9. JUSTIFICATION FOR FIGHTING
THE BROTHERS

The following document constitutes Aḥmad al-Kabir’s justification for taking action against his half-brothers and their challenge to his authority in Karta. It is an undated manuscript; we assign its composition to 1869, the year Aḥmad left Segu to confront Ḥabib and Mukhtār. It takes the form of a ḥaṭṭa or consultation, in response to questions which Aḥmad had formulated.

The Commander of the Faithful chose his consultant well. Al-Ḥājj Saʿīd An was a Fulbe scholar who had settled in Sokoto not long after the success of ʿUthmān’s jihād against the Sultan of Gobir. He watched and counseled the caliphal family, witnessed the passage of Shaykh ʿUmar in the 1830s, and became an advocate of the Tijaniyya in Sokoto.¹ It was perhaps because of this advocacy that he left the Qadiriyya-dominated court of Muḥammad Bello’s successor, ʿAtīq. He made the pilgrimage, and found his way to Segu by the 1860s. There he became an intimate and prominent member of the court, and the person in the best position to comment authoritatively on the succession challenge, rooted as it was in the genealogical credentials of Ḥabib and Mukhtār.

The document illustrates the influence which early Muslim history and Sokoto precedents exercised on Aḥmad’s aspirations for greater political authority in the conquered territories. It moves logically from citations of the Qurʾān and the ḡadīth to ʿUmar’s installations of his son, a consideration of Cain’s actions, succession in the early Islamic caliphate, and finally to questions of succession in Sokoto and the Kunta lineage. The ḥaṭṭa exists in only one

¹ For Saʿīd and ʿUmar’s stay in Sokoto, see Robinson, Holy War, pp. 102-8, 340-2.
copy, as far as we know; it is not polished, and it may have circulated only in the immediate confines of the Segu court. This limited distribution is surprising given the magnitude of the issues involved, and suggests that Ahmad may not have found a very receptive audience for Sa'id's opinions and his actions.

TRANSLATION

[66v] In the name of God, praise be to God. Prayers and peace be upon the Messenger of God and his family and all the party of God. From Sa'id to the Commander of the Faithful Ahmad ibn Shaykh 'Umar. Complete salutations, prayer and respect. We wish to inform you that our purpose in writing this document is to answer your request for advice about your brothers who have revolted against you and thus have acted at variance with the books of God and the sunna of His Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace), as well as the consensus of the companions (may God be pleased with them) and the command of your father Shaykh 'Umar ibn Sa'id (may God be pleased with both of them).

As for the books, [I refer to] what the Most High says: "Hold fast by the covenant of God all together, and be not disunited." He has made plain to you the religion" up to [the phrase], "not to be divided therein." And whoever acts with hostility to the Messenger after guidance has become manifest to him.

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3 The four books of revelation given to the prophets: the Torah given to Moses, the Psalms given to David, the Gospels given to Jesus, as well as the Qur'an.
4 That is, with 'Umar and his father.
5 Qur'an 3:103.
6 Qur'an 42:13. Sa'id gives two phrases from the verse, which refers to the revelations of religion in the four books.
7 The truth manifested through miracles.
and follows other than the way of the believers, We turn him to that which he
(himself) turns and make him enter hell; and it is an evil resort."9

As for the sunna, there is the saying of him [the Prophet Muḥammad]
(may peace be upon him): "If two khalifas are paid homage [to], kill the last
one [to be paid homage to]."10 And in his saying (may peace be upon him):
"My community shall not agree upon an error, so follow the majority. He who
differs from the community even as little as a span removes the harness of
Islam from his neck." Also, in the Šahih of al-Bukhari,11 it is related on
the authority of Abū Hurayra, who said: "The Prophet (may peace be upon Him)
said that there are three whom God will not speak to on the Day of
Resurrection, nor will He be charitable towards them, and they will be
consigned to painful punishment: any man who has an excess of water and
withholds it from a passer-by; any person who promises his fidelity to an imām
for worldly ends, and if he achieves these honors he remains loyal, but if he
does not he reneges: and any man who sells an article in the late afternoon,
swearing by God that he had sold it to so-and-so who agreed to take it, but
then [the seller] refuses to hand over the article."

