

10. VICTORY OVER THE BAMANA AT GEMUKURA

The following document celebrates the victory over Bamana forces at Gemukura in 1872. It is part of a cluster of Arabic materials compiled by 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad of Futa Jalon, the principal author of the poems in the Kejje corpus (Document 7)¹. Most of the Gemukura materials are poems celebrating Aḥmad's victory and his title as Commander of the Faithful, which he embraced once again a few months after his victory (see Document 11B). We translate here the short introduction to the corpus and its central text, an elaborate chronicle of the campaign narrating Aḥmad's preparations, his march to Gemukura, the battle and the triumphant return to Nioro.

Sa'id ibn Aḥmad (Seydu Jeliya Ture) wrote the chronicle² just before he became the principal counselor and *wazīr* to Aḥmad al-Kabīr.³ He was a member of the scholarly lineage of the Cerno Wocce of Hayre in western Futa Toro. His maternal grandparents included Cerno Lamin (al-Amin) Sakho, 'Umar's teacher, and Fāṭima, 'Umar's sister. Sa'id arrived in the Umarian

¹ He also is known as 'Uthmān Kūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Dārī. For his other works, see Document 7, note 4. The Gemukura corpus appears in BNP, MO, FA 5640, ff. 25-38.

² Sa'id's chronicle appears in at least two locations in the Segu library: the version in the corpus (BNP, MO, FA 5640, ff. 36-8) and an isolated version (BNP, MO, FA 5713, ff. 37-8). The two are identical, except that the former has a brief introduction which does not appear in the latter, while the latter has a note at the end which we translate in the last footnote to this document. We have translated the first version.

³ According to Paul Soleillet, Sa'id began serving as Aḥmad's "prime minister" starting in 1874. *Voyage à Ségou*, p. 378. See also Galliéni, *Voyage au Soudan*, pp. 367ff.

dominions during the early 1860s and quickly became prominent. He composed several accounts of Aḥmad's victories during his tenure as *wazir*.⁴

Sa'id used rhymed prose, frequent references to the Prophet and the Qur'ān, and the same intense rhetoric which characterized the accounts of the Kejje victory. In one respect he went beyond the Kejje document and its author, 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad: he referred to the Gemukura campaign as a *jihād*. This may mark a shift in representations of Aḥmad al-Kabir's authority, from a leader who accepted 'Umar's title as Commander of the Faithful to one who led soldiers in holy war. As an older member of the inner circle, 'Uthman ibn Muḥammad may have been reluctant to accord Aḥmad's campaigns the status of *jihād* in deference to 'Umar.⁵ Sa'id's rapid rise as a court historian, coupled with his references to *jihād*, suggest that Aḥmad al-Kabir promoted counselors who supported his assertions of wide-ranging authority.

Numerous Muslim authors mention the Umarian victory at Gemukura.⁶ The principal French source on the Gemukura campaign is the account of Paul Soleillet, who journeyed to Segu in 1878-9.⁷ He probably received much of his information from Sa'id, one of his favorite informants. Soleillet draws on other sources, and his version presents a synthetic account of the Umarian past.⁸

⁴ For example Sa'id composed an account of Aḥmad's 1885 victory over dissidents in Diafunu. For a French version of this account, see Blanc, "Contribution à l'étude," pp. 305-14. Sa'id's brother, Muṣṭafā Jeliya, also was an important figure in Aḥmad's inner circle, serving as Aḥmad's scribe in the 1870s and 1880s; he wrote an influential document on the eve of the second conflict of the brothers (Document 16). Some of Sa'id's correspondence as *wazir* appears in ANS 15G 77-80. His name appears in many places in the Segu library.

⁵ 'Uthmān is coy in his introduction to the Gemukura corpus; he refers to Aḥmad as a "just ruler who wears the banner of the *mujāhidūn*," but avoids using *jihād* to describe the campaign.

⁶ See especially BNP, MO, FA 5640 and 5713. Word of the victory carried to Futa Toro, as evidenced in the letters of the Futanke cleric, Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd, found in BNP, MO, FA 5582, ff. 58-62 (see Document 13C). See also Adam, *Légendes historiques*, p. 112; Blanc, "Contribution à l'étude," p. 301; and Delafosse, "Traditions historiques," p. 365.

⁷ *Voyage à Ségou*, especially pp. 374-6.

