



Sulaiman Adewale Alagunfon

The Classical Arabic *Maqāma* in Yorubaland, Nigeria

Texts, Contexts, and Scholars

The Classical Arabic *Maqāma* in Yorubaland, Nigeria

Global Arabic Literary Cultures

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VOLUME 1

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By

Sulaiman Adewale Alagunfon



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Cover illustration: A *maqāma* teaching session inside a mosque in Ibadan Nigeria, 2018.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Alagunfon, Sulaiman Adewale, author.

Title: The classical Arabic *maqāma* in Yorubaland, Nigeria : texts, contexts, and scholars / by Sulaiman Adewale Alagunfon.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2025. | Series: Global Arabic literary cultures, 2949-6756 ; volume 1 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024059466 (print) | LCCN 2024059467 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004693685 (hardback ; acid-free paper) | ISBN 9789004716124 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Maqamah—History and criticism. | Arabic prose literature—Nigeria—History and criticism. | Yoruba (African people)—Intellectual life. | LCGFT: Literary criticism.

Classification: LCC PJ7572.M3 A426 2025 (print) | LCC PJ7572.M3 (ebook) | DDC 892.7/3309896333—dc23/eng/20250129

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2024059466>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2024059467>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2949-6756

ISBN 978-90-04-69368-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-71612-4 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004716124

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*To Aḅeni, and to Abdullah, Ayman, A'isha, Asmaa', Abdul-Hayy, and
Abdul-Wadud*



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Foreword

When the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) appeared on the scene over nine centuries ago, the text became an instant classic. This collection of stories (*maqāmas*) about the eloquent rogue Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī was first read aloud to a group of prominent scholars in Baghdad in the early 6th/12th century. It then spread rapidly to al-Andalus, Central Asia, and beyond. For centuries, al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* was a central feature of Islamic education, attracting dozens of commentaries and scores of adaptations. Its remarkable success across centuries has been obscured by the rapid decline in its reputation over the course of the 13th/19th century, when al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* became, for many, a symbol of literary decadence and cultural decline. As put by Charles Pellat, a 20th-century French Orientalist, the reasons for the *Maqāmāt*'s extraordinary success "are somewhat difficult to understand and must be accounted for by the decline of literary taste."¹ Both Arab reformers and Orientalists heavily criticized al-Ḥarīrī for what they considered its overly ornate rhyming prose and its emphasis on form over content. In the past century, scholars of Arabic literature have found al-Ḥarīrī's predecessor al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) more appealing to read, study, and translate. This preference is partly because the earlier collection is perceived as more focused on narrative content and less concerned with linguistic fireworks like palindromes and double entendres.

However, al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* did not fall out of favor in all corners of the Islamic world. In this book, Dr. Sulaiman Adewale Alagunfon shows that the text continues to thrive in Nigeria today. For many Muslim scholars in Yorubaland, the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī is a central text in an Arabic and Islamic education. As Dr. Alagunfon's study of Yorubaland scholarly culture demonstrates, al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* continues to be celebrated and taught intensively in the more traditional venues of Arabic education. Because the *maqāma* genre holds such prestige, members of Yorubaland's Muslim scholarly elite have begun composing new *maqāma* collections in recent decades, an important development in the long history of the *maqāma* genre that Dr. Alagunfon's monograph brings to our attention. For these authors, the *maqāma* is not considered an old fashioned or obsolete genre. Rather, al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* and the *maqāma* genre more broadly speak to the concerns of the present, including the paramount

1 Margoliouth, D.S. and Pellat, Ch., "al-Ḥarīrī", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, online version. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Accessed on March 2, 2024 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2733.

importance of Arabic as a language of Islamic scholarship. As one of Dr. Alagunfon's interlocutors states, those who have not mastered the *maqāma* cannot truly claim to be scholars of Arabic. In Yorubaland, dedicating a lifetime to the study of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* as a student, scholar, and teacher is a marker of scholarly prestige. As was the case for centuries across the Islamic world, authoring *maqāmas* has now become a way for Yorubaland scholars to participate in the *maqāma* tradition.

Having read Dr. Alagunfon's study and some of the Nigerian *maqāmas* that he has analyzed, I felt it might be pertinent in this foreword to address some of the methodological questions that his important study brings to mind, particularly for those who are interested in Arabic literature and Islamic studies. For some contemporary scholars of Arabic literature, it is counterintuitive that al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* flourished in Islamic contexts, given how subversive the text appears. After all, al-Ḥarīrī's rogue deploys his erudition and eloquence to dupe his audiences. In the very first of al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāmas*, Abū Zayd holds a pious sermon urging his audience to asceticism; however, the narrator later discovers that the preacher is a hypocrite who feasts and drinks away from watchful eyes. In another *maqāma*, Abū Zayd issues a series of seemingly incorrect *fatwās*, which only make sense when you recognize the use of double entendre. Confronted with these parodic deployments of piety, modern scholars have often assumed that al-Ḥarīrī's work was subversive to Muslim sensibilities, representing a kind of "carnavalesque" mockery of Islamic scholarship that serious Muslim scholars must have found abhorrent. What these interpretations fail to consider is the vibrant Islamic reception of the text over the course of centuries, a reception that continues into the present in some circles.

What are we to make of this apparent tension between the playfully parodic content of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* and its celebrated status as a quintessentially Islamic text? The simple answer is that this apparent tension is based on the mistaken assumption that Muslim sensibilities are inherently opposed to irony, parody, and play. One of the major themes of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* is that language has the potential to both conceal and reveal, depending on the capacities of the reader. Excellent readers can look beyond the obvious meaning of the text and derive pleasure in uncovering its hidden layers. This level of complexity is one of the features that led the 6th/12th-century commentator al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610/1213) to claim that al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* was marked by inimitability (*ī'jāz*), a term that is often thought to be reserved for the Qur'ān's miraculous inimitability. As Dr. Alagunfon points out in his study, Yorubaland scholars continue to describe the *Maqāmāt* as inimitable, and some go so far as to identify al-Ḥarīrī as "the Prophet of language (*nabī al-lugha*)."

I believe this deep connection between the *Maqāmāt* and the sacred through language is not as surprising or counterintuitive as it may initially seem. The Qurʾān itself is a complex, deeply allusive, and sometimes difficult text that challenges the reader to undertake the potentially arduous task of exegesis. For many interpreters, the Qurʾān is “a sea without a shore,” and the reader must remain constantly aware that the language may have multiple meanings. Similarly, in al-Ḥārīrī’s *Maqāmāt*, only the elite interpreters are able to see beyond the surface level of Abū Zayd’s performances. In the *maqāma* mentioned above that contains a litany of *fatwās* with double meanings, the fictional audience is left with the incorrect, surface-level interpretations. However, the narrator distinguishes himself as a skilled interpreter by uncovering their hidden meanings. These hermeneutical narratives dramatize the process of interpretation that might be undertaken by careful readers of sacred texts. Al-Ḥārīrī’s *Maqāmāt* also warns that the discipline of reading carefully can be undermined by desire and delight. In some *maqāmas*, an onlooker is distracted by a speaker’s physical beauty, and in others, it is the licit magic of Abū Zayd’s eloquent speech that mesmerizes the audience. Reading and interpreting texts, whether scriptural or not, requires both a deep knowledge of Arabic and a temperament that is not distracted by dazzling figures and performances.

As Dr. Alagunfon shows, Abū Zayd’s reputation and influence is not limited to the scholarly sphere. For instance, the word *saruji* in Yoruba refers to a crafty and witty person. This term is used because the person is likened to Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī. Dr. Alagunfon also demonstrates that one of the trickster’s performances in al-Ḥārīrī’s *Maqāmāt* has been incorporated into Yorubaland prayer books in Arabic. In other words, a fictional rogue’s prayer of the 6th/12th century has become part of the quotidian language and Islamic culture of Yorubaland. To tell the whole story, we must turn to *maqāma* #12 of al-Ḥārīrī’s *Maqāmāt*, in which the rogue Abū Zayd encounters the narrator and his companions as they search for some armed protection for their caravan journey. Abū Zayd is dressed in the guise of a monk (*labūsuhu labūs al-ruhbān*) and offers to sell the narrator and his companions a prayer as protection. Mere language is not an armed escort, but Abū Zayd assuages their doubts by promising to travel with them. The monkish man fully trusts the power of his prayer and, as a result, the narrator and his company also place their trust in it. When they arrive safely, he disappears, only to be found later by the narrator in a tavern, which sparks the narrator’s righteous indignation. The narrator swears never to enter a tavern or a wine shop again and departs, saying “we left those two sheikhs, Abū Zayd and Iblis, to themselves.”² It is Abū Zayd’s prayer in this *maqāma*, discussed in Dr.

2 al-Ḥārīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarūjī*, ed. Michael Cooperson (New York: New York University Press, 2020), 55.

Alagunfon's study and detailed in his appendices, that has come to be considered both efficacious and worthy of imitation.

The Ḥarīrian *maqāma* from which the prayer derives seems to be a loose adaptation of a *maqāma* by al-Hamadhānī, in which the narrator finds himself on a ship being tossed about by a storm, causing him and the other passengers to weep and wail. One man, whom we find out later is the rogue Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī, appears to be unmoved by the terrors of the storm. He explains that he is fearless because he possesses an amulet that protects a person from drowning. He then offers to provide each passenger a similar amulet in exchange for one dinar now and another upon their safe arrival. Before the narrator gives the man the second payment, he demands an explanation, to which the rogue replies in verse, "Were I drowned today/I would not be bothered for an explanation."³ Al-Hamadhānī's trickster implies that this amulet offers no real protection to the traveler. If the amulet fails its possessor, the purveyor of amulets is long gone and, in this case, already dead. Al-Ḥarīrī's prayer of protection, by contrast, is articulated by a man who pretends to be an ascetic but is ultimately revealed to be drunk and a fraud. Unlike the amulet in al-Hamadhānī, however, the efficacy of Abū Zayd's prayer is not directly called into question. Is it the fact that al-Ḥarīrī's narrative does not undermine the prayer's efficacy that allows the prayer itself to be extracted and put to use as a prayer for protection? Or is it altogether the wrong question to ask how pieces of discourse, such as Abū Zayd's prayer, move through the world? When in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, we witness the pompous and duplicitous Polonius giving his son Laertes advice on how to live, he utters one of the most frequently quoted words of wisdom from the bard: "To thine own self be true." It is not bad advice, per se, when it is taken out of a narrative context that makes it seem hollow and ridiculous. A particular poem, turn of phrase, or piece of wisdom might serve one purpose within the narrative of a text and a completely different purpose when it stands alone.

The use of Abū Zayd's prayer for protection in pious contexts, that is, as *prayers*, suggests that the line between the "literary" and the "pious" is blurrier than is often admitted in the modern study of Arabic literature. When classifying works of narrative as "literary" works, it seems that the unstated and even sublimated assumption is that the literary is necessarily secular. The modern study of Arabic literature and its institutional formations are haunted by these kinds of secularizing assumptions. It is sometimes taken for granted,

3 al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt Abī al-Faḍl Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*, ed. Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (Istanbul: Maṭba'at al-Jawā'ib, 1881), 6.

for example, that certain *maqāma* collections lie outside the bounds of the Hamadhānian-Ḥarīrian genre because they are fundamentally “serious” and “pious” rather than playful, fictitious, and therefore literary.⁴

The blurring of this ostensible boundary can also be seen in the authorial introduction to one of the Yorubaland *maqāma* collections discussed in Dr. Alagunfon's book, in which the author Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān al-Ilūrī (b. 1973) provides a list of previous *maqāma* collections that have served as models for him. Al-Ilūrī's genealogy of the *Maqāmāt* differs in significant ways from the standard genealogy of the *maqāma* in the Euro-American study of the genre, such as it is. The landmark texts for this Yorubaland author are, to say the least, unexpected. Although al-Ilūrī begins, as we might expect, with al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī, he also includes the *Maqāmāt* of the Muʿtazilī exegete al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), a collection that consists of exhortations to al-Zamakhsharī's own soul.⁵ As the Finnish scholar of the *maqāma* Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila puts it, al-Zamakhsharī's *maqāmas* “are only marginally part of the genre originated by al-Hamadhānī,” but he adds that al-Zamakhsharī's exhortations are quite similar to the sermons of Abū Zayd, shorn of the narrative surrounding it.⁶

Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān al-Ilūrī also includes in his list of model *maqāmas* the collection of the 13th/19th-century Christian scholar Nāṣif al-Yāzījī (d. 1287/1871) and the Mamluk-era *maqāmas* of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), as well as the much lesser-known Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349). Finally, al-Ilūrī mentions the more recent collection of his Saudi contemporary ʿĀḍ al-Qarnī (b. 1379/1959), the first edition of whose sixty-seven *maqāmas* was published in 1420/2000. This eclectic genealogy of the *maqāma* genre does not accord well with Euro-American attempts to make sense of the genre. It mixes together the narrative and non-narrative, the neo-Classical *maqāmas* of al-Yāzījī with the mélange of sermons, rhyming essays, and imagined conversations in the *maqāmas* of al-Qarnī. For al-Ilūrī, the *maqāma* seems to be more redolent of possibility and heterogeneity than the Euro-American versions of literary history might imply. Dr. Alagunfon's book is, in part, an invitation to scholars of literature and of Islam to provincialize their genealogies and their maps of where Arabic literature is produced, by whom, and for what purposes.

All of the *maqāma* authors whom al-Ilūrī mentions in his genealogy of the *maqāma* have had one or more of their *maqāmas* appear in print; however, we

4 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 179–183.

5 Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Quds, 2017), 9.

6 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 182.

should keep in mind that much of the *maqāma* tradition remains accessible solely through manuscript witnesses. It therefore seems likely that the contours of the *maqāma* tradition will continue to grow and shift in the coming years. Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila's initial catalogue of *maqāma* authors in his survey of the genre has provided a foundation for further study, as have the studies, editions, and translations by Maurice Pomerantz and others. Dr. Alagunfon's study pushes us to remember that the *maqāma* genre remains a living tradition and to take note of the fact that, even in the past century, Arabic literature is a transregional discourse that extends well beyond the Arab world. Nigerian Arabic literature is largely overlooked in the study of Arabic literature, even though, as Dr. Alagunfon points out, there are Nigerian novels, plays, and short stories written in Arabic. Indeed, he indicates that one of the *maqāma* authors, Imam ʿOyō (d. 1444/2023), also wrote a theatrical play. In other words, Imam ʿOyō is participating in both the long history of the Arabic *maqāma* genre and the more recent history of Arabic theatrical writing.

This last point brings me to a few other fascinating comments by Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān al-Ilūrī in the published edition of his *Maqāmāt* that suggest he is well aware of the complicated relationship between the *maqāma* genre and what we might call literary modernity. In his authorial introduction, just after listing the *maqāmas* from which he draws inspiration, al-Ilūrī claims that his fifty *maqāmas* “are devoid of foreign ideas and Western tastes (*afkār ajnabiyya wa-adhwāq gharbiyya*).”⁷ I take this to mean that al-Ilūrī is setting his *maqāmas* apart from genres and styles associated with the novel and other global genres with Western genealogies. What exactly al-Ilūrī means by “foreign ideas,” however, is less clear, given that none of the *maqāma* authors whom he lists as models are from his native Yorubaland, and one of them is not even a fellow Muslim. In a footnote describing these foreign ideas, al-Ilūrī defines them as “the ideas of the other (*afkār al-ghayr*),” so perhaps he simply does not consider these *maqāmas* to belong to such a category because they are all part of the broader Arabic cosmopolis and its transhistorical, transregional tradition of writing and reading. The *maqāma* allows for a more capacious understanding of literary belonging than might be suggested by the boundaries of the nation state.

Is the *maqāma* style of al-Hamadḥānī and al-Ḥarīrī suitable for modernity? The Yorubaland scholar al-Ilūrī asks precisely this question in an afterword to his collection of *maqāmas*, and he naturally answers in the affirmative. Al-Ilūrī has, after all, written *maqāmas* in this style, and he explains briefly how the

7 al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt*, 9.

use of language, narrative, Qur'ānic allusion, and poetic citation are all well suited to this era. He admits, however, that there is one feature that makes this style less fitting for our times, which is that modern authors and readers cannot compare to the great litterateurs of previous eras. In this short passage, al-Ilūrī seems to signal that we live in a time that has difficulty appreciating the *maqāma* to the point that its presence in modernity must be justified. At the same time, he seems to admit that his *maqāma* collection will be a pale reflection of the great *maqāma* collections of ages past. We need not accept this value judgment that what came first is better. Even al-Ḥarīrī himself makes a similar comment in his own introduction, modestly presenting himself as a flawed successor to al-Hamadhānī. Rather, the *maqāmas* of Yorubaland should invite us to appreciate how rich with possibilities the *maqāma* genre continues to be for those who have immersed themselves in the tradition of al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī.

Scholars of Arabic literature would do well to take notice of the *maqāmas* studied here by Dr. Alagunfon. We also are fortunate that Dr. Alagunfon gives careful attention to the cultural, social, and pedagogical contexts in which these authors thrive. Too often, our assumptions about literature, secularity, and religion obscure our understandings about the complexities of readers and reading practices. The Yorubaland scholars in Dr. Alagunfon's study are part of a longstanding tradition of Arabic education centered on the Qur'ān and the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. Yorubaland scholars have chosen to compose new *maqāmas*, reveling in rhyming prose and arcane vocabulary, just as scores of Muslim and non-Muslim scholars in previous generations who had been embedded in similar pedagogical contexts had done. It is to be hoped that Dr. Alagunfon's book will bring these *maqāmas* to the attention of scholars working in the fields of Arabic literature, Islamic studies, and African studies to further our understanding of how these fields intersect and inform one another.

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Acknowledgements

الحمد لله الذي بنعمته تتم الصالحات



This book was made possible with the support of many individuals and organizations and is based on research I conducted while undertaking my doctoral studies at Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies (BGS MCS), Freie Universität Berlin, Germany. Working under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Beatrice Gründler has been an immeasurable privilege. Her painstaking guidance, impeccable comments, and endless patience have been invaluable. I am grateful for her inspiration and assistance throughout all stages of this book. I likewise thank Prof. Dr. Islam Dayeh for his encouragement, critical engagement, and belief in me. His support has gone a long way.

The doctoral fellowship I received from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) between 2017 and 2020 gave me the opportunity to work on this project at the BGS MCS. I am grateful to the following members of the graduate school for their support: Gudrun Krämer, Betina Gräf, Jutta Schmidtbauer, Lars Ostermeier, Christoph Rother, Maryam Laut, Benedikt Reier, Yousry Elseadawy, Sumrin Kalia, Müge Akpınar, Clemens Holzgruber, Konrad Hirschler, Olly Akkerman, Markus Fiebig, Nadja Danilenko, Rahina Muazzu, and Binyamin Lawal.

Many thanks to my traditional Arabic teachers in Nigeria who taught me the *maqāma* at the College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Ibadan, Nigeria (now Bari College of Arabic and Islamic Studies Ibadan): Shaykh Dr. Barihi Adetunji, Ust. Nasirudeen Tijani Arowojede. I also give thanks to my colleagues with whom I engaged the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, and my students at the Academy of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Ibadan, Nigeria with whom I applied my knowledge of the *maqāma* and developed my foundational thoughts on the classical Arabic *maqāma*. Their inspiration was fundamental to my work on the classical Arabic *maqāma*.

My interlocutors, especially the *maqāma* authors in Nigeria's Yorubaland, were generous and eager to assist. I will never forget the hospitality shown to me by the late Imam Mas'ud Abdul-Ganiyy Adebayo *rahimahū-Llāh* (the Chief Imam of Oyo Kingdom from 2004 until his death in January 2023), Shaykhs Muḥammad al-Awwal Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān, Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle, and Dr. Barihi

Adetunji. They always made themselves available whenever I needed to discuss various aspects of the *maqāma* with them. While conducting fieldwork in Nigeria between 2018 and 2019, Razaq Adeoye Ajibade served as my research assistant, despite my inability to pay him. I owe a great debt to him for his immense dedication to this work. The Ajibade family, Sharafadeen Ajibade, Adebowale Ajibade, and Najmudeen Ajibade, were wonderful hosts who provided invaluable logistical assistance when I conducted fieldwork while at Oyo town and Lagos. Abdul-Rauf Akatawy and Abdullah Gata Obansola hosted me in Ilorin from March to October 2018 and in September 2019 respectively. Luqman Sulaiman Abdul-Wahab facilitated my meeting with the oldest living *maqāma* teacher in Markaz in October 2019. In September 2018, Professor M.M.M. Jimba, then director of the Center for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture of Kwara State University Malete Nigeria, facilitated my research in this valuable repository.

I extend my gratitude to those who read through various chapters of this book. I benefitted greatly from the scholarly engagement of Professors Amidu Sanni, Stefan Reichmuth, M. Oloyede Abdulrahmon and Afis Oladosu. Razaq Ajibade, Yusuf Adebisi, and Rosella de Luca also read sections of my first draft. Sara Nur Yildiz undertook the English editing of an early manuscript of this book. I am also thankful to the two anonymous reviewers and to members of my doctoral examination committee for their comments, suggestions, and questions which were beneficial in improving and refining the text. Matthew Keegan not only read and made useful comment on the drafts of this book, he also penned a thoughtful and insightful foreword. Some parts of this study have been presented in conferences and academic fora. Chapter Four, “Emotional Dimensions,” is based on a paper titled “On emotions in the Nigerian *Maqāmāt*,” which was presented at the AGYA International Bilingual Summer School. The event, “Emotions that matter: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Feeling, Affect, and Body in Arabic Literature, Arts, and Culture,” was held at Mohammed v University in Rabat from November 1–3, 2018.

I am grateful to the panel members who provided valuable comments when I presented the paper. Special thanks to Bilal Orfali, Christian Junge, and Barbara Winckler. The initial paper has been significantly revised, and I take full responsibility for the thoughts presented here.

Friends and family were also wonderfully supportive over the years while I was far from home, including Shaykhs Abbas Adekola, Yusuf Adebayo Alagunfon, Abdul-Jeleel Owoola, and Adam Kolawole Alagunfon. Likewise, I am grateful to Stephen Ogundipe, Emmanuel Adeniyi, Sulaiman Olaosebikan Adegbola, Abdul Jelili Tijani, and Sarah Hebbouch, who transported an important book from Rabat to Berlin in 2019 when it was direly needed. Thanks likewise go

to Abiodun Emmanuel Olaore, Ahmad Yehya al-Kurdī, John Conteh, Mummy Junior, Uzair Khan, Hajj Mansur, Aissatou Mairi, and all members of Ridwan-ullah Akbar Asalatu Group of Berlin.

Lastly, I thank my siblings and my parents: Alh. Muhammad al-Awwal Babatunde Alagunfon and Alhaja Afusat Monilola Mosobalaje-Alagunfon for their unflinching support, perseverance, and love. Thanks also to my wife, Nafisat Omolola Are, whom I always had to leave behind in Nigeria with our children while embarking on research journeys. I love you, Abẹni.

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Maps

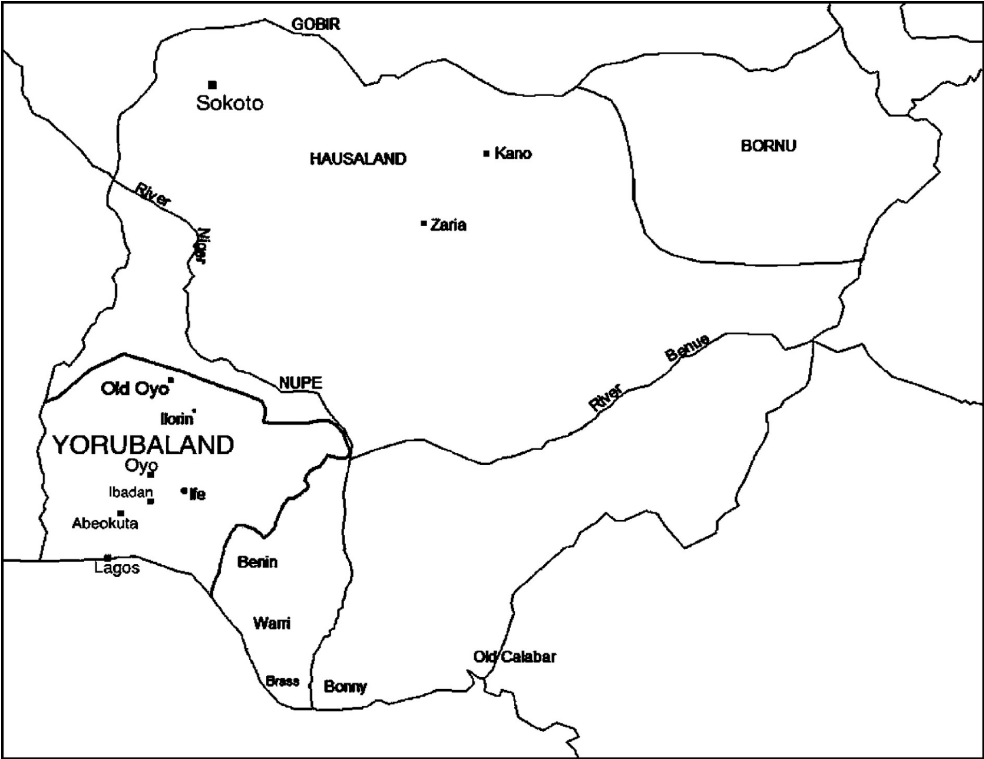
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Introduction

Contextualizing the Maqāma Genre in the Arabic Literary Map of Yorubaland, Nigeria

I first encountered the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* (hereafter, *Ḥarīriyya*)¹ in 2004 as a student in an *Ilé kéú* (traditional Arabic school) in Ibadan, Nigeria.² The *Ḥarīriyya* was being taught to the senior students in the school but, as a new student, I was not expected to begin learning the *maqāma*. Therefore, I did not actively participate in the learning sessions, but rather joined the other junior students at the *Ḥarīriyya* lesson as “spectators” or, in the words of our instructor, “listeners.” As listeners, we were not expected to follow along with the text, read the accompanying commentaries, or even have our own copy of the *Ḥarīriyya*. For about two weeks, I joined the circle of spectators watching and listening passively as the senior students read parts of the *Ḥarīriyya* aloud.

During this time, I visited an uncle who kept a copy of the *Ḥarīriyya* in his living room shelf, not only as a decorative object but also as an emblem of scholarly prestige. In the traditional Arabic-Islamic setting of Yorubaland,³ dis-

- 1 In this study, I use the abbreviation, *Ḥarīriyya*, to refer to the full title of al-Ḥarīrī’s work, which is commonly known as *al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīriyya*. This term is used in accordance with Matthew L. Keegan’s usage and is widely accepted by many critics, as indicated by Keegan, see Matthew L. Keegan, “Commentarial Acts and Hermeneutical Dramas: The Ethics of Reading al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt*” (Doctoral diss., New York, New York University, 2017), viii. Furthermore, I use a similar format for naming other collections of *maqāmāt* that are referenced throughout this work. For example, I refer to the *Maqāmāt Badī’ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī* as *Hamadhāniyya*, the *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī* as *Ilūrīyya*, the *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf* as *Yūsufiyya* and *al-Maqāma al-Awyuwīyya* as *Oyowīyya*.
- 2 Literally, “Arabic school,” *Ile keu* is used mostly for semi-formal and informal forms of Arabic schooling where traditional system of Arabic education thrives. An alternative to it is *madrassa*, a term which is used for modern Arabic schools that operates a class-based system with a standard curriculum. For different types of Arabic-Islamic schooling in West Africa, see Louis Brenner, “Two Paradigms of Islamic Schooling in West Africa,” in *Modes de Transmission de La Culture Religieuse En Islam*, ed. Hassan Elboudrari (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, 1993), 159–180.
- 3 Yoruba refers to both the language and people of Nigeria’s South West and parts of the North Central geopolitical zones (Kwara and Kogi). Albeit, Yoruba, in all its meanings and usages, transcends the geographic spaces mentioned above to include a significant population in Benin and Togo, focus throughout this study is only on the Nigerian Yoruba society. Any mention of “Yoruba” or “Yorubaland” throughout this work therefore refers to this Nigerian space.

playing a copy of the *Ḥarīriyya* on one's bookshelf signifies the height of Arabic learning and points to its possessor's advanced scholarly position. Indeed, the type and number of Arabic books one has at display in one's home is a measure of one's scholarly prestige as well as a source of admiration from one's peers. Because of my recent acquaintance with the *Ḥarīriyya* in my new *Ilé kéú*, I was drawn to the *Ḥarīriyya* volume in my uncle's living room. Taking the volume off the shelf, I opened it to the episode I had recently "listened" to and tried reading it. To my surprise, I was able to comprehend it. I took the book with me to the *Ilé kéú* the next day, and after having sought the permission of my instructor who questioned me out of curiosity about my ability to tackle the *maqāma* as a new student, I was granted permission to be an active participant in the class reading the *Ḥarīriyya*.

My personal journey with the text aptly illustrates the role that the *maqāma* plays in the vibrant scholarly culture of Yorubaland as a marker of socio-educational prestige. Indeed, the *maqāma* occupies a pivotal place in modern Yoruba-Nigerian Arabic intellectual history. This book focuses on the functions of the classical Arabic *maqāma* in the Arabic literary and scholarly tradition of Yorubaland, Nigeria, based on the events of the last twenty-five years, during which the *maqāma* has been reinvigorated and re-popularized in the form of the indigenous Nigerian Arabic *maqāmāt*. I pose the following questions: How does the *maqāma* serve as a pedagogical tool in Nigerian Yoruba society? What role does the Nigerian Arabic *maqāmāt* play in the development of the genre itself, the scholarly tradition, and the general situation of Arabic and Islamic studies in Nigeria? This introductory chapter presents an overview of the variables that constitute this study, introducing the context, the texts, and the scholars who participate in the Nigerian *maqāma* literary endeavor. I survey the Arabic-Islamic scholarly and literary foundation of the Yoruba society of Nigeria as it relates to the development of the *maqāma* genre up until the turn of the 21st century.

1 The Yoruba-Nigerian Arabic Literary Tradition

Nigeria has had a reputation for Arabic literary activities long before and after the colonial era (from late 19th to mid-20th centuries). By the late 18th century, when the Sokoto Jihad that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Islamic state

For more on Yoruba subgroups, language, dialects, and geography, see Aribidesi Adisa Usman and Toyin Falola, *The Yoruba from Prehistory to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1–27.

occurred,⁴ Classical Arabic had been flourishing in the region of central Bilād al-Sūdān—today the territories of modern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad—as a language of communication and literacy.⁵ This area witnessed many political and ideological changes over time, and Arabic played a significant role at both the administrative and social levels. Even before Islam had become widespread in the area, it was initially used as the language of commerce and had penetrated the administration of the empires of the West African region in Old Ghana, Mali, and Songhai.⁶ Arabic served as both the language of communication and writing in trade contracts, king lists, administrative documents, and official correspondence. Arabic inscriptions were also used for grave stones during this period, as evident from the tomb of a Muslim king of the old Mali empire, which can be traced to the 16th century.⁷ Since the early 7th/13th century, Arabic literary activities have flourished in West Africa, and many literary works can be found in the corpora of local scholars.⁸ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb al-Dhakwānī al-Kānīmī (d. 608/1211 or 609/1212) is the earliest known author who composed in Arabic in the region.⁹ The intellectual history of the area is greatly indebted to Arabic both as its medium and as its reservoir.¹⁰

4 For more on Sokoto Jihad, Sokoto Islamic government, and the information surrounding the Arabic scholarship there, see Stephanie Zehnle, *A Geography of Jihad: Sokoto Jihadism and the Islamic Frontier in West Africa*, 1st ed., Zmo-Studien. Studien Des Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (Boston: De Gruyter, 2019); Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Ibadan History (London: Longmans, 1967); Jennifer Lofkrantz, “Intellectual Discourse in the Sokoto Caliphate: The Triumvirate’s Opinions on the Issue of Ransoming, ca. 1810,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 45, no. 3 (2012): 385–401.

5 Throughout this study, I use Nigeria only in its colonial and postcolonial senses. Otherwise, Central Bilād al-Sūdān is used to refer to the region before the colonial partition of the land.

6 For more on these empires and the development of Islam during their times see Micheal A. Gomez, *African Dominion: A New History of Empire in Early and Medieval West Africa* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018); Sébastien Flynn, “The Relationship Between the Ottoman Empire and Kanem-Borno during the Reign of Sultan Murad III” (MA, Ankara, Turkey, Ihsan Duğramacı Bilkent University, 2015); David C. Conrad, *Empires of the Medieval West Africa: Ghana, Mali, and Songhay*, Great Empires of the Past (New York: Shoreline, 2005); ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd Allāh Sa’dī and John O. Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: al-Sa’dī’s Ta’rīkh al-Sūdān down to 1613, and Other Contemporary Documents*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, v. 27 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999).

7 John O. Hunwick, “West Africa and the Arabic Language,” *Sudanica Africa* 15 Language in Africa (2004): 135.

8 Many of such works are listed in John O. Hunwick, ed., *Arabic Literature of Africa, Volume 2: The Writings of Central Sudanica Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

9 Hunwick, 17–18. Al-Kānīmī’s personality is interestingly important to the *maqāma* development in the Bilād al-Sūdān, see below for more.

10 Cf. Sayed H.A. Malik, “Arabic, The Muslim Prayers and Beyond” (Inaugural Lecture, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1999), 7–10.

Arabic first emerged as a written language in the Kanem-Borno region in the eastern part of West Africa. By the end of 15th century, other centers of Arabic and Islamic activities were founded in cities such as Katsina (in the 9th/15th century) and Kano (in the 10th/16th century).¹¹ Activities in these two latter cities started attracting itinerant scholars from other well-established centers of Arabic learning like Timbuktu, Borno, as well as north African regions, notably the Maghreb.¹² Prominent among those itinerant scholars was the Maghribi scholar Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Maghilī (d. 910/1505) who travelled through the Bilād al-Sūdān, establishing learning centers wherever he visited.¹³ The influence of al-Maghilī’s scholarly itinerary not only affected the northern part of present-day Nigeria but also reached the south, even before the expansion of the Sokoto Jihad westward through the Nupeland in the 19th century.¹⁴ Prior to the Sokoto Jihad, many scholars (teachers and preachers) of Borno, Katsina, and Malian (Songhai) origin had already been present in Yorubaland and, in the words of Razaq Deremi Abubakre, “contributed to the efflorescence of Islamic learning in Yorubaland.”¹⁵ Even today, Islam in Yorubaland is still sometimes referred to as *Ẹsin Imale* (“the religion of the people of Mali”), in reference to the contributions Songhai preachers made in spreading the religion in the area.¹⁶ During this pre-Sokoto time, although teaching Arabic

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- 11 John O. Hunwick, “The Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria,” *Research in African Literatures* 28, no. 3 (Arabic Writing in Africa (1997): 210–212.
 - 12 Hunwick 1997, 210–211; Muhammad Sani Umar, “Education and Islamic Trends in Northern Nigeria,” *Africa Today* 48, no. 2 (2001): 133–136.
 - 13 For more on al-Maghilī, and his views and activities in the Bilād al-Sūdān, see ‘Abd-Al-Azīz ‘Abd-Allah Batrān, “A Contribution to the Biography of Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Muḥammad (‘Umar-A‘mar) al-Maghilī, al-Tilmisānī,” *Journal of African History* 14, no. 3 (1973): 381–394. For his particular contribution and influence in Nigeria see Adam Abdullah al-Ilūrī, *al-Imām al-Maghilī wa-āthāruh fi l-ḥukūma al-Islāmiyya fi l-qurūn al-wustā fi Nayjīriyā* (Cairo: Maktaba Wahba, 2012); P.E. Starratt, “Oral History in Muslim Africa: Al-Maghilī Legends in Kano” (Doctoral thesis, Michigan, The University of Michigan, 1993); Rasheed A. Raji, “A Monographic Treatment of Al-Maghilī by Shaykh Adam ‘Abdullah al-Ilori: An Evidence of His Unbiased Islamic Scholarship in West Africa,” in *Ilqin as a Beacon of Learning and Culture in West Africa*, ed. Zakariyau Idree-Oboh Oseni et al. (Ilqin [Nigeria]: UnIlqin Press, 2015), 1–23.
 - 14 Nupeland presently covers mainly central Nigeria. For more on Nupe and Arabic-Islamic learning in Nigeria, see H.I. Imam, “al-‘Allāma al-Wazīr Muḥammad al-Turkumānī wa-āthāruh fi Bilād Yawrubā wa-Nūfay,” *Journal of the Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 8 (2005): 110–125.
 - 15 Razaq ‘Deremi Abubakre, “Stefan Reichmuth’s Wanderings in the Arabized and Islamized Yorubaland,” in *The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth*, ed. Micheal Kemper and Ralf Elger (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 362.
 - 16 For the concept of *imale* and its development in Yoruba socio-religious context, see Patrick

for reading comprehension flourished, it was still seldom used as a literary language by the indigenous Muslim population. Arabic instruction was primarily undertaken for religious purposes, and particularly for teaching Islam to new converts. Arabic literary works for the purposes of religious induction included commentaries on religious texts, as well as summaries, abridgements, and verifications for didactic purposes.

During the 19th century under Sokoto rule (1804–1903), Arabic held a prominent position and reached its peak as the official language of the state. Writing activities flourished, especially among the Fodiawas, the family of Shaykh ‘Uthmān b. Fodio (d. 1232/1817) who founded the Islamic State. Up to five hundred works in Arabic have been attributed to members of the Fodiawa scholarly family alone.¹⁷ In addition to ‘Uthmān b. Fodio, who wrote mainly didactic and religious works to help consolidate Islamic rule, his brother ‘Abdullāh, his son Muḥammad Bello, and his daughter Asmā’ were also prolific authors, whose areas of concentration spanned a variety of Arabic and Islamic genres and themes.¹⁸ Other notable and productive writers among members of the Sokoto ruling class included the group known as the Wazirs (“the Ministers”) and their followers from other families.¹⁹ In addition to being part of the Sokoto political elite, the Wazirs served as custodians of knowledge and the history of the Fodiawa family as well as the Muslim community at large.²⁰

As Sokoto rule expanded territorially in the 19th century, new learning centers of Arabic were established in the northern Nigerian cities like Zaria and Kaduna. Although Arabic learning was upheld at these learning centers, they did not bring about widespread written literacy in Arabic. Shaykh ‘Uthmān and his family remained the dominant producers of Arabic literary and religious works in the region. Nevertheless, many works were produced by scholars whose interest also lay in didactic and religious matters. As Sokoto rule spread westward to Nupeland and thereafter to Yorubaland, the Yoruba center of Ilorin, strategically located at the crossroads between the north and the west,

J. Ryan, Imale: *Yoruba Participation in the Muslim Tradition: A Study of Clerical Piety*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion, no. 11 (Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1977).

17 cf. the list in Hunwick, *ALA II*, 52–149.

18 Amidu Olalekan Sanni, “From the Intellectual Powerhouse of Ilorin (Nigeria): Elegy in the Work of Adam ‘Abdallāh al-Ilūrī (1917–1992),” in *The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth*, ed. Micheal Kemper and Ralf Elger (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 55.

19 Hunwick, “The Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria,” 212. Wazirs are like ministers in the Sokoto Islamic state and their position is the next, in importance, to that of the Amīr al-Mu’minin, the head of government, for more, see Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, 145–225.

20 Hunwick, *ALA II*, 150–151. see also pages 184–185.

rose as an important center of learning towards the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.²¹ The Emirate of Ilorin was annexed to the Gwandu province of the Sokoto in the first half of the 19th century, and continued to serve as an important meeting place for scholars from the north and those from the south seeking religious education.²² Scholars from northern Nigeria and Nupeland began migrating westward to other parts of Yorubaland as well, and a strong teaching tradition developed there which likewise spawned Arabic literary activities.

With the end of the Sokoto period and the beginning of European colonial rule, the status of Arabic began to decline in the central Bilād al-Sūdān. Arabic lost its official status as it was replaced with the languages of the colonial masters, English and French. Nonetheless, Arabo-Islamic teaching and learning traditions continued to flourish at the hands of private scholars. In fact, Nigerian scholars, primarily those from the north, countered the colonial challenge by more rigorously upholding Islamic learning and propagating the virtues of Islam. Instead of being totally eclipsed by English and French, Arabic only shifted from the public to the private sphere. Colonial educators responded by incorporating Arabic and Islamic studies into their educational plans.²³

In Yorubaland, local scholars and their students established private Arabic schools, thus advancing Arabic learning and producing many accomplished

21 For more on Ilorin and its role in the Islamic and Arabic learning in Yorubaland see Sakariyau Alabi Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning in Modern Ilorin: A History of Islamic Education, 1897–2012" (Doctoral thesis, Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 2015); Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "The Story of an Autochthonous Scholarly Network: Ilorin and the Making of Modern Ulama in Nigeria" (3rd Annual Public Lecture of the Centre for Ilorin Studies (CILS) of the University of Ilorin, Ilorin [Nigeria], 2015); Stefan Reichmuth, "Literary Culture and Arabic Manuscripts in 19th-Century Ilorin," in *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, ed. Graziano Krätli and Ghislaine Lydon, Libraries of the Written World 8, The Manuscript World 3 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 213–240; Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin (Nigeria) seit ca. 1800* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1998). On Arabic and learning dimensions of Ilorin Islamic heritage in contemporary time, see the articles in: Zakariyau I. Oseni et al., eds., *Ilorin as a Beacon of Learning and Culture in West Africa* (Ilorin [Nigeria]: UnIlorin Press, 2015).

22 cf. Musa A. Ajetunmbi, "Islamic Scholars of Ilorin and Their Place in Yorubaland," *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 12, no. 1 (1991): 135–147.

23 Mallam M. Bashir Abubakar, "Muslim Responses to British Colonialism in Northern Nigeria as Expressed in Fulfulde Poems," *Islamic Africa* 4, no. 1 (2013): 1–14. Cf. also how Muslims respond to colonial education in Ilorin and how they not only try to privatize Islamic knowledge but also maintain its public position through colonial strategies, they rebuke the colonial system while they adopt some of its strategies to disseminate Arabic and Islamic education, see Sakariyau Alabi Aliyu, "The Post-Colonial State and Islamic Education in Ilorin," *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa* 14 (2017): 77–86.

authors, as well as passing on Arabo-Islamic heritage to the younger generations. Arabic became an academic language as well as the first written language in Yoruba society to preserve historical and administrative works.²⁴ Furthermore, academic exchange between Nigeria and many Arab countries from the middle of the 20th century played an important role in advancing the knowledge of Arabic among Nigerians. By sending native speakers to teach in Nigerian Arabic schools and granting scholarships to Nigerians to study in Arab countries like Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Syria, academic exchange provided further training and expertise in Arabic learning, making it possible for a new generation of scholars to contribute to the Arabic-Islamic scholarly and literary tradition of Nigeria.²⁵

Modern Arabic literature of the 19th to 20th century remained largely indebted to the classical tradition of the previous centuries in terms of genre, style, and themes. Poetry continues to be the most patronized genre of Arabic literature in Nigeria. Even today Nigerian scholars highly prize the ability to compose elegant Arabic poetry, a pursuit in which Nigerian Arabists excel. As in the past, poetry continues to be composed for a variety of purposes and contexts, whether they be social, religious, or literary. Nigerian scholars employ verse as a medium for religious knowledge in the form of poetic abridgment, commentary, and versification. Poems likewise serve as a format to narrate historical events and recount political activities. In addition to composing verse in classical Arabic literary forms, such as the *rithā'* (elegy), *madih* (eulogy), and *hijā'* (satire), much contemporary poetry touches upon contemporary issues and social concerns. Arabic schools such as the Markaz al-Ta'lim al-'Arabī al-Islāmī in Agege Lagos (hereafter, Markaz)²⁶ and its affiliates organize poetry

24 For example, Arabic was used as a language of communication in the palace of Ibadan during this time, see Isaac Adejoju Ogunbiyi and Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Papers from the Olubadan Chancery II: Tying with the Caliphate," *Sudanica Africa* 9 (1998): 135–161; Isaac Adejoju Ogunbiyi and Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Papers from the Olubadan Chancery I: A Rebellion of the Ibadan Chieftains or, at the Origins of Yoruba Arabic Prose," *Sudanica Africa* 8 (1997): 109–135.

25 For background information on this and the contribution of graduates of Arab universities in Nigeria to socio-cultural development in Yorubaland, see Lere Ameen Ibrahim, "Interculturalism in the Writings of Yoruba Graduates of Arab Universities, 1964–2012" (Doctoral thesis, Nigeria, University of Ibadan, 2014).

26 *Markaz al-Ta'lim al-'Arabī al-Islāmī* (Arabic and Islamic Training Center), founded by the encyclopedic historian and Islamic scholar, Shaykh Adam Abdullah al-Ilori (1917–1992) in 1952, is one of the leading Arabic schools in the Yorubaland today and has many students who are great Arabic writers and poets and who have produced many collections of poems. For more on the Markaz and its influence in southwestern Nigeria see Kazeem A. Omofoyewa, "Markaz and the Development of Arabic Language in South-Western Nigeria," *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 18 (2009): 267–276. For more on Shaykh Adam,

contests, the winners of which are given the honor of becoming the school's poet laureate. These activities promoting poetry in Arabic schools have encouraged many young students and scholars to produce and publish collections of their poetry.

The prominence of poetry in Nigeria, however, does not overshadow prose. However, most prose works by Nigerian scholars before the last decade of the 20th century were not of a literary but rather of an academic and nonfiction nature:²⁷ *al-nathr al-ta'limī* as opposed to *al-nathr al-fannī*,²⁸ or "research prose" to use John Hunwick's term.²⁹ In the last decade of the 20th century, there has been a shift in the kind of Arabic literary works Nigerians produce. Greater attention is given to prose, such as plays, novels, short stories, and epistolary writings, genres drawn from both modern and classical genres of Arabic literature. While plays, novels, and short stories are modern genres, works categorized as *al-dhahabīyyāt* follow the format of Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *Aṭwāq al-dhahab*,³⁰ Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Hibat Allāh al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 600/1203) *Aṭbāq al-dhahab*, and the Egyptian poet laureate Aḥmad Shawqī's (1868–1932) *Aswāq al-dhahab* (a collec-

his works and personality, see Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre, ed., *Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality*, 2 vols. (Ilorin/Riyadh: Nigerian Center for Arabic Research in Riyadh, 2012); Hunwick, *ALA II*, 512–526; Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamische Bildung und Emanzipation der Muslime. Šaiḥ Adam al-Ilūrī, Nigeria, und seine Schriften," *Die Welt des Islam* 30 (1990): 201–210. A personal encounter with him can be found in: Stefan Reichmuth, "Shaykh Adam as I Came to Know Him—Memories of an Islamologist," in *Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality*, ed. Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Ilorin/Riyadh: Nigerian Center for Arabic Research in Riyadh, 2012), 9–18.

- 27 Some works of drama later published in the 1990s claim to have been written at least before the middle of 20th century. However, these are mainly works which were adapted from Qur'ānic stories and Islamic historical accounts and should not be seen as a distinctive creative innovation of their authors. This I have explored elsewhere, arguing that even if there are ideas of writing Arabic drama in Nigeria before the 1990s, it was for didactic, not literary, motives. See Sulaiman Adewale Alagunfon, "Drama in Its Own Way: A Genealogy of Arabic Playwriting in Nigeria," *Journal of the Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 20 (2017): 52–64.
- 28 For more on the development of prose works in Nigeria, especially in its academic form see Kabir Adam Tudun-Nufawa, *al-Nathr al-'Arabī al-Nayjirī: ṣuwaruh wa-khaṣā'isuh 'abr al-'uṣūr* (Kano [Nigeria]: Dar al-Ummah, 2011).
- 29 This term, introduced by John Hunwick, refers to prose works written for the purpose of research and teaching in its traditional sense; see Hunwick, "The Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria," 217.
- 30 For whom see Azmi Yuksel, "Al-Zamakhsharī's Life and a Critical Edition of His *Dīwān*" (Doctoral thesis, Durham, Durham University, 1979).; and for the work see Dionisius A. Agius, "Some Bib-Bibliographical Notes on Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī," *Al-'Arabīyya* 15 (1982): 112.

tion of 100 short pieces in elegant prose). Works such as *Abwāq al-dhahab* by Zakariyau Idrees Oseni (b. 1950),³¹ *Anfāq al-dhahab* by Mas'ud Abdul-Ganiyy Adebayo (1947–2023),³² *A'rāq al-dhahab* of Barihi Adetunji (b. 1948)³³ and *Nafaḥāt al-dhahab* by Tajudeen Adebayo³⁴ are works in the *dhahabiyyāt* category by Nigerians. The outstanding examples of the classical Arabic *maqāma* genre, which in turn were based on the models of the *Ḥarīriyya* and the *Maqāmāt al-Hamadhānī* (hereafter, *Hamadhānīyya*), also make the list of prose works by Nigerians. The Arabic *maqāma* works and its development is the focus of this study.³⁵

2 *Maqāma* in the Nigerian Arabic Literary Map

Maqāma has been translated as session, assembly,³⁶ standing,³⁷ séance,³⁸ and most recently by Michael Cooperson, as imposture.³⁹ The *maqāma* can tech-

31 Zakariyau I. Oseni, *Abwāq al-dhahab* (Auchi: Darun-Nur, 1992).

32 Mas'ud Abdul-Ganiyy Adebayo, *Āfāq al-dhahab* (Oyo, Nigeria.: Research Academy, 2005).

33 Barihi Adetunji, *A'rāq al-dhahab* (Lagos [Nigeria]: Timely News, 2001).

34 Tajudeen Adebayo, *Nafaḥāt al-dhahab* (Lagos [Nigeria]: Zanmko, 2006).

35 For more on Arabic literary writing of Nigerians, especially in the Yoruba society, see Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South Western Nigeria* (Iwo [Nigeria]: Darul-Ilm, 2004); Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "Oriental Pearls from Southern Nigeria—Arabic Scholarship in Yorubaland: A Case Study in Acculturation," *Islamic Studies* 34, no. 4 (1995): 427–450; Mufutau Oloyede Abdul-Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study of Arabic Poetry in Ibadan (1876–1976)" (Doctoral thesis, Ibadan [Nigeria], University of Ibadan, 1989); Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre, "The Contribution of the Yoruba to Arabic Literature" (Doctoral thesis, London, University of London, 1980). See also the non-exhaustive list of works and authors in: Hunwick, *ALA II*, 439–549.

36 Cf. Thomas Chenery and Francis Steingass' use of the word, which has been extensively adopted by later scholars, see Thomas Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri: Translated from the Arabic, with an Introduction, and Notes Historical and Grammatical*, ed. F.J. Steingass and F. Arbuthnot, vol. 1, 2 vols., Oriental Translation Fund: New Series (Williams and Norgate, 1867); Francis Joseph Steingass, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri: Translated from the Arabic with Notes, Historical and Grammatical*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1898).

37 Some scholars adopt this and used it to mean the opposite of *majlis* (lit. sitting, or sitting place) literature of which was also common in premodern times. For more on *majlis* literature see Samer M. Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons in the Islamic Middle Ages: Poetry, Public Performance, and the Presentation of the Past*, Poetics of Orality and Literacy (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

38 For French translation of the *Ḥarīriyya* see Ḥarīrī, *Les Séances de Hariri, Traduction Française Par Venture de Paradis*, ed. Attia Amer (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksel, 1964); Ḥarīrī, *Les Séances de Hariri, Publiées En Arabe, Avec Un Commentaire Choisi*, ed. Silvester de Sacy (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1822).

39 Michael Cooperson notes that he chose to translate *maqāma* with the word *imposture*

nically be defined as an anecdote-like form of narrative, whose story revolves around the adventures of a *baṭal* (protagonist), written in mostly a sophisticated style of *sajʿ* (rhyme) prose, embellished with *shiʿr* (poetry), and often recounted by a witnessing *rāwī* (narrator).⁴⁰ Against the backdrop of numerous “misrepresentations” that the *maqāma* as a literary genre has witnessed over time,⁴¹ Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila identifies its three most important features as “a fictitious *isnād* (or, at least, an implicitly fictitious scene of narration), a fictitious hero (often, but not always, accompanied by a fictitious narrator who may use the name of the author) and, finally, the use of *sajʿ*.”⁴² These three components of the *maqāma* distinguish it from other literary genres. The *maqāma*’s protagonist, for instance, usually disguises himself, adopting various different postures, to borrow a term from Michael Cooperson.⁴³ A *maqāma*’s protagonist may show up as a renowned business tycoon who trades in uncommon commodities in one episode, while in another episode, he takes on the persona of a legal luminary who has mastered the intricacies of law. Other times he poses as a medical doctor who never fails to heal, or as a successful teacher of language, a master of punning, and a linguistic acrobat.

The Arabic *maqāma* is structured according to several components.⁴⁴ It begins with an *isnād*, a chain of narration usually beginning with the narrator who relates the story of a protagonist. Following the *isnād* is a general introduction, which explains the narrator’s relationship to the context of the *maqāma* or episode to be narrated. The general introduction normally ends

because “it conveys both the substance of Abū Zayd’s activities ... and the embodied character of the Arabic word (standing being a kind of posture)” see the footnote 4: Michael Cooperson, “Introduction,” in *Impostures*, by Ḥarīrī, trans. Michael Cooperson, Library of Arabic Literature (New York: New York University Press, 2020), xix–xlix.

40 Most translations of the *maqāma* take cognizance of two things: what the word *maqāma* “means” in its literary sense or what it “does,” cf. the analysis of: Michael Cooperson, “Notes on Translation,” in *Impostures*, by Ḥarīrī, trans. Michael Cooperson, Library of Arabic Literature (New York: New York University Press, 2020), xxix–xl.

41 Based on such misrepresentations, many works have been erroneously considered as belonging to the *maqāma* genre and vice-versa. For more on this, see Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, “An Old-Fashioned Genre—*Maqāma* in the 18th Century,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 65, no. 2 (2012): 6.

42 Hämeen-Anttila, 6–7.

43 Cooperson, “Introduction.” xi.

44 For more on the *maqāma* structures, see Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Diskurse Der Arabistik, Bd. 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 45–52. See also: Devin J. Stewart, “The *Maqāma*,” in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. Roger Allen and D.S. Richards, The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 145–158; Abdelfattah Kilito, *Les Séances: Récits et Codes Culturels Chez Hamadhānī et Ḥarīrī*, La Bibliothèque Arabe (Paris: Sindbad, 1983).

with a link, which shifts the attention to the main story.⁴⁵ The link explains how the narrator came to learn of the hero's adventure. Next is the main story, which Hämeen-Anttila refers to as an episode, in which the hero takes center stage, and which also contains a recognition scene, an envoi, and a finale. In the recognition scene, the hero, the narrator, and perhaps the audience, all properly meet and recognize one another. The envoi comprises "a short quotation of verses ... which sums up the philosophy and explains ... (hero's) behaviour, ... or identifies him, being thus part of the recognition scene."⁴⁶ The finale⁴⁷ is a concluding statement explaining how the meeting between the two important characters (narrator and protagonist) ends.

The *maqāma* generally alternates between storytelling, scenes that are reminiscent of the modern play, and sermon-like homilies. It parodies the *hikāya* (narrative) and the *qiṣṣa* (story telling).⁴⁸ It has also been recently linked to *khayāl al-ẓill* (shadow play);⁴⁹ in fact, *maqāma* stories were performed by early shadow play dramatists.⁵⁰ The *maqāma* covers a wide range of themes such as philology, comic tales, and social criticism.⁵¹ The classification of the narratives in *maqāmas* as either fictional or realistic remains a debated issue among scholars, particularly when compared to the modern Arabic novel.⁵² Since the *maqāma* is comprised of largely unconnected episodes, it is possible that some

45 Hämeen-Anttila, 50.

46 Hämeen-Anttila, 51.

47 Hämeen-Anttila, 51.

48 Abdelfattah Kilito, *al-Maqāmāt: al-sard wa-l-ansāq al-thaqāfiyya*, trans. 'Abd-al-Kabīr al-Sharqāwī, 2nd ed. (Casablanca: Dār Tūbqāl, 2001), 131–142; Philip F. Kennedy, "The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests: Reflections on Abdelfattah Kilito's 'Les Séances,'" in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 161–167.

49 Alain F. George, "The Illustration of the *Maqāmāt* and the Shadow Play," *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 1–42.; David J. Roxburgh, "In Pursuit of Shadows: Al-Hariri's *Maqāmāt*," *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 171–212.

50 See George, "The Illustration of the *Maqāmāt*," 1. For more on the performativity and theatricality of the *maqāma*, see Keiji Okazaki, "*Maqāma* as a Courtroom Play—Disguised Hero, Dupe Judge," *Orient* 42 (2007): 125–149.

51 Cf. the *maqāma* subgenres in: Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 55–61.

52 See Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "The Novel and the *Maqāma*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Arab Novelistic Traditions*, ed. Wail S. Hassan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 89–102; Mohamed-Salah Omri, "Local Narrative Form and Constructions of the Arabic Novel," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 41, no. 2/3 (2008): 244–263. See also: Mohamed-Salah Omri, "There's a Jāhīz for Every Age': Narrative Construction and Intertextuality in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 1, no. 1 (1998): 31–46. See also: Max Robert Shmookler, "The Levantine *Maqāma* Before the *Nahda* and Beyond the Novel" (Doctoral thesis, New York, Columbia University, 2020).

of them may be realistic. This can be said of classical *maqāmāt*, but it is more conspicuous in later *maqāma* works which clearly include stories that depict social reality.⁵³

Arising in 4th/10th-century Iran, most scholars agree that the *maqāma* originated with the scholar and author, Abū al-Faḍl Badīʿ al-Zamān Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī (358–398/968–1008);⁵⁴ however, some believe that he might have created the *maqāma* in emulation of, or borrowing from, earlier “similar” works,⁵⁵ such as Ibn Durayd al-Azdī’s (d. 321/933) *Aḥādīth*,⁵⁶ the *Amālī* (Dictations) of Ibn Durayd’s disciple Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī (d. 356/967)⁵⁷ or, as claimed by Maurice Pomerantz and Bilal Orfali, the *Qaṣaṣ al-nahār wa-samar al-layl* by Hamadhānī’s teacher Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 395/1005).⁵⁸ In any case, the *maqāma* developed and spread to the Muslim East and West and left indelible marks not only in literature but also in culture, arts,⁵⁹ and education. Its influence transcended the Arabo-Islamic realm and had a significant impact on the Hebrew,⁶⁰ Persian,⁶¹ Turkish,⁶² and Syrian literary traditions.⁶³ Its influence in the Muslim Spain, especially on the Spanish picaresque, is also likely.⁶⁴

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- 53 For more on fictionality and the *maqāma* see Rina Drory, *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and Its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 11–33; Rina Drory, “Fiction, Medieval,” in *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*, 1998; Rina Drory, “Three Attempts to Legitimize Fiction in Classical Arabic Literature,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994): 146–164; Fedwa Malti-Douglas, “*Maqāmāt* and *Adab*: al-*Maqāma al-Maḍrīyya* of al-Hamadhānī,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, no. 2 (1985): 249–251.
- 54 Kennedy, “The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus,” 153; Stewart, “The *Maqāma*,” 145; Kilito, *al-Maqāmāt*, 5; A.F.L. Beeston, “Al-Hamadhānī, al-Ḥarīrī and the *Maqāmāt* Genre,” in *Abbasid Belles Lettres*, ed. Julia Ashtiany et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 127.
- 55 Arguments on both sides can be found in: J.N. Mattock, “The Early History of the *Maqāma*,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 15 (1984): 1–18; A.F.L. Beeston, “The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1971): 1–12.
- 56 Zakī Mubārak, *al-Nathr al-fannī fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ* (Cairo: Hindawi, 2012), 200–202.
- 57 Beeston, “The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre,” 1–2.
- 58 Maurice A. Pomerantz and Bilal W. Orfali, “Ibn Fāris and the Origins of the *Maqāma* Revisited,” in *Arabic Belles Lettres*, ed. Joseph E. Lowry and Shawkat M. Toorawa, Resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies 10 (Atlanta, GA: Lockwood Press, 2019), 95–114.
- 59 Note that al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* are among the most frequently illustrated works, see al-Qāsim Ibn-ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī and Yahyā Ibn-Maḥmūd al-Wāsiṭī, *Maqāmāt al-Hariri Illustrated By Y. Al-Wasiti. 13th Century Arabic manuscript*, ed. Oleg Grabar, Facsimile ed. (London: Touch, 2003).
- 60 Naoya Katsumata, “The Style of the *Maqāma*: Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Syriac,” *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 5, no. 2 (2002): 117–137; Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 215–230.
- 61 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, “Muḥammad ʿAwfī and the Persian *Maqāma*,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 64, no. 1 (2011): 52–59; Vahid Behmardi, “The Maḍīra of Baghdad versus the Sikkāj of Nishapur: The Migration of a *Maqāma* from Arabic to Persian,” in *Poetry’s Voice—*

Al-Hamadhānī and his prominent emulator, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī al-Ḥarīrī (446–516/1054–1122), are the best-known creators of the *maqāma*. Both have spurred a slew of imitators and readers which survive until today. Specifically, al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* has come to serve as a standard genre of “everything” Arabic and thus occupies a very important position in the learning, teaching, and writing of Arabic, even beyond the Arab world. Its influence in Nigeria is noteworthy and has prompted the present study.

The work of the late 12th-century poet and grammarian, al-Kānimī, best exemplifies the influence and position of the *maqāma* in the central Bilād al-Sūdān, when Arabic first came to be used as a literary language in the region in the late medieval period. Al-Kānimī’s *Ta’liqāt ‘alā Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, composed in the final decade of the 6th/12th century when al-Kānimī moved to Marrakesh,⁶⁵ is considered the oldest *maqāma* commentary to be produced by a native from the region of the central Bilād al-Sūdān, as Hunwick discovered.⁶⁶ Although the work is no longer extant, fragments of the *Ta’liqāt* have been preserved by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (d. 703/1303), who claims to have copied parts of it directly from al-Kānimī’s autograph manu-

Society’s Norms: Forms of Interaction between Middle Eastern Writers and Their Societies, ed. Barbara Winckler and Andreas Pflitsch, *Literaturen Im Kontext*, v. 24 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006), 95–104; Katsumata, “The Style of the *Maqāma*,” 117–137.

62 Hulüsi Kiliç, “El-Makāmāt,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Üsküdar: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2013).

63 See Dorothea Weltecke and Helen Younansardaroud, “The Renaissance of Syriac Literature in the Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries,” in *The Syriac World*, ed. Daniel King (London: Routledge, 2018), 704–705. See also: Helen Younansardaroud, “Eine Syrisch-Christliche Maqāma Aus Dem 19. Jh.,” in *Akten Des 5. Symposiums Zur Sprache, Geschichte, Theologie Und Gegenwartslage Der Syrischen Kirchen (V. Deutsche Syrologentagung) Berlin*, ed. R. Voigt (Aachen, 2006), 299–304.

64 Douglas C. Young, *Rogues and Genres: Generic Transformation in the Spanish Picaresque and Arabic Maqāma* (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2004); Rina Drory, “The *Maqāma*,” in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Micheal Sells, *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 190–210; Jareer Abu-Haidar, “*Maqāmāt* Literature and the Picaresque Novel,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 5 (1974): 1–10.

65 Al-Kānimī was reported to have migrated to Marrakesh in 594AH as part of a diplomatic mission from Kanem, see Mohammed Bencherifa, *Ibrāhīm al-Kānimī (m. 609h/1212–1213), figure, illustre dans les relations culturelles entre le Maroc et Bilād al-Sūdān* (Rabat: Institut des Etudes Africaines, Université Mohammed v, 1991), 19. For more on al-Kānimī, see Ousmane Oumar Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu: An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 43–44; Hunwick, *ALA II*, 17–19; Abduh Badawi, *al-Shu‘arā’ al-sūd wa-khaṣā’iṣḥum fī l-shi‘r al-‘Arabī* (Cairo: al-Maṭba’a al-Miṣriyya, 1973), 277–278.

66 Hunwick, *ALA II*, 19.

script copy.⁶⁷ Although al-Kānimī was not the first scholar known from the region (he was trained by indigenous scholars of the area),⁶⁸ no record of written works exists in the region before him.⁶⁹ Al-Kānimī's work shows the extent to which West African scholars engaged with the *maqāma* beginning in the 6th/12th century.

Scholarly engagement with the *maqāma* continued in the subsequent centuries. In particular, scholars adopted the "*maqāma* style." This can be seen in their use of *saj'* (rhymed prose), which become commonplace in their works. Although *saj'* has earlier precedence in classical Arabic literature, the writers of *maqāmāt* developed it to its fullest extent, transforming it into a sophisticated style which served as a model for *maqāma* and non-*maqāma* prose writing alike.⁷⁰ Classical works of Arabic literature continue to serve as models for Nigerian scholars engaged in Arabic literary production.⁷¹

The influence of the *maqāma* on Nigerian authors can be seen in two key areas: the adoption of *maqāma* style of *saj'* and, more noticeably, the direct adaptation and use of *maqāma* vocabulary. This can be seen in the writings of 'Abdullāh b. Fodio (d. 1245/1829) and Muḥammad Bello b. 'Uthmān b. Fodio (d. 1253/1837) who used the *maqāma* style in their works.⁷² This is not surprising, given that at the time of the Fodiawas, the *Ḥarīriyya* had become a crucial, if not the most important, part of the curriculum for lexicological studies.⁷³

67 Bencherifa, *Ibrāhīm al-Kānimī*, 18; al-Marrākushī Ibn 'Abd 'l-Malik, *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila li kitābay al-mawṣūl wa-l-ṣila*, ed. Iḥsān Abbās, Mohammed Bencherifa, and Bashār Marouf, vol. 2 (Tunis: Dār 'l-Gharb 'l-Islāmī, 2012), 52.

68 Badawi, *al-Shu'arā' al-sūd*, 277.

69 Hunwick, *ALA II*, 19.

70 Many scholars on *maqāma* agree that the most distinctive feature of a *maqāma* is rhyming prose, which made some consider the *Hamadhāniyya* as the first attempt to thoroughly use *saj'* for literacy purpose, cf. for instance the usage of *saj'* before the time of al-Hamadhānī in: Mattock, "The Early History of the *Maqāma*," 1–16. See also: Alī al-Jundī, *Fann al-Asjā': Balāgha—Adab—Naqd*, Ṣuwar al-Badī' (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1951); Zaki Mubārak, *al-Nathr al-Fannī*, 200.

71 Sanni, "Oriental Pearls from Southern Nigeria," 436–439; Abubakre, *The Interplay*, 21–22.

72 For more on the influence of *maqāma* in the writings of Nigerian scholars, see Barihi Adetunji, "Dirāsa naqdiyya li-maqāmāt al-Ḥarīri wa-āthāruhā fī l-adab al-'arabī al-nayjirī" (Doctoral thesis, Ilorin [Nigeria], University of Ilorin, 2004).

73 See the work of 'Abdullāh b. Fodio who, in his *Īdā' al-nusūkh man akhadhtu 'anhu min al-shuyūkh*, mentions *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīri* as part of the texts they used to study during their time, see Mervyn Hiskett, "Material Relating to the State of Learning among the Fulani before Their Jihād," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19, no. 3 (1957): 565. cf. also 'Abdullāh b. Abī Bakr al-Burtalī, *Faṭḥ al-shakūr fī ma'rifa a'yān 'ulamā' Bilād al-Takrūr*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kattānī and Muḥammad Ḥajjī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1981), 32.

Although, the curriculum for Arabic and Islamic learning was dominated by religious works, the *Ḥarīriyya*, together with the *Muthallathāt Quṭrub* of Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mustanīr Quṭrub (d. 206/821), an early Arabic grammarian and linguist whose work is on triplets of similar-looking words with different meanings, occupies the little space given to lexicology in the Arabic pedagogy of the region.⁷⁴

Throughout the 20th century, the *Ḥarīriyya*’s prestige increased among Yoruba scholars. It emerged as a major authoritative Arabic text, the mastery of which imparted high status due to high proficiency in Arabic. To “know” the *Maqāmāt*, especially in modern Yoruba society, became synonymous with being a sage of Arabic knowledge which entailed a high status of authority in society. Today reputable scholars of Arabic in Nigeria claim to have expertise in the *Ḥarīriyya* and other *maqāma* works, like those of al-Hamadhānī, al-Zamakhsharī, and Nāṣif al-Yāzījī (d. 1871). The *Maqāmāt* represents the “apex of the curriculum” in the Arabic education of Nigerians, as also discovered by Stefan Reichmuth.⁷⁵

If what is available on the market shapes what people read in contemporary society, one can say that the popularity of al-Ḥarīrī’s work continues today, even though Nigerians are now conversant with many other *maqāmāt* available to them on the market.

A survey I conducted in early 2018 of the book markets in major Yorubaland towns, such as Ilorin and Ibadan, revealed a brisk trade in the *Ḥarīriyya*. The numerous copies I found illustrate the high demand for this work. It is interesting to note that while the copies of al-Ḥarīrī’s work were printed in the Arab world, the copies of al-Hamadhānī’s and al-Yāzījī’s *maqāmāt* were reproduced locally by using old editions in the hands of publishers who relied on local printers to produce more copies. This phenomenon of local interest in

74 Bruce S. Hall and Charles C. Stewart, “The Historic ‘Core Curriculum’ and the Book Market in Islamic West Africa,” in *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, ed. Graziano Krätli and Ghislaine Lydon, vol. 3, Libraries of the Written World 8, The Manuscript World (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 121. On Quṭrub see G. Troupeau, “Quṭrub, the Cognomen of Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr,” in *ET*². For the *Muthallath* and its later reception, see Beatrice Gruendler, “Stability and Change in Arabic Script,” in *The Shape of Script: How and Why Writing Systems Change*, ed. Stephen D. Houston, 1st ed, School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe, N.M.: School for Advanced Research Press, 2012), 113–117.

75 See the review of Stefan Reichmuth’s *Islamische Bildung*, for the comment on the position of the *Ḥarīriyya*, Amidu Olalekan Sanni, “Review of Islamische Bildung und Soziale Integration in Ilorin (Nigeria) seit ca. 1800 by Stefan Reichmuth,” *Journal of African History* 41, no. 2 (2000): 316–318.

other *maqāmāt* may imply a higher demand for them, but it also could alternatively mean that printing them in this way was just an easier and less expensive source of books for the local book trade in Nigeria, since importing books is much more expensive than local production. The reputation attached to internationally produced books, especially regarding how Nigerian *maqāmāt* are published, will be discussed later in Chapter Three.

The *maqāma* genre in Nigeria also has social and educational dimensions. As thoroughly explored in Chapters Two and Three, the *maqāma*, especially the *Ḥarīriyya*, continues to be an important vehicle of Arabic learning in Yorubaland. The *maqāma* likewise gradually penetrated the social circles of the Nigerian ulama which has led to greater social acceptance for the *maqāma* culture. For instance, the term *saruji* (locally adopted as synonymous to cleverness, cunning, trickery), derived from the name of al-Ḥarīrī's hero in his *Maqāmāt*, has come to be socially accepted and adopted for various social activities. The *saruji* as a Nigerian social phenomenon is thoroughly explored in Chapter Three.

The 21st century marked a new phase in the Nigerians' engagement with the *maqāma* genre. Scholars, at this time, moved beyond imitating the classical works of *maqāmāt* in their writings of other genres and began to produce their very own *maqāmāt* in Arabic. Although it is impossible to pinpoint exactly when the Nigerian Arabic *maqāma* first emerged, it is reasonable to assume that the indigenous production of the *maqāma* was underway by 2002. This is evidenced by circulation of the manuscript of *al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya* by Imam Mas'ud Abdul-Ganiyy Adebayo (1947–2023), in Yorubaland, southwestern Nigeria, during that time.⁷⁶ In addition to Imam Mas'ud's *al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya*, three other substantive *maqāma* works have been written by Nigerian scholars: *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī* by Muḥammad al-Awwal b. 'Abdul-Salām Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān al-Ilūrī (b. 1973), *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf* by Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle (b. 1980), and *Kiswat al-'ārī fi maqāmāt 'Abd al-Bārī* by 'Abd al-Bārī Adetunji al-Ibādani (b. 1948, officially known as Barihi Adetunji).

In addition to these four main works, new *maqāma* works can be identified in Nigeria today; some are works still in progress, while others are completed but waiting for publication. For instance, an additional twenty *maqāmas* by Ajegunle are part of the re-edition of *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, which originally consisted of thirty episodes.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, Adetunji has published two other

76 A long essay completed in the department of Arabic University of Ilorin Nigeria in January 2003 listed the *Oyowíyya* as its primary source, see Musa Tijani Beekolari, "Dirāsa taḥlīliyya li-l-Maqāma al-Oyowíyya ta'lif al-Shaykh Mas'ūd 'Abd al-Ganī Adebayo" (BA long essay, Nigeria, University of Ilorin, 2003).

77 Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 3rd ed. (Lagos [Nigeria]: Iswad, 2021).

collections of twelve and seven *maqāmas* titled: *al-Najm al-jārī fī maqāmāt ‘Abd al-Bārī* (The Moving Star: *Maqāmāt* of *Abd al-Bārī*)⁷⁸ and *Nayl al-karāmāt fī fann al-maqāmāt* (Acquiring Dignities in the Science of *Maqāmāt*)⁷⁹ respectively, the copies of which I obtained during the final stage of this work. Beyond the circle of established *maqāma* writers in Nigeria (discussed below), new authors are now presenting fascinating *maqāma* works. There are two unpublished *maqāma* manuscripts by Dauda Adeniji (1957–2021) titled *al-Maqāma al-Popowīyya*⁸⁰ and Luqman Olalekan Alagunfon (b. 1996) titled *al-Maqāma al-Awlawraywīyya*.⁸¹ Abdul-Aziz Tunde Abdul-Qadir (b. 1970s), published in 2018 a collection of four *maqāmas* under the title *Maqāmāt al-Epewī*.⁸² As will be seen in Chapter Two, many disciples of *maqāma* teachers and writers are also trying their hands at the *maqāma*. One such *maqāma* disciple, Ahmad Tijani Olaiya (b. 2000), published a three-episode *maqāma* collection in 2022, titled: *Baḥr al-ma‘ānī fī maqāmāt Aḥmad al-Tījānī*. The *maqāma* in Nigeria is not only a continuous literary endeavor but also a living tradition that has sparked a vibrant renewed interest among the Yoruba Arabic-Islamic scholarly community.⁸³

What is striking about the emergence of the *maqāma* in Yorubaland is not only the Arabic genre it resuscitated, but also the time, context, and location of these new versions of *maqāmāt*. This allows us to critique widespread assumptions about the continued reception of the genre. The first is the notion that the *maqāma* genre ended with the premodern (and early modern) period of Arabic literature. Indeed, the revival of the *maqāma*, while remaining true to its original classical form, was unexpected by scholars of modern Arabic literature. Rather, they had previously declared that the *maqāma* era had ended and

78 Barihi Adetunji, *al-Najm al-jārī fī maqāmāt ‘Abd al-Bārī* (Ibadan [Nigeria]: Baydakh Publishing and Media Hub, 2021)

79 Barihi, Adetunji, *Nayl al-karāmāt fī fann al-maqāmāt*. (Ibadan [Nigeria]: Baydakh Publishing and Media Hub, 2022)

80 Dr. Dauda Rasaki Adeniji was a Nigerian Arabist. Before his death on March 24, 2021, he was a chief lecturer and head, Department of Arabic, Federal College of Education, Osiele, Abeokuta, Nigeria.

81 Luqman Alagunfon (b. 1996) is an Arabic poet, writer and a graduate of Arabic Language and Literature from the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

82 Abdul-Qadir teaches at *Markaz al-‘ulum al-‘Arabīyya wa-l-Islāmīyya*, Alagbado, Lagos Nigeria, a branch of Markaz. He has other write-ups in prose and poem, prominent of which are *Arājiz al-‘irfān fī tanshīṭ al-ikhwān* and *Bunāt al-Afkār*, his *Maqāmāt* is published as: Abdul-‘Aziz Yaḥyā Abdul-Qādir, *Maqāmāt al-Epewī* (Lagos [Nigeria]: al-Ma‘rūfa Press, 2018).

83 Bilal W. Orfali and Maurice A. Pomerantz, *The Maqāmāt of Badī‘ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī: Authorship, Texts, and Contexts*, *Literaturen Im Kontext*, v. 48 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2022), 2.

that the genre was dead.⁸⁴ This conclusion was drawn because there had been no serious engagement with the *maqāma* in modern Arabic literature since the late 19th century. The works closest to the genre composed in the 20th century were no more than piecemeal adaptations of the *maqāma* or its features in other genres that, in the words of Hämeen-Anttila, did not “grow out of the *maqāma* genre.”⁸⁵ The emergence of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* today brings the notion of the extinction of the *maqāma* into question, if not entirely negating it.

Secondly, the renewal of the *maqāma* was not foreseen to have emerged from a locality like Yorubaland, a non-native Arabophone land, where Arabic is used mainly for academic purposes. One would have expected its re-emergence to have occurred in the Arab world, its place of origin. The rise of the indigenous Nigerian Arabic *maqāmāt* thus challenges the global narrative, not only in regard to the modern death of the *maqāma* genre, but also in regard to the development of modern Arabic literature as a phenomenon of the Arab world. As a result of this Arabo-centric narrative, Arabic literary works composed in the Sudanic Africa have been marginalized and not received the scholarly attention they deserve, despite the vibrant historical past of these region as integral part of the Islamic world. Recently some scholars have challenged this marginalization of Nigeria and West Africa by showing interest in indigenous Arabic literature.⁸⁶ By considering the Nigerian *maqāmāt* from a scholarly and literary perspective, I aim to further rectify the neglect of Arabic literature and Arabic-Islamic scholarship emerging from the West African and Nigerian region as well as make an important contribution to the field of *maqāma* and Arabic literature at large.

Thus, one of the objectives of this book is to showcase how Nigerian Arabic writers have skillfully integrated their own cultural elements into the classi-

84 Kilito, *al-Maqāmāt*, 5; Hämeen-Anttila, “An Old-Fashioned Genre,” 11.

85 Hämeen-Anttila, 11. Cf. the literary works mentioned in: Caroline Rooney, “The Contemporary Egyptian *Maqāma* or Short Story Novel as a Form of Democracy,” in *The Postcolonial Short Story*, ed. Maggie Awadalla and Paul March-Russell (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2013), 111–132.

86 For instance, see Ousmane Kane, *Non-Europhone Intellectuals*, trans. Victoria Bawtree, CODESRIA Book Series (Dakar, Oxford: CODESRIA, 2012), 1–10; Fallou Ngom, *Muslims beyond the Arab World: The Odyssey of ‘Ajami and the Muridiyya*, Religion, Culture, and History (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 25–27. See also: Oludamini Ogunnaike, “Review of Beyond Timbuktu: An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa, by Ousmane Kane,” *The Journal of Religion* 99, no. 3 (2019): 388. Cf. also the case of India, see Tahera Qutbuddin, “Arabic in India: A Survey and Classification of Its Uses, Compared with Persian,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127, no. 3 (2007): 315–338.

cal Arabic literary genre of *maqāma*, a process I refer to as “Nigerianization.” By infusing their works with the Nigerian languages, traditions, and customs, these authors have made significant contributions to the literary world of *maqāma*. The result is a more authentic and captivating storytelling style that reflects the Nigerian experience and highlights the region’s rich diversity, as well as its writing, reading, and socio-religious culture. Through this process, Nigerian authors have transformed the *maqāma* into a vehicle for expressing their own cultural identity, making it more relatable and accessible to Nigerian readers. In doing so, they have revitalized the *maqāma* in a uniquely Nigerian manner, challenging traditional Arabic literary norms and emphasizing the importance of diverse voices and narratives in shaping the Arabic literary landscape. This book serves as a testament to the richness and diversity of Nigerian literature in Arabic or Arabic literature produced by Nigerians.

My use of the term “Nigerianization,” it must be noted, does not imply a national project to politicize the *maqāma* genre. Instead, Nigeria and the Yorubaland are used as examples of regions with a long history of classical Arabic literary influence, independent of a national structure. This regional literary sphere, discussed in the beginning of this chapter, plays a significant role in connecting the region to the classical Arabic world. The Nigerian *maqāmāt* can thus be seen as a neo-classical form of Arabic literature that is both contextualized and localized. The Nigerian authors have effectively translated the *maqāma* into a new Nigerian context.

The engagement of the *maqāma* in this context is not a new phenomenon. The genre’s literary evolution suggests a consistent openness to the convergence of different cultures and backgrounds.⁸⁷ The localization of the *maqāma* genre by Nigerian authors only highlights its vibrancy and its ability to maintain its traditional features while adapting to diverse cultures. Therefore, the Nigerian *maqāmāt* should not be seen as a new literary form, but rather as a prototype of a neoclassical Arabic genre that has stood the test of time. This distinguishes my analysis of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* as a contextualized literary work from the broader concept of indigenization, which often focuses on the nationalization and decolonization of literature in reclaiming indigenous narratives.⁸⁸ While the Nigerian *maqāmāt* may exhibit traits of a marginalized

87 Cf. for instance the case of the Levantine authors whose *maqāmas* are engaged in the contemporary politics and culture of the Mount Lebanon regions, see Shmookler, “The Levantine *Maqāma* Before the *Nahda*,” 9–12.

88 For more on the concept indigenization of literature, especially in the African context, see James Tar Tsaaio, *African Literature and the Politics of Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013); Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Pol-*

perspective in literature, particularly in the global Arabic literary context, they still maintain their intrinsic features and blend them with current local and global experiences. This study is thus driven by the desire to explore this unique literary tradition.

3 Scholars: *Dramatis Personae*

Various social actors have been responsible for the development of the *maqāma* as a literary work and have also played a key role in the rise of its popularity in Yorubaland. They can be divided into two groups. The first group, the minor social actors, are those who engage with the Nigerian and classical *maqāmāt* in Nigerian society at a socio-educational level, rather than a direct literary one as authors; their minor or indirect contributions to the development of the Nigerian *maqāma* are based on their role as patrons, readers, students, and teachers. The most numerous constituents of this group are those who engage with the *maqāma* as teachers and their students. The second constituents of this group are educated readers, or aficionados, who hold the *maqāma* in high esteem, and the patrons who have supported the efflorescence of the *maqāma* in society. Finally, there are the tricksters and performers, who take their nicknames from characters featuring the classical *maqāma* and likewise adopt *maqāma* features in their acts, and therefore may also be included in this group.

The second group, who can be referred to as major social actors, include authors of the *maqāma*. They are the scholars who enrich the Arabic library of Yorubaland with this important literary corpus and bring to the fore various kinds of memory, heritage, and tradition. Their lives, works, and individual contributions are thus discussed below in a general overview of their respective *maqāmāt*. A stylistic, structural, and thematic exposition on their *maqāmāt* is given in Chapter Five.

