【Source Material】

A Letter from Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī to a Fulani Muslim Community in Bornu*

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Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī (d. 1837) was a Kanembu Muslim scholar who supported the Bornu government and came into conflict with the early Sokoto Caliphate around 1808. It is well known that al-Kānemī corresponded with the leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate, which included ʻUthmān b. Fūdī (d. 1817), founder of the Caliphate, and Muḥammad Bello (d. 1837), his son and successor. Earlier studies repeatedly refer to this correspondence as one of the most significant sources for analyzing the conflict between the Bornu government and ʻUthmān's *jamāʻa* (community) as well as examining the rationale followed by both parties regarding the validity of the jihad. However, al-Kānemī is also known to have written many other letters. In this paper, I examine one such letter that al-Kānemī wrote on Saturday, May 14, 1808 to the leaders of a Fulani Muslim community, who were waging jihad in support of ʻUthmān's movement in the southern part of Bornu at the time.

In this letter, al-Kānemī posited that the people of Bornu could be classified into four categories according to their faith. Based on this argument, he censured the Fulani Muslim community for raids on the Bornu people because, according to his argument, it was difficult for those attempting the raids to discern the difference between each category, and they could wrongly attack "righteous" Muslims who were not legitimate targets of jihad according to Islamic law. This has important implications in examining the theoretical conflict between al-Kānemī and the leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate because the latter also used the classification of people in Hausaland and Bornu according to their faith to justify the jihad.

Previous studies analyzed this letter by referring to a single manuscript. However, I have edited and translated the Arabic text by referring to three manuscripts, including two others that were found during my research at the Kenneth Dike Library of the University of Ibadan in 2018.

1. Classification of People in Bornu
2. Sources for Editing the Arabic Text and Its Translation

Text
Translation

Keywords: Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī, Bornu, ʻUthmān b. Fūdī, Sokoto Caliphate, Jihad

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1. Classification of People in Bornu

ʻUthmān b. Fūdī (d. 1817), a Fulani Muslim intellectual and founder of the Sokoto Caliphate, initiated jihad against the state of Gobir, one of the Hausa states in Hausaland, in 1804. In a short period of time, ʻUthmān and his *jamāʻa* (community) expanded the battle lines and commenced their jihad against Hausa states other than Gobir as well as the surrounding areas. In support of ʻUthmān's movement, moreover, Muslim communities in Bornu (located adjacent to Hausaland) declared jihad against their ruler. After those Muslim communities seized the capital of Bornu in 1808, its ruler requested Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī (d. 1837), a Kanembu Muslim intellectual who had defeated a Fulani Muslim community in Ngala, south of Lake Chad, to assist in the reconquest of the capital (Brenner 1973: 31–33). As a result, al-Kānemī became embroiled in the conflict between the Bornu government and ʻUthmān's *jamāʻa* and bore the brunt of the fight against the early Sokoto Caliphate, both physically and ideologically.

It is well known that al-Kānemī exchanged letters with ʻUthmān and Muḥammad Bello (d. 1837), his son and successor. In the correspondence recorded in Muḥammad Bello's important work, *Infāq al-maysūr*, while the leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate claimed that their jihad against the ruler of Bornu and his followers was justified because they were considered apostate unbelievers, al-Kānemī vehemently denied this claim (Muḥammad Bello 1951: 121–174). Their discussion in the correspondence helps us determine the rationale followed by both parties regarding the validity of the jihad. Therefore, previous studies repeatedly refer to this correspondence as one of the most significant sources for analyzing the conflict between the Bornu government and ʻUthmān's *jamāʻa*. However, it is also known that al-Kānemī's letters, other than this correspondence, have been preserved in the form of manuscripts (Hunwick 1995: 385–387). This paper presents an examination of one such letter that al-Kānemī wrote on Saturday, May 14, 1808 to the leaders of a Muslim community waging jihad against the Bornu government at the time.

