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**Stories from Northern Ghana
A Hausa Text from the IASAR/22 Manuscript**

For many years the Institute of African Studies, University of Legon (Ghana) has been leading a very widespread action in collecting the manuscripts, existing all over the Ghanaian country. They are mostly Arabic manuscripts, but we may find among them the manuscripts in other African languages — in Hausa, Dagbane, Mamprule, Gbanyito — all of them written in Arabic letters.

As we gather from the Monteil's note, the collection comprises now almost five hundred items, mainly in a xerox copy, among which the Arabic manuscripts constitute near 90% and the Hausa ones about 10%¹.

As for the contents of the collection, 35% of the manuscripts are historical sources — *silsila* (chains of learning transmission), lists of the rulers and the imams, genealogies and chronicles, based on the oral traditions. There are chronicles of the following peoples: Dagomba, Mamprusi, Gonja, Mossi, Fulbe, Hausa and Wala. We must bear it in mind, that the manuscripts collected by the Institute constitute only a little part of what exists in many Islamic centres all over the Ghana.

One of the oldest Islamic centres in North—West Ghana is the town of Wa, the capital of the Wala country. From Wa come many manuscripts thematically concerned with the history of this region written in Hausa, but often by Dyula 'ulamā' (of Mande origin)². In the Institute collection there are 14 manuscripts from the

¹ See V. Monteil, *Les manuscrits historiques arabo-africains*, "Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire", vol. XXVII, No. 3—4, 1965, p. 532 and I. G. Wilks, J. J. Holden, *Arabic Collection*, "Research Review", University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies, vol. 2, No. 2, 1966, p. 8. In Mr. Monteil's estimation on the Ghanaian territory there are about 5—10 thousand manuscripts to be examined yet.

² See I. G. Wilks, *The Growth of Islamic Learning in Ghana*, "Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria", vol. 2, No. 4, 1963, p. 417. Mr I. Wilks ascribes "The Story of Zabarima" from the IASAR/20 and IASAR/22 manuscripts to a Dyula 'ulamā', Moḥammad Zayd.

centre³. They concern the origin of all the peoples, constituting the Wala society, the order and the circumstances of their arrival at that region and the relations among them. They contain lists of the rulers and imams and give us a lot of valuable material for the study of this North-Ghanaian country, differentiated ethnically in an extraordinary way.

Its origins go back to the XV century, when the groups of the Wangara merchants started to spread from the two oldest centres of the Mande immigration in Ghana, from Begho (Brong-Ahafo region) and Nasa-Visi (from near Wa). The arrival of the Mande Moslems is mentioned by the IASAR/152 manuscript (the edition of the manuscript with an English translation can be found in "Africana Bulletin", No. 10, pp. 53—76).

The IASAR/18 manuscript dates the Dyula colonization at the XV century and informs us that the imamate of Wa was founded in 1465⁴. Afterwards Wa was conquered by the Dagomba and the Mamprusi people, who have been in authority over the Wala country since then. They provide the rulers of all the country, named Wa Na, and the chiefs of neighbouring towns as well. The autochthonous people of the area were probably Dagari, inhabiting at present the terrain to the North and South of the Wala country⁵.

The ethnographical mosaic, offered presently by the Wala country is the reflection of its rich history. We know about it too little and we have not many descriptions of the travellers and colonial functionaries, referring to the area. Therefore the local sources are of a prime value. This concerns first of all the chronicles (based often on the oral traditions), written in Arabic (*ta'riḥ*) as well in Hausa languages (*lābari*).

The IASAR/22 manuscript is a collection of various documents in Arabic and Hausa languages, comprising lists of the Wa rulers and imams, the stories from the history of Wa, the correspondence of the rulers, etc. This is, as Mr. I. Wilks writes "...a compilation of short *tārikhs* and letters compiled by Malam Ishaq of Wa in 1922"⁶. The manuscript was probably written on the recommendation of the commissioner Whittall. The author of the compilation, M a l a m I s h a q is mentioned in the manuscript. We must bear it in mind that some folios were written later (for example the letter to George V, king of Great Britain), at the beginning of the XX century and then were joined to the manuscript.

³ The list of manuscripts from Wa was made by I. G. Wilks. See *A Note on the Arabic MS IASAR/298, and Others from Wa*, "Research Review", University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies, vol. 2, No. 2, 1966, pp. 63—68.

⁴ See I. G. Wilks, *A Note on the Early Spread of Islam in Dagomba*, "Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana", vol. VIII, 1965, p. 93.

⁵ See S. Piłaszewicz, *A Story of the Wala People — a Hausa Text from the IASAR/152 Manuscript*, "Africana Bulletin", No. 10, 1969, p. 63. See also M. Delafosse, *Les frontières de la Côte d'Ivoire, de la Côte d'Or et du Soudan*, Paris 1908, p. 172.

⁶ See I. G. Wilks, *The Growth of Islamic Learning...*, p. 172.

The IASAR/22 manuscript was accesible for me in its xerox copy, sent up from the Institute of African Studies in Legon. It consists of 17 folios recto, numerated at the bottom of the folios and is written on a paper with the surprint "Detachment Order Book, N.T.C."

Folio 1 ($17 \times 25,5$ cm.) comprises the list of imams of the Wa town. It is written in the Hausa language in Arabic letters (*ajami*). The folio consists of 15 lines. On the folio there are traces of another writing which suggest that this is a palimpsest.

Folio 2 (18×26 cm.) consists of one line only in the Hausa language.

Folio 3 ($18 \times 25,5$ cm.) is not connected thematically with the town of Wa: it describes the dynastic disputes in Bole, one of the divisional capitals of the Gonja country in Ghana. It is written in the Hausa language and comprises 16 lines.

Folio 4 ($18 \times 30,5$ cm.) is entitled "The story of Zabarima". It comprises 32 lines. The title is not distinguished graphically. A part of the 14th line from the bottom is effaced.

Folio 5 ($16,7 \times 21$ cm.) comprises the introductory formula in Arabic and the essential text in Hausa, which is a list of the rulers with information about the succession to the throne in Wa. It comprises 21 lines and in places is hardly legible. Over the text there is an explanation concerning a word in the line 2 from the top.

Folio 6 (18×25 cm.) deals with the history of Samory⁷, his relations with the Wala country and describes Samory's struggle with the Dagari people. It comprises 26 lines and is less legible in places as there are traces of another writing (probably palimpsest).

Folio 7 and 8 describe the relations among the Zabarima, Samory, Wala people and the colonial expeditions of France and England. Folio 7 (19×30 cm.) comprises 32 lines and folio 8 (18×30 cm) — 17 lines. The author of the folios is M a l a m I s h a q a.

Folio 9 ($18 \times 15,5$ cm.) is an Arabic version of the letter sent by the ruler of Wa to the king of Great Britain. It comprises 12 lines. The Hausa version is on the folio 13.

Folio 10 ($18 \times 29,8$ cm.) is an Arabic version of the folio 5. It comprises 24 lines.

Folio 11 (17×19 cm.) is an Arabic version of the folio 12. It comprises 19 lines.

Folio 12 ($18 \times 29,6$ cm.) comprises a list of the Wa rulers. It contains 16 lines.

Folio 13 ($17,5 \times 25,4$ cm.) is a letter of the Wa ruler to the king of Great Britain, written in Hausa. It comprises 12 lines and possesses the diacritical marks.

Folio 14 ($16,6 \times 23$ cm.) is another version of the letter of the Wa ruler to the king of Great Britain, also in the Hausa language. As it is evident from the character of the writing, the author of the both letters was the same. Folio 14 comprises 13 lines.