3.1 *The Imam and the Palace*

The history of the modern Nigerian *maqāma* begins with Mas'ud Abdul-Ganiyy Adebayo (1947–2023), popularly known as Imam (or Imam Ọyọ). He received his elementary Arabo-Islamic education from scholars in his hometown Ọyọ, located in the southwestern part of present-day Nigeria. In 1962 he obtained

itics of Language in African Literature (Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Pub. House, 1987). For the Islamic context of indigenization, see Ismail Fajrie Alatas, *What is Religious Authority? Cultivating Islamic Communities in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 11, <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/9780691204291>.

admission into the Markaz as an intermediate Arabic student. After completing his Markazi *tawjihīyya*⁸⁹ or secondary education in 1969, he worked as a teacher in various private and public schools across Yorubaland until 1976, when he received a scholarship to study in Cairo's al-Azhar University. After graduating from al-Azhar in 1983 with a bachelor's degree, he remained in Cairo for nine additional years working as an announcer, translator, and editor for Cairo Radio and taking courses on communication, publishing, and newscasting. After returning to Nigeria in the early 1990s, Adebayo began lecturing at the Zulaykha Abiola College of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Abẹokuta and engaged in writing. His play, *Ustādh raghm anfih* ("A Teacher against His Will"), composed in Arabic in 2001, has been recognized as one of the foremost Nigerian plays in Arabic. It displays the influence of his Egyptian friends, 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Shalabī (d. 1995)⁹⁰ and his brother, 'Abd al-Wadūd al-Shalabī (d. 2008) from whom he received personal instruction in writing drama and theater during his stay in Cairo.⁹¹ In addition to *Ustādh raghm anfih*, Adebayo has written various other religious and literary works. His *Āfāq al-dhahab: Majmū'a min al-farā'id al-adabīyya al-lughawīyya*, a treatise composed in 2005 on miscellaneous religious topics, emulates al-Zamakhsharī's *Aṭwāq al-dhahab*.⁹² He has composed many poems in Arabic, that have yet to be collected in a *dīwān*. In 2004, he was selected the chief imam of Qyọ, his hometown, which was a momentous event in his life. He later memorialized his struggle in attaining the post of imam in his *maqāma* writing. His *al-Maqāma al-Awyuwīyya* (hereafter, *Oyowīyya*), is a pioneering attempt to contextualize or "Nigerianize" the *maqāma* genre. His *al-Maqāma al-Fiktūrīyya* (the *Maqāma* of Victoria), narrates his experience on a trip to Victoria Island, Lagos, Nigeria in 2004, the manuscript of which has yet to be found.⁹³

89 This is a secondary level of Arabic studies similar to *thānawīyya*.

90 For whom see Nora Lafi, "Goldziher vu d'Al-Azhar: 'Abd Al-Jalil Shalabi et La Critique de l'Orientalisme Européen," in *Ignac Goldziher: Un Autre Orientalisme?*, ed. Céline Trautmann-Waller (Paris: Geuthner, 2011), 249–259.

91 The work is an autobiographical play that describes how the author unexpectedly found himself in the teaching profession. For more on Arabic plays in Nigeria, see Zakariyau I. Oseni, "Prose and Drama in Nigerian Literature in Arabic: The Journey so Far" (Inaugural Lecture, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria., 2002). See also: Alagunfon, "Drama in Its Own Way," 52–64.

92 For the rhetorical analysis of which see Izzudeen Adetunji, "Dirāsa badi'iyya fi Kitāb Āfāq al-dhahab li-l-Shaykh Mas'ūd al-Awyuwī," *Majalla al-Aasima* 5 (2013): 54–58.

93 All attempts to locate the manuscript of this *maqāma* proved abortive. Both his *Oyowīyya* and *al-Fiktūrīyya* are lost in their original form. The text of the former is preserved in various research works from which I derive the version I use throughout this study. Unfortunately, no record or trace of the second could be found. I only rely on the informa-



FIGURE 1

Imam Mas'ud Abdul-Ganiyy Adebayo, early 2020, Oyo, Nigeria

Note: Unless otherwise stated, all photographs were taken or obtained during fieldwork trips undertaken between 2018 and 2019 in Yorubaland, Nigeria

His *maqāma*, the *Oyowiyya*, an autobiographical account of his struggle for the position of chief imam of his hometown Oyo, an event that was fraught with power politics and lobbying (see the appendix). In the *Oyowiyya*, the narrator, al-Mufakkir b. al-Wāṭi, leaves Abeokuta⁹⁴ for Oyo with his friends, among whom is the imam-to-be, Shaykh Mas'ūd, the *maqāma*'s protagonist. The entourage's aim is to visit the Alaafin (King) of Oyo⁹⁵ and to present him with their candidate for the vacant post of chief imam. Upon reaching the palace, the narrator begins by describing the architecture and setting of the magnificent

tion about this work found in reliable research works which mentioned it as his second *maqāma* episode. When I met him in March 2018, he verified that he wrote and circulated the manuscript of the *maqāma* but he himself has not been able to find it again. The text of the first *maqāma* is contained in: Beekolari, "Dirāsa taḥlīliyya," 43–51; Adetunji, "Dirāsa naqdiyya," 315–320. and a brief discussion of both *maqāmas* is in: Izzudeen Adetunji, "Maqāmāt Muḥammad al-Awwal Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān al-Ilūrī al-Nayjirī: Dirāsa taḥlīliyya" (Doctoral thesis, Amman, World Islamic Science and Education University, 2014), 36–45.

94 Abeokuta is one of the ancient towns in Yorubaland which was founded in early 19th century.

95 Literally the owner of Oyo palace, this is the title of the Oyo King.

palace.⁹⁶ He relates how the group is told to follow the official protocol for gaining access to the *Ṣāhib al-Jalāla*, his royal highness, the Alaafin of Ọyọ. The group is permitted to enter the pavilion, where the queen welcomes them, assuring them of the king's availability in a symbolic gesture that the ruler has decided to have an audience with the group. Al-Mufakkir admires the queen's beauty, grace, and courtesy, which he extensively describes in a polished and ornate literary style. According to the traditional ritual of homage, the guests bow before the king in respect. Discussion between them and the king ensues regarding the position of the chief imam of Ọyọ. The king admonishes them to be patient, since the die has been cast, and an imam seems to have already been selected for the post. Hearing the vague comment by the king, al-Mufakkir proceeds to extol the virtues of his candidate, a strategy which displays the latter's curriculum vitae as a way to campaign for him. This is done with poetry, and the episode ends with them leaving the palace.

The aim of their visit—obtaining the post of imam for their candidate Shaykh Mas'ūd—ends in failure. The *maqāma* concludes with the protagonist being told to leave and wait his turn for when the position will next become vacant. In fact, he is chosen four years later to be *al-Imām al-Akbar* (the highest-ranking imam) in the ancient Ọyọ town, the position which he held until his death in January 2023. Adebayo, or the Imam, may be considered the pioneer of *maqāma* writing in Nigeria, although his total *maqāma* output consists of two independent episodes.⁹⁷

3.2 *Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān and the Ilūriyya*

Born to the Alalukurani ("the possessors of the Qur'ān") family, as they are famously called, hence his cognomen Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān, Muḥammad al-Awwal b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Ilūrī (b. 1973) was the first to publish an entire collection of *maqāmāt* in Nigeria. His family is part of the so-called Makondoro,⁹⁸ a group of Muslim scholars who are known for their traditional Arabic schools, held

96 As will be explained later, this hero-narrator combination in one personality is an innovative style in the *maqāma* which takes to the *Maqāmāt* of Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī.

97 See the appendix for a text of this *Maqāma* and its translation.

98 Established in the 20th century by Yusuf Agbaji (d. 1979), the Makondoro group primarily resides in the Western region of Nigeria. Their distinctiveness lies in their pedagogical approach, religious socialization, and scholarly networks. For more on them, see Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning," 127–133; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 228–249; Rasheed Ajani Raji, "The Makondoro Muslims of Nigeria: Continuity Through Learning Strategies," *Journal, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 11, no. 1 (1990): 153–163; Sulaiman Adewale Alagunfon, "The Dynamics of Makondoro's Arabic-Islamic Pedagogy in Western Nigeria," *Islamic Studies* 62, no. 1 (2023): 43–63, <https://doi.org/10.52541/isiri.v62i1.2468>.

in their own homes or in mosques. The Makondoro are generally known for their conservative approach to Arabic and Islamic teaching and learning. There is no standard curriculum in this system of education, only an unofficial and unwritten list of books. Thus, one cannot specifically determine when a student will graduate from this kind of school. The time students spend studying there depends on how long it takes for them to master the set of books they are required to study. Students may spend up to ten years in such a school, depending on their intellectual capacity. The students study Arabic texts by reading them from cover to cover, accompanied by the teacher's oral translations into the local language; however, there is no additional commentary. Although students do not memorize texts, they are still trained to memorize certain parts of the books they may need for public use, such as for sermons. The students are trained to write the meaning of each word interlineally in their personal copies. Therefore, every student must own his copy of each book. A daunting number of up to one hundred and fifty books must be read in a Makondoro school before one can graduate, and every book must be read from the beginning to the end, with the words' meanings clearly written above the Arabic text in the local language. This is mostly Yoruba, but any other language that will aid student's assimilation can also be used, including Hausa and simple Arabic paraphrases.

After mastering the prescribed set of texts, students may leave the school to establish their own school, either in the front section of their parent's house or at a nearby mosque.⁹⁹ A student departs with his personal copies of the books he learned from his master, which he uses for teaching his own students. The graduate of the traditional school teaches using these books, along with the annotations he scribbled during his student days, thus preserving and continuing the intellectual heritage of his former teacher. Since the schools are usually situated in the teacher's home, the students live together with their teacher and his family, constituting a tight-knit social unit.

Despite the lack of significant branches of Arabic studies in their curriculum, Makondoro students and their teachers have developed their own methods of understanding the Arabic for oration and teaching. Since they take religious public oration through preaching more seriously than composing in Arabic, it may require extra effort for someone undergoing this kind of Arabic education to reach the latter goal. Indeed, speaking and communicating in Arabic is rare in a Makondoro school. Thus, it is difficult for the graduates to master Arabic

99 Sulaiman Adewale Alagunfon, "al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya fi l-madāris al-ḥukūmiyya fi Nayjiri-yā: Taṭawwuruḥā wa-mustaqbaluhā," *Majalla Al-Aasima* 7 (2015): 42–43.



FIGURE 2 Shaykh Muḥammad al-Awwal Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān (third from left) and the students of Dār al-Qurʾān, Alagbado, Ilorin, dressed in the school uniform (May 15, 2018)

fluently, and they may not be able to communicate effectively in the language. No composition skills in either colloquial or literary Arabic writing are therefore properly taught in this kind of traditional school. However, the *Ḥarīriyya* holds the highest position in the Makondoro's unwritten curriculum.

The traditional Makondoro educational system as described above is important for understanding Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān's intellectual background, as well as the motives lying behind his literary orientation (Chapter Two), and the public perception of him and his writings (Chapter Three). How did Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān acquire his Arabic writing skills if not from his traditional education? An external factor played an important role. After finishing his education at the Makondoro school in Ilorin, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān moved to Kaduna to live with his uncle, another Makondoro scholar. It was here that he met the Sudanese scholar, Muḥammad al-Marḍī, who taught in a private Arabic school. He befriended him and benefited immensely from his knowledge of Arabic. It is from al-Marḍī that he learned to write and speak in modern standard Arabic. Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān recounts his experience with al-Marḍī in the following way:

... I never studied with any “modern-oriented” scholars my entire life. But when I was in Kaduna, I met Shaykh Muḥammad al-Marḍī, a Sudanese,

who was teaching at Abubakar Gumi College in Kaduna. He noticed that I read Arabic books and one day, he called out to me, asking: “What are you reading?” I showed him the Arabic book I had with me. He then said: let me teach you the *fannayn* (two disciplines) that will assist you in knowing all (the rudiments) of the Arabic language. He then taught me *naḥw* (syntax) and *ṣarf* (morphology) for two months, and since then I have been learning everything else by myself.¹⁰⁰

Şāḥib al-Qur’ān is noticeably proud of his Makondoro background. He returned to Ilorin to establish his own school, the Dār al-Qur’ān, which he operates from his home. While retaining the traditional Makondoro school structure, he has also introduced new features. Therefore, although he has distanced himself somewhat from certain conservative practices of the Makondoro, he has retained their fundamental outlook such as wearing large turbans together with the school uniforms (see fig. 2 above). Nevertheless, he has dispensed with certain traditional features, but has not introduced a standardized curriculum or split classes according to level in his school.

One of Şāḥib al-Qur’ān’s notable departures from the traditional learning formats is organizing cultural and literary activities which encourage students to compose Arabic poems and prose works of high literary quality, including *maqālas* and *maqāmas*. Some of the writings of his students are published annually in the school magazine entitled *Majallat Şawt al-Qur’ān*. The magazine features poems, articles, and other literary genres. Another innovation is the addition of new subjects, such as *naḥw* and *ṣarf*, along with the *maqāma*, especially those of al-Ḥarīrī, al-Hamadḥānī, and the *Majma’ al-baḥrayn* by al-Yāzījī, which constitute the most advanced level of studies at the school.

Şāḥib al-Qur’ān’s *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī* (hereafter, *Ilūrīyya*) is to date the best known *maqāma* work in Nigeria and has been published numerous times. Its sixth edition, published in 2017, includes a total of fifty episodes or individual *maqāmas*, possibly in emulation of al-Hariri’s *Maqāmāt*, which are limited to a maximum of fifty.¹⁰¹ When it was first published in 2003, it only had ten

100 Personal communication with Şāḥib al-Qur’ān, Ilorin on March 2018. Words in parentheses are my addition.

101 This adoption of the number fifty as a standard for *maqāmāt* collection can also be observed in the works of other Nigerian authors, as mentioned in the case of Ajegunle above. This preference for fifty is likely influenced by their admiration for al-Ḥarīrī’s work, which also consists of fifty episodes. Just as classical and premodern emulators of al-

episodes or *maqāmas*. Besides the increase in the number of *maqāmas*, the new editions also present refined versions of the *maqāmas*; sometimes, certain *maqāmas* have been removed. Thus, newer editions may lack some important *maqāmas*, causing confusion in the setting of each episode and giving additional content to some others.

The *Ilūriyya* features accounts of Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's travels throughout Nigeria. The protagonist of the *Ilūriyya* is Abū al-Labīb, whose exploits are recounted by the narrator, Jibrīl b. Khālīd (see Chapter 5). Generally taking place in indigenous settings, the episodes are named after Nigerian cities and personalities, branches of Arabic studies, such as those on *ʿarūd* (prosody, no. 30 *al-ʿArūdīyya*), *naḥw* (syntax, no. 29 *al-Naḥwīyya*), or important Islamic sites, such as Makkah (no. 26 *al-Makkiyya*). Although their general structure takes much from al-Hamadhānī, the naming of protagonists deviates from the Hamadhānian style. Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's style resonates with al-Zamakhsharī's *Maqāmāt*.¹⁰² Whether the content of all these *maqāmāt* is closer to the *Hamadhāniyya* or the *Ḥarīriyya* remains to be ascertained, and will be explored in Chapter Five. Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān laid the foundation for modern Nigerian *maqāma* collections.

3.3 *Ajgunle as the Ḥarīrī of Nigeria*

The success of the *Ilūriyya* paved the way for further *maqāmāt* literature. In 2010, another scholar, Ahmad Yusuf Ajgunle (b. 1980), published a thirty-episode *maqāma* collection. Born in Ajgunle Lagos state and raised in Ibadan Oyo state, Nigeria, Ajgunle is also a product of a traditional Makondoro Arabic school. His late father, Shaykh Yusuf Ajgunle, under whom he began his elementary Arabic studies, was an important figure in the group associated with Shaykh Yusuf Agbaji (d. 1979), the founder of the Makondoro system. After learning to read the Qurʾān from his father, who died suddenly, he was sent to another Makondoro scholar to complete his elementary Arabic education. He was later transferred to his uncle Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm Abijuwon, who continued his education in Arabic and Islamic studies. After his uncle's death and takeover of his uncle's school by the latter's *khalīfa* (successor), Ajgunle spent several years with the successor before embarking on a tour through many cities in southern Nigeria such as Ijebu, Port-Harcourt, Anambra, and Lagos. Ajgunle later returned to Ibadan and opened his own Arabic school, which he continues to run and where he teaches the *maqāmāt* and other classics.

Ḥarīrī, like Abū l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī and al-Saraqṣṭī, adhered to the fifty-episode structure, Nigerian authors have also made fifty their guiding principle.

102 Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt al-Zamakhsharī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1402).



FIGURE 3
Shaykh Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle
speaking at a public lecture in 2019

Like that of Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān, Ajegunle's Arabic school combines features from both traditional and modern systems, although not at the same level of modernization. For instance, Ajegunle's school does not organize literary activities as a way for students to further their literary prowess. Nevertheless, some of his students have become prolific writers. Ajegunle is one of the leading Arabic writers in Yorubaland today, and his travels had a significant impact on his *maqāmāt* and other writings. Before publishing his *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf* (hereafter, *Yūsufiyya*) in 2010, he wrote over fifty Arabic works, two-thirds of which have been published. He is also a prolific Arabic poet whose numerous Arabic poems on topics of social and literary interest are collected in several *dīwāns*.¹⁰³

His *Yūsufiyya* is a collection of thirty *maqāmas* which include more than twenty *muʿāraḍas* (contra-factions and emulations) of the *Ḥarīriyya*. In these *maqāmāt*, the author strives to imitate al-Ḥarīrī rather than to produce an orig-

¹⁰³ What can be regarded as his first diwan was published in 2018/2019. It includes a collection of prose and poetic works. He himself does not consider this a diwan and promises that another comprehensive diwan will be forthcoming. See Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle, *al-Raḥīq al-makhtūm fī l-manthūr wa-l-manzūm* (Lagos [Nigeria]: Iswad, n.d.).

inal work. Nevertheless, it succeeds in making al-Ḥarīrī's classical work a Nigerian example, through the social and religio-literary issues it addresses, which are peculiar to the Nigerian scholarly environment.

3.4 *Al-Ibādānī and the Kiswa*

The last *maqāma* work considered in this study is that composed by Dr 'Abd al-Bārī Adetunji al-Ibādānī (officially Barihi Adetunji), an academic and proprietor of a modern Arabic school. Adetunji's training consists of a mix of both informal traditional learning and the modern system of education. Born in 1948, Adetunji began studying while a youth with traditional Ibadan scholars such as Shaykh Muhammad Sadiq Folohunso (d. 1988) and Shaykh Mudaththir 'Abd al-Salām (d. 1991), both former chief imams of the city. With these two scholars, Adetunji studied classical Arabic texts such as *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, *Mukhtārāt al-shi'r al-jāhili* (a collection of *mu'allaqāt* poems of pre-Islamic poets), *Jimīyyat Ibn Fodio*, *Mukhtaṣar al-Khalīl* (on Maliki jurisprudence), *Sirāj al-qārī*, a commentary on al-Shāṭibī's (d. 590/1194) primer on Qur'ānic sciences, al-Zamakhsharī's *Nawābiḥ al-kalīm* and *Aṭwāq al-dhahab*, and works on Prophetic praise (termed *Kutub al-madīḥ*), such as *Qaṣīdat al-burda*, the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī (d. 695/1295) and the popular *madīḥ* poem, *al-Tshrinīyyāt*.¹⁰⁴ He also studied *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* together with the glosses of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (1175/1761–1241/825), and the *Maqṣūra* and the *Mamdūda* of Ibn Durayd.¹⁰⁵

Adetunji also attended Kharashi Arabic Secondary School which, established in 1945, is one of the earliest modern Arabic schools in Yorubaland. He graduated with distinction in 1970 and, in 1977, began attending the University of Ibadan, where he earned a certificate in Arabic and Islamic Studies. He then gained admission to the University of Jos, Nigeria in 1979 to study Arabic. He earned his BA in Arabic in 1982 and returned to the University of Ibadan for a

104 Originally known as *al-Wasā'il al-Mutaqabbala* (composed by the Andalusian Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yakhlaftan b. Aḥmad al-Fāzāzī (d. 627/1230), this literary work has gained popularity in Nigeria under the name *al-Tshrinīyyāt* (the twenties) due to its twenty-nine qasidas, each consisting of twenty lines. For more on the influence of this poem in Nigeria, see Rasheed Ajani Raji, "The Influence of the *Tshrinīyyāt* on Arabic and Islamic Culture in Nigeria" (Doctoral thesis, Michigan, USA, The University of Michigan, 1982).

105 For more on what constitute the intellectual and educational pursuit of Arabists in the whole of west Africa, Nigeria, and particularly Yorubaland, see Chapter Two, *The Scholarly Setting*, below. see also: Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu*, 75–95; Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning," 37–43; Hall and Stewart, "The Historic 'Core Curriculum,'" 109–174; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 110–148; Abdul-Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study," 1–82.



FIGURE 4

Dr. Barihi Adetunji at a public function in Ibadan, Nigeria, 2019

Masters in Arabic and Islamic Studies (1983–1984) and a Postgraduate Diploma in Education (1988). He then went on to earn a Ph.D. in Arabic from the University of Ilorin, Nigeria in 2004. Adetunji is the only *maqāma* author possessing a doctoral degree.

A scholar of high repute and a teacher *par excellence*, Adetunji has taught at various institutions of different levels, ranging from colleges of education to full-fledged universities. In 1989, he established a private school of Arabic, the College of Arabic and Islamic Studies (now Bari College of Arabic and Islamic Studies) in Olomi, Ibadan, Nigeria where he has been teaching since 2013, following his retirement from teaching at government educational institutions. Many Nigerian academics have passed through his training, either via traditional Arabic schools, the public higher educational institutions where he taught, or in his own Arabic school. He is also a frequent public orator and a prominent member of the Council of the Ulama in Yorubaland. He was nominated the 16th Grand Mufassir of Ibadanland in April 2021.

Adetunji is also one of the most prolific Nigerian scholars in recent times. He has published over one hundred and fifty works, many of which are monographs and works in various genres of Arabic literature, including plays, short stories, witticisms, novellas, sermons, and collections of poems. He publishes

primarily in Arabic, except for a bilingual novel and play, which are written in Arabic and English.¹⁰⁶ In 2017, he published two important books that mark a turning point in his career and enhanced his public profile. The first is the *Rawā'ih al-ʿanbar fī khuṭab al-minbar*, a collection of sermons modelled after the Friday sermons of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. Nubāta (d. 374/984).¹⁰⁷ Ibn Nubāta's *Dīwān khuṭab minbariyya*¹⁰⁸ has been widely used by West African scholars for the *khuṭba* delivered from the pulpit every Friday over the centuries.¹⁰⁹ Following the style of Ibn Nubāta, Adetunji structures his *Rawā'ih* in accordance with the number of Fridays of the year using the Hijri lunar calendar. He touches upon socio-cultural and political issues of concern to contemporary Nigerian society. Since its publication in 2017, the *Rawā'ih* has been widely acclaimed and used by imams in Yorubaland. Published at the same time as the *Rawā'ih* was his *maqāmāt*, entitled *Kiswat al-ʿārī fī maqāmāt ʿAbd al-Bārī* (hereafter, *Kiswa*).

The *Kiswa* is a collection of thirty *maqāmas* modelled after classical and modern *maqāmas*, among which the *Ḥarīriyya*, *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* by al-Yāzījī and al-Zamakhsharī's *Maqāmāt* are prominent. With Abū Khālīd al-Ibādānī and al-Mujāhid b. al-Hādī as protagonist and narrator, respectively, the *Kiswa* creates the perfect type of homiletic, historical, and socio-cultural *maqāma* popular in Nigeria today, with topics ranging from social criticism to historical and pedagogical themes. The work has two conspicuous features: religious and linguistic. The majority of the *maqāmāt* in it are either sermons or verbal juggleries and philological acrobatics. The *Kiswa* takes no specific structure from any particular classical *maqāmāt* collection, but rather is a conglomeration of structures adapted from the various *maqāmāt* the author drew upon, including previously known Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Thus, the *Kiswa* presents an inventory of styles found in the classical *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, al-Hamadhānī,

106 He alternates between the two languages in writing. For instance, his novella, *The Run-away Boy* first published in 2004, was initially written in English then redacted into Arabic by the author first with the title: al-*Walad al-farrār* and later under the title: al-*Walad al-hārib*. Whereas his play, *Baqʿun Muqaddar* (destined to survive) first published in 2005 in Arabic was redacted to English as *Education for every child* (An English play) in 2007.

107 For whom see M. Canard, "Ibn Nubāta," in *ET*². Not to be confused with the poet and writer Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366).

108 For such *khuṭab*, see Abdul Raḥīm b. Muḥammad Ibn Nubāta, *Dīwān khuṭab Ibn Nubāta*, ed. Yasir M. al-Miqdād (Kuwait: al-Waʿy al-Islāmī, 2012).

109 For more on *khuṭab*, see Tahera Qutbuddin, *Arabic Oration: Art and Function*, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One, the Near and Middle East, Volume 131 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

and al-Saraqustī (d. 538/1143)¹¹⁰ as well as the modern *maqāmāt* of al-Yāzījī and Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān. It is thus the richest of all modern Nigerian collections.

4 Methods and Sources

The methodology of this study is transdisciplinary, drawing from socio-cultural and comparative literary studies. I combine textual analysis of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* with ethnographic field research and archival work that I conducted between 2018 and 2019 in Nigeria. I conducted a series of interviews and personal interactions with writers, teachers, and students of the *maqāma* in major towns in Yorubaland, Nigeria, namely Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ilorin, Lagos, and Oyo. This included observing *maqāma* classes in some Arabic schools, such as the Markaz Agege Lagos, the Dār al-Qurʾān, Ilorin, and the Bari College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Olomi, Ibadan. I also participated and facilitated key public events for propagating *maqāma* works in Yorubaland.

In order to ascertain the archival status of indigenous *maqāma* before the 21st century, I visited some libraries and archives in Nigeria, such as the Center for Arabic Documentation of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ibadan, the Ibadan University Library, the Main Library of the University of Ilorin, the Centre for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture of Kwara State University in Malete, the Arewa House's Centre for Research and Historical Documentation in Kaduna, and the Arabic section of the National Archives in Kaduna. Chapter Three contains an examination of the book market by surveying the presence and circulation of published *maqāma* works at Arabic bookstores and other venues in Kano, Ilorin, and Ibadan. I likewise engaged in conversation with local Arabic book publishers, marketers, and retailers to gain additional information and insight on their practices and attitudes.

I rely primarily on the four aforementioned Nigerian *maqāma* texts as the primary sources for this study. I have singled out these four texts because of their pioneering importance as well as the significant literary and social influence they have exerted on the Arabic-Islamic scholarly culture of Yorubaland and Yoruba society at large. Other sources include indigenous *maqāma* works still in manuscript form or undergoing publication. Other works are those I

110 For whom, see James T. Monroe, "Al-Saraqustī, Ibn al-Aṣṭarkūwī: Andalusī Lexicographer, Poet, and Author of *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiyya*," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 28 (1997): 1–37; James T. Monroe, "Al-Saraqustī, Ibn al-Aṣṭarkūwī (Part 11)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 29 (1998): 31–58.

refer to as quasi-*maqāma*, for they are namely written yet unpublished texts that do not fit the generic requirements of the *maqāma* although they are nevertheless presented as such by local scholars. Among these texts are short *maqālas* composed by students of the *maqāma*. Other works by *maqāma* writers and their disciples are also used as sources in certain instances.

I have collected voice notes, video recordings (online through YouTube, and offline directly from the teachers and students) of *maqāma* classes in order to gain a direct and first-hand impression of how the *maqāma* is taught as well as its appearance in public space. I have also used ancillary sources such as instructional materials on the *maqāma*, curricula (virtual and hard copies) and lesson notes being used at various Arabic schools such as Markaz and Dār al-Kitāb Ilḡorin. Finally, since I am also a product of the traditional system of Arabic-Islamic education, I draw from my own personal experience over the years in Yorubaland in learning, teaching, and editing *maqāmas* of both the classical examples and those of indigenous Yoruba authorship.

To understand the status of the *maqāma* in Yorubaland, Nigeria, this study examines Yoruba Arabic-Islamic textual cultures as a product of its particular scholarly culture and literary traditions that have developed over recent decades. Some issues raised throughout this study, especially in Chapters Two and Three, are not peculiar to the *maqāma* but can also be applied more generally to Arabic literary works produced locally by scholars and students. Nevertheless, I am careful not to overgeneralize by identifying literary-cultural aspects that are specific to the *maqāma* but not applicable to other literary works.

Some clarification is necessary on how certain terms are applied. “Scholar” is used in the sense of its local use in Yorubaland which literally translates to *alfa* (used in both singular and plural forms). Traced to a Songhai origin, *alfa* is commonly used in the Islamosphere of Yorubaland in the general sense of *ulama* (scholars of Islamic religion). No formal degree and criteria, however, are required for applying the term *alfa* or making claims to this status. Rather, popular perception determines who is included in the circle of *alfa* in Yorubaland.¹¹¹ Scholar likewise may be applied to teachers, writers, and advanced students who are also capable of teaching the *maqāma* (see Chapter 2).¹¹²

111 For more on how the term, *alfa*, works out in Yorubaland in the 20th century, see Ryan, Imale, 30.

112 For the regional usage of the word in the sense of a lesser scholar, to use Levtzion's term, see Nehemia Levtzion, “Islam in the Bilād al-Sūdān to 1800,” in *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000),

In transcribing the titles of *maqāma* episodes, I retain the Arabic definite article *al-* to differentiate them from the titles of collections, to which I do not add *al-*. All titles formed with local words and nomenclatures are transcribed according to their Arabicized or *Ajami* forms.¹¹³ To avoid confusion, I transcribe the *Ajami* words, i.e., local words written in Arabic scripts, in titles according to each author's personal practice. Nigerian authors write local words in Arabic scripts in different forms because of the lack of a standard orthography for *Ajami*, which is based on their personal understanding.¹¹⁴ Since some *maqāmas* carry the same titles across collections, this method of retaining an author's spellings can be additionally useful in differentiating chapters from different collections. A conspicuous example of this is the use of "Ilṛin" in the titles of the second *maqāmas* of the *Ilūriyya* and the *Yūsufiyya*, and in the third *maqāma* of the *Kiswa*. It is written in the *Ilūriyya* as *al-Ilūriyya*, in the *Yūsufiyya* as *al-Ilūriniyya*, and in the *Kiswa* as *al-Ilawriniyya*.

Lastly, the general outlook of this study (especially Chapters Two to Four) suggests an anthropological enquiry. Although I am not an anthropologist, as an Arabist trained in Arabic language and literature, my approach and methods have been greatly shaped by my training in cultural studies which draws much from anthropology. My examination of the *maqāma* in Nigerian-Yoruba society is ultimately based on my own experience, and involves to some extent the perspective of auto-ethnography by an amateur ethnographer.

74. For its contextualized use in Yorubaland see Adam Abdullah al-Ilūrī, *Nasīm al-ṣabā fī akhbār al-Islām wa-ʿulamāʾ Bilād Yūrūbā* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Namūdhajiyya, 1987), 43. For its Songhai connection see Stefan Reichmuth, "Songhay-Lehnwörter in Yoruba und ihr historischer Kontext," *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 9 (1988): 269–300.

113 The term "Ajami" originates from the Arabic word *ʿajamī*, which translates to "non-Arabic." In the West African context, it signifies the use of Arabic scripts to transcribe local languages. This practice has a rich history in West Africa and has persisted to the present day. For more on the significance of *ajami* and its impact on Nigerian *maqāmāt*, see Chapter 5 below. For more generally on *ajami*, see Fiona McLaughlin, "Ajami Writing Practices in Atlantic-Speaking Africa," in *The Atlantic Languages*, ed. Frederieke Lüpke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

114 This orthographic problem of Yoruba *Ajami* scripts has been discussed by Amidu Sanni, see Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "New Knowledge, Old Medium: The Yoruba *Ajami* of South-western Nigeria in the Factory of Learning" (Boston, 2017). See also: Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "Yoruba *Ajami*: From 'Spurious' Arabic to a Renewable Medium of Literacy" (Chicago, 2017); Isaac Adejoju Ogunbiyi, "The Search for a Yoruba Orthography since the 1840s: Obstacles to the Choice of the Arabic Script," *Sudanica Africa: A Journal of Historical Sources* 14 (2003): 77–102.

5 Overview of Chapters

This study combines the approach of ethnographic field work (Chapters Two, Three and part of Four) with that of comparative and literary analysis of Nigerian *maqāmas* and their classical models (Chapter Five). Chapter Two, “The Scholarly Setting,” describes the place the *maqāma* holds in the Arabic-Islamic scholarly environment of Yorubaland, Nigeria. It explores how Yoruba scholars engage with the *maqāma*, both classical versions as well as modern ones circulating in Nigeria, by examining the dissemination and development of the genre, as well as its influence in the literary tradition of Yoruba Nigerian society. Here, I analyze Nigerian reading culture in relation to the production of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* during the first two decades of the 21st century. This period coincided with a newly arising literary milieu in the scholarly and intellectual history of Nigeria, spanning the period of post-independence and the beginning of the 21st century. This new literary milieu is characterized by a blend of different written genres and reading traditions as well as divergent schools of thoughts on writing and reading in Arabic. I argue this was also a seminal period of literary cross-fertilization, whereby modern versions of the *maqāma* as new literary products were nevertheless textually and contextually linked to the classical tradition. Modern readers thus continued to understand and read modern *maqāmāt* according to their classical models. The literary production of the *maqāma* in Nigeria is not only indebted to the *Ḥarīriyya* but remains deeply engaged with it, going beyond what Gérard Genette calls “affiliative writing.”¹¹⁵ Motivation, encouragement, and emotional attachment to the *Ḥarīriyya* have rendered *maqāma* writing in Nigeria a fruitful and successful cultural endeavor.

Chapter Three, “The Public Sphere,” is an exposition of the socio-cultural functions of *maqāma* writing, teaching, and learning in Yoruba Nigerian society. The indigenous Arabic *maqāma* in Yorubaland is not merely a literary product, but is also one with significant economic, social, and political facets, and it continues to serve as a medium through which some scholars claim “agency” in society. It is also used as a socio-political tool in establishing societal relevance, as can be seen in the case of dignitaries who promote the *maqāma* works by

115 See Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky, Stages, v. 8 (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). See also: Birgit Neumann, “Anglophone World Literatures and Transcultural Memory,” in *Handbook of Anglophone World Literatures*, ed. Stefan Helgesson, Birgit Neumann, and Gabriele Rippl, 1st ed., Handbooks of English and American Studies 13 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 139–141.

funding their publication or organizing a luncheon to announce their appearance publicly. This chapter seeks to understand the reception of not only the writers but also their works through the socio-economic and spiritual functions of the *maqāma*.¹¹⁶

Chapter Four focuses on the emotional dimensions of the *maqāma* in Nigeria. I argue that the strong emotional attachment to al-Ḥarīrī's work by both Nigerian scholars and the Arabic educated reading public provides an important context which shapes the reception of the newly emerging indigenous *maqāma*. In this chapter, I elaborate on how "emotions" play out in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* by looking at how they have been adopted as an "object of emotion" in themselves as well as a "vehicle" or "means" to portray various forms of emotion. In Nigerian society, the *maqāma* generates spontaneous emotions such as friendship (through love) and enmity (through anger, envy, and so on). Latter parts of this chapter explore the textual portrayal of emotions in the Nigerian *maqāma* texts and how the native Yoruba context influences their use of Arabic and the portrayal of emotion.

Building on the textual analysis in Chapter Four, I provide in Chapter Five, "The Old Way," a detailed overview of structures, forms, content, and sources of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Through a close reading, I demonstrate how authors prove their distinctiveness while maintaining the *maqāma*'s traditional features, or what can be called "the old way." Hämeen-Antilla's criteria discussed above are pivotal to this chapter as a lens through which I look at the Nigerian *maqāmāt* and their models in a comparative sense. The main question here is to what extent the Nigerian *maqāmāt* may be viewed as part and parcel of the "art" of al-Hamadhānī or al-Ḥarīrī? And what are their own specific traits in terms of literary and linguistic composition?

¹¹⁶ Cf. Appadurai's theory on social life of things, see Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–63.

The Scholarly Setting

The Influence and Evolution of the maqāma in a Socio-Educational Context

Today, there are generally two main motives for learning Arabic in Yorubaland, Nigeria. The first is for religious purposes, since Islam is embraced by almost half the population not only in Nigeria but throughout most of the West African region.¹ The second is linguistic, that is, learning Arabic for practical, non-religious reasons. Whereas the first motive related to religious devotion remains dominant, over time Arabic has likewise increasingly gained importance for administrative and economic purposes.²

The practice of Islam thus remains today the primary reason for the proliferation of Arabic as a literary language used in education and a variety of cultural activities in Yorubaland. Although a minority of Arabic language students, both Muslim and non-Muslim alike, are motivated by non-religious reasons, the predominant motivation for learning Arabic is faith; one learns Arabic in tandem with one's religious education.³ As a result, Arabic is so closely associated with Islam and its practice that some people even consider literary works composed in Arabic as automatically possessing a religious and spiritual character, even if these works have no religious content. This, as will be seen, is also evident in the *maqāma* tradition in Nigeria, where the compilation of these narratives and the reverence given to its content have been regarded as religious in nature by certain individuals, regardless of whether it possesses explicitly religious ele-

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- 1 Note that learning Arabic outside the Arab world has majorly being to understand Islam better since the majority of the sources on Islamic knowledge are preserved in Arabic, and particularly since it is the language of the Qur'an which is the ultimate manual of Islam. However, in Nigeria and elsewhere, there have been instances where the Arabic language is studied for its linguistic value, which may or may not be separate from its association with Islam. For more on this see John O. Hunwick, *Islam and Arabic into Western Africa*, University of Ibadan Exchange Lecture Series 14 (Ibadan [Nigeria]: University of Ibadan, 2008). The Nigerian example can be succinctly found in: Sakariyau Alabi Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning in Modern Ilorin: A History of Islamic Education, 1897–2012" (Doctoral thesis, Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 2015), 21–23.
 - 2 John O. Hunwick, "The Influence of Arabic in West Africa: A Preliminary Historical Survey," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 7 (1964): 24–41.
 - 3 See for more: John Hunwick, "Islam in Africa," in *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (Elsevier, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-044854-2/00759-8>.

ments. Alongside being a literary genre, the *maqāma* has also taken on a variety of socio-cultural and religious functions in the Nigerian Arabic-Islamic tradition. Whereas these aspects of the *maqāma* are addressed in Chapter Three, this chapter focuses on how the *maqāma* came to take on central role in the acculturation of Arabic. Here I explore how the *maqāma* gained prominence in Nigeria, and in Yorubaland in particular. I examine how Nigerian Yoruba society engaged historically with the *maqāma*, both in its classical form as well as in modern versions recently circulated in Nigeria, through the lens of its dissemination and development. I likewise consider how the *maqāma* became such a central element in the local Arabic scholarly tradition. I also emphasize the role that the reading culture of Nigerian Arabic-Islamic society played in this phenomenon. Furthermore, I argue that the production of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* coincides with the rise of a new literary milieu in the beginning of the 21st century. This Arabic scholarly-cum-reading culture developed within the context of modernization in the post-independence period, beginning in the 1960s. Characterized by a blend of different written genres and reading traditions, this trend was based on divergent schools of thoughts on writing and reading in Arabic, both traditional and modern.

1 The Arabic Reading Public

Today, most Muslims in Yorubaland, Nigeria can read some Arabic. For various reasons, Arabic is the first language Muslims become acquainted with after their mother tongue.⁴ Muslims use Arabic on a daily basis for their worship; the five daily prayers require them to recite Arabic verses from the Qurʾān by heart.⁵ A common greeting among Muslims is also expressed in Arabic. Regardless of their level of understanding of Arabic, Yoruba Muslims live with Arabic on a daily basis, whether it be the words of scripture or expressions of greetings and compliments that they exchange among themselves. Since Islam, the major catalyst for the study of Arabic, is a knowledge-based religion, Mus-

4 For more on reasons Yoruba people particularly use Arabic, see Razaq Deremi Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South Western Nigeria* (Iwo [Nigeria]: Darul-Ilm, 2004), v–vi.

5 Even if new research and legal opinions are being put forward in contemporary times, the generally acknowledged and acceptable view still maintains that Qurʾānic verses used in daily Muslim prayers should be rendered in its classical Arabic form; for more on this, see <https://islamqa.info/en/answers/291352/ruling-on-reciting-quran-in-prayer-in-english> (accessed on October 28, 2019).

lms do not restrict themselves to memorizing verses from scripture; they also strive to understand the rudiments of the religion necessary for its practice. A considerable number of Muslims attempt to master Arabic for the purposes of religious knowledge and with the aim of becoming an authority, popularly known as *alfa*, on Islamic sciences and Arabic language. Thus, the central role Arabic plays in the practice of Islam has led to the rise of Arabic as a literary language with a robust and viable reading public in Nigerian Muslim society today.

Within the national borders of Nigeria, Arabic as a literary language developed under particular historical circumstances within a unique literary community and reading public, which has not yet been taken into proper consideration in most scholarly discussions on Nigerian national literature.⁶ The limited recognition given to Nigerian writings in Arabic as a literary language may stem from colonial attitudes that marginalized Arabic as a literary and academic language and relegated indigenous languages, such as Yoruba, to the background. Although this situation was remedied somewhat in the post-colonial period, with more attention relegated to native languages, Arabic's place in the Nigerian national literary map continues to remain neglected to this day.

The Nigerian Arabic reading public is defined as a literary community of those who can read Arabic and engage intellectually, to a certain degree, with the materials they have read. Suffice it to say that the ways in which every reader engages with Arabic literary works may differ, depending on their individual motives.⁷ During colonial times, from the mid-19th century until Nigerian inde-

6 For more on the concept of reading public, see MacGregor Jenkins, *The Reading Public* (Boston and New York: The Riverside, 1914), 2–3. For more on the situation of Arabic vis-à-vis the national recognition, see also: Sayed H.A. Malik, "Arabic, The Muslim Prayers and Beyond" (Inaugural Lecture, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria, 1999), 19–21.

7 It is complicated to access their actual percentage, partly due to the lack of official population report of the country. All information available on this is merely based on assumption and approximation. However, the recent surveys put the population of the country to more than 200 million among which at least 50% are estimated to be Muslims, 40% to be Christians and 10% for other local religions or no religion at all. Cf. for instance: Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, "Mapping Global Muslim Population," Survey (Washington, D.C.: Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, October 2009).; US Department of State's report (2009–2017) at: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2001/5687.htm> (accessed on December 5, 2019). See also the information on Pew's website: <https://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/future-of-the-global-muslim-population-regional-sub-saharan-africa/> (accessed December 5, 2019). However, in Yorubaland, which comprises the whole of southwestern and some part of northcentral geo-zones of the country and which constitute about 20% of the country's population, about 65 percent are believed to be Muslims, cf. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html> (accessed on December 5, 2019). From my personal interaction

pendence in 1960, the Arabic reading public in Yorubaland, Nigeria was limited to religious scholars and their students, and the literary use of Arabic was largely an elitist endeavor. Thus, while learning Arabic was according immense prestige, it was out of the reach for most people. During this period, those who did not have access to the language usually resorted to consulting those knowledgeable in Arabic in order to meet their spiritual or administrative needs.⁸ This situation began to change after 1960, with more people having access to education in Arabic. Arabic's use as a literary language expanded, which has in turn created a wider and more vibrant Arabic reading public in the region.

The Arabic reading public in contemporary Nigeria in general and Yorubaland in particular, represents a complex and fragmented landscape. One in ten Muslims in Nigeria can read and understand the language up to a certain level. Since the last quarter of 20th century, most Muslim households have had at least one member educated in or learning Arabic. The establishment of schools, both modern and neo-traditional, has been a main catalyst in the rapid formation of an Arabic reading public, beginning in the final decades of the colonial period and continuing well into the post-independence period. The establishment of these schools in Nigeria brought about an intense academic exchange with the Arab world, notably with Cairo and Saudi Arabia. Beginning in the 1970s, a record number of Nigerians graduated from Arab universities. This changed the nature of the reading public of Arabic significantly; not only were these graduates from universities in the Arab world well educated in the language, but they also began to produce important autochthonous works in Arabic.⁹

Readers of Arabic in Yorubaland comprise a diverse group of teachers and students of Arabic at both traditional and modern schools, as well as graduates of Arabic from universities home and abroad. However, their use of Arabic is not restricted to academic spheres, for most of them serve as mosque imams and deliver sermons in Arabic at least every week during Friday prayer. The Arabic reading public in Yorubaland can be said to consist of three groups: religious scholars, students, and the general reading public. Before I elaborate on the

and survey, about 30 % of the Muslims may be counted as using Arabic for various reasons other than religious rituals.

8 This consultation culture has developed to have a fully spiritual form and Arabic scholarship sometimes viewed as a door to be a saint, or a spiritual agent. For more, see Chapter 3 on the *jalabi* phenomenon.

9 For more on the works of Yoruba graduates of Arab universities see Lere Ameen Ibrahim, "Interculturalism in the Writings of Yoruba Graduates of Arab Universities, 1964–2012" (Doctoral thesis, Nigeria, University of Ibadan, 2014).

role each category plays within the reading public, it must be noted that “studentship” provides the middle ground between scholars and the general public, and thus the three categories sometimes overlap with certain representative individuals. This may be attributed to the nature of society, since its members are not native Arabic speakers. Proficiency in Arabic requires some kind of formal education and everyone literate in Arabic in Nigeria begins as a student. Those students who do not attain the status of scholar fall into the category of the general public. These categories overlap in different ways also depending upon geographical nuance. Indeed, socio-religious status varies from community to community, with individual status as student, scholar, and general public varying within different milieu.

Religious scholars play a major role in establishing not only the reading public but also in maintaining the status quo of the country’s writing culture. They are producers and consumers, as well as gatekeepers at virtually all levels of production and consumption. It is also noteworthy to clarify that “scholar” in the academic sense may not be fitting to denote some of the situations found in Yorubaland, as it sometimes becomes difficult to know the qualifications of someone who is termed a scholar. As will be explained later, having a basic knowledge of Arabic gives one the opportunity to belong either to the circle of scholars or the general reading public. The particular structure of Yoruba society, which is based on tribal and social affiliations, obscures these social distinctions. Customarily, someone who has attained a certain level of advancement in the knowledge of Arabic and Islam would be considered a religious scholar.

One’s mastery of Arabic, however, does not determine one’s religious authority in most cases; rather, socio-cultural status does. This is particularly salient in the context of Sufi affiliation, where one’s status as a Sufi master, often considered equivalent to that of an Islamic scholar, is not dependent upon one’s mastery of Arabic and religious texts. Rather, one’s status as a Sufi master is related to affiliation with a particular shaykh and charisma. This creates ambiguous and often contentious situations with regard to the claim of religious authority. Some Sufi leaders are considered religious scholars with the authority to be consulted on Islamic matters. It becomes complicated, however, when a Sufi master is considered to be more learned than an institutionally trained scholar, even when the former lacks the scholarly credentials of the latter.¹⁰

10 This continues to be the trend and sometimes lead to verbal war initially between the Tijani and Qadiri circles of the Sufi adherents, and later between the Sufi and the Sunni or so-called Salafi scholars. The debate about this has brought about many intellectual products and thus could be counted as a bonus for scholarship. For the polemics and

The ambiguity of these circumstances also reflects in how knowing Arabic becomes a *Freibrief*¹¹ for talking about Islam even if one does not specialize in the religious sciences. What then constitutes a religious scholar in the Nigerian context? Public opinion and perception arising from one's affiliation, spiritual lineage, and family connections likewise can determine one's status as a religious authority in certain circumstances. For instance, scholarly authority can be inherited in certain cases. Thus, when an established religious scholar dies, his eldest son often takes his father's position, being accorded the same respect and public status enjoyed by his deceased father, whether he is qualified or not. This should not, however, be generalized, since it does not connote that all scholars and the so called *khulafā'* (successors) are not qualified. In fact, the majority are qualified, but the point here is that Sufi affiliation, tribal background, lineage, and social dictates do contribute to the level of respect accorded to a scholar in society. The situation is different for those who are qualified but, due to their humble backgrounds and lack of public recognition of their lineage, often struggle to build their reputation from scratch.

Religious scholars constitute the dominant members of the Arabic reading public. Their reading tastes are not limited to religious texts but encompass other genres written in Arabic.¹² In general, Arabic works in circulation in a particular geographic area, independent of topic, are read by virtually all the scholars of that locale. In terms of the population of those who read, scholars in all branches make up no less than one fifth of the reading public in Yoruba Muslim society. They control the public space of learning, teaching, and religio-spiritual consultation.

The modernization of Arabo-Islamic knowledge that began in the second half of the 20th century, with the proliferation of Arabic schools and their numerous graduates, has brought about interesting new developments and

debates between the Sufi and Salafi in the Nigerian context see Alex Thurston, "Abubakar Gumi's *al-Aqīda al-ṣaḥīḥa bi-muwāfaqat al-sharī'a*. Global Salafism and Locally Oriented Polemics in a Northern Nigerian Text," *Islamic Africa* 2, no. 2 (2011): 9–21. For more on religious authority in another context, see Ismail Fajrie Alatas, *What is Religious Authority? Cultivating Islamic Communities in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 11, <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/9780691204291>.

11 My use of *Freibrief*, which literally means a medieval royal document that grants people certain privileges, denotes a kind of informal acknowledgement of one's socially recognized authority as an expert on religious matters, like an all-purpose license to talk about Islam.

12 It is also not easy to determine what kind of books people read in Yoruba-Nigerian society except by examining what sells most in book markets. Religious books are the most sought after currently. This, as will be explained in Chapter 3, causes a lot of setbacks for literary works except those that have gained a viable position in the scholarly tradition.

improvements in how information in Arabic is disseminated in Yoruba society. For instance, Arabic has a more prominent role in the delivery of the *khutba* or Friday sermon as a result of more widespread and higher levels of Arabic proficiency throughout Yoruba Muslim communities. In the past, the *khutba* was usually based on Ibn Nubāta's *Dīwān khutab minbariyya*. Any *khutba* taken from this *dīwān* for a specific Friday would be explained in the mother tongue of the mosque community. Today, however, with the large number of imams who speak and write Arabic fluently, the *khutba* is now frequently rendered bi- or multilingually by mixing Arabic with Yoruba and/or English. Many imams now employ Arabic spontaneously in delivering the sermon without having to rely on an existing text like that of Ibn Nubāta.¹³ Furthermore, as a result of the post-colonial modernization of education which has significantly increased Arabic literacy, public debates, lectures, seminars, and conferences are now conducted in Arabic across Nigeria, with the full participation of teachers and scholars. These public gatherings provide traditional scholars with an opportunity to display their prowess in Arabic, not only as a spoken language but also as a written one.

Students form the largest group of readers or users of Arabic in the Yoruba-Nigerian society. Unlike scholars, who select what to read based on their own convictions and preferences, students do not have any choice in what they read; they are required to follow the curriculum set by their schools or by their teachers. Not all curricula, however, are institutionalized and standardized, especially in less structured traditional learning environments, where rote memorization of texts prevails.¹⁴ Traditional scholars dictate the texts to be studied by students at each level, and the list of the texts get updated from time to time as they advance from one level to another or have finished read-

13 For more on Friday sermons and similar oratory performance in Muslim societies, see Linda G. Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 111–130. See also: Tahera Qutbuddin, *Arabic Oration: Art and Function*, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One, the Near and Middle East, Volume 131 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

14 In many of the traditional schools, there still prevails the general belief in the popular saying “العلم في الصدور لا في السطور” meaning: “the knowledge is in the hearts (memory) of men and not in lines (of writing),” a statement that is understood by many as the basis for memorizing as is characteristic of the traditional schools. This might also have a Sufi background, particularly in the West African context. See Muḥammad Al-ʿAbdah and ʿTāriq Abdul-Ḥalīm, *al-Sūfiyya: Nashʾatuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā*, 2nd ed. (Kuwait: Dār al-Arqam, 1997), 80. For similar concepts in regard to the importance placed on memory as it affects knowledge transmission in the medieval Islamic world, see George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981).

ing a text. As cumbersome as this system might be, it has endured until today, especially among traditional scholars. Suffice it here to say that the “core curriculum” of precolonial times still maintains its status quo in Arabo-Islamic learning in Yorubaland, yet with some modifications, rearrangements and substitutions warranted by new circumstances.¹⁵

The boundary between scholar and student is not always clear. Advanced students of Arabic may also hold the status of scholar in different social contexts. As noted above, except in rare instances, knowledge of Arabic in the Yoruba-Nigerian region is primarily acquired through learning. To understand Arabic, one must attend a school established for this purpose, whether a traditional, modern, or an official educational center. After completing one's education, one has the choice to either continue in the educational field by serving as a teacher who transmits the knowledge to others, thus becoming a scholar, or to go into another area of life and engage in a different career. It is this latter group, that of educated Arabic readers without scholarly status, which forms the third category of the public Arabic readership. Others who may be subsumed within this category include ordinary Muslims who also use Arabic language for religious purposes. Those who study Arabic yet later choose a career unrelated to Arabic or Islam usually have attained a certain level of proficiency in Arabic and continue to read a variety of works written in the language. This group of the Arabic reading public in Nigeria, which includes an educated professional class of medical practitioners, engineers, lawyers, security agents, and others, likewise plays important role in shaping the Arabo-Islamic culture of Nigeria. Not all of them are passive consumers; indeed, despite their lack of scholarly credentials, some of them are authors in their own right, composing academic, religious, or literary writings in Arabic. In summary, the three categories of readers of Arabic presented above—scholars, students, and the educated public—are all rooted in the Arabic language educational system that developed in the post-colonial period of national independence in Nigeria beginning in the 1960s.

It is important to highlight the special role of university and tertiary institutions as sites of Arabic language instruction and use. Virtually all universities in the northern and southwestern parts of Nigeria offer degree courses in Arabic and Islamic studies up to the doctoral level. Despite the fact that

15 For the core-curriculum obtainable in the whole of Bilād al-Sūdān, see Bruce S. Hall and Charles C. Stewart, “The Historic ‘Core Curriculum’ and the Book Market in Islamic West Africa,” in *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, ed. Graziano Krätli and Ghislaine Lydon, vol. 3, *Libraries of the Written World 8, The Manuscript World* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 107–109.

English is the official language of tertiary education in Nigeria, most of the departments of Arabic and Islamic studies instruct and carry out their teaching and research activities in Arabic, although sometimes alongside English. Some of these institutions also publish academic journals and volumes in Arabic. Furthermore, the role of academic associations affiliated with these tertiary institutions should not be underestimated, since they create a space for further scholarly engagement with Arabic texts.¹⁶ The level at which all readers engage in it varies, and this is not always consistent among different groups. Although university teachers may be more active in using the language for scholarly purpose, there are many other scholars outside the academic realm who have made great contributions to the areas of criticism and responses to literary Arabic works.

2 The *maqāma* and the Reading Public

The public readership of the *maqāma* in Nigeria consists of a diverse group of people who engage differently with the *maqāma*, depending upon their linguistic skills and socio-cultural contexts. However, common to all is the importance allocated to the *Ḥarīriyya*, the central text around which the reading public's experience with the *maqāma* pivots. The *Ḥarīriyya* is the model according to which Nigerian *maqāmāt* composition is shaped and measured by. The immense prestige accorded the *Ḥarīriyya* likewise imparts high social standing upon those who have mastered the text in Nigerian Yoruba Muslim society. Thus, the *Ḥarīriyya*'s influence in Nigeria is not only linguistic, but also social. Learned people consider the *Ḥarīriyya* a repository of the Arabic language and culture; not only does it serve as an encyclopedia of the Arabic language, touching on all aspects of the language, but also of Islamic jurisprudence and ethics.¹⁷ I was told by one of the scholars of *maqāma* that if a scholar does not know the *Ḥarīriyya* well enough to teach it to others, then he should not be considered a scholar.¹⁸ This is the general conviction among the majority of scholars, most

16 Prominent among these associations are the Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies (NATAIS, <https://nataisonline.org>) and Academic Society for Language and Literature in Nigeria (ASALLIN, <http://asallin.org>). For more on Arabic in the Nigerian universities, see Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "al-Lughā al-'Arabiyya fī jāmi'āt Nayjīriyā bayn al-ḥādir wa-l-mustaqbal," in *al-Lughā al-'Arabiyya: Istishrāf fī 'ālam mutaḥawwil* (Mu'tamar al-Īsiskū al-dawli, ISESCO, 2020), 57–60.

17 This may also inform why Stewart and Hall categorized the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī under lexicology, see Hall and Stewart, "The Historic 'Core Curriculum,'" 120–121.

18 Personal Communication with Barihi Adetunji, Ibadan, March 20, 2018. See Chapter Four for further discussion of this.

especially those who are known to be inclined towards the traditional system of Arabic education. Even in modernized Arabic schools, where other *maqāmāt* are no longer taught, the *Ḥarīriyya* remains central to the curriculum.¹⁹ The *Ḥarīriyya* is the yardstick by which Arabic knowledge is measured among Muslims in Yorubaland: mastery of the *Ḥarīriyya* is equated with the mastery of Arabic.

The preeminent position of the *Ḥarīriyya* also has had a major influence over the reception of indigenous Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Modern *maqāmāt* are viewed through the lens of the *Ḥarīriyya* as well as measured against this classical work. Indeed, in Nigeria, the term *maqāma* is synonymous with the *Ḥarīriyya*. The belief in the inimitability of the *Ḥarīriyya*, based on the idea that the work's linguistic and aesthetic excellence was not reproducible in another work,²⁰ had prevented people in the past from attempting to compose *maqāma*. Although this is no longer the case, modern indigenous *maqāmāt* remain in the shadow of al-Ḥarīrī's work. However, the composition of indigenous *maqāmāt* was not without controversy and contention; these works were often received with a mixture of doubt and challenge, culminating in scholarly debate. Although the Nigerian *maqāmāt* emerged as a popular literary format, it nevertheless encountered repudiation from certain scholarly circles.

If the *Ḥarīriyya* has been read as a model lexicon of excellent Arabic,²¹ the reasons for which the Nigerian *maqāmāt* have been read vary according to the academic or literary requisites of the respective readers. Many read the Nigerian *maqāmāt* for pedagogical purposes only; others are concerned mainly with their linguistic or literary value, reading *maqāmāt* as they would novels. Some

19 The case in point here for instance is the *Mu'allaqāt* (a collection of poems of the *Jāhiliyya* Pre-Islamic period) which occupied a major position in the corpus of Arabic works studied by the West African people, and which has influenced their writing extensively as noted by Abdul-Samad Abdullah. Today, no traits of serious engagement with the *Mu'allaqāt* could be found, see Abdul-Samad Abdullah, "Intertextuality and West African Arabic Poetry: Reading Nigerian Arabic Poetry of the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40, no. 3 (2009): 344–349. Cf. also the brief explanation of: Hall and Stewart, "The Historic 'Core Curriculum,'" 123–124.

20 The belief in the inimitability of the *Ḥarīriyya* is not a new phenomenon in Arabic literature; this was even the case almost immediately the work of al-Ḥarīrī gained prominence across the Islamic world, see for more: Matthew L. Keegan, "Throwing the Reins to the Reader: Hierarchy, Jurjānian Poetics, and al-Muṭarrizī's Commentary on the *Maqāmāt*," *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 5, no. 1–2 (2018): 107–109. See also: Matthew L. Keegan, "Digressions in the Islamic Archive: Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* and the Forgotten Commentary of al-Panḡdihī (d. 584/1188)," *Intellectual History of the Islamic World* 10 (2022): 82–118.

21 Cf. Muḥsin Jāsim al-Mūsawī, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 94–96.

readers also respond to indigenous *maqāmāt* by writing summaries of praise known as *taqrīz* (pl. *taqārīz*).²² Although not limited to this genre in particular, *taqārīz* exist for all Nigerian *maqāmāt*, and often provide much information about the networks of scholars engaged in *maqāmāt* production.

In the rest of this chapter, I elaborate on how these important *maqāma* works are read at different levels of the society through teaching and learning. I likewise explore their readership and the different ways by which readers engage with the works, whether it be poetic or prose praise, criticism, or other relevant comments. Besides the *taqārīz* that are usually prefaced to most works, there is no critical study of how the indigenous *maqāmāt* have been received in scholarly circles. Criticism remains confined to the verbal realm and behind closed doors at private sessions that are not easily accessible. Some Nigerian *maqāmāt* have been performed publicly on the stage in some madrasas with audiences of students, teachers, and well-wishers. The staging of Nigerian *maqāmāt* occurs to celebrate certain occasions, like the end of the academic period or for religious celebrations such as the Mawlid Nabiyy (the Birth of the Prophet), or to commemorate the Hijra (the beginning of New Year or Muharram 1st which signifies founding the Muslim community). Episodes of the *maqāmāt* that parody socio-political issues are commonly selected for this purpose and reframed to fit the performance. No written or visual record of these plays remains since they are only meant for entertainment.²³

3 “Learn a *maqāma* and Teach It to Others”

In Nigeria, there is a general conviction among the readers or learners of Arabic that to be knowledgeable in a *maqāma* makes one an authority in the field of Arabic and, sometimes, Islamic knowledge. In its literary sense, if someone understands the *Ḥarīriyya* for example, the person is presumed not only to be an expert in Arabic language, but also an important scholar. The prestige and the outlook attached to the knowledge of the *maqāma*, and the consequent linguistic dexterity of the knower contribute immensely to how and why peo-

22 For how *taqrīzes* create, consolidate, and document a network see Thomas Bauer, “How to Create a Network: Zaynaddīn al-Āṭārī and His *Muqarriḏūn*,” in *Everything Is on the Move: The Mamluk Empire as a Node in (Trans-)Regional Networks*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Bonn: V & R Unipress, 2014), 204–222. See also: Franz Rosenthal, “‘Blurbs’ (*Taqrīz*) from Fourteenth-Century Egypt,” *Oriens* 27–28 (1981): 177–196.

23 Some of the schools are Dār al-Kitāb in Ilorin, Dār al-Qur’ān in Lagos (see below for more on these schools).

ple learn the classical work. Learning a *maqāma* and passing the knowledge unto others, in some instances, has become an age-long tradition that remains undisturbed by the “modernization” of Arabic schools. Some madrasas, influenced by the modernized system, incorporate the *maqāma* into their teaching curriculum or at least create a separate space for it. In other words, the *maqāma* occupies an important position not only among the traditionalists but also among those engaged in modern Arabic scholarship. It is a genre of remarkable resilience.

Today in Nigeria, private Arabic education is conducted through two channels: traditional Arabic schools and modernized madrasas. These avenues cater to the Arabic reading public and sometimes overlap in their objectives. While both systems aim to provide Arabic education to students, there are significant differences in terms of their structure, curriculum, and teaching methods. Traditional Arabic schools are decentralized institutions typically run by individual teacher-scholars. They do not have a concrete curriculum but instead rely on a virtual list of books suggested by the teacher’s socio-cultural affiliation and scholarly networks. These schools can be found in small neighborhoods, inside mosques, in front of houses, or even on street corners. The primary focus of traditional schools is to teach students how to read the Qurʾān, after which the emphasis shifts to studying classical Arabic texts through translation into the native language, which is often referred to as *ilmi* education. Although subjects such as Arabic language, poetry, grammar, and Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) are taught in these schools, the teaching and learning methods are based on specific texts designated for each subject, without practical evaluation or topical concentration on specific sections. The texts are studied from beginning to end in translation, regardless of the topic. Additionally, there is no formal class structure, specific timeframe for promotion to higher levels, systematized breaks in teaching and learning processes, or separation of subjects. A single teacher guides the students through all the designated texts, and the teaching approach is informal and flexible, with teachers attending to students at their convenience. The main goal of traditional Arabic schools is to preserve the traditional method of teaching Arabic and Islam through oral translation. Unlike modernized schools, traditional schools do not have a graduation system. Instead, progress is measured by the completion of certain texts. Once a student successfully reads and can translate a text in its entirety into the local language, they are considered “freed” from that text and are granted an *ijāza*, or teaching certificate. This certificate bestows authority on the student to teach the work to others.²⁴

24 This kind of system is actually one of the traces of postclassical period in the region of

In contrast, the madrasa system, also known as modernized Arabic schools, follows a more structured and standardized curriculum. These schools place emphasis on understanding the core aspects of Arabic language for the purpose of effective communication and to meet the challenges posed by Western education, which introduced elements that were considered foreign to the traditional educational system. Madrasas operate within a centralized educational system, with multiple teachers guiding students through various subjects at different levels. The structure of madrasas is more formal, with scheduled classes and designated buildings that have separate partitions for different levels of education. The madrasa system involves organizing learning using modern pedagogical tools, with subjects being taught according to a predetermined timetable for each period, term, and session. Students progress from one class to another based on their performance until they reach the final level of instruction. Critical engagement with the texts is a central aspect of the teaching and learning process in madrasas, which may involve debates and scholarly discourse on various topics and subjects at certain points.

Madrasas in Yorubaland are mostly private institutions run by private individuals and are usually divided into three levels of instruction: *Ibtidāʿī* (elementary), a period spanning four years or sometimes three years; *iʿdādī* (intermediate), a period of three years with three classes; and *thānawī* (secondary), likewise consisting of three years with three classes. The *thānawī* (secondary) level is the final stage in the learning of Arabic in the whole of Nigeria, after which students can proceed to tertiary educational level in higher institutions home or abroad.²⁵ School days in most of the madrasas follow the Arab style

West Africa. For more on the history of the *ijāza* and the contestations around the term in the postclassical period, see Garret A. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition: A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission Across a Thousand Years* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 108–151. For the West African context of this system of education see Ousmane Oumar Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu: An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 75–95.

25 *Ibtidāʿī*, also called *taḥdīrī* or *tamḥīdī* in some schools, refers to the elementary level of education where the basic rudiments of Arabic and Qurʾanic reading take place. After the *thānawī* (secondary) education in Arabic, students, who have the opportunity through scholarship or self-sponsorship, go to Arab countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and further their Arabo-Islamic education at the university level. Others may partake in extramural classes and attempt the exams needed to gain admission to universities or colleges in Nigeria for further education. However, it is common that, when one finishes the *thānawī* education, he/she is regarded as having reached the peak of Arabic education and qualifies for the status of scholar in his/her own right. For a full description of the whole madrasa system in Yorubaland particularly in Ilorin see Aliyu, “Transmission of Learning,” 228–230.

of Saturday to Wednesday while some others adopt the official Monday to Friday schedule. The emergence of madrasas in Yorubaland can be traced to the second quarter of the 20th century.²⁶ The scholars' response to the introduction of Western education is the main factor that promoted the madrasa system. Western education, which later became the formal education, posed challenges to the scholarly standings of Arabic-Islamic community in its system and subjects of education; therefore, scholars responded by modernizing the Arabic education using the modern tools common to Western oriented schools.²⁷ Although the madrasa system departs from the traditional method, they coexist in Yorubaland till today. Some schools even operate a mix of the two systems.

Despite having a similar learning goal of understanding Islam and Arabic, traditional Arabic schools and modernized madrasas operate differently. Traditional Arabic schools prioritize studying classical Arabic texts without incorporating modern methods such as class partition and curriculum development, while madrasas organize teaching according to subjects, classes, and a structured curriculum. However, while some madrasas may view classical Arabic texts as not aligning with modern educational approaches, the influence of the *maqāma* and other classical texts is so pervasive that madrasas find it unavoidable to include them in their curriculum. These texts, alongside popular classical Arabic texts in Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), *madiḥ* (praise poetry), and lexicology, receive individual attention in the curriculum of many madrasas in Yorubaland.²⁸ Consequently, the *maqāma* texts in Nigeria have been well-received in society and celebrated by many. Regardless of whether they offer *maqāma* in their schools or not, scholars from both madrasas and traditional schools have responded to this equally.²⁹ This can vary from place to place and from scholar to scholar. In reference to the *Ḥarīriyya*, the emergence of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* has, in some instances, revived fading popularity of the *Ḥarīriyya*. Conversely, engagement with the *Ḥarīriyya* has helped the indigenous *maqāmāt* gain recognition as a serious text.

26 Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Writing and Islamic Identity in Colonial Yorubaland: Ilorin and Western Nigeria, ca. 1900–1950," in *Adab and Modernity*, ed. Cathérine Mayeur-Jaouen (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2020), 552–585.

27 Sakariyau Alabi Aliyu, "The Post-Colonial State and Islamic Education in Ilorin," *The Annual Review of Islam in Africa* 14 (2017): 77–86.

28 Cf. for instance the list in Tab. 1 below.

29 I have argued elsewhere in this work that each of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* functions more in their separate domains which is always attached to the reputation of the authors in their respective location. It must be noted here that the *Ḥarīriyya* unifies all of them in terms of its influence and the reference made to it.

In the following section, I describe the teaching methods that apply not only to the *maqāma* but also to almost all other classical Arabic texts adopted in Arabic schools of Yorubaland. I use the terms traditional, modern, and academic to describe the kinds of school in which the learning activities are carried out.³⁰ The traditional method involves little innovation in the way texts are taught. Traditional schools feature one scholar who teaches any number of students, ranging from one to hundred students, depending on the teacher's popularity. The teaching style likewise depends on the teacher. The teacher may read the text while the students listen passively; the students may take a more active role in the reading, while receiving guidance from the teacher; or the teacher and the students may take turns.

The most common method in traditional schools involves the teacher reading the Arabic text line by line, and then translating each line into the local language, while the students listen and follow the reading in their personal copies of the Arabic text, writing down the translation. Quite often the students, one after another, may take on the task of reading the Arabic text out loud to the teacher, who in turn provides the meaning of the text in the local language. This method has its limitations when the group is large, and not everyone has a chance to read. Thus, not everyone participates equally. However, the most tedious way of conducting the class is when the teacher reads the text in both languages and the students follow suit one after the other. This teaching method is rarely adopted and is effective only when there is a small number of students. Teaching in traditional schools depends entirely upon the teacher's preferences. Despite the lack of institutionalization, it is remarkable how these schools manage to produce competent students, capable of grasping the texts studied and explaining them to others.

This traditional method through the medium of translation into local languages is the most common way of learning all types of the *maqāma* in Nigeria. So, the traditional school involves translating the Arabic texts into local languages. This applies to how all types of *maqāmāt* in this context are taught as it does to other classical Arabic texts. Translation is an important facet in the teaching and learning of Arabic texts since the environment is a non-native

30 There are generally two forms of Arabic-Islamic schooling in Nigeria: traditional and madrasa-type; both are privately run. Since the form of schooling in the government-owned schools constitutes a separate category, they are outside the scope of this chapter. For a similar type of schooling across West Africa, see Louis Brenner, "Two Paradigms of Islamic Schooling in West Africa," in *Modes de Transmission de La Culture Religieuse En Islam*, ed. Hassan Elboudrari (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1993), 159–180.

Arabic one. The teaching takes place daily or at the convenience of the teacher; students are expected to revise the material of each class on their own before attending the next class. Outside of translation, no further discussion or critical engagement with the text occurs. This teaching style primarily demands that students learn vocabulary by rote memorization, word by word. This learning system is not peculiar to the *maqāma*; virtually all literature studied in the traditional Arabic schools follows the same process. Considering the linguistic difficulty of the *maqāma*, students need to know Arabic well before attempting to tackle it. Therefore, they must study other texts prior to their attempt at the *maqāma*. For this reason, only advanced students study the *maqāma* towards the end of their studies; having studied the *maqāma* indicates a student's high proficiency in Arabic.

The second method of teaching *maqāma* could possibly be attributed to the madrasas, and there are still some madrasas that continue to adopt a modified form of the first (traditional) method. As in traditional schools, the *maqāma* represents the peak of one's educational career in the madrasas, and only advanced students have the sufficient command of Arabic to embark on reading the *maqāma*. What differs is how the text is taught. The *maqāma* is taught in three distinct ways in the madrasas of Yorubaland, as represented by the four following schools: Dār al-Kitāb wa-l-Sunnah, Gaa Akanbi, Ilorin, Kwara state, Nigeria (established in 1995), Bari College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Olomi, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria (established in 1989), Dār al-'Ulūm, Isale Koto, Ilorin, Kwara state, Nigeria (established in 1963), and Markaz al-Ta'lim al-'Arabī al-Islāmī, Agege, Lagos State, Nigeria (established in 1952).³¹

The first way occurs in Dār al-Kitāb, Ilorin. In this madrasa, the rubric *al-Kutub al-Turāthiyya* (traditional books) is used to categorize the corpus of Arabic works generally studied in the traditional Arabic schools, with the *Ḥarīriyya*, representing the most difficult text, at the apex of the hierarchy of texts in the curriculum (see table 1).³² This set of books is taught separately

31 For more on the first two see Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning," 105–140. The third has been studied in: Izzudeen Adetunji, "Ishāmāt Kuliyyat 'Abd al-Bārī' fī taṭawwur al-Lughah al-'Arabiyya wa-ta'zīzihā fī Nayjiriya: 'Arḍ wa-taḥlīl," in *Kitāb al-Mu'tamar*, vol. 7 (4th International Conference on Arabic Language, Dubai: al-Majlis al-Dawli li-l-lugha al-'Arabiyya, 2015), 486–501.

32 These are the texts commonly learned with the traditional scholars in a kind of school that is popularly known as *Ile Keu ilmi* which literary means Advanced Arabic Traditional school. For this concept in Yorubaland and Ilorin see Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin (Nigeria) seit ca. 1800* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1998), 114–145. See also: Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning," 72. In the Dār al-Kitāb, the traditional texts are believed to be of help to students but could not be included in the school's main

from the main curriculum in the normal madrasa system. Thus, the instruction of these Arabic works comprises what is akin to a separate school; indeed, the instruction of these traditional Arabic texts is even offered on a separate day, usually Saturday, so as not to disrupt the rest of the school's curriculum taught during the week, from Monday to Friday. This structure reflects the process of westernization which reshaped the madrasa system, particularly in government institutions. Thus, in this school, both the modernized and traditional ways of learning exist side by side.

Each work found in the corpus of *al-Kutub al-Turāthiyya* in the Dār al-Kitāb madrasa is classified by its linguistic intricacy and excellence, in accordance with the traditional system, and the study of these works follows a prescribed order depending on the level of difficulty presented by each work.³³ One begins studying traditional texts while in the final *īdādī* or intermediate class and concludes their study in the final *thānawī* class. The size of a text also determines how the work is taught; longer texts are divided between two or more classes. For instance, due to its immense size, the *Ḥarīriyya* cannot be studied in just one class; its many chapters or episodes are distributed over three *thānawī* classes (see tab. 1 below).

I have already explained that the *Ḥarīriyya* represents the peak of student's education on account of its linguistic challenges and that it is only studied by the most advanced students. Furthermore, the esteemed place given to the *Ḥarīriyya* is reified in the curriculum as representing the apex of one's education in Arabic, whether in traditional schools or in modernized madrasas. This phenomenon has important social ramifications, which are further examined in this study. Indeed, the esteemed place given to the *Ḥarīriyya* in these schools' curriculum impart to those who have mastered the work, or at least display a certain level of familiarity with it, important social capital.³⁴

I argue that the potential social capital one may accrue from the study of the *Ḥarīriyya* has resulted in the curriculum of the modernized madrasa system described above, in which Saturdays are generally reserved for studying the traditional Arabic corpus, with the *Ḥarīriyya* at the apex. If madrasas did not teach

curriculum. The reason for this is that these texts, according to the teacher of traditional texts, do not meet the classificatory criteria of subjects that can be considered modern. However, to ensure the students become acquainted with the texts, the school managed to create a separate space and a day for it in the school calendar. See tab. 1 below for the list.

33 The curriculum of the traditional schools is arranged according to the level of the text's sophistication and how difficult it is to understand.

34 See Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society*, ed. A.H. Halsey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 46–58.

the traditional corpus of texts with the goal of reaching the *Ḥarīriyya*, then this neglect of the *maqāma* and its textual authority would amount to lowering the standards of their system in the eyes of scholars and the public. The solution to incorporating this traditional corpus into the modernized curriculum of the madrasa, which has no room for it, has been to relegate it to Saturdays, thus increasing the school week from five to six days. The social importance of the *Ḥarīriyya* therefore necessitates that the modern educational system allocate special and additional emphasis to learning this text within the school's curriculum.

How is the *maqāma* taught or studied in this modernized madrasa system? The way the *maqāma* is taught here is still traditionally oriented but with some modifications. Unlike in the traditional schools, where the *maqāmāt* are taught word-for-word, with the meaning of each word or phrase dictated by the teacher, the students here take on a more active role. Here the students read the *maqāma* paragraph by paragraph. The teacher then summarizes the meaning of the paragraph in the local language; again, translation is pivotal for teaching and learning the *maqāmāt*. Since everything in this school is based on a tight schedule according to which learning is compartmentalized to specific times and units of the modern curriculum, the time used in learning a *maqāma* chapter is relatively short. This significantly contrasts with that of the traditional schools, where there are no specific time limits; the teacher and the students together determine the time necessary to be spent on a text in the traditional schools. For this reason, in-depth knowledge of the *maqāma* is not guaranteed, and there is no assurance that the students will be able to assimilate the contents of the work as expected. Furthermore, there is no formal method of evaluation of the students' performance in learning the texts classified as *al-Kutub al-Turāthiyya* such as an examination at the end of the semester. In fact, in-depth knowledge of the texts is not the aim of this additional curriculum of the madrasa relegated to the weekend; the main objective is acquainting students with them, rather than making them proficient in the text.³⁵ Considering the lack of empirical evaluation, it is difficult to conclude how well students learn traditional Arabic texts in the modernized madrasa system. In any case, one may say that the traditional system of Arabic education still lingers in the guise of the madrasa system, with one depending on the other.

Maqāma learning in the Markaz al-Ta'līm al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī located in Agege Lagos (from now on referred to as Markaz) and its affiliates like Dār al-ʿUlūm

35 Personal Communication, Muhammad Jamiu Yusuf, 2019.

TABLE 1 List of *al-Kutub al-Turāthiyya* (traditional texts) studied at Dār al-Kitāb according to their respective classes

الصف الثالث الثانوي	الصف الثاني الثانوي	الصف الأول الثانوي	الصف الثالث الإعدادي
مقامات الحريري	مقامات الحريري	مقامات الحريري	نوايغ الكلم للزخشي
ألفية ابن مالك	ألفية ابن مالك	ألفية ابن مالك	ديوان الإمام الشافعي
ديوان العشریات	أطباق الذهب للأصفهاني	الوسائل المتقبلة	بردة المديح للبوصيري
أسواق الذهب لأحمد شوقي	نبيل الأماني في شرح التهاني	أطواق الذهب للزخشي	تائية أبي إسحاق الألبيري الأندلسي
	(المعروف بدالية اليوسي)		(المعروف بتفت)
لامية ابن الوردي	مقصورة ابن دريد	مواعظ بليغة (زبورة)	
		الوسائل المتقبلة لعبد الرحمان	
		الفازاري الأندلسي	

in Ilorin differs considerably from that of Dār al-Kitāb in terms of how the *maqāma* features in their curriculum.³⁶ In these madrasas, there is more accommodation of some works from the traditional corpus. For instance, in addition to the *Ḥarīriyya*, works like the *Maqṣūra* by Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933)³⁷ and *Qaṣīdat al-Tahānī* popularly known as the *Dālīyya* of al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (1631–1691),³⁸ are integral parts of the main curriculum, rather than being relegated to the weekend and given separate treatment as seen in Dār al-Kitāb. However, only more advanced texts valued for their linguistic features (such as the *Ḥarīriyya*) and referred to as *matn al-lughā*, are included in the curriculum. Thus, a philological emphasis is placed on learning traditional texts, including the *Ḥarīriyya*.

The Markaz provides a salient case-study for examining how the *maqāma* is taught in the modernized madrasa system of education. The *maqāma* is taught

36 What is obtainable in the Markaz is the one being adopted across all its offshoots including Dār al-ʿUlūm.

37 For whom see Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Ibn Durayd," in *ET*³.

38 For this work see Stefan Reichmuth, "The Praise of a Sufi Master as a Literary Event: Al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (1631–1691), his *Dālīyya* (*Qaṣīdat at-tahānī*) and Its Commentary (*Nayl al-amānī*)," in *Ethics and Spirituality in Islam: Sufi Adab*, ed. Francesco Chiabotti et al., Islamic Literatures, volume 1 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 504–519.

in two stages at the Markaz, due to the changing reality of the school's administration. Prior to the 1990s, while the founder of the school, Shaykh Adam Abdullah al-Ilori (d. 1992), was still alive, the *maqāma* was only taught in the traditional way, with the teacher reciting and translating, while the students listened. While the classroom setting had offered some material advantages—for instance, teachers could now write out difficult vocabulary items on the chalkboard—few real innovations occurred in the instruction. For instance, a popular fictional story may be cited by the teacher to corroborate the story of the *maqāma* episode being read. To make it understandable for the students, the teacher explains the chapter mostly in the native language, Yoruba.³⁹

The second stage of teaching the *maqāma* in the Markaz can be traced to the beginning of the 21st century, when the school underwent transformation in their curriculum and operations. In the 21st century, many madrasas in Nigeria were forced to respond to the challenges posed by the Western system of education. Graduates from these schools were often disadvantaged in the job market and lacked the formal certification necessary to pursue further careers in public higher institutions. To make their schools more attractive to westernized Nigerian society and make their graduates more successful on the job market, some of the madrasas' administrators introduced secular subjects into their curriculum. Thus, most notable among these subjects were English and mathematics, but they also included practical courses on government, accounting, and agriculture.⁴⁰

In addition to adding new subjects to the curriculum, another interesting innovation introduced to the Markaz was the use of "lesson notes." Teachers were required to prepare lesson notes before teaching any topic (see fig. 5 below). As a result, instructors began to engage more critically with the subjects they taught and adopted more innovative teaching strategies. Some teachers even went on to publish booklets on their subjects of expertise based on their lesson notes. The instruction of the *maqāma* at the Markaz likewise was affected by these developments, and in particular, by the system of lesson notes. The teacher is not limited to teaching the *maqāma* text alone, but also draws analogies from a variety of other Arabic texts and focuses on elements of the *maqāma* that have particular relevance to students. Emphasis is also placed

39 Interview with Shaykh Sulaiman Abdul-Wahab, popularly known as "Saruji", one of the early teachers of the *Maqāmāt* in Markaz. He was known to have been teaching the *maqāma* for up to twenty years before the present teacher took over from him about seven years ago. Personal Communication, Sulaiman Abdul-Wahab Saruji, October 1, 2019.

40 Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning," 53–58. For wider reaction to the challenges of Western education in West Africa, see Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu*, 119–159.

on drawing the students' attention to the moral issues in such a *maqāma*. As will be further explored in Chapter Three, in some instances, aspects of the *maqāma* have been considered immoral in Yoruba Muslim society. To discourage such immoral effects, Ustadh Abdul-Qadir Olawoore, the current teacher of the *maqāma* in the Markaz, is sensitive to the social and moral needs of society. He consistently draws students' attention to morally questionable issues in any *maqāma* they read in class.⁴¹

Unlike at the Dār al-Kitāb, innovations during this period of change were also made in evaluating student performance in the classes teaching *maqāma* at the Markaz. Previously, students were evaluated by being asked to relate the story of a particular episode of the *maqāma* in their own words, to complete the lines of a specific poems selected from the *maqāma*, or simply to provide the meanings of rare vocabulary. In contrast, teachers now emphasize questions on how the *maqāma* is applicable to social and moral realities of society in the evaluation process. Students are asked to write a story based on an episode of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, employing a similar style and vocabulary items found in the *maqāma*. A new corpus of Arabic literature in Yorubaland is in the making, arising from the fragments of these "write-ups," originally intended for evaluative purposes. Indeed, this innovative evaluation method has spawned a new genre of original indigenous *maqāma*, taking inspiration from al-Ḥarīrī's masterpiece.⁴² As a result of these developments, the *maqāma* is emerging as a literary culture in Yorubaland, with a thriving reading public. Teachers at the madrasa system play a central role in this development. They are responsible not only for training students proficient in the *maqāma*, but also for creating networks of scholars composing *maqāma*, and encouraging students to join their ranks. In principle, the survival of the entire Arabo-Islamic tradition of Yorubaland depends largely on teacher-student relations around which literary cliques form and emerge.⁴³ The case of the *maqāma* appears to be following

41 Interview with Ustadh Abdul-Qadir Olawoore, Markaz Premises at Agege Lagos Nigeria, October 1, 2019.

42 One *maqāma* worthy of mention that was written at the instance of the teacher, Olawoore, is that by Ishaq from Oyo, a former student of the Markaz. The *maqāma* remains in hand-written form.

