

The Arabic Manuscript of Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu of Jamaica, c. 1820

Yacine Daddi Addoun and Paul Lovejoy

An Arabic manuscript wrongly thought to be fragments of the *Qurʾān* written down by a “Young Mandingo Negro” is currently on deposit in the Baptist Missionary Society papers, Angus Library, Regent’s Park College, Oxford.¹ From internal evidence, however, it is clear that the manuscript is a treatise on praying, marriage, and ablutions. It is a poignant statement of life under slavery as a Muslim, revealing a deep faith and attempts to maintain Muslim customs while trying to explain the enforced and prolonged ordeal of slavery. The treatise is divided into two sections that appear to be distinct books; we have given the manuscript the title *Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, “The Book on Praying.” The author is identified as Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu, who lived on the coffee estate of Spice Grove in the mountains of Manchester Parish, west of Mandeville. Spice Grove and hence the author were owned initially by Robert Peart (d. 1797) and then by his children, Edward and

¹James Coultart Papers, Baptist Missionary Society Collection, Angus Library, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford. It is listed in Kenneth E. Ingram, *Sources of Jamaican History, 1655-1838: A Bibliographical Survey with Particular Reference to Manuscript Sources* (London, 1976), vol. I, 525, where it is incorrectly identified as “a part of the Koran,” following the description on the manuscript itself. The ms is filed with the papers of James Coultart, who was the Baptist minister in Kingston from 1817-29; see John Clark, W. Dendy, and J.M. Phillipppo, *The Voice of Jubilee: A Narrative of the Baptist Mission, Jamaica, from its Commencement; with Biographical Notices of its Fathers and Founders* (London: John Snow, 1865), 147-60. The American Southern Baptists, who filmed the B.M.S. collection, appear not to have copied the manuscript (personal communication, James Robertson, 13 April 2001). We wish to thank Audra Diptee for digitalizing the manuscript. James Robertson originally introduced us to the manuscript and has provided assistance in our research, as well as comments on an earlier draft. Sultana Afroz also discussed her own research on the history of Muslims in Jamaica with us, offering useful advice. We also wish to thank various people at Spice Grove who provided us with additional information and accompanied us to the cemetery on the estate. We also wish to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the York/UNESCO Nigerian Hinterland Project for their support.

John Peart.² Kabā lived there from the time of his arrival in Jamaica as a slave in 1777 until his death in 1845. Initially, he was known as Dick, but in early 1813, Kabā was baptised under the Christian name of his deceased master, Robert Peart, and accepted into the Moravian Mission Church at nearby Carmel. At the time, Kabā technically belonged to John Robinson, apparently married to the daughter or widow of Robert Peart, and the fact that Kabā consciously chose the name of his deceased master was probably significant, although why is not clear.³ Kabā has previously come to the attention of scholars who have studied enslaved Muslims in the Americas, but until now it has not been recognized that he was the author of the manuscript discussed here.⁴

²Robert Peart, Esq., a Magistrate and Colonel in the Jamaica Regiment during the Maroon War of 1795-96, buried at Spice Grove, his tombstone giving his date of death as 1 January 1797 when Kabā had been there for twenty years. Two portraits, one of Peart and the other of Mrs. Peart holding a small child, are in the possession of Robinson, Spice Grove. For details on the Peart properties, see the map collection in the National Library, Kingston, especially Nottingham Pen (M90), showing the boundary with Spice Grove, surveyed in 1800, and at the time belonging to John Peart; Lincoln (M112); Oatlands (M147), owned by Edward Peart in 1828; Manchester Parish, 1838 (M258), showing various Peart properties. Also see St.E.846 which shows the locations of the great houses at Nottingham and Spice Grove. Also see *Jamaica Almanack*, 1811-1840 for references to the Peart properties, the number of enslaved inhabitants on the estates, and the acreage. We have also consulted the wills and inventories in the Island Records Office, Spanish Town. Spice Grove, Nottingham and Lincoln were contiguous, and in turn bordered Fairfield, where the Moravian Mission was relocated in 1823.

³For a biographical account of Kabā and his importance to the Muslim community in Jamaica before 1845, see Yacine Daddi Addoun and Paul Lovejoy, “Muḥammad Kabā Saḡhanughu and the Muslim Community of Jamaica under Slavery,” in Paul Lovejoy, ed., *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* (Princeton NJ, forthcoming).

⁴See especially Ivor Wilks, “Abu Bakr al-al-Ṣiddīq of Timbuktu,” in Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 152-69. See also Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 55-56, 58-59; Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984), 525-83; Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 41; Sultana Afroz, “The Unsung Slaves: Islam in Plantation Jamaica – The African Connection,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 15 (1994), 163-64; Afroz, “The Manifestation of *tawḥīd*: the Muslim Heritage of the Maroons in Jamaica”, *Caribbean Quarterly*, XLV (1) March, 1999; Afroz, “From Moors to Marronage: The Islamic Heritage of the Maroons of Jamaica,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 19 (1999), 161-79; Afroz, “The *jihād* of 1831-1832: The Misunderstood Baptist Rebellion in Jamaica,” *Journal of*

The manuscript, 50 folios in length, was written with brown ink on cheap, lined notebook paper, clearly in Jamaica, sometime before late 1823, and perhaps many years earlier. It is not known if this is the original manuscript or a copy, although internal evidence suggests that the manuscript might well have been two separate texts, and repetition that seems the result of a copying error rather than style or necessity, raise the possibility that this manuscript is a copy. Moreover, the note attributing the text to “a young Mandingo Negro,” while Kabā was in fact well advanced in years in 1823 also suggests that it may be a copy. The binding on the text is old, now brittle, made of thick cowhide, a rectangular strip cut to overlap the notebook and sewn on at the back, and perhaps comparable to leather bindings in West Africa. The current binding appears to have replaced the original paper card cover. The cowhide binding may well have been made locally in Jamaica, and was added to preserve the manuscript, clearly demonstrating the value that original owner put on the text, whether or not this is the original text or a copy.⁵ The note written at the “back” of the *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* in English is dated March 11, 1824, the date it was apparently received at Baptist Missionary Society headquarters in London, which establishes that it was not only written before late 1823, but the B.M.S. notebook was also bound by that date, at least. It is likely, therefore, that the present version was written down c. 1820 or earlier and by someone who had access to Baptist note paper, perhaps after Thomas Godden came to Spanish Town in 1819, but there were various ways in which the paper could have been obtained.⁶ Various preachers associated with the Baptists, most especially George Lewis, visited the Manchester Mountains regularly and he or another itinerant Baptist may have provided the notebook for this particular copy.⁷

Muslim Minority Affairs, 21 (2001), 232, 234, 236; and Michael Gomez, *Exchanging our Country Marks The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

⁵We wish to thank James Robertson for his description of the binding.

⁶For a discussion of Godden’s ministry in Jamaica, see Clark, Dendy, and Phillippo, *Voice of Jubilee*, 43-47, 166-70.