This letter has been mentioned in multiple studies (Brenner 1973; Brenner 1979; Brenner 1992; Last and Al-Hajj 1965). In particular, Louis Brenner, who published detailed studies on the relationship between the early Sokoto Caliphate and Bornu, recognized the importance of this letter and presented its English translation as an appendix to one of his articles (Brenner 1992: 39–41).[1)] However, he did not present the original Arabic text. In addition, he referred to only one manuscript held at the Kenneth Dike Library of the University of Ibadan (reference number: 82/237) for translation. According to a comprehensive catalog of Arabic writings from central *Sūdān*, which was compiled by J.O. Hunwick and published in 1995, no copy of this letter, other than the one Brenner referred

1) Brenner indicates that this letter was dated *rabīʻ al-awwal* 17, 1223 AH (May 13, 1808 AD), which fell on a Friday. However, since al-Kānemī wrote at the end of the letter, "I have written this letter on Saturday [when] seventeen days have passed in Allah's month, *rabīʻ al-awwal*, in 1223 AH," the date of the completion of this letter was probably Saturday, *rabīʻ al-awwal* 18, 1223 AH, which was May 14, 1808 AD.

to, exists (Hunwick 1995: 386). However, two other manuscripts were found during my research at the Kenneth Dike Library in 2018. Considering the significance of this source in historical studies of the early Sokoto Caliphate and Bornu, it is meaningful to examine multiple manuscripts and edit the Arabic text based on them. Moreover, upon examining the manuscripts, including those recovered in my research, I found that certain points in Brenner's translation required revision. Therefore, I edited the Arabic text of this letter and translated it into English based on three manuscripts.

When this letter was written, Muslim communities, principally consisting of the Fulani people, were engaged in jihad in the western and southern parts of Bornu in support of 'Uthmān's movement. Al-Kānemī addressed the letter to several leaders of those Muslim communities, including Goni Mukhtār (*al-māhir al-Mukhtār* in the Arabic text) and al-Bukhārī (*al-'ālim al-Bukhārī* in the Arabic text), who are well-known figures often mentioned in previous studies (Brenner 1973: 29–33, 39–40; Brenner 1979: 162; Brenner 1992: 24; Last 1967: 56; Last and Al-Hajj 1965: 238; Lovejoy 2016: 80). They were Muslim intellectuals leading a Fulani Muslim community based in Deya in the southern part of Bornu. According to a previous study (Brenner 1973: 32–33), when writing the letter, al-Kānemī was not significantly involved in the conflict between 'Uthmān's *jamā'a* and the Bornu government. He had only had a confrontation with a Fulani Muslim community following 'Uthmān's jihad in Ngala at the time. After al-Kānemī defeated this local Muslim community, Bornu's ruler requested him to assist in reconquering the capital of Bornu. At the time, al-Kānemī had little knowledge about the conflict arising out of a series of jihads in the western and southern parts of Bornu. In the letter, therefore, al-Kānemī raised queries about the cause of this discord (*fitna*) and attempted to understand whether the Muslim community in the southern part of Bornu was in contact with 'Uthmān. Al-Kānemī further stated that if the Muslim community were meant to be a "whip of punishment" (*sawṭ 'adhāb*) brought by Allah to correct the Bornu people for their insolence, Allah would have given the Muslim community the power to rule Bornu. Moreover, he criticized the Muslim community for inflicting violence in the form of raids, homicide, the enslavement of free people, and the burning of houses during the jihad in Bornu.

Particularly, al-Kānemī strongly condemned the Muslim community for raids against the Bornu people, based on a discussion of the classification of the Bornu people into four categories. In the context of a theoretical conflict between al-Kānemī and the leaders of the early Sokoto Caliphate, this argument is the most notable point in the letter. According to al-Kānemī's argument, the Bornu people were not uniform from the viewpoint of their state of faith. While some people were considered legitimate targets of jihad, others were not.[2] Moreover, every town in Bornu had these different kinds of people living together. However, it was difficult for those attempting to raid the towns to discern the difference between them. Therefore, if jihadists raided any of the towns in Bornu, they could wrongly attack "righteous" Muslims who were not legitimate targets of jihad according to Islamic

2) See the following Arabic text and its translation for details of the four categories.

law. It was obvious for "anyone who has perceived even a bit of knowledge" (*man dhāqa shay' min al-'ilm*), al-Kānemī argued, that neglecting an unbeliever who should be rightfully attacked was better than mistakenly killing a "correct" Muslim who was not a legitimate target of jihad. In other words, while accepting that some people living in Bornu were legitimate targets of jihad, al-Kānemī argued that the jihad declared by the Fulani Muslim community was not justified in circumstances in which it was difficult to determine legitimate targets.