As for Shaykh 'Umar (may God be pleased with him), he presented you
in Markoya12 and he made you a muqaddam for giving the words [of the
Tijaniyya]13 in the presence of many people. In Masina I was told that Shaykh
'Umar assembled all the elders of Futa14 and consulted about who would
succeed him. They are the people who make the decisions.15 They all
consented to his making you his successor. The next day he went to the

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8 That is, the error which he chooses.
9 Qur'ān 4:115.
10 From the hadith. See, for example, Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Al-Šahih, 5 vols. (Cairo,
1283), book 33, tradition 61.
11 From the hadith. Al-Bukhari, al-Šahih, 4 vols. (L. Krehl and T. W. Juynboll, eds.,
Leyden, 1862-8, 1907-8), book 42, chapter 10.
12 The author writes Mankoya.
13 See Document 2.
14 A way of referring to the inner circle of disciples from Futa Toro. See Document 20.
15 Literally "those who loose and bind."
mosque where he gathered the people of Futa and the people of Masina. Here he rose, made you rise, and put his hand on you. Then he asked the people: "Is this one fit to be a khalîfa?" They answered: "He is, he is." Then Shaykh 'Umar said: "I have made him successor from Timbuktu to Futa. Whichever asks me for the blessing of the Messenger of God (may the blessing of God and peace be upon him) and the blessing of Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijâni (may God be pleased with him), let him ask for their blessing from him."\(^{16}\)

This was the first set of actions.

I was also told \([67r]\) in the second place that he called you, seated you in his seat, then sat in front of you and swore his allegiance to you. Then he commanded all the people to do likewise, and they did. He swore that if anyone among the descendants of Sa'id\(^{17}\) foreswore his oath he would pray for his annihilation. This curse, he said, would be upon all who went against you, whether they were present or absent. This is what we heard and it was also told to us by those who were present.

If this be true, it follows that anyone who differs with you or rises up against you, the judgement upon him is well-known in the pure shari'a of Muḥammad, for the Prophet said: "If two khalîfas are paid homage to, kill the last one [to be paid homage to]." As for the consensus, the companions (may God's pleasure be upon them) agreed unanimously that there can be only one khalîfa. Shaykh 'Uthmân Fūdī said the same thing in his Pular\(^{18}\) poem....\(^{19}\)

Shaykh al-Khalil said in his Mukhtâsar:\(^{20}\) "The rebels are a group that has gone against the great imâm\(^{21}\) or his deputy. Their purpose is to deny what

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\(^{16}\) For the context in Masina, see Robinson, *Holy War*, pp. 299-300. Note the definition of the Umarian domain and the close parallels to 'Umar's language at Markoya (Document 2).

\(^{17}\) 'Umar's father.

\(^{18}\) Written fulâni.

\(^{19}\) A short excerpt from an 'ajami poem, in Pular in the Arabic script, follows at this point. The meaning is very similar to the quotations from the Qur'ân and hadîth made earlier. We do not translate it here.

\(^{20}\) The Mukhtâsar is a summary of Malikite law widely used in North and West Africa and compiled by Khalil ibn Ishâq (d. 1374). This work is translated by G.H. Bousquet in *Al-Mukhtâsar. Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon le rite de l'imam Mâlik*, 4 vols. (Alger, 1956-62). Sa'id gives an incomplete version of these passages from the Mukhtâsar.

\(^{21}\) That is, the khalîfa.
is due to God or to His servants, or to depose him or to refuse to enter into obedience to him." The author of Al-Mu'in said: "He who dies without an oath of allegiance around his neck, dies the death of ignorance.\(^{22}\) It is incumbent upon the just imām to fight them. If they ally themselves with the infidels against you, it is permissible to use those who are for them [the rebels] against them."

As for what you said about these rebels against you, there is nothing left to do but either to execute the judgement of God upon them or to ignore them despite their rebellion. As for the latter course, leaving them to commit mischief on earth through banditry and rebellion and to attract people to rebellion, this is forbidden to you by the book [Qurʾān], the sunna and the consensus, for the sultan is the shadow of God on His earth to whom those who have been unjustly treated come for refuge.

Shaykh Muḥammad al-Rājī\(^{23}\) said: "You should know that the shaykh [Uthmān] spoke to the companions of the shaykh.\(^{24}\) Most of them [the companions] are dead and most of those now alive belong to another generation, as is evident from the words [of the poet]: 'Do what you will, for God is generous. No harm shall come to you if you sin, except for two which you must always avoid: association of another with God and causing harm to people.'" Although this was not witnessed but only related in the tradition, he\(^{25}\) did an injustice himself after that and he informed Shaykh ʿUthmān that he had expelled the unjust one from his people. He even repeats this assertion in his statement.

Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī said in this connection: "Beware, heaven forbid that one should wear the cloak [67v] of security from God, a belief that while committing sins one is nonetheless free from God's punishment. Whoever takes such a position before the Exalted Truth, and persists in it, deserves to die,

\(^{22}\) That is, dies as an unbeliever who has never known Islam. Jāhiliyya, the word which is translated by "ignorance," refers to the pre-Islamic period and to paganism in general.

\(^{23}\) An important Tijaniyya leader in the Sokoto community. See Last, Sokoto Caliphate, pp. 216-9; Robinson, Holy War, pp 106-8.

\(^{24}\) Here follows a brief passage in Pular which we do not translate.

\(^{25}\) Al-Rājī.
ending [life] in affliction.\textsuperscript{26} So ask God to spare you and deliver you from His affliction. The poet said: ‘Do what you will, for God is generous. No harm shall come to you if you sin, except for two which you must always avoid: association of another with God and causing harm to people.’\textsuperscript{27} Shaykh 'Uthmān ibn Fūḍī (may God be pleased with him) said [as much] in his Pular poem....\textsuperscript{27}

Therefore I see that your problem with those who refused to swear allegiance to you is similar to what God related in the story of the children of Adam, Abel and Cain....\textsuperscript{28} This story is precisely the story of those who oppose you among your brothers, because their father commanded them to obey you and to accept your authority. Therefore it is unlawful for them to disobey his command.

You should also know that what Shaykh 'Umar (may God be pleased with him) has done is identical with what his righteous predecessors (may God be pleased with them) -- the companions, the saints and the just sultan -- have done.\textsuperscript{29} He [Muḥammad] (may God’s blessings and peace be with him) signaled the succession of Abū Bakr (may God be pleased with him) at the end of his own life, when he said to the people of his house: "Command Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer." Our ladies 'Āisha and Ḥafṣa (may God be pleased with both of them) said: "Command 'Umar to lead the people in prayer, because Abū Bakr is too soft-hearted." But he [Muḥammad] (may God’s blessings and peace be with him) said: "You are Yūsuf’s friends,\textsuperscript{30} I command no other than Abū Bakr," or words to that effect.

As for 'Umar (may God be pleased with him), Abū Bakr declared clearly for his succession. I saw this in Kitāb Jannat al-Murid al-Ṣadiq by Shaykh Sidi

\textsuperscript{26} The concept that good Muslims may, close to the end of their lives, commit unforgivable sins and incur divine punishment.

\textsuperscript{27} Another short passage in Pular follows. We have not translated it.

\textsuperscript{28} The rest of 67v (from line 14) and the first 12 lines of 68r recount the story of Cain and Abel and follow closely, and sometimes word for word, the account in the Qur'ān 5:27-30, and in the hadith. Reference is also made to the story of Noah in chapter 11. We have not translated these passages.

\textsuperscript{29} From the hadith, principally al-Bukhārī, al-Ṣahīh, book 62.

\textsuperscript{30} A reference to the imprisonment of Joseph in Egypt, and thus to bad advice.
Muḥammad (may God be pleased with him), when he said: "When his death approached, Abū Bakr called to his side our lord Ṭūthmān ibn Ṭāfān (may God be pleased with him) and told him: "Write: in the name of God this is Abū Bakr’s last day in this world and his first day in eternity. I have appointed Ṭūmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (may God be pleased with him) to succeed me. If he does well, this is what I expect. If he does not do well, then those who act unjustly shall know how they shall be turned upside down [on the Day of Judgement]."  

Regarding [the succession] of our lord Ṭūthmān ibn Ṭāfān (may God be pleased with him), when the Commander of the Faithful Ṭūmar was stabbed in the mosque while praying, the two men nearest to him were Ṭabd Allāh ibn Ṭabās and Ṭabd al-Rahmān ibn Ṭāwf. Ṭūmar took the hand of Ṭabd al-Rahmān ibn Ṭāwf, fell on him and appointed him to complete the prayer with the people. Ṭabd al-Rahmān shortened the prayer, concluded it, and carried the Commander of the Faithful Ṭūmar to his house. He prepared for him a drink of nabidh, but when he drank it, it came straight out of his stomach. They did the same thing with milk, with the same result. [68v] They realized that he was dying, so they commanded him to name his successor. He replied: "If I do not name my successor, then one who is better than me did not. And if I do name a successor, then one who is better than me did name a successor." This was a reference to what he [the Prophet Muḥammad] (may the blessing of God and peace be upon him) had done with Abū Bakr and what Abū Bakr had done with him ['Ṭūmar].