⁷See, for example, John Clarke, *Memorials of Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica* (London: Yates and Alexander, 1869), 9-33; and Clark, Dendy and Phillippo, *Voice of Jubilee*, 33-43; and various documents in the Jamaica Moravian Archives, Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town, especially the Diary of John Lang (February 1805 to November 1819), Fairfield, Q-7, and the various Diaries of the Negro Congregation, 1824-25, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1831, 1835, 1836, 1841, 1843 (Fairfield, J-9, J-19, H-2, Q-8, Q-9, Q-10, J-14, J-15, J-16, J12).

George Lewis, whose personal history under slavery took him from the upper Guinea coast to Jamaica, and then Virginia, where he became a Baptist, subsequently returning to Jamaica, and as a slave, worked for Miss Valentine of Kingston, travelling the countryside as an itinerant merchant. Lewis is known to have visited Spice Grove frequently, as least as early as 1815, and was able to purchase his freedom from Miss Valentine with the assistance of collections taken among the enslaved population, including those at Spice Grove. Lewis is most likely the source of the note paper, which in turn may well have been obtained from Godden or otherwise in Kingston.⁸ No other copies are known to exist.

The *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* is difficult to read; it is blurred in parts, and Muḥammad Kabā seems to have had difficulty in pronouncing accurately some words, which is revealed in numerous mistakes in his writing. At least the Arabic with which he was familiar seems to have been the colloquial form common in West Africa at the time. The fact that the author was not a native Arabic speaker is clear, especially in the grammar, or lack of grammar, which makes some passages difficult to understand. In addition, some words are not readily intelligible, and probably can only be understood by someone familiar with the way the author spoke and pronounced words. The errors of spelling, grammar and vocalization present major problems deciphering meanings, further suggesting that the author was not a practiced writer, probably because he did not have much opportunity in Jamaica. For example, he wrote *أَلْعَسِر* instead of *أَلْعَصِر*; or *أَلْبَكْر* instead of *أَلْبَحَارِي*, *تَلَّل* instead of *طَالَ* or *عَشْمَاءَنَّ* instead of *عُثْمَانَنَّ*. Some words are difficult to decipher, such as *سَكِيدَةُ*. The construction of sentences is problematic too. He wrote, for instance, *رَفَعَ رَسَكَ لَيْسَ سَجَدَ فِي هَذَا الْيَوْمِ وَ لَا رُكِعَ* which should read: *إِسْفَعُ لَكُمْ فِي هَذَا الْيَوْمِ* and, another example, *إِشْفَعُ لَنَا فِي هَذَا الْيَوْمِ* which should read *إِسْفَعُ لَكُمْ فِي هَذَا الْيَوْمِ*.

Muḥammad Kabā's *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* contains two sections which focus on prayer and the rituals associated with praying, and there is additional and important information in each section that suggests the level of instruction among Muslims in Jamaica in the early nineteenth century. The first section concerns classical subjects and is in the form of speeches and exhortations about desire and fear, which are equated with heaven and hell. The second section focuses on ablutions before praying, the place of praying, and what to pray, but in the middle is inserted a marriage contract. This mix of different

⁸Lang Diary, Jamaica Moravian Archives.

subjects relating to what it takes to be a Muslim may have been used as a manual of instruction, providing an example of how Islamic marriages may have been consecrated in slave Jamaica and how Muslims attempted to retain other rituals and details of their religion.

In the first section, Kabā addresses the “*jamā'at al-muslimīn wa 'l-muslimāt*” [جماعة المسلمين والمسلمات] that is, the community of Muslim men and Muslim women, three times: the first part of the speech implores people to submit to Allāh; the second concerns “the matter of the tomb;” and the third addresses the obligation of Muslims to pray five times daily. This part of *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* is a series of exhortations for prayer, emphasizing Friday but curiously not mentioning the main Friday prayer itself, which is commonly a large communal gathering (*ṣalātu 'l-jum'ua*: صلاة الجمعة). Kabā writes, for example, “the one who does the “*fajr*” [dawn prayer] on a Friday is like one who prays with ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [cousin and son in law of the Prophet].” He then discusses situations in which prayers are missed, referring to *Kitāb al-munbihāt* of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak. He cites the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of Muslim and al-Bukhārī, two classic books on *ḥadīth*. He mentions several prophets and their qualities. He refers to the ending of the world and the eternity of the other world. He discusses the tomb, the straight path, and death, using as examples Solomon and others who had once lived in this world but died nonetheless. He identifies the signs of the end of the world, painting a grim picture of how people will perspire excessively when the world is ending. Although people will seek out each and every prophet to ask for intercession, none of these save Muḥammad is capable. The author then admonishes readers to follow the straight path and warns them of the questions that will be asked; people must pass the test. Apparently as a symbol of legitimacy, he states that he finished the book on a Friday. As verification, he notes that people whom he identifies as “Jews” referred to him by his Muslim name, Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu.⁹

Kabā inserts several important comments that help put his *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* in perspective with reference to the condition of enslaved Muslims in the Americas, and specifically in Jamaica. His confession that he had lost touch with the tradition of scholarship and instruction available in West Africa is particularly poignant and revealing: “I do not know anything of the knowledge of al-Baḥr: [البحر].”¹⁰ I am losing memory [أفسدني العقل]. I am

⁹While there were Jews in Jamaica, it is not clear if this is the reference here.

¹⁰He refers to the scholarship of one of his teachers who is otherwise unnamed.

not finding science. I start imploring God day and night. I ask for a pardon for every situation. It reminds me of the words of *Shaykh* Bābā 'l-Fakīru. The book is finished, as was said by Abū Madyan.”¹¹ While the significance of this concluding commentary requires fuller discussion than is presented here, it should be noted that Kabā was aware of his isolation, and hence the manuscript and other evidence of Islamic instruction should be situated within the context of slavery and not be glorified as a “survival” or evidence of power, other than spiritual.

The second section or book, like the first, begins with the phrase: “In the name of Allāh Most gracious, Most merciful,” the standard opening of any important document. This section, like the first ends with a colophon. However, the second section or book inexplicably has what appears to be a marriage contract inserted without transition or explanation. This contract ends with “It is correct in the hands of *Almāmī* in the religion of Allāh .” He mentions Ishāq b. ‘Alī 'l-Daramī,¹² Muḥammad Ma, ‘Isā ‘Iyāy Mālikī and refers to three co-wives of al-Ḥajj Walātī, being Faṭūmatu , the first wife, Zuwaynaba, the second wife, and Maryama, the third wife. He then return to the subject of ablutions and what to say when performing them, and then what to say while praying. Kabā provides a formalized ending for the manuscript, concluding, “End of the book [speech] of Kabā Saghanughu [Saḡanuqu].”

Despite weaknesses in style and form, Kabā’s *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* is clearly not portions of the *Qur’ān*, which other evidence indicates was in fact available to Muslims in Jamaica, having been written down from memory at least once.¹³ This manuscript is something that indicates that the Muslim community had managed to preserve knowledge of texts familiar to the Qādiriyya brotherhood of West Africa, and that the style of preservation reveals an educational format and likely attempt to preserve a system of instruction that was com-

¹¹For the doctrinal and poetic works of Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-anṣārī, see Vincent J. Cornell, compiler and translation, *The Way of Abū Madyan. The Works of Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1996).

