MWANA KUPONA
The Wifely Duty
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THE ADVICE OF
MWANA KUPONA
upon
THE WIFELY DUTY
from the Swahili texts

BY
ALICE WERNER, C.B.E., D.Lit.
Sometime Professor of Bantu Languages,
School of Oriental Studies, University of London

AND
WILLIAM HICHENS
late of the District Administration
East Africa

"And greatest of all is God's goodly pleasure—that is the grand achievement."
Al-Bara'at.

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FOREWORD

The poem Utendi wa Mwana Kupona is the work of a Swahili woman of two generations ago. It is well-known along the East African coast between Lamu and Mombasa, where it has been preserved by oral transmission as well as in the form of manuscript copies made by scribes and other literate Africans. From six of these manuscripts this translation has been made.

They are written, as may be seen from the facsimile reproduction from one of them shewn on pages 32-3, in a modified form of the Arabic character adopted by the Swahili (long before Europeans arrived in Africa), as the vehicle of their written language. Certain usages have been imposed by the Swahili upon Arabic script for its convenient adaptation to their tongue. In reading the manuscripts we have followed the conventions observed by the Swahili in reading and writing this script, and the spellings of the scripts and of word forms peculiar to the Lamu dialect, in which the poem is composed, have been preserved in the transliteration. (a)

From the facsimile page it may be seen that

(a) No attempt has been made, either in the transliteration of words derived from Arabic, or by changing words and forms peculiar to the Lamu dialect, to conform to the rules laid down.
Swahili poetry has adopted the Arabian convention of the eye-rhyme — in this instance a line-end flourish of the letters ى (ya, alif). To retain this device the rhyming word ending each stanza has been written -iya, -eya (and in some cases, discussed later on, as -wa), throughout the transliteration. The ى and ى are not necessarily pronounced in all cases. In other places, where ى or ى serve only as silent props to vowels, they have not been carried into the Roman letter.

For assistance in the work of preparing this translation, we are indebted to Professor Carl Meinhof, for the loan of two manuscripts from the Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen, Hamburg; and to Mr Charles E. Whitton, of Lamu, who has furnished much helpful information with regard to Binti Sheikh, together with her photograph and a typescript of her petition, as well as the manuscript of Binti Sheikh’s poem, which Mr Whitton obtained from her daughter, Mwana Khadija binti Abubakar.

Special thanks are due to our friend Sheikh Mbarak Ali Hinawy of Mombasa, who supplied two manuscripts and transcripts of the poem and much useful information by letter. We have to thank also Bwana Muhammad bin Abubakar bin Kijuma 'I-Bakariyyi of Lamu, well-known as a skilled scribe, poet and musician, and as a wood-carver of distinction, for his manuscripts, letters and notes as well as for the title-pages drawn by him for this book. Swahili manuscripts are often illuminated in this pleasing way.

All the Swahili words in the transliteration are to be found in either Krapf’s or Madan’s dictionaries or, otherwise, are accounted for in the glossary. The English version is designed as a literal translation of the Swahili, without embellishment, except that it avoids a number of awkward constructions which a slavishly literal translation, ignoring the spirit of the poem and Swahili literary usages, would have presented.

No attempt has been made to give a metrical translation and much of the beauty of rhythm remember that I am the representative of the great United States! The reply came with no hesitation, as she made the most of her few inches; "And I am the daughter of Sultans!" — with which she walked away. (c) For Binti Sheikh's poem see Appendix III.
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and rhyme is lacking from the English version. Of the theme and literary merits of the poem the reader must be left to judge. It is the first literary composition by an East African Native woman to be published in Great Britain.

Alice Werner

William Hichens

June, 1934.
INTRODUCTION

Mwana Kupona, the authoress of the poem before us, was a native of Pate, the principal town in the island of the same name. She lived during the first half of the 19th century, dying in or about 1860. Her husband, a well-known personage in his day, was Muhammad Is-haq bin Mbarak bin Muhammad bin 'Umar l' Famau, commonly known as Bwana Mataka, Sheikh of Siu. The family to which he belonged claims to be of Arab-Portuguese origin. According to Mataka's grandson, a Portuguese lady and her husband escaped from the wreck of the vessel in which they were bound for Goa and settled in Siu, probably during the 17th century. The pair ultimately became converts to Islam; and when, in course of time, the husband died, the widow, still young and beautiful, after refusing several offers of marriage, at length accepted the hand of a young, handsome and wealthy Arab

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1 Siu and Faza, formerly small independent states, often at war with Pate, are included in the same island, which is the largest in the Lamu archipelago. The neighbouring island, Manda, contained two similar city-states, Manda and Takwa.

2 Muhammad Abdallah Kombo, from whom Mr C. E. Whitton kindly obtained for us many details of the family history.

3 The Portuguese, under Vasco da Gama, first arrived at Mombasa on April 7, 1498, effecting formal annexation in 1508. Pate, with other towns, was rendered tributary by the middle of the century and was intermittently occupied until 1698.
belonging to the Banu ‘Umair. From that marriage was descended Sheikh Mataka, who was so powerful that Swahili tradition describes him as ‘like a Sultan’.

For over twenty years he carried on a kind of guerrilla warfare against Sayyid Sa‘id, Sultan of Zanzibar. Burton, upon information derived from Mataka’s adversaries in Zanzibar, calls him ‘that notorious plunderer, Bana M’takha, chief of Siwi (sic), a small territory near Lamu’; but reliable Native and Arab accounts, as reported by Sir Arthur Harding in 1897, throw different light upon Mataka’s ambitions. We are told:

In the xvith century the aggressions of the Nabhan princes of Pattah upon Siu became so formidable that its people appealed to the Somalis living on the mainland opposite to protect them, promising them half their town and an equal share in their government if they succeeded in repelling the Nabhans. The Somalis agreed, and the Siu people having further invoked the assistance of the Portuguese Governor of Mombasa, the Pattah Sultan was overcome. The Portuguese, however, having come as friends, remained as over-Lords of the country, occupying several forts and exercising all the attributes of sovereignty but not interfering actively in the internal concerns of the subject states. The Somalis were accordingly accorded to a share with the Wafamao, the original Asiatic colonists, in the government of Siu, and a curious dual Administration was established, consisting of a Wafamo and a Somali sheikh, who jointly ruled the population, each administering justice to his own tribe through a Cadi appointed by himself.

This system survived the withdrawal of the Portuguese from this part of East Africa after the capture of Mombasa in 1698, and lasted till quite recently, when the Famao sheikh, a certain Mataka, attempted to concentrate the whole power in his own hands, and to destroy the separate rights of the Somalis. The latter appealed to Sayyid Said of Muscat, who was beginning to intervene in the affairs of the East African Coast; but his assistance proved ineffectual, his forces were defeated, and Mataka became tyrant of Siu, and transmitted his authority at his death to his son, Mahomed-bin-Mataka.”

Stigand gives, also from Native sources, an account of wars and intrigues preceding Bwana Mataka’s rise to power. About 1845 he appears to have engaged in a quarrel with Pate in which Hamed, the Mazrui governor of Mombasa was involved; and as the Mazrui were more or less continuously at war with Sayyid Sa‘id, the Pate people naturally espoused the cause of the latter.

Sa‘id sent an expedition against Siu in 1843 and himself went thither in the following year, but his Amir, Hamad bin Hamad was killed in an unsuccessful attack on Siu and Sa‘id left for Maskat. He returned in 1844 and attacked Siu

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4 Banu(‡), بنو, “sons”, = descendants, family, clan.
8 The Nabhani, from one of the ruling families of Maskat, are said to have come to the Island of Pate in A.H.600, about A.D.1300.
9 The Wafamao (sometimes written Wafamao), are said to be of Chinese or, according to some, of Malayan descent. Stigand, op. cit. p.49, says, “Some accounts say that the Wafamao are Portuguese [this may be based upon Mataka’s family tradition], and others that they are the Arabs originally sent by Abdul Malik ” [from Syria]. A branch of the family is still living at Mombasa.
11 A.H.1233, The History of Pate, supra, gives the date A.H.1236, (A.D.1820), but there are chronological discrepancies between the accounts which cannot, at present, be reconciled.
and Pate but was not permanently successful.

