِ كُو مِيَا •
 تَكُو كَنْدُ مَانَ • كَنْدِ كَنْكَنْتِ • رِي جَمِ كُو نِيَانِ • نَسْتِ تَكُ تَمْبِيَا •
 كَدَتَالِ كِرِ شِيَلَا • مَلِ كَتِ سَهَارِ • تَشْكُرِي كُكَلِ • نَبِ يَفْقَهُوا •
 تَكُ كَتِ كَحِشَمِ • سَلَا تَنْ يَمَلِيَا • تَكَلِ كُكَلِ كِمِ • نَكْسِ تَكْنِي مِيَا •
 پَا پُ تَكُرِ مَانِ • كَنْدِ مَسِكِيَتِ • نَانِ رَتِ هَا كَنْ • پِدَا كِنِي جِيَا •
 تَكُرِخِ مَبُ پِيَا • نَبِي وَتِ پَمِيَا • اَلِي تَتَكَلِيَا • هَبِلِ اِنْرِي سِكِيَا •
 تَكَشِكُ سَتِ پِيَا • پِ تَكَشِكُ رِي • اَمُ تَكُ سَكَلِيَا • كَبْرُكَ نَعْفِيَا •
 نَبَعْدِي

Fig. 17.



Lydia Pieper
geb. 2. Sept 1894

ليديا بيبر
توفيت 13 سبتمبر 1894

Plate 2.

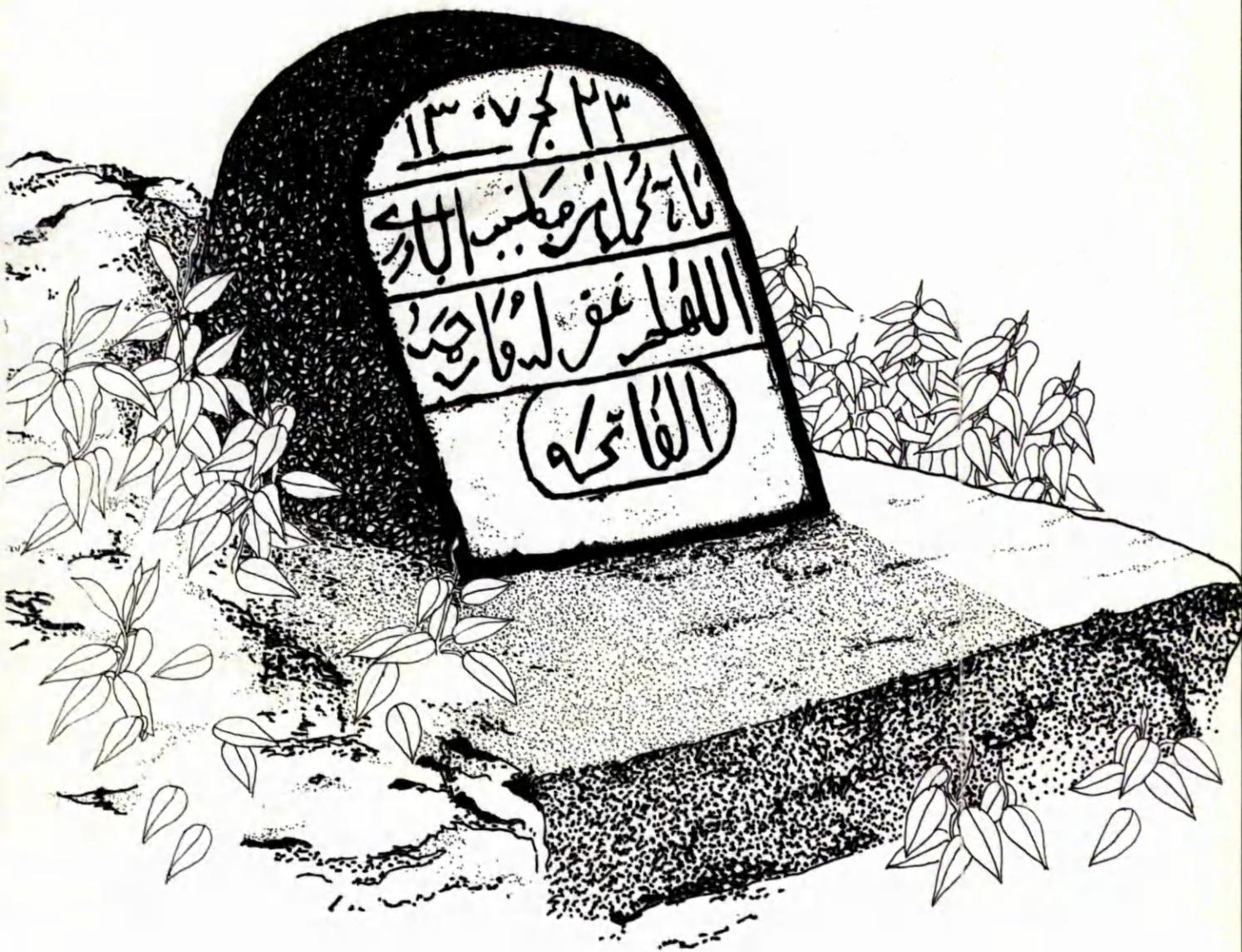


Plate 5.