¹²According to Lamin O. Sanneh, *The Jakhinke: The History of an Islamic Clerical People of the Senegambia* (London: International African Institute, 1979), 19-20, the Darame clerics were the religious heirs of Salīm al-Suwārī and therefore Qadiri like the Kabā clan.

¹³R.R. Madden, *A Twelvemonth’s Residence in the West Indies, during the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship* (Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1970 [1835]), I, 99.

mon in West Africa, particularly among those associated with the Qādiriyya. Indeed, the manuscript is solid evidence that the Qādiriyya, as a sufi order, was to be found in Jamaica in the early nineteenth century.¹⁴

The *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* is clearly a commentary and instructional manual on Islam, with references to a deep and sophisticated tradition of education and transmission. It is equally clear that the author was the leader of a Muslim community in Jamaica, despite the impediments of remaining in touch with much of his Islamic heritage and its institutions. Despite the chain of transmission in leadership that is reminiscent of West Africa, Kabā did not have access to the books or to the intellectual apprenticeship associated with the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* in West Africa. Nonetheless, Kabā, al-Ṣiddīq and other Muslims successfully maintained a sense of community as Muslims, communicating in writing, even as they had to disguise their Muslim identity through the use of Christian names, hiding behind the cloak of evangelical missionary Christianity. They used the spoken word to convey a message of accommodation and adherence to Christianity, while they used written Arabic and identifying symbols, such as names, to claim their religious autonomy and spiritual superiority as Muslims. An Arabic grammar and the *Qurʾān* were essential for the preservation of the Community of Believers, and hence their request to Magistrate R.R. Madden in 1834 for these essential tools of instruction.

The author states his name at the end of the first section of the manuscript and again at the end of the second section as Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu.¹⁵ The name reveals much about his background and his relationship to his homeland in West Africa. Muḥammad, the name usually given to the first-born son by Muslims, is easily recognizable as Muslim. Indeed, this is stated in the account of Muḥammad Kabā's life as recorded by Madden: "The first son, he says, is always called Mohammed."¹⁶ Kabā is a common patronymic among Mandingo and other Muslim Manding in the western Sūdān, in fact constituting a clan of the Jakhanke, the merchant and clerical diaspora in the greater Senegambia region.¹⁷ The Jakhanke were active in Futa Jallon, the neighbouring gold fields of Bambukhu, and along

¹⁴On the Qādiriyya, see Sanneh, *Jakhanke*, 38-43.

¹⁵The author writes سقنق, strictly [Saqanuqu] a colloquial rendition, more properly Saghanughu.

¹⁶Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 135.

¹⁷On the Kabā clan of Jakhanke, see Sanneh, *Jakhanke*, 38-43. Kabā is also a family name that is found in Upper Guinea among Maninka Mori, or Muslim Maninka. The

the routes further into the interior; it may be that the author's place of birth, Bouka, is to be identified with Boké, on the Rio Nunez, which was the coast port for Futa Jallon and hence one terminus of these routes.¹⁸ The Saghanughu were an important clerical family among the Jakhanke who were noted for teaching the Islamic sciences and who were associated with the tradition of scholarship founded by Shaykh Salīm al-Suwārī in the late fifteenth century.¹⁹

Although Muḥammad Kabā identifies himself twice in the text, the covering note on the *Kitāb al-ṣalāt*, in English, states that the text was written by a “Young Mandingo Negro” and came to the attention of Thomas Godden, the Baptist minister in Spanish Town, apparently through “a Negro named Brailsford,” who was a deacon in the Baptist Church in Kingston, where James Coultart was the minister.²⁰ There is no further identification of the “young Mandingo Negro” or Brailsford, but if the author was Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu, he was not young in 1824 (he was 68). He had been absent from West Africa at least 46 years, having left in about 1777. Indeed the author's lament that he was losing his memory confirms his claim that he had

Kabā family founded the Maninka Mori capital city of Kankan, (we wish to thank Walter Hawthorne for this information.) There were a number of Kabā who ended up in slavery in the Americas; see for example the account of Lamine Kabā who was born in Futa Jallon in about 1780 and was taken to the southern United States in about 1807, obtaining his freedom in 1834; see Allan D. Austin *African Muslims Sourcebook*, 415, and the account of Ibrahima Kabwee [Kabā] from Kankan, in *Ibid.*, 434-36. Also see Wilks, “Abu Bakr al-al-Ṣiddīq,” 152-69. Sultana Afroz (“*Jihad* of 1831-1832,” 236) argues that the name “Kaba” has significance as “a symbol of Islamic unity, is the first house of Allah initiated by Prophet Ibrahim.” However, she is referring to [Ka'ba] which is entirely a different word, and her argument ignores the prevalence of Kabā as a patronymic in West Africa.

¹⁸For Futa Jallon in this period, see Boubacar Bary, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 99-102, 148-50; and Sanneh, *Jakhanke*, 94-105.

¹⁹On the Saghanughu, see Ivor Wilks, “The Transmission of Islamic Learning in the Western Sudan,” in Jack Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 162-97; Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993), 21-22; Wilks, “The Saghanughu and the Spread of Maliki Law: A Provisional Note,” *Research Review* (Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana), 2, 3 (1966); and Wilks, “The Juula the Expansion of Islam into the Forest,” in Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, eds., *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens OH, 2000), 95-103. On the dating of *al-Suwārī*, also see Sanneh, *Jahankhe*, 18. Also see Yves Person, *Samori. Une Révolution Dyula* (Paris, 1969), I, 131-49.

²⁰Coultart Papers, B.M.S. Collection, Oxford.

been long removed from Africa. Hence the “young Mandingo Negro” may only have been the person who gave the manuscript to Deacon Brailsford or he could have been someone who had copied the manuscript, as was common in the system of education among Muslims in West Africa.

Despite this apparent confusion, the author is to be identified with “Mahomed Caba,” alias Robert Peart, alias Robert Tuffit,²¹ who came to the attention of R.R. Madden in 1834. On October 7, 1834, Benjamin Angell, “one of the most respectable inhabitants” of Manchester Parish, who owned Adam’s Valley, sent Madden a letter informing him of an unusual Muslim elder who was literate in Arabic, and whom he had come to know, apparently through the Moravian Mission at nearby Fairfield.²² Angell forwarded Kabā’s letter to Madden, who had taken a personal interest in the Muslims he had discovered to his surprise among the enslaved population. Madden had notably befriended Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, who had been born in Timbuktu and had grown up in the commercial center of Jenne, on the Niger River south-west of Timbuktu. Madden’s interest in al-Ṣiddīq and the arrangements for his emancipation were covered in the Kingston *Herald* and appear to have been widely known at the time.²³ Madden later published al-Ṣiddīq’s

²¹The name Tuffit appears in a letter from Kabā to al-Ṣiddīq, apparently transcribed from Arabic, which states: “I give you my name, Robert Tuffit, and the property [where I live] is named Spice Grove;” see Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 133. The name Tuffit may derive from some confusion over the transliteration of Peart into Arabic and re-translated back into English, but otherwise is not explained.