A sort of peace was made in 1846, through the intervention of Muhiyy-ed-Din, Kadhi of Zanzibar, a Lamu man. Burton, who may have got the information from the kadhi himself, says that Mataka sent back the Arab cannon, taken three years before, acknowledging the supremacy of Zanzibar (for a consideration), but retained his power, promising, but never intending, to pay an annual tribute of five thousand dollars. 12

Bwana Mataka, as nearly as can be ascertained, married Mwana Kupona in or about 1836. He is said to have had three other wives, who bore him three sons, Bakari (or Abubakari), who was killed at Pate in 1855-6; 13 Muhammad, who succeeded Mataka as Sheikh of Siu; and 'Umar; (see Genealogical Chart). Muhammad, after carrying on the war for some time, sued to Sayyid Majid for pardon, which was granted; but when he went to Zanzibar (in 1864?), he was arrested and sent to Mombasa where, imprisoned in the

12 Op. cit. p. 300. Burton was at Zanzibar in 1857, the year after Sayyid Sa'id's death.

13 History of Pate, p. 305: "They [Mataka's sons] submitted to the suzerainty of our lord Sa'id bin Sultan, both Abubakar and Muhammad. Sayyid Sa'id gave Abubakar some troops, together with Sultan Fumo Bakari, and they went to attack Sultan Ahmad at Pate.........They entered Siu during the night and fought till morning and Abubakar bin Sheikh Mataka and his men were utterly routed; and Abubakar was seized and taken to Pate, to Sultan Ahmad, and killed." Cf. Stigand: op. cit., p. 94.
Fort, he died. 'Umar also opposed Majid who ordered his arrest at Faza. He was imprisoned at Lamu, but he survived and was concerned in the Witu rising of 1890.

Mwana Kupona had two children by Mataka, a son, Muhammad bin Sheikh, and a daughter, Mwana Hashima binti Sheikh, to whom this poem is addressed. Mataka died, according to his surviving grandchildren, in his 57th year, at Pate in 1856. Mwana Kupona outlived him for some years, dying in 1860 (A.H.1277) of an internal complaint. She appears to have begun composing her poem some two years previously, though evidently in expectation of death. One

14 [C.—868?] supra p. 14: "Muhammad bin Mataka......an energetic prince, interfered in the affairs of Patah [Pate], deposed the Sultan, Ahmad bin Sheikh, and placed a kinsman, Ahmad bin Fumo Luti, on the throne in his room: but becoming involved with his Patah ally in trouble with Sayyid Sa'iid, Sultan of Zanzibar, they were both eventually defeated by the Zanzibar forces, and while Ahmad bin Fumo Luti fled to Kau on the Ozi, Muhammad made submission to the Sultan. The latter, however, distrustin him, inveigled him to Zanzibar, where he was seized and sent to die in Mombasa Fort." Cf. Stigand, op.cit.; p. 96; and History of Pate, supra, p. 313.

15 History of Pate, p.313. Stigand, op.cit. p.97.

16 In local pronunciation, Shekh.

17 History of Pate, p.303. "And the news [of Amir Hamad's defeat and death at Siu] reached our lord Sa'id bin Sultan at Faza, and he......went to Maskat. Next year he returned, and placed Fumo Bakari at Faza and attacked Siu and Pate. At this time Sheikh Mataka died of disease." His grandson states, "Alliksa kwa marathi ya bawasiri" i.e. he died of hemorrhoidal disease.

A note on the Friedrich Ms., reads: "Dieses Gedicht wurde gathers from her own words that her illness was a long one and caused much suffering.

Of her son, Muhammad bin Sheikh, no particulars are forthcoming. Her daughter, Binti Sheikh, however, was a well-known character in her day. During the Witu rising of 1890-91, she rendered valuable service to the British Administration by inducing some insurgents who had taken to the bush (among them her half-brother, 'Umar) to surrender and give up their arms. Sad to say, no suitable acknowledgment of her services was ever made by Government.

She was twice married, first to Muhammad Kombo, by whom she bore a son, Muhammad von Mwana Kupona binti Schamu vor etwa 50 Jahren verfasst nach der Geburt ihres Kindes in Erwartung ihres Todes." Her grandchildren state that "Alliksa kwa marathi ya tumbo kusora deni kwa mbole," that is, she died of an hemorrhagic ailment. The poem was completed, according to MSS., M1, K2 and K4, on 9th Al-Haj 1275 A.H. = 10th July 1858 A.D. See Appendix I.

10 Colonial Reports—Annual, No.1463, Nairobi, 1928, p.8. Cf. History of Pate, p.313; "There arose trouble between [Fumo Bakari, Sultan of Wittu] and the Germans. Küntzell shot the porter at the gate and killed him, and the porters of the town gate who were there, fell upon Küntzell and the Europeans who accompanied him and killed them without asking for orders from Sultan Fumo Bakar......and the people of Ndamuyu and of Mkonumbi, when they had received the news, they, too, killed the Europeans who were there......the English demanded those people in order to bring them to trial, Sultan Fumo Bakar did not consent to deliver them up. The English Administration attacked Fumo Bakar, on the night of the 11th Rabi 'Awal, 1308, and at eight o'clock in the morning they got possession of the town and drove him out of Wittu." Cf. Stigand, op.cit. p.99.

20 For her Petition for recognition, see Appendix II.
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Abdallah Kombo, and 20 years later to Abubakar bin Muhammad, to whom she bore a daughter, Khadija binti Abubakar. Binti Sheikh died at Lamu on February 2, 1933 at the age, according to her reckoning, of 95; but as the Muslim lunar year is shorter than our solar year by some eleven days, we would count her age as 92-3. Her two children are still living at Lamu.

I first heard of this poem at Lamu, in 1912, when I was shewn a manuscript copy by Mwana Chema binti Diwani, a lady belonging to the ancient royal house of the Nabhani. Mwana Chema entertained me and some of her friends by reading aloud passages from the poem, and I remember that she passed over one or more lines with a remark to the effect that they were kutukana, or indelicate. It is probable that their omission from the copy subsequently made for me by Muhamadi Kijuma, (and perhaps from all authentic copies), may be held to account for the discrepancy between the number of stanzas, 'miate wa wabidi na mbili' (one hundred and three), counted by the poetess, and the number, ninety-eight, which appears to be authentically extant.

Other verses, forthcoming upon our enquiry in Lamu, seem to be of questionable authorship.

This utendi may most properly be described as a didactic poem. It opens with an affectionate address to the daughter, somewhat in the style of the best passages in the Proverbs attributed to Solomon, which might be paraphrased thus:

"My daughter, come and sit beside me—the end is not far off—receive instruction more precious than jewels, an ornament of grace about thy head, and chains about thy neck, profitable both for this world and the next. For man's life is but a vain shadow; yet if thou hold fast to the counsels of righteousness, thou wilt pass on to a better life hereafter."

Religious duties are dealt with at some length (st. 22 seqq.), and the poem removes some misconceptions, still occasionally repeated, as to the position of Swahili women. It has been said that they are 'remarkably indifferent to their religion and often unable to repeat the Fathah,' but, although that may be so in some cases, this poem and my experience on the Coast support a contrary view. Swahili women whom I met at Lamu were extremely well instructed in matters of the Faith. They do not, as a rule, attend the mosques, except during the maulidi, but many are well read in the Quran, and devout women

22 The term utendi covers religious subjects and epic themes.
23 Baumann, O., Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete, Berlin, 1891.
24 Stigand: op.cit. p. 114, "Although some of the Swahili women are as well or better read in the Koran than men,....they must never visit the mosques, except....at Siu [where] women go to the mosque covered up in the shira." Cf. St. 46, and glossary.
25 Maulidi, the celebration of the Prophet's birthday.
observe the hours of prayer in their own homes.

Many of them are adept at composing verse and are fond of reading and hearing poetry. Girls are taught to read and write and receive religious instruction at schools, usually kept by the wives or widows of *waliyu*; or a woman teacher may attend at the girl's home.

Woman's obligatory and optional religious duties are specifically mentioned in st. 11-14.

Mwana Kupona, however, disclaimed (st. 91) any technical precision in Islamic theology, and it is not quite clear whether by *faradhi* she means prayers and fasts, or, in a more general sense, the Five Pillars, or Foundations, of Islam. The

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25 The *faradhi*, st. 12, are duties explicitly enjoined by the Quran or by unquestioned tradition; their omission and transgression are regarded as acts of definite infidelity. The *wajib*, st. 12, is the body of religious duty obligatory to observe, but not explicitly enjoined by the Quran; its contravention is sinful, but does not constitute denial of the Faith. *Mubah* is a further class of acts, not referred to in the poem, the omission of which is not sinful, but the commission of which is praiseworthy; their inclusion in the term *sunnah*, st. 12, may be inferred. The *Sunnah*, the traditional relation of what the Prophet and his Companions regularly did, said or sanctioned, contains both optional and obligatory duties. It is supplemented by the *Mustahkab*, the relation of what the Prophet occasionally did or refrained from. This whole body of Moslem law is divided into five branches dealing with matters of belief, morality, devotion, deeds, punishments; and a sharp distinction is drawn between that which is lawful and unlawful in matters of faith and acts secular and religious.