Handwritten notes and scribbles at the bottom of the page, including a large '7' and some illegible cursive text.

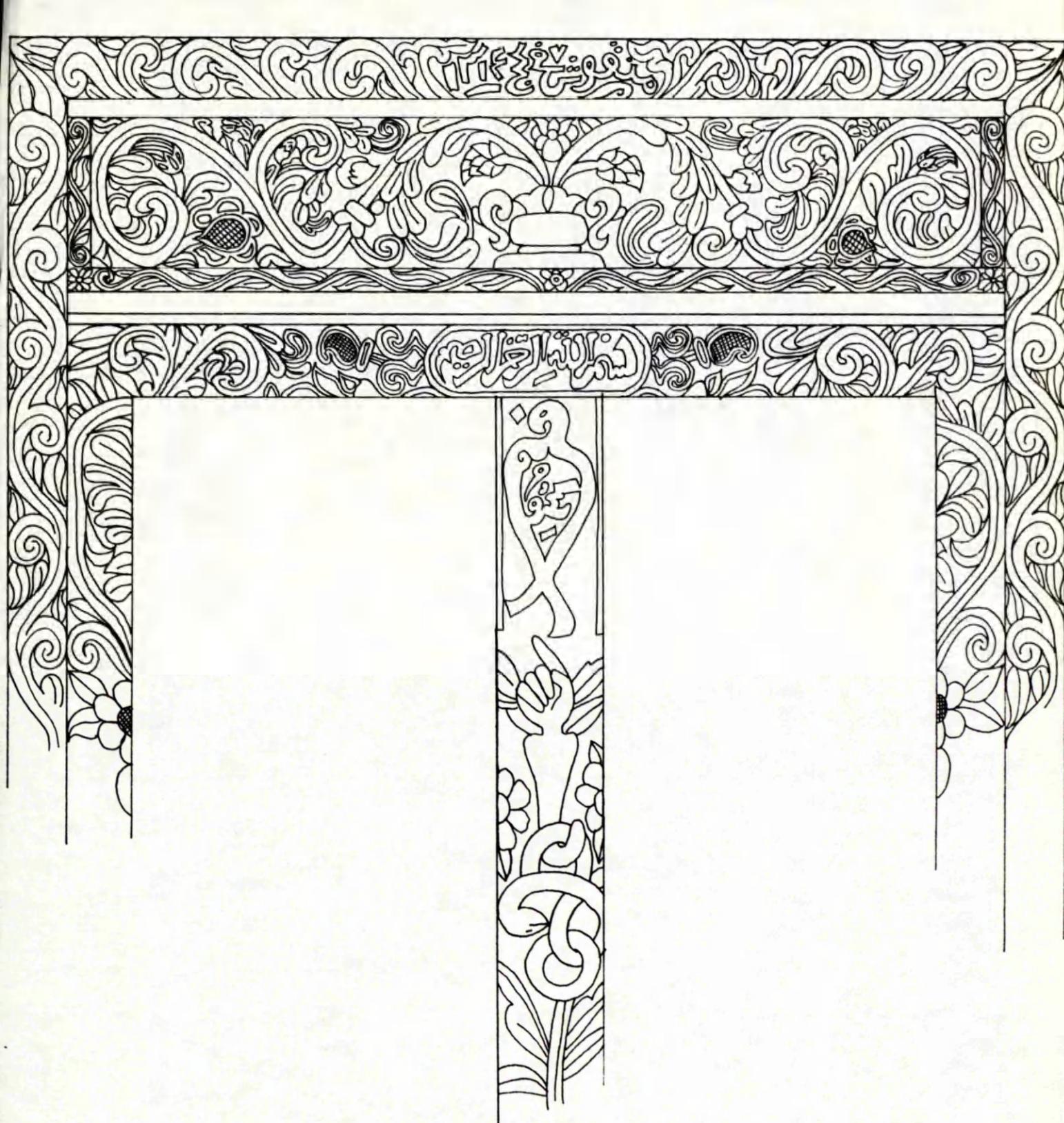


Plate 8.