43 This has been the basis over time for categorizing people and their works which sometimes leads to debates and tensions between groups. Many literary works are ongoing in this kind of struggle for relevance in society. A glaring example would be the debate on *Markazīyya* vs. *Adabīyya* dichotomy in the development of Arabic-Islamic education in Yorubaland. For more, see Sakariyau Alabi Aliyu, "The Modernisation of Islamic Education in Ilorin: A Study of the *Adabīyya* and *Markazīyya* Educational Systems," *Islamic Africa* 10, no. 1–2 (2019): 75–97.

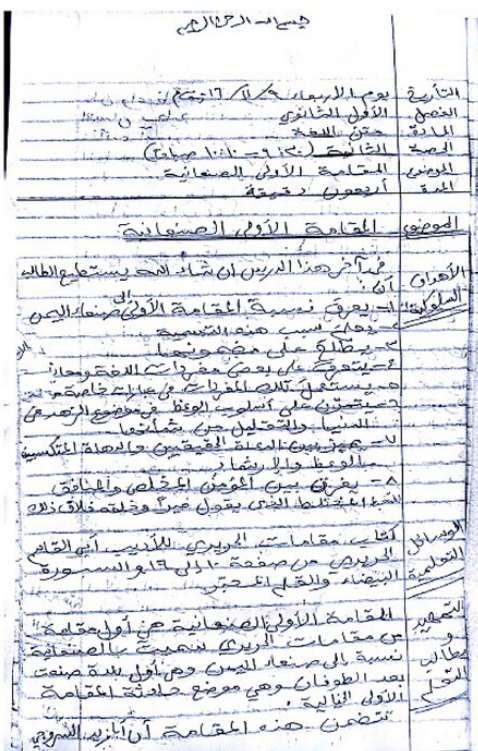
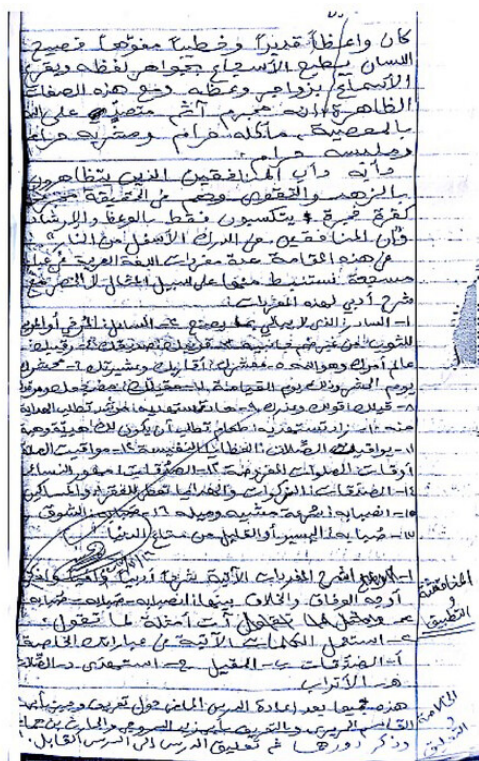


FIGURE 5 A sample copy of a handwritten lesson note used in teaching the *maqāma* at the Markaz. It is on *al-Šarīʿiyya*, the 1st *maqāma* in al-Ḥarīrī's work

COURTESY: ABDUL-QADIR OLAWOORE

this pattern, although it is only at the beginning stages. Only time will tell what lies ahead for the *maqāma*, as the literary environment of Yorubaland continues to expand with the creation of new and promising works.

Bari College, located in Olomi, Ibadan, offers a situation similar to that of the Dār al-Kitāb. Bari College is another madrasa-type school where traditional and modern educational systems operate side by side. Here, in combination with the curriculum of the typical modernized madrasa, the founder of the school, Barihi Adetunji,⁴⁴ provides instruction according to traditional method of the so-called *tirā ilé* (traditional texts, corresponding to the corpus of tradi-

44 Dr. Barihi Aremu Adetunji is one of the leading writers in Nigeria active since the 1995. He is also a writer of one of the *maqāmas* in Nigeria with the title *Kiswat al-ūrī fi maqāmāt 'Abd al-Bārī*, see Chapter One for more about him.

tional works, *al-kutub al-turāthiyya*, in the Dār al-Kitāb). The traditional aspect of instruction here is facilitated by the school's set-up. In addition to the regular students who attend the madrasa, it accommodates boarding students in the founder's home. Outsiders interested in learning the traditional corpus likewise join these teaching sessions.⁴⁵ The teaching session takes place loosely outside the daily school hours, with no rigid schedule. The traditional method is followed to the letter here, following the form of a teaching circle at the mosque, or at the home of the school's founder, Adetunji, when the scheduled classes of the typical madrasa do not take place. This combination of both systems is unique in Yorubaland and reflects Adetunji's particular background, a combination of both local and foreign-based educational systems. Adetunji teaches both the *Ḥarīriyya* and his own collection of *maqāmāt*, the *Kiswa*. Other *maqāmāt* collections of Nigerian authorship, however, are not taught at all.⁴⁶ This scenario at Bari College represents a third category of schools teaching the *maqāma*; although it is a hybrid of the traditional school and the madrasa model, it retains the traditional method in its entirety. Thus, along with the Dār al-Kitāb, Adetunji's Bari College exemplifies complete accommodation of the traditional Arabic-Islamic education system alongside the modern one.

Wherever modern Arabic schools offer classes on the *maqāma*, they are similarly limited in how much material can be covered in a class, due to tight schedules and other curriculum requirements. Thus, only select chapters or episodes of a collection of *maqāmāt* are taught. Of all the schools I reviewed, apart from those that provide additional traditional learning opportunities such as Bari College, at most, only half of the *Ḥarīriyya* is covered in the curriculum offered on the *maqāma*. In some schools, students were exposed to only five episodes. The learning method in these school differs significantly from that of traditional schools, where the text is read word by word, followed by the teacher's translation and accompanied with little commentary. In these schools, the teacher provides a general overview of each *maqāma* and explains the general meaning of phrases. The aim is merely to familiarize students with certain aspects of the *maqāma* and not to equip them with a working knowl-

45 *Tirā* is literally a book and *ilē* means house in Yoruba, so the literal translation of the word *tirā ilē* would be "books for the house." This meaning has something to do with texts in question because they are believed to be studied only at home with a Shaykh or in a mosque or any other place convenient and not in class. See fig. 6 for a model of this.

46 This is against the background that all the authors of *maqāmāt* in Nigeria relate to one another in one way or another. This is important, as can be seen in the *taqārīz* appended to all the works presently available in print.



FIGURE 6 A Teaching session of the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* at the Riyāḍ Mosque of Bari College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Olomi, Ibadan, Nigeria. Students are also prepared to take on the *Kiswa* after the *Ḥarīriyya*. Copies of the *Kiswa* (circled in red) lie in front of most of the students (October 10, 2019)

edge that allows them to teach the *maqāma* to others. Most of the *maqāma* teachers in these madrasas expressed the belief that the first twenty *maqāmāt* of the *Ḥarīriyya* were sufficient for the students to understand the rest of the work. Most of the students that I spoke with, however, openly admitted that they lacked the time to complete reading through the first twenty episodes before graduating. As a result, those who wished to have a better working knowledge of the *maqāma* and other traditional texts sought out a suitable private teacher to undergo extra “traditional tutelage.” Only in Bari College did students have the opportunity to read the *Ḥarīriyya* in its entirety, a situation that is not yet matched by other institutions, though this may change. Students at Bari College have recently come up with a new effective learning strategy, endorsed by Adetunji himself. They record the *maqāma* teaching sessions and use the audio recordings to revise their notes from class. They also make the recordings available to others, thus widening the circle of learners to those not present. Therefore, without even having contact with the tutor, a student can learn the *maqāma* through these “voice notes.” Since the language of instruction is Yoruba, however, the potential wider circle of listeners remains limited to those who understand the language.

These student-driven strategies aimed at improving the tuition of the *maqāma* indicate a high level of motivation in mastering the text, despite the philosophical challenges that it poses. What does this motivation imply? Indeed, for

students to go extra mile and devise these kinds of strategy in turn points to the enormous social and intellectual capital that the *maqāma* wields in the scholarly environment of Yoruba Nigerian society. Students at modernized Arabic schools lacking opportunity to study the *maqāma* make great efforts to find a way to do so, often by organizing private lessons with a tutor outside their normal madrasa schedule. Furthermore, Bari College students have plans to preserve these audio recordings and to accompany them with corresponding video recordings of the *maqāma* sessions. The goal is to archive these recordings and make them likewise available online as well as offline for future use.⁴⁷ Through these technological initiatives, these students appear to be highly motivated not only to improve their own conditions for learning such a complex text as the *Ḥarīriyya*, but also to make more widely available these traditional methods that provide the best tuition in learning the complexities of the text beyond their immediate circle. Indeed, this is a fascinating modern adaptation of the age-old Islamic tradition of passing on textual knowledge through a master-disciple relationship, which culminated in developing the *ijāza* system of certification, and which came to dominate the learning process throughout the premodern Islamic world.⁴⁸

The teaching and learning of the *maqāma* is not restricted to a particular place or group in Yoruba society. All types of schools, both traditional and modern, madrasas and others, have their own place in it. However, not all schools engage with the *maqāma* in a scholarly way, and not all traditional schools offer to teach the *maqāma*. The same can be said for some modernized madrasas. Rather than being a sign of “literary conservatism,” learning the *maqāma* in Yorubaland today is a matter of exposure, affiliation, and choice. The affiliation plays a foremost role in the choice and prioritizing of some texts over others, for one’s scholarly networks and sense of belonging is of utmost importance.

Private initiatives are likewise meeting the great demand for traditional *maqāma* instruction, for both the *Ḥarīriyya* as well as indigenous Nigerian versions. Not only have authors of *maqāma* opened up their own private schools to teaching *maqāmāt*, but also have their students, followers, and others who associate themselves with modern *maqāma* authors to acquire the knowledge of *maqāma*. Perhaps because of an element of rivalry among indigenous *maqāma* authors, private teachers are selective in regard to which Nigerian

47 See the video session of fig. 6, on YouTube link: <https://youtu.be/s6gtfP8tqEg> (accessed on December 5, 2019).

48 For more on the master-disciple relationship and its role in the transmission of knowledge in Arabic scholarship in Sudanic Africa see Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu*, 12–14.

maqāmāt collections they teach. In an effort to promote their own works, certain *maqāma* teacher-authors may devote more time to their own *maqāma* than to the *Ḥarīriyya*. Take the case of Imam Ōyo. Rather than presiding over a structured Islamic school, he informally teaches his own *maqāmāt* to a handful of students, some of whom are his boarders, in the traditional way.⁴⁹

By and large, the traditional way of teaching the *maqāma* survives because it can be undertaken in any form and in any place. It can be taught at the teachers' homes, at a mosque (as seen in fig. 6 above), or in public spaces such as at markets, in the streets, and even on public transportation.⁵⁰ Traditional teaching of traditional Arabic texts, including the *maqāma*, has also recently found its place in the modern classroom. However, since most madrasas prefer to stick to the modern curriculum, traditional schools still take the lead in teaching the *maqāma*, and to a lesser degree, the Nigerian *maqāmāt*.

Universities offer courses for studying Arabic *adab* literature in general and, on the post-graduate level, the *maqāma*. University courses on the *maqāma* employ the same teaching strategies used in madrasas; due to time restrictions, only a few randomly selected chapters are read by the students under the guidance of the teacher, who mainly explains obscure vocabulary and phrases. However, there is a growing trend towards more critical engagement with the *maqāmāt* in both traditional and modernized schools. Universities likewise offer opportunities for doing research on the *maqāma*, and in the last two decades many theses and dissertations have been completed on the works of al-Hamadhānī, al-Ḥarīrī, al-Yāzījī and other recent *maqāmas* from the Arab world such as *Maqāmāt al-Qarnī* of the Saudi Arabian ʿĀʾid al-Qarnī (b. 1960).⁵¹ In the

49 For example, aside from the Dār al-Qurʾān, the school established by Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān, no madrasa offers to teach any of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* except those that have some affiliation with the writers; there are not many of these and they are mainly traditional schools. The same may be said of Bari College, where only its former students teach the *Kiswa* to their students. This does not, however, mean that people do not read it. In fact, scholars and students read it on their own time as a private initiative.

50 Barihi Adetunji told me he taught one of his students the entire *Ḥarīriyya* while commuting on public transportation to work daily. The teaching took longer than usual due to roadside distractions.

51 The list of studies carried out on the *maqāma* or *maqāma*-related topics in Nigeria and specifically in Yorubaland are many. I mention here some of the ones carried out at graduate levels and useful in this regard are: Usman Sheu Abdul-Mumin, "Al-Badīʿiyyāt fī Maqāmāt ʿĀʾid al-Qarnī al-Saʿūdī: Dirāsa taḥlīliyya" (Doctoral thesis, Ilorin [Nigeria], University of Ilorin, 2011); Izzudeen Adetunji, "A Comparative Study of Al-Hamadhani and al-Hariri's Maqamah" (MA, Ibadan [Nigeria], University of Ibadan, 2008); Barihi Adetunji, "Dirāsa naqdiyya li-maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī wa-āthāruhā fī l-adab al-ʿarabī al-nayjirī" (Doctoral thesis, Ilorin [Nigeria], University of Ilorin, 2004).

past two decades, researchers have increasingly focused their attention on the Nigerian *maqāmāt*.⁵²

Universities also play a key role in the survival and dissemination of the *maqāma* in Yoruba-Nigerian society, beyond the context of instruction and academic research. University professors and lecturers have significant influence in shaping public opinion on literary works. Their endorsement of a particular text plays an important role in its subsequent popularity. Furthermore, many assist in the dissemination of works by passing them onto their acquaintances.

The teaching and learning of the *maqāma* should not, however, be exaggerated. Even though the popularity of the *maqāma* is at an all-time high, there are still some groups of scholars, teachers, and their students who are not as enthusiastic about the genre. Some consider the *maqāma* an archaic form of literature that has no relevance to modern life. Not only do they consider the *maqāma* unworthy of their attention, but they also castigate those who hold it in high esteem. Consequently, they do not encourage students to study the *maqāma*, nor is there a place for it in the curricula of their schools, which are dedicated only to modern subjects. The objection of this group poses a challenge to spread of the *maqāma* through wider circles. Not only has this denigration of the *maqāma* brought about animosity between the two camps, but it has also unleashed much criticism against the *maqāma*, both in terms of its literary and social value. These issues are dealt with in greater detail in Chapters Three and Four.

4 Investigating (Un)translatability

In the context of Nigerian Yoruba society, any Arabic literary work serving as instructional material requires “translation.”⁵³ Translation is essential to the learning process in various Arabic schools and among the traditional scholars, without which no effective learning could take place. In this process of learning Arabic and Islam in Nigeria, native languages play major roles not only in navigating the linguistic challenges of these literary works but also in conveying their literal and figurative meanings. Translation as access to these works is not limited to the classroom or teacher-student settings, but also plays a significant

52 See for instance: Musa Tijani Beekolari, “Dirāsa taḥlīliyya li-l-Maqāma al-Oyowiyya ta’līf al-Shaykh Mas’ūd ‘Abd al-Ganī Adebayo” (BA Long Essay, Nigeria, University of Ilorin, 2003).

53 The translation I mean here is in the sense of rendering the work or transferring its meanings into another language. In this case, the language is Yoruba, which is the native language of Yorubaland.

role in the public sphere, mostly through public preaching and oration. One of the major methods of religious proselytization, public oration, has evolved into one of the major media by which scholars and preachers reach people on the grassroot local level.⁵⁴ The *maqāma* likewise has come to play similar roles of public engagement, the topic of Chapter 3.

Both in the modernized madrasa system and traditional Arabic schools, Yoruba serves as the medium through which Arabic is mostly learned. Therefore, teaching and learning Arabic largely occur in the vernacular, which requires some form of translation from the source language (Arabic) to the language of the target audience (in this case Yoruba).⁵⁵ This is not to say that there is no use of Arabic during some of the study sessions where the *maqāma* is taught but rather that both languages coexist, with the indigenous language having the upper hand. As can be seen from the analysis above, to master the *maqāma* in Nigeria is to be able to convey it completely to others and make it accessible to speakers of the indigenous languages of Nigeria, by demystifying its core literary structures and linguistic sophistication.

This section investigates questions pivoting around the issue of Yoruba as a language of mediation for understanding the Arabic *maqāma* with all its complexities. My basic question is: How translatable is the *maqāma* into Yoruba language? What linguistic challenges inherent in the Yoruba language, with its many dialectical idiosyncrasies, pose difficulties to this endeavor?⁵⁶ Fur-

54 Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamic Education and Scholarship in Sub Saharan Africa," in *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000), 431.

55 At the outset of Arabic education in Yorubaland in 19th century, Hausa, with some interpolation from other West African languages like Songhai, was used as the language of instruction, only later to be eclipsed by Yoruba, the *lingua franca* of the area. Translation was also pivotal in the early days of Islamic learning in Nigeria, particularly in Yorubaland. Students had to first master the language of their teachers, which usually was Hausa, or the teachers also sometimes had to master Yoruba before they could acquire or convey knowledge. For more, see Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning," 41; Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre, "Aspects of the Diffusion of Arabic to Yoruba," *Journal of the Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 2, no. 4 (1983): 5–18.

56 For instance, some folk expressions are difficult to translate in a way that conveys their actual meaning. It must be noted that these are not really to be considered idioms but only a contextualized form of expression. Also, there is sometimes no uniform vocabulary in Yoruba due to dialectical variations. These dialectical variations of the Yoruba language generally continue to be shaped according to their relationship with Arabic, in written and spoken forms. For more on this, cf. for instance: Sayed H.A. Malik, "The Problems of the Teaching of Arabic Language in the South-Western Part of Nigeria," *Al-Dirasat Al-Islamiyya: Arabic Journal of Islamic University of Islamabad* xxii, no. 4 (1988): 29–40. Cf. The Yoruba emotional use of language discussed in Chapter 4.

thermore, in tackling this question, I am confronted with a purely oral phenomenon of language transfer. And since there is no textual records of this process, it can only be observed in action. Indeed, the lack of a stable text from which to examine the question of translatability poses immense methodological and analytical obstacles. Furthermore, this process must be contextualized in the unstructured and informal teaching format of the *maqāma* in Yorubaland. Although there are immense linguistic challenges facing the translatability of the *maqāma* in Yoruba, as will be examined in depth below, large numbers of Yorubas continue to engage with the *maqāma* in their native tongue in various ways. Despite these difficulties, this endeavor remains a vital one for much of Muslim Yoruba society in Nigeria.

The phenomenon of glossing the *maqāma* into Yoruba lives on in the traditional scholarly approach to learning the genre, which involves translating the entire work, word by word, and line by line, with students. To date however, there is no written Yoruba translation of the *Ḥarīriyya*'s complete episodes, the most widely studied classical Arabic text. Perhaps the basis of a written Yoruba translation of the *Ḥarīriyya* can be established by transcribing the voice notes of the teaching sessions at Bari College. In contrast to Yoruba, Hausa, as an established literary language of learning and transmission of knowledge, is better adapted for this purpose. Indeed, it has been recently reported at the University of Ghana's Institute of African Studies that a copy of a Hausa translation of the *Ḥarīriyya* has been found by B.A.R. Braimah among recently discovered manuscripts of the Hausa (*Ajami*) and Arabic poetic and prose works of al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. Abī Bakr al-Salghāwī (1856–1934).⁵⁷ If this report is indeed true, this is an exciting discovery of immediate relevance to this study since al-Ḥājj 'Umar had extensive knowledge of Yorubaland, having written a history of Yorubaland and Ilorin, a city known as the "intellectual powerhouse" of Islamic and Arabic scholarship in Yorubaland since the middle of the 19th century.⁵⁸

What would the repercussions of a written translation of the *Ḥarīriyya* in the Yoruba language be? How would it affect the work's status, its social function and meaning, as well as its literary reception? How would a standard version of the work change the status quo of its teaching? What benefits would it bring

57 B.A.R. Braimah, "Ghana," in *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1992), 371. For more on al-Salghāwī see John O. Hunwick, ed., *Arabic Literature of Africa, Volume 4: The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 586–594.

58 See his account of Ilorin in: Stefan Reichmuth, "Imam Umaru's Account of the Origin of the Ilorin Emirate: A Manuscript in the Heinz Sölken Collection, Frankfurt," *Sudanic Africa* 4 (1993): 155–173.

to the intellectual culture of Yoruba-Nigerian Arabic society? Before addressing these questions, let me emphasize that linguistic virtuosity is the core attribute of the *maqāma*; this is what has made the *Ḥarīriyya* a masterpiece, emulated and read for centuries after its composition. It is the basis of the work's allure as a genre and art-form. Mastering the *Ḥarīriyya* is equivalent to being a master in Arabic. Thus, a core dilemma facing a written translation of the *maqāma* in the Yoruba language is the possibility of losing this linguistic virtuosity for which it is so highly valued. Since translation may be described as a process that “destroys the fetishism, canonization, or glorification of language,”⁵⁹ to render the *maqāma* now into the Yoruba language may mean losing its power, and strip it of the respect, agency, and admiration that it has enjoyed over centuries. The *Ḥarīriyya*'s intertextuality with other Arabic *maqāmas* may no longer become recognizable in a vernacular version. Nevertheless, one must be cautious with such pessimism in this regard; the *maqāma* has been described as been potentially untranslatable⁶⁰ and the socialization of its content in Yorubaland can have consequences for its relationship with native languages.

The cultural assumption of the untranslatability of the *maqāma* into indigenous vernaculars is reinforced by the fact that very few Arabic works studied in Yorubaland have been translated. Those few that have been translated have not been well received and in no way serve as alternatives to the Arabic sources. Conversely, the few Yoruba works that have been translated into Arabic suffer the same fate; they are confined to the academic realm, known and used by experts only, with little or no public interest.⁶¹ Outside the scholarly reading public in Yorubaland, there is virtually no interest in Arabic literary works.

59 Alexander G. Düttmann and Dana Hollander, “On Translatability,” *Qui Parle* 8, no. 1, Allegory in Translation (1994): 30.

60 For this thought, cf. for instance Kilito's theory in: Abdelfattah Kilito, *Lan tatakallam lughatī* (Beirut: Dār 'l-Ṭalī'a, 2002), 23–24. This pessimistic view has been somewhat alleviated by the extensive translations of *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* into French, German, Persian, and English. The recent translation of the *Ḥarīriyya* into English is particularly enlightening. See Ḥarīrī, Michael Cooperson, and Abdelfattah Kilito, *Impostures*, Library of Arabic Literature (New York: New York University Press, 2020).

61 Three prominent Yoruba works that have been successfully translated into Arabic are “*Ìrèké Oníbùdó*” by D.O. Fagunwa, the first to write a Yoruba novel, translated as: D.O. Fagunwa, *Qaşab al-mukhayyam*, trans. Ahmad Sheu Abdussalam (Ilorin [Nigeria], 1994). “*Ògbójú ọdẹ nínú igbó irúnmalẹ*” also by D.O. Fagunwa translated as: D.O. Fagunwa, *al-Şayyād al-jarī fī ghābat al-'afārūt*, trans. Mashood Mahmood Muhammad Jimba (Ilorin [Nigeria]: Maṭba'a Alabi, 2002). and “*Òtẹ n'ibò*” by Olu Owolabi translated in: Olu Owolabi, *al-Intikhāb mu'āmara*, trans. by Abdur-Raheem I. Lawal (Lagos, 2008). For an English translation of the second book see D.O. Fagunwa, *Forest of a Thousand Daemons: A Hunter's Saga*, trans. Wole Soyinka (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2013).

Likewise, the development of Yoruba literary culture has occurred completely independent of Arabic literature; these two literary cultures have little in common.⁶²

Considering that Yoruba literary culture is largely folkloric and oral and that the Arabic *maqāma* has long been an influential literary genre in Yorubaland, one may imagine that there would be fertile ground for a vernacular translation of *maqāmas*. However, this is not the case. One may attribute the lack of translation of *maqāma* into the vernacular to the rigid attitudes of Yoruba Arabophones.⁶³ Yoruba Arabophones are concerned primarily with how the *maqāma* relates to its Arabic sources and are resistant to the external influence of local vernacular cultures. These attitudes have not only been an obstacle for translating *maqāma* into the vernacular languages of Nigeria, they have also impeded the development of original, indigenous Yoruba *maqāma*.

In contrast, Yoruba intellectual and cultural oral traditions continue with little alteration, “despite European colonization, Western education and Islamic and Arabic learning.”⁶⁴ This may also apply to the issue of survival of the *maqāma* itself. Would a standard written translation of any of the Arabic *maqāmas* into an indigenous language in Nigeria have a thriving readership? Could it survive in the vernacular? Or does only the Arabic *maqāma* have the literary status necessary for maintaining a readership in Nigeria? It is premature to answer these questions now; only time will tell. Because these two literary cultural spheres operate so differently and independently of one another, with Arabic accruing more prestige vis-à-vis the vernacular among Arabophones,

62 This is against the background of the possible influence of Arabic and Islam on the native Yoruba folklore and stories and vice-versa. For the Islamic and Arabic influence on the Yoruba Nigerian literature see Mashood Mahmood Muhammad Jimba, *Athar al-Islām wal-adab al-‘Arabi fi l-adab al-Nayjiri al-maktūb* (Cairo: Mu’assasat al-Mukhtār, 2015), 37–60. And the possible influence of Yoruba literature on Arabic, especially in the area of praise poetry and its relationship with *Oriki* (the Yoruba praise poem), has been mentioned by: Razaq ’Deremi Abubakre and Stefan Reichmuth, “Arabic Writing between Global and Local Culture: Scholars and Poets in Yorubaland (Southwestern Nigeria),” *Research in African Literatures* 28, no. 3, Arabic Writing in Africa (1997): 186–187. For *Oriki* and its influence in Yorubaland see Karin Barber, *I Could Speak Until Tomorrow: Oriki, Women & the Past in a Yoruba Town*, International African Libraries (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

63 Arabophone as I use throughout this study is in line with Ousmane Kane’s proposition and can be defined as those whose native language is not Arabic but use Arabic more often for different purposes of academic, religious and casual nature. For more on this see Ousmane Kane, *Non-Europhone Intellectuals*, trans. Victoria Bawtree, CODESRIA Book Series (Dakar, Oxford: CODESRIA, 2012).

64 Abdul-Rasheed Na’Allah, “Yoruba Folktales: Cultural Plurality and Oral Narratives” (Doctoral thesis, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1999), 2.

there seems to be little meeting ground for the two. Future research will be undertaken to understand how these two fare against one another.

Alas, as of now, there is no complete and officially published translation of the *Ḥarīriyya* in the Yoruba language, either in Arabic script or in its Latin counterpart, despite the wide reading public that the Arabic classical text has commanded over the ages. I argue that the lack of a vernacular translation is more of a socio-cultural than a literary or linguistic issue. Acquiring the knowledge of Arabic through many years of studying the *maqāma* has great social value as a literary and religious duty. However, reading the *maqāma* in one's native language without having to toil through the linguistic intricacies of Arabic negates the original function of the *maqāma* in Yoruba Muslim society. The social aspect of striving to learn Arabic at the highest possible level also perhaps explains the dedication of Bari College students to their study sessions with their teacher despite having audio notes of the *maqāma* lessons. They prefer a learning environment with direct, physical proximity with their teacher, rather than only relying on recorded voice notes.

There are other potential reasons for the lack of translation of the *maqāma*. The prestigious scholars in charge of the tradition in Arabic that still exists throughout Yorubaland would risk losing their authority in interpreting these classical texts if they were available in translation and were embraced in the society as an alternative to learning the *maqāma* in person. In the case of the *maqāma*, the most prestigious text of all, a translation could make the master-student discipleship obsolete. With their authority and social positions at risk of being undermined, the ulama therefore do not encourage the translation of traditional texts, thus making them less widely available through translation. A scholar's authority is likewise bolstered by his students. Not only is complete loyalty expected, but the teacher-student discipleship is also potentially a life-long relationship, and teachers are eager to keep students under their tutelage as long as possible. Students who seek knowledge from other scholars risk the wrath of their teacher.

Within these social configurations of traditional learning, what then is the status of the audio recordings recently produced and exchanged among students at Bari College? First, it should be noted that the audio files are not widely disseminated but rather circulate among a limited number of students close to the shaykh, Dr. Barihi Adetunji. Those outside this circle must obtain permission from the Shaykh to have access to them. Moreover, students in possession of the audio files often use them as a form of social leverage or for personal gain. Some scholars express skepticism regarding the effectiveness of these audio recordings in teaching the *maqāma*, preserving traditional methods of its instruction, and disseminating this knowledge to wider audiences. In par-

ticular, they are critical of its role in aiding students to memorize the *maqāma*, which they consider a crucial step in its mastery. These scholars' attitudes are largely shaped by their belief in the superiority of the traditional oral methods of teaching and learning. Despite these set-backs, the audio recording of teaching sessions is a significant development in studying the *maqāma*, especially in the case of Bari College. The college head is perhaps the most knowledgeable and experienced *maqāma* teacher alive today, although at his advance age he no longer has the stamina to teach as much over long stretches of time.

Linguistic virtuosity presents another challenge facing the vernacular *maqāma*. Critics believe that indigenous examples must be on par with the rarefied language of al-Ḥarīrī's masterpiece in this respect. For example, Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān's *Ilūriyya* has been criticized for its lack of obscure lexicon or rhetorical flourish. Indeed, linguistic incomprehensibility is one of the defining features of the genre.⁶⁵ This aligns with Walter Benjamin's assertion that "comprehensibility is not essential to language (of a literary work for instance)."⁶⁶ Therefore, translating the *maqāma* into Yoruba for the sole reason of understanding the content is not a socially relevant endeavor. In the Yoruba-Nigerian context, it is the linguistic challenges of the *maqāma* that motivate people to engage with it; through its linguistic virtuosity, the *maqāma* maintains its status as the pinnacle of Arabic knowledge. To gain social value, translation must surpass mere comprehensibility; it needs to replicate the cultural prestige and religio-linguistic significance of the Arabic *maqāma* as a pedagogical tool. This approach makes the *maqāmāt* appealing to students who leverage the text's socio-cultural potential.

Thus, one should not erroneously regard translation as mere communication technique designed to impart knowledge.⁶⁷ The case of the *maqāma* in Yorubaland provides a salient example of the socio-cultural challenges that translation from the prestige language of Arabic into the vernacular poses. The *maqāma* is revered not only for its content and form but also for its linguistic value. It serves as a linguistic repository which represents the excellence of Arabic and is canonized as an Arabic masterpiece based on its "Arabism," which has a link to the overall Islamization of knowledge in the Yoruba society.⁶⁸ Indeed, religion plays a significant role in valuing the text for its Arabic,

65 Interview with Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān, March 15, 2018.

66 Walter Benjamin, "The Translator's Task," trans. Steven Rendal, *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 10, no. 2 (1997): 151–153.

67 Düttmann and Hollander, "On Translatability," 31.

68 Virtually all Arabic texts are regarded by many as being of Islamic background as mentioned above. Therefore, Islamization and Arabization are intertwined in Yoruba soci-

the language of the Qurʾān. Furthermore, the notion of the inimitability of the *Ḥarīriyya* assures its place at the pinnacle of Arabic literature in Yorubaland. Nigerian *maqāma* writers likewise subscribe to the notion of the *Ḥarīriyya*'s inimitability and accept that they could never produce anything equal to al-Ḥarīrī's text, a topic dealt with in more detail in Chapter Four.

Despite the socio-linguistic challenges and obstacles discussed above, they are not unsurmountable, and the future for indigenous versions of the *maqāma* holds promise whether they be viable Yoruba translation(s) of the *Ḥarīriyya* or of other Nigerian indigenous forms of the *maqāma*.⁶⁹ Perhaps if the endeavor is carried out appropriately, the vernacular *maqāma* may become an important contribution to the Yoruba literature of the Arabophones.

5 Debates, Critiques, and the Literary Space

The emergence of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* since the beginning of the 21st century has brought about many developments in the scholarly environment of Yoruba Nigerian society. First, it has paved the way for critical discussions of Arabic literature. Secondly, it has become an important vehicle for "literary socialization." In other words, the *maqāma* as a literary work performs highly valued social functions, which directly affect its scholarly reception.⁷⁰ Scholarly networking, public and literary debates, and other kinds of critical engagement

ety. For more on this and how it has affected (un)translatability of religious sources see Lamin O. Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, 2nd ed., rev. expanded, American Society of Missiology Series, no. 42 (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books, 2009), 211–220.

69 A notable instance of the promising future for Yoruba translation of the *Ḥarīriyya* is the initiative by one Sidiq AbdulRaheem Kolayo to translate the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* into Yoruba. Although the complete work has yet to be published, the author has, in December 2024, released a free translation of al-Ḥarīrī's introduction and the first nine episodes of the *Ḥarīriyya* into Yoruba language, which can be accessed at <https://qatru.com/book-profile-x/2> (last visited on January 3, 2025). Kolayo has indicated that the full translation is in progress, and it remains to be seen how it will be received within the Yoruba-Nigerian society.

70 This aspect of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*'s reception is comparable to that of their model, the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*. Just like the *Ḥarīriyya*, the Nigerian *maqāmāt* have garnered significant attention and have been subject to diverse critical perspectives over time. The *Ḥarīriyya* enjoyed immediate success and attracted a range of critics who expressed both favorable and unfavorable stances. For more, see Matthew L. Keegan, "Commentators, Collators, and Copyists: Interpreting Manuscript Variation in the Exordium of Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*," in *Arabic Humanities, Islamic Thought*, ed. Shawkat M. Toorawa and Joseph E. Lowry (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 295–316.

can be noticed in the context of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* production, especially in relation to their paratextual features. In this section, I touch upon some of these features.⁷¹

The *Ilūriyya* lends itself to epi-textual analysis. Indeed, the preface of that work provides fascinating information regarding how the *maqāma* as a genre is debated in Nigeria. At various stages of its writing and publication, the *Ilūriyya* was subjected to a series of official or informal debates. For instance, before the publication of the first edition of his *Maqāmāt*, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān showed the manuscript to several academics in his hometown of Ilorin to gain their approval. They in turn subjected both the work and the author to a series of questions to verify whether Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān was the true author. This instance is illustrative of the nature of scholarly debate around the indigenous *maqāma*: rather than the merits of the work itself, the author's intellectual pedigree and scholarly qualifications take center stage. Indeed, such debates sometimes pay little or no attention to the quality of the works themselves; the works are rather judged by the author's profile. At the instance of the Emir of Ilorin, the traditional head of Ilorin Emirate in Kwara State Nigeria, esteemed scholars and academics evaluated the *Ilūriyya* thoroughly before agreeing to put their stamp of approval on the work. Only then did they organize a ceremony to present the work to the public for the first time. This issue is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3.

Similarly, to show how original and authentic their versions of the *maqāma* are, authors request academics of repute to write a foreword or *taqrīz*, as a form of evaluation to promote their work to the public. All Nigerian *maqāmāt* have at least one renowned academic write a *taqrīz* praising the work; serving as a kind of “blurb,” these paratexts are published together with the text of the *maqāmāt*.

Some scholars in Nigeria take a more critical approach and put a *maqāma* to test with a public reading, challenging the author to a *munāqasha*, a form of debate and engagement to determine whether he is the actual author. A few months after the publication of the first edition of the *Ilūriyya*, Adam Yaḥyā b.

71 Here, I adopt the concept of “paratext” according to Gerard Genette’s sense as those materials that often surround but do not constitute the main body of text and that may add to our understanding of the text. In this section, I want to briefly consider only those that Genette categorized as “epi-texts”, i.e., elements that are outside of the volume but which are closely connected to the text and affect its reception. A trans-textual study of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* in relation to their classical models demonstrating their palimpsestous tendencies will be undertaken in Chapter 5. For more, see Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Literature, Culture, Theory 20 (Cambridge; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1–15. See also: Ronit Ricci, “Thresholds of Interpretation on the Threshold of Change: Paratexts in Late 19th-Century Javanese Manuscripts,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 3 (2012): 185–210.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fulānī (b. 1963), one of the harshest literary critics in Nigeria and himself a native of Ilorin but based in Kano, challenged the author Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān to a debate on his work. After undertaking a journey of about seven hundred kilometers from Ilorin to Kano, and engaging in a thorough debate with al-Fulānī, Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān’s work was named *Maqāmāt al-‘ajam*⁷² as opposed to the *Ḥarīriyya*, which the scholar dubbed *Maqāmāt al-‘arab*.⁷³ Likewise, the *Yūsufiyya* was the subject of a debate with its author, who was later celebrated as a result.⁷⁴

As one can see from the examples cited above, the *maqāmāt* contribute directly to scholarly debates in contemporary Yoruba Nigerian society. In addition to being the subject of debate, contemporary indigenous *maqāmāt* likewise engage in ongoing socio-religious controversies. An example of this can be seen with the *Ilūrīyya*’s reference to the controversy of the authenticity of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, the canonical collection of hadith. The accuracy and reliability of the hadiths found in Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī’s (194–256/810–870) *Ṣaḥīḥ* became a subject of public debate among Nigerian religious scholars.⁷⁵ The debate was initiated by the renowned Islamic scholar and current *mudīr* (director) of the Markaz, Shaykh Habibullah Adam Abdullah al-Ilori (henceforth *Mudīr*) who, in Ramadan 2016, proclaimed that *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* should not be regarded as the most authentic collection of hadith because there were allegedly inaccuracies in some of its hadiths. This spurred a public reaction among religious scholars. A gathering of Nigerian ulama was held to debunk the claim and pass a *fatwa* that the *Mudīr*’s argument was unscholarly, shallow, and ignorant.⁷⁶ Nigerian religious scholars, however, were divided on this issue. Another faction pointed out that the *Mudīr* had not been the first to

72 Meaning the *maqāma* collection of the non-Arabs, *Maqāmāt al-‘ajam* was used in this context as a term in opposition or comparison to the classical Arabic *maqāma* collections. It can be viewed as a way of rating the work of Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān by al-Fulānī and making it in par with those of the Arabs. Perhaps, al-Fulānī is convinced that the *Ilūrīyya* is equally qualified to be recognized as a *maqāma* prototype thereby challenging the inimitability of the *Ḥarīriyya* explained above.

73 Interview with Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān on March 14, 2018.

74 Interview with Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle on March 22, 2018. The patronage, ceremonies, and other social appearances of the *maqāma* in Yorubaland will be thoroughly explored in Chapter 3.

75 For more on the canonization of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* across the traditional hadith lines see Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007).

76 This controversy lingered for a time. For the summary of the argument of scholars for and against the *Mudīr* on this issue see Ishola Balogun and Bashir Adefaka, “Scholars’ War: It’s Habeeb vs Others,” *Vanguard Newspaper*, June 24, 2016, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/06/scholars-war-habeeb-vs-others/> (accessed on January 30, 2024, 5:33am).

criticize al-Bukhārī's collection; they argued that since al-Bukhārī was not the Prophet Muhammad, he was susceptible to imperfection. Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān composed a *maqāma* in response to this scholarly dispute, not only to narrate the course of events but also to present his point of view, entitling it *al-Maqāma al-Bukhārīyya*.⁷⁷ Its defensive tone in favor of the Mudīr reveals the author's affiliation with powerful individuals from whom he received backing in the production of his *maqāma*.⁷⁸

More polemic than systematic, this kind of debate culture lacks a basic set of principles underlying how it is undertaken. All it takes is a controversial subject to be raised by a respected scholar for broader sections of society to become embroiled in bitter debate. This contrasts to the scholarly debate culture of previous times, when scholars corresponded, met, and discussed one another's work individually.⁷⁹ Today in Nigeria, literary works are only debated among scholars when they have reached a wider audience. Rather than being subject to proper scrutiny, literary works are debated uncritically for the sole purpose of promoting them.

Finally, it should be added that scholarly rivalry exists in Nigerian society not only among individual scholars but also between cities and regions. This rivalry is important in understanding not only how the indigenous *maqāmāt* develop, but also how it has shaped the scholarly landscape in Yorubaland in general, and how it continues to do so in the present. It is noteworthy that writers of the *maqāma* promote their respective hometowns over other places in terms of their Islamic and scholarly status. Perhaps they are influenced in this by al-Ḥarīrī who, in his *Maqāmāt*, places Basra, his homeplace and place of origin, above other cities to the extent of composing an extensive panegyric on Basra in the last chapter of his work.⁸⁰ This partisanship for one's own city at the expense of others' needs more explanation; this will be explored later in Chapter Five.

77 Muḥammad al-Awwal b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 6th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Quds, 2017), 40–42.

78 Many other publications came up for and against the Mudīr's argument. Of particular importance is the one written by a scholar to defend Ṣāḥib al-Bukhārī and two other ones written by former students of Markaz to counter the first book. For the book in defense of Ṣāḥib al-Bukhārī see 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Aḥmad al-Imām, *An Ṣāḥib al-Bukhārī* (Ilorin [Nigeria]: Imaice Prints, 2017). The counter-publications are: Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā Muḥammad al-Mustaḥab al-Ḥarīrī, *Kitāb "An Ṣāḥib al-Bukhārī": I'tirādāt wa-tanbīhāt*. (Ilorin [Nigeria]: Kewudamilola Publishing Centre, 2018); Adam Yahaya A. al-Fulānī, *Fī Ṣāḥib al-Bukhārī: Baḥth wa-murāja'a* (Cairo: Maktaba Wahba, 2016).

79 For more on this, see al-Mūsawī, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters*, 123.

80 Geert Jan van Gelder, "Kufa vs. Basra: The Literary Debate," *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift Der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft* 50, *Literatur und Wirklichkeit* (1996): 352–355.

The Public Sphere

The Socio-Cultural Significance and the Multifaceted Role of the maqāma in Nigerian Society

The contemporary Arabic *maqāma* in Yorubaland is a vibrant literary genre of great social relevance. Through the narration of often autobiographical struggles of Nigerian scholars navigating local power structures as they attempt to claim their place in society, these contemporary *maqāmas* possess a variety of socio-political dimensions that shed light on Yoruba society. The promotion of the contemporary *maqāma* by local power holders, as well as its reception by the reading public, likewise reveals fascinating aspects of this genre deeply embedded in the scholarly environment of Yorubaland. Public reception of the *maqāma* is shaped by local patrons and their power structures, as can be seen with the involvement of the Emir of Ilorin and the king of Ibadan in the promotion of these works. Furthermore, this examination of its public reception and readership touches on the role Nigerian book markets play in disseminating the *maqāma*, making a wider readership possible. What is notable about the *maqāma* in Nigeria, and particularly Yorubaland, is how engagement with this genre continues to be a measure not only of intellectual prestige but also of social status.

This chapter focuses on how the *maqāma* features and functions in the Nigerian public sphere of the Yorubaland. The public here is not limited to Arabophone members of the reading public, the direct consumers of this literary work, but also includes indirect participants, who, although unable to read *maqāmas* in the original Arabic, come into contact with the genre in other ways, as a consequence of its enormous social influence. This chapter thus addresses the question how the public participates in the development of the *maqāma* both as a social text and an evolving contemporary literary genre.

The notion of public sphere, according to Dale Eickelman, is a dynamic one which has diverse aspects to it, especially in the context of Muslim societies.¹ While I make no precise delineation of this public sphere in Yoruba Nigerian society, in this study it should be understood as the sphere in which official

1 Dale F. Eickelman, "Foreword: The Religious Public Sphere in Early Muslim Societies," in *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, ed. Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levtzion (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 1–8.

or governmental power as exerted by publicly appointed or elected individuals interacts with the private lives of people.² I therefore use the concept of public sphere to refer to those areas of the Muslim Yoruba society where the ruling elite and the general population interact; the public sphere is thus open to both the leaders and the led. However, although the public sphere is theoretically believed to be independent of both official and private spheres,³ the power dynamic is not equal in the public sphere, with the former dominating the latter. This can be seen likewise in the case of the *maqāma*'s development in the public sphere of Yorubaland. Accordingly, the private lives of Nigerian *maqāma* authors are mediated through the *maqāma* as it functions in public space.

The Yoruba Muslim sphere has various dimensions extending into micro-political, social, economic, and religious spaces.⁴ In this chapter I emphasize how the *maqāma* functions in the "Arabo-Islamic sphere," a sphere which corresponds in Yorubaland to what Stefan Reichmuth refers to as the "Nigerian Islamosphere."⁵ Since my focus here is specifically the *maqāma*'s Muslim literary public, I delve into the political structures of local and traditional power which continues to exert immense social power in Yoruba society, rather than that of an official and systemized nature as seen on the greater regional and national levels.

In its analysis of the socio-cultural functions of *maqāma* writing and learning in Yoruba Nigerian society, this chapter emphasizes events of the last twenty-five years, beginning in the early 2000s. Indeed, since the early 2000s,

2 Miriam Hoexter and Nehemia Levtzion, "Introduction," in *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, ed. Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levtzion (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 9–10.

3 Hoexter and Levtzion, 10.

4 The understanding of this particular feature of the public sphere is drawn from the stances and instances engaged through in: Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levtzion, eds., *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002). Especially relevant is the case study of Seljuk Baghdad where diversity of different communities was present in the religious public sphere, see Daphna Ephrat, "Religious Leadership and Associations in the Public Sphere of Seljuk Baghdad," in *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, ed. Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levtzion (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 31–48. For the influence of the public sphere in the "social" and "political," see Elham Beygi, "Public Sphere in Muslim Societies: Its Reflection on Social, Political Thought and Law, Case Study: Iran and Turkey" (MA, Toronto, Ontario, York University, 2013).

5 Interestingly, Reichmuth's term was used in relation to describing the Arabo-Islamic literary endeavors in Yorubaland covered here too, see Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Writing and Islamic Identity in Colonial Yorubaland: Ilorin and Western Nigeria, ca. 1900–1950," in *Adab and Modernity*, ed. Cathérine Mayeur-Jaouen (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2020), 581.

the *maqāma* as a genre has undergone significant reinvigoration and repopularization through the publication of new indigenous Nigerian Arabic *maqāmāt*, the result of the ongoing influence of the *Ḥarīriyya* across time and space.

1 “Secret of Life”

While holding a copy of his *Ilūriyya*, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān explained how the work held a central place in his life and career as a scholar, exclaiming: “*Hādhā sirrʾu ḥayātī*” (“This is the secret of my life”). Indeed, the *maqāma* serves as a unique format by which members of contemporary Nigerian society divulge their secrets publicly: the way they live, how they earn their living, and other aspects of their private lives that they would not normally share with others. By referring to the work as the “secret” of his life, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān meant that every aspect of his life can be found in the work; his private life therefore became deeply entangled with his *Ilūriyya* upon its publication in 2003.

Before he wrote the *Ilūriyya*, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān had composed many works in Arabic, including his *Naḥnu fī ʾntiẓār al-sāʾa* (We are expecting the hour)⁶ and *al-Radd al-raḥīq* (The mild response).⁷ Although these first two writings at first had a limited readership, after the public announcement of his *Ilūriyya*, his other books suddenly became popular.⁸ What does this sudden interest in Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān’s literary endeavors imply, while, earlier in his writing career, he attracted little attention because of his seemingly unimpressive cultural background and educational affiliation? The answer lies in the public appearance of

6 The author informed me this was his first book, published in 1996. It was written as a result of a rumor circulating at the time about the imminent end of the world. This gained prominence towards the end of the 20th century in Nigeria when some pastors prophesied the end of the world and the coming of the Armageddon. The following year witnessed a lot of controversy on whether this was going to happen or not and triggered a lot of poetical, musical and literary responses from scholars (Muslims and non-Muslims) and popular musicians. This book of Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān is also one of the responses to the event, see Muḥammad al-Awwal b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *Naḥnu fī ʾntiẓār al-sāʾa* (Ilorin, 1996). See also its sister publication: Muḥammad al-Awwal b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *Qiyām al-sāʾa bayn laḥẓa wa-sāʾa* (Ilorin, 1997). For a list of all his publications see Izzudeen Adetunji, “Maqāmāt Muḥammad al-Awwal Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān al-Ilūrī al-Nayjirī: Dirāsa taḥlīliyya” (Doctoral thesis, Amman, World Islamic Science and Education University, 2014), 60–61.

7 Muḥammad al-Awwal b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *al-Radd al-Raḥīq* (Ilorin, 2010).

8 This situation, also applicable to other Nigerian writers as will be explained below, can be seen in al-Ḥarīrī’s case too, see Colinda Lindermann, “A Shared Set of Solecisms: The Mamlūk and Ottoman Reception of al-Ḥarīrī’s *Durrat al-Ghawwās*,” *Philological Encounters* 4, no. 1–2 (2019): 61.

his *Maqāmāt*; it is only with the publication and promotion of the *Ilūriyya* that people began to take him seriously as an author. Another aspect of the public's fascination with Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān was his background as a Makondoro. As a member of this traditional learning community, which emphasizes the use of the native Yoruba language over Arabic, few people expected Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān to possess the linguistic skill needed to write a publicly praised Arabic *maqāmāt* work. Thus, it was only after his *Ilūriyya* brought him recognition that people began to read his earlier works. The *maqāma* served as the vehicle by which he was able to prove his worth as an author, especially to those who were naturally skeptical of his ability to write in classical Arabic.

The case of Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān shows that people's expectations of others are based largely on social background and affiliations in contemporary Nigerian Yoruba society. Preconceived notions regarding Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān's Makondoro background and affiliations have thus been primarily responsible for the initial public skepticism that he faced, and later for the surprise people expressed at his public recognition as an author of a *maqāmāt* collection composed in elegant Arabic.⁹ The importance of social expectation is key when exploring the author's motivations for writing his second book, which are related to a sensational event that occurred in the author's hometown of Ilorin and prompted a great deal of controversy among scholars. The event in question was the following: The Kano-based Ilorin-born scholar, Adam Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fulānī, wrote a book around 2010 casting doubt and showering abuse on some households in the town, accusing them of "unwanted innovations" in religion and of culturally polluting Arabic. Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān's family was one of the households attacked. Al-Fulānī's book provoked debates among local scholars, some of whom believed that these accusations needed to be countered. Thus provoked, Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān replied by writing a rejoinder. In retrospect, Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān believes this challenge was actually a test of his writing abilities, although it was not presented as such at the time. Thus, in order to dispel doubts that a Makondoro like him could write Arabic well, he crafted an elegantly phrased response titled *al-Radd al-rafiq*. Indeed, the crux of the problem was that people doubted that he was the actual author of his first book, *Naḥnu fī 'ntizār al-sā'a*, which had just come out prior to this event. The publication of the *Ilūriyya* further confirmed his indisputably excellent command of Arabic as an author of the highly praised and publicly recognized *Maqāmāt*. His Arabic *Ilūriyya* thus boosted his popularity as a writer, and his authority in Arabic was acknowledged throughout his hometown of Ilorin.

9 Personal communication, Muḥammad Awwal b. 'Abd al-Salām Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān, March 2018.

Widespread social perceptions of the Makondoro community of scholars lay behind the initial doubt of Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's literary abilities in Arabic. The Makondoro is a clique of scholars known for public oration and preaching in the Yoruba language, and for their traditional methods of teaching and learning Arabic as a vehicle for Islamic learning. Since they preach in Yoruba, rather than in Arabic, they are not known for being proficient in spoken Arabic. As a result, when they do write in Arabic, Yoruba exerts a dominant influence in their written Arabic.¹⁰

After his work first appeared in published form, Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān presented a copy of his *Ilūriyya* to the chief imam of Ilorin. This gesture brought about the momentous turning point in the author's life. Impressed by Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's mastery of Arabic as demonstrated in his *Maqāmāt*, the imam, brought the work to the attention of the Emir of Ilorin, pointing out its important contribution to the Arabic language. The Emir subsequently organized a panel of local Arabic professors to assess the work. Having passed muster with the panel, Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān was invited to the Emir's palace for an official ceremony feting the author for the publication of his *Maqāmāt*. Attended by eminent scholars and dignitaries across Nigeria, Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's *Maqāmāt* received approbation by the local authorities for promoting the reputation of Ilorin and thus bringing honor upon the community at large.

As the account above of the public celebration of Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's publication of his *Ilūriyya* indicates, the *maqāma* was more than just a literary genre; it was a social event embedded in social structures of power and authority. It imparted prestige to its author and pride to its community. Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's *Maqāmāt* likewise presented an opportunity for the Emir of Ilorin to promote Ilorin's ranking within the Yorubaland regional hierarchies of Arabo-Islamic scholarship. As a consequence, the work set off a debate regarding "Ilorin's supremacy" among the ranks of Yorubaland's Muslim clergy, particularly in relation to its regional competitor, Ibadan. The debate rages on today.

10 See the introduction for more on Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's Makondoro background. This is the general view on this group of people by some and it has been recently countered by the realities and researches on them, prominent among which is: Uthman Idrees Kankawī, "Al-Intajāṭ al-'Arabiyya ladā Zumrat al-Mu'minīn fī Nayjiriyyā: Dirāsa taḥlīliyya" (Doctoral thesis, Ilorin [Nigeria], University of Ilorin, 2012). For further details about Makondoro's trajectories of teaching and learning strategies see Rasheed Ajani Raji, "The Makondoro Muslims of Nigeria: Continuity Through Learning Strategies," *Journal, Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 11, no. 1 (1990): 153–163. For the meaning of the name as persons with clean-shaven heads, see Rüdiger Seesemann, "Ilm and Adab Revisited: Knowledge Transmission and Character Formation in Islamic Africa," in *The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth*, ed. Micheal Kemper and Ralf Elger (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 20.

The success of his *Maqāmāt* had a seminal impact on Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān's life. Whereas he previously had largely been unrecognized for his literary accomplishments, he now was in the public eye as a leading author of the most prestigious Arabic literary product in Muslim Yoruba society. He was additionally granted a large sum of money during the Emir's public celebration, which, to use his own words, "warded off his poverty."¹¹ The *Maqāmāt* thus not only brought Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān fame but also fortune. I explore further here how *maqāma*, as a socio-literary phenomenon, shapes the lives of its Nigerian authors in multifaceted ways, whether it be economically, culturally, or socially.

2 Generating Friends and Foes

What does it mean for the *maqāmāt* to generate friends and foes? Since the beginning of 21st century, the *maqāmāt* has become a cultural vehicle or tool used to express "belonging" and "difference." It allows authors to convey and extend "self-representation" to their immediate scholarly environment and establish connections with others. Demonstrating one's literary talent by writing a *maqāma* collection is one route to popularity and public recognition. Authors are often known better for their *maqāmāt* than for their other works. Indeed, the *maqāma* become the primary work by which they are identified. This parallels the prestige accorded to those who master and teach the *maqāmāt* without having composed one. The *maqāma* serves as a means used for acquiring economic security, in addition to its other social benefits that comes with the prestige accorded *maqāma* authors.¹² The cases of Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān, Barihi Adetunji (b. 1948), author of the *Kiswa*, and Ajegunle, another writer brought into the public eye by his *maqāma*, are similar in this respect. It should be pointed out that the charisma of the *maqāma* in Yorubaland is not an isolated situation in the Islamicate world. Because of the immense popularity of the genre, the *maqāmāt* have been the major source of literary prestige for pre-modern authors from different corners of the Arabic world. Similar to these modern Nigerian authors, al-Ḥarīrī's fame rests primarily on his *maqāmāt* rather than his other literary output, just as Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790),¹³

11 Interview with Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān on March 2018.

12 cf. Melanie Wallendorf and Eric J. Arnould, "My Favorite Things': A Cross-Cultural Inquiry into Object Attachment, Possessiveness and Social Linkage," *The Journal of Consumer Research* 14, no. 4 (1988): 531–547.

13 Al-Zabīdī's *Tāj al-Arūs* is one of the most comprehensive Arabic lexicons, for more on him,

a classical Islamic author who is known primarily for his *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, the encyclopedic lexicon, rather than for his other works, not only in the Arab world but also in West Africa.¹⁴ Furthermore, it would be apt to consider the *maqāma*'s development in Nigerian society in the context of the great prestige given to literacy in the Arabic and Islamic sciences in West Africa, as Ousmane Kane observed.¹⁵

As discussed in the previous chapter, the socio-educational status conceded to the *maqāma* since its invention persists in society and affects both the newer *maqāma* works and the personalities involved. It sometimes brings the realization of authors' aspirations. For example, the first two episodes written by Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān were shown to some scholars in the town, who wrongly accused him of plagiarizing classical *maqāma* works. This derogatory reaction was due to the established conviction regarding the inimitability of *maqāma* genre (see Chapter 2). He then added eight more *maqāmas*, making the entire work consist of a total of ten episodes.¹⁶ These became the first edition of his *Ilūrīyya*.¹⁷ Consequently, acceptance and rejection from people resulted in the author's gaining both friends and enemies in society. The friendship and enmity gained as a result of the public announcement ceremony of the *Ilūrīyya* significantly influenced the author's life, shaping his experiences and opening new paths.

see Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–1791): Life, Networks and Writings* (Cambridge, U.K.: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009).

- 14 Muḥsin Jāsim al-Mūsawī, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 159–160.
- 15 Ousmane Oumar Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu: An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 64.
- 16 By increasing the number of *maqāmas* from two to ten, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān was actually following the practice of al-Ḥarīrī, the foremost model for Nigerian authors, who had first written an initial forty *maqāmāt* and then later was prompted to make it fifty when he was put to the test. Although it is not the case for many other *maqāma* works, that “fifty” is later canonized in *maqāma* tradition, especially in relation to the emulators of al-Ḥarīrī, is interesting. See Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, *Diskurse Der Arabistik*, Bd. 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 148–150. For full account of al-Ḥarīrī's encounter with his earlier critics, see Pierre MacKay, “Certificates of Transmission on a Manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī (ms. Cairo, Adab 105),” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 61, no. 4 (1971): 1–81.
- 17 Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān has republished his *Ilūrīyya* many times with every edition having more episodes or chapters added. Its latest (sixth) edition, published in 2017, comprises fifty episodes. He is presently preparing another edition as the copies of the latest edition have been sold out. When I asked him whether we should expect additional episodes, he said he would like to stick to fifty because classical *maqāma* scholars (especially al-Ḥarīrī) did not exceed fifty in their works.

The authenticity of authorship and claims to Arabic literacy can be contested issues in Nigerian society. For example, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān was accused of plagiarizing classical *maqāma* works by some scholars even before the publication of his *Maqāmāt*. He found himself in the position of having to defend the authenticity of his work before it took its final form and was published. Such accusations arise out of the general perception of the inimitability of the *maqāma*; in the case of Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān, his Makondoro background also played a large role. Because of the intense competition over social prestige accorded *maqāma* authors, they often find themselves under attack by their peers. The object of much criticism by fellow scholars, Barihi Adetunji, author of the *Kiswa* (published in 2017), nevertheless succeeded in earning the respect of the public. Consequently, Adetunji's expertise in questions regarding Arabic and Islam is frequently sought out today.

The envy of one's peers likewise is another factor in having foes. Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān lamented that his works would have been used for teaching across Yorubaland if not for the parochial jealousy of scholars: "They don't consider it good if it is not coming from their quarter," he remarked.¹⁸ Indeed, public attention does not always bring about appreciation from among one's peers.

The two scenarios of Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān and Adetunji narrated above are also applicable to Ajegunle. Like Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān and Adetunji, Ajegunle, the youngest of the four *maqāma* authors, has had to deal with the negative and positive aspects that come with public accolade. Unlike the latter two, Ajegunle was a relatively unknown figure when he published his *maqāma*, the *Yūsufiyya* in 2010.¹⁹ His work was first publicly recognized on account of the initiative of a shaykh, whose identity remains unknown, yet who was the owner of an important Arabic school in Lagos, Nigeria. After perusing the work, intrigued by its title, and likewise baffled by the relative obscurity of its author, the shaykh invited Ajegunle to participate in a dialogue. Indeed, such dialogues are undertaken to confirm the authenticity of the author and the originality of the work, as seen above in the case of Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān. Having passed the dialogue, Ajegunle was invited to a public luncheon organized by the shaykh to celebrate his *maqāma*, which was to be taught in the shaykh's school.

As can be seen from the examples of Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān, Ajegunle, and Adetunji, the lives of those who become distinguished as authors of a *maqāma* have been profoundly altered. Although *maqāma* authorship may put one's life under the spotlight and public scrutiny, it also imparts immense prestige

18 Interview with Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān on March 2018.

19 Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf* (Lagos [Nigeria]: Iswad, 2010).

on one as an author, teacher, and religious authority in Nigerian society. Considered inimitable as a literary genre, the *maqāma* represents the height of literary achievement. Those who succeed in composing a *maqāma* that is publicly tested and acclaimed accrue a myriad of socio-cultural benefits, which are far more important than mere financial compensation. Although coming from diverse backgrounds, the three authors Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān, Ajegunle, and Adetunji have one thing in common: they have all received some form of traditional Arabic education. Does “traditionalism” play a role in how the *maqāma* genre has developed in contemporary Yoruba Nigerian society? Interestingly, it is noteworthy that there is renewed interest in the *maqāma* genre among those with modern background too in recent times, but only one of them has written a *maqāma*, the *Maqāmāt al-Epewī* (see above in the introduction).

3 *Maqāma* Sociability

The *maqāma* does not affect the lives of Nigerian writers alone; the larger Islamosphere of Yoruba society also feels its weight. Two examples can be cited in this regard: the social use of the word *sarūjī*, the epithet of the protagonist of al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt*, and the adoption of the *maqāma* ruses and stratagems in general life. *Sarūjī*, adapted into Yoruba as “*sarujī*,” refers to someone who is smart, clever, or cunning. It is used specifically for “social misbehavior” such as trickery, cunning, or ruse. Hence, the common expressions in Yoruba: *óún lo sàrújí fún mí* (“he is using *sarujī* on me”) which means “he is playing me” or “he is devious.” Its meaning derives from the fictional *maqāma* protagonist, Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī, known for his tricks, ruses, picaresque manipulations and acts of extortion in the *Ḥarīriyya*. The word *sarujī* in the Yoruba context can be used both as a verb to describe any action involving the above-mentioned characteristics and as qualifier for anybody who adopts practices associated with Abū Zayd’s character. One bearer of this epithet in Yorubaland, who prefers to be anonymous, confirmed to me that he was nicknamed so because whenever he faced challenging tasks, he always knew how to go about them. As a word adapted to the Yoruba language, it has become naturalized, and its meaning has gradually changed. Initially, it was used pejoratively, but nowadays, it can also mean cleverness and intuitiveness in a positive way.

Connected to the *sarujī* concept is *jalabī* which in Yoruba society likewise is a term that derives from stratagems found in *maqāma* literature. Derived from the Arabic root, *jalaba*, meaning to pull, draw, fetch, or obtain, *jalb* (adapted as *jalabī* in native tongue) refers to the general Muslim clerical practice of spiritual consultation and other socio-religious services. Whenever one has spiritual and

social problems, people seek the assistance of ulama who make a living by practicing *jalabi*. This is common among, but not limited to, the traditional ulama of Yorubaland, although it has counterparts in other West African regions.²⁰ Since the inception of Islam in the region, proselytization went hand-in-hand with scholars rendering spiritual assistance to the local people.²¹ This activity developed over time into a strong religious and spiritual practice and became a career for people who mastered Arabic and Islamic doctrine. Some families and many groups of scholars became exclusively known for their proselytizing activities.²² Sufism also played a major role in the standardization and institutionalization of this practice.²³

Jalabi has become part and parcel of Islam in the region, and it continues today in modified ways. Recent development and the employment of many stratagems in relation to *jalabi* practice, such as new ways to extract funds from the public in social functions, make it indebted to the picaresque and begging

20 Rendering spiritual assistance to people is one of the initial ways through which Islam gained prominence in the region of West Africa and this trend continues until today in West African societies. For more, see Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu*, 60–74; Benjamin Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy: History and Authority in a Malian Town*, International African Libraries (Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 127–180; David Owusu-Ansah, “Prayers, Amulets, and Healing,” in *The History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000), 477–488; Patrick J. Ryan, *Imale: Yoruba Participation in the Muslim Tradition: A Study of Clerical Piety*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion, no. 11 (Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1977), 1–60.

21 Cf. al-Bakrī’s (404/1014–487/1094) account of how a scholar was able to convert a king to Islam after rendering spiritual assistance to stop a drought in the latter’s land, see Abū ‘Ubayd ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bakrī, “Al-Bakrī,” in *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, ed. and trans. Nehemia Levtzion and John F.P. Hopkins, *Fontes Historiae Africanae* (Sources of African History), IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 62–87. The rulers will later have roles to play too in the development of Arabic scholarship as will be shown below in the case of *maqāma* in Yorubaland.

22 See for instance: John Ralph Willis, “The Torodbe Clerisy: A Social View,” *Journal of African History* 19, no. 2 (1978): 195–212; Lamin O. Sanneh, “Futa Jallon and the Jakhanke Clerical Tradition. Part 1: The Historical Setting,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 12, no. 1 (1981): 38–64. Cf. also: Roy Dille, *Islamic and Caste Knowledge Practices among Haalpulaaren in Senegal: Between Mosque and Termite Mound*, International African Libraries (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

23 Cf. Kane’s analysis of the prayer economy and clerical services, particularly his Chapter Three: Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu*, 60–74. For more on how this practice works all over West Africa, see Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy*, 153–180; Rüdiger Seesemann, “Embodied Knowledge and ‘The Walking Qur’an’: Lessons for the Study of Islam and Africa,” *Journal of African Religion* 3, no. 2 (2015): 201–209; Rudolph Ware, *The Walking Qur’an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 77–109; Zachary V. Wright, *Living Knowledge in West African Islam: The Sufi Community of Ibrāhīm Niasse*, *Islam in Africa* 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2015). For a background study of the practice in Yorubaland, see Ryan, *Imale*, 99–140.

behavior of *maqāma* protagonists. It is the common belief that anybody who learns and understands the ruses and stratagems devised by Abū Zayd in the *Ḥarīriyya* can apply them accordingly in society and solicit money from people. Thus, *saruji* in its Yoruba social usage, as explained above, plays a major role in this.

The *jalabi* activities transcend spiritual space to mundane issues in public functions, especially at public ceremonies where *jalabi* practitioners act as officiating men, and the prayer economy of Yorubaland, Nigeria, and invariably the whole of West Africa²⁴ paved the way for the survival of this kind of practice. One of the common roles of the ulama in the public space of contemporary Yorubaland is officiating at public functions and socio-religious ceremonies. These ceremonies can be of any type, such as a *nikāh* (wedding feast), *walīmat al-Qurʾān* (feast organized when someone completes learning how to read Qurʾān), *ʿaqīqa* (naming ceremony of a newborn held seven days after birth), or a graduation ceremony. Most of these ceremonies involve the ulama soliciting donations from attendees, either as unofficial wages for religious services rendered or as a voluntary donation and gift. This sometimes requires those officiating these gatherings to convince the unwilling to contribute. Some of the ulama earn their livelihood through this as well, since most of those who engage in teaching receive inadequate compensation.²⁵ Success in convincing others to part with their money at these public functions requires clever and eloquent verbal strategies. Abū Zayd, the master eloquent trickster and the protagonist of the *Ḥarīriyya*, is the source for such strategies.

Saruji cum *jalabi* activities build upon the *maqāma* trickery in which the ways of the Abū Zayd are widely employed for manipulation and solicitation of funds from the Muslim populace. In fact, those with a thorough knowledge of the *maqāma* who engage in public officiating function are confident that they can succeed in extracting funds out of the stingiest person, the same way that Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī gets money out of the stingiest judge, with stratagems and trickery.²⁶ Another *maqāma*-influenced kind of *jalabi* is the recent phe-

24 Cf. Sakariyau Alabi Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning in Modern Ilq̄rin: A History of Islamic Education, 1897–2012" (Doctoral thesis, Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 2015), 187. For more on the concept of prayer economy see Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy*, 153–180.

25 Aliyu, "Transmission of Learning," 190–191.

26 In the *Ḥarīriyya*'s *al-Maqāma al-Maʿarīyya* (no. 8) Abū Zayd visits the judge of Maʿarra, who is known to be stingy. Together with his son, he is able to extort money from the stingy judge with the ruse of seeking verdict over a damaged needle, see Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarūjī*, ed. Michael Cooperson (New York: New York University Press, 2020), 37–40. For the translation, see Thomas Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri: Translated from the Arabic, with an Introduction, and Notes Historical and Grammatical*, ed. F.J. Steingass

nomenon of what can be referred to as “fake *jalabi*,” when someone disguises himself as an Islamic cleric and dupes people by using trickery employed in the *maqāma*. Although these fake clerics are usually known and identified by people as an *alfa* (a scholar, cleric) on account of their appearance in disguise, this has given a bad image to the ulama circle in Yorubaland. This practice is not condoned by established scholars. Finally, not all uses of *saruji* and *jalabi* practices are pejorative, and not everyone uses *maqāma* stratagems for his own gain. Many have been inspired by the *maqāma* purely for the beauty and eloquence of its Arabic, a rhetorical exemplar for public speaking and oration.

4 Patronage and Propaganda

Elite patronage has shaped the development of the *maqāma*, and other literary works composed by Arabo-Islamic scholars in West African Yorubaland. Royal patronage of Muslim scholars in return for spiritual benefits during the pre-colonial and colonial periods of Nigeria was instrumental in the Islamization of the region and was a major factor behind adopting Arabic as a literary language. Since precolonial rulers relied upon religious scholars to implement Islamic law in their realm, the scholar-ruler relationship became deeply entrenched in Yorubaland.²⁷ Some pre-colonial and colonial period rulers even composed Arabic works in addition to propagating and publicizing Arabic scholarship, especially the locally written Arabic and Islamic works. In Yorubaland today, members of the traditional elite continue to play significant roles in determining how Islam and other religions are practiced, studied, and propagated via scholarship.²⁸

Let us consider two examples of royal patronage contribution from Ilorin and Ibadan, the two most important cities of Yorubaland in the context of the Arabo-Islamic scholarly tradition. Ilorin and Ibadan are the two central sites for

and F. Arbuthnot, vol. 1, 2 vols., Oriental Translation Fund: New Series (Williams and Norgate, 1867), 145–151. See also the new translation by Michael Cooperson: Ḥarīrī, Michael Cooperson, and Abdelfattah Kilito, *Impostures*, Library of Arabic Literature (New York: New York University Press, 2020), 69–73.

27 Lateef Mobolaji Adetona, “Religious Models for Peace and War in a Heterogeneous Society: A Case Study of the Sharia Law Model in Yorubaland,” in *Islam in Africa South of the Sahara: Essays in Gender Relations and Political Reform*, ed. Pade Badru and Brigid M. Sackey (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2013), 314–315.

28 Cf. J.D.Y. Peel, *Christianity, Islam and Oriṣa-Religion: Three Traditions in Comparison and Interaction*, The Anthropology of Christianity 18 (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016), 116–118.

the production and dissemination of the Nigerian Arabic *maqāma*. Perhaps the influence of rulers in the formation of Arabic-Islamic scholarship in Yorubaland is most prominent in Ilorin, where the Emir's role within the scholarly setting is paramount. Ilorin, a city that came to prominence from the beginning of the 18th century, is regarded as the Arabo-Islamic intellectual capital of Yorubaland for its vibrant scholarly culture and for its paramount role in the Islamization of much of Yorubaland.²⁹ By 1830, Ilorin had become a frontier emirate annexed to the Gwandu province of the Sokoto Islamic state (1804–1903). It was ruled by the Emirs who headed what has been variously described as an “Islamic aristocracy” before and during the colonial era.³⁰ Today the Emirs of Ilorin, like their counterparts in other cities across Nigeria, remain the traditional heads of their regions, which were independent of the centralized system of the Sokoto.

The Ilorin ruling class is known for using Arabic-Islamic scholarly activities as political tool to keep their hold on the emirateship and maintain their socio-political authority among the people.³¹ As important members of the

29 For more on the role of Ilorin in the Islamization of Yorubaland and West Africa in general, see Amidu Olalekan Sanni, “The Story of an Autochthonous Scholarly Network: Ilorin and the Making of Modern Ulama in Nigeria” (3rd Annual Public Lecture of the Centre for Ilorin Studies (CILS) of the University of Ilorin, Ilorin [Nigeria], 2015); Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin (Nigeria) seit ca. 1800* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1998), 171–177; Stefan Reichmuth, “A Regional Centre of Islamic Learning in Nigeria: Ilorin and Its Influence on Yoruba Islam,” in *Madrasa: La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulman*, ed. Nicole Grandin and Marc Gaborieau (Paris: Éditions Arguments, 1997), 229–245. For Ilorin's particular role in the development of Arabo-Islamic scholarship in Yorubaland see Fatai O. Jamiu, “Contributions of Ilorin Scholars to Arabic and Islamic Studies in Yorubaland: Focus on Shaykh Ādam Abdullah al-Iluri,” *African Journal of Culture and History* 6, no. 8 (2014); Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre, “The Leading Roles of Ilorin in Arabic Scholarship in Nigeria,” in *Ilorin: Centre of Learning*, ed. S. Ahmed-Jimoh (Ilorin [Nigeria]: Unilorin Press, 2006), 99–116; Ajetunmobi, “Islamic Scholars of Ilorin and Their Place in Yorubaland.” For the Ilorin scholars and their specific scholarly and socio-religious contributions see Mashood Mahmood Muhammad Jimba and Ismail Salihu Otukoko, *‘Ulamā’ al-Imāra (Scholars of the Emirate)*, vol. 1 (Malete [Nigeria]: Center for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture, Kwara State University, 2015); John O. Hunwick, ed., *Arabic Literature of Africa, Volume 2: The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 439–492.

30 Hakeem Olumide Akanni Danmole, “The Frontier Emirate: A History of Islam in Ilorin” (Doctoral diss., Birmingham, University of Birmingham, 1980), 51–56.

31 Aliyu, “Transmission of Learning,” 255. See also: Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 50; Adeyinka O. Banwo, “The 19th Century Ilorin Wars and the Growth of Islam in Yorubaland: A Re-Assessment,” *Hamdard Islamicus* 18, no. 1 (1995): 86; Ann O'Hear, “The Economic History of Ilorin in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: The Rise and Decline of a Middlemen Society” (Doctoral thesis, Birmingham, University of Birmingham, 1983), 67.



FIGURE 7
Program of Event at the Book Launch ceremony of the sixth edition of *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī* in 2017

local aristocracy, scholars served as important links between the rulers and the ruled. The Emirs exerted their influence on the populace through scholars, whose authority via Islamic scholarship shored up the political ideology of the rulers. The Emirs supported the activities of the scholars not only as a strategy of mutual support, but also because the scholars were an integral part of the aristocracy. Since the Emirs relied on the scholars for their counsel in making decisions on state affairs, the scholars were influential at the upper echelons of power in the emirate. A common saying in Yoruba reflects the intimate relationship between the Emirs and scholars: *alfa ni baba ọba*, “scholars are the fathers of the king.”³² In some circumstances, this can also grant them authority over the kings. Although they no longer hold the same political power as in the past in post-independence Nigeria, the Emirs of Ilorin continue to exert social influence largely due to their traditional role in society upheld by the religious authority of the scholars.³³ Most Arabic works which have gained prominence

32 For more on how this concept plays out, see Aliyu, “Transmission of Learning,” 258–259. See also: Abdul-Rasheed Na’Allah, *Africanity, Islamicity, and Performativity: Identity in the House of Ilorin*, Bayreuth African Studies Series 88 (Eckersdorf: Thielmann & Breiting, 2009).

33 G.C. Sokoh, “An Historical Analysis of the Changing Role of Traditional Rulers In Governance In Nigeria,” *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 23, no. 1 (2018): 53–57; Olatunji John Omotoso, “Traditional Rulers and Contemporary Political Development

since the turn of the last century in Ilorin thrive in one way or another through patronage in the form of the generosity and support of the Emir. The Emir's support usually culminated in an "official" public announcement of a work, or what could be regarded as an inaugural celebration, organized by the emirate council. In fact, these ceremonies, or *tadshin* (lit. inauguration, launching), are generally held in the Emir's palace, with dignitaries from across the country in attendance.³⁴

Arabic works received similar support in Ibadan from the home king. As in Ilorin, Arabic composition remains embedded in the socio-religious and political structures of society. However, the use of Arabic in the city of Ibadan is more flexible, with a wide variety of genres ranging from works of religious worship, scholarship, learned treatises, and administrative documents.³⁵ Indeed, Arabic has been entrenched in the administration of Ibadan rulers since the city came into prominence in Yorubaland during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, almost the same time when Ilorin arose as a renowned center of Arabic and Islamic scholarship. This is partly because Arabic was the only written language in Ibadan and most of the Yorubaland during the pre-colonial era. As a result, the Arabic script was adopted for the local languages, including Yoruba.³⁶ Likewise, the chancery archives of the Ibadan kings contain many administrative

in Yorubaland: 1960–1983," *Sumerianz Journal of Social Science* 1, no. 3 (2018): 73–75. For more on traditionally related issues of authority and relevance in the Nigerian Society, see O.M. Laleye and Victor Ayeni, "On the Politics of Traditional Rulership," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 6, no. 4 (1993): 555–571; Cyrus Reed, *The Role of Traditional Rulers in Elective Politics in Nigeria* (Indiana: Africa Studies Program Indiana University, 1982).

34 Cf. for instance a similar celebration in recent time: <https://thenationalpilot.ng/2019/12/09/sultan-emir-sanusi-shagaya-others-grace-jimbab-book-launch-in-ilorin/> (accessed on November 13, 2021).

35 Isaac Adejoju Ogunbiyi and Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Papers from the Olubadan Chancery 11: Toying with the Caliphate," *Sudanic Africa* 9 (1998): 110–112. For more on the penetration and use of Arabic in Ibadan, see Mufutau Oloyede Abdul-Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study of Arabic Poetry in Ibadan (1876–1976)" (Doctoral thesis, Ibadan [Nigeria], University of Ibadan, 1989), 34–69; M. Oloyede Abdul-Rahmon, "A Study of the Historical Background of the Growth of Islam and Arabic Scholarship in Ibadan," *Al-Fikr: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 8 (1987): 56–67.

36 Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "New Knowledge, Old Medium: The Yoruba *Ajami* of Southwestern Nigeria in the Factory of Learning" (Boston, 2017); Isaac Adejoju Ogunbiyi, "The Search for a Yoruba Orthography since the 1840s: Obstacles to the Choice of the Arabic Script," *Sudanic Africa: A Journal of Historical Sources* 14 (2003): 81–82. John Hunwick has uncovered Arabic correspondence between scholars within and outside Yorubaland dating back to early 19th century, see John O. Hunwick, "The Influence of Arabic in West Africa: A Preliminary Historical Survey," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 7 (1964): 36.

accounts and much correspondence in Arabic.³⁷ The reciprocal relationship between rulers and scholars facilitated the development of Arabic. Since rulers themselves were often not very literate in Arabic, they relied on the scholarly class.

Many of Ibadan's rulers converted to Islam and patronized Arabo-Islamic scholarship. One important example is Muhammad Latosisa, who reigned as *Aare Ona Kakanfo*, generalissimo of Yorubaland and the paramount ruler of Ibadan, 1871–1885. After converting to Islam, he made a name for himself as a patron of Arabic Muslim learning.³⁸ Patronage was not limited to the production of literary works but also involved royal support of a variety of religious activities. The symbiotic relationship between scholars and rulers intensified in the late 19th century, when large numbers of scholars were given official appointments by Ibadan rulers and high-ranking bureaucrats. With increasing numbers of Muslims entering the Ibadan military, the demand for religious functionaries also increased.³⁹

Today, the patronage of Arabic-Islamic scholarship is greatly limited. In addition to the traditional rulers who support Arabic scholarship for socio-religious reasons, most patronage is undertaken via personal connections between scholars and the general public. Accordingly, familial, political, and religio-spiritual affiliations play a major role in determining these relationships. Philanthropists also sponsor the production of Arabic works. Philanthropic patronage often has religious motivations behind it, but there can also be socio-political motives.⁴⁰ Evidence indicates that for Arabic works to gain recogni-

37 Some of those Arabic papers, including reports, history, and correspondences between rulers, have been studied by: Ogunbiyi and Reichmuth, "Arabic Papers from the Olubadan Chancery II," 136–161; Isaac Adejoju Ogunbiyi and Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Papers from the Olubadan Chancery I: A Rebellion of the Ibadan Chieftains or, at the Origins of Yoruba Arabic Prose," *Sudanic Africa* 8 (1997): 109–135. From their account of the text, citing the scribe to the King (the first Olubadan Abbas Aleshinloye reigned 1930–1946) Muhammad Salah al-Din the son of Alfa Oke Koto, that he has been writing for the king since his youth, we can deduce that some writings must have been lost, see page 112 of the first cited article.

38 Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "Oriental Pearls from Southern Nigeria—Arabic Scholarship in Yorubaland: A Case Study in Acculturation," *Islamic Studies* 34, no. 4 (1995): 437.

39 M. Oloyede Abdul-Rahmon, "Of 'Illiterate' Scholars and National Development: The Arabic Webs in Yoruba Looms" (Inaugural Lecture, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria., 2012), 13.

40 Muslim philanthropist activities in Yorubaland are multifaceted and has also been used in recent time for various political motivations, for more on Muslim philanthropy in Muslim majority countries see Samiul Hasan, "Muslim Philanthropy: Praxis and Human Security Across Muslim Majority Countries," in *Human Security and Philanthropy*, ed. Samiul Hasan (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2015), 117–144. see also: Miriam R. Lowi, "Char-

tion in contemporary Nigerian Yoruba society, they need administrative micro-political support. The works of authors backed by some kinds of patronage were more successful than works by those who lacked such “official” support. One salient example is Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān’s *Ilūriyya*, which continues to be one of the most popular indigenous Arabic literary works in Nigeria today.

There are also socio-political factors to its popularity. Having been informed of the importance of the *Ilūriyya* by scholars, the Emir of Ilorin, Alhaji Ibrahim Kolapo Sulu-Gambari (b. 1944, 11th Emir of Ilorin since 1995), proclaimed that every Arabic school in Ilorin should include the *Ilūriyya* on their curriculum. The already mentioned public ceremony organized by the Emir contributed immensely to the work’s popularization too. The same applies to Adetunji’s *Kiswa*, which was also publicly announced in a well-attended ceremony with the Olubadan (the King of Ibadanland), Oba Saliu Akanmu Adetunji (1928–2022; reigned as the 41st Olubadan 2016–2022), and his chiefs in attendance. The *Ilūriyya* and the *Kiswa* are to date the most widely distributed of the four *maqāmas* surveyed in this study.

