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Uthman Dan Fodio

The Theory and Practice
of His Leadership

Alhaji Shehu Shagari
and
Jean Boyd

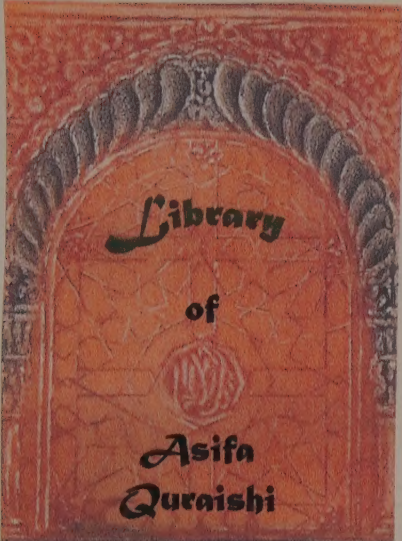
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Uthman Dan Fodio

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HIS LEADERSHIP

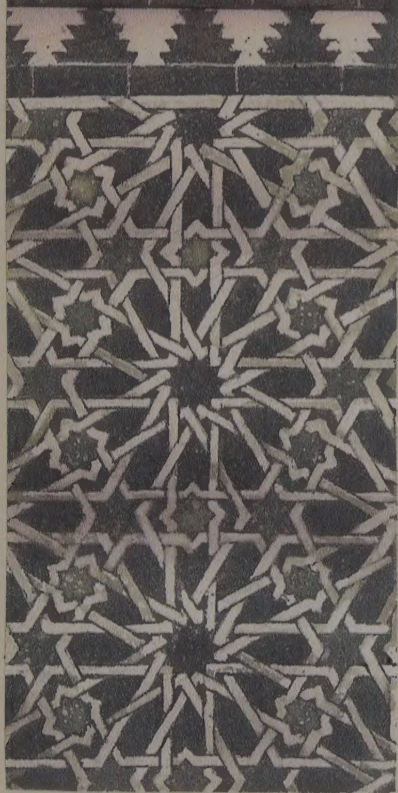
The teaching of history in our educational institutions until recently had devoted very little attention to historical materials relevant to the course of social and political developments of the African States. The history of the Ancient Kingdoms of the Western and Central Sudan, appears subsidiary to European history. During our colonial era, the main purpose of education was geared towards the justification for the colonial conquests of the African States. For a long time in our educational institutions the study of history was mainly the role played by people such as William Wilberforce, the adventures of explorers like Mungo Park, Denham Clapperton, Mary Slessor etcetera. The political condition of the African States before the coming of the Europeans was portrayed as that of chaos and disorder characterised by slave raids and the exploitation of the peasantry. Thus the children were made to believe that the European explorers brought civilization to Africa. The history of the people of Africa is endowed with great cultural and political achievements worthy of emulation by their descendants. The writers of this book are telling us the story of "Shehu" Uthman Dan Fodio — May God be pleased with him! — and enlightening us about this great historical figure of West Africa. "Shehu" Uthman Dan Fodio who appeared in 1754 was a spiritual leader, a writer and an intellectual. His teachings were new and his writings, were both numerous and influential. His thoughts and actions are well recorded and the greater part of his writings are in Arabic. He inspired an intellectual movement, involving in the minds of his followers a conception of the ideal society and a philosophy of revolution. His life and virtues can be a tremendous source of inspiration. The writers of these pages have endeavoured to depict the picture of this eminent African Reformer (Mujaddid) and describe what in their judgment can be ascribed as his accomplishment in establishing an ideal society based on the revival of the golden principles and the noble teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the Islamic Shari'ah (Law) which are capable of meeting any challenge from any source in any age.



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The Theory and Practice
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EPILOGUE

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FOREWORD

This work is certainly very important. It fills an embarrassing gap left by practically all books dealing with Nigerian History which are directed to young boys and girls studying in our secondary schools and teacher training colleges. It offers an opportunity to those who cannot read the original source to have a real feel of the works of the Sokoto Jihad leaders. It is a work based not on conjecture but on solid facts extracted from original sources.

The method of presentation of facts makes the work appealing especially to the readers it is intended for. It is precise and condensed, and is written in simple and clear language.

Dr. S.A.S. Galadanci,
*Vice Chancellor,
University of Sokoto,
Sokoto State, Nigeria.*

10th October, 1977.

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Alhaji Shehu Shagari,
Turakin Sokoto.

Jean Boyd.

Sokoto, January, 1978.

Photographs

We wish to thank the Sultan of Sokoto for giving special permission to have the *buta*, *majalisa* and lamp of the Shehu photographed. We wish also to thank the Emir of Gwandu for allowing the Holy Qur'an belonging to Abdullahi Fodio and his *Hubbare* to be photographed.

We acknowledge the help of Mallam Shehu Aliyu in obtaining the photograph of the *Kofar Soro* and thank Alhaji Malami Aja and Mallam Muhammadu Magaji for their technical assistance.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari,

Turakin Sokoto.

Jean Boyd.

Sokoto, January, 1978.

INTRODUCTION

From time immemorial, in every land and among every community in the world there has been a handful of outstanding personalities who have left their marks indelibly in the history of the lands and the communities in which they have lived. Such were the extraordinary leaders and reformers who through their gifted talents and prowess have helped to change the course of history among their peoples.

In the history of the Western Sudan the part played by the Muslim leaders of Hausaland will continue to occupy a dominant position in the pattern and behaviour of the lives of the peoples of the present day West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. In spite of Western influences, the ideals and ideas of those leaders stand unsurpassed as excellent guides in the everyday lives of the inhabitants of this vast region which extends from the Cameroons in the east, to the sources of the River Niger in the west; from the Libyan sand in the north to the Atlantic coast in the south. Situated almost in the middle of this region lies what is known as Hausaland, embracing the states of Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto in the Federation of Nigeria and also certain areas of the Republic of Niger. Over the last century and a half the influence of Shehu dan Fodio and his companions has reigned supreme in this area and beyond.

The name DANFODIO has in these lands and through this period become a household word. Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio, popularly known as Ibn-Fodio or Dan-Fodio has earned for himself many praise names, they include:—

“Shehu Nuru Zamani” (The Light of his generation), “The Shehu” (The Shaikh or Sage), “Shehu Malamin Malamai” (The General Tutor of all Teachers), “Malami abin Biya” (The Teacher who is worthy of Emulation), “Gigami Uban Tambura” (The Drum whose sound exceeds all other drums).

His teachings and his examples have inspired millions of Muslims throughout the length and breadth of Hausaland in particular and the Western Sudan in general; his influence continues to guide the actions, hopes and aspirations of many religious leaders, scholars, administrators and statesmen in the newly independent states of West Africa to this day. The extent of this influence cannot however be fully appreciated without having an insight into some of his works, his struggles and his achievements as well as the way and manner in which his disciples tried to implement his ideas and ideals. His theories, based essentially upon the teachings of the Holy Prophet Muhammed have been firmly established and vigorously implemented by his successors or Caliphs, notably his son Muhammad Bello, who, as a leading scholar and statesman in his own right, wrote, fought and ruled in strict compliance with the teachings of the great DANFODIO.

We shall attempt in this book to portray something of the theory as well as the practice of DANFODIO's leadership in the hope that the reader will be encouraged to relate them to the conduct of affairs in everyday life in present day Nigeria. We believe that this will bring about a clearer understanding and appreciation of the legacies of the pre-colonial era in Hausaland and in Nigeria. It is our earnest belief that the history of Nigeria cannot be complete without a serious re-appraisal of the ideas and ideals of its past leaders among whom DANFODIO was an outstanding figure.

The Shehu did not set out to conquer the northern Hausa states: it was never his ambition to become an Emperor. As you will see, from first to last, he was both pious and ascetic. He assumed leadership of a movement but never ruled.

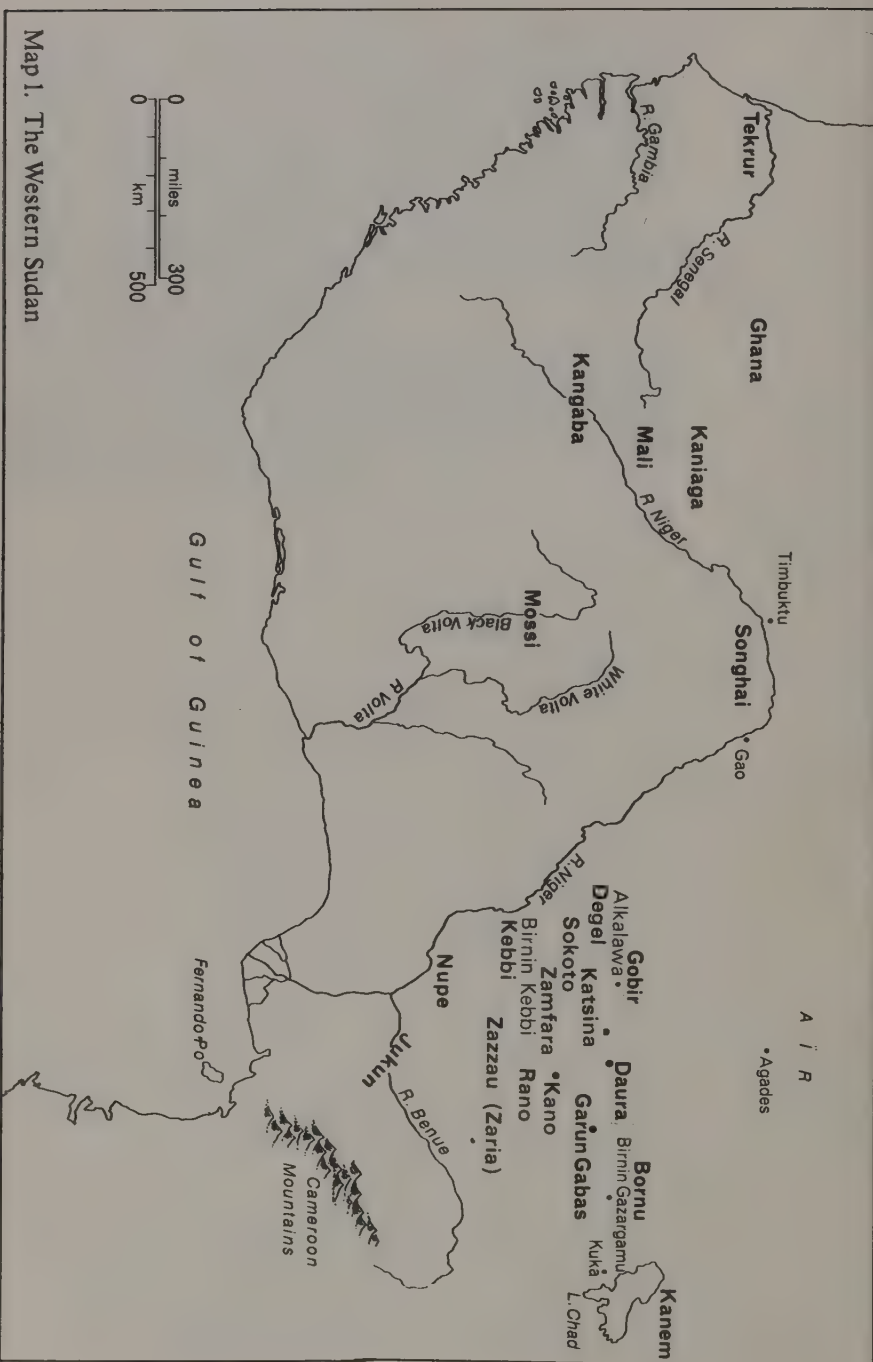
The Shehu and his brother Abdullahi theorised about the ideal society; they had the clearest idea of what it should be like. Fate played into their hands and in 1808 being the victors of the Jihad they were given the opportunity to put their ideas into practice. We have therefore tried to evaluate Sultan Bello's

implementation of the theories of the Shehu and his companions. This is not a definitive work; we acknowledge that there is an enormous amount of research to be done on the period. Most of the books by the Shehu, Abdullahi, Muhammad Bello, Nana Asma'u, Muhammed Tukur, Gidado, Abdulkadir, and others are completely unknown to all but a tiny fraction of Nigeria's population. Yet from this small selection here, the value of their works and their relevance to our society can be judged.

We acknowledge the inspiration we received from Waziri Junaidu's address at the ABU Convocation in 1975 and hope that before long the books we bring to your notice will become familiar to students throughout the Federation.

THE BACKGROUND

Map I. The Western Sudan



CHAPTER I

THE STATE OF HAUSALAND AT THE END OF 18TH CENTURY

Let us now examine in what state the *Mujaddid*¹ and his companions found Hausaland at the end of the 18th century.

Hausaland in the 18th century comprised the Zaria-Kano-Katsina axis, with the three other kingdoms of Gobir, Zamfara and Kebbi as the western axis. These were separate kingdoms bound to each other by a common language and culture, and linked by trade routes which led from the Sahara Desert in the north to the forest zone in the south cutting across all boundaries: great caravans moved from place to place and the markets of Kano and Katsina were famous.

The development of trade and cultural interchanges was one of the major themes in the history of Hausaland from the 14th to the 19th centuries. Another was the movement towards larger political units with each state or kingdom trying to establish boundaries which satisfied it both economically and politically. This of course inevitably led to intermittent warfare between neighbouring Hausa states. Any state which became strong felt tempted to use its strength against its neighbour. In these competitions however no state was ever able to win a complete victory and wars ended with one state being satisfied with the booty or territory taken from the other.

As far as western Hausaland was concerned, of the three kingdoms, Kebbi, Zamfara and Gobir, Kebbi had waned in influence since the great days of Kanta in the 16th century while the influence of Zamfara grew in the 17th century. But almost before Zamfara grew to full strength came the extraordinary sun-burst of the rise of Gobir.

During the 1730's a steady immigration of Gobir into Zamfara began from a region lying to the north.

Hausaland in
18th century

1st and 2nd
themes:
The Develop-
ment of
Trade

Political
Development

3rd Theme
The rise of
Gobir in
Western
Hausaland

¹ Mujaddid—Reviver of Islam

The king of Zamfara reluctantly allowed the Gobirawa to settle on the farms of his Chief Judge (*Alkali*) on the rich plain of the Rima River. Under the leadership of their King Babari, the Gobirawa established themselves and first threatened and then sacked Birnin Zamfara, the capital of the Zamfara kingdom. Babari then fortified his capital Alkalawa and started to expand Gobir influence. His son Dan Gudi turned his aggression against the Tuareg to the north and by the end of the century Gobir was a powerful land-hungry state. The Zamfara people were dispersed and dispossessed. This, for Hausaland, was an unusual situation, for, as we have remarked above, state formation usually led to boundary changes and the collection of booty. In this case however, Gobir eclipsed Zamfara, thus causing them hardship and dissatisfaction.