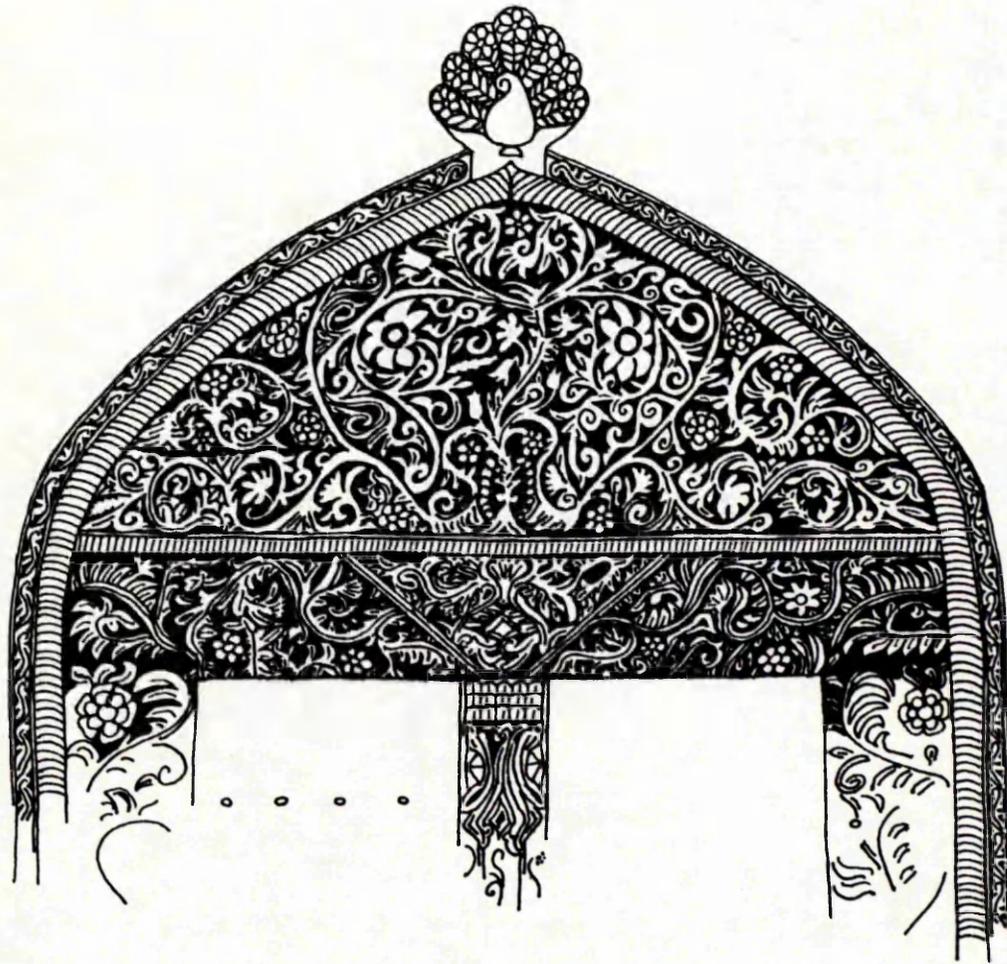


Plate 9.

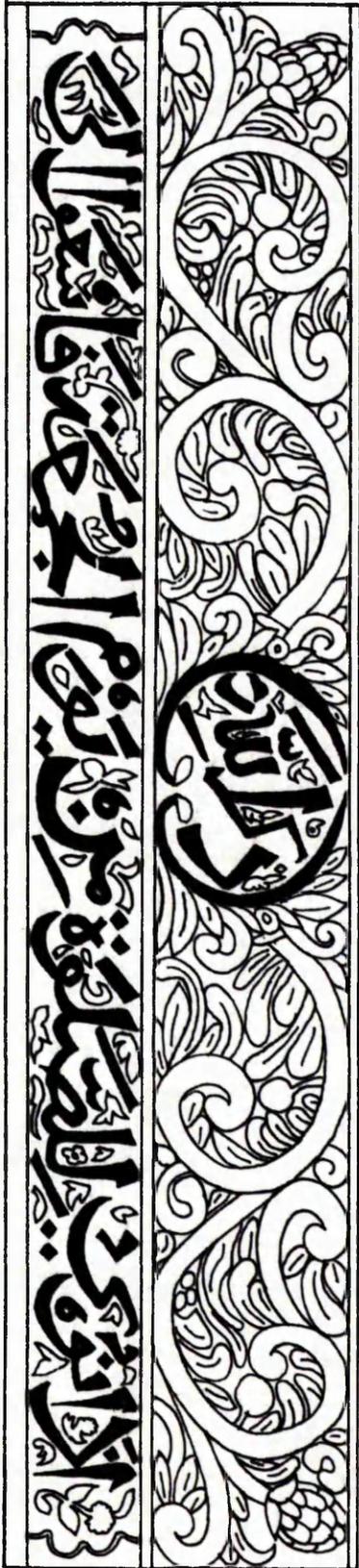


Plate 11.