Then he told them: "Let this matter be decided by six men among you, those who, when the Messenger of God (may the blessing of God and peace be upon him) died, were in his grace -- our master Ṭūthmān, our master Ṭaliḥa, Ṭalḥa, Sa’d and Ṭabd al-Rahmān ibn Ṭāwf. And let Ṭabd al-Rahmān ibn Ṭāwf be the arbiter among you and let Sa’d assist him." When he ['Ṭūmar] died 'Ṭabd al-Rahmān ibn Ṭāwf said to them: "Let three of you [name] three candidates." So Ṭabās stepped down in favor of Ṭaliḥa, Ṭalḥa stepped down in favor of Ṭūthmān and Sa’d stepped down in favor of Ṭabd al-Rahmān ibn

31 Qurʾān 26:227.
32 An infusion of dates which ferments rapidly. In Modern Arabic it means "wine."
‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Āwf asked them to give him their confidence. They did. So he went to ‘Alī, took his hand and made him promise that if ‘Uthmān became khalīfa he would obey him and be on his side and would be his wāzīr. Then he went out and confided in ‘Uthmān in a similar manner, asking him what he [‘Abd al-Rahmān] had asked ‘Alī [to do], and to solemnly promise that if ‘Alī became khalīfa he would support him. ‘Uthmān agreed. Then ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Āwf asked him [‘Uthmān] to give him his hand, which he did. Then he [‘Abd al-Rahmān] declared his allegiance to him [‘Uthmān] as the successor. Then he told all the people to swear their allegiance to him.

This is one account, but there is another which says that it was al-Zubayr who went to ‘Alī and said to him, "We shall choose you as successor provided you follow the sunna of our prophet Muḥammad (may God’s blessings and peace be with him) and the khalīfas who preceded you and do not fall short of them." ‘Alī replied: "I shall do what I can." Then al-Zubayr went to ‘Uthmān and said the same thing that he had said to ‘Alī. ‘Uthmān consented without any qualification. So he [al-Zubayr] swore his allegiance and commanded the people to do the same. They did. A certain man [protested], saying: "You have chosen ‘Uthmān and left ‘Alī!" Al-Zubayr answered: "This is not my fault, I told ‘Alī and he imposed a condition; I said the same thing to ‘Uthmān and he accepted without any conditions." In the case of ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān (may God be pleased with him), death came suddenly to him and he did not name a successor.

Once I heard the learned man ‘Abd al-Ghānī explaining the Qurān in the Prophet’s mosque in Medina.33 When he reached the story of Sulaymān son of Da’ūd (may be rest in peace), he told the story of the trials that befell him [Sulaymān] (may he rest in peace) after he lost the ring. He told also that Muḥammad had a ring with a secret related to Sulaymān’s ring. When he [Muḥammed] died, his ring passed on to Abū Bakr, then to ‘Umar, then to ‘Uthmān. ‘Uthmān went one day from Medina a short distance to visit some of the relics of the Prophet. He came with his friends to a well. Here he removed his ring and began to turn it about in his hand. The ring fell in the

33 Presumably a reference to Sa‘īd’s own pilgrimage, which gave him great authority in the circles of the Segu court.
well. They searched for it but could not find it. They offered a lot of money [but it was not found]. Then there fell upon him the same misfortunes as had befallen Sulaymān.

When the Commander of the Faithful ‘Uthmān was killed, ‘Ali was chosen, but there was disagreement among the companions of the Messenger of God (may God’s blessings and peace be with him) until ‘Ali was killed. ‘Ali was killed by the wretched ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muljam. 34 He [Muḥammad] (may peace be upon Him) said: "The most miserable of the former days was the one who cut the limbs of the camel of Ṣāliḥ, and the most miserable of the later times is the one who kills ‘Ali." I do not know whether or not he had passed the succession to his son Ḥasan, but only [69r] that he instructed his children in matters concerning the other world.