²²Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 133. Angell purchased Adam’s Valley in 1818; see the survey map, November 1818, National Library of Jamaica, Kingston, M 18. By 1821, Adam’s Valley was a small coffee estate with four people in slavery and 21 stock; his wife owned Providence, which had 54 enslaved people and 6 stock; see Return of Givings-In, Proprietors, Properties Etc. Given to the Vestries for Quarter Ending March 1821, *Jamaica Almanack* 1822, 31. In 1832, Angell not only owned Adam’s Valley, with its 96 enslaved residents and 20 stock, but also Tombuctoo with its 18 slaves and 8 livestock, Mayfield with 61 slaves, and Top-ham, with 3 slaves and 54 stock (Return of Givings-In, Proprietors, Properties Etc. Given to the Vestries for Quarter Ending March 1832, *Jamaica Almanack* 1833, 143). For the Moravian connection of Angell and Kabā, and indeed of the Peart family which owned Kabā, see were associated with the Moravian Mission at Fairfield, which is probably how Kabā’s letter came into Angell’s possession. By 1840, Adam’s Valley was one of four outstations for the Moravian Mission at Fairfield; see *Jamaica Almanack*, 1840, 39. For Kabā’s connection with the Moravians, see Diary of John Lang (1805-17) and subsequent “Diaries of the Negro Congregation,” Jamaica Moravian Archives.

²³See Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 131. al-Ṣiddīq’s manumission

autobiography and introduced him to the Royal Geographical Society, unsuccessfully attempting to secure his employment as a guide for future British expeditions in West Africa.²⁴

According to Angell, Kabā “was born in a place called Bouka, in the Mandingo country, nine days’ journey from the sea-side, and near the country of the Fouhlahs, the capital of which is Timbo.”²⁵ We suggest that “Bouka” is to be identified with Boké, on the Rio Nunez, which flowed into the upper Guinea coast from the mountains of Futa Jallon and at the time of Kabā’s enslavement was the principal port on the Atlantic for Futa Jallon. Boké was not actually in Futa Jallon, which accords with Madden’s account, but rather it was located at a navigable point on the Rio Nunez inland from the coast. However, Madden’s account may confuse the distance from the coast with the distance between Boké and Timbo, the capital of Futa Jallon, which was about nine days journey from the coast, i.e., from Boké.²⁶ There were many towns in the western Sūdān in which there were Saghanughu clerical families, but whether there were Saghanughu at Boké is not known.²⁷ According to J.H. Buchner, Kabā was

by birth a Mandingo; he was taught to read and write, and early initiated into the Mahometan faith, being designed for an expounder of their law. When about twenty years of age, he went on a visit to his uncle, previous to his entering ‘the great school of Timbuctoo’ to finish his studies. While there [i.e., at his uncle’s] he was waylaid, and carried down the coast to be sold. His re-

was recorded on September 9, 1834 in Kingston; see Manumission Book 69, commenced 8 February 1834, 1B/11/6/40, Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town. His owner had been Alexander Anderson, who freed him without compensation in face of Madden’s pressure.

²⁴Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II. For a discussion of al-Şiddīq’s the autobiography, see Wilks, “Abu Bakr al-al-Şiddīq,” 152-69. For a discussion of Madden’s career, see Edward J. Mullen, “Introduction,” in Juan Francisco Manzano, *The Life and Poems of a Cuban Slave* (Hamden CN, 1981), 4-12.

²⁵B. Angell to Madden, Manchester, Jamaica, October 7, 1834, in Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 134.

²⁶It should be noted that Sylviane Diouf mistakenly identifies Bouka with Bouna, which is south of Jenne and not located near Timbo, the capital of Fouta Jallon, and is much further inland than nine day’s travel from the sea; Diouf, (*Servants of Allah*, 55). Sultana Afroz claims that Bouka was near Timbuktu, apparently mistaking Timbo, capital of the “Foullah country” with Timbuktu, rather than Futa Jallon; see “*Jihad of 1831-1832*,” 232.

²⁷For the Saghanughu network, see Wilks, “Transmission of Islamic Learning,” 180-88; Wilks, “Juula and Expansion of Islam,” 96-103.

lations endeavoured to ransom him, but in vain: he was brought to Jamaica: this was about the year 1777.²⁸

The date may be significant, perhaps relating to the wars involving Futa Jallon and its eastern neighbours, Solimana and Sankaran. Only after a protracted struggle was Ibrahim Sori able to defeat Sankaran in 1776 and re-establish the ascendancy of Futa Jallon.²⁹ This appears to have been the time when Kabā attempted to visit his uncle at another town, presumably in the interior on his journey to Timbuktu. Where his uncle lived is not stated, but there were disgruntled losers beyond Futa Jallon who probably included those who enslaved Kabā, as Buchner learned. Ironically, he came to live near another “Tombuctoo”, an estate owned by Angell that eventually became the property of the Peart family of Spice Grove.

Muḥammad Kabā’s father was “Abon loo de Kadri,” apparently a representation of Abū Bakr al-Qādirī, clearly connecting Kabā with the Qādiriyya, which in the western Sūdān was associated both with the *jihād* movement and with a quietest, pacifist tradition as well. The Kabā were usually associated with the quietest faction.³⁰ According to what Madden was told, Kabā’s father Abū Bakr al-Qādirī, “was a substantial yeoman, possessing 140 slaves, several cows and horses, and grounds producing quantities of cotton, rice, and provisions, which he exchanged for European and other commodities brought from the coast by Higglers [merchants].”³¹ The reference to rice may also be significant, since the area of the upper Guinea coast near Boké was a rice-producing region, unlike the interior. Muḥammad Kabā himself was well educated, according to his own testimony, “partly by his father, but principally by his uncle, Mohammed Batoul, who was a great lawyer, and had designed him for the same profession.”

From the manuscript, it is clear that Kabā had studied the basic subjects, *Qur’ān*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*. He refers to the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of Muslim and Bukhārī, both books on *ḥadīth*, and to *Kitāb al-munbihāt* of ‘Abd Āllāh b. al-Mubārak. He refers to *Shaykh* Bābā ’l-Fakīru who seems to have been one of his teachers, and to the classical scholar, Abū Madyan (c. 509/1115/6-594/1198).³²

²⁸J.H. Buchner, *The Moravians of Jamaica: History of the Mission of the United Brethren’s Church to the Negroes in the Island of Jamaica, from the Year 1754 to 1854* (London: Longman, Brown, 1854), 50-51.

²⁹Bary, *Senegambia and Atlantic Slave Trade*, 98-100.

³⁰Sanneh, *Jakhanke*, 38-43.

³¹Madden, *Twelve Years in the West Indies*, II, 135.

³²See above, note 10.

These references suggest a standard Islamic education as instituted by the Qādiriyya in West Africa.³³ According to John Hunwick, the style of scholarship focused on a “core curriculum” consisting of the *Muwattaʿ* of Mālik, the *Shifāʿ* of Qādī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, and the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Both the names Kabā and Saḡhanughu establish the author’s connection with the Jakhanke, and the “quietest” tradition of Islam that advocated accommodation with local rulers and non-Muslim societies, and his father’s name, Abū Bakr al-Qādirī, confirms this connection specifically with the Qādiriyya.³⁴ Moreover, the examples of marriage in the *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* include a reference to Iṣḥāq b. Alī ʿl-Darāmī. The Darame were associated with the holy town of Gunjur in Senegambia. According to Lansine Sanneh, “the Darame clerics were treated as the heirs-apparent of al-Hajj Salim [Suwari]...and fathered numerous saints..., jurists, ascetics..., and scholars.”³⁵ While the context of the reference in *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* is unclear, it nonetheless further establishes a connection between the Muslim community of Jamaica and the Qādiriyya.