The Emir of Ilorin’s directive that the *maqāma* should be adopted as instructional material should not be taken at face value, as adherence was a matter of choice, and the order may not have been taken seriously by all. Indeed, ever since the adoption of democracy in Nigeria, the Emir of Ilorin’s role has been largely symbolic in the political field; one could say that traditional rulers have been reduced to political redundancy.⁴¹ Today, the authority of kings and emirs derives solely from public sentiment and nostalgia for the immense prestige and respect that they commanded in the past. The lack of official state patronage for Arabic schools is also responsible for weakening this socio-political traditional order, since Arabic schools in Ilorin and elsewhere in Yorubaland are privately run and do not follow an enforced uniform curriculum. This is not to say that the Nigerian *maqāmāt* are not taught in most of the schools in Ilorin. As explained in Chapter Two, they were taught in their respective domains and beyond.

Aside from the success of the *maqāma* works in Nigeria due to the intervention of dignitaries and political figures, the *maqāma* has had a socio-political function beyond political propaganda. It was equally deployed for socio-political critique and as a tool to canvass for a political role of the author. The only work that combines both is Ajegunle’s *Yūsufiyya*. In *al-Maqāma al-Nayjiriyya*

ity as Politics ‘Writ Small’ in Gulf Petro-Monarchies,” *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy & Civil Society* 3, no. 2 (2019): 26–59. For particular Nigerian case, see Usman Jimoh Muhammad, “The Efficacy of Islamic Philanthropy in Redressing the Intricacies of Economic Recession in Nigeria,” *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 16, no. 6 (2019): 1–11.

41 Sokoh, “An Historical Analysis of the Changing Role of Traditional Rulers,” 57–60.

(no. 29), the protagonist laments the appalling attitude of the Nigerian police and provides a critique of the political situation of the country. Likewise, the *Oyowíyya* is composed not only to eulogize Alaafin (the King of Oyo) but also as a way for the author to lobby for the position of imam, a position that he later successfully attained (see the appendix for the text and translation of both *maqāmas*).

In a gesture of appreciation for the support he received from dignitaries who contributed to the reception and popularization of his *Ilūriyya*, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān devoted some *maqāmas* to a number of them as eulogies in the later editions (particularly the fifth and sixth ones) of his work.⁴² The *Kiswa* not only follows suit but is dedicated as a whole to the Olubadan.⁴³ This has given the author of the *Kiswa* the opportunity to have access to politicians, some of whom attended the luncheon that contributed to his recognition both as an esteemed author and as a reputable Islamic scholar.

In Yorubaland the *maqāma* is unique as an Arabic literary genre in its intimate relationship with elite patronage, a phenomenon which, I argue, is connected to the prestige it has garnered over the ages. The Emir and other dignitaries take every opportunity to celebrate and popularize the *maqāma* as a way to promote their cities as centers of vibrant Arabic-Islamic scholarship. The perception of Ilorin as a “pioneer” in every aspect of scholarship in the Arabic-Islamic sphere of Yorubaland still prevails, and its socio-political stakeholders, such as scholars and dignitaries, are anxious to maintain this status. Cities in Yorubaland compete with one another over their status vis-à-vis Arabic and Arabic literature, written and orally, with Ilorin taking center stage. Religion, literature, and the local traditional politics are deeply entangled in Yorubaland, especially within the Muslim community.⁴⁴

The use of literary works as politico-religious propaganda is not a new phenomenon, neither in West Africa nor in other places; nor is it peculiar to *maqāma* or other Arabic works in Yorubaland.⁴⁵ Raymond Lebègue shows how theater and literary works were used as politico-religious propaganda in 16th century France.⁴⁶ Similarly, Lord Raglan points to the ways in which works

42 His *al-Maqāma al-Imāmiyya* (no. 7) and *al-Maqāma al-Malawíyya* (no. 8) are, for instance, named after two imams from Ilorin. See Muḥammad al-Awwal b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 6th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Quds, 2017), 30–33.

43 Barihi Adetunji, *Kiswat al-‘ārī fī maqāmāt ‘Abd al-Bārī* (Ibadan [Nigeria]: Baydakh Publishing and Media Hub, 2017), 3.

44 For more on the sociopolitical role of the ulama in West Africa, see Nehemia Levtzion, *Islam in West Africa: Religion, Society and Politics to 1800*. (S.L.: Routledge, 2018), 95–107.

45 For a general theory on literature and propaganda, see A.P. Foulkes, *Literature and Propaganda* (London: Routledge, 2013).

46 Raymond Lebègue, “Théâtre et Politique Religieuse En France Au xv^e Siècle,” in *Culture*

of art were used as politico-religious propaganda in Roman, Greek, Serbian, and Russian literary spheres through the conceptions of hero.⁴⁷ Sara Kuehn also mentions how “revenge miniatures” were used for political and religious propaganda in Byzantium.⁴⁸ Just as politics and scholarship were inseparable in premodern times, Arabic literature continues to be used for various political purposes in contemporary Nigeria. Since the 19th century, Nigerians have directed scholarly endeavors towards such questions as political sensitization and national discourse. Previously, during the Kanem-Borno and Sokoto eras, Arabic poetry was composed for diplomatic relations.⁴⁹ Poetry continues to be used to this day as a medium for discussing politics as well as for political campaigning.⁵⁰ The *maqāma*’s role in Yoruba Nigerian public space as a medium for debating various local socio-religious and political issues reflects this ongoing tradition.

5 The Political Economy of the *maqāma*: Publishing and Marketing Strategies

The economy shapes many facets of the public sphere, including how literary works are received by the reading public. Doris Behrens-Abouseif has shown the economic dimensions of knowledge production in Mamluk Egypt and Syria.⁵¹ Likewise economic value is a factor in the general acceptance and reception of Arabic-Islamic works in Nigeria and Yoruba society. Indeed, virtu-

et Politique En France à l'époque de l'humanisme et de La Renaissance, ed. Franco Simone (Torino: Atti del convegno internazionale promosso dall'Accademia delle scienze, 1974), 427–437.

47 Lord Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2003), 114–116.

48 Sara Kuehn, *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, v. 86 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 207.

49 Hunwick, “The Influence of Arabic in West Africa,” 27.

50 Examples of this in the case of Yorubaland can be found in: Salih Muhammad Jum’a Alaso, “al-Shakwā min fasād ḥukūma Nayjīriyā fī shī’r Dā’ūd Adekilekun: ‘Arḍ wa-dirāsa naqdiyya,” *Journal of the Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 20 (2017): 102–122; Sa’id Abdul Aziz al-Imam, “Waqfa ma’ tanbīh al-ḥukkām ‘alā l-mas’ūliyya fī al-shī’r al-‘Arabī al-Nayjīrī: Qaṣīda ‘Khaffif al-waṭ’ yā ma’ālī l-Wazīr’ li Isā Alabi Abubakre namūdhajā,” in *Arabic and National Security*, ed. Mashood Mahmood Muhammad Jimba, vol. 1 (Ilorin: ASALLIN, 2016), 16–24.

51 For this, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517): Scribes, Libraries and Market*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, volume 162 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 71–86.

ally all aspects of Arabic scholarly and cultural issues in Yoruba society today are embedded in the economy, since the market shapes how educational and scholarly activities are carried out, as well as how knowledge is produced, disseminated, and consumed. This section explores the political economy of Arabic-Islamic knowledge production in Yoruba society, a topic that has not received much attention to date.

Largely because of the prestige attached to it, the *maqāma* has great potential to improve a Yoruba writer's standard of living. Booksellers, marketers, and printers also benefit economically from the *maqāma*'s circulation. The *maqāma* has been commodified in a way that puts it on par with prestigious religious texts. Although not on the same level with the Qur'ān, the principal religious text, or the hadith, both of which are authoritative religious references, the *maqāma* has been able to attain a quasi-sacred position, which has led to its economic clout as well. The *maqāma*'s prestige and socio-economic value do not override the duo of Qur'ān and hadith in their religious standing, but rather ride on their existing prestige. Ordinarily in Yoruba society, any written Arabic text commands respect, regardless of the content. Unlike ordinary written texts which are treated with levity in some contexts, the non-native Arabic society of Yorubaland holds sheets inscribed with Arabic words in high esteem, reveres them as a religious text, and accords them the respect a typical Qur'ānic sheet would ordinarily command. A use of paper potentially with Arabic script for wrapping foodstuff is therefore not likely in Yoruba-Nigerian society.⁵² The societal context of reverence for Arabic work plays an important

52 Cf. the case of the Mamluk period where paper taken from Arabic texts were used to wrap foodstuff and nowadays, newspapers are also commonly used to wrap foodstuffs, e.g., falafel. For more see Behrens-Abouseif, 12. For more on reverence given to Arabic-Islamic texts in the precolonial Nigeria of which the present situation is reminiscent of, see Murray Last, "The Book in the Sokoto Caliphate," in *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, ed. Shamil Jeppie and Souleymane Bachir Diagne (Cape Town: HSRC in association with CODESRIA, 2008), 148. See also: Murray Last, "The Book and the Nature of Knowledge in Muslim Northern Nigeria, 1457–2007," in *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, ed. Graziano Krätli and Ghislaine Lydon, Libraries of the Written World 8, The Manuscript World 3 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 175–212; Shamil Jeppie, "Making Book History in Timbuktu," in *The Book in Africa: Critical Debates*, ed. Caroline Davis and David Johnson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 83–102. Papers with other scripts are normally used to wrap any foods and stuffs, see Toyin Omoyeni Falola, *A Mouth Sweeter Than Salt: An African Memoir* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 15. For an example of the current situation of people's attitude towards papers with scripts other than Arabic in Yorubaland, see also: https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=2548429328537841&id=223112554402875 (accessed on September 29, 2021).

role in how classical Arabic *maqāma* are commodified, materialized, produced, processed, and disseminated.

At the outset, the intentions of writers and their socio-economic situation which lead to the production of literary or religious works play a significant role in the commodification. In other words, Arabic works of literary and religious nature are disseminated or produced based on the acts of individuals, often authors. The demand for, and engagement with, a particular Arabic book is therefore determined not by the number of Muslims or scholars in the Yoruba society but by personal and individual circumstances. The Arabic book market in Yorubaland has many actors performing different though interdependent roles.

In Muslim societies such as in Yorubaland, public interest in books can be correlated to public interest in Muslim scholarship.⁵³ In fact, bookselling remains in the economic sphere of the activities of scholars. In many cases, a bookseller may be considered a scholar of Arabic and Islamic knowledge in his own right; likewise, many known scholars combine the roles of bookseller and publisher either as a part-time or full-time engagement. As can be observed in the scholarly setting of Yoruba society, both the *maqāma* and knowledge of the *maqāma* are commodified as objects and thus possess significant value-exchange.⁵⁴ In addition to imparting socio-political and religious recognition and prestige, the *maqāma* is exchanged for money as a commodity on the book market. Thus, this section analyzes the *maqāma* according to the “poli-

53 Cf. the careers of book dealers and publishers in the Mamluk time in: Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517)*, 76–81. See also the career of Ahmad Bula'raf in the West African context in: Shamil Jeppie, “Two Examples of Sahelian Book Collectors Over Two Centuries,” in *Landscapes, Sources and Intellectual Projects of the West African Past: Essays in Honour of Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias*, ed. Toby Green and Benedetta Rossi, African History, volume 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 259–274. For more on the classical Arabic cases of booksellers and scholars, see Beatrice Gruendler, *The Rise of the Arabic Book* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2020).

54 For the concept and contexts of commodification, see Martha M. Ertman and Joan C. Williams, “Preface: Freedom, Equality, and the Many Futures of Commodification,” in *Rethinking Commodification: Cases and Readings in Law and Culture*, ed. Martha M. Ertman and Joan C. Williams, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 1–7; Margaret Jane Radin and Madhavi Sunder, “Introduction: The Subject and Object of Commodification,” in *Rethinking Commodification: Cases and Readings in Law and Culture*, ed. Martha M. Ertman and Joan C. Williams, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 8–29. For a literary and cultural context of the commodification, see Christina Goulding, “The Commodification of the Past, Postmodern Pastiche, and the Search for Authentic Experiences at Contemporary Heritage Attractions,” *European Journal of Marketing* 34, no. 7 (2000): 835–853.

tics of value” in the Yoruba-Nigerian context, examining the ramifications of the *maqāma* as a valued commodity of exchange within different contexts of its appropriation.⁵⁵ Furthermore, this line of inquiry leads to an exploration of the political economy of the *maqāma* that shapes the related “prayer economy” in the Yorubaland.

As has been discussed extensively in previous chapters, the indigenous Arabic *maqāma* in Yorubaland is not merely a literary product. It is also one with significant economic, social, and political facets. This section focuses on marketing books in relation to *maqāma*. The particular political economy of the *maqāma* is entangled in the personal initiatives that authors themselves undertake to distribute their works, which could be described as “self-selling.” This in turn imparts new roles to the authors, who serve not only as knowledge producers but also as its publishers, marketers, distributors, and booksellers, roles which transcend their immediate popularity as scholars. While authors are motivated to take on these multiple roles because of the lack of other options in marketing and distributing their works, it also grants them both economic and cultural control over their work. Thus, I examine in this section how Yoruba authors of the *maqāma* likewise serve as the primary “sellers” of their work. I also consider how the phenomenon of sociability, which has an emotional dimension, shapes the marketing process of Nigerian *maqāmāt* and related Arabic works. Based on the social contexts of marketing, books are bought not for the quality of their contents or even their physical appearance, but because of socio-religious relations and influence.⁵⁶

Printing, publishing, and distributing the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, as well as other Arabic books of Yoruba-Nigerian authorship, including other works by the *maqāma* authors, are mostly handled by the writers themselves. Although, this phenomenon may result in limiting the circulation of a book, it allows one to easily assess the reputation and reception a work may enjoy in contemporary Yoruba society. Information about *maqāmāt* circulate through a variety of ways: public announcements during Islamic lectures or public preaching, posters put up throughout cities, and the authors’ personal and scholarly networks. Through these formal and informal outlets of publicity, these works have been able to gain a wide reception across the country.

55 Radin and Sunder, “Introduction: The Subject and Object of Commodification,” 8–9.

56 For more on sociability of objects in Arabic contexts, see Jocelyn Sharlet, *Patronage and Poetry in the Islamic World: Social Mobility and Status in the Medieval Middle East and Central Asia*, Library of Middle East History 24 (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011); Samer M. Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons in the Islamic Middle Ages: Poetry, Public Performance, and the Presentation of the Past*, Poetics of Orality and Literacy (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

As in the case of *Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān*, the popularity of a *maqāma* brings its author public recognition, and puts its author's other works in the spotlight, even if they had previously been largely ignored by the public. The *maqāma* thus serves as an important marketing tool for increasing the sales of one's books. Ajegunle in contrast presents an interesting case in regard to the difficulties of his marketing his other works despite the wide circulation of his *maqāma*, the *Yūsufiyya*. Even after the *Yūsufiyya* brought him public recognition, attention given to his earlier works—at least ten books composed in various classical Arabic genres—was still not up to his expectations; although people sought to acquire them, the demand for his *Yūsufiyya* overshadowed that of the other books. He then embarked on several initiatives to bring attention to them. He first had posters advertising his books hung throughout Ibadan and neighboring towns. When this strategy did not prove to be terribly effective, he personally travelled to other cities to display and sell his books.

Before I delve more into the marketing process, it would be instructive to discuss the informal paths of publishing Arabic works in Yorubaland as it is currently done. Before the current digital dimensions of printing, earlier practices involved photocopying handwritten manuscripts or typewritten copies produced with manual, and later, electronic Arabic typewriters. The popularization of lithographical printing in the Yoruba society in Nigeria from the middle of 20th century assisted in facilitating and easing the process.⁵⁷ After an author completes a handwritten manuscript, he may take it to a typist who produces a typescript version of the work, which then is ready for the author to proofread. There is no culture of copyediting, professional or amateur, among Arabic authors of the Muslim Yoruba-Nigerian society. Furthermore, few scholars give their manuscripts to colleagues or students to get feedback on content and style. As a result, the likelihood of mistakes is manifold, and at times can result in unintended comical meanings.

When the book manuscript, whether handwritten or typed, is deemed ready, the author takes his work to a printer, who completes the process of lithographing and plating in order to create a book format for final consumption. A publisher may or may not have any knowledge of Arabic. Due to this *ad hoc* nature of the printing process, with no standard procedure, the quality of printed Arabic books may vary widely. Often a typists' inadequate knowledge of Arabic results in typographical errors, and it is common occurrence that the cor-

57 The Arabic printing press first came to Yorubaland in the 1930s. The most prominent and perhaps the first printer was opened in 1936 by Muhammad Bangbola of Abẹokuta, in the present Ogun state of Nigeria under the name "al-Maṭba'a al-Mubāraka." See Hunwick, *ALA II*, 495.

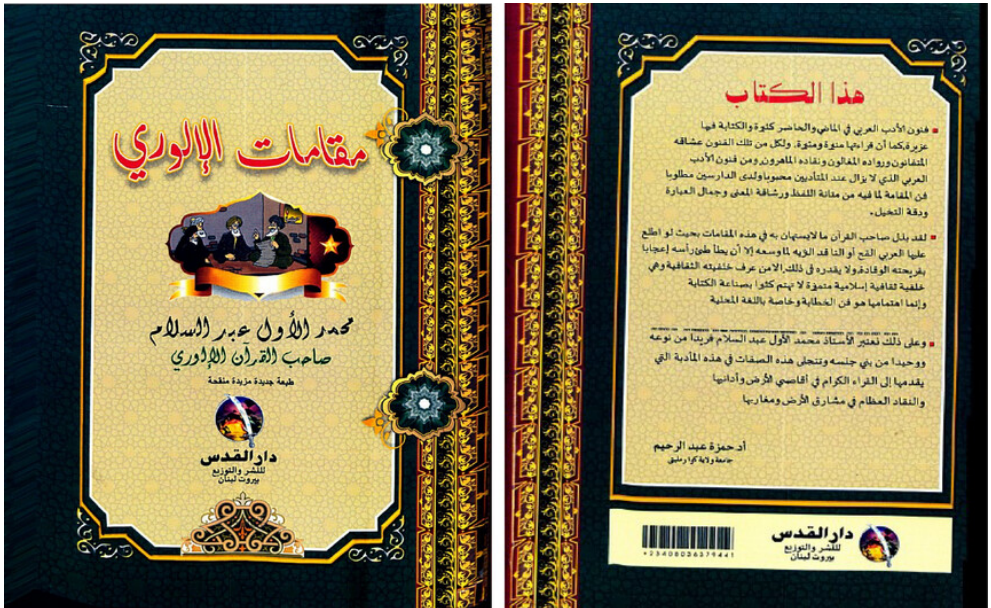


FIGURE 8A Front and back covers of the *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*'s sixth edition, published in Beirut, Lebanon, Dar al-Quds, 2017

rections made by the writers are not wholly adopted upon final publication. Furthermore, the author takes on the publishing costs, not the printer or publisher.

The quality and the quantity of published indigenous *maqāmas* is entirely dependent upon the personal resources of the author; unless the book manuscript is printed abroad, there is no guarantee of quality. Normal printing paper is commonly sixty-five to seventy-five grams while book covers range between eighty-five and a hundred and ten grams. Sizes vary too, but the commonly used one is A5 size, which is between 5.5 by 8 inches. Quarto sizes of between 7–8 by 9–10 inches are frequently used too, mostly for books with more pages. At least between five hundred to two thousand copies are usually produced with the first printing; copies of subsequent reprinting and editions vary between two hundred to two thousand, depending on the demand for the work and its marketability.

The physical make-up of published books is computer based, and most works appear as paperbacks with digitally designed front and back covers. Aside from those printed in Arab countries, covers are usually designed by individuals not literate in Arabic, making them look like any other book and different from the Arabic books with an “oriental look” that are common in the market. However, this may assist the dissemination of the work as it affects



FIGURE 8B Front and back covers of the *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*'s fifth edition, published in Kano, Nigeria, Dār al-Ummah, 2011

its recognition among Muslims, who are conversant with books from the Arab world characterized by a certain “oriental look” and Arabic designs. If *maqāma* authors lack the resources for having their works published abroad, they make great effort to have the cover of their book imitate the designs of books printed abroad in the Arab world. This, of course, can only reflect on the look of the cover and neither the quality of the paper nor the printing layout, which cannot be easily imitated.⁵⁸ As seen in the cover pages in figures 8–10, it is common practice for authors, including the *maqāma* authors discussed here, to place their pictures on the back cover of their works, accompanied with verses, blurbs (*taqrīz*),⁵⁹ lists of their previous books, and short biographies.

58 Adetunji suggested Arab-like designs for his printer when he had his *Kiswa* printed. Personal Communication, Ibadan, April 2017.

59 *Taqrīz* is an old classical Arabic genre, see Nico J.G. Kaptein, “A *Taqrīz* for a Nineteenth Century Indonesian Manuscript,” *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 4, no. 1 (2015): 1–12; Rudolf Vesleý, “Das *Taqrīz* in Der Arabischen Literatur,” in *Die Mamluken. Studien zu Ihrer Geschichte und Kultur. Zum Gedenken*



FIGURE 9 Front and back covers of the *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, published in Lagos, Nigeria, Iswad, 2010

As discussed in Chapter Two, indigenous authors of Arabic works compose works as instructional material for their students. The pedagogical context of these works thus shapes the circulation of their works, and in particular their *maqāma*. As part of their educational curriculum, the *maqāma* is compulsory for all students to buy. A *maqāma*'s first broad readership consists of students and their immediate circles: knowledge of a *maqāma* likewise is spread by these students to their friends and so on, bringing the work into a more public space. Arabic schools teaching *maqāma* are not limited to those schools owned and taught by the author; other schools adopt Nigerian Arabic *maqāmāt* into their curriculum due to increasing public demand among students. This student-driven demand results in further publication of indigenous *maqāma*, copies of which are acquired by private collections and libraries. During my fieldwork, I was informed that authors receive many requests for their books every day, culminating in numerous editions and reprintings of various

an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999), ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2003), 379–385; Franz Rosenthal, “Blurbs’ (*Taqrīz*)”, 177–196.

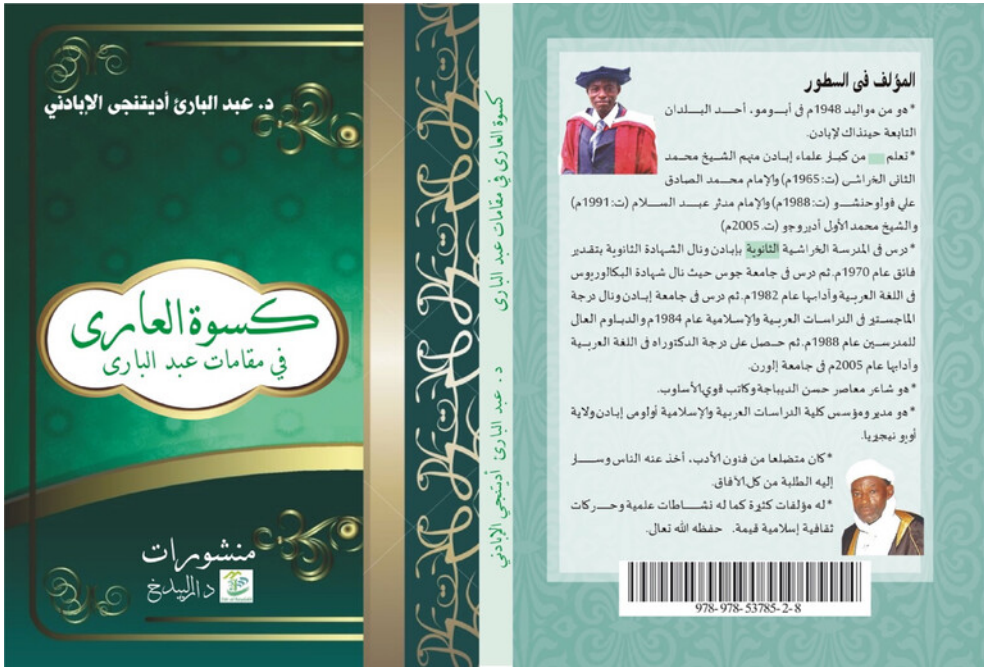


FIGURE 10 Front and back cover of the *Kiswat al-ārī fī maqāmāt 'Abd al-Bārī*, published in Ibadan, Nigeria, Dār al-Baydakh, 2017

maqāma. The *Ilūriyya*, for example, went through no less than six editions and many more reprintings. Likewise, the *Kiswa*'s first edition was reprinted several times, resulting in roughly three thousand copies published since 2017.

The marketing and distribution of published Arabic books in Nigeria nevertheless remains largely a personal endeavor undertaken by the author, including books for pedagogical and socio-religious purposes. Although the burden lies primarily on the author, sometimes the professional marketers and retailers of books play a role. Major indigenous Arabic booksellers remain indifferent to local works, as my personal experience indicates; professional booksellers prefer to deal in books that are in demand, namely religious works by classical and modern scholars from the Arab world such as al-Qarḍāwī, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Bāz, 'Uthaymīn, and so on.

Outside of pedagogical contexts, the circulation of printed Arabic books in Yorubaland occurs largely through social gatherings largely of a religious nature. For instance, books are typically displayed at central mosques on Fridays during the Jum'ah prayer. Weekend social events and religious ceremonies also play an important role. Many *maqāma* writers double as preachers who participate in different religious events held in different cities of Yorubaland.

These events present opportunities to sell copies of the preacher's books, often put on display by their students. The *maqāmāt* author Ajegunle is unique in the special efforts he has made to distribute his *Yūsufiyya*. In addition to taking his books to all social events to which he is invited as a public lecturer, he travels throughout Yorubaland to sell his *maqāmāt* and his other works in different cities and towns. His main destinations are central mosques and Arabic schools. Alternatively, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān opened a bookshop where he displays his own books and other books of religious importance. He is now an established bookseller who imports Arabic and Islamic books from the Middle East.

Authors themselves distribute their works through a variety of additional strategies, such as giving them out for free and donating them to libraries, both public and private. This is not unlike authors during the Mamluk time who endowed their works to the public as a way to disseminate the works.⁶⁰ Indeed, gifting books plays an important role in disseminating published works in the public sphere, where reading cultures remain relatively undeveloped.⁶¹ The culture of gifting likewise affects the marketing of the books, because, when people know that they can receive a particular book for free, they refrain from buying it; indeed, I witnessed on occasion how potential buyers prefer to approach an author for a free copy rather than purchasing it.

Given the personal nature of publishing in Nigeria, authors are usually the ones who determine the price of their works based on their own expenses in the publishing process. Naturally, those published abroad are more expensive than those published locally, because higher expenses have been incurred. The quality of the materials used for the printing of a book can also determine how high the price will be. Between five to ten thousand Nigerian *naira* (an equivalent of five to ten dollars) are charged for a copy printed abroad and up to five thousand *naira* (approximately six dollars) for one published locally. Since the owners are more concerned with wide circulation of their works, they place less emphasis on the profitability of their works; they are more concerned with the reputation and prestige gained through the wider dissemination of their published work.

60 Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 143; Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517)*, 36.

61 Gifting the book can also influence the social status of author and the work. Cf. the gifts as a social classifier in Arabic literature in: Antonella Ghersetti, "The Rhetoric of Gifts, or When Objects Talk," in *Abbasid Studies IV: Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies, Leuven, July 5–July 9, 2010*, ed. Monique Bernards (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2013), 130–141; Jocelyn Sharlet, "Tokens of Resentment: Medieval Arabic Narratives about Gift Exchange and Social Conflict," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 11 (2011): 62–100.



FIGURE 11 A public display of some of Ajegunle's works by his students on a rubber mat during a public outdoor function (August 12, 2018)

Although authors prefer to self-publish their works abroad, many lack the means to do so. Indeed, publishing abroad is not only more expensive, but it also presents problems of access. Sometimes booksellers act as middlemen between local authors and foreign Arabic printing presses, yet these middlemen come with a price. To lower expenses, authors nowadays establish personal connections abroad via Nigerian students in Cairo and Beirut, who act as middlemen between authors and Arabic presses. For example, Šāhib al-Qur'ān now assists people in getting their books published in Cairo and Beirut in this way. Although this helps reduce the cost, the ultimate cost is still relatively high, which makes many writers of *maqāmāt* decide to publish their works locally.⁶²

On account of the vagaries of publishing in Nigeria as described above, access to printed *maqāma* collections, as well as other indigenous Arabic works, can often be challenging. Sometimes long distances have to be covered by buyers before they can lay their hands on certain copies of the *maqāma*.

62 Šāhib al-Qur'ān actually prefers to publish the next edition of his *Ilūrīyya* locally. See for similar note in John O. Hunwick, "The Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria," *Research in African Literatures* 28, no. 3 Arabic Writing in Africa (1997): 214.

One can gain access to certain books only through the networks of the authors, rather than the Arabic book market. Thus, the average Nigerian reader of Arabic often comes across works by chance through informal social and scholarly networks, rather than through a highly organized modern book market. Indeed, some aspects of the Nigerian market for Arabic works resembles pre-modern forms of organization.⁶³

Thus, the book market in Nigeria is not regionally uniform, and some works are granted greater circulation than others, depending on how personal networks interact with various formal and informal social institutions. For instance, in northern Nigeria, notably the cities of Kano, Kaduna, and Sokoto, Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's *Ilūriyya* is the only popular indigenous Arabic *maqāma* work found in book markets, including the popular Kurmi market of Kano. This may be attributed largely to the author's cultivation of personal connections in the north. Having lived in Kaduna for many years, Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān still maintains his contacts there, especially with his uncle's Arabic school, which facilitates sending his books to Kaduna for distribution. Furthermore, the patronage of the Sultan of Sokoto, who chaired the public announcement of the *Ilūriyya*, was instrumental in broadly publicizing his work in Sokoto. Moreover, the fifth edition of the *Ilūriyya* was published in Kano by Dār al-Ummah, one of the most prominent booksellers and publishers in the Kano book market today. The *Ilūriyya* circulates in the northern states primarily through the efforts of this publisher. Despite these factors of additional support outside the individual initiative of the author, it should not be overlooked, however, that the *Ilūriyya* was first published through the author's own financing. The publishing situation in northern Nigeria has improved somewhat in the last few decades, with publishers and booksellers issuing works of local scholars in print. Nevertheless, the personal initiative and efforts of the author remain essential for getting a book into public circulation, including the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Indeed, the circulation of the Nigerian *maqāma* works continues to be shouldered by the author, while the various social contexts described above play an important auxiliary role.

Before concluding this section, it is crucial to acknowledge that the dissemination of Nigerian *maqāma* works beyond Nigeria is difficult to measure due to the fact that most authors do not aim to circulate their works abroad. The Nigerian *maqāmāt* are primarily created for local consumption, and as a result, intentional distribution of these works outside Nigeria, either by the

63 Cf. Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517)*, 150.

authors themselves or others, has not been observed. The only possibility for these works to gain recognition abroad and achieve global popularity beyond academic circles is through spontaneous dissemination. An example of this is the *Ilūriyya*, which had its latest edition published in Beirut and subsequently made its way into the book market of the Arab world. Consequently, this is the only Nigerian *maqāmāt* that is accessible on various Arabic online repositories such as *Maktaba nūr*.⁶⁴

6 The Spiritual Factor: Talismanic Uses of the *maqāma*

Another facet of the *maqāma* to be explored is its devotional function. The *maqāma* has left an indelible mark in the public space or Islamosphere of Yorubaland in what may be referred to as the “prayer market.”⁶⁵ The marketing of devotional literature and objects is deeply intertwined with local perceptions of spirituality and religiosity, in the form of “miracles” and expectations of *baraka* (“blessings”).

Spirituality in the Yoruba context is not peculiar to Islam, and all major religions in Nigeria demonstrate spirituality in various forms.⁶⁶ William Spohn argues that practice rather than doctrine is paramount for spirituality in any religion.⁶⁷ This applies to the Nigerian religio-spiritual realm as well, where Islamic practice takes on some of the local peculiarities of Yorubaland cosmology. Since the Yoruba people, including Muslims, generally expect that religion will provide metaphysical benefits to its adherents, it is not surprising to see that the Yoruba practice of Islam attaches more importance to its spiritual aspects than doctrinal ones.

The localization and appropriation of “spirituality” may be seen in the Islamic world in the way people interact with Arabic texts. In Yoruba-Nigerian society, Arabic texts considered sacred are imbued with spiritual importance. Islamic spirituality, according to Seyyed Hossein Nasr, concerns *tawḥīd* (the unity of God) and encompasses not only the personal and esoteric life of Mus-

64 See https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-مقامات-الإلوري-pdf#google_vignette (accessed on January 20, 2024).

65 For this concept especially in the context of West African Muslim societies see Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu*, 201–206. A similar case is the one discussed by Benjamin Soares see Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy*, 153–180; especially the chapters on esoteric science and the prayer economy, pp. 127–180.

66 W.C. Spohn, “Spiritual Practices: The True Test of Spirituality,” *Dialog* 40, no. 4 (2001): 278.

67 Spohn, 279.

lims but also all of their exoteric life.⁶⁸ *Tawhīd*, as the fundamental concept in Islam, influences and shapes the entirety of Islamic activities across all denominations, sects, and Muslim societies, whether Sunnism, Shi'ism or Sufism, even if the customs of each group differ in achieving this spiritual goal. Islamic spirituality is largely expressed through the formula of prayer, invocations, or, in a Sufi context, *adhkār* (devotional litanies).⁶⁹ While prayers and pious supplications are usually derived from the Qur'ān or other major sources such as the hadith, they can also be creatively improvised invocations.⁷⁰ Prayer as a form of spirituality continues to be important and common among Muslims across time and space.⁷¹ Yorubaland is no exception to this.

In the African Islamic context, spirituality is deeply connected to supplicatory and devotional acts. In turn, the talismanization of supplications and invocations offers believers spiritual ways by which to tackle challenges, both physical and metaphysical. The use of amulets and invocations in talismanic fashion in African societies has been richly documented.⁷² Thus the use of amulets and prayers for healing, invoking good luck, or warding off evil is inseparable from the ways Arabophone African Muslims respond to what is often referred to as "spiritual challenge." The spiritual in this context and, arguably, in the general context of African Islamic discourse, involves anything outside of natural life, including things that are perceived to be either abnormal or beyond human control.⁷³ Phenomena such as physical illness that may be regarded as natural in some societies may be regarded as supernatural and spiritual in another.⁷⁴ In the context of Yoruba society, there are no clear borders between "reality" and spirituality.

68 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, ed., "Introduction," in *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations* (London: Routledge, 2013), xv–xxix.

69 For more on Sufi prayers and devotions in the context of the Mamluk period see Richard McGregor, "Notes on the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries," *Mamluk Studies Review* 17 (2013): 199–211. Generally on invocations and devotions in Islam see Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer Manuals in Common Use* (Oxford: Oneword, 1996).

70 For more on the sources of *adhkār*, litanies, and invocations in Islam, see Marion Holmes Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 33–34; McGregor, "Notes on the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries," 205–206.

71 Three main disciplines of Sufism according to Seyyed Hossein Nasr are: meditation, contemplation, and invocation, see Nasr, "Introduction." xxi. See also: Jean-Louis Michon, "The Spiritual Practices of Sufism," in *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (London: Routledge, 2013), 265–294.

72 See for instance: Owusu-Ansah, "Prayers, Amulets, and Healing," 477–488.

73 Cf. the four ways of evaluating spirituality in: Spohn, "Spiritual Practices," 277.

74 Cf. Owusu-Ansah, "Prayers, Amulets, and Healing," 479–480.

Furthermore, the talismanic use of prayer and invocations has developed what can be termed a “prayer economy,” with a vibrant market for prayer.⁷⁵ The prayer economy represents a shared public spirituality derived from a composite of divergent influences, which are often not easily discernible or separable.⁷⁶ In fact, Islamic spirituality in Yorubaland is largely practiced through the use of amulets, providing believers with a metaphysical means to address personal problems. As discussed above, it is not uncommon for scholars to serve as spiritual consultants practicing *jalabi* and even have traditional rulers and kings as clients.

Prayers and supplication used as talismans in Yorubaland are embedded in the following three contexts: 1) the prayer economy of the whole of West Africa, culminating in 2) the prayer market, i.e., the market for prayer books and manuals, and 3) the socialization of the public space as reflected in the *jalabi* practice discussed above. These three contexts are interconnected and conjoined. The deep immersion of Yorubaland into this facet of Islamic spirituality not only involves the socio-religious realm but also incorporates Arabic-Islamic scholarly and literary trends. The following section shows how the *maqāma*, an Arabic literary work, features in this spiritual realm.

Talismans, amulets and their compilations in prayer manuals are thus a common phenomenon in Yorubaland. They circulate the form of manuscript and printed copies of devotional and supplicatory prayers sold in Arabic book markets. In West Africa in particular, the vibrancy of Sufism contributed immensely to the spread of different types of prayer books.⁷⁷ Prayer books available on the Muslim book market of Yorubaland include *al-Fawz al-‘aẓīm*,⁷⁸ *al-Ghāyat al-maqṣūda*,⁷⁹ and *‘Awn al-‘ulamā’*,⁸⁰ to mention a few prominent examples. All

75 For more on the concept of prayer economy see Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy*, 153–180, who based his analysis of the concept on Last’s in the context of Northern Nigeria, see Murray Last, “Charisma and Medicine in Northern Nigeria,” in *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*, ed. Donal B. Cruise O’Brien and Christian Coulon, Oxford Studies in African Affairs (Oxford: New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1988). The Yoruba example of this can be found in Aliyu, “Transmission of Learning,” 110.

76 Owusu-Ansah, “Prayers, Amulets, and Healing,” 484.

77 Invocation (*dhikr*, or *du‘ā*) is one of the most vibrant spiritual practice of Sufism, see Michon, “The Spiritual Practices of Sufism,” 496–500.

78 Abdul Raheem Yusuf, *Du‘ā’ al-fawz al-‘aẓīm* (Mushin [Nigeria]: al-Amin Publishers, n.d.).

79 Abdul Azeez Ahmad Balogun, *Du‘ā’ al-ghāyat al-maqṣūda al-kubrā bi-muwāfaqat al-istijāba* (Nigeria, n.d.).

80 Ibrahim Alabi Bello, *‘Awn al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-imām: Yashtamil ‘alā al-ad‘īya al-mujarraba bi mazīdat khuṭbat al-‘īdayn wa-l-jum‘a, nikāh wa-tasmīya ‘alā mā tamass bihī al-hāja ilayh (sic)*. (Osogbo [Nigeria]: Abiola Press, n.d.). Recently reprinted as: Ya‘qūb ‘Abdullāh al-Ilūrī.

of these are collections of supplications and invocations, either drawn from other works or improvised by their compilers. They are principally meant for public consumption and are used in public congregations and by individuals for different supplicatory purposes. They usually contain suras from the Qurʾān that are believed to be efficacious for supplication such as al-Kahf (Chapter 18), Yāsīn (Chapter 36), al-Wāqīʿa (Chapter 56) and al-Mulk (Chapter 67), and other popular invocations derived from the hadith or composed by scholars, locally and beyond. Some supplications improvised by the compilers themselves are also sometimes included. In these collections, supplications from the *Ḥarīriyya* appear as well, including the *Yā-Muḥyiyya*. Contained in the *Ḥarīriyya*'s twelfth *maqāma* (of Damascus),⁸¹ the *Yā-Muḥyiyya*, along with other prayers contained in the *Ḥarīriyya*, feature widely in numerous manuscripts and publications, both in the format of what is often referred to as *asrār* (secrets),⁸² or market copies of prayer books in Yorubaland, the so-called *tira adua*. These market prayer books can consist of one invocation, notably the Haririan *Yā-Muḥyiyya*, or can contain the Haririan *Yā-Muḥyiyya* accompanied with other invocations drawn from the Qurʾān, hadith, *kutub turāthiyya*, and Arabic poems.⁸³

The *Yā-Muḥyiyya* is embedded in the narrative of the *Ḥarīriyya*'s *al-Maqāma al-Dimashqīyya* (no. 12), which can be summarized as follows: When members of a caravan fear embarking on a trip without an escort to protect them against potential robbers, bandits, wild animals, or other dangers, Abū Zayd, the protagonist of the *Ḥarīriyya*, disguised as a dervish, offers them special protection with a spell he claims was spiritually bestowed on him during a dream. The members of the caravan are skeptical at first, but later accept his offer for the lack of an alternative. They repeat the prayer after him and, according to his instructions, recite *al-Fātiḥa*, the first chapter of the Qurʾān. When no

ʿAwn al-ʿulamāʾ al-ṣāliḥīn: Yashtamil ʿalā al-adʿiyya al-mujarraba ʿalā mā tamass bihī al-ḥāja ilayh wa-l-khuṭab al-mustaʿmala fī l-ḥafalāt al-Islāmiyya. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.).

81 Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarījī*, 55–60. *Yā-Muḥyiyya* is the adaptation of the prayer in *Ḥarīriyya*'s *al-Maqāma al-Dimashqīyya* after the first words of the recited prayer: "Allāhumma yā muḥyiyy al-rufāt ..." see the appendix for the text of this prayer and the texts of its Nigerian emulations.

82 *Asrār* (secrets) is used in this context to describe the prayers, talismans or amulets serving various supernatural purposes, involved in what Soares describes as "esoteric sciences," see Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy*, 127–152.

83 For instance, al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-burda* has been used for different spiritual and talismanic purposes, see Suzanne P. Stetkevych, "From Text to Talisman: Al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (Mantle Ode) and the Poetics of Supplication," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37, no. 2 (2006): 145–189. Something like this is also applied to the poetic prayer in the last *maqāma* of al-Ḥarīrī's collection.

attack befalls them throughout their journey, they consider the incantation to be effective. Upon approaching their destination, they reward Abū Zayd with coins and valuable gifts. The rest of the story relates how the narrator, Ḥārith b. Hammām, realizes that the so-called spiritually endowed dervish who supposedly protected them from potential calamity was hardly a saint, since he visits a beer parlor at the end of the episode.⁸⁴

It is fascinating how the invocation used to protect the caravan from harm found in the *Ḥarīriyya* has been appropriated for religious and spiritual purposes in the public sphere of Yoruba-Nigerian society. This *Yā-Muḥyiya* continues to be used for protection against harm and for healing.⁸⁵ Indeed, the majority of traditional ulama in the Yorubaland who attest to the efficacy of *Yā-Muḥyiya* describe it as one of the best prayers against theft, natural disaster, and accidents of various kinds, and even for accruing wealth. Barihi Adetunji mentions those instances in which *Yā-Muḥyiya* has been used successfully for healing or protection. The areas to which this invocation can be applied, “on which one would rest assured of possible solutions,” according to the findings of Adetunji, include the warding off all kinds of evil and calamities, healing from partial stroke, and protection against the evil eye and evil spirits.⁸⁶

As prescribed by Abū Zayd in the *Ḥarīriyya*, the *Yā-Muḥyiya* is recited either together with *al-Fātiḥa* or with additional prescriptions improvised by traditional scholars. Aside from being recited as prayer, invocation of the *Yā-Muḥyiya* is also used for talismanic purposes on amulets. The recitation does not need to adhere to al-Ḥāriri’s wording. Verses or chapters of the Qurʾān along with the standard *al-Fātiḥa* prescribed in the *Ḥarīriyya* are recited together with it for different but interrelated purposes.⁸⁷ For instance, the last three chapters of the Qurʾān, *al-Ikhlāṣ* (Chapter 112), *al-Falaq* (Chapter 113), and *al-Nās* (Chapter 114), are usually recited with it for additional protection. *Al-Naṣr* (Chapter 110) can likewise be recited with it, or written with a soluble ink and washed off with water which is then drunk for the purpose of obtaining victory, prosperity, wealth, etc.⁸⁸ The *Yā-Muḥyiya* can be recited as a whole or in part,

84 The summary of this *maqāma* here is mine. For its full translation and summary, see Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*, 1168–175. See also: Ḥāriri, Cooperson, and Kilito, *Impostures*, 99–110.

85 See the Arabic text and its translation in the appendix.

86 Barihi Adetunji, “Dirāsa naqdiyya li-maqāmāt al-Ḥāriri wa-āthāruhā fi l-adab al-‘arabī al-nayjiri” (Doctoral thesis, Ilorin [Nigeria], University of Ilorin, 2004), 329–330.

87 See Yusuf, *Du‘ā’ al-fawz al-‘azīm*, 56–62; Balogun, *Du‘ā’ al-ghāyat al-maqṣūda al-kubrā bi-muwāfaqat al-istijāba*, 95–96.

88 Adetunji, “Dirāsa naqdiyya,” 330.

alone or as part of other supplications. It can also be inserted into, or merged with, another invocation, as in the case of a prayer in *ʿAwn al-ʿulamāʾ*,⁸⁹ a prayer book popular among scholars of Yorubaland (see fig. 12). Compiled by Ibrahim Bello of Osogbo, a predominantly Muslim city and the capital of Oṣun state Nigeria, *ʿAwn al-ʿulamāʾ* is a collection of supplications drawn from the Qurʾān, hadith, and Sufi treatises and presented with descriptions and prescription for use. It has been in use among the ulama since the last quarter of 20th century and has been reprinted many times. It is still common in Yorubaland as a prayer manual. The prayer that concerns us in the *ʿAwn ʿulamāʾ* is entitled: *Prayer for opening the doors of wealth and warding off calamity*, and described as follows:

من قرأ هذا الدعاء ثلاث مرّات في مجلس واحد قضيت حاجته خصوصاً فيما يتعلّق بطلب الرزق، وكذا يقرأ بعد صلاة العصر أربع عشرة مرّة

Whoever reads this supplication three times in a session will have his needs fulfilled especially pertaining to a request for providence; it may also be recited after *Aṣr* (afternoon) prayer fourteen times.⁹⁰

The prayer turns out to be a mixture of the *Yā-Muḥyiya*, Qurʾānic verses and other Islamic invocations. Other ways of applying *Yā-Muḥyiya* include making talismans or amulets out of it or processing it for drinking or rubbing on an injury.⁹¹

The *Badāʾiʿ al-adʿiyya al-ḥarīriyya* by Zakariyau Idrees-Oboh Oseni (b. 1950) is the only prayer book in Yorubaland that is exclusively drawn from the *Ḥarīriyya*, consisting of a selection of its prose and verse invocations and supplications, gathered here for the benefit of the faithful, as the author explains in the introduction.⁹² Oseni makes a compilation of seven sets of supplications, beginning with the one contained in the preface of the *Ḥarīriyya* and ending with the repentant poem in its closing chapter, and he describes how to use and recite them with chapters of the Qurʾān. He also prescribes specific times during the day and night to invoke them. Oseni draws from his personal experience as an Islamic scholar and gives the prescriptions that generally follow the patterns found in popular prayer books, such as the ones mentioned above.

89 Bello, *ʿAwn al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-imām*. See fig. 12 for the prayer.

90 Bello, 20–21.

91 The common use for this is to write it on *lawḥ* (slates) with ink and wash it afterwards for drinking and applying to the whole body. It can also be recited into water for drinking.

92 Zakariyau I. Oseni, *Badāʾiʿ al-adʿiyyat al-ḥarīriyya* (Auchi: Darun-Nur, 2001), 6.



FIGURE 12 "Prayer for opening the doors of wealth and warding off calamity" in the *ʿAwṇ al-ʿulamā* (pp. 20–24)

What makes the adoption of the Haririan *Yā-Muḥyiya* prayer so striking is how rare it is to find literary works like the *maqāma* take on such liturgical dimensions.⁹³ Irrespective of the motives and motifs of supplication, invocations are usually drawn from religious texts such as the Qurʾān, the Sunna, and Sufi treatises or specific prayer works like *Riḥāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*, *Ḥiṣn al-muslim*, and *Aḥzāb wa-awrād*. Thus, while most prayers are derived from authorita-

93 Cf. those mentioned in: Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*.



FIGURE 13 “Prayer for protection and for conquering the enemies,” a *maqāma*-oriented prayer in the *Ghayat al-maqṣūda* (pp. 95–96)

tive religious texts, the *Ḥarīrīyya*'s *Yā-Muḥyiya* represents an important exception. Indeed, it is a surprising exception, since as a literary and linguistic work par excellence, the *Ḥarīrīyya* would not primarily be thought of as a spiritual or religious source; nor is it thematically intended to provide what Suzanne Stetkevych, in the case of Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Būṣīrī's (d. 694–696/1294–1297) *Qaṣīdat al-burda*, terms a “ritual of supplication.”⁹⁴ Indeed, one such work widely used as devotional material is the intercessional poem, *al-Burda*, which continues to be used for liturgical and devotional purposes across West Africa and everywhere else as well.⁹⁵

Al-Ḥarīrī, in the *khuṭba* of his work, points out that his compositions in the *Ḥarīrīyya* were meant for instructions, literary purpose, and refreshing the mind of the reader: “*wa-mā qaṣadt^u bi-l-iḥmāḍi fīhī illā tanshīṭ^a qārīṭhī*”⁹⁶ (I have no purpose but to inspirit the reader);⁹⁷ “*fa ayy^u ḥarajⁱⁿ ʿalā man anshaʿa*

94 Stetkevych, “From Text to Talisman,” 181.

95 For more on al-Būṣīrī's *Burda* and its historical, liturgical and devotional dimensions see Suzanne P. Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poetry to the Prophet Muḥammad* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 70–150. Its particular influence in West Africa can be found in: Jan Knappert, ed., *Swahili Islamic Poetry*, trans. Jan Knappert, vol. 2, *The Two Burdas*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1971). See also: Oludamini Ogunnaike, *Poetry in praise of prophetic perfection: a study of west african arabic madīḥ poetry and its precedents* (UK: The Islamic Texts Society, 2020).

96 Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarūjī*, 5.

97 Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*, 1106.

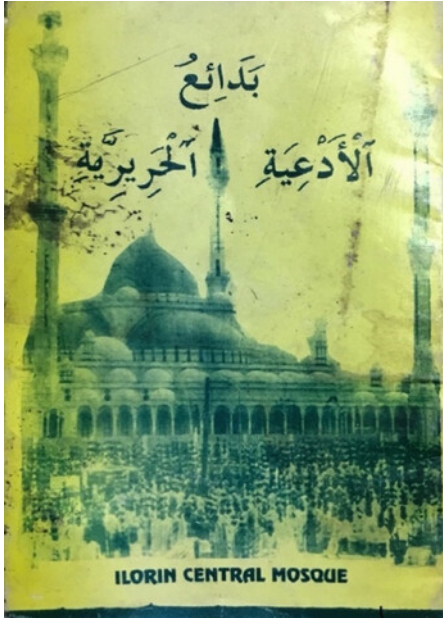


FIGURE 14

Cover page of *Badā'ir al-ad'īya al-ḥarīriyya* of Zakariyau Oseni, 2001

mulaḥ^{an} li-l-tanbīḥ_i, lā li-l-tamwīḥ_i, wa-naḥā biḥā manḥā l-tahdhīb, lā l-akādhīb wa-hal huw^a fī dhālik^a illā bi-manzilat_i man_i 'ntadab^a li-l-ta'lim, aw hadā ilā širāt_{in} mustaqīm_{in}”⁹⁸ (What fault is there in one who composes stories for instruction not for display, and whose purpose in them is the education and not the fablings?—Nay, is he not in the position of one who assents to doctrine, and “guides to the right path?”).⁹⁹ Despite these and other categorical statements for the purpose of writing the *Ḥarīriyya* with little or no link with practical spiritual or religious purposes, it is strange that many of its parts, including the prayer, *Yā-Muḥyiya*, have been used in this way. Indeed, the appropriation, adoption, and talismanization of the *Yā-Muḥyiya*, which has been repackaged for the prayer market in the form of prayer manuals, presents a case contrary to the usual way supplications are drawn from religious scripture and texts. Furthermore the “canonization” of the *Yā-Muḥyiya* in the Yoruba-Nigerian prayer market presents a certain irony in regard to the original motive behind the composition of the twelfth *maqāma* of the *Ḥarīriyya*, where the innovator of the

98 Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarījī*, 6. For the analysis of this particular aspect of al-Ḥarīrī's work see Angelika Neuwirth, “Ayyu ḥarajin ‘alā man ansha'a mulaḥan? Al-Ḥarīrī's plea for the legitimacy of playful transgressions of social norms,” in *Humor in der Arabischen Kultur*, ed. Georges Tamer, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 241–254.

99 Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Ḥarīrī*, 1107.

Yā-Muhyīya turns out to be somewhat of a religious hypocrite. The sermons and supplications intended as satire by al-Ḥarīrī have been taken at face value to be reused in devotional contexts, ignoring the original context of the *maqāma* genre. Thus, what was supposed to be play of words in the *Ḥarīrīyya* now transcends the literary into the realm of the spiritual. It is equally surprising that this spiritual aspect of the *Ḥarīrīyya* is taken seriously by religious authorities of the Yoruba Arabo-Islamic environment.

What makes this practice survive, I argue, is the continued influence and development of the prayer economy in Yoruba society, which assists in the “talismanization” process through the proliferation of market copies of prayer books produced by compilers using ambiguous methods and often containing material that cannot be verified by authoritative religious texts. The consumers of such texts do not question the methods by which they were compiled. Compilers of such texts constitute the primary producers in the prayer economy. Their improvisation of supplication materials allows them to expand their market product further. Notwithstanding, the success of those invocations, especially the *Yā-Muhyīya*, as can be deduced from the testimonies to its efficacy in solving spiritual and physical challenges, demonstrates how a literary work of art can function in different capacities. The *Ḥarīrīyya*’s influence in the spiritual realm has likewise led Nigerian authors to incorporate such forms of supplications into their own *maqāmāt*.¹⁰⁰

The *maqāma* in the contexts described above may be regarded as a “certificate” of distinction in the Arabic-Islamic scholarly society of Yorubaland. Based on the sentiments that the *maqāma* relishes in the public sphere and its position in the scholarly setting, emotion inherently and intuitively abounds. The next chapter explores the emotional dimensions the *maqāma* takes in Yoruba-Nigerian society.

100 Cf. the emulation of the *Ḥarīrīyya*’s *al-Dimashqīyya* in the *Kiswa*’s *al-Maqāma al-Tūghawīyya* (no. 10) and the *Yūsufīyya*’s *al-Maqāma al-Abīyūkūtawīyya* (no. 12). For the two (emulating) prayers and their translation, see the appendix.

Emotional Dimensions

Unraveling the Emotional Landscape of Nigerian maqāma Production

My utmost familiarity and love for the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* motivates me to write a *maqāma*.

IMAM MAS'UD ADEBAYO¹



People's perception of *maqāma* in Nigeria is shaped by its socio-cultural context, and this plays significant role in how the genre has developed over time (see Chapter 3). Accordingly, the emergence of an indigenous Nigerian Arabic *maqāmāt* at the beginning of the 21st century elicits an array of emotional reactions from scholars, students, and other Arabophone Muslim Nigerians, particularly those with a higher socio-cultural status. What exact role(s) do emotions play in *maqāma* production, dissemination, and reception among the Yoruba people? To answer this, one needs to explore the emotional dimensions of the *maqāma* as a literary phenomenon among the Yoruba people. One factor is the perception that the *maqāma* is an inimitable and linguistically challenging literary work which occupies an important place in the socio-religious sphere (see Chapter 2). That a literary work arouses emotion is not unusual; but the extent to which it has in the Nigerian context is indeed truly remarkable. What exactly fascinates people about the *maqāmāt*, makes them enjoyable, inspires scholars to write them, and motivates students and others to read them? The *maqāma* is usually known for rhetorical artifice and tales of trickery (which also has an echo in Nigerian idiom, to wit, *sarujī*), especially the early Arabic versions. However, in modern Nigeria, as a vibrant and living literary genre, the *maqāma* elicits strong emotions related to a variety of socio-political contexts in which the genre is embedded. Indeed, the modern Nigerian *maqāmāt* arouse stronger emotions than the classical *maqāmāt*. To understand what Yoruba-Nigerian society has made of this highly celebrated Arabic literary genre, I

¹ Personal communication, Imam Mas'ud Adebayo, March 2018.

would like first to provide an overview of the social reaction to the *maqāma* and their authors before zooming in on the *maqāma* texts themselves.² I argue that the reception of the new Nigerian *maqāmāt* rested partly on the emotional context surrounding their production. Drawing on data I collected through interviews with the Nigerian *maqāma* writers in 2018 and 2019, the first half of this chapter explores the contexts that set the stage for the emergence of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, based on the prestige of classical Arabic *maqāmāt*. In the second half, I shift my attention to the content of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, exploring what I call the “language of emotion.” I look at how language is used to trigger emotions both on the macro and the micro levels. Through this, I make a case for “Yoruba emotion” based on which one might understand the emotional background and worldviews of Nigerian writers. This textual exploration also provides new insights into Yoruba societal influence regarding how emotions are conventionally portrayed. By placing the text in its socio-emotional context(s), this chapter sets the stage for what follows in the next chapter in which I analyze the Nigerian *maqāma* texts from critical and comparative literary perspectives. The present chapter thus bridges the gap between “contexts” (discussed in Chapters Two and Three) and “texts” (Chapter Five) with writers (scholars) in between as key players.

Except for the macro level, where I explore the thematic composition of various kinds of emotion contained in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, other examples of emotions are considered in its general sense. In other words, I do not try to ask why word(s), for instance, are used to connote or portray an emotion. Rather, I look at how linguistic variances used in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* for a particular emotion can be read and understood as having vibrant socio-religious and cultural backgrounds. Exploring emotions through this kind of approach thus opens a unique perspective on the Nigerian Arabic authors and gives insight into the political, social, and cultural contexts of the literary milieu that produces these Nigerian works.³

2 Julia Bray, following Barbara Rosenwein, opines that understanding emotions as a socially constructed phenomenon can be a good ground to know what people made of literary works in their immediate environment; see Julia Bray, “Ya’qūb b. al-Rabī’ Read by al-Mutanabbī and al-Mubarrad: A Contribution to an Abbasid History of Emotions,” *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 4, no. 1 (June 15, 2017): 22. See also: Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Even the Devil (Sometimes) Has Feelings: Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages,” *The Haskin Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History* 14 (2003): 4.

3 For how emotion changes ones posture and countenance and gives insight into different backgrounds, see William Reddy, “Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions,” *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 3 (1997): 327.

1 Emotion and the Contexts of Motivation

Reception, motivation, action, and evaluation of the *maqāma* in Yoruba society of Nigeria take on unique dimensions of appropriation and adaptation. The Nigerian *maqāmāt* elicit strong and conflicting emotions, which parallel the scholarly reception of the *Ḥarīriyya*. On the one hand, writers, teachers, and students gain social prestige for reading and teaching the classical *maqāma*, as well as producing their own versions; indeed, their intellectual achievements are evaluated based on their level of engagement with the *maqāma*. On the other hand, they face vicious attacks and severe criticism from other scholars who reject the *maqāma* as an archaic literary form, and find its classicism and traditionalism objectionable. Thus, they find themselves simultaneously faced with the extreme emotions of admiration and enmity, depending upon which camp their admirers or critics fall in. It is with these emotions elicited by the reactions and feelings towards Nigerian authors and the *maqāma* that I am concerned here.

The love and veneration for the *Ḥarīriyya* largely shape the reception of indigenous *maqāmāt* produced in Nigeria. In Nigeria, most people from the scholarly environment have read and studied al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, as well as the *Hamadhāniyya*, since al-Ḥarīrī makes reference to this foundational work in the preface of his *Maqāmāt*.⁴ As evidence of the continuous influence of the *Ḥarīriyya* in the scholarly and public spheres, many other classical and modern Arabic *maqāma* such as *Maqāmāt* by al-Zamakhsharī, *Majma' al-baḥrayn* by al-Yāzījī, and *Maqāmāt al-Qarnī* of 'Āḍid al-Qarnī, have also recently gained prominence among Nigerian scholars.⁵

Before the Nigerian *maqāmāt* emerged as an indigenous literary genre, Yoruba-Nigerian scholars wrote employing the *maqāma* style, drawing on its ele-

4 Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarījī*, ed. Michael Cooperson (New York: New York University Press, 2020), 4; Thomas Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri: Translated from the Arabic, with an Introduction, and Notes Historical and Grammatical*, ed. F.J. Steingass and F. Arbuthnot, vol. 1, 2 vols., Oriental Translation Fund: New Series (Williams and Norgate, 1867), 104–105. The popularity later gained by the *Hamadhāniyya* in Nigeria is directly due to the prestige of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*.

5 With the increasing globalization of the world, the Nigerian Arabic literary space is still shaped by an array of influence from various locations. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain what particularly constitutes the modern corpus of Arabic works in Yorubaland today. However, I base my opinion here on what I have located in the archives of major libraries in the universities of Yorubaland, precisely the Universities of Ilorin and Ibadan, and Lagos State University where Arabic literature is being seriously studied. Also, my interaction with Arabic schools, traditional and modern, points to the same orientation. Therefore, many other *maqāma* works might be known to other scholars at a particular time.

ments of *sajʿ* (rhymed prose) and rhetorical figures. Although the *maqāma* cannot be said to be the sole contributor to the prominent use of *sajʿ*, it continues to be its main reference point. Indeed, the classical Arabic of the *Ḥarīriyya*'s language has exerted a great influence on the Arabic-Islamic literary tradition of Nigeria and Yorubaland.⁶ Nigerian Arabic writing is characterized by the use of quotations, vocabulary, and other linguistic elements taken directly from the *Ḥarīriyya*.⁷ These literary and sociocultural reuses of the *Ḥarīriyya* entail emotional consequences, and the *maqāma*, in this context, elicits vital sentiments. The context of the Arabic literary and scholarly tradition of Yoruba society shapes the understanding of emotions elicited by works of *maqāma*.⁸ Both at social and literary levels, reading, writing, and producing *maqāma* works have emotional impacts.

2 Traits of Emotions

I consider the emotional dimensions of the *maqāma* in Nigeria from two perspectives: 1) viewing *maqāma* works as subject (or cause) and object (or effect) of emotion and 2) situating emotions attached to them within socio-cultural context surrounding the production of the *maqāmāt*.⁹ In order to understand Nigerian writers' feelings about *maqāma* genre, particularly the *Ḥarīriyya*, I explore their emotional utterances, what William Reddy calls "emotives," about why and how they write their *maqāmāt*. According to Reddy, emotives are

6 Part of this influence in the context of West Africa has been mentioned by: Abdul-Samad Abdullah, "Intertextuality and West African Arabic Poetry: Reading Nigerian Arabic Poetry of the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40, no. 3 (2009): 335–361. Discussion of the Yoruba context can be found for instance in the writings of Ibadan scholars, see Mufutau Oloyede Abdul-Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study of Arabic Poetry in Ibadan (1876–1976)" (Doctoral thesis, Ibadan [Nigeria], University of Ibadan, 1989), 292–293.

7 For more on the *maqāma* influence on the literary writings of Nigerian scholars see Bar-ihī Adetunji, "Dirāsa naqdiyya li-maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī wa-āthāruhā fī l-adab al-ʿarabī al-nayjirī" (Doctoral thesis, Ilorin [Nigeria], University of Ilorin, 2004), 269–330.

8 Cf. Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Prologue: Arabic Emotions from the Qurʾān to the Popular Epic," *Cultural History* 8, no. 2, special issue on Arabic Emotions: From the Qurʾān to the Popular Epic (2019): 131–132.

9 Whether or not emotion should have a cause is not probed here. I only attempt to show how, in the context of Yoruba society, the *maqāma* elicits emotion. Emotional cause and effect have been debated over the ages with probably no concrete conclusion, see Robert C. Solomon, "The Philosophy of Emotions," in *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Lisa Feldman Barret, Micheal Lewis, and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, 4th ed. (New York, London: The Guilford Press, 2016), 5.

utterances that refer to emotions and serve as a means through which the emotion can be comprehended.¹⁰ My examination of emotives in the context of the development of the Nigerian *maqāma*, however, goes beyond “linguistic logocentrism,” for which Reddy’s theory has been criticized,¹¹ and includes analysis of the social and scholarly contexts that characterize the emotional utterances. I focus here only on utterances and do not consider facial and gestural expressions. The implications of such utterances, as will be explained below, helps to understand what it is like “to know”, or write, a *maqāma* in the non-native Arabic society of Yorubaland. I do not claim that the expressions of emotions through words are the only possible way to understand what I call “Yoruba emotion,” i.e., emotions expressed by Yoruba people based on their ethnic, social, and religious backgrounds.¹² Rather, I want to show how indigenous forms of emotional conception can be understood through its local construction, as reflected in the (re)use of Arabic words.

The foremost emotional trait attached to the production of the *maqāma* in Nigeria is “love”¹³ for the *Ḥarīriyya*. This love has been transferred over time to other literary works of local and foreign authorship or to personalities associated with the *maqāma*. This love for the *Ḥarīriyya* has many applications. First, it motivates Nigerian writers to produce their own *maqāmāt* and encourages the scholars and readers to engage with it.¹⁴ All Nigerian writers of *maqāma* “knew” the *Ḥarīriyya*: it is the *Ḥarīriyya* that informs their engagement with other *maqāma*. Through their acquaintance with the *Ḥarīriyya*, these authors are familiar with the structure and style of the *maqāma*. Because of their love for it, they make reading the *Ḥarīriyya* a daily routine, taking it with them every-

10 Reddy, “Against Constructionism,” 330–331. For an elaborate discussion of the concept, see W.M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 96–110.

11 See for instance the points raised in, Jan Plamper et al., “The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns,” *History and Theory* 49, no. 2 (2010): 241.

12 Yoruba emotion may not necessarily be expressed in Yoruba language. It may come in different forms, formats and languages used by Yoruba people and in Yoruba society.

13 Although the semantic field does not completely overlap, the equivalent word for English “love” is what the authors used to describe their interest in the *maqāma*. The usage, as can be noticed in the quotation of Ṣāhib al-Qur’ān below, may include deep self-identification and other related emotional attachments. For more, see the section, Emotions in the Vernacular, below.

14 That emotions shape motivation has been put forward by Julia Bray, see Julia Bray, “Toward an Abbasid History of Emotions: The Case of Slavery,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49 (2017): 143.

where they go in public and private. Some feel compelled to read a portion of the *Ḥarīriyya* every day, just as they read Qurʾān. The epigraph by Imam Masʿūd Adebayo at the beginning of this chapter explains this dimension. Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān also says:

My personality is characterized by three works of *maqāma*: *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, *Maqāmāt al-Hamadhānī*, and *Maqāmāt* of al-Yāzījī. These provide the basis of my interest in the *maqāma*. I have read the works of al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī many times over, memorizing many of the poems and expressions found in these works. **They have become part of me.**¹⁵

This “love” for the *Ḥarīriyya* is the sentiment that lies behind composing indigenous *maqāmāt*; *Maqāma* writers attribute their main motive in composing a *maqāma* to their “love” for the genre. Although this may vary among the Nigerian writers, they all have affective responses towards the classical *maqāma*, either expressed directly, as shown here, or referred to in their writing. For instance, Imam Masʿūd’s interest in the *Ḥarīriyya*’s use of language drew him closer to the *maqāma* genre at other levels. Al-Ḥarīrī was a reputed linguist and grammarian, renowned for his high Arabic style, characterized by linguistic innovation, or, to use Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila’s term, “linguistic artistry.”¹⁶ For Imam Masʿūd, who also has a keen interest in the artistic use of his mother tongue (Yoruba), al-Ḥarīrī complements the Yoruba language with his *maqāmāt*. Imam therefore considers Arabic, as used by al-Ḥarīrī, and Yoruba as two sides of the same coin. Imam’s background in Yoruba language, and his training in classical Arabic, coupled with his veneration for the *Ḥarīriyya*, thus drew him towards the *maqāma*. He believes the *Ḥarīriyya* represents the pinnacle of everything “Arabic” in its linguistic sense; echoing the general conviction of the people in his scholarly environment. Whether this can be used as a starting point for further inquiry into the influence of Arabic on Nigerian literature in indigenous languages, like Yoruba, remains to be explored.¹⁷ However, Ara-

15 Personal communication, Muḥammad al-Awwal ‘Abd al-Salām Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān al-Ilūrī, March 13, 2018.

16 Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Diskurse Der Arabistik, Bd. 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 156.

17 For a debate on the influence of Arabic literature and Islam on the Nigerian Literature in general see Mashood Mahmood Muhammad Jimba, *Athar al-Islām wa-l-adab al-‘Arabī fī l-adab al-Nayjūrī al-maktūb* (Cairo: Mu’assasat al-Mukhtār, 2015), 37–60. There has also been a linkage between Yoruba language and Arabic literature in Yorubaland, see Razaq Deremi Abubakre and Stefan Reichmuth, “Arabic Writing between Global and Local Culture: Scholars and Poets in Yorubaland (Southwestern Nigeria),” *Research in African Literatures* 28, no. 3, Arabic Writing in Africa (1997): 186–187.

bic has been identified as one of the prominent languages from which Yoruba draws linguistically and literarily.¹⁸

To make a case for his argument, Imam Mas'ud opines that there are many Yoruba popular sayings and expressions similar to those in the *Ḥarīriyya*. He points out that both Yoruba and Arabic (as used by al-Ḥarīrī) are rich in connotation and parallelisms.¹⁹ He cites a popular Yoruba song that says:

*Bá'yé bá n yí, ká máa bá'yé yí
Bí'gbà bá n yí, ká máa bá'gbà yí
Ènì tí ò bá bá'gbà yí olúwa rẹ á bá'gbà lẹ.*²⁰

Let's turn about with life wherever it turns,
Let's move with time whenever it moves,
Whoever does not move with time will vanish with it.²¹

Imam likens these lines of the song to the opening verse of al-Ḥarīrī's *qaṣīda* in *al-Maqāma al-Samarqandīyya* (no. 28) that says:

لَا تَبْكِي إِنَّمَا نَأَى وَلَا دَارَا # وَدُرْ مَعَ الدَّهْرِ كَيْفَمَا دَارَا²²

Weep not for a friend that is distant, nor for an abode,
But turn thyself about with fortune as it turns about.²³

18 For more, see Razaq Deremi Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South Western Nigeria* (Iwo [Nigeria]: Darul-Ilm, 2004).

19 Personal communication, Imam Mas'ud Adebayo, March 2018.

20 Yoruba oral tradition and verbal artistry, which are vital components of Yoruba culture, serve as a means of preserving history, passing down knowledge, and reinforcing cultural identity. It is rich in storytelling, poetry, proverbs, and other forms of oral expression that have been passed down through generations. For more, see Ruth H. Finnegan, *The Oral and beyond: Doing Things with Words in Africa* (Oxford: Chicago: Pietermaritzburg: James Currey; University of Chicago Press; University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007); Abdul-Rasheed Na'Allah, *Yoruba Oral Tradition in Islamic Nigeria: A History of Dàdàkúàdà*, Global Africa 14 (New York: Routledge, 2019). The *oriki* tradition specifically holds significant influence in the realm of oral poetry, see Karin Barber, *I Could Speak Until Tomorrow: Oriki, Women & the Past in a Yoruba Town*, International African Libraries (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

21 Throughout this study, all translations are mine except where otherwise noted and credited.

22 Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarūjī*, 146.

23 Francis Joseph Steingass, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri: Translated from the Arabic with Notes, Historical and Grammatical*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1898), 13.

It is not clear if the Yoruba poem above draws directly on this *qaṣīda*, or if their similarity is merely coincidental (*tawārud*).²⁴ In Imam Mas'ud's mind, however, the two are related. To relate it with *maqāma* usage only explains the sentiment he holds for the *Ḥarīriyya*, a sentiment that endears the work to those who know it. Based on this, Imam Mas'ud relates his deep identification with al-Ḥarīrī's work to that of his mother tongue. He believes that nobody has mastered the Arabic language better than al-Ḥarīrī. He considers the *Ḥarīriyya* a veritable encyclopedia of the Arabic language, and its author al-Ḥarīrī *nabī al-lughā*, "the prophet of language" [also means "lexicon"].²⁵

This title, *nabī al-lughā*, can be viewed from another perspective. Imam Mas'ud likens the language use of al-Ḥarīrī to *nubuwwa* (prophethood). This, perhaps, can be understood in the light of what I have explained concerning people's belief in Yorubaland in the inimitability of the *Ḥarīriyya* (see Chapter 2).²⁶ By attributing prophecy to al-Ḥarīrī, Imam Mas'ud might have been moved not only by his love for al-Ḥarīrī and his *Maqāmāt* but also by people's perception of the *maqāma* as an inimitable literary genre in the scholarly society of Yorubaland. In Imam Mas'ud's view, no one can imitate and match the *Ḥarīriyya*, just as no ordinary person can be a prophet. Perhaps Imam Mas'ud is convinced too that the use of language in the case of al-Ḥarīrī is a kind of *mu'jiza* (miracle), a quality of al-Ḥarīrī that is not transferable to others.²⁷

Another Nigerian *maqāma* author with a similar interest in al-Ḥarīrī's language use is Barihi Adetunji. Adetunji describes the *Ḥarīriyya* as a lexicon, remarking: "Anybody who does not master the *maqāma* is not a real scholar of Arabic." Like other writers of the *maqāma* in Nigeria, Adetunji has taken his identification with al-Ḥarīrī's work further by considering the *Ḥarīriyya* a certificate that qualifies (or disqualifies) one as a scholar.²⁸ "Anybody who does not know *maqāma*, I do not consider a scholar of Arabic. I have read many

24 For *tawārud* or coincidence of thought in Arabic literature, see Amidu Sanni, "Did Ṭarafa Actually Steal from Imru' Al-Qays? On Coincidence of Thoughts and Expressions (*Tawārud*) in Arabic Literary Theory," *Arabic & Middle Eastern Literature* 4, no. 2 (2001): 117–136.

25 Personal communication, Imam Mas'ud Adebayo, March 2018.

26 What is striking here is on the concept of "*nubuwwa*" which is not detached from how the *Ḥarīriyya* was taken even in the premodern time, see for instance: Matthew L. Keegan, "Throwing the Reins to the Reader: Hierarchy, Jurjānian Poetics, and al-Muṭarrizī's Commentary on the *Maqāmāt*," *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 5, no. 1–2 (2018): 136–141.

27 For distinctive characteristics of a prophet, see S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Islamic Concept of Prophethood*, trans. Mohiuddin Ahmad, 2nd ed. (Lucknow (India): Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1979), 39–80.

28 Although this has a background in the general conviction about the *Ḥarīriyya*, Adetunji as I convincingly noticed in his countenance during my interaction with him, affirms this is due to his emotional attachment to the work.

books before *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, but when I read the *maqāma* I discover that it is a compilation of knowledge in Arabic, and a lexicon,” he states.²⁹ Perhaps Adetunji’s opinion is influenced by his training in the traditional Arabic educational system, which put the *Ḥarīriyya* in the lexicological category.

Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān was drawn to the *maqāma* for its remarkable *shi’r* (poetry) and *saj’* (rhymed prose).³⁰ This is not surprising, considering the important place poetry and *saj’* occupy in Nigerian Arabic scholarly culture. Poetry remains the most patronized Arabic literary genre in Nigeria and West Africa, and it has been so since premodern times.³¹ The fact that Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān cherishes these two features in the *Ḥarīriyya* is no surprise. The rhymical tendencies of verse elicit emotion and give motivation. Based on empirical observation on a set of German poetry, Christian Obermeier and other scholars have discovered that “stylistics and structural devices such as meter and rhyme influence aesthetic and emotional response to poetry.”³² Arabic poetry in its classical form based on the prosody of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (100–170/718–786)³³ and the employment of rhyme in classical Arabic literature have played a major role in the composition of the Nigerian literary corpus.³⁴ As indicated by Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān,³⁵ as a result of his fascination for the poems in the *Ḥarīriyya*, he has

29 Personal communication, Dr. Barihi Adetunji, March 20, 2018.

30 For the function of poetry in al-Ḥarīrī’s *maqāmāt* see Hussam Almujaḥalli, “The Function of Poetry in the *Maqāmāt al-Hariri*” (Doctoral diss., Louisiana, Louisiana State University, 2020).

31 For more on Arabic poetry in West Africa see John O. Hunwick, “The Arabic Qasida in West Africa: Forms, Themes, and Contents,” in *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, ed. Stefan Sperl and C. Shackle, Studies in Arabic Literature, v. 20 (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 83–97; Abdul-Samad Abdullah, “Arabic Poetry in West Africa: An Assessment of the Panegyric and Elegy Genres in Arabic Poetry of the 19th and 20th Centuries in Senegal and Nigeria,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 35, no. 3 (2004): 368–390. For its influence in Yorubaland, see Abdul-Rahmon, “A Thematic and Stylistic Study,” 70–72.

32 Christian Obermeier et al., “Aesthetic and Emotional Effects of Meter and Rhyme in Poetry,” *Frontiers in Psychology* 4 (2013): 8.

33 For whom see R. Sellheim, “Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad,” in *ET²*. For the science of ‘*Arūḍ*’ see Dmitrii V. Frolov, *Classical Arabic Verse: History and Theory of ‘Arūḍ*, Studies in Arabic Literature 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

34 Arabic Literary works in Yorubaland and Nigeria have, until recently, included mostly poems. Production of poetry today has even taken new and innovative dimensions and has given rise in the number of many young poets with numerous kinds of diwans being published throughout the country. Similarly, some schools and organizations hold seminars, contests, and circles on Arabic poetry thereby encouraging and maintaining the status quo of Arabic poetry in the Arabic literary tradition of the Nigerian society, see Mas-hood Mahmood Muhammad Jimba et al., *al-Shi’r al-‘Arabī al-mu’āṣir fī Nayjīriyā: Qaḍāyā wa-’ttijāhāt*, Silsila Intāj al-Musta’ribīn al-Afāriqa 19 (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 2018).

35 Personal communication, Ṣāḥib al-Qur’ān, March 2018.

developed a daily routine of memorizing its verse: he memorizes and imitates every poem he comes across in al-Ḥarīrī's oeuvre. This daily routine culminated in writing his own *maqāma*. He says, "Whenever I read a poem in the *Maqāmāt* (of al-Ḥarīrī), I fall in love with it, and then think of imitating it."³⁶ This imitation should not however be taken literally; it is not in form of a *mu'āraḍa* (imitation) that tries to challenge or outdo the model of al-Ḥarīrī's poetry in the same meter. It is rather an emulation of style, language, and formulae from the *Ḥarīriyya*, which guides his writing of his own *maqāma*. Emulation here stands for his inclination toward al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāma* poem(s) that become part of him. It immerses him in the style of al-Ḥarīrī.³⁷

Conversely, the language that some scholars love in the *maqāma*, as explained above, causes indifference towards the genre among others. This is particularly true for those scholars who consider the *maqāma* an archaic form of literature unworthy of attention in modern times and thus discourage people from reading it. This implies that, despite the many people who revere and adore *maqāma* for its language, structure, and themes, others dislike it for the same reasons. Learning, writing, and using the *maqāma* style is neglected by scholars of the latter group, who teach at modernized Arabic schools, which came to prominence in the 19th century. They discourage learning *maqāma* and exclude it from the curriculum of their schools; they fear the influence of its bad characters and dubious acts, while those who know and adopt *maqāma* see the condemnation of the first group as uncalled for. They believe that such criticism is simply due to their inability to learn and assimilate the *maqāma*. Both sides have been long engaged in attacking or defending the merits of the *maqāma* and other classical works. Whether one venerates or disparages it, the *maqāma* elicits strong feelings. These emotional responses dictate not only the social engagement of writers but also extend to the socio-cultural activities of the scholarly community at large. The *maqāma* thus serves as a symbolic object of division.

The dimensions of people's attitudes toward the *maqāma* can further be argued to represent how people claim or disclaim agency in the Nigerian Arabic and Islamic scholarly tradition. Learning and writing *maqāma* are despised and condemned by one group because it has availed others, namely the writers, important positions and become a source of esteem in society. Those who scorn it might feel threatened in their scholarly prestige, reputation, and pub-

36 Personal communication, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān, March 2018.

37 His collections of poems bears testimony to this, see Izzudeen Adetunji, "Maqāmāt Muḥammad al-Awwal Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān al-Ilūrī al-Nayjirī: Dirāsa taḥlīliyya" (Doctoral thesis, Amman, World Islamic Science and Education University, 2014), 60–64.

lic reception, whereas their opponents who writes *maqāma* capitalize on these. This is what Adetunji means when he shares his concern over the “undeclared enemies” his *Kiswa* creates for him. He says:

This work (his *Kiswa*) has created undeclared enemies. Even though they will not explicitly say it, we notice it in their attitude. Some indirectly refer to it as local (archaic), and when I ask what they mean, they will not provide any scholarly stance (answer).³⁸

This statement sheds light on the kind of attack Adetunji has faced from scholars on the opposing side. Although it is not clear whether such animosity entails negative consequences for the author’s social standing, the *maqāma* as a social divider indeed affects the way Nigerian works gain acceptance among a considerable portion of the reading public.³⁹

The emotional responses narrated above, coupled with the traditional-modern dichotomy in the contemporary Arabic scholarly culture of Yorubaland, determine how far the Nigerian *maqāma* works are adopted for instruction in Arabic schools. Schools whose proprietors or officials do not share the thoughts of a particular writer, especially regarding the literary importance of the *maqāma*, would not allow the work on their school’s curriculum. This is not to say that writers and the public are in general unhappy with the *maqāma* as it has developed in Nigeria. In fact, it was considered an exciting moment when the Nigerian innovations emerged to reinvigorate the *maqāma* genre. As explained in the previous chapter, the excitement, happiness, and love shown for the genre are the main factors that contribute to its circulation and reception in the public sphere. People are pleased that what seems to be inimitable has ultimately been imitated. Likewise, authors celebrated for their *maqāmāt* are proud to have achieved the unexpected and happy to be viewed as innovators and literary champions.

Adetunji, for instance, weeps from excitement that he was able to write a *maqāma*. He says:

38 Personal communication, Dr. Barihi Adetunji, March 2018.

39 I have only tried here to use the author’s words used when explaining their experience; however, whether the issue here can be categorized as *ḥasad*, *ghibṭa* (both of which could be translated as envy) or *ʿadāwa* (enmity) remains unclear. For more on these concepts, see Iqbal Akhtar Khan and Umair Ghani, “Hasad (Malicious Envy) and Ghibṭah (Decent Envy): History, Culture and Philosophy,” *Journal of Psychology & Psychotherapy* 08, no. 02 (2018): 1–7; A.F.L. Beeston, “Jāḥiẓ ‘On the Difference between Enmity and Envy,’” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 18 (1987): 22–45.

I didn't think I could write a *maqāma* at first. I had the belief that it's beyond my intellectual power, and I thank Allah for giving me the chance. After writing it, I looked at it again and I wept, thanking God for endowing me with the knowledge. I didn't think I could write this, I even asked myself whether I was the one who wrote it. I still can't imagine that I wrote a *maqāma*. I feel very happy.⁴⁰

Because his position as imam kept him busy, Imam Mas'ud felt "incomplete" when he could not write more *maqāmas* after the compilation of his two-chapter *maqāma* work.⁴¹ Emotional dimensions thus matter in the composition and emergence of further *maqāma* works and their reception in Yoruba-Nigerian society.