The building
of Alkalawa

The fourth theme in the history of Hausaland is the way in which Islam spread peacefully among the population. Islam was initially spread from the eleventh century onwards through trade and the work of Islamic teachers from other parts of West and North Africa. With the successive decline of Ghana, Mali and Songhai, Hausaland became the main centre of trade during the 17th and 18th centuries. The introduction and spread of Islam and the immigration of the Fulani in large numbers from the west into various parts of Hausaland had the most far reaching consequences in the historical development of Hausa states.

4th Theme
The peaceful
spread of
Islam

Gradually groups of indigenous Islamic teachers established themselves and Islamic influence among the largely pagan Hausa communities grew. Eventually, as we shall see, the Islamic teachers or Mallams came into conflict with the Hausa Kings² who were the guardians of the Old Order which was closely linked with un-Islamic practices. Although some of the Sarakunan Hausa were converted to Islam as early as the 14th and 15th centuries, they still had a

Sarakunan
Hausa

² Hausa Kings: a more accurate phrase is "*Sarakunan Hausa*" and this is used elsewhere in the book.

strong belief in spirits and black magic. Their acceptance of Islam led them to concentrate on the outward and prestigious aspects of their religion; they neglected to obey the rules concerning social behaviour and justice contained in the Qur'an. They did not conform to the Shari'a and were openly unjust.

On the other hand, all over Hausaland there were sincere and dedicated mallams who taught anyone who desired to learn, and from them there grew a feeling, at an intellectual level, that there was a conflict between the policy of the Sarakuna and the demands laid upon them by Islam.

The Mallams

Into this picture we must fit the Fulani, who as a people were widespread throughout the Western Sudan. Some of the Fulani had settled and had become actually integrated with the Hausas. However, they did not have any political authority but were conscious of their long history as Muslims and their superiority in writing and knowledge. There were other groups of Fulanis, the Bororoji, who believed that the Fulani way of life was the best and refused to associate with the Hausas. The Bororoji were largely non-Muslim and had little education; their main interest lay in rearing their cattle and leading their own way of life as nomads. This situation brought them into conflict with Hausas, particularly the farmers, who formed the great majority of the population in Hausaland.

The Fulani

It is evident therefore that by the 19th century there existed an unusual political situation in Hausaland. Gobir had dispossessed and defeated Zamfara, thus causing a lot of hardship and discontent. The Sarakuna, while claiming to be Muslims, were oppressing their subjects and had little regard for the Shari'a and Islamic principles. At the same time there existed groups of upright and devout Mallams who were teaching and preaching about the Qur'an to the masses. A feeling of discontent first felt at an intellectual level, gradually began to spread among the peasants.

A summary

Into this situation, and into a Fulani family, in 1754, Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio was born. It was his

The Shehu

towering intellect, charisma and perseverance which turned a feeling of disaffection into a movement which led to an overturning of the governments of the Hausa States.

THE REASONS FOR THE JIHAD

It would be an over-simplification to say that all the Mallams were selfless and uncorrupted; it would also be untrue to say that as soon as Shehu Uthman appeared on the scene, everyone followed him and the Jihad was launched.

The Shehu directed his preachings towards the masses, including of course the Mallams, some of whom were fake and pretended they had special powers to tell the future. Many misled the people and some were the allies of the Sarakuna and defended their bad practices. Others, while being of noble character, were too fanatical in their views and unable to explain their ideas adequately to the common man.

The Shehu preached to whoever wished to hear him; he did not direct his teaching to the Mallams alone. His wonderful gift was his ability to make difficult things easy. Wherever he went, great crowds gathered. Among the people in the crowds were Mallams, some of whom had come to criticize and find fault. The Shehu never addressed himself solely to them; if they asked questions he answered them courteously. He also wrote pamphlets to refute their accusations and to correct their interpretations.¹

For thirty years (1774–1804) the Shehu carried his message to the people of the Sudan, telling them to return to the Way of the Prophet Muhammad. He never tired of his work and was always calm, patient and kind. Gradually he won over most of his opponents through reason, persuasion and an exceptional display of sincerity, honesty and piety. His home in Degel became a centre of scholarship and a rallying place of Mallams from all over the Sudan who came in quest of knowledge and spiritual guidance. It was a mini University.

¹ See the description of the Shehu preaching in "*Infak al-Maisur*." One of the pamphlets written by the Shehu to refute critical Mallams is to be found in "*Tazyin al-Waraqat*."

The Shehu was the most brilliant and outstanding scholar of his time. He outshone his colleagues as the sun outshines the stars. Besides scholarship, the Shehu had outstanding qualities of leadership. He had a graceful and charming personality which attracted many people; he was able to explain difficult subjects and theories to people of little understanding. He had the patience to answer in a kindly manner all questions put to him by the crowds who gathered around him.

The Shehu's
qualities

Sometimes the questions were foolish and uninformed, but the Shehu was never tired of trying to explain, in simple language, about the Faith to the common man. He did not stay all the time in his home at Degel. He travelled widely in Zamfara, Gobir and Kebbi and took the Word to the people who were inspired by his personal example and by his message.

The Shehu as
the Preacher

The Shehu did not tell them to disobey their rulers and did not preach rebellion. In the course of time, in order to help his work, he visited the courts of the Sarakuna and had cordial relationships with them.

The Shehu's
contact with
the Sarakuna

Eventually the Shehu became famous and had a large following. The situation of course did not please the Sarakuna who saw the Shehu as a potential threat to their authority. They became openly jealous and wished that he could be got rid of.

The jealousy
of the
Sarakuna

It is against this background of discontent and the political reawakening of the masses coupled with the dissatisfaction of the Fulani, that the Shehu's work from the year 1774 to 1804 should be viewed. It was the jealousy of the Sarakuna of Gobir which led them to harass the Shehu's followers and attempt his assassination. These hostile actions against the Shehu and his followers changed the Shehu's revivalist movement into a movement prepared to defend its principles by force. His determination and perseverance and his eventual defiance led to the Sarkin² Gobir launching a military attack on him. The Shehu and his followers struck out to defend themselves: the Jihad was thus

The Jihad

² Sarki = Chief

Sarkin Gobir = Chief of Gobir

begun. In the Shehu's book "*Tanbih al-ikhwan*" we read his brother's account of why the Jihad began. This account was narrated by Abdullahi at the insistence of the Shehu himself. It reads:—

In the name of Allah, The Compassionate, The Merciful, Thanks be to Allah, the One and Only God, Peace and Blessings of Allah be to the last Messenger and Prophet of Allah.

The reasons
for the Jihad
by Waziri
Abdullahi.

"My intention here is to write an account and explanation of our flight from the land of Gobir, and the reasons for our Jihad and our struggle against the Sarakunan Gobir, how and why it happened, so as to enlighten all who wish to know, so that they may understand and appreciate our stand on this issue.

Verily, the Leader of the Faithful, Shehu Uthman, the son of Muhammad, May Allah prolong his life of righteousness, has from his early life been persistently preaching the Faith and calling on the people everywhere to embrace the Religion of Allah. He tried to meet people in their places, explain the tenets of Islam to them in their own languages and implored them to be of good behaviour, to desist from bad practices and pursue the good cause in accordance with the Sunna (the teaching of the Holy Prophet). Multitudes of people embraced his teachings and many supported him and his cause; so that he became a famous and renowned leader.

He thus moved from place to place through many lands along with his followers to establish the Faith and succeeded in converting the ignorant from the evils of heathen practices to Islam.

Through persuasion, he succeeded in bringing to his side the learned Mallams of his day who were his opponents. He avoided any form of confrontation with the Sarakuna. In the course of time however, his following increased considerably and was identified by the name 'Jama'a' throughout Hausaland.

Numerous people including many from the royal palaces voluntarily left their homes with all their belongings and joined the Shehu's congregation. These developments obviously infuriated the authorities and led to the subsequent happenings in these lands.

The Shehu had never interfered with the affairs of Government and took no notice of their deeds and misdeeds. In the interest of peace he avoided any interference between the rulers and their subjects. In spite of everything however, his influences began to mount.

Even his efforts to be on cordial relationship with the authorities by paying courtesy visits to them did not help the situation because they could still perceive the gathering storm in the ever-increasing number of converts to the Faith and their unity and devotion could not possibly please the Sarakuna.

Thereupon, they became agitated and, influenced by evil men and spirits, tried to put a stop to this movement lest it should encompass their domain and displace their authority. This led to the Sarkin Gobir's conspiracy against us when he summoned us and tried to deceive us. However, his actions and his words strongly indicated to us that his motive was to destroy us. But Allah in His Mercy was on our side and protected us from the evil intentions of Sarkin Gobir. We returned home very much dismayed by the apparent threat of danger and insecurity to ourselves and our people.

Sarkin Gobir then started provoking some of the Shehu's followers and terrorised them. He despatched a campaign against them and in a particular instance his troops captured some of our men including their wives and children and started selling them out as slaves before our eyes. We were even threatened that the same fate might befall us ourselves. Eventually, the Sarkin Gobir sent a message to the Shehu ordering him to take his family away and leave his town but that he must not take along with him any of his followers. Thereupon the Shehu replied:

"I will not part with my people, but I am prepared to leave along with all those who wish to follow me.

Those who choose to stay can of course do so."

We made our Hijira from their midst on that Thursday in the Year 1218 (1804) described by the Shehu (May Allah be pleased with him) in several of his books. On the 10th of Zulki'ida we reached the

wilderness of the frontier. Muslims kept on making their own hijiras to join us. Some reached us complete with their families and possessions, some only with their families, some arrived alone, with neither possessions nor family. Sarkin Gobir instructed those in authority under him to seize the possessions of those making the Hijira and to prevent their people coming to join us.

A lot of property belonging to Muslims was seized and some of them were killed. Then the Gobir Sarakuna to the east began raiding us, killing and capturing our people, making off with booty. Our people became very alarmed, so we went to the Shehu and told him that our position was serious and we should declare our stand. We must have a leader to direct the affairs of the Jama'a. It was not fitting that Muslims should be without direction and leaders. We therefore pledged our loyalty to the Shehu on Thursday 17th of Zulki'ida.³ Allah knows the compelling reasons which made us take this step.

We pledged our loyalty and promised to obey his commands based on the teaching of the Qur'an and Sunna and promised to fight the Jihad. We stood firm, determined to fight back against those who were raiding us because the scholars are agreed that a man has the right to fight those who raid him, steal his possessions or make off with his family.

We set out against those who had raided us, the warriors of Matankari. We found them and fought them, we put them to flight, we burned their homes, we killed the men and captured the women and children. They were scattered. Then we received news that Sarkin Gobir had started to assemble his men with a view to exterminating us. We therefore dug a ditch round Gudu, learning from the example of the Prophet of Allah (upon whom be peace).

The Birnin Kwanni warriors were among those who had raided us from the east. We set out against them.

³ The significance of this sentence lies in the election of a formally constituted leader which meant the Jama'a thereby ceased to be subjects of Gobir. This was the formal break with Sarkin Gobir

We took their town and battled with them. We captured some and killed their leader.

Then our men returned and we awaited the arrival of Sarkin Gobir Yunfa's army. We fought with them at Kwato. Allah dispersed their army and their chief fled homewards humiliated and defeated.

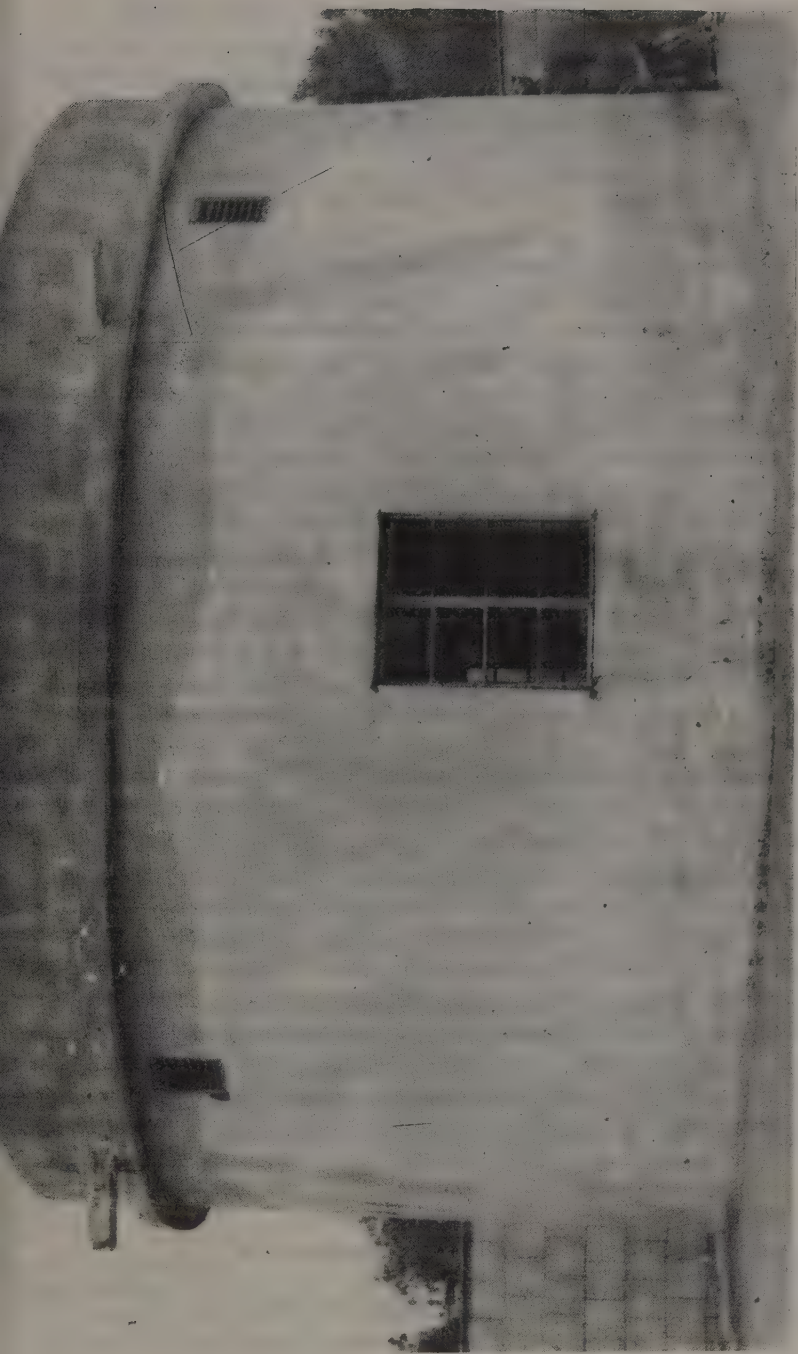
The heathens of Hausaland were humiliated because of this defeat and they were angered. The Hausa chiefs began attacking Muslims within their territories and war broke out between them.

Allah overthrew the heathens and fulfilled the promise He made to aid His religion and the helpers of His religion.

After Sarkin Gobir's defeat we informed all the Sarakunan Hausa that they should lend assistance to the Religion and help us to strengthen the Faith. In their arrogance they refused. Allah overthrew them and the backbone of the tyrants was broken.