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26 The Swahili call these *nguzo*. They are: (1) the repetition of the creed; (2) the five daily prayers; (3) the Fast of Ramadhan; (4) annual almsgiving; (5) the Pilgrimage to Mekkah. Ahmadi bin Abubakar affirmed that the fast of the Ashura, which is not kept as a fast in some Moslem countries, is one of the obligatory allegations of an Islamic doctrine to the effect that 'women have no souls', is of interest in relation to st. 25-29. There is no warrant in the Quran for the statement (st. 26-27) that a wife's chance of entry into Paradise is dependent upon her husband's will, though there appears to be a popular belief to that effect, as, for instance, an old dame at Lamu on learning that I was not married, asked, 'Then how do you expect to get *faradhi*, there being sixteen reasons for its observance, i.e., that it is the anniversary of the day upon which God consented to forgive Adam; the Apostle Idris entered into rest; the Prophet Noah came out of the Ark; God saved the Prophet Abraham from the fire (Quran xxi, 68. 69.); God sent down the law; the Prophet Joseph was released from prison; God gave his right to the Prophet Jacob (Quran, xii, 66); God healed the Prophet Job; God took the Prophet Jonah out of the whale's belly; God divided the seas for the Children of Israel; God forgave David; God gave the kingdom to the Prophet Solomon; God forgave Muhammad his former and his latter sins; God created the world; God caused the first rain to fall; God caused mercy to descend to earth for the first time. Ahmadi added that the apostles kept the fast of Ashura. Cf. Doutré, E. Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord, Algiers, 1908, p. 526. It is not improbable that Mwana Kupona had performed the Pilgrimage. Muthamad Kijuma states that his mother had been to Mekkah five times.

28 Cf. Davey: *The Sultan and his Subjects*, London, 1907, p. 94, "The good wife", the Koran further asserts, 'has a chance of eternal happiness only if that be her husband's will.' The Imam Abdul Majid of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, states, "Davey attributes to the Quran a verse which does not exist." [Letter of May 3, 1933.] Implications of the inferiority of women amongst the Swahili must have come in with the Arabs; but a good deal of Islamic "popular" belief may be drags left over from the Days of the Ignorance. African animism seems to make no distinction in the afterlife of the sexes, except, perhaps, that the Zulus believe that some old women come back after death as lizards rather than as snakes, the form usually taken by spirits (*amaklozo*).
INTRODUCTION

into Paradise?’, though in that case there was no actual suggestion that a husband could keep me out, if he so desired. Indeed, the notion is distinctly negatived by ‘Allah has promised to the believing men and the believing women........goodly dwellings in gardens of perpetual abode’; and elsewhere in the Quran. 30

As regards conduct; truthfulness, discretion and courtesy are especially insisted on (st. 13, 14.), as is the fivefold duty, to God, to His Prophet, to father, mother and husband (st. 22-23).

Directions for household management, social intercourse, and kindness to the poor, follow the main argument of the poem—advice upon the duties of a wife. It certainly does not inculcate the notion of slavish obedience.

Mwana Kupona dwells on the happiness of her married life and on the grief of her irrepairable loss. Then, turning to the contemplation of her ‘approaching separation from this world’, she commends to the care of the Eternal Goodness, 30 her younger brother, her sisters and their children, and her own. In st. 57 she directs Binti Sheikh to look after her brothers. 31 The poem concludes with the very touching confession of faith of a devout Moslem woman.

The future life is not dwelt on to any great extent, but it may be noted that Paradise, Peponi, is mentioned twice, Hell, Motoni, only once. 32

The poem throws some interesting sidelights on the life of a well-to-do Swahili household.

The warning against undue familiarity with servants (st. 20), suggests that relations between mistresses and slaves, apart from individual cases of hardship and cruelty, were easy rather than otherwise; and this was borne out by instances which came under my own observation. 33

The more personal attentions bestowed by a Swahili wife upon her husband are described in st. 30-35. They include the gentle rubbing of the muscles, kupapasa, to relieve fatigue, anointing, kusimba, with perfumes and aromatic substances, such as sandalwood; shaving, kunywa, done first from the nape of the neck, upward and forward, and then from the forehead backwards, kupaliliza; ablutions and shower-baths, kukiza, and fumiga-

32 Her surviving brothers, 'Umar and Sheikh Muhammad II.
33 As distinct from the more vigorous massaging, kukanda.
tion with frankincense, ubani, aromatic aloewood, udi, and fragrant resins, uvumba. 35

The toilet of the Swahili wife is described in st. 38-41 and includes bathing and cold showers, 38 the care of the hair, 37 hands and feet, the uses of cosmetics, scents 39 and jessamine blossoms. 39

35 **Uvumba** = galbanum, a resin extracted from an umbelliferous plant, *Calamintha officinalis*, of the nature of fennel. *Uvumba* is also the name of a labiate, balm-like herb, scented like lemon verbena.

37 Jessamine blossoms are hawked for sale in Lamu and Mombasa, East Africa. The Indian variety, *Jasminum sambac*, is cultivated. Jessamine blossoms are often worn in the hair or in the lobes of the ears; the women also make them into chains, to be worn around the neck, or hung up in the house to scent the rooms; and they may be threaded upon little sticks, or strewn upon the coverlet after the bed is made.

38 Usually Lamu women part their hair in the middle, twisting it into a knot at the back. Further south the hair is parted to ridges from the forehead to the nape of the neck.

39 *Marashi* (fr. *Maras*) is a term applied to any liquid scent. Rosewater is made from the dried buds and leaves of *Rosa gallica*, var. *damascena*, powdered, and mixed with perfumes, such as cloves, sandalwood and ginger, shaken up in water. The Persian rose used for distilling *attar* of roses, is the only one grown on the Swahili coast, and that not very freely. One kind of *marashi* is a spurious geranium oil from *Andropogon Martinii*; cf. Velten, op. cit., II, 597, 843.

30 At least two kinds of jessamine, afi and tundaafi, grow wild in East Africa. The Indian variety, *Jasminum sambac*, is cultivated. Jessamine blossoms are hawked for sale in Lamu and Mombasa, either loose on brass trays, or made up with other sweet-scented substances and tied with strips of pandanus-leaf, mkadi, into little bunches known as *vikuba*. Cf. Madan, s.v. *kitanda*. The *fira* or coverlet is usually made of stout quilted cotton. Better-class households own one or more four-post beds with a frame to support a mosquito-net (ebanharu). Elaborate beds were in use in the golden days of Lamu, when it is recorded that the beds were entered by means of silver ladders (History of Pate, supra, p. 161).


stanza have three stresses, though occasionally they appear to have only two. The following is fairly typical:-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{St. 39 Nàve ipámbé libási,} \\
\text{Ukàd káma ‘arási,} \\
\text{Magúu tó kugási,} \\
\text{Na mskonóni makówa.}
\end{align*}
\]

St. 19 contains eight syllables to the line:-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wa-la si-tu-ku-c dha-na,} \\
\text{Kwa ma-mbo u-so-ya-o-na,} \\
\text{Na kwa-mba na ku-no-ng'o-na,} \\
\text{Ta-ha-dha-ri na-kwa-mbi-ya.}
\end{align*}
\]

They are quite correctly counted but, if read with sole attention to their number (in which case one tends to slide into an iambic rhythm), the verse would probably be unintelligible to a Swahili.

The arrangement of rhymes is that lines 1-3 rhyme together, with a different rhyme for each stanza, while line 4 carries the same final rhyme throughout the poem. In this instance the final rhyme is intended to be \( \text{-} \text{ya} \), which covers all words ending in \( \text{-ia} \), \( \text{-ea} \), as well as those actually ending in \( \text{-ya} \). But this rhyme is not carried out consistently. Six stanzas have the final rhyme in \( \text{la-aa} \), seventeen in \( \text{la-wa} \); but in the circumstances in which the poem was composed, these small inconsistencies are scarcely surprising.

\textit{Alice Werner}

London, 1934.
لقد وُلد الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم سنة 4هـ في المدينة المنورة. وفي السنة ذاتها، أُرسل الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى مكة حيث يقول: "إن الله يعمر الأرض يوماً وليلةً، ونحن نسبي 일ولًا، والقسم الآخر عليه رضواناً".

وذهب الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى مكة، حيث التقى بالهود الذين كانوا يعبدون الشيطان، ولزمنا على التزامه وتكوينه. ثم عاد إلى المدينة المنورة حيث ظهرت خلافة الخليفة عبد الملك بن مروان.

وكانت خلافة عبدالله بن عبد الملك للمدينة المنورة وقام بالثواب والغمار، فتم توزيع العقاقير على الناس، وتم تحفيزهم على الاعتقاد بالإخلاص والطاعون. وانتقلت المدينة المنورة إلى مكان آخر، حيث توقفت السفينة قبالة مكة.