Notably, the leaders of the early Sokoto Caliphate also engaged in discussions of the classification of people. The many writings of 'Uthmān and Muḥammad Bello, including the correspondence recorded in *Infāq al-maysūr*, suggest that the Sokoto leaders classified the people of Hausaland and Bornu into several categories according to their faith, and they legalized their jihad against their enemies by labeling them as unbelievers. In particular, the leaders of the Caliphate argued that the ruler of Bornu and his followers were recognized as apostate unbelievers because they supported the rulers of the Hausa states, who were also labeled as unbelievers (Kariya 2018). In addition, arguing that the condition of a region reflected that of its ruler, the Sokoto leadership adjudged Bornu to be *dār al-ḥarb* (the house of war) or *dār al-kufr* (the house of unbelief), which is a legitimate target of attack in jihad according to Islamic law (Muḥammad Bello 1951: 143).[3)]

A comparative examination of the arguments put forth by al-Kānemī and the Sokoto leaders suggests that the rationale justifying the violence of jihad in Bornu and that negating its validity were both constructed as per discussions classifying people according to their faith. The contending parties, each of which claimed to be comprised of pious and righteous Muslims, recognized Islamic law as the most important principle, and the provisions of this divine law regarding the validity of jihad emphasized the difference between Muslims and non-Muslims. Therefore, the categorization of people according to their religious attributes became a significant foundation for both parties' assertions when constructing arguments on jihad within the purview of Islamic law. As a result, despite a sharp conflict of views, their arguments bore a similarity; their theoretical foundation was built on classifying people according to their faith.

2. Sources for Editing the Arabic Text and Its Translation

In this paper, I edited the Arabic text by referring to three manuscripts held at the Kenneth Dike Library of the University of Ibadan. The manuscripts are written in the *Maghribī* or *Sūdānī* script. A basic description of each source is as follows:

ⁱ: 82/237

21–23 lines. 3 pages. This manuscript is listed in the catalog compiled by Hunwick (Hunwick 1995: 386). More precisely, this is a copy of a manuscript. According to

3) The idea that the state of a region reflects that of its ruler is found in multiple writings by 'Uthmān and Muḥammad Bello.

information found on the cover page added to this copy, the original manuscript appears to have been loaned by an individual named Abu Bakr al-Muskin of Maiduguri to the University of Ibadan for microfilming in August 1963. However, I did not find any information about the original manuscript in the catalog compiled by Hunwick. As this manuscript is in very good condition, I selected it as the base text for editing. According to the information found on the cover page, the manuscript was transcribed around 1923.

ب: Bornu 1

17–18 lines. 4 pages. This is also a copy of a manuscript. Although I did not find any significant information about the original manuscript, the bottom of the last page bears a name, Mālam Ibrahīm [sic], possibly the scribe or owner of the original manuscript. This manuscript is also in good condition.

ت: Bornu 28

20–21 lines. 4 pages. This is also a copy of a manuscript. Most of the text has faded to the extent that it is impossible to decipher many words, including those in its colophon. In the footnotes of the following Arabic text, in order to preserve readability, I essentially refrain from noting the indecipherability of considerably faint words.

In these manuscripts, many words were found to not have been written in accordance with the common orthography of modern standard Arabic, but I made the text uniform in accordance with it to enhance readability. For example, ءاله < آله; غطا < غطاء; رحمت الله < رحمة الله; المانتين < الخطأ; الخطاء < شاء; شا < أخرا; أخرى < شيا < شيئا; شيء < شى; السوال < السؤال; قائل < قائل; تعالى < تعلى المائتين. When writing these words in footnotes, however, I reproduced the form as it is in each source.

As mentioned above, Brenner translated this letter into English based on manuscript أ. Furthermore, R.M. East published its Hausa translation (East 1971: 91–93), but it is unclear which manuscript he referred to for his translation.

Text

|أ، ب، ت – ١| الحمد لله الذي أمر عباده[1] بالتعاون على البر والتقوى ونهى عن طاعة النفس والركون إلى الدنيا وعن اتباع الهوى. والصلاة والسلام على من أوضح المحجة البيضاء وعلى آله وصحبه الذين لم يتركوا على وجه الدين[2] من لبس وغطاء.