Thanks be to Allah, Lord of Creation

Greetings''



The Majahsa of the Shehu: this building replaced the original.

(Note: *Majalisa* means the Reception Hall where Shehu Usman used to receive visitors as well as teach his disciples. It is situated inside his house in Sokoto, originally built of mud).

AN EXPLANATION OF WHY PEOPLE JOINED THE SHEHU: HOW HE INSPIRED PEOPLE THROUGH HIS TEACHING

In the words of Waziri Abdullahi which we read in the last Chapter:

“Muslims kept on making their own hijiras to join us. Some reached us complete with their families, some with only their families and some arrived alone with neither possessions nor family.”

We have to decide what made a man leave his home and everything he had in this world to journey into danger to join the Jama'a in a threatened position.

To reach Gudu a man would have had to risk death and face great hardship. The future as a member of the Jama'a was bleak. We consider they made this journey because they believed in the Shehu and what he said.

It is our intention therefore to briefly survey what the Shehu taught during the years 1774–1804. In a sentence:

“He called them to the revival of the Faith, and to Islam, and good works, and to abandon customs contrary to them.”¹

According to his son, Muhammad Bello², the preaching of the Shehu can be summed up in five main points. First of all he discussed the Shari'a in broad outline and in detail. Secondly he made it easier to understand. Thirdly he encouraged people in his sermons to follow the Sunna (example of the Prophet Muhammad). Fourthly he encouraged them to do right and turn from wrong. Lastly he explained why it was wrong to adopt new and false innovations³.

The dangers
of joining the
Jama'a

The Shehu's
sermons

¹ *Tazyin al-Waraqat*, Waziri Abdullahi. Translated by Hiskett, p. 86.

² In his book *Infak al-Maisur*, p. 9

³ For example, reading the Qur'an to the rhythm of drumming. *Nur al-albab* by the Shehu.

The Shehu taught the fundamentals of religion (Usuludini) in a clear way in the languages of the people who came to him.⁴ He said:

“All things except Allah have a beginning. Their creator is Allah, the Almighty Lord, who exists. He who has no beginning differs from those who have beginnings.

The Lord is as He was before He created the Universe. He needs neither place nor creator. He is unique in His substance, in His attributes, in His works.”

The Shehu also taught about the Messengers of Allah, the Angels, about Death, Hell and Paradise.

As for Tawhid,⁵ which is the proof by reasoning of the oneness of Allah, he proved to the people that Allah exists and hears, sees and speaks; he further proved to them that the Prophets of Allah are trustworthy and have brought to mankind what Allah has instructed them to bring.

The Shehu on
Tawhid

In his sermons on Fikh the Shehu taught people about ablution, prayer, zakkat (alms-giving), fasting, pilgrimage, slaughtering, oaths, vows, marriage, trade and how to preserve the body from sin.

On Sufism he taught that the qualities of the heart fall into two groups, those leading to damnation and those leading to salvation.

The Shehu on
Sufism

Those leading to damnation are conceit, vanity, envy, ill-will, failure to make obligatory religious expenditure,⁶ showing off, greed for status, greed for wealth, boasting and evil thoughts towards Muslims.

Those leading to salvation are repentance, purification of service to Allah, patience, scrupulousness (or absolute honesty), reliance on Allah, acquiescence in the destiny ordained by Allah, fear of Allah and fear of His punishments, finally, hope in the mercy of Allah.

⁴ *Infak al-Maisur* p. 9

⁵ *Infak al-Maisur*.

⁶ For example, zakkat—the alms a Muslim must give to his poorer brethren, according to his own income. Zakkat is payable annually.

We have a vivid eye-witness⁷ account of the Shehu conducting his classes:

The Shehu's manner when teaching

"Whenever the Shehu was about to go to the people I used to see him stop just inside the house for a short while, say some words and then proceed. I asked him about this. He replied:

'I am renewing my pledge and I am making a promise to Allah that my devotion towards them will be sincere.

Also I am asking Allah to open the eyes of those gathered here to the things which I will tell them. And in spite of this, I again renew my pledge when I sit down and I remember the promise which I have made.'

When he went to them he greeted them in a voice everyone could hear. His face was relaxed and his manner gentle. Then he said:

'Listen'

He never grew tired of explaining and never became impatient of anyone who failed to understand".

The Shehu taught anyone who wished to learn. He showed no discrimination, neither did other teachers in the Jama'a. His students included Hausas, Fulanis, Tuaregs and others.

Who the Shehu taught

He taught in languages people could best understand and did not confine himself to Arabic which, though the language of scholarship, was unknown to the ordinary person.

In what languages the Shehu taught

The Shehu and other teachers composed songs for people to sing, and so they committed his teaching to memory. Some of the songs contained warnings of what will happen to the wicked⁸ and the fires that will consume them.

How he made people remember

This chapter would be incomplete without a return to a matter of fundamental importance, namely the Shehu's sermons on the requirements of the Shari'a which is the rule of law.

⁷ This first person account is given in *Infak al-Maisur* by Muhammad Bello.

⁸ See *Hulneenday* by Muhammad Tukur (with Tahmis by Nana Asma'u)

The Shehu taught that it was important and fundamental to adhere to the law under all circumstances. He therefore condemned oppression, all unfairness, the giving and acceptance of bribes, the imposition of unfair taxes, the seizing of land by force, unauthorized grazing of other people's crops, extortion of money from the poor, imprisonment on false charges, and all other injustices. He taught that a return to true Islamic standards would remove these injustices.⁹

The Shehu preached that it was not his intention to come between a subject and his Sarki. He preached patience in the face of tyranny, not rebellion.¹⁰ It was in order to convince the Sarakuna of his views that he went to their courts and called them to follow the Shari'a.

The Shehu
did not
preach
rebellion

The Muslim community in Hausaland and beyond knew of the struggles of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) against evil in his time and believed in the ultimate triumph of those who have been ordained by Allah to carry the banner of Islam. Those who joined him at Degel and Gudu saw in the Shehu a Muslim leader and Mujaddid who was bound to succeed. They were inspired by him and chose to follow him. They believed he fulfilled the promise made that a Reviver of Religion would come to:

Muslims'
faith in the
Shehu

“Restore and fix the practice of religion and revive the Sunna. The righteous will follow him and his name will be famous throughout these lands.¹¹”

⁹ Examples of injustices are given in many places, e.g. *Tabbat Hakika*, v 21, 22, *Wallahi Wallahi*, v. 5

¹⁰ *Tanbih al Ikhwan*, p. 18

¹¹ Prophecy of Umma Hana'i made about the Shehu, *Infak al Maisur*, p. 3



The lamp used by the Shehu
(*Oil Lamp made of Iron: Sokoto*)

CHAPTER IV

HOW THE SHEHU INSPIRED PEOPLE THROUGH HIS PERSONAL EXAMPLE

During the thirty years he taught in Hausaland, the Shehu's base remained at Degel where the family home was.¹ It was the Shehu's personal life and the conduct of his own family which greatly inspired respect.

The Shehu's
home base

The belief that this world is but a testing ground for the next is not peculiar to Islam nor is the belief that individuals must search for self-education. These beliefs are embodied in Sufism which is a means to purification of the soul and it was practised in the Shehu's community. Put briefly, Sufism means divorcing oneself from materialism, worldliness and self esteem, substituting in their place sublimation of the self and submission to the will of Allah.²

Sufism

The active Sufist (or indeed the good Muslim) is therefore exhorted to devote himself to the practice of piety, humility and compassion and Islamic learning: he is instructed to attach little weight to the accumulation of power and property. It was these values that the Shehu taught and illustrated through his way of life.

Training began early in life, before puberty: all time had to be put to proper use and activities during waking hours were organised accordingly. In the Shehu's home he and his wives were practising Sufists and they trained their children in their ways.³

Training in
Sufism

It was believed that time must be spent either working for salvation (prayer, fasting, alms giving and education) or working for food and clothing to give comfort in this life. All time spent on things other than these was considered wasted.

The days of the week and the hours in each day were divided out and activities programmed to fit them.

¹ The Shehu's father's grave is at Degel.

² We are grateful to Professor Muhammad Alhajj for this definition.

³ We are indebted to Alhaji Dr. Junaidu, Wazirin Sokoto for the information about Sufism in the Shehu's family.

Ablutions, the five daily prayers, the time spent at zikiri⁴ and attendance at classes whether as teacher or pupil were obligatory. Adults were encouraged to have periods of meditation when they would speak to no one. Inna Garka, the Shehu's wife and mother of Sultan Muhammad Bello, spent much of her time in meditation;⁵ at such times she did not speak and indicated replies by moving her head or hands. She left her room only for communal prayers. She owned nothing at all except those things necessary to life itself, like the clothes she wore and the utensils in her room.

The example
of Inna Garka

Others noted for their Sufism were Aminatu Lubal⁶ and Muhammad Sa'adu,⁷ the son of the Shehu, who being considerably older, was one of the teachers of Sultan Muhammad Bello. Muhammad Sambo,⁸ another of the Shehu's sons was also famed for his Sufism.

Other noted
Sufists

This way of life required everyone to learn a craft in order to earn a living. It was considered improper to eat what one had not earned by one's own efforts. Building, thatching, shoe repairing, mat making, hair plaiting, spinning, were the skills taught. Muhammad Bello made mats and ropes of kaba⁹ and sold them when he needed money.¹⁰ The virtue of labour was underlined by Muhammad Bello who taught that it was blameworthy to sit idle without working for a living.¹¹

The
importance
of working
for a living

The Jama'a as a whole owned very little. When the Shehu moved from Degel to Gudu on the Hijira, he gladly accepted the help of a Tuareg, Mallam Agali, to transport his books because the community had only a few pack animals.¹² Shortly after reaching

⁴ Using beads on a thread as a means of concentration: during the time spent at zikiri various spiritual exercises are performed.

⁵ Poem dated 1837 by Nana Asma'u in Fulfulde, verses 2-4

⁶ Poem 1837 by Nana Asma'u v. 12

⁷ *Infak al-Maisur*, p. 105

⁸ *Infak al-Maisur*, p. 105

⁹ Kaba — palm leaves from which Hausa mats are made.

¹⁰ Primary History, Chapter on Muhammad Bello by Mallam Omar Bello.

¹¹ Primary History — Omar Bello.

¹² *Wakar Gewaye* (Fulfulde version) by Nana Asma'u v. 16.

Gudu the battle of Tabkin Kwatto was fought and Muhammad Bello recorded:

“At that time we had no more than twenty horses.¹³

The Shehu told people not to be greedy for wealth and possessions. His own example and that of his family set high standards which could not fail to impress visitors to Gudu and his fame spread. His asceticism, achieved through great self discipline, was coupled with a most gracious and charming manner and enormous learning. It was this personal example that was an inspiration to many.

The Shehu's
example

¹³ *Infak al-Maisur*, p. 32.



The Buta which belonged to the Shehu. From the buta he took water and prepared himself for prayer.

(Sokoto)

THE ESSENTIALS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT AND THE OBLIGATIONS OF LEADERSHIP

Waziri Abdullahi,¹ the younger brother of the Shehu has outlined clearly the obligation of a ruler and the rest of this chapter is taken from his book “Liya’al Hukkam”.²

The Caliph³ is appointed to safeguard the rule of law. He is appointed with a specific mandate to uphold the rule of law, to ensure justice and equality in such a way that the citizen gets his entitlements and the property and well-being of orphans, the infirm, the insane and so on, are safeguarded.⁴

The prime responsibility of the Caliph

Each Caliph must do his utmost and exercise power in the fear of Allah. If he is upright his work will show complete lack of self-interest. He is not appointed to oppress his subjects. What he must do is lead them as far as religion and their material well-being are concerned and thank Allah for having the opportunity to do so.⁵

To whom the Caliph is responsible

The Caliph must not neglect his appearance which should be simple but dignified. He should be calm and kind, encouraging goodness and abhorring evil and wickedness.

The Caliph’s appearance and behaviour

He should wear correct male attire and should not try to make himself look attractive as women do. He should not waste public funds, he should not wear any gold or silver nor should he dress up in clothes made of expensive materials. It is demeaning to do so.⁶ The Caliph must not pay slavish regard to fine clothes, horses or luxurious standards of housing.⁷

The Caliph’s clothes

¹ Muhammad Bello also wrote about good government in his book called *al-ghaith al wabl fi sirat al-imam al-adl*.

² Translated into Hausa by Mallam Haliru Binji. Published by NNPC.

³ Caliph has been translated into English as “Sultan.” For the sake of convenience the word Caliph has been retained.

⁴ *Liya’ al-Hukkam*, p. 13

⁵ LH p. 14

⁶ LH p. 14

⁷ LH p. 15

The Caliph must be on his guard and refuse to listen to mischief-makers. He should keep his voice low and watch what he says. He must never lie and never break a promise. If he makes a law he must ensure it is kept.

His characteristics

His actions must never differ from his words, for if they do, his people will lose respect for him.

There is no more dangerous situation than when the Caliph is no longer easily accessible to his people.⁸

The Caliph's responsibility

The Caliph must make himself accessible to ordinary men and women and even children, every day.⁹ He must not rely on the competence of his officials. It is quite likely that it is about his officials that people wish to complain: he must therefore listen to them. If he doesn't then he can be compared to a herdsman who, rather than guarding his herd, holds the cow (in this case, the people) by the horns to help the thief (his officials) steal the milk (his people's wealth).

In public the Caliph must show the same degree of familiarity with all the people.¹⁰ When people greet him he should not smile on some and not on others, or chat with some and not with others, because he is in no position to know whether or not those whom he is greeting are complainants or wrong doers.

How the Caliph should greet people

The Caliph must not only be upright, but he must let his uprightness shine before him as visible proof.¹¹ Uprightness is giving a man the wages, compensation and respect due to him. Uprightness is being generous, not from the public purse but from one's own pocket. Uprightness is refusing to accept presents of any kind. Uprightness is being fair in settling disputes, refusing to take sides.

The Caliph's uprightness

The Caliph must always be vigilant, whether in the office or on tour, he must be prepared for any eventuality or test of endurance.¹² He must be watchful and hunt down corrupt officials; just as a cat cannot be allowed custody of mice, so corrupt officials cannot be given custody of the Caliph's subjects. The Caliph has to root out oppressors.¹³ He must be

The role of the Caliph
Watchfulness
and Courage

⁸ In one short section Waziri Abdullahi repeats this injunction four times.

⁹ LH p. 18 ¹⁰ LH p. 18 ¹¹ LH p. 17 ¹² LH p. 15 ¹³ LH p. 16

completely fearless, a man of principle who will stand by his principles whatever the consequences. To rule, the Caliph has to be firm and strong, giving courage to others by his example.