⁷ Samory, of the Mande origin, born in Sanankoro (the territory of the present Guinea), at the end of the XIX century united small, rivaling with each other states, existing to the North of the forest zone and created a state as well organized and centralized as no other since that time in the West Sudan.

Folio 15 ($18 \times 17,5$ cm.) is an Arabic version of the folio 14. It comprises 13 lines.

Folio 16 ($14,4 \times 19,7$ cm.) is undecipherable. It comprises 9 lines and is written probably in the Arabic language. The single deciphered words attest this statement. Under the essential text there is information about the owner and the author of the manuscript. The information is readable and it is written in Arabic.

Folio 17 ($17 \times 24,5$ cm.) comprises a text in Arabic. The text concerns the rulers of the town of Busa, lying in the Wala country. It comprises 6 lines.

In the transliteration I adopted the following rules:

1. The orthography used by the periodical "Gaskiya ta fi kwabo" is the basis for transliterating the text.

2. Vowel-length is marked $\bar{v}$ (v — vowel).

3. Arabic texts and Arabic words in Hausa texts are transliterated according to standards accepted by Arabists.

4. The Arabic sign " (tašdīd) is rendered in the transliteration by doubling the consonant.

5. The IASAR/22 manuscript is in essence a compilation of almost as many different manuscripts as folios it possesses. Furthermore, almost each folio is written by another author, using his own system of writing. We may naturally make a separate system of transliteration for each manuscript, but it does not solve the problem either, because not every author possessed a fixed orthography. Generally, we may say that the particular Arabic letters correspond to the following consonants in transliteration:

ب — b ; ت — t ; ث — t, s ; ج — j, z, g ; ح — h ; د — d, t ; ذ — z, j ; ر — r ; ز — z ;
س — s, sh, c ; ش — sh ; ص — s ; ط — t ; ظ — z, j ; ع — $ʿ$; غ — g ; ف — f ; ق — k ;
ك — k, c, g ; كو — ko, ku, kwa ; ل — l ; م — m ; ن — n ; و — w ; و̣ — v ; و̤ — g ;
ي — y .

The following signs were used for short vowels:

— a ; — i ; — e ; — o or u

Long vowels were put down by means of the signs:

— $\bar{a}$; — $\bar{u}$ or $\bar{o}$; — $\bar{i}$

The following signs were used by the scribes for diphthongs:

— ai ; — au

6. The manuscripts which do not concern the people and the country of Wala are transliterated in the end of the Transliteration and translated in the end of the Translation part of the publication.

7. If the manuscript possesses both the Arabic and the Hausa version, I transliterate and translate the Hausa version only.

8. For the practical purposes I introduced the diacritical marks.

A linguistic analysis of the manuscript demonstrates that each of its elements

comprises a number of phonetical and morphological features typical for the Kano as well as for the Sokoto dialects. The statement concerns first of all the person-aspect marks and the forms of the demonstrative pronouns. We may assume that it is the evidence of the language unification beyond its maternal speaking area. As it is generally known, the Hausa marchants, speaking in various dialects of the Hausa language, were coming to Ghana and founding there common commercial centres or settlements among the indigenous population in separate town quarters. Everyday contacts lead to the nivelation of the dialectal differences so that the forms of different dialects are used interchangeably.

Transliteration

f° 1

Al-ḥabāri malāmī. Kākansu al-ḥabāri shī ni līmāmu Yā'umara. Shī yā rasu yā bā līmāmu Mahamā. Shī mā yā rasu yā bā līmāmu Mu'āzu. Shī mā yā rasu yā bā līmāmu Mahamā. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Idrisu. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu 'Abdu-l-Qādiru. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Mūsā. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Mahamā. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Sa'īdu. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Ya'qūbu. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Yā'umara. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Idrisu. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Ibrāhīma. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Aṣ-Ṣidīqi. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Sa'īdu. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu 'Utmāna. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Mūsā. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Ibrāhīma. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā Ṣālihu. Shī mā yā rasū yā bā līmāmu Ya'qūbu. Shī mā yā rasū. Dā ba su sā līmāmu bā tikunā⁸. Yā bā līmāmū Al-Ḥajī Mahamā. Haka nan al-aḥbār[i] Wāwiyu. 'Am[i]n.

f° 2

Al-ḥabāri malāmī. Kākansu sun fito Ma'di.

f° 4

Al-ḥabāri Zabariṃa. Zabariṃa sun zō kasan Davabā. Alfā Hini shī ni būban. Gā-zāri inā bi, Mī G[i]sē⁹ inā bi, Hammā Buntāka inā bi, Nūm[u] inā bi, Māduk[u] inā bi, Hammā Gīwā inā bi, Babātu inā bi, Ishāqa Kārika inā bi. Duka da yāranshi¹⁰ sun zamā kasan Davabā.

Sā'a nan akoī karafi Shanti. Sarakki Shānti inā karibī bāyī sarakki Yābbō, inā karibī bāyī sarakki Yāndē, inā karibī bāyī sarakki Dābonyā. Sarakki Shanti yā ēikkō¹¹ dansa sūnansa Ssamū wai sarki Yāndē yi¹² kāwo bāyī. Sarakki Yāndē shī mā yā ēikkō

⁸ = *tukunā* in the Kano dialect.

⁹ = Mai Gizo as at J. J. H o l d e n, *The Zabariṃa conquest of Nort-West Ghana* — part I, "Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana", vol. VIII, Legon 1966, pp. 60—86.

¹⁰ = *yāransu* — inconsistency in number of the possessive pronoun.

¹¹ = *aikō* in the Kano dialect.

¹² = *ya* in the Kano dialect.

sarakki Saffilikō da sarki Kārika. Zanbarima sun bī su sarakki Saffilikō sun zō kasan Gurinsi. Sunkā kāmā mātansu da yāransu sun kōmē Yāndē. Zanbarima sun zamā kasan garin Zakri ba su kōmē bā. Sunā sayyī dawākki.

Akoī sarakki Nabiyyewālē. Yā yyi abōki da Zabarima. Sun zō Nabiyyewālē. Nabiyyewālē inā dokkē shi yi sāka yi sā su dāji. Sun kāmā Gurinsawā. Sarakki Dolbijan yā ji al-ḥabārisu. Shī mā yyā tafi yā yyi abōkki da sū. Yā kāwo sū garinsa Vawu yā bā shi¹³ liguna da yawa. Yā daukkē sū sun ffishē Nafari.

Akoī limāmu Wā. Dansa sūnansa Mahamā yā yyi yyāwo yā tafi wirin Zanbarimawā. Alfā Hīni yā gaisuwā yā ttanbayā Mahamā: “Inā kā fitō?” Mahamā yā ccī: “Nī dan limāmu Wā”. Alfā Hīni yā ccī: “Na gōdē Alā yā bari nā ganī dan limāmu Wā”. Yā bā shi sāniyā yā ccī. Yā bā shi bāwa biyū: “Bari a bā limāmu Wā yi¹⁴ yyi mini aduwā”. An kāwo shi an bā limāmu Wā sūnansa Aṣ-Ṣidīqi. Bāwa biyyu nan an daukkī gudā an bā sarakki Wā sūnansa Gangumī. Sarakki Wā yā eikō yāransa da yārā limāmu wai su tafi su gaisuwa Zanbarima da kasan Gurinsi.