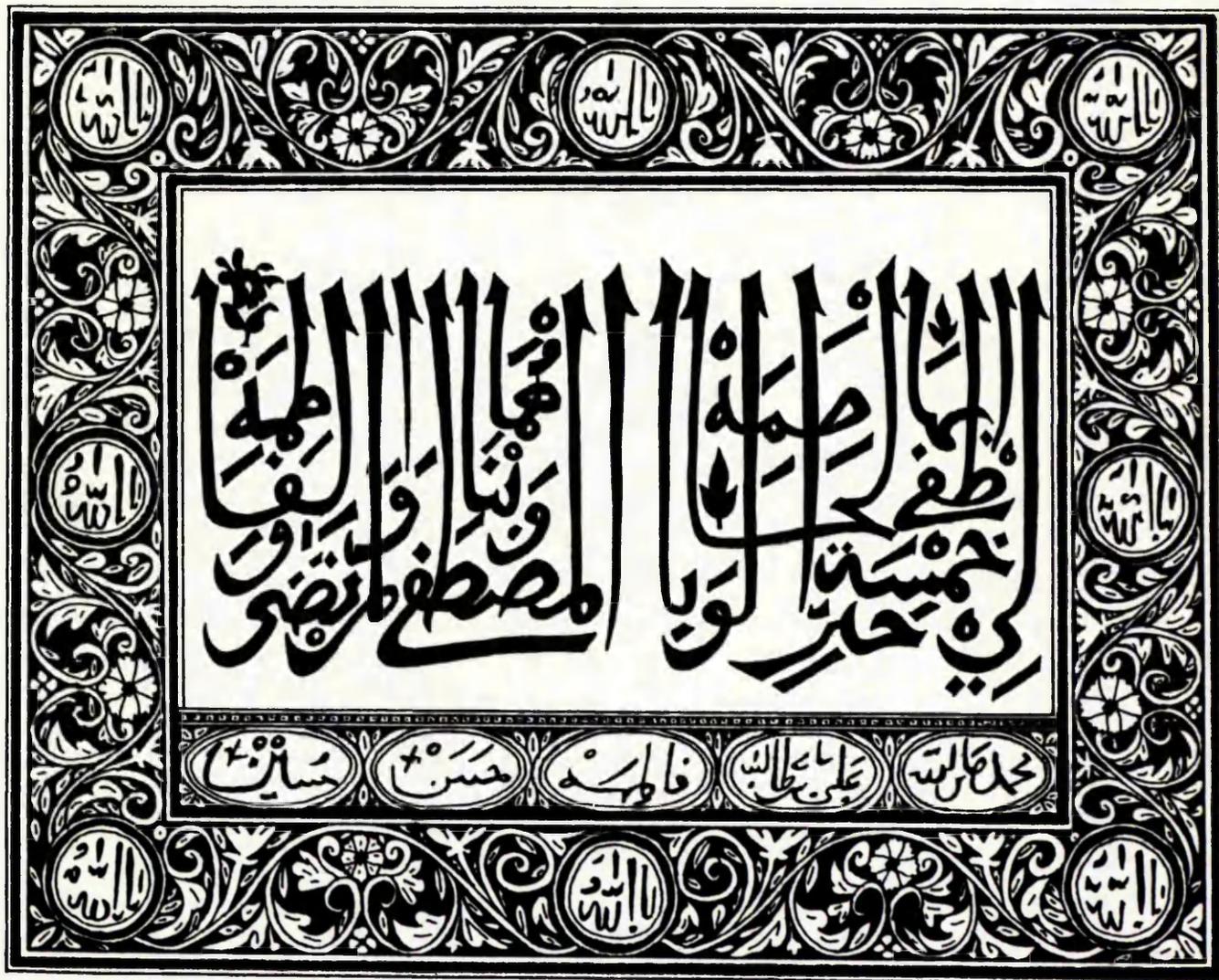