As Kabā’s text makes clear, there were Muslims in Jamaica who were literate, and to some extent this elite was using the written word in a script indecipherable to the white elite as a means of “secret” communication that offered potential for sabotage and resistance. In 1831, Kabā allegedly had in his possession a document that was deemed sufficiently incriminating that his wife destroyed it as the time of the uprising of Christmas 1831. This pastoral letter (*wathīqa*) “exhorted all the followers of Mahomet to be true and faithful if they wished to go to Heaven, etc.”³⁶ Other than this exhor-

³³Wilks, “Transmission of Islamic Learning,” 192.

³⁴John Hunwick, “Toward a History of the Islamic Intellectual Tradition in West African down to the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 17 (1997), 9; Wilks, “Transmission of Islamic Learning,” 168-70; and Sannah, *Jakhanke*, 14-27.

³⁵Sanneh, *Jahanke*, 19-20.

³⁶The dating of this letter is subject to interpretation. According to Angell, Kabā “has referred me to a known, though anonymous, correspondent,” to verify Kabā’s claim that “about three years ago [i.e, 1831], he received from Kingston, by the hands of a boy, a paper written in Africa, forty-five years previously [i.e., 1789]. He knew it to be of this date, as the paper purported to have been written in the forty-third year of the age of the King, Allaman Talco, who was thirty-five years old when he (R.P.) [i.e., Kabā] left the country.” According to Wilks (“Abu Bakr in Jamaica,” 163-64), it is likely that the reference is the 43rd year of the 13th century of the Muslim calendar, which would date the letter to 1827/28. Almami Talco has not been identified, although at the time the Almami of Futa Jallon was Bubakar; see Bary, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 148-50. Sultana Afroz, by contrast, dates the letter to 1789; see “*Jihad* of 1831-1832,” 232.

tation, the contents of the letter are not known. Kabā's wife feared that its contents would be interpreted as support for the 1831-32 uprising and so she destroyed it. The letter was supposedly written in West Africa, which if accurate, reveals a considerable degree of communication linking the Jamaican community with West Africa. As Ivor Wilks has observed, we do not know what Muslims in diaspora were able to learn about the momentous events in West Africa relating to the *jihād* movement. If the pastoral letter is dated to 1826/7 and was an exhortation to religious observance, then it might well have been incriminating. The letters between al-Ṣiddīq and Kabā seem conspiratorial, which is to be expected in a slave regime.

Muḥammad Kabā and al-Ṣiddīq appear to have known each other, although for how long is not known. Madden learned that the two men "for some time past [had] carried on a correspondence." Madden realized that Kabā maintained a commitment to Islam, despite verbal assurances of Christian belief, and this is clear in the letter from Kabā which Angell had sent to Madden. Although the original Arabic has not been located, Kabā reportedly wrote:

In the name of God, Merciful omnificent, the blessing of God, the peace of his [P]rophet Mahomet. This is from the hand of Mahomed Caba, unto Bekir Sadiki Scheriffe.³⁷ If this comes into your hands sooner or later, send me a satisfactory answer for yourself this time by your real name, don't you see I give you my name, Robert Tuffit [Peart ??],³⁸ and the property is named Spice Grove. I am glad to hear you are master of yourself, it is a heartfelt joy to me, for Many told me about your character. I thank you to give me a good answer, 'Salaam aleikoum.' Edward Donlan, I hear of your name in the paper: the reader told me how so much you write.³⁹

Although the letter congratulates al-Ṣiddīq on receiving his freedom, it also reveals Kabā's continuing commitment to Islam, despite his association with the Moravians.

³⁷The significance of the term "Sherrif" should be noted, often referring merchants from Morocco in this period.

³⁸It is suggested here that Tuffit is a corruption of Peart, as translated into Arabic and retranslated into English.

³⁹Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 133.

When Angell approached Madden in 1834, he suggested that Kabā’s “short and simple annals...may not be uninteresting to you.”⁴⁰ He could not have more fully under stated the significance of the “annals.” Kabā, alis Dick or Robert Peart, had lived at Spice Grove for 57 years at that point. He remained there for such a long time that his influence must have been considerable. He held a privileged position with the Moravians, being appointed “Helper,” i.e., an elder. Because of his prominence, Spice Grove must have become a center of Islam in Jamaica, even under cover of the Moravians. According to Angell, Muḥammad Kabā “has always borne an irreproachable character, and maintained a high place in the estimation of his employers.”⁴¹ This evaluation in the context of slave Jamaica suggests that Kabā did not drink or otherwise behave in a way that would defile the conscience of a devout Muslim. Such behavior was consistent with the teachings of the Moravian Brethrens as well. The reference to his character, combined with the literary tradition of his book and the correspondence with al-Ṣiddīq, seem to suggest more. Kabā was certainly capable of running a *Qurānic* school, and from the evidence he likely would have attempted to do so. Yet there is no evidence of such a school at Spice Grove at this point, other than the possibility of the manuscript being a copy which might indicate tutoring, at least, copying being a standard pedagogical technique of West African Islam and the Qādiriyya in particular.⁴²

In his investigations, Madden had inadvertently stumbled on a small Muslim community that had existed in Jamaica since at least the end of the eighteenth century and which identified itself as Mandingo.⁴³ It is instructive that Muḥammad Kabā addressed the “Community of Believers” (*jamā’ah al-muslimīn wa ’l-muslimāt*), using the phrase three times. Bryan Edwards had learned of the presence of Mandingo clerics in Jamaica in the eighteenth century, and other contemporary observers also noted their presence and their identification with Islam elsewhere.⁴⁴ It remains to ask if there

⁴⁰Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 134.

⁴¹Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 134.

⁴²Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 142-47, letter to William Rainsford, Benjamin Cochran, Benjamin Larten, and Edward Donlan [Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq], Kingston, October 15, 1835.

⁴³On the Manding/Mandingo in the African diaspora, see Sylviane Diouf, “Devils or Sorcerers, Muslims or Studs: Manding in the Americas,” in Paul Lovejoy and David Trotman, eds., *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora* (London: Continuum, 2002).