The Caliph must be on guard all the time and not be deceived by first appearances. For example the chances are that envoys who come with gifts are really spies. The wise man will turn them away with their gifts. It is madness to even accommodate such envoys. The senders are just waiting to see what advantage they can get from the situation.¹⁴

Accepting
gifts

Good government is the stopping of oppression (forbidden by the Shari'a) and the promotion of uprightness which roots out tyranny and protects the public against wrong doers.

What is good
Government

It is obligatory according to the Shari'a, for the Caliph to prescribe rules and regulations in strict conformity with the Shari'a to ensure the smooth running of the administration.¹⁵ The Caliph must organise an effective administration for the benefit of his people. To this end he must appoint competent civil servants in a variety of capacities, judges, advisors, doctors, revenue collectors, police officers.

The Shari'a
and
administra-
tion

The Caliph will make¹⁶ frequent assessments of his officials: their assets before appointment will be probed and constant checks made into their work. Reprimands will be given to those who fail to maintain high standards and oppressors will be dismissed. Any unexplained wealth will be confiscated. The Caliph must protect his subjects from rapacious officials, like a herdsman protects his flock from hungry lions.

Assets of
officials

No appointment is properly made without completion of the following three conditions:¹⁷

Conditions of
appointment

- (a) The Caliph (or appointing body)¹⁸ must ensure the man to be appointed is qualified. If he is not qualified he should not be appointed. If it is necessary to make the appointment before

¹⁴ LH p. 16 ¹⁵ LH p. 85 ¹⁶ LH p. 16 ¹⁷ LH p. 43

¹⁸ The Caliph may be equated with the Public Service Commission in modern parlance (authority of Mallam Haliru Binji)

all the relevant information is available, the man should be given a temporary appointment subject to confirmation.

- (b) The person to be appointed must be given a clear description of his duties and the limits of his authority must be defined. Failure to do this negates the appointment.
- (c) The official awaiting appointment must be given his assignment in advance and its territorial limits must be defined.

It is forbidden for any appointment to be made on the basis of personal preference or favouritism¹⁹.

The Chief Adviser to the Caliph is the Waziri. He has full executive powers. He must be like a father to the Caliph, ever ready to remind him of his responsibilities, bringing things to his attention, reminding him of things he has forgotten about. He should advise the Caliph on all matters and confirm to him correct procedures. The Waziri cannot appoint an heir or regent to the Caliph, he may not resign from office nor depose anyone appointed by the Caliph. Otherwise he has full powers.

The Chief
Executive:
Waziri

The Waziri must be truthful, upright, of excellent character, understanding and compassionate. It is a terrible misfortune for both the people and the Caliph if the Chief Executive is not a man of excellence. The Waziri must look to Allah constantly and know that Allah is watching all his actions.

Regional Emirs²⁰ have full powers and their responsibilities are the same as those of the Caliph under whom they work, namely, the general well-being of the people. An Emir must not think that he owns the place he governs and thus use it as his personal property. To do this is gross misuse of authority.

Regional
Emirs

The Public Complaints Commissioners²¹ are appointed to check oppression and their functions are wider than those of judges. For instance they can investigate the malpractices of officials who are

Public
Complaints
Commission

¹⁹ LH p. 43 ²⁰ LH p. 24 ²¹ LH p. 25

difficult for a judge to deal with, so they have to have more power than judges. Rulers like to weaken the power of judges in order to oppress the poor and suppress complaints.

Rulers²² must seek every means of increasing the people's prosperity. Legal sources of revenue are taxes on wealth,²³ farms, animals and minerals. Payments made to the rulers in exchange for titles and positions are illegal. Allah has forbidden rulers to accept any money given to them in exchange for appointments in the civil service or in the judiciary, for they lead to irreligious practices, bribery and oppression of the poor. The man who pays for his title will extort what he has paid from the poor. Bribes²⁴ are forbidden: this means when there is any dispute, no presents may be given to the arbiter (whether Caliph, judge or civil servant) either before or after the judgement is made. Accepting presents is forbidden and detracts from the uprightness of any person in authority.

Revenue

The special tax²⁵ levied on behalf of the very poor must be collected and distributed as alms. Those whose needs are greatest will get theirs first. The Caliph must see that aid is properly distributed in accordance with actual need, so that what is not required in place 'A' can be transferred to place 'B' where the need is greater.

Social
Welfare

²² Note rulers here means all persons who are in a position to make appointments including PSCs (authority M. Haliru Binji)

²³ LH p. 18

²⁴ LH p. 18

²⁵ *Zakat* is wealth tax levied annually on the rich. For example the owner of 30 cows has to give up 1 male calf, the owner of 40 cows has to give up a female calf. A merchant has to give 1/40th of the value of his cash, etc. The "revenue" is redistributed to the poor. *Zakat fid da kai* or *zakar kono* is the redistribution of grain made annually at Id el Fitr. The rate is 2 cupped palms of grain (or 1 mudu) on behalf of each man, woman, child, servant in the house. The grain is given to those unable to make the zakat themselves. We are indebted to Mallam Haliru Binji for this information.

The Caliph must draw up his budget. The top priority is defence, then the wages of judges, teachers, ladans,²⁶ civil servants, then the distribution of extra gifts to the poor,²⁷ each receiving according to his need. Any surplus can be left in the Treasury for use in emergencies or for building mosques, repayment of loans, assistance to those wishing to marry, and pilgrims.

²⁶ Ladan = the public caller to prayer.

²⁷ Remember the *zakkat* tax is intended primarily for the poor:

Note

Waziri Abdullahi's book, which is very comprehensive, was written in response to a request made by those setting up a new administration in Kano in 1807.

Interested readers are referred to the original in Arabic or to the Hausa translation published by NNPC.



The Kofarsoro, or main entrance to Muhammad Bello's house: this gate replaced the original. The Sultan of Sokoto occupies this official residence.
(In Sokoto)

CHAPTER VI

THE SHARI'A: THE RULE OF LAW AND THE ROLE OF JUDGES

“Take care: Deal justly with their land, their children and their farms. If you do not, you will be the one to suffer in the end”¹

Waziri Abdullahi in his book *Liya'al Hukkam*, defined the work of judges thus:—

The work of judges

“To settle disputes, prevent oppression, aid the oppressed, encourage the right, prevent the wrong. That is all.”² The Shari'a law on which all judgements are to be made is the divine law which regulates the life of Muslims. The primary source of the Shari'a is the Qur'an and the second source is the Sunna (teachings and examples of the Prophet Muhammad)³ and the third is the Ijma'i (consensus of learned opinion).

What the Shari'a is

For a man who is truthful and administers justice honestly and truthfully and is willing to risk censure by applying the Laws of Allah, for a man who accepts no gifts whatsoever for whatever reason they are offered, being a judge is the responsibility which accrues more heavenly rewards than any other. So wrote Waziri Abdullahi.⁴ He added “such men are few”. To use the law as a means of oppression and to make judgements based on personal feelings are very serious sins.

The qualities of a judge

There are several conditions which must be fulfilled before a person may be appointed a judge.⁵ He must be male, free born, adult, Muslim, sensible, upright, learned, he must be able to see and hear. Other qualities required are excellence of judgement and intelligence. A judge must not be associated with carelessness and confused thinking.

Conditions necessary for being appointed a judge

The Alkali (judge) should have common sense, be dignified and patient, he must seek advice from the learned. He must have no disreputable friends.

The personal attributes of a judge

¹ *Wallahi-Wallahi* v. 8 ² *Liya'al Hukkam*, p. 28

³ Sheikh Abdullahi Dan Fodio

⁴ *Liya'al Hukkam*, p. 29

⁵ *Liya'al Hukkam*, p. 31

He should be an indigene who has never been punished for a serious offence,⁶ one who is not related to anyone with a criminal record. He should be serious minded but not bad-tempered; he should be modest but not to the extent of being weak.

The Alkali must look to himself first of all and perform all the duties and the laws of Allah required of him. He must also diligently safeguard his self respect. He must not do things which will bring him into disrepute. The only presents he may receive are those given to him by his son, his father, his aunts or his female cousins.⁷ He should not go to parties, except wedding parties and even then he should not eat anything.

Personal
behaviour

The Alkali must make himself available to everyone wishing to see him, rich and poor.⁸ He must be in his office at fixed times, and must not make judgments when feeling hungry, thirsty or annoyed. He must not listen to one side of a dispute without the other person involved being present, nor must he judge a case involving a close relative.

Professional
behaviour

Under the laws of Allah and his Messenger, all men are equal.⁹ Preferential treatment should not be given to anyone, neither scholars, nor students, nor Sheriffai (i.e. descendants of the Prophet). We are told in *Infak al-Maisur*¹⁰ that the Shehu considered it a mark of ignorance to make distinctions between people on tribal or national lines.

Equality
before the
Law

The judge should visit prisons. Prisons are intended to restrict free movement of wrong-doers but they should not restrict them in any cruel manner.¹¹ When visiting the prisons, judges should examine records and free anyone who has been imprisoned without proper conviction in a court of law.¹²

Visiting
prisons

The judge must investigate the behaviour of court officials to make sure they do not inconvenience innocent persons.

Probing court
officials

⁶ LH p. 32

⁷ LH p. 33

⁹ *Tanbih al-Ikhwan*

¹¹ LH p. 106

⁸ LH p. 34

¹⁰ IM p. 8 *Infak al-Maisur*

¹² LH p. 34

Alkalis must base their judgements on the Qur'an the Sunna and the Ijma'i (consensus of learned opinion). Under no circumstances may a judge trust in his own feelings and make judgements accordingly.

A judge's references

If the Caliph receives complaints to the effect that a judge is oppressive, he must investigate the complaints. The same applies if a senior judge receives complaints about a more junior judge. Enquiries about the suspected judge's behaviour should be made among citizens of high repute. If the complaints are found to be true, the judge should be dismissed and his judgements reviewed. Everything must be thoroughly investigated in order to clear the air of misunderstandings. Once a decision has been made by the court it shall be presumed that it is correct. Interference will cause harm and weaken the judges. Upright and honest judges must be freed from the taint of malicious accusations. It is common knowledge that all judges have their detractors.¹³ The Shehu wrote:¹⁴

Complaints about judges

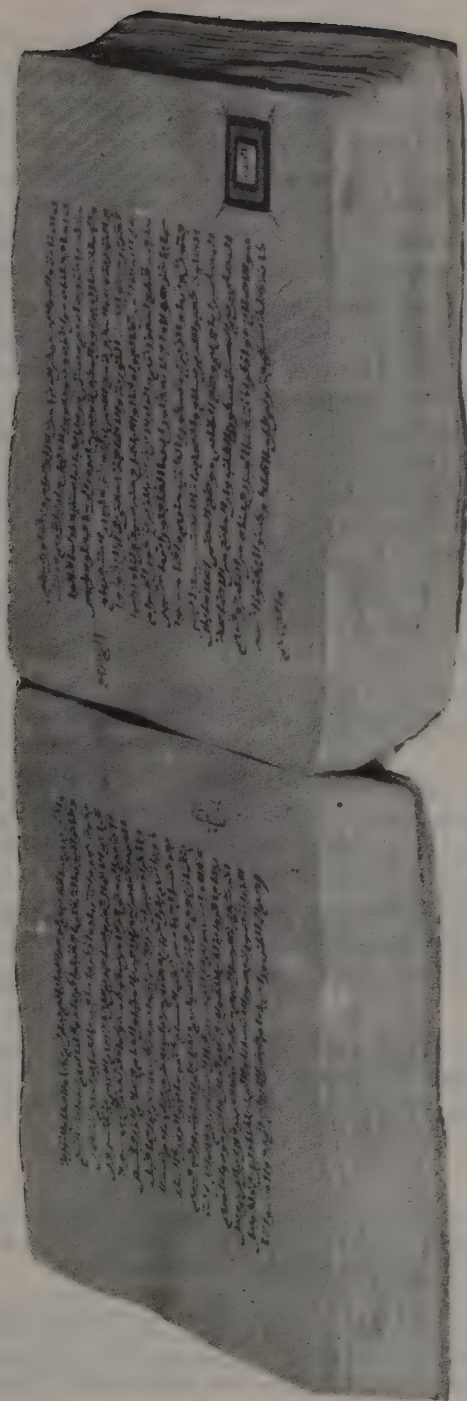
“You should pay attention to all the advice I have given you.

The Shehu speaks on oppressive judges

If you must forget anything, do not forget that he who changes the religion of Allah becomes an Unbeliever. For a judge to practise oppression constitutes a change in the religion of Allah, since he will be oppressive in his judgements and claim that this is the Shari'a. Whoever does this becomes an Unbeliever, for he mixes falsehood with truth and truth with falsehood.”

¹³ LH p. 37

¹⁴ *Tanbih al-Ikhwan*, p. 35



The Holy Qur'an in Abdullahi dan Fodio's own handwriting
(Birnin Kebbi)

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

The status of the Shehu and Waziri Abdullahi as scholars of international repute, and the learning of the other leaders of the Jihad are well established facts. It is not therefore our intention to review the state of scholarship among the Jama'a, preferring rather to discuss what they said about children's behaviour, schools and teachers, schools of higher learning and women's education.¹

It is the father's responsibility to see that his child is properly brought up. He must not allow him to develop greedy habits and must see that he eats his food nicely. He should dress him in simple white clothes and must not allow him to wear clothes made of expensive materials.² The father should teach his child to behave well and should instruct him to obey his teachers.

He should tell him stories about famous, noble, upright men in the hope that he will learn from their example.

Children should however be allowed to play when they come home from school. If children are kept at their books all the time, they will turn against school altogether.

It is the father's responsibility to teach his child the Qur'an,³ and also to choose the school which offers the best education, even if it means the child leaving home.⁴

As far as the organisation of schools is concerned they should be open from Saturday through to Wednesday, from early morning to about 10 o'clock and again from 2.30 to 5.00 p.m.⁵

Responsibilities of the father

Father must teach children about great men

Children must be allowed to play

The father chooses the best school for his child

School organisation hours and holidays

¹ This chapter is based on the research carried out for the authors by the eminent scholar Mallam Boyi, and his Makarantar Ilmi students.—

² *Tahazibul Insani min Hisali Shaidani* by Abdullahi Fodio.

³ *Tahazibul Insani op cit.*

⁴ *Lubabul Madahali* (This does not condone the irresponsible abandoning of children to semi nomadic mallams of Makarantar Bundi).

⁵ *al-Fara'id al-jalila* by Abdullahi Fodio dated 1796. That is from after Sallar Subahi to dhulfa. Then from Sallar Azufur to Sallar La'asar.

It is not necessary to teach children after sunset unless there has been prior agreement to this effect.⁶

The holiday for the Karamar Sallah (Lesser Bairam Festival) is three days and for Sallar Layya (Greater Bairam Festival), five days.