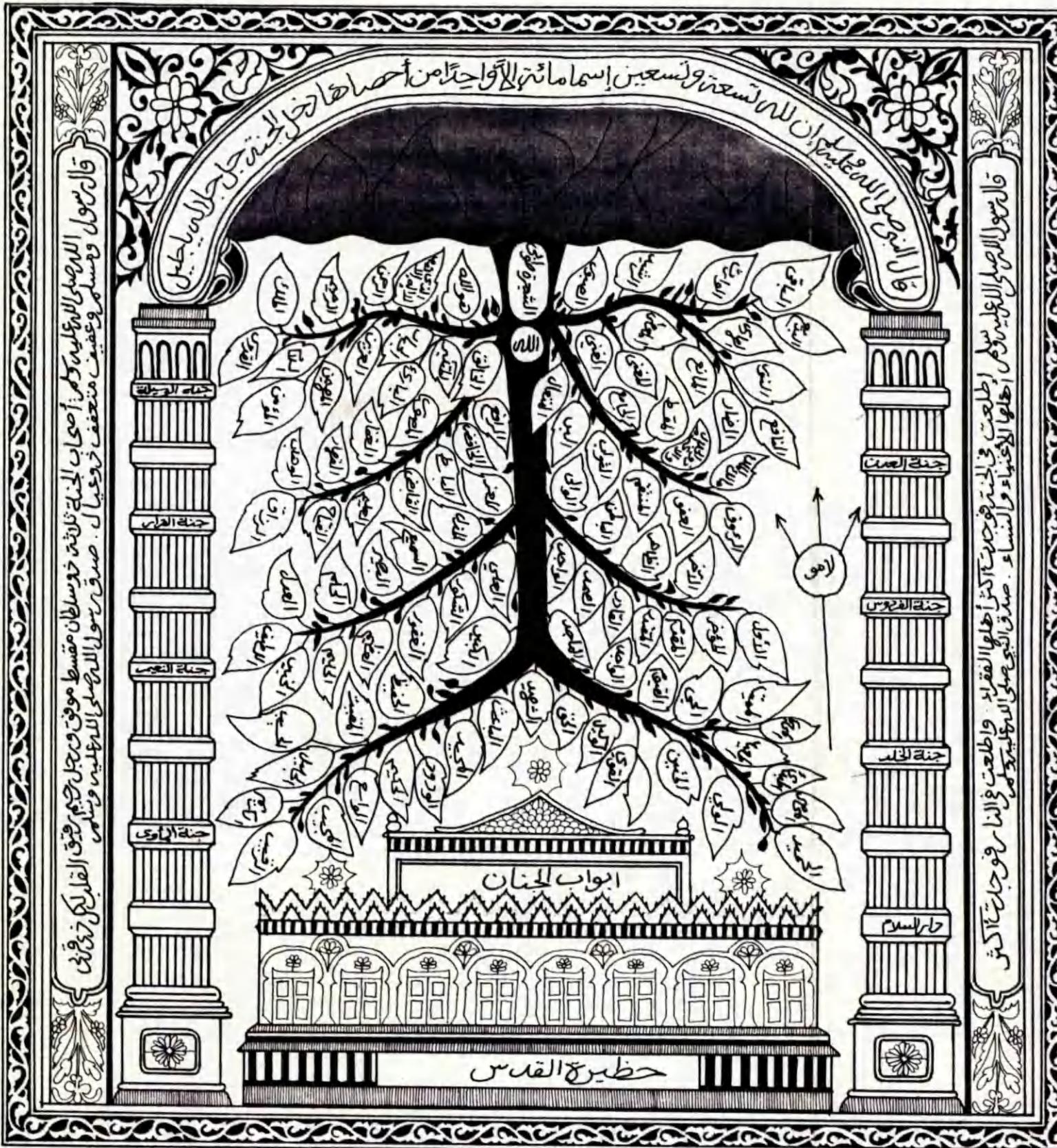