وственно الكذب وعرفوه برنامج للثواب والغمار، وتم تحقيق الصداقات بينهم، وتم توزيع اللحوم على الناس، وتم تحفيزهم على الدعاء والاعتقاد بالإخلاص. وانتقلت المدينة المنورة إلى مكان آخر، حيث توقفت السفينة قبالة مكة.

وأعيدت المدينة المنورة إلى مكانها الأصلي، حيث توقفت السفينة قبالة مكة. وانتقلت المدينة المنورة إلى مكان آخر، حيث توقفت السفينة قبالة مكة.

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UTENDI WA MWANA KUPONA
THE ADVICE OF MWANA KUPONA
upon THE WIFELY DUTY
Negema, wangu binti,
Mchachefu hasanati.
Upulike wasiati.
Asaa ukazingatiya.

Maradhi yamenishika,
Hatta yametimu mwaka
Stiyapata kutamka
Neno lema kukwambiya.

Ndoo mbee ujilisi,
Na wino na karatasi.
Moyoni nina badisi
Nimependa kukwambiya.

Kisake kutakarabu,
Bisumillahi kutubu.
Umtaye na habibu,
Na sahabaze pamoya.
When you have thus acknowledged
The Name of God the Mighty,
Then let us pray for His bounty,
As He the Lord shall deem fit to us.

A son of Adam is nought,
And the world is not ours.
Nor is there any man
Who shall endure for ever.

My child, accept my advice,
Together with my blessing.
God, He will protect you,
That He may avert evil from you.

Take this amulet that I am giving you.
Fasten it carefully upon a cord,
Regard it as a precious thing,
That you may cherish it with care.

Let me string for you a necklace
Of pearls and red coral,
That I adorn you as a notable woman,
When it shines upon your neck.
Penda nikupe kifungo
Kizuri kisicho ongo,
U'vae katika shingo,
Utaona manufaa.

Yangu utakaposika,
Mwanangu, hutosumbuka.
Duniani utavuka,
Na Akhera utakiya.

La kwanda, kamata dini.
Faradhi ustikhini,
Na Suna ikimkini,
Ni Wajibu kuitiya.

Pili, uwa na adabu,
Na ulimi wa thawabu,
Uwe kitu mahabubu,
Kulla utakalongiya.

La tatu, uwa sadiki,
Ushikalo ulithiki.
Mtu asoshika baki,
Sandamane naye ndiya.

For love let me give you a clasp,
A beautiful one, without a flaw.
Let you wear it upon your neck,
And you shall perceive benefits.

While you shall hold to my counsel,
My child, you shall escape trouble.
You shall pass through this world,
And cross over to the life beyond.

In the first place, hold fast to the Faith,
Do not neglect to fulfil the Faradhi,
And the Sunnah, when they are possible,
And the Wajibu, to perform them.

Secondly, be of good behaviour,
With a discreet tongue,
That you be as one beloved,
Wheresoe’er you shall enter.

Thirdly, be truthful,
What you undertake, take pains to do.
A person who holds not to justice,
Let you not follow in his path.
Further, my child, learn how to behave
Before people of rank.
When you see them at any place,
    Hasten to pay them respect.
When they enter, do you rise up,
And let your heart rejoice.
Afterwards, conduct them forth,
    When they wish to go their way.
Let you make yourself entertaining,
By words that have not guile.
But do not make impertinent jokes,
    Which people dislike.
Talk with them cheerfully
Of things which give them pleasure,
But when words might give offence,
    It is better to hold oneself silent.
Neither maintain opinions
On matters you have not perceived,
As for gossiping and whispering,
    Be upon your guard, I tell you,
Sitangane na watumwa,
Illa mwida wa khuduma.
Watakuvutia tama, 
Labuda nimekwambiya.

Sandamane na wayinga, 
Wasoyua kuitunga. 
Ziumbe wazio changa, 
Wata kwakurubiya.

Mama, pulika maneno. 
Kitumbe ni radhi tano, 
Ndipo apate usono 
Wa Akbera na duniya.

Nda Mngu na mtumewe, 
Baba na mama wayue. 
Ya tano nda mumewe. 
Mno imekaririwa.

Nawe radhi mumeo. 
Siku zote mkaao. 
Siku mukbitariwao, 
Awe radhi mekuwiya.

Do not associate with slaves
Except during household affairs.
They will draw you into disgrace,
As, perhaps, I have told you.

Do not go about with foolish people,
Who know not to control themselves.
As to persons who have no modesty,
Avoid having contact with them.

Little mother, listen to this counsel.
For a woman there are five blessings,
Whereby she may obtain the peace
Of the next world and this.

They are of God and His Prophet,
Her father and mother, she must know.
The fifth is of her husband.
Much has this been affirmed.

Let your husband be content with you,
All the days that you dwell together.
On the Day on which ye are chosen,
May be be happy and bold it due to you.
Na usapo weve mbee,
Radhi yake izenge,
Wende utukuzie.
Ndipo upatapo ndiya.

Na siku usufuwaao,
Nadhari nda mumeo,
Taulizwa atakao,
Ndilo takalotendewa.

Kipenda wende Peponi,
Utapekwa dalibini.
Kinena wende Motoni,
Huna budi, utatiwa.

Keti naye kwa adabu.
Usimtie ghadhabu.
Akinena, simjibu;
Itabidi kunyamaa.

Enda naye kwa imani.
Atakalo simukhini.
We naye sikindaneni,
Mkindani huumiya.

And, should you die before him,
Do you seek his blessing,
That you may go forth exalted.
Thus shall you find the right road.

And on the Day of Resurrection,
The award is with your husband;
He will be asked what he shall wish,
And as he wishes, it shall be done.

If he wish that you go to Paradise,
You will forthwith be brought thither.
If he says that you go to the Fire,
Without escape you will be put there.

Live with him befittingly.
Do not provoke him to anger.
If he rebukes you, do not answer back;
Endeavour to control your tongue.

Keep faith with him.
That which he desires do not withhold.
You and he, dispute not together.
A quarreller always is hurt.
Kitoka, agana naye,
Kingia, mkongowee.
Kisa, umtandikie
   Mahala pa kupumua.

Kilala siikukuse,
Mwegeme, umpapase.
Na upepo, nasikose
   Mtu wa kumpepeya.

Kivikia simwondoe,
Wala sinene kwa yowe.
Keti papo, siinue,
   Chamka kakuzengeya.

Chamka stimubuli,
Mwandikie maakuli.
Na kumtunda muili,
   Kumsinga na kumowa.

Mnyoe, umpalilize,
Sharafa umtengeze.
Mkukize, mfukize,
   Bukwara wa ashiya.

When he goes out, take leave of him,
When he returns, pleasantly greet him.
Then let you set ready for him
   A place of ease-taking.

When he rests, do not betake yourself off.
Draw near to him, caress him.
And for cooling air, let him not lack
   A person to fan him.

When he sleeps, do not arouse him,
Nor let you speak with a loud voice.
Stay there; rise not from your place,
   That, waking, be need seek for you.

When he awakes, delay you not
To prepare for him a meal.
And to take care of his body,
   Perfuming him and bathing him.

Shave him, that his skin be smooth,
Let his beard be trimmed.
Let him enjoy ablution and incense,
   Morning and evening.
Mtunde kama kijana
Asioyua kunena.
Kitu changalie sana—
   Kitokacho na kungiya.

Mpumbaze apumbae,
Amriye sikatae.
Maovu kieta yeye,
   Mngu atakuteteya.

Mwanangu, siwe mkoo,
Tenda kama unao.
Kupea na knosha choo,
   Sidharau marra moya.

Na kowa na kuisinga,
Na nyee zako kufunga,
Na yasimini kutungu,
   Na firashani kutiya,

Nawe ipambe libasi,
Ukae kama 'arusi.
Maguu tia kugesi,
   Na mikononi makowa.

Look after him like a child
Who knows not how to speak.
One thing you must look well to—
   The household expenses and income.

Be gay with him, that he be amused,
Do not oppose his authority.
If he brings ill to you,
   God will defend you.

My child, be not a sloven.
Do as you see done.
To sweep and wash out a bathroom,
   Do not scorn to do it at once.

As to bathing and perfuming yourself,
And plaiting your hair,
And stringing jessamine blossoms,
   And strewing them upon the coverlet,

Do you adorn yourself with finery,
That you remain like a bride.
Put anklets upon your ankles,
   And bracelets upon your arms.
Na kidani na kifungo,  
Sitoe katika shingo.  
Muwili siwate mwengo  
Ya marashi na daliya.

Pete sitoe zandani,  
Hina sikome nyaani,  
Wanda siwate matoni  
Na nshini kuitiya.

Nyumba yako i nadhifu,  
Mumeo umsbarifu,  
Wakutanapo susufu,  
Msifu ukimweteya.

Moyowe alipendalo,  
Nawe ufuate lilo.  
Yambo lintukialo,  
Siwe mwenye kumweteya.