Akoī wani mālam inā da Gurinsi sūnansa Idrīsu. Muslimi Gurinsi anā kkirā Kantuwansi. Mālam Idrīsu yā ccī: “Inā tafi wirin Zanbarimā”. Muslimi Kantuwansi sunā bi mālam Idrīsu bindiga dari. Sun tafi Zanbarimawā sun godē. Walā mā sun tafi da bindiga hamisin da bakoi da dawākki ashirin da ukū sun cī Zanbarima sun godē. Alfā Hīni yā ccī: “Kū bari māshi ffatauci su kāwo alibarū¹⁵ da bindiga mu sayyī”. Māshi ffatauci sun ji haka sun yyi mashi dādī. Sunā tafiya wirin Zanbarima da bindiga da alibārū da liguna da zannuwa. Sarakki Yāndē yā ji haka yā eikō sarakki Saffilikō yā bā shi bindiga dubū māshi dawākki dari ukū wai su tafi su kāwo Zanbarima. Sun tafi. Mutanin Davabā sun eikō mutum gudā su tafi wirin Zanbarima su bā Wālā al-ḥabāri: “Mū Davabā da Walā daya ni su fitā su bari Zanbarima mū bukā sū”.

f° 5

Al-ḥamd li Llah alladī ḡā'ala qirtās rasūl wa ḡā'ala lisān-il-qalam.

Al-ḥabāri sarauta Wā. Kākansu al-ḥabāri sunā bā Saliya ya fida¹⁶ kasan Davabā yā zo Wā. Sa'an nan mutāni Wā bai yawa bā. Sun zamā tāri. Harimaye¹⁷ wulinsu sunansa Sūrī. Saliya dansa nī Bbiliffū. Yāra Saliya di yyawa. Bbilifū shī ni bubā. Dukā su gamā bakkī yā ba shi sarauta Wā. Walā suna nan sarakki ya sāmu riy¹⁸ da yawa ya mūtu. Akoi yāra di yawa. Sūrī da mutānisā na falinsu shī ni Vāsa. Su[n] gamā bakkī su bā shi sarakki. Yā zamā Wā. Shī mā yā yi riy da yawa shī mā akoi yāra di yawa. Ya

¹³ = su. Inconsistency in number.

¹⁴ See note 12.

¹⁵ A word not attested in the Hausa dictionaries. From Arabic *إِبْرَة*.

¹⁶ Here a pointer to the words *yā fitā* over the text.

¹⁷ A word not attested in the Hausa and Arabic dictionaries. Its meaning can be fixed on the basis of the IASAR/152 manuscript. The Sūrī people mentioned in both manuscripts (i.e. IASAR/22 and IASAR/152) originate according to the IASAR/152 manuscript from Widana. Thus Widana is connected with Saliya. Therefore *harimaye* may denote a relative and that is how I translate this word.

¹⁸ = *rai* in the Kano dialect.

mūtu. Janūsi shī mā mutum būbā yā yi sarauta Wā. Sarakki shī ni daga Wā. Shī mā ya yi riy di yawa yā mūtu. Aloi mutum sunansa Nājari shī mā yā yi Saraki Wā. Shī mā ya d[a]de aloi yāra ya mūtu. Aloi mutum sūnansa Kunluki. A bā shī mā sarauta yā zamā sarakki Wā.

Fāri Bbiliffū mutānisā Būsa da kawiyanshi¹⁹. Sarakki Vasa nan shī mā zamansa gari G[u]l[i]. Aloi kawiyanshi yyā bī shi. Sarakki Janūsi shī mā mutāni garisa Sinī da kawiyanshi. Sarakki Nājari shī mā gari zamanshi Virisi da kawiyanshi. Sarakki Kunluki gari zamā Kkakilī da kawiyanshi.

Ka gā sarauta Wā shinā yī cikin Wā. Wada yā yi sarauta Wā duka gari gari inā bī shi. Sarauta Wā kōfansa biyar. Waga yā yī ya mūtu shī mutāninsa shi bari fudu ga guda yā cci sariki. Kaman shī mā ya mūtu shī mā mutāni yā bari a dūbā uku guda a ci sarikki. Shī mā yā mūtu mutāninsa shī bari ad²⁰ a dūbā cinki²¹ biyu gudā kumā yā ci. Amā shī mā ya mūtu mutāninsa yā bari saura guda shī mā yā cci sarakki Wā. Hakā anā juyā daga Wā.

f° 6

Al-ḥabāri Sāmori da' mutāni Wā sun ji. Al-ḥabāri Sāmori. Shī da harimai. Buba harimaisu su'ansu²² 'Abdullahi dan 'Umarā inā bī, 'Abdullahi Ibrāhīm inā bī, Kkeshiri inā bī, Faru Karima inā bī, Banduqu inā bī. Sun zo Gotūku. Wata fūdu mu ji²³ mun ji kūma wai yā zo Bwalē yā korei shi mutāni Bwalē. Sun gudu sun zo Wā. Mutāni Wālā sun taru sunā yī mankanā²⁴ da kasan Dakāti su bari fada da Sāmori. Dagāti sun kkē²⁵. Walā sun tafi Bwalē sun ganī Sāmori, sun yī gaisuwā sun cce: "Bā mu son fada". Sāmori yā yirda mutāni Walā yā ccē mu kāwo dawākkē ashirīn da biyū da' yī ragū. Mutāni Wālā yā ba su. Sāmori yā ccē: "Inā zuwā". Yā zo Wā yā kaishai sū²⁶ ya cce: "Nā ji Dakāti sunā son fada. Gaskkiyā nī?" Mutāni Walā sun ccē: "Gaskkiyā nī amā mu Walā bā mu son fada. Dagāti sū sunā son fada". Dagāti sun taru Sangana da Jan. Mutāni gari su dawakkisu gomā shā bakoi [...]²⁷ sunā kāwo Wā su bā Sāmori. Dagāti sun t[a]r[u] w[a]jē sun kashē dawakke nan duka. Mutāni Dagāti sun taru Sangana dūbu takwas. Wada' sun taru Ja' dūbu biyar. Sāmori kwānā takwash²⁸ Wā fāri fada Dagāti. Yā tafi Ja' da' bindika yā buka su yā kashē su mutāni Ja' di yawa, yā kāma su di yawā. Gari yā wāyē. Yā tafi Sangana yā fadi Wālā: "Nī Sāmori bindika dūbu shā bakoi. Wālā ku duba nī Sāmori bindika dūbu ga in kashē Dagāti duka nī". Sāmori yā būkā su mutāni Sangana yā korei su. Sunka gudu sun zō Wā. Sāmori yā

¹⁹ = *gēwaye* (or *kauye*) in the Kano dialect.

²⁰ A word not finished and therefore repeated in the next line.

²¹ = *cikin* in the Kano dialect.

²² = *sūnansu* in the Kano dialect.

²³ Repetition in the manuscript.

²⁴ = *magana* in the Kano dialect.

²⁵ = *ki* in the Kano dialect.

²⁶ = *gaishē su* in the Kano dialect.

²⁷ Undeciphered word.

²⁸ = *takwas* in the Kano dialect.

kira Wālā. Mutānī Wālā yā zō wirisa. Sāmori yā ccē: “Ku yyi mini aduwā. Nī Sāmori inā kōmā Sangana kūma”. Da’ Walā mū j[i] sun²⁹ yyi masa aduwā. Kwānā unku yā tashi yā dafi Sangana. Mutānī Sangana sun gamū da fada. Kwānā unku sun bukā bindika da dirre³⁰ da ranā. Mutānī Sangana yā gutū. Sangana da yāwa sun kāma sū da yāwa.