The teacher must fix times for opening and closing the school. Any pupil who comes late without excuse should be punished in such a way that he will not repeat the offence. This may in some cases be a scolding, in others a beating, depending on the child.⁷

Punctuality

Pedlars must not be allowed to sell things in the school and the teacher's friends must be prohibited from dropping in for a chat. Instructing pupils is to be preferred to airing opinions, while the teacher is gossiping to his friends the children will be playing about.⁸

Casual visits to the school

The acceptance of wages is permitted practice. The teacher should reach agreement over his wages in such a way that there will be no cause for disagreement later on.⁹

Paying the teacher

After a contract has been concluded the teachers must not accept any money brought by any child except with the prior agreement of the parent or guardian.¹⁰

No child may bring money or food to school. He could use the money to buy things, putting his classmates who have no money at a disadvantage.¹¹ The teacher must not treat some children better than others. He must not discriminate between the children of rich and poor parents.¹²

Equality of pupils

⁶ F.J.

⁷ LM: punishments are tailored to fit the individual.

⁸ LM.

⁹ LM.

¹⁰ LM.—This means that money donated to the children for their upkeep must not be seized by the teacher.

¹¹ LM.

¹² From the chapter *Taskiratu sami'i wal muta kalimi fi adabil ilmi wal muta alimi* by Abi Ishaka Ibrahim bin Saidu Alkanani. The book dated 671 AH (about 1256) was (and still is) used by Mallams. The copy used for this book is in the possession of Mallam Boyi.

A good teacher should by his nature be very patient.¹³ He must be truthful, trustworthy and pious and set an example for the children to follow. His appearance must be clean and neat.¹⁴

The qualities of a good teacher

If the salary agreed between him and the parent is insufficient for his needs he should practise a craft in order to support himself.¹⁵

His status

He should be a married man, not open to temptation and his wife should be a respectable woman.¹⁶

It is the teacher's duty to stay in the classroom with his pupils because if they are left unattended they will become unruly. The teacher is responsible for the behaviour of the children while they are in school, therefore it is not proper to leave them without anyone to look after them or correct them.¹⁷

Duties of a teacher

A teacher may not leave his class to make visits to the sick, to attend a funeral, nor to pay his condolences to the bereaved. He must avoid leaving the children unattended. Should he have to look to his farm during the farming season, he can be excused, but for not more than three days.¹⁸

Teacher's absence from class

The teacher must instruct children not to defecate or urinate in public places for fear that others may, inadvertently, soil their clothes. It is the teacher's responsibility to see that children's visits to the toilet are regulated and that they ablute correctly afterwards.

Teacher's responsibility for maintenance of rules of hygiene

If the children go to the toilet and fail to return quickly the teacher must warn them. They must not be allowed to play about there.¹⁹

It is the teacher's responsibility to send home a child who complains of being unwell. Alternatively the teacher can take him to the doctor.²⁰

Sick children

¹³FJ

¹⁴Tahazibul Insani.

¹⁵The money children's parents give him may be insufficient, especially if they are poor. The teacher should be self reliant and not dependent on the generosity of benefactors.

¹⁶LM

¹⁷LM

¹⁸FJ. This is consistent with the notion that the teacher may be self-supporting.

¹⁹LM

²⁰LM

A teacher must himself teach all the children, meaning that he must listen to them read individually. If there are too many children for this to be possible he should have assistants to help him. He should however be there among them to supervise what they are doing.²¹

Teachng
methods:
Reading

The teacher should teach the children to write in the same manner that he taught them to read. Writing is a great aid to reading and fixes it in the mind.²²

Writing

A bad teacher is one who evinces the following characteristics: he is envious, tells lies, does not give good advice to his pupils. He hangs round influential people in the hope of getting favours. He commits sins openly, which his pupils can copy. He is immoral and puts his education to waste. He has no enthusiasm for his job and the children gain nothing at all from him. He doesn't work industriously in school time and sits about idle.

The bad
teacher

Action should be taken against such teachers. If they fail to reform withdraw your children from them.²³

As far as higher education is concerned the keen student can continue his education in the Makarantar Ilmi²⁴ after he has finished reading the Qur'an in Makarantar Allo, the primary school described above.

Makarantar
Ilmi

In neither of these schools is there a rigid age barrier to entry. Although Makarantar Allo is usually for children yet there is no ban to stop an adult who wishes to join.

In the Makarantar Ilmi it is normal to find students of all ages and varied abilities. The road to higher education is long and difficult but it is open to everyone who wishes to toil upon it, progress being made according to ability and perseverance.

Makarantar
Ilmi are open
to all

²¹ LM: The meaning of the last sentence is, the teacher must be there to ensure the teachers do not teach anything of which he does not approve (curriculum control).

²² LM

²³ TS.

²⁴ Makarantar = school Ilmi = knowledge Allo = writing board. The traditional Makarantar Ilmi, like Makarantar Allo still flourish. There is reason to believe that M. Boyi's ilm school is similar in its ideology and conduct to the ilm schools attended and established by the teachers of the Jihad.

Boys are put to the school chosen for them by their fathers. Adults are advised²⁵ to visit a number of schools before deciding on the one they wish to join. They are advised to select the one which will suit them best, taking into consideration the temperament of the Mallam in charge and the standard of education of his school.²⁶

Joining a makarantar ilmi

If and when the student reaches advanced stages in his studies he can choose a particular discipline, theology, law, mathematics, for example, and study under a senior "Professor" Mallam who has made a name for himself as a master of a particular discipline.

The advanced student

The rules and curriculum of the Makarantar Ilmi are aimed at fixing the ideology of the community in the hearts of all students as well as increasing academic knowledge. No student in Makarantar Ilmi lacks an aim in life which broadly speaking is to put his knowledge at the service of the community. An educated man who selfishly refuses to serve his people stands condemned.²⁷

The ethos of makarantar ilmi

Piety, perseverance, obedience and service characterise the Makarantar Ilmi. To these should be added self reliance, the student being expected and required to practise a craft or trade to support himself while studying.²⁸

Into a school of this kind the student is expected to come with the right attitudes to learning which are well developed commonsense, good behaviour, piety, courtesy and modesty of outlook.²⁹

The attitude to learning

Waziri Abdullahi quotes the example³⁰ of a scholar with 600 students who when he had finished teaching, returned to his house and undertook his own menial chores rather than ask his students to do them for him. This unassuming attitude and refusal to use his position greatly enhanced the esteem in which he was held by his students and colleagues.

²⁵ *Ta'alim-al mutalimi*

²⁶ *Ta'alim al mutalimi*

²⁷ Muh Tukur in *Sorborai*

²⁸ See below the quotation from *Tanbih al sahib ala ahkam al-Makasib*

²⁹ *Lubabul Madahali* Abdullahi dan Fodio

³⁰ This quotation is from *Madahalu* and is quoted in *Lubabul Madahali*

The student is enjoined to practise his religion throughout his studenthood and to model his behaviour on the Prophet Muhammad. (Peace be upon Him). He is told to be whole-hearted in his determination, to seek advice, ask for guidance, and ally himself with students who will strengthen his resolve.³¹

The student should be pious

He is advised not to boast about the number of books he has read,³² for fear that in his haste to read them he fails to understand them. He should study according to his ability. People are not equally gifted. A student should recognise his own limitations and not strive to keep up with someone clearly more intelligent and able than himself.

Student should realise his limitations

Youth and life must be put to effective use and not be wasted.³³ The student should put aside all distractions and apply himself to his learning. He should be content with what he gets in the way of food, clothes and accommodation. The aspirant scholar should not seek education full of self-esteem, desiring power.³⁴

The pains of student-hood

The student has to eat and be clothed like anyone else. He is expected to be self-reliant and have some kind of a job to keep himself. Thatching, rope-making, farming, tool making and so on are typical occupations.³⁵

Self-reliance

Muhammad Bello³⁶ says that the Annabi Isa,³⁷ on coming across a religious man who had no occupation other than perfecting his religion, asked him who provided for him. On hearing the man say that his brothers sustained him Isa rebuked him, saying, his brothers were more worthy than he.

³¹ *Lubabul Madahali* by M. Abdullahi

³² *Lubabul Madahali*

³³ *Taskiratu sami'i wal muta kalimi fi adabil ilmi wal muta alimi.*

³⁴ The chapter entitled *Adabul Muta'alimu.*

³⁵ Upholding the principles of self reliance the Shehu and his family all had crafts which they diligently followed all their lives and by means of which they bought the food they ate. The Shehu made rope, Mallam Abdullahi was an arrow-binder, Bello and Sarkin Kano Dabo farmed with their own hands.

³⁶ *Tanbih al sahib ala ahkam al-makasib.*

³⁷ Annabi Isa = Jesus Christ.

The young student, keen to learn, supporting himself through the work of his own hands, is first given a thorough grounding in the ideology of the community he is expected to serve. To this end he studies theology, law and religious observances.³⁸ After this he is given deep and methodical training in Arabic, the language of scholarship, the key to the Islamic Sciences.

First steps in Makarantar Ilmi ideology and language

The student is then ready for serious study at a high level in one or more of the various disciplines which he can choose for himself.

The student is expected to behave in a most respectful manner at the Makarantar Ilmi. He has to show his respect by how he speaks and through his conduct towards his Mallam. He must give him his full attention, show him deference and never argue with him. The good student is obedient, he should not correct his teacher even if the teacher makes a mistake.³⁹ He must not however accept or use misinformation thus given to him.

Respect for teachers

There is no upper age limit at which a student must leave the Makarantar Ilmi. He may attend for years learning little by little, or he may, like the Jihad leaders apply himself vigorously to the task of learning and become a scholar while still a young man.

The case of women's education deserves a special note. The Shehu educated his sons and daughters alike. We have proof of this in the letters, prose and poetry which they wrote. For example the authors have read (in translation) works by Habsatu, Hadijatu, Maryam and Asma'u, all daughters of the Shehu. Nana Asma'u,⁴⁰ the most famous, wrote poetry and prose in three languages, Arabic, Fulfulde and Hausa. She translated her father's poetry (and that of others) from Fulfulde into Hausa verse,

Women's education

³⁸ See Hiskett's introduction to '*Tazyin al-Waraqat*' by Abdullahi Fodio.

³⁹ 'Only the Prophets never make mistakes' Adabul ma'a Shaifihi (Chapter 3) in the book *Taskiratu Sami'u*.

⁴⁰ Her works are unpublished except for *Tahbat Hakika*, her translation of the Shehu's poem written about 1812. There are 45 other works, now all transcribed, and undergoing analysis.

transposing the imagery, idiom and metre from one language to another with artistry grown from scholarship. She also embroidered her own lines into the poems of others, a skill known as Tahmis.⁴¹ She had her own school attended by men and women students⁴² and played a major part in preserving the Shehu's library after his death. She said, regarding the seclusion of women, that they are permitted to leave their homes if out of necessity they have to get food or if they wish to pursue their education.⁴³

The Shehu condemned the way Mallams neglected the education of their wives and daughters "leaving them abandoned like beasts".⁴⁴

He condemned the Mallams for spending their time teaching their students while leaving their women folk in ignorance. "They treat their wives and daughters like tools to work with. When they are spoiled they are thrown on the rubbish-heap."

⁴¹ *Hulneenday*: poem by Muhammad Tukur with Tahmis by Nana Asma'u, undated.

⁴² An undated list of her students written by Nana beginning "These are the students of Asma'u daughter of the Caliph Uthman, may Allah be pleased with him."

⁴³ Poem dated 1858, verse 10

⁴⁴ *Nur al-albab* p. 10



The Gafakka in which Abdullahi dan Fodio's Qur'an is presently kept.
(*Gafakka means Satchel. It is made of leather from Sokoto goat skin*)
(*Birnin Kebbi*).

EVIDENCE OF THE INTEREST OF THE LEADERS IN DAY-TO-DAY MATTERS

At this stage it might be felt by some that the Leaders of the Jihad were mere theoreticians writing about theology, law, justice, and government, at levels beyond the understanding of ordinary people. However, the Shehu, Waziri Abdullahi, Sultan Bello, Nana Asma'u and the rest were very much concerned with day-to-day things which affect everyone, as well as the broader issues. Here are some examples taken from their books.

The leaders were not mere theoreticians

Do not terrify boys when they are being circumcised by telling them they will be beaten if they show cowardice. This is entirely forbidden. It is not permitted to punish them in anyway because they cry. Let them do it.¹

The Shehu on circumcision

A forbidden innovation is taking place with the circumcision of boys, weddings, feasts, and naming ceremonies. The innovation is the mingling of men and women, singing and dancing. All these practices are forbidden in the Qur'an, the Sunna and the Ijma'i.²

The Shehu on parties

There is a lack of uniformity in measuring equipment. This is forbidden. Uniformity of measuring equipment, whether large or small is obligatory under the Shari'a in order that each piece of equipment should be the same size as any other. It is not, however, obligatory, for all the towns in one country to have a single standard of measurement. What is obligatory is that there shall be only one standard of measurement in a single town.³

The Shehu on measuring equipment

The following is the use of the "mudu" according to the Shari'a. The measurer sets the mudu level and then pours in what he has to measure carefully until it is well and truly full up. The measurer must not press down the contents or tip the mudu or shake it or practise any tricks of any kind.⁴

The Shehu on how to measure grain

¹ *Nur al-albab*, p. 21

² *Nur al-albab*, p. 18

³ *Nur al-albab*, p. 22

⁴ *Nur al-albab*, p. 22

The Shehu taught us that it was forbidden to wail “Wayyo-Wayyo” when someone dies. Genuine tears of grief for the beloved are however permitted.⁵

Nana on wailing

It is not permitted for a man to put a tethering peg for his animals too close to his neighbour’s house. The smell of the urine and dung coupled with the noise made by the animals will prevent people from having a good night’s rest. Similarly blacksmiths and corngrinders may not work at night for the noise they make is very disturbing.⁶

Waziri Abdullahi on the public nuisance which keeps one awake at night

It is not permitted for a man to position the rain gutter on his house so that the rain water pours into his neighbour’s compound. The only exception is when the neighbour gives him permission to do so.⁷

Waziri Abdullahi the nuisance caused by rain gutters

If rubbish accumulates in the space between houses and the identity of the people who have left the rubbish there is unknown, the neighbours must clean the place up. The householder nearest the rubbish dump should be asked to start the work and then the other neighbours according to the distance they live from the dump. They are required to do this work as they are the people most responsible for putting the rubbish there in the first place.⁸

Waziri Abdullahi on the disposal of rubbish

Grant the herdsmen
green pastures.

A Prayer of
Nana Asma’u

Grant our people good health,
for your generosity
O Allah is bountiful.

Grant our horses good health to fight the Jihad:
And our donkeys and mules good
health to carry people and goods.

⁵ *Marsiya Mu’Inna* by Nana Asma’u in Fulfulde verses 3 and 4

⁶ *Liya ’al Hukkam*, p. 114

⁷ LH p. 114

⁸ LH p. 117

Grant our cattle good health and also our goats
camels and sheep, so that we shall
enjoy some comfort.⁹

One of the things which has caused misfortune to spread, is the habit of saying days are of good or bad omen. How on earth can one prefer some days to others? Of all things that are of benefit to men, there are none so important as eating or drinking because it is through them that the body is built. There is no day on which people are going to stop eating and drinking. Doing this brings them no misfortune. How could any other activities bring misfortune? It is folly, it is ignorance, it is error, it is forbidden innovation.¹⁰

The Shehu on
superstitions

At this point you may feel that the leaders of the Jihad were able to make these pronouncements because they were living in untroubled times talking to people who were very obedient and willing to do as they were instructed.