⁸ For a discussion of the transmission of historical information, see Hanson, "African testimony."

Additional information comes from the archives of the French post at Medine during the early 1870s.⁹

TRANSLATION

[25r] This is the book of the second volume¹⁰ of what we have assembled as a corpus whose splendor excels, like pearls but not like purple.¹¹

And this was done in order to make known the characteristic virtues of the one described here, similar to a translation of what was said in beautiful poetry and eloquent speech, in praise of the just sultan who bears the banner of the *mujāhidūn* and is the leader of the contingents of those who believe in one God.¹² Today is the year 1288 [AH]¹³ in the lands of the Sudan. Our *khalifa* is the one who is supported, the one made victorious, the possessor of sound judgment, the famous one, the Commander of the Faithful, Sidi Aḥmad al-Kabir al-Madani. May God aid him, whose justice filled the east and the west,¹⁴ whose excellence appeared like the appearance of the sun. His good reputation and [the news of his] generosity¹⁵ and lofty status spread to all corners of the earth. The days of his rule are pleasant and delightful, and men are submissive and obedient to him. Great men of all races¹⁶ recognize his authority, *sharīfs* come from Fez¹⁷ to see him, many of the leading scholars

⁹ Principally ANS 15G 109.

¹⁰ The first volume may well be the corpus of documents about the Kejje victory (Document 7).

¹¹ The sense of the passage is not clear.

¹² *Al-muwahhidūn*.

¹³ March 1871 to March 1872 AD. This date means that 'Uthmān began compiling this corpus before Sa'īd completed his account, which narrates Aḥmad al-Kabir's victorious return to Niore on the 4th of Muḥarram in 1289 AH (14 March 1872).

¹⁴ 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad makes his references clear in Document 7: Aḥmad al-Kabir's authority stretches from "the land of Hausa and the salt sea."

¹⁵ In contrast to Aḥmad's earlier reputation for parsimony. See Documents 2 and 7.

¹⁶ *Al-'uzamā' min kullu al-ajnās*. In the Kejje corpus, 'Uthmān distinguishes between "black" and "white" populations in the Western Sudan. See Document 7.

¹⁷ 'Uthmān indicates that recognition of Aḥmad al-Kabir by the learned of Fez, the principal center of the Tijāniyya Sufi order, was particularly important for Aḥmad's claims.

praise him. Great and small follow him because of his great blessing and the loftiness of his power. In his rule he followed the pattern of the early *khalifas* and governed his subjects in the manner of the great commanders. He dealt with them in justice, kindness and equity for which he is well known in all regions and by which qualities he is mentioned and described. It is because of this that he is loved and praised by scholars of the age who excel in both prose and verse, such as the great learned scholar and saint known as Shaykh Yirkoy Talfi of Masina,¹⁸ and the shaykh, the seal of inquiring scholars and shaykh of the Sufis, Sidi 'Ubayda ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr ibn Anbūj of Tishit,¹⁹ and other elders and notables who cannot be counted from every generation and group.

In sum, he is the *khalifa* of the time, the commander of the century, the protector of the revealed law,²⁰ the one to whom people submit, who obey him and listen to him accordingly. May God prolong his might to give him long life and through his continued existence may He strengthen religion and protect it. Amen.

And I said, among the amazing signs which indicate his good fortune and the growth of his leadership was the fact that the year in which he conquered Kejje was the year 1285 [AH],²¹ which God inspired me to call "his distinction."²² There is no doubt that his nobility increased in that year because of his obtaining what he aimed at -- the honor of triumph -- and obtaining conquest and victory. To God be grateful praise. The one who said and wrote

See Documents 5 and 6.

¹⁸ Yirkoy Talfi (also known as Shaykh al-Mukhtār ibn Wadī'at Allāh) was a well known pupil of the Kunta who shifted to Tijaniyya affiliation under the impact of Shaykh 'Umar's stay at Ḥamdullāhi in the late 1830s. See Document 3, note 15.

¹⁹ A well known scholar in West Africa, not to be confused with Muḥammad al-'Ubayda and others using the 'Ubayda name in Tunisia. See Abun-Nasr, *Tijaniyya*, pp. 84, 161. Sidi 'Ubayda wrote an important treatise on the Tijaniyya in 1268 AH (1851-2): BNP, MO, FA 5293, ff. 1-342. Many other Tishit Tijaniyya with the name Anbūj appear in the Segu library.