أما بعد فالسلام التام ورحمة الله تعالى وبركاته من أفقر الخلق على الإطلاق وأحوجهم إلى الملك الخلاق عبيد الله تعالى محمد الأمين [بن محمد][3] الكانمي أصلا، الفزاني منشأ ومسكنا، المالكي مذهبا، الأشعري اعتقادا، الجنيدي طريقة، إلى الإخوان في دين الله تعالى، العالم حامد، والماهر المختار، والعالم علي، والعالم البخاري، وكافة الجماعة عموما وخصوصا.

أما بعد فالباعث لرسم هذا المزبور أنه لما ساقني[4] المقاديرُ لهذا[5] الإقليم طالبا فضل الله[6] وجدت نار الفتن بينكم وبين أهل الوطن شررُها يتطاير وخطبُها[7] |ب – ٢| يتظاهر. فسألت عن السبب فقائل يقول "فرقة بغت على الملك"، وقائل يقول "فرقة قامت منتصرة لدين الله تعالى". وصرت أبحث وأسأل[8] كل من له خبرة بحال الفريقين[9] فلم يزدني السؤال إلا إيهاما[10] |ت – ٢| والبحث

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[1] ناقصة من ب.

[2] ب: الذين.

[3] ناقصة من ب وت.

[4] من الأصح أن يقال "ساقتني"، ولكنها وردت "ساقني" في جميع المخطوطات.

[5] ب وت: هذا.

[6] ب وت: اللـه تعالى.

[7] أ: وحطبها.

[8] أ: واسل.

[9] ب وت: الفريقتين.

[10] أ: الهاما | ت: ايهما.

إلا إعجاما لاختلاف المقالات.

فكتبت هذه الوثيقة إليكم ليستبين[11] الأمر. هل هو رشد فيُنْقَى[12] أم غيٌّ فيُتَّقَى[13]. فبينوا لنا رحمكم الله بيانا شافيا. ما السبب لهذه الفتنة، وما مطلبكم من الناس، [وفي أيّ شيء وقع][14] بينكم وبينهم الخلاف. وأخبرونا |أ – ٢| هل لكم اتصال بمن سارت بذكره الركبان، الشيخ سيدي عثمان بن فودي[15]، أم لا. واعلموا أنه بلغنا عنكم[16] أحوال حميدة وسير جميلة لكنا أنكرنا شن الغارات وإباحة الدماء واسترقاق الأحرار وحرق[17] الديار إلى غير ذلك مما يشاهد من ناحيتكم. ولا ندري[18] أصادرٌ هو عن رأيكم أم لا. فإن كنتم دعاة لدين الله[19] وهداة لعباده[20] فقد التبس[21] علينا أمر الغارات. وأما إن كنتم سوط عذابٍ سلطكم الله سبحانه |ب – ٣| على أهل هذه الناحية لعتوهم كما[22] سلط الله[23] بخت نصر على أهل إيلياء لما عتوا وعلوا فلا إنكار.

ولا تتعجبوا من إنكارنا أمر الغارات فإنه ظهر لنا من فهمنا القاصر أن أهل هذا الإقليم أربعة أصناف. الصنف الأول مباح الدم والمال كما هو رأيكم. وهو من أشرك مع الله إلها غيره، إلى آخر ما ذكره المؤلفون. والصنف الثاني |ت – ٣| يُقْتَلُ كفرا ويباح ماله ولا تسترق أولاده. وهو من جحد ما عُلِمَ من الدين ضرورة، إلى آخر ما ذكر في ذلك. والصنف الثالث وهو[24] معظم أهل هذه الأرض تجري عليه اليوم الأحكام الإسلامية، وفي القيامة[25] من المخلدين في النار. وهو من نطق بالشهادتين تقليدا ولم يعرف شيئا مما أوجب الله عليه ولم يؤدّ من الواجبات إلا شيئا قليلا على وجه التقليد والاقتداء [ممن قبله مضلا كان أو هديا][26]. [والصنف

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11 ب وت: لاستبين.

12 أ: فينقى.

13 أ: فينتقى.

14 ب وت: واى شىء اوقع.

15 ب: فدوى.

16 ناقصة من ب وت.

17 أ: وخرق.