⁴⁴Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British West Indies* (Lon-

were connections among Muslims in Jamaica with Muslims elsewhere in the Caribbean and North America. The existence of a pastoral letter that was supposedly written in West Africa suggests that there is reason to believe that some communication occurred. The Trinidad community was particularly well organized in the 1820s and 1830s under Mohammed Bath and others. The Muslim leaders claimed that there were no Muslims in Trinidad who were still enslaved at the time of emancipation in 1834, a far different situation than in Jamaica, where al-Şiddīq and Kabā were both slaves.⁴⁵ In Trinidad, as in Jamaica, Muslims were generally known as Mandingo, which suggests a parallel that may have been reinforced by direct communication. As elsewhere in the Caribbean and in North America, Mandingo were identified with Islam. There were similar communities of “Mandingo” in the United States, Antigua, and probably elsewhere.⁴⁶

Al-Şiddīq answered Kabā’s letter of congratulations on October 18, 1854, addressing him “dear countryman,” and asking for his prayers, and for the prayers of the community, noting that “whenever you wish to send me a letter, write it in [the] Arabic language; then I will understand it properly.”⁴⁷ al-Şiddīq recounted the principal details of his life, from his birth in Timbuktu to his education in Jenne, and the good fortune that he had experienced in Jamaica despite slavery, attributing his fate to God. He expressed allegiance to Britain and its King, and called on unity within the Muslim community. He asked Kabā to pray for his former master, who under Madden’s pressure had voluntarily freed al-Şiddīq, without financial compensation. Apparently there was hope for the same treatment for other Muslims, thereby holding the hope of release from the period of apprenticeship that was to last until 1838. In the *Kitāb al-şalāt*, Kabā talks about losing his memory, but sometime after 1827/8 he came into the possession of a pastoral letter that his wife deemed

don, 1819) II, 71-73. Also see Cynric Williams, *A Tour through the Island of Jamaica, from the Western to the Eastern End, in the Year 1823* (London, 1827) Elsewhere, see, for example, the report of the Mandingo Muslim in St. Croix, named Benjamin, who died in 1796. He supposedly joined the Moravians in 1779; see Holmes (*Historical Sketches*, 326); and Oldendorp’s account.

⁴⁵Paul Lovejoy and David Trotman, “Creating the Community of Believers: African Muslims in Trinidad, c. 1800-1850,” in Lovejoy and Trotman, *Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*.

⁴⁶Lovejoy and Trotman, “Community of Believers in Trinidad;” Gomez, *Exchanging our Country Marks*, 59-87; Diouf, *Servants of Allah*; and Afroz, “Islam in Plantation Jamaica,” 159-60.

⁴⁷Madden, *Twelve Months in the West Indies*, II, 136-37.

sufficiently incriminating to destroy in the anxious times of 1831/32. As the *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* demonstrates, Kabā may have had difficulty remembering his Islamic education, but the book also clearly demonstrates that he tried his best to sustain his faith and convey the teachings of Islam to other Muslims.

Appendix

The *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* of Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu of Jamaica c. 1823

Translation

In the name of Allāh, Most gracious, Most Merciful. Allāh’s blessings and peace be upon our Master Muḥammad – His Prophet – and his family and companions [...]

Allāh Almighty said: Be wary of Allāh [...] and perform your prayers day and night [even] when people are asleep.

You sleep but God does not sleep. You sleep but the devil does not sleep. You sleep but the angels do not sleep. O [brother], wake up, because sleep is a waste; because you will regret it. You will regret it. O community of Muslim men and women (*yā jamā’ah al-muslimīna wa ’l-muslimāt*), think about the matter of this world. This world must be submission for Allāh because Allāh said: “He who obeys Allāh and His Prophet will enter paradise for ever and he who disobeys Him and His Prophet will enter hell forever.”⁴⁸

The Prophet, in the book [...] said: “Whoever prays the dawn (*fajr*: فجر) prayer on a Friday prays with ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,⁴⁹ may Allāh be pleased with him. Whoever says the prayer of noon (*ẓuhr*: ظهر) on a Friday prays with ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān,⁵⁰ may Allāh be pleased with him. Whoever says the prayer of the afternoon (*‘aṣr*: عصر) on a Friday prays with ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,⁵¹ may Allāh be pleased with him. Whoever says the prayer after sunset (*maghrib*: مغرب) on a Friday prays with Abū Bakr Al-Ṣiddīq,⁵² may Allāh be pleased with him. Whoever says the prayer of (*atama*: عتمة) of the

⁴⁸These sort of verses appear in *Qur’ān* in several places, but not in this form. Cf. for example: Chap. IV, 13-14; Chap. LVII, 17; Chap. LXXII, 23.

⁴⁹Cousin and son in law of the Prophet and the 4th Caliph.

⁵⁰The 3rd Caliph.

⁵¹The 2nd Caliph.

⁵²The 1st Caliph.

night (*‘isha*: عشاء) – *‘atama* or *‘ishā* is the same⁵³ it is as if he prayed with Muḥammad; Allāh’s blessings and peace be upon him.

The Prophet said: “Whoever performs the five prayers washes five times a day. Will he remain dirty? [Likewise], he who says the five prayers will remain [...]”⁵⁴

The Prophet said: “He who does not say his prayers; it is as if he [...] his mother inside the Ka’ba. The Prophet said: “Whoever [...] his mother inside the Ka’ba is [closer?] to the blessing of Allāh.” The Prophet said: “[Delaying the prayers will delay] four things: sleep in the tomb, the [...] delays [before judgement is rendered?], [weighing?] the balance, and resting in paradise.

‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak⁵⁵ said in his book *al-Munbihāt*: Four things will speak for everyone: Angels will speak about the soul; the [...] will speak about the flesh; the parents will speak about the material world [?]; the tyrant by his deeds. The pious people said in the book of Muslim and Bukhārī, Allāh will compensate four [kinds of people] through [the fate of] four [Prophets]: the slave by Joseph; the poor by Jesus; the sick by Job; the rich by Solomon, Allāh’s blessings and peace be upon them.

This world lasts only one hour because Allāh Almighty said:

All that is on earth
Will perish:
But will abide (for ever)
The face of thy Lord
Full of Majesty,
Bounty and Honour⁵⁶

This world is a house for the one who does not have a place in paradise. This world is carrion, who asks for it is like a dog. The things of this world are

⁵³Dr Muhammad Muhsin Kan, صحيح البخاري *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari. Arabic- English* (Al-Madina Al-Munawwara: Islamic University, n.d.), 314.

⁵⁴Ibid., 301, the *ḥadīth* number 506 has the same meaning but with slight differences.

⁵⁵‘Abd Allāh b. Mubārak 736-797 Ca. is the author of several books among which a book on *ḥadīth*. Cf. Al-imām ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, *Musnad ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak wa yalāh kitābu ‘l-birr wa ‘l-ṣīla*, ed. Dr Muṣṭafā ‘Uṭhmān Muḥammad, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1411 H. /1991 G.). Cf. also J. Robson, “Ibn al-Mubārak” in *E.I.2*, vol. III, 879.

⁵⁶Chap. 55, vs. 26-27: The Presidency of Islamic Research, IFTA, Call and Guidance (Revised and edited by): *The Holy Qur-’ān. English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*. 1664

insignificant; they are [the objects of] vanity, for people who have illusions. The afterworld is the place of happiness. Do not hold this world on your heads. And do not prefer [...] to [...] because [...]

O community of Muslim men and Muslim women think about the matter of the tomb; because the tomb is dark, and its secret is obedience to Allāh; because the path (*ṣirāt*: صراط) is darkness, and its secret is charity.