However, the Mujaddid and his Companions lived in the most turbulent times. During the period they did most of their writing, during and after the Jihad, they were endeavouring to quell their enemies and put their ideas into effect in the teeth of most resolute opposition. Although it is not our intention here to discuss the war, readers are reminded that the Shehu, Waziri Abdullahi and Bello waged war for the preservation of the Caliphate until each of them died. Bello personally led 47 different campaigns.

The Mujaddid
met with
serious
opposition

Even among their own people they met with opposition and disobedience! Waziri Abdullahi wrote:

“I have been left with those who seek only pleasure. Most of them have given up their religion and chosen the world in order to pursue their heart’s delight. They burn to taste the forbidden pleasures: they devour them as a beast devours grass. They do not listen to their commanders”.

⁹ *Addu'a* dated 1855 by Nana Asma'u

¹⁰ *Nur al-albab*

The Leaders theorized about the “ideal society” and wrote about all aspects of it at length. Their endeavours to preserve their own Jama’ar Musulmi brought them into conflict with the Sarakunan Hausa. They fought the Jihad and in the process, the Sarakuna were overthrown. The Mujaddid and his companions laboured to implement what they believed in, before, during and after the Jihad. In the next section we shall examine the Caliphate under Bello to see whether he implemented what had been written about, whether he practised what had been preached.

The struggle
to implement
reform

CHAPTER IX

MUHAMMAD BELLO, SON OF SHEHU UTHMAN DAN FODIO HIS PERSONAL EXAMPLE AND ADMINISTRATION

In 1809 the Caliph Muhammad Bello, son of the Shehu, started to build a new city in a sparsely inhabited area on the banks of the River Sokoto, about twenty miles from the old home at Degel.

He was twenty-six years old. In his youth he had been a willing and intelligent student. In his early manhood he became an astute and courageous army commander. For most of the duration of the Jihad the Shehu, together with the women and children of his Community, had no secure base. Muhammad Bello undertook their defence and at the same time led brilliant attacks on the enemy.

Fearless on the battle field he made himself known to his enemies, calling "I am the son of Uthman the strength of his right arm." It was he who led the assault on Alkalawa, the enemy capital, and received the submission of the Community's enemy.

Almost immediately he turned to building Sokoto. In this section we have tried to show how he implemented the teachings of the Shehu and his brother Waziri Abdullahi. We have left aside the organization of the Caliphate at large, and have not included the later campaigns Bello led. We have also omitted an account of the books he wrote.

We believe what he did in Sokoto alone is enough to establish his reputation as a man of world significance, a man every Nigerian should be proud of.

People came from Agadez, Kano, Nupe, Zamfara and places further afield to make a new start under a new kind of government. Bello “warmly welcomed all who came, Fulanis, Buzus, Arabs, Hausas”¹.

The new city appeared to Clapperton, the English explorer, bigger than Kano², and Lander³ estimated the population to be one hundred and twenty thousand. The wall was between seven to ten metres high⁴ and had twelve gates which were closed at sunset. There were regular well built streets, two mosques and a spacious market.

Note: You will observe that we have tried to let the facts speak for themselves and have added little comment of our own.

Everything has been related to written contemporary evidence as far as possible backed up with the inside information gleaned from the descendants of Bello's office holders.

More information about our sources will be found in the Appendix.

¹ Nana Asma'u *Gawakuke* V. 13 1858

² Clapperton *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries* 1826 p. 112 (CN VOL 1).

³ Lander was Clapperton's servant and companion.

⁴ CN P. 112.

BELLO'S ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP

The Constitution

“The Caliph is appointed to safeguard the Rule of Law. Each Caliph must do his utmost to exercise power in the fear of Allah”

The foundations of the New Society in Sokoto were four in number; the Qur'an, the Shari'a which is based on the injunctions of the Qur'an, the Hadith or traditions of the Prophet Muhammad and the consensus of learned opinion, or Ijma'i.

Bello did not have to look for a Constitution. It was already contained in the Shari'a which guides the lives of all Believers. All facets of the Shari'a are dealt with in great detail in the books he had studied deeply and whose teachings he fully understood. He read in his lifetime more than twenty thousand books and was fluent in Arabic, Hausa and Fulfulde⁵. He was well acquainted with the texts on Constitutional Law.

The Caliph's personal behaviour

“The Caliph should not dress in clothes made of expensive materials. He must lead his people as far as religion is concerned. He should make himself accessible to ordinary people everyday.

The chances are that envoys who come with gifts are really spies. It is madness to accept gifts”

⁵ Nana Asma'u

Gawakuke vv 6, 7, 8, 9, 1858

The Caliph Bello was above average in height⁶ and strongly built. He was “noble looking”⁷ with a fine forehead and nose, small mouth and large eyes. When Clapperton met Bello in 1824 he was dressed in a light blue cotton gown and a white turban part of which was folded over his nose in tuareg fashion.⁸ In October 1826 the same traveller commented that the governors of the different provinces were all, with the exception of the governor of Adamawa, better dressed than Bello.⁹

He was scrupulous in the observance of his religious duties and at a personal level set an example for all to follow. During Ramadan, the month of fasting, he would spend two hours in the mosque after sunset¹⁰. He exhorted his people to follow the Sunna and built or rebuilt a mosque in every town¹¹.

Inside the walls of his house were many huts¹², five tower-like buildings, a small mosque and a garden which Bello tended with his own hands¹³. There was also a building in which he received visitors and made himself accessible to his people¹⁴. He had a very pleasant and friendly manner¹⁵ and laboured to assuage his people’s griefs and problems”¹⁶.

In his own apartments, which were simple,¹⁷ he read his books. In conversations he had with Clapperton he discussed astronomy, theology, medicine, mathematics, trade, the British conquest of India, the fighting going on at that time in Algiers, the Moorish civilization in Spain, revealing the wide range of his interests and the depth of his knowledge.¹⁸

⁶ CN VOL 1 P. 83

⁷ CN VOL 1 P. 83

⁸ CN VOL 2 P. 185

⁹ CN VOL 1 P. 111

¹⁰ Nana Asma’u *Wakar Gewaye*, Fulfulde version V. 119

¹¹ Nana Asma’u *Wakar Gewaye* Fulfulde version V. 116

¹² CN VOL 1 P. 109

¹³ Authority of Waziri Junaidu and Mallam Boyi

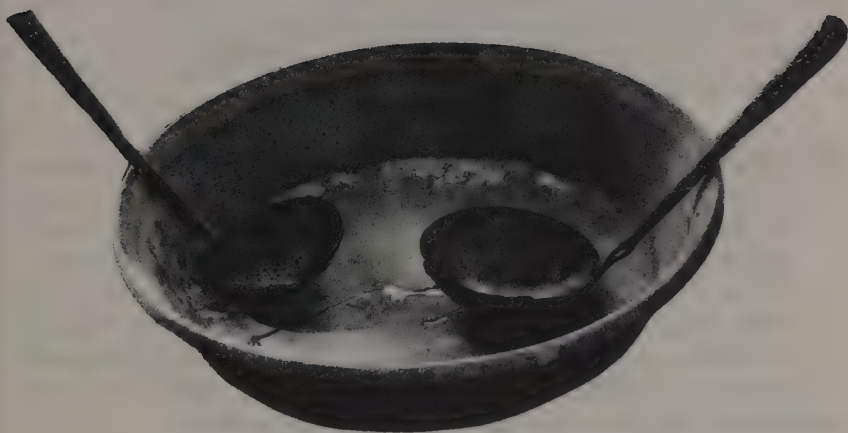
¹⁴ CN VOL 1 P. 109

¹⁵ Nana Asma’u *Marsiya Bello* V. 12

¹⁶ Nana Asma’u *Marsiya Bello* V. 11

¹⁷ CN: There are descriptions in both volumes

¹⁸ CN VOL 1 Page 85. Vol 2 P. 198



The utensils used for making granulated sugar at Gidan Mai Kara. These utensils are the ones connected with Muhammad Bello

(Gidan Mai Kara : a village near Sòkoto)

Bello had a woman servant called Yar Gurma¹⁹ whose job it was to tend the lamp in his room at night. If state papers were brought to him she would extinguish his personal lamp and light another one lit by oil bought from treasury funds. On finishing with the state papers, his own lamp would be re-lit.

He set a new standard in probity by rejecting gifts. The Chief of Mafara, Gerenge sent Zitaro, his envoy with a large present.²⁰ Bello said to Zitaro,

“Don’t get involved in evil doings. Tell Gerenge that this present is unlawful and it is therefore unacceptable.”

The Caliph’s Chief Executive, the Waziri

“The Chief adviser to the Caliph is the Waziri. He has full executive powers, He must be like a father to the Caliph, ever ready to remind him of his responsibilities.”

“He must be truthful, upright, of excellent character, understanding and compassionate.”

The Waziri²¹ of Bello was Gidado dan Laima, his friend who had acted as liaison officer between Bello and the Shehu during the Jihad. He was, in Clapper-ton’s words “an excellent man he has unbounded influence with the Sultan.”²²

He was brave, scholarly and industrious, being noted for his kindly manner. “He spoke Arabic extremely well.”²³ He kept strict control over the city and addressed meetings at which he reminded his listeners of the Shehu’s injunctions.²⁴ He was in charge of correspondence with the eastern allies Kano, Katsina, Bauchi, and it was he who led the Sokoto contingent to the aid of Bauchi in 1826.²⁵

¹⁹ Gurma is a place in Zabarma, that is, to the west of present day Nigeria.

This episode is taken from Gidado’s book *Majmu ashab al Sayyid Muh. Bello*

²⁰ Nana Asma’u poem dated 1838 vv 21–24

²¹ He was formally made Waziri when Abdullahi, the Shehu’s brother relinquished the position after the Shehu’s death.

²² CN Vol. 1 P. 85

²³ CN Vol. 1 P. 82

²⁴ Nana Asma’u *Marsiya* on Gidado vv 16, 17, 18.

²⁵ CN. Vol 2

His duties in Sokoto included the upkeep and repair of the city walls, gates and mosques and the reception of visitors. After the Shehu's death, in partnership with his wife Nana Asma'u, he organized the preservation of the Shehu's library.²⁶

The Caliph's advisers

"The Caliph must appoint competent advisers." The chief advisers to Bello were men who had proved their loyalty, courage and ability in the Jihad.

They included Galadima Doshiro a former adviser at the Gobir court who had joined the Shehu in October, 1805 before the first attack on the Gobir capital, and Abubakar Dan Jada, killed fighting at Kware in 1818. The Magajin Gari of Sokoto is descended from Dan Jada.

Others were Bello's cousin, Ubandoma Muhammadu, son of the Shehu's brother Ali, Muðegyel son of the Shehu's great friend and life-long companion Umaru Alkamu, and Aliyu Jedo the war commander appointed by the Shehu to this position in 1804.

Officers connected with Justice and Law Enforcement

"The Caliph is appointed with a specific mandate to uphold the Rule-of-Law, to ensure justice and equality.

The work of judges is to settle disputes, prevent oppression, aid the oppressed, encourage the right, prevent the wrong."

Commander Clapperton wrote "The laws of the Qur'an were in his (the Shehu's) time *and indeed continue to be* so strictly put in force.....that the whole country, when not in a state of war, was so well regulated that it is a common saying that a woman might travel with a casket of gold upon her head from one end of the Fellata dominions to the other."²⁷ At a personal level, Bello was always willing to forgive wrongdoers, those who were lazy or invented excuses perhaps: he exercised great patience

²⁶ Nana Asma'u *Marsiya Gidado*

²⁷ CN VOL 2 P. 206, our italics

with people. On the other hand, those who actually broke the law he committed to the courts. Nana Asma'u his sister, said he only became angry when confronted with such lawbreakers. When angry he could not be appeased.²⁸

The Chief Judge was Mallam Mustafa²⁹ and other judges were appointed to ensure swift justice for the large population.³⁰ The market was under the charge of a judge³¹ named Miko, it being his responsibility to ensure that grain was correctly measured out and that no foodstuffs, including milk, were adulterated.

The Chief Law Enforcement officer, (or Police Chief to use a modern term and Sarkin Dogarai to use an older term) was Bango. It is illustrative of Bello's acceptance of people that he made Bango Chief of Police, for Bango was a Gobir man and had held the same position under Sarkin Gobir. Bello asked him what his previous title had been and when told it was Bango, he said he could retain it.³² The second in command was Karfi which means "strength" in Hausa. Bello retained a large and highly efficient intelligence system and made it his business to know what was going on.³³

Officers connected with revenue collection and distribution: zakkat and ganima

"The special tax levied on behalf of the very poor must be collected and distributed as gifts."

There was no revenue as we think of it today. There was no oil revenue, no systematic taxation: officials did not have monthly salaries.

In the first place, each family was expected to be self-sufficient. The settlers were allocated farm land

²⁸ Nana Asma'u poem 1253 vv. 13, 14

²⁹ The first Chief Judge, the one appointed by the Shehu in 1804, was killed in battle in November of the same year.

³⁰ For example Alkalin Daji, Alkalin Waziri, Alkalin Garka.

³¹ The present head of the market is not a Judge. His title is Lumu and he is descended from Jan Ido, Bello's public executioner.

³² Interview with Mallam Muh. Magaji and Mallam Boyi na Sarkin Kudu. October, 1977

³³ Nana Asmau' Poem 1254 V. 28

and were expected to provide their own food. The farm workers on the farms³⁴ outside the city walls were captives and prisoners of war who, according to Clapperton were "generally well treated. . . . at the time of the harvest each slave gets a bundle of the different sorts of grain for himself. The grain on his own ground is entirely left for his own use. . . . The domestic slaves are fed the same as the rest of the family with whom they appear to be on equal footing."³⁵

Bello created an irrigated farm in his own house which, as an example, he watered himself. We have seen elsewhere that he criticized the parasites in society who were content to let others provide for them. It was a very strongly held belief that everyone, no matter what his status, should toil with his hands to earn his daily bread. The Shehu had made rope; Bello's brother-in-law, the Emir of Kano, Suliman, also worked in his own garden; because of illness he had, at one time, to give this activity up. He therefore announced at Sallah time, that he would not be killing a ram because, he said, he had not earned, through his gardening, sufficient money to buy one.³⁶ There were, however, three outside sources of revenue.