Ukutiwapo kutoka,  
Sharuti rubusa taka.  
Uonapo meubuka,  
Rudi na kuiketiya.

And the necklace and clasp,  
Remove them not from your neck.  
To your body deny not the fragrances  
Of rosewater and dalia powder.

The rings remove not from your fingers,  
Nor lack henna on your fingernails.  
Cease not to put wanda below your eyes  
And upon your eyebrows.

Let your house be well kept,  
That you honour your husband  
When people foregather there,  
And then you will bring him praise.

That which he desires in his heart,  
You, also, let you follow that.  
As for a matter offensive to him,  
Be you not the one to indulge it.

Whenever you need to go out,  
Be sure to ask leave.  
When you see that he is vexed,  
Return and sit you at home.
Fuata yake idhini,
Awe radhi kwa yakini.
Wala sikae ndian,
Saa ya 'ne ikasiya.

Wala sinene ndiani,
Sifunue shiraani.
Mato angalia tini,
Na uso utie haya.

Rejea upesi kwako,
Ukakae na bwanako.
Utengeze matandiko,
Mupate kuilaliya.

Na bwanako mtukuze,
Sifa zake u清净e,
Wala simshurutize
Asoweza kutukuwa.

Akupacho mpokeye,
Na moyo ufurahiye.
Asilotenda kwa ye ye,
Huna baja kumwambiya.

Wait upon his permission,
That he may truly be content.
Do not loiter by the way,
When the fourth hour has passed.

And do not gossip by the way,
Nor uncover from within the shira.
Let your eyes be downcast,
Your countenance let it be modest.

Return quickly to your home,
That you may sit with your lord.
Let you make ready cushions and rugs,
That you may take your ease together.

And your lord, let you exalt him,
His praises, spread them abroad,
But do not make obligations for him
Which he is unable to fulfil.

That which he gives you, accept from him
With a heart which rejoices.
What he does not of his own accord,
You have no need to tell him.
When you look upon his face,
Reveal your teeth in a smile.
That which he tells you, hold to it,
Except to rebel against the Highest.

My child, be not sharp-tongued.
Be you like me, your mother.
I was married ten years,
Yet we did not quarrel one single day.

I was wed by your father
With happiness and laughter.
We did not abase our mutual respect
All the days that we lived together.

Not one day did we quarrel.
He met with no ill from me,
And from him none did I encounter,
Unto the time he was chosen.

And when death came,
He repeatedly told me of his content,
And resigned himself to God in peace,
While my heart was filled with grief.
Tangu hapo hata yeo,
Stiyanamaa kilio.
Nikumbukapo punbao,
Na wingi wa mazoeya.
Watu wakipulikana,
Milele bukumbukana.
Ilia wenyu kushindana,
Milele hujiyitiya.
Mausio ya mvuli,
Allah Allah ya'amili.
Na nduguzo na abali,
Wapende nakusiya.
Uwaonapo sabibu,
Ambao wakunasibu,
Wakikwambia karibu,
Anguza kukurubiya.
Na wachandika chakula,
Uchambitwa nawe nla.
Wala siweke mubula,
Nyuma nyuma kurejeya.

From that time unto this day,
I yet cease not lamentation,
When I remember the ease,
And plenty of our accustomed life.

If people heed one another,
For ever they share fond memories.
But those who strive against each other,
Regret it for eternity.

The instructions of your husband,
With faithful care discharge them.
And your kindred and relations,
Love them, I adjure you.

Whenever you see friends,
Who are your equals by birth,
If they bid you welcome,
 Hasten to visit them.

And if they lay out a meal,
And you are asked, let you eat too.
But let you not leave a long delay,
Before returning to your home.
And do not be discourteous,
Eat until you are satisfied.
If not yet content, do not confess it,
When told that the dish be removed.

All people who are safe to trust
At your home, then let them be friends.
Do not be fond of quarrelsome people,
Overcome them by avoiding them.

Do not love those who affect elegance
With the arrogance of wealth,
While it despises the poor,
And disparages to them their lot.

She who loves you, love her.
She who dislikes you, go to her,
By kindness disperse her ill-feeling,
Mayhap she will be appeased.

And when there comes one in need,
My child, to you, do not embarrass him.
With what skill you are able,
Hasten to assist him.
Mama, baya yasikize,
Tafadhali sinipuze.
Utaona nafwize,
   Za akbera na duniya.

Tamati maneno yangu,
Kukuusia, mwanangu.
Sasa tanuomba Mngu,
   Anipokelee dua.

Kwani yote tunenao,
Mwana Adamu ni puo.
Mola ndiye Awerzao,
   Kupoteza na kongowa.

Nakuombawe Manani,
Untilie aunii,
Ninenayo ulimini,
   Na yote nisoyatowa.

Yote nimezoyanena,
Rabbi, takabali minna,
Na yasalizyo tena,
   Nakuomba nitendeya.

My child, hearken to these words.
I pray you, do not ignore me.
You will behold the advantage of them,
   For the life to come and for this.

This is the end of my words,
Directing you, my daughter.
Now will I entreat God,
   That He receive of me a prayer.

For all that we may say,
A child of Adam is but empty folly.
The Lord, He it is Who is Powerful,
   To destroy and to preserve.

I pray Thee, O Beneficent One,
Grant to me aid,
For the words that are upon my tongue,
   And for all that are in my heart.

All things of which I have spoken,
O Lord, receive in trust for me.
And as to those which remain unsaid,
   I pray Thee, grant to me favour.
Niwekea wangu wana,
Na umbu langu, mnuna,
Yakue yao ma'ina,
Yenee majimbo piya.

Rabbi, waweke nduzangu,
Na wana wao na wangu,
Wenee na ulimwengu,
Kwa jamali na sitawa.

Na jamii Isilamu,
Mola wangu wa Rahamu,
Matakwa yao yatimu,
Nyoyo zikifurahiya.

Ya Allahu! Wangu wana,
Nimekupa ni amana.
Watunde Mola Rabbana,
Siwate kuwangaliya.

Nimekupa duniani,
Watunde Uwahizini,
Unipe kesho Peponi,
Mbee za Tumwa Nabiya.

Take for me into Thy care my children,
And my kinsman, a young brother,
That their names may endure,
And spread abroad in all lands.

O Lord, preserve Thou my kindred,
And their children and mine,
May they increase in this world,
With grace and prosperity.

And the company of Islam,
O my Lord of Mercy,
May their needs be fulfilled,
That their hearts may rejoice.

O Lord God, my children
I have given to Thee in trust.
Protect them, O Lord and Master,
Cease not to look upon them.

I have given them to Thee in this world,
That Thou protect and cherish them,
Grant them to me hereafter in Heaven,
In the presence of the Holy Prophet.
Look upon them with compassion, 
Guide them in the right path, 
Remove them from the troubles 
Of the next life and this.

To Thee I cease not to pray, 
Nor still I my tongue. 
O Comforter and Protector, 
Bring me to the end of my sufferings.

As I stand, a suppliant, 
Yield to me readily, force not upon me 
A death without the blessings 
Of pardon and salvation.

Remove from me the evil malady, 
Which has forcibly seized upon me. 
My sins and ill-doings, 
O Lord, forgive to me.

Although things be hard for us to bear, 
Yet to Thee they are but small matters. 
Take from me the fever of sickness, 
Mayest Thou relieve me speedily.
Nakuombawe Latifa,
Unondolee mikhaja,
Kwa Yaumu li'Arafat,
Na Ili ya udhibiya.

Kwa siku hizi tukefu,
Za kubiji na kutuifu,
Niafu, Rabbi, niafu,
Unishubize afuwa,

Ya Allahu! Ya Allahu!
Ya Rabbahu! Ya Rabbahu!
Ya Ghayata Ragbhatabu!

Nakumbawe Rabbana,
Bi'asmaika 'l Husuna,
Tis'aa wa tis'ina,
Mia kupungua moya,

Nipulishie walimu,
Wakinamba, "Fabamu:
Dua hini Isilamu,
Akiomba burudiwa."

I pray to Thee, the All-Kind,
Ward off from me fears,
By reason of the Day of Arafat,
And the Festival of the Sacrifice.

By these glorious days,
Of the Pilgrimage and the Kaaba,
Save me, O Lord, save me,
Send down to me deliverance.

O God! O God!
O Lord! O Lord!
O Fulfilment of all desire!
Answer me as I call upon Thee.

I call upon Thee, O Lord God,
By Thy beautiful Names,
Nine and ninety,
One hundred less one.

So let me hearken to the learned
As they tell me, "Know thou:
This prayer of the Faith,
If one prays, ever is it granted."
Nani mjaa dhaifu,
Mwenge nyingi takalufu,
Nakuomba takhaaffi,
Rabbi nitakhaaffiya.