3 The Language of Emotion

Let us now turn to how episodes of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* deal with emotions. For instance, their representation and portrayal of grief and other emotions reflect more of a Yoruba context than of an Arabic one. Indeed, Nigerian *maqāma* writers do not take inspiration solely from the classical Arabic tradition, but rather they try as much as possible to domesticate and contextualize it. For this, their "language of emotion" cannot solely be understood through the "Arabic gaze"; their indigenous peculiarity is equally important. The local context also plays a part in their Arabic language use, particularly in relation to emotions. What Yoruba make of anger, for instance, can be different from how it is taken in other social contexts; their *maqāma* episodes as will be shown below exhibit this. The rest of this chapter focuses on what I call "Yoruba emotion," i.e., the different emotions that make the indigenous Yoruba Nigerian *maqāmāt* unique.⁴² Three things are involved in this enquiry: the macro-use of

40 Personal communication, Dr. Barihi Adetunji, March 2018.

41 He remarks: "whenever I remember writing *maqāma*, I feel incomplete. Because I really want to proceed in writing as many *maqāmāt* as possible, but the position I am in as imam of the town does not give me a chance." Personal communication, Imam Mas'ud Adebayo, March 2018.

42 For a general view of Arabic emotions, see the articles in the recent issue of the journal, *Cultural History* vol. 8.2, relevant ones from which are referred to below in the suitable places. More insight into how emotional words are used in the Arabic sense is also found in: Lale Behzadi, "Standardizing Emotions: Aspects of Classification and Arrangement in Tales With a Good Ending," *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques* 71, no. 3 (2017): 811–831.

emotions, the portrayal of emotions at a micro level, and emotional reflection through the body.

3.1 *Portraying Emotions at the Macro Level*

In the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, macro emotions can be explored in two ways: those that are common to all four works and those that are specific to one of them; these are what I call general and separate portrayals of emotions respectively. The former involves the emotions of grief, love, and fear while the latter only concerns envy and anger. Representation of feelings of sadness and sorrow characterizes major Arabic literary production in Yorubaland. Poetic elegies (*marāthī*), by which Yoruba authors express their sorrow and grief and mourn their dead, form a large part of their literary corpus.⁴³ The sociocultural context of mourning the dead in Yorubaland and related indigenous Yoruba elegiac poetry also partly informs Arabic elegies by Nigerians.⁴⁴ It is therefore no surprise that grief constitutes an important affective element of Nigerian *maqāmas*.⁴⁵

In the *Kiswa* for instance, up to four individual *maqāmas* pivot around the theme of grieving.⁴⁶ There are variants in the portrayal of this emotion in the four *maqāmas*, namely: sadness in its general sense and grief, which is sadness over losing something or someone. In *al-Maqāma al-ʿAjūziyya* (no. 2), grief is expressed over the death of an old woman highly valued by her family. People express their sadness over the deceased through mourning and wailing, only for the grief to reveal itself a prank, when the audience discovers the protagonist's ruse who teases the bereaved ones with the word *ʿajūz* (lit. old woman). When

43 Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "From the Intellectual Powerhouse of Ilorin (Nigeria): Elegy in the Work of Adam ʿAbdallāh al-Ilūrī (1917–1992)," in *The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth*, ed. Micheal Kemper and Ralf Elger (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017), 44.

44 Cf. for instance the praise and mourning performance on the dead ones in a Yoruba town: Barber, *I Could Speak Until Tomorrow*, 117–134.

45 For more on the concept of sadness and grief in Arabic literature see James E. Montgomery, "Al-Mutanabbī and the Psychology of Grief," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 (1995): 285–292; Arie Schippers, "Hebrew Andalusian Elegies and the Arabic Literary Tradition," in *Hidden Futures, Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World*, ed. T.P.J. van den Hout, J.M. Bremer, and R. Peters (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 177–194. For more on Nigerian case, see Sanni, "From the Intellectual Powerhouse," 38–61; Abdullah, "Arabic Poetry in West Africa," 368–390.

46 The *maqāmas* are *al-ʿAjūziyya* (no. 2), *al-Dālīyya* (no. 17), *al-ʿUyūwiyya* (no. 27), and *al-Waladīyya* (no. 29) see Barihi Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī fī maqāmāt ʿAbd al-Bārī* (Ibadan [Nigeria]: Baydakh Publishing and Media Hub, 2017).

the audience informs Abū Khālid, the protagonist, that death of an *ʿajūz* is what makes them sad, he inquires: “*ʿajūz* in Arabic has many meanings, which one do you mean?” One member of the audience gives twenty-six meanings, and Abū Khālid gives as many as seventy in prose and verse.⁴⁷ The grief expressed in this *maqāma* is attached to a loss, even though it transcends the literal meaning of loss to incorporate the inner (unintended) meanings of the word *ʿajūz* in the form of *tawriya* (double entendre).⁴⁸ In the context of this *maqāma*, the common meaning of *ʿajūz* (old woman) is not intended, and other uncommon meanings therefore have to be provided. What is important here is the loss and the representation of grief. The loss involves losing two things: the dead woman and the knowledge which the audience lacks, while the bereaved is one entity, the people. Based on this, Abū Khālid makes grief an emotion that is both personalized and personified through this *maqāma*. Elegy is literally and socially always associated with sorrow and grief, as in this *maqāma*. What is impressive in the kind of grief expressed here is the personified tendency of the grief by considering lack of knowledge as a form of death.⁴⁹ This emotional dimension, in all its features, can be traced to al-Ḥarīrī, the foremost model of the Nigerian *maqāma* writers, who expresses the same loss of knowledge repeatedly in his *Ḥarīriyya*.⁵⁰ Before the emergence of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, this dimension of elegy was not common in the writings of West African and Nigerian Arabic

47 In total, up to hundred meanings are mentioned in the *maqāma*, see Adetunji, 29–44.

48 *Tawriya* is the use of a word with two meanings, one common but not intended, and the other uncommon but intended. For more on this, see Pierre Cachia, *The Arch Rhetorician or The Schemer's Skimmer: A Handbook of Late Arabic Badī' Drawn from 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī's Nafahāt al-Azhār 'alā Nasamāt al-Ashār* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 69–72.

49 For a similar situation in Arabic literature, see Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arab Literary Tradition: Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry*, Medieval Iberian Peninsula, v. 7 (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 244–286; Montgomery, “Al-Mutanabbī and the Psychology of Grief,” 285–286.

50 See, for example, the scenario depicted in al-Ḥarīrī's sixth *maqāma* (*al-Marāghīyya*) where the protagonist, Abū Zayd, expressed his dissatisfaction to his audience regarding their sinful act of lacking contemporary knowledge. In response to the audience's reverence for past scholars and their belief that no one in the present era could surpass their level of knowledge, Abū Zayd rebuked them and said,

”لَقَدْ جِئْتُ شَيْئًا إِذَا. وَجِئْتُ عَنِ الْقَصْدِ جِدًّا. وَعَظَّمْتُ الْعِظَامَ الرُّفَاتِ. وَافْتَمْتُ فِي الْمِيلِ إِلَى مَنْ فَاتَ.
وَعَظَّمْتُ جِيلَهُ الَّذِينَ فِيهِمْ لَكُمُ الدَّاءُ. وَمَعَهُمُ انْعَقَدَتِ الْمَوَدَاتُ. أُنْسِيتُمْ يَا جِهَابُذَةَ النَّقْدِ. وَمَوَابِدَةَ
الْحَلِيِّ وَالْعَقْدِ. مَا أَبْرَزْتُهُ طَوَارِفُ الْقَرَارِجِ. وَبَرَزَ فِيهِ الْجَدْعُ عَلَى الْقَارِجِ. مِنَ الْعِبَارَاتِ الْمُهْدَبَةِ. وَالْأَسْتَعَارَاتِ
الْمُسْتَعْدَبَةِ. وَالرَّسَائِلِ الْمَوْجَّحَةِ. وَالْأَسَاجِيعِ الْمُسْتَمْلَحَةِ. وَهَلْ لِلْقَدَمَاءِ إِذَا أَنْعَمَ النَّظَرُ مِنْ حَضَرٍ غَيْرِ الْمَعَانِي
الْمَطْرُوقَةِ الْمَوَارِدِ. الْمَعْقُولَةِ الشَّوَارِدِ. الْمَأْثُورَةِ عَنْهُمْ لِتَقَادُمِ الْمَوَالِدِ. لَا لِتَقَدُّمِ الصَّادِرِ عَلَى الْوَارِدِ ...”

writers, despite the numerous elegies in their corpus. Their elegies concern the expression of grief only over the death of real persons.⁵¹

Another dimension to the expression of grief in the *Kiswa* is the relationship of grief with piety and fear. In the remaining three *maqāmas* sampled above, the grief portrayed leads to religious piety and fear, both of which can also end in sickness, as found in *al-Maqāma al-Ūyūwīyya* (no. 27).⁵² Because of the incessant grieving over the death of his wife, the narrator Mujāhid becomes sick and exhausted. This is influenced by the classical Arabic style of elegy but also reflected the Nigerian tradition of evoking the afterlife in elegizing their dead. This approach contrasts with the elegiac poems of West African Arabic scholars.⁵³

In the *Ilūriyya*, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān takes a realistic approach to portray grief in *al-Maqāma al-Rawḍiyya* (no. 12) and *al-Maqāma al-Kadūniyya* (no. 32). These two *maqāmas* deal with grief as it occurs to people in real life. *Al-Rawḍiyya* is an elegy for a certain Shaykh Luqmān who happens to be the author's friend. In this *maqāma*, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān shows his bereavement for the death of his friend and expresses grief in a way that exceeds elegy; it includes a step-by-step description of the moment when he found his friend taking his last breath.

"Ye have uttered a grievous thing, ye have wandered much from the way:—For ye have magnified mouldering bones, ye have been excessive in your leaning to those who are gone; ye have condemned your generation, among whom ye were born, and with whom your friendships are established.—Have you forgotten, ye skilful in testing, ye sages of loosing and binding,—How much new springs have given forth; how the colt has surpassed the full-grown steed;—In refined expressions, and delightful metaphors, and ornate addresses, and admired cadences?—And, if any one here will look diligently, is there in the ancients aught but ideas whose paths are worn, whose ranges are restricted; which have been handed down from them through the priority of their birth, not from any superiority in him who draws first at the well over him who comes after? ..." Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarījī*, 28–29; Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri*, 1134.

51 Cf. also the elegies of Ibadan ulama as the apex of their poetic contributions in Arabic, see Abdul-Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study," 159–200.

52 The religious dimension of Yoruba Arabic elegies is common, see Sanni, "From the Intellectual Powerhouse," 44.

53 See for example the *Kiswa*'s 2nd *maqāma* where a mother of the narrator's friend died and, according to Abū Khālid, the bereaved must fear for the mother because of torment in the grave. The relationship between religion and emotion will be passingly analyzed later as it has to do with the Nigerian society and writings. For the "blood" or family related feature in Arabic elegies such as parent-child mourning, see Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arab Literary Tradition*, 244–286. See also: Emil Th. Homerin, "A Bird Ascends the Night: Elegy and Immortality in Islam," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59 (1991): 247–279; Thomas Bauer, "Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah's *Kindertotenlieder*," *Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 49–96.

"Luqmān was on his death bed when I got a call,"⁵⁴ says Jibrīl b. Khālid, the narrator of the story. He then proceeds to narrate the events of *sakrat al-mawt* (the agony of death) as experienced by Luqmān, the change in the countenance of the narrator because of the unexpected call, and the gathering and wailing of people over what the narrator describes as *fuj'at al-mawt* (unexpected death). The virtues of the deceased are also extolled in a way that arouses empathy in the reader, thus using the emotion of grief to lead to other emotions.⁵⁵

Al-Maqāma al-Kadūniyya was composed as an emotional response to the incessant killings in the Nigerian Kaduna state.⁵⁶ After narrating the situation of the killings, Abū Labīb the protagonist of the *maqāma*, feels sober, sad, and depressed. The most disheartening part of the occurrence which, according to the narrator, accentuates its sadness is the fact that the killings are among the Muslims fighting for the same religious cause, but with different strategies, convictions, and understandings. Sadness and grief as the themes of this *maqāma* later focus on a friend of the protagonist in an elegy, whose death Abū Labīb mourns. The way Ṣāḥīb al-Qur'ān portrays grief in these two *maqāmas* is diction for its narrative realism.

A similar way of portraying emotion can be found in the 29th *maqāma* (*al-Nayjīriyya*) of the *Yūsufiyya*. In this *maqāma*, Dīnār grieves over the death of Umar Musa Yar'Adua, who was president of Nigeria from 2007 until his death in 2010 and who was known, according to this *maqāma*, as the most upright president in Nigeria's history. The entire country joins in the mourning; here too personification plays out. Although the *maqāma* exemplifies incoherent and conflicting themes of social criticism and politics, grieving, sadness,

54 Muḥammad al-Awwal b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 6th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Quds, 2017), 43.

55 That emotion begets emotion is mentioned by Barbara Rosenwein, especially in the case of anger, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Introduction," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 2. See also for more on this in Islamic context: Zouhair Ghazzal, "From Anger on Behalf of God to 'Forbearance' in Islamic Medieval Literature," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 219–221.

56 Kaduna, a state in the northwestern part of the country is renowned for frequent killings motivated by religious, political and civil grounds, see for more: Colette Harris, "Violence in a Religiously Divided City: Kaduna, Nigeria—From the 'Shari'a' Riots of 2000 to the Post-Election Clashes of 2011," *Space and Polity* 17, no. 3 (2013): 284–299; A.E. Ojie, "Democracy, Ethnicity, and the Problem of Extrajudicial Killing in Nigeria," *Journal of Black Studies* 36, no. 4 (2006): 546–569; Jibrin Ibrahim, "The Politics of Religion in Nigeria: The Parameters of the 1987 Crisis in Kaduna State," *Review of African Political Economy* No. 45/46, Militarism, Warlords and the Problem of Democracy (1989): 65–82.

and mourning are important sub-themes. The scenario in the *Yūsufiyya's al-Maqāma al-Aghawīyya* (no. 28) is not different. Mourning the dead is interwoven with poetic elegy and sermons which shape most expressions of grief in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*.⁵⁷

In the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, love is portrayed as a milder emotion than grief. Ajegunle's *Yūsufiyya* gives insight into this. Its *al-Maqāma al-Lāghūsiyya* (no. 4) discusses how and why one should love. In the form of a dialogue between a father and his son, the author classifies love into "bad" and "good" sub-types. According to this *maqāma*, love must involve both parties for it to pass the author's "credibility test." Bad love is not reciprocated at the same level and intensity between the parties involved, while good love is the opposite. Although this view is based on the *Ḥarīriyya's al-Maqāma al-Dimyaṭiyya* (no. 2), from which *al-Lāghūsiyya* draws inspiration, the indigenous setting and peculiarities contribute to our understanding of the concept of love in the Nigerian-Yoruba context. In Yoruba society, to love is to "feel" the love from the other side. The modern-day concept of self-love does not reflect the representation of love that is common among the Nigerian people. In essence, no love is true if it does not involve other people.⁵⁸ Another *maqāma* in the *Yūsufiyya*, *al-Bawshiyya* (no. 18), further buttresses this social conception of love with the focus on love for women which is associated with the "body." Here, description of love revolves around beauty as the focus of love; to love, then, is to be "beautiful" internally and externally. According to this *maqāma*, both the internal and the external, or the mind and physical beauty, are complementary. In his *al-Maqāma al-Zawjiyya* (no. 27), love must also be mutual and reciprocated. Throughout the *Yūsufiyya*, any portrayal of love tends towards reciprocity.

Ajegunle's portrayal of women's love is applicable to Adetunji's *Kiswa* as well. The love expressed in the *Kiswa's al-Maqāma al-Abūjiyya* (no. 16) leads to a struggle between two men over a woman: one is fighting for real love and the other for imaginary love. Abū Khālid, the imaginary lover, and a boy, the real lover, drag each other to court to state their respective claims for the love of an unknown woman. The imaginary lover, of course, loses the case; Abū Khālid is dismissed and condemned for his imagination. This portrayal is reminiscent of Yoruba social context of "love" that gives preference to imagination over reality, as expressed in the *Yūsufiyya*. Abū Khālid loves the woman unbeknownst to her

57 Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf* (Lagos [Nigeria]: Iswad, 2010), 209–210.

58 For more on this social view of love in the Yoruba context and how it can be bad or good, attractive and non-attractive, see Andrea Cornwall, "Spending Power: Love, Money, and the Reconfiguration of Gender Relations in Ado-Odo, Southwestern Nigeria," *American Ethnologist* 29, no. 4 (2002): 963–980.

and considers her his wife even while she is married to another man. This imagined unilateral love contrasts with the reciprocity that Ajegunle proposes in the *Yūsufiyya* above and differs from the love felt from others described below.

Love does many other things to lovers other than causing controversy as portrayed in the *Kiswa's al-Maqāma al-Abūjīyya*. It causes happiness when it is reciprocated and sadness when it is not. Love can also be fake or genuine. In the *Kiswa's al-Maqāma al-Nabawiyya* (no. 16), the only love that can be genuine and cause happiness is the love for the Prophet Muhammad. According to this *maqāma*, even without the physical presence of the Prophet to reciprocate the love, one will still be fulfilled. One notices the influence of the Sufi concept of love here. In Sufi terms, love of the Prophet is the ultimate goal to attain the love of God.⁵⁹ According to the Sufis, when one loves the Prophet to the extent of feeling him inside oneself and amplifying it through various kinds of devotions, one has reached the peak of mysticism, and this will lead to *taqarrub* (being close to Allah), or being in the *janāb al-rasūl* (lit. the vicinity of the Prophet's magnanimity), which attracts mercy.⁶⁰ This is also one of the implications of the second divine commands according to the Islamic mystical theology.⁶¹ Although Adetunji is not known for Sufism in Nigeria, the way he portrays love inclines towards the Sufi understanding of the concept and shows his Sufi convictions.⁶²

59 Valerie J. Hoffman-Ladd, "Devotion to the Prophet and His Family in Egyptian Sufism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, no. 4 (1992): 620–621.

60 Pnina Werbner, "The Abstraction of Love: Personal Emotion and Mystical Spirituality in the Life Narrative of a Sufi Devotee," *Culture and Religion* 18, no. 2 (2017): 165–167.

61 For the two commands and their implications, see William C. Chittick, "Themes of Love in Islamic Mystical Theology," in *Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Mystical Perspectives on the Love of God*, ed. Sheelah Treflé Hidden (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2014), 155–180. For more on the concept of love based on the divine vs. human, mystical and prophetic dichotomies, see William C. Chittick, "Love in Islamic Thought," *Religion Compass* 8/7 (2014): 229–238; Joseph E.B. Lombard, "From 'Ḥubb' to 'Ishq': The Development of Love in Early Islam," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18, no. 3 (2007): 345–385.

62 Based on a personal communication with him in 2018, Adetunji believes Sufism is a "state of mind" that must be practiced on individual basis without proclaiming or announcing it the way people usually do nowadays. He noted that he has been in Sufi practice for more than thirty years and few know him for this. This view is not actually new in the Sufi practice and can be seen in the practice of a substantial number of Sufi scholars. However, it remains unclear whether Adetunji's view is shaped by those thoughts. For more on the general concept and practice of Sufism, see Alexander D. Knysh, *Sufism: A New History of Islamic Mysticism* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017); Carl W. Ernst, *Sufism: An Introduction to the Mystical Tradition of Islam* (Boston; London: Shambhala, 2011); William C. Chittick, *Sufism: A Beginner's Guide*, Beginner's Guides (London: Oneworld, 2008).

Love takes another form in the *Ilūriyya's al-Maqāma al-Ghādiyya* (no. 10). Here, love is portrayed as a predicament from which one must be free(d). According to this *maqāma*, the worst thing that ever happens to Abū Labīb is love. It causes him agonies and tears. His agonies increase when he is not loved back by his beloved. This representation of love continues throughout the *Ilūriyya*. In *al-Maqāma al-Ḥubbīyya* (no. 31) for instance, Abū Labīb finds himself in the agony of love again and describes how he suffers from it. He also describes himself as being in the shackles of love, *asīr al-maḥabba* (literally, “a prisoner of love”).⁶³ Reciprocity of love also plays out here. All the agonies Abū Labīb faces stem from unreciprocated love. In sum, in all Nigerian *maqāmāt*, love is considered in relation not only to its opposite, i.e., hate, but also to the beloved. The reciprocity that characterizes all forms of love portrayed shows the interconnected nature of the two emotions.

No detailed attention is given to fear as a distinct emotion in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, but it governs the plot of the *Kiswa's al-Maqāma al-Tūghawīyya* (no. 10) and the *Yūsufīyya's al-Maqāma al-Abiyūkūtawīyya* (no. 12). In both *maqāmas*, fear brings on states of serious panic and prevents one from pursuing personal ambitions. There are various intensities of fear, ranging from ordinary levels to intense ones (*khawf shadīd*); fear can manifest itself violently, and have intimidating and oppressive aspects: “*takhwīfāt al-shayṭān wa-tafzīlāt al-sultān*” (devil’s intimidations and authoritarian frightening),⁶⁴ It can also make one fall prey equally to fellow human beings,⁶⁵ wild animals (*sibāʿ*),⁶⁶ or other entities such as bad governance. Moreover, religious belief cultivates fear as an emotion in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. This involves piety and the fear of God, the lack of which causes agony and misery. For this fear to be allayed, one must be religiously vigilant and spiritually upright. In other words, should one be in a state of fear, the (only) solution is to turn to God.⁶⁷ As seen in the case of love above, Islamic religious belief shapes Nigerian writers’ expression of emotions in their works.⁶⁸

63 al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 105.

64 Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 86.

65 As displayed by Abū ʿAmr in *Yūsufīyya's al-Maqāma al-Abiyūkūtawīyya*, (no. 12), see Aje-gunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 74–78. Likewise are thieves and bandits who may cross the road, see *al-Maqāma al-Tūghawīyya* of Adetunji’s *Kiswa*, Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 83–89.

66 Hence the expressions like: “وَمِنْ حَسَدِ الْحَسَدِ، وَهَجُومِ الثَّرِّ وَالْأَسَدِ”: Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 86. and “وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ سُمُومِ الْعَقَارِبِ وَالْأَفَاعِي”: Aje-gunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 76.

67 Cf. *al-Maqāma al-ʿAwṭshīyya* (no. 20) of the *Kiswa*, see Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 145–148.

68 See next chapter for more on the influence of Islam and other religions on the literary composition of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* in general.

3.1.1 Separate Emotions: Envy and Anger

Only Ṣāḥib al-Qurʿān writes a *maqāma* portraying envy. In *al-Maqāma al-Kankāwiyya* (no. 13), Jibrīl is envious of the scholars and writers of his time for the knowledge they possess. This envy is not malicious in a way that can make the envier destructive in action or the envied to be prone to loss of their attributes. It involves the positive desire to have what others possess without harboring any grudges against them.⁶⁹ The envy for knowledge portrayed in *al-Maqāma al-Kankāwiyya* is built on the background of a popular prophetic hadith which limits proper or acceptable “envy” only to knowledge and charity.⁷⁰ Consequently, Jibrīl strives to be like the scholars of his time in knowledge and enrolls himself in an extramural class. Whether this representation of envy mirrors the experience of antagonism authors face from fellow Nigerians for their *maqāmāt*, as described above, remains a question. However, enmity and envy are linked together in Arabic literary culture, which might play out here.⁷¹

The portrayal of anger in the *Yūsufiyya*’s *al-Maqāma al-Bawshiyya* (no. 18) is tied to the previously discussed concept of bad and good love. In this *maqāma*, Abū ‘Amr becomes angry at those who praise women and their love, using this as the premise for the unfortunate love story he is about to tell. The anger expresses his emotional disappointment and frustration caused by the betrayal of love.⁷² What elicits anger in him is his bad experience with a fake and bad lover who forsook him when fortune turned against him. This echoes the Aristotelian view of anger as an emotional response or reaction to an offence or moral force⁷³ and reinforces the author’s view on love as an emotion that can lead to other states of mind: anger, soberness, or sadness. The anger portrayed

69 For the two kinds of envy and its psychological and social effects on people and society, see Khan and Ghani, “Hasad (Malicious Envy) and Ghibtah (Descent Envy),” 1–2.

70 The prophet Muhammad (saw), as reported by Ibn Mas‘ūd (May Allah be pleased with him), says: “Envy is permitted only in two cases: A man whom Allah gives wealth, and he disposes of it rightfully, and a man to whom Allah gives knowledge which he applies and teaches it.” *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Kitāb al-‘Ilm, Hadith No. 73; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Kitāb ṣalāt al-musāfirīn wa-qaṣr ihā, Hadith No. 816.

71 For a classical Arabic view on the difference between “enmity” and “envy,” see Beeston, “Jāḥiẓ ‘On the Difference between Enmity and Envy,” 22–45.

72 That frustration leads to anger has been pointed in the case of al-Mutanabbī for instance, see Saheed Timehin, “Al-Mutanabbī’s Frustration and Aggression: A Psychopathological Reading of Ali al-Jarīm’s *Khatimat al-Mataf*,” *Al-Ḥaḍārah: LASU Journal of Arabic & Islamic Studies* 7 (2007): 117–129. This could also be used to point to the fact that “anger begets anger,” the angers spurred by the betrayal and disappointment experienced by Abū ‘Amr motivated the anger he later showed to the audience in this *maqāma*.

73 For the analysis of this Aristotelian view, see Solomon, “The Philosophy of Emotions,” 4–5.

here is twofold: positive and negative.⁷⁴ To Abū ‘Amr, the situation he finds himself justifies his anger while to the audience, who react negatively to the attitude, it is inappropriate for anger to be uncontrollable, especially for someone like Abū ‘Amr, a knowledgeable and respected scholar for that matter.⁷⁵ Hence, the remark by Dīnār:

“فَغَضِبَ ... غَضَبًا لَمْ أَرِ مِثْلَهُ مِنَ الْغَضَبِ”⁷⁶ 1

(He became angry in a manner I have not seen)

The positions of the two parties—Abū ‘Amr’s and that of the audience represented by Dīnār—on anger remain unchanged until the end of the episode.

3.2 Portraying Emotions at the Micro Level

Besides supplying the theme of a *maqāma*, emotions appear in various formulations. The use of individual words to portray emotions in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* vary. Meanings and understandings they convey also depend on whether they are being used as part of a sentence, in a dialogue, or separately. The usage of a word connotating emotions can also contribute to how emphatic the emotion is. Emotion can also be emphatic through the understanding of a word if used in a collective or separate manner. Therefore, words denoting emotions and how they are used in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* can give an accurate understanding of their portrayal.

All emotions explained at the macro thematic level above appear at the micro level as well; however, new emotions, such as happiness and wonder, also come up at some point. Grief and its variations, such as sorrow and sadness, are the most frequently expressed emotion in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. The following words and their derivatives are frequently used for them: *ghamm*, *hamm*, *kamad*, *huzn*, *lahf*, *kurba*, *ta’awwuh*, *ka’āba*, *asaf*, *shajw*, *wajd*, *jawā* and *shajā*. No semantic discrimination is clearly indicated in how they occur throughout the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Emphases are made by employing vocatives or the Arabic

74 For the positivity and negativity of anger from a classical Arabic perspective, see Yasien Mohamed, “The Metaphor of the Dog in Arabic Literature,” *Tydskrif Vir Letterkunde* 45, no. 1 (2008): 75–86.

75 For more on the “controllability” and “uncontrollability” of anger in particular see Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Controlling Paradigms,” in *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 233–247.

76 Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 114.

grammatical *tawkīd* (emphasis) and *maṣḍar* (adverb of emphasis or cognate accusative) strategies.⁷⁷ The following expressions are found:

2 "تَاوَهُ تَاوَهُ الْمَتَّاسِفِ عَلَيْهِمُ"⁷⁸

(He groaned like someone condoling them)

3 "قَالَ الشَّيْخُ: "يَا بِي" يَا أَسْفِي!!!"⁷⁹

(The man said: "ye ye," o my sorrow!)

4 "وَا حَزَنَاهُ"⁸⁰

(What a distress!)

5 "تَفَرَّقْنَا بِنُفُوسٍ حَزِينٍ، الَّتِي لَا حَرَقَتْ حُزْنًا لَوْ كُنَّا بِقُرْبِ الْبَنَزِينِ"⁸¹

(We depart with a sad mind (i.e., heart), which would have gotten burned with sadness, had we been close to gasoline)

Words frequently used for love are *ḥubb*, *shawq*, *wudd*, *ʿishq*, *shaghaf* and *ta'alluf*,⁸² appearing in the following sentences:

6 "لِي جَارٍ وَدِدْتُهُ، وَالْوَدُّ فِيهِ كُلُّ يَوْمٍ جَدَّدْتُهُ"⁸³

(I have a neighbor whom I loved, and I renew my love for him every day)

77 See for more: Mohammad T. Alhawary, *Modern Standard Arabic Grammar: A Learner's Guide* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 169–173.

78 Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 152.

79 Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 17.

80 Ajegunle, 119.

81 Ajegunle, 103.

82 I have not considered those words on love with which Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān composes a fifteen-line poem in *al-Maqāma al-Ḥubbīyya* (no. 31). This is because I see this as an intentional dictionary-based composition by the author which cannot show his intuitive use of Arabic language. For the poem see al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 105–106. For a more general discussion on words used to connote love in Arabic literature, see Lois Anita Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre* (London/New York: University of London Press Ltd/New York University Press/, 1972), 92–96.

83 Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 89.

7 "إِنِّي أُحِبُّكَ حُبًّا، وَأَوْدُّ أَنْ تَكُونَ لِي أَبًا"⁸⁴

(I love you with a love by which I would like you to be my father)

8 "لَا مِنْ النَّاسِ مَنْ كَانَ يُحِبِّي مَسْغُوفًا"⁸⁵

(No one among the people is obsessed with my love)

9 "يَدَّعِي أَنَّهُ أَسِيرُ الْمَحَبَّةِ، وَكَانَ مُحِبًّا إِلَيْهِ مِنَ الْحَبَّةِ، وَأَنَّهُ مَأْثُورٌ مِنَ الْأَجْبَاءِ"⁸⁶

(He claims to be a prisoner of love, that he loves this more than ḥabba (seed), and that he is famous among the beloved)

The antithetical pair of love and hatred also features at this level. In other words, hatred is only adduced where love is, to adumbrate the concept and practice of love. This could perhaps be why not many words are used to portray hate in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. The following are on hate: *abghaḍa* and *shanʿā*:

10 "إِذَا فَعَلَ مُبْغِضِي فَعْلَةً، أَقُولُ فَعْلَةً شَنَعًا"⁸⁷

(When my hater does something, I say it is a horrible thing)

Words expressing anger are *sakhiṭa*, *ghaḍība*, *ghāḥa*, and *aḥfaḥa*, as they can be seen in the following uses:

11 "وَسَخِطَ بَعْضُهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ"⁸⁸

(And they were angry at one another)

12 "ذُو فَضْلٍ عَرِيقٍ، وَغَضَبٍ بَرِيقٍ"⁸⁹

(one with a deep-rooted favor, and a sparkling anger)

84 Adetunji, 177.

85 Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 80. Note the *shaghaf* and *hubb* used together for emphasis.

86 al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 105.

87 Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 32.

88 Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 44.

89 Maʿūd A. Adebayo. "al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya." ms. Qyo, Nigeria., 2000.

13 "فَغَضِبَ أَبُو عَمْرٍو غَضَبًا لَمْ أَرِ مِثْلَهُ مِنَ الْغَضَبِ"⁹⁰

(Abū 'Amr got angry in a manner I have not seen)

14 "فَخَرَجْتُ مِنْ دَارِهِ غَضِيبًا!"⁹¹

(I left his home angry)

15 "فَصَمْتُهُ أَحْفَظُنِي"⁹²

(His silence irritates me)

16 "وَأَنَا مِنْ شِدَّةِ الْغَيْظِ وَاجِمٌ"⁹³

(I was dumbfounded out of deep anger)

Khashiya, *qaliqa*, *khashi'a*, *fazi'a*, *khāfa*, *dahisha*, *wajila*, and *ra'uba* constitute expressions of fear and wonder:

17 "خَوْفُ الْوَعِيدِ"⁹⁴

(fear of threat)

18 "أَنْشَأَ شِعْرُكَ قَلْبِي"⁹⁵

(Your poem triggered my fear)

19 "وَأَنَا مِنْ شَأْنِهِ فِي عَجَبٍ وَدَهْشَةٍ"⁹⁶

(I am astonished by his case)

⁹⁰ Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 115.

⁹¹ Ajegunle, 208.

⁹² al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 83.

⁹³ al-Ilūrī, 153.

⁹⁴ Adetunji, *Kiswat al-'ārī*, 179.

⁹⁵ al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 83.

⁹⁶ Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 215.

20 "الْفَزَعُ لِي تَمَّ"⁹⁷

(I am totally terrified)

Happiness, which does not have a place at the thematic level, is expressed in different ways at the micro level. Besides using many varied roots, such as: *ṭariba* (to be delighted), *sarra* (to be happy), *fariḥa* (to be cheerful), *mariḥa* (to be cheerful), *ibtahaja* (to be happy), and *hashsha* (to smile), there are also phrases that connote happiness e.g., *ṭayyib al-rūḥ* or *ṭib al-rūḥ*, *naʿīm al-bāl*, *rāḥa fī al-ḍamīr*. They all occur in the following sentences:

21 "طَرِبْتُ بِرُؤْيَيْهِ طَرِبًا"

(I was very delighted to see him)⁹⁸

22 "اسْتَفْزَنِي قَوْلُهُ فَرَحًا"

(His words made me happy)⁹⁹

23 "وَسَرَّ سُرُورًا، وَكَأَنَّ بِهِ مِنَ السُّرُورِ سُكْرًا"¹⁰⁰

(He was very happy, as if he became intoxicated with happiness)

24 "نَعِيمُ الْبَالِ، نَقِيُّ الْقَلْبِ مِنَ الْبَلْبَالِ"¹⁰¹

(His mind is blissful, the heart purified from anxiety)

25 "فَكَفَّ إِشَادَهُ حِينَ رَأَى يَهْشُ"¹⁰² (*sic*)

(He stopped his recitation when he saw me excited)

Other minor usages involve envy, for which the dominant word used is *ghibṭa*, as in the example:

97 Ajegunle, 95.

98 Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 51.

99 Adetunji, 168.

100 Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 118.

101 Ajegunle, 84.

102 al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 36.

26 "وَأَنَا لِمَكَانِهِ أَتَمَنَّى وَأَعْتَبُ" ¹⁰³

(I aspire to and envy his position)

Hasad, the most common word used for envy, does not feature in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, except in a minor mention in the *Kiswa's al-Maqāma al-Tūghawīyya* (no. 10) as part of a supplication.¹⁰⁴

4 Representing the Physical Manifestations of Emotion

As Barbara Rosenwein notes, "our whole bodies are involved in our emotions and the ways we think about them."¹⁰⁵ Thus, before concluding this chapter, it would be appropriate to see how the "body" and its gestures shape emotional representation in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, where the body is an important indicator of emotion. In other words, the representation of parts of the body, such as the face and heart, epitomizes emotions in the Nigerian *maqāma* texts. In fact, it is through these physical manifestations of emotion that one comes to understand the gravity of the emotion being portrayed and to appreciate the local aspects of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*.

Facial gestures convey a wide variety of emotions such as happiness, sadness, grief, and fear¹⁰⁶ and feature widely in emotional scenes in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. In the *Yūsufiyya's al-Maqāma al-Ajaygunlawīyya* (no. 7), Abū 'Amr asks an old lady to distribute cards to a congregation of Muslims on a festival day as an act of begging. When the lady takes back the set of cards and discovers them to be incomplete, she bursts into tears, *khawfan*, out of fear of being accused of stealing.¹⁰⁷ Her eyes full of tears are the main concern of Abū 'Amr, who will never be deceived by this. The fear of the consequences of her loss is the woman's main concern. Also, in the *Kiswa's al-Maqāma al-Šukūtuwīyya* (no. 4) and *al-Maqāma al-Tawhīdiyya* (no. 15), crying is used to

¹⁰³ al-Ilūrī, 16.

¹⁰⁴ See the appendix for the prayer. See also note 66 above for the particular expression.

¹⁰⁵ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Anger: The Conflicted History of an Emotion*, Vices and Virtues (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 5.

¹⁰⁶ For different emotions that are usually represented by facial expressions, see Lisa Feldman Barrett et al., "Emotional Expressions Reconsidered: Challenges to Inferring Emotion From Human Facial Movements," *Psychological Science in the Public Interest* 20, no. 1 (2019): 1–68.

¹⁰⁷ Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 53.

depict a fearful heart. For an affective portrayal of grief and sadness, eyes always play a role. In the *Yūsufiyya*'s *al-Maqāma al-Awnduwiyya* (no. 11), crying while profusely shedding tears permeates the scenes of grief. In the *Ilūriyya*'s *al-Maqāma al-Ghādiyya* (no. 10), Abū Labīb also weeps while expressing his grief over a lost love. The *Yūsufiyya*'s *al-Maqāma al-Šūkūtuwiyya* (no. 15), *al-Maqāma al-Ilayshawīyya* (no. 30), and the *Kiswa*'s *al-Maqāma al-Uthmāniyya* (no. 14) are other examples of where sadness is expressed by crying and weeping. Shedding tears as an affective representation of emotion serves various purposes in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*.

In contrast, smiling or laughing signify happiness and wonder. In the *Kiswa*'s *al-Maqāma al-Tūghawīyya* (no. 10), Abū Khālid meets his co-trickster at a corner smiling and expressing her joy over their success in gaining booty from their tricks.¹⁰⁸ A similar scene occurs in the *Yūsufiyya*'s *al-Maqāma al-Ifawīyya* (no. 9), where laughing is used as a sign of wonder and happiness when Abū 'Amr performs exceptionally well in front of a ruler and is therefore rewarded. The use of the whole body for dancing and laughing by a messenger of the ruler shows the character's contentment with his action; the messenger is described as, *yarquṣ^u wa-yuẓhir^u l-ṭarab*, dancing and showing delight.¹⁰⁹ This is also the case in *al-Maqāma al-Kādūniyya* (no. 16) where Abū 'Amr, after he has been endowed with gifts, departs from the scene excessively happy and laughing aloud, *inṣarafa^a mifrāḥ^{an} midḥāk^{an}*.¹¹⁰ In connection with laughing, shedding tears is a sign of extreme happiness in some *maqāmas*. Expression: "*ḍaḥik^a ... ḥattā dami'at minh^u l-'aynān*" (laughed until eyes teared up)¹¹¹ can be cited as an example in this regard.

Another prominent part of the body used to portray emotion is the heart. It is employed as a recipient as well as an object of emotion. Happiness, grief, and fear are emotions of the heart. For someone to be happy, his heart must be alert; the reverse is the case with grief. In fear, the heart is always in a state of panic and shaken. The heart (*qalb*), and its synonyms such as the soul (*rūḥ*) and mind (*nafs*), play significant roles in expressing "fear" directly or indirectly.¹¹² This occurs in more than sixty percent of the expressions of fear, showing the importance of the heart. Verbs such as *iḍtaraba*, *irtajafa*, *irta'asha* are usually used with *qalb*. Expressions include:

108 Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 83–89.

109 Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 65.

110 Ajegunle, 102.

111 Ajegunle, 65.

112 For more on the conditions of "heart," see Tilman Seidensticker, *Altarabisch "Herz" und sein Wortfeld* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1992).

27 "وَقُلُوبٌ ... تَرْتَجِفُ ارْتِجَافًا"¹¹³

(And strongly shivering hearts)

28 "وَقُلُوبُ النَّاسِ مِنْ خَوْفِ اللَّهِ تَضْطَرِبُ"¹¹⁴

(Peoples' hearts tremble in fear of God)

29 "وَفِي قَلْقِ الْقَلْبِ أَوْدَعَنِي"¹¹⁵

(And he left me with a fearful heart)

30 "انْضَمَمْتُ إِلَيْهِمْ بِقَلْبٍ وَجِلٍ"¹¹⁶

(I joined them with a fearful heart)

31 "وَنَفُوسِ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ تَرْتَعِبُ"¹¹⁷

(And the soul of rich people became scared)

32 "الْقُلُوبُ مِنْ عَظَمَتِهِ تَرْتَجِفُ"¹¹⁸

(Hearts shake from His might)

As these examples demonstrate, the cognate accusative is used a lot in emotional descriptions. This can be for emphasis as well as for showing the gravity of the emotion.

To express sympathy, longing, or empathy, the heart must be receptive. Winning over a heart means convincing it and eliciting empathy. This seems to be the blueprint for the Nigerian *maqāmāt*: hearts are won with motives to sympathize, arousing emotions in them.¹¹⁹ This is realized through rhetoric. This is what Abū 'Amr does in *al-Maqāma al-Kādūniyya* (no. 16). When he sees that

¹¹³ Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 214.

¹¹⁴ Adetunji, *Kiswat al-'ārī*, 53.

¹¹⁵ Adetunji, 160.

¹¹⁶ Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 70.

¹¹⁷ Ajegunle, 206.

¹¹⁸ Adetunji, *Kiswat al-'ārī*, 127.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Bauer's explanation on the relationship of the use of rhetoric and emotions, see Bauer, "Communication and Emotion," 74–88.

people do not fall prey to his pleas, he tries to convince them with rhetorical artifice. After the display, the narrator, Dīnār, confesses that Abū ‘Amr has attracted their hearts and subjugated their souls,

”اَسْمَالَ قُلُوبَنَا بِسِرِّ بَلَاغَتِهِ، وَاسْتَعَبَدَ نَفُوسَنَا بِسِحْرِ صَيَاغَتِهِ“¹²⁰ 33

(He made our hearts incline to him with the secret of his eloquence, and enslaved our minds with the magic of his formulation)

No option is then left to them but to sympathize with him and, consequently, help him with their charity. Sometimes, the heart can be subjugated by its own emotion(s). This can be seen in the *Ilūriyya*’s *al-Maqāma al-Ghādīyya*, where love and passion dominate and conquer the heart,

”وَرَانَ عَلَى قَلْبِهِ هَوَاهُ وَاعْتَلَى“¹²¹ 34

(love overcame and conquered his heart)

5 Emotions in the Vernacular

The emotional representations discussed above are imbued with the vernacular linguistic background of Nigerian *maqāma* writers. The multilingual situation of Nigerian Muslim society governs how Arabic is used as well as how the emotion is elicited. This contextualization of Arabic and its emotions can be seen in two interrelated forms: 1) Arabic emotional words or expressions are “localized” or 2) Yoruba words, expressions or understandings are imported and adapted into Arabic usage, i.e., Arabicized. These features occur both at macro and micro emotional levels. Arabicization may cause local words to be written in the Arabic script while maintaining their meanings, sounds, and structure, or result in equivalent Arabic words replacing indigenous words. It is difficult to ascertain how Nigerian writers use Arabic words by merely looking at their lexical formulations. The sociocultural contexts of those representations are equally important. Arabic as a language of expression in Yorubaland hinges on the lexical level and the linguistic training the authors have passed through. In the *Yūsufiyya*’s *al-Maqāma al-Ilūriyya* (no. 2) for example, Abū ‘Amr shows his distress and pain by saying:

¹²⁰ Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 101.

¹²¹ al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 36.

35 "يَا يَ يَا أَسْفَى! وَإِنْ مِنْهُ أَسْفَى يَعْقُوبَ عَلَى يُوسُفَ" ¹²²

(Ye, ye, O my sorrow! What is this compared to the regret of Jacob for Joseph)

Two things are involved here; the local exclamation "yé" and the Arabic phrase of emphasis placed side by side. The latter is the Arabic stylistic figure of *tawkīd* (formal emphasis, precisely *tawkīd lafẓī*). The word "yé" is a Yoruba word used to express distress, sorrow, or pain, and it is not normally repeated as in the above passage.

Another issue is that Arabic words are used occasionally without care for their semantic nuances; words with different shades of meaning can be used to denote same (intensity of) emotion and different nuances of Arabic words can get lost in the process.¹²³ For instance, in the Nigerian authors' usage, *ḥazina* (to be sad) has the same meaning as *karaba* (to be sad), *lahifa* (to regret), *ka'iba* (to be depressed), and so on. The same applies to words such as *wudd* (affection), *mawadda* (love), *ḥubb* (affection), *maḥabba* (love), *shaghaf* (passion), *ʿishq* (passion) which are all used to mean the same thing, love. This loss of nuance might be due to the non-native background of authors in the Arabic language vis-à-vis the Yoruba understanding of words with one common vocabulary, such as "love" for which the word "*ifè*" or "*ifèran*" exist. However, this should not be generalized. The way the words discussed here are used among the Arab authors varies as well, as debates on the synonymy of the words for love show.¹²⁴ What makes the case of the Nigerian authors unique is that those near synonyms are used solely for their basic meaning. They simply serve to show authors' linguistic repertoire in Arabic, as visible in the *maqāma*'s lexicological trend. This arises from the traditional Arabic learning, explained in Chapter Two, which places emphases on learning Arabic language with a focus on its religious rather than literary applications.

Cultural interpolation in the use of Arabic by the Nigerian authors can further be exemplified with the expressions of anger such as "sparking lighten-

122 The allusion to the Qurʾān and the reference to the story of Yūsuf (the Prophet) are prominent features within the discussed context. Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 17.

123 Cf. the use of *ḥubb* and *wajd* in the diwan of pre-Islamic poet, al-Aʿshā, see K. Dalgeish, "Some Aspects of the Treatment of Emotion in the *Dīwān* of al-Aʿshā," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 4 (1973): 110–111.

124 Ibn al-Jawzī, as pointed out by Giffen, raised such a controversial issue as "whether the names used for love are all synonymous or not," see Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love*, 91–92.

ing,” *ghaḍab^{un} barīq^{un}*, and “flaming fire,” *ghayz^{un} lahib^{un}*. The “light” as used to qualify *ghaḍab* (anger) indeed shows an indigenous particularity. Helen Blatherwick points to the fact that anger expressed in the Egyptian epic has a background in the everyday usage of the word in the Arab world, namely the phrase “light in the eyes growing dark.”¹²⁵ Unlike this Arabic situation, which also inclines towards the Qur’ānic language,¹²⁶ the light, and more appropriately, the light in the eyes, intensifies when one is angry in the Yoruba context. In Yoruba phrasing, anger is always associated with flames, blazing, sparking and so on. Hence, the Yoruba expression “*ógbíná jẹ*” (lit. he bursts into flames) is commonly used to describe someone angry.¹²⁷ The use of the words *barīq* (lit. sparkle) and *lahīb* (lit. blaze) to qualify anger thus harks back more to the indigenous language background.

In conclusion, the emotional dimensions of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* presented throughout this chapter constitute a starting point for understanding how Nigerian Arabic scholars perceive emotions based on their cultural and scholarly backgrounds, and for further theorizing Yoruba emotion from literary and linguistic perspectives. The present analysis demonstrates that, despite limitations and adaptations in their use of Arabic language, such as the intrusion of their own socio-cultural backgrounds, Nigerian Arabic writers convey their “emotions” in the ways that they feel appropriate, genuine, and communicable.¹²⁸

125 Helen Blatherwick, “‘And the Light in His Eyes Grew Dark’: The Representation of Anger in an Egyptian Popular Epic,” *Cultural History* 8, no. 2, special issue on Arabic Emotions: From the Qur’an to the Popular Epic (2019): 230–232.

126 Cf. the explanation on the two verses of the Qur’an in Sura Nahl (Chapter 16 vs. 58) and Sura Zukhruf (Chapter 43 vs. 17) where anger and grief is associated with face growing dark.

127 Cf. the story of Sango one of the deities in Yoruba and a former King of Oyó who is always associated with fire blazing when he is angry. George Brandon, “Shango,” in *Encyclopedia of African Religion*, by Molefi Asante and Ama Mazama (2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks, California 91320 United States: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009).

128 Communicating emotion effectively continues to be a striking question in Arabic literature writers and poets had to deal with, cf. Bauer, “Communication and Emotion,” 50–52.

The Old Way

Structures and Sources of the Nigerian maqāmāt in Comparative Perspective

Chapters one to four acquainted the reader with the background in which Nigerian *maqāmāt* emerged, and gave insight into their production, dissemination, use in knowledge acquisition, and general interaction in Nigerian-Yoruba society. The focus in Chapter Five is on the *maqāma* texts themselves. Not only is the *maqāma* unique in structure, form, and content, but the *maqāma* as a genre has a literary legacy that goes back many centuries. The first *maqāma*, the *Hamadhāniyya*, provides the original classical model, which was subsequently further developed by later *maqāma* writers. However, the genre remains strongly rooted in the original work: indeed, it is almost impossible for a *maqāma*, new or old, modern or classical, to break from the *Hamadhāniyya* model.¹ Even the *Ḥarīriyya*, which later gained prominence as a prototype of the *maqāma*, does not bring anything new in terms of structure. Stories, content, and contexts may differ in *maqāmas*, but the “old way” as the framework or format continues to thrive across time and space. No *maqāma* work neglects to take at least one feature from the *Hamadhāniyya*. Nigerian *maqāmāt* likewise do not depart from the classical *maqāma* legacy; features of the Hamadhanian model shape their content. Therefore, it is appropriate to view the modern *maqāmas* through the classical lens, especially since the Nigerian *maqāmāt* collections are consciously neo-classical. Consequently, Nigerian writers not only imitate but also challenge the classical *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī in what may be seen as a duel between the new and the old, and between creativity and classicism. The new works manage to hold their own while taking their place in the *maqāma* tradition. Thus, as will be shown below, Nigerian writers have retained the format of the classical Arabic *maqāma* while incorporating indigenous forms.

Here, I discuss the structures of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* based on the parameters of their classical models. Through this, it will become clear how Nigerians have incorporated classical *maqāma* features. Building on the brief exposition of *maqāma* structures given in the introduction, I examine the structures and

1 Cf. the comment of Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila on why he chose to start his important work on the *maqāma* with the life story of al-Hamadhānī, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Diskurse Der Arabistik, Bd. 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 15.

forms of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* in two steps: first by identifying their general features and variations and then by pointing out those traits peculiar to them. In other words, through a close reading of *maqāma* texts from Nigeria, I analyze how Nigerians have adopted the classical *maqāma* as a unique contribution to the development of this long-lasting literary genre.

1 Nigerian *maqāmāt*: Structure, Content and Style

Scholars, such as Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, have identified the structures and elements one should expect in a *maqāma* (see Chapter 1). Based on the criteria set by Hämeen-Anttila,² I have divided the attributes in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* into the following categories: the structure (or form), the content, and the style. This section aims to explore how these three components, along with other characteristics influenced by the literary setting of Yorubaland, come together.

1.1 Structure

The structure of Nigerian *maqāma* follows the pattern of the classical genre: *isnād*, introduction, episode, recognition, envoi, and finale.³ The sequence is almost thoroughly and accurately maintained. Thus, despite their distinct indigenous content, *maqāmāt* in Nigerian collections structurally mirror the classical models of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī.

1.1.1 Isnād

The *isnād* begins the *maqāma* and sets the stage for what is to come by creating a link between the narrator, protagonist, and the context in which they meet. As much as the *maqāma*'s *isnād* is fictional in the classical models, it later developed to become one of the most indeterminate *maqāma* components, oscillating between fictionality and reality.⁴ Unlike the *isnād* system in the discipline of hadith, the *isnād* in the *maqāma* starts from nowhere (no definite person relates it, though it is implied that the last narrator is the author) and sometimes ends nowhere.

Nigerian authors mostly adhere to the classical *maqāma isnād*. They adopt the normal format of scholarly *isnād*:⁵ *haddatha/nā ... qāla ...* (so ... so ... told or

2 Discussed above in Chapter 1, see also: Hämeen-Anttila, 48–52.

3 See for more: Hämeen-Anttila, 45.

4 Note that there are *isnāds* with real personalities in later *maqāma* works, see Hämeen-Anttila, 46.

5 For more on scholarly and non-scholarly *isnād* and how it is employed in classical Arabic

told us, he said ...). Perhaps by way of omission or unintentional typographical error, a minor exception occurs in the *Ilūrīyya* where what seems to be its first *maqāma* (*al-Sūqīyya*, no. 1) has no *isnād*. In this *Ilūrīyya* collection, the narrator is only encountered in the second *maqāma*. The narrator of the first *maqāma* remains anonymous.⁶ This sets the *Ilūrīyya* apart from the narrative structure employed by al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī in their *Maqāmāt*, where the introduction of the two central characters, *al-Rāwī* (the narrator, ʿĪsā b. Hishām and al-Ḥārith b. Hammam) and *al-Baṭal* (the protagonist, Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī and Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī), is established from the outset with impeccable *isnāds*.

Specific formats of *isnād* in Nigerian *maqāmāt* are adopted from the *Hamadhānīyya* and the *Ḥarīrīyya*. For instance, *isnāds* in the *Ilūrīyya* are entirely Hamadhānian: *ḥaddatha/nā* (he told/told us) is used in forty-six *maqāmas* and *qāla* (he said) in two. An exception to this is *al-Bamdayliyya* (no. 20), where the word *ḥakā* (he narrated) is used, a verb of transmission only traceable to the *Ḥarīrīyya*.⁷ Ajegunle's *Yūsufīyya* and Adetunji's *Kiswa* take their models more from the *Ḥarīrīyya* than the *Hamadhānīyya*, but both have their fair share of additional *isnād* types. Besides the two forms mentioned in the *Ilūrīyya*, further verbs of transmission used by al-Ḥarīrī, such as *akhbara* (he informs) and *rawā* (he relates), are included in the *Yūsufīyya*, the *Kiswa*, and the *Oyowīyya*.

Evidently, the use of *isnād* formats above does not have the same literary implication on the types of genres or subgenres at play in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* as it does with classical ones (see below for more on this). Instead, it is rather an imitation of the classical models. Even if the *maqāma* as a literary

stories, of which *Maqāmāt al-Hamadhānī* occupies an important place, see Julia Ashtiany Bray, "Isnāds and Models of Heroes: Abū Zubayd al-Ṭāʿī, Tanūkhī's Sundered Lovers and Abū ʿl-Anbas al-Ṣaymarī," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 1, no. 1 (1998): 7–30.

6 Interestingly, this might be totally attributed to an editorial mistake or typographical error since the two latest editions (fifth and sixth) of the *Ilūrīyya* are the same in this. See Muḥammad al-Awwal b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 6th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Quds, 2017), 10–12; Muḥammad al-Awwal b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 5th ed. (Kano [Nigeria]: Dār al-Ummah, 2011), 19–22. Comparing different editions of the *Ilūrīyya*, one can only find the *isnād* to be in the 3rd edition, published in 2007 with a slightly different content but same rubric, *al-Sūqīyya*, and same position (first) in the list, see Muḥammad al-Awwal b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 3rd ed. (Ilorin [Nigeria]: Almus Publishing Company, 2007), 13–16.

7 Although the *Hamadhānīyya* is believed to have been drawn from *ḥikāyas*, the word *ḥakā* does not feature in its *isnād* the way we have it in the *Ḥarīrīyya*. For more on how *riwāya* and *ḥikāya* as classical genres work out in the *Hamadhānīyya*, see Ailin Qian, "The *Maqāmāh* as Prosimetrum: A Comparative Investigation of Its Origin, Form and Function" (Doctoral diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2012), 25–28.

genre can be identified based on its *isnād* in the classical prototypes,⁸ the Nigerian *maqāmāt* adopt *isnād* formats merely as a formal element. Its usage relates to society in a different way; there are no social gatherings where a *maqāma* is read aloud for literary purposes. Lastly, the fictionality of the *isnād* adopted depends on our understanding of the characters involved. As will be shown below, characters adopted in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* are a mixture of real and fictitious personalities.

1.1.2 General Introduction and Link

The general introduction reveals the narrator's involvement in the *maqāma* story; its absence separates the narrator from *maqāma*.⁹ Without it, the narrator becomes a passive observer in a *maqāma* episode. It also describes the setting of an episode and provides background information on the narrator, such as his age and socio-economic status as well as his motives for narrating the episode. Depending on the context, the narrator usually gives a full description of the physical appearance of the protagonists. It can be followed by a linking statement that opens the stage for the main story, thus connecting the episode with this background information.¹⁰

In the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, the general introduction and the link perform the same functions but can sometimes be brief or absent, as seen when the story begins with a protagonist taking the role of the narrator right from the beginning of the *maqāma*. This is evident from *maqāmāt*, such as in the *Oyowīyya*, which lack the usual protagonist.¹¹ It might also happen in a *maqāma* with a hero, as found in the *Ilūrīyya's al-Maqāma al-'Arabiyya* (no. 4). The length of the general introduction of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* varies from one sentence to a couple of pages. Together with the link, it can take up half a *maqāma*; at least six of the *Ilūrīyya's maqāmas* fit into this scheme.¹² Likewise, information given in a general introduction may be incoherent. *Maqāmas* of a collection should be considered individual episodes rather than successive tales or a continuous

8 See for more: Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 46–47.

9 Hämeen-Anttila, 48–49.

10 Hämeen-Anttila, 48–49.

11 This is just like the situation in al-Hamadhānī's *al-Maqāma al-Bishrīyya*, where many of the introductory features of the *maqāma* are absent. See Ibrahim Geris, "Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma* of Bishr b. 'Awāna (*al-Bishrīyya*)," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 14, no. 2 (2011): 121–153; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "The Author and His Sources: An Analysis of *al-Maqāma al-Bishrīyya*," *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Die Kunde Des Morgenlandes* 88 (1998): 143–164.

12 They are *al-Rawḍīyya* (no. 12), *al-Šukūtiyya* (no. 15), *al-Alabiyya* (no. 24), *al-Kadūniyya* (no. 32), *al-Aghawdiyya* (no. 37), and *al-Amāniyya* (no. 38).

story; putting all the *maqāmas* side-by-side in a sequential order does not lead to a harmonized, integrated narrative of the information. There is no indication that *maqāma* chapters are arranged sequentially in any way. In the Nigerian collections, *maqāmas* are separate stories, connected only by the identity of the protagonist and the narrator.¹³

The activities of the narrators and protagonists in the general introduction of the Nigerian *maqāma* episodes also give a glimpse of the authors' personal life and social connections. This is especially true for the works of Imam Mas'ud, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān, and Barihi Adetunji.¹⁴ The general introductions to their *maqāmāt* are replete with their personal activities, events, travels, and encounters with people. All of these are attributed to their fictitious protagonists and/or narrators. An example of this is the already mentioned competitive rivalry for the position of imam in Oyo town, which is the basis for the *Oyowiyya*. Ten *maqāmas* from the *Ilūriyya* give such details, reflecting the author's personal travels.¹⁵ The *Kiswa's al-Lāghūsiyya* (no. 28) is based on one of Adetunji's travels to Lagos, fictionalizing his encounters and narrating what he observed in Nigeria's commercial capital. General introductions and links thus fictionalize reality in *maqāma*; real events that prompted the composition of a *maqāma* are narrated in a fictionalized way. Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān and Adetunji do this most, bringing to the fore issues that they personally experienced.

1.1.3 Episode

The episode is the main story of a *maqāma*. A particular episode (likewise known as a *maqāma*), is further qualified by its physical setting or main theme and named accordingly. For instance, episodes in Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān's *Ilūriyya* are named after Nigerian cities, as well as important inhabitants and their achievements. Some episodes are named thematically after branches of Arabic knowledge, such as with *ʿarūd* (prosody) in episode no. 30, named *al-ʿArūdīyya* and *naḥw* (syntax) in episode no. 29, designated *al-Naḥwīyya*. Another episode is named after Makkah: episode no. 26, *al-Makkiyya*. About twenty-five out

13 This is one way in which *maqāma* is different from modern novel, for more, see Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "The Novel and the *Maqāma*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Arab Novelistic Traditions*, ed. Wail S. Hassan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 90.

14 Imam Mas'ud is the author of *al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya*, or the *Oyowiyya*, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān is the author of *Maqāmāt al-Ilūri* or the *Ilūriyya*, and Barihi Adetunji is the author of *Kiswat al-ʿarī fi maqāmāt ʿAbd al-Bārī*.

15 They are *al-Imāmiyya* (no. 5), *al-Malawiyya* (no. 6), *al-Zāriyya* (no. 16), *al-Muṭayriyya* (no. 17), *al-Alabiyya* (no. 24), *al-Dāriyya* (28), *al-Balāghīyya* (no. 33), *al-Funūlūjiyya* (no. 34), *al-Hijriyya* (no. 43) and *al-Wakiliyya* (no. 46).

of thirty episodes in Ajegunle's *Yūsufiyya* are reworkings of the *Ḥarīriyya*'s episodes, composed in the style of *mu'āraḍa* (contrafactual emulation).¹⁶ This is done by contextualizing the characters, setting, and content of the *Ḥarīriyya*'s *maqāmāt* to fit everyday Nigerian scenes. Another feature of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, as seen in the *Yūsufiyya*, are the socio-cultural and political content of certain episodes. For example, the funeral ceremony for former Nigerian President, Umar Musa Yar'Adua, who died on the throne in 2010, is portrayed in *al-Maqāma al-Nayjīriyya* (no. 29). The fractious situation that followed the president's sudden death, the dire condition of medical facilities in government hospitals, along with political corruption and police brutality, feature in this *maqāma*. These social and political dimensions elevate the *maqāma* genre beyond its usual philological and rhetorical realm, allowing it to address contemporary issues.¹⁷ Adetunji's *Kiswa* contains episodes that are largely religious and pedagogical.

1.1.4 Recognition

The recognition scene of the *maqāma* reveals the protagonist's identity and his relationship with the narrative and audience, and uncovers his ploy and allows for further contextualizing of the story's other characters. The reader is made aware that the action was a mere prank, and not what it seemed. In this way, the recognition scene serves as the moment when the truth emerges, and may therefore be considered, as Terence Cave has put it, "a certificate of narrative or signature of fiction."¹⁸ As a feature with cross-disciplinary focus,¹⁹ recogni-

16 For more on *mu'āraḍa*, see Arie Schippers, "Mu'āraḍa," in *ET*².

17 Some early modern *maqāmāt* also convey social critique. See Michael Cooperson, "Safar. The Early History of Time Travel Literature: Al-Muwayliḥī's *Ḥadīth 'Īsā B. Hishām* and Its Antecedents," in *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfhart Heinrichs on His 65th Birthday*, ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Michael Cooperson (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 419–446. Cf. also the *Maqāmāt* of Bayram al-Tūnisī, see Marilyn Booth and Maḥmūd Bayram al-Tūnisī, *Bayram al-Tūnisī's Egypt: Social Criticism and Narrative Strategies* (Exeter: Published for the Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford by Ithaca Press, 1990).

18 Quoted by Philip Kennedy, See Philip F. Kennedy, *Recognition in the Arabic Narrative Tradition: Discovery, Deliverance and Delusion*, Edinburgh Studies in Classical Arabic Literature (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 2. Original source: Terence Cave, *Recognition: A Study in Poetics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 492.

19 Ordinarily traced to Aristotelian origin, Philip Kennedy and Marylin Lawrence opine that anagnorisis or recognition existed and continues to exist. In other words, recognition or "... anagnorisis is ubiquitous polymorphous (in structure and theme)," see Philip F. Kennedy and Marylin Lawrence, "Introduction," in *Recognition: The Poetics of Narrative*, ed. Philip F. Kennedy and Marylin Lawrence (Peter Lang US, 2009), 10. See also: Philip F. Kennedy,

tion can be used to explore the realistic dimensions of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, especially the representation of real personalities joined to the characters of the narrator and protagonist.

Recognition scenes in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* are both thematic and structural;²⁰ through them, literary, socio-cultural, and historical issues being addressed in a *maqāma* can be deciphered. On the one hand, recognition leads to the story's denouement, providing meaning to the entire narrative and creating a sense of completeness. Without it, the stories are meaningless and haphazard. On the other hand, it can serve as a basis for a story and prevail in the main theme. An investigation of the recognition scenes in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* shows them to be vague.²¹ For instance, in the *Ilūriyya*'s *al-Bukhārīyya* (no. 11), activities that look like that of the protagonist from the beginning appear to have been done by a character alien to the storyline: a personality who just appears at the end of the episode without any prior role in the story. This is attributable to a lack of coherence that characterizes certain *maqāma* episodes in Nigerian collections. Though not all Nigerian *maqāmas* have recognition scenes, the protagonists are recognizable, *a priori*, in all *maqāmas*. Real personalities appearing in *maqāmāt* as either active or passive characters indicate their importance in real life. Thus, the quattro of the historian of West Africa, Shaykh Adam Abdullah al-Ilori (1917–1992), the important Arabic teacher-scholar, Shaykh Tāj al-Adab (1885–1983),²² a reformer of modern Arabic education in Yorubaland, Shaykh Kamaldeen al-Adabi (1907–2005) and the founder of the Makondoro, Shaykh Yusuf Agbaji (d. 1979),²³ are variously portrayed in the *Ilūriyya* sometimes as a central character of a *maqāma*. Can

"Islamic Recognition: An Overview," in *Recognition: The Poetics of Narrative*, ed. Philip F. Kennedy and Marilyn Lawrence (Peter Lang US, 2009), 26–27.

20 Kennedy, "Islamic Recognition," 44.

21 For more on the vagueness of recognition in narratives, see Wendy Doniger, "Narrative Conventions and Rings of Recognition," in *Recognition: The Poetics of Narrative*, ed. Philip F. Kennedy and Marilyn Lawrence (Peter Lang US, 2009), 13–25.

22 Muḥammad Jum'a al-Labīb (1885–1923), popularly known as Tāj al-Adab, was an erudite scholar, teacher, and itinerant preacher who succeeded in having many disciples across Yorubaland and beyond. His educational movement (*Adabiyya*) gained foothold and had many branches. For more on him see Reichmuth, "Arabic Writing," 564–570; Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin (Nigeria) seit ca. 1800* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1998), 229–237; John O. Hunwick, ed., *Arabic Literature of Africa, Volume 2: The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 466–468.

23 Shaykh Yusuf Agbaji was a grand-student of Tāj al-Adab and the founder of the Makondoro bloc of the *Adabiyya* group known as *Zumrat al-Mu'minīn*. He and his disciples are particularly known for the use of local languages in preaching and teaching. For more on him, see Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 242–250.

one read these works as memorials or socio-historical documents? Indeed, it is difficult to ascertain the veracity of facts presented by Nigerian *maqāmāt*. As Philip Kennedy shows, “truths” are wrapped in “lies” in the fictional genre of the *maqāma*.²⁴ However, real personalities portrayed in the *maqāma* are important in real life and thus play an important role in revealing the truth in the *maqāma* stories.

1.1.5 Envoi

Hämeen-Anttila refers to envoi as “short quotation of verse,”²⁵ which usually comes towards the end of a *maqāma* episode. In the European literary tradition, it is usually a kind of four-line stanza of verse, concluding a poem or ballad. Envois in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* give hints on the context of the *maqāma* and normally include the concluding words of the episode, mostly stated by the protagonist. It follows the classical *maqāma* patterns, appearing in verse and prose as well as in prosimetrum.²⁶ If one takes into consideration the entire corpus of Nigerian *maqāmāt*, more than half (fifty-five percent) of the examples of envoi are composed in verse, whereas prosimetric envoi covers about ten percent, and only one *maqāma* (*al-Du‘ā‘iyya*, no. 30), at the end of the *Kiswa*, has a prose as an envoi. Not all *maqāmas* in the Nigerian collections include envoi. The *Yūsufiyya* contains the most, with only two of its *maqāmas* lacking an envoi: *al-Awyawīyya* (no. 8) and *al-Adaw‘aykittīyya* (no. 13). Only ten *maqāmas* of the *Ilūrīyya* and twelve of the *Kiswa* have envois. In contrast to the *Hamadhāniyya*, where poetic quotations from other authors serve as the envoi,²⁷ the Nigerian *maqāmāt* do not use external poems for this purpose. Generally, the envoi explains the philosophy of the hero and justifies his seemingly strange behavior; tricks are untangled, ruses unearthed, and the identity uncovered (mostly to the narrator, and occasionally the audience). A farewell message can be included in envois as well, especially the poetic ones.

24 Kennedy, *Recognition in the Arabic Narrative Tradition*, 306. Cf. also Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī’s (1858–1930) description of *maqāma* as “fact in the garb of fiction,” in the introduction to his *Ḥadīth ‘Īsā ibn Hishām*, quoted in: Roger Allen and Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī, *A Period of Time: A Study of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī’s Ḥadīth ‘Īsā Ibn Hishām*, St Antony’s Middle East Monographs (Oxford: Ithaca Press, 1992), 41.

25 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 51.

26 My understanding of envoi and as adopted in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* is not based on the structure but rather on the content.

27 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 51. Cf. *al-Maqāma al-Qarīḍiyya* where al-Hamadhānī, as noted by Hämeen-Anttila, quotes a verse by Abū Dulaf, Mis‘ar b. al-Muhalhil al-Yanbū‘ī al-Khazrajī (flourished 4th/10th century). For whom, see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 48–95.

1.1.6 Finale

A *maqāma* episode typically ends with the two main characters departing, probably to meet again at another time. The finale often leads to another beginning; one could say that the function of the finale is to lead into the beginning of a new *maqāma*. Finales thus determine, to some extent, the sequential arrangement of *maqāmas*. Although, some of the finales in the Nigerian *maqāmas* promises the continuation of the narrator's encounter with the hero, thus leading to another beginning in the subsequent episodes, many also either do not adopt the finales or employ simple expressions of departure such as *thumma^a f̣taraqā* (they then parted), *wa-ḥṣaraft^u* (I left), or *wa-ḥṣaraft^a l-shaykh* (the man left) etc.

The last *maqāma* in all the collections does not usually go along with the rule of beginning and ending new episodes. Based on the model of al-Ḥarīrī, *maqāmas* at the end of all Nigerian collections are composed around the theme of repentance, where protagonists seek God's forgiveness for their sins committed over the course of many episodes, in addition to closing remarks that envision no continuation. In the final *maqāma* (*al-Du'ā'iyya*, no. 50), Abū Labīb of the *Ilūriyya* stays in a mosque, performs rituals, confesses all his misdemeanors, worships, and seeks forgiveness. In the *Yūsufiyya*'s last *maqāma* (*al-Īlayshawiyya*, no. 30),²⁸ Abū 'Amr ends his didactic sermon with a show of remorse, repentance, and regret, concluding with a poem in the same format found in al-Ḥarīrī's last *maqāma* (*al-Baṣriyya*, no. 50).²⁹ Abū Khālīd al-Ibādānī similarly confesses his shortcomings and commits himself to perpetual worship in the prestigious *Ḥaram* mosque of Makkah.³⁰ This formula is followed to the letter in newer editions too. No matter the number of episodes added to newer editions of Nigerian *maqāmāt*, writers retain the last chapter on the theme of repentance and regret.

1.2 Content

The content of a *maqāma* accommodates various structures and styles. Through their content, Nigerian authors not only give their *maqāmāt* a Nigerian "garment" but also assume literary "agency" by bending the genre to their literary and scholarly interests. In the following, I discuss the content of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*.³¹

28 Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf* (Lagos [Nigeria]: Iswad, 2010), 224.

29 Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt Abī Zayd al-Sarījī*, ed. Michael Cooperson (New York: New York University Press, 2020), 293.

30 Barihi Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿarī fī maqāmāt ʿAbd al-Bārī* (Ibadan [Nigeria]: Baydakh Publishing and Media Hub, 2017), 178–180.

31 See the appendix for representative *maqāmas* from the Nigerian collections.

1.2.1 Titles

The title of an entire *maqāma* points to its overall theme on related topics, thus providing the reader with an idea of what to expect in episodes. Titles can also refer to a *maqāma*'s location and setting. Individual episodes likewise are given their own title which reflects their particular theme or topic. There are one hundred and eleven *maqāma* titles in the four Nigerian *maqāma* collections considered here: *Oyowīyya* with one title; the *Ilūrīyya* with 50, and the *Yūsufīyya* and the *Kiswa* with 30 each. These titles collectively can be categorized as follows:³²

- Fifty-four titles are formed from city and place names: *Oyowīyya* 1 (e.g., Oyo town in *al-Awyuwīyya*), *Ilūrīyya* 15 (e.g., Ilorin city in *al-Ilūrīyya*, no. 2), *Yūsufīyya* 20 (e.g., Lagos city in *al-Lāghūsiyya*, no. 4), *Kiswa* 18 (e.g., Ibadan city in *al-Ibādaniyya*, no. 1).
- Seventeen titles are formed from names of personalities and personified entities: *Ilūrīyya* 12 (e.g., 'Uthmān Kankawi in *al-Kankāwīyya*, no. 13), *Yūsufīyya* 3 (e.g., Shaykh Abijuwon in *al-Abījuwaniyya*, no. 5), *Kiswa* 2 (e.g., 'Uthmān b. Fodio in *al-'Uthmāniyya*, no. 14).
- Thirteen titles refer to subjects in Arabic studies: *Ilūrīyya* 7 (e.g., Phonology in *al-Funūlūjiyya*, no. 34), *Yūsufīyya* 3 (e.g., Antithesis in *al-Ṭibāqīyya*, no. 15), *Kiswa* 3 (e.g., Syntax in *al-Naḥwīyya*, no. 25).
- Eleven titles refer to socio-religious topics: *Ilūrīyya* 5 (e.g., Marriage in *al-Zifāfiyya*, no. 15), *Kiswa* 6 (e.g., Islamic monotheism in *al-Tawḥīdiyya*, no. 15).
- Sixteen titles are general or difficult to categorize, such as *al-Hay'a* (of the authority or body), *al-Waladiyya* (of the boy or son), etc. Most of these fit into what I put under the theme: description (see the appendix).

The titular variations of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* come with a local flavor. Most of the titles are typically Nigerian in their references. For instance, whereas the rubrics of the *Yūsufīyya* take us through important cities and historical places in Nigeria, the *Ilūrīyya* introduces prominent personalities and scholars with its titles; the *Kiswa*'s titles combine both. In contrast to the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, where the titles predominantly indicate the events that unfold within the episodes, titles in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* do not often reflect the content.

1.2.2 Themes and Topics

Nigerian *maqāmāt* contain both classical and modern themes, following the pattern of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī as well as taking cognizance of authors' own immediate environment. Hämeen-Antilla characterizes the themes of

³² See the appendix for full list.

classical *maqāma* as picaresque, comic, or as involving beggars; themes can also be philological, aesthetic, exhortatory, and panegyrical.³³ These sub-genres and themes also appear in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, in addition to others that arise from the Nigerian society, such as themes of Arabic poetry in Yorubaland, and those dealing with elegy, commemoration or dedication, social critique, history, and events (*munāsabāt*).³⁴ In sum, the Nigerian *maqāmāt* encompass the classical thematic spectrum as well as expand it with new topics of indigenous interest.

Categorizing *maqāmas* in the Nigerian collections based on their theme, however, poses a problem, since most are multi-thematic, and several themes can be linked together in a unified way. One theme can also lead into another in a single *maqāma*. For instance, picaresque *maqāmas* might come with a touch of comedy and beggary, while exhortatory *maqāmas* can also be pedagogical and didactic. Among the one hundred and eleven *maqāmas* in Nigerian collections, only thirty-eight (*Ilūrīyya* 18, *Yūsufīyya* 10, *Kiswa* 10) can be considered monothematic. The proportion of the themes in the multithemed pieces is not clear-cut; therefore, I have only categorized the *maqāmas* below based on popular and royal themes. There are six broad categories of themes in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*:

- 1) Exhortatory *maqāmas*.
- 2) Panegyrical *maqāmas*, including elegiac, commemorative, and dedicative subthemes.³⁵
- 3) Philological *maqāmas*, including didactic pieces and debate.
- 4) Picaresque *maqāmas*, including comic features and beggary.
- 5) Autobiographical *maqāmas*
- 6) Social *maqāmas*, including socio-cultural and contemporary issues.

Exhortatory *maqāmas* occupy more than thirty-two percent of the *maqāmas* in the four collections, with sermons on different religious topics. Sermons thus become emblematic to most Nigerian *maqāmāt* (see the section on sermon below).³⁶ Meanwhile, panegyrical *maqāmas* cover about twenty-six percent

33 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 55.

34 For themes of Arabic poetry in Nigeria, especially Yorubaland, see Adam Abdullah al-Ilūrī, *Miṣbāḥ al-dirāsāt al-adabīyya fī l-diyār al-Najjīriyā* (Cairo: Maktaba Wahba, 2012) 69–76.

35 Commemorative *maqāmas* are those composed in commemoration of an event or achievement by an individual while dedicative ones are those dedicated to individual as compliments. It is often the case that when a *maqāma* is dedicative or commemorative, praise (in poem and prose) is composed about the dedicatee. Although they are linked to panegyrical *maqāmāt* via the praise, it can be the case sometimes that the dedication and commemoration will only reflect in the titles, and not the content of *maqāmas*.

36 More on this below, see the section on entangled genres.

across collections. The *Ilūrīyya* contains more panegyrical *maqāmas*, written about scholars such as Shaykh Adam al-Ilori (no. 6, *al-Markazīyya*), Shaykh Tāj al-Adab (no. 3, *al-Adabīyya*), Shaykh Yusuf Agbaji (no. 5, *al-Abhājīyya*, no. 5), whose contributions to Nigerian Arabic and Islamic knowledge production were crucial. *Maqāmas* with eulogies are composed on contemporary personalities as well: *al-Imāmīyya* (no. 7) on the current chief imam of Ilorin and *al-Malawīyya* (no. 8) on the current chief imam of Imale-Ilorin. *Maqāmas* directly dedicated to persons in themes and titles also feature in three *maqāmas* in the *Ilūrīyya*: *al-Kabariyya* (no. 19) on Shaykh Nasir Kabara of Kano (d. 1996),³⁷ *al-Bamdaylīyya* (no. 20) on Shaykh Abdul-Salam Bamidele (d. 1969),³⁸ and *al-Amānīyya* (no. 38) on Shaykh Sulayman Faruq Onikijipa (the current Mufti of Ilorin, b. 1962). Furthermore, *al-Maqāma al-Wakīlīyya* (no. 46) and *al-Maqāma al-Ḥusaynīyya* (no. 49) are written as *rithā*'s (elegies) on personalities with the names Wakīl and Ḥusayn.³⁹ Elegies are also the themes of the Kiswa's *al-ʿAjūzīyya* (no. 2) and the *Yūsufīyya*'s *al-Nayjirīyya* (no. 29). The Kiswa's *al-Jūsīyya* (no. 5) and *al-Hikamīyya* (no. 7) deal with history and biography of prominent personalities in Nigerian history, and Adetunji further dedicates four of his *maqāmas* to prominent personalities: *al-ʿUthmānīyya* (no. 14) to ʿUthmān b. Fodio, *al-Nabawīyya* (no. 18) to Prophet Muhammad, *al-Awtshīyya* (no. 21) to Prof. Zakariyau Oseni, *al-Lāghūsīyya* (no. 28) to Shaykh Adam al-Ilori and his son Shaykh Habibullah Adam al-Ilori, the current director of Markaz.⁴⁰ Travel-themed and autobiographical *maqāmas* likewise are highly localized in content, as in the personal stories and travels of their authors, such as Imam's *al-Awyuwīyya*, Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān's *al-Kamrīyya* (no. 9), and Adetunji's *al-Lāghūsīyya* (no. 28).⁴¹

37 For whom, see Hunwick, *ALA II*, 321–339.

38 For whom, see Hunwick, 510–511.

39 *Wakīl* (trustee) is an epithet used to call a Shaykh based on his position as the *Wakīl al-Qādirīyya* (A trustee of the Qadiriyya Sufi order), an important position that follows the overall head of the Sufi society in rank at a particular location and branch. Ḥusayn in the second *maqāma* is also an important personality in the city of Ilorin which the author of the *Ilūrīyya* chose to keep anonymous.

40 Dedicative *maqāma* is not unique to Nigerians. Premodern writers also used *maqāma* to attract the attention of rulers and patrons, as in the case of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 1250/1854) who dedicated his *maqāmāt* to a ruler and scholar known as al-Muʿayyad. At least two distinct chapters in Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār's *maqāmāt* are exclusively dedicated to the ruler with one carrying the title: *al-Muʿayyadiyya*, after the ruler. For more, see Maurice A. Pomerantz, "A *Maqāma* Collection by a Mamlūk Historian: *al-Maqāmāt al-Ġalālīyya* by al-Ḥasan b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ṣafādī (Fl. First Quarter of the 8th/14th c.)," *Arabica* 61 (2014): 640–641.

41 The idea of using the *maqāma* as a mode of biography, which can have an autobiographical dimension can be found in the recently edited work of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad

Philological *maqāmas* are especially innovative in the *Kiswa*: one *maqāma* presents up to seventy-six meanings for a single Arabic word, *ʿajūz* (*al-ʿAjūziyya*, no. 2), both in prose and verse. Moreover, Arabic rhetorical topics are the main theme of the *Kiswa's al-Kādūniyya* (no. 8) and *al-Inʿikāsiyya* (no. 19). Socioreligious aspects of philological composition are evident in *al-Tūghawīyya* (no. 10), where Abū Khālid deceives people with a prayer he claims was inspired by dream, which he believes can serve as an amulet to protect them during journeys.⁴² In *al-ʿArūḍiyya* (no. 11) too, Abū Khālid composes a *waʿz* poem in all sixteen Arabic poetic meters.

The picaresque-themed Nigerian *maqāmāt* also contain particular examples of indigenizing beggar features. About twenty-two of such beggar *maqāmas* with picaresque characters are in the *Yūsufiyya* (12), the *Kiswa* (8), and the *Ilūriyya* (2). The Arabic term *kudya*, defined by Hämeen-Anttila as including both begging and picaresque trickery,⁴³ is likewise applicable to some Nigerian *maqāma* episodes (see the section on *kudya* below). Contemporary, social, and political issues are also explored in some *maqāmas*; the controversy that ensued among Islamic scholars of Yorubaland in 2016 on whether *Ṣāḥiḥ al-Bukhārī*⁴⁴ is the most authentic collection of hadith, forms the subject of the *Ilūriyya's al-Bukhārīyya*, (no. 11). The *Yūsufiyya's al-Mādughūriyya* (no. 19) discusses marital issues popular in Yorubaland today.

An area of thematic innovation in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* is the use of inanimate objects. An automobile called Toyota Camry, a car brand popular in Nigeria, and the cellphone are employed as themes in the *Ilūriyya's al-Kamriyya* (no. 9) and *al-Jawwālīyya* (no. 40).⁴⁵ The former is a eulogy on the author's

al-Zamlakānī (died after 831/1428). For more, see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zamlakānī, *Maqāmāt al-Naṣr fī Manāqib Imām al-ʿAsr*, ed. and trans. Yehoshua Frenkel, Mamluk Studies, Band 28 (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, Bonn University Press, 2023).

42 cf. the Ḥarīriyya's *al-Maqāma al-Dimashqiyya* (no. 12).

43 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 57.

44 *Ṣāḥiḥ al-Bukhārī* is a collection of hadith (traditions of the Muslim prophet, Muhammad) selected and compiled by Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870). It is generally acknowledged and canonized as the most authentic collection of Islamic tradition after the Qurʾān. For more on al-Bukhārī, his collection and the questions of its canonization and authenticity, see Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 65–81.

45 To use inanimate objects as protagonist and narrator in a *maqāma* is also found in al-Suyūṭī's *maqāma*. However, the Nigerian usage is different in the sense that they are socially inclined, Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān uses his *al-Kamriyya* to explore issues related to the bad state of Nigeria's infrastructure that damaged his Toyota Camry car. For a similar socially influenced use of objects in *maqāma*, see the works of Bayram al-Tūnisī (1893–1961) in: Booth and Bayram al-Tūnisī, *Bayram al-Tūnisī's Egypt*. For another exploration of mod-

broken-down car, while the latter conveys social criticism on the chaos and moral decadence that the cellphone has caused in society, especially among younger generations.