²⁰ *Al-hāmin himāya al-shar'*, literally "protector protecting the revelation."

²¹ 'Uthmān, the principal author of the Kejje corpus (Document 7), reminds his readers of this initial triumph.

²² *Sharafahu*, with a letter value of 1285.

this is the one needing the mercy of God, 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad al-Dāri al-Wiyāwi of Labe, in the year 1288 [AH].

[36v] Sa'id ibn Cerno Aḥmad ibn Cerno Wocce said [this] in recounting the journey of the Commander of the Faithful Aḥmad al-Kabir al-Madani (may God support him and give him victory) to do battle against Gemukura.²³ He gave a most complete account and wrote revealingly in prose whose weaving was elegant and the understanding of which was simple and easy. He mentioned the dates of his traveling and the battles with their names as well as the path which he traveled, both going and returning, a description of the fighting and other matters, such as mentioning the dates and whatever else might be desired, about those events. These are his words.²⁴

Henceforth, among the beautiful things of the kindness and the gentleness of the creation of God Most High is that God, when He wanted to establish His religion and raise aloft His word, sent His Messenger (may God's blessing be upon Him). He gave him victory over them. He gives victory to whomever follows His example until the day of encountering Him. God's enemies, the Massassi²⁵ and their allies, revolted in order to extinguish religion and destroy it at that time. They established their polytheism. They hunted down Muslims as hard as they could and attacked them time after time until the hypocrites and polytheists, both men and women, believed that they had been victorious over the Muslims and defeated them.²⁶ They did not know that God was the Master of His affairs and that He is always with those who fear him, for as God said: "And certainly Our word has already gone forth to Our servants, that they will indeed be helped and that Our troops will definitely be the victors."²⁷

²³ *Qanamukura*, the standard Arabic rendering of Gemukura in this document and throughout the corpus.

²⁴ This introductory paragraph does not appear in the second version (BNP, MO, FA 5713, ff. 37-8). It was probably written by 'Uthmān.

²⁵ *Ahl al-Māṣa*, "people of Māṣa."

²⁶ The Massassi had used Gemukura for some time as a base from which to harass Umarians, particularly those traveling between Segu and Nioro.

²⁷ Qur'an 37:171-2.

And when the Commander of the Faithful Aḥmad al-Kabir al-Madanī al-Manṣūr²⁸ heard about that [the revolt of the Bamana], the fervor of the people of God welled up in him along with the fury against the enemies of God. Thereupon he began to prepare the armies and to dispatch them to make *jihād* against them and to gain victory for God Most High and His Messenger and the believers by fighting them. He ordered all of the people to prepare themselves to encounter them. But they held back because it had been a long time since they had fought.²⁹ He did not cease to spur them on, to prod them, to plead with the weak-willed and drive on the ignorant and give help to the weak until they were all united in obedience to him and obeyed his commands. They agreed to that voluntarily and handed the leadership over to him and put the reins in his hands, moving when he moved and remaining still when he was still.³⁰ When that was established he enjoyed a blessed day with God's support and victory, on a Thursday, with 14 nights remaining in Ramaḍān in the year "thanks and praise be to Him"³¹ [37r] of the *hijra* of the best human being (may the best prayers and peace be upon him).

Then he [Aḥmad al-Kabir] reached the town of Madina.³² The people followed and rushed to join him. And there assembled a great many people, among them the disciples of Futa³³ and others too numerous to count. After staying there seven days he rode from Madina and made for the center of polytheism and unbelief and of the people of oppression and injustice, that is

²⁸ "The victorious one," or "the one to whom victory is given." This epithet may have been added as a result of the Keje and/or Gemukura victories. See Document 6, note 2.

²⁹ Veiled references here to the resistance of the Umarian community at Nioro. See the Introduction to Section II.

³⁰ The submission to the Commander of the Faithful's authority was short-lived, as most Umarian disciples living in Karta refused Aḥmad's subsequent request that they accompany him back to Segu. See Solcillet, *Voyage à Ségou*, pp. 376-8.

³¹ *Shukruhu wa-ḥamduhu*, with a letter value of 1288. This date corresponds to 2 December 1871.

³² *Madina* (without the *tā' marbūṭa*). This is probably a reference to Nioro Madina, a settlement of Umarian disciples just south of Nioro; Solcillet gives Nioro as the staging area in *Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375.