f° 7

Al-ḥabāri Zanbarimā. Mū Wālā da Sāmōru mun ji al-ḥabāri Zanbarima inā Nabolō. Sarakki Wā da Sāmōru sun fidā yāra sū wai su tafi Nabolō su kāwo Zanbarima — Babātū shī ni būba, da mutānī Gurinsawā. Mutānī Gurinsi harimai būba sūnansa ‘Ama-riyā. Sun kāwo shī Sankana anka bā sarakki Wā da Sāmōru haka nan. Sāmōru yā ccī: “Zanbarima ka bari fadā”. Sū Zanbarimā da Gurinsawā sunka ccī: “Mun bari fadā nī”. Sāmōru yā ccī: “Ku bari fadā kun tsaya. Inā daukā kū duka a yi tafiyā da sū”. Babātū yā cī: “Bā ka iya haka. Sa’a nan da kā fadi haka nī da yāranā bā ccī ba su labā³¹ biyu bā. Kā sani kā gani māsū aikī ba kā fadi haka bā”. Babātū yā fadi haka. Sāmōru ya yi fushi. Inā sō yi tāshē sū yi sā sū cikin yāki. Sū ba su sāmu [.....]³² ya tāshi yā bari sū. Sa’a nan Sāmōru yā tāshi yā ccī mutānī Wālā: “Nā bari māsū dawakki gōmā shā biyyu su zamna garinku”. Sarakki Wā yā yarda. Sāmōru yā tāshi yā ccī sarakki Wā: “Ka bari yāra yi mini likkiya³³”. Sarakki Wā ya b[a]r[i] māsū bindiga sitin da gōmā sun kai Bōlē sun kōmā Wā. Sa’a nan Sāmōru yā tāshi Bōlē yā tafi Gūnā. Yā ffishē sū mutānī [G]ūnā. Sun gudu sun zō Wā. Mutānī Sāmōru wanda su zamnā Wā sū yāki [mu]tānī Gūnā wanda sun gudu sun zō Wā wai sarakki Wā. Su tāru, mutānī Gūna nan su bī sarakki Wā. Yā ccī: “A’a ku bari mu shā luwā³⁴ ai wata az[u]mī ni”. [.....]³⁵ Batūrē yā shigā cikin Wā sūnansa Faksi. Shī Faksi nan yā ccī a mutānī Sāmōru wai su tāshi. Māsū karifi biyu bā su zamna gari gudā. Mutānī Sāmōru yā ccī: “Ka bari lanā³⁶ yi shikā mu shā luwā mu tāshi”. Faksi yā hanā yā ccī: “Ku tāshi yāwō. Akoi luwā hanya”. Sun tāshi sun tafi Bōlē. Faksi yā ccī. Yā tāshi yi tafi yi tarē mutānī Sāmōru cikin Dokitā. Sa’a nan [...] ³⁷ Faksi yā shikā cikin Dokitā. Sāmōru yā ji alḥabāri Faksi yā shikā [ci]kkin Dokitā. Shī mā Sāmōru yā tashi yā zō Dokitā. Sunka gamū jūnā [ci]kin Dokitā. Sun yi fadā cikkin Dokitā kwānā shidda. Shī Faksi bindigasa ashiri da bakoi amā bindiga Sāmōru dubu dubu gōmā. Haka nan sun yi fadā. Makāmī yā sāmu Faksi kafan dāmā yā kōmā bāya yā shikā cikkin Wā. Mū duka mun wasē haka nan. Bāya wasē nan mu kōmā [.....]³⁸ Wā mu shikā Tōbō. Bayā wanan Babātū

²⁹ = *sun*. Inconsistency in person.

³⁰ = *darē* in the Kano dialect.

³¹ = *raba* in the Kano dialect.

³² Undeciphered word.

³³ = *rakīya* in the Kano dialect.

³⁴ = *rūwā* in the Kano dialect.

³⁵ Undeciphered word.

³⁶ = *rānā* in the Kano dialect.

³⁷ Undeciphered word.

³⁸ Undeciphered word.

yā ji al-ḥabāri mū wai mun shikā Tōbō. Yā kōmā bāya kuwā yā ccī yā bukā Wālā. Kumā yā tāshi inā zuwā Dūsē yi ffishē sū. Haka nan yā zō yā lufē³⁹ Dūsē. Farinsi yā

f° 8

ji al-ḥabāri sū sū kuwā sun tāshi sunnā zuwā Dūsē. Batūrē Farinsi || sūnansa Datini da Ingō yā tāshi da bindigasū talatin. Yā zō yā bukā Babātū cikkin Dūsē. Ya wasē sū sun gudu sunā tafi wiri Iglisu. Sa'a nan Iglisu inā cikin Yabbō. Iglisu yā kōrē Farinsi yā karibā Zanbarimā wai su tafi sun tafi Yāndē. Farinsi yā kōmā yākkī shī ccī Davoyā hāli. Yā yi bukū sarakki Wā sūnansa Sa'īdu. Shī yā yi sōro yā ccī: "Inā bi Farinsi". Nī mālam Ishāqa nā tāra muslimī dūka da sarakkunan duka da arnā duka. Mū duka mu ccī mū ba mu bi Farinsi. Mū ba mu sani Farinsi mu sani Iglisu fāri. Munā bi Iglisu bā mu bi Farinsi. Amā Iglisu ba su sāmu gari gabā wirin Guduku inā tafi. Munā ba sū mu fā rikitan. An karbā sarautā Wā wiri sarakki Sa'īdu an bā sarakki Tāgilī. Abin da nī mālam nā sani sakāni Sāmōru da Wālā shī kke nan.

f° 9

[An Arabic version of the folio 13.]

f° 10

[An Arabic version of the folio 5.]

f° 11

[An Arabic version of the folio 12.]

f° 12

Al-ḥabāri sarauta Wā shī ni sarakki Saliya. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā sarakki Gurā. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Bbiliffū. Shī mā ya mūtu yā bā sarakki Vāsa. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā sarakki Nājari. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Janūsi. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī Sāqa. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Kunzūkū. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Danduni. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā sarakki Fizannā. Shī mā ya mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Buntiksū. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Sajayā. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī Bbiliffū. Shī mā shī mā⁴⁰ yā mūtu yā bā sarakki Jinsugū. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā sarakki Sabū. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Bundiri. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā sarakki Gangumī. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Bakikmī. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Bayikē. Shī mā yā mūtu yā [...] ⁴¹ yā bā shī sarakki Balannuya. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā sarakki Mahaman Ffū. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Sa'īdu. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Tāgilī. Shī mā shī mā⁴² yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Dāngana. Shī mā yā mūtu yā bā shī sarakki Bbiliffū. Haka nan sunā yi sarauta Wā. Fa'idat.

³⁹ = *rufe* in the Kano dialect.

⁴⁰ Repetition in the manuscript.

⁴¹ Undeciphered word. The same word probably repeated in the next line.

⁴² Repetition in the manuscript.

f° 13

Takaridan ga yā fitā wajan Ffilipū Na Ukū buban sarakki Wālā duka inā tafi wajan sarakki buban Tūrāwā sūnansa ƴōji Na Biyar. A gaishē ka sarakki būban. Shakara ga a bā ni girmā da bā iyāka. Na fāri an zabā ni da wadansu sarākinā munka gamu da dinka Kumāsi. Tō, yanzu kkenuwa jīka baban sarauniya tā zo tārī da Gumina An-karan. Sun gaishē garinā. Tun de Batūrē yā zo kasanmu mun ji dādi da jūnā. Ba mu kārā mun sakā hannu mutāni kaman Sāmoru da Bābātū wande dā sun yi mu bautā. Kumā rizqī⁴³ yā shikā kasanmu. Yāramu kuwā sun sāmu karātū mī kkau. Don shī nī da mutāninā mu yi alikauli⁴⁴ da kai mun bī ka hāli lānā⁴⁵ mutuwā.

f° 14

Nā gōde Alā bāyan gōdiya sarakki Wā inā yi magana da sarakki Tūrei. Sarakki Wā Ffilibū shī ni ukū Ffilibū shī ni baban sarakki da gari Wā. Inā yi magana da kai sūnansa ƴōji shī ni biyar. Sarakki Wā Ffilipū inā gaisuwā di yawa. Shakara ga kā bā ni jirmā⁴⁶ di yawa. Girima nan bā iyāka. Sun zābā ni da wadansū sarākuna mun tafi Kumāsi. Mun gaisuwā jūnā yā yi mini dādi jirimā ni. Tūrāwā yā zo garinā Wā. Nā ji dādi da lahuri⁴⁷ mashi. Bā mu shikā bautā kaman dā Bābātū da Sāmoru inā kāmā mu inā san. Mun godē. Bāyan wanga mun sāmu kudī anā gudā yāramu karātū mī kkau. Don haka ni sarakki Wā Ffilipū inā sonka ka riya inā bī ka hāli zuwa mutuwa.

f° 15

[An Arabic version of the folio 14.]

f° 16

[Undeciphered except the name of the author and the owner in Arabic.]