1.2.3 Characters

Maqāma stories are tailored around the characters and their posturing.⁴⁶ Therefore, knowing the characters' background and the motive behind their selection and designation in a *maqāma* is important. Characters in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* can be divided into major and minor ones. Major characters are the actors in the *maqāma* episodes, and usually include the narrator and the protagonist. Minor characters are of two types, fictional and real. They include the member(s) of the audience, historical personalities (dead or alive) to whom *maqāmas* are dedicated, and other personalities whose activities are used as a theme, topic or subject of a *maqāma*. Others are only mentioned in passing without serving any significant role in the episode. In the following, I concentrate on those characters or personalities who are germane to our understanding of *maqāma* as a literary genre, and who play active roles in it; they are prominently the protagonists, narrators, dedicatees, and members of the audience.

1.2.3.1 *Narrators and Protagonists*

In the *Oyowīyya*, the author, Imam Mas'ūd, names his narrator al-Mufakkir b. al-Wā'ī (lit. the Thinker, son of the Rational) and uses his name, Shaykh Mas'ūd, as its protagonist. Although it is not clear what role is given to the narrator from his relating the story to us, as the *isnād* suggests, I hold the *Oyowīyya* to be a real-life experience of how the author became the imam of his hometown.⁴⁷ This is perhaps why he adopts his own name, Mas'ūd, as the protagonist. The narrator, al-Mufakkir, is no fictional character either. Imam uses the name to describe his closest childhood friend, who helped him make most of his important decisions in life, hence the pseudonym al-Mufakkir, the thinker. This same person accompanied him to Ōyō, worked tirelessly on his behalf, and was pivotal in

ern and contemporary themes in *maqāma*, see Kimberly Katz, "Urban Identity in Colonial Tunisia: The *Maqāmāt* of Salih Suwaysi al-Qayrawani," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44 (2012): 693–712.

46 Cf. Cooperson's statement in the choice of the word "impostures" for his work on the *Ḥarīrīyya*, see Michael Cooperson, "Introduction," in *Impostures*, by Ḥarīrī, trans. Michael Cooperson, Library of Arabic Literature (New York: New York University Press, 2020), xix–xlix.

47 Personal communication, Imam Mas'ud Adebayo, March 2018.

him becoming the chief imam of their hometown.⁴⁸ The *Oyowíyya* records all the steps and movements of Shaykh Mas'ūd with his friends as he travelled from Abeokuta to Oyo for the purpose of lobbying for the position of imam. The *Oyowíyya* is thus a *maqāma* about real events.

Abū Labīb (al-Fulānī),⁴⁹ the name of the *Ilūrīyya*'s protagonist, is also real, while the narrator, Jibrīl b. Khālīd, is fictional. The former is the nickname of the author, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān,⁵⁰ and the latter is based on Jibrīl's (the angel Gabriel) function as the intermediary in the revelation to Prophet Muhammad. Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān believes that the *maqāmāt* he wrote came to him through divine inspiration; no figure is more suited to this task than Jibrīl. Coupled with the name Khālīd (lit. perpetual, immortal, everlasting), the name of the narrator likewise forecasts, in the words of the author, that his *Maqāmāt* will be perpetual and long-lasting. To put it simply, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān seeks no less than to immortalize his *Ilūrīyya* the same way the revelation conveyed through Jibrīl to Muhammad (the Prophet) is everlasting.⁵¹

Dīnār b. Dirham and Abū 'Amr al-Badnalūrī serve as narrator and protagonist, respectively, in Ajegunle's *Yūsufīyya*. The names of the two most important characters in his *maqāma* are not random choices by the author but rather point to underlying themes. The peculiar name for the narrator, Dīnār b. Dirham, conjures images of coins, a metaphor of literature as a potential route to monetary gain in the Nigerian public space. As the author explains himself, it was his hope that his *Yūsufīyya* would have an impact on the populace like coins circulating throughout society.⁵² The protagonist's name, Abū 'Amr, also evokes al-Ḥarīrī's protagonist, Abū Zayd. The struggle between *Zayd* and *'Amr* as an example in Arabic grammar is well known;⁵³ in allusion to this grammat-

48 Personal communication, Imam Mas'ud Adebayo, March 2018. Imam gave the real name of the person as Alimi Oyo, who was probably of the same age.

49 As much as the author tries to keep the protagonist unaffiliated, one can notice the *nisba* (al-Fulānī) used in reference to Abū Labīb in one of the *maqāmas* of the *Ilūrīyya*, precisely in al-Fulānīyya (no. 22). It shows the origin and tribal affiliation of the author. Even though he is more identified as a Yoruba scholar, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān's ancestral background is traced back to the Fulani tribe, a cultural affiliation the author himself cherishes and which he tries to showcase throughout the *maqāma* 22. See the appendix for the translation of this *maqāma*.

50 Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān believes he received various forms of inspiration for writing the *maqāma* through his biological son whose name is Labīb; personal communication, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān, March 2018.

51 Personal communication, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān, March 2018. See also the author's remarks at the end of the latest edition of his *maqāmāt*: al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 170.

52 Personal communication with Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle, March 2018.

53 ضَرَبَ زَيْدٌ عَمْرًا is a frequent grammatical example in the major books of Arabic gram-

ical struggle, Ajegunle's choice of the name Abū 'Amr thus can be seen as a challenge to al-Ḥarīrī's Abū Zayd. Indeed, Abū 'Amr exemplifies this throughout the *Yūsufiyya* in his behavior, similar to that of Abū Zayd of the *Ḥarīriyya*.

The *Yūsufiyya*'s Abū 'Amr competes with the Ḥarīrian Abū Zayd in virtually every way, whether it be posture, language, or tricks. One must bear in mind that 'Amr is often used as an alternative to Zayd not only in Arabic grammar but also in the *maqāma* tradition in general, and Ajegunle is not the first to do so.⁵⁴ Whether featuring such a character in his *maqāma* was a conscious choice or not, Ajegunle nevertheless not only emulates al-Ḥarīrī but also competes with him. Two-thirds of his collection constitute a "rewriting" of the *Ḥarīriyya*, recontextualizing it in the Yoruba-Nigerian socio-political sphere. Ajegunle's imitation of al-Ḥarīrī implies two things. First, al-Ḥarīrī is considered the principal model of the *maqāma* genre for Yoruba-Nigerian authors. Ajegunle categorically states this in the preface to his *Yūsufiyya*, where he acknowledges that the *Ḥarīriyya*, as expressed poetically by al-Zamakhsharī, is an epitome of a "golden *maqāma*."⁵⁵ Secondly, as perfect as the *Ḥarīriyya* might be, Ajegunle promises a work that challenges al-Ḥarīrī and demonstrates that his work be imperfect. By writing *maqāmas* in an imitative model of the *Ḥarīriyya*, Ajegunle prompts us to rethink the plot, language use, and structure of his model.

The *nisba* of the protagonist, *al-Badnalūrī*, exemplifies how Nigerian scholars Arabicize words of their native language (more on Arabicization below). Al-Badnalūrī, as explained by the author, is a combination of Ibadan and Ilorin. He chose this combination out of respect for his mother, who is of Ibadan origin, and his father, who hails from Ilorin. By doing so, the author not only

mar. For the uses of Abū Zayd in al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, see Abū l-'Abbās al-Sharrīshī, *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, 5 vols. (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Aṣriyya, 1992), 48–49. Some of the *maqāma* authors in the premodern time, such as Ibn Mārī (d. 589/1193) and al-Ḥanafī, also adopt the same name (Abū 'Amr) for their protagonists. For more on their *maqāma* works as compared to the *Ḥarīriyya*, see Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 190–205. See also: Rina Drory, *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and Its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 21–22. For more on al-Ḥanafī, see Devin J. Stewart, "The *Maqāmāt* of Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī al-Ḥanafī and the Ideology of the Counter-Crusade in Twelfth-Century Syria," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 11, no. 2 (2008): 211–232.

54 For this feature of alternation in the adoption of 'Amr and Zayd in the *maqāma* tradition as mentioned in Ibn Mārī's and al-Ḥanafī's works, see Hussam Almujaḥalli, "The Function of Poetry in the *Maqāmāt al-Hariri*" (Doctoral diss., Louisiana, Louisiana State University, 2020), 21–23; Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 193.

55 إِنَّ الْحَرِيرِيَّ حَرِيٌّ بَأَنَّ # تُكْتَبُ بِالْتَّيْرِ مَقَامَاتُهُ (Ḥarīrī is worthy of having his *Maqāmāt* written in gold), see Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 3.

signals nostalgia (especially in the case of Ilorin, where he never lived) but also declares his affiliation to the two important cities in the history of Arabo-Islamic culture in Yorubaland. With the two cities as the origin of his protagonist and the categorical exhibition of knowledge in virtually every *maqāma*, Ajegunle claims that these two cities are home to the best scholars in Nigeria. It might even mean that the author claims himself to be their most knowledgeable citizen. What is more, the author adopted this name, *al-Badnalūrī*, in real life, as soon as his *Yūsufiyya* was publicly announced, which may mean that he considers the protagonist as his literary double.

Barihi Adetunji's *Kiswa*'s protagonist is Abū Khālīd al-Ibādānī, and its narrator is al-Mujāhid b. al-Hādī. The narrator's name is an allusion to a Qur'ānic verse at the end of the 29th Sura, *al-Ankabūt* (verse 69), which provides an apt description of the role played by the protagonist throughout the *Kiswa*. The verse runs: "As for those who strive for Us, We will guide them in Our ways ...,"⁵⁶ hence the names al-Mujāhid (the struggler) and al-Hādī (the guide). In other words, he holds the attitude of the protagonist to be the result of guidance found in his struggle. The protagonist's *nisba*, al-Ibādānī, refers to Ibadan, the author's hometown.

As can be seen with these examples, the nomenclatures of protagonists and narrators in all four *maqāma* collections echo the autobiographies of their authors. The works are in part real-life accounts of their authors, with themes reflecting their personal views, stories, experiences, and struggles.⁵⁷ Thus, the *maqāma* is not only Nigerianized, it is also personalized.

1.2.3.2 Audience and Other Characters

Aside from narrators and protagonists, the Nigerian *maqāmāt* are populated with other minor characters that are central to their dramatic presentation as well as their literary and structural composition. These characters complete the plots and give themes a degree of reality. Here, I focus on characters who play active roles in *maqāmāt*. The general audience, who are usually presented as a crowd of spectators, plays a minor role. Aside from protagonists and narrators,

56 وَالَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا فِينَا لَنَهْدِيَنَّهُمْ سُبُلَنَا translation from: Talal Itani, trans., *Qur'ān: Arabic English* (Clear Qur'ān, 2020), 417.

57 Adopting personal names or attributes as either hero or narrator, which may or may not have autobiographical consequences, is a later trend in *maqāma* writing, see Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "An Old-Fashioned Genre—*Maqāma* in the 18th Century," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 65, no. 2 (2012): 6. Cf. also the work of a Tunisian modern *maqāma* writer, Šālīḥ al-Suwayṣī (1871–1941), who provides more accounts of his personal travels in his *maqāmāt*: Katz, "Urban Identity in Colonial Tunisia," 693–712.

active characters in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* come from different backgrounds. They may be actual public figures, occasionally referred to by pseudonyms, or they may be fictional personalities. They are often introduced into the story without prior announcement.

Many *maqāmas* in the Nigerian collections use anonymous protagonists—characters who might not be identified by name or who have no identity at all. The *Ilūrīyya* shows this by incorporating a plethora of names and characters. The real protagonist (Abū Labīb) can be removed totally from the story, or a new protagonist can be introduced side by side with the regular Abū Labīb. In the latter case, either of the two protagonists can be reduced to an auxiliary protagonist. In the *Ilūrīyya*'s fifty episodes, Abū Labīb actively features in twenty *maqāmas*, paired with other protagonist(s) in sixteen, and he does not appear, at least with his actual name, in fourteen. There are three ways in which he does not directly appear: 1) epithets point to him, directly or indirectly, e.g., *shaykhī* or *shaykhunā* (my scholar or our scholar),⁵⁸ *ṣāhibī* or *ṣāhib al-maqāmāt* (my fellow or owner of the *maqāmāt*).⁵⁹ 2) Abū Labīb's affiliates, such as his son, daughter, wife, or student, may be the main protagonists or supporting actors.⁶⁰ 3) New character(s) can be introduced and used as a substitute for the hero; such characters are often people whom the author has encountered or has associated with in real life.

In the *Yūsufīyya*, thirteen *maqāmas* have Abū 'Amr as the sole protagonist, while the remaining seventeen bring in many other characters, some of whom can be more active than Abū 'Amr.⁶¹ Unlike in the *Ilūrīyya*, the characters introduced are all fictional, and include both affiliates of the protagonists and other figures like judges, scholars, and friends. The *Kiswa* maintains a balance between what occurs in the *Ilūrīyya* and the *Yūsufīyya*, with Abū Khālīd adopted as the sole protagonist in fifteen *maqāmas*, paired with other characters in ten, and not featuring in five. All other aspects of characters seen in the *Yūsufīyya* and the *Ilūrīyya* applies to the *Kiswa* as well.

58 See *al-Kankāwīyya* (no. 13) and *al-Zifāfīyya* (no. 14).

59 See *al-'Arabīyya* (no. 4), *al-Markazīyya* (no. 6), *al-Da'wīyya* (no. 27), *al-Ḥubbīyya* (no. 31), *al-Shaybīyya* (no. 47), and *al-Ḥusaynīyya* (no. 49).

60 In *al-Abhajīyya* (no. 5) Abū Labīb is said to be travelling, and his outstanding son, *ibnuhū l-naḡīb*, takes the protagonist role, see al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 23–25.

61 Cf. for instance the role of a woman who, in *maqāma* 13 (*al-Adaw'aykitīyya*), takes up the role of a beggar-trickster and act in all literary, picaresque, and begging capacities of the hero. She can even be considered the sole protagonist of this *maqāma* 13 if not for the final link she has with Abū 'Amr, who only appears towards the end of the episode as the one who sent the lady on a begging errand. See Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 79–84.

In summary, characters in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, especially the narrators and protagonists, take on different roles. This variety of roles is typical of the *maqāma* tradition. According to the usual sequence of characters in the classical *maqāmāt*, the narrator appears at the beginning of a *maqāma*, with his *isnād* initiating the episode. This is followed by the protagonist taking the stage and launching the story. The narrator may interact with the protagonist in the story or only reappear at the end (in envoi and finale) to conclude the story. This classical sequence is also observed in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, but with exceptions. There are instances where narrators are given active roles at the expense of the protagonists throughout the *maqāma*, and the protagonist can sometimes appear to have nothing to do with the storyline.⁶² There are three varieties of this in the *Ilūriyya*: 1) other characters can appear together with both the narrator and the protagonist taking turns in the roles; 2) other characters can take over the protagonist's role at the beginning or end of the story with any of the two relegated to the background; and 3) the narrator can take up the role of the protagonist. In the seventh episode of the *Ilūriyya*, *al-Maqāma al-Imāmīyya*, Abū Labīb only appears at the end of the episode as a mere attendee of an event in which the chief Imam of Ilorin is celebrated. The same applies to Abū Labīb's role in *al-Maqāma al-Malawīyya* (no. 8) where one Imām 'Abd al-Ḥamīd⁶³ assumes the role of the protagonist, giving Abū Labīb a passive and subordinate role. In *al-Abhājīyya* (no. 5) too, Abū Labīb's outstanding son, *ibnuhu l-naḡīb*, acts as protagonist.

Although they work out perfectly in many episodes, the alternation of roles and the resulting disunity of character in some episodes can make them confusing. For instance, in *al-Bukhārīyya* (no. 11), the role of *mudīr* (director), a protagonist-character about whom the *maqāma* is written, is mixed up with that of Abū Labīb. Confusion of character is not new to *maqāma* literature. Al-Hamadhānī's work, like those of many other later writers, contains similar kinds of character confusion.⁶⁴ In the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, however, this feature becomes prominent especially in dedicative, panegyric, and autobiographical *maqāmas*, where authors give prominent roles to persons celebrated in the *maqāma* including themselves. Here again, personalization can be observed.

62 Cf. his *al-Maqāma al-'Arabīyya* (no. 4).

63 Apparently, the Imam of Imale in Ilorin as the title, *al-Malawīyya*, suggests.

64 For discussion of this feature in al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*, see; Bilal W. Orfali and Maurice A. Pomerantz, "Assembling an Author: On The Making of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*," in *Concepts of Authorship in Pre-Modern Arabic Text*, ed. Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Bamberger Orientstudien 7 (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2015), 121–123.

The alternation of characters shown above takes the *maqāma* through different levels of fictionality and reality.⁶⁵ Fictionalization of characters in the Nigerian case is socio-culturally driven. Protagonists are given roles based on real attributes: social figures, role models, great teachers, and mentors are fictionalized. As seen in classical Arabic literature, where *adīb* (pl. *udabā'*, literati) and *ʿālim* (pl. *ulamā'*, scholars) are given heroic positions and made into social models,⁶⁶ Nigerian equivalents are also placed at the center of the *maqāma* and portrayed as models. *Maqāmas* thus serve to immortalize personalities in fiction by highlighting their social contributions.

1.2.4 Adventure, Journeys, and Cities

Travel and geography are important to the *maqāma* genre. Every *maqāma* is situated in travel, with the two main characters, the protagonist and narrator, meeting, interacting, and then later departing. Most *maqāmas* are set in specific cities, towns, or other places.

In the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, travelling and spatiality can be identified in the titles of indigenous locations in southern and northern Nigeria. Places outside of Nigeria also appear in some cases, usually in West or North Africa, or in other parts of the Islamic world. Of seven *maqāmas* named after cities in the *Ilūriyya*, only one (*al-Makkiyya*, no. 26) is outside of Nigeria: Makkah, a Muslim pilgrimage destination.⁶⁷ Ajegunle names twenty of his thirty *maqāmas* after Nigerian cities and towns; one is also named after Nigeria as a country (*al-Nayjiriyya*, no. 30), and two others are vaguely named after what could be regarded as names of places: *al-Yūrubawiyya* (no. 1,) and *al-Aḡaygunlawiyya* (no. 7).⁶⁸ No *maqāma* in the *Yūsufiyya* has a name from outside the Nigerian border except *al-Tihāmiyya* (no. 6), after al-Tihāma, the coastal region of the Western Arabian Peninsula. In the *Kiswa*, fourteen *maqāmas* are named after Nigerian cities, with six *maqāmas* taking place in northern cities and eight in

65 For how characters transform in *maqāma* from fictitious to realistic and autobiographical one, see Hämeen-Anttila, "An Old-Fashioned Genre," 6–7.

66 Gustave E. von Grunebaum, "The Hero in Medieval Arabic Prose," in *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Norman T. Burns and Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976), 83–100.

67 *al-Ilūriyya* (no. 2) is named after Ilorin, the state capital of Kwara. *al-Šukūtiyya* (no. 15), *al-Zāriyya* (no. 16), *al-Sanfariyya* (no. 21), *al-Kadūniyya* (no. 32) are named after Sokoto, Zaria, Zamfara and Kaduna, respectively, all in Northwestern geopolitical zone of Nigeria. *Al-Jaybiyya* is named after Jebba, another town in the north central state of Kwara.

68 Yoruba is used for both the inhabitants and the language of the region, while Ajegunle can be a person's name, as in the author's name, or a place. It is not clear from the two episodes which one the author means.

southern cities, aside those named after Togo (perhaps due to its Yoruba affiliation),⁶⁹ the Maghrib (Morocco), and Makkah.⁷⁰ Although the *Oyowīyya* is squarely focused on Oyo, one adventure takes the characters to other cities in Yorubaland, including Abẹokuta and Ibadan.

Aside from being highlighted in titles, geographical settings generally serve as vague backgrounds for the action of an episode of a *maqāma*, sometimes presented simply as the birthplace of a protagonist.⁷¹ A similar vagueness regarding the geographical setting is seen in much of the classical *maqāma* literature; for instance, the cities of the origins of protagonists of the *Ḥarīriyya* and the *Hamadhānīyya* are only vaguely hinted at. In fact, as Mohammed Birairi puts it, Abū l-Faṭḥ has no concrete place of affiliation throughout the *Hamadhānīyya*.⁷² As the examples above demonstrate, place and space are as important as themes in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Even when place names do not feature in the titles of the Nigerian *maqāmas*, geographical settings are understood from content. The *Kiswa* makes reference to *Arḍ Ifrīqiyā* (lit. the land of Africa) in *al-ʿAjūziyya* (no. 2),⁷³ *Miṣr* (perhaps, Egypt) in *al-Uthmānīyya* (no. 14), Khurasan in *al-Tawḥīdīyya* (no. 15), and the holy city of Medina in *al-Nabawīyya* (no. 18). In addition to those places honored by the titles of individual *maqāma* episodes, other Nigerian towns serve as settings in the *Kiswa*. The Yoruba towns of Ilesha and Ikire, both in the state of Oṣun, Nige-

69 Yoruba people are also found in Togo and the Benin Republic, and families and individuals still maintain their ties with and from both sides of Nigeria and other West African countries. For more on Yoruba affiliations especially in Benin and Togo see Aribidesi Adisa Usman and Toyin Falola, *The Yoruba from Prehistory to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 4–12.

70 Apparently, the last two places, the Maghrib and Makkah, are adopted for their importance to Arabic and Islamic history and tradition.

71 Cf. the frequency of Ibadan and Ilorin in the *Kiswa* and the *Ilūrīyya* respectively, with no clear description of the two cities. They occur in the works many times in reference to the protagonist and in order to propagate both cities as the city of the ever-eloquent protagonist.

72 A critical evaluation of “Iskandar” where Abū l-Faṭḥ is basically affiliated shows it is not really clear which city Abū l-Faṭḥ is referring to in the *Hamadhānīyya*. For this argument, see Mohammed Birairi, “Travelling in Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt*: Connotations and Significances,” *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 26 (2006): 141–145.

73 There is ambiguity in adopting a place name, *Arḍ Ifrīqiyā*, in this *maqāma*. It is not clear whether it refers to all African land or a part of the Maghreb (specifically Tunisia which is usually referred to as such). For more on the nomenclature and how it is used in the premodern time, see Corisande Fenwick, “From Africa to Ifriqiya: Settlement and Society in Early Medieval North Africa (650–800),” *Al-Masāq* 25, no. 1 (2013): 9–33. See also: Ramzi Roughi, *The Making of a Mediterranean Emirate: Ifriqiyā and Its Andalusis, 1200–1400*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

ria are featured in *al-Ḥiṣāniyya* (no. 12) and *al-Wa'ziyya* (no. 13), respectively, while *al-Waladiyya* (no. 29) takes place in Ogbomoṣo in the Oyo state of Nigeria.

City descriptions also prevail in some *maqāmas*. In the *Kiswa's al-Lāghūsiyya* (no. 28) the protagonist Abū Khālid provides details on the geography, monuments, and important personalities of Lagos, the economic powerhouse of Nigeria. *Al-Lāghūsiyya* depicts the congestion of this highly populated city on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean (*'alā sāḥil al-aṭlasī*) (*sic*), along with its perpetual traffic jams and gigantic multi-story buildings (*'imārāt ḍakhma*).⁷⁴ In the *Oyowiyya*, the protagonist al-Mufakkir describes the palace of the traditional Yoruba king, the Alaafin of Oyo: groups of drummers placed at the palace's entrance welcome visitors, who undergo special rituals and protocols before gaining access to the king, as they pass through special entrances and galleries decorated with statues.

City descriptions in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, as well as the protagonists' affiliations with certain cities, are often rendered in verse. In his study of the function of poetry in the *Ḥarīriyya*, Hussam Almujaḥalli observes that poetry is used whenever the protagonist Abū Zayd discusses his hometown Sarūj (today in southeastern Türkiye).⁷⁵ This poetic dimension has literary impact on the representation of cities in the *maqāmāt* and can be understood in the light of debates on the superiority vs. inferiority of cities as found in the concepts of *madḥ*, *rithā'*, and *hijā' al-mudun* (praising, mourning, and lampooning of cities).⁷⁶ Unlike classical examples, Nigerian *maqāmāt* do not satirize cities and towns. Rather, the Nigerian *maqāmāt's* strategy of regional rivalry and competition relies purely on praise or elegies of one's hometown at the expense of others, proclaiming the particular superiority of one's native city. In *al-Ilūriyya* (no. 2) and *al-Kabariyya* (no. 19), the protagonist Abū Labīb composes a poem comparing Ilorin to Makkah, describing the author's hometown as a city unsurpassable in virtues and scholarship.⁷⁷ Poems expressing longing for one's city

74 "عِمَارَاتٌ خُصِمَتْ ... بِضُمِّ الْبِنَاءِ مِنْهَا عَلَى عِشْرِينَ طَائِفًا وَمَا يَزِيدُ ... شَوَارِعُهَا مُرْدَحِمَةٌ بِصُورَةٍ دَائِمَةٍ" Ade-tūnji, *Kiswāt al-ʿarī*, 170. See the appendix for the translation of this *maqāma*.

75 Almujaḥalli, "The Function of Poetry," 108–111.

76 For more on this in Arabic literature see Nizar F. Hermes and Head Gretchen, eds., *The City in Arabic Literature: Classical and Modern Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018). Especially the essays by Huda Fakhreddine and Bilal Orfali, Nizar F. Hermes and Anna C. Cruz. See also: Nizar F. Hermes, "It Eclipsed Cairo and Outshone Baghdad!": Ibn Rashīq's Elegy for the City of Qayrawan," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 48 (2017): 270–297.

77 See *al-Ilūriyya*, al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 15–16. and *al-Kabariyya*, al-Ilūrī, 66.

(*al-shawq ilā l-waṭan*) are found in the *Yūsufiyya*'s *al-Kānawīyya* (no. 14)⁷⁸ and *al-Ṭibāqīyya* (no. 25).⁷⁹

Nigerian writers do not restrict encomia to their own cities alone; they also acknowledge virtues of other cities deemed important. The *Kiswa* provides a salient example with its treatment of Ibadan, the native city of its protagonist, by not portraying it as superior to other cities. Rather, the *Kiswa* praises cities based on their affiliation with a particular personality: Sokoto is applauded for producing 'Uthmān b. Fodio (d. 1817), the Fulani scholar who led the Sokoto Jihad (*al-'Uthmāniyya*, no. 14); Lagos is celebrated for being the abode of the great scholar-historian Adam Abdullah al-Ilori (*al-Lāghūsiyya*, no. 28), and Ilorin for its scholarly importance as the birthplace of the trio of scholars Adam Abdullah al-Ilori, Kamaldeen al-Adabi, and Yusuf Agbaji (the *Kiswa*'s *al-Illawriyya*, no. 3 and the *Ilūriyya*'s *al-Kabariyya*, no. 19).

As central as cities and places may be to the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, there are instances where no city or place is involved. Only the *Kiswa* regularly includes mentions of a city, town, village, or another specific place throughout. In contrast, thirteen *maqāmas* of the *Ilūriyya* collection make no mention of any location. As much as the spatial representations analyzed above take the Nigerian *maqāmāt* closer to their classical models, their use of the travel motif cannot be solely ascribed to external influence. Authors' personal travels redacted into *maqāmas* add a unique local flavor to their works. According to Ṣāhib al-Qur'ān, most of the events he narrated in his *Ilūriyya* had actually occurred.⁸⁰ Likewise, the *Yūsufiyya*'s *al-Nayjiriya* (no. 29), the *Kiswa*'s *al-Lāghūsiyya* (no. 28), and Imam Mas'ud's *Oyowīyya* are clearly based on the authors' personal travels. There is, however, a classical precedence in the use of personal travels in *maqāmāt*. Vahid Behmardi states that many chapters of the *Hamadhāniyya* might have been redactions of al-Hamadhānī's later travels as reflected in his letters.⁸¹ Although personal travels injected into the Nigerian *maqāmāt* exhibit their realistic dimensions, fictitious journeys like those of Abū Zayd's travels in the *Ḥarīriyya* cannot be ruled out.⁸² Some Nigerian episodes elicit journeys

78 Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 88.

79 Ajegunle, 193.

80 Personal communication, March 2018.

81 See his work: Vahid Behmardi, "Author Disguised and Disclosed: Uncovering Facts in al-Hamadhānī's Fiction," in *Concepts of Authorship in Pre-Modern Arabic Text*, ed. Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Bamberger Orientstudien 7 (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2015), 129–151.

82 For the fictitious travels in al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* see Angelika Neuwrith, "Al-Ḥarīrī's Travel in Search of Distraction: *al-Riḥla fī ṭalabi l-Istitrāf*," *Annali Di Ca' Foscari* 48 (2009): 35–50.

that have no connection to the authors or their environment and cannot depict real events. The receptiveness of the *maqāma* to both fact and fiction, not only with the travel motif as shown in this section, but also with many of its other features, makes it adaptive to various situations. This adaptability, I argue, is one of the important features that has kept the *maqāma* alive as a literary genre transcending time and space.

1.3 *Style*

The *maqāma* is not only unique in structure but also in style. The most conspicuous stylistic feature is its use of rhyme at the end of phrases. The *maqāma* is also characterized by prosimetrum, the mixing of prose and verse. These two stylistic aspects of a *maqāma*, rhymed prose and verse, are the focus of this section.

1.3.1 Rhymed Prose (*sajʿ*)

Although the *maqāma* contains various rhetorical figures, such as the pun, double entendre, paronomasia, metaphor, *sajʿ* (rhymed prose) is its main defining characteristic. *Sajʿ* has been used in Arabic literature for many purposes, extending beyond the *maqāma*, in both Arabic prose and poetry.⁸³ It has also become the subject in the disciplines of prosody (*ʿarūd*) and rhetoric (*balāgha*).

Since rhyme as a literary quality resonates for Nigerians, the rhyming features of the *maqāma* render it an attractive literary form. As I have discussed in Chapter Four, *sajʿ* is one of the motivating features for writers to compose *maqāmāt*. Here, I provide an overview on rhymed prose; the rules of poetic rhyme in Arabic are discussed in the following section.

Nigerian authors strive to achieve perfect rhyme throughout their *maqāma*, with parallel rhyming patterns both on the semantic and syntactic levels. As seen in the *Hamadhāniyya*⁸⁴ and, to a greater extent, the *Ḥarīriyya*, rhyme endings in Nigerian *maqāmāt* come in these following variants: couplets (AA-BB-CC), triplets (AAA-BBB), quadruplets (in four pairs), quintuplets (rhyme with five pairs), and up to septuplets (in seven *sajʿ* pairs). As in the two classical works, and in *sajʿ* generally, couplets (paired rhymed phrases) are by far the

83 Geert van Gelder distinguishes between the rhymes in prose and those in poetry, especially in *maqāmāt*, see Geert Jan van Gelder, "Rhyme in *Maqāmāt* or, Too Many Exceptions Do Not Prove a Rule," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 44 (1999): 75–82.

84 Note that rhyme is not fully employed in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. There is also a difference between parallel, or ornate, prose, and rhyming prose. see Tamás Iványi, "On Rhyming Endings and Symmetric Phrases in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*," in *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, ed. J.R. Smart (Surrey: Curzon, 1996), 210–228.

most commonly used variety of *saj*^c in the Nigerian collections; more than eighty percent of rhymes are paired, while other patterns are rarely found.⁸⁵ A few examples of couplets can suffice here:

- 1 "فَقَدْ أَصْبَحَتْ مُبَجَّلًا * وَعِنْدَ الْخَلْقِ مُجَلَّلًا * فَسَتَصِيرُ عِنْدَ الْمَلِكِ سَلَمَانَ دَارِهِ * وَلَصِيقَ جَارِهِ"⁸⁶
- 2 "فَكَأَنَّ أَفْوَاهَ بَعْضِ عَنِ الْجَوَابِ مَقْفُولَةٌ * وَأَنَامِلُ الْمَشِيرِ إِلَى الدَّلَالَةِ مَسْئُولَةٌ * وَخَلَّتْ بَعْضُهُمْ عَلَى السَّقَمِ * أَوْ هُمْ فِي الصَّمَمِ"⁸⁷
- 3 "أَتَى الْغَلَامُ بَأَنِيَةٍ فِيهَا أَطْعَمَاتُ تُشْبِعُ سَبْعَةَ جِيَاعٍ * وَتُخْرِجُهُمْ يَوْمِينَ مِنْ حِمْلَةِ الصِّيَاعِ * فَأَكَلَ كُلُّهَا صَاحِبِنَا * سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ رَبَّنَا"⁸⁸
- 4 "خَرَجْتُ يَوْمًا لَزِيَارَةِ أَخٍ لِي فِي بَلَدٍ إِجِيشَى * وَيَوْمَئِذٍ كُنْتُ حَسَنَ الْحَالِ وَطِبْتُ عَيْشًا * وَذَلِكَ الْأَخُ وَهُوَ يَعْلُومُ الْبَلَاغَةَ أَعْرَفُ * وَكَيْفَ يَشَاءُ فِي عِلْمِ الْإِنْشَاءِ يَتَصَرَّفُ"⁸⁹

Examples of three-paired rhymes are:

- 5 "...فَكَأَنَّ مَبَادِيكَ عَجَلَةً * فَعَيْنُهُ لَمَّا يَرِيهِ مُعَادِيكَ كَلِيلَةً * وَأَذَنُهُ لَمَّا يَقُولُهُ مُبَارِيكَ عَلَيْهِ"⁹⁰
- 6 "أَمَّا فِي هَذَيْنِ اللَّذَّةِ وَالسُّكْرِ * وَلَكِنَّ الْكَتَابَ فِيهِ الْحِكْمَةُ وَالذِّكْرُ * فَعَلَى كُلِّ الشُّكْرِ"⁹¹
- 7 "وَذَهَبْتُ بِهَا إِلَى أَفَاضِلِ الْمُفْتِنِينَ مِنَ الْوَرَى * وَكُلُّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ رَجَعَ إِلَى الْوَرَا * وَالْفَيْتُ أَبْصَرَهُمْ أَعُورَ"⁹²
- 8 "عَضَضْتَنِي أَنْيَابُ النَّوَائِبِ * وَوَقَعْتُ فِي أَشَدِّ الْمَصَائِبِ * وَحَلَّتْ بِي أَنْوَاعُ الْمُتَاعِبِ * وَشَرَعْتُ أَجُوبَ كُلِّ بِلَادٍ * وَأَطَوَى كُلَّ أَطْوَادٍ * وَأَتَخَلَّلْتُ كُلَّ نَادٍ"⁹³

85 Following Hayim Y. Sheynin, Devin Stewart gives the percentage of couplets or paired rhymed phrases in the *Ḥarīriyya* and the *Hamadhāniyya* to be 42.02 % and 48.97 % respectively see Devin J. Stewart, "Saj" in the *Qur'ān*: Prosody and Structure, *Journal of Arabic Literature* 21, no. 2 (1990): 122. For similar quantitative analysis of the rhymes in the *Hamadhāniyya*, see Iványi, "On Rhyming Endings," 211–218.

86 Ma'sūd A. Adebayo. "al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya." MS. Oyo, Nigeria., 2000.

87 *al-Šukūtiyya* (no. 15), al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 52.

88 *al-Anambariyya*, Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 122.

89 *al-Ḥiṣāniyya* (no. 12), Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ārī*, 102.

90 Adebayo, "al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya."

91 *al-Makkiyya* (no. 26), al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 92.

92 *al-Šukūtuwīyya* (no. 15) Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 91.

93 *al-Ḥikamiyya* (no. 7), Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ārī*, 64–65.

Quadruplet rhymes can be found in the following sentences:

- 9 "فَهَلَّلُوا وَهَلَّلُوا * وَهَتَفُوا وَجَامَلُوا * وَجَلَّلُوا وَجَلَّلُوا * وَرَحَبُوا بِنَا وَسَهَّلُوا"⁹⁴
- 10 "فَقَالَ مَنْ يَبْدِهِ الزَّمَامُ * لَمْ نَرْضَ لَكَ إِلَّا الْأَمَامُ * حَتَّى أَخْرَجُوهُ مِنَ الزَّحَامِ * وَبَوَّؤُهُ حَوْلَ الْإِمَامِ"⁹⁵
- 11 "...لَوْ عَرَفَكَ مَنْ نَادَمَكَ * أَوْ جَرَّبَكَ مَنْ خَدَمَكَ * لَأَسْتَحَلَّا دَمَكَ * وَلَطَبَّا عَدَمَكَ"⁹⁶
- 12 "ذَهَبَ الْأَعْيَانُ * وَانْهَدَمَ الْبُنْيَانُ * وَأَنْتَ تَرَاهُ بِالْعِيَانِ * وَمَا تَبَّتْ مِنَ الْمَعَاصِي وَالْهَذْيَانِ"⁹⁷

Examples of quintuplets are found in the following expressions:

- 13 "وَهُوَ مِنْ مَعَارِفِ الشَّيْخِ الْمَسْعُودِ * وَالْمُعَلِّمِ الْمَعْهُودِ * ذِي طَلْحٍ مَنْضُودِ * وَعِرٍّ مَمْدُودِ * وَخَلَقَ مُحَمَّدٌ"⁹⁸
- 14 "أَيْنَ الَّذِينَ طَفَّفُوا الْمِكْيَالَ * وَزَيْنُوا الضَّلَالَ * وَمَنْعُوا النَّوَالَ * وَقَوَّوْهُمْ لِلْسَّائِكِينَ لَا لَا * وَأَغْفَلُوا مَثَالًا"⁹⁹

The following are examples of sextuplets:

- 15 "فَإِذَا هُوَ أَبُو خَالِدٍ الْإِبَادِيُّ الْحَكِيمُ * الْجَنِّبِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ * وَلَمَّا اسْتَوَى أَمَامَ النَّاسِ قَائِمًا قَالَ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ * وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ الْكَرِيمِ * وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ ذَوِي الصِّدْرِ السَّلِيمِ * وَكُلِّ مَنْ اهْتَدَى إِلَى الصِّرَاطِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ"¹⁰⁰

The highest number of possible rhyme-pairs are septuplets, as found in the following passages:

- 16 "كَمْ ابْنِ آدَمَ يُصَلِّي مَعَ السَّبْوِ * وَتَرَدَّى بِاللَّغْوِ * وَجَنَى مَعَ الْعَضْوِ * وَكَبَى عِنْدَ الْعَدْوِ * وَجَفَى عَلَى الصَّنْوِ * وَحَطَّ مِنَ الْعُلْوِ * وَتَوَفَّى عَلَى اللُّهُوِ * وَكَمْ ابْنِ آدَمَ يَرْنُو الدَّاءَ وَيَذُرُ"

94 Adebayo, "al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya."

95 *al-Taqdīmiyya* (no. 45), *al-Ilūrī*, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 148.

96 *al-Abiyūkūtawīyya* (no. 12), Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 78.

97 *al-Wa'zīyya* (no. 13), Adetunji, *Kiswat al-'ārī*, 111.

98 Adebayo, "al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya."

99 *al-Šukūtuwīyya* (no. 4), Adetunji, *Kiswat al-'ārī*, 52.

100 *al-Uthmāniyya* (no. 14), Adetunji, 118–119.

الْعَلَاَجُ * يَجْبِرُ لِلْبَيْسَةِ النَّاجُ * يَسْمَعُ الْحَبْلَ وَلَمْ يَقْوِضِ الْهُودَجُ * يَسْعَى الرَّجَالُ الْفَائِزُونَ
 وَلَا يَزْدَحِمُ الْأَفْوَاجُ * اقْتَنَى بَغْرُهُ الْأَزْوَاجُ * وَاسْتَعْمَلَ فِي مَبَانِيهِ الزُّجَاجُ * لَا يَسْتَرْجِحُ
 يُعَانِي التَّأْوِيبَ وَالْإِدْلَاجُ * وَكَمْ ابْنُ آدَمَ يَقْضِي الْحَيَاةَ بِتَطْوِيلِ الْأَمَلِ * وَاتَّخَذَ التَّجَارَةَ
 رَجَاءَ النَّيْلِ * وَسَقَى الزَّرْعَ لِنَمَاءِ السُّنْبُلِ * نَحْسَرَ نَضُوجَ الْأُكْلِ * لَيْسَ بِالْعَنَاءِ يُجْزَى فِي
 الْعَمَلِ * وَلَا الْإِثْرَاءُ إِلَّا بِالْأَجَلِ * وَلَيْسَ النَّيْلُ بِالْعَجَلِ¹⁰¹
 ”اللَّهُمَّ يَا عَالِمَ الْخَفِيَّاتِ * وَيَا سَامِعَ الْأَصْوَاتِ * وَيَا فَاتِحَ الْمُخْلَقَاتِ * وَيَا كَافِيَ
 الْمَهْمَاتِ * وَيَا بَاعِثَ الْأَمْوَاتِ * وَيَا قَاضِيَ الْحَاجَاتِ * وَيَا مُجِيبَ الدَّعَوَاتِ * وَيَا
 جَمِيلَ الصِّفَاتِ“¹⁰²

Nigerian *maqāmāt* exhibit major types of *sajʿ* as outlined by Pierre Cachia.¹⁰³ They especially excel in perfect rhyme (*muwāzī*), i.e., rhyme sets with the same morphological pattern and rhyme in the rhymed words and their matches. The rhymes in patterns 1, 2, 5, 10 and 13 are examples of perfect rhyme. The second type of rhyme, *muṭarraḥ* (imperfect), uses the same rhyme but not necessarily the same word form, and it also appears in *maqāmas*. Except for the five examples with perfect rhymes mentioned above, the other examples feature imperfect rhymes. The densest level of rhyme, often referred to as *sajʿ muraṣṣaʿ* (interior rhyme), in which an entire phrase of *sajʿ* and its parallels match in syntactic position, word form, and rhyme,¹⁰⁴ also feature in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Most of the examples given above follow this pattern; numbers 2, 13 and 17 are typical examples.¹⁰⁵ A “pausing technique” is also observed so that inconsistencies of *iʿrāb* (syntactic position) do not disturb the rhyme. Words at the ends of parallel cola are thus pronounced with a pause to maintain the rhyme; letters and vowels might also be dropped in the process.¹⁰⁶

101 *al-Jaybiyya* (no. 42), al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 140.

102 *al-Tūghawīyya* (no. 10), Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 86.

103 For more on these two *sajʿ* types, see Pierre Cachia, *The Arch Rhetorician or The Schemer's Skimmer: A Handbook of Late Arabic Badī Drawn from ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī's Nafahāt al-Azhār ʿalā Nasamāt al-Aṣḥār* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 15.

104 For more on this, see the entry *tarṣīʿ* in: Cachia, 18.

105 For more on how this particular feature of a rhyme works in the *Ḥarīriyya*, see Stewart, “*Sajʿ* in the *Qurʾān*: Prosody and Structure,” 116–123, 131–132, who draws more from Hayim Sheynin's analysis in: Hayim Y. Sheynin, “A Prosodic Study of *Sajʿ* in Classical *Maqāmāt*,” Parts I and II (Unpublished papers, University of Pennsylvania, 1982).

106 Unlike in poetry, observing pause is considered somewhat compulsory in prose rhymes, see van Gelder, “Rhyme in *Maqāmāt*,” 75–76. For an analysis of this “pause” rule, see Stewart, “*Sajʿ* in the *Qurʾān*,” 109–110.

Nigerian *maqāmāt* mostly follow classical Arabic prosodic rules. There are few cases where writers either do not comply with these rules or do not use rhyme at all. The *Oyowiyya* can be said to achieve the highest consistency and accuracy with up to hundred percent of its text showing rhyme. The *Ilūriyya* and the *Yūsufiyya* follow suit with up to ninety percent of its text rhyming. The *Kiswa* contains more unrhymed phrases and expressions, with seventeen of its thirty *maqāmas* containing at least one unrhymed phrase or sentence. Examples of such unrhymed phrases are:

- 18 *وَهُمْ يَرْمُونَ حَصَاةَ نَقْدٍ * لِمَنِ اسْتَدْعَى لِحْلٍ وَعَقْدٍ * سَمِعْتُ وَاحِدًا إِذْ يَقُولُ لِالْآخِرِ *
 عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ مَعْرِفَةَ التَّوَاصِبِ * لِأَهْلِ الْمَنَاصِبِ¹⁰⁷
- 19 *اتَّعَظُوا بِالرَّاحِلِينَ إِلَى الْقُبُورِ * وَلَا تَشْتَغَلُوا بِالْأَمَانِيِّ وَالْغُرُورِ * وَلَا يَعَصُمُ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ وَزَرَ *
 *وَلَا يَخْلُو مِنْهُ جَنٌّ وَلَا إِنْسٌ * وَلَا يَحْصُنُ مِنْهُ قَصْرٌ مَشِيدٌ * لَيْسَ لَكُمْ مَلَاذٌ مِنْ جُلِّ *
 أَمْرَاضِ الشَّهَوَاتِ إِلَّا الْأَوْبَةُ وَالتَّوْبَةُ * تَذَرُّوْا بِصَالِحِ الْأَعْمَالِ قَبْلَ انْقِضَاءِ الْأَجَلِ *
 وَحُلُولِ الْوَجَلِ¹⁰⁸

The lack of rhyme, however, should not be considered a flaw, as it is generally normal in *sajʿ* texts. Non-rhyming prose is a feature present in classical *maqāmāt* as well.¹⁰⁹ What then constitutes and motivates the use of occasional unrhymed prose? Is it due to lack of expertise, mere oversight, or is it thematically oriented? Indeed, the use of unrhymed prose can serve a purpose and is mostly used for didactic and exhortatory themes, perhaps because of the structural features of orally delivered sermons. It may thus be rather a generic than a stylistic motive that prompts an author not to adhere strictly to rhyme. In some cases, however, Nigerian writers strive to resist the use of unrhymed or free prose in their writings but end up doing so. This is similar to early modern Arabic writers, especially Ahmād Fāris al-Shidyāq, who aimed to resist the use of *sajʿ*, but ended up using it unconsciously in certain topics and tropes.¹¹⁰

107 *al-Naḥwiyya* (no. 29), al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 96.

108 *al-Ikiruniyya* (no. 24), Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 159–160.

109 For the inconsistency in adopting rhymes in *Maqāmāt al-Hamadhānī*, see Iványi, “On Rhyming Endings,” 224–225. Van Gelder also pinpoints the exceptions to Iványi’s proposition as found in the *maqāmāt* of both al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī, see van Gelder, “Rhyme in *Maqāmāt*,” 76.

110 For thematic and unconscious use of rhyme in his writings, see Sulaiman Jubran, “The Function of Rhyming Prose in *al-Sāq ʿalā al-Sāq*,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 20, no. 2 (1989): 148–158. For the work of al-Shidyāq, see Fāris al-Shidyāq, *Leg Over Leg or The Turtle in the Tree Concerning the Fāriyāq*, ed. and trans. Humphrey Davies, vol. 1, 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

It is also more like classical uses of rhymed prose, which is interrupted frequently by stretches of unrhymed prose.

The influence of classical rhyming style is quite apparent in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, as can be seen in the “repetitive techniques” of rhyme used in these works. As Rina Drory has noted, there are two principles of rhyming structure found in classical Arabic rhymed prose as exemplified by the *Hamadhānīyya* and the *Ḥarīrīyya*: complementarity and repetition.¹¹¹ As the names imply, the latter creates more sophisticated rhymes by repeating identical syntactic structures, while the former makes the rhyming structures complementary. According to Drory, al-Ḥarīrī excels in the repetition principle while al-Hamadhānī’s work demonstrates more complementarity.¹¹² Based on the examples of rhyme presented above, and many others in the Nigerian *maqāma* texts, it is evident that repetition strategies dominate Nigerian *maqāmāt*, indicating a greater influence of al-Ḥarīrī’s work over that of al-Hamadhānī.

To say that Nigerian writers employ *saǰʿ* only due to the classical *maqāmāt* is not entirely accurate. As discussed in Chapter Four, other non-*maqāma* factors propel how and why all sorts of rhetoric, including *saǰʿ*, are adopted by Yoruba-Nigerian scholars. In Yorubaland, rhetorical prose is considered a mark of high-level Arabic scholarship. This epistemic outlook can be traced to the general influence of classical Arabic literature. Writing embellished *saǰʿ* is a general phenomenon seen in the works by *maqāma* authors and is not limited to the *maqāma*. The *dhahabīyyāt* is another related literary genre employing *saǰʿ* (see the introduction). Authors use rhymed prose to display their prowess in Arabic and meet classical stylistic standards. *Saǰʿ* indicates mastery of *ʿarabīyya* in the same way that knowledge of *ʿirāb* represents mastery of Arabic grammar (*naḥw* and *ṣarf*) in other contexts. It has an “emblematic” function.

1.3.2 Verse, Prose, and Prosimetrum

Like *saǰʿ*, poetry is another important feature of a standard *maqāma*. In the past, scholars assessed the excellence of *maqāma* authors based on the quality of the poems in their *maqāma*.¹¹³ Al-Ḥarīrī’s poetry in his *maqāma* received high praise as unparalleled.¹¹⁴ Nigerian authors of *maqāma* likewise double as poets, with their numerous poems collected into *dīwāns*. Indeed, it could be said that one must be a poet before penning a *maqāma*. The poetic output

111 Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 122–125.

112 Drory, 124.

113 For more on poetry and how it develops in *maqāma*, see Almujaḥalli, “The Function of Poetry,” 68–69.

114 For those areas in which al-Ḥarīrī is superior to other poets, see Almujaḥalli, 176–226.

of Nigerian authors of *maqāma* has yet to receive scholarly examination, even though their poetic prowess is demonstrated in their *maqāmāt*. Here, I examine how the *maqāma* influences their poetry by looking at how Arabic poetry functions in their *maqāmāt*. There is no clear-cut difference between their *maqāma* and non-*maqāma* poems except in regard to themes and topics, since *maqāma* episodes dictate the themes of their poems. A *maqāma* on *rithā* (elegy), for example, will have an elegy poem, the content and components of which may not differ from an ordinary elegy outside the realm of *maqāma*.¹¹⁵ Likewise, if a *maqāma* is didactic, its poetry will be didactic; if it is panegyric, its poetry will reflect this as well. So, themes of *maqāma* poetry are contextual, determined by the content of their episodes.

Poetry has several functions in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. It sometimes constitutes the main topic in a *maqāma* after the normative *isnād* and *sajʿ*, its essential ingredients.¹¹⁶ With the exception of the *Kiswa*, which has three poemless *maqāmas*,¹¹⁷ every Nigerian *maqāma* includes at least one poem.¹¹⁸ The poetic styles adopted do not depart from the classical *qaṣīda* rules established by Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (100–170/718–786). Their rhymes (*qāfiya*) and meters (*buḥūr*) are perfectly derived from Khalīl's theory. *Ṭawīl*, *kāmil*, *basīṭ*, *rajaz*, and *wāfir* are the most frequently used meters, but all sixteen meters known in the science of *ʿarūḍ*, including *al-mutadārīk* contributed by Sibawayhi's (c. 143–177/760–796) student Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd b. Masʿada, popularly known as al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830), feature in their *maqāmāt*.¹¹⁹ Two *maqāmas* bearing the title *al-ʿArūḍiyya* are found in both the *Ilūriyya* (no. 30) and the *Kiswa*, (no. 11) and display all the meters of *ʿarūḍ* in a *muʿaraḍa* style. The two *al-ʿArūḍiyyas* are based on the *Mafātīḥ al-buḥūr* of Abū l-Maḥāsīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Sarāyā, better known as Saḥī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (752–677/1278–1349).¹²⁰

115 Cf. for instance the elegy on Shaykh Adam al-Ilori in both Adetunji's diwan and his *maqāma* 28 (*al-Lāghūsīyya*): Barihi Adetunji, *Mishkāt al-sārī fī dīwān ʿAbd al-Bārī* (Ibadan [Nigeria]: al-Mubarak Press, 2012), 36–37; Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ʿārī*, 171.

116 Cf. the *Ilūriyya's al-Rawḍiyya* (no. 12), *al-Kadūniyya* (no. 32) and the *Kiswa's al-ʿArūḍiyya* (no. 11), *al-ʿAbayʿawkutawīyya* (no. 22) for examples of where poetry dominates the *maqāma*.

117 They are *al-Ikirūniyya* (no. 24), *al-Shakawīyya* (no. 25) and *al-ʿUyūwīyya* (no. 27).

118 This resembles al-Ḥarīrī's collection whose effort to include poetry in all his episodes, contrary to what obtains in al-Hamadhānī's, has been described as the hallmark of his literary expertise, see Almujaḥalli, "The Function of Poetry," 3.

119 For whom, see C. Brockelmann and Ch. Pellat, "Al-Akhfash," in *ET*².

120 *Mafātīḥ al-buḥūr* is a form of mnemotechnics composed on all *ʿarūḍ* meters, for more see Aḥmad al-Ḥāshimī, *Mizān al-dhahab fī ṣināʿa shīʿr al-ʿArab*, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Maktaba Dār al-Bayrūtī, 2006), 124–126. For Saḥī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, see W.P. Heinrichs, "Saḥī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Sarāyā al-Ḥillī," in *ET*².

Qāfiya (rhyme), *rawīyy* (rhyme letter), and other poetic components are also thoroughly observed in the Nigerian *maqāma*. The most frequently used *rawīyy* is *mūm* (such poems are called *mūmiyya*) with thirteen, seventeen, and eighteen percent in the *Ilūriyya*, the *Kiswa* and the *Yūsufiyya*. Other prominent *rawīyy*s are *bā'* (*Ilūriyya* 20%, *Kiswa* 7%, *Yūsufiyya* 6%), *tā'* (*Yūsufiyya* 17%, *Ilūriyya*, *Kiswa* 7%), *dāl* (*Ilūriyya* 11%, *Kiswa* 10%, *Yūsufiyya* 9%), and *rā'* (*Ilūriyya* 13%, *Yūsufiyya* 11%, *Kiswa* 7%). The five poems in the single-episode *Oyowiyya* have *dāl* (two poems), *hā'*, and *ʿayn* (one poem each). The remaining poem has what is often referred to as *rawī muraṣṣa'* (lit. inlaid, meaning interior rhyme) where each line has a separate *rawīyy* at each end of a hemistich.¹²¹ Of all twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet, only nine, *jīm*, *khā'*, *dhāl*, *zāy*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *dād*, *ṭā'*, and *ẓā'*, are not used as *rawīyy*s. It might be that these modern authors do not want to tackle difficult rhyme letters, as some classical poets have done.

There are exceptions to the strict observation of prosodic rules in the form of special styles, such as *luzūm mā lā yalzam*,¹²² *rajaz*,¹²³ and *tashjūr*.¹²⁴ With

121 This is usually common to *rajaz* style, see below.

122 Traced back to Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (363–449/973–1057), *luzūm mā lā yalzam* is a way of imposing unnecessary and difficult style on oneself in composing a poem such as consistently using a double *rawīyy*. For more on the concept, see the preface to: Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, *The Luzūmiyyat of Abū l-'Ala: Selected from His Luzum Ma La Yalzam and Suct Us-Zand, First Rendered into English*, trans. Ameen Fares Rihani, 2nd ed. (New York: James T. White & Co., 1920), 7–30. See also: Shawqī Dayf, *al-Fann wa-madhāhibuh fi l-shi'r al-'Arabī*, 11th ed. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 376–406. Many aspects of *luzūmiyya* poems have recently been studied by Susanne Stetkevych, see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, "Labid, 'Abid, and Lubad: Lexical Excavation and the Reclamation of the Poetic Past in al-Ma'arrī's *Luzūmiyyāt*," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 51, no. 3–4 (2020): 238–272; Suzanne P. Stetkevych, "Ishkāliyyāt al-Luzūmiyyāt: Naḥw qirā'a jadida li mashrū' Abī l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī al-shi'rī—Luzūm mā lā yalzam, Qāfiyat l-Dāl ma'a l-Bā' Namūdḥajā," in *al-Munajiz al-'Arabī al-lughawī wa-l-adabī fi al-dirāsāt al-aḡnabiyya* (al-Mu'tamar al-dawli al-thālith, Riyadh: King Saud University, 2020), 11–40; Suzanne P. Stetkevych, "Irony, Archeology, and the Rule of Rhyme: Two Readings of the 'Tasmu' *Luzūmiyya* of Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138, no. 3 (2018): 507–532.

123 For more on this type of poem in classical and modern *qaṣīda*, see D. Frolov, "The Place of Rajaz in the History of Arabic Verse," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 28, no. 3 (1997): 242–290.

124 Classical and premodern scholars utilized the *tashjūr* format to compose their texts. This format involved arranging books based on the structure of a tree. Notable examples of works organized in this manner include *Shajar al-Durr* by Abū Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (d. 351/962) and various other texts by linguist-scholars, as mentioned by al-Suyūṭī, see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muḥḥir fi 'ulūm l-lughā wa-anwā'ih*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyyah, 1998), 351–355. Another significant scholar who fully embraced the *tashjūr* form was Mutaghabbī b. Farīghūn (d. 322/934), whose *Jawami' al-'ulūm* was uniquely presented in this tree-like form, see Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt, "Ibn Farīghūn," in *ET³*; Hans Hinrich

luzūm mā lā yalzam (hereafter, *luzūmiyya*), authors endeavor to impose on themselves rules of rhyming that are neither well-known nor compulsory according to the theory of *ʿarūd*. In the *maqāma* tradition, the *luzūmiyya* feature can be traced first to the *Ḥarīriyya* and more conspicuously to al-Saraqusṭī's *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiyya*, with which it is explicitly identified.¹²⁵ Both the *Oyowīyya* and the *Kiswa*¹²⁶ include each one *luzūmiyya* poem, while the *Ilūriyya*¹²⁷ and the *Yūsufiyya*¹²⁸ have five in different *maqāmas*. The examples are as follows:

20

عَلَى اللَّهِ التَّوَكُّلُ كُلَّ حِينٍ	لَمَنْ لَا عِنْدَهُ سِنْدٌ سِوَاهُ
هُوَ السِّنْدُ الْعَظِيمُ لِمَنْ دَعَاهُ	هُوَ الْخَرْزُ الْمُنِيعُ لِمَنْ حَوَاهُ
فَلَا الْإِخْوَانُ تَنْفَعُ يَوْمَ هَوْلٍ	هُوَ الرَّحْمَانُ لَا يَغْنَى سِوَاهُ
تَصِيرُ إِمَامَنَا بِلَادُ أُوَيْوُ	عَظِيمُ الشَّانِ مَغْبُوطًا قَوَاهُ
فَضِدُّكَ دَائِمُ الْحَسَرَاتِ نَزَمِي	يَبِيسُ ثُمَّ طَهَ مَا نَوَاهُ ¹²⁹

21

فَإِنَّ سِرَّ قَامَتِي	مُخْبِئِي فِي عِمَامَتِي
وَعَدَنُ سِرِّ حَكْمَتِي	يَجْرِي عَلَى مَقَامَتِي
أَجْلُو بَزِي شِمْتِي	أُمْلِي مَعَ اسْتِقَامَتِي ¹³⁰

Biesterfeldt, "Ibn Farīḡūn," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, 2011, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-9729-4_222; Hūšang A'lam, "Ibn Farīḡhūn's *Djawāmi' al-'Ulūm*," *Tarik-E Elm* 7, no. 1 (2010): 103–112. For more on *tashjīr* and how it is used especially in poetry, see Bakrī Shaykh Amīn, *Muṭāla'āt fi l-shi'r al-Mamlūkī wa-l-Uthmānī*, 4th ed. (Beirut: Dār l-'Ilm li-l-Malāyīn, 1986), 181–185.

125 See his *maqāma*: Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Ashtarkūnī and James T. Monroe, *Al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiyyah*, Studies in Arabic Literature, v. 22 (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2002).

126 This is in *al-Jūsiyya* (no. 5), Adetunji, *Kiswat al-'ārī*, 58–59.

127 They are found in the *Ilūriyya*'s *maqāmas* 6 (*al-Markazīyya*), 10 (*al-Ghādiyya*), 19 (*al-Kabariyya*), 47 (*al-Shaybiyya*), and 48 (*al-Hay'a*).

128 *Maqāmas* 1 (*al-Yūrubawīyya*), 2 (*al-Ilūriyya*) and 16 (*al-Kādūniyya*) have one *luzumiyya* poem while *maqāma* 3 (*al-Ibādaniyya*) has two.

129 Adebayo, "al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya."

130 *al-Hay'a* (no. 48), al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 156.

دَانَتْ لِمَنْ يَمْلِكُهُ أَمَّتُهُ	الْمَالُ زَيْنٌ وَعَلَتْ قِيمَتُهُ
قِيلَ فَنِي لُكْنَتِهِ حَكْمَتُهُ	صَاحِبُهُ إِنْ لَمْ تَبْنِ كَلِمَتُهُ
كَمَ مِنْ فَتَى زَالَتْ بِهِ عَمَّتُهُ	وَأَنَّهُ لَخَائِفٌ عَصَمَتُهُ
عَظَمَهُ الْمَالُ بَدَتْ خَدَمَتُهُ	كَمَ مِنْ لُثْمٍ ضَعُفَتْ هِمَّتُهُ
لَمْ يَحْتَقِرْ لَمْ تَنْتَهَكْ حَرَمَتُهُ	مَنْ حَازَ مَالًا حَبَّذَا قِسْمَتُهُ
لَفَقْدَهُ فَاسْتُكْثِرَتْ عَجْمَتُهُ	كَمَ مِنْ فَصِيحٍ عَذِبَتْ نَعْمَتُهُ
الْمَالُ غَطَّى مِنْ جَلَتْ وَصَمَّتُهُ ¹³¹	دَيْنُ الْفَقِيرِ كَمَ تَرَى هَدَمَتُهُ

Rajaz poems come in archaic and modern forms,¹³² conforming in both cases to the rules of *ʿarūd*, or prosody. All four authors inculcate at least one *rajaz* poem in their *maqāmāt*, but Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān writes more *rajaz* than the others, with at least ten *urjūzas* interspersed in different *maqāmas*. Examples 21 and 22 above are *rajaz* poems.

Only Adetunji and Ṣāḥib al-Qurʾān make use of *mushajjar* poems which adopt the *tashjīr* format and are composed in a schematic, tree-like way.¹³³ This poetic form is found in the *Ilūrīyya*'s *al-Mushajjariyya* (no. 44), as its name indicates. In this episode the protagonist, Abū Labīb, composes an exhortatory poem on the importance of knowledge, which forms the core of a *maqāma* (see above).¹³⁴ The second example of *tashjīr* (making of a tree-shaped poem) occurs in the *Kiswa*'s *al-ʿUthmāniyya* (no. 14). Here, the protagonist, Abū Khālid, composes a *mushajjar* poem extolling the virtues of the prominent Shaykh, ʿUthmān b. Fodio. This *maqāma* is prime example of how poetry reinforces a point made earlier in prose (see below).

The two poems can be reproduced in straightforward type. In this rewriting, I consider the main line, which forms the stem and from which other lines branch out, as the first. Next, I address the branches on the right, followed by those on the left. The reverse order is also possible, as there are many variations.

¹³¹ *al-Ibādaniyya* (no. 3), Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 26–27.

¹³² Frolov, "The Place of *Rajaz*," 242.

¹³³ For this definition of *mushajjar*, see Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 75, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047400844>.

¹³⁴ The *Ilūrīyya*'s *al-Maqāma al-Mushajjariyya* has been studied by: Izzudeen Adetunji, "Al-Maqāma al-Mushajjariyya fī Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī: Dirāsa taḥlīliyya," *International Journal of Advanced Islamic and Humanities Research* 4, no. 8 (2014): 36–55.

وَعُثْمَانُ لِلْسُّودَانِ نَحْرٌ وَزِينَةٌ
وَعُثْمَانُ فُودِيُو وَاحِدٌ إِنْ رَأَيْتَهُ
وَعُثْمَانُ فُودِيُو فِي الْوَرَى ذُو كَرَامَةٍ
وَعُثْمَانُ فُودِيُو فِي الْوَرَى خَيْرٌ قَائِدٌ
وَعُثْمَانُ فُودِيُو فِي الْوَرَى خَيْرٌ قَائِدٌ
وَعُثْمَانُ فُودِيُو فِي الْوَرَى خَيْرٌ قَائِدٌ
وَعُثْمَانُ فُودِيُو فِي الْوَرَى خَيْرٌ قَائِدٌ
وَعُثْمَانُ فُودِيُو فِي الْوَرَى خَيْرٌ قَائِدٌ
وَعُثْمَانُ فُودِيُو فِي الْوَرَى خَيْرٌ قَائِدٌ

يُعْظِمُهُ كُلُّ الْعِظَامِ الْأَمَاجِدِ
وَلَكِنَّهُ الْفُ بَصُورَةٌ وَاحِدٌ
مُغِيثُ الْأَدَانِي بِالنَّدَى وَالْأَبَاعِدِ
يَقُودُ قِسَاةَ الْقَلْبِ نَحْوَ الْمَسَاجِدِ
إِمَامٌ تُجَاعُ خَاضَ بَحْرَ الشَّدَائِدِ
إِمَامٌ يَزْكِي الدِّينَ أَخْلَصَ عَابِدِ
إِمَامٌ يَزْكِي الدِّينَ مِنْ كُلِّ مَارِدِ

24 From the *Ilūriyya*:¹³⁶

الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ
الْعِلْمُ إِرَابٌ لِزَايِ طَبَائِعِ
الْعِلْمُ مَا تَرَعَى بِهِ بَيْنَ الْمَلَأِ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الْعَنَا مَا يَعْتَنَى
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى يَا لَيْتَ مَنْ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ
الْعِلْمُ يَكْسُوكَ بِزِيٍّ كَامِلٍ
الْعِلْمُ مَيْسَمُهُ يُلُوحُ لِشَائِمِ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الْمَصَائِبِ وَالْوَبَا
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَمَحَامِدِ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ
الْعِلْمُ تَرِيَاقُ الضَّنَى وَغَنَاءُ

وَالْجَهْلُ سُمٌّ قَاتِلٌ وَغَنَاءُ
وَالْجَهْلُ بِالْكَفْرِ مَعَا قُرْنَاءُ
وَجَبَاكَ مَنْظُورٌ حَفَاكَ ثَمَاءُ
لِلظَى الْخَسَارَةُ إِنَّهُ إِطْفَاءُ
يَمْنًا وَيُسْرَاهُ لَدَيْهِ سَوَاءُ
كَنَزُ نَفِيسٍ لِلنَّهْيِ إِثْرَاءُ
وَالْجَهْلُ دَاءٌ عَلَى الطَّيِّبِ عِبَاءُ
وَالْجَهْلُ سُمٌّ قَاتِلٌ عَمِيَاءُ
وَنَفِيسُهُ لَعَشَاوَةٌ وَشَقَاءُ
ضَوْءٌ وَهَاجٌ إِنْ دَجَى ظَلَمَاءُ
تَبْدُو خِلَالَ طَلَابِيهِ أَشْيَاءُ
يُوحَى إِلَى مَنْ حَازَهُ إِيْمَاءُ
مَتْنُ السَّلَامَةِ إِنَّهُ لِدَلَاءُ
وَالْجَهْلُ سُومٌ لَيْسَ فِيهِ وَلَاؤُ
وَالْجَهْلُ سُمٌّ دَسَمَهُ أَوْ مَاءُ
وَالْجَهْلُ سُمٌّ قَاتِلٌ وَوَبَاءُ

The poems in the Nigerian *Maqāmāt* clearly feature the *qīṭʿa* (shorter verses with less than seven lines) and *qaṣīda* (verses with seven lines and above).¹³⁷ The *qīṭʿa* and *qaṣīda* also work together in the *Ḥarīriyya*. According to Almu-jalli, two-thirds of the *Ḥarīriyya*'s poems are *qīṭʿas*. Based on this, he concludes that the *qīṭʿa* as a poetic unit is more *maqāma*-compliant than the *qaṣīda*. This argument applies to Nigerian *maqāmāt* too; *qīṭʿa* poems are more frequently found than *qaṣīdas*. Beside the *Oyowiyya*, that maintains a balance between the two types (three *qaṣīdas*, two *qīṭʿas*), only four *qaṣīdas* can be found in the *Kiswa*, while the remaining seventy-six are *qīṭʿas*. This means that *qīṭʿas* occupy up to ninety-five percent. The *Ilūriyya* comprises eighty-six poems, of which thirty-three (43%) are *qaṣīdas*, while the *Yūsufiyya* has sixty-nine poems with just fifteen (21.7%) *qaṣīdas*.

One of the functions of poetry in the Nigerian *maqāma* is to propagate the genre as a prose work heightened with poetry. How then do prose and poetry work together? First, poetry offers support by providing additional information. There are instances in which it is the poem that provides missing information which solves riddles found in the preceding prose; the reverse situation can likewise occur. Prose in the *maqāma* cannot be considered in isolation of verse, and a Nigerian *maqāma* without verse would appear improbable and strange. Nigerian authors of *maqāma* make use of subgenres such as sermons, witty-sayings, and maxims side by side with poetry (see below for more). Furthermore, in the absence of poetry, a sermon or witty sayings in perfect rhyme can replace verse. This is the case of the *Kiswa*'s three *maqāmas* that do not include a poem, as mentioned above.

Prosimetrum, however, also poses risks. A close reading of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* shows that their authors, in their bid to convey information via prosifying the verse and versifying the prose,¹³⁸ fall into the trap of repetition and obscurity. Issues already discussed in prose might be reproduced in poem using the same content and wording. This is a common topic in the Arabic rhetorical tradition and the prosimetral tendency of the *maqāma* also allows room for it.¹³⁹ In the Nigerian *maqāmāt* however, the use of prosification and versifica-

137 In my quantitative analysis here, I consider *qaṣīda* to be from seven lines while *qīṭʿa* is less than seven lines. For more on the argument on the number and nature of *qīṭʿa* versus *qaṣīda*, see Almu-jalli, "The Function of Poetry," 78–91.

138 For more on prosification and versification in Arabic literature, see Amidu Olalekan Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification: On Ḥall and Naẓm in Arabic Theoretical Discourse*, vol. Band 70, *Beiruter Texte und Studien* (Stuttgart & Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 1998).

139 This seems to be normal in *maqāma* literature, cf. the analysis of *al-Maqāma al-Waʿziyya* of al-Hamadhānī in: Philip F. Kennedy, "The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests: Reflections

tion may become superfluous or at least may not contribute new content. For instance, the *Ilūrīyya*'s *al-Ilūrīyya* (no. 2) gives a description of Ilḡrin city in a poem, after it has been presented in prose with relatively no new expression or fact besides the change of form. Indeed, it is a verbatim reproduction.¹⁴⁰ The *Yūsufīyya*'s *al-Adaw'aykitīyya* (no. 13) has the same issue. Abū 'Amr explains his ordeals in prose while begging for money; when he is asked to compose it in poem, he uses the same expressions and words, thus composing the poetry in a redundant manner.¹⁴¹

2 Additional Sources

The close relationship between the Nigerian *maqāmāt* and their classical models as demonstrated so far does not imply that Nigerians read only classical *maqāmāt* to the exclusion of other Arabic literary works. In fact, Nigerian authors draw from a variety of sources, classical and modern, Arabic and Yoruba-Nigerian, while putting a distinct mark on them. Some literary genres are so interconnected with the *maqāmāt* that it is sometimes difficult to separate them.¹⁴² In the following section, I examine those additional sources from which the Nigerian authors draw motivation and inspiration. Focusing on the scholarly and literary dimensions of writing Arabic in Nigeria, I explore those genres that play a significant role in the make-up of the *maqāma* and situate them intertextually. Intertextuality, as Julia Kristeva proposes, understands a text to have a "background" in other texts.¹⁴³ This background may be unintentional but still discernable.¹⁴⁴ Based on this, I examine the interplay of textual and cultural sources within *maqāma* texts and explore how both text and context are "bounded."¹⁴⁵ This approach provides insight into how Nige-

on Abdelfattah Kilito's "Les Séances," in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 187–188.

140 See al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 13–16.

141 See Ajegumle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 79–82.

142 That *maqāma* sources are not easily identifiable is also a feature of the *Hamadhāniyya*, see Kennedy, "The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus," 181.

143 See Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez, trans. Thomas Gora and Alice Jardine, *European Perspectives* (New York, NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1980).

144 Graham Allen, "Intertextuality," in *The Literary Encyclopedia*, January 24, 2005, <https://www.literaryencyclopedia.com/php/stopics.php?rec=true&UID=1229>, accessed on December 15, 2020.

145 For more on intertextuality see Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000).

rian authors shape the content of their texts and understand the clustering of culture, influx of contexts, and the literary-cum-textual interpolation at play in their *maqāmas*.

2.1 *Entangled Genres*

Classical *maqāmas* incorporate or are entangled with other literary genres through allusion, borrowing, imitation, or adaptation.¹⁴⁶ For example, a sermon can be embedded in a *maqāma*, transforming the entire episode into a sermon. This inclusion of other genres in the *maqāma* can be parodic. Hämeen-Anttila identifies the following embedded narrative genres in the *Hamadhāniyya*: *maqāla* (essays), *munāẓara* (debates), *ḥikāya* (narrative), *riwāya* (story), *ḥadīth* (saying), and *khavar* (account). By incorporating these narrative genres, the *maqāma* in effect parodies them; not only by humorously imitating them but also by rewriting them in the *maqāma* style and structure.¹⁴⁷ This aspect is no less striking in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* where other genres can sometimes overshadow *maqāma* itself with parodic or other intent.

Genres incorporated into the works of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī are likewise adapted into the Nigerian *maqāmāt*.¹⁴⁸ A close reading of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* reveals that *riwāya* (in its modern sense of story, novella, or novel), *maqāla* (essay or treatise, especially in reference to the *dhahabīyyāt* mentioned in the introduction above), *khutba* (sermon), and *ḥikāya* (hagiographic and folk tale) are adapted into these modern *maqāmas*. As their biographies indicate, Nigerian *maqāma* writers are not only familiar with a wide spectrum of Arabic literary genres but also compose works in these genres, in addition to composing *maqāmas*.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, it is not surprising that other genres influence

146 A *maqāma* can also elicit more than one genre, cf. for instance how *maqāmas* in al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī's collections have been traced to medicine, geography, rhetoric, and jurisprudence at one time, see Sarah R. Bin Tyeer, "The Literary Geography of Meaning in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī," in *The City in Arabic Literature: Classical and Modern Perspectives*, ed. Nizar F. Hermes and Head Gretchen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 63–80; Maurice A. Pomerantz and Bilal W. Orfali, "What the *Qāḍī* Should Not Hear: Women, Eloquence, and the Poetics of *Kināya* in the *Maqāma Ṣāmiyya* of al-Hamadhānī," *Al-Abḥāth* 69 (2021): 5–25.

147 Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 55–61. For more on how the *maqāma* parodies other narrative genres, see Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 22–25; Kennedy, "The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus," 153–200.

148 They include picaresque or comic, beggar, philological and aesthetic, exhortatory and panegyric subgenres, see above for more and see again: Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, 55.

149 For instance, Imam Ma'sūd and Barihi Adetunji have both written plays and homiletic *maqalas* or sermons (in form of *dhahabīyya*) types of creative writing in Arabic. Adetunji additionally has a novel among his literary works.

their writings in the *maqāma*. These adaptations of other genres in the Nigerian collections can be subsumed under two headings: *kudya* (mendicancy)¹⁵⁰ and sermon, on account of their striking influence on the composition of the *maqāmas*. The two appear virtually in every *maqāma*; *kudya*, although not a literary genre, plays an important role in this and is found more in picaresque and beggar *maqāmas*, while the sermon dominates the exhortatory, philological, and pedagogical *maqāmas*.

2.1.1 Unifying Sermon

Sermon or preaching, including the *khuṭba* (both for ritual and occasional purposes), *waʿẓ* and *qiṣṣa*,¹⁵¹ stands at the center of many Nigerian *maqāmāt*. When considering the episodes where the sermons appear separately from other *maqāma* structures, the sermons serve a unifying purpose. Covering esoteric and exoteric topics, Nigerian *maqāmāt* employ sermons as a tool to convey virtually any message. Sermons in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* can be categorized into three subtypes: exhortatory, philological, and didactic sermons. They are presented in a form that fulfils all characteristics of the sermon, with quotations from the Qurʾān, hadith, and other Islamic sources. The preponderance of sermons in Nigerian *maqāmāt* stems from the importance of the format in Muslim Yorubaland where “sermonizing” is central to all literary and religious activities. Moreover, all Nigerian *maqāma* writers are orators themselves, and give public talks either as imams of mosques or as public preachers.

The *Kiswa* contains an entire collection of sermons; nineteen of its thirty *maqāmas* are based on them. Eight out of the nineteen sermons are didactic, while others are either in the form of a *khuṭba* (both pulpits’ homilies and popular sermons) and the *waʿẓ*, which involves public oration and admonitions on socioreligious ethics. The *Yūsufiyya* has eleven sermonizing *maqāmas*. In the *Kiswa*’s *al-Ūyūwīyya* (no. 27) a sermon is composed on how to choose a wife based on moral considerations; different categories of women are described.

150 Note that *kudya* is not really a genre, but features in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* as an influential theme on which the *maqāma* episodes are focused; see below for how it appears in the Nigerian works. For more on the *kudya* as an important part of a *maqāma*, see Devin J. Stewart, “Professional and Literary Mendicancy in the Letters and *Maqāmāt* of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamaddhānī,” in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times*, ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow, *Literaturen Im Kontext*, v. 16 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 39–48.

151 For more on this understanding of sermons and its subcategories mentioned here, especially as it has to do with pre-modern *maqāmāt*, see Douglas C. Young, “Preachers and Poets: The Popular Sermon in the Andalusī *Maqāma*,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 34, no. 1/2 (2003): 190–205.

One sermon in the *Ilūriyya's al-Jaybiyya* (no. 42) is both philological and religious: it admonishes on eschatological issues and takes the three letters *w-j-l*, which forms the root of *wajal* (lit. fear), to produce seven-word rhyming sentences each (see rhyming example 16 above). Meanwhile, the sermon in the *Yūsufiyya's al-Īlayshawīyya* (no. 30) combines admonition on moral etiquette and the scholarly duties of a student.

2.1.2 Domesticated *kudya*

The Nigerian *maqāmāt* incorporate the application of tricks and stratagems, executed in various forms of *kudya* (begging, mendicancy). This is not surprising since the *kudya* is a specific identifying feature of the *maqāma* which distinguishes it from many other genres. Devin Stewart mentions that al-Hamadhānī himself referred to his work as *Maqāmāt al-kudya*.¹⁵² Through *kudya*, protagonists exemplify their cleverness and skill at manipulation. Although they reuse the acts of *kudya* found in classical models,¹⁵³ Nigerian authors bring in their indigenous social ethos and culturally translate *kudya* into new forms (cf. the *jalabi* phenomenon discussed in Chapter 3). To compose their tales of *kudya*, Nigerian authors blend local experience with the classical *maqāma* repertory.

As in their classical models, *kudya* has an economic dimension in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, used precisely to extort funds from people by any possible means, such as cajoling with sweet talk (linguistic acrobatics), reciting pious sermons, taking on ascetic or mystic postures, feigning physical disability, and so on. By manipulating the socio-cultural and religious contexts of the audience they address, protagonists of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* develop forms of *kudya* unique to local contexts, namely stratagems common to popular rogues in Yorubaland.

Trickster acts and roguerie have a long history in Yorubaland going back to precolonial Nigerian society. This can take the form of organized or coordinated roguish activity by individuals or gangs. Today, it is shaped by political and social conditions.¹⁵⁴ *Maqāma* tricks and those of local Yoruba rogues resemble each other, such as using women and minors as baits, shields, and partners in the acts of *kudya*.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, while the inclusion of roguish

¹⁵² Stewart, "Professional and Literary Mendicancy," 39.

¹⁵³ For different scenarios of tricks and ruses used in beggary activities in the medieval Arabic society, see Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld*, 36–47. For the particular forms of *kudya* in the *Ḥāririyya* and *Hamadhāniyya*, see pages 99–103.

¹⁵⁴ For more see Simon Heap, "'Jaguda Boys': Pickpocketing in Ibadan, 1930–1960," *Urban History* 24, no. 3 (1997): 324–343.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Yūsufiyya's *al-Ajaygunlawīyya* (no. 7) and *al-Adaw'aykitiyya* (no. 13) where Abū 'Amr partners with women in performing a *kudya*.

activities is provided by classical models, their articulation is based on local circumstances. Two examples of *kudya* are common to the Nigerian *maqāmāt*: acts of disguising and acts of dissimulation. The stance of Abū Labīb in the *Ilūrīyya*'s *al-Zārīyya* (no. 16), is an example of the act of disguising. In order not to be held financially responsible for his son's graduation ceremony, Abū Labīb disguises himself as a veiled woman with a body-length hijab, *muḥtajiba bi-adhyāl mutasaḥhiba*.¹⁵⁶ In this guise, he enjoys all the benefits of a relative in the ceremony without having to pay for the event. Likewise, in the *Yūsufīyya*'s *al-Anambarīyya* (no. 20), Abū 'Amr disguises himself as a sick person by using a costume that makes him look skeletal. He also ties a rotten melon to his stomach to show a sign of malnutrition. All these are stratagems commonly used by beggars in contemporary Yoruba society.

Dissimulation is pivotal to *kudya* in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Most of the ruses adopted by the protagonists of the four *maqāmāt* collections are based on lies. In the *Kiswa*'s *al-Ilawrinīyya* (no. 3), Abū Khālid frees himself from the victims of his deception by informing them that he has a son in Ilorin who will take care of him—information which later turns out to be false. Likewise, in *al-Ṣukūtuwīyya* (no. 4), Abū Khālid claims to be fasting in order to receive alms; minutes later, he is found eating voraciously. Scenarios of lying to extort funds pervade the collections with examples of mendacious acts of *jàgùdà* (armed-robber), *gbéwiri* (pickpocket), and references to 419, the Nigerian law code for fraud.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, all of the above connotes acts of theft, roguish behavior, trickery, duping, and mendicancy in the Yoruba context.¹⁵⁸ These tricks, lies, and disguises look like typical “*maqāma* acts;” however, they also have real connections with authors' environment.

¹⁵⁶ al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 54.

¹⁵⁷ Section 419 of the Nigerian penal code addresses and criminalizes specific fraud schemes. The code (419), like *jàgùdà* and *gbéwiri*, is used to refer to all sorts of fraud acts. For more see Keith F. Durkin and Richard Brinkman, “419 FRAUD: A Crime Without Borders in A Postmodern World,” *International Review of Modern Sociology* 35, no. 2, Sociology in Post-American World (2009): 271–283; Daniel Jordan Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria*, 3rd pr., 1st pbk pr (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 53–87; Daniel Jordan Smith, “Ritual Killing, 419, and Fast Wealth: Inequality and the Popular Imagination in Southeastern Nigeria,” *American Ethnologist* 28, no. 4 (2001): 803–826.

¹⁵⁸ For more on this concepts, see Paul Ayodele Adedoyin Osifodunrin, “Violent Crimes in Lagos, 1861–2000: Nature, Responses and Impact” (Doctoral thesis, Lagos [Nigeria], University of Lagos, 2007), 39. Cf. also the trickster acts in the myth of Esu, a Yoruba deity popularly recognized as a cunning trickster, see chapter four of: Robert D. Pelton, *The Trickster in West Africa: A Study of Mythic Irony and Sacred Delight*, Nachdr., Hermeneutics: Studies in the History of Religions 8 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992), 113–163.