³³ Sa'īd is at pains to emphasize the role of Umarians, and especially Futanke disciples, in this campaign.

the people of Diawara³⁴ who had not accepted him or given their obedience. He stayed at the town of Yerere³⁵ and spent only Friday night there. The next day he went after the refractory devil, the stubborn disbeliever in God,³⁶ whose harassment availed him nothing. He gathered all his forces (may God disgrace him) and made them swear to prevent us from entering among them, but God insisted we should enter among them and have access to their property. Thus did the word [of God] prove true against them and we entered [the town of] lying and falsehood, Diara.³⁷

We stayed there for the remainder of Ramaḍān, all of Shawwāl and Dhu'l-Qa'da and the early days of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, until there assembled at that time what God had decreed and made easy for us to assemble.³⁸ The day after the assembling was finished he went on the attack against Gemukura. God destroyed it and laid it waste on a blessed Monday, the ninth of the sacred [month of] Dhu'l-Ḥijja.³⁹

³⁴ Sa'īd intentionally juxtaposes *jawr* ("injustice") with *jāwara* (Diawara). Although Diawara leaders had welcomed Shaykh 'Umar to Karta, some later turned against him and earned the reputation as unbelievers in the Umanian historiography. See Documents 4 and 15D.

³⁵ *Yarāra* in the Arabic text, *Yère* in Soleillet and Yerere in contemporary Mali. It is located immediately east of Niéro and marks the beginning of villages inhabited by Diawara during the Umanian era. Soleillet, *Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375; Blanc, "Notes sur les Diawara," *BCEHSAOF* 7 (1924), p. 87.

³⁶ Written *lājj*. This is probably a Diawara leader who led the resistance to recruitment at Diara.

³⁷ Soleillet has the Umanians camping at Diara for three days, between two visits to Yerere in *Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375.

³⁸ Sa'īd again communicates the difficulty of mobilizing an army by referring to a three month period for recruitment. Soleillet (*Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375) suggests that it took six months.

³⁹ Sa'īd confuses two dates falling on a Monday in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1288 AH. Aḥmad departed from Diara on Monday, the ninth of Dhu'l-Ḥijja (19 February 1872) and destroyed Gemukura on Monday, with seven nights remaining in Dhu'l-Ḥijja (4 March 1872).

They stayed in the village of Yerere to celebrate the Feast⁴⁰ there. Then the next day, after he had finished celebrating on Tuesday, he went and stayed at the village of Diabige.⁴¹ The day after, Thursday, was the 12th of that month. They went to Wadi Konko, a place where renegades come and thieves congregate. He arrived there after the midday prayer. He stayed on Friday and spent the night traveling until the forenoon, arriving at Wadi Biri⁴² on Saturday, the next day. He stayed there in order to count his forces and examine the situation.⁴³ Then, when he knew what God had provided him in the way of men he distributed all the powder and weapons; then he moved resolutely from there and encamped at Wadi Tinkare.⁴⁴ He journeyed from there Friday after noon.

He made for his major goal and highest aim, which was the victory of the Messenger of God (peace be upon him) and the victory of the *shari'a* in order to destroy what had to be destroyed, by way of proof. He launched himself against the unbelievers,⁴⁵ firm in his resolution and imbued with determination. He asked for the help of God and His Messenger and he went out depending on His strength and might. He submitted his fate to his Master since he knew that no one shares with God in His dominion [37v] and that He does whatsoever He wills. He came to Gemukura in the early morning. How terrible a morning⁴⁶ it was for those warned by God. Praise be to God, Lord

⁴⁰ *Al-'id*, referring to *'Id al-Adhā* (or Tabaski) which falls on the tenth of Dhu'l-Ḥijja). Presumably Aḥmad arrived at Yerere from Diara on the ninth of Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1288 AH and then celebrated there on Tuesday the tenth.

⁴¹ A Diawara village located not far to the east of Yerere. Blanc, "Diawara," p. 87.

⁴² Soleillet gives it as Wadi Benibane in *Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375. Clearly Aḥmad was making a kind of forced march.

⁴³ BNP, MO, FA 5713, f. 143, offers a figure of 10,606 troops on Sunday (presumably at Wadi Biri) and then 12,000 soldiers on the following Friday.

⁴⁴ See Soleillet, *Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375.

⁴⁵ *Wa-hamma bi'l-kuffār*.