Sāhibuhā Abūbakr

Al-mukātibuhā Nūhu

aṣ-ṣadīq ‘Ibn Nūhu

‘Ibn Ṣāliḥ wa ḡidduhu

wa ḡidduhu Ṣāliḥu

Muhammadu [.....]⁴⁸

wa nisbuhu Tōrōyyu.

f° 17

Sultān Busā [.....]⁴⁹. Huwa walada ‘ibnat ‘ismuhā Nāzuliba. Walada Nāzuliba ‘ibnān ‘ismuhu Mālik min banī Vīsī. Walada Mālik ‘ibnatan ‘ismuhā Zīnab. Walada Zīnab Al-Ḥasan. Wa Al-Ḥasan walada Ṣāliḥ.

⁴³ A word not attested in the Hausa dictionaries. From Arabic رَزَقٌ.

⁴⁴ A word not attested in the Hausa dictionaries. From Arabic قَوْلٌ.

⁴⁵ See note 36.

⁴⁶ = *girmā* in the Kano dialect.

⁴⁷ A word not attested in the Hausa dictionaries. From Arabic حَيْرٌ.

⁴⁸ Undeciphered fragment.

⁴⁹ Undeciphered fragment.

f° 3

Al-ḥabāri sarakki Safu Bōliyyu. Uwa yā rayā sarakki Bōliyyu yā karibi yā rakka⁵⁰ dansa. Yā kōya shi yā yi giramā. Sarakki Safu yā kōrai shi. Sarki bā shi zamā wani garī. “Kōmā, ka tafi garinka”. Kadan sarauta Yābbō yā mūtu sarauta yā ishē shi. Yā cī sarakki Turufū. “Kadan sarakki Yābbō yā mūtu, nī sarakki Turufū nī kkē da shi sarakki Yābbō”. Mutāni Bōliyyu sū yā ccī sū rāda⁵¹ sarauta. Safu yā taro mutāninsa Bōliyyu yā ccī: “Ya bā nī sarakki Yābbō”. Mutāni Bōliyyu sunka fadi: “Bari sarauta nan. Kari ka sā iriku nan. In ka sā shi mutāni Turufū bā su yandā sū ccī sarauta nan”. Sarakki Bōliyyu Safu shī yā ccī: “A bā nī sarauta nan ammā sarakki Turufū dānā nī. Bā nī būdē farin kainā a godā⁵² mashi. Sarakki Safu yā daukā sarakki Yābbō yā sā-wiyansa sarakki Turufū”. Mutāninsa sun tāru sun zō sū isai shi sarakki Turufū yā ccī: “Tashi, ka bari. Turufū ka bā mu, ka tafi wirin uwanka”. Shī sarakki Turufū yā ccī: “Ku yi hankūri”. Yā fidā yāra biyyu yā zo yā ishē sarakki Yābbō, yā ccī: “Iriku nan kāsa nan tūriy shi, iraku zāfī nī”. Sarakki Yābbō shī ya ccē: “Sa’a nan nā sā ira ga nan kainā yā yi karimī ammā yanzu kainā yā yi buban. Bā nī iya in tūriy shi”.

Translation

f° 1

A story of the priests (*malams*). [According to] the story their ancestor was imam Yā’umara. As for him, he passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Mahamā. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Mu’āzu. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Mahamā. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Idrīsu. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Mūsā. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Mahamā. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Sa’īdu. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Ya’qūbu. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Yā’umara. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Idrīsu. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Ibrāhīma. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Aṣ-Ṣidīqi. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Sa’īdu. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam ‘Uṭmāna. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Mūsā. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Ibrāhīma. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Ṣālihu. He also passed away [and his office] was handed over to imam Ya’qūbu. He also passed away. Then they did not appoint an imam. He handed over [his office] to imam Al-Ḥaji Mahamā. Such is the story of those from Wa [town]. Amen.

⁵⁰ = *rikā* in the Kano dialect.

⁵¹ Basing on the information of Mr. Abdullahi Bayero, a Hausa from Kano, *rāda* = *na’da*.

⁵² = *gwada* in the Kano dialect.

f° 2

A story of the priests (*malams*). Their ancestors descended from the Mande people.

f° 4

A story of the Zabarima⁵³ [people]. Zabarima came to the Dagomba country. Alfā Hīni⁵⁴ was [their] leader. Gāzāri followed [him], Mī Gisē⁵⁵ [also] followed [him], Hammā Buntāka [also] followed [him], Nūmu [also] followed [him], Māduku [also] followed [him], Hammā Gīwā followed [him], Babātu [also] followed [him], Ishāqa Kārika [also] followed [him]. All of them and their people settled in the Dagomba country.

At that time there were powerful [people named] Ashanti⁵⁶. The ruler of the Ashanti was receiving slaves from the ruler of Yagbon⁵⁷, he was receiving slaves from the ruler of Yandi⁵⁸, he was receiving [also] slaves from the ruler of Daboya.⁵⁹ The ruler of the Ashanti [people] sent his son named Samū in order that the ruler of Yandi would bring slaves. As for the ruler of Yandi, he sent the ruler of Savelugu⁶⁰ and the ruler of Karaga⁶¹. Zabarima followed the people of the ruler of Savelugu and arrived at the Gurunsi⁶² country. They captured their women and their children and then returned to Yandi. [As for Zabarima], they remained in this country in a town [called] Zakri⁶³ and they did not return. They were buying up the horses.

There was a ruler [named] Nabiewale⁶⁴. He struck up the friendship of Zabarima. They arrived at Nabiewale. Nabiewale took them and placed them in the bush. They captured Gurunsi.

⁵³ Zabarima (Zarma, Dyerma, Dyabarma, Dyrma, Djerma, Zabarma, Zabirmawa) — people living to the North-East of Niamey and in the Sokoto province in Nigeria.

⁵⁴ According to T a m a k l o e (*A Brief History of the Dagbamba People*, Accra 1931, p. 43) and J. J. H o l d e n (*The Zabarima Conquest...*, p. 61) Alfa Hano was the first leader in the Zabarima conquests.

⁵⁵ According to T a m a k l o e, op. cit., p. 43. Maigizo was one of the Zabarima leaders.

⁵⁶ People living in Central Ghana.

⁵⁷ I.e. from the ruler of Gonja, a state in Ghana created at the beginning of the XVII century. The capital of this state, Nyanga, was called also Yagbon, i.e. "great family". See T a m a k l o e, op. cit., p. 24.

⁵⁸ Yandi — capital of the Dagomba kingdom in the XV—XIX century.

⁵⁹ Daboya — one of the Dagomba towns, to the North-West from Tamale.

⁶⁰ Savelugu — one of the important Dagomba towns, lying to the North-West of the capital of the Dagomba kingdom, Yandi.

⁶¹ Karaga — one of the important Dagomba towns, lying to the North-West of Yandi.