In summary, genres adapted in the Nigerian *maqāmāt* bring to fore an array of textual and contextual interconnections drawn from cultural, social, and literary backgrounds, which are imbued both by Arabo-Islamic and native contexts. Arabic as a language, its Islamic contexts, and the indigenous situation together inform the structures of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*.

2.2 *Rhetoric and Classical Arabic*

A salient question is why Arabic was chosen as the language of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, in a society where Arabic is mainly used for academic purposes. Even though Yoruba and English, the *lingua franca* and official language, are used more, Arabic remains the preferred language among Muslims, especially for religious and literary matters. One hardly finds an Arabic-educated Muslim producing artistic or religious literature in any language other than Arabic. This may be due to the interconnection between Islam and Arabic, both being equivalent in the view of many Yorubas, both Muslims and non-Muslims. Moreover, Arabic literary and religious genres are known to Yoruba people through the Arabic-Islamic tradition. Someone who is not conversant with Arabic will not be familiar with *maqāmāt*. Hearing about them in other languages, such as Yoruba, is not possible, since there are no translations of the major Arabic literary genres available (see Chapter 2). This does not, however, hinder the interrelationship between Arabic literary genres and native literary works in the case of theatre plays. Arabic plays of Nigerian authorship partly developed through the interaction of the Arabic-Islamic scholarly community with the Yoruba theatre culture.¹⁵⁹ As a result, Yoruba Muslim scholars' use of Arabic for *maqāmāt* and other writings is logical. They use the Arabic classical mode, observing its attendant grammatical rules, rhetorical conventions, and literary styles. Their adoption of Arabic rhetoric is particularly relevant to the *maqāma*.

In their *maqāmāt*, Nigerians employ many Arabic rhetorical figures in emulation of the classical *maqāmāt*. This includes the figures of *jinās* (paronomasia), *iqtibās* (quoting from the Qurʾān and hadith), *tawriya* (double-entendre), *istiʿāra* (metaphor), and *tashbīh* (simile). Arabic proverbs (*amthāl*) are also used together with their historical, linguistic, and literary contexts. The practices of palindrome and compositions using consistently dotted or undotted letters, as found in the *Ḥarīriyya*, are particularly employed. Adetunji devotes

159 For more on the relationship between the local culture and Arabic theatre, see Abdul-Ganiyy Adebayo Alabi, *Story and Drama: A Historical Perspective for Nigerian Arabic Students*, 2nd ed. (Ilorin [Nigeria]: al-Mudeef, 2015).

three *maqāmas* to both in the *Kiswa: al-‘Uthmāniyya* (no. 14) consists of two eulogies on Shaykh ‘Uthmān b. Fodio, one in dotted Arabic letters throughout and the other in undotted letters,¹⁶⁰ while *al-In‘ikāsiyya* (no. 19) and *al-Kādūniyya* (no. 8) contain palindromes.¹⁶¹ Ajegunle structures his *al-Ṭibāqīyya* (no. 25) around *ṭibāq* (antithesis) and *jinās* (paronomasia), in the sense that characters take turns in producing antithetical sentences exemplifying both figures, in poem and prose.¹⁶²

Nigerian authors have thus integrated rhetorical devices into their compositions, tailoring them to convey their desired meanings and local narratives throughout their *maqāmāt*. Though it remains uncertain whether the ironic and internal references found in classical models, especially the *Ḥarīriyya*, are present in the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, these works effectively capture the essence of rhetorical elements. However, by contextualizing the adopted rhetorical devices, Nigerian authors enhance the literary value of their works and effectively communicate their intended messages. For instance, irony in Nigerian *maqāmāt* may differ from that in classical models. Rather than employing linguistically acrobatic ironic statements or situations that merely add entertainment to the story, Nigerian *maqāmāt* may utilize subtle irony that is more nuanced and specific to the context. This adaptation allows the genre to effectively convey its intended messages within Nigeria’s cultural and narrative framework.¹⁶³ For example, in certain episodes of the *Yūsufiyya*, such as *al-Maqāma al-Jināsiyya* (no. 17) and *al-Maqāma Ṭibāqīyya* (no. 25) the use of rhetorical devices only serves didactic purposes that are localized, with the majority of rhetorical nuances absent from the composition. Thus, while classical models may utilize internal references to create connections and intertextuality within the text, Nigerian *maqāmāt* may employ internal references to establish cultural and historical connections that resonate with local nar-

160 For the dotted and undotted poems, see *maqāma* 14 *al-‘Uthmāniyya*: Adetunji, *Kiswat al-‘arī*, 121. The cunning linguistic acrobatics showcased here in the Nigerian works are a direct tribute to their principal model, al-Ḥarīrī. For more on the intricacies of wordplay in al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* and the profound messages they convey, see Katia Zakharia, *Abū Zayd Al-Sarūḡī: Imposteur et Mystique: Relire Les Maqāmāt d’al-Ḥarīrī* (Damascus: Institut Français d’Études Arabes, 2000).

161 Adetunji, 141–145. There’s another palindromic poem on which *al-Kādūniyya* (no. 8) is structured, see Adetunji, 74.

162 See *al-Ṭibāqīyya*, Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 167–193.

163 Cf. for instance the scenarios in some of the *Yūsufiyya*’s episodes, such as *al-Maqāma al-Jināsiyya* (no. 17) and *al-Maqāma Ṭibāqīyya* (no. 25) where the adoption of rhetorical devices only serves didactic purposes with most of rhetorical nuances not present in the composition.

ratives. In summary, Nigerian *maqāmāt* successfully emulate the rhetorical aspects of classical models while also adapting them to suit their own purposes.

2.3 *Islamic Framework*

The use of the Arabic language in Yorubaland is closely linked with Islam, and the ubiquity of sermons in Nigerian *maqāmāt* is a testimony to this. Islamic sources play a major role in the textual and literary composition of the Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Not only is the outlook of the Nigerian *maqāma* entirely Islamic, all aspects of it is Islamic, from the sentential expressions to settings and structures. In fact, no other religion is explicitly presented in any text. There is hardly a *maqāma* in Nigerian collections that does not use Islamic sources, especially the Qurʾān and prophetic tradition. Beneath literary structure and style, many *maqāmas* qualify as religious treatises and homilies.

Adetunji's Islamic background is reflected most conspicuously in his work. Twenty-two of his *Kiswa*'s thirty *maqāmas* draw upon Islamic sources in the form of *iqtibās*, *talmīḥ* (allusion, especially to accounts contained in the Qurʾān and hadith),¹⁶⁴ and *taḍmīn* (incorporation of verbatim phrase of sources to the text). For instance, the *Kiswa*'s *al-Maqāma al-Abūjīyya* (no. 16) is based on the story of Yūsuf (the Prophet) in Sura 12 of the Qurʾān. Two characters (the protagonist Abū Khālīd and his cousin) fight over a woman and drag the case before a ruler for judgement. Details of what transpires between them recall the controversy that ensued after Zulaykha (the wife of an Egyptian minister) tried to seduce Yūsuf in Sura 12 verses 23–35 of the Qurʾān.¹⁶⁵

Other writers also show an inclination towards Islamic sources. Ajegunle turns his *al-Ṣūkūtuwīyya* (no. 15) into a kind of prophetic hadith. The hero addresses the issue of purification through ablution and the virtues attached to it based on five hadiths from the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.¹⁶⁶ A bystander poses a riddle on what those hadiths describe as the virtues of ablution, and Abū ʿAmr solves it.

2.4 *Indigenous Context*

Nigerian *maqāmāt* are also steeped in their authors' native backgrounds. Chapter Three discusses how the *maqāma* performs socio-cultural functions in

164 See for instance the quintuplet rhyme in the *Oyowīyya* cited in example 13 above.

165 For this story of Yūsuf (the prophet), see the exegesis of Sura 12: 23–35; for the full story see ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Mursī, *Zahr al-kimām fī qīṣṣat Yūsuf ʿalayh al-salām*, ed. Kamal al-dīn ʿAllām (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2003), 111–127. See also: Kennedy, *Recognition in the Arabic Narrative Tradition*, 36–38.

166 See al-Ṣūkūtuwīyya (no. 15), Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 94.

Yoruba society; likewise, cultural norms of society and indigenous contexts, especially in the form of historical memory and linguistic echoing, shape the composition of Nigerian *maqāmāt*. Ajegunle's *Yūsufiyya* is replete with adaptations of political history, social norms, religious syncretism, and local traditions. For instance, Yoruba traditional religious deities (such as *Ọsun*, *Ẹyọ*, *Oro*, *Orunmila*) and traditional cults, such as *aje* (witchcraft), *oso* (wizardry), are frequently mentioned in his *maqāmas* in analogy with Islamic practices.¹⁶⁷ Native Yoruba foods, such as *kulikuli* (groundnut cake), *gari-ljebu* (a meal made of cassava),¹⁶⁸ *dodo* (fried plantain),¹⁶⁹ *epo pupa* (palm oil), and *adi* (palm kernel oil)¹⁷⁰ appear in some *maqāmas*. These native terms are written in Arabic script without changes to their original pronunciation and meaning. Although this is not intelligible to non-Yoruba Arabic readers unfamiliar with these words, it shows that indigenous influence in the *maqāmāt* has reached a high degree of Ajamization.¹⁷¹

In the Arabic writings of Nigerian authors, *ta'rib* (Arabicization) and Ajami-ization come to play; authors write native words in Arabic letters either by turning them into Arabic morphological forms or by transcribing them into the Arabic script. One example of morphological *ta'rib* can be found in the word *akdantu* (I reached or I was in Kaduna, a city in northern Nigeria) used by Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān,¹⁷² while phonetic Ajamization appears in all four collections.

Aside from the use of Yoruba words in the *Yūsufiyya*'s examples above, Ṣāḥib al-Qur'ān composes his *al-Fulāniyya* (no. 22) with native Fulani words, expressions, and local history. In this *maqāma*, up to twenty words and phrases are adopted in Fulani *Ajami*, and constructed as questions to the protagonist, who

167 See the sermon in the *Yūsufiyya's al-Yūrubawīyya* (no. 1) for application of traditional religious terms: Ajegunle, 11–12. For the Yoruba traditional religion, what John Peel calls the *Orisa* religion, in comparison with the two major religions in Yorubaland and Nigeria, see J.D.Y. Peel, *Christianity, Islam and Oriṣa-Religion: Three Traditions in Comparison and Interaction*, *The Anthropology of Christianity* 18 (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016).

168 *al-Kānawīyya* (no. 14), Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 87.

169 *al-Tībāqīyya* (no. 25), Ajegunle, 167.

170 *al-Nayjirīyya* (no. 29), Ajegunle, 212.

171 By Ajamization, I mean both the localization of Arabic words and Arabicization of Yoruba words orally and in written forms. In other words, it includes writing local words using Arabic scripts. For more on Ajamization in the Yoruba context, see Amidu Olalekan Sanni, "Yoruba *Ajami*: From 'Spurious' Arabic to a Renewable Medium of Literacy" (Chicago, 2017); Sanni, "New Knowledge, Old Medium: The Yoruba *Ajami* of Southwestern Nigeria in the Factory of Learning" (Boston, 2017).

172 See his *al-Kadūniyya* (no. 32), al-Ilūrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*, 2017, 107.

explains their meanings in Arabic poetry.¹⁷³ Similarly, various episodes in the *Oyowíyá* and the *Kíswa* adopt local words written in the Arabic script. Perhaps the lack of a standard system of Arabic orthography in Yoruba,¹⁷⁴ which applies, to some extent, to virtually all West African *Ajami* writings,¹⁷⁵ account for the lack of coherence and discrepancies in the ways authors write their *Ajami*. There is no uniformity in transcribing local words into Arabic script, as seen in the way *maqāma* titles are rendered (discussed above).¹⁷⁶

2.5 *Sundry Matters*

In the Nigerian *maqāmāt*, there is also a remote linguistic and thematic influence of further “foreign” sources, with terms related to modern science, philosophy, and economics integrated in some texts. English words are also Arabized. Aside from the adoption of English words and terminology in some *maqāmas*, the *Ilūrīyá* addresses subjects such as agriculture and Greek philosophy in *al-Sanfariyya* (no. 21) and *al-Daʿwīyya* (no. 27) respectively. In the former, the protagonist explains how cattle rearing can be scientifically and financially beneficial and pinpoints the skills and components needed for modern agricultural processes. In the latter, the history of film (or theater) is traced to Greek philosophy.

There are two channels through which writers learn about “Western knowledge”: these include the Western education acquired in formal schools and Arabic-Islamic education acquired in the modernized madrasas. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the recent coexistence of Islamic and Western subjects offered in Arabic schools has also fostered the adoption of English by Arabic scholars and students. Moreover, Islamic scholars connect Western subjects, such as mathematics, medicine, and logic, to Islamic heritage, claiming that they are

173 al-Ilūrī, 73–75. See the appendix for the full *maqāma* and its translation.

174 For more on the orthographic problem associated with Yoruba *Ajami* writing, see Isaac Adejoju Ogunbiyi, “The Search for a Yoruba Orthography since the 1840s: Obstacles to the Choice of the Arabic Script,” *Sudanic Africa: A Journal of Historical Sources* 14 (2003): 77–102. For a general sociopolitical context of Arabic orthography in West Africa, see Andy Warren-Rothlin, “West African Scripts and Arabic-Script Orthographies in Socio-Political Context,” in *The Arabic Script in Africa: Studies in the Use of a Writing System*, ed. Meikal Mumin and Kees Versteegh (Brill, 2014), 261–289.

175 For more, see Fallou Ngom, *Muslims beyond the Arab World: The Odyssey of ‘Ajami and the Muridiyya*, Religion, Culture, and History (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016); Fiona McLaughlin, “*Ajami* Writing Practices in Atlantic-Speaking Africa,” in *The Atlantic Languages*, ed. Frederieke Lüpke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

176 Cf. for instance the ways Ajegunle, Adetunji and Ṣāhib al-Qurʾān writes Ilorin, Sokoto and Kaduna in their titles. See the appendix.

therefore not foreign to Islam¹⁷⁷ as a justification for offering these subjects in Arabic schools. In his recent work on Sufism in West Africa, Oludamini Ogunnaike also draws a connection between Islamic mysticism as practiced in West Africa and the Yoruba knowledge of divination (Ifa), relating them to modern understandings of philosophy and religion.¹⁷⁸ In conclusion, the multilingual environment and culture of Yoruba-Nigerian society, where English serves as an official language, Yoruba as a native language, and Arabic as a religio-academic language, provides Nigerian *maqāma* authors the opportunity to fuse these seemingly disparate sources and interconnect them in creative ways.¹⁷⁹

177 For more, see Ehsan Masood, *Science and Islam: A History* (London: Icon Books Ltd, 2017). For a general view on how sciences are approached in Islamic societies, see Sonja Brentjes, *Teaching and Learning the Sciences in Islamic Societies (800–1700)*, Studies on the Faculty of Arts. History and Influence (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

178 For more, see Oludamini Ogunnaike, *Deep Knowledge: Ways of Knowing in Sufism and Ifa, Two West African Intellectual Traditions*, Africana Religions (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020).

179 In his *Yūsufiyya*, Ajegunle frequently uses words like today, yesterday, tomorrow, see *al-Abiyūkūtawīyya* (no. 12), Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf*, 77.

Conclusion

By placing the Nigerian *maqāmāt* in the context of their scholarly, sociocultural, and literary developments as an integral part of Arabic-Islamic studies in Yorubaland Nigeria, this study shows how the *maqāma* functions over time as a source of value and prestige in Nigerian Yoruba society. The effects it has on people's life and how it enters people's *habitus* can be understood in the framework of "cultural capital" which has been contextually appropriated to achieve socio-cultural, educational, and religious statuses.¹ The gains of this cultural appropriation vary from monetary accumulation to social recognition. Attaining socio-religious position in Nigeria is a complicated process which involves many factors interconnected with religiously situated prestige and proven scholarly competence in a variety of Arabic-Islamic fields. These factors likewise possess economic dimensions. The *maqāma* plays a unique role in achieving social status and the economic security that comes with recognition. This is particularly true for graduates of traditional Arabic schools, who often face obstacles in achieving such status. Indeed, along with the general economic condition of the country, the lack of official recognition for traditional Arabic schools has proven detrimental for their graduates, who are sometimes regarded as illiterates because they did not attend the "formal (Westernized) schools."² Other socio-economic factors continue to highlight the trickery of Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī, the protagonist of the *Ḥarīrīyya*, in Yoruba society (cf. the *jalabi* concept in Chapter 3). It is for these reasons that the *maqāma* remains extremely popular, not only as a literary genre reflecting aspects of their society, but also as a tool of social mobility and economic security.

The *maqāma* thus functions as a social classifier which grants its writers a specialized status in society. The *maqāma* authors, for instance, are granted a high social status in Yorubaland. Writing a *maqāma* gives authors an additional sense of belonging to an elite group of scholars among whom, in their enclosed enclave, they become key actor-members. Thus, being an author of a *maqāma* grants one a distinctive identity (see Chapter 2). Indeed, authorship of a *maqāma* bestows immense cultural capital, which in turn confers power and

1 Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 86.

2 Cf. M. Oloyede Abdul-Rahmon, "Of 'Illiterate' Scholars and National Development: The Arabic Webs in Yoruba Looms" (Inaugural Lecture, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria., 2012).

social status.³ In addition to enhanced social status, the *maqāma* also provide a model for extant self-financing practices followed by scholars (see Chapter 3).

These developments related to the *maqāma* do not exist in a vacuum but rather are concomitant with socio-cultural dimensions of Yoruba Muslim society. In fact, the *maqāma* presents Yoruba society with a potpourri of linguistic, social, and religious attributes allowing people to draw from them as they find useful. As I argue throughout this work, the linguistic and literary factors that attract scholars and students to the *maqāma* and the socio-religious and cultural impetus that prepare the ground for its development in society are inter-related and impact its reception.

In general, the *maqāma* created in Yorubaland Muslim society has many groups who approach it for various reasons. While writers write to fulfill their scholarly self-establishment, learners and readers engage with it for literary and linguistic-cum-intellectual motives; still others read the *maqāma* for additional socio-cultural benefits. The *maqāma* elicits various sets of values. How people adopt it at the social level is based on those values it evokes for them.⁴ Those who are *maqāma* experts, as well as those who learn or teach it, are valued for their knowledge; in turn, they also value the *maqāma* since it enhances their social standing. Similarly, those who compose *maqāmas* are esteemed for creating the seemingly unproduceable, while also holding their classical models in high regard. Both are held in high social regard for their respective merits.⁵

This value system revolves around itself, rotating among different players and actors in its enclave. Evaluations of works and individuals are based on these values. Through this, the *maqāma* is viewed as inimitable, albeit of a different kind of inimitability than that of the Qurʾān, in that it evokes social prestige. The socio-cultural and literary development impact not only the personal lives of *maqāma* writers, but also their careers. As demonstrated in this study, *maqāma* writers are emotionally absorbed by their work. Afterall, the emergence of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* is partly due to their emotional immersion in the classics (see Chapter 4). The *maqāma* in Nigeria continues to be indebted to classical models; motivation, inspiration, production, and its reception ride on

3 Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Education: Culture, Economy, and Society*, ed. A.H. Halsey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 47–48.

4 One of the main argument of value theory, as proposed by David Graeber, is that people attach importance into what is valuable to them. See David Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 55.

5 For more on this see: David Graeber, "It Is Value That Brings Universes into Being," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3, no. 2 (2013): 219–243.

the established importance of the classical *maqāmāt*. This includes all aspects of writing, reading, and public use. One can thus understand this progress in the light of “supportive writing” where both “models” and their “mirrors” support one another to grow. In the 21st century, the emergence of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* reinvigorates scholarly and pedagogical engagement with the classical *maqāmāt*, which previously suffered denigration as a literary form due to the hegemonic influence of “modernization” on the Arabic literary culture in Nigeria.

The concept of “supportive writing” is important for understanding the relationship of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* with classical models, for Nigerians not only “rewrite” the classical *maqāmāt*, but “transwrite” them. Transwriting not only makes the Nigerian *maqāmāt* indebted to the classics, but it also makes its existence as a social and literary text viable. Although Nigerian *maqāmāt* do not directly borrow from the classical *maqāmāt*, their texts rely on them for both structure and discursive traditions. The Nigerian *maqāma*, in the manner that they are interconnected with their classical models, evoke Gerard Genette’s notion of *hypertextuality*.⁶ Interaction with classical models emotionally, textually, and socially has not prevented modern Nigerian *maqāmas* from showcasing their own indigenous and individual potentials (see Chapter 5). Nor has indigenous features weakened their connection with the classical *maqāma*. Rather, Nigerian writers have produced a subset of *maqāma* which combines an array of influences without jeopardizing their indebtedness to the *hypotexts*.⁷ Although Yoruba-Nigerian scholars may receive much of their inspiration from the classical *maqāmāt*, their own *maqāma* compositions are largely shaped by their indigenous and scholarly background. Therefore, as exemplified in Chapter Five, the *maqāmāt* literature in Nigeria demonstrates a rich amalgamation of contemporary elements within a framework that adheres to the classical models of the *Ḥarīriyya* and the *Hamadhānīyya*. Despite their modern content, the Nigerian *maqāmāt* maintain the traditional structure and form of their predecessors. These literary works encompass a wide range of Arabic literary and linguistic forms, incorporating grammatical, rhetorical, and structural elements of the classical form. In essence, the Nigerian *maqāmāt* are composed in a manner that closely mirrors the presentation style of the classical *maqāmāt*.

6 For more on this see: Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky, Stages, v. 8 (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 5.

7 see Genette, 7.

In the last thirty years, there has been a growing awareness of the rich Arabic literature of Nigeria, and Yorubaland. Nevertheless, little serious scholarly attention has been directed toward these important literary products.⁸ Indeed, this study's examination of the Nigerian *maqāmāt* through various textual and contextual perspectives highlights certain gaps in the field of Arabic studies, and in particular, the neglect of Nigerian and West African Arabic literary production. Despite ongoing efforts to document West African Arabic literature and integrate it into the broader field of Arabic studies, much scholarly work remains to be done. This growing trend of locally written Arabic for the public sphere has been largely driven in the last few decades by the modernized curriculum in, and proliferation of, Arabic schools across Yorubaland which have promoted Arabic as a language of instruction and communication. This dimensions in teaching, learning, and writing in Arabic avail us of opportunities, promises, and a unique trajectory of what could be regarded as not only modern but also neoclassical forms of Arabic literature.

This study's emphasis on various paradigms of generalization on the *maqāma* limits its scope in giving a thorough analysis of individual texts.⁹ Most of the research so far carried out on the Nigerian *maqāmāt* only analyze their features based on traditional explanations of forms. Critical editions and detailed textual comparison with *maqāma* classics abound.¹⁰ Nevertheless, there is still lack of a study on the *maqāma*'s influence not only on works written by Nigerian *maqāma* writers but also on other Nigerian authors of Arabic literature more broadly, including those authors who have no intention of composing a *maqāma*. I can tentatively conclude that anyone who is deeply engaged and conversant with the *maqāma* are often eager to try their hand at composing in the genre; if they haven't done so, it is because they have been hindered by their own personal linguistic capacity, lack of time, or other scholarly and literary factors.

8 Since the publication of Arabic Literature of Africa, volume 2 in 1995, which has a comprehensive survey of works by the scholar of the region under study prior to the last decade of 20th century, there has been a tremendous outpouring of literary works emanating from the Yoruba scholarly community. This growing corpus awaits systematic and thorough scholarly consideration.

9 Only four episodes of which are randomly selected and translated in the appendix.

10 Even if similar studies have been conducted in the past, the amount of scholarly and critical work remaining to be done far exceeds what has currently been accomplished. Except for the *Yūsufiyya* which, as far as I know, has garnered relatively little scholarly attention, other Nigerian *maqāma* works have been studied at different levels, though not in a very "modern" way of research which is characterized with putting the literary text into different socio-cultural and literary perspectives. Such studies can only be considered a commendable step to popularize the work in a more academic environment.

The four Nigerian Arabic *maqāma* works that feature in this study demonstrate how *maqāma* features of the two classical models of al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī are promulgated through a nativized system of writing Arabic. What is particularly important to note is how each individual Nigerian *maqāma* writer forged his own distinct path in crafting his *maqāma*. While each *maqāma* is individually unique as well as represents an indigenous subset of the genre, Nigerian *maqāma* nevertheless belong to the mainstream Arabic literary tradition and should be viewed in the context of modern global Arabic literature. Notwithstanding all its limitations, it is hoped that the analyses of this study make an important contribution to a broader understanding of what it means to write and read Arabic in Yorubaland, Nigeria, and West Africa, as seen in the production of the indigenous Arabic *maqāma*. Having crafted their works based on classical models, *maqāma* writers from Yorubaland likewise have admirers who hold their work in high esteem; these admirers in turn may very well appropriate their work as well as their important scholarly and socio-cultural positions. Even al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamadhānī might be envious of them if these masters of the *maqāma* were still with us today.

Appendix

1 Titles, Settings, and Main Themes in the Nigerian *maqāma* Collections

1.1 Al-Maqāma al-Awyuwiyya (*Two Episodes*)

Author: Mas‘ud Abdul-Ganiyy Adebayo, known as Imam (1947–2023)

Main characters: al-Mufakkir b. al-Wā‘ī (narrator) and Shaykh Mas‘ūd (protagonist).

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 1: al-Awyuwiyya</i>	Of Oyo	King’s palace, Oyo town, Nigeria	Description: Journey to Oyo Palace.
<i>Maqāma 2: al-Fiktūriyya</i>	Of Victoria	Victoria Island, Lagos, Nigeria	n/a

1.2 Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī (*Fifty Episodes*)

Author: Muḥammad al-Awwal b. ‘Abdul-Salām al-Ilūrī, known as Ṣāḥib al-Qur‘ān (b. 1973)

Main characters: Jibrīl b. Khālīd (narrator) and Abū Labīb (al-Fulānī, protagonist)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 1: al-Sūqīyya</i>	Of the Market	Unspecified market in an unnamed village	Admonition: Exhorting lazy students
<i>Maqāma 2: al-Ilūrīyya</i>	Of Ilorin	Central Ilorin, including the market, Emir’s palace, and the central mosque	Description: Virtues of Ilorin in history
<i>Maqāma 3: al-Adabīyya</i>	On the <i>Adabīyya</i> ¹	An Arabic school, Kamal Institute, in Ilorin, Nigeria	Debate: Virtues of the <i>Adabīyya</i> scholarly group at the Kamal Institute and its founder Shaykh Tāj al-Adab vs. others
<i>Maqāma 4: al-‘Arabīyya</i>	On Arabic	Unspecified street	Debate: on the importance of Arabic vs. other languages

1 Or of the *Adabīyya*, refers to the flock of ulama established by the renowned Shaykh, Tāj al-Adab.

(cont.)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 5: al-Abhajiyya</i>	On Agbaji ²	Agbaji Quarters, Ilorin, Nigeria	Eulogy: Abū Labīb's virtues in <i>absentia</i>
<i>Maqāma 6: al-Markaziyya</i>	Of the Markaz	On the way to Lagos from Jos, Nigeria	Eulogy: Virtues of Shaykh Adam al-Ilori, the founder of the Markaz
<i>Maqāma 7: al-Imāmiyya</i>	On the Imam	Jibrīl's neighborhood at an unspecified location	Eulogy: Chief Imam of Ilorin
<i>Maqāma 8: al-Malawīyya</i>	On Imale ³	A circle of scholars at an unspecified location	Eulogy: Imam Imale of Ilorin, Shaykh Abdul-Hameed, and Debate: issues of Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Maqāma 9: al-Kamriyya</i>	On the Camry	On the way to Jibrīl's homeland, an unspecified location	Description: Mechanical composition of Toyota Camry car
<i>Maqāma 10: al-Ghādiyya</i>	On the Maiden	Abū Labīb's place at an unspecified location	Ghazal (love): Story of loss of a lover
<i>Maqāma 11: al-Bukhārīyya</i>	On al-Bukhārī	A circle of scholars at an unspecified location	Debate: Controversy over the authenticity of the hadith collection, <i>Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī</i>
<i>Maqāma 12: al-Rawḍiyya</i>	On the <i>Rawḍa</i> (garden) ⁴	Luqmān's house and its neighborhood at an unspecified location	Elegy: On the death of a scholar named Luqmān
<i>Maqāma 13: al-Kankāwīyya</i>	On Kankāwī (person)	Central mosque of the University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria	Eulogy: A book and its author, 'Uthmān Kankawī
<i>Maqāma 14: al-Zifāfiyya</i>	On the Wedding Ceremony	A wedding gathering at an unspecified location	Description: Proceedings of a marriage and its importance
<i>Maqāma 15: al-Ṣukūtiyya</i>	Of Sokoto	A village in Sokoto, Nigeria	Travel, witty
<i>Maqāma 16: al-Zārīyya</i>	Of Zaria	On the way to Zaria city; inside a vehicle and at a school in Zaria, Nigeria	Picaresque: Abū Labīb disguises himself as a veiled woman
<i>Maqāma 17: al-Muṭayriyya</i>	On Muṭayr (person)	The airport and the Emir's palace, Ilorin, Nigeria	Description: Visitation by Shaykh Muṭayr and the welcome party
<i>Maqāma 18: al-Makāniyya</i>	Of Makana	Makana, Ilorin, Nigeria	Beggar: Abū Labīb begs for food, providing a philological and linguistic exercise
<i>Maqāma 19: al-Kabariyya</i>	On Kabara (person) ⁵	The home of a Kabari Shaykh, unspecified location	Debate: Comparing the trio of Shaykh Adam al-Ilori, Shaykh Kamaldeen al-Adabi and Shaykh Nasir Kabara

2 A place in Ilorin; used to identify persons from the area, but refers here to the popular Shaykh Yusuf Agbaji who hailed from the place.

3 A place in Ilorin, used in reference to the imam of the area, to differentiate between the 7th and the 8th *maqāmas*.

4 In reference to an Arabic school with that name. The *maqāma* is about the proprietor of the school, whose name is Luqmān.

5 Refers to Shaykh Nasir Kabara, the former leader of the Qadiriyya Sufi order in West Africa

(cont.)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 20: al-Bamdayliyya</i>	On Bamidele (person) ⁶	At the house of Shaykh Abdul-Salam Bamidele, an unspecified location	Eulogy: Virtues of Shaykh Abdul-Salam Bamidele
<i>Maqāma 21: al-Sanfariyya</i>	Of Zamfara	Gusau, Zamfara State, Nigeria	Debate and description: The pursuit of knowledge vs. animal rearing, and the benefits of cattle rearing
<i>Maqāma 22: al-Fulāniyya</i>	On the Fulani	No specified location	Philology: Fulani words and their meanings; importance of the Fulfulde language
<i>Maqāma 23: al-Tijāniyya</i>	On the Tijāniyya (Sufi Order)	A mosque at an unspecified location	Description: Devotional and mystical practices of the Tijāniyya; poetic contra-faction on a <i>tijānī</i> poem
<i>Maqāma 24: al-Alabiyya</i>	On Alabi (person)	Inside a university at an unspecified location	Eulogy: Display of Prof. Alabi's vita in a polished Arabic language
<i>Maqāma 25: al-'Ilmiyya</i>	On Science	In one of Jibril's travels, place not specified	Debate: Abū Labīb and a lady compete in a poetry contest
<i>Maqāma 26: al-Makkiyya</i>	Of Makkah	On the way to <i>Umm al-Qurā</i> (the mother of all villages), Makkah	Description: Hajj travel, rites, and other practices of the pilgrimage
<i>Maqāma 27: al-Da'wiyya</i>	On Proselytization	In front of the protagonist's house at an unspecified location	Admonition: Vices of watching films
<i>Maqāma 28: al-Dāriyya</i>	On the Dār (al-Kitāb) ⁷	Arabic School (Dār al-Kitāb) in Ilorin	Description and eulogy: How the Dār operates and its functions in society
<i>Maqāma 29: al-Naḥwīyya</i>	On Arabic Grammar	No location specified	Philology: Solving Arabic grammatical riddles in a question-and-answer format
<i>Maqāma 30: al-'Arūḍiyya</i>	On Arabic Prosody	No location specified	Philology: contrafaction on the <i>Maḥāṭiḥ al-buḥūr</i> ; versifying with the sixteen meters of Arabic prosody
<i>Maqāma 31: al-Ḥubbiyya</i>	On Love	At the house of the <i>maqāma</i> hero, an unspecified location	Philology: Versifying Arabic words used for the meaning of love
<i>Maqāma 32: al-Kadūniyya</i>	Of Kaduna	Kaduna city, Nigeria	Elegy: Social unrest in Kaduna and its tragedy
<i>Maqāma 33: al-Balāghīyya</i>	On Arabic Rhetoric	Usman dan Fodio University, Sokoto, Nigeria	Eulogy: Professor Baaki Agaka, includes philological exercise on Arabic rhetoric
<i>Maqāma 34: al-Funūlūjiyya</i>	On Arabic Phonology	At a university (apparently Kwara State University)	Eulogy: Professor Abdul-Rahim Hamza, with a review of the professor's primer of Arabic phonology

and the author of several hundreds of books in Arabic and Islamic sciences, died 1996. For whom, see John O. Hunwick, ed., *Arabic Literature of Africa, Volume 2: The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 321–339.

6 Refers to Shaykh Abdul-Salam Bamidele of Ibadan, Nigeria (d. 1967).

7 In reference to Dār al-Kitāb wa-l-Sunna, an Arabic school in Ilorin.

(cont.)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 35: al-Būlisīyya</i>	On the Police	A public shopping place at an unspecified location	Social Criticism: Virtues and vices of the police
<i>Maqāma 36: al-Ustādhiyya</i>	On the Professor	No location specified	Eulogy: In commemoration of Professor Hamzat Abdul-Rahim's rise to professorship
<i>Maqāma 37: al-Aghawdiyya</i>	Of Agodi	An unnamed Arabic school at Agodi area, Ilorin, Nigeria	Description: The 40th anniversary of the school
<i>Maqāma 38: al-Amāniyya</i>	On the Amāniyya (Sufi Group)	A gathering at an unspecified location	Eulogy: Shaykh Sulayman Onikijipa, the current Mufti of Ilorin and the founder of Markaz al-Amānī
<i>Maqāma 39: al-Qādiriyya</i>	On the Qādiriyya (Sufi Order)	Central mosque of an unnamed city	Description: Devotional and mystical practices of the <i>Qādiriyya</i> ; poetic contrafaction on a <i>Qādiriyya</i> poem created
<i>Maqāma 40: al-Jawwālīyya</i>	On the Cell-phone	Central mosque of an unnamed city	Debate: Virtues and vices of the cellphone
<i>Maqāma 41: al-Zuhdiyya</i>	On Asceticism	A gathering of people at an unspecified location	Exhortation: On the importance of living a simple life and asceticism
<i>Maqāma 42: al-Jaybiyya</i>	Of Jēbba	The city of Jēbba, Nigeria	Exhortation: On piety
<i>Maqāma 43: al-Hijriyya</i>	On the Hijra ⁸	Central Kano, in Dār al-Hijra school, Kano, Nigeria	Eulogy: Shaykh Adam Yahyā al-Fulānī
<i>Maqāma 44: al-Mushajjariyya</i>	On the Tree-shaped poem	A circle of scholar at an unspecified location	Philology: riddle with a <i>mushajjarī</i> poem
<i>Maqāma 45: al-Taqdūmiyya</i>	On Advancement	The neighborhood of Jibrīl (the narrator)	Description: Installation ceremony as a leader
<i>Maqāma 46: al-Wakīliyya</i>	On the Wakīl ⁹	A street around Jibrīl's place (the narrator)	Elegy: Wakīl al-Qādiriyya
<i>Maqāma 47: al-Shaybiyya</i>	On Grey Hair	No location specified	Philology: Different kinds of grey hair and related stages of human life
<i>Maqāma 48: al-Hay'a</i>	On Authority	The house of Jibrīl (the narrator), Abū Labīb pays him a visit	Description: Organs of the Makondoro institutional body and prominent personalities and authorities
<i>Maqāma 49: al-Ḥusayniyya</i>	On Ḥusayn (person)	On a street at an unspecified location	Elegy: Shaykh with the name Ḥusayn
<i>Maqāma 50: al-Du'ā'iyya</i>	On Prayer	At an unnamed mosque	Devotion: Devotional practices and the regret by Abū Labīb

⁸ In reference to Dār al-Hijra, an Arabic School in Kano, Nigeria.

⁹ In reference to Wakīl Qādiriyya, a trustee of the Nigerian section of the Qadiriyya Sufi Order.

1.3 Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf (*Thirty Episodes*)

Author: Ahmad Yusuf Ajegunle (b. 1980)

Main characters: Dīnār b. Dirham (narrator) and Abū ‘Amr al-Badnalūrī (protagonist)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 1: al-Yūrubawīyya</i>	Of Yoruba	Somewhere in Yorubaland, Nigeria	Exhortation: Admonition on scorning this life and revering the hereafter
<i>Maqāma 2: al-Ilūriniyya</i>	Of Ilorin	Central Ilorin city, Nigeria	Philology: Contrafaction on a popular poem by the Sokoto's Ruqayya al-Fulāniyya
<i>Maqāma 3: al-Ibādaniyya</i>	Of Ibadan	Ibadan metropolis, Nigeria	Begging: Virtues and vices of money
<i>Maqāma 4: al-Lāghūsiyya</i>	Of Lagos	Lagos city, Nigeria	Debate: Good and bad relationships with people
<i>Maqāma 5: al-Abījuwaniyya</i>	Of Abi-juwon (person)	No location	Begging: Abū ‘Amr cajoles his audience with the false story of looking for his child
<i>Maqāma 6: al-Tihāmiyya</i>	Of Tihāma	The land of Tihāma on the Arabian Peninsula	Philology: Play on words with various aspects of Arabic grammar and rhetoric such as <i>taṣghūr</i> (diminutive) and <i>jīnās</i> (paronomasia)
<i>Maqāma 7: al-Ajaygunlawīyya</i>	Of Ajegunle	Ajegunle village ¹⁰	Begging: Abū ‘Amr disguises himself as a blind man
<i>Maqāma 8: al-Awyawiyya</i>	Of Oyo	Alaafin Palace, Oyo, Nigeria	Debate: Litigation at the court of Oyo King between Abū ‘Amr and his son over a damaged ring
<i>Maqāma 9: al-Ifawīyya</i>	Of Ife	The city of Ife, Nigeria	Picaresque: Abū ‘Amr and his wife quarrel over begging for charity money at Ile-Ife court
<i>Maqāma 10: al-Awṣunīyya</i>	Of Oṣun	Oṣun city ¹¹	Picaresque: Abū Labīb drags his son to a court over a false case
<i>Maqāma 11: al-Awnduwiyya</i>	Of Ondo	At a graveyard in Ondo town	Exhortation: Admonition on death
<i>Maqāma 12: al-Abīyūkūtawīyya</i>	Of Abẹokuta	Abẹokuta city, on the way to Ijebu	Devotion: a prayer on security

¹⁰ The word Ajegunle is used for both a person and place. It is not clear in the content of this *maqāma* which one meant by the author. The Ajegunle village used by the author is an invention of the author. The Ajegunle of Lagos where he lived and where the author was raised as a child is not a village, it is a region. The word is thus used at its face value.

¹¹ Oṣun is known to be a name of a state in Yorubaland, southwest Nigeria, which is named after the Oṣun River. There has never been a city named Oṣun, therefore the author might have only used this fictionally.

(cont.)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 13: al-Adaw'aykitiyya</i>	Of Ado-Ekiti	A circle of <i>literati</i> at Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria	Begging: Abū 'Amr disguises himself as a veiled woman to beg for money
<i>Maqāma 14: al-Kānawīyya</i>	Of Kano	A mosque in the Kurmi Market of Kano, Nigeria	Begging: Abū 'Amr and his son in a mosque congregation
<i>Maqāma 15: al-Šūkūtūwīyya</i>	Of Sokoto	The city of Sokoto, Nigeria	Didactic and Picaresque: Abū Labīb solves a poetic riddle and was rejected after first being honored
<i>Maqāma 16: al-Kādūnīyya</i>	Of Kaduna	The city of Kaduna	Philology: Competition on <i>jinās</i> (paronomasia)
<i>Maqāma 17: al-Jināsīyya</i>	On Paronomasia	A circle of youngsters at an unspecified location	Philology: Abū 'Amr teaches and dictates more than hundred expressions on <i>jinās</i> (paronomasia)
<i>Maqāma 18: al-Bawshīyya</i>	Of Bauchi	On the way out of Bauchi land	Social: Story of a betrayer of love
<i>Maqāma 19: al-Mādughūrīyya</i>	Of Maiduguri	A small village in the city of Maiduguri, Nigeria	Picaresque: Abū Labīb got sick and attracted people's attention
<i>Maqāma 20: al-Anambarīyya</i>	Of Anambra	An unspecified place in Anambra, Nigeria	Begging: Abū 'Amr cajoles with lies and sweet talks
<i>Maqāma 21: al-Fulānīyya</i>	Of the Fulani	Home of a group of (Fulani) people at an unspecified location	Exhortatory: Admonition of death, life, and socio-religious vices
<i>Maqāma 22: al-Ālimīyya</i>	On Alimi (person) ¹²	Kwara land, precisely a palace at Geri Alimi, Ilorin, Nigeria	Philology: A king creates a challenge with some words and Abū 'Amr composes about hundred expressions with them
<i>Maqāma 23: al-Hijā'īyya</i>	On the Arabic Alphabet	Ogbomṣṣo town, Oyo state, Nigeria	Maxim: Abū 'Amr teaches a group of children about wisdom and provides twenty-eight written passages based on the Arabic alphabet
<i>Maqāma 24: al-Ikirunīyya</i>	Of Ikirun	Ikirun town, Nigeria	Begging: Abū 'Amr cajoles with lies and a fake story of being robbed
<i>Maqāma 25: al-Tībāqīyya</i>	On the Antithesis	Iwo town and Ibadan city, Nigeria	Philology: Abū 'Amr and his cohorts play on words by composing various antithetic sentences
<i>Maqāma 26: al-Awfawīyya</i>	Of Oḡfa	Oḡfa city and Okeho town, Nigeria	Begging: Abū 'Amr convinces a king with a sermon
<i>Maqāma 27: al-Zawjīyya</i>	On Spouses	Saki town, Nigeria	Social: Sermonic dialogue with the couple at a wedding feast
<i>Maqāma 28: al-Aghawīyya</i>	Of Ago	On a business trip from Ilorin to Ago-Oja, a village about ten miles from Ilorin, Nigeria	Exhortation: Pulpit oration by Abū 'Amr on preparing for the hereafter

12 Shaykh Salih b. Janta, known as Sheu Alimi, was a scholar on whose activities the establishment of Ilorin Islamic Emirate was based. His descendants have been the Emirs of Ilorin since the turn of the 18th century. For more, see Hunwick, *ALA II*, 442–444.

(cont.)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 29: al-Nayjīriyya</i>	Of Nigeria	Southern Nigeria (UCH Ibadan) and Northern Nigeria (Abuja and Katsina)	Exhortation, social criticism: Death of the former President and the deplorable Nigerian infrastructure, police brutality
<i>Maqāma 30: al-Īlayshawīyya</i>	Of Ileṣa	Ileṣa town, Nigeria	Exhortation: General advice to knowledge seekers; repentance and farewell

1.4 Kiswat al-‘ārī fī maqāmāt ‘Abd al-Bārī (*Thirty Episodes*)

Author: ‘Abd al-Bārī Adetunji al-Ibādānī (b. 1948)

Main characters: Mujaḥid b. al-Hādī (narrator) and Abū Khālīd al-Ibādānī (protagonist)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 1: al-Ibādāniyya</i>	Of Ibadan	On the way to Ibadan from Apomu, Nigeria	Exhortation: Admonition on life and death
<i>Maqāma 2: al-‘Ajūziyya</i>	On the Old Woman	A journey in an African land, unspecified location	Philology: About hundred meanings produced for the word ‘ajūz (an old woman), in prose and verse
<i>Maqāma 3: al-Ilawrinīyya</i>	Of Ilorin	A central mosque in Ilorin city, then al-Hikmah University, Ilorin, Nigeria	Exhortation: Abū Khālīd on the pulpit, admonishes on good deeds
<i>Maqāma 4: al-Ṣukūtuwīyya</i>	Of Sokoto	Somewhere in Sokoto, Nigeria	Exhortation: Abū Khālīd admonishes on the importance of the Islamic faith and begs afterwards
<i>Maqāma 5: al-Jūsiyya</i>	Of Jos	In the city of Jos, Nigeria	Philology: Abū Khālīd attends a question-and-answer session on the Arabic language and composes a <i>luzūmiyya</i> poem
<i>Maqāma 6: al-Makkiyya</i>	Of Makkah	At Mount ‘Arafā in Makkah	Exhortation: Abū Khālīd makes devotions and admonishes the pilgrims on Hajj rites and good deeds
<i>Maqāma 7: al-Ḥikamiyya</i>	On Aphorisms	A circle of good people in an unspecified location	Maxim: Abū Khālīd advises a young boy
<i>Maqāma 8: al-Kādūniyya</i>	Of Kaduna	Kaduna city, Nigeria	Begging: Abū Khālīd cajoles with sweet talk and composes a palindromic poem
<i>Maqāma 9: al-Katshināwīyya</i>	Of Katsina	A tent in the Katsina land	Philology: Question-and-answer session between Abū Khālīd and his son on Arabic terms used for things such as common speech mistakes, different languages of the Arab tribes, etc.

(cont.)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 10: al-Tūghawiyya</i>	Of Togo	On the way to Kano from Togo	Devotion: Prayer on security
<i>Maqāma 11: al-'Arūḍiyya</i>	On Arabic Prosody	A gathering of people near Ibadan central market	Philology: Contrafaction on the <i>Maḥāṭih al-buḥūr</i> ; versifying the sixteen meters of Arabic prosody
<i>Maqāma 12: al-Ḥiṣāniyya</i>	On the Horse	Ijeṣaland, Nigeria	Philology: Question-and-answer session; Abū Khālid composes poems on Arabic terms used for things such as, voices, bravery, etc.
<i>Maqāma 13: al-Wa'ḍiyya</i>	On the Sermon	Ikire town, Nigeria	Exhortation: Admonition on death
<i>Maqāma 14: al-'Uthmāniyya</i>	On 'Uthmān	On the way to Egypt, a sojourn at Usman Dan Fodio Univeristy Sokoto, Nigeria	Eulogy: Virtues of Shaykh Uthman b. Fodio; features a <i>mushajjari</i> poem
<i>Maqāma 15: al-Tawḥidiyya</i>	On Monotheism	At Khurasan	Exhortation: Admonition of Islamic monotheism
<i>Maqāma 16: al-Abūjīyya</i>	Of Abuja	The city of Abuja, Nigeria	Picaresque: Litigation at the court of a king between Abū 'Amr and his son over a lover
<i>Maqāma 17: al-Dāliyya</i>	On the <i>Dāl</i>	The place of Mujaḥid's friend at an unspecified location	Begging: Abū Khālid cajoles with a poem composed with <i>dāl</i> as <i>rawīyy</i> , the eighth Arabic letter
<i>Maqāma 18: al-Nabawīyya</i>	On the Prophet	At the Haram Mosque of Medina, Saudi Arabia	Eulogy: On the virtues of Prophet Muḥammad
<i>Maqāma 19: al-In'ikāsiyya</i>	On the Palindrome	One village at an unspecified location	Philology: On the Arabic palindrome
<i>Maqāma 20: al-Ijābuwīyya</i>	Of Ijebu	Ijebuland, Nigeria	Exhortation: Admonition on death
<i>Maqāma 21: al-Awtshīyya</i>	Of Auchi	The central mosque of Auchi city, southern Nigeria	Eulogy: On the virtues of Professor Zakariyau Oseni
<i>Maqāma 22: al-Abay'awkuta-wīyya</i>	Of Abẹokuta	A gathering of scholars in Abẹokuta, Nigeria	Philology: Question-and-answer session; Abū Khālid composes poems using Arabic terms for things such as parts of the body, offspring, and freshness
<i>Maqāma 23: al-Maghribīyya</i>	Of the Maghreb	In far North Africa	Begging: A beggar, Abū Khālid, advises people with wise sayings
<i>Maqāma 24: al-Ikiruniyya</i>	Of Ikirun	Outskirts of Ikirun town, Nigeria	Exhortation: Admonition on worshipping God
<i>Maqāma 25: al-Naḥwiyya</i>	On Arabic Syntax	At a bookshop or a library at the University of Ilorin, Nigeria	Philology: Questions are asked on rules of Arabic syntax and Abū Khālid solves them
<i>Maqāma 26: al-Shakawīyya</i>	Of Ṣaki	The city of Ṣaki, Nigeria	Exhortation: Abū Khālid on the pulpit, admonishes on life and good deeds

(cont.)

Title	Meaning	Location	Main Theme
<i>Maqāma 27: al-Ūyūwīyya</i>	Of Ōyō	On the way to Ōyō town, Nigeria	Social: Relationship doctor (Abū Khālid) counsels on different kinds of women to marry
<i>Maqāma 28: al-Lāghūsīyya</i>	Of Lagos	In the city of Lagos, Nigeria	Description: Travel to Lagos, monuments, and important personalities (especially Islamic ones) of Lagos
<i>Maqāma 29: al-Waladīyya</i>	On the Boy	At a naming ceremony in Ogbomṣṣō town, Nigeria	Debate: Virtues and vices of having a child
<i>Maqāma 30: al-Du'ā'īyya</i>	On Prayer	At the Haram Mosque of Makkah	Devotion: Abū Khālid repents and supplicates to God for forgiveness and prosperity

2 Prayer Texts (Derived from the *maqāma*) in Yorubaland

2.1 *Text of the Yā-Muḥyiya Prayer from the Ḥarīriyya's al-Maqāma al-Dimashqiyya (no. 12)*¹³

اللَّهُمَّ يَا مُحْيِي الرُّفَاتِ * وَيَا دَافِعَ الْآفَاتِ * وَيَا وَاثِيَ الْمَخَافَاتِ * وَيَا كَرِيمَ الْمَكَاةِ * وَيَا مَوْتِلَ
 الْعَفَاةِ * وَيَا وَلِيَّ الْعَفْوِ وَالْمُعَاةِ * صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ خَاتَمِ أَنْبِيَائِكَ * وَمُبَلِّغِ أَنْبَاءِكَ * وَعَلَى مَصَابِيحِ
 أَسْرَتِهِ * وَمَفَاتِيحِ نُصْرَتِهِ * وَأَعِزِّي (اللَّهُمَّ) مِنْ نَزَغَاتِ الشَّيَاطِينِ * وَنَزَوَاتِ السَّلَاطِينِ * وَإِعْنَاتِ
 الْبَاغِينَ * وَمُعَانَاةِ الطَّاعِينَ * وَمُعَادَاةِ الْعَادِينَ * وَعُدْوَانِ الْمُعَادِينَ * وَغَلَبِ الْعَالِينَ * وَسَلْبِ السَّالِينَ
 * وَحِيلِ الْمُحْتَالِينَ وَغِيْلِ الْمُغْتَالِينَ * وَأَجْرِي اللَّهُمَّ مِنْ جَوْرِ الْمَجَاوِرِينَ * وَمَجَاوِرَةِ الْجَائِرِينَ * وَكُفِّ
 عَنِّي أَكُفِّ الضَّائِمِينَ * وَأَخْرِجْنِي مِنْ ظُلُمَاتِ الظَّالِمِينَ * وَأَدْخِلْنِي بِرَحْمَتِكَ فِي عِبَادِكَ الصَّالِحِينَ * اللَّهُمَّ
 حُطِّي فِي تَرْبَتِي وَغُرْبَتِي * وَغِيْبَتِي وَأَوْبَتِي * وَنَجْعَتِي وَرَجْعَتِي * وَتَصْرِفِي وَمَنْصَرِفِي * وَتَقْلِي وَمُنْقَلِي
 * وَاحْفَظْنِي فِي نَفْسِي وَنَفَاسِي * وَعَرَضِي وَعَرَضِي * وَعُدْدِي وَعُدْدِي * وَسَكْنِي وَمَسْكْنِي * وَحَوْلِي

13 The version of the prayer presented here is the one common to the sources in Yorubaland and it is based on various editions of the *Ḥarīriyya* published by Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, which continues to be reprinted many times in different covers. They are found in virtually all Arabic book markets. Other versions, particularly the vibrant editions recently imported from the Arab world, are now widely available. For another variation with slightly different wordings see the newly edited copy by Michael Cooperson which is the one I generally adopt throughout this study except when clearly stated.

وَحَالِي * وَمَالِي وَمَالِي * وَلَا تُلْحِقْ بِي تَغْيِيرًا * وَلَا تُسَلِّطْ عَلَيَّ مُغِيرًا * وَاجْعَلْ لِي مِنْ لَدُنْكَ سُلْطَانًا
 نَصِيرًا * اللَّهُمَّ احْرُسْنِي بَعِينِكَ وَعَوْنِكَ * وَاخْصُصْنِي بِأَمْنِكَ وَمَنْعِكَ * وَتَوَلَّيْ بِاخْتِيَارِكَ وَخَيْرِكَ * وَلَا
 تَكُنْ لِي إِلَى كَلَاءَةٍ غَيْرِكَ * وَهَبْ لِي عَافِيَةً غَيْرَ عَافِيَةٍ * وَارْزُقْنِي رِفَاهِيَةً غَيْرَ وَاهِيَةٍ * وَاكْفِنِي مَخَاشِي
 الْأَوَاءِ * وَاكْنُفْنِي بَغَوَاشِي الْأَلَاءِ * وَلَا تُظْفِرْ لِي أَظْفَارَ الْأَعْدَاءِ * إِنَّكَ سَمِيعُ الدُّعَاءِ.

Translation:¹⁴

O God! O thou who givest life to the mouldering dead! O thou who avertest harms! O thou who guardest from terrors! O thou generous in rewarding! O thou the refuge of suppliants! O thou the Lord of pardon and protection! Send thy blessing on Mohammed, the Seal of thy prophets, the Bringer of thy messages, and on the Lights of his Kindred, the Keys of his victory;—And give me refuge, O God, from the mischiefs of devils and the assaults of princes; from the vexing of the wringers, and from suffering through the tyrannous; from the enmity of transgressors, and from the transgression of enemies; from the conquest of conquerors, from the spoiling of spoilers, from the crafts of the crafty, from the treacheries of the treacherous;—And deliver me, O God, from the wrongfulness of neighbors and the neighborhood of the wrongful;—And keep me from hands of the harmful; bring me forth from the darkness of the oppressors; place me by thy mercy among thy servants who do aright.—O God, keep me in my own land and in my journeying, in my exile and my coming homeward, in my foraging and my return from it, in my trafficking and my success from it, in my adventuring and my withdrawing from it.—And guard me in myself and my property, in my honour and my goods, in my family and my means, in my household and my dwelling, in my strength and my fortune, in my riches and my death.—Bring not on me reverse; make not the invader lod over me, but give me from thyself helping power.—O God, watch over me with thy eye and thy aid, distinguish me by thy safeguard and thy bounty, befriend me with thy election and thy good, and consign me not to the keeping of any but thee.—But grant to me health that weareth not away, and allot to me comfort that perisheth not; and free me from the terrors of misfortune, and shelter me with

14 The translation here is from Thomas Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Hariri: Translated from the Arabic, with an Introduction, and Notes Historical and Grammatical*, ed. F.J. Steingass and F. Arbutnot, vol. 1, 2 vols., Oriental Translation Fund: New Series (Williams and Norgate, 1867), 171–172. For a recent translation, see Ḥarīrī, Michael Cooperson, and Abdelfattah Kilito, *Impostures*, Library of Arabic Literature (New York: New York University Press, 2020), 101–103. Other translations throughout this study are mine unless otherwise stated.

coverings of thy boons; make not the talons of enemies to prevail against me, for thou art he that heareth prayer.

2.2 *Prayers in Emulation of the Ḥarīriyya's Maqāma 12's Yā-Muḥyiya from the Nigerian Collections*

2.2.1 From the Yūsufiyya's *al-Maqāma al-Abiyūkūtawīyya* (no. 12)¹⁵

اللَّهُمَّ يَا جَابِرَ الْمَكْسُورِ * وَيَا فَالَكَ الْمَأْسُورِ * وَيَا مُطْلِعًا عَلَى مَا فِي الضَّمِيرِ * وَيَا عَالِمًا بِأَدْنَى مِنْ قَطْمِيرِ *
 * وَيَا مَالِكًا لِلْأَمْرِ بَعْدَ فَنَاءِ كُلِّ أَمِيرٍ * أَسْأَلُكَ دَوَامَ الصَّلَاةِ وَالتَّسْلِيمِ * عَلَى حَبِيبِكَ مُحَمَّدٍ ذِي الْقَلْبِ
 السَّلِيمِ * وَعَلَى آلِهِ سِرَجِ الدُّجَى * وَأَصْحَابِهِ أَوْلَى الْعِلْمِ وَالْحِجَى * وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ سُمُومِ الْعِقَارِبِ وَالْأَفَاعِي *
 * وَدَفَاعِ عَنِّي الْأَذَى كُلِّ الدَّفَاعِ * وَأَحْرُسْنِي مِنْ شَرِّ حَاسِدٍ عَرِيدٍ * بَيْنَ الْأَحْرَارِ وَالْعَبِيدِ * وَفَنَى
 مِنْ سُوءِ عَيْنٍ كُلِّهَا تَصَرَّفَتْ * وَمِنْ كَيْدٍ كَاثِدٍ إِذَا جَنَّتْ أَوْ أَنْصَرَفَتْ * رَاعِنِي بِعَيْنِكَ * وَقَوِّنِي بِعَوْنِكَ
 * أَمِنْ مِنْ بَعِينِكَ تَرَاعَى * وَرِعَايَتِكَ خَيْرٍ مِنَ الْإِدْرَاعِ * وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ كَسْرِ الْخَنْصَرِ وَالْبَنْصَرِ * وَمِنْ
 مَرَضٍ يُصِيرُنِي غَيْرَ مُبْصِرٍ * وَمِنْ أَمْرِ إِذَا حَضَرَنِي * أَحْزَنَنِي وَضَرَنِي * وَسَهَّلَ لِي مَا قِيلَ فِيهِ الْخَطَرُ
 * وَإِنِّي إِلَى رَحْمَتِكَ أَضْطَرُّ * وَأَشْفِي مِنْ الضَّنَى وَادْفَعْ مَا أَضْنَانِي * وَلَا تُخَوِّجْنِي إِلَى فَاسِقِ ضَنَانٍ *
 وَأَكْفِنِي مِنْ بَالِشَرِّ أَرَادَنِي * وَعَنْ لُطْفِكَ لَا تَرُدَّنِي * وَصَنِي مِنْ سُوءِ مَخَالِطٍ * وَمِنْ خَلِيطِ مَغَالِطٍ *
 وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ أَنْ تَأْكُلَنِي السَّبَاعُ * وَمِنْ بَيْعٍ مَا يُخْسِرُ إِذَا بَاعُ * وَمِنْ مُتَاجِرَةٍ قَوْمٌ قَبِحتْ مِنْهُمْ الطَّبَاعُ
 * وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ أَكْلِ السُّحْتِ * كَمَا أَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ نَزُولِ السُّحْتِ * وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ إِيْمَانٍ مَسْلُوبٍ
 * وَقَلْبٍ عَلَى الْكُفْرِ مَقْلُوبٍ * اللَّهُمَّ إِنْ كَتَبْتَ لِي الشَّرَّ فَامْحِهِ وَأَنْتَ خَيْرُ مَا جِ * وَحَرِّزْنِي مِنْ ضَرْبِ
 السُّيُوفِ وَقَطْعِ الرَّمَاكِ * عَلِمْتَ مِنْ أَمْرِي الْبَاطِنَ وَالْوَاضِحَ * لَا تَجْعَلْنِي فِي الْحَيَاتَيْنِ فَاضِحًا * وَلَا تُوقِنِي
 فِي الْعُطْبِ * كَأَنِّي لَهَبٍ وَأَمْرَاتِهِ حَمَالَةُ الْحَطَبِ * يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

Translation:

O God! O the Bonesetter for the broken! O Who sets the captive free! O Who is aware of what is in the conscience! O Knower of what is less than the membrane of a date seed! O Master of affairs after the annihilation of every prince! I ask you for continuous blessing and peace, upon your beloved Muḥammad, the good-hearted. And on his family, the night lamps, and his companions, the knowledgeable and intelligent. I seek refuge in You from the poisons of scorpions and snakes. Defend me from the harm with all defenses and guard me from the evil of the envious arrogant, among the free and the slaves. Protect me from

15 Ahmad Yūsuf Ajegunle, *Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf* (Lagos [Nigeria]: Iswad, 2010), 76–77.

a bad eye whenever I act, and from a malicious plot whenever I arrive or leave. Take care of me with your eyes and empower me with your help. Whoever taken care of with your eyes will be safe, Your care is better than armor. I seek refuge in You from breaking the pinky and the ring finger, from a disease that may turn me blind and from an affair that, when it reaches me, will grieve and harm me. Ease me from what was said to be danger. I am obliged to your mercy, heal me from distress, repel what would exhaust me, and do not make me need a begrudged lewd. Shroud me from those who want me evil and do not turn me away from Your kindness. Protect me from bad associates and from misleading acquaintance. I seek refuge in You from being eaten by beasts, from selling what will be lost if sold, and from dealing with people whose characters are disgraceful. I seek refuge in You from eating the forbidden as I seek refuge in You from the descent of torment. I seek refuge in You from a stolen faith and a heart turned to disbelief. O God, if you write evil for me, erase it, you are the best of the erasers, and keep me from the striking swords and the cutting spears. You know from my affair the inward and the outward, do not make me shameful in both lives and do not put me in trouble, like Abū Lahab and his wife, the carrier of firewood. O Lord of the worlds.

2.2.2 From the *Kiswa's al-Maqāma al-Tūghawiyya* (no. 10)¹⁶

اللَّهُمَّ يَا عَالِمَ الْخَفِيَّاتِ، وَيَا سَامِعَ الْأَصْوَاتِ، وَيَا فَاتِحَ الْمُغْلَقَاتِ، وَيَا كَافِيَ الْمَهْمَاتِ، وَيَا بَاعِثَ الْأَمْوَاتِ، وَيَا قَاضِيَ الْحَاجَاتِ، وَيَا مُجِيبَ الدَّعَوَاتِ، وَيَا جَمِيلَ الصِّفَاتِ، وَيَا وَاهِبَ الْأَرْزَاقِ، وَيَا وَاسِعَ الْإِنْفَاقِ، وَيَا مُحِيطًا بِالْآفَاقِ، وَيَا خَيْرَ وَاقٍ، صَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلَى نَبِيِّكَ مُحَمَّدٍ الْبَدْرِ التَّمَامِ، أَكْرَمَ سَيِّدٍ وَاتَّقَى إِمَامًا، وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ، وَأَنْصَارِهِ وَأَحْبَابِهِ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ اللَّهُمَّ مِنَ الْأَخْطَارِ، فِي كُلِّ الْأَقْطَارِ، وَمِنَ الْمَهَالِكِ، فِي كُلِّ الْمَسَالِكِ، وَمِنَ تَخَوُّفَاتِ الشَّيْطَانِ، وَتَفَرِّعَاتِ السُّلْطَانِ، وَمِنَ سَخَرِ وَالْأَمِّ، وَمِنَ شَرِّ وَكَلَامٍ، وَمِنَ شِدَّةِ أَوَامٍ، وَفِتْنَةِ الْأَقْوَامِ، وَمِنَ حَسَدِ الْحَسَدِ، وَهَجُومِ النَّمْرِ وَالْأَسَدِ، وَالْمِ أَعْضَاءِ الْجَسَدِ، وَأَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ كَسَادِ السِّلْعَةِ، وَالضَّيْقِ بَعْدَ السَّعَةِ، وَكُنْ لِي دَلِيلًا إِلَى أَقْوَمِ الْمَذَاهِبِ، وَنُورًا عِنْدَ غُشْيَانِ الْغِيَابِ، وَاحْرُسْنِي اللَّهُمَّ مِنْ هَذَمِ الدِّيَارِ، وَسُوءِ الْإِخْتِيَارِ، وَمِنْ بَرَكَةِ مَحْوَةٍ، وَسُقُوطِ فِي هَوَةٍ، وَمِنْ كُلِّ زَلْزَالٍ، وَمِنْ جُلُوسٍ تَحْتَ شَجَرٍ زَالٍ، اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ عَدَّتِي، وَمُؤَنِّسِي فِي وَحْدَتِي، عَلَيْكَ تَوَكَّلْتُ فِي غُرْبَتِي، وَإِلَيْكَ أُنَبِّتُ عِنْدَ حَيْرَتِي، تَبَرَّأْتُ مِنْ حَوْلِي وَفَوْقِي، وَفَوْضْتُ أَمْرِي إِلَيْكَ فَاجِبْ دَعْوَتِي، يَا ذَا الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ.

16 Barihi Adetunji, *Kiswat al-ārī fī maqāmāt 'Abd al-Bārī* (Ibadan [Nigeria]: Baydakh Publishing and Media Hub, 2017), 86–87.

Translation:

O Allah, O Knower of the hidden, O Hearer of the voices, O Opener of the closed, O Who fulfills tasks, O Resurrector of the dead, O Who fulfills needs, O Who answers calls, O Whose attributes are beautiful, O Giver of sustenance, O Who is generous in spending, O Who encompasses the horizons, O Best Protector! Bless and shower peace upon your Prophet Muḥammad, the full moon, the most honorable master and the most pious leader. And upon his family, companions, supporters and loved ones. I seek refuge in You, O God, from the dangers in all countries and from the perdition in all paths, from the devil's intimidations and the imperious fear, from sorcery, pain, evil, wounds, severe days, people's treason, envy, attack of tiger and lion, and body pains. I seek refuge in You from the repression of goods and distress after abundance. Be my guide to the most upright way and my light from darkness. Protect me, O God, from demolition of homes, bad choices, erased blessing, falling into an abyss, every earthquake, and from sitting under a vanishing tree. O God, you are my contrivance, and my comfort when alone. In you I have put my trust in my exile, and before You I repent when I am bewildered. I have disowned my power and strength and left my affair to You, so answer my prayer, O the Owner of Majesty and Honor.

3 Sample *Maqāmas* from the Nigerian Collections: Texts and Translations

3.1 *The Maqāma of ʿOyō*

المقامة الأويوية

أَخْبَرَ الْمَفْكَرُ بْنُ الْوَاعِي قَالَ: خَرَجْتُ فِي يَوْمٍ شَمْسُهُ شَمْسُوسَةٌ * وَوُجُوهُ الْحَرْبَاءِ بِهِ عُبُوسَةٌ * مَعَ رَفْقَةٍ مُتَسَاوِيَةِ الْأَحْلَامِ * مُتَقَارِبَةِ الْأَرْحَامِ * إِلَى بِلَاطِ الْمَلِكِ الْمَحْبُوبِ * ذِي الْعِزِّ الْمَسْحُوبِ * فِي مَدِينَةِ أَوْيُو * وَمَا بِهَا نَاسٌ عَيَا * بِهَا صَاحِبُ الْجَلَالَةِ * الَّذِي بَعْدَ عَنْ بِلَاطِهِ ذُو الْجَلَالَةِ * وَهُوَ الْأَمْرُ النَّاهِي * وَمَقْصِدُهُ مَتَاهُ * ذُو فَضْلٍ عَرِيقٍ * وَغَضَبٍ بَرِيقٍ * لَكِنَّهُ يَصْفَحُ لِلْعَاصِي * الْقَرِيبِ وَالْقَاصِي * وَيَغْفِرُ لِلْجَانِي * الْبَعِيدِ وَالْدَانِي * هُوَ ذُو حِظٍّ مُوفُورٍ * وَحَالٍ مُسْتَوِرٍ * يَقْصِدُ الْمَهَامَ الْأُمُورَ * وَلَا يَوْجِدُ عِنْدَهُ مَدْمُونُ الْخَمُورِ * لَقَبَ بِالْحَتَفِ الْأَبِ وَالْأُمِّ * وَالْمَوْتِ الْأَزْرَقِ وَالْأَعْمَ * لَا مُشْكَلَةَ لَدَيْهِ مُعْضَلَةٌ * وَلَا خَيْرَاتِهِ عَزَقَةٌ * مَلِكٌ عَزِيزُ الْجَانِبِ رَوْوْفُهُ * رَحِيمُ الْقَلْبِ عَطُوفُهُ * إِلَّا عَلَى الْأَعْدَاءِ الْقُسَاةِ * وَالْحَسَادِ الْأُسَاةِ * لَهُ عَلَى هَؤُلَاءِ بَرْقٌ لَامِعٌ * وَعِنْدَهُ السُّمَارُ هَاجِعٌ *

* وَالْخَطَابُ طَلَبًا لِرِضَاهُ سَاجِعٌ * وَلِلْمُصْلِحِينَ حَنَانٌ مَغْبُوطٌ * وَحَظُّ مَخْطُوطٍ * وَلَهُ الْحِجَابُ يَنْبَطِحُ *
 وَالْحَسَادُ يَفْتَضِحُ * وَلِلْأَحْرَارِ لَدَيْهِ مَكَانَةٌ مَرْمُوقَةٌ * وَلِلْأَصْحَابِ دَرَجَاتٌ مَعْشُوقَةٌ * لَهُ مِنَ الزَّوْجَاتِ مَا
 تَسِيرُ الْعُيُونُ * وَتُكْثِرُ الْمَعُونُ * وَدَخَلَتْهَا مَعَ رَفَقَتِي الْمُتَفَاهِينُ * وَعَلَى قَضِيَّتِهِمْ مُتَقَاسِمِينَ * مِنْهُمْ أَبُو رَمْلَةَ
 * حَسَنُ التَّصَرُّفِ وَالْخَصْلَةِ * مِنْ أَسْرَةِ عَبْدِ الْبَارِىِ أَدَيْتَنِي * الْمُسْمُونُ بِأَدْنِي * فَهُوَ حَكِيمٌ لَيْبٌ
 * أَدِيبٌ أَرِيبٌ * فِي الْعِلْمِ لَوْذَعِي * عَبْقَرِي سَمِيدَعِي * لَا يُوَالِي إِلَّا الْعَلِيمَ الْأَلْمَعِي * مِنْ مَوَالِدِ إِبَادِنِ *
 فَتَارَةٌ بِمَنَى وَيَعْدُنُ * يَبْغِي فِيهَا الْمَعَادِنُ * مِنَ الْعَالَمِ الْبَدَوِيِّ وَالْمُتَمَدِّنِ * وَمَعَنَا الْأَخُ عَبْدِ الْوَاحِدِ الْفَنِيِّ *
 صَاحِبُ الثَّمَرَاتِ الْحَنِيِّ * مُحْتَرَمٌ حَنِي * مِنْ طَبِيعَتِهِ طَبْعُ الْحَيِّ * وَلَيْسَ بَعِي * الَّذِي يَتَّبِعُ الْحَقَّ حَيْثُمَا
 يَلَاقِيهِ * يَعْرِفُ الشَّرَّ لَا لِيُوقِيَهُ بَلْ لِيُوقِيَهُ * وَلَمَّا وَصَلْنَا الْبَابَ * وَكُنْتُ لَا بِسَا الْجَلْبَابِ * أَذْرَكُنَا بِهَا أَحَدُ
 الْحَوَاجِبِ * بِأَحَدِ الْجَوَانِبِ * فَرَحًا جَزَلًا * يُخْبِرُنَا بِوُصُولِ قَضِيَّتِنَا مَنْزِلًا * عِنْدَ الْمَلِكِ مُبْتَهَجًا * وَعِنْدَ
 النَّاسِ مُنْفَرَجًا * مَا مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَفُوهُ بِنِتِّ شَفَةِ * إِلَّا وَلِصَاحِنَا يَصُوغُ بِصِفَةِ * وَحِينَئِذٍ تَبَادَرُ الطَّبَالُونَ *
 وَالْمُطَرَّبُونَ الْجَزَلُونَ * يَضْرِبُونَ الطُّبُولَ وَيَغْنُونَ * وَيُفَرِّقُ الطُّبُولُ أَمَامِي وَوَرَائِي * مُتَظَاهِرِينَ بِوَلَائِي
 * وَخَرَجَ مِنَ الْخَادِمِ * صَدِيقُ الْمَلِكِ الْمُنَادِمُ * قَالَ وَهُوَ يَصِفُ الْعِمَامَةَ عِنْدَ الْإِمَامَةِ * وَالْمَوْقِفُ التَّالِي
 لِلْعِمَامَةِ:

بِهَا مَا شِئْتَ مِنْ دُنْيَا وَأُخْرَى	وَمَكْرَمَةً بِهَا عُظْمًا وَبُسْرًا
وَمَنْ تَبِعَ الْإِمَامَ فَسَوْفَ يَرْضَى	يَبَالُ مَعَزَةً دُنْيَا وَأُخْرَى
خُصُوصًا أَنْ يَكُونَ ابْنُ الْإِلَوْرِى	إِمَامًا لَا يَبَارَى فِي الدُّهُورِ
إِمَامٌ لَمْ يَكُنْ مِنْ قَبْلُ مِثْلُ	لَهُ فِي الْحَقِّ وَهُوَ لَنَا لَفْضُلُ
وَلَا يُفَرِّى بِجَانِبِهِ فَرِى	وَقَبْلًا لَنْ يَبَارَى عَبْقَرِى
تَنَافَسَ فِي التَّجَاوِبِ وَالتَّزَكِى	وَشَمْسُ الْعِلْمِ مَطْلَعُهُ التَّدَكِّى
وَمَطْلَعُهُ أَوْيُو وَآتَى أَغْيِى	إِلَى شَيْخِ الشُّيُوخِ، الْعِلْمُ يَبْغِى
أَخِيرًا صَارَ فَعْلًا أَزْهَرِيَا	إِذَا عِيَا فَأَصْبَحَ أَفْصَحِيَا
أَبْيُوكُوتَا أَقَامَ بِهَا مَنِيحَا	لِيُنْشَرَ عَلَيْهِ لِبْنَى زُلَيْحَا
تَعِيشُ أَوْيُو بِمَقْدَمِهِ عَزِيزَةً	تَهْزُ النَّاسَ رِضْوَانًا هَرِيزَةً

ثُمَّ قَالَ: أَمَّا أَنَا فِلَاعُكَ مِنَ الْمُهَنَّاىِ الْهِنَاىِ * فَقَدْ قَارَبَ لَكَ الْمُنَى * فَلَا أَرْضَى بِالْعَطَاءِ الْقَلِيلِ * فَانْظُرْنِي
 الْجُودَ الْجَلِيلِ * فَقَدْ أَصْبَحَتْ مُبْجَلًا * وَعِنْدَ الْخَلْقِ مُجَلَّلًا * فَتَسْتَصِيرُ عِنْدَ الْمَلِكِ سَلْمَانَ دَارِهِ * وَلَصِيقَ

جَارِهِ * فَمَا لَيْتَ إِلَّا بُرْهَةً * حَتَّى ظَهَرَ مَا فِي صَمِيرِ أُرْهَةٍ * عِنْدَمَا تَبَادَرَ الطَّبَالُونَ * بِأَسَالِيبِ التَّعْرِيضِ
قَائِلُونَ * يَطْبُو لَهُمُ الْمُتَكَبِّةُ * وَيَبَيِّنُهُمُ الْمُتَفَاهِمَةُ:

عَلَى اللَّهِ التَّوَكُّلُ كُلَّ حِينٍ	لَمَنْ لَا عِنْدَهُ سِنْدٌ سِوَاهُ
هُوَ السِّنْدُ الْعَظِيمُ لِمَنْ دَعَاهُ	هُوَ الْحَرْزُ الْمُنِيعُ لِمَنْ حَوَاهُ
فَلَا الْإِخْوَانَ تَنْفَعُ يَوْمَ هَوْلٍ	هُوَ الرَّحْمَانُ لَا يُغْنِي سِوَاهُ
تَصِيرُ إِمَامَنَا بِيْلَادُ أُوَيْوُ	عَظِيمُ الشَّانِ مَغْبُوطَا قُوَاهُ
فَضِدُّكَ دَائِمُ الْخَسِرَاتِ نَرْمِي	يَسِسْ ثُمَّ طَهَّ مَا نَوَاهُ

وَعِنْدَمَا وَصَلْنَا إِلَى سَاحَةِ ثَانِيَةٍ * عِنْدَ الْعُيُونِ الْآنِيَةِ * فِيهَا الْمَجْلِسُ الدَّائِمُ * وَمِنْشَأُ الْأَمْرِ الْقَائِمِ * يُوجَدُ
بِهَا الْوَأْنُ مِنَ التَّمَثَالِ وَالْصُّورِ * وَأَصْنَافُ مِنَ الْبَصَرِ * تَجْلُو بِهَا الشَّمْسُ * بَيْنَ الْحُجَابِ وَالْحَرَسِ * وَالنِّيَاقِ
وَالْفَرَسِ * اسْتَقْبَلْنَا الْحَاضِرُونَ * كَمَا يَسْتَقْبِلُ النَّادِمِينَ السَّامِرُونَ * فَهَلَّلُوا وَهَلَّلُوا * وَهَتَفُوا وَجَامَلُوا
* وَجَلَّلُوا وَجَلَّلُوا * وَرَحَّبُوا بِنَا وَسَهَّلُوا * خُفِينَا الْجَمِيعَ جَمْعًا مُوَحَّدًا * وَرَدُّوا السَّلَامَ رَدًّا مُتَوَحَّدًا *
فَسُرْعَانَمَا تَقَابَلَتِ التَّحِيَّاتُ * وَتَسَاوَتِ التَّمَنِّيَاتُ * بَيْنَ الْقَادِمِينَ وَالْمَرْجِينَ * وَتَعَانَقَتِ الْأَعْنَاقُ بَيْنَ
الْمُحِبِّينَ وَالْمُحِبِّينَ * إِذْ هَتَفَ هَاتِفٌ * مِنَ الْمَكْتَبِ دَائِفٌ * وَهَنَّاكَ نُودِي بِالْإِمَامِ الْمَسْعُودِ * وَالشَّيْخِ
الْمَوْعُودِ * دَلْنَا مِنْ حَاجِبٍ كَثِيرِ الْخَفَاةِ * غَزِيرِ الرِّغَاوَةِ * إِلَى مَلِكَةِ الْجَمَالِ * ذَاتِ مَنْظَرٍ كَرَبَّاتِ
الْجَمَالِ * مِنَ الْجَمَالِ * إِنَّهَا عَقِيلَةُ الْمَلِكِ الْمُبْجَلِ * ذِي الْعِزِّ الْمَجْلَلِ * جَمَالُهَا تَبهرُ الْعُيُونُ * وَفِي مَشِيَّتِهَا مَا
تُسَخِّرُ الْجَفُونَ * خَرَجَتْ وَغَابَتِ الشَّمْسُ فِي الْأَفْقِ * وَأَنْطَوَتْ الْأَشْعَةُ إِلَى الْعَسَقِ،

فَنِي وَجْهَهَا نُورٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ لَا مَعُ	وَفِي ثَغْرِهَا سَبْعُ مِنَ الْعَاجِ نَاصِعُ
تَرَاهَا عُيُونُ الْقَوْمِ وَانْبَهَرَتْ لَهَا	كَمَا انْصَهَرَتْ لِلنَّارِ تَبَرٌ مَلَامِعُ
وَتُرْسِلُ إِمَامًا لِلْأَمَامِ أُمُّ الْوَرَا	لَبَانْدُهَا الْقَانِي عَلَى الْخَمْرِ لَا مَعُ
وَتَنْظُمُ مِنْ فِيهَا بَنَاتٌ شَفَائِيَا	كَدَّرٍ وَسِدْرٍ فِي انْتِظَامٍ تَنَازِعُ

وَحِينَئِذٍ وَقَفْتُ بِبَابِهَا * أَطْرَافَ قِبَابِهَا * إِلَى أَنْ كَلَّمْتَنِي * بَعْدَ أَنْ كَلَّ مَتْنِي * وَعَرَمْتَنِي * لَمَّا عَرَمْتَنِي *
وَعَوَمْتَنِي ثُمَّ لَفَظْتَنِي * وَوَعَظْتَنِي فَأَخْبَرْتَنِي * أَنَّ الْمَلِكَ بِفَضْلِ وَالدِّكَ لَا يُصْنَعِي لِحَاسِدٍ * وَلَا يُبَالِي بِالنَّظَرِ
إِلَى حَاقِدٍ * لَمْ لَا، فَكَأَنَّ مَبَادِيكَ عَجَلِي * فَعَيْنُهُ لَمْ يَرِهِ مُعَادِيكَ كَلِيلَةً * وَأَذَنُهُ لَمَّا يَقُولُهُ مَبَارِيكَ عَلَيْهِ *
إِنَّهُ مَلِكٌ ذُو حِكْمَةٍ بَالِغَةٍ * وَجْهَةٌ دَامِعَةٌ * فِي حِشْمَةٍ سَابِغَةٍ * لَا يَتَهَوَّرُ وَلَا يَعْمَلُ إِلَّا بِالْتُّؤَدَةِ * وَلَا يَشْرَعُ

فِي دُخُولِ شَيْءٍ إِلَّا بِالْهُودَةِ * تِلْكَ عَظْمَةُ الْقَدْرِ * وَسَعَةُ الصَّدْرِ * وَإِنَّهُ لَمَّا رَأَى الْأُمُورَ مُلْتَبِسَةً * وَقَدْ
 اخْتَلَطَتِ الدَّوَابُّ وَالْمُفْتَرَسَةُ * احْتَجَمَ لِيَتَحَكَّمَ * وَاعْتَصَمَ لِيَعْتَصِمَ * وَلَا يَخْتَارُ مَنْ لَا يَسِيرُ بِلِ يَخْصِمَ
 * وَلَيْسَ مِمَّنْ يَلْبِسُ الْحَقَّ بِالْبَاطِلِ * وَلَا يَتْرُكُ الْمَشَاغِلَ لِلْعَاطِلِ * وَإِنَّهُ لَوْ أَدَّى الْكَلِمَةَ لَا يَلْوِي * وَإِنْ
 وَقَفَ مَعَ الْحَقِّ فَعَنَّهُ لَا يَأْوِي * وَإِنْ قَالَ شَيْئًا لِلَّهِمْ إِلَّا إِذَا كَثُرَتْ لَدَيْهِ الْأَقْوَالُ * وَبَهَرَتْهُ الْأَفْعَالُ *
 وَتَجَمَّعَتْ عَلَيْهِ ذُودُ دَعَةٍ * وَكَلَفَهُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ فِي سَعَةٍ * مِنَ الشُّرْبِ الْمُفْضِي إِلَى ضَعَةٍ * إِذَنْ فَقَدْ يَسْتَمِعُ
 مَا يَقُولُونَ * وَيَجُولُ إِلَى حَيْثُ يَجُولُونَ * مُفَضَّلًا مَا يَفْضُلُونَ * وَمِيلًا إِلَى مَا يَمِيلُونَ * وَيَقْرُضُ شِعْرًا مَا
 يَنْظُمُونَ * وَيَرْقِصُ عَلَى أَوْتَارٍ مَا يَغْنُونُ وَيَطْرِبُونَ * حَتَّى إِذَا تَكَثَّرُوا لَدَيْهِ * أَلْزَمَهُمْ يَقُولُ حَكِيمٍ لَدَيْهِ
 * حِينَ يَقُولُ وَلَا يَحُولُ * أَنْتُمْ الْمَسْئُولُونَ عَلَى هَذِهِ الْمَسْأَلَةِ * فَإِنْ وَصَلْنَا إِلَى الْمَارِيَةِ وَالْمَأْمَلَةِ * فَلَكُمْ
 الْحُظُّ وَالذِّكْرُ الْجَمِيلُ * وَالْأَفْكَرُ الْوَلِيلُ وَالْبُكَاءُ الْعَوِيلُ * هَذَا، فَكَانَ مِنْ حُجَابِ الْمَلِكِ * نَطَاطٌ يُحِيطُ
 الْمَلِكِ * مَنْ يَغْوِي إِذَا اسْتَشِيرَ * وَيَرْمِي إِذَا اسْتَعِيرَ * يَشْجِي إِذَا اسْمَعَ * وَيَعْمَى إِذَا انْصَع * وَقَدْ حَضَرَ
 نَادِي الْمَلِكِ الْمُبْجَلِ * وَالْأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمَلِ * وَهُوَ مِنْ مَعَارِفِ الشَّيْخِ الْمُسْعُودِ * وَالْمُعَلِّمِ الْمُعْهُودِ * ذِي
 طَلْحٍ مَنْضُودٍ * وَعَرٍّ مَمْدُودٍ * وَخَلَقٍ مَحْمُودٍ * وَذَلِكَ الْحُجَابُ، وَالْحَرَّاسُ الْعَجَابُ * مَعْمُولٌ وَمَبْعُوثٌ
 كَمَبْعُوثٍ مُنْجَابٍ * لِيُخْرِبَ الْبَيْتَ الْمُحْتَكَمَ الْأَطْرَافَ * الْمَزْرُكُشَ بِالْقَوَاقِعِ وَالْأَصْدَافِ * فَحَوْلَ
 الْأَمْرِ رَأْسًا لِعَقَبٍ * وَنَدَّدَ بِالشَّيْخِ تَنْدِيدَ رَأْسٍ لِدَنْبٍ * وَأَكَلَ مِنْ عَرْضِهِ أَكْلَ نَارٍ لِحَطَبٍ * وَلَمْ يَسَعْ
 الشَّيْخُ سِوَى أَنْ نَدَّ عَنِ الْعَطَبِ * كَيْلًا يَهْلِكُ مِنْ أَجْلِ الرُّتَبِ * أَوْ بَغْيَةً أَكَلَ الرُّطْبَ * ثُمَّ أَدْلَى بِكَلِمَاتٍ
 عَجِيبَةٍ * وَمَوَاعِظَ غَرِيبَةٍ * أَظْهَرَ فِيهَا نَوَايَاهُ السَّلِيمَةَ * فِي تَصَرُّيحاتٍ حَكِيمَةٍ وَقَالَ: "شعر"

أَهْلُ أَوْيُو فَاسْمَعُوا الْمُنَادِي	مِمَّنْ لَهُ الْقَلْبُ غَيْرُ صَادٍ
يُرِيدُ عِزًّا بِدُونِ بَغْيٍ	وَلَا هَرَاءٍ وَلَا التَّعَادِي
قَدْ عَشْتُ فِيكُمْ شَبَابَ عُمْرِي	خَرَجْتُ مِنْ بَعْدِ ذِي الْمُبَادِي
طَلَبْتُ عِلْمًا طَوَالَ عُمْرِي	كَذَا التَّجَارِبِ فِي الْبَوَادِي
لَقِيتُ لَقِيتُ فِي الْقَفَارِ	طَوَفْتُ طَوَفْتُ فِي السَّوَادِ
وَمَا حَوَيْتُ مِنَ الْعُلُومِ	أَرْجُو بِهَا خِدْمَةَ الْبِلَادِ
لِرِفْعَةِ الدِّينِ فِي أَوْيُو أَوْ	لِطَرْدِ دَخْلَاءٍ وَالْأَعَادِي
بِاسْمِ السَّلَامِ فَقَدْ تَنَادَوْا	عَلَى أَهَالِي وَلِلتَّنَادِي
كَانَ النَّبِيُّ لَهُ السَّلَامُ	نَادَى بِمَكَّةَ وَالْبَوَادِي
قَبْلَ الذَّهَابِ لِطَيْبَةٍ أَوْ	قَبْلَ التَّنَوُّهِ وَالنَّغَادِي

مَا بَالُ قَوْمٍ تَجْعَوْنَ فِي
قَدْ لَبِسُوا ثَوْبَ نَاشِرِينَ
قَدْ رَفَعَ اللَّهُ شَأْنَ عَبْدِ الْـ
يَا أَيُّهَا الْقَوْمُ هَلْ تُحْيِيوْنَ
يَتَّبِعُ مَلِكًا يَكُونُ خَيْرًا
يَا رَبَّ أَوْ يَوْسَهْلَ لِأَوْيُو
وَأَعْلَ كَعْبًا لِمَنْ يَرُومُ
صَلِّ إِلَهِي عَلَى النَّبِيِّ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ فِي الْخِتَامِ

مَدِينَتِي أَوْيُو لِلتَّعَادِي
لِلدِّينِ فِيهَا وَلِلْجِهَادِ
حَمِيدٍ مَلِكًا عَلَى الْبِلَادِ
نِدَاءً مَنْ يَلْزِمُ التَّنَادِي
عَلَى رَعَايَاهُ غَيْرَ صَادِ
تَقْدَمًا وَاسِعَ الْمَصَادِ
لَنَا النَّمُو وَلِلْبِلَادِ
هَادِي الْعِبَادِ مِنَ الْمَهَادِ
خِتَامُ مَسْكِ فِي الرِّشَادِ

نُفْرَجُ شَخْصٌ طَوِيلُ الْقَامَةِ * عَلَى الْمَقَامَةِ * وَكَبِيرُ الْهَامَةِ * وَهُوَ مِنْ رُحْبِ الْمَلِكِ وَيُرْشِدُهُ بِإِرْشَادِ السَّالِكِ
* كَيْلًا يَهْوِي فِي الْمَهَالِكِ * وَقَدْ وَعَدَهُ الْمَلِكُ بِأَنَّ الْعِمَامَةَ إِلَى مَنْ يُجِدُ السَّيْرَ فِي الْمَسَالِكِ * قَالَ: فَقَدْ
شَتَّ هَذَا الْعَهْدُ شَتَاتًا * وَنَحْنُ نَبْتُ بَتَاتًا * وَنَفْتُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ فِتَاتًا * وَقَالَ يِعَارِضُهُ وَلَمْ يُوَافِقْهُ * بَلِ
اسْتَمَرَّ يِقَارِضُهُ: شِعْرًا

إِنِّي مُوَافِقٌ مَا فَعَلْتَ رَبِّي تَنَازَلْتُ غَيْرَ عَادِ
فَذَاكَ تَصِيبُ شَيْخٍ يُوسِفُ طَوْعًا لِأَمْرِكَ غَيْرَ صَادِ
إِنِّي إِلَهِي لَنِي أَنْتَظِرُ إِنْ عِشْتُ طَوْلًا نَيْلَ الْمُرَادِ

وَأَخِيرًا نَصَبَ الْأَمِيرُ غَيْرُهُ لِلْإِمَامَةِ * وَلَمْ يَزَلْ قِيدُ احْتِفَالٍ لِلْعِمَامَةِ * وَمَعَ الْخَبِيَةِ الْمُرَافَقَةِ بِالظُّلْمِ * فَلَمْ
يَمْنَعْ الشَّيْخَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ أَدَاءِ الْوَاجِبِ نَحْوَ الْحُكْمِ * بَلِ نَهَضَ مَغْدًا إِلَى بَيْتِ الْإِمَامِ الْجَدِيدِ * لِمَهْنَتِهِ بِالثَّوْبِ
الْقَشِيبِ الْمَدِيدِ * وَالْعَصَا الْحَدِيدِ * حَيْثُ دَعَا لَهُ بِطُولِ الْعَيْشِ وَالْعُمُرِ * وَنَصَحَهُ بِأَنْ لَا يَسْتَمَعَ بِوَعْظِ
الْغَمْرِ * هُنَالِكَ دَعَا لِبَعْضِهِمَا * وَالْآ يَفْضَحُ اللَّهُ قَوْمَهُمَا * وَاتَّفَقَا عَلَى اتِّخَاذِ الْأَزْمِ * وَالسَّيْرُ قَدَمًا سَيْرِ
الْعَازِمِ * فَتَرَكَ بَيْتَ الْإِمَامِ قَاصِدًا بِلَاطِ الْمَلِكِ * بَعَثَ إِلَيْهِ بِرُقْعَةٍ الْمُرْتَبِكِ * فَقَرَأَهَا الْمَلِكُ بِتَوَدَّةٍ * وَتَبَسَّمَ
وَتَكَلَّمَ بِهَوْدَةٍ * فَإِذَا فِيهَا: "عَافَاكَ اللَّهُ أَيُّهَا الْمَلِكُ الْمُعَظَّمُ * وَرَعَاكَ مِنْ كُلِّ شَرِّ كَبِيرٍ أَوْ يَعْظُمُ * إِنِّي مُسَلِّمٌ
أَمْرِي لِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ * فَلَا يَجِدُ أَحَاطَ وَأَقُوطُ مِمَّا قَدَّرَ اللَّهُ * فَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا وَرَاءَ الْحِجَابِ * وَالسَّرِّ الْمَكْنُونِ فِي
حَالِي الرِّفْضِ وَالْإِجَابِ * وَإِنِّي مُنْتَظَرٌ * لِأَيَّةِ فُرْصَةٍ تَصْغُرُ إِذَا أَنْتَ أَوْ تَكْثُرُ * " وَعِنْدَمَا رَجَعَتِ الْمَلِكَةُ
* أَعْنَى زَوْجَةِ الْمَلِكِ مِنْ بِلَاطِ الْمَمْلَكَةِ * ابْتَسَمَتْ وَرَضِيَتْ * بِمَا سَمِعَتْ حَيْثُ قُضِيَتْ * وَسَأَلَتْهَا وَآيُ

أَمْرُ اللَّهِ قَدْ نَجِمَ * وَهَلْ فِي الرِّسَالَةِ مَا اسْتَعَجَمَ * قَالَتْ أَبْشِرْ فَمَا قَالَهُ جَلَالَةُ الْمَلِكِ مُسْتَعْظَمَ * حَيْثُ
 قَرَأَ وَطَاطَأَ رَأْسَهُ * وَهَزَّ الرَّأْسَ وَالرُّكْبَتَيْنِ وَمَاذَا مَسَّهُ * قَالَ: لَمْ نَدْرَأَنَّ هَذَا الشَّيْخَ مُثَقَّفَ لِلْغَايَةِ *
 وَحُبُّ الْبَلَدِ فَلَا دَايَةَ * بَلْ سَيَنْفَعُ لِلْإِمَامَةِ لِلنَّهَائَةِ * إِنَّمَا الشَّيْطَانُ قَدْ لَعِبَ دَوْرَهُ * وَأَخَذَنَا غَيْرَهُ * وَلَمْ
 نَدْرُ مَدَى غَوْرِهِ * وَإِنَّ أَمْرَهُ فِي قَيْدِ التَّنْفِيدِ * فَذَلِكَ لَذَوْقِهِ اللَّذِيذِ * هَكَذَا رَجَعَ الشَّيْخُ إِلَى حَيْثُ يَقِيمُ
 * فَمَاذَا يَنْفَعُهُ الْمَكْثُ الْمُسْتَدِيمُ * بَعْدَ أَنْ هُنَا الْمَلِكُ يَنْزَاهَةُ * مُنْتَظَرًا لِلْفُرْصَةِ بِنَفَاوَةٍ وَنَقَاهَةِ * لِيَنْتَظِرَ
 مَشِيئَةَ اللَّهِ الْمُخْتَارِ * وَلِيَنْتَصِبَ إِذَا شَاءَ وَيَخْتَارَ * قَالَ الرَّأْوِي: فَمُنْذَرْتُ جُلُوسَ الشَّيْخِ فِي مَدِينَةِ أَيُّكُونَتَا
 بِلَا عَنَاءٍ * وَلَا طَرَبٍ غِنَاءٍ * يَعِيشُ عَزِيزًا * قَرِيرَ الْعَيْنِ مُعْتَبَرًا مُعْزَا.