Nakuomba taisiri,
Mambo nisoyakadi,
Ungeeshe kulla kheri,
Ovu Ukinepuliya.

Ya Rabbi, nitimiliiza,
Mambo nistyoyaweza,
Wala noya nisowaza,
Amba yatasikiliya.

Rabbi, Unisurabise,
Mambo mema Ungeeshe,
Maovu Uyagurise,
Tusikutane pamoza.

Uniwke duniyani,
Miongo ya wahusini,
Nifapo nende Peponi,
Makao ya hafidhiya.

And I, who am Thy poor handmaiden,
One burdened with many troubles,
I pray Thee, lighten them,
O Lord, do Thou unburden me.

I pray to Thee in haste,
As to matters of which I cannot judge,
Do Thou bring to me every happiness,
Mayest Thou deliver me from evil.

O Lord, fulfill for me,
Matters which I cannot accomplish,
Nor can I think of even one of them,
That they shall come to pass.

Lord, do Thou cause me to rejoice,
The good do Thou bring near to me,
The evil mayest Thou remove from me,
That we meet not together.

Do Thou keep me safe in this world,
Among the number of the Faithful,
That when I die, I may go to Paradise,
The abiding-place of the Saved.
I have composed this poem
Amid trouble and grief,
By Thy dispensation, O Judge,
And by Thy decrees, All High.

I have composed it in sickness;
My heart without understanding.
Read it, O True Believers,
That ye may follow the true path.

And the reason for composing,
Is not poesy nor minstrelsy.
I have a young innocent child,
And I wish to instruct her.

And I desire to warn her,
That, mayhap, she shall realise,
And follow the Lord God,
Together with her man.

Read ye, all ye women,
So that ye may understand;
That ye may bear no blame,
In the presence of God the Highest.
Somani mite ya nganu,
Mtii waume wemtu,
Mustipatwe na zitum,
Za Akbera na duniya.

Mwenye kutii mvuli,
Ndake jaha na jamali,
Kulla endapo mahali,
Hutangaa na kweneya.

Mwenye kutunga nudhumu,
Ni gharibu mwanye hamu.
Na ubora wa ithimu,
Rabbi tanghufiriya.

Na bawite idadi,
Ni miate wa wakeli,
Na mbili za mazidadi,
Ndizo zimezozidiya.

Tamat aun Illahi.

---

Read ye, who are as sprouts of wheat,
Obey ye your menfolk,
That ye be not touched by the sorrows,
Of the after-life and of this.

She who obeys her husband,
Hers are power and the gift to please.
Whereas ever she shall go,
Her fame is published abroad.

She who composed this poem,
Is one lonely and sorrowful.
And the greatest of her sins,
Lord, Thou wilt forgive her.

And the number of its verses,
Is one hundred and one,
With two in addition,
Which are those which are added.

Completed with the help of God.
### APPENDIX I.

**Conspicuous of the Manuscripts**

Six manuscripts of *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona* have been collated for this translation. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Source and Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k³</td>
<td>Ms., written by Muhamadi Kijuma and believed to have been copied by him from a Ms., in the possession of Nana Chema binti Diwani, of Pato, shown and read by her to Prof. Werner at Lamu in 1912. This Ms., is reproduced in facsimile in <em>Harvard African Studies</em>, Vol. I., pp. 146-181; Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. The Ms., was sent to America in 1916, and its present whereabouts are unknown. For the purposes of this collation the facsimile print has been referred to. Title: <em>Utendi wa Mwana Kupona</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k²</td>
<td>Ms., written by Muh. Kijuma, subsequently to k³, and now in the archives of the Seminar für Afrikanische Sprachen, University of Hamburg, loaned to us in 1933 by the courtesy of Professor Carl Meinhold. Title: <em>Utendi wa Mwana Kupona</em>. On title-page: Hii ni khabari ya mwanaume alizaa kijana umwania ambako aksumwaniika mutiyo kimwuniya kiketi na mume sana panjika na watu wengine na ta laake Mwana Kupona - alotonga utendi buni. [These are dika of a woman who bore a child, a daughter, and wrote for her instructions, instructing her to live well with her husband and with other people; and her name was Mwana Kupona, she who composed this poem.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k¹</td>
<td>Ms., obtained from Lamu by Sheikh Mbarak Ali Hinawy, in an effort to trace the “missing” verses; written by Muhamadi Kijuma in 1933, with a transliteration by Sheikh Mbarak Ali Hinawy. Title: <em>Halisi ya Mwana Kupona binti Sheikh Muhammad Mataka</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| k⁴ | Ms., with interlinear annotations and thumb-nail sketches, and end-pages of notes. Written by Muh. Kijuma in 1933. One stanza (fl. 8), seems to have been omitted accidentally by the scribe in process of copying. Title: *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*. A note at end reads: Sheikh Muhammad Mataka (halis Muhammad bin
Is-haq bin Mbarak, al izqwa Siu katika mukhad ya Sheikh Abubakar bin Salim; na kufa alysya Pate.” [Sheikh Muhammad Mataka (correctly Muhammad bin Is-haq bin Mbarak), was buried at Siu in the mausoleum of Sheikh Abubakar bin Salim; but he died at Pate.]

M. Ms., written by or at the direction of Sheikh Mbarak 98 stanzas Ali Hinawy, with a transliteration, 1933.

Title: Utendi wa Mwana Kupona amatunga Mwana Kupona binti Mhambu kumumia binti yakho Mwana Hatima binti Sheikh Mataka wamantu katika mwezi 9 dhul ¡Haj 1275. [The poem of Mwana Kupona composed by Mwana Kupona binti Mhambu to instruct her daughter Mwana Hatima binti Sheikh Mataka on 9th Dhul ¡Haj 1275 (10th July 1898.]

F. Ms., and transliteration made circa 1890-91, as to the 97 stanzas.

Swahili script, by Kombo bin Msham, or by Josef Friedrich, a German engineer then at Lamu, and as to the transliteration, by Friedrich. Loaned by Professor Carl Meinhold. The Ms., from which this was copied appears to have been obtained from Muhammad bin Abdallah bin Muhammad I'jahdhumiya of Lamu, now deceased, commonly known as 'Boki' and referred to in a note, "erhalten von Boki," on Friedrich's Ms.

No title, but the lines:

イスラームサラムアリーメッカアリーモリック

with the transliteration:

Bismillah arrahman arrabbi wa bii nasabnu.

At end:

وكذالك يحضر الكانك في عينين

for wa kadhalika yajtabika Rabuka wa yu'allimag. Quran, 12.6.

All these MSS. agree with the version here printed except in the following more important individual variations:

* F. 43.4. Sawa umwene kulingya. kM. . . .
  * F. 43.3.4. Omitted
  * F. 55. Na wama wa mazaya. kM. sungi . . .
  * F. 56.4. Daima huymiya.
  * F. 64.3. Kwa wuwendo mpaji.
  * F. 65.4. Zisizo kutindiyi.
  * F. 69. After this fl. in v, follow the lines:

with a transliteration:

Rabbona laturias kubana badha ishadi tana wababu
lana min la dasha rahamata inaka intalo wababu.

[For Rabbona la nazhigah ulebana ba'da itahadidana wababu
lana min ladunka rahmatan inaka inta wababu. Quran, 3.6.]

This is underlined, with a pencil note, "rot", indicating that in the original Ms., it was written in red, as is usual with Quranic quotations. We have to thank Sheikh Abdul Majid, of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, for his kindness in identifying these lines.

* F. 70.4. Yatangeje na dunia.
  * F. 73.4. Kwa riziki na afya.
  * F. 74.2. Wabashiti wabijini.
  * F. 79a. After fl. 79 the following stanza occurs in F.

Mia kutumuna hadhibi, [Thy] slave of serving tires not,
Wala kanzu istibi, Nor does she say, "I do not wish.
Ilana baada ya dhiki, But, after trouble,
Sasa faraji Jalia. Now comfort, All High.

* F. 93.3. Kitkiya kwa Ilahi.
  * F. 93.4. Jalia wa'ala jalia.

On this expression see Glossary, s.v. Jalia.

* F. 95 & 96. Omitted

* F. 98. Na bairrizi 'idadi
  * F. 98. Omitted
  * Ni nitatu mudi
  * Ngi zonge za majadidi,
  * Fadhamuni zinungeni.
After s. 98, in MSS., k⁵ and k⁴ are the following verses:

99. Akbera uma zikali,
    Ukiminti mweni,
    Huna budi utanali,
    Itanyeka yaho nadiya.

In the next world, where are terrors,
If you obey your husband,
You cannot but obtain [a blessing],
Your way will be straightened.

100. Wanangu Wailamu,
     Ninayo nbikimu,
     Mutinjeko yatlima,
     Na Zeponi mutanginya.

O my children of Islam,
Attend to the words that I speak,
If you fulfil them completely,
Then into Paradise you shall enter.