18 ب وت: ادرى.

19 ب: اللـه تعلى | ت: اللـه تعالى.

20 ب وت: لعبادة اللـه.

21 أ: اتبس.

22 أ: كلما.

23 ناقصة من ب.

24 ناقصة من ب وت.

25 أ: القيمه.

26 ناقصة من ب وت.

الرابع][27] [هم الذين][28] آمنوا بالله ورسله[29] وأثبتوا الأمر[30] من أصله واستوى ظاهرهم |أ – ٣| وباطنهم في التصديق وسقوا أفكارهم بالنظر والتحقيق. فهؤلاء الناجون بفضل الله تعالى دنيا[31] وأخرى |ب – ٤| إن شاء الله[32].

فكل بلدة من هذه الأرض تحتوي على هذه الأصناف الأربعة. ومن [ظهر وشن][33] عليهم الغارات عسر عليه التمييز لا محالة. وإذا عسر التمييز عم الضرر الجميع. والخطأ في ترك الكافر أهون من الخطأ في قتل المسلم كما هو معلوم لمن ذاق شيئا من العلم. ألهمنا الله وإياكم وأرشدنا وأيقظنا وإياكم لما خفي عنا.

فتأملوا أرشدكم الله المكتوب وأحسنوا أيدكم[34] الله الجواب بنص صريح وعزم[35] صحيح لينجلي الهم ويزول الإشكال عن[36] القلب. والمسلمون في دين الله كلهم |ت – ٤| سواء. والمؤمنون كالبنيان يشد [بعضه بعضا][37]. ولولا إنا سمعنا أنكم منتسبون للدين[38] لما تعرضنا لمكاتبكم ولا أكثرنا معكم هذا[39] الإكثار. وقد كنت كتبت وثيقة قبل هذه وبعثت بها إليكم مع بعض الفقراء فأبطأ عليّ الجواب[40]. فكتبت[41] ثانيا ولا أدري أوصلت ورقتي الأولى إليكم أم لا. والسلام.

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27 ناقصة من ب.

28 ب: هم | ت: وهم.

29 ت: ورسوله.

30 ت: امر.

31 ت: دينا.

32 ت: اللـه تعالى.

33 أ وت: ظهر شن | ب: شن. أضفت "و" بين الفعلين.

34 ت: ايديكم.

35 ب: وغزو | ت: وعزو.

36 ب وت: على.

37 أ: يعضه بعضا | ب: بعضه | ت: غير مقروء.

38 ب وت: لدين اللـه.

39 ناقصة من ب وت.

40 أ: الحواب.

41 ب وت: فكتبت هذه.

وكتبت[42] [هذه الوثيقة][43] يوم السبت سبع[44] عشرة[45] خلت من شهر الله ربيع الأول[46] [من[47] ظهور العام الثالث والعشرين بعد المائتين وألف][48].

Translation

Praise be to Allah, Who ordered His servants to cooperate on piety and fear and prohibited [them] from obeying the self and relying on this world (temporal things) as well as following [their] desires. May blessing and peace be upon the one who has revealed the clear road and upon his family and companions, who did not neglect any uncertainty and covering [of the truth] regarding the religion.

Now then, may perfect peace, the mercy of Allah—exalted be He—and His blessings be from the absolutely poorest man, the one who is most in need of the King, the Creator, a diminutive servant of Allah—exalted be He—Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad, who is al-Kānemī by origin, al-Fezzānī by place of birth and dwelling, al-Mālikī by school of law, al-Ashʿarī by theological creed, al-Junaydī by Sufi order, to brethren in the religion of Allah—exalted be He—the scholar Ḥāmid, the expert al-Mukhtār, the scholar ʿAlī, the scholar al-Bukhārī, and the entire community in general as well as in particular.

Now then, the reason for the composition of this writing is that when destiny drove me to this province as a seeker of the favor of Allah, I found the fire of discord (*fitan*) between you and the people of [this] country (*waṭan*), whose sparks were scattered, and calamity was manifested. Then, I asked about the cause. One person said, "A faction has acted wrongfully against the king." Another said, "A faction has stood up siding with the religion of Allah—exalted be He." Thus, I began investigating and asking every person who had knowledge about the state of the two factions, but due to the difference of opinions, the asking only gave me delusion, and the research [only gave me] lack of clarity.