O community of Muslim men and Muslim women think about the matter of death. Did it not come to Solomon, son of David, who possessed the world and its comforts. He died. Was not it the case of Alexander the Great. Bū 'l-Qarnayn;⁵⁷ possessed the world and its comforts. He died. Was not it the case of Namrūd son of Kanān who possessed the world and its comforts. He died. Was not it the case of the king [...] He possessed the world and its comforts; he died. Was it not the case for the ones who preceded us and the ones who will come after us? Everybody will die.

The day of judgment, when the trumpet will be blown, they will cry in their tombs [.....] line by line. They will stand in five places. Each one lasts one thousand years. On the first day of the end of the world, the sun will be a span of one hand (*shibr*: شبر) above the heads of people.⁵⁸ [...] Their heads will hurt seventy times more. People will say “my head, my head, my head.” People will not recognize their parents and parents will not recognize their children, because the day of judgment is when people pay their debts.

People will sweat all over their bodies.⁵⁹ Some will feel the sweat on their legs, some on their feet, some on their navels, some to their knees, some to their thighs, some to their [...], some to their [...], some on their hips, some on their bellies, some on their chests, some on their [...], some on their necks, some on their lips, some on their faces, some on their heads. Some will sink in their sweat like [...] sinking in water.

When people are exhausted of waiting, and after they have faced so much hardship, they will ask for intercession.⁶⁰ They will go to Adam; they will tell him: “O Adam, intercede for us this day. The [test of] endurance and the fear of punishment have exhausted the people. [Their minds have gone]. Their children look old, and the elders look young [senile]”. Adam will say:

⁵⁷Cf. Watt, W. Montgomery, “Al-Iskandar”, in *E.I.* 2, vol. IV, 127.

⁵⁸See the same description in Al-imām ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, *Musnad*, 51.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid, 53-4, similar to the *ḥadīth* with difference in wording.

“I cannot [do anything] today.”

They will go to Noah, and they will tell him: “O Noah, intercede for us this day. The endurance and the fear of punishment have exhausted the people. [Their minds have gone]. Their children look old and the elders look young”. Noah will say: “I cannot [do anything] today.”

They will go to Abraham, and they will tell him: “O Abraham, intercede for us this day. The endurance and the fear of punishment have exhausted the people. [Their minds have gone]. Their children look like old and the elders look young”. Abraham will say: “I cannot [do anything] today.”

They will go to Moses, and they will tell him: “O Moses, intercede for us on this day. The endurance and the fear of punishment have exhausted the people. [Their minds have gone]. Their children look old and the elders look young”. Moses will say, like his brothers: “I cannot [do anything] today.”

They will go to Jesus [ʿĪsā], and they will tell him: “O Jesus, intercede for us on this day. The endurance and the fear of punishment have exhausted the people. [Their minds have gone]. Their children look old and the elders look young”. Jesus will say, like his brothers: “I cannot [do anything] today.”

They will go to Muḥammad, Allāh’s blessings and peace be upon him, and they will tell him: “O Prophet of Allāh, intercede for us on this day. The endurance and the fear of punishment have exhausted the people. [Their minds have gone]. Their children look old and the elders look young”.

The Prophet of Allāh will then fly and will land above the throne. He will fall down [...] in front [of Allāh]. [He] will tell Him, “O Prophet of Allāh, raise your head. There is no prostration and no bowing on this day. You ask, I will give. Today, you get what you were promised.”

The Prophet will say: “ The endurance and the fear of punishment have exhausted the people. [Their minds have gone]. Their children look old and the elders look young”

Today is the day of separation between the ones who will be happy and the ones who will be punished. Allāh will give orders to the angels [...] They will bring earth. He will expand it under their feet [...] No injustice will be committed on it. They will carry him and walk the distance of five hundred years.

Hell will be put in a huge hole whose opening will be suspended on the top of people. All the people will tremble. The Prophet of Allāh will take the opening of hell with one hand and will fly with it five hundred years. Snakes and scorpions will take the sinners among the people and fly to fire. The snakes are as big as cows and scorpions as [...] Even when the snakes

and scorpions are biting for one year no poison will enter the body.

People will be given books [of their deeds]. The ones who receive their books with their right hands will be the winners. Angels will lift them above the crowds. They will tell them “O so and so son of so and so [you are granted] happiness, no sadness thereafter”.

The ones who get their books from behind their backs, with their left hands, are the corrupt ones. The angels will lift them above the crowds. They will tell them. The angels will lift them above the crowds. They will tell them:⁶¹ “O so and so son of so and so; [you are condemned] to misery, no happiness thereafter.” They will bring the balance and it will go down. [They weigh] the deeds of people. The ones who [are] good will be safe. The ones who [are] bad are the corrupt ones.

They will follow the path (*ṣirāt*) which is situated on the top of hell. The path is thinner than a hair[. . .] You never find such a darkness. It has seven corners.

On the first corner, people will be asked about their prayers. If they performed them, they will pass; otherwise, they will fall into hell. On the second corner, people will be asked about alms. If they provided them, they will pass; otherwise, they will fall into hell. On the third corner, people will be asked about the fasting. If they performed it, they will pass; otherwise, they will fall into hell. On the fourth corner, people will be asked about the pilgrimage. If they performed it, they will pass; otherwise, they will fall into hell. On the fifth corner, people will be asked about the obligations to parents. If they performed them, they will pass; otherwise, they will fall into hell. On the sixth corner, people will be asked about the rights of the gathering [of the community] (*ḥaqq al-majlis* : *حقّ المجلس*). If they performed them, they will pass; otherwise, they will fall into hell. On the seventh corner, people will be asked about the rights of worldly existence (*ḥaqq al-dunyā* : *حقّ الدنيا*). If they performed them, they will pass; otherwise, they will fall into hell.⁶²

‘Uthmān stands on the beginning of the path, ‘Umar on one side, ‘Alī in the middle, Gabriel on the other side, and Abū Bakr at the end of the path. Until the last person of the nation (*ʿumma* : *أمة*) of the Prophet of Allāh, blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him, will pass.

Some people will pass on the path like lightening; others will pass like

⁶¹These two sentences are repeated in the original perhaps by mistake.

⁶²It should be noted that the question of *jihād* is not raised.

wind, others will pass like birds; others will pass like [...] of horses; others like [...]; others will walk like [...]; others will make it to the end of the path walking on their knees; some will stand on the path [...]; some will follow the path on their bellies like snakes. Some will cross the path in one year; others will cross it in one thousand years. All the people will follow the path according to their deeds.

The book has finished [on the last day?] written by the hands of the [slave/person] (*abd*: العبد) on Friday. The Jews refer to the name of his owner Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu... [the writer?] I am Muḥammad Kabā Saghanughu. I do not know anything of the knowledge of al-Baḥr: (البحر)⁶³; My memory [reason] is corrupted. I am not finding science. I have started asking for pardon day and night. I ask for pardon for every situation [...]

I have learned these words from Shaykh Bābā al-Fakīru, who said: “Whoever hides knowledge [should be thrown??] in the sea”.⁶⁴“End.” The speech [book] ends, as Abū Madyan said, End.

In the name of Allāh, Most gracious, Most Merciful.