When it came to Muʿāwiyah (may God be pleased with him), he recommended his son Yazīd. He had commanded him [Yazīd] to do a certain thing, but the cursed one disobeyed him. 35 Aḥmad al-Tījānī (may God be pleased with him), in a book written by one of his disciples and entitled Isādat al-Aḥmadiyya li-Murid Saʿādat al-Abadiyya, 36 says under the letter yā: "Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah is cursed because the Most High says: ‘But if you turn away, you are sure to make mischief in the land and cut off the ties of kinship!’ 37 Also the Most High said: ‘Surely those who cause injury to God and His Messenger, God has cursed them in this world and the hereafter, and He has prepared for them a humiliating chastisement.’ 38 And what injury is greater than killing his [Muḥammad’s] child?’ 39 Shaykh ‘Uthmān [ibn Fūdī] used to tell his community: "O my people, some clerics said that Yazīd was not to be cursed after he died; [even if that is so], I have cursed him and you should curse him."

34 His name is often rendered Ḍabd al-Rahmān ibn Muljam.
35 The author defends Muʿāwiyah as a companion of Muḥammad and makes Yazīd into a scapegoat for the divisions of the Umayyad period.
36 By Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Sufyānī (d. 1843-4). He was a close companion of al-Tījānī in Fes, and recorded his master’s sayings. See Abun-Nasr, Tijāniyya, p 26.
37 Qurʾān 47:22.
38 Qurʾān 33:57.
39 The reference is to Yazīd’s responsibility for the killing of Muḥammad’s grandson al-Ḥusayn at Karbala in 681 AD.
Turning to the saints (may God be pleased with them) [we know that when] the time for the death of Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti⁴⁰ came, Sidi Ḥubayl came and asked him about who would succeed him. He answered with this sentence: "Blessing upon him who comes to visit." But Sidi Ḥubayl desired to have the matter more clearly explained. So the shaykh said: "Let your mother do that for me." She had died a year earlier. He called to her: "Arise!" Then they smelled the odor that was characteristic of her while she was alive. The shaykh said to him: "This is your mother. She asked for the command to go to Aḥmad al-Bakkāy."⁴¹ He was the eldest of his sons. Then he said: "The one who should succeed to this position is Sidi Muḥammad." When the shaykh died, Sidi Muḥammad was given the succession, while Aḥmad al-Bakkāy (may God be pleased with him) went back to Walata and died there.

Sidi Muḥammad remained as khalīfa for 18 years. When he had approximately forty nights more to live, he gathered his disciples and said to them: "God’s saints gathered together yesterday at the tomb of the shaykh, my father (may God be pleased with him), and they designated for you the one who was named for his grandfather Sidi al-Mukhtar." In his hand there was a leaf of [the Ṣaḥīḥ] of al-Bukhārī, and he handed it to him [Sidi al-Mukhtar] and said: "Read for the people." But this one was timid, because he was not accustomed to reading, so he [Sidi Muḥammad] struck him with it and repeated: "Read for the people." Then he read so well that he said far more than had been covered by his father. When death came his son Ḥammād⁴² succeeded him, while Aḥmad al-Bakkāy was away. When al-Bakkāy returned he disputed the succession. This situation continued, until al-Bakkāy came to a point when he denied some of the saints, such as Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī and his disciples.⁴³ Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī (may God be pleased with him)


⁴¹ The homonym and uncle of the Aḥmad al-Bakkāy who opposed ‘Umar and the Tijānīyya and who emerges in the next paragraph.

⁴² Another name for al-Mukhtar. For the divisions among the Kunta, see Document 5.

⁴³ A reference to the death of Bakkāy in 1865 in the aftermath of the revolt of Masina in 1863 and the reconquest launched by Tijānī. See Document 5.
said: "Whoever denies one of them, that is the saints, God will cause him to
die the death of an infidel. May God protect us from this through His grace
and kindness. Amen."

The same is the case with Shaykh al-Qādi al-Jājībī (may God be pleased
with him). When he approached death, he made his son Muḥammad his
successor even though his son al-Muṣṭafā was older. And Shaykh 'Uthmān
(may God be pleased with him) made his son Muḥammad Bello succeed him
as Commander of the Faithful even through Sambo, the saint of God, was
older, as you may know from our first injunction.44

When Muḥammad Bello was installed in Sokoto and his uncle, the
jurisconsult 'Abd Allāh was installed in Bodinga, the learned man Muṣṭafā45
[69v] came from Bodinga to Sokoto and entered the presence of the Com-
mander of the Faithful Muḥammad Bello. He found him with the wazīr
Gidado46 and the commander of the army, 'Ali Jedo. The Commander of the
Faithful Muḥammad Bello said: "What have the people of Bodinga done about
this catastrophe?," by which he meant the death of Shaykh 'Uthmān ibn Fūdī.
Muṣṭafā answered that the people of Bodinga had paid allegiance to the
jurisconsult. Then the commander of the army 'Ali Jedo said: "Will you bring
him here so that we may kill him, or do you want us to go to him and kill
him? You surely know what the Prophet (may the blessing of God be upon
him) said: 'If two khalīfas are paid homage to, kill the last one [to be paid
homage to].'" Subsequently the wazīr almost killed him [Muṣṭafā]; he insulted
him and accused him of hypocrisy. But the Commander of the Faithful
Muḥammad Bello restrained him and said: "The commander of the army 'Ali
Jedo has not sworn allegiance to him, nor the Ardo Sosobe, nor Mojjo, the
commander of the Wolarbe. Therefore the allegiance to him is not significant."