⁶² Gurunsi (*Grussi, Grusi, Gurumsi*) — the common name for several tribes in Northern Ghana and Upper Volta, such as Kasena, Nunuma, Sisala, Builsa and Efra.

⁶³ Unidentified place.

⁶⁴ Nabiewale — town in the Navrongo region in Northern Ghana.

The news about them reached the ruler of Dolbijan⁶⁵. He also went and struck up the friendship of them. He brought them to his town [called] Vawu⁶⁶ and gave them many gowns. He took them and guided them against Navarro⁶⁷.

There was an imam in [the town] of Wa. His son named Mahamā started on a journey and went to the Zabarima people. Alfā Hīni greeted [him] and asked Mahamā: "Where are you coming from?" Mahamā said: "I am a son of the imam of Wa". Alfā Hīni said: "I thank God that he permitted me to see the son of the imam of Wa". He gave him a cow for his use⁶⁸. He gave him two slaves: "Let them be given to the imam of Wa in order that he would pray for me".

They were brought and given to the imam of Wa, named Aṣ-Ṣidīqi. As for the two slaves, one of them was taken and given to the ruler of Wa, named Gangumī. The ruler of Wa sent his sons and the sons of the imam in order that they would go and greet Zabarima in the Gurunsi country.

There was a priest (*malam*) among the Gurunsi [people] named Idrīsu. The Gurunsi Moslems are called Kantuwansi. The priest (*malam*) Idrīsu said: "I am going to Zabarima". The Kantuwansi Moslems followed the priest (*malam*) Idrīsu with a hundred guns. They went to Zabarima and greeted them⁶⁹. The Wala people went also with fifty seven guns, with twenty three horses and said to Zabarima, that they are grateful [to them]. Alfā Hīni said: "Let itinerant traders bring needles and guns for us to buy [them]". When the itinerant traders heard this, they rejoiced. They were coming to Zabarima with guns, needles, with gowns and with cloth.

The ruler of Yandi heard about it and sent the ruler of Savelugu. He gave him a thousand guns, three hundred riders and ordered them to go and bring back Zabarima. They went. The Dagomba people sent one of them who went to Zabarima to transmit the news to Wala: "[We] Dagomba and [you] Wala, we are friends. Let them go out and leave Zabarima — we are going to fight with them".

f° 5

Praised be God, who made the paper for the Envoy and who made the tongue for the pen.

A story of the Wa kingdom. As the stories say, their ancestor named Saliya went out from the Dagomba⁷⁰ country and came to Wa. At that time there were not many people in Wa. They lived together. There was with them their relative named Sūrī.

⁶⁵ Dolbijan — son of the chief of Kpon town, lying near Tumu in Northern Ghana. Presently this town is called Dolbizan. See Tamakloe, op. cit., p. 43.

⁶⁶ By means of ɔ the author of the manuscript wanted probably to write down the consonant *kp*. Therefore we may read this word as *Kpō* = *Kpon* — the name of the above mentioned town.

⁶⁷ Navarro — town in northern Ghana, between the towns of Tumu and Pien.

⁶⁸ Literally: he gave him a cow in order that he eat it.

⁶⁹ Literally: and thanked them.

⁷⁰ Dagomba — people living in Northern Ghana, who created a centralised kingdom in the XV century.

The son of Saliya was Pilpu⁷¹. Saliya had many sons. Pilpu was the most important. They all decided that Saliya would hand down the authority in Wa to him. Here, among the Wala people spent Pilpu many years and [then] died. He left many children. As for Sūri and his people, the first of them was Vāsa. They decided that they would hand down the authority to him. He resided in Wa. He also lived many years and also had many sons. Then he died. Janūsi, the great man, also inherited the authority in Wa. [This] ruler came from Wa. He also lived many years and [then] died. There was a man named Nājari, who also became the ruler of Wa. He also ruled for a long time and had sons. Then he died. There was a man named Kunluki. He was also given the kingdom and he became the ruler of Wa.

The first [of them], Pilpu, descended from the people [inhabiting] the Busa⁷² [town] and its environs. The ruler Vasa descended from the Guli⁷³ town. There were many villages that followed him. As for the ruler Janūsi, his people descended from the Sini⁷³ town and its environs. As for the ruler Nājari, he ruled over the Virisi town⁷³ and its environs. The ruler Kunluki ruled over the Kkakili⁷⁴ town and its environs.

You see the way in which they ruled in Wa. If somebody ruled in Wa every town followed him. As for the authority in Wa, it was exercised by five families (gates). When the one, who exercised [authority] died, his people were allowing one [of the remaining] four [gates] to take over the authority. When that one died, [his] people were allowing to elect one [of the remaining] three [gates] that he would be the ruler. When that one died, his people were allowing them to elect the ruler [from the remaining] two [gates]. When that one died, his people were allowing one of the remaining [gate] to take over the authority in Wa. Thus they ruled in Wa.

f° 6

The story of Samory heard by the people of Wa. The story of Samory. He had many relatives. The greatest of his relatives named ‘Abdullahi dan ‘Umarā followed him, ‘Abdullahi Ibrāhīm followed him also, followed Kkeshiri, followed Faru Karima, followed Banduqu. They arrived at Bonduku⁷⁵. Four months later we heard that he probably entered Bole⁷⁶ and drove away the Bole people. They escaped and arrived at Wa. The Wala people gathered and entered upon a conversation with Dagari⁷⁷ country in order that they would renounce the fight with Samory. Dagari

⁷¹ Because this name was rendered in the manuscript in different ways (*Bbiliffū*, *Ffilibū*, *Pilpū*) in the translation I adopted the simplest one, i.e. *Pilpu*.

⁷² Busa — town lying near Wa.

⁷³ Towns lying near Wa.

⁷⁴ Unidentified place.

⁷⁵ In the manuscript Gutūku or Gotōgo. Others names Gbotougou, Boutoukou, Goutougo. Regarding the etymology of the name, see M. Delafosse, op. cit., pp. 225—226. Town lying in the Ivory Coast.

⁷⁶ Bole — a trade town of the Gonja people, one of the divisional capitals of the Gonja state.

⁷⁷ Dagari (Dagati, Dagarti, Dagaba, Dagatsi) — tribe in Northern Ghana.

did not consent. Wala went to Bole, saw Samory, greeted him and said: "We do not want to fight". Samory agreed with the Wala people and said us to bring eighteen horses. The Wala people gave them [the horses]. Samory said: "I am coming". He arrived at Wa, greeted them and said: "I heard that Dagari want to fight. Is it true?" The Wala people answered: "Yes, it is true. But we, Wala, we do not want to fight. Those are the Dagari, who want to fight". The Dagari people gathered at Sankana⁷⁸ and Jan⁷⁹. Some people were bringing eighteen horses to Wa in order to give them to Samory. Dagari gathered by the wayside and killed all the horses. [As for] the Dagari people who gathered at Sankana, they were eight thousand [strong]. Those, who gathered at Ja' were five thousand [strong]. Samory spent eight days in Wa, before he started fighting. He went to Ja' with guns, he was shooting at them, killed many people from Ja' and captured many. It dawned. He went to Sankana. He said to the Wala people: "I, Samory, I have seventeen thousand guns. Let you see, Wala! I, Samory, I shall kill all Dagari with the thousands of guns". Samory was shooting at the Sankana people and drove them away. They escaped and arrived at Wa. Samory called the Wala [people]. The Wala people came to him. Samory said: "Pray for me. I, Samory, I am returning to Sankana once again". When the Wala people heard it, they prayed for him. The third day he set up and went to Sankana. The Sankana people met [with them] in fight. The third day they were shooting all the day and all the night. The Sankana people escaped. They captured many Sankana people.

f° 7

The story of Zabarima. We, the Wala and Samory people, we received an information that Zabarima are in Nabolo⁸⁰. The ruler of Wa and Samory sent the people in order that they go to Nabolo and bring Babatu — Babatu was their leader — and the Gurunsi people. The great relative of the Gurunsi people was 'Amariyā. They brought him to Sankana and gave to the ruler of Wa and Samory. Samory said: "Zabarima, stop fighting". But Zabarima and Gurunsi said: "We stopped fighting". Samory said: "Stop fighting and wait. I shall take you all and they will start with you on a journey". Babatu answered: "You can not do so. Now, when you said so, I and my boys we shall not separate beyond a doubt. You know, you see, they are busy. Do not say so". Babatu answered thus. Samory got angry. He wanted to attack them and unleash a war with them. As for them, they did not reach [....]⁸¹. He went away and left them. Then he stood up and said to the Wala people: "I leave twelve horsmen [here] that they may remain in your town". The ruler of Wa consented. Samory stood up and said to the ruler of Wa: "Let [your] boys escort me". The ruler of Wa sent seventy fusiliers, they reached Bole and [then] returned to Wa.