101. Mvuli kulla nanna,
     Sikkalifu akiena,
     Na Mola wete Rabbana,
     Radhi atakulieya.

A husband — in every circumstance,
Do not oppose him when he speaks,
Then God our Lord,
Favour will show to you.

102. Na bunu wasia wanyu,
     Kwa nduzungu na wanangu,
     Atawafaqz Magu,
     Kwa Akbera na duniya.

And this exhortation of mine,
For my kindred and my children,
God, He will requite them,
As to the life to come and this.

103. Mola tatusabiliya,
     Kwa baraka ya Nabiyi,
     Na Sababaze panoya,
     Dini walaettaya.

The Lord will yield case to us,
Through the blessing of the Prophet,
And of his Companions as well,
Who defended the Faith.

104. Tarikhiye kwa yakini,
     Alifu wa miyateni,
     Khansa wa sab’ini,
     Hitzi zinu hijiriya.

The date of this correctly,
Is one thousand two hundred
And seventy-five,
Of these years of ours to the Hejra.

It will be noted that whereas s. 98 states that the verses of the poem number ‘miate wa wahdi wa mbili za makudali,’ which has been taken to mean a total of 103 verses, yet MSS., k⁵, k⁴ and m., have 98 verses only, F., contains 97 (actually 96½), while the above verses (purporting to be the five verses that would appear to be missing), make a total of 104, or one more than the required number.

As already explained (p.22), the omission of an indicative passage may account for the discrepancy between 103 and 98. The redundant s. 104, also, may be merely a “date-line” added by a copyist. Even so, it seems unlikely that the missing verses would follow consecutively at the end of s. 98. Moreover, the style of s. 99—104 suggests that they are of different authorship. They must be regarded as of doubtful authenticity.

APPENDIX II.

The Petition of Binti Sheikh

Lamu, 30/9/30.

I have already informed Mr. Whitton, Justice of the Peace, to send my news to the great officers of the Government regarding my work, which I did with my clear heart in the Government, when I was in great hope that the Government would recognise my work which I offered to them. My work I did as under—

Two young men were imprisoned, and they were the sons of Sheikh Omar bin MatakA; their names were Muhammad bin Omar and Sheikh MatakA bin Omar. They were imprisoned by Mr. Rogers in Lamu Fort. Their father, Sheikh Omar bin MatakA, had run away to the mainland with a great number of people and he had made much trouble at the mainland to the inhabitants, as same as the Siu people; the Liwali of Siu, Omar bin Isa, could not stay at Siu and he came to Lamu, and one Akida Abdullah bin Selim was sent to Siu. The late Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Rogers, had sent people to the mainland several times to Sheikh Omar bin MatakA in order to make peace with him. Afterwards he instructed the late Liwali of Lamu, Abdullah bin Hamed, to go to the mainland and make peace, and he failed to go owing to great hostility. Mr. Rogers came to my house and said that he came in order to send me in purpose of the Government’s work.

He said that he knew that I could not afford this as I was a woman, but there was no help but to send me, and as Sheikh Omar bin MataKA is my brother, there was no one who could talk with him as well as I. He had prepared a boat to take me to Siu and from there to send some men to the mainland with my letter to my brother asking him to come and make peace. And he said that if peace was made and guns were returned to Government and he [Omar] came to Siu, the Government would be glad because they did not want trouble to be made on the mainland—“so if this is done and the Government becomes grateful, you will be given a reward.” I followed Mr. Roger’s requests and I left with my son and husband for Siu and from there I sent my husband and son and my nephews to the mainland with my letter to my brother Sheikh Omar bin MataKA who wanted his sons to be released from prison and I sent a letter to Mr. Rogers asking him to release the sons of Sheikh Omar from prison and let them stay at Lamu.
until Omar returned to Siu; and to take away Akida Abdullah bin Salim from Siu because fitina [intrigue] increased when he was at Siu, and many people had moved from Siu to the mainland owing to his fitina. Mr Rogers released the sons of Sheikh Omar b. Mataka and allowed them to stay at Lamu, and he took away Akida Abdullah b. Salim from Siu. I informed my brother that his sons were released, and that they would stay at Lamu till he came back to Siu and gave up all the guns; that was the Government’s request. He agreed with my advice......so I came back to Lamu and he sent me all the guns and I handed them over to Mr Rogers who had them broken and put them all in the sea in front of the Customs House, and Sheikh Omar bin Mataka came back to Siu. Mr Rogers gave me a certificate for my work which was taken by the Interpreter to Mr Harding, Salim bin Azan, to shew to Mr Harding. Afterwards Mr Rogers called me to go to take my certificate as it had been returned by Mr Harding and he informed me that he would start soon from Lamu for Zanzibar.

But at that time I was ill......and my son was away, and when Mr Rogers went away I kept quiet because I had means. My husband was alive and my son was employed......but now I am an old woman. I am ninety years of age and ill; my husband has died and my son lost the Government’s work owing to illness and he cannot do any other work; so I became poor. For this reason I have communicated to the Government my request and I hope that the Government will remember me and give me something.

The above mentioned information was known to all the people of Siu and others who have served the Government since they were young men till they became old men and retired. Also I made peace at Jongeni but failed to complete it because the inhabitants were bad people. As far as I know if anyone serves the Government, he is usually given something as reward or pension, and I did a great work for the Government and I hope that the Government will not cast me aside, for I am an old woman now, of old age and poor.

BINTI SHEIKH MATAKA

[Mr Whitton states that the above translation (slightly abridged), was made by an Arab clerk, and adds, “I had frequently urged her case, but unfortunately she did not begin to press until after Mr Rogers’ death, and so lost the services of her best advocate.”]
It will be noted that, like the Utendi, this poem consists of 4-line stanzas, but with the difference that the line contains 16 mizan or syllables (as compared with 8 in the Utendi), and also carries a secondary internal rhyme, thus: [a], [a], [b], [b], [c], which adds to the attractiveness of the verse as well as to the difficulty of composition. As in the Utendi, the fourth lines carry a final rhyme, in this case -ct, throughout the poem.
Glossary

1. Y answers to ji in Kiamu, while in Kimvita and Kimrima it is omitted between vowels, as in-
   a. 14. ndiya
   b. 19. stikue
   c. 45. ati

2. L-likewise answers to ji, as in-
   a. 5. nua
   b. 17. isfanye
   c. 33. stimbuli

3. Nd-answers to jf, and -nd- to -nz-, as in-
   a. 1. yambo
   b. 2. siyapata
   c. 21. wayinga

4. Dental t answers to ch as in-
   a. 19. stikue
   b. 45. ati
   c. 36. kista
   d. 33. stimbuli

5. L is omitted between vowels, as in-
   a. 2. mbe
   b. 49. astilota
   c. 45. ati

Note on the Lamu Dialect

The following are the chief differences as exhibited by the poem, between Kiamu, the older and purer Swahili spoken in Lamu, and the dialects, Kimvita, Kimunguja and Kimrima, of Mombasa, Zanzibar and the coast of the Tanganyika Territory respectively.