⁴⁶ Probably a reference to the fact that Aḥmad attacked at dawn, setting fire to Gemukura while its inhabitants were sleeping. See Soleillet, *Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375. Sa'id creates a parallel between Segou, at the time of its capture in 1861, and Gemukura. This prepares the way for the renewed consecration of Aḥmad al-Kabīr as Commander of the Faithful.

of the worlds. God assisted the Muslims and protected the faithful and humbled the infidels and their allies. For God is the Lord of those who believe, while for the infidels there is no lord.

For it did not take long until flags were fluttering in the village and their houses were burning. God drove them out of it despite their unwillingness and aversion. [As God said]: He it is Who caused those who disbelieved of the people of the book to go forth from their homes at the first banishment. You deemed not that they would go forth, while they thought that their fortresses would defend them against God. But God came to them from a place they expected not and cast terror into their hearts -- they demolished their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers. So take a lesson, O you who have eyes!⁴⁷ When the town of the Massassi was finished and they were calling out to their absconding friends, then God drove them out of there on that Saturday, when they perished.⁴⁸

They entered the village of Kagoro⁴⁹ together with the remainder of those who were with them, including children, chiefs⁵⁰ and women. Then we besieged the remainder of them that day, and Sunday, with the aid of the One God. When God brought the finest of the mornings, and they despaired of escape and Iblis despaired of success, then the Muslims attacked them as one man, at about midday, just before the prayer. God gave the victory to the Muslims in order that truth might triumph and falsehood be brought to nought, though the evil doers were averse. The people who do evil were eradicated -- praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds.

By the time we performed the sunset prayer God had allowed us [to seize] all of their slaves and had destroyed all of their men. We uprooted them all by enslaving or killing [them].⁵¹ There was great joy and delight on the day of

⁴⁷ Qur'ān 59:2.

⁴⁸ Dama, the Massassi mentioned in the introduction, was one of those who escaped and returned to the upper Senegal valley. Galliéni, *Voyage au Soudan*, pp. 38-9.

⁴⁹ A village next to Gemukura which the Bamana had built, and where they took refuge after Ahmad's attack. Soleillet, *Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375. Kagoro also refers to a subgroup of Bamana and to a sub-region of Karta-bine. See Document 4.

⁵⁰ *Aquwāl*, which we have read as *quuwād*, "commanders, leaders."

⁵¹ Soleillet (*Voyage à Ségou*, p. 375) states that the Bamana had ninety killed and 150

victory -- thanks be to God Most High -- on the blessed Monday when seven nights remained in Dhu'l-Ḥijja in the year "we give Him thanks"⁵² of the *hijra* of the best of mankind (upon Him from God the Most High be the finest of prayers and purest peace).

Then we stayed -- praise be to God the Most High -- in their town taking possession of their goods and the injured prisoners during the rest of that day and Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. Then the next day we traveled, returning to our lands⁵³ on Saturday, the last night of the sacred [month of] Dhu'l-Ḥijja. We stayed in the town of Farabugu⁵⁴ -- may God the Most High protect it [38r] and preserve its utility for us and to all those who proclaim the unity of Him, who is exalted. Amen.

On the morning of Wednesday we went from there and camped in the town of Kolomina. We stayed there the rest of that day and night, then we traveled from there on Thursday and came to the city of light and excellence⁵⁵ on a day of joy and delight, in the morning of Wednesday, after the 4th night of the sacred [month of] Muḥarram, in the year "polytheism disappeared"⁵⁶ of the *hijra* of the best of mankind (upon Him from God Most High be the most excellent of prayers and the purest peace).⁵⁷

wounded.

⁵² *Shakarnā iyyāhu*, with a letter value of 1288. This date corresponds to 4 March 1872.

⁵³ *Awṭāninā*, "our countries," with the implication that the northwestern reaches of Karta formed part of the Umarian domain, but not Gemukura and the southeast.

⁵⁴ An Umarian fortress in southern Karta. See Document 15F.

⁵⁵ Nioro (*al-nūr* or "the light" in Arabic). Soleillet (*Voyage à Ségou*, p. 376) states that Aḥmad did not receive a warm reception, because he pressed the Futanke to move to Segou, but this resistance came later, after the first flush of victory.

⁵⁶ *Zāl al-shirk*, with a letter value of 1289. The date corresponds to 14 March 1872.