⁷⁸ Sankana — town in Northern Ghana.

⁷⁹ Probably Jang — town to the North of Wa.

⁸⁰ Nabolo — town in the Tumu region, Northern Ghana.

⁸¹ Undeciphered word.

Then Samory marched out and went to Buna⁸². He overcame the Buna people. They run away and arrived at Wa. The Samory people who were lying in Wa attacked the Buna people who ran away and arrived at Wa, it means, [they came] to the ruler of Wa. The people from Buna gathered and followed the ruler of Wa. He said: "No, you must leave us. As for water drinking, it is Ramadan"⁸³. [...] ⁸⁴ the white man named Faksi⁸⁵ entered Wa. This Faksi said to the Samory people that they must go away. [Because] two strong [men] can not stay in one town. The Samory people said: "Wait till the sunset, we shall drink water and go away". Faksi prevented [it] and said: "Start on a journey. The water is available on the way". They marched out and went to Bole. Faksi said so. He set out and went away in order that he may meet the Samory people in Dokita⁸⁶. [Then] [...] ⁸⁷ Faksi entered Dokita. Samory heard the news that Faksi probably entered Dokita. Samory also set out and arrived at Dokita. They came together to Dokita. They were fighting in Dokita seven days. As for Faksi, he had twenty seven guns but Samory had ten thousand guns. They were fighting thus. A bullet reached Faksi's left hand. He retreated and returned to Wa. Thus all of us became dispersed. When we became dispersed, we were returning [...] ⁸⁸ to Wa, we entered Tobo⁸⁹. Then Babatu heard the news that we probably entered Tobo. He returned, defeated and subdued the Wala [people]. Then he set out and went to Dutse⁹⁰ in order to conquer them. Thus he arrived and subdued Dutse. The Frenchmen also heard about them. They also set out and were going to Dutse. The white men, Frenchmen named Datini and Ingo⁹¹ they set out with

f° 8

thirty guns. They arrived and attacked Babatu in Dutse. They put them to flight. They ran away and went to the Englishman. At that time the Englishman was in Yagbon. The Englishman put the Frenchman to flight, received the Zabarima [people] and [then] sent them to Yandi. The Frenchman unleashed a war again and conquered

⁸² Buna — town in the Ivory Coast, near the frontier with Ghana.

⁸³ Literally: the month of the fast.

⁸⁴ Undeciphered word.

⁸⁵ The events described in the manuscript show that Mr. Henderson, who was in command of the English column in Northern Ghana and was captured by Samory's *sofa* (soldiers) in Wa in 1897 is meant. Basing on the phonetic features we may assume that Mr. Ferguson, an African born on the territory of the former Gold Coast in Anomabu, who was making treaties with native tribes on Great Britain's behalf is meant. Such treaties he made with the Buna, Lobi, Wala, Dagari, Mamprusi, Mossi, and Chakosi people. Was killed in Wa in 1897.

⁸⁶ Dokita — place in the Ivory Coast lying near the frontier with Ghana.

⁸⁷ Undeciphered word.

⁸⁸ Undeciphered word.

⁸⁹ Tobo = Dobo — town to the West of Wa.

⁹⁰ Dutse = Ducie — town to the South-East of Wa.

⁹¹ Probably captain Destenave and lieutenant Naudet are meant here, who were in command of French troops operating in the Upper Volta and on the territory of the present Ghana.

Daboya then. He attacked the ruler of Wa named Sa'īdu. As for him, he took fright and said: "I shall submit to the Frenchman". [Then] I, Malam Ishāqa, I gathered all the Moslems, all the dignitaries and all the pagans. We all, we said that we shall not submit to the Frenchman. Because we do not know the Frenchman, but as for the Englishmen we knew them earlier⁹². We shall submit to the Englishmen, but we shall not submit to the Frenchmen. But the Englishmen, they did not conquer the next town Bonduku, where they went. We submitted to them and we revolted. They took the authority over Wa from the ruler Sa'īdu and handed it over to Tāgilī. That is all what I, Malam, I know about the relations between Samory and the Wala [people].

f° 9

[An Arabic version of the folio 13.]

f° 10

[An Arabic version of the folio 5.]

f° 11

[An Arabic version of the folio 12.]

f° 12

The story of Wa, the kingdom of the ruler Saliyā. [As for him] he passed away [but his office] he handed over to the ruler Gurā. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Pilpu. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Vāsa. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Nājari. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Janūsi. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to Sāqa. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Kunzūkū. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Danduni. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Fizannā. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Buntiksū. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Sajayā. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to him, Pilpu. He also he also⁹³ passed away and [his office] handed over to the ruler Jinsugū. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Sabū. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to him, to the ruler Bundiri. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Gangumī. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to him, to the ruler Bakikmī. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to him, to the ruler Bayikē. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to him, to the ruler Balannuya. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to the ruler Mahama Ffū. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to him, to the ruler Tāgilī. He also he also⁹⁴

⁹² Literally: we knew the Englishmen firstly.

⁹³ Repetition in the manuscript.

⁹⁴ Repetition in the manuscript.

passed away [and his office] handed over to him, to the ruler Dāngana. He also passed away [and his office] handed over to him, to the ruler Pilpu. Thus they were in authority over Wa. May it bring profit.

f° 13

This letter went out from Pilpu the Third, the great ruler of all the Wala people and is addressed to the great ruler of the Englishmen, named George the Fifth⁹⁵. I greet you, great king! This year they gave me immense respects. Firstly, they chose me and some others dignitaries in order that we meet your son in Kumasi. Now, your sister, the granddaughter of the great queen⁹⁶ arrived with Gumina⁹⁷ at Accra. They greeted my town. Since the Englishmen have entered our town we all have been feeling happy. Never again we struck up a friendship with such people as Samory or Babatu, who put us into slavery. Also wealth reached our country. Good learning is obtainable for our children. For that reason I and my people, we promise you that we shall be loyal to you as we are now till the day of death.

f° 14

Praised be God. And after the thanksgiving the ruler of Wa speaks to the ruler of England. The ruler of Wa, Filpu the Third, is a great ruler from the town of Wa. I speak to you, whose name is George the Fifth. The ruler of Wa, Filpu, sends you a lot of greetings. This year they gave me immense respects. They chose me and some others dignitaries in order that we go to Kumasi. We greeted each other — it was a great delight and honour for me. The Englishmen arrived at our town. I felt happy and rejoiced at that. We did not fall into such slavery, in which we were put by Babatu and Samory [earlier]. We thank [God for that]. Besides, we received money. They proceeded in an useful teaching of our children. Therefore I, the ruler of Wa, Pilpu, I would like to assure you that I shall be loyal to you as I am now till the death.

f° 15

An Arabic version of the folio 14.]

f° 16

[Undeciphered except the name of author and the owner in Arabic.]