The following abbreviations have been used:-

- Ar.—Arabic.
- v.a.—active verb.
- adj.—adjective.
- v.n.—passive verb.
- adv.—adverb.
- syn.—synonym.
- s.—subjective.
- s.m.—subjective.
- s.p.—subjective.
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### Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kutubi</strong></td>
<td>v. imp. “write”, from Ar. <em>aktab</em>, imperative of <em>katub</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>La’ala</strong></td>
<td>adv. perhaps; Ar. <em>لَا لَ،</em> cf. <em>asaa</em>. Appendix I. 8.1.4.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Latifa</strong></td>
<td>s. the Benignant; one of the Divine Attributes.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>’L-Hami</strong></td>
<td>“the One who careth for you”; Ar. <em>hamma</em>, think of, be intent upon, be anxious to do.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mabubu</strong></td>
<td>s. beloved; Ar. مَسْجِد. A passive verbal noun from حَتَبَ to love.</td>
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<td><strong>Mama</strong></td>
<td>s. mother; but also used as a term of endearment. Children are commonly addressed as <em>mama</em> or <em>papa</em>, (father), <em>buwana mikubwa</em>, (master), <em>bibi</em>, (mistress), &amp;c., and although the Swahili attach no special significance to the custom it is evidently derived from inland tribes who confine it to children named after their grandparents, a usage resting on the early belief that the grandparent is reincarnated in the grandchild.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mchacheju</strong></td>
<td>s., a person of little account. Mt. <em>mwewe ma-maidbo maageko</em>, Ahm. A personal noun formed from -<em>chache</em> adv. (a little, a few, not many), with the adj. terminal suffix <em>ji</em>. Cf. -<em>tatatsi</em>, -<em>pungu</em>, <em>nwogezi</em>, -<em>rufu</em>, adj., long, is similarly from -<em>re</em> (= -<em>le</em>), the common Bantu stem, “long”; cf. <em>maji male</em> = <em>maji mapevi</em> = spring tide: Tiri, p. 80-1, and p. 86, note.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mikhafa</strong></td>
<td>s. pl. of <em>mikha</em>; Kr., “a thing to fear, danger.” From Ar. مَخَفْ (Kr. and M.) seems to be the same word in a more Bantuised form.</td>
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<td><strong>Minna</strong></td>
<td>“from us”; Ar. مَنْ.</td>
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<td><strong>Miongo</strong></td>
<td>s. assemblages (of people), pl. of <em>mwongo</em>, M.</td>
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<td><strong>Mkini</strong></td>
<td>v.n., “be possible”; from Ar. مِكِنْ (Kr. and M.) iv.</td>
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<td><strong>Mununa</strong></td>
<td>s. Kiamb. younger brother. Sig. p. 53.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Muhula</strong></td>
<td>v.n. to set a period of time; from Ar. مَهْلُ to act slowly.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Muyinga</strong></td>
<td>s. Kiamb. for <em>myinga</em>, M. q.v., but here used in the more restrained sense of “one inexperienced, innocent”.</td>
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<td><strong>Mvuli</strong></td>
<td>s. Kiamb. = <em>mune</em>, man, male; cf. <em>mvulana</em>, a young man, one of the few instances of this diminutive suffix in Swahili.</td>
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<td><strong>Mwengo</strong></td>
<td>s. scent; syn: <em>harufu nguzi</em>, manukato. Abd.</td>
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<td><strong>Mwida</strong></td>
<td>s. Kiamb. = <em>muda</em>, space of time.</td>
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<td><strong>Nabihi</strong></td>
<td>see <em>rabbibi</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nabibi</strong></td>
<td>v. to warn; from Ar. <em>نايَت</em>, perceive, pay attention to, of which the second form, <em>nabbaha</em>, means “warn”.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nasibu</strong></td>
<td>v. to be related to; Ar. نَسِبُ 3rd form of <em>اسبُ</em>, “trace a pedigree”. Kijuma glosses this word “sawasawa na wewe”, to be understood here as of “equal birth”.</td>
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<td><strong>Ndwe</strong></td>
<td>s. for <em>ndwile</em>, pains of sickness; Kr.</td>
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<td><strong>Nla</strong></td>
<td>eat; Kiamb. imperative form of <em>kala</em>, v. to eat.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nudiha</strong></td>
<td>s. poem, from Ar. <em>nadhama</em>, compose, arrange.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nyote</strong></td>
<td>Kiamb. for <em>nyote</em>, all of you.</td>
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<td><strong>Ongo</strong></td>
<td>s. flaw, blemish; cf. “nguo gizo ongo, ... na kusuto zizayo ziongo,” v.3 of Liongo’s song, The Liongo Saga, Vol. I.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Owa</strong></td>
<td>v.n. Kiamb. = <em>ega</em>, bathe, but here used as a transitive verb = <em>oga</em> = <em>ogeye</em>.</td>
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<td><strong>Rabahu</strong></td>
<td>s. “O Lord!” from Ar. رَبُّ “He is the Lord”.</td>
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<td><strong>Rabbana</strong></td>
<td>s. our Lord; Ar. رَبُّ is the possessive suffix of the 1st pers. pl.</td>
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<td><strong>Rabbi</strong></td>
<td>s. from Ar. Rabb, the Divine Being; cf. Muham., p. 411x.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Raghbatahu</strong></td>
<td>Ar. رِجَبُ “thou hast supplicated him”. Here used in the sense of “He who is supplicated”.</td>
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<td><strong>Rahamu</strong></td>
<td>s. The Merciful: Ar. Rahim.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rijaa</strong></td>
<td>s. ‘man’, Ar. <em>rijal</em>, pl. of <em>ragul</em>, man.</td>
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<td><strong>Sahaba</strong></td>
<td>s. the Companions of the Prophet. The suffix -<em>ze</em> (= <em>zaka</em>, his) shows that the word is plural; from Ar. صَابِب, pl. of <em>zahab</em>, companion.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sakimu</strong></td>
<td>v. Ar. صَابِب, to be ill.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Shakiri</strong></td>
<td>v. = <em>karishaba</em>, to be satisfied (with food). Possibly from <em>shaba</em>, to thank.</td>
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</table>
shiraa, s. a walking-out canopy used by women at Lamu. Possibly from شرَأِع, sail of a ship. The shiraa is a kind of light tent supported from the inside on poles or on light canes, two at the front and two behind. A servant walks holding up the fore part, a pole in each hand and another servant likewise supports the rear, while the lady walks in the space between them. In former days, silken shiraa borne on silver-shod poles, were carried by slave-girls over their mistresses; now cotton print is used. A woman without slaves will walk in a shiraa supported by two sticks held fanwise in her hand. The first sight of a shiraa in a narrow Lamu lane suggests a small vessel in full sail. It seems peculiar to Lamu, where it takes nine days of perfect tawqfa. Cf. Sale: Koran, p. 93; and Muh. Ali: Koran, ii.198.

sikilia, v. Kiamu, مَكْيَلَا, come to pass, arrive, happen. 85

TAKALUFE, s. troubles; from Ar. كَتْفَأ, to take up a burden; 5th form of كَتْفَأ

TAKARABU, approach; Ar. كَتْرَة 5th form of وَرَة, be near. 4

Tamati, v.n. the end; Ar. تَمَتَتُ. 66

-toto, adj. Kiumu, مَهْدَة, Kimv. Kiung., small. Here used with mambo understood. 79

TUFU, v. go round, (i.e. circumambulate the Kaaba); from Ar. طُفِكَة tawafa.

tukufu, adj. exalted, majestic, glorious. Siku bizi subshif here implies the “sacred days set apart for the pilgrimage to Mekkah”—“The pilgrimage is performed in the well-known months”, Shawwal, Dhu'l-Qa'dah, and the first nine days of Dhu'l-Hijjah. Cf. Muh. Ali, p.34.

tungile = nungile = ninetungia, I have composed; Klam. old perfect tense in -le. See Tr. p.166.

udhinyaa, s. "victim", here meaning "sacrificial victim"; Ar. 80

from ضَرْعَة, "slaughter a victim in the forenoon.

Glossary

UMI, s. mother, from Ar. مَيَ. 51

USONO, s. rest, peace, security, safety. An archaic word. It occurs in a song of the Manda people:-

Tuli kwetu Manda twali tukitenda, 22
Yeо tukitendw twakataa kwani?
Matupa ikuta watapatapeta,
Kutwa ni kuteta hatuna usono.

Strigand reproduces this song in his Land of Zinf, p. 43, but the final line of his coupler reads:–

Kutwa ni kuteta hatuna amani. [peace]

thus bearing out the meaning.

uvukuto, s. feverishness in illness, "moto wumbo, jasbo la moto"; cf. Kr. and M. 79

vike, subj. of vika, v. wear. Properly a neuter passive, but often used in the sense of "to clothe". Visha has the specialised meaning "to clothe with new clothes".

wafrika, v. suit to or for. Applied form of wafiki, Kr. q.v. 5


wasiati, s. injunction, last will; Ar. الوصَى wasiyat. 1

wayub, 3rd p. sing. subj. of kuuya (Kiam.) = kuuya, to know: 23

yasmin, s. jasmine; two kinds are aif and tandaufi. 38

yaumu-li-arafa, "the day of 'Arafat", i.e. the 9th day of Dhu'l-Hijjah on which pilgrims visit the hill 'Arafat, six hours east of Mekkah. Cf. Sale: Koran, p.93; and Muh. Ali: Koran, ii.198.

zahimu, s. oppression, distress; from مَكْحُوْرَة, to press, confine. 90

zanda(ni), Kiam. pl. of chanda = wyanda, Kimv.; fingers. 41

zingatia, v.n. follow diligently, apply oneself to; "ukugenka, 1

ukfikir" (Muh. Kijuma); cf. Stg. pp. 73, 78, 86.

zitunu, s. Kium. pl. of kitumu, pain, distress; cf. Tr. p. 87, 90

No. 375, ku-tunna, to scarify; cf. M. chuna.
CORRIGENDA TO MAP

For Patta read Pate, and for Siyu read Siu.
For Siwa, where marked on the east of the island, read Faza.
For Sella read Shela.
For Fungo Zombo read Funga Zombo.
For Mombasas read Mambo sasa. It was the last camp before entering the forests, which, in days byegone, were infested with robbers—hence its name, meaning, "now we're in for it!"

The three islands to the north-east of Pate are Uvondo, Ndao, and Kiwayu (wrongly marked as Fazi—for Faza).