Plate 15.



قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان للار تسعة وتسعين اسما مائة الا واحدا من احصاها دخل الجنة

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان للار تسعة وتسعين اسما مائة الا واحدا من احصاها دخل الجنة

لسالم خير الناخوزا

بيد محمد كيوم

في ١٢٤٤ صفر

Plate 17.

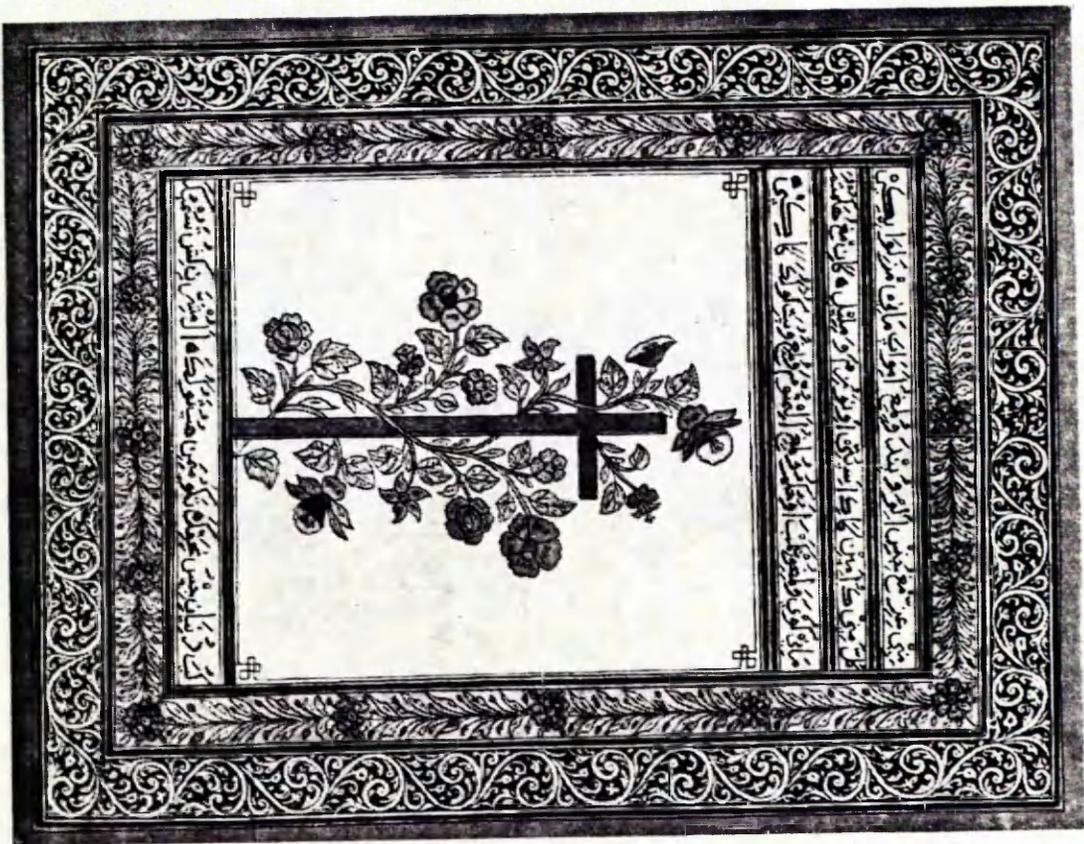




Fig. J.

RT STORIES
EXERCISES

(Swahili)

DAVID E. DIVA

Book 1

OF LONDON PRESS LTD
SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.4.

1961

HADITHI
NA VITENDO

KITABU CHA
KWANZA



حَدِيثِ نَقِيْد

y
Swahili
B498

Fig. L.