The owner of this is Abūbakr,
the friend of Ibn Nūhu.
His grandfather is Sālihu
he originates from Tōrō.

Written by Nūhu
Ibn Šāliḥ, his grandfather
is Muhammadu [....]⁹⁸

⁹⁵ George the Fifth, king of Great Britain (ruling from 1910—1936).

⁹⁶ Here princess Marie Louise, the granddaughter of queen Victoria, who visited Gold Coast in 1925 is meant.

⁹⁷ Unidentified person.

⁹⁸ Undeciphered fragment.

f° 17

The ruler of Busā [.....]⁹⁹. He begot a daughter named Nāzuliba. Nāzuliba gave birth to a son named Mālik from the Vīsī tribe. Mālik begot a daughter named Zīnab. Zīnab gave birth to Al-Ḥasan. Al-Ḥasan begot Ṣālih.

f° 3

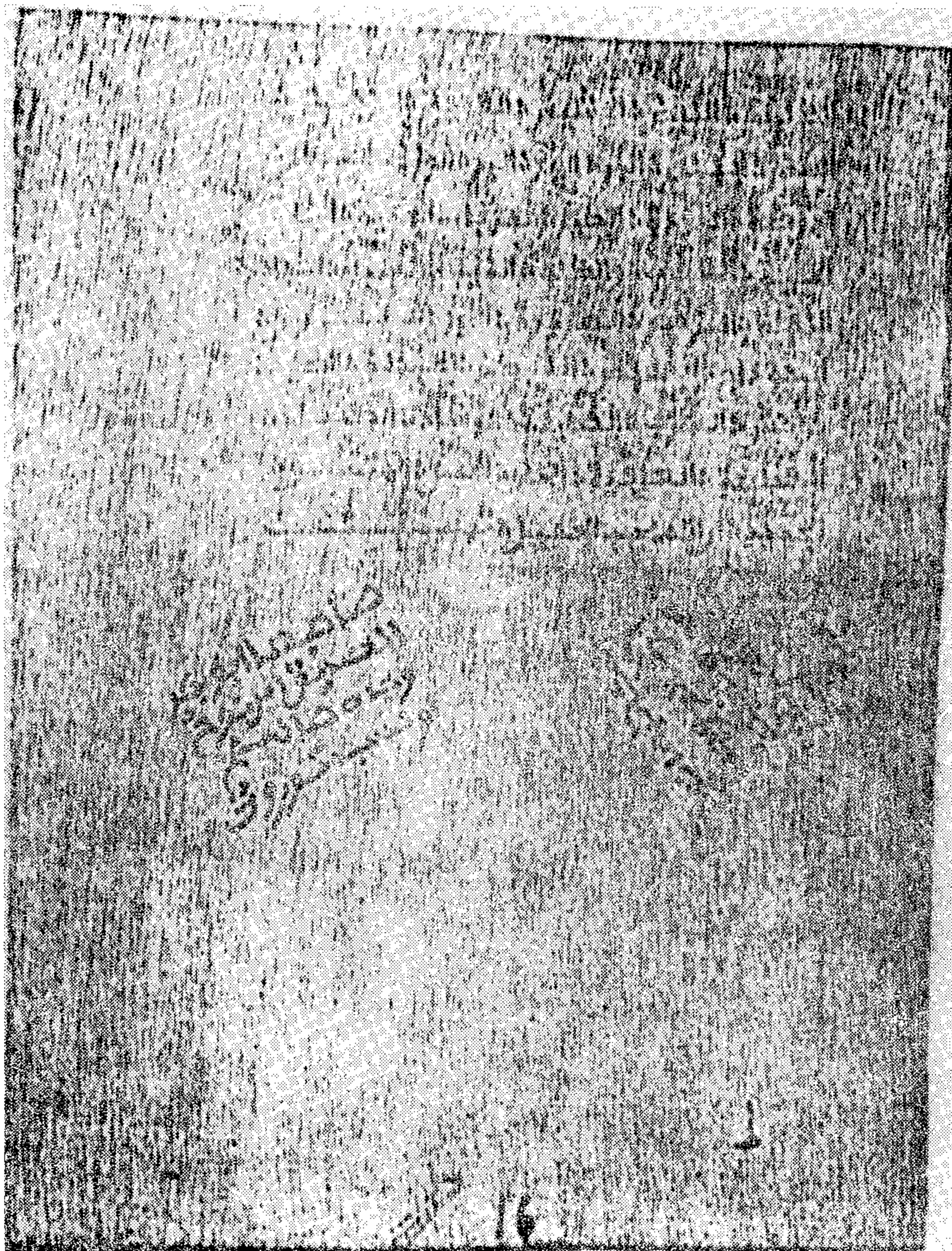
A story of the ruler Safu from Bole. The mother gave birth to a son and the father received him and brought him up. He taught him [until] he grew up. The ruler Safu drove him away. The ruler did not stay in the other town¹⁰⁰. "Come back, go to your town". When the ruler of Yagbon passes away, he will receive his office. He said to the ruler Turufū: "When the ruler of Yagbon passes away, I, the ruler Turufū, I shall be the ruler of Yagbon". The people from Bole said, that they would appoint [him] ruler. Safu arranged a meeting with the people from Bole and said: "Let him give me the chieftainschip in Yagbon". The people from Bole said: "Leave this office. Do not hand it over to anyone of you. If you hand it over, the Turufū people will not be able to take up this office". The ruler of Bole named Safu said: "Let them give me this office, but as for the ruler Turufū, he is not my son. I do not want to deceive him¹⁰¹. The ruler Safu took over the office in Yagbon and replaced the ruler Turufū. His people gathered, came, met the ruler Turufū and said to him: "Stand up and leave [the office] Turufū, give [it] back to us and go to your mother". The ruler Turufū said: "Be patient". He went out with two of [his] people and came to the ruler of Yagbon. He said: "You are not desired in this town, you are dangerous". The ruler of Yagbon said: "If I handed over [the office] to anyone of you, my authority would fall. But now I gained esteem, I can not get rid of it".

⁹⁹ Undeciphered fragment.

¹⁰⁰ This means he lived in the capital.

¹⁰¹ Expression not attested in the Hausa dictionaries. Its translation based on the information of Mr. A. Bayero.

در کتاب (س) یزدانی
میشوند بته لا یزدانی
وورد اینت اسمها تا یزدانی
وورد تا طلب اینت اسمها الی وورد
وورد مالک اینت اسمها یزدانی وورد
وورد مالک



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

الحمد لله الذي جعل الفرط اسرا لنا وسولا وصعد القلم لنا لسانا
 في هذه الوثيقة فخرج من عند ثلاثة السطار قلبه
 عند الحاد طان طير ملوط واوى الى طير الملوط شورى
 عند عان خمسة الملوط اتجيت عليك يا طير الملوط
 شورى عند الستة تعطيني اكراما اذا علمت هذه
 فخرجت مع الملوط بلاد في وبلادك بلاد طمس
 اوى غنك حاد السطار التي تاتي مع شورى اطرش
 شورى مع فرجه دخل البصرى في قبيلة طير
 شورى فلما شرمتمهم لدخل الشان في العبيبة
 شورا تاتي كوشامورة بعد هذا اذا شانا
 ارف اعلم صغيرنا مسر عليم لدخل انا وقره
 نيك للبعط وفومك حتى تموت

DETACHMENT ORDER BOOK, N. T. C.

القبار قلا مع كائنات القبار سيمر الامام بالقبر في بيوت
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١٥٠

f° 1 (upper part)

القبار قلا مع كائنات القبار سيمر الامام بالقبر في بيوت

2

f° 2 (upper part)