Section. The obligation of ablutions (*wuḍūʿ*: وضوء): pure water, clean (*tā-hir*: طاهر) clothes, clean prayer ground. The Prophet of Allāh avoided praying in the lair of the lion or in his path, [...], near tombs, [...] in the doorways of houses, [...], in the place of love making (*mawḍiʿu ʿl-waṭi*: موضع الوطى), the places of unbelievers, and [...].

Ablutions are made with water whose color has not changed, and water [...]. The conditions of using sand (or stone) ablutions (*tayammum*: تيمم) are absence of water, being sick and not being able to wash; then one can use *tayammum*. [...]

When one bows (*rakaʿa*: ركع), one should say: “Glory and praise be to the sublime Lord.” When prostrating one should recite the following: “Glory to God. I abused myself, and did wrong. Grant pardon to me [...].”

O Allāh, bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad three times. O Allāh, bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad three times. Praise be to Allāh Who permitted to us what is permitted and forbade fornication and [treating kinship as water]. Your God is Most Powerful.

I take you, O Angels of God and Muslim men and Muslim women who

⁶³Al-Baḥr literally means sea but refers specifically to any man of extensive knowledge or science; or displays a wide range of knowledge.

⁶⁴This last sentence is crossed out in the original.

are present here, as witnesses that the son of so and so wants to contract a marriage between so and so and the daughter of so and so. We married her to him according to the obligation of Allāh, the *sunna* of His Prophet, and the acts which saints regard as acceptable.

Then [reciting] "Have we not expanded thee thy breast" until "Turn (all) thy attention"⁶⁵ three times.

Her dowry is declared, received with grace, and [even] her divorce with benevolence. Allāh may bring between us and the married couple, [love], happiness, richness, and good sons [descendants], for the *umma* of Muḥammad, Allāh's blessings and peace be upon him.

May Allāh grant pardon to me, to my parents, their parents, our brothers, the brothers of our brothers, our kinsmen, the kin of our kin people, our teacher, the teacher of our teacher, for all the Muslim men and Muslim women and pious men and women; all of them, the ones who are alive and the dead ones. You are the Most Powerful. May God bless Muḥammad, Allāh's blessings and peace be upon him.

It was correctly [done] by the hands of Almami in the religion of Allāh and the religion of the Prophet, Allāh's blessings and peace be upon him. This is a duty. The obligation of all Muslim men and Muslim women, from Adam to Muḥammad and from Muḥammad to the end of time.

[In accordance with] the *sunna* of your Prophet [O brother], this act of writing [the contract] is for the sake of Allāh and the Prophet. There are three concerned witnesses 'Ishāqa b. 'Alī 'l-Daramī,⁶⁶ Muḥammad Ma 'Isā, 'Iyāyi Mālikī. Certified between him and his wife[s?] the name of the first wife of al-Ḥajj Walātī [.] al-Ḥajj Walātī Faṭūmatu. The second Zuwaynaba, the wife of al-Ḥajj Walātī. The third Maryama, the wife of al-Ḥajj Walātī, that it will be proof between us and them, in this world until the day of judgment, Allāh willing; no doubt about Him, He who [has] doubts about Him is an unbeliever (*kāfir*: كافر).

⁶⁵Chap. XCIV, *sūra 'l-Sharḥ*: "1. Have we not/ Expanded thee thy breast? / 2. And removed thee/ Thy burden / 3. The which did gall / Thy back?- / 4. And raised high the esteem / (in which) thou (art held)? / 5. So, verily, / With every difficulty,/ There is relief: / 6. Verily, with every difficulty / There is relief / 7. Therefore, when thou art Free (from thine immediate task), / Still labour hard, / 8. And to thy Lord / Turn (all) thy attention." The Presidency of Islamic Research, IFTA, Call and Guidance (Revised and edited by): *The Holy Qur-'ān. English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*, 1974-5.

⁶⁶According to Sanneh, *Jakhanke*, 19-20, the Darame clerics were considered the heirs of al-Ḥajj Salīm Suwārī and are associated with the holy town of Gunjur.

Section: The obligation of ablutions (*wuḍūʿ*: وضوء) It is an obligation for all, the ones who are at the age of majority (*mukallaf*: مكلف) among the (*umma*) of Muḥammad.

In the name of Allāh: what [to say/think] (*niyya*: نية) when performing ablutions three times:

O Allāh make me eat from [...] of paradise, O Allāh [...] from the fruits of paradise. O Allāh make my face white as the white face of the pious and the virtuous people, and not as dark as the darkness of unbelievers and hypocrites, for the holiness of Muḥammad, Allāh’s blessings and peace be upon him. O Allāh give me my book with the right hand, three times. O Allāh protect my head from the trouble of the day of judgment, three times. [I will hear] with attentive ear three times. O Allāh hold my feet on the path as you hold the feet of the pious and good people, three times. And not weaken my feet on the path as you weaken the feet of the unbelievers and hypocrites, for the sake of Muḥammad, Allāh’s blessings and peace be upon him.⁶⁷

After the *tayammum* and ablutions, [one has to say]: I bear witness that no God exists but Allāh Alone with no associate and bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger.

And calling for the prayer. You say in prostration “Glory and praise be to the sublime Lord”, three times. Upon bowing you say: “Glory to God. I abused myself, and did wrong. Grant pardon to me”, three times. You recite the goodness of Allāh.⁶⁸ By the prayer of dawn.

Submissiveness (*qunūt*: قنوت).⁶⁹ “O Allāh we ask your help and seek your forgiveness, we believe in you, we ask your pardon, we abandon ourselves to you, we retire to you, and we cast off the people who [disobey] you. O Allāh

⁶⁷This section shows what to say/think when performing ablutions, following the order of the parts of body one washes: mouth, nose, face, arms, head, ears, and feet.

⁶⁸This is called *tashahhud*: تَشَاهُود and is recited silently when seated: “All Salutations is due to Allah and all Prayer and everything pure. Peace be upon thee, O Prophet, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings; and peace be on us and on all righteous servants of Allah. I bear witness that Muhammad is his servant and Messenger.” See the Arabic text and this translation in Anonymous, *Salat: The Muslim Prayer Book*, (Islamabad / Surrey: Islam International Publications Ltd, 1997), 42. See also the variants of *tashahhud* in Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAlbānī, *Ṣifāh ṣalāh al-nabī ṣallā ʿLlahu ʿalayhi wa sallam, mina ʿl-takbīri ʿilā ʿl-taslīmi kaʿannka tarāhā*, (*Manṣhūrāt al-maktab al-islāmī*, 1389 h.), 172-82.

⁶⁹*Qunūt* is a prayer which is said during the prayer of dawn.

we worship you and pray for you. We prostrate before you, we flee to you, we [...?], we hope for your mercy. We fear very much your punishment. Your punishment will fall on the unbelievers.”⁷⁰ End.

This is the obligation of the five prayers for the Muslim men and Muslim women of the *umma* of Muḥammad, Allāh’s blessings and peace be upon him.

The speech is finished [...] book of Kabā Saqanuqu [Saghanughu].

⁷⁰Anonymous, *Salat*, 64; On *qunūt* see Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAlbānī, *Ṣifāh ṣalāh al-nabī*, 191-97.