Then, I wrote this document to you in order that [this] affair might become clear. Is it right and thus will be selected? Or is it a transgression and thus to be avoided? Explain clearly to us—may Allah have mercy upon you. What is the cause of this discord (*fitna*)? What do you demand from the people [of Bornu]? About which matter did a conflict

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42 ب وت: كتبت.

43 أ: الورقة.

44 أ: لسبع.

45 ب: عشر.

46 ب: الاولى.

47 أ: من من.

48 ب وت: عام ١٢٢٣.

occur between you and them? Let us know whether you have contact with the person with mentioning whom riders have marched, the shaykh, *sīdī*[1] ʻUthmān b. Fūdī. Know that [information about] praiseworthy states and graceful comportment regarding you has reached us. However, we disapprove of raids, the granting of permission for homicide, the enslavement of free people, the burning of houses, and other [forms of violence] witnessed in your region. We do not know if this has resulted from your opinion or not. If you are those who invite [people] to the religion of Allah and lead His servants [to the right way], the issue of the raids has been obscure for us. If you are a whip of punishment, Allah—may He be praised—has given you power over the people of this region due to their insolence, just as Allah gave Nebuchadnezzar II power over the people of Aelia (Jerusalem) when they became insolent and magnified themselves.[2] [In this case,] there is no disapproval.

Do not be surprised at our disapproval of the issue of the raids because, from our limited understanding, it appeared to us that the people of this province were [classified into] four categories. [The people in] the first category are permitted to be killed and to be deprived of property, just as in your opinion. They are those who have made a god other than Allah the associate of Allah, and there are more things that [various] authors mentioned [about this category]. [The people in] the second category are killed for unbelief, and their property is permitted to be seized. However, do not enslave their children. They are those who have refused what is necessarily known regarding the religion, and there are more things mentioned in this regard. [The people in] the third category—[comprising] most of people of this land—are those to whom the provisions of Islamic law apply today, but on the day of resurrection, [they will be] among those who must eternally remain in the hellfire. They are those who have pronounced the two phrases of the shahada in the manner of blind imitation (*taqlīd*) but neither do they know anything of what Allah has made obligatory for them, nor have they fulfilled [their] obligations, except a few of them by blindly imitating and following the ones who preceded them, regardless of whether they were misguiding [them] or giving [them] the right guidance. [The people in] the fourth category are those who believe in Allah and His messengers and have verified [their] affair from its foundation. Their external and internal states are steady regarding faith. They have poured contemplation and verification [like water] into their thoughts. These [people] are saved by the grace of Allah—exalted be He—in this and the other world—if Allah wills.

Every town in this land contains these four categories [of people], and, inevitably, it is difficult for anyone who comes out and raids them to differentiate [between these different categories of people]. If the differentiation is difficult, [and if a raid is made in that circumstance,] harm is diffused to all people. The mistake of neglecting an unbeliever is lesser than that of killing a Muslim, as is known to anyone who has perceived even a bit of knowledge. May Allah inspire us and you, lead us to the right way, and awaken us and you regarding what was concealed from us.

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1) This is a colloquial honorific title attached to the names of various religious figures such as Muslim intellectuals and saints. It is derived from a classical Arabic term, *sayyid-ī* (my master).

2) This passage refers to the story of the Babylonian captivity.

Then, look attentively—may Allah lead you to the right way—at [this] letter, and make—may Allah support you—a reply written well, with clear text and righteous determination, so that worry and dubiousness may vanish from [your and our] heart. The Muslims in the religion of Allah, all of them, are equal, and the believers, like a structure, are tied firmly to each other.[3] If we had not heard that you had attached yourself to the religion, we would neither have attempted [to write] letters to you, nor would we have occupied ourselves much [in this affair] with you to this extent. I wrote a document before this [letter] and sent it to you with some pious ascetics (*fuqarā'*). However, [your] reply to me has been delayed. Therefore, I have written again, not knowing whether my first document has reached you. Peace.

I have written this letter on Saturday, [when] seventeen days have passed in Allah's month, *rabī' al-awwal*, in 1223 AH (May 14, 1808 AD).

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3) This sentence is most likely based on part of a Qur'anic verse (61: 4), "as if they are a structure joined together firmly."