44 The first injunction may refer to Sa'īd's chronicle of the history of Sokoto; Taqāyīd
Mimmā Waṣāla ilainā Ahwāl Umarā’ al-Muslimin Salāṭiṭn Hausa, printed and translated by O.
Houdas in his edition of Tedzikeret en-Nisian (Paris, 1899). Sambo was also called Muḥammad
Sambo. For the struggles around the succession in Sokoto, see Last, Sokoto Caliphate, pp.
63-7, Robinson, Holy War, pp. 102-8, and Charles Stewart, "Frontier disputes."

45 See Last, Sokoto Caliphate, pp. 93-4.

46 Written Ghitāto, for the Pular Gidādo. The Pular names which appear in the same
paragraph (Jedo, Ardo, Sosobe, Wolarbe) are also written with the Arabic equivalents of the
Pular sounds.
Had our brothers the people of Futa\textsuperscript{47} done as these have done, they would have relieved the Muslims from these unjust rebels who have disobeyed the commands of God and His Messenger and their father Shaykh 'Umar (may God be pleased with him).

Know then, my brothers, that this matter is an eternal fate for him for whom it is decreed in eternity. As it is said, whatever is [meant] for 'Amr cannot come to Zayd, what is [meant] for Zayd cannot come to 'Amr.\textsuperscript{48} This is what Shaykh 'Umar has done. Verily he is only following the righteous ancestors. Had he seen even one of his own children more worthy than the Commander of the Faithful Aḥmad, he would have presented to us that son.\textsuperscript{49} But he saw no other. Shaykh 'Umar and those like him do nothing without the true permission of God Most High and His Messenger (may God's blessings and peace be with him) and without direction from the saints -- who are the ones who are in charge and [who are] the people who govern.\textsuperscript{50}

The Commander of the Faithful Muḥammad Bello said: "I saw Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar in a dream as if in real life. He struck the mat on which I was lying and told me: "Sit up! We have placed you in this position."

In conclusion, God truly left all these questions in the hands of the people who are in charge and they are the people who govern. God grant us their love and the love of those who love them. Amen! Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds, and may God bless our master Muḥammad, His Prophet, his family, and his companions and grant them peace. The end.

\textsuperscript{47} A reference to the people of Futa who had settled in Karta under the auspices of the Umarian jiḥād, and allowed themselves to be recruited by Ḥabīb and Mukhtar.

\textsuperscript{48} 'Amr and Zayd are frequently used in Arabic education to illustrate points. The sense here is to reinforce the main issue: there can be only one khalīfa.

\textsuperscript{49} Compare with the reasoning about Aḥmad at the end of Document 5.

\textsuperscript{50} Aḥl al-diwan.
ُبِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مَا بَعْدُ مِنْ آدَمَ فَرَءَيْتُمُوهُ مَا لَهُ مَعَنًى وَلَمْ يَأْتِيَ مَجَالَةً عَلَى مَيْلٍ مَّيْلٍ}

**Ref. #66v**
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة. 

Ref. #67r
وأواحبنا وأواصرت الشمع عن عمرنا وأولى ما حصلنا من عنا على السماح...
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
هل يعلمون أننا ن∪خوض في أحلام عما جاء تابعينا في الكتاب؟

هل يعلمون أننا ن∪خوض في أحلام عما جاء تابعينا في الكتاب؟

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من يقولون أن الزكاة في حق لنا، على أن الزكاة في حق الناس، عقب عندهم الزكاة.

كما يقولون، في حقًا في حق الناس، على أن الزكاة في حق الناس، عقب عندهم الزكاة.

وإذًا، طالب أمير فلسطين، على أن الزكاة في حق الناس، عقب عندهم الزكاة.

ويكفي أن يكون أمير فلسطين، على أن الزكاة في حق الناس، عقب عندهم الزكاة.