Ex K



Plate 1

Plate 1A



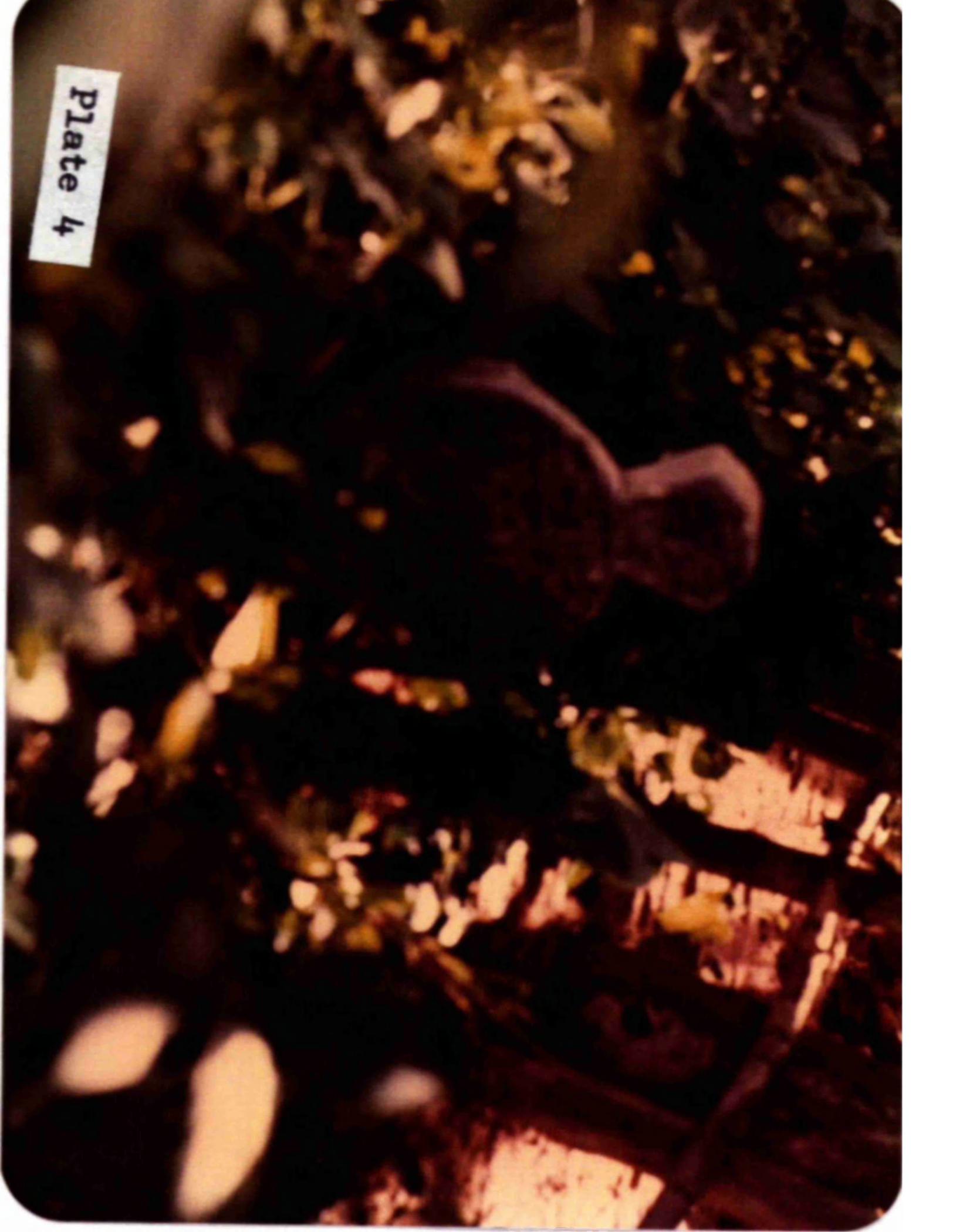
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي
خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ
وَالَّذِي يُضَوِّبُ الْمَوْتَى
إِنَّ رَبَّهُ لَسَدِيدٌ
إِلَىٰ عَذَابِ الْعَذَابِيِّينَ



James Henry
No. 100 Broadway
New York
June 1897
The Hon. J. M. McKim
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
1000 Fifth Avenue
New York
Dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the purchase of the book of the
"The History of the Jews in the East" by the late Dr. J. M. G. Leclercq, which I have the pleasure to inform you is now in the hands of the
publishers, Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, Pa., and will be ready for shipment in a few days.
Very respectfully,
J. M. McKim