Translation:

Al-Mufakkir (the thinker), son of al-Wā'ī (the rational), informed, saying: I went out on a very sunny day, the faces of the chameleon on the day were surly. With people of like minds, who are close relatives. To the palace of the beloved king, who has a pool of power, in the city of Qyq, where there are no incapable people. There is his majesty, from whose court impure persons are distant. He is the absolute leader; his intent is final. He is kind-hearted and high-tempered, but pardons the recalcitrant; near and remote, forgives the criminal; distant and close. He is of good luck, and in good condition. He is the destination for important matters, and there are no drunkards around him. He is nicknamed "the death, the father and the mother," and "the common blue death."¹⁷ No dilemma is a problem for him; there is no obstacle for his bounties. A noble, kind, compassionate, and merciful king. Except to the stark enemies and the jealous comforters; he has for them radiant lightning. The night companions sleep in his palace. The speech is rhymed to seek his pleasure. He is merciful to the reformer, and a marked luck for them. For him, veils are lowered and the envious are exposed. With him, the free persons have a prestigious place and the friends adored positions. He has eye-catching wives and a lot of support. I entered his place with my understanding companions, who have a shared motive. Among them is Abū Ramla, the best in character and trait, from the family of 'Abd al-Bārī Adetunji, also known as Adeniji. He is wise, rational, well-mannered, and intelligent. He is sagacious, ingenious, and clever in knowledge. He only takes the brilliant and knowledgeable person as a friend.

17 The original title is *Iku baba yeye* (lit. meaning "Death, father and mother"), it is the title used to describe the Alaafin of Qyq who is considered a powerful king. The author translates it into Arabic word-for-word.

He is a native of Ibadan and sometimes goes to Mina and Aden in search of resources in rural and urban places. With us also was an artist brother, Abdul-Wahid, a productive, respectable, and humble man. He is of modest character and is not incapable. He follows the truth to the letter and knows evil: not to do it, but to be safe from it. When we got to the gate, I was wearing a long garment. A doorman came up to us from the side. Happy and cheerful, he informed us that our matter went well with the King, while the people were also relieved. None of them said anything bad about us. Then the cheerful and wonderful drummers started drumming and singing, and tumblers (glass cups for drink) were dispersed around me; all in my favor. A close friend of the King then suddenly appeared, describing the appointment as imam and the step following it, saying:

Everything you want in life and hereafter is there. So are great honor and comfort.

Whoever follows the imam will be satisfied, and will get prestige here and in the hereafter.

Especially if the imam is a son of al-Ilori,¹⁸ who will be unbeatable for long.

An imam with no equivalent in truth, he is our glory.

The likes of him can never be found, an intelligent one who can never be defeated.

He vied in response and in righteousness, being intelligent is the horn of shining knowledge.

He began in Oyo, then proceeded to Agege, seeking knowledge from the scholar of scholars.

Finally, he really became an Azharite, a journalist, and then an eloquent one.

He stopped over at Abeokuta, to spread his knowledge for Zulaykha's children.

May Oyo live in honor with his coming, for it to reorganize the people with pleasure.

Then he stated, "But I will make you comfortable by congratulating you, because your desire is near, and I am not content with small gifts. So, consider this an important thing, since you have become revered and respected among the people. And you will be the linchpin of the King, and his near neighbor." It only

¹⁸ Referring to Shaykh Adam Abdullah al-Ilori, the founder of Markaz.

took a moment for what is hidden in the mind of Abraha to become exposed,¹⁹ when the drummers started to talk indirectly, with their talking drums and their understandable details:

Trust is in God all the time, for whom there is no support except Him.
He is the great support to him who calls upon Him, He is the resistant
refuge for him who embraces Him.

No brother will be useful on the day of horror (the Day of Judgement),
He is the Beneficent, no one except Him can enrich.

You will become our Imam in Qyoland, [and] a bigwig, who will be
envied for his strength.

We envisage your opponent to always be heartbroken, for the sake of
Yāsīn and Ṭāhā.

We then arrived at a second yard where there were the hot springs, and where the permanent council meet and where the standing orders originate. There were also various statues, paintings, and a multitude of other sights to be seen. The sun shines there, between the veil, guards, camels, and horses. Those in attendance received us as partners do. They cheered, hailed, chanted, flattered, praised, and shouted out compliments. They welcomed and eased us. We greeted them all together, and they responded in one voice. Soon after the greetings were exchanged, the wishes became equal between those coming and those welcoming, and the necks were hugged between the lovers and those in attendance. A caller, who is close to the office, called. There, Imām Mas'ūd, the promised scholar, was summoned. A very hospitable and cool-headed chamberlain directed us to the beautiful queen, good-looking like most ladies. She is the wife of the great king, who has full power. Her beauty dazzles the eyes, and her walk slashes the eyelids. She comes forth while the sun is on the horizon and the twilight is on the brink,

There is a glossy light of God on her face and a sparkling set of ivory in
her mouth.

The eyes of the folk saw her and got dazzled, as a shining gold would
melt in fire.

She draws her red hair on the shining veil, back and forth.

Her mouth's teeth are like a string of pearls and buckthorn in their regular order.

19 The expression apparently means that something hidden becomes clear. I have not been able to figure out whether this is a proverb, either in Arabic or in Yoruba.

She was still standing at her door, close to her dome, when she spoke to me when I had become tired, enchanting me in my exhausted state, keeping me afloat. When she spoke to me, she admonished me by informing me with the following words: "Your father, the King neither listens to a jealous person nor looks at an enemy. Why not, when you're delayed, his eyes are closed to what your enemies have shown him, while he is sick of hearing what your opponents say. He is a king with a perfect intelligence, capable of making compelling arguments, and possesses absolute decorum. He is not reckless, nor does he act carelessly. He will also not start something except with leniency. That is a greatness of position and openheartedness. Whenever he considers ambiguous matters and sees predators among the prey, he pauses to give judgement, holds back to protect [the truth], and will not choose who does not take things easy and become hostile. He is not one to cover the right with falsehood, and he does not leave issues of concern to the clown. Whenever he speaks, he does not bend and when he stands with the truth he will not turn away. If he says something [he stands by it], unless if he is overwhelmed with talks, astonished by actions, and indolent persons, whom devil charges on getting relaxed with drink that humbles people, prevail over him. He may then listen to what they say, tread their path, prefer their choice, lean towards their predilection, sing what they compose, and dance on the strings of what they sing and dance. In such a way that when their number increases in his place, he obliges them with his wise saying, when he will unequivocally say: You are responsible for this matter, if we arrive at the goal and desire, to you will be the fortune and the good name. Otherwise, to you will be the misery and groaning."

That said, there is one who flits back and forth among the chamberlains, who knows the king, tempts [people] when consulted, and forecasts when sought. He brings grief upon others and misleads when he answers. He was present before the respected king and the promising commander. He was one of the acquaintances of the happy man and the well-known teacher, who has clusters of bananas, extensive honor, and a praiseworthy character. That chamberlain, the strange guard, is being used and assigned, like a Punjabi delegate, to destroy the house dominated and designed with shells and oysters. He then turned things upside down and denounced the man (Shaykh Mas'ūd) as the head would do to the tail. He clamps on his honor, like a fire would eat wood. The man (Shaykh Mas'ūd) did not hesitate to flee the trouble, for him not to perish because of post or because of wanting to eat fresh fruits. He however expressed himself in amazing words, and unusual admonitions, with which he showed his good intention in a prudent manner, he said (in poem):

O people of ʔyʔ, hear a call, from someone with a lofty heart.
 He wants power without oppression, condemnation, or hostility.
 I lived my youthful age among you, and I left after that beginning.
 I searched for knowledge throughout my life, also (sought) experience
 in the deserts.
 I reeled myself into the caves and floated in the black.
 I wish to serve the land with what I have gathered in knowledge.
 To bring religion in ʔyʔ to a higher level, or to expel the intruders and
 the enemies.
 He has called on the people for the sake of peace.
 The Prophet, may peace be upon him, called (people) in Makkah and in
 the deserts.
 Before going to ʔayba or before commendation and popularity.
 What is the matter with people? Do they gather in my city, ʔyʔ, for
 enmity?
 They wear the clothing of those who spread the religion and jihad.
 God has elevated the rank of Abdul-Hamid and made him the king over
 my land.
 O people, will you answer the call from someone who persists with call-
 ing [to the way of God]?
 Who will follow (the) King, do good to his nationals and not be repul-
 sive.
 O God of ʔyʔ, facilitate progress for ʔyʔ, (a progress) that will reach
 wide range.
 And raise the level of those who want progress for us and for the land.
 Peace be upon the Prophet, the people's guide.
 Thank God in conclusion, the conclusion of the musk is in the right
 guidance.

Then a tall and big-headed man came to the stand. He is one of those who loves
 the king and guides him in the right direction, so that he not falls into danger.
 The king has promised him that the appointment will go to the one who can
 tread well in the path, saying: "This situation was very scattered, and we have
 finally decided and absolutely got everything broken into pieces." He (Shaykh
 Mas'ūd) disagreed, and replied to him with a poem:

I agree with what you did O my God, I peacefully surrender.
 For the appointment of Shaykh Yūsuf, following Your decree without
 being hostile.
 O my Lord, I anticipate achieving my aim if I live longer.

In the end, the king appointed someone else for the position of imam, but the celebration has not been organized yet. Despite the disappointment-cum-injustice, this did not stop the man (Shaykh Mas'ūd) from fulfilling the duties towards the authority. Rather, he rushed to the house of the new imam to congratulate him with [the gift of] a long new garment and a metal stick. He prayed for him to have a long life and prosperity and advised him not to listen to the admonition of the hostile ones. There, both prayed for each other, which if not, Allah would have disgraced their people. They both agreed on doing what was needed and forge ahead with determination. He then left the imam's house for the King's palace and sent a complaint note to him. The king carefully read it, smiled, and spoke mildly. It (the note) reads: "May God heal you, O mighty king, and protect you from all evil, big or small. I surrender my affair to Allah's decree, and there's nothing more cautious and more appropriate than what Allah has ordained. Because He is All-Knowing about what lies behind the veil, and the hidden secret in the two situations of refusal and affirmation. I anticipate any chance, little or big."

When the Queen, the wife of the king, returned from the palace gallery, she smiled and was satisfied with what she had heard since it (the decision) has been finalized. I asked her about what had happened, was there anything unclear in the letter? She replied, "Rejoice, for the king did say a great thing. When he read (the letter); he bends his head, and shook his head and knees. He then said, 'We didn't know that this man is very educated and loves the town so much. He will later be useful for the imamship. It is the devil who has played his part, when we chose someone else other than him. And we did not know how knowledgeable he was. His matter will soon be considered, due to his good intention.'"

That was how the man returned to where he resides (Abokuta); of what benefit would a long stay be for him since the king had told him the truth, expecting any chance (to come) with pure heart, and in anticipation of Allah's will for him to be appointed (later as imam) whenever He wills. The narrator said: since then, the man sits in the city of Abokuta, without trouble, and without delight. Living honorably and cool-headed.

3.2 *The Maqāma of the Fulani (no. 22) from the Maqāmāt al-Ilūrī*

الْمَقَامَةُ الثَّانِيَّةُ وَالْعِشْرُونَ الْفُلَانِيَّةُ مِنْ مَقَامَاتِ الْإِلُورِيِّ

حَدَّثَنَا جَبْرِيلُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ قَالَ: إِنَّ مَصْدَرَ الْأَصْوَاتِ فِي مُخْتَلَفِ اللُّغَاتِ * الَّتِي تُدْرَسُ فِي بَعْضِ الْمَعَاهِدِ
وَالْكَلِبَاتِ * وَالْقُدْرَةِ عَلَى تَحْرِيفِ أَقْصَى اللِّسَانِ * إِلَى أَيْ لُغَةِ الْإِنْسَانِ * سَاقِنِي إِلَى قَوْمٍ جَلَسُوا لِلْسَّمْرِ

* فِي لَيْلٍ عَدِيمِ الْقَمَرِ * فَكَثُرَتْهُمْ لِاسْتِفِيدَ بَنِيهِ مِنَ الْأَدَبِ * وَمَعِيَ يَوْمَئِذٍ قَبَسٌ لَشِدَّةِ جُنُوحِ ذَلِكَ الدَّرْبِ * وَهُمْ فَلَانِيُونَ دَابًّا وَلِسَانًا * وَعَرَبِيُونَ سُلُوكًا وَشَأْنًا * وَبِجَانِبِ عَكْرِ وَكَثِيرٍ مِنَ الْأَبْكَارِ * وَفِيهِ أَعْنَامٌ وَأَطْيَارٌ بِلَا أَوْكَارِ * فَدَخَلْتُ عَلَيْهِمُ بِالسَّلَامِ * فَأَجَابُوا بِرِدِّ الْإِسْلَامِ * ثُمَّ قَالُوا "بَالَجْن" وَأَنَا لَجَوَابِ ذَلِكَ فِي الشَّجَنِ * قَالُوا "فَلْفُولُوا" * وَأَنَا فِي حَبْرَةٍ مِنْ نَعَمٍ وَلَا * ثُمَّ "ثِيْدًا" وَقَالُوا لِي "جَوُودٌ" فَخَلْتُهُ جَوُودٌ * ثُمَّ اسْتَمَرُّوا فِي الْمَشَاوِرَةِ * يَتَعَاطُونَ بَيْنَهُمْ كَأْسَ الْمَحَاوِرَةِ * وَكُنْتُ عَنْدهُمْ كَالْأَصَمِّ الْمُبْرَمِ * وَلَوْ قَالُوا "مَيُورَمٌ" * وَكُنْتُ بَيْنَ الْمَعَارِفِ أَنْكَرَهُمْ * لَمْ يَمَنْ تَعَلَّمْ لُغَةَ قَوْمٍ أَمِنْ مَكْرَهُمْ * كَانَهُمْ مَنْعُونِي عَنْ فَيْهِمْ مَا سَمِعْتُ وَحَفْظُهُ * وَمَعْنَى مَا يُلِجُ فِي سَمْعِي وَلَفْظُهُ * وَلَوْ فَسَّرُوهُمَا بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ * وَبِاللُّغَةِ الْغَرَبِيَّةِ * لَكَانَ أَثْبَتٌ وَأَقَرُّ * وَأَحْلَى مِمَّا أَمَرُ * وَلَكِنْ مِمَّا لَا يَفُوتُ * وَمَا دَرَاهَا عَنْ قَلْبِي الْقُوْتُ * أَتَيْتُ بِهَا أَبَا اللَّيْبِ الْفَلَانِيَّ * ثُمَّ أَفْتَانِي بِهَا وَمَا قَلَانِي * فَقُلْتُ مَا "بَالَجْن"؟
لَعَمْرُؤَا صَبَاحَ بَالَجْن ... فَذَلِكَ إِمَاطَةُ الشَّجَنِ

مَا "ثِيْدًا" وَ"جَوُودٌ"؟
إِنْ قِيلَ ثِيْدًا قَلِيلٌ أَوْ قُلْتُ نَكَسٌ ... لِلْقَائِمِ جَوُودٌ ذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ جَلَسَ

مَا "رَافُو" وَ"يَامَ" وَ"سَوَقُورَ"؟
فَرَاوُ جَوْعٌ وَيَامَ أَنَّهُ أَكَلَا ... وَإِنْ سَوَقُورَ رَاهُ قَدْ رَأَى بَقْلًا

مَا "فُلْفُولُوا"؟
فَفُلْفُولُوا لُغَةُ الْفَلَا ... نِيَّ وَلَا أَنْتَ تَدْرِيهَا

مَا "مَيُورَمٌ"؟
إِنْ قَالَ مَيُورَمٌ ذَلِكَ ... يَقْتُلُهُ فِي هُنَاكَ
مَا "جَبَّ" وَ"وَدَّ"؟

جَبَّ خُذْهَا وَوَدَّ ذَلِكَ أَتَيْنَاهَا ... أَمْرَانِ كَانَا نَقِيضَيْنِ أَجْلِيهَا

فَلَمَّا أَتَى بِالْأَيَاتِ * وَحَاوَرَ بِالْأَيَّاتِ * عَنْ تَأْوِيلِ تِلْكَ الْكَلِمَاتِ * وَهُوَ يَلِيقُ بِالْكَرَامَاتِ * فَقُلْتُ يَمِينًا بِوَالَتَيْنِ * إِنَّ لَكَ الْبَرَاعَةَ بِاللُّغَتَيْنِ * وَكَمْ كَبَا زَنْدِي فِي غَيْرِكَ فَمَا وَرَى * فَكُفُّوكَ فِي الْفَلَانِيَيْنِ مَا أَرَى * فَقَالَ مَهْ صَهْ، أَنَا مِنَ الْأَطْوَادِ وَهَذُ * فَسَبَحَانَ مَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ * ثُمَّ قَالَ:

تَلَفَظُ بِاللِّسَانِ وَالْأَسْنَانِ	فَأَحْسَنُ اللُّغَاتِ لِلْإِنْسَانِ
هِيَ الْقَلَاءُ لُغَةُ الْأَعْيَانِ	وَصِيَّتُهَا يَعْلُو مَدَى الْأَرْزَمَانِ
كَذَا مُتُونِ الْعِلْمِ وَالْعُرْفَانِ	رَجَاهُ حَقَاطُ الْقُرْآنِ
وَيُضْمِرُونَ الْأَمْرَ لِلشَّنَّانِ	يُعَامِلُونَ النَّاسَ بِالْإِحْسَانِ
كَانُوا وَلَاةَ النَّاسِ فِي الْبُلْدَانِ	فَهُمْ رِعَاةُ الشَّاةِ وَالْحَيَوَانِ

قَالَ جَبْرِيلُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ: فَأَبْتُ إِلَى الْبَيْتِ * مَعَ الْمَصْبَاحِ وَالزَّيْتِ.

Translation:

Jibril, son of Khālid, told us, he said: It was [my quest for understanding] phonetics in different language, [a subject] taught in some institutes and colleges, and the potential ability to adapt tongue to different human languages, that drove me to a group of people who had assembled for chat on a moonless night. So, I joined them to benefit something from [their] *adab*. That evening I was carrying a lamp to light the dark path. These men were Fulanis in custom and language, and Arabs in behavior and other affairs. Beside them was a caravan of camel. There were also sheep, and birds without nests. I entered their place with peace, and they answered with the Islamic response. Then they said “*baaljīn*” and I was at a loss for words. They said “*Fulfulula*,” I was confused whether to say yes or no. They also said to me “*thayda*” and “*jaowida*,” I thought these meant bounty. Then they continued with their deliberation, sharing topics in dialogue among themselves. I was like an absolute deaf person among them, even if they had said “*maywarmi*.” To a great extent, I used to deny the saying: “he who learns the language of a people is safe from their deceits.” It was as if they prevented me from understanding and memorizing what I heard, and from [grasping] the meaning of what my ear was hearing, and from [comprehending] its wording. Had they translated it into Arabic and the Western language, it would have been firmer, clearer, and sweeter, rather than bitter. Indeed, since it was something that I lacked, the [thought of] food remained out of reach for my mind. I asked Abū Labīb, who was of Fulani descent (al-Fulānī), about the meanings of the words, and he delivered a judgement for me on them without being condescending. I asked: What is *baaljīn*? [he said] (in verse)

Good morning is *baaljīn*, that which relieves [your] sorrow.

What is *thaydda* and *jaowida*?

If (they) say *thaydda*, (it means) small, or a reversal or setback.

Jaowida is for someone standing, as in “he sat down.”

What is *rafo*, *nyama*, and *saokoora*?

Rafo is hunger, *nyama* is that he has eaten, and if he saw *saokoora*, he had seen a yam.²⁰

What is *Fulfulula*?

Fulfulula is the language of the Fulani, which you do not know.

What is *maywarm*?

If he says *maywarm*, that means he will kill him over there.

What is *jabba* and *wadda*?

Jabba is “take it,” and *wadda* is “give it to me.” Two opposite things which I have shown.

When he brought the verses and recited the poems with the translation of those words, he became worthy of respect. I said: “By *wa-l-tīn*,²¹ you are indeed proficient in both languages, how much were my matches not lit in others? I have not seen the like of you among the Fulanis.” “Hush! Keep quiet,” he said. “I am a lowland among the mountains, glory be to He Who has no equivalent.” Then he said:

The best of human languages, spoken with the tongue and the teeth,
[The fame of which rises] over the years, is the Fuula, the language of dignitaries.

Her speakers are memorizers of the Qur’ān, as well as of the texts of science and knowledge.

They treat people kindly, and hide bad matters.

They are herders of sheep and [other] animals. They were rulers of the people in countries.

Jibrīl b. Khālīd said, “I then returned home, with the lamp and the oil.”

²⁰ بقل used here literally translates as herbs, but it is used here in the meaning of yam or any vegetable food in the nature and shape of yam.

²¹ After the 95th Sura of the Qur’an (al-*Tīn*).

3.3 The Maqāma of Nigeria (no. 29) from the Maqāmāt Ibn Yūsuf

المَقَامَةُ التَّاسِعَةُ وَالْعِشْرُونَ النَّجِيرِيَّةُ مِنْ مَقَامَاتِ ابْنِ يُوسُفَ

حَكِي دِينَارُ بْنُ دَرِّهَمٍ، قَالَ: فِي مُسْتَشْفَى يُوسَيْجَ (UCH) أَصْبَحْتُ وَأَمْسَيْتُ * لَزُكَّامٍ شَدِيدٍ قَاسَيْتُ *
 حَتَّى لَا أُسْتَطِيعَ الْمَبُوطُ وَلَا الصُّعُودُ * وَلَا الْقِيَامُ وَالْقُعُودُ * وَلَمَّا عَافَنِي اللَّهُ وَفُتُّ نَشِيطًا * وَوَعَيْتُ مِنْ
 الْأَطْبَاءِ أَمْرًا مَشْرُوطًا * سَرْتُ إِلَى دَارِي * بِالْبَدَارِ * وَمَا خَطُوتُ عَشْرَ خَطُوتٍ حَتَّى سَمِعْتُ بِمَوْتِ
 السِّيَاسِيِّ الْمُسْلِمِ عَمْرِو مَوْسَى "يَارِدُعَا" أَمِيرَ نَجِيرِيَا * وَقَدْ أُعْلِنَتْ بِأَنَّهُ كَانَ أَمِيرًا صَالِحًا وَمُؤْمِنًا زَاهِدًا
 تَقِيًّا * وَبَكَيتُ لِأَنَّهُ أَخِي جَمَعَ بَيْنَ إِسْلَامٍ وَإِمَارَةٍ * وَمَا بَكَيتُ أَنَا وَحْدِي بَلْ أَسْمَعُ بَكَاءَ مَارٍ وَمَارَةٍ *
 وَدَعَوْتُ إِخْوَانِي إِلَى تَشْيِيعِ جَنَازَتِهِ * لِلْأَعْتِبَارِ بِمَا أَذْهَبَهُ وَأَخْرَجَهُ مِنْ قَصْرِ مُلْكِهِ وَعَرِثِهِ * وَلَمَّا حَضَرْنَا
 وَطَنَهُ وَجَدْنَا النَّاسَ كَثِيرِينَ فِي الطَّرِيقَاتِ * يَسْرُهُمْ لَوْ قَامَ لِإِحْيَائِهِ أَرْقَى الرُّقَاةِ * سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ! وَلَيْسَ
 لِلْمَوْتِ رَاقٍ! * وَلَا يَنْجُو مِنْهُ أَمْرٌ وَلَا رَقِيٌّ أَعْلَى الْمَرَاقِي! * فَإِذَا هُوَ مَحْمُولٌ عَلَى النَّعْشِ جَامِدًا مَعَ جَلَالَتِهِ
 * وَلَمْ يَبْقَ عَلَى جَسَدِهِ إِلَّا ثَوْبٌ وَاحِدٌ أَيْضٌ مَعَ كَثَرَةِ حُلَّتِهِ * وَصَلَيْنَا عَلَيْهِ وَلَهُ دَعْوَانَا * وَسَأَلْنَاهُ مِنْ
 اللَّهِ مَغْفِرَةً وَعَوْنًا * وَبَعْدَ دَفْنِهِ وَقَفَ النَّاسُ مُدَّةً * وَهُوَ نِعَمَ الرَّجُلِ تَرَكَ مَحْمَدَةً * فَإِذَا شَيْخٌ مِنْ بَعِيدٍ لَهُ
 صَوْتُ كَانَ أَجْهَرُ * وَثَوْبٌ غَيْرُ أَطْهَرُ * شَدَّ بَطْنَهُ بِحِزَامٍ * وَقَامَ تَلْقَاءَ الْكِرَامِ الْعِظَامِ * وَسَمِعْتُهُ يَقُولُ:

أَيُّهَا الْمَغْرُورُ فَنَّى تَتُوبُ؟

طَالَمَا اتَّخَذْتُ الدُّنْيَا رَبًّا وَلَهَا سَجَدْتُ * لَتَجِدَ مِنْهَا مَا طَلَبْتَ وَهَلْ قَدْ وَجَدْتَ؟ * قَسَا قَلْبُكَ وَمَا لَانَ
 * وَذُكِّرْتَ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ وَمَا زِلْتَ كَسْلَانَ * وَغَالَتْ الْمَنِيَّةُ وَجَاهَكَ فَلَانَةٌ وَفُلَانٌ * إِنَّ غَيْرَكَ إِلَى اللَّهِ أَنَابَ
 * وَأَنْتَ تَسْتَأْكِلُ الْفَوَاحِشَ وَالْأَعْنَابَ * تَفْرَحُ وَتَمْرَحُ إِذَا وَصِفْتَ بِالْأَشْرَفِ وَالْأَثْمَنِ * وَهَلْ تَدْرِي؟
 وَلَعَلَّ الْمَوْتَ فِي جَنْبِكَ الْأَيْمَنِ! * تَجْتَرِئُ عَلَى الْجَبَّارِ الْقَهَّارِ سُلْطَانَ السَّلَاطِينِ * الَّذِي أَجْرَى النَّيْلَ
 بِقُدْرَتِهِ وَالَّذِي أَنْبَتَ شَجَرَةَ يَقْطِينِ! * وَالَّذِي انْحَنَتْ لَجَلَالَتِهِ الْفَرَاعْنَةُ وَالْجَبَابِرَةُ * أَلَاكَ عَلَى عَذَابِهِ نَفْسٌ
 صَابِرَةٌ؟ أَلَمْ يَكْفِكَ مَوْعِظَةُ وَضْعِ الْمُتَكَبِّرِينَ فِي الرُّمُوسِ؟ * يَا ذَا الْفِكْرِ الْفَاسِدِ وَالْعَقْلِ الْمَطْمُوسِ! *
 كَانَتْ نَارُ اللَّهِ حَامِيَةً * وَلِلْفَوْفِ مِنْهَا تَرَى عَيُونَ دَامِيَةً * وَعَيْنُكَ جَامِدَةٌ وَقَلْبُكَ جَامِدٌ * وَلَمْ تَرْمَنْكَ
 الْمَحَامِدُ * مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يُعَالِجُكَ مِنْ أَسْقَامِكَ الدَّائِمَةِ؟ فَأَنْتَ ظَلَمَ وَخَائِنٌ مَائِنٌ! * وَبِحُكِّكَ وَالْمُنْتَقِمِ
 الضَّارِّ وَجَبَّارِ الْجَبَّارِينَ هُوَ الَّذِي يُحَاسِبُكَ وَمَا غَابَ عَنْهُ كَائِنٌ * صَدَدْتَ عَنِ الْحَقِّ إِذَا أُرِيَتْ إِيَّاهُ
 صُدُودًا * فَنَّى تَتُوبُ؟ وَبَابُ التَّوْبَةِ سَيَكُونُ مَسْدُودًا * إِنَّ أَجْلَكَ لَا يَزَادُ * وَهَلْ عِنْدَكَ زَادٌ؟ * وَسَلِ
 الدَّهْرَ إِنَّ الْأَكَارِمَ وَالْوَلَاةَ؟ وَإِنَّ قَوْمَ دَامَتْ بَيْنَهُمْ مَوَالَاةٌ؟ * أَيْنَ ذُووُ أَرْحَامٍ * وَأَوَّلُو اسْتِرْحَامٍ؟ *

أَلَمْ تَسْعَظْ بِهَذَا الْأَمِيرِ الَّذِي فِي الْأَمْسِ تَتَّبِعُهُ الْمَزَامِيرُ وَالْذُفُوفُ * وَالْقُلُوبُ تَعْظُمُهُ وَالنَّفُوسُ تَجْلِهَ لِيسير
وَتَسِيرُ خَلْفَهُ الصَّفُوفُ * إِذَا قَالَ كَانَ قَوْلُهُ مَزِيُونًا * فِي رَادِيُو وَتَلْفِيزِيُون * وَإِذَا أَمَرَ وَأَمْرُهُ مَسْمُوعٌ *
وَالْيَوْمَ تَجْرَى لِفَقْدِهِ الدُّمُوعُ * مَاتَ كَمَا تَمُوتُ الْبُعُوضَةُ * وَمَا لِرُوحِهِ مِنْ سَعَةٍ مُلْكُهُ مَعُوضَةٌ * قَدْ بَاتَ
جَامِدًا * تَمَسُّ جُثَّتُهُ أَيْدِي الْأَحْيَابِ وَالْعِدَا * حُمِلَ إِلَى قَعْرِ الثَّرَى * وَلَمْ يَغْنِهِ مَالُهُ وَكَانَ أَكْثَرُ * لَهُ
حِصُونٌ وَالْحِصُونُ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ الْمَنِيَةِ لَا تَحُولُ * وَبِيَابِهِ جُنُودٌ وَمَعَ كَثْرَتِهِ لَمْ يَمْنَعُوا مَلِكَ الْمَوْتِ الدُّخُولَ!
* حَتَّى عَلَيْهِ وَقَعَ * وَصِيرَ مَكَانَهُ بَلْعًا!! * وَأَنْقَلَبَ مَعْدُومًا * بَعْدَ مَا كَانَ مَحْدُومًا * وَلَا تَحْسَبْ أَنَّ هُنَاكَ
شِعَاوُذَ * أَوْ هُنَاكَ مَعَاوِذَ * تَرُدُّ عَنْكَ الرَّدَى * وَتُعِيشُكَ أَبَدًا * وَكَيْفَ تَسْلَمُ بِمَا لَمْ تَسْلَمْ مِنْهُ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ؟،
وَلَمْ تَخْلُصْ مِنْهُ الْأَوْلِيَاءُ * وَلَمْ تَنْجُ مِنْهُ الْأَتَقِيَاءُ؟ * وَتُبَّ إِلَى اللَّهِ الْيَوْمَ وَخُذْ مَا بِهِ أَمْرٌ وَاتْرُكْ مَا عَنْهُ
نَهَى * وَالتَّحَقَّقْ بِأَرْبَابِ النَّهْيِ * قَبْلَ يَوْمٍ إِنَّ الْعَاصِيَ فِيهِ يَنْدَمُ * وَلَا يَنْفَعُهُ النَّدَمُ.

أَيُّهَا الْمَغْرُورُ فَتَى تَتُوبُ؟

تُصَعِّرُ الْخُلْدَ إِذَا مُرِّبِدٌ هَذَاكَ * تَالَلَهُ مَا صَدَقَ مَنْ قَالَ بَعْدَ رَدَاكَ * أَهْلَكَ الْمَشَارِبُ وَالْمَاسِكُ * أَفِي
الْمَوْتِ أَمْرٌ مُشْكِلٌ؟ * إِذَا قُلْتَ كُلُّ سِفِينِي ثَمَارِيْنِي * أَتُرِيْنِي بِأَقْيَا غَيْرَ اللَّهِ أَتُرِيْنِي؟! * أَيْنَ أَوْلَاكَ الْقَوْمُ
الَّذِينَ سَعَوْا فِي نَيْلِ كُلِّ الْأَمَالِ؟ * وَطَارُوا فِي الْهَوَاءِ وَعَامُوا فِي الْبَحَارِ وَبَنَوْا عَلَى الرِّمَالِ!! * ابْتَلَعْتَهُمُ
الْأَرْضُ وَتَقُولُ هَلْ مِنْ مَزِيدٍ!!! * أَمَّا اعْتَبَرْتَ؟ * أَنْتَ غَيْرُ رَشِيدٍ؟ * تَسْرِقُ الْمَالَ فِي "أَبُوجَا" ظَنًّا أَنَّ
مِثْلَكَ مَا عُوتِبَ * وَأَنَّ مَا لَمْ تَأْذَنْ بِكُتَابَتِهِ مَا كُتِبَ * فَإِذَا كَذَبْتَ وَالنَّاسُ يُصَدِّقُونَكَ * وَإِذَا طَلَعْتَ
وَاخْلُقْ يَتَقَوَّنُكَ * لِأَنَّكَ حَكَمْتَ بِإِعْدَامِ فَرْدٍ أَوْ فِتْنَةٍ * لَا أَحَدٌ يَنْسِبُكَ إِلَى السَّيِّئَةِ * وَلَقَدْ تَغَافَلْتَ أَنَّ
فَوْقَكَ الْجَبَّارَ الَّذِي يَأْخُذُ كُلَّ عُنُودٍ * وَلَوْ كَانَ لَهُ الْآفُ جُنُودٍ * وَيَا هَذَا جُعِلْتَ سَفِيرًا * وَأَبَكَيْتَ
الْجَمَّ الْغَفِيرَ * جَاعَتْ بَطُونُ وَالْمُسْتَشْفِيَّاتُ مُمْتَلِئَةٌ بِالْمَرْضَى وَذُو الْجُرْحِ * وَحَقُوقُ الْأَنْامِ مِنَ الْأَمْوَالِ
وَأَجْرُ الْأَطْبَاءِ تَدْخِرُهَا فِي أَعْلَى الصَّرْحِ * وَبِالسَّغْبِ تَمُوتُ الْمَرْأَةُ وَالْمَرْءُ * وَعَنِ الْمَرْضَى تَأْخِرُ الْبُرَّةُ!!
وَأَنْتَ مَرِحٌ تَوَاسِسُ عُرْبًا * وَأَمَامَكَ مَائِدَةُ الْخَمْرِ وَالْخَمْرُ عِنْدَكَ طَابَ مَشْرَبًا! * فَفَرَّ إِلَى أَيِّ مَكَانٍ شِئْتَ
* تَالَلَهُ لَنْ تَنْجُو مِنَ الْعَذَابِ * وَتَوَقَّ بِمَا أَحْبَبْتَ مِنْ تَرْسٍ بِاللَّهِ لَنْ تَسْلَمَ مِنَ الْعِقَابِ! * إِلَّا إِذَا تَبَّتْ
الْيَوْمَ وَكُنْتَ لِلْخَيْرِ فَعِيلًا * قَبْلَ أَنْ تَجْزَى عَلَى مَفَاعِيلِ.

أَيُّهَا الْمَغْرُورُ فَتَى تَتُوبُ؟

لِنَيْلِ الْمَنْزِلَةِ الْعَالِيَةِ إِلَى الشَّيْطَانِ تَضَعُ * وَإِلَى مَا أَمَرَكَ بِهِ تَسْرَعُ * وَإِذَا بَدَأْتَ الْأَشْيَاءَ وَيَاسْمَهُ تَبْدَأُ
* أَبْقَلِيكَ الصَّدَأَ؟ * وَمَا أَنْتَ إِلَّا أَرْدَأُ! * مَا مَعْنَى الزَّيْتِ الْأَحْمَرِ وَالْأَسْوَدِ الَّذِينَ فِي الزُّجَاجَةِ السَّوْدَاءِ؟

* وَكَمْ تَحْمِلُهَا إِلَى مَفْرَقِ الطَّرِيقِ لَيْلًا بِأَبْيَضِ الرِّدَاءِ * وَإِذَا نَلْتَ الْمَنْزِلَةَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَمَا عَذْرُكَ إِذَا مِنْ الْقُبُورِ بُعِثَ * أَتَحْسَبُ أَنَّ سِرَّكَ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَثَرَ * هَلَّا تَرْجِعُ عَنِ الْفُسُوقِ الَّذِي قَدْ غَرَفْتَ فِي لِحْتِهِ * وَقَلْبُكَ السَّقِيمُ إِلَّا تَنْهَضَ إِلَى مُعَالَجَتِهِ * وَلَقَدْ خَابَتِ الْفُسَاقُ * وَكُلُّ مِنْهُمْ إِلَى النَّارِ يَسَاقُ * وَلَهُمْ فِيهَا جِجَمٌ وَغَسَاقٌ.

أَيُّهَا الْمَغْرُورُ فَمَتَى تَتُوبُ؟

تَتَحَاكُمُ إِلَى الطَّوَاغِيتِ وَحُكْمُ اللَّهِ عِنْدَكَ أَوْهَنُ الْأَحْكَامِ! * وَهَلْ يَرْجَى الشِّفَاءُ لِمَا بَكَ مِنْ أَسْقَامٍ؟ * إِذَا وَعَظَكَ الْوَاعِظُ الْعَقُولُ * يَغْلِبُ عَلَى عَيْنِكَ التَّوَمُّ الثَّقِيلُ * وَإِذَا سَمِعْتَ بِشَعْرٍ "أَرَبْنِي" أَوْ "بَرَسْتَ" شَيْخَهُ الْكَبِيرِ * قُتَّ فَرَحَانٌ وَلَغُوهُمَا أَعْلَقَ بِنَفْسِكَ وَتَعَبِيرُهُمَا عِنْدَكَ أَغْلَى التَّعْبِيرِ! * وَرِجَالُ أَمْثَالِكَ مِنْ خَوْفِ الْحِسَابِ دَامُوا بِالْبُكَاءِ * وَتَاللَّهِ لَسْتَ ذَا الذِّكَاءِ * الْحَقُّ قَلِيبَتْ * وَمَا بَرَهَانُكَ يَوْمَ لَا يَنْفَعُ فِيهِ قَوْلُ "لَيْتَ" * غَيْرُكَ قَدْ تَابَ مِنَ الْعَمَلِ الْقَبِيحِ * وَأَكْثَرُ مِنَ الْأَسْتِغْفَارِ وَالتَّسْبِيحِ * وَمَا تَتُوبُ وَاللَّهُ مَا تَتَّقِيهِ * وَتَرَى جَارَكَ مَدْفُونًا فِي الْمَسَاءِ وَفِي الصَّبَاحِ مَا شِئًا تَلْتَقِيهِ! * سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ! وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعِظْهُ الْمَوْتُ فَمَا لَهُ مِنْ وَاعِظٍ * وَلَا يَنْفَعُهُ نَظْمُ ابْنِ دُرَيْدٍ وَلَا نَثْرُ الزُّحْمَشَرِيِّ الْحَافِظِ!

أَيُّهَا الْمَغْرُورُ فَمَتَى تَتُوبُ؟

قَوْلُكَ يَنَاقِضُ فِعْلَكَ وَظَاهِرُكَ يُخَالِفُ الْمَضْمَرَ * وَذَكَرَ الْمَوْتَ بِقَلْبِكَ مَا مَرَّ * تَرْقُصُ عِنْدَ سَمَاعِ الْأَغَانِي * وَتَمْرَحُ مَعَ الْغَافِلِينَ فِي أَخْبَثِ الْمَغَانِي * وَسَيْفُ الْمَنِيَةِ مُنْتَضِي * وَمَتَى يَرَى لَكَ عَمَلٌ مَرْتَضَى؟ * تَعُودَتِ غَيْبَةً وَخُفْشًا * وَأَسْرَارُكَ فِي الْقِيَامَةِ سَوْفَ تُفْشَى * دَاوَمْتَ عَلَى إِرْشَادِكَ مَدَاوِمَةً * وَلَمْ أَرْ مِنْكَ إِلَّا غَضَبًا وَمَلَامَةً * بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ تَهَاوَنْتَ * وَعَلَى الْبِرِّ مَا تَعَاوَنْتَ * أَنْتَحِقُ بِذَا الْفَلَاحِ؟ * وَالشَّيْبُ فَوْقَ رَأْسِكَ قَدْ لَاحَ * وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ الْمَوْتَ لَا يُغْنِي عَنْهُ إِرْخَاءُ الْقَنَاعِ * وَأَكَيْسُ الْوَرَى مَنْ تَزُودَ لَهُ وَعَاشَ عَيْشَ زَاهِدٍ قَنَاجٍ * وَلَا يَفُوزُ إِلَّا مَنْ كَانَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ عِنْدَهُ مُطَاعًا * قَبْلَ أَنْ يَنْقَطِعَ عُمُرُهُ انْقِطَاعًا * وَتُبَ الْيَوْمَ وَاللَّهُ أَطْعَمَ * وَعَنِ الْأَسْتِغْفَارِ لَا تَنْقَطِعُ * وَلَعَلَّكَ تَلْحَقُ بِالصَّالِحِينَ وَحَسَنَ أَوْلَئِكَ رَفِيقًا * أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ لَكَ الْهُدَى وَالتَّوْفِيقَ.

أَيُّهَا الْوَلَاةُ

تَشِيدُونَ الْبِنَاءَ وَتَزِينُونَ دَاخِلَهُ وَخَارِجَهُ بِأَلْمَعِ الزُّجَاجِ * وَالْمَوْتُ هَدَامٌ وَهُوَ قَرِيبٌ وَمَتَى تَتُومُونَ إِلَى تَقْوِيمِ الْأَعْوَجَاجِ؟ * جُنُوبٌ عَنِ الْمَضَاجِعِ تَتَجَافَى * وَقُلُوبٌ مِنْ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ تَرْتَجِفُ ارْتِجَافًا * وَأَنْتُمْ

تَلْعُونَ * وَلَا تَرَعُونَ * الْفَانِيَّةُ تَوَقُّرُونَ * وَالْبَاقِيَّةُ تُحَقَّرُونَ * أَمَا وَعَظُ الْمَوْتِ؟ أَمَا أَنْذَرُ الْمَشِيبِ؟ *
وَهَلْ يَنْفَعُ إِيمَانُ حُبِّ الدُّنْيَا مَشُوبٌ؟ * فَاتَّعَظُوا بِالسَّابِقِينَ * وَمَا أَتَاهُمْ سِيَائِي الْبَاقِينَ * وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ
وَتَزُودُوا لِلْمَنُونِ فَلَيْسَ مِنْهَا احْتِرَاسٌ * وَلَا تُنْجِي مِنْ سَهْمِهَا أَتْرَاسٌ.

قَالَ الرَّأْيِي: فَلَمَّا أَكْبَلَ مَوْعِظَتُهُ إِكْجَالًا * وَفَهَمْنَا نَصْحَهُ تَفْصِيلًا وَاجْمَالًا * جَرَّتِ الدُّمُوعُ حَتَّى
مِنْ عَيْنِ رَئِيسِ الشَّرْطَةِ الَّذِي كَلَحَ * وَارْتَفَعَ الصَّوْتُ بِالْبُكَاءِ وَالصَّيَاحِ وَجَاوَزَتْ الدُّمُوعُ الْحَمَى *
ثُمَّ قَالَ أَيُّهَا الْأَمْراءُ وَالْقَضَاةُ وَالشُّجْعَانُ: تَصَدَّقُوا عَلَى مَنْ هُوَ مُسْكِنٌ جَوْعَانٌ * فَإِنَّ الصَّدَقَةَ تُبِيرُ
الْأَمِيرَ فِي هَوَا مَظْلَمَةٍ * وَتُؤَمِّنُهُ مِنْ فِتْنَةِ مُؤَلَمَةٍ * وَتَزَاحِمُ النَّاسَ لِإِعْطَائِهِ الدَّرَاهِمَ تَزَاحُمًا * وَلَمَّا فَعِمَ
جَبِيهَ تَغَيَّرَتْ صُورَتُهُ كَمَنْ بِهِ الْحَمَى * فَشَكَرَ النَّاسُ ثُمَّ قَالَ إِنِّي أَحْسَسْتُ مَرَضًا خَفِيفًا * وَفِي دَارِي
طَبْهُ فَأَذْنُوا لِي وَلَا أَطِيلُ الْوُقُوفَ * وَقَالَتِ الرُّؤَسَا * وَلَا بَاسَ * وَبَعْدَمَا فَارَقَ النَّاسَ كُلَّهُمْ مَشَيْتُ
خَلْفَهُ * فَقَدْ أَفَادَنِي وَعَظُهُ وَأَوْدَأَنِي أَعْرِفَ وَجْهَهُ لِأَشْرَفِهِ * فَجَذَبْتُهُ أَخْفَ جَذْبٍ بِالنِّطَاقِ * وَقُلْتُ
حَيَّاكَ اللَّهُ يَا أَبْلَغَ نَطَاقٍ * وَالتَفَتَ إِلَيَّ فَإِذَا هُوَ الْبَدَنُورِيُّ ذُو تَعَايِيرِ رُوعٍ * وَكَلَامٍ مُعْجِبٍ وَأُسْلُوبٍ
مُنَوَّجٍ * وَابْتَسَمَ وَدَنَا إِلَيَّ * وَأَخَذَ يَدَيَّ * فَقَالَ: حَرَسَكَ اللَّهُ مَا أَدْخَلَ الْقَلَمُ فِي الدَّوَاةِ * يَا ابْنَ
دِرْهِمٍ إِمَامَ الرِّوَاةِ * وَقُلْتُ يَا أَبَا عَمْرٍو وَلِمَ انْصَرَفْتَ عَنْهُمْ وَقَدْ جَعَلَكَ اللَّهُ بِمَوْعِظَتِكَ تُجَاهَهُمْ كَرِيمًا
* وَلَوْ مَكَثْتَ طَوِيلًا عَنْدهُمْ لَعَظَمُوكَ تَعْظِيمًا * وَأَنْفَرَجْتَ شَفَتَاهُ صَاحِكًا، فَقَالَ يَا دِينَارُ وَقَيْتَ
الشُّجُونَ * وَذُو طِمَرٍ مِثْلِي إِذَا أَطَالَ اللَّبَثُ هُنَاكَ رَبَّمَا جَعَلُوهُ مُسْجُونًا! * أَلَمْ تَرَ أَوْلَثَكَ الشَّرْطَةَ
الَّذِينَ عَبَسُوا * وَمَنْ أَسَاءَ الْمُنْبِي أَوْ الْوَقْفَ لِعَمْرِكَ أَخَذُوهُ وَحَبَسُوا * وَإِنِّي أَنْصَحُكَ بِاللَّهِ لَا تُجَالِسَ
الْوَلَاةَ لَا سِيمَا السِّيَاسِيِّينَ مِنْهُمْ وَأَكْثَرُهُمْ جَبَّارُونَ * وَلَا تَتَّقِ بَوْعَدَهُمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ لِأَحَدِهِمْ مَالٌ أَكْثَرُ
مِنْ مَالِ قَارُونَ * هُمْ ذُوو خِيَانَةٍ وَلَيْسَ مِنْهُمْ ذُو الْوَفَا * وَابْتَئِسَ مِنْهُمْ كَمَا يَبْتَئِسُ النَّاسُ مِنَ الْمُتَوَقِّ،
وَأَنْشَدَ:

فَأَهْلُ سِيَاسَةٍ فِي تَجْبِيرَا فَلِيلُوا الصَّدَقَ أَكْثَرُهُمْ ذَمِيمَا
وَكَمْ سَرَقُوا الدَّرَاهِمَ فِي "أَبُوجَا" وَخَانُوا الْخَلْقَ وَالْجُوعَ عَمِيمَا

وَلَمَّا أَوْرَدَ شَعْرَهُ وَكَلَّمَهُ * عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ اللَّهَ بِالشَّجَاعَةِ جَمَلُهُ * وَأَنَّهُ مَا خَافَ فِي اللَّهِ لَوْمًا * وَدَعَوْتُ اللَّهَ لَهُ
أَنْ يَجْعَلَهُ عَلَى الصِّدْقِ قَوَّامًا * وَودِعْنِي وَتَرَكْنِي فِي وَحْشَةٍ * وَأَنَا مِنْ شَأْنِهِ فِي حَبِّ وَدَهْشَةٍ.

Translation:

Dinar, son of Dirham, narrated, he said: I spent days at the UCH,²² because of a severe cold from which I was suffering, to the extent that I could not move around, nor stand and sit. When God healed me, I became active and follow the conditional guidelines of the doctors. I quickly walked home. No sooner had I taken ten steps than I heard about the death of the Muslim politician ‘Umar Musa Yar’Adua, the Nigerian President.²³ I have heard of him as a righteous president, a believer, ascetic, and pious person. I cried because he was my brother, he shared with me Islam and the same nation. I did not cry alone, but heard the weeping of passers-by too. And I called my brothers to his funeral, in order to take into account what death took away from the palace of his kingdom and honor. When we arrived at his hometown, we found many people on the streets. They would have been pleased if a great healer had risen to revive him. Glory be to God! “There is no comfort for death, and no person can escape it, even if [they] climb the highest steps.” Despite his majesty, he was laid lifeless in a casket. Despite his many clothes, there was nothing on his body except a white cloth. We perform ritual prayer on his (body), and prayed for him; we asked Allah’s forgiveness and help for him. People stood around for a while after his burial; “What an excellent man of so many laudable deeds!” [exclaimed Dinar]. At a distance an old man appeared; he had a loud voice and filthy clothes. He tied a belt to his stomach and stood before the honorable and great men. I heard him say: O conceited one, when will you repent? You have long taken the worldly life as your Lord and prostrated before it, in order to get from it what you ask for; and have you gotten it? Your heart is stern not soft. You are reminded every day [of death], yet you are lazy, and death scalds people in your presence. Someone else turned to God and you are seeking to eat fruits and grapes. You are happy when described as noble and esteem, do you know whether death is next on your side? You are daring the Mighty (God), the Omnipotent, the King of kings, Who, with His power, made the Nile flow and sprouted a gourd tree; for Whose majesty the pharaohs and the tyrants bowed. Can your soul endure His torments? Was putting the arrogant in the grave not enough to exhort you? O corrupt-minded and mindless! The fire of God is burning, and for fear of it the eyes are bloody, but your eye and heart are rigid, and nothing laudable is seen from you. Who will cure you of your per-

22 UCH is the abbreviation for the University College Hospital, the teaching hospital of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

23 Umar Musa Yar’Adua was the President of Nigerian between 2007 and 2010, when he died on the throne.

manent diseases, since you are an unjust, as well as a traitor and a liar? Woe unto you, it is the Avenger, the Harmer and Almighty (God) that will judge you, nothing in existence is hidden to Him. You turned averse from the truth when shown to you. When then will you repent? And the door of repentance will be shut! Your time won't be increased, do you have a provision [for death]? Ask the life, where are the nobles and the rulers? Where are people with perpetual support? Where are blood relatives, and those who make pleas? Did you not wake up to this President who yesterday was being followed with flutes and tambourines; hearts glorified him, souls venerated him, and he (the President) walked with ranks behind him. If he speaks on radio and television, his words have weight, and when he commands, his command is heard. Today, tears are shed in bereavement. He has died as a mosquito would die, and nothing from his vast possessions can compensate. He has become lifeless; hands of the loved ones and the enemies touch his corpse. He has been carried to the bottom of the earth where his abundant money cannot enrich him. His fortresses did not save him from death. And the soldiers at his door could not, despite their multitudes, stop the angel of death from entering. It (death) befell him and turned his place into a wasteland. He became nothing, after being served. Do not think that there are sorcerers, or that there are refuges, which will repel death from you and make you live forever. How can you be safe from what the prophets were not safe? The saints also were not free from it, as the pious. Repent to God today, take to His commands and leave what He forbids. Join the intelligent people before the day the sinner regrets and remorse would not benefit him.

O conceited one, when will you repent? You turn your cheek in contempt whenever a guide guides you. By God, he who said your death is far away did not tell the truth. The bars and food distract you; is there something problematic in death? When I say everything will vanish, you doubt me. Can you show me what will be left except God? Can you? Where are those who sought to achieve all hopes, and flew in the air, floated in the seas, built on the sand. The earth swallowed them up and said is there more? Did you not take note, or are you irrational? You, who stole money in Abuja, thinking that someone like you would not be reprimanded, and that, unless you authorize, nothing can be documented. When you lie, people believe you; when you appear, people fear you because you have sentenced people to death. No one attributes to you misdeeds. You disregard the fact that the Almighty is above you—and can defeat even the most stubborn ruler even if he has thousands of soldiers.

O you, who was made an ambassador and caused a lot of people to weep. Stomachs are empty and hospitals are full of the sick and the wounded. You

hoard people's rights, in terms of money and doctors' wages at the top of the edifice, and women and men die of hunger. Treatment of the sick is delayed while you are cheerfully associating with ladies. In front of you is a table with wine which you consider a good drink. Flee to any place you want, by God, you will not escape torment. Protect yourself with any shield; you will not be free from punishment. Unless you repent and decide today to partake in goodness before you are punished for your bad acts.

O conceited one, when will you repent? To attain a high rank, you beseech the devil and do whatever he asks. Whenever you embark on something, you begin with his name; is there rust in your heart? You are nothing but a wicked one. What is the meaning of the red and black oil that is in the black bottle which you take to the bifurcation at night with a white cloth?²⁴ If you attain the position [you are seeking with it] in this life, what will be your excuse when you are ransacked in the grave? Do you think your secret will not be known? Won't you relent on your sinfulness, the abyss into which you have sunk? And won't you rise to heal your ailing heart? The wrongdoers have already failed and each one of them will be driven to Hell. And there, they will have boiling water and dirty purulence.

O conceited one, when will you repent? You take your case to the idols, and, for you, God's judgement is the weakest. Is there hope of healing your ailments? If a wise preacher admonishes you, heavy sleep overwhelms your eyes. And if you hear the songs of Arabambi or Barrister,²⁵ his big boss, you become giddy; their chatter clings to your soul and their expression is most precious for you. People like you profess fear of judgment by God, [but] you are not that intelligent. You detest the truth. What is your proof on a day when saying "I wish [I had done well]" will be useless? Others have repented of ugly acts and intensified efforts in seeking forgiveness and glorifying (God), but you do not repent; by God, you do not fear Him. You see your neighbor, whom you met walking in the morning, buried in the evening. Glory be to God! He who is not admonished by death, can gain nothing from preaching. Nor will Ibn Durayd's poetry or al-Zamakhshari's prose be of use to him.

24 This is a form of ritual that is common among the Yorubas, especially the traditional religionists. They use it to seek metaphysical favors and success in attaining position of authority. Muslims consider this a form of associating partners with Allah and it is therefore condemned. However, some people, including Muslims, still engage in it, and the author is therefore condemning them with this expression.

25 Popular names of two of the prominent Fuji musicians in Yorubaland. King Wasiu Ayinde (b. 1957) is "Arabambi" and known as K1 De Ultimate, while Alhaji Sikiru Ayinde (1948–2010) is Barrister, who is acknowledged as the pioneer of Fuji music.

O conceited one, when will you repent? What you say contradicts what you do; your exterior contradicts the interior. The thought of death does not cross your heart. You dance to music and make merry with sinful, heedless ones at the worst dens of vice. The sword of death is hurled! When will good be seen in you? You constantly engage in backbiting and obscenity; your secrets will be revealed on the Day of Resurrection. Although I have been continually guiding you, all I see from you is anger and blame. You have become lenient with God's commands and have not cooperated. What kind of success will you attain by this? Gray hairs have appeared on your head. Know that death is unavoidable; the well-mannered is he who prepares for it and lives a modest and ascetic life. Only he who obeys God's commands will succeed before his life comes to an end. Repent today, obey God, and do not refrain from asking for forgiveness. Perhaps you join the righteous people; excellent are they as companions. I beseech God's guidance and success for you.

O rulers! You erect buildings and decorate their interiors and exteriors with the most brilliant glass. Death is destructive and is near; when will you straighten the warp? Sides are turned away from the beds, and hearts tremble in remembrance of God. You play and do not groan. You revere the transient and disdain the everlasting. Did death not admonish? Do gray hairs not warn? Does a tainted faith in the love of the world benefit? Learn from those before, what befell them will come to the rest. Fear God and be prepared for death; there is no protection from it; no shield protects from the arrows of death.

The narrator said: When he completed his sermon, we understood his advice in detail. Tears flowed even from the eyes of the hostile police chief. Voices rose with crying and shouting, and tears flow below beards. Then he said, O princes, judges, and brave ones! Give charity to the poor and hungry because charity will enlighten the President in a dark abyss and protect him from a painful trial. At that point, people rushed to give him dirhams. When his pocket was full, his countenance changed as if he had a fever. He thanked the people and then said: I feel mildly ill and medicine is in my house. So, permit me that I not stay long. The leaders acquiesced, saying it's all right. I followed him after leaving everybody because his preaching benefitted me, and I wanted to know his face in order to honor him. I slightly drew him to the side and said: God bless you, O informative speaker. He turned to me, and I saw that he was al-Badnalūrī,²⁶ the terrified in expressions, admired in speech, and varied in style. He smiled, approached me, and took my hand. He said: May God protect you, as long as the pen is inserted into the inkwell, O son of Dirham, the leader of narrators.

26 The protagonist of the *maqāma*.

I said: O Abū ‘Amr, why did you turn away from them when God has elevated you in their view due to your admonition. If you had stayed longer with them, they would have glorified you. His mouth parted with laughter, and he said, “O Dinar, may you be protected from distress! If a person with tattered clothing like me stayed there any longer, he could end up in jail. Did you not see the policemen frowning, at whoever walks or stands abnormally; by your life, they will take and imprison him. I advise you by God not to sit with the rulers, and especially the politicians among them. Most of them are ruthless. And do not trust their promises even if one of them has more money than Qārūn. They are treacherous; none is loyal. And despair of them just as people despair of the dead.” He then sang [the following words]:

Politicians in Nigeria are dishonest, most of them are reprehensible.

How much money have they stolen in Abuja, and betrayed the people, while hunger is pervasive?

When he recited his poem, and perfected it. I knew that God had adorned him with courage, and, because of [his belief in] God, that he did not fear censure. I prayed God to make him continue to stand up for honesty. He bade me farewell and left me alone. I remained in awe and amazement over this matter.

3.4 *The Maqāma of Lagos (no. 28) from the Kiswat al-‘ārī fi maqāmāt ‘Abd al-Bārī*

الْمَقَامَةُ الثَّامِنَةُ وَالْعِشْرُونَ اللَّاغُوسِيَّةُ مِنْ كِسْوَةِ الْعَارِي فِي مَقَامَاتِ عَبْدِ الْبَارِي

حَدَّثَ الْمُجَاهِدُ بْنُ الْهَادِي قَالَ: تَرَامَتْ بِي الْأَسْفَارُ وَالْقَفَارُ إِلَى بَلَدَةِ لَاغُوسٍ وَهِيَ عَلَى سَاحِلِ الْأَطْلَسِيِّ، فِيهَا عِمَارَاتٌ ضَخْمَةٌ مِنْ نَوْعِ نَاطِحَاتِ السَّحَابِ يَضُمُّ الْبِنَاءُ مِنْهَا عَشْرِينَ طَائِقًا وَمَا يَزِيدُ * وَمُعْظَمُ بِنَائِهَا مَفِيدٌ * شَوَارِعُهَا مُرْدَحَةٌ * بِصُورَةٍ دَائِمَةٍ * وَهِيَ بِرِمَالِهَا وَوَحَالِهَا غَنِيَّةٌ وَأَهْلِهَا الْأَغْنِيَاءُ فِي نِعَمٍ مُقِيمَةٍ * وَرِفَاحِيَّةٍ عَمِيمَةٍ * وَفِيهَا مَعَاهِدٌ دِينِيَّةٌ كَثِيرَةٌ * وَمَدَارِسُ عَلِيَّةٍ غَزِيرَةٌ * مِنْ مِثْلِ مَرْكَزِ التَّعْلِيمِ الْإِسْلَامِيِّ * الَّذِي أَسَّسَهُ شَيْخُ الْإِسْلَامِ * كَاتِبُ فَرِيدٍ عَصْرِهِ * وَشَاعِرٌ وَحِيدٌ دَهْرِهِ * وَمُرْشِدُ نَسِيجٍ وَحْدِهِ * وَعَالِمٌ مَوْفٍ لَوَعْدِهِ * الشَّيْخُ آدَمُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ * هُوَ فِي الْأَرْضِ حُجَّةُ اللَّهِ * طَارَ صَيْتُهُ فِي الْأَقْطَارِ * وَشَاعَ خَبْرُ فَضْلِهِ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَمْصَارِ * وَهُوَ صَاحِبُ عَجَائِبٍ * وَبَدَائِعٍ وَغَرَائِبٍ،

نَفْسِي الْفِدَاءُ لَشَيْخٍ بَاسِلٍ شَمَّرَ لَمْ يَخْشَ فِي اللَّهِ مِنْ يَالْوَمِ يَبْقَرَعُهُ
شَيْخُ هَمَامٍ وَقُورٍ صَابِرٍ فَلَهُ أَقْدَامُ عَدَلٍ إِلَى الْأَفَاقِ تَرْفَعُهُ

وَطَمَسَ الْفِتْنَةَ الْهَوَجَاءُ ثُمَّ أَتَى عَلَى التَّزْهَدِ بِالتَّوْحِيدِ يَقْلَعُهُ
أَحْيَا بِشَيْخِي إِلَهُ الْكَوْنِ مَرَكَّنَا مِنْ لِي بِشَيْخٍ يَسَاوِي الْيَوْمَ إِصْبَعَهُ
النَّجْمَ نَجْمٌ سَبِيقِي سَاطِعًا أَبَدًا أَنْارَهُ بِدُرُوسٍ زَانَ مَطْلَعَهُ

وَمَرْكَهُ مِهْطُ النَّجْبَاءِ * وَمَقَرُّ الْعُلَمَاءِ * يَدِيرُ شُؤْنَهُ بَعْدَهُ ابْنُهُ النَّبِيَّةِ * وَالْوَلَدُ سِرُّ أَبِيهِ * هُوَ كَأَبِيهِ شَيْخٌ
مُفْلَقٌ * وَوَاعِظٌ لِلشَّرِّ مُعْلَقٌ * هُوَ لَدَى الْجَمِيعِ حَبِيبٌ * وَفِي الْعِلْمِ نَجِيبٌ * هُوَ خَيْرُ الْخَلْفِ * وَتَصْلَحُ
بِهِ الْأُمُورُ بَعْدَ السَّلَفِ * جَعَلَ اللَّهُ التَّوْفِيقَ قَرِينَهُ، وَمَلَأَ بِالْخَيْرِ يَمِينَهُ.

نَادَى ابْنُ آدَمَ أَقْوَامًا وَيَنْصَحُهُمْ أَقَامَ بِالسَّنَةِ الْغُرَاءِ مَا أَنْهَدَمَا
وَأَسْأَلَ اللَّهَ إِبْقَاءً لِدَوْلَتِكُمْ فَإِنَّهَا فَضْلُ رَبِّ الْعَرْشِ قَدْ قَسَمَا

فَبَيْنَمَا أَدُورُ فِي بَعْضِ الْأَحْيَاءِ * بَعْدَ أَنْ مَسَّنِي لُغُوبُ الْأَعْيَاءِ * إِذَا شَيْخٌ فَصِيحُ اللَّسَانِ * كَثِيرُ
الْإِحْسَانِ * قَدْ قَامَ عَلَى كَتِيبٍ * مَقَامُ الْخَطِيبِ * وَشَمَرْتُ أَذْيَالِي * وَكَمَشْتُ سُرُوَالِي * وَجَلَّتْ إِرْقَالِي
بَيْنَ الزَّمَرَةِ وَسَمِعْتُهُ يوصِي رَجُلًا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ فَقَالَ: يَا بَنِي إِذَا دَعَتْ بِكَ حَاجَةٌ إِلَى صُحْبَةِ الرَّجَالِ فَاصْحَبْ
مِنْهُمْ مَنْ إِنْ صَحَبْتَهُ زَانَكَ وَلَا شَانَكَ * وَإِنْ أَصَابَتْكَ خَصَاصَةٌ مَانَكَ * وَإِنْ اعْتَصَمْتَ بِحَبْلِ مُوَاخِيهِ
اعْتَصَمَ بِأَوَاخِيكَ * وَإِنْ تَزَلَّتْ بِكَ إِحْدَى الْمَلَبَاتِ آسَاكَ * وَكُنْ فِي الدُّنْيَا كَالنَّحْلَةِ إِنْ أَكَلْتَ أَكَلْتَ
طَبِيبًا * وَإِنْ أَطْعَمْتَ أَطْعَمْتَ طَبِيبًا * وَإِنْ سَقَطَتْ عَلَى شَيْءٍ لَمْ تَكْسِرْ وَلَمْ تَخْذُشْهُ. كُنْ آخِذًا بِالْعَزَمِ
* وَعَامِلًا بِالْحَزَمِ * ارْزُقِ الْعَهْدَ * وَصِنِ الْوَدَّ * وَلَا تُخْلِفِ الْوَعْدَ * الْوَفَاءُ مِنْ أَحْسَنِ شَمَائِلِ الْإِنْسَانِ
* وَأَوْضَحَ دَلَائِلِ الْفَضْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ * تَحَلَّ بِالْوَفَاءِ * وَتَحَلَّ عَنِ الْجَفَاءِ * اْمْلَأِ الْأَيْدِيَ الْفَارِغَةَ *
وَاسْتِرِ الْأَجْسَادَ الْعَارِيَةَ * إِيَّاكَ وَضِيَاعُ الْوَقْتِ وَمُحَالِفَةُ الْكَسَلِ * وَالْجُئُوعُ إِلَى الْخُمُولِ وَالْفُضُولِ *
اجْعَلِ الْجِدَّ شِعَارًا * وَابْذُرْ عَارًا. قَالَ الْمُجَاهِدُ: فَمَا أَمُّ وَصِيَّتِهِ حَتَّى عَرَفْتُ أَنَّهُ أَبُو الْخَالِدِ وَبَذَلْتُ لَهُ
مَا اسْتَطَعْتُ ثُمَّ أَنْشَدَ:

يَا مَنْ يَهُونُ عَلَيْهِ بَذْلُ رَاحَتِهِ فَلَيْسَ يَفْرَحُ غَيْرَ الْبَذْلِ وَالْجُودِ
أَنْفَقْتُ مَالَكُ لِلْأَقْوَامِ قَاطِبَةً وَأَنْتَ وَالْجُودُ مَنْحُوتَانِ مِنْ عُوْدِ

ثُمَّ وَدَعَنِي وَانْصَرَفَ.

Translation:

Al-Mujāhid (the struggler), son of al-Hādī (the Guide) spoke, saying: Travels and wasteland took me to Lagos, which is on the Atlantic coast and in which there are huge buildings in the shape of skyscrapers, including buildings of twenty floors and more. Many of its buildings are useful, [and] its roads are always congested. Enriched with natural resources, its wealthy people live the good life and enjoy good health. There are many religious institutions and abundant scientific schools, such as the Islamic Training Center,²⁷ founded by the Muslim scholar, a unique writer of his age, a matchless poet, an exceptional guide, and a scholar who has fulfilled his promise, Shaykh Adam b. ‘Abdullāh—he is a proof of God on earth, is renowned in all countries, and the news of his bounty has reached all regions. He is the possessor of wonders, innovations, and distinctiveness.

My soul a ransom for a valiant and hardworking Shaykh, He did not, for the sake of God, fear who knocks him out with censure,

A gallant, reverent, and patient man. The feet of justice elevate him to the horizons.

He quells the revolting sedition and uproots it while progressing in ascetism and monotheism.

The God of the universe enlivened our “Markaz” with him. Who today can equal his fingertips?

The star is a star and will forever shine. He illuminates it (Markaz) with lessons and its appearance is beautiful.

His Markaz is a landing place for the nobles and headquarters of scholars. Its affairs are run after him by his renowned son, a chip off the old block. He is a proficient sheikh like his father, and a preacher who ends evil. He is loved by everyone and clever in knowledge. He is a best successor, things are fixed by him after the predecessor, may God make success his companion and fill his right (hand) with goodness.

The son of Adam called people and advised them. He resurrected what has collapsed with the esteemed Sunna.

²⁷ Markaz is officially written *Markaz al-Ta’līm al-‘Arabī al-Islāmī* (translated as Arabic and Islamic Training Center), I have only rendered the words here in its literal meaning.

I ask God to preserve your reign, for it is a portion of the Lord of the Throne's grace.

While I was walking around in some neighborhoods after being overwhelmed by exhaustion, there was an eloquent old man with a lot of kindness, who stood as a preacher on a dune. I then rolled up the trails (of my dress), pulled up my pants, and hurried among the group. I heard him give advice to a man in front of him, saying: O my son, if you need the company of Men, accompany from among them whom, if you are with him, adorns and does not slander you; who provides for you if you suffer a loss. Who holds fast to your brotherhood if you hold fast to the rope of his companionship, and who assists when a calamity falls upon you. Be in the world like a bee. If it eats, it eats well, if it feeds, it feeds well, and if it falls on something it does not break or scratch it. Be steadfast and act with firmness, take care of the covenant, be friendly, and do not break promises. Loyalty is one of the best qualities of man and one of the clearest signs of virtue and benevolence. Be faithful and abandon slander. Fill empty hands and cover naked bodies. Beware of wasting time, allying with laziness, and resorting to indolence and curiosity. Make diligence a watchword and renounce shame.

Al-Mujāhid said: no sooner had he completed his testament than I knew he was Abū al-Khālīd, and I did what I could for him, he then recited:

O whose spending is easy! Nothing gladdens than spending and generosity.

You have spent your money on everybody, you and generosity are perfect matches.

He then said goodbye to me and left.

Glossary

Alaafin “the owner of the palace”: the popular name of the Ọyọ king.

alfa Yoruba term for scholar

ijāza traditional certificate of learning

Iku baba yeye one of the nicknames of Alaafin, the Ọyọ king.

ile keu name for the traditional Arabic school in Yorubaland

jalabi social practice of religious consultation

jihād “struggle” in the sense of striving for the cause of Islam; it is also used to describe the establishment of Islamic state of Sokoto by Uthman dan Fodio and his successors

Makondoro popular name of a group of traditional scholars

mudīr “director” or headmaster of an Arabic school in Yorubaland

mufassir exegete of the Qur’ān; a socio-religious position that is next in rank to imam (Muslim prayer leader as well as leader of the Muslim community) in the Yoruba context

Ọba Yoruba word for King

Olubadan popular name for the Ibadan King

tira ile traditional Arabic-Islamic texts

ustādh “teacher” in Arabic schools and professors at the university

wazīr top political advisor to the emirs

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This book offers a fresh perspective on the re-emergence of a classical literary genre, showcasing a fusion of tradition and innovation. It examines the cultural dynamics that shape the development of Arabic *maqāma* in Nigeria. The *maqāma*, a genre traditionally associated with the MENA region, experienced a revival and gained relevance among contemporary Nigerian writers. Through meticulous exploration and in-depth interviews, this groundbreaking research offers invaluable insights into the process of adaptation and evolution of the *maqāma*, witnessing its transformation into a thriving literary tradition. It thus unravels a vibrant, yet overlooked, chapter in African Arabic literary culture, redefining our understanding of its globalizing nature.

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ISSN 2949-6756

ISBN 978 90 04 69368 5