Zakkat

Each year, every well-off householder was (and still is) expected to total up his wealth and give part of it away to the poor. There is no set time: a man can decide on December, or July, or any other time, but he must do his reckoning-up annually. There is a fixed rate for zakkat. From the sum of his wealth a man must give one fortieth away. If he has his wealth tied up in cattle and sheep he must make his contribution according to a scale. A man with more than forty goats or sheep but less than one hundred and twenty gives away one animal, and as the number of

³⁴ For example the village Runjin Sambo contained the farm of Sambo who led the Shehu's mare: Gidan Bango belonged to *Bango*. Gidan Mai Tuta belonged to the Sa'i Mai Tuta.

³⁵ CN Vol. 2 p. 213.

³⁶ Alhaji Abubakar Dokaji *Kano ta Dabo Cigari* p. 50.

animals increases, so does the number he must give away. There is a similar but different scale for cattle. The redistribution of wealth is not to be done secretly, but openly so that everyone knows. The householder is permitted to give some part or all of the zakkat to any poor person he knows personally; in Bello's time the rest was sent to the Caliph who had overall responsibility for seeing that it was properly distributed in accordance with actual need within the community.

Under Bello's administration, Suliman Wodi, the Ajiya³⁷ received the zakkat on the Caliph's behalf. Suliman Wodi³⁸ had served the Shehu in the same capacity and was a man of unimpeachable character.

The man responsible for going round to ensure that the zakkat was given up was Sa'i Mai Tuta:³⁹ He was with the Shehu at Degel. During the Jihad he was appointed chief of the standard bearers and himself carried the Shehu's standard on to the battlefield, which is proof of his courage and loyalty. He died during Bello's reign and was succeeded in the post by his son. The zakkat was not a voluntary contribution: Sa'i investigated who had paid what and, with the aid of dogarai (policemen) extracted payments from the unwilling.

In extreme cases he was empowered to detain a reluctant householder while the dogarai forcibly removed zakkat payments.

The zakkat, having been delivered to Ajiya either by individuals or by Sa'i was then distributed according to the Shari'a by Muhtasib,⁴⁰ who, with his far ranging powers and authority was in a position to know where help was needed.

The poor who did not know where to turn for the next meal, and those who had insufficient food laid by

³⁷ Ajiya = Treasurer

³⁸ The descendants of Wodi hold the title Tsaki in Durbawa District.

³⁹ His name was Ibrahim. His descendants live in the family home which is East of the Shehu Mosque and at Gidan Mai Tuta, the farm outside the city. The present Sa'i lives at another of the farms near Kilgori.

⁴⁰ Bello's appointee was Alkali Bello.

to carry them through the year had first claim to zakkat. Certain other categories also had claim to zakkat but the poor were the biggest and most important group.⁴¹ No title holder, no householder, no Mallam was entitled to zakkat.

At the time of the Id al Adha (when the rams are killed) each householder must give on behalf of himself and every person, man, woman or child in his charge four measures of grain⁴² to his poor neighbours. This is to ensure everyone has enough to eat to celebrate the feast. This offering was no concern of Sa'i's he had to ensure that the annual wealth tax was paid. The zakkat is meant, for, the really poor, the destitute, the old, the war injured, and the widows and orphans received as their right-some share in the wealth of society; on the great feast day itself, everybody had a good meal.⁴³

Ganima

Ganima is booty or goods acquired in war. Ganima can be money,⁴⁴ horses, clothes, grain, weapons, or prisoners. The Shari'a contains the rules by which the division of ganima is made. In brief, one-fifth went to the Caliph for the Treasury and the rest was divided between the combatants. Bello equipped his forces with the weapons and horses, but he took no part of Treasury resources for his own personal use.⁴⁵ He insisted on being self-supporting.

⁴¹ The eight categories were listed for us by the present Sa'i.

⁴² Known in Sokoto as *Zakkat Kono* and in Kano *Zakkat fid da kai*.

⁴³ As anyone knows who lives in Nigeria, the day after the Id al Adha, the ram meat is shared out, everyone getting something, no matter how small.

⁴⁴ In Bello's time cowrie shells were used as money. 50 cowries bought 2 litres of milk in 1826.

⁴⁵ See M. Last *Sokoto Caliphate* P. 185 and his reference to Abdulkadir's book *Manaqih Ali*. A further explanation may be necessary here. Muhammad Bello worked with his own hands to support himself, his family and to feed his personal horse. His own household therefore was his own concern and no provisions were made for it from Treasury or State funds.

Sadaka

Sadaka is a gift made in the name of Allah without hidden motive. Customarily sadaka is given to Mallams: it is "halal" (permitted) and they may keep it. Zakkat is not sadaka. The Shehu as the greatest Mallam of his age was sent sadaka, and so was Bello. Neither ever touched the sadaka but paid it direct to the Treasurer for re-distribution. In Bello's time there was no "gaisuwa" or tributary payments from other parts of the Caliphate.⁴⁶

Other Officers

If Sokoto in 1824 had been only half the size of Lander's estimate (in other words if it had had only sixty thousand inhabitants) considerable organization had been needed to effect its orderly growth. In 1809 when Bello founded the city there were no buildings (apart from several dyers' dwellings) no walls, no farms, no roads; fifteen years later the city was a model of its kind.

Bello's genius lay in his powers of organization. The butchers, dyers, tanners, weavers, blacksmiths and other craftsmen were organized under their section leaders⁴⁷ who were selected for their skill and piety and commitment to the idealism of the society.

The organization of trade will be discussed later. Here we shall mention those officers listed by the Shehu's son, Isa, in his work "*Amu gode badini zahiri*"

Road development was under Sarkin Hurumi who standardized road widths. He carried with him two measures: the shorter one was for the city streets used by pedestrians. These had to be wide enough for a man and woman to pass each other without embarrassment. The second one was much wider

⁴⁶ *Jiziya*: jiziya is money paid by Non-moslems to Moslems as part of a "peaceful-co-existence pact". It is paid before the outbreak of hostilities and is not payable by defeated enemies; it follows therefore that jiziya did not form a significant part of the "revenue" of Bello's administration, (authority — Mallam Sidi Sayudi Muhammad)

⁴⁷ The dyers leader was a Mallam—his name was M. Sama'ila.

and was used for highways: ensuring two way traffic, so that two laden donkeys could pass each other without difficulty. Sarkin Hurumi opened up new cattle-drovers' roads and ensured free access for all, to public wells.

When a householder dies, his estate is apportioned according to the Shari'a. Disputes particularly over houses and farms, arise. In Bello's time there was an officer to sort out inheritance disputes.⁴⁸ His title was Salanke.⁴⁹ Horses were his hobby and he was therefore a judge of a different kind; he adjudicated at the horse trials held from time to time to test horses for speed, strength and stamina⁵⁰ and therefore their fitness for use in war.

The prison chief had the title Sarkin Yara: the Shehu had appointed three men only at Gudu after the flight, or Hijira: they were the War Commander, Chief Judge and Sarkin Yara (to be in charge of offenders.) In Bello's time the prison chief was Nabara.

There was a Juma'at mosque to the west of Bello's house; the Liman of which was Mallam Bello. There was also a Juma'at mosque west of the Shehu's house to accommodate the Shehu's disciples. The Shehu during his stay in Sokoto of four years very rarely left his home because of the crowds who waited to catch sight of him.⁵¹

We know from Clapperton's books that pilgrims made their way across the Sudan to Mecca. Preserved in the collection of Nana Asma'u's works is a poem

⁴⁸ Interview by Mallam Muh. Magaji and M. Boyi na Sarkin Kudu.

⁴⁹ Bayero son of the Chief Judge Mallam Bi Ali.

⁵⁰ Horse trials were held in Gobir until quite recently: archery trials were held in Sokoto until the end of the century.

⁵¹ One of the few occasions was when the Tuareg Chief Sarkin Adar came to Sokoto. The Shehu rode with him to the northern gate of the city, Kofar Rini. As usual great crowds gathered to see him pass: on seeing the numbers outside Bello's house he asked who supported them and was told they supported themselves by farming, that within the walls of the house there were highly productive gardens.

written to her by a Shaikh from Mauritania who stayed in Sokoto while en route to Mecca. In Bello's time the pilgrim leader (Sarkin Alhazai) was Wangara.

It is not supposed that this list is exhaustive: indeed, we know it is not. We trust that a full account of Sokoto under Bello will be written before long, but what we have listed for you at least adequately illustrates how Bello set up his administration.

CHAPTER X

HIS WELFARE PROGRAMME

“The Caliph must ensure justice and equality in such a way that the citizen gets his entitlements, and the property and well-being of orphans, the infirm, the insane and so on, are safeguarded. . . .
.....The teacher must not discriminate between the children of the rich and poor parents
.....The teaching of women, daughters and slaves is obligatory.¹

By the strict enforcement of the laws pertaining to zakkat, Bello ensured the poor were looked after. In another section of this book we have remarked on the humane treatment of captives. Males who had reached the age of 18 or 19 were given a wife and sent to live at the villages and farms in the country. Until the harvest they were fed by their owners. The hours of labour for the master, were from daylight to midday. For the remainder of the day, he was employed on his own in any way he thought proper.² The food he grew on his own ground was entirely his.

In this section we shall concern ourselves with education and medicine.

Bello was very interested in medicine. There was a doctor in his house, so described by Clapperton, called Sidi Shaikh.³ In his conversations with Clapperton, Bello more than once expressed a wish for a physician to be sent out to the Sudan from England.⁴ He was noted for his own expertise⁵ and wrote a book on the subject.⁶ At Gidan Bango he established a

¹ This passage about the teaching of women is from *Nur al-albab*, by the Shehu and has not previously been quoted. The rest are from *Liya'al Hukkam*, as before.

² CN Vol. 2 P. 213

³ CN Vol. 2 P. 197

⁴ CN Vol. 1 P. 109

⁵ Nana Asma'u *Wakar Gewaye* v. 120

Nana Asma'u *Gawakuke* v. 6

⁶ Last heard of in the possession of Sarkin Gobir Gwadamawa who died in 1974. It's existence is well attested

garden for the growing of medicinal herbs.⁷ There was an eye doctor called Nda Kalai: a settlement for the blind was established between the houses of Shehu and Bello and it exists to this day. It is reported that an offer was made fairly recently for the area on which their quarter is situated but they refused to move on the grounds that it was Bello himself who had settled them there.⁸

In a society dependent for its existence on its power to defend itself, many men were killed on the battlefield, the case of widows and orphans was a special responsibility and was entrusted to Aishatu⁹, the daughter of the Shehu's friend Umaru Alkamu and Bello's wife. Zakkat funds were diverted to her to enable her to take care of widows and children. Bello himself was noted for taking a special interest in orphans.¹⁰ We may assume therefore that in his day the "orphanage" was in his house.

Nothing could perhaps more vividly illustrate Bello's concern for people than the way he encouraged women's education and indeed their general welfare: there was a market set aside for them and the name of the dedicated and kindly midwife has come down to us, Zaharata.¹¹

The certainty of Bello's encouragement of the education of women stems from three sources. In the first place his daughter, Fatimatu, wrote a poem in Fulfude which has survived; it is in the classical pattern as regards metre and rhyme. Had she not been educated, she would not have been able to write poetry. She thus joins Bello's sisters Habsatu, Hadijatu, Sefiyatu, Maryam and Asma'u as a poetess.

Clapperton said female children were taught to read and write Arabic but instructed separately from the boys¹² Nana Asma'u says clearly, in her poem

⁷ Like za'afarani

⁸ Sarkin Makahi to M. Muh. Magaji Oct. 77

⁹ Nana Asma'u *Marsiya Aishatu*

¹⁰ Nana Asma'u *Gawakuke* v. 17

¹¹ Nana Asma'u *Marsiya Zaharata*

¹² CN Vol. 2 P. 214



FUBBAREN ABDULLAHI
 RESIDENT OF
 INAHMADU BELLO
 PREMIER NR
 1963
 AH 1393

هذا بيت محمد ابي فاضل
 فاضل بن محمد
 فاضل بن محمد
 فاضل بن محمد
 فاضل بن محمد

The building which houses the tomb of Abdullahi dan Fodio
 (At Gwandu in Sokoto State)

on Bello¹³, that she was at one time his student, he, her teacher. She was in turn one of the great intellects of her day. She had her own school attended by both male and female students.¹⁴ After her death, her students went to her sister Maryam, (the widow of Sarkin Kano Dabo) then living in the house of the Shehu. As a kind of continuation, women still travel to Sokoto, annually; the leader (Jagaba) of each group can be distinguished by the large straw hat called a malfa, which she wears on top of the cloth which covers her head.¹⁵

Concern for People: Agriculture and Trade

“The Caliph must lead his people as far as their material well being is concerned.”

Bello showed a great interest in bringing improved farming methods and improved manufacturing skills to Sokoto.

As we shall see, he encouraged experts to come from far afield; he read both widely and deeply and applied the knowledge he gleaned. Clapperton wrote:

“The Sultan was sitting, reading. On showing him my English saddle he examined it very minutely and said it was exactly like the ancient Arab saddle described in one of his books.”¹⁶

We have written elsewhere about the farm in his own house. Bello watered it himself and the garden produce, and other soup ingredients, were sold in the market place to give him an income. He had a fruit orchard at Sagin Lemu, on the northside of the city which is still in existence, and another farm at Garin Mai Daji.¹⁷ He is credited with the introduction to Sokoto of sugarcane, cassava, the herb za'afarani, fruit trees and pomegranates. It is also said that he

¹³ Nana Asma'u *Marsiya Bello* 1838 v. 9

¹⁴ A list exists of her students. It begins “Here is a list of the students of Asma'u daughter of the Caliph Shaikh Uthman, may Allah have mercy upon him.”

¹⁵ Nana Asma'u wrote a poem on one such leader, Hawa'u.

¹⁶ CN Vol. I/P. 94

¹⁷ Near Kware.

brought the shaduf, the way of irrigating with a fulcrum and bucket. It will be noted that all the new crops were to be irrigated; Sokoto has marsh land on two sides.

Clapperton reported a plentiful and cheap supply of food, including guinea corn, potatoes, fruit trees, wheat, rice and melons. The figs, he said: "were some of the finest figs I have ever tasted in Africa."¹⁸

At Gidan Mai Kara he established a sugar refinery for the production of granulated brown sugar. The descendants of the original settlers are still there, as are the original tools and utensils.

Clapperton said of the yellow Sokoto goat skins "they are superior to all other skins dyed of the same colour in any part of Hausa."¹⁹ The Korino tanners, as they are called, still carry on the same craft in Sokoto: their ancestor Shehu Dange came from Agadez, and it was he whom Bello taught originally. In the interests of hygiene, the dyers, the tanners and the butchers were situated outside the walls of the city.

Before 1809 the site of Bello's house belonged to a dyer called Aula. Bello gave him an alternative site by the river and the dyepits are still to be seen there. When the Sultan's house was being reconstructed in 1960, some old dye pits were uncovered²⁰ which were said to be those belonging to Aula. A relative of Aula²¹ came to settle in Bello's city bringing with him a contingent of dyers and their families. He was given permission by Bello to start a school, showing again the importance set upon self-sufficiency: a dyer could be a mallam, a mallam a dyer.