Plate 3

Plate 4



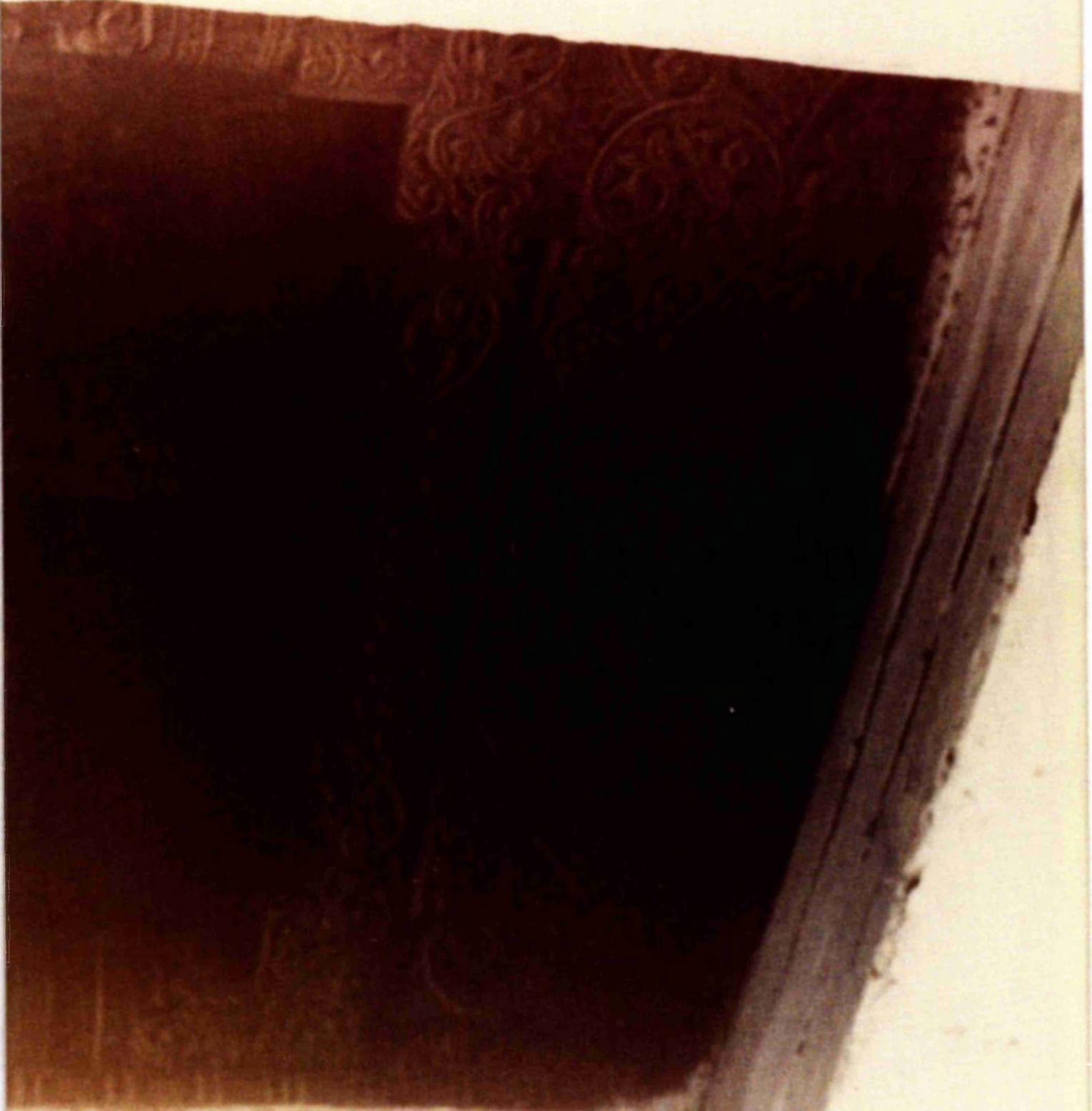


Plate 6

RESEARCH COLLECTIONS OF MARIYAMA
LAMU MUSEUM
Lamu, Kenya
Tel: +254 41 222 222
Fax: +254 41 222 222
www.lamu-museum.co.ke
Lamu Museum is a non-profit organization
dedicated to the preservation and
display of the Lamu Cultural Heritage
in Lamu, Kenya. The museum
is a unique blend of traditional
Swahili architecture and
modern museum facilities.
The museum is open to the public
and is a must-visit for anyone
interested in the history and
culture of Lamu.

Plate 7



Pl. 10A



Pl. 10B

Plate 12

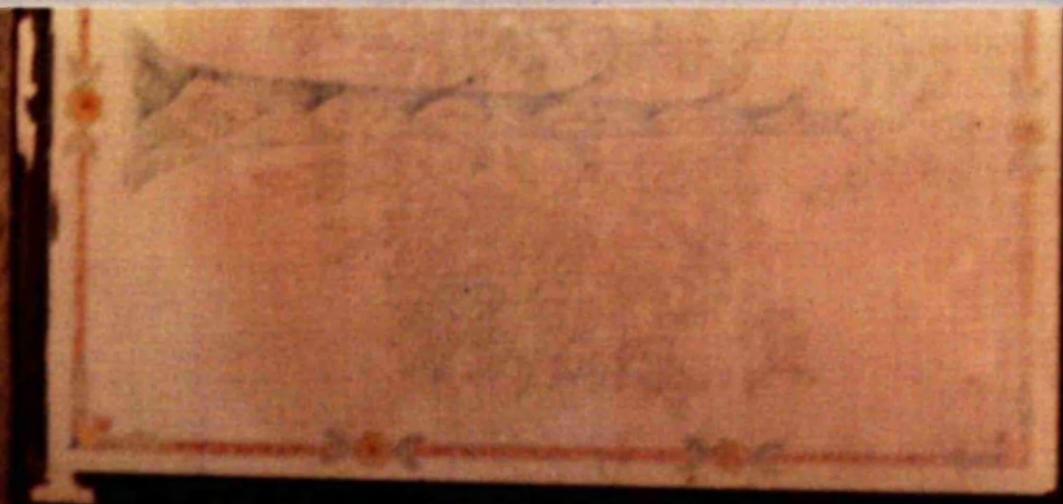
Handwritten Arabic calligraphy on a decorative strip, likely a title or chapter heading, featuring stylized black and red script on a light background.



Handwritten text in a decorative border, likely in Arabic or Persian script.

Plate 13

P1.18



P1.19



p1.22



p1.20



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي
خَلَقَ الْمَوَدَّعَةَ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ
الَّذِي خَلَقَ الْمَوَدَّعَةَ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي
خَلَقَ الْمَوَدَّعَةَ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ
الَّذِي خَلَقَ الْمَوَدَّعَةَ

p1.21