⁵⁷ The second manuscript (see note 2 above) adds the following at the end (38v): "Troops from Futa Jalon came to the Commander of the Faithful, Sīdī Aḥmad al-Kabīr al-Madani (may God assist him). He was in the city of Nioro (may God protect it). The leader of it was the unforgettable one whose name was 'Abd Allāh Ṭālib, one of the descendants of Cerno Masegan, the eldest of the children of Alfa Mo Labe. This occurred in the first ten days of Ṣafar [10-20 April 1872], two months after our return from the battle of Gemukura. By my hand, Kūsā Dāri Lābī [that is, 'Uthmān Kūsā]. At the time of welcoming them messengers from Segou and Kundian also came to meet with him. They came from afar."

هـ نرسه جوج الجبيرة الشنارة

25

مما جفنا لا كما لو يواجره، ونسجته كما بجارح كانه تزجوان وصار
 لغش ومضائل الوصوف به مثل الشرجان مما فيلس الشعر البليح والفرق
 البصيح، ومع السلطان العادل الذي هو حامل راية الجهادية وقائد جنود البوسنة
 اليوم عنده هذا التاريخ 1483 م. اراضه السودان فخلعتنا الكور بانصو
 لا اله الا الله الشكور ابن السومير تسيبراجو الكير السوداني الذي من ملك
 الخافيير عدله وظهر ظهوه الشمس بظنه وشاع صيته ومع 28 صبح الافساق
 جوده وبمائه وحسنت ايام دولته وطابنت وخضعت لها عنه الرقاب
 وانقادت والاطاعه العكبار من كل الاجناس ونصروا الشرفاء من مائه ومرجه
 من محول العسكاريه اهدبار كثير وتبعه اعلم بركنه وجلالة قدره وكبره وصغيره وسائر
 به ولايته بسيرة الخلعاء الغومار وسائر عينته بسياسة الامراء الكبار وانالهم
 من العزل والرقب بفتح والانصاف لهم ما هو مستحقه من شانته معروفه وبه جميع الاطفال
 مذكوره وموصوفه في هذا الحية ومرجه علماء العصر الذين جافوا في النسخ والنسب
 كالعلماء الجوالي الشقيه بالشيخ بن علي زلف الماسي والشيخ خاتمة المحققين
 وشيخ الصومير سميوع عبيد بن محمد الصغير بن ابيسوك التيمشيتي وغيرهما مما لا
 يمكن تحصره ولا يحصى من الاعمال الاكابر من كل جهل وفيه بالجبيرة وهو
 خليفته النرس وامير الفرس العام حاية الشرف والنسخ له الناس بالطاعة والسمع
 اذاع الله عزه والفضل واعز به سفاهه البر وصاها واسم الفتنة وهي
 الغريب التال على سعادتته ونحو سيادته كذا العلم الذي اقبلت فيه بجمع العلم فمست
 ونما نير بعد المائير والعا جالت منه الله اوتجبه بعله فقصره بلا شك انه ازاد
 2: الا العلم شرفه والطيرة مسرانه وحصول الفتح والنصر له والله المحرم المنزه
 مسافله وكتبها العبد لرسنة الله عشقان بن محمود الواسي اللبوني
 1483 م.

قال سعيد بن بشر اخبرني سترن وقر يذكري حلة امير المؤمنين مهرا حتر
الكبير المسمى ابي الله ونصره في غزوة فند لغزير فخر ذكر واستشوق والها واستشوق
في شهر ربيع ثلثه فرب سفل فخره اوقات ان تحاله مع ذكر اليا وبنتيها
وذكر الكبر الذي سلكه هابا وابايا وكعبه الغلال وغير ذلك من ذكر التاريخ وما
سواها من جميع ما يرب فيه من تلك الاحوال اذ وفـ

اما بعد فوس حيل لك الله تعالى ولكيها صدق الله تعالى ما اراد اقامة
دينه واعلاء كلمته العزيز بعهده عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ونصره عليها
ونصر من افترى بما الى يدع لفأيه جعل اعداءه اهل ما لم يعلموا انه
فابيين له طاعة الرب وهدمه في الحير ونصه والذالك شركهم واصفاد المسلمين
جهدهم ووفعوا عليه مرة بمسرة حتى فخر الساعفون والمشركون والشركت
انهم غالبون وانهم على المسلمين انصرون ولم يعلموا ان الله غالب على امره
وانه مع التفسير وفردا لجل وعلا وفرد سبقت كلمتنا العبادنا المرسلين
انهم لم انصرون وان جنوا لاج الغالبون فلما سمع ذلك امير المؤمنين احمد
الكبير المسمى النصور اخذته غير اهل الله واعماله على اعداء اللو فشرع
في تجهيز الجيوش وتبجير النهور الى جهادهم والانتصار لله ففعل ولم يسوله
وللمومنين بفنناهم باسم الناس جميعا بالنهاي للفايهم وتبجوا لعلهم
بشدة الا بل يل يعضع ويحرضهم وهداهم وسببهم وبيوسر جاصلهم ويحميس
ضبيهم حتى اجتمعت كلمتهم على طاعته وامتنشال او امره وقبلوا ذلك
طبا على مسامحة الفياذ وجعلوا بيده اذ من لهم يتكون بحركته ويسكنون
بسكونه فلكم ما تصفوه الا عند اغوا ائبار كا بدع الخبيس البار بنصر
الله وتسايدوا له ربح عشر كيله بعين من رمضان عام ثمان مائة وثمانين

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تعلم من حجة خير البشر عليه افضل الصلوة والسلام ونزل بقرينة من
 جنت اجمع الناس الى اجابته وتسايروا الى الحوفة واجتمع عنده خلق كثير
 من التلاميذ العرنيين وغيرهم من لائى حصيح فلما مكث هناك سبعة
 ايام وركب من حبره وفصد فاعزى الشفرة والكبر اهل الخيل والجر اهل جابر
 من غير قبول منع ولا مانع ونزل فريته يزار وبك هناك ليلة الجمعة وحدها
 وغدا يفتصد الشيكركم الحبر والكامر بالله العنيل لاج لم يبق معه ما يقبل
 من الانزعاج وضع فوما لخر اج الله جميعها وحلج على ان يمنعوا من الروع
 عليه وابى الله الا اذا خالنا عليه وحرفنا احوالهم على العول ودخلنا البقتل
 والزور حان فكشنا هناك بعبية ترمضان وجميع شوال وذا القعدة واوائل
 ذى الحجة الى ان اجتمع ابا سمنرما فدر الله ويسر لنا اجتماعه هلم
 نتبع الاجتماع هذا يعصم فبخر خرفنا الله ودمرها يوم الاثني عشر من شهر ربيع
 ذى الحجة الحرام ونزل فريته يزار وصل العيسر هناك شغ غدا بعد ما جرف منها ما اقتض
 يوم الثلاثاء ونزل فريته جسيمة وعزها منها يوم الخميس ثمان عشر من ذى القعدة
 وفصد واد كنفه الذي هو مجمع الكفان والصور ونزل عندها بعد صلاة الظهر
 شغ فاع عندها يوم الجمعة ويلات سائر الى انزل وقت الضم بواد، يسر
 يوم السبت الذي يليه شغ مكث هناك لتعداد الجيوش ونهكوا احواله بما تامل
 ما حصله الله من الرجال فسمع التبار ووالاساحة جميعا شغ نهض عنها
 ونزل بواد، يفتكارا وارتحلنا يوم الجمعة بعمارة الظهر وفصد مقصود، العلم
 ومراد الاكبر الذي هو نصر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ونصر شريته ليجل من
 هناك عمر بنينة وهم بالعكبا واهم الحزم وركب العز واستغاث بالله ورسوله وخرج
 من حولة وقوته وسلم الامر صله لالكة العلم بار الله تعالى ما شاركه احد، ملكة

والله يعصا بيه يروه صبح فتم كبر بكثرة بمساء حسابهم المنزير والمجد لله
 رب العالمين جامعاً لله المسلمين وحمى الله منيبي واذا اللعديوم واعوانهم
 والذبار الله مولى الذير امنوا المحمير وان اللعديوم لا مولى لهم فلم يلبث
 هنيئة الا والرايات تجعوج القرية والنار لا يارهم تحروفاً خرجهم الله منها
 كرهاً وعساً على أن وقع وهو الذاء اخرج الزير كعروا امر ديارهم له ول
 الحشر ما لم تنتع ان يخرجوا وظنوا انهم ما منعتمهم حصونهم من الله باناهم الله
 من حيث لم يحتسبوا وفزع في فلويح الربط بطرسون بيوتهم بايديهم
 ورايد السومين فاعتبروا يا اولي الابصار ان الله خلق فرقة اهل قاص
 وزاد اولاد حير من اهل جلاهم الله من هاهنا يوم السبت الذاهم فيه
 يهلكون ودخلوا القرية صفاً فرجع بغنية ما عندهم من الذر والذوال
 والنساء معها صرايح بغية والذال يوع الاحويتا بيدر الله الاحد
فما اصبح الله بحير الصباح ودر يسوا من النجاح كما يس
 ابليس من البلاء من المسلمون على حلة رجوا احو وقت اوار الظم
 وفي الليل الصلاة معتمداً لله للمسلمين على رغب انوار الشكليات ليعر الحق
 ويهكز البكل ولو كره البحر شون بفتح دابر الفوج الزير فلموا والمجد لله رب العالمين
 فلم نصل المغرب الا وقد اباح الله لنا جميع ما لم يكنه وابد جميع رجاله
 واستاصلنا جميعه سبياً وقتلنا **وكان** قتاة العدم والمسروية
 يوم الطور والشكر لله تعالى يوم الاثنين المبارك لسبع ليل بغيب من الهمة على تقربنا
 اياه من هجرة خير البشر عليه من الله تعالى بغير الصلاة وانى السلام لمكتنا بحسب
 الله تعالى بطلتهم ما اكبر اموالهم يحسب دماءهم بغية ذالك اليوم ويوم التلا
 ويوم الاربعا ويوم الجمعة شمع غدو نذر اجمعهم الى اوطاننا يوم السبت
 لليلة بغيت من الهمة المحراج ونزلنا مدينة جتر بسحر سقا الله تعالى

وإفهامها من جملة لنا وكجيع الروح حير به نعلم، أسير شح غرورنا منها يبع الأثر بعد
 وزنا متدنية كل من فافنا بجها بغيره، ذلك البعد، وذلك الليلة، جارت تحلنا
 عنها يبع الخبير، ونزلنا متدنية الثور والخير، يبع العرج والمسروب
 ضوة الأثر، مع ليمان مضمين من السرم العراج، عجاج تر الأثر، من ك
 سر حجرة خي البشر عليه من الله، نعلم أفض الصلاة، وأزخر المسالمة ١٥
 وفـال سعينا أيضا لنا فليل كان وجيه، بسلمة إلى السفر

الحمد لله الذي بعث رسوله بالحق بشيخيل ونزير، وأمر بدعوة عباده، التي
 عبادته بالسبح، الفالحة ترغيبا وتعذيرا، أسير إلى اجابته، وتسكر بسنته
 طار له وليا، ونصير الصلاة والسلام، على سيد العالمين، بالله، نعلم محمد الزلا، يصل
 إلى الله، وأصل الآية، ولو لم، لها عبد الله، عاير ولا يعرفه، عاير، من أراد الوصول إلى
 إلى الله، نعلم مسروره، كذا، ساعيا، هلاكه، وطرد، أفرد، إليه، وبشرك نعلم
 بعثه الله، بكلمة الشهادة، ووعده، بنصر، على من أعرض عنه، حتى يهرد،
 إلى العوا، يرمعه للبحر، بعد نهديرة، حلما، وانظارا، أو فتح له، وقد تباعه من
 بعد، إلى يبع الفيا، من تبع بلاد الصبح، مدرسا، وأصل، فخر، على أبي ربيع
 فزي الصبح، وديار، على مسر الليالي، والأب، عشية، وبكر الأكل، بحول
 جد، السوى، جلا، عملا، بعظمه، وجنته، صدقنا، وعد، ونصر، عبدا، وهو، الأخر، اب، ورد،
 اجسرت، العاير، العنبر، والشيك، الرمي، والمرعه، الكاذب، الكون، بتر، المحتر، على
 الله، نعلم، باد، عاير، من تبة، لم، ينلها، تحول، العلماء، والعلم، من مع، علمه، بجه
 بخلو، عر، علمه، بعرف، عينه، جاري، هنر، الترتبة، بعينه، ودع، الناس، إلى، اتباعه
 تقع، انه، امشله، من ابن، فاشر، وأقل، غفلا، وحيل، من مسيلمة، الكذاب، وأكذب
 لأنه، لم، يخلص، نصح، من العجم، إلى، الأسلم، وجا، حري، ار، ينثقل، إلى، هداية، الأذلي