The chief blacksmith was Ahmadu Duwwa²² and his craftsmen produced spears, swords and other weapons. His title was Sarkin Makera: there was another smith called Sarkin Mazuga²³ who was

¹⁸ CN Vol. 1 P. 86

¹⁹ CN Vol. 2 P. 223

²⁰ Authority of Waziri Junaidu.

²¹ Mallam Ismaila from Hure-Hure in Bungudu.

²² At Dutsen Asada near M. Buba's house.

²³ In Bello's time Sarkin Mazuga was Dan Nabaya.

responsible for making and repairing the gates of the cities of Sokoto and Wurno and for making the silver seal which was used on documents.²⁴

The most famous weavers in Sokoto were the Nupe weavers who under their leader Muhammad Aballabaci immigrated there, via Sifawa, in about 1811. Bello settled them in a quarter they called Tako where their descendants still live.

We have made no mention in these pages of the other aspects of Bello's work which include his fearlessness and skill as an army commander and his achievements as a statesman. He personally led forty-seven campaigns and in the year before he died, he rode at the head of his troops to meet his enemies at Gawakuke. Interested readers will find all these matters discussed in other books but we feel that here they would be irrelevant to our theme which is to show that Bello implemented the precepts and teachings of the Mujaddid and founded a society based on the teachings of Islam.

Clapperton reported that Bello had extended the walls of Sokoto which was the largest and most populous town in the interior that he had seen. He said within the walls the Shehu's children lived "very quietly, without splendour."

Let us give Nana Asma'u the last word in a quotation from her poem *Marsiya Bello* dated 1838, written the year Bello died.

"He gathered up everyone, Fulani, Hausa and
Buzu
For he cared about them
And in all his doings he was guided by his
religion."

²⁴ The seal in the Sokoto Museum marked "Dahiru Aliyu 1903" (Sultan Attahiru) is said by Sarkin Mazuga to be that of Bello, the custom being to erase the name of the deceased Sultan then to mould the name of his successor using molten silver coins.

EPILOGUE

“Many were the faiths in the composite world,
Of Western Asia, Northern Africa and Europe,
And many were the fragments of ancient wisdom,
Saved, transformed, renewed, or mingled;
And many new streams of wisdom were poured
through the crucibles.

Of noble minds, prophets, poets, preachers,
Philosophers, and thinking men of action;
And many were the conflicts, and many
The noble attempts reaching out towards unity,
And many were the subtle influences,
Interchanged with the other worlds,
Of further and Eastern Asia,—
Aye, and perchance with the scattered Isles,
of the Pacific and the world between
The Atlantic and the Pacific.

“At length came the time when the voice of unity
Should speak and declare to the people,
Without the need of Priests or Priest-craft,
Without miracles save those that happen
Now and always in the spiritual world,
Without mystery, save those mysteries,
Which unfold themselves in the growing
Inner experience of man and his vision of God,
To declare with unfaltering voice,
The Unity of God, the Brotherhood of Man,
And Grace and Mercy, Bounty and Love,
Poured out in unstinted measure for ever and ever.

“And this great healing light shone,
Among a people steeped in ignorance.”
“Who were fit to be vehicles of this light?
Not men intoxicated with words and mysteries,
Men whom politics had debauched or tyranny had
subdued.

Men whose refinement had ended in vices,
Who saw nature only through books or artificial
conceits,
Or in needs which bred softness, indolence or luxury.
Who spoke of love and justice, but practised

Gross selfishness between class and class,
Sex and sex, condition and condition;
And had perverted their language, once beautiful,
Into jargons of empty elegance and unmeaning
futility.”

Extracted from Introduction of “Text, Translation
and Commentary of the Holy Qur’an by
Abdullah Yusuf Ali.

The above quoted verses which relate directly to the advent of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him) His Mission of Islam to mankind would appear very relevant to the advent of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio in Hausaland in the 19th Century. Here was a man born of a noble but humble Fulani family, and brought up as a scholar and preacher in an area ruled by powerful Hausa kings who held their grip on the generally ignorant masses of Hausaland and perpetuated traditional beliefs rather than Islam which they had lightly claimed to profess but hardly practised. Corruption and extortion were the order of the day and the Hausa states were often engaged in intermittent wars and petty rivalries. The vestiges of Islamic ideals in the territory were however tenaciously upheld by a handful of upright and devout mallams who though discontented with the style of the rulers were powerless to intervene. Dan Fodio was the one exception who had the determination and the courage to act and to succeed.

The Shehu, therefore following the footsteps of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him) took up the challenge and resolved as a ‘Mujaddid’ to change the course of history by reviving the religion of Islam to its purest form and establishing peace and justice through the practice of the Shari’a. We have seen how he used his prolific scholarship, power of persuasion, charisma and political acumen to launch a great movement which eventually succeeded in establishing what could rightly be regarded as an ideal society. With the active support of his immediate lieutenants, notably Waziri Abdullahi his brother, and Muhammad Bello his son, the Sokoto

Caliphate was firmly and truly established. We are concerned here mainly with what they taught rather than the territories over which they ruled; for while it is true that in the course of human history empires rise and fall the messages conveyed by great thinkers, their ideas and ideals, “even if twisted by ignorance, error, superstition or perversity; or misunderstood in the blinding light of time or tortuous circumstances, —they stand one and indivisible.” (A. Yusuf Ali). The concept of an ideal society, enunciated by Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio and vigorously implemented by Muhammad Bello will ever remain a great inspiration to the peoples of Hausaland and of Nigeria and the Western Sudan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio

1. *Title Nur al-albab*

Date Unknown

Language Arabic

Source (i) Original MS from Mallam Boyi of Kofar Atiku

(ii) Unpublished translations in Hausa¹

(iii) Unpublished translations in English²

Summary of Contents

Part 1: The three fold division of Hausaland into muslims, apostates and pagans.

Part 2: The teaching of the Shari'a concerning pagans, their wives, children and possessions.

Part 3: Under 18 headings, the things which have caused misfortune to spread over Hausaland.

2. *Title Ihya'al-Sunna*

Date Unknown

Language Arabic

Source "Shehu Dan Fodio, His Life and Works" by Dr. Ismail Balogun

Publishers Islamic Publications Bureau

Summary of Contents

The *Sunna* is the Life and Example of the Prophet Muhammad. This book is about the *Sunna*.

3. *Title Tanbih al-ikhwan ala ahwal ard al-Sudan*

Date 1226 circa 1811

Language Arabic

Source (i) Original MS from Mallam Boyi

(ii) Unpublished translation in Hausa

(iii) Unpublished translation in English

¹ All unpublished translations referred to in Hausa are by Alkali Sidi Sayudi Muhammad and Jean Boyd.

² All unpublished translations referred to in English are by Jean Boyd and David Hogarth.

Summary of Contents

There are 7 parts

- Part 1 — The size of the nations of the Sudan.
- Part 2 — An assessment of the Islamization of the Sudan.
- Part 3 — An assessment of the Islamization of Hausaland.
- Part 4 — An account of the conversion to Islam of Sudanese cities.
- Part 5 — “Risalat al Maluki was Saladini” by Shehu Abdurrahman Sayudi.
- Part 6 — Advice given by Shehu Muhammadu son of Abdulkareem al Maghili of Tilimisani to the Emir of Kano.
- Part 7 — The reasons for the Hijira (by Waziri Abdullahi).

4. *Title Tabbat Hakika*

Date circa 1812

Language Fulfulde: poem

Source (i) Original MS from M. Boyi. This is Nana Asma’u’s translation into Hausa with tahmis by Isa Mai Kware. The translation and tahmis lines were almost certainly completed before 1850.

(ii) Transliterated version in roman script published in “*Wakokin Hausa*” N.N.P.C.

This version is faulty.

(iii) Unpublished annotated version by Alkali Sidi Sayudi.

Summary of Contents

A warning that those who oppress the poor and commit sins will be punished by Allah.

B. **Books of Mallam Abdullahi Dan Fodio**

5. *Title Liya’al-hukkam*

Date 1221

Language Arabic

Source The Hausa translation published by NNPC.

Translator Mallam Haliru Binji

Summary of Contents

A comprehensive and detailed discussion of the responsibilities of the Caliph, Waziri, Advisors, Judges etc. Codes of conduct.

6. *Title al-Fara'id al-jalila wasa'it al-qawa id al-jamila*

Date 1211 1796

Language Arabic

Source Original MS from Mallam Boyi.

Summary of Contents

The conduct of schools, teachers and pupils.

Note Selections from this book and the next two were made for us by Mallam Boyi and the scholars of his Makarantar Ilmi.

7. *Title Lubabul Madahali*, the chapter *Adabul Muta'alimi fi nafsihi fi asharatu anwa'in*

Date Unknown

Source Original MS from Mallam Boyi.

Summary of Contents

The chapter is similar to the previous book.

8. *Title Tahazibul insani min hisali shaidani*

Date 1828

Language Arabic

Source Original MS from Mallam Boyi.

9. *Title Tazyin al-waraqat*

Date 1228

Language Arabic

Source M. Hiskett's translation into English.

Summary of Contents

A collection of poems about the Jihad.

C. The Books of the Caliph Muhammad Bello

10. *Title Infak al-Maisur*

Date 1227

Language Arabic

Source (i) The original MS from Mallam Boyi.

(ii) Translation in Hausa, Published by Sokoto State History Bureau.

(iii) Translation in English, unpublished MS.

Summary of Contents

The best and most detailed account of the Jihad and its implications.

11. *Title al-Ghaith al-wabl fi sirat al imam al-adl*
Date 1236
Language Arabic
Source Original MS from Mallam Boyi.

Summary of Contents

The conduct of a good ruler.

12. *Title Tanbih al sahib ala ahkam al-makasib*
Date 1235
Language Arabic
Source Original MS from Mallam Boyi.

Note This book was used only for the quotation about Annabi Isa.

D. The Books of Nana Asma'u daughter of Shehu Uthman

Note The collected works of Nana Asma'u (about 50 in number) were painstakingly collected and preserved by the Waziri of Sokoto, her great-great grandson. We are indebted to him for allowing the whole collection to be photocopied and also copied out by hand in manuscript form.

The poems are in three languages, Hausa, Arabic and Fulfulde, but most of them are in Fulfulde.

The Waziri orally translated those in Arabic and Fulfulde into Hausa and summaries of each poem were made.

Mallam Muhammadu Magaji, the Fulfulde scholar has since then retranslated the poems into Hausa a job which has taken over a year and is still unfinished.

Nana did not put titles to her poems so they have been rather arbitrarily listed except for the famous *Gewaye*, and *Tabbat Hakika*. In due course a better system of identifying the poems will be arrived at.

13. *Title Gewaye*
Date Sometime after 1838
Language (i) Version in Fulfulde—this is slightly more informative than

- (ii) Version in Hausa which is her brother Isa Mai Kware's translation of (i)

Summary of Contents

A record of the Jihad and an elegy of the Caliph Muhammad Bello

14. *Title Tabbat Hakika* See the books of the Shehu.
15. *Title Gawakuke*
Date 1858
Language Fulfulde

Summary of Contents

A full account of the last battle of the Caliph Muhammad Bello.

16. Elegy on the death of Caliph Muhammad Bello
dated 1837
17. Poem on ostentatious grief *dated* 1838
18. Elegy on the death of Waziri Gidado Dan Laima
dated 1850
19. Prayer: a poem *dated* 1855
20. Elegy on the death of Aishatu, Caliph Bello's wife *dated* 1857
21. Elegy on the death of Zaharata the midwife
dated 1859

E. The Books of Muhammad Tukur

Muhammad Tukur was a companion of the Shehu. After the Jihad he lived a life of great simplicity at Matuzgi (near Talata Mafara) where he later died. His tomb can be seen there.

22. *Title Hulneenday* is contained in Nana Asma'u's works as she added tahmis to the original verses of Muhammad Tukur which means to each verse of two lines, she added another three lines making a total of five lines in all. The poem is a hundred verses long and is about the punishment of Hell and is written in Fulfulde.
23. *Title Begore* is a poem of 315 verses written by Muhammad Tukur in praise of the Prophet. Nana Asma'u translated the poem from Fulfulde to Hausa and versified the translation, so it is also contained in Nana works.

24. *Title Sorborai* by Muhammad Tukur has not been seen by the authors but a quotation has been used, it being brought by Mallam Muhammadu Magaji. The poem is Fulfulde.

F. Books by Gidado Dan Laima

25. *Title—al-kashf wa'l—bayan 'an ba'ad ahwal al sayyid Muhammad Bello.*
Date—1838
Source—Mallam Boyi
An account of the Caliph Muhammad Bello written by his Waziri.

G. Anonymous

26. *Title Wallahi-Wallahi*
Date—Unknown
Language—Hausa
Source Very common and widely known
Summary of Contents a condemnation of tyrannous practices.
Note This poem is commonly held to be by the Shehu, but this is seriously questioned by the Waziri of Sokoto Alh. Junaidu on the grounds that it is not in the Shehu's style.

H. Printed Books in Hausa

27. *Author* Alh. Abubakar Dokaji
Title *Kano ta Dabo Cigari*
28. *Title* *Labarin Hausawa da Makwabcinsu Vol. 2*
Page 21 *Chapter* 2 which is a translation of Muhammad Bello's book "Sardul Kalam". There are several inaccuracies in the translation.

I. Modern Printed Books in English

29. *Author* Editors Ajayi and Crowder
Title *History of West Africa Vol. 1*
30. *Author* Johnston
Title *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*
31. *Author* Last
Title *The Sokoto Caliphate of Sokoto*

J. Old Printed Books in English

32. *Author* Clapperton
Title *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries Vols.*

1 and 2. These books were obtained from a private source and we are most grateful to their owner for giving us permission to use them.

Note Clapperton was a brave explorer whose observations are valuable. We have used his journals with circumspection because we have found him to be wrong in places. For example Abdulkadir was not the Shehu's youngest son nor was the Shehu ever known or referred to as "Bello the first."

Clapperton says:

"The flags of the Fellatas are white like the French—they are not borne by men of honour but by their slaves."

This is incorrect because the Caliph Bello in his book *Infak al-Maisur* described how troops were arranged in battle formation and says "and in the centre are the picked men carrying the flag."

In *Gawakuke* dated 1858, Nana Asma'u named the standard bearers at Bello's last battle as Madi and Danyero.

The description of revenue on P. 215 of Vol. 1 is incorrect and it is reasonable to presume that in the short time he stayed in Sokoto he was unable to assess the judicial, financial and administrative machinery of government.

On the legal side he was certainly wrong when he said that the Fulani invariably left all their inheritance to adopted children at the expense of legal heirs including their own children.



From the library of

Asifa
Quraishi

&

Kamal
al-Marayati



Be ye faithful servants of the Lord
by virtue of your constant teaching
of the Scripture and of your
constant study thereof